GUIDE TO THE SO11 BAHIA BRAZILIANS FILE

[The SO11 Bahia Brazilians file is concerned with the culture and inhabitants of the city of Bahia (Salvador), capital of the State of Bahia in eastern Brazil, and with the surrounding Recôncavo. The Recôncavo is the semicircle of land bordering the Baía de Todos os Santos, with the city of Bahia in its easternmost part. The Recôncavo is generally equated with the sugarcane area, but it also includes the relatively densely settled and intensively cultivated zone around the bay, and the contiguous zones of equivalent agricultural intensity. Thus, there are three distinct areas in the Recôncavo: a southern area devoted to the raising of manioc, a western section devoted to the raising of tobacco, and a northern and eastern area, given almost exclusively to large-scale sugarcane monoculture.

There are five sources in the Bahia Brazilians file, four of them in English, and one (5: Azevedo) a translation from the French. The major sources are 1: Haskins, 2: Hutchinson and 4: Pierson. 1: Haskins is an agricultural geography of the Recôncavo, based on field work in 1952-1954. It contains detailed descriptions of land use, agricultural production, and the trade of agricultural produce within the area and to overseas countries. It is the only source in the file to cover the whole of the Recôncavo. 2: Hutchinson is a sociocultural analysis of the community of Vila Recôncavo in the sugarcane area, by an anthropologist who did fieldwork in the area between 1951 and 1956. It contains a good deal of historical information on the development of the sugarcane monoculture in the area and on the relatively recent change from family-based plantations (engenhos) to corporate-owned sugar-processing factories (usinas). 4: Pierson is a classic sociological analysis of race relations and culture contact in Brazil, with

the emphasis on the city of Bahia. It contains a good historical analysis of slavery, assimilation, intermarriage and status in the society, especially as they pertain to Bahia. 3: Hutchinson is a study of race relations in Vila Recôncavo, the community studied in 2: Hutchinson, showing how African cultural influences and the particular set of patterns involving the large patriarchal family and the master-slave relations which took form on the plantations were significant factors in producing the present-day class and race relationships in the region. 5: Azevedo is an account of the racial situation in Bahian society by a well-known Brazilian sociologist who is a native of the city. Azevedo notes that evaluation of the individual is based more on personal merit and position within a particular social class than on race. This is generally a good file for comparative purposes. It contains a great deal of information on race and social status, agriculture, and history. The researcher should note the great historical depth in the file and also the contrast between city and rural life in using materials from the file. He is also recommended to go beyond the file to the historical works by Gilberto Freire, which are particularly applicable to Bahia, and to the novels of Jorge Amado, which give a good idea of the flavor of life in this region. The file was processed between 1969 and 1973.]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[13] [101] Regional Terminology. The term "o recôncavo" can be applied to any crescentic littoral. In Brazil, however, "the Recôncavo" is almost universally understood to refer to a semicircle of land bordering the Baía de Todos os Santos in the state of Bahia. It is no more necessary to ask which Recôncavo in Brazil than to ask which South in the United States.

The Recôncavo has a less consistently defined content and boundary than the United States South. The extent of the area intended is individually determined in both common and scholarly usage--usually the limit of the region is implied rather than delineated. In traditional usage the Recôncavo generally is equated with the sugar cane area, but at least as often the area designated includes all the relatively densely settled and intensively utilized zone around the Baía de Todos os Santos.

[12] [13] In delimiting the Recôncavo as a preliminary to field and statistical investigation it seemed desirable to enclose all areas which may customarily be included in the region. In addition, since the Recôncavo is conceived here primarily as an agricultural region, it seemed most consistent to include all other contiguous areas of equivalent agricultural utilization. Thus a search was made for a criterion for a tentative boundary which would circumscribe: (1) the traditional Recôncavo areas; and (2) the contiguous areas of equal agricultural intensity; and which in addition would (3) define the limit on a consistent statistical basis. These three requirements would be met with a boundary determined by the per cent of the land in agricultural use--a criterion which would summarize the intensity of land-use for [127] cultivation, fallow, and pasture. Appropriate data were available from the 1940 census. By inspection it was determined that twenty per cent [311] of the total area in agricultural use was the value of an isopleth which would enclose the traditional and equivalent areas and would

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 8

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954) 1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

APPENDIX A

Sub-Regions and Municipios of the Recôncavo

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Central Recôncavo:
- Santo Amaro
- São Francisco
- São Sebastião
- Cachoeira

Northern Recôncavo:
- Coração de Maria
- Irará
- Alagoinhas

Northwestern Recôncavo:
- Feira de Santana
- São Gonçalo
- Conceição da Feira
- Santo Estêvão

Southwestern Recôncavo:
- Muritiba
- Cruz das Almas
- Conceição do Almeida
- São Filipe
- São Félix

Eastern Recôncavo:
- Catu
- Pojuca

Southern Recôncavo:
- Maragogipe
- Itaparica
- Salvador

Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SC11 Bahia Brazilians SC11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

100 Marvin Harris, Benjamin Zimmerman, and Anthony Leeds, who conducted these related studies.

122 To the many members of the Tourinho, Junqueira Ayres,
123 Ariani Machado, and Albuquerque Porciuncula families of Bahia, who opened their doors to me, extending traditional Bahian hospitality throughout my stay both in Salvador and in the field, I am very grateful. Their full cooperation, understanding, and good will have contributed immeasurably to this study.

122 To those who made it possible for me to extend the scope of the field work to other areas of the Recôncavo, the directors of Magalhães and company, the director of Usina Terra Nova, Dr. Themístocles Monteiro, the director of Usina Aliança, Dr. Helenauro Sampaio, the chemical engineer of Usina São Carlos, Dr. Augusto Vilas Boas, and Eugenio Santos, who gave inestimable aid, my sincerest thanks.

114 To Frei Miguel Marcinkowski, Frei Pacifico Weismann,
101 Dona Maria Pinto, Elisa Amelia Ferreira, and all my friends of Vila Recôncavo* where the study was made is due my pro-
128 found gratitude. Last and most profoundly, I am indebted to my
114 wife, Carmelita Junqueira Ayres Hutchinson, for her invaluable assistance in the field and constant encouragement during the preparation of the manuscript.

H. W. Hutchinson

Faculdade de Filosofia
Universidade da Bahia
September, 1956

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128 *Although Vila Recôncavo is a real town, the names of all persons and places have been changed for the purposes of this study.

1. Sugar Country

THE REGION of Brazil in which this study was made is a small area in the state of Bahia called the Recôncavo. This is the land surrounding the Bay of All Saints, a fertile basin extending inland no more than 40 kilometers at the most. Situated on a high bluff overlooking the entrance to the Bay of All Saints is Salvador, the capital of the state of Bahia, generally referred to as Bahia, or "the capital," or simply "the city." After Salvador was settled in 1549, the colonization of the Recôncavo proceeded at a rapid rate. Since early in the colonial period, the Recôncavo has been divided into three distinct areas: a southern area devoted mainly to the raising of manioc, the food staple of much of Brazil; a western section devoted to the cultivation of tobacco; and a northern and eastern area, given almost exclusively to large-scale sugar-cane monoculture. This study was made in the third zone, the one producing sugar cane. 101 • [133] [361]

The region, which can be called the "sugar-Recôncavo," partakes of the long tradition of sugar-cane growing which formed the basis for the early colonization of Brazil. A narrow strip of land along the northeast coast of Brazil in what are now the states of Pernambuco, Sergipe, Alagoas, and Bahia was the focus of the economic, political, and social life of the entire colony. This region, under the colonization of the Portuguese, produced a large part of the world's sugar supply at a time when sugar was a great luxury in Europe. The northeast coast of Brazil became an exceedingly prosperous part of the colony early in its history. Salvador, in Bahia, and Recife, in Pernambuco, became the most impor- 175 311 * 249

It must be remembered that these figures include the capital city, the population of which is about 450,000. If this is subtracted from the total population of the Recôncavo, the average density of the Recôncavo is approximately 27 persons per square kilometer. 161 [162]

Vila Recôncavo, the community of this study, is part of a county located 41 kilometers across the bay from Salvador. The community includes the town of Vila Recôncavo, which is the county seat, and the surrounding rural zone. Throughout the study we will be dealing with these two components of the sugar-cane plantation community, sometimes separately and sometimes together. 101 634 [121]

The only public transportation to the town is by boat from the capital, a three-hour trip across the bay, threading through numerous islands. The major part of the trip is made on remarkably blue water, usually serenely calm but occasionally violently agitated, especially during the winter. One-, two-, and three-masted sailing vessels and an occasional large sailing canoe, the centuries-old methods of transportation in Bahia, are passed on their way into the city, carrying fruit, vegetables, pottery, firewood, fish, tobacco, manioc flour, and sugar to the more than four hundred thousand people of the city, as they have done since the early colonization of the Recôncavo. The only new element in the scene is the small diesel boat which makes the trip back and forth across the bay, outward bound one day and returning the next with the outgoing tide. 505 501

As the boat nears the luxuriantly green, palm-crested islands, stopping at several to discharge the mail, passengers, and "city goods," one becomes aware of the feeling of stepping back into the past. Barefoot children are selling oranges, peanuts, and fish; and parrots and parakeets, sometimes doped with rum to make them appear tame. The mailman on the dock receives the sack of mail and gives it to his helper to carry to the post office; the island priest may receive a message or package entrusted to the captain of the boat or may even go aboard to travel to the church on another island. The others on the dock call to friends on the boat and exchange news or else simply watch the activity of docking the boat and the casting off. The people of the islands are light-skinned, although well sunburned. Many of them are vacationers from the city, dressed in brightly colored clothes, for the islands are well-known resorts. The others, barefoot, wearing shorts 505 [857] [443] [205] [793] [142] [528]

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1967 8011 Bahia Brazilians 8011
VILA RECÔNCAVO

9. *Recent Changes in Vila Recôncavo*

THE FIELD WORK described in Chapters 1 through 8 of this study was carried out from June, 1950, to June, 1951. In 1955 and 1956 the author had the opportunity to do further work in Vila Recôncavo. This chapter is a summary of some of the changes which have occurred during the five-year period from 1951 to 1956.

First, the sugar industry has undergone several changes, developing still further from the plantation (engenho) toward the highly industrialized factory (usina) as postulated in the introduction. The factory-plantation system, as distinct from the private plantations, has experienced the most change.

Usina São Pedro was described earlier as a family corporation, owned and directed by members of one extended family. At one time in the past five years, this family was obliged to take into the corporation a large amount of capital representing a second family enterprise, considerably larger in scope than that of the first. Within a short period the second family achieved complete control of the factory through a series of financial manipulations. As a result, Usina São Pedro passed from the Conde family's ownership and direction, and is now just one element of a large commercial firm.

For a more complete understanding of Bahian society it is necessary that we examine this second family corporation. The key word is "family," which represents almost a constant in this culture. The second family, the Helvetians, is a second generation immigrant family. The major activities of the family corporation--there are other stockholders, especially employees, with small holdings--have always been commercial: exporting, importing, distributing, and transporting. The cor-

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
BRAZIL SL1

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By 1710 Bahian tobacco[15] was being shipped in quantity to "the Mina coast," which for more than a century thereafter absorbed a full third of Bahia's production.[16] A visitor early in the eighteenth century referred to Bahia as "New Guinea";[17] while the natives of Guinea were said at that time to have called the outer world "Bahia."[18]

In 1781 fifty vessels were engaged in the Brazilian traffic, "eight or ten with Angola and the rest with the Sudanese coast."[19] In 1800 twenty vessels were plying the trade from Bahia alone. According to custom-house records, 29,172 Negroes from "the Mina coast" and the islands of São Thomé and Principe entered Bahia during the decade from

[15] *Aguardente*, or *cachaça* (cheap rum), sugar, and manioc meal were also extensively used for trading purposes, as similarly were cowries (*buzios*) from the coast south of Bahia.

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[567]

[16] Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

[17] Amadeu Francisco Frézier, *Relation d'un voyage à la mer du sud* (Paris, 1716); cf. Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 185. The demand for slave labor in the gold fields of Minas Geraes so stimulated importations that La Barbinais, visiting Bahia in 1717, estimated that in that year 25,000 Africans were landed at Bahia. See Affonso de E. Taunay, *Na Bahia colonial* (Rio, 1925), p. 364.

[18] "It was principally to Bahia . . . . that the unfortunate sons of Lybia were brought, and it is for this reason that the natives of Guinea give the name of Bahia to Brazil, to America, and even to Europe" (Onesime Reclus, quoted by Manoel Querino, "A raça africana e os seus costumes na Bahia," *Annaes do quinto congresso brasileiro de geographia* [Rio, 1916], p. 626).

[19] Calmon, *op. cit.*, pp. 180–81. See letter of Silva Lisboa, *Annaes da Bibliotecа Nacional*, XXXII, 504. From September 29, 1771, to September 22, 1772, nine slave ships with 2,307 Negroes entered the port of Bahia. One ship, "Nossa Senhora do Rosario," carrying 371 Africans "and two babies at the breast" had not had a single death on the voyage. Another vessel, "Nossa Senhora da Conceição da Ponte," sailing from the Mina coast with a call at São Thomé, landed 13 without casualty, July 11, 1772. But other ships lost, respectively, 111 out of 374, 17 out of 468, 17 out of 158, 29 out of 233, 11 out of 308, 44 out of 327, 20 out of 302—a total loss of 249 out of 2,554 leaving the African coast (from custom-house records; see Amaral, *op. cit*, p. 458).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
BRAZIL SL1

CHAPTER III

CASA GRANDE AND *SENZALA*[1]

EVEN as late as the second quarter of the nineteenth century a visitor to Brazil wrote: "Again and again, while travelling in the interior, I have seen troops of new slaves of both sexes, who could not speak a single word of Portuguese, varying from twenty to one hundred individuals, marched inland for sale, or already belonging to proprietors of plantations."[2] These newly imported Africans were known as *negros novos*, or "new Negroes."[3]

Since the major portion of African importations into Bahia came from contiguous territory in Africa, the Negroes ordinarily brought with them closely related dialects and, consequently, could more easily communicate among themselves in African tongues. Gradually there came into general use, especially among the influential semi-independent *negros de ganho*, an African language known as Nagô,[4] which by facilitating intercommunication intensified the Negroes' moral isolation from the white world and retarded the whole acculturation process. Nagô continued for a long time to

[1] The "Big House" and the "slave quarters."

[2] George Gardner, *Travels in the Interior of Brazil, 1836–1841* (London, 1849), p. 12.

[3] Nina Rodrigues, *Os africanos no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1932), p. 187.

[4] "Like the French, we in Bahia call Nagôs all Negroes from the Slave Coast who speak the Yoruba language. Of this group we have received slaves from all the smaller subdivisions, from Oyó the capital of Yoruba, from Ilorin, Ige-sha, Ibadan, Ifé, Iebú, Egba, Lagos, etc." (*ibid.*, p. 157).

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[For maps relating to production statistics and other agricultural matters in the Reconcavo of Bahia, see category 116 passim.]

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Vila Recôncavo

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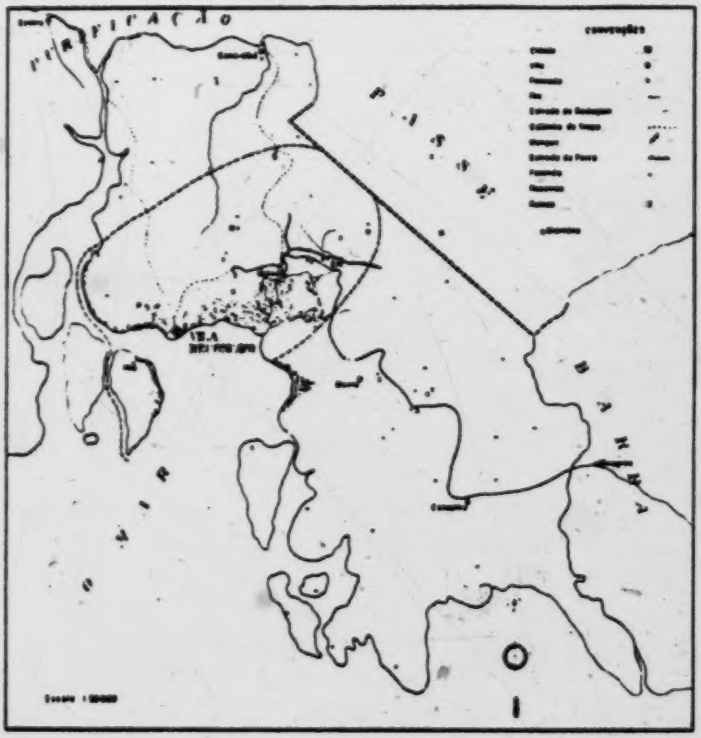

[P.12]

Map of the community of Vila Recôncavo

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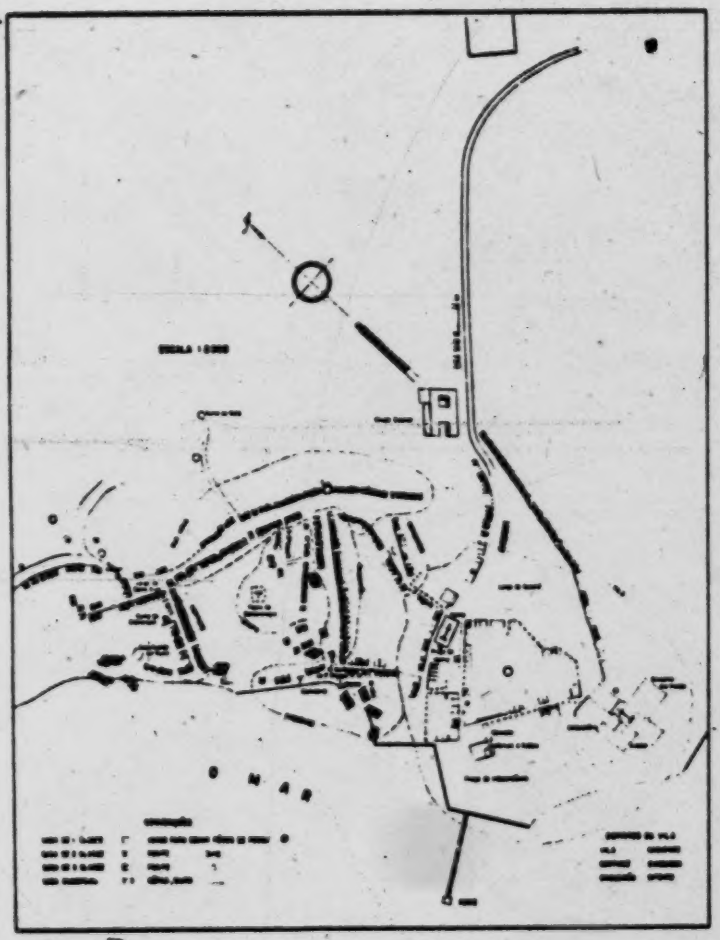

[P. 16]

Map of the town of Vila Recôncavo

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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BRAZIL SLI

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P OF SOUTH AMERICA SHOWING BAHIA AND SURROUNDING AREA

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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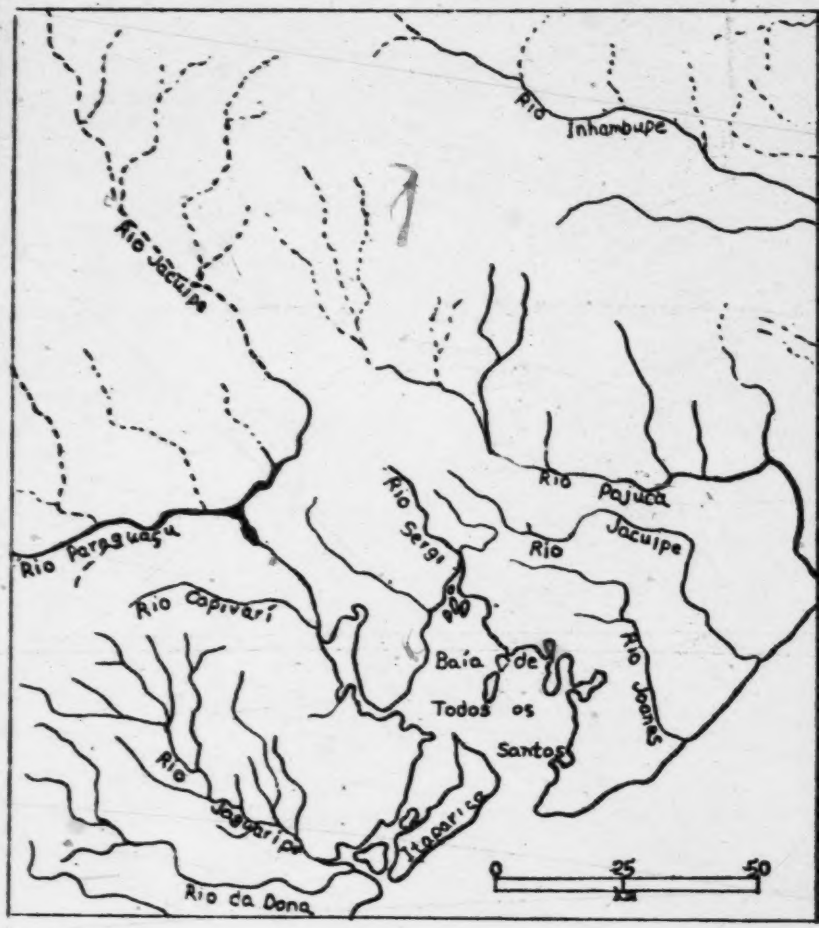

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Important Physical Features

MAP 5

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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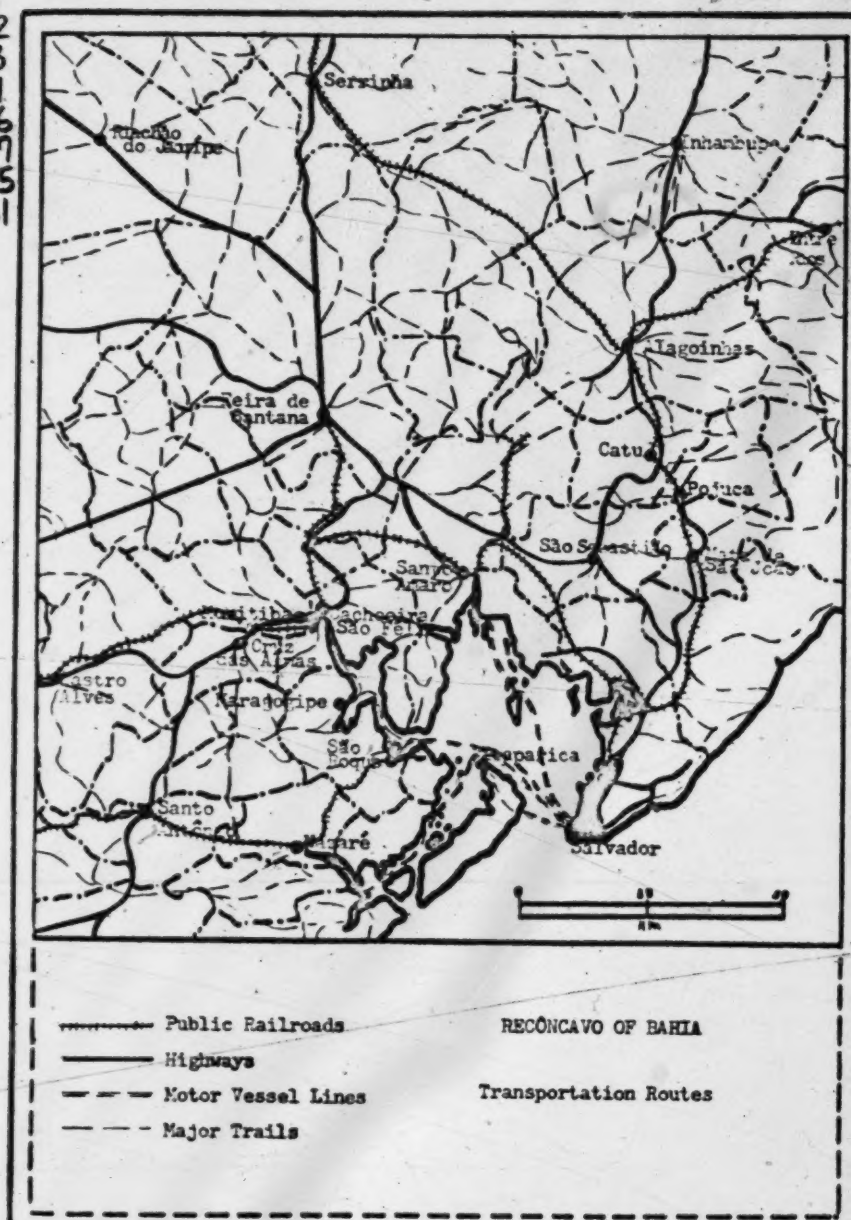

MAP 129

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
BRAZIL SL1

ticularly São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro but also Belo Horizonte, Recife, Porto Alegre, and others, including Bahia.[3] For, stimulated by needs which could not be satisfied by importation from Europe or the United States under the conditions existing during two World Wars—and more particularly during the last one—and also by growing internal demand, industrialization has been assuming a continually larger role in what has previously been a predominantly agricultural and pastoral country. Concomitant with this increased industrialization—but not to be confused with it, since, for one thing, it began long before—there also has occurred a rapid and extensive growth of the cities. A high rate of natural increase of the population has meanwhile continued in all parts of the country, so that it is now estimated that approximately two and a half million persons are being added annually to the Brazilian people. New primary, secondary, technological and professional schools have been set up, in an urgent, but not yet adequate attempt—since it began with a huge deficit—to keep up with expanding educational needs.

The emergence of new employment opportunities, espe-

[3] Since the matter may have puzzled some readers, it perhaps should be pointed out that, in keeping with the traditional patterns in such cases during colonization and later, the term "Bahia" was long used to indicate, on the one hand, the Capitania, Province or State of Bahia and, on the other, its capital city, even though the latter had another (and less used) name—Salvador. At the time of our research, the capital city of the State of Bahia—where most of our research was carried on—was widely and commonly known also as "Bahia"; and this name is still being employed. Since this name was used in the original study, it will be retained in this Introduction, in order to avoid possible confusion when consulting different parts of this edition. Incidentally, the spelling of "Bahia" is correctly given here and throughout this book, although, for a time during the "spelling reform" in Brazil (but only temporarily), an effort was made in some quarters to write the name differently.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
BRAZIL SL1

[City of Salvador]

CHAPTER I

THE SEAPORT OF BAHIA

JAMES BRYCE once wrote of the racial situation in Brazil: "It is a subject of study all the more interesting because the relations are . . . . different from those . . . . in the British colonies, in India, and in the United States."[1] Bryce might well have added that such differences constitute one of the more significant portions of any study of race relations. It is by investigating in intimate and concrete detail variant racial situations in different parts of the world and subsequently comparing and contrasting each set of conditions and circumstances that we are able to build up, case by case, a more complete knowledge of the race problem, its sources and nature. The more we see the United States and her problems through the perspective of a world-view—the more, in other words, we detach ourselves from the merely local and provincial—the more clearly will our own problems stand out.

If one looks about in Brazil for a door, so to speak, through which he may enter to examine at first hand the Brazilian racial situation, he may well choose the picturesque old seaport of Bahia,[2] known affectionately in Brazil as "A Mulata Velha." For here the processes of racial adjustment have perhaps gone on longest and most persistently, have involved large numbers from each of the three basic human

[1] *South America* (New York, 1912), p. 20.

[2] Bahia ("Bay") is pronounced *Bäh-ee'-uh* and is written, in "simplified" spelling, Baía. The city is also known as São Salvador or, more correctly, Salvador ("Savior").

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOil Bahia Brazilians SOil
BRAZIL SLI

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P OF SOUTH AMERICA SHOWING BAHIA AND SURROUNDING AREA

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOil Bahia, Brazilians SOil

Outside the city of Bahia and skirting the rim of All Saints Bay lies the Reconcavo,[7] some sixty miles long and varying from a few to thirty miles wide. Its soil is a cretaceous marl of great thickness, similar to the black gumbo of southern Arkansas and northern Texas, known locally as *massapé* or, in literal translation, "that which sticks to the feet." It is quite fertile and well watered and today appears only slightly impaired after nearly four centuries of cultivation. This is the cane and tobacco area upon which formerly both Bahia's commercial greatness and her need for reliable agricultural (hence slave) labor was based.

The Reconcavo was formerly a center of large landholdings, of a rural aristocracy, of a patriarchal system, and of slavery. Today, cane and tobacco are still cultivated, although the former, and to some extent the latter, languish by reason of the condition of the world-market and the persistence of primitive techniques of production. Although large landholdings are still common, the rural aristocracy is decadent, its prestige having suffered a gradual but persistent decline throughout the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries with the loss of the sugar monopoly, the growth of the coastal towns, and the accompanying increase in prestige of the urban professional classes. The abolition of slavery in the late nineteenth century was the final blow, and absentee ownership is now the predominating pattern. However, the present population is more dense in the Reconcavo than elsewhere in the state outside the city of Bahia and remains to this day markedly negroid in character.

[7] The literal meanings of the Portuguese word *reconcavo* are (1) a bay of semicircular shape and (2) the environs of a city. These two meanings appear to have fused in the Bahian use of the term.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
BRAZIL SL1

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The present town of Orobó,[60] approximately a hundred and fifty miles interior from the port of Bahia, is said to have had its origin in such a settlement.[61] Even outlying areas of the city of Bahia like Matta Escura and Estrada da Liberdade, and the neighboring villages of Cabula, Armação, Pirajá, and Itapoan, are said to have had their origin in *quilombos*, dating from the colonial period. From these settlements there were frequent sallies of Negroes into the city to rob and to pillage. However, no *quilombo* in the state of Bahia

[60] The name has recently been changed to Ruy Barbosa.

[61] On September 23, 1796, an investigation was ordered of complaints regarding the *quilombo* of Orobó. On April 6 of the following year this report was made (Silva, *op. cit.*, III, 227):

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[579]

ILLUSTRIOUS AND ESTEEMED SIR:

There having been repeated requests on the part of certain *senhores de engenho* and owners of *fazendas* living in the vicinity of Orobó, district of the villa of Cachoeira, that there be destroyed a very old *quilombo* of fugitive slaves who have been wasting and destroying neighboring plantations and committing other excesses of great damage to the settlers, I ordered the *desembargador*, Juiz de Fora, of the same villa to find out if these reports were true, and if they were, to seek by all means possible to destroy this *quilombo*, using all prudence and care to avoid any fatal occurrence in the execution of the order, in view of the great distance between Cachoeira and that district, as well as our ignorance of the size of the *quilombo* which, according to some accounts, was not small. The necessity of collecting provisions, of enrolling and arming men . . . . delayed for some time the execution of this order until, the complaints continuing and the people themselves offering to lend some aid and assistance, I ordered the *capitão-mor* of Entrados e Assaltos of the District of São José das Itaporocas, Severino Pereira, to organize an armed force and to destory the *mocambo*. This order was carried out in December of last year, the two *quilombos*, or *mocambos*, known as Orobó and Andrah being destroyed. At these places were found fields of manioc, *inhame*, rice, fruit, and a little sugar cane, with all of which the inhabitants had easily been able to sustain themselves. Thirteen slaves were apprehended, among them men, women, and children, all of whom were delivered up to their respective masters. Previous to the arrival of the armed force, it is reported, a great number of slaves living there fled, for apparently they suspected, or perhaps were even aware of, the impending attack. As it appeared that they had fled to another *quilombo* called Tupim, farther off, I ordered that it similarly be destroyed, but I have not yet had notice whether such has been done. This is what I have to offer Your Excellency in reply to a letter directed to me and received on the 23rd of September of last year, urging me to undertake the most effective means of destroying the indicated *quilombos* and of relieving the settlers.

God guard Your Excellency.

Bahia, 6th of April, 1797. Most Illustrious and Excellent Sir, D. Rodrigo de Souza Coutinho.

D. FERNANDO JOSÉ DE PORTUGAL

[SALVADOR]

/9/ The Ethnic Types of Bahia

361 Bahia owes its reputation, not only to its privileged location
*563 on the shores of a magnificent bay and to its churches of an ornate
633 rococo style, but also, to a certain degree, to the excellent relations that exist in the heart of its motley population between people of different color. Stephan Zweig drew a very vivid picture
633 of Bahia and its ancient traditions. For him, Brazil began with
*563 this city, and not only Brazil, but also South America. "In this city was erected the first pier of the vast bridge thrown across the Atlantic; in it has originated, through the combination of European, African, and American material, the new mixture that is fermenting so actively at the present time (1)."

[113] 1. Stephan Zweig, Brazil, País do Futuro /Brazil, Land of the Future/, trans. by Gallotti, Rio de Janeiro, 1941, p. 275.

175 From its founding under the official name of Cidade do
633 Salvador, Bahia began to be known for its wealth, which it owed
• [103] to the sugar produced by its fazendas (2)
[249]
[192]

2. Plantations.

and its engenhos (3).

3. Sugar mills.

[796] It was also renowned for the magnificence of the worship in its
[363] numerous churches, for the religious processions that passed through its narrow, climbing streets, and for the traditions, so typically Portuguese, of its inhabitants. Center of importation
[567] of African slaves, Bahia was also famous for the large proportion
[167] of Blacks in its population, to the point that foreign travelers of
[162] the colonial period speak of this city as a "new Guinea" (4).

[113] 4. M. Frezier, Relation du voyage de la mer du Sud aux côtes du Chili et du Pérou fait pendant les années 1712, 1713 and 1714 /Account of the

struck the sugar cane itself, and production again dropped greatly. At the same time, coffee began to attract attention in São Paulo and the few slaves for sale were sent there, where they commanded a higher price, thereby causing a shortage of workmen in the Recôncavo. In 1888 a final blow was the abolition of slavery. Production dropped to a new low, and the twentieth century was entered during what was called the gravest crisis the industry had ever experienced.

During the late nineteenth century there were several attempts to better the machinery used in the fabrication of sugar. New methods were introduced from abroad, and at the turn of the century the usina made its first appearance on the scene. The usina represents the large-scale central factory, designed to mill the cane of many plantations, thereby raising the total sugar production.[2] The state government took a hand and financed the construction of three factories which were given to various individuals as concessions. There was an effort to revive the industry on a different and stronger basis. At the same time, however, the Recôncavo, as well as other parts of Brazil, felt the pull of the rubber boom in the Amazon and lost some of its manpower. But once again a European war came to the rescue, and during the second and third decades of this century the sugar industry prospered. Many factories were erected, and there was a definite feeling of optimism, which ended abruptly in 1929 and 1930 as a result of prolonged overproduction. In 1933 the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol was established by the national government to regulate production. The new regulations caused dissatisfaction and disputes, and production fell off sharply, only to rise again after World War II when many of the restrictions imposed by the institute were lifted. At the present time the Recôncavo seems to be experiencing a mild phase of affluence.

It is the introduction of the large-scale central factory which holds the most interest for us in this recital of crises, for it was this innovation which brought the maximum amount of change to the town and the entire community structure.

The factory was conceived of as a large mechanized mill,

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2. Hereafter, the word "factory" will be used to designate the usina; wherever the word "factory" appears it should be understood to mean sugar-cane milling factory, unless otherwise qualified. (Editor's note.)

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Octavio da Costa Eduardo in Maranhão; Seth Leacock at Belém; Duglas Teixeira Monteiro at Vitória; Nelson de Senna in Minas Gerais; Candido Procópio Ferreira de Camargo in São Paulo; and several authors with a more general reference, including, especially, Arthur Ramos (1938b, 1942, 1943, 1949). Frazier (1942) studied the structure and function of the family among colored persons at Bahia.

If this were a revised edition, certain alterations or additions would be made; for instance, it probably would be advantageous either to bring over into English or to identify more extensively several terms which were left in Portuguese, either because translation would have distorted meaning or because the author was in doubt regarding an *adequate* rendering in English and unable to resolve the problem by a return to the field or through correspondence, yet desirous to be as precise as possible. An effort was made to define each term when first introduced; but this is perhaps inadequate, especially where the term appears again, later, several pages away. To obviate this difficulty somewhat, a glossary is appended to the present edition.[30]

Today, we probably would use a substitute for "branco da Bahia" (p. 139 and *passim*), since this term is ordinarily used only outside Bahia, and—more especially—since we subsequently have learned that it sometimes carries a certain depreciatory connotation.[31] Besides, it is subject to some ambiguity, as José Valadares (1943), in a perhaps humorous

[30] A few words which were spelled according to the custom prevailing at the time, previous to the "spelling reform" some years later, should be altered; for example, cathedrático (p. 189), is now spelled "catedrático," and paranympho (p. 190), "paraninfo."

[31] Ribeiro (1956:128) reports this term used at Recife when scoffing at persons "the legitimacy of whose pretentions to being white is subject to question."

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[City of Salvador]

CHAPTER I

THE SEAPORT OF BAHIA

JAMES BRYCE once wrote of the racial situation in Brazil: "It is a subject of study all the more interesting because the relations are . . . . different from those . . . . in the British colonies, in India, and in the United States."[1] Bryce might well have added that such differences constitute one of the more significant portions of any study of race relations. It is by investigating in intimate and concrete detail variant racial situations in different parts of the world and subsequently comparing and contrasting each set of conditions and circumstances that we are able to build up, case by case, a more complete knowledge of the race problem, its sources and nature. The more we see the United States and her problems through the perspective of a world-view—the more, in other words, we detach ourselves from the merely local and provincial—the more clearly will our own problems stand out.

If one looks about in Brazil for a door, so to speak, through which he may enter to examine at first hand the Brazilian racial situation, he may well choose the picturesque old seaport of Bahia,[2] known affectionately in Brazil as "A Mulata Velha." For here the processes of racial adjustment have perhaps gone on longest and most persistently, have involved large numbers from each of the three basic human

[1] *South America* (New York, 1912), p. 20.

[2] Bahia ("Bay") is pronounced *Bah-ee'-uh* and is written, in "simplified" spelling, Baía. The city is also known as São Salvador or, more correctly, Salvador ("Savior").

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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GLOSSARY

(Terms identified when first introduced in the text and not used again have been omitted.)

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abará: Food of African origin, consisting of bean paste, seasoned with pepper and oil of the *dendê* palm.

acaça (acassá): Afro-Brazilian drink, made by fermenting a mixture of cracked corn (or rice), sugar, and water.

acarajé: Food of African origin, consisting of a small croquette of bean paste and shrimp, seasoned with onions and pepper and fried in oil of the *dendê* palm.

achôgún (axôgún): Sacred specialist who performs animal sacrifices at an Afro-Brazilian cult center; also called "second *pai-de-santo*" (first assistant to the leader of the cult).

adjá: Musical instrument, composed of a small metal bell with a long handle, which is shaken at the height of the heads of the ceremonial dancers by the leader of an Afro-Brazilian cult, to promote further the arrival of a deity during a ceremonial dance.

adro: Square or other open place in front of or to one or both sides of a church.

Africano (fem. *Africana*): 1. Person born in Africa. 2. *Candomblé* (q.v.).

agê: Musical instrument, consisting of a large gourd containing pebbles and covered with a small cotton net in whose meshes cowries have been fastened, to be shaken in the hand. Also called *piano-de-cuia*.

agôgô: Bi-tonal musical instrument, consisting of two hollow iron cones joined together, to be struck with an iron pin by the leader of an Afro-Brazilian cult ceremony, to sound the first note of each invocation to a deity and then to accompany the drums during that invocation.

alabê: Head drummer in an Afro-Brazilian cult.

ama: Nursemaid, usually (during the slave regime) a colored woman slave.

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amancebado: Living in a "common-law" or other conjugal union outside official marriage. The more common term is *amasiado*.

amante: Paramour (as used here, although has other meanings).

amasiado (amaziado): Living in a "common law" or other conjugal union outside official marriage (see p. 120).

amiga: Feminine form of *amigo;* literally, "friend," but ordinarily meaning either "common-law" wife or "paramour."

anum (anu): Bird, of the Cuculidae family.

ar-do-vento: Literally, "air of the wind"; a folk "illness," presumed to be caused by a breeze or wind which produces temporary paralysis of part of the body or even coma. Also known as *estupor*.

arruda: Rue, an aromatic plant of bitter taste, with presumed magical (as well as medicinal) properties.

atabaque (tambaque): Sacred drum, employed in sets of three, of varying sizes but always of wood, in Afro-Brazilian cult ceremonies.

azeite-de-dendê: Oil of the *dendê* palm *(Elaeis guineensis)*, of African origin acclimated to Brazil.

babalaô: Foreteller of future events, in Afro-Brazilian cult world.

babalôrixá (babá): Leader (male) of the Afro-Brazilian cult; better known as *pai-de-santo* (see p. 208 n.).

bacharel (pl. *bachareis*): Principally, a graduate of a law school (or, more recently, of a Faculty of Philosophy, Science and Letters), but also one who has completed the course of a secondary school *(liceu, ginásio)*.

Bahiana: Literally, "a female inhabitant of Bahia." Term used more commonly to refer to colored women who wear a traditional costume (see pp. 247–48) and sell Afro-Brazilian food delicacies in the streets, as well as to refer to this costume itself.

balangandan (balangandã): Ornament formerly worn upon special occasions by the more well-to-do colored women at Bahia (see p. 246 n.).

barracão: Sacred dance pavilion where public ceremonies of an Afro-Brazilian cult are held (as used here, although has other meanings in Brazil).

bátá: Long, white, loose-flowing blouse, usually of cotton but sometimes of silk, ordinarily trimmed with wide lace.

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batucada: At Bahia, a group, usually composed of fifteen or twenty young men, invariably blacks or dark mixed-bloods, who parade in single file at Carnival time while playing instruments of the Afro-Brazilian cult (see p. 201).

batuque: Dance of Afro-Brazilian origin, with musical accompaniment (see pp. 100–101).

bozó: Magical means for causing harm to a person or thing (see p. 252 n); also called *feitiço*, *bruxaria*, or *negócio*.

branco (fem. *branca*): Literally, "white." Reflects, however, circumstances not only of color but also of status, as well as the personal relationship, at the time, of the speaker to the person referred to.

branco-da-Bahia: See Introduction to this edition.

branqueado: Literally, "whitened"; that is nearly white.

búzios: Cowries, or small, ivory-colored, glossy shells of a mollusk found on the shores of the Indian ocean and used for money in parts of Africa and Asia. Worn by some women specialists of the Afro-Brazilian cult, and also used when foretelling future events.

caboclo: Amerindian (as used here, although has other racial or cultural meanings in Brazil).

cabra: Mixed-blood, one of whose parents is of African descent and the other an European-African half-breed (as used here, although has other meanings).

cachaça: Popular term for aguardente, or Brazilian rum; also known as *pinga*, and by at least some 126 other names, in different parts of Brazil.

cafuzo (cafuso): Amerindian-African mixed-blood.

câmara: Legislative body.

camarinha: Sacred room in which prospective sacred dancers of the Afro-Brazilian cult are interned during their period of training and initiation.

candomblé: Afro-Brazilian cult as known at Bahia (see Chap. X); called *xangô*, in Recife; *catimbó*, in certain other parts of northeast Brazil; and *macumba*, in Rio de Janeiro.

candomblé caboclo: Folk cult whose ritual, ceremony and belief are extensively, or even predominantly, of Amerindian origin.

canzá (canzuá, ganzuá): Afro-Brazilian cult center; term is a cor-

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ruption, and generalization, of "Gantois," the name of one cult center at Bahia (see p. 300).

capitania: Huge land grant and administrative unit in colonial Brazil, which subsequently became a Province and, after the founding of the Republic, a State.

capitão (pl. *capitães*)-*do-mato* (formerly written, *matto*): "Bush-captain," hired to track down, capture and return fugitive slaves.

capitão-mor: Administrative head of a capitania (q.v.).

capoeira: A complex form of personal combat, originally developed by fugitives slaves, and now enjoyed, in simulated form, as a sport (see pp. 250–51).

carregador: Porter, baggageman, packer, loader.

carroceiro: Wagoner, cartman.

carurú: Food of African origin, consisting of okra, fish, shrimp, and other ingredients, seasoned with oil of the *dendê* palm and pepper. Considered to be a special delicacy of the Afro-Brazilian deities, the *Begi* (Cosme and Damião).

casa-de-candomblé: Afro-Brazilian cult center.

caxixi: Musical instrument, consisting of a small reed pouch containing pebbles or cowries, to be shaken in the hand.

cobrador: Collector of fares on streetcars, buses, etc., or one who makes change for the payment of such fares (as used here, although has also a more general meaning).

colégio (formerly written, *collégio*): A secondary school (as used here, although, in different connections and at different times in Brazil, has had other meanings).

comida: Literally "food"; used here in a more special sense, to refer to the food offering made to a deity of the Afro-Brazilian cult.

consórcio: Conjugal union, either legal or outside marriage.

cordão (pl. *cordões*): Group of persons of African descent who march, dance, clap their hands and sing songs of African derivation in the streets at Carnival time (see p. 201).

da costa: "From the West Coast of Africa"; used, for example, in the phrases: *pimenta* (pepper) *da costa*, *pano* (cloth) *da costa*, *sabão* (soap) *da costa*, *palha* (fiber) *da costa*.

cuica: Musical instrument, composed of a hollow wooden cylinder closed at one end and having a stick covered with resin appended

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in the center of the drumhead which is gripped by the hand of the "player," and the hand drawn back and forth to make a muffled, pulsating sound.

despacho: Sacrificial offering, made to a deity of the Afro-Brazilian cult; for example, to Exu, at the opening of each ceremony, to propitiate him and thus avoid any prank which he might occasion and which might disturb the subsequent ceremony. Ordinarily consists of *farofa* (q.v.), with oil of the *dendê* palm, a dead chicken, coins of copper or nickel, a piece of red cloth, a candle, perhaps a rag doll. Often left at crossroads or at the foot of a *gameleira* tree.

desprêzo: Scorn, contempt.

doutor (fem. *doutora*): 1. One who has graduated from a professional school, especially of medicine or law but also of other disciplines. 2. One who has shown himself erudite in any field. 3. One with high prestige.

encomendação: A special prayer for a deceased person.

engenho: Sugar plantation in colonial Brazil, together with its primitive (but effective) mill for processing sugar cane (as used here, although has several other meanings).

estado-de-santo: Literally, "state of the saint (deity)"; that is, "possession," as experienced during an Afro-Brazilian cult ceremony, when a ceremonial dancer "receives" the "visitation" of a deity.

farofa (farófia): Manioc meal, cooked to form a mush, with butter or other fat added.

fazenda: Large rural property, in cultivation or used to raise live stock, especially cattle (as employed here, although has other meanings in Brazil).

fazendeiro: Landed proprietor, who oversees (but does no manual labor on) his rural property (*fazenda*).

feiticeiro: Practitioner of "black" magic.

feitiço: "Black" magic.

festa: Any celebration of familial, religious or popular character; corresponds to the Spanish *fiesta*.

fidalgo: Of noble lineage (as used here).

figa: A charm, made of ebony, coral, gold, silver, jade, or other substance, in the form of a closed fist with the thumb inserted

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between the index and middle fingers, and worn to protect one from the "evil eye."

filha-de-santo: Ceremonial dancer of an Afro-Brazilian cult, who serves as the intermediary of the deity to whom she is dedicated and who is presumed to "enter her head" during a sacred dance.

fiscal (pl. *fiscais*): One who collects fees, taxes, or other public funds, or checks on their collection (including fares) by another.

formado: Graduated from a professional school.

fubá: Meal or flour made from maize or rice.

funcionário público: Federal, state or municipal employee.

gameleira (gamelleira): Wild fig tree. In Bahia, sometimes called *pé* (tree) *de Lôko*, after the Afro-Brazilian deity whose fetish it is presumed to be.

homem (pl. *homens*) *de côr*: Man (men) of color.

irmandade: Religious brotherhood.

jacamim (jacami, jacumim): Bird of the Psophiidae family, or South American trumpeters.

macumba: The Afro-Brazilian cult as known in the área of Rio de Janeiro; occasionally, by extension, this cult in other parts of Brazil.

macumbeiro: Practitioner of "black" magic; in Bahia, more commonly called *feiticeiro*.

mãe-de-santo: Head (female) of an Afro-Brazilian cult center, responsible for the religious, moral, and temporal welfare of its adherents, and especially for the religious education of the *filhas-de-santo*, or ceremonial dancers.

mãe-preta: Literally, "black mother." Colored woman slave to whom the care of the master's children was given.

mães-d'agua: Order of female deities of the Afro-Brazilian cult presumed to inhabit bodies of water (some, fresh water, and some, salt water).

Malê: Mohammedan of African origin.

mameluco: European-Amerindian mixed-blood.

manceba: Either a "common-law" wife or a paramour; term rarely used except in erudite speech, *amiga* or *amasia* being more common.

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mancebia: Conjugal union outside marriage in which there is some degree of permanency.

mato (formerly written, *matto*): "The bush," an uninhabited, usually timbered area (as used here, although has other meanings in Brazil).

mestiço: Mixed-blood.

moreno (fem. *morena*): Person of dark complexion, with dark eyes and dark hair, ordinarily (but not always) a mixed-blood (see pp. 136–38). Friendship, or other source of favorable attitudes, may lead to the term being applied to a person otherwise considered a *prêto*. When pronounced with a certain emphasis, indicates much darker color, representing an ironical reference to the common tendency to "grade up" a black friend to the *moreno* category.

mulher (pl. *mulheres*) *de côr*: Woman (women) of color.

município: Administrative sub-division of a Brazilian State, somewhat (but not completely) comparable to a county in the United States.

muxôxo: Act of pursing the lips and uttering, with the aid of the tongue, a sudden "tsk"-like sound, while the chin is pushed sharply forward and upward, the whole signifying contempt or disdain.

negro (fem. *negra, nega*): Literally, "black"; however, has had three other meanings in Brazil, two of which carry low-status connotation: 1) a slave, and 2) one who works hard (at manual labor), and the third of which, paradoxically, reflecting certain intimate personal relations during slavery, makes it a term of endearment. Seldom heard in Bahia today in any of the three earlier meanings except in conflict situations.

negro-de-ganho: Semi-independent slave, who resided away from his master's residence and arranged his own employment, usually paying the master a stated sum weekly and retaining for himself any balance remaining (see pp. 38–39).

negros novos: Literally, "new negroes"; that is, recently imported Africans.

obi (*ɔrɔbɔ̃*): A secred fruit (*kola*), imported from Africa for use in connection with rituals of the Afro-Brazilian cult. Thought to

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possess magical properties, especially in connection with oracular functions and religious sacrifice.

ôgan (*ôgã*): Male functionary of the Afro-Brazilian cult, presumed to be "selected" by the deities. His primary obligation is to assist the head of the cult, especially with finances and public relations, particularly those involving governmental authorities.

onça: *Felis uncia*, a forest cat resembling the leopard; name also popularly given in Brazil to *puma concolor* and *panthera onça*.

ôrixá (*ôrishá*): Afro-Brazilian deity; for example, Ogun, Xangô, Yemanjá (see Chap. X).

pai-de-santo (formerly spelled *pae*): Head (male) of an Afro-Brazilian cult center, responsible for the religious, moral and temporal welfare of its adherents, and especially for the religious education of the *filhas-de-santo*, or ceremonial dancers. Also called *babalôrixá*; or simply, *babá*.

pardo (fem. *parda*): Literally, "brown"; ordinarily used, however, especially in official statistics, to refer to the entire range of intermediate "colors" between black and white.

pegi: Sanctuary in which sacred fetishes of the Afro-Brazilian cult are kept.

piaçaba (*piaçava*, *piassava*): Fibre of certain palms, sometimes used to make brooms.

praça: Public square.

preceito: Ritualistic obligation in connection with the Afro-Brazilian cult.

prêto (fem. *preta*): Literally, "black." Reflects, however, circumstances not only of color but also of status, as well as the personal relationship, at the time, of the speaker to the person referred to.

professor catedrático: Professor at a professional school or a division of a university, who has obtained permanent tenure of a teaching post of the highest rank by means of a public examination, based upon a thesis presented.

quartinha: Clay vessel used to keep water cool by way of evaporation; also called, *quarta*, *moringa*, *moringue*.

reitor: Principal, or director, of a school.

relicário: reliquary.

rendeiro: 1. One who rents his property, usually farmland and "on shares." 2. A renter.

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roça: Literally, "land from which the native vegetation has been cut away, in preparation for planting"; hence, a planted field, plot or orchard.

saia grande: Literally, "large skirt"; used especially to refer to that which is worn bouffant by many colored women at Bahia (see p. 246).

salão: Large room where guests are received and balls, concerts, etc. given (as used here).

samba: Song, or dance, of African origin, with (in rural areas) vocal accompaniment. (The dance as observed in rural areas usually differs markedly from the more sophisticated urban one.)

sandália: A leather slipper, with a low heel and no quarter.

saudade: (A difficult word to translate.) Nostalgia, longing, "pleasurable sadness," with intense emotional content. One dictionary definition: "a sad, but sweet remembrance of a person or thing far away or extinct, accompanied by an ardent desire to see or to possess it once more."

seita: Literally, "sect"; in Bahia, also refers to an Afro-Brazilian cult center.

senhor (pl. *senhores*): 1. Mister. 2. Master (of slaves). 3. (Formerly) member of the rural aristocracy, particularly as used in the phrase, *senhor de engenho* (proprietor of a sugar plantation).

senzala: Slave quarters.

sertão: A predominantly virgin, unsettled area, interior from an important settlement (which ordinarily is located on, or near, the seacoast). Term sometimes translated as "backlands."

termo: A judicial unit, a subdivision of a *comarca* (section of a state judicial system), presided over by a *juiz-de-direito*.

terreiro: 1. Space, ordinarily kept swept bare, immediately around a rural house. 2. Grounds of an Afro-Brazilian cult center; and, by inclusion, 3. The cult center itself.

torço (*torso*): Turban, of silk or cotton, worn by the *Bahianas* (q.v.).

um pouco da raça: Literally, "a little of the race"; that is, "of some African descent."

urtiga: Any one of a number of species of nettles.

velha: Feminine form of *velho*: old.

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vestimenta bahiana: Characteristic costume worn by many Bahian colored women, especially those closely identified with the Afro-Brazilian cult (see p. 246).

xaque-xaque: Musical instrument, composed of a hollow metal shell in the form of a dumbbell in each of whose extremities pebbles have been placed. Term is onomatopoetic, in imitation of the sound produced when the instrument is shaken.

yaô: An initiate of the Afro-Brazilian cult during the period she is being "prepared" to serve as a sacred dancer, or *filha-de-santo*.

1: Haskins, Edward Cooper. An agricultural geography of the Recôncavo of Bahia. Dissertation (Geography)--University of Minnesota, 1956. University Microfilms, Publication, 17,891. Ann Arbor, University Microfilms 1956 (1967).

17, 428 p.; 19 tables; 136 maps; appendixes; bibliography.

HRAF copy.

[This study gives a detailed description of land use, agricultural production, and trade of agricultural produce within the area and to overseas countries. Sugar cane is the main commercial crop with tobacco coming next in importance. Manioç, various kinds of vegetables, and corn, as well as various kinds of fruit are planted primarily for consumption within the region.

While tobacco is planted and processed for trade to industrial plants by small agriculturists, sugar is planted and processed on a large scale by a few commercial enterprises. However, the present organization of sugar production is outmoded and no longer fit for a world market situation. It is held on a profitable level only by competitive various protective measures by the government. The print quality of the original monograph is generally poor. HRAF was unable to obtain a better copy.]

Field date: 1952-1954
Analysts: Sigrid Khera, marker
John Beierle, checker

Evaluation: Geographer-4,5
Processed in 1971-1973

2: Hutchinson, Harry William. Village and Plantation Life in Northeastern Brazil. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1957.

Pp. ix, 199; 2 maps; 2 figs.; 6 plates; bibliography; index.

HRAF copy. DLC card No.: 57-8753.

/This source is a socio-cultural analysis of the community of Vila Recôncavo in the sugar-producing region of the state of Bahia in northeastern Brazil, presented in the perspective of the long historical tradition of sugar-cane growing in the region. The author indicates how the abolition of slavery, the socio-political changes in colonial government in the 19th century and the eventual introduction of steam power enabling the development of large, centralized sugar mills, all led to important changes in the pattern of life in the area which had been previously based on sugar monoculture. These emergent socio-cultural patterns are the basic theme of this source and are discussed in terms of such current trends as the increased importance of the corporate owned sugar-processing factory (the Usina), the dissemination of national patterns, the beginning of the petroleum industry and the competition of sugar-cane growing with cacao planting. Town and plantation life are analyzed separately but the interrelationships between the two are also discussed in the chapters on class and race, the family and religion./

Field date: 1950-1951
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4, 5
Processed in 1969-1970

3: Hutchinson, Harry William. Race Relations in a Rural Community of the Bahian Recôncavo. In Charles Wagley, editor, Race and Class in Rural Brazil, pp. 16-46. Second edition. New York: International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, 1963.

4 plates

HRAF copy.

/This source, dealing with race and culture relations in the community of Vila Recôncavo, contains much of the condensed basic data which were later to be greatly expanded and developed further in the author's book Village and Plantation Life in Northeastern Brazil, appearing as 2: Hutchinson, in this file. The field work upon which this study is based later served as the basis for the author's dissertation at Columbia University. The data contained in this work relate to the culture history of the Bahian Recôncavo, the development of the sugar plantation system, the importance of slaves as a source of labor on these plantations, and with the abolition of slavery in the late 19th century, the absorption and assimilation of this slave population into Bahian society. The author attempts to show that African cultural influences and the particular set of patterns involving the large patriarchal family and the master-slave relations which took form on the plantations were significant factors in producing the present day class and race relationships in this region./

Field date: 1950-1951
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4, 5
Processed in 1969-1970

4: Pierson

cult groups, and the Bahian racial situation as it stands today. Although the racial situation in Brazil and the United States is compared and contrasted throughout the book, the situation in Brazil is more complex, as noted for example in the use of such terms as "preto" and "branco" which cannot be equated to "negro" and "white" as they are used in the United States since they are considered to be categories of social position as well as related to physical appearance (rather than race), and which terms vary not only with individuals but also with the same individual at different times. Social status in Brazil, therefore, is determined by an individual's competence rather than ethnic origin, and a Brazilian's loyalty is not to his race but to his country. This situation contrasts strongly to that in the United States where color and race are the determining factors of one's loyalties, and where persons of one race are expected to feel a mutual bond to one another. Where prejudice exists in Brazil it is class oriented, rather than based on race or color./

Field date: 1935-1937
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Sociologist-4, 5
Processed in 1969-1970

5: Azevedo, Thales de. Les élites de couleur dans une ville brésilienne [The colored elite in a Brazilian city]. Photographs by Pierre Verger. Paris, UNESCO, 1953.

Pp. 108; 12 plates.

Yale: CF2651 S13 A94. [HRAF MS pp. i, 144].

Translated from the French for the Human Relations Area Files by Frieda Schütze.

/This source is an account on the racial situation in Bahian society. According to it, upward social mobility is somewhat impeded but by no means precluded by negroid racial origin. Evaluation of the individual is based rather on personal merit and position within a particular social class than on race. The lack of racial separatism is particularly true for the educational system and liberal professions. It should be noted that on Page 88, footnote 1, the author speaks of additional field work he has done in the state of Bahia; in particular, reference to a series of anthropometric studies he made in 1944 and 1947. This would indicate that the author's knowledge of the area is much broader than the 1951 date in the heading would indicate./

Field date: Feb. 1951-Oct. 1951
Analysts: Sigrid Khera, marker
John Beierle, checker

Evaluation: Physical Anthropologist, Sociologist-5
Processed in 1970

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000 25 mm. The upper limit is less definite; humidity as well as rainfall is an important factor in determining the danger of molding. In the sugar cane area, in addition to September rainfall, the precipitation retained from the months preceding September is clearly a factor in soil moisture at harvest time and is thus related to the sugar content and the difficulties of harvesting.

[30]The specific harvest requirements of the crop and the debts of the small farmer combine to force the harvesting and processing--no matter how unfavorable the precipitation.

[113] [31]Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II. Mata as used in the census classification signifies forest in general, and perhaps also savanna. Mata, except in this specific discussion of the utilization of wild vegetation, will be used throughout the study to refer only to the littoral forest.

[127] [32]The map of wild vegetation of the Recôncavo is derived from a private map of Dr. Geraldo C. Pereira Pinto, of the Instituto Agronômico Lêste. The descriptions of the three vegetation types are based upon his classification, but have been expanded and interpreted on the basis of field observations of this study.

[113] [33]Preston E. James, Latin America (New York: The Odyssey Press, 1952), pp. 413, 439.

[192] [34]Sertão is not strictly a vegetation type, for this term is applied also to all that part of the northeastern interior which is sparsely settled and under-developed, even where scrub-forest is not characteristic. In Bahia, however, caatinga and sertão are often used interchangeably to designate both the scrub-forest vegetation and the general area where the scrub-forest is dominant.

[35]Several vegetation maps show an area of tropical savanna as a continuous belt, parallel to the coast of Bahia, in such a position that it should cross the Recôncavo. For example, James, op. cit., p. 413, map 81, "Northeast Brazil Natural Vegetation." This would raise the question of the utilization of these grasslands. However, savanna (campo cerrado) was not observed in the course of the field investigation in the Recôncavo, nor did the botanists or agronomists who were interviewed identify any local vegetation as campo cerrado. A grassland area of very limited size was observed in the northern part of the município of Salvador, on extremely sandy soil, but steppe rather than savanna seemed the appropriate term for this almost treeless enclave. Elsewhere in the Recôncavo trees rather than grasses dominate the uncultivated landscape, and the term savanna seems inappropriate.

[36]For a listing of the municípios in each sub-region see Appendix A.

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000 Footnotes - Chapter III.

[113] [1]See section by Pedro Calmon in Companhia Energia Electrica da Bahia, Curious and Interesting Facts Concerning the First European Settlement Made in the New World (Information Sheet No. 1. Bahia: Companhia Energia Electrica da Bahia, [1931]), p. 5. In addition to the specific quotations, much of the historical detail which follows on Bahia and the Recôncavo has been taken from this source.

[114] According to Calmon (see page 3) Amerigo Vespucci was in the first group of Europeans to enter the Baía de Todos os Santos (1501) and was the first to lead an expedition inland from the Bay (1503). It was not until 1534 that the first attempt at colonization was made; this initial colony was destroyed by hostile Indians. The next attempt was in 1549.

[2]Spanish settlements in the Caribbean-Gulf of Mexico area, such as Havana, Jamaica, Darién, and San Juan, were established between 1509 and 1515. In Brazil, São Vincente (near present Santos) and Recife were established in 1532 and 1531, respectively. Rio de Janeiro (1555) and Buenos Aires (1580) are younger than Salvador.

[3]Negro slaves were reported in Bahia in 1538, after the first settlement attempt but before the official founding of the permanent colony. João Pandiá Calogeras, A History of Brazil, trans. and ed. Percy Alvin Martin (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1939), p. 21.

[4]Luis Amaral, Historia Geral da Agricultura Brasileira (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1939-40), II, 82-83; 192-193. In addition to the material specifically credited to Amaral, this three-volume agricultural history has been one of the basic sources for much of the historical analysis which follows.

[5]It is not clear whether these two indigenous crops were borrowed directly from the local Indians or were received indirectly via other Brazilian colonies.

[6]In 1583, thirty-six sugar mills were reported in Bahia. Amaral, op. cit., II, 82.

[113] [7]Caio Prado Junior, História Econômica do Brasil (second edition; São Paulo: Editôra Brasiliense Limitada, 1949), p. 40. This volume has been the basic general economic source for the historical analysis which follows.

[113] [8]Amaral, op. cit., I, 194, citing Gabriel Soares de Souza, Tratado Descriptivo do Brasil, [1587].

[9]In northeastern Brazil, as in a number of other areas in Latin America, Indian slavery failed as a labor source because of a basic lack of supply, bitter resistance to enslavement, and a high death rate in captivity. Calogeras, op. cit., p. 21.

[10]Ibid., p. 26.

[11]Ibid.

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[113] [12]Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, No. 8 (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço Gráfico do Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatistica, 1949), pp. 59-80.

[114] The Zona Fisiográfica Centro-Litoral (Central-Littoral Physiographic zone) is one of a series of nine so-called physiographic zones used as major subdivisions in Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, No. 8. It includes all 21 of the Recôncavo municipios, and 17 others.

[13]Amaral, op. cit., II, 367.

[14]Amaral, op. cit., II, 366, and Calogeras, op. cit., p. 31.

[137] [15]Manihot utilissima, called cassava, manioc, or, sometimes, tapioca in English and mandioca in Portuguese.

[16]Amaral, op. cit., II, 11-12.

[17]Prado, op. cit., pp. 40-41.

[18]Minas, Yorbes, Geges, Hausa, and other Guinea Coast peoples.

[113] See T. Lynn Smith, Brazil: People and Institutions (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1946), pp. 168-169.

[194] [191] [19]African religions, for example, survive in a modified form in the candomblé (fetish) cults and in the supernatural conceptions prevalent in the Recôncavo.

[20]Neither the total number of slaves imported into Brazil nor the number brought to the Recôncavo is known. Calogeras, op. cit., pp. 27-28, estimates the number as 40,000 per year in the seventeenth century, 50,000 per year in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, or 14,000,000 for the 300 years of the slave trade. Another source has estimated that 1,200,000 slaves were imported between 1550 and 1850, a more reasonable figure. See section by Pedro Calmon in Curious and Interesting Facts Concerning the First European Settlement Made in the New World, p. 9. It is also asserted in this latter source that "more than half remained in Bahia;" this is less reasonable.

[21]Prado, op. cit., p. 46.

[216] [22]A rope-like twist of dark, often sweetened, tobacco wound in a large coil of 50 to 100 lbs.

[23]At the end of the seventeenth century Bahia was exporting 7,500 tons of sugar per year; Pernambuco 5,400 tons, and Rio de Janeiro 5,350 tons. At this same period Bahia exported 25,000 rolls of tobacco (perhaps 1,125 tons at 45 kg. per roll) compared with 2,500 rolls from Pernambuco and Alagoas. Calogeras, op. cit., p. 31.

[433] [24]Calogeras, op. cit., pp. 30-31, cites João Antonil, Cultura e Opulencia do Brasil, por sus Drogas e Minas (1711), who says that in 1711 the mean sugar export--which must have been virtually the entire production--per engenho in Bahia was 52 tons, in Rio de Janeiro 41 tons, and in Pernambuco 22 tons. The weight is given in arrobas by Calogeras.

[25]Amaral, op. cit., II, 84.

[26]Calogeras, op. cit., pp. 38-39.

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[27]Prado, op. cit., p. 87.

[28]Prado, op. cit., p. 97.

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[29]See section by Pedro Calmon in Curious and Interesting Facts Concerning the First European Settlement Made in the New World, pp. 5-6.

[30]The number of people who went abroad must always have been small. The upper class as a whole seems to have been extremely provincial, so that the few cosmopolitans were very conspicuous.

[31]Amaral, op. cit., I, 91-92, citing Pizarro, Balbi, Manoel Antonio de Souza, and Spix and Martius for population data of the colonial period.

[32]Amaral, op. cit., I, 73.

[33]See section by Pedro Calmon in Curious and Interesting Facts Concerning the First European Settlement Made in the New World, pp. 9. At this time Rio de Janeiro, which had been the national capital since 1763, became also the largest city.

BB [162]

[34]Amaral, op cit., I, 91, after Balbi, gives the following breakdown [1819]

	Total	Slave	Negro	Mulatto
White	192,000			
Indian	13,000			
Mulatto-Free	80,000			80,000
Mulatto-Slave	35,000	35,000		35,000
Negro-Free	49,000		49,000	
Negro-Slave	489,000	489,000	489,000	
	858,000	524,000	538,000	115,000

after Pizarro [1822]

Free	419,432
Slave	173,476
Total	592,908

[35]Amaral, op. cit., II, 85.

EB [563] [463]

[36]The Paulista bandeirantes were wandering cultivators, herdsmen, and slave raiders who moved out of São Paulo to penetrate into most of the interior of Brazil south of the Amazon Valley. Their society was, in comparison with that of the Recôncavo, equalitarian.

EB [635]

[37]The Central-South as used here includes the states of Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais, and São Paulo.

[38]Amaral, op. cit., II, 86.

[39]Ibid., p. 98.

[40]The discussion of the twentieth century reorganization of the sugar industry and of the tobacco industry outlines the general lines of development. A fuller discussion will follow in the chapters on crops and cropland distribution (Chapter V), crop regions and systems (Chapter VI), and marketing, transportation and processing of agricultural products (Chapter X).

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[41]Prado, op. cit., p. 255.

[42]At this point the terminology of the sugar industry becomes even more complex. Engenho, engenho central, and usina all refer either to the industrial and the agricultural segments of the industry or to the mill alone. Indication will be made, where necessary, when the term refers to the mill only. Fornecedores (furnishers) are usually called fazendas (a type of plantation, although elsewhere the term might apply to a cattle ranch). Some fazendas were former engenhos and have sometimes retained that name. An additional complication is the fact that "engenho" occasionally is used as part of a name where there is not necessarily a functioning mill or plantation. In addition, fazendas may be owned and operated as part of a large usina.

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[578]

[43]This period was characterized by a bitter struggle, chiefly on the political level, between the fornecedores and the large mill owners. In the end superior economic resources, coupled with political influence, enabled the large mill owners to defeat but not completely dispossess the fornecedores in the Recôncavo.

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[44]By 1940, over one-half of the people of Brazil lived in the central southern region. Because of the higher standard of living, the people in this area accounted for much more than one-half of the internal market for sugar.

B
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[113]

[45]Conselho Nacional de Estatística, Anuário Estatística do Brasil--1953, Ano XIV (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço Gráfico do Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, 1953), p. 189.

[46]Amaral, op. cit., II, 369.

[47]Ibid., p. 370.

[48]The problems will be discussed in the chapters on population (Chapter IV) and on marketing, transportation, and processing of agricultural products (Chapter X).

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245 433 127 128 been indicated, banana area and production do not have a consistent relationship, no attempt has been made to alter the map of cultivated area for bananas.

249 433 127 Tobacco. Although there is a large range in tobacco yields within the Recôncavo as calculated from the official data, only those for São Filipe seem completely unacceptable. If the area of this município were at the high level—3,600 hectares--indicated and the given production data are correct, then its yield was an infinitesimal 190 kilogrâms per hectare. The official production data are, in approximate terms, confirmed by other sources.[1] However, the area indicated by the official data is much higher than either the data 249 433 127 128 of Marques or field experience would indicate. Estimates from the mean of surrounding municípios, from the mean yield calculated from Marques, and from the area given by Marques adjusted to the 1948 level of production, give the following figures, respectively: 675 hectares, 692 hectares, and 700 hectares. The median of these figures—692 hectares--was selected and used in preparing Maps 28, 29, and 33 in Chapter V.

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[1]Antonio Monanto Marques, op. cit., pp. 1-85; and Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, Contribuição do Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, pp. 1-16.

[113]

4: Pierson, Donald. Negroes in Brazil: A Study of Race Contact at Bahia. Foreword by Herman R. Lantz. Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1967.

Pp. lxxxiii, 420; 16 tables; 3 appendices; glossary; bibliography; 2 indices.

HRAF copy. DLC card No.: 66-15058.

/This work is a "classic" study of race relations and culture contact in Brazil, specifically in the seaport town of Bahia (Salvador), where the author spent twenty-two out of his twenty-four month's total field work time. The study, which was first published in 1942, went out of print after only a few impressions, and it was not until 1967 that it was republished. This present edition had been updated with new material including a new introduction by the author in which he reanalyzes his original work in terms of the events which have transpired since the first edition and integrating into it data gathered from other scholarly publications. This introduction now includes the author's analysis of the difference between prejudice and discrimination. Also included in this revised edition is a complete glossary and additional supplementary bibliographies.

The source begins with a description of the seaport of Bahia, and then proceeds with a penetrating discussion of the racial history and cultural contact of its inhabitants, including data on the introduction of Africans to Brazil as slaves, their eventual assimilation, intermarriage, and status in the society, the preservation of certain aspects of the African heritage to the present-day, as evidenced by the Candomblé or

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4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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also with a series of attitudes characteristic of a *statistical aggregate* rather than of a group, in the sociological sense of that term. Melville J. Herskovits (1942:35) also noted that this attitude "is personal and not institutionalized."

Mario de Andrade (1939), a perceptive man of color and of prestige in São Paulo, called our attention many years ago to a tendency to exaggerate the role of color and thus to confuse discrimination based strictly on color differences with discrimination on the basis of class differences. Referring to "a very curious documentation" presented by "a writer of colored origin" during a public address in São Paulo, Mario de Andrade writes that "in spite of its being very interesting," this documentation "appeared to be little convincing as evidence of color prejudice. . . . It was a documentation of class and not of color." Tavares de Sá (36) also has noted that "a coincidence between social position and the amount of colored blood makes one sometimes take for race prejudice what is merely class prejudice"; and this is the opinion also of Guerreiro Ramos when he writes that the frustrations of men of color in Brazil "are attributed to racial prejudice when, many times, they should be attributed to that of class."[13]

Noting what has impressed many persons, namely, that class in Brazil coincides largely with color, Nestor Duarte (171–72) of Bahia reminds us, however, that "it is more an economic and social than a color criterion that divides brancos, prêtos and mixed-bloods in Brazilian society"; while Felte Bezerra (1956:504) of Aracaju, observing that color and class largely coincide there also, reminds us, nevertheless, that "he who rises in class frees himself from the peril of slights or barriers by reason of color." Bastide also

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[13] Interview in *Diário Trabalhista* (Rio de Janeiro), March 24, 1946.

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home" (Florestan Fernandes 1955:160; Bastide 1955:163); and also by the acceptance—and use—on the part of certain individuals of dark color who have risen in rank of derogatory statements regarding colored persons, but only with reference to those in ranks *below* themselves (Bastide 1955: 163).

Much emphasis is laid by some writers upon the presence in the lower ranks of the Brazilian economic order of a large mass of underprivileged colored; and this fact repeatedly is cited as evidence of a disharmonious racial situation in Brazil, and even of race, or at least color, prejudice. It is claimed that this fact defines the racial situation. In a restricted sense, it may do so to some extent, in that it points out the economic effects coming down to today of the long "shadow of the plantation," in the expressive phrase of Charles S. Johnson;[21] but in a more inclusive sense it is only one aspect of the total situation. Moreover, it often is either assumed or left to be assumed by implication that this unequal distribution is due entirely to discrimination, hostility, and prejudice on the part of brancos. This is too simple a conclusion. It should not be forgotten that hundreds of thousands of brancos are themselves in these lower ranks. In fact, the great mass of the Brazilian population, *both colored and branco,* is still concentrated on these low economic levels, "belonging to the same class, without regard to color," as Willems has observed, "and not to two different class systems, as in the United States."

Besides, there always has been a great "gulf" between the lower and the upper classes in Brazil, a "gulf" which is extremely difficult to cross, whatever be the color of the individual. Except in recent years—and only in a few metro-

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[21] *Shadow of the Plantation* (Chicago, 1934).

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of this problem will appear elsewhere. Particularly useful in considering the circumstances involved, it seems to us, are the works of Stanley Lane-Poole (1886), H. Morse Stephens (1903), S. P. Scott (1904), Sir Harry H. Johnston (1910), James Bryce (1912), Gilberto Freyre (especially 1936, 1937, 1959), Arthur Ramos (1939), E. Franklin Frazier (1944), Thales de Azevedo (1955a, 1955b, 1959), Frank Tannenbaum (1947, 1960), C. R. Boxer (1953), René Ribeiro (1956), Stanley M. Elkins (1959), Eric Williams (1960), Sidney W. Mintz (1961), and Marvin Harris (1964) among others, including a host of able travelers and observers in Brazil.

Since our original study at Bahia was made, the Brazilian slave trade, or the character and function of the slave institution on plantations, on smaller holdings and in the towns and cities, or the extent and significance of slave revolts, or the abolition movement and its aftermath, have been further studied by Affonso d'Escragnolle Taunay (1941), Alexander Marchant (1942), Caio Prado Júnior (1945), Edison Carneiro (1947), Maurício Goulart (1950), Florestan Fernandes (1955), Stanley Stein (1957), Octávio Ianni (1962), Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1962), C. R. Boxer (1962, 1963), and others. African cultural elements still extant in Brazil, particularly those associated with the Afro-Brazilian cult, but with attention at times also to present-day forms of language, music, songs, dances, games, and other cultural phenomena, have been further described and analyzed since our original study was undertaken by (among others) João da Silva Campos, Aydano de Couto Ferraz, Ruth Landes, Melville J. Herskovits, and Edison Carneiro (1940, 1944, 1961) at Bahia; Roger Bastide, also at Bahia and elsewhere in northern Brazil (1945, 1946, 1957b, 1960, 1961); René Ribeiro (1952a, 1954), and Waldemar Valente at Recife;

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Octavio da Costa Eduardo in Maranhão; Seth Leacock at Belém; Duglas Teixeira Monteiro at Vitória; Nelson de Senna in Minas Gerais; Candido Procópio Ferreira de Camargo in São Paulo; and several authors with a more general reference, including, especially, Arthur Ramos (1938b, 1942, 1943, 1949). Frazier (1942) studied the structure and function of the family among colored persons at Bahia.

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If this were a revised edition, certain alterations or additions would be made; for instance, it probably would be advantageous either to bring over into English or to identify more extensively several terms which were left in Portuguese, either because translation would have distorted meaning or because the author was in doubt regarding an *adequate* rendering in English and unable to resolve the problem by a return to the field or through correspondence, yet desirous to be as precise as possible. An effort was made to define each term when first introduced; but this is perhaps inadequate, especially where the term appears again, later, several pages away. To obviate this difficulty somewhat, a glossary is appended to the present edition.[30]

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Today, we probably would use a substitute for "branco da Bahia" (p. 139 and *passim*), since this term is ordinarily used only outside Bahia, and—more especially—since we subsequently have learned that it sometimes carries a certain depreciatory connotation.[31] Besides, it is subject to some ambiguity, as José Valadares (1943), in a perhaps humorous

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[30] A few words which were spelled according to the custom prevailing at the time, previous to the "spelling reform" some years later, should be altered; for example, cathedrático (p. 189), is now spelled "catedrático," and paranympho (p. 190), "paraninfo."

[31] Ribeiro (1956:128) reports this term used at Recife when scoffing at persons "the legitimacy of whose pretentions to being white is subject to question."

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times, of uncle with niece and aunt with nephew, as observers have noted.

With reference to hypothesis 20, a few highly sensitive mixed-bloods who have risen in rank have become obsessed by a repugnance for the color which continued to symbolize low status, a repugnance which is reflected, at least symbolically, in word and act. This feeling, however, does not seem to be the result of the internalization of external conflict. At least little, if any, evidence of this sort has been turned up. In discussing several of these cases, Bastide (1941a:32) makes an illuminating comment when he writes, "An interesting paradox is that the effect of prejudice upon the subconscious is stronger *the less visible* it is."[38] Moreover, as Frazier (1944:265) has observed, "there was no segregated colored community with which they could be identified" and in terms of which they would become "marginal men." The feelings in question resulted from brooding over a sense of inferiority which derived not so much from actual personal experiences of discrimination as from internally-generated pressures, a fact clearly evident if one contrasts the feelings of these men with the markedly different ones of a host of similar mixed-bloods, including Machado de Assis, André Rebouças and Theodoro Sampaio (who wrote the autobiographical sketch beginning on p. 353).

For some reason, the matters mentioned in hypothesis 22 (p. 349) have attracted most attention, although they would not seem to us to be of that importance. As this hypothesis now stands, however, it perhaps is too brief for clarity; and for that reason we have given considerable attention above to the matters mentioned in it.

Frazier[39] has with justice called attention to a measure of

[38] Italics ours.

[39] *The Negro in the United States* (New York, 1949), p. 675.

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is that of a racial or cultural minority seeking to achieve, in a community in which it is regarded as in some sense and to some degree an alien, a status that is at once secure and unqualified by the stigma of any sort of inferiority. Elsewhere the race problem may take the form of a nationalistic struggle in which the native peoples, within the limits of an imperium where they have been conquered but not assimilated, are seeking, if not national independence, then some further measure of self-determination. This is the case of India. It may presently be, if the present German government succeeds in carrying out its program, the case of Europe. 121*

The expansion of the racial horizon, which has changed and is changing current conceptions of the race problem in the United States and elsewhere, has brought about—and this is particularly true of sociology and social anthropology—something like a reorientation of the social sciences, with respect to the race problem and to all that is ordinarily included under race relations.[1]

Social anthropology is, apparently, no longer regarded, to the extent that it once was, as a purely historical science, interested mainly in unraveling and tracing to their sources the varied threads that make up the cultural patterns of primitive societies.

Anthropology, as it has become "functional," has become less interested in cultural diffusion and more interested in acculturation and in the processes by which cultural traits have been not merely diffused but integrated into those larger and more complex cultural patterns we call civilizations.

[1] Edgar T. Thompson (ed.), *Race Relations and the Race Problem* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1939). [113]

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*121 Anthropology has begun, also, in recent years to turn its attention to contemporary social problems, including that of education. In England anthropologists have become technical advisers in colonial administration.[2] In the United States they are beginning to study "marginal peoples," that is to say, peoples who, under the influence of European culture, are now in the process, sometimes slowly but more often rapidly, of being assimilated and incorporated into an emerging world-society—the society which the expansion of Europe has brought into existence.[3]

The race problem has assumed new dimensions and new significance, likewise, with the recent researches of sociologists in the field of race and culture and in areas of observation and research immediately contiguous. Probably nothing has been more influential than the publication of the monumental work by W. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant*, in directing the attention of sociological students to the possibility and the importance of studies in the field of race and culture. Thomas and Znaniecki were the first, or almost the first, to call attention to the fact that the situation of the European immigrant in the United States can be defined in terms that imply its logical relation to that of the Negro, even though the Negro, in the Americas, North and South and particularly in the West Indies, is not an alien or an immigrant but has become, in the course

•[113] [2] See G. Gordon Brown and A. McD. Bruce Hutt, *Anthropology in Action: An Experiment in the Iringa District of the Iringa Province, Tanganyika Territory* (London: International Institute of African Languages and Cultures; Oxford University Press, 1935). See also unpublished papers contributed to a symposium on "Education and the Cultural Process," in connection with the celebration of the Seventy-fifth Anniversary of Fisk University, April, 1941.

[113] [3] See Robert Redfield, *The Folk Culture of Yucatan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941).

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of some three hundred years' residence, an indigenous race intimately related by blood to the Indian who preceded him. 121*

Perhaps I should add, now that I have mentioned the *Polish Peasant*, that it was the rather elaborate "methodological note" with which the authors prefaced that study which first defined "social attitudes" and indicated the way in which that concept could be used in characterizing local cultures as well as in measuring, in some fashion, cultural and institutional changes.[4]

If I have ventured by way of introduction to this study of race relations in Brazil to sketch the outlines of an expanding though as yet very little integrated field of sociological and anthropological research, it has been less with the purpose of reporting on the state of knowledge in that field at the moment than of indicating the context in which this study had been conceived and the place it seems to have in the sequence of studies that have preceded and which will presumably follow it.

In suggesting the possibility of future studies to follow this one, I am reckoning with two facts: (1) that Brazil is one of the more conspicuous melting-pots of races and cultures around the world where miscegenation and acculturation are obviously going on and (2) that a comparative study of the problematic aspects of race and culture is likely to have a special importance at this time when the structure of

[4] William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (1st ed.; Boston: Richard C. Badger, 1918–20; 2d ed.; New York: Alfred Knopf, 1927). Herbert Blumer, *Critiques of Research in the Social Sciences. I. An Appraisal of Thomas and Znaniecki's "The Polish Peasant in Europe and America"* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1939). As an illustration of how "attitudes" have been used in measuring fundamental institutional changes see Alfred Winslow Jones, *Life, Liberty, and Property: A Story of Conflict and a Measurement of Conflicting Rights* (New York and London: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1941). [113]

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[City of Salvador]

CHAPTER I

THE SEAPORT OF BAHIA

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JAMES BRYCE once wrote of the racial situation in Brazil: "It is a subject of study all the more interesting because the relations are . . . . different from those . . . . in the British colonies, in India, and in the United States."[1] Bryce might well have added that such differences constitute one of the more significant portions of any study of race relations. It is by investigating in intimate and concrete detail variant racial situations in different parts of the world and subsequently comparing and contrasting each set of conditions and circumstances that we are able to build up, case by case, a more complete knowledge of the race problem, its sources and nature. The more we see the United States and her problems through the perspective of a world-view--the more, in other words, we detach ourselves from the merely local and provincial—the more clearly will our own problems stand out.

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If one looks about in Brazil for a door, so to speak, through which he may enter to examine at first hand the Brazilian racial situation, he may well choose the picturesque old seaport of Bahia,[2] known affectionately in Brazil as "A Mulata Velha." For here the processes of racial adjustment have perhaps gone on longest and most persistently, have involved large numbers from each of the three basic human

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[1] *South America* (New York, 1912), p. 20.

[2] Bahia ("Bay") is pronounced *Bah-ee'-uh* and is written, in "simplified" spelling, Baía. The city is also known as São Salvador or, more correctly, Salvador ("Savior").

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At Bahia in 1807, 1809, 1813, 1816, 1826, 1827, 1828, and 1830, slave revolts broke out, terminating in the serious Malê uprising of 1835. There existed here, particularly in the nineteenth century, a well-established group of Negro disciples of the prophet Mohammed. Here Nagô was for a long time a Negro lingua franca (or, to use the corresponding Portuguese expression, a *lingua geral*), and Nagô is still occasionally to be heard among some of the older blacks. Here one might have encountered in the years just preceding abolition in 1888 an interesting paradox: while at home Bahia clung tenaciously to slavery, she was known abroad for the eloquence of her abolition orators.[3] Here, also, one might have observed the gradual fusion of Catholic belief and ritual with African mythology and religious practice, evidences of which may be seen today in *candomblés*, or fetish-cult centers, like that of Gantois, for example, whose ceremonies have been carried on in the same sacred place for many decades.

In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries Bahia became one of the world's great sugar centers where a small aristocracy, as is attested today by the pretentious edifices still standing, achieved great wealth. As early as 1587 there were forty-seven sugar *engenhos*[4] in and about Bahia, and

[3] See Luiz Anselmo da Fonseca, *A escravidão, o clero e o abolicionismo* (Bahia, 1887), *passim*. This book, although obviously written as abolition propaganda, cites names, places, and dates to support its contentions and does not overlook negative cases.

[4] Each *engenho* consisted of a sugar plantation and a mill for processing the cane. Those at Bahia often had a capacity of a thousand tons or more yearly. Each was largely a self-sustaining economic unit, dependent upon the labor of numbers of Negro slaves. H. Morse Stephens says (*Portugal* [New York, 1903], p. 228) that sugar cane was imported into Brazil from the Madeira Islands in 1548.

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CHAPTER II

THE COMING OF THE AFRICANS

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THE population of Bahia in 1585 included at least three to four thousand Negroes.[1] During the succeeding century the black portion of the city's inhabitants increased to such an extent that it is said a traveler "might have supposed himself in Negroland."[2] Frézier in 1714 estimated the proportion of blacks to whites in Bahia to be at that time twenty to one, which is probably an overstatement, although the preponderance of Negroes was undoubtedly considerable.[3] Approximately one hundred years later, in 1807, an *alistamento* for military service enumerated nearly twice as many blacks as whites, or approximately the same number of Negroes as both whites and mixed-bloods combined.[4] Twelve years later, in 1819, Conselheiro Velloso

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[1] A. G. Keller, *Colonization* (Boston, 1908), p. 145. Gabriel Soares (*Roteiro do Brasil*, p. 126, quoted by Pedro Calmon, *Historia social do Brasil* [3 vols.; São Paulo, 1937-39, I, 179) puts the number of Negroes able to bear arms in Bahia in 1587 at four thousand. The Jesuit Anchieta estimated the population in 1583 to include three thousand Negroes, a figure thought by Vasconcellos to be an underestimation (see Salomão de Vasconcellos, "A escravatura africana em Minas Geraes," *Jornal do Commercio* [Rio], November 20, 1938).

[2] Robert Southey, *History of Brazil* (3 vols.; London, 1810), II, 674.

[3] At approximately the same time, Cook estimated the proportion in Rio de Janeiro to be seventeen to one (Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 175). Each visitor may have been more familiar with the area immediately about the docks where a greater predominance of Negro workers would naturally be found. It is also probably true that the mixed-bloods were, in each case, included with the blacks.

[4] The totals were: blacks, 25,502; mixed-bloods, 11,350; whites, 14,260 (see João Pandiá Calogeras, "A politica exterior do imperio—as origens,"

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rural areas, or in the streets of the cities, on the hunt, at parties, or at church, black and white were constantly to be seen in each other's company. And since human beings, wherever they come into close and uninterrupted contact upon an intimate personal basis, sooner or later tend to lay personal claims upon one another, it is not surprising to find that ties of enduring sentiment arose, which tended gradually to break down the formal barriers between the races and to modify the nature of slavery.

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It is, of course, probably true that the Mohammedan conception of the slave exercised considerable influence over the original form of African slavery in Portugal itself. The Arabian prophet, it is said, while unable to do away with an ancient institution, "did his utmost to soften the rigors of slavery." After conceding to his importuning followers that "God hath ordained" the slave institution, Mohammed added: "Therefore, him whom God hath ordained to be the slave of his brother, his brother must give him of the food which he eateth himself, and of the clothes wherewith he clotheth himself, and not order him to do anything beyond his power. . . . . A man who ill-treats his slave will not enter into Paradise." Thus

> there is no more commendable action in Mohammedan morals than to free slaves, and such enfranchisement is enjoined by the Prophet especially as an atonement for an undeserved blow or other injustice. In Andalusia, the slaves upon the estates that had passed . . . . into the possession of Moslems were almost in the position of small farmers; their Mohammedan masters, whose trade was war, and who despised heartily such menial occupations as tilling the soil, left them free to cultivate the land as they pleased, and only insisted on a fair return of products.[19]

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[19] Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Story of the Moors in Spain* (New York and London, 1886), p. 48. Cf. also: "The Mohammedan slave was rarely

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Mild though its original form may have been, slavery in Brazil was not, as we have already seen, without at least occasional evidences of brutality. The fact is that slavery in Brazil was *both* mild *and* severe. But as an institution continuing over centuries it became more and more mild. Cases of brutality ordinarily occurred under conditions of absentee ownership or in fear of slave insurrection, or arose in dealing with recalcitrant and unsubjected individuals, many of them at the hands of mixed-blood or Negro overseers who in this way unconsciously compensated for otherwise limited social effectiveness.[31] Moreover, the relatively few cases which did occur were so ably used by such prominent political and intellectual leaders as Ruy Barbosa and Joaquim Nabuco that they have probably left behind in the Brazilian mind of today an exaggerated notion of the cruelties of slavery. The important point to note is that, under circumstances of intimate, personal contact, the institution of slavery, with its occasional cases of harsh treatment, gradually lost its character as a political, and assumed that of a patriarchal and familial, institution.

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Obviously, there is inherent in slavery an economic consideration which has little regard for the interests of the slave himself. But wherever human beings live together in close proximity for any period of time there also tend to grow up *personal relations* which humanize whatever formal institutions have been set up. The opportunities in Brazil

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abused. . . . . His acceptance of the faith of Islam rendered his manumission easy. No stigma attached to his (subsequent) condition" (S. P. Scott, *History of the Moorish Empire in Europe* [Philadelphia, 1904], p. 660.

[31] Koster, reflecting over the fact that mulattoes, especially those who had formerly been slaves, "make bad masters," concluded that "the change of situation would lead to the same consequences in any race of human beings" (*op. cit.*, II, 177–78).

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tive women was similarly sponsored by the Dutch during their colonizing ventures in South Africa and in Java and later by the English in India—a policy which emerged in each case as a natural response to the actual conditions of settlement.

The first Dutch settlers in South Africa and in Java were, almost without exception, males who, in order to establish themselves on a racial and cultural frontier, took up with native women. The mixed-blood progeny of these unions was treated with tolerance and consideration and often sent to the Netherlands to be educated. It was only with the arrival of the Dutch housewives, after Cape Colony had been fairly established, that the attitude of the Dutch toward the mixed-bloods changed. Today there are probably few people in the world who oppose intermixture more vigorously than do the Boer descendants of these Dutch settlers.[13]

During the early years of English penetration in India intermarriage between the English and native Indians not only extensively took place but was encouraged as a deliberate policy by the English authorities. In 1678 the court of directors of the British East India Company wrote the president of Madras that

> the marriage of our soldiers to the native women of Fort St. George is a matter of such consequence to posterity that we shall be content to encourage it with some expense, and have been thinking for the future to appoint a *pagoda* to be paid to the mother of any child, that shall hereafter be born of any such future marriage, upon the day the child is christened, if you think this small encouragement will increase the number of such marriages.

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This policy in all probability did not so much initiate interracial crossing as recognize its existence in an informal

[13] Robert E. Park, "Race Relations and Certain Frontiers," in *Race and Culture Contacts*, ed. E. B. Reuter (New York, 1934), pp. 67–68.

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state. Unions were not confined to the lower classes but extended into even the upper social ranks, not only of the English, but of other European nationalities as well.[14]

Miscegenation and interracial marriage are perhaps always incidental to the expansion of a racial frontier. As Park has pointed out: "Transplanting a people, like transplanting any other organism, is a ticklish business, and interbreeding is one way of successfully accomplishing the transition."[15]

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Thus, the Brazilian society of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries came to be founded largely upon families in which Indian or part Indian women were the consorts and mothers.[16] At least this was generally true of the lower classes, but it was by no means limited exclusively to them.[17]

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These *de facto* unions were gradually "regularized by the church into Christian marriage," thus lending the powerful sanction of the ecclesiastical authority, chief guardian of the mores in a sacred society, to interracial crossing. The church was joined in this policy by the state, which legalized mixed unions. Thus, neither church nor state injected any "strain for consistency"[18] into the colonial mores which had grown up quite naturally in response to the exigencies of colonization but instead themselves offered support to the "definitions of the situation"[19] already laid down in the prevailing attitudes.

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[14] See Cedric Dover, *Half-caste* (London, 1937), pp. 117 ff.

[15] *Op. cit.*, p. 57.

[16] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

[17] E.g., the *mameluca* descendants of Caramurú married into prominent families.

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[18] See William Graham Sumner, *Folkways* (Boston, 1906), p. 5.

[19] See W. I. Thomas, *Primitive Behavior* (New York and London, 1937), pp. 8–9.

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The mating in Brazil of Portuguese men with native women was probably facilitated by the fact that many early colonizers were Moçarabes from southern Portugal, who had long been acquainted with the darker peoples and in whom "consciousness of race" was reputedly weak.[20] In fact, in some cases at least, African blood may have flowed in their veins.

It is possible that the first experience of the Portuguese with a darker race was the experience of a conquered people with their more swarthy conquerers. For the Moors, whose occupation of Portugal extended over more than five hundred years (711–1244), were perhaps darker in pigmentation than the Iberian peoples among whom, as lords of a conquered land, they settled. At least we know that their advance into the Iberian peninsula was led by the Berbers of northern Africa, whom Ripley describes as possessed of a slightly concave nose which in profile suggests the Negro, with hair varying from wavy to curly, beards rare, and body hair seldom heavy.[21] Ripley attributes their resemblance to the Negro to admixture with negroid tribes south of the Sahara.

If it is true that the Moors were of darker pigmentation than the Portuguese among whom they settled, men of dark hue had, at the time Brazil was colonized, been for centuries men of prestige in Portugal. They had brought in with them

[20] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 60. From the fifteenth century onward, Negroes were common even in Lisbon. Nicolau Clenard, French tutor of the (at that time) crown prince Dom Henrique, once wrote in a letter: "I believe there is in Lisbon a greater number of Moors and Negroes than of whites. There are nests of slaves in every house" (quoted from Domingos de Magalhães, *Os indigenas do Brasil*, by Luiz Anselmo da Fonseca, *A escravidão, o clero e o abolicionismo* [Bahia, 1887], p. 165).

[21] William Z. Ripley, *Races of Europe* (New York, 1899), pp. 277–78.

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a superior culture; were more learned in the arts and sciences. They had become the wealthy class who occupied the towns or lived in the principal castles and on the great estates. Consequently, it came to be considered an honor for Portuguese women to mate with them, and we know that such marriages often occurred, even among members of the royal family.[22] Thus, the Portuguese, long before the discovery of Brazil, were "accustomed to mixed unions and their offspring."[23]

If the Portuguese came to look upon the dark Moors, and the somewhat negroid Berbers among them, as objects of prestige and eventually as marriageable individuals, the importation into Portugal of African Negroes (who from 1433 on were introduced in considerable numbers,[24] particularly as agricultural laborers in the Algarves at that time almost depopulated by the long wars of the Moorish expulsion) would have found the Portuguese accustomed to associating on a basis of social equality with, or even being inferior to, people of dark color. Even a royal prince is known to have had intimate Negro associates, for King Affonso VI's chief delight as a boy, it is said, was to roam the streets of Lisbon "at the head of a troop of mulattoes and Negro slaves."[25] Traces of African descent are still today unmistakable in the population of Lisbon.[26]

In the Jesuit schools at Bahia in the sixteenth and seven-

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[22] Stephens, *op. cit.*, p. 23; Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Story of the Moors in Spain* (New York and London, 1886), pp. 48, 55, 247.

[23] Keller, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

[24] African slaves became so numerous that, by the middle of the sixteenth century, they were said to outnumber the free men of Lisbon.

[25] Stephens, *op. cit.*, p. 330.

[26] Noted by Dr. Robert E. Park on a recent visit to Lisbon.

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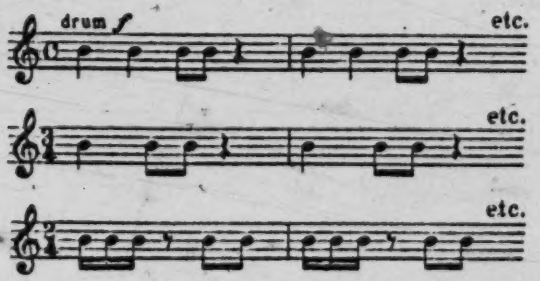
The *atabaques*, or drums, are indispensable to every ceremony. The heavy sound of the larger drum is intersected by the higher tones of the medium-sized and the small one. The rhythm is characterized by one-tone, interrupted syncopation and varies with each *orixá* invoked. Among the more frequent cadences noted by Arthur Ramos[10] are the following:



For the occasions on which an invoked *orixá* "delays" in manifesting himself, even after the tempo of his invocation is greatly increased, there is a special rhythm—vibrant, rapid, continuous, unsyncopated—known as *adarrum*, which the followers of the cult say no *orixá* can possibly "resist." It is the following monotonous rhythm:

Although the instrumental music of the *candomblé* is quite monotonous, as is also the hand-clapping which often accompanies it, the vocal accompaniment is polyphonic. The

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[10] "Os instrumentos musicaes dos candomblés da Bahia," *Bahia Medica*, III (July, 1932), 194.

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all of whom represent the African tradition in its "purest" form—is, throughout the fetish world, very great."

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two thousand persons were present, including members of the Irmandade of Rosario Church, dressed in their robes. The coffin, which was, in keeping with Anninha's request, quite modest, had over it the robe she had worn as a member of this Irmandade of which she was so proud, and was carried on the shoulders of the Brothers of Nossa Senhora do Rosario and of São Benedicto. The crowd of mourners blocked traffic in Rua Dr. Seabra for more than half an hour. Some *filhas de santo* wept unceasingly. Others related the virtues of the kind Anninha.

"When the coffin, carried by pious hands, entered the large gate of the cemetery, the *atabaques* broke out into African rhythms, while sad voices rose in the African songs of the *seita* to which the illustrious *mãe de santo* belonged.

"In the chapel of the cemetery, Canon Assis Curvello repeated the *encommendação*, and her body was laid away in a recently opened crypt.

"Then several orators spoke, among them Snr. Alvaro MacDowell de Oliveira in the name of the União das Seitas Afro-Brasileiras da Bahia, the journalist Edison Carneiro, and representatives of the Centro Cruz Santa do Aché de Okô Afonjá and of the Irmandade of Rosario Church. When the ceremony was over, two omnibuses carried a large number of the friends of Anninha to São Gonçalo do Retiro, where they took part in the preparatory ritual for the African funeral ceremony of Axêxê, to be held seven days after the death of the beloved leader of the *terreiro* of Aché de Okô Afonjá. This ceremony will consist of rites for the eternal peace of the dead *mãe de santo* and will be participated in by *ogans*, *filhas de santo*, *paes de santo*, and other friends of the deceased."

" This chapter is primarily based upon the author's personal experience as a visitor at numerous ceremonies in eighteen *seitas* at Bahia and as a participant over a period of several months as an *ogan* in the *candomblé* of Pae Procopio in Matatú. For further information see, in addition to the works of Nina Rodrigues, Arthur Ramos, Manoel Querino, and Edison Carneiro previously cited: Padre Étienne Ignace Brasil, "Le Fetichisme des negres du Brésil," *Anthropos*, III (1908), 881–904; Gonçalves Fernandes, *Xangôs do Nordeste* (Rio, 1937) and *O folklore magico do Nordeste* (Rio, 1938); João Varella, *Cosme e Damião* (Bahia, 1938); the novels *O feiticeiro* by Xavier Marques (Bahia, 1922) and *Jubiabá* by Jorge Amado (Rio, 1935); and newspaper accounts such as "Creado o conselho africano da Bahia," *Estado da Bahia*, August 4, 1937, and "No mundo cheio de mysterios dos espiritos e 'paes de santo,'" *ibid.*, May 14, 1936.

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CHAPTER XI

BLACK AND WHITE AT BAHIA

THE foregoing chapters have dealt with some of the consequences, in one part of the New World, of what has been the greatest population movement in all history, namely, the series of migrations associated with the expansion of western Europe. The Portuguese, with whom we are here particularly concerned, were in the forefront of this outward movement which now for over five centuries has been bringing European peoples and European cultures into intimate contact with native peoples and native cultures all over the habitable world. Park,[1] McKenzie,[2] and other writers have pointed out in some detail the chain of circumstances occasioned by this expansion which, in fact, has ushered in all that is peculiarly characteristic of the modern world. 121

The expansion of Europe is a distinct historical process. It constitutes an era of world-history which had a definite beginning and which, as Park has pointed out,[3] is now at or quite near an end. It has, therefore, a unitary character which makes it a thing that can be studied like any other natural object. Moreover, it is subject to comparison; simi-

[1] Robert E. Park, "Race Relations and Certain Frontiers," in *Race and Culture Contacts*, ed. E. B. Reuter (New York, 1934), pp. 57–85; and in Andrew W. Lind, *An Island Community: Ecological Succession in Hawaii* (Chicago, 1938), Introduction. [113]

[2] R. D. McKenzie, "Industrial Expansion and the Interrelations of Peoples," in *Race and Culture Contacts*, ed. E. B. Reuter, pp. 19–33.

[3] Lind, *op. cit.*, pp. x–xi.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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562 high society of the city in spite of my letters of introduction and my efforts to enter several homes."[8]

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564 Another important question to raise is, "Why did not the structure of Brazilian slave society, like that of the United States, pass over into caste?" The situation here is some-
567 what more clear. The function of caste appears to be that of preserving inviolate the racial integrity of a dominant group. Caste in India apparently arose in an attempt on the part of incoming Aryan peoples to preserve the status of their families against the consequences of intermixture with the conquered aboriginal tribes.[9] The prohibition of intermarriage excluded almost completely from the more intimate social contacts individuals from groups considered undesirable.

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563 In Brazil the characteristic tendency has always been just the reverse: namely, to incorporate eventually all ethnic
567 minorities into the dominant group. The contact of the Portuguese settlers with the imported Africans was, of course, originally that of master and slave. But out of the slave system which grew up there gradually emerged a moral order in which most whites and blacks, as we have seen, came to share a common life on an intimate, personal basis.

Men come together ordinarily because they are useful to one another. Under these circumstances they may regard each other for a long time as mere utilities. But human beings do not live for long, like plants, in relations that are merely symbiotic. For men, unlike plants, communicate. In this way they come to know one another's minds and to be responsive to one another's attitudes and sentiments. They find themselves, eventually, living as it were, each in the mind of all his neighbors. It is in this way that a moral order grows up in which,

[8] L. F. Tollenare, "Notas dominicais tomadas durante uma residencia no Brasil, 1816–1818" (portion relative to Pernambuco translated by Alfredo de Carvalho from the unpublished French manuscript), *Revista do Instituto Arqueologico e Geographico Pernambucano*, No. 61 (1905), pp. 129 and 250.

a [113] [9] Sir Herbert H. Risley, *The People of India* (2d ed.; Calcutta, 1915), pp. 264–65.

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It is true that the Europeans at Bahia, like all groups, are ethnocentric, and individual whites share a general feeling of the superiority of their group. Many of them are adverse to the (to them) strange and bizarre behavior represented by the *candomblé* ritual and other African cultural survivals. In some minds at least these acts have taken on a disgusting and even offensive character and may have evoked deeply rooted antipathies. However, these antagonisms are directed at *cultural* rather than at *racial* variations, and they tend to disappear when the Negro, as he is now rapidly doing, gives up his identification with African cultural forms and becomes assimilated into the European world. The antipathy does not extend, therefore, to the Negro as such but rather to the *Africano*, the foreigner, he who constitutes an alien cyst in the social organism. This attitude is not greatly different from that characteristic of descendants of the first English settlers in the United States toward recent immigrants from southern and eastern Europe who for a time continue to live much to themselves and to cling tenaciously to Old World customs and traditions.

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One might note that the Brazilian case of racial contact definitely supports Faris' challenge of a popular assumption which, confusing the customary with the natural, maintains that race prejudice is instinctive and hereditary.[12] If race prejudice were organic, it obviously would appear in all cases of racial contact. If, then, we discover cases in which it does not appear, the hypothesis that race prejudice is instinctive is no longer valid.

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What we find, then, in Bahia is a multiracial class society.

[12] Ellsworth Faris, "The Natural History of Race Prejudice," in *The Nature of Human Nature* (New York and London, 1937), chap. xxxii, pp. 357 ff.

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[1] The system of listing Brazilian names here employed is that adopted by the Bibliotheca Municipal of São Paulo.

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[SALVADOR]

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124 in Bahia society. Out of 48 of the individuals mentioned above, with whom I maintained more or less close relations, I interviewed 25 personally and I chose 20 among 80 with whom I had not had any contact; the other 11, almost all of them of the female sex, were interviewed by assistants connected with the investigation. We were thus able /6/ to talk to 20 Blacks and 36 mulattoes of different types, 12 of them women and 44 men who practiced the professions of lawyer, judge, physician, civil engineer, dentist, economist, professor, artist, contractor, merchant, official, not counting the priests and university students, several of whom, besides their principal occupations, devoted themselves to political, bureaucratic, educational, and social activities. Almost all the subjects in question are in modest circumstances, sometimes even very poor, and have attained positions of more or less great prestige. Their ages vary between 20 and 70 years, but with the majority ranging from 30 to 50. All are natives of Bahia or have lived there for a long time.

The interviews (1)

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1. On the techniques and advantages of this kind of interview, cf. Clyde Kluckholn /sic/, "The Personal Document in Anthropological Science," in The Use of Personal Documents in History, Anthropology and Sociology, "Social Science Research Council Bulletin," New York, 1945, p. 125.

dealt with race relations and color prejudices, and stressed the problem of social ascent; the most complete freedom of expression was allowed the informants. The investigator interrupted only in order to prevent the conversation from digressing. It was almost always necessary at one time or another to bring the informant back to his subject, in order to obtain a continuous account.

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124 We also called on a limited number of white informants who had the reputation of being familiar with the problems of Bahia in
114 the past and the present. Born and raised in this city, where I have never ceased to dwell, I was also able to use my own experience.
127 In addition, we made use of announcements and editorial commentaries appearing in the periodicals and daily papers of Bahia and reflecting, up to a certain point, the stereotypes of the milieu studied.

121 A simple description of the racial situation in Bahia would not be adequate to make one understand the dynamism of this rising of the Blacks on the social scale. It has also been treated as a process of cultural and social change and therefore examined from a historical perspective; people have refrained, however, from going into details.

114 Our investigation, in one sense, was made difficult by the
127 scarcity of anthropological and sociological works on the society of Bahia. This city has been the subject of several historical studies in the course of recent years. One finds numerous references to the slave trade, to anthropometry, to phenomena of acculturation, and to African survivals, but, as Donald Pierson very rightly says in the work that we shall cite so often, there is only a meager literature on the conflicts or on the processes of adjustment that characterize race relations in Bahia. The book by Donald Pierson (1)

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1. Donald Pierson, Negroes in Brazil. A study of race contact at Bahia. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1947.

is really the first and up to now the only one in which race relations in Bahia have been analyzed and presented according to the methods of modern sociology.

128 I do not pretend to have done exhaustive or definitive work on /8/ the very complex problem of the social mobility of colored people in Bahia. I wanted above all to be objective and to present the problems from a scientific point of view, by avoiding insofar as possible the snares of ethnocentrism so difficult to elude, even unconsciously, when one is a member of the culture that one is describing.

[SALVADOR]

/9/ The Ethnic Types of Bahia

361 Bahia owes its reputation, not only to its privileged location
*563 on the shores of a magnificent bay and to its churches of an ornate
633 rococo style, but also, to a certain degree, to the excellent relations that exist in the heart of its motley population between people of different color. Stephan Zweig drew a very vivid picture
633 of Bahia and its ancient traditions. For him, Brazil began with
*563 this city, and not only Brazil, but also South America. "In this city was erected the first pier of the vast bridge thrown across the Atlantic; in it has originated, through the combination of European, African, and American material, the new mixture that is fermenting so actively at the present time (1)."

• [113]

1. Stephan Zweig, Brazil, País do Futuro /Brazil, Land of the Future/, trans. by Gallotti, Rio de Janeiro, 1941, p. 275.

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From its founding under the official name of Cidade do Salvador, Bahia began to be known for its wealth, which it owed to the sugar produced by its fazendas (2)

2. Plantations.

and its engenhos (3).

3. Sugar mills.

[796] It was also renowned for the magnificence of the worship in its
[363] numerous churches, for the religious processions that passed through its narrow, climbing streets, and for the traditions, so typically Portugnese, of its inhabitants. Center of importation
[567] of African slaves, Bahia was also famous for the large proportion
[167] of Blacks in its population, to the point that foreign travelers of
[162] the colonial period speak of this city as a "new Guinea" (4).

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4. M. Frezier, Relation du voyage de la mer du Sud aux côtes du Chili et du Pérou fait pendant les années 1712, 1713 and 1714 /Account of the

[SALVADOR]

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voyage from the South Sea to the coasts of Chile and Peru made during the years 1712, 1713, and 1714/, Paris, 1732; Adolphe d'Assier, Le Brésil contemporain /Contemporary Brazil/, Paris, 1867.

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Founded in 1549, seat of the general government of Brazil and residence of the Portuguese viceroy until 1763, the date when the capital of the colony was transferred to Rio de Janeiro, Bahia was regarded as "the most Portuguese" of the cities of the American continent. Even today it is one of the most important cities of Brazil (5).

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5. The State of Bahia has an area of 563,000 square kilometers and a littoral of 100 kilometers; its territory, of varied geographical aspect, is occupied chiefly by plantations of cacao, tobacco, cereals, by stock farms, and by mines of manganese, chromium, diamonds, iron, bituminous schists, etc. After the national census of July, 1950, the State had 4,900,419 inhabitants, 395,993 of them in the city of Salvador itself. The other most populous cities of Brazil are: Rio de Janeiro (federal district), with 2,335,931 inhabitants; São Paulo, with 2,041,716 inhabitants; Recife, with 522,466 inhabitants; Porto Alegre, 381,964 inhabitants, and Belo Horizonte, with 346,207 inhabitants.

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Owing to the conservative and traditionalist nature of its civilization, owing also to the distance that separates it from the other important urban centers, it is considered one of the /10/ demographic and cultural islets of what has been called the "Brazilian Archipelago." As we have said, what makes it particularly interesting is the fact that it was always a melting pot of races, certainly the most representative and the most symbolic of racial relations of the country.

[SALVADOR]

826 /10 cont./
829 The mulattoes of light complexion, socially "whitened" or "Whites
*563 in color" (brancos na côr), are commonly called "Whites of the
565 land" (brancos da terra) or "Whites of Bahia" (2).
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2. According to Donald Pierson, the Whites of Bahia are "very light métis /persons of mixed blood / who in Bahia are generally considered Whites"; cf. Brancos e pretos na Bahia /Whites and Blacks in Bahia/, São Paulo, 1945, p. 200. In commenting on this definition, a writer from Bahia explains that it does not rest upon an observation based on physical anthropology. Factors of a sociological order enter into this specification and make defining it difficult. J. Valadares, "Brancos da Bahia," Estado da Bahia, 2, VI, Bahia, 1943 (this comment refers to an article published by Pierson in 1943).

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when they occupy an important position and when one /11/ does not wish to offend them by calling them mulattoes. In the characterization of these "presumed Whites," fortune or social rank always plays a large part. In speaking of a light métis /a person with mixed blood/ with slightly Negroid features, one may say with a certain irony: "So-and-So is White, socially speaking, since he has already occupied one of the highest positions in the State." It is for these reasons that a physician from Bahia who had taken up the study of anthropology wrote as early as 1898 that "anatomically the Whites of Bahia are placed between the pardos and the direct descendants of Portuguese not of mixed blood (1)."

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1. J. B. Sá Oliveira, Evolução psiquica dos bahianos /Psychic evolution of the Bahians/, Bahia, 1898, p. 51.

[SALVADOR]

826 /13 cont./
*563 may not be of African blood (3).
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3. Arthur Ramos, Introduçao a Antropologia Brasileira, II, Rio de Janeiro, 1947.

829 The Indians and the descendants of the cross between Indians
*563 and Whites are generally called cabôclos, but this expression is
192 no longer very common in Bahia and rarely serves to characterize
[178] the corresponding type. The term cabôclo has become, like that
[196] of "my Negro," rather a formula of tenderness between individuals
175 of any color whatsoever. It must be noted, moreover, thanks to
829 old statistics, that toward the middle of the eighteenth century, in
648 response to complaints about Brazilian "nativism," the Portuguese
641 government prohibited the use of the term cabôclo, to which was
576 then attached an insulting meaning, and granted at the same time the
192 civil status of Whites to Indians and to their descendants of mixed blood, so that they could contract marriage with the Whites and fulfill official duties in the colony; it is in that manner that the contingents of mamelucos or cabôclos were assimilated with the
192 Whites in the military roles of the time. The word meanwhile
178 lost its insulting import and in our day is even considered a com-
829 pliment when it refers to a cabôclo bom, that is to say, a man of
576 good manners.

The Negroid albinos and the mulattoes with red, blond, or
144 light auburn hair are known by the name of sararás.
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The exact designation of these different types has always /14/
144 represented a difficulty, as much for anthropologists as for the
*563 persons charged with identifying school children, the military,
829 the criminals (1).

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1. According to the Bahian anthropologist Nina Rodriguez (in her book As raças humanas e a responsabilidade penal no Brasil /The Human Races and Penal Responsibility in Brazil/, 3rd edition, written at the beginning of the century), the métis include: 1st, the mulattoes produced from the cross between the White and the Negro:

[SALVADOR]

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a) mulattoes of prime blood; b) light mulattoes tending to revert to the white race; c) dark mulattoes, cabras, product tending to revert to the black race, some almost completely identified with the creole Negroes, the others more easily separable; 2nd, the mamelucos or cabôclos, products of the cross between White and Indian; 3rd, the product of the cross of the three races and especially the cross between the mulatto and the Indian or with the mamelucos and cabôclos. Arthur Ramos in his book A aculturaçao negra no Brasil /Negro Acculturation in Brazil/, 1942, p. 58, and in other works, one of which is "The Negro in Brazil," in Brazil, Portrait of Half a Continent, edited by Lynn Smith and A. Marchant, New York, 1950, p. 130, adopts almost the same classification, but proposes that, in order to avoid inaccuracies, one use the words pardo, mulatto, and métis as synonyms.

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In response to the demand of a lawyer, the head of the Bureau of Judicial Identification of the civil police of the State of Bahia stated some years ago that in his department one uses, according to the judgment of the identifier, the terms White, moreno, pardo, métis, and Black. A woman official who has worked for a long time in this service describes the different Bahia types thus: "The métis is a descendant of Black and mulatto; the pardo is the son of a mulatto and a White; the mulatto is derived from a White and a Black: he may be light, but he will always have lips that are thick and reddened by pigmentation; the moreno is the mulatto fino, and the Black is an individual with pronounced Negro traits."

[SALVADOR]

/14 cont./

829 Many persons identified in this office under the word White
*563 are probably métis of different types; the same confusion occurs
659 with persons designated as mulattoes, pardos, or morenos, ac-
192 cording to examinations made by Pierson (2)

2. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 189.

and now repeated by the author. A black lawyer relates that his wife, a relatively light mulattress, was registered in this office as Black, while the latter's sister, almost the same type as she, was classed as a mulattress. It is, moreover, interesting to note that generally in the dossier of identity referring to the persons registered the designation "mulatto" never appears, so to speak, but almost always that of moreno or pardo, the first having a pejorative character. A social worker relates that the women of the most humble milieu who are registered in her office, even when they are Blacks, do not want to be mulattoes, but morenas, sometimes saying that their children are moreninhos (little morenos) "like me," or that their husbands are a little more morenos or "darker." In any case, the terms officially employed
829 in the offices are branco, pardo, and preto. A dark mulatto
*563 physician whom most people would have described as black re-
565 lates that, when he was young /15/ and traveling on a train one day, he was recognized by a friend of his father, and this friend, knowing his father was white, introduced him to the other travelers by saying that, in spite of his appearance, he was really White in origin. "My brother, although darker than I," a morena informant told us, "was once classed as White, perhaps because he had a doctor's diploma."

829 The difficulties of identification and the differences of opinion
*563 among Bahians on the subject of local ethnic types can be easily explained. On account of the lack of unity of the criteria intended for distinguishing Blacks and mulattoes, an anthropologist of Rio de Janeiro divided the colored people of Bahia into two categories: the darker and the less dark (1).

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1. M. Julia Pourchet, Contribuçao ao estudo antropofisico da criança de côr /Contribution

/15 cont./

829 to the anthropophysical study of the colored
*563 child/, Rio de Janeiro, 1939.
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The author of these pages has classified, according to their
125 respective photographs, 30 social-club members of the male sex
829 belonging to the well-educated people of Bahia, and showed them
*563 to a young white girl of the middle class, to a métise of modest class, a student of the social sciences, and to a métis in charge of the administration of the same club, asking them to classify them in turn. Here are the descriptions applied according to the judgment of each identifier:

Designation	Number of individuals of each type (1)			
	A	B	C	D
Whites	19	14	21	6
Brancos da terra . . .	1	11	2	-
Morenos	4	-	6	19
Mulattoes	6	5	1	5

1. A, author; B, young white girl; C, métisse student; D, métis functionary.

The four classifications agree only in certain instances: this was a matter of the Whites whose phenotype was obvious; in five cases, three agreed with regard to the classification of a White who was classified by the fourth as moreno; in 14 cases the opinions were divided by half and so on.

829 Most of the light métis are identified as morenos in the registers
*563 in which are inscribed the members of the social clubs, religious
[575] brotherhoods, in the lists of students of an establishment for uni-
[794] versity instruction examined at the end of the investigation. When
[873] it was requested of different persons of the middle class, most of
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[SALVADOR]

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829 whom practiced a liberal profession and were graduates of the
*563 University of Bahia, to classify according to their type the per-
125 sons carried on the list of physicians and pharmacist: registered at
565 the Ministry of Public Health, representatives of the State and
/16/ federal representatives, university professors, members of the local academy of letters, and other associations of the city, there too the term moreno was most often used to designate the métis. Those who used the expression "mulatto" were rare. As
[177] a result of the influence exerted by North American films, one
[192] sometimes hears mention of "colored" /quoted in English/; a local journal described a politician of Bahia with this term, and a woman questioned by us acknowledged being "colored" /quoted in English/.

In a recent book a writer of the city sums up the semantic
829 problems in relation to the characterization of local types in
*563 this way: "A light Black is called mulatto, the light mulatto is a
192 moreno, a blond becomes a sarará. As for pardo, no one knows what that is. White fino is said of those persons whose origin and appearance do not show this "margin" thanks to which one infallibly recognizes crossbreeding. And those who are whites of mixed blood do not like to show the portraits of their ancestors" (1).

• [113] 1. J. Valadares, Beabá da Bahia /ABC's of Bahia/ 1951, p. 91.

829 The foreigners, who are relatively limited in number in the
*563 city, are easily distinguished by the majority of people. A European with strange manners, speaking Portuguese with great difficulty, or expressing himself in another language, is simply considered a "foreigner," particularly if he has a light and pink skin, blue eyes, and fine, blond hair. A Brazilian showing these characteristics is accused of being a "foreigner type" or a "German
829 type." Foreigners may also be called gringos, whatever their
*563 physical characteristics may be. The Spaniards, who are very
[192] numerous in the grocery business, are sometimes called the "gringos of the grocery business." The Russian, Polish, and

[SALVADOR]

/22 cont./

175 a European traveler describes them as gigantic women with the
*563 opulent figures of ancient goddesses carved in blocks of black
[829] marble, who attracted attention by their "wealth of incomparable vigor" (2).

2. A. d'Assier, op. cit., p. 196.

These were the women whom the Whites preferred as concubines.
[829] Certain types of mulattresses and of morenas, especially when they combined the traits of the two races from which they sprang, were also very much sought after by the Whites.

*563 None of the other Brazilian States that have a large number of Blacks presents as high a percentage of crossbreeding as Bahia. This proves that this State has been the most important Afro-
[567] European ethnic melting-pot of Brazil. In truth, it is in our city and in its environs, an ancient center of concentration of slaves, that the crossing has taken place with the greatest intensity. The
*563 ratio between the number of Blacks and of métis, according to
162 the 1940 census, is 1 to 2.55 in Bahia, whereas in States such as Minas Gerais, which has relatively the same number of Blacks, it is only 1 to 1; in other States, such as Maranhão and Piauí, which have, respectively, 27 o/o and 32 o/o Blacks, this ratio
[829] is 1 to 0.93 and 0.71. This results from the fact that in Bahia the factors of segregation and of discrimination that lie heavily on the darkest of its inhabitants are much less than in the other
175 States. The proportion of pure Blacks began to decrease from
*563 the second half of the last century, slave traffic having been
567 forbidden, and especially from 1888, the date of the definitive
161 abolition of slavery, when numerous ex-slaves emigrated to the more prosperous regions of southern Brazil. At present, unfavor-
*563 able social and economic factors influence the conditions of life,
161 the birth and mortality rates of this group, and explain its progressive diminution (3).

•[113] 3. Thales de Azevedo, Civilização e mestiçagem /Civilization and Crossbreeding/, Livr. Progresso Edit., Bahia, 1951, p. 63.

[SALVADOR]

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175 829 567 182 797 The generally gentle and humane treatment that the owners reserved for their slaves and the efforts made by the Catholic clergy, from the beginning of the slave trade, to try to incorporate the /23/ Africans into the Catholic religion played an important role in the establishment of good relations between races in Bahia as throughout Brazil. Contrary to what occurred in the other colonial nations, where the aborigines and the imported slaves were kept in a state of segregation, like unassimilable "savages," in Brazil the natives and the Blacks were baptized, catechized, and admitted into the Church as men. Thus, numerous slaves, baptized Negroes, were no longer considered "beasts" and became "Christians," with the same title as the European colonists, having to endure neither hostility nor religious discrimination. They were taught the Christian doctrine, and the preachers endeavored to speak to them in their languages, chiefly in nagô, which had become a sort of lingua franca in which the Africans of different origins were able to understand one another. They intermarried; their marriage having been consecrated by the Church, this protected them when their masters intended to separate the spouses or sell one of the partners; they received the sacraments; they acted as witnesses in religious proceedings and participated as acolytes in religious ceremonies; they marched in the processions, carrying the standards and emblems of their brotherhoods; they were buried in the Christian cemeteries, the owners of slaves being obliged to call the priest in time to assist the dying. No one pretends by that to claim that their lives were free from suffering or that the Negroes were thus completely integrated in Catholicism. The clergy, the owners, and the civil authorities always allowed them some freedom concerning certain proceedings of their pagan cults and never forced them to embrace the official religion. They likewise permitted them to amuse themselves in their way by dances, songs, ceremonies (batuques), banquets in the manner of those of their countries of origin. From that comes this Catholicism somewhat mixed with fetishist beliefs and practices that constitutes the religion of a large part of the colored people of Bahia (1).

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1. Roger Bastide, "Religion and the Church in

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[SALVADOR]

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Brazil," in Brazil, Portrait of Half a Continent, p. 334.

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Because of crossbreeding and other sociobiological factors, the darkest group of black phenotype was gradually absorbed by ethnic blending: the Whites increased at a slightly faster rhythm, while the number of métis registered in the statistics as pardos rose and gave birth finally, as a result of the mixture, to a group in which European ancestry predominated (2).

2. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 417.

"Among our ancestors there were already creoles of "clean belly" (barriga limpa). Their children, being themselves /24/ children of lighter men, tended progressively toward the color of their fathers. Perhaps Bahia is a city that contains many female Blacks and métisses of barriga limpa. Everybody remarks that we are moving toward a population totally of mixed blood but of white appearance (1)."

1. J. Valadares, op. cit., p. 91.

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In consulting the death certificates recorded between 1897 and 1938 (2),

2. A. Rabelo Leite, "A tuberculose do preto na Bahia /The tuberculosis of the Black in Bahia/"; Cesar de Araujo, Anais do Iº Congresso Nacional de Tuberculose /Annals of the First National Tuberculosis Congress/, Vol. I, 1930; see also E. F. Frazier, "The Negro Family in Bahia, Brazil," American Sociological Review, Vol. VII, No. 4, 1942, p. 467.

one can see that the proportional quantities of each type varies in our city as shown below:

[SALVADOR]

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Year	Percentage of ethnic types		
	Whites	"Pardos"	Blacks
1897	32.61	29	38.39
1907	32.71	34.74	32.55
1917	32.81	39.55	27.64
1927	32.91	43.61	23.48
1938	33.02	47.37	19.61
1940 (1)	28.74	51.11	20.13

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1. Figures of the national census, which differ from those relating to mortality because of a difference of evaluation in the classification of the types.

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The rapid growth of the white group, through the incorporation of "whitened" métis, and thanks to the better social and economic conditions of the upper strata of the population, to which the vast majority of the descendants of Europeans belong, means that in the total figure, in relation to the Whites the proportion of colored persons is decreasing at the same time that the proportion of métis is increasing, which is clearly shown by the census:

Year	Proportions in relation to one White	
	Colored persons	"Pardos"
1872	3.16	1.88
1890	2.84	2.70
1940	2.57	2.55

*563 The intensity of crossbreeding is actually so great that, as a well-known intellectual of Bahia notes, "the autochthonous fino White is no more than a historic memory" (3).

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3. Prado Valadares, Remirando o cáos /Again Considering the Chaos/, Bahia, 1933.

[SALVADOR]

/25/ Opinions about Colored People

829 *563 538 The presence of so many colored people in their region has never constituted a preoccupation or a mark of inferiority for the people of Bahia. The authors of school manuals for primary and secondary education, the political men in their election campaigns, the preachers in their sermons, the journalists in the writing of editorials and news refer to the important contribution of the African slaves to the Brazilian economy and praise certain traits of theirs, natural kindness, good nature, resignation, with which they have enriched the psychology of the nation. In the folklore, in tourist propaganda, in the caricatures that accompany political criticisms, Bahia is generally represented as the Bahian mulattress wearing the characteristic costume of women affiliated with the candomblé. Even in the publications intended for the foreigner, the authorities never intentially reduce the high percentage of the descendants of Africans in the local population (1).

[113] 1. Cf. Impressoes do Brasil no século vinte /Impressions of Brazil in the Twentieth Century/, Lloyd's Greater Britain Publishing Co. Ltd., London, 1913, p. 873.

*563 [204] Condemning the attitude of a professor accused of making humiliating remarks to a colored student, a newspaper of Bahia wrote that even if there were no other reasons for condemning racial discrimination in Bahia, "there will always remain the great contribution that the black race has made to its civilization, to its development." The professor, in his reply, claimed that he too recognized the merit of "many colored people who have elevated themselves so much in society by their personal worth, the fruit of study and of work."

*563 829 Some authors, however, in the past and under the influence of a simplistic evolutionism, have expressed the conviction that the colored people represented a misfortune for Bahia, because of the "psychic inferiority" of the Negro. One of them regarded the black element as a "refractory element in civilization" and

[SALVADOR]

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*563 829 condemned crossbreeding because "in all the countries colonized by the white and colored races there is a substantial difference between the aims of civilization and the savage impulses of individuals of mixed blood or of inferior blood. Civilized or not, the natives, the Africans and their descendants never entirely lose the barbaric customs." Even today such an opinion is very widespread, although it is expressed very discreetly in conversations and almost never in writing; an intellectual who considers himself "progressive," even if he thought that way, would avoid openly expressing this thought. One sometimes hears it said that the slowness of economic development /26/ and the resistance of Bahia to cultural evolution are due to the large number of Blacks in its population, "because the Blacks do not have any ambition." "Anyone who does not think so," an economist suggests in an article devoted to the advantages of foreign immigration, "does not recognize our historic, economic, and racial precedents." "During the period of slavery," he continues, "the Blacks lived like beasts of burden, as ignorant as animals, without family organization (their servile condition made it impossible for them), they brought with them numerous endemic diseases and fetishist practices from their continent of origin; finally, with abolition, the slaves left the fields and came to the cities in order to beg, pillage, give themselves up to all sorts of vices, and to cause all sorts of nuisances." In other parts of Brazil it is not rare to hear the same opinions expressed about our State. Toward the middle 829 of the last century, an author of great renown wrote from Rio de Janeiro: "Let us make a parallel between the development of the province of Bahia, which had relatively the largest number of Blacks, and the Rio Grande do Sul, which contains the strongest center of European colonists! While agriculture, commerce, and the revenues of the first decrease visibly, the other province prospers in all spheres..." (1).

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1. A. C. Tavares Bastos, Cartas do solitário /Letters of the Solitary/, (1862), 3rd edition, Rio de Janeiro, 1938, p. 164.

[SALVADOR]

/26 cont./

829 458 439 175 This author here alludes to the disturbances that the economy of Bahia underwent from the time of the suppression of the slave traffic and Europe's adoption of beet sugar, which brought about the almost total stoppage of the importation of sugar cane, the basis of the wealth of our city.

829 *563 As for the mulattoes, while some declare that there is not "a chapter of our political or social history in which the remarkable personality of a métis does not glitter with particular brilliance," others, along with some praise, make strong reservations. A jurist and scholar of great repute (2)

• [113]

2. Almachio Diniz, Historia racial do Brasil, São Paulo, 1934, p. 155.

considered the description of the mulatto given by an author of Bahia excellent: "The mulattoes are in general vain, intelligent, [157] and inclined toward the pleasures of life in society... They have good hearts" (3).

3. Sa Oliveira, op. cit., p. 21.

Although many people consider the Black an inferior being with regard to intelligence, almost no one questions the talent and the intellectual possibilities of the mulattoes. "If," says another economist from Bahia, "we turn toward the intellectual qualities and characteristic morals of the modern civilized man, the classic exponent of which is the European: universality of spiritual horizon, logical and systematic mind, technical gifts, tenacity and energy in the struggle for individual or social rights, and if we consider our most representative men, that is /27/ to say, our strongest personalities, we see among them many Blacks and mulattoes." And he concludes by asserting that the Afro-Brazilians are by no means inferior to the descendants of immigrants who came from more highly civilized and more purely

[SALVADOR]

/27 cont./

829 white countries (1).
*563
[113]

1. Romulo Almeida, interview for the Diario Trabelhista, 28, 11, Rio de Janeiro, 1946.

829 The mulattoes, accordi ig to others, are supposed to be affected
*563 in their manner of spea ding, wishing to display their erudition.
537 The comment of a journalist about a politician is characteristic
157 of this way of thinking: "Without complexes or repressions ... he reasons dispassionately, which is astonishing on the part of a red curiboca (2)

[192]
[826]

2. Curiboca, métis of Indian and Black; roxo, bluish red, a warm and dark shade of the pigmentation of the skin of certain métis.

like him. Not having the tropical verbosity of mulatto good speakers..., he is mentally a Nordic who sets forth his ideas without the cerebral complications such as are esteemed among the bachelor /referring to the academic degree/ morenos of our country" (3).

[154]

3. "This tendency to use an elaborate language seems to be a sort of compensation for a feeling of inferiority," says V. L. Bicudo in "Attitudes raciales des Noirs et des mulâtres de São Paulo /Racial attitudes of the Blacks and mulattoes of São Paulo/," Sociologia, Vol. IX, No. 3, São Paulo, 1947, p. 211.

829 Opinions about the mulattoes, especially about those who try to
*563 advance themselves by means of intellectual activities, always
157 throw into relief the weak points of their personality and almost always give an unfavorable interpretation of their character. A literary critic of Bahia, commenting on the works of the greatest Brazilian novelist, the mulatto Machado de Assis, expresses this

[SALVADOR]

/27 cont./

829 opinion in this way: "What marks our métis even more, as a
*563 result of the residues accumulated in his soul by social evolution,
157 is the lack of temperament, of psychology, and of character, with the consequences that this inevitably brings on the plane of the mental life. If a Brazilian mulatto is intellectually capable and sometimes superior, he is, on the other hand, never well-bred, stable, balanced, or energetic. It is from the moral and psychological point of view that he reveals a great inferiority, which cannot fail to influence the social harmony, given the part that he takes in Brazilian life" (4).

[113] 4. Afrânio Coutinho, A filosofia de Machado de Assis /The philosophy of Machado de Assis/, Rio de Janeiro, 1940, p. 80.

For all these reasons the words "mulatto" and "métis" can be used to throw into relief the bad moral qualities of a colored person, as though his pigmentation or his ethnic traits aggravated his shortcomings. In the course of a press dispute someone wrote: "these kinds of mulattoes who surround you," "this métis who gives you his support"; but the discussion had nothing to do with the racial problem. An anonymous epigram that circulated through the city a few years ago about a certain intellectual began with the words mulato pachola (5).

[192] 5. Pachola = lazy, vain, braggart, qualifications that are very often attributed to cultured mulattoes, to such a point that the insulting adjective pachola is at present attributed almost solely to persons of this type.

829 /28/ There is, however, in spite of this, no active hostility against
*563 the mulattoes as a group. Judgments such as those we have related are stereotypes applied especially to individuals who, by virtue of their superior education or aspirations more ambitious than those of their group, tend to detach themselves from it. Let us remember,

[SALVADOR]

/29 cont./

829 *563 Colored persons often repeat that "color is a mere accident," an expression that goes back very far in Bahia. A famous dark mulatto intellectual, president of an important scientific association, stated in a speech, in which he denounced a decision of the League of Nations on the discriminatory treatment to be applied to the human races, that: "To discuss the rights of man, even human dignity, as if they depended on an accident, that of color, is to repudiate centuries of struggle among the most glorious in the history of civilization" (1).

[113] 1. Teodoro Sampaio, in Rev. Instituto Geogr. e Historico da Bahia, No. 45, 1919, p. 179.

A black judge, who is at the head of an association of colored people, also considers that color "is an accident to which one [567] pays no attention among us." That is the reason why few families of the highest classes /30/ of society develop in their children an awareness of their own type, or, if they do, they never associate with this notion a feeling of inferiority or resentment. A Black relates that he did hear his parents make comments about the disadvantages of being of dark color, but the way in which they did it was neither bitter nor hostile. A pardo educator believes that it is not necessary to conceal from the child a feeling about his color, for "that, being purely physical, is of no importance." The attitude of a girl, likewise parda, whose father, White, but married to a mulattress, does not like people of dark color, is different; she herself does not like them, although she claims to feel no shame about her "quality." Her feeling of inferiority is clearly revealed when she says that she has a friend, son of Syrians, who wants to marry her, although of a "race superior" to her own.

829 *563 565 Among certain individuals the consciousness of class goes beyond the consciousness of race. A mulatto official relates that when he was a child he did not feel any different from his companions at school and play from a city in the interior of the State; it was only when his family became very poor that he realized

/36 cont./

*563 excessively humble and submissive, others are pretentious,
565 vicious, excessive in their manners, desirous of putting them-
571 selves forward." Two Blacks of liberal profession repeat almost
576 the same thing: "Color does not have a direct influence, but it entails certain consequences. Colored people, because of their origin, are humble, have customs that are peculiar to them, and are not prepared for the life of society. Their manners attract attention and displease well-bred people. Because of this, the persons belonging to this class and who detach themselves from it suffer from prejudices that hold sway over them. When one sees a Black elevate himself and when one has to deal with him, one always asks oneself whether he will have bad manners. It is only when one begins to know him that this impression is dispelled."

*563 No less important is adherence to the moral standards of the
565 higher classes in order to be accepted there. According to a highly esteemed and skilled mulatto of liberal profession, "the one who merits respect is respected, whatever his color may be" (1).

[167]
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[829]
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1. Among the Yoruba, who made up a considerable part of the African slaves imported to Bahia, one often hears it said in the course of discussions on the subject of the social situation and classification that "one respects the one who respects himself," cf. W. R. Bascom, "Social Status, Wealth, and Individual Differences among the Yoruba," Am. Anthropologist, Vol. 53, No. 4, Part 1, Oct.-Dec., 1951, p. 504.

An amiable character also facilitates ascent and living with the Whites. As much among the latter as among colored persons, it is said of a dark mulatto educator that he is highly esteemed because of his good character, his gentle and subdued manners; likewise, the success of a Black of liberal profession /37/ is attributed to his communicative temperament, his joviality, and his even temper. But inasmuch as the problem of race relations,

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/39 cont./

*563 [162] and in 22 o/o the latter was darker (1).

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1. Thales de Azevedo, "Um aspeto da mestiçagem na Bahia /An aspect of cross-breeding in Bahia/," Revista do Arquivo, Year XI, Vol. CI, São Paulo, 1945, p. 45.

But the frequency of true interracial marriages, that is to say, between persons belonging to different racial groups, is difficult to estimate by the customary methods of ethnic classification. In order to do this, it would be necessary to classify genetically the contracting parties or to study the genealogy of numerous families. Given the fact that individuals of "white" phenotype are sometimes métis (2),

2. Dr. Paul Rivet calls our attention to the facility with which the African Black has cross-bred with the Whites and Indians of South America. On this subject, see Les origines de l'homme américain /The Origins of the American Man/, Montreal, 1947. Also consult M. J. Herskovits, The Anthropometry of the American Negro, New York, 1930.

[113]

it becomes extremely difficult to acquire certitude that a marriage is interracial. What matters in this study, however, are the marriages between colored persons and persons "socially white," which undeniably are very frequent. Out of 1,269 marriages, Pierson found 3.3 o/o interracial, a figure actually very low for a region in which the barriers of color are so tenuous. These figures have surely been taken from a total of marriages of persons of all classes (3).

*563 162

3. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 209.

If we examine the situation in the intermediate and lower strata, one will see that the proportion may reach 20% or more.

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/39 cont./

*563 one will see that the proportion may reach 20 o/o or more. It
[175] was not always so, however. Portuguese laws during the colonial period prohibited marriages of Whites with the natives and with
17 Negroes. Once the slavery of the aborigines was abolished, mar-
*563 riage between these /40/ last and the Whites was permitted; but
567 before that the Catholic clergy had already regularized by religious marriages the numerous concubinages between Portuguese colonists and native women. The marriages of Whites and natives with the Blacks continued to be forbidden for a long time yet, but as crossbreeding between Europeans and Africans increased because of free unions, the number of interracial marriages increased in parallel fashion, for in reality only marriages between free persons and slaves were forbidden. Finally, with the abolition of black slavery the last barrier set up against interracial marriages
175 fell. Penalized before that, and for quite a long time, by severe
*563 social sanctions (1).
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1. Ch. Expilly wrote in 1863: "The constitution has proclaimed the equality of the citizens. Prejudice stronger than the constitution raises an impassable barrier -- up to now at any rate -- between individuals who differ in the shade of their skin. One in vain distributes bedizenment, decorations, titles to men of mixed blood, no one becomes intimate with them. When has one seen a female White marry a mulatto? The one who would dare so boldly to affront the usages and customs of her country would be immediately rejected by everyone of pure race. She would be scorned, pointed at, excluded from the
• [113) society in which in other times she was the ornament and pride." Mulheres e costumes do Brasil /Women and Customs of Brazil/, São Paulo, 1935, p. 279.

ooo These marriages increased after Independence, in 1822, with the

[SALVADOR]

/42 cont./

*563 557 the advances of dark men, but accept those of Whites, however disrespectful. That is why, he explains, they either become concubines of the latter, or else they do not marry.

*563 829 826 832 The white and blond woman, on the other hand, is represented as being strongly attracted by men with a very pigmented skin. A light mulatto, regarded very highly in his profession, is not attracted by dark women, although he admits that they are striking and pretty; he prefers the "Whites, very white." According to what he said, many men of his kind have this same inclination, quite independently of the idea of "purifying the race." He adds that the finas Whites have a real taste for the Blacks, whom they consider particularly virile and strong, and they do not take those who have manners that are too refined. Other informants, on the contrary, speak without enthusiasm of this type of women, whom they consider cold and frail. "Color gives health," says one of them, and he adds that even the Whites think so. "Very light women are repugnant to some men," declares one métis; "I even know a European who has an inclination to vomit when he sees one of them." All these opinions on the very white woman are [191] of the same order as those that in the United States, according to John Dollard (1).

> 1. "It seems possible that the image of the white woman is in part preserved from sexual thoughts and allusions of the same order, while the black woman tends to bear the entire brunt of uncontrolled sexual desire... If the black women are represented as sexually desirable in the white popular imagination, the black men are represented as particularly virile and experienced in this domain." Caste and Class in a Southern Town, New York, 1949, p. 1 ff.

• [113]

serve as protection against colored men and sometimes even against Whites. The morena, moreover, is regarded as the most ardent feminine type and even, sexually speaking, the most accessible. Numerous informants who have a plan to marry Whites explain or imply that they are looking for light, socially white métisses.

[SALVADOR]

/56 cont./

*563 555 that one may say that for more than 100 years Bahia has been governed "by Whites and by those who regard themselves as such" (1).

● [113] 1. Von Spix and von Martius, Através a Bahia, /Across Bahia/, 2nd edition, Bahia, p. 75.

/57/ The Bureaucracy

*563 647 [557] In all the public administrations of Bahia one finds colored officials (especially in the modest posts). In the past, and even sometimes in our day, the officials were admitted through the influence of politicians or influential members of the administration itself. This is the way numerous dark officials were introduced in all the categories of the administration, without encountering any barrier or opposition. But well in advance of the governments of the States or the municipal services, the federal administration established a regime of competitive examinations in order to make up its ranks, even affecting purely bureaucratic positions. According to a métis who came into the bureaucracy in 1929, "in the federal civil service, there is no favoritism for the Whites, because the offices there are filled by competitive examinations, and there is no opposition to the registration of colored candidates. A well-bred, pleasant, competent Black or mulatto is accepted as associate or chief without opposition on the part of the Whites. Except when they are rude and when they take advantage of their position as departmental heads to make excessive unreasonable demands on Whites or Blacks, no one cares about their color."

With the perfecting of the system of competitive examinations, carried out by means of examinations in which the names of the candidates are not known by the members of the jury, an increasing number of persons of dark color are entering public service throughout Brazil, and cases of candidates who consider themselves victims of racial discrimination are rare. This system

[SALVADOR]

/57 cont./

*563 647 was introduced in the States and in the municipal services in such a way that possibilities are increasing for colored persons entitled to occupy these posts. Given the fact that in spite of this the support that a candidate may receive from a politician or a friend of an official is always very important, it is obvious that persons of more modest circumstances have more difficulty being appointed after having been admitted for the examinations; they are supposed to have even more difficulties obtaining offices that are advantageous or lead to first-rate positions. During the [175] [668] colonial period some of the participants in a popular revolution that broke out in Bahia, complaining that because they were pardos all promotion was denied them, tried to establish a regime of equality in which Whites, pardos, and Blacks, without distinction as to color, would be judged solely according to their abilities (1).

• [113]

1. Alfonso Ruy, A primeira revoluçao social brasileira -- 1798 /The First Brazilian Social Revolution -- 1798/, 2nd edition, Bahia, 1951, p. 77.

[178] "In olden times," says one Black, "one never saw a moreno /58/ occupying a first-rate post," which is not altogether accurate, for the métis always had important positions in the administration of [557] Brazil since the colonial period. Today, says another informant, "the incompetent ones advance through influence; as for the others, [555] they advance by their own merit, regardless of their color." He [178] himself, in spite of his very dark color, manages sections in which Whites and Blacks work, and he knows that he is highly esteemed by his colleagues. Others think that the Blacks, although admitted without great difficulties, do not have access, save exceptionally, to positions of management which are temporarily occupied in commission through the individual choice of governors and higher officials. Two of our informants illustrate their asser- [665] tion by citing the case of a Black "who worked a great deal during an election campaign in favor of a party and who, in spite of

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*563 545 [171] For about ten years people have been trying to organize a "Negro theater" in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. In spite of the assistance of white intellectuals of great influence and endowed with the spirit of initiative, the two or three groups that have been founded have had only relative success, in spite of the indisputable artistic and intellectual merit of the Blacks and mulattoes who were at their head. About two years ago, when [658] one of these groups asked for government assistance in order to give a series of performances in Bahia, the presentation of a "Negro theater" in a city such as ours, where there is no separation of races, was considered inopportune. At least this is how some people justified the refusal against it. Two small theater groups were nevertheless founded in Bahia, "to give colored persons the possibility of becoming known," as was announced in a newspaper, but neither of these groups was able to succeed in staging a play. This lack of success may be explained in different ways. One explanation might be that amateur theater enterprises, even those directed by Whites of some prestige and aided by recreational associations able to spend /Figs. 7 and 8 appear here/ /65/ quite large sums on efforts of this kind, have been intermittent in Bahia and generally require an extreme effort by amateurs of the theatrical art; another is that the persons responsible for the two undertakings were young people of mixed blood, without experience and without credit. It should be noted, besides, that, according to one of these, the idea was not popular, even among colored persons. "Everybody doubts that this venture can be successful," he said. Some have even thought that this is "a separatist idea." It is possible that other factors come into play in this tendency to discourage similar endeavors. The theater being a means of [154] emotional expression, serving as a substitute for other ways of [796] liberating emotions, one may agree with the hypothesis of Roger Bastide, according to which the colored people of Bahia satisfy themselves by means of the exciting rites of the candomblé and the external Catholic worship with its brilliant liturgical ceremonies, its frequent and large processions, and the solemn saints' days around the most popular churches (1).

[113] 1. "Teatro de 30 dias /Theater of 30 days/," Anhembi, No. 10, Vol. IV, São Paulo, Sept. 1951.

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/69 cont./

*563 575 873 A very dark color may, however, create difficulties in some circumstances. One of the founders of the important association of students of secondary education was a dark mulatto, highly esteemed among his colleagues; it was, however, not possible for him to be elected president of the association because, as he was able to confirm, a white Communist colleague insinuated that so dark a young man would not have enough prestige before the educational authorities and the public. Elected vice-president he assumed the office of president only when the latter retired; he was then able to perform many accomplishments without encountering the obstacles that might have been connected with his "quality." When an excursion to another city was organized, a mulatto student felt that some of his /70/ comrades hesitated to include him in their group (1).

[564] [565] •[113]

1. "In Brazil there is no caste line. As a colored man assimilates the standards of culture of the dominant class, he is treated as an equal, although one notes a strong tendency among the Whites to avoid relations with colored men in situations requiring a certain setting (diplomacy, elegant salons, military schools, etc.)," Guerreiro Ramos, "Contactos raciais no Brasil," Quilombo, 1st year, No. 1, Rio de Janeiro, 1948.

Taking account of this, he decided to withdraw discreetly and was congratulated by a white comrade for his "elegant gesture." [178] These two episodes occurred about ten years ago, and the informants say that they would hardly occur today, tolerance having become much greater.

*563 873 Relations between students and professors of different "quality" present nothing unusual in our day; they depend, as a general rule, on the psychological characteristics of both, rather than on their physical appearance. *563 872 But there are white schoolmistresses in the public elementary schools who appear more severe and sometimes

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*563 794 793 797 [554] give the reasons that make them oppose someone's acceptance, and that they do not use their rights to prevent the acceptance of a candidate solely because of his color. A pardo who has occupied important positions in the administration of the State and who even reached the highest offices of his brotherhood asserts that the fathers who direct it, although the majority are Europeans, maintain the best relations with /75/ dark colored persons and even appear very affectionate toward them; colored persons are able, as may be seen, to be classified socially or to confirm their status by means of institutions. The Catholic religion offers them other, similar

*563 794 554 means. This is what happens, as we have already indicated, with regard to the "judges" and the festeiros, persons chosen each year to solicit donors and to organize the solemn festivals of the patrons of the church or chapel. This choice, made by the priest responsible or by the management of the religious associations, is based on social and economic prestige, much more than on other personal attributes (except morality and reputation); thus, color has never excluded anyone from one of these functions. An observer who has often dealt with these matters can testify to this.

*563 793 [175] [567] The Catholic priesthood is no longer a privilege of finos Whites. The ecclesiastical constitutions in force during the period of slavery forbade the ordination of slaves, so that priests should not be subject to a servile condition, deprived of the liberty and authority necessary for the practice of their ministry. Slaves were excluded, not Blacks, so that at the beginning of the last century foreign travelers were astonished to see black and mulatto priests officiating in the churches of the principal Brazilian cities. At

[555] the end of the eighteenth century colored men were able to take holy orders, and the Church became a means of social ascent "for all kinds of persons of humble circumstances, whatever their racial or family origin (1)."

•[113]

1. Roger Bastide, "Religion and the Church in Brazil," in Brazil, Portrait of Half a Continent, p. 339.

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/79/ The Liberal Professions

*563 463 555 One of the aspects of social mobility in Brazil is the fact that a colored person from the most humble economic condition is able, thanks to his talent and effort, to elevate himself to a high position in the liberal professions and in the intellectual milieus, achieving in this way a status far above that into which he was born (1).

1. "The entire organization of the society tends to take on the form of an order of free competition, in which individuals find their place thanks to the criterion of professional competence and to chance, more than by racial origin." Pierson, op. cit., p. 420. The same remark is found in the book by Ruth Landes, The City of Women, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1947, p. 60.

One of the ways of elevating oneself socially, for everyone, is to practice a liberal profession and to acquire in it the flattering title of doctor, which, almost without discrimination, one bestows in speaking to university graduates. And this is possible [873] for colored persons as well as for whites, for in Brazil there are no separate universities for "Negroes"; all accept any student whatsoever. A black lawyer of African origin, already mentioned for his vigilant attitude on behalf of people of his race, has written: "For them (the Blacks) are open the wide doors of the temple of science, the fine arts, commerce, industry, and scientific agriculture, where, on a par with his white brother, the Black receives teaching that will render him capable of proving himself strong in life's struggle and of attaining the goal that he sets for himself in the arcana of law and justice, of medicine, in the intricate mysteries of engineering, of commerce, of industry, and of work" (2).

[113] 2. Alakija (Maxwell P. Assunçao), "A parábola da velhinha /The parable of the little old man/," A Tarde, Bahia, 17 August 1922.

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/85/ The Intellectual Life

*563 554 538 The reputation of an intellectual is independent of his racial "quality." The biographies of illustrious Bahians do not mention their racial affiliation, an omission that constitutes a serious handicap for those who study the contribution of colored men to science, to letters, and to the arts of our city. With the exception of the case, for example, of an article on "Men of black color in the history of Bahia" (1),

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1. "Os Homens de côr preta na Historia da Bahia," by M. Querino, in Revista do Institute Geographico o Historico da Bahia, Vol. 48, 1923, p. 353 (38 brief biographies).

or some short studies of the same kind, it is practically impossible, unless one refers to other sources, to find out who the colored men who have distinguished themselves by their talent have been (2).

[113]

2. M. Querino, As artes na Bahia e Artistas Bahianos /The Arts in Bahia and Bahian Artists/; S. Bocanero Junior, O Teatro na Bahia, 1812-1912, Bahia, 1915; Gonçalo Moniz S. Aragao, A Medicina na Bahia, Diário Oficial, ed. do Centenario, 1923; C. Torres, Vultos, fatos e coisas da Bahia /Faces, Things, and Affairs of Bahia/, Bahia, 1951; and others.

Thus, several months ago, in celebrating the first centenary of the birth of Manoel Querino, who was a mulatto of dark complexion, a newspaper described him as "a poor and artistic Bahian who distinguished himself as a traditionalist historian, folklorist, ethnographer, sociologist, educator and 'leader' /quoted in English/ of the working class to which he belonged and which he tried to elevate."

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/85 cont./

* 563 554 571 Among the intellectuals of whom Bahia is proud and who are included among its great names, there are some who are very dark. One of them, speaking of the mixture of races, says that "the descendants of the crossings mentioned are to be found in Brazil in all social classes, in all professions, even the most intellectual" (3).

• [113]

3. Viuva J. Moreina, "Juliano Moreina e o problema do negro mestiço no Brasil /Juliano Moreina and the problem of the Negro mestizo in Brazil/," in Novos estudos afro-brasileiros /Recent Afro-Brazilian Studies/, G. Freyre and others, Rio de Janeiro, 1937.

The colored intellectuals not only do not form a separate group, but are judged and classed solely according to their talent and their works, and in scientific and literary associations occupy positions corresponding to their importance. When, in 1923, [527] the first centenary of the struggles for national independence in the territory of Bahia was commemorated, a very well-known photographer in the city, in collaboration with a historian and professor of the university, put together a large picture with the portraits of the Bahian intellectuals who at that time enjoyed the greatest renown: members of parliament, jurists, poets, prose writers, sacred orators, biologists, physicians, musicians, engineers, folklorists, educators, journalists, linguists of both sexes. Among the 79 intellectuals represented, one counted one cabôclo and 20 morenos and pardos, some of them quite /86/ pigmented. One of the four portraits most in view in the upper part of this composition was that of a dark mulatto, already mentioned above as a historian, engineer, and linguist; his picture was placed in the same port as that of Ruy Barbosa, a famous jurist and leader, who is considered "the greatest of Brazilians." The portraits of other métis appeared among those of numerous white intellectuals. [538] Among the recently published 100 biographies of the most notable Bahians of the period that extends from 1564 to 1925, there are 12

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/86 cont./

*563 554 571 538 métis celebrated as poets, jurists, linguists, physicians, and preachers, including a son of slaves, who, in the second half of the last century, because of his origin, had great difficulty in being accepted in a faculty of law of his country (1).

[113] 1. A. Loureiro Souza, Bahianos Ilustres, 1564-1925, Bahia, 1949.

All this testifies to the fact that intellectuals are judged according to the standards that apply to the whole of society, without color being taken into account. The literary critics, for example, affirm that the greatest living Bahian poet is a dark pardo and that a moreno is one of the best poets Bahia has had in recent decades. Moreover, the most listened-to literary and artistic critic, who died a few years ago, was a branqueado (whitened) mulatto, who exerted a great influence on the local intellectual life. When, on the occasion of the 350th anniversary of the [527] Lusitanian poet Camoens, the Portuguese colony celebrated Race Day, it was a dark mulatto who, in the name of Brazilians, gave the address of welcome to the Portuguese, while a celebrated sacred orator took the floor for the latter; in 1949, when the fourth centenary of the founding of the city was commemorated, the government of the State, in posthumous homage to this same mulatto intellectual, published one of his remaining unpublished historical works (2).

[113] 2. Teodoro Sampaio, Historia de Fundaçao da Cidade do Salvador /History of the Founding of the City of Salvador/, edited by the Secretaria do Educaçao e Saude, Bahia, 1949.

*563 554 571 The favorable position given colored people in the intellectual milieus is reflected in certain comments that we gathered in the course of our investigation on colored people. One of them made the following remark: "Colored people owe much to Whites, it is they who praise the Negroes of merit and who make known their name and their works." Another assured us that "among intellectuals there was no color prejudice."

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*563 562 575 /90 cont./ A colored girl in similar circumstances has greater advantages than a boy, for, being accompanied by a friend or a relative, she is assured of dancing with him and with the friends to whom he introduces her." But the colored girls, almost all the informants acknowledge, have much greater difficulty being accepted in the clubs, unless they are wives or members of the family of members. And the dark girls, for their part, fully accept this situation. In this they behave like "ignorant" colored men, someone remarks (1).

[113]

1. The refusal of female Whites to dance with male Blacks, in Bahia and in the neighboring State of Sergipe, has already been pointed out, cf. Felte Bezerra, Etnias sergipanas, Aracajú, 1950, p. 246.

*563 562 535 Refusing to dance with young colored men /91/ is not only done by Whites. A dark student says that she dances with any boy provided that he dances well, "even if he is a blackamoor (pretinho)." Another one, very light, frankly confesses that she does not experience any pleasure and even some shame in dancing with a man darker than she.

*563 575 463 554 The very select clubs having a predominance of members who are merchants or connected with industry and the liberal professions accept only persons who are "socially white," that is to say, showing the white type or classed as white; the clubs of small tradesmen and commercial employees, modest officials, and people practicing a liberal profession of lower category have a much higher number of colored members, including dark mulattoes and even Blacks. The proportion of the different types encountered among the members of two clubs of the categories mentioned above is the following:

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[SALVADOR]

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"We, the Bahians, we have in this respect an invariable opinion. Brazilian racial democracy consists expressly in repudiating any manifestation of privilege based on color, and we believe that these epidermic distinctions have no value over against a superior unity, from now on indissoluble, which is the moral unity of a people within the human unity of the country."

Two other white intellectuals, likewise very much in view, denounced in 1921 and in 1933 isolated attempts at caste separation "against which our entire history protests with indignation, against which our traditions rise up in an outburst of revolt"; they deplored "the stupidity that consists in blowing /94/ on the flame of racial hatred already forgotten ... sometimes nonexistent." After having lived many years in the city, a physician from another State declares that "this is without doubt the strongest impression that one receives and that one keeps of Bahia: the victory over racial prejudice and the presence of the Negro, the mulatto, and the White, who have a mulatto father and a black grandfather, in the social life."

This conception is not peculiar to finos Whites. It is also expressed by colored persons who have become integrated with the attitudes of the white group (1).

[114]

1. In the criticism of the article by Julian Steward, "Acculturation Studies in Latin America: Some Needs and Problems," Frank Tannenbaum declares that "In spite of slavery, in spite of an intermediate period, in spite of centuries of exploitation, the Negro has not only survived, but one may say that he is flourishing. And one may always ask oneself why. The answer seems to be that the Negro has accommodated himself to the culture of the white man, as the Indian never did ... Undoubtedly I shall be accused of exaggeration, but as far as this question is concerned I think that the Negro has become a white man with a black face;" in American Anthropologist, Vol. 45, No. 2, April-June 1943, p. 205.

[113]

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A dark mulatto intellectual declares that "the Brazilians, because of the gentleness of their customs, have never experienced here the ferocity of this prejudice" (2).

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2. Teodoro Sampaio, speech in Rev. do Inst. Geogr. e Historico da Bahia, Year XXVI, No. 45, Bahia, 1919, p. 179.

The opinion of a light-colored lawyer is no less incisive: "Will the Negro constitute a specific problem within the bosom of the Brazilian community? Our determination not to admit, either theoretically or practically, color or caste prejudice among us is expressed by a definitive word: No" (3).

3. W. Morais, loc. cit.

The reaction of the majority of Bahians to a question bearing on racial discrimination in their territory would be the same as that of these three students of Bahia, one of them a pardo, who, speaking of a Communist congress abroad, published a declaration in which it was said: "Most deplorable was the activity of some Communist members of the Brazilian delegation. They insistently endeavored to defame the political and social organization of our country by exaggerating its errors and its imperfections to the point of declaring that there exists among us an odious racial discrimination."

While the "socially white" express themselves thus, certain Blacks and mulattoes express opinions not only different, but diametrically opposite. A man practicing a liberal profession, of whom we have spoken previously, wrote in 1922 that he observed on the part of certain influential persons "the intense desire to keep the black man in a state of segregation, although this desire was concealed." Several years later another leader of the same type, in an article entitled "The eternal injustice against the Black," confirmed this assertion by saying that "there is a prejudice whose aim is to lower on the human scale the descendants of Blacks among whom the percentage of African blood

[SALVADOR]

*563 829 /94 cont./ predominates." In /95/ speaking at a congress of Afro-Brazilian studies in 1935, a mulatto sociologist expressed himself in a very radical manner and undoubtedly charged with emotional violence due to the political excitement of the moment:

"Left to himself, master of a fictive freedom, badly paid, badly clothed, badly nourished, serving the game of economic events, brutalized by a job of ten hours a day under unhygienic conditions, enduring the racial oppression of white men (the lords of capital) and the scorn of the white proletarians themselves who inspired the bourgeoisie, putting into practice the old advice: 'divide and conquer,' the Negro lived from day to day... [178] This situation has changed in the course of the last 60 years, it has changed for the worse (1)!"

• [173]

1. Edison Carneiro, "Situaçao do negro no Brasil /Situation of the Negro in Brazil," in Estudos afro-brasileiros, Vol. I, Ariel edition, Rio de Janeiro, 1935, p. 238.

A mulatto university professor, speaking during the handing out of university diplomas at the university, said a short time ago: "People state that the sinister racial problem does not exist among us, that the Black enjoys the same rights, the same prerogatives as the white man. This is a sad utopia. The upper sectors of the life of the country keep their doors closed to the Black." And another Bahian sociologist, a moreno, and one of the most influential leaders of "black" movements in Brazil, thinks that "the failures of colored men in our country have been attributed to racial prejudice, whereas they should very often be attributed to class prejudice."

A black informant, local head of movements of the same nature, asserted that there is active prejudice in Bahia, as throughout Brazil; he himself wished to protest against the declaration made to a newspaper by another black leader, according to which there is supposed to be no racial problem among us, although other Blacks asked him not to do so.

[SALVADOR]

/97 cont./

*563 Several facts reported in our account show that colored persons are subject, among us, to treatment that tends to class them according to category (1).

• [113]

1. Discriminatory judgment on the basis of prejudices bearing on the characteristics of groups or categories of certain individuals. Donald Pierson, "Contacto categórico /Categorical contact/," in Teoria e Pesquisa em Sociologia /Theory and Research in Sociology/, Melhoramento edition, São Paulo, p. 445.

*563 829 [565] The marks of this treatment, which frequently coincides with class feelings, may be seen in the personality of several of our informants. One of them makes a very expressive remark: "Prejudice really exists, no matter how much 'caste' is concealed. But, between denying the problem and wishing to give it excessive importance, there is nothing but a difference in the manner of formulating the beliefs and the defensive attitudes of the group concerned. The position of those who deny prejudice entirely is that of someone who formulates an ideal model of relations, prompted by the desire that the problem might not exist, or in the vain hope of contributing to what society evades" (2).

2. R. Almeida, loc. cit.

Those who exaggerate the proportions of this controversy are supposed to be maladjusted personalities (3).

3. Only a psychological study could elucidate up to what point the difficulties encountered by colored persons are really due to racial barriers, for, without denying that many persons may suffer opposition because of their color, it is also necessary to remember that these same persons may very well have recourse to certain stereotypes and to certain rationalizations in order to

[SALVADOR]

/97 cont./

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project their deficiencies, their personality defects, and their professional incompetence on the Whites and their institutions. See on this subject Kimball Young, Handbook of Social Psychology, London, 1948, p. 277.

which is not always the case; exaggeration is a powerful means of drawing attention to a problem that one assumes to be non-existent or without importance, but it may also represent a form of aggression against the discriminator group.

*563 A white sociologist, who admits the existence of the problem, says very justly that "...this prejudice is nimble and cunning. It tries to hide in the folds of the unconscious of the collectivity and, ashamed of itself, reacts to attempts at expression or exposure to the light of conscience. The reaction is thus more vigorous when we suspect some effort to cultivate it. One tolerates the fact that prejudice lives as an unconfessed feeling of class or of social prestige, but one experiences an immediate repulsion when people try to raise it to the rank of an institution or of spirit of caste" (4).

•[113] 4. Nelson Sampaio, "Democracia racial," Forum, Vol. IX, No. 21, Bahia, 1945.

/98/ The Black Movements in Bahia

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About 20 years ago, when the Brazilian urban proletariat began to become aware of its existence, there arose in the southern part of the country a movement intended to group together "the Brazilian Negro population" with the aim "of obtaining political representation, of defending the rights of Negroes and of elevating them on the educational level." From São Paulo, the most important Brazilian industrial center, the Black Front (Frente Negra) began to spread into other cities. In November 1932 a group of less than ten colored men of modest

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12 The research upon which this monograph was based was undertaken along two lines: statistical estimation and field investigation. The publication in 1950 of the 1940 agricultural census,[8] and crop,[9] and livestock[10] data for 1948 provided a body of statistical information for the minor civil divisions (municípios) of the Brazilian states. The assembly and tentative plotting of data from the above sources was the preliminary phase of the study. The variable quality and limited scope of the data made necessary an extensive field inquiry to validate and to extend the statistical analysis. The field investigation was divided into two sections: (1) general appraisal; and (2) intensive study of the two dominant agricultural sub-regions. In the general appraisal an effort was made to observe as many of the agricultural centers of the Recôncavo as the time available allowed. During the intensive [114] study the investigator lived in the two sub-regions in an attempt to observe and understand the covert as well as the overt agricultural phenomena of the community and the functional organization of the local economy.

128 The opening chapters of the study (Chapters II through IV) deal with the physical background, historical evolution, and social and demographic characteristics of the agricultural society of the Recôncavo. There follows an analysis of the distribution of the individual crops and of the total cultivated area (Chapter V) and a discussion of the combinations and functional associations of crops and the characteristic systems of cultivation (Chapter VI). The place of livestock in the pattern of crop cultivation is appraised in Chapter VII, and the distribution of various types of agricultural properties are discussed in Chapter VIII. The succeeding chapters deal with the value of agricultural products (Chapter IX) and with the marketing, transportation, and

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Soil mapping and analysis are still in a preliminary stage in Bahia. The most comprehensive source, the work of Bondar, includes a soils map of the state on a scale of 1:3,000,000.[6] Although the scale of this map is too small to give precise information for the Recôncavo, his accompanying description is in greater detail. It is based upon geologic zones. The discussion of soils below is based primarily upon the descriptions of Bondar, but the soils regions are derived from a more detailed geologic map.[7] Although the system of classification of Bondar has been retained, his soils descriptions were modified in some details to conform to the field observations of this research.[8]

The System of Classification Based upon Bondar.[9]

1. Clay soils of Cretaceous origin
   a. massapê (heavy dark clay)
   b. salão (light reddish clay)
   c. areia (sands)
   [d. clay soils of taboleiros]

2. Sandy soils of Tertiary taboleiros
   a. valley alluvium
   b. taboleiro soils
   c. sands of crystalline zone

3. Variable crystalline soils originating on Archeozoic rocks
   a. poor soils from clear, white acid rocks } 1. light upland soils
   b. better soils from neutral pigmented rocks } 2. red and brown clays
   c. good soils from dark basic rocks } 2. red and brown clays
   d. good soils from clear rocks } 3. crystalline massapê
      1. granite-calcite } 3. crystalline massapê
      2. feldspar-mica-amphibole } 3. crystalline massapê

[4. Calcareous soils from Algonkian rocks]

[5. Soils from sandstones of Paleozoic and Algonkian chapadas]

[6. Mixed soils of fluvial origin.]

Note: Soils types which are bracketed are part of Bondar's system but do not appear in appreciable areas of the Recôncavo.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 27]

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OOO Footnotes - Chapter II.

[127] [114] [1]The general scheme of classification and the map which are used in the following discussion are based upon the field interpretation of small-scale geologic and topographic maps. The description of the landforms is based upon field experience in all municípios of the Recôncavo except Coração de Maria and all other municípios shown on the maps except Esplanada and Entre Rios. The basic sources include:

Gregorio Bondar, "Solos da Bahia, Sua Conservação e Aproveitamento, Boletim Geográfico, Vol. IX, No. 99 (June, 1951), pp. 243-281. Mario Martins de Oliveira, "Recôncavo." Map at scale of approximately 1:500,000 (Bahia: Organização Brasileira de Edições Culturais, [n.d.]). Conselho Nacional de Geografia and Departmento de Geografia, Engenharia Rural e Açudagem do Estado da Bahia, "Mapa Geral do Estado da Bahia." Map at scale of 1:1,000,000 (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço Gráfico do Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, 1953).

[2]Bondar, op. cit., pp. 261-263, and attached map.

[3]These depressions very much resemble the small depressions encountered in karst regions. However, mechanical removal of soil materials and perhaps of rock from joints in the crystalline regolith, rather than solution, would be the most likely process.

[4]There are two Rios Jacuípe in the Recôncavo. One is the tributary of the Rio Paraguaçu mentioned above. The other is the main stream of the central part of the sugar cane zone, which drains eastward directly to the ocean.

[114] [5]Bondar, op. cit., p. 253. In Brazil, Bondar is recognized as the outstanding authority on the soils of Bahia.

[6]Bondar, op. cit., pp. 243-281.

[7]Sylvio Froes Abreu, "O Recôncavo da Bahia e o Petróleo do Lobato," Revista Brasileira de Geografia, Vol. I, No. 2 (July-September, 1939), pp. 57-63.

[8]Other sources used as a basis for the discussion and mapping of soils were: Companhia Energia Electrica da Bahia, Geology and Climate (Information Sheet No. 2, with geological information maps and sections furnished by Horace E. Williams. Bahia: Companhia Energia Electrica da Bahia, [1931], 28 pp. Orlando G. Teixeira, "Solos do Recôncavo da Bahia," Boletim da Secretaria da Agricultura, Industria, e Comercio do Estado da Bahia, Vol. XLII, No. 11.

[9]Bondar, op. cit., pp. 243-281.

[10]However, this presumed low fertility is not always reflected in lower actual yields.

[11]Geology and Climate, p. 10.

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[12]Teixeira, in his "Solos do Recôncavo da Bahia," pp. 36 and 38, gives the following data (here summarized) for the soils of Paranagua, near Rio Fundo in the município of Santo Amaro:

	Per cent		Per cent
Clay	25 - 48	Total Nitrogen	0.224
Lime	19 - 34	Exchangeable Calcium ME	44.8
Fine Sand	23 - 41	Exchangeable Magnesium ME	6.8
Coarse Sand	1.6- 6.5	Clorides	0.011
Residual Humidity	2.6- 5	Phosphorus	0.055
Rock	3.6- 10.7	Potassium Cloride	0.585
Water Capacity	40 - 58	Sodium Cloride	1.1577

[13]The Rio Pojuca has a gradient of 1-1351 from Catuiçara in northern Santo Amaro to the cidade of Pojuca, near the point at which the river enters the crystalline. The Rio Traripe has a gradient of about 1-125 for its last 10 km. before entering the Bay. Its valley is deeply incised, with deep gullies on the slopes.

[135] [14]These rock fragments, usually much weathered, almost invariably were identified as either gneiss or granite in the exposures observed in the field.

[15]Teixeira, op. cit., pp. 31-39.

[16]Bondar, op. cit., p. 256.

[17]One of the islands of the group pendant to the middle of the north coast.

[171] [18]Thus this part of Brazil is not like many areas in the United States, where relatively uniform cultivation practices are conspicuously minimizing soils differences.

[114] [19]According to the Köppen system of classification the coastal Recôncavo has an Af (tropical rainforest) climate, and the interior an Aw (tropical savanna) climate. According to the Thornthwaite system, all of the Recôncavo has a Ca'w (subhumid tropical with winter rainfall deficiency) climate. Glen T. Trewartha, An Introduction to Climate (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1954), plates II and III.

[20]Gilberto Freyre, Nordeste (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio Livraria Editora, 1937), pp. 9, 21.

132 127 [21]Official data from government weather stations was available for only four places in the Recôncavo--Salvador and São Bento das Lajes, in the município of São Francisco, on the littoral of the Bay; and Cruz das Almas and São Gonçalo in the western interior. Of these, only Salvador had maintained a continuous record over a relatively long period--including the years immediately preceeding the field study. There were a number of stations in adjacent parts of the state of Bahia, but none were close enough to the Recôncavo to be reliable guides to its climatic pattern.

The data upon which the climatic analysis of this study was based came from three basic sources: (1) Ministério da Agricultura, Departamento Nacional da Produção Mineral, Divisão de Águas Secção de Hidrologia, Atlas Pluviométrico do Brasil 1934-1938 (Boletim #5. Rio de Janeiro: Departamento Nacional da Produção Mineral, Divisão de Águas Secção de

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127 Hidrologia, 1948). (2) Ministério da Agricultura, Serviço de Meteorologia,
132 Normais Climatológicas (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço de Meteorologia, 1941).
(3) Data made available by the meteorological section of the Instituto Agronômico Léste at Cruz das Almas,

132 The risks involved in using these data are considerable. Of the
127 20 meteorological stations in eastern and central Bahia, only 2 or
114 perhaps 3 are reliable. For the others, gross errors and even deliberate falsification are notorious. Probably the data for Salvador is reasonably dependable, and during the field investigation for this study, there was opportunity to observe the conscientious attention to detail at Cruz das Almas.

The sheer lack of metacrological stations makes it necessary to infer most of the climatic pattern of the Recôncavo. It is fortunate that the two dependable stations occupy relatively representative sites in terms of the terrain and the land-sea relationship. Nevertheless, even the highly generalized climatic analysis of this section is offered with considerable hesitation. It is included in the study primarily as a base for agricultural research and, it is hoped, as a stimulant to a more adequate analysis of weather and climate for the Recôncavo.

000 [22]The municípios of Santo Estêvão, Feira de Santana, and Irará.

[137] [23]Often the slopes are more heavily forested than the surrounding tablelands, but it is not absolutely certain that this difference is unrelated to land use--the slopes are usually too steep for cultivation. In a number of municípios immediately to the east of this dry belt perennial or seasonal ponds were observed at the eastern or southern base of a number of monadnocks. Presumably these ponds are related to heavier precipitation on the slopes above.

[24]The mean annual precipitation of São Bento das Lajes (in the município of São Francisco) is 1947 mm. At São Gonçalo the mean annual precipitation is 1005 mm.

[25]According the advice of agronomists in the area. This approximation is based upon the general experience of the cultivators and not upon controlled experiments which could take into account varying temperatures, humidity, and soil moisture conditions.

[26]The mean of the deviations at Cruz das Almas was 33 per cent.

[249] [27]Except that 100 mm. is considered to be the minimum for tobacco cultivation, this exact figure has no particular significance. It is used here merely as a device to record the movement and duration of the season.

[249] [28]This seems to reflect accurately the climatic situation in the Coastal Plain, where sugar cane is grown, for the cane planters frequently complain of the irregularity of the end of the wet season.

[29]It is not possible to assign strict values for "too much" and "too little" precipitation in these agricultural zones of the Recôncavo. In the tobacco zone there is likely to be difficulty if the precipitation for September--or the following months--the cutting period, falls below

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OOO Footnotes - Chapter III.

[113] [1]See section by Pedro Calmon in Companhia Energia Electrica da Bahia, Curious and Interesting Facts Concerning the First European Settlement Made in the New World (Information Sheet No. 1. Bahia: Companhia Energia Electrica da Bahia, [1931]), p. 5. In addition to the specific quotations, much of the historical detail which follows on Bahia and the Recôncavo has been taken from this source.

[114] According to Calmon (see page 3) Amerigo Vespucci was in the first group of Europeans to enter the Baía de Todos os Santos (1501) and was the first to lead an expedition inland from the Bay (1503). It was not until 1534 that the first attempt at colonization was made; this initial colony was destroyed by hostile Indians. The next attempt was in 1549.

[2]Spanish settlements in the Caribbean-Gulf of Mexico area, such as Havana, Jamaica, Darién, and San Juan, were established between 1509 and 1515. In Brazil, São Vincente (near present Santos) and Recife were established in 1532 and 1531, respectively. Rio de Janeiro (1555) and Buenos Aires (1580) are younger than Salvador.

[3]Negro slaves were reported in Bahia in 1538, after the first settlement attempt but before the official founding of the permanent colony. João Pandiá Calogeras, A History of Brazil, trans. and ed. Percy Alvin Martin (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1939), p. 21.

[4]Luis Amaral, Historia Geral da Agricultura Brasileira (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1939-40), II, 82-83; 192-193. In addition to the material specifically credited to Amaral, this three-volume agricultural history has been one of the basic sources for much of the historical analysis which follows.

[5]It is not clear whether these two indigenous crops were borrowed directly from the local Indians or were received indirectly via other Brazilian colonies.

[6]In 1583, thirty-six sugar mills were reported in Bahia. Amaral, op. cit., II, 82.

[113] [7]Caio Prado Junior, História Econômica do Brasil (second edition; São Paulo: Editôra Brasiliense Limitada, 1949), p. 40. This volume has been the basic general economic source for the historical analysis which follows.

[113] [8]Amaral, op. cit., I, 194, citing Gabriel Soares de Souza, Tratado Descriptivo do Brasil, [1587].

[9]In northeastern Brazil, as in a number of other areas in Latin America, Indian slavery failed as a labor source because of a basic lack of supply, bitter resistance to enslavement, and a high death rate in captivity. Calogeras, op. cit., p. 21.

[10]Ibid., p. 26.

[11]Ibid.

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[113] [12]Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, No. 8 (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço Gráfico do Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatistica, 1949), pp. 59-80. [114] The Zona Fisiográfica Centro-Litoral (Central-Littoral Physiographic zone) is one of a series of nine so-called physiographic zones used as major subdivisions in Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, No. 8. It includes all 21 of the Recôncavo municípios, and 17 others.

[13]Amaral, op. cit., II, 367.

[14]Amaral, op. cit., II, 366, and Calogeras, op. cit., p. 31.

[137] [15]Manihot utilissima, called cassava, manioc, or, sometimes, tapioca in English and mandioca in Portuguese.

[16]Amaral, op. cit., II, 11-12.

[17]Prado, op. cit., pp. 40-41.

[18]Minas, Yorbes, Geges, Hausa, and other Guinea Coast peoples. [113] See T. Lynn Smith, Brazil: People and Institutions (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1946), pp. 168-169.

[194] [191] [19]African religions, for example, survive in a modified form in the candomblé (fetish) cults and in the supernatural conceptions prevalent in the Recôncavo.

[20]Neither the total number of slaves imported into Brazil nor the number brought to the Recôncavo is known. Calogeras, op. cit., pp. 27-28, estimates the number as 40,000 per year in the seventeenth century, 50,000 per year in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, or 14,000,000 for the 300 years of the slave trade. Another source has estimated that 1,200,000 slaves were imported between 1550 and 1850, a more reasonable figure. See section by Pedro Calmon in Curious and Interesting Facts Concerning the First European Settlement Made in the New World, p. 9. It is also asserted in this latter source that "more than half remained in Bahia;" this is less reasonable.

[21]Prado, op. cit., p. 46.

[206] [22]A rope-like twist of dark, often sweetened, tobacco wound in a large coil of 50 to 100 lbs.

[23]At the end of the seventeenth century Bahia was exporting 7,500 tons of sugar per year; Pernambuco 5,400 tons, and Rio de Janeiro 5,350 tons. At this same period Bahia exported 25,000 rolls of tobacco (perhaps 1,125 tons at 45 kg. per roll) compared with 2,500 rolls from Pernambuco and Alagoas. Calogeras, op. cit., p. 31.

[433] [24]Calogeras, op. cit., pp. 30-31, cites João Antonil, Cultura e Opulencia do Brasil, por sus Drogas e Minas (1711), who says that in 1711 the mean sugar export--which must have been virtually the entire production--per engenho in Bahia was 52 tons, in Rio de Janeiro 41 tons, and in Pernambuco 22 tons. The weight is given in arrobas by Calogeras.

[25]Amaral, op. cit., II, 84.

[26]Calogeras, op. cit., pp. 38-39.

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OOO Footnotes - Chapter VI

[124] [122] [114] [1]The discussion of the cultivation of tobacco and manioc is based upon the following sources: (1) private conversations with Mr. G. G. Jay, a tobacco buyer and grower of long experience in Bahia and in other regions of South America; (2) Walter Alberto Egler, "Aspectos Gerais da Cultura do Fumo na Região do Recôncavo na Bahia," Boletim Geográfico, Vol. X, No. 111 (November-December, 1952), pp. 679-688; (3) general field observations throughout the zone, except in Coração de Maria and Catu, and, during 1953-1954, detailed observations in São Gonçalo and in Cruz das Almas.

[804] [2]Tarefa means "a task," "a day's work," or "a piece of work," but it is also an antique unit of area which is the folk-unit of area throughout much of Brazil. Its size varies from place to place, but the tarefa baiana equals 0.4356 hectares. In many areas one tarefa is considered to be the usual size of the tobacco planting of one man, but it is obvious from a comparison of the labor force and area in tobacco that in many areas the plantings per person must run much larger. In any case, the individual plots are very likely to be one tarefa each.

[3]In many areas the tree stumps have entirely disappeared as a result of the intensive cultivation, which severely restricts the size of the wild vegetation which can develop during the fallow period.

[114] [243] [4]This interpretation differs, at least in emphasis, from that of Walter Alberto Egler, op. cit., pp. 679-688. He suggests as the characteristic sequence, tobacco, corn and/or beans, and then manioc. Undoubtedly this sequence is important, but the field investigation for the present study revealed that the direct replacement of tobacco with manioc is more characteristic.

[237] [5]However, tobacco does not produce well on these poor soils unless manure is used, and even the yields of manioc are low unless it is planted in a field where there has been a relatively recent application of manure.

[244] [6]The seed for corn, which is edible, has value in itself. The stalk of manioc has no utility except to reproduce the crop. Thus when manioc is planted, the cultivator invests only his labor and the questionable value of the land.

[7]See section by George Wythe in Simon Kuznets, Wilbert E. Moore, and Joseph J. Spengler (eds.), Economic Growth: Brazil, India, Japan, p. 34.

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Marvin Harris, Benjamin Zimmerman, and Anthony Leeds, who conducted these related studies.

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To those who made it possible for me to extend the scope of the field work to other areas of the Recôncavo, the directors of Magalhães and company, the director of Usina Terra Nova, Dr. Themístocles Monteiro, the director of Usina Aliança, Dr. Helenauro Sampaio, the chemical engineer of Usina São Carlos, Dr. Augusto Vilas Boas, and Eugenio Santos, who gave inestimable aid, my sincerest thanks.

To Frei Miguel Marcinkowski, Frei Pacifico Weismann, Dona Maria Pinto, Elisa Amelia Ferreira, and all my friends of Vila Recôncavo* where the study was made is due my profound gratitude. Last and most profoundly, I am indebted to my wife, Carmelita Junqueira Ayres Hutchinson, for her invaluable assistance in the field and constant encouragement during the preparation of the manuscript.

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*Although Vila Recôncavo is a real town, the names of all persons and places have been changed for the purposes of this study.

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Town Life]

attached to the canoe by a cord called the espia (literally, "it spies"), with which the fisherman can feel when the net has reached the bottom; he can also feel any activity within the net indicating that he has caught something. The net is about 18 feet high, and its round bottom has a circumference of approximately 120 feet. A series of lead weights are sewn into the bottom to carry it downward through the water. The whole net, with its lead, weighs between 5 and 6 kilograms. The sizes of nets vary with their age, for constant repair enlarges them or sometimes makes them smaller. While the man is fishing, the canoe remains drifting, undirected. As the tide begins to run out the fisherman must stop casting his net every so often to paddle the canoe back to the starting point and to keep it from being carried away from the fishing grounds. At other times, if the shrimp appear to be moving away, he picks up his paddle and follows them. The entire operation of casting the net, pulling it in, and emptying it into the bottom of the canoe takes from ten to twenty minutes. If the shrimp are present in great numbers the fisherman speeds up his activities; if not he moves more slowly. C. F. Ott calls the circular casting net "incontestably a Portuguese cultural element."[4]

The period of fishing rarely lasts more than three hours, for by then the tide is moving more strongly and a breeze has arisen. These two factors upset the fishing for they move the canoes away from the fishing grounds. During the month there are approximately fifteen days of fishing with the casting net. If his luck is good a man may catch 20 to 30 kilograms of shrimp a day, and occasionally more; or else he may catch next to nothing. It should be stated that the author never saw a good-sized catch taken with any net, in spite of the great number of times he accompanied the fishermen.

As a rule the fisherman owns his own casting net or borrows one. The canoe is usually rented, and the usual price is two cruzeiros for the morning's fishing. Shrimp bring from Cr$15,00 to Cr$25,00 a kilogram, so this type of fishing is relatively remunerative and involves little expense. A net

4. C. F. Ott, "Os elementos culturais da pescaria baiana," Boletim do Museu Nacional (Rio de Janeiro), No. 4 (October, 1944), p. 31.

[Town Life]

Because there are only 265 acres of manioc under cultivation in the entire county, production is far below the amount of farina consumed, and it is necessary to import the milled manioc tuber which constitutes the major dietary item of the people. In 1951 a municipal law was passed prohibiting the exportation of farina. Three times during the author's stay in the town there was a pronounced lack of farina, when there was almost none to be bought and its price per liter rose from one to three cruzeiros. That year's drought was also partly responsible for the shortage.

Bananas are the only commercial export crop of the gardeners. There are approximately 15,000 banana trees in the county, producing for the commercial market an annual production of 177,000 arms (cachos) of bananas, providing an income of Cr$500.000,00. The fruits are sold to a middleman from Bahia who knows most of the gardeners in the area. Once a week, or every two weeks, he arrives at the town in a large sailboat to receive the fresh bananas, which he then takes to Bahia and sells. Sometimes a gardener sells an arm of bananas to a woman in town who then resells them to townspeople. Few people in town have to buy them, however, for each household has at least one banana tree in the back yard. An acre of land supports about 144 banana trees, which when well cared for produce 1,500 arms a year. The fruits are sold in cargoes of fifty arms at Cr$160,00 a cargo, so that one acre earns about Cr$5.000,00 a year. This sum is almost entirely profit, for gardeners do most of their own work, except when they have too much land for one man to take care of properly. Hired help is paid in accordance with the service performed: ten cruzeiros for cutting fifty arms of bananas, twenty for transporting them to the dock if the gardener does not have his own animals, and a hundred cruzeiros an acre for "cleaning," i.e., cutting down and burning old stalks and leaves and keeping the weeds cut down.

Manioc presents a slightly different case, for the raw product must be processed before it is consumed. The manioc root from which farina is made is the poisonous variety and must be peeled and grated, pressed to remove the juice, and then toasted. The final product is a white powder, fine or coarse depending upon the type of grater used. Most of the local product is a coarse type (farinha de guerra). One of the gardeners has a flour house where the tubers are converted into flour. He mills his own manioc there and lets others use the machinery, charging them one liter of farina out of each ten they produce.

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565 ers to keep households of stable families, even without formal marriage. In Class D are found mostly the washerwomen and ironers listed under Occupation Group 2 in the preceding chapter.

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565 The unwed mother seldom marries, for few men are willing to take a wife who is not a virgin, and fewer still can ac-
836 cept the responsibility of a whole family at once unless the
837 woman has some property to offer along with herself. Once
848 she has had a child a woman loses prestige and status and becomes a mark for men who are looking for an affair. She may even move in with a man for a while. Later, either she leaves him or he leaves her. She must support herself and her offspring, for her father can seldom support another family. As her children grow up, especially the daughters, she hopes for a legal marriage for them; but this is seldom realized for the girls will escape her control just as she herself did. In such a case a woman has little influence and very often cannot force the man to marry her daughter, so that her household is eventually composed of three generations, with two unwed mothers and their children. This is especially true when the young daughters are pretty or, as often happens, light-skinned, as a result of the fact that their fathers often belong to the lighter-colored group of men in town. Often girls from Class D are sent to the city to work as domestics in much the same way as girls from the rural area; there they may marry and avoid a repetition of the cycle, or else they return to their mothers pregnant and unmarried, for few employers will keep a pregnant girl in the house.

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• 114 The following data were collected through the use of a questionnaire given after the author had been in the field about nine months. The actual collection was accomplished by the author and two paid assistants. The questionnaire was long and detailed, and each one took approximately three hours to complete.

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*565 Many people in all the classes did not want to respond, feeling that it was too much an invasion of their privacy. Many said that they did not know how much money they earned over a long period, that they simply spent whatever came into their hands. Others produced written, detailed records of all the money they earned and spent and how they spent it. The total number of samples finally collected was 125. Sixty-two are urban samples from the town of Vila Recôncavo, and sixty-

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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and the social forces compelling them to conform to this ideal are strong enough to keep them at home.

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To some extent the Class B families take as their pattern the older traditions of the upper-class families. The father is the most important person in the home and has the final word in all decisions. His wife is not his equal in a social sense and plays a much more passive role than the women of classes A, C, and D. This, however, is slowly changing, for married couples of the younger generation are beginning to share more activities, such as going to the movies, visiting friends, or going on short trips to Salvador. But this is a recent development and applies only to four couples in the town. The others still maintain the old pattern whereby the man attends social functions while his wife remains home. On occasion of a farewell party, invitations were carefully extended to the married couples in Class B at the author's instigation. Of the thirteen couples invited, only four came together. In the other cases only the husbands came. Among the others, one of the husbands was away, and his wife would not come to the party even though her mother, father, and two sisters did. It is still common for the wife either to remain discreetly silent or to disappear altogether when her husband has visitors at home, and among the older families the father and his guests are served separately at meals, the women of the household eating afterwards alone.

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Family life in rural Class B follows to some extent that of the town family of the same class. The father is the central figure in the family and makes all decisions. He travels about the community while his wife remains at home. The sons of overseers, however, are seldom sent to Salvador to school, although the sons of Class B families living at the factory usually are, at least for a short time. So far, however, none of them has entered a profession.

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As has already been stated, the women of rural Class B lead much the same kind of life as the women in Class C, with whom they associate. Daughters are guarded carefully, while sons are placed in some advantageous position whenever possible, frequently through the aid of the plantation owner or usineiro. They may enter the factory office, and in several cases they have been set up in business on the plantations, running small stores which belong to their fathers.

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A daughter of Seu Paulo, the overseer of the Fazenda das Moças, married the son of the overseer on a neighboring

[Class B Families]

[Class C Families]

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[114] plantation during the author's stay in the community, and her father gave her a large wedding. The wedding party left the plantation early in the morning in an oxcart decorated with white crepe paper, and proceeded to the town of Vila Recôncavo. The wedding was held in the Franciscan chapel. The townspeople did not attend the wedding or show any interest in it. Immediately after the ceremony the wedding party started back to the plantation, a five-mile trip. As each plantation nucleus was passed the cart stopped in front of the overseer's house, and small glasses of rum were passed to the guests, and the happiness of bride and groom was toasted.

[342] On arrival at the new brick house which the groom's father had presented to the couple, the bride went into the kitchen
[431] to help her mother and the other women who were preparing the luncheon. Then she passed small glasses of wine to the
[114] guests. With the exception of Dona Sinhá and the author, the guests were all overseers from the neighboring plantations. The female guests were relatives of the bride. The meal con-
[262] sisted of everything the region had to offer: fish, shrimp, salads; roasts of beef, pork, lamb, and turkey; potatoes and farina; followed by fruits, desserts, and coffee. After all the men had eaten and moved into the living room to chat, the bride and the other women sat down in the dining room to eat.

*565 In a sample of eighteen Class B households (eleven urban
585 and seven rural), fifteen couples were married by both civil
583 and religious ceremonies. The remaining three couples were simply living together, a state known in northern Brazil as
[125] amasiado. In Class C a sample of ninety-five households (forty-one urban and fifty-four rural) showed twenty-three couples in the amasiado state, twenty-two married by civil and religious ceremonies, thirty-four married in church only, and eight by civil marriage alone. Eight of the couples sampled did not answer the question. In Class B, one partner in each of the three couples living in the amasiado state was married to someone else whom he or she had left.

585 Nineteen civil marriages were performed in the entire coun-
583 ty (population over 11,000) during the year of 1950. They are shown below by age group. Fifty religious marriages were
[161] performed during the same year throughout the five parishes attended by the Franciscans. Because of differences in the
[127] manner of recording the two types of marriages, however, no correlation could be worked out as to how many marriages were both civil and religious. There are no statistics avail-

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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herents of these cults, female slaves and former slaves for 794
the most part, followed a lengthy routine to become practitioners in the various cult houses and spent large sums of money, according to legend, on the required bracelets, necklaces, and clothing.

Today, however, the cult priests and priestesses have the 794
same complaint as the Catholic priests. They say that young 793
people no longer have the understanding or the patience necessary to prepare for devotion in the cult houses. The older [177]
priestesses deplore the degeneration of some of these houses [776]
and the admission of Indian spirits, which are now displacing the African gods.

Spiritualism has recently entered the community. So far it has been limited to few people in the community, although it is very popular in Salvador.

The use of the supernatural as described in Willems' Cun- 771
ha[1] does not take place in Vila Recôncavo. In Cunha the saints 776
are asked to send rain whenever it appears that the crops are [171]
in danger. But in Vila Recôncavo, which lies in a semitropical rain area, there is no need for such invocations. Besides, [782]
these are large-scale economic crops, not subsistence produce on which the people depend directly for their living. [433]

The Catholic Church in Vila Recôncavo

During the colonial period each religious parish was care- 795
fully delineated and conserved, but later political divisions 794
cut across parish lines. This has made the use of colonial 632
statistics very difficult. During colonial and empire times the 175
church was the main census organ, but since parishes and [114]
counties do not coincide in their outlines the statistics are little help today in comparing the present with the past. Each
parish built a mother church (matriz) in the parish town. Each [776]
of these churches had a patron saint, who was also the patron of the parish, and a resident priest or priests.

In the town of Vila Recôncavo, the county seat, a mother 175
church was built, with São Gonçalo as its patron saint; also 79
constructed was the Franciscan convent, connected with an
opulent Third Order. As the Recôncavo entered its long per- [776]

1. Emilio Willems, Cunha: Tradição e transição en uma cultura rural do Brasil (Sao Paulo, 1947), Chapter 7.

some confusion in the minds of the cultists themselves as to exactly which saint an African spirit represents, and there often are slight differences in interpretation which do not, however, upset the cult practices to any great extent. Cultism in Brazil has been described in detail by Nina Rodrigues,[3] Arthur Ramos,[4] and Edison Carneiro,[5] and by the Americans Donald Pierson[6] and Ruth Landes,[7] all of whom concentrated on cultism in the city of Salvador; Eduardo Octavio da Costa[8] has good material on urban-rural cultism in Maranhão (northern Brazil). In Vila Recôncavo the syncretisms are being forgotten as the content of cults changes from African spirits to the Indian spirits, for which no identification is made with the Catholic saints.

Cultism apparently got its start in Bahia in the early nineteenth century. Carneiro[9] sets the date for the establishment of the first cult house in the city as 1838. Old people in Vila Recôncavo do not remember cultism beyond two generations ago. There is one woman in town who is in her late nineties and who only remembers hearing of her mother and her mother's generation as active in cults. Apparently the force of cultism increased with the decrease in Catholic proselytization, as the number of priests in the rural areas diminished. It also increased in tempo with the manumission of slaves, and apparently was one of the institutions through which former slaves bought the freedom of other slaves.

Today the cults of the rural area are far less elaborate than those in the city of Salvador, although it seems that even in the city, cultism is showing the same general trend toward disintegration which is so strongly apparent in the rural area. In both places there is a shift away from African ritual to practices connected with the Indian spirits, whose demands

3. Raymundo Nina Rodrigues, O animismo fetichista dos negros bahianos (Rio de Janeiro, 1935).
4. Arthur Ramos, O negro brasileiro (2nd ed.; São Paulo, 1940).
5. Edison Carneiro, Candomblés da Bahia, (Publicações do Museu do Estado, No. 8 [Bahia, 1948]).
6. Donald Pierson, Negroes in Brazil (Chicago, 1942).
7. Ruth Landes, The City of Women (New York, 1947).
8. Octavio da Costa Eduardo, The Negro in Northern Brazil (New York, 1948).
9. Carneiro, Candomblés da Bahia, p. 31.

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are easier to understand and to comply with. In the town of Vila Recôncavo there are two houses of cult activities with female leaders, and in the rural area there is one such house with a male leader. These are the three houses which were studied by the author. There are six more in the area, but they are much smaller and poorer than these three.

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One of the three is led by a woman almost a hundred years old. She is now completely blind and can barely walk about the house. She has not been outside of it for several years. She has an assistant, a young man in his twenties, who as a child brought her firewood and water and who now has been taught by her much of the cult ritual. The house is now inactive, for the old woman has outlived her former followers, or else they have moved away. The room which contains the insignia of the African spirits is still kept up, and the proper foods and drinks are always placed there by the young man, in accordance with the instructions of the old lady. She herself does little, although she still consults the spirits by throwing cowrie shells. Her fame as a cult leader is widespread, and people still come to her for help, but she is too feeble to do much. In her day she was a "purist" and went through the long training period necessary to become a devotee and later a cult leader. She still knows a few words of Nagô, the Yoruban language, and laments the passing of her generation, with whom she says she conversed only in this language. Several of her initiates broke away and started their own houses in other places, although according to her they were not ready to assume leadership since they did not know enough of the mysteries.

The other two houses studied are led by disciples of one of the old woman's devotees who broke away. There is no contact among the three, although the two younger leaders are in awe of the old woman, aware that she knows much more than they do and that in her eyes they are only upstarts, manipulating something mystical which they are not sufficiently prepared to control. She does not intimidate them, however, and now ignores their activities, since they both have recently accepted the Indian spirits which the old woman feels are bogus. She is more interested in passing on her knowledge to the young man who cares for her house, though she complains that he is too indifferent to her teachings. He is learning a great deal, however, though he has not yet "made" his saint, that is, he is not yet a full-fledged devotee. Preparations for

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the *homem de côr* to say '*êle É um senhor*' (he IS a real gentleman) or '*um branco bom*' (a good white) is to admit that the white and the [571] Negro can live together in dignity.

There is a series of expressions used by all types to describe the person who is trying to appear white. Whoever tries to be what he is not is considered ridiculous by all. Both whites and Negroes gossip about the social climber and use the terms '*tem pinta*' (has a 'touch of the tarbrush'), '*tem sangüe*' (has Negro blood), '*é da raça*' (is of the Negro race), or simply '*besta*' (show-off), '*cheio de arte*' (artful), '*cheio de manha*' (full of little tricks), or '*fala bonito*' (talks pretty).

There are also many phrases used by lower-class people to ridicule Negroes and *mestiços* who are showing off, or 'pushing'. Most of these start off with *Negro*:

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Negro doesn't marry, he gets together.
Negro doesn't accompany a procession, he runs after it.
Negro doesn't sit down, he squats.
Negro in white clothes is a sign of rain.
Negro doesn't hear Mass, he spies on it.
Negro at a white man's party is the first to grab and the last to eat.
Negro's intelligence is the same size as his hair.

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The concepts and fixed ideas which the people of Vila Recôncavo have of these racial types were also revealed in their responses to a pictorial questionnaire devised in the field.[1] A series of eight photographs of people unknown to those answering the questionnaire was shown, consisting of a male and a female of each of the four major racial types, the *caboclo*, the *preto*, the *mulato* and the *branco*. An attempt was made to use photographs giving no clue to the possible class position of the eight persons. However, the photographs which we were able to secure were not entirely satisfactory for our purposes in Vila Recôncavo. The picture of the caboclo male was of a man of middle age, but a type considered in the local conception as having a strong personality, while the *caboclo* woman was older and certainly not *simpática* (pleasant) in the local view. The two *pretos* were both unmistakably *pretos*, and both young. The *mulato* male and female differed one from the other, as the man was definitely a common *mulato* type, while the woman was almost a *morena mulata* rather than 'pure' *mulata*. She was young and considered much more *simpática* than any of the four women presented. The two whites were not distinguished in any way; and there was doubt in the minds of the people answering the questionnaire as to whether these two were 'pure' white or not.

The questionnaire was given to 85 people: 18 *brancos*—11 males,

[1] These questionnaires were given by a local assistant after the author's stay in Vila Recôncavo, but the results agree in general with the observations made during research in the community. [114]

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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tional policy chose to assimilate the Negro rather than to segregate him; thus, with a significantly large Negro population, Brazil has no real race problem. Moreover, any Negro in Brazil who is qualified is given a status to which his abilities entitle him.

We are fortunate to have the original author, Dr. Donald Pierson, write the new introduction to the present work. Dr. Pierson, a man widely published in sociology, is a distinguished scholar, who has spent many years studying the Brazilian racial situation. In his new introduction, Donald Pierson has carefully reanalyzed his original work in terms of events which have transpired. In so doing he has integrated the significant scholarly publications which have emerged over the years. Although significant social changes have transpired in Brazil since the original publication of this work, the original formulations regarding race relations still remain valid, a testimony to the original perceptions of the author. The result is one of the most up-to-date analyses of race relations in Brazil today.

The author's original preface and the original introduction by Robert E. Park have been retained. Each gives a sense of historical continuity to the effort; and each contains comments for the present. Indeed, as suggested by Park, the task of maintaining an effective social order in the context of drastic social change constitutes one of man's greatest challenges; this observation is surely of contemporary relevance.

Herman R. Lantz

Southern Illinois University
January, 1966

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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PREFACE TO THIS EDITION

FOLLOWING several impressions, this book has been out-of-print for some time; and, accordingly, I am grateful to Professor Herman R. Lantz and to Southern Illinois University Press for making it available again. 128

In preparation for the new Introduction a limited and preliminary survey was made of the criteria of rank in Brazil, with particular attention to the role of color. For assistance in this effort I am indebted to Professor Thales de Azevedo of Bahia, Professors Levy Cruz and Cecilia Sanioto DiLascio of Recife, Professors Santos Neves and Renato José Costa Pacheco of Vitória, and Professor Hiroshi Saito of São Paulo. 121* [114]

As the manuscript for the original book was being completed, in 1939, I was invited to São Paulo to help build up a pioneer school in Brazil in the social sciences; and I remained in that country for nearly two decades. At the time of this return, however, and for many years thereafter, there was little interest, in educational circles or elsewhere, in the study of the local racial situation. My time became so absorbed by an extensive round of other activities that for many years it was possible to give only limited attention to this problem.

By 1951, however, interest had built up in certain intellectual circles to the point where the UNESCO studies in several parts of the country were possible; but I was at that time also engaged, along with a considerable number of students and young professors whom I had helped train, in a series of studies in the São Francisco valley, so that it was not possible to accept the invitation to join the UNESCO

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* 12 [114] In 1934, while I was a Fellow in sociology at the University of Chicago, my attention was called by Dr. Herbert Blumer to the possibilities of Brazil as a locus for the study of racial and cultural contacts, and I subsequently received encouragement from Drs. Robert Redfield, Louis Wirth, and Ellsworth Faris to consider these possibilities seriously. As I subsequently went through the available literature in several languages, I became increasingly interested in Brazil, particularly as a locus for investigating, in an intimate and detailed way, what appeared to be a racial situation sufficiently distinct from that in India, for example, where the social order is based upon caste, or that in the United States, where the Negro is now escaping from a caste status and becoming a racial minority similar to the Jew in Europe and elsewhere, to constitute, along with, perhaps, the Hawaiian and certain other similar racial situations, a distinct type. At approximately this same time Dr. Robert E. Park returned from an extended world-tour, during which he had observed at first hand a number of the more important centers of racial and cultural contact, including Brazil, in which he also had for some time been particularly interested.

[114] [122] The outgrowth of these converging interests was a two-year period of field work in Brazil (from 1935 to 1937) as research assistant of the Social Science Research Committee of the University of Chicago, to which organization, together with the Rosenwald Fund, I am indebted for making this study financially possible. Twenty-two months of this period of residence were spent in intimate study of the social order of one city, the old seaport of Bahia.

This focusing of attention upon one particular locus is, in my opinion, an inescapable procedure, since the sentiments which determine human and personal relations are so in-

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that this discrimination at times involves colored persons. In this study undertaken thirty years ago that fact is stated (e.g., p. 350); and it has been extensively documented since.[11] The question is regarding the ascription of the reasons for this discrimination. Obviously, there are involved at times colored persons, the darker in such cases ordinarily the more, the lighter ordinarily the less. But this discrimination is automatically—and unjustifiably—assumed by some writers to be synonymous with race prejudice.

In the present author's judgment, based upon a careful and sympathetic reading and analysis of all these men have written in this respect, they are not dealing with race prejudice at all, at least as we have defined that term above. They are dealing instead, in different connections, with two sets of circumstances: a large number of cases where the referent is color, because color, in Brazil, is one of the criteria of rank; and, in the second place, a limited number of cases where the referent definitely is race but the attitudes are *individual* attitudes, individually derived and individually supported, and not general attitudes, originating in, and implemented by, the mores, as is the case with race prejudice.

Although race purists occasionally are to be found in Brazil, they represent, as Freyre has observed (1945:153),

[11] See, for example, Thales de Azevedo (1955a:95 ff.; 1956:84–85; 1959:97–101), Nelson de Souza Sampaio (1944), and Aniela Ginsberg (1947) for Bahia; René Ribeiro (1956) for Recife; Oracy Nogueira (1942), Virginia Bicudo (1955), Roger Bastide and Florestan Fernandes (1955), Aniela Ginsberg (1955), and Carolina Martuscelli (1950) for São Paulo; Stanley Stein (1957) for Vassouras in the Paraiba valley; L. A. Costa Pinto (1953) for Rio de Janeiro; Octávio Ianni (1962), Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1960, 1962), and these two authors jointly (1960) for southern Brazil; and C. R. Boxer (1953, 1962, 1963), particularly in historical retrospect, both in Brazil and among Portuguese colonies in Asia and Africa.

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affiliation, economic condition, and color, in that order. There was a surprisingly high degree of concordance in all five cities, the highest number of selections in each case being either personal competence or educational achievement. These two criteria were also most chosen as the "second most important" in all cities except one (where economic condition received the highest number of preferences for second place). As the "least important" criterion in a marriage partner, color was overwhelmingly selected in all cities, without exception.

What do these data mean? Are they illusory, by reason of flaws in the investigative tool? Do they point even more sharply to what some careful investigators have suggested regarding the differences between verbal and actual behavior? Or, taking into due consideration the admitted limitations of this preliminary survey, and taking also into consideration possible variants in verbal as contrasted with actual behavior, does there not still remain a strong likelihood that the role of color has been exaggerated by certain investigators who are familiar with other racial situations and simply cannot believe what lies before them? Or by local investigators who are in revolt regarding what they consider to be an overemphasis on Brazil's being a "racial democracy" and have deliberately set out to prove the reverse and in so doing have emphasized unduly certain limited aspects of the total situation and thus thrown the "picture" out of focus?

Wagley (1963b:152) reports that the hypotheses which emerged out of our study of Bahia were reaffirmed, in general, by the studies which he and his associates made in the same state and in the Amazon valley. They appear to be acceptable to the Bahian researcher, Thales de Azevedo; as well as to Felte Bezerra (1950; 1956), with reference to the

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vein, has pointed out. It was used in our original study to refer to very light mixed-bloods whose racial origin was evident to an anthropologist but not so evident to others, in an effort to make more understandable to a United States audience the actual situation at Bahia.

Perhaps it would be helpful to clarify certain matters mentioned in this book which have led serious critics to erroneous conclusions. Citing a Portuguese version of Chapter VII, Bastide (1943a:31) quotes us as saying that "in Bahia race prejudice is linked inexplicably (sic) to that of class." This statement we are unable to find in the translation of that chapter or in any other of our publications; nor do we subscribe to it.[32] The need to define terms is imperative. In their criticism of hypothesis 22 (see p. 349), Bastide and Fernandes (1951)[33] do not refer to *race* prejudice at all but instead—and repeatedly—to *color* prejudice. Obviously, they have misunderstood our intention. In an article published in the United States, Bastide and Pierre van den Berghe (1957:693) claim to have invalidated this hypothesis, "so far as São Paulo is concerned." They also write, however, that "we have not been able to isolate the effects of class and racial prejudice." It is therefore difficult to understand the subsequent statement to the effect that "we can definitely assert that, after *having eliminated*[34] the effects of class prejudice against colored people, there would remain an important residue of properly racial prejudice."

The principal difference of opinion, however, would seem to be due to a variation in the use of terms. It is the implica-

[32] A similarly erroneous (if more acceptable) ascription to our authorship is made by Staley (18).

[33] Republished, 1959:333.

[34] Italics ours.

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tion of our research, confirmed, and much more clearly stated, by Wagley and his associates—particularly by Harris—that one of the criteria of class is color. In so far as this is true, class discrimination and color discrimination (but *not* race prejudice as defined above) are inevitably linked. Bastide and Van den Berghe contend that they are dealing with "race prejudice" when we believe they mean "discrimination on the basis of color."[35] That such exists by reason of color being one of the criteria of rank is admitted, in the same sense in which discrimination exists in the case of low family origin, or of low economic condition, or of low educational level, or of lack of personal competence.

Bastide and Van den Berghe also claim to have invalidated, as far as São Paulo is concerned, another hypothesis of this study which they identify as follows: "Prejudice against Negroes is directly proportional to socio-economic status." It is not clear to what these authors refer. We do not recognize this hypothesis as being among those formulated by us, either in this book or elsewhere; nor do we subscribe to it, as stated.

The hypotheses which emerged out of our original study[36] may require, however, certain qualifications and additions, in order to make the description and analysis more precise and complete.

With reference to hypotheses 1 and 2, Willems has called our attention to the possibility that the mortality rate among the lower (and extensively colored) ranks of the Brazilian population may be proportionately lower now than in the

[35] Plus a few limited and atypical cases, as we have suggested above, of discrimination on the basis of race, neither derived from, however, nor supported by, the local mores.

[36] See pages 345–50 of this book.

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past, while the birth rate may have remained more or less constant. If this apparent shift in natural increase continues, it will of course slow down, or even reverse, the trend toward biological absorption evident in the past.[37]

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With reference to hypotheses 3, 4, and 5, one should note three qualifications. In the first place, although the originally unbalanced sex ratio undoubtedly played a definite role in colonial Brazil in developing a tradition of interracial unions, it became more normal shortly after first contact; in the second place, miscegenation, from the colonial period to the present, has proceeded considerably (but not exclusively) *outside* marriage, by way of informal unions; and, in the third place, the term "endogamy" in hypothesis 5 perhaps should be substituted by some such phrase as "the biological distinctiveness of the races." Endogamy still exists, however, among a numerically small segment of the upper class, including certain families which evidence an uncommon pride in their European origin and, even more particularly, certain families among the landed aristocracy which have long sought to keep property in the family and—for this and other reasons—to resist the intrusion of individuals from outside the kinship group, including native-born and immigrant whites as well as colored individuals. This has been accomplished by extensive and continuous marriage within the kinship group, including cousin with cousin and, until recent

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[37] T. Lynn Smith (102–6) reminds us that the fertility index for brancos, according to the 1950 census, was at that time higher than that for prêtos in all but one of the Brazilian states and territories (the State of Rio de Janeiro, where the two were approximately even); and that the fertility index for brancos also was higher in fourteen states than that of even the pardos (browns). (In assessing these data, one must of course take into consideration the meaning of these supposedly racial terms, as indicated above.)

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a nation more Caucasian in physical appearance." In addition, one should further note, as Willems has also suggested to us, that an aspect of this policy has become to some extent more formal and articulate in recent years. As we have defined it, this informal and unstated policy reflects a desire to absorb all minority groups—whether immigrant[40] or of color; but discrimination on the basis of either color or race obviously can stand in the way of its realization. It is with reference to this obstacle that Willems believes the policy has become more articulate, as reflected in the law of 1951, which gives legal negative sanction to discrimination in any form, a law passed overwhelmingly by the Brazilian Congress. It is reflected also in the committee reports and discussions inside and outside Congress which accompanied the enactment of this law; in the decidedly vocal and positive opposition on the part of Brazilian organs of public opinion to the occasional evidences of color discrimination upon which public attention becomes focused; and even, as Willems also points out, in the anti-racist militancy of colored organizations in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo.

Although the basic facts seem to have been observed and reported in the original study, not all were given, perhaps, the relative prominence they deserved in the hypotheses which terminated it. One might add to these hypotheses certain apparent facts to which attention is called, to some extent at least, in the course of this book:

1. A large number of popular terms have arisen which seem to designate the various racial combinations in the population. However, a) these terms are descriptive not so much of racial descent as (1) of the actual physical appearance of the individual in question, and (2) of his social

[40] Cf., in this respect, Nogueira 1955:552; Pierson 1951:191.

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subject. Among these visitors there are two—James Bryce and Theodore Roosevelt—whose knowledge of conditions in the United States make their reports upon the situation in Brazil peculiarly interesting.

Viscount Bryce, whose "observations and impressions" of South America were first published in 1912, remarked that in Brazil, in contrast to the United States, the color line is nowhere sharply drawn and that "the fusion of whites and blacks by intermarriage goes steadily on." Mr. Roosevelt—Theodore and not Franklin Delano—who visited the country a few years later, is more explicit. He says: "If I were asked to name the one point in which there is a complete difference between the Brazilian and ourselves, I should say it was in the attitude to the black man."

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This attitude manifests itself in the fact that in Brazil "any Negro or mulatto who shows himself fit is without question given the place to which his abilities entitle him." However, the most conspicuous difference—the "one real difference"—is "the tendency of Brazil to absorb the Negro." This tendency is, however, not merely a historical and biological fact; it is rather an expression of a national policy, in so far as Brazil can be said to have a policy with respect to the Negro.

Statistics of population, which are never very accurate in this matter of race and less so perhaps in Brazil than in the United States, indicate that the number of Africans of unmixed blood is growing steadily less so that "with two or more racial crossings"—so say those Brazilians who are conscious of the Negro or concerned about his future—"the Negro blood tends to disappear." This so-called Aryanization of the African, from the point of view of Brazilian national policy, is a thing, perhaps one should say *the* thing, to be desired.

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361 162 As one moves interior from the Reconcavo into the *sertão*, the Negro contribution to the population tends to decrease and the Indian contribution, much mixed with [311] both white and Negro, to increase. Both on the moderately [177] watered plateaus and river basins, chiefly devoted to cattle-raising and light farming and occasionally covered with virgin or second-growth timber, as well as in the sandy, dry, and hot *caatinga* country of the semiarid zones, one finds a frontier society which is relatively isolated and has been only slightly modified during recent decades by contact with the outside world.[8]

Thus, in this particular area of intimate racial and cultural contact where the Negro and his descendants have been fated to work out a rather picturesque career, one will find three distinct types of settlement and population. In the *sertão*, or interior, is a highly mixed stock to whose composition the Indian has contributed in greater proportion probably than either the Negro or the European. In the Reconcavo, with its tradition of a departed rural aristocracy, a disintegrated plantation system, and a long history of slavery, the population is still principally negroid. While in the city of Bahia itself the people are largely of mixed European-African origin, individuals of either pure European or pure African descent being clearly in the minority.

633 571 In the city also, the social order is still relatively stable. There has been in recent times little change. Bahia is, as we have seen, a comparatively old city, conscious of its traditions and proud of them. Conventions originally developed

[114] [8] Euclydes da Cunha's *Os Sertões* (12th ed.; Rio, 1933) gives a vivid and dramatic account of life on the *sertão*. Although written in 1902, it is still timely. R. B. Cunningham-Graham's *A Brazilian Mystic* (New York, 1925) is based upon this more detailed account.

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tation life as they were at home in the near-by bush, proved inefficient and undependable workers.

Just the reverse was characteristic of the Africans, with whom the Portuguese had for some time been acquainted. As early as 1433,[7] Negro slaves had been imported into Portugal to labor on the large estates of the military and religious orders, particularly in the Algarves. Moreover, the West Coast of Africa lay within easy reach of Brazil, directly opposite its central and northern coasts.

The exact date when African importation began is unknown, although it is thought that the fleet which Martim Affonso de Souza in 1531 encountered in the bay at Bahia was engaged in the transport of slaves.[8] Sometime later in this same century[9] the slave trade began to gather momen-

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[7] Prado cites a statement from Georg Friederici (*Der Charakter der Entdeckung und Eroberung Amerikas durch die Europaer* [3 vols.; Stuttgart, 1925–36]) to the effect that the first Africans were imported into Portugal in 1433, instead of 1441, as commonly thought. See J. F. de Almeida Prado, *Pernambuco e as capitanias do norte do Brasil* (2 vols.; São Paulo, 1939–41), I, 250 n.

[8] Malheiro, *op. cit.*, III, 6; cf. Arthur Ramos, *As culturas negras no novo mundo* (Rio, 1937), p. 281.

[9] In a letter dated 1552 Padre Nobrega refers to having requested and received three slaves from Guinea. These arrived with others on orders from the king (see Ignacio Accioli de Cerqueira e Silva, *Memorias historicas e politicas da provincia da Bahia* [4 vols.; Bahia, 1919–33], I, 390). In another letter written June 5, 1559, Padre Nobrega refers to eight "Negros de Guiné" on the estate of one Andre Gavião at Bahia (see Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 442). In 1583 a certain Salvador Correa de Sá made a contract with João Gutteres Valerio in which he agreed to purchase every slave brought from Africa in his ship (F. Borges de Barros, *Novos documentos para a historia colonial* [Bahia, 1931], p. 77). Pedro Calmon (*op. cit.*, p. 178) gives 1548 as the year in which the traffic began, and Arthur Ramos (*The Negro in Brazil* [Washington, 1939], p. 3) says that the first shipment of slaves direct from the Guinea coast is thought to have occurred in 1538 in a vessel belonging to one Jorge Lopes Bixorda.

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rapidly becoming one people. Some day not far distant there will be only *one* race in our country."

On visiting Brazil, Theodore Roosevelt once wrote: "Perhaps the attitude that the Brazilians, including the most intelligent among them, take is best symbolized by a picture which we saw in the Art Museum in Rio. It portrayed a black grandfather, a mulatto son, and a white grandchild, the evident intention of the painter being to express both the hope and the belief that the Negro was being absorbed and transformed so that he would become a white man." Quoting a Brazilian statesman, Roosevelt continued: "You speak of Brazil as having a large Negro population. Well, in a century there will not be any Negroes in Brazil, whereas you will have twenty or thirty millions of them. Then for you there will be a real and very uncomfortable problem, while for us the problem in its most menacing phase will have disappeared."[42]

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It is difficult to check this general impression that the population is constantly becoming more and more European in appearance. Reliable statistics on the present distribution of the various ethnic groups are not available. No adequate data of this sort have recently been compiled by any agency. The last Brazilian census to include racial categories was taken a half-century ago, in 1890. At that time the racial division in Bahia was given as: *brancos*, 32.0 per cent; *pretos*, 26.4 per cent; and *mestiços*, 35.1 per cent.[43]

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Vital statistics, however, are still recorded in the city by

[42] *Outlook*, CVI (February 21, 1914), 410–11.

[43] *Caboclos* were given as 6.5 per cent. It is difficult to understand how so large a number of Indians, or Indian mixed-bloods (the term is variously used at different times and in different places in Brazil), could have at that time existed in the city of Bahia.

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man is a Negro"), has now been largely replaced by, as Freyre says, the "more Brazilian saying": "Quem escapa de negro, branco é" ("Who isn't a Negro is a white man"). 826

With due regard, then, to such qualifications regarding the precise meaning of *branco* as these facts suggest, we may note that the classification of births in Bahia in 1932 indicated the color distribution to be as given in Table 3. 563* 826 162

TABLE 2

PROBABLE ETHNIC ORIGIN OF THE FIRST FIVE HUNDRED INDIVIDUALS LISTED AS *Brancos* IN THE FILES OF THE GABINETE DE IDENTIFICAÇÃO, BAHIA, 1937 [217]

Probability	Number	Per Cent
Whites	340	68.0
Mulattoes*	95	19.0
Indian-white mixed-bloods†	39	7.8
Indian-white-Negro mixed-bloods†	26	5.2
Total	500	100.0

* Individuals with the following physical characteristics were noted: (1) nose very broad, lips very full; (2) dark skin, hair almost kinky, lips thick; (3) skin *café com leite* ("coffee with milk"), hair exceedingly curly; (4) hair almost kinky; (5) lips full, nose broad, considerable prognathism.

† Ordinarily only slight traces of Indian ancestry evident in each case.

Since the total registration of births for each of these years averages slightly in excess of five hundred in a city of an estimated 360,000, the records are obviously incomplete. Many midwife deliveries go unrecorded; and, since these births occur usually among the lower classes, which are largely black and dark mulatto, the relative color percentages are probably skewed toward the white pole. 563* 163 114 [565] [162]

Deaths are less likely to go unrecorded. But since deaths 165 563*

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563 nomic level. Of the 27 others, in 21, or 80 per cent, of the
565 cases the financial condition of the white was less favorable than that of the colored partner. Of the 6 other cases, in which monetary advantage was in favor of the darker individual, 3 of the whites involved were males, and 3 were females.

One of the males had married the daughter of a respected and widely revered mixed-blood educator, an "authority" on Portuguese grammar, with whom many Bahians of the upper classes had studied and into whose family, by reason of the father's prestige, anyone in Bahia would deem it an honor to be accepted. Moreover, the difference in economic level between the two families was slight. A second had married a "beautiful *morena*" whose physical charm, it is said, readily compensated for the difference in economic status.

* 563 In 19 cases of intermarriage on which information was
565 obtained from a town in the interior (Itaquara), 15 were
• [114] from the same occupational level. In the 4 cases in which
[463] one spouse came from a lower social stratum than the other, the social advantage was in each case in favor of the white.
[434] Thirteen of the 19 couples came from the same economic level.

One may say that the frequency of intermarriage at Bahia varies inversely with class level. In other words, intermarriage takes place readily in the lower circles, occasionally among whites who are climbing in the class scale, and rarely with whites in the upper class.[22]

When intermarriages involving upper-class individuals do occur, however, "society" does not completely close its doors

[22] This generalization does not hold for *brancos da Bahia*, or those mixed-bloods who have passed over into the white category.

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passed resolutions protesting police interference with the *candomblé* and demanding full religious liberty in the exercise of its rites.

Papers presented to this congress by Brazilians dealt with such subjects as "Slave Insurrections in the Province of Espirito Santo during the Nineteenth Century," "Old Documents concerning the Negroes of the Palmares," "Castro Alves and Brazilian Poetical Treatment of the Negro Slave," "The *Africano* in Bahia," "Chapters in Afro-Brazilian Ethnology in Rio Grande," "Bantú Contributions to Religious Syncretism in Brazil," "A Revision of Afro-Brazilian Ethnology," "The *Africano* and His Culture in Brazil," "The *Orixá*[4] of the Poor," "The School of Nina Rodrigues," and "The Negro and the Problem of Acculturation in Brazil." Only one paper was not concerned with ethnological or historical problems; and it, although it took account of ethnic differences, did not treat of any form of racial conflict. It dealt with "The Negro Criminal in Bahia."

Similar questions were discussed in the first *Congresso Afro-brasileiro*, which met in Recife, sponsored by Gilberto Freyre, a social historian whose *Casa grande e senzala* and *Sobrados e mucambos* throw significant light upon the Negro in colonial and imperial Brazil.[5] This gathering was, because of its informal character and the attempt to present factual data, "something new in Brazil."[6] As Freyre describes it:

> There was lacking both formality and a consciousness of class. Around a table, at the head of which different individuals took turns

[4] *Orixá* is a Yoruba word meaning "deity."

[5] An interesting estimate of Freyre's work by Dr. Lewis Hanke appears in the *Quarterly Journal of Inter-American Relations*, July, 1939, pp. 24-44, under the title "Gilberto Freyre: Brazilian Social Historian."

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[6] Gilberto Freyre, "O que foi o primeiro Congresso Afro-brasileiro no Recife," in *Novos estudos afro-brasileiros*, ed. Freyre *et al.* (Rio, 1937), p. 348.

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ture. It is a linguistic problem, a question of the influence of African dialects upon the Portuguese language. It is a sociological problem, a question of the influence of the Negro upon Brazilian social life.[19]

As here defined, then, the concern of Brazilian intellectuals interested in the Negro lies in problems other than those arising from racial maladjustment, with the possible exception implied by the phrase "questions of racial heredity and race mixture," and similarly suggested by the titles of the last-named three papers presented to the first Afro-Brazilian Congress. But, if the situation is analyzed more fully, one finds that each of these three papers *attacks* the positions that the Negro is racially inferior and that race mixture leads to degeneracy.

The thesis of Negro inferiority is today perhaps most forcefully defended by Oliveira Vianna, able sociologist and member of the National Academy of Letters. Well versed in the race literature of Europe and of the United States and impressed, like Nina Rodrigues, with the difficulties in the way of assimilating the African and his descendants, Vianna has written:

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The pure Negroes never will be able, not even the most advanced representatives of the race, to be assimilated completely into the white culture; their capacity for civilization—their "civilizability," so to speak—does not extend beyond merely imitating, more or less imperfectly, the habits and customs of the whites. Between the Negro's mentality and that of the Caucasian lies a substantial and irreducible difference which no social or cultural pressure, no matter how long it may be continued, can possibly overcome.[20]

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[19] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

[20] Oliveira Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro* (2d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 156. It is obvious from a careful reading of his books that this able scholar inadvertently fails to distinguish between the biological and the cultural determinants in mental functioning and personality and that he also confuses cultural achievement with racial potentiality.

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Thus the Negro, being "insensible to those superior impulses which constitute the dominant force in the white's mentality," contributes to the superior classes, Vianna contends, "only when he loses his purity and mixes with the white."[31]

Recognizing, however, that there are in Brazil "both inferior and superior mixed-bloods," Vianna offers in explanation that "a fortunate crossing of a superior type of Negro (for the Negro is not a unit) . . . . with a white individual well gifted eugenically may produce a superior mulatto . . . . if, by chance, in the play of hereditary influences, the eugenic potentialities of the white predominate."

In another connection Vianna maintains that

> the entire development of Brazilian collective mentality has in reality been nothing more than a continuous bringing-over . . . . of the racially inferior portions of our population to European mentality and morality: that is, to the mind and character of the white race. The superior mixed-bloods, those who during the long period of our national development have risen socially, did not rise nor establish themselves because of their mixed-blood mentality. Instead of preserving as they climbed the characteristics of their hybrid type, they on the contrary lost those very characteristics, left off being psychologically mixed; that is, they Aryanized themselves.[32]

To this latter passage the author of one of the three papers referred to above takes energetic exception.[33] Quoting this passage in full, he immediately disclaims any addiction to what he calls "the Aryan fetish of the illustrious sociologist." He maintains instead that "the greatness of Brazil comes from race mixture"; it has resulted in a better-adapted and more resistant individual, "the new variety, the mixed-blood *superior being*."

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 161.

[32] *Populações meridionaes do Brasil* (3d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 154.

[33] A. Austregesilo, "A mestiçagem no Brasil como factor eugenico," in *Novos estudos afro-brasileiros*, ed. Freyre *et al.*, pp. 325-33.

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Sharply departing from Vianna, and also from Jorge de Lima and Euclydes da Cunha, to all of whom he refers as "devotees of Aryanism," and from "those foreign literary men and sociologists of little standing" who claim "that the Brazilian is a product of three melancholy, inferior, and indolent races: that is, that the Brazilian is racially inferior," this author asserts that "the notable intellectual capacity of the Brazilian people and the existence among us of geniuses to an extent greater than in any other Ibero-American country, prove that it is not Aryan descent but race mixture which has given birth to the intelligence and the creative capacity of the Brazilian people." Not racial inferiority or degeneracy, but illiteracy, malnutrition, and disrespect for labor are responsible for what deficiencies Brazil may possess. This author concludes:

> I am certain that in Brazil miscegenation has brought and will continue to bring more benefits than evils. The greater portion of our people, as well as of our talented invididuals,[34] in politics, in the sciences, and in the arts, were, or are, mixed-bloods. For instance, I can at once cite such men as Gonçalves Dias, Tobias Barreto, Barão de Cotegipe, Floriano Peixoto, Rebouças, José do Patrocinio, Nilo Peçanha, Machado de Assis, Juliano Moreira, Olava Bilac, Lima Barreto, and many others: scientists, painters, sculptors, musicians, poets, military men; in all of whom the blood of Africa is represented to a considerable degree.

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A perhaps less extreme and more scholarly but nonetheless vigorous attack upon the theory of Negro inferiority is to be found in the second of the three papers referred to above.[35] Regretting that "our . . . . physical, moral and so-

[34] This is probably an exaggerated statement of an actual truth.

[35] See Senhora Juliano Moreira, "Juliano Moreira e o problema do negro e do mestiço no Brasil," in *Novos estudos afro-brasileiros*, ed. Freyre *et al.*, pp. 146–50. In this article the widow of the late colored alienist gathers together some of his writings upon the subject.

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virtually extinct.[3] Only an occasional individual of African birth may be found, like, for instance, a certain elderly black once prominent in the fetish cults not only of Bahia but also of Rio de Janeiro who was born in Lagos, his father having purchased his mother out of slavery in Brazil shortly before his birth and taken her to Africa. He knows four *Africanos* still living in Rio. In 1936 he met in Brotas (a subdivision of Bahia) an elderly African woman with facial scarification and almost no command of Portuguese. She has since died.

Thus, actual contact with Africa is today little more than a memory in the minds of a few of the older blacks, who recall stories told by their parents or by other Africans of persons, places, and events in Africa; or who years ago visited in the home of African ancestors or were, perhaps, personally acquainted with blacks plying their small vessels between Bahia and the West Coast. However, certain individuals of the older generation still cherish sentimental attachment to Africa, as is indicated by the expression occasionally heard on the lips of an elderly Negro, as he reverently turns his eyes upward toward the sky, "Sou filho de dois Africanos, graças a Deus!"[4] "If I had the money," remarked another black, his eyes lighting up, "I'd go to Africa, to Abeokuta, build me a house, and live like a man ought to."

An elderly Bahian Negro recalled:

My mother was just a young girl when she was captured by a warrior in Africa. He wanted to sell her to a slave trader in Dahomey.

[3] Since lower-class Negroes who have difficulty in speaking correct Portuguese occasionally attempt to cover up their chagrin by saying that they are *Africanos*, and others, participating in social circles where prestige attaches to the native-born African, may deliberately misstate their origin, the incautious observer may be led erroneously to think that there are a considerable number of Africans still living in Bahia.

[4] "My father and mother were both Africans, thank God!"

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794 ("guide") and a protector who, if she obeys the prescribed rituals and taboos, may bring her, it is thought, much fortune and happiness. "Look at me!" exclaimed a newly "made" *filha*. "My *orixá* is the greatest of all the *orixás*. He's powerful. I'm a black woman and can't read or write. But I'm living with a man *formado* in the Faculdade de Medicina. See what Oxalá did for me!"

794 As has already been noted, the rituals and ceremonies of
796 the cult are serious and dignified and carried on in accord-
[562] ance with fixed traditional forms. Among the essential elements of the Gêge-Nagô ceremonies is the rigid separation of spectators according to sex. The males always occupy the
[273] seats to the left of the drums, the females those to the right. No drunkenness or obscenity is permitted. Said a member of a Nagô *seita*, "If they drink *cachaça* in a *candomblé*, you may know it is not well organized." Once at a ceremony at Gantois an intoxicated man forced his way through the crowd into the *barracão*. Immediately, the *mãe de santo* who was presiding signaled to two *ogans* who, calling out of the crowd a police official, promptly ejected the intruder.[9]

794 The *filhas de santo* before beginning a ceremonial dance
576 make obeisance to the *pae* or *mãe de santo* by dropping to their knees and bowing their heads to the ground before the leader of their cult. Similar obeisance is also made to visiting *paes* or *mães de santo* or other honored personages of the fetish world and, occasionally, to the *ogans*.

794 When, during the ceremonial dance an *orixá* "arrives in
796 the head" of a *filha*, she must, after the first violent seizure
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[9] Such romanticized accounts of fetish cult ceremonies as that given by
[114] Graça Aranha and uncritically quoted by Vera Kelsey (*Seven Keys to Brazil* [New York, 1940], pp. 27–28), if they have any basis in fact at all, owe it to the disintegration of formerly wholesome cultural forms now characteristic of certain *macumba* centers of Rio de Janeiro.

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all of whom represent the African tradition in its "purest" form—is, throughout the fetish world, very great."

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two thousand persons were present, including members of the Irmandade of Rosario Church, dressed in their robes. The coffin, which was, in keeping with Anninha's request, quite modest, had over it the robe she had worn as a member of this Irmandade of which she was so proud, and was carried on the shoulders of the Brothers of Nossa Senhora do Rosario and of São Benedicto. The crowd of mourners blocked traffic in Rua Dr. Seabra for more than half an hour. Some *filhas de santo* wept unceasingly. Others related the virtues of the kind Anninha. 793 766

"When the coffin, carried by pious hands, entered the large gate of the cemetery, the *atabaques* broke out into African rhythms, while sad voices rose in the African songs of the *seita* to which the illustrious *mãe de santo* belonged.

"In the chapel of the cemetery, Canon Assis Curvello repeated the *encommendação*, and her body was laid away in a recently opened crypt.

"Then several orators spoke, among them Snr. Alvaro MacDowell de Oliveira in the name of the União das Seitas Afro-Brasileiras da Bahia, the journalist Edison Carneiro, and representatives of the Centro Cruz Santa do Aché de Okô Afonjá and of the Irmandade of Rosario Church. When the ceremony was over, two omnibuses carried a large number of the friends of Anninha to São Gonçalo do Retiro, where they took part in the preparatory ritual for the African funeral ceremony of Axêxê, to be held seven days after the death of the beloved leader of the *terreiro* of Aché de Okô Afonjá. This ceremony will consist of rites for the eternal peace of the dead *mãe de santo* and will be participated in by *ogans*, *filhas de santo*, *paes de santo*, and other friends of the deceased."

" This chapter is primarily based upon the author's personal experience as a visitor at numerous ceremonies in eighteen *seitas* at Bahia and as a participant over a period of several months as an *ogan* in the *candomblé* of Pae Procopio in Matatú. For further information see, in addition to the works of Nina Rodrigues, Arthur Ramos, Manoel Querino, and Edison Carneiro previously cited: Padre Étienne Ignace Brasil, "Le Fetichisme des negres du Brésil," *Anthropos*, III (1908), 881–904; Gonçalves Fernandes, *Xangôs do Nordeste* (Rio, 1937) and *O folklore magico do Nordeste* (Rio, 1938); João Varella, *Cosme e Damião* (Bahia, 1938); the novels *O feiticeiro* by Xavier Marques (Bahia, 1922) and *Jubiabá* by Jorge Amado (Rio, 1935); and newspaper accounts such as "Creado o conselho africano da Bahia," *Estado da Bahia*, August 4, 1937, and "No mundo cheio de mysterios dos espiritos e 'paes de santo,'" *ibid.*, May 14, 1936. 114 123 113

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4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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tive concubines, the attitude of this community also changed, until "at the present time there is probably nowhere a more grim determination to preserve the integrity of their racial stock than there is among the descendants of those first Dutch settlers and of the French Huguenot and German immigrants who followed and fused with them to form the Boer people."[4]

But in Brazil the attitudes toward intermixture and intermarriage which grew up during the colonial period in response to the exigencies of the frontier seem not to have been subsequently seriously altered. Instead, the tendency to absorb all diverse ethnic elements appears to have been a persistent character of Brazilian society throughout the four centuries of its existence and is characteristic of it today.

The reasons for this deviation in Brazil are not very clear, and it continues, therefore, to be a problem. One of the difficulties in the way of its solution is the comparatively meager amount of information available on the "social history" of Brazil. Until quite recently, when such intellectuals as Gilberto Freyre became interested in digging out of the voluminous record of the past some understanding of the human relations characteristic of the colonial and imperial periods, Brazilian historians had limited their attention largely to the political, and especially to the administrative, aspects of Brazilian history. There is extant, of course, a considerable literature from the pens of foreign visitors, among whom were several able scientists, artists, and scholars like, for example, J. B. von Spix, C. F. P. von Martius, J. B. Debret, Prince Maximilian Wied-Neuwied, Maurice Rugendas, Henry W. Bates, Louis Agassiz, Richard F. Burton, Prince Adalbert, and L. F. Tollenare, which often con-

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[4] Park, "Race Relations and Certain Frontiers," *op. cit.*, pp. 67-68.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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tains pertinent observation and comment. But, unfortunately, the work of these men is almost entirely limited to the nineteenth century. The accounts which deal with an earlier period—for instance, the *Cartas* of Vilhena and of Nobrega, and the works of such able historians as Robert Southey, Heinrich Handelmann, and Francisco A. de Varnhagen—do not furnish sufficient information to resolve our problem. Voluminous records in numerous public depositories still await the careful sifting of competent scholars.

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It may be that, by the time European women had arrived in any considerable number in Bahia, miscegenation, aided by the decimation occasioned by the rigors of slavery and the introduction of European diseases, had already proceeded to the point where the Indian, as a minority group, had disappeared, or had almost disappeared, so that the problem of serious competition with Indian concubines did not present itself to the incoming Portuguese housewives.

Large numbers of Africans were, however, by this time coming in, and they continued for generations to arrive. There were at least some females among them. No intermarriage with African women, as far as we know, at first took place. Miscegenation, however, was extensive. And the mixed-bloods, as we have seen, were treated with tolerance and consideration. Numerous unions, especially with mulatto women, were subsequently entered into and were socially accepted.

It may have been that one circumstance favorable to a deviant termination of race relations in Brazil was the contact which the Portuguese, unlike the English and the Dutch, had with the Moors. From the customs and traditions of their conquerors, the Portuguese, during the several centuries of Moorish domination of the Iberian peninsula,

[SALVADOR]

/5/ Introduction

121 The subject of this monograph is the study of the social ascent of colored people /Fr. gens de couleur/ in a Brazilian city and the analysis of the mechanisms whereby this "vertical mobility" comes into play. The city that has been chosen as the field of investigation is that of Salvador (Bahia), which for a long time has been cited as a model of racial harmony.

The research project that served as the basis of this report included: 1st, an inquiry into the place given to colored people -- for the most part descendants of African Blacks or of the crossing of Blacks and Portuguese -- in the social groups surrounded by an aura of prestige and, in a general manner, in the upper classes of the society; 2nd, a description of the mechanism of social ascent; 3rd, a study of the way in which Whites and colored people react when confronted by this social phenomenon.

• 114 The research carried out under our responsibility began in February, 1951, and was pursued until October of the same year.

Our observations dealt with the racial composition of different social groupings and were carried out on the occasion of religious ceremonies, military or civic parades, school functions, academic sessions, or meetings of learned societies, balls, family festivals, and sports events. They were rounded out by visits to administrative and business offices, to stores, schools, clubs, and other places of work and recreation. We likewise examined the [127] portraits of colored people filed in the Bureau of Identification of the police of the State, of students or of school children photographed at the time of the promotion of their class, of members of religious brotherhoods, of recreational and social clubs, and finally of persons belonging to the liberal professions. When we had at our disposal only lists of names, the classification according to ethnic origin was entrusted to three or four individuals who were acquainted with the members of the group in question.

124 In addition to these investigations and the compilation of [127] data furnished by previous studies of a social, historical, ethnographic, and demographic nature, 56 Blacks and mulattoes were interviewed; they were chosen from a list of 128 names, which included a majority of colored people occupying a high position

/7 cont./

124 We also called on a limited number of white informants who had the reputation of being familiar with the problems of Bahia in
114 the past and the present. Born and raised in this city, where I have never ceased to dwell, I was also able to use my own experience.
127 In addition, we made use of announcements and editorial commentaries appearing in the periodicals and daily papers of Bahia and reflecting, up to a certain point, the stereotypes of the milieu studied.

121 A simple description of the racial situation in Bahia would not be adequate to make one understand the dynamism of this rising of the Blacks on the social scale. It has also been treated as a process of cultural and social change and therefore examined from a historical perspective; people have refrained, however, from going into details.

114 Our investigation, in one sense, was made difficult by the
127 scarcity of anthropological and sociological works on the society of Bahia. This city has been the subject of several historical studies in the course of recent years. One finds numerous references to the slave trade, to anthropometry, to phenomena of acculturation, and to African survivals, but, as Donald Pierson very rightly says in the work that we shall cite so often, there is only a meager literature on the conflicts or on the processes of adjustment that characterize race relations in Bahia. The book by Donald Pierson (1)

[113]

1. Donald Pierson, Negroes in Brazil. A study of race contact at Bahia. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1947.

is really the first and up to now the only one in which race relations in Bahia have been analyzed and presented according to the methods of modern sociology.

128 I do not pretend to have done exhaustive or definitive work on /8/ the very complex problem of the social mobility of colored people in Bahia. I wanted above all to be objective and to present the problems from a scientific point of view, by avoiding insofar as possible the snares of ethnocentrism so difficult to elude, even unconsciously, when one is a member of the culture that one is describing.

5: Azevedo--5 D, Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[SALVADOR]

/8 cont./

122 The realization of this project is due to the initiative of Unesco, which subsidized it and made it possible, thanks to an agreement made with the Foundation for the Development of Science in Bahia, within the framework of the program of social research of the State of Bahia and Columbia University. It is a pleasant duty for me to thank my friends: Professor Charles Wagley of Columbia University, in New York, for the well-informed collaboration that he has kindly given to the organization of the plan of investigation and to the investigation itself, as director of the program mentioned above; Professor Anisio S. Texeira for his clear discussion of certain topics of work and for the support he gave in his capacity as secretary general of the foundation. It is also necessary for me to thank Mr. Alfred Métraux of the Department of Social Sciences of Unesco, who approved our plans for the investigation and the choice of my person to direct it, who has had the kindness to read my notes, to discuss with me the numerous problems of the study, and to help me with his critical comments
• 114 and his authoritative opinions. I wish likewise to show my gratitude for the excellent co-operation that my assistants in the investigation gave me: Marie Amélie C. Leite, Professor of the School of Social Service of Bahia, Josildeth S. Gomes and Thérèse Cardoso, my students of anthropology of the faculty of philosophy of the University of Bahia, and my daughter Sylvia de Azevedo, as well as Mr. Maurilio Pinto da Silva, Jayme Abreu, and Louis R. Sena for other forms of unselfish collaboration, not excepting the excellent photographer Mr. Pierre Verger for his technical assistance. I thank, moreover, the recreational clubs, the religious
[127] brotherhoods, the schools, and the organizations that register professional work for having facilitated for me access to their card-
115 index cabinets and their registers. I wish finally to mention very
114 especially my informants, whom it is unfortunately impossible to name; I wish to express to them here all my gratitude for their good will and for the wealth of data and of personal experiences that they kindly entrusted to me and that I have utilized for a scientific purpose; I add that none of them can be held responsible for the way in which I have utilized this material.

January, 1952 Thales de Azevedo

[SALVADOR]

826 /10 cont./
829 The mulattoes of light complexion, socially "whitened" or "Whites
*563 in color" (brancos na côr), are commonly called "Whites of the
565 land" (brancos da terra) or "Whites of Bahia" (2).
[192]

2. According to Donald Pierson, the Whites of Bahia are "very light métis /persons of mixed blood / who in Bahia are generally considered Whites"; cf. Brancos e pretos na Bahia /Whites and Blacks in Bahia/, São Paulo, 1945, p. 200. In commenting on this definition, a writer from Bahia explains that it does not rest upon an observation based on physical anthropology. Factors of a sociological order enter into this specification and make defining it difficult. J. Valadares, "Brancos da Bahia," Estado da Bahia, 2, VI, Bahia, 1943 (this comment refers to an article published by Pierson in 1943).
[114]
[113]

when they occupy an important position and when one /11/ does not wish to offend them by calling them mulattoes. In the characterization of these "presumed Whites," fortune or social rank always plays a large part. In speaking of a light métis /a person with mixed blood/ with slightly Negroid features, one may say with a certain irony: "So-and-So is White, socially speaking, since he has already occupied one of the highest positions in the State." It is for these reasons that a physician from Bahia who had taken up the study of anthropology wrote as early as 1898 that "anatomically the Whites of Bahia are placed between the pardos and the direct descendants of Portuguese not of mixed blood (1)."

[113]

1. J. B. Sá Oliveira, Evoluçao psiquica dos bahianos /Psychic evolution of the Bahians/, Bahia, 1898, p. 51.

[SALVADOR]

/14 cont./

144 *563 829 815 a) mulattoes of prime blood; b) light mulattoes tending to revert to the white race; c) dark mulattoes, cabras, product tending to revert to the black race, some almost completely identified with the creole Negroes, the others more easily separable; 2nd, the mamelucos or cabôclos, products of the cross between White and Indian; 3rd, the product of the cross of the three races and especially the cross between the mulatto and the Indian or with the mamelucos and cabôclos. Arthur Ramos in his book A aculturaçao negra no Brasil /Negro Acculturation in Brazil/, 1942, p. 58, and in other works, one of which is "The Negro in Brazil," in Brazil, Portrait of Half a Continent, edited by Lynn Smith and A. Marchant, New York, 1950, p. 130, adopts almost the same classification, but proposes that, in order to avoid inaccuracies, one use the words pardo, mulatto, and métis as synonyms.

144 *563 829 114 [13]

144 *563 829 659 In response to the demand of a lawyer, the head of the Bureau of Judicial Identification of the civil police of the State of Bahia stated some years ago that in his department one uses, according to the judgment of the identifier, the terms White, moreno, pardo, métis, and Black. A woman official who has worked for a long time in this service describes the different Bahia types thus: "The métis is a descendant of Black and mulatto; the pardo is the son of a mulatto and a White; the mulatto is derived from a White and a Black: he may be light, but he will always have lips that are thick and reddened by pigmentation; the moreno is the mulatto fino, and the Black is an individual with pronounced Negro traits."

[SALVADOR]

/24 cont./

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Year	Percentage of ethnic types		
	Whites	"Pardos"	Blacks
1897	32.61	29	38.39
1907	32.71	34.74	32.55
1917	32.81	39.55	27.64
1927	32.91	43.61	23.48
1938	33.02	47.37	19.61
1940 (1)	28.74	51.11	20.13

[114]

1. Figures of the national census, which differ from those relating to mortality because of a difference of evaluation in the classification of the types.

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*563 The rapid growth of the white group, through the incorporation of "whitened" métis, and thanks to the better social and economic conditions of the upper strata of the population, to which the vast majority of the descendants of Europeans belong, means that in the total figure, in relation to the Whites the proportion of colored persons is decreasing at the same time that the proportion of métis is increasing, which is clearly shown by the census:

Year	Proportions in relation to one White	
	Colored persons	"Pardos"
1872	3.16	1.88
1890	2.84	2.70
1940	2.57	2.55

*563 The intensity of crossbreeding is actually so great that, as a well-known intellectual of Bahia notes, "the autochthonous fino White is no more than a historic memory" (3).

[113]

3. Prado Valadares, Remirando o cáos /Again Considering the Chaos/, Bahia, 1933.

[SALVADOR]

/34/ A Multiracial Society with Classes

565 [114] The structure of the classes of Bahia has never been described and analyzed from the sociological point of view, except very summarily by Donald Pierson (1).

1. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 64.

As this scholar shows, one may say schematically that the population of Bahia consists of an "upper" class, to which belong the descendants of the old aristocracy, the great landowners and the merchants, the intellectuals and those who practice a liberal profession, such as lawyers, doctors, engineers, politicians, officers of the armed forces, poets and journalists, university professors, the few industrialists that Bahia has produced, and a lower class made up of very poor people engaged in simple occupations, unskilled workmen and manual laborers. There is, furthermore, a stratum that one cannot exactly call a middle class, but rather an intermediate group, containing minor employees, petty officials, and tradesmen.

*563 555 565 As for their place in society, one may say that, although in general terms the status of the Bahians depends on their birth, there is no doubt that social ascent proceeds by way of free competition. Blacks and métis, as individuals, may, "by their personal merit or as the result of favorable circumstances, improve their social situation and even obtain a position in the upper strata of society; this position will be in keeping, not only with their color group, but with the whole of the community" (2).

2. Ibid., p. 419, 422; cf. also Frazier, art. cit., p. 477.

565 *563 [361] [362] The majority of colored persons, like all the lower class, lives in poor quarters, in the outskirts of the city or in small clusters of modest houses interspersed in the residential quarters of the higher classes; moreover, numerous colored families of intermediate or upper status live in these same quarters. Colored persons are admitted, according to their economic resources and

[SALVADOR]

/37 cont./

*563 565 the other hand, the métis with straight hair and a color very close to that of the white race could succeed in the different branches of human activity without having to suffer any annoyance of an ethnic nature."

[826] Notwithstanding all these difficulties, colored people, especially the lightest ones and those whose features bring them closer /38/ to the Whites, may achieve a rank as high as the latter. As [114] will be seen in the following chapters, they may marry Whites, according to their social position; they may have a pre-eminent place in the liberal professions, in the intellectual life; they may be admitted into the organizations through which one acquires prestige and social rank, which confirms the thesis already set forth by Pierson, that "what we find in Bahia is a multiracial society of classes" (1).

1. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 408.

*563 565 554 571 The social ascent of colored persons, although it is brought about with relative facility, is not without consequence for those who attain it. It is somewhat like "passing" /quoted in English/ for the North American Negroes: those who elevate themselves not only experience doubts and difficulties on the subject of their position, but they are also the object of resentment by some of those -- and they are numerous -- who remain in the lower strata of society.

When he elevates himself to the social rank that is to assimilate him culturally and socially with the White by endowing him with his "social skin," the Black is often criticized because he wants "to act the White" or because he "no longer wants to be colored."

*563 565 554 571 124 Numerous informants pointed out certain colored individuals who are considered that kind and who, they said, would certainly refuse to be interviewed for the investigation. Some of them actually avoided speaking of the racial problem, politely diverting the conversation to other subjects, under the pretext that they did not know anything about the subject and all that was of no importance among us. The author, in spite of his experience in the milieus

[SALVADOR]

/67 cont./

*563 871 In principle the school in Brazil offers the same advantages to Whites and to Blacks, no law preventing or hampering enrollment for ethnic reasons. Nevertheless, inasmuch as the public school is of popular character, free, and the private school is an institution of the higher classes, there is a noticeable difference between the two categories with regard to the number of students of the one type and of the other. But both accept Whites and [162] Blacks. Just as the Whites are in the minority in the total population, the students of this type represent only 35 o/o in the public elementary schools, the Blacks represent about 20 o/o; the rest are pardo. In the private schools of the same level the Whites are as much more numerous as the establishment is more "choice"; one may find up to 90 or 93 o/o Whites there; in those attended by students of the intermediate social group one finds 15 to 25 o/o colored students, very light as a whole (1).

[127] [114]

1. These data have been drawn from the reports of the secretariat of education of the State of Bahia and from the publications of the author on the anthropometric studies made in 1944 and 1947. For this work the author has proceeded with verifications in several public and private schools.

*563 873 In the public and private secondary schools the number of colored students, especially very dark ones, is smaller because they are attended in large part by young people planning liberal careers, which are, in a way, the lot of the Whites, although they are also accessible to colored persons. Among the young people of both sexes enrolled as students during the first three months of [162] 1950 at the Bureau of Identification of the civil police of the State, the following types were noted:

	Whites	Blacks	"Morenos"	"Pardos"	Métis	Total
Male sex . .	349	15	168	83	26	641
Female sex .	300	31	245	95	34	705
Total . .	649	46	413	178	60	1,346

[SALVADOR]

/93 cont./

*563 829 "We, the Bahians, we have in this respect an invariable opinion. Brazilian racial democracy consists expressly in repudiating any manifestation of privilege based on color, and we believe that these epidermic distinctions have no value over against a superior unity, from now on indissoluble, which is the moral unity of a people within the human unity of the country."

Two other white intellectuals, likewise very much in view, denounced in 1921 and in 1933 isolated attempts at caste separation "against which our entire history protests with indignation, against which our traditions rise up in an outburst of revolt"; they deplored "the stupidity that consists in blowing /94/ on the flame of racial hatred already forgotten ... sometimes nonexistent." After having lived many years in the city, a physician from another State declares that "this is without doubt the strongest impression that one receives and that one keeps of Bahia: the victory over racial prejudice and the presence of the Negro, the mulatto, and the White, who have a mulatto father and a black grandfather, in the social life."

This conception is not peculiar to finos Whites. It is also expressed by colored persons who have become integrated with the attitudes of the white group (1).

[114]

1. In the criticism of the article by Julian Steward, "Acculturation Studies in Latin America: Some Needs and Problems," Frank Tannenbaum declares that "In spite of slavery, in spite of an intermediate period, in spite of centuries of exploitation, the Negro has not only survived, but one may say that he is flourishing. And one may always ask oneself why. The answer seems to be that the Negro has accommodated himself to the culture of the white man, as the Indian never did ... Undoubtedly I shall be accused of exaggeration, but as far as this question is concerned I think that the Negro has become a white man with a black face," in American Anthropologist, Vol. 45, No. 2, April-June 1943, p. 205.

[113]

[SALVADOR]

/8 cont./

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114 especially my informants, whom it is unfortunately impossible to name; I wish to express to them here all my gratitude for their good will and for the wealth of data and of personal experiences that they kindly entrusted to me and that I have utilized for a scientific purpose; I add that none of them can be held responsible for the way in which I have utilized this material.

January, 1952 Thales de Azevedo

/28 cont./

829 moreover, that, in certain cases, they are applied to persons who
* 563 actually strive to compensate for their feeling of inferiority by an affected manner of speaking and behavior.

/29/ Color Is a Mere Accident

The expression "black with a white soul" is used as much in Bahia as in the rest of the world, wherever it is believed that a Black, in order to be good, must necessarily possess the qualities of the White. It is most significant that such a way of thinking finds followers even among colored people. The mother, morena,
• [115] of one of our informants said that "the Black is black inside and out," and that if she were to marry again she would certainly never
829 marry a man as dark as her husband. In a publication in which,
* 563 20 years ago, an association of Blacks commemorated the first
538 centenary of its founding, one can read on the first page: "If we
[577] examine the archives of the society or if we leaf through its books, we shall see there this contrast: black men having a very high ideal, perfect characters, irreproachable sentiments, and, above all, very noble aspirations."

There are also, fortunately, those who deny the intellectual and moral inferiority of the Black. In an article appended to the statutes of another organization of colored people, it is explained that "what happens is that the Black, because he is poor, lacks the necessary tranquillity to which, for him as for the white man, is owed intellectual progress, the source of comfort and joy. Moreover, always tortured by the injustice that pursues him, he should have become a rebel rather than the efficient collaborator that he is, an element in the continuous ascent and moral and intellectual improvement of the Brazilian population." There is in these judgments, along with a complaint, the refutation of the theory of the innate mental inferiority of the black and the idea that there is a contrast between the dark color of the skin and noble aspirations.

[SALVADOR]

/30 cont./

829 he was a mulatto. His own mother called his attention to the
*563 difference that existed between him and his friends, but those
565 who were of his type and who had money continued to regard themselves as Whites and to be treated as such. An economist, darker than the official we have just quoted, states that the extreme poverty in which he lived during his childhood did not permit him to think of his color. An intellectual of a dark color says that when he was an adolescent he never thought of his type; no experiences previous to this period were associated with an
[572] awareness of his color. The same thing seems to happen among white children when lasting relationships are allowed to be established between them and their companions at school and play, without discrimination as to type. Numerous informants of very dark color report that they still maintain several friendships made at school with finos Whites. Even among the adults there are some who claim not to have ever been conscious of their type. An
• [115] instructor told us that he was never preoccupied with his pigmentation, because he regarded that as having nothing to do with his difficulties or with his professional life. It is clear that statements
[124] of this nature cannot be accepted solely at their face value; they
[123] could, as a matter of fact, be defense reactions against the inquiries of the investigators.

*563 There are nevertheless persons who do not succeed in over-
829 coming the inferiority complex resulting from their "quality."
571 "A look is enough to upset a person of dark color," said a /31/ very black university student. Sometimes when he had been treated as a "Negro" he was irritated and felt humiliated. "But I have succeeded in overcoming this feeling," he adds; "I too am able to treat other "Whites" without antipathy as soon as I see that they are prepared to be pleasant with me." Without doubt there exists "a slight repression" among the Blacks, "but it is never intense and ought to be overcome," states a mulatto lawyer, and he adds that "such a feeling can give birth to a servile attitude"; one of his colleagues, of the same color as he, a very competent and industrious man, does not have the courage to plead cases for himself and continues to be simply the assistant of a white lawyer.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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[Introductory, p. i]

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[Introductory, p. ii]

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AN AGRICULTURAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

A Dissertation

Presented to

the Faculty of the Graduate School

University of Minnesota

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

by

Edward Cooper Haskins

June 1956

[Title Page]

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

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For four centuries the agricultural development of Brazil has been characterized by a series of speculative phases, each focused on a single product, each centered upon a single region of Brazil. The first commercial product was sugar, the first region was the Recôncavo of Bahia. The agricultural society founded on the shore of the Baía de Todos os Santos in the mid-sixteenth century has persisted with an almost unbroken continuity for over four hundred years. It is with the geography of this agricultural society that the present study is concerned.

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After sugar had ceased to bring a quick profit, the Brazilian center of effort shifted to other areas where economies of cotton, oranges, rice, cacao, and many lesser products opened the land and drew the ambitious and the desperate from the older settlements. Intermeshed with these phases of agricultural development were booms in the exploitative industries--in the mining of gold and diamonds and in the gathering of rubber. So characteristic have been these speculative convulsions, each followed by a shift to a new region, that they might almost seem to be the whole of Brazilian history and Brazilian reality--the nation might have been practicing a system of shifting cultivation on an immense scale with not only fields but whole regions abandoned as the yield declined. Yet this is not the case, for in each of these regions men remain and crops persist. The Recôncavo, long past its triumph, has a present day population of one million people, many of whom are still cultivating the original speculative crop, sugar cane. The Recôncavo is not unique in this respect, for coastal Pernambuco, eastern

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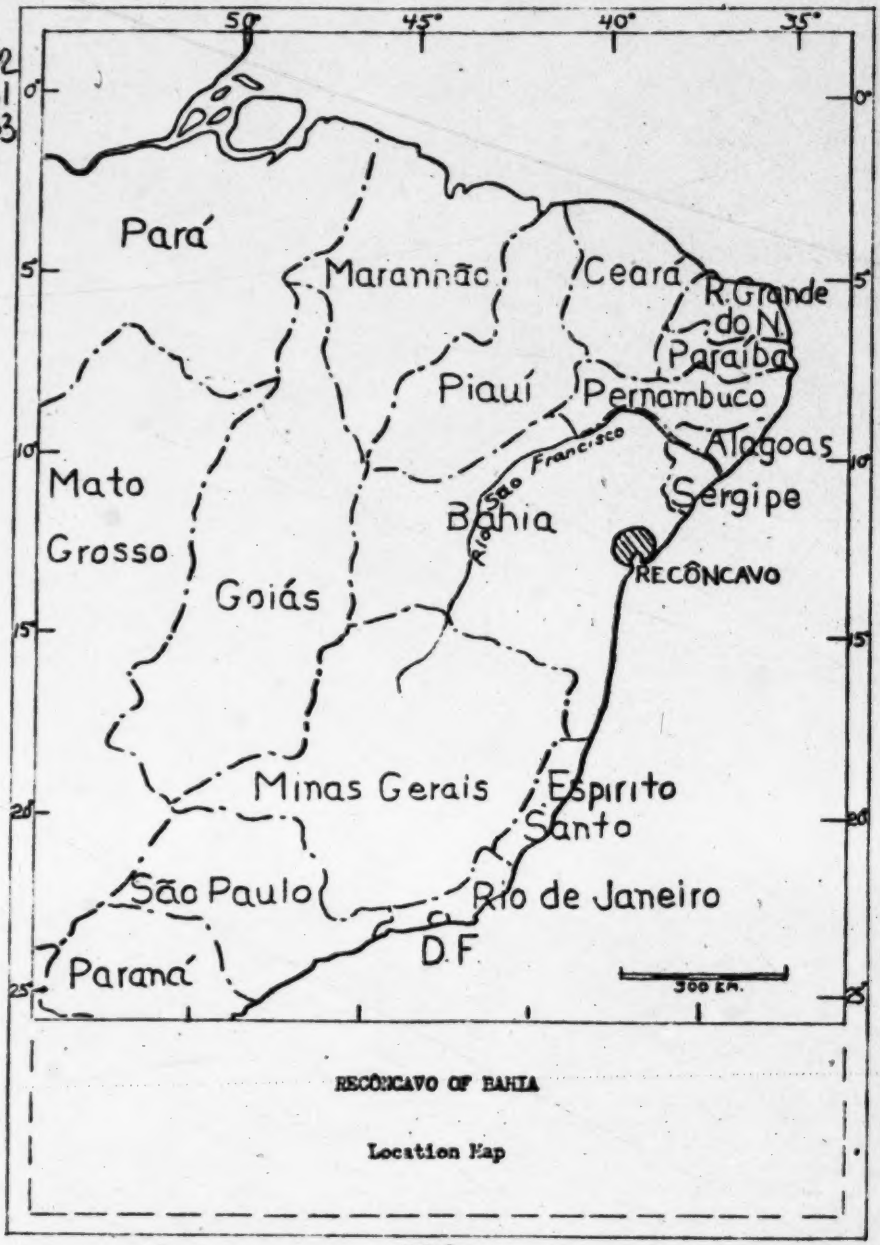

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Location Map

MAP 1

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Brazil SL1

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Rio de Janeiro, the Paraíba Valley, and the older coffee areas of eastern São Paulo still contain enduring settlements and cultivated fields. If the speculative development of the nation continues, more and more of the Brazilian landscape will be occupied by these "passive" regions. Such areas have considerable significance as individual sections of Brazilian land and society, and they also provide an opportunity to examine some of the stable and traditional institutions which are concealed in the frenzy of the agricultural booms. It is reasonable to suppose that in these regions the hard core of Brazilian agricultural life is preserved. Here are maintained the values and systems which will not be surrendered.

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As a consequence of the localization of the speculative developments, most of the settlements of Brazil are demographically detached and culturally and economically distinctive regions. Frequently these regions compose the effectively settled cores of individual states. Usually they have a single pre-eminent city in which are centralized not only political and social activities but also the organization of commercial agriculture--capital, marketing, processing, and foreign trade. Such central cities include São Paulo, Curitiba (in Paraná), Recife (in Pernambuco), and Salvador (in Bahia). Such is the regional diversity that one may wonder if it is possible to speak of a Brazilian national culture or of a characteristic Brazilian agricultural pattern. Yet, "throughout Brazil, the people share in one basic culture pattern . . . The different regions present specialized versions of the national culture," the anthropologists have decided.[1] The existence of common agricultural patterns is implicit in the generalizations made about "Brazilian agriculture" by the agricultural specialists, geographers, sociologists, and economists.

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Brazil SL1

B 241 114 The pattern of national agricultural characteristics is given explicit form by Spiegel in The Brazilian Economy.[2] He speaks of the exploitive character of the land rotation system, the dominance of the latifundio system of land holding, of private, corporate, and absentee ownership with extensive tenancy. Rents are relatively high, the status of agricultural labor low. Technology is backward, and the system of marketing is speculative. Most of these same characterizations appear in the appraisal of Brazilian agricultural development which Preston James has made in Economic Growth: Brazil, India, Japan.[3]

B 121 Brazil is a huge country, like India almost a sub-continent. The investigation of its agricultural economy on an intensive scale and in all its aspects is an overwhelming task. For the individual investigator working alone and with a limited time, it seems impossible. One approach is to study the economy in one of its variant regional expressions, a method which seems particularly appropriate on account of the pronounced regionalization of Brazilian agriculture. In particular, the investigation of a "passive" region in which the underlying national patterns are present in a relatively intensified and permanent form should give insight into the basal characteristics of Brazilian agricultural life. Such a region is the Recôncavo of Bahia.

BB 249 175 178 The special place of the Recôncavo in Brazilian agriculture is the result of two historical factors: (1) Many of the agricultural institutions and attributes which evolved in the Recôncavo and in the other sugar cane economies during the colonial period have spread to the rest of the nation, partly through migration and partly through cultural diffusion. The characteristic figure of the sugar cane economy BB 249 178 was the fazendéiro (the planter). "With the change in the structure of the fazenda [plantation] the fazendeiro was regenerated in a series of new types," Normano has said, and points to the fazendéiro background

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249 178 of the Paulista,[4] the aggressive business man and agricultural capitalist of São Paulo state. (2) The departure of the more adventurous elements from the sugar economy and the transference of the center of economic development from the Recôncavo have allowed the region to maintain its traditional practices and values and to preserve the colonial background of Brazilian agriculture. Although no single area can typify the entire constellation of the Brazilian agricultural regions, the Recôncavo does seem to epitomize the characteristics which underlie their diversity. It is in a sense a microcosm in which many of the agricultural problems which beset Brazil are isolated in their acute phases.

241 171 The Recôncavo does not, of course, reflect every aspect of agricultural life which may be found in Brazil. Not all the various crops are cultivated in the Recôncavo, although most of the important Brazilian crops are grown to some extent. There is no mixed agriculture such as is found in Rio Grande do Sul, nor are there vast pastoral enterprises like those of Mato Grosso or the remote Northeastern interior. There are few peasant proprietors such as are found in São Paulo. Its pattern of regional organization is not a duplicate of that of any other Brazilian region. In all, however, most of the characteristics of Brazilian agriculture and especially the systems of cultivation and the pattern of agricultural institutions are present in the Recôncavo microcosm. This region has several special advantages as the subject of a regional investigation of agricultural phenomena. It is small enough so that it can be studied thoroughly and in a limited period of time. It is large enough to have a diverse internal organization and conflicts of interest which can be analyzed. It is relatively detached so that the gross regional pattern is undisturbed by overlapping and is easy to observe.

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13 [101] Regional Terminology. The term "o recôncavo" can be applied to any crescentic littoral. In Brazil, however, "the Recôncavo" is almost universally understood to refer to a semicircle of land bordering the Baía de Todos os Santos in the state of Bahia. It is no more necessary to ask which Recôncavo in Brazil than to ask which South in the United States.

The Recôncavo has a less consistently defined content and boundary than the United States South. The extent of the area intended is individually determined in both common and scholarly usage--usually the limit of the region is implied rather than delineated. In traditional usage the Recôncavo generally is equated with the sugar cane area, but at least as often the area designated includes all the relatively densely settled and intensively utilized zone around the Baía de Todos os Santos.

121 131 In delimiting the Recôncavo as a preliminary to field and statistical investigation it seemed desirable to enclose all areas which may customarily be included in the region. In addition, since the Recôncavo is conceived here primarily as an agricultural region, it seemed most consistent to include all other contiguous areas of equivalent agricultural utilization. Thus a search was made for a criterion for a tentative boundary which would circumscribe: (1) the traditional Recôncavo areas; and (2) the contiguous areas of equal agricultural intensity; and which in addition would (3) define the limit on a consistent statistical basis. These three requirements would be met with a boundary determined by the per cent of the land in agricultural use--a criterion which would summarize the intensity of land-use for [127] cultivation, fallow, and pasture. Appropriate data were available from the 1940 census. By inspection it was determined that twenty per cent [311] of the total area in agricultural use was the value of an isopleth which would enclose the traditional and equivalent areas and would

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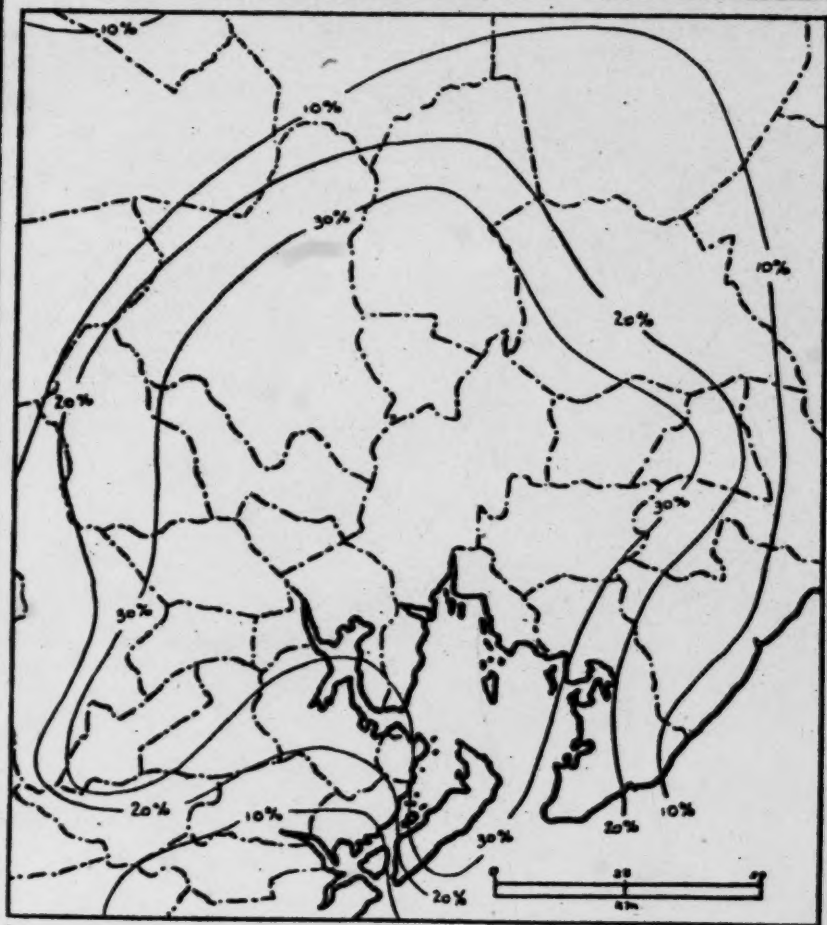

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Area in Agricultural Use—1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia. Vol. II.

MAP 2

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

separate them from the manifestly non-Recôncavo areas of the surrounding zone. This limit of twenty per cent of the total area in agricultural land use corresponded rather closely to the outer boundary of a compact group of twenty-one municípios, and as a tentative regional concept, these twenty-one municípios were considered to be the Recôncavo.[5] The area of the region thus defined is 4,827 square miles (12,500 square kilometers), about equal to the size of the state of Connecticut.

Purpose and Procedure. The primary purpose of the research upon which this monograph has been based was to analyze, from a geographical point of view, the structure and the functional organization of agriculture within the Recôncavo. It is not within the present scope to make a detailed comparison of the agricultural patterns of the Recôncavo with those of the rest of the nation. However, because of the general unity of the Brazilian agricultural system and the special relationship between the Recôncavo and the origins of the system, a study of the agriculture of the Recôncavo microcosm is a study of many of the basal aspects of Brazilian agriculture.

Very little literature is presently available on the agricultural patterns of the Recôncavo. Certain general characteristics of the agriculture of the region may be deduced from the brief interpretations of maps of the 1948 production of sugar cane, tobacco, and manioc in the state of Bahia published by the Conselho Nacional de Geografia.[6] Indirect information may be gleaned from the general economic and agricultural histories of Brazil and from the sociological studies of the Brazilian northeast.[7] But comprehensive analysis based upon field or statistical study of the geographical patterns of agriculture of either the state of Bahia or of its nuclear region, the Recôncavo, are lacking.

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12 The research upon which this monograph was based was undertaken along two lines: statistical estimation and field investigation. The publication in 1950 of the 1940 agricultural census,[8] and crop,[9] and livestock[10] data for 1948 provided a body of statistical information for the minor civil divisions (municípios) of the Brazilian states. The assembly and tentative plotting of data from the above sources was the preliminary phase of the study. The variable quality and limited scope of the data made necessary an extensive field inquiry to validate and to extend the statistical analysis. The field investigation was divided into two sections: (1) general appraisal; and (2) intensive study of the two dominant agricultural sub-regions. In the general appraisal an effort was made to observe as many of the agricultural centers of the Recôncavo as the time available allowed. During the intensive [114] study the investigator lived in the two sub-regions in an attempt to observe and understand the covert as well as the overt agricultural phenomena of the community and the functional organization of the local economy.

128 The opening chapters of the study (Chapters II through IV) deal with the physical background, historical evolution, and social and demographic characteristics of the agricultural society of the Recôncavo. There follows an analysis of the distribution of the individual crops and of the total cultivated area (Chapter V) and a discussion of the combinations and functional associations of crops and the characteristic systems of cultivation (Chapter VI). The place of livestock in the pattern of crop cultivation is appraised in Chapter VII, and the distribution of various types of agricultural properties are discussed in Chapter VIII. The succeeding chapters deal with the value of agricultural products (Chapter IX) and with the marketing, transportation, and

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128 processing of these products (Chapter X). The conclusion (Chapter XI) summarizes the agricultural geography of the Recôncavo and discusses the problems of agricultural development in the region.

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000 Footnotes - Chapter I

[1]See section by Charles Wagley in Ralph Linton (ed.), Most of The World (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949), p. 226.

[2]Henry William Spiegel, The Brazilian Economy (Philadelphia: The Blakiston Company, 1949), pp. 157-188.

[3]See section by Preston E. James in Simon Kuznets, Wilbert E. Moore, and Joseph J. Spengler (eds.), Economic Growth: Brazil, India, Japan (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1955), pp. 78-102.

[4]J. F. Normano, Brazil. A Study of Economic Types (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1935), p. 75.

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[5]The município is the approximate Brazilian equivalent of the county in the United States. The município has two elements: (1) the sede (seat) which is the administrative center and is called a cidade regardless of its size; and (2) the rest of the município, which in the Recôncavo is almost invariably rural. The município usually is subdivided into distritos (districts), each with a seat which, regardless of size, is called a villa. Neither the cidade nor the villa is a corporate entity separate from the município or district; i.e., there is no urban organization per se. In the Recôncavo the cidades are either small cities, towns, or villages, while the villas are villages or hamlets. There is a tremendous range in the area of the various municípios, which may be extremely large where settlement is scattered and small where settlement is dense. In the Recôncavo the largest município has just over 2,000 sq. km., and the smallest has just over 100 sq. km. The município is the primary statistical unit used in this research, although district data have been used on the few occasions where they were available. For a list of the 21 municípios included in the Recôncavo as defined here, see Appendix A.

[6]Ruth Matos Almeida Simões, "Comentário do Mapa da Produção de Cana de Açúcar no Estado da Bahia," Boletim Geográfico, Vol. XI, No. 113 (March-April, 1953), pp. 171-173. Ariadne Soares Souto Mayor, "Comentário do Mapa da Produção de Fumo na Bahia," Boletim Geográfico, Vol. XI, No. 112 (January-February, 1953), pp. 87-90. Ruth Matos Almeida Simões, "Comentário do Mapa da Produção de Mandioca no Estado da Bahia," Boletim Geográfico, Vol. XI, No. 112 (January-February, 1953), pp. 84-86.

[7]Such as: Gilberto Freyre, Nordeste (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio Livraria Editora, 1937), 267 pp. Luís Amaral, Historia Geral da Agricultura Brasileira (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1939-40), 3 Vols. Charles Wagley (ed.), Race and Class in Rural Brasil (Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 1952), 160 pp.

[8]Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Regional Series, Part XII-Bahia, Vol. II (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço Gráfico do Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, 1950).

[9]Ministério da Agricultura, Serviço de Estatística da Produção, Produção Agrícola: 1948 (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço Gráfico do Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, 1950).

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000 10 Ministério da Agricultura, Serviço de Estatística da Produção, "Pobulação Pecuária, em 31/12/1948," (section of unpublished mimeographed manuscript).

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RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Município Boundaries—1948

Source: Conselho Nacional de Geografia, "Cartograma da Divisão Administrativa do Estado da Bahia."

MAP 3

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

CHAPTER II

PHYSICAL SETTING

121 13 Introduction. The analysis of the physical setting of the Recôncavo which follows is intended primarily as a background for the interpretation of agricultural phenomena. As such, it is particularly concerned with those physical elements--flat and rough lands, productive and unproductive soils, humid and dry climates, and exploitable wild vegetation--which bear directly upon crop cultivation and animal industry. The statistical and map information and the literature on these physical elements are very limited. The general procedure used in developing this analysis was to formulate inferences based upon these limited sources and then to confirm or modify the inferences by field observation.

13 The narrow coastal plain and tabular uplands, the humid and sub-humid climates, the soils, and the forest and scrub forest vegetation typical of the northeast of Brazil are also characteristic of the Recôncavo. However, the presence of a rift occupied by the Baía de Todos os Santos and by a compact lowland pocket has given these characteristic features a distinctive geographical pattern in the Recôncavo.

Transition is a basic feature of the physical setting in which the economic and social institutions of the northeast of Brazil have been developed. Throughout the Northeast there are profound environmental differences between the coast and the interior. Even in as restricted an area as the Recôncavo, the rapid transition from the humid coastal lowland to the drier interior upland is a significant element in the regional complex.

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133 Landforms. Flat surfaces are a characteristic feature of the landscape of the Recôncavo. Where these flat surfaces are low and undivided, they form the plains of the coast and the central Recôncavo. Where they are higher and separated by valleys into relatively extensive tabular segments, they form the uplands of the north and west of the region. Where the flat surfaces are dissected into numerous small tabular or rounded segments, they form the belt of intermediate hills. The slopes separating the hills and the uplands have different forms. Some tabular surfaces are separated by steep and rugged slopes, occasionally leading to flat valley floors. In other cases rounded slopes are common. The accompanying map of east-central Bahia delineates four zones in each of which a distinctive association of these various forms is characteristic.[1]

The Tabular Uplands. The Tabular Uplands have a landscape of considerable simplicity. They have been formed upon a surface of relatively flat-lying sedimentary rock, generally Tertiary sandstone, although sometimes Cretaceous shale has been exposed in the valleys.[2] The surface has been subdivided by stream erosion into tabular segments called taboleiros. Many of these taboleiros are very extensive: one continuous taboleiro on the northern border of the Recôncavo covers a large part of northern Irará, southern Inhambupe, and eastern Serrinha. They are essentially plain surfaces with a local relief on the order of ten meters or less. At the edges these tablelands break away sharply into very rough zones, often of badland topography. The larger valleys are cut one hundred meters or so below the upland surface. Minor valleys are generally narrow, but the major streams have cut laterally so that they have produced relatively flat-bottomed valleys up to two [134] or three kilometers wide. The taboleiro surface is commonly mantled

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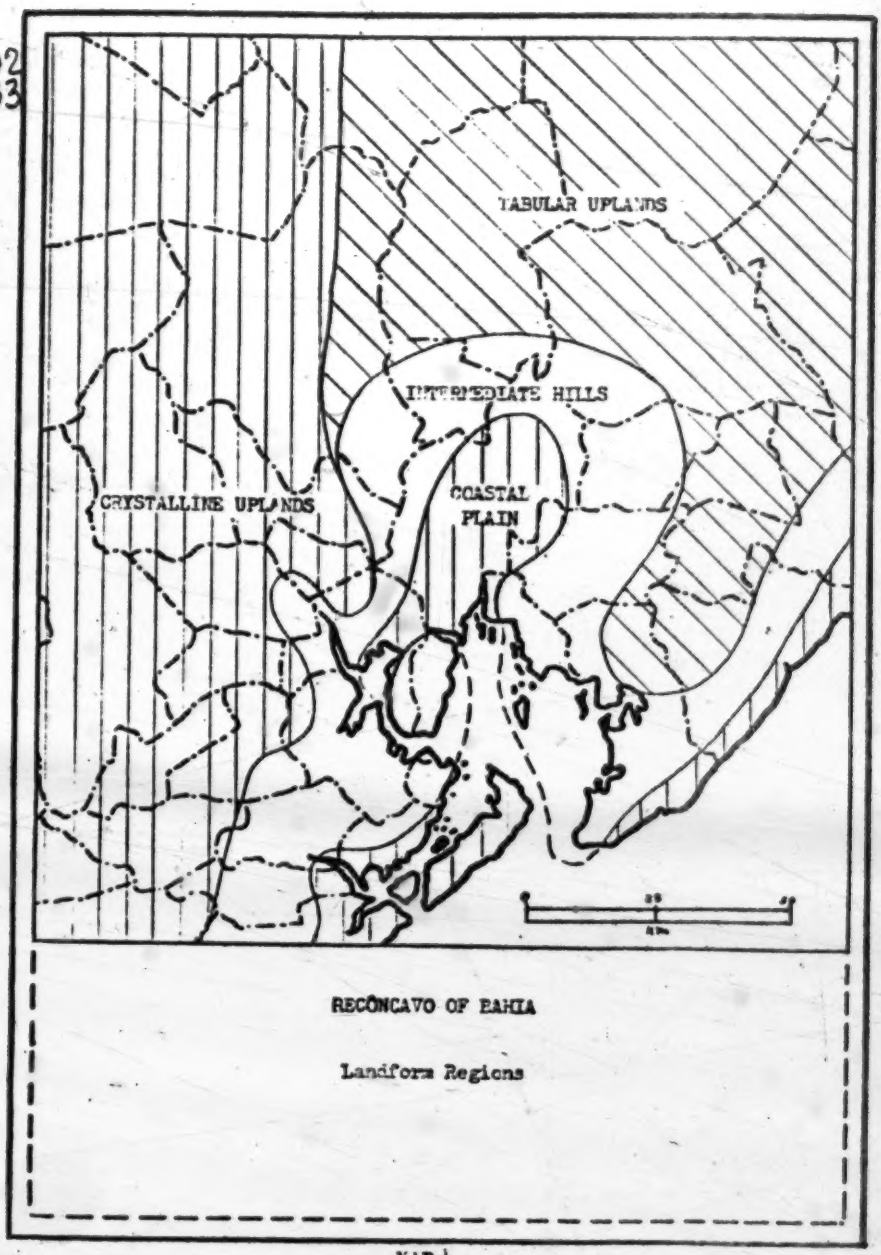

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Landform Regions

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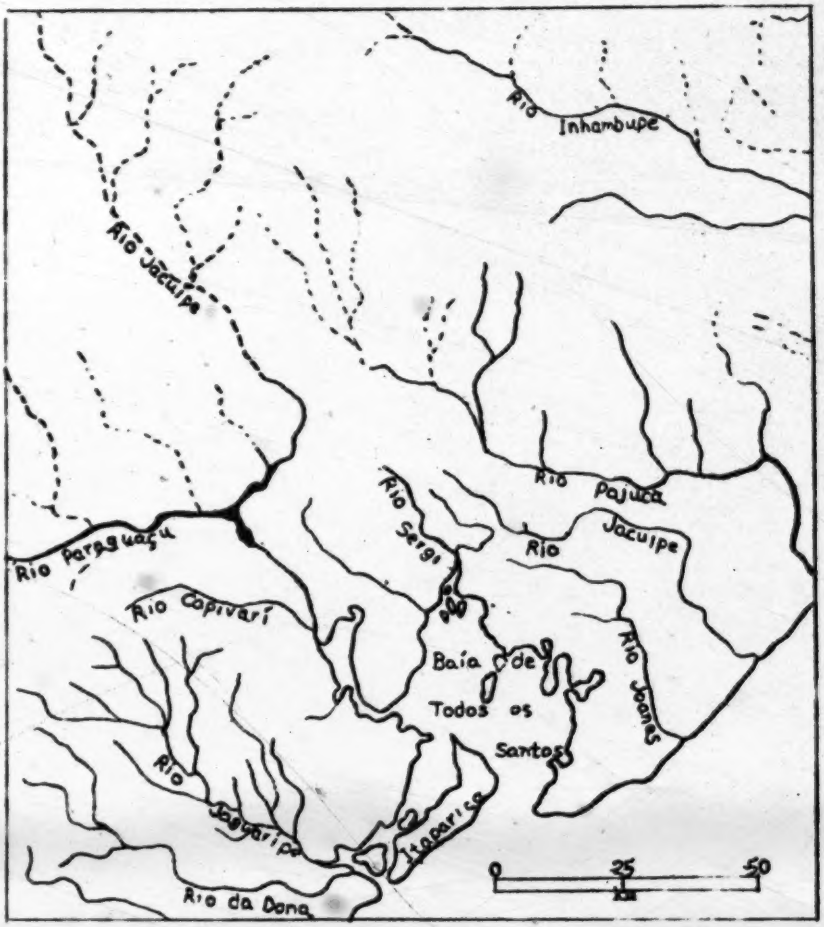

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Important Physical Features

MAP 5

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

133 in a layer of porous sand, and surface drainage is not well developed.
134 The valley floors are often choked with loose sand brought down from the upland, which is re-sorted and shifted by the rising streams in the wet season.

133 The southern part of the Tabular Upland zone, which borders the Recôncavo, is drained by two major river systems which flow directly eastward to the open ocean. The Rio Inhambupe rises in the midst of the vast taboleiros of Serrinha, Inhambupe, and Irará and skirts the northern boundary of the Recôncavo. The southern edge of the Tabular Upland zone, lying within the Recôncavo, is drained by tributaries of the Rio Pojuca, which flow southward to join the main stream in its eastward course to the ocean.

The Crystalline Uplands. Tabular surfaces of a different order are characteristic of the crystalline zone which stretches from the western margin of the Bay westward to the Chapada Diamantina. These surfaces have been formed upon a relatively flat platform of crystalline rock--the so-called crystalline peneplain of Eastern and Northeastern Brazil. In this part of Bahia, however, the rock surface usually is buried deeply under a layer of residual mantle and appears only on valley walls and bottoms. The mantle has been dissected into tabular segments which are generally smaller than those of the Tabular Uplands. The valley formation is more distinctive: after an abrupt break the slopes form a continuous curve so that the valley bottoms are relatively more narrow and are gently sloping. Rising above the general upland level are occasional monadnocks with rounded, often rocky, surfaces.

So similar are the upper surfaces of the crystalline zone to those of the Tabular Uplands that the individual surfaces occasionally

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

133 are called taboleiros. This similarity is enhanced by the occasional
[134] appearance of sandy surface materials. However, the taboleiros of the Tabular Uplands are generally extensive; the individual uplands of the crystalline zone are generally of limited area. Valleys are an exceptional and areally limited part of the Tabular Uplands; in the crystalline, the valleys occupy a very significant part of the land, although collectively the area in tabular surfaces exceeds that in valleys.

The upland surfaces of the crystalline, like the Tabular Uplands, lack surface drainage. Where the upland surface is extensive, shallow circular depressions are often encountered. Some of these form large, shallow lakes or swamps overlying impervious clay layers. Equally characteristic is a small circular depression, ten to fifty meters in diameter, with a pit in the center through which water drains into the porous subsoil.[3] Neither of these depression forms was observed outside the crystalline zone.

Swamps and ponds are also found in the valley bottoms. Very often a resistant section of bedrock forms a constriction in the valley walls, and when this constriction becomes choked, streams are partially dammed. The streams themselves almost invariably originate in springs at the bottom of steeply sloping valley walls. A very characteristic site for these springs is in the very regular amphitheater-like bowls at the valley heads.

Almost all of the Crystalline Uplands of the Recôncavo are drained by a single river system—the Paraguaçu. The main stream and its major tributaries rise in the Chapada Diamantina and the Serra da Sincorá far to the west in central Bahia. By the time it has reached the Recôncavo, the Paraguaçu is deeply entrenched in the upland. It

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133 drains only a narrow belt along each side by means of short, precipitous, and intermittent streams. Its main northern tributary, the Rio Jacuípe,[4] which is less deeply entrenched, drains the northern half of the Crystalline Uplands within the Recôncavo. The Rio Capivarí, which joins the estuary of the Paraguaçu, drains part of the southern half. The extreme southern part is drained by south-flowing tributaries of the Rio Jaguaripe, which reaches the ocean at the southernmost extreme of the Bay.

The Intermediate Hills. The coastal margins of both the Tabular and the Crystalline Uplands have general elevations of about 150 meters. The drop from this elevation to the coastal plain takes the form of a rough and deeply-dissected hill land, here called the Intermediate Hills. Tabular forms are still important in this area, especially along the interior boundary. However, these hills are differentiated from the uplands because of the relatively large amount of the total area which is in slope.

In those areas where the hills are cut in crystalline rock--along the edge of the Crystalline Uplands and along the coast north of Salvador--rounded, narrow-valley profiles are common. In the part of the hill land south of the Paraguaçu the transition from upland to seashore is very rapid, and the hills are particularly rough. North of the Paraguaçu and along the north coast the hills are less rugged.

In the northern Recôncavo, where the hills are cut in sedimentary material, the slopes are straight and steep, the valleys extremely narrow, and the whole complex minutely dissected. The sequence of hill forms from the uplands to the plains have the following characteristic stages: (1) in the upland the valleys cut deeper and the flat surfaces become smaller and smaller; (2) the valleys become very deep

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

133 (100 meters), and all flat upper surfaces disappear; (3) the height and circumference of the hills decrease and the valley floors widen; and finally (4) the plains dominate the surface.

The Intermediate Hills continue both north and south of the Recôncavo. In the south they become progressively rougher as they approach the low serras which here lie near to the coast. To the north, beyond the Recôncavo, the hills have relatively gentle slopes.

The Coastal Plain. Along the ocean both north and south of the Recôncavo the Coastal Plain is narrow. This plain enters the Recôncavo through the Bay (Baía de Todos os Santos) and forms a pocket of low-lying, relatively flat land which is the heart, geographically and historically, of the region. Most of surface of this zone is an undulant plain with an almost complete lack of steep slopes, but there are exceptions. In terms of the amount of land in steep slope and of elevation, the plain falls naturally into two sections. The part of the Coastal Plain which directly borders the ocean, including the islands of the Bay, lies very close to sea level. In the interior of the island of Itaparica and the smaller islands there are occasional steep slopes, but these are formed either on small hills or low sea cliffs.

The section of the Coastal Plain north of the Bay lies at an elevation of from 75 to 125 meters. Its surface is very gently undulating, and there are no steep slopes except for scattered and isolated hills near the interior margins and for the rough zone separating the slightly elevated plain from the Bay. Only around the cidade of Santo Amaro is there an appreciable plains area at near sea level. Much the same alignment of landforms is found in the smaller compartment of the Coastal Plain at the head of the Bacia do Iguape in the município of Cachoeira.

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133 The parts of the Coastal Plain along the ocean and above the Bacia do Iguape are drained by local streams. In the more extensive plain north of the Bay there are a number of larger and more significant rivers and streams. The northern part of the latter area is drained by the Rio Pojuca, the middle part by the Rios Jacuípe and Joanes, and the southern part by the Rios Traripe and Sergi. The Traripe and Sergi enter the Bay, but the other, larger streams drain eastward to the ocean. Except where the Traripe and the Sergi cross the rough edge of the plain, all the stream valleys are relatively shallow.

The Bay. There remains a last section to deal with—a very significant part of the Recôncavo, but not properly a "landform" area. This is the Baía de Todos os Santos. The Bay may be viewed as a central parallelogram which contains within it the deep water and which has a number of shallow, jointed channels extended from the corners. Beyond these channels, estuaries extend the Bay inland in three directions. Structurally the Bay is a part of the rift valley, but its present outline corresponds to the major fault scarp in only one place—in Salvador. Here the scarp separates the upper and lower
[134] sections of the city. Elsewhere the form of the Bay is determined by erosion of, and to a lesser extent, deposition upon the folded and faulted sedimentary deposits accumulated within the rift. These processes have produced a northern coast of bluff-enclosed bays and steep-sided archipelagoes, a western coast which is relatively straight and which rises to a higher elevation above the Baía de Todos os Santos, and on the south, the island of Itaparica, which stands like a door half-closed across the entrance to the Bay.

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487 The three most significant channels enter the western Bay from north, west, and south. Of these the Rio Sergi, on the north, is navigable for the shortest distance--this estuary is navigable by river launch only to Conde, which is the approximate limit of salt water, but sailing boats penetrate to the cidade of Santo Amaro.

The lower Paraguaçu provides entrance westward deep into the Intermediate Hills and to the edge of the Crystalline Uplands and opens a route to a smaller bay--the Bacia do Iguape. Motor vessels can reach São Roque, Maragogipe, and Cachoeira-São Félix through this deeply incised channel.

The southern channel, broader but more shallow, passes between the island of Itaparica and the mainland and entering the estuary of the Jaguaripe extends as far as Nazaré, which is the head of navigation of the southern area peripheral to the Recôncavo.

The Bay is the central area of the southern Recôncavo. Two of the channels, the Paraguaçu and the Sergi, link parts of the Recôncavo with the Bay. The third, which leads to Nazaré, primarily connects the Bay with an area outside the Recôncavo.

133 Land - Summary. In the Recôncavo there is much flat land in the uplands, but the area in plains is relatively limited. In the uplands, and to a lesser extent in the hills and along the margins of the plains, the flat surface is subdivided into individual segments.

The largest single segment of relatively flat land in the Recôncavo is the coastal plains area north of the Bay. The other plains areas--the island of Itaparica and the small compartment north of the Bacia do Iguape--are smaller flat-surfaced segments. After these, the largest continuous flat surfaces are the extensive taboleiros of the Tabular Uplands. Smaller tabular surfaces are

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133 characteristic of the Crystalline Uplands, while in the hill zone the individual flat surfaces are very small.

Local relief is usually greatest in the uplands, near the major rivers, such as the Paraguaçu, Jacuípe, and the Inhambupe, and where these rivers cross the hill belts. On the plains the local relief is usually about fifty meters, but north of the Bay about twenty-five meters.

Soils

134 Introduction. Fertile soils are not extensive in the northeast of Brazil. In this respect it is typical of the tropics, where only singularly propitious base materials or exceptional genetic processes have succeeded in producing soils of high natural fertility. As a result of the prevailing infertility, the limited fertile areas have an extraordinary importance.

Bondar testifies to the general infertility of the soils of Bahia and thus indirectly to the significance of the areas of good soil:

> The modest percentage of the soil which is cultivated, in relation to the expanse of territory, does not allow us to conclude that it is still too early to worry ourselves with the conservation of agricultural soils. Arable land is scarce in Bahia. There are great expanses of territory which are not suitable for the cultivation of annuals.[5]

Perhaps the lack of interest in soil conservation in the Recôncavo is a result of the almost mystical faith in the unending richness of the massapê--the Cretaceous soils of the sugar cane zone.

The Recôncavo as a whole is an area of only moderately fertile soil. There are many zones of extreme infertility. The soils of the Recôncavo generally have been divided into three general types, and as will be seen, tend to have a distinctive pattern of land use.

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Soil mapping and analysis are still in a preliminary stage in Bahia. The most comprehensive source, the work of Bondar, includes a soils map of the state on a scale of 1:3,000,000.[6] Although the scale of this map is too small to give precise information for the Recôncavo, his accompanying description is in greater detail. It is based upon geologic zones. The discussion of soils below is based primarily upon the descriptions of Bondar, but the soils regions are derived from a more detailed geologic map.[7] Although the system of classification of Bondar has been retained, his soils descriptions were modified in some details to conform to the field observations of this research.[8]

The System of Classification Based upon Bondar.[9]

1. Clay soils of Cretaceous origin
   a. massapê (heavy dark clay)
   b. salão (light reddish clay)
   c. areia (sands)
   [d. clay soils of taboleiros]

2. Sandy soils of Tertiary taboleiros
   a. valley alluvium
   b. taboleiro soils
   c. sands of crystalline zone

3. Variable crystalline soils originating on Archeozoic rocks
   a. poor soils from clear, white acid rocks
   b. better soils from neutral pigmented rocks
   c. good soils from dark basic rocks
   d. good soils from clear rocks
      1. granite-calcite
      2. feldspar-mica-amphibole

   } 1. light upland soils
   } 2. red and brown clays
   } 3. crystalline massapê

[4. Calcareous soils from Algonkian rocks]

[5. Soils from sandstones of Paleozoic and Algonkian chapadas]

[6. Mixed soils of fluvial origin.]

Note: Soils types which are bracketed are part of Bondar's system but do not appear in appreciable areas of the Recôncavo.

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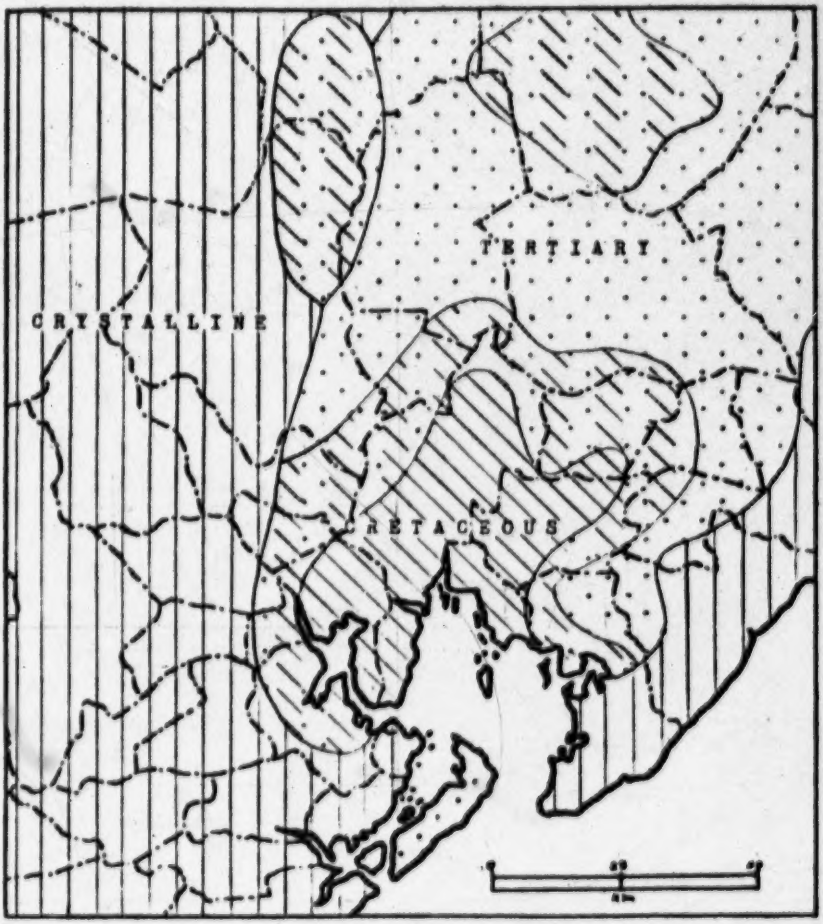

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Soil Types

Modified from maps by Gregorio Bondar, "Solos da Bahia, Sua Conservação e Aproveitamento," and Sylvio Froes Abreu, "O Recôncavo da Bahia e o Petróleo do Lobato."

MAP 6

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

134 Clay Soils of Cretaceous Origin. The Cretaceous soils occupy an extensive zone in the Recôncavo, chiefly on the northern perimeter of the Bay and in the adjacent coastal plain compartment. These soils are predominately colloids of clays derived from calcareous shales and sandstone through the decalcification and mixing of materials. The result of these processes has been an extremely adherent and coherent clay with good water holding capacity, moderate depth, and marked resistance to erosion. In dry seasons it develops deep cracks and is thus, to some extent, self-cultivating. This is a good soil for general agricultural purposes, but in the Recôncavo it is usually used for sugar cane.

The clay soils are by no means uniform, and the cultivators of the area distinguish by local names three types which correspond to different mixtures of sands and clays: massapê, salão, and aréia.

"Aréia" means sand, and the soils of this designation are the sandiest of the Cretaceous soils. As the term is commonly used in this area it seems not to refer to the relic deposits of Tertiary sands, in situ, but rather to soils derived from the mixing of these Tertiary sands with Cretaceous clays or to soils derived from the sandier Cretaceous materials. Whatever their origin, the aréia soils range in composition from sands to sandy loams and in color from grey to dun. [249] From the point of view of yield, the aréia soils are considered to be the least valuable by the sugar cane growers of this zone.[10] They are, however, the most easily worked soils of the Cretaceous series, especially when wet, and this is a significant virtue, because these soils are located in a zone of heavy precipitation.

The massapê is the soil par excellence in the tradition of the Recôncavo. Brazilian soil scientists classify this soil as an argila (clay). However, the following citation from an American geologist

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134 suggests a better English equivalent:

> North of the Bay of Todos os Santos lies an undulating region some sixty miles long by thirty wide. The soil of this region is a cretaceous marl, exposed by the tertiary overburden having been eroded away. The deposit is of great thickness and may be compared with the black gumbo Belt of Southern Arkansas and Northern Texas.[11]

The fertility of the massapê is established by both chemical analysis[12] and the history of agriculture in the Cretaceous zone. For four centuries these soils have supported a system of intensive sugar cane cultivation, presumably without severe decline in yield. Soil fertilization was practically unknown until the last half-century and is still uncommon.

134 An element in the local mythology of the massapê is that it is
133 completely resistant to erosion; and indeed there seems to be little erosion in most areas of massapê soil. However, the southern edge of the massapê zone, drained by the Rios Traripe and Sergi, is deeply and severely gullied. In the north the downcutting of the Rios Jacuípe and Joanes apparently has been limited by the resistant barrier of crystalline rocks through which the rivers pass in their seaward course.[13] The low gradients of these streams may have restricted stream bed erosion and reduced the erosion of the interfluves.

134 Sandy Soils of the Tertiary Taboleiros. While the Tertiary deposits and the soils derived from them have been removed almost entirely from the mainland areas close to the Bay, they still cover most of the land surface farther north. Most of the Tertiary soils are derived from fine-grained and weakly-cemented sandstones. The sandy soils are variable in depth, but very thick soils are not uncommon. Because of their porosity, these sands are extremely vulnerable to drought. They are easily eroded and especially subject to gullying. Their fertility, especially *in situ*, usually is very low.

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134 The taboleiro (upland) soils of this type are in some areas almost sterile, completely unsuited to cultivation. Even the best of the upland Tertiary soils is relatively unproductive. Whether the [132] soils are deep or shallow, the crops grown upon them suffer severely from desiccation during the dry season and during the perennial droughts characteristic of the northeastern interior. The porous [133] character of these sands has restricted the development of surface streams and of erosion in the centers of the taboleiros. On the edges the exposed slopes of the taboleiros have been gullied deeply.

Two contrasting soil types are found in the valleys. Sands carried from the uplands have mixed with fresh materials and with small quantities of humus and have produced more fertile sandy soils. These alluvial soils are much more intensively used than those of the taboleiros, but cultivation is hazardous because of frequent flooding. Where the main streams--such as the Rio Inhambupe--have cut deeply they have exposed the underlying Cretaceous series. In these deeper valleys the soils are very similar to those of the larger Cretaceous zone to the south.

The boundary between the zones of Tertiary and Cretaceous soils is broad and irregular. The surfaces of the interfluves are covered with Tertiary sands; the deeper valleys have Cretaceous clays. The wide boundary zone has never been mapped in any detail; therefore the location of the common border on the map of this study can be drawn only approximately. A few Tertiary sands are found in the crystalline zone to the west--these will be discussed below.

Soils of the Crystalline Zone. The geologic and topographic maps which are available for the Recôncavo are a useful guide to the distribution of soils derived from sedimentary deposits. However, in

134 the crystalline zone, where the intricate alternations of granites, gneisses, and schists have not been mapped, there is no such guide to soil distributions.

Bondar has divided the soils of the crystalline zone into four types, based upon the character of the rock material, but these soil types have not been mapped. The lack of geologic maps limits the utility of his classification in a study of this scale.

Field observations in the course of this research suggest that, at least as far as the Western Recôncavo is concerned, topography is a useful guide to soils on the crystalline rocks. Tabular uplands, slope lands, and valley bottoms each have characteristic soil associations.

The common upland soils are extremely deep--20 to 30 meters is not at all uncommon--and except for a thin surface layer disturbed by cultivation or by roots, they are physically uniform from top to bottom. They are usually brown sandy loams, often with a large percentage of very coarse dark sand and with a complete absence of rock particles of any size except for the last few centimeters in contact with the rock surface. These soils are very porous, generally lacking any sort of surface drainage, and are very flat-lying. The name <u>taboleiro</u> (tableland) is applied to both the surface and the soil of this zone, as well as to the surface and the soil of the Tertiary <u>taboleiros</u> which are so similar. These upland soils apparently are very ancient and heavily leached, thus relatively infertile. In the drier areas they are sometimes saline.

On the relatively steep but usually rounded slopes of the Crystalline Uplands the rocks generally come nearer to the surface. On these slopes the sandy loams are replaced by reddish brown clay-loams and clays, which are usually extremely plastic. Rock fragments are common.[14] Clay-loams and clays are the best general purpose soils of

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134 the Crystalline Uplands. Although in slope, these soils stand up remarkably well under abusive cultivation methods. The general distribution of these upland and slope-land soils is related to the pattern of landforms in the Recôncavo. In the Intermediate Hills the red-brown argillaceous soils predominate. In the Crystalline Uplands the arenaceous soils occupy the largest area, but the slope-land clays and clay-loams are also extensive.

On the less well-drained valley floors and in the shallow depressions on the uplands, a soil has developed which locally is called massapê or crystalline massapê[15] because of its resemblance to the massapê of the Cretaceous zone. In the depressions a black or grey marl is common. It is very similar, at least in physical character, to the Cretaceous massapê In the valleys the soils are less argillaceous but have a greater humus content. Although heavy and sometimes acid, especially in the depressions, these soils are very useful when drained. However, draining the soil is usually an insuperable problem for the small cultivator. Never-
[24] theless, he finds some use for the soil, for he laboriously transports it to the upland to use as a fertilizer.

Soils derived from non-crystalline rocks are also found in the crystalline zone. In the Western Recôncavo the Tertiary deposits were laid down directly on the crystalline rocks. In some areas there are minor remnants of these rocks. Over more extensive areas, Tertiary-derive soils are the characteristic surface material, locally called areia branca (white sand). These soils are almost pure sand, very light colored and very porous and infertile. Such soils are frequently encountered south of the Rio Paraguaçu. Similar soils are found along the crystalline-sedimentary boundary north of the river. These may not be residual--it is possible that they were transported westward from the main Tertiary zone by wind or stream action. Though areia branca is a characteristic feature of much of the Western Recôncavo, this soil is not typical of the area farther west.

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134 The soils of the peninsula northeast of the city of Salvador are chiefly crystalline-derived. Near the sea and extending inland five or [245] ten kilometers is a belt of white sand dunes, which are not cultivated but are planted in coconut palms. Bondar reports some fertile diorite-derived soils in the peninsula above Salvador, but does not precisely locate the area.[16] Observations in Salvador and its environs suggest that at least two soils of the Western Recôncavo, the crystalline massapê and the slope-land clays and clay-loams, are characteristic also of the peninsular area.

134 133 Alluvial Soils. The areas of alluvium in the Recôncavo are so limited that it might almost be said that there are no alluvial soils. There are no conspicuous deltas. Along the margin of the Bay and the estuaries which feed into it there is usually a precipitous decline from the plains or hills to the narrow beach. Narrow lowlands with alluvial soil were observed in three areas: (1) on the west coast of the island of Itaparica and on the mainland opposite; (2) on the north side of the Bay between the Rio Sergi and the island of Madre de Deus;[17] and (3) along the estuary of the Rio Paraguaçu between the cidade of Maragogipe and the head of the Bacia do Iguape. These marginal alluvial lowlands cover only a very limited area of the total Recôncavo. Most of the alluvial lands are mangrove swamps or very low-lying semi-swampy [241] plains. No cultivation was observed in any of these alluvial areas.

Most of the valleys of the Recôncavo are so narrow that except in the major valleys of the Tabular Uplands, river bottom alluvium is rare.

Soils - Conclusion. The soils pattern which has been developed above is closely related to the patterns of parent material and topography. These correlations are in part a reflection of strong functional relationships between material, terrain, and soil in the Recôncavo. These

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133 correlations are in part only apparent: they result from using geologic and topographic categories to map and classify soils.

13 Both climate and vegetation are also important factors in soil formation. Since the Recôncavo is a zone of sharp transitions in climate and vegetation, it is to be expected that these variations would be reflected in the soil pattern. In the Recôncavo, however, patterns of climate and vegetation generally re-enforce the patterns of material and terrain as they affect soils. The Cretaceous coastal lowlands are the most humid part of the Recôncavo. The inland Tabular and Crystalline Uplands, which is to say the Tertiary and crystalline soil zones, are markedly drier, as will be seen below. Thus the boundary between the Cretaceous and non-Cretaceous soils approximates a climatic transition, a transition which is also the forest and scrub-forest boundary.

134
241 The soils of the Recôncavo have been used for agricultural purposes for a long time--for about 400 years in the Cretaceous zone. They have been used with varying intensity: in the Cretaceous zone under an intensive monoculture, in the other soils zones under less intensive systems of field and fallow or as wild pasture. The affects of this prolonged use, with little soil conservation, can be only inferred. In the Cretaceous zone there is much complaint of low sugar cane yields, and a few cultivators are turning to commercial fertilizer. It is not clear whether these complaints and remedies result from a marked deterioration of the soil or from the declining competitive position of the sugar industry of the Recôncavo. In the crystalline zone it seems likely that only in the last few decades has cultivation become sufficiently intensive to cause--through shortening the fallow period--the deterioration of the soils. This affect is now beginning to be noticeable in the relatively intensively cultivated lands near the Rio Paraguaçu.

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241 The different cultivation practices of the agricultural systems associated with the soils zones seem likely to intensify the present soils pattern. If commercial fertilizer is used on an increasing scale in the Cretaceous zone and if intensification of cultivation continues in the crystalline--as seems possible--the differences between these soils will be accentuated. It is apparent in any case that significant regional differences in soils will be a continuing feature of the Recôncavo for some time to come.[18]

Climate

132

Introduction. The northeast of Brazil is an area of tropical climates, without frost except in a few interior highlands, and without pronounced seasonality of temperature. The margins of the sea are generally humid; the interior is dry. Usually the humid maritime belt is narrow, and the transition to the drier Northeastern interior is very rapid.[19] The profound climatic differences between the coast (the *práia* or beach) and the interior (the *sertão*) are reflected in the contrasting economies--coastal cultivation and interior livestock industry--and in the deep social gulf which separates the people of the coast and the interior. "The two Northeasts," Freyre calls these contrasting physical and cultural zones.[20]

Along the central coast of Bahia the transition from humid littoral to dry interior has an irregular character, due to the presence of the Serra do Mar (here called the *Serra da Papuã*) to the ocean south of the Recôncavo. The mountain-backed southern coast is more humid than the lower northern shore. The coastal humid zone is carried inland around the littoral of the Bay.

The temperature pattern of the Recôncavo is relatively simple.[21] The mean annual temperature at Salvador is 25° C. and at Cruz das Almas (the most interior weather station in the Recôncavo), 24° C. Neither

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132 station has an annual range of more than 7° C. The average daily minimum for the brief record of Cruz das Almas is 19° C.--the average maximum, 28° C. The absolute minimum recorded temperature was 13° C, while the absolute maximum was 37° C. These data for Cruz das Almas are probably typical of the interior section of the Recôncavo. More narrow ranges between maximum and minimum temperatures are characteristic of the coast. The mean deviation for the region--since Cruz das Almas is probably representative of the most variable situation--is less than 5° C. From the foregoing it is apparent that winter and summer have little meaning in the Recôncavo in terms of absolute temperatures.

Sensible temperatures are more variable, for they depend upon humidity, sunlight, and winds as well as upon absolute temperature. In the interior, outdoor activity is reduced during the cooler wet season and also during mid-day in the hot dry season. Wind exposure becomes very important, and those locations where the even flow of the trades is uninterrupted are preferred for dwellings, especially in Salvador. On the other hand, humid coastal areas which are cut off from the trades--such as the "lower city" of Salvador--often are very oppressive.

132 133 Annual Precipitation. The uneven seasonal and areal distribution of rainfall in the Recôncavo contrasts with the relatively uniform distribution of temperatures. With insignificant exceptions, any traverse from the coast to the interior passes from a humid to a less humid zone. Thus the outline of the coast, including the indentation of the Bay, is generally reflected in the distribution of precipitation. In addition, the coast north of the Recôncavo is distinctly less humid than the mountain-backed southern coast, and this general transition also is reflected in the rainfall pattern of the Recôncavo, as may be seen on the map of mean annual precipitation.

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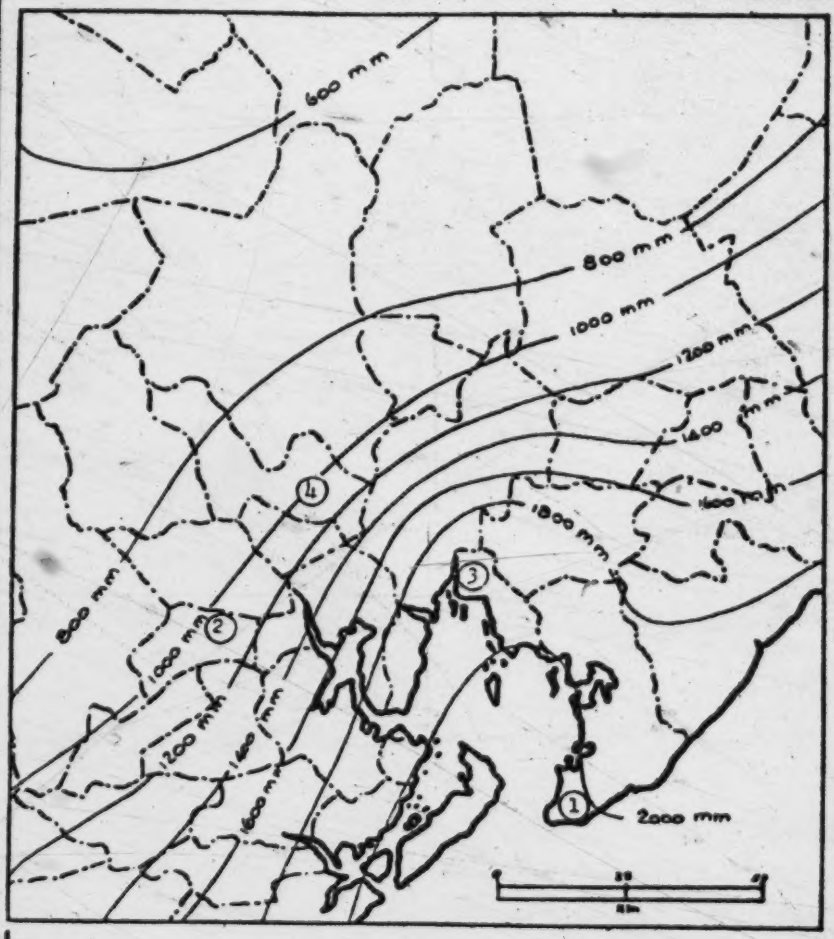

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Mean Annual Precipitation

Meteorological Stations:
1 - Salvador. 2 - Cruz das Almas. 3 - São Bento das Lajes. 4 - São Gonçalo.

MAP.7

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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133 Most of the lowland margins of the Bay have an estimated precipitation of from 1800 to 2000 mm. It may be inferred that the steep slopes rising from the ocean and the Bay have somewhat more rainfall and that some of the sheltered areas, such as the head of the Bacia do Iguape, have less. These inferred differences in rainfall do not seem to be great enough to have produced detectable contrasts in the natural vegetation or in cultivation practices.

The northwestern sector of the Recôncavo[22] is significantly drier, with less than half as much annual precipitation as the Bay littoral. The rainfall of this dry sector is estimated roughly—there are no weather stations in this area—at 600 to 800 mm. Orographic factors probably do not affect significantly the general rainfall pattern in this zone of tabular hills, but the windward slopes and eastern bases of the monadnocks seem appreciably more humid.[23]

The humid littoral and the sub-humid northwest of the Recôncavo are separated by a very steep gradient zone. Weather data from two stations within this zone, one at the northernmost point of the Bay and the other 21 miles westward, indicate a decline of 48 per cent in annual precipitation.[24] Although the isohyets on the map of annual rainfall are more or less evenly spaced over the transition zone, it is likely that the decline in precipitation is very rapid along the Intermediate Hill zone. The eastern intermediate hills are in moderately heavy coastal forest, but the western hills, like the uplands beyond, are in scrub-forest—presumably these differences reflect a rapid decline in precipitation.

In general, then, the Coastal Plain of the Recôncavo has from 1800 to 2000 mm. of annual rainfall. The Tabular Uplands and the northern Crystalline Uplands have less than 1000 mm. The Crystalline Uplands south of the Rio Paraguaçu have about 1200 to 1400 mm.

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132 The Major Wet Season—March through August. From 60 to 70 per cent of the total annual precipitation of the Recôncavo falls in the six-month period from March through August, which is the growing season for most annual crops. Although of different values, the isohyets of the map of the major wet season follow closely those of the annual rainfall map. The margins of the Bay have about 1300 mm., and the dry northwest less than 500 mm. of precipitation during these six months. The scanty data which are available suggest that the decline in precipitation across the narrow transition zone from the head of the Bay westward is greater for the wet season (54 per cent) than for the whole year (48 per cent). This fact, even more than the rapid decline in annual precipitation, may help to explain the sharp transition in agricultural phenomena which characterizes this zone. The [241] eastern edge of this transition zone is, as will be seen, in sugar cane monoculture, and the western edge is in tobacco and manioc under a field-fallow system.

Along the coast about 70 per cent of the annual precipitation falls in this six-month period, but in the interior, only 60 per cent. Since this is the only season of regular and relatively dependable precipitation, the drier interior area receives less of its annual precipitation under conditions of high reliability than does the coast.

The precipitation of this season comes from either intermittent heavy showers or slow steady, day-long rains. A day may open with cloudless sky and hot sun. In late morning clouds gather, and there is a quick, sharp shower, followed by sunshine, and then a second shower. This sequence continues until evening. More characteristic, if the period of field investigation for this study was representative, is a slow continuous rain from a low-hanging blanket of clouds, lasting a

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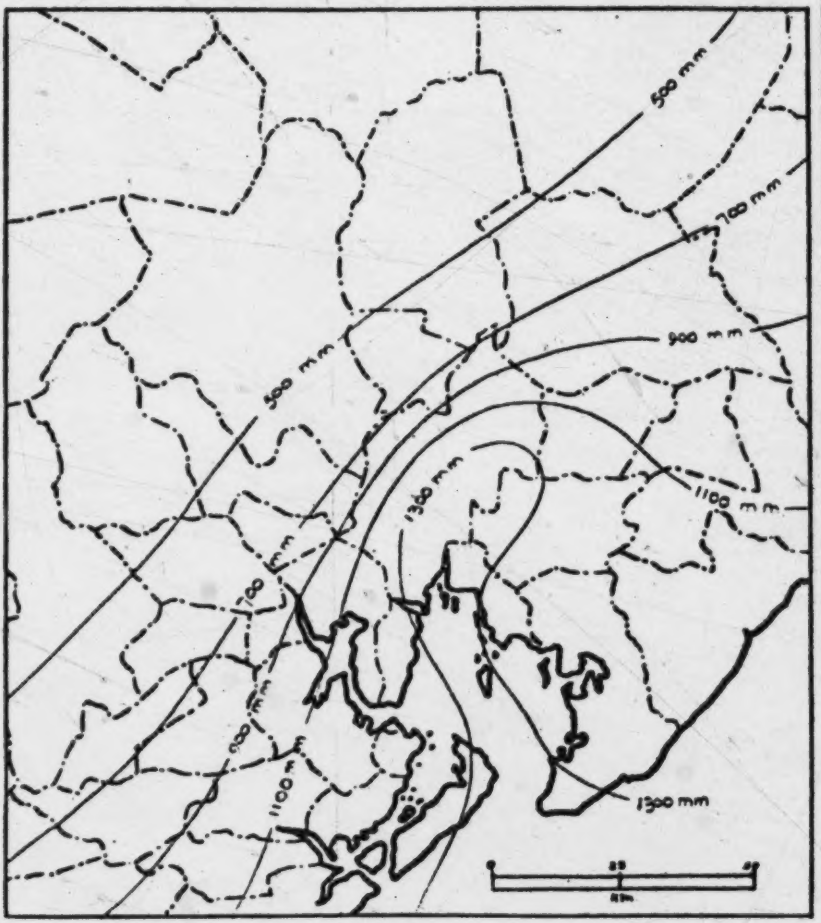

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Major Wet Season Precipitation

March through August

MAP 8

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

132 day, several days, or even a week. In the interior these latter spells were cool, and the cool, damp weather appeared to restrict the general activity of the people.

Minor Wet Season. In addition to the major six-month wet season, in "summer" much of the Recôncavo has a short season of showers--the trovoadas (thunders) of October, November, and December. These irregular storms are generally confined to the Central and Southern Recôncavo and the coast further south, but they may occur occasionally in all of East Central Bahia. The mean values of isohyets on the map of the minor wet season are not to be taken as actual values likely to be encountered in any particular year--they are the averages of seasonal totals which have an exceedingly large range. These rains usually fall in heavy, irregularly spaced downpours.

At Salvador, and presumably along the rest of the coast, about 17 per cent of the average annual precipitation comes in this minor wet season. In Cruz das Almas, 29 per cent of the average annual precipitation comes in this season, but because these showers are so irregular they are of limited value to agriculture in the dry interior.

Along the coast the rains of this season come in the characteristic tropical sun and shower sequence, separated by long rainless periods. This pattern is also typical of the interior, but here there are occasional heavy violent thunderstorms lasting as long as half a day.

Departures from the Mean Pattern. The real significance of the mean annual and seasonal precipitation totals cannot be understood without reference to the annual and seasonal variations which they mask. In the context of this study the variations are approached as an agricultural rather than as a climatological problem. The

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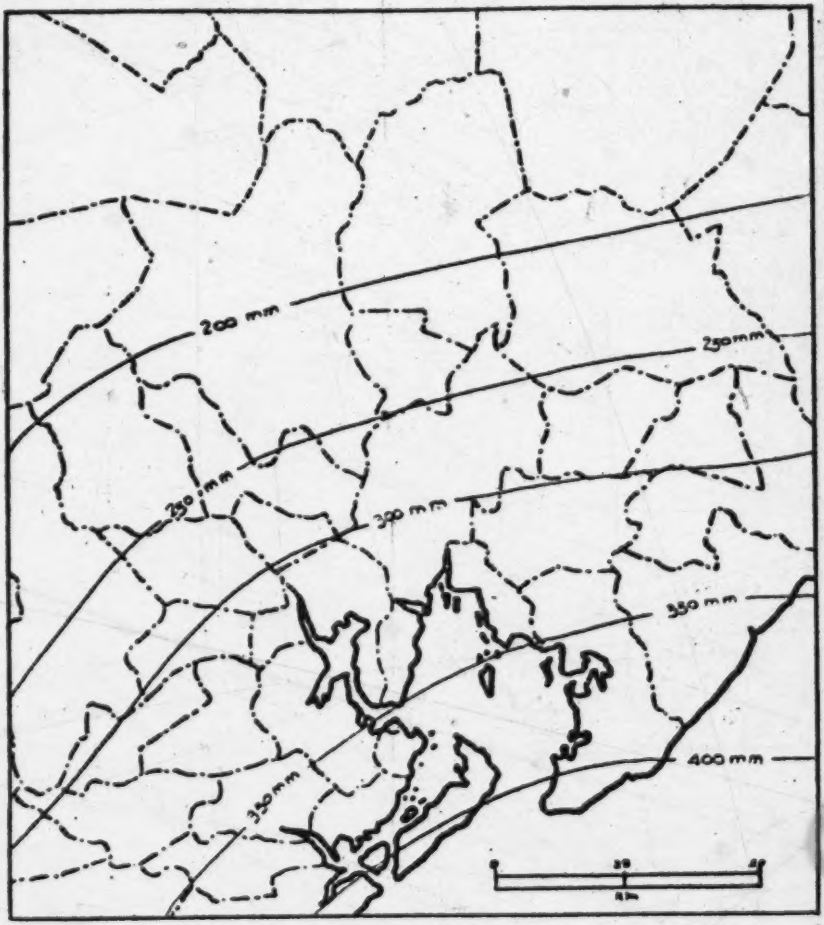

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Minor Wet Season Precipitation

October, November, and December

MAP 9

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

132 agriculturalist responds to rainfall not as a statistical mean but as
132 rain falling from day to day and month to month. It is beyond the
128 scope of this study to analyze the day to day march of precipitation--indeed, the poor data available merit no more than a superficial analysis. By a study of deviations from the annual and seasonal averages, it is possible to draw general conclusions and to qualify the patterns on the climatic maps. The analysis below deals with the two meteorological stations of the Recôncavo with reasonably reliable data--Salvador and Cruz das Almas--and is for the years 1947 through 1952. This span includes both relatively wet and relatively dry years. The accompanying table (Table I) presents the complete summary of mean figures and deviations.

132 Though the movement of annual and seasonal totals for these two sections was similar, the deviations from the averages were significantly different, as the accompanying table (Table I) reveals. For the major wet season, Salvador had a mean deviation of 10 per cent, Cruz das Almas of 16 per cent. The greater mean deviation in the interior corresponds to the usual generalization of drier areas having a less reliable (more deviate) rainfall pattern. Thus the farmer of
[249] Cruz das Almas, cultivating tobacco and manioc with a minimum of
[244] seasonal rainfall, must cope with more serious deviations from the "expected" average than the sugar cane planter in his zone of relatively plentiful rainfall.

Of the 36 wet season months (March-August for 6 years), 14 months had less than 100 mm. at Cruz das Almas; and 100 mm. falling
[249] in "well-distributed" showers, is the minimum monthly growing season precipitation necessary for tobacco, the chief commercial crop.[25]

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TABLE I

132

SUMMARY OF PRECIPITATION DATA--SALVADOR, CRUZ DAS ALMAS

	1952	1951	1950	1949	1948	1947
			Annual Precipitation - mm.			
Salvador	1846.4	1662.6	1741.4	2343.4	2074.2	2880.6
Cruz das Almas	1010.6	845.8	948.3	1235.3	1319.3	1067.6*
			March-August Precipitation - mm.			
Salvador	1510.0	1355.4	1136.5	1496.6	1645.6	1324.1
Cruz das Almas	567.3	594.3	544.6	737.7	909.4	638.8
			Deviation from Mean of 1411.4 mm. for Salvador and from 665.3 mm. for Cruz das Almas - mm.			
Salvador	+98.6	-56.0	-274.9	+85.2	+234.2	-87.3
Cruz das Almas	-98.0	-71.0	-120.7	+72.4	+244.1	-26.5
			Per cent Deviation from Mean			
Salvador	+ 7	- 4	- 19	+ 6	+ 17	- 6
Cruz das Almas	-15	-11	- 18	+11	+ 37	- 4
			October-December "Trovoada" Precipitation - mm.			
Salvador	297.5	167.2	293.0	464.5	361.2	891.8
Cruz das Almas	429.5	155.4	188.2	367.6	309.5	456.7
			Deviation from Mean of 410.9 mm. for Salvador and from 317.8 mm. for Cruz das Almas - mm.			
Salvador	-113.4	-243.7	-117.9	+53.6	-49.7	+480.9
Cruz das Almas	+111.7	-162.4	-129.6	+49.8	- 8.3	+138.9
			Per cent Deviation from Mean			
Salvador	-28	-59	- 29	+13	-12	+117
Cruz das Almas	+35	-51	- 41	+16	- 3	+ 43

[128] *The records of the Cruz das Almas station begin with April 1947. Therefore, the annual and March-August totals are fictional totals in which the mean January, February, and March figures 1948-1952 have been used.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

132 For the period 1949-1952, inclusive, Cruz das Almas had the following number of rainy days:

March	12 days	June	18 days
April	16 "	July	17 "
May	24 "	August	19 "

Of the 24 months of the wet seasons of these years, three had less than ten rainy days, and four others had from ten to fifteen. Moreover, in the periods March-April and July-August there were a number of cases in which one-third or more of the monthly precipitation fell in one 24-hour period. It is clear that the desirable 100 mm. of well-distributed monthly precipitation is frequently lacking.

In contrast with the major wet season, the trovoadas of October, November, and December show much greater variation--a mean deviation of 43 per cent at Salvador and 31 per cent at Cruz das Almas. These two mean seasonal figures, though mathematically correct, rarely correspond even approximately to the actual seasonal totals of any particular year.[26] Moreover, the totals of particular seasons mask very capricious monthly and daily rainfall patterns. Usually an important part of these minor wet season rains comes as heavy thunderstorms. In 1952, for example, Cruz das Almas had 429.5 mm. of rainfall in the October-December season, of which 344.7 mm. fell in December--120.1 mm. in one day, indeed in one continuous downpour. If the 1949-1952 period was representative, these heavy (over 100 mm.) 24-hour storms are a typical December occurrence. Such rains are a greater threat to agriculture than they are a resource.

132 241 Advance and Retreat of the Wet Season. In agriculture the cultivation calendar is likely to be fixed: the seasons of planting and harvest are often kept without regard to the variation in climate. This is especially so in the Recôncavo, where custom is so compelling an aspect of life. Under these circumstances the timely arrival and

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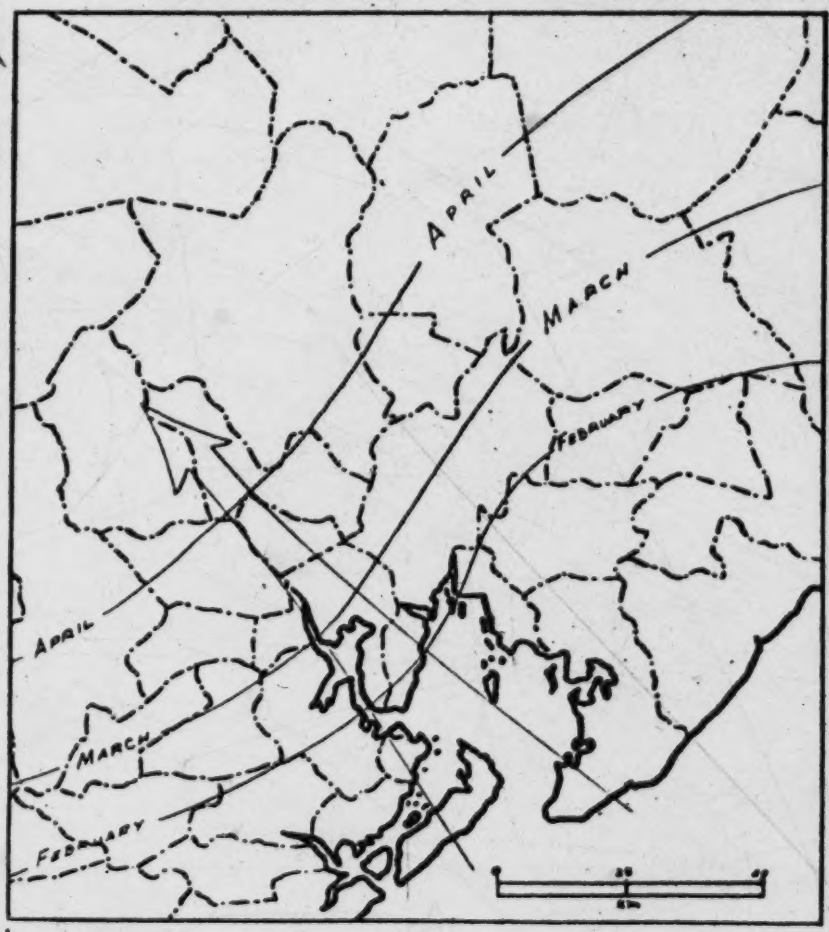

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Monthly Advance of the Major Wet Season

MAP 10

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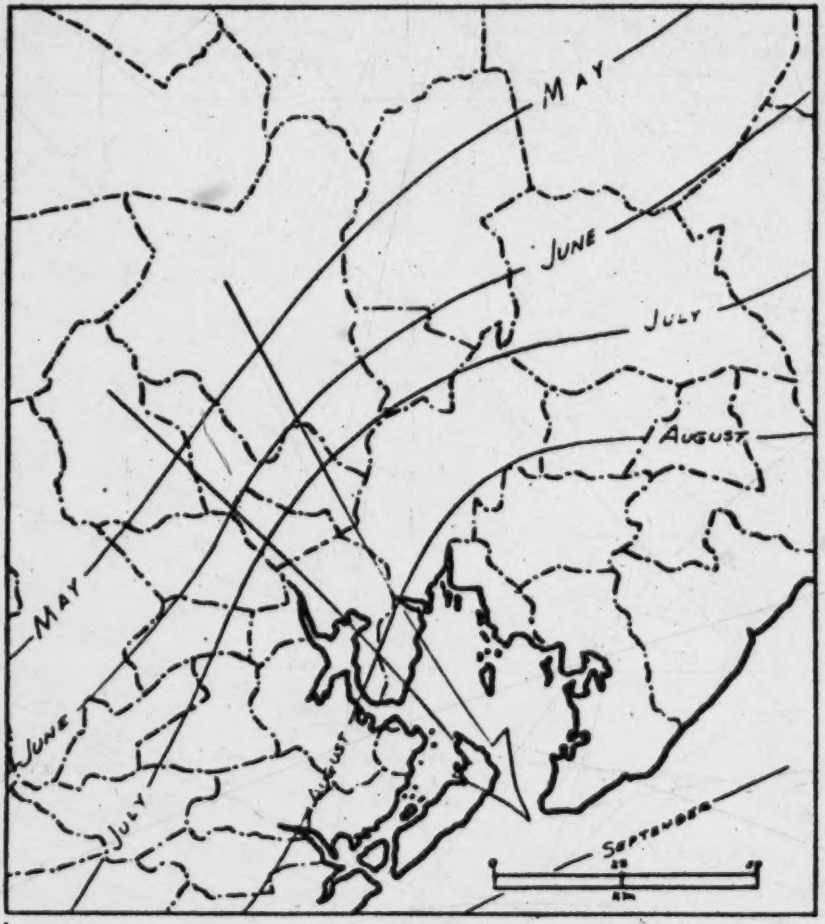

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Monthly Retreat of the Major Wet Season

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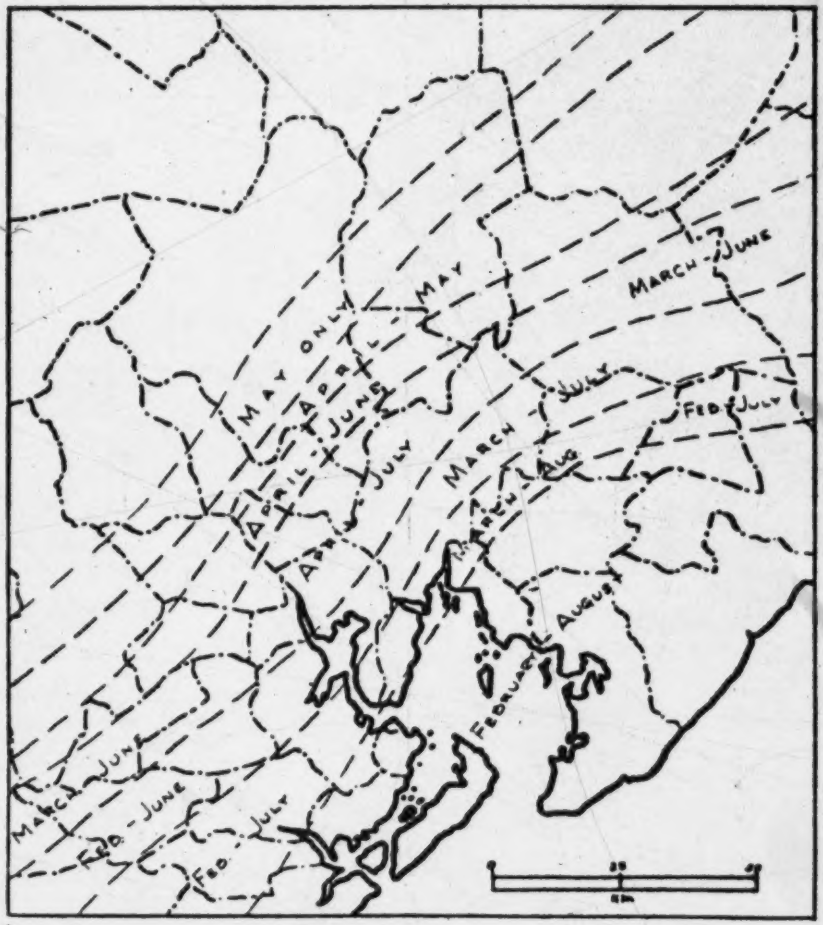

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Duration of the Major Wet Season

MAP 12

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

132 [241] departure of the wet season is of great significance. On the accompanying maps the advance, retreat, and duration of the wet season has been plotted in terms of 100 mm. of monthly rainfall.[27]

The wet season, defined as 100 mm. of rainfall monthly, comes in from the sea and crosses the Bay in January-February and moves across the Recôncavo through March and April. In May the retreat begins, and by September the wet season is over.

By combining the isopleths indicating advance and retreat it is possible to derive a map showing the duration of the wet season. On this basis the northwestern sector of the Recôncavo has no wet season or has only one month--May. The southern Crystalline Uplands have a wet season of three, four, or five months--April-June, April-July, or March-July, the shorter season occurring in the most interior section. The Tabular Uplands have two, three, or four months--April-May, April-June or March-June--of wet season. Most of the coastal lowlands have a seven-month--February-August--wet season.

The wet season outlined on the accompanying maps is the statistical mean of the wet seasons of six years--1947 to 1952. The accompanying table (Table II) shows the advance and retreat of the individual wet seasons at Salvador and Cruz das Almas. These data suggest that the advance and retreat of the wet season is highly irregular in the area around the Bay.[28] In the interior, if Cruz das Almas is representative, the advance and retreat of the wet season is more regular. However, in every year from 1947 to 1952 there was a dry month--with less than 100 mm. of rainfall--in the midst of the wet season of the interior.

[249] <u>September Precipitation</u>. September precipitation is a critical factor in the harvesting and processing of the two chief commercial

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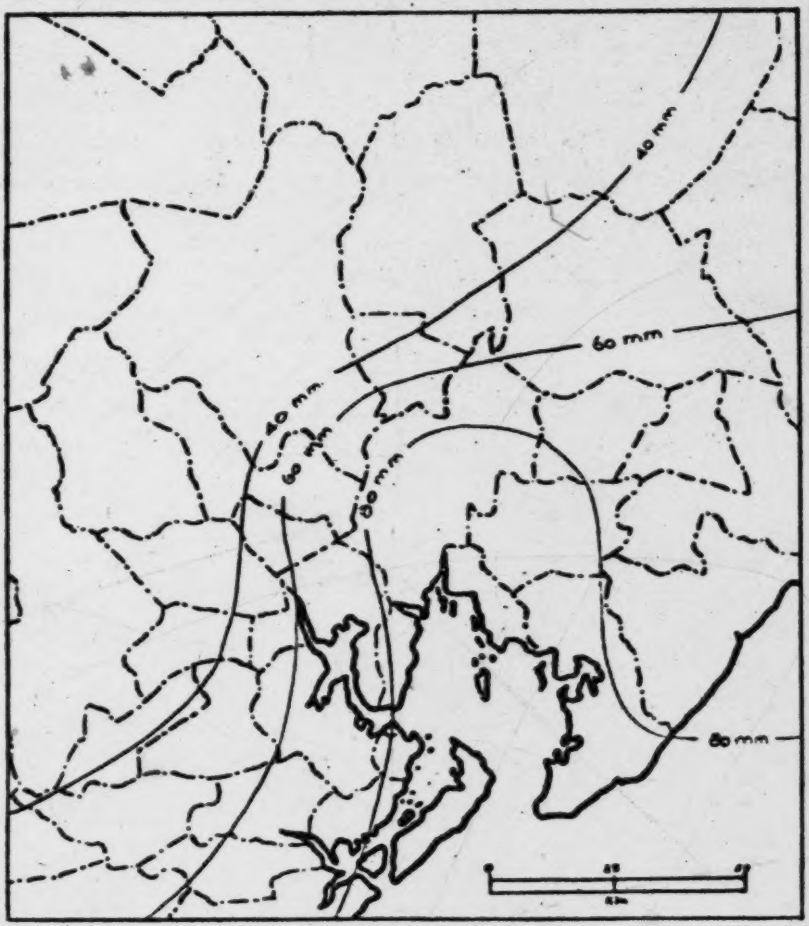

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Mean September Precipitation

MAP 13

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TABLE II

132

ADVANCE, DURATION, AND RETREAT OF THE WET SEASON
100 mm. MONTHLY TOTAL FOR SALVADOR AND CRUZ DAS ALMAS

	Salvador				Cruz das Almas			
Year	Month of Advance	Month with less than 100 mm.	Month of Retreat	Total	Month of Advance	Month with less than 100 mm.	Month of Retreat	Total
1947	March		July	5		June	July	
1948	March		Nov.	9	April	May	Aug.	4
1949	April		Nov.	8	April	May	July	3
1950	Feb.		July	6	April	June	July	3
1951	March		July	5	April	May	June	3
1952	March		Aug.	6	March	April	Aug.	4
Mean	March			6-1/2	April	June	July	4

Note: There are certain discrepancies between these figures and those on the map. This results from the necessity of using mean monthly data on the latter.

TABLE III

SEPTEMBER PRECIPITATION--SALVADOR AND CRUZ DAS ALMAS

	September Precipitation in mm.	
Year	Salvador	Cruz das Almas
1947	37.7	44.2
1948	106.6	41.7
1949	168.1	60.2
1950	32.3	25.5
1951	76.9	62.7
1952	21.5	7.0

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249

products of the Recôncavo--tobacco and sugar cane. In the tobacco zone there must be enough rainfall so that the shoots will continue to develop but not enough to cause the already-harvested leaves to mold. In the sugar cane zone the moisture-retentive soil will nourish the cane through a relatively dry month. However, too much September precipitati

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

132 [249] will turn the cane fields into quagmires from which it is impossible to move the laden ox-carts.[29]

The table above (Table III) indicates that the September rainfall is highly variable both on the coast and in the interior, although Cruz das Almas has a slightly more consistent pattern for this month. The variability of September precipitation, as will be seen, raises serious agricultural problems in the Recôncavo. However, the greater [249] variability of the coastal zone is in some ways a less serious problem than the lesser variability of the interior, for cane harvests can be temporarily postponed, but the cutting and drying of tobacco has an extremely critical time factor.[30]

Climate - Summary. The climate of the Recôncavo is dichotomous. The temperature of the region is fairly constant from day to day and from season to season. In contrast, precipitation is unevenly distributed--in area and in season--and is relatively unreliable. The cultivator of the Recôncavo may take the temperature for granted, but rainfall is an almost incessant concern.

Along the margins of the ocean and the Bay the climate is humid and the precipitation relatively reliable--it is a rare season when the crops of this zone suffer from drought. Because of the heavy invest- [249] [257] ment in industrial equipment and labor, a long delay in harvest is costly to the sugar industry.

In general the uplands have marginal precipitation. Beyond the [241] Recôncavo, in the sertão (backland) crop cultivation is scattered and precarious, chiefly on account of the low and uncertain rainfall. Although the uplands of the Recôncavo have more total precipitation than the sertão, they share in the pattern of uncertain rains. Several areas [241] in these uplands are intensively cultivated, and the recurring severe

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

132 241 droughts and unseasonable heavy rains fall upon valuable, and vulnerable, field crops. Moreover, the cultivators of the Uplands are characteristically small farmers without large financial resources, so that the social repercussions of bad weather in this area may be marked.

311 137 [241] Wild Vegetation. Wild vegetation is a significant element in the landscape and an important resource for agricultural production in the Recôncavo. In 13 of the 21 municipios of the region, over 10 per cent of the total area, in 1940, was in mata, or forest, which was used as an agricultural resource.[31] In the southwestern third of the Recôncavo as the accompanying map indicates (Map 14), almost one-fifth of the total area was in this "exploited mata." It is inferred, through the addition of "unused and non-productive" land to the "exploited mata," that well over one-half of the total area of the Recôncavo was in wild vegetation.

137 192 In east-central Bahia three terms are used both colloqiually and professionally to designate the wild vegetation: (1) Mata is used generally to refer to the littoral evergreen forest of the Brazilian east coast. (2) Caatinga refers to the semi-deciduous scrub-forest of the northeastern Brazilian interior. (3) Agreste designates the transitional forest, intermediate in structure and position between the mata and the caatinga.[32]

137 Vegetation Types. The narrow coastal plain of eastern Brazil, from the Rio Paraíba—in eastern Rio de Janeiro state—to central Bahia, bears a heavy evergreen forest or selva.[33] The northern end of this forest belt is the Baía de Todos os Santos. Although the trees are lower and the species somewhat less diverse than in northern Brazil, the littoral forests of the Recôncavo and the Bahian coast farther south are a characteristic variation of the "tropical rain forest."

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 55]

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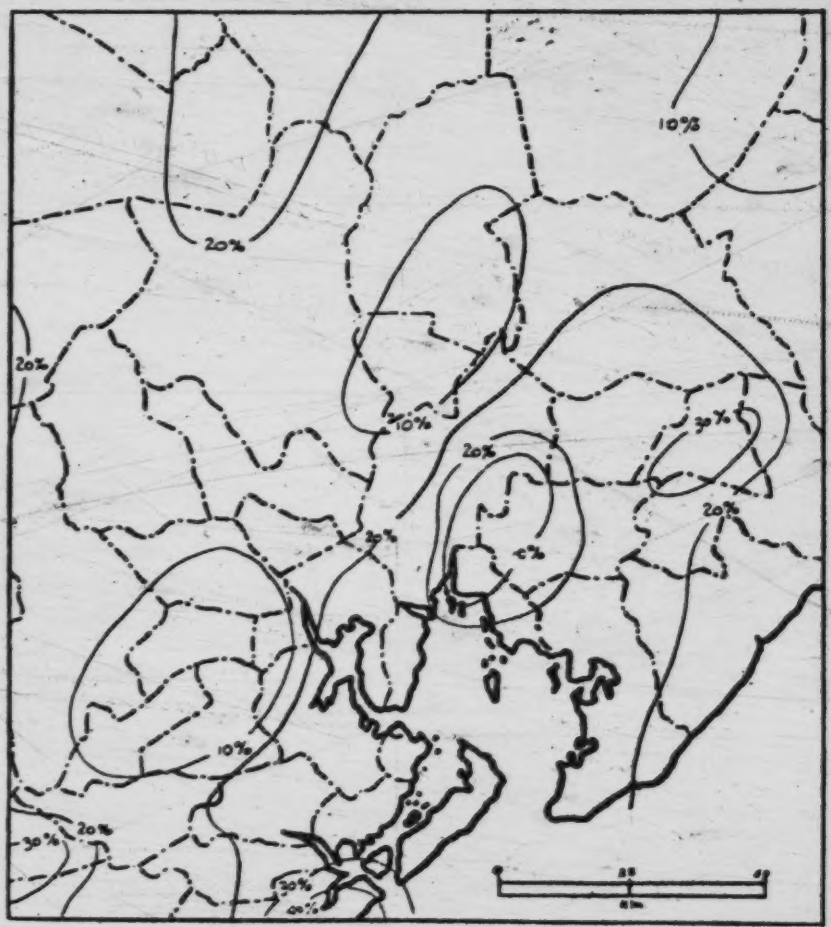

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Area in "Exploited Mata"—1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 14

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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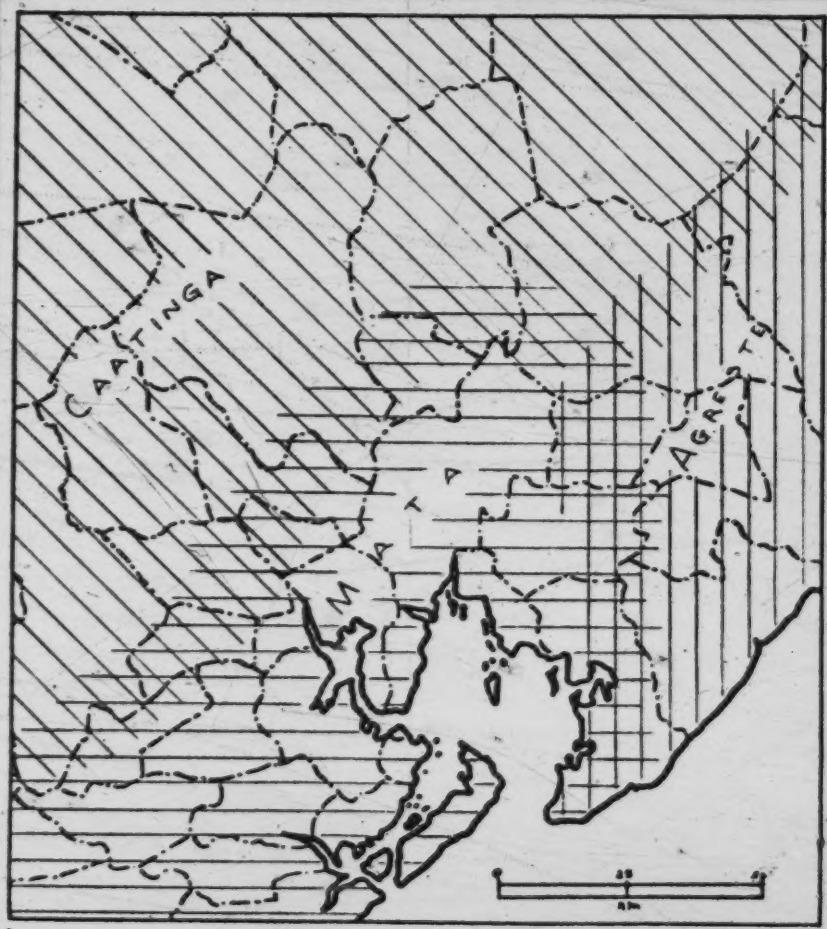

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Vegetation Types

[129] Modified from a private map of Dr. Geraldo C. Pereira Pinto, Instituto Agronômico do Leste

MAP 15

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

137 Either because of some ecological limit or because almost all of the forest, even the tallest part, is second-growth, there usually are only two tiers of forest trees. Below the trees there is usually a mass of lianas and dense impassable brush. Often, however, the forest is too young to be fully developed, and there are vast areas of low second-growth trees protruding out of a jungle of climbers, creepers, low brush, and herbaceous plants. This low second-growth, called capoeira de mata, is especially common within the Recôncavo and is the dominant forest type in a zone bounded on the south by an arc from Salvador to Cachoeira and on the north by the limit of the littoral forest. The second-growth forest is characteristic also of the island of Itaparica. The forest of the mainland coast south of the estuary of the Rio Paraguaçu, both within and beyond the Recôncavo, is usually older and thus taller--this southern Bay coast is a zone of widely-scattered cultivation. The forest is interrupted in some places by open areas
137 of grass or low deciduous trees. These openings seem to occur in
311 areas of particularly sandy soils. The littoral forest is used primarily as a land reserve for a system of shifting cultivation and secondarily as a source of fuel (charcoal) and lumber. It is not used to any appreciable extent as pasture, even where the grassy openings are extensive.

137 North of the Bay the evergreen littoral forest gives way to the agreste--the semi-deciduous transition forest. The agreste is differentiated from the mata by its deciduous trees and shrubs and by the frequency of the breaks in the forest where open patches of grass are found. The dominant cover is, however, a very dense growth of gnarled brush and low deciduous trees. Above these rise scattered taller deciduous trees and occasional palms, especially the wax palms (such as carnauba). All the vegetation is sub-xerophytic. The agreste is

137 not unique to the coast of northern Bahia--it extends northward along the littoral almost to Cape São Roque, with the Recôncavo forming its [233] southern limit. In Bahia the grazing value of the agreste is not great, since the grassland areas consist of small and scattered patches and since there are relatively few herbaceous plants which are palatable to grazing animals.

The characteristic vegetation of the dry interior of the Northeast is the scrub forest, called caatinga or, sometimes, sertão.[34] Compared with the agreste, the grassy patches are more extensive, and the trees are lower. The tall vegetation of the scrub forest consists of thorny, xerophytic, deciduous brush and low trees and of low palms, especially the licurí (Syagrus Coronata). Cacti are very common in the caatinga of Bahia; the tall branched cactus is a very conspicuous element in the landscape, and there are several low, thorny cacti on [233] the scrub-forest floor. The cover also contains many herbaceous plants which are valuable forage.

137 132 Both the agreste and the caatinga show a phenomenal seasonal rhythm in response to the rainfall cycle. During the dry season in the caatinga the landscape is brown, bare of leaves, and hostile with thorns; the only green plants are the cacti. Much of the earth is bare, and its brown is indistinguishable from the bare trunks and twisted branches of the scrub trees. With the first rains a tremendous exuberance of green leaves, coarse grass, and succulent herbs [233] spring up, and the entire landscape is transformed. During this season the caatinga provides good forage for herds of cattle, sheep, and goats. But this lush season is brief, and soon the caatinga is again brown. In some years there is no rain, and although the stubborn vegetation manages to survive in a dormant state, men and animals must leave for the more humid coastal forests.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

137 The seasonal variation of the agreste is much like that of the caatinga, but the extremes of vegetative luxuriance are less marked. The scattered evergreen trees and shrubs make the agreste, in the dry season, less of a monochrome than the caatinga.

In addition to the general contrasts between the three basic vegetation types, there are lesser variations within each which are the result of differences in exposure, soil, and land use. These differences are clearly to be seen in the contrasting varieties of scrub forest. In the caatinga sêca (dry scrub forest) the trees are low, usually less than 4 to 5 meters, and the forest is open, with extensive patches of grass and of bare sand. It is most characteristic of sandy uplands in the Crystalline or Tabular Upland zones. In areas where soils, moisture conditions, land-use patterns, etc., are more favorable to forest growth, the characteristic vegetation is caatinga grande. The trees and tall cacti reach 7 to 10 meters, and underneath there is a continuous cover of tall herbaceous plants with little grass and no bare spots. In the agreste, formations similar to caatinga grande and sêca are found. Within the littoral forest, soil and exposure differences sometimes
[311] produce marked contrasts. However, the intensive land use in the littoral forest has produced so much second-growth that it is not certain which variations result from environmental and which from human factors. In the littoral forest and to a lesser extent in the caatinga and agreste, there are poorly drained areas with open glades of coarse grass and rank herbaceous plants.

137 In the littoral forest, crop cultivation is leaving its mark
311 upon the wild vegetation, producing a formation of low trees and dense ground cover. In those parts of the caatinga and agreste within the Recôncavo, both cultivation and grazing are constantly altering the "natural" development of the vegetation. Extensive areas of a growth

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

137 31 similar to caatinga sêca appear where soil and moisture conditions would seem to indicate caatinga grande. These areas are especially common where cultivation and grazing are intensive.

The wild vegetation of the Recôncavo is used for forage, timber, [313] and fuel. Only the mata is used for timber, and it is exploited only on a small scale. All three of the main vegetation types contribute toward supplying the local market with fuel--firewood and charcoal. The [314] mata is the principal charcoal source, especially in the forest zone northwest of the city of Salvador and along the Salvador-Feira de Santana highway. In the interior sections of the Recôncavo the caatinga and the agreste provide firewood for cooking and other household purposes. For grazing, the caatinga is far superior to the agreste and the mata, except when the latter is in the first stages of regrowth. Burning is employed extensively in an effort to increase the grazing value of the caatinga and agreste. At first this provides more grass and herbaceous growth, but after repeated burning and continuous over-grazing, there develops an impenetrable cover of thorny, tough brush, three to five feet tall, and quite valueless.[35]

13 Conclusion - Physical Setting. The analysis of the physical setting which is to serve as background for the discussion of agriculture in the Recôncavo does not reveal a homogeneous region. Rather it would seem that the Recôncavo is best visualized as a nodal region, with a relatively homogeneous but areally restricted core and a broad transitional perimeter. The perimeter is composed of several sub-regions, each with a distinctive transitional character. As a summation of [188] the physical setting, each of the sub-regions of the perimeter and core of the Recôncavo will be assigned a name, as a matter of convenience, with the physical elements briefly indicated for each:[36]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

13 Central Recôncavo: a zone of Coastal Plain and lower Intermediate Hills north of the Bay. It is humid and, when uncultivated, forested. Its soils are of the Cretaceous series, chiefly clay and clay-sands.

Northern Recôncavo: a zone of dry, Tabular Uplands, with caatinga in the west and agreste in the east. Its soils are Tertiary sands except in the deeper valleys, where Cretaceous soils appear.

Northwestern Recôncavo. a zone of crystalline soils and caatinga vegetation. Most of the area is Crystalline Upland, but there are extensive sandy taboleiros. This is one of the driest sections of the Recôncavo.

Southwestern Recôncavo: The Crystalline Uplands south of the Rio Paraguaçu are less sandy and more humid than the Northwestern Recôncavo. This zone is mata in the east and south, caatinga in the west and southwest. Its soils are of the crystalline series but less sandy than is characteristic in the Northwestern Recôncavo.

Eastern Recôncavo: a small zone of relatively humid, agreste covered Tabular Uplands and Intermediate Hills.

Southern Recôncavo: The most diverse of the sub-regions it is composed of three sections: (1) the Bay littoral south of the estuary of the Paraguaçu; (2) the island of Itaparica; and (3) the peninsula of Salvador. It is forested and humid and is either rough Coastal Plain or Intermediate Hills, with mixed crystalline, Cretaceous, and Tertiary soils.

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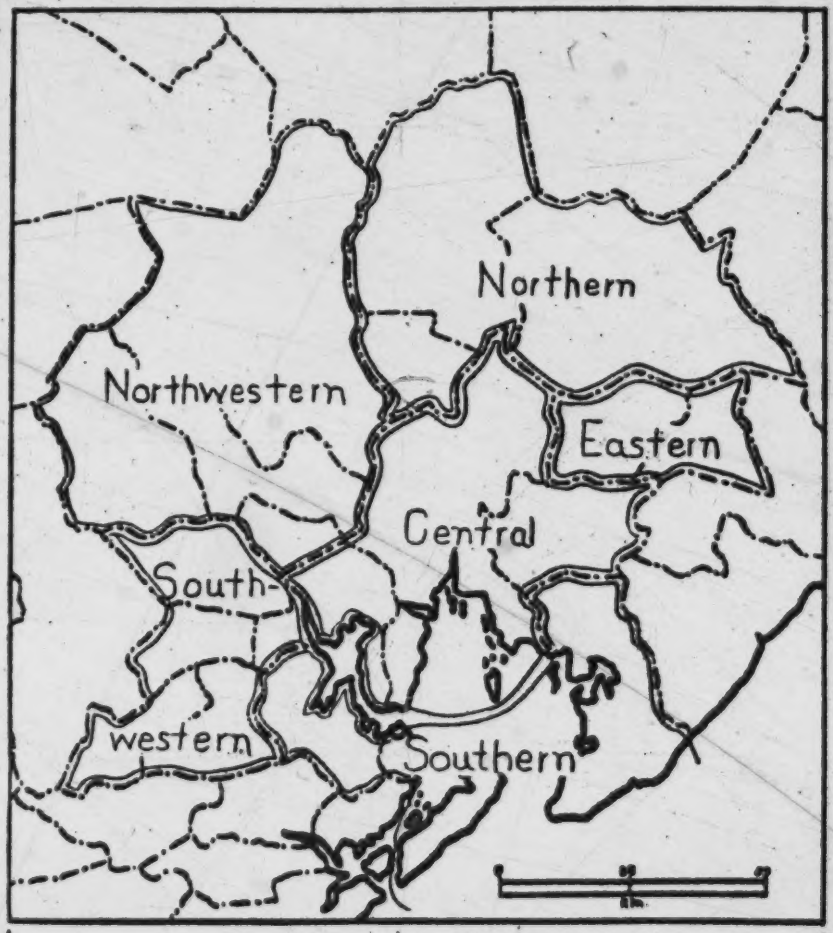

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Major Physical-Political Sub-Regions

MAP 16

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

OOO Footnotes - Chapter II.

[127] [114] [1]The general scheme of classification and the map which are used in the following discussion are based upon the field interpretation of small-scale geologic and topographic maps. The description of the landforms is based upon field experience in all municípios of the Recôncavo except Coração de Maria and all other municípios shown on the maps except Esplanada and Entre Rios. The basic sources include:

Gregorio Bondar, "Solos da Bahia, Sua Conservação e Aproveitamento, Boletim Geográfico, Vol. IX, No. 99 (June, 1951), pp. 243-281. Mario Martins de Oliveira, "Recôncavo." Map at scale of approximately 1:500,000 (Bahia: Organização Brasileira de Edições Culturais, [n.d.]). Conselho Nacional de Geografia and Departmento de Geografia, Engenharia Rural e Açudagem do Estado da Bahia, "Mapa Geral do Estado da Bahia." Map at scale of 1:1,000,000 (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço Gráfico do Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, 1953).

[2]Bondar, op. cit., pp. 261-263, and attached map.

[3]These depressions very much resemble the small depressions encountered in karst regions. However, mechanical removal of soil materials and perhaps of rock from joints in the crystalline regolith, rather than solution, would be the most likely process.

[4]There are two Rios Jacuípe in the Recôncavo. One is the tributary of the Rio Paraguaçu mentioned above. The other is the main stream of the central part of the sugar cane zone, which drains eastward directly to the ocean.

[114] [5]Bondar, op. cit., p. 253. In Brazil, Bondar is recognized as the outstanding authority on the soils of Bahia.

[6]Bondar, op. cit., pp. 243-281.

[7]Sylvio Froes Abreu, "O Recôncavo da Bahia e o Petróleo do Lobato," Revista Brasileira de Geografia, Vol. I, No. 2 (July-September, 1939), pp. 57-83.

[8]Other sources used as a basis for the discussion and mapping of soils were: Companhia Energia Electrica da Bahia, Geology and Climate (Information Sheet No. 2, with geological information maps and sections furnished by Horace E. Williams. Bahia: Companhia Energia Electrica da Bahia, [1931], 28 pp. Orlando G. Teixeira, "Solos do Recôncavo da Bahia," Boletim da Secretaria da Agricultura, Industria, e Comercio do Estado da Bahia, Vol. XLIX, No. II.

[9]Bondar, op. cit., pp. 243-281.

[10]However, this presumed low fertility is not always reflected in lower actual yields.

[11]Geology and Climate, p. 10.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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[12]Teixeira, in his "Solos do Recôncavo da Bahia," pp. 36 and 38, gives the following data (here summarized) for the soils of Paranagua, near Rio Fundo in the município of Santo Amaro:

	Per cent		Per cent
Clay	28 - 48	Total Nitrogen	0.224
Lime	19 - 34	Exchangeable Calcium ME	44.8
Fine Sand	23 - 41	Exchangeable Magnesium ME	6.8
Coarse Sand	1.6- 6.5	Clorides	0.011
Residual Humidity	2.6- 5	Phosphorus	0.055
Rock	3.6- 10.7	Potassium Cloride	0.585
Water Capacity	40 - 58	Sodium Cloride	1.1577

[13]The Rio Pojuca has a gradient of 1-1351 from Catuiçara in northern Santo Amaro to the cidade of Pojuca, near the point at which the river enters the crystalline. The Rio Traripe has a gradient of about 1-125 for its last 10 km. before entering the Bay. Its valley is deeply incised, with deep gullies on the slopes.

[135] [14]These rock fragments, usually much weathered, almost invariably were identified as either gneiss or granite in the exposures observed in the field.

[15]Teixeira, op. cit., pp. 31-39.

[16]Bondar, op. cit., p. 256.

[17]One of the islands of the group pendant to the middle of the north coast.

[171] [18]Thus this part of Brazil is not like many areas in the United States, where relatively uniform cultivation practices are conspicuously minimizing soils differences.

[114] [19]According to the Köppen system of classification the coastal Recôncavo has an Af (tropical rainforest) climate, and the interior an Aw (tropical savanna) climate. According to the Thornthwaite system, all of the Recôncavo has a CA'w (subhumid tropical with winter rainfall deficiency) climate. Glen T. Trewartha, An Introduction to Climate (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1954), plates II and III.

[20]Gilberto Freyre, Nordeste (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio Livraria Editora, 1937), pp. 9, 21.

132 127 [21]Official data from government weather stations was available for only four places in the Recôncavo--Salvador and São Bento das Lajes, in the município of São Francisco, on the littoral of the Bay; and Cruz das Almas and São Gonçalo in the western interior. Of these, only Salvador had maintained a continuous record over a relatively long period--including the years immediately preceeding the field study. There were a number of stations in adjacent parts of the state of Bahia, but none were close enough to the Recôncavo to be reliable guides to its climatic pattern.

The data on which the climatic analysis of this study was based came from three basic sources: (1) Ministério da Agricultura, Departamento Nacional da Produção Mineral, Divisão de Águas Secção de Hidrologia, Atlas Pluviométrico do Brasil 1931-1938 (Boletim #5. Rio de Janeiro: Departamento Nacional da Produção Mineral, Divisão de Águas Secção de

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127 Hidrologia, 1948). (2) Ministério da Agricultura, Serviço de Meteorologia,
132 Normais Climatológicas (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço de Meteorologia, 1941).
(3) Data made available by the meteorological section of the Instituto Agronômico Léste at Cruz das Almas,

132 The risks involved in using these data are considerable. Of the
127 20 meteorological stations in eastern and central Bahia, only 2 or
114 perhaps 3 are reliable. For the others, gross errors and even deliberate falsification are notorious. Probably the data for Salvador is reasonably dependable, and during the field investigation for this study, there was opportunity to observe the conscientious attention to detail at Cruz das Almas.

The sheer lack of meteorological stations makes it necessary to infer most of the climatic pattern of the Recôncavo. It is fortunate that the two dependable stations occupy relatively representative sites in terms of the terrain and the land-sea relationship. Nevertheless, even the highly generalized climatic analysis of this section is offered with considerable hesitation. It is included in the study primarily as a base for agricultural research and, it is hoped, as a stimulant to a more adequate analysis of weather and climate for the Recôncavo.

000 [22]The municípios of Santo Estêvão, Feira de Santana, and Irará.

[137] [23]Often the slopes are more heavily forested than the surrounding tablelands, but it is not absolutely certain that this difference is unrelated to land use--the slopes are usually too steep for cultivation. In a number of municípios immediately to the east of this dry belt perennial or seasonal ponds were observed at the eastern or southern base of a number of monadnocks. Presumably these ponds are related to heavier precipitation on the slopes above.

[24]The mean annual precipitation of São Bento das Lajes (in the município of São Francisco) is 1947 mm. At São Gonçalo the mean annual precipitation is 1005 mm.

[25]According the advice of agronomists in the area. This approximation is based upon the general experience of the cultivators and not upon controlled experiments which could take into account varying temperatures, humidity, and soil moisture conditions.

[26]The mean of the deviations at Cruz das Almas was 33 per cent.

[249] [27]Except that 100 mm. is considered to be the minimum for tobacco cultivation, this exact figure has no particular significance. It is used here merely as a device to record the movement and duration of the season.

[249] [28]This seems to reflect accurately the climatic situation in the Coastal Plain, where sugar cane is grown, for the cane planters frequently complain of the irregularity of the end of the wet season.

[29]It is not possible to assign strict values for "too much" and "too little" precipitation in these agricultural zones of the Recôncavo. In the tobacco zone there is likely to be difficulty if the precipitation for September--or the following months--the cutting period, falls below

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

000 25 mm. The upper limit is less definite; humidity as well as rainfall is an important factor in determining the danger of molding. In the sugar cane area, in addition to September rainfall, the precipitation retained from the months preceding September is clearly a factor in soil moisture at harvest time and is thus related to the sugar content and the difficulties of harvesting.

[30]The specific harvest requirements of the crop and the debts of the small farmer combine to force the harvesting and processing--no matter how unfavorable the precipitation.

[113] [31]Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II. Mata as used in the census classification signifies forest in general, and perhaps also savanna. Mata, except in this specific discussion of the utilization of wild vegetation, will be used throughout the study to refer only to the littoral forest.

[127] [32]The map of wild vegetation of the Recôncavo is derived from a private map of Dr. Geraldo C. Pereira Pinto, of the Instituto Agronômico Léste. The descriptions of the three vegetation types are based upon his classification, but have been expanded and interpreted on the basis of field observations of this study.

[113] [33]Preston E. James, Latin America (New York: The Odyssey Press, 1952), pp. 413, 439.

[192] [34]Sertão is not strictly a vegetation type, for this term is applied also to all that part of the northeastern interior which is sparsely settled and under-developed, even where scrub-forest is not characteristic. In Bahia, however, caatinga and sertão are often used interchangeably to designate both the scrub-forest vegetation and the general area where the scrub-forest is dominant.

[35]Several vegetation maps show an area of tropical savanna as a continuous belt, parallel to the coast of Bahia, in such a position that it should cross the Recôncavo. For example, James, op. cit., p. 413, map 81, "Northeast Brazil Natural Vegetation." This would raise the question of the utilization of these grasslands. However, savanna (campo cerrado) was not observed in the course of the field investigation in the Recôncavo, nor did the botanists or agronomists who were interviewed identify any local vegetation as campo cerrado. A grassland area of very limited size was observed in the northern part of the municipio of Salvador, on extremely sandy soil, but steppe rather than savanna seemed the appropriate term for this almost treeless enclave. Elsewhere in the Recôncavo trees rather than grasses dominate the uncultivated landscape, and the term savanna seems inappropriate.

[36]For a listing of the municípios in each sub-region see Appendix A.

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CHAPTER III

EVOLUTION OF THE RECÔNCAVO

175 Introduction. The first permanent colony on the Baía de Todos os Santos was established by the Portuguese in 1549.[1] This colony, at the city of Salvador, was the nucleus of settlement in the Recôncavo. The Recôncavo was thus one of the early European colonies in the New World.[2] The first Portuguese colonists came to seek their fortunes in the exploitation of the land. The ethos of the Recôncavo economy in the four centuries since its founding has remained fairly constant: the realization of the greatest agricultural profits with the least capital investment, the minimum conservation of land and labor, and the most grudging adjustments to changes in technology, markets, and the social and political order. Most of the million descendants of Portuguese colonists and Negro slaves who live in the Recôncavo today are imbued with the orthodox values of the exploitative agricultural society established here in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Shifts in markets and in the relative importance of commercial products have not been accompanied by equivalent changes in the speculative and exploitative orientation of the society. In the initial period a market for Recôncavo agricultural products was assured because it had a virtual monopoly. The development of alternative and competitive sources for these products broke this monopoly and caused a continuous increase in the speculative character of agriculture in the Recôncavo. This area did not respond to the increased risk by diversifying its agricultural base but persisted in the same crops and the same methods of cultivation. Such change as did take place was in the form of reluctant, tardy, and minimal adjustments so that in many ways the

175 178 181 433 241 433 241 178 [181]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

433 241 178 Recôncavo remains today a backward and traditional agricultural society.

However, not all elements in Recôncavo life are static. In the field one was incessantly conscious both of the gradual course of change in this region and of the latent instability of its economic organization. Particularly in the last 75 years the agricultural economy of the Recôncavo has begun to shift--it is apparently in the throes of a drastic economic reorganization. It remains to be seen whether the traditional values will survive this economic revolution. [128] The brief historical discussion to follow is not intended as a substitute for a full-scale historical reconstruction. Its purpose is to indicate the major patterns in the evolution of the Recôncavo.

175 <u>The Evolution of Colonial Agricultural Institutions</u>. By the end of the initial half century of settlement (1600) those ethnic groups, crops, animals, and agricultural institutions which were to [567] become characteristic of the Recôncavo were already in evidence. Negro [249] slaves were brought in on the heels of the first Portuguese settlers,[3] [231] and sugar cane and cattle were also introduced at this time.[4] Tobacco [244] and manioc, produced by the Indians indigenous to the northeast of [249] [177] Brazil, were rapidly integrated into the colonial agriculture of the [249] Recôncavo.[5] The combined sugar mill and plantation (<u>engenho</u>), which [471] was the basic economic institution of the Recôncavo until the end of the nineteenth century, already existed in rudimentary form before 1600.[6]

175 249 [244] From the beginning the new colony in the Recôncavo had three important crops--sugar cane, tobacco, and manioc. It was the cultivation of sugar which the Portuguese crown and the initial settlers had

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BB 175 249 in mind when they founded the colony of Bahia.

> Already enough was known of Brazil to hope that sugar cane would do well in it. The hot and humid climate of its coast would be highly favorable, and as for hands for work, they counted mainly on the indigenous people who, as we have seen, were relatively numerous and peaceful on the coast. These perspectives were completely confirmed; the one factor of which they were ignorant before the attempt—the quality of the soil--revealed itself as supremely propitious, at some points at least, on the extensive coast. This was particularly the case in the extreme northeast, on the coastal plain occupied by the state of Pernambuco and on the contours of the Baía de Todos os Santos (the Recôncavo Baiano, as it would be called). These were not the only ones: in a general way all the Brazilian coast paid homage to sugar cane.
>
> It was on this base that the effective occupation and colonization of Brazil was initiated.[7]

BB [134]

By the end of the sixteenth century sugar cane cultivation had spread at least as far as its present western and southern limits in the Recôncavo, on the Paraguaçu and Jaguaripe rivers. Forty engenhos were engaged in the production of sugar.[8] The engenhos were the nuclei of the economic organization of the colony. The cultivation of sugar cane and the milling of sugar demanded a labor force too large to be recruited from among the indigenous Indians.[9] This labor force was supplied from the slave pens of Africa--chiefly on the Guinea Coast and in Angola. The city of Salvador, which had the advantage of a commodious port and a central location among the slave markets of Brazil, was the chief point of debarkation for these Africans.[10] Estimates of the number of slaves imported and the number who remained in Bahia vary over a wide range. In 1583, when the population of Brazil was estimated at 57,000 people, 25,000 were listed as whites, 18,000 as civilized Indians, and 14,000 as Negro slaves. The Negroes were concentrated mainly in Bahia and Pernambuco.[11] It seems likely that in Bahia the number of Negroes was at least equal to the number of whites. These two racial groups and their mixed-blood derivatives

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BB [504]

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

162 compose most of the population of the Recôncavo today. In 1940 the
563 population of the Centro-Litoral of Bahia--the census area most closely corresponding to the Recôncavo--had the following composition: white, 22 per cent; black, 29 per cent; and others, predominately mulatto, 49 per cent.[12]

The purchase of large quantities of slaves required the produc-
175 439 tion of a commodity which could be used as exchange in Africa. The
567 436 indigenous tobacco proved eminently suitable for this purpose. Although
276 rum apparently was used also in this trade, tobacco became the essential
[273] source of exchange for the slave traffic.[13] Bahia was the main area of
[249] tobacco production, and probably most of this production was localized in the Recôncavo.[14]

The initial period of settlement saw also the incorporation of
175 244 433 manioc[15] into the agricultural economy as a staple. Like tobacco, it
[567] was an indigenous crop. Thus one indigenous crop was adopted to purchase slaves in Africa and another to feed them in Brazil. By 1587 manioc apparently was being cultivated on a moderate scale in Bahia.[16] A recurring theme in the history of the Recôncavo is the shortage of this essential foodstuff.

In addition to the principal crops--sugar, tobacco, and
241 262 175 433 manioc--a number of lesser agricultural products were important in the early history of the Recôncavo. Corn, beans, and bananas were grown on a small scale and used to supplement the manioc diet. Other diversi-
231 fications of the diet were provided by meat and fish. Cattle were maintained to draw the ox carts and to power many of the cane mills. For lighter tasks asses and mules were used.

178 249 433 Out of this complex of Portuguese settlers and Negro slaves, of old world and new world crops, there developed certain characteristic agricultural enterprises. The engenho--old world in the origin of its

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178 crop, technology, and market—was the most important of these enter-
249 prises. The sugar industry flourished in its new world setting and
433 developed from the beginning an institutional character different from that of the old world, particularly in terms of land holding, labor, and the organization of production.

175 The regime of possession of the land was that of completely
423 alodial properties. Among the powers of the donatários of
249 the capitania was, as we have seen, that of disposing of
471 the land, which they distributed among the colonists. The grants were as a rule very large, the lots measuring many leagues. This is understandable: the lands were abundant, and the ambitions of these pioneers, recruited at such a cost, were evidently not contented with small properties; it was not the position of modest peasants to which they aspired in the new world but as great senhores [gentlemen] and latifundiários [landowners]. In addition to this and more important, there was a material factor which determined the type of property established. The culture of cane is practical, economically, only on a large scale. Merely conveniently to clear and prepare the lands (a costly task in this tropical and virgin setting so hostile to man) made necessary the united energy of many workers: it was not an enterprise for small and isolated proprietors. This done, the planting, the harvesting, and the transportation of the cane to the engenhos where it was made into sugar was only profitable when done in large volume. In these conditions the small producer could not exist.

It was above all these circumstances which determined the type of agricultural enterprise adopted in Brazil: the large property.[17]

175 The latifundia established by these colonists ideally were
241 self-sustaining units producing food and sometimes clothing for the
471
433 entire engenho community—free and slave. In fact, however, they often seem to have neglected food production for the cultivation of the universal commercial product--sugar cane. From the beginning of colonization a succession of regulations and decrees were issued to compel the cultivation of manioc. Recurrent food shortages suggest that these measures were not effective in the face of the "monocultural mentality" of the senhores de engenho (sugar plantation owners). In

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 In
433 contemporary Bahia chronic shortages of staple foods, particularly
178 manioc, are characteristic of the zones of commercial agriculture.

175 The equipment and technology of the engenhos was primitive.
249 The cane was transported on the backs of mules or on ox carts to the
[492] mill where it was crushed in a crude press sometimes turned by water power but usually by animal- or even man-power. The cane juice was evaporated in large iron caldrons which were heated by fire made from wood. This type of processing was in general use in the Recôncavo for several centuries and still persists in some areas of the extra-Recôncavo
[464] backlands. The engenhos were operated almost exclusively with slave
[567] labor. Most of the slaves of Bahia are thought to have come from the
[177] Guinea Coast of Africa. These "Mina" Negroes[18] had a relatively sophisticated cultural inheritance from Africa and undoubtedly made substantial contributions to the cultural development of Bahia.[19]

175 The Negroes were introduced when Indian slaves failed to pro-
249 vide the necessary labor supply, but they were rarely available in
464 sufficient numbers and at a low enough cost to prevent chronic labor
567 shortages. Falta de braços (literally, lack of arms) has been a perennial concern in the Recôncavo no less than elsewhere in Brazil.
[162] The importation of hundreds of thousands of Negroes into Brazil--of which certainly a considerable number were settled in the Recôncavo--did not solve the problem.[20] In the early period most engenhos had from about 80 to 100 slaves, but by the eighteenth century some had as many as 1,000.[21]

175 From the beginning of settlement there was extensive miscegna-
563 tion. The Portuguese settlers were predominately male, and they bred
567 on a large scale with both Indian and Negro slave women. Some of the mestizo and mulatto children--chiefly the latter in the Recôncavo--retained the slave status of their mothers. Others were freed and sometimes occupied favored positions in their fathers' households.

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175 565 The landed, slave-owning aristocrat was the master of Recôncavo society. The extended aristocratic family was the basic social, economic, and political unit of colonial society. The upper class of the Recôncavo, composed of inter-related family units, continued without substantial alteration until the twentieth century.

175 241 433 565 563 Despite the predominance of sugar cane and the engenho in the colonial Recôncavo--and in the literature on the region--other products and other institutions were important. It is clear that tobacco and manioc were the chief secondary agricultural products, but the development of the associated institutions is not documented. Presumably a class of small semi-subsistence cultivators occupied the lands unsuitable for sugar cane. This class probably was composed of whites lacking the capital for plantation agriculture and freed mulattoes and slaves--manumission was very common in the Recôncavo. The chief commercial product of these small farmers was rolo or corda tobacco (similar to a "twist" of tobacco),[22] and probably to a lesser extent farinha de mandioca (manioc flour). In addition, corn, beans, rice, and bananas were produced.

175 43 The colonial economy of the Recôncavo was not self-sufficient, in spite of the production of food crops and meat animals on small farms and on plantations. Near the beginning of colonization the livestock ranching industry, originating in coastal areas like the Recôncavo, migrated into the interior of the Northeast. Thereafter [231] a strong current of trade in animals, especially cattle, flowed into the Recôncavo from the São Francisco valley, from Ceará, and probably from the sertão of Bahia between the coast and the mountains. These animals were exchanged at the cattle fairs--notably at Feira de Santana--for the products of the coast and for imports from abroad.

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175 231 After they had recuperated from the long drives, the cattle were used for both labor and food.

175 433 439 171 The colonial economy developed in the Recôncavo--in common with Pernambuco, Campinas (Rio de Janeiro), and lesser centers like Sergipe and Alagoas--was distinct from the economy of the south of Brazil. São Paulo, for example, was self-sufficient, buying little from abroad and having little to sell. Bahia and Pernambuco were almost completely dependent upon exchange with European markets, with Portugal acting as the middleman.

175 249 439 Economic Development from 1600 to 1850. By the middle of the seventeenth century most of the institutions discussed above existed in at least rudimentary form. They were nurtured by an expanding Brazilian commercial economy which enjoyed, for the moment, a virtual monopoly in sugar. Bahia was the leading province in Brazil in the export of both sugar and tobacco.[23] The production of these crops was centered almost entirely in the Recôncavo area of the state. The [567] tobacco was sent at first to Africa, in exchange for increasingly large numbers of slaves for the ever-greedy sugar industry. Slowly, however, a secondary market for Bahia tobacco developed in Europe. With few exceptions the sugar was marketed in Europe and at a high price. The engenhos of Bahia were the largest in Brazil, though still very small by modern standards.[24]

175 648 The development of the colony did not proceed smoothly. In the mid-seventeenth century Bahia was occupied for a brief period by the Dutch, but the development of the colony faltered only momentarily. On the other hand, the Dutch occupied Pernambuco and the north coast for a longer period. The subsequent transference of Dutch efforts to the West Indies was to have a profound effect upon the future of

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175 648 the Recôncavo, for they took with them a newly acquired knowledge of sugar cane cultivation.

175 169 567 The eighteenth century opened with a series of disasters for the region. When word of gold discoveries in Minas Gerais (1704) reached Bahia, an exodus began.[25] Slaves were sold at exorbitant prices, and often masters and slaves together went off to the mines. The colonial authorities took drastic steps to halt the flight, but [731] to no avail. The first quarter of the century ended with floods in the Recôncavo and the discovery of diamonds in the interior. There was a second exodus.[26]

175 171 249 In the meantime there were momentous developments in the West Indies. Sugar cane cultivation spread rapidly in the Antilles as the Netherlands and other northwestern European states which had been lucrative markets for Brazilian sugar began their own production in their respective West Indian colonies. In addition to the protected markets which the mother countries afforded, these new centers enjoyed sound economic and geographical advantages. As newcomers to the field of sugar production, the Antilles were free of both the antiquated equipment and the backward techniques which burdened Brazil, and they were closer to the major European markets.[27]

175 178 185 249 The Recôncavo was unable to counter these West Indian developments. In a century and a half of commercial development there had been few improvements in agricultural or industrial methods. There was no conservation of the soil. Only one variety of cane was known, and there was no attempt to develop improved strains. The mills continued to burn expensive wood rather than to use bagasse. Antique, low-yielding crushing mills continued to be used for extraction.[28]

175 249 178 439 At the end of the eighteenth century, however, developments abroad restored to the Recôncavo and to Brazil many of the advantages which it had formerly held in the international market. This

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175 inaugurated a brief "golden age" in the evolution of the Recôncavo.
178 The mythology which this age engendered is an integral part of the
249 social and economic patterns in the present day Recôncavo. The
439 collapse of the sugar economy in the West Indies, particularly in Santo Domingo in 1792, and the expanding urban markets in Europe had given, for a moment, a great opportunity to the sugar industry of Northeast Brazil. Moreover, an important supplementary market had developed in the mining areas of Minas Gerais. In the subsequent economic expansion to supply these markets, the Recôncavo became an even more important center of sugar production in Brazil.

175 The landed proprietors of the Recôncavo apparently took this
249 resurgence as a vindication of their economic system.
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> They squandered money like the fidalgos [landed, slave-holding aristocrats] that they were. They installed sumptuous dwellings and lived the life of a nobility. Each sugar factory was a community where hundreds of slaves were dedicated to extraction of wealth from the soil. Each of these communities achieved a merited importance. A little Agricultural World gyrated around the Big House, and the Chapel, with its Holy Administrator, [was] dedicated to the dissemination of Catholicism in the community. In time many of these "Engenhos" developed into villas, and were succeeded by the cities of today.
>
> Each of these "Engenhos," as these agricultural communities were called, produced everything that they consumed except luxury, and this was imported from Portugal in exchange for sugar, high-grade tobacco, cotton, and rare cabinet woods. The "Senhor" of the
[466] Engenho was a veritable Feudal Baron, with the power of life and death over his black and mestizo slaves. He exercised the right of torture and flogging in proportion to the offenses committed. These sugar Engenhos,
175 because of their collective and independent existence,
249 produced a pride of origin, an attachment to the soil,
471 that flowered into a hatred of the monarchial exploiters
565 and became the dominating factor in the movement for
[668] independence.
>
> The fidalgos were essentially a product of the land, and spent the major part of their luxurious existence on their estates, attended by innumerable slaves. Their homes were built upon a vast scale and equipped with every luxury known to so simple a people. They also

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 249 565 [471] maintained splendid establishments, called Solars, in the Capital, to which they repaired in the winter season, June, July and August, for social diversion.[29]

[178] The above citation is characteristic of the present-day views of many upper-class Baianos who identify themselves with this opulent era of the Recôncavo social evolution. The mythology engendered by the colonial sugar industry is outliving the engenho system. The wealth, pride, and ostentation of these fidalgos is undeniable. Within the limits of the provincial social environment, upper-class life was luxurious indeed. Compared with the upper-class society of the period in Europe or in the American South, however, social opportunities in the Recôncavo must have been rather limited. The casas [342] grandes—if the surviving specimens can be taken as typical--generally [489] were rather modest plantation houses. Transportation was difficult: few engenhos had carriage roads, and travel was by horseback or [671] palanquin. Social intercourse often was restricted to an ingrown [484] local circle. Apparently many of the social needs of the upper class could not be met within the rural Recôncavo so that trips were made frequently to Salvador, Rio de Janeiro, and sometimes Paris.[30]

Little has been recorded of the way of life of the slaves and 175 249 poor freemen in the Recôncavo. It is significant that both apologists 567 and critics of slavery usually have agreed that the masters were relatively clement in the treatment of their slave laborers. These slaves were very valuable possessions, particularly after the British began to suppress the slave trade. Because absentee ownership and delegation of administration to people outside the family was not usual, the masters and slaves were perforce in daily contact. Out of these daily contacts between landholder and laborer, a relatively personal relationship was developed. Within the household, relation- [563] ships were even more familiar. In addition, some of the slaves were

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 249 567 the offspring of master and slave and sometimes were considered as [563] members of the household.

A set of feudalistic inter-relations developed in the society, loosely defining the responsibilities and privileges of master and slave. Ideally the slave had the privilege, almost the right, to appeal to the master in person for assistance and advice. Manumission and the granting of the right to purchase freedom were common. At the [466] same time, the economic system was based upon involuntary labor. The slave was exploited, and the fruit of his toil went to maintain the luxurious existence of the small upper class.

175 565 The small freemen occupied a very inferior social and economic position in this society. In the cities they became tradesmen or [463] [554] craftsmen, occupations without status. In the country some were petty dependents of the engenho, others established themselves as small cultivators. Since the sugar cane plantations dominated the central Recôncavo, it seems reasonable to assume that the small holders were segregated mainly in the outer zone.

175 161 162 In 1819--during the florescence of the Recôncavo--the population of the comarca (district) of Bahia was 362,503. Most of this population was centered in the Recôncavo--200,000 in the lowlands north of the Bay--the sugar cane area--and 77,503 in the western uplands around Cachoeira--the tobacco area.[31] At this time the total population of Bahia was estimated at 592,908 and that of Brazil as between 175 4,000,000 to 4,500,000.[32] Salvador, with a population somewhere 633 162 between 100,000 and 130,000, was the largest city in Brazil and remained so until 1830.[33] The class and ethnic composition of the 175 563 population of this period is not clearly indicated. By some estimates, 565 567 over half of the population of Bahia was slave and over three-fifths

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 563 563 567 was Negro. Other estimates state that less than one-third of the people were slaves.[34]

175 249 471 454 Table IV, below, illustrates the economic organization of the sugar industry in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

TABLE IV

TOTAL CAPITAL INVESTMENT IN SUGAR ENGENHOS OF BAHIA IN 1833

	In U. S. Dollars*	
	Per Unit	Total Investment
603 mills	$2,500	$1,507,500
48,240 slaves	150	7,236,000
60,300 oxen	20	904,500
23,100 horses	20	464,500
78,800 ha. of agric. land	46 (approx)	3,618,000
38,528 ha. of forest	23 (approx)	884,000
47 steam engines	3,000	141,000
62 water canals	3,000	186,000
Improvements of each mill	2,000	1,206,000
Total in Bahia		$16,147,500

*Conversion at $500 per thousand of reis, after Calogeras, p. 47 in footnote.
Source: Amaral, II, 84 after the Marquez de Abrantes.

The usefulness of the above data is limited by the ambiguity of several of its categories. "Agricultural land" could be either land cultivated or cultivable. The most serious problem of interpretation is the meaning of "improvements," since the value of these improvements is relatively high. It is reasonably certain, from the nature of the engenho, that these improvements are not technological advances but only those simple measures necessary to maintain the traditional structure--warehouses, corrals, slave quarters, etc. If the value of the house of the senhor de engenho is included in this figure, this would help to account for the relatively high figure for improvements.

Nevertheless, the data do represent certain significant elements of the mid-nineteenth century sugar cane system of the Recôncavo. Almost

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 45 per cent of the total investment was in slaves--labor costs, always
249 high, had been driven up by the suppression of the slave trade. The
471 relatively small proportion of steam mills is at once a reflection of
454 the continuing primitive technology and a sign of the improvements
which were to come later in the century. The value of production for
[433] this year was $1,213,000--a return of 6.6 per cent on the capital
investment.[35]

175 While the attention of the Baiano was focused on the sugar
249 industry during this golden age, tobacco unobtrusively was becoming
178 a primary commercial product. The suppression of the slave trade
439 deprived tobacco of its African market, but at the same time the
European market was expanding. The spread of cigar smoking in Europe
created an increasing demand for Bahian leaf. Ultimately the European
demand for quality leaf and the development of a Brazilian market for
the poorer grades were to carry tobacco to the leading position among
Bahia's commercial products.

175 To a very large degree, the mold of the colonial Recôncavo was
433 fixed in the sixteenth century. Its socio-economic system was nurtured
249 by the prosperous semi-monopoly of sugar production. While the south
[565] of Brazil was a raw frontier zone of migratory agricultural adventurers,
the Paulistas (natives of São Paulo) of early colonial times,[36] a stable
and wealthy aristocratic society was developing in the Recôncavo. In
[477] the early eighteenth century, when West Indies competition undermined
the sugar monopoly, the Recôncavo might have responded creatively to
the challenge, but failed to do so. The simultaneous mineral boom in
Minas Gerais drained away the more experimental elements and left
behind those who were less adventurous. Yet before the denial of
markets had disrupted entirely the old economic and cultural pattern,
the late eighteenth-early nineteenth century resurgence reaffirmed

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
East Brazil SN1
Northeast Brazil SO1
Brazil SL1

BB 175 248 433 the traditional values. As has been seen, the re-opening of the markets at first particularly benefited the Recôncavo.

NB 175 433 The developments in the Recôncavo were shared only partially by the other areas of the Brazilian Northeast. The colonial economy of Pernambuco, the second major center in the Northeast, was not nurtured NB EB [316] by a prosperity equal to that of Bahia. The booms in the mineral areas, which had a disruptive effect on the Recôncavo, apparently were less strongly felt in more-distant Pernambuco. In the south of Brasil, EB 175 433 316 241 neither Rio de Janeiro nor São Paulo shared in Bahia's colonial opulence until the nineteenth century. Moreover, the mining developments, which were a disturbing influence on Recôncavo society, had a stimulating effect on agriculture and trade in the South, especially in São Paulo. Although Minas Gerais attracted some settlers from the South, in the main the mineral development acted as a stimulant to agriculture. Thus the forces of colonial evolution in the Recôncavo were distinctive variants of those characteristic of the whole of Brazil.

BB 175 The Last Hundred Years--1850 to the Present. The series of external forces which contributed to the revival of the Recôncavo in the early nineteenth century were destined to sweep it from the main current of Brazilian development. The pressure of these outside events were apparent in the Recôncavo as early as 1825, but it was in the last half of the century that the region was relegated to the subordinate position which it occupies today.

B BB 175 567 648 [439] There is a historical connection between the events which first bestowed and later took away Recôncavo prosperity. The collapse in the West Indies sugar industry re-opened markets to Brazil, but it also ended England's economic interests in slavery. With no vested

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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Northeast Brazil SO1
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interest to deter her, Great Britain became in the nineteenth century the great anti-slavery force of the world. The British government began to press Brazil for a treaty to halt the slave trade. In 1826 a treaty was signed in which Brazil agreed to end the slave trade within four years. However, Brazil had just achieved its independence (1824), and the new national government was too weak to enforce the provisions of the treaty. After 25 years of bitter diplomatic exchanges with Great Britain, the Brazilian government succeeded in fulfilling its treaty obligations, and after 1852 almost no slaves were landed in Brazil.

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The end of the slave trade foreshadowed the end of slave labor in Brazil. The Northeast fought to preserve the system, but it was doomed not only as a result of extra-Brazilian pressures but also because of internal economic development. Just as in the eighteenth century the political capital had shifted from the North (Salvador) to the Central-South (Rio de Janeiro), so in the nineteenth century the economic center of gravity moved to São Paulo and adjacent Rio de Janeiro and Minas Gerais.[37] At first the developments in São Paulo imitated those of the Northeast, and a sugar industry employing traditional techniques was established. Almost immediately, however, the Central-South began to demonstrate an initiative unknown in the old sugar regions.

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At the beginning of the nineteenth century Bahia was exporting 12,000 tons of sugar, Pernambuco 8,400 tons, Rio de Janeiro 5,400 tons, and São Paulo 600 tons.[38] By mid-century Rio de Janeiro--chiefly Campos, near the mouth of the Rio Paraíba--was producing more sugar than any other province. In 1875, Rio de Janeiro was still the largest producer, with São Paulo second, Pernambuco third, and Bahia fourth. By the end of the century, São Paulo was the largest sugar

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
East Brazil SN1
South Brazil SM1

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By the end of the century, São Paulo was the largest sugar producer, chiefly supplying its own internal market, but also exporting in small quantity. The Recôncavo struggled to maintain even a poor fourth position.[39]

SB 175 567 [249]

The growth of the sugar industry in the South was not an isolated development but was one part of a general agricultural and economic expansion. The south of Brazil, which had gained new political power as a result of its expansion, began to press for abolition of slaves. Slave labor had not played a significant role in the south after 1850.

SB 175 567 67

In 1871 a law was passed providing for the gradual emancipation of slaves and the compensation of slave holders. The Northeast resisted bitterly but in vain. A new law passed in 1888 gave complete and immediate freedom to the slaves; and this law did not provide for compensation of the slave owners.

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The end of slavery threatened the Recôncavo in two ways. The suppression of the slave traffic destroyed the African trade in tobacco. The loss was soon more than compensated by the rapid expansion of the market for Bahian tobacco in Europe. By the 1870's tobacco surpassed sugar and became the chief export of Bahia. The effect of the emancipation on the sugar industry was much more far-reaching. The freeing of the slaves destroyed the labor base of sugar cultivation and processing. The gradual character of emancipation cushioned the blow somewhat, but it was still disastrous to the industry. Slaves left the plantations by the thousands, and there was no alternative source of labor. Sugar exports fell to a fourth of the pre-emancipation level. After a time the emancipated Negroes and mulattoes returned to the plantations and mills under a system of free labor. But Bahian sugar could not regain even a substantial part of its former importance.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1

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The world-wide expansion of sugar cane production, the development of the sugar beet, and the improvement of sugar technology had changed sugar from an expensive luxury to a relatively cheap semi-necessity. The sugar industry of the Recôncavo always had been based upon the production of small quantities of a high-value product. Only with great reluctance and considerable difficulty could it convert itself to cheap mass production.

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The Brazilian industry as a whole was unable to compete effectively in the international mass market. Brazilian exports in the early twentieth century dropped to one-half, even one-third of the nineteenth century level. At the London Conference in 1937, Brazil could claim as her quota only 1.6 per cent of the total international sugar trade.

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The Brazilian industry maintained itself behind a tariff wall. The more efficient and strategically located sugar areas of Campos (Rio de Janeiro) and São Paulo had access to growing local markets in the expanding Central-South. But Bahia had no sizable local market, and distance limited its access to the main Brazilian markets. Moreover, it was an inefficient, high-cost producer. Under these circumstances it could not compete in a free-market situation.

B 175 257 178

For the sugar industry as a whole the difficulties of adjustment to the almost complete loss of foreign markets were increased by the necessity for sweeping technological reorganization.[40] Until

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the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Brazil's entire sugar production was manufactured in small and primitive engenhos which used the open pan method and produced dark, low-quality sugar. The development of the steam engine, vacuum pans, centrifuges, and filters had made possible a mill both larger and more efficient. Under the name of engenho central (central mill), the new industrial complex

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
East Brazil SN1
Northeast Brazil SO1
Brazil SL1

was introduced in Brazil after 1870.[41] As might be expected, the more progressive Central-South led in the modernization of the industry. The Northeast, and especially Bahia, lagged behind--further evidence of Bahia's resistance to change.

The technological revolution had two historical stages: (1) engenhos centrais, and (2) usinas,[42] both of which still are clearly identifyable in Bahia (as is their predecessor, the engenho stage). In the engenho central stage the mills purchased cane from fornecedores (suppliers). These suppliers were old engenho properties which no longer operated a mill. The resistance of the fornecedores to a strict scheduling of delivery and price soon caused dissatisfaction among the mill owners. They began to buy out the fornecedores and go into direct production of cane.[43] The source of cane is the basic distinction between the engenho central system and the usina system. Once the central mill grew most of its own cane, it became an usina and entered the second phase of the technological revolution. The sugar industry in the present-day Recôncavo is characterized by both systems. In practice the systems employed by the various sugar mills tend to include features characteristic of both types, and there is no stereotype. The existing systems in Bahia are distinct from those of the Central-South, where the usinas have largely replaced the engenhos centrais.

In the twentieth century, as in the nineteenth, the Recôncavo persisted in its monoculture and was reluctant to accept technological innovations in agriculture and industry. This conservatism was typical of most of the Northeast, but in Pernambuco the industry began simultaneously to intensify its monoculture and to modernize its industrial plant, and this state ultimately became the largest sugar producing state of Brazil.

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In the first quarter of the twentieth century this competition of the more efficient and centrally located sugar industry of the Central-South threatened to bankrupt the Northeast.[44] Because the nation feared that a collapse of the sugar economy in the Northeast would destroy the social and economic base of these states, steps were taken to stabilize the industry. In 1933 the Instituto do Açúcar e do Álcool (Institute of Sugar and Alcohol) was created as a semi-autonomous branch of the federal government. Its purpose was to stabilize prices, maintain an equilibrium of production through quotas, and to control foreign sale of sugar. The effect of this program has been to subsidize the less efficient industry of the Northeast at the expense of the industry of the Central-South.

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During World War II temporary disruption of the national production quota system allowed the Central-South to expand, an advance which it continued to maintain after the war. This expansion limited the markets available to the sugar industry of the Northeast. In Bahia the relative decline in sugar production, begun in the 1860's, continued steadily except for a break during and following World War I. In 1952 the mills of Bahia produced only 60,279 tons of (white) sugar of a total Brazilian production of 1,785,017 tons.[45]

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While the sugar industry of the Recôncavo was losing markets in the initial half of the twentieth century, the tobacco industry was able to maintain and in some cases even to expand its markets. Although the maximum level of export of Brazilian tobacco was reached in 1902 (50,000 tons), the decline thereafter was only moderate, and the export was stabilized, except for World War II, at about 30,000 tons, 80 per cent of which was from Bahia. In 1865 the first cigarette factory in Bahia had been founded.[46] Small operators had produced cigars for some time, but by the beginning

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1

BB 175 277 472 of the twentieth century there were four cigarette factories and twelve cigar factories in the Recôncavo.[47]

As was characteristic for other products in Brazil, a semi-

BB 647 249 654 656 autonomous government organization was set up to stabilize the tobacco industry in Bahia—the Instituto Bahiano do Fumo (Bahian Institute of Tobacco). Founded in 1935, the Instituto attempts to stimulate the production and improvement of techniques and quality, supervise marketing through a grading system, set minimum prices, and control export of leaf tobacco. Although the Instituto has not succeeded in changing significantly the techniques of the tobacco industry, it has been reasonably successful in maintaining production and price.

Just as Bahia had been displaced from its leading position

BB 175 178 249 245 within Brazil, so in turn was the Recôncavo displaced from its exalted position within the state. Tobacco replaced sugar as Bahia's leading commercial product in the nineteenth century, but forfeited its position to cacao in the twentieth century. The replacement of sugar by tobacco was primarily a shift within the Recôncavo, but the rise of cacao brought to the fore Bahia's southern coast. In one sense, however, the Recôncavo retained its old centrality—Salvador remains today the leading political and economic focus of the state, even for the cacao trade.

BB 433 249 The continued importance of the Recôncavo in Bahia has been partially the result of the vested interests of the sugar and tobacco

BB 161 162 systems. In addition, the Recôncavo remains today the leading center of population in Bahia, despite its relative decline. In 1872 the Recôncavo had at least 450,000 out of a total state population of 1,379,616. Thereafter the position of the Recôncavo declined, so that by 1940 only one-fourth of the almost four million people of the state lived in this region. However, the compact population

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161 distribution and the vested political and economic interests of the
162 Recôncavo allowed it to continue as the dominant region of the state.

177 The Recôncavo has remained a conservative area in Brazil, and
178 within the state it seems to exert a strong traditional influence. On
433 a national scale, however, the traditional values which are preserved
249 in Bahian culture have been overridden by the aggressive dynamism of
565 São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. Moreover, the economic core of tradition
181 in the Recôncavo--the sugar-producing upper class--is being progressively infiltrated and dominated by the new economic interests of the Central-South. The effects of these new economic interests are manifest in the administrative and labor problems of the sugar industry in the present decade.[48] New economic groups also are coming to the fore in the tobacco industry.

The technological revolution in the sugar industry and the emergence of a new "progressive" upper class have weakened but not destroyed the traditional orientation of the Recôncavo. The cultural patterns which have so successfully resisted basic change for almost four centuries will not easily give way. However, the issues have been joined, and already the old technology, the old upper class, and the old inter-class social fabric have been profoundly disturbed. In the long run it seems inevitable that the cultural patterns of the Recôncavo will have to accommodate many new values.

177 Not all the new social forces are restricted to the upper
178 class. More and more new technology, such as the automobile, new
565 political and social institutions, such as labor unions, and new ideas
181 from the South, brought through newspapers, radios, and travelers, have affected the lives of the lower classes. While the access of this group to new ideas is more limited than that of the upper class,

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its vested interest in the traditional system is weaker. Thus on all social levels the old Recôncavo is being threatened.

For the present, however, tradition is a continuing and powerful force in agriculture and in the economic and social institutions which surround agriculture in the Recôncavo.

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OOO Footnotes - Chapter III.

[113] [1]See section by Pedro Calmon in Companhia Energia Electrica da Bahia, Curious and Interesting Facts Concerning the First European Settlement Made in the New World (Information Sheet No. 1. Bahia: Companhia Energia Electrica da Bahia, [1931]), p. 5. In addition to the specific quotations, much of the historical detail which follows on Bahia and the Recôncavo has been taken from this source.

[114] According to Calmon (see page 3) Amerigo Vespucci was in the first group of Europeans to enter the Baía de Todos os Santos (1501) and was the first to lead an expedition inland from the Bay (1503). It was not until 1534 that the first attempt at colonization was made; this initial colony was destroyed by hostile Indians. The next attempt was in 1549.

[2]Spanish settlements in the Caribbean-Gulf of Mexico area, such as Havana, Jamaica, Darién, and San Juan, were established between 1509 and 1515. In Brazil, São Vincente (near present Santos) and Recife were established in 1532 and 1531, respectively. Rio de Janeiro (1555) and Buenos Aires (1580) are younger than Salvador.

[3]Negro slaves were reported in Bahia in 1538, after the first settlement attempt but before the official founding of the permanent colony. João Pandiá Calogeras, A History of Brazil, trans. and ed. Percy Alvin Martin (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1939), p. 21.

[4]Luis Amaral, Historia Geral da Agricultura Brasileira (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1939-40), II, 82-83; 192-193. In addition to the material specifically credited to Amaral, this three-volume agricultural history has been one of the basic sources for much of the historical analysis which follows.

[5]It is not clear whether these two indigenous crops were borrowed directly from the local Indians or were received indirectly via other Brazilian colonies.

[6]In 1583, thirty-six sugar mills were reported in Bahia. Amaral, op. cit., II, 82.

[113] [7]Caio Prado Junior, História Econômica do Brasil (second edition; São Paulo: Editôra Brasiliense Limitada, 1949), p. 40. This volume has been the basic general economic source for the historical analysis which follows.

[113] [8]Amaral, op. cit., I, 194, citing Gabriel Soares de Souza, Tratado Descriptivo do Brasil, [1587].

[9]In northeastern Brazil, as in a number of other areas in Latin America, Indian slavery failed as a labor source because of a basic lack of supply, bitter resistance to enslavement, and a high death rate in captivity. Calogeras, op. cit., p. 21.

[10]Ibid., p. 26.

[11]Ibid.

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[113] [12]Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, No. 8 (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço Gráfico do Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatistica, 1949), pp. 59-80.

[114] The Zona Fisiográfica Centro-Litoral (Central-Littoral Physiographic zone) is one of a series of nine so-called physiographic zones used as major subdivisions in Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, No. 8. It includes all 21 of the Recôncavo municipios, and 17 others.

[13]Amaral, op. cit., II, 367.

[14]Amaral, op. cit., II, 366, and Calogeras, op. cit., p. 31.

[139] [15]Manihot utilissima, called cassava, manioc, or, sometimes, tapioca in English and mandioca in Portuguese.

[16]Amaral, op. cit., II, 11-12.

[17]Prado, op. cit., pp. 40-41.

[18]Minas, Yorbes, Geges, Hausa, and other Guinea Coast peoples. [113] See T. Lynn Smith, Brazil: People and Institutions (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1946), pp. 168-169.

[194] [191] [19]African religions, for example, survive in a modified form in the candomblé (fetish) cults and in the supernatural conceptions prevalent in the Recôncavo.

[20]Neither the total number of slaves imported into Brazil nor the number brought to the Recôncavo is known. Calogeras, op. cit., pp. 27-28, estimates the number as 40,000 per year in the seventeenth century, 50,000 per year in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, or 14,000,000 for the 300 years of the slave trade. Another source has estimated that 1,200,000 slaves were imported between 1550 and 1850, a more reasonable figure. See section by Pedro Calmon in Curious and Interesting Facts Concerning the First European Settlement Made in the New World, p. 9. It is also asserted in this latter source that "more than half remained in Bahia;" this is less reasonable.

[21]Prado, op. cit., p. 46.

[296] [22]A rope-like twist of dark, often sweetened, tobacco wound in a large coil of 50 to 100 lbs.

[23]At the end of the seventeenth century Bahia was exporting 7,500 tons of sugar per year; Pernambuco 5,400 tons, and Rio de Janeiro 5,350 tons. At this same period Bahia exported 25,000 rolls of tobacco (perhaps 1,125 tons at 45 kg. per roll) compared with 2,500 rolls from Pernambuco and Alagoas. Calogeras, op. cit., p. 31.

[433] [24]Calogeras, op. cit., pp. 30-31, cites João Antonil, Cultura e Opulencia do Brasil, por sus Drogas e Minas (1711), who says that in 1711 the mean sugar export--which must have been virtually the entire production--per engenho in Bahia was 52 tons, in Rio de Janeiro 41 tons, and in Pernambuco 22 tons. The weight is given in arrobas by Calogeras.

[25]Amaral, op. cit., II, 84.

[26]Calogeras, op. cit., pp. 38-39.

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[27]Prado, op. cit., p. 87.

[28]Prado, op. cit., p. 97.

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[29]See section by Pedro Calmon in Curious and Interesting Facts Concerning the First European Settlement Made in the New World, pp. 5-6.

[30]The number of people who went abroad must always have been small. The upper class as a whole seems to have been extremely provincial, so that the few cosmopolitans were very conspicuous.

[31]Amaral, op. cit., I, 91-92, citing Pizarro, Balbi, Manoel Antonio de Souza, and Spix and Martius for population data of the colonial period.

[32]Amaral, op. cit., I, 73.

[33]See section by Pedro Calmon in Curious and Interesting Facts Concerning the First European Settlement Made in the New World, pp. 9. At this time Rio de Janeiro, which had been the national capital since 1763, became also the largest city.

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[34]Amaral, op cit., I, 91, after Balbi, gives the following breakdown [1819]

	Total	Slave	Negro	Mulatto
White	192,000			
Indian	13,000			
Mulatto-Free	80,000			80,000
Mulatto-Slave	35,000	35,000		35,000
Negro-Free	49,000		49,000	
Negro-Slave	489,000	489,000	489,000	
	858,000	524,000	538,000	115,000

after Pizarro [1822]

Free	419,432
Slave	173,476
Total	592,908

[35]Amaral, op. cit., II, 85.

EB [563] [463]

[36]The Paulista bandeirantes were wandering cultivators, herdsmen, and slave raiders who moved out of São Paulo to penetrate into most of the interior of Brazil south of the Amazon Valley. Their society was, in comparison with that of the Recôncavo, equalitarian.

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[37]The Central-South as used here includes the states of Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais, and São Paulo.

[38]Amaral, op. cit., II, 86.

[39]Ibid., p. 98.

[40]The discussion of the twentieth century reorganization of the sugar industry and of the tobacco industry outlines the general lines of development. A fuller discussion will follow in the chapters on crops and cropland distribution (Chapter V), crop regions and systems (Chapter VI), and marketing, transportation and processing of agricultural products (Chapter I).

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000 [41]Prado, op. cit., p. 255.

BB [196] [42]At this point the terminology of the sugar industry becomes even more complex. Engenho, engenho central, and usina all refer either to the industrial and the agricultural segments of the industry or to the mill alone. Indication will be made, where necessary, when the term refers to the mill only. Fornecedores (furnishers) are usually called fazendas (a type of plantation, although elsewhere the term might apply to a cattle ranch). Some fazendas were former engenhos and have sometimes retained that name. An additional complication is the fact that "engenho" occasionally is used as part of a name where there is not necessarily a functioning mill or plantation. In addition, fazendas may be owned and operated as part of a large usina.

BB [578] [43]This period was characterized by a bitter struggle, chiefly on the political level, between the fornecedores and the large mill owners. In the end superior economic resources, coupled with political influence, enabled the large mill owners to defeat but not completely dispossess the fornecedores in the Recôncavo.

B EB [16] [438] [511] [44]By 1940, over one-half of the people of Brazil lived in the central southern region. Because of the higher standard of living, the people in this area accounted for much more than one-half of the internal market for sugar.

B BB [113] [45]Conselho Nacional de Estatística, Anuário Estatística do Brasil--1953, Ano XIV (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço Gráfico do Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, 1953), p. 189.

[46]Amaral, op. cit., II, 369.

[47]Ibid., p. 370.

[48]The problems will be discussed in the chapters on population (Chapter IV) and on marketing, transportation, and processing of agricultural products (Chapter X).

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CHAPTER IV

POPULATION

162 [161] Introduction. In 1950 there were about one million people living in the 12,500 square kilometers of the Recôncavo--0.15 per cent of Brazil's area and about 2 per cent of its total population.[1] A more meaningful comparison is one with the effectively occupied coastal belt extending from Maranhão to Rio Grande do Sul, including the interior state of Minas Gerais.[2] The Recôncavo occupies 0.4 per cent of the area of these states and has a little over 2 per cent of the people.

[361] The relatively modest size of this population does not reflect adequately the great historical importance of the Recôncavo. The compact distribution and cohesion of this settlement make it a significant concentration of the people of modern Brazil.

161 162 The Recôncavo is the foremost nucleus of settlement in the state of Bahia in both the historical and purely demographic sense. With its one million people, it had in 1950 almost 86 people per square kilometer. There were 3,800,000 people in the rest of the state, but there was no concentration which had a size and density equal to that of the Recôncavo. The only other areas with even approximately equal density--Santo Antônio de Jesus and Nazaré--were contiguous with the 633 Recôncavo. The chief city of the Recôncavo, Salvador, was fourteen 162 times the size of any other urban center in Bahia, and of the five next most populous cities--with a population range of 20,000 to 30,000--two were in the Recôncavo.[3]

128 The discussion which follows is divided into two parts. First the general character of the population will be analyzed in terms of general cultural development, race, class, family, and economic

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128 orientation. This will be followed by a discussion of demography as a basis for the understanding of the agricultural economy.

181 The People of the Recôncavo - Introduction. The Recôncavo is the nucleus of a sub-culture which is a distinctive but integral part of the national culture of modern Brazil. Throughout Brazil the Baiano is characterized by a formality of behavior, an oratorical turn of speech, a sentimental attachment to the region of his birth, and a special accent which distinguishes him from the Mineiros, Paulistas, Gaúchos, or Pernambucanos of the other Brazilian regions.[4] These superficial distinctions seem to be a reflection of deep-seated differences in the culture and personality of the people who live in the Recôncavo and in the surrounding zone. On another level, the culture and personality of the people of the northeastern coast, including the inhabitants of the Recôncavo, is unlike that of the sertanejos (people of the arid northeastern interior--the Sertão).[5] Some of the culture and personality traits of the Recôncavo have a significant relationship to local agricultural phenomena.

128 181 241 567 The Baiano of today, as has been seen, is the product of several centuries of historical evolution along lines distinct from those of Central and Southern Brazil and to a lesser degree from those of the rest of the Northeast. A significant feature of the development of the Recôncavo was the social cohesiveness which derived in a large measure from the original strength and periodic re-enforcement of the slave labor latifundia system. Although this system was operative in other regions of Brazil, it was generally less highly organized, and its vestiges have had less impact on contemporary society. In the Recôncavo it remained the chief cohesive social force until the end of the nineteenth century, and cultural and economic survivals of the system remain in force today.

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Economic and social changes in Brazil during the last century have had two important effects upon the relative position of the Recôncavo: (1) This historic region, in common with much of the Northeast, has lagged behind the new economic and social centers of the Central-South--the Recôncavo has become, vis-a-vis Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and the southern states, an under-developed area. (2) Many new, usually externally originated, cultural elements have been rapidly accepted in the Recôncavo, whereas much of the conservative ideology of the society has remained essentially unchanged.

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Racial Characteristics. The Recôncavo is a region of heterogenous racial characteristics--in every município each of the three basic racial groups (white, black, and mixed) comprises at least 10 per cent of the population. These racial categories generally do not correspond to social groups, nor is the Recôncavo in any sense a plural society. In linage, in social and cultural interaction, and in the daily business of earning a living the various people of the region are closely linked.

During three centuries of slavery hundreds of thousands of Africans were brought into Bahia, and the Negro element in the population is still large. As a result of this and the more or less continuous miscegenation "Baia [Bahia] and Negroid characteristics are very closely associated in Brasilian thinking."[6] On the basis of the 1940 census, over 70 per cent of the people of the state of Bahia were Negroes or mixed bloods. Only one other Brasilian state—Amazonas—had a higher proportion, and the national average was only 36 per cent.[7] Within Bahia the proportion of non-whites was highest in the Centro-Litoral (east-central Bahia), which includes the Recôncavo. In 1940, 78 per cent of the people of this census division were Negroes or mixed bloods.[8]

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TABLE V

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THE STATE OF BAHIA AND THE RECÔNCAVO MUNICÍPIOS

	Per cent of Total Population - 1940		
	Whites	Blacks	Others
State of Bahia	28.74	20.13	51.11
Central Recôncavo:			
Santo Amaro	10.47	37.59	51.94
São Francisco	14.02	29.96	56.01
São Sebastião	12.74	32.76	54.50
Cachoeira	11.71	38.51	49.78
Northern Recôncavo:			
Coração de Maria	15.58	37.18	47.23
Irará	12.50	34.07	53.43
Alagoinhas	22.88	24.41	52.69
Northwestern Recôncavo:			
Feira de Santana	12.16	28.31	59.53
São Gonçalo	10.63	48.19	41.18
Conceição da Feira	15.24	47.46	37.16
Santo Estêvão	17.66	31.38	50.95
Southwestern Recôncavo:			
Muritiba	10.48	40.48	49.03
Cruz das Almas	16.34	36.84	46.82
Conceição do Almeida	19.63	30.54	49.83
São Filipe	25.32	30.66	44.02
São Félix	15.78	33.33	50.87
Eastern Recôncavo:			
Catu	23.78	22.58	53.64
Pojuca	22.69	21.90	55.41
Southern Recôncavo:			
Maragogipe	37.40	23.05	39.53
Itaparica	14,60	26.99	58.38
Salvador	35.08	26.33	38.54

Note: The difference between the totals of these figures and 100 per cent consists of a very small percentage of Orientals.

Source: Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, 1940. Rio de Janeiro, 1949.

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From the above table (Table V) it can be seen that "whites" compose less than one-third of the total population of all Recôncavo municípios except Maragogipe and Salvador. Over one-fourth of the population is classified as "black" in all but the three municípios of Alagoinhas, Maragogipe, and Catu. Those persons classified as "others"--mulatos and mestiços--account for 40 to 60 per cent of the population

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563 in all municípios but three—Maragogipe, Salvador, and Conceição da
162 Feira. The variations between the individual municípios reflect:
634 (1) concentrations of Negroes in the sugar cane area; and (2) concentrations of mixed-bloods, some of which are mestiços, on the inland borders of the Recôncavo and around the sugar zone. Salvador has a relatively larger white group--35 per cent--and a lower proportion of mixed-bloods--38 per cent.

563 With the possible exception of the prevailing white upper class,
565 no significant cultural segment of Recôncavo society can be defined in racial terms. The lower class is composed of Negroes, mixed bloods, and whites--it is an economic, not a racial unit. The upper class is predominantly white, but this primarily reflects the historical economic advantages of the white people and only incidentally the social advantages of a lighter skin. Given wealth, dark-skinned people enter the upper class with little--but nevertheless perceptible--difficulty on account of their racial background. Baianos say "a rich man is not a Negro." If a Negro or mulato is wealthy, many people think of him as being light-skinned. The cultural range between the upper and lower class in Recôncavo society is great. Neither the simpler cultural system of the lower classes nor the sophisticated upper class culture is associated with race per se.[9]

565 Class Differences. Recôncavo society is characterized by a strongly developed class structure and little vertical social mobility. In a recent anthropological survey of class in Brazil, "one's income, the kind of work one does, one's education, one's family (in varying degrees) and finally, one's physical [i.e. racial] appearance" were the main criteria used.[10] The study made by Hutchinson of a small community in the Central Recôncavo sugar cane area in 1950-51 distinguished four social strata.[11] Among the findings of the study were the following:

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565 563 [162] Five families, out of a total community population of 4,269, composed the aristocratic upper class. All five were plantation-owning families, resident on their fazendas or engenhos. All were closely linked either to each other or to other aristocratic families in the sugar-cane area and in Salvador by marriage [and were linked through these to the national Brazilian upper class]. All were relatively [871] well educated, and most of the males had university degrees in law, engineering, or medicine. All were of Caucasoid appearance.

The second class consisted of local bureaucrats, plantation administrators, sugar-mill technicians, merchants, and professional people of the only small town (cidade, a sort of county seat). For the most part they were descendants of local people. The educational [871] range was from university educated doctors to illiterates. Members of this class included pure Caucasoids, brancos da terra (whites of the land, or whites with known or suspected Negro ancestors) mulattoes, and some Negroes. This was called a local upper class to distinguish it from the regional, aristocratic, upper class.

The third and most numerous class was that of "the people" (gente). This was the class of those who did physical work. They were plantation and mill workers, craftsmen, and fishermen. In the urban segment of this class, in the cidade, there was a fairly continuous gradation of standing within this class, with each occupational group occupying a defined social position. In the agricultural segment there is also a definite heirarchy. The feitor (foreman) and the vaquéiro (cowboy) form an upper level. On the basis of the sequence of promotion and the degree of authority elsewhere in the sugar zone, the balançéiro or weigh master also belongs in this group. The bulk of the plantation workers form the next

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563 sub-stratum. Most of the rural and urban workers who fell within the third class were Negroes, mulatos, or dark-skinned mestiços.

At the bottom of the social heirarchy was a small group of cidade dwellers of menial position. These were porters, water carriers, washerwomen, domestic servants, and odd-jobbers. This class was chiefly Negro or mulatto, but there were some brancos da terra.

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369 The homes of the aristocratic upper class were all located on fazendas outside the cidade. The lowermost class was entirely urban. The other classes were both rural and urban in distribution. The aristocratic upper class did not intermarry with, nor receive new members directly from, the local upper class. There was some social mobility between the various levels in the lower class.

The above analysis of class corresponds quite closely to the general class structure throughout the sugar-cane zone and with modification to Salvador. The composition of the upper class of Salvador is more complex. Here the upper stratum is composed not only of landed aristocrats and their dispossessed descendants but also of urban capitalists and speculators. These latter often have agricultural landholdings, but usually as an investment rather than as a way of life. These people are generally newcomers to the upper class. The professions also have their place in the upper class, since members of the families of aristocrats, dispossessed aristocrats, and capitalists are often prominent doctors, lawyers, and, in recent years, engineers.

The more complex composition of the upper class in Salvador is a product of the economic decline of the aristocratic family and the concurrent rise of powerful business interests. This development reflects the growth of a greater degree of social mobility among the upper class of Salvador than is characteristic of the sugar cane area.

565 369 To the extent that the economic and social position of the aristocratic group is usurped by the new upper class elements in Salvador, the pre-eminent role of the aristocrats in the sugar cane zone is threatened.

565 249 In Bahia the strong aristocratic class derived from the sugar cane system. Outside the sugar areas a well-defined aristocratic class is lacking--the upper level in these areas is occupied by groups similar to the local upper class of the sugar zone. In the tobacco and manioc zones, around the sugar cane area, the members of the local upper class, including those with urban residences, are very intimately involved in agriculture. In this agricultural zone the upper class has few personal or family connections with the Salvador upper class.

565 The lower class outside the sugar areas is composed of cultivators and urban workers and probably has more gradations and a less heirarchical structure than is characteristic of the sugar area. The cultivators are semi-independent small farmers, renters, and share croppers of varying dependence and social position. Social mobility appears to be about equal to that in the corresponding stratum of the sugar zone.

565 871 [212] Compared with the United States, the opportunity for educational and cultural development in the lower class is much more severely restricted by the prevailing poverty. Effective literacy is low among the manual laborers of city or countryside. The middle groups and local upper classes are usually, but not universally, literate, but for the most part their cultural horizons are limited. In contrast, the cultural opportunities and outlook of the aristocratic and big-business class is both cosmopolitan and sophisticated. Education in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Europe, or the United States is not uncommon. Nevertheless, large segments of this class remain distinctly provincial in their cultural orientation--this is particularly true of the decadent aristocratic families.

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BB 565 184 It is easy to over-emphasize the cultural differences between classes and between areas within the Recôncavo. It is possible to assemble an array of significant cultural differences on a class or areal basis, as has been done above. But underneath these differences there seems to exist an implicit and almost universally shared way of life. As far as most of the people are concerned, Recôncavo society is probably best viewed as a cultural continuum of great vertical range, in which extreme positions are occupied by the cosmopolitan upper class of Salvador and the more remote agricultural people of the BB 184 lower class. The validity of the concept of the Recôncavo as a cultural region is recognized by the anthropologist who studies Recôncavo society and by Brazilians who characterize the man of the BB NB 184 Recôncavo as a particular type. This Recôncavo continuum or sub-culture is a part of what Wagley has called the cultural region of the Northeastern Coast. Also included within this region are coastal Pernambuco, Alagoas, and Sergipe.[12] In turn, the Northeastern Coast is a part of the Brazilian cultural region.

BB 178 565 596 <u>The Family</u>. One of the basic social institutions which has strong historical roots in the Recôncavo, and in the other colonial sugar cane regions, is the Brazilian family. The most conspicuous survival of the colonial family is the present-day family stereotype of the aristocratic stratum of Recôncavo society.

> The large, aristocratic, patriarchal family always has been the most important of Brazil's social institutions. Rarely has this primary kinship group had to play a role secondary to that of the church, as so frequently has been true in Spanish-American countries; nor has its relative importance ever been seriously challenged by the school, as may be the case in a North-American community. In colonial times such a large, closely knit group of relatives, acknowledging allegiance to the oldest living male, possessing many slaves, and carrying on the aristocratic tradition at its best, was the chief instrument employed in the occupation of Brazil. This

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was in sharp contrast to the colonization of Spanish America where the conquistador and the priest were largely responsible for establishing the Spaniards as a ruling caste, and to the founding of the English colonies in North America where the community and the smaller, more equalitarian family were basic elements. As has been shown so well by Freyre's monumental work, the patriarchal form of social organization early obtained almost unlimited sway in Brazil. For centuries Portuguese America continued to be dominated by a few thousand casas grandes, seats of sugar engenhos and cattle fazendas, each of which was the fortress headquarters of a numerous clan. Even today there remains much of this feudal type of social organization, and this great family is the institution through which the white or near-white upper class maintains its control. Of course this patriarchal family has little in common with the equalitarian family of the United States and western Europe.[13]

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596 The colonial family is the idealized family of both the aristocratic upper class in Salvador and the sugar cane zone and of the local upper classes in the smaller cities. It also corresponds rather closely to the actual family structure of much of the upper class of the Recôncavo. The lower class families of the Recôncavo seem to have quite a different functional character and social significance.

565
582 The Upper Class Family. Marriage, contracted almost exclusively from within the class group, has the important function of uniting the relatively small number of large extended families which compose the
594 upper class. The unit families, parents and children, of the Recôncavo
596 are relatively large, in conformation to the Brazilian stereotype of five children. This unit family is tightly enclosed in a net of relationships with the extended families of both husband and wife, and many social functions are centered within these larger groups.

565
596 The upper class child is reared within a well-defined circle which includes the immediate family, the servants--who frequently have
861 a quasi-parental relationship to the children, like the legendary
357
591 "mammy" of the United States South--and the more immediate members of the extended family.

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565 596 861 the extended family. The upper class child develops in an atmosphere of alternate indulgence and discipline, with very few responsibilities. [872] Most upper class children attend private schools, which are usually parochial.

565 The social status of the upper class individual is determined by birth and is maintained by the economic and social standing of the individual and his family. The specific determinants of status--wealth, occupation, education, kin relations, and physical appearance[14] are either fixed or are strongly influenced by the family.

565 596 In the Recôncavo the extended upper class family frequently has a diversified economic structure which enables it to safeguard effectively the position of the individual and the group. Ideally the family group includes the usinéiro (sugar mill owner or administrator), the fazendéiro (cane planter), the doctor, the lawyer-politician, and the urban business man. These various individuals cooperate to build and to maintain the economic, political, and social position of the family. These activities constitute the principal responsibility of the males of the family and justify, it is believed, the characteristic masculine superiority of the society.

565 588 The Lower Class Family. Some of the upper class characteristics are shared by lower class families, especially by the upper stratum, [592] but the contrasts are striking. Lower class families in the Recôncavo seem to have less stability and a less extended character than those of the upper class. Common law marriages and church marriages, not legally binding in Brazil, are quite common and are easily dissolved. The common law marriages of the young adults are frequently temporary, but most older adults seem to establish permanent unions.[15]

565 596 Though kinship relationships are always recognized and cherished, the extended family of the lower class is widely dispersed, and its economic role is usually minor.

000 economic role is usually minor. The individual or the unit family of
565 the lower class is usually linked very closely, mainly in the economic
571 sense, with an employer or merchant of influence (patrão). In a society in which personal relationships ("connections") count for so much, only a member of the upper class can be of real economic or political assistance.

565 Childhood in the lower class is quite different from that in
857 the upper class family. From an early age the children must, out of economic necessity, accept many responsibilities. Young children frequently work in the fields or find odd jobs in the town. The girls may do the housework, cook, and manage the younger children while the mother works. The young sons, even six or seven years old, may pack a bundle of agricultural products across the município on the morning of market day. In the evening they return with the few articles of food or clothing which they have been able to purchase with the proceeds from their goods. As they grow older, the children either undertake more of the farm work or drift off to the nearby rural areas and villages or to Salvador. The girls may find employment
[464] as servants or as agricultural or industrial workers. Ultimately
[885] most will marry and settle down to a grinding life of poverty, child-bearing, disease, and hard labor, which will, however, be relieved by an informal and highly convivial social life.

565 The position of the woman is still inferior to that of the
562 man, but she has relatively greater economic, social, and sexual independence than the woman of the upper class.

565 The social life of lower class families is in marked contrast
776 to the narrow, formal, and sexually-discriminatory social life of the aristocracy. Lower class life is filled not only with poverty but also with a tremendous series of religious and quasi-religious festivals

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565 (festas) and informal social activities. The uninhibited enjoyment of
796
[184] a samba (dance), a candomblé (fetish cult observance), a religious procession, or a Saint's day by the lower class is very different from the self-conscious upper class behavior under comparable conditions.[16]

565 The discussion above is largely in terms of stereotypes, and
562 in fact there are many exceptions. In the upper class, strong-willed
369 women may on occasion enter a profession--such as nursing or teaching--or operate a business or plantation, but usually with the aid and the advice of male relatives. In Salvador the upper class women are relatively more emancipated than are those of the villages and towns.
565 Many lower class people, especially the less poverty ridden groups of
596 the villages and towns, tend to imitate the idealized upper class
369 family pattern, within the limits of their economic, educational, and social resources.

565 In general it may be said that the interests of upper class
571 families in the Recôncavo are regional, the interests of lower class
621 families are local. The areally and biologically extended families
59 of the upper class, interconnected through marriage and intermeshed in over-all economic, political, and social interests, are a basic element in the regional unity of the Recôncavo and in its integration into the Brazilian nation. In contrast the extra-local interests of lower class families are weak and unstable. The lower class community or neighborhood identification is the more effective unifying factor and seems to provide, in the Recôncavo, a focus for local interests generally lacking in at least the aristocratic and urban strata of the upper class.[17] However, the institutions of the community for the most part are maintained and directed by the aristocratic and the local upper class.

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241 433 463 [369] [162] Economic Orientation of the Population. The Baianos of the Recôncavo are predominately an agricultural people. This is true not only of the actual cultivators and the associated economic classes of the countryside, villages, and towns, but also in a sense of the almost 350,000 urban peoples of Salvador. As a result of longstanding economic interdependence and continuous travel and migration back and forth, the associations of the people of Salvador with the soil are compelling and personal.[18] In their agricultural orientation the people of the Recôncavo are typical of the general Brazilian population. Even with the inclusion of Salvador, with its relatively [162] large number of domestic and industrial workers, 47 per cent of the male workers of the Recôncavo were classified as agricultural laborers, whereas for the nation as a whole the comparable figure was 57 per cent, and for the United States, 31 per cent.[19] In the Recôncavo, if Salvador is disregarded, agricultural workers (with hunters and fishers) composed 65 per cent of the total male working population.

241 433 441 Agriculture is even more important than the above figures indicate, for a large share of the remaining population of the Recôncavo is occupied with processing and marketing agricultural products, supplying the agriculturalists with goods and with credit, or serving indirectly the needs of agriculture. Thus it is evident that life and livelihood in the Recôncavo is essentially dependent upon agriculture. The agricultural orientation of the Recôncavo is reflected in the economic roles of individuals and classes, but also in the preoccupation of the people with matters of soil, climate, crops, and land value. In Salvador the price and market for agricultural products are commonplace subjects of discussion, and throughout the region merchants and businessmen observe the weather and conditions of the crops with interest and, on many occasions, with anxiety.

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128 Demography of the Recôncavo. The discussion of the composition and distribution of the population in the Recôncavo which follows is intended primarily as a basis for the study of agricultural phenomena. As such it is concerned with those population elements which are important in the production and distribution of agricultural products and in the servicing of the agricultural economy. The agricultural labor force is therefore the primary object of analysis, while the remaining population elements receive secondary consideration.

128 162 241 464 369 The population of the Recôncavo has been divided into two segments: (1) the rural population of the countryside and villages, which includes those engaged in direct agricultural production and those with a direct service or dependency relationship to agriculture; and (2) the urban population of the towns and cities, which has an indirect service or dependency relationship to agricultural production. (Table VI). The rural population has been subdivided in order to distinguish the agricultural labor force, consisting of those in direct agricultural production as workers or as administrators, from the service and dependent groups.[20] The accompanying table (Table VII) relates the area, total population, urban and rural population, and agricultural labor force of the 21 municipios of the Recôncavo.

241 464 [162] Agricultural Labor Force. Conceived in the narrowest sense, the basic human resource for agricultural production in the Recôncavo consists of the energy and skill of 196,000 agriculturalists--the agriculture labor force (Table VIII). In census terminology these are people ten years old or over who consider their principal occupation as that of employer, employee, or worker in crop cultivation (agricultura), animal husbandry (pecuária), or silviculture. In the Recôncavo these people are primarily cultivators and operators of farms

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 112]

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TABLE VI

TOTAL, URBAN, AND RURAL POPULATION OF THE MUNICÍPIOS OF THE RECÔNCAVO IN 1950

Município	Total Population	Urban Population (Urban Centers with Manufacturing)	Rural Population (Total minus Urban Population)
Alagoinhas	52,007	21,283	30,724
Cachoeira	26,979	10,825	16,154
Catu	16,437		16,437
Conceição da Feira	10,532		10,532
Conceição do Almeida	25,407		25,407
Coração de Maria	20,256		20,256
Cruz das Almas	32,276	6,758	25,518
Feira do Santana	107,205	26,559	80,646
Irará	46,711		46,711
Itaparica	21,433		21,433
Maragogipe	36,868	9,744	27,124
Muritiba	31,605	7,452	24,153
Pojuca	6,911		6,911
Salvador	417,235	389,422	27,813
Santo Amaro	85,739	12,258	73,481
Santo Estêvão	31,665		31,665
São Félix	14,801	5,872	8,929
São Filipe	25,343		25,343
São Francisco	11,077		11,077
São Gonçalo	30,830	3,771	27,059
São Sebastião	21,135		21,135
Recôncavo	1,072,452	493,944	578,508

Source: Anuário Estatística do Brasil-1953, Ano. XIV.

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TABLE VII

RELATIVE POPULATION OF THE MUNICÍPIOS OF THE RECÔNCAVO IN 1950

Município	% of Area of Recôncavo	% of Total Population of Recôncavo	% of Urban Population of Recôncavo	% of Rural Population of Recôncavo	% of Agricultural Labor Force of Recôncavo
Alagoinhas	12	5	4	5	6
Cachoeira	3	3	2	3	2
Catu	3	2		3	3
Conceição da Feira	1	1		2	2
Conceição do Almeida	2	2	1	4	5
Coração de Maria	2	2		4	4
Cruz das Almas	2	3		4	5
Feira de Santana	17	10	5	14	15
Irará	11	4		8	10
Itaparica	2	2		4	1
Maragogipe	3	3	2	5	4
Muritiba	3	3	2	4	4
Pojuca	3	1		1	1
Salvador	6	39	79	5	6
Santo Amaro	9	8	2	13	10
Santo Estêvão	6	3		5	6
São Felix	1	1	1	2	2
São Filipe	3	2		4	5
São Francisco	2	1		2	1
São Gonçalo	4	3	1	5	4
São Sebastião	4	2		4	3

Calculated from Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, No. 8 and Anuário Estatística do Brasil-1953, Ano XIV.

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TABLE VIII

AGRICULTURAL LABOR FORCE OF THE MUNICÍPIOS OF THE RECÔNCAVO IN 1940 AND 1950

Município	1940 Agricultural Labor Force	Per cent of Change 1940-1950*	1950 Agricultural Labor Force--Estimated
Alagoinhas	8,922	25	11,152
Cachoeira	4,367	- 3	4,236
Catu	5,395	- 5	5,125
Conceição da Feira	3,132	7	3,351
Conceição do Almeida	10,066	- 7	9,361
Coração de Maria	8,205	3	8,451
Cruz das Almas	8,763	6	9,289
Feira de Santana	26,140	16	30,322
Irará	19,920	- 2	19,522
Itaparica	1,379	10	1,517
Maragogipe	7,513	2	7,663
Muritiba	8,959	15	10,303
Pojuca	2,575	-31	1,777
Salvador	7,697	57**	12,075**
Santo Amaro	25,566	-23	19,686
Santo Estêvão	9,315	20	11,178
São Félix	4,086	6	4,331
São Filipe	10,327	- 2	10,120
São Francisco	2,373	-22	1,851
São Gonçalo	8,872	- 4	8,517
São Sebastião	6,395	4	6,651
Recôncavo	189,967		196,468

*Calculated change in rural population from 1940 to 1950. It has been assumed that the agricultural labor changed at the same rate as the rural population.

**Because of a change in the method of totaling the non-urban population of Salvador, it was not possible to derive the 1940-1950 rural population change in the usual manner. The 1950 figure is the mean of three estimates of increase derived from total population change 1940-1950, rural quadrant change 1940-1950, and per cent of total population in agriculture 1940 projected to 1950. These estimates were, in order, 11,097, 12,517, and 12,700. The rural quadrant is a statistical subdivision of the município which does not necessarily include all the rural areas.

Source: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censo Demográfico--Bahia, Vol. I, and Anuário Estatístico do Brasil-1953, Ano XIV.

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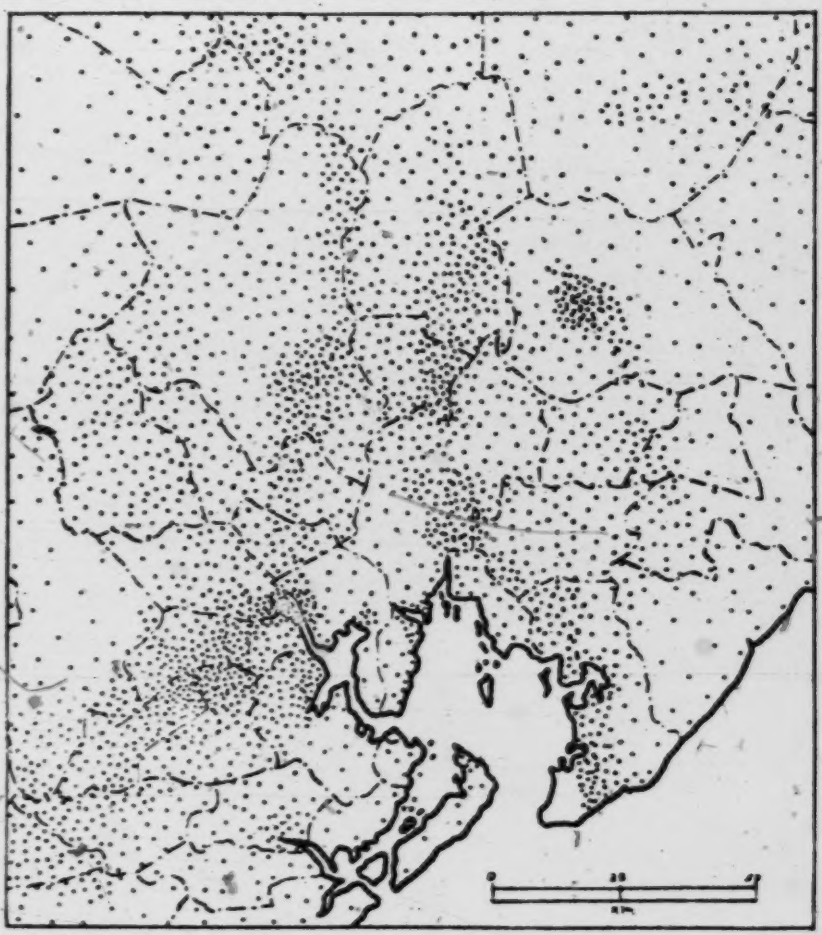

Each dot = 100 persons

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Agricultural Labor Force--1950

(Estimated)

Data estimated from Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censo Demographico--Bahia, Vol. I, and (for 1950 data) Anuario Estatistico do Brasil-1953, Ano XIV.

MAP 17

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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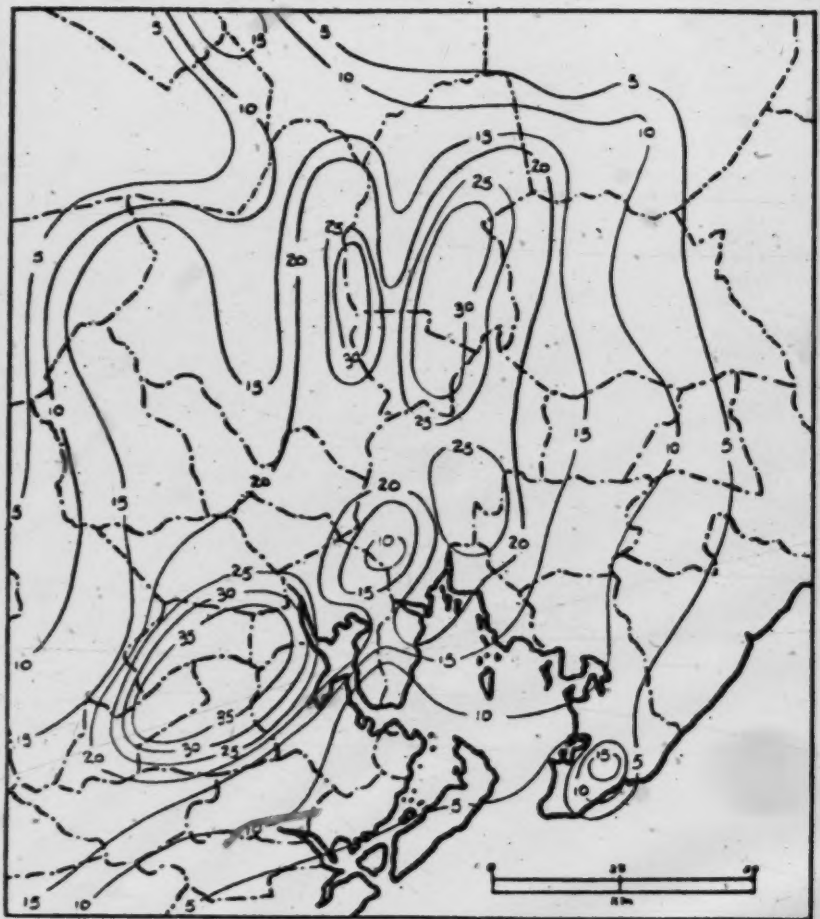

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Agricultural Labor Force per Square Kilometer of Total Area--1950
(estimated)

MAP 18

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 464 and plantations, and to a lesser extent, ranchers and vaqueiros (cowboys).[21] Silviculture is not an important occupation in the Recôncavo.

161 162 241 464 634 The mean density of the agricultural labor force for the Recôncavo was 15.7 per square kilometer. Since the distribution is very irregular, this mean density is far from representative of local situations--only six municípios had densities within 10 per cent of the mean. Because of the uneven distribution of cultivation, mean [128] figures for individual municípios, especially the larger ones, are [127] likely to be equally misleading. In the discussion which follows the gross distributions derived from census data have been modified on the basis of field observation and of inferences drawn from related demographic, cartographic, and agricultural information.[22]

161 162 241 464 The density of agricultural workers in the Central Recôncavo (Map 18) is appreciably higher than in the surrounding areas, except in the southwest. This central zone has densities in excess of 20 per square kilometer, and within it are four areas with densities in excess of 25 per square kilometer. Along the border of the Recôncavo, densities usually fall to 10 per square kilometer. However, this is not true of the more densely occupied "bridge" zone which connects the area of heavy concentration in the Recôncavo, south of the Rio Paraguaçu, with the "coffee area" to the southwest beyond the Recôncavo. The map of densities (Map 18) and the dot map (Map 17) of the agricultural labor force suggest that this population segment is clustered in areas which generally have an eccentric location in relation to such centers as Salvador and the Baía de Todos os Santos.

Over 20 per cent of the agricultural workers of the Recôncavo live along the southern, western, and northern extremes of the region,

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161 every section of which is more than 50 kilometers from Salvador, the
162
241 economic center of the Recôncavo, and also more than 50 kilometers from
464 the geometric center in Santo Amaro. If a line were drawn from the
161 cidade of Alagoinhas southwestward to the cidade of Nazaré, the
162 following municípios would fall entirely west of that line: Irará,
241
464 Coração de Maria, Feira de Santana, São Gonçalo, Conceição da Feira,
634 and Santo Estêvão--all north of the Rio Paraguaçu--and Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, São Félix, São Filipe, and Conceição do Almeida--all south of the Rio Paraguaçu. These 11 of the 21 municípios of the Recôncavo are all more than 50 kilometers from Salvador--all are much farther in terms of land transport. In these eleven municípios live 125,000 of the 196,000 agricultural workers. In part, this eccentricity with respect to Salvador is a result of the shape of the land surface, with the city located at the end of a peninsula. Only one of these 11 municípios, São Félix, lies on tide water, and that at the extreme upper limit of navigation. The others are so arranged that they cannot make optimum use of the central position of the Bay, with its relatively cheap and direct route into the capital.

161 This eccentrically located belt is arcuate in form. It is the
162 demographic representation of the transition zone from forest to
241 scrub forest, which is often also the transition from the Coastal
464 Plain to the Tabular or Crystalline Uplands. The concentration of
132 agricultural labor in this belt is obviously significant from many
133 points of view: social and political as well as economic.

Clustering is a characteristic pattern of Latin American population. The Recôncavo is the chief population cluster and the greatest single concentration of agricultural labor force within the state of

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Bahia. The broad cluster of the agricultural labor force is composed of several major zones of concentration and two minor agglomerations.

(1) The Southwestern Concentration: The most important of these concentrations, in terms of total number of agriculturalists, occupies the southwestern corner of the Recôncavo. This concentration is a major segment of the eccentric belt discussed above. It is located [131] in the Crystalline Uplands and the Intermediate Hills, along the drainage divide between the Rio Paraguaçu and the Rio Jaguaripe. This is an area of tobacco and manioc cultivation. There are some 35,000 agriculturalists in this concentration, which spreads over approximately 1,000 square kilometers in six municípios—São Félix, Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, Conceição do Almeida, São Filipe, and Maragogipe. The cidade of Cruz das Almas lies very near its center.

TABLE IX

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS—SOUTHWESTERN CONCENTRATION

[634]

Município	Distrito	Agricultural Workers 1950
São Felix	São Félix	2,568
	Outeiro Redondo	1,724
Muritiba	Muritiba	3,044
	Cabeças	1,699
Cruz das Almas	Cruz das Almas	6,038
	Sapé	1,845
	Baixa do Palmeira	1,476
Conceição do Almeida	Conceição do Almeida	3,878
	Comércio	2,038
São Filipe	São Filipe	4,931
	Cararipe	2,471
Maragogipe	Guapira	1,169
	Nagé	788
	Coqueiras	1,072
Approximately 1,000 square kilometers		34,741

With about 12 per cent of the Recôncavo's total area, the southwestern concentration includes 18 per cent of its agricultural labor force. In its core there are over forty agriculturalists per [634] square kilometer (the município of São Félix as a whole has 42.05 per square kilometer), and this compact core includes São Félix, northern

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161 São Filipe, northern Conceição do Almeida, southeastern Cruz das Almas,
162
241 and the southeastern tenth of Muritiba.
464
[634] The boundaries of this concentration are similar to the boundaries of labor concentrations in other parts of the western Recôncavo. To the southeast the density of the cluster declines sharply across the Intermediate Hills. There are very few fields and few farmers along the estuary of the Paraguaçu, which lies beyond the hills. Much of
[311] this land is in forest. To the west the decline in density is even more abrupt. In the dry caatinga beyond the western limits of Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, and Conceição do Almeida there are only a few scattered ranchers and small-scale farmers.

From the core of the concentration the distribution of agricultural workers continues to be relatively dense toward the north and toward the southwest, and this pattern extends across the "bridge" zone and into the coffee area beyond the Recôncavo. Just beyond the Recôncavo, in the middle of the "bridge," is the city and suburban zone of Santo Antônio de Jesus, which has a minor cluster of agricultural workers. The "bridge" follows the forest and scrub-forest transition.

161 (2) The Northern Concentration: Though the northern and
162 central clusters of the agricultural labor force of the Recôncavo
241 are less well defined and individually less important than the
464 southwestern cluster, they are major concentrations. In the northern
131 Recôncavo a series of clusters extending through eastern Feira de Santana, Irará, and Coração de Maria are grouped in a rough "u-shaped" pattern. This concentration is the second major element of the eccentric belt of dense agricultural labor. The verticals of the "u" follow agricultural belts along the valleys of two tributaries of the (eastern) Rio Pojuca. This is a zone of Tabular Upland and caatinga vegetation.

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161 Because it does not correspond to census divisions, it is diffi-
162 cult to determine the area and population of this "u" zone. Apparently
241 it has about 1,150 square kilometers and about 30,000 agricultural
464 workers (Table X). Maximum densities within this zone are 30 to 40
131 per square kilometer.

TABLE X

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS--NORTHERN CONCENTRATION

634

Município	Distrito	Agricultural Workers 1950
Feira de Santana	Feira de Santana	9,840
	Tiquaruçu	1,725
Coração de Maria	Coração de Maria	4,176
	Itacava	4,332
Irará	Irará	4,130
	Bento Simões	1,675
	Pedrão	2,454
	Ouriçangas	2,683
Aproximately 1,150 square kilometers		31,015

The "u-shaped" zone is linked with the southwestern cluster by a belt of moderate population density. This belt, running north to south along the caatinga-forest transition, is followed by the Feira de Santana-Cachoeira railroad.

161 (3) The Central Concentration: The central concentration of
162 agricultural labor, in east-central Santo Amaro, western São Sebastião,
241 and São Francisco--the sugar cane zone, is not a part of the eccentric
464 belt discussed above, but rather lies in the heart of the Recôncavo.
131 There are about 6,000 agriculturalists in the 300 square kilometers of this area. The maximum density is about 25 per square kilometer. In distinction to the concentrations discussed above, the central cluster is in the lowlands--the humid Coastal Plain. (see Table XI).

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TABLE XI

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AGRICULTURAL WORKERS--CENTRAL CONCENTRATION

Município	Distrito	Agricultural Workers 1950
Santo Amaro	Rio Fundo	1,849
	Inhatá	1,542
	Mata de Aliança	920
São Sebastião	Jacuípe	1,036
São Francisco	São Francisco	804
	Santa Elisa	176
Approximately 300 square kilometers		6,327

(4) The Minor Agglomerations: Minor concentrations of agriculturalists surround two urban centers in the Recôncavo: Salvador and Alagoinhas. Most of the 12,000 agricultural workers in the município of Salvador are grouped either in the northeast--close to the central cluster of the sugar cane zone--or around the capital city. The latter either live in the city or in the sub-urban areas around and between the various urban segments. These sub-urban cultivators primarily work to supply the large urban market. Alagoinhas lies in the midst of relatively unproductive taboleiros. The agri-
[245] culturalists who serve its urban market and produce its chief commercial crop--oranges--are gathered compactly in a symmetrical ring around the city.

The concentrations discussed above account for some 80,000
[131] (41 per cent) of the agricultural workers and 3,150 square kilometers (25 per cent) of the area of the Recôncavo. In general, a straight line from the southwestern tip of Conceição do Almeida to the southern tip of Serrinha is the western limit of moderately dense distribution of the agricultural labor force. Beyond this line, in the caatinga of Feira de Santana and Castro Alves, there are few agricultural workers. However, in the caatinga of the município of Santo Estêvão and the adjacent part of Feira de Santana there is a zone with a population density of about 15 per square kilometer--higher than anywhere

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else along the western border. This modest concentration, scarcely a cluster, represents the sum of a number of small agricultural settlements scattered along the humid slopes of low serras. There are about 12,000 agricultural workers distributed over this area.

The distributional pattern of the rest of the Recôncavo can be visualized as a coarse net in which the clusters are linked by areas with population densities of 10 to 20 per square kilometer. There is one large hole in this connecting net: along the common border of Cachoeira, São Gonçalo, and Santo Amaro there is a zone with less than ten and sometimes less than five agricultural workers per square kilometer. This zone, very near to the center of the Recôncavo, for the most part is an area of rough sandy hills bordering the crystalline--here the hills are particularly rugged and the transition zone broad. On three sides--southwest, north, and northeast—this sparsely settled zone is bordered by important clusters of agriculturalists.

The agricultural labor force of the Recôncavo is, as has been seen, irregularly distributed. This distribution is highly fluid--movement and growth and decline are continuously altering the pattern. The whole region gained about 6,500 agriculturalists between 1940 and 1950, but these statistics do not reflect the extent of local relocation.

In the central Recôncavo one município, Santo Amaro, lost almost 6,000 agricultural workers between 1940 and 1950, and in three municípios of the central and eastern Recôncavo, Santo Amaro, São Francisco, and Pojuca, losses exceeded 20 per cent. On the other hand, in three municípios of the uplands of the northern and northwestern Recôncavo--Alagoinhas, Feira de Santana, and Santo Estêvão—there were gains of over 20 per cent. Over all, twelve municípios gained and nine lost agriculturalists; the mean change in the agricultural labor

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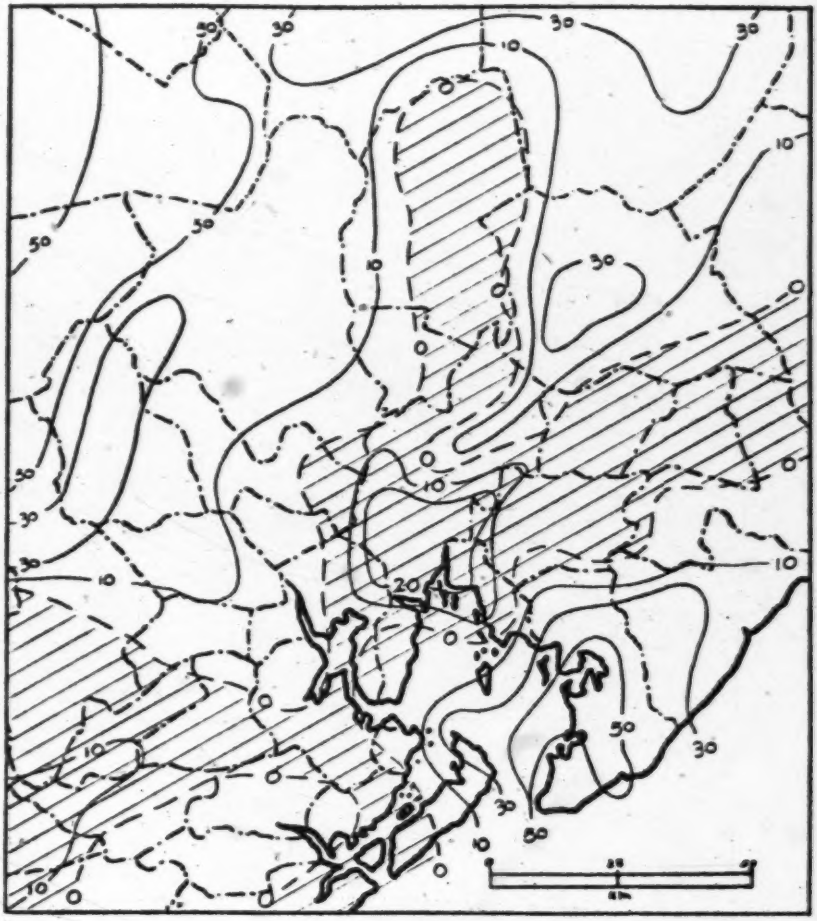

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of Change in the Agricultural Labor Force (Estimated)

and in the Rural Population from 1940 to 1950

Shaded area shows zone of loss of agricultural labor force.

MAP 19

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

161 force of the 21 municípios--without regard to direction of change--was
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241 13 per cent.
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In general the area around Salvador and the northeastern and western margins of the Recôncavo gained in agricultural labor force (Map 19). The Central Recôncavo and areas in the north-central, eastern, and southwestern Recôncavo lost agriculturalists between 1940 and 1950. Some of the factors which produced these changes were local; others were identified with the Northeast or with Brazil as a whole.

The growth of cities in the Recôncavo is a manifestation of a nationwide phenomenon. The expanding urban centers create an increasing market for agricultural products which, because of the difficulty of transportation and the lack of food processing facilities, must be supplied primarily from local sources. These expanding markets attract discontented or displaced agriculturalists, who settle as close to the urban center as possible. There is a marked increase in the concentration of agricultural labor around Salvador, Feira de Santana, and Alagoinhas.

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166 In 1950 and 1951 the urban trend and its agricultural con-
[369] comitant was re-enforced by a specific Northeastern phenomenon—the
[241] flight from the drought (sêca) of the interior. Most of the refugees (flagelados) from the dry sertão settled along the periphery of the Recôncavo. Here, where they could remain close to their cherished sertão, much land was open for squatters. As indicated above, others settled around the urban centers of the Recôncavo caatinga zone—Feira de Santana and Alagoinhas.

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464 Observations suggest that the greatest relative increases in
178 agricultural labor force from the sertão were in the municípios
166 bordering the Recôncavo on the west and north, where the "normal"
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agricultural population is small. However, refugees from the drought also found their way into most parts of the Recôncavo. Even in 1953 they were to be encountered as squatters in Muritiba, as cane field workers in Santo Amaro, and as porters in Salvador.

Refugees from secas usually have not become permanent additions to the labor force of the Recôncavo. The sertanejo of the Northeast is renowned in Brazil for his attachment to his terra (native soil), no matter how cruelly it treats him. Especially those migrants who settle as squatters on the margins of the Recôncavo seem only to wait for the renewal of the rains to return to the sertão. In 1953 migrants were still entering the Recôncavo along the Feira de Santana-Salvador highway, but others were boarding the train in Salvador and returning to the sertão. They had come from the sertão on foot or by begging rides on trucks, found jobs in the Recôncavo, saved a few cruzeiros, and were returning to their native terra. Some refugees remain in the Recôncavo, of course, but the number is proportionately very small.

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Several sections of the Recôncavo, notably the sugar cane zone, are losing rural population and agricultural labor at a serious rate. The municípios of Santo Amaro and São Francisco lost 6,400 agriculturalists between 1940 and 1950. The reduction in the number of agriculturalists in the sugar area is at least partially a sympton of the growing rationalization of labor under the big usinas, which increasingly dominate the sugar industry. The emigration from these areas is selective--the majority of the emigrants are young adults who leave to seek employment and broader opportunity elsewhere.

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Emigration within the Recôncavo is one current of the great tide of agricultural unrest ascribed to all of Brazil.

The rural Brazilian of the lower classes is notorious for his nomadic or migratory habits, for his lack of permanent attachment to the soil, for his tendency to

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> shift about from place to place. In few nations are such large proportions of the rural people, who in turn are three fourths of all people, so constantly on the move.[23]

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In the Recôncavo this shifting is like a game of musical chairs, in which the odd participant, probably thinking himself lucky, goes to Salvador. The exchange of places occurs on many levels: there is movement from plantation to plantation within the sugar zone, even between plantations operated by the same usina.[24] Many agricultural workers shift from one to another of the various agricultural zones within the Recôncavo.[25] These shifts of population in the Recôncavo primarily involve the agricultural laborers, share croppers, and tenant farmers. The landowners move only under the strongest pressure, and the upper class landowners are as immobile as the lower classes are migratory. However, these landowners compose only a small part of the agricultural labor force.

Another fluid element in the agricultural labor force of the Recôncavo is seasonal labor.

> Itinerant seasonal agricultural labor has for a long time been an important element in the sugar zones of the Northeast where at harvest time many of the cane cutters come from the "agreste" or even from the "sertao" into the "mata" zone.[26]

The principal source of this seasonal labor for the Recôncavo is the small farmer class of the sertão of Bahia north of the Rio Paraguaçu and east of the Chapada Diamantina. These workers are males, exclusively; the number involved is not known, but it is probably on the order of 5,000. Some sertanejos return again and again to the same fazenda or usina; others change their place of employment from year to year. They all return to the sertão at the beginning of the wet season to plant gardens for their families and to harvest cotton and other crops.

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[162]

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241 [464] The skills of the 196,000 workers are an important agricultural resource in the Recôncavo. This resource can best be evaluated in terms of the prevailing agricultural systems: hoe and rudimentary plow agriculture. Hoe agriculture is universal in the Recôncavo, and in a society so thoroughly permeated with agricultural activity it is fair to assume that, except for some completely urbanized laborers in Salvador, all workers are familiar with the simple tools of this form of cultivation. Plow cultivation is more specialized; it is used [249] throughout the sugar cane zone but only in preparing the fields for planting. The seedstalks are covered with a hoe, and knives are used [407] for weeding and harvesting. Outside the sugar zone plows are rarely encountered.

[231] The domesticated animals which play a prominent role in cultivation in the Recôncavo are oxen, horses, mules, and donkeys, and the rudiments of their management are almost universally understood. The prominent crops of the Recôncavo are ubiquitous—manioc, corn, beans, sweet potatoes, peanuts, tobacco, sugar cane, bananas, and oranges are grown in all areas, and their cultivation under the prevailing agricultural system is common knowledge. There is little present need for agricultural labor specialized beyond this level.

241 178 It is clear that the introduction into the Recôncavo of new, radically different crops or techniques of cultivation would alter this [181] relatively favorable situation. The agricultural worker of the Recôncavo, like his counterpart in many other parts of the world, is inherently conservative. As in the past, he will continue to resist even minor changes, such as improved methods of seed selection in corn or improved curing of tobacco. More radical changes would probably be resisted more strongly. The problem of "selling" new ways of pro- [212] ducing agricultural products is difficult not only because of the

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 178 212 satisfaction with traditional ways but also because the low level of literacy makes difficult even the presentation of new methods. The low level of literacy directly limits the media available for propagation of new ideas, and there is little consciousness of the existence of other methods in other areas. These factors restrict the intellectual horizon and reduce the tolerance for change.

241 407 [242] [354] As yet, mechanized agriculture is almost unknown--there are probably less than fifty tractors in the entire Recôncavo. Agricultural machinery is confined almost exclusively to government agricultural experiment stations and extension services or to the largest sugar fazendas--in 1952-53 the tractors of the fazendas were largely unused because of the lack of new parts or general unsuitability for the tasks at hand. A very small number of agricultural workers have had any experience with agricultural machinery. The introduction of large quantities of farm equipment would raise many problems related to skill [493] and receptivity. However, the truck, bus, and jeep are omnipresent in the Recôncavo, and the number of competent drivers and mechanics is surprisingly large. Most of these mechanically skilled workers live in the cities and towns, but some are available everywhere, especially in the sugar area. In this area, too, many workers have had experience with such massive equipment as the ox-plow. Thus the introduction of tractors and their accessories into the sugar zone, the area most adapted to mechanization at the present moment, would find at least a small cadre of experienced workers available.

241 461 In addition to skills, the mode of labor and the attitude toward work are important factors in evaluating the agricultural labor force. Agricultural work in the Recôncavo tends to be a joint enterprise--it is joint effort which makes it possible to perform many heavy or arduous tasks with little mechanical assistance. On the cane plantations

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

On the cane plantations
241 the field work of planting and harvesting is done by labor gangs com-
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857 posed of men, women, and older children. There is some specialization: men cut the cane, women gather and pile the cane stalks and leaves, and the older children assist at these tasks and at managing the ox carts. The smaller children remain at home, where they are responsible from a very early age for some household tasks.

241 Outside the sugar zone the family is a basic labor unit. Men,
592
462 women, and children work in the fields as required and participate in
857 processing tobacco and manioc. To an even greater extent than is characteristic of the sugar zone the children participate in family tasks, and as soon as they can manage the hoe, they join in the field work.

461 The upper class Baiano seldom does physical labor—to do physical
[565] work is to lower one's status. In the lower class work would seem to be approached as a somewhat unpleasant necessity which is best tackled in a cheerful and convivial atmosphere. The agricultural laborer is given to spells of extremely hard work interrupted by banter and occasional "horseplay." While the lone worker often seems rather cheerless and plodding in the field, the shouted jokes, songs, and exclamations of groups of laborers frequently resound throughout the countryside. The intermittent vigorous labor seems to be an extension of play, for there is little social evaluation of hard work for its own sake.

Despite the enthusiasm and commotion which surrounds almost any effort, the per capita productivity of the worker in the Recôncavo
461 is relatively modest. In part this is a result of the intermittent
147 character of the work, but a more important factor is the limited energy of the worker. The lower class of the Recôncavo is weakened by perennial hunger, bad diet, and disease.[27]

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241 464 As has been shown, the 196,000 agricultural workers in the Recôncavo in 1950 formed a relatively distinct cluster within Bahia. [131] These workers were concentrated especially in an arcuate belt near the western and northern frontiers, in the sub-urban zone of the larger cities, and in the central sugar zone. They were in complex motion, the net result of which was to reduce, in the decade 1940 to 1950, the agricultural labor force in the Central Recôncavo and to increase the labor force near the cities and along the western frontier. The labor force generally is adequately skilled for the agricultural tasks of the present system, but its tolerance for new ideas is [461] limited. The agricultural workers can work cheerfully and hard, but usually do so only with frequent interruptions, and the individual level of energy is low.

162 241 464 463 Rural Population. The agricultural labor force of the Recôncavo is a functionally but not residentially distinct segment of a larger population assemblage, the rural population. Rural population, as used here, includes not only the people of the countryside but also the village and town dwellers of all settlements without industrial establishments.[28] Although this assemblage can be defined in approximate residential terms as a rural population, it is considered here primarily as a functional grouping which includes agricultural workers and elements of all other major occupational groups except industrial workers. In this overwhelmingly agricultural society the associations of the non-agricultural occupational groups of the rural area with agriculture are of primary economic importance and compelling personal interest. While most of the agricultural workers are rural in the strictest sense, living in the countryside and on the fringes of the villages, towns, and cities, many others live within the small and

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

162 241 464 463 some in large urban centers. On the other hand, occupational groups sometimes considered to be urban--shopkeepers, for example--may have residences and places of business in the countryside. Thus it is not possible to differentiate occupational groups precisely on the basis of residence.[29]

162 241 464 In 1950 the rural population of the Recôncavo, as defined here, included 578,508 people. This assemblage represented about 54 per cent of the total population of the Recôncavo. Its distribution was broadly but not precisely comparable to that of the agricultural labor force, as will be seen.

162 241 464 463 The agricultural labor force, which has been discussed above, composes 34 per cent of the rural population. The remaining 66 per cent will be called the "service segment" of the rural population. This segment is composed primarily of the following elements: merchants, tradesmen, and speculators who buy agricultural products and supply the simple needs of the agriculturalists; indirect service groups such as financial agents, public administrators, and transport workers; and minors and dependent women.[30] All of these are directly or indirectly dependent upon the agricultural economy. This dependency is, of course, mutual: the farmer of the Recôncavo is, at least partially, a commercial agriculturalist who must market his products in order to purchase food and clothing. However, the agriculturalist is the primary producer; the service segment basically is auxiliary to the agricultural economy.

241 463 464 [162] The map (Map 20) of the service segment relative to the agricultural labor force reveals several significant contrasts. In the outer Recôncavo--from the southwest corner around the periphery to the northeast--the service segment is from 1.5 to 2.0 times the agricultural labor force. As will be seen, this is the zone of tobacco

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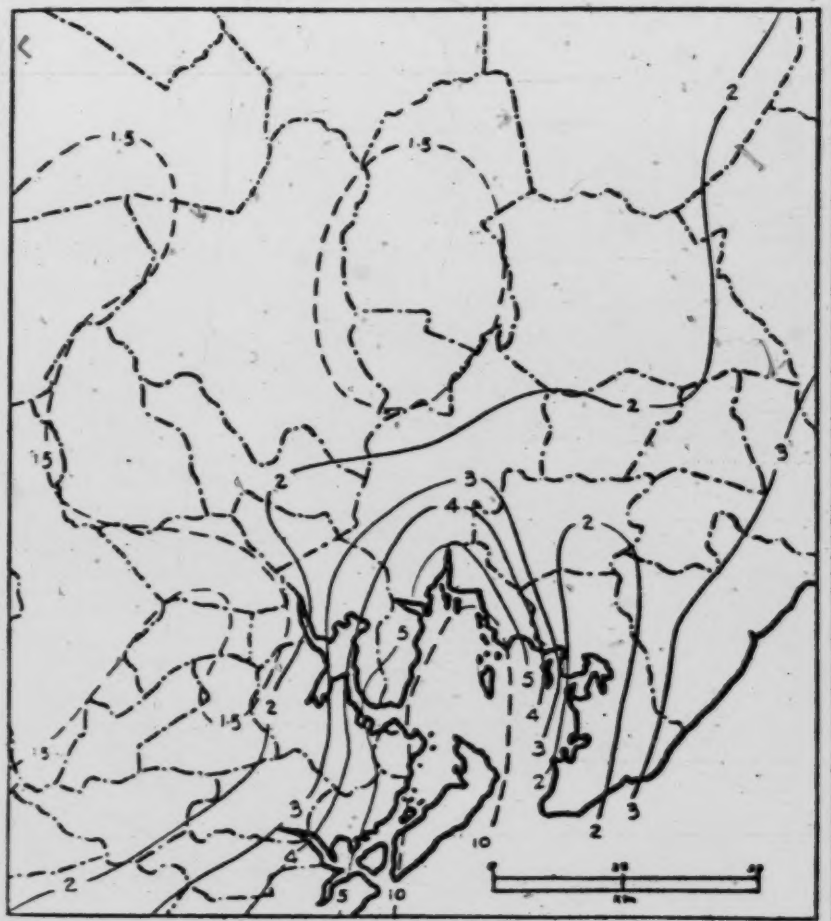

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Ratio of the "Service Segment" of the Rural Population

to the Agricultural Labor Force--1950

(estimated)

MAP 20

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 463 464 and manioc production. While there is some processing of agricultural products in this zone, the trade centers primarily are local, and there have been few historical reasons for urban development.

463 433 241 Around the Bay the relative size of the service segment increases to five, even to ten times the agricultural labor force. In this area there are some alternative productive pursuits, fishing and charcoal burning, for example. The definition given for the "service segment" is less appropriate in this zone: the fishermen, for example, render their service primarily to the major urban centers rather than to the agriculturalists. Moreover, there is a large parasitic group, especially in the sugar zone. The decline and rationalization of the sugar industry have left an unproductive class living in waning state but still supported by the agricultural economy. The sugar industry, which is more efficiently organized than other agricultural enterprises in the Recôncavo, probably is better able to support parasitic elements.

464 241 In addition to providing services, the service segment is the local labor reserve for agriculture. The extent of the reserve depends not only on the size of the service segment, but also on its composition. For example, in the western and northern areas of the Recôncavo, where two-fifths of the people are agricultural laborers, perhaps an additional one-fifth consists of small children and the aged and infirm. If those who perform essential services, basic to the economy, are deducted from the remaining two-fifths, few are left for a labor reserve. Fortunately the tobacco-manioc economy of the Recôncavo has little need for seasonal labor, and long-term labor needs, in theory at least, can be filled from the sertão.

464 In the sugar cane zone and on the Bay margins the general labor reserve is larger. However, this reserve is drawn upon by the labor

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464 extravagant urban centers, the oil field and refineries north of the
Bay, and the fishing and shipping industries. Moreover, this area has
[565] a larger upper-class element, which as has been seen, could be counted
upon to perform manual labor only under dire circumstances.

464 Thus in all parts of the Recôncavo the local labor reserve
241 readily available for agricultural production and expansion is small.
In compensation the general high mobility of the lower class would
make available non-local reserves,[31] providing the proper incentives
were offered. The exploitative agricultural system of the Recôncavo
is ill-equipped to offer these incentives.

162 <u>Urban Population</u>. The remaining 493,944 people of the Recôncavo,
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433 46 per cent of the total 1950 population, lived in the nine major
urban centers. These people have much the same relationship to agri-
cultural production as the "service segment" discussed above, but the
relationship is less direct. These urban centers are engaged almost
exclusively in serving and in exploiting the agricultural population
of the Recôncavo and other agricultural areas of Bahia.

633 Salvador is the dominant city of the Recôncavo and of Bahia.
162 In 1950 it contained 389,422 people, 36 per cent of the total popula-
tion of the Recôncavo and 8 per cent of the total population of Bahia,
or 79 per cent of all urban people of the Recôncavo and 41 per cent
of all urban people of the state. The next largest city in Bahia was
Feira de Santana--less than one-fourteenth the size of Salvador.

633 Although Salvador is the fourth city in Brazil, it is much
smaller than either Rio de Janeiro or São Paulo and somewhat smaller
than Recife.[32] It ranked just above Pôrto Alegre in total population.
Salvador, often called either Bahia or <u>o capital</u>, cannot be interpreted
entirely or even predominately in terms of the Recôncavo. While its

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 132]

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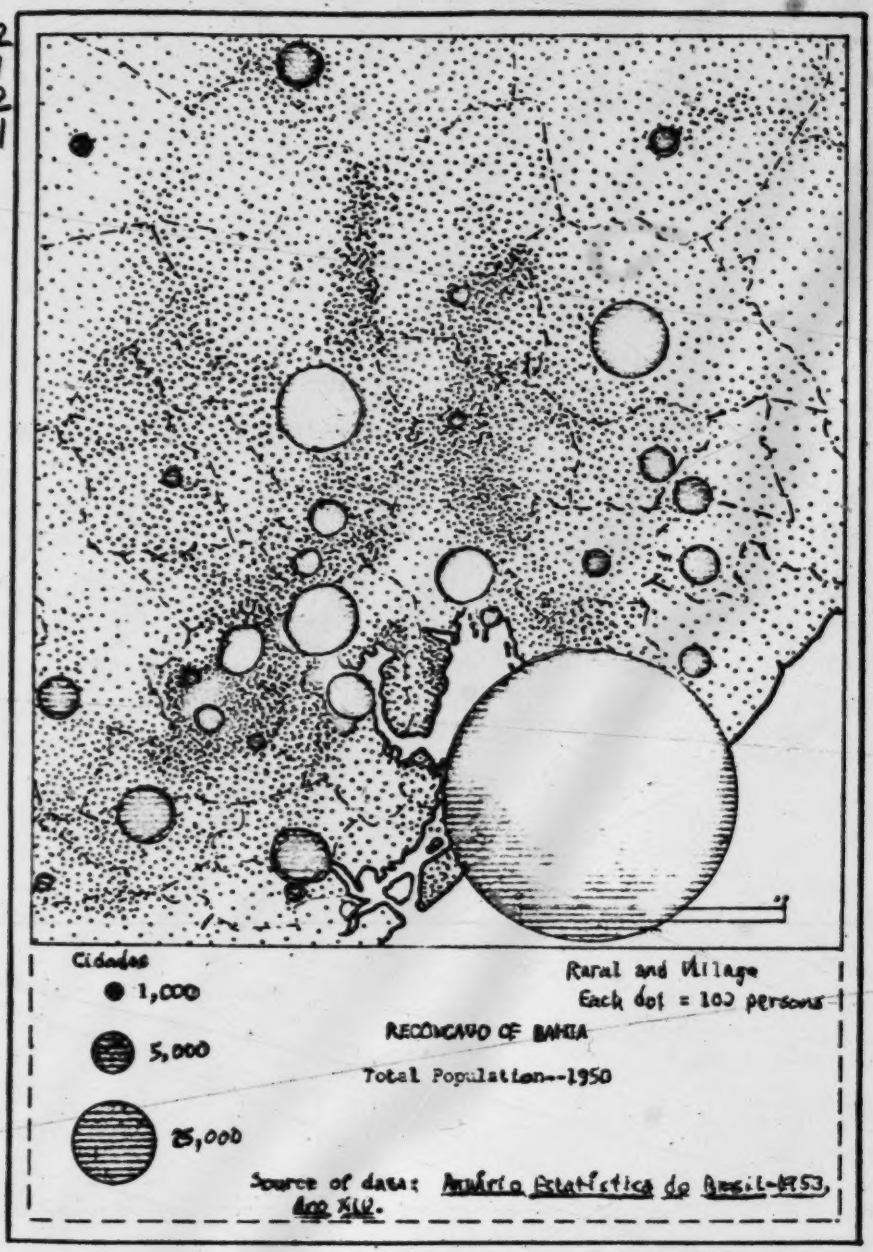

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

633 tributary area does not extend beyond the state, it does include the coffee and cacao areas, parts of the São Francisco basin, and the sertão of Bahia. It is the focus of transportation and communication, of finance and administration, and of foreign trade for the entire state. Despite the economic, political, and social pre-eminence of Salvador, a few cities operate quasi-independently in a particular function, notably Ilhéus and Itabuna, in the cacao area.

The next largest cities in the Recôncavo--Feira de Santana and Alagoinhas--are much alike in size, location, and function. Feira de [162] Santana--often called merely Feira--with 26,559 people in 1950, was the second largest city of the Recôncavo and of the state. It is the [543] cite of one of the most famous cattle fairs in Brazil.[33] Alagoinhas is smaller--21,289 people in 1950--and less notable historically. It is the third largest city of the Recôncavo and the fifth largest of the state. One of the common functions of both these cities is trans-
633 portation. Feira is the railhead of railroads from Salvador and from
494 Cachoeira and is the junction of the Transnordestina trunk highway
496 which crosses the northeast interior of Brazil, with a highway to Salvador and with the only highway from Bahia to Rio de Janeiro. Alagoinhas is the junction where the railraod (Leste) to Senhor do Bonfim and Juàzeiro--on the Rio São Francisco--branches from the main line from Salvador to Maceió, the capital of the state of Alagoas. Just outside Alagoinhas are the main railroad shops of the Leste line
633 (Viação Férrea Federal Leste Brasileiro). The position of these cities,
369 intermediate between the Recôncavo and the sertão, is reflected in
291 the appearance of the people who are met on their streets--dark
142 Recôncavo agriculturalists in straw hats, patched khaki trousers, and wooden clogs and mestiço vaquéiros (cowboys) from the sertão in
633 495 their leather hats and vests. Each has a number of postos (garages)
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633 495 161 to service the hundreds of trucks and busses which are transforming the transportation of the interior. Both cities reflected their growing function by a great increase in population between 1940 and 1950.

633 [162] Cachoeira-São Félix, 16,697 people in 1950,[34] and Santo Amaro, 12,258 people in 1950, are respectively the fourth and fifth largest cities in the Recôncavo and the eighth and tenth largest cities in Bahia. [443] Both of these cities are important agricultural and marketing centers within the Recôncavo, and both are notable historical centers. Santo Amaro was the great local social and economic focus of the slave-holding engenho sugar culture of the Central Recôncavo. Cachoeira was the major local center of the Western Recôncavo and of the tobacco economy throughout colonial times. While these cities maintain some of their former importance, they are mainly cities of the past, 633 growing at a much slower rate than most urban centers. Both cities 496 lie at or near the head of navigation,[35] and both are on the rail- 494 road which runs from Salvador to the western interior. The construction of the railroad and the development of automotive transport apparently have been important factors in the declining importance of these cities, for it is no longer necessary to trans-ship goods brought down from the interior into boats at these places. The 633 railroads and trucks move the goods directly to Salvador.[36] At present [565] these cities function as local trade centers, as minor industrial centers--Cachoeira-São Félix in tobacco; Santo Amaro in sugar--and as the residences of decadent upper class families whose fortunes declined with the disappearance of the slave-holding agricultural systems.

The other urban centers of the Recôncavo:

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The other urban centers of the Recôncavo:

633 [162] [443]

	1950 Population
Maragogipe	9,744
Muritiba	7,452
Cruz das Almas	6,758
São Gonçalo	3,771

[277] [504] [361] are all local trade and cigar manufacturing centers. Maragogipe is a port of minor importance.[37] The other urban centers have inland locations, near the inner edge of the Crystalline Uplands.[38]

Near the Recôncavo are four urban centers which have minor but appreciable effect upon its agricultural economy:

[162]

	1950 Population
Santo Antônio de Jesus	11,417
Nazaré	11,215
Castro Alves	6,479
Serrinha	4,602

Santo Antônio de Jesus and Nazaré are located along the southern periphery of the Recôncavo, and Castro Alves and Serrinha on the southwestern and northwestern periphery, respectively. All these centers [496] are on one of Bahia's two main railroads, both of which terminate at the Bay--at Salvador or at São Roque do Paraguaçu.[39]

633 464 433 [162] In 1950 the nine major urban centers of the Recôncavo had 100,000 to 120,000 workers in industry, transportation, and merchandising.[40] In all cities of the Recôncavo, except Salvador, the industrial workers almost exclusively were engaged in processing agricultural products--in sugar refining, cigar manufacturing, and [231] [241] slaughtering. Except for some of the animals slaughtered in Feira de Santana and the poorer grades of tobacco brought in from the sertão, these agricultural products originate in the Recôncavo.

The industrial structure of Salvador is more complex. It processes agricultural products from the Recôncavo, but also from other parts of the state, notably cacao. There is a small textile industry. It is probable that the majority of the industrial workers are employed in numerous small service industries which supply Salvador

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BB 633 464 433 and, to a lesser extent, the rest of the Recôncavo and the state. The relatively large and affluent upper class of Salvador utilizes an extravagantly large number of domestics and of industrial workers--in food, clothing, and construction industries.

BB 178 181 433 161 B BB 161 162 Conclusion. The preservation of traditional values among the people of the Recôncavo is evidence of the survival value of their conservative culture, but the relatively slow growth of the population is indicative of a declining economic role in the nation. Although the population of both Brazil and the Recôncavo grew between 1940 and 1950, Brazil's population increased 26.5 per cent, the Reconcavo's onl 16 per cent. In Brazil as a whole, urban populations increased 46 per cent, in the Recôncavo only 34 per cent. The rural population of Brazil increased by 17 per cent; the approximately comparable figure for the Recôncavo was 4 per cent.

Within the Recôncavo the net effect of population changes in the decade 1940 to 1950 was the reduction in rural population from 60 per cent to 54 per cent of the total population (see Table XIII). BB 161 162 241 464 Even more serious, from the agricultural point of view, was the decline in the relative number of agricultural workers. Despite the influx of agricultural people from the sertão, the percentage of the total population in the agricultural labor force fell from 21 per cen (1940) to 18 per cent (1950).

BB 633 [162] The greatest single concentration of population in the Recônca is the city of Salvador. One-third of the people of the region live in this predominant city, occupying the tip of the peninsula which separates the Baía de Todos os Santos from the sea. In this eccentri peninsular location, Salvador is relatively distant from the main centers of agricultural production and has only circuitous land

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TABLE XII

COMPOSITION OF RECÔNCAVO POPULATION 1940-1950

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Year	Total Population	Urban Centers	Rural Population	Agricultural Labor Force
		Absolute		
1940	924,032	368,932	555,100	189,967
1950	1,072,452	493,944	578,508	196,468
Change	+ 148,420	+125,012	+ 23,408	+ 6,501
		Relative		
1940	100 o/o	40 o/o	60 o/o	21 o/o
1950	100 o/o	46 o/o	54 o/o	18 o/o
Change		+ 6 o/o	- 6 o/o	- 3 o/o
		Growth of Recôncavo Population		
1940 to 1950	16 o/o	34 o/o	4 o/o	3 o/o
		Per cent of Total Growth		
1940 to 1950	100 o/o	84 o/o	16 o/o	4 o/o

633 connections with the western section of the Recôncavo. On the other hand, its location combines oceanic access with the rest of Brazil, Europe, and the Americas and a direct approach, via the Bay, to all of the central municípios of the Recôncavo.

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The major concentrations of rural, agricultural population in the region are in the outer municípios of the Southwestern, Northwestern, and Northern Recôncavo. In the southwest, there is a notable concentration on the Crystalline Uplands. In the northern part of the Recôncavo, the concentrations lie along the dissected edges of the Tertiary taboleiros. Thus most of the agricultural people of the region live [134] [132] in upland areas of deep, porous soils and marginal rainfall. The only major lowland concentration of agricultural people is in the area of Cretaceous clay soils on the Coastal Plain of the Central Recôncavo. The relatively small size of the agricultural population [249] [178] in this area is reflective of the declining role of sugar cane cultivation in the Recôncavo.

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241 464 "Falta de braços"--lack of labor--is a problem much discussed in the Recôncavo. The landholders, merchants, and agronomists interviewed in the region almost invariably complained of the shortage of agricul- [161] tural workers or renters. At the same time, the level of per capita productivity of most agricultural labor remains low, and, as will be seen, there have been few attempts at improvement of agricultural techniques. Neither is there any apparent trend toward higher wages or higher returns on rented properties, which might attract more people to the area. The complaints of labor shortages must be viewed in the context of the systems of production and the economic organization of agriculture, which will be discussed in the following chapters.

241 464 161 162 433 Several basic agricultural problems are prefigured in the analysis of the distribution of the population of the Recôncavo. The concentration of agricultural people in the western and northern municípios of the region corresponds, as will be shown, to a major area of agricultural production. Since this is also an area of marginal and irregular precipitation, it is almost inevitable that the level of production must be uneven and the lives of the agriculturalists unstable. The declining agricultural population of the Central Recôncavo is a symptom of the declining importance of the sugar economy, discussed previously, and of the centralization and rationalization currently under way. The alternating zones with high and low densities of population indicate the nuclear and separate character of the areas of agricultural production, detailed in the pattern of crop regions to be discussed in the chapters which follow.

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Brazil SL1
Northeast Brazil SO1

000 Footnotes - Chapter IV.

B BB [127]

[1]The basic sources of population data used in the following demographic analysis were:

Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censo Demográfico, Regional Series, Part XII-Bahia, Vol. I (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço Gráfico do Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, 1950). Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II. Anuário Estatística do Brasil-1953. Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, No. 8.

B [131] [162]

[2]This coastal belt includes 36 per cent of the area of Brazil and, in 1950, over 90 per cent of its population.

NB [633] [162]

[3]After Salvador, the chief cities of the state of Bahia were:

Feira de Santana (in Recôncavo)	26,559	- 1950 population
Itabuna	25,351	" "
Ilhéus	22,593	" "
Alagoinhas (in Recôncavo)	21,283	" "
Jequié	20,652	" "

[4]Mineiros, inhabitants of Minas Gerais; Paulistas, inhabitants of São Paulo; Gaúchos, inhabitants of Rio Grande do Sul; Pernambucanos, inhabitants of Pernambuco.

[5]See, for example, section by Charles Wagley in Charles Wagley (ed.), Race and Class in Rural Brazil (Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 1952), pp. 10-11 and map op. p. 65.

[6]T. Lynn Smith, Brazil: People and Institutions (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1946), p. 186.

[7]Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, No. 8, p. 47.

[8]Ibid., p. 59. In the 1940 census the racial classes were: brancos (white), pretos (black), amarelos (yellow), and outros (other). In the Recôncavo the "others" were predominately mulatto.

[9]A dark skin is a social disadvantage and thus may, in certain circumstances, limit the economic opportunity of the Negro or mulatto. The composition of the upper class, with occasional dark-skinned individuals and many brancos da Bahia (persons with Caucasoid appearance but known Negro or mulatto ancestors) testifies to the racial fluidity of the Recôncavo compared with the American South. These individuals have access to such opportunities for education and cultural development as are available to the upper class in the Recôncavo.

[10]See section by Charles Wagley in Wagley, op. cit., pp. 148-149.

[11]See section by Harry W. Hutchinson in Wagley, op. cit., pp. 16-46.

[12]See section by Charles Wagley in Wagley, op. cit., pp. 10-11 and map op. p. 65.

[13]Smith, op. cit., pp. 633-634.

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[14]See section by Charles Wagley in Wagley, op. cit., pp. 148-149.

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[15]Smith, op. cit., pp. 637-640, citing Anuário Estatístico do Brasil-1939/40, states that there were 687 church marriages for each civil marriage in Bahia. The number of common law marriages is, obviously, not precisely known. Brazilian statutes do not permit divorce from civil marriage.

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[16]The chief exception to this social pattern is during Carnavál, when people of all classes "let themselves go." However, it is mainly the adolescents of the upper class who, for the moment, escape from the rigid social code of their class.

[17]As a consequence of the high mobility of the lower class, many of these community or neighborhood identifications are transitory. However, because of the free social intercourse within the class, the local relationships are quickly established and easily maintained. The core of local identification and of the community or neighborhood seems to be maintained primarily by the more stable upper-stratum of the class.

[18]The industries, trading houses, and exporters of Salvador are concerned to a large degree with agricultural products.

[19]For the United States, see Smith, op. cit., p. 221. For Brazil, calculated from the 1940 census.

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[20]A special statement is required because the problems of deriving data for population in this region profoundly affect the reliability of the demographic analysis. At the time this analysis was made, only incomplete and preliminary population data from the 1950 census had been published. Total population data by political units—municípios and distritos—and by "urban" places were available. It was necessary to estimate the agricultural occupational data. The 1950 agricultural labor force was projected from the 1940 data on the basis of changes in the rural population. Because the agricultural labor force and the rural population of which it is a part are subject to approximately the same social and economic forces, it was assumed that the change in the latter could be used to project the 1950 size of the former. The tables showing the derivation of the agricultural labor force for 1950 are based upon this procedure.

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[21]In 1940 the composition of this occupational group—based upon a combination of population census and agricultural census data—for the state of Bahia was approximately as follows:

Independent operators	44 per cent
Members of family	27 per cent
Employees	24 per cent
Employers	2 per cent
Non-owner administrators	2.5 per cent

Thus less than 5 per cent of the agricultural labor force were administrators; the others were either cultivators, vaquéiros, or agricultural laborers. In the Recôncavo the administrative group probably was relatively smaller.

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[22]In a region of such large statistical areas and diverse physical resources, it is almost inevitable that mean figures for some municípios, such as Feira de Santana, Alagoinhas, Irará, or, most of all, Santo Amaro,

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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000 BB [128] should be misleading. District data are desirable, but occupational breakdowns for these smaller political units are available neither for 1940 nor 1950. Furthermore, the areas of these districts cannot be calculated with even minimal accuracy from existing sources. Thus the distribution of rural population and agricultural labor force within municípios is largely a matter of inference. For example, the 1950 agricultural labor force was estimated, as has been seen, from the 1940 data and changes in rural population. Densities for each município were calculated from these estimates, and these densities were used as guides, in conjunction with the total populations of the various districts, in determining the distributional patterns of the map of the density of the agricultural labor force and the dot map of agricultural labor force. These maps are thus inferential distributions of inferred data.

[23]Smith, op. cit., p. 297.

BB [435] [24]Labor turnover is one of the explanations proffered for the high cost of sugar production in Bahia.

[25]The explanations offered by these migrants are various: lack of opportunity, a hostile or unfriendly landlord or creditor, a quarrel within the family or neighborhood, crop failure, or a desire to be near relatives.

[26]Joint Brazil-United States Economic Development Commission, The Development of Brazil (Institute of Inter-American Affairs, Foreign Operations Division. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1953), p. 16.

BB [196] [27]However, these people muster tremendous energy for festas (holidays or feast days), especially Carnavál. At such a time, a middle-aged lady with a chronic heart condition was observed to dance, in a procession, for several miles down the road. During the novena of Nossa Senhora de Purificão in Santo Amaro, the troups of performers will journey many miles to attend the celebration, dance and sing throughout the nights of each of the nine days, and without rest return to their homes.

BB [633] [28]The people of nine urban centers of the Recôncavo--Salvador, Feira de Santana, Alagoinhas, Cachoeira-São Félix, Santo Amaro, Maragogipe, Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, and São Gonçalo--are thus excluded from the rural population. These are the nine ranking cities of the Recôncavo, and all except São Gonçalo have more than 5,000 people. In addition to industry, those transportation, financial, retail, trade, and administrative functions which are not strictly local are confined to these urban centers, as well as wholesale trade and international commerce.

B [631] [633] [29]It is significant that Brazil has no urban political unit per se--the município or the distrito has both urban (city, town, or village) and rural sections without administrative expression.

B BB [565] [662] [857] [30]In this society there are many women, especially in the lower class, who can scarcely be considered as dependent. Moreover, as has been seen, children are also frequently productive members of lower class families. In the upper class of the villages and towns, however, there are many children and housewives whose activities are either purely domestic or are only indirectly productive.

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31However, almost all areas of Brazil have perennial labor shortages.

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32In 1950, the urban centers in Brazil with more than 250,000 population were:

Rio de Janeiro	2,303,063
São Paulo	2,017,025
Recife	512,370
Salvador	389,422
Porto Alegre	375,049
Belo Horizonte	338,585

33Others are Campina Grande in Paraíba, Sorocaba in São Paulo, and Tres Corações and Campo Belo in Minas Gerais.

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34Cachoeira and São Félix are twin urban developments opposite each other on the Rio Paraguaçu. The river here is narrow, and the two centers are linked effectively by a combined railroad-highway bridge. In 1950 the population of Cachoeira was 10,825; the population of São Félix, 5,872. The two cidades are, in the main, a single functional uni

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35Santo Amaro proper can be reached by sailing craft or canoes only, but small steamers of the type used in the Bay regularly ascend th Rio Sergi to the outskirts--the connection into the city proper is by a streetcar drawn by two recalcitrant mules.

36There is little direct evidence for this conclusion, but it is a reasonable inference from the present flow of goods and the observable decline in wealth and prestige in these cities. Nowadays the steamers which serve these ports carry passengers almost exclusively, and the number of sailing craft (saveiros) loading is generally small. It shoul be noted that trucks play a much more important role in the movement of goods than the railroads, except in the sugar zone, and that busses rival railroads as passenger carriers. The main highway system of Bahia has by-passed both Santo Amaro and Cachoeira.

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37An all-weather road is now being constructed from Conceição do Almeida to Maragogipe. This will enable passengers and goods moving toward Salvador via the Bay to by-pass Cachoeira-São Félix. This may well further reduce the importance of the latter and increase the growing prosperity of Maragogipe.

38Muritiba is only 5 kilometers from São Félix, but the two citi are quite distinct. São Félix-Cachoeira occupies the lower slopes of the narrow valley of the Rio Paraguaçu. A belt, composed of the upper slopes and the edge of the Uplands, which is all either cultivated or i second growth, makes a distinct but narrow, 3 kilometers wide, break between Muritiba and São Félix.

39Nazaré is the main shop and Santo Antônio an important statio of the Estrada de Ferro Nazaré. The terminus of the "Nazaré" is São Roque do Paraguaçu--down river from Maragogipe. Castro Alves is on the Brumado, Caculé, and Rio de Janeiro branch of the "Lêste," and Serrinha on the Alagoinhas, Bonfim, Juàzeiro branch of the same line.

40Estimated from 1940 occupational data.

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Brazil SL1

CHAPTER V

CROPS AND CROPLAND DISTRIBUTION

BB 241 133

Introduction. The Recôncavo is an enclave of cultivated land facing on the sea and more than half surrounded by the Sertão of Northeastern Brazil. It is one of a number of detached areas of dense settlement and intensive crop cultivation scattered along the northeastern coast—Pernambuco, Sergipe, Alagoas, and the states of the northern coast of the "bulge" of Brazil have similar coastal nuclei. Indeed, this littoral mode of settlement is characteristic of Brazil, although in the center and the south of the country the concentrations of settlement and cultivation are usually separated from the ocean by a belt of rough hills or mountains. A glance at a population map clearly reveals that Brazil is a coastal nation as far as the distribution of its people is concerned; indirectly such a map demonstrates the coastal distribution of crop cultivation. In this, Brazil somewhat resembles the United States at the opening of the nineteenth century when it, too, was altogether a nation of the Atlantic seaboard. The specific nuclear character of the Recôncavo dates from the beginning of its settlement—it was from the first a region of crop cultivation, and the settlement of the sertão of Bahia derived from the people and needs of the Recôncavo. During the four centuries since the Portuguese first came, the crops, animals, and systems of production of the Recôncavo have retained much of their original character.

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The present chapter deals with the principal activity of the Recôncavo, the production of crops. As a preliminary to the discussion of the individual crops and their distributions, it is appropriate to

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128 sketch the modes of cropland distribution which are characteristic of
241 the region. This introductory discussion will be extended in the conclusion of the chapter, when it will be possible to discuss the general patterns of cropland distribution and the changes in the intensity of land use in terms of the specific component crops. The details of the practices of cultivation will be discussed in Chapter VI.

241 The mean intensity of crop cultivation within the Recôncavo is
311 high only in terms of the surrounding sertão. Indeed, there are very
[171] few areas of Brazil of any great size in which the intensity of land use is comparable to that of such areas as Northwestern Europe, Japan, India or even the Midwest of the United States. The landscape of the Recôncavo is composed of a series of small, intensively utilized areas separated and surrounded by zones in which the cultivation of crops is scattered. As a result, the mean intensity of cultivation is low--for the Recôncavo generally, mean figures for agricultural phenomena tend to mask great differences between specific areas. As will be seen, the chief concentrations of crop cultivation are in the Central Recôncavo and on the seaward edge of the Uplands. The principal zones of scattered cultivation are in the Intermediate Hills, in the littoral forest behind the beach line, and on the interior margins of the Uplands where the Recôncavo gradually gives way to the sertão.

241 Even within the areas of relatively intensive cultivation, there are many interruptions. These gaps are not very conspicuous within the restricted confines of the sugar-cane growing Central Recôncavo, but elsewhere the continuity of the fields is broken by patches of second growth and by the slopelands and wet valley bottoms. Most of the cultivated areas of the Recôncavo seem to reflect the grudging acquiescence of nature to the efforts of man and not the triumph of the cultivator

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 over the forest or the caatinga. In most areas it is the second growth, not the cultivated fields, which dominates the landscape.

241 361 443 634 The scale of the maps accompanying the following sections does not allow the indication of one of the significant patterns of cropland distribution in the Recôncavo—the concentration of cultivation around the cidades, the political centers. Each cidade is the economic focus of its município and is usually the primary market for the products of its cultivators. The poorly developed system of transportation in the rural areas puts a premium on proximity to the market center. Thus in most of the municípios there is a decrease in cultivation away from the cidade, and where the municípios are large, such as on the northern and western perimeter of the Recôncavo, cropland becomes very widely scattered before the political boundary is reached. This centralized distribution of cropland has been complicated by the development of roads and truck traffic. Cultivators tend to cluster along the main highways with little regard for the absolute distance to the market of the cidade; accessibility as represented by time rather than distance seems to be the more important factor in choosing land for cultivation, providing that land is available. The pattern of concentration of cultivation along the highway is especially characteristic of the Upland sections of the Recôncavo.[1]

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241 198 There are many exceptions to the modes of cropland distribution mentioned above. In the Recôncavo tradition and prestige often contravene direct economic self-interest. On a large scale the persistence of sugar cultivation is an example of the unwillingness to explore new sources of income. In other areas the traditional social advantages of land ownership may impede the subdivision of large properties into farms or rented plots, even where hired labor is not available to cultivate the land efficiently. Livestock production, which offers

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

231 Livestock production, which offers
241 social prestige as well as economic gain, may occupy land within the
[311] cultivated area which more profitably could be devoted to crops. These
[554] factors, together with the eccentricities of political boundaries and the vagaries of terrain features, help to produce many distinctive local variations of the general geographical pattern of cultivation and of specific crops.

241 As will be seen in the following discussion, both land rotation (field and fallow) and permanent systems of cultivation are practiced in the Recôncavo. Under the land rotation system, the field is planted for a single year or for several years and is then abandoned to wild vegetation for a fallow period which, in some areas of the Recôncavo, has been reduced to as little as five years. Under the system of permanent cultivation, cropping is either continuous or is interrupted only by brief, widely-spaced fallow periods--in the sugar cane area, four years of cultivation are followed by one year of fallow. The significance of the data on the per cent of the area in cropland depends in part upon the system of cultivation employed.

127 Sources of Data. The statistical data used in the analysis of
241 crops and animals in the following sections were drawn almost exclusively
231 from two sources. Produção Agrícola: 1948[2] was the only source available with relatively complete data, gathered on a consistent basis, for the area, production, and value of the principal crops of Brazil by município units. This basic source has been supplemented by data for livestock taken from "Pobulação Pecuária em 31/12/1948."[3] In general these two sources provide a reasonably accurate and detailed statistical basis for the analysis of crops and livestock.

127 However, a careful inspection of the crop data, and especially
241 the calculation of crop yields by combining area and production data, revealed obvious errors in the figures in a number of instances. Usually

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

127 the errors concerned crops of trivial importance, but occasionally the
241 use of such erroneous data would have produced serious misinterpretations. Where this has been the case, it was necessary to estimate a more appropriate figure. Such estimates were developed by inferences from related statistical data supported by observations in the field. The procedures which were employed are illustrated in full in Appendix D through a detailed analysis of the data (for manioc) which were most thoroughly modified in this fashion. Wherever modified, rather than official data have been used in the text, the official data and the basis of modification have been indicated in a footnote or in the appendix.

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241 Crops and Animals of the Recôncavo. A very large number of crops
433 are known to the agriculturalists of the Recôncavo, but the number of important crops is small. It is convenient to divide these into three groups--basic subsistence crops, basic commercial crops, and supplementary (minor subsistence and commercial) crops. As will be seen, many subsistence crops have their commercial importance, but the present concern
241 is only with a broad grouping. The crops of the Recôncavo are listed
433 below, together with their local names and the area of their cultivation
192 in 1948:

Basic Subsistence Crops:		
Manioc or Cassava (Mandioca)	22,472	hectares
Corn (Milho)	9,679	"
Beans (Feijão)	7,034	"
Bananas (Banana)	1,069	"
Peanuts (Amendoim)	550	"
Sweet Potatoes (Batata doce)	344	"
Basic Commercial Crops:		
Tobacco (Fumo)	21,886	"
Sugar Cane (Cana de Açúcar)	11,695	"
Coffee (Café)	2,941	"
Orange (Laranja)	1,116	"
Coconut (Côco)	876	"

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Supplementary Crops
(Subsistence and Commercial):

Pineapple (Abacaxi)	168	hectares
Rice (Arroz)	61	"
Tomatoes (Tomate)	46	"
White Potatoes (Batata inglêsa)	44	"
Cotton (Algodão)	40	"
Onions (Cebola)	14	"
Garlic (Alho)	5	"
Green or Snap Beans (Fava)	4	"

241 311 On the basis of the above figures, the total cultivated land in the Recôncavo in 1948 was about 80,000 hectares. In addition to the above, 245 there are a number of tree crops, not cultivated in the true sense, which are important in the agricultural complex. More often than not these "crops" are of spontaneous origin.

[192]

African Oil Palm (Dendê)
Mango (Manga)
Jack Fruit (Jaca)
Cashew (Caju)
Bread Fruit (Fruta de pão)

231 The following animals are important in the livestock economy of the Recôncavo:

[192]

Cattle (Bovinos)
  Cows (Vacas)
  Oxen (Bois de trabalho)
Sheep (Ovinos)
Goats (Caprinos)
Swine (Suinos)
Donkeys (Asininos or Burros)
Mules (Muares)
Horses (Equinos or Cavalos)

These animals will be discussed in the chapter on animal industry (Chapter VII).

244 Manioc. Manioc was one of the most important cultivated plants which the Portuguese colonists borrowed from the Indians of Brazil. [175] Flour made from the manioc root, farinha de mandioca, was the basic [262] subsistence food of the colonial sugar economy and remains today the [178] principal element of the diet of much of the Brazilian lower class. [565] 006 Manioc production is most notable along the coast of Brazil, from the

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1
Northeast Brazil SO1

B 244 433 Manioc production is most notable along the coast of Brazil, from the mouth of the Amazon to Rio Grande do Sul, but it has considerable importance in the interior of the eastern half of the country.[4] The tonnage of manioc production in Brazil is exceeded only by that of sugar cane--thus manioc is produced in greater quantity than corn, beans, or rice, the other basic subsistence crops. However, the total value of manioc production is less than that of coffee, cotton, corn, or rice. In the Recôncavo the cultivated area of manioc, over BB 244 311 433 262 22,000 hectares, exceeds that of any other crop, and the value of its production is second only to tobacco. It is usually grown as a subsistence crop for local consumption, but there are a few areas of surplus production.

NB BB 244 252 262 Mandioca--manioc, cassava, or yuca--is a stem-propagated perennial which is tolerant of a variety of edaphic, climatic, and cultural conditions. The rootstock of the bitter variety--Manihot utilissima, or M. esculenta--which is most common in Bahia, contains a poisonous substance--manihotoxine--which must be removed before it can be used as human food. In the Northeast the roots almost universally are converted in crude mills into farinha de mandioca, a coarse flour which is eaten in either a raw or cooked state.[5] Sweet manioc (manihot api, in Brazil called aipim) is cultivated on a small scale. The rootstock of this variety may be eaten without extensive processing and is prepared, like the white potato, by boiling.

BB 244 252 433 The cultivation of manioc is a widespread feature of the cultural landscape of east-central Bahia, overshadowed only by the low and scrubby second growth, capoéira, which follows the intensive cultivation of this plant under a system of land rotation. Manioc cultivation and the processing of its roots are the most characteristic pursuits of the rural people--and often the most primitive.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Northeast Brazil SO1

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Manioc is generally cultivated by hand by small cultivators on land near the huts in which they live--[land] called the mandiocal, very common in the interior of the state. The immediate preoccupation of the sertanejo [countryman of the interior] after the construction of his house is the planting of manioc to secure cheap food--either sweet manioc or bitter manioc, which is transformed into flour. All the family are employed in this work. The industry of flour production is rudimentary and it uses simple processes.

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The cultivation of manioc in Bahia is to provide flour for the local market, since the state does not export this product. The development of this culture is, therefore, closely related to the distribution of population, the most productive zones which are noted on the map corresponding to regions where the population is most dense. It is perfectly reasonable that the most productive region corresponds to the Recôncavo, where there is concentrated the mass of the population of Bahia and a large number of towns and cities, the most important and populous in the state. . . . . it is the region of the most highly developed agriculture in the state; it united a relatively dense rural population with manioc, almost always cultivated on a large scale in the zones of the cultivation of tobacco.[6]

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As is indicated in the foregoing quotation, the distributional pattern of manioc reveals a very close association with the cultivation of tobacco and with certain urban centers. But as might be expected in view of the broad environmental tolerance of manioc, its distribution within the Recôncavo is not directly determined by any particular physical factor. Manioc is grown in all parts of the Recôncavo, excepting only the compact pockets of sugar cane cultivation. Only one município, São Sebastião, grew less than 100 hectares or produced less than 1,000 tons of tubers in 1948. In eight municípios the area of manioc cultivation exceeded 1,000 hectares, and the production was more than 10,000 tons in each. About 28 per cent of the cropland of the Recôncavo was in mandioca.[7]

The major concentration of manioc cultivation (Maps 22 and 23) and production (Maps 24 and 25) is along the eastern edge of the Crystalline Uplands in the Southwestern Recôncavo, where in 1948 three municípios[8] grew 54 per cent of the Recôncavo's 22,472 hectares of

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 154]

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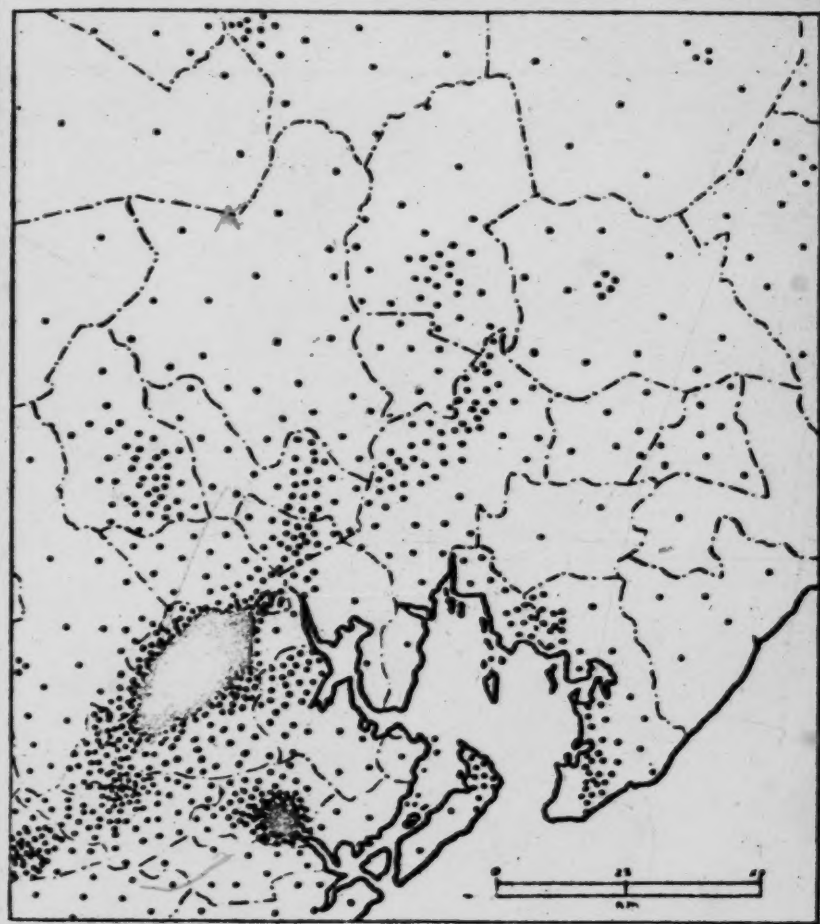

Each dot = 25 hectares

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Area in Manioc--1948

Source data modified from Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 22

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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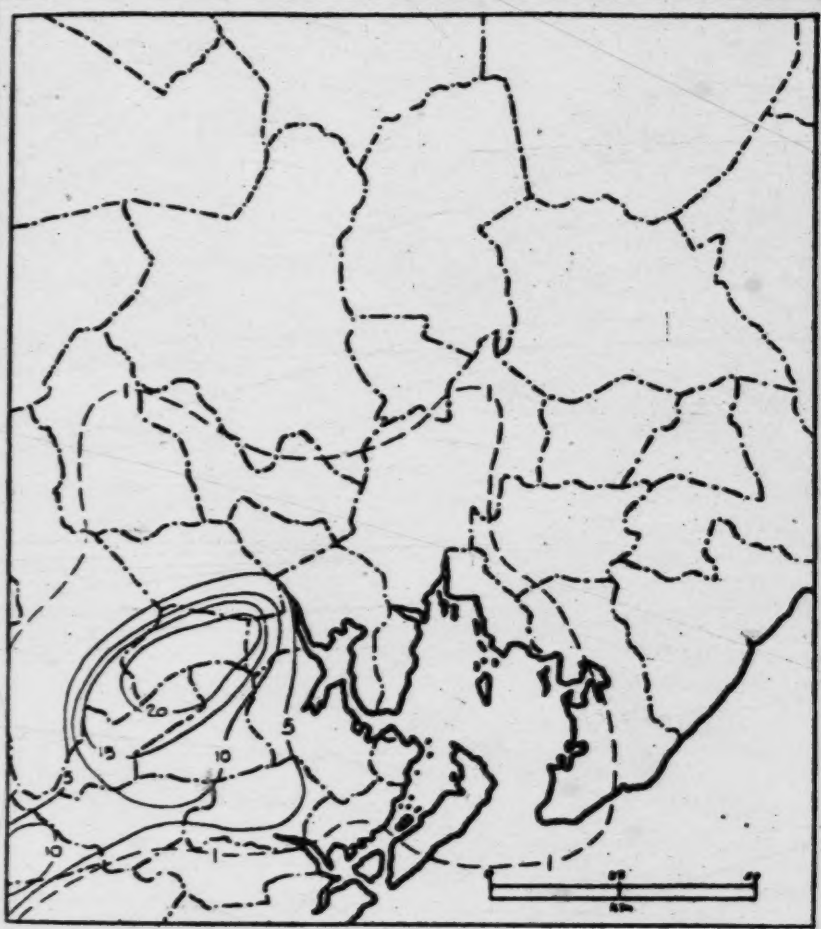
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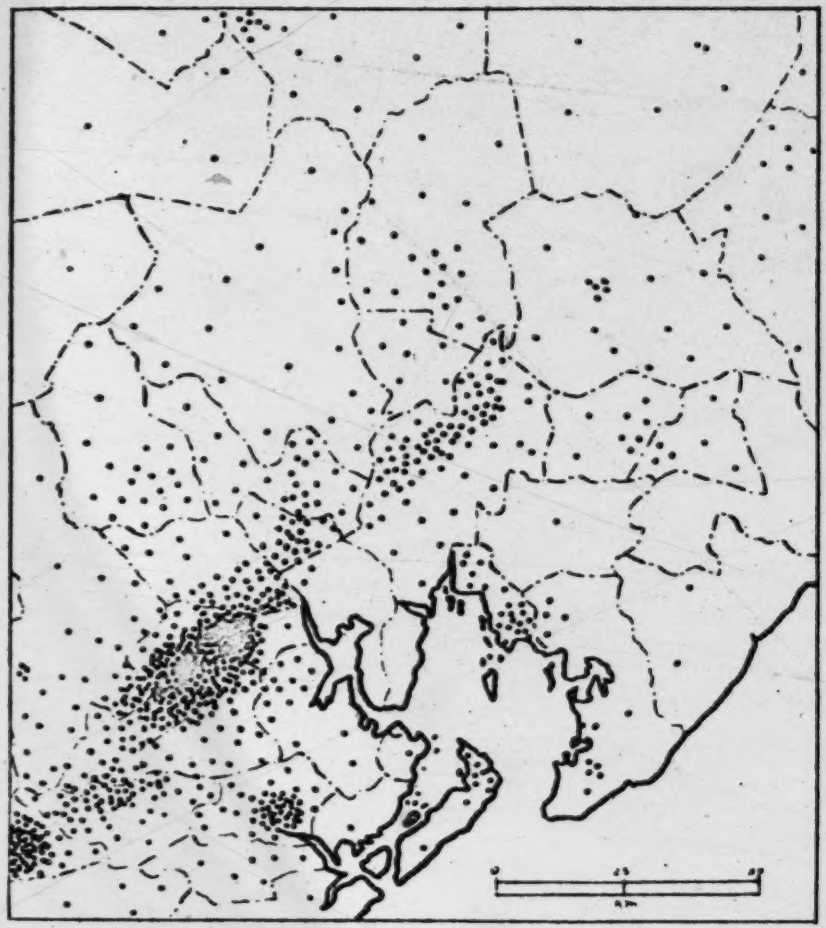

Each dot = 500 metric tons

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Manioc--1948

Source data modified from Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 24

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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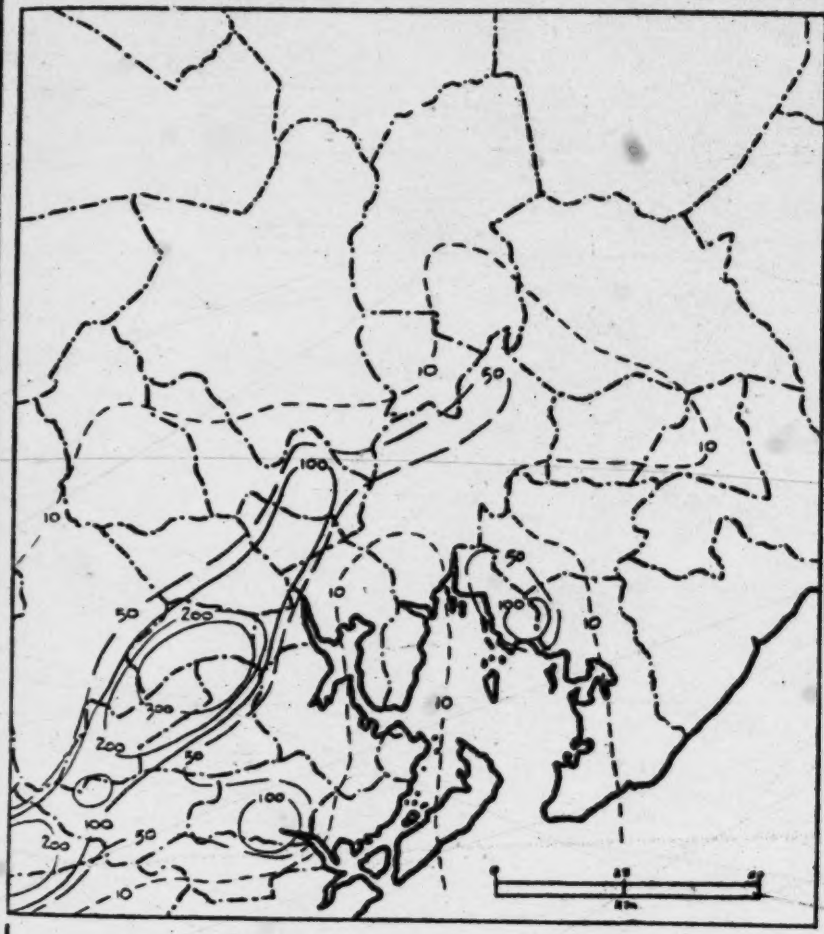

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Tons of Manioc per Square Kilometer of Total Area—1948

Source data modified from Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 25

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

244 manioc and produced 38 per cent of its 393,720 tons of harvested roots.
433 Within this sub-region manioc occupied up to 20 per cent of the total land
311 area, i.e., 20 hectares per square kilometer (Map 23). Despite the
[249] intensity of cultivation and the concentration of production, the crop is viewed by the people primarily as a means--subsistence--to an end--
[242] leaf tobacco production.[9] Manioc characteristically succeeds tobacco in the field and fallow rotation system and is used to extract the maximum possible value from such nutrients as remain in the soil.[10]

244 A close areal and functional relationship between the two crops
249 is characteristic also of the linear zone of manioc cultivation which follows the belt of Intermediate Hills and the inner edge of the Uplands from the Rio Paraguaçu--at Cachoeira--to Irará. Much the same relationship exists in Santo Estêvão in the extreme west of the Recôncavo, where manioc, and tobacco, cultivation is concentrated in a zone of low serras. Apparently tobacco cultivation has been fixed by the greater precipitation around these serras, and manioc is grown in association.

The major southwestern concentration of manioc is continued beyond the Recôncavo along a belt extending through Santo Antônio and into the "coffee zone."[11] The cluster of manioc around the cidade of Santo Antônio is circum-urban, but the principal functional association is with tobacco cultivation, rather than with the small urban market.
[443] On the other hand, the concentration of manioc production around the city of Nazaré reflects a dependency on the local urban market and probably on the market of Salvador. Minor concentrations of cultivation in northern Itaparica and around Salvador also are related primarily to the market of the capital city.

244 The relative place of manioc within the agricultural system, as
311 measured by the per cent of the total cropland which it occupies, varies widely within the Recôncavo (Map 26). The statistical extremes are

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 156

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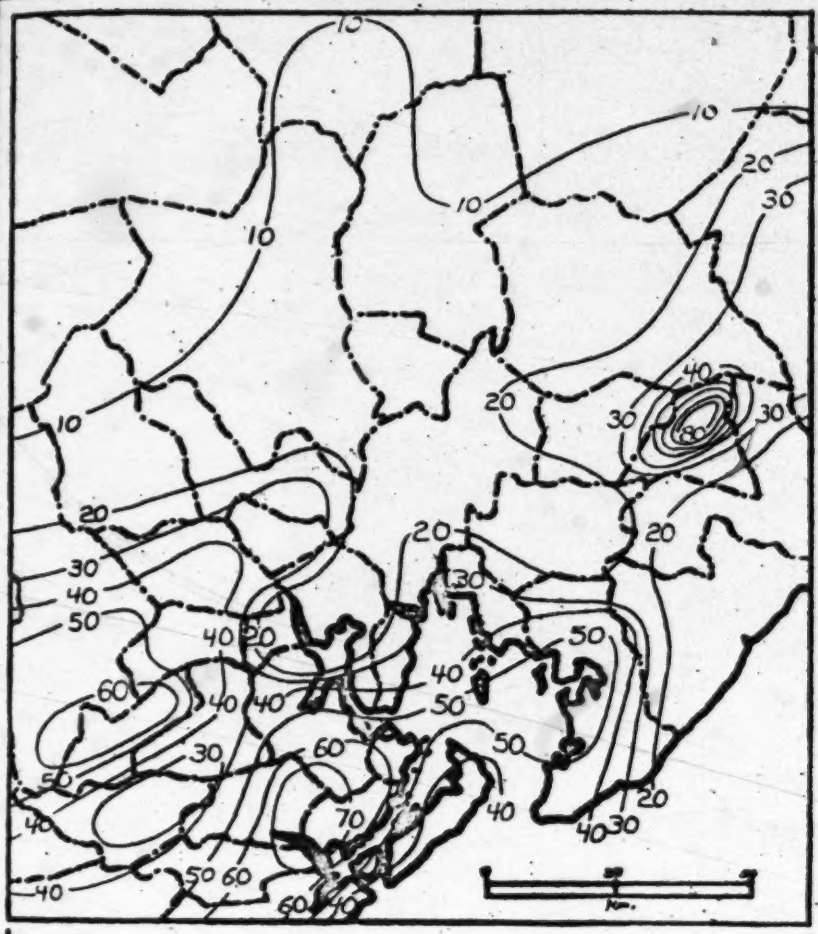

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of Cropland in Manioc--1948

Source data modified from Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 26

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

244 311 represented by two adjacent municípios of the Eastern and Central Recôncavo--Pojuca, where manioc occupied 81 per cent of the total cropland in 1948, and São Sebastião, where it occupied only 2 per cent. However, the significance of this contrast is diminished when it is seen that the total cropland of all crops in these municípios was only .8 per cent and 4.7 per cent, respectively, of the total land area. In those municípios where over 5 per cent of the land area was cultivated, the range was from 8 per cent of the cropland in manioc--Irará--to 60 per cent--Conceição do Almeida.

244 241 311 There are two major zones in which manioc has pre-empted the cropland, both of which are marginal to a belt of commercial production of tobacco, sugar cane, or coffee which follows the forest and scrub-forest transition from the coffee zone northward into the Southwester Recôncavo. This commercial crop belt is paralleled on the east by a zone of manioc cultivation in the forested areas back of the beach line--a zone which is a continuation of an extensive area of monocultural shifting cultivation of manioc centered farther south.[12] Around the city of Nazaré, which lies very near the southern limit of the Recôncavo, as much as 70 per cent of the cropland is in manioc. The cultivation of manioc is also important on the sandy forested zone west of the Bay as far north as the estuary of the Paraguaçu and on the opposite side of the Bay north of Salvador. On the west side of the commercial crop belt, in Laje, Santo Antônio, and the Southwestern Recôncavo, there is another zone in which manioc is the dominant crop. In the dry caatinga the areas of cultivation are concentrated around the low serras west of the Recôncavo. However, the manioc which occupied up to 60 per cent of the cultivated area along the western limit of Conceição do Almeida in 1948 was grown as a part of the tobacco-manioc system.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

244 311 From the latitude of the head of the Bay northward, manioc appears as a dominant crop only in the município of Pojuca. In the Central Recôncavo, around the perimeter of the sugar cane area, manioc generally occupied, in 1948, less than 30 per cent of the cropland. In the north, [243] along the borders of the Recôncavo, the share of manioc in the cropland dropped to 10 per cent, and it was replaced by corn and beans as the basis of the subsistence economy.

244 311 433 The yield of manioc in the areas of heavy production was relatively low--10 to 15 tons of roots per hectare--compared to the Central Recôncavo which produced small quantities at 30 tons per hectare (Map 27). These [134] differences in yield are related in part to the difference in soil fertility between the Cretaceous soils of the Central Recôncavo and the sandy loams of the Southwest. In addition, manioc is cultivated alone in the former zone, but follows the soil-taxing tobacco plant on the fields of the Southwest, thus further reducing the yield. The mean yield of manioc in the Recôncavo in 1948 was 14 tons per hectare, which is close to the 13 tons per hectare of Brazil and of the French Cameroons, but much higher than the 7 tons per hectare of Java and Madura.[13]

244 249 Manioc is, then, a crop characteristic of most parts of the Recôncavo and the surrounding zone, except in the sugar cane area and [242] the Tabular Uplands. The area of greatest concentration of cultivation and production is the Southwestern Recôncavo where manioc is integrated with tobacco production in a system of land rotation. In addition, as discussed above, manioc has the greatest relative importance of the crops of two zones in which the total area cultivated is small: the southwestern belt of forested lowland and the drier, scrub-forest Crystalline Uplands.

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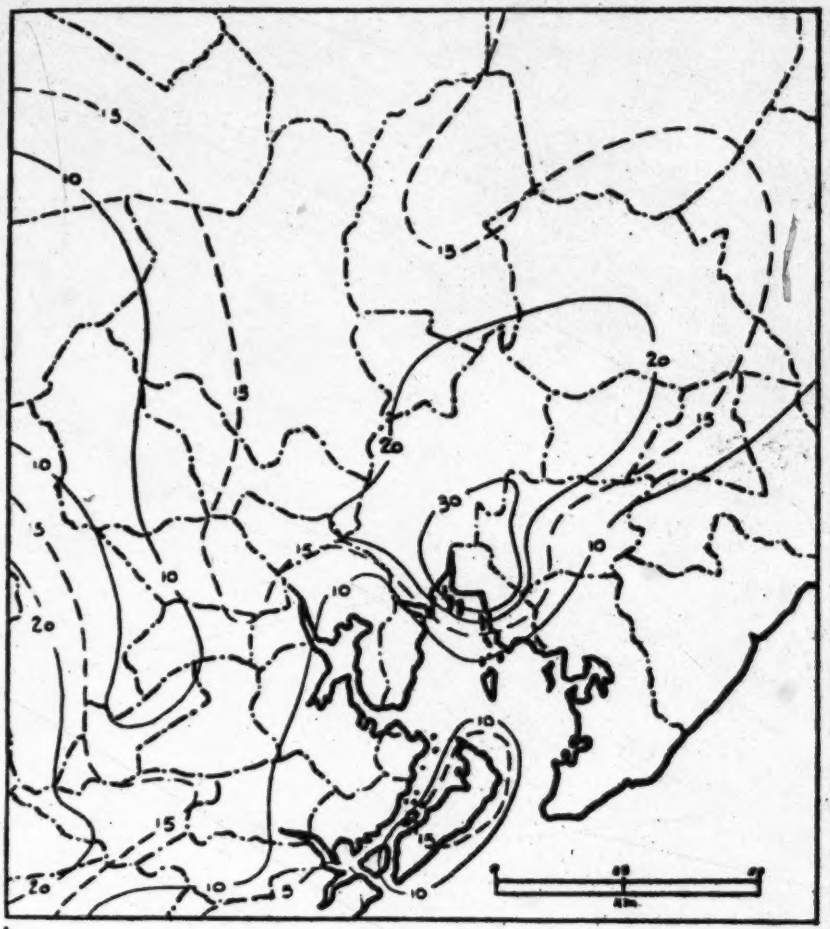

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Yield of Manioc--1948

Tons per Hectare

Source data modified from Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 27

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 Tobacco. Tobacco was originally cultivated in the Recôncavo as an adjunct to the sugar economy, but today it is the chief commercial product of the region. The state of Bahia, in which the Recôncavo plays so prominent a role, is the leading producer of tobacco in Brazil, though Minas Gerais and Rio Grande do Sul are almost as important in total quantity produced. However, the tobaccos of these states are not comparable, either in price or physical characteristics and ultimate utilization. Rio Grande do Sul specializes in cigarette tobacco, and Minas Gerais in rope tobacco, fumo em corda. In Bahia, and especially in the Recôncavo, the chief tobacco product is leaf, fumo em fôlha, which is used for cigars. In addition to the production in these centers, there is widespread small-scale cultivation of tobacco throughout the eastern half of Brazil, principally of fumo em corda for local consumption.

The tobacco of Bahia is a variety of Nicotiana tobacum, sold under the name of Bahia-Brasil. The original Bahia-Brasil apparently was borrowed from the local Indians or introduced from one of the other Brazilian settlements. From time to time other varieties, brought from Cuba, Sumatra, and the Connecticut Valley, have been introduced; but all have been submerged in the older native stock.

Both forms of tobacco--leaf and rope--are produced within the state of Bahia. The leaf tobacco, fumo em fôlha, is used for cigar filler and binder, and, in the cheaper grades of Brazilian cigars, for wrapper. The Bahia-Brasil leaf is reputed to have a distinctive aroma and is a preferred filler for certain types of European cigars. Its color is relatively dark, and because of the darkness and imperfections of the leaves, it is not used as wrapper in quality cigars. Havana, Sumatra, and Connecticut Valley leaf are imported in small quantities and used for wrapper in the more expensive grades of cigars produced in Brazil

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 Rope tobacco, fumo em corda, is a twist of sweetened, fermented tobacco of rope-like appearance which is smoked in pipes or in hand-made cigarettes or may be used as a chewing tobacco--however, the habit of chewing tobacco is not common in the Recôncavo. This type of tobacco originally was produced for exchange in the slave trade, but at the present time it is consumed almost exclusively by the rural lower class. The urban lower class, formerly also consumers of rope tobacco, are turning increasingly to manufactured cigarettes, which for the most part are made from the tobacco grown in Rio Grande do Sul.

In general the production of leaf tobacco in Brazil is restricted to the Recôncavo and adjacent sections of Bahia, but rope tobacco is a product of the sertão of Bahia and the northeastern interior and of Minas Gerais. In Bahia the moderate rainfall and the sandy soils of the humid edge of the crystalline zone, in areas of caatinga or mata vegetation, produce a relatively mild leaf. The best--most valuable--leaf of Bahia is the Mata grade of the Southwestern Recôncavo and certain adjacent municípios.[14] Of the Mata grade, the highest quality comes from Cruz das Almas. Rope tobacco is made primarily from the harsh, strong leaves grown in the sertão, but it is made also from leaves of poorer plants or very strong end-of-season leaves of plants originally harvested for fumo em fôlha. Thus the Recôncavo may sometimes produce small quantities of rope tobacco, but the main Bahian production is north of the Recôncavo in the agreste, especially in Inhambupe and Entre Rios.

The cultivation of tobacco will be discussed in the chapter on agricultural systems (Chapter VI), but one singular characteristic of its harvesting should be borne in mind in evaluating production statistics. In distinction to cultivation of quality tobacco in most other parts of the world, Bahia-Brasil is harvested repeatedly until

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 the plant will no longer produce marketable leaves. This is done by cutting the entire stalk just above the shoots and allowing the plant to re-grow. The cutting and harvesting are repeated several times, producing a large quantity of leaf, but the prolonged harvest has resulted in accelerated impoverishment of the soil.

249 311 433 In 1948 the Recôncavo planted almost 22,000 hectares of tobacco,[15] and harvested over 20,000 tons of leaf. Each of four Recôncavo municípios grew more than 2,000 hectares and harvested over 1,000 tons: Cruz das Almas, Conceição do Almeida, São Gonçalo, and Irará. Two outlying municípios—Alagoinhas and Santo Estêvão—cultivated 1,000 hectares or more. In addition, one município contiguous with the Recôncavo, Santo Antônio, had over 6,000 hectares of tobacco and harvested over 5,000 tons of leaf. In Bahia, this município was second only to Cruz das Almas in area and production of leaf tobacco.

The maps of area (Maps 28 and 29) and production (Maps 30 and 31) of tobacco indicate quite clearly the overwhelming importance of the Southwestern Reconcâvo and the adjacent northern part of Santo Antônio. This area resolves itself into two clusters (Table XIII). The most important of these is centered in Cruz das Almas and includes the adjacent parts of Conceição do Almeida, São Filipe, and Muritiba. In 1948 this cluster had about 10,000 hectares of tobacco—46 per cent of the Recôncavo tobacco area—and produced about 9,500 tons—48 per cent of the total crop. Because of the high quality of the leaf, the crop of this area was valued at almost 58 per cent of the total value of tobacco production in the Recôncavo.

The second most important cluster of leaf tobacco production in east-central Bahia is centered on the cidade of Santo Antônio and lies almost entirely outside of the Recôncavo. In 1948 the total area of tobacco in this cluster was about 6,500 hectares, and the total

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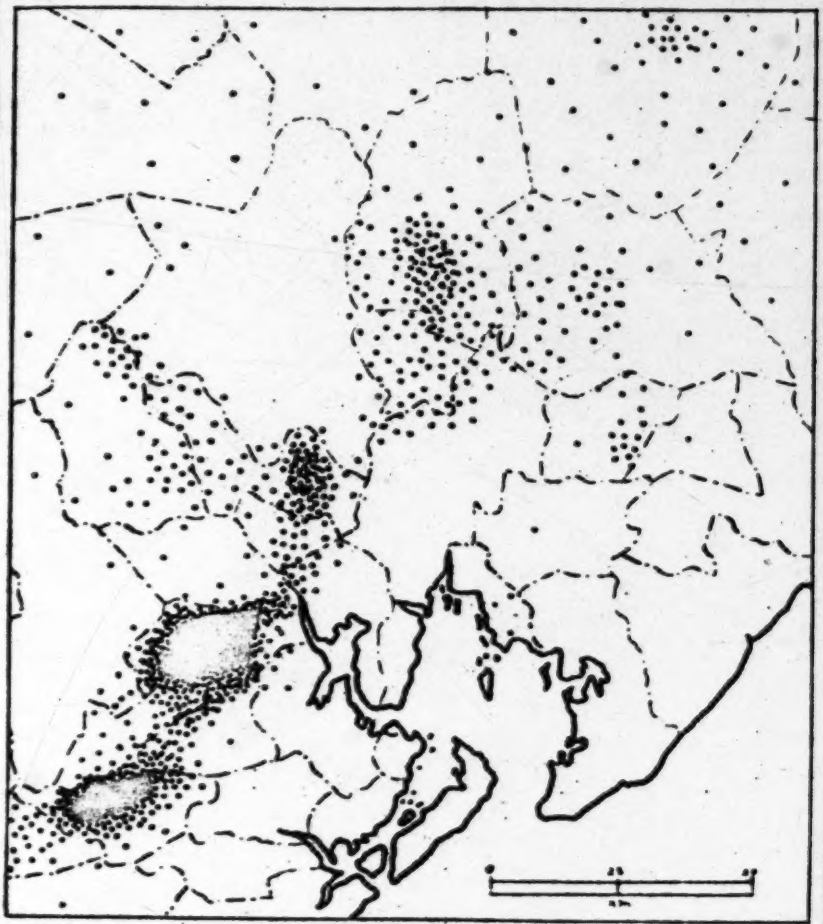

Each dot = 25 hectares

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Area in Tobacco—1948

Source of data: Producão Agrícola: 1948

MAP 2.8

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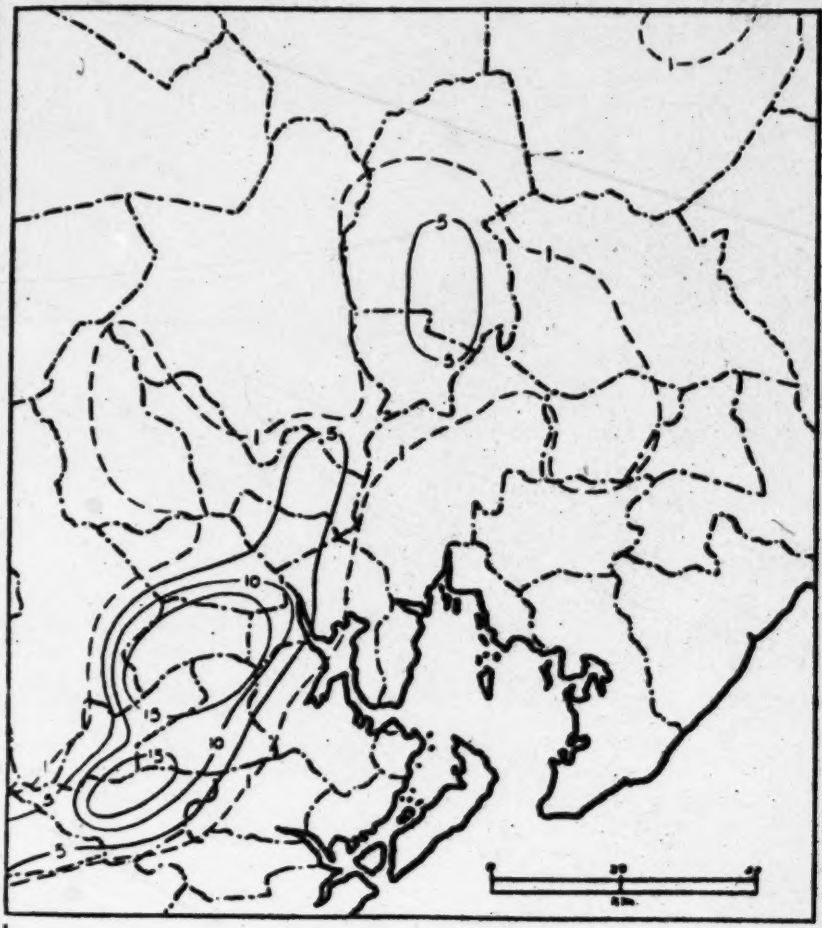

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Hectares of Tobacco per Square Kilometer of Total Area--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 29

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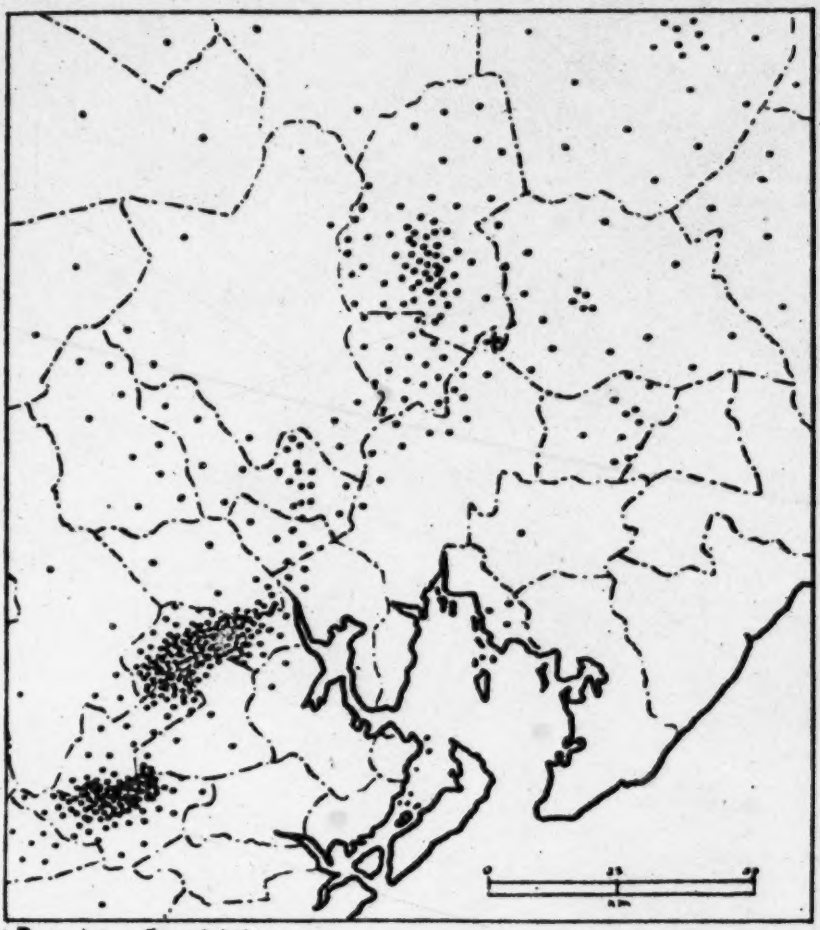

Each dot = 50,000 kilograms

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA -

Production of Tobacco--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 30

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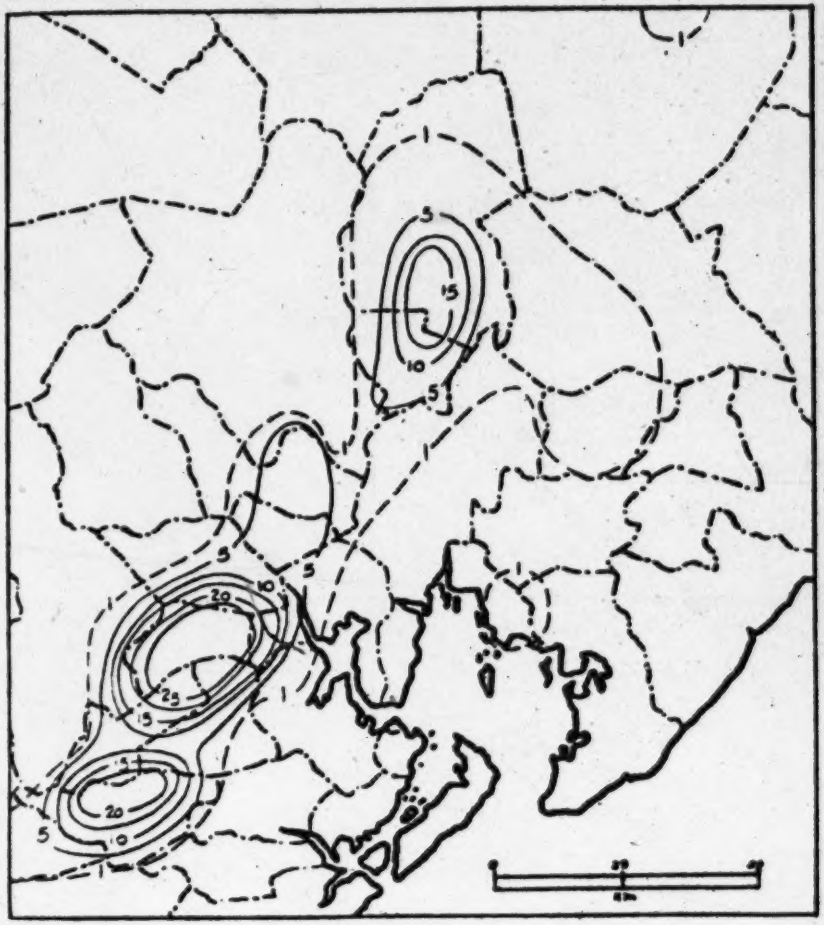

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Tons of Tobacco per Square Kilometer of Total Area—1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 31

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

TABLE XIII

PRINCIPAL CENTERS OF TOBACCO PRODUCTION
IN THE RECÔNCAVO AND IN BRAZIL IN 1948

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	Area (ha.)	Production (tons)
Southwestern Recôncavo:		
Cruz das Almas (all)	6,850	6,680
Conceição do Almeida (part)	2,000	2,000
São Filipe (part)	500	480
Muritiba (part)	810	500
Total	10,160	9,660
Santo Antônio:		
Santo Antônio (all)	6,200	5,250
Conceição do Almeida (part)	200	400
São Filipe (part)	190	190
Total	6,590	5,840
São Gonçalo (part)	2,000	900
Irará (part)*	2,500	3,000
Total - Principal Centers	21,250	19,400
Total - Recôncavo	21,886	20,191
Total - State of Bahia**	44,248	35,758
Total - State of Minas Gerais**	23,452	13,340
Total - Rio Grande do Sul***	40,236	44,495

*Irará produced a relatively large amount of tobacco for its area, but this was of a stronger and less valuable type of leaf tobacco ("Feira").

**Including a large quantity of rope tobacco--fumo em corda.

***Principally cigarette tobacco.

Source: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

production about 5,800 tons, so that it was somewhat over one-half as important as the Southwestern Recôncavo cluster discussed above.

Two lesser clusters centralize tobacco cultivation north of the Rio Paraguaçu. One is around the cidade of São Gonçalo, with about 2,000 hectares and 900 tons of tobacco in 1948. In the Northern Recôncavo, Irará was the center of a less compact concentration, with about 2,500 hectares and 3,000 tons of tobacco in 1948.

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249 In addition to these major and minor concentrations of production, there was scattered cultivation in most of the outer ring of municípios of the Recôncavo, especially in Catu, in Alagoinhas, and in Santo Estêvão and adjacent western São Gonçalo. On the other hand, tobacco cultivation was conspicuously absent in the Central and Southern Recôncavo.

249 311 In 1948 tobacco was grown on 27 per cent of the total cropland of the region. The zone of intensive tobacco production, as shown by the proportion of the cultivated land which it occupies, is clearly revealed on the accompanying map (Map 32). In a continuous belt, which follows the humid edges of the Uplands and adjacent Intermediate Hills from Santo Antônio to Catu, tobacco was grown on over 30 per cent of all cropland in 1948. There were extensive areas in which over half the cultivated land was in tobacco—a remarkable showing for a non-food commercial crop grown on a small scale by semi-subsistence cultivators.

The gradients which separate the belt of intensive tobacco production from the Bay littoral and from the Central Recôncavo are very steep. On the other hand, the inland transition from intensive tobacco production to the scattered cultivation of the dry caatinga is very gradual. In the lowlands tobacco almost everywhere occupied less than 10 per cent of the cultivated area in 1948; in the caatinga to the west it was grown on 10 to 20 per cent of the total cropland.

249 134 132 There is a basic association between tobacco cultivation and the Crystalline and Tabular Upland; production is concentrated along the wetter, inner edge of these formations, in a zone which closely corresponds to the forest and scrub forest boundary. Tobacco is practically excluded from the humid Coastal Plain and littoral sections of the Intermediate Hills. It might be assumed that the location of tobacco is a result of the monopolization of the humid, clay-soil Coastal Plain

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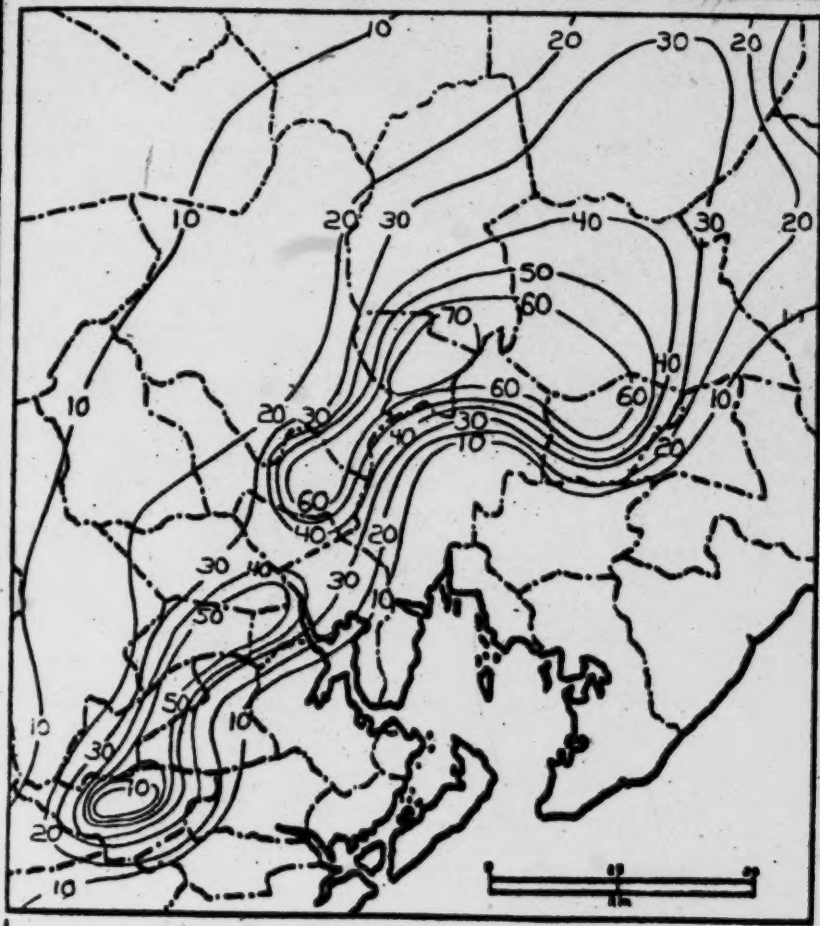

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of Cropland in Tobacco—1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 32

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 134 132 by sugar or other commercial crops, but this does not appear to be the case. There are a few patches of tobacco in the garden plots of sugar cane workers, but the small quantity of tobacco produced in the Central Recôncavo is rank and harsh, despite cultivation practices almost identical with the high-quality areas. Apparently high grade leaf production is excluded by the climate-soil complex of this zone.

Local agronomists and cultivators familiar with tobacco cultivation insist that such areas as Cruz das Almas and São Gonçalo are optimum for tobacco, and certainly the leaf of these areas brings the best price. It is said that the best tobacco in these areas is produced on the "poor" soils of the upland surfaces--leached sandy loams. In the Southwestern Recôncavo the "better" soils--that is, heavier soils found on the slopes and bottomlands--are not used for tobacco, although they produce good yields of corn, beans, or manioc. Precipitation is also a very important locational factor, both indirectly, as an agent in soil formation, and directly, as a source of moisture for the plants. Too little moisture will produce a gummy tobacco which is very difficult to cure. Too much moisture, a rarity in these areas, produces a washed-out, insipid leaf.

A comparison of the maps of tobacco types[16] (Map 138) and of soils (Map 6) and precipitation (Maps 7 and 8) indicates quite clearly that the best grade of tobacco--"Mata"--is grown on the most humid section of the zone of crystalline soils, i.e, the Southwestern Recôncavo and Santo Antônio. This is also, of course, the area of most intensive production. In general this same combination of physical elements is characteristic of the smaller "Mata" area around São Gonçalo.

The second most valuable grade of tobacco, "Caatinga," is grown west of the Southwestern Recôncavo and, within the Recôncavo, in

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 134 132 Santo Estêvão. The third grade—"Feira"—is grown on the humid edge of the sandy Tertiary uplands. This suggests that it is soil which is the immediate control of quality, although precipitation is the over-all factor. Although the southern part of the zone of Tertiary soils is more humid than the crystalline zone peripheral to the Recôncavo, the tobacco of the former--"Feira"—is less valuable than the "Caatinga" grade of the latter. The drier Tertiary zone produces only fumo em corda but the even drier crystalline zone, stretching west to the Chapada Diamantina, manages to produce the cheap but salable "Sertão" leaf. Thus in every case the crystalline soils, with equal or even less precipitation than the Tertiary zone, produce a better grade of leaf tobacco.

249 433 In 1948 the yields of the main zones of tobacco cultivation were from 750 to 1,000 kilograms per hectare (Map 33). Yields were higher in the Central Recôncavo, where there is only trivial production of low quality leaf. Yields were also higher in isolated sections of the "Sertão" and "Caatinga" grade zones to the west.[17] The mean yield of the Recôncavo, 840 kilograms per hectare, was slightly above the 808 kilograms per hectare of the state of Bahia as a whole. This yield compares very favorably with the yield of Cuba, 640 kilograms per hectare, and Indonesia, 530 to 650 kilograms per hectare on Estates, but is lower than that of Mexico, 1,010, Canada, 1,360, or the United States, 1,400.[18]

[241] The production of most of the chief crops of the Recôncavo is somewhat stabilized by steady demand for food--in the case of manioc, corn, and beans—or by government control—in the case of sugar cane. In contrast, tobacco is a highly speculative and mobile crop. It is produced primarily by small cultivators in anticipation of a combination

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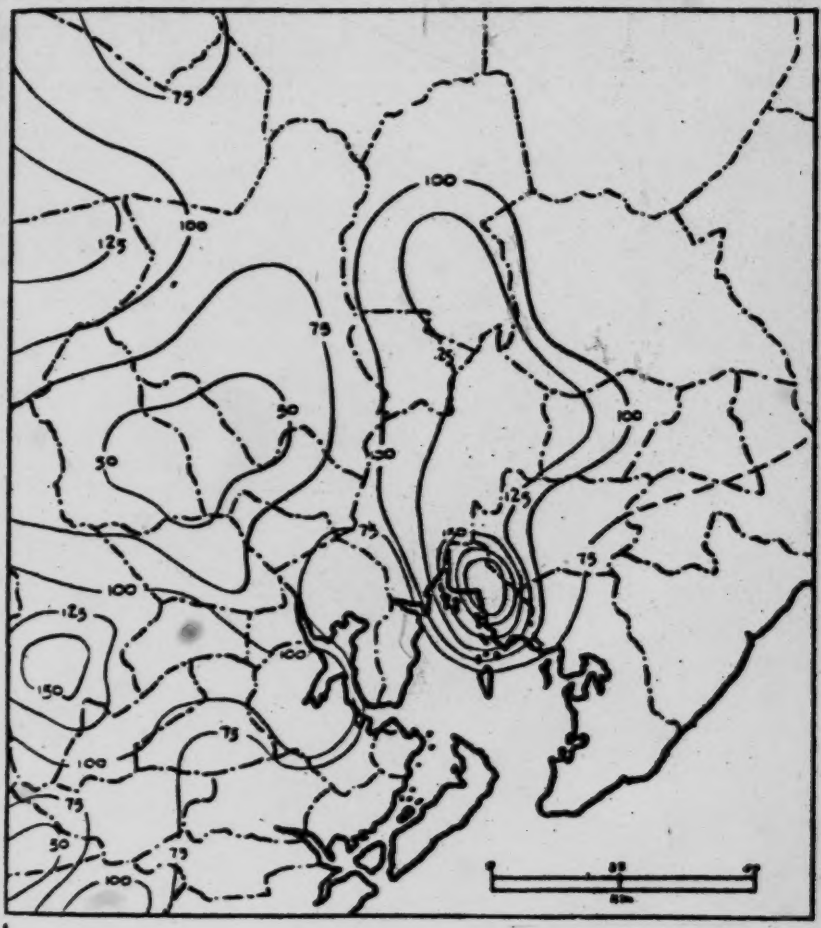

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Yield of Tobacco--1948

Tons of Kilograms per Hectare

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 33

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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of high yield and high prices. Lack of capital or, as a result of a low price during the preceding year, lack of incentive may cause planted area to fall very low. Optimism generated by the high price of the preceding year or a relatively favorable source of credit may cause planted area to be increased very strongly. Thus the curve of planted area plunges up and down, usually lagging a year or so behind prices, as the small cultivator and his creditor, the merchant-tobacco buyer, vainly pursue a "killing."[19]

Planted area is not the only major variable involved in tobacco cultivation. Tobacco, in distinction to sugar cane, is grown along the drier margins of the Recôncavo on "poor" or porous soils. The variations of precipitation during both the growing and the curing season, in combination with the irregularities of cultivation, have resulted in an ever-changing level of production. In addition, tobacco production like many speculative enterprises—and this is very characteristic of Brasil—is highly mobile. During the decade 1942 to 1951 the production of some municípios waxed and waned, while others burst like novas into large scale cultivation and then rapidly faded away.[20]

In the decade 1942 to 1951 the production in Cruz das Almas rose steadily to a peak in 1946 and then fell away to one-quarter of the maximum. Santo Antônio grew more rapidly, reached its peak in the same year, and then slowly declined to 50 per cent of the peak. Conceição do Almeida entered the decade strong, slumped in 1946, and then stabilized at the old level of production. São Gonçalo was stabilized from 1941 to 1946, dropped 90 per cent in 1947, and then rose slowly throughout the rest of the decade. In Irará the peak was 1944, the slump 1950. During this period the production of the state as a whole rose slowly to a 1945 maximum and fell gradually until 1951. It

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 433 is apparent that the production of the Southwestern Recôncavo and of Santo Antônio, the pre-eminent concentrations, fell away as a result of a drop in prices which began in 1947 and continued through the end of the decade. As high quality and high-cost producers, these areas were particularly hard hit by the falling price. On the other hand, Irará grows a cheaper leaf, at a lower production cost, and apparently survived the worst effects of the cut in price. The production in this município declined more slowly and then, in 1950, fell sharply as a result of the sêca (drought) which began in that year.

A comparison of the data for a longer period indicates that although production of the state of Bahia in 1946-1950 was about equal to that of 1931-1936, the cultivated area rose by about 25 per cent. Yields fell steadily during this period; the 900 to 1,000 kilograms per hectare of the early 30's had declined to 750 to 850 kilograms per hectare in the late 40's. The decline in yield, if not centered in the Recôncavo, was at least characteristic of the development of the region. The basic factor in the falling yields almost certainly was the exhaustion of the soil. In addition, manure, always costly, became increasingly expensive and scarce. Tobacco, as has been indicated, is 249 244 433 grown in conjunction with manioc under a land rotation system. The increasing demand for subsistence crops, particularly manioc, for the expanding population has put a continuously greater strain on the soil. [231] At the same time, the expansion of the cultivated area has driven out most of the livestock enterprises, increasing the cost of manure and putting it beyond the reach of many cultivators. As yields began to fall it became necessary to increase the planted area in tobacco and in subsistence crops to compensate the loss. Year by year the fallow period has been progressively shortened as the tobacco-manioc system

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 244 433 has made increasingly greater demands upon the land, at least during the decades between 1930 and 1950. In some areas, such as Cruz das Almas, the mean fallow period seems to have been reduced to a minimum of one or two years during the late 1940's. As the result of these developments, the *município* seems to be faced with the necessity of either a decrease in production or a radical reorganization of the system of cultivation.[21]

249 241 433 However, tobacco is to Cruz das Almas or São Gonçalo what sugar cane is to the Central Recôncavo—a way of life. Agriculture without tobacco is both economically and culturally distressing to the cultivator of the Southwestern Recôncavo. Unlike the sugar cane planter, the agri- [178] culturalists of the tobacco zone cultivate crops other than the chief commercial product, but as a cash crop they are very reluctant to accept any substitute. Habit is a very great force in the agriculture of all parts of the Recôncavo.

249 433 A result of the traditional and speculative orientation of the people of the tobacco zone is the extreme importance of tobacco—a commercial non-food crop—throughout the zone. In 1948, six *municípios* of the Recôncavo cultivated more tobacco than any other crop, and in five others it was second in importance. In only two *municípios*, Itaparica and Salvador, was it lower than fourth in area occupied.

243 433 *Corn*. Traditionally corn (*milho*) is a crop of the *caatinga* (scrub forest), and its greatest relative dominance is found just northwest of the Recôncavo in the *município* of Serrinha. It is, however, grown on a small scale throughout the Recôncavo, and there are at least two areas of intensive production. Corn is overshadowed by other crops, particularly manioc, tobacco, and sugar cane, in all parts of the Recôncavo except the North and the Northwest.

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B BB 243 311 433 Like manioc and tobacco, corn is an indigenous crop which was borrowed from the Indians in the early phases of European settlement and which became a basic subsistence crop in Brazil. Its cultivation, like manioc, is a characteristic feature of the agricultural landscape over an extensive coastal belt from the Amazon to Rio Grande do Sul and, unlike manioc, beyond into northern Argentina. In Brazil, corn is cultivated on more land than any other crop, and in most states it is either the second or third crop in value. In the Recôncavo it is the fourth ranking crop in area of cultivation, but only the seventh in the total value of production. The cultivation of corn is very closely BB [244] associated, areally and functionally, with beans--"succatosh" is a common crop combination in the Northwestern Recôncavo and the adjoining region.[22]

BB 243 433 Corn also resembles manioc in the purpose of cultivation; it is primarily a subsistence crop for local consumption, but there are surplus producing areas with a rudimentary commercial corn economy. In those areas of the Recôncavo where corn is produced in small quantities, it is almost exclusively a minor subsistence crop which is eaten by the cultivator and his family, though a few ears or a small sack of shelled corn may be sold in the market for local consumption. Such semi-subsistence producers are usually small-scale farmers, squatters, or share-croppers. In the Northern and Northwestern Recôncavo, where cultivation of corn is more intensive, there are occasional large-scale corn growers, but the bulk of the area and production in this zone be- BB [438] longs to small operators. Even these small producers usually sell their corn at the market—it is exchanged for the cheaper farinha de BB [262] mandioca. In the Recôncavo corn is used exclusively as a human food, and there is no corn-livestock complex.

BB 243 311 433 Only three municípios of the Recôncavo, all very large, had over 500 hectares of corn in 1948 or produced over 500 tons of shelled corn.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

243 311 433 The Recôncavo as a whole had 9,679 hectares of corn, with a production of 10,283 tons. Of this, 87 per cent of the area and 84 per cent of the production was in Santo Estêvão, Feira de Santana, and Irará (Maps 34, 35, and 36). The area and production of the Recôncavo were about the same as for one adjacent município, Serrinha, which had 8,500 hectares and 11,590 tons of corn in 1948.

243 311 Most of the corn grown and produced in the Recôncavo comes from two compact concentrations, one around the cidade of Irará; the other around the cidade of Santo Estêvão. Elsewhere in the Recôncavo it is grown either on very widely scattered plots or as a "garden" crop.[23]

The concentration of corn production is the result of several physical and economic factors. It is cultivated on the dry margins of the Recôncavo, where only a few restricted areas can produce a crop. 243 [438] [489] Though a commercial product of moderate value, its weight- or bulk-price relationship is not highly favorable to long transportation to market--in contrast to tobacco, which tends to attach itself to even the smallest and most remote semi-subsistence plot, and in contrast to beef, [491] which in Bahia is moved to market on the hoof. The concentration around Santo Estêvão, which is on the main trunk highway to Feira de Santana, is favorable for the transportation of the crop, and the Irará concentration is linked to Feira by a generally passable road. [251] In the more humid parts of the Recôncavo, corn is restricted not only by its poor competitive position vis-à-vis sugar cane or tobacco, but also by its harvest requirements; it must be harvested and stored in the proper season, while manioc may be harvested as it is needed, a great advantage for a subsistence crop.

243 311 433 Corn, although the second most important subsistence crop of the Recôncavo, occupied in 1948 only 12 per cent of the total cropland.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 182]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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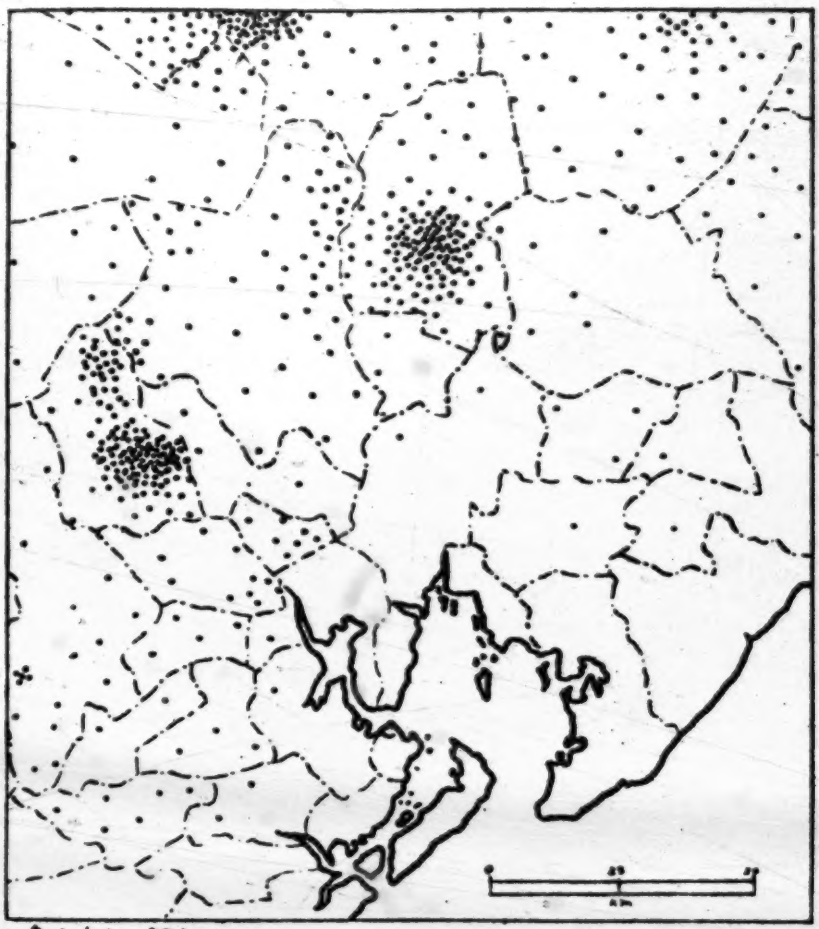

Each dot = 25 hectares

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Area in Corn--1968

Source of data: Produção Agrícola; 1968.

MAP 34

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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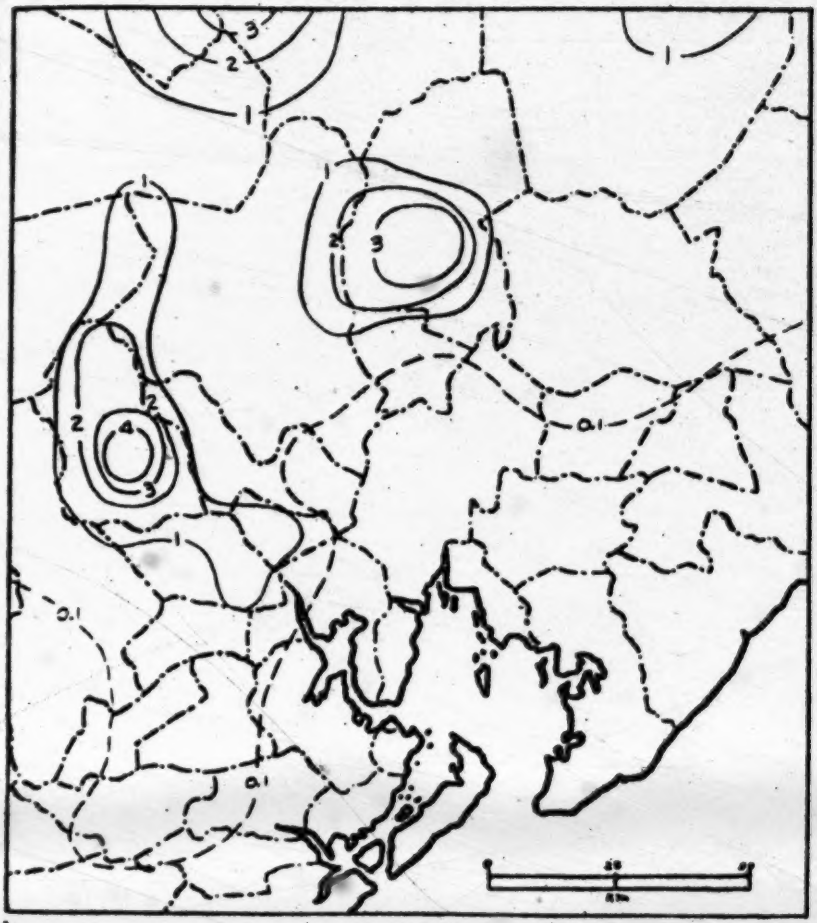

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Hectares of Corn per Square Kilometer of Total Area—1948

Source of data Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 35

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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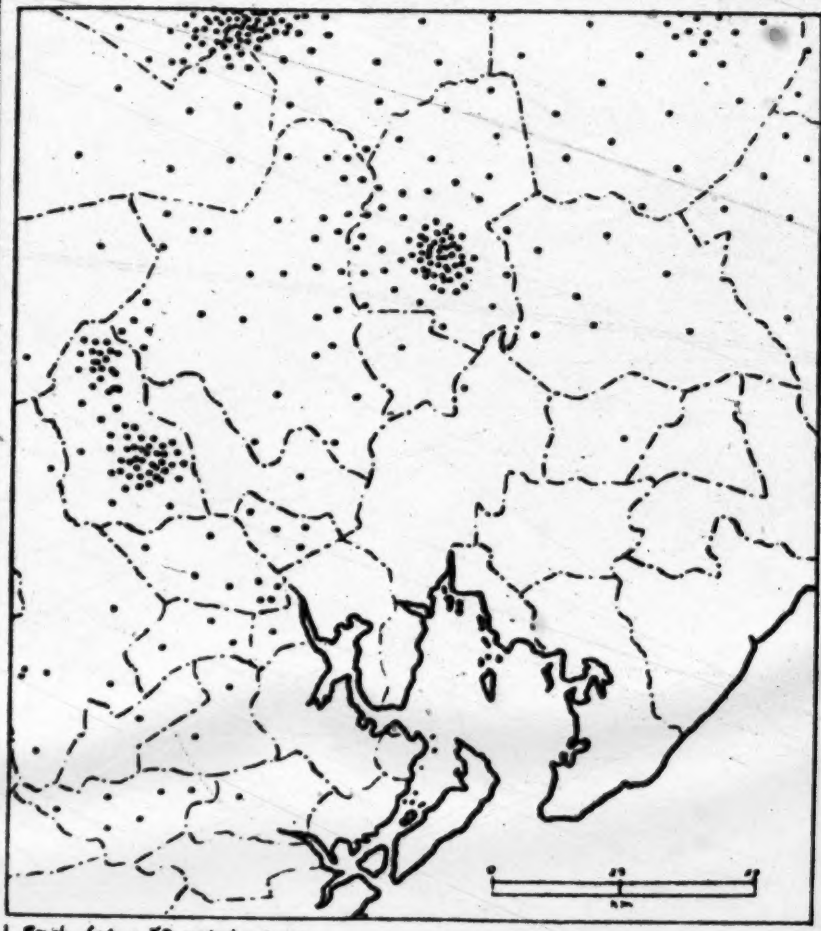

Each dot = 50 metric tons

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Corn--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 36

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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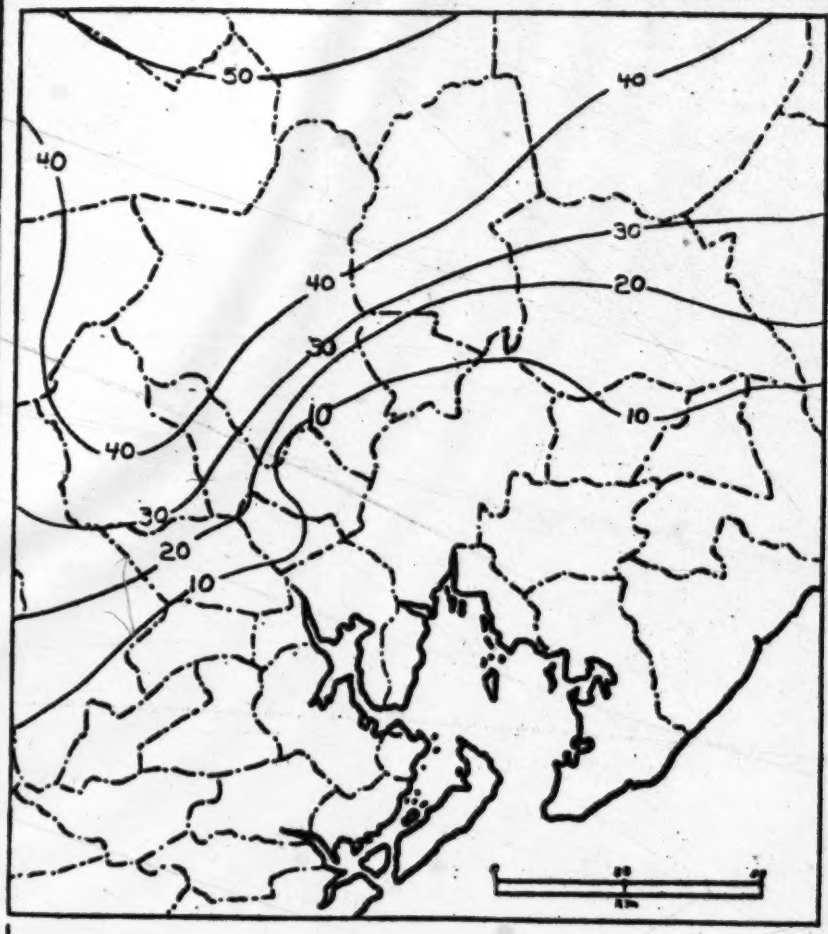

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of Cropland in Corn--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 37

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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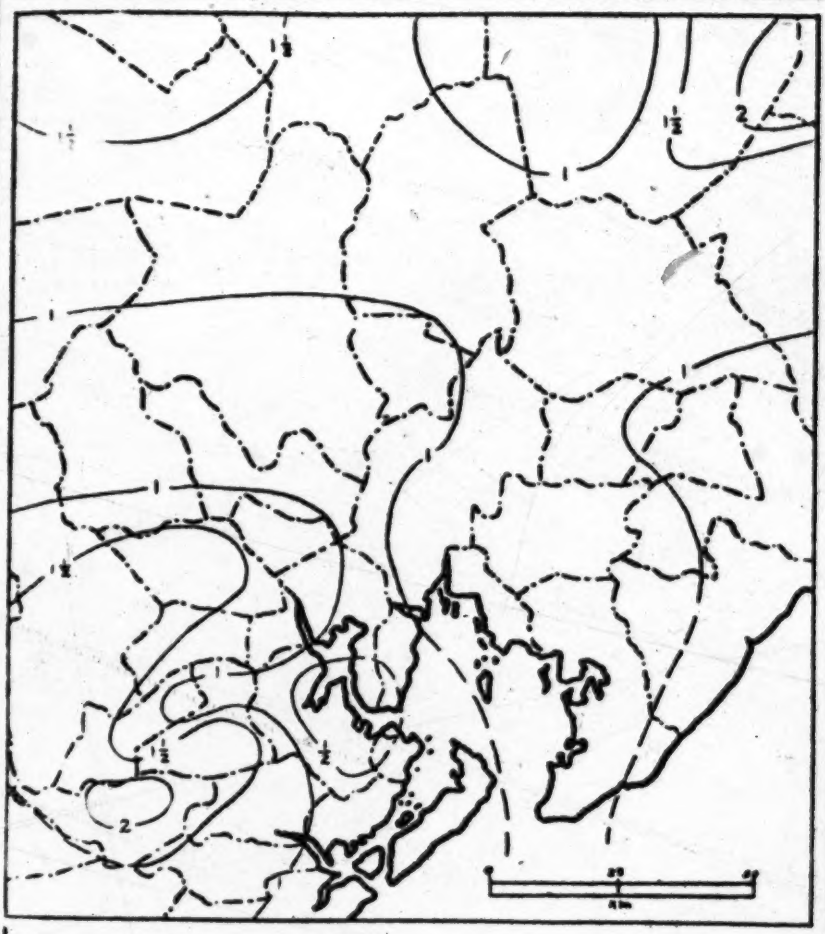

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Yield of Corn--1948

Tons per Hectare

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 38

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

243 311 It is primarily a crop of the sertão of northeastern Bahia, but it has intruded upon the northern and western perimeter of the Recôncavo (Map 37). In three municípios--Irará, Feira de Santana, and Santo Estêvão--corn is the most extensively cultivated crop. Conversely, it is rarely seen in the humid lowlands and in the Southwestern Recôncavo. In these areas it is found only in very small, widely scattered plantings.

243 433 The mean yield of corn in the Recôncavo was 1.09 tons per hectare, compared to 1.27 for Brazil, 2.46 for the United States, 1.0 for the Belgian Congo, and .81 for Java and Madura. The accompanying map of corn yields shows a somewhat random pattern within the Recôncavo, since the total area and production were very small and local circumstances of cultivation highly variable (Map 38). However, the area of main production northwest of the Recôncavo had a relatively high yield—over 243 244 1.5 tons per hectare. In this area, corn, with beans, pre-empts the areas with the most productive soils and the greatest precipitation.

244 Beans. Feijão, or the common field bean (Phaseolus vulgaris), like manioc, tobacco, and corn, is an indigenous domesticate which became an important subsistence crop during the colonial period. Like corn, beans are more specifically associated with the dry sertão than with the Recôncavo. Most of the beans grown in Bahia are the black [262] [252] variety, feijão preto; the beans are dried and used with charque (dried beef) in a soup which is one of the basic subsistence foods of the Northeast. Beans of this and other similar varieties of the same species are grown throughout Brazil.

244 433 In area and in quantity of production, beans are slightly less important than corn in the Recôncavo, but the value of the bean crop is almost double that of corn. The patterns of distribution of these two crops are almost identical, and the physical and cultural factors

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

244 433 [311] involved are very similar (Maps 39, 40, and 41). In 1948 beans occupied 9 per cent of the total cropland of the Recôncavo. While the area of the greatest dominance of corn lies north of the Recôncavo, beans had the greatest relative importance in the west, in the município of Ipirá (Map 42). The reason for this minor difference in concentration is not apparent.

244 311 433 The yield pattern as revealed by the 1948 data is very distinctiv (Map 43). Relatively high yields were closely associated with the fores and scrub-forest transition from Santo Antônio in the south to Irará in the north, where, however, less than 10 per cent of the cropland was in beans. In Muritiba, Castro Alves, and Santo Antônio, where joint corn-bean cultivation is not always the rule, yields of both plants were high. In the Northern and Northwestern Recôncavo the yield pattern of the two crops, which are usually intercropped in this area, were very different. No explanation for these differences was found. The mean yield of beans in the Recôncavo in 1948 was 988 kilograms per hectare, higher than the 690 kilograms per hectare of Brazil, the 540 kilograms per hectare of French Equatorial Africa, or the 200 kilograms per hectare of India, but much lower than the 1,220 kilograms per hectare yield in the United States.

249 Sugar Cane. Much of the history and a good deal of the cultural geography of the Recôncavo could be written in terms of sugar cane [433] [178] cultivation. The colony of Bahia was organized around the cultivation of cane, and sugar was the mainstay of the colonial commercial economy until the last half of the nineteenth century. During the colonial period the cultivation of sugar cane acquired a prestige which it has never lost, despite the fact that it is no longer the most valuable nor, it seems likely, the most profitable crop of the Recôncavo.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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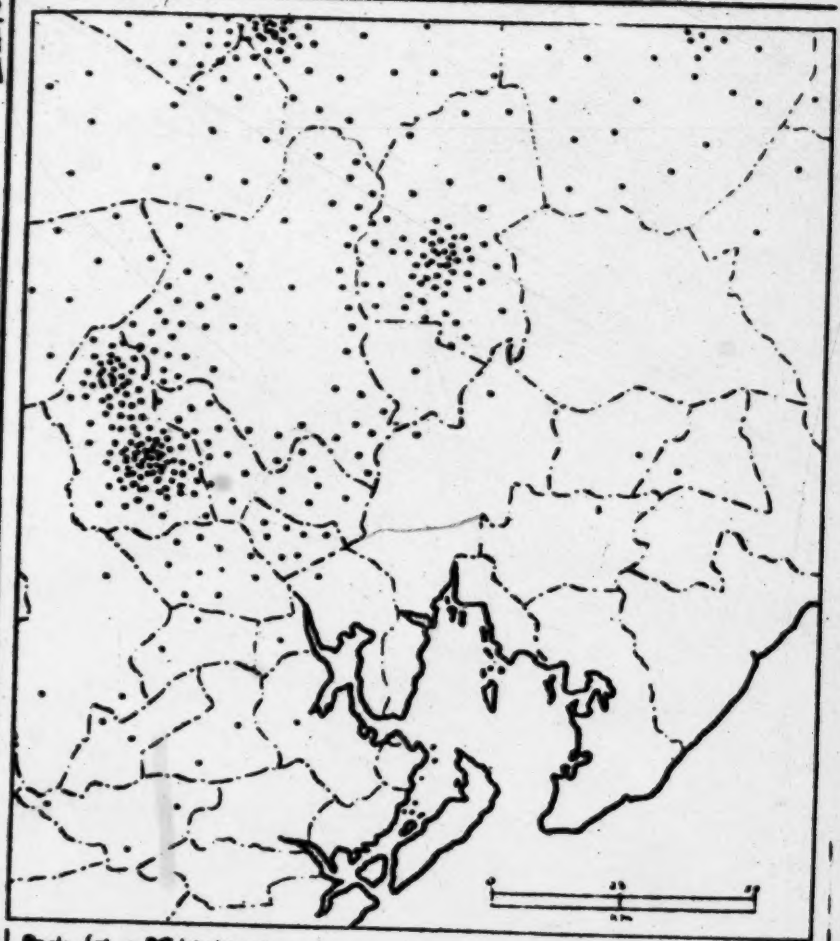

Each dot - 25 hectares

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Area in Beans--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 39

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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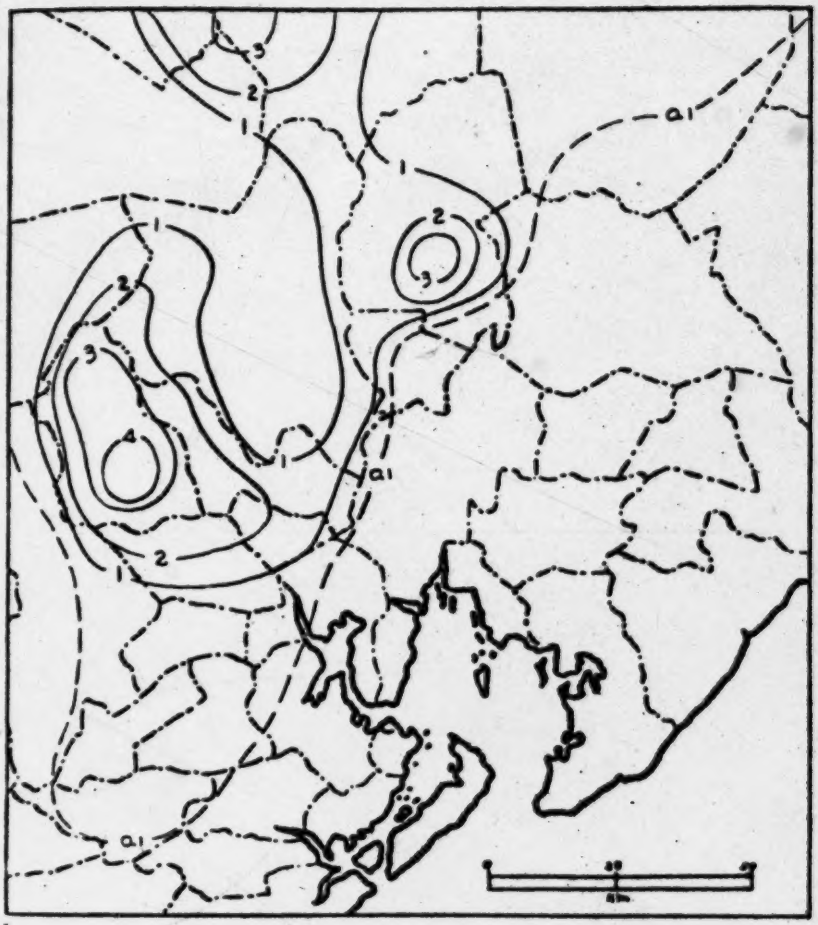

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Hectares of Beans per Square Kilometer of Total Area—1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 40

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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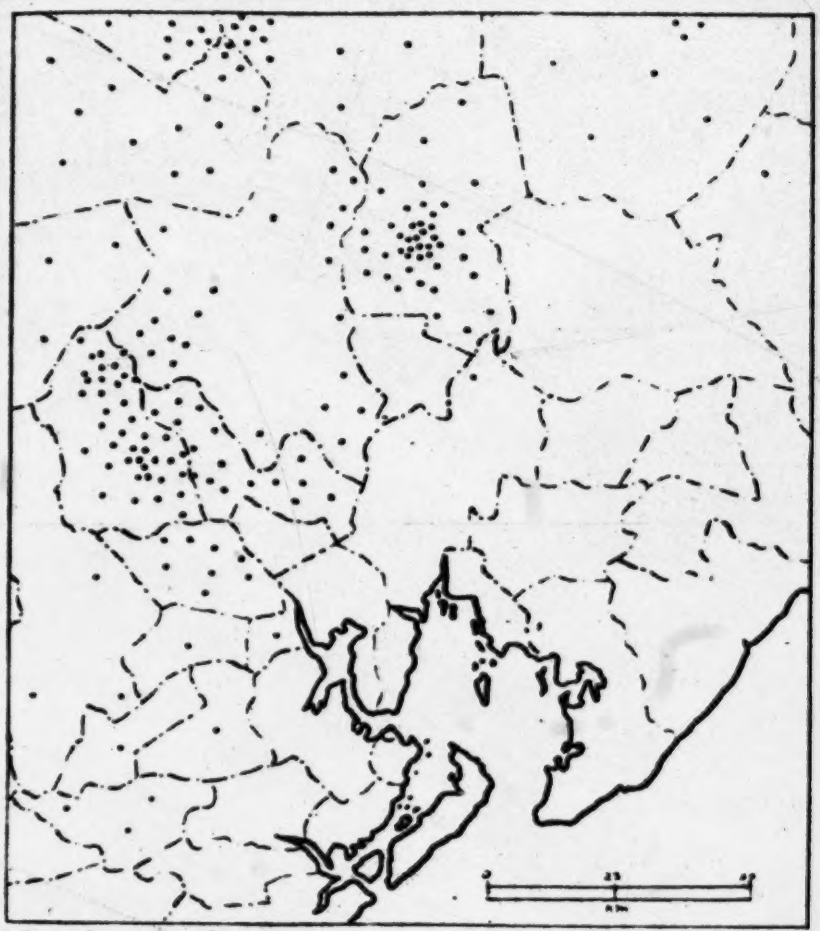

Each dot - 50,000 kilograms

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Beans--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 41

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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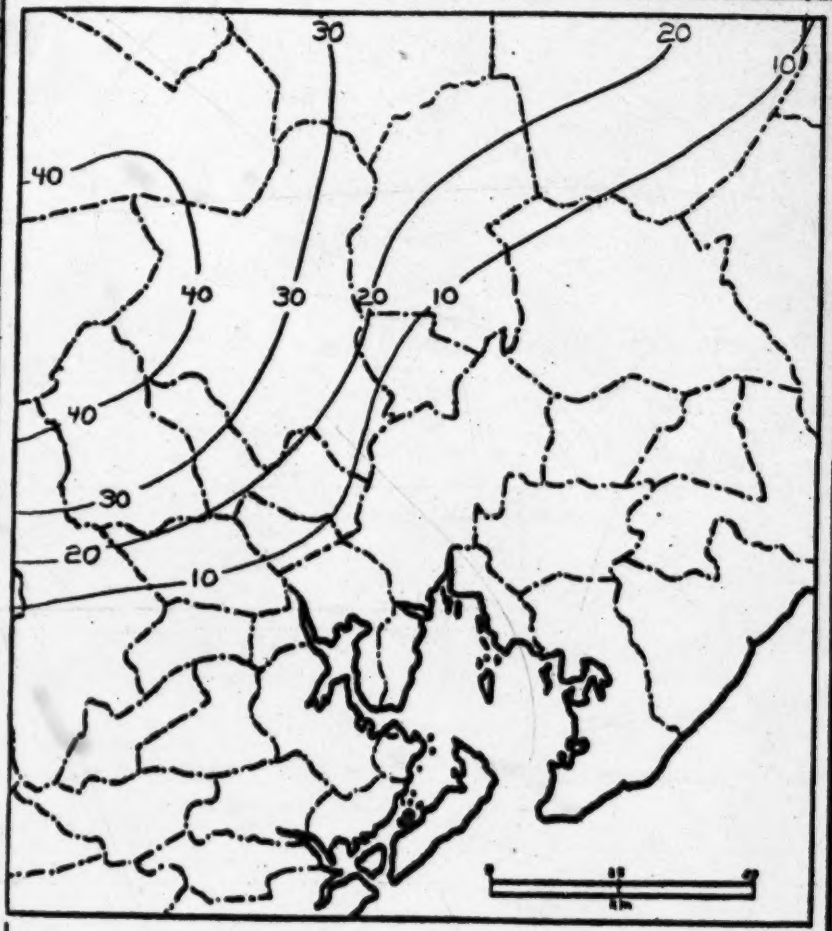

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of Cropland in Beans--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 42

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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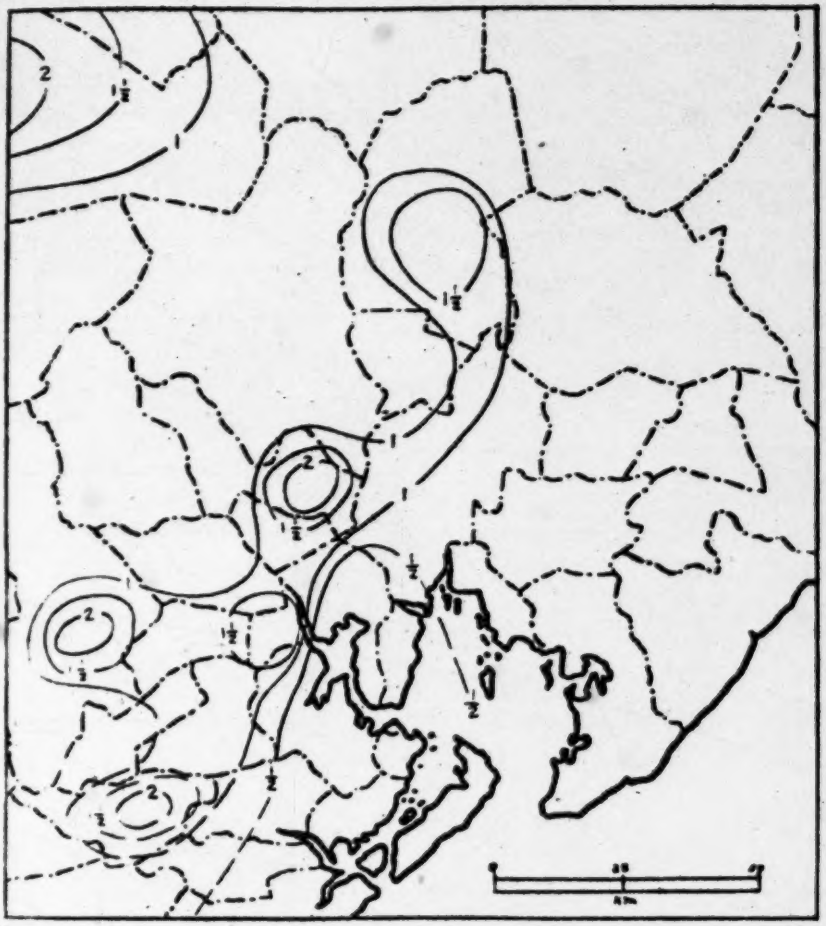

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Yield of Beans--1948

Tons per Hectare

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 43

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1

B 249 433 Sugar cane is the fifth or sixth--depending upon the year--most valuable crop grown in Brazil, and it is cultivated, at least on a small scale, in all states of the country. Large scale commercial production, however, is confined to two areas--the Central-South (São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Minas Gerais) and the Northeast (Paraíba, Pernambuco, Alagoas, and Bahia). Each of these states produced over one million tons of cane in 1948.

B BB 249 175 177 In distinction to the principal subsistence crops of the Recôncavo, sugar cane is an old world domesticate. The variety acquired by the Portuguese from the Arabs in North Africa and brought to the colony via the Madeira Islands was the sole type cultivated during most of the colonial period, but today a number of varieties of East or West Indian origin are grown.

BB 249 Sugar cane is differentiated from other crops of the Recôncavo by the intensive monocultural character of its production. Tobacco and manioc and corn and beans are grown jointly, but sugar cane shares the land with no other crop. North of the cidade of Santo Amaro there is BB [134] [133] an extensive area of clay soils and undulating plain almost completely blanketed in bright green sugar cane. The monochrome is interrupted only by a few pastured valley bottoms or by the widely scattered usinas (sugar mills), plantation settlements, and villages. There are similar, though less extensive landscapes wherever sugar cane is important in other parts of the Recôncavo.

The system of cultivation of sugar cane is also very different from those employed in producing other crops in the Recôncavo. One planting is sufficient for several reasons, for the stalk re-develops from the root after the plant is harvested, though with progressively declining vigor. In Bahia, three, four, or five harvests from the

249 same planting are common--then the field is rested for a year and replanted to cane.[24]

249 311 Sugar cane is encountered in all parts of the Recôncavo, but it is produced commercially only in three very restricted and closely defined areas. Of the 11,695 hectares of sugar cane in the Recôncavo in 1948, over 6,000 hectares were in Santo Amaro and 650 hectares and 2,400 hectares, respectively, in adjacent São Francisco and São Sebastião (Map 44). The remaining one-third of the total sugar cane area was largely in São Filipe, 650 hectares, and Cachoeira, 530 hectares. The association between sugar cane cultivation and the Cretaceous soils is [134] very close. Within the Central Recôncavo, cane is grown only on the Cretaceous massapê, salão, and areia soils; although there are occasional outliers of Tertiary sands, no cane was observed on these soils in the course of field investigation. Cane cultivation in São Filipe is associated with similar heavy soils--the so-called crystalline massapê. [433] In 1948 the Recôncavo produced 670,626 tons of cane, 39 per cent of the total of the state, but only 2 per cent of Brazil's production. Eighty-two per cent of the cane of the Recôncavo was produced in the Central Recôncavo sugar cane zone of Santo Amaro, São Francisco, and São Sebastião (Map 45).

Because sugar cane cultivation is so highly concentrated, the mean value of 15 per cent of the total cropland of the Recôncavo in sugar cane is somewhat misleading. What is significant is that an estimated 90 per cent of the cropland--excluding fallow land--on the Cretaceous coastal lowland at the head of the Bay was planted to cane in 1948 (Map 46). A similar, though smaller, monocultural zone lay at the head of the Bacia do Iguape in the município of Cachoeira. In the minor sugar cane area of São Filipe, cane production was less concentrated. There was also scattered cane cultivation on the lowlands

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 194]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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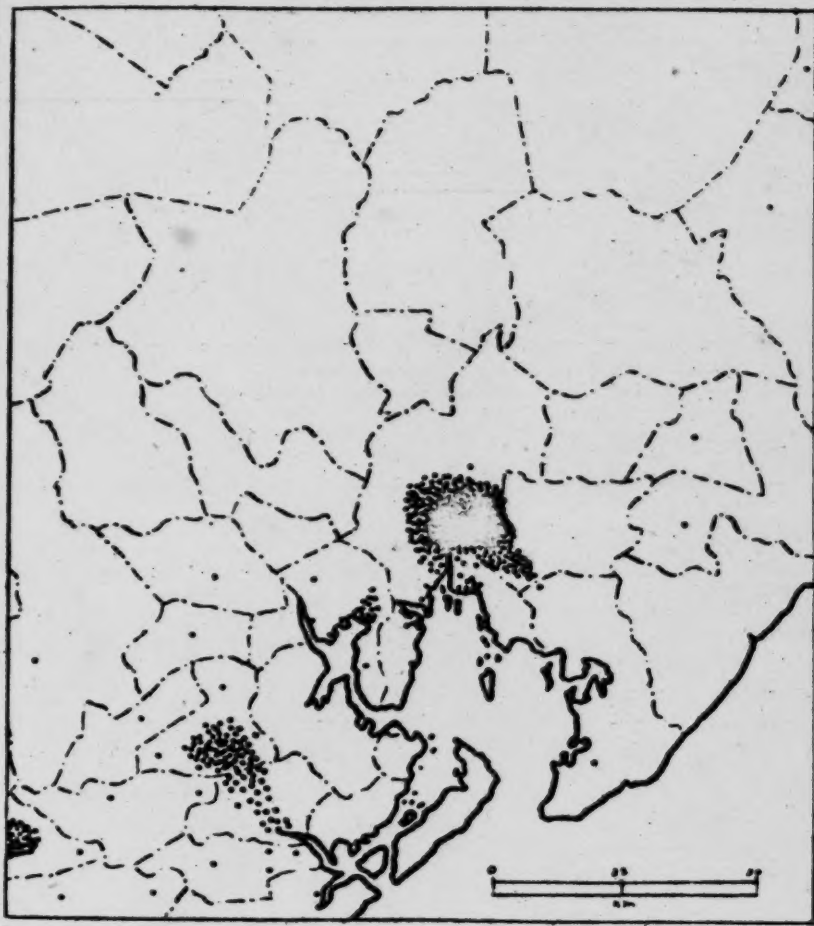

Each dot = 25 hectares

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Area in Sugar Cane--1948

Source of data: Producto Agricola: 1948.

MAP 444

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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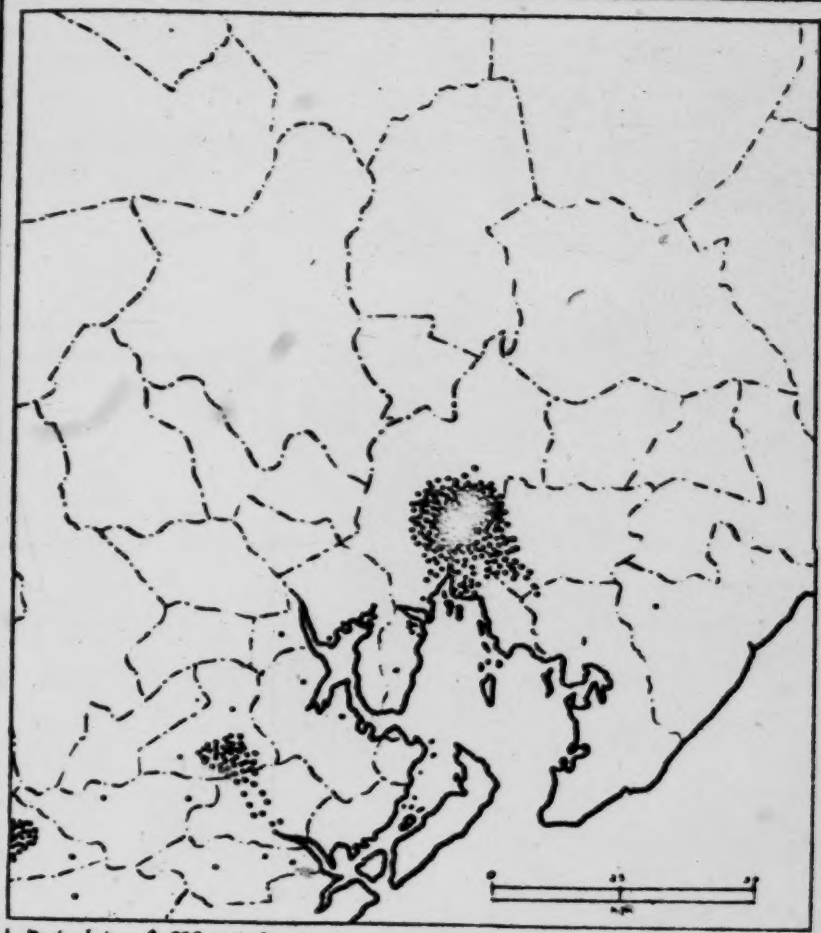

Each dot = 2,000 metric tons

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Sugar Cane--1948

Source of data: Produção Agricola: 1948.

MAP 45

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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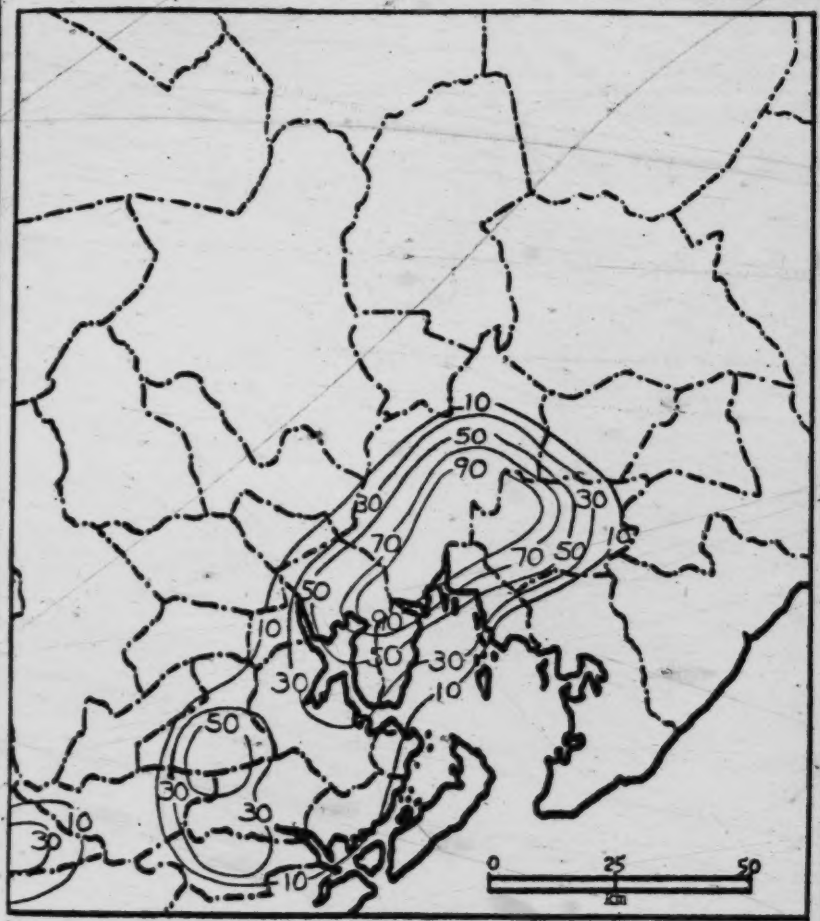

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of Cropland in Sugar Cane--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 46

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 and Intermediate Hills between and around these zones, but usually on
311 an exceedingly small scale.

249 The yields calculated for 1948 were as follows:
311
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Santo Amaro	65.7	tons	per	hectare
São Francisco	80.0	"	"	"
São Sebastião	41.2	"	"	"
Cachoeira	37.0	"	"	"
São Filipe	50.0	"	"	"

These may be compared with 38.7 tons per hectare for Brazil as a whole, 35.0 tons per hectare for Cuba, and 89.3 tons per hectare for Java and
249 Madura for the same year. The relatively low yields of Cachoeira and
433
134 São Filipe are to be explained, at least in part, by the primitive
257 character of cultivation and processing in these more remote areas. São Sebastião is a sort of frontier zone into which the big sugar mills are expanding their operations at the expense of smaller operators, but the methods of production are still less efficient than in the main production area, and the soils are sandier and less fertile. In Santo Amaro, yields are higher on account of generally better soils and techniques, but the demands of the large usinas require intensive and continuous cultivation on even the poorer soils. On the other hand, the less intensive cultivation in São Francisco, where the mills are smaller, allows a freer selection of soils, so that the yields of this area are the highest in the Recôncavo.

244 Sweet Potatoes and Peanuts. Two other American domesticates are
311 grown in the Recôncavo, though on a small scale--peanuts and sweet potatoes. Both are cultivated primarily along the forest and scrub forest transition as auxiliary subsistence crops, in conjunction with manioc and tobacco. There are also scattered plots of these crops in most other parts of the Recôncavo. Neither crop occupied over 1 per cent of the total crop land of the region.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1

BB 244 311 433 The total area in sweet potatoes in 1948 was 344 hectares, the total production, 2,565 tons. No single município grew more than 100 hectares nor produced over 1,000 tons (Maps 47 and 48). In Cachoeira and Maragogipe, 3 per cent of the total cropland was in sweet potatoes BB [438] in 1948. The plants are grown on the slopes and in the sandier valley bottoms of the Intermediate Hills and are sold through the local markets. On a smaller scale, sweet potatoes are grown as a minor supplementary crop in the Southwestern Recôncavo. The mean Recôncavo yield was 7.5 tons per hectare, close to the mean Brazilian 1948-1950 yield of 8 tons per hectare. Sweet potatoes are grown in the Recôncavo both as "garden" crops for home consumption and as minor commercial crops for local exchange.

The total area in peanuts in 1948 was 550 hectares; the total production was 876 tons (Maps 49 and 50). There is some small commercial production in Maragogipe and in the Northern Recôncavo; in the former, 6 per cent of the total cropland was in peanuts in 1948, and in the latter, from 2 to 5 per cent. Yields calculated for municípios varied from .3 to 3.5 tons per hectare without discernible pattern. The mean yield was 1.6 tons per hectare, higher than the .97 tons per hectare of Brazil and the .89 tons per hectare of the United States.

BB 245 433 B [245] [433] Bananas. The banana is the sole important subsistence crop of the Recôncavo which is of old world origin. Brazil is the world's leading producer of bananas, and the main centers of production are in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and Minas Gerais. In the Recôncavo, bananas are grown primarily for subsistence and local exchange, but there are a few small commercial growers. Under the existing system BB [489] of transportation, the long distance shipment of so bulky, heavy, perishable, and cheap a product is difficult.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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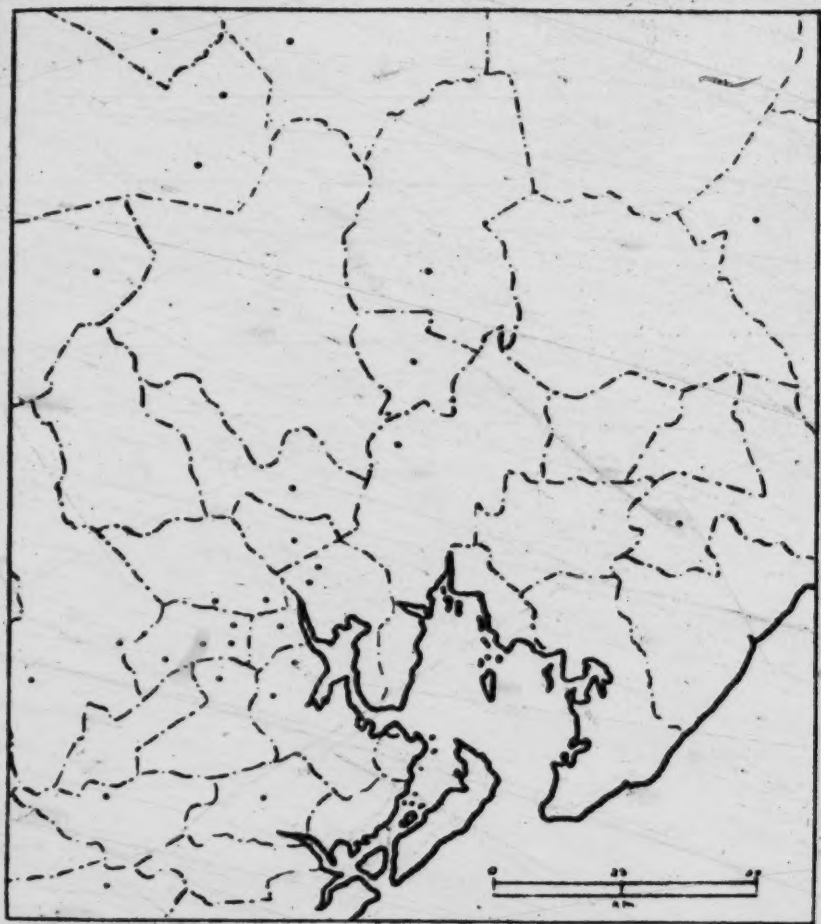

Each dot = 25 hectares

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Area in Sweet Potatoes--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948

MAP 49

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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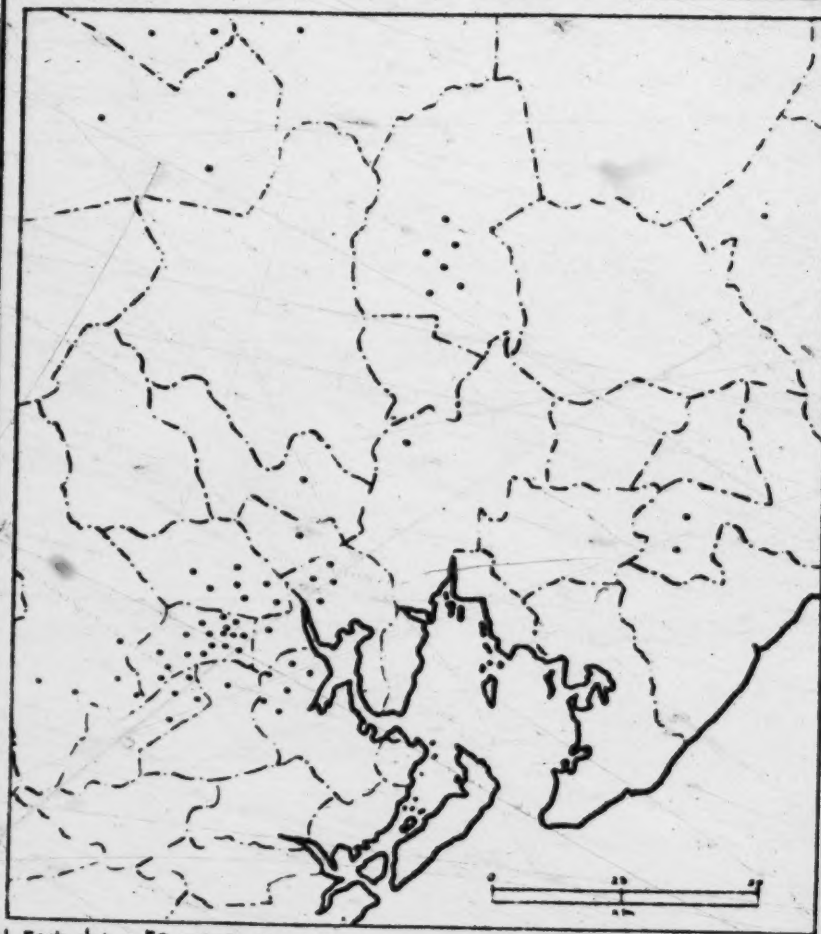

Each dot = 50 metric tons

RECÔNCAVO DE BAHIA

Production of Sweet Potatoes--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 18.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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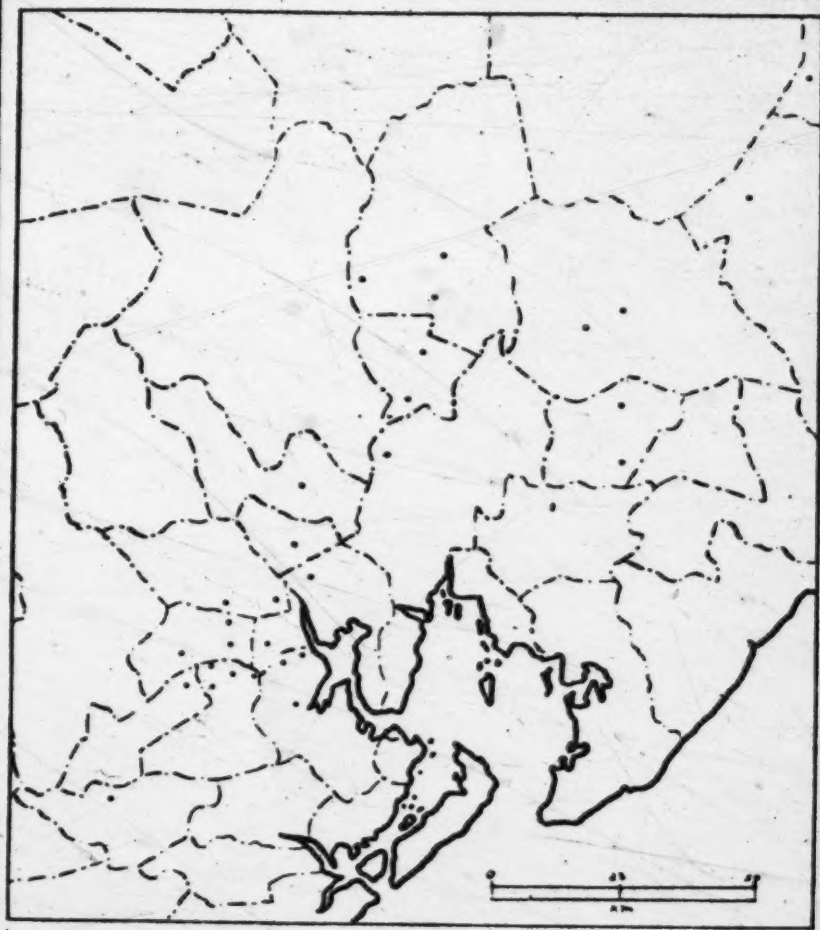

Each dot = 25 hectares

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Area in Peanuts--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 49

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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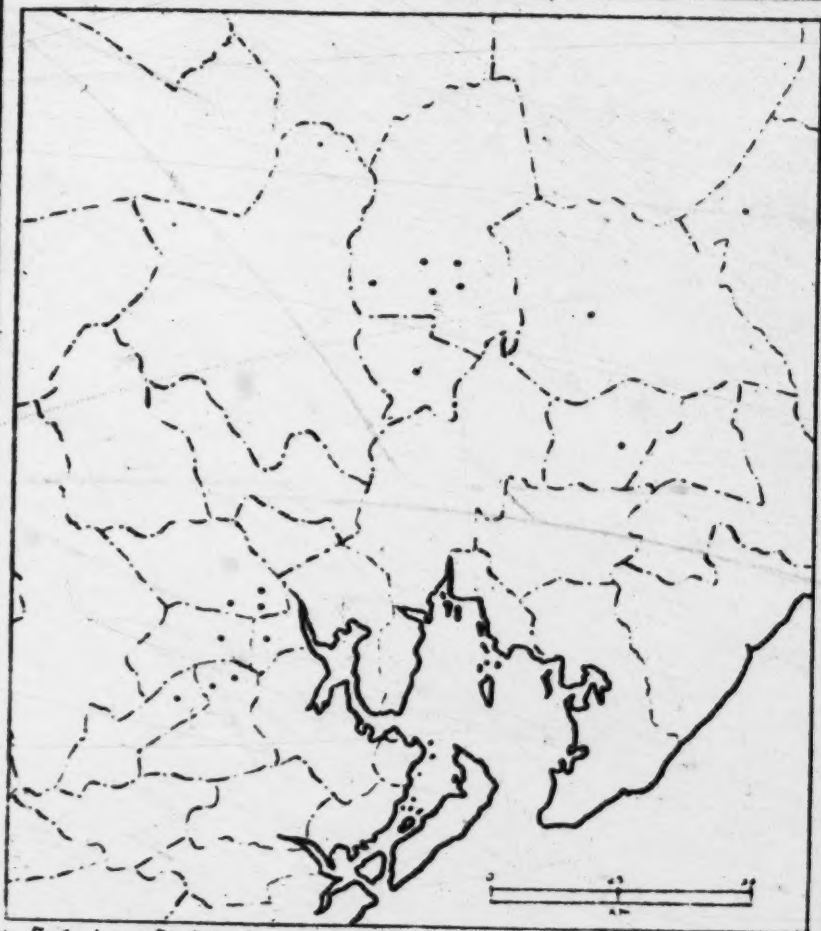

Each dot - 50,000 kilograms

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Peanuts--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 50

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

245 The bananas of the Recôncavo include a number of types--large, medium and small eating varieties, and plantains--which are grown in most sections and which may be encountered in village and urban markets in all seasons. Cultivation is a haphazard enterprise in which the reproduction of bananas frequently is accidental rather than deliberate. Since there is so much semi-spontaneous cultivation concealed in gardens and second growth and thus probably not enumerated and since the spacing of the plants is so variable, area data for bananas in the Recôncavo have little meaning. The official data for 1948 indicated that [311] [433] there were 1,069 hectares planted in the region, producing an estimated 1,859 bunches.[25]

245 311 Banana plants are seen in all settlements of the Recôncavo, and except in the drier caatinga zone of the Northwestern Recôncavo, scattered over the countryside (Map 51). The chief area of production is in the Southwest, where they are grown almost exclusively for the local market (Map 52). However, there is a concentration of banana production [505] [438] around the fringes of Salvador[26] and along the margins of the Bay and the estuary of the Paraguaçu, where sailing craft (saveiros) can conveniently pick up shipments for the large urban market.

245 311 433 In 1948 bananas had their greatest relative importance, as determined by the per cent of the total cropland which they occupied, around and in the city of Salvador, on the island of Itaparica, and around the city of Alagoinhas. The mean yield of bananas in the Recôncavo was 1,730 bunches per hectare, or an estimated 13,840 kilograms per hectare (Map 53)--lower than the 28,900 kilograms per hectare of Brazil, but much higher than the 9,900 kilograms for French West Africa and the 4,400 kilograms for the Philippines.[27]

245 262 It should be emphasized that the banana in Bahia is a relatively cheap and common subsistence food, eaten raw or cooked. This is not to

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 206]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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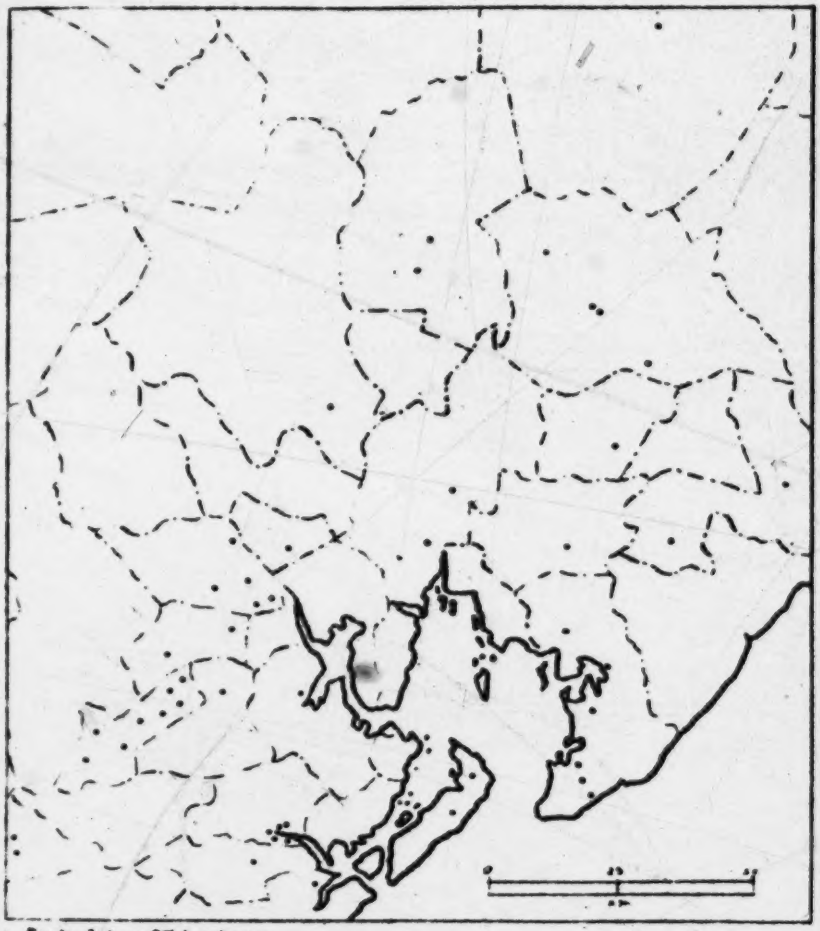

Each dot = 25 hectares

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Area in Bananas--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 51

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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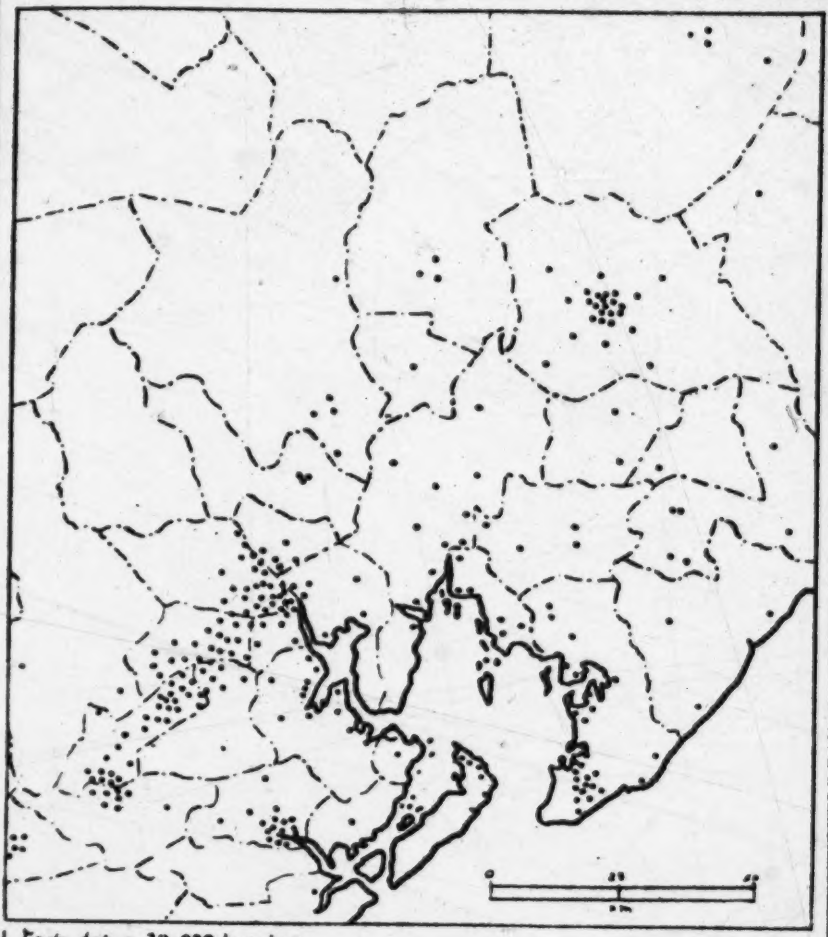

Each dot = 10,000 bunches

RECÔNCAVO DE BAHIA

Production of Bananas--1948

Source data modified from Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 52

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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245
311
433

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Yield of Bananas--1948

Thousands per Hectare

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 53

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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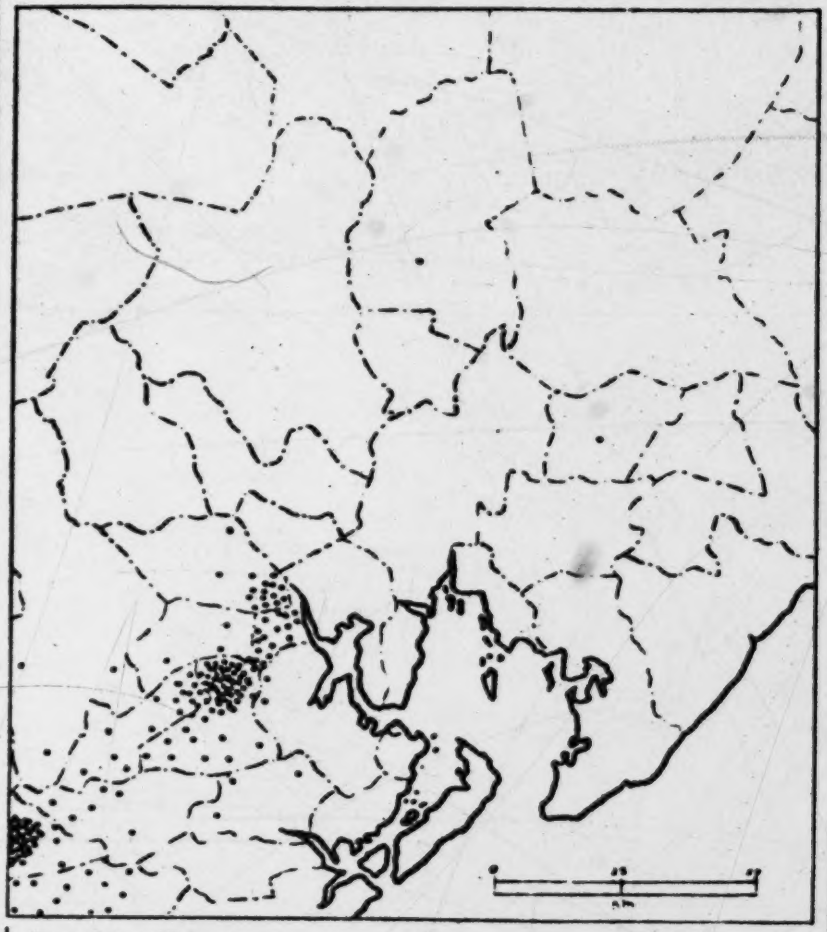

Each dot = 25 hectares

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Area in Coffee—1948

Source of data: Producão Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 54

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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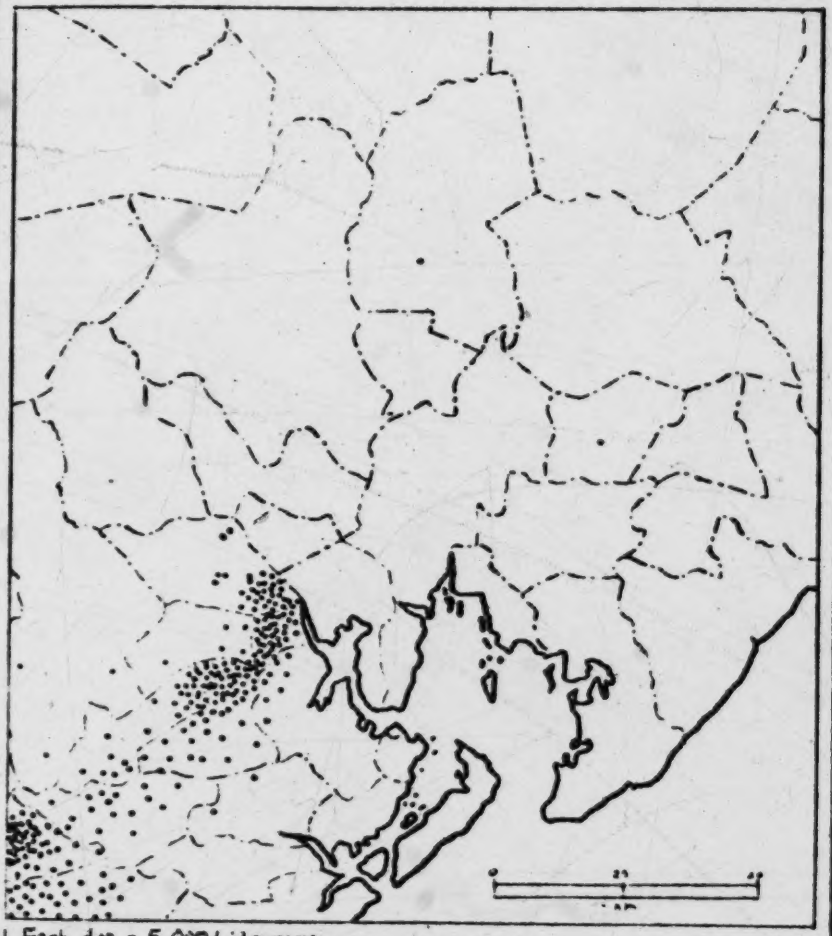

Each doc = 5,000 kilograms

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Coffee--1948

Source of data: Producão Agrícola: 1949.

MAP 55

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1

BB 245 262

say that it is within the reach of all, for there are many who subsist virtually on farinha de mandioca (manioc flour) and a few beans.

B BB 245 433

Coffee. Coffee is not as venerable a crop in Bahia, or in Brazil, as either sugar cane or tobacco; nevertheless, it is one of the traditional major crops. Bahia is by no means an outstanding producer within Brazil, for the main centers of production are in the Central-South--Paraná, São Paulo, Minas Gerais, and Espírito Santo.

BB 245 433

Although Bahia as a whole has an exportable surplus of coffee, the Recôncavo crop is primarily, if not exclusively, for local consumption. Indeed, if the per capita coffee consumption of the Recôncavo is equal to that of the state, a reasonable assumption, the region as a whole produces only about one-sixth or one-seventh of its coffee needs. Under these circumstances, coffee is used, except in a few areas, in the same município in which it is grown.

BB 245 311 433

In 1948 only four municípios in the Recôncavo had 400 hectares or more in coffee or produced over 100,000 kilograms of coffee beans (Maps 54 and 55). The chief coffee município was São Filipe, which led in acreage and in production.[28] For all practical purposes, coffee production is limited to the south side of the Rio Paraguaçu.

Coffee production in Bahia is closely associated with the more humid section of the crystalline zone, and especially the area southwest of the Recôncavo where there are low, rugged mountains and consequently areas of greater elevation and precipitation. This "coffee zone" is extended into the Recôncavo along the rougher, more humid edge of the Crystalline Uplands and the adjacent Intermediate Hills, i.e., in São Filipe and São Felix.

BB 245 311

Only 4 per cent of the cropland of the Recôncavo as a whole was in coffee in 1948, but in São Félix and northern São Filipe the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 209]

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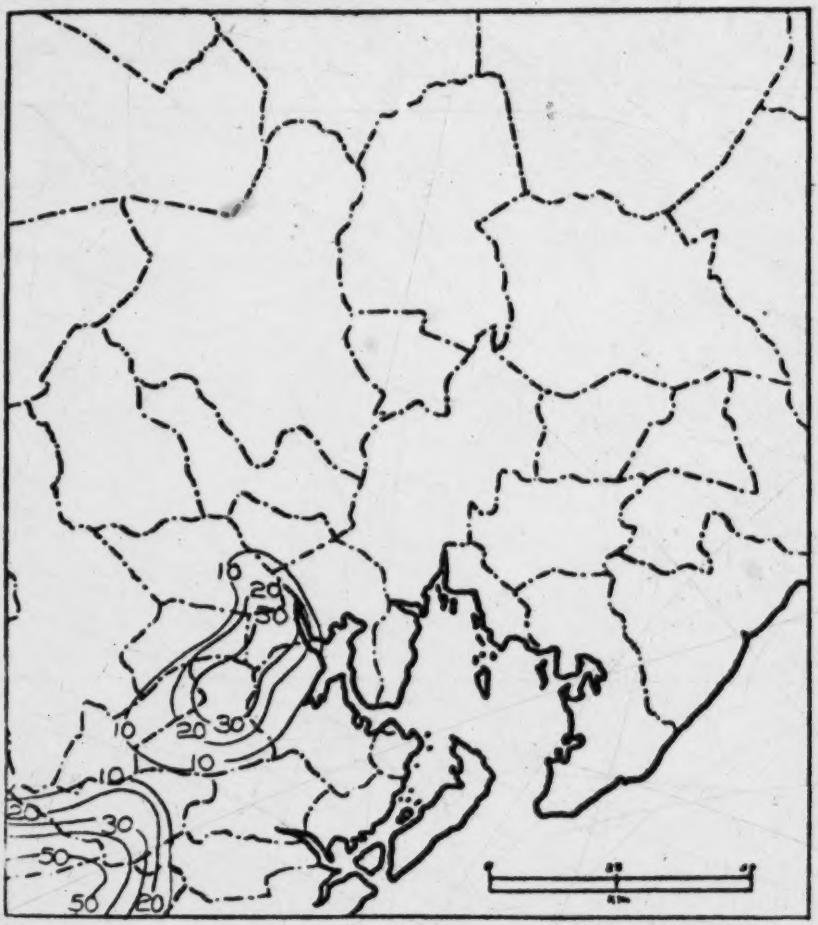

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of Cropland in Coffee--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 56

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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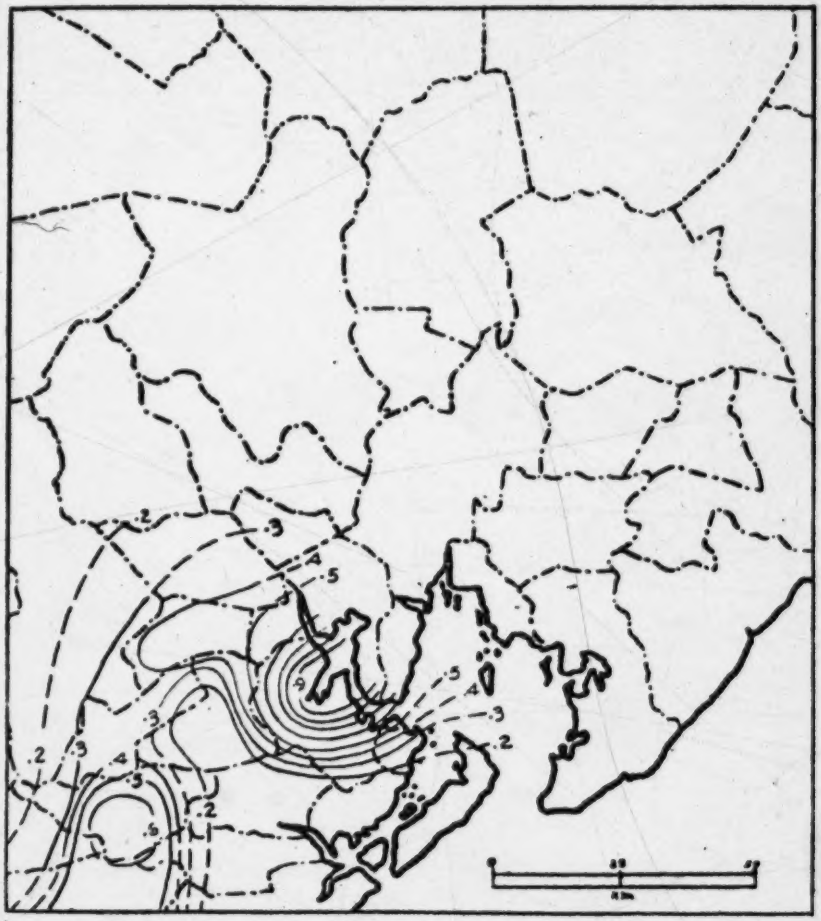

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Yield of Coffee--1948

Tons per Hectare

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 57

245 small coffee groves occupied as much as one-third of the total culti-
311 vated area (Map 56). In São Félix coffee was the second ranking crop in area of cultivation, in São Filipe, the third. The coffee cultivation in these municípios is concentrated along the eastern side of the tobacco-manioc area, on the rough Intermediate Hills. The slope-land
[134] soils are relatively fertile; yet there is not too much precipitation
[132] for the harvesting and drying of the beans.

Although coffee production in the "coffee zone" beyond the Recôncavo is on a moderately large scale, within the Southwestern Recôncavo coffee is planted in very small, irregular plots. The coffee is shade-grown, usually under a remnant of old mata or under jackfruit and similar trees. Except in São Filipe and São Félix, it is generally cultivated as an auxiliary rather than as a principal crop. The harvest is non-selective, and the entire bush is stripped at one time.
245 The beans produced under this system are of low quality compared with
311 the selected beans of the Spanish-American highlands, but the people of
433 Bahia claim that their coffee has a special flavor. The mean yield of coffee in the Recôncavo in 1948 was about 300 kilograms per hectare, compared to over 400 kilograms per hectare for Brazil. The main centers of production had yields near the mean of 300 kilograms per hectare, except for São Filipe which produced less than 200 kilograms per hectare (Map 57). Yields, as derived from the official data, were highly variable among the minor producers.

245 Coconut. In a sense the coconut is, like coffee, an alien intrusion into the Recôncavo. Although Bahia is by far the leading producer of coconuts in Brazil—they are called côcos da Bahia—the main centers of production are on the coast north and, to a lesser extent, south of the Recôncavo.

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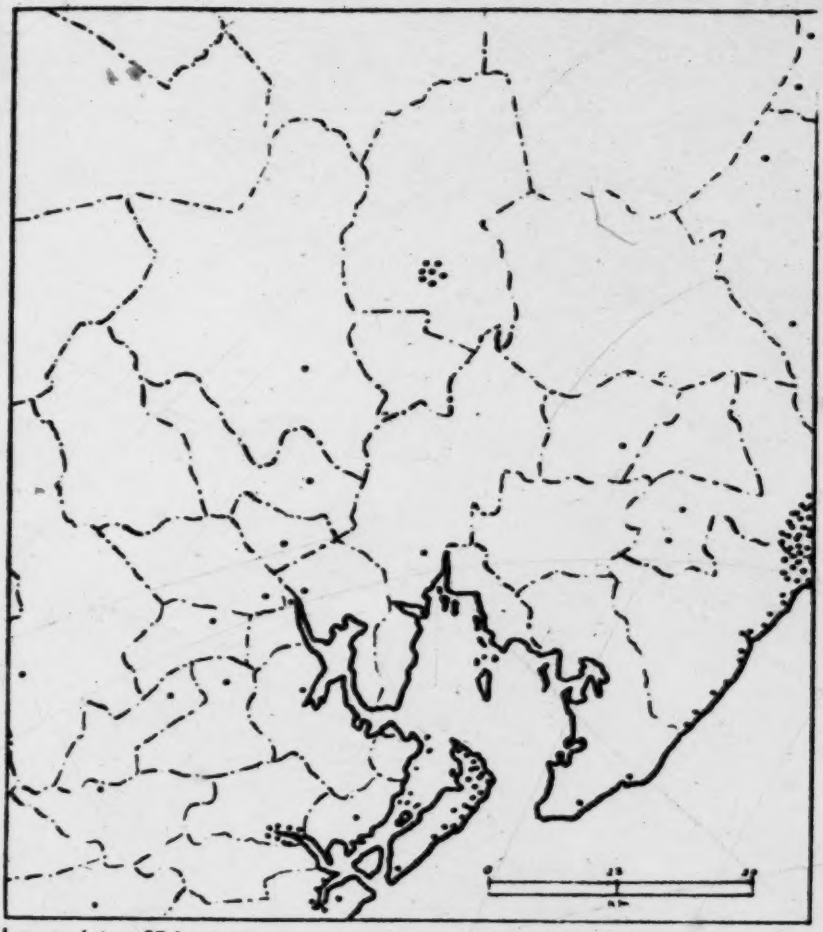

Each dot = 25 hectares

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Area in Coconuts—1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 58

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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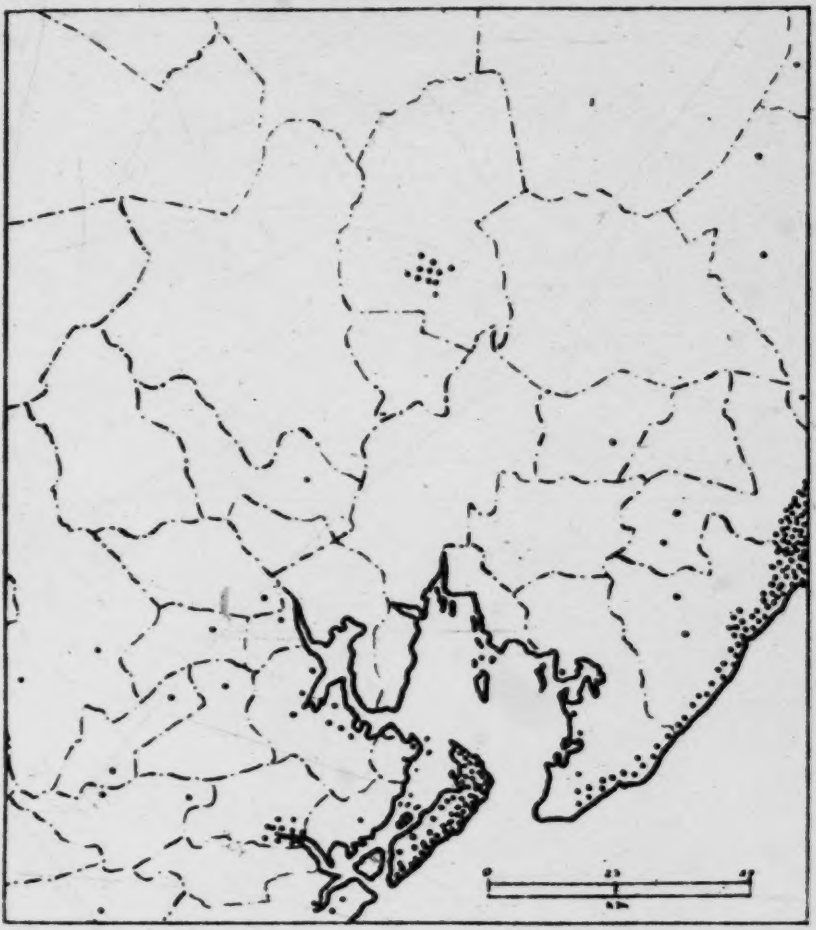

Each dot = 50,000 coconuts

RECENCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Coconuts--1948

Source of data: Producção Agricola: 1948.

MAP 59

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brasilians SO11

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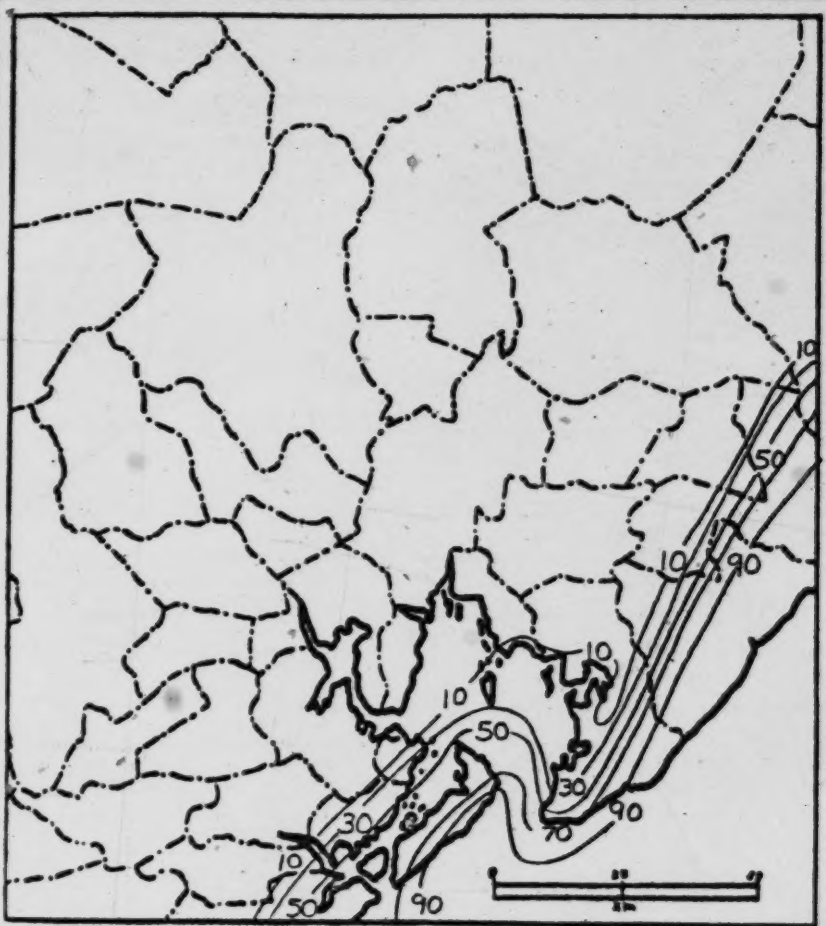

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of Cropland in Coconuts—1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 60

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

245 311 Within the Recôncavo coconut production is important along the sandy beach line of the island of Itaparica and along the ocean coast of Salvador, where coconuts are virtually the only agricultural product [133] (Maps 58, 59, and 60). The inner shores of the Bay, which rise abruptly [134] with rocky clay slopes, bear very few coconuts, except in a low-lying sandy zone along the estuary of the Paraguaçu. Coconuts are produced 245 [423] chiefly on large properties which are frequently owned by urban families. [464] The plantations are operated with hired labor drawn from the coastal [438] population. When harvested, the coconuts are sold in the urban markets [258] of Salvador and other cities and towns. Very little of the Recôncavo [439] production is converted into oil, and little is exported.

Oranges. The navel orange is a Bahian development, a mutation of the orange brought from Europe. The main centers of Brazilian pro- [433] duction, however, are elsewhere in the country, and cultivation of oranges within the Recôncavo is primarily for local consumption.

245 311 Scattered orange trees are a feature of the rural and urban landscape in many areas. In addition to this generalized cultivation, which frequently is not shown in the official data, there is commercial production in the environs of several urban centers—Alagoinhas, Santo Antônio, and to a lesser extent, Salvador (Maps 61 and 62). The [489] cidades of Alagoinhas and Santo Antônio are both markets for part of [443] the local crop; moreover, both are on the railroads leading to Salvador, which is the chief market for the entire region. In addition to these three main concentrations, there are numerous orange groves in the Southwestern Recôncavo which apparently serve both local and regional markets, though on a small scale. In general the relative area in orange groves is not great, yet in 1948 they occupied 10 per cent of the cropland of Alagoinhas.

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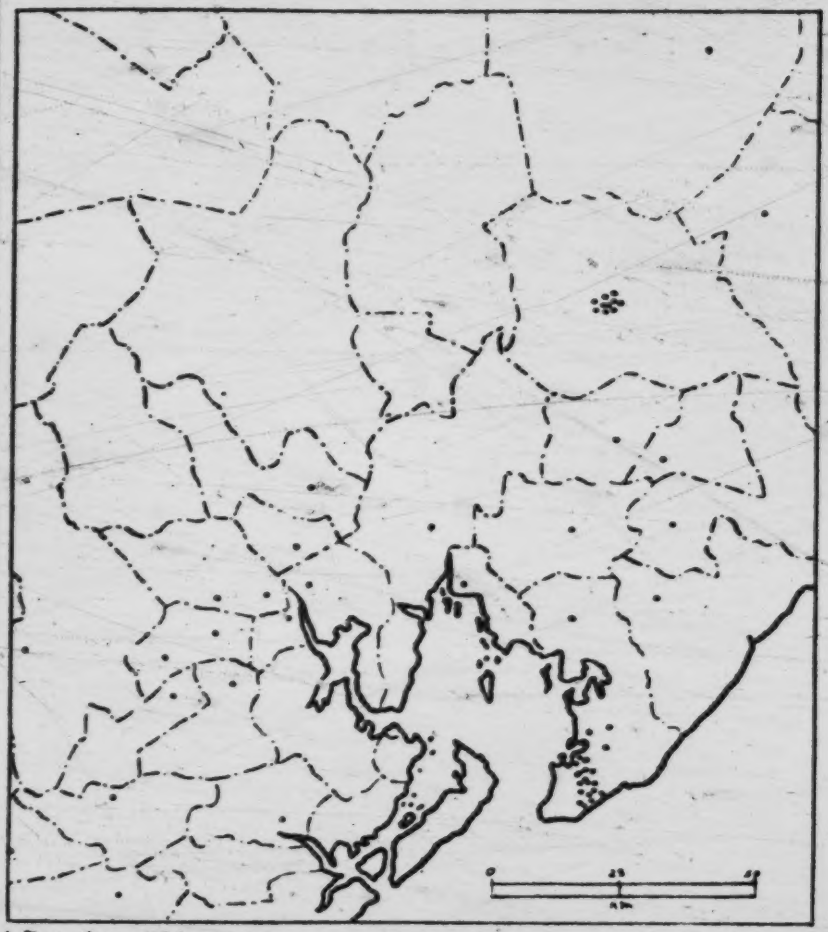

Each dot = 25 hectares

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Area in Oranges--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 61

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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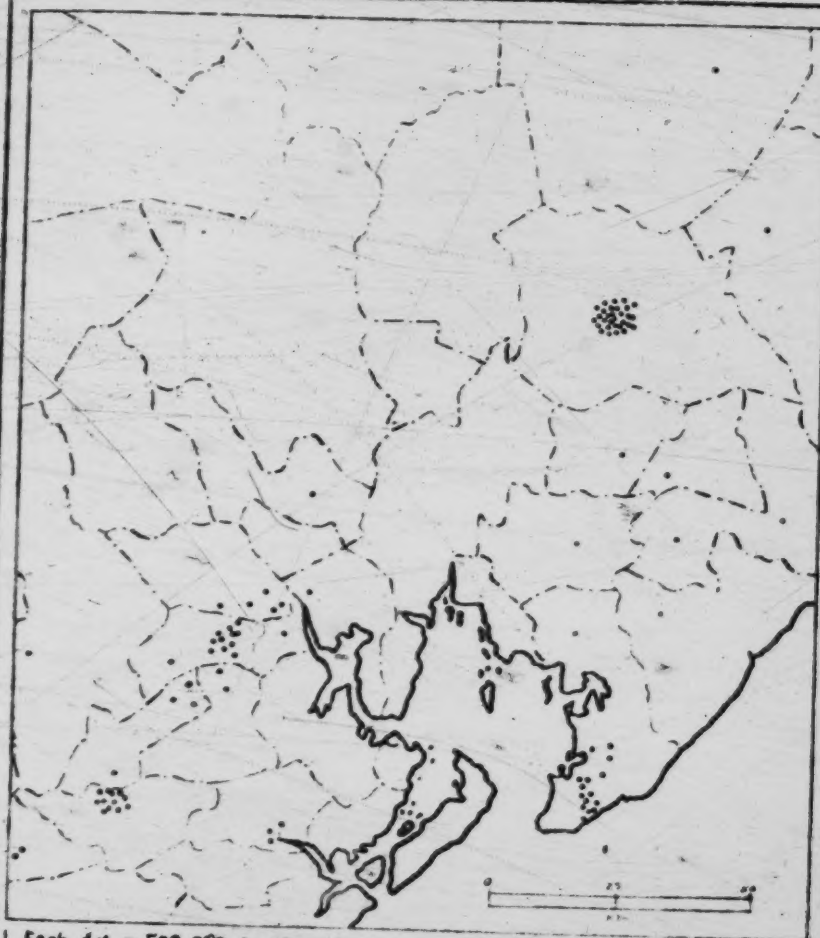

Each dot = 500,000 fruits

RECÔNCAVO DE BAHIA

Production of Oranges--1948

Source of data: Produção Agricola: 1948.

MAP 62

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

245 438 [471] Oranges, like coconuts, are usually grown on plantations. The capital investment in tree crops is usually too great for small cultivators. Moreover, as a highly perishable crop, oranges require more or less direct marketing, which is frequently beyond the capacity of the small grower. If oranges were marketed by trickling from the small grower through the hands of merchants, buyers, and the like, as is tobacco, they would be spoiled long before reaching the consumer. The small cultivator can market his handful of oranges only in the local market.

241 433 Supplementary Crops. Although the official data show only a very limited distribution of minor supplementary crops, their cultivation is not confined to those municípios where exceptionally conscientious [262] statistical agents have made detailed records. The common vegetables--green beans, onions, garlic, and tomatoes--are cultivated in small quantities in all parts of the Recôncavo and are a traditional part of Bahian dishes. Around the cities and towns there is some specialization [443] in vegetable farming, but there are no major concentrations. The Salvador market is supplied with produce from a broad rural zone which includes [489] most of the Recôncavo. The produce is brought to the city by donkey, truck, or by sailing boat.

The most important of the supplementary commercial crops is [134] pineapple, which is produced on the sandy soils of the Northern, and to a lesser extent, Southwestern Recôncavo. There is very scattered production of grapes, cotton, rice, and white potatoes, but there are no important centers of cultivation of these crops.

245 311 Minor Spontaneous Tree Crops. Mangoes are very common within the houseyards of Salvador and throughout the humid Coastal Plain. In

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

245 the peripheral areas of the region they are less common, but a few trees
311 can be seen in almost every settlement. The cashew is more strictly confined to the littoral and especially to the sandy coastal zones behind the palm-laden beach line. Jackfruit and breadfruit are especially common in the eastern Crystalline Uplands. Scattered along roads and around houses, they provide shade for the yard or for coffee and an occasional fruit for sale in the local market. The African oil palm is encountered occasionally in most municípios of the Recôncavo, generally growing out of the wet valley floors. There are many oil palms on the island of Itaparica, but the only major area of commercial production
[258] in Bahia is on the coast south of the Recôncavo. The oil is prepared
[438] by boiling the seed, and the surplus oil is sold in small quantities on the local market.

241 Annual and Perennial Crops. Six of the major crops of the
311 Recôncavo are cultivated as annuals--manioc, corn, beans, peanuts, sweet potatoes, and tobacco.[29] The major perennials are bananas, sugar cane, coffee, oranges, and cocoanuts. Over three-fourths of the cropland of the Recôncavo was in annuals in 1948 and about 22 per cent in perennials--including both tree and field crops. In the Recôncavo there is a very close connection between crop periodicity and land systems. The annual crops are produced almost exclusively under a system of land rotation, while the perennials are grown under a system of permanent cultivation. The zones of animals are generally mixed-crop zones, while the perennials are usually monocultural.

The main concentrations of annuals are on the uplands of the Northern, Northwestern, and Southwestern Recôncavo--the domain of manioc, tobacco, corn, and beans (Map 63). Perennials dominate the Intermediate Hills and the coastal lowlands--cocoanut palms on the beaches, sugar

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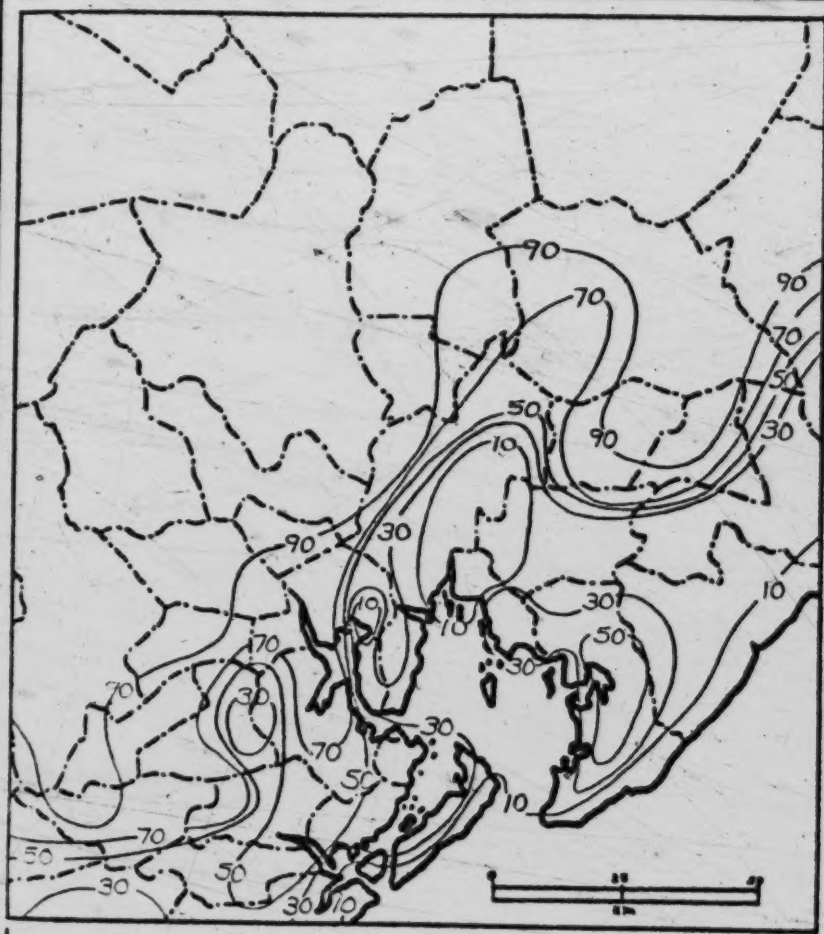

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of Cropland in Annual Cultivation—1948

MAP 63

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 311 cane in the pockets of Coastal Plain, and coffee and sugar cane in eastern and southern São Filipe. Annuals, chiefly manioc, intrude into the lowlands and hills in two areas: west of the Bay, from Maragogipe to Nazaré; and east of the Bay, in the município of Salvador.

General Distribution of Cropland. The total cropland of the Recôncavo in 1948, based upon the sum of the areas of the individual crops, was about 80,000 hectares--6.4 per cent of the land surface of the region. This proportion compares favorably with the one per cent of the state of Bahia and the two per cent of Brazil which is cultivated. However, a comparison with areas of the same general character in the Northeast of Brazil is more appropriate and more unfavorable; in 1948 both Paraíba and Alagoas had ten per cent of their areas under cultivation in principal crops.[30]

249 311 The most intensive center of cultivation in the Recôncavo is the area of sugar cane production north of the Bay. If the land which is in fallow one year out of every five is added to the area of the cane fields, about 75 per cent of the total land surface of the area was included in the closed circle of cultivation and fallow in 1948. The smaller area of sugar cane cultivation at the head of the Bacia do Iguape had a similar, though less intensive, concentration of cultivated land.

249 244 311 In the Southwestern Recôncavo as much as one half of the total area was in crops in 1948. Most of this land, as has been seen, was in tobacco or manioc. A smaller nucleus of intensive cultivation north of the Rio Paraguaçu centered on the município of São Gonçalo, was also an area of the cultivation of tobacco and manioc. The rest of the northern part of the Recôncavo in which these two crops were

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 221]

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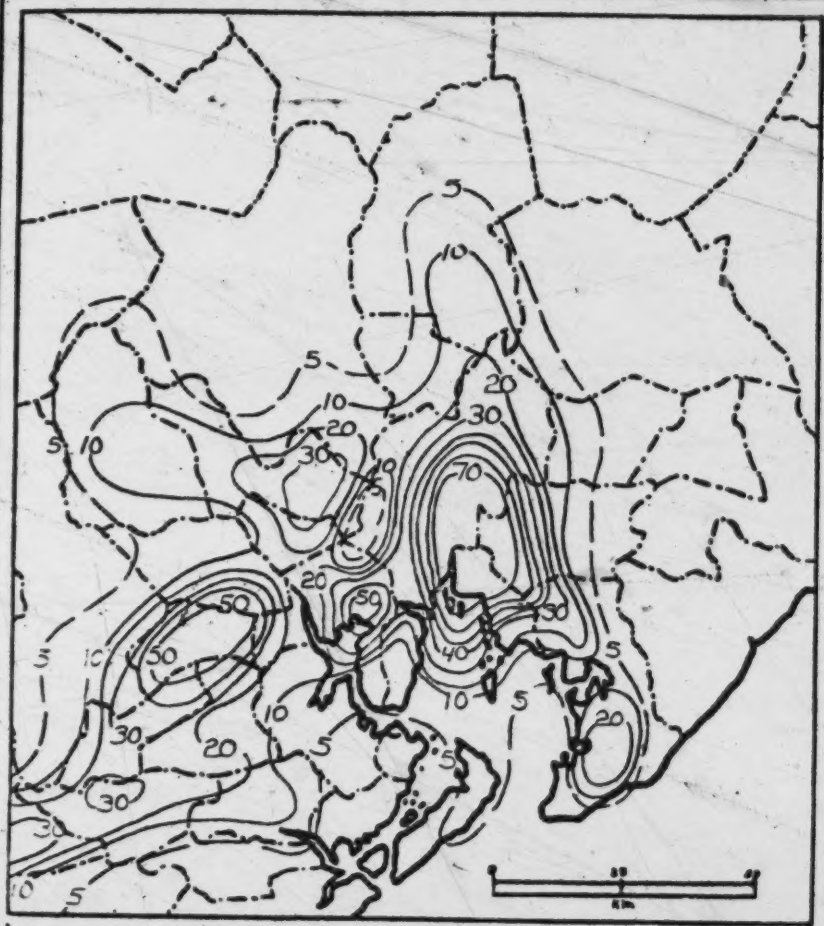

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Land Area in Cropland--1948

MAP 64

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 244 311 important had less intensive cultivation than the two principal centers mentioned above.

241 311 Most of the remaining crops of the Recôncavo were either minor subsistence crops of general distribution, not of themselves accounting for any strong concentration of cropland, or were major crops produced in small separated centers of intensive cultivation. The Northwestern Recôncavo corn and bean areas, the coconut plantations of the beach line, the Southwestern Recôncavo sugar cane and coffee areas, and the suburban rings of orange production were zones where the mean intensity of cropland was low or, at best, modest.

There were two zones of very low intensity of cropland which have not been discussed previously because they did not have significant concentrations of individual crops. The belt of Intermediate Hills around [137] [231] the Central Recôncavo sugar cane area is largely forested, the scene of very scattered cultivation, livestock enterprises, and extractive industries. This belt was used, as will be seen, to provide fuel and to maintain a livestock reserve for the adjoining sugar cane area. The forested belt between the beach line and the inland areas of sugar cane and tobacco cultivation were used primarily for extensive systems of cultivation and for the small scale production of livestock. Only around the perimeter of Salvador was this forested belt intensively used, for in this area there were orange groves, mandioc gardens, and a few very small truck farms.

241 311 178 [161] [434] Expansion of Cropland. There can be little question but that the Recôncavo as a whole was an area of expanding cropland in the 1940's.[3] In no other way could the increased food necessary for the growing population be supplied, for there were not then nor are there now external sources for large quantities of staples, excepting only livestock. There

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 311 178 are many local signs of the increase in cultivation—expanding rural settlement, overcrowded market facilities, and stories of the "old days" [361] when life was more leisurely and the land problem less severe. Two areas of the Recôncavo are in great contrast as far as the trend of land use is concerned—the Central Recôncavo on the one hand and the 249 311 178 outer Recôncavo, especially the Southwest, on the other. As a result of the stabilization of the sugar industry by the Instituto do Açúcar e do [654] [656] Álcool and, undoubtedly, of the high fixed costs of the sugar industry, the area under cultivation in the Central Recôncavo has remained relatively constant. Indeed, since large-scale speculation in the cultivation of cane is no longer feasible, as a result of government control, it is possible that marginal lands have been withdrawn from cultivation or have been converted to other uses. However, the evidence of the present land use pattern, at least in the area north of the Bay, is against this hypothesis--there are no signs of abandoned cane fields and no extensive areas with any form of land use except those associated with the sugar industry. There are indications of the abandonment of cultivation near the lesser sugar cane area north of the Bacia do Iguape, but the state of the abandoned sugar mills suggest that the decline in cultivation took place before the last decade. In general, then, the area in cane probably was relatively stable during the 1940's and the 1950's, at least to 1953.

249 244 311 178 The situation in the areas of the cultivation of tobacco and manioc is more complicated, in part because the economies of these crops are not stabilized. The area in tobacco undoubtedly has fluctuated over a wide range from year to year, although the area in manioc probably has tended to change more steadily, since it is a basic food crop. There seems to be no question but that during the 1940's the area in

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 tobacco and manioc increased in the zones of intensive production of
244 both crops. Particularly in the Southwestern Recôncavo does the expan-
311 sion of settlement, the present critical intensity of land use, the
178 florescence of tobacco cultivation during the early 1940's, soil exhaustion as evidenced by the declining yields, and the testimony of the people of the people of the area attest to the increase during these years. Detailed field investigation in Cruz das Almas, in the heart of the Southwestern Recôncavo, indicated that if the intensity of cultivation shown by the 1948 figure is correct, then the cropland has declined in the years since. In 1948, according to the data, one-half of the total area of the *município* was cultivated; in 1953 the total land in crops can scarcely have been more than one quarter of the total area, and there were several signs of decline. Although there was no mature second growth, there was a good deal of *capoéira de caatinga* and *capoéira de mata* (second growth) which was about one to three meters high, that is, from about two to six years old. Cruz das Almas seems to be the extreme case of a *município* which went through a period of rapid growth and precipitous decline in these years, but the same processes undoubtedly have taken place in many of the other *municípios* where tobacco was important. Probably none of these areas have returned to the 1940 level, because of the concomitant increase in the population and the fall in the productivity of the land in the years since.

241 There have apparently been major expansions of the cropland of
311 two areas which border on the Recôncavo. Serrinha is known as a *muni-*
178 *cípio* of recent agricultural expansion.[32] The growth of the *cidade* of Serrinha in the last decade is a clear expression of greater agricultural production, although the new cropland is not in the vicinity of the city. Apparently the main expansion was around a group of low *serras* and

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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shallow lakes west of the cidade, along the border of Conceição do Coité, where intensive production of corn and beans on newly settled land could be observed in 1953.

The agricultural expansion in Santo Antônio and in Nazaré was more notable. Both of these municípios lie in a zone of continuing agricultural development which is contiguous with the Recôncavo and which shows signs of becoming an integral part of the region. If the criterion originally used to delimit the Recôncavo and define the area of intensive field investigation—over 20 per cent of the total area in agricultural use—were to be applied to the 1948 distribution of cropland, then Santo Antônio, though not Nazaré, would lie within the region. The current agricultural development of Santo Antônio, and to a lesser extent of Nazaré, is making these municípios progressively more like the Recôncavo.[33] The pattern of the production of tobacco and manioc in Santo Antônio is essentially the same as in the Southwestern Recôncavo. However, these two areas are still primarily oriented toward a zone along the Nazaré railroad, in which coffee and sugar cane, as well as tobacco and manioc, are important crops. For the moment, Nazaré and Santo Antônio are excluded from the Recôncavo, but with the explicit recognition of the possibility of new orientation.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

Footnotes - Chapter V

000 [1]The outstanding example of the ribbon development of cropland is along the highway which traverses the Crystalline Uplands from Santo Antônio to Feira de Santana. Each of the cidades along this road—Conceição do Almeida, Cruz das Almas, Muritiba, São Félix, Cachoeira, Conceição da Feira, and São Gonçalo—is the center of an intensively cultivated zone and is connected with the others by a belt of cropland running along the highway. In part this ribbon development is the result [133] of restrictive factors; in Conceição da Feira and São Gonçalo the intensively cultivated strip runs between the rough Intermediate Hills on the [132] east and the dry caatinga on the west. The same negative relationships are characteristic of the Southwestern Recôncavo, but the intermediate zone of acceptable terrain and climate is here broader than in the north.

[2]Produção Agrícola: 1948.

[3]Ministério da Agricultura, Serviço de Estatística da Produção, "Pobulação Pecuária, Em 31/12/1948."

[4]For a map of manioc production in Latin America, see: Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, Map of "Manioc Estimated Production Latin America," Agriculture in the Americas, Vol. III, Nos. 8-9 (August-September, 1947), p. 120.

[128] [5]A more detailed discussion of processing of farinha de mandioca is given in Chapter X.

[6]Ruth Matos Almeida Simões, "Comentário do Mapa da Produção de Mandioca no Estado da Bahia," Boletim Geográfico, Vol. XI, No. 112. (January-February, 1953) pp. 84-86.

[7]It is likely that the official figures underestimate the area and production of manioc. A considerable part of the crop is grown on small plots remote from political centers and well-traveled routes and may thus have escaped the enumerator. Moreover, its cultivation is so commonplace and its exchange often so local and in such small quantities that even tax-conscious local government officials may easily be unaware [127] of small and scattered plots which in sum may bulk fairly large. Some of the official data which have been used in the analysis of manioc cultivation, production, and value have been modified. For a discussion of these modifications and for maps based upon the unmodified data, see Appendix D.

[8]Conceição do Almeida, Cruz das Almas, and São Filipe.

[9]This popular and official view underestimates the importance of manioc production in its own right. The commercial element in manioc [128] production is discussed in Chapter IX.

[128] [10]The system of manioc cultivation will be discussed in conjunction with the tobacco-manioc system in Chapter VI.

[245] [11]The "coffee zone" of Bahia includes a number of municípios, from Laje (adjoining Santo Antônio) to Jequié along the Estrada de Ferro Nazaré.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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[12]Centered in the *município* of Valença.

[127] [13]In the comparison of yields here and in the following discussion, the data for Brazil and for the other countries or regions have been taken from the 1948-1950 yields as given in: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, *Yearbook of Food and Agricultural Statistics 1953*, Vol. VII, Part I (Rome, Italy: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, 1954), pp. 1-334.

[128] [14]For a more detailed discussion of tobacco grades and zones, see Appendix E.

[15]Because of the great variations in tobacco area from year to year, the data for a single season are a less reliable guide to characteristic distribution for tobacco than for most other crops of the Recôncavo. The modifications which have been made in the official data are given in Appendix D.

[16]See Appendix E.

[17]The great local variation in yield in these zones is probably due to the concentration of the small quantity of tobacco in areas of highly diverse soils and irregular precipitation.

[18]However, this comparison should be considered with regard for the harvesting practices mentioned above.

[19]In ten of the thirteen years from 1939 to 1951, the area planted in tobacco in the Recôncavo rose and fell in accordance with the price of the preceding year. Data from: Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, *Contribuição*
[127] *do Instituto Bahiano do Fumo*, A Report Prepared for the First National Tobacco Congress (Salvador, Bahia: Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, 1952), pp. 1-16.

[20]The sources used in the discussion of tobacco production for
[127] 1931 to 1951, in this and the following paragraphs, were: (1) Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, *Contribuição do Instituto Bahiano do Fumo*, pp. 1-16; and (2) Antonio Monato Marques, *Geografia do Fumo na Bahia* (Salvador, Bahia: Centro de Estudos Ruralistas Monato Marques [1952]), pp. 1-85.

[128] [21]For a more detailed discussion of this aspect of tobacco-manioc cultivation, see the discussion of the tobacco-manioc system in Chapter VI.

[127] [22]The common practice of corn-bean interculture raises a problem in the interpretation of the statistical data which is discussed in Appendix D, as are modifications in the official data for corn.

[241] [23]The typical American or European garden, a permanent area for
[35] the production of household vegetables, fruits, and herbs, is practically unknown in the Recôncavo. Garden crops are grown at odd places within the cultivated areas or scattered around the houses, except for a few small, fenced plots for food production within the sugar cane zone. In all these gardens there is a very limited variety of crops.

[128] [24]The system of sugar cane cultivation will be discussed in Chapter VI.

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[127] [25]The official data for banana production have been adjusted, as is shown in Appendix D. According to: Immigration and Colonization Council, Modern Brazil (Rio de Janeiro: Immigration and Colonization Council, 1949), p. 119, a bunch of Brazilian bananas contains an average of 60 fruits and weighs 8 kilograms.

[35] [565] [26]Indeed, bananas are common plants within the city. Each upper class house, perched on top of the ridge, has its banana grove on the declivity behind. In the valley bottoms, banana plants surround the adobe houses of the lower class.

[27]These yields are offered for the purpose of general comparison. The diversity of conversion figures used in estimating the weight of bananas does not allow for precise comparison.

[127] [28]The official data for area in coffee in São Filipe apparently is a three-fold exaggeration, unless the yields are incredibly low. The production data are more reasonable.

[244] [29]Although manioc is not an annual plant, it is usually harvested in the Recôncavo before it is a year old. It seems more useful to classify these plants as annuals or perennials by their respective systems of cultivation rather than by their botanical characteristics.

[30]This comparison is somewhat unfair to Paraíba and Alagoas, since these states both include extensive non-agricultural areas, while the Recôncavo is an area specifically selected on the basis of intensity of agricultural land use.

[128] [31]For a comparison of 1940 and 1948 cultivated and agricultural area, see Appendix F.

[127] [249] [32]The cropland figure for Serrinha, derived from the 1948 data, is 25 per cent larger than the cultivated area given in the 1940 census. A complicating and contradictory line of evidence is supplied by the data on tobacco production, which is usually a good index of crop cultivation changes in this area. The tobacco production of Serrinha showed a decided decline from 1940 to 1948. It can only be assumed, in the light of the obvious growth of the cidade, that there was some expansion, but in food crops rather than in tobacco.

[33]The region which includes these two municípios follows the railroad from Nazaré to Jequié--the Estrada de Ferro Nazaré--and includes all the municípios touched by the line. In general this is thought of as a "coffee zone," but in its eastern section other crops, notably sugar cane and tobacco, displace coffee as the chief commercial products. Where this region approaches the Recôncavo most closely, in northern Santo Antônio, it is difficult to draw the boundary between the two. However, in 1948, even in 1953, the basic economic associations of Santo Antônio were with the railroad zone.

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CHAPTER VI

CROP REGIONS AND SYSTEMS

128 241 The discussion in the preceding sections has emphasized the analysis of the character and distribution of individual crops. As has been suggested, the Recôncavo has several specific crop associations, particularly manioc with tobacco and corn with beans, and several monocultural systems--sugar cane, coconuts, and coffee. The discussion which follows will deal with the crop associations and monocultures as areal and as functional groupings--a first step in the synthetic development of the sub-regional and regional patterns of agriculture in the Recôncavo. Since the município tends to be a highly integrated micro-region with a distinctive pattern of crops and cropland, the first level of generalization is this politically delimited local area. The summation of the crop pattern of the local area leads to the determination of the region in which crops are cultivated in isolation or in co-existence and in which co-existent crops are cultivated in interdependent crop systems.

128 241 311 Crop Ranks. In order to determine the areal importance of the principal crops in relation to each other, the crops of the several municípios of the Recôncavo and the adjoining regions were ranked in accordance with the amount of the cropland area which they occupied. The accompanying series of maps, based upon these rankings, reveal that more cropland was devoted to manioc (Map 65) than any other crop 241 311 in seven municípios. Tobacco occupied this position in six municípios, sugar cane in four municípios, corn in three, and coconuts in one. The relative area devoted to these five most cultivated crops varied from

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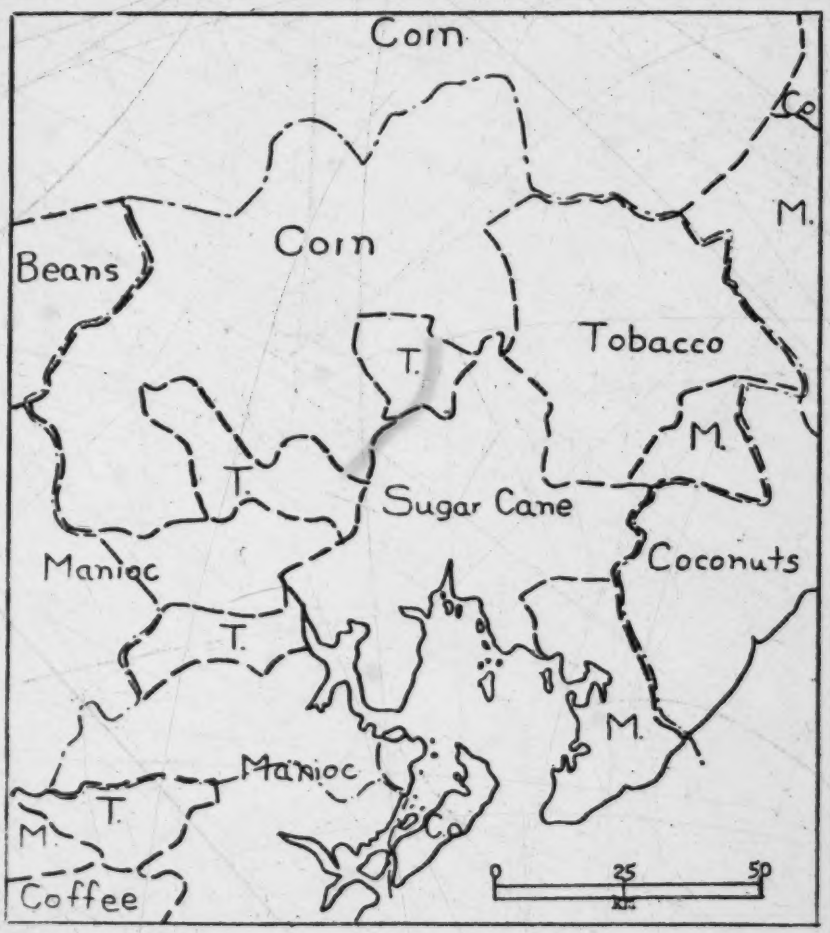

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Crops Ranking First in Area of Cultivation in 1948

M - Manioc
T - Tobacco
Co- Coconuts

MAP 65

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 311 96 per cent of the total cropland planted to sugar cane in São Sebastião to 33 per cent of the total cropland occupied by manioc in São Filipe.

At least one-third of the cropland of every município of the Recôncavo and the adjoining areas was planted to a single crop, and in twelve municípios of the region, over half the total cropland was occupied by one crop. The leading crop of the Eastern, Northern, and Northwestern Recôncavo was either corn or tobacco, that of the Southwestern Recôncavo, either manioc or tobacco. Sugar cane ranked above other crops in the Central Recôncavo. In the Southern Recôncavo either manioc or coconuts occupied the greatest area of cropland.

The percentage of the cultivated land in the crop ranking second in area varied greatly from município to município (Map 66). In São Sebastião and Pojuca, in the Eastern Recôncavo, the crop which held second position occupied only 2 per cent and 4 per cent of the cropland, respectively. In Cruz das Almas the second crop in area occupied 42 per cent of the cultivated land. Manioc was the second crop in area in all municípios where tobacco was first except tiny São Félix. In the Northwestern Recôncavo, when corn was the first crop, beans or tobacco occupied the second position.

The pattern of the succeeding ranks shows the effect of specialization in cultivation: in five municípios of the Recôncavo and six municípios in the adjoining areas, the first two crops occupied 90 per cent or more of the cropland. Only nine Recôncavo and three adjoining municípios had a sixth ranking crop which occupied as much as 1 per cent of the total cultivated area, and in no município did the sixth crop occupy more than 4 per cent of the total cropland. The patterns of crops occupying third, fourth, fifth, and sixth ranks in area are shown on Maps 67, 68, 69, and 70.

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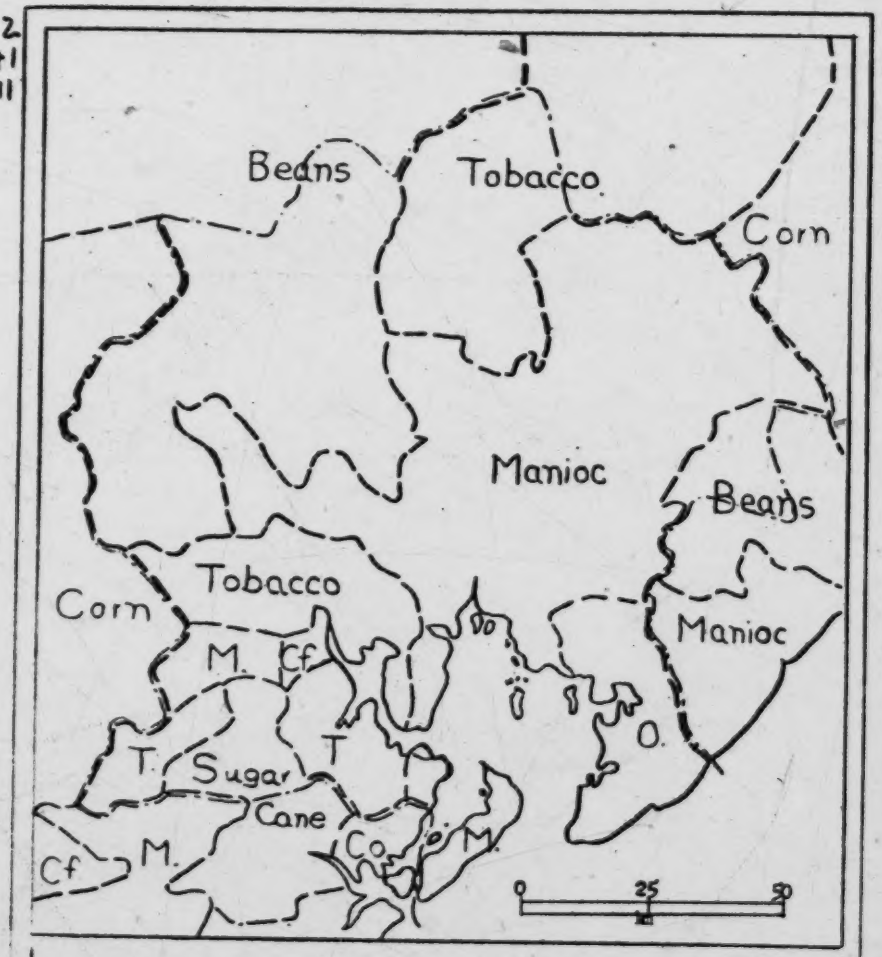

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Crops Ranking Second in Area of Cultivation in 1948

M - Manioc
T - Tobacco
Co- Coconuts
Cf- Coffee
O - Oranges

MAP 66

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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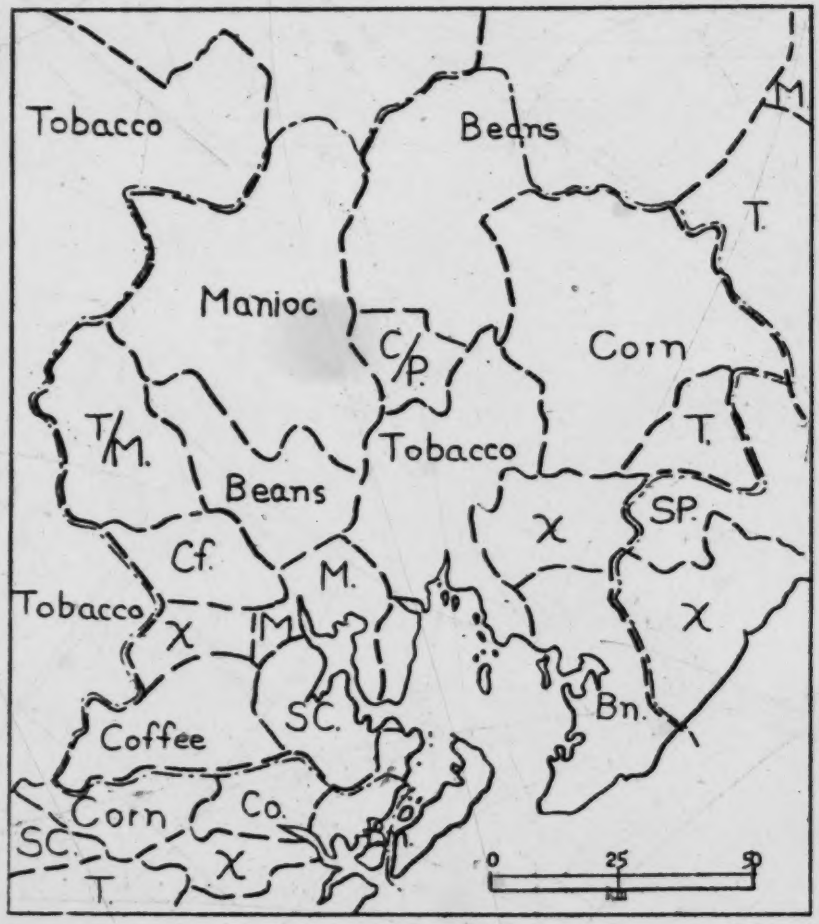

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Crops Ranking Third in Area of Cultivation in 1948

M - Manioc	SP- Sweet Potatoes
T - Tobacco	C - Corn
Co- Cocomuts	A/B-Two crops with same rank
Cf- Coffee	x - No crop of this rank
SC- Sugar Cane	with over 1 % of cropland

MAP 67

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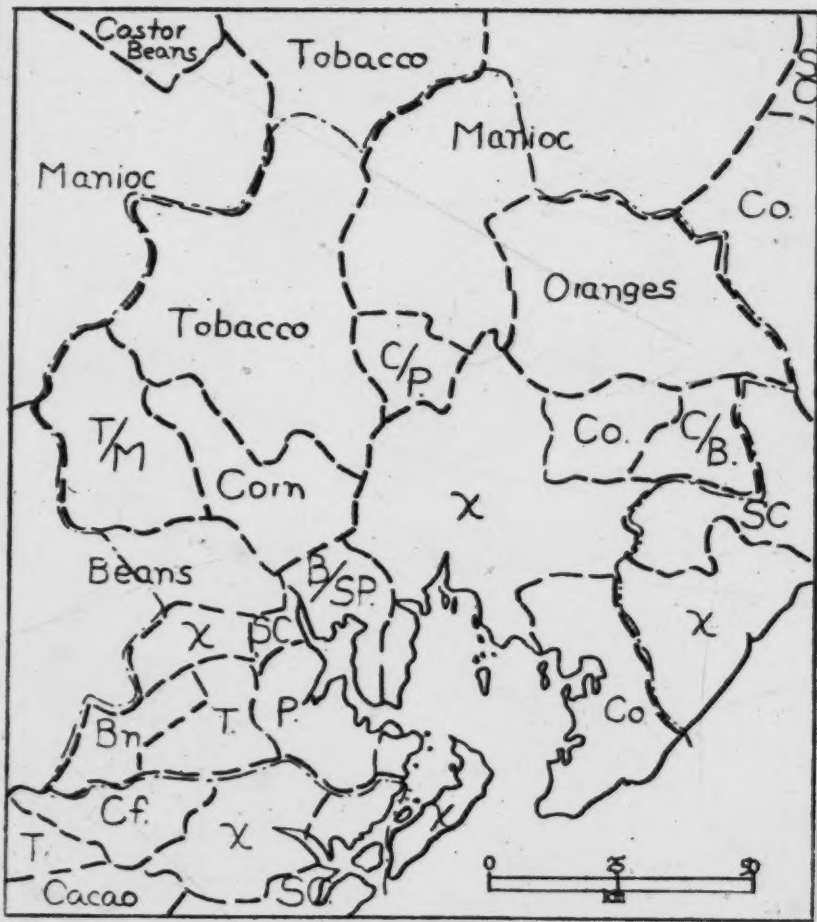

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Crops Ranking Fourth in Area of Cultivation in 1948

M - Manioc	SC- Sugar Cane	Bn- Bananas
T - Tobacco	C - Corn	SP- Sweet Potatoes
Co- Coconuts	B - Beans	A/B-Two crops with same rank
Cf- Coffee	P - Peanuts	x - No crop of this rank with over 1 o/o of cropland

MAP 68

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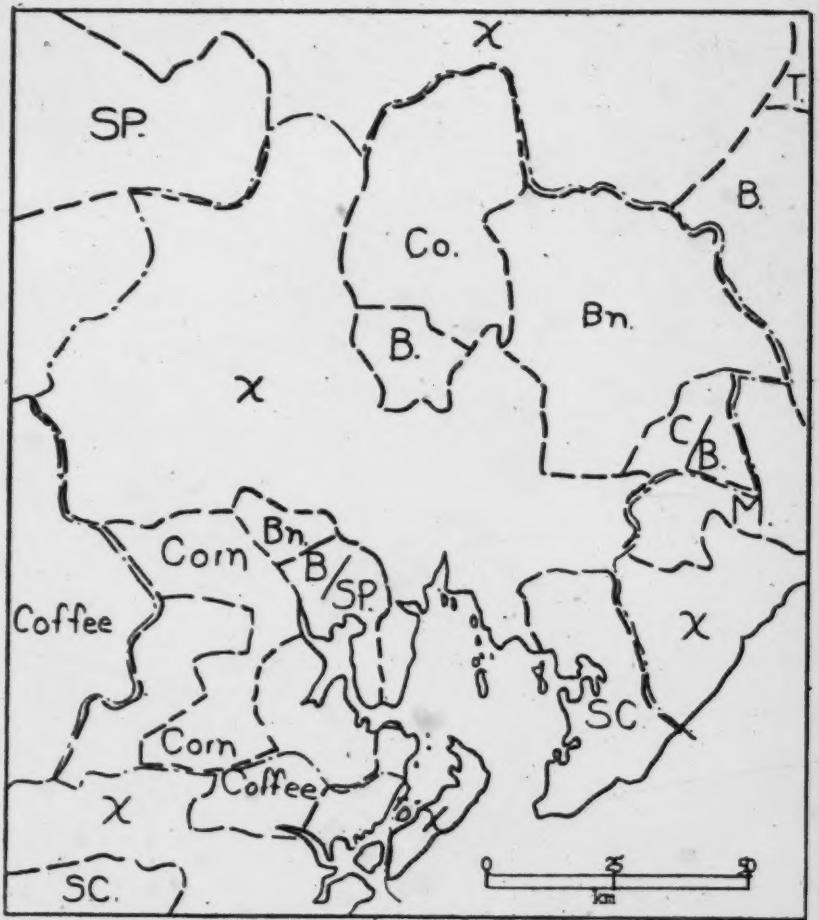

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Crops Ranking Fifth in Area of Cultivation in 1948

M - Manioc	C - Corn	A/B-Two crops with same area
T - Tobacco	B - Beans	x -No crop of this rank with over 1 o/o of cropland
Co- Cocomuts	Bn- Bananas	
SC- Sugar Cane	SP- Sweet Potatoes	

MAP 69

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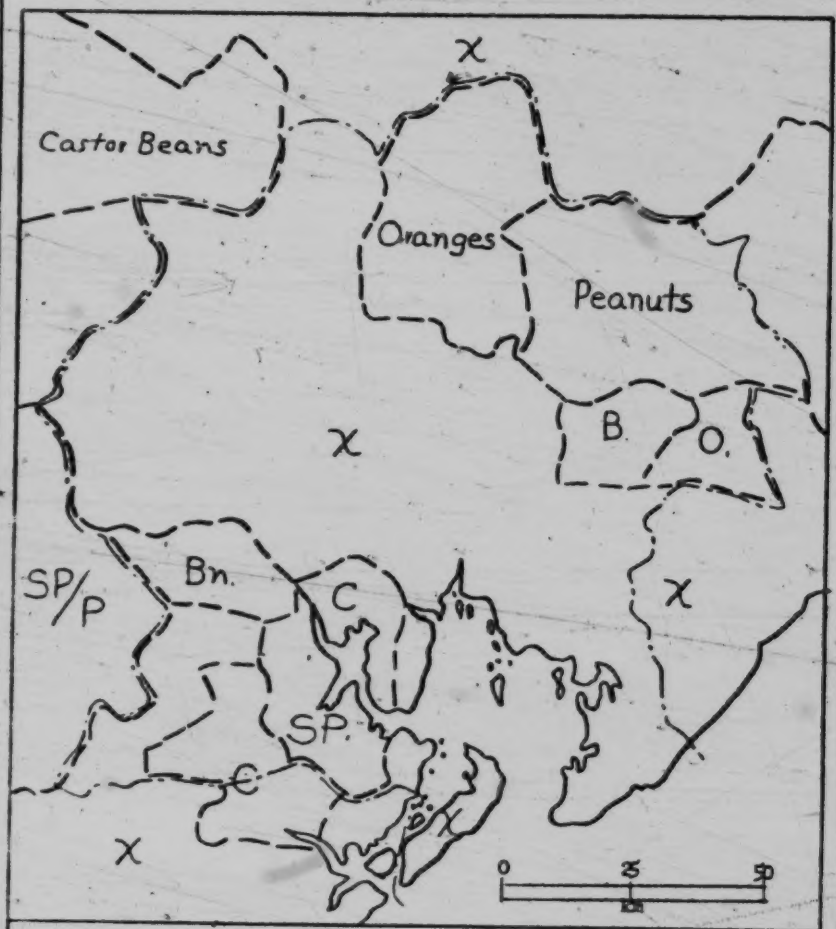

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Crops Ranking Sixth in Area of Cultivation in 1948

C - Corn
B - Beans
P - Peanuts
Bn- Bananas
SP- Sweet Potatoes
A/B-Two crops with same area
x - No crop of this rank with over 1 o/o of cropland

MAP 70

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 311 In many municípios on the north, west, and southwest of the Recôncavo, where corn and beans were the first and second crops, manioc and tobacco were third and fourth or vice versa. On the other hand, sugar cane was rarely a significant crop in any município where either corn, beans, tobacco, or manioc occupied a leading position.

128 241 311 Crop Combinations and Monocultures. The crop combinations shown on Map 71 and Map 72 exist on two levels, as statistical combinations of the crops of various municípios and as functional associations of crops grown in an interdependent system.

241 311 The statistical crop combinations of the Central Recôncavo do not correspond to functional systems of cultivation, for although sugar cane, manioc, and tobacco are produced within individual municípios, the cultivation of sugar cane is entirely separate. The manioc and sugar cane of São Filipe and the tobacco and coffee of São Félix are also cultivated separately. The statistical combinations, therefore, merely summarize the economic specialization and diversification of the município economies. The tobacco-manioc and the corn-bean combinations of most municípios of the perimeter of the Recôncavo, from Alagoinhas on the northeast to Conceição do Almeida on the southwest, signify functional as well as statistical relationships. On the other hand, monocultural systems dominate within the Central Recôncavo and in a few other places. The areas in which the individual functional combinations and monocultures predominate are delimited as nodal crop regions on Map 73. The arrows on the map (Map 73) indicate the intermeshing of crop regions in the transitional zones.

249 244 311 The most extensive of the crop regions belongs to tobacco and manioc. In this region, which extends from the Southwestern Recôncavo in a long arc to the Eastern Recôncavo, at least 70 per cent and usually

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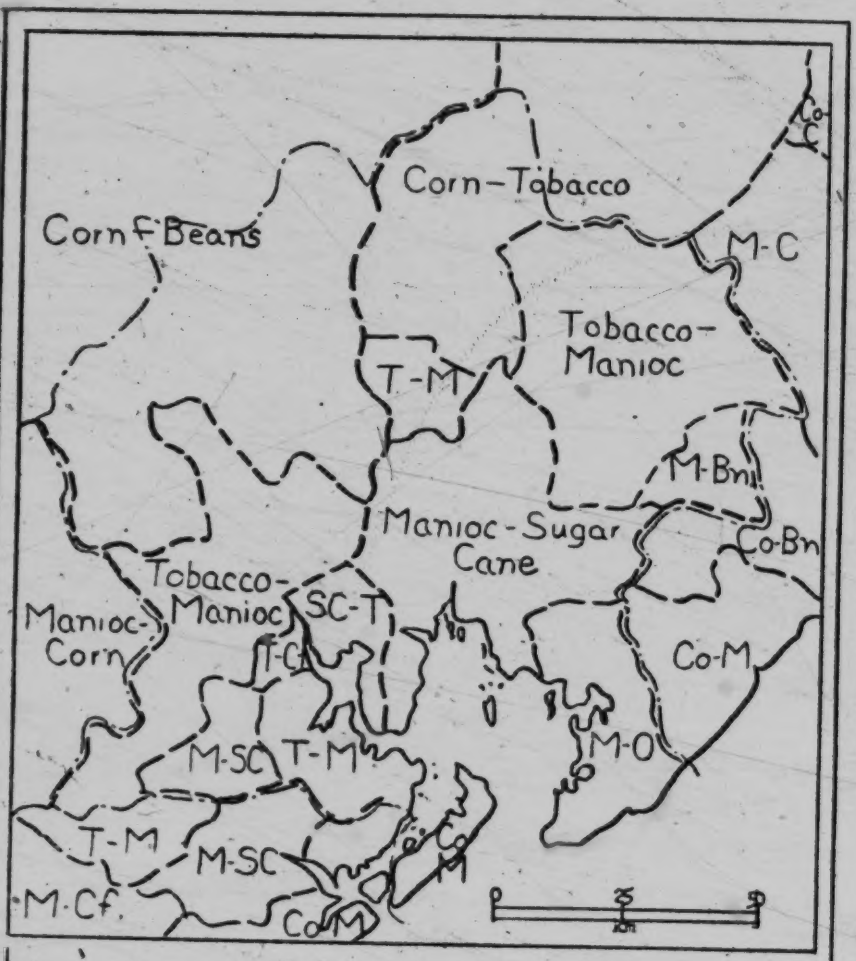

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Crops Ranking First and Second in Area of Cultivation in 1948

M - Manioc
T - Tobacco
Co- Coconuts
Cf- Coffee
O - Oranges
SC- Sugar Cane
C - Corn
P - Peanuts
Bn- Bananas

MAP 71

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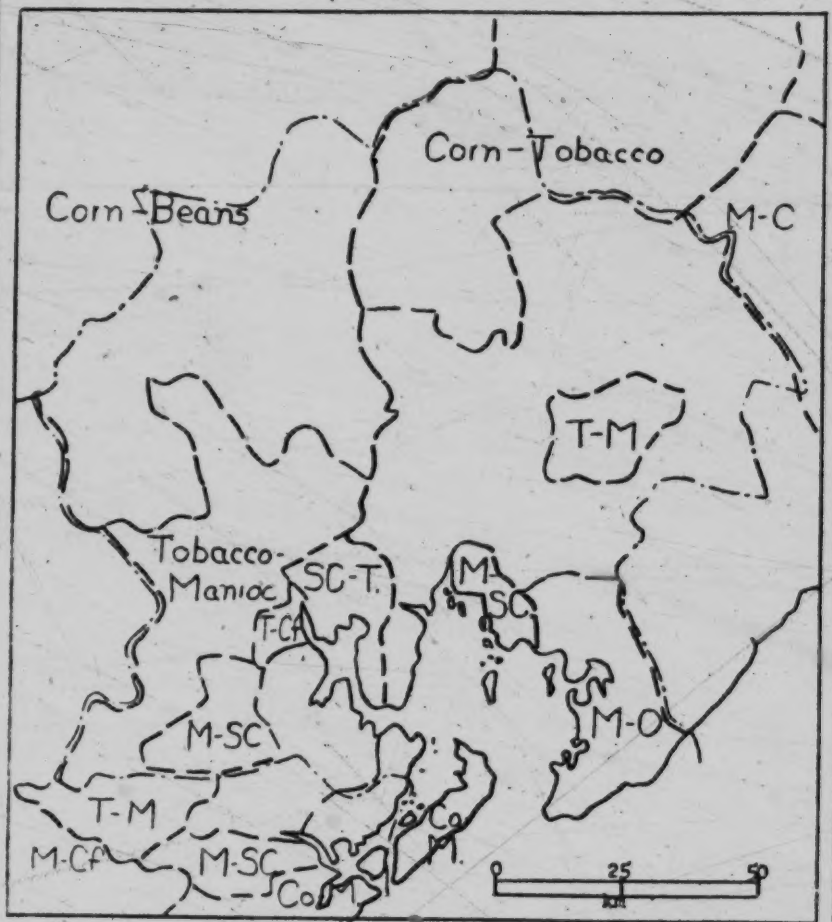

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Crops Ranking First and Second in Area of Cultivation in 1948 Where the Second Crop Occupied Over 20 per cent of the Total Cropland

M - Manioc Cf- Coffee O - Oranges
T - Tobacco SC- Sugar Cane
Co- Coconuts C - Corn

MAP 72

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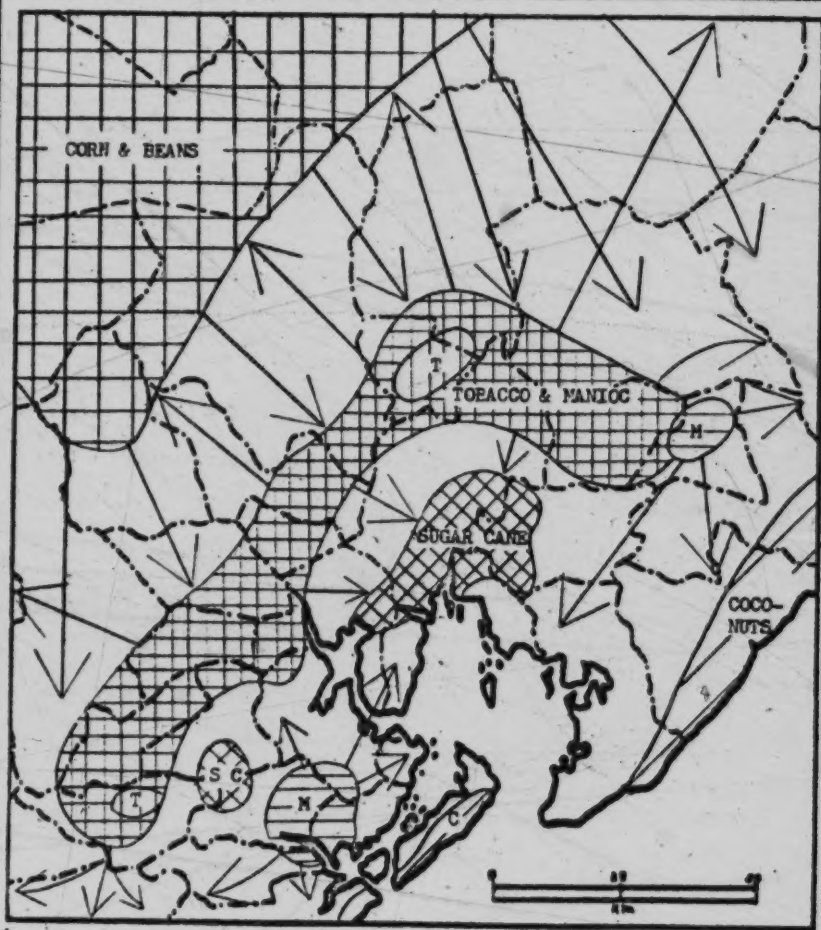

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Crop Regions Based upon Area of Cultivation

T - Tobacco SC - Sugar Cane
M - Manioc C - Coconuts

MAP 73

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80 per cent of the total cropland was in these two crops in 1948 (Map 74). A minimum of 20 per cent of the total cropland of all parts of the region was in tobacco, and except for a break in Coração de Maria and northern Santo Amaro, in manioc. Associated with this region were two small areas in which one of the components dominated the other--tobacco dominated in Santo Antônio and manioc in Pojuca.

The relationship of tobacco and manioc area varied widely within this region of their most intensive cultivation (Map 75). The mean for all the municípios of the region was 42 per cent of the total cropland in tobacco and 36 per cent in manioc. The theoretically ideal "duo-culture" was approached in Cruz das Almas, with 54 per cent of the total cropland in tobacco and 42 per cent in manioc. The ratios of the area in the two crops in individual municípios is indicated in the list below. Only in Muritiba and Cruz das Almas did the areas of the two crops have a relative balance. In the southwestern part of the region, tobacco was ascendant in Santo Antonio and manioc in Conceição do Almeida.

Ratio of Tobacco and Manioc Area

Santo Antônio	Tobacco	3.50 to 1
Conceição do Almeida	Manioc	2 to 1
Cruz das Almas	Tobacco	1.25 to 1
Muritiba	Manioc	1.50 to 1
Conceição da Feira	Manioc	2 to 1
São Gonçalo	Tobacco	3 to 1
Coração de Maria	Tobacco	4.50 to 1
Santo Amaro*	Manioc	2.50 to 1
Catu	Tobacco	3 to 1
Pojuca	Manioc	20 to 1

*These figures are for the whole of Santo Amaro. Probably the ratio in its tobacco-manioc zone would be about 3 to 1 in favor of tobacco.

North of the Rio Paraguaçu the position of tobacco vis-à-vis manioc became progressively stronger through Coração de Maria and continued strong into Catu, where cultivation of tobacco abruptly terminated. Pojuca had a manioc monoculture, with only 4 per cent of the cropland in tobacco and 81 per cent in manioc.

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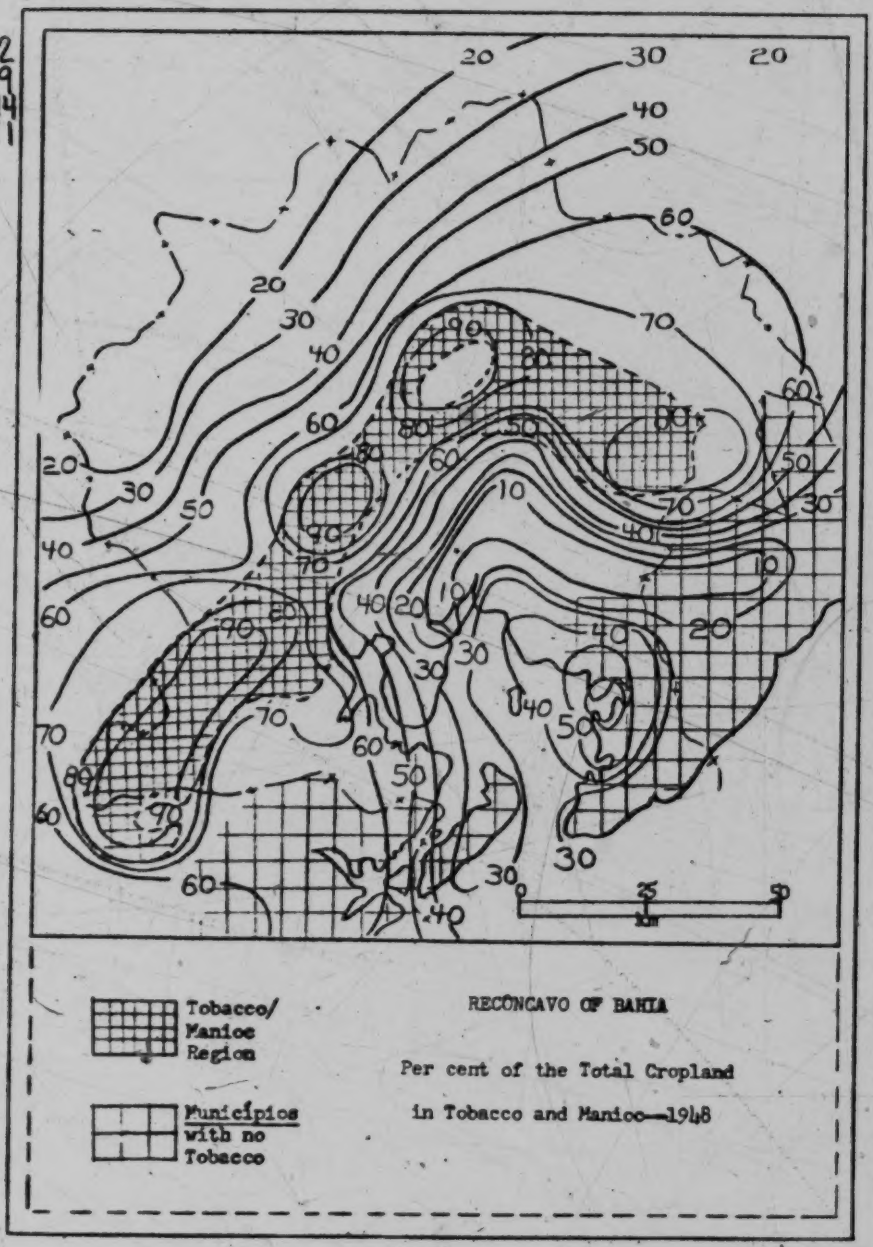

MAP 74

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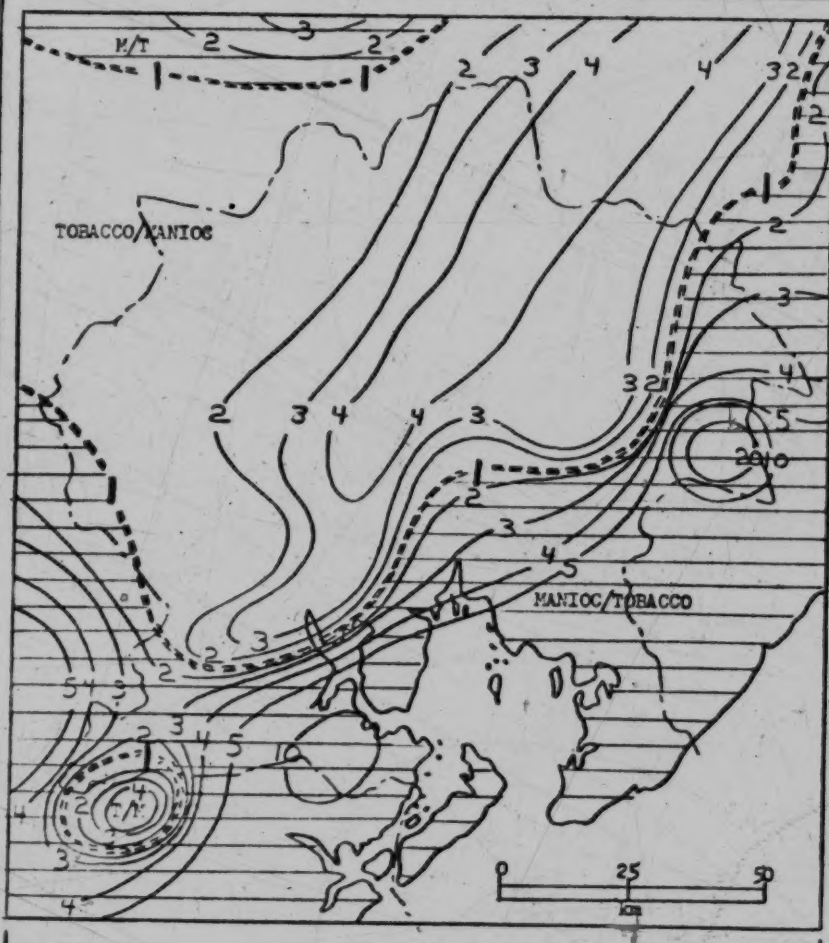

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Relationship of the Cultivated Area in Tobacco and Manioc—1948

Tobacco/Manioc (T/M) - Area in tobacco exceeds area in manioc
Manioc/Tobacco (M/T) - Area in manioc exceeds area in tobacco

MAP 75

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 The physical setting of the tobacco and manioc region is distinc-
244 tive in terms of the particular combination of topography, soils, climate,
311
13 and vegetation which are joined along its crescent axis. The region lies along the semi-circular edge of the interior upland, overlooking the Bay and the Coastal Plain. In the south the fields of manioc and tobacco occupy the upper surfaces of the Crystalline Uplands and the adjacent Intermediate Hills. In the north, cultivation shifts to the summits and upper slopes of the Intermediate Hills, although there is some concentration on the extreme southern edge of the taboleiros. Thus the region occupies the deep flat-lying residual crystalline soils in the south but in the Tertiary soil zone to the north follows the slope lands where there is more rainfall and perhaps better local soils. The close correspondence of this region with the forest and scrub-forest transition has been repeatedly emphasized. A traverse across the tobacco-manioc region anywhere between Conceição do Almeida and Feira de Santana takes one from rough hills with at least scattered patches of broadleaf evergreen forest to flat uplands with cactus, thorny brush, and licuri palms.

249 A comparison of the map of population (Map 21) and of the rela-
244 tionship of tobacco and manioc cultivation (Map 75) points up the neces-
433
161 sity for local sources of basic subsistence products. In the Southwest,
361 where rural populations are relatively dense and where there are a number of large villages and towns, manioc tends to be cultivated over a greater area than does tobacco. In the tobacco-manioc region north of the Rio Paraguaçu, where tobacco is usually the leading crop, the density of rural population is lower, and there are no towns and only
[438] a few large villages. Thus there is close relationship between the relative intensity of manioc and the size of the local market.

175 The recent historical pattern of agriculture in the tobacco-manioc
249
244 region can be reconstructed only on a general level. Cachoeira, which

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175 Cachoeira, which formerly included most of the western part of the region, was the center
178 of the production of tobacco for use in the slave trade. The growth of
249 the trade in leaf tobacco in the nineteenth century brought great changes
[567] to the region, for it made tobacco a major commercial product in its own
[439] right, no longer dependent upon the slave trade. Eventually this development gave the region of tobacco production a greater economic importance than the sugar cane region, although it remained subordinate in political and social influence. The development of the new tobacco economy also gave the region a greater superiority over the sertão, which could satisfactorily produce fumo em corda, but could grow only the poorest grades of fumo em fôlha.

174 Probably the tobacco-manioc region supplied manioc as the sub-
244 sistence food of the sugar economy, since it is the only nearby area
249 which was a center of manioc production. Perhaps manioc was produced
433 in the sugar cane zone, but in view of the intensity of sugar cane cultivation, this seems doubtful. In any case, the present relative level of manioc production in this crop region probably dates from the nineteenth century development of cigar tobacco production.

249 The second basic crop region of the Recôncavo is the sugar cane
311 monocultural area. It is sub-divided into a major zone, in Santo Amaro, São Sebastião, and São Francisco; a minor zone in Cachoeira; and an outlier in São Filipe. It is estimated that in the first two zones 90 per cent of the cropland was in cane in 1948. In the São Filipe outlier of the sugar cane region the proportion seems to have been lower--perhaps 50 per cent of the cultivated area.

[13] The physical association of the sugar cane region north of the Rio Paraguaçu and the Bay is relatively simple--a humid and formerly forested undulating plain composed of mixed Cretaceous soils--massapê, salão, and areia. In São Filipe the land is rougher, but the sugar cane is grown upon heavy soils similar to the Cretaceous series.

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249 The portion of the sugar cane region north of the Bay is an area
161 of relatively dense rural population, with a large number of villages
361 and plantation settlements and one city--Santo Amaro. The remaining areas of the sugar cane region have only moderately dense rural populations and no major urban centers, although the cidade of Nazaré is very close to the southern border of São Filipe.

[128] The tremendous historical significance of the sugar cane region has been discussed at length in the section on the historical setting of the
249 Recôncavo. As far as the sugar cane zone of Santo Amaro, São Francisco,
178 and São Sebastião is concerned, the extent of the region does not appear to have changed very much since colonial times. Old engenhos are found throughout the zone, indicating past cultivation in all areas now in cane. The present usinas cultivate sugar cane intensively clear across the Cretaceous zone, so that it is not likely that the cane area has contracted. However, there are several abandoned engenhos and settlements on the north and east shores of the estuary of the Paraguaçu which seem to indicate that sugar cane cultivation was formerly more extensive around the Bacia do Iguape.

244 The two intensive crop regions of tobacco and manioc and sugar
249 cane, as outlined above, can be viewed as nodal areas which are basic
311 to the regional distinctiveness of the Recôncavo; they are for all practical purposes included totally within its limits; their crop patterns are not duplicated in any nearby area; and they include within their boundaries a very large part--and the most productive part--of its agricultural area.

241 In distinction to the above intra-Recôncavo regions there are
311 at least three crops which overlap the borders of the Recôncavo, forming crop regions which have their most characteristic development in adjoining areas. The Atlantic coast of Salvador and Itaparica supports

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The Atlantic coast of Salvador and Itaparica supports
245 a coconut monoculture—a monoculture which is most strongly developed
311 north of the Recôncavo in Camassari and Mata de São João. The actual area of the coconut monoculture within the Recôncavo is slight, and beyond this monocultural zone, coconut cultivation is rarely significant within the region.

The coconut monoculture lies between the littoral forest and the beach in Itaparica and between the agreste and the beach in Salvador and in the municípios farther north. Except in the município of
[161] Salvador, the rural population of the coconut area is not dense. The
[162] typical settlement of this zone is the fishing village, sprawled over
[361] the beach near the mouth of a small stream. Inland the population is scattered.

243 A much more important crop system intrudes upon the Northwestern
244 Recôncavo—the corn-bean system. The nuclear area for this system seems
311 to lie in northern Serrinha and in the municípios bordering upon the state of Sergipe. The area in which over 80 per cent of the cropland was in corn and beans in 1948 overlapped the borders of the Recôncavo into western Feira de Santana and Santo Estêvão—a zone of low serras (Map 76). In this zone the area in corn was from one to two times the area in beans (Map 77).

Most of the soils of this region are either crystalline or
[134] Tertiary sands, but the pockets of soil which are actually cultivated are almost invariably heavier and more water retentive than are the sandy upland soils of the taboleiros. The corn-bean region generally
[162] has a small but nucleated rural population and a few medium-sized cidades, which are the only towns of the very large municípios which are charac-
[361] teristic of the area. However, the part of the corn-bean region which overlaps the Recôncavo has a number of villages and hamlets in the valleys of the serras.

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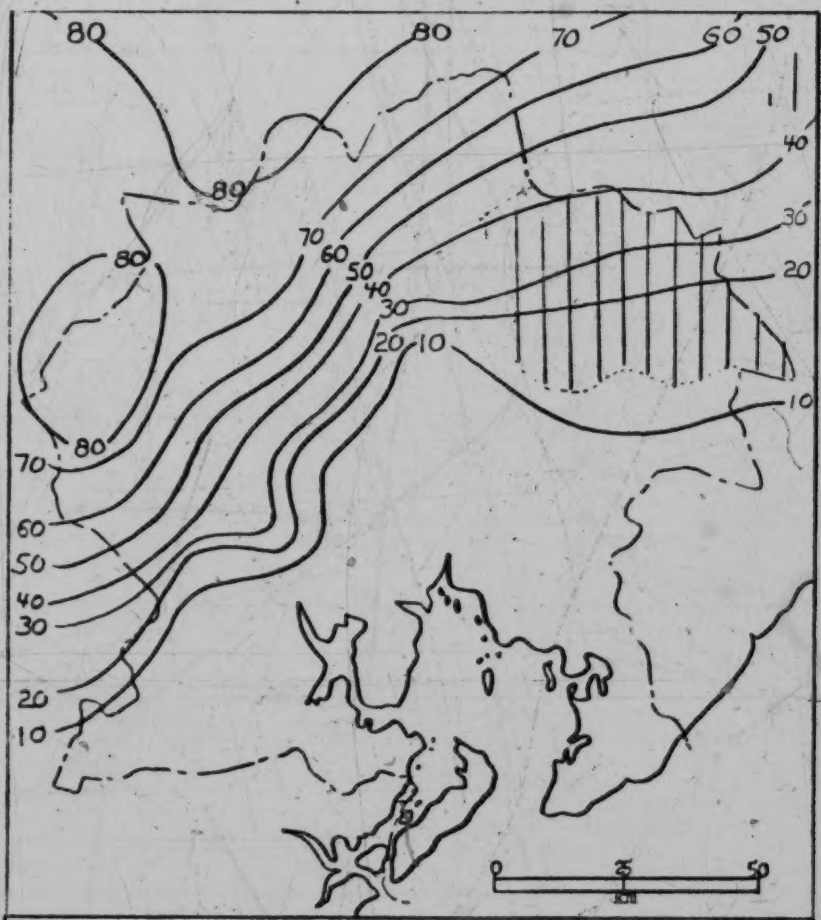

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Cropland in Corn and Beans—1948

Shaded area - Corn only

MAP 76

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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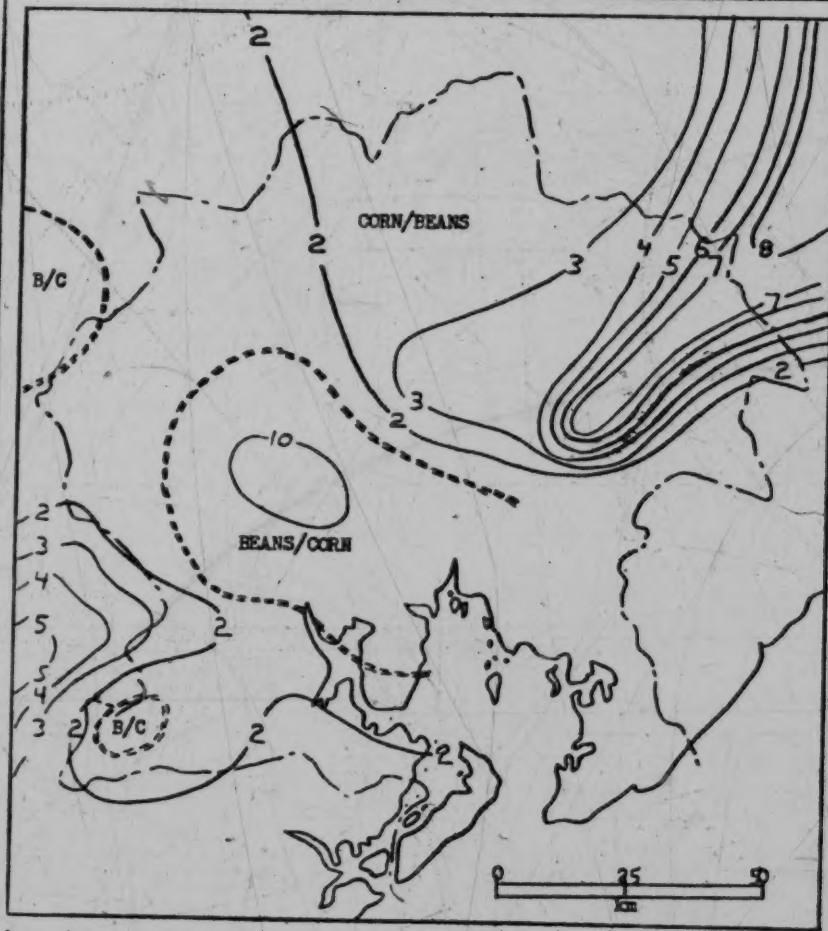

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Relationship of the Cultivated Area in Corn and Beans—1948

Corn/Beans - Area in corn exceeds area in beans
Beans/Corn (B/C) - Area in beans exceeds area in corn

MAP 77

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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Between these principal crop regions in which the basic functional groupings or monocultures dominate the cropland, there are transitional zones in which the systems intermingle. Between the corn-bean region and the tobacco-manioc region there is a broad zone in which neither crop system dominates--a zone extending from south-central Castro Alves in a vast arc around the Recôncavo to Entre Rios. Within this zone the distribution of corn and beans and tobacco and manioc is general--there may be local specializations based upon such factors as soils and precipitation, transport and market facilities, availability of fertilizer, etc., but any area of distrito size is likely to cultivate all of the four crops. In the northeastern part of this transition zone, in Alagoinhas and Inhambupe, corn and tobacco dominate in their respective combinations. In northern Castro Alves manioc and corn are very strong.

The inner transition zone between the tobacco-manioc region and sugar cane region is narrower and much less a zone of mutual interpenetration. The edges of the cane areas are almost invariably abrupt--scattered, but only widely scattered, cultivation of manioc and tobacco exists in the zone between São Gonçalo-Conceição da Feira and the cane areas in Cachoeira and Santo Amaro.

In the transition zone east of the cane monoculture--in São Francisco and São Sebastião--the crop situation is more confused. Here the relative amount of cultivation in the mata and the agreste is low, and the fields are concealed in the wild vegetation. Moreover, as the capital is approached, a number of diverse crops for the urban market, especially oranges, become important. There is a good deal of subsistence manioc cultivation in the remote areas--small plots cultivated by charcoal burners, fishermen, and marginal people of the urban fringes.

241 311 Southwest of the estuary of the Rio Paraguaçu, in Maragogipe and São Filipe, the crop pattern becomes very complex, as is shown by the relative distribution of cropland in São Filipe:

Manioc	33	per cent
Sugar cane	28	" "
Coffee	25	" "
Tobacco	11	" "
Peanuts	1	" "
Corn	1	" "

Plus small areas of beans, oranges, bananas, sweet potatoes, and coconut.

174 245 249 311 It is very likely that there has been a historical connection between the coffee culture of São Filipe and the main coffee zone far to the southwest. Apparently the development of tobacco cultivation in Santo Antônio has severed this connection.

249 244 221 Cultivation Systems--Tobacco and Manioc. The "ideal" system of cultivation of tobacco and manioc[1] in the tobacco-manioc region has the following general patterns:

(1) In mid-February a small tract, very commonly with an area of one tarefa[2] but sometimes larger, is cleared in the capoéira de caatinga (second-growth scrub-forest) or the capoéira de mata (second-growth littoral forest). Generally the capoéira is low brush, two to five [412] feet tall, which is easily cut with a facão--a long heavy knife which is a universal agricultural tool. Any heavy waste material that can be moved is dragged away from the plot; if there are tree stumps, they will not be grubbed out.[3] Sometimes the waste material on the surface of the field is burned, but this is by no means universal.

(2) A favored spot, either within the cleared field or in the adjoining capoéira, is prepared for a seed bed. Usually a site on the edge of a wood or near a steep slope is selected. Any available waste materials--corn stalks, old tobacco plants, weeds, brush, pieces of wood, and the like--are piled on the small plot, allowed to dry, and then burned.

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221 (3) When the first rains come, the soil of both the seed bed and the fields are worked up with a hoe so that all vegetable matter is buried and all weeds turned under.

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[417] (4) If possible the land is fertilized. Under "ideal" circumstances cattle are penned nightly over the area by means of a small temporary corral. The corral may be maintained for a long period over the seed bed, but on the field it is moved frequently so that the whole area is fertilized. Generally the resulting manure is left exposed to the sun and rain until planting time. However, this "ideal" method of fertilization is rare. A very large number of tobacco cultivators have no cattle—they are too poor and their operations are too small for livestock. Most cattle are held by fazendéiros (ranchers) who do not themselves grow tobacco. Moreover, the intensiveness of cultivation keeps the cattle population too small to provide enough manure for all local needs. Usually it is necessary to buy fertilizer. Cattle manure is sometimes purchased from a local fazendéiro. More and more, however, the tobacco cultivators are dependent upon cattle, or better still, goat manure which is trucked into the Recôncavo from the sertão. The manure is spread over the seed bed to a depth of about one inch and over the field in such depth as the quantity allows.

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221 (5) From mid-April to the end of May, depending upon the weather and the condition of the tobacco field, the seeds are planted. Almost without exception the seeds are taken from completely exhausted tobacco plants of the previous year, plants no longer able to produce salable leaf. The soil is broken open and loosened, and the seeds are sown directly into the fertilizer. Since the fertility of the seeds is very low, they are sown very thickly. The seed bed is fenced but is rarely covered. In sixty to seventy days the seedlings are ready for transplanting.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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221 (6) In June, as the rains increase and as the seedlings are ready, the soil in the field is again broken, and small ridges about 18 inches apart are made with a hoe. Occasionally manure is put into the hills at this stage in place of earlier fertilization. Then the young seedlings are planted in the ridges and a small quantity of water added. Ten days or two weeks later there is a replanting where the original seedings have failed.

(7) A few days later the ridges are further hilled up. Thereafter the field is kept clean with a hoe.

(8) When tips begin to form, about two months after planting--late July or early August--the plant is topped so that six to ten leaves remain.

(9) About three weeks later the whole upper stalk is harvested. Two or three shoots near the ground are then allowed to develop. These shoots are topped, and eventually their leaves are harvested. As many as eight separate harvests are made from the shoots, and often this form of harvest continues into December.

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276 (10) The harvested tobacco is tied to a long pole or rack and hung under the roof of the dwelling, beneath the eaves, or occasionally in separate thatch and adobe "barns." If the weather is damp, a fire is used to hasten drying. After they are thoroughly dried, perhaps three or four weeks, the leaves are cut down and stripped from the stalks. They are then graded, tied into bundles, and laid aside until they are sold, or if the farmer is a large producer, until a fermenta-
[442] tion bulk is assembled. The entire season's harvest is piled on the stack, and it is sold to the buyer at the end of the year.

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244 The sequence of cultivation following the harvesting of tobacco is as follows:

(1) The field is turned with a hoe--if some tobacco plants are

249 244 still producing, they are carefully left in place--and narrow, shallow trenches eighteen inches or two feet apart are dug across the field. Segments of manioc stalk, freshly cut and two to four inches long, are planted in the trenches and covered.

(2) When the manioc appears, the plants are slightly hilled, and the field is kept clean.

(3) Any time after six months, but if conditions are not too pressing after nine months, the roots are dug up with a hoe. The disposition of the manioc roots will be discussed in a later section on processing.

(4) The field is re-planted to manioc until it will no longer produce a reasonable yield--one to four years depending upon the fertility.[4]

(5) The field is abandoned to wild vegetation and used as a rough pasture, or, if land is in very short supply, it is fertilized and planted to tobacco.

There are a number of problems which lead to departures from the ideal system of cultivation discussed above:

(1) In many areas where the intensity of cultivation is extreme, no second growth is available, and it is necessary to take fields directly from the cultivation of manioc, or other crops, to the planting of tobacco. It is important to remember that by no means all the soils of the tobacco-manioc region are suitable for tobacco cultivation, even [134] in such favorable centers as Cruz das Almas or São Gonçalo. Only the lighter, sandier soils of the hill tops and upper slopes and occasionally the porous soils of the basins are used for tobacco. These tobacco soils are popularly considered to be "poor," because crops other than tobacco or manioc do not thrive upon them.[5]

[237] (2) A key problem in the main areas of tobacco-manioc cultivation

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249 is fertilizer. Most of the manure is purchased with money borrowed from
244 the tobacco buyers or local merchants. The rise and fall of the produc-
237 tion, yield, and quality of tobacco in the various municipios of the Recôncavo can be explained to a considerable degree by two factors: (1) the availability of loan capital, and (2) the variation in precipitation. Probably the local supply of capital is more variable than the rainfall. Moreover, the quality of the manure available is usually poor. The manure of grass-fed cattle is a mediocre fertilizing agent, and probably the manure produced from the capoéira de caatinga upon which most cattle feed is even more inferior. Goat manure is preferred, because it is believed that it produces both a larger crop and a higher quality leaf, but it is very expensive. Because those who can afford goat manure usually are also the more efficient and careful cultivators, it is difficult to be sure whether it is superior fertilizer or better care which produces the quality leaf.

The manure which is secured from sources within the tobacco-manioc zone has almost invariably deteriorated because it has been left for long periods in the sun and rain. The more expensive fertilizer imported from the sertão is of a better quality, both because it comes from a drier zone and has thus suffered from less leaching in the corral and because it is kept in piles so that only the surface material is open to the elements.

In general every possible cruzeiro that can be begged or borrowed is spent for manure, but if none can be bought, the cultivator will haul black soil (crystalline massapê) from the bottom lands and spread it over his field. Failing that, he will plant without fertilizer in a desperate attempt to produce a crop which will enable him to eke out the following year. Even if relatively fresh soil with a good growth of capoéira is available, the cultivator can produce only a very small

249 crop of poor tobacco without the application of manure. Commercial
244 fertilizers are beyond the means of all but a very small minority of
237 cultivators. Those large growers who have experimented with commercial fertilizers report unfavorable results, presumably because of excessive leaching in the porous soils.

249 (3) The system of seed selection is illustrative of the general crudity of cultivation. As indicated above, the seeds are taken from the old and repeatedly harvested plants of the preceding season. The only criterion for selection is survival--the seed plant continued to produce longer than the rest of the crop. This does not mean that it produced more leaf or better quality--indeed, the opposite is often
[654] the case. Occasionally better seeds are available from the federal or
[242] state government, but the cultivators take little interest.

(4) The practice of harvesting the entire stalk or shoot at one time increases the variation in quality, since there are appreciable differences in the stages of development of the leaves. Immature leaves do not cure properly, while overripe leaves will produce only inferior grades.

249 (5) The primitive methods of drying and fermenting further re-
276 duce the quality of the leaf. Where the leaves are dried indoors over the fire, they acquire a smoky character. Frequently the debts of the
[424] cultivator force him to sell part of his crop prematurely so that a bulk large enough for fermentation is not assembled. On the other hand, if a large bulk of leaf is accumulated for curing and fermentation, there is always the risk of scorching, since thermometers are never used to check the temperature. A common abuse, and a costly one to the cultivator, results from delay in stringing the leaf up to dry. If the freshly cut leaves are allowed to remain piled in the sun before hanging, the green color is fixed. This damage cannot be

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 [276] removed by drying or by fermentation, and the leaves are very bitter.

(6) There is a constant but generally ineffective struggle [136] against insects which damage the tobacco crop. The most serious pest is the ant, which not only cuts the leaves but which also covers whole plants with extensive mounds. A number of plant diseases are common in the Recôncavo--their general effect is to reduce quality rather than to destroy the crop. The effects of plant diseases generally are masked by the much greater damage which occurs in cultivation and processing.

241 (7) The practices of land clearing, soil preparation, planting, harvesting, and curing, discussed above, are more highly standardized than is the sequence of land use. The "ideal" land use sequence is more characteristic of the zone of tobacco and manioc south of the Rio Paraguaçu--the Southwestern Recôncavo--than north of it. This land use sequence has been used as a standard of comparison because it is practiced where the highest quality of tobacco is grown and because it was the most commonly observed practice in most other parts of the tobacco-manioc region. However, even in this southwestern area, departures from the "ideal" sequence are relatively common--the introduction of corn and/or beans between tobacco and manioc is especially important. The sequence which is followed after tobacco cultivation depends not only upon the relative price of farinha de mandioca, corn, and beans, but also on the amount of fertilizer applied to the tobacco plot the previous year. Moreover, the chosen sequence will depend upon the original quality of the soil. In Cruz das Almas, at least, corn and beans were not planted in the old tobacco field unless the cultivator felt assured that the fertility was reasonably certain. If substantial risks were involved, manioc was planted.[6]

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241 311 North of the Paraguaçu, modification of the "ideal" system is more frequent, especially in municípios where the area in cultivation is relatively small. In Coração de Maria, for example, only 4 per cent of the area was cultivated in 1948. Here it is possible to open more "new" land upon which tall capoéira has developed. Since this município is remote--but more in terms of road transport than in actual distance--there is greater need to produce a high-value, low-bulk crop, such as tobacco, and less possibility for the commercial production of manioc. Many fields of tobacco are allowed to revert directly into capoéira. Since the land is more thoroughly fallowed and since there are fewer cattle and thus less manure, fertilization is generally less extensive in this area. A similarly modified pattern of cultivation is found in Catu and in the more remote parts of São Gonçalo.

In Santo Antônio, where the intensity of agriculture is increasing, but where the cultivated area is still relatively small, much "new" land can be used. In this município the area in tobacco is [249] large in relation to manioc, and thus some tobacco fields obviously revert directly to brush.

249 244 There seems to be no definite land rotation period in the tobacco-manioc region. Rather the period is controlled by the availability of land. In 1948, the município of Cruz das Almas, one of the most intensively cultivated areas of the tobacco-manioc region, had one half of its total surface in cultivation according to the official data. Approximately one-quarter of the total area was in each of the two crops. Under these circumstances, no more than two years of fallow can have intervened between the harvesting of manioc and the planting of tobacco. However, not all of the município can be cultivated, and certainly no more than three-fourths of the total area can be used for tobacco. It follows that in many cases no more than

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249 one year could have intervened between manioc and tobacco. By 1953, the
244 total cropland was obviously far below the 1948 level--probably no more than one-fourth of the land was under cultivation. Even so, the rotation period was extremely short, usually only one or two years. The cultivators are enclosed in a narrowing circle of exhausted soil, increasing cost of manure, and growing population. These are the fundamental problems of the tobacco and manioc region. All of these problems seem to be especially acute in the municipio of Cruz das Almas, but they are serious in every area where tobacco is grown.

243 The Cultivation of Corn and Beans. Corn and beans are usually
244 cultivated in the Recôncavo under a land rotation system, much like the system of tobacco and manioc. The qualification "in the Recôncavo," is necessary because the modifications of the corn-bean system as it overlaps the Recôncavo from the north and west are very significant. In the sertão the areas suited to crop cultivation are more limited, primarily because of the lesser amount of precipitation. Where suitable areas are available, such as at the foot of the low mountains, cultivation tends to be permanent, particularly if the soils are relatively good and if the population is relatively dense for so droughty a zone--as in Serrinha and Inhambupe. This permanent form of agriculture is called pé do monte (foot of the mountain) and is a relatively standardized agricultural system in the sertão, as well as in the crystalline zone near the western edge of the Recôncavo, in Feira de Santana and Santo Estêvão, where corn and beans are often cultivated around the low serras. In the Tertiary zone farther east, where there are no serras, a similar system of permanent cultivation is found in the valleys. Elsewhere within the Recôncavo, corn and beans are generally cultivated under the field and fallow system,

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243 either separately or in conjunction with tobacco and manioc. They are
244 frequently grown on land thought to be not suitable for tobacco culti-
[134] vation yet too good for manioc alone, such as the steeper slopes of the crystalline area where the heavier soils do not produce good quality tobacco.

Since the area in corn and beans is small and the amount of slope land large, the capoéira is extensive and frequently quite tall. After the slopes are cleared, the land is very often planted to mixed corn and beans, more rarely to one or the other. The crops are planted
[221] in March or April, perhaps in May, and even in June for beans alone. The planting season for these crops is extended both because they are tolerant of changes in season and because as crops secondary to tobacco they have a lesser priority. Some corn is usually planted early enough
[527] so that it will ripen in time for São João (mid-summer day) festival
[862] for which fresh corn-on-the-cob is the traditional food. This festival is usually the beginning of the corn harvest, but the bean harvest
[251] begins a month later. Both crops are harvested by hand and, after drying, are shelled by hand, sacked, and either stored or sold. When the fertility of the soil is higher than normal or when there is labor to spare, the field may be planted to manioc after the corn and bean harvest.

243 As a result of the interpenetration of the corn-bean and the
244 tobacco-manioc systems, in many regions and on many individual proper-
249 ties the two co-exist. Usually the upland fields are in tobacco and
311 manioc, with an occasional plot of corn and/or beans. Usually the slope-land plots are in corn or beans.

249 The Cultivation of Sugar Cane. In distinction to the crops discussed above, sugar cane is grown under a system of permanent

249 cultivation which is monocultural and highly standardized. As has been indicated, small scale sugar cane cultivation--in house gardens--is omnipresent in the Recôncavo. The area in such garden cane, however, can scarcely be as much as one per cent of the total cropland.

249 471 Within the Central Recôncavo sugar cane is grown principally to supply a relatively small number of sugar usinas. The usinas either own and operate or rent and operate the cane plantations or have a stable relationship with those plantations from which they buy cane. Under these circumstances it is both necessary and relatively easy to standardize the methods of production and cultivation. The industrial aspects of sugar production will be discussed in the section on processing.

249 The general system of sugar cane cultivation involves a five-year sequence:

[407] [492] (1) The land is broken with a large ox-drawn, wooden plow. The same plow opens parallel furrows, two to three feet apart, into which are laid pieces of cane stalk, cut from specially grown seed cane. The seed cane is then covered with hoes and packed with bare feet. Planting usually takes place during the last of the wet season--August and early September--to a lesser extent during the cane harvest--mid-September to mid-March--and at the end of the harvest in the autumn, if possible. Usually, however, the ground is too wet for planting during the months of May to August.

(412) (2) The cane is weeded frequently with a knife or a hoe. After a year of growth it is cut and carted away to the railroad. The leaves and upper stalk are left on the field and after drying are burned, except for some small part which is used as fodder.

(3) When the roots sprout again, the field is weeded and kept clean as the second-year cane develops; and after a year, the cane is harvested again. Generally this re-growth is repeated three times, so that there are four harvests for each planting.

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249 (4) The field is burned for the last time, and as new cane or grass appears, it is used as pasture.

(5) After one year of pasture, sometimes more, the field is replanted to cane.

[529] The length of the harvest varies. It begins with a festa (festival in the first week of September and continues as long as there is cane and as long as the heavy rains hold off--usually about six months.

249 311 Within the sugar cane area most of the land is in cane or in temporary fallow pasture except: (1) very wet bottom lands; (2) steep slopes; (3) villages; and (4) the lands and yards occupied by the mills. The general aspect of this area is that of an unbroken sea of cane. Single fields are often large--a square kilometer is not uncommon--but they are divided into separate plots. The cultivation of other crops within the sugar cane area is very limited. Small house gardens for the laborers are common, but other commercial agricultural forms of land use are rare.

249 423 257 184 Land holdings, as will be seen, generally are large under this system. The orientation of the sugar industry in São Filipe is somewhat different than in the zone discussed above. Properties are smaller, the monocultural aspect less dominant, and the whole sugar economy more primitive. There were eighty-two small sugar mills in this area in 1940, compared to the eight large usinas of Santo Amaro. [273] Many of these produced crude sugar (rapadura) rather than the refined sugar or cane brandy (cachaça) which are the main products of the zone north of the Bay.

245 The Cultivation of Coconuts. The final important agricultural system of the Recôncavo is the coconut monoculture, a less highly organized permanent culture than the sugar cane system.

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245 [311] Most coconuts are grown on moderate-sized plantations along the beaches, in sands, or occasionally in sandy loams. North of Salvador they are grown on dunes and beaches and, back from the sea, in sandy stream valleys where the supply of ground water is generous. There seems to be little selection in choosing coconuts for reproduction. Usually the nuts are planted eight meters or so apart, with a pile of organic trash over and around the nut to provide some additional fertility and to hold the moisture necessary for germination. The sprout must be protected from foraging animals, but once growth is well started, the tree receives little attention and no fertilization.

[433] Yields are moderate to low, from 15 to 40 per tree. Apparently the yields per tree are substantially higher (double) in the Bay area--Itaparica and Caraussari--than in the area farther north--Mata de São João and Esplanada. In the Bay area the nuts are usually sold in the markets [443] of Salvador without processing.

241 178 Conclusion. The basic determinant of cultivation practices in the Recôncavo is custom. This is probably less true of the cultivation of sugar than of other crops, but the weight of tradition is heavy [454] upon all agricultural enterprises. It may be said that many relatively primitive agricultural practices survive because of ignorance of newer techniques and because of a lack of capital for investment in new tools, in machinery, in better seed, and in permanent land improvement. The importance of these factors in limiting change in Recôncavo agriculture, particularly as general factors operating indirectly upon individual cultivators and individual farms is not to be denied.

However, when the individual cultivator--sugar planter or tobacco share-cropper--is given an opportunity, in the form of new techniques and the necessary capital, to change and improve his operations and

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increase his production and he rejects these opportunities, it is clear that strong non-economic forces are operating directly upon the individual. These forces are the rigid agricultural and social traditions of the Recôncavo society, which are given particular rigidity by the explicit conservatism of the Recôncavo. These traditions are given

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particular force by the strongly personal character of social and economic relationships in the Recôncavo. The relationship of the share-cropper with the landlord, of the buyer of tobacco with the seller, of the cane field worker with the foreman or usina manager, of the cidade store keeper or agent with the banker or dealer in the capital, are all strongly personal and generally of long standing. Under these circumstances any adventurism by one individual will bring him, if he is in a subordinate position, under the pressure of the traditional bias of those above. If he is in a superior position, any adventurism on his part will bring him not only the criticism of all his colleagues but the personally expressed resistance of his dependents. To the present at least, the vested interest of Recôncavo culture in the fixity of its agricultural systems has successfully resisted major change.

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The system of monocultural agriculture, represented in the Recôncavo by sugar cane cultivation, is a traditional element in Brazilian agriculture. Not only sugar cane, but also cacao, coffee, and many other commercial crops are grown in Brazil as monocultures. Specifically, sugar cane monocultures are found in Pernambuco and the other states of the Northeast, in Rio de Janeiro, in Minas Gerais, and in São Paulo.

However, in Brazil as in the Recôncavo, monoculture is being superseded by diversified cultivation. "Too much has . . . been made of the misleading statement that Brazil is a 'one-crop' country," Wythe has said.[7] In the center and south of the country, growing

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urban populations have led to diversification of agriculture. In the Recôncavo the trend toward diversification is still rudimentary; there are rarely more than two important crops cultivated in any one area. The specific extent to which the corn-bean and tobacco-manioc systems of the Recôncavo are found in other parts of Brazil is not clear. Corn and beans are grown in almost all parts of Brazil, but the extent of the system of joint cultivation is not apparent. During travels across the sertão of Bahia and across Alagoas, both separate and joint cultivation were frequently observed. In the northeastern interior, tobacco grown for fumo em corda is frequently succeeded in the field by manioc, but the tobacco and manioc system of the Recôncavo apparently is not duplicated in any other area of Brazil. In Rio Grande do Sul tobacco apparently is produced as a monoculture in a very restricted area. However, the practice of land rotation, involving crops other than the tobacco and manioc of the Recôncavo, is the most widespread of the Brazilian systems of cultivation.

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000 Footnotes - Chapter VI

[124] [127] [114] [1]The discussion of the cultivation of tobacco and manioc is based upon the following sources: (1) private conversations with Mr. G. G. Jay, a tobacco buyer and grower of long experience in Bahia and in other regions of South America; (2) Walter Alberto Egler, "Aspectos Gerais da Cultura do Fumo na Região do Recôncavo na Bahia," Boletim Geográfico, Vol. X, No. 111 (November-December, 1952), pp. 679-688; (3) general field observations throughout the zone, except in Coração de Maria and Caju, and, during 1953-1954, detailed observations in São Gonçalo and in Cruz das Almas.

[804] [2]Tarefa means "a task," "a day's work," or "a piece of work," but it is also an antique unit of area which is the folk-unit of area throughout much of Brazil. Its size varies from place to place, but the tarefa baiana equals 0.4356 hectares. In many areas one tarefa is considered to be the usual size of the tobacco planting of one man, but it is obvious from a comparison of the labor force and area in tobacco that in many areas the plantings per person must run much larger. In any case, the individual plots are very likely to be one tarefa each.

[3]In many areas the tree stumps have entirely disappeared as a result of the intensive cultivation, which severely restricts the size of the wild vegetation which can develop during the fallow period.

[114] [243] [4]This interpretation differs, at least in emphasis, from that of Walter Alberto Egler, op. cit., pp. 679-688. He suggests as the characteristic sequence, tobacco, corn and/or beans, and then manioc. Undoubtedly this sequence is important, but the field investigation for the prese study revealed that the direct replacement of tobacco with manioc is more characteristic.

[239] [5]However, tobacco does not produce well on these poor soils unless manure is used, and even the yields of manioc are low unless it is planted in a field where there has been a relatively recent application of manure.

[244] [6]The seed for corn, which is edible, has value in itself. The stalk of manioc has no utility except to reproduce the crop. Thus when manioc is planted, the cultivator invests only his labor and the questionable value of the land.

[7]See section by George Wythe in Simon Kuznets, Wilbert E. Moore, and Joseph J. Spengler (eds.), Economic Growth: Brazil, India, Japan, p. 34.

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CHAPTER VII

ANIMAL INDUSTRY

BB 231 433 Although the Recôncavo is primarily a subsistence and commercial crop region, livestock play a significant role in the agricultural BB economy as beasts of burden and as a source of animal products. In [435] 1948 there were about 800,000 to 850,000 livestock—cattle, sheep, goats, horses, asses, and mules—in the region, and the value of animal production was about Cr.$60,000,000.[1] Thus animals accounted for about 17 per cent of the total value of all agricultural products of the Recôncavo. About one quarter of the livestock were work animals essential to the operation of the agricultural economy--oxen, horses, asses, and mules.[2]

BB NB 231 233 442 443 The livestock industry of the Recôncavo is closely associated with the extensive livestock ranching economy of the Brazilian northeastern interior. In Bahia, as in most parts of Brazil, the sertão of the interior is a source region of livestock. The animals are driven from the sertão to the coastal nuclei of dense settlement and sold in the cattle market—in the Recôncavo, at the market of Feira de Santana. A portion of the cattle are slaughtered immediately to provide food for the large agricultural population, but a substantial number of cattle and the horses, asses, and mules are retained as work animals. The working cattle—oxen--are eventually slaughtered.

BB 231 Certain outlying parts of the Recôncavo share with the sertão in the role of producing livestock for the coastal market zone. Other areas, especially around Feira de Santana, function as fattening zones in which the cattle recuperate after the long drives from the interior.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

231 Where there are large numbers of work animals the conditioning and maintenance of oxen and other beasts of burden are important agricultural activities. In all areas of the Recôncavo the livestock forage on grazing land rather than cultivated pasture, and there is no livestock feeding. Thus, animal husbandry in the Recôncavo is not part of a system in which crops are raised or pasture is planted to support or fatten livestock, as is the case in mixed farming areas.

311 233 Pastured Land. According to the agricultural census, the total area used as pasture in the Recôncavo in 1940 was about 280,000 hectares--only two times the total cultivated area.[3] The total area of pastured land in 1948 must have been much greater, perhaps 400,000 hectares, for there was a strong increase in the number of animals, and it seems unlikely that there was much increase in the carrying capacity of the wild vegetation.

As was suggested in the physical setting discussion, the basic grazing resources of the Recôncavo are the caatinga and agreste. These vegetation formations, modified by cultivation, fire, and grazing into capoéira--second growth--are used extensively for livestock along the perimeter of the Recôncavo, where cultivation is scattered, but also in such intensively cultivated areas as the Southwestern Recôncavo. In essence, all the uncultivated rural land of the zone of the caatinga and the agreste is grazing land, since there are few fences to restrain the large numbers of livestock.

There are scattered areas of grassland in the caatinga, the agreste, and the mata zones of the Recôncavo. Very often the caatinga of the uplands of the crystalline zone is replaced by grasses along the poorly-drained valley floors. These grassy valleys are scattered throughout the western half of the Recôncavo and are used as pasture

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

311 for small herds of dairy cattle and for the maintenance of a relatively
233 small number of higher grade beef cattle and horses. Around Feira de Santana, however, there is a prominent concentration of grassland, and it is here that the cattle from the sertão are fattened before they are dispersed over the Recôncavo.

In the sugar cane zone coarse, rank grasses cover the lowest valley bottoms, which are frequently too wet and muddy to permit the transport of harvested cane. These grasslands are the pastures on which are grazed the work oxen and incidental animals used in sugar production. The limited areas of permanent pasture are supplemented by the fallow fields and by leaves from the harvested cane. Scattered patches of grass are found elsewhere in the humid lowland. Along the eastern side of the sugar cane zone there are grassy openings in the forest. In this area there are several cattle ranches on which the weak or sick animals of the large sugar usinas are rested and the reserves of oxen maintained. The forest, which is developed on mixed, sandy soils and is more like agreste than true littoral forest, apparently is held back by heavy grazing and by burning, so that the grassy openings are preserved.

In effect all the littoral forest is used for grazing to some extent. Even in very remote areas donkeys and pigs are to be found foraging on the scanty grasses and herbaceous vegetation of the forest floor.

In addition to the quality of the wild vegetation, two contradictory economic and social forces are important in determining the location and extent of grazing land within some local areas. In the Recôncavo, crop cultivation is generally more profitable than livestock industry. Where economic forces operate freely, grazing is likely to be relegated to the less desirable areas--infertile soils, poorly drained valleys, or zones remote from the local market. On the other

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

233 556 311 On the other hand, ranching is a prestige activity; the rancher almost invariably is an influential and relatively wealthy member of the local community. As such, he may command for grazing purposes land which would be more profitable to the owner and to the whole economy if it were under cultivation.

231 Livestock Production. The large livestock animals which are important to the Recôncavo—cattle, asses, mules, horses, sheep, and goats--are primarily the products of ranching enterprises, i.e., livestock fazendas. Many of these animals are bred in the Sertão west and northwest of the Recôncavo and brought into the region as young stock ready for use as labor animals, as milk producers, or as mature animals ready for fattening and slaughter. However, there is some basic livestock production within the Recôncavo, especially in the outer ring of municípios. Here livestock are raised under conditions basically similar to those of the Sertão.

233 The cattle fazenda is a grazing enterprise in which the reproduction of the herd is uncontrolled; there is no selective breeding. Vaqueiros (cowboys) are employed to hold and to move the herds over vast distances. From time to time the young bulls are emasculated, and [232] as they approach maturity, these oxen are usually driven to the Recôncavo. The remaining cattle are held until maturity and then driven across the Sertão to Feira de Santana. The characteristic cattle fazenda exists in a modified form in the Recôncavo. Since the land for grazing is more restricted, the herds are smaller, and sometimes the grazing area is fenced. Second growth is the basic forage, though, as has been seen, grass here plays a relatively more important [232] role than in the Sertão. There have been a few attempts to breed selectively in the Recôncavo.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954) 1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

231 The production of asses, mules, and horses is concentrated outside the Recôncavo. Apparently most of the work animals used in the Recôncavo-oxen as well as asses, mules, and horses--were born on the Sertão and were the products of the same ranches which produce beef animals.

In distinction to these larger animals, swine are produced in large number within the Recôncavo. Moreover, they are almost exclusively the products of small enterprises--pigs are raised in ones and twos by small farmers. They eat the household waste and root in the abandoned [443] fields and the second growth. When they are mature or when the need for cash is pressing, they are sold in the local market, either alive or slaughtered.

Most of the livestock of the Recôncavo are descendent from animals introduced into the Northeast during colonial times. In general [232] there has been little deliberate selection of strains--those animals which have survived disease, insect pests, prolonged semi-starvation, and casual abuse have conferred their characteristics upon the present generation. Thus, most of the livestock are scrubby and inbred, inefficient producers of meat, milk, or energy.

Cattle. The total cattle population of the Recôncavo was 395,000 head in 1948, and the number was still growing. There were [433] almost three times as many cattle in the region as swine, the next most numerous animal, and the value of cattle production far exceeded that of other livestock.

Almost all of the cattle of the Recôncavo are of the unspecialized and ubiquitous Indo-Brazilian strain--rangy animals with long horns and a moderate hump, hardy and strong but not producers of large quantities of either meat or milk. Oxen of the same breed are important in [234] the sugar zone and in Feira de Santana, and both beef and milk cattle

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

231 [234] are found in all parts of the Recôncavo, although dairying is not a highly developed enterprise. It should be noted, however, that both oxen and milk cows usually end their careers in the slaughter house.

No município in the Recôncavo had less than 2,500 cattle in 1948, but there were only two important concentrations (Map 78). The largest of these was in Feira de Santana, chiefly around the cidade. Forty per cent of all cattle in the Recôncavo were held in this area. The second, and much smaller, concentration was in the sugar cane region, with about 8 per cent of the cattle of the Recôncavo. In order effectively to differentiate these concentrations and between them and the basal distribution of the rest of the Recôncavo, it is necessary to discuss briefly the specialized forms of livestock enterprise.

[492] (1) In the sugar zone a very large percentage (probably 70 to 90 per cent) of the cattle are oxen used as labor in the cane fields (Map 79). Since these animals are grass-fed exclusively--no grain is used--and since there are many disease problems, it is necessary to maintain a large local reserve so that day to day rotation is possible. In addition, the larger enterprises maintain ranches on which oxen and other labor animals, purchased in the Sertão or at Feira de Santana, are conditioned and at which ailing or weak animals recuperate. When they are no longer useful as draft animals, the oxen are butchered and sold to the local agricultural laborers. Only small quantities of milk 234 443 are produced in this zone.

(2) Salvador, and to a lesser extent Feira de Santana, have milk sheds of importance (Map 80). In addition, a very small milk shed surrounds each cidade, although Cachoeira-São Félix is not well endowed in this respect.[h] The marketing of milk is local--the only exception discovered was the sale in Salvador of milk from the município of Camassari. The dairy industry around Salvador is relatively

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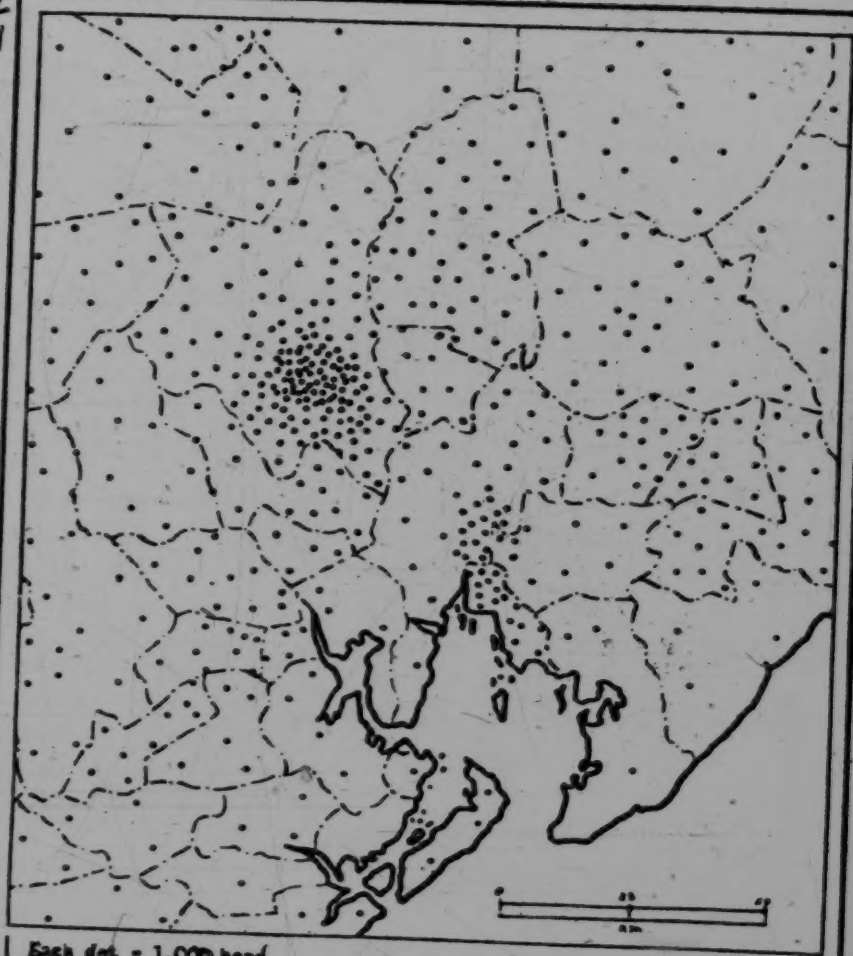

Each dot - 1,000 head

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Castle--1948

Source of data: "População Pecuária, Em 31/12/1948."

MAP 78

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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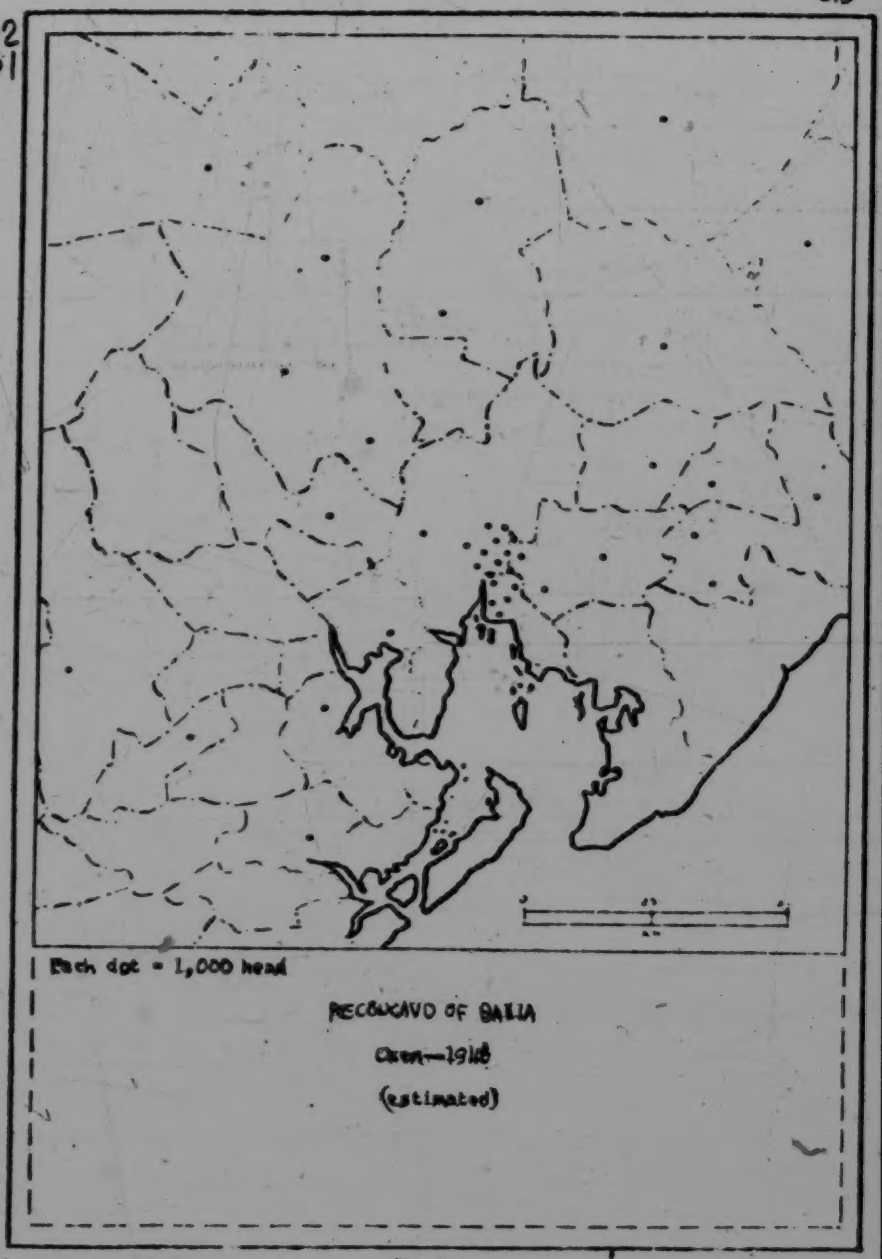

MAP 79

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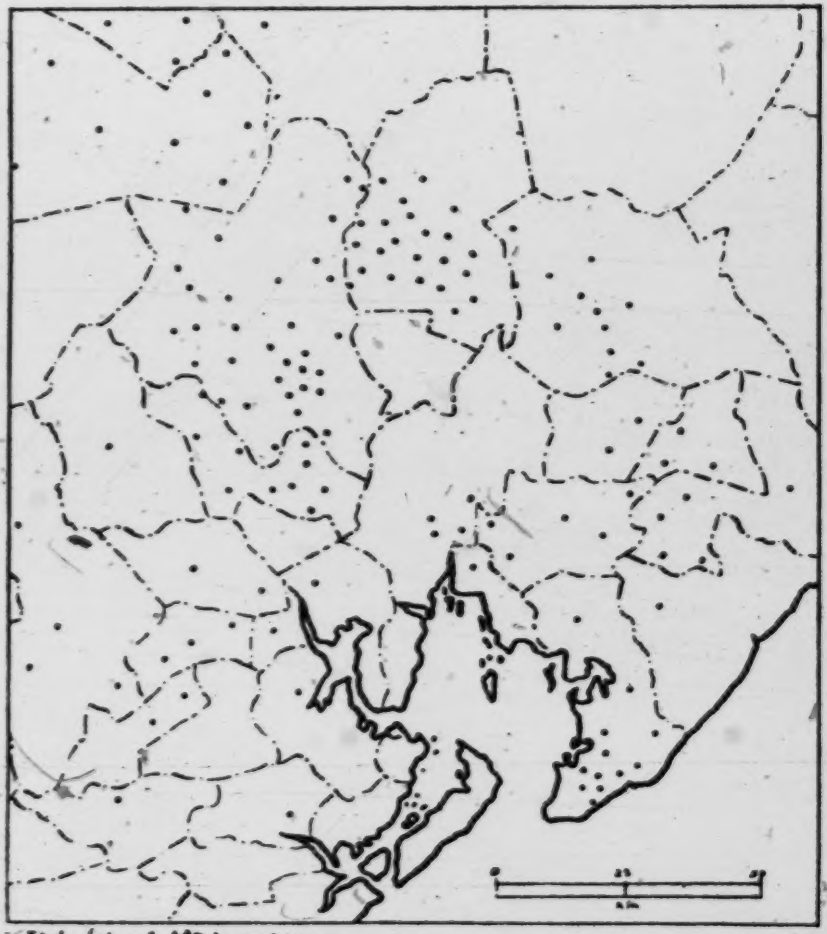

Each dot = 1,000 hectoliters

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Milk Production--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1950. Censos Economicos Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 80

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

The dairy industry around Salvador is relatively
234 large-scale, as is evident in the size and number of tank trucks which
443
[493] peddle milk through the streets of the city, and which bear the name of
local fazendas. However, the milk has a low butter-fat content, is
[272] unpasteurized, and it is expensive, and many people use powdered milk which is imported from other parts of Brazil and abroad. The Salvador dairy industry is large-scale only in relation to the small-scale operations in other parts of the region, where the small quantities of available milk are carried to the cidades on mules or asses and sold from house to house.

233 (3) Feira de Santana is the principal cattle market not only of
443 the Recôncavo but also of the state of Bahia. To its market (campo de gado) are driven the cattle of the northern sertão of Bahia and from as far west as the mountains. Before or after sale many of these cattle are rested and fattened on the pastures around the cidade so that the cattle population is large but fluid. Some of these cattle are butchered locally, but many are driven to Salvador before slaughter.

231 (4) In all other parts of the Recôncavo small-scale animal husbandry is very common. Many small farmers, sharecroppers, or renters
[272] have one or two cows and sometimes a calf. The milk, if any, is used
[234] either by the family or sold in the cidade. In addition, there are a
[443] few large cattle ranches, usually producing both milk and beef cattle. Thus the unspecialized livestock economy of most of the Recôncavo is distinct from the labor animal concentration in the sugar zone, the Salvador milk shed, and the market animal concentration around Feira de Santana.

233 The pattern of distribution of cattle outside the Recôncavo is not markedly different from that of the adjacent areas within the region. In this respect Mata de São João is like Pojuca, Castro Alves like Santo Estêvão, and Nazaré like São Felix-Maragogipe. However, the

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

233 lower intensity of crop cultivation beyond the Recôncavo gives livestock greater relative importance around the periphery.

Cattle were the most numerous of the major livestock in the Recôncavo in 1948, except in four municípios--Cruz das Almas, Conceição do Almeida, São Filipe, and Itaparica, where there were more swine. Cattle were also the most numerous livestock in all municípios bordering the Recôncavo on the east and north and in Castro Alves on the west.

232 433 Apparently the total cattle population in the Recôncavo is increasing rapidly. In 1940 there were only 250,000 cattle in the Recôncavo; in 1948, 394,990. It is inferred from both the state livestock data for 1952[5] and from field observation that this growth continued through 1953, though probably at a more moderate rate. Unfortunately, a comparison of the total cattle population of most of the municípios in 1940 with the number in 1948 does not provide a clear basis for generalizations which can be checked against the situation as [128] observed in the field. Either many of the data are in error, or the changes in cattle population were often unrelated to the general pattern of agricultural development in many municípios. Some of the changes indicated by the data can be accepted without too much question--the growth of the cattle population of Feira de Santana, 206 per cent, is a concomitant, it seems likely, of the general increase in cattle population in Bahia. It is possible that the contemporary growth of the city of Salvador and the improved transportation system have produced a precipitous decline in the cattle population in the sub-urban area and an increase in the tributary area beyond--Camassari, Mata de São João, and Pojuca. The population growth of the cidade of Alagoinhas apparently has resulted in a local displacement of cattle fazendas but in a peripheral expansion of livestock production. The decline

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

233 of Cachoeira as a regional center could account for some decline in
433 its cattle population. On the other hand, the almost four-fold increase in cattle in São Francisco, more than two-fold increase in Itaparica, and almost two-fold increase in Jaguaripe, indicated by the data, are not credible in view of the general agricultural situation. A moderate increase in the cattle population of these areas, to serve the growing Salvador market, is reasonable enough, but not such an astronomical expansion.

231 Swine. Although much less numerous than cattle—there were
433 135,000 swine in the Recôncavo in 1948--pigs are similary ubiquitous. These animals are particularly important in Feira de Santana and Irará, in the Southwestern Recôncavo, and on the island of Itaparica (Map 81). In the Feira de Santana-Irará area swine were much less numerous than cattle, but in the Southwestern Recôncavo and on Itaparica they were the most common livestock animal. Pigs were also the most numerous livestock in adjoining Nazaré, Aratuípe, and Jaguaripe.

The swine population of the Recôncavo is almost surely increasing. This increase is strongly indicated by the evident general agricultural development of the Southwestern Recôncavo, the main center of swine production. A comparison of the 1940 and the 1948 data shows an increase which is in excess of the probable errors of the data. The pattern of change within the Recôncavo shown by the 1940 and 1948 data is irrational for many municípios, although the strong increases shown for the Southwestern Recôncavo and for Feira de Santana are reasonable in view of the observable development of these areas.

231 In the cattle industry, big enterprises are dominant, but swine
[472] are produced almost exclusively by small holders, renters, and sharecroppers, each with two or three pigs. The swine are tough, thick-hided

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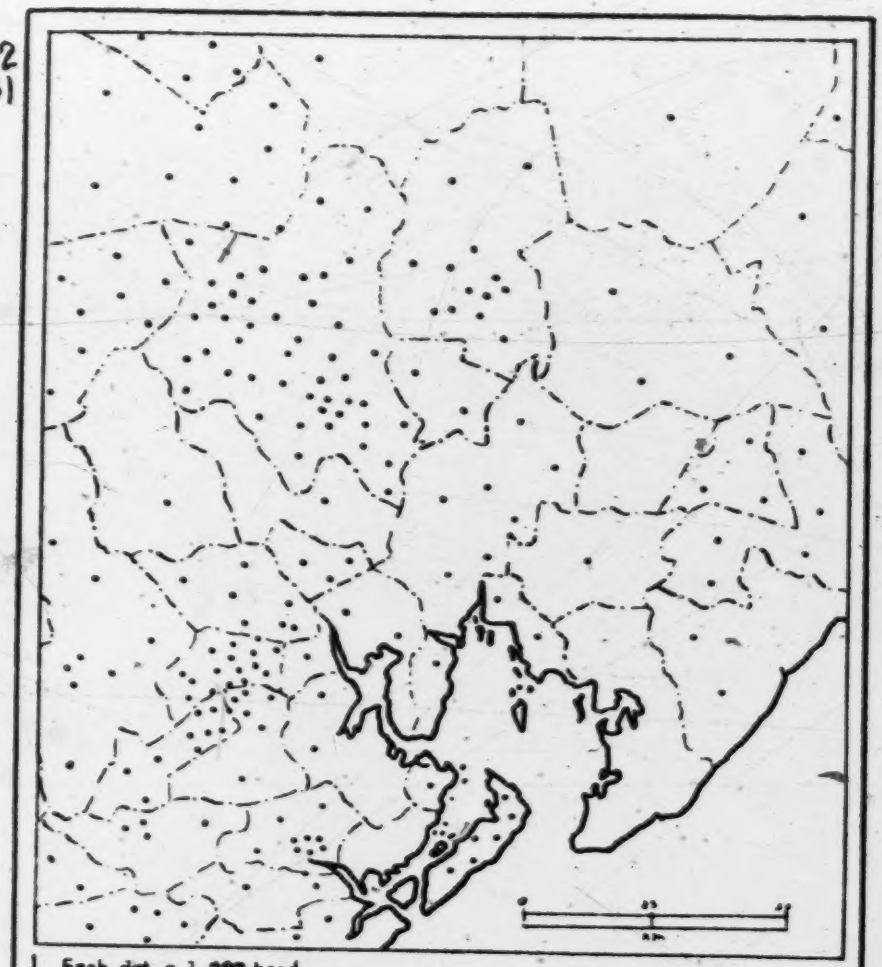

Each dot = 1,000 head

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Swine--1948

Source of data: "População Pecuária, Em 31/12/1948."

MAP 81

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

231 [442] animals, rangy and thin, which can and do exist on what they can forage in the second growth or whatever table waste is available. They are marketed one or two at a time in the local markets or are purchased by local buyers who transport a load of pigs into Salvador by truck or sailing boat (saveiro).

231 433 Sheep and Goats. Neither sheep nor goats are characteristic animals of the Recôncavo, but they are found in small numbers in several of its municípios. In 1948 there were about 80,000 sheep and 40,000 goats in the region. Almost all of these animals were low-grade but hardy local varieties. Goats are most numerous on the western sertão, but they are found in moderate numbers along the western edge of the Recôncavo (Map 82). The distribution of sheep is similar, but more uneven, and there is a conspicuous concentration around Feira de Santana (Map 83).

Neither animal ranks very high in the total livestock population of any Recôncavo município. Beyond the northern Recôncavo, from Conceição do Coite to Esplanada, sheep are the most numerous or second most numerous of all animals. In the west, goats are more important--these are the most numerous of all animals in Riachão do Jacuípe and are as numerous as cattle in Ipirá. Apparently the number of both anisals is growing. Goats are increasing most rapidly, especially within the Recôncavo. The number of sheep is increasing slowly and
231 very irregularly. In the dry marginal zone of the Recôncavo, sheep and
233 goats are produced on large fazendas in much the same manner as cattle. This is also true for the sheep around Feira de Santana. In many areas, however, small holders occasionally run a few goats and, less frequently, sheep in the second-growth.

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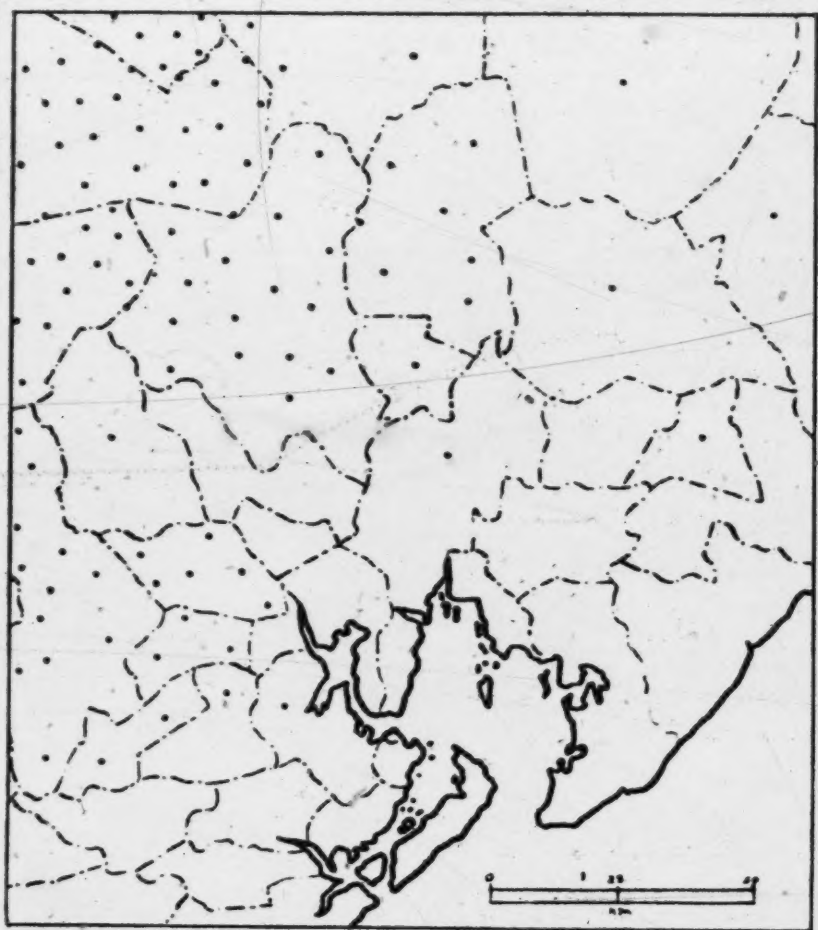

Each dot = 1,000 head

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Goats--1948

Source of data: "População Pecuária Em 31/12/1948."

MAP 82

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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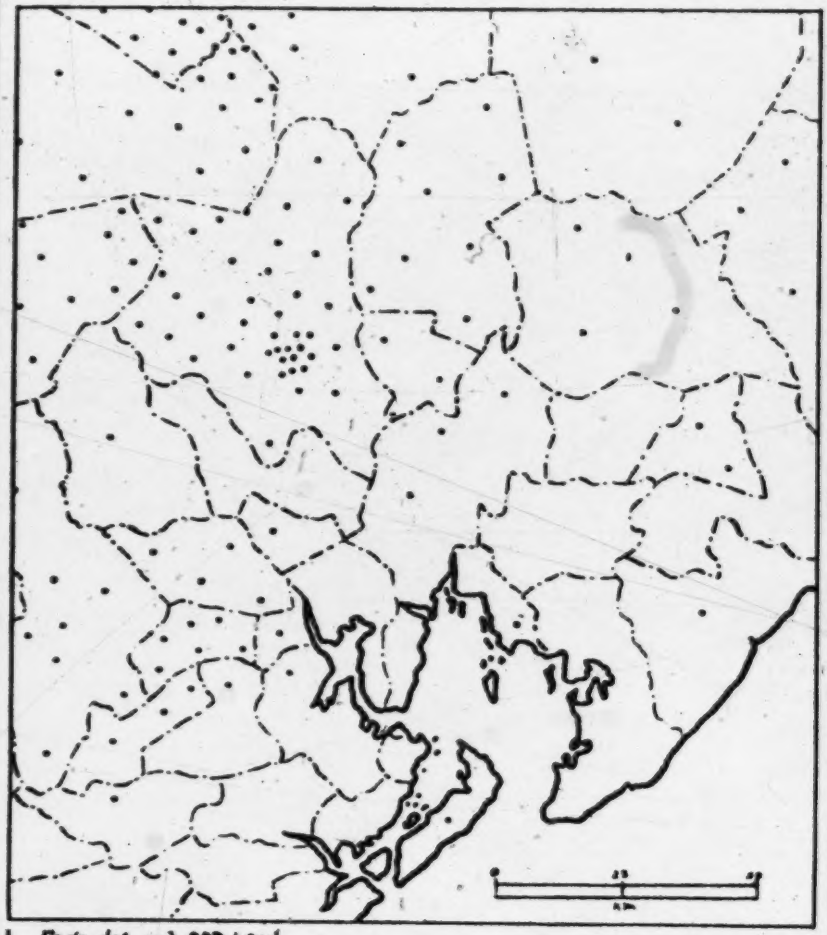

Each dot = 1,000 head

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Sheep--1948

Source of data: "População Pecuária, Em 31/12/1948."

MAP 83

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

231 Summary—Livestock Produced for Animal Products. Except for the oxen, all the animals discussed above are raised for meat or for other animal products rather than for use as beasts of burden. The distribution of these animals, without regard to kind, is summarized on the accompanying map of non-work animals (Map 84).

Feira de Santana has the outstanding concentration of these non-work animals in the Recôncavo and, undoubtedly, in Bahia. To a considerable degree this concentration signalizes the importance of the sertão as a producer of livestock and of the Recôncavo as a consumer, since many of the animals around Feira de Santana are transients moving from the former to the latter. The principal market served by [443] Feira de Santana is the city of Salvador, but the rural areas of all the Recôncavo north of the Bay and the estuary of the Rio Paraguaçu also secure much of their livestock through the campo de gado at "Feira."

The only other concentration of livestock raised for animal products is in the Southwestern Recôncavo. Most of these animals are [433] used to feed the large local population within the sub-region, which seems to be relatively self-sufficient as far as livestock production is concerned.

231 Asses and Mules. Asses and mules combined are the most numerous 492 and widely distributed work animals in the Recôncavo. There were in 1948 about 115,000 of these two animals in the region (Map 85). Over one-half were found in Feira de Santana, where they are raised locally in large numbers and where animals brought from the Sertão are conditioned for sale. The asses and mules of the Recôncavo are both very small animals and are generally used as burden carriers, although the larger mules—still very small by United States standards—are used as riding animals.

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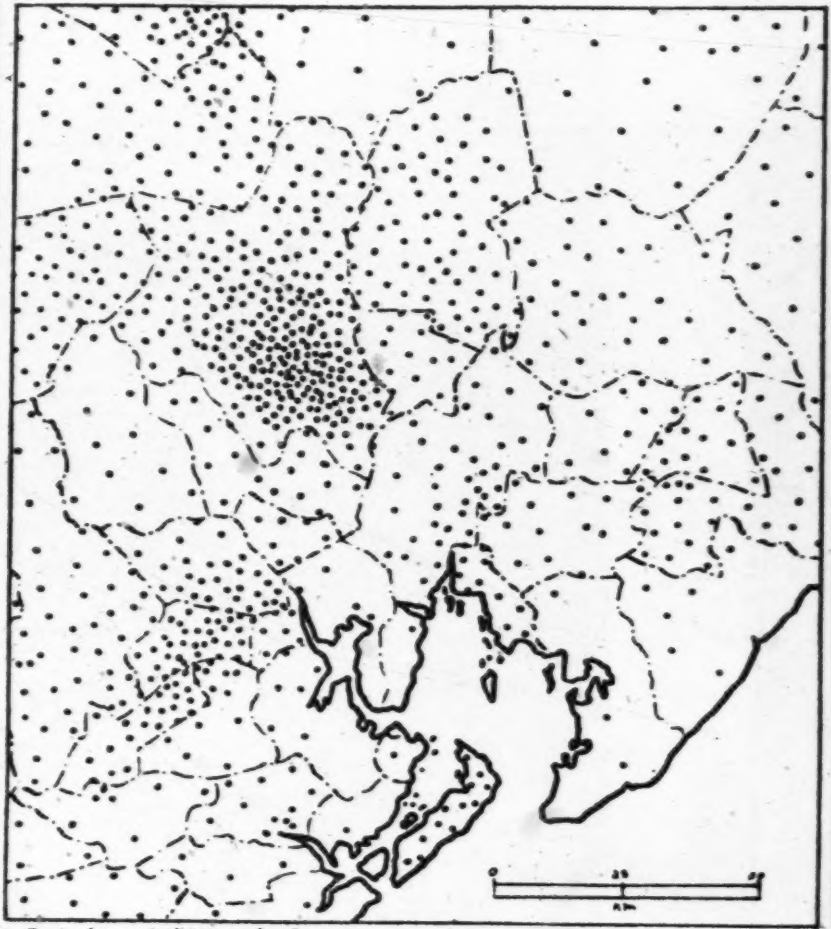

Each dot = 1,000 head

RECBAICAVO OF BAHIA

Total Animals Produced for Animal Products--1948

(Non-work Animals)

MAP 84

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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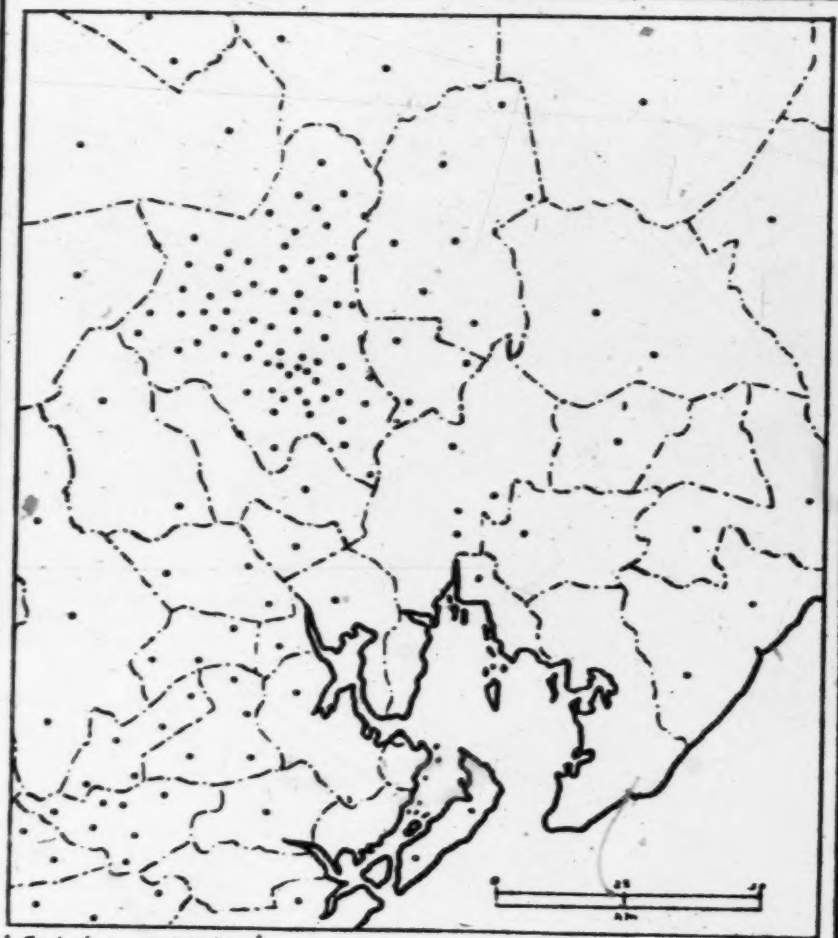

Each dot = 1,000 head

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Asses and Mules—1948

Source of data: "População Pecuária, Em 31/12/1948."

MAP 85

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

231 492 Asses and mules were the second most numerous animals in an area from São Gonçalo and Feira de Santana to Camassari--a zone which roughly corresponds to the northern part of the tobacco-manioc region. In this part of the crop region cultivation is more scattered and road transportation less well developed than in the Southwestern Recôncavo, and presumably the animals are needed to pack the tobacco crop to the markets.[6]

Work Animals. The work animals of the Recôncavo include oxen, horses, asses, and mules. As the accompanying map demonstrates (Map 86), the chief concentration of all work animals, without regard to type, was around Feira de Santana, the supply center for the region. Many of these animals were young or were being conditioned for market. On the other hand, most of the work animals of the smaller concentration in the sugar cane region were actually in use.

According to the official data, the total number of work animals in the Recôncavo increased from 85,000 to 215,000 between 1940 and 1948. Almost certainly there has been a strong increase, but such a tremendous rise in work animal population seems excessive; probably the 1940 total is too low, and perhaps the 1948 figure is excessive, though in view of the number of animals which are evident in the Recôncavo, not very much so.

231 Conclusion. Although the Recôncavo produces a moderate number of livestock of all types--except horses, asses, and mules--it has a great and continuing deficit. The livestock deficiencies of the region are supplied by the sertão in a movement of animals which had its inception in the initial century of colonization. Associated with the exchange 231 438 of animals from the sertão for products from the littoral is one of the historic institutions of the Northeast--the campo de gado of

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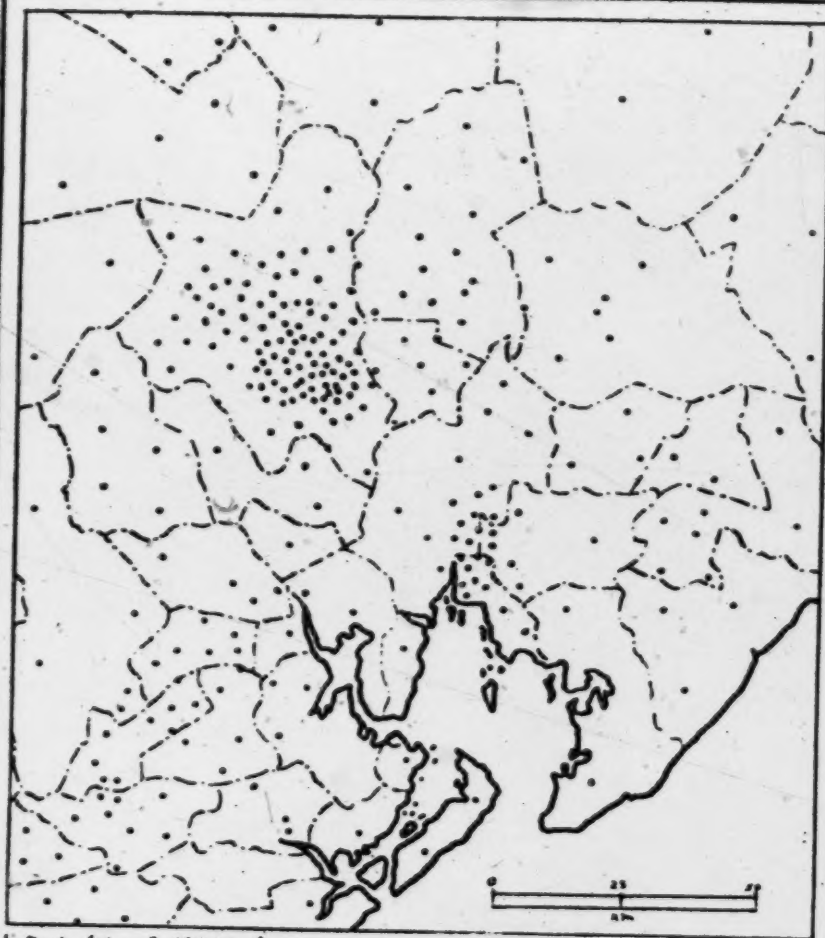

Each dot = 1,000 head

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Work Animals--1948

MAP 86

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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BB 231 438 Feira de Santana. From "Feira" the livestock are distributed to the Recôncavo to be used as beasts of burden, as food, or for both.

BB 231 The livestock population of the Recôncavo, as well as the livestock market, is centralized within the município of Feira de Santana. [433] In part this concentration reflects the relatively great demand for beef in Salvador, so that at any one time the number of livestock passing through Feira de Santana must be great. The same concentration is evident for work animals. This suggests that the mortality of work animals in the Recôncavo must be very high. There is no data to substantiate this hypothesis, but the emaciated appearance, poor diet, and calloused treatment of beasts of burden in the Recôncavo suggest that it is highly probable.

BB 231 241 433 The concentrations of livestock in the sugar cane and tobacco-manioc regions contribute significantly to the general agricultural importance of these areas. The differences in the character of the livestock populations reflect in a large measure the different requirements of the crop cultivation systems of the two regions.

B 231 241 The interdependence of the livestock-producing sertão and the areas of cultivation, signalized by the cattle fairs, is a characteristic feature of Brazilian agricultural life. The interior, from Ceará to Río Grande do Sul, is a reservoir from which are drawn the cattle and the work animals for the main centers of crop cultivation and for the cities.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

000 Footnotes - Chapter VII

[436] [1]The approximate value of the cruzeiro at the time these data were compiled by the government was five cents.

[127] [2]The basic sources for data on livestock populations used in the following discussion were: (1) Ministério da Agricultura, Serviço de Estatística da Produção, "Pobulação Pecuária, Em 31/12/1948," pp. 1-8; (2) Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

[3]Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

[4]The use of the term "milk shed," generally applied to the tremendous movement of milk into the highly urbanized centers of the United States and western Europe, is somewhat inappropriate for the small-scale operations in Bahia. However, the essential elements are the same: the movement from countryside to urban places of fluid milk for home consumption.

[127] [5]Anuario Estatística do Brasil--1953 is used as a source of 1952 data on the livestock population of the state of Bahia in this and the following discussion.

[491] [6]Although there are trunk highways through São Gonçalo and Feira de Santana, the back country of each is remote from the cidade and the highway.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

CHAPTER VIII

AGRICULTURAL PROPERTIES

241 231 423 311 The agricultural properties of the Recôncavo are diverse in functional type, tenure, and size. In most municípios there are to be found three basic production types: crop cultivation units, mixed crop cultivation and livestock producing units, and ranches. The properties of any local area may be owner or administrator operated, rented, or, in some areas, occupied informally by "squatters." In distinction to most agricultural areas of the United States, the Recôncavo has a very large number of extremely small agricultural properties, frequently with less than 2 hectares. There are also a number of large properties with more than 10,000 hectares, and in many areas large and small properties are closely intermixed.

241 423 184 Despite the widespread diversity of agricultural properties, there are distinct regional patterns which are based upon the predominance of certain types and sizes of properties and upon characteristic modes of possession. The regional patterns of agricultural properties correspond in a general manner to the crop regions delineated in the previous discussion.

241 423 [127] The basic source of information about the agricultural properties of the Recôncavo is the 1940 economic census.[1] No more recent source is as yet available to replace or to verify or correct these fifteen year old data. However, generalizations based upon these data were substantiated in most cases by the field investigations undertaken for the present study. It is apparent that in so traditional a region as the [178] Recôncavo, the institutional characteristics of agriculture, property types included, change very slowly.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 423 127 311 Of the 12,500 square kilometers of the Recôncavo, only about 800,000 hectares were enumerated in the agricultural section of the 1940 economic census--71 per cent of the total land area. In the various municípios of the region, the enumerated area varied from 39 per cent of the land surface in Alagoinhas to 110 per cent in Itaparica (Map 87). In a few cases, such as Itaparica, the area given in the agricultural section of the census exceeded the official total area of the município.[2] Where the political boundaries were not delimited precisely, properties may have been credited to the wrong município. More probably, however, these situations result from the over-estimation of the areas of individual properties--precise surveys of agricultural properties are virtually unknown.

There was a general correspondence between the intensity of land use (Map 2) and the relative area included in the 1940 agricultural census. This latter area will be referred to as "enumerated area" in the following discussion. Those lands not included in the agricultural census were urban areas, public domain, or in a few cases, private land held for speculation. However, not all of the unenumerated land was unused from the agricultural point of view, for in some of the less densely settled areas "squatters" are quite common.

241 231 423 311 Production Types of Agricultural Enterprises. In the 1940 census the agricultural properties of Brazil were divided into six classes, based in part upon the type of production and in part upon the scale of operation. The three main functional types were agricultura (crop cultivation), agro-pecuária (crop cultivation with livestock production), and pecuária (livestock production). In this context it is important to note that while agro-pecuária may include mixed agriculture--in the sense of functionally interdependent crop and livestock production

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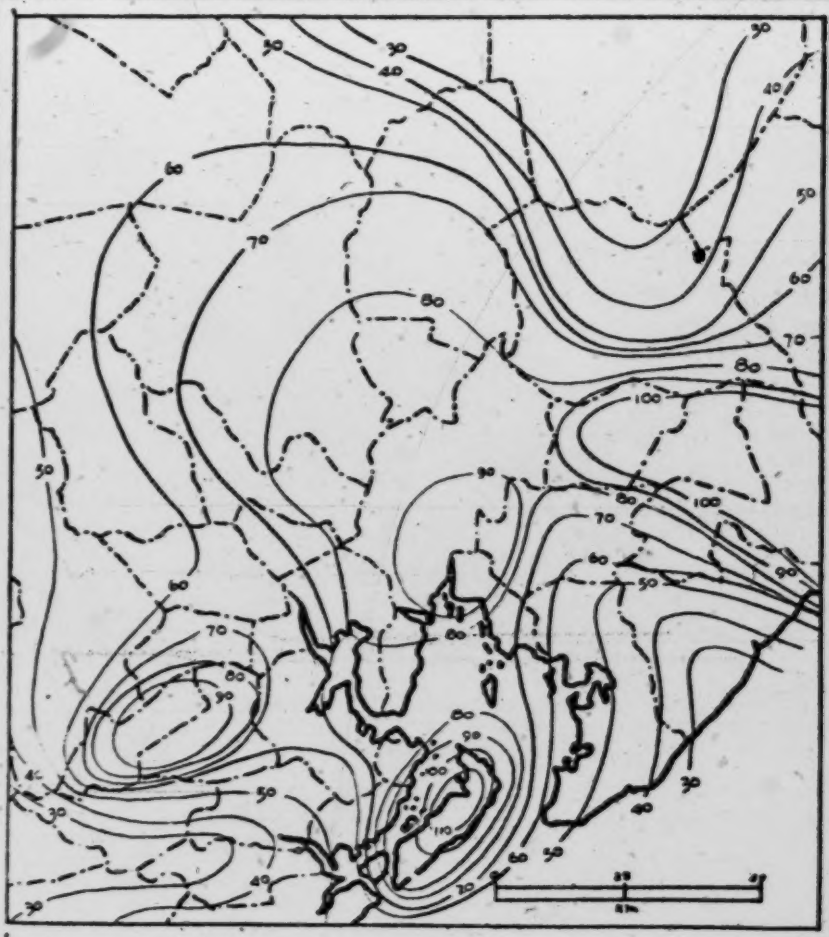

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Land Area Enumerated

in the 1940 Agricultural Census

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 87

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 within the individual agricultural unit--properties classifed within
231 the group may have merely co-existing crop and animal production. In
423
311 the Recôncavo, cultivation and animal husbandry are carried on separately within the individual properties, except (1) where labor animals are involved, or (2) where manure for tobacco cultivation is produced on a tobacco-growing farm. Each of the three main production types was classified as either a large-scale or a small-scale unit, on the basis of the amount of cropland, the number of animals, or both.[3] The distribution of the 27,513 agricultural properties and the 837,699 hectares of emmerated land of the Recôncavo among the various production and scale-of-operation classes is shown on the accompanying table (Table XIV).

Most of the agricultural properties of the Recôncavo were small-scale units which were engaged solely in crop cultivation or which produced both crops and livestock. Ninety-nine per cent of all properties, encompassing 58 per cent of the farmland, were small-scale units. The number of cultivation and of mixed cultivation-livestock units was approximately the same; the mixed units were, on the average, more than twice as large as the exclusively crop producing units. Although the number of purely livestock producing units--ranches--was small, the total area which they encompassed was relatively large, and the mean size of individual units was over 450 hectares. Even more notable is the fact that less than 250 large-scale livestock units, about 1 per cent of the total number of units, held 13 per cent of the land in agricultural properties.

231 <u>Livestock Units</u>. Agricultural enterprises whose activities were
233 confined exclusively to livestock production were found in every <u>município</u> of the Recôncavo and in every adjoining <u>município</u> in 1940. In most areas, however, the number of such livestock units was very

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 294]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

231 233 small (Map 88). Within the Recôncavo, only the eastern part of the Central Recôncavo and the environs of Feira de Santana had even a moderate number of ranches. Livestock enterprises generally occupied less than one-fifth of the enumerated area (Map 89). These properties were relatively important in the Northwestern and Central Recôncavo, a reflection of the importance of ranching and cattle fattening in the northwest and of the need for work animals in the sugar cane region. In the Southwestern Recôncavo crop cultivation is too intensive and widespread to share the land with many ranches. Except in the southwest, 20 per cent of the total enumerated area was in livestock units along the limits of the Recôncavo. In relation to the total area, the extent [311] of livestock properties varied from place to place along the border zone (Map 90). Beyond the Recôncavo, ranching is more important in the crystalline areas, whether caatinga or agreste, than in the Tertiary taboleiros.

231 233 433 As has been pointed out, large-scale properties are especially important among the livestock production units. In most parts of the Recôncavo the ratio of the area in large-scale and in small-scale livestock units was about three to one. The analysis of the mean size of large-scale livestock units, plotted on Map 91, emphasizes the diversity within the region and discloses the tremendous size of the ranches in the coastal agreste northeast of the Recôncavo. Since the number of large-scale livestock units was small and the size of the units highly variable, the mean values for the areas of these properties may be deceiving. Nevertheless, it is significant that the mean size of livestock unit was large in the Central Recôncavo, where there are a number of fazendas in the forested hills around the sugar cane region. These [313] [249] properties are used primarily as sources of firewood for the usinas

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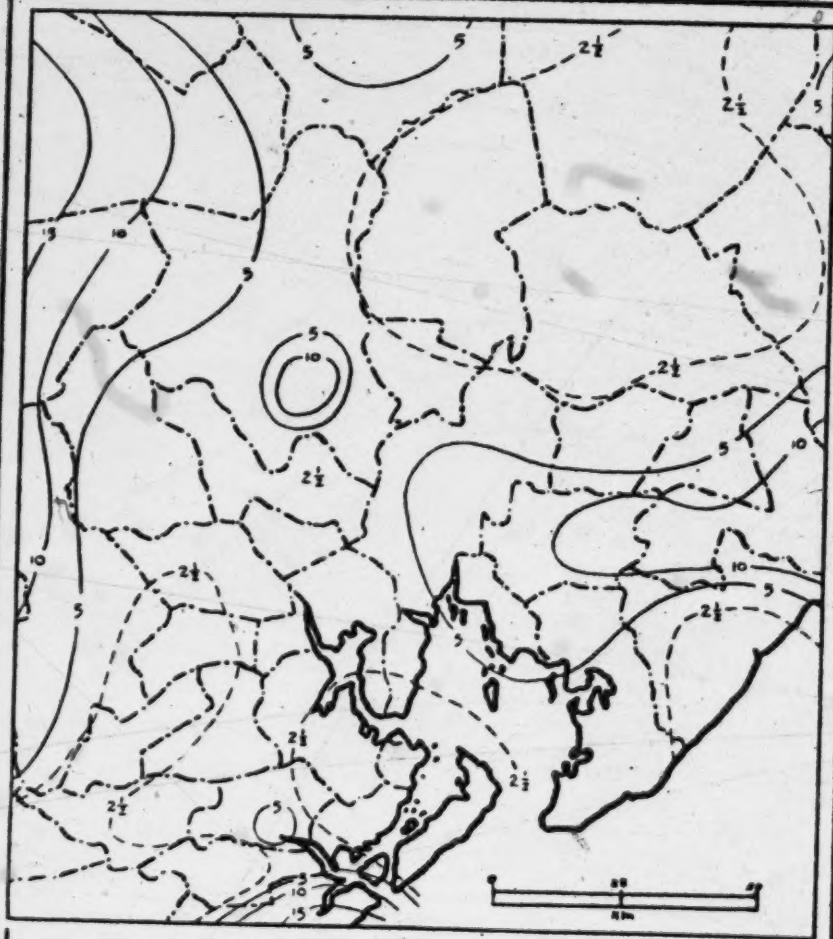

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of All Agricultural Enterprises Which Were

Livestock Enterprises--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 88

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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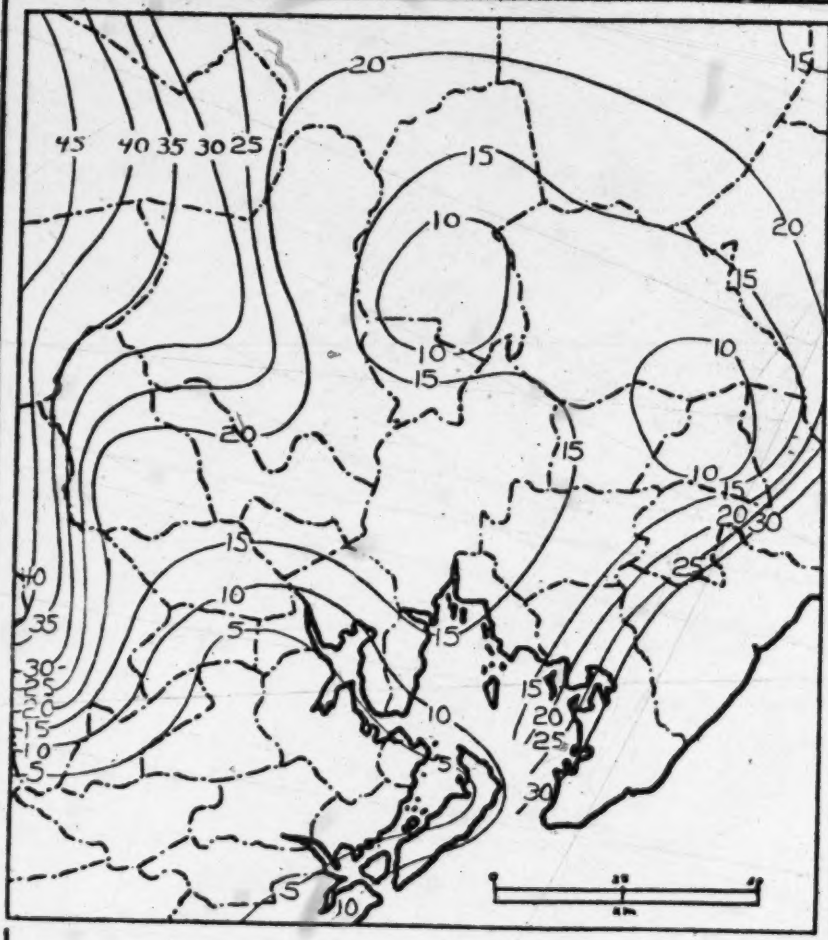

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumerated Area in

Livestock Enterprises--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 89

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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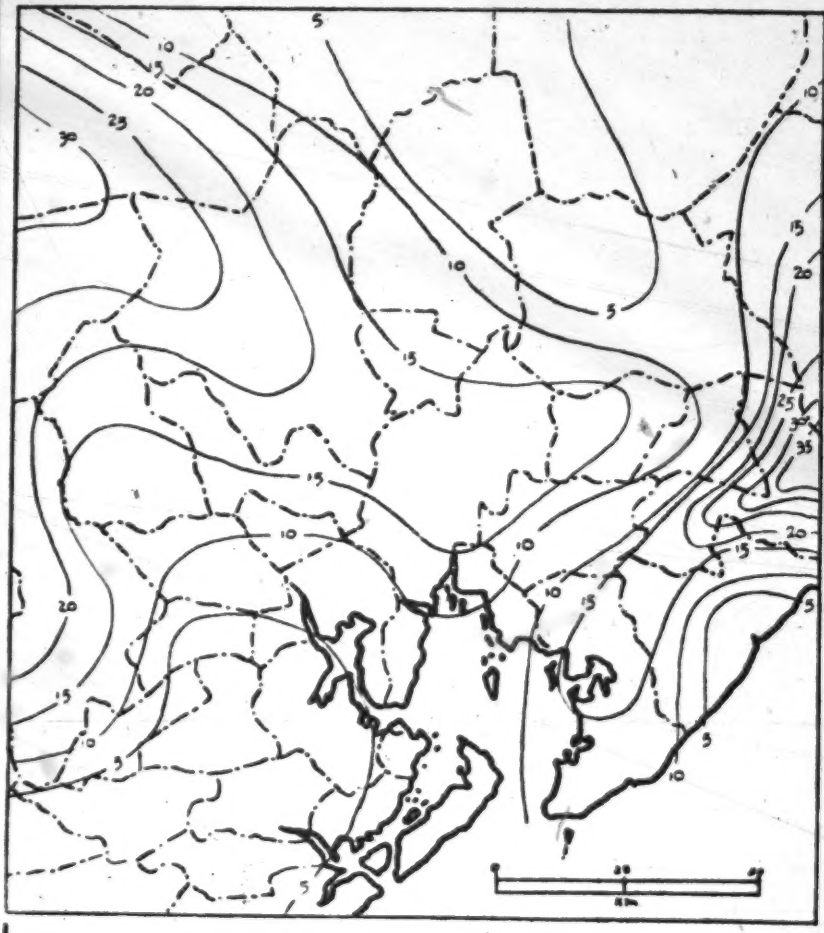

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Land Area in

Livestock Enterprises--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 90

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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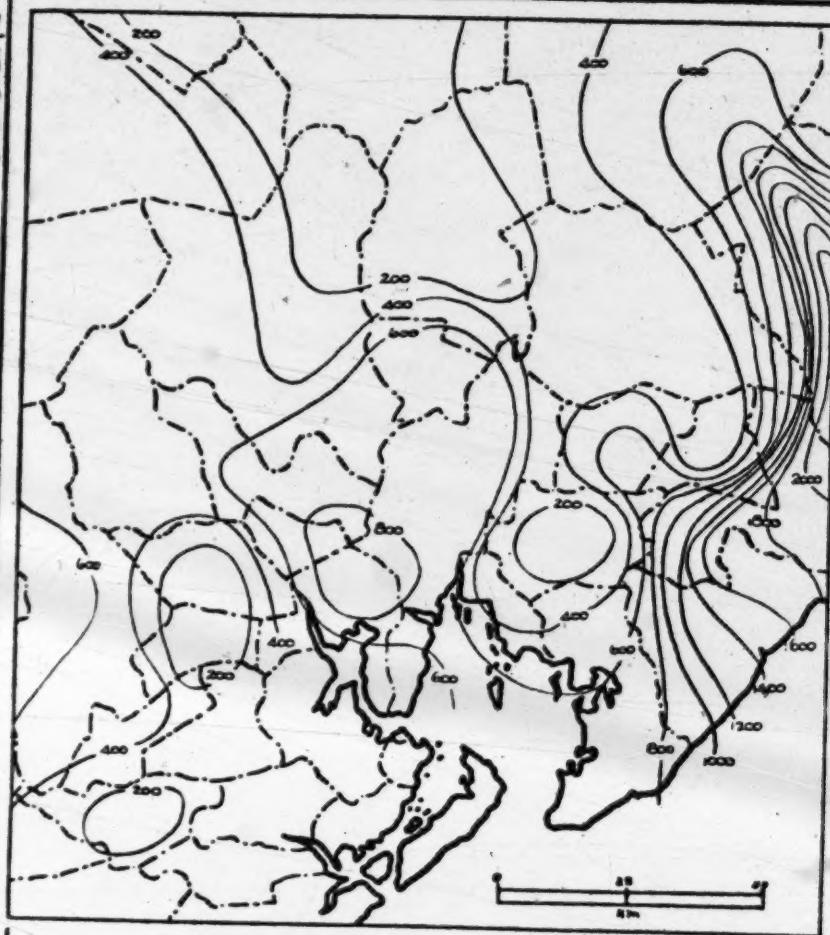

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Mean Size of Large-Scale Livestock Enterprises—1940

In Hectares

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 91

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954) 1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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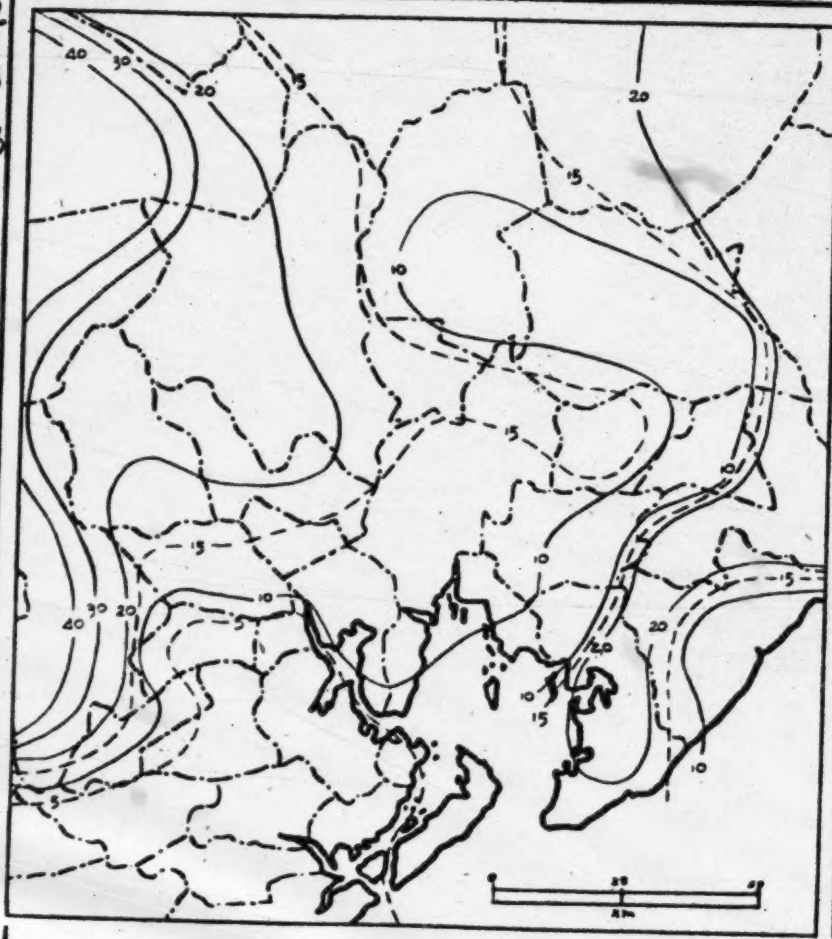

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumerated Area in

Large-Scale Livestock Enterprises—1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 92

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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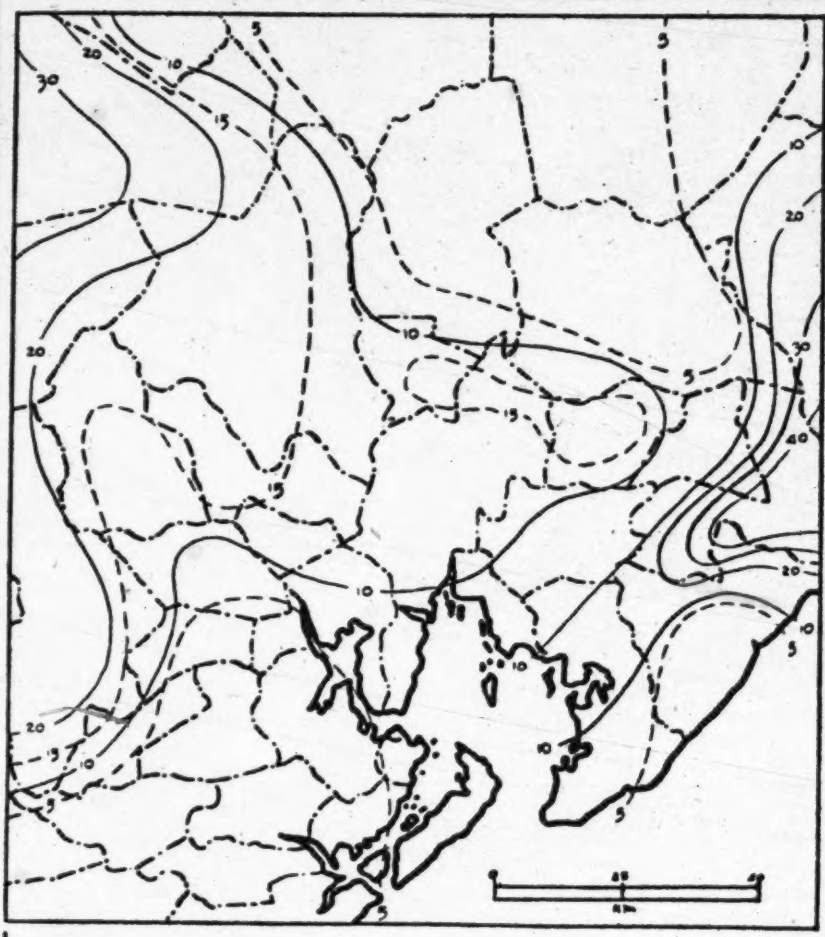

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Land Area in

Large-Scale Livestock Enterprises—1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 93

I:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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233 and locomotives of the cane area, but, as has been pointed out previously,
433
[313] they have supplementary livestock production.[4]
[249]

Of the 247 large-scale livestock units in the Reconcavo, 65, with
231 a total area of almost 30,000 hectares, were in the município of Feira de
233
311 Santana (Maps 92 and 93). Another 39, with about 16,000 hectares of
433 land, were in the Central Recôncavo. Each of these two areas has a distinctive character: the Central Recôncavo fazendas de gado--cattle ranches--supply oxen and horses, asses, and mules to the sugar economy; the large fazendas of Feira de Santana, with extensive grassy pastures, serve the campo de gado--cattle market--of the cidade and thereby the whole economy of the Recôncavo.

231
241 Crop Cultivation Units. Almost one-half of all farms in the
311 Recôncavo produced no animals in 1940. In the marginal areas of the
184 region, excepting always the southwest, less than one-third of the farms were pure crop cultivation units (Map 94). On the other hand, crop farms were particularly numerous on the southern littoral, where the forests are not salutary to livestock--except swine and fighting cocks. The Northern Recôncavo, where ranching is not an important activity, had a relatively large number of crop cultivation units, as had Salvador and the adjoining coastal município, Camassari.

241 Relative to both the enumerated and the total area, the purely
311 crop cultivation units were very important in Itaparica and Santo Amaro and unimportant around the border zone of the Recôncavo (Maps 95 and 96). On Itaparica and in the sugar cane region, crop cultivation units occupied over one-half the total land area--over 85 per cent on the island of Itaparica. The size of crop cultivation properties in the Recôncavo was generally small, but there were very great local differences
000 (Map 97). The tobacco-manioc region, especially in the Southwestern

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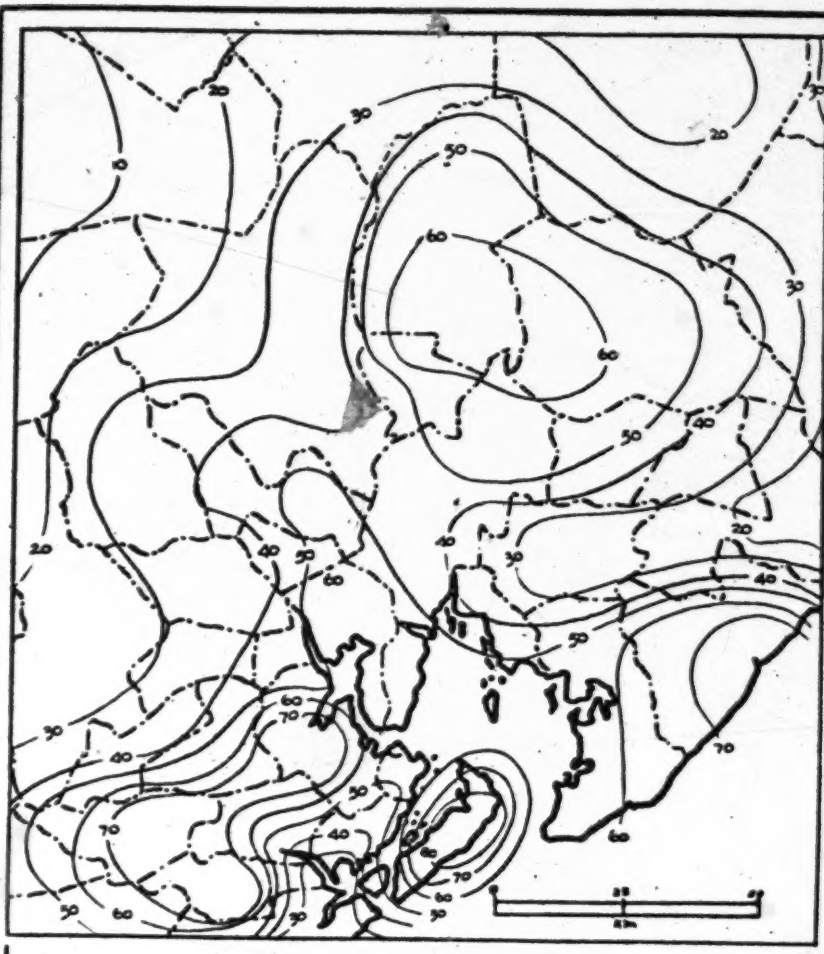

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of All Agricultural Enterprises Which Were

Crop Cultivation Enterprises--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 94

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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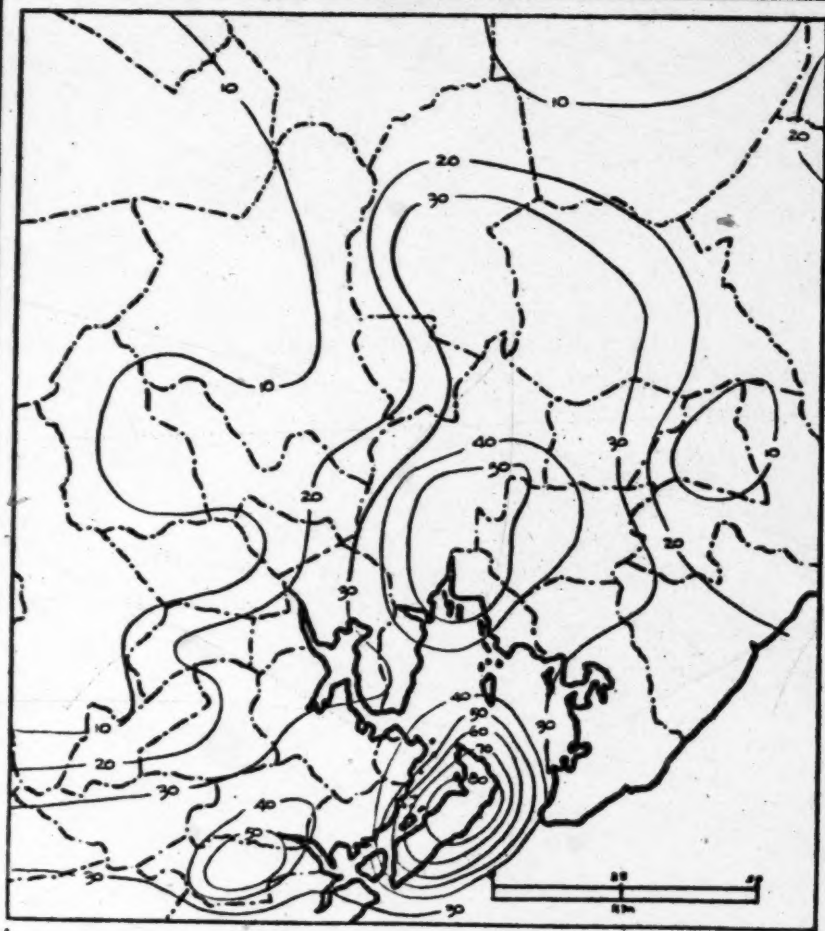

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumerated Area in

Crop Cultivation Enterprises--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 95

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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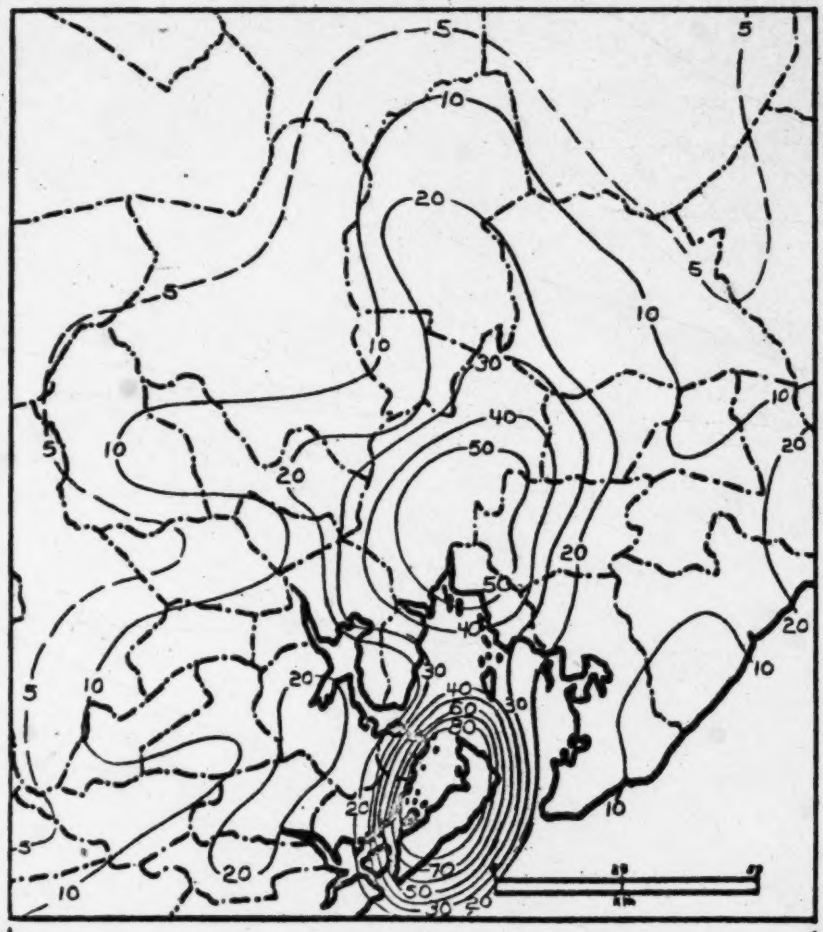

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Land Area in

Crop Cultivation Enterprises--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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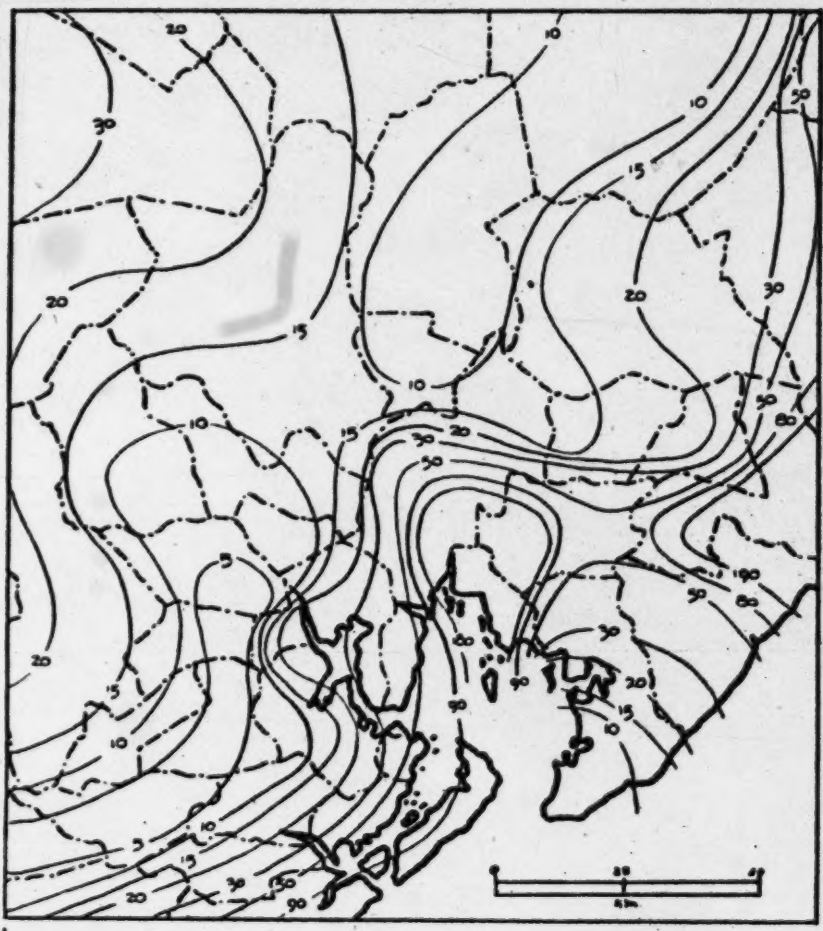

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Mean Size of Crop Cultivation Enterprises—1940

In Hectares

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 97

The tobacco-manioc region, especially in the Southwestern
249 244 311 423 Recôncavo, was a zone of very small properties--in Cruz das Almas and Coração de Maria the mean size of crop cultivation units was 9 hectares, while in São Filipe it was only 5 hectares. This zone of small crop cultivation units is part of a belt, parallel to but well back from the coast, which originates in the serras of the coffee zone, crosses the Recôncavo along the caatinga-mata transition, and follows the caatinga-agreste boundary northward along the eastern edge of the Tertiary taboleiros. The small-property belt thus lies between the littoral, with its large plantations of sugar cane and its ranches, and the dry sertão, with its extensive livestock economy.

241 249 311 423 The Central Recôncavo was a zone of large crop cultivation properties, primarily sugar cane plantations. Although there are a large number of livestock in the sugar cane region, the plantations use, rather than produce, animals and were thus classified as crop cultivation units. The plantations of the sugar cane area are very diverse as regards size, and many of the individual properties are now operated collectively by large usinas. Nevertheless, there are still a number of small properties, producing cane which is sold to the large mills.

241 231 233 311 Mixed Crop Cultivation-Livestock Producing Units. A little over one-half of all the farms in the Recôncavo produced livestock as well as crops. These units occupied almost 60 per cent of the total area of all properties. However, the area in which over half the properties were mixed units was limited to a broad perimeter zone which included all the outer municípios of the Eastern, Northwestern, and Southwestern Recôncavo (Map 98). In Itaparica and Santo Amaro, where crop cultivation units were very important, there were relatively few mixed units.

244 249 231 233 The maps of the area in mixed units in relation to enumerated area (Map 99) and total area (Map 100) confirm the observation that

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 311]

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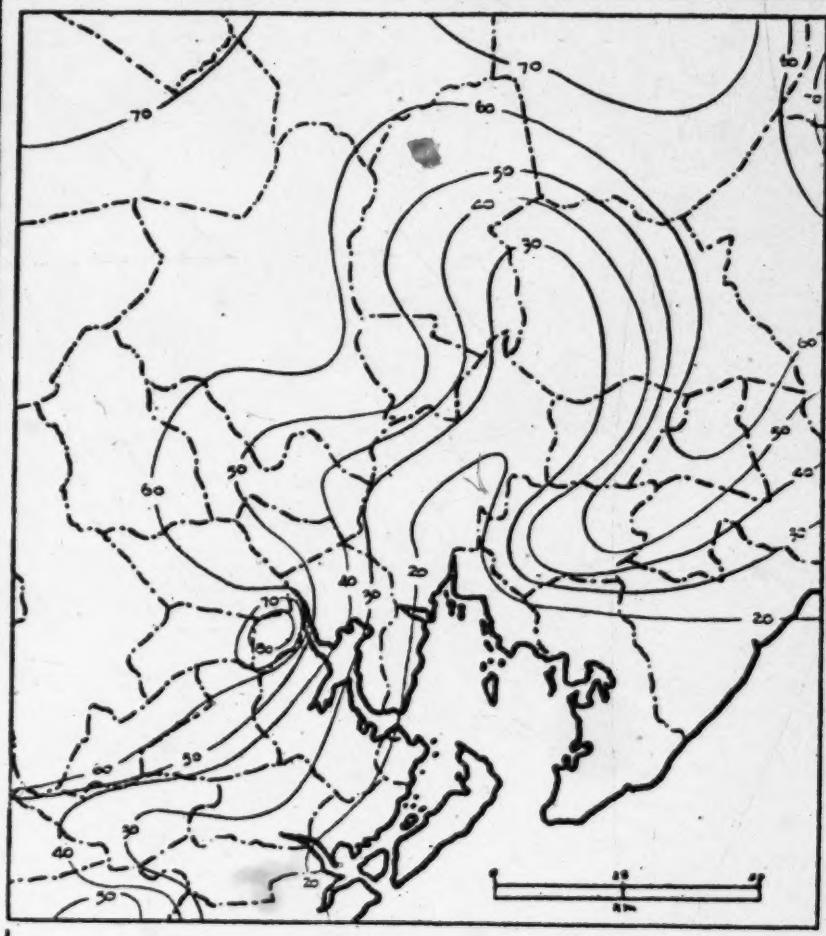

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of All Agricultural Enterprises Which Were

Crop-Livestock Enterprises—1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 98

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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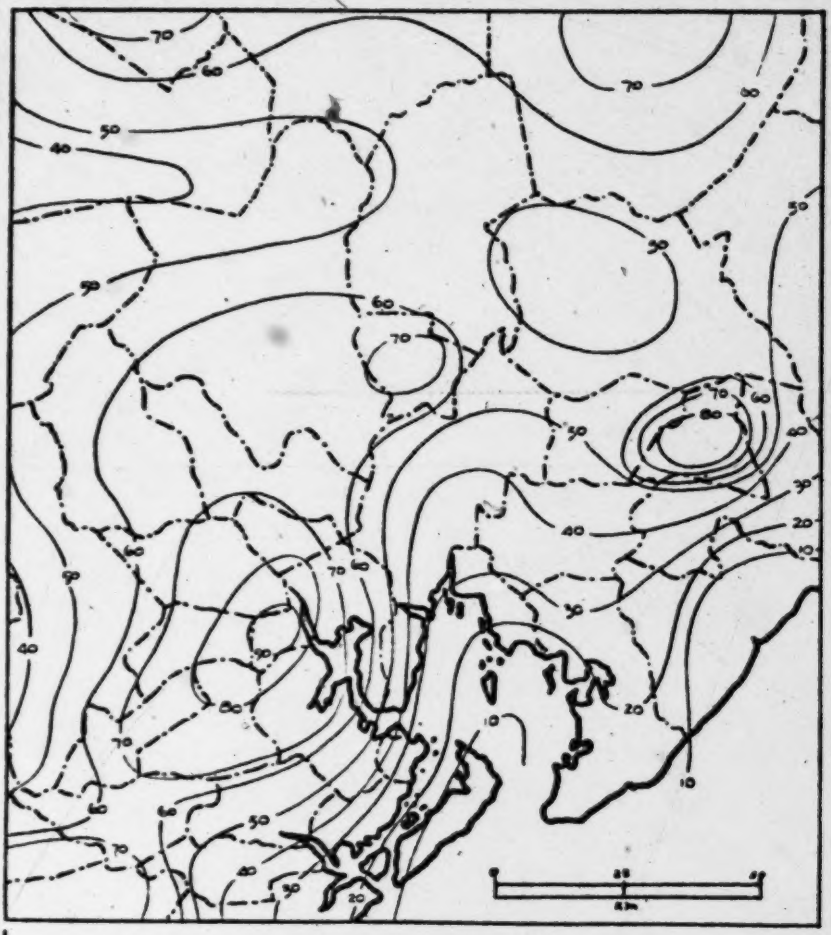

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumerated Area in

Crop-Livestock Enterprises--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 99

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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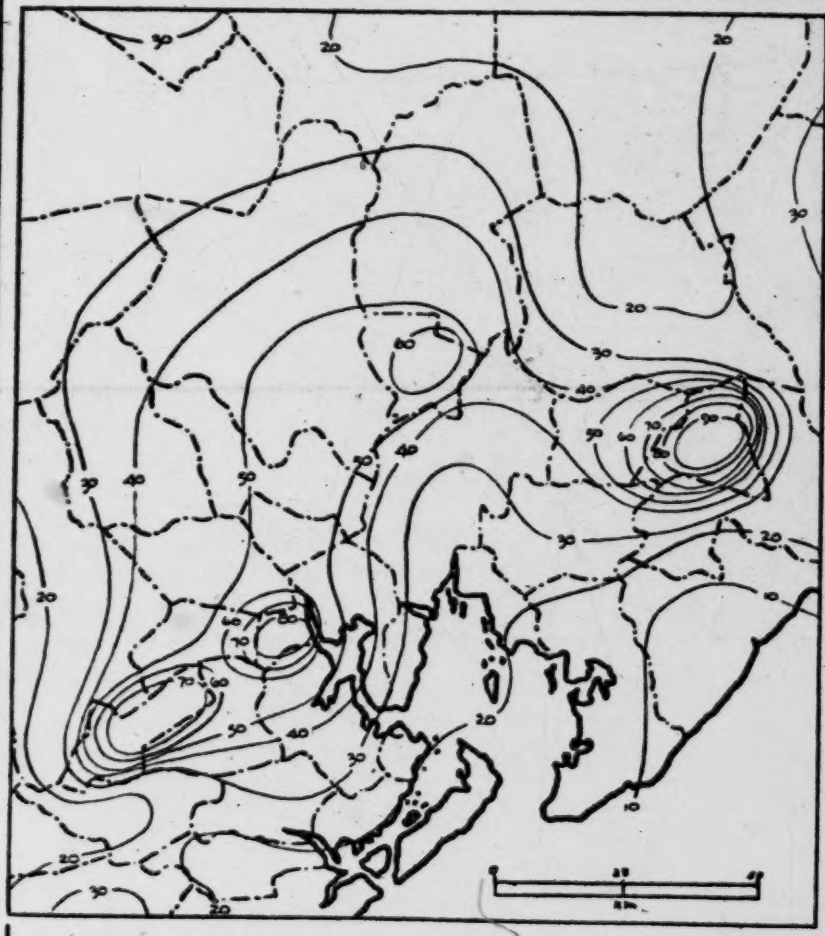

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Land Area in

Crop-Livestock Enterprises--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 100

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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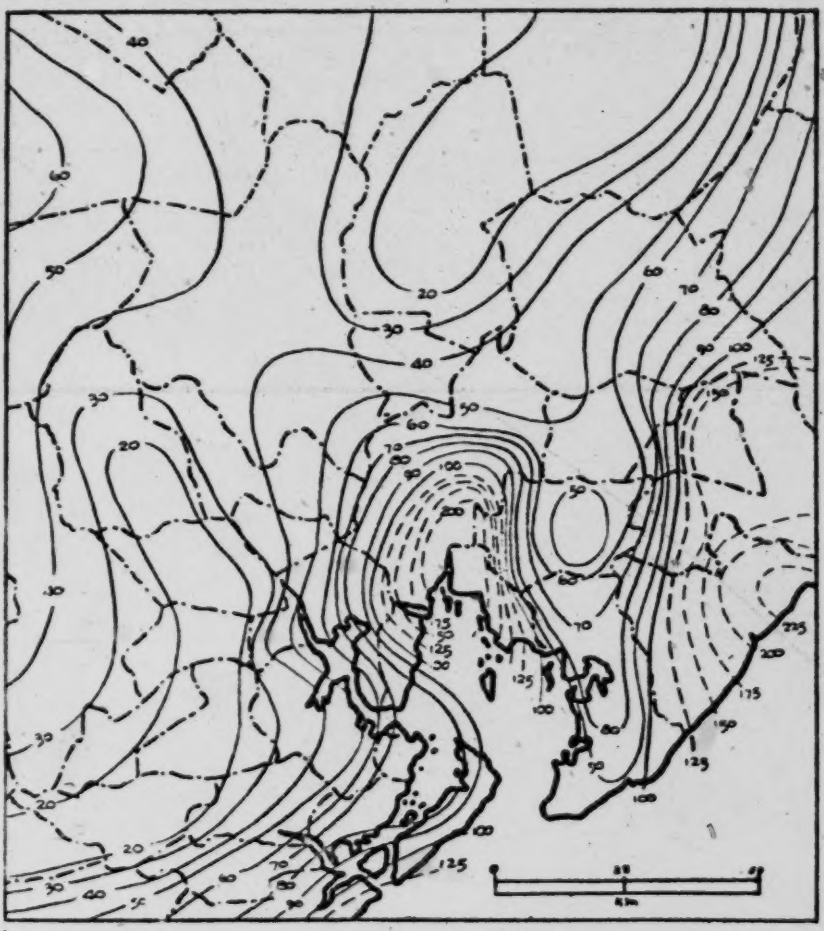

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Mean Size of Crop-Livestock Enterprises—1940

In Hectares

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 101

244 the tobacco-manioc region is an area of co-existing crop and livestock
249
231 production. The mean size of mixed units of both the tobacco-manioc
233 region and the western and northern perimeter of the Recôncavo was
[423] small--20 to 40 hectares--but was significantly larger than the mean
[311] size of crop farms in the same areas (Map 101). Like the purely cane-producing plantations, the mixed units of the Central Recôncavo were relatively large.

241 <u>Crop Cultivation and Mixed Crop Cultivation and Livestock Pro-</u>
231 <u>ducing Units Combined</u>. The distribution of the area in crop and crop-
232 livestock units combined, as shown on Maps 102 and 103, reaffirms the
311 regional distinctiveness of the Recôncavo. In almost the entire region over one-half the total area was in these two types of crop-producing properties. None of the adjoining <u>municípios</u> had as much as 50 per cent of their total area in these two types of units, and in all but three, less than one-third the land was in crop or crop-livestock properties.

241 <u>Regional Pattern of Agricultural Properties</u>. The distribution
311 of the three major production units is summarized on Map 104. In each
184 of the two basic regions--crop and crop-livestock--one production
[231] type dominated, in number and in area, over the others. The Central
[233] Recôncavo with the island of Itaparica and, beyond the Recôncavo, the environs of Nazaré composed a region in which most of the agricultural land was in crop cultivation units. North of the Bay, most of these crop cultivation units were sugar cane plantations. On Itaparica there were several kinds of crop cultivation units--coconut plantations, diminutive manioc farms, and across from Salvador, small summer estates with a few cultivated fields. Around Nazaré most of the crop cultivation properties appeared to specialize in the production of manioc.

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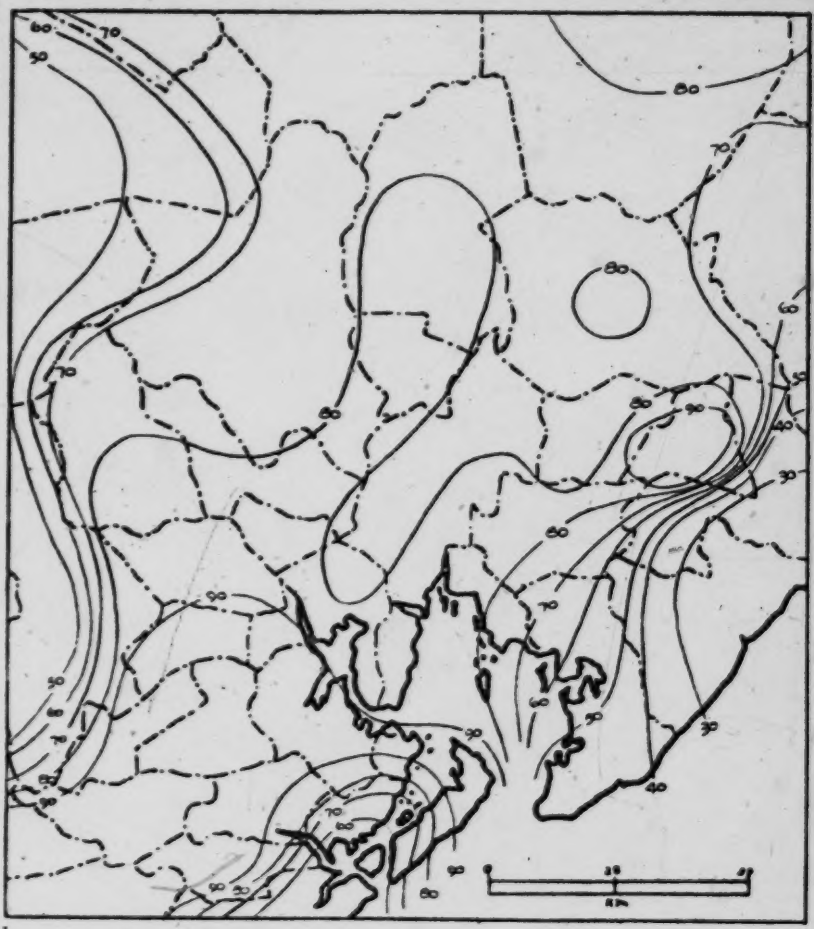

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumerated Area in

Crop Cultivation and Crop-Livestock Enterprises--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 102

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SOII SOII Bahia Brazilians SOII

TABLE XIV

AGRICULTURAL PROPERTIES OF THE RECÔNCAVO--CLASSIFIED BY TYPE AND SCALE OF OPERATION--1940

	Crop Cultivation Only	Crop Cultivation and Livestock Production	Livestock Production Only	All Types
		Number and Area of Properties		
All Properties:				
Number	13,221	13,587	705	27,513
Area*	212,545 ha.	493,210 ha.	131,944 ha.	837,699 ha.
Mean Size	16 ha.	36 ha.	187 ha.	30 ha.
Small-Scale Properties:				
Number	13,144	13,558	458	27,160
Area	167,406 ha.	298,408 ha.	26,932 ha.	483,746 ha.
Mean Size	13 ha.	21 ha.	59 ha.	18 ha.
Large-Scale Properties:				
Number	77 ha.	29 ha.	247 ha.	353 ha.
Area	28,703 ha.	12,649 ha.	107,199 ha.	148,551 ha.
Mean Size	373 ha.	436 ha.	434 ha.	421 ha.
		As Per cent of the Number and Area of all Properties		
All Properties:				
Number	48	49	3	100
Area	25	59	16	100
Small-Scale Properties:				
Number	48	49	2	99
Area	20	35	3	58
Large-Scale Properties:				
Number	-	-	1	1
Area	3	1	13	18

*Because the census does not give data on the size of some units in order to preserve the anonymity of the information, the totals do not precisely equal the sums of the various components.

Source: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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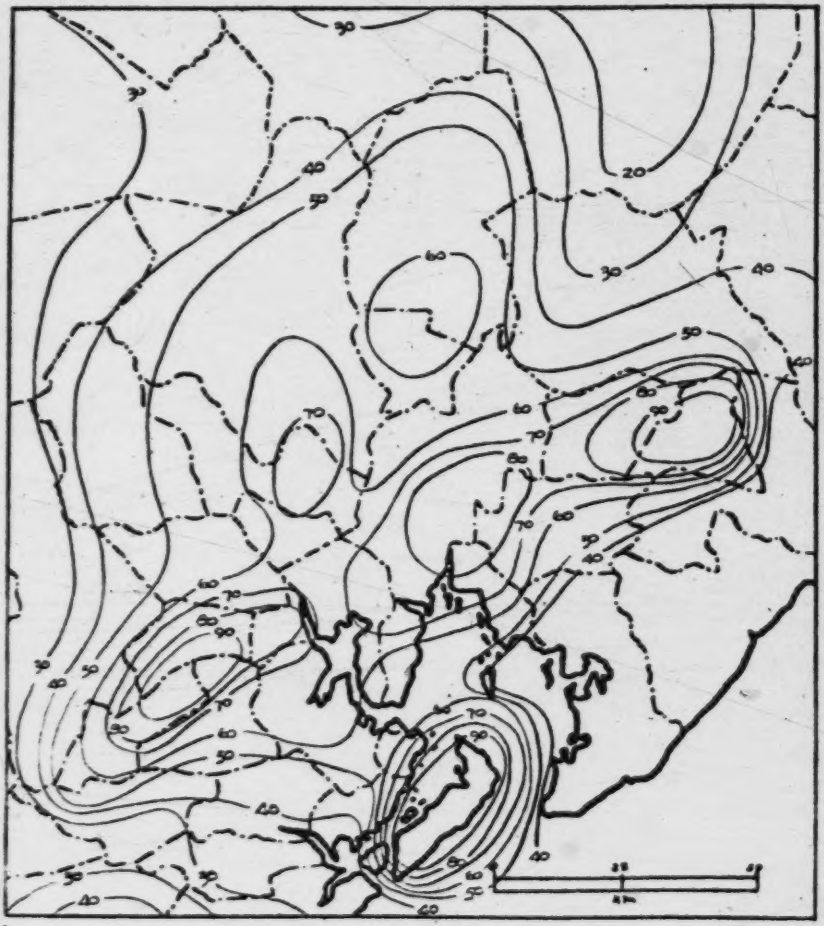

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Land Area in

Crop Cultivation and Crop-Livestock Enterprises--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 103

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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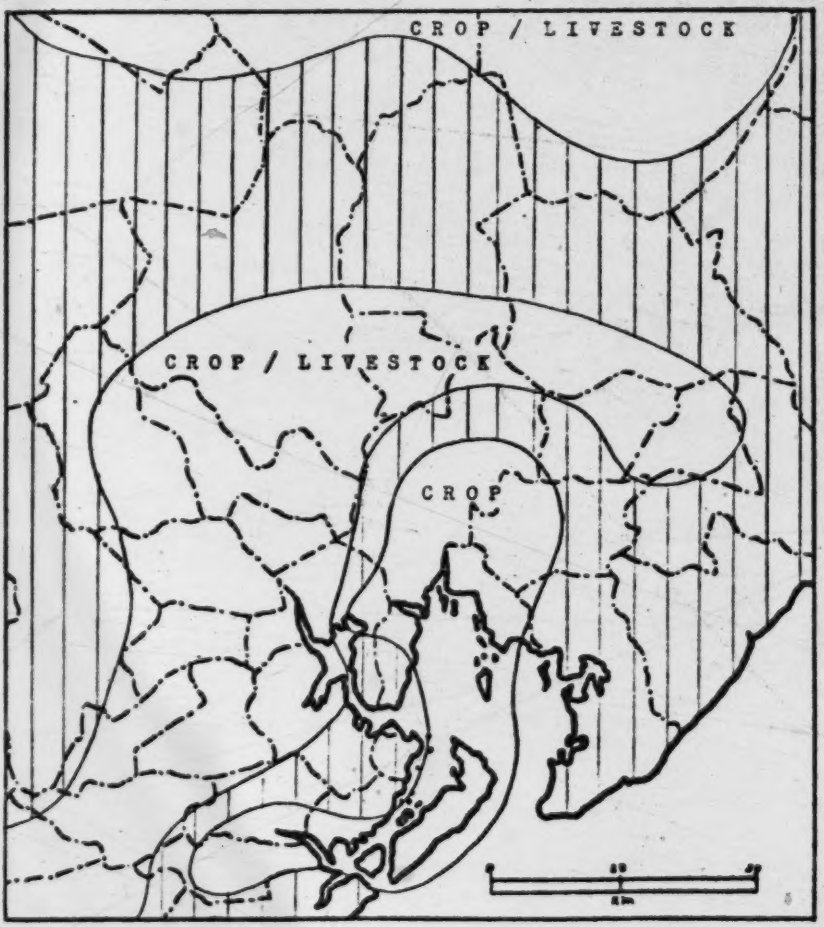

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Regional Pattern of Specialized Agricultural Enterprises

Crop/Livestock - Area in which crop-livestock enterprises predominate
Crop - Area in which crop enterprises predominate

MAP 104

241 Mixed crop and livestock units dominated the agricultural land
231 of an inverted "L shaped" zone which began in the southwest and which,
233 in the Recôncavo, coincided approximately with the tobacco-manioc
311 region. Mixed crop and livestock units also dominated in the drier
taboleiros north of the Recôncavo. The intermediate zone between the crop and crop-livestock regions within the Recôncavo was relatively narrow, conforming to the pattern of rapid transition from sugar cane to tobacco and manioc north of the Rio Paraguaçu. The outer transition zone, in which no single property type dominated, included the outer
231 margins of the Recôncavo except in the southwest. Purely livestock-
233 producing units did not dominate the agricultural land of any extensive area within or adjoining the Recôncavo.

241 The regions delimited above on the basis of the relative area in
311 the two types of crop-producing units had additional significance in
423 terms of the distribution of large-scale and small-scale enterprises (Map 105). The mixed-unit region, in which manioc and tobacco are so important, had only limited areas in large properties—usually 5 per cent to 20 per cent of the enumerated area. There were few large properties in the southern part of the crop unit region also, but in the sugar cane area north of the Bay over 40 per cent of the enumerated area was in large properties. These regional patterns of property types conform to the distribution of mean property size (Map 106); the mixed-unit region had mean properties of 10 to 20 hectares in the Southwestern Recôncavo and 20 to 30 hectares north of the Rio Paraguaçu, while the mean property size in the sugar cane area exceeded 100 hectares.

241 Size of Agricultural Properties. As has been seen, the agri-
423 cultural properties of the Recôncavo are highly diverse in size, as is to be expected in an economy dichotomized into the predominantly

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 318]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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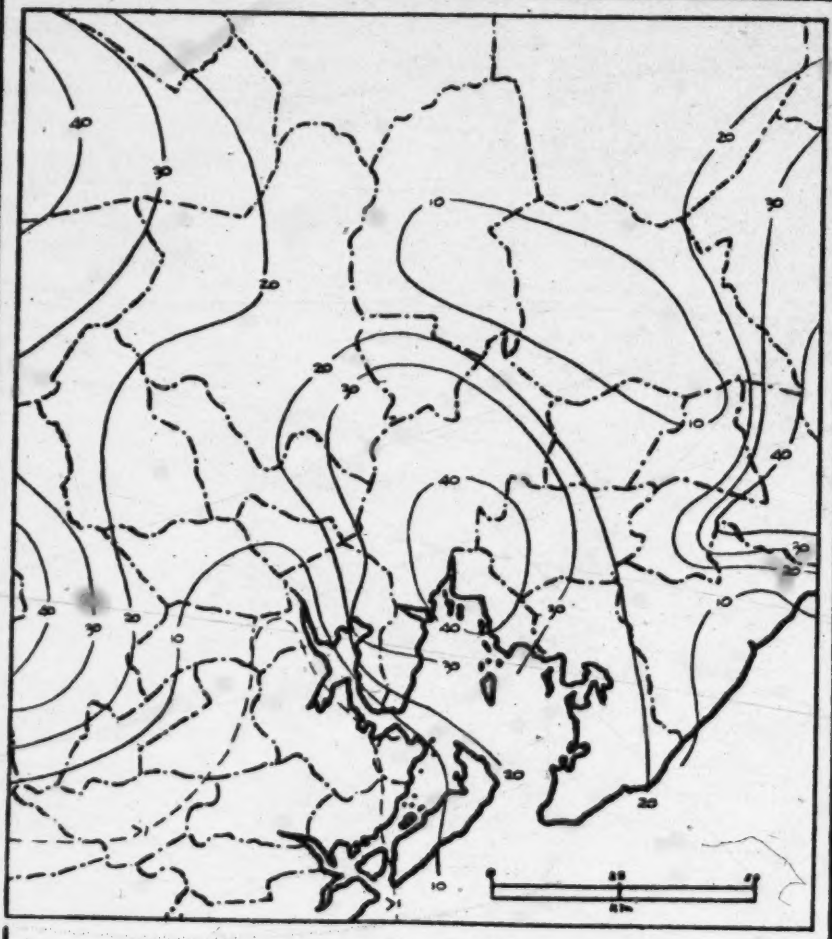

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumerated Area in

Large-Scale Enterprises--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 105

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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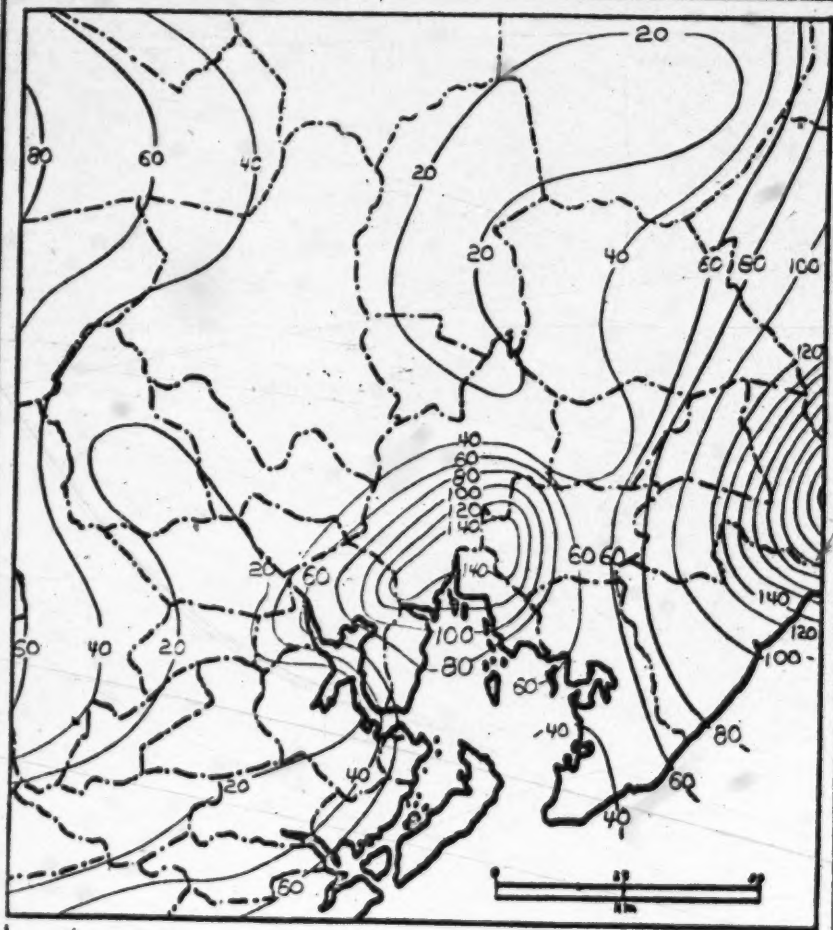

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Mean Size of All Agricultural Properties—1940

In Hectares

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil, 1940. Censos Econômicos. Bahia. Vol. II.

MAP 106

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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small-scale agriculture of the tobacco and manioc cultivators and the large-scale system of the sugar industry. In 1940 the properties of the Recôncavo ranged from less than 2 hectares to over 10,000 hectares. This diversity is characteristic of the region as a whole, and also of the individual municípios. In 14 municípios of the Recôncavo at least 5 per cent of the properties were under 2 hectares in area, while in 12 municípios at least 5 per cent of the enumerated area was in properties of over 1,000 hectares. Within the Recôncavo the mean size of properties varied from 13 hectares in São Filipe to 136 hectares in São Francisco, and in municípios adjacent to the region, from 8 hectares in Santo Antônio to 255 hectares in Mata de São João.

On the basis of the mean size of agricultural properties, as on the basis of many other agricultural phenomena, the Recôncavo can be divided into two parts. The sugar-cane region, as has been seen, is an area of large properties which had a mean size in excess of 100 hectares in 1940. The mean size of the agricultural properties of almost all other parts of the Recôncavo lay in the narrow range of 10 to 40 hectares. Although these figures are in a general way very significant, their meaning varies from place to place as the character of the agricultural components change.

In the 1940 census, agricultural properties were grouped into 15 classes on the basis of the total area in the various units:

Under 1	hectare	200-500	hectares
1-2	"	500-1,000	"
2-5	"	1,000-2,500	"
5-10	"	2,500-5,000	"
10-20	"	5,000-10,000	"
20-50	"	10,000-100,000	"
50-100	"	Over 100,000	"
100-200	"		

After an inspection of the array of property size data, it was apparent that the distribution of small, medium, and large properties could be

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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analyzed through the use of only part of the data, thus simplifying the calculations. Properties of 0 to 10 hectares were used to represent small units; properties of 50 to 200 hectares to represent medium-sized units, and properties of over 500 hectares to represent large units. Thus the analysis of small, medium, and large properties which follows deals with a large sample of the Recôncavo's agricultural properties but not the entire array.

Small Properties. In every município of the Recôncavo at least one-fifth of the agricultural properties had less than 10 hectares of total area--in ten municípios over half the properties were under 10 hectares (Map 107). These small properties were particularly numerous in the Southwestern and Northern Recôncavo and in a narrow connecting zone--a concentration which conforms to the area of small crop-cultivation units discussed previously. There were also many small properties in the vicinity of Salvador. The number of small units in the Central Recôncavo was very limited, and most of the small properties which were present were grouped around, rather than within, the zone of commercial production of sugar cane.

The total area in small properties was less than 10 per cent of the enumerated area in most municípios (Map 108). There were two conspicuous exceptions where small properties were very numerous--in São Filipe and Irará:

	Size of Properties	Per cent of Total Number of Properties	Per cent of the Enumerated Area
São Filipe:	under 1 ha.	5	under 1
	1 - 2 ha.	15	2
	2 - 5 ha.	25	9
	5 -10 ha.	32	19
Total		77	31
Irará:	under 1 ha.	3	1
	1 - 2 ha.	11	1
	2 - 5 ha.	41	9
	5 -10 ha.	18	9
Total		73	20

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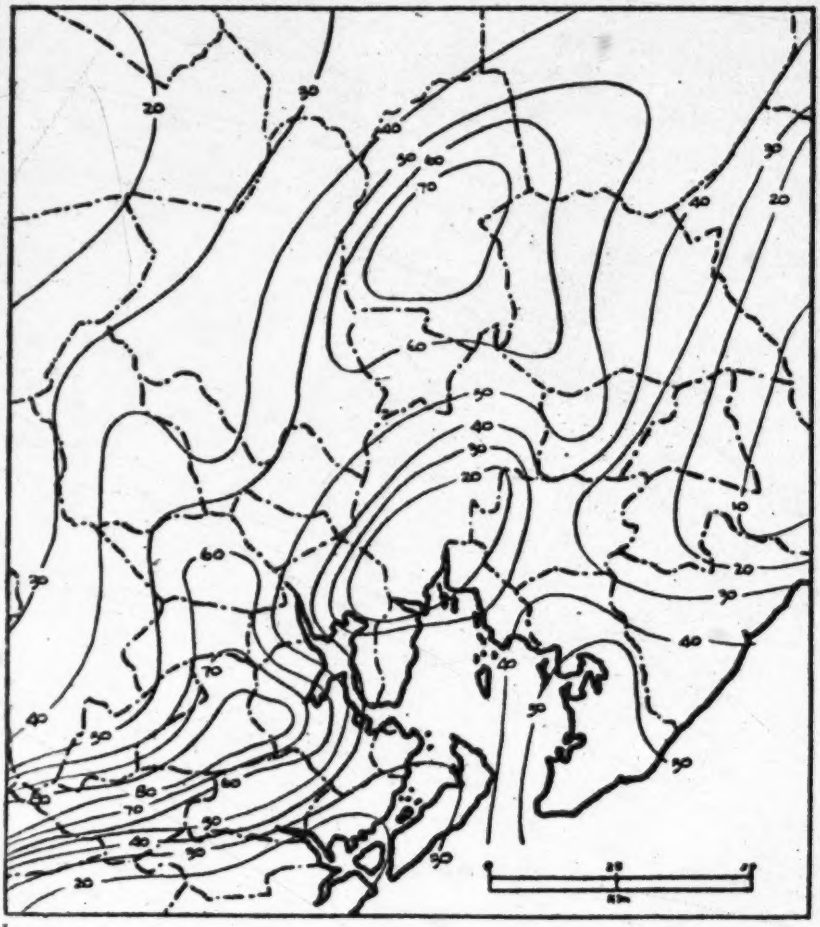

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of All Properties with an Area of

Less Than 10 Hectares--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil. 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 107

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumerated Area in Properties with an Area of Less Than 10 Hectares—1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 108

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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Medium-Sized Properties. The general pattern of medium-sized properties in the Recôncavo was analyzed through a study of the distribution of the units composing the 50 to 200 hectare classes. These properties were by no means as common as the small properties, except in the município of Pojuca (Map 109). Over 25 per cent of the total enumerated area was in these medium-sized properties throughout most of the outer Recôncavo, from the southwest sector to the northern limits of the município of Salvador (Map 110). The area along the littoral of the Bay and in the sugar cane zone, as well as along the extreme western and southwestern limits of the Recôncavo, contained fewer medium-sized properties.

Large Properties. Although there were few large properties, i.e., properties with over 500 hectares, in the Recôncavo as a whole, the area which they occupied within some municípios in 1940 was both extensive and significant. Over 70 per cent of the enumerated area was in large properties along the littoral and in the Coastal Plain section north of the Bay, as well as along the eastern and western frontiers of the Recôncavo (Map 111). Elsewhere in the region and adjacent to the northern and southern limits, the area in large properties was relatively limited, but there were some large units in every município except Cruz das Almas.

The large properties of the Recôncavo are particularly significant, for they play a very important role in the socio-economic complex of agriculture--a role disproportionately large in relation to their number and their portion of the agricultural land. East and west of the region these units generally were either very large ranches or, along the coast, coconut plantations. These large extra-Recôncavo properties were often very extensive--west of Castro Alves there were

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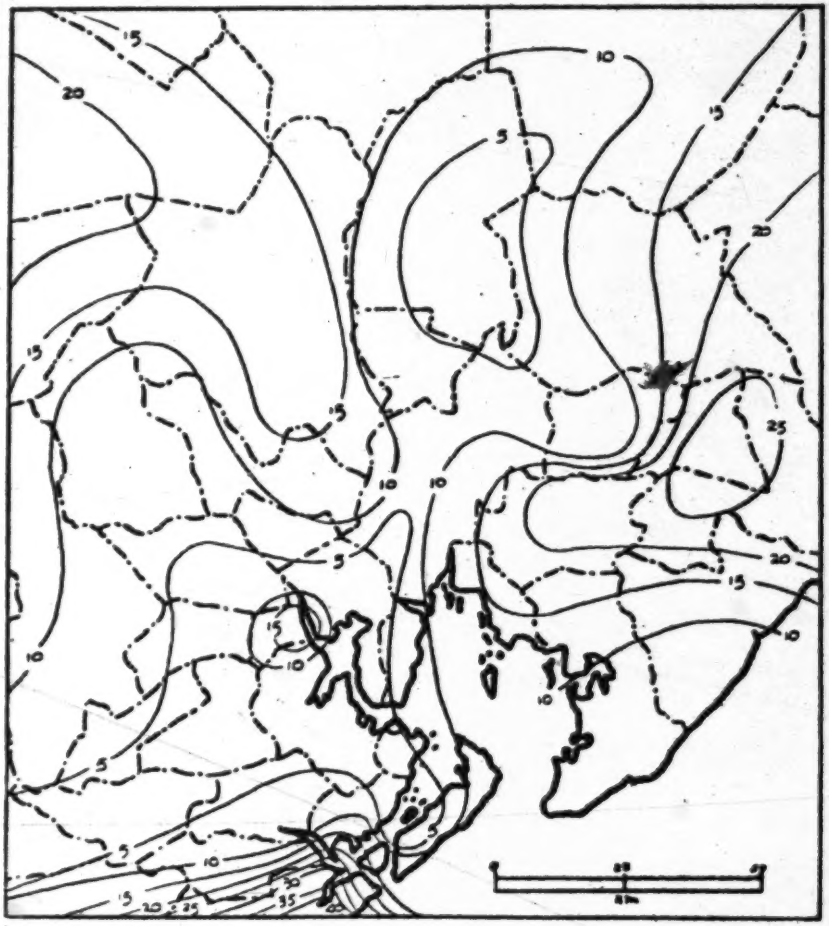

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of All Properties with an Area of

50 to 200 Hectares--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 109

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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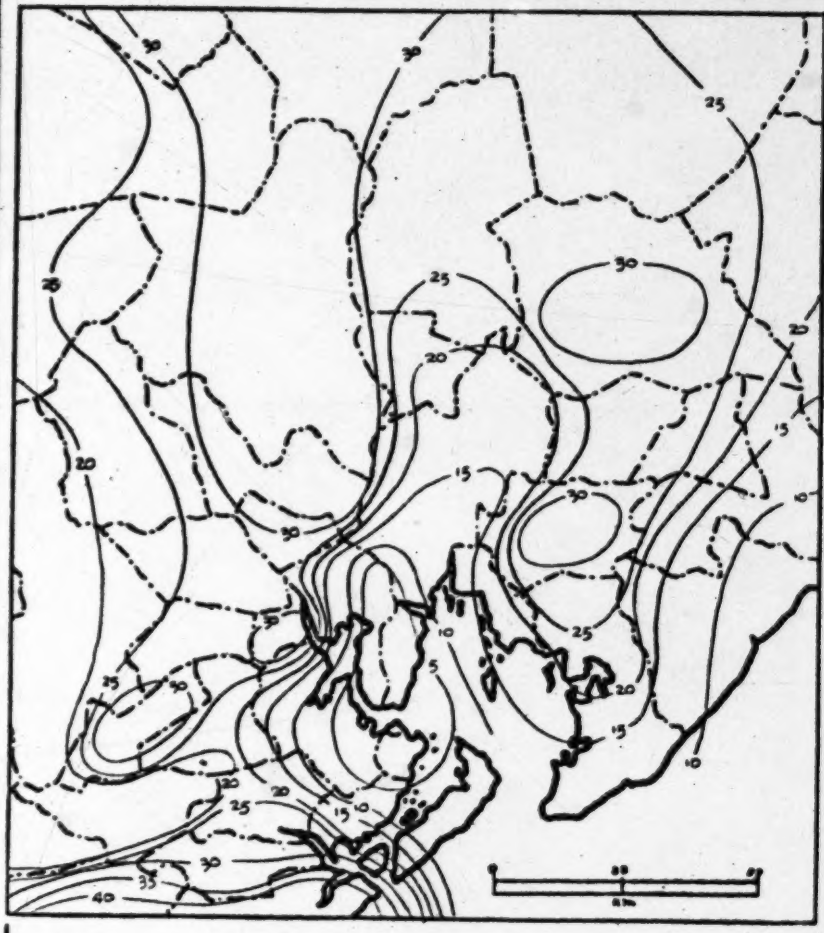

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumerated Area in Properties with an Area of

50 to 200 Hectares--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 110

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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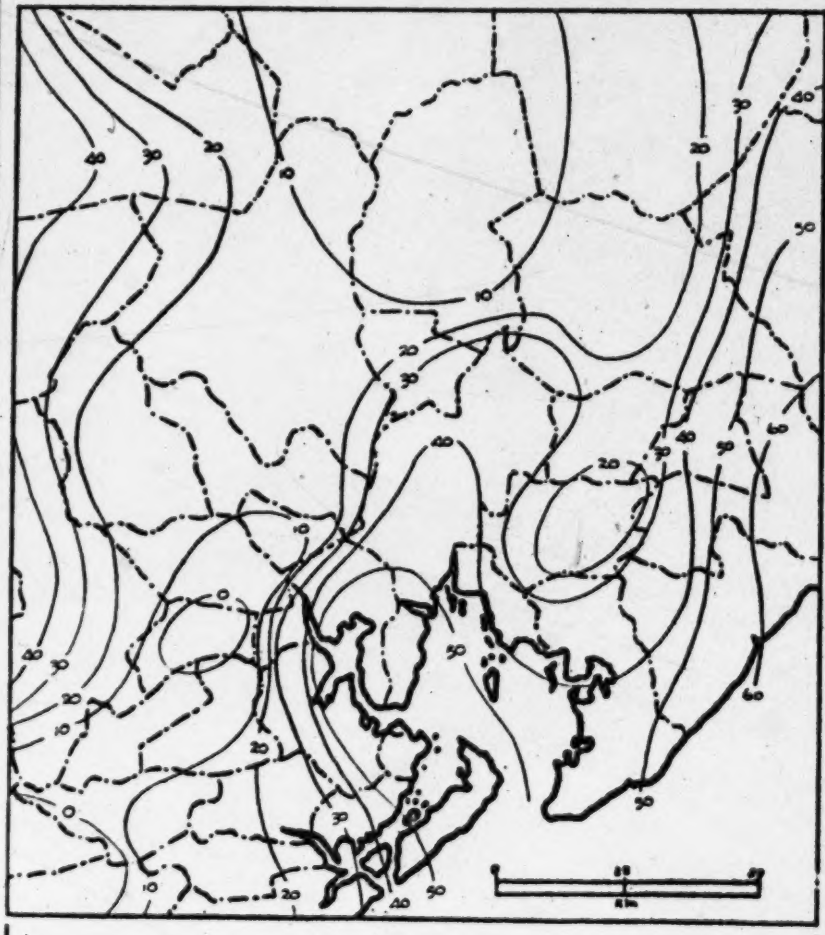

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumerated Area in Properties with an Area of More Than 500 Hectares—1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 111

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 423 some properties in excess of 100,000 hectares of land. Such overwhelmingly large properties signalize a tremendous concentration of power and, for the sertão, much wealth.

The large properties of the Recôncavo were less extensive than the vast fazendas of the sertão, but they probably represented an even greater assemblage of economic and social power. The sugar cane plantations [249 477] and the associated usinas, with their traditional prestige, large capital investment, and centralized production, are the preponderant social institutions of the Recôncavo.

Land Tenure. Most of the formal categories of farm tenure which are characteristic of the agriculture of the United States are present also in the Recôncavo: ownership by private individuals and corporations; operation by owners, administrators, renters, and "squatters."[5] However, the contrasts in property size and the centralized control of agricultural credit and capital in the Recôncavo give these these general types of agricultural tenure and operation a distinctive character.

241 423 472 Proprietor Operation. Most of the agricultural properties of the Recôncavo were operated by the owner in 1940. Only in the Southern Recôncavo--Maragogipe and Salvador--were less than half of the properties owner-operated. In most of the region and the adjoining area three-fourths of the units were operated by the owner (Map 112). The area occupied by owner-operated units was in excess of half the enumerated area in all parts of the region except the Southern Recôncavo (Map 113). However, the area in owner-operated properties was higher in the tobacco-manioc area of the Southwestern Recôncavo--70 to 80 per cent--than in either the tobacco-manioc or the sugar cane region north of the Bay. A greater contrast is reflected in the map of the mean size of owner-operated properties (Map 114). In Conceição do Almeida--

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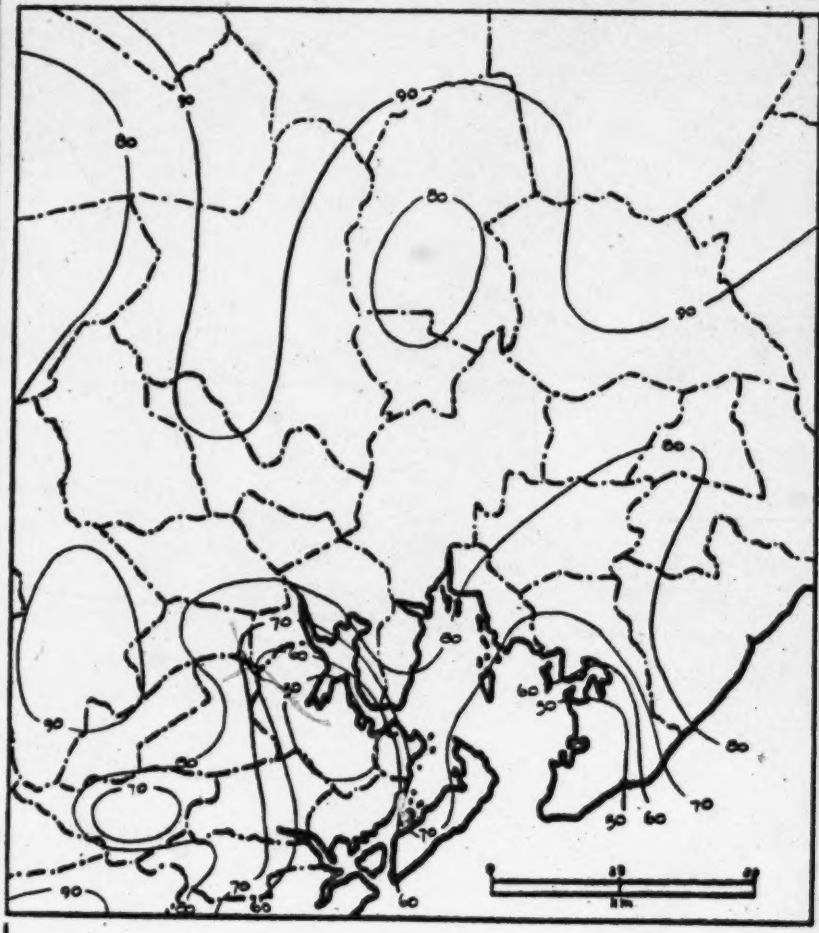

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of All Agricultural Properties Which Were

Owner-Operated--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 112

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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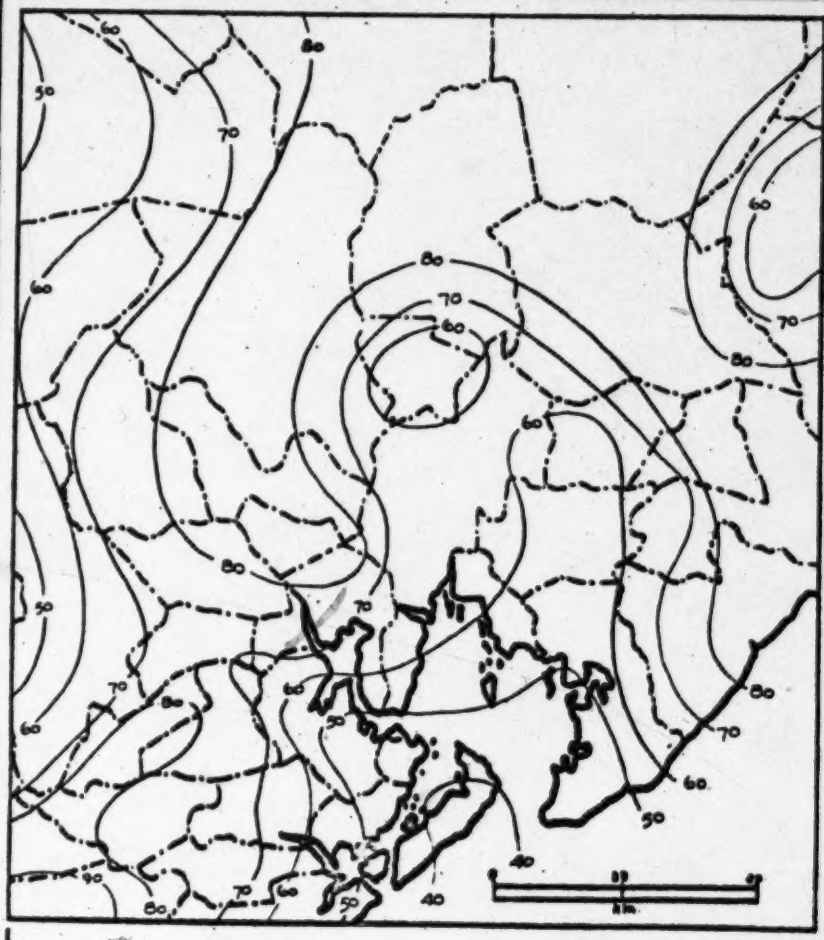

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumerated Area in

Owner-Operated Properties—1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 113

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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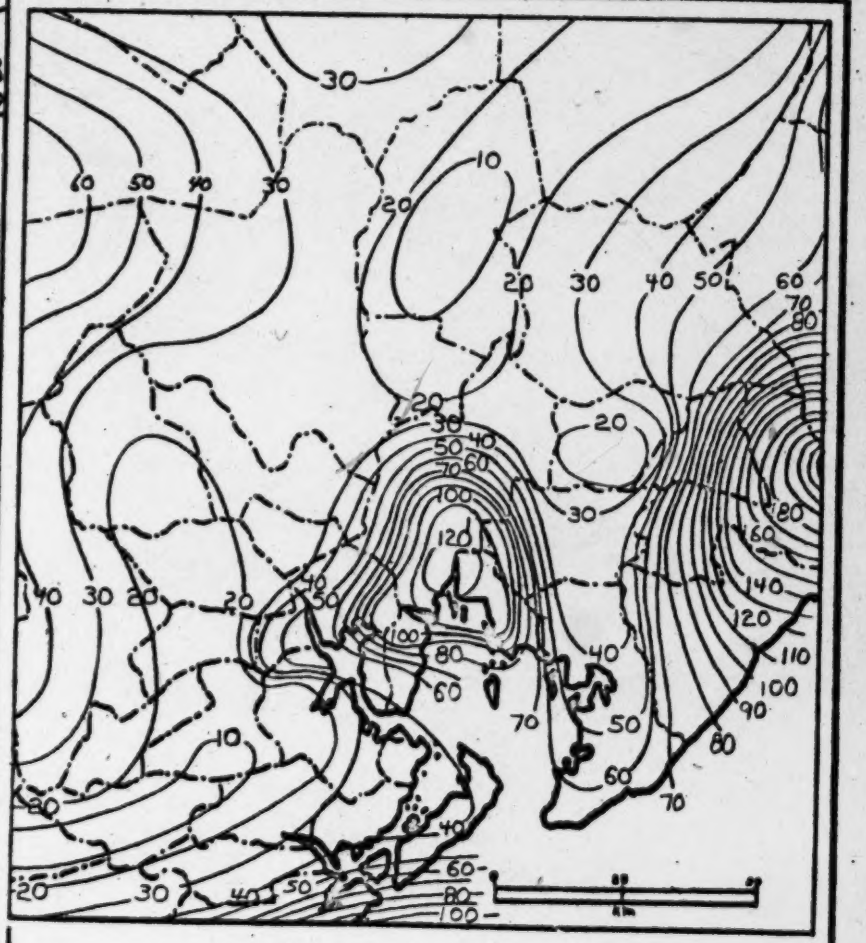

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Mean Size of Owner-Operated Properties—1940

In Hectares

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 114

241 Southwestern Recôncavo--the 80 per cent of all units which were owner-
423 operated had a mean size of 16 hectares in 1940. In São Francisco--
472 Central Recôncavo--the 75 per cent of all units which were owner-operated had a mean size of 113 hectares. In general the mean size of owner-operated units in the tobacco-manioc region was from 15 to 30 hectares, while the mean size in the sugar cane region exceeded 100 hectares.

241 Operation by Administrator. Absentee ownership in the Recôncavo
423 probably had its origin in the colonial period, when it was the practice
471 of many of the senhores de engenho (sugar cane planters) to spend part
178 of the year in Salvador. As the urban interests of the owner increased, the management of some properties passed into the hands of overseers, frequently drawn from the mixed-blood retinue of the plantation owner. To a lesser extent the same practice seems to have developed in other parts of the Recôncavo, as the property owner became involved in business, in the professions, or in politics in the cidades or in Salvador. The development of corporate landholding as a concomitant of the usina system has made agricultural administrators even more numerous.

241 Properties operated by administrators were found in every muni-
423 cípio of the Recôncavo in 1940 (Map 115). In 13 municípios over
471 one-tenth of the properties were so operated. The number of administrator-operated properties was relatively large in São Félix--25 per cent--in the sugar cane region, but also in the município of Salvador and on the island of Itaparica opposite.[6] The area in administrator-operated properties was relatively great in the sugar cane zone--30 to 40 per cent--and near Salvador, in general conforming to the pattern of the relative number of properties under administrators (Map 116). However, administrator-operated properties in the Central Recôncavo were relatively large--200 hectares in São Francisco

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 333]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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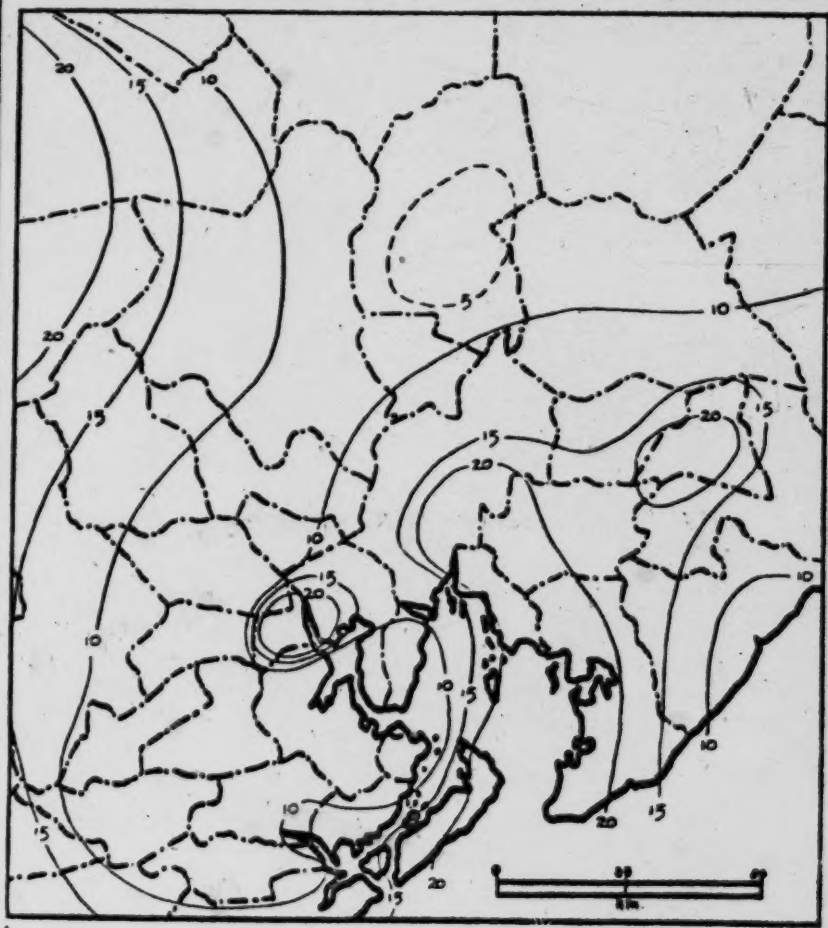

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of All Agricultural Properties Which Were Operated by Administrators—1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 115

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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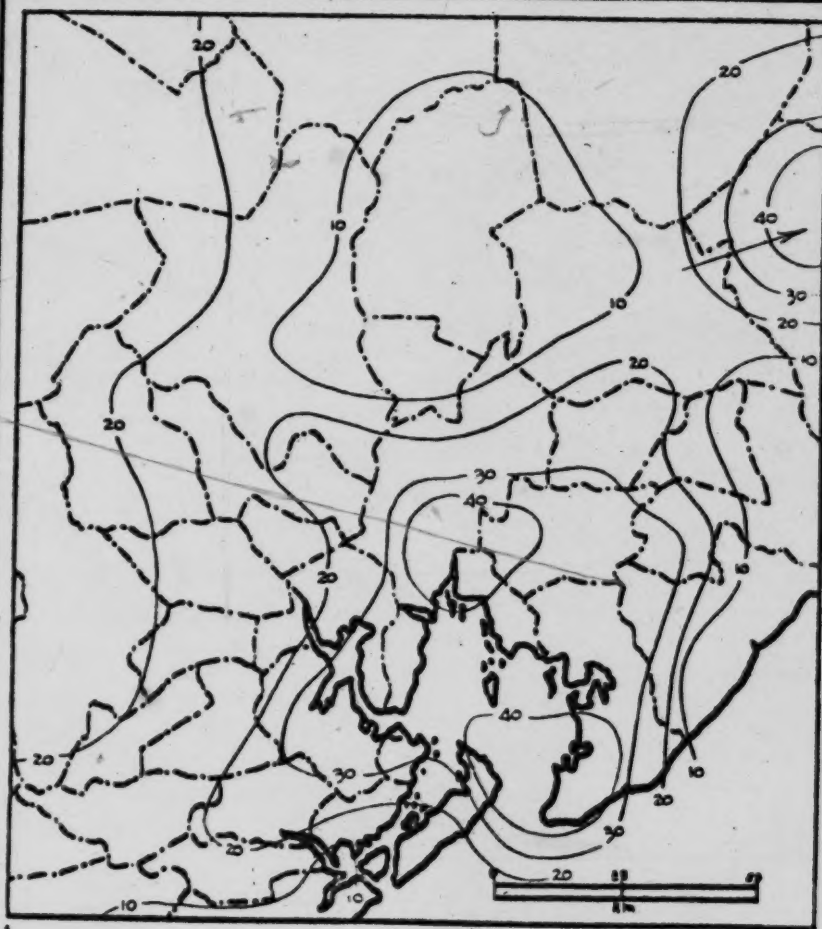

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumerated Area in

Administrator-Operated Properties—1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 116

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 423 471 and 161 hectares in Santo Amaro--while those of the Salvador area were relatively modest--81 hectares in Salvador and 72 hectares in Itaparica.

241 427 Rented Properties. There were few rented properties in the Recôncavo as a whole in 1940 (Map 117), but in three areas over 10 per cent of the properties were rented: in the core of the tobacco-manioc area of the Southwestern Recôncavo; in Irará; and around Salvador. In Maragogipe, 52 per cent of the properties, occupying 15 per cent of the enumerated area, were rented (Map 118). In Santo Antônio, adjoining the Southwestern Recôncavo, over 30 per cent of the properties were rented, but along the western and norther border zones of the Recôncavo there were very few rented properties. Because of the small size of the units, rented properties in the Recôncavo generally occupied less than 10 per cent of the enumerated area.

[244] [249] The rented properties of the tobacco-manioc crop region were usually small, from 10 to 30 hectares, but in the sugar cane area they averaged over 200 hectares (Map 119). If the official data are correct, the mean size of rented properties in Coração de Maria was over 267 hectares, but this seems very unlikely and has not been shown on the map.

241 423 471 Corporate Lands. In 1940, one-hundred ninety-eight of the 29,000 agricultural properties of the Recôncavo were owned by corporations or companies. The total area of these properties was 33,000 hectares, almost 4 per cent of the total enumerated area of the region. Moreover, the land which composed these properties was some of the most productive in the Recôncavo. The number of corporate properties and the concentration of land under corporate ownership almost certainly has increased since 1940.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 337]

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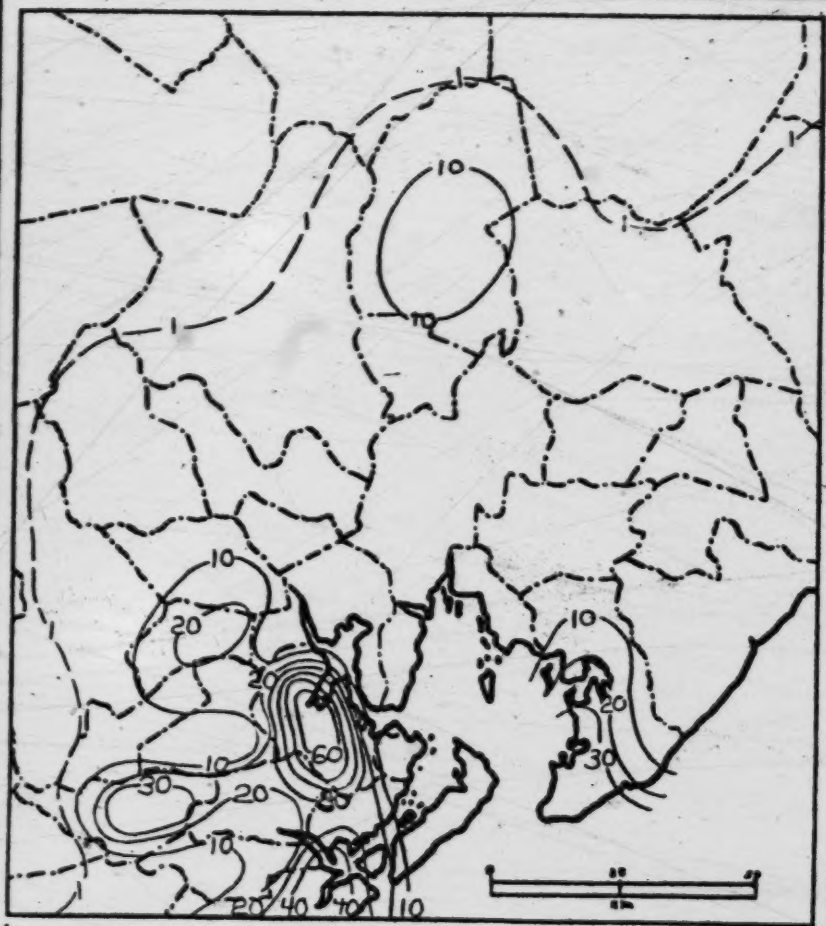

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of All Agricultural Properties Which Were

Operated by Renters—1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 117

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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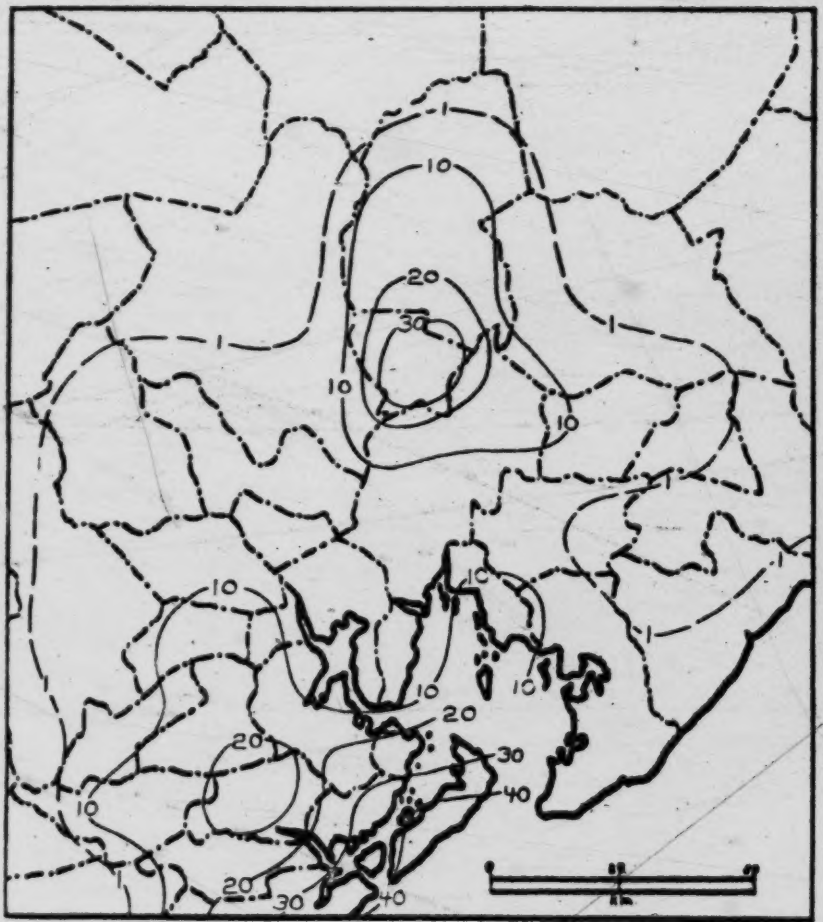

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumerated Area in

Renter-Operated Properties--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 118

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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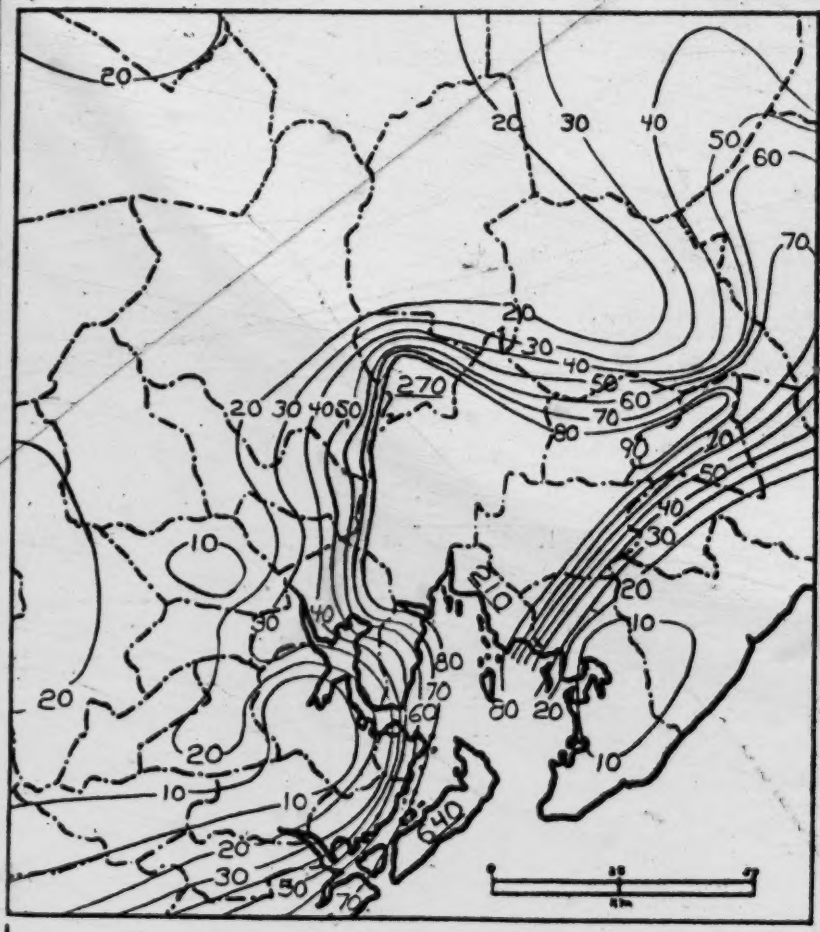

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Mean Size of Renter-Operated Properties—1940

In Hectares

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 119

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 423 471 [249] Although there were a few corporate lands in the vicinity of the city of Salvador in 1940, the main concentration was in the sugar cane area north of the Bay. Here the large corporately-owned usinas controlled as much as 30 per cent of the agricultural land. Most of these corporate properties were sugar cane plantations, but some were cattle ranches and other accessory properties. The corporations tend to dominate the sugar cane areas which are most productive and most favorably located for the transportation of cane and of the refined sugar and other products.

Conclusion. The strong network of interpersonal relationships, discussed in connection with crop cultivation and systems, is often more important than the purely formal aspects of land ownership and operation in the Recôncavo. The agricultural society of the Recôncavo is closely knit, so that the effective freedom of operation of the farm operator [565] is very limited. Although the large and rich landowners have, on some levels, a greater latitude than the small operators, they too are enmeshed in a system of inherited economic and social obligations and are subject to the restrictions imposed by the urban upper class.

241 441 442 472 The two primary local supervisory groups in the agricultural society are the merchant-buyers of the tobacco-manioc region and the general administrators and plantation owners of the sugar cane region. [656] However, both these groups are under the more or less immediate control of the sugar and tobacco companies in Salvador and of the official Instituto do Açúcar e do Álcool and the Instituto Baiano do Fumo.[7]

249 471 472 656 The operations of the sugar cane plantations are dictated by the mills, which specify the type and quantity of cane and the schedule of delivery. In turn, the amount of sugar produced by the mill is determined by the Instituto do Açúcar e do Álcool, while the policy of

BB 249 401 472 [656] operation is determined by the company officers, who generally live in Salvador. The company, in its turn, is subject to some control from Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo investors. This structured system of control probably is one of the reasons for the continuation of the monoculture in the sugar cane area. The usual explanation offered for the cane monoculture is the unique suitability of the soil and climate and the innate conservatism of the Baiano. However, one of the features of the present sugar economy is the lack of capital for other enterprises. The absentee owners, who are the only likely source of capital, are hesitant to advance money for new and untried enterprises. Moreover, alternative agricultural enterprises, if successful, would reduce the supply of cane and thus eventually raise the cost of usina operation.

BB 249 244 442 In the tobacco-manioc region the control exercised by Salvador is indirect, but compelling, because the small tobacco producer is almost completely at the mercy of the buyer, who receives orders from the tobacco exporter and manufacturer through the agent.

BB 241 423 471 [184] [231] [233] The differences in production specialization, size, and tenure among the agricultural properties of the Recôncavo both accentuate the basic dichotomy of the region and re-emphasize its unity. The small-scale mixed crop cultivation and livestock producing unit of the tobacco-manioc region and the large-scale crop cultivation unit of the sugar region are both esentially engaged in the production of commercial crops. Both are distinct from the primary agricultural unit of the sertão, the livestock ranch. Both are subject to the over-all economic control of the center—Salvador.

B BB 241 423 184 [249] In most parts of Brazil, as in the Recôncavo, the agricultural properties are highly diverse in size, function, and ownership. Most areas of sugar cane cultivation have relatively large properties, primarily engaged in crop cultivation. In other areas, as in

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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B BB 249 471 423 178 In other areas, as in the Recôncavo, more and more of the cane plantations are passing into the hands of the central mills and are being operated by administrators. Small properties, owner or renter operated, are also a widespread feature of the Brazilian agricultural scene. Frequently, as in the B BB 241 231 233 423 Recôncavo, large and small properties are intermixed in zones where several crops and livestock are raised jointly. Throughout Brazil the class of small property holders is tied to the merchant and large land-B 241 423 471 178 holder class by a network of economic and social relationships much like those of the Recôncavo. Apparently the number and total area of small properties is growing, especially in Central and South Brazil. If this be so, the development of small farms in the Recôncavo, such as those producing tobacco and manioc, is part of the nationwide trend.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

000 Footnotes - Chapter VIII

[1]Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

[2]The data for the total area of the various municipios used in this analysis are taken from Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, No. 8. These data are the most recent and presumably most accurat available for the state of Bahia. In a number of cases they disagree markedly with area given in the 1940 census, which was based upon earlier and probably less accurate calculations from older maps.

[127] [3]The distinction between large- and small-scale units was made in the census as follows: (1) Agricultural units with over 50 hectares in "major crops (pineapple, alfalfa, cotton, rice, oats, potatoes, sugar cane, rye, barley, beans, tobacco, castor beans, manioc, corn, wheat, coffee, cacao, coconuts, oranges, bananas, or grapes) were large-scale. All others were small-scale. Area in these crops was estimated from production figures and mean yields. (2) Livestock units with 200 head of cattle or sheep; 100 head of horses, goats, or pigs; or 50 asses or mules, or an appropriate combination of these, were large-scale. Alternatively, a smaller number of reproductive females--100 cows or ewes; 60 mares; or 20 sows--made the unit large-scale. All others were small-scale. (3) Crop-livestock units, in order to qualify as large-scale units, had to satisfy both criteria simultaneously.

[241] [13] [84] [361] [4]The size, shape, and physical and economic diversity of many of the municípios of the Recôncavo make it very difficult to evaluate and to map mean data. This is particularly true of Santo Amaro, of which part is in the sugar cane region, part in the tobacco-manioc region, and part in sparsely settled forest land. It is also true for São Gonçalo, which stretches from the humid Intermediate Hills to the dry western caatinga. Of all the municípios, only São Félix and Conceição da Feira, both very small, have a relatively homogeneous landscape. The details of the interpretations and, to an even greater extent, the maps were drawn with numerous inferences based upon correlative data and field observations.

[5]Agricultural properties are also held by religious orders, syndicates, cooperatives, and other legal persons, but such properties are not very common in the Recôncavo. "Squatters," as defined by the census, included both those who occupied public land legally but without title and those who illegally occupied private land. Renters included both cash and share renters.

[6]There were about 50 administrator-operated properties, with an average size of 30 hectares, in the município of São Félix, according to the census. The reasons for this concentration are not apparent, especially since this local phenomenon was not studied in the field. The concentrations around Salvador and on the island of Itaparica are suburban country houses--chácaras--a Brazilian institution. Many of these chácaras are on small properties which are operated by an overseer and which produce some agricultural products, especially vegetables and fruits. A large number of these properties line the eastern shore of the island of Itaparica; there are also a few in the forested area around Salvador.

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[128] [7]The marketing system of tobacco will be treated in the chapter on marketing. The development of the supervisory government agencies was discussed in the chapter on the evolution of the Recôncavo.

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Brazil SL1

CHAPTER IX

VALUE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

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The analysis of the distribution of cropland and of the quantity of production has established the Recôncavo as a distinctive regional unit of Bahia and of Brazil without formulating clearly the importance of the region to the state or the nation. Similarly, the internal differentiation of the region has been discussed in terms of various municípios, sub-regions, and crop regions without establishing the basic importance of these to the Recôncavo except as components of the agricultural landscape or as producers of crops with an unspecified value. Although the value of agricultural production is not exclusively economic, monetary value is one of the most useful general standards for estimating the collective and individual importance of diverse agricultural products.

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The tables and discussion which follow have three purposes: (1) the estimation of the importance of the Recôncavo and its individual products to the Brazilian and the Bahian economy; (2) the determination of the importance of individual products within the economy of the region; and (3) the evaluation of the economic importance of the crop regions, previously delimited, to the Recôncavo.

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The total value of the crops of the Recôncavo was less than 1 per cent of the total value of crop production in Brazil in 1948, based upon a comparison of the value of 21 principal crops of Brazil and of the Recôncavo which are given in Table XV. Although for several centuries the region was an outstandingly productive center of the Brazilian economy, today it plays a secondary role even within Bahia. In recent decades the southern coast of the state, growing cacao for foreign markets, has

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1
South Brazil SM1
East Brazil SN1
Northeast Brazil SO1
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TABLE XV

VALUE OF THE CHIEF COMMERCIAL PRODUCTS OF THE RECÔNCAVO COMPARED WITH OTHER AREAS--1948

	Value of Production in Cr.$000			
Agricultural Products	Recôncavo	Bahia	Other Centers*	Brazil
Crops:				
Leaf Tobacco	86,700	155,041	227,266 - Rio Grande do Sul	615,293
Manioc	70,600	292,373	351,427 - Minas Gerais	2,357,570
Sugar Cane	54,200	148,980	458,254 - Pernambuco	2,425.494
Beans	15,500	123,552	670,274 - Minas Gerais	2,719,235
Oranges	14,800	28,904	191,938 - Rio de Janeiro	567,790
Bananas	9,200	35,503	144,525 - São Paulo	754,380
Corn	8,200	71,623	1,423,153 - Minas Gerais	5,249,030
Coconuts	6,500	46,368	42,135 - Paraiba	225,870
Coffee	3,400	95,958	3,947,704 - São Paulo	6,450,919
Pineapples	1,700	4,130	24,020 - São Paulo	94,404
Peanuts	1,300	1,788	258,287 - São Paulo	292,274
Sweet Potatoes	1,200	19,837	100,732 - Rio Grande do Sul	435,547
Total of 12 Crops	273,300	1,024,057		22,137,806
Total of 21 Principal Crops**	275,000	1,731,164	11,213,444 - São Paulo***	33,082,875
Livestock	60,000			

*In each case the figure which is used for comparison is that of the principal producer of the individual crop in Brazil, except in the case of coconuts, where Bahia is the chief producer and the second most important center has been used.

**These are the 21 principal crops of Brazil which are listed in Produção Agrícola: 1948.

***São Paulo was used in this comparison because the total value of its production of the principal crops exceeds that of any other state.

Source: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1

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come to be the area of the greatest value of agricultural production in the state--Cr.$1,007,824,000, in 1948, almost three times the value of

B BB 231 233 433

crop and livestock production in the Recôncavo, Cr.$335,000,000. The total value of livestock production in the Recôncavo is estimated to be about Cr.$60,000,000 for 1948. Although no comparable figure is available for Brazil, probably the Recôncavo had less then 1 per cent of the livestock and thus produced less than 1 per cent of the value of livestock in the nation as a whole.[1]

B BB 433

The present inferior position of the Recôncavo is in part a reflection of the relative decline of the region in the nineteenth century discussed in the chapter on the evolution of the Recôncavo. However, the Recôncavo continues to lag behind in the contemporary development

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of Brazil. From 1944 to 1952 the total cruzeiro value of the principal crops of Brazil increased four-fold, while the value of Bahia's tobacco crop, a good indicator of the economic shifts of the Recôncavo, increased by only one-fifth despite the concurrent inflationary spiral. Even the government-stabilized sugar industry of the Recôncavo produced only three and one-half times its 1944 value. Although the above increases are more indicative of the steadily declining value of Brazilian currency than of true economic development, they are an index of the relative importance of agriculture in the Recôncavo to the national economy.

BB 249 244 433 311

Tobacco, sugar cane, and manioc, which occupied 70 per cent of the Recôncavo's cropland, accounted for 77 per cent of the total value of all principal crops in 1948 (Table XVI). Each of the three crops contributed at least 20 per cent of the value of all crops, while no other crop produced over 6 per cent of the total. The cruzeiro value of these principal crops, and of livestock, and their relative position within the nation has been given in Table XV, above.

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TABLE XVI

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RELATIVE CROPLAND AND VALUE OF ALL CROPS OF THE RECÔNCAVO WITH A VALUE OF MORE THAN Cr.$1,000,000 IN 1948

Crop	Per cent of the Cropland of the Recôncavo	Per cent of the Value of All Principal Crops of the Recôncavo
Tobacco	27	32
Manioc	28	25
Sugar Cane	15	20
Beans	9	6
Oranges	1	5
Bananas	1	3
Corn	12	3
Coconuts	1	2
Coffee	4	1
Pineapple	<1	<1
Peanuts	<1	<1
Sweet Potatoes	<1	<1

Source: Calculations and estimates based on data from Produção Agrícola: 1948.

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The leading position of tobacco results in part from its extensive cultivation, and in part from its relatively high unit value. While the mean value of production of all crops in the Recôncavo was Cr.$3,400 per hectare in 1948, tobacco produced Cr.$3,900 per hectare, as given in Table XVII, which also shows the value of production per hectare of the other principal crops. The leading position of tobacco is at variance with tradition which, as has been seen, assigns the first rank to sugar cane. Not only was tobacco the most valuable crop of the Recôncavo in 1948, but it was also the leading crop in seven municípios of the tobacco-manioc region, where it accounted for a minimum of 40 per cent of the value of all crops. Within four separate municípios of the crop region, it accounted for about 60 per cent of the total value of crops (Map 120). The Southwestern Recôncavo was the chief center of the production of tobacco, as indicated by value as well as by cropland and bulk, for it produced over 63 per cent of the total value of tobacco in the Recôncavo. Within this section, Cruz das Almas was the

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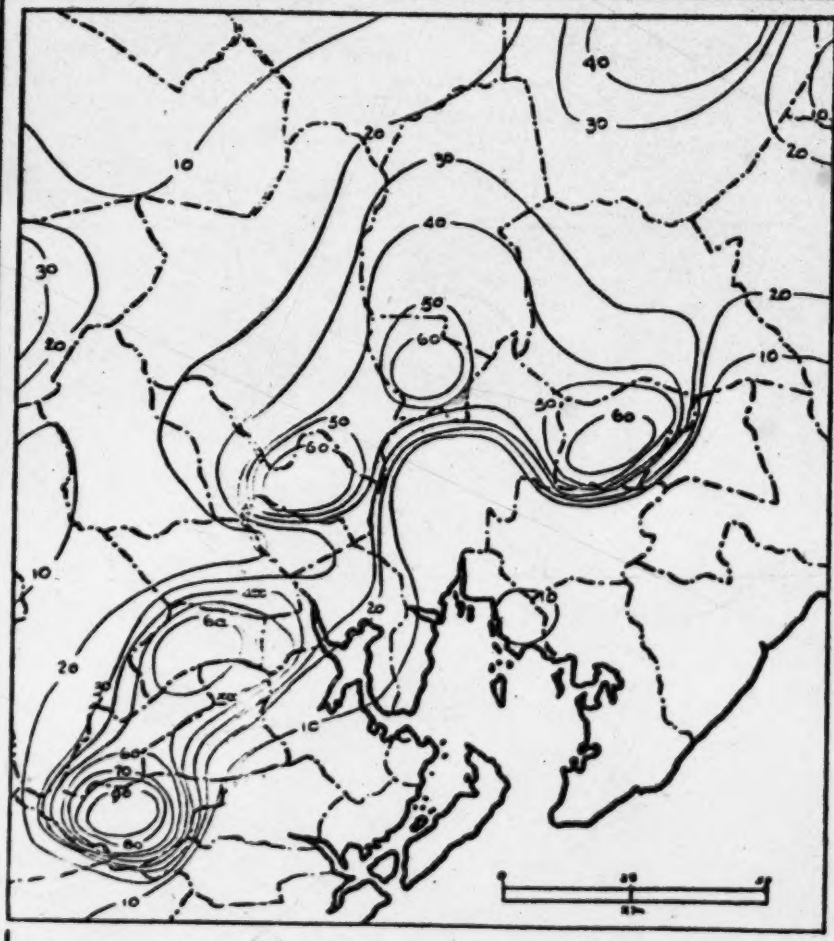

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Value of Crop Production

Contributed by Tobacco--1948

MAP 120

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

TABLE XVII

MEAN VALUE OF PRODUCTION PER HECTARE FOR THE CROPS OF THE RECÔNCAVO IN 1948

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Crops	Value of Production Cr.$1.000 per ha.
Principal Crops*	
Tobacco	3,900
Manioc	3,100
Sugar Cane	4,600
Beans	2,200
Oranges**	13,300
Bananas**	8,600
Corn	800
Coconuts**	7,400
Coffee**	1,400
Pineapple	1,000
Peanuts	2,400
Sweet Potatoes	3,500
All Crops	3,400

*Crops with a value in excess of Cr.$1,000,000.
**There is little consistent relationship between the area and production of these crops, so that local values for these crops often depart widely from the mean.
Source: Calculations and estimations based upon Produção Agrícola: 1948.

249 leading producer--40 per cent of the total value of the tobacco crop.
433 Notwithstanding the dominant role of the Southwestern area, tobacco production north of the Rio Paraguaçu was also significant—contributing 24 per cent of the total value of the crop.

As has been indicated, several grades of tobacco are produced in the Recôncavo. The superiority of the tobacco production of the Southwestern Recôncavo is more than a matter of hectares of cultivation or kilograms of leaf. The area is the core of the "Mata Fina" zone, within which the leaf of Cruz das Almas is assigned the highest price.
[439] The "Mata Fina" leaf is the basis of the export of cigar tobacco to European markets. In its concern with cacao, the most valuable export,
[245] [439] Bahia tends to forget the important role which tobacco plays in its economy, and with this, so the people of the zone sometimes feel, to

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 433 neglect the critical tobacco producing areas. It seems to be true that
[245] [439] the chief recipients of political and economic attention have been the traditionally important sugar cane area, and more recently the cacao
[491] zone. The people of the tobacco area complain particularly about the lack of roads.

244 433 Not only is manioc the basic source of subsistence for the Recôncavo, it is also the second crop in value of production. Its cultivation, as has been seen, is closely associated with the production of tobacco, so that the Southwestern Recôncavo, which produced 63 per cent of the tobacco crop, also contributed a very large part--48 per cent--of the total value of manioc (Map 121). However, manioc is important in its own right, as well as in its relationship to tobacco. No data are available to indicate the importance of manioc as a surplus product which is sold beyond the borders of the município in which it is grown. A rough estimate can be made by assuming that the per capita consumption of manioc is 400 kilograms per year--this is the mean consumption for the state of Bahia. Using this figure in conjunction with the population data, it is possible to estimate that in 1948 about 30,000 tons of surplus manioc was produced in the Recôncavo. Ninety per cent of this surplus was produced in the municípios of the Southwestern Recôncavo.
[489] [494] It is significant that many of the trucks passing from the Southwestern Recôncavo to Feira de Santana and Salvador are piled high with bags of farinha de mandioca. The total value of commercial manioc would be about Cr.$6,500,000, so that on this basis manioc is the fourth or fifth most valuable commercial crop of the Recôncavo. Using the above method of determination, it was found that several municípios adjoining the region also produced surpluses of manioc. The most notable of these were the four municípios adjacent to the Southwestern Recôncavo--Nazaré, São Miguel, Santo Antônio, and Castro Alves--which produced a

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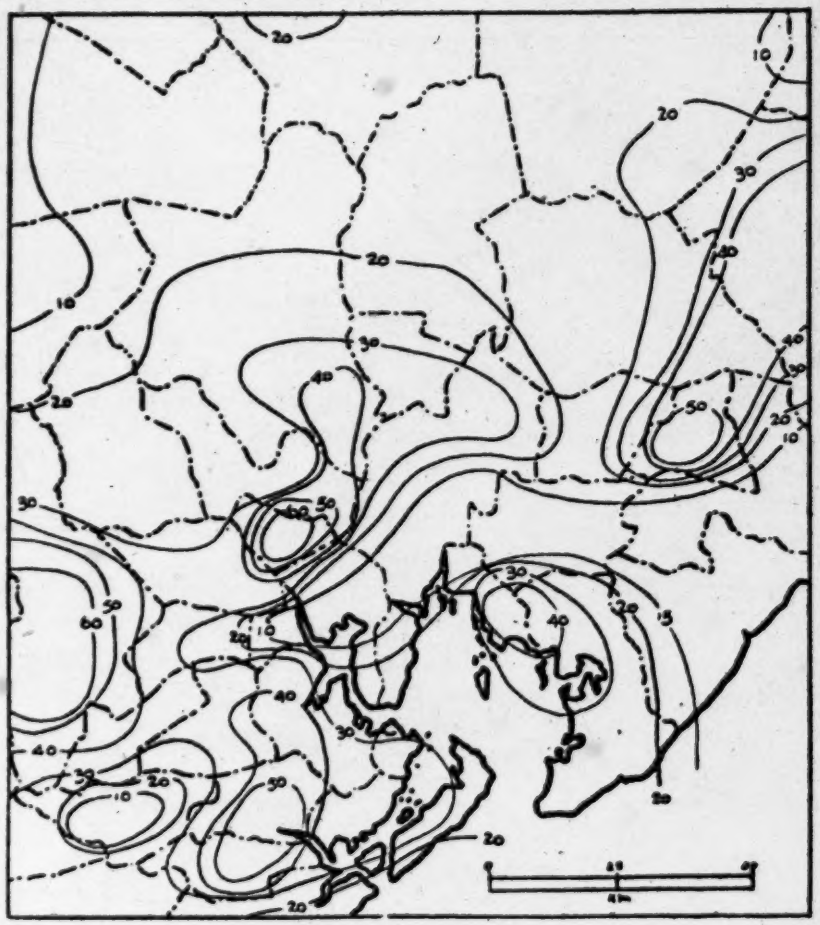

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Value of Crop Production

Contributed by Manioc--1948

MAP 121

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

244 433 10,000-ton surplus. The surplus manioc of these municípios would appear [438] to be marketed to the manioc-deficit areas of the Recôncavo, particularly [249] the sugar cane area and Salvador. It is significant that those municípios which were the leading producers of tobacco were also the leading producers of commercial manioc (Map 123). Although the exchange and processing of tobacco in these areas is well organized and receives some attention from government bureaus, the growing and processing of manioc remains an unrecognized enterprise.

249 244 433 The importance of the production of tobacco and of commercial manioc to the various municípios of the Southwestern Recôncavo is shown in the following summary:

Município	Per cent of Total Value of Production	
	Tobacco	Manioc
Cruz das Almas	65	23
Conceição de Almeida	57	38
São Filipe	25	32
Muritiba	17	14
São Félix	54	-

One of the advantages of the relative balance of these two products is that in the event of a crop failure of one, the area would still have a salable commercial product. Moreover, since the production of manioc is relatively large, a moderate decrease in its yield would still leave this area with at least a minimum supply of food for its large agricultural population.

249 257 433 Sugar cane is now the third crop in value in the Recôncavo, but [654] it is maintained in that position only by government subsidy. It is a crop which either dominates the region in which it is produced or its cultivation is economically unimportant (Map 124). In part this is the result of the technological requirements of the sugar industry, which demand that large quantities of sugar cane be produced close to the mill so that the cane can be delivered quickly once it is cut. However,

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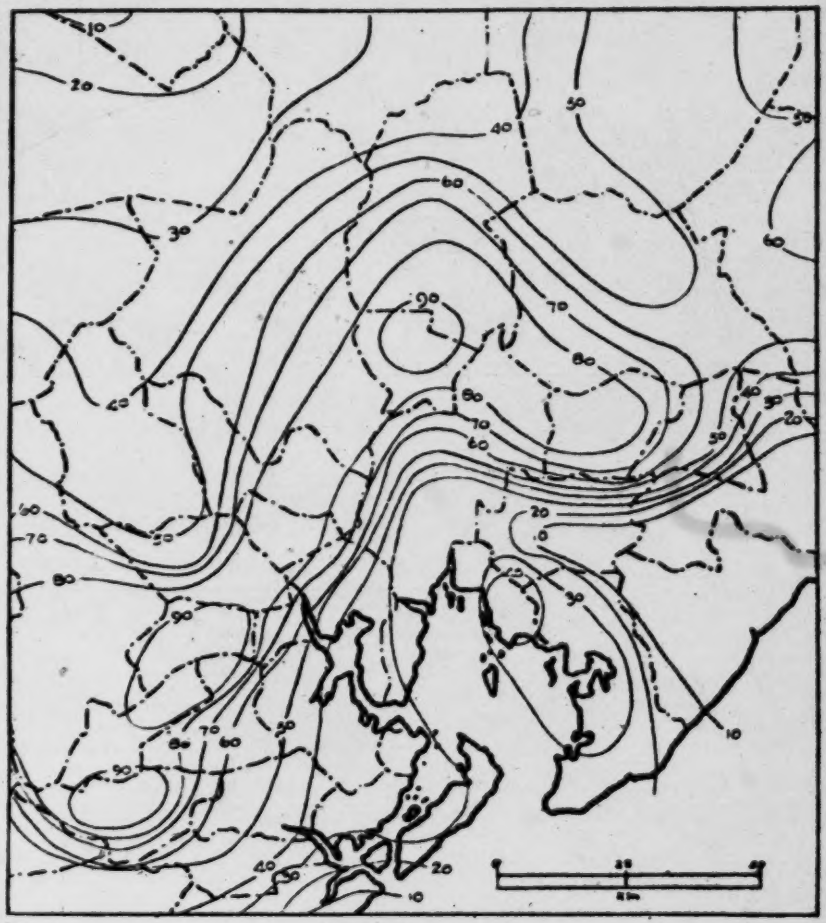

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Value of Crop Production

Contributed by Tobacco and Manioc--1948

MAP 122

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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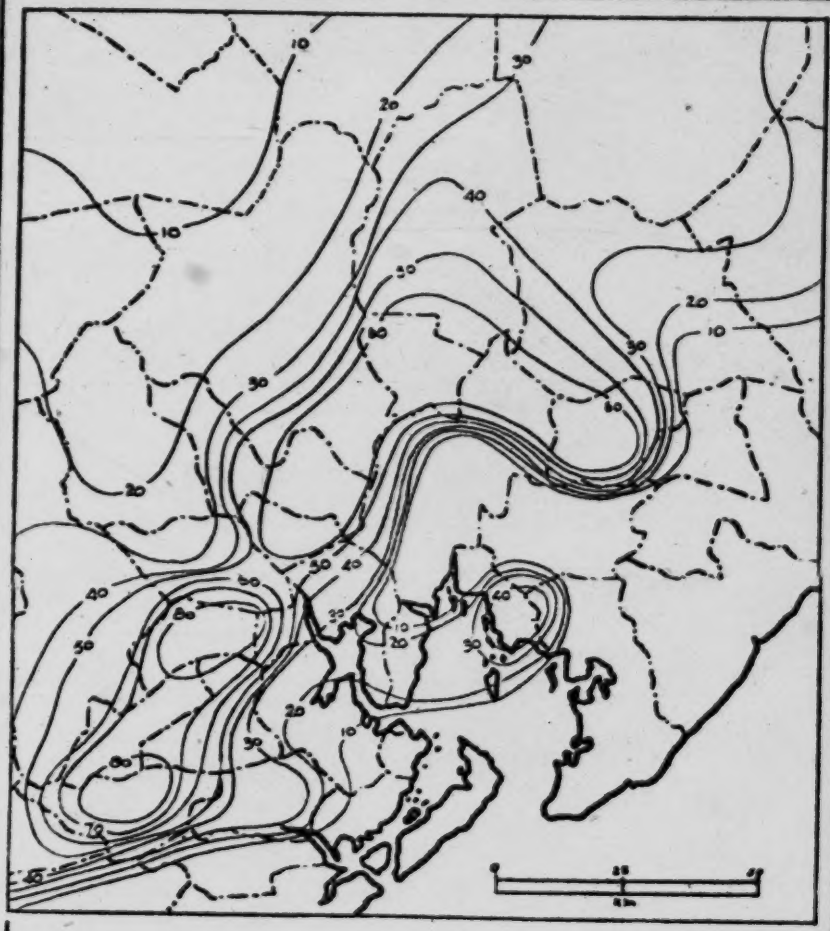

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Value of Crop Production

Contributed by Tobacco and Commercial Manioc—1948

(Estimated)

MAP 123

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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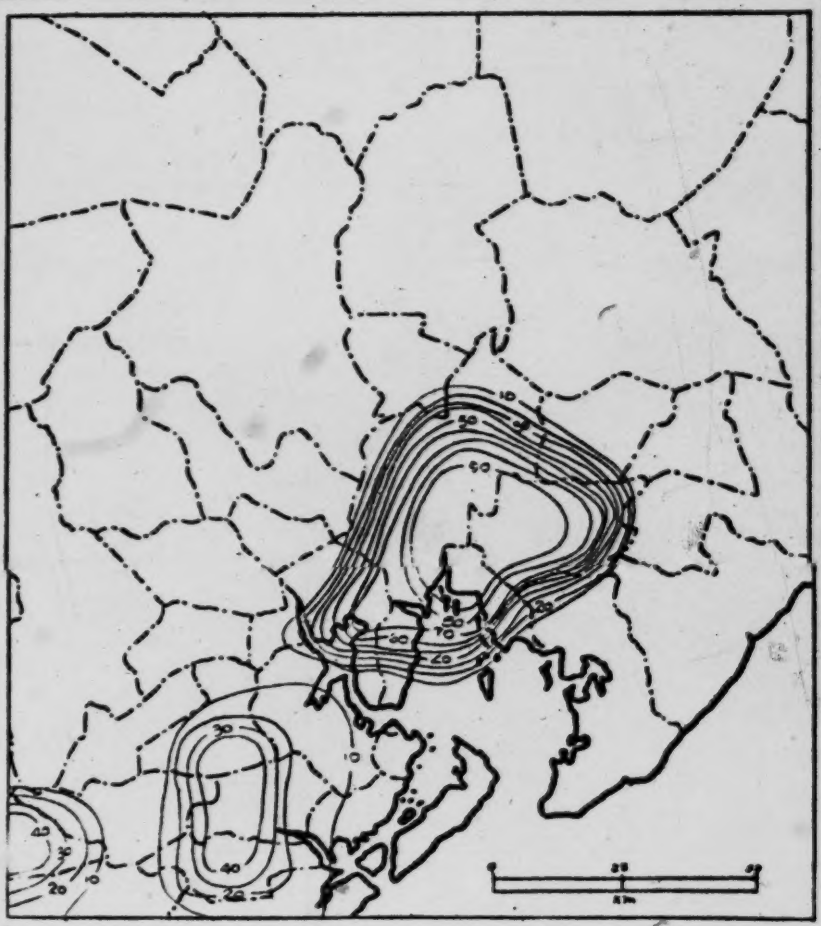

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Value of Crop Production

Contributed by Sugar Cane--1948

MAP 124

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249
257 the large landholders and agricultural capitalists of Brazil have a
433 strong historical bias toward monocultural systems.

249 As would be expected, the Central Recôncavo accounted for almost
433 90 per cent of the total value of sugar cane in the region. Sugar pro-
471 duction in this area is dominated by the big usinas, and most of the cane is produced on very large properties, as has been seen.

243 Although corn and beans primarily are subsistence crops, they
244 have, like manioc, some commercial importance (Map 125). The corn and bean
433 areas within the Recôncavo do not produce outstanding surpluses, although
438 these two crops are important commercial products in nearby Serrinha and Conceição do Coite. Most of the corn and beans of the Recôncavo are exchanged for farinha de mandioca, which provides the cultivator with a cheaper food.

244 The remaining crops of the region are of minor commercial impor-
245 tance, or are more valuable commercial crops of highly localized pro-
433 duction. Bananas, peanuts, and sweet potatoes are minor commercial
438 crops of diffuse production, since most of their cultivation is for subsistence purposes. Oranges, coconut, coffee, and pineapple are important but secondary commercial products whose production is concentrated in a few restricted areas (see, for example, Map 126 of coconut production).

249 The importance of the principal commercial crops--tobacco, sugar
244 cane, coffee, coconut, oranges, pineapple, a few minor crops, and
245 commercial manioc--varies widely from município to município (Map 127).
433 However, two areas--the Central Recôncavo and the Southwestern Recôncavo--
438 had highly commercial economies in which over 90 per cent of the total value of production was in commercial crops. In the tobacco-manioc area north of the Rio Paraguaçu, only one-half to three-quarters of
000 the total value of production was in commercial crops. Except in the

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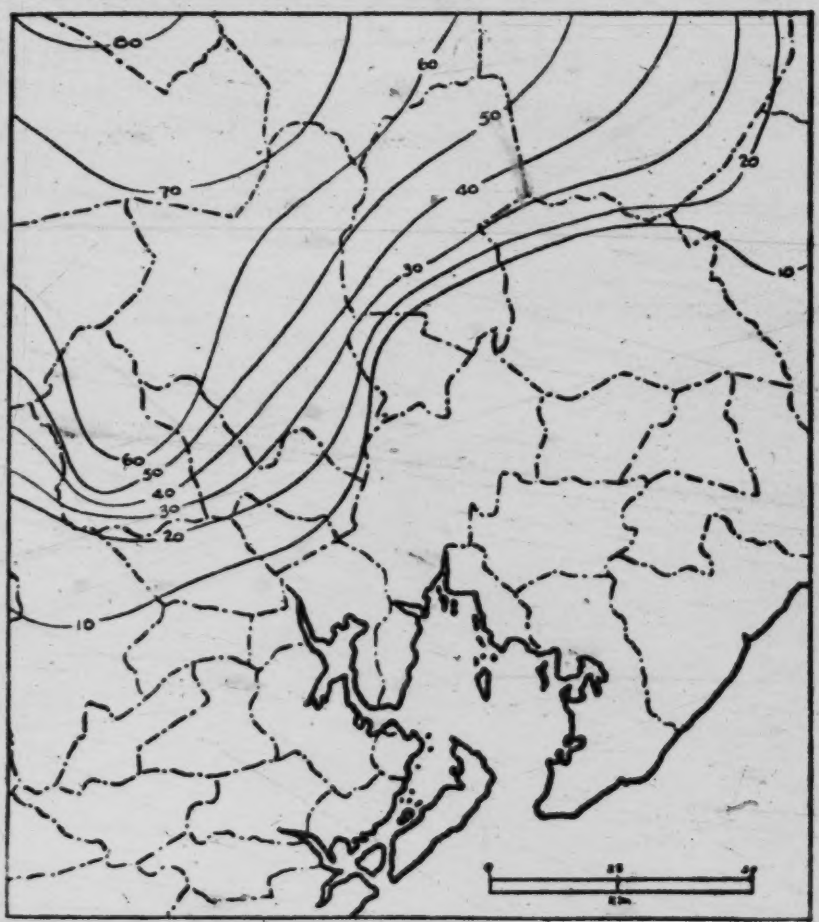

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Value of Crop Production

Contributed by Corn and Beans--1948

MAP 125

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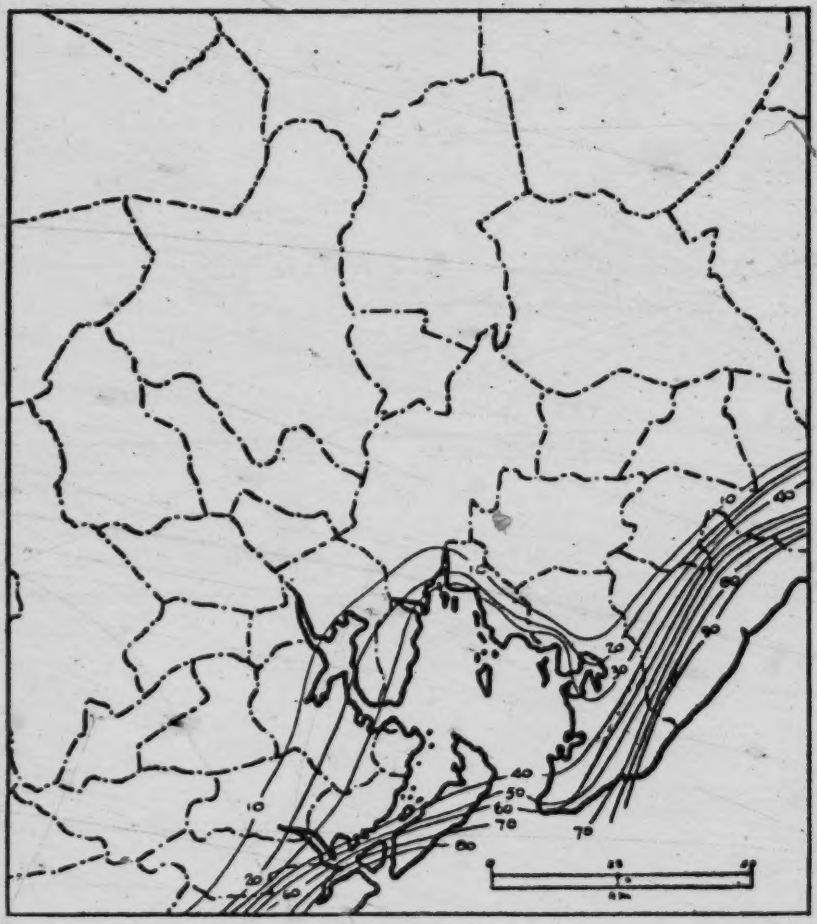

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Value of Crop Production

Contributed by Coconuts--1948

MAP 126

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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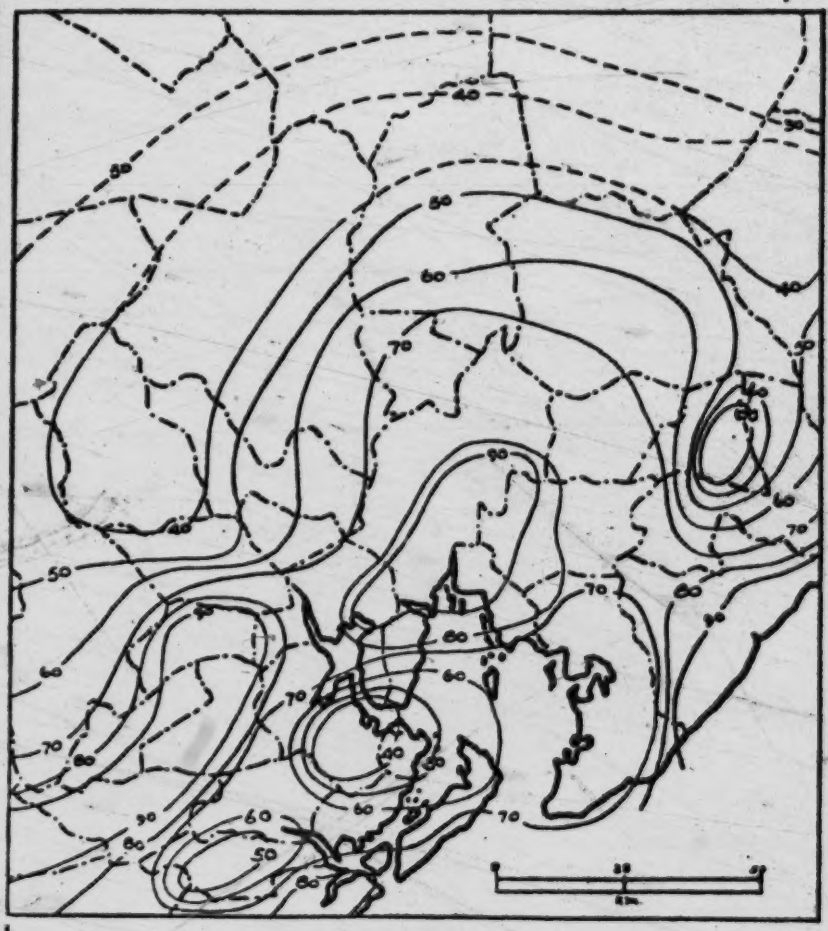

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Value of Crop Production

Contributed by Commercial Crops--1948

MAP 127

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

Except in the
241 southwest and around Salvador, commercial crops produced only 40 per
433 cent of the total value of all crops. It is apparent that agriculture in the Recôncavo is by no means universally commercial. Moreover, in all parts of the Recôncavo except the sugar cane area, there are small agriculturalists who produce few commercial crops and are thus virtually subsistence cultivators.

241 The estimated value of livestock production was less than that of
231 crops in all areas of the Recôncavo except Feira de Santana, and, except
233 in Feira de Santana and Alagoinhas, less than half the value of crops
433 (Map 128). In the chief commercial crop areas--Central and Southwestern Recôncavo--livestock production had about 10 per cent of the value of crops. These areas, on the evidence of value as well as land use and quantity of production, have highly commercial crop economies. Only Feira de Santana can be said to have a livestock economy, and in this area livestock production is concentrated around the cidade, and the rest of the município has a predominately crop-producing economy.

128 The table which follows (Table XVIII) summarizes the distribution
241 of the value of crops and animals in the principal regions and zones
231 of production. These areas accounted for 82 per cent of the total
233 value of agricultural production in the Recôncavo in 1948. The data
433 of this table give further evidence of the tremendous economic importance of the tobacco-manioc and sugar cane regions to the Recôncavo.

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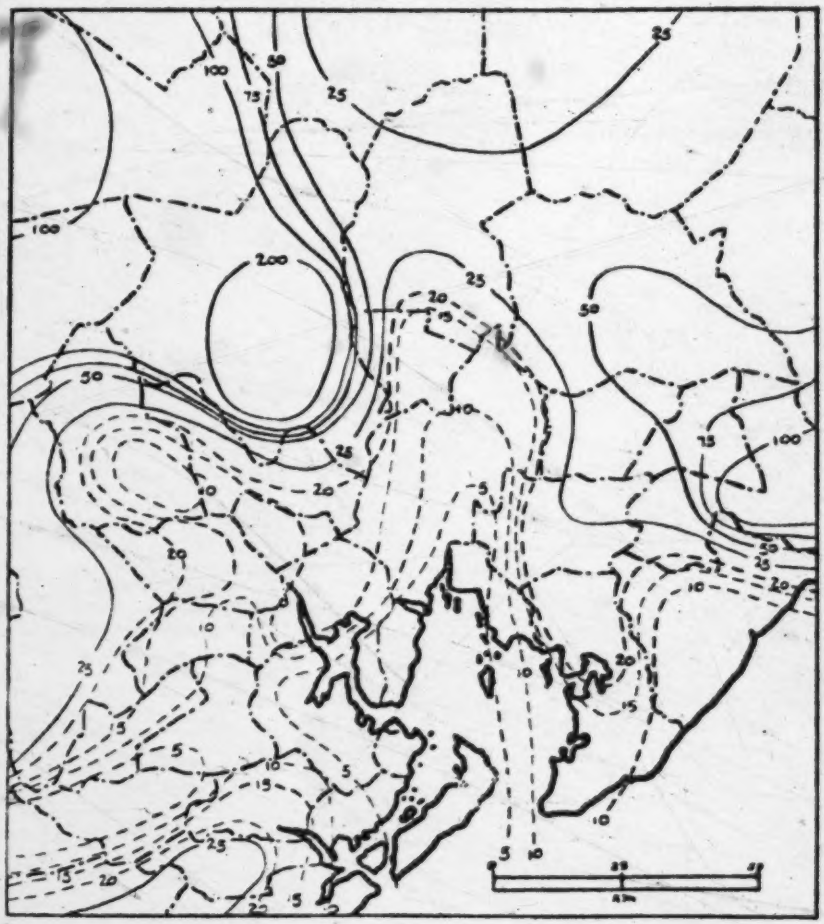

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Value of Livestock Production as a Per cent of

the Value of Crop Production—1948

MAP 128

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

TABLE XVIII

VALUE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION OF THE PRINCIPAL CROP REGIONS AND OTHER AREAS OF THE RECÔNCAVO—1948

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	Value of Production	
Sugar Cane Region (Sugar Cane & Animals)		
Main Area North of Bay		
Santo Amaro	Cr.$35,200.00	
Western São Sebastião	12,700.00	
Western São Francisco	4,700.00	
Total	52,600.00	
Cachoeira	1,500.00	
Southern São Filipe (no animals)	3,600.00	
Total--Sugar Cane Region		Cr.$57,700.00
Tobacco-Manioc Region (All Crops & Animals)		
In Southwestern Recôncavo		
Conceição do Almeida	26,400.00	
Cruz das Almas	57,700.00	
Eastern Muritiba	14,900.00	
Northern São Filipe	11,000.00	
São Félix	5,700.00	
Northern Maragogipe	3,300.00	
Total	119,000.00	
In Other Sub-Regions of Recôncavo		
Conceição da Feira	4,900.00	
São Gonçalo	11,400.00	
Feira de Santana	6,100.00	
Irará	9,300.00	
Coração de Maria	4,900.00	
Santo Amaro	17,900.00	
Catu	3,600.00	
Total	58,100.00	
Total--Tobacco-Manioc Region		177,100.00
Feira de Santana Livestock Area		16,000.00
Bay Margin and Suburban Areas		
Itaparica	6,900.00	
Salvador	8,900.00	
Maragogipe	1,000.00	
Santo Amaro	2,000.00	
São Francisco	4,200.00	
Total		23,000.00
Total		Cr.$273,800.00

Source: Calculations and estimates based upon Produção Agricola: 1948.

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000 Footnotes - Chapter IX

[127] [1]The data used in the discussion of the value of agricultural production have been drawn from the following sources: 1948 crop data--Produção Agrícola: 1948; 1948 livestock data--"Population Pecuária, Em 31/12/1948;" 1940 crop and livestock data--Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

[128] The modifications which have been made in the data taken from Produção Agrícola: 1948 are explained in Appendix D. The method used in estimating the value of livestock production in 1948 is explained in Appendix G.

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CHAPTER X

MARKETING, TRANSPORTATION, AND PROCESSING OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS

44 Introduction. The institutions of marketing, processing, and transportation in the Recôncavo are of two basic types, local and regional. Those which serve the local economies, that is, the municípios, are traditional. These are the municipal market and the casa de farinha (manioc mill). The institutions which serve the regional economy--sugar [178] and tobacco processing plants and marketing systems--have their traditional element but have been extensively modified in the last half 489 century. Much the same division is reflected in the transportation systems of the Recôncavo, for although the chief media within the local economies are essentially traditional and primitive, the transportation 128 net of the region as a whole has a number of modern features. The discussion which follows will deal with the various institutions which have developed in the Recôncavo to accommodate the marketing, transportation, and processing of the more important agricultural products.

443 Marketing of Agricultural Products. Municipal markets play an important role in the exchange of the agricultural products in the Recôncavo as in most of Brazil. Large quantities of agricultural goods are sold within the local area in which they are produced, and much of this exchange takes place within the municipal market. The feira is the regular open market which usually is held once a week in the smaller centers but somewhat more frequently in the larger cities. It [366] is usually housed in a public building, the municipal mercado. The other type of municipal market is the matadôuro municipál (slaughter

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443 house). The municipal markets of the Recôncavo have a highly institutionalized character supported by long tradition. There have been
[178] very few modifications in the local marketing system either to accept new products or to incorporate new techniques. Despite their highly institutionalized character, markets serve to accommodate and to re-enforce and stabilize the basic personal relationships between buyer and seller. Thus it is both difficult and misleading to approach marketing from a purely economic point of view.

Weekly markets (feiras) are held in every villa and cidade of the Recôncavo. Each of these feiras has a specified day and location. Usually the market of the cidade will be held on a different day than those of the villas of the locality, and usually adjacent cidades have their markets on different days. This arrangement facilitates the marketing of surplus products and makes it possible for itinerant buyers and sellers to travel from feira to feira. The market place
[366] of most cidades and of the larger villas includes a public building
[347] and the adjacent streets, and in some cases, a corral. Usually the market building itself is a large shed with open windows and doors, earthen or concrete floor, and no internal divisions except those provided by the pillars which support the roof. Stalls are sometimes provided in the newer or more pretentious buildings, but this is exceptional. Generally the market is located on a main square or a principal street. On the day of the feira, market activities expand beyond the main buildings and onto the streets, covering an area of about one city block in a typical center.

Participation in the feira is practically universal--the rural areas of the município, or the distrito if it is a villa market, are half emptied on market day. At sunrise or even earlier the farm families, or sometimes only the farmer, his wife, or child, begin

443 the journey to the market. The produce are carried by the individual
[492] or on the back of an ass or mule. By early morning all the roads are thronged with the people of the countryside and their animals moving toward the center. It is a gala social occasion in which the warm, lighthearted personal relationships of the lower class Baianos are evident. Upon arrival at the market, a cloth is spread on the floor or ground in a customary spot, and the offerings of the people are displayed. Very soon the townspeople--chiefly housewives and servants--enter the market area to inspect the offerings and haggle over their
[442] purchases of food and other agricultural products. Also moving through the market are the wholesale buyers, both local and itinerant. As their agricultural products are sold, the country people, too, begin to circulate through the area to purchase goods and talk with their friends and relatives. The market is a seething array of animals and people weaving their way between the displays of produce. In the smaller centers, most of the local products are sold by mid-day, and the rural people begin their journey home, a trip of as much as twenty kilometers.

443 The products which are generally sold in the markets of the
438 cidades and villas are shown below:

Local Agricultural Products - Unprocessed

Staples:
Corn, black beans, sweet potatoes, aipim (a sweet manioc used like white potatoes)

Meat:
Fresh beef and pork

Vegetables:
Such as onions, string beans, tomatoes, and local specialties

Fruits:
Especially oranges, bananas (including plantains), papaya, and mangoes

Coffee

Coconuts

Live Animals:
Especially chickens and pigs, but also draft animals.

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443 Local Agricultural Products - Processed
438 Farinha de mandioca (manioc flour)
Rapadura (crude sugar)
Requeijão (country cheese)
Hand-made cigars.

Non-Local Agricultural Products
Azete de dende (palm oil)
Rice
Charque (dried beef)
Spices
Fumo em corda (rope tobacco)
Animals:
Especially draft animals from the sertão
Leather.

Non-Agricultural Products
Food - dried fish
Extractive products:
Charcoal, honey, vegetable waxes
Farm equipment:
Bridles, saddles, agricultural implements--hoes, knives, etc.
Clothing:
Sandles, shoes, shirts, and trousers
Pottery and kitchen utensils
Miscellaneous cheap jewelry, plastic and wood products, patent medicines, cigarettes, straw mats, etc.

443 Those products of local agriculture which are not marketed through the feira or through specialized agencies are sold to the vendas (small general stores). In distinction to the feiras, which are confined to the villages and urban centers, vendas are found even in rural areas. These vendas are privately owned stores which sell staple foods, machetes and hoes, seed, household utensils, and a few simple luxury items, such as soap, candy, cigarettes, cigars, soft drinks, and alcoholic beverages. As would be expected, the vendas away from the urban centers carry but a limited stock of goods. There is usually a
443 452 continuing credit arrangement between the shopkeeper and the agriculturalist; most of the harvest of basic crops is pledged in advance against the debts of the cultivator, and frequently the crop is pledged even before it is planted. In many cases the shopkeeper is the agent for the tobacco buyer, in whose name the necessary credit is advanced.

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443 [452] [427] Many shopkeepers are also land owners, and their tenants as a matter of course are also their customers and their debtors. The livestock raised by the agriculturalist may be sold on the hoof at the feira or taken to the matadouro municipal (municipal slaughter house). The meat is sold either at the slaughter house or at the feira.

In the larger centers the market tends to last throughout the week. In the medium-sized centers there are a few offerings each morning, and often there is a small feira in the middle of the week. Some major cities, such as Cachoeira, Feira de Santana, Santo Amaro, and Salvador, have source areas larger than their municípios. For [489] [494] example, the market at Feira de Santana invariably draws scores of trucks, each laden with people and produce, from places as distant as Cruz das Almas, Ipirá, Serrinha, and Santo Amaro. The most important general market in the Recôncavo is the Saturday feira at Agua de Meninos in Salvador. [505] This market is located on the low-lying tidal flats beside the Bay, and many of the agricultural products which are sold here are brought by sailing boats. [489] [494] Trucks, carts, streetcars, trains, and pack animals are also used to transport produce to this market. It is here that a very large portion of Salvador's population purchases the agricultural products of the Recôncavo. This market is also the source of supply of the street vendors who hawk fruits and vegetables through the streets of the city. Salvador also has a smaller central market--the Mercado Modelo--and a number of minor neighborhood markets which usually are open for part of each day.

442 443 233 The campo de gado (cattle fair) at Feira de Santana is the only important specialized public market in the Recôncavo; and, as has been seen, it plays a very critical role in the agricultural economy of the region and of the state. On Monday mornings thousands of cattle change hands in the pens and weighing compounds at this fair.[1] Because the

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442 campo de gado draws vaquéiros (cowboys) and ranchers from the sertão
443 as well as agriculturalists and buyers from the Recôncavo, the nearby
233 municipal market has a tributary area which is much larger than the município, indeed, much larger than the Recôncavo. The sertão and the Recôncavo exchange goods on a large scale in these markets. From the sertão come cattle and other animals, hides and skins, various extractive products, such as waxes, and the fumo em corda tobacco of the interior of northern Bahia. From the Recôncavo come food, especially bananas, coconuts, and sugar, and various manufactured articles which have been brought from South-Central Brazil via Salvador. Adjoining the campo de gado is an open lot where horses, mules, and all the accoutrements of the vaquéiro--bridles, saddles, and leather clothing--can be purchased.

249 A good deal of the sugar cane which is cultivated in the Recôncavo
471 is grown by the usinas on their own properties. In other cases the
438 cane plantations and processing plant are owned by different members of the same family, and the whole enterprise is operated on a profit-sharing basis. It cannot be said of either of these arrangements, which account for most of the cane harvested in the Recôncavo, that there is a genuine market situation. A truer market relationship exists for the few remaining fornecedores (suppliers) who grow cane and sell it to the usinas. Very commonly, however, these "independent" cane producers are indebted to the sugar company in both the economic and social sense. Moreover, the fornecedore is very much at the mercy of the company because of the lack of alternative markets and the difficulties of transportation. The cane which is purchased by the usinas on a contract basis must have a specified quality and must be delivered to the usina at its convenience by the supplier. It is likely that the mounting debts of many fornecedores will soon force them to sell

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their properties to the expanding usinas. This same process is taking place in most sugar areas of Brazil.

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The marketing of tobacco centers on one key figure--the agent. With the resources of the tobacco company he extends direct credit to the larger tobacco producers and indirect credit to the small producers via his buyer, who is generally a local shopkeeper. The company grants a specified sum of money to each agent at the beginning of the season, and he disburses this at his own discretion. Bad debts are charged against the company rather than the agent. Most of the tobacco crop is pledged to the buyers in advance, by meahs of a formal contract or an informal agreement which specifies the price, quantity, and quality of the leaf to be delivered. Most of these contracts are entered into in order to secure credit; there are few agriculturalists who could produce tobacco without first receiving credit. There is much opportunity for speculation within the framework of this marketing system. Those buyers who are shopkeepers have in stock the supplies which the cultivator needs. The shopkeeper delivers the goods needed by the cultivator and retains the money which has been advanced by the agent. Since most of the stock of the buyer--storekeeper--has been purchased on credit, he may accumulate a considerable sum in cash or bills of exchange. Speculation is an acknowledged feature of the marketing of tobacco in Bahia, and in many cases the buyer uses the credit advanced by the agent for speculation in the tobacco crop. He does this by extending credit against the tobacco crop of cultivators who are not included in the normal relationships with the agent. Sometimes these debtors are unable to liquidate their debt, and the buyer is caught short. In this event he can use his position as the agent's representative and as a local economic power to recoup, at least partially, by forcing the price upward or through the substitution of cheaper leaf

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249 in meeting his contract with the agent. The result of this and other
442 speculative practices is that the price of tobacco tends to spiral upwards
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452 throughout the season.
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The crop is delivered to the buyer in small lots--10 to 15 kilo-
249 grams--which are assembled, graded, and baled. The bales are taken to
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438 the warehouse of the agent where they are added to other bales to form
442 a large pile in which fermentation can take place. After fermentation the bales are broken, and the leaf is re-sorted. With the better grades the sorting is done very carefully, and a large number of size and texture grades are separated. Intermediate grades are sorted less carefully, often by bundles rather than by individual leaves. The poorest grades are stripped without grading. After sorting or stripping, the leaf is again placed in bales and kept in the warehouse until transport can be arranged to deliver the tobacco to Salvador or to the cigar factories.

249 Most of the tobacco produced in the Recôncavo is exported. In the
433 years 1946 to 1950, inclusive, 166,676 tons of leaf tobacco were produced
439 in Bahia and 128,567 tons were exported, so that about 75 per cent of the total crop of the state was exported.[2] However, the exported leaf is made up of the choice tobaccos, that is "Mata Fina," which are largely grown in the Recôncavo. It may be concluded from this that at least four-fifths of the tobacco crop of the Recôncavo was exported during this years. Tobacco exported from the Recôncavo normally composes 70 per cent of all the tobacco exported from Brazil. In value, the tobacco exported from the Recôncavo was less than 1 per cent of the total exports of all products from Brazil.[3]

482 Transportation. The backs of men and of animals are the basic
492
489 transportation media in the Recôncavo: almost all goods begin and end

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482 their journeys thus, and many agricultural products are transported in
492 no other fashion from the site of cultivation to the ultimate consumer.
489 [491] In each of the municípios of the Recôncavo, as in almost all of Brazil, there are extensive areas which are neither on nor near roads. In these areas, but also along the highways and in the cities, men and beasts of burden transport the products of the agricultural economy.

489 Long distance transportation, formerly dependent on animals, has been
490 changed in the last half century by the introduction of railroads and
493 more recently, automotive vehicles. In a similar fashion, both primi-
178 tive and relatively modern transport are used on the waters of the Báia
505 de Todos os Santos and of the various estuaries. Most of the agricultural products which cross the Bay are carried on open-decked sailing vessels and canoes, but there are also a number of motor vessels and motorboats which provide relatively effective transport from Salvador to all the cidades on or near tidewater.

492 In the tobacco-manioc region, and in rural Brazil generally, the donkey or the mule is the characteristic beast of burden. On the backs of these animals the bales of tobacco, the sacks of manioc and farinha de mandioca, and the baskets of corn and vegetables are carried to the market. The equipage of the donkey is simple--a halter and a rough
492 crosstree pack saddle with a thick pad of vegetable fiber. In the
493 sugar cane region the donkey is supplemented and, in most areas, almost
[171] supplanted by the ox cart. The ox cart of Bahia, essentially like the carts used in other Brazilian sugar areas, is built of heavy wood, with a thick wooden bed and tongue, wooden axle, and solid wooden wheels about five-feet in diameter. This high, massive contraption has no bearings, and in dry weather especially it is frequently necessary to repair the wheels and axles. The ox cart is an admirable device for the Cretaceous lowland, for with its high wheels it can carry as much

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492 as a ton of cane through the rain-softened clay. It is pulled, depend-
493 ing upon the load and the condition of the route, by four, six, or eight oxen. It has no brakes, although occasionally a long pole is used as a drag. The cart and the team are managed by two people, a man who rides the cart, goads the wheel oxen, and shouts directions, and a boy who runs in front and turns the lead oxen with a long slender pole. As has been seen, a very large number of oxen are maintained on the sugar cane plantations and the accessory ranches of the area. Donkeys
492 are used in the cane area for lesser tasks, such as carrying seed cane, tools, and subsistence products; both horses and mules are used for riding--usually the plantation foremen ride the patient, slow-moving mules, while the owners and administrators ride the small, agile horses which come from the sertão. In most other parts of the Recôncavo, in the littoral forest and in the dry caatinga, the donkey and mule are the universal beasts of burden.

One município of the Recôncavo--Coração de Maria--has no motor
491 [492] roads, and is thus served only by pack animals. The cidades of all the other municípios are on highways of some sort, but usually only a single road passes directly across the município. The back-country
487 of the municípios, which in this sense includes about nine-tenths of the total area, is criss-crossed with a network of trails. Some of these are wide enough for an ox cart, or in very good weather, for a jeep to pass through. Many others are only narrow paths winding through the second growth and passing between cultivated fields.

489 Land transportation between the various parts of the Recôncavo
433 has less direct agricultural importance than in the United States, since
438 so much of the agricultural produce is consumed within the município
439 in which it is grown. Those agricultural products, such as tobacco
497 or sugar, which are destined for non-local or external markets are
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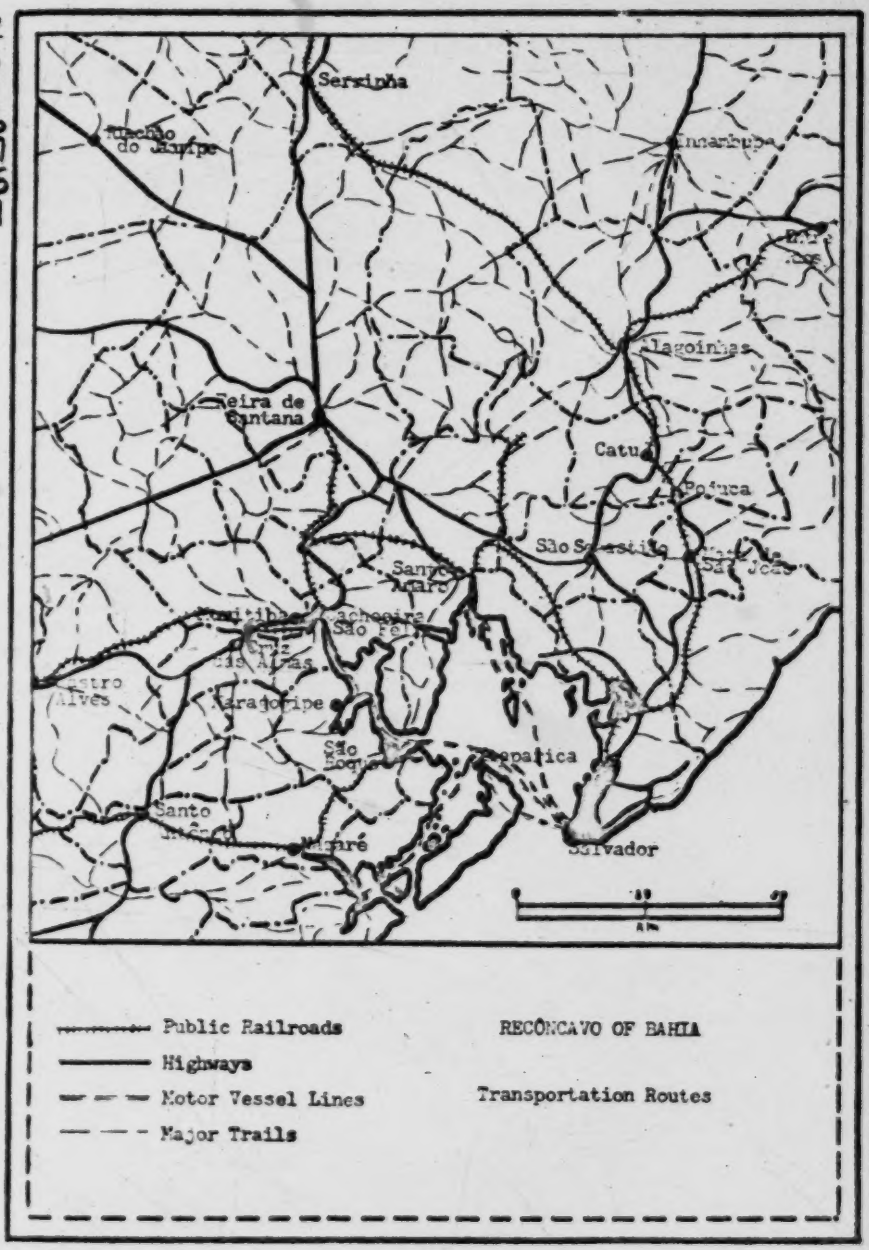

MAP 129

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497 usually carried by rail or by automotive transport. The operation of
494 the economy of the Recôncavo seems to require a constant movement of merchants, fazendeiros (landowners) and agents between the various cidades, and between the lesser urban centers and Salvador or Feira de Santana.

496 The two railroad systems which serve the Recôncavo and the adjoin-
497 ing areas are both narrow-gauge lines. The most extensive system belongs to the Viação Férrea Federal Leste Brasileiro, called the "Leste." It is part of a larger network which, in theory, connects Rio de Janeiro and the rest of the Central-South with the Northeast as far as Maceió in the state of Alagoas. Within the Recôncavo the main lines of the Leste stretch out from Salvador northward through Alagoinhas and westward through Cachoeira. A branch line of the latter runs to Feira de Santana.

The Estrada de Ferro Nazaré railroad crosses only the corner of the Recôncavo, but it runs for a long distance near the southwestern perimeter. The line begins at Jequié in the coffee zone and terminates at the cidade of Nazaré and at São Roque on the estuary of the Rio
[505] Paraguaçu below Maragogipe. These two terminals are connected to Salvador by motor vessels which attempt to coordinate their schedules with the trains. A rail link between the Nazaré line at Santo Antônio and the Leste at Cruz das Almas has been under construction for some years.

493 Most of the rolling stock of the Leste is archaic, but the
497 Nazaré line has relatively good equipment. The woodburning locomotives used by both railroads are small but are kept in good repair and operate with reasonable efficiency. They are cheap and flexible to operate and, in view of the limited fuel resource of Brazil, seem almost ideal. The Leste has a diesel engine for the passenger train which operates between

493 Salvador and Feira de Santana, via Santo Amaro and São Gonçalo. The
497 Leste also has a special train of relatively modern type which runs from Salvador to Aracaju in Sergipe. As soon as electric power from the newly constructed dam at Paulo Alfonso on the Rio São Francisco is available, the Leste expects to electrify the line from Salvador through Alagoinhas. One of the most critical shortcomings of both lines is the very poor condition of the roadbed, so that derailments are relatively frequent.

497 Railroad fares are extremely cheap by the standards of the United States, so that for one or two dollars it is possible to travel all the way across the Recôncavo. Although there are many agriculturalists who cannot afford even these fares, rail transportation is within the means of merchants and buyers of the "service segment" of the agricultural population. Freight rates are higher but generally not excessive. However, there are many irregularties in the assessment of freight charges, and service is very slow.

The passenger operations of the Leste give relatively good service to the Central and Northwestern Recôncavo. In other parts of the Recôncavo the desultory passenger service of the Leste is little used. It is difficult to estimate the exact relative importance of railroads
[494] vis à vis trucks as freight carriers, but there is every indication that trucks carry most of the agricultural goods which are transported for long distances over the land. However, the railroads, which are
249 government owned, operate without regard to profit or loss. The main
499 and branch lines of the Leste play an important role in the sugar industry of Santo Amaro and western São Sebastião. The government tracks and the tracks of a number of private lines joined to them are used to haul cane from the plantations to the large usinas. The cane, which is delivered to the railroad line in ox carts, is hauled to the usina

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249 on trains owned by the sugar company. In addition, much of the sugar, rum,
497 and alcohol which is manufactured by the big usinas is transported to Salvador over the lines of the Leste.

493 As has been suggested, automotive transport has come to have great
491 importance in the Recôncavo, despite the lack of good roads, the high cost of vehicles and fuel, and the competition of both boats and trains. No
491 município in the region can be said to have a road network, and usually only the cidades and in a few cases large villas are connected with other parts of the region. The principal road of the region is a dirt highway which connects Salvador with Feira de Santana. Feira is an important transportation center for the Northeast of Brazil, for it is the southern terminus of the Nordestina, the trunk highway which crosses the Sertão. The Nordestina joins the main road to Rio de Janeiro and the road to Salvador at Feira de Santana. A branch from the Salvador-Feira road turns southward and, passing through Cachoeira, São Félix, and Cruz das Almas, connects westward to Castro Alves and southward to the cacao zone. There is also a road from Salvador to Alagoinhas and other cities of the Tertiary zone farther north. A few lesser roads feed into these three main highways--the most important of these is the connection between Santo Amaro and the Feira to Salvador road.

All of the main highways are two-lane dirt roads which are almost always passable but which are extremely rough and are dusty in dry
491 weather and slippery when wet. The quality of the roads is probably
484 best illustrated by the time required to journey across the Recôncavo. The road distance from Salvador to Cruz das Almas is about 125 miles; the time required for a non-stop trip is 6 to 7 hours. It should be added that despite the poor road conditions, traffic moves very fast, and there are many accidents. To a very limited extent it is possible

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491 for vehicles to pass from the main highways over the broader trails
484 to the nearby villages in good weather. However, this is rarely attempted except by jeep, and by these only infrequently.

249 Until the last few years a number of the large usinas in the main
499 sugar cane area have not been connected with the highways. Since jeeps and trucks have become more numerous in the Recôncavo, a number of the big usinas in Santo Amaro are constructing their own outlets to the
315 highway. In recent years the government-owned oil company has been
655 drilling exploratory wells in the cane fields of São Francisco. In
491 conjunction with this enterprise, new roads have been built, and for the
499 first time many plantations of this area have road connections to the highway system.

494 Most of the traffic on the roads of the Recôncavo consists of
493 trucks and busses--private automobiles generally are found only in the urban areas, since cars are very expensive in Brazil, and the highways are very destructive. A large number of busses connect the outer Recôncavo with Salvador. The best passenger service, and the most expensive, is provided by a major bus line which has a daily run from Salvador to Feira de Santana and back. While this bus line employs large busses, most of the other busses used in the Recôncavo are small. These latter provide connections between the Southwestern Recôncavo and Salvador, and supplement the major Feira de Santana-Salvador service. The runs of many of these smaller busses originate outside the Recôncavo, but they collect and discharge passengers at each cidade. Fares are cheap, considering the cost of vehicles and fuel, but still somewhat more expensive than train travel.

Truck traffic is very heavy on the main highways, especially from Feira de Santana to Salvador. Probably most of the agricultural

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493 products which are carried from the various inland municípios of the region to Salvador and Feira de Santana are transported on trucks. These trucks pick up their loads at the weekly markets or at warehouses in the various cidades. Frequently they carry passengers as well as cargo, and the cheapest passenger service in the Recôncavo is to be found high on top of a heavily laden truck. It is especially common to seem trucks loaded with bags of farinha de mandioca speeding over the rough roads with the cab packed and the less fortunate passengers enduring the dust or the rain outside. Most agricultural laborers seem to travel in this fashion on longer journeys within the region. Many trucks operate on an unscheduled basis from cidade to cidade, accumulating loads without pre-arrangement. However, there is some regularized service, for it is a general practice for trucks from all over the Recôncavo to travel to Feira de Santana on its market day, and the more important markets of other cidades are also served by trucks on a regular but informal basis. Each of these trucks has its destination marked on the window and collects a load of goods and people as it passes across the region. The cost of this means of transport to the individual depends upon the distance he travels and the amount of goods which he carries. Thus both truck and bus transportation play a major role in the marketing system of the Recôncavo, each carrying both goods and passengers.

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438 One of the basic handicaps of automotive transport in the Recôncavo is that each município taxes the passage of goods transported on its roads. The repeated taxation of goods as they are moved across the boundaries of municípios may make it unprofitable for the agriculturalist to sell many of his products in the other markets of the region. Moreover, the lengthy stops required at each município boundary effectively slow down the movement of trucks and, to a lesser extent, of goods-carrying busses.

494 lesser extent, of goods-carrying busses. Another delay in movement of
493 goods results from frequent breakdowns. A large number of broken down trucks are to be seen along the side of any of the highways of the Recôncavo. The most direct cause of these breakdowns is the universal practice of heavily overloading trucks--extra springs and blocks have been added so that they can carry enormous loads, but frequently the axles and tires fail on the rough roads. A contributing factor in the breakdowns is probably the scarcity and high cost of new parts.

Many merchants, buyers, and prosperous farmers make use of an additional passenger service which is provided between the urban centers of the region by automobiles in what might be described as a combination limousine and zone taxicab service. These taxicabs wait in a conspicuous spot, usually near the square of the city, with their destination and the total fare for the trip painted on the windshield. A perspective rider may pay the entire fare himself, wait for others who will share the expense, or himself secure other passengers. The fares are standardized, and the system is particularly oriented toward the important markets of the region.

505 The centrally located Baía de Todos os Santos and its estuaries are very important in the transport of both goods and people within the Recôncavo. A most conspicuous and universal sight is the myriad of sailing vessels which transport large quantities of agricultural products across the Bay to Salvador. There is no way of estimating the importance of this traffic in relation to the total amount of goods carried, but the vessels (saveiros) can hold as much as four or five
[501] tons of cargo. These boats are heavy timbered, open decked sailing vessels with a single mast--they do not sail well except before the wind, and therefore their trips are timed according to the direction of the wind. The saveiros seem to be very hardy and able to survive

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505 [226] abuse by the sea and by man. While some of these boats are used for fishing in the Bay and in the ocean, their most important function undoubtedly is bringing food from the areas around the Bay to the city of Salvador. On the return trip, they carry building materials, [249] manufactured articles, and passengers. The usinas of the coastal [257] sections of the sugar cane area use these vessels to transport cane to the mill and to deliver the products of the mill to Salvador. Several of the cities on the Bay are very much dependent upon this means of transport, especially São Francisco and Maragogipe, which for all practical purposes have no road connections.

Motor boats serve to connect Salvador and the island of Itaparica. All of the tidewater cidades of the Bay and, in addition, São Roque do Paraguaçu and Nazaré are connected with the city of Salvador by scheduled motor vessels which carry many passengers and small quantities of freight. These vessels ascend and descend the estuaries with the tide. The head of navigation on the Rio Paraguaçu is Cachoeira, and on the Rio Sergi is at a landing on the outskirts of Santo Amaro.

489 241 433 These various transport media provide for the movement of people and goods across the Recôncavo. They are generally able to meet the immediate demands of the agricultural economy without excessive delays. The available media of transport are used to the fullest extent; buses, trains, and motor vessels are always crowded, and the trucks are always busy. However, the poor roads, the archaic railroads, the taxes on the movement of goods, and the high cost of vehicles clearly set a limit to the expansion or the intensification of the agricultural system. The rationalization of agriculture in the Recôncavo would require considerable expansion and improvement of the system of transportation.

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249 Processing of Agricultural Products. Each of the three principal
252 crops of the Recôncavo require processing before it can be consumed.
276 Sugar cane and manioc are highly perishable, and both are processed in their entirety within the region. Tobacco, once it is fermented, can be stored for longer periods, so that there is no necessity for immediate processing within the Recôncavo. Sugar cane is processed in large usinas and to a lesser extent in engenhos (primitive sugar mills). Tobacco
[277] products are fabricated in small-scale home industries and in factories. Manioc is converted into farinha de mandioca in very small mills.

249 The cultivation, transportation, and processing of sugar cane
489 require an integrated system in which there is some form of centralized
471 administration. The larger usinas own and operate most of the surrounding cane plantations and the associated transportation system, and administration is direct. Where cane is purchased from furnishers--privately-owned plantations--the mill specifies the type of cane which it will buy and the schedule of delivery. Most of the sugar cane in the Recôncavo is processed by usinas, which produce sugar, rum, and alcohol. However, there are a number of engenhos and a few smaller usinas which specialize in the production of rum or crude sugar. The engenhos are most important around the margins of the main sugar cane area north of the Bay and in Cachoeira and São Félix, but the usinas dominate the core area of cane production in Santo Amaro, São Francisco, and São Sebastião. Within the core area the big usinas generally are located near but not on the main railroads, although a few are situated near the shore of the Bay.

249 The harvested sugar cane generally is delivered to smaller mills
492 by the grower, usually on ox carts. The larger mills receive their
249 cane via the railroad or the Bay. In these cases the cane is trans-
499 ported by ox cart from the cane fields to a weighing station, from
505

249 which it is hauled by railroad or boat to the mill, although sometimes
497 the cane which is carried by boat is weighed at the mill. The rail-
505 roads which handle the cane, as has been indicated, are owned and
496 operated by the usinas, except that the government right-of-way is
471 used whenever these tracks pass close to the plantations. One of the
249 usinas is new and a few of the older mills have some new equipment, but the general level of technology is considerably below that of Pernambuco or São Paulo and the mills are somewhat smaller. The usinas grind the cane, extract the juices, and refine the sugar by means of vacuum pans and centrifuges. The more modern usinas produce a high quality sugar, but in general the product is coarse and not a pure white.
274 The by-products of the large usinas and part or all of the cane juice
385 of some of the usinas and engenhos is converted into rum or commercial
262 alcohol. The sugar, rum, and alcohol from the sugar industry of the
273
438 Recôncavo are consumed primarily within the Recôncavo and the adjoining
439 regions of Bahia. About one-tenth of the production of sugar is
382 exported, chiefly to Rio de Janeiro. The commercial alcohol usually
385 is mixed with gasoline in the bulk plants in Salvador to provide fuel
654 for automotive transport. By law a specified amount of commercial alcohol must be mixed with gasoline--this is designed to subsidize the sugar industry.

249 There are twenty usinas in the Recôncavo, and these produced
471 an estimated 80 per cent of the total sugar of the state of Bahia in
433 1948. The three largest of these are owned by a single sugar company, which also owns the associated plantations, transportation equipment, and cattle fazendas. This company plays an important role in the
249 marketing of sugar from its own usinas and from other companies. The
471 concentration of the cultivation of sugar cane and of the production
178 of sugar in the hands of this single enterprise is a symptom of the

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249 decline of the old system of independent plantations and small usinas and
471 the rise of agricultural capitalism in the Recôncavo as in Brazil's other
178 sugar areas. With greater capital resources, drawn from Salvador, Rio de Janeiro, and São Paulo, the large companies are slowly buying up the fazendas of the core area of sugar cane production and are closing out the small mills.

249 The typical usina involves a large-scale organization of land,
471 transportation, processing, and labor by means of an administrative hier-
489 archy. Timing is one of the critical aspects in converting cane to a finished product, for the harvesting of the cane and the operation of the mill must be closely coordinated. A basic factor in this coordination is the weather, which governs the quality of the cane, the transportation of the harvest, and thus the operation of the mill. In dry weather the
[492] sugar content of the cane is high, and the ox carts move easily through
[493] the fields. In wet weather the harvesting bogs down, and the operation of the mill comes to a standstill. Since the fixed costs of the mill and the plantations are very great, delays in harvest are costly to the in-
249 dustry. Another important administrative problem for the industry is
464 labor. The sugar economy depends upon itinerant seasonal labor and upon the declining local agricultural population. Occasionally the operation of the mill is delayed because of labor shortages. It is sometimes necessary to shift labor from the fields to the mill or vice versa or from one plantation to another and to balance the cost of maintaining a labor reserve, if available, against the losses incurred when the op-
249 eration of the mill is curtailed. The scope of operation of the usina
471 may be illustrated by a list of the major physical equipment of one of the large usinas in Santo Amaro:

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Land:
9,000 hectares in 19 plantations and ranches; each of the 15 cane plantations has a small settlement, livestock, and a weighing station.

Transportation Equipment:
25 kilometers of railway, 9 locomotives, over 100 railway cars, 4 trucks, 2 jeeps, and for each cane plantation an average of 10 ox carts.

Agricultural Machinery:
9 tracked tractors with accessory plows and grading equipment, 1 wheeled tractor, and on each cane plantation 4 or 5 ox-drawn plows.

Housing:
About 50 houses and miscellaneous service buildings for each cane plantation.

Processing Plant:
Grinding and extracting plant, distillery, power house, 2 warehouses, garage, railroad shop, and medical dispensary.

Miscellaneous:
Office building, houses for company manager and administrator, school for the mill settlement, and church.

249 The operation of such a large enterprise as this requires a large administrative staff. The administrative staff of the particular usina described above includes the following: a general manager for all properties; an administrator over all the plantations; an administrator in charge of the mill; a sub-administrator over each group of four or five plantations; and an overseer and several foremen for each plantation. There are also a number of supervisors in the mill and on the
249 railroad. In addition, the usina pays the salary of the teachers in
466 the local school, engages the priest for the irregular services which are held in the church of the usina establishment, and in conjunction
[178] with several other nearby usinas, employs a doctor. These activities reflect the desire of the sugar company to stabilize labor relations through social services, but on a more impersonal basis than was characteristic of the feudalistic sugar system of the nineteenth century.

258 Manioc can be converted into a staple food which is easy to transport and store by simple processes and small-scale enterprises.

258 The manioc mill, called a casa de farinha, is found in most parts of
407 the Recôncavo except the sugar cane zone. At the mill the root of the manioc is scraped with a knife in order to remove the rough skin. It is then shredded by being held against a roughened rotating cylinder which is turned by a belt attached to a large wheel and crank. The crank is rotated by one or two workers, except in the few mills where small electric motors are attached. The shredded manioc, which has the appearance of moist sawdust, is shoveled into a press made of a hollowed log, and a lid is forced into the press in such a way that the juices
[401] are expelled through the holes in the sides and bottom. The necessary force is applied by means of a long lever drawn down with a large wooden screw jack. After the lid is forced downward as far as possible, the pressure is maintained until there is no perceptible leakage of
258 poisonous juices. In none of the mills observed in the area or described
[171] in the literature of the Recôncavo was the leaching process used, as is the practice in some other areas of Brazil. From the press the manioc is thrown upon the top of an earthenware stove where it is agitated until the remaining manihotoxine is volatilized and the flour is dry. The juices which have been expelled from the press usually are caught in flat pans which are then placed in the sun. Settling and evaporation produce a pasty residue of starch--tapioca--which is dried into thin sheets.

These mills are small, one-press operations carried on in enclosed adobe and thatch sheds. They are scattered over the countryside wherever manioc is grown. The 1940 census enumerated 200 casas de farinha in the Recôncavo, but the number must now be a good deal greater. In 1940 Cruz das Almas, according to the census, had no farinha mills, but in 1953 more than a dozen were observed. The number of mills is large not only because the capacity of each is limited

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258 but also because the manioc roots are too heavy and bulky to be trans-
[438] ported over long distances. Moreover, the market for farinha de mandioca is generally local, except in the Southwestern Recôncavo.

258 The capital investment in a casa de farinha is small, usually
471 less than one hundred dollars, but this sum is far beyond the reach of
[454] most cultivators. The mills are built by owners of medium-sized land holdings or local merchants, and are operated on a share basis. The mill owner usually receives one-tenth of the finished product in exchange
[427] for the use of the mill equipment. The customer rents the equipment
[464] rather than the service and must therefore provide the labor, although
[592] the owner usually furnishes one or two workers. Generally the processing
[462] of manioc is a family operation in which the women and girls scrape the roots and the men and boys perform the more arduous tasks.

277 Most of the tobacco which is grown in the Recôncavo is exported
[439] in the form of leaf. Therefore, the processing of tobacco is less important in relation to the cultivation of tobacco than is the processing of manioc and sugar in relation to their respective cultivation. The leaf tobacco which is retained in the area is made into cigars in home industries and in a number of cigar factories. The home-produced cigars are made by tobacco cultivators and small-scale processors in the villages, towns, and cities of the region. These cigars are generally
[443] very cheap and are sold in the local mercado (market) or in small vendas (shops). It is difficult to assess the total importance of this form of processing, but it seems likely that the number of cigars so made is extremely large.

277 The cigar factories of the Recôncavo are located in the cidades of São Gonçalo, Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, and Maragogipe. Each of the
[464] factories employs from 100 to 200 workers, usually women from the surrounding area. Machines are used to produce the cheaper grades;

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277 the more expensive varieties are hand made. The fillers and inner wrappers of the cigars are made from local tobaccos. Local leaf also [439] is used to a very limited extent for the outer wrappers, but almost all of the high quality cigars are made from wrapper leaf imported [471] from Havana, Sumatra, or the Connecticut Valley. The ownership of all the cigar factories is concentrated in three companies, all of which [439] have their headquarters in Salvador. The cigars produced in the Recôncavo are sold throughout Brazil.

182 43 44 184 Conclusion. Many of the features of the systems of marketing, transportation, and processing which are characteristic of the Recôncavo are effective in unifying the region. In particular, the centralized marketing and economic control of the production and processing of tobacco and sugar draw both the tobacco and manioc region and the sugar cane region closer to Salvador. At the same time, the differences in marketing techniques and the separate channels of control which are associated with these two products accentuate the sub-regional pattern 182 of the two crop regions. The system of general marketing exemplified 438 443 by the municipal markets might at first glance seem to be a focus 184 for local rather than regional interests. However, as has been seen, there are itinerant merchants who pass from market to market throughout the Recôncavo. Moreover, the major public markets, such as Feira de Santana and Salvador, draw large numbers of people from most of the rural sections. Even the local marketing institutions contribute to the identification of the people of this area with the region.

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000 Footnotes - Chapter X

[1]One source, Companhia Energia Electrica da Bahia, Rural Aspects of Bahia (Information Sheet No. 4. Bahia: Companhia Electrica da Bahia, [1951]), p. 17, states: "six to ten thousand head" each market day, i.e., each week.

[2]Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, Contribuição do Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, pp. 15-16.

[3]Conselho Nacional de Estatística, Anuário Estatística do Brasil: 1949, Ano X (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço Gráfico do Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, 1950).

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CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSION

128 In the preceding chapters the results of a statistical appraisal and a field investigation of agriculture in the Recôncavo have been presented. As a conclusion it seems appropriate to: (1) summarize the findings; and (2) discuss the potentialities of the Recôncavo for agricultural development

433 241 Like most of the densely-settled east coast of Brasil, the Recôncavo is engaged primarily in the production of crops. This is true not only of the region as a whole, but also of each of its individual parts excepting only the area around the cattle market town of Feira de Santana. The total cultivated area of the region, about 6.4 per cent 241 311 of the land surface, was almost evenly divided in 1948 between purely commercial crops--tobacco, sugar cane, coffee, oranges, and coconuts--and subsistence-commercial crops--manioc, corn, beans, bananas, peanuts, and sweet potatoes. About 70 per cent of the cropland was used for the three predominant crops--manioc, tobacco, and sugar cane. Livestock production is associated with crop cultivation in many parts of the 231 233 241 Recôncavo, but the region is also dependent upon the sertão of Bahia for livestock, which are driven into Feira de Santana and are used in several different areas within the region.

240 241 244 433 The three principal crops as determined by cultivated area--tobacco, manioc, and sugar cane--accounted for 77 per cent of the total value of crops in 1948, and no other crop accounted for more than [231] [233] 6 per cent of the total value. Thus agriculture in the Recôncavo is primarily concerned with these three crops and with the production

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249 244 433 [231] [233] of livestock, which had a value greater than sugar cane but less than manioc.

Agricultural activities within the Recôncavo are localized in several distinct sub-regions, each with a specialized system of cultivation and each with either one or two principal crops. The primary agricultural subdivisions of the region are: (1) the sugar cane monocultural sub-region; and (2) the tobacco-manioc sub-region.

249 Sugar cane is grown as the exclusive crop in its major area of production--the pocket of coastal plain north of the Baía de Todos os Santos. Cane is generally cultivated under a four-year monoculture and one-year fallow system on large properties employing large quantities of hand labor and using oxen to draw plows and carts. Neither fertilizer [407] nor agricultural machinery is used to any appreciable extent. Most of [492] the animals used as labor in the production of sugar cane are brought [231] [233] into the area from the sertão, and little livestock breeding is found in this area. The processing of sugar cane is in the hands of a small [471] number of medium-sized usinas. The companies which own these usinas [178] are gradually buying up the plantations so that to an increasing extent the mills directly control the production of sugar cane. Most of the [497] cane is brought to the usinas by railroad, although sailing boats are [489] used for this purpose along tidewater. Most of the sugar produced in [505] the Recôncavo is consumed within the state of Bahia, but small quantities [438] [439] are shipped to other parts of Brazil. Both the aristocratic upper class [565] and the rising non-aristocratic business interests of the Recôncavo are [471] [472] involved in the ownership and administration of the sugar industry. The [464] permanent labor force is supplied from the settlements of the sugar cane [178] plantations and the mills, but the rural population and the labor force of the sugar area are declining. Seasonal labor for the harvest comes from the interior sertão of Bahia.

249 311 [134] Commercial sugar cane cultivation is confined to the humid Coastal Plain areas with Cretaceous clay soils, except for a small area in São Filipe. Since the areas of Cretaceous clay soils are limited and compact, sugar cane production is highly localized in two areas: (1) the main sugar cane area in the municípios of Santo Amaro, São Francisco, and São Sebastião; and (2) a smaller area north of the Bacia do Iguape in the município of Cachoeira. There is a third area of less intensive production in southern São Filipe.

249 244 [433] The sole purpose of cultivation in the sugar cane area is the production of a commercial product, but the areas of tobacco-manioc cultivation produce both a staple food and a commodity for sale outside the region. Most of the tobacco and manioc of the Recôncavo are produced under a land rotation system in which the sequence is: (1) tobacco; (2) manioc; and (3) fallow in wild vegetation. The tobacco is planted in small fields, usually after an application of manure. The entire plant is harvested repeatedly until it will no longer produce a salable leaf. Manioc is planted following tobacco, sometimes several times, until the field is exhausted and abandoned to the second growth. The fallow period is frequently short, sometimes as little as one year. Cultivation is entirely by hand--no plows are used. There is very little selection of seed, and only one variety of tobacco--Bahia Brasil--is [423] [427] produced. Tobacco and manioc are produced almost exclusively by small cultivators who are either owners or renters. Frequently livestock [231] [233] are raised upon the properties of the cultivators, but except for the use of manure in the cultivation of tobacco, there is little integration of crop and livestock production. The leaf is harvested, dried, 276 and partially fermented by the cultivator. The marketing of tobacco 276 438 is inseparable from the credit arrangement between the cultivator and [452] [488] the tobacco buyer or agent. The leaf is delivered by the producer to the storekeeper-buyer or the local tobacco warehouse.

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000 the storekeeper-buyer or the local tobacco warehouse. The roots of the
258 manioc are processed locally, in casas de farinha, and the farinha de
438 mandioca is sold in the local market or to storekeepers in the nearby village or town.

249 The sub-region of tobacco and manioc production occupies the
244 humid eastern and southern edges of the Uplands. The chief center of
311 production, the Southwestern Recôncavo, occupies a zone of deep, sandy
134 and sandy loam soils lying in flat-surfaced uplands above crystalline rocks. The northern parts of the tobacco-manioc sub-region occupy the rough, dissected southern edge of the sandy Tertiary taboleiros--in this northern area the production of both crops is less intensive than in the Southwestern Recôncavo. The area of primary tobacco and manioc production generally conforms to the forest and scrub forest transition and is expanding southwestward beyond the traditional Recôncavo along this
[433] physical boundary zone. The intensity of production is also increasing,
[178] but with violent year to year fluctuations.

241 In addition to sugar cane, tobacco and manioc, other subsistence
433 and commercial products are grown in the Recôncavo. The most important of these are corn and beans, grown as commercial and subsistence crops in the north and west of the region, and coconuts, which are produced along the beach line. Bananas, sweet potatoes, and peanuts are grown in most parts of the Recôncavo, but on a small scale.

241 There are several areas in which there is little or no cultiva-
311 tion. The rougher Intermediate Hills, which are forested, separate the
137 sugar cane sub-region from the tobacco-manioc sub-region. The lowland areas of Tertiary and crystalline soils are also forested and are cultivated under a non-intensive land rotation system with some associated
241 livestock. The Recôncavo is distinguished from the surrounding areas by its relatively greater mean intensity of cultivation. In the

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BB 241 231 233 In the surrounding sertão livestock production is the areally and, in many cases, economically dominant activity; the Recôncavo is primarily a region of crop cultivation.

BB 43 443 The Recôncavo is a functional unit in the economic organization of commercial agriculture and marketing. Salvador, with one-third of BB the people of the region, is the primary market center. The credit [249] [452] essential to the production of tobacco passes from the city to the countryside, while the leaf is either shipped to the city for export or is sent BB [249] to local cigar factories controlled by Salvador companies. Similarly, the headquarters of the sugar industry and the chief market for its products is Salvador. Feira de Santana is also a functional center for the region, since in its markets the agricultural and industrial products which either originate in the Recôncavo or are imported through Salvador are exchanged for the livestock, crops, and extractive products of the sertão.

BB 241 Many of the features of the agricultural system of the Recôncavo are also characteristic of Brazil. Both the land rotation system and the permanent monoculture are basic Brazilian agricultural systems. Agricultural technology, in the Recôncavo and in most parts of Brazil, is relatively backward. Brazilian agriculture is labor extravagant, BB [464] and there is a constant falta de braços, but with few attempts at mechanization. Agriculture is highly speculative, whether tobacco in the Recôncavo or coffee in São Paulo. The large property—latifundia-- BB [423] [565] and the class organization with which it is associated are important in the region and in the country as a whole. There are large numbers of semi-dependent small cultivators in the Recôncavo as in other parts of Brazil. Both the region and the nation are very dependent upon the sale of agricultural products to distant markets.

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241 The following assumptions underlie the discussion of the potentialities for agricultural development in the Recôncavo: (1) The Recôncavo, at least for the immediately foreseeable future, will remain a primarily agricultural region, i.e., agricultural production will remain the basic source of wealth. (2) Probably the region will continue to be dependent upon distant markets, either in central Brazil, Europe, or in the United States. (3) The population of the region apparently will continue to grow, as the result of the natural increase and probably as a result of continued migration from the sertão. If these assumptions are correct, two conclusions seem almost inescapable: (1) Commercial agriculture, at least partially oriented toward outside markets, will continue to be essential to the region, and, if imports are to keep pace with the growing population, will have to be expanded. (2) Greater food production will be necessary. It should be noted that these assumptions and conclusions are probably valid for Brazil as a whole as well as for the Recôncavo. Moreover, they are merely a restatement of the situation in which both the nation and region have found themselves for the last four centuries.

The two problems of food and export crop production are closely related--arable land is limited in the Recôncavo, and food production is necessary for the operation of the commercial agricultural economy. These two problems in their turn are inseparable from the physical and social context in which they exist. It is the particular advantage of agricultural geography that it provides the framework within which specific agricultural problems may be evaluated in relation to the relevant human and physical environmental factors. The discussion which follows will deal with the two basic problems of agricultural development under the following categories: (1) the sugar industry;

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128 241 (2) tobacco production; (3) manioc production; (4) the land rotation system; and (5) alternative agricultural products.

249 471 For three centuries the sugar industry was the basis of the commercial economy of the Recôncavo, and for the last century it has continued to play an important role. As a result of its long and profitable history, it has a number of advantages as a basis for agricultural development. Its capital assets are large--the best land in the region, a number of industrial plants, and a transportation network. Moreover, its [565] land is organized into large units, many of which are under the control of a single company, and all of which are under the control of a small group of the upper class. The industry has a large administrative staff, the most experienced in the region in large-scale enterprises--the organization of agricultural and industrial production, labor, transportation, and finance. It has the very great advantage of good political connections and government support. A part of the industry, [242] composed chiefly of the largest usinas, has had some experience with improved varieties of cane, and on a very limited scale with mechanization.

249 471 433 Against these advantages are a number of limiting factors. Most of the local capital of the sugar industry apparently is committed in the present plant. The sugar economy of the Recôncavo is large scale only in relation to the other agricultural enterprises of the region--the mean daily capacity of the mills can scarcely exceed 500 ton. Moreover, many of the mills are obsolescent--there is only one new usina, and only the larger mills have very much new equipment. Despite [464] the presumed administrative skill of the industry, labor has been one [178] of the continuing problems since the deterioration of the old feudalistic [466] employer-employee relationships of the late nineteenth century. However,

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249 471 433 these individual shortcomings of the industry are less important than, and to a certain extent derived from, three basic problems of the sugar economy: land, market, and leadership.

249 [311] Most of the area of Cretaceous soil in the lowlands of the Recôncavo presently is occupied by sugar cane or by the fallow fields. Only those lands which are too wet or which are needed for settlement, mills, or transportation are not used for cultivation. Thus there seems to be little opportunity to increase the area of good sugar cane land. It would presumably be possible to reduce the fallow period by lengthening the period of ratoon harvests or to abandon the fallow period altogether. If, as seems likely, these changes would reduce the yield of cane, then it would be necessary to begin to use expensive imported fertilizers in order not to lose the advantages gained by increasing [242] the intensiveness of cultivation. The introduction of high-yielding Javanese varieties of cane has already been attempted, but because of climatic conditions, soil deficiencies, poor cultivation practices, or a combination of these factors, yields remain below East Indian levels. [134] It is theoretically possible that sugar cane cultivation could be extended to the other soils of the lowland--the Tertiary sandy soils and the crystalline soils of the peninsula and of the Intermediate Hills west of the Bay. Both of these soils, however, are relatively infertile, and the sandy soils are particularly unsuited for cane because of their poor retention of water. Sugar cane cultivation is not practical on the Uplands on account of the low precipitation—cane can be grown in only a few damp valleys of the Uplands.

175 249 439 The second great disadvantage of the sugar cane industry of the Recôncavo is in its market relationship. The history of the sugar cane economy of the region may be summarized as follows. At the end of the sixteenth century the forty engenhos of the Recôncavo exported 1,800 tons

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249 439 [175] of sugar to Europe. This 1,800 tons of sugar was probably a very large part of the total world trade in sugar at that time. In 1948 the twenty usinas of the region exported 8,497 tons of sugar to the rest of Brazil, primarily to Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. In this year the total international trade in sugar was about twelve million tons. Moreover, the Recôncavo was able to sell in the Brazilian market only by virtue of the support which has been given to the sugar industry of the Northeast by the Brazilian government. The European market has long been lost to the Recôncavo, and the chances of regaining any substantial part of it are not good--not only on account of the low level of efficiency of the Bahian sugar industry but also because of the local and foreign sources of sugar against which it would have to compete in the European market.

249 565 178 571 The third problem of the sugar industry is leadership, which is to say the problem of the Bahian upper class. The development of the sugar economy and of the aristocratic upper class of the Reconcavo are practically inseparable, and the decline of the former is in part a reflection of the inability of the latter to provide intelligent and progressive leadership. The institutions which were developed in the opening century of colonization for the production of sugar succeeded altogether too well as far as the region is concerned, for since then the industry has not succeeded in establishing a new pattern in conformity with the changing systems of technology and the new competitive situation. A century of failure either to develop an efficient sugar industry or to find new sources of income for the sugar area is a sign of the continuing failure of the upper class. More and more the leadership of the sugar industry is passing from the artistocrats to the new segment of the upper class, the agricultural capitalists. In most cases these men seem to have a broader view of the problems of the

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249 industry than the aristocrats, as the partial rationalization of the
565 sugar system since 1900 testifies. However, the entry of even these
178 relatively progressive and forward-looking business men into an indus-
571 try whose only future is that guaranteed by the protection of the gov-
ernment does not reveal a willingness either to accept short-term risks
or to make an investment in the long-term future of the Recôncavo.

175 Tobacco, as has been seen, began its history as an auxiliary of
277 the sugar cane economy. The development of the commercial tobacco
433 economy since 1800 indicates a greater flexibility than is characteristic
439 of the sugar industry. When the decline of the slave trade brought an
[567] end to the African market for fumo em corda, the tobacco economy turned
277 to a new product, fumo em fôlha, and to a new market, Europe. Unlike
439 the sugar of the Recôncavo, Bahian tobacco has been able to compete
successfully in the European market against leaf imported from Cuba and
from Sumatra. Moreover, the leaf tobacco of Bahia dominates the internal
market of Brazil to a degree not equaled by the local sugar industry
for several centuries.

There are several possible explanations for the relatively
277 greater flexibility of the tobacco economy. Several of the more promi-
472 nent firms in the manufacturing of cigars and in the export of tobacco
249 have foreign origins or are owned by people of European background.
178 Indirectly these firms may have affected the operation of the tobacco
economy, but it is difficult to find any signs of significant changes
in the methods of cultivation. On the other hand, the tobacco industry
and trade seem to have been spared the unimaginative and inflexible
leadership which the aristocratic upper class of the Recôncavo has
given to the sugar industry.

249 Tobacco cultivation by its very nature is more flexible than
[457] the system of sugar production. Instead of the usina, which must be

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249 [457] purchased in Europe at the expense of precious foreign exchange, tobacco can be processed for the trade with only a shed and a few crude presses. [489] Rather than a relatively expensive rail net to assemble the crop, tobacco can be carried by truck, small boat, or even by pack animal. More- [433] over, since the cultivation of tobacco is integrated with the production of food and is primarily an activity of small farmers, it is possible to adjust the size of the crop from year to year with a minimum sacrifice of capital investment.

277 The tobacco industry of the Recôncavo has a number of disadvantages as a base for commercial development which may be summarized as problems of: (1) land; (2) markets; and (3) system of production. 249 311 Leaf tobacco production in the Recôncavo and in the adjoining areas of Bahia is confined to a narrow belt between the humid edges of the Up- [134] lands and the dry interior of the state. An expansion toward the coast would bring tobacco first into the Intermediate Hills where the upland soils which are preferred for tobacco cultivation are of limited area and then into the humid lowlands in which the Cretaceous soils are unsuitable, apparently, for the cultivation of quality leaf tobacco [132] and in which the Tertiary soils are extremely infertile. An expansion westward would bring tobacco into an area where the precipitation in [134] most years is inadequate. The interior north of the tobacco area is dry and has very poor soils, the Tertiary upland soils. There is an [137] opportunity for the further expansion of the cultivation of tobacco toward the southwest along the forest and scrub forest boundary into a region which produces the same general type of tobacco as the Southwestern Recôncavo--the "Mata" grade. This apparently is the meaning of the increased tobacco production in Santo Antônio. It should be possible, at least as far as the soils and climate are concerned, to continue the expansion toward the southwest into the adjoining

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249 municípios. However, in this southwestern area the amount of flat land
311 is progressively reduced as the serras of the coffee zone are approached.
[245] Moreover, this region is already occupied by the other commercial systems--coffee, and in a few areas, sugar cane. Thus tobacco would not be moving into an area in which it could have either the land or the labor force without a struggle.

277 Leaf tobacco has a number of disadvantages as a primary commercial
439 product. The Brazilian market for Bahian tobacco is not yet large enough to stabilize the price during years when it is impossible to sell leaf abroad. In Europe the tobacco of Bahia must compete with leaf from other parts of the world, and because the Recôncavo has not yet succeeded in producing a suitable high quality wrapper leaf, it cannot hope to secure the whole market no matter how great its quantity of production. One of the possibilities which is being considered by the tobacco industry is the production of wrapper tobacco, but the experiments which have been completed so far have not been highly successful. Even if the quality of the tobacco were improved, one basic market problem would remain—tobacco is a luxury product, and many countries find it possible to do without it in times of war or economic distress.

249 The basic problem of tobacco production in the immediate future seems almost certain to be the system of cultivation and the land system with which it is connected. As has been seen, in the main centers of production the fallow period is already extremely short. It is not unlikely that the cumulative effect of too short a rotation period under a system of land rotation will reduce the fertility of the soil to a point where normal second growth will not develop and where land rotation, especially with so demanding a crop as tobacco, will be impossible. Moreover, if the intensity of tobacco cultivation should increase, then it seems inevitable that the density of livestock within

249 the crop region would decline and that manure, essential to the production of tobacco, would become even more expensive than at present. Any increase in the intensity of tobacco production would probably decrease the production of manioc, so that both the sub-region and the Recôncavo would have an even greater food deficit than at present.

241 The system of land rotation is clearly one of the basic problems of the Recôncavo. As the population of the region grows, the problem of the system of cultivation will almost certainly become progressively more acute. One solution which is being proposed by the rural missions of the Ministry of Education is the use of composting as a [178] substitute for manure. As yet the results of the mission program is not clear, but it is obvious that the resistance and the apathy toward new agricultural ideas in the region are very great. As far as could be ascertained, mixed agriculture has not been suggested as a solution to the problem. Indeed, in view of the lack of additional land for the production of forage crops or of grasses, it is difficult to see how such a proposal could be implemented.

242 It is apparent even to the casual observer that there are some alternative crops which might be produced in the Recôncavo. From time to time the agricultural experiment stations and a few enterprising [243] land owners point the way. One example is the production of corn as a commercial crop in the northern part of the município of Muritiba. At [312] the price of corn prevailing in 1953, it was believed possible to produce the crop profitably using irrigation water pumped from the Rio Paraguaçu, and a single landowner was making the attempt. Obviously there are no large areas in the narrow valley which can be irrigated, nor is the water supply great. It is, however, suggestive that it is possible to produce a staple food crop at as great a profit as tobacco. In the

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242 [245] In the sugar cane zone there has been one small scale experiment with white cacao, which can be sold at a higher price than the ordinary variety. It is believed that this crop would do well on the soils now under sugar cane and perhaps on some of the other soils of the lowlands. Since cacao in the Recôncavo presumably would be free of the diseases which cause so much difficulty in the main area of cultivation along the southern coast of the state, it might be possible to stabilize Bahia's cacao production and at the same time to improve agricultural conditions in the Recôncavo. [243] Another alternative use for the Cretaceous soils of the sugar cane region might be for the cultivation of rice, which is presently grown on a small scale in Santo Amaro. In view of the perennial shortages and high cost of food in both the Recôncavo and in Brazil, such a generally acceptable food should find a ready market. On the other hand, the development of cacao or rice cultivation in this area would mean the abandonment of the heavy investment in sugar mills and plantations.

241 178 Although the evaluation of specific suggestions is the province of the agricultural specialist, one fact is clearly shown in the results of the present research--any proposal for the future development of the Recôncavo will have to conquer the inherent traditional orientation of agriculture in the region.

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APPENDIXES

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

APPENDIX A

Sub-Regions and Municipios of the Recôncavo

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Central Recôncavo:
- Santo Amaro
- São Francisco
- São Sebastião
- Cachoeira

Northern Recôncavo:
- Coração de Maria
- Irará
- Alagoinhas

Northwestern Recôncavo:
- Feira de Santana
- São Gonçalo
- Conceição da Feira
- Santo Estêvão

Southwestern Recôncavo:
- Muritiba
- Cruz das Almas
- Conceição do Almeida
- São Filipe
- São Félix

Eastern Recôncavo:
- Catu
- Pojuca

Southern Recôncavo:
- Maragogipe
- Itaparica
- Salvador

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APPENDIX B

Geologic Structure

133 135 The Archaean granites, gneisses, schists, and metamorphics are the most common surface rocks in eastern Bahia, where they form part of the so-called crystalline peneplain of Northeast Brazil. The Baía de Todos os Santos and the sedimentary lowlands and uplands north of the Bay occupy a rift in the crystalline platform which extends northward beyond the borders of the state. This rift runs through the center of the Recôncavo and is occupied in the south by an arm of the sea and in the north by sedimentary rock. On each side are crystalline zones, extending far beyond the Recôncavo to the west, but limited on the east by the sea.

[134] In the rift zone the upland deposits primarily are Tertiary, but where erosion has cut deeply, as it has north of the Bay and in major valleys such as that of the Rio Inhambupe, the underlying Cretaceous material has been exposed.

In a few places on the crystalline platform, especially south of the Rio Paraguaçu, there are small remnants of the Tertiary sediments.

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APPENDIX C

Sources of Population Increase

161 In the demographic analysis increase in population generally has been discussed without regard to its source. There are two possible sources: (1) immigration; or (2) growth of local population through the excess of births over deaths.

161 167 Although exact data for immigration into the Recôncavo is lacking, it is probably realistic to disregard sources outside the state of Bahia. The 1950 census gives 144,055 as the number of people in Bahia who were born in other Brazilian states, but shows 430,217 natives of Bahia who were resident in other states. In general, the state of Bahia is the source, not the destination, of a current of migration. The principal origin of this current apparently is the back country of the state, not the Recôncavo. Immigration from other countries is negligible.

It may be inferred that the Recôncavo had a net gain as a result of intra-state migration between 1940 and 1950. The extent to which this gain was permanent is not clear.

163 165 The birth rate of Bahia has been estimated at 42 or 43 per thousand, while the death rate of Salvador has been estimated at about 161 27 per thousand.[1] This suggests that the rate of population increase must be relatively high. On the basis of a population increase of 15 per thousand, the 1940 Recôncavo population of 924,032 would have been 1,060,372 by 1950.

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[1] Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, pp. 285, 295. Since death records are not available in many parts of the interior, death rates ordinarily are available for the capital cities only.

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APPENDIX D

Changes in Crop Data

241 433 127 128 [659] The crop data in Produção Agrícola: 1948 were gathered by statistical agencies of the Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística established in each cidade of Bahia and of most other states in Brazil. The quality of statistical data assembled is highly variable, depending in part upon the efficiency of the agent but also upon the size of the município and upon whether the products are easily assessable, or are marketed locally, and a number of other factors. In a number of cases it has been necessary to modify obviously erroneous parts of the official data, which were sometimes contradictory and sometimes at variance with the agricultural pattern as determined by field investigation. This usually has been done by interpolating from other more creditable data from the same basic source or from other sources. In the following pages the important changes which have been made in the data for various crops will be discussed, and maps based upon the original data will be presented.

When the data for area, production, and value were combined to determine yield and price, and these relationships were mapped, certain obvious errors and a number of clues to the direction and extent of error were discernible because the general outline of price and yield pattern in the Recôncavo was clear. Generally one of the three base figures--area, production, or value--was accepted as valid and the others adjusted to bring yield and/or price into line. Because of an almost complete lack of property surveys, the crop area data are at best a gross estimate and liable to great error. On the other hand, [443] [659] the location of the statistical bureau in the cidades, usually the primary market, does give opportunity to make reasonably close estimates of value and production, at least of marketed crops.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 of value and production, at least of marketed crops. The choice between
433 value or production as a base figure for correction was dependent upon
127 the individual case and the generally expected pattern of price and
128 yield.

244 Manioc. The basic shortcomings of the manioc data were clearly
433 revealed when area and production figures were combined to show yield.
127 While the mean calculated yield for the Recôncavo was 16.3 tons per
128 hectare, the mean calculated yield for individual municípios varied from 5.3 tons per hectare for Salvador to 39.0 tons per hectare for São Filipe (Map 130). Certain variations, related to precipitation, soil, and intensity and care of cultivation, are to be expected, but the yield maps revealed incredible contrasts. Especially noteworthy was the case of São Filipe, with its yield of 39 tons per hectare. Adjoining Cruz das Almas and Conceição do Almeida, with similar and if anything more efficient practices of cultivation and with similar soils and climate—especially since most manioc in São Filipe is grown in the area adjoining Cruz das Almas and Conceição do Almeida—produced only 14 and 10 tons per hectare, respectively. It was apparent that at least one element in the São Filipe data was in error. The other municípios with exceptionally high yields--São Francisco, with 34.5 tons per hectare, and Santo Amaro, with 25.3 tons per hectare--probably can be explained by high productivity when manioc is grown on a small and intensive scale on the more fertile clay soils.

In São Filipe the yield calculated from official data was three
[435] to four times that of the surrounding municípios. Moreover, the unit value per ton was Cr.$60, compared with Cr.$150 to Cr.$200 for adjacent areas. The conclusion that the production figure was an error was re-enforced through a comparison of the density of production in

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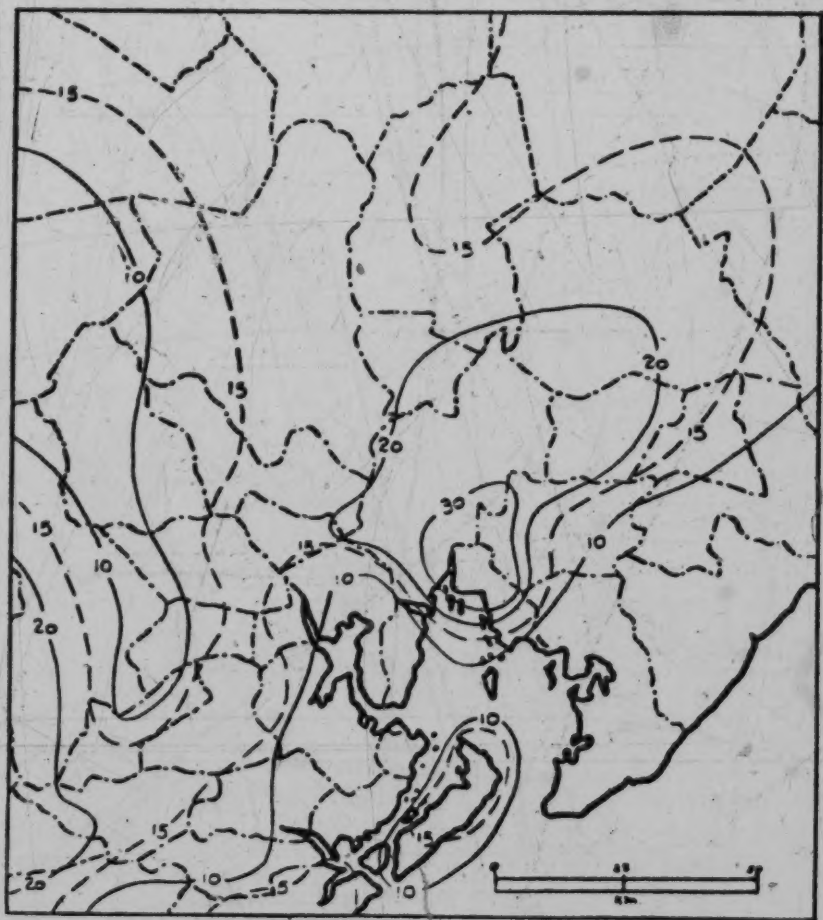

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Yield of Manioc--1948

(Based upon un-corrected official data)

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 130

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

244 São Filipe, 230 tons per square kilometer, with the 162 tons per square
433 kilometer of Conceição do Almeida, a more notable producer.
127
128 It was assumed that the unit value in São Filipe was the mean of the prices of Maragogipe and Conceição do Almeida—São Filipe is midway between these municípios in terms of location, transport, and external market relationship—and that:

$$\text{Production} = \frac{\text{Value}}{\text{Unit Value}} = \frac{4{,}290{,}000}{\frac{170 + 190}{2}} = 27{,}333 \text{ tons}$$

This figure is close to 28,000 tons, and it was inferred that the original figure had been transposed to 82,000 tons. Yield was then derived:

$$\frac{28{,}000 \text{ tons}}{2{,}100 \text{ hectares}} = 13.3 \text{ tons per hectare}$$

compared with 13.9 tons per hectare for Cruz das Almas and 11.1 tons per hectare for São Félix, nearby areas with similar conditions. Perhaps this yield is slightly high, but it is in the possible range of variation, and is an acceptable approximation.

[435] There was a second problem in Irará. The unit value of manioc here was Cr.$90 per ton, compared to Cr.$300 in nearby Coração de Maria, Cr.$240 in Feira de Santana, and Cr.$320 in Santo Amaro. Moreover, the density of production was very high, 26.45 tons per square kilometer total area, compared to 10.72 tons per square kilometer for Coração de Maria, especially since so much of northern Irará is not densely settled. When Cr.$200 per ton was postulated as the unit value of manioc, the production derived was 10,500 tons. Yield calculated by using this figure and the original area data would be 4.38 tons per hectare, which is unreasonably small. The yield calculated from the original data—14.6 tons per hectare--seemed approximately correct, and using these yield figures, with the derived production value of 10,500 tons, area was calculated as 719 hectares. The new area figure

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

244 433 127 128 [435] gave 0.54 tons per square kilometer total area, which corresponded to 0.59 tons per square kilometer for Coração de Maria.

In São Sebastião, the low unit value of manioc—Cr.$80 per ton—indicated possible error. The reasonable intensity of production suggested that the total value data were in error. The mean unit value of the four surrounding municípios—Cr.$240 per ton—was accepted for São Sebastião and was used to calculate a revised total value of Cr.$168,000.

Minor errors were apparent in the data for certain other municípios. For example, the yields of Maragogipe, Cachoeira, and Salvador were extremely low. Adjustments could have been made, but the relatively small manioc area and production in these municípios indicated that the resulting alterations would not markedly change the general area or production pattern. Maps 130, 131, 132, 133, and 134 show the patterns of manioc cultivation, production, and yield as taken from unmodified official data in Produção Agrícola: 1948. The corresponding maps based upon modified data (Maps 22, 23, 24, 25, and 27) are presented in Chapter V.

243 433 127 128 Corn. Calculations from the original data gave Maragogipe a yield of .40 tons of corn per hectare, less than one-half the yield of neighboring municípios. This was excessively low, and it seemed preferable to use the figure of 1.24 tons per hectare, the mean of adjacent São Filipe and Cachoeira. These municípios, though not similar to the whole of Maragogipe, resemble very much the adjoining areas where cultivation is concentrated. The production figure for Maragogipe was accepted as reasonable, since when combined with value it produced a credible unit value. Thus the area was reduced from 15 hectares to 5 hectares, raising the yield to a more acceptable level. However, these changes do not modify the gross pattern extensively, and therefore the maps in Chapter V were based upon the original data.

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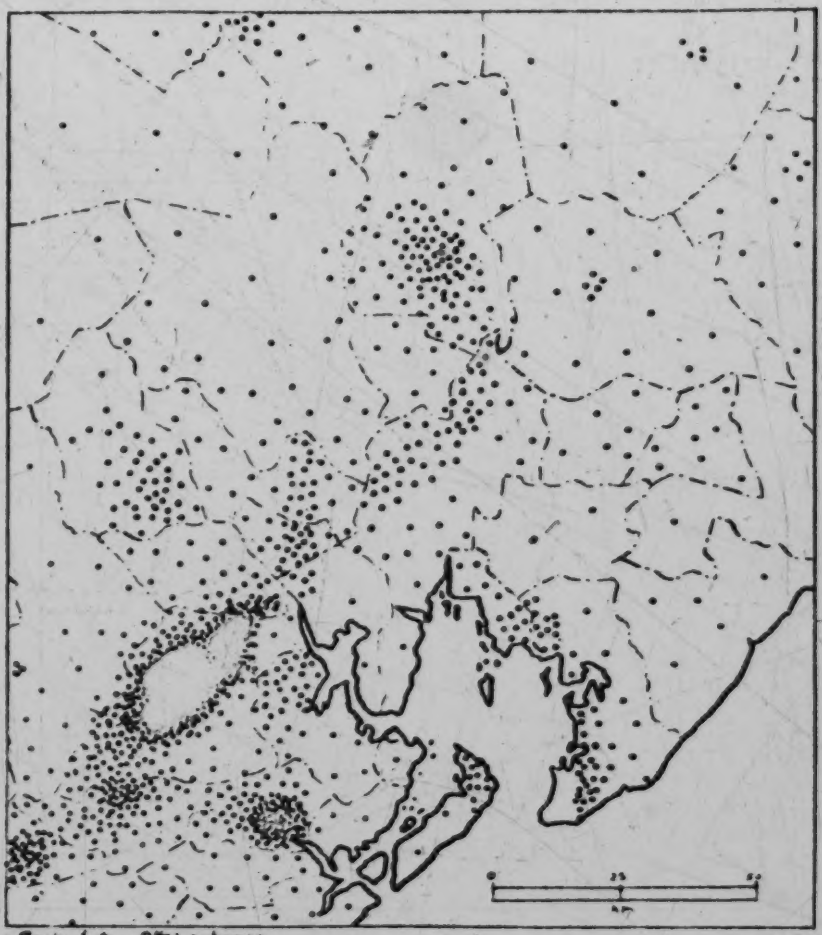

Each dot = 25 hectares

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Area in Mexico--1948

(Based upon un-corrected official data)

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 131

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954) 1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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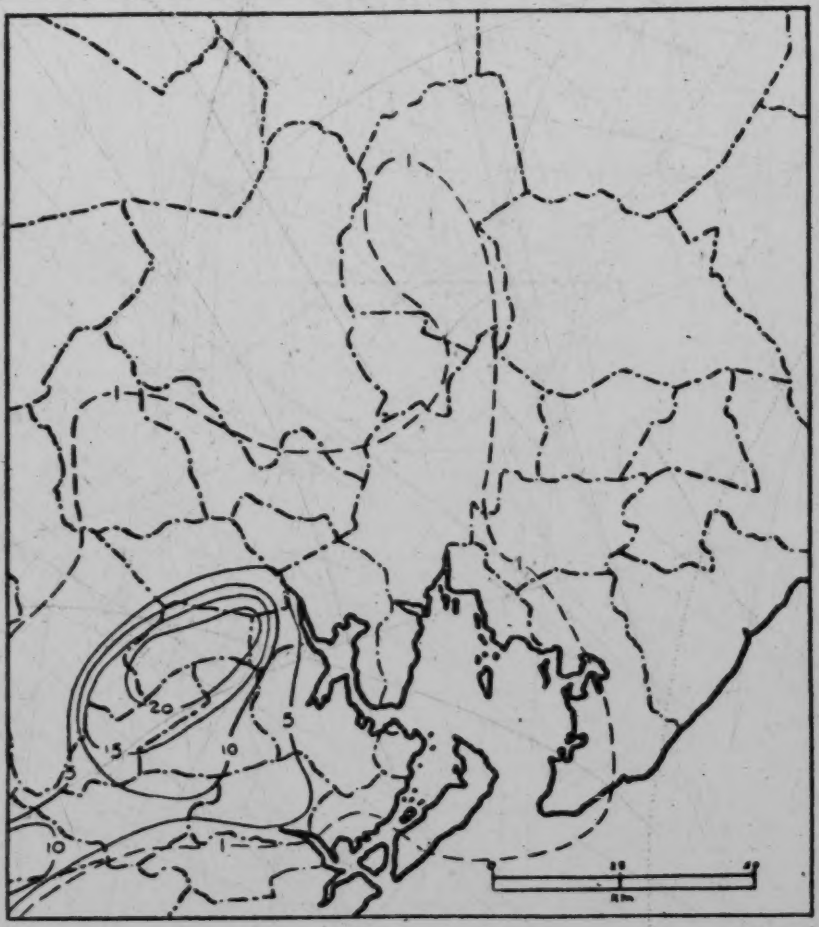

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Hectares of Manioc per Square Kilometer of Total Area—1948

(Based upon un-corrected official data)

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 132

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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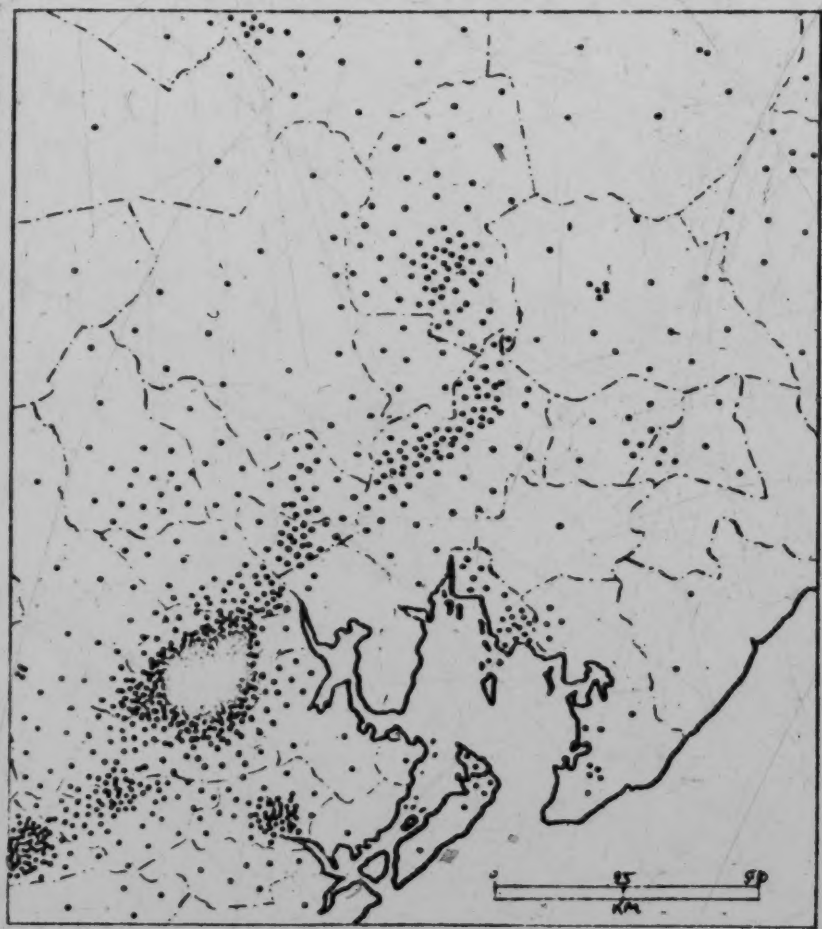

Each dot = 500 metric tons

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Mandioc--1948

(Based upon un-corrected official data)

Source of data: Producão Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 133

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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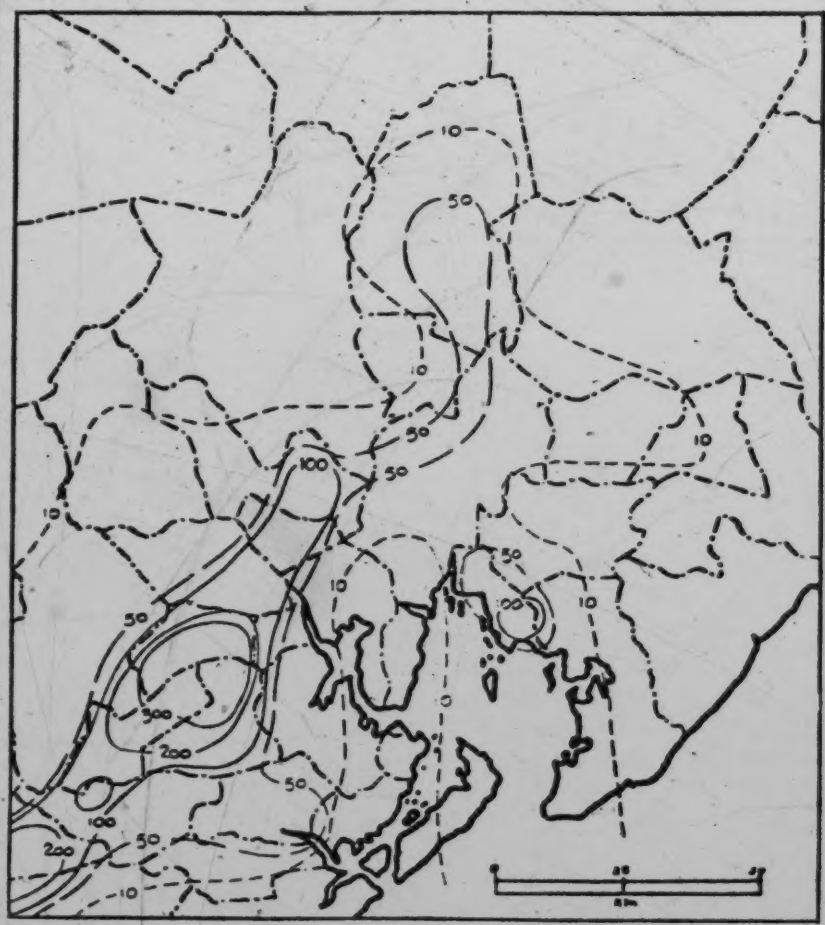

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Tons of Manioc per Square Kilometer of Total Area—1948

(Based upon un-corrected official data)

Source of data: Produção Agrícola 1948.

MAP 134

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

243
127 Area data for corn should be used with reservation, especially
243 for the northern and western municípios. In the drier areas it is the
244 custom to plant corn and beans together in the same field, generally
127 in the same row, and the area could have been counted, in its entirety, twice (once for each crop). Yield calculations for corn and beans suggest that this has not been done; however, the vagaries of climate and cultivation in these dry zones produce such variations in mean yield from year to year and place to place that it was impossible to secure a clearcut verification. Conversations with personnel of the compiling agency failed to clarify the situation.

245 Bananas. The maps of banana area, based upon the official data,
433 reveal a definite gap in Cruz das Almas and northern São Filipe (Map 135).
127 However, this area lies in the middle of a belt of relatively dense production. Field experience in this immediate area indicated that bananas were at least as important in these two areas as in adjacent Conceição do Almeida. The official data show only 7 hectares and 3,000 bunches of bananas in Santo Antônio, but the large numbers of banana plants which were observed would tend to discredit these figures. Since in the Recôncavo the area planted in bananas does not usually have a consistent relationship to the number of plants and thus to production, yields are not a trustworthy guide to the estimation of
245 production. On the map of banana production in the text (Map 52) the
433 official data have been modified to allow Cruz das Almas 190,000
127 bunches in place of the 29,000 in the official data; São Filipe,
128 70,000 in place of the official 20,000; and Santo Antônio, 86,000 in place of the official 3,000. These changes were made by arbitrarily increasing the production data to give these areas the same density of production as similar areas in adjacent municípios. Since, as has

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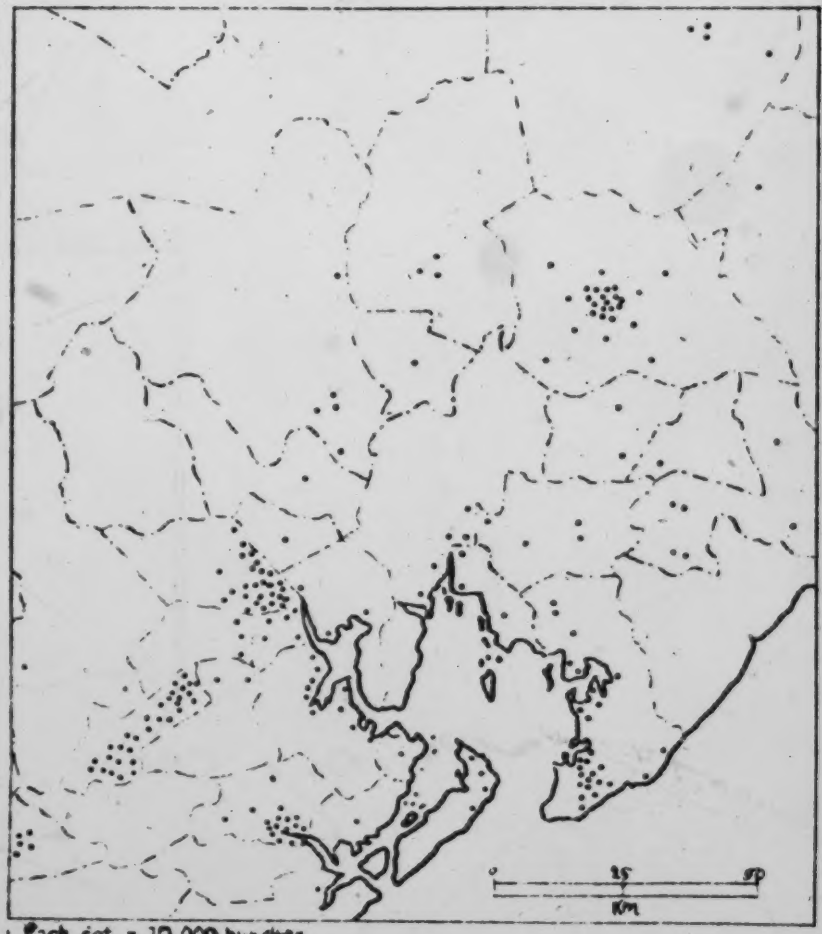

Each dot = 10,000 bunches

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Bananas--1948

(Based upon un-corrected official data)

Source of data: Producto Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 135

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

245 been indicated, banana area and production do not have a consistent re-
433 lationship, no attempt has been made to alter the map of cultivated
127 area for bananas.
128

249 Tobacco. Although there is a large range in tobacco yields
433 within the Recôncavo as calculated from the official data, only those
127 for São Filipe seem completely unacceptable. If the area of this município were at the high level—3,600 hectares--indicated and the given production data are correct, then its yield was an infinitesimal 190 kilograms per hectare. The official production data are, in approximate terms, confirmed by other sources.[1] However, the area indicated by the official data is much higher than either the data
249 of Marques or field experience would indicate. Estimates from the
433 mean of surrounding municípios, from the mean yield calculated from
127 Marques, and from the area given by Marques adjusted to the 1948 level of
128 production, give the following figures, respectively: 675 hectares, 692 hectares, and 700 hectares. The median of these figures—692 hectares--was selected and used in preparing Maps 28, 29, and 33 in Chapter V.

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[1]Antonio Monanto Marques, op. cit., pp. 1-85; and Instituto
[113] Bahiano do Fumo, Contribuição do Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, pp. 1-16.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

APPENDIX E

Tobacco Zones of Bahia

249 659 311 The tobacco industry, the exporting houses, and the official tobacco organizations of the government have divided the entire leaf tobacco producing area of Bahia into four zones on the basis of the kind of tobacco produced. None of these zones even approximately coincides with the Recôncavo, but three of the four include Recôncavo municípios, while the edge of the fourth touches upon the region. These four zones, in order of approximate relative value of their leaf, are "Mata," "Feira," "Caatinga," and "Sertão." Many different types and grades are included in "Sertão." The accompanying map (Map 136) shows the relationship of these zones to the Recôncavo.

249 311 "Mata," the most valuable, is a good burning, light to medium tobacco which can be used after twelve months of curing. Very often it is worth twice as much as the next grade. The "Mata" zone stretches from northern Santo Amaro to the southwestern extreme of the coffee zone. It is divided into three parts—norte, which includes northeast Santo Amaro, southeast Feira de Santana, and Cachoeira; sul, which includes southern Castro Alves, southern Santo Antônio, São Miguel, and the municípios to the southwest; and fina, which includes São Gonçalo, Conceição da Feira, Muritiba, Conceição do Almeida, Cruz das Almas, São Filipe, São Félix, Maragogipe, and northern Santo Antônio. The greatest premium within the Mata Fina grade is given for Cruz das Almas leaf, although São Gonçalo leaf also is highly valued. In addition to the intrinsic value of the leaf, "Mata" tobacco is valuable because of its uniformity, both from area to area and from year to year. In part this uniformity results from the fact that it is grown upon similar

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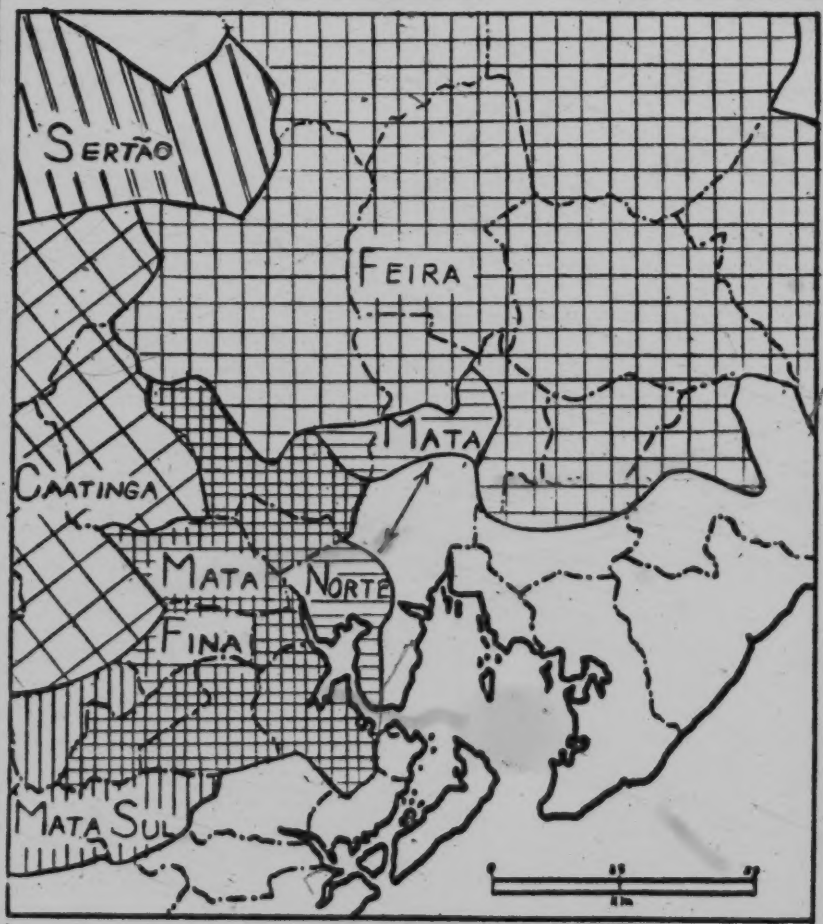

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Official Zones of Tobacco Production

Grades of Bahia-Brasil Leaf

MAP 136

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 311 soils under more dependable rainfall conditions than are characteristic of the other zones.

The "Caatinga" zone includes Santo Estêvão, Castro Alves, Ipirá, and Santa Teresinha--the município west of Castro Alves. When the rains [132] of the growing season--June, July, and August--are plentiful, these [134] tobaccos are much like those of the "Mata" zone, though somewhat harsher--probably because of the more saline soils. If precipitation is scarce, the tobacco is gummy and requires long curing--two years or so--before use. If the rains fail entirely, a second attempt may be made to plant during the summer rains of November, December, and January.

The "Feira" zone includes Feira de Santana, Coração de Maria, Irará, Alagoinhas, Catu, Pojuca, northeastern Santo Amaro, and northern São Sebastião, as well as Inhambupe, Entre Rios, and Serrinha. "Feira" leaf is often large, rather dark, and moderately strong, and requires at least two years for curing. Like the "Caatinga," its quality varies [132] in response to changes in precipitation, but in general it is more uniform.

"Sertão" tobacco is highly diverse in type and quality. Its zone of production is large in size, extending west to the Chapada Diamantina and southward beyond the Rio de Contas. Generally this leaf is large and coarse, but as a result of the diverse physical conditions in the scattered areas in which the crop is produced, the quality of the leaf is variable over a wide range.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

APPENDIX F

Comparison of 1940 and 1948 Data for Cultivated Areas

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128

The figure for cropland in 1948, derived from the total area in principal crops, is less than half the total cultivated area which is given in the 1940 Censos Econômicos, as shown on the table which follows (Table XIX). The development of the individual crops, indicated by the statistical material available and by the situation which is to be observed in the area, indicates quite clearly that the catastrophic decline which these figures would seem to indicate has not in fact taken place. The growth of the population of the Recôncavo, without concurrent industrialization or radical reorganization of the agricultural system, has required the expansion, not the contraction, of the cultivated area. It is clear that the 1940 census data must have included much land that was not in crops--probably it included those areas which customarily were cultivated under the land rotation system but which were not, in 1940, in crops. Since the census was based upon the opinion of the agriculturalist as to the cultivated area and since it is the custom to regard fields recently abandoned as cultivated land, it is easy to see how the 1940 figure was so large. It is assumed, therefore, that the 165,235 hectares which the census called cultivated area in 1940 corresponds to the general area in which cultivation was customary and not to actual cropland.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

TABLE XIX

COMPARISON OF LAND CULTIVATED AS GIVEN IN THE 1940 CENSUS AND AS CALCULATED FROM 1948 CROPLAND DATA

241
311
127
128

	Land Cultivated 1940	Land Cultivated 1948	Change
Central Recôncavo:			
Santo Amaro	19,252	8,417	-10,835
São Francisco	3,227	1,063	- 2,164
São Sebastião	4,798	2,516	- 2,282
Cachoeira	4,326	1,154	- 3,172
Northern Recôncavo:			
Coração de Maria	4,653	1,092	- 3,561
Irará	27,630	9,115	-18,515
Alagoinhas	3,868	2,464	- 1,404
Northwestern Recôncavo:			
Feira de Santana	20,457	3,994	-16,463
São Gonçalo	4,270	3,614	- 656
Conceição da Feira	2,363	1,343	- 1,020
Santo Estêvão	10,145	8,500	- 1,645
Southwestern Recôncavo:			
Muritiba	7,654	3,333	- 4,321
Cruz das Almas	8,585	12,796	+ 4,211
Conceição do Almeida	11,419	7,506	- 3,913
São Filipe	5,942	6,430	+ 488
São Félix	3,482	1,512	- 1,970
Eastern Recôncavo:			
Catu	5,484	741	- 4,743
Pojuca	1,037	259	- 778
Southern Recôncavo:			
Maragogipe	7,221	1,342	- 5,879
Itaparica	4,492	891	- 3,601
Salvador	4,930	1,921	- 3,009
Recôncavo Total	165,235	80,003	-85,232

Source: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II, and Produção Agrícola: 1948.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

APPENDIX G

Procedure Used in Estimating Value of Animals Produced in the Recôncavo in 1948

231
233
433
127
128

The 1948 data on livestock[1] gave the total number of animals for each *município* but did not show the number slaughtered nor the value of animal production. An estimate of the latter figure was made for 1948 in order to compare the value of crop and livestock production for that year. The method of estimation was as follows.

It was assumed that the change in the cattle population between these years was the best available index of the change in the value of animal production, since cattle are the most common and most valuable major animal. The index of change thus derived was used to raise or lower the 1940 value of animal production of each *município*, as given in the *Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II*, to a 1948 level, but still in terms of 1940 currency. This latter figure was increased by 350 per cent to conform to the declining value of the *cruzeiro*. For example:

$$\text{Alagoinhas: } \frac{\text{1948 cattle}}{\text{1940 cattle}} = \frac{26{,}060}{13{,}090} = 2 \text{ (approx.)}$$

1940 value of production = Cr.$825,000

Cr.$ 825,000 x 2 = Cr.$1,650,000

Cr.$1,650,000 x 3.5 = Cr.$5,775.000.

---

[1] Ministério da Agricultura, Serviço de Estatística da Produção, "Population Pecuária, Em 31/12/1948."

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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[For maps relating to production statistics and other agricultural matters in the Reconcavo of Bahia, see category 116 passim.]

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VILA RECÔNCAVO

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VILLAGE AND PLANTATION LIFE IN NORTHEASTERN BRAZIL

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VILA RECÔNCAVO

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THE AMERICAN ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY
Verne F. Ray, Editor

A Monograph from the Research and Training Program
for the Study of Man in the Tropics

Village and Plantation Life in Northeastern Brazil

By HARRY WILLIAM HUTCHINSON

[Title Page]

1957
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H. W. Hutchinson

Faculdade de Filosofia
Universidade da Bahia
September, 1956

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128 *Although Vila Recôncavo is a real town, the names of all persons and places have been changed for the purposes of this study.

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VILLAGE AND PLANTATION LIFE IN NORTHEASTERN BRAZIL

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Introduction

THE CULTIVATION of sugar cane, and the production of sugar, rum, and molasses, was one of the first commercial enterprises of the New World, following closely upon the heels of the discovery and exploration of the Americas. In many of the east coast lowlands, where the Portuguese, Spanish, English, and French did not find the metallic El Dorado they sought, they settled down to the extraction of white gold through an agricultural medium. Sugar cane was found to be an ideal crop for the rich soils and the climate of the tropical and semitropical bayoulike lowlands of Brazil, the Caribbean Islands, the Guianas, and later of Louisiana and Florida. Sugar was gaining in popularity throughout Europe at this time, and in the early days of European exploitation of the New World there was a rapidly growing sugar market in Europe, providing extraordinary returns for those who had sugar to sell. 121 249*

Wherever sugar cane took hold in the New World, there arose a distinct socioeconomic pattern. This pattern, whether in the Portuguese, Spanish, English, or French colonies, was marked by certain traits. The first of these was large landholding. Sugar planters possessed large tracts of land, usually received as grants from their respective colonial governments. Sugar-cane cultivation was done on a large scale and seldom engaged in by small farmers or peasants.

Everywhere sugar cane was grown, its cultivation was the scene of the growth of large, aristocratic families whose members were interested in and took part in colonial government, politics, the professions, and the church. Sugar-cane planters built large mansions on their plantations and

* 121
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created a tradition of gracious living, of literature and learning, of opulence, hospitality, and ostentation.

The European did not attempt to do the agricultural labor himself but quickly put the Indians to work. When Indians proved unsuccessful as plantation laborers, the planters seized upon African slaves, who shortly became the third most important trait of the sugar-cane way of life. With the addition of the African to the scene, there grew another strong tradition among the sugar-cane planters, a tradition of paternalism and noblesse oblige toward their Negro slaves.

The cultivation of sugar cane, over a period of two hundred and more years, developed into a remarkably stable way of life and, in spite of a long history of good times mixed with depressions, became firmly entrenched in the areas where it was possible to grow it. For centuries it was a family enterprise, based on slavery, and generation after generation exploited the same plantation with the same crop, to which they developed a strong loyalty. There are few instances where, once sugar cane was planted, it has given way to other crops, even though it has not always provided the extraordinary monetary returns it gave two or three centuries ago.

During the nineteenth century, a series of important changes took place throughout the Americas which affected this very stable way of life and modified the traditional culture patterns that had been built up over a long period of time. First was the general movement during the century to abolish slavery, the very basis of New World sugar-cane cultivation. Following abolition of slavery there were also changes in the colonial governments, and, in general, the position of the aristocratic sugar planters was challenged. The exact sequence of events and their political results differed from colony to colony, but in general the same outlines were observed wherever sugar cane was grown.

More important than all of these changes, however, was the modification of the sugar industry itself at the end of the nineteenth century, which, to a great extent, hinged on the social and political changes already mentioned. In addition, competition among the various sugar-cane areas was leading to experiments with new types of machinery and refining techniques, with the hope of securing an improved product and consequently a larger share of the world sugar market. The introduction of steam-powered machinery made possible the

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creation of the large central sugar mill, a process which was speeded up by the loss of slave labor and the need to mechanize in order to make up for a shortage of labor. Thus the "factory-in-the-field" came to the sugar-cane industry and set off a series of changes in the former sugar-cane way of life which reached beyond the sugar-cane plantations into regional economics, into the structure of local communities, and into the social class system. It implied a more modern and far greater capital structure for the sugar industry, different types of relations between employer and employee, and the growth of a body of skilled workmen and office workers.

Finally, in the twentieth century, there are changes, everywhere apparent in the Western world, which have greatly modified the old traditional patterns of cane-growing areas. Cities are growing with remarkable rapidity; transportation is greatly improved. The radio, cinema, newspapers, magazines, schools, health posts, and more efficient national and state government action--all these and many other influences and modern trends have reached down deep into the economics, the social structure, individual and family life, and the religion and politics of the cane-growing areas.

In fact, two stages can be distinguished in the change of New World sugar-cane plantation organization since the early nineteenth century. First there was the engenho (in Brazil), or ingenio (in the Spanish-speaking colonies), the family-owned and -directed plantation and sugar mill combination.[1] Here the cane was grown and milled on the same nonmechanized plantation, where labor was provided by Negro slaves, while animal and sometimes water power was employed for milling. Paternalism, mutual rights and obligations, and a sense of noblesse oblige distinguished the relations between the planters and their slave laborers.

The second stage in the sugar-cane plantation organization is characterized by the opposite of all these traits and has been well described in Puerto Rico.[2] Land ownership has

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1. Hereafter, the term "plantation" will be used to designate the engenho; it should be understood that, in each instance, the reference is to the family-owned and -directed plantation and sugar mill combination. (Editor's note.)

2. Sidney W. Mintz, Cañamelar: The Contemporary Cul-

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+249 passed out of family hands and into the hands of large-scale corporations, the actual owners of which are most often absentee. Administration is in the hands of corporation employees and specialists. The field hands and millworkers are employees of a large, impersonal corporation, basing their rights on labor laws and labor unions rather than on paternalism and traditional family obligations. The corporate, central, mechanized mill, which is the center of a large corporate agricultural enterprise, is larger than any of the old plantation types and far more efficient. Its operations are based upon the cooperative efforts of agricultural, mechanical, and chemical specialists. Transportation and communications are better, and factory towns of the new type feel the pull of modern urban patterns more strongly than did the old plantation nuclei.

Yet these influences of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have not been felt with equal intensity throughout the American sugar-producing regions. In limited areas, large sugar mills owned and operated by powerful corporations, with veritable factory towns, may be found. In other sugar-producing areas the transition is less complete, and many patterns out of the traditional past of the areas have persisted and have been adjusted to new conditions.

The northeast coast of Brazil took part in this widespread tradition of sugar-cane cultivation. The first region of Brazil to be settled, the northeast coast is often known as the cradle of Brazilian civilization. For many years it was the most important part of the Portuguese colony, economically, socially, and politically. Sugar cane was introduced shortly after the first successful colonization in the mid-sixteenth century and became the basis for the economic, social, and political power of the region.

The golden age of this regional, large-scale sugar-cane plantation culture occurred during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and was a colorful and affluent period which holds a great nostalgia for many Brazilians. This regional culture has been admirably described by several Brazilian authors. As early as 1700, Antonil, a Jesuit priest, wrote a detailed description of the physical appearance of the early

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ture of a Rural Puerto Rican Proletariat (Ph. D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1951).

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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sugar-cane plantations and mills, of the techniques of cane cultivation and milling, and of the opulent way of life of the plantation owners.[3] More recently, Gilberto Freyre has given us a vivid picture of plantation life in this region during the colonial and empire periods; he describes the relations of the masters in their "big houses" (casas grandes) with the slaves in their huts (senzalas).[4] In addition, such Brazilian historians as Wanderley de Araujo Pinho[5] and Manuel Diegues, Jr.,[6] have added significantly to our picture of the way of life in the region during the early periods. Out of these historical materials emerges the picture of a well-integrated, stable society, based upon wealth from sugar, in which the aristocratic, landholding and slave-owning families were economically, socially, and politically dominant.

The sugar-cane culture of the northeast Brazilian coast kept step with the developments in the industry throughout the Americas. In 1888 slavery was abolished in Brazil, affecting the labor situation severely. One year later came the end of the Brazilian empire and the formation of the republic. In the republic the church and state were separated, and the position of the nobility of the empire, who in this region were sugar planters, was challenged. By 1900 the corporate central mill had been introduced to the region, thereby causing a series of far-reaching changes in the over-all regional culture.

However, in northeastern Brazil there are local areas which are in various degrees of change between the two major stages outlined above, that is, between the family-owned plantation and the highly industrialized, corporate, absentee-owned, land-factory system. The Recôncavo area of the state of Bahia in which this study was undertaken, for example, contains several large sugar factories (usinas), but even on the largest of these there is still a maximum of family tra-

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3. Andre João Antonil, Cultura e opulencia do Brasil (Bahia, 1950).

4. Gilberto Freyre, The Masters and the Slaves (New York, 1946).

5. J. Wanderley de Araujo Pinho, Historia de um engenho do Recôncavo, 1552-1944 (Rio de Janeiro, 1946).

6. Manuel Diegues, Jr., O banguê nas alagoas (Rio de Janeiro, 1949).

121
*249 ditions and of paternalism. Here, the privately owned plantation is also still an important element.

In the community on which the present study focuses, there is a modern sugar factory or usina, but control by the fac-
[473] tory of the entire process, from cane planting and harvest-
ing to milling, is far from complete. Although the factory,
[423] in this case a family corporation, has bought up six neighboring plantations, at least half its supply of sugar cane comes from individual, family-owned plantations. Owners of these plantations, which have conserved their original boundaries, are often descendants of the aristocratic landholders of the past, and many of their workers are descendants of slaves who lived on the same plantations.

121 In this community, changes in sugar-producing technology
178 have not reached down into the actual cane cultivation on the
*249 plantations. Emphasis has been on the improvement of milling techniques, the further refinement of sugar-cane juice, and the perfection of the finished product by the central mill. But the agricultural methods--planting, cultivation, harvesting, and transportation--have remained relatively unchanged.

121 Most important of all, with the retention of these older tech-
178 niques has gone the retention to a very great degree of the old
*249 accompanying social system. The present social system tends
571 to follow the old, traditional, family-oriented, slaveholding complex. The pattern of face-to-face interpersonal relations, developed during centuries of sugar-cane monoculture based on slavery, persists in a modified form. Although the relations between workers and owner on these family plantations are now those of employee and employer, and not slave and owner, there is still the highly personal, intimate relationship based upon mutual rights and obligations and a sense of the obligations of nobility. Even the usina system perpetuates this paternalism to a high degree.

121 The present work is a "community study" in the full sense of the term as it is understood today in social anthropology. It is primarily a descriptive analysis of one community in the sugar-producing region of northeastern Brazil, but it is conceived within the framework of the historical sequence outlined above.

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

1. Sugar Country

THE REGION of Brazil in which this study was made is a small area in the state of Bahia called the Recôncavo. This is the land surrounding the Bay of All Saints, a fertile basin extending inland no more than 40 kilometers at the most. Situated on a high bluff overlooking the entrance to the Bay of All Saints is Salvador, the capital of the state of Bahia, generally referred to as Bahia, or "the capital," or simply "the city." After Salvador was settled in 1549, the colonization of the Recôncavo proceeded at a rapid rate. Since early in the colonial period, the Recôncavo has been divided into three distinct areas: a southern area devoted mainly to the raising of manioc, the food staple of much of Brazil; a western section devoted to the cultivation of tobacco; and a northern and eastern area, given almost exclusively to large-scale sugar-cane monoculture. This study was made in the third zone, the one producing sugar cane.

The region, which can be called the "sugar-Recôncavo," partakes of the long tradition of sugar-cane growing which formed the basis for the early colonization of Brazil. A narrow strip of land along the northeast coast of Brazil in what are now the states of Pernambuco, Sergipe, Alagoas, and Bahia was the focus of the economic, political, and social life of the entire colony. This region, under the colonization of the Portuguese, produced a large part of the world's sugar supply at a time when sugar was a great luxury in Europe. The northeast coast of Brazil became an exceedingly prosperous part of the colony early in its history. Salvador, in Bahia, and Recife, in Pernambuco, became the most impor-

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tant centers of colonial life, and until 1763 Salvador was the capital of the Portuguese colony.

The Recôncavo helped to make Brazil a unique part of the Portuguese empire in the sixteenth century. Brazil was different from any of the other Portuguese colonies, for its wealth proved to lie in agriculture rather than in trade, as was the case in India and Africa. The Bay of All Saints, with a circumference of 200 kilometers, is in effect an inland sea, the entrance to which can be guarded from the heights on which the city of Salvador is situated. There are a number of picturesque islands throughout the bay, with good beaches and landing facilities. Many small rivers empty into the bay, and numerous creeks navigable at high tide extend further inland along its shores. The presence of such a large network of navigable waters was an important factor in the rapid development of the Recôncavo, providing easy and inexpensive transportation of sugar to the point of shipment to Europe.

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[487]

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The climate is semitropical, with two seasons. Summer, from September to sometime in March, is relatively dry, dotted by showers and thunderstorms and cooled by fresh breezes blowing in from the Atlantic. Winter begins in April, lasting until August or September, the exact time of change differing from year to year. This season is marked by continued rain, usually a soft, constantly falling drizzle or light rain, interspersed with heavy showers, as front after front moves in from the Atlantic, dropping its moisture before being pushed upward by the abruptly rising land which surrounds the Recôncavo. According to statistics for the years 1914 to 1938, the months of minimum rainfall are October, November, and December; during this time the average rainfall was 11.81 inches. The period of maximum rainfall is April, May, and June, with an average of 35.83 inches for the three-month period. The yearly average from 1914 to 1938 was 65.93 inches.[1] The temperature range is from 70 to 90 degrees Fahrenheit.

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The soil of the Recôncavo, especially that of the sugar-Recôncavo, is extraordinarily fertile. It is a heavy black soil, known as massapê, approximately 6 inches to 2 feet thick, covering a clayey subsoil, known locally as tauá. Here and there are outcroppings of sand and mixtures of sand with clay.

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1. Atlas pluviometrico do Brasil (Rio de Janeiro, 1914-1938).

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Sugar cane has proved to grow especially well with the combination of warmth, rain, and massapê, and the soil has been producing the same crop for almost four hundred years. The area of massapê is sharply defined, for at its farthest edges the land rises to the regions of sandy scrub forest and desert which characterize what has been called the "other northeast"[2] or the sertão.

[133] 135

The surface of the sugar-Recôncavo is characterized by rolling fields cut by shallow valleys. Although the massapê is not subject to erosion, the other soils, where exposed, are. During the rainy winter season much damage is done, especially to the roads, which for the most part follow the non-massapê soils. Underneath the soil of the sugar-Recôncavo there are recently discovered oil deposits. The quantity of oil has not yet been determined, for the explorations are still going on. However, the national government has already begun to exploit the oil, which is close to the surface. Under Brazilian law, subsoil resources belong to the national government and not to the owner of the lands. As a result there has been a small-scale invasion of petroleum workers on the privately owned lands of the sugar-cane planters. To date, this has not interrupted the agricultural routine to any great extent, at least not in Vila Recôncavo. In Conselho (see map of community), where the drilling was first started, the government bought the land from the individuals and the sugar mill corporation owning it and has turned once green fields of sugar cane into bare fields, spotted here and there with oil wells. The former agriculturalists have had to leave the area or become laborers in the oil camps and refinery.

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The Recôncavo is one of the most densely populated regions in Brazil. It is an area of 6,500 square kilometers, with a population of 683,000 in 1940, distributed in 14 counties including the capital. It has an average density of 106 inhabitants per square kilometer,[3] in comparison with the average density of the state of Bahia, which is 7 persons per square kilometer, and with the national average of 5 persons per square kilometer.[4] It must be remembered that these figures include

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[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 13]

2. Preston James, Latin America (New York, 1942), p. 411.

3. Aroldo de Azevedo, "Recôncavo da Bahia," Revista da Universidade de São Paulo, I (1950), 14.

4. T. Lynn Smith, Brazil (Baton Rouge, 1947), p. 131.

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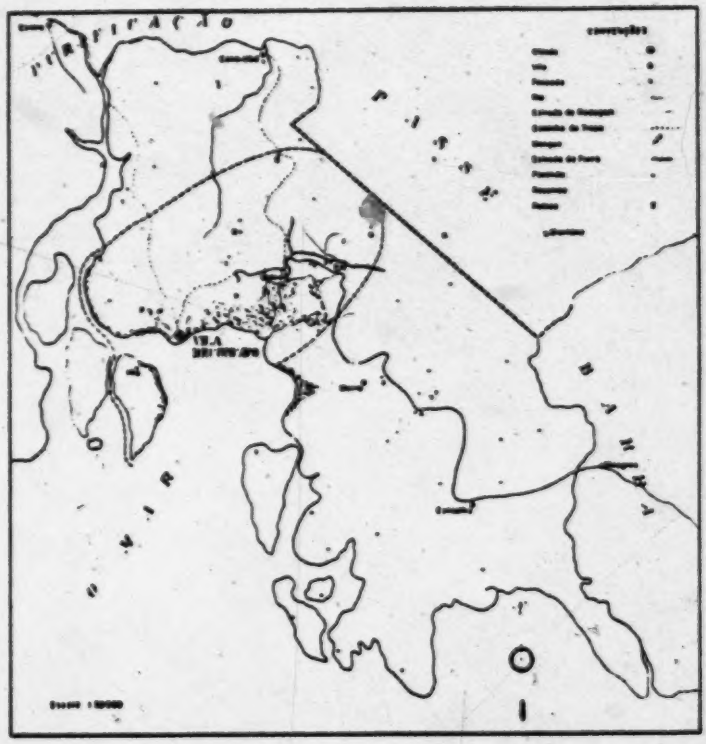

[P. 12]

Map of the community of Vila Recôncavo

It must be remembered that these figures include the capital city, the population of which is about 450,000. If this is subtracted from the total population of the Recôncavo, the average density of the Recôncavo is approximately 27 persons per square kilometer. 161 [162]

Vila Recôncavo, the community of this study, is part of a county located 41 kilometers across the bay from Salvador. The community includes the town of Vila Recôncavo, which is the county seat, and the surrounding rural zone. Throughout the study we will be dealing with these two components of the sugar-cane plantation community, sometimes separately and sometimes together. 101 634 [121]

The only public transportation to the town is by boat from the capital, a three-hour trip across the bay, threading through numerous islands. The major part of the trip is made on remarkably blue water, usually serenely calm but occasionally violently agitated, especially during the winter. One-, two-, and three-masted sailing vessels and an occasional large sailing canoe, the centuries-old methods of transportation in Bahia, are passed on their way into the city, carrying fruit, vegetables, pottery, firewood, fish, tobacco, manioc flour, and sugar to the more than four hundred thousand people of the city, as they have done since the early colonization of the Recôncavo. The only new element in the scene is the small diesel boat which makes the trip back and forth across the bay, outward bound one day and returning the next with the outgoing tide. 505 501

As the boat nears the luxuriantly green, palm-crested islands, stopping at several to discharge the mail, passengers, and "city goods," one becomes aware of the feeling of stepping back into the past. Barefoot children are selling oranges, peanuts, and fish; and parrots and parakeets, sometimes doped with rum to make them appear tame. The mailman on the dock receives the sack of mail and gives it to his helper to carry to the post office; the island priest may receive a message or package entrusted to the captain of the boat or may even go aboard to travel to the church on another island. The others on the dock call to friends on the boat and exchange news or else simply watch the activity of docking the boat and the casting off. The people of the islands are light-skinned, although well sunburned. Many of them are vacationers from the city, dressed in brightly colored clothes, for the islands are well-known resorts. The others, barefoot, wearing shorts 505 [857] [44] [205] [793] [142] [528]

505 The others, barefoot, wearing shorts
[291] and large-brimmed straw hats, are the permanent dwellers of the islands: fishermen, stevedores, and storekeepers.

When the islands are left behind, the scene begins to change.
505 The color of the water changes from a clear, deep blue to a
133 muddy gray. Groups of canoes are seen, their occupants busy
[581] with their fish nets, for this shallow part of the bay is a good fishing ground. Once again the mainland is close, rolling hills
[226] covered with a thousand shades of green--sugar cane, the crop which nearly four hundred years ago replaced the virgin forests. The deltalike shores of this part of the bay are cov-
[361] ered with mangue, muddy areas with low-growing trees which at high tide are standing in the water. On a hill at the water's
[162] edge is the town of Vila Recôncavo, a town of 1,462 persons. The first thing one sees is the huge Franciscan convent[5] with
[368] its two tall towers and its royal palms. Approaching the long dock which juts out into the water, one can see almost the
[504] whole town, which is built on three hills and in the valleys between them.

[361] The arrival of the boat from Salvador every other day is an event in an otherwise dull day. Nearly all the men of the town
505 go down to the dock to meet the boat, to see who is traveling,
512 to see what is arriving for someone in the town, to receive messages or parcels, to greet friends, and to gossip. The postmistress is there, and with her the man whose duty it is to carry the mail sack, but who has a helper to do it for him. After a few minutes the boat continues its journey, and the townsfolk walk back along the dock, breaking up into small groups on reaching the main square and then each going his own way.

361 On the square at the end of the dock, at the foot of the
344 main street which leads up the middle hill and out into the

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[128] 5. It should be explained that "convent" in this case is a direct translation from Portuguese. In Portuguese, convent does not have the connotation of being a religious establishment only for women. The word convento is applied to the Franciscans' establishment because the Franciscans are not monks; if they were, their establishment would be called a mosteiro (monastery). In English, Franciscans are known as "friars," and their houses are called "friaries." However, throughout this monograph the direct translation, convent, is used.

country beyond, is a large, colonial, two-story building--the county courthouse (prefeitura), the official center of local county administration. With heavily barred windows on the ground level, it also serves as the county jail. At the top of the hill is a large church, the mother church of the parish of São Roque. On the right, on top of another hill, is the imposing Franciscan convent. The main street of the town is narrow, paved with cobblestones and lined by old colonial houses in various stages of repair. To the left one sees the "beach," which at low tide is an expanse of ugly black mud, typical of the shores of this back part of the bay. The long dugout canoes of the fishermen are anchored there and rest on the bottom when the tide is out.

As the boat sails away and the townspeople go about their business, the streets empty, and a peculiar hush, which is characteristic of Vila Recôncavo, falls over the town. There is an atmosphere not so much of sleepiness and inertia as of decadence, as though life had already passed by. The few people who remain somehow seem to be left over from something in the past. The houses which face the main street are somber, their façades going straight up two stories from the street, their windows shuttered. Some of them are crumbling, the mortar falling away, exposing the stone of which they are built; others are in complete ruin. All of them are turning black from the constant exposure to humid salt air, and moss is growing on the walls where the sun never strikes.

From the top of the hill, in front of the mother church, there is a magnificent view of the Bay of All Saints, and it is easily understood why this place was chosen 332 years ago as the site for a new town. This part of town is the old Vila Recôncavo (see map of town), dating back to a time when the settlement was the only administrative center of inland colonial Bahia. Upon this hill and the one on which the convent stands, the elite of the sugar lands built their town houses called sobrados. Once upon a time these streets with their steppingstones were the scene of colonial opulence, of sedan chairs carried by liveried slaves, of soldiers in uniform, of ladies wearing gloves and carrying parasols. Today this old part of Vila Recôncavo is inhabited by simpler people, the town's upper class, who eke out a living in the local bureaucracy, or as merchants, or as representatives of the state and federal governments. They are quiet, gentlemanly people trying to keep up a semblance of dignity, a feat which becomes more difficult all the time.

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

Vila Recôncavo

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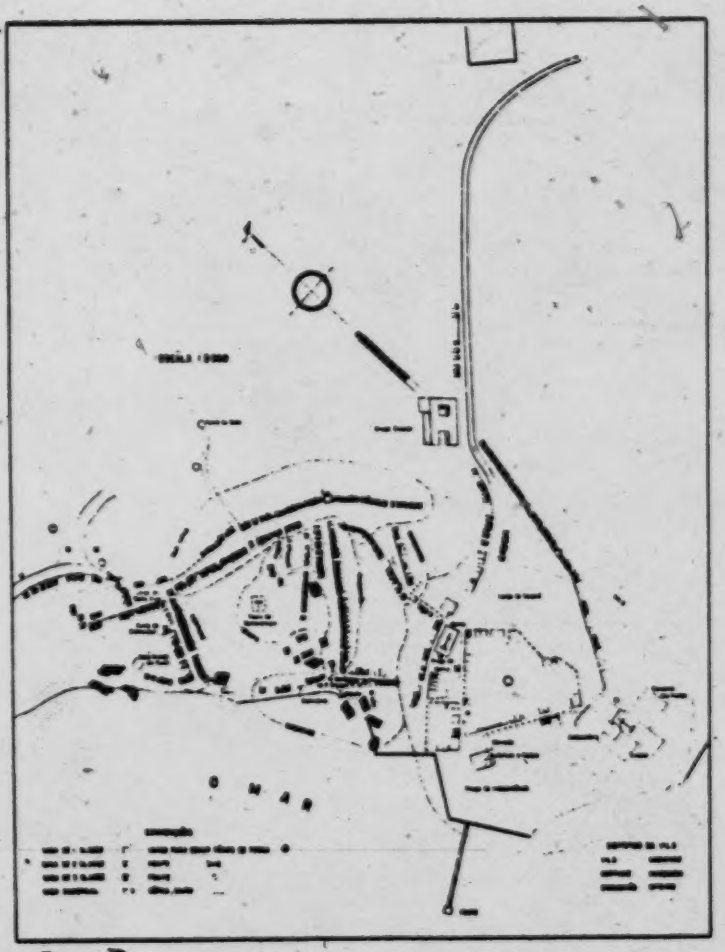

[P. 16]

Map of the town of Vila Recôncavo

To the west, on the third hill, along the "beach," and in the small valleys, there is a different atmosphere. Here, in the Caquende, Boqueirão, Cortume, and Rua Nova (see map of town), there are no sobrados, no signs of former grandeur. The houses are of another style--small, one-story buildings with no air of antiquity about them. Some are made of brick, but most are of mud on a bamboo or mangue frame. Many have been coated with whitewash, some recently and some a long time ago. On the summit of this third hill, the Oiteiro, are the poorest houses of all, one- and two-room mud houses with thatched roofs. Recently in this section there have been some new-style houses built, tipo bangalo (bungalow-type), and there are signs of a growing prosperity among a few enterprising people. These areas of fishermen, of small storekeepers, and of those with crafts such as carpentry, bricklaying, and shoemaking, are the most heavily populated parts of the town of Vila Recôncavo today. According to the old inhabitants of the town, this section was undeveloped sixty years ago, and, to the old people, Vila Recôncavo is still up there on the hill, in the area of the sobrados. Nevertheless, the majority of the stores are in the lower part of town, which even has its own chapel. It is here that the children play although they must go up the hill to school. It is here that there are groups of men gossiping and having a drink of rum. It is here that an attitude of open friendliness prevails, and there are friendly faces at the windows. It is here that the drums beat when the African gods are feted.

The post office, located in the upper part of town, also has a telegraph. Messages go by special telephone to the nearby town of Centro, from where they are sent by wire. There is also a public telephone in the town which has two extensions, one in the house of the mayor and one in the house of the doctor. Other people must go to the telephone office to make or receive calls. The telephone is very uncertain; not only is it frequently impossible to get a call through but often nothing can be heard once the connection is made. From the town it is possible to speak through Centro to Salvador. It is also possible to speak to the sugar factory, and through its switchboard to several of the sugar plantations.

In recent years electricity has been brought to the town, and, in addition to lights on the streets, 78 of the 408 buildings in town have electricity. Of these, twenty-one have radios, and three have electric irons. Only the doctor, the health post, and the bar have refrigerators.

800 health post, and the bar have refrigerators. On Saturday and
546 Sunday nights there is a movie, the same film being shown both nights.

491 There are only two roads leading out of the town. One goes
492 northwest to Centro, following a ridge which leads along the
484 river through a section of poor soil devoted to gardens of manioc and bananas. On horseback it is a trip of approximately two hours to Centro. The other road leads northeast into the sugar-cane fields and to the sugar factory and then continues east, eventually leading to the oil fields of Conselho and out onto the major Bahian artery from Salvador to the interior city of Feira de Santana. The journey from Vila Recôncavo to the main highway takes about four hours on horseback. Although the local road, made during the empire and part of the public domain, is called the "royal road," it is really only one-track dirt. In the summer it affords a hard surface because the hot sun bakes the earth, but during the winter it turns into a river of mud. During the rainy season the layer of clay underneath the topsoil holds the water, turning the roads into practically impassable quagmires. The situation becomes even worse just after the rains end and the surface dries, for when a man or animal breaks through the dried surface and sinks down into the clay the suction created is difficult to overcome. A trip which during the summer takes half an hour on horseback may take from three to four hours in the winter. The horse must pick and choose each step with the utmost care. During these months travel is extremely fatiguing for horses and mules, and frequent changes of mount are necessary. During this part of the year one avoids making an inland journey if possible, and keeps to the waterways.

491 From Usina to Conselho (see map of community), the road
[421] has been recently coated with oil, sand, and broken stone by the Conselho Nacional de Petroleo in an attempt to make an all-weather route. The surfacing has proved fairly satisfactory but very expensive. Although this highway follows the old "royal road," it is owned by the conselho. When a plantation owner of the area wishes to pass over it in his car or jeep, he must secure permission from the conselho office in
[493] Salvador. Nevertheless, in the past year this road has proved a boon to the plantation owners, who can now go back and forth
[484] to their homes in the city in about two hours at almost any time of the year, eliminating the long journey by horseback or canoe to the town of Vila Recôncavo to take the boat. The

The railroad from Salvador to the interior passes about 15 kilometers east of Vila Recôncavo, and the planters situated near it experience the same difficulties of horseback travel when getting the train to go to the city. 496 492

There is no public transportation within the county. The train is so far from the town of Vila Recôncavo that it is not used by the town dwellers. Most of the population walks to wherever it is going, except to Salvador. Few people in town have horses or mules, for there is insufficient pasture nearby. As a result of the poor roads, the townspeople are dependent upon water navigation, a factor which helps to orient them to other towns by the water's edge and discourages communication between the town and the plantations of the interior of the county. At any season, there is little happening in the plantation area to attract the townspeople. On the other hand, people from the plantation come to the town, especially to see the doctor, for a special Mass, or to take the boat to Salvador. They rarely come for the movie, except those few subsistence gardeners (roçeiros) who live nearby, for travel is too difficult. During the dry season almost all transportation of goods is accomplished by an ox-drawn cart (carro de boi) with two large, solid wooden wheels drawn by eight oxen (junta de boi). The cart is driven by a man, and the oxen follow a small boy who walks in front of them. 484 [489] 49 484

The community of Vila Recôncavo comprises an area of some 80 square kilometers in the shape of a semicircle, bounded on one side by water and on the other by a high ridge. This area, which includes the town of Vila Recôncavo, forms a natural as well as a cultural unit. The remaining 100 square kilometers of the county fall into two subregions, one very small area which is oriented toward Centro and Cana-Uba (see map), and another which is strongly oriented toward Salvador. The three areas are drawn together by local administration: police, school system, tax collecting, and the collection of statistics--in other words, by the formal structure of county administration. 131 361 [634]

The 80 square kilometers of the community of Vila Recôncavo are composed almost entirely of thirteen large plantations, eleven of which are devoted to the cultivation of sugar cane. Of the other two, one plants cane on a small scale and rents most of its land to subsistence gardeners, while the second is a summer home, producing nothing. Of the eleven which plant sugar cane, six belong to the sugar factory which 361 249*

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*249 is located at the water's edge on one of the six plantations; three belong to different members of another family related to the sugar factory owners through marriage; one belongs individually to a member of the family owning the factory; and the last one belongs to a nonrelative, a mestiço (person of mixed racial descent), who is socially reticent but considered [871] an astute businessman. Within the area there is also a federal school which has a large expanse of noncultivated land.

361 The pattern of settlement on the plantations is that of a village. The homes of the cultivators are grouped in a cluster apart from the land they work, the point of orientation being the owner's home. "Although the village settlement as represented by the homes of the small-farming classes is hardly to be found in Brazil, the village manner of arranging the population on the land is widely used on the large estates that are prominent throughout the Brazilian countryside. For the most part the fazendas and usinas of Brazil utilized this nucleated form of settlement in their 'quarters' or 'colonies' for the workers who till the crops."[6]

162 The population of the rural zone of the community of Vila Recôncavo is 2,800, of whom 500 live at the sugar factory nucleus; on each of the sugar-cane plantations there are between *249 150 and 200 persons. Traveling about from one plantation nucleus to another, one sees no sign of habitation, for the coun-311 try is devoted to intensified sugar-cane cultivation. Fields of sugar cane, 10 to 20 acres in size, alternate with pastures--fields which are being rested for three or four years. Each private plantation has a section of forest to produce firewood and lumber. The factory plantations, however, for the most part are entirely cleared, as the corporation owns another plantation on the other side of the Recôncavo which is used exclusively for raising and pasturing cattle and for supplying *249 firewood for the large fires of the factory. Land divisions or [423] boundaries are generally long lines of graceful bamboo trees which also supply fence posts. On each plantation can be seen the remains either of the old sobrado or of the antique mill (engenho) or chapel (capela), and in some cases the sobrado is still in good repair and inhabited by the owner.

312 The Recôncavo is not blessed with abundant fresh water. The rivers are few and small, prone to dry up in the hot sum-

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6. T. Lynn Smith, Brazil (Baton Rouge, 1947), p. 396.

mers. However, on almost every plantation there are brick- 312
lined springs from which the inhabitants get their drinking water. Women or children carrying five-gallon cans of water on [482]
their heads, and donkeys carrying four wooden kegs of water, [492]
are common sights along the roads of the Recôncavo. For the
cattle and other livestock of the plantations, drinking places 231
are excavated wherever there promises to be enough water. 312
Frequently, however, these go dry in the summer, especial- [132]
ly during the drought years which occur cyclically in rhythm with the droughts of the sertão. At such times loss of cattle is prevalent, except on plantations situated near one of the small rivers.

A high-voltage electric line passes through this section 377
leading from the generating station further inland to the capital city. Recently most of the plantations have been able to connect with this line, so that at least the owners' houses have electric light. The houses of the workers are without it except at the factory, where the mill supplies its own electric power which is carried to almost all the workers' houses.

There are four state schools and one county school distrib- 871
uted among the plantations. The central school in the town of Vila Recôncavo is not attended by children from the planta-
tions. Two plantations have their own chapels, which are vis- 347
ited at irregular intervals by the priests of Vila Recôncavo. 796
On the other plantations a small altar is set up in the owner's 793
house for special occasions such as Christmas, when the town priest is invited to celebrate the Mass.

There is in the town a medical post with a visiting doctor, 743
a dentist, and several nurses in training, which is administered by a Franciscan lay brother and supported by federal, state, and county funds and by private donations. This post is fairly recent, and its influences are spreading only slowly to the rural area. Also in the town is a small county medical
post run by a resident physician. The sugar factory has a [249]*
dispensary with a nurse and is visited by the town doctor. Al- [752]
most every plantation has its own first-aid equipment, generally in the owner's house.

There are no fairs in the community. There are stores in 543
the town and a large supply store at the factory, run by the 443
corporation, and nearly every plantation has its own small [249]*
store. Major purchases are made at the weekly market in Centro, in the neighboring county. There are also traveling ped-

443 diers (ambulantes) who walk through the area in the summer selling combs, ribbons, jewelry, and perfumes.

561 One of the most important factors influencing the fortunes of
565 the town of Vila Recôncavo is the diversity of attitudes toward
369 it held by different segments of the local population. The most powerful group, although small in number, is that of the plantation and sugar-mill owners. The orientation of this group is polarized between the capital city, Salvador, and the plantations. There is no one living in the town who is included in the same social stratum as these people, and therefore the town is not a social drawing point for them as it might be in the plantation area of the southern United States. Vila does not represent a shopping center for them, and it is not an outlet for their sugar. Since they are so near the capital, business is transacted there rather than in the small rural town with its poor communications. This group as a whole looks upon the town as a decadent and backward place. There is little or no feeling among these people that they should "do something" to improve the town, to which they feel little or no allegiance. Rather, their allegiance is first to Bahia and to their own social class in the state, and second to the Recôncavo, the original seat of that class.

The plantation and sugar-mill workers also disregard Vila to a large extent, generally not considering it worth the effort involved in getting there. For these people the market in Centro and the sugar mill store are the major attractions of the area. Their social life is centered almost entirely within the plantation or at the sugar mill.

The town dwellers themselves have an ambivalent attitude toward their town, for, while they also feel that Vila is backward and without opportunity for personal advancement, they nevertheless consider themselves an urban group in contrast
369 to the plantation workers. Recent improvements in the town,
365 such as the installation of electricity and the introduction of radios, movies, and other electrical appliances, as well as the pavement of the mud streets with cobblestones, have been a great help in alleviating the former forlorn air of the town, once known as the "abandoned" town. The local population still speaks of this earlier state a great deal, almost with the haunt-
[652] ing fear that such conditions might return. The funds for these
[653] public works came from sources outside the county, that is, from grants of money by the state government during the epoch of the interventores, the governors appointed during the dic-

tatorial regime of Getulio Vargas. One of the last of these was a son of the county who wished to leave a permanent remembrance of his family in the town. Most of the work was done by local labor, which brought a certain measure of prosperity to the town. Certainly the appearance of the town changed. New façades were added to many houses; others were freshly painted in gay colors; and some people constructed cement sidewalks in front of their homes. At night the streets are brighter because of the electric street lights (which are turned off at midnight) and because of the rays of bright electric light passing through the cracks of the closed window shutters and doors.

Almost every evening at dusk, however, the electric power of the countryside is shut off for at least an hour because of inadequate generating facilities at the main plant, leaving the countryside and small towns in darkness. At this hour the town returns to its past, and one seems to be in an era one, two, or three hundred years ago. Tiny oil lamps (flfós) are lighted, or an occasional kerosene lamp, the soft and short-reaching rays of which barely penetrate the heavy darkness of the house and do not reach the street. A hush falls over the town during the spell of darkness. All the old fears of shadows, malevolence, and lobishomens (werewolves) return. The family congregates in one room, for no one wants to be alone, speaking softly as though not to break the spell. The streets are suddenly emptied, and the silence is broken only by the occasional forlorn braying of a donkey left wandering outside.

Without light there is no life in Vila Recôncavo. The evening religious service is delayed; the movie is delayed; the bar closes. One thinks of the impermanence of the new prosperity, remembering how quickly the moist salt air can blacken the gayest colored building, how the heavy rains can wash away the foundation of a mud house, how fast the weeds can grow in the cracks of the pavement, and how by the flick of a switch in some faraway place the magical lights are removed. A heavy gloom settles over the town and remains until, as suddenly as they went off, the lights return. Life picks up again, radios blare forth at fullest volume, and Vila Recôncavo once again is grateful for light and life, however impermanent.

Although this is a traditional area, few local people know its history. Only a few can provide historical data going back further than one generation, and even fewer know anything of what lies behind the "glorious past" of Vila Recôncavo, a

814 phrase one hears often but without further elucidation. Although there are many ruins of old town houses and plantations dotting the area and even the town streets, few people can tell anything about them or about their former illustrious owners.
217 Almost no historical documents can be found in the town, as most of the old records have either been destroyed by insects and dampness or burned at intervals when there was no longer room for their storage, or else have come into private hands in small quantities. Most clerical records of the convent and mother church of the parish have disappeared, although undoubtedly some are stored in church archives in Salvador and
[127] Olinda (Pernambuco). Some information was obtained from the office of the justice of the peace, where records go back to 1800 and consist mostly of testaments and inventories and records of a few lawsuits involving property, including slaves.

621 The community of Vila Recôncavo gives the impression of
609 being a large private preserve. The town serves as contact point with the outside. Although the inhabitants of the community frequently leave it for business or visits, it is seldom that a stranger enters the area. There are no facilities in the town or in the rural area to care for one who has no family ties in the community. Going along the roads of the community one can identify practically everyone encountered, if not by name then at least as to where he is from. The higher a person's position on the social scale, the more likely he is to be known by name to a great part of the community. Strangers are probably someone's guests. But the appearance of an unidentified person alone gives cause for speculation.

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1967 8011 Bahia Brazilians 8011
VILA RECÔNCAVO

2. *History of the Town*

A STRANGER newly arrived in the town of Vila Recôncavo might justifiably question the reasons for its existence, since it almost seems to be an island in a vast sea of sugar cane. The daily life of the town dwellers, who are fishermen, artisans, and county officials, apparently has little to do with the rural area. In order to understand the separateness of the town and the rural area, it is necessary to investigate the history of both. For, although Vila Recôncavo now appears to be sharply cut off from the life of the plantations and the sugar mill, it has been in the past closely bound up with the fortunes of the rural landowners and is still directly affected by the rural area. 36 121 [178]

The history of this area began during the governorship of Mem de Sá, which lasted from 1557 to 1574. Mem de Sá was the third governor general of the new Portuguese colony of Brazil. The capital of the colony was the city of Salvador, which was settled successfully in 1549 in the second of two attempts. By the time of Mem de Sá, the back part of the Bay of All Saints remained to be wrested from the Indians to complete the colonization of the Recôncavo, a task to which he dedicated himself and which he accomplished in a few years. As new areas were conquered, the land was divided among the favored few in the form of land grants (sesmarias). Mem de Sá took as his own land grant three and a half leagues of coastline extending four leagues inland, plus two islands. The eastern tip of this land grant is now Vila Recôncavo, and the remainder falls into the county of Purificação. Mem de Sá erected one of the largest and best plantations of the colony here, which "he esteemed as much for its value and income 175

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175 as with pride and love for having made it appear from untamed wilds."[1] After his death the land passed to his son, who died shortly after and left the property to his sister, the Countess of Linhares and wife of Fernando Noronha. Noronha died not too long after, and his wife remarried, again becoming a widow and also losing her own children. At her death in 1618, what had not already been sold of the land was bequeathed to various religious organizations.[2]

It was reported in 1587 that there were fourteen plantations in the area that later became the county of Vila Recôncavo.[3] In 1591 the Franciscans went through the Recôncavo, looking for a place to build a convent. They established a "small hospice" in 1618 on what is now plantation "N" (see map of community). This hospice lasted only two years, for in 1620 the friars returned to Salvador.[4] In 1624 the Franciscans returned to the town, selected a spot of high ground on the shoreline overlooking the Bay of All Saints, and started to construct a chapel and convent. At this time Gaspar dos Reis Pinto was in possession of plantation "N," which included the area chosen by the Franciscans for their construction. In 1633 Gaspar gave 143 square braças (1 braça=6 ft.) to the religious order.[5] With the founding of the convent, the town of Vila Recôncavo received a major impulse, becoming a nucleus for further development.

175 The seventeenth century saw a period of great expansion in
161 the Recôncavo--the erection of many plantations and the in-
567 crease of population, mainly due to the importation of great
634 numbers of African slaves. During this period the first two formal administrative divisions of the Recôncavo were organized. In Vila Recôncavo, a military district created in 1668 was the first formal unit. Troubles with the Dutch in the
712 early part of the century and continuing invasions and sack-
175 ings by pirates led to the necessity of fortifying appropriate
634 places in the Recôncavo, such as the mouths of rivers emp-
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1. J. Wanderley de Araujo Pinho, Testamento de Mem de Sá (Rio de Janeiro, 1941), p. 33.
2. Ibid., p. 19.
3. Gabriel Soares de Sousa, Noticias do Brasil (São Paulo, n.d.), I, Book I, 282.
4. de Araujo Pinho, Testamento de Mem de Sá, p. 54.
5. Ibid.

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tying into the Bay, to protect the plantations situated on river banks, a location in all other respects ideal for sugar mills. Vila Recôncavo was chosen as the site for a battery in 1668 and was given guns and men. It was also necessary to maintain a small fleet of armed ships to help repel pirates. One side of the hill on which the convent is situated, which overlooks the Bay and lies directly at the mouth of the river coming from Centro, is still called the Battery in remembrance of the days when it was part of the old fortifications.

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The second formal administrative unit to be formed was that of the county of Vila Recôncavo. Until 1693 Salvador was the only judicial and legislative center in Bahia. Because of development in the Recôncavo it was thought necessary at this time to create three vilas in the area, this being the term then applied to the administrative centers of counties. Thus in February of 1698 Vila Recôncavo became one of the first organized counties (municipios) in the Recôncavo, a transformation which made it the center of much activity as it was now the seat of local rural government, tax collecting, and justice. Since its creation the county of Vila Recôncavo has shrunk in size as new counties have been established in the Recôncavo. Vila Recôncavo lost part of its land, until in 1945 it retained only 189 square kilometers, less than half its original area.

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Prior to either military or civil divisions, there had already existed religious divisions, or parishes. The parish of São Gonçalo included the town of Vila Recôncavo and much of the hinterland. The mother church (matriz) of the parish was constructed in the town in 1678. It was reconstructed in 1887 by the third Baron of Vila Recôncavo, at which time it had fallen into such disrepair that the reconstruction was a complete renovation. This was done in great simplicity, blotting out most of the former ornateness. Today it is again in need of repair as the plaster is falling off, exposing the still solid stone and cement construction of three-foot-thick walls. Most of the wood in the altars, floors, and inner partitions is rotting away. The outside has turned black from the action of the salt air on the whitewash. For more than forty years the parish has been unable to support a priest, and the duties of caring for the spiritual needs of the parishioners has fallen upon the Franciscans. The church is opened now only for Mass on Sundays, and for occasional missions and weddings throughout the year.

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In 1718 the chapel of the Franciscan convent was replaced

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346 by a large and sumptuous church, in which the first Mass was celebrated in 1722. The magnificence of the church is still present, although the original altars have been replaced by
[532] new ones. Exquisite tiles depicting the life of St. Anthony, to whom the church is dedicated, line the sides of the church. The floors are of marble, and the wooden ceilings are painted
[322] in oils. It is said that the marble and the painted ceilings were brought from Portugal. The woodwork in the choir loft and sacristy is beautifully hand-worked rosewood. The clock in the
[805] bell tower which rings the hour and half-hour is still the town timepiece, its sound reaching far out over the Bay. Under the marble floor, between the altar and the communion rail, are
[764] the tombs of the early families of Vila Recôncavo. The names inscribed on the tombs constitute a roster of families now scattered throughout the nation.

175 It is not known exactly when the Tertiary Order of Franciscans was first formed in Vila Recôncavo, but it too has left
792 its mark on the face of the town, for it constructed another large church and two-story building at the side of the convent.
346 The chronicler of the convent in the early 1900's wrote:

> Of the epoch of the formation of the Tertiary Order and the construction of the church and buildings nothing remains, not a document exists, with the exception of one book, consisting of the elections, offices, and resolutions of the Order. This book was begun in 1853 and ended in 1866. On the ceiling of the church appears the date 1751, in white paint, which seems to be of the original workmanship, and at the side of it can be seen in black paint "repaired in 1844." The lands of the Order are known only through the tradition of the people, since no document exists.[6]

If the date 1751 can be taken as the date of the construction of the church of the Tertiary Order, it can be assumed that the Order existed in Vila Recôncavo some time before this date, at least early in the 1700's. These additions to the convent were the last of the noble constructions in the town of Vila Recôncavo and took place at the end of the town's flourishing period. They were the last public expression of grandeur in the

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6. Author's translation.

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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county and among the first to fall into decline and extinction in the days following the sugar boom. The remaining buildings of the Order are now used for quite a different purpose, which will be discussed later.

The first half of the eighteenth century saw the final flourishing of Vila Recôncavo and the beginning of its fall into obscurity. By 1700 the town was a thriving urban center--the newly created seat of local government, a military post, a highly active religious center, and the scene of the local courts of justice. In addition to large public buildings, imposing private residences dotted the streets, for many of the plantation owners constructed large houses in the town, which they used as stopping places in their journeys to and from their plantations and Salvador. Then as now, however, Vila Recôncavo was not the main center of attraction for the planters and their families, most of whom had houses in the capital where they spent the rainy seasons. Nevertheless, the presence of their large and ornate town houses gave a certain air of distinction and prosperity to the town.

The story of the decline of the town of Vila Recôncavo is symptomatic of what happened to many other towns in the region at a later date. Vilhena connects the decadence of Vila Recôncavo with the creation of the administrative center of Centro in 1727.[7] Until that time Centro had been a sítio (terminal designation for a small town), created in 1608. Toward the end of the seventeenth century the best lands of the Recôncavo, situated in what is now the county of Purificação, came into use as a result of the cessation of Indian attacks and of improvement in the machinery used in the plantations. Sugar mills powered by water no longer held as great an advantage as they had previously; over a hundred years of sugar-cane operation had pretty well stripped the littoral of the firewood necessary for continued high production; and by this time the coastal regions no longer held room for expansion. As the colonists pushed farther inland from Centro they found an abundance of the rich massapê lands and sufficient firewood for the needs of many plantations, and soon the number of inland sugar mills surpassed that of the coast.

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7. Luís dos Santos Vilhena, Notícias soteropolitanas e brasílicas, 1802, ed. Braz do Amaral (Salvador, 1922), p. 502.

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438 Centro, situated on the banks of a navigable river which
175 empties into the Bay in front of the town of Vila Recôncavo,
was in a good position to serve the entire back region of the
361 Recôncavo. As a county it now comprises 1,180 square kilo-
meters. As a port, Centro served two purposes in the early
[634] eighteenth century. A great deal of produce and many persons
[131] passed through it, including the families of sugar-cane grow-
ers from other regions of the Recôncavo; and it also served
[504] as a "gateway to the West" at a time when western Bahia and
Minas Gerais were being opened and the gold and diamond
rushes were in progress. Centro was the end of navigable
[487] waters and the beginning of one of the overland routes lead-
ing to the uplands of the sertão and the mining areas of the
[634] west. As Centro grew, Vila Recôncavo stagnated. In 1833
Centro was made judicial center (cabeça de comarca) of the
district and Vila Recôncavo became part of this judicial dis-
trict, thereby losing its prominence as the center of juris-
diction for the interior zone of the Recôncavo. Commercially,
Vila Recôncavo was soon overshadowed by Centro. In 1802,
Vilhena wrote:

> . . . In Centro there is a great deal of commerce, because of the amount of sugar, tobacco, and the number of distilleries and of Mineiros [miners and people from the state of Minas Gerais] who arrive there. Continuing along the bank of the river one finds Vila Recôncavo, which in spite of enough sugar passing through it, always had a weak commerce, and the town is known among all the others as the town of the least traffic.[8]

He says later:

175 In spite of its antiquity, Vila Recôncavo has few in-
361 habitants, and most of them poor, although through-
438 out the termo there are many good families of noble
people, rich through the products of their large engen-
433 hos, from which they take much and excellent sugar,
the only commerce of that town; in it also there is fish-
ing for a little sardinelike fish called xangó and a large
quantity of good and large shrimp, which is the main

8. Ibid., Letter I, p. 32 (author's translation).

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occupation of the poor people, who sell them after drying in the city of Salvador. . . .[9]

In 1837 Centro officially became a city, and for another hundred years it was the major commercial point of the sugar-Recôncavo. Gradually, however, it fell into the same pattern of decline which continues today in so much of the Recôncavo. In the 1900's a railroad was constructed from Salvador to Feira de Santana; it passed well back of Vila Recôncavo, missing it so far as to be of no aid whatsoever. Although it passed through Centro, the terminal point, Feira, became more important commercially to the state and became the new gateway to the north, west, and south of the state and of the nation. Although Centro is now a large town with a population of some ten thousand people and a weekly market which attracts people from the countryside and the neighboring towns, this is not enough to sustain it. Its port is now comparatively little used for the export of sugar, which in most cases goes directly to Salvador by train from the factories.

The immediate cause for the decay of the town of Vila Recôncavo, and to a great extent that of Centro and of so many other older towns, was the loss of functions after the period of frontier growth. Those towns which had been religious centers lost this function. Military posts were no longer needed, and administrative activities became more restricted as the counties were cut down in size and as the state and federal governments took over more functions, such as schools and health programs. Railroads and trucks have lately reduced the importance of the port towns. The rural towns no longer interest the wealthy rural aristocracy who always dominated and supported them. More rapid transportation has made it possible for this class to move about from plantation or factory to the town or the city and back in one day instead of three, thus removing the need for a town house in which to spend the night. Better transportation has also made it possible for the other classes to go to Salvador easily for shopping, medical purposes, festivals, and visiting. Thus Salvador, because of its nearness and the relative ease of transportation, has taken on many of the functions of the rural

9. Ibid., Letter XIII, p. 501 (author's translation).

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county seats, functions which they would still fulfill if they were farther removed from the state capital.

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Finally, and perhaps most important of all, there has been a population shift in the last half century. New centers of population and industry have appeared in the Recôncavo, and there has been a refocusing of commercial activity but no accompanying administrative reform. The old towns, such as Vila Recôncavo, have remained as county seats to carry on administrative duties and the pretense of being the center of municipal activity. Official statistics indicate a great predominance of rural inhabitants in the Recôncavo. Actually, however, much of the population lives in towns. Although these centers are not officially called towns, their pattern of living is urban and not rural. For example, the district of Richão in the county of Purificação reported in the 1940 census 442 urban and suburban inhabitants, and 9,369 rural inhabitants. This gives no indication of the existence of a large factory town which contains almost nine thousand people.

The older towns may in the long run prove to be more permanent than the newer centers, which for the most part are factory towns, for it is possible that some day in the future the factories may close, causing a complete dislocation. In the meantime towns such as Vila Recôncavo are left out of the new developments, without industry or commerce except what can be done on a small scale, such as fishing or the weekly market. Still known as the formal centers of their counties or districts, they retain their local bureaucratic functions.

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Until the second half of the nineteenth century, the county was the principal community organization, and the town of Vila Recôncavo was the major center of attraction for its county. However, because of developments in the sugar industry, this older community structure began to change. These developments, which will be described in the next chapter, had the effect of further isolating the town of Vila Recôncavo from the main streams of life revolving about the sugar industry, which has always been the major feature of life in the Recôncavo. New developments in the industry caused new community alignments, the end results of which have been to leave the formal administrative centers, such as the town of Vila Recôncavo, out of rural community life to a very great degree. In the next chapter the history of the rural area will be discussed, linking together the town and the rural area.

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3. History of the Rural Area

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THE HISTORY of the development of the rural area of Vila Recôncavo is more or less representative of that of most of the sugar area in the states of Bahia, Alagoas, and Pernambuco, and consists of two major aspects. It is first of all the history of the sugar-cane industry in Brazil, and secondly the social, economic, and political record of the people who grew the cane.

The Bahian Recôncavo occupies a unique position in Brazil, for its history is as long as that of what is today the nation. From 1549 until 1763 Salvador was the capital of the new and prosperous Portuguese colony. The Recôncavo, because of its proximity to Salvador, and because of the excellent transportation facilities provided by the Bay of All Saints, was the only part of Brazil in easy communication with the capital city. Although the governors general were occupied with the settlement of other far-flung places in the colony and with the raiding and pirating of the French, English, and Dutch, their first or at least closest worries were those of settling and exploiting Bahia and its immediate environs. By the end of the first fifty years of activity, most of the Recôncavo had been wrested from the wilderness; and, although not free from molestation by the Indians for many more years, it was rapidly planted in sugar cane. As noted earlier, sugar at this time was a luxury item in Europe and brought a very high price. In the first century of its cultivation sugar cane made the fortunes of many people: the growers, the middlemen, the slavers, and the colonial governors.

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At the start of the colonial period land was given out in the form of grants which originally carried with them the idea of

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423 the responsibility of holders to colonize and develop their
* 249 areas. The grants were as a rule very large, consisting of leagues of land rather than of acres. Only one grant could be made to a family. As a result the son of a man who was a holder of a grant either had to remain on his father's land or had to leave the province and go elsewhere to acquire land.
[425] The only remaining alternative was to forget about land and go into commerce or a profession. However, since the grants were so very large, the original holders were able to break them up, selling or renting parts, giving some to their married sons or daughters and yet retaining and cultivating enough to support themselves. Thus the original land grants were broken up, and several plantations were made of each.

175 Engenho was the name given to the total plantation, as well
* 249 as being the specific designation for the mill itself. Every
313 plantation, regardless of whether it was inland or on the coast, needed two things: the soil known as massapê, and woods as close as possible to the mill to supply firewood for boiling the
[185] sugar-cane juice. Firewood soon became a crucial problem, one which has haunted the sugar industry for centuries. Conservation never was a Brazilian practice, and the tropical forests of the Recôncavo were soon stripped to feed the hun-
[435] gry mouths of the furnaces. As time went on it became necessary to import firewood by boat from wherever it could be
[376] found, which added greatly to the costs of producing sugar. The steam mill came much later and added further to the problem.

175 At first the owner's house was a veritable fort, surrounded
* 249 by bulwarks and stockades to resist Indian attacks, but by the end of the seventeenth century the need for this precaution had
342 passed away and the plantation houses were assuming noble
361 proportions. Many were imposing two-story buildings built of stone and mortar, the ground level generally being used as a storehouse and the master (senhor de engenho) and his family living on the upper floor. As a rule the Big House of the Recôncavo was situated so that there would be an excellent view from the windows, not only of the mill and slave quarters nearby but of the surrounding countryside. There was no sight so dear to the heart of a plantation master as that of fields of sugar cane, the leaves of many shades of green waving gently in the breeze.

175 Frequently a chapel was connected with the house or built
* 249 near it. Not very far away would be the mill, and nearby the
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2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 S011 Bahia Brazilians S011
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slave quarters. The entire unit formed a small village, for each plantation needed many specialists--carpenters, ironsmiths, bricklayers, coopers, sailors, fishermen, a barber, tailor, cowboy, chaplain--in addition to those whose trade was that of making sugar. In the morning the agricultural workers, cutters, and drivers went out to work in the fields, returning later in the day. Because of the size of the plantation and the number of its slaves--which frequently reached two or three hundred--the casa grande, settled among its royal palms and overlooking the mill, the slave quarters, the chapel, and other buildings, took on a distinct village appearance. 175 249* 361 [463] [567]

The owner and absolute ruler of these domains was the senhor de engenho, a title which became a symbol of wealth and later of nobility. The senhor de engenho dominated Bahia, and indeed all of the sugar-producing area of Alagoas and Pernambuco, for many years, socially and politically, until sugar was surpassed in importance by other crops and industries. Even much later, however, when sugar was less profitable and other activities surpassed it in economic importance to the nation, the plantation master was still a prominent figure, at least in northeastern Brazil. 175 249* 554 565*

Each unit was a complete entity in itself, with its sobrado, chapel, mill, slave quarters, slaves, cane fields, pastures, oxen, and forest land. The pattern for the Recôncavo plantation was set in the early years. Today many of the original boundary lines still exist, and the plantations have often kept their original names. In addition to cultivating several units of 700 to 1,000 acres within the land grant, the owner also often rented smaller parcels of land to lavradores--free individuals who with a few slaves cultivated a small amount of sugar cane which they sent to the plantation to be milled and made into sugar. These people were the nearest approach to small-scale farmers in the Recôncavo; however, they did not own their own land and were completely dependent upon the plantation master. There are many sad tales of small farmers who were cheated by the master and virtually became his slaves. They had to send their cane to his mill and often were told the cane was dry, or sour, or that less had been sent than they recorded. In all this it was necessary to take the word of the plantation's bookkeeper. There was no court of appeals--only the master, who represented law, order, and justice in the Recôncavo. 175 249* 361 [178] 175 249* 427 565*

As time went on the aspect of the sesmaria was lost, and the plantation complex became the principal characteristic. [178]

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the plantation complex became the principal characteristic. Marriages between the families of plantation owners brought new alignments of property, some families acquiring more land and others losing it through the natural processes of the marriage and growth of parts of families and the dying out of others. Family became increasingly important. As a rule the conjugal family was large and the extended family enormous; marriages between cousins, uncles, nieces, and other relatives were common. Social life was carried on between neighboring plantations, and of course many marriages took place as a result of these contacts, so that it was not infrequent to find many plantations, both contiguous and scattered, owned by the same family. As a rule each extended family had its traditional plantation as a sort of home base, and the head of the family frequently resided there, although not always. The patriarch was generally granted great respect and prestige by the members of his family, both far and near.

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Many who received land grants were the noblemen of the province, and many of them were representatives of the government. In this way the plantation master was securely establishing himself and his family not only in the Recôncavo but also in the governmental hierarchy, and was often in a position to see that the government action did not adversely affect the interests of the sugar-cane growers. At any rate, for several centuries social and political domination was in the hands of a small group which gradually intermarried, always strengthening itself. Its members were, first and foremost, the landowning gentry; next in importance were professional people such as lawyers, doctors, clerics, educators, and politicians. Members of this group were also soldiers, and in the War of Independence in 1822 the plantation masters of Vila Recôncavo took a foremost part both personally and financially, for which many were later honored by having royal titles bestowed upon them.

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As the small rural towns, and later the counties, grew, they also fell under the domination of one or several plantation masters. Not infrequently a feud would arise between two families to determine which was to be the dominant one. As the plantation master prospered, he showed his wealth and power with a degree of ostentation which was commented upon by travelers and chroniclers of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. The ruins of houses built at this time can be seen today scattered throughout the coastal northeast.

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These houses (solares, or sobrados) were enormous, constructed of stone and mortar, with wooden floors and ceilings. Stone and wood were themselves a sign of wealth, since it was necessary to bring them from a great distance. The furniture was often of handworked rosewood. Affluence was especially shown in table service of silver, porcelain, and crystal, most of which was imported from Europe. Members of the families frequently dressed in fine damask silks and were adorned with fine jewelry of gold and precious stones. It was not unusual for the plantation master to dress a few of his favorite slaves almost as well as his family and to parade them to church as an indication of his wealth. Another method of demonstrating wealth was the support of churches, especially that of the Tertiary Order of Franciscans.

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The plantation master eventually lost his prominence. When the capital of the colony was moved from Bahia to Rio de Janeiro in 1763 he was no longer so politically powerful, except locally, for there was too much distance between him and the new capital. Transportation was poor and communication still poorer. Also, other crops--namely coffee, cotton, rubber, and finally cacao--became more valuable than sugar. The abolition of slavery in 1888 was the final blow to the power of the plantation master.

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It was usually admitted that the greatest wealth or source of wealth of the plantation master was his slaves. At first the Portuguese colonists tried to enslave the Indians and put them to work on the sugar plantations, but the Indians sickened and died off easily. There was also great opposition, on the part of the Jesuits, to the enslavement of Indians. The importation of African slaves seemed to be the solution. From the middle of the sixteenth century until about the middle of the nineteenth century ships plied back and forth from Bahia to the west coast of Africa, carrying tobacco, leather, and rum to be traded for slaves. The African slave always brought a higher price in the market in Bahia than did the Indian slave. It was considered that a normal plantation or mill of a thousand acres needed approximately two hundred slaves, divided among the fields, the mill, the various skills, and the house of the owner. In the nineteenth century the procurement of slaves became increasingly difficult as a result of European, North American, and even Brazilian opposition to slavery. In the mid-nineteenth century the slave trade was officially prohibited and the traffic became clandestine. The prices of slaves soared at this

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*249 time and remained high until the 1888 decree which ended slavery completely. Before this time there had already been a great deal of manumission.

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571 In fact, it is distinctive of the entire region that the relations between the whites and the slaves were relatively warm and intimate. Gilberto Freyre describes the intimacy between the moleque (little Negro boy) and the master's son as playmates, between the master's wife and her domestics, between the Negro nursemaid and her white charges, between Negroes and whites in other close relationships on these plantations. A good deal of race mixture occurred. It is still a joke in this region to say that a particular plantation owner "populated the area."

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[654] The crises through which the sugar industry passed during its four-hundred-year history are interesting and worthy of consideration. During the first fifty years of production (until early in the seventeenth century), the sugar industry prospered and expanded. It was a "period of formation, official protection, and government stimulation, during which the liberties of production, transportation, prices and commerce suffered little or no restrictions."[1] The seventeenth

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648 century, however, was full of crises, one of the greatest being the war with Holland. In 1624 the Dutch attempted to capture Bahia but were repulsed. However, they sailed along the shores of the Bay of All Saints, burning and sacking plantations and setting fire to the cane fields. In the north the Dutch succeeded in capturing Pernambuco, which they retained for twenty-four years, also engaging in the production of sugar. In 1644 the Dutch governor, Maurice of Nassau, was recalled to Holland, and the colony was left undirected. The Brazilians revolted and recaptured Pernambuco.

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[458] In 1666 there was an epidemic of smallpox in the Recôncavo which reduced the slave population and left many plantation owners without laborers. There followed a period of near-famine for some years, due to the lack of food-plant cultivation. While this situation continued, plantation masters frequently mortgaged their plantations in order to buy new

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1. J. Wanderley de Araujo Pinho, Historia de um engenho do Recôncavo, 1552-1944 (Rio de Janeiro, 1946), p. 193. The following three paragraphs are a condensation of the material contained in pp. 193-220 (author's translation).

slaves and equipment. Thus began a long series of mortgages which continued for several centuries. The commercial agents in the city, for the most part representatives of Portuguese companies, loaned money to the plantation owners, using the next crop as collateral. They also charged high interest rates. When the next crop did not materialize, nor the next, the plantation owners found themselves inextricably in debt. At the same time the sugar market in Portugal was lost because the sugar was arriving there in a spoiled condition due to poor transportation, a cargo at times taking two years to arrive at its destination. Furthermore, the prices of most necessities were rising, and, in addition, Portugal began to tax the colonists heavily. 175 249* 426 458

In the early 1700's there was a more prosperous phase, due to higher prices for sugar in Europe. Many plantations were reconstructed, enlarged, and modified, and new ones were built. As a result many people went into debt again. During the eighteenth century two major factors turned against the prosperity of the sugar-cane growers: competition in the European market with the French, Spanish, and British, who were now producing sugar on their Caribbean islands; and the discovery of gold in the western part of Brazil. Sugar could be shipped to Europe more rapidly from the Caribbean than from Brazil. It was subject to less spoilage, and there was also probably less governmental interference. As soon as the European market was flooded with sugar, the price fell. 175 249* 458 [426]

The discovery of gold in Minas Gerais further dislocated the sugar industry of the Recôncavo at the time when it could least afford it. The prices of slaves, metals, cloth, cattle, horses, and all the necessities of life increased. Many of the freemen who worked in the plantations in administrative capacities were enticed away to the mines by the promise of great wealth. The need for slaves at the mines was great, and traders who sold slaves preferred to sell them to the miners, who could pay cash, rather than to the plantation owners, who frequently paid in sugar. During this time there was also a serious shortage of foodstuffs, for many of the smaller farmers who normally raised food crops emigrated to Minas Gerais. 175 249* 433 458

The agriculturalists--those who planted tobacco as well as those who planted sugar--were still being pressed by high taxes. There are many letters and documents from the governing bodies of the colony, addressed to the Portuguese king, telling him of the deplorable situation in which sugar planters 175 249* 458 648 651

175
*249 found themselves, with no food, their slaves dying, the price
458 of sugar falling, the markets lost, and, especially, overbur-
648 dening taxes. Most of the documents which remain are pessi-
651 mistic ones, for during the times of prosperity little was writ-
ten. At any rate, late in the eighteenth century some measures were taken to lighten the burden of taxation and to provide better means of transportation to Europe than the irregular system of fleets which were frequently spaced two and three years apart. As a result, many plantation owners took heart and applied themselves again to the raising of sugar cane. They were further aided by an increasing market in Europe, which finally became almost entirely theirs at the turn of the century, as a result of the European wars.

175
*249 By the end of the Napoleonic wars sugar production was at
458 its best, and Bahia was once again experiencing a pleasurable
669 prosperity. However, 1822 brought the War of Independence,
[731] much of it fought in the Recôncavo. The war was supported to a great extent by the plantation masters, both financially and physically. Although they gained a great deal of prestige, they lost two harvests, and their exports fell off greatly. It took them some time to recuperate, and in 1855 they suffered another violent blow, an epidemic of cholera.

175
*249 An indication of the difficulties caused by the epidemic is
458 given in the following passage, translated from a document in
731 the inventory of the Baron of Caju made upon the death of his wife, a victim of cholera:

> The family was in a good state of animation and prosperity in 1855, when the fatal epidemic of cholera morbus wasted this Province, invading the home of the Inventoried and causing him horrible damages and enormous losses! The Baroness fell victim to this voracious scourge! Eighty-two of the most valuable and useful slaves had the same fate; the best expediencies, treatment, and vigilant care were of no effect! Almost the entire harvest of this fatal year was lost in the complete absence of field hands, for the number not stricken was small, and the others, convalescents, were truly specters! The harvests of 1856 and 1857 also suffered.

438
175 Soon afterwards a new phase began when the Civil War
*249 started in the United States, sending up the price of sugar
[458] and increasing the market. Some years after this a disease
[731]

struck the sugar cane itself, and production again dropped greatly. At the same time, coffee began to attract attention in São Paulo and the few slaves for sale were sent there, where they commanded a higher price, thereby causing a shortage of workmen in the Recôncavo. In 1888 a final blow was the abolition of slavery. Production dropped to a new low, and the twentieth century was entered during what was called the gravest crisis the industry had ever experienced.

During the late nineteenth century there were several attempts to better the machinery used in the fabrication of sugar. New methods were introduced from abroad, and at the turn of the century the usina made its first appearance on the scene. The usina represents the large-scale central factory, designed to mill the cane of many plantations, thereby raising the total sugar production.[2] The state government took a hand and financed the construction of three factories which were given to various individuals as concessions. There was an effort to revive the industry on a different and stronger basis. At the same time, however, the Recôncavo, as well as other parts of Brazil, felt the pull of the rubber boom in the Amazon and lost some of its manpower. But once again a European war came to the rescue, and during the second and third decades of this century the sugar industry prospered. Many factories were erected, and there was a definite feeling of optimism, which ended abruptly in 1929 and 1930 as a result of prolonged overproduction. In 1933 the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol was established by the national government to regulate production. The new regulations caused dissatisfaction and disputes, and production fell off sharply, only to rise again after World War II when many of the restrictions imposed by the institute were lifted. At the present time the Recôncavo seems to be experiencing a mild phase of affluence.

It is the introduction of the large-scale central factory which holds the most interest for us in this recital of crises, for it was this innovation which brought the maximum amount of change to the town and the entire community structure.

The factory was conceived of as a large mechanised mill,

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2. Hereafter, the word "factory" will be used to designate the usina; wherever the word "factory" appears it should be understood to mean sugar-cane milling factory, unless otherwise qualified. (Editor's note.)

175 located in a position where it could grind the cane of many
178 plantations. The two aspects of the sugar industry, the agri-
*249 cultural and the industrial, were to be separated. The cane
was to be planted, cultivated, and harvested by one group of
people; these were the former plantation masters, who under
the new system became simply suppliers of sugar cane (for-
[473] necedores de cana) to the mill. The cane was then milled,
processed, and marketed by another group of people, a cor-
porate body which became personified as the usineiro.

175 However, this division did not last long, for the modern up-
to-date machinery of the new factories proved capable of
*249 grinding more cane than the planters were supplying. Because
473 of their poor financial conditions and loss of laborers due to
the abolition of slavery and the consequent resettlement of
433 the former slaves, the planters were not able to expand their
sugar-cane production enough to meet the demands of the
factories. In other cases the planters resented the new fac-
tories and simply refused to cooperate, continuing to oper-
ate their outmoded mills in spite of adverse conditions. As
a result, the corporations began buying plantations of their
own, situated as near their mills as possible, in order to as-
sure themselves of a larger supply of cane, and to lessen their
dependence upon the individual planters.

175 There was an epoch when the hunger for land seemed insa-
*249 tiable. The usineiros not only had funds at their disposal which
could be used for the purchase of land, but also had the means
425 of forcing individual planters to sell their land to the corpora-
473 tion. By refusing to mill the cane of the planter, or by taking
his cane and then letting it sour, and by various other meth-
ods, the usineiros were able to force many planters into bank-
ruptcy, after which the corporation bought the land. Also,
many planters who continued to depend upon their own efforts,
producing sugar in their old-style mills, gradually went into
bankruptcy, since they could not compete with the improved
product of the new factories.

175 In effect the factory system in Vila Recôncavo is an enlarged
* 249 agricultural-industrial combination, an engenho enlarged many
times over. The ownership pattern has changed; whereas the
473 engenho was owned by a family, and therefore subject to trans-
fer on the death of the owner, the usina is a corporation, which
continues despite the death of stockholders. As will be shown
[178] later, however, the corporation may even be a family. The
plantation master, owner of lands and of slaves and ruler of

small empires, disappeared. But in his place an even more powerful figure appeared, the usineiro, the land-factory combination director and representative of corporate power. 175 249* 473

However, not all private plantations succumbed to pressure from the factories or to economic collapse. There are many which still continue to plant and cultivate sugar cane and send it to the factory for milling. After 1933 the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol prescribed the amount of sugar cane each plantation, whether private or corporate, could produce, and indicated the total amount of sugar each factory could produce and how much cane it had to accept from each plantation. As a result of this protection, many private plantations continue to function in equilibrium with the factory to which they send their sugar cane. The private plantation owners also have a separate association which looks after their interests. [178] 175 249* 433 [656]

Thus the twentieth century has seen the introduction and development of the factory system and in its wake a series of fundamental changes. The growth of factory towns (the usina nuclei) has created further competition for the older county seats, such as the town of Vila Recôncavo, and further disintegration of the former community structure. 175 249* 178

Since its discovery and settlement, the rural area of Vila Recôncavo has been the scene of sugar-cane planting and sugar making. The rural area was settled before the town of Vila Recôncavo, and the plantation nuclei were actually self-sufficient small towns in themselves. The landowning pattern in this rural area has gone full cycle. First were the large land grants which were then split up into separate engenhos (after 1889 known as fazendas) through division due to inheritance, sale, or donation. For about three hundred years the pattern of the area was that of the engenho. However, at the end of the nineteenth century, this way of life came to an end as a result of financial crises and the abolition of slavery. The twentieth century has seen the introduction of the factory, which has led to a concentration of lands again under single ownership, although this time corporate and not that of a single individual or family. 175 178 249* 423

During the epoch of the plantations there was a necessity for the existence of the town to serve the needs of the landowning class. The community during this time was focused to a large extent toward the county seat. But with the abolition of slavery, the disappearance of the plantation master and his large family, and the coming of the factory, the former com- 175 178 249* 621

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*178
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621

munity structure began to break up. The corporations gradually acquired plantations which became commercial enterprises. The Big House was no longer the home of a master and the scene of his family life and social activities. The top level of the social strata partially disappeared, and those who were left to do the agricultural work looked now to the factory for their instructions and pay, to the new factory store for supplies, and to the chalet of the usineiro as the new senhor and patron. The owners of single plantations who joined the factory networks also began to look to the factory nucleus for social life, for buying supplies, and for selling their cane and receiving their money.

Thus each factory slowly became the focus of a new community structure, composed of the nucleus--the factory, the store, and the director's and workers' houses--surrounded by the corporation plantations, each of which still preserves the former plantation pattern of settlement, plus the private plantations, which are little changed in appearance from the days of the engenho. The factory towns, however, did not take over the formal functions of the county seats. In fact, rarely have factory towns received formal recognition as towns by the government. For the most part the factory nuclei appear on official records only as plantations.

Because of the growth of the factory and its surrounding network of plantations, the new community structures of the Recôncavo have taken on almost circular appearances. Vila Recôncavo demonstrates this well. In the spaces between the circles which represent factory systems, may be found the old formal administrative towns, with little of the influence or attraction that they once had. And yet they are bureaucratically important to the functioning of the county. As a result of this breakup of the old community structure, a process which is still going on, there is now no definite, clear-cut community center in Vila Recôncavo.

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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Migrant sugar-cane workers, late afternoon

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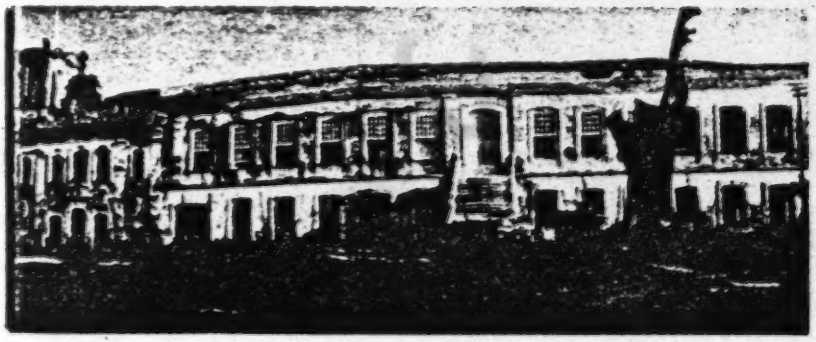
249*



[P. 45]

Big House and chapel, symbol of the past

4. Plantation Life

* 249 178 THE GOLDEN AGE of the sugar industry was typified by the plantation complex, which was accompanied by a definite way of life. The final breakdown of this complex came at the end of the nineteenth century with the creation of the large central mill. Changes in the agricultural practices, however, have only begun to take place. Almost all the emphasis of change in the past was placed on the development of the technical aspects of processing the cane, and very little attention was given to the agricultural side of the industry.

* 249 361 178 [464] Modern plantations continue to be relatively self-sufficient units, just as the engenhos were. The factories brought almost no change in the land settlement patterns of the area. Since they were established on the site of former plantations, they did not create new nuclei; rather, they simply enlarged the old centers. Some of the former slave population moved to those factories which needed more workmen. But in subsequent years there was a gradual resettlement of the former slaves on the old plantations, in the same locations and even at times in the same buildings.

The disappearance of the small smokestacks of many plantation mills and the appearance of the more widely scattered but far larger ones of the factories, together with the appearance of networks of narrow gauge railways radiating out from the factories, mark the major changes in the landscape of the Recôncavo. The outlines of the new plantations and their boundaries remain much the same as they were a hundred or more years ago. The former small mills are frequently still used as workshops and sheds for the oxcarts.

The following discussion will examine one of the five pri-

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[The Private Plantation]

The following discussion will examine one of the five private plantations in the community of Vila Recôncavo and will then describe the network of factory plantations in the same community. 128

The Private Plantation: Fazenda das Moças

472

The Fazenda das Moças ("G" on map of community) is typical of a privately owned plantation in all respects but one. Its owner is a lady who assumed active direction of the plantation after her husband's death. At first there was some difficulty in persuading the overseer of the plantation to take orders from a woman, for he felt his prestige was lowered in the eyes of the workmen as well as the overseers of neighboring plantations. However, after three or four years, Dona Sinhá, in cooperation with "Seu"[1] Paulo, the overseer, has made an outstanding success of her plantation, and the original friction between the two has greatly diminished. Below is an inventory of the Fazenda das Moças: 249* 562 466 [558]

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Extent: 930 tarefas,[2] mostly of massapê, 450 of which are under sugar-cane cultivation, the rest consisting of pasture and small gardens 423

Water: 4 drinking tanks for livestock
2 small freshwater streams
(Drinking water must be brought from a neighboring plantation, which has a spring well known in the area for the salubrious qualities of its water.) [312]

Houses: 45 workers' houses [342]
Owner's house, with living room, dining room, 4 bedrooms, kitchen, bathroom, 2 maids' rooms, 2 other dependencies, veranda; surrounded by orchard
1 overseer's house
1 house formerly used as a school

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1. "Seu" is a corruption of Senhor and is a title often given to persons of some prestige. [576] [554]

2. The tarefa is the unit of land measurement used in Bahia. It equals 900 square braças. The braça equals 6 feet, which gives the tarefa 32,400 square feet. This is 11,160 square feet less than one acre. [804]

[The Private Plantation]

*249
[+23]
[435]

1 new, rural school, with rooms for classes and living quarters for teacher, constructed by the state on land donated by Dona Sinhá

Value of the plantation: Cr$1,500,000,00.[3]

*249
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Equipment: 1 Caterpillar tractor, model D2
1 John Deere plow
1 jeep
2 four-wheeled, rubber-tired wagons
9 juntas of oxen (the junta equals ten oxen, eight in use and two resting)
9 two-wheeled carts drawn by oxen--the antique and most used transportation in the Recôncavo
30 burros for carrying cane
12 saddle horses
35 milk cows and breeding mares
78 cattle for breeding purposes

*249
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[493]
[177]
[412]
[461]

The Fazenda das Moças is unusual in its possession of a tractor, a mechanical plow, and a jeep. (Even more recently a second tractor and a mechanical cultivator have been added.) More commonly the pai adão (Father Adam) plow is used, drawn by eight oxen. According to Pinho the plow was introduced into Brazil in the late eighteenth century. Before this all cultivation was done with the hoe.[4] For the past 150 years the pai adão has been used primarily to open the rows in which the sugar cane is planted. All the rest of the cultivation is done by hand, with the hoe and billhook. The pai adão is a simple plow with a single plowshare. When it is drawn by oxen, a driver is needed, plus a small boy helper and another man to manage the plow. When it is drawn by tractor, only two men are needed, the driver and the plowman. Various properties of the soil, such as its hardness in the summer when it dries, its swamplike character during the rainy season, and the danger of turning up the infertile tauá which underlies the shallow layer of massapê, have made plowing difficult in the Re-

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[436]

3. The cruzeiro (Cr$) is the Brazilian monetary unit and equals roughly five cents in United States currency. Thus the value of the plantation is approximately $75,000.00.

4. de Araujo Pinho, Historia de um engenho do Recôncavo, 1522-1944 (Rio de Janeiro, 1946), p. 243.

[The Private Plantation]

côncavo. So far only the pai adão has been able to fulfill the plowing requirements. Lately, however, tractors with caterpillar tread have been introduced and, when used carefully with disk plows, have given excellent results. But the old standby is still commonly in use, hitched to eight, ten, twelve, or as many as twenty oxen.

The owner's house with its park stands on a small hilltop and is visible from afar because of its imperial palms. Nearby, on another hilltop, is the settlement of workers, a long street with houses on either side, the barracks, a small store, and the ever-present casa de farinha, the house where manioc is always being ground, pressed, and roasted to make the farina which is the staple food of the area. Also on this street is the overseer's house, which stands out from the others because of its large size and its veranda. The houses of the workmen are small and built for the most part under one long, common roof. Each house is really an apartment consisting of a front living room and a long corridor going back to the kitchen, with one or two bedrooms leading off the corridor. Other houses, under separate roofs, have similar interior arrangements. The roofs are of red tiles, the rest of the house of clay mud (taipa) slapped on both sides of a bamboo framework. After the mud has dried a coat of whitewash is applied. The houses are built and kept in repair by the plantation owner and do not belong to the workers. The floors are of beaten earth, difficult to keep clean. At night, when only a tiny oil lamp is burning, the houses look dark and gloomy.

After dark one has the impression of hearing much more than one can see. Kerosene is expensive to burn, no one reads, and most of life is geared to doing in the daytime those tasks which require light. At night the workmen and their families sit in the dark talking, or perhaps go to the casa de farinha where a fellow workman and his family may be grinding their manioc. This building is softly lit with kerosene lamps and there is a cheerful glow from the roasting fire. More recently the overseer's house has been equipped with electricity, and now it is always well lighted at night. His new radio has become a center of attraction and small groups form about his veranda, listening. At the other end of the street, during harvest time, there is always a bonfire in front of the barracks where the migrant workers are sheltered. On special occasions there may be a samba (dance), perhaps in the plantation owner's house. Then everyone dons his best and the

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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*249 Then everyone dons his best and the
517 women dance while the men play the drums, tambourines, and
535 cavaquinhos (a ukelelelike instrument) or simply stand around
534 watching, gossiping and "passing the branquinha" (the local white rum).

273 There is a hierarchy of personnel on the plantation, which starts with the owner, Dona Sinhá, and her family. On other
*249 plantations the owner is also sometimes a lawyer, doctor, or
463 engineer whose main interests, both economic and social, are in the city of Salvador. This is not always the case, however, for many owners are only rural proprietors, as is Dona Sin-
[221] há. But it is always considered a sacrifice to be obliged to spend the winter on one's plantation. It has been a traditional prerogative of the plantation master to spend the winter in the city, and it is one of the traditions kept up today by the planters. However, as soon as the rains show signs of abating in August or September, Dona Sinhá appears on the scene, generally grateful for her release from the city and from the round of anniversaries, parties, and official functions she feels called upon to attend while there.

This aspect of partial absenteeism has given rise to the next rung in the hierarchical ladder: the overseer. As such he is a relatively new phenomenon, but he has actually been part of the scene for a long time. At the time of the engenho, the feitor-mor, or head foreman, frequently occupied the place of today's overseer. Seu Paulo is the focal point for most activities on Fazenda das Moças. It is he who puts into action Dona Sinhá's plans, for he has the greatest contact with the workers in the fields and at home, on the arruado (the street on which the houses are located). During the time Dona Sinhá is away he is ruler of the plantation (dono da terra).

*249 Seu Paulo rose from the workers' ranks; he is familiar with
463 all aspects of sugar-cane cultivation, and is able to handle
159 men and to deal with the owner as well as with the workers. He is a dark mulatto, about forty-six years old, with a large family. He is sought after by the workers as godfather to their children. He rents a small piece of land on which he raises his own sugar cane. He has his own burros, oxen, and carts, which he rents to Dona Sinhá during the harvest season. Although unable to read or write, he can do figures in his head in an astounding fashion. He dresses well, in what is sometimes thought to be an attempt to imitate the plantation master of bygone days, while Dona Sinhá and her family have adopted a more comfortable garb for the country--"modo ameri-

[The Private Plantation]

cano." He spends most of his day in the saddle, riding from one point of operation to another; going to the sugar mill to straighten out this or that matter, such as the nonappearance of railroad cars at the plantation loading point; caring for the troubles of the workers; and looking to his own interests. 249* 463 159

Below these two figures of authority is a salaried man who stands only slightly apart from the bulk of the workers, the foreman (feitor), Asclepiades. It is his duty to keep track of how much work is done each day and by whom. He walks about the plantation, from field to field, measuring with the six-foot stick he carries and marking down in his notebook the amount of work done by each man. The plantation laborers are paid according to how much each of them weeded, or planted, or to how many tons of cane each cut or conducted to the factory. Asclepiades writes it down in his little black book, and it appears on the daily work sheet which in turn is transferred to the fortnightly payroll. During harvest time the records of who was the driver and who the guide, of how much sugar cane was cut and by whom, are kept at each end of the plantation where the carts must pass to be weighed before the cane is transferred to the factory. It is Seu Paulo's duty every morning to assign tasks to the workmen, while Asclepiades keeps track of how much is done but does not see that it gets done, for this is the duty of the overseer. The foreman is paid a monthly salary of one thousand cruzeiros, and although he does not occupy the position of prestige which the overseer has there is always the chance that he may become an overseer either on that plantation or on another. 249* 463 465

There is one other salaried person on the plantation--the cowboy (vaqueiro) João who receives four hundred cruzeiros a month, plus room and board. João takes care of the cattle, milk cows, and saddle horses. He must also inspect the fences constantly and report any breaks, and whenever possible retrieve animals which have broken out of the pasture and wandered into the cane fields, where they cause great damage. As a rule the pastures are fenced, as are new cane plantations, but the established cane fields are left unguarded. Fences do not last more than one season, for the posts rot because of the wet soil, and the barbed wire rusts quickly. João is also the constant companion of the plantation owner when she is present, accompanying her or her children or guests on pleasure rides, meeting the train or boat with horses for guests or business acquaintances, and getting the mail from the post office in 249* 463 233 249* 463

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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*249 463 [578] [466] the town of Vila Recôncavo. João lives in the owner's house, enjoying her confidence to a greater degree than anyone else except perhaps the overseer. This is frequently the cause of friction between the cowboy and overseer, and this fact is not helped by the fact that João is an inlander (sertanejo), a true cowboy, taciturn and independent, from the cattle country to the north of Recôncavo. When Dona Sinhá is away, he occupies a different position, subject to the orders of Seu Paulo unless Dona Sinhá has left definite instructions for him. When Dona Sinhá is present he receives orders directly from her, bypassing the overseer. João is in a position to check on much of the plantation activity, bringing to the owner's attention any necessary works forgotten by Seu Paulo.

*249 464 162 Below the owner, overseer, foreman, and cowboy are the bulk of the resident workmen (moradores). On the Fazenda das Moças, there is a population of slightly over two hundred men, women, and children, providing a working force of between sixty and seventy men and boys, plus a few women who occasionally do light work in the fields.

*249 46 465 Below is an extract from one of the fortnightly pay sheets of the plantation. A brief explanation of the list, beginning at the top, will give a good idea of at least a part of the work on a plantation in this community. The "second weeding of a cane field" indicates that the man worked in a field which had already been weeded once since planting. Depending upon the amount of sunshine and rain and the quality of the weeding done, a field may have to be weeded as many as seven times between harvests. A cane field (taboleiro) varies from ten to twenty tarefas, and each field is numbered. Seu Paulo can therefore assign a man to weed a certain field, and they will both know whether it is the first, second, third, or other weeding. The weedings become progressively more difficult so that the amount paid per unit increases with the number of weedings. Weeding constitutes one of the major expenditures on Fazenda das Mocas, as it is done slowly with a hoe. As with all other tasks on the plantation, there is a set price for this work.

"Carrying seed" indicates the transference of bundles of tops of sugar-cane stalks from a field where they are cut to another where they are planted. The amount paid per trip increases with the distance the man must travel between fields. As a rule, several fields of cane are planted to be used exclusively for seed. The next item on the list, "cutting seed,"

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Ricardo Teixeira	2nd weeding of cane field	13 1/2	braças*	at	Cr$ 3,50	Cr$ 47,25
Julio Bispo	digging drainage ditch	30	meters	at	1,50	45,00
Paulo Manoel	carrying seed	12	trips	at	0,80	9,60
José Santo	cutting seed	5	loads	at	0,80	4,00
S. Santo	cutting out cattle	1	day	at	15,00	15,00
Malaquias Ario	trip to neighboring plantation	1	trip	at	10,00	10,00
Mario Adriano	3rd weeding of cane field	249	braças	at	3,70	921,30
F. Cramosa	planting	3 1/2	braças	at	2,20	7,70
Cecilio Argolo	replanting	65	braças	at	1,50	97,50
Paulo Manoel	carpentering	3	days	at	23,00	69,00
Sancho Santiago	repairing estiva	1	day	at	12,00	12,00
Paulo Souza	1st weeding of cane field	35	braças	at	3,20	112,00
Agostinho Batista	catching escaped cattle	2		at	10,00	20,00
Mario Serra	repairing fences	250	braças	at	0,15	37,50
Maria das Dores	gathering cane leaves for animal fodder	4	cartloads	at	2,00	8,00
Francisco Julião	loading railway wagon with sugar cane	1/2	day	at	7,50	7,50
Pedro Julio	cutting bamboo	12	mãos†	at	5,00	60,00
Francisco Brito	conducting load of wood	1	load	at	15,00	15,00
Crispim Argolo	repairing barracks	2 1/2	days	at	12,00	30,00
Domingos Moura	gardening	12	days	at	10,00	120,00
Osorio Ancieto	burying a burro	1	day	at	12,00	12,00
Pedro Julio	carrying water	1	day	at	10,00	10,00

*The braça equals 6 feet and is the measurement always used locally in the cane fields.
†Mão is a bundle of fifty and is used locally in speaking of fence posts and ears of corn.

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[The Private Plantation]

*249
461 indicates work done in these fields. The top of the stalk just
465 below the leaves is used as seed.

"Cutting out cattle" refers to selecting cattle from the herd to be used for the day's transportation. The "trip to neighboring plantation" means that Malaquias was sent to another plantation on an errand either for Dona Sinhá or for Seu Paulo on some plantation business, such as to get the payroll sheets, which are made up by a resident of another plantation. "Planting" means the first planting of sugar cane, while "replanting" means planting cane in the spaces where the first seed did not grow, either because it was buried too deeply, or because after planting it received too much sunshine or too much rain. Such spaces are always filled in when the new cane reaches a height of several inches.

[463] "Carpentering," a craft, commands a higher salary than agricultural work. Sometimes a plantation keeps a carpenter on a regular salary; at other times he is hired from the factory, as is the case here. His work may be on the wooden carts used for transportation or on any of the many houses of the plantation.

[491] An estiva is a type of makeshift bridge crossing a drainage ditch or a low spot on the road where water collects during the rainy season. It is usually no more than four or five yards long and a yard or two wide. The lengthwise pieces are bamboo with other pieces of the same material laid across them close together. Then earth is placed on top and smoothed off. These bridges require constant repair work. During the height of the rainy season they often break up entirely and float away. They are often quite perilous for horses, burros, and oxen, whose legs sometimes go through the bamboo latticework.

[233] "Catching escaped cattle" requires some agility on the part of the person who does it. It is usually done on foot, and if the ox or cow is in a cane field it must be worked out carefully in order not to destroy too much of the standing sugar cane. "Repairing fences" accompanies catching escaped cattle, for the animals often break through the fences enclosing their pastures. The fence posts are usually of bamboo, which rots quickly and must be constantly watched and replaced as it shows signs of weakening. "Cutting bamboo" is done for many
[824] different ends. Most plantation boundary lines are marked by rows of graceful bamboos whose wood is used for fence posts and estivas, as well as for the wicker framework of the mud-covered houses.

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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[The Private Plantation]

Maria das Dores, whose name is listed as "gathering cane leaves for animal fodder," does the only type of work on the plantation done by women other than housework and gardening. When a field of cane is cut, the tops of the stalks and the long leaves are cut off and left on the ground. The very tip of the stalk is used as seed, while the heavier part is loaded on carts and sent to the factory. When natural pasturage gives out because of overgrazing or drought, the cattle's diet is supplemented with the freshly cut, green cane leaves; if the tender tips are not required for seed, they are also fed to the cattle. Gathering the leaves and stalk tips is relatively light work, and if a woman on the plantation wants to supplement her husband's income this is the task assigned her. Few women on this plantation do it, however, for it is a point of pride with any husband that he is capable of supporting his wife without her having to do gainful work. Only a small number of leaves are gathered up, and the remainder are burned as they lie in the field. Burning is done at night when there is little or no wind, and often during the summer fires which extend for acres dot the countryside. Burning is a traditional practice. Although professional agronomists insist that it is injurious to the cane roots and the new shoots, planters continue to burn the unwanted leaves, feeling that the ash provides some fertilization. 249* 461 465 [462] [233]

"Gardening" refers to work done in the vegetable garden which supplies Dona Sinhá's house. This garden stands in contrast to the roças, which are planted by the workers as well as by Dona Sinhá, and which are reserved for beans, manioc, corn, and some tobacco. Such plants as lettuce, tomatoes, cabbage, carrots, and other vegetables are disdained by the workers and are grown only for Dona Sinhá. [247]

"Carrying water" is usually work reserved for a small boy. Mounted on a donkey with four wooden kegs he rides to the neighboring plantation, Pedras, which belongs to the factory, fills the kegs at the spring, and returns to Fazenda das Moças where he puts the water into the various large clay containers in the kitchen and washrooms of the owner's house. "Oh, Pedro, there's no water" is a common cry heard in Dona Sinhá's house. [312] [857] [492]

There are few rules restricting the workers. Their services must be at the disposal of Dona Sinhá whenever required. Other than that, if during a slack season a man finds an opportunity to work somewhere else, he is free to do so. If he has a burro, or oxen, he has the right to pasture them on the 249* 466 [427] [492]

* 249 466 [427] [492] lands of the plantation, renting them to Dona Sinhá at harvest time for transport. Often a family has one or two pack horses or burros which can be used to transport cane or, at other times of the year, water or firewood. A worker also has the right to a plot to raise food crops. If the man in the household dies or deserts his family, the woman who is left can do one of several things: go to work in the field herself, the least popular alternative; send her children out to work if they are old enough; find another husband, which is not too difficult, for there is a scarcity of women in this rural zone; or return to her father's house.

*249 464 A group of workers who are essential to the well-being of the plantation, but who are not residents, are the caatinguejros (migrant workers from the scrubby forest area which borders on the Recôncavo and extends into the desert to the north). Hundreds of these men are available during the harvest season, a time when not only the plantations but the factories as well need more men than the resident population provides. The town of Vila Recôncavo, the other small rural towns, and the capital city do not supply agricultural workers to the rural areas. The plantations use instead the migrants from the north. A system has grown up whereby each plantation and factory has a man who can contact these migrant laborers. [571] This man is called the empreiteiro, a contractor who has a system of contacts in the north usually through family [466] and godparent relationships. The migrant workers are housed in the barracks, and generally keep themselves well apart from the residents. Only men come, leaving their families at home to care for their small farms and livestock while they earn money in the Recôncavo. None of these men appears on the plantation payroll. It is the empreiteiro who contracts with the overseer to have the required work done by the migrant laborers. Usually this work consists only of weeding, which must be done constantly but which at harvest time the resident workers cannot do. [465] On the list of jobs and wages, above, there appears the name of Mario Adriano, who received 921,30 cruzeiros for weeding 249 braças. This man is the empreiteiro, who is paid for work done by fifteen, twenty, or more men. He in turn pays the migrant laborers, giving them less than the price for which he agreed with the overseer to do the work. In this way the contractor earns a living. Throughout the harvest season he gets work for about seventy-five to one hundred migrants, who camp in and about the barracks and

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have little to do with the residents. At the end of the season they can be seen walking along the paths of the Recôncavo toward the north, each man carrying over his shoulder a stick from which is suspended a cloth bundle containing his few possessions. 249* 464

One prominent aspect of the relationships between people in this hierarchy is the intimacy and familiarity which has for so long characterized the Recôncavo. While slavery was not a benign institution anywhere, there was a softness in the relations between the Brazilian and his slaves which seems to have been absent in other slave areas. This quality persists today on private plantations such as Fazenda das Moças between the owner and the workers. Dona Sinhá knows the residents by name or nickname, knows their background and present condition; the worker knows Dona Sinhá's family background, her children, and her extended family. 249* 466 571 [567]

The former master is now the patron. It is she who arbitrates any differences between workers, or between a worker and Seu Paulo. It is her task to protect the worker against injustices, to provide medical care, to aid at weddings and baptisms, in short to do all the things the worker is unable to do through ignorance, fear, or poverty.

The relationship between Dona Sinhá and Seu Paulo is a curious one, for neither one of them can do without the other. The role of overseer came into being for several reasons, the primary one being the absenteeism of the owner. In order to keep the plantation running properly all year long it was necessary for someone with knowledge and authority to be present all the time; so the former feitor-mor became known as the overseer, with a house larger and better than that of anyone else on the plantation except the owner. As time went on, the overseer gathered more and more rights and privileges unto himself, until today he is the veritable owner of the plantation in all but the legal sense. He has the confidence and loyalty of the workmen, without which he would be a failure. He eventually becomes related to nearly all of them through the system of godparentship; in fact, he is more sought after than the owner for this purpose. On the Fazenda das Moças, the overseer is paid a higher salary than any other overseer in the area--as much as Cr$1.500,00 a month in comparison with Cr$1.000,00 or less for the others. In addition he receives a bonus at the end of the year, one cruzeiro for each ton of sugar cane the plantation produced during the year. 249* 463 466 571 [608] [465]

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[The Private Plantation]

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249 Dona Sinhá and other plantation owners feel that a planta-
463 tion cannot be successful without a good overseer, and they
466 also feel that the white man does not make a good overseer.
571 They say he cannot stand the heat of the summer and the rain
829 and mud of the winter when spending entire days in the saddle overseeing the work. Only the indefatigable mestiço is supposed to be able to take such punishment. The owners also say that only he can deal properly with the mestiço workers--that, being one himself, he knows their "foibles and tricks." To a certain extent the mestiço population seems to agree with this, for orders from the overseer are much more promptly obeyed than orders from the owner, and most of the workmen prefer to have the overseer explain what is wanted. It is also believed that the mestiço is stronger. For example, if Dona Sinhá has made a hard trip in the winter to get to the plantation the workers will sympathize with her, saying, "You came through all that rain and mud, and at night!" when the same trip may be a daily one for the overseer, the cowboy, or any of the workers.

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249 However, the creation of the position of overseer has also
463 created a series of new problems for the owners. All owners
466 now suspect their overseers of cheating them, and the control
571 of the overseer is a subject which comes up frequently at social gatherings. Since the owner is absent from the plantation about half the year, there are many things which the overseer must do without consulting his employer. The owners will interpret independent action on the overseer's part as good management, mismanagement, or cheating, depending upon the results of the action. When the results are doubtful and there is any suspicion that the overseer might have gained money by his action, it is considered cheating. Very often the owners claim that the overseer and the foreman are "partners" working together against him.

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249 On one plantation in the community of Vila Recôncavo, the
463 owner decided he would be his own overseer. He was young
433 and had been born and brought up on the plantation. Within a
466 few years his harvest had dropped to almost nothing, and lately he has changed to raising milk cows, at which he has not
571 been particularly successful either. He himself, and all his friends, blame his lack of success on the lack of an overseer, saying that even though the old overseer had cheated and helped himself to what was not his, the plantation as a whole had not suffered as badly as it did without him.

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As a result, owners have to be satisfied with higher costs than they feel necessary and less profit than they think possible, the difference going to the overseer, rather than accept the complete failure of the plantation Overseers, foremen, and owners are all aware of the situation, but politeness, the traditional respect patterns, and the unwillingness to compete openly keep the situation covert. 249* 463 466 571

Nevertheless, on Fazenda das Moças, in spite of these difficulties there is considerable cooperation between Dona Sinhá and Seu Paulo. The duties of the overseer are confined generally to the plantation itself--seeing that the work is done, the cane planted, cultivated, harvested, and delivered to the factory as expediently as possible. The duties of Dona Sinhá are mainly concerned with finance, with arranging ready funds to meet the current expenses of the plantation. The practice of mortgaging crops did not end with the abolition of slavery, and it is the owner's task to juggle funds, loans, and interest so she will have enough money to improve and increase the yield of her plantation. In general the owners of single plantations rarely have enough funds to carry them through the year. Payrolls are met throughout the year with advances on the estimated harvest made by the factory, by the banks, or by the Cooperative of Sugar-Cane Growers and Suppliers. Thus when the season ends the owner is already in debt, part of which he must pay off in order to finance the coming year. There are two problems constantly present in the struggle to increase the size of the harvest: cost of production, and the antiquated methods used on the private plantations, where practically all work is done by hand. 249* 463 426 [433]

Table 1 shows production, costs, and profits for the harvests of the years 1947-48, 1948-49, and 1949-50 at Fazenda das Moças. The drop in production and the rise in costs in the years 1948-49 were attributed to a slackening of the vigilance of Dona Sinhá and to a poor overseer. It was at the end of this year that Seu Paulo assumed the position of overseer of the plantation. The following year showed a great improvement which has continued. For the 1950-51 harvest produced 6,000 tons, the highest output of any private plantation in the Recôncavo. Future harvests are expected to go well above this. In addition to changing the overseer, and in the following year the foreman, Dona Sinhá was able to borrow enough money to purchase the tractor mentioned earlier. The next year, as a result of the evident success of the new combination, two four- 249* 43 [426] [407] [493]

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TABLE 1
PRODUCTION, COSTS, PROFITS: FAZENDA DAS MOÇAS

1947-1948	
4,000 tons of cane at the selling price of Cr$81,40 a ton	Cr$325.600,00
Cost of production	206.244,00
Profit	119.356,00
1948-1949	
2,500 tons of cane at Cr$88,90	222.250,00
Cost of production	225.198,00
Loss	32.948,00
1949-1950	
5,000 tons of cane at Cr$107,40	537.000,00
Cost of production	319.248,00
Profit	217.751,00

[407] wheeled carts were added which could be drawn by the tractor,
[493] thus cutting down transportation costs. Recently a jeep was acquired to pull the carts, and a second tractor equipped with the mechanism to cultivate cane fields was purchased.

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[426]

Still, the plantation is heavily in debt, and any profits are immediately used for improvements or for paying off debts. Moreover, the cost of tractors, jeeps, and fertilizer is very high since they are imported products. Because of the dollar exchange rate their cost is extravagantly high in Brazil, compared with the United States. In addition, the plantation is still burdened with the old equipment and the necessity of pasture for the oxen, which cuts down the acreage available for planting. Animal traction cannot yet be entirely dispensed with, because of the condition of the soil in winter. The problem of maintaining the old system of work as well as introducing the new, which can only slowly pay for itself, is considerable. Dona Sinhá is faced with the dilemma of difficult natural conditions which, while good in many ways for sugar cane, impede the application of modern techniques. She is also faced with personnel problems in relation to the overseer. One solution is clearly apparent and has been adopted by Dona Sinhá: to spend more and more time on the plantation, sharing more and more work with Seu Paulo. This of course is a complete break with the past traditions of the plantation master. It is a difficult break for both parties concerned. Dona Sinhá misses her city

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life, and Seu Paulo resents the continued presence of the owner and the consequent lessening of his authority. 249* 178 466

Along with their feeling of pride and love for the Recôncavo, many landowners recognize clearly the difficulties with which they are faced. The following excerpt from the diary of Dona Sinhá, which I was allowed to read, illustrates the outlook of a sugar-cane planter of the Recôncavo:

. . . "Dona Sinhá, there is a man here looking for you." "What is it, my son?" "I have some boils coming out all over my body." Some sulfa and a little ointment do the trick, and just in time, for here comes Seu Paulo, the overseer. [757]

"The oxen of Pedras, the neighboring plantation, invaded the cane fields last night. Also those of Seu Cosme." "I'll telephone the usina immediately." "Also, there are no wagons at the loading point." "I'll find out about that too."

The tractor driver comes, complaining that there is no oil. I get that from the storeroom. Now there are two men on the veranda wanting to know about the last payday, when they claim their money "came out wrong." Going through the pay sheets, that was straightened out.

Now, while there is no one else, I'll go out and look over the fields. I look at the plantings, feel the earth which I love. But it doesn't satisfy me. Something is missing. We are backward and retrogressing, passively. This place puts an inertia in the heart of a person, a desire to stop fighting, to find everything fine and as it should be--the ragamuffin Negroes, poorly fed, ignorant and rude, their dirty children with protruding stomachs and the white pretending that there is progress, his house full of company, electricity, radio, telephone, horseback rides, poetry of Baudelaire, Verlaine, philosophy of Voltaire, Carlyle, etc.--but in the end, zero! Sometimes I feel a tremendous anguish, I feel that nothing can be done in the Recôncavo and I want to leave this paralyzed land, poisoned with tradition, with its ruined sobrados. And we today hold fast to these fantasies and want to relive the opulent past. Deep down there is a clash against these indefatigable overseers, mulattoes, and Negroes with their boots, senhores da fazenda. 249* 829 178

*249 829 178 [434] The entire harvest is done with great sacrifice, my head wearied by accounts; 6,000 tons of cane, over Cr$600.000,00--a lot of money, enough for all the expenses, and still some left over. What a mistake! The general costs, the extraordinary costs, house repairs, etc., will take it all. So we start again--new plantings, larger fields, all for more money. But we lack the courage to stop planting sugar cane and plant corn or coffee, anything else. We were born hearing of senhores de engenho, of trays and trays of silver service, of Negro slaves, of everything which has disappeared into the past. But it still burns in our blood, and deep down we want to have lands, to order and be obeyed. We like the humble and servile vassalage of the Negro, which makes us feel important, the dispensers of favors.

*249 829

I think of this as old Saturno goes along, step by step. There is Paulos Santos coming along the road, with his little burro and two baskets, going to get manioc for the ever-present farinha. "Good morning, Patron!" What affection I feel for each one of them! Pedro Manuel with so many little children; Zé Julião with his sick wife, Conceição with his air of secular servility. But affection resolves nothing! Money and action do! I could knock down those miserable hovels and make good hygienic houses.

Once home I fall into the hammock, reading Proust and forgetting everything.

*249 473

The Usina: Usina São Pedro

The Sociedad Anonima, the corporation which operates this factory, represents the new pattern in the Recôncavo. There are now nine factories functioning in the Recôncavo, for the trend has been to close the small ones which could not function economically. Five of the nine belong to one corporation, which holds extensive lands and receives the cane of many suppliers. We will describe the smallest of the four independent factories, which has a rated capacity of seventy-two thousand sacks of sugar as compared with the two hundred thousand of one of the larger mills (a sack equaling 60 kilograms). The legal capacity of the Usina São Pedro--which it has never reached--is fifty-two thousand sacks, as determined by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol. At the present time, however,

*249 433 [128] [656]

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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the factory is undergoing a reformation which will raise its capacity to over one hundred thousand sacks, and the legal capacity will be readjusted. 249* 433

Usina São Pedro, although the smallest, is representative of the others and experiences the same problems and difficulties. It differs from some in that it is a family enterprise. The stockholders are nearly all members of the Conde family, and the operations are directed by two members of the family. The factory itself was one of the three built by the state government in 1900 on land controlled by the Navy,[5] on the edge of the Bay, which provides excellent year-round transportation facilities. The mill was acquired in 1909 by the Conde family with two plantations, to which the family has since added four other contiguous plantations. The corporation has a total area of slightly over four thousand acres, mostly of rich massapê soil. The factory receives cane from the plantation of Dona Sinhá, who is also a member of the Conde family by birth and by marriage. It also gets cane from four other plantations within the community and four outside the community, which send their cane by the traditional sailboat. In addition, the factory owns a 2,324-acre plantation in the county of Purificação which is used for grazing and raising cattle and for supplying wood for the factory fires. There is direct water transportation between the factory and the plantation in Purificação. 249* 473 [653] [423] 249* [602] [423] [505]

The designation usina has several meanings which are quite similar to the meanings of the older term, engenho. In its larger context, usina means the entire land-factory combination, including the mill and all the plantations belonging to the corporation. More specifically, usina means the factory building itself. In another context, usina simply indicates the population nucleus, including the factory, the owner's house, and the other buildings. 249* 192

The usina or factory nucleus roughly follows the same settlement pattern of the old plantations. The point of orientation is the factory building, near which stand the chalet and other homes of the owning family, which are grouped together in a park of royal palms and mango trees. Usually a small chapel or oratory is included in one wing of the chalet, where 249* 361 [178]

5. The shoreline bordering salt water is controlled to the depth of 33 meters by the Brazilian Navy. [311]

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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* 249 361 a Mass can be celebrated for the family when a priest is available.

Situated nearest the chalet are the houses of the general overseer, the chief mechanic of the factory, the major office employees, and the director of the factory store. Next in order are the houses of the technical personnel of the factory. Behind them and farthest from the center are the homes of the agricultural workers who work on the plantation nearest the factory nucleus. The regional overseer of this plantation also lives among his plantation workers. The school and the store are located just outside the small park of the chalet.

[342] [177] The chalet has replaced the former solar (mansion) of the plantation masters. Its style differs from the earlier type and its name is derived from the fact that it is a modified copy of a Swiss chalet. In a different way it is as ornate as the old solar, but more up-to-date, with running water and electricity.

* 249 466 The personal, paternal aspect of the private plantation obviously cannot function on the usina, which has 1,350 people living on its lands. There is, nevertheless, an attempt at just such relations. The owning family spends vacations in the chalet. They also spend Christmas, Carnaval, and Botada[6] there, and at those times there are parties for the workers, Christmas presents for them and for their wives and children, dances, and ball games. The Coronel (Colonel, an honorary title now going out of use), the patriarch of the family, now incapacitated, still receives visits from the older workmen who used to have daily contact with him. His son and son-in-law, present directors of the enterprise, make their presence felt throughout the factory and the six plantations as best they can. As on the private plantation, the final arbitration of any difficulty lies with the usineiro, and no worker considers himself too far removed to go to him if he cannot get satisfaction from his overseer. However, the strongest relationships, both business and personal, lie between overseer and worker--employee and employee--rather than between employee and employer.

The private plantation presents a far better appearance than

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[788] 6. Botada is the annual blessing of the factory machinery, performed on the first day of the grinding season. It is a traditional ceremony formerly carried out on the plantations.

[The Usina]

The private plantation presents a far better appearance than any plantation belonging to the factory, for it is usually "home" to the owner, who is interested in keeping it as pleasant as possible, while the factory plantation in charge of an overseer is simply a business project existing only to produce sugar cane. 249* 466 184

At the Usina São Pedro, as stated earlier for the Recôncavo generally, the consolidation of land by the corporations has not turned the entire property into one large plantation. Instead, each plantation has retained its old boundaries, indeed complete autonomy, following only the general policies of the factory directory. The Usina São Pedro happens to be situated in a central position in relation to its six plantations. This is not always the case, for frequently the lands of a factory are scattered far from the plant itself, creating difficulties of administration and transportation. 249* 423

Each of the plantations has its own nucleus, the street of workers' houses oriented toward the house of the overseer. Each of these little villages has its own small store, usually a private enterprise of the overseer. The largest plantation, Pedras, has a chapel and a school. None of the plantations has an electric power line, but each has a telephone in the overseer's house. The feeling of isolation and abandonment is strong, as indeed it is on almost all overseer-directed plantations belonging to a factory. There is a general feeling of pity for the residents who are situated so far from their patrão and whose first recourse must be the overseer, a man like themselves, with little or no education and little interest in the people other than to keep them working. In other words, the factory plantation lacks the paternal hand of the owner. In other respects it is similar to the private plantation in that it has an overseer, a foreman, a cowboy, and resident workmen. 249* 36 [206] 249* 571 [184]

The bulk of the agricultural direction of the São Pedro plantations is in the hands of the general overseer, Seu Pipiu. It is his duty to direct and supervise the activities of all six plantations. He is a man of no small status. He is practically independent in his actions, for the directors of the factory tell him how much cane they feel they need in the forthcoming harvest, and it is up to him to produce it. The methods and problems in doing this are left up to him. Seu Pipiu gives orders to each of the regional overseers, whose duties are the same as those of the overseer on a private plantation. The only difference is that they are dealing with a superior employee, instead of with the owner in person. The general over- 249* 463 466

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[The Usina]

*249 463 466 [492] [465] *249 463 159 [427] *249 466 *249 [184] [496] [493] [311] 000

seer is entitled to the same rights and privileges as any other worker: a house, land on which to grow subsistence crops, and the use of the owner's pastures for his oxen, burros, and horses. The horses used in his work are supplied by the corporation, as are those of the other overseers. His salary is high: Cr$2.000,00 a month, plus a bonus of one cruzeiro for each ton of cane produced on all six plantations. The regional overseers receive Cr$800,00 a month, plus a bonus of half a cruzeiro per ton of cane produced on their plantation. Seu Pipiu has been general overseer of Usina São Pedro for twenty-five years, during which time he has accumulated a good deal of property. He is a mulatto, somewhat lighter skinned than the six administrators who are under him. Two of his sons work in the factory office, and a third runs the store on one of the plantations. In addition he is a small farmer, renting some forty acres from the factory, on which he plants sugar cane. He pays 25 per cent of the harvest to the factory for the use of the land.

The usineiros have the same complaints against their general overseers that private plantation owners have against theirs. At the same time, after many years of service such an official becomes indispensable, or is thought to be, and is allowed to go his way--quiet, well dressed, well mounted, ruler of all he surveys--while the usineiro watches and mutters to himself.

So far the rural properties of the factories have led the private plantations in the field of mechanization, as they have greater funds for purchasing equipment and can get more use out of each piece. Mechanization, however, is used as yet only in preparing the soil for planting. The ground is plowed and replowed, and grooves are made to receive the cane shoots. Also, planting in unplowed land is still common--grooves are opened for the seed with the simple plow, and no soil preparation is done at all. Here mechanization ends, and all further cultivation, as well as the cutting and harvesting of the cane, is done by hand. Narrow-gauge railway tracks reach out from the mill to loading points on the six plantations, where the cane is transferred from the oxcarts to the railroad wagons to be drawn to the mill. Approximately two thousand acres are under cultivation; the remaining land is used as pasture or as garden plots by the workers, in accordance with a rotation system.

Financially the two units--factory and plantation--are run

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[The Usina]

Financially the two units--factory and plantation--are run separately. One set of books is kept for the agricultural part, and one set for the factory. The six plantations combined produced eighteen thousand tons of cane in 1950, although they had planned on twenty-three thousand. The fall in the expected harvest was due to several things. First, less new cane was planted, because of the activities of the petroleum workers who were invading the cane fields of the factory and drilling oil wells. (The first time a field is cut, the percentage of cane is higher than that obtained by cuts during the next four or five years. The same amount of land, therefore, will produce more cane if it is replanted regularly. The factory, however, deemed it wiser to be content with the older plantings for one year because of the oil workers' invasion, for newly planted cane is more subject to damage than an established field.) Second, during that year there was a serious drought which affected adversely the growth of sugar cane. There is no irrigation in the Recôncavo, and during the drought seasons which come periodically a partial crop loss nearly always occurs. In addition one entire taboleiro caught fire and burned to the ground, causing the loss of many tons of cane.

249* 451 184 249* 433 [731]

The agricultural cycle and the work on a plantation may be divided into two broad epochs, summer and winter. Summer is the busiest season, for it is harvest time and all hands are occupied, including the migrant workers. The cutters with their machetes cut an average of three to four tons a day apiece, which must be quickly loaded and carried to the factory and milled, for the longer the lapse of time between the two operations, the greater the loss of sugar content. After a field has been cut, one of two things occurs. If it is to be turned into pasture, it is fenced, and the draft animals are turned loose in it. Otherwise the leaves which were cut from the top of the plant and left lying on the ground are burned, and within a short time the roots start sending up new shoots. This old planting (soca) each year gives a decreased yield. As a rule a field is cut and burned three to four years before being turned into pasture. In the days of the old plantations, when the soil was more vigorous, cane of twelve years was considered "new cane." Now, however, the yield is so decreased by the increasing poverty of the soil that three to four years is the best, depending upon the amount of rain. During the summer, if land is prepared and there are prospects of heavy showers, "summer plantings" may be made. They are never as good as those done in the winter, for the sun frequently

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221 kills the new shoots. Toward the end of summer, the pastures or garden plots which are to be made into new plantations (rêgo novo) are prepared, for such work is usually done in accordance with conditions of the land rather than only at the
[433] time of planting. New plantings yield an average of thirty to forty tons per acre. Cutting, transporting, burning, and planting are done by the resident workers, while the weeding and general cultivating are carried out by the migrant laborers.

Work in the winter period can usually be handled by the resident workers alone. The planting of cane goes on throughout the year, but the most favorable time is during July and August, when the rains begin to diminish in constancy and the sun shines longer. Cane planted at this time gives the greatest yield. The seed used is the top part of the cane itself, the "eye" which appears just below the leaves. As a rule each plantation furnishes most of its own seed. That for the summer planting comes from the cane which is cut to go to the factory, and that for the winter from small plantings made
[654] previously for the purpose. The state government also maintains an agricultural station in the area, from which the planters can get seed. During the winter all repairs are made on houses, fences, and equipment, and of course the necessary drainage ditches must be built or repaired and seasonal cultivation and clearing work must be done.

*249 The usineiros maintain that the agricultural operations pay
435 more than does the factory. The factory plantations sell their cane at the same price as the private suppliers, a price fixed by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol. This price has gradually gone up as have all the factory costs. But the ceiling price of sugar, which is Cr$166,00 a sack, has not increased. In 1951 the cost per sack of sugar at Usina São Pedro was
[434] Cr$132,00. Each year the costs rise, creeping nearer and nearer to the selling price. So while the books show that each plantation is making more money for its cane, the factory's books show a slackening of profits. At the moment, most of the factories in the Recôncavo are engaged in refining their processes in order to get a higher percentage of sugar out of
[433] each ton of cane. The Usina São Pedro is only able to get an average of eighty kilograms of sugar per ton of cane, while the largest factory gets one hundred kilograms per ton. The factory also loses money because it pays for the cane by the ton of dead weight, and not by the percentage of sucrose the cane contains. As a result the planters are interested in rais-

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ing a heavy cane and increasing their tonnage rather than in raising the quality of the cane. There is a movement under way to change the payment method to payment by percentage of sucrose, but it seems to be gaining little headway.[7]

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The factory of the Usina São Pedro is directed personally by two members of the Conde family, while most other factories have a paid employee, a general manager, who is the industrial counterpart of the general overseer. There are approximately eighty salaried employees in this factory, who are paid by the day and who work all year long. The factory operates from September till February--the harvest season--in two shifts of twelve hours each. During the harvest season over a hundred migrant workers are added to the payroll under the direction of the contractor, and usually work on the endless belt and in the unloading operations.

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The resident factory worker, in addition to receiving a house, also has the right to electric light and to firewood. These workers are trained in the factory, and many of them have been there for a long time. The Usina São Pedro is especially proud of the loyalty of its men, many of whom remained there during the war when they were being enticed away with higher wages by the federal government to build military installations. The Usina São Pedro has experienced no labor difficulties as have some other larger factories, which have had riots and demonstrations caused by labor unions. This is due partly to the small size of the factory, and partly to the continued atmosphere of paternalism, to which many other factories are now making a determined effort to return.

Thus paternalism stands out as one of the major factors in the complicated organizational hierarchy of plantation life. The former master is now simply the patron, but in this role he carries out almost the same functions as did the master in relation to the well-being of his slaves. The patron of today has the same ethical responsibilities toward his workmen as did the former master. In general these responsibilities include care of the workmen beyond the mere payment of a salary, such as care of the sick and the old. Paternalism today is found at its highest degree on the private, family-run plantation and at its lowest degree on the overseer-run, corpora-

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7. Jayme V. B. Machado, Industria açucareira na Bahia (Bahia, 1950).

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 8011 Bahia Brazilians 8011
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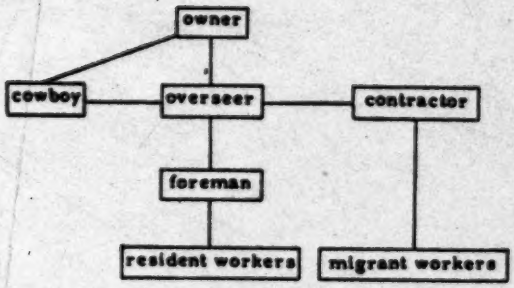

Fig. 1. Hierarchical diagram of the private plantation (Fazenda das Moças)

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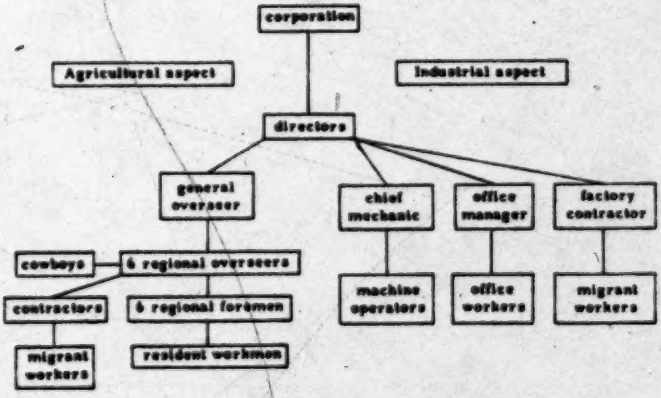

Fig. 2. Hierarchical diagram of the usina system (Usina São Pedro)

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Usina]

tion plantation. At its highest level it is a form of unwritten social security which works well, supplementing the low wages which are paid throughout the area. Even on the factory plantations there is a mild form of paternalism, which is stronger in plantations nearer to the factory and to the home of the usineiro. 249* 466

The migrant workers, however, do not fit into the pattern of paternalism, mostly because they do not seek it. Indirectly they receive its benefits, for if one of them is ill he can go to the contractor who will then go to the plantation owner or usineiro for medicine or whatever is needed. But in general the migrant laborers stay by themselves and ask little or nothing of their employers. 249* 464 466

In addition to the protection provided by a paternalistic system, the workers have the right to at least half an acre of land on the plantation where they can plant and raise their subsistence crops. Often they also plant tobacco, both in these plots and in the small areas throughout the plantation where no sugar cane is planted, such as corners where the plow cannot penetrate. The tobacco is sold to traveling buyers who scour the area at the tobacco harvest season. The money thus gained belongs to the workers, and many of them say that cash earned in such a way provides the "extras" they like during the year, such as rum, cigarettes, a pair of earrings, or some perfume. 249* 466 [241] [443] [434]

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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Pulling in
the deep net

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Waiting for the
arrival of the boat

[P. 72]

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 8011 Bahia Brazilians 8011
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5. Town Life

THE OCCUPATIONS of the townspeople in Vila Recôncavo differ considerably from the pursuits of the people in the rural zone. The town residents are engaged in gaining a living from a number of small enterprises; the economy is a money economy, and not one dominated by mutual obligations and rights, as it is to a certain degree on the plantations. Vila Recôncavo is the county seat and lacks any organized commerce or industry. It can be called an administrative town, inasmuch as government employment is the life of many of the people, especially the town's upper class. 369 463 632 [434] [433] [647]

The economic occupations of the townspeople can be divided into four groups: (1) the bureaucrats and merchants; (2) the group which serves them, such as cooks and laundresses; (3) a middle group of artisans whose greatest asset, as well as liability, is their independence; (4) a small group of people who do not fit into any of the three groups above. 463

According to the census which was taken in June, 1950, the labor force of the town numbered 459 persons, including men and women. Of the 459, eleven listed themselves as unemployed. The remainder of the population were listed as housewives, students, small children, and old people who were retired or incapacitated. In this category, which numbers about one thousand people, there are individuals who engage in part-time work, such as carrying water or firewood or doing piecework sewing--in other words, small occupations which in their eyes are not worthy of being classed as employment. [162]

The occupations which were listed can be broken down into the four groups mentioned above as follows:

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[632]
[441]

Group 1 (bureaucrats and merchants)	Federal and state employees	54
	Municipal employees	16
	Merchants	12
		82
Group 2 (service occupations)	Laundresses	46
	Ironers	17
	Electricians	1
	General servants	29
	Seamstresses	8
	Embroiderers	1
	Store cashiers	10
	Canoeists	2
	Bakery workers	4
		118
Group 3 (artisans)	Farmers	24
	Fishermen	132
	Bricklayers	6
	Barbers	6
	Carpenters	4
	Tailors	3
	Peddlers	3
	Woodworkers	2
	Coopers	1
	Butchers	1
	Shoemakers	1
	Quitandeiras[1]	1
		184

Group 3 workers employ the following number of people, either as employees or as apprentices:

Bricklayers	17
Workers in roças	13
Fishermen	5
Tailors	4
Woodworkers	1
Carpenters	1

[443]

1. Quitanda is an incipient store, usually run by a woman who sells vegetables and fruit from her windowsill.

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	Barbers	2
	Apprentice bricklayers	1
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Group 4 (miscellaneous)	Unemployed	11
	Factory workers	9
	Plantation workers	3
	Employees of Institute Vila Recôncavo (which will be described later)	8
		31

The federal and state employees in the town consist of the following people: 463 632

25 petroleum workers
9 teachers and maintenance workers from the nearby federal school
6 primary school teachers
3 tax collectors and secretary
1 federal statistics agent
1 postal and telegraph agent
1 mail carrier
2 secretaries of the Justice of the Peace
1 secretary of the civil register
1 police secretary
1 police lieutenant
2 policemen (this number changes occasionally)
1 malaria serviceman (called "José do DDT")

The Justice of the Peace, who is not listed above, does not live in the county but holds court in the courthouse once a week, or at other times if the occasion demands. His secretary, a local woman, does most of the work and has everything in readiness when he arrives. [693]

The twenty-five men listed as petroleum workers represent that industry's major contribution to the town. The oil workers receive relatively good wages, steady and sufficient for them to engage the services of at least one servant and a laundress. They may therefore be included in Group 1, even though they are not white-collar workers as are the others of the group. These men, rather than living in the petroleum workers' camp which is near the factory, have brought their fam- 463 [484]

463 [484] [521] lies to live in Vila Recôncavo and travel to their work and back daily. During the summer this trip is made by truck, but in the winter it is made by foot or if possible by canoe. The petroleum industry has attracted few local people as yet. Instead, strangers have come into the area as petroleum employees. A favorite conversation among fishermen is a discussion of whether they should give up fishing and go to work in the oil fields. The general feeling is that they are better off as fishermen. As they put it, if they fished for the same number of hours as the oil men work, they could earn more money than the petroleum workers. In their present occupation they can work as much or as little as they wish, the major determinant being whether there is enough in the house to eat and still a little left over for cigarettes, Coca-Colas, and occasional new clothes. They are an independent group, and are frequently criticized as being lazy because they will not take steady employment. This seems an unfair criticism in view of the rigors of fishing.

463 [875] [632] The others listed in the group of federal and state employees have permanent appointments to their jobs and in all but a few cases are local people. The federal tax collector and his wife, who is one of the schoolteachers, are strangers to the area, but are now well integrated in the town. Three other schoolteachers are from other parts of the state and spend only the school year in Vila Recôncavo. There is a difference between the teachers who make Vila Recôncavo their home and those who do not. Those who spend only the school year there have little or no contact with the local population, apparently feeling that they are superior to anyone there. They are young women, but do not look for husbands among local men and openly admit they do not like the town. They are prominent in the group which calls the fishermen lazy and uncultured, and in general are unsympathetic to the town dwellers.

463 632 There are sixteen municipal employees, all of them local people, consisting of the county secretary, the treasurer and his assistant, the contador who takes care of the county spending, the fiscal who is supposed to supervise the collecting of the county funds, three county tax collectors, and others who occupy minor posts such as courthouse porter. These positions are appointive, and as a result of the relative stability of the area's politics the appointees are seldom changed. The secretary is the man who does most of the county's adminis-

trative work; he comes into office with a mayor and frequently remains through the terms of several other mayors. He therefore knows the duties well and can aid the mayor considerably. In addition, the secretary has a small store in town, capitalized at Cr$10.000,00, where drinks (rum and soft drinks), dried meat (charque), cigars, cigarettes, grass mats, condensed milk, wooden sandals, and a few other small items are sold. 463 632 [443] [471]

The top municipal office is that of the mayor, which in Brazil is a county-wide office. The mayor is not on the above list as an employee, because he occupies another place in the census from which these data were taken. In Vila Recôncavo the mayor has come traditionally from the top social level, the rural landowning group. The office is elective, with a four-year term, except in the 1930's and 1940's, when the mayor was chosen by the appointed governor of the state (interventor). In Vila Recôncavo, as a general rule, the mayor has little or no interest in the town or, except in a few cases, in the office, which is considered a more-or-less onerous duty. He traditionally does not accept his salary. At the time of the last election there was consternation on the part of the planters, for no one wanted the office but clearly someone had to take it. When the choice was made, the candidate--one of the usina directors--was elected, for he had no opponent. The majority of the duties are left in the hands of the secretary, the mayor doing only a minimum of supervision and contributing little that is constructive. Generally any important matters are discussed at the home of the mayor, and his orders are conveyed to the secretary by messenger or telephone.

The last mayor, Dr. Aliança, was an exception to the rule. He was interventor in 1947 and was elected mayor in 1948, serving until the general elections in the fall of 1950. He is a civil engineer and the owner of two large plantations, maintaining in perfect condition the old master's house of the former plantation in which he lives, as well as a large house in Salvador. While the roots of his family are in the Recôncavo, he himself came from the north and married into a plantation family of Vila Recôncavo. Although his family tradition has been that of sugar cane, he has not hesitated to break many of the traditional patterns of the area. One of his two plantations has been given over to experiments with other crops, such as bananas, rice, and manioc, on a relatively large scale, and also some production of milk and butter. A few 159 632 463 242

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632 years ago, after determining that these crops were not suf-
463 ficiently rewarding, he made a large-scale planting of white
[242] cacao. It is still too early to speak of the outcome of this venture, for the trees have not yet started to give their first fruit, but this instance illustrates his usual energetic spirit.

159 Dr. Aliança took the office of mayor seriously and gave a
632 great deal of energy to it. His accomplishments were many
463 in the space of a few years: the paving of most of the town's
653 streets, the installation of electric lights on the streets, the formation of a company to sell electricity to those who wanted it, the installation of telephone communications with the capital, and the construction of a new, modern primary school building. As a result of his personal energy and direction these works were completed, or at least nearly so, when he left the office. (According to law, the mayor cannot be reelected). However, with the exception of building a bridge, nothing was done in the rural areas of the county. Traditionally any public works in the county are done in the county seat.

441 Many of the merchants in Group 1 are small operators.
463 The capitalization of the stores in Vila Recôncavo runs from
443 Cr$100.000,00 to as low as Cr$5.00,00. However, no matter
[471] how small the store, it provides a living for someone, or as they say in Vila Recôncavo, "Sempre da!" To the ordinary town citizen it is difficult to get enough capital together to open a store, but once opened it rarely closes for lack of business. Of the twelve stores in town, eight are owned and operated by men, and the other four belong to women. The best store in
441 town and the poorest one both belong to women. The "best"
444 store, Dona Carmen's, is the oldest, located on the main
[428] street leading from the boat dock. At present it is owned by Dona Carmen, who inherited it from her brother. It combines a general store and a bakery, and its prices are often slightly higher than those in other stores. It serves most of the people living in the older section of town. In addition to having the largest stock of ordinary foods, the store also carries finer packaged products such as wines, jellies, and preserves.

444 Bread is baked in the afternoon and delivered to the doors
256 of the customers' houses, still warm and with the delicious odor always associated with bread fresh from the oven. The bakery's customers for the most part have standing orders, receiving bread or rolls each day in time for supper. What is left over is hawked through the streets by the delivery boy,

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who walks about with a huge round basket on his head crying, "Pão, pão." 444 256

Dona Carmen's husband, Damião, is also a storekeeper. His store is in the downhill part of town, near the fishermen. The two stores are run separately, and the couple are doing well financially. In addition to his store, Damião also owns several canoes and fish nets which he rents to fishermen. He is the only storekeeper in town who gives credit to people who cannot pay immediately, allowing bills to run many months and even more than a year. He also allows his customers to borrow money in order to buy things outside his store--for instance fish, which he does not handle. He does not charge interest on these loans, nor seemingly make any demands on those who borrow. On the other hand the borrowers feel a sort of loyalty toward him and do not forget their debts, which they eventually manage to pay. 441 463 [444] [427] [452] [426]

Three of the smallest stores are owned and operated by women, whose husbands have set them up in business in a small way in order, as one put it, to "give my wife something to do." It is considered desirable for a woman to operate a store and it is usually the beginning of something larger, for later, whenever possible, the husband will stop his own work and help operate the store. In the case of the smaller stores the owner generally lives in the same building, either alongside the store or behind it. The larger storekeepers, however, usually have separate houses. At night they lock up the stores, which are sometimes guarded by dogs or even by the cashiers who sleep there. The storekeepers are usually asked for donations to the church at the time of any special festivals, and generally become politically active after they become established in business. 441 444 463 [562] [431] [66]

The stock in most of the stores is pretty much the same, varying in amount rather than diversity: drinks (rum and soft drinks), dried meat (the staple meat of the population), cereals, cigars, cigarettes, estivas (which include beans, rice, and farina, the three great staples of the local diet), as well as coffee, palm oil (azeite de dendê), vinegar, olive oil, garlic, onions, wooden sandals, condensed and powdered milk, salt, sugar, miudezas (small items such as matches and ribbons), toilet articles and laundry soaps, blueing agents and starch, grass mats, kerosene, and in one store aluminum kitchenware which is not sold very often, as well as nails, wire, screws, and wrapping paper and cord. One store in the 443

443 upper part of town also sells cloth. Most stores also have small supplies of chocolate (considered a great treat at a party), tea, honey, canned desserts such as guava, and canned butter and cheese. As a rule fresh vegetables are not sold in the stores but peddled through the streets, since few people eat them. It is more practical to order them specially from someone going to the fair in Centro. Nearly everyone has a banana tree or an orange tree in the back yard, so that few fruits are sold in the stores. The other seasonal crops, such as cashew nuts, corn, and pineapples, are peddled from house
443 to house. As a rule people in Vila Recôncavo buy their food
432 in small quantities, since they have no methods of food pres-
[251] ervation. A liter bottle is carried to the store to be filled with oil or kerosene; a small can is carried there to be filled with rice, beans, or farina. The smoked meat called charque is bought by the kilo and left hanging in the kitchen, and strips are cut from it at meal times. Although the price of charque is as high as that of fresh meat, and at times higher, people say it is more satisfying. As a rule the butcher in Vila Recôncavo kills two steers a week, on Wednesday and Saturday. The meat is carried through the streets unwrapped, hanging from a cord. It is not unusual to see a string of dogs following such a person. The meat is eaten the same day to prevent spoilage, and as a result it is usually tough and flavorless.

463 Most of the people included in Group I lead an upper-class
*565 kind of life; indeed to a great extent these people are the town's highest class, as will be shown in the next chapter. These are the people who do little or no labor themselves other than the white-collar work with which they earn their living. The men
[291] dress in city clothes most of the time--white shirt, tie, and suit coat--and the women are always neatly dressed with shoes and silk stockings. (The oil workers are an exception, for they do not hold white-collar jobs but wear overalls and helmets). There is always help to do the housework and the marketing.
463 Sometimes a cook is employed; otherwise the lady of the house
*565 does her own cooking, assisted by her daughters. The laundry
357 is sent out, or else the laundress comes to the house to do it, and water for drinking purposes and for washing is brought to
[296] the house by a man or woman employed for the purpose; mem-
[312] bers of the household never fetch water at the wells. Often the house has a cement tank and drains on the roof to catch
[313] rainwater. Nor does any member of the house fetch firewood, which is supplied by a hired person.

[Town Life]

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The majority of people in Group I live in the older part of Vila Recôncavo, often in the old colonial sobrados, and they rarely descend the hill to the part of town inhabited by the fishermen. Indeed, they mix little with people of the town, and there is almost no social life within the group itself. Parties are expensive, and visiting from house to house in the evening is not common. Vila Recôncavo has no such pastime as the evening walk in the square. This group is seldom united on anything, especially local politics; however, the more distant the question the more apt the group is to be of one mind. [361] [574]

Most families in this group send their children to school in Salvador, go there on holidays whenever possible, receive the city newspaper and the Diario Oficial,[2] and shop in the city as often as they can. [871] [204] [443]

Vila Recôncavo differs in one respect from most other rural Brazilian communities: it has no parish priest. The mother church of the parish (matriz) has long been unable to support its own priest, and the duties which would normally fall to such a person are performed by the Franciscans, whose convent is in Vila Recôncavo. The priests remain within the convent, taking little or no part in the social life of the town. 793 [792]

It will be noted that there was no mention of a drug store in Vila Recôncavo. There was none until 1945, when a nonprofit organization, the Institute of Vila Recôncavo, was opened. This is a medical post supported by federal, state, municipal, and private funds; its director is Friar Innocence, a Franciscan lay brother. The institute is housed in the spacious old buildings of the extinct Third Order of Franciscans, and consists of a pharmacy, an infants' milk and soup distributing center, a maternity post, a dental post, and other medical facilities. The dentist, who has modern equipment, is competent in his work. For several years a doctor was in daily attendance, dividing his time between the institute and the petroleum workers' camp. As a result of a complicated local political conflict, he left the institute, however, and Friar Innocence arranged for a visiting doctor to come from Centro and spend two days a week in Vila Recôncavo. Three town girls were sent to Salvador to study nursing and midwifery, so there is competent medical assistance. 743 [444] [792] 743 759

2. The Diario Oficial is the newspaper in which government laws and regulations are published. As a rule, it is the publication of a regulation which makes it become a law.

743 so there is competent medical assistance. Those who are too poor to pay receive free aid and medications, milk, and soup; those who can pay do so, paying only the wholesale prices of the articles. The institute is well equipped, with an x-ray machine, diathermy, and other heat appliances, which are popular because of the prevalence of colds and rheumatism.

743 529 [546] 743 873 The institute also operates the weekly motion picture which has been a great boon to the town, a recreation room, centrally located in the town, which has a radio, billiard tables, and a bar selling milk shakes, sandwiches, beer, and soft drinks. This place has become the major meeting place for the men and boys of the town. In addition to this, the institute also runs a night school for adults.

463 [571] [462] Group 2, as listed at the beginning of this chapter, consists mainly of the people who work for those in Group 1 and who are attached to them by the bonds of the patronship to some extent, as well as by salary. The majority of persons in this category are women, engaged in the traditional female pursuits of washing, ironing, sewing, embroidering, and general housework.

296 462 463 [482] As a rule the laundry is washed at one of the town wells, which are encased in cement. The women carry the dirty clothes, a bucket, and wooden basin, all piled on top of their heads, to the well. They pull up enough water in their buckets to fill the basins in which the clothes are washed. After a soaking and scrubbing with soap the wet, soapy clothes are spread out on the ground in the sun, and from time to time water is sprinkled on them to aid the sun in bleaching. Then the clothes are rewashed and spread out to dry. Depending upon the weather, the washing and drying process may take from a whole day to three or four days before the clothes are considered clean enough. Then they are taken home to be ironed. The older pattern demanded that a different person do the ironing, but today this pattern is breaking down and frequently the same person washes and irons. The irons used are the old-fashioned kind heated by charcoal, which is placed inside and ignited. The irons are made with drafts to keep the fire going, and the women must stop frequently to fan the fire or renew the charcoal. Often a busy woman has two irons going and sets one aside to heat while she irons with the other.

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462 252 463 Many women also prepare xangô, a small sardinelike fish caught in great quantities by the fishermen of Vila Recônca-

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vo. There are about twenty women in the town who are thus employed constantly, and others who work part-time with the fish. They go down to the beach, carrying five-gallon gasoline cans, when they see the fishermen coming in, and buy the fish by the canful at about Cr$25,00 a can, sometimes buying as many as ten canfuls. An exceptional catch for a day will run well over fifty cans, especially during the winter months. The women then take the fish home, clean them and pack them in salt for twenty-four hours, after which they put them on spits, two narrow slivers of wood cut from the dendê palm. Five fish go on each two spits. They are then hung out to dry in the sun for about two days. If it rains, the drying takes longer, and frequently many are lost. Few of the women ever become accustomed to the odor of the salted, drying fish, and they complain bitterly about it. But they know that there is always a market for the dried product, and this compensates to some extent for the unpleasantness involved. A can of fish usually provides 150 to 200 spits, and they are sold for Cr$25,00 to Cr$30,00 a hundred spits. The price is generally slightly higher if they are sold at the weekly Monday market in Centro, to which the women as a rule go themselves, or to which they send the fish with a friend. Otherwise, they are sold to the occasional tropeiros de cima[3] who come to town to buy them at a slightly lower price. It is said that the small dried fish are considered a fine dish by the people of the sertão.

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Other women prepare shrimp in much the same manner, although the prices are higher. A can of shrimp costs between Cr$100,00 and Cr$150,00 depending upon the size of the catch and the season of the year, for during Lent and especially during Holy Week, when the demand is greater, all prices of fish and seafood rise. A can of shrimp gives two hands (duas mãos), or forty spits, of shrimp, which are sold at the average of Cr$100,00 a hand; the price of the finished product varies with the price of the fresh shrimp. However, a man in Vila Recôncavo recently built an icehouse, and the women have worked less with shrimp, for the fishermen sell directly to

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3. Tropeiros de cima (troopers from up north) are men from the sertão who descend to the Recôncavo with mules loaded with farina to sell, and return north with fish and fruit from the Recôncavo.

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462 the icehouse where the shrimp are kept cool; they can then be
438 sent to Salvador every other day on the boat to be sold as fresh
251 shrimp at the market and on the streets. "Camarão da Vila,"
[443] (shrimp from Vila) the cry of the Salvador street peddlers, is well known throughout the capital city.

463 The majority of people in Group 2 live down the hill from the older part of town, near the beach or out along the road
[361] which leads to the factory. They are more or less dependent upon Group 1, not only for the money they receive in return
[571] for services, but also for many kinds of favors which fall un-
[476] der the heading of patronship. They are seldom able to employ the services of Group 3 for such jobs as house building or repairing; they must rely on an old form of cooperative labor, called the batalhão (work group), to make or repair a house wall or to put on a new thatch roof. Frequently a patron will arrange for another of his "dependents" to transport the mud necessary for the palm thatch (taipa), and there is no cost involved for the recipient; but she must arrange the labor.

463 The people of Group 2 fetch their own water from the wells,
312 and usually their own firewood from the tideswamps. There
[313] are several men and women in town who make a business of carrying these two commodities. Such work is contractual. A household contracts for so many cans or barrels of water a day and so many loads of firewood a week. If they do not have enough money for these services they must carry them out themselves. During the dry summer months fetching water is a tedious business, for the majority of the wells dry up early in the summer. In the very dry summer of 1950-51, all the wells in town but one went dry. The one which continued to supply water did so at a much diminished rate. This well is completely encased in cement, for it provides the only drinking water in town. There is a small pipe serving as a spigot. During the dry season it takes from ten to twenty minutes to fill a five-gallon tin can from this pipe. As a result, there were always long lines of women waiting for water, and a sojourn of three or four hours at the well was common. Many of the more ambitious women used to get up at two or three in the morning and go to the well, making several trips so they would be free of this onerous duty during the day.
[821] This, however, took a great deal of courage, for most people
[492] in Vila Recôncavo are afraid of the dark, and no timid woman would make the trip out to the well at night. By general agreement, the men who carry water in barrels on donkeys walked

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two miles west of the town to another well which did not have to serve so many people. Many women also made this trip, with five-gallon cans of water on their heads, and with their children carrying smaller cans.

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In the past many women of this group possessed heirlooms: jewelry handed down to them by their female ancestors who had been favorite slaves of their white masters and who had received valuable brooches, necklaces, rings, and earrings from them, in accordance with the old pattern of luxury which extended even to certain slaves. In most cases this jewelry has now been sold at some time of emergency to antique dealers who scour the rural areas looking for such treasures, which are now highly valuable and sought by collectors.

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Group 3 is made up of independent artisans, that is, people who are self-employed. It differs from Group 1 in that its members rarely employ the services of other people in personal or household activities, although gardeners, carpenters, tailors, fishermen, bricklayers, and barbers do employ people in their business. The large number of men employed by the bricklayers should be explained, as it is not a permanent category. The census from which these data were taken was made in June, 1950, at the height of the work of paving the town streets with cobblestones. A number of bricklayers had come to town for this work, and they as well as the resident bricklayers had to employ workmen to do the work with them for the municipal government. When the paving was finished there was no longer a need for so many bricklayers, and they either left or went into fishing or some other occupation. Since the data were collected, the tailors have also moved to another town as a result of the lack of business in Vila Recôncavo.

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The majority of men in this group are the fishermen, who number 132, plus 5 who are employed rather than self-employed. They fish from canoes, with several types of nets, for a large variety of fish. The federal statistics agent lists seventeen types of fish, including shrimp, giving the following weight and price for the year's activities: 129,070 kilograms and Cr$921.540,00 (slightly under $50,000.00). Shrimp earns slightly more than half this total, Cr$468.000,00, although the amount in kilograms is only 26,000. Xangô, already mentioned, is the second most profitable product, bringing in Cr$195.000,00 for 65,000 kilograms. The statistics agent admits that these figures are approximations

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226 based on what the fishermen claim to have caught, for the fish
43 is not weighed and the price is based on a low average price per kilogram for all types of fish. As a rule fish is sold by the can and not by weight. The one man in town who buys fish for his icehouse usually buys "by the eye," that is, by estimation of how many kilograms he is getting. If anything, however, the above figures err by underestimation.

463 The life of the fisherman is a rugged one, and his schedule
226 follows the incoming and outgoing tides. There are six types of nets most commonly used: the circular casting net (tarrafa)
227 and the deep net (rêde de fundo) or drag net (rêde de arrasto) to catch shrimp; the resse and abaladeira, the former for xangó and the latter for sardines and tainha (a small sardine-like fish); and the calão and calãozinho for the larger fish. These are the most popular nets, but there also exist several others used with less frequency, such as the arraieira, a net used only to catch the arraia, or skate fish; the pesqueiro, a pole-and-net trap to catch all kinds of large fish; the caçoeira, to catch the caçao and other very large fish; and the jererê, a small basketlike net used by women and children along the shore to catch small fish and crabs. In addition, a long line with many hooks on it (grosseira), baited to catch large fish,
226 is used. The hook and line is very seldom used. Fish poison is employed. Tingui, a toxic plant, is mashed and scattered on the water in the mangue at low tide, and it stupefies the caramurú and miroró, two inhabitants of the mangue.

The favorite shrimp banks are directly in front of the town of Vila Recôncavo, at the mouth of the river which empties into the Bay of All Saints. The preferred time to use the circular casting net for shrimp is early on a windless morning, during the hours of full tide when the incoming surge has ended and the outgoing current has not yet started. The shrimp fleet seen from the heights of the town presents a scene of utmost tranquility, for there is little action involved other than the quick throwing out and the slow pulling in and folding of the net. Tarrafa fishing is a one-man job. The man paddles a canoe out to the area where the shrimp are usually to be found, which in this case is a large submerged rock on the edge of the river channel, around which shrimp are numerous. Arriving there the fisherman ships his paddle and begins to cast his net, standing in the stern of the canoe. As a rule there are between twenty and thirty fishermen casting in and about the same place. The net is cone-shaped, the apex being

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attached to the canoe by a cord called the espia (literally, "it spies"), with which the fisherman can feel when the net has reached the bottom; he can also feel any activity within the net indicating that he has caught something. The net is about 18 feet high, and its round bottom has a circumference of approximately 120 feet. A series of lead weights are sewn into the bottom to carry it downward through the water. The whole net, with its lead, weighs between 5 and 6 kilograms. The sizes of nets vary with their age, for constant repair enlarges them or sometimes makes them smaller. While the man is fishing, the canoe remains drifting, undirected. As the tide begins to run out the fisherman must stop casting his net every so often to paddle the canoe back to the starting point and to keep it from being carried away from the fishing grounds. At other times, if the shrimp appear to be moving away, he picks up his paddle and follows them. The entire operation of casting the net, pulling it in, and emptying it into the bottom of the canoe takes from ten to twenty minutes. If the shrimp are present in great numbers the fisherman speeds up his activities; if not he moves more slowly. C. F. Ott calls the circular casting net "incontestably a Portuguese cultural element."[4]

226 [461] [177]

The period of fishing rarely lasts more than three hours, for by then the tide is moving more strongly and a breeze has arisen. These two factors upset the fishing for they move the canoes away from the fishing grounds. During the month there are approximately fifteen days of fishing with the casting net. If his luck is good a man may catch 20 to 30 kilograms of shrimp a day, and occasionally more; or else he may catch next to nothing. It should be stated that the author never saw a good-sized catch taken with any net, in spite of the great number of times he accompanied the fishermen.

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As a rule the fisherman owns his own casting net or borrows one. The canoe is usually rented, and the usual price is two cruzeiros for the morning's fishing. Shrimp bring from Cr$15,00 to Cr$25,00 a kilogram, so this type of fishing is relatively remunerative and involves little expense. A net

[422] [427] [435]

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4. C. F. Ott, "Os elementos culturais da pescaria baiana," Boletim do Museu Nacional (Rio de Janeiro), No. 4 (October, 1944), p. 31.

1 226 [435] costs about Cr$240,00 to make and lasts as long as ten years with good care.

227 The drag net, or deep net, as it is sometimes called, is a much larger net used to catch shrimp. It is 360 feet long, 168 feet wide, and has 420 feet of rope on one end and 480 [435] feet on the other. The top is equipped with wooden floats, and the bottom with lead weights. Such a net costs about [422] Cr$4,000,00 and is expensive to keep up, for it is easily torn [441] on submerged objects because of its size and weight. There are only six of them in the town; most of them belong to the merchants, who are the only ones who can afford the upkeep.

226 Fishing with this net is very complicated and requires the [461] services of at least ten men and two canoes, one large and one small. The owner seldom goes fishing. Instead, a master (mestre) is in charge of the operation, and the others in the crew are called "boys" (mocos). One of these is the baixador whose work is done standing in the water. His is an unpleasant job, and he runs the constant risk of being bitten by crabs, stung by large jellyfish, and cut by sharp shells on the bottom. The net is used only at the shrimp grounds already described, where the circular casting net is used, in front of the town. This net must also be used when the tide is at a standstill, because the current makes the heavy net unmanageable. The net is carried on the larger canoe which is paddled by six men, while four go in the smaller one. The canoes pause when they arrive at the customary point for launching the net, and almost everyone lights up a cigarette. There is usually some discussion among the fishermen in the various canoes as to who will launch his net first, but as a rule not more than four of the six nets are used on the same day. Since all four must be launched at exactly the same spot, there is an accepted order of first, second, third, and fourth. First yesterday is last today, each moving up one place each day. But if a crew is late in arriving the others will not wait very long, for the time for net work is short. Seldom do the four crews launch their nets more than twice in one morning. The last launching is called the "hard hard" (duradura), indicating the small returns obtained for such hard work. The first net to be launched usually catches the most shrimp.

[435] On a good day it is not unusual for the first crew to take in Cr$1,000,00 to Cr$2,000,00 worth of shrimp, especially if it [465] made two launchings. The method of paying the crew varies, but as a rule the owner takes between 40 and 50 per cent,

the remainder being divided among the crew, the master and baixador receiving slightly more than the moços. Most fishermen dislike fishing with the drag net for several reasons: although the catch is usually large, it must be divided among many men; there really should be thirteen men to handle the net, which limits the amount each receives, and when only ten participate, the work is much greater for each although the increase in pay is slight; also, the operation is a rather boring process involving long waiting periods. It is becoming more and more difficult to get a crew together. 226 465 226 461

The resse, used to catch xangó, and the abaladeira, used to catch other small fish such as sardines and tainha, present a different operation. The resse is a net of close weave, 660 feet long and 12 feet wide. Like the deep net, it has wooden floats on the top and lead weights on the bottom. A small canoe (18 to 20 feet) is used, and only two men are necessary. This net can be used with either the incoming or the outgoing tide, and at any place. The fishermen have certain favorite sand and shell banks where they like to fish, east of town. They launch the net when they see the schools of small fish breaking water. The resse is a recent innovation in Vila Recôncavo, where it was first used with great secrecy to prevent knowledge of its weave from falling into the hands of too many people. But now most fishermen in this part of the Bay of All Saints are acquainted with it, and the entire county lists twenty-five resse nets. 226 [178]

A second innovation with this net, and one which applies also to the abaladeira, is the cooperative launching of two nets at once in order to catch more fish. Two canoes participate, each with two men and a net. An exceptional catch for a six-hour period of fishing may run as high as Cr$600,00 and usually averages between Cr$300,00 and Cr$400,00. When two canoes fish together the total catch is divided equally between the two. The resse and abaladeira fishermen estimate that they can earn an average of Cr$15,00 every day of the year. This is considered relatively good, for they do not fish constantly. After a few profitable days they are inclined to give up for a period of time, resting and enjoying themselves. [178] [476] [435] [434] [461]

The calão is another large net requiring at least six men to manipulate it, working from the canoe and from the water as with the deep net. It is used to catch fish of all sizes except the very small xangó and shrimp. The net is 780 feet [461]

226 long and has ropes on each end 420 feet long. This net demands a large canoe. The usual size in use is 30 feet long.

226 Few of the fishermen own their own calão--most rent it
427 from a merchant who has one. It is rented by the master on a long-term basis rather than for just one trip. It is said that the master "toma conta da rede," meaning that he not only is fishing with the net, but also repairs it and dyes it when needed. The owner of the net, who usually also owns the canoe
226 and the paddles, receives 20 per cent of the profits of each trip. The remainder is divided among the six men, although the master and baixador each receive one-third more than the
[435] other four. Depending on how the fish are running, the calão may catch as much as Cr$1.000,00 to Cr$1.500,00 worth of fish per trip, or as little as Cr$120,00 worth. Two trips a day are made when the fishing is good. There are only eight of these nets in the town, and they are worth about Cr$1.500,00 apiece. The calãozinho is a smaller net of the same type, sometimes called the redinha, or little net. Although its op-
[178] eration is almost the same as that of the larger net, it re-
[461] quires only four men to maneuver it. However, it is becoming less and less popular as the resse increases in popularity.

227 On land, good care must be taken of the nets. After the fishing, the nets are carried up along the beach to the drying racks, long lines of poles over which the nets are spread. As they dry the master checks them, looking for holes which he immediately sews with a wooden bobbin and cotton thread.
[824] The nets are hand-woven of cotton, and dyed in water in which the bark of the red mangue has soaked. This turns the white cotton a dark reddish brown and protects it from the action of the salt water and the sun. A new net must be soaked in this dye every two or three days, and later every eight days.
227 The resse, abaladeira, and tarrafa are frequently woven by
286 women, and, unless worked on steadily, these nets may take
[462] as long as eight months to make. With steady work a circular casting net can be made in about twelve days. The women are
[461] paid Cr$12,00 per box of cotton line which contains twenty-
[435] five spools of cotton thread, and it takes five boxes to make an average-size net. The other nets require heavier thread and take much longer to make. The calão and the deep net are made by men, and a year is not considered too long for the
[824] manufacture of one. Piassava, a plant fiber which grows in
227 the Recôncavo, is used as line. The fishermen of Vila Recôncavo go to the southwestern part of the bay to purchase it. It

is very rough, though strong. Most of the men complain about it, for it cuts their hands when they are fishing and the action of salt water on the cuts inflames their hands badly. 227

There are between seventy-five and one hundred canoes in Vila Recôncavo, of all sizes, from 16 to about 50 feet long. They come from the southern part of the state, and cost between Cr$1.000,00 and Cr$6.000,00 apiece, depending on their size. They are made of vinhatico preto, a large tree from which an entire canoe can be hollowed out. As the canoes grow older, they are strengthened inside by the addition of ribs. The center support (pé do banco) has a hole in it through which a mast can be stepped for sailing. The fishermen use a variety of sails, but usually a simple square sail called traquête. Four flour sacks sewn together make a passable square sail. The canoes last a long time and are handed down from generation to generation. A hundred years is not an uncommon age for such a craft. 501 [313] [428]

The majority of fishermen cannot swim well and have a great respect for the water on two counts: the water is deep, which to them implies danger, and it is said to hide large, man-eating fish. There are stories of three men who have disappeared in the last few years, snatched away by fish. One was a baixador, and the other two fell overboard. Falling is not uncommon, for often a man steps on a small fish on the bottom of the canoe or simply slips on the wet wood, loses his balance, and goes overboard, as the canoes are narrow-beamed and unstable. In their canoes they are fearless, and will go anywhere in any weather. Severe storms which arise suddenly are ridden out in the canoe, which generally lies at anchor while the men lie under cover of the sail, peering out occasionally to see if the weather is clearing. Many of them, however, become violently ill on a larger boat during a storm. 501 226 [481] [825] [164]

Winter is the most productive season for fishing, although the most uncomfortable. There are many storms, and the rains are more or less constant. But the fishermen say that the mixture of salt water with the fresh water from small rivers emptying into the bay seems to produce many more fish than in the summer months. The fishermen dress only in a pair of shorts and a straw hat when fishing, and remain in the cold rain for hours on end. Colds are common among them, as is rheumatism among the older men. 226 [221] [132] [291] [164]

There is always a market for fish. There is a discussion currently going on in Vila Recôncavo, for some of the older 226 43

226 men say that the fish are leaving, while others say there are
43 just as many as ever. It is a difficult thing to prove one way or the other, for written records of the annual catches are only recent. However, there is no such thing as being unable to sell the fish they bring in. Many people in town have increased their consumption of fresh fish as a result of inflation, for it is less expensive than dried or fresh meat. The fishermen themselves eat a great deal of fish, always keeping enough out of a catch for their own family. The planters of the rural area complain that the fresh fish never arrive at the plantations any more as they did in the past. This is probably due to the icehouse in the town. The fishermen sell first to their "usual customers," the women who work with xangô and shrimp; what is left is sold to the icehouse to be packed and shipped to Bahia, rather than being sent out to the country.

226 The jererê, a small basketlike net built around an iron ring 1 1/2 feet in circumference, is used by women and children along the shore and is part of a subsistence activity. It catches only a small crab (siri), an occasional eel, and other small fish which are cooked for the table in the form of moqueca, a sort of stew highly seasoned with peppers and dendê oil. The tideswamps abound in a large crab called the caranguejo, which is also highly prized for the table. Children often catch these, but a man who does so is called a caranguejeiro, a derogatory term. The hunter seeks the crab by sticking his arm down into its hole, which is usually very deep, at least arm's length. As a result he is always covered with the thick black mud so typical of the tideswamps. Often a tropeiro de cima comes to the town and commissions someone to catch the crabs, which he wraps carefully in mud and leaves and carries to the northern hinterland to sell.

463 The second largest subgroup in Group 3 is composed of the
241 twenty-four gardeners (roçeiros) who are engaged in small-scale commercial farming, rather than subsistence horticulture. They live in town and have their small fields on the outskirts of Vila Recôncavo. All of these fields are located on the plantation Engenho Da Vila ("P" on map of community), and they range from one, two, or three acres in size to as many as fifteen acres, rented from the plantation at Cr$100,00
241 an acre per year. The major crops are manioc, bananas, and to a lesser extent tobacco, sugar cane for chewing (cana de chupar), corn, beans, and squash. Because there are only 265

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Because there are only 265 acres of manioc under cultivation in the entire county, production is far below the amount of farina consumed, and it is necessary to import the milled manioc tuber which constitutes the major dietary item of the people. In 1951 a municipal law was passed prohibiting the exportation of farina. Three times during the author's stay in the town there was a pronounced lack of farina, when there was almost none to be bought and its price per liter rose from one to three cruzeiros. That year's drought was also partly responsible for the shortage. 241 43 [262] [114] [731]

Bananas are the only commercial export crop of the gardeners. There are approximately 15,000 banana trees in the county, producing for the commercial market an annual production of 177,000 arms (cachos) of bananas, providing an income of Cr$500.000,00. The fruits are sold to a middleman from Bahia who knows most of the gardeners in the area. Once a week, or every two weeks, he arrives at the town in a large sailboat to receive the fresh bananas, which he then takes to Bahia and sells. Sometimes a gardener sells an arm of bananas to a woman in town who then resells them to townspeople. Few people in town have to buy them, however, for each household has at least one banana tree in the back yard. An acre of land supports about 144 banana trees, which when well cared for produce 1,500 arms a year. The fruits are sold in cargoes of fifty arms at Cr$160,00 a cargo, so that one acre earns about Cr$5.000,00 a year. This sum is almost entirely profit, for gardeners do most of their own work, except when they have too much land for one man to take care of properly. Hired help is paid in accordance with the service performed: ten cruzeiros for cutting fifty arms of bananas, twenty for transporting them to the dock if the gardener does not have his own animals, and a hundred cruzeiros an acre for "cleaning," i.e., cutting down and burning old stalks and leaves and keeping the weeds cut down. 245 43 [442] [311] 245 46

Manioc presents a slightly different case, for the raw product must be processed before it is consumed. The manioc root from which farina is made is the poisonous variety and must be peeled and grated, pressed to remove the juice, and then toasted. The final product is a white powder, fine or coarse depending upon the type of grater used. Most of the local product is a coarse type (farinha de guerra). One of the gardeners has a flour house where the tubers are converted into flour. He mills his own manioc there and lets others use the machinery, charging them one liter of farina out of each ten they produce. 252 [427]

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252 they produce. The juice which is squeezed out is saved, and starch is extracted from it to be used in pressing clothes. The nonpoisonous variety of manioc (aipim) is used to a much smaller extent. Usually the tuber is boiled in water and then eaten as though it were a potato, for it does not need any processing to render it edible.

241 463 Ten of the twenty-four gardeners concentrate on manioc, while the others raise bananas. Most of them also grow their own household subsistence crops, scattered among the manioc and bananas, such as corn, beans, squash, and often a few shoots of excellent tobacco. Many of them also produce a quarter or half acre of a heavy type of sugar cane (cana de chupar) which is stripped of its bark, cut into short pieces, and masticated, the pulp being spit out after the person has [146] sucked out the juice. Almost everyone indulges in this, and [825] the sugar which is absorbed is undoubtedly a great source of energy. The plots (roças) are fenced and protected by an ox [789] skull stuck on one of the fence posts to keep out the evil eye.

There are many gardeners to the west of the town who rent 241 their small plots from either the Engenho da Vila or the fed- 463 eral school. This area has not produced sugar cane for many years, for it lacks the surface covering of massapê. These 554 gardeners are often called matutos ("hicks"), real backwoods- [427] men who get along on subsistence agriculture and seldom leave their rural neighborhood. They are as far removed from contact with modern civilization as anyone could be while living in the Recôncavo. They live in well-hidden, small houses of mud and thatch, and one can ride through this section without seeing anyone.

443 The peddlers (ambulantes) listed in Group 3 have their 463 houses in Vila Recôncavo but go from town to town selling their wares. While they do some trading at the fairs they also [605] cover a regular route independent of the fairs. Compadresco, the system of godparentship, is important to them, for the houses of such relations give them a base of operations in every town they visit. One of the three is a man who buys and sells jewelry, and the other two are women; one sells cloth for dresses and the other sweets (doces), peanuts, and dried shrimp. The latter is one of the famous street merchants (bahianas) of Salvador; she sits on a street corner before a portable table selling favorite Bahian snacks such as acarajé and abará. She goes to Salvador on the boat on Saturdays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays, returning to Vila Recôncavo the

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following days to make new supplies. On the return trip she brings wheat flour, peanuts, potatoes, and whatever is not available in Vila Recôncavo, as special orders (encomendas) for people in the town, who pay the price of the article plus a small percentage for her trouble in doing the shopping. 443 463

The people of Group 3 do most of their own labor; the men follow their trade while their womenfolk do the housework, care for the children, fetch water and firewood, and do their own laundry. This group also uses the batalhão for house building and repairing, although many employ the services of a carpenter to do the woodwork or a bricklayer to make a foundation, in contrast to the people of the preceding group, whose houses are usually built with a minimum of crude woodwork and without masonry foundations. The majority of men in this group, the fishermen, live in the lower part of town, in the areas known as Boqueirão, Caquende, and Cortume (see map of town). The others are scattered throughout the town, up the hill in back of the area of sobrados, and on the side of the hill sloping down to the beach. The fishermen have their own chapel built near the beach, which they support with the tithe (dizimo), a tenth of their earnings. The people in the fishing group seldom go up the hill to the older part of town, feeling that they do not belong there. 463 [462] [342] [361] [346] [764]

A few words need to be said about Group 4, which consists of thirty-one people who do not fit into the other three groups. Eleven of them, who listed themselves as unemployed, are unskilled persons, without a trade, and without a patron or service employment skill. For the most part they are women, and although an examination of the census data shows that they have no visible means of support, they do engage in subsistence activities such as carrying water, cutting spits for xangô, making dendê palm oil, or making fish nets, but not on a regular contract basis. Since they engage in a variety of small independent activities and work for different people at different times, they listed themselves as unemployed in the sense of being without a regular occupation. 463 464

Nine people in Group 4 lived in the town at the time of the census but worked at the Usina São Pedro. Three men worked on the sugar plantation nearest town, preferring to live in town rather than on the plantation, since the trip back and forth is so short. And, finally, the group includes eight people who were employed by the Institute of Vila Recôncavo as nurses, pharmacists, bookkeeper, and bartender. These people

[Town Life]

were included in Group 4 because they worked for a nonprofit charitable institution.

Occupationally, the town dwellers differ sharply from the people of the rural area of the community. Their work rarely requires them to go out of town to the rural area. Of the entire working force of the town, only twelve men are employed in the sugar industry. Even during the harvest season, the town does not supply men to work in the cane fields or the factory. However, the few people in town who have mules occasionally rent them to planters during the harvest season to help carry the cane. The twenty-five petroleum workers have to leave town each day for work, but their work is also very different from that of any of the rural dwellers.

In the town, as on the plantations, there is specialization and division of labor. Among the fishermen, each man fishes constantly with one or two types of net. Change from one type of net to another is unusual and disliked. A fisherman seldom supplements his fishing by planting a garden. Instead, he depends upon his catch of fish to give him enough money to buy garden produce, as well as meat and manufactured articles. In his turn, the gardener never fishes, depending upon the returns from his garden to buy what he does not produce.

Daily routine for the fisherman varies considerably because it depends closely upon the tides, while the daily routine of merchants, teachers, and bureaucrats, as well as household servants and craftsmen, follows a more citylike pattern, beginning at about seven in the morning and ending late in the evening. There is also less seasonal variance in the work of the town dwellers, for it does not depend upon the planting and harvesting of crops as does that of the rural workers.

The town and plantation ways of life also vary considerably with respect to paternalism, which plays a much smaller part in the life of the town dweller. Most of the municipal bureaucrats have patrons among the rural landowners who have placed them in their bureaucratic positions. Bureaucrats, in turn, are to a smaller extent the patrons of people living in the town, particularly of their household servants. Although they have neither the financial resources nor the prestige to provide the security which a rural landowner can offer his people, they do what they can to help whenever asked. This help often takes the form of asking their own patrons for help

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for another person. In this way paternalism helps to link the two subcultures together. Nevertheless, the town subculture is much more of a money culture, and in general the people of the town are more independent than those of the rural area.

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6. Class and Race

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IT WAS the colonial sugar-cane plantation system which gave the Recôncavo many of its characteristic traditions, and which formed patterns of class and race or color relations which have persisted in the region in a modified form. More than three million Negroes were imported from Africa during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, and a large proportion of them were brought to northeastern Brazil. The Portuguese plantation owners became rich and formed a regional aristocracy which led a luxurious and ostentatious way of life. The slaves and their masters formed two distinct social groups. As the colony developed, intermediate groups came into existence. As early as 1549 there existed a small independent group of people, composed of Europeans and mestiços, for many Europeans who came to the colony did not receive land grants. They were merchants, soldiers, or priests in the colony, gente pequena (small people), free but without the social and political influence of the landowners. The mestiços date back to the times when Portuguese ships first began to touch the coast of Brazil, even before colonization began. A notable example is Caramurú, a Portuguese sailor who was stranded on the shore of what is now Bahia and who had a large mestiço family by the time the city of Salvador was founded in 1549.[1]

The early period of colonization is crucial to an understanding of the Brazilian class complex of today, since ap-

1. See Thales de Azevedo, Povoamento da cidade do Salvador, (Bahia, 1949), pp. 57 ff.

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parently the criteria for class distinctions were evolved and "set" at that time. The white Portuguese males, and the few Portuguese women present, were the owners of the land and of the people, both Indian and Negro, who were drawn into the cultural milieu which became Brazilian society. They were the group who set up and presented the ideal behavior patterns to the others. They were at the peak of the status and prestige hierarchy, while the slave was at the bottom. Thus was established the original dichotomy of the whites as upper-class and the colored people as lower-class. As colonial development continued, other factors were added to this basic one by the will of the whites. For it was the white group which was primarily responsible for the creation of the mestiço, and it was the white who placed this new mestiço socially between himself and the darkest colored person. 175 56

It is clear that color distinctions arose along with the creation of the multishaded mestiço group, and that at the same time other factors were brought into being, qualifying that of color, such as education, family, and occupation. White masters who had children by dark slaves often raised them as legitimate if they were light-skinned, that is, if the difference between father and child was not too great. In such a case the child could become a member of the upper end of the social hierarchy, with education, family, and a position in which he could command others rather than do any manual labor. 175 563 565*

This was particularly the case when the white master did not have a legitimate, European wife to bear him children. If the difference between father and offspring was too great for the child to be easily acceptable as the son of a European, the child was nevertheless not infrequently partially recognized and helped by the father in some fashion. He then took his place among the gente pequena, free but illegitimate and rather dark-skinned. With marked Negroid features his status was even lower than the European gente pequena. An illegitimate child who proved to be clearly Negroid was likely to be left in bondage with its mother. 175 563 565* 848

Thus, early in Brazilian society the degree of skin darkness and the kind of facial features and hair form became important. Opportunity for personal advancement was linked with similarity to the white European, who was the giver of status and who liked to give higher status to those in his image. 175 563 565*

Until 1888 there were two major social categories: slaves and nonslaves. Within the nonslave group, however, there 175 565* 567

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567 were definite subdivisions or classes, with the white European landowner at the top and the darkest-colored free laborer at the bottom. This bottom group grew constantly as a result of the addition of manumitted slaves, especially during the second half of the nineteenth century.

Abolition of slavery removed the strongest barrier to mobility for the largest homogeneous segment of Brazilian population, that of the slaves. Overnight the former slaves became the bottom rank of a new prestige system based mainly on five major criteria: economic power or wealth, profession, education, family, and color. As the lower ranks swelled in size after the abolition, color decreased in importance for mobility, as the other four factors became increasingly meaningful for this large segment of the population. Because of the fact that for three hundred years such a large part of the nonslave population had been colored or mestiço, and there was already in existence a social scale which included them, the entrance of the former slaves into free society did not upset what was already a fully functioning class system, even though the addition of so many people to the bottom class made this by far the largest, numerically.

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*565 The abolition of slavery also gave increased emphasis to class competition, or at least to the possibilities of competition among a greatly enlarged number of people. Nevertheless, the gap between the top of the hierarchy, the regional aristocracy, and any of those below remained as great as before, restricting class competition to the members of the lower classes. Few people from below were able to enter the uppermost group unless they were white and had in some way accumulated sufficient wealth. Some merchants moved into this class through the purchase of property as former aristocratic families died out. As time went on, many people in the upper brackets of the middle class maintained easy social relations with the upper class.

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*565 However, formal marriage between colored people of the ranks below and white people of the upper class has always been forbidden; the small group of landowners and other upper-class people continued to intermarry as they had for centuries. Nevertheless, even this barrier has broken down occasionally, for upper-class people have married and do marry persons known to be of mixed descent. Usually, however, the mestiço partner in such a union is very light-skinned and comes from a family in good economic circumstances which

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has already been accepted by other members of the upper class as their equal or nearly so.

Race or color prejudice finds its strongest expression at just this point--marriage into the upper class--but even here, if the mestico is sufficiently light-skinned, educated, and well mannered, he or she can and does marry into the best families. The importance of the "bleaching process" in this society cannot be overestimated, for apparently the trend is toward lighter skins and straighter hair on a national scale. In the case of a marriage between one known to be of mixed descent and a member of an upper-class family, no point is ever made of the fact that one partner is "less white" than the other. Aside from the question of marriage into the small top group, color merges in importance with the other criteria, such as economic situation and education, in the contention for class position.

The three-class system which has been implied in the foregoing passages has recently been thoroughly described.[2] Although finer local distinctions have called for the addition of a fourth class here, Vila Recôncavo provides an excellent example of the various national classes. As in all discussions about this community, the urban-rural distinctions must be kept in mind. The local class system may be portrayed as follows:

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TABLE 2
SOCIAL CLASSES IN VILA RECÔNCAVO

	Urban	Rural
Class A	none	landowners
Class B	local bureaucrats, merchants, professional people	plantation administrators, mill technicians, specialists, office help
Class C	fishermen, gardeners, craftsmen	millworkers, field hands
Class D	laundresses, servants, persons without steady employment or craft	none

2. Charles Wagley, ed., Race and Class in Rural Brazil (Paris, 1952), pp. 144 ff.

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 8011 Bahia Brazilians 8011
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The above scheme shows that Class A, composed of landowners, who in this community are sugar-cane planters, is found only in the rural area of Vila Recôncavo. As has already been indicated, this class still follows the old pattern of the plantation master in that its members are part-time residents of the county, maintaining winter homes in the capital. This class is locally composed of seventeen adults and their sixteen children. A total of five families are represented, three of which are related to one another through marriage. These people have no competition from below in Vila Recôncavo. In the capital they are part of the national upper class, and as such are subject to all the stress and strain of any cosmopolitan "high society" group. They are largely descendants of former plantation masters, barons, viscounts, and other former aristocrats, who belonged traditionally to the national, as well as the local, upper class. Other members of these families are successful lawyers, doctors, and educators, and their political participation in state and federal matters is as traditional as their landowning. They belong to the upper class because they are legitimate descendants of former white aristocrats with long family traditions, because they are large-scale landowners and therefore major economic agents, because they are highly educated, some of them holding advanced degrees from European or North American universities, and because they engage in traditional gentlemen's professions such as law, medicine, and engineering.

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This is the group which is rapidly shedding the constraints of traditional behavior and embracing new ideas which come to them from Europe and North America. In contrast, the class immediately below them has for its goals and its patterns of ideal behavior the now historic upper-class traditions such as the double sex standard, the cloistering and protection of women, and dignity of dress and formal manners.

On the local scene it can be said that it is impossible for anyone to move up into Class A, for while its relations with the lower classes are cordial, they take place on the level of paternalism. The gulf between this small upper class and any of the classes below it is so great that it is inconceivable that anyone should cross it. In Salvador this upper class is considerably larger and less homogeneous, and although the usual pattern within this class is for social life to be spent em familia--that is, in extended family gatherings rather than gatherings of several different families--the class is

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constantly growing, or at least changing. New members are added, people who have made their mark on the society and who, although they have less family tradition behind them, are on the whole acceptable to the elite.

Locally the upper-class members are addressed by the formal term o senhor and a senhora, at times by meu patrão or meu branco (my white), frequently by title name, such as "Dr. Louis," and in some cases by the traditional intimate term of yoyô (for a man) and yayá (for a woman). At times even the very formal, older term of Vossa Excelencia (Your Excellency) is used. Yoyô is an old term formerly used by some slaves toward their masters, and although it is generally restricted to white people, there are occasions when a member of a mulatto family is known to his intimates as yoyô. With rare exceptions, members of the upper class address all those below them simply as você, and usually use the imperative form of the verb in giving directions. These two linguistic devices tend to strengthen and maintain the differences between these groups of people.

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Relations between members of Class A and those below are simple. As has already been stated, the landowners avoid the town of Vila Recôncavo, and it is seldom that Class B town people are invited to a social gathering at a plantation or at the factory, so that these two classes are rarely in social contact. Since the rural Class B consists mainly of overseers and other employees of Class A, relationships between them are those of employee and employer. However, when a planter celebrates a special occasion such as a birthday, the overseers are invited, and may "drop in" as a matter of form or courtesy; they escape as soon as possible, for they are rarely included in the brincadeiras (plays, or jokes) of the owners and their guests. For the most part the overseers and others of their class come alone, without their wives and families. This is an important indication of class position, for as a rule the wife of an overseer feels embarrassed in the company of gente (people) and refuses to go even when specially invited. The very strong em familia pattern, combined with the intimacy of the large families, makes it extremely difficult for a lower-class person to feel any sort of equality at such a gathering.

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During the course of field work the author was given a party, a Reis, a kind of surprise party which takes place during the period following the sixth of January, the Day of Kings.

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3: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1987 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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574 A group of people decide to "take a party of kings" to some-
123 one's house. They wait until the lights in the house go out
571 late at night and then knock on the door, playing and singing a song which is traditional for the purpose. The owner must then open the house and let everyone in to dance and make merry. The surprise element has been removed, for it is now considered courteous to sound out the householder to see whether he would like to be the recipient of such a party, and also to give him time to prepare food and drink. The householder also has the privilege of inviting anyone he wants who might be overlooked by those who organize the party. A group of young men approached the author in the prescribed manner, and in due course all arrangements were completed. The young men were to supply an electric phonograph and records for the dancing, and the author was requested to invite the rural planters, especially those with daughters.

A group of twenty-four planters and about a hundred townspeople, factory technicians, overseers, and a few men of urban Class C came to the party. The planters arrived in a truck a little early and entered the house, which was then closed
[533] and the lights turned off. Shortly afterwards the others arrived
[178] at the door and knocked, and the band began to play the long serenade. (A band was brought along for the song, which is an important part of the Reis; but nowadays no one likes to dance to a hometown band when records are available, so the men played only the serenade and then put their instruments away.) At the end of the song, the doors and windows were opened and the guests began to pour in.

571 The rooms of the house were small, but all the furniture
*565 had been removed to make room for dancing in the two largest
574 rooms, which were joined by two wide doors. At the begin-
535 ning of the party everyone was very formal and shy; the young
.123 men remained on one side of the room, the young women on the other, and the entire planter group in a huddle by itself.
571 Gradually things got under way, and as drinks were served to esquentar a gente (warm up the people) as many as could dance in the cramped quarters did so. For the first hour or so all the guests mingled, dancing with one another; then gradually the members of Class A began to pull away, at first beginning to dance among themselves and finally usurping a third room in which they danced away from the others, uninterrupted by anyone.

Reactions to this were varied in the days after the party

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when the affair was discussed. The young men were rather disappointed by the withdrawal of the upper-class girls, for they had looked forward to dancing with them with great expectations. Their disappointment, however, was expressed by saying, "We dance differently, and since it was the first time together there wasn't time to get used to each others' style." Some of the older men simply asked, "What did you expect? You know they don't mix with us." The planters, on the other hand, enjoyed the party but were embarrassed by the fact that they had created a separate group and ended up by saying that "the only kind of good party is a family party, which it was for us."

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This party was by no means typical, for the very existence of such an affair was due to the presence of a stranger in the town who was able to bring together the different elements. Under other conditions it would not have taken place. Under the novel conditions, each group after completing the formalities withdrew to itself, enjoying the party and creating no embarrassing moments for the host. Reflection on what had happened pointed out to everyone the distance between the two groups, but there was no bitterness or resentment shown by anyone. It passed as an incident, and afterwards people discussed only the part of the party they had enjoyed, ignoring the rest.

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Class A members participate in a broader schedule of activities in Salvador, where not only planters, but also professional, commercial, and industrial people mix. The children of Class A go to private schools, belong to the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts (organizations which have not as yet penetrated the rural zone) and to social clubs for sports and dancing. Their parents participate in a round of social activities including the theater, lectures, dances, and anniversaries. Birthdays are usually important celebrations, when as many members of the extended family as possible gather. For special occasions, such as a wedding in other parts of the family, they may go to Rio de Janeiro; at other times they go there simply for a vacation or on a shopping tour. Those who own plantations usually spend only the summer harvest season in the country. It is vacation time for the children, and they invite relatives and friends to spend some time with them swimming, fishing, hunting, and horseback riding. The entire area is their playground. Their parents participate in these activities as much as possible after their official duties of plan-

*565 tation administration are over. In general, however, neither the children nor the parents mix with the permanent residents of Vila Recôncavo. Although as small children they may have a worker's son as a constant playmate, by the time they are teenagers this relationship has usually faded into a fond memory.

*565 458 The standard of living of this class is far above that of any of the other local groups. It is important to realize that because of the fluctuations of the sugar market, members of this class have not always had fluid wealth at their command, while at other periods they have been undeniably wealthy. But even during a slump they have been able to raise money when necessary. One of the major reasons that planters turned to the professions was the need to assure themselves of a continued income when the sugar market falls. At such times their main activities are directed toward earning a living in the city. But at those times when sugar producing is profitable the practicing of the activities becomes a strain, and one or the other must suffer. Nevertheless, at any time these people have earned enough to maintain a standard of living which compares favorably with that of the upper class in any large city. Households are complete with refrigerators, radios, and other electrical appliances which must be imported. Many have automobiles, receive magazines from abroad, follow Parisian dress styles, take interest in international affairs, and in general lead a life of wide interests. In the rural zone their houses are much better than those of any others, often having running water, electricity, and a full range of service provided by servants. Usually the household servants move from country to city with the family.

*565 511 [416] [207] [184] [357] [166]

*565 571 Class B in the rural zone of the community is made up of plantation overseers, factory technicians, and white-collar workers of the factory offices. It is almost as small as Class A, comprising about twenty adult members. As in the case of the planters, who associate with other planters outside the community, the overseers of various plantations have reunions. There is much more social contact between the overseers and the mass of workers, however, than between the planters and the workers. The planters usually know all the workers on their plantations, as well as their families; but although there is frequent visiting and chatting between the women of the two groups and between the males of the two groups, there is little basis for conversation. The planta-

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The planta- 565 *
tion worker's world is small, and conversational topics are 571
limited to family matters such as births, deaths, marriages, [521]
sickness, and other intimate details of personal life, the
problems of work, and difficulties of any sort. The planter can
know the daily life and thoughts of the workers only through
observation, for he himself lives quite differently. However,
his knowledge of the workers is apt to be profound in spite
of the differences, and he knows much more of their lives
than they know of his. On the other hand, visiting between [574]
the workers and the members of Class B is on a much more
equal basis, for the differences between their modes of living
and thinking are small.

When the workers are invited to a party by the planters, 565 *
it is usually an affair given for them, such as a Christmas 571
celebration. At such a time the planter is host and spectator, 574
rather than host and participant. At other times the workers
may get together a song and dance group, a samba, and go to
the owner's house for the evening. This is frequently ex-
plained as "keeping the patron from being lonely." Again the [535]
owner is spectator, for the samba, performed exclusively by
women, is a type of folk dance seldom engaged in by the more
sophisticated upper class.

Class B in the rural area is only beginning to feel any sort 565 *
of group consciousness, for the occupational institutions it
represents are relatively new and it is not yet aligned in any
way with the corresponding class in town. There are two over-
seers who lack any formal education--indeed, who cannot read
or write. In all cases the male members of this class have
set up and maintained a family, educating their children and
seeing to it that they marry as well as possible. As a rule
such men are "self-made"--they have risen from the ranks
of workers as a result of their own ability, sagacity, sense
of responsibility, and desire to improve themselves. They are
distinguished from the workmen by these traits, which seem
to develop even further as they have the opportunity to use
their initiative.

Members of this group usually acquire numerous posses- 565 *
sions of their own, such as horses, oxen and carts, mules, 423
and donkeys which can be put to gainful use. They also op- [422]
erate small stores on their plantations--in one case even a [443]
chain of stores, one on each of three plantations. They also [466]
try to buy a small farm somewhere nearby. Frequently the
employer facilitates such acquisitions as a sort of bonus,
lending money or even giving some to the overseer.

lending money or even giving some to the overseer. Some of the members of Class B even acquire property in Salvador or in Centro, such as a house or houses which they may rent. It is the possession of this material wealth, plus the position of responsibility and authority, the greater proximity to the owner, and the invariably legalized status of the man's family which distinguish him from those below, placing him in a class by himself. In the case of the higher-placed white-collar workers of the factory, education is also important.

In material possessions other than those already listed, Class B differs considerably from the other two classes, having much less than Class A but much more than Class C. Their houses are always better and larger than those of the workers, and they usually have electricity supplied by the plantation. They generally have complete sets of manufactured dining and living room furniture, better bedroom furniture than the scanty belongings of the workers, china, rather than the clay dishes (nagé) of the workers, and table service for as many as a dozen persons. Usually their clothes are better and more numerous. Overseers are well known for their use of khaki coats, shirts, ties, and riding breeches, their well-polished leather boots and their felt hats, in contrast with the more informal sports clothes of the landowners and with the ragged, tight trousers and shirt and the straw hat of the shoeless rural worker.

Class B in the town of Vila Recôncavo is represented by Group 1 as described in the preceding chapter, with a few exceptions such as the minor municipal employees and a few of the smaller-scale merchants and lower-rated petroleum workers. Because there are no representatives of Class A in the town, Class B represents the top of the urban social scale. It is a class which has long existed in the town and which has always been composed of more or less the same occupation groups. For the most part, members of this stratum live on the hill which constitutes the old part of Vila Recôncavo, and seldom go down to the newer section. There are fourteen persons residing in town, plus their eight children, who are considered pure Caucasoid; they are all members of this local upper class. Three of them are foreign-born Franciscans who do not participate in much of public life once their official duties are completed. The others are brancos da terra ("whites of the land," a term which will be explained later in this chap-

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ter) and homens de côr (men of color) including a few pretos (blacks).

Most individuals in this class are conscious of their "superiority" over the bulk of the town population, because of their higher economic status, the kind of work they do (usually white-collar), their better educations, better family traditions, and whiter, or at least lighter, skins. They are conscious of the fact that they are at the top of the scale on the local scene, and that to go any higher is impossible in the town. To do this they would have to move to a city. If one had a special ability he might be able to improve his condition in a large city, but he might also remain unrecognized. In the town he is the "big frog in the little pond," and this seems to give a certain amount of satisfaction to many.

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People of Class B seek to maintain favorable relations with the rural landowners, who dispense the municipal patronage and have the contacts in Salvador necessary to influence federal and state appointments, since members of their families are frequently state and federal government representatives.

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Only the merchants of Class B are in a relatively independent position, for they can operate independently of politics. Their market is the town population and is in no way dependent upon trade or patronage from the planters or their workers. There are no traditional merchant families in Vila Recôncavo. All contemporary storekeepers are persons who have worked their way up from fishing or some other activity to storekeeping.

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This class is slowly growing, and there are certain standards to which all its members conform, such as living in the old part of town, dressing with more care than the lower classes, supporting the church and patronizing the few religious holiday celebrations, sending their children to Salvador for their secondary education, owning radios, good dishes and furniture, displaying family solidarity and good manners, and maintaining a good relationship with members of Class A. But there is little or no cohesion among members of the group. They seldom act as a unit or express a group opinion (except to condemn candomblé, the local variation of African cultism).

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The social life of these people is definitely limited and to some extent follows the same pattern as that of the rural members of the same class, in that the men go out more than do their wives. The women of this group remain at home most

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517 of the time, visiting little and receiving the local gossip from
[546] their servants. Since the advent of movies, however, it has
become fashionable for husband and wife and sometimes the
[541] children to attend the show together. When the circus comes
to town it is now common for them to go as a family at least
[794] once. As a rule, however, church services are attended separately, the wives and daughters going together and the men singly if at all, and standing in the back rather than sitting
[574] with the family. Dinners, card parties, or social gatherings with friends in the house, such as are common to North American small towns, do not exist here at all. About the only traveling these people do is to Salvador, where they stay with relatives while they make short visits, go to the doctor, or go shopping.

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871 Even the older members of Class B are less well educated than those of Class A, and do not belong to families which are nationally prominent. In many cases they have relatives in Salvador, but in no case do they maintain a second home there. Although their children may go to primary school in Vila Recôncavo, which the children of Class A would never do, they are sent to Salvador for further education; and several of the present generation are studying for degrees in law and medicine. As has already been pointed out, this class engages in
*565
[571] little social activity in common with Class A, and in almost
[867] none with rural Class B persons. Daughters of families belonging to this class are carefully chaperoned and have little
[582] freedom. Their lives are spent at home, sewing, embroidering, and helping their mothers in the house. Their prospects for marriage are poor. This applies also to the schoolteachers
*565 who are sent to the town and who also belong to this class.
582 There is little opportunity for them to marry in Vila Recôncavo unless they accept a social inferior, which commonly
875 happens to rural schoolteachers in Brazil. "Felipe," as the schoolteacher's husband is generally known, is always a "no-good" supported by his wife. There are two cases in Vila Recôncavo of local upper-class wives who work--they are both schoolteachers, supplementing their husbands' incomes and alleviating the dullness of their lives.

*565 Class C in the rural area consists of the field hands and the factory workers, who constitute the major part of the population. There are no "pure whites" in this group, but a scat-
[184] tering of "whites of the land." In general the factory workers consider themselves superior to the agricultural laborers;

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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they are generally conceded to be so by the field hands and the members of classes A and B, because their occupations are more specialized and they work in the mill. There are actually several factors which distinguish them from the field laborers, for in addition to receiving protection by national legislation, including minimum salaries and rights to vacations and medical services, they receive from the factory electric light for their houses and firewood. In addition, factory workers do not plant gardens to supply their farina, and they consider themselves far superior to the agricultural laborers in that their own wives "do not use the hoe" (nao pegam na enxada). 565* 184 [656] [466]

At the factory nucleus where both millworkers and the agricultural laborers of one plantation live in the same place, the houses of the former are grouped in the middle of the village, clustered about the owner's chalet, while those of the latter are on the fringes, farther from the usineiro's house, the mill, and the large store. The factory workers' houses are better constructed than those of the field laborers. They are mostly of brick with tile roofs, while the field workers' homes are often of wattle-work covered with plaster and painted over. The houses of the factory nucleus follow the old slavequarter pattern. The buildings are long and narrow and divided into apartments under one roof. The factory owns all the houses, which the workers receive rent-free. The factory worker is better paid than the field worker, and consequently has more and better material possessions. His house is better furnished, and he dresses better. [361] 565* 342 184 [423]

Illiteracy is widespread in the rural area. The factory nucleus has had a state primary school for thirty years, and Pedras, the largest of the factory plantations, has had one for about twenty. As a result the factory workers, as well as the people of Pedras, have had the opportunity to attend four years of primary school. The rural laborers on other plantations, however, have lacked this opportunity in most cases. An exception is the Fazenda das Moças, which has had a school in recent years, for children in the daytime and for adults at night. 565* 184 871 [212]

The social life of the workers is almost entirely confined to the place in which they live. Their lives are spent on the plantation except for the days when they walk to the fair in Centro, usually on the Monday following payday. During the summer, when the roads are good for travel, they are busy with the 565* 517

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harvesting and milling. The factory operates twenty-four hours a day during this season. In the winter, when they have more leisure, travel is too difficult, for the roads disappear in mud. Few of the rural people go to the town of Vila Recôncavo, for it has nothing to attract them except the boat to Salvador and the priest, whom they sometimes visit to have a Mass said or for a burial. The free movies recently innovated by the Petroleum Council and located a mile from the factory have been a boon to the rural people, but as a rule only the men attend. In fact, almost any kind of off-plantation gathering is attended predominantly by men.

On most plantations the casa de farinha is a social gathering place, and both males and females congregate there to talk about the latest news while they work. The women also gossip at the local well as they fetch water or remain there washing their clothes. Their everyday lives are busy, and there is little time for purely social activities. The day begins and ends early. Soon after dark the lights go out, the houses close, and silence reigns except for the noise coming from the casa de farinha, which may operate all night, or the lonesome singing of the caatingueiros housed in the barracks, or the strong rhythmic sound of the drums coming from a distant candomblé ceremony. Because there is little work for women on a plantation, the "extra" girls, those for whom there are no potential husbands, ask the planter to get them work as domestics in the city; this is usually easy, for there is nearly always someone in Salvador looking for a "good, strong country girl" to work in the home. Occasionally, if a worker's son is especially intelligent and industrious, he too may be placed in some position in the city.

Class C comprises the majority of the population in the town of Vila Recôncavo and includes most of the occupations listed in Group 3 of the preceding chapter--that is, fishermen, gardeners, and artisans. There are no "pure whites" in this class, but, as in the rural area, a few "whites of the land" and the full range of mestiços, whose various color and social characteristics will be discussed later. The people of Class C live for the most part in the lower section of town, in the areas called Cortume, Largo de Santa Cruz, Rua Nova, Boqueirão, Cumbamba, and Caquende. The great majority of them own their homes, although the land belongs to the Fazenda Engenho da Vila, to the church, or to the prefeitura, and is rented for a small yearly sum. The houses are small, usually

The houses are small, usually consisting of a front living room, a corridor with one or two bedrooms, a small dining room, and a kitchen. The furniture is scanty--a miscellany of chairs, benches, and tables, an occasional dish closet, the ever-present pictures of saints, one or two beds, and clay dishes. 565* 342 [352] [353]

As noted earlier, the fisherman could earn more if he wanted to. There is a certain dispraisal of those who attempt to better themselves, though once they have raised their status they are admired. One fisherman in town worked harder than the others, earning slightly more; his house was always in better condition than the others, and his wife took better care of it. She was very neat, and her house and children were always remarkably clean. This family was always ridiculed by its neighbors for trying to be like gente (literally, people, but in Vila Recôncavo carrying the special connotation of upper-class people). Life became so unpleasant for them that they finally moved away. 565* 558

Class C is aware of the difference between it and the town's uppermost class and the planters. The latter constitute a very distant group to most town members of Class C, for there are almost no occasions when the two groups meet. When not pushed to a finer distinction, lower-class people usually recognize two strata--their own and a small but powerful one above them, consisting of the local upper class and planters. Color plays an important role in Class C, for it is generally acknowledged that the whiter one is, the higher in the social scale, in spite of the instances in town where dark mestiços have climbed to the top of the ladder, that is, to the top of Class B. Color is the one classifying criterion which applies to all members of Class C, since many of the other criteria, such as education and family tradition, are inapplicable. These negative considerations, plus the fact that their occupations are all manual, tend to make the group quite homogeneous except for skin color. Nevertheless, the town members of Class C consider themselves definitely superior to the field workers, regarding them as country bumpkins. There is little or no tendency for rural people to move into town, and no one remembers having heard of the marriage of a country person with a town dweller. 565* 829

What has been called Class D in Vila Recôncavo is composed largely of women who have children but no acknowledged husbands. There is no such group in the rural area, because of the pressure brought to bear by the plantation own- 565*

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*565 ers to keep households of stable families, even without formal marriage. In Class D are found mostly the washerwomen and ironers listed under Occupation Group 2 in the preceding chapter.

*565 836 837 848 The unwed mother seldom marries, for few men are willing to take a wife who is not a virgin, and fewer still can accept the responsibility of a whole family at once unless the woman has some property to offer along with herself. Once she has had a child a woman loses prestige and status and becomes a mark for men who are looking for an affair. She may even move in with a man for a while. Later, either she leaves him or he leaves her. She must support herself and her offspring, for her father can seldom support another family. As her children grow up, especially the daughters, she hopes for a legal marriage for them; but this is seldom realized for the girls will escape her control just as she herself did. In such a case a woman has little influence and very often cannot force the man to marry her daughter, so that her household is eventually composed of three generations, with two unwed mothers and their children. This is especially true when the young daughters are pretty or, as often happens, light-skinned, as a result of the fact that their fathers often belong to the lighter-colored group of men in town. Often girls from Class D are sent to the city to work as domestics in much the same way as girls from the rural area; there they may marry and avoid a repetition of the cycle, or else they return to their mothers pregnant and unmarried, for few employers will keep a pregnant girl in the house.

125 114 The following data were collected through the use of a questionnaire given after the author had been in the field about nine months. The actual collection was accomplished by the author and two paid assistants. The questionnaire was long and detailed, and each one took approximately three hours to complete.

125 *565 Many people in all the classes did not want to respond, feeling that it was too much an invasion of their privacy. Many said that they did not know how much money they earned over a long period, that they simply spent whatever came into their hands. Others produced written, detailed records of all the money they earned and spent and how they spent it. The total number of samples finally collected was 125. Sixty-two are urban samples from the town of Vila Recôncavo, and sixty-

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three are rural samples from the factory and plantation nuclei. The total sample is divided by classes as follows:

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Urban	Class	Rural
	A	2
11	B	7
41	C	54 (field workers 25; factory workers 29)
10	D	

Class C in the rural zone is divided into two groups, field workers and factory workers, to point out the slight differences between the two groups.

TABLE 3
MONTHLY INCOME

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Urban Average Monthly Income of Head of Family (Cr$)	Class		Rural Average Monthly Income of Head of Family (Cr$)
	A		15.500,00
1.822,72	B		2.040,00
805,85	C	field workers	450,44
		factory workers	847,00
483,74	D		

The economic gap between Class A of the rural area and classes B, C, and D of both the rural and urban areas is quickly apparent. In United States currency the income is roughly $750 per month for Class A, $100 per month for Class B, and only $20 per month for Class D. The figures for Class B, both urban and rural, show how closely the segments of the class correspond in income. However, urban Class C and rural Class C differ in that the urban group's cash income is higher, although it does not approach that of Class B. Although the field workers' income appears to be close to that of urban Class D, the produce from the garden plots to which all field workers are entitled is not included in this figure. Class D, whose income is the lowest, must live on its wages, since members of this class do not have garden plots.

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TABLE 4
TOTAL PROPERTY VALUE

Urban (Cr$)	Class		Rural (Cr$)
	A		5.751.080,00
36.834,54	B		88.652,85
6.954,75	C	field workers	1.251,20
		factory workers	1.633,00
3.991,00	D		

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Total property value again demonstrates the enormous gap between the rural upper class and the classes below. It also shows the members of rural Class B far ahead of urban class B in possession of property. Most of this property consists of small farms and animals. Urban classes C and D have more property than does rural Class C, principally because the town dwellers own their own houses. In addition to this, members of Class C often own their own means of production, such as canoes and fish nets. Both houses and working equipment are supplied to the rural workers by the land owners.

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TABLE 5
HOUSEHOLD EXPENDITURES

Class		Total expenditure	Expenditure for food
A		10.129,50	3.327,00
B	rural	1.955,91	1.199,28
	urban	1.771,40	1.342,21
C	field workers	522,00	413,00
	factory workers	755,54	522,00
	urban	728,00	571,00
D		440,90	434,00

Approximately one-third of the total expenditures of Class A are for food, while Class B spends about two-thirds of its

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total expenditures for food, just half in total value of what Class A spends. Both Class A and Class B spend more for food alone than the total expenditures of classes C and D. The rural field workers spend the least amount for food, which again reflects their possession of garden plots. 565* 511

Color consciousness runs all through class relations and can even be equated with class to a certain extent. All Class A members are white; Class B has whites and a mixture of the others; Class C is nearly entirely composed of mestiços and blacks with the exception of a few "whites of the land" who are usually considered separately from mestiços; while Class D has light mestiços as well as blacks. "Color consciousness, or "color relations," would better describe the situation in this Bahian rural area than would the term "race relations," for although the Portuguese word raça, directly translatable into English as race, is used in this area to designate the three major racial stocks, American Indian, Negro, and Caucasian, it also means Brazilian in the sense of nationality. It is even more commonly used to describe animals which are pedigreed in contrast with those which are not. When asked questions about race, people are apt to ask first what kind of race is meant. If one speaks of color the situation is much clearer. 565* 563 826

In the United States an absolute "line" is drawn between white and Negro. A person who is not white is a Negro, whatever his percentage of Negro heritage may be. In Vila Recôncavo, this "line" is recognized rather than drawn. A distinction between Negro and white is always kept in mind when classifying an individual. Everyone knows who is "pure" white and who is not. Classification by color is one of the most important aspects of local culture, and one of the most difficult aspects for the outsider to grasp. Recôncavo Bahians feel that one may instantly recognize the difference between a "pure" white and a mixed white-Indian, white-Negro, or Negro-Indian, but they do not let it go at that. They classify or describe minutely each person; they classify according to skin color, hair form, and facial features. Their classifications of physical types are used in everyday conversation. Just as it would be said in the United States that someone is short and fat, the people of Vila Recôncavo will describe a person's color and hair form. 563 826 [171]

In the Recôncavo a white person is called a branco. The term Negro is rarely used to denote a person of African de-

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scent. Rather, such a person is called homem de côr (man of color). Negro is used abstractly to denote the Negro race, but it is almost never used to single out an individual. Nêgo (a softened variation of the word Negro) may frequently be used as a term of endearment, even among whites, and it is sometimes used as a nickname. When a Bahian of the Recôncavo speaks of indio, he usually thinks of the Indian of the interior of Mato Grosso or of the Amazon. When he wishes to indicate people of American Indian physical type in the Recôncavo, he generally says caboclo, or caatingueiro, or sometimes sertanejo.

Even the whites are subclassified, divided into two categories, the louro (blond), and the moreno (brunet). There is still a third term for people with Caucasoid physical characteristics, namely branco da terra (white of the land). This term denotes one who is phenotypically white, that is, who has the physical characteristics of a Caucasoid--fair skin, fine features, and "good" (meaning "straight") hair--but whose ancestry has Negro blood. He is generally moreno (dark) and is frequently characterized by a slightly yellowish tinge to the skin. The branco da terra sometimes also shows traces of caboclo, as well as Negro and white, descent. In Vila Recôncavo, the "pure" white man may refer to such a person as a branco da terra but will ordinarily call him a branco. To the majority of the population, the branco da terra is always called white, and no one would ever call anyone a branco da terra to his face. He is accorded the same treatment as is any white person by both whites and nonwhites.

In classifying people, skin color is an important factor, but hair form is equally important. If there is any question about what to call a person, his hair is usually the deciding criterion. After skin and hair, facial features (prognathism, nose shape, and thickness of lips) are considered. The many designations used in Vila Recôncavo for the people of Negroid or mixed ancestry can be broken down roughly as follows:

1. The preto or preto retinto ("dark black") has black, shiny skin, kinky, woolly hair, thick lips, and a flat, broad nose. The pretos distinguish among themselves as to what they call qualidade (quality), and rank themselves according to minute differences in skin color, nose form, etc. The preto with the greatest "quality" is the farthest removed from the usual concept of a Negro, and yet he is still a black. He is a "prettier" black.

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2. The cabra (male) and cabrocha (female) are generally slightly lighter than the preto, with hair growing somewhat longer, but still kinky and unmanageable, facial features somewhat less Negroid, although often with fairly thick lips and flat nose. The cabra and cabrocha usually lack the definite facial features and shine of the preto.

3. The Cabo Verde is lighter than the preto, but still very dark. The Cabo Verde, however, has long, straight hair, and his facial features are apt to be very fine, with thin lips and a narrow, straight nose. He is almost a "black white man."

4. The escuro, or simply "dark man," is darker than the usual run of mestiços, but the term is generally applied to a person who does not fit into one of the three types mentioned above. The escuro is nearly but not quite a Negro with Caucasoid features. He usually has "quality." Escuro is a very useful term for the outsider in the Recôncavo.

5. The mulato is a category always divided into two types, the mulato escuro and mulato claro (dark and light mulattoes). The mulato has hair which grows perhaps to shoulder length, but which has a decided curl or even kink. It can, however, be straightened. The mulato's facial features vary widely: thick lips with a narrow nose, or vice versa. As a rule, the features are "thicker" than the branco's and "thinner" than the preto's. The mulato is generally distinguishable by a yellowish tinge to his skin color, more accentuated than that of the branco da terra. His skin color varies from very light to very dark. A mulato claro, with straightened hair, thin lips, and a "good" nose, is very much like the branco da terra.

6. Pardo is a term not often used in speech. It is one of the official classifications used in the census and on identification papers. However, it is used occasionally to describe an individual who is closer to the white than a mulato claro. Occasionally mestiço children are described as pardo during the early years of their lives, before their features become distinctive enough to fit them definitely into one of the other groups. In one case, a little girl of three was called parda by her mother. The girl lives with her godfather, who is a branco da terra. He lists the girl as white, since her skin is very light and her hair is growing long and only slightly wavy. But her mother says she is a parda, because she knows that "her hair may curl up any day, which would make her a mulata clara."

7. The sarará is not difficult to distinguish. He has very

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light skin, and hair which is reddish or blondish but kinky or curled. His facial features are extremely varied, even more so than the mulato's. There are sararás who would "pass" for white in the United States, but more often the sarará has an unusual appearance: skin which is neither dark nor light, frequently freckled, eyes with a greenish-blue cast, and hair which bleaches easily in the sun. In Vila Recôncavo the sarará is usually found among fishermen and those living on the islands. It is difficult to find a person of this physical type without a good suntan and bleached hair.

8. The moreno has "excellent" skin, "fine-textured" and smooth. He is light-skinned but not white. He has dark hair, which is long and either wavy or curly. It is manageable and does not need straightening. His features are much more Caucasoid than Negroid. Here again a distinction is made between the dark and light morenos; also between these and the moreno branco. Moreno, as used regarding the white, distinguishes the brunet from the blond of the same group.

Few people fit completely into any of these "racial" types. When one has all the defined characteristics of the preto people call him "bem preto" or "bem pretinho" (really black). The same is true of the sarará, bem sarará; or of the moreno, who is called bem moreninho or moreno fino. It is just as difficult to find the ideal type for the other classifications, because there are so many variations. Many times one must point out that an individual is predominantly of one physical type but has one or more characteristics of another type. For instance, one young man in Vila Recôncavo has the characteristics of an escuro, but since most people like him they prefer to think of him as moreno. He has "fine" skin and "thin" facial features, but has tight, kinky hair. People generally refer to him as moreno, adding, "Mas ele tem cabelo ruim" (But he has bad hair). One frequently hears, "He is mulato, but very light." These verbal descriptions paint a vivid picture of the person in question. In Vila Recôncavo, it is not simply a matter of black and white, but of all the shades in between.

A term of classification not listed above, caboclo, is something of a special case. As mentioned earlier, most people with American Indian physical traits have come into the Recôncavo from the sertão during the dry spells of the north. In view of the length of time that people of the north have been periodically coming into the Recôncavo, comparatively few

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have remained. Nevertheless, the population of Vila Recôncavo shows a considerable Indian element, that is, of people with a reddish or bronze tinge to their skin color, more prominent cheekbones than the Africans or whites, and a tendency toward an almond-shaped eye. However, few people in Vila Recôncavo bearing these marks are called caboclos. They are classified instead in the local terms mentioned above, ignoring Indian traits. In Vila Recôncavo, there is a certain dispraisal of the caboclo. He is considered less civilized than the resident of the Recôncavo. He is often known as a better worker, more ambitious, trustworthy, and frugal, but less genial than the easygoing person of the Recôncavo. In the rural area of Vila Recôncavo, each year many caboclo men come to the plantations to work during harvest time. For the most part they stay together, away from the resident workers of the plantation. The plantations construct a type of barracks to accommodate these men, who do their own cooking, care for their own clothes, and spend their evenings gathered around a fire, singing songs of the sertão, apart from the permanent workers. [157] [571]

The following percentages of racial types were taken from a sample of 162 heads of families, using the four major types: [162]

Preto	50,	or 40 per cent
Mulato	59,	or 49 per cent
Caboclo	3,	or 2 per cent
Branco	11,	or 9 per cent

Each physical type in Vila Recôncavo is thought to have a series of personality traits correlated with physical appearance. Furthermore, these stereotypes of expected behavior reflect the attitude of people toward the various racial types. Two physical types, for example, the cabra-cabrocha and the sarará, are usually "more to be pitied than censured," for they are considered ugly by most people. There is a feeling that they are unfortunate crosses between parents of physical characteristics which do not mix well. They are thought to lack the definite traits which characterize the other physical types, and "even a preto de qualidade is better than either of these--at least more handsome." Furthermore, people of these physical types are thought to be difficult to deal with. They are sometimes irritable and easily angered. They are the physical types least preferred in Vila Recôncavo; all oth- 563 826 157

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826 ers have some positive qualities. People arrange their pref-
157 erences in many ways, according to the physical qualities they wish to emphasize.

563 There is also a series of expressions used by everyone to
578 describe the person who is trying to appear white. It is almost axiomatic that whoever tries to be what he is not is considered
557 ridiculous by all. Both whites and Negroes gossip about the social climber and use the terms "tem pinta" (has a "touch of the tarbrush"), or "tem sangue" (has Negro blood), or "é da raça" (is of the Negro race), or simply "besta" (show-off), "cheio de arte" (artful), "cheio de manha" (full of little tricks), or "fala bonito" (talks pretty).

563 There are also many phrases used by lower-class people
578 to ridicule Negroes and mestiços who are showing off, or "pushing." Most of these start off with Negro:

Negro doesn't marry, he gets together.
Negro doesn't accompany a procession, he runs after it.
Negro doesn't sit down, he squats.
Negro in white clothes is a sign of rain.
Negro doesn't hear Mass, he spies on it.
Negro at a white man's party is the first to grab and the last to eat.
Negro's intelligence is the same size as his hair.

563 The concepts and fixed ideas which the people of Vila Re-
125 côncavo have of these racial types were also revealed in their responses to a pictorial questionnaire devised in the field. A series of eight photographs were shown. These were of people unknown to those answering the questionnaire. They consisted of a male and a female representative of each of the four major racial types, the caboclo, the preto, the mulato, and the branco. An attempt was made to keep the photographs from giving any clue to the possible class position of the eight persons. However, the photographs we were able to secure were not entirely satisfactory for our purposes in Vila Recôncavo.
[159] The picture of the caboclo male was that of a middle-aged man, but of a type considered locally as having a strong personality, while the caboclo woman was older and certainly not simpatica (pleasant) in the local view. The two pretos were both unmistakably pretos, and both young. The mulato male and female differed one from the other, for the man was definitely a common mulato type, while the woman was almost

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a morena mulata rather than "pure" mulata. She was young and considered much more simpatica than any of the other three women presented. The two whites were also both young, but neither was distinguished in any way, and there was doubt in the minds of the people answering the questionnaire as to whether these two were "pure" white or not.

The questionnaire was given to eighty-five people, broken down into the following groups:

18	brancos	11 males	7 females
41	mulatos	21 males	20 females
18	pretos	7 males	11 females
8	caboclos	6 males	2 females
85		45	40

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Table 6 gives the results as to which racial types were found respectively most physically attractive, most wealthy, best worker, most honest, and most religious.

TABLE 6
PHYSICAL TYPES

Question	Number of people selected in 1st place			
	Branco	Preto	Mulato	Caboclo
Most attractive man	39*	17	14	15
Most attractive woman	26	3	30	26
Most wealthy man	27	11	9	38
Most wealthy woman	37	8	17	23
Best worker (man)	4	38	13	30
Best worker (woman)	7	22	23	33
Most honest man	11	22	8	44
Most honest woman	15	13	22	33
Most religious man	21	15	13	36
Most religious woman	17	11	17	40

*Underlined numbers indicate the group most frequently selected in first place.

From Table 6 it becomes clear that the ideal of the most attractive male is the white; and that the numerically indicated preference for the female type is the mulata--but the cabocla, it must be noted, is equally selected with the white.

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Both the mulata and the cabocla (despite her apparent age) of the photographs are of types which have the physical characteristics of the morena, so preferred in Vila Recôncavo. It is surprising that the caboclo male was selected as the wealthiest, in view of the stereotype that it is the white who is generally wealthiest; but I believe that this is due to the fact that people found the photograph of the caboclo to have a rather "distinguished" face, while the white on the photograph was felt to be a young man with what might be considered a "characterless" face. The preto man was chosen as the best worker, which supports the stereotype discussed earlier, while the cabocla was chosen as the best woman worker. This may be explained by the local phrase used to describe her: "Good for nothing else." The caboclos, both male and female, were chosen as most honest and most religious, which is in keeping with the stereotype of the caboclo, who is considered more serious and solemn than the native of the Recôncavo.

Table 7, a breakdown of Table 6 by racial types, shows clearly the types selected in first place by the Negroes, the mulattoes, the whites, and the caboclos.

TABLE 7
BREAKDOWN OF TABLE 6 BY RACIAL TYPES

Question	Chosen in first place by: Pretos(P)	Mulatos(M)	Brancos(B)	Caboclos(C)
Most attractive man	P	B	B	B
Most attractive woman	C&B	M	B	B
Most wealthy man	P	C	C	C
Most wealthy woman	B	B	B	B
Best worker (man)	P	C	P	P
Best worker (woman)	P	C	M	C
Most honest man	C	C	C	C
Most honest woman	C	C	C	C
Most religious man	C&M	C	C	C&B
Most religious woman	C	C	B	C

*Where two racial types are in first place it means they received an equal number of "votes."

Table 7 shows the extremely low position of the Negro woman in relation to the other women. She was chosen in the first

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place in only one instance--namely, as best worker--and only by the Negroes. In spite of the fact that in Table 6 the mulatto woman was considered the most attractive, she was chosen as such only by the mulattoes. The other three racial types selected the cabocla and the white woman. In summing up the total number of "votes," the mulatto woman won by the narrow margin of four. It is interesting to note that the Negroes chose the preto man as the wealthiest, selecting the caboclo in second place, while the other three racial types selected the caboclo first. 563 125 157 826 577

Most people who desire to ascend socially will say that it is better to be white, or at least light, than dark, because it is the white who has the most money, the most education, and consequently the greatest number of opportunities. Traditionally the light-skinned mulatto has been able to share to some extent in these things. Therefore, today, if an individual is lighter it will be easier for him to climb, simply because of his lightness. Nevertheless, it is considered better to be a wealthy preto than a poor white. 563 55

No one in any class likes a marriage in which the skin colors are too far apart. Any marriage of dark with light or white will be referred to as mosca no leite ("fly in the milk"), and a certain repugnance is felt by all. One man, formerly a fisherman but now a merchant of some means, is a preto married to a branca da terra who was poor but almost white. This marriage has not aided him much, as his wife did not bring him social position, but it has "lightened" his children. His own status is increased through his financial transactions. But his children are being educated in the city, and are more readily acceptable because of their color and their economic background. Their chances for a good marriage are greater than if they had the same background but were dark. 563 565*

In another case, a white girl of the town's uppermost class is engaged to a preto who is an engineer in Salvador, but whose family has roots in Vila Recôncavo. There was great resistance to the engagement on the part of the girl's family, and all her friends felt that although she had a good "catch"--that is, a successful man--he was too dark for her, in spite of the fact that the girl's father is a branco da terra, and that her grandmother was dark-skinned.

The one impassable gap between the upper class of "aristocratic whites" and those below them is marriage. The white of the second class may be acceptable to the upper class be-

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563 cause he is white. But the chances are heavy against the marriage of a member of Class A with a "man of color." Perhaps in the city a marriage between a white of this upper class and a mestiço of the same group would take place, but this would certainly not happen in the rural area.

563 Until the end of the last century a number of bastards were
848 produced by the white plantation owners and their sons, with the slaves and former slaves. A large segment of the Vila Re-
(551) côncavo population is made up of these individuals and their children, and in many cases they bear the name of the white's family. These people are not recognized socially by the whites. In many instances the mestiço has the family name not because he was given it, but because he took it. Frequently a white family will keep track of the descendants on the illegitimate side of the family, and help them if necessary; but they will never introduce one of these individuals as a member of the family, even when that person has all the family's physical characteristics, if he has a darker skin.

In one case, the illegitimate daughter of a union between a white man and a slave recently found herself in a position to help the legitimate daughter of her father's cousin. This girl was born free prior to abolition. The slave mother managed to educate the girl, who became a successful schoolteacher and made excellent professional connections in the world of education. Later on, when her father's cousin's legitimate daughter, widowed with three children, needed aid to educate one of her own daughters, she received such aid from her mestiço cousin.

563 Because it is so striking a feature of these color relations, it may be repeated that there is only one series in the classification and this includes everyone from white to black. Regardless of degree of color all types are part of the same broad three-class system. The categories are known to all people, not only to those who happen to be "people of color," and they are used by all in referring to others.

[Class A Families]

7. The Family

THE FAMILIES of Vila Recôncavo carry out the usual functions of this kinship unit to a greater or lesser degree, depending mainly upon their class and their internal structure. There are extremes of family structure in the area: Class A families represent a tightly built and extensive, extended, "patriarchal" organization, constantly giving evidence of its strong solidarity, while Class D is characterized by a loose and weak organization of small, immediate families and part families of women with their children. 565 596

Class A in the community of Vila Recôncavo is represented by five family lines which own practically all the sugar lands in the area. Two of these families, the Condes and the Jacuipes, are closely interwoven by first-cousin marriages; a third, the Aliança family, is related to these two by marriage. The remaining two families are not related to those just mentioned nor to each other. There is little or no contact between them and the other families, for they spend little time in the rural area, and in Salvador they belong to circles composed of their own extended families. The Conde, Jacuipe, and Aliança families come into occasional contact with the other two at public functions in Salvador, but hardly ever at smaller social gatherings. They spend more time in the rural area, where they are more active politically than the other two. If the roots of these three families were traced back a century or so, it would be seen that they are also related to many other families of local planters and usineiros. Because of the tremendous growth of the numbers in each of the families, they have grown apart, each branch preserving its own nuclear group. Each generation brings new intermar- [423]

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596 riages and realignments between branches of these old families.

The Conde and Jacuipe families are good examples of family structure and cohesiveness in Class A. The Conde family is the principal owner of the factory, while several members of the Jacuipe family have stock in the corporation. The ancestral plantation of the Jacuipe family lies outside, although near, the community of Vila Recôncavo and is rented to a neighboring factory. Dona Sinhá, a member of the Jacuipe family and widow of a Conde, owns Fazenda das Moças within the community, a property adjoining the lands of Usina São Pedro. The Conde and Aliança families are joined by a mar-
[423] riage which has brought them into close contact. The Aliança family has three plantations in the community. Thus ten of the eleven functioning plantations in the area belong to the members of three interrelated extended families.

The senior member of the Conde family, the "Colonel," is one of the two men who founded the factory and the brother of the senior member of the Jacuipe family, Dona Yayá, now a widow. A son and a daughter of the Colonel married a daughter and a son of Dona Yayá, thus strengthening the ties between the two families. The Condes are represented by three generations: the mother and father, their eleven children, ten of whom are married, and their twenty-three grandchildren. The Jacuipe family is represented by four generations: Dona Yayá, her eight children, seven of whom are married, twenty-six grandchildren, and three great-grandchildren. Through marriages in the second descending generation of both families, seventeen more persons have been brought into the family group, and through marriages of the third descendent Jacuipe generation six more people have been added. The total number of persons in the two immediate families is ninety-
[162] seven. Nineteen members of the Jacuipe family now live in Rio de Janeiro, reducing the number constantly present in Bahia to seventy-eight. Those in Rio, however, maintain constant communication with Bahia and often spend their vaca-
[528] tions "home" in Salvador.

The Colonel and his wife, and the Colonel's sister Dona Yayá, form the nucleus around which the two extended kin-
[474] dred groups are organized. At the factory there are three residences: the large chalet, where the Colonel and his wife live, and a house apiece for his son and son-in-law, who are the two active directors of the factory. There are accommodations

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in the three houses for nearly all members of the two extended families, for the factory has become the major gathering point for all of them during the summer. Each married couple maintains its own home in the city. In the Conde and Jacuipe families the tendency has been to enlarge the two families by the addition of in-laws rather than to lose sons and daughters, because of the exceptionally strong family loyalties held by the members. As a result, many more people are drawn into the social circles of the two groups, which at times appear as one family and at other times as two separate but close units. 565* 596

The social life of these people is carried out almost entirely within this group of ninety-seven persons, and their in-laws, plus the in-law families. Such intrafamilial social life is known as vida em familia. During the winter season in Salvador, their social activities are confined to visiting one another, playing cards with one another, having birthday parties for one another, attending the weddings of one another's children, and so forth. Trips to the beach and to social clubs and graduations are made jointly. During the summer, parts of families visit others, and at certain times, such as the botada da usina (first day of the sugar mill's activities each year), Carnaval, and the birthday of the Colonel, his wife, or Dona Yaya, nearly all the members of the family get together. This may mean a gathering of sixty to seventy persons. A "small" luncheon may be attended by a mere twenty or thirty persons. 565* 596 517

It is still the custom for young married couples to dine with the parents of each at least once a week. It is also not unusual to find an entire apartment house in the city occupied by members of one family, each conjugal group occupying its own apartment. Members of the same generation usually play or visit together, although all generations are present at most family gatherings. Through lifelong companionship, members of families in this class come to know each other extremely well and are often the best of friends as well as relatives. Because of the size of these families, and because of the constancy of their devotion to one another, there is little time or energy left for entertaining outsiders. This, however, does not mean that acquaintances are limited to family members. Friends are made, who are drawn into the various conjugal groups and into the activities of the larger extended family. 565* 596 [593] [342] [561] [574] [572]

Courtship in Class A families is a formal affair. At first it is considered that the young couple are gostando (liking each other) or namorando (in love). It is expected that the boy 565* 596 584

*565
596 will take the girl to his family gatherings and that he will be
584 invited to hers, so that their lives continue to be within the family, though now within two families. There are so few public places of entertainment in Salvador, other than the movies, that the couple is seldom alone. Dating nearly always takes place in family circles, so there is little need for a formal chaperone. Courtship continues until the boy has finished school (if it began that early, as it sometimes does), or is settled in business, at which time an engagement may be announced. Once the couple are engaged (noivos), they are allowed greater freedom; this does not, however, amount to much, as their social activities continue to be confined within the family. If for some reason the boy or the girl goes away for a time, the one left at home is invited to all family parties just as though both were there. The engagement period does not last very long--not as long as the gostando period, which may extend for two years--for once engaged, a couple is considered to be serious about marriage, which then takes place as soon as possible.

585 The wedding, always in Salvador, is both a religious and a
*565 civil ceremony. The former is a formal, fashionable church ceremony followed by a reception and luncheon, before the
596 bride and groom leave for their honeymoon. The civil wedding takes place in the bride's home shortly before the reli-
[591] gious ceremony. Only the godparents and closest relatives attend this ceremony. After marriage the couple usually set up their own home, but if this is not possible they may live with one of their in-laws. This, however, is undesirable, and often the wedding is postponed until the couple can have their own home. The parents on both sides help toward this end as
* much as they can by getting the young man settled in a suit-
565 able position. Family connections are extremely important
594 throughout Class A in placing young people in business or a profession.

163 As a rule a child is born to the young couple by the end of
[608] the first year of marriage, and the compadres (godparents)
[596] are chosen from close members of the two families, at least for the first child. Succeeding children may have close friends
[553] of the father as godparents. Children are named after family members of preceding generations or--as has happened in
[178] some cases--after a much-loved slave. The old pattern was for the couple to continue having children regularly as long as the wife was able to, but the trend is now for each generation

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[Class A Families]

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to have fewer offspring. Four or five generations ago a couple 594
might have as many as twenty children. It was common among 163
these large families for at least one child to enter the priest- 178
hood or a convent. This is no longer the case, not only be- [463]
cause of the smaller size of the families, but also because
the colonial pattern of a priest for each plantation is now gone.

The marriage age for girls is also changing, for several 582
reasons: it takes longer for a boy now to be educated and set- 178
tled in business; the families can no longer support married
children; and girls are being better educated. Instead of be- 562
ing married at sixteen, seventeen, and eighteen, they now go 565*
to school much longer, sometimes taking advanced degrees
as do their brothers. This delays marriage till the twenties
and gives the girls a certain amount of independence, rather
than simply a position of wife and mother. As yet few of them [463]
have entered the professions, but recently it has become styl-
ish to study nursing or social work at least for a while before
marriage. The old pattern was for widows to be supported by [736]
their families, but now girls want to feel self-sufficient, with-
out the dreary prospect of living as dependents in the case of
their husbands' death. In this century, also, marriage has
assumed an aspect of companionship, which was formerly
lacking, for women have achieved a much greater equality with
their husbands and are now partners rather than household
fixtures.

There has been a reaction to the family aspect of Bahian 565*
society, and frequently people are heard complaining of the 596
narrowness of life in such surroundings and expressing a de- 178
sire to live in Rio de Janeiro, or some place where they would
not be always in the same restricted group of relatives. Many 574
of the former obligations of formal visits to close and distant [206]
relatives are now relaxed, although telephone calls at least
are expected with some sort of regularity and members of the
extended family, as well as their attendants, are still expect-
ed at all weddings, birthdays, and deaths. The arrival of fam-
ily members from Rio calls for many dinners and celebrations
in their honor. But the conjugal families seek outside ac- 571
quaintances more and more, and as they enter new groups they 565*
become less able to cope with the numerous family affairs. 596
Nevertheless, it is still membership in these extensive, pa- 178
triarchal families which gives people their status in the com-
munity as a whole and their right to enter new groups which [594]
form along class lines. Everyone is well aware of this, and [654]

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596 the first thing done on making new acquaintances is to inquire
[178] into their family background and place them mentally on the
[571] appropriate social level.

As a rule each extended family has a head, usually the oldest male. He is recognized by the rest of the family as the leader, and few things are done by them without his knowledge and advice. The head of the Jacuipe family is the eldest son of Dona Yayá. He has made his home in Rio de Janeiro and has not lived in Salvador for a long time. Nevertheless, he is informed of all that goes on within the family, and no serious step would be taken by any member without his counsel. On the local scene, however, it is his next younger sister who has taken the family lead in all social activities. It is she who sees to it that the family is represented at any function where it is a duty to appear. Among the Condes, the Colonel is still the family head in spite of his age and infirmity. For many years his eldest son showed himself capable of taking charge of the sugar mill and of the family fortunes as well, but since his untimely death none of the other sons has shown such vigor, and in the long run major decisions are left to the old gentleman.

[594] In the conjugal households, however, decisions and actions are made jointly by the married partners. Unless the action is a very serious one which might affect the rest of the family, they need by no means seek advice from the family head. The family leader has no strong control over the other members of the family; rather, he is someone to whom they can go if they need advice. Also, if any member of the family is in difficulties of any sort, the rest of the group rallies around him under the direction of such a person. Because of the many positions in public life occupied by members of these extended families, the family is able to muster considerable pistolão ("pull") in many fields. Requests are frequently made, especially to aid lower-class people who look to the various
[557] family members as patrons. A call here or there by the recognized leader of a large extended family can be a great assistance in getting someone into the already crowded hospitals, in helping with a will which has become entangled in legal difficulties, in getting a young man into the Air Force, and in the myriad other things which arise in this very personalized culture.

[73] The cohesiveness of the extended family also acts to take
[589] care of the aged, infirm, widowed, and unmarried. Not infre-

[Class A Families]

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quently one girl in the family does not marry but remains home with her parents, taking care of them until they have passed away. Unless the father has made specific arrangements for her before his death, the family usually sees to it that she is cared for properly, since she has relieved them of the responsibility of taking care of their parents for many years. Or, if any member of the family lingers beyond what might be considered to be a normal life span, the other members help in some way so that person will be cared for. Thus no one is left out because of misfortune of any kind. Nevertheless, any individual member always tries not to become a burden on the family.

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Of the former patriarchalism of Class A families only vestiges remain, which however are still important: the continued close relationship of family members, even though separated by distance and interests; the intermarriage of cousins, and the strong pattern of life em familia; the fact that the family as a unit still provides care and protection for those members who are incapable of doing so themselves; and finally the acknowledgment of an extended-family head, a man accorded deference and respect by members of his own family as well as by other families. The upper-class family of today differs in significant ways from that of former centuries, especially in the increasing emphasis placed upon the conjugal family and the decrease in family size. A major departure from the old family traditions is the increasing equality of women, their increased participation both in home activities and in activities outside the home. [562]

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Birthdays are the most important occasions in these families aside from weddings. Whether in the city or on the plantation, birthdays are commemorated on a large scale by an almoço (luncheon). During the summer in the country the planters sometimes also have a series of luncheons, each Sunday on a different plantation. In such cases the house in which the luncheon is to be held provides the bulk of the food, but as a rule all the women make desserts which they bring with them.

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The menu, in accordance with old Bahian tradition, is huge, usually beginning with a feijoada (a deep dish of beans and meat, usually eaten with rice or farina), sarapatel (a highly seasoned dish of which the basis is pork blood), moqueca de camarão (a type of shrimp ragout made with dendê palm oil), and ensopado de porco (pork stew). These are followed by roasts of beef, pork, lamb, and turkey, and filet mignon.

[Class A Families]

*565 596 527 262 [272] *565 596 527 [546] [535] [492] [493] *565 574 423 178 428

All these dishes are served with rice, potatoes, farina, and cooked vegetable salads. Then fruits are served, followed by a series of desserts including puddings, ice cream, and cakes. The meal is concluded with a demitasse (cafèzinho). Lunch is usually served at midday, and afterwards the guests generally break into small groups, talk, sleep, play cards, or stroll about the garden. In midafternoon a small merenda (snack) is served for those who want it, consisting of cake and demitasse, and in the evening ceia (supper) is served, including cold cuts, salads, and dessert. After this the group may go en masse to the movies, either at the Petroleum Camp or in the town of Vila Recôncavo. Or, if in gay spirits, they may spend the evening dancing in the living room to popular records. People go to these almocos by horseback, jeep, truck, or sometimes, in a spirit of fun, by oxcart. Hospitality has for hundreds of years been the tradition of the rural landowners, who envelop guests with an overabundance of everything. One planter always has the dining-room table set for at least ten people, although only he and his wife live in the house. Others have the reputation of always providing a good meal for anyone who passes at mealtime.

The decreasing size of families, the shift in individual employment from agriculture to the professions, and this century's change to large-scale industrial holdings for the production of sugar have caused some differences in land tenure and, hence, inheritance. The Recôncavo is not an area in which land title was ever vague or lost as was often the case in the sertão. Land was always scarce here, for the desirable massapê soils are limited in extent. The plantations of today for the most part fall into one of two categories: those which have been in the hands of one family for a century or more, and those which were bought after the abolition of slavery by newcomers to the Recôncavo or by those who already had plantations and at a time of falling value bought new ones from the creditors who had taken them over from their former owners for debt. In both cases title passed free and clear. The common form of inheritance is for one half of the estate to go to the widow and the other half to be divided among other heirs.

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A century ago, it was common for plantation masters to have extensive holdings, not only in the Recôncavo, but also in other parts of the state, as well as houses and even commercial buildings in the city of Salvador. In addition to this,

[Class A Families]

[Class B Families]

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such families also usually had fairly extensive accumulations of silver service, china and crystal, and linens. It was the custom for such possessions to be distributed among the heirs as separate items. One son would receive a plantation in the Recôncavo, another a ranch in the sertão; a daughter might receive a full and valuable set of table service, or perhaps a whole house and its furnishings in Salvador. Single plantations were almost never divided, unless they were large enough to make such a division practicable. Property divisions were often made rather arbitrarily by the family patriarch, and were often bitterly disputed by the heirs after his death. Slaves were also part of the property divided, although it was not infrequent that certain favorite slaves were freed at such a time. In other cases, the favorite slave of a son or daughter would be willed to him by the father. Through inheritances and constant divisions, the former large holdings of these aristocratic families came to be well broken up.

Today in the event of a death in a family, there is often only one plantation in which the heirs may share. However, the plantation is rarely divided. In some cases where there is no strong emotional tie to the plantation, the heirs may sell it outright and share the proceeds. Another solution has been to rent the plantation to a factory and thereby delay the final solution. Still another has been for one of the heirs to take over the management of the plantation, paying a rental fee to the other heirs. A final solution is often reached by allowing one of the heirs to purchase the plantation from his coinheritors, and in this way the plantation and its traditions remain in the family, and are to some extent shared by all members of the extended family.

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The problem of land disposal exists only for the private plantation. In the case of factory lands, ownership is corporate. Death of the holder of shares in the corporation does not affect the land tenure, which goes on as before. His shares in the corporation are simply distributed among his heirs.

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The family pattern in Class B is quite different from that which has just been described. Although the conjugal family is equally small and shows the same trend toward diminution, there is never the extent or strength of the extended family which exists in Class A. In Vila Recôncavo, with only one exception, Class B families are only conjugal units without local tradition of generations in the area, for either they are couples who have recently come to the town in governmental

*565 594 capacities, or they are "newly arrived" socially, which often indicates that the relatives of either or both spouses may belong to the lower class; in this case the local upper-class families are inclined to ignore them. In these conjugal families the husband is the central figure, participating in business and social activities of the town, while his wife and children, [166] especially daughters, remain at home. The sons usually go to the city to school and remain there after graduation, so there [871] is little chance of continuing a strong family line in the town. At the factory the case is somewhat different, for the sons of Class B families may enter the factory in one of the higher office positions, thus forming a larger family group as they marry and settle down there. This pattern, however, is only apparent in the second generation, and there are only three cases of it.

*565 517 As a result of the lack of public entertainment in Vila Recôncavo and the competitive attitude of members of Class B among themselves and toward the higher members of Class C, there [571] is little social gathering, especially for the women. There [596] are never extended family gatherings for Class B such as those described for Class A. The men go to the bar or visit one an- [574] other's homes to some slight extent, but wives and daughters [562] seldom do. The wives are kept occupied bearing children and caring for them. Those few daughters who are sent to school [871] in the city are indeed fortunate, for their chances of marrying and remaining in Salvador, the desire of most young peo- [166] ple, are greatest. The summer vacation is boring to them in comparison with their scope of activities in the winter. The [183] sons can enjoy the summer, going swimming, horseback riding, playing ball, making the most of the few parties and fes- [528] tivals (festas) which take place during the summer, lounging in the bar gossiping, meeting the boat, and visiting lower- *565 class girls. The daughters, on the other hand, can do noth- 562 ing of the sort. They spend their time at home with their moth- 517 ers and sometimes visit a married girl friend or sister to gossip.

For those girls who remain in the town, life can be intolerably dull. They must be extremely careful of where they go, when, and with whom, and of what they do, for the town gossip about them can be vicious. The reputation of a girl seen on the street at night without one of her parents is ruined. These girls are expected to be virgins, models of propriety,

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[Class B Families]

and the social forces compelling them to conform to this ideal are strong enough to keep them at home. 565* 562 517

To some extent the Class B families take as their pattern the older traditions of the upper-class families. The father is the most important person in the home and has the final word in all decisions. His wife is not his equal in a social sense and plays a much more passive role than the women of classes A, C, and D. This, however, is slowly changing, for married couples of the younger generation are beginning to share more activities, such as going to the movies, visiting friends, or going on short trips to Salvador. But this is a recent development and applies only to four couples in the town. The others still maintain the old pattern whereby the man attends social functions while his wife remains home. On occasion of a farewell party, invitations were carefully extended to the married couples in Class B at the author's instigation. Of the thirteen couples invited, only four came together. In the other cases only the husbands came. Among the others, one of the husbands was away, and his wife would not come to the party even though her mother, father, and two sisters did. It is still common for the wife either to remain discreetly silent or to disappear altogether when her husband has visitors at home, and among the older families the father and his guests are served separately at meals, the women of the household eating afterwards alone. 565* 562 594 178 [184]

Family life in rural Class B follows to some extent that of the town family of the same class. The father is the central figure in the family and makes all decisions. He travels about the community while his wife remains at home. The sons of overseers, however, are seldom sent to Salvador to school, although the sons of Class B families living at the factory usually are, at least for a short time. So far, however, none of them has entered a profession. 369 565* 594 [871] [166]

As has already been stated, the women of rural Class B lead much the same kind of life as the women in Class C, with whom they associate. Daughters are guarded carefully, while sons are placed in some advantageous position whenever possible, frequently through the aid of the plantation owner or usineiro. They may enter the factory office, and in several cases they have been set up in business on the plantations, running small stores which belong to their fathers. 565* 562 184 464

A daughter of Seu Paulo, the overseer of the Fazenda das Moças, married the son of the overseer on a neighboring 565* 585 114

[Class B Families]

[Class C Families]

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[114] plantation during the author's stay in the community, and her father gave her a large wedding. The wedding party left the plantation early in the morning in an oxcart decorated with white crepe paper, and proceeded to the town of Vila Recôncavo. The wedding was held in the Franciscan chapel. The townspeople did not attend the wedding or show any interest in it. Immediately after the ceremony the wedding party started back to the plantation, a five-mile trip. As each plantation nucleus was passed the cart stopped in front of the overseer's house, and small glasses of rum were passed to the guests, and the happiness of bride and groom was toasted.

[342] On arrival at the new brick house which the groom's father had presented to the couple, the bride went into the kitchen
[431] to help her mother and the other women who were preparing the luncheon. Then she passed small glasses of wine to the
[114] guests. With the exception of Dona Sinhá and the author, the guests were all overseers from the neighboring plantations. The female guests were relatives of the bride. The meal con-
[262] sisted of everything the region had to offer: fish, shrimp, salads; roasts of beef, pork, lamb, and turkey; potatoes and farina; followed by fruits, desserts, and coffee. After all the men had eaten and moved into the living room to chat, the bride and the other women sat down in the dining room to eat.

*565 In a sample of eighteen Class B households (eleven urban
585 and seven rural), fifteen couples were married by both civil
583 and religious ceremonies. The remaining three couples were simply living together, a state known in northern Brazil as
[125] amasiado. In Class C a sample of ninety-five households (forty-one urban and fifty-four rural) showed twenty-three couples in the amasiado state, twenty-two married by civil and religious ceremonies, thirty-four married in church only, and eight by civil marriage alone. Eight of the couples sampled did not answer the question. In Class B, one partner in each of the three couples living in the amasiado state was married to someone else whom he or she had left.

585 Nineteen civil marriages were performed in the entire coun-
583 ty (population over 11,000) during the year of 1950. They are shown below by age group. Fifty religious marriages were
[161] performed during the same year throughout the five parishes
[127] attended by the Franciscans. Because of differences in the manner of recording the two types of marriages, however, no correlation could be worked out as to how many marriages were both civil and religious. There are no statistics avail-

[Class C Families]

able for the total number of marital unions formed during the years, so it is impossible to know the percentage of amasiado unions throughout the entire population.

TABLE 8
CIVIL MARRIAGES BY AGE GROUPS

Males		Females	
minors under 18	1	minors under 15	2
18-22	4	15-19	6
23-27	6	20-24	7
28-32	5	25-29	2
33-37	1	30-34	1
38-43	2	35-39	1
	19		19

There are occasions when a couple marry in the church only after having lived together for many years, at which time their children may be the principal witnesses at the wedding. Such a wedding always gives the couple a feeling of satisfaction and well-being, for there is sometimes a certain shame attached to the amasiado state, especially when it is necessary to fill in official forms such as birth registration, the census, or registration at the Institute of Vila Recôncavo. A woman who can say "meu esposo" or "meu marido" (my husband) feels a certain superiority over the one who can only say "meu homem" (my man).

The attitude toward children in Class C is somewhat ambivalent. Married women with as many as ten or twelve children may say they never wanted children, but simply "took what God sent." Frequently little girls pray that their mother will have another child so they may take care of it. All girls from the age of seven to thirteen or fourteen seem to like small children. There are few men who do not want children. Even though the mother may say she did not want them, she always seems pleased with them after they are born, and children, especially boys, are well loved and spoiled. Part of the women's gossip is often about another woman who is about to have a baby, and many women with five or six children of their own accuse others of having children "como ratos" (like rats) because they have eight or nine.

There is no use of contraceptives in Class C, although they

[Class C Families]

842 are known to the majority. It was pointed out by the men with a laugh that such things were unprocurable in town because the institute drugstore is run by a friar. They are obtainable in Centro and Salvador, but they are expensive, and the men say they are embarrassed to ask for them. One young couple sent to São Paulo for some injections to be given to the wife to prevent conception, but they did no good. The couple had found an announcement of the injections in a magazine, and since they wanted to limit their family to the one child they already had, they tried other means. They now have three children in spite of their efforts at prevention.

847 [278] There also are local remedies which are supposed to produce abortions. They consist of herbal teas and for the most part are supposed to be effective only up to the third month of pregnancy. Aluman, coqueiro root, orelha de pau, pitanga, mil homem root, and melão de São Caetano are all supposed to be effective. Few women will admit to having used them, although they all know about them. Figures on the number of natural abortions are almost impossible to obtain, for most often there is no record at all. The mother does not go to the doctor; she simply buries tal bobagem (such nonsense) in the 843 back yard. Those who admit having had miscarriages say they came about because of a fall, or frequently because of a great fright such as seeing a snake on the road. Most women do not 841 515 keep track of their menstrual periods, and according to the town doctor their personal hygiene leaves much to be desired. 864 Little or no information is directly passed between father and sons or mother and daughters concerning sexual matters. Each generation is left to find out for itself.

838 There are a few male sexual aberrants in town, known as "veados" (literally, "deer," but slang for homosexuals), and they are well known. A middle-aged fisherman, Patão, is the center of such activities. He is married and has several children. When his wife found out about his extramarital activities she took the children and left him, terribly shamed. This happened several years ago, and since then this man has worked up quite a trade, mostly among unmarried men, though there are at least three married men who go to him also. [548] Their excuse is that there are not enough women in the town, and since there are no prostitutes they go to him, although they do not like it. The married men say it is because their wives are ill or away, and they do not want complications with some girl. Patão, however, regales the daily gossip groups

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Patão, however, regales the daily gossip groups 626
with his exploits, detail by detail, so it is always known who 838
has visited him. These men are in no way ostracized, and [521]
continue a normal life alongside the others. There are also
two cases of men connected with candomblé who are suspected of homosexual tendencies, but there are no definite data about them. Public opinion, nevertheless, is generally against homosexuality, and there was one case in which action was taken. A married man "pegou um menino" (caught a little boy) in the men's bath at one of the wells. Ordinarily the men enter the bath alone, the others waiting outside until the one inside has finished. On this occasion the man found the boy already there and entered with him. Later the boy told what had happened and the neighborhood was incensed and compelled the man to leave town at least temporarily. The boy's only remark was that he had not been paid!

Boys in their late teens sometimes jokingly refer to the 838
clube de veados (homosexuals' club), intimating their exploratory experiences with one another, and what they have tried when they went together to Salvador or Centro, where, [839]
according to them, the streets are full of veados. No such reports were found for the rural people, but the complaint that young men were viciados nas mulas (corrupted by the use of mules) was common. Another case at a distant factory con- [522]
cerned two women who were living together, one very strong, large and bearded, and very jealous of anyone who even looked at the other. This case was well known, and considered hilarious by the neighbors.

Family life in Class C is characterized by a lack of pri- 565 *
vacy. The house of a family in this class has at the most two [362]
bedrooms, frequently only one, in which all members must sleep. It is common for a young couple to have only one bed [352]
when their marriage begins, in which they, as well as their [513]
first and second children, sleep. The use of a cradle for infants is rare. The baby usually sleeps with the parents, and as it grows older, or as new babies are born, it is relegated
to the foot of the bed. Loud and bitter are the complaints about 565 *
children who wet the bed, which many of them do for many 863
years. Most mothers say they try to wake up several times during the night in order to hold the infant over the side of the bed to allow it to perform its natural functions, which makes life more pleasant for the others in the bed. In the [356]
morning the floor is thoroughly washed.

During the day young boys go about with only shorts on, or 600

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[Class C Families]

*565 291 During the day young boys go about with only shorts on, or with both shirt and shorts, depending upon the weather. Girls always wear a dress. Children who are in the crawling stage *565 515 854 become extremely dirty because of the amount of dirt tracked into the house from the streets, although this is now changing as a result of paving. Babies, however, seem to have a propensity for getting into the charcoal sack, usually kept near the kitchen stove, and emerging well blackened. They are bathed twice daily, morning and afternoon, at first in cold water to accustom them to the cold water they will be using for [853] the rest of their lives. Bathing the child is usually considered a pleasure for the mother as well as the baby, as is breast *565 143 feeding. If the child of light-skinned parents exhibits the genipapo (a bluish spot near the base of the spine, sometimes [826] known as the "Mongolian blue spot") the mothers will take care not to let visitors see it, as the spot is thought to be a strong indication of the nearness of Negro ancestry. It disappears after the child is seven or eight months old.

*565 515 The men and older boys of Class C take their daily baths in the afternoon, either at one of the two wells which are behind the convent and therefore out of sight of the town, or at wooden structures which have been built across the wells in the Cortume. They stand on a wooden floor and drop a small bucket on a string down into the water, which is hoisted up and poured over them, running back into the well with the soap suds and whatever grime has come off their skin. Frequently a woman when getting water will undress her son on the spot and pour buckets of water over him. This is not done after a boy has reached five years or six, however, and is never done to a girl of any age. The women and girls take a daily sponge bath in their kitchens late in the afternoon, before *565 514 starting to fix the evening meal. None of the houses has toilet facilities other than a secluded place in the back yard. [124] During a survey of housing facilities in the town, when the question was asked, "Do you have a toilet?" the answer was usually laughingly given, "What for?" (But practically everyone knows what a toilet is, and there are several different *565 291 types in the town, belonging to upper-class houses. The construction of a flush type, with an adequate cesspool, has been [515] known for many years.) After the daily bath most people put on clean clothes in which they often sleep, although sleeping [513] garments range from daytime clothing to long nightgowns, shorts, or nothing at all. Daytime clothing for the men consists of little more than trousers, shirt, and wooden shoes

[Class C Families]

(tamancos), or perhaps leather shoes. Women wear a dress and a slip and are usually barefoot. Dress-up occasions also call for undergarments, stockings, and shoes. Great modesty is always shown about exposing oneself in front of others. Few of the men shave themselves, going to the barber for this as well as for haircuts. There are several women who are experts at hair straightening, which they do with a flat-iron, although most women and girls in this class who have the problem of straightening their hair know how to do it themselves.

In Class C as well as in Class B the father is the dominant person. He rules the household. He is the one who is served at meals, whose clothing is always clean and pressed, and who goes out the most. He spends much of his leisure time in one of the several stores, talking and taking an occasional drink of rum; or on one of the few shaded corners playing dominoes with his friends; or else in the bar playing billiards and gossiping. As a rule he goes to the movies alone, or at least without his family, although in the higher echelons of the class families often go to the movies and to church together. There is one family which is musically inclined, and which often spends evenings at home together, making up a small orchestra. If there is a samba in someone's house, many men from this class will be there watching, while the participants are usually single women and girls from the same class. The men will discuss a woman's physical attributes while she is in the center of the ring dancing. This is one of the most common ways in which a girl gets "looked over" and is watched as she develops. Sooner or later some man will fall in love with her (apaixonar-se dela), and if she is not well guarded by her family he will eventually have an affair with her. In the case of fishermen, most of the time is taken up either by fishing or by caring for equipment, for the nets need a good deal of attention. Since the fishermen's hours follow the tides, their working hours differ from day to day. They often go to bed early, in anticipation of getting up at three or four in the morning.

The women, on the other hand, follow a more regular daily routine of getting the morning coffee ready, getting the children off to school, going for water and wood, doing the ever-present laundry and ironing, and caring for the younger children. In addition, if possible, they prepare xangô to help supplement the family income and go to the fair in Centro on Mon-

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512 days when their husbands cannot go. The wives of fishermen
462 also have to cook meals at different times in the day for their husbands, who generally bring enough fish from the last catch for one or two meals. It is the woman who goes to the store for farina, coffee, beans, rice, and so on. Their evenings are usually spent at home sewing, making or mending a net either for their husbands or for someone else. If there is a samba they may go and watch but seldom stay long, but if there is a candomblé ceremony they may spend the whole night there, especially if they participate in it. In such a case they often take their children with them and put them to sleep in the house, or else put them on a bench to watch the proceedings.

759 The institute has broken down the pattern of the practical
743 midwife, known locally as parteira or curiosa, since one of
178 the first things done when it opened in 1945 was to have several young girls trained in Salvador as midwives. Up to that time, however, there had only been older women, who through experience and sometimes through necessity had taken on the job of midwives. In the rural area the untrained midwife is still important, for the clinic has not yet made itself felt to
846 the majority of people living there. When the time comes for
759 the birth of a child, a neighbor or perhaps a relative comes
462 into the house to cook and clean and look after the other chil-
[844] dren, and occasionally to assist with the birth. The father continues his usual round of occupations, as most women put it, "earning enough to feed another mouth." In some cases the man helps with the housework when he is home, and there are several men in the town who are good cooks and who can look after the children. In other cases the midwife may stay several days in the house, doing all these things. Recently, however, as a result of the death of one midwife and the resignation of two trained ones of the institute, the other two have been so busy that they cannot spend much time in any one house. A common complaint because of this is that the midwife tries to hurry the birth, massaging the woman's abdomen, and frequently attempting to induce birth before the normal time.

759 The most popular midwife in town rarely has a chance to rest. She is in her seventies and is frequently in a state of exhaustion from caring for households where a birth has taken place. She sleeps there, usually on a grass mat since the mother occupies the only bed. She serves in the rural area also, as well as on the islands facing the town. Payment for

[Class C Families]

her services ranges anywhere from fifty cruzeiros to nothing but thanks, but with the understanding that when she is ill the family will help her, since she lives alone. 759

If a baptized child dies before it is seven years old, it is called an angel and goes straight to heaven, while if it dies before this age and is unbaptized, it is called a pagan and goes to limbo. The angel is carried through the streets in an open coffin, for everyone to see. The lid is put on the coffin after it is in the ground, whereupon all those in attendance scoop in some earth. The attitude toward the death of a child is one of mixed joy and sadness, and sometimes of joy only. If the mother and father wanted the child very badly, they feel sad; but otherwise the general attitude is that the child is better off dead, especially since he becomes an angel. The difference in the ringing of the church bells also shows this, for the ringing for a dead child is a short, almost joyous sound, while that for an adult is a long, sad tolling. 761 851 775 [533]

If it appears that a child is going to die after it has been born, an effort is made to have it baptized as soon as possible. But if it is healthy, it is baptized whenever the family can do so. The baptism includes a small party for the family and godparents. Formerly if a child died before it was baptized, its grave was sometimes baptized on the eve of São João by the woman who had been chosen to be its godmother. The family and godparents would go to the cemetery at midnight and gather around the grave, which the godmother sprinkled with water and baptized. This, however, is no longer done. 763 851 769 851 178

According to the parish records, 705 children were baptized in the county during 1950; 320 of those belonged to the community of Vila Recôncavo. The civil register, however, showed only 276 persons of all ages registered in the county for the same year. A child is seldom registered right after birth, or even at the time of baptism, but whenever the parents think of it. Sometimes a person must do it himself when, as an adult, he needs a registration certificate. The situation is changing gradually as life becomes more entangled in official red tape, and people are registering their children more frequently than they used to. Members of classes A and B are much more careful about this matter than are the lower classes. 851 217 162 [178] [565]*

According to law, the medical doctor must sign a death certificate before a permit to bury someone can be obtained, so the figures for deaths are more accurate than those for births. The civil register for the community of Vila Recôncavo 217 [763] [759] 000

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165 The civil register for the community of Vila Recôncavo
[217] listed 111 deaths for 1950, fifty-one male and sixty female. The age breakdown was as follows:

TABLE 9
NUMBER OF DEATHS BY AGE GROUPS, 1950

under 1 year	36
1- 4	20
5- 9	1
10-14	4
15-19	4
20-29	10
30-39	10
40-49	6
50-59	9
60-69	4
70-79	3
80-89	1
90-99	2
over 99	1
	111

165 It is apparent that the first five years are those in which the
164 death rate is highest. According to the local doctor's records, the most frequent causes of these deaths are diarrhea and enteritis (seven deaths), whooping cough (seven deaths), chronic nephritis (five deaths), and acute bronchitis (four deaths). The mal de sete dias (literally, "illness of seven days," an umbilical infection in newly born infants) was the cause of only two deaths, and only one natural abortion was registered, as well as one stillbirth. According to the same doctor, many more adults die of heart trouble and kidney ailments than of anything else.

553 The most popular method of naming children is by choosing from an almanac a name which strikes the fancy of the
[214] parents. In Brazil many commercial concerns publish yearly almanacs which are widely distributed. In addition to giving national holidays, saints' days, and various other kinds of
551 calendars, they include lists of names, often of saints. While
553 in the upper classes children are named after their parents and grandparents, lower-class families give their offspring all sorts of exotic names chosen from the almanacs, such as Estanislaus, Enoch, or Ignace. Sometimes the name is cho-

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sen because it is the name of the saint on whose day the child 551
is born. There is also a good sprinkling of the more common
names such as Antonio, João, Lourdes, and Maria. But if a
child develops any peculiar characteristics, either physical
or personal, he or she will be called by some descriptive
term based on the peculiarity. Most people have nicknames 551
such as Patão (Big Duck), Barco Velho (Old Boat), Cuspe
Grosso (Thick Spit) or Gatinho (Little Cat), and in time their
own proper name is forgotten almost entirely and used only
for formal occasions such as signing records. The diminu-
tive form of the given name is also popular, and is applied
even to upper-class people, for example, Dr. Zeca (diminu-
tive for Dr. José). In some cases a man is even known by his
mother's or wife's name, for example, José de Ingracia.

In choosing godparents, there is great freedom. If possible, 608
at least one of the godparents will be a member of the upper [565]
class, a patron who will help the child if necessary, especial-
ly if the godson when he grows up wants to go to school in the
city or enter the army or navy. The other godparent may be
a member of the child's family, or in some cases the mid-
wife. In many cases the wife chooses the female godparent,
especially if she suspects that her husband is paying too much
attention to some other woman. In such a case she asks that
woman to become the godmother; the latter can hardly refuse,
as it is always considered a compliment. By becoming the god- 608
mother the woman is put effectively out of reach of the hus- 835
band, as there can be no sexual relations between parents and
godparents. This is a common device of women who have an
unmarried sister living in the home, and it usually calls a
halt to any amorous intentions on the part of either the hus-
band or the sister. There have been cases, however, where [626]
this rule was broken. Usually the couple who break this ta-
boo are highly censured by the rest of the community, for the
wife, if she finds out, tells her friends about it. In one case [762]
which occurred in Vila Recôncavo during the author's stay,
the woman was so ashamed and frightened by the sin she had
committed that she killed herself by drinking rat poison.

In the rural area, while the man is usually acknowledged to 593
be the dominant person in the family, it is the woman who
dictates most of the daily actions. The children are with her 369
most of the time, helping in the house and working with her
in the garden, both girls and boys. When schools opened re-
cently on several of the plantations, it was the mothers, not

593 369 the fathers, who insisted that the children go. In the case of a woman who moves in with a new husband and brings her own children, she always makes it clear that the children are hers and not his. She will allow no interference from her husband in the matter of disciplining her children. Often the best possible relations exist between stepfather and children, but he never gives orders to them. The rural mother in all cases seems to be more exacting with her offspring than the town [861] mother. It is not uncommon for a rural mother to beat her children, even those who are grown men, with the cipó de caboclo (a switch), whereas this would never happen in the town. She also extends her control over them even after they are married, counseling them and helping when she can, and criticizing them severely if she does not like something they do.

883 By the time they are in their late teens, boys become in-
584 terested in courting (namoro), though girls often start ear-
212 lier. If a boy sees a girl who interests him, he manages to meet her as often as possible on the street or at the dock, and
832 by looks and slight remarks makes it clear that he is interest-
[206] ed. Or, if he can write, he may send the girl a note through a common friend. In Vila Recôncavo the telephone office is a popular place for making one's interests known, for the telephone operator is a young woman who is highly respected by most people in town and well liked by young people. A note typical of those which may pass through her hands is as follows:

Vila Recôncavo
January 7, 1951

Dona Therezinha, Salutations:

I am absolutely convinced that you do not doubt the sincerity of my love, which is always manifested so clearly in my letters and in my face when I see you.

So, I equally have the conviction of having the strange happiness of possessing your love, but in the meantime there is something lacking to complete my felicity. That is to speak to you, to hear from your lips the sincere confession of your love, to feel you near me for a few minutes.

I ask you to give me permission to speak to you, indicating the day, hour, and place in which we can meet.

You will surely not repent giving me this pleasure, for you will see that I know how to retribute your confidence

with respect and honesty. Anxiously awaiting your answer, I am your sincere admirer.
Excuse the mistakes. End.

Themistocles Filho

883 584 212 832

In this case it was the girl's first experience with this sort of thing, so she asked an older friend to write the answer for her. It took over a week before the answer was ready and was given to the boy. During this time the girls who know about the affair discussed the possibilities: the boy's looks, his note, his friends, and so on, until nothing was left uncovered. Generally the details of such an affair are shared by the girl with her female friends. The answer, when ready, ran as follows:

Vila Recôncavo
January 10, 1951

Dear Citizen:
Initially I send my wishes for happiness so that they may become part of all that is stored in your imagination, loyal and sincere friend.
And now I want to acknowledge receipt of your letter, which in its first moment was the source of indescribable joy in my heart. Afterwards, in the surprised reality of all young girls, I asked myself about the content of all that which you wrote to me so nicely. And, although bewildered by the disillusions of many of my girl friends, I think that my authorized answer may be a meeting between the two of us, so that we may know each other better, and if we understand each other well our destinies will belong to God.
And thus I present myself.

Therezinha

This affair went on for several more letters before the girl made a definite date. In the meantime the two passed each other in the street, in the movies, and on the dock without speaking. In the end the girl, who was only fourteen, lost her nerve, and the affair ended before any meeting took place. When such a correspondence culminates in an actual meeting, the meetings are facilitated or made difficult by the degree of vigilance exercised by the girl's parents. Often such an affair is hidden from them completely, only the girl's best friends having any

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584 intimation of its course. The meeting may finally be arranged at the house of an older female friend. If the two are genuinely interested in each other they may allow the fact to become public, and if the parents are pleased they will in due course [836] be married. Otherwise the girl may keep the whole affair a secret, and after a period of flirtation have an affair with the [263] boy and become pregnant. Any girl who refuses to eat pepper is immediately suspected of pregnancy, and inquiries are [843] made.

* 565 When a Class C family wishes to celebrate some occasion such as a birthday, anniversary, or the time in which the twin 574 saints Cosme and Damião are feasted, the woman's friends and any nearby female relatives come in to help her cook. 252 Guests are invited by the husband. The preparation of all 262 food must be done by hand, the chickens killed, cleaned, and [476] plucked, the beans shelled, the shrimp and fish cleaned, the farina cakes made, and the popular liqueurs (licores) prepared [273] by soaking various kinds of fruit in bottles of rum and syrup. At such parties the traditional, favorite Bahian dishes of vatapá, acarajé, carurú, abará, cuscus, and the many moquecas, are served. All these are appetizing, but take much time [251] to prepare and cannot be made too far in advance, for there * 565 is no way of preserving food. Unless the household is particularly wealthy, the family seldom gives parties; many never 574 manage to give one. Dancing forms an important part of the 535 festivities. The men bring their drums, tambourines, and guitars, while the women sing and dance the samba. In the rural [369] area, social dancing in mixed couples is rare, but in town it is a common form.

*565 A family may take care of an aged mother, father, or even godparent, or of some other relative on either side. Such a 888 person is well cared for within the family means. Most people 736 in Vila Recôncavo are generous toward others who are in some way unfortunate, and help them if they can. There is little or no complaint if the household has to take in an infirm or aged relative; most people say that the same may happen to them one day and they will have to be taken care of. Perhaps the old person helped them in some way in the past when they needed aid and is now being repaid. Or if some older person wants to live alone, a group of neighbors and relatives all help in preparing meals and supplying food and other wants over an extended period of time. There is no case in Vila Recôncavo of an elderly person being sent to a public institution.

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[Class C Families]

[Class D Families]

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Orphans, or children whose parents cannot care for them because of financial difficulties, are always taken in by some member of the family--an aunt, or uncle, or perhaps the grandparents if they are still alive, or the godparents.

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[162]

The Class D family presents a very different picture from that of any of the other social classes in Vila Recôncavo. It is almost the reverse of the patriarchal upper-class family, for in Class D the woman is the chief member, the chefe de familia. In Vila Recôncavo, 90 of the 290 households counted in the 1950 census reported a woman as the family head. Of these, thirty listed themselves as widows, seventeen as married but with husbands who lived elsewhere, and forty-three as unmarried. It is difficult to determine with certainty how many of the women who declared themselves widows or married actually were so. It is a favorite device of Vila Recôncavo women who have lived in an unmarried relationship with a man and subsequently separated from him to say that they are widows. It is equally difficult to determine from these figures how many unmarried relationships are involved.

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[583]
[162]

The composition of these households almost defies classification. Fifty-five are composed of mothers and children, with the addition in some cases of relatives and an agregado (official census term designating someone who lives in the house permanently but does not pay for his board), as well as hospedes (census designation of someone who is staying in the house temporarily and who is not paying for his board). Of the fifty-five houses with children, twenty-four are represented by unmarried, female family heads. Eight of these twenty-four households list agregados of approximately the same age as the woman, which may indicate, although not necessarily so, amasiado relationships. The other households are composed of what appear to be "left overs" from other families or marital unions: elderly people who have outlived their own conjugal units, younger people whose families either never existed as legal units or have been dissolved, agregados, and hospedes. These ninety households include a total of 353 people, who can be classified as follows:

55 mothers
142 children
37 grandchildren
35 relatives, including mothers, aunts, cousins, sisters, brothers,

*565
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[162]

nieces, and nephews
46 agregados and hospedes

Examples of the household units are given below.

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TABLE 10
COMPOSITION OF CLASS D HOUSEHOLDS

Status of Head of Family	Age	Occupation	Number of Head of Family's Children Living in House	Number of Others in House
unmarried	62	none	2	4 grandchildren
widow	70	cook	1	1 grandchild; 1 hospede
unmarried	59	laundress	1	4 grandchildren
unmarried	24	laundress	4	none
widow	49	seamstress	4	7 grandchildren, 1 agregado
unmarried	42	cook	3	1 sister, 1 niece, 1 hospede
unmarried	39	laundress	3	1 hospede
unmarried	66	ironing	0	6 nieces & nephews
widow	42	ironing	6	none
unmarried	56	laundress	0	1 grandchild
unmarried	36	laundress	6	1 nephew
unmarried	48	laundress	3	1 brother
married	36	ironing	6	1 mother, 1 nephew
unmarried	38	laundress	3	1 aunt, 1 cousin
unmarried	84	none	0	1 agregado
unmarried	21	ironing	1	none
unmarried	54	laundress	0	1 hospede, 2 agregados
married	52	laundress	1	3 grandchildren

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848

The household of Damiana is a good example for Class D. Damiana, who is now in her fifties, had a prolonged affair with a married man when she was young, and gave birth to three daughters. Orphaned herself at about the same time, she took her children and went to reside in the house of a good friend who was living in an unmarried relationship with a man. When Maria José, one of her daughters, was sixteen she was deflowered, and Damiana managed through a godfather's influence to force the boy who was responsible to marry the girl. Maria José, however, did not want to live with him, and since

565* 592 583 836 159 848 [608]

no child was born of the affair she went to Salvador where she found employment. There she met Vavá, whom she liked very much. She went to live with him for eleven years and had three children.

During this time, Vavá had affairs with several other women and had two other children. Finally he tired of Maria José and told her to go home to her mother, which she did, taking her three children with her. Damiana's godfather allowed her, Maria José and her children, and Tatá, another of Damiana's daughters who by then had six illegitimate children, to live rent-free in a house he owned. Childless, he took one daughter from each of the two girls to bring up in his own home.

Shortly after the three women had set up this household, Vavá tired of his new companion and wanted Maria José to come back to him, which she refused to do. From time to time he also asked her for money, as he was now unemployed. She always gave him some, since she was employed, explaining that it was not for him but for his two other children, for she could not think of their going hungry.

565* 848 [551] [583]

In almost every case of break-up of the unmarried state, the children remain with the mother. This is also true in the case of an affair which results in a child. The father never takes on the responsibility of the children. In addition to this, as stated earlier, the children bear the mother's name and not that of the father. Often a break-up occurs because the man goes to live with another woman who does not want the children of his previous union, as she may have some of her own either by him or by someone else. On the other hand, women in Vila Recôncavo say that they would be ashamed to let the children go and be brought up by another woman, except in the case of a godparent, in whose home the treatment is expected to be at least as good as that which the mother could have given the child.

565* 839

Sometimes women in this class have affairs with men who are already married and who do not leave their wives and children. A woman seldom has more than one lover at one time, and usually stays with the same man for a long period. Although the man takes no responsibility for the resulting children, he may, nevertheless, try to help the woman sometimes; but his first allegiance is to his own wife and children.

565* 592 848

Unless there has been a formal marriage, the children are always considered as belonging to the mother, and the most

*565
592 remarkable fact about these female households is that mother
848 and children manage to remain together as long as they do. Usually the husbandless woman finds work as a laundress or at ironing, or dries fish (xangó), three tasks which permit her to keep her children near her. When she becomes a cook or servant in someone's home, it is common for her to take the children to work and let them play nearby in the back yard. In such a case her children may eventually receive aid from her employer, who because of the children's continued presence in the house becomes fond of them and wants to do something for them. If this does not happen, the mother herself
[464] must take care of their future. As a rule, boys from such families leave town as soon as they are old enough, finding employment in Salvador. Girls, on the other hand, remain with their mothers more often than leaving. If they do leave, they often return, like Maria José, with children of their own.

*565 Because of the poverty of these households, there is little
592 or no provision for the care of older people, and it is from this class that come the very few, poor, old women who beg
735 for food, medicine, and other aid. The people of the town are in general extremely generous in view of their own financial
888 circumstances, and they do what they can to help. In Vila Recôncavo there are no "professional" beggars; there is no one
[157] seated on a street corner asking for alms. There is, instead, a very proud spirit of independence, and having to go from door to door (or, rather, from kitchen to kitchen) asking for food or money is highly repugnant. Families will often send food to an old person regularly in order to avoid face-to-face contact with begging. Begging is also sometimes done through a third person, often a child, again to avoid face-to-face relationships in asking for aid.

*565 Class D does not exist in the rural area, for reasons al-
369 ready noted, particularly the pressure brought to bear by plantation owners and administrators. In addition, however, it also seems that women can only support themselves and their children in the more crowded urban areas, where they can find work which allows them to be near their children.

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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An old cult priestess

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The "beauty parlor," Vila Recôncavo

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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8. Religion

[249] DURING COLONIAL and empire times, religion occupied a large part of the lives of the landed aristocracy. The town of Vila Recôncavo had a Franciscan convent, a large mother church of the parish of São Gonçalo, and the chapel of the [193] Third Order of Franciscans. In the rural area of the community nearly every plantation had its own chapel, which formed part of the owner's house, and its own chaplain to care for the spiritual needs of the landowning families and their [794] slaves. Much of the wealth of landowners was used to build magnificent churches, to sponsor religious processions, and to maintain religious brotherhoods for laymen.

178 In this century, however, Catholicism is no longer the of-
79 ficial state religion, the landowners no longer support the town church as they used to, and the Third Order of Francis-
[565] cans has died out in Vila Recôncavo. Today members of the upper class (Class A) confine their support to the churches they attend in Salvador, leaving the local church to the mercy of God and to the gente pequena of the town. Visits from the Franciscans to celebrate Mass and give instruction for first communion have taken the place of the plantation chaplain and chapel. The priests today say that the people of the community have no intellectual basis for understanding religious teachings or beliefs. Consequently, they say that they now seek only to have as many as possible conform to the outer forms and rituals of the church and refrain from attending the African cults.

175 In addition to the formal structure of the Catholic Church
794 there arose, especially in the nineteenth century, many houses of African cultism, called in this region candomblé. The ad-

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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herents of these cults, female slaves and former slaves for the most part, followed a lengthy routine to become practitioners in the various cult houses and spent large sums of money, according to legend, on the required bracelets, necklaces, and clothing.

Today, however, the cult priests and priestesses have the same complaint as the Catholic priests. They say that young people no longer have the understanding or the patience necessary to prepare for devotion in the cult houses. The older priestesses deplore the degeneration of some of these houses and the admission of Indian spirits, which are now displacing the African gods.

Spiritualism has recently entered the community. So far it has been limited to few people in the community, although it is very popular in Salvador.

The use of the supernatural as described in Willems' Cunha[1] does not take place in Vila Recôncavo. In Cunha the saints are asked to send rain whenever it appears that the crops are in danger. But in Vila Recôncavo, which lies in a semitropical rain area, there is no need for such invocations. Besides, these are large-scale economic crops, not subsistence produce on which the people depend directly for their living.

The Catholic Church in Vila Recôncavo

During the colonial period each religious parish was carefully delineated and conserved, but later political divisions cut across parish lines. This has made the use of colonial statistics very difficult. During colonial and empire times the church was the main census organ, but since parishes and counties do not coincide in their outlines the statistics are little help today in comparing the present with the past. Each parish built a mother church (matriz) in the parish town. Each of these churches had a patron saint, who was also the patron of the parish, and a resident priest or priests.

In the town of Vila Recôncavo, the county seat, a mother church was built, with São Gonçalo as its patron saint; also constructed was the Franciscan convent, connected with an opulent Third Order. As the Recôncavo entered its long per-

1: Emilio Willems, Cunha: Tradição e transição en uma cultura rural do Brasil (Sao Paulo, 1947), Chapter 7.

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79 iod of decline, the parishes suffered financially; the buildings fell into a state of disrepair, and the parish priests were no longer replaced, for there was no money to support them. The Franciscans in town also suffered materially, and their personnel greatly diminished. About the time the empire ended and the republic began, the flow of young men and women into the religious orders ceased. At the end of the nineteenth century there were no longer enough Brazilian Franciscans to carry on the work in the convent, and a contingent of German Franciscans was sent to Brazil. Since that time, the Franciscans in Vila Recôncavo have been of German birth. Today there are only four Friars in Vila Recôncavo, three ordained priests and one lay brother.

One by one the county parishes were turned over to the Franciscans as the parishes became too poor to support their own priests, until today the three ordained Franciscans must
79 care for the spiritual needs of five parishes. These include, in addition to the convent itself and the five parish churches, thirty smaller churches and chapels, all of which serve a population of over fifteen thousand people scattered over a wide area accessible only by canoe, foot, and horseback. Of these many churches, the only one which has a daily Mass is the Franciscan convent in the town of Vila Recôncavo, for there is always a priest there while the other two are traveling. On Sundays three Masses are celebrated in town: one in the convent, one in the mother church, and one in the small chapel in the lower part of town, commonly known as the fishermen's chapel. Only one town in all five parishes has a scheduled monthly Mass. This special effort is being made because, in the words of the priest, "There is a large religious movement there." In general it is understood between the parish people and the priests that when a town or smaller settlement wants a Mass celebrated the people fix a date for it and notify the convent. If possible, a priest fulfills the engagement, carrying his own robes, Book, Host, and chalices with him.

In addition to saying Mass, the priests are called upon to bless new houses, to give last rites to the sick, to take communion to the aged and infirm at home, and to teach the young
(871) children their catechism. Catechism is taught in the schools, and once a week the priest journeys to each school to teach. Near the end of the school year, First Communion is celebrated in the school or, if on a plantation, in the owner's house. The young children receive Communion first, and af-

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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ter them any others who want to receive it. Through the year few people from the rural area go to hear Mass in town, unless they have asked for a special service in honor of their patron saint or in the memory of a dead relative. They usually wait for the priest's visit to their own locality. The same is true of weddings and baptisms, which are often held up pending the arrival of the priest. 79

In case of death, the corpse is buried within twenty-four hours. Each parish has its own cemetery, and the relatives and friends of the dead carry the coffin there for burial. In the parish of Vila Recôncavo, the cemetery lies just outside the town. People from this parish, as well as those from the town itself, take the coffin to the convent before burial to be blessed, for there is always a priest there. Then they carry the coffin to the cemetery. In the other parishes the dead are buried without the benefit of a blessing, which will however take place on the second of November, when priests try to visit each cemetery and bless all the dead. 79 764

The many duties which have fallen upon the Franciscans have made it almost impossible for them to continue the type of life prescribed for those who enter an order. It is very difficult for them to attend the retreats to which they should go; there is little or no time for them to study or contemplate, or to teach, for they have been faced with the discouraging reality of trying to keep religion alive in a population too large and scattered for proper contact to be maintained. In 1941 Vila Recôncavo was described by the provincial canonical visitors as "one of the greatest crosses of our Province, because of the five decadent parishes entrusted to it."[2] The same book speaks constantly of the "deplorable indifference" and "religious coldness" of the people of Vila Recôncavo. In 1949 the statistics of religious activities were as follows: 333 baptisms (184 legitimate and 149 illegitimate children), 27 weddings, 200 First Communions, 8,292 general Communions, and 80 Communions for sick people. 792 794 795 [162]

As of today there are no religious brotherhoods in Vila Recôncavo. The last to pass out of existence was the Brotherhood of the Most Sacred Sacrament, which was closed upon the death of its treasurer early in this century. The Third Order of Franciscans, formally closed in 1902, was reopened in 792

2. Livro de cronica do convento, Vila Recôncavo (MS in Franciscan Convent, Vila Recôncavo).

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1933 when two women took the scapular and cord. But nothing more came of it. There is a benevolent organization, the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, which gives aid to the poor and is run by three men of Class B. It is very weak, however, and at present can help only four persons in the town. The society conducts no festivals or public displays.

Festivals

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The festivals which take place in Vila Recôncavo are based on the religious calendar and are participated in to a great extent by the African cult members. January 1 is an important date in town and is celebrated by a Mass in the fishermen's chapel, after which the priest goes out on the beach and blesses all the canoes. After he has gone, the participants in African cults make their offering for the day. This is the date when presents are given to the Mother of Waters (Mae d'Agua locally, but sometimes known as Janaina, Sereia, or Yansan in other parts of Brazil). The presentations are made by the cult priestesses, but anyone who wants to give a present to the Mother of Waters may do so by handing the gift to the cult priestess beforehand. The presents may consist of money or of anything a woman can use, as long as it is white: combs, ribbons, powders, perfumes, soaps, flowers, and so on. Everything is wrapped together and placed in a large clay basin covered with white cloths and decked with white flowers.

The cult priestess comes out of the cult house after Mass and, accompanied by participants and onlookers, goes down to the beach and enters one of the large canoes prepared for the occasion. The cult drummers accompany her, as well as most of the female devotees (filhas de santo). Usually two presents are given, one to the young Mother of Waters, who lives near the town, and another, larger one to the old Mother of Waters, who lives at about an hour's distance from town, where the water is very deep. The canoes take off and proceed up the river, while the drums beat and the devotees sing. The Mother of Waters is called and praised, and when the canoes arrive where the younger one lives, her present is lowered into the water. If it does not sink it is a very bad sign, for it means that the present was rejected. The bundles usually sink, however, for they are bound in a heavy clay basin.
[787] At this moment the Mother of Waters is supposed to enter the body of the person who placed the gift in the water. This person, usually an older devotee, enters a trance state and must

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be held in the canoe by the others, for she tries to jump into the water. At the same time, all those present in the canoe scoop up the water and pour it over themselves, for it is at this moment quite holy. The possessed person is gradually calmed and brought back to a normal state as the canoes move up the river. 796 794 782 776 [787]

During this time, groups of fishermen often go out in their newly blessed canoes (canoas de bordejo) to play. Because their canoes have been blessed by the priest, and because of the holy aspect of the water resulting from the presence of the Mother of the Waters, the men may enter the water without fear, so they jump in and out of the water and swim around their canoes until they are tired. This cannot be done at any other time of the year for it is not considered safe to enter deep water. [788] [823] [526]

After the second gift has been offered and accepted, the party lands and goes back to town on foot in a spirit of great joy and gaiety. The rest of the day is given over to horse racing, visiting, gaming, and dancing on the fishermen's square. People from classes A and B do not participate in these proceedings, which they consider barbarous. But most lower-class people at least watch, although only participants enter the canoes. Observers walk along the banks and watch. Cults from the rural areas make their own presentations separately, frequently on Christmas Day and in another locale. 796 794 565* [527] [389]

The next festival in the year comes after January 6, the Day of Kings, which has already been mentioned. Parties take place from this day until the beginning of Lent. Other than a Mass, there is no longer much sanctity connected to this day. 796

The most important festival of the year is that of Nossa Senhora da Conçeição da Praia, the patron saint of most of the fishermen, to whom their chapel is dedicated. This festival begins on January 13 and starts off each evening with a novena held in the fishermen's chapel. The priest goes each evening for the novena, and, on the three last days of the festival, each morning, to celebrate Mass in honor of Nossa Senhora da Conceição, St. Peter, and St. John. A committee is organized in the chapel to ask patrons for contributions to the festival, for candles, oils, electric light, and to pay the priest each night. Flowers are a very important part of the festival, although at this time of the year they are very expensive. Each night of the novena there is a different group of patrons, and [776] 796 794

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*794 supposedly there is competition among them as to which night
[565] will be the loveliest. This becomes more expensive each year, however, and the patrons are becoming less willing to donate money. This festival is most enjoyed by the lower classes. It is avoided by members of Class B, who in many instances are nevertheless called upon to be patrons.

796 The festival takes on a carnival aspect each night, with
[525] booths set up in the streets by professional people from Sal-
[275] vador and Centro. The booths have wheels of fortune and guessing games, and sell sweets and drinks. After the religious celebration in the chapel, everyone goes out into the square to talk, play games, and dance.

796 The day before the first Mass of the festival is celebrated,
794 the chapel is thoroughly washed by the women participants of
358 the African cult house, who dress up in their many starched
[291] skirts and bandanas and go to the well as a group for water, which they take to the chapel to throw on the floor. A few little barefoot girls wash down the floor with brooms. After the
[535] washing the women go out dancing in the streets. They dance
*[565] on every street in town and ask for alms. This entire procedure, known as the lavagem (washing), is much frowned upon by members of Class B.

796 Most of the ordinary town life ceases during these nine days, for everyone is tired after staying up so late at night. The day of the patron saint of the town falls during this festival, and is passed over with nothing more than a simple Mass celebrated in the mother church in his honor. The people of the rural area of this parish do not observe the day of the patron saint
[794] at all. The day after the nine-day festival, a group of young men go out dancing and singing in the streets, asking for alms to make a large feijoada (feast of beans) at night. This is called mazorra (the clowns). After this the men settle down again to their fishing, for by now their money is all used up.

The next festival on the calendar is the second of February, when the nearby towns of Centro, Conselho, and Morro celebrate the day of their patron saint. People from Vila Recôncavo go to one or another of these three towns, although not
[778] in great numbers. The majority go to Conselho, which has the reputation of being a holy place, and to which pilgrimages are
*[565] frequently made.

All festivities end during Lent, which is quietly observed.
[184] It is interesting to note that Carnaval, which takes place the three days before Lent, is observed in Vila Recôncavo only among members of Class A.

among members of Class A. In the cult houses it is said that the African gods go back to Africa for Lent and that the Indian spirits go back to the forests, not coming back again to Vila Recôncavo until Easter Eve. Good Friday is usually marked by the eating of foods with much palm and olive oil, mostly the favorite Bahian dishes of acarajé and vatapá. On Saturday some people in the town "burn Judas." They make a figure stuffed with straw or grass and in the evening parade it through the whole town on a donkey until they arrive at the fishermen's chapel, where the dummy is strung up and burned. While it burns the man who made it reads a long poem which he has composed during the year and which tells about his friends and their individual peculiarities. 796 [794] [776] [262] [538]

During the month of May a service is held each night in the mother church in honor of the Virgin Mary. A priest officiates, and the women of the upper class sing in the choir. This ceremony is attended almost entirely by townspeople, mostly women. St. John's Day, which comes at the end of June and is a popular holiday throughout most of Brazil, goes unnoticed in the town, although at dawn on that day there may be a reveille for St. John (alvorada de São João), which consists of shouting, "Wake up, St. John!" The sixteenth of August is celebrated, mostly by the rural people, as the day of St. Roch, who is considered a foe of pestilence. There is usually a Mass in the mother church on this day, after which the priest conducts Mass in as many of the rural chapels as he can. St. Roch is also celebrated by the African cults. [793] [794] [569] [369] [794] [184]

On September 27, the twin saints Cosme and Damião are celebrated, often with a Mass, but especially with a party called the carurú, the dish distinctive of this day and the days which follow it; for, as with the Day of Kings, Cosme and Damião may be feted any day within a month or so following the proper date. Before a carurú, it is customary for small images of the two saints to be carried about the streets from house to house asking for alms for a party in their honor. Usually the party is for the children, who dance and eat as much as they can, while the older people at first look on, and then finish up the food that was left and also dance. Anyone who is a twin or who likes twins may give a carurú in his house. [794]

St. Francis is also feted, since there is a Franciscan convent in the town, by a devotion on three nights and a Mass on the morning of St. Francis' day. The last Sunday in October,

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the day of Christ the King, there is always a procession in town which starts from the mother church and goes to a small altar set up in front of the County Hall, then to the fishermen's chapel, to a cross which stands in one of the squares, and back to the convent and church. A few people set their small household oratories in the street in front of their houses to be blessed by the priest as he passes. This procession is accompanied mostly by women of all classes, although the canopy over the Host is carried by men from Class B. Christmas is observed quietly except for the exchange of gifts.

[778] [788] *[565] [184] [431]

Prayers

794 782 *[565] [184]

Prayers are very popular throughout the year among the women of classes C and D. For a variety of reasons a group of women will get together in the house of one of them and pray aloud, standing before the little decorated niche which contains a picture or figure of the household saint. The one who knows the prayer best leads the others. A group may pray on the evening before the day of the patron saint of one of them, especially if they have been unable to have a Mass said because of the lack of money or a previous commitment of the priest. At times they pray because someone has promised his patron saint that he would do so if he were cured of an illness.

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Strangely, perhaps, the fishermen never seem to feel a need for supernatural help to overcome bad weather or lack of fish. A few of them, however, give a present to the Mother of the Waters in thanks for an exceptionally fine catch. At other times, people simply pray to their patron saints if they cannot have a party in their honor. Personal patron saints, however, do not play a very important part in the lives of the people of Vila Recôncavo, although nearly everyone has one and has at least a picture of the saint on the wall. It is common to find women who belong to an African cult group praying at these nightly gatherings in honor of the various saints who may or may not be represented in their cult houses.

[776] [794]

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Exceptional fatigue, light illness, and pains may all be caused by the evil eye, and are removed by having a woman pray over the victim. There are several women in town who can make such prayers particularly well; however, they do not pray as a group. A woman goes to the house of the victim and, with a piece of thread in her hand which she passes over the body of the victim, says the Lord's Prayer and the

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Hail Mary. Some women say this process must be repeated three times in a row, others that it must be done each Friday for three weeks. This is a protective prayer "to take away the evil eye" (para tirar mau olhado). The thread which is used is taken away and carefully disposed of, by the person who prayed.

Conflict and Differential Participation

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The attitude of the priests toward conditions in their parishes is one of resignation. They realize that it is physically impossible for them to take religion to all the people or even to the majority of them. Also, they are disheartened by the poor intellectual basis the people have for understanding the doctrine of the church. They do not discourage the group prayers, nor do they encourage them; they simply let them exist. But they vigorously combat African cultism. For several years the fishermen's chapel was closed because of the cult activities of so many of the women who attended the chapel. Recently, however, the Franciscan superior reopened the chapel, feeling that it was better not to exclude the entire fisherman population from the church because a few of them also participated in African cults. For it had turned out that when the chapel was closed all the people in the lower part of town refused to go up the hill to the convent and therefore passed several years without attending Mass, confessing, or taking Communion. In sermons given during Mass an opportunity to condemn cultism is never lost, even though it may have little effect. The local church policy toward cultism depends upon the feelings of each new superior and whether he will tolerate it. The priest who reopened the chapel became a much-loved person in the town, at least by the lower classes, for he realized how few people in the total population indulge in cult activities compared to the many who go to watch. The caretaker of one of the rural chapels is also a cult leader on his plantation, but relations between him and the priests are cordial. Although most of the female devotees attend the Masses for their particular saints, the priestess of the cult house never goes to church and avoids meeting the priests if possible.

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Religion is more a part of the women's lives than of the men's, and there are more women than men at every Mass. There are a few strongly religious women (beatas) in the town

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who never miss a Mass, benediction, or prayer. By means of a questionnaire in the town and the rural area, the following data were obtained concerning the average frequency of church attendance per year for men and women over fourteen years of age:

TABLE 11
FREQUENCY OF CHURCH ATTENDANCE

Urban Number of times per year Males	Urban Number of times per year Females	Class	Rural Number of times per year Males	Rural Number of times per year Females
		A	19	23
40	96	B	4	3
17	25	C	3	3
4	41	D		

Several things are shown by this table. First, the higher a man's social position, the more often he goes to church, at least in classes B, C, and D. Second, the frequency of attendance by the women of all classes is considerably greater than that of the men. Third, the women of Class A attend church fewer times per year than do the women of classes B, C, and D of the urban area. Fourth, there are great differences in the rural and urban attendance: people from the plantations seldom go to town for Mass, preferring to wait for some special plantation occasion when the priest will go to the plantation. The difference between the attendance frequencies of Class A and Classes B and C of the rural zone is due to the time that Class A spends in Salvador, where members often attend Sunday Mass, as well as family Masses.

African Cults

Brazilian candomblé is usually thought of as a syncretism between African cultism and Catholicism. There has been a partial identification of the African deities with Catholic saints. For example, Ôgún, the African god of war, has been identified with St. Anthony; Ôxóssi, deity of the hunt, with St. George; Ômolú, the god of pestilence, with St. Roch; Êxu, the trickster, with Satan; Yansan, with St. Barbara; and Xangô, with either St. Jerome or St. Barbara. There has been

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some confusion in the minds of the cultists themselves as to exactly which saint an African spirit represents, and there often are slight differences in interpretation which do not, however, upset the cult practices to any great extent. Cultism in Brazil has been described in detail by Nina Rodrigues,[3] Arthur Ramos,[4] and Edison Carneiro,[5] and by the Americans Donald Pierson[6] and Ruth Landes,[7] all of whom concentrated on cultism in the city of Salvador; Eduardo Octavio da Costa[8] has good material on urban-rural cultism in Maranhão (northern Brazil). In Vila Recôncavo the syncretisms are being forgotten as the content of cults changes from African spirits to the Indian spirits, for which no identification is made with the Catholic saints.

Cultism apparently got its start in Bahia in the early nineteenth century. Carneiro[9] sets the date for the establishment of the first cult house in the city as 1838. Old people in Vila Recôncavo do not remember cultism beyond two generations ago. There is one woman in town who is in her late nineties and who only remembers hearing of her mother and her mother's generation as active in cults. Apparently the force of cultism increased with the decrease in Catholic proselytization, as the number of priests in the rural areas diminished. It also increased in tempo with the manumission of slaves, and apparently was one of the institutions through which former slaves bought the freedom of other slaves.

Today the cults of the rural area are far less elaborate than those in the city of Salvador, although it seems that even in the city, cultism is showing the same general trend toward disintegration which is so strongly apparent in the rural area. In both places there is a shift away from African ritual to practices connected with the Indian spirits, whose demands

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3. Raymundo Nina Rodrigues, O animismo fetichista dos negros bahianos (Rio de Janeiro, 1935).
4. Arthur Ramos, O negro brasileiro (2nd ed.; São Paulo, 1940).
5. Edison Carneiro, Candomblés da Bahia, (Publicações do Museu do Estado, No. 8 [Bahia, 1948]).
6. Donald Pierson, Negroes in Brazil (Chicago, 1942).
7. Ruth Landes, The City of Women (New York, 1947).
8. Octavio da Costa Eduardo, The Negro in Northern Brazil (New York, 1948).
9. Carneiro, Candomblés da Bahia, p. 31.

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are easier to understand and to comply with. In the town of Vila Recôncavo there are two houses of cult activities with female leaders, and in the rural area there is one such house with a male leader. These are the three houses which were studied by the author. There are six more in the area, but they are much smaller and poorer than these three.

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One of the three is led by a woman almost a hundred years old. She is now completely blind and can barely walk about the house. She has not been outside of it for several years. She has an assistant, a young man in his twenties, who as a child brought her firewood and water and who now has been taught by her much of the cult ritual. The house is now inactive, for the old woman has outlived her former followers, or else they have moved away. The room which contains the insignia of the African spirits is still kept up, and the proper foods and drinks are always placed there by the young man, in accordance with the instructions of the old lady. She herself does little, although she still consults the spirits by throwing cowrie shells. Her fame as a cult leader is widespread, and people still come to her for help, but she is too feeble to do much. In her day she was a "purist" and went through the long training period necessary to become a devotee and later a cult leader. She still knows a few words of Nagô, the Yoruban language, and laments the passing of her generation, with whom she says she conversed only in this language. Several of her initiates broke away and started their own houses in other places, although according to her they were not ready to assume leadership since they did not know enough of the mysteries.

The other two houses studied are led by disciples of one of the old woman's devotees who broke away. There is no contact among the three, although the two younger leaders are in awe of the old woman, aware that she knows much more than they do and that in her eyes they are only upstarts, manipulating something mystical which they are not sufficiently prepared to control. She does not intimidate them, however, and now ignores their activities, since they both have recently accepted the Indian spirits which the old woman feels are bogus. She is more interested in passing on her knowledge to the young man who cares for her house, though she complains that he is too indifferent to her teachings. He is learning a great deal, however, though he has not yet "made" his saint, that is, he is not yet a full-fledged devotee. Preparations for

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this are being made, however, and it is hoped he will be ready for it before her death. In the meantime she has legally willed the house and its material belongings to him, and is also passing along to him her spiritual heritage. He is learning the mystical part of the cult, but she cannot show him the outer forms, such as dancing and other physical motions of worship, because she is too infirm. Traditionally only women went through training for worship in the Brazilian cults, for the belief is that the gods descend and "ride" or "mount" the disciple. This could only be done with women disciples. However, one of the changes reaching the cults now is the entrance of men as devotees. Very often they are effeminate, as is the case with the young man who is helping the old woman. The old one is not pleased with having a man perform the duties of her cult house, but she feels she must be satisfied with him because there is no one else in her house. Although all her former disciples are gone, now at least she will have someone to dispatch her saints when she dies, a complicated ritual which must be properly carried out.

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One of the other two houses is in the town and is led by Roxa, who has "made her saint" but who by cult standards should still be a devotee in another house, for she is not considered well enough prepared to be leading a house of her own. Her house is extremely weak, with few followers, most of whom have not yet "made their saints." Roxa is the main figure, the one most often possessed and through whom the spirits speak. As a young girl she went through a fairly rigorous period of training, but broke away before it was completed. She says she fulfills the necessary obligations now only because if she did not she would become sick. She calls the whole thing a "complication" in her life which must be looked after. She has been married but is now widowed and childless.

The other house, located on one of the plantations run by an overseer, is led by a man in his forties. He also claims that he is in the cult because of his health. As a boy and young man he was always sick and his entire body ached. One day in the field he found a "lightning stone" (pedra de raio). Such stones are common in the cults and are thought to have been sent from the sky, although they really are American Indian artifacts, such as arrowheads and hatchets, and are constantly turned up in the soil. At first he did not know what the stone was and took it home, but on discovering that it had supernatural significance, he threw it away, for he wanted nothing

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794 to do with cultism. His parents were strongly opposed to cult-
[778] ism and had told him that it was bad. But the next day the stone was back in his house, frightening him. He again threw it away, and again it reappeared in his house. Then he took it to the cult leader on the plantation, who told him that it was
[782] a sign that he had an obligation to fulfill toward the gods. To put an end to the matter, it was necessary to make certain appeasements in the form of food and drink. So he began to save money, and at the same time took instruction from the woman as to what to do. During this time he became genuinely interested in cultism and became the "most curious"
[428] of the woman's disciples. He studied for many years with her and did as much as he could in the ceremonies. When she died
[765] she left the house to him, as he was the most active among her followers. After he had observed the honorary period of a year after her death and had properly dispatched her saints, he moved into the house where he has now been leader for
[578] thirteen years. Because of jealousies and fights over the inheritance, many of the devotees broke away and went to other houses, taking their saints with them.

793 Three years after he had taken over the house, he had his
794 first experience with the Indian spirit Seven Stars, who came to him in a dream and let it be known that he wanted to enter
787 the man and become part of the cult. For some time the man
177 resisted, for the cult was traditionally Nagô and the former leader would have had nothing to do with Indian spirits. Seven Stars, however, threatened him with extinction if he did not comply, so in the end he gave in, and one night during a ceremony was possessed by Seven Stars. Everyone liked Seven Stars, because he was a very happy and gay spirit and danced well. After this many other devotees in the house were also possessed by this as well as by one or two other Indian spirits, neither of which, however, was considered as nice as Seven Stars.

794 According to dogma, there are twenty-one Indian spirits,
787 although the informant could not name them all and neither
177 could anyone else. All twenty-one live in an aldeia (village) in the woods. There was nothing in the African tradition to tell
[776] what preparation was necessary for these spirits, so the entire ritual became one of inventiveness and propitiousness. Nowadays young people who enter the cults are nearly always taken by an Indian spirit and are much pleased, for these spirits involve less expense and much less work. The major com-

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plaint about African deities is the amount of work involved and 787
the great expense entailed by making the proper clothes and 177
buying the beads and bracelets. All leaders say that no one can afford traditional spirits these days. Those who had formerly had them, of course, still do, but have also been visited by Indian spirits which they much prefer. So they car- 794
ry out the more fundamental obligations toward the African 178
spirits, such as providing food and drink, but they dress and 177
dance for their Indian spirits. The result has been a confu- [782]
sion of rituals--the use of African music and incantations and the addition of new dances, costumes, and foods appropriate for the simpler tastes of the Indian spirits.

The cult houses (terreiros) are built like other houses in 794
the community. The active one in town is located on a street 346
in line with all the other houses, while that on the plantation 353
is set slightly apart from the others, because of the scattered [361]
configuration of the village. The front room, which is the largest, is usually bare except for a few long wooden bench- [352]
es and a small altar with pictures of the patron saints of the cult leader and of several of the cult members. This room is decorated with crepe paper streamers and paper flowers; the dances are held here. The other rooms of the house consist of a bedroom, a dining room, a kitchen, and another room known as the pegi, which houses the African altar with its plants and leaves, dishes, bottles, cups, and glasses of food and drink for the spirits, as well as the symbol of each one of them, such as a spade, a sword, or a hatchet. In this room there is also usually a trunk containing the ceremonial paraphernalia used during the festivities, such as the dress and [782]
headdress of each spirit. This is the room in which sacrificial killings (matanças) are made of the goats and chickens used during the ceremonies. In the rural house there are also pictures of Catholic saints in the pegi, another departure from the older traditional houses where such a thing would never occur.

The cult leader lives in the cult house. In the literature on 793
candomblé the cult leader is usually referred to as the mae, 794
or pai, de santo, which means literally "mother (or father) 192
of the saints." None of the cult leaders in Vila Recôncavo likes [346]
this term; they say they could not possibly be the mother or father of the divine beings. They consider themselves rather zeladores, that is, caretakers of the saints on earth. There is 794
much the same complaint about the term filha, or filho, de 192

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192 santo, which means literally "daughter (or son) of the saint." They prefer to refer to a person as "having a saint" (tem san-
[787] to) which indicates that he has an obligation toward one of the saints and becomes possessed by him. In ordinary speech the word "saint" is used, but once the person has "made his saint" --that is, has gone through the preparatory rites and has learned the cries and dances of the divinity and how to care for him properly--it is said that the person has Ômolú, or Sete Estrelas (Seven Stars).

794 Because most of the women, and the few men in the cults, cannot spend a year segregated in the cult house in order to
787 "make their saint," they continue for many years in the half-
776 way condition of someone who "has a saint but has not yet made the saint." This means that the person has experienced possession, and that it has been determined by the zelador that he is under obligation to a certain saint and is in the process of "making the saint." During this period of simply "having the saint," the person has to carry out certain duties such as feeding the saint, making the proper clothes, and buying the beads and other outer symbols of the deity which are to be used during the ceremonies. This involves considerable expendi-
[511] ture. The clothes are always made of silk, since nothing is too good for the saint. Today, lipstick, perfume, and cheap jewelry are competing for the few extra cents the girls have, so that it takes longer and longer to get the necessary items together. During this period, the obligations of dancing and possession are less strenuous. In the case of the Indian spirits, the deity often speaks through the person after one or two possessions, and this is taken to mean that the spirit is firmly upon the person and may be considered "made." In this fashion much arduous work is avoided, as well as considerable expense. This is a major reason for the growing popularity of the Indian saints, in addition to the fact that they are gayer.

794 The drummers also like Indian saints, for, after they have
533 danced, the Indian spirits usually take up a collection which is presented to the drummers for having played so well for
[465] them. The drummers are drawn from men whose wives parti-
[776] cipate in the activities, or else they are men who are interested in the proceedings and who like to drum. They learn the drumming early in their lives, listening to it as children when they go to watch the ceremonies. On nights when the drums are playing it is impossible for anyone not to hear the impos-

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ing, exciting sounds, which continue for hours on end. Little boys pick up the rhythms quickly and soon associate each rhythm with the particular spirit who dances to it. As they grow older and show interest in it, they may be allowed to relieve one of the drummers during an interval and in this way join the others in some less important part of the ceremony, until finally the zelador feels they know enough to drum for the entire evening.

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The entire proceedings are considered too strenuous for children, as much for the boy drummers as for the girl dancers. If a small girl shows signs of possession during the ceremony she is taken away, for until she is over fourteen dancing is considered too strenuous for her. But unless her family refuses, she may be coached in all the rituals by the other dancers and the zelador. The ceremonies always draw more onlookers than performers, and outside the rural cult house a man has set up a small stand to sell refreshments. As many as can, enter the room and line the walls, while the others stand outside, looking in through the open doors and windows. Most people know the procedure in a vague way and know whom the drums are calling and who "has" which saint.

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The ceremonies are rather long, the first step in the actual performance being the calling of the saints. The evening's participants dance in a circle while the drums call the various spirits. It sometimes takes quite a while for the saint to come, and there are times when he does not come at all. One young man danced unsuccessfully for over an hour and was finally removed, exhausted, by the zelador. When someone in the circle "falls," he is quickly led out of the room and into the pegi where the zelador changes his clothing, putting on him the costume of the spirit. In the meantime the others rest or may keep on dancing, becoming possessed one after the other, depending upon the type of ceremony. After the possessed person has been dressed and has completed the necessary ritual, he is led back into the main room where he now, as the saint, dances in earnest until tired or angered by something which occurs in the room. Often the zelador gives the signal for the drums to change their rhythm, indicating the end of the dance, by which time the person is physically very tired although emotionally highly keyed up. He is led back into the pegi to complete the detailed rituals, and is then given a place to rest and to come back to normal. As a rule he soon joins the others in the front room as a spectator. By

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796 then the drums are calling the other saints, the circle has
[787] been formed again, and the process is repeated. This goes
on frequently all night long, ending only with the dawn. The
[369] rural cult house has a general ceremony for all the saints of
the house during the New Year holiday, and it often takes
three or four days and nights of continuous dancing and drum-
ming for all the participants to "fulfill their obligations."
Activities cease for a while during the day while everyone
rests, and then pick up again late in the afternoon.

794 The general rule is that the person who "has a saint" must
796 fulfill his obligations to that spirit at least once a year, if
possible on the saint's day. Of course, the proper foods must
776 be supplied constantly throughout the year, but at least once a
[787] year the saint must be feted, that is, called to possess the
person and dance. The general term used for the ceremony
is bater (to beat, referring to the drums), although several
other euphemisms are used, such as, "We are going to have
a party," or, "We are going to play." If the person is unable
to fete the saint on the specified day, however, he must do it
at the general ceremony at the end of the year. Not to comply
with the rituals would be disastrous. The zelador of the house
always fetes his saint on the proper day as well as at the end
of the year. In both active cult houses the zeladores have more
than one saint and try to fete each on the specified date. All
participants keep the symbolic paraphernalia of their saints
in the cult house and look after them personally if possible,
but for many of them who live far from the house the zelador
does this. In many cases a person who "has a saint" has a
miniature pegi in his own house and also keeps there the prop-
[782] er foods and drinks. In some cases an older woman may even
have a ceremony in her home if she can afford the requisite
sacrificial animals and foods.

794 Membership in the cults is not always passed down from
parents to children. Many of the younger participants have
come into the cults on their own and may be children of fam-
ilies which are unsympathetic to cult activities. When a moth-
er belongs to a cult, her children may be indoctrinated in the
rituals because of their continued attendance at the cerem-
nies. But unless the children feel the call themselves, no
pressure is applied upon them to enter the activities, though
they may always participate vicariously in the ceremonies.
The majority of the population say they have nothing to do with
the cults and are ignorant of the ritual. But few members of

the lower classes fail to have at least some knowledge of the ceremonial. In a region where there is little entertainment, such as in the town of Vila Recôncavo and especially in the rural area, the cults provide a major spectator activity, and those who have been exposed to it through their lives appreciate it as such. The number of active participants, however, is small. The house which is functioning in the town has about two dozen initiates, while the rural house is somewhat larger, having about forty-five devotees, only seven of whom are drawn from the plantation on which the house is situated. The rural house is more active for several reasons, according to local informants: the costumes are prettier, and therefore people prefer to dance there; the cult leader is a stronger personality and a better healer than the leader of the town house. The rural house is also more conveniently located for people from the surrounding plantations. Nevertheless, the small number of participants is indicative of the weakness of the institution in this area as a whole.

Healing, however, does play an important part in the cult activities, for the zelador who has "made his saint" has usually learned a large number of ritual and herbal cures. In fact, it is the healing aspect which brings most people to the cult activities. Sick persons, however, generally prefer to entrust themselves first to the ministrations of the plantation owner, plantation nurse, or town doctor. But if they feel they are not being helped, they turn to the cult house. If the sickness is diagnosed by the cult leader as a clear sign that the person is in contact with a spirit, the patient must enter the rites as an initiate or suffer the consequences. But for the ordinary run of headaches, stomach troubles, and skin eruptions, the cult leader draws upon his knowledge of herbal remedies. This knowledge is supposed to come from his deity, who often is St. Roch in this area, and who knows the cure. In fact, the leader of the rural house once compared his establishment with a pharmacy. He is paid for these medical services. Often one hears a person wishing that he could "have" such-and-such a saint so he would know how to cure and be able to make money, as do the cult leaders.

It is a general opinion that cult leaders are financially well off, although they themselves staunchly declare that they are not and that they must live from alms. As a rule all the participants in a house are obliged to contribute to the ceremonial honoring the leader's deity, which is usually the most extravagant ceremonial of the house.

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794 travagant ceremonial of the house. The fulfillment of individ-
435 ual obligations is very expensive, too much so for one person to pay for it himself. The ceremony given at the end of the year in 1950 cost the members of the house almost two thousand cruzeiros in foods, sacrificial animals, candles, kerosene for the lamps, clothing, and ornaments. Individual members spent as much as four hundred cruzeiros on their clothes and beads, in addition to contributing to the common fund, not to mention their labor in cooking and in washing and ironing all the costumes and clothes used during the ceremonies.
[434] Such large sums of money are hard to get, so the number of
[458] ceremonies per year is decreasing. Not only are the salaries
[511] of the people low and inflation high, but more and more things which were not formerly available in the area--such as movies, wrist watches, jewelry other than the beads and bracelets symbolic of the deities, perfume, and lipstick--lay claim on the people's attention and purses.

* 565 Participation in the cults is generally considered to be an
794 activity of lower-class people, and in Vila Recôncavo only
184 such people are seen dancing and carrying out their other cult obligations. Individuals of other classes, however, do participate either indirectly or secretly. Class A displays a genuine lack of knowledge about the cult activities, in spite of being brought up within sound of the drums and within sight of the outward symbols of the African and Indian deities. These people, although they speak with disdain of cultism and of the paganism involved, have a certain respect for it and usually refrain from interfering with it in any way. They maintain a type of joking relationship in regard to it with the workers who they know participate in it, but seldom if ever attend a ceremony. Ceremonies are infrequently held on family-owned plantations when the owners are present. Most of them take place on plantations run by overseers.

Class B in the town has several members who help support the cult house and indirectly participate in its activities, especially in reference to the Mother of the Waters ritual. Since education, which implies freedom from belief in cultism, is a criterion of class position, members of Class B in public denounce cultism and those who participate in it. But many of them, coming from families which participated in it, retain some belief in the cults and fear them. They do not completely cut themselves off from cultism. They participate in it secretly, sending money to the cult leader and presents to the Moth-

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er of the Waters. Naturally, in such a small group, the secret is not very well kept and it is soon known who has sent a present, why, and when. Many people in this group, and some in Class A, entertain the fear that they may become themselves possessed by a deity, especially if they expose themselves to cult activities during a ceremony, and for this reason they do not attend the rituals. To a certain extent this fear is the basis for the protest many of them make against night-long drumming, although the common complaint is that they cannot sleep because of the noise. The sound of the drums at night is very impressive, and no one is unaware that nearby the supernatural is being called. It is very disturbing to those who do not understand the mechanics of the ceremonies and the meaning of the drumming and sacrifices.

Spiritualism

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Spiritualism, which does not use drums, is as disturbing as cultism to people of all classes, although because of its quieter character it is not always known when a session is taking place. Spiritualism seems to be gaining popularity in the area, although it is greatly feared by many people. It is slowly gaining adherents, however, because of the healing powers exhibited by the mediums. In most cases people are drawn to it, both in the town and in the rural area, through illness and the promise of a cure. Because of lack of aid from the doctor, or because of the expense of medical treatment, or perhaps because of the failure of the African cult to cure him, a patient may try spiritualism as a last resort. For those who are helped by it, it becomes a constant companion, and although they may have entered with fear, they soon lose it. They become staunch defenders and try to draw in their friends. The greatest successes in curing seem to follow the herbal treatments of the African cultists, but spiritualism requires no further obligations, as do the cults. It is common to hear someone say that attendance at a spiritualist seance cured him of some minor ailment and left him free of obligations, and that he did not even have to pay the medium. Spiritualism is also used to discover and counteract the evil eye and evil machinations of any enemy. In spiritualism one finds the same Indian spirits which are found in the local African cults, although no dancing is involved. There is now definite competition between the mediums and the cult leaders for adherents.

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755 There is one outstanding case of a Class A family which has
787 been "helped" by spiritualism. This family had not been too
*565 well liked in the town and felt that evil was being worked against it. It was claimed that a local medium prevented harm to the father of this family through the medium's spirit. The father became convinced of the value of spiritualism and converted his wife to it. They now make no move without first consulting the spirits, and they frequently call the medium to their house in Salvador for aid. The urban upper class is no stranger to spiritualism, and even those who make no use of mediums and spiritualistic sessions seem to consider themselves possible victims of spiritualism. A decade or so ago, experiments with spiritualism, such as the moving glass, were popular. These experiments gained many adherents and left many others in a state between belief and disbelief in the possibilities of spiritualism.

Protestantism

795 Protestantism has made no entry in Vila Recôncavo. This
797 is a minor point of pride among the residents, who have heard
177 of Protestantism but know nothing about it. In other areas of the Recôncavo there have been converts, but as yet there are no Protestant churches, chapels, or house groups in Vila Recôncavo. In other communities, traveling ministers hold services in small private houses of the adherents. Just as with the African cults, there always are many onlookers standing outside who discuss the merits of the sermon and of the Bible readings and hymn singing. Those who are sufficiently impressed sometimes join, but as yet there is considerable resistance to another organized religion.

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9. *Recent Changes in Vila Recôncavo*

THE FIELD WORK described in Chapters 1 through 8 of this study was carried out from June, 1950, to June, 1951. In 1955 and 1956 the author had the opportunity to do further work in Vila Recôncavo. This chapter is a summary of some of the changes which have occurred during the five-year period from 1951 to 1956.

First, the sugar industry has undergone several changes, developing still further from the plantation (engenho) toward the highly industrialized factory (usina) as postulated in the introduction. The factory-plantation system, as distinct from the private plantations, has experienced the most change.

Usina São Pedro was described earlier as a family corporation, owned and directed by members of one extended family. At one time in the past five years, this family was obliged to take into the corporation a large amount of capital representing a second family enterprise, considerably larger in scope than that of the first. Within a short period the second family achieved complete control of the factory through a series of financial manipulations. As a result, Usina São Pedro passed from the Conde family's ownership and direction, and is now just one element of a large commercial firm.

For a more complete understanding of Bahian society it is necessary that we examine this second family corporation. The key word is "family," which represents almost a constant in this culture. The second family, the Helvetians, is a second generation immigrant family. The major activities of the family corporation--there are other stockholders, especially employees, with small holdings--have always been commercial: exporting, importing, distributing, and transporting. The cor-

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poration has extensive landholdings in other parts of the state, but they are exploited on an impersonal, profit basis, not on the traditional, paternalistic basis common in the sugar area.

The Helvetians have taken a place in the upper ranks of Bahian society, representing new money and economic power. Their history is important. The original immigrant married into a Bahian family of "good name," and all of his sons have done the same. One of them married a daughter of the Coronel, founder of Usina São Pedro. It was through this marriage that the transfer of the factory was channeled. Today, although the Condes still own stock in the corporation, the Helvetians have the controlling interest, and the Condes are gradually selling their shares to the Helvetians.

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The new corporation has brought about many changes in administration of the factory. Although still a family corporation, it has become, from the wider, community, point of view, a strictly business enterprise with no family ties and no face-to-face personal relations. A new directorship and management was established. The new "boss" of the factory is a man from a different part of the state, and his background is entirely different from that of sugar-cane growers. The thread of "family" is still unbroken, for the new manager is related to the new owning family by marriage. He is treated, however, as a paid employee of the corporation. His brother, now general administrator of the agricultural part of the factory-in-the-field, is treated similarly.

These two new managers have put the relations between management and labor on a strictly business basis and have removed all elements of paternalism. Upon taking over, they dismissed most of the older, higher-level factory, field, and office workers. Administrators, mechanics, and bookkeepers, most of whom had seen twenty years or more of service, were dispatched. New people came to take their places, and some of the vacancies were filled by promotions. Time clocks were installed, and the system of authority was reinforced all the way down the line. Social legislation--a new factor in rural, agricultural Brazil--was invoked to take the place of paternalism.

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Thus the old, paternalistic, personal, owner-director pattern has changed completely. The chalet is no longer the scene of family gatherings for summer vacations, for Carnaval, or for Christmas; even the traditional Botada has undergone a

change. New faces and basically different relationships prevail at Usina São Pedro. 178 249* [466]

Another change, but this time in tune with the past, was an increase of capital, applied to the improvement of the factory. The capacity of the mill has been greatly enlarged. However, the agricultural part of the combination continues as it did before, with no innovations. The result is that the factory is able to mill and produce sugar much more quickly than it can be supplied with sugar cane. The hierarchical aspect of the factory as earlier diagrammed remains the same, and each plantation is still run as a separate unit. 178 249* 433 [471] [466]

In contrast, the private plantation in the community of Vila Recôncavo has undergone relatively little change in these five years. Always the most conservative element in the Recôncavo, the private plantation continues to retain its distinguishing feature: the personal, face-to-face, paternalistic owner-worker relations. The hierarchical pattern remains the same. Operations are still basically hand- and animal-powered, but private planters are slowly introducing mechanization in certain aspects of the process, especially that of transportation; trucks and tractor-drawn wagons carry cane from the fields to the factory. Tractors and mechanical plows are used to an increasingly large extent in the preparation of the soil, and mechanical cultivators are already in use on some plantations. However, the bulk of the work is still done by hand, and traction is supplied by oxen and mules. As yet no mechanical loaders, ditch-diggers, or planters have appeared, and little use is made of fertilization or herbicides. Few scientific agricultural practices are in use. The planter is still first and foremost a "practical" man. 178 249* 461 [492] [493] [407] [492] [407] [242]

Relations between the factory and the private plantations have also undergone considerable change, in both business and social aspects. The new managers of the factory have succeeded in almost completely alienating the private planters who supply them with sugar cane. Not only the members of the extended Conde family, but also other cane suppliers resented the highhanded, brusque methods of the new managers. Wishing to break completely with the past, the new managers instituted several new policies in relations with the cane suppliers. Formerly the private suppliers bought sugar by the sack, bought their supplies at the company store, and had their machines repaired at the company workshops, paying for such services at the end of the harvest season. The sup- 178 249* 571 [443] [452] [407]

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*249 pliers were presented with accounts showing how much cane
571 had been sent to the mill, the price, how much the factory had
452 paid the bank on the supplier's loans, how much had been ad-
407 vanced the supplier for his cane, and how much was still owed
the supplier, discounting the costs of services received from
the factory facilities. This has been traditional practice, not
only at Usina São Pedro, but also at the other factories of the
178 area. Now, however, Usina São Pedro expects to receive
cash at the moment of the transaction for each such service
*249 the supplier receives. In addition, the factory has gradually
571 cut down on the number of services it offers the suppliers.
407 This has been particularly serious regarding services of the
437 mechanics, as the private suppliers have no other source of
repair for their machines except in the city; taking them into
the city costs a great deal of time and is more expensive than
were the services performed by the factory mechanics.

178 The new managers at first charged an automatic discount
*249 upon the cane tonnage supplied by each private plantation. This
571 resulted in a considerable loss of money at the end of the year
432 for each private supplier, thereby straining even more the
relations which daily were becoming more and more disagree-
able. Any question of scale and tonnage is a touchy one for
private planters, who sell their cane by the weight. The dis-
[656] count charged on general principles by the factory was so
serious a matter that several of the private suppliers united
and called the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol to their defense
and succeeded in correcting the situation. This was a "first"
for Usina São Pedro, where such a thing had never before
happened, and where such a recourse is considered an ex-
treme.

178 Social relationships between the private planters and the
*249 managers of the factory are almost nonexistent. Whereas a
571 few years ago the factory was the central gathering point for
the social life of the planters of the area, it is now a place to
be avoided. In addition to making working conditions difficult,
the new managers and their families are "outsiders" in this
small, closed plantation society, with different backgrounds
and manners. As a result of the new conditions, the private
planters are spending more time on their plantations than be-
fore, but their social life rotates from one plantation to an-
other, skipping the factory nucleus. This pattern is also re-
flected in the activities of the resident workers, who are up-
set at the treatment shown to the older employees of the fac-

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tory and its fields, and who are slowly drifting away from visiting the factory nucleus.

An overall result of the new conditions between private planters and the factory is a desire on the part of the suppliers of São Pedro to become independent of this outlet. Several of the suppliers are shifting their cane to other neighboring factories, when this is convenient. Most of them are seriously considering shifting to another crop, as will be described below; in fact a goodly proportion of land has already been taken out of sugar-cane production, thus diminishing future cane harvests and endangering the cane supply of Usina São Pedro. [311]

What was formerly a peaceful, "all in the family," almost preservelike area has become an area of tensions and of poor business, and social, relations. The situation has all the possibilities of a traditional sugar-cane kind of land capture. The factory needs land in order to produce more cane so that the mill can operate at capacity. No one is willing to sell to the factory, nor even to supply as much cane as he might under other conditions. But the private planters are dependent upon the factory, economically and for services. Therefore it is an easy matter for the factory to make difficulties for the individual planter, even gradually forcing him into failure, since the planter operates on credit and has little latitude for even a single crop failure. Such a failure gives the factory an opportunity to acquire badly needed lands at a bargain. [452] [425]

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The sugar industry in the community of Vila Recôncavo has also undergone changes in the labor aspects, in line with the entire industry. As was pointed out in Chapter 4, the price of the sugar cane and the sugar is artificially regulated, and has been rising slowly over a period of years. However, nationwide social legislation in the past three years has raised the wages of the workers annually, before the price increases were granted by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol. Spiraling inflation has also helped raise all the costs, of labor, of materials, and of machinery. Whereas prices for the task done have always been fairly well regulated, they have recently become a very strong issue, and there is much worker discontent. The planter, whether private or corporate, is more than ever interested in holding down the costs of his labor supply, since other costs, particularly of machinery and repairs, are soaring, always narrowing the margin between the total cost of production and the established selling price. [656] [458] [466]

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*249 For the first time in the history of Vila Recôncavo the work-
468 ers' discontent has taken the form of a strike accompanied by violence. The strike, although a general one throughout the sugar industry, was the first one in which workers of Vila Recôncavo participated. It was specifically directed against the agricultural part of the factory combination; however, it af-
178 fected some private plantations as well, and was joined by
*249 workers of private plantations. The strike was put down im-
468 mediately and effectively by the state police. On investigation the police found considerable Communist literature and prop-
467 aganda in the quarters of the labor union in Centro which had organized the strike. The labor union itself was illegal, since
668 it was not registered with the proper authorities, and its lead-
[625] ers were well-known Communist agitators. What is important for our study is the appearance in the community of Vila Recôncavo of written and verbal Communist propaganda and the willingness of the local agricultural workers to participate in a general strike. This is a tremendous change for such a conservative area, where loyalty and paternalism have always been so strong.

178 Thus the sugar industry of Vila Recôncavo has entered a phase of many new difficulties: ties between factory and pri-
*249 vate planters are strained, and labor relations are becoming a problem for the private, as well as the corporate, planters.
571 Inflation and the "dollar situation," which affect planters di-
466 rectly since all machinery must be imported, are also working toward the build-up of a new "crisis," continuing the pattern described in Chapter 3.

178 However, a new element is entering the community of Vila
245 Recôncavo in the form of a new crop, cacao. One of the plant-
242 ers began experimenting with cacao during the author's first period of research in Vila Reconcavo. However, at least five years must pass before it can be known if the cacao tree will give satisfactory fruit. At the end of 1955 the Institute of Cacao of Bahia presented the experiment to the public as a success and is now systematically stimulating interest in cacao as a possible and lucrative substitute for sugar cane.

245 Cacao is Bahia's major export crop and in general means
439 money to a Bahian. Still more attractive is the fact that the
178 cacao introduced to the Recôncavo is a genetic mutation, giving a white-seeded fruit which brings a much higher price on the
*[249] world market than does the ordinary fruit. The financial attraction of cacao, plus the disagreeable and financially weak

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position of the sugar industry in Vila Recôncavo, is creating considerable interest on the part of the community's planters. Just as sugar cane is limited by soil and climatic conditions, so also is the cacao. There is little fear, therefore, of competition from many other areas. In addition, cacao is exportable, while the sugar of the area is for internal consumption only.

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In spite of the attraction of this new crop, there are a number of problems which must be dealt with. First, the details of a change from sugar cane to cacao must be worked out, especially as regards space and financing. The planter must juggle his sugar plantings, pastures, and rotation lands so that he can slowly take out land for preparation for cacao. If he wants to finance the changeover himself, he cannot lessen his sugar production; in fact, he needs more money than before. Banks in general lend on the forthcoming crop; if the crop is reduced, so is the amount which can be borrowed. However, to overcome this, the Institute of Cacao of Bahia is preparing a financing program on a long-term basis. Sugar cane is a perennial, planted one year, bearing for the next three or four years, then ploughed under and replanted. Cacao, on the other hand, is a permanent tree crop which gives its first fruit in five years, reaches maturity in fifteen or twenty years, and then continues to produce annually for sixty to one hundred years. Thus sugar cane is financed on a one-year basis, while initial plantings of cacao must be financed on a long-term basis of ten to fifteen years. The change from a perennial crop to a permanent crop also requires a totally different mental set on the part of the planter.

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Cacao is a "forest crop," which means that it requires shading. Under primitive conditions it is planted in dense tropical forest. In Vila Recôncavo, however, the former tropical forest has been entirely cleared away during the last four hundred years, since sugar cane tolerates no shade. Therefore, before the cacao can be planted, shade must be provided. This is done by planting banana trees and, at fixed intervals, single seedlings of a precocious, long-living, high-growing shade tree. To pay for the work involved it is common to plant manioc between the banana trees. The manioc is gathered the following year, and shortly thereafter the young cacao trees can be planted. The banana trees offer sufficient shade for the young plants. For a period of five or six years the planter

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242 can collect bananas, which should pay for the operating costs
[434] while waiting for the cacao to mature.

At the end of a five- or six-year period, the shade tree is usually large enough to provide sufficient shade, and the banana trees are gradually removed. At the same time the cacao begins to give its fruit, and one can then consider himself a cacauicultor.

178 Several planters in Vila Recôncavo are at the banana-manioc
245 planting stage, and have met with their first serious labor
461 problem. No one wants to work in banana and manioc fields,
464 as the work is arduous and slow. Machines are not available for the mechanical cultivation of manioc, so the work must be
[407] done by hand. The work is slowly being accomplished, but at costs which will make the manioc a considerable liability.

178 Nevertheless, in spite of these difficulties, there is con-
245 siderable interest in cacao in Vila Recôncavo, and cacao must be considered as an element of change in the community which
433 will have far-reaching effects. The area of sugar production will be considerably reduced, requiring adjustments on the
*[249] part of the factories, which represent large financial investments. Furthermore, cacao is a fairly simple product to process--its conversion into chocolate is usually done after export --and so it is quite likely that each plantation will return to the older aspect of the plantation, both growing and processing the crop, and become once again a highly self-sufficient unit.
[571] This would of course bring about a new alignment of socio-economic relations and would undoubtedly alter the community structure.

178 A third principal cause of change in Vila Recôncavo is the
315 growth of a new and potent industry within the community and throughout the county. This new industry is the nascent Bra-
433 zilian petroleum industry. Exploratory work was done in Vila Recôncavo in 1950 and 1951 under the guidance of the Conselho Nacional de Petroleo. Since that date a nationalized company, Petrobrás, has been formed to exploit the oil fields which lie under the topsoil of the county of Vila Recôncavo. Petrobrás has brought in several hundred oil wells and has built roads, pipelines, storage tanks, and machine shops. Just outside the limits of the community, but within the county, it has built its oil refinery and has created a small new, modern city to
[425] house the technical workers of the refinery and the field. On land expropriated from the Usina São Pedro it has also con-

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structed a series of barracks, a recreation hall, a restaurant, and a service center for the unmarried field workers.

In spite of this, the changes in the community structure brought about by the petroleum industry have been as yet relatively few. The industry exists in the community as an intruder, not affecting communal life to any great extent, and not contributing any substantial local benefits. This is perhaps in part due to the fact that it is a nationalized company, with headquarters located in the city of Salvador, rather than a product of local efforts. The petroleum workers for the most part have not been drawn from the local labor force but have come from outside the county. It is almost as if a military base had been established in Vila Recôncavo on a temporary basis. [464]

The effect on the town has been principally to increase the number of houses. The married workers of Petrobrás for the most part live in the town. Naturally there has occurred a broadening of point of view among the town dwellers as a result of social intercourse, as well as a certain new prosperity due to greater numbers. Nevertheless, there are still no private cars, buses, or public transportation in the county. The petroleum workers and their families go to Salvador whenever possible for shopping and amusements, rather than attempting to satisfy these needs in Vila Recôncavo, where public services, diversions, and so forth have continued to be almost nonexistent. [362] [571] [493] [494] [484]

To counterbalance the effect of prosperity brought to the town by increased population, the petroleum industry has had an adverse effect on the fishing activities of the townspeople. Many wells have been drilled in the shallow waters of the Bay of All Saints in front of the town. As a result of underwater explosions, the constant passage of rapid motor launches, and digging and dredging machines, the traditional fishing area of the town's fishermen has been rapidly depleted and its ecological balance destroyed. The fishermen are gradually turning away from fishing as an occupation and seeking other remunerative activity, either outside the community or in the petroleum industry and, to a slight extent, in the sugar industry. Others are turning to service occupations, such as bricklaying, as stopgap activities. 178 315 433 226

Petrobrás to date has affected rural life very little. The planters of the area have profited to some extent because of the roads constructed by the company. It is now possible to 178 315 433 49

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433 travel from the city to the plantations by car at almost any
49 season of the year. It is a two-hour trip, considerably more comfortable than the old system of travel by boat and on horseback. In addition, the roads have made it possible for the planters to transport their cane more efficiently, using trucks and tractor-drawn wagons. Along with this, the refinery has led to greater supplies of diesel oil, gasoline, and kerosene, so that it is no longer necessary to transport these items from the city at great cost and delay.

178 The planters have also profited in another manner. Petro-
315 brás invaded the cane fields in its search of oil. It fenced
311 small areas where it drilled and constructed storage tanks,
433 and it took out of cane production a good deal of land for roads and installations. Recently a basis has been reached for paying
427 the planters in a satisfactory manner for the use of the lands. As a result each planter whose land is partially occupied now receives an annual cash payment based on what the occupied
[421] land could produce. As yet no arrangements have been made for the landowners to participate in the profits of Petrobrás, since all subsoil riches belong to the nation, and therefore in this case to Petrobrás.

178 There has been little social intercourse between the planters
315 and the personnel of Petrobrás, either in the rural area or in the city of Salvador. From time to time the higher echelon
571 employees of Petrobras are invited to larger parties given by the planters, and in return the planters are sometimes invited to parties at the refinery. But the plantation society is so closed and so firmly based on family relationships that it is difficult to maintain steady social relations with newcomers. In addition, the engineers and other specialists of the oil industry are principally oriented toward the capital city, and there is no serious attempt made to establish social relationships with the planters.

The sugar-cane workers for their part are so definitely plantation-oriented that they seek little diversion among the new oil workers. The unmarried field workers of Petrobrás who might be expected to establish relationships with the rural population seldom do so. They live in a fenced barracks area which immediately gives the impression of a group cut off from the rest of society. When they do seek entertainment they go as a rule to the factory nucleus, or to the town of Vila Recôncavo, or to the nearby town of Milagres.

Politically, this influx of new workers has had little in-

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Politically, this influx of new workers has had little influence. Local politics, at least, remain in the hands of the traditional landowners. However, national political parties other than that of the landowners are gaining force, especially the labor party, and within the near future there will undoubtedly be considerable modification in the voting patterns. The bulk of the rural population do not have the franchise because of their illiteracy. On the other hand, the petroleum workers, whose level of living is considerably higher than that of the rural population, have the franchise and according to law must exercise it.

A major area of change in the community is the class structure. In its main outlines the class structure remains the same, but there are some differences in emphasis. Class A, the rural upper class, which also is part of the upper class in the capital city where it resides part of the year, has been somewhat depleted. The Coronel and his son and son-in-law and their families, who constituted the family owner-directors of Usina São Pedro, are no longer part of the scene. As a result of the shift in ownership and direction the former usineiro has been replaced by paid employees.[1] Although these employees are related to the principal members of the new owning firm by marriage, they are treated as employees rather than as family members. They do not have the "social standing," meaning tradition, background, extended family relations, and the scholarly training, which distinguish the former owners. Class A therefore is now represented only by the private plantation owners.

On the other hand, Class B is slowly becoming larger in both the rural and the urban areas of the community, as a result of the addition of two new groups: the members of the new factory organization, and the petroleum workers with their much higher standard of living, considerably higher education, and their steady employment as members of a new bureaucracy, Petrobrás. Unmarried workers belonging to Petrobrás are to some extent seeking marital alliances with girls of the area, especially from the factory nucleus and from the town of Vila Recôncavo. In some cases legal and religious marriages have taken place. In other cases the couple has simply

1. The term usineiro is usually limited to the owner-director who is the founder of the factory, or is the son of the founder. When the director is a paid employee, he is just "the boss."

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58 begun to live together. But it is a general policy of Petrobrás that its employees establish regularized households and register their children, as the benefits of social legislation and insurance must be paid to legal beneficiaries, such as wives and
[745] children. Because of the many recent marriages, there are no longer any houses available in Vila Recôncavo, nor in Mi-
[362] lagres, and there has been a spurt of housebuilding.

178 There have also been some shifts in emphasis in the structure of the community. While the factory nucleus is no longer
621 the scene of social gathering for the upper class of the area,
*249 the structure of the factory-private plantation system ensures that it continues to be the economic center as long as sugar
[434] cane is being planted in the area. The system of quotas established for the private planter and the factory by the Insti-
[361] tute of Sugar and Alcohol requires that planter and factory cooperate in supplying and receiving sugar cane. Also, the
[496] physical structure of the area, in which the factory is the center of the network of a small railroad which reaches out to each of the private properties, strengthens the impression of the factory as the center of activities.

178 The possible future shift from sugar to cacao will of course
443 diminish the importance of the sugar factory. However, in the meantime there is a new factor which will give more im-
[245] portance than ever to the factory: a feira, or market place. The county of Vila Recôncavo does not have a weekly market.
*[249] For many years the county officials have wanted to establish one, not only for increased municipal income, but also to help attract more people to the area and to make life easier for the population. A market place is now under construction at the factory nucleus. When the market is completed, the factory town will become at least a weekly center of attraction for many people of the surrounding plantations.

178 The development of the petroleum industry is bringing new
315 life to the town of Vila Recôncavo, to the nearby town of Mi-
[311] lagres, and to the new city of Conselho. Petrobrás cannot develop a nucleus on the land which belongs to the factory or to the private owners, and therefore it must concentrate any local community building efforts in the old public towns which
178 already exist. Petrobrás, indirectly, through the county court
315 of Vila Recôncavo, will soon contribute considerably to the
434 county income. The same sort of compensation which was worked out in regard to the planters is now being arranged
651 for the county, through taxes on the finished products from
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the refinery, namely gasoline, kerosene, diesel oil, bottled gas, and other petroleum derivatives. As a result of the increased income, the county government will be able to build up the county seat considerably. A hospital is already being built, as well as a new dock for the boat which comes from the city.

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In Milagres, located in the neighboring county, there is already a considerable movement for breaking away from the parent county and becoming a separate municipio, a common pattern in Brazil for districts which reach a certain population and degree of economic activity. Thus there are two possibilities for urban growth in the area and for the formation of urban centers which will attract the large rural population.

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The town of Vila Recôncavo is close to realizing other possibilities. The construction of a road from the town to Centro has already begun, filling a long-felt need. Its completion will make it possible for cars, buses, and trucks to come from Feira, on the edge of the sertão, to Centro, down through Vila Recôncavo to Milagres, and on into the city, shortening the long trip by the existing road which follows the edges of the Recôncavo. Such traffic would "put Vila Recôncavo on the map," and would greatly increase its contacts with the outside world. In addition, the possibilities of the introduction of a new crop to the community will bring increased commercial activity and a much greater tax income, enabling the county to build its own roads and bridges and to make other improvements for the development of the area.

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Thus the community structure of Vila Recôncavo, which five years ago was in the process of crystallizing around the factory town, is now ripe for further change. The factory town continues for the present to be the major center, but the old county seat has all the possibilities of a rebirth of its former importance. In fact, because of the petroleum industry and the forthcoming changeover from sugar cane to cacao, the factory town is threatened as a community center, the position which it has only recently been consolidating.

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Finally, one of the most important changes in Vila Recôncavo in these five years is a change in attitude on the part of the people. Vila Recôncavo was always known as a conservative community, maintaining its old traditions and ways, rejecting innovations. However, there is now an air of expectancy and a search for new ways and new things. Dissatisfaction with the sugar industry, combined with the appearance

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of a new industry and new people, has brought new ideas and the desire for change. The town of Vila Recôncavo is beginning to lose its forlorn air. Inhabitants of the rural area are no longer content with the old ways of hand and animal labor. The community as a whole seems to feel that it is on the verge of something new and exciting. The major outlines of what is to come are not yet clear, but a willingness for change is invading the area.

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/For information on sugar-cane cultivation and processing and the sugar-cane plantation system as a whole, see category 116, pp. 3-11, 19-21, 29, 33-71, 179-186 and 189-190./

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/For information on social class in Bahia Brazil, see category 116, pp. 35-37, 99-117, 125-138, 141-145, 150-154, 161-164, 166, 176-178, 180, and 189-190./

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RACE AND CLASS IN RURAL BRAZIL

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[Title Page]

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RACE RELATIONS IN A RURAL COMMUNITY OF THE BAHIAN RECÔNCAVO[1]

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by
HARRY W. HUTCHINSON

1. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, a narrow strip along the north-eastern coast of Brazil in what are now the States of Pernambuco, Alagoas, Sergipe and Bahia, was the most important region of economic, political and social life in the whole colony. The rainfall along this portion of the coast is dependable and the extremely fertile soil, which was originally covered with thick forests, was ideally suited for sugar cane. By the seventeenth century, this region produced a large part of the world's sugar supply. Sugar, which was then a luxury in Europe, brought fabulous profits, and the north-eastern coast of Brazil became an exceedingly prosperous colony. Large cities grew up along the coast; Salvador in Bahia and Recife in Pernambuco became the most important centres of colonial life, and Salvador was the capital of the colony from 1549 to 1763. Both were cities of great wealth based on the booming sugar industry. The numerous churches built in Salvador during the period of opulence, with their elaborate gold-leafed wood carving and polychrome tile work, are witnesses to the tremendous wealth of the era.

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It was the plantation system, the basis of this lucrative sugar industry, which gave this region many of its characteristic traditions and formed patterns of race relations which have persisted in a modified form into the present. Gilberto Freyre in his monumental *Casa Grande e Senzala*, and other Brazilian writers [1],[2] have described life on these sugar plantations. African slaves provided the manpower. More than three million Negroes were imported from Africa during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and a large proportion came to the sugar plantations of north-eastern Brazil. The Portuguese plantation owners became rich, and came to form a regional aristocracy with a luxurious and ostentatious way of life. The slaves and their masters, on these plantations, formed two distinct social groups, but it is distinctive of the region that their relations were intimate and warm; Freyre describes the intimacy between the *moleque* (Negro lad) and the master's son as playmates, between the master's wife and her domestic servants, between the Negro nurse and her white charges, and other close

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[1] In addition to thanking those persons listed in the introduction to this series of articles for their aid and co-operation in making this study possible, I wish to thank the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Charitable Foundation Inc. and the Department of Anthropology of Columbia University, whose grants of funds contributed largely to the possibility of this study. Also, to acknowledge with thanks the aid of Carmelita Junqueira Ayres and Elisa Amelia Ferreira for their assistance in the collection of the data.

[2] The figures in brackets refer to the bibliography on page 68.

ties between Negroes and whites on these colonial plantations. All writers have mentioned the frequency of sexual relations between the white plantation owners and their female slaves. Slavery was not a humane institution in Brazil or elsewhere, but in Brazil relations between the slave and the master were of a more personal nature than in other regions where slavery existed in the New World.

By the middle of the last century, the West Indies and other regions of the world were competing with the Brazilian north-east for the world sugar market; and the abolition of slavery in 1888 caused difficulties of labour supply on these plantations. The sugar industry no longer provided the great wealth that it had in the past, and many of the old plantations were abandoned or sold to large commercial companies who installed modern equipment for large-scale sugar production. Plantation slaves became wage labourers, and the old traditional patterns of behaviour between the Negro slave and the white plantation-owning aristocrat began to disappear, to be replaced by an impersonal employee-employer relationship in keeping with the new way of life. Yet many patterns persist from the days of the old plantation system. Many of the descendants of the aristocratic plantation owners try to preserve the old traditions. They are proud of their family names, and large aristocratic families are still important in the economic and social life of the region. In many rural localities, there are still plantations where the relations between the workers and the owners are highly personalized, as they were in the past, and where customs and traditions formed during the period of opulence and slavery continue, if modified, by modern conditions. Throughout this part of Brazil, the relations between people of different racial groups have been influenced by the large proportion of Negroes in the population, by the importance of slavery in the relatively recent past, and by the particular form which the relations between the Negro slave and the European master took on the plantations.

11. The community with which the present article is concerned is called Vila Recôncavo; it is a real town situated in the zone known as the Recôncavo which surrounds Salvador, the capital of the State of Bahia, and which borders on the Bay of All Saints, extending inland from the shores of the bay some 30 miles on the northern side, and considerably less on the southern side. The Recôncavo was characteristic of the whole north-eastern plantation region. The Portuguese who settled in Salvador in 1549 recognized the value of these lands around the new city and the Bay of All Saints for sugar production. The third governor of Bahia, Mem de Sá (1557–74),

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1. Mulatto cowboy of the interior of Bahia

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gave sugar growing a great impetus by organizing expeditions of soldiers which he led into the farthest reaches of the Bay of All Saints, killing, driving out or enslaving the hostile Indian inhabitants, so as to make the area safe for settlers to move out of the city
175 into the surrounding area and plant sugar. Mem de Sá himself built
249 one of the largest and most productive of the sugar plantations in the Recôncavo.[2] His lands comprised three and a half leagues along
423 the coastline of the Bay, extending four leagues inland, and two islands.[3] This *sesmaria*—as the early land grants were called—of Mem de Sá was broken down into smaller pieces by his daughter who inherited it, and by the end of the sixteenth century, most of the *sesmarias* of the Recôncavo had similarly, been divided into plantations averaging approximately 600 to 1,000 acres. In the past 250 years, many of these have kept the same boundaries and names, but their ownership has changed hands many times and they have passed through many cycles of prosperity and depression.

249 The essential form of a plantation in the Recôncavo has changed
[178] little since the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the past, the entire plantation was known as an *engenho*, taking its name from
[376] the sugar-mill building which was the heart of the plantation. There were two chief types of sugar mills, one operated by water power
[492] and the other driven by traction power supplied by oxen. Before the end of slavery, steam-driven machinery had also come into use.
[375] A typical *engenho* had four main items of wealth—its lands, its
[471] buildings, the livestock and the slaves. Most of the land was, of course, planted in sugar cane, but there were also wood forests to supply firewood, pastures for the livestock, and small areas devoted
249 to the raising of food stuffs for the personnel of the *engenho*. The buildings of an *engenho* included the sugar mill, the *sobrado*, or home
342 of the owner, and the slave quarters. The owner's house was frequently a very large and pretentious building with one and a half or two storeys. In the Recôncavo the landowners sought to build their houses *a meia encosta*, or against the side of a hill, giving the appearance of a two-storey house in front, but only one in the rear. Such homes were frequently constructed of stone, wood and mortar, with tile roofs. The slave quarters, which were known as *senzalas*, were generally long narrow buildings with sides of mud or *taipa* and
249 and roofs of palm fronds. The livestock of a typical *engenho* con-
231 sisted of oxen, burros, horses, sheep and cows. The oxen supplied the power to turn the grinding mills when there was no water power,
[492] and they pulled the large two-wheeled carts which were used to transport the cane from the fields to the mill. Horses and burros provided transportation for the plantation owner in supervising the work in the fields, and for him and his family for visits to nearby *engenhos* and to town. Cattle and sheep grazing on the portions of the land which were fallow supplied milk and meat to the plantation community.

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[facing p. 19]

2. Cabocla of the interior of Bahia

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The most valuable property of a colonial *engenho*, however, was the slaves. Comparatively few Portuguese came to the Recôncavo, and even those among them who had been labourers in Portugal did not come to Brazil to do manual work. African slaves had already been used on sugar plantations in the Madeira Islands, and a slave system was imported into Brazil along with sugar cane. Although it was expressly prohibited by the Portuguese Government,[4] the early settlers in Bahia enslaved the Indians who did not flee or who were not killed in the early fighting with the colonists. Governor Mem de Sá's Testament lists 95 Indian men slaves, 84 Indian women slaves and only 20 African slaves.[5] From the start, however, Indians were considered inferior to Africans as slaves; they seemed unable to adapt themselves to continuous labour in the fields and mills. Yet in many cases they were kept as fishermen, hunters and boatmen for the *engenho*, being in these activities superior to the newly-arrived Negroes. By 1700, the Negro slaves greatly outnumbered the Europeans in the region, and there were but few Indian slaves. Slave was almost synonymous with Negro.

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An inventory of an *engenho* of about 650 acres, made in 1866 shortly before the end of slavery, gives a total value of 200 contos[1] for the *engenho*. The land, houses, slaves and livestock were valued at 125 contos; the value of the slaves alone was placed at 65 contos. The inventory divides the slaves into two categories: house slaves *(escravos de casa)* and work slaves *(escravos de lavoura)*. There were 18 house slaves and 103 work slaves. Among the house slaves were 1 barber-tailor-painter, 6 servants, 1 cook, 2 seamstresses and 1 apprentice seamstress, 2 sweet-makers, 2 laundresses, and 3 children without specific 'profession', as their occupation was called. Of the work slaves, 59 were listed as field workers (26 men and 33 women of all ages above the age of 12), 18 as small children, and 26 as specialists—including 4 ox-cart drivers, 5 sailors, 2 ironsmiths, 3 bricklayers, 1 field manager, 1 ship captain, 1 gardener, 1 barrel-maker, 1 specialist in the boiling of sugar, and 1 nurse. The prices of the slaves ran from 'without value' or as low as 20 milreis to as high as 1 conto 400 milreis, depending upon the age, physical condition and degree of skill of the slave.[2] The slaves were always listed in such inventories as foreign- or native-born and generally, if it were known, the place or tribe of origin was given. Many are listed simply as *Africano*. For those born in Brazil, the terms used are *Pardo*, *Cabra* or *Crioulo*; the diminutive form of these terms is used for all

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[1] The conto is a unit of Brazilian currency, composed of 1,000 milreis. The milreis, or cruzeiro as it is also called today, is the standard unit of currency. In 1951 the milreis was officially valued at 3.37 cents in U.S. currency, making the conto worth $32.70. However, it must be kept in mind that in 1866 the value of the milreis was considerably higher.

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[2] In 1835 this same *engenho* had 48 house slaves and 135 work slaves. The highest valued slave was 900 milreis.

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567 those under 12 years of age.[1] Of the 121 slaves listed in the particular inventory mentioned above, 40 were African. Most of these came from West Africa. Of those whose African origin is indicated, *Nago* (Yoruba) is most often listed, and *Gege* (Ewe) is second.

249 On these sugar plantations of the Recôncavo in the colonial period,
565 the overseer of all operations involved in the growth of sugar cane
463 and production of sugar was the owner himself. Generally, only the oldest son was trained to take over his duties on the plantation; the younger sons were sent to Salvador, to Recife, or even to Europe to be educated as lawyers, physicians, engineers or Catholic priests. Daughters were married early and given their dowry, or they were
[582] sent to convents to become nuns or live as lay sisters. Marriages with first cousins were frequent. Every effort was made to keep the plantation undivided and in the family. The Recôncavo sugar plantation, until about the middle of the nineteenth century, was a remarkably stable community changing little in size and organization from generation to generation.

249 After the abolition of slavery, there was a partial exodus of ex-
567 slaves from the plantations to nearby towns and to the capital of
463 Bahia. The ex-slaves who moved to small towns became manual labourers or fishermen, or engaged in the profession they had learned
464 on the plantations, such as barbering, bricklaying, etc. In other cases, ex-slaves rented small plots of land on neighbouring plantations to raise manioc, corn, tobacco and other crops which required little
[427] outlay of capital. Others became sugar planters on a small scale; known as *rendeiros*, they rented a few acres from a plantation and cultivated sugar cane, sending the product to the nearby *engenhos* for milling. In other cases, the ex-slaves simply moved from one plantation to another, or they often remained as free men on the same plantation, still engaged in raising sugar cane, living under the same
249 conditions as before, but legally free. Contrary to popular opinion,
433 the *engenhos* of the Recôncavo did not all cease operations after
567 abolition. Many of them kept on producing as before. In other cases the *engenho* or mill closed down while the plantation continued to plant sugar cane, sending it to a nearby *engenho* which was still functioning for milling. Some *engenhos*, however, did close down altogether and were abandoned, or went into the hands of receivers.

249 At this time many plantations changed owners—wealthy people in
471 the city were able to buy lands at a low cost and did so. But the
567 failure of many of the *engenhos* in the Recôncavo was not a direct result of abolition, it was rather the continuation of an economic
[425] trend which had been going on for a long time. For many years previous to abolition, the plantations of the Recôncavo had suffered
[826] from lack of capital, poor administration, occasional crop failure, and

[178] [1] In the inventories, *pardo* indicated light skin; *cabra*, dark skin; and *crioulo*, black. These same terms nowadays are used differently in the Recôncavo. See page 28 ff.

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from the competition of other sugar-producing areas. Abolition was [471]
the factor which, in many cases, simply ended a struggle several [567]
decades old.

The overall production of sugar in the Recôncavo was already [433]
dropping noticeably at the time of abolition, and it continued to
decrease afterwards. At the end of the last century, state-supported [567]
usinas, or large mechanical factories for milling sugar cane, were
opened in an effort to stimulate sugar production. At the same time, [654]
various other *usinas* were opened by private capital. These central [471]
mills received and processed the sugar cane of many plantations.
The *usina* had the advantage of freeing the planter from the worries [433]
of milling and marketing the sugar, allowing him to concentrate on
higher production of sugar cane, while the mechanized *usina* was
able to produce more sugar out of the cane, thus increasing pro-
duction. This system of sugar production proved relatively lucrative, [471]
and the government *usinas* passed into private hands. The owners of
usinas bought as many neighbouring plantations as possible, and in [473]
this way the *usineiros*, as they were called, became at the same time
the mill owners and sugar-cane planters—employers of factory
workers and of agricultural workers. The plantations which did not
pass into the hands of an *usina* became *fornecedores*, supplying cane
to one or another large sugar mill.

The *usina* system, however, in many respects did little to change 249
the traditional plantation system. The plantations belonging to 178
usineiros continue as separate units; each generally had an adminis-
trator, a man responsible to the *usineiro*, who is in charge of the
plantation. As a rule the administrator, who is an employee of the
usina, lives in the old *sobrado*, the former residence of the *senhor do
engenho*, as the old plantation owners were known. The workers on
the plantations and their families frequently still live in *senzala*-like
houses, usually a long narrow building under one roof divided into
separate apartments of two or three rooms. Despite many changes of
technology, many examples of the old and the new exist side by side
on these Recôncavo plantations. On the same plantation both me- [407]
chanical tractor and ox traction may be used to pull plows. There [492]
are workers' houses side by side, one with electricity and a radio, and
another using candles and kerosene lamps. Furthermore, the hier- [365]
archy of workers and specialists in sugar-cane raising persists little
modified from the early nineteenth century. There are the field
hands, the ox-cart drivers, the artisans and other specialists. The [463]
plantation is also approximately the same size as it was in the early
nineteenth century (although several may be the property of one
company nowadays) and it has about the same number of hired
workers as it had slaves before.

But the *usina* system and other outside influences have made for
many fundamental changes in the Recôncavo. In the very large 000

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In the very large *usinas*, the mill hands and even the field hands are modern industrial workers. They are employees of a large industrial corporation and are protected at least theoretically by the labour laws of the nation. The highly personalized relationship between the plantation workers and the owner-administrator of his own plantation, which persisted from the slave era, has been replaced on the larger *usinas* by the impersonal employee-employer relationship of the modern industrial age. Today, modern plantations and small towns have electricity; there is modern housing for workmen; the State and even the sugar companies provide medical aid; there are primary schools both in the small towns and on many plantations; recreation facilities are found in the towns and provided by the *usinas*; and the sugar-cane experimental station situated in the area constantly urges fertilization of the land and modern techniques and methods of sugar-cane production. But the older and more traditional patterns exist side by side with the new, and each of them influences the relations among the racial groups of the zone.

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III. Vila Recôncavo is a small town on the Bay of All Saints. The rural area around it, which lies within the social and economic orbit of the town and which is the unit under consideration, comprises some 80 square kilometres, or slightly less than half the entire area of the county of which the town of Vila Recôncavo is the county seat.[1]

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It this area there are 14 plantations, three of which nowadays plant very little sugar cane. Parts of the town itself are built on the land of one of these plantations, and the rest of the town area is owned in small lots by private individuals or by the Church. Although Vila Recôncavo is the county seat, local government is the only important function which it fulfils for the surrounding area. It is not used as a shipping point, either for receiving supplies from the outside or for sending sugar to the outside. *Braços do mar*, or inlets of the bay, go to many of the plantations and are deep enough for the *saveiros* (shallow draft sailboats) used on the bay for transport. Many of the plantations have direct connexion with Salvador. Commerce in Vila Recôncavo is almost entirely limited to supplying the 1,462 inhabitants of the town and of some small islands and of one community near by which is not devoted to sugar production. It is not the major supply source even for these groups which live near enough to another and far larger commercial centre where they prefer to do their marketing. The *prefeito* or mayor of the county is rarely a resident of the town itself. Rather he is usually a planter of the surrounding area. He goes into town to do municipal business,

[1] Both the town and the county bear the name of Vila Recôncavo.

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but spends most of his time on his plantation. The rest of the municipal officials are, for the most part, people who live in the town, although some of the town councillors are also planters living in the rural area.

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The population of the area under study was 4,269 in 1940, and is approximately the same now. Of this number, 1,462 are residents of the town. Of the total of 4, 269, only 17 adults (plus their 16 children) in the rural area are considered locally, and appear to be, pure Caucasoid. They are all plantation owners, and all of them also have residences in the city of Salvador as well as in the rural area of Vila Recôncavo. Living in the town are 14 persons (plus their eight children) who are also considered pure Caucasoid. Three of these are foreign-born priests, one is a doctor, one a dentist, one a state tax collector, one a federal tax collector, and two are young men who have married into town families. The others are the wives and sisters of the men in the group, although one of the wives is suspected of having Negro ancestors since she has to have her hair straightened while the others have theirs curled. There are five families and numerous other individuals in Vila Recôncavo who are called 'white', but whose ancestry is known to all as not being entirely Caucasoid, and in the rural area there are even fewer. These people are known as *brancos da terra* (whites of the land), a term similar to the *brancos da Bahia* of which Pierson speaks.[6]

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The two other elements which are present in the population of Vila Recôncavo and the surrounding rural area are the Negro and the Indian. As might be expected, the Negroid element in the population overwhelmingly predominates, and there are people who represent mixtures of Negro and Caucasoid ancestry in all possible proportions. The American Indian element appears in the people called locally the *caboclos*, generally from the arid north-eastern *sertão*, who are of mixed Indian and Caucasoid descent. These *caatingueiros* (literally, people from the low brush country of *caatinga*) and *sertanejos* (literally, people from the *sertão*) are not usually permanent residents of the Recôncavo. As a rule, *levas* or groups of these *caboclos* of *caatingueiros* come down into the Recôncavo at harvest time, from September to March, to work during the period when the *sertão* is dry and unproductive. Generally also, only men come, and they remain apart from the permanent plantation workers and at the end of the harvest head for home.

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In Vila Recôncavo and its rural area, four social strata can be distinguished. First, there is a small upper class of aristocratic whites. This is almost an endogamous class, and intermarriage between first cousins is extremely frequent. The 17 white adults mentioned above are the members of the five families which locally compose this class. These families have been in the area for generations; two of them have been linked through first-cousin marriages

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for several generations. In the other families, marriages have been, with but one exception, with persons of equal class status, although frequently with aristocratic families from other parts of the Recôncavo or from Salvador. In the one exception, the husband was without wealth or much education, but he was known to be of pure white descent. All these families live *em família* (within the family), both in the rural area and in the capital, where they spend a part of [596] the year. Traditional family and friendship ties persist among them. They are large families with numerous relatives in the city and in other communities of the Recôncavo, so that dinners, dances, card parties, anniversaries and other social events are generally within the 565 extended family. Most of the males in this group have a profession, 463 such as lawyer, engineer or doctor.

The second social stratum is a slightly larger group consisting of the bureaucrats of the town, plantation administrators, technicians and specialists of the sugar mill, merchants and professional people of the town, such as the doctor, dentist and schoolteachers. Persons in this group are for the most part descendants of local people, although the doctor, the dentist and several of the schoolteachers are from the outside. In this group, one finds the 14 'pure' whites mentioned as living in Vila Recôncavo itself, and five of them are members of a family of former planters. People in this stratum do not have resi- [871] dences in the capital. On the whole, this class is less well-educated than the class above it; it even includes people who have had no formal education whatsoever, and two individuals who cannot read [563] or write. In this class are found most of the *brancos da terra*, many mulattoes and some Negroes, as well as the whites mentioned. This group might be termed the 'local upper class' to distinguish it from the small group of regional aristocrats mentioned above.

The third social stratum of Vila Recôncavo is by far the largest numerically. It consists of 'the people' *(o povo*, or simply *gente)*, fishermen, carpenters, bricklayers, mill hands, plantation workers, [464] and all others who do physical labour. Fourthly, there is a smaller group of even less status in the community, the people without a regular and steady income—women generally without husbands, but with children, who earn their living carrying water to homes from the nearby spring or who work as washerwomen and domestic servants, and men who serve as porters and perform other very menial tasks and odd jobs. There are no people in these two lower class strata who are considered 'pure' white. A few are considered *brancos da terra* but the great majority of them are Negroes, mulattoes, and others of various degrees of race mixture.

The regional aristocrats reside only in the rural zone and maintain residences outside the community. The 'local upper class' is found in both the rural and the urban zones, since the technicians and administrators on the plantations are of this class, but mostly in the

town, which is the centre of the municipal bureaucracy. The upper stratum of the lower classes is also found in both zones, since it contains town-dwelling artisans and fishermen as well as plantation workers. But the stratum of lowest prestige, the people who live marginally in Vila Recôncavo, is limited to the town itself. There is no place for them on the plantations or *usina* of the rural area. 565

As has already been indicated, the major economic factor in the community area of Vila Recôncavo is sugar-cane growing and the manufacture of sugar. There are approximately 2,500 people dependent upon this activity.[1] Each plantation has its small community, with a store, houses, repair shop and the owner's house. Plantation workers live on the plantation, in houses belonging to it. They are paid according to the amount of work they do—that is, how much cane they cut per ton, or how many feet of planting they cultivate, etc. As a rule, there are only three salaried persons employed on a typical sugar plantation—the administrator, the *feitor* (foreman), and the *vaqueiro* (cowboy). The administrator is the most important person on the plantation, directing the work, making estimates for the forthcoming harvest, co-ordinating the cutting, transport and planting of cane, etc. It is the administrator who runs the plantation, who remains in the saddle all day overseeing the work, who checks on everything. The administrator is responsible only to the owner of the plantation, who generally acts through him. In nearly all cases the administrator is either a mulatto or a Negro. In two cases, Negro administrators are unable to read or write, but they are experts at their job and enjoy the full confidence of the owner and the respect of the workers. The *feitor* acts as the assistant of the administrator; he walks about carrying a measuring rod and a notebook, making note of the amount of work done by each man in the field. Frequently this is the middle step up the ladder from worker to administrator. As a rule, the *feitor* in Vila Recôncavo plantations is a mulatto, a dark *mestiço* (mixed) or a Negro as is the administrator. The *vaqueiro* is preferably a *caboclo* from the north. He looks after the oxen used for hauling the sugar cane—of which there may be as many as 90 to 100 head—and the milk cows, inspects fences, for the horses and mules, carries messages, and generally rides with the owner when he travels about from plantation to plantation. The three racial elements are thus represented among the high-prestige men of a typical plantation—the owner is Caucasoid, the administrator and the *feitor* are Negro-Caucasoid mixtures, and the cowboy from the *sertão* is generally of partly American-Indian descent. 249 463 563 [233]

Under this hierarchy comes the main body of workers and their families, which totals about 200 on the average plantation. Such 249 464

[1] Of the total population of 2,500 people living on the sugar plantations and at the usina, approximately 600 men are the actual cane field and usina workers. Obviously this permanent labour force is inadequate; it is supplemented by groups of *cortadores* at the harvest-planting season. [162] [464]

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[241] sugar workers move rarely, remaining for generations on the same plantation. Each family has its garden where a little maize, beans
[465] and manioc are grown. Pay day comes every two weeks, when as a rule the worker goes to the owner's house to receive his money. The pay is small, 15 to 25 dollars a fortnight, depending on how
[461] much the man has worked during the period. Men do not like to work more than five to six hours a day, from six a.m. to twelve noon, and seldom work more than five days a week. They work easily, without hurry. In the afternoon they work in their garden, if their
249 wives have not already done so. On the plantation no one starves;
466 everyone has his *patrão* (protector) in the person of the owner, and in case of an emergency, accident or sickness, he expects help from him. This personal element is very important on most plantations in the vicinity of Vila Recôncavo; as a rule, the owner knows all the workers by name, knows their families and their family troubles and problems. He is aware of their love affairs and up-to-date on the
[164] health of new-born children and their mothers. Nearly all cases of sickness, from common colds and rheumatism to more serious ailments, are brought directly to the attention of the *patrão* or his wife. The owner, returning from a prolonged stay in the city, receives visits from the workers or from their wives, during which all the personal gossip is exchanged. The workers inquire about the owner's family and more extended family, for they generally know them all. Engagements, weddings, births, deaths and illnesses are reported on both sides. Complaints or requests are also made to the owner. The relationship is highly personal, intimate, gentle and frank.

466 On one rather small *usina*, which will be called São Pedro, in the
249 rural zone of Vila Recôncavo, the situation is somewhat different.
472 São Pedro is not one of the large *usinas* of the Recôncavo, owned by a corporation; it is relatively small and owned by one of the most
[473] important families of the Vila Recôncavo community, members of the regional aristocracy whose family has held plantations there for many generations. Because the owners of the *usina* actually administrate it, and since they are in residence in the locality at least part of the year, they are able to maintain many of the traditional personal relations with their employees, many of whom have worked on the plantations belonging to their family and in the *usina* for most
[162] of their lives. But there is a total of 1,183 workers and their families at the *usina* and on the plantations belonging to São Pedro, and the very size of the enterprise and the number of workers make for a more impersonal and more strictly economic relationship between employer and employee. Workers become more a name on a payroll, and the employer a person with whom one seldom has direct contact. In the larger *usinas* of the Recôncavo this trend is even more marked especially where the employer is a large corporation with offices in Salvador.

The other important occupation is fishing and there is the new petroleum industry. In Vila Recôncavo, bureaucracy plays a large part in the economics of the urban upper-class. The municipal secretary, the statistics agent, the federal and state tax collectors and their clerks, the postmaster and various other 'white collar' positions belong to this small group. Often members of the municipal government divide their attention between commerce (owning small stores) and their government jobs. Despite its long history and rather easy communication with the large city of Salvador, Vila Recôncavo is still an isolated community. After landing in the town from the regular steamer coming from Salvador, one must proceed inland either by foot or by animal. The only motor vehicles in the community area (except for those of the petroleum industry) are a truck and a delivery-type pick-up truck owned by the São Pedro *usina*. One hears from all classes that the town is backward, abandoned and dead. It has had a glorious past: wealth, the large and beautiful *sobrados* of the barons who were *donos dos engenhos* (owners of the *engenhos*), two beautiful churches, a national guard post with almost 1,000 soldiers stationed in it, a record of bravery and leadership in the war for Independence in 1822, and a place worthy of a visit from the emperor, Don Pedro II. Today the *sobrados* are in ruins, or have disappeared completely, as today's *donos dos engenhos* remain on their plantations or in the city, forsaking the town. The military have gone, the splendours of the religious feast-days are no more. Vila Recôncavo is representative of the decadence which has overtaken the entire area. Today it is known only for its *xangô* and shrimps.

IV. In the United States an absolute 'line' is drawn between white and Negro. A person who is not white is a Negro, however small the percentage of Negro blood may be. In Vila Recôncavo, this 'line' is recognized rather than drawn. A distinction between Negro and white is always kept in mind when classifying an individual. Everyone knows who is 'pure' white and who is not. Classification by race is one of the most important aspects of local culture, and one of the most difficult aspects for the outsider to grasp. *Bahianos* of the Recôncavo feel that one may instantly recognize the difference between a 'pure' white and a mixed white-Indian, white-Negro or Negro-Indian, but they do not let it go at that. They classify or minutely describe each person; they classify according to skin colour, according to hair form and according to facial features, and their classifications or racial types are used in everyday conversation. Just as it would be said in the United States that someone is short and fat, the people of Vila Recôncavo will describe a person's colour and hair.

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192 In the Recôncavo three race stocks are recognized: the white, the Negro and the Indian. A white is called a *branco*. The term *negro* is rarely used to denote a person of African descent. Rather such a person is called *homem de côr* (man of colour). *Negro* is used abstractly to denote the Negro race, but is almost never used to single out an individual. *Nego* (a softened variation of the word *negro*) may frequently be used as a term of endearment, even among whites, and sometimes as a nickname. When the *bahiano* of the Recôncavo speaks of *índio*, he usually thinks of the Indian of the interior of Mato Grosso or of the Amazon. When he wishes to indicate people of American Indian physical type in the Recôncavo, he generally says *caboclo*.

563 Yet even the whites are sub-classified, being divided into two
192 categories, the *louro* (blond) and the *moreno* (brunet). There is still
826 a third term for people with Caucasoid physical characteristics, but one which is used only by those who are considered 'pure' white—namely, *branco da terra*. A *branco da terra* is someone who is phenotypically white—that is, who has the physical characteristics of a Caucasoid: fair skin, fine features and 'good' (meaning *straight*) hair—but whose ancestry had Negro blood. He or she is generally *moreno*, and is frequently characterized by a slightly yellowish tinge to the skin. The *branco da terra* sometimes also shows traces of *caboclo* blood as well as of Negro and white blood. In Vila Recôncavo, the 'pure' white man may refer to such a person as a *branco da terra*, but ordinarily will call him or her a *branco*. To the majority of the population, the *branco da terra* is always called white, and no one would ever call anyone a *branco da terra* to his face. He is accorded the same treatment as a white by both whites and non-whites, and there is no constraint on anyone's part.

In classifying people, if skin colour is an important factor, hair form is equally important. If there is any question as to what to call a person, the hair is generally the deciding criterion. After skin and hair, facial features (prognathism, nose shape and thickness of lips) are considered. The many designations used in Vila Recôncavo for the people of Negroid or mixed ancestry can be broken down roughly into the following types in terms of these various criteria:

1. The *preto* or *preto retinto* (black) has black shiny skin, kinky, woolly hair, thick lips and a flat, broad nose. The *pretos* distinguish among themselves, and will rank themselves according to minute differences in 'quality' of skin colour, nose form, etc. The *preto* with the most '*qualidade*' is the farthest from the usual concept of a Negro, and yet still a black. He is a 'prettier' black.
2. The *cabra* (male) and *cabrocha* (female) are generally slightly lighter than the *preto*, with hair growing somewhat longer, but still kinky and unmanageable, facial features somewhat less Negroid, although often with fairly thick lips and flat nose.

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'The *cabra* and *cabrocha* generally lack the definite features and shine of the *preto*.

3. The *cabo verde* is slightly lighter than the *preto*, but still very dark. The *cabo verde*, however, has long straight hair, and his facial features are apt to be very fine, with thin lips and a narrow straight nose. He is almost a 'black white man'.
4. The *escuro*, or simply 'dark man', is darker than the usual run of *mestiços*, but the term is generally applied to a person who does not fit into one of the three types mentioned above. The *escuro* is almost a Negro with Caucasoid features. He generally has *qualidade*. *Escuro* is a very useful term for the outsider in the Recôncavo.
5. The *mulato* is a category always divided into two types, the *mulato escuro* and *mulato claro* (dark and light mulattoes). The *mulato* has hair which grows perhaps to shoulder length, but which has a decided curl and even kink. It can, however, be straightened. The *mulato's* facial features vary widely; thick lips with a narrow nose, or vice-versa. As a rule, the features are thicker than the *branco's* and thinner than the *preto's*. The *mulato* is generally distinguishable by a yellowish tinge to his skin colour, which is more accentuated than that of the *branco da terra*. His skin colour varies from very light to very dark. A *mulato claro*, with straightened hair, thin lips and a 'good' nose is very much like the *branco da terra*.
6. *Pardo* is a term not often used in speech. It is one of the official classifications used in the census and on identification papers. However, it is used occasionally to describe an individual who is closer to the white than a *mulato claro*. Occasionally *mestiço* children are described as *pardo*, before their features become distinctive enough to fit them definitely into one of the other groups. In one case, a little girl of three was called *parda* by her mother. The girl lives with her godfather, who is a *branco da terra*. He lists the girl as white, since her skin is very light and her hair is growing long and only slightly wavy. But her mother says she is a *parda*, because she knows that 'her hair may curl up any day, which would make her a *mulata clara*'.
7. The *sarará* is not difficult to distinguish. He has very light skin, and hair which is reddish or blondish but kinky or curled. His hair is described as *duro*, or hard. His facial features are extremely varied, even more so than the *mulato's*. There are *sararás* who would 'pass' for white in the United States, but more often the *sarará* has a curious appearance; skin which is neither dark nor light, frequently freckled, eyes with a greenish-blue cast and hair which bleaches easily in the sun. In Vila Recôncavo, the *sarará* is usually found among fishermen and those living on the islands. It is difficult to see a person of this physical type without a good sun-tan and bleached hair.

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8. The *moreno* has excellent skin, fine-textured and smooth. He is light-skinned but not white. He has dark hair, which is long and either wavy or curly. It is manageable and does not need straightening. His features are much more Caucasoid than Negroid. Here again we can distinguish between the dark and light *morenos*. Also we must distinguish between the *moreno mulato*, and the *moreno* of the white families—the *moreno branco*. *Moreno*, as used regarding the 'white', distinguishes the brunet from the blond of the same group.

Few people fit any of these 'racial' types 100 per cent. When someone comes very close to being a perfect *preto*—that is, has all the characteristics of the *preto*—people call him *bem preto* or *bem pretinho* (really black). The same is true of the *sarará*—*bem sarará*, or of the *moreno*, who will be called *bem moreninho* or *moreno fino*. It is just as difficult to find the perfect type for the other classifications, because there are so many variations. Often an individual is of one physical type, but has one or more characteristics of another type. For instance, one young man in Vila Recôncavo has the characteristics of an *escuro*, but since most people like him they prefer to think of him as *moreno*. He has fine skin and thin facial features, but tight kinky hair. People generally refer to him as *moreno*, adding '*mas êle tem cabelo ruim*' (but he has poor hair). One frequently hears 'he is *mulato*, but very light'. These verbal descriptions paint a vivid picture of the person in question. In Vila Recôncavo, it is not simply a matter of black and white, but of all the shades in between.

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A term of classification not listed above, *caboclo*, presents something of a special case. As mentioned earlier, most people with Amerindian physical traits have come into the Recôncavo from the *sertão* during the dry spells in the North. Considering the length of time that people of the North have been periodically coming into the Recôncavo, comparatively few have remained. Nevertheless, the population of Vila Recôncavo has a considerable *caboclo* element—that is, of people with a reddish or bronze tinge to their skin colour, more prominent cheek bones than the African or white elements, and a tendency toward almond-shaped eyes. However, few people in Vila Recôncavo bearing these marks are called *caboclos*. They are classified instead in the local terms listed above, ignoring Indian traits. In Vila Recôncavo, there is a certain dispraisal of the *caboclo*. He is considered less civilized than the resident of the Recôncavo, though often known as a better worker, more ambitious, trustworthy, more frugal; also less genial than the easy-going person of the Recôncavo. In the rural area of Vila Recôncavo, each year many *caboclo* men come to the plantations to work during harvest time. For the most part they stay together, away from the *morador*, or resident worker of the plantation. The plantations construct a type of barracks to accommodate these men, who do

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their own cooking, care for their own clothes, and spend their [464] evenings gathered around a fire, singing songs of the *sertão*, apart [466] from the permanent workers. [249]

There is a mutual desire to keep apart, for while the *morador* looks down on the *caboclo*, the *caboclo* feels very much the same about the local people. He feels that they are lazy, ignorant, and above all superstitious. The *caboclo vaqueiro* (north-eastern cowboy) of one plantation says that the workers of the plantation are always talking about black magic, that they are lazy and spendthrifts, and at the same time deride his frugality. He says he is not afraid of their black magic, since he knows there is nothing to it, but he distrusts those who speak of it. People in Vila Recôncavo will not admit they have *caboclo* or Indian ancestors. One young girl who is almost a perfect American Indian type says she is a *mulatinha*.[1] She vehemently denied there was any Indian blood in her family, but finally reluctantly admitted that a great-grandparent of hers had been partly Indian. This girl's niece would make a perfect double for the popular conception of Pocahontas, given a feather in her hair and a sarong, but she is considered a '*mulata*, almost *morena*'.

However, among the 'pure' whites there is a different feeling about the *caboclo*. White families say that they would feel proud to know that they have 'Indian blood', for it would show the length of time their family had been in Brazil. Frequently a white child is extremely 'Indian looking', that is, a *moreno* with jet-black, straight hair. The nickname of *tapuya* is often given to this type, which is generally admired by the whites. All plantation owners agree that, for work, no one can top the *caboclo*. The north-eastern worker of [157] American Indian physical type will go into the fields at six in the morning and not return until six at night. He takes his lunch with [461] him and eats it there. On the other hand, the *morador* will go to the fields at six and return at noon. However, as permanent resident [464] workers, plantation owners prefer the Negroes of the Recôncavo. Little if any effort is made to 'fix' the *caboclo* on the plantations. When the harvest is finished, he takes his money and departs. Next year he may come again to the same plantation, or he may not. It seems to make little difference to either party.

There have been no serious tensions between the two groups. [466] They work together during part of the year, but spend their free time separately. This does not mean that an occasional *caboclo* will not stay, take a wife from among the *moradores* and start a family.

The following percentages of racial types were taken from a 162 sample of 162 heads of families, using the four major types: *preto*, 50 or 40 per cent; *mulato*, 59 or 49 per cent; *caboclo*, 3 or 2 per cent; *branco*, 11 or 9 per cent.

[1] Little mulata. Using the diminutive form seems to be a softer and more agreeable way of saying 'mulata'. [829]

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V. Each physical type in Vila Recôncavo is thought to have a series of personality traits which are correlated with physical appearance. Furthermore, these stereotypes of expected behaviour reflect the attitude of people toward the various racial types present in the population. Two physical types, for example, the *cabra-cabrocha* and the *sarará*, are usually 'more to be pitied than blamed', as they are considered extremely ugly by most people. There is a feeling that they are unfortunate crosses between parents of physical characteristics which do not mix well. They are thought to lack the definite traits which characterize the other physical types and 'even a *preto de qualidade* is better than either of these—at least more handsome'. Furthermore, people of these physical types are thought to be difficult to deal with, irritable and easily angered. They are the physical types which are least preferred in Vila Recôncavo. All other types have some positive qualities. People arrange their preferences in terms of physical type in many ways, according to the qualities they wish to emphasize.

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To the *preto* falls the more humble attributes of being a hard worker, of being humble and capable of loyalty and affection for his employer. He is also called lazy, a contradiction of hard worker. He is considered servile and cheerful. Also it is said that it is the *preto* who knows best how to please *(agradar bem)* the white. With a winning smile, pleasant little sayings and personal attentions, the *preto* knows how to make the *branco* feel important and puts him in the mood to grant favours. In other words, he is a good 'apple polisher', but even this he does with a certain dignity, aware of what he is doing, and aware of the fact that the *branco* also knows. The whites say that a *preto* is usually 'content' to remain *preto*, knowing that while he cannot change his colour, perhaps future generations of his family will have changed theirs. In Vila Recôncavo, people of all racial types, not only the whites, often say that one of the things they like best about the *preto* is that he does not try to be white. No one is more ridiculed than an *homem de côr* who, because of his economic situation and other circumstances, tries to be *gente*, or white.

On the other hand, a *preto* in good economic circumstances, who lives in dignity without pretension, is well thought-of by all. There is one outstanding example of this in Vila Recôncavo. A *preto*, who is the owner of one of the neighbouring sugar plantations and who is quite wealthy, lives quietly and without pretension. His sons go to school in the capital, one to Law School and the other to High School. His relations with the white plantation owners and *usineiros* are cordial and business-like. He would be acceptable at any social gathering he chose to attend, where he would conduct himself like a gentleman, without airs. For this he is admired by all, and pointed to as an example of how the *preto* can conduct himself.

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On the other hand, the *mulato* and the *escuro* have the reputation of being social climbers. This is especially true of the *mulato* or *escuro* who has had education beyond the primary school, and who holds some government post or is a merchant or professional man. In Vila Recôncavo two mulattoes consider themselves as, without exception, the only cultured intellectuals in town. They lament the lack of companions to discuss poetry, literature, art and music. They are the first and loudest to say that the people of Vila Recôncavo are lazy, stupid, ignorant and superstitious. They are inclined to call all others *pretos*, and put as much distance between themselves and the *pretos* as possible. They say that they are much closer, racially speaking, to the white than the Negro.

At social reunions among the upper-class whites, a group of educated mulattoes is often present, and it is on such an occasion that all the pretensions characteristic of the mulatto are believed to appear, and that he shows himself a social climber who makes a fetish of correctness of manners, dress and speech. Pierson, writing about the city of Salvador, sums up the attitude of the Vila Recôncavo white toward the mulatto when he quotes: 'I resent their forwardness, their enviousness, their jealousy, their "lack of respect", their pretentiousness, their inconstancy and unreliability, their arrogance and (upon gaining some measure of improved social position) their overweaning pride, their boastfulness, cocksureness, "cheekiness" and general manner of showing off.'[7] Both the whites and the Negroes of Vila Recôncavo ridicule the mulatto, and when they use the term *mulato* with a certain inflection they convey the picture of a certain kind of personality. The mulatto, traditionally, has had the opportunity to advance socially, until today he is accorded much the same treatment given to the whites. Once on this level there seems to be competition between the two, and the insecurity of the mulatto seems to make for the above characteristics.

The other *mestiços* of the area resent this type of mulatto, whose actions as well as words indicate that he wants to be white as well as to be treated as white. Few servants are willing to work in the household of such a person. Many people who have the physical characteristics of a mulatto, but have not had the opportunity for education and other advancement, do not like to be called *mulato*. Instead they prefer *pardo*, which indicates the physical characteristics of the mulatto without the personality traits.

The stereotypes regarding the *moreno* are happier. A *moreno*, and more particularly *uma morena* (the female) is expected to be liked. The physical attraction towards such people is felt in all classes and colours. The *morena mulata* (mixed-blood *morena*) and the *morena branca* (white brunette) are frequently lumped together in the romantic national idealization of '*morena*'. The *morena* may adopt the ways of whatever group, and she will still be accepted. The *morena*

St Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1983 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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829 is the darling of all the racial types, and she can do almost no wrong.

There are also stereotypes regarding the white. He is someone who should not work, who should not get dirty or perspire because of work (in sport it is all right). The white is expected to be well educated, well dressed, wealthy, and to have power—both politically and as a landowner. He should also show a certain sense of responsibility toward those of the lower classes dependent upon him, protecting them against any violation of their rights, watching out for his *afilhados* (godchildren) of lower class, and distributing occa-
563 sional favours. The white is addressed by the formal *o senhor*, while
576 he in return addresses all others by the popular *você*. The white may also receive the very informal and affectionate form of address *yoyô* (for a man) or *yayá* (for a lady), which was traditionally used by slaves for their masters. Interestingly enough, it is usually the darkest of the *pretos* (even the most independent of them) who generally use this form of greeting. *Vossa Excelência* (Your Excellency) is also heard frequently when people of low status of an older generation address an 'aristocratic' white. Sometimes, whites are addressed simply as *meu branco* (my white). When the lower class refer to 'aristocratic white' or when whites talk of themselves, they may simply use the term *gente*, which means more than the simple dictionary definition of 'people': *gente* is synonymous with white, upper class, and wealth. The stereotypes regarding the white and, above all, the very terms by which he is addressed, are in keeping with his landowning aristocratic position.

563 This complicated classification of people by racial type, and these
571 numerous stereotypes of the *homem de côr* by the white and vice-versa, are particularly striking in the Recôncavo. In addition to being simply a way of describing a person, like saying he is short or tall, thin or fat, they also imply what people desire in those of other physical types. The white wants good workers, cheerful people in whom he can have confidence. The *homem de côr* wants and needs a protector, a *patrão*, someone who will help him when he needs help,
563 who will be godfather to his children, etc. But at times people will
578 employ these terms in a derogatory manner. A white, displeased by
571 something a *preto* has done or has not done, will frequently say '*que negro ruim*' (what a bad Negro!). But his *preta* cook may say the same thing of the *mulato claro* water-carrier who spills water on her kitchen floor. In the same way, a *preto* or *mestiço* who has been disappointed by a white may say '*que gente ruim*' (literally: what bad people!). Each of these two expressions has its counterpart of approval. The '*que negro bom*' (what a good Negro) has a wealth of meaning. Applied to whatever *homem de côr*, it expresses all that is warm and good that has developed during four centuries of close relationship between Negro and white. It is at once an apology for oppression and slavery, as well as an immediate thank-you. And for

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the *homem de côr* to say '*ele É um senhor*' (he IS a real gentleman) or '*um branco bom*' (a good white) is to admit that the white and the Negro can live together in dignity.

There is a series of expressions used by all types to describe the person who is trying to appear white. Whoever tries to be what he is not is considered ridiculous by all. Both whites and Negroes gossip about the social climber and use the terms '*tem pinta*' (has a 'touch of the tarbrush'), '*tem sangue*' (has Negro blood), '*é da raça*' (is of the Negro race), or simply '*besta*' (show-off), '*cheio de arte*' (artful), '*cheio de manha*' (full of little tricks), or '*fala bonito*' (talks pretty).

There are also many phrases used by lower-class people to ridicule Negroes and *mestiços* who are showing off, or 'pushing'. Most of these start off with *Negro*:

[539]

Negro doesn't marry, he gets together.
Negro doesn't accompany a procession, he runs after it.
Negro doesn't sit down, he squats.
Negro in white clothes is a sign of rain.
Negro doesn't hear Mass, he spies on it.
Negro at a white man's party is the first to grab and the last to eat.
Negro's intelligence is the same size as his hair.

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The concepts and fixed ideas which the people of Vila Recôncavo have of these racial types were also revealed in their responses to a pictorial questionnaire devised in the field.[1] A series of eight photographs of people unknown to those answering the questionnaire was shown, consisting of a male and a female of each of the four major racial types, the *caboclo*, the *preto*, the *mulato* and the *branco*. An attempt was made to use photographs giving no clue to the possible class position of the eight persons. However, the photographs which we were able to secure were not entirely satisfactory for our purposes in Vila Recôncavo. The picture of the caboclo male was of a man of middle age, but a type considered in the local conception as having a strong personality, while the *caboclo* woman was older and certainly not *simpática* (pleasant) in the local view. The two *pretos* were both unmistakably *pretos*, and both young. The *mulato* male and female differed one from the other, as the man was definitely a common *mulato* type, while the woman was almost a *morena mulata* rather than 'pure' *mulata*. She was young and considered much more *simpática* than any of the four women presented. The two whites were not distinguished in any way; and there was doubt in the minds of the people answering the questionnaire as to whether these two were 'pure' white or not.

The questionnaire was given to 85 people: 18 *brancos*—11 males,

[1] These questionnaires were given by a local assistant after the author's stay in Vila Recôncavo, but the results agree in general with the observations made during research in the community.

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7 females; 41 *mulatos*—21 males, 20 females; 18 *pretos*—7 males, 11 females; 8 *caboclos*—6 males, 2 females.

Table I gives the racial types which were found respectively most physically attractive, most wealthy, best worker, most honest and most religious.

TABLE I.

Question	No. of people who selected in first place			
	Branco	Preto	Mulato	Caboclo
Most attractive man	**39**	17	14	15
Most attractive woman	**26**	3	30	26
Most wealthy man	**27**	11	9	38
Most wealthy woman	**37**	8	17	23
Best worker, man	4	**38**	13	30
Best worker, woman	7	22	25	**33**
Most honest man	11	22	8	**44**
Most honest woman	15	13	22	**35**
Most religious man	21	15	13	**36**
Most religious woman	17	11	17	**40**

(Bold type indicates the group most frequently selected in first place.)

From Table I, it results that: (a) the ideal of the most attractive male is the white; (b) the preferred female type is the *mulata*, but the *cabocla*, it must be noted, is almost equally selected with the white; both the *mulata* and the *cabocla* (despite her apparent age) of the photos are of types which have the physical characteristics of the *morena* so preferred in Vila Recôncavo; (c) surprisingly, the *caboclo* male was selected as the wealthiest, in view of the stereotype that it is the white who is generally wealthiest, but I believe that this is due to the fact that people found the photo of the *caboclo* to have a rather 'distinguished' face, while the photo of the white was considered to be a young man with what might be considered a 'characterless' face; (d) the *preto* man was chosen as the best worker, which supports the stereotype discussed earlier, but the *cabocla* was chosen as the best woman worker (this may be explained by the local phrase used to describe her: 'Good for nothing else'); (e) the *caboclos*, both male and female, were chosen as most honest and most religious, which is in keeping with the stereotype of the *caboclo*, who is considered more serious and solemn than the native of the Recôncavo.

Table II, a breakdown of Table I by racial types, shows clearly the type selected in first place by the Negroes, the mulattoes, the whites and the *caboclos*, in answer to the same questionnaire. The most obvious inference derived from Table II is the extremely low posi-

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tion of the Negro woman in relation to the other women. She was chosen in first place in only one instance, namely as best worker, and only by the Negroes. In spite of the fact that in Table I the mulatto woman was considered the most attractive, she was chosen so only by the mulattoes. The other three racial types selected the *caboclo*

TABLE II.

Question	Chosen in first place by			
	Negroes	*Mulattoes*	*Whites*	*Caboclos*
Most attractive man	P	B	B	B
Most attractive woman	C & B	M	B	B
Most wealthy man	P	C	C	C
Most wealthy woman	B	B	B	B
Best worker, man	P	C	P	P
Best worker, woman	P	C	M	C
Most honest man	C	C	C	C
Most honest woman	C	C	C	C
Most religious man	C & M	C	C	C & B
Most religious woman	C	C	B	C

(P—*preto*; B—*branco*; C—*caboclo*; M—*mulato*. Where two racial types are in first place, they received an equal number of 'votes'.)

and the white woman. In summing up the total number of 'votes', the mulatto woman won by a narrow margin (four votes). It is interesting to note that the Negroes chose the *preto* man as the most wealthy, putting the caboclo in second place, while the other three racial types put the *caboclo* first.

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VI. There is a saying in the Recôncavo that where there was sugar, there were Negroes. This rule of thumb seems to hold remarkably well even today. On the islands in the bay where there never were *engenhos*, there are few *pretos*. In the town of Vila Recôncavo, and in a small settlement to the west of Vila Recôncavo where there never was an *engenho*, there are relatively few *pretos*, in comparison with the area of *engenhos* and plantations. The region as a whole can be shaded off in dark and light, to distinguish roughly the spatial arrangement according to colour. In the areas where there was and is sugar, there are many more *gente branqueada* (whitened people) than in the non-plantation areas.

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These lightened areas seem to continue to lighten, while the darker areas retain their dark characteristics. In Vila Recôncavo, which is a *mestiço* community, there is much more opportunity for

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the lighter-skinned people for intermarriage with the mass of light-skinned people of the capital. Most of the townspeople have connexions of some sort in Salvador and travel back and forth a great deal. Some, mostly girls, take employment in the city as maids, and there either get married, or '*aparecem grávidas*' (show up pregnant), afterwards returning home to stay or for visits.

On the plantations the people have little opportunity for such mixing, owing to their isolation. Mixing occurs either on the same plantation or between neighbouring plantations, and since most of the plantation workers are dark, the offspring tends to remain dark. There is comparatively little marriage between people of the urban and rural zones.

The people of the town consider themselves far superior culturally to the *taberéu* or 'hick'[1] of the rural zone. Not only are they lighter in colour, but they are more 'citified', having more contact with the outside world, and this contact increases daily. Only in the town did the lower-class people express interest in the racial situation in the United States and particularly question segregation, a practice they could not understand. In the rural zone, the United States meant only some place other than Bahia. This is given as an example of the difference in degree of sophistication between the two parts of a comparatively small area. The sophistication of the townspeople tends to increase, as does their lightness of colour, while on the *fazendas* the colour has remained almost static, as has the degree of instruction.

565 Class is one of the most important factors in the everyday lives of the people of Vila Recôncavo. *Who's Who* is well known to all the residents of the community. Almost any resident will say that there are two classes, the rich and the poor. But definitions vary greatly as to what is rich, while practically all agree as to what is poor. Rich means, primarily, having money, a good house, more than one suit of clothing, a horse or mule, a servant to do the housework, and not having to do manual work. It also includes power of some description over other people. Poor is the reverse of all these things: working hard for someone else, a mud house with a dirt floor, one suit of clothes and one pair of shoes. For everyday ranking, this division into only two classes may serve.

A closer analysis shows that four distinct classes can be recognized, as stated earlier. There are many elements which go toward defining the classes—wealth, education and family. Race is also important. People say that wealth is the most important, education the second, and race the third in importance. Thus race is but one of a number of elements ranking people in a social scale, rather than a separating factor which divides them into distinct groups.

[1] Other terms used to convey the same meaning are *gente do mato* (people of the forest) and *gente do roça* (backwoodsmen).

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In only one case can we absolutely equate a racial type with a class—the 'aristocratic white' of the rural area with upper class. The upper class of Vila Recôncavo is composed of a few families, descendants of the *senhores de engenho* (landowners), who have kept control of their lands, as well as having made a professional life in the capital as a lawyer, engineer or politician. They are upper-class not only in Vila Recôncavo, but also in the capital, Salvador, and their families are known in other great cities of Brazil. The horizon of these people is far wider than that of anyone else in Vila Recôncavo, and the scope of their activities is wider. Thus the gap between this upper class and any of the other classes is enormous. Nevertheless, the relations between it and the others are close, as this small class spends a large part of the year in the area and travels to it frequently during its stay in Salvador. There is little or no competition between this class and those under it, at least in the rural situation. In the city they are subject to all the stress and strain common to any 'high society' group.

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In the rural situation this class remains, to a great extent socially apart from the other strata, but frequently a plantation owner gives a party for the *redondeza* (for the personnel of the nearby plantations). To such a gathering 200 or 300 people may come. The whites remain more as spectators than participants, but rules of courtesy and hospitality are rigorously observed, and guests are made to feel at home, without class differences. It is at such a gathering that the local *mulato* intellectuals and leaders will often attempt to show that they are closer to the whites than the other *mestiços*.

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The chief class competition in Vila Recôncavo is between the second highest class and those below it. This second class, the local upper class, includes all the whites of the town, plus a large number of mulattoes and Negroes. As a rule it is this class which is the most conservative, the most anxious to retain its 'superiority', and which bears the brunt of pressures from below. This class will seize upon and magnify any element possible to belittle those who are, in any way, possible competition. It is in this group that the daughters are 'guarded', and have neither the freedom of the daughters of the plantation owners nor of the daughters of the fishermen. Ostentation plays a large part in their lives, and the men of this group rarely appear in the street without collar, tie and suit coat.

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This group is also widely split by politics. Politics are one of its main methods for holding or advancing its social position, and they are taken seriously. Political scrapping has broken up the social activities of this group to a large extent, and there is more than one case of a family not speaking to another because of political differences. As a result their social activities are almost nil. They lead an unquestionably dull life, attempting to preserve a way of life belong-

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ing to the past, hard-put to maintain their economic status and remain gentlemen, with the result that they retreat more and more into a narrower scope of activity. This class is comparatively small, and while there is no upward movement to the class above it, there are many people hanging on its lower rung, coming up from below. Money will carry a person, whatever his racial type, into this group, although in the rural zone it is occupation and increase in money and authority which will elevate an individual, as in the case of the plantation administrator.

It is in the great body of the third class, the local middle class, that we find the most social ascension, or at least the most opportunity for ascension. Anyone in this class can better himself if he so desires, and once again it is wealth which is most important. Racial type enters here perhaps more strongly than in the second stratum; also the measure of desire to climb which the individual possesses. For among the majority of this class, there is what appears to be a lack of desire to climb. Perhaps this is allied with the past, with a strong heritage of slavery. At any rate, it is here that class and race are most generally confused.

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563 Most people in this stratum who desire to ascend socially will say that it is better to be white, or at least light, than dark because it is the white who has the most money, the most education, and consequently most opportunities. Traditionally the light-skinned mulatto has been able to share to some extent in these things. Therefore, today, if an individual is lighter it will be easier for him to climb, simply because of his lightness. Upper-class people accept light-skinned people more readily—nevertheless, it is considered better to be a wealthy *preto* than a poor white.

For this class, after money, marriage is one of the surest methods to climb, and it is a fact that the light-skinned person marries *upward* more easily than the dark-skinned person. No one in any class likes a marriage in which the skin colours are too far apart. Any marriage of dark with light or white will be referred to as *mosca no leite*, or fly in the milk, and a certain repugnance is felt by all. One man, formerly a fisherman, but now a merchant of some means, is a *preto* married to a *branca da terra* who was poor but almost white. This marriage has not helped him much, as his wife did not bring him social position, but it has 'lightened' his children. His own status is increased through his financial transactions. But his children, who are lighter, are being educated in the city, and more readily acceptable because of their colour and their economic background. Their chances for a better marriage are greater than if they had the same background but were dark.

In another case, a white girl of the local upper class of the town is engaged to a *preto*, who is an engineer in Salvador, but whose family has roots in Vila Recôncavo. There was great resistance to

3t Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1963 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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the engagement on the part of the girl's family, and all her friends 563.
felt that, although she had a good 'catch', that is, a successful man, he was too dark for her. This in spite of the fact that the girl's father is a *branco da terra*, and that her grandmother was dark-skinned.

One great bar between the upper class of 'aristocratic whites' and those below them is that of marriage. The white of the second class may sometimes be acceptable to the upper class, because he is white; but the chances are heavy against the marriage of an 'aristocratic white' with an *homem de côr*. Perhaps in the city situation a marriage between a white of this upper class and a *mestiço* of the same class would take place, but certainly not in a rural area.

Until the end of the last century many bastards were produced 565
by the white plantation owners and their sons, with the slaves and 563
ex-slaves. The Vila Recôncavo population is made up of a large 848
segment of these individuals and their offspring, and in many cases they bear the name of the family of the white. So that today there exist in Vila Recôncavo people who are relatives to various degrees of the white upper class, and in some cases have the same family name. These people are not recognized socially by the whites. In many instances the mixed-blood has the family name, not because he was given it, but because he took it. Frequently a white family will keep track of the descendants on the illegitimate side of the family, and help them if necessary, but they would never introduce one of these individuals as a member of the family, even when that person has all the family physical characteristics.

In one case, the illegitimate daughter of a union between a slave and a white man recently found herself in a position to help the legitimate daughter of her father's cousin. This girl was born free to a slave, before abolition. The slave mother managed to educate the girl, who became a successful schoolteacher. Later on, when her father's cousin's legitimate daughter, widowed with three children, needed help to educate one of her own daughters, she found that aid from her *mestiço* cousin.

This type of race mixture is far less common today than it was 565
some 70 years ago. However, young white men still frequently have 563
their early sex experiences with *mestiço* and *preto* girls. [836]

The fourth class, the lowest, is confined to the town and consists of people who have no steady employment and who have no *patrão*. They are people caught in the changing economic pattern of the area, from a highly personalized *patrão* economy to a more modern money economy. As yet there is no room for this group in the rural area. There are no 'pure' whites here—a few *brancos da terra*, and *mulatos* and *pretos*. Ascension from this class, which is very small, is easier for a woman, especially if she is light-skinned. For a man, only money will take him upward.

Traditionally the *preto* is linked with ignorance and superstition,

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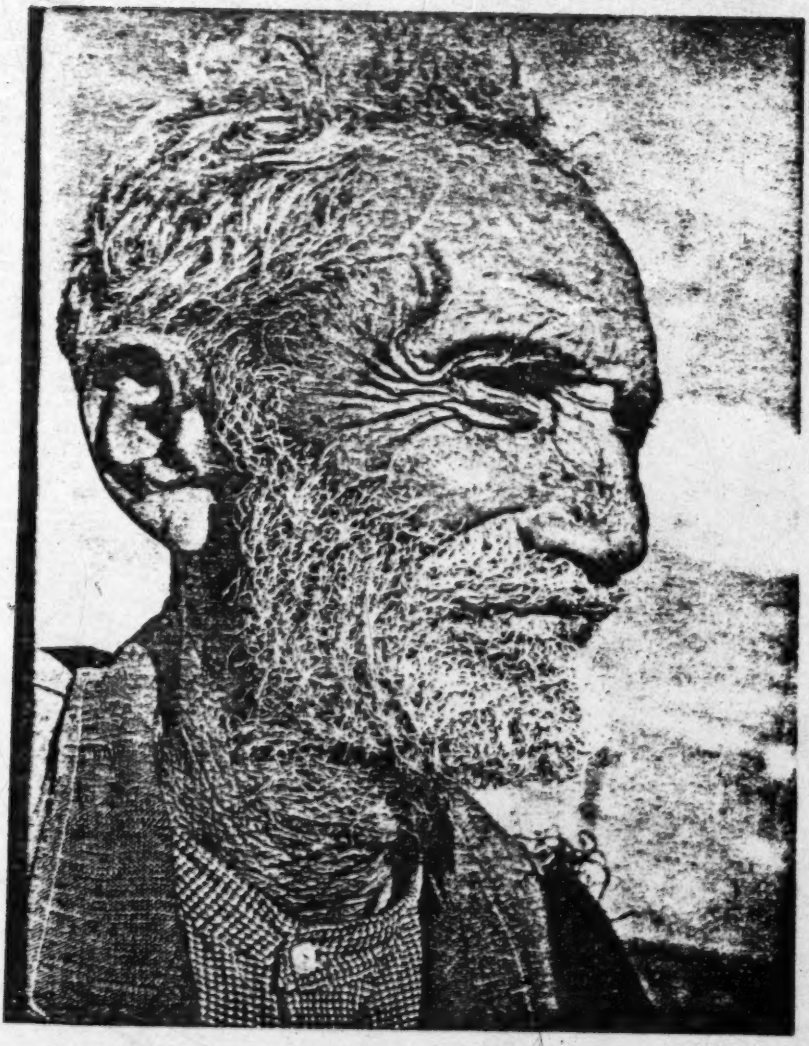

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3. Caboclo of the interior of Bahia

[facing P. 42]

Traditionally

565 the preto is linked with ignorance and superstition,
563 and a most common example of his 'ignorance', cited by the upper
794 strata of Vila Recôncavo society, is his belief in *candomblé*, the fetish
[171] cults of African origin so numerous in Salvador which have been
described by various authors.[8] In the Caribbean, *candomblé* is
[177] known as voodoo and, as in Brazil, there is a mixture of Roman
[178] Catholic with African religious elements. In Vila Recôncavo there
are highly complicated rituals of ceremony and healing, but owing
to the pressures of modern life almost no one has the time necessary
to spend in the full preparation for a *filha de santo* (servant of the
god) or a *mãe de santo* (caretaker of the gods) and much of the old
ritual is being forgotten and discarded, and newer and simpler
[776] innovations are in evidence. Another example given of the *preto's*
'superstition' in Vila Recôncavo is his participation in the cult of
Janaina, the goddess of the water. This cult is really an offshoot of
candomblé, Yemanja being the name of the African *orixa* or divinity,
while Janaina is the name given to her by many of the cults in
[782] Brazil. It is Janaina 'who sends the fish to the fishermen', and they
[226] must thank her and give her gifts occasionally. Generally it is the
mãe de santo who knows all the calls and prayers for Janaina and
who presents the fishermen's gifts. Anyone who intends to climb
the social ladder first disassociates himself from these rites, and then
publicly condemns those who participate in them—although, in
many cases, such an individual will continue secretly to give financial
support to a local *mãe de santo* and to send gifts to Janaina. Often it
is heard of a person: 'Oh yes, he is *gente* now, but last night he
secretly sent his usual present to Janaina.' Individuals of all racial
classifications belong to *candomblé*, although popular opinion has it
that only the *pretos* engage in these activities. One can observe all
racial types at a *candomblé festa* (ceremony), either as participants or
as spectators. In one case in another area of the Recôncavo there is
even a white *pae de santo* (male caretaker of the gods), a former
lawyer!

563 Nevertheless, in Vila Recôncavo, there are examples of *pretos* and
555 *mestiços* who have shown themselves capable of progress, with and
without education. Two examples are the plantation adminis-
[463] trators, cited earlier, who have risen to that honoured and relatively
[872] well-paid occupation in spite of the fact that they cannot read or
write. On another plantation, the *feitor* has taught himself to read
[873] and write and is known as an excellent story-teller. Primary schools
were recently opened in the rural zone of Vila Recôncavo, and night
schools for the adults. The response has been great, people often
walking long distances at night to attend class, in spite of the fact
563 that one of the most disliked and feared things is going out at night.

In Vila Recôncavo, there has been a central primary school for
565 many years, with an attendance of 354 of all racial types, children of
872 the whites as well as those of the others, although no children of the

3: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1963 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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4. A black cowboy of the Sertão

[facing P. 43]

planters. People in the upper class of the town, when they can, send their children to the capital to continue their education, and there are several *mestiço* students from Vila Recôncavo studying law, medicine and engineering in Salvador. The intelligence of the mulatto is traditional, and it has been equally traditional that the darker-skinned person is unintelligent. Today these traditions are not as strong as before, but still it is felt that the mulatto has somewhat more aptitude than the Negro. The old idea of the Negro, meant for work and to be servile, still exists, now tempered with the knowledge that education can change the situation. There is only one club in Vila Recôncavo—a football club—and the players are all shades, from white to black, and so are the spectators. They all sit or stand together under the shade of the one big tree which gives shade to the playing field. The field is on the property of a white man who, while he has nothing to do with the team, allows them to play there, put up goal posts and markers. The bar and recreation centre are open to all so long as they wear shoes—a ruling made to keep out the muddy feet of children who came straight from the beach to have a 'coke'. All the racial types and classes get together here to play pool and gossip, this being the one and only point of public social activity in the town. At the movies, the admission price is extremely low, the same for everyone, and all four classes attend. Negroes and whites of all classes sit next to each other. At church there are no special pews, the faithful usually gathering in the front and the less faithful hanging about near the back. The choir and the acolytes are from all classes and colours. At parties, which are few, colour lines are disregarded, *brancos* and *morenos* dance with *mulatos* and *pretos* just as long as both partners can *pular* (jump).

The social situation is gradually changing, and the extremely personal element is being lost. It is strongest on the private plantation, where the owner spends the greater part of the year, but at the *usina* much of the personal element is weakened because of the numbers of workers. Even at the *usina*, there is visiting and gossiping between the owners' families and the workers. But at the *usina* not all the workers accept their subservient position as do those of the plantations. This is specially true of the higher echelon of specialists and technicians of the mill, who will frequently not go to a party given by the owner, even though invited. It seems to be a way of saying that the company of the white owners is neither needed nor wanted. They prefer to keep their relations on a strictly business basis. At the *usina*, when a worker is sick, he goes to the medical post where he is treated by a paid nurse, rather than to the owner's house. On pay day, the *usina* worker is paid at the mill by a paymaster, not in the living room of the owner's house. Nevertheless, in spite of the industrialized aspect of the mill, the number of workers is not too large to exclude all personal contact with the owners, who adminis-

249
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571 trate and oversee most of the operations. This type of relationship
466 has proved so satisfactory that up to date there have been no strikes,
[468] and no labour movements, or unions formed among the workmen
[467] of São Pedro. The length of time the technicians and other workmen of the *usina* have remained in their employ, refusing employment in other *usinas* and other occupations, has been a matter of pride to the owners of São Pedro.

249 It is on the plantations belonging to the *usina* that the white
466 owner-*mestiço* worker personal relations are least close. The *usina*
463 owners are able to make only occasional tours of inspection of the
571 plantations, and therefore have little personal contact with the workers. However, the administrator has in many respects taken the place of the owner. He is the only man on the plantation with authority, and all complaints and requests for favours or help must be presented to him. In one case, an administrator has been on the same plantation for 26 years, and is well-known for the 'court' he holds. Once a year he gives an immense party for the entire community, and people from all four classes attend. He is wanted as godfather for the children of the workmen, and as *compadre* in their marriages. Nevertheless, the administrator is as much an employee of the *usina* as is the worker, and while the administrator can and does assume some of the attitudes and responsibilities of the owner, he cannot assume them all. However, it is a frequent saying among the white-owner class that the real owners are the administrators, for they are the group closest to the workers and to the land. A plantation with a poor administrator is not only a poor producer, but also means hardship for the *moradores*; a poor administrator will take no interest in them, and take little care of them.

249 In other areas of the Recôncavo, where the *usinas* are larger and
46 more industrialized and where no owner resides either at the *usina*
571 or on one of the plantations, but lives always in Salvador, there is only a paid representative of the corporation at the *usina*. In such large industrial units the personal element is almost entirely lacking both at the *usina* and on the company-owned plantations. There have been cases of labour difficulties, strikes, violence and the intrusion of political groups. In several instances, there are efforts today, on the owner's part to re-establish personal contact with mill and field workers, even on the largest of the corporation *usinas* and plantations.

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571 **VII.** The relations between people of different physical types in
466 Vila Recôncavo and on the surrounding sugar plantations have grown
249 out of the plantation-slave system which flourished in the region about a century ago. Many patterns and attitudes formed in that epoch persist even today in the town and on the privately-owned
44 plantations in the vicinity.

plantations in the vicinity. There is the aristocratic group of whites 249
descendants of the *senhores de engenho*—who form almost a caste, 565
marrying among themselves and living out their own social life 571
apart from the Negro and racially mixed population of the com- 563
munity. Just as the slave owners in the past, however, they depend 466
upon the Negro and *mestiço* for labour; the Negro is pictured as the 178
faithful servant and attendant of the white aristocrat. Again, as in
the past, the mulatto who was the offspring of the European master
and a slave mother is pictured as a social upstart and an intelligent
trouble-maker. Yet it is the man of mixed ancestry who holds the [463]
intermediate economic and social positions; he is the minor bureau-
crat, the technician in the *usina*, and the administrator and *feitor* on
the plantations. The essential hierarchy has changed little since
colonial times; and the relationship between these aristocratic whites
and their Negro and mixed workmen is still a highly personal one
lacking in social tensions, since each knows his proper position and
each knows his rights, duties and obligations toward the other.

There is no race problem in Vila Recôncavo, nor does prejudice 563
or discrimination work out as it does in other parts of the Western 565
world. A Negro cannot become a member of the aristocracy, but a 463
well-educated and economically successful Negro can have easy 178
social relations with this stratum. Negro ancestry is without doubt a
grave disadvantage in economic and social mobility, but there are no
political and economic positions closed to a man of Negro or mixed
descent. As yet, however, only a few Negroes have moved into high
political or economic positions. There is only one plantation owner
who is a Negro, and Negroes and *mestiços* hold only minor bureau-
cratic and political positions in the community. The *prefeito* or
mayor has nearly always been drawn from the aristocratic white
group, and has never been challenged from the Negro and mixed
population. Yet in the town and among the mill workers, 'people of
colour' are beginning to show independence, and unwillingness
always to occupy a subservient and lowly position. The adminis-
trators like to ride better horses than the aristocrats, to have fancier
saddles, to dress better, and to be more ostentatious than their em-
ployers. Many townspeople know the big city, and the essential class
and racial democracy which exists there. There is competition to
join the local upper class, and derogatory racial criteria are used to
deride competitors who would like to rise out of the lower class
groups into this growing upper class. African culture traits such as [794]
candomblé and the cult of Janaina are associated with low status, and
people who would rise in the local social hierarchy are anxious to
disassociate themselves from these groups.

As modern attitudes and ideology penetrate Vila Recôncavo, 565
there are more and more problems of class relationships; the popu- 563
lation is becoming extremely class-conscious, and there is an in- 178

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[369]

creasing desire to rise in the social hierarchy. In the rural districts physical type is less important than in the town, since there is less chance for one to rise socially, the positions of prestige being highly limited. But in the town and at the *usina*, the opportunities are greater, and therefore more emphasis is put upon racial type; although, even in the town, racial type is not the most important criterion for ascending the social scale, the most important being the possession of wealth and education. However, in the town, people who have wealth and education also show a tendency to 'lighten', generation after generation, as well as to ascend socially. There is no such thing as 'passing' in Vila Recôncavo, and there is no need for it, for many individuals who clearly show traces of Negro ancestry are called white and treated as white, with no constraint or embarrassment. Also there are no social activities closed to the *homem de côr*, provided he has the money and the education to take advantage of them. Physical attraction is also extremely important in the social acceptance of rejection of people, as is shown in the complicated fashion of classifying and stereotyping individuals, and the idealization of the *morena*.

[826]

In other areas of the Recôncavo, the personal element has been lost to a great extent, and has been replaced with a rigid class system, based upon wealth, personal initiative, education, racial type and 'luck'. For the most part, the tradition of the *patrão* is disappearing and people are more dependent upon their own resources in a more strictly monetary economy. Vila Recôncavo still however remains sufficiently isolated to preserve much of the tradition of the past, of easy-going personal relations between people of all classes and racial types.

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PERSPECTIVES IN SOCIOLOGY

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PERSPECTIVES IN SOCIOLOGY

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Negroes in Brazil

A Study of Race Contact at Bahia

Donald Pierson

Foreword by Herman R. Lantz

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[Title Page]

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FOREWORD

NEGROES IN BRAZIL: *A Study of Race Contact at Bahia* was originally published at a time when the world was confronted with basic decisions in regard to the kind of social order it hoped to build, and the basic values that would govern the relationships between its inhabitants. As a case history of a pattern of race relations which differed radically from that in the United States, *Negroes in Brazil* was especially significant because it emerged at a time when American sociological concerns with problems of race were still largely preoccupied with relations in this country. The impact was to raise immediately basic questions about the historic inevitability of Negro-white relations as patterned in the United States.

Although much may have been settled in World War II, it is clear that a great deal remains to be resolved in the field of race relations. Thus, the republication of the present work is especially timely in view of the present crises in race relations, both here and abroad. In a period of drastic upheavals, when traditionally underprivileged groups are thirsting for power and dominance, an understanding of the ways in which societies have dealt with race differences becomes an ongoing necessity for group survival. That new and, in some instances, radically different perceptions of race relations will continue to emerge is reasonably clear. While such changes at any single point in time appear to take on unique characteristics, a closer view often reveals a basis in history and cultural experience. It is perhaps in this sense that this edition of *Negroes in Brazil* is so significant. Brazilian na-

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121 tional policy chose to assimilate the Negro rather than to segregate him; thus, with a significantly large Negro population, Brazil has no real race problem. Moreover, any Negro in Brazil who is qualified is given a status to which his abilities entitle him.

128 We are fortunate to have the original author, Dr. Donald [114] Pierson, write the new introduction to the present work. Dr. Pierson, a man widely published in sociology, is a distinguished scholar, who has spent many years studying the Brazilian racial situation. In his new introduction, Donald Pierson has carefully reanalyzed his original work in terms [129] of events which have transpired. In so doing he has integrated the significant scholarly publications which have emerged over the years. Although significant social changes have transpired in Brazil since the original publication of this work, the original formulations regarding race relations still remain valid, a testimony to the original perceptions of the author. The result is one of the most up-to-date analyses of race relations in Brazil today.

The author's original preface and the original introduction by Robert E. Park have been retained. Each gives a sense of historical continuity to the effort; and each contains comments for the present. Indeed, as suggested by Park, the task of maintaining an effective social order in the context of drastic social change constitutes one of man's greatest challenges; this observation is surely of contemporary relevance.

Herman R. Lantz

Southern Illinois University
January, 1966

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PREFACE TO THIS EDITION

FOLLOWING several impressions, this book has been out-of-print for some time; and, accordingly, I am grateful to Professor Herman R. Lantz and to Southern Illinois University Press for making it available again. 128

In preparation for the new Introduction a limited and preliminary survey was made of the criteria of rank in Brazil, with particular attention to the role of color. For assistance in this effort I am indebted to Professor Thales de Azevedo of Bahia, Professors Levy Cruz and Cecilia Sanioto DiLascio of Recife, Professors Santos Neves and Renato José Costa Pacheco of Vitória, and Professor Hiroshi Saito of São Paulo. 121* [114]

As the manuscript for the original book was being completed, in 1939, I was invited to São Paulo to help build up a pioneer school in Brazil in the social sciences; and I remained in that country for nearly two decades. At the time of this return, however, and for many years thereafter, there was little interest, in educational circles or elsewhere, in the study of the local racial situation. My time became so absorbed by an extensive round of other activities that for many years it was possible to give only limited attention to this problem.

By 1951, however, interest had built up in certain intellectual circles to the point where the UNESCO studies in several parts of the country were possible; but I was at that time also engaged, along with a considerable number of students and young professors whom I had helped train, in a series of studies in the São Francisco valley, so that it was not possible to accept the invitation to join the UNESCO

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research. With its appearance, and with that of other studies carried out since that time—but also including a few which had appeared previously, in addition to the pioneer work of Professor Gilberto Freyre and of others which antedated this book—a considerable body of materials on the Brazilian racial situation is now available, especially in Portuguese. In an attempt to extend and to bring more up-to-date my knowledge and understanding of this situation, I have consulted a rather extensive bibliography, in so far as it was possible to gain access to it by diligent effort in both Brazil and the United States. For patient and considerate assistance with this task, I am under especial obligation to Dr. Zacharias Pithon Barreto and Thales de Azevedo of Bahia, Nell W. Herbert of the reference department of Pack Memorial Library in Asheville, Professor Edgar T. Thompson of Duke University, Professor Mario Wagner Vieira da Cunha, Maria Isabel dos Santos Carvalho, and Maria Aparecida Madeira Kerbeg of São Paulo, and, most especially of all, Professor Emilio Willems of Vanderbilt University. For suggestions regarding bibliography and other encouragement, I am grateful to Professors Richard M. Morse of Yale University, Charles Wagley of Columbia University, and T. Lynn Smith of the University of Florida.

Some of the materials from a paper prepared for the World Conference on Race Relations, held in Honolulu in 1954, and which appeared in *Race Relations in World Perspective*, edited by Andrew W. Lind and published the next year by the University of Hawaii Press, appear in altered form in this new Introduction. That book is now out-of-print; and I am grateful to Professor Lind, and to Thomas Nickerson, director of the University of Hawaii Press, for permission to use these materials here.

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Thales de Azevedo, anthropologist and director of the *Faculdade de Filosofia* of the University of Bahia, a lifetime resident of that city and a researcher whose studies of the local racial situation have received considerable attention, has honored me by reading the new Introduction in manuscript; as also have Emilio Willems, whose researches and publications during a long residence in Brazil are well known, and Professor Herbert Blumer of the University of California, who has carried on research in Brazil in a related field. Obviously, however, no one except the present author is responsible for any imprecision or inadequacy which the reader may note; nor are these specialists necessarily in agreement with the author on all points. For painstaking attention to numerous tasks in connection with the preparation of the new Introduction, and especially to the typing of extensive notes and to manuscript detail, I am much indebted to my wife, Helen Batchelor Pierson. 128

JULY, 1965 DONALD PIERSON

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PREFACE

ONE of the more significant consequences of World War I was a material reduction in the isolation of the United States, at least in so far as European peoples and European problems were concerned. Until very recently, however, our ignorance of almost everything south of Panama has been profound. In common with the other South American countries, Brazil has remained for us largely terra incognita. Even today, when tourists are discovering that Rio de Janeiro is one of the world's most beautiful cities, many intelligent and usually well-informed persons are surprised to learn, for instance, that Portuguese and not Spanish is the language of Brazil and that by reason of Brazil's European language-speaking population being greater than that of all other South American countries combined, or approximately equal to the population of France, Portuguese is the most-spoken language in South America. 121*

This book, it is hoped, will contribute toward making better known and understood one aspect of Brazilian life, namely, the career of the Brazilian Negro. It makes no pretense of being a systematic and exhaustive inquiry into assimilation and acculturation as these processes operate in Brazil. It has rather the character of a general reconnaisance which conceivably might lay some of the groundwork for future investigation. It is designed to furnish at least a preliminary answer to the question: What has happened to the Africans who were imported in such large numbers into this part of the New World?

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PREFACE

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In 1934, while I was a Fellow in sociology at the University of Chicago, my attention was called by Dr. Herbert Blumer to the possibilities of Brazil as a locus for the study of racial and cultural contacts, and I subsequently received encouragement from Drs. Robert Redfield, Louis Wirth, and Ellsworth Faris to consider these possibilities seriously. As I subsequently went through the available literature in several languages, I became increasingly interested in Brazil, particularly as a locus for investigating, in an intimate and detailed way, what appeared to be a racial situation sufficiently distinct from that in India, for example, where the social order is based upon caste, or that in the United States, where the Negro is now escaping from a caste status and becoming a racial minority similar to the Jew in Europe and elsewhere, to constitute, along with, perhaps, the Hawaiian and certain other similar racial situations, a distinct type. At approximately this same time Dr. Robert E. Park returned from an extended world-tour, during which he had observed at first hand a number of the more important centers of racial and cultural contact, including Brazil, in which he also had for some time been particularly interested.

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The outgrowth of these converging interests was a two-year period of field work in Brazil (from 1935 to 1937) as research assistant of the Social Science Research Committee of the University of Chicago, to which organization, together with the Rosenwald Fund, I am indebted for making this study financially possible. Twenty-two months of this period of residence were spent in intimate study of the social order of one city, the old seaport of Bahia.

This focusing of attention upon one particular locus is, in my opinion, an inescapable procedure, since the sentiments which determine human and personal relations are so in-

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variably crystallized in the customs and habits of each locality that any portrayal of race relations which seeks to be comprehensible must of necessity make some analysis of local folkways and mores.

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To name all the Bahian friends from whose characteristic courtesy, so proverbial in Brazil, I profited during my field work would be an exceedingly difficult task. For extensive and continuous assistance I am under obligation particularly to Zacharias Pithon Barretto, João Canna Brasil, Hosannah de Oliveira, Alfredo Gonsalves Amorim, Nestor Duarte, Aloysio de Carvalho Filho, Laura Schlaepfer, João da Silva Campos, Friars Tomaz and Protasius, Canon Manoel Barbosa, Francisco Sá, Euvaldo Diniz Gonçalves, José Lourenço de A. Costa, Edison Carneiro, Edgar de Britto, André Leon Achdjian, Martiniano, Mãe Anninha, and Zázá. In addition, for other important contributions, I am indebted to Anisio Teixeira, Innocencio de Goes Calmon, Theodoro Sampaio, Waldemar and Maria Lages, Braz do Amaral, Oscar Caetano, Belfort Saraiva, Jayme Junqueira Ayres, Elysio Lisboa, Pamphilo de Carvalho, Dantas Junior, Pedro de Mello, Jorge de Menezes Berenguer, Alfredo Pimentel, Francisco da Conceição Menezes, Oscar Cordeiro, Ignacio Tosta Filho, João Mendonça, Edgard Matta, Corypheu de Azevedo Marques, Antonio Barretto, Licia Barretto, Eliezer and Carmen Santos, Reginaldo Guimarães, Enoch Torres, Silvio de São Paulo, Sergio Maranhão, Enoch Carteado, Tharcicio Telles, João Varella, George Hasselmann, Socrates Marback, Frederico de Ferreira Bandeira, Pedro Rodrigues Bandeira, Vicente Café, and Galba Araujo; to a number of foreign residents at Bahia, especially the vice-consul of the United States, Lee Worley, and his successor, Robert Janz, Bruno Reitman, Margot and Gaby

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128 For the clarification of several obscure points raised in reading, observation, or investigation I am grateful to such able interpreters of the Brazilian scene as Gilberto Freyre, Affonso de E. Taunay, Oliveira Vianna, Pedro Calmon, Rüdiger Bilden, and Lois Williams. Dr. Arthur Ramos, who is intimately acquainted with the Bahian Negro, and Dr. Hugh C. Tucker, who during fifty-four years' residence in Brazil has become acquainted with the country as have few North Americans, read the manuscript and offered pertinent comment. Drs. Robert Redfield, Herbert Blumer, Louis Wirth, Ellsworth Faris, and William F. Ogburn have from the inception of the study extended me many courtesies, the most important of which have been their unsparingly critical but always constructive suggestions. I am deeply indebted to Dr. Charles Johnson and Fisk University for the leisure to prepare the manuscript for publication and to Mrs. Martha Harris for patient and careful attention to manuscript detail. I am under perhaps the greatest obligation to Dr. Robert E. Park, whose seminal mind, long-range patience as a teacher, and rich research experience have contributed in fundamental ways to this study. My wife, Helen Batchelor Pierson, has been an invaluable assistant.

DONALD PIERSON

ESCOLA LIVRE DE SOCIOLOGIA E POLITICA
DE SÃO PAULO
October 1939

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IN CONSIDERATION of the general lack of knowledge in the United States at the time regarding anything south of the Rio Grande, the original publisher used "Brazil" in the title of this book, although the author never claimed so wide a coverage for it. A more precise indication appeared in the subtitle which the original publisher considerately permitted—and which again appears in this edition—"A Study of Race Contact at Bahia." In other words, this is a case study, in a given place, of a more general situation.

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To one who picks up this study, undertaken as it was in 1935, or thirty years ago, several questions will perhaps occur: How precise was the identification of the Bahian racial situation at the time? Has this situation changed since? How representative of the situation throughout Brazil was, and is, that of Bahia? Do we know any more today than we did then regarding the circumstances which produced it?

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Each of these questions is all the more pertinent because some persons have been puzzled by conflicting reports, in more recent years, regarding the precise character of the Brazilian racial situation. The confusion is due, in our judgment, to the heterogeneity of a vast land; to the rather subtle character of the Brazilian racial situation; to the role of semantics in the process of communication; to the limited amount of empirical research which has been carried out with reference to this problem; and to variations in the objectives, approaches and methods of writers in the field, some of whom, by emphasizing, unduly, certain aspects of

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the total situation, have thrown the "picture" out of perspective and unwittingly distorted it.

Brazil is an enormous country; and, in spite of its culture being homogeneous to a surprising extent, considerable variation in historical, ecological, economic and sociological circumstance exists from region to region.[1] Moreover, the extensive changes which have taken place since this study was made increase some of the differences between various parts of the country. A sizeable internal migration has been occurring (cf. Vicente Unzer de Almeida and Octávio Teixeira Mendes Sobrinho, 1952), as individuals have left the rural areas and moved to the towns,[2] and from there, ordinarily later, in considerable numbers and including a high percentage of persons of color, to the larger cities, par-

[1] For one thing, the character and effects of slavery perhaps were not uniform, especially in the more isolated areas on the fringes of settlement, in contrast to the more settled areas, where the controls of public opinion and law were more effective. Little attention has been given to possible variations in the character of the personal relations developed during this period in the coastal plantation areas, with their probable higher degree of primary contacts, in contrast to the mining areas of the interior, with their perhaps more impersonal relations, and to the pastoral areas, where the opportunities for the escape of slaves were perhaps greatest of all. This is not to say that some investigators are not aware of these possible differences, but that there is still lacking any systematic attempt to trace these variations in detail; and especially in terms of *personal*, rather than of merely economic, or power, relationships. The more recent attention to part of this problem has been directed to illustrating the evolution of a historical process whose unfolding is preconceived and hence known in advance, so that the investigator tends to be insulated from new knowledge and new hypotheses.

[2] Cf. Charles Wagley, 1960a:210. For recent changes in Brazil see, particularly, that illuminating essay, and also L. A. Costa Pinto (1958), Albert O. Hirshman (1963), Rollie E. Poppino (1963), and Irving Louis Horowitz (1964). For bibliographical references in this Introduction, see the appended "Supplementary Bibliography."

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ticularly São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro but also Belo Horizonte, Recife, Porto Alegre, and others, including Bahia.[3] For, stimulated by needs which could not be satisfied by importation from Europe or the United States under the conditions existing during two World Wars—and more particularly during the last one—and also by growing internal demand, industrialization has been assuming a continually larger role in what has previously been a predominantly agricultural and pastoral country. Concomitant with this increased industrialization—but not to be confused with it, since, for one thing, it began long before—there also has occurred a rapid and extensive growth of the cities. A high rate of natural increase of the population has meanwhile continued in all parts of the country, so that it is now estimated that approximately two and a half million persons are being added annually to the Brazilian people. New primary, secondary, technological and professional schools have been set up, in an urgent, but not yet adequate attempt—since it began with a huge deficit—to keep up with expanding educational needs.

The emergence of new employment opportunities, espe-

[3] Since the matter may have puzzled some readers, it perhaps should be pointed out that, in keeping with the traditional patterns in such cases during colonization and later, the term "Bahia" was long used to indicate, on the one hand, the Capitania, Province or State of Bahia and, on the other, its capital city, even though the latter had another (and less used) name—Salvador. At the time of our research, the capital city of the State of Bahia—where most of our research was carried on—was widely and commonly known also as "Bahia"; and this name is still being employed. Since this name was used in the original study, it will be retained in this Introduction, in order to avoid possible confusion when consulting different parts of this edition. Incidentally, the spelling of "Bahia" is correctly given here and throughout this book, although, for a time during the "spelling reform" in Brazil (but only temporarily), an effort was made in some quarters to write the name differently.

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The emergence of new employment opportunities, especially in the centers of industry but also elsewhere, not only has stimulated internal migration but—more importantly for our interest here—has also facilitated social mobility. This has brought significant change, particularly to persons in the lower ranks, who are extensively (but far from exclusively) of dark color, and whose economic position has long been, on the whole, stagnant. There is clearly evident in Brazil what perhaps is the principal long-range trend in the modern world, namely, the rise of the underprivileged classes into increasingly greater economic and political power; while the growing anonymity of the developing cities is making human relations more impersonal and categoric, and this has led to a heightened sense of insecurity while also aiding the escape of individuals of color from the controls of the old superordinate and subordinate relationships developed during slavery and giving these individuals new conceptions of themselves and of others.

Until comparatively recent years, a middle class like that known in Europe or the United States scarcely existed. At the time of our research at Bahia, for instance, there were only two clearly-defined classes in the city, as attested (see pp. 15 ff.) by the popular division of the inhabitants into *ricos* (literally, "the rich") and *pobres* ("the poor"). There were many families, however, whose occupation, skills, education, or level of living placed them above the lower class but who were not attached by kinship or achievement to the upper ranks. They thus occupied an intermediate position between the two extremes of the social pyramid, although they tended to identify themselves with the interests and values of the upper class. In recent decades, however, the changes mentioned above have produced occupational and educational opportunities never before known, and also greatly stimulated those previously existent, so that, in the large and more

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industrialized cities at least, these intermediate ranks have developed into a definite middle class.

The so-called "traditional" families, who for so long virtually constituted almost the entire upper class, still play an important role in industrial, commercial, intellectual, and political activities; but although they perhaps were never a completely closed unit, they now are having to accept into their ranks as never before an increasing number of persons who have risen from the intermediate tiers by reason of occupational or educational achievement, acquired wealth, or political influence.

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Brazil is thus in process of transition from a predominantly rural, agricultural and pastoral society, with a rather rigid class system, to an urban and industrialized society, where class lines are somewhat less important, and other elements of the economic, political and sociological structures are changing. There is a considerable degree of fluidity, in the midst of which the high value formerly placed upon primary relations, particularly the intimate attachments of members of large kinship, godparent or friendship groups, upon exclusiveness toward groups outside those of immediate personal contact, upon class membership, and upon loyalty is giving away, and new values are emerging. These changes are so extensive that Charles Wagley (1960a) has referred to them as "the Brazilian revolution."

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Owing also to the complex and rather subtle character of the Brazilian racial situation, its analysis is not an easy or simple procedure. Regarding the fact that this differs from that in the United States there is no disagreement. But there is disagreement regarding the character of this difference, its extent, and the circumstances which produced it.

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A sizable obstacle to analyzing this situation, and also to making it intelligible to persons in the United States, is a

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confusion over terms, particularly those whose form is identical but whose meaning varies in the two situations. So powerful is the grip of habit over the mind that the connotation of a word in our own culture tends automatically to be carried over into our thinking about an apparent referent elsewhere, even though we may be aware of the difference in meaning. This is particularly true of the general public; but it is also true to some extent of specialists and occurs even in spite of their normal caution.

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The simple use of the term "Negro," for instance, when describing the Bahian racial situation, automatically conveys to many persons United States meanings from which it is difficult to escape (cf. E. Franklin Frazier 1942:465). Moreover, the unwarranted assumption on the part of those who use the English language, or who are familiar with it, that the Brazilian term "prêto" can be translated by "Negro," and "branco" by "white," adds to the confusion.

These terms are not interchangeable. In the United States "white" means "of undiluted Caucasian descent"; but in Brazil "branco" can mean "a predominantly white person, no matter what his racial origin," including thousands of light mixed-bloods and, in the case of prestige-bearing individuals, darker mixed-bloods and even an occasional black; or it can mean, at times, merely "a person of prestige" or simply "my friend." On the other hand, "Negro" in the United States means "anyone descended in any degree from an African, *including all mixed-bloods*" (provided origin is known); while "prêto" in Brazil may mean "a person with noticeably Negroid traits" or, at times, merely "a person of low status"[4] or simply "a personal enemy."

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[4] Particularly revealing in this respect is an incident witnessed in Sergipe by Felte Bezerra (1950:252). On the beach at a seaside town a

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"Branco" and "prêto" are, therefore, first of all, categories of *physical appearance* rather than of race, so that a child will not necessarily be identified with the same "race" as one, or even both, of his parents. These terms also are categories of *social position*, so that rising in rank can take a colored person out of the colored category, a fact observed long ago at Recife by "the careful Koster," as Sir Richard Burton called him (see p. 219 of this book). These and similar terms employed in Brazil are descriptive not only of racial descent but of other and more important (to local individuals) phenomena; and, even more significantly, as we (1955:434) and others have pointed out, the use of these terms *varies with individuals*, in keeping with varying personal relationships, and also with the *same* individual at different times, in keeping with different moods or other circumstances.

In the United States one ordinarily hears only two terms being employed regularly in this connection: "Negro" and "white." "Mulatto" also is used but less often, as are certain other terms in popular speech. Nevertheless, as far as the behavior of the superordinate group is concerned, the principal terms are two; and all persons will be classified with reference to these two categories and behavior will be oriented in keeping with that classification.

In Brazil, on the other hand, the situation is quite different; for one thing, there exists a whole series of what at

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group of persons from the lower class were engaged in a folk dance, accompanied by singing, known as *cururu*. Although composed largely (but not exclusively) of colored persons, this group was led by a lower-class white. Approaching several other persons nearby, who were spending their vacation at the seaside, and asking if they would like his group to sing and dance where they could be seen and heard more easily, the white leader referred to himself and to the other members of his group as "Nois prêtos" (We blacks).

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first sight appears to be racial terms. "It is not simply a matter of black and white," Harry W. Hutchinson (1957: 120) has observed, "but of all the shades in between." In 1935, without making any particular effort, we set down at Bahia twenty terms being used to describe the different "colors" (135-40 and elsewhere in this book); and, in 1951, Thales de Azevedo (1955a:25-32) recorded a considerable number being used at that time in Bahia. In 1951 also, Hutchinson (1963) noted, according to our calculation, twenty-one of these terms in the old plantation area near the city; Marvin Harris (1963) recorded nine at Minas Velhas, also in the Bahian interior; and Ben Zimmerman (1963), fifteen at Monte Serrat in another part of the State. More recently after setting out to track down all such terms, Harris and Kottak (203n) reported thirty-nine (according to our reckoning) in common use at the fishing village of Arembepe on the Bahian coast. Manuel Diégues Júnior (1956:74-76) mentions twenty-four terms employed for mixed-bloods, alone, in various parts of Brazil, only five of which are referred to by any of these investigators.

To refer, then, to persons of African descent in Brazil as "Negroes," as some investigators from the United States and also some writers in Brazil tend to do, distorts the "picture"; and to refer to the vast range of Negro-European mixed-bloods as "mulattoes," as some of these writers also do, is equally an erroneous procedure. At the same time, this series of terms is highly significant for an analysis of the Brazilian racial situation, particularly in indicating some of its differences from those in South Africa and the United States.

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What, then, is the meaning, as far as actual behavior is concerned, of this extensive series of what appears to be

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racial terms? In the first place, they are not racial terms at all; and, in the second place, they are only in part terms even of physical appearance. Although the classification of a given individual appears *at first sight* to be made on the basis of race, or at least of physical appearance, it actually is arrived at in a more complex way, as was implied in our Bahian study, as Harris (1964) and Harris and Kottak (1963) have since pointed out more specifically and in greater detail. It may, of course, be derived in part from physical appearance; but it also is derived from the possession of one or more of the other criteria of rank; for instance, personal, occupational or educational achievement; or the accumulation of wealth. This fact has long been reflected at Bahia in the common saying, "A rich black is a white man, and a poor white is a black"; in Koster's oft-quoted remark of his servant's disputing the ascription of "mulatto" to a man of high administrative position at Recife, by asking "How can a Head-Captain be a mulatto?"; and in Wagley's report of a dark mixed-blood of rank at Itá who is considered to be a branca (1964:134). Moreover, it reflects the personal relationship, at the time, of the speaker to the one spoken about. As Emilio Willems[5] reminds us, a person "who is one's friend tends to be a branco; or if he is too dark to be called that, he will be at least a *moreno* (brunette). But if he becomes one's enemy, he is called 'that mulatto' or 'that black,' " with pejorative adjectives attached.

Brazilians are not blind to physical differences. No investigator has indicated any doubt that a person's appearance—particularly the texture of his hair and the color of his skin—are observed, and at least occasionally referred to, by all Brazilians, whatever their rank. However, at Arem-

[5] In a letter to the author.

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bepe Harris and Kottak (204) found "as many as thirteen different terms" being applied to the same person by different members of the community; and these terms, although used to describe a single individual, were "spread out across practically the entire spectrum of theoretical racial types" (Harris 1964:57). This variation could not have been due to differences in economic condition, educational achievement or similar circumstance, because, Harris and Kottak further point out (204), Arembepe is "a socially homogeneous, one-class peasant community." Moreover, there was a variation from individual to individual regarding the precise meaning of these terms; and, in addition, an informant might alter his previous classification at a later time. Thus, the use of these terms, Harris and Kottak write, in summarizing their study, "varies from individual to individual, from place to place, time to time, test to test, observer to observer." Agreement was found with reference to the two terms which describe the opposite poles of the color scale, but informants disagreed regarding all the other thirty-seven terms (206n). Wagley (1964:133–34) found similar inconsistencies at Itá in the Amazon valley.

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What does all this ambiguity and inconsistency mean? It means, first of all, that, in Bahia and Brazil, among the lower class and perhaps beyond it, neither race nor color is an important consideration. Although persons often refer to a given individual as "that branco" or "that prêto," this is done, Wagley (1964:133) observed at Itá, "in about the same way that we might say 'that short fat fellow.' " Other things exist of at least as great importance, including educational achievement, family origin, type of occupation, financial resources, living level, and possibly other criteria. When a given individual is classified by another in any rank of the

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social order, all of these—and, *in addition*, physical appearance—are taken into consideration; but the term then used for him, although it appears at first sight to be a racial term, or at least a term of physical appearance, is, in fact, something more complex. As Caio Prado (104) puts it, "the ethnic classification of an individual in Brazil is made . . . on the basis of social position; and race, at least in the upper classes, is more a function of that position than of somatic characters." Whatever these so-called "racial" terms may be, then, as Harris and Kottak recognize, "they are not means by which to classify descent groups"; nor are they terms merely of physical appearance.

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In consideration of these facts—and in spite of the title of this present book—it seems to us that communication would be improved if we were to abandon the use of the term "Negro" and "white" when describing the Brazilian situation and use the terms Bahians and other Brazilians employ in popular speech, namely, "prêto," "branco," etc., giving these terms the local connotations as indicated above or in the glossary; and this we will do henceforth, in this Introduction.

Moreover, it is possible that when describing Brazil, the term "race" itself also ought to be abandoned. The perceptive Brazilian, Hernane Tavares de Sá (32), tells us that the expression "a member of your race," when translated into Portuguese, "is perfectly meaningless" to the general population, except in terms of "a *Brazilian* race";[6] and he maintains that "if the ordinary uneducated Brazilian listened to a discussion of racial problems with the terminology employed in the United States, he would not have the faintest idea of what anyone was talking about." One recalls in this con-

[6] Italics ours.

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nection also, the report by Felte Bezerra (1950:266–67) of the bewilderment of several colored girls at Aracaju upon seeing a film concerned with the racial situation in the United States. Wagley is seeking to escape from some of the ambiguities involved when he uses the term "social race" (e.g., 1963b:14); and several investigators either begin by using "color" instead of "race," or shift to color in the course of research or in subsequent publications.

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Moreover, as Robert E. Park (3) has pointed out in an illuminating analysis, "race relations . . . are not so much the relations that exist between individuals of different races as between individuals *conscious* of these differences."[7] Frazier (1942:469) records that none of the colored persons he interviewed during several months residence in Bahia, in 1940, "regarded themselves as Negroes but simply as Brazilians." In the United States, "we expect all persons of color to feel a mutual bond," Ruth Landes (1947:60) reminds us; but in Bahia "no such assumption is ever dreamed of." As Gilberto Freyre (1959:144) puts it, the colored man in Brazil can "express himself as a Brazilian and not . . as an ethnic [racial] and cultural intruder." Several of Austin J. Staley's (1959:82) Brazilian informants "thought it humorous, and genuinely so, that someone should take time out to inquire about such an obviously unimportant issue as race and race prejudice." "As far as actual behavior is concerned," Harris (1964:64) also recognizes, " 'races' do not exist for the Brazilians." In fact, solidarity along racial or even color lines is of so low an order in Bahia and Brazil that those interested in "mobilizing the colored masses" are in despair. Considering these circumstances, as Frazier (1944:255) also has observed, "one may not properly speak of race relations in Brazil" at all.

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[7] Italics ours.

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However, if we substitute for "race" the term "color," we find other and equally significant ambiguities. In fact, in order to be better understood by persons who are not familiar at first hand with the Brazilian, or with some other Latin-American "racial" situation, we need a more precise term even than color. "Color" is, of course, the literal translation of the widely-used Portuguese *côr*. As employed in Brazil in this connection, however, it connotes more than pigmentation, including, first of all, a number of other physical characteristics: hair-type (perhaps most importantly), as well as facial features. It thus might be well to employ in English the phrase "physical appearance" instead of "color," except that, in the first place, this term also is somewhat ambiguous, since extraneous connotations of cleanliness or neatness, deformity or other abnormality, and beauty or ugliness can be inferred from it; and except that, in the second place (and more importantly), "color," as used in Brazil in this connection, does not refer, as we have seen, merely to physical appearance. Faced with these facts, H. Hoetink (638) suggests the substitution of the phrase, "somatic norm-image" for "race"; and Oracy Nogueira (1959), in a related connection, uses "mark" for physical appearance and "origin" for racial descent, although James G. Leyburn (179) and Lloyd Braithwaite (182) see objections to this usage.

In an effort to describe more precisely the multi-racial societies in the Caribbean, M. G. Smith (51 ff.) distinguishes between four different types of "color." With reference to genetic aspects, he employs "phenotypical color" to refer to appearance, and "genealogical color" to refer to racial descent. Two appearance-type persons may be dissimilar in terms of "genealogical color," then, while two genealogically identical individuals (for example, siblings) frequently are

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appearance distinct. To refer to the *social* significance of "color," Smith suggests the term "associational color," to ider tify an individual in terms of the "color" of those persons with whom he customarily associates "on terms of equality, familiarity and intimacy." As Nogueira (1955:513n) observed at Itapetininga, in the State of São Paulo, "the identification of an individual's color depends, to a certain extent, upon the color of his associates." A person may be "genealogically black" since his ancestors came from Africa, and "phenotypically black" by reason of his physical appearance, but also "associationally *white*" by reason of his achievement of high social position and the predominantly white color of his associates, whose company he habitually keeps by reason of that achievement. Taking also into consideration "the cultural mold," where "the racial divisions are, or until recently have formed, culturally distinct groups," M. G. Smith also distinguishes "cultural color," to be noted on "a scale . . . in which 'white' and 'black' cultures provide the poles." In a given "racial" situation, therefore, four types of "color" may be involved; and, if so, Smith reminds us, there will be a tendency for "genealogical" and "phenotypical" "color" to correspond, and also for "associational" and "cultural" "color" to correspond. The basis, character, and range of the variations in these four types will be significant aspects of the social system in question, the definition of which gives us, in M. G. Smith's terminology, "structural color" (56).

In addition to the ambiguity which the meaning of the term "color" injects into any attempt to describe the Brazilian situation, this term is inadequate in still another way. If there be no strictly racial *groups* in Brazil, there also are not even color groups; or if there be, they are in an amorphous, tentative, and unstable form. What one finds is more a series

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of statistical aggregates, as Nogueira (1955:546) has observed, "clear to the observer but not so clear to the observed," as someone has said, and as census takers (e.g., IBGE 8–9) and many other careful investigators have discovered.

Another source of confusion is the extensive and uncritical attention given by some writers to race (or color) prejudice. For there are those who maintain that there is prejudice in Brazil, and there are those who maintain that there is not; but there is also a third group who admit that prejudice exists but who see it as only a part of the total situation, and certainly not causal to it, as some writers appear to do; and who also insist—and most importantly—upon an analysis regarding its precise character and extent.

At Bahia, in 1935, prejudice seemed to play so small a part in the total social situation that we gave little attention to it; and we have been somewhat surprised to see how much that little attention has attracted the interest of some commentators, occasionally to the exclusion of the rest of the study. Since so much has been written in recent years about prejudice in Brazil, particularly with reference to the central and southern portions of the country, and since this is, in our judgment, one of the sources of confusion, it may be useful to give some consideration here to just what is involved in that concept.

"Prejudice" and "discrimination" are similar, but different, terms. Yet they are employed synonymously by some writers. In literature, the use of synonyms is a useful and defensible procedure; but, in science, concepts must be defined with care and used with precision. Fruitful discussion is impossible if different observers attach different meanings to the same terms.

Discrimination is an act; prejudice is an attitude. An act

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can be observed; prejudice can only be inferred. In any given case of discrimination, therefore, all observers can agree upon it, granted only that their criteria are common. In cases of prejudice, however, agreement is more difficult: as with all attitudes, it is not easy to determine with accuracy and precision why a person behaves in a certain way. Prejudice can be arrived at only by observing discrimination; and the inference may be wrong.

Discrimination is inequality of treatment. It occurs in many cases, one thing or another being responsible. It may be either individual or social in origin, and either in favor of or against a given individual or group. In an ordinarily light form it may be observed in the treatment, for instance, of parents toward children. A child in many, if not most, cultures is not permitted to do everything that an adult is allowed to do. However, to ascribe prejudice against children to this parental behavior in most cases would be absurd; prejudice may at times be present, but it is comparatively rare.

Brazil is full of discrimination—as, in fact, are all countries. There is discrimination with reference to children; to women (cf. Luis Edmundo 153, 211 ff., 240); to foreigners; to "Cariocas" (residents of Rio de Janeiro) and to "Nortistas" (inhabitants of the "North") on the part of "Paulistas" (residents of São Paulo); to Protestant belief and practice; to class, a particularly rigorous discrimination, one of long standing and a tenacious one; with reference to color, owing to color's long identification with a slave condition and its current role as a criterion of rank; and also, at times, with reference to race, in the case of an occasional intellectual influenced by racist literature or by political ideologies with racist content; or certain European immigrants new to

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Brazil and "shocked" (cf. Roger Bastide 1955:130) upon meeting colored persons for the first time, and those whom they may have influenced; or certain families of the upper and middle classes who are extremely proud of their Caucasian, or near-Caucasian, descent, and especially those who are sensitive to their country incorrectly being called by Argentines or others a "Negro country"; or business men concerned about the attitudes of prospective customers from countries like the United States where race is a crucial issue; or, occasionally, even of persons whose unfavorable attitudes have been derived from their own individual experiences.

This limited amount of discrimination in Brazil on the basis of race, however, let us hasten to point out, is of individual—and not general—character. It is doubtful if it springs from the local mores, either as these were developed historically in Brazil's past or currently are present. This is borne out by the fact that discrimination on the basis of either race or color, when made known, receives widespread condemnation, as witness the mob action outside a German-owned store in Rio de Janeiro in 1940 (Tavares de Sá 1947: 30–31), and the vigorous condemnation in local organs of public opinion—and the law which Brazilian legislators then hastened to pass—when a hotel-keeper in São Paulo, in 1950, refused rooms to a colored actress from the United States and her troop.[8]

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[8] In our judgment, the motivation of this discrimination—as also that in a similar case at a hotel in Rio de Janeiro—has sometimes been misinterpreted. Since the discrimination occurred at the city's most "traditional" hotel of the time, it is likely that there also may have been involved the traditional conception of, and depreciatory attitudes toward, actresses, especially when travelling in mixed groups of men and women—attitudes long characteristic of the Brazilian mores. The discrimination may also

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Although discrimination may reflect prejudice, however, it is not itself prejudice. Consequently, it is erroneous to use these terms interchangeably. It also is a questionable procedure always to see race prejudice, as some authors tend to do, in every case of discrimination which involves a colored person; or, if not race prejudice, at least prejudice on the basis of color. Any given case in Brazil is apt to be complex and to "merit further study," as Edgard T. Santana (1951), a perceptive colored physician in São Paulo, reminds us, and as is recognized also by Thales de Azevedo (e.g., 1955a:111) in Bahia; René Ribeiro (1956: 136 ff.) in Recife; L. A. Costa Pinto (1952:324) in Rio de Janeiro; Oracy Nogueira (1955: 548n) at Itapetininga; and Roger Bastide (1943a:32) in São Paulo. One or another type of prejudice may be present but not necessarily so, as we believe will be clear from the paragraphs that follow.

Race prejudice is an attitude; in other words, it is a tendency to act. It is a tendency to act in an adverse way toward a member of another actual or assumed racial group, automatically and, in some cases, even against one's will. Although held by individuals, it is not however an individual attitude, but a product of group experience; it is held, in general, by all members of the racial group in question; and it is directed against all members of another racial group. Being

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have been motivated, in part, by business considerations, in anticipation of the attitudes of white guests from the United States who at that time were arriving in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro in increasing numbers (cf. Frazier 1944:268). At least it is true that a colored professor and his wife, both of whom in the local conception would have been classified as prêtos (but whose dress and manners clearly indicated that they were of at least middle-class position) previously had been guests for more than a week in this same hotel, and had taken meals in the main dining room (one in the company of the present author and his wife), without the slightest evidence of any discrimination.

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thus a collective phenomenon, it lies in the field of public opinion and public sentiment, as Ellsworth Faris has pointed out (355). It is "the other end of one type of loyalty" to one's own group, a fact which makes it easy for individuals to rationalize even the most bizarre behavior and to offer plausible (to them) reasons for it; and any manifestation of this race prejudice, in turn, intensifies loyalty to the group.

However, as Herbert Blumer (1939) reminds us, race prejudice is not a unitary attitude; that is, it is not a single feeling, like dislike or hatred, but, instead, as the study of racial situations has shown, it is made up of a number of different feelings and also impulses, including, perhaps, distrust, apprehension, fear, dread, envy, resentment, feelings of obligation and of guilt, sexual and possessive impulses as well as even destructive impulses.

The origin of race prejudice is not to be found in biological aversion to the members of another race, a conclusion which confuses instinct with custom; and, although cultural differences and the ethnocentrism which they evoke, as well as also economic competition, as we have pointed out in another connection (1950), may be predisposing circumstances for the appearance of race prejudice in any given case—and perhaps even necessary ones—these are *not* the determining conditions. Analyses of social orders in which race prejudice is most pronounced indicate that another—and absolutely indispensable—characteristic must also be present; and that is a shared feeling, on the part of the members of a superordinate racial group, that there exists either an actual or an immediately potential threat of their being displaced from an established social position. The greater and more imminent the threat that is sensed, the greater is likely to be the race prejudice.

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In a more recent publication (1958), Blumer has emphasized this "sense of group position." Although there ordinarily are present in the minds of the members of any dominant racial group "a feeling that the subordinate race is intrinsically different and alien," and also a feeling of superiority toward the members of this subordinate race, these two feelings alone, as Blumer clearly points out, do *not* constitute race prejudice. They amount merely to ethnocentrism, a common characteristic of all groups.[9] There ordinarily is present also "a feeling of proprietary claim to certain areas of privilege and advantage"; and this feeling is usually quite strong. But even when this is added to the sense of superiority and of distinctiveness mentioned above, we do not yet have race prejudice. As Blumer (4) reminds us, these three feelings are often present in social orders "showing no prejudice"; for example, in settled and long-established relations between conquerors and conquered in certain forms of feudalism; in caste structures; and in societies of chiefs and commoners.

[9] From this point of view, common sayings regarding colored persons which are mentioned with a smile and in jocular tone (see pp. 362–65 of this book) are not necessarily evidence of race prejudice; as also are not those pejorative words or phrases which accompany them or are sometimes used alone. Survivals of a slave epoch, they are now merely verbal behavior which ordinarily is belied by conduct, as several observers have noted (e.g., Thales de Azevedo 1959:154; Wagley 1963a:140; 1963b:150; Harris 1964:60), and they often are employed by colored persons themselves in banter, even in the presence of brancos (cf. Nogueira 1955:508n). At most, these sayings and terms reflect the ethnocentrism characteristic of all groups. To see them in perspective, one should recall the extensive use in Brazil of similar terms and sayings with reference to the *Portuguese* and, in Portugal, with reference to the *Brazilians;* as well as the use in the United States of "city slicker," "country bumpkin," "flatlander," and "the great unwashed." These all are pejorative terms; and they also are ethnocentric terms, reflecting a sense of superiority and of satisfaction that "We are not as thou art."

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In addition to these three prerequisite (but not yet determining) conditions, there also has to be present a fourth *and determining* one, namely, fear or apprehension that the subordinate racial group threatens, or is about to threaten, the privileged position of the dominant group. Race prejudice is thus a defense mechanism in the face of a *threatened group position*,[10] and it refers to the position of group to group and not merely of individual to individual, like one finds in Brazil.

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As we have been disposed to use the term in this book and elsewhere (cf. Pierson 1944, 1950), then, it is doubtful if there is in Bahia anything which can justifiably be called *race prejudice*. Instructive in this respect is the fact that, from interviews, and also a study of news dispatches, editorials and advertisements in local newspapers, of books published locally, and of local folklore, Thales de Azevedo (1959:149) found the following terms used to describe prêtos at Bahia: "natural kindness," "sweetness of disposition," "loyalty," "seriousness," "humility," "submission," "resignation," "a white soul," "ignorance," "little intelligence," "boldness," and "credulity." Although a few of these terms evidently reflect the sense of superiority characteristic of ethnocentrism and others reflect an undoubted lack of prestige on the part of many prêtos, they hardly reflect any degree whatever of distrust, apprehension, fear, dread, or resentment; nor any degree of aversion, antipathy, antagonism, hostility, or hate, such as one also ordinarily finds in cases of race prejudice.

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There is no question that *discrimination* exists; and also

[10] This sense of group position is not a sense of status, as this is ordinarily conceived, "for it refers not merely to vertical positioning but to many other lines of position independent of the vertical dimension" (Blumer 1958:5).

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that this discrimination at times involves colored persons. In this study undertaken thirty years ago that fact is stated (e.g., p. 350): and it has been extensively documented since.[11] The question is regarding the ascription of the reasons for this discrimination. Obviously, there are involved at times colored persons, the darker in such cases ordinarily the more, the lighter ordinarily the less. But this discrimination is automatically—and unjustifiably—assumed by some writers to be synonymous with race prejudice.

In the present author's judgment, based upon a careful and sympathetic reading and analysis of all these men have written in this respect, they are not dealing with race prejudice at all, at least as we have defined that term above. They are dealing instead, in different connections, with two sets of circumstances: a large number of cases where the referent is color, because color, in Brazil, is one of the criteria of rank; and, in the second place, a limited number of cases where the referent definitely is race but the attitudes are *individual* attitudes, individually derived and individually supported, and not general attitudes, originating in, and implemented by, the mores, as is the case with race prejudice.

Although race purists occasionally are to be found in Brazil, they represent, as Freyre has observed (1945:153),

[11] See, for example, Thales de Azevedo (1955a:95 ff.; 1956:84–85; 1959:97–101), Nelson de Souza Sampaio (1944), and Aniela Ginsberg (1947) for Bahia; René Ribeiro (1956) for Recife; Oracy Nogueira (1942), Virginia Bicudo (1955), Roger Bastide and Florestan Fernandes (1955), Aniela Ginsberg (1955), and Carolina Martuscelli (1950) for São Paulo; Stanley Stein (1957) for Vassouras in the Paraíba valley; L. A. Costa Pinto (1953) for Rio de Janeiro; Octávio Ianni (1962), Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1960, 1962), and these two authors jointly (1960) for southern Brazil; and C. R. Boxer (1953, 1962, 1963), particularly in historical retrospect, both in Brazil and among Portuguese colonies in Asia and Africa.

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"a very small and even ridiculous group"; and—what is even more important for our interest here—the attitudes involved are individually derived attitudes: they are held by discrete individuals or by an occasional family or group of families; they are not general attitudes which have been derived from the experience of the Brazilian people as a whole, and especially in the midst of grave apprehension that an established group position is threatened.

In those cases where the referent is color, these authors are dealing, as we suggested many years ago, with the color overtones of class distinction, for color is one of the criteria of rank. However, it is only *one* criterion; and its value in relation to the other criteria will vary with the individual in question, with his personal experience and relationships, and —what is most important—it *can be overbalanced* by the demonstrated possession of other and compensatory criteria of rank.[12] These are not the characteristics of a situation of race prejudice.

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It is the opinion of Emilio Willems (1949:407), a shrewd observer of the Brazilian scene for many years, particularly in São Paulo, that adverse positioning with reference to persons of color exists "only as a discreet attitude among small minorities of white middle- and upper-class people"; and that, even among these individuals, there is considerable doubt that "any kind of consensus" has emerged regarding either the forms or the degree of discrimination. In other words, we are dealing here with a basically class—and not a strictly racial or even a strictly color—phenomenon; and

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[12] Conversely, its value can be *intensified* by a lack of other criteria. "Light-skinned individuals who rank extremely low in terms of educational and occupational criteria," as Harris (1962:59) also has observed, "are frequently regarded as actually being darker in color than they really are."

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also with a series of attitudes characteristic of a *statistical aggregate* rather than of a group, in the sociological sense of that term. Melville J. Herskovits (1942:35) also noted that this attitude "is personal and not institutionalized."

Mario de Andrade (1939), a perceptive man of color and of prestige in São Paulo, called our attention many years ago to a tendency to exaggerate the role of color and thus to confuse discrimination based strictly on color differences with discrimination on the basis of class differences. Referring to "a very curious documentation" presented by "a writer of colored origin" during a public address in São Paulo, Mario de Andrade writes that "in spite of its being very interesting," this documentation "appeared to be little convincing as evidence of color prejudice. . . . It was a documentation of class and not of color." Tavares de Sá (36) also has noted that "a coincidence between social position and the amount of colored blood makes one sometimes take for race prejudice what is merely class prejudice"; and this is the opinion also of Guerreiro Ramos when he writes that the frustrations of men of color in Brazil "are attributed to racial prejudice when, many times, they should be attributed to that of class."[12]

Noting what has impressed many persons, namely, that class in Brazil coincides largely with color, Nestor Duarte (171–72) of Bahia reminds us, however, that "it is more an economic and social than a color criterion that divides brancos, prêtos and mixed-bloods in Brazilian society"; while Felte Bezerra (1956:504) of Aracaju, observing that color and class largely coincide there also, reminds us, nevertheless, that "he who rises in class frees himself from the peril of slights or barriers by reason of color." Bastide also

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[12] Interview in *Diário Trabalhista* (Rio de Janeiro), March 24, 1946.

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long held this position. "The line which separates him (the man of color) from the branco," Bastide (1943a:29–30) once wrote, "is not a caste line but one of class; and the proof is that, as the descendant of the African rises in the community, the doors of the houses of the brancos open to him." This certainly does not describe a situation of race prejudice. The shrewd observer, James Bryce (470), also saw the distinction, in a similar situation, as one "of rank or class rather than of color."

In their analyses of the local "racial" situation several writers in Brazil refer of course to the relationship of the colored with the brancos; but almost without exception the relationship described is with the brancos of the *upper* and *middle* classes,[14] almost never with the brancos of the lower class. This is one of the reasons why there is a tendency to see a racial, or at least a color, struggle where in many—if not most—cases class competition is involved; class competition into which color of course enters, since it is a criterion of rank, but not *per se*, alone, and determinantly.

There is no doubt that color is one of the criteria of rank in Brazil; and, *all else being equal*, the darker the pigmentation, the lower the rank, and the less the pigmentation, the higher the rank. However, this is merely the same situation that exists with reference to all the other criteria: the lower the status of the family to which one belongs, all else being equal, the lower the rank, and the higher the social standing of that family, all else being equal, the higher the rank; the less a person's education, all else being equal, the lower his

[14] This limiting feature extends to several of the attitude and "social distance" studies reported to date in the Brazilian literature. This is clearly stated by Thales de Azevedo (1959:146) and René Ribeiro (1956:157); but unfortunately it is not so clearly recognized by several other writers.

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rank, and the more extensive that education, all else being equal, the higher the rank; etc.

The principal difficulty in this connection—and one which sometimes leads to a misinterpretation of the Brazilian scene—is that of giving inadequate attention to the determinants of rank in a given case. One sees a person who is not fully accepted, or even is discriminated against, and one also notes that this person is of African ancestry. The observer—particularly if he be from the United States—then assumes that the discrimination is due to race; or, if not to race, at least to color. In other words, D (discrimination) is immediately linked in a casual connection with R (race), or with C (color).

Usually, however, the situation in any given case in Brazil is more complex: D may be due also to E (low educational level); or to L (low economic condition); or to F (membership in a family of low status); or to P (certain unfavorable personal characteristics which carry low-status value); or to PF, PE, or PL; or to FE, or FL; or to EL; or to PEF, PEL, or EFL; or, still further, to PFEL or, even, PFELX.[15] Any given case is likely to be quite complex and to require careful and thorough analysis.

But if the fact that color is one of the several criteria of rank is to be cited as evidence of color *prejudice*, then one logically must conclude that all the other criteria of rank also have their prejudice counterparts; so that there is low-family-origin prejudice, low-financial-condition prejudice, low-educational-achievement prejudice, and inadequate-personal-characteristics prejudice. Perhaps so. But does this not represent an overworking of the term? Would it not be more

[15] We thus arrive at the extreme case—which unfortunately is that of many descendants of former slaves—namely, PFELXC.

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accurate to say that there is discrimination in Brazil on the basis of family origin, financial condition, educational achievement, personal characteristics—*and color?*

It nevertheless is true that the indelible character of color makes it somewhat different from the other criteria of rank. Always visible, it automatically and inevitably carries over into any situation of improved status. It cannot be hidden in new contacts nor entirely forgotten in the old, as readily occurs to a former condition of poverty, a former lack of education, or formerly immature or otherwise inadequate personal characteristics. Even relationship to a low-status family can be put "out of sight" to some extent merely by moving to a new community where one's family origin is unknown; or, if known, often imperfectly so.

That none of these former marks of low status continue to cling in the same way as color to the individual who has risen in rank in one of the reasons for some of the confusion regarding the precise character of the Brazilian "racial" situation. Some observers point out the undoubted opportunities of rising in rank, *in spite of color;* while others stress the difficulties in the way—difficulties not only of a colored person rising in rank at all but also with reference to the after-effects, sociologically, in his group relations (Florestan Fernandes 1955; 1964), and psychologically, as far as his inner life is concerned (Bastide 1943b), especially if he be a particularly sensitive or perhaps a pathological individual, as the poet Cruz e Sousa may have been.[16]

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Moreover, it is more difficult for a colored woman to rise in rank than for a colored man, because one more criterion of status is thus brought into play, namely, female sex; for, traditionally in Brazil male sex has been valorized and female

[16] See Emiliano Pernetta, p. 3, *apud Ianni* (1962:264).

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sex depreciated, although this situation, in more recent years and especially in the cities, is changing.

That we are not dealing with merely racial phenomena, then, is borne out by the thousands of persons scattered across the colored continuum, of at least partial and sometimes of considerable African descent, who have escaped socially (and openly) into the branco category and been accepted by brancos;[17] and that we are also dealing with a class, rather than with a color phenomenon alone, is borne out, first of all, by the fact that the discrimination[18] which all observers note—and which some think either constitutes or reflects prejudice—virtually does not exist among the *lower* class, but tends to appear only as one proceeds up the class scale.[19] In Brazil, as Bastide has pointed out with reference to São Paulo, to see a race problem among members of the lower class would be absurd. "In the poorer sections of the city," Bastide (1955:137) has written, "where the brancos live in promiscuity with blacks, any prejudice would be ridiculous." Frazier (1944:266) also recognized this absence of discrimination in the lower class; and that was our conclusion at Cruz das Almas (cf. 1951:190 ff.).

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[17] If it be suggested that many light-colored persons also escape into the white group in the United States, the difference is that, in every case, this is not known to the whites; and, if it does become known later, the individual will automatically be put back into the "Negro" category, a possibility which, in Brazil, would everywhere be considered absurd, as Freyre long ago pointed out.

[18] It should of course be clear that we are using "discrimination" here only as defined above, and that we do not imply that persons in the lower class are unaware of physical differences.

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[19] Although it may be possible to find an occasional branco among the lower-status groups who shows some measure of withdrawal from colored persons, and who even may speak disapprovingly of them, he will in all likelihood turn out to be a person with an ambitious desire to rise in rank, who holds similar attitudes toward all "pobres" (the lower-class poor), regardless of color (cf. Virginia Bicudo 1955:270).

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In fact, the great mass of lower-class brancos, mixed-bloods and prêtos share very much a common life. As Nogueira (1955:513) observed at Itapetininga, there is a "more complete fraternization between colored and brancos in the less-favored stratum." This situation is *just the reverse* of that in South Africa, or of that in the United States, where the most intense and implacable race prejudice in each country is to be found among the "poor whites." Whatever be the type of "prejudice" which those who write about "prejudice" in Brazil are dealing with, then, it is almost without exception "prejudice" in the upper and middle classes; and consequently it is more of class, rather than of strictly racial, or even of merely color, character. For, if discrimination is comparatively absent in the lower class but, as Bastide (1955: 131, 132) observed in São Paulo even with reference to immigrants, "increases as one climbs up the class scale," are we not observing a primarily class phenomenon?

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That we are dealing more with class than with color, *per se*, is further borne out by the comparative lack of either race- or color-consciousness among colored persons in the lower ranks[20] and by their widespread insistence, on the contrary, that "there is no prejudice in Brazil," an attitude which puzzles (and even gives concern) to some observers. It also is borne out by the strong adverse feeling which lower-class colored sometimes direct toward other colored persons who have managed to rise in class and who, like successful newcomers to New York, tend to "forget" former friends "back

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[20] Some informants at Bahia say that political agitators have attempted to foster and to exploit color antagonism as an aid in the class struggle which they hope to exacerbate (Thales de Azevedo 1955a:106); but, although this agitation has had some effect, particularly among frustrated individuals, it apparently has had little to feed upon except resentment against the world in general.

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home" (Florestan Fernandes 1955:160; Bastide 1955:163); and also by the acceptance—and use—on the part of certain individuals of dark color who have risen in rank of derogatory statements regarding colored persons, but only with reference to those in ranks *below* themselves (Bastide 1955: 163).

Much emphasis is laid by some writers upon the presence in the lower ranks of the Brazilian economic order of a large mass of underprivileged colored; and this fact repeatedly is cited as evidence of a disharmonious racial situation in Brazil, and even of race, or at least color, prejudice. It is claimed that this fact defines the racial situation. In a restricted sense, it may do so to some extent, in that it points out the economic effects coming down to today of the long "shadow of the plantation," in the expressive phrase of Charles S. Johnson;[21] but in a more inclusive sense it is only one aspect of the total situation. Moreover, it often is either assumed or left to be assumed by implication that this unequal distribution is due entirely to discrimination, hostility, and prejudice on the part of brancos. This is too simple a conclusion. It should not be forgotten that hundreds of thousands of brancos are themselves in these lower ranks. In fact, the great mass of the Brazilian population, *both colored and branco,* is still concentrated on these low economic levels, "belonging to the same class, without regard to color," as Willems has observed, "and not to two different class systems, as in the United States."

Besides, there always has been a great "gulf" between the lower and the upper classes in Brazil, a "gulf" which is extremely difficult to cross, whatever be the color of the individual. Except in recent years—and only in a few metro-

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[21] *Shadow of the Plantation* (Chicago, 1934).

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politan areas even then—as we have pointed out above, there has scarcely been anything like a "middle class," to help individuals from the lower ranks cross over this "gulf." One should also recall that during the colonial period and long thereafter rural properties were extensively in the hands of the dominant class, so that the means of wealth in a predominantly agricultural country, except as it derived from a comparatively low scale of wages, from share cropping, or from small holdings (particularly in São Paulo and Minas Gerais), were largely out of the reach of all persons in the lower and intermediate ranks, whatever their color. This situation presented an almost insuperable problem to slaves and their descendants, who began competing in a free society with slender or no financial resources, minus, in most cases, even the occupational skills possessed by many immigrants, without even a "foot" on or even near the "ladder," so to speak. It also required Herculean effort to educate themselves or their children under conditions of an inadequate school system even for the upper ranks, to acquire skills, and to improve their personal and occupational competence so as to obtain the ability to compete, without which it would be impossible to rise. The basic problem in this respect therefore, has been—and still is—an *economic* and *educational* problem, not a racial problem at all. William L. Schurz (106) sees it as a "time lag."

Some authors point to the use of the derogatory term "*mulatto pernóstico*" (p. 230 of this book) as indicative of race, or at least color, prejudice. However, Thales de Azevedo more correctly reminds us (1955a:60) that the disapproval and even at times hostility revealed in the use of this term is not directed against the mulattoes as a group at all. Instead, the judgments involved are applied to certain individuals, *as*

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individuals. In a society with aristocratic traditions like that of Bahia, Thales de Azevedo (73–74) reminds us, the etiquette between persons of different levels is an extremely important consideration, so that a person whose manners imply a degree of intimacy or a conception of role out of keeping with the actual situation as commonly defined is always looked upon with disfavor, even if he be a white. It is not race, nor is it color, which is actually involved here; it is a matter far more inclusive, namely, good form for *any* person.

Just how important *is* color as a criterion of rank in Brazil? Some writers, particularly those acquainted at first hand with the United States, or who are unconsciously influenced by a knowledge of the racial situation here or elsewhere, give it primary attention. In this justified?

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As indicated in the Preface, a brief survey of the role of certain criteria in determining social rank in Brazil was made, previous to preparing this Introduction. Five of the presumably most significant criteria were employed: family affiliation, economic condition, personal competence, educational achievement—and color.[22] The respondents were university students in Bahia and four other Brazilian cities: Recife, João Pessoa, Vitória and São Paulo. Each of these criteria was paired with each of the others; and respondents were then asked their preference between, for instance, 1) being poor and belonging to a family of prestige and 2) being rich and belonging to a family of low standing; or between 1) having little education and being a branco and 2) having a "good" education and being a prêto; etc. In addition, prefer-

[22] This is, of course, not a complete list of criteria used in Brazil. To it should probably be added: type of occupation, living level, certain personal and social characteristics of capital importance in determining prestige and position (cf., for instance, p. 205 of this book; Pierson 1951: 200–205), and perhaps others.

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ences were asked regarding the "most important" characteristic in a marriage partner, the "second most important" characteristic, and the "least important."

This preliminary inquiry is probably not worthy of being published in full here or elsewhere, since the replies are too limited in number, the samples need greater care regarding their representativeness, and the presentation of questions perhaps was not under the rigorous control necessary to obtain common situations of response. Nevertheless, if we bear in mind that these are preliminary and tentative data, they do at least afford some clues regarding the "racial" situation in Brazil, at least sufficiently to raise hypotheses for further testing.

Pending further and more thorough investigation, then, at least certain tendencies in these samples may be quoted, especially where the stated preferences were as high as approximately five to one. In Bahia, for instance, this decidedly clear preference appeared in two cases (considering only those choices in which color figured): an approximately five to one preference for "belonging to a family with prestige and being a mixed-blood," in contrast to "belonging to a family of low standing and being a branco"; and an approximately five to one preference also for "having a 'good' education and being a mixed-blood," in contrast to "having little education and being a branco." At least a three to one preference was indicated also for "being rich and a mixed-blood," in contrast to "being poor and a branco"; and also for "having a 'good' education and being a prêto," in contrast to "having little education and being a branco." The approximately two to one preference for "belonging to a family of prestige and being a prêto," in contrast to "belonging to a family of low standing and being a branco," and the approximately equal preference between "being rich and a

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prêto" and "being poor and a branco," are perhaps too indecisive for statistical validity, considering the smallness of the sample.

Whatever the limitations of this preliminary survey, however, there would appear to be a strong presumption—at least this hypothesis might be advanced for further testing—that, in determining rank at Bahia, the possession of white color is of *less* importance than certain other criteria.

In choosing a marriage partner, students at Bahia considered to be "most important" personal competence, followed closely by extent of education. Only three respondents selected family affiliation (indicating, probably, that a shift in the traditional attitudes in this respect is well under way); and none selected economic condition. Nor did anyone mention color as the "most important" criterion. Chosen as the "second most important" was extent of education, closely followed by personal competence, family affiliation, and economic condition, in that order. Color was selected as "*least* important" was color, a striking fact, since, in such a situation as that involved in these selections many observers think the so-called "acid test" of any racial situation lies.

Although the sample from each of the five cities is too small to measure the variations between these cities with any reliability, the five samples taken as a whole, at least in those cases where consistencies appear throughout, can perhaps give us at least preliminary data on possible tendencies in Brazil, pending, of course, further and more complete investigation.

When choosing a life partner, these students in all five cities considered the "most important" criterion to be: first, extent of education; and, then, personal competence, family

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affiliation, economic condition, and color, in that order. There was a surprisingly high degree of concordance in all five cities, the highest number of selections in each case being either personal competence or educational achievement. These two criteria were also most chosen as the "second most important" in all cities except one (where economic condition received the highest number of preferences for second place). As the "least important" criterion in a marriage partner, color was overwhelmingly selected in all cities, without exception.

What do these data mean? Are they illusory, by reason of flaws in the investigative tool? Do they point even more sharply to what some careful investigators have suggested regarding the differences between verbal and actual behavior? Or, taking into due consideration the admitted limitations of this preliminary survey, and taking also into consideration possible variants in verbal as contrasted with actual behavior, does there not still remain a strong likelihood that the role of color has been exaggerated by certain investigators who are familiar with other racial situations and simply cannot believe what lies before them? Or by local investigators who are in revolt regarding what they consider to be an overemphasis on Brazil's being a "racial democracy" and have deliberately set out to prove the reverse and in so doing have emphasized unduly certain limited aspects of the total situation and thus thrown the "picture" out of focus?

Wagley (1963b:152) reports that the hypotheses which emerged out of our study of Bahia were reaffirmed, in general, by the studies which he and his associates made in the same state and in the Amazon valley. They appear to be acceptable to the Bahian researcher, Thales de Azevedo; as well as to Fèlte Bezerra (1950; 1956), with reference to the

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neighboring state of Sergipe.[23] Wagley (1963b:152–53) considered as "among the most important" of these generalizations portions of hypotheses 17 and 22, as well as the concluding paragraph, and restated them as follows: 1) "Brazil is a multi-racial class[24] society distinct from India, for example, where the social order is based upon the principle of caste and from those parts of the world where a national or racial minority (or minorities) is in free association with, but not accepted by, a dominant national or racial majority"; 2) "prejudice exists in Brazil; but it is *class* rather than *race* prejudice"; 3) "this does not mean that there are no social distinctions in Brazil. . . . Neither does it mean that there is no discrimination or that blacks or mixed-bloods are completely satisfied with their lot. But it does mean (a) that a man of color may, by reason of individual merit or favorable circumstances, improve his status and even achieve position in the upper levels of society, and (b) that this position will then be with reference not merely to the darker group whose color he shares but to the total community."

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In the Recôncavo area around the city of Bahia, Hutchinson (1957) and Costa Pinto (1958) report a shift under way in the relations between laborer and employer, from the formerly personal and face-to-face relations of the colonial and subsequent periods to those of a more contractual character,

[23] The statement on p. 134 of this book to the effect that a strictly-drawn color line would have to pass through families also has been noted by many other observers, including Frazier (1944:166) and Nelson de Souza Sampaio (1944) at Bahia; Freyre (1959:8) at Recife; and Willems (1949:407) at São Paulo.

[24] It is perhaps obvious that neither Wagley nor the present author uses the term "class" in the sense popular today in certain circles, wherein the "classes" and the "masses" are distinguished. On the contrary, it seems legitimate to include all persons in the class structure, whatever their rank,

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as the old patriarchal order continues to decline and industrialization increases; a shift which is intensified by the secularization deriving from the increasingly metropolitan character of the area and by the gradual emergence of new social groups. Have these and the other changes sketched above been sufficient to alter the character of the "racial" situation at Bahia since our original study was made? After a careful survey of the studies in the area in recent years, it seems to us that the evidence would lead one to agree with Wagley:[25] "Change has occurred, but *not* that much."

As Thales de Azevedo has pointed out (1955a:197), however, the possibilities of colored persons rising in class are increasing at Bahia; and many observers believe that this rise will continue to increase in the future. As this alteration in rank extends to continually larger and larger numbers of previously underprivileged individuals, greater strains and pressures probably will be exerted throughout the social order. For one thing, as Bahia continues to grow into a larger and larger metropolitan center, relations will be more difficult to maintain on a primary and face-to-face basis; and, for another, the anticipated industrialization, deriving from the extraction of petroleum resources in the area and the utilization of the recently-developed electric power on the São Francisco river, will in all likelihood augment the presently increasing anonymity and make relations more contractual and categoric. Moreover, as educational opportunities increase and extend downward further into the masses of previously unlettered individuals, thus adding to the effects of these other processes, the social order of Bahia may alter, perhaps markedly.

Wagley (1955:12) writes that "many" of the hypotheses

[25] In a letter to the author.

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advanced in our study also describe regions "located far beyond the limits of the city of Bahia." Do these hypotheses also hold true, in general, for all Brazil? An extensive bibliography regarding the "racial" situation outside the Bahian area was analyzed in preparation for this Introduction, but limitations of space obviously make a detailed consideration of these studies impossible here.[26] One might suggest briefly, however, certain variants between Bahia, on the one hand, and, for instance, São Paulo, on the other.

The development of plantations came relatively late to the state of São Paulo, in comparison with northern Brazil; in fact, not many years before emancipation. As Samuel H. Lowrie (1938:9) reminds us, this area throughout much of its history saw few Africans or their descendants, in comparison to the plantation areas of the northeast coast. The "extreme poverty" of its early colonists did not permit the purchase of African slaves; nor was there at that time much demand for them, owing to the absence of plantations and the relative facility with which Amerindian slaves could be obtained for other services. The relations of master to slave involving Africans and their descendants began for most São Paulo owners when they were away from home, in search of gold or diamonds in Minas Gerais. These contacts on the whole were probably more categoric and less primary than those which ordinarily developed on the northern plantations. Although miscegenation involving Amerindians was basic to the formation of the original population of São Paulo, miscegenation involving Africans and their descendants, not only then but later, was much less here than in Bahia, Sergipe, or Pernambuco. Besides, European immigra-

[26] Perhaps such will appear elsewhere. Attention already has been called to a few of these materials (Pierson 1955).

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tion into these three old plantation areas has been negligible since the colonial era, while that into São Paulo and other parts of central and southern Brazil has been extensive. Occupational competition between immigrants and colored persons developed in São Paulo even before emancipation; and in the year preceding it, 1887, violence broke out in the capital city between colored persons and Italians (Richard M. Morse 1958:194n). Frazier (1944:266) was of the opinion that discrimination on the basis of color was more marked in São Paulo (as well as also in Santa Catarina and Paraná) than in the North (cf. also p. 342 of this present book with reference to Rio Grande do Sul). This variation Frazier ascribed to the presence of immigrants and the variant attitudes which they had brought into and disseminated in Brazil; to the competition of colored persons with these immigrants for jobs; and to the fact that colored persons here were "a conspicuous minority in a predominantly white population." In more recent years also, in areas of greater industrialization like that of São Paulo, a more extensive distribution of the descendants of slaves throughout the occupational structure has occurred (Florestan Fernandes 1955:53), and there has been a consequent increase in their acquisition of occupational skills and experience, in their incomes, and in the opportunities for the schooling of their children.

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It is thus possible that in central and southern Brazil—with the interrelated and cumulative effects of this improved occupational and educational position on the part of colored individuals and their perhaps more extensive rise into at least the intermediate ranks; with certain deviational conceptions, attitudes and behavior among white minorities (Willems 1949:402; Bastide 1955:128 ff.) and among other persons influenced by them; with the economic competition that long

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has been in process between immigrants and their descendants, on the one hand, and the colored (particularly those of improved status), on the other; with the increasing shift, in the metropolitan and industrial centers, from a greater degree of primary contacts to a condition of increasing anonymity and of contractual relations; and with increasing knowledge, on the part of colored persons, of the emergence of full-fledged African nations, and of the occupational and political gains of colored persons in the United States—it is possible that, under these conditions, opposition based on color (since color is one of the criteria of rank) has been more noted and resented by colored individuals; more noted and resented by an originally limited but perhaps now increasing number, particularly among the middle class, who feel frustrated for one reason or another, including at times either actual or suspected discrimination on the basis of color, as is reflected in the organizations set up occasionally by group-conscious individuals, although these organizations ordinarily turn out to be on the whole rather amorphous, ineffectual, and impermanent.

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Nevertheless, a careful but sympathetic analysis will show, we believe, that much[27] that has been written in recent years about the "racial" situation in central and southern Brazil is both a limited and a negative approach to the problem. Interest arises as a natural—and even healthy—reaction to overstatements about "racial democracy" in Brazil. It then takes the narrow channel of a partially conscious but largely unwitting effort to prove that prejudice exists. The more careful investigators, however, as we have noted, start with "color prejudice," rather than with "race prejudice," or switch to the former in the course of research or in subsequent

[27] But not all.

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writing. Nevertheless, little attempt is made to define what is meant by prejudice, or to seek to differentiate between its types,[28] or—what is more important—to see it in perspective in the total situation.

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That this approach gives, in substance, a limited view of reality is suggested by one of these writers when Bastide warns us about his and Fernandes' 1951–53[29] studies. "These . . . deal with the problem of color in São Paulo," Bastide writes (1959:xviii). "It is therefore natural that that problem alone should be focalized. But these studies may give the reader a false idea if he supposes that everything revolves around color. One of the most interesting results of the life histories collected in which the narrator let himself be carried along without restriction by his memories was the verification that the problems or frictions produced by color were only *momentos* (moments), and that, in its entirety, the life of prêtos does not show anything of constant tragedy. It is necessary to have this fact in mind," Bastide concludes, "as one reads these studies regarding the racial situation in São Paulo."

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Owing to limitations of space, it is not possible to consider here in any adequate way the circumstances which produced the "racial" situation in Bahia and in Brazil. Perhaps a study of this problem will appear elsewhere.

[28] Oracy Nogueira, on the other hand, distinguishes between what he calls "prejudice of mark," based upon "visible and external characteristics," and "prejudice of origin," whose referent is the racial past of an individual and which, as Bezerra writes (1956:515), "disappears among us with the extinction or diminution of the physical traits [associated with it]." Nogueira thinks of the latter as characteristic of the United States, and the former as characteristic of Brazil; and he seeks to marshall the distinguishing variants in the two cases. More recently, Florestan Fernandes (1964:624n) has defined prejudice, as he visualizes it.

[29] Originally published in *Anhembi* (São Paulo). Reprinted, in book form, in 1955 and 1959.

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of this problem will appear elsewhere. Particularly useful in considering the circumstances involved, it seems to us, are the works of Stanley Lane-Poole (1886), H. Morse Stephens (1903), S. P. Scott (1904), Sir Harry H. Johnston (1910), James Bryce (1912), Gilberto Freyre (especially 1936, 1937, 1959), Arthur Ramos (1939), E. Franklin Frazier (1944), Thales de Azevedo (1955a, 1955b, 1959), Frank Tannenbaum (1947, 1960), C. R. Boxer (1953), René Ribeiro (1956), Stanley M. Elkins (1959), Eric Williams (1960), Sidney W. Mintz (1961), and Marvin Harris (1964) among others, including a host of able travelers and observers in Brazil.

Since our original study at Bahia was made, the Brazilian slave trade, or the character and function of the slave institution on plantations, on smaller holdings and in the towns and cities, or the extent and significance of slave revolts, or the abolition movement and its aftermath, have been further studied by Affonso d'Escragnolle Taunay (1941), Alexander Marchant (1942), Caio Prado Júnior (1945), Edison Carneiro (1947), Maurício Goulart (1950), Florestan Fernandes (1955), Stanley Stein (1957), Octávio Ianni (1962), Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1962), C. R. Boxer (1962, 1963), and others. African cultural elements still extant in Brazil, particularly those associated with the Afro-Brazilian cult, but with attention at times also to present-day forms of language, music, songs, dances, games, and other cultural phenomena, have been further described and analyzed since our original study was undertaken by (among others) João da Silva Campos, Aydano de Couto Ferraz, Ruth Landes, Melville J. Herskovits, and Edison Carneiro (1940, 1944, 1961) at Bahia; Roger Bastide, also at Bahia and elsewhere in northern Brazil (1945, 1946, 1957b, 1960, 1961); René Ribeiro (1952a, 1954), and Waldemar Valente at Recife;

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Octavio da Costa Eduardo in Maranhão; Seth Leacock at Belém; Duglas Teixeira Monteiro at Vitória; Nelson de Senna in Minas Gerais; Candido Procópio Ferreira de Camargo in São Paulo; and several authors with a more general reference, including, especially, Arthur Ramos (1938b, 1942, 1943, 1949). Frazier (1942) studied the structure and function of the family among colored persons at Bahia.

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If this were a revised edition, certain alterations or additions would be made; for instance, it probably would be advantageous either to bring over into English or to identify more extensively several terms which were left in Portuguese, either because translation would have distorted meaning or because the author was in doubt regarding an *adequate* rendering in English and unable to resolve the problem by a return to the field or through correspondence, yet desirous to be as precise as possible. An effort was made to define each term when first introduced; but this is perhaps inadequate, especially where the term appears again, later, several pages away. To obviate this difficulty somewhat, a glossary is appended to the present edition.[30]

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Today, we probably would use a substitute for "branco da Bahia" (p. 139 and *passim*), since this term is ordinarily used only outside Bahia, and—more especially—since we subsequently have learned that it sometimes carries a certain depreciatory connotation.[31] Besides, it is subject to some ambiguity, as José Valadares (1943), in a perhaps humorous

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[30] A few words which were spelled according to the custom prevailing at the time, previous to the "spelling reform" some years later, should be altered; for example, cathedrático (p. 189), is now spelled "catedrático," and paranympho (p. 190), "paraninfo."

[31] Ribeiro (1956:128) reports this term used at Recife when scoffing at persons "the legitimacy of whose pretentions to being white is subject to question."

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128 vein, has pointed out. It was used in our original study to
*563 refer to very light mixed-bloods whose racial origin was evident to an anthropologist but not so evident to others, in an effort to make more understandable to a United States audience the actual situation at Bahia.

114 Perhaps it would be helpful to clarify certain matters
*563 mentioned in this book which have led serious critics to
565 erroneous conclusions. Citing a Portuguese version of Chap-
*121 ter VII, Bastide (1943a:31) quotes us as saying that "in Bahia race prejudice is linked inexplicably (sic) to that of class." This statement we are unable to find in the translation of that chapter or in any other of our publications; nor do we subscribe to it.[32] The need to define terms is imperative. In their criticism of hypothesis 22 (see p. 349), Bastide and Fernandes (1951)[33] do not refer to *race* prejudice at all but instead—and repeatedly—to *color* prejudice. Obviously, they have misunderstood our intention. In an article published in the United States, Bastide and Pierre van den Berghe (1957:693) claim to have invalidated this hypothesis, "so far as São Paulo is concerned." They also write, however, that "we have not been able to isolate the effects of class and racial prejudice." It is therefore difficult to understand the subsequent statement to the effect that "we can definitely assert that, after *having eliminated*[34] the effects of class prejudice against colored people, there would remain an important residue of properly racial prejudice."

The principal difference of opinion, however, would seem to be due to a variation in the use of terms. It is the implica-

[32] A similarly erroneous (if more acceptable) ascription to our authorship is made by Staley (18).

[33] Republished, 1959:333.

[34] Italics ours.

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tion of our research, confirmed, and much more clearly stated, by Wagley and his associates—particularly by Harris—that one of the criteria of class is color. In so far as this is true, class discrimination and color discrimination (but *not* race prejudice as defined above) are inevitably linked. Bastide and Van den Berghe contend that they are dealing with "race prejudice" when we believe they mean "discrimination on the basis of color."[35] That such exists by reason of color being one of the criteria of rank is admitted, in the same sense in which discrimination exists in the case of low family origin, or of low economic condition, or of low educational level, or of lack of personal competence.

Bastide and Van den Berghe also claim to have invalidated, as far as São Paulo is concerned, another hypothesis of this study which they identify as follows: "Prejudice against Negroes is directly proportional to socio-economic status." It is not clear to what these authors refer. We do not recognize this hypothesis as being among those formulated by us, either in this book or elsewhere; nor do we subscribe to it, as stated.

The hypotheses which emerged out of our original study[36] may require, however, certain qualifications and additions, in order to make the description and analysis more precise and complete.

With reference to hypotheses 1 and 2, Willems has called our attention to the possibility that the mortality rate among the lower (and extensively colored) ranks of the Brazilian population may be proportionately lower now than in the

[35] Plus a few limited and atypical cases, as we have suggested above, of discrimination on the basis of race, neither derived from, however, nor supported by, the local mores.

[36] See pages 345–50 of this book.

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past, while the birth rate may have remained more or less constant. If this apparent shift in natural increase continues, it will of course slow down, or even reverse, the trend toward biological absorption evident in the past.[37]

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With reference to hypotheses 3, 4, and 5, one should note three qualifications. In the first place, although the originally unbalanced sex ratio undoubtedly played a definite role in colonial Brazil in developing a tradition of interracial unions, it became more normal shortly after first contact; in the second place, miscegenation, from the colonial period to the present, has proceeded considerably (but not exclusively) *outside* marriage, by way of informal unions; and, in the third place, the term "endogamy" in hypothesis 5 perhaps should be substituted by some such phrase as "the biological distinctiveness of the races." Endogamy still exists, however, among a numerically small segment of the upper class, including certain families which evidence an uncommon pride in their European origin and, even more particularly, certain families among the landed aristocracy which have long sought to keep property in the family and—for this and other reasons—to resist the intrusion of individuals from outside the kinship group, including native-born and immigrant whites as well as colored individuals. This has been accomplished by extensive and continuous marriage within the kinship group, including cousin with cousin and, until recent

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[37] T. Lynn Smith (102–6) reminds us that the fertility index for brancos, according to the 1950 census, was at that time higher than that for prêtos in all but one of the Brazilian states and territories (the State of Rio de Janeiro, where the two were approximately even); and that the fertility index for brancos also was higher in fourteen states than that of even the pardos (browns). (In assessing these data, one must of course take into consideration the meaning of these supposedly racial terms, as indicated above.)

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times, of uncle with niece and aunt with nephew, as observers have noted.

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With reference to hypothesis 20, a few highly sensitive mixed-bloods who have risen in rank have become obsessed by a repugnance for the color which continued to symbolize low status, a repugnance which is reflected, at least symbolically, in word and act. This feeling, however, does not seem to be the result of the internalization of external conflict. At least little, if any, evidence of this sort has been turned up. In discussing several of these cases, Bastide (1941a:32) makes an illuminating comment when he writes, "An interesting paradox is that the effect of prejudice upon the subconscious is stronger *the less visible* it is."[38] Moreover, as Frazier (1944:265) has observed, "there was no segregated colored community with which they could be identified" and in terms of which they would become "marginal men." The feelings in question resulted from brooding over a sense of inferiority which derived not so much from actual personal experiences of discrimination as from internally-generated pressures, a fact clearly evident if one contrasts the feelings of these men with the markedly different ones of a host of similar mixed-bloods, including Machado de Assis, André Rebouças and Theodoro Sampaio (who wrote the autobiographical sketch beginning on p. 353).

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For some reason, the matters mentioned in hypothesis 22 (p. 349) have attracted most attention, although they would not seem to us to be of that importance. As this hypothesis now stands, however, it perhaps is too brief for clarity; and for that reason we have given considerable attention above to the matters mentioned in it.

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Frazier[39] has with justice called attention to a measure of

[38] Italics ours.

[39] *The Negro in the United States* (New York, 1949), p. 675.

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confusion which may emerge in the minds of persons in the United States from a reading of hypothesis 23. This is due to the variant meanings attached in Brazil and in the United States to the term "Negro," as pointed out above. Taking into consideration this fact, and also the unfavorable economic condition of underprivileged persons in Brazil mentioned previously, we might reformulate this hypothesis in the following way: It is possible that the darker persons of color, *considered as an aggregate*, have not risen as rapidly, perhaps, as the Negroes in the United States. This may be due : (a) to fewer economic opportunities in Brazil, in comparison to those afforded by an expansion of industry much earlier in the United States; (b) to the limited educational opportunities available in Brazil until comparatively recent years and the low value long placed upon education for all except the sons of the elite; (c) to the possibility that local prêtos, feeling themselves less under the necessity of demonstrating to a skeptical white world their personal competence and their ability to achieve, have had less social incentive for advancement; and (d) to certain structural differences in the two cases, as Willems has suggested, "especially the fact that most achievements of the American Negro occurred within his own class structure, while the Brazilian colored did not have these structural incentives and opportunities."

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With reference to hypothesis 24, Wagley (1963b:153) has well suggested that the absorption of the African and his descendants into the predominantly branco group (as referred to in hypothesis 1), and the process of whitening by which it is being accomplished (see pp. 120 ff.), are also part of the informal racial policy, so that "the common . . . statement that 'We Brazilians are becoming one people,' " Wagley writes, "seems to imply that Brazilians hope to become a nation more Caucasian in physical appearance."

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a nation more Caucasian in physical appearance." In addition, one should further note, as Willems has also suggested to us, that an aspect of this policy has become to some extent more formal and articulate in recent years. As we have defined it, this informal and unstated policy reflects a desire to absorb all minority groups—whether immigrant[40] or of color; but discrimination on the basis of either color or race obviously can stand in the way of its realization. It is with reference to this obstacle that Willems believes the policy has become more articulate, as reflected in the law of 1951, which gives legal negative sanction to discrimination in any form, a law passed overwhelmingly by the Brazilian Congress. It is reflected also in the committee reports and discussions inside and outside Congress which accompanied the enactment of this law; in the decidedly vocal and positive opposition on the part of Brazilian organs of public opinion to the occasional evidences of color discrimination upon which public attention becomes focused; and even, as Willems also points out, in the anti-racist militancy of colored organizations in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo.

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Although the basic facts seem to have been observed and reported in the original study, not all were given, perhaps, the relative prominence they deserved in the hypotheses which terminated it. One might add to these hypotheses certain apparent facts to which attention is called, to some extent at least, in the course of this book:

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1. A large number of popular terms have arisen which seem to designate the various racial combinations in the population. However, a) these terms are descriptive not so much of racial descent as (1) of the actual physical appearance of the individual in question, and (2) of his social

[40] Cf., in this respect, Nogueira 1955:552; Pierson 1951:191.

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rank; b) they may vary with the person employing them, and with the same person at different times and under different circumstances, and especially with the status of the individual being referred to and with the relation of the speaker to him.

2. Caucasian physical traits possess prestige and also disproportionate aesthetic value among all social ranks and colors,[41] although the local "somatic norm-image," in the phrase of Hoetink (1961), is considerably "darker" than that in the United States, as is borne out, for instance, in attitudes toward the *morena* (see pp. 136–38).

3. The rise in rank of colored persons, a) occurs primarily by reason of demonstrated personal or occupational competence, educational achievement, the accumulation of financial resources, or fortuitous circumstance; b) is sometimes aided by brancos who are linked by parental, godparent or other bonds of sentiment to the individual in question (cf. pp. 353 ff.); and c) is accomplished by individuals *as individuals*, so that conflict on the basis of either color or class is relatively subdued (cf. Thales de Azevedo 1955a:195).

4. In their attempts to rise in rank, persons of color are handicapped by the fact that color has long been identified in Brazil with a slave condition and hence became, long ago, a criterion of rank. This is the role of dark color logically to be expected, given the history of slavery in Brazil and the Americas, where slaves for centuries were blacks taken from Africa by Europeans and their descendants, who possessed a more advanced technology, to labor on their plantations and

[41] With the possible exception of a few colored intellectuals, particularly in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, who deliberately seek to valorize "negritude" (blackness), although their attitudes in this respect seem to be rather ambivalent.

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in their placer mines. However, had this "historic accident" been of reverse character, that is, had Africa at the time of the discovery and early exploitation of the Americas itself possessed technological superiority, and had Africans and their descendants then discovered America and taken to work on *their* plantations European slaves from a Europe of less advanced technological development, dark color—and not white—would today, in all likelihood, carry prestige. Being white would then probably be a decided disadvantage, a definite handicap, since long ago white color would have become a criterion of inferior rank; and whites would then want to be black and to have children blacker than themselves.

5. However, the restraining influence of color in Brazil today, a) varies inversely with its intensity (as do all the other criteria of rank); b) is not the determining criterion, as in South Africa or the United States, but only one of a series of conditioning circumstances, similar (as far as most persons are concerned) to those with reference to age, sex, lack of personal competence, lack of skills, lack of financial resources, or lack of education; c) varies with the individual and with circumstance; d) may change permanently during an individual's lifetime; e) may be less significant than some observers have thought; and f) may be tending to decrease, as more individuals demonstrate their ability to overbalance the restraining influence of color by the accumulation of other criteria of rank (provided, of course, that changes now under way in the economic and sociological structures do not alter this trend).

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6. Although cases of discrimination involving colored persons undoubtedly occur, they are not necessarily due exclusively to color. In any given case, the circumstances are com-

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plex and need further study. If the discrimination turns out to be due only (or largely) to color, it will in most cases be because color is one of the criteria of rank. However, nowhere in Brazil is it supported by public opinion. On the contrary, it receives severe and widespread condemnation, in press and elsewhere, and legislators hasten to pass laws bringing it under repressive legal sanction. In other words, public opinion and public action invariably are *in favor of*—never against—the darker portion of the population.

7. Nevertheless, in any conflict situation, the lack of one of the determinants of status—namely, light color—*just as any other lack*, may be seized upon, to a person's disadvantage, by competitors.

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8. Numerous common sayings regarding Africans and their descendants (cf. pp. 362–65 of this book) which originated during the slave epoch, and which long ago lost all, or most, of their function as stereotypes (cf. Florestan Fernandes 1959:328), occasionally are employed by brancos but ordinarily with a smile and in a humorous manner and when colored persons are not present. Moreover, actual behavior tends to belie these common sayings; and they are even used in jocular fashion by colored persons themselves. Nevertheless, they are remnants of a superordinate-subordinate relationship in a former caste order and, as such, constitute threats to status in possible conflict situations, and also potential aids to the development of group-consciousness.

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To these hypotheses, there might be added the following one, suggested by Wagley (1963b:154):

9. "The ability of 'people of color' to improve their status . . . varies considerably from community to community according to the possibilities open to them."

Wagley's further statement that "rural Brazilian society

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has a rigid class structure" would seem to be valid for all Brazil outside pioneer areas. We might consider also in this connection the observations of Hutchinson (1963:45–46) at Vila Recôncavo to the effect that "the population is becoming . . . class-conscious" and that "there is an increasing desire to rise in the social hierarchy"; as well as the discovery by Harris (1963:79) of a degree of tension in the large middle group at Minas Velhas; and certain data turned up in the studies in central and southern Brazil. These (and other) considerations raise the following additional hypothesis:

10. Both social mobility and class-consciousness are increasing; and this increase may be heightening color-consciousness, particularly in the intermediate ranks, by reason of the comparative rigidity of class lines, and the fact that color is a criterion of rank.

JULY 1965

DONALD PIERSON

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INTRODUCTION

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DURING the years in which it has been a subject of discussion and investigation in the United States, the conception of what constitutes a race problem has undergone an extraordinary number of changes—one might say transfigurations. In recent years interest and research in the problematic aspects of race have centered about what is called technically "race relations." But new studies of race relations have invariably revealed new complexities in racial situations and have added new dimensions to the problem as originally conceived. The consequence is that with every new inquiry the conception of what constitutes race relations has steadily expanded until the term seems to include all or most human relations that have anywhere been defined and given formal recognition in the social sciences.

The most obvious and elementary of these relations are ecological and biological, that is, the territorial distribution of races and the inevitable miscegenation or interbreeding which changes in distribution inevitably bring about. The term also includes, by implication at least, all the special problems that emerge on every other level of social integration (i.e., economic, political, personal, or religious) as a consequence of the migration and mixture of races.

I say "personal" or "religious" because it is only within the fold of a family or of a religious society that human relations have anywhere assumed a character that can be described in any exclusive sense as personal and moral. Eco-

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*121 nomic and political relations of individuals and of peoples are always relatively impersonal and external.

Meanwhile, a growing awareness of the complexities of the problem has been accompanied by a continuous expansion of what one may describe as "the racial horizon." As the world has grown smaller and our relations with other races and peoples more intimate, the race problem is no longer conceived either in the United States or elsewhere as a local problem or one that is limited to the Negro.

It is obvious today, as it possibly never was before, that race problems are neither a temporary nor an isolated phenomenon. On the contrary, it seems that, wherever European economic expansion has brought European peoples and the peoples or races of the world outside Europe into an association sufficiently intimate to produce a mixed-blood population, the resulting racial situation has inevitably constituted a race problem.

But race problems are not confined to colonial countries. Similar conditions, or at least conditions which make complete assimilation difficult or impossible, have produced in recent years, in Germany and elsewhere in Europe, a more conspicuous and more poignant instance of a race problem than the world outside of Europe has ever known. In fact, it is fair to say that if the race problem of the United States is pre-eminently the problem of Negroes, the race problem of Europe is and has been, ever since the Roman Empire first sought not only to conquer but to denationalize them, the problem of Jews.

Stated abstractly, and from the point of view of the Jewish people in Europe and the Negro people in the United States rather than from the point of view of the dominant majorities with whom they are associated, the race problem

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is that of a racial or cultural minority seeking to achieve, in a community in which it is regarded as in some sense and to some degree an alien, a status that is at once secure and unqualified by the stigma of any sort of inferiority. Elsewhere the race problem may take the form of a nationalistic struggle in which the native peoples, within the limits of an imperium where they have been conquered but not assimilated, are seeking, if not national independence, then some further measure of self-determination. This is the case of India. It may presently be, if the present German government succeeds in carrying out its program, the case of Europe. 121*

The expansion of the racial horizon, which has changed and is changing current conceptions of the race problem in the United States and elsewhere, has brought about—and this is particularly true of sociology and social anthropology—something like a reorientation of the social sciences, with respect to the race problem and to all that is ordinarily included under race relations.[1]

Social anthropology is, apparently, no longer regarded, to the extent that it once was, as a purely historical science, interested mainly in unraveling and tracing to their sources the varied threads that make up the cultural patterns of primitive societies.

Anthropology, as it has become "functional," has become less interested in cultural diffusion and more interested in acculturation and in the processes by which cultural traits have been not merely diffused but integrated into those larger and more complex cultural patterns we call civilizations.

[1] Edgar T. Thompson (ed.), *Race Relations and the Race Problem* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1939). [113]

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*121 Anthropology has begun, also, in recent years to turn its attention to contemporary social problems, including that of education. In England anthropologists have become technical advisers in colonial administration.[2] In the United States they are beginning to study "marginal peoples," that is to say, peoples who, under the influence of European culture, are now in the process, sometimes slowly but more often rapidly, of being assimilated and incorporated into an emerging world-society—the society which the expansion of Europe has brought into existence.[3]

The race problem has assumed new dimensions and new significance, likewise, with the recent researches of sociologists in the field of race and culture and in areas of observation and research immediately contiguous. Probably nothing has been more influential than the publication of the monumental work by W. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant*, in directing the attention of sociological students to the possibility and the importance of studies in the field of race and culture. Thomas and Znaniecki were the first, or almost the first, to call attention to the fact that the situation of the European immigrant in the United States can be defined in terms that imply its logical relation to that of the Negro, even though the Negro, in the Americas, North and South and particularly in the West Indies, is not an alien or an immigrant but has become, in the course

[113] [2] See G. Gordon Brown and A. McD. Bruce Hutt, *Anthropology in Action: An Experiment in the Iringa District of the Iringa Province, Tanganyika Territory* (London: International Institute of African Languages and Cultures; Oxford University Press, 1935). See also unpublished papers contributed to a symposium on "Education and the Cultural Process," in connection with the celebration of the Seventy-fifth Anniversary of Fisk University, April, 1941.

[113] [3] See Robert Redfield, *The Folk Culture of Yucatan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941).

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of some three hundred years' residence, an indigenous race intimately related by blood to the Indian who preceded him. 121*

Perhaps I should add, now that I have mentioned the *Polish Peasant*, that it was the rather elaborate "methodological note" with which the authors prefaced that study which first defined "social attitudes" and indicated the way in which that concept could be used in characterizing local cultures as well as in measuring, in some fashion, cultural and institutional changes.[4]

If I have ventured by way of introduction to this study of race relations in Brazil to sketch the outlines of an expanding though as yet very little integrated field of sociological and anthropological research, it has been less with the purpose of reporting on the state of knowledge in that field at the moment than of indicating the context in which this study had been conceived and the place it seems to have in the sequence of studies that have preceded and which will presumably follow it.

In suggesting the possibility of future studies to follow this one, I am reckoning with two facts: (1) that Brazil is one of the more conspicuous melting-pots of races and cultures around the world where miscegenation and acculturation are obviously going on and (2) that a comparative study of the problematic aspects of race and culture is likely to have a special importance at this time when the structure of

[4] William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (1st ed.; Boston: Richard C. Badger, 1918–20; 2d ed.; New York: Alfred Knopf, 1927). Herbert Blumer, *Critiques of Research in the Social Sciences. I. An Appraisal of Thomas and Znaniecki's "The Polish Peasant in Europe and America"* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1939). As an illustration of how "attitudes" have been used in measuring fundamental institutional changes see Alfred Winslow Jones, *Life, Liberty, and Property: A Story of Conflict and a Measurement of Conflicting Rights* (New York and London: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1941). [113]

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the existing world-order seems to be crumbling with the dissolution of the distances, physical and social, upon which that order seems to rest.

It has become fairly obvious that, in a world which in the midst of wars is steadfastly seeking peace, a stable political order can be erected only on a moral order that does not terminate at the boundaries of national states. The problem that emerges is this: How is it possible to establish and maintain an effective social order in a more or less completely urbanized, industrialized, and cosmopolitan world?

In the past it has been, in the main, the task of religion and more especially of Christian missions to create within the limits of an expanding world-economy a moral order and moral solidarity commensurate with the economic and political interdependence which the expansion of European commerce has brought about. But the totalitarian states have now apparently seceded from the ecumenical councils of international Christianity, and the task of re-creating a moral order that includes all mankind has assumed an importance that it did not have when it was regarded not merely as a religious but as a religious denominational enterprise.

It is obvious that studies of race and culture are destined to assume increasing importance in a world in which the ancient local and tribal cultures, as an ineluctable incident of the rise of the so-called "great society," are visibly going into the melting-pot.

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One thing that makes the racial situation in Brazil interesting is the fact that, having a Negro population proportionally larger than the United States, Brazil has no race problem. This is, at any rate, what might be inferred from the occasional and apparently disinterested reports of visitors to that country who have ventured to inquire into the

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subject. Among these visitors there are two—James Bryce and Theodore Roosevelt—whose knowledge of conditions in the United States make their reports upon the situation in Brazil peculiarly interesting.

Viscount Bryce, whose "observations and impressions" of South America were first published in 1912, remarked that in Brazil, in contrast to the United States, the color line is nowhere sharply drawn and that "the fusion of whites and blacks by intermarriage goes steadily on." Mr. Roosevelt—Theodore and not Franklin Delano—who visited the country a few years later, is more explicit. He says: "If I were asked to name the one point in which there is a complete difference between the Brazilian and ourselves, I should say it was in the attitude to the black man."

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This attitude manifests itself in the fact that in Brazil "any Negro or mulatto who shows himself fit is without question given the place to which his abilities entitle him." However, the most conspicuous difference—the "one real difference"—is "the tendency of Brazil to absorb the Negro." This tendency is, however, not merely a historical and biological fact; it is rather an expression of a national policy, in so far as Brazil can be said to have a policy with respect to the Negro.

Statistics of population, which are never very accurate in this matter of race and less so perhaps in Brazil than in the United States, indicate that the number of Africans of unmixed blood is growing steadily less so that "with two or more racial crossings"—so say those Brazilians who are conscious of the Negro or concerned about his future—"the Negro blood tends to disappear." This so-called Aryanization of the African, from the point of view of Brazilian national policy, is a thing, perhaps one should say *the* thing, to be desired.

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to be desired. The policy of the United States, on the other hand, from the Brazilian point of view, particularly in so far as it counts every man a Negro who, to use the census definition, "is known to be a Negro in the community in which he lives," tends to perpetuate "a menacing element" —menacing not to the racial purity of the dominant race but to the political and cultural solidarity of the nation.

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As a matter of fact the attitude of the Brazilian people to the race problem so far as concerns the Negro seems, on the whole, to be academic rather than pragmatic and actual. There is a certain ethnological and archeological interest in the survivals of the African fetish cults, the so-called *candomblés*, of which there seem to be an extraordinary number, especially in and about the cities of Bahia and Pernambuco. This archeological interest in the African is evidenced by two successive *Congressos Afro-brasileiros* which met in Recife and in Bahia in 1934 and 1937.

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Since most of these *candomblés* are living and functioning forms of African religious practices, although obviously in process of assimilation to the ritual and mythology of local Catholicism, perhaps they should not be classed as survivals.

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In any case it is a somewhat bizarre experience to a stranger in Bahia, walking along one of the ridges where *os ricos*, that is, the rich folk, live, to hear from the palm groves in the neighboring valleys where *os pobres*, the poor folk, live, the insistent boom of African drums. So narrow are the spatial distances that divide Europe on the ridges from Africa in the valleys that it is difficult to realize how wide the social distances are that separate them.

It is even more difficult for those of us whose conception of the Negro problem and of race relations generally has been

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formed in the United States to comprehend, in all its concreteness, the racial situation in a country with a different history and a different tradition. Comprehension in these matters is not something that can be achieved, it seems, through the medium of any formal statement. Insight and understanding come only with intimate and firsthand acquaintance—and not even then if those barriers which race consciousness invariably raises are not removed. That is why little children are likely in these matters of race relations to be wiser than their elders.

This observation seems pertinent here because, after reading the manuscript and proofs of this volume, I have come to the conclusion that the difference between Brazil and the United States in respect to race is due to the fact that the people of Brazil have, somehow, regained that paradisaic innocence, with respect to differences of race, which the people of the United States have somehow lost. I mention this fact, but I shall not attempt to explain it. The situation is complex and the explanations are only partial and not wholly convincing. One circumstance mentioned by the author, I am, however, disposed to underscore.

Brazil is a vast country and has been colonized, as has the United States, by a wide variety of peoples: Germans from northern Europe; Latins, particularly Italians, from southern Europe; not to mention the original settlers, the Portuguese. It has been colonized more recently by Orientals. There are now possibly some two hundred thousand Japanese in Brazil today. With the exception of the Italians, these different peoples have settled in more or less closed communities in widely separated parts of a vast territory. Dependent upon water transportation rather more than upon rail to maintain economic and political unity, Brazil has

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been haunted by the fear that the country would some day fall apart. Under these circumstances it has seemed that the security and the solidarity of the nation depended upon its ability to assimilate and ultimately to amalgamate its different immigrant populations. From this point of view the Negro has not constituted a problem.

The first task of this, as of every other attempt to study the race problem rather than to solve it, has been to define the racial situation in the country and in the culture in which the problem exists. But the author of this volume has done something more, it seems, than that. He has, as he puts it, given an account of "the career of the Negro in Brazil," and he has made this account a chapter in the life-history of the Negro outside of Africa, in what one might, to use a term that has been usually applied to the Jewish people, call the Diaspora.

The term "diaspora" was first used by the Greeks to designate a nationality, or some part of it, dispersed among other nations but preserving its own culture. The Negro outside of Africa is neither a nation nor a nationality, and, with the exception of Brazil, there is no country outside of Africa, so far as I know, where a people of African origin has sought to preserve African customs or African culture. Nevertheless, the attitude of Europeans has imposed upon peoples of African origin under European domination, either in or outside of Africa, a certain degree of race consciousness and racial solidarity. It has tended to make them a nationality.

Living thus, as Booker Washington once said of the Negro in the United States, as "a nation within a nation," the Negro has been subjected to extraordinary changes of fortune but changes that are nonetheless typical not merely

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of Negroes abroad but of other peoples who, in the interest of European commercial expansion, have been dispersed to widely separated parts of the world.

The diaspora, however, is no longer what it once was—an area of dispersion merely. It has become rather an area of integration, economic and cultural. It is in this sense that this history, I might better say natural history, of the career of the African in Brazil has sought to describe the processes by which the Negro has been assimilated and to measure the success he has had in finding a place in what was the diaspora but now is, to use Graham Wallas' term, *The Great Society*.

ROBERT E. PARK

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CHAPTER I

THE SEAPORT OF BAHIA

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JAMES BRYCE once wrote of the racial situation in Brazil: "It is a subject of study all the more interesting because the relations are . . . . different from those . . . . in the British colonies, in India, and in the United States."[1] Bryce might well have added that such differences constitute one of the more significant portions of any study of race relations. It is by investigating in intimate and concrete detail variant racial situations in different parts of the world and subsequently comparing and contrasting each set of conditions and circumstances that we are able to build up, case by case, a more complete knowledge of the race problem, its sources and nature. The more we see the United States and her problems through the perspective of a world-view—the more, in other words, we detach ourselves from the merely local and provincial—the more clearly will our own problems stand out.

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If one looks about in Brazil for a door, so to speak, through which he may enter to examine at first hand the Brazilian racial situation, he may well choose the picturesque old seaport of Bahia,[2] known affectionately in Brazil as "A Mulata Velha." For here the processes of racial adjustment have perhaps gone on longest and most persistently, have involved large numbers from each of the three basic human

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[1] *South America* (New York, 1912), p. 20.

[2] Bahia ("Bay") is pronounced *Bàh-ee'-uh* and is written, in "simplified" spelling, Baía. The city is also known as São Salvador or, more correctly, Salvador ("Savior").

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*121 563 races, and the ensuing termination is perhaps most clearly discernible.

131 361 [132] Bahia lies in the tropics of the Southern Hemisphere, approximately thirteen degrees south of the Equator, her naturally warm and humid climate almost constantly tempered by the refreshing Southeast Trades. Located seven hundred miles above Rio de Janeiro, the Brazilian capital, and four hundred miles below the old sugar center of Pernambuco, Bahia marks approximately the mid-point of Brazil's four thousand miles of coast line which stretches from temperate [167] Uruguay to the torrid Guianas. Some twenty-five hundred miles to the northeast lie the Gold and Slave coasts of Africa, once the home of the parents or grandparents of many present-day Bahians; directly to the east is Angola, another important source of the city's population.

175 361 [504] In 1949 Bahia will celebrate her four hundredth anniversary. As cities go in the New World, she is an old city; in fact, one of the very oldest. Permanently founded fifty-eight years before Jamestown and thirty-five years earlier than St. Augustine, this outpost of Portuguese civilization was one of the world's richest ports long before New York had outgrown her swaddling clothes.

175 162 *563 Here, shortly after 1500, set in the Portuguese transplantation, at first composed of adventurers, shipwrecked and deserting sailors; *degredados* banished from Portugal for criminal, political, or religious offenses; ambitious young men chosen for physical fitness and freedom from marital ties to serve in the colonial garrison; impoverished nobles seeking to recuperate fortunes squandered at the Portuguese court; a few officials, Jesuits, and secular clergy; Jews expelled by the Inquisition (who incidentally were to furnish a considerable portion of the much-needed capital for the

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P OF SOUTH AMERICA SHOWING BAHIA AND SURROUNDING AREA

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colony's development); gypsies destined to play a role in the subsequent slave trade and to bequeath their name permanently to the section of the city in which they settled; prostitutes and orphan girls sent over in limited numbers as wives by the Crown; and a few hardy peasant colonists, with their families, from Portugal, the Cape Verde Islands, and the Azores.

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This incoming wave of European population met the indigenous Indians and eventually absorbed or expelled them from the coast. In and about Bahia they were the Tupinambás and the Tupiniquins, part of the earlier Tupí expansion from the south, and of very primitive culture. The wifeless soldiers and colonists took Indian or half-breed women, first for concubines and later for legally married wives, and soon a numerous mixed-blood population sprang up which was gradually absorbed into the dominant white. Indian males were annihilated in battle, died from the rigors of slavery, or were driven, together with their women and children, far back into the interior. When they put up too stubborn resistance, whole villages were deliberately exterminated, one of the most effective means being the planting of smallpox germs from the clothing of a recent victim of the disease. The Indians, previously strangers to this European malady, rapidly succumbed.

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As early as the middle of the sixteenth century there began at Bahia extensive and prolonged Negro importation from Africa, and Bahia's Bay of All Saints subsequently served for generations as the principal port of entry into Brazil for this black commerce from the African coast. This involuntary population movement to Brazil eventually became what is, probably, the greatest intercontinental displacement of Negro peoples which ever occurred.

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At Bahia in 1807, 1809, 1813, 1816, 1826, 1827, 1828, and 1830, slave revolts broke out, terminating in the serious Malê uprising of 1835. There existed here, particularly in the nineteenth century, a well-established group of Negro disciples of the prophet Mohammed. Here Nagô was for a long time a Negro lingua franca (or, to use the corresponding Portuguese expression, a *lingua geral*), and Nagô is still occasionally to be heard among some of the older blacks. Here one might have encountered in the years just preceding abolition in 1888 an interesting paradox: while at home Bahia clung tenaciously to slavery, she was known abroad for the eloquence of her abolition orators.[3] Here, also, one might have observed the gradual fusion of Catholic belief and ritual with African mythology and religious practice, evidences of which may be seen today in *candomblés*, or fetish-cult centers, like that of Gantois, for example, whose ceremonies have been carried on in the same sacred place for many decades.

In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries Bahia became one of the world's great sugar centers where a small aristocracy, as is attested today by the pretentious edifices still standing, achieved great wealth. As early as 1587 there were forty-seven sugar *engenhos*[4] in and about Bahia, and

[3] See Luiz Anselmo da Fonseca, *A escravidão, o clero e o abolicionismo* (Bahia, 1887), *passim*. This book, although obviously written as abolition propaganda, cites names, places, and dates to support its contentions and does not overlook negative cases.

[4] Each *engenho* consisted of a sugar plantation and a mill for processing the cane. Those at Bahia often had a capacity of a thousand tons or more yearly. Each was largely a self-sustaining economic unit, dependent upon the labor of numbers of Negro slaves. H. Morse Stephens says (*Portugal* [New York, 1903], p. 228) that sugar cane was imported into Brazil from the Madeira Islands in 1548.

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these, together with the plantations of Pernambuco, supplied a large part of the sugar for the tables of Europe.

175 439 433 [162] [34] [352] [554] [567]

By 1670 Bahia was a wealthy capital boasting that her flag was known upon the seven seas. Ships from the Portuguese empire in the East called regularly on their way back to Portugal. By the early eighteenth century Bahia had grown into a city of 70,000, her commerce protected by the cross-fire of fourteen forts. Six- and seven-story buildings were common; the possession of carved ebony furniture had become a symbol of social standing; silks, palanquins, and the finest porcelain were imported from China. In the surrounding cane fields toiled, it is estimated, ten times as many slaves as in Virginia. A century later, Lindley, an English smuggler, after admiring the abundance of gold jewelry worn by the women of Bahia, looked out over the shipping in the harbor and wrote of "a degree of wealth unknown in Europe."

Bahia continued to be the first commercial city of Brazil until about 1830,[1] when she finally yielded front rank to São Paulo, the rising young metropolis to the south. But during the entire colonial period (1549–1822), Bahia possessed the principal Brazilian firms and the largest Brazilian fortunes.

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During the first two centuries of the colonial era, Bahia was the seat of Portuguese control in Brazil, the official residence of high functionaries representing the Portuguese crown. Even after the government was transferred to Rio (1763), Bahia continued to play a prominent role in the politics of the colony and, subsequent to independence

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[1] In 1868, although the decline in sugar production was by that time well advanced, Bahia had 511 *engenhos* producing nearly 19,000 tons of sugar a year.

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in 1822, in the politics of the Empire, a role similar to that assumed by Minas Geraes, São Paulo, and Rio Grande do Sul in the Republic following 1889. In fact, she has been called "the Brazilian Virginia." Until 1907 Bahia was also the religious center of the Brazilian nation. Her archbishop was the head of the Roman Catholic church in Brazil, and the religious orders maintained here their principal representatives. Thus in the economic, political, and religious life of Brazil, Bahia boasts a long tradition of distinction and prestige.

175 795

The present city is about the size of Indianapolis or Seattle.[6] It nestles along the eastern rim of a huge bay, Bahia de Todos os Santos. The bay is formed by the projection out into the ocean of Cape Santo Antonio, which, on its western side, breaks rather sharply almost at the water's edge, exposing a bold promontory approximately three hundred feet in height which parallels for some two to three miles the rim of the bay. The city clings to the narrow shelf between the bay and the cliff and then sprawls up over this sizable barrier and spreads out along the ridges and into the valleys to the east and north, where centuries of erosion have carved a one-time flat plain into alternating crests and steep-sloping depressions.

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Bahia is thus divided by a natural barrier into a lower and an upper city, into a Cidade Baixa and a Cidade Alta, as the two parts are locally called; the one connected with the other by steep, winding streets paved with cobblestones, by inclined planes and modern hydraulic elevators, or by numerous well-worn footpaths. In the lower city lies, of course,

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[6] An estimate by the state government gave for the city of Bahia on December 31, 1934, a population of 352,244 (*Annuario estatistico da Bahia, 1934*, p. 131). The federal census of 1920 gave for Bahia City 283,422 (*Recenseamento do Brasil, 1920*, Vol. IV: *População*, Book I, p. xxiv).

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36 In the lower city lies, of course,
[504] the port, with its customs, warehouses, shipping and consular offices, banks, the marine arsenal, the post office, the Association of Commerce, the principal public market, jewelry shops, hardware and cigar stores, and most of the men's shops of the city. Up on the promontory and extending out toward the suburbs are the public buildings and most of the churches, the convents and monasteries, hotels and movie theaters, the public library, museums, professional schools, primary and secondary institutions, hospitals, women's shops, photographic galleries, furniture and dry-goods stores, confectionary stalls, the "five and tens," physicians' and dentists' offices, clubs, the principal parks and *praças*, and the residential areas of the city.

131 Bahia the city is the economic and political capital of Bahia the state, whose area of 342,000 square miles makes
133 it considerably larger than Texas. The region is composed in large part of a vast plain of gneiss formation which rises abruptly from the comparatively narrow coastal belt to heights varying from 600 to 1,200 feet in the interior.
[135] Upon this plateau and running north and south across the central portion of the state lie a series of low mountains composed principally of sedimentary rock, sandstone, or conglomerates and containing such minerals as iron, manganese, copper, lead, gold, and diamonds (including the
132 black *carbonado* so essential for tool-cutting). This mountain
133 barrier acts as a valuable condenser, gathering moisture for a land which otherwise might be virtually desert. In the extreme western part of the state the plateau is composed of sandstone overlying limestone, and thus it provides a natural sponge which assures perennial rivers in a region where light rains and near drought alternate in six-month periods.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Outside the city of Bahia and skirting the rim of All Saints Bay lies the Reconcavo,[7] some sixty miles long and varying from a few to thirty miles wide. Its soil is a cretaceous marl of great thickness, similar to the black gumbo of southern Arkansas and northern Texas, known locally as *massapé* or, in literal translation, "that which sticks to the feet." It is quite fertile and well watered and today appears only slightly impaired after nearly four centuries of cultivation. This is the cane and tobacco area upon which formerly both Bahia's commercial greatness and her need for reliable agricultural (hence slave) labor was based.

The Reconcavo was formerly a center of large landholdings, of a rural aristocracy, of a patriarchal system, and of slavery. Today, cane and tobacco are still cultivated, although the former, and to some extent the latter, languish by reason of the condition of the world-market and the persistence of primitive techniques of production. Although large landholdings are still common, the rural aristocracy is decadent, its prestige having suffered a gradual but persistent decline throughout the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries with the loss of the sugar monopoly, the growth of the coastal towns, and the accompanying increase in prestige of the urban professional classes. The abolition of slavery in the late nineteenth century was the final blow, and absentee ownership is now the predominating pattern. However, the present population is more dense in the Reconcavo than elsewhere in the state outside the city of Bahia and remains to this day markedly negroid in character.

[7] The literal meanings of the Portuguese word *reconcavo* are (1) a bay of semicircular shape and (2) the environs of a city. These two meanings appear to have fused in the Bahian use of the term.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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361 162 As one moves interior from the Reconcavo into the *sertão*, the Negro contribution to the population tends to decrease and the Indian contribution, much mixed with [311] both white and Negro, to increase. Both on the moderately [177] watered plateaus and river basins, chiefly devoted to cattle-raising and light farming and occasionally covered with virgin or second-growth timber, as well as in the sandy, dry, and hot *caatinga* country of the semiarid zones, one finds a frontier society which is relatively isolated and has been only slightly modified during recent decades by contact with the outside world.[8]

Thus, in this particular area of intimate racial and cultural contact where the Negro and his descendants have been fated to work out a rather picturesque career, one will find three distinct types of settlement and population. In the *sertão*, or interior, is a highly mixed stock to whose composition the Indian has contributed in greater proportion probably than either the Negro or the European. In the Reconcavo, with its tradition of a departed rural aristocracy, a disintegrated plantation system, and a long history of slavery, the population is still principally negroid. While in the city of Bahia itself the people are largely of mixed European-African origin, individuals of either pure European or pure African descent being clearly in the minority.

633 In the city also, the social order is still relatively stable. 591 There has been in recent times little change. Bahia is, as we have seen, a comparatively old city, conscious of its traditions and proud of them. Conventions originally developed

[8] Euclydes da Cunha's *Os Sertões* (12th ed.; Rio, 1933) gives a vivid and [114] dramatic account of life on the *sertão*. Although written in 1902, it is still timely. R. B. Cunningham-Graham's *A Brazilian Mystic* (New York, 1925) is based upon this more detailed account.

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in response to the needs of colonial life still persist and direct 633
life pretty much in the old familiar channels. Bahia has long 571
been a relatively isolated city; and isolation has intensified personal intimacies and, by so doing, has promoted the growth of peculiarly local customs in response to peculiarly local conditions.

The character of Bahia's population, as might be ex- 167
pected, is also relatively stable. Virtually no immigration has come in from foreign lands in recent years, and little from other parts of Brazil. What population movement 166
there is into the city comes largely from the interior of the state or from contiguous areas like Alagoas and Sergipe. Similarly there is little emigration.

Bahia is thus a "culturally passive" area[9] with a stability 571
and an order reminiscent of Europe in the Middle Ages. In 178
fact, Bahia is, in some respects at least, a medieval town. 795
Every eminence of the city is dominated by a church or a [368]
cathedral. Until very recently there were no modern office buildings or industrial edifices to overshadow or to crowd out these symbols of a sacred order, and such as have in the past few years been erected only accentuate the dominance of the ecclesiastical structures. Over the habits of the female portion of the population in particular,[10] and to a con-

[9] Dr. Robert E. Park has used this phrase to describe an area "in which life continues, on the whole, to revolve in the same unbroken and traditional routine," where "population, natural resources, and the standard of living have achieved some sort of equilibrium and where custom and tradition provide for most of the exigencies of life." In such an area, "changes still take place, to be sure, but take place silently, continuously, and at an almost imperceptible pace" (see Robert E. Park, "Race Relations and Certain Frontiers," in *Race and Culture Contacts*, ed. E. B. Reuter [New York, 1934], p. 57).

[10] The ecclesiastical authorities have rigorously censured women's bathing suits which do not have sleeves to the elbow and knee-length skirts. [291] Rarely is a woman other than a foreign resident or an occasional individ-

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571 178 795 [554] siderable extent over those of the male portion, the church exercises a substantial measure of control. Prestige of the military is high.

596 621 The large family, with its wide ramifications and its patriarchal organization, also bespeaks a preindustrial era. Social cohesion in the community is maintained by the close association of members of these large family groups, together with the intimate ties common to friends of long standing, the degree of whose intimacy is much greater than that ordinarily to be found in the cities of comparable size in industrial societies. One notes in Bahia a warmth of manner uncommon to the United States. Bahians, like most Brazilians, tend to be very affectionate in the family and warmhearted toward their friends. Characteristic of such primary relationships is a high order of courtesy and politeness and an almost limitless consideration for the convenience and comfort of relatives and friends. Religious affiliation and guild association weave further strands of solidarity, binding the urban community together as if it were merely an overgrown village.

571 576 157 571 794 467

578 [477] [433] [466] In this stable society there is a comparative absence of most forms of conflict. In commerce and finance competition is comparatively slight and limited in considerable measure to foreigners. The economy is almost entirely extractive and industry is minimal. The few differences which arise between labor and capital often take the form of a

591 178 795 291 ual educated in Rio, to be seen on the beaches. Snug-fitting street dresses or those made of sheer or transparent material, and skirts which do not fall at least several inches below the knee, are subject to general criticism. At the exit of the principal churches and cathedrals is posted an official proclamation of the archbishop of Bahia specifying permissible dress. Failure to observe these regulations automatically bars the offender from the sacraments of the church.

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struggle of native labor versus foreign capital and thus tend [466] to unify rather than to divide the local group. Religious [798] competition has not become severe enough to intensify self-consciousness on the part of rival adherents and thus evoke [621] serious animosities. As far as national affairs are concerned, intense local loyalties had not, at least at the time this study was made, been seriously exacerbated by onerous control from without. A minimum of racial conflict will be evident throughout this account.

THE *ricos* OF THE RIDGES AND THE *pobres* OF THE VALLEYS

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One of the things Darwin noted, when he visited Bahia in 1832, was that the city rested upon "a level plain of about three hundred feet in elevation, which in all parts has been worn into flat-bottomed valleys."[11] Today the scene is still much as Darwin saw it. Continuing erosion has merely emphasized the general characteristics of the landscape, transforming the once level plain somewhat more decidedly into alternating ridges, relatively steep declivities, and comparatively narrow valleys.

361 565

This physiography of the country has not been without significance in the cultural life of Bahia; for, in general, the distribution of the population by classes, and even to some extent by ethnic divisions, follows quite closely the lay of the land. Along the ridges, which wind with the changing [363] terrain, ordinarily run the principal streets, bearing the chief [133] lines of transportation, whether by streetcar, bus, or automobile. So far as accessibility to the center and other prin- [494] cipal parts of the city is concerned, here are the more convenient residential locations. The elevation of the ridges,

[11] Charles Darwin, *The Voyage of the Beagle* ("Harvard Classics," Vol. XXIX [New York, 1909]), p. 521.

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361 565 permitting as it does a full and unobstructed sweep of the cooling sea breeze, makes these heights more comfortable, more healthful, and, consequently, more desirable places of [362] residence. One usually finds here the more modern and [463] substantial buildings, the homes of the upper classes. Here ordinarily live the scions of the old aristocracy, the large landholders, the city's intellectuals, and the leaders of its "society"; the lawyers, physicians, engineers, and politicians; the officials of the army, the poets and journalists, the professors in the Faculdades, the few industrialists which Bahia has so far produced—in fact, nearly all those prominent in the intellectual, political, "social," and economic life of the city. These families possess considerable property [893] and employ numerous servants. Their members are usually [463] literate, and at least the males are *formados* (i.e., graduated from one of the Faculdades, either in law, medicine, or engineering), a distinction which in the Bahian society marks them off quite sharply from the rest of the population.

[204] It is in these areas that the five newspapers published in [291] the city circulate almost exclusively and the latest fashions from Paris or Hollywood are known and generally adopted. [341] In recent years an occasional example of modernistic archi- [422] tecture and interior design has appeared. Here are to be [206] found the owners of virtually all the city's 3,855 telephones, its 1,028 automobiles, its radios, and private libraries. Here [217] live most of the 20,524 voters who cast ballots in the munici- [207] pal election of 1936. Here attachment to the *candomblé*, or Afro-Brazilian fetish cult, is minimal and Catholic belief is [794] least modified by elements from the more primitive reli- [177] gions. Here live that portion of the population which *o povo* ("the people") call the *ricos*, or the "rich."

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The valleys, on the other hand, afford less comfortable, less healthful, less convenient, and, consequently, less expensive residential locations. Here the regularly laid out streets and paving disappear. The inhabitants get about by way of footpaths, the red clay of which becomes slippery after a tropical downpour and quite treacherous on the steeper slopes. Here live the lower classes. Dwellings are simple mud huts constructed of a sapling framework over which puddled clay has been spread and allowed to dry. If the owner's income has permitted, the rough exterior of the dwellings has been smoothed off and a lime wash in pale tints of pink, blue, green, or yellow added. The floor is commonly of earth, neatly sanded at regular intervals with fresh *areia* from the seashore. The roof of such dwellings is usually of palm fronds and may be slightly raised at the gable to permit the more ready exit of smoke from the housewife's fire. The furniture ordinarily consists of rude benches or stools, perhaps a cheap chair, a rough table, and cots, or, more commonly, straw mats for sleeping. A Standard Oil Company can whose top and bottom have been removed is used for a stove. Furnishings include an unpretentious niche with a small image of the family's patron saint, a candle, perhaps an almanac, and a rude iron support for washbasin and pitcher of water. Utensils are usually of baked clay and quite simple in design.

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In respect to economic level, education, and, to some extent, religion, the inhabitants of these lower-class areas diverge widely from those of the ridges. They are usually illiterate, although some of the children are now being enrolled in government-sponsored schools. Communication is ordinarily by word of mouth, seldom by newspaper, book, or telephone. Conversation is carried on in the Portuguese

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565 Conversation is carried on in the Portuguese
[197] vernacular, with a limited vocabulary and numerous errors
[489] in grammar. Many words of African or native Indian origin
are commonly heard. Transport is primitive. Here the fe-
[771] tish cult, and the attitudes, sentiments, and beliefs associated
[794] with it, gains its most zealous and faithful devotees. Here,
cut off quite sharply from participation in the upper levels of European culture, live that portion of the population which the upper classes refer to as *o povo*, and who think of themselves as *os pobres* ("the poor").

The social gulf between the *pobres* of the valleys and the *ricos* of the ridges is wide and not easy to bridge. This is, of course, to be anticipated in a society with an aristocratic tradition whose upper circles still look somewhat askance upon manual labor and have always regarded education, family connection, and "good breeding" as indices of class.
[1068] Attitudes in this respect have changed little since the time
[567] when the abolitionist Anselmo da Fonseca felt it necessary to apologize for including the name of "a man of the people," a humble Negro shoemaker, among the prominent upper-class abolitionists of Bahia, arguing that "intelligence, patriotism, and truth are not the privilege of any one class" and explaining that this particular individual had been more useful to the abolition cause than many "more noble."

565 The upper classes habitually refer to members of the lower
186 classes as *trabalhadores* ("laborers"), *operarios* ("workers"), or *o povo baixo* ("common people") and humorously caricature them by a cartoon character known as Zé Povinho, an
[867] illiterate, stupid, and unprepossessing lout. To their children they often direct such phrases as "não seja gentinha" ("don't be like common people"), "não tenha modos de gentinha" ("don't take up the manners of common people"), "não ligue a (or *para*) povo miudo" ("don't attach yourself

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to vulgar persons"), "não faça caso de gente baixa" ("don't 186
mind low people"), "não dê attenção á gentinha" ("don't [867]
pay any attention to common people"), and "não se incommode com a gente baixa" ("don't trouble yourself about common people"). Of themselves, the upper classes use the rather general expressions *as altas rodas* ("the upper circles"), *grand monde*, and the "élite."

The lower classes refer to the upper classes as *os "chefões"* ("the big shots"), *os donos da gente* ("the owners of the people"), *os grandes graudos* ("the illustrious great"), *os manda-chuvas da cidade* ("the rainmakers of the city"; i.e., those who can do anything), *ricaços* ("the plutocrats"), or merely *os brancos* ("the whites").

Although this rather simple pattern in which ridges and 361
valleys appear as contrasted residential areas is, in general, 565
characteristic of the entire city, it is modified in a few minor instances. The upper-class suburb of Barra, for example, lies low on the seacoast, albeit well swept by the refreshing sea breeze; while the ridges (as well as the valleys) in the [362]
less accessible areas outside the main portion of the city are covered with the huts of the lower class. In the old outmoded four-to-seven-story buildings (relics of Bahia's former splendor), which hedge about the central portion of the city and lie either on top, or well up toward the top, of the central ridges, are crowded together in something approaching slum conditions hundreds of the city's poor.[12] But in general the pattern of the city conforms quite closely to that which has been described.

As one moves about the different residential areas, he [563]*

[12] For an intimate glimpse into the life of this latter area see Jorge Amado, *Suor* (2d ed.; Rio, 1936). The locale of these interesting sketches is an old building at No. 68 on the Pelourinho which fronts on the triangular *praça* where the old slave whipping-post used to stand.

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notes that this segregation by economic and educational classes conforms in a general way, although with certain important exceptions, to the differences in color in the population. In fact, Bahia on initial acquaintance seems not unlike a medieval city surrounded by African villages.[13]

Thus, in general, one may say that the whites and the lighter mixed-bloods ordinarily occupy the more comfortable, more healthful, more convenient, and hence more expensive ridges of the city; while the blacks and darker mixed-bloods usually reside in the less convenient, less healthful, hence cheaper, low-lying areas, and the outlying, less accessible regions called locally *suburbios*. In other words, the ridges of the *ricos* correspond in the main to the residential areas of the whites and of the lighter *mestiços*, while the valleys and the outlying sections of the *pobres* correspond in large measure to the residential areas of the darker portion of the population. On the outskirts of the city, such sections as Matta Escura, Engenho Velho, Federação, Garcia, Quintas da Barra, Retiro, Alto do Abacaxi, Alto das Pombas, Estrada da Liberdade, Estrada do Rodagem, Cabrito, Cruz do Cosme, Matatú Pequeno, etc., are all predominantly inhabited by blacks and darker mixed-bloods. The lighter *mestiços* are clearly in the minority and whites quite rare. On the other hand, the ridges of Vitoria, Canella, and Graça and the seaside *bairro* of Barra are almost entirely inhabited by whites, with only a limited number of the lighter mixed-bloods scattered among them. It is, however,

[13] An American resident who had spent five years at Lagos on the African West Coast once remarked, "When I go out into the suburbs of Bahia, I feel like I am back in Africa, the Negro huts and their surroundings are so similar."

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true that one finds, on the slopes to the rear of the more pretentious houses of these areas and spreading into the valleys beyond, a considerable number of simple huts whose occupants are blacks and darker mixed-bloods.

Nazaré is less predominantly an area of white residence, there being in this *bairro* numbers of very light *mestiços* but, except on the slopes toward the Baixa dos Sapateiros, on the one hand, and the Dique, on the other, relatively few blacks. The transitional sections of Santo Antonio, Barbalho, Barris, Tororó, and the peninsula of Itapagipe (which extends more than a mile out into Todos os Santos Bay) are predominantly inhabited by mixed-bloods. Nevertheless, here also a few whites and a considerable number of blacks, particularly in such subsections as Massaranduba in Itapagipe, also live side by side with *mestiços*.

One soon discovers, however, that this ethnic segregation is largely due to the circumstance that color and class, as we shall soon see in detail, tend to coincide. This is, of course, a situation to be anticipated, given the circumstances and conditions of Negro importation and settlement and the comparatively recent emergence of the darker race from a servile status. The important consideration is that there is in Bahia, it seems, no deliberate attempt to segregate the races as a means of maintaining caste or class distinctions.

In fact, the spatial distribution of the races would appear even on first sight to be an index of the racial situation, and longer acquaintance with the city tends to confirm this hypothesis. The residential pattern suggests a gradually evolving, freely competitive society in which the Europeans settled on the ridges, and the Africans and their descendants, as propertyless slaves, or impoverished freedmen, were rele-

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361 565 * 563 gated to the less desirable territory. Although the Europeans have still today, to a considerable extent, maintained their original advantage, the blacks and darker mixed-bloods have gradually pushed themselves up the slopes from their less favored locations until now they have come, in some cases, to share a portion of the Europeans' favored position. One occasionally finds them living next to the homes of the whites, symbolizing the fact that they now occupy those positions, social as well as spatial, which personal ability, occupational proficiency, and favorable circumstance have enabled them to achieve and to maintain. Thus the racial distinctions which one from the United States is so likely on first acquaintance to note turn out to be, as we shall soon see in more detail, not the things which are either so genuine or so important as at first sight might appear.

It is significant, in this connection, that in what might be called the intermediate residential areas of the city, where the dwellings of those who are rising out of the lower classes meet the dwellings of the upper classes, one finds the darker and the lighter portions of the population meeting and mingling in close residential proximity. This is true, for example, along the Avenida Sete de Setembro.

363 [788] [541] [562] The Avenida Sete de Setembro, from Jardim Suspenso on, is the only artery into the "downtown area"[1] from South Bahia. It thus becomes the route of passage for processions like those of Carnival, the "Micarêta,"[14] the Peruada,[15] and the numerous religious *festas*, and the avenue of march for the military during visits of political celebrities. Its streetcar line and constant flow of busses would make it less de-

[14] The "Micarêta" is the so-called "second Carnival" held the Sunday following Easter.

[527] [15] The Peruada is an annual students' parade with floats.

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sirable as a seat of residence for one weary of the noises of an industrial city, but for the Bahian wife and daughters, whose world is still largely inside the doors of the home, these characteristics seem to give it a peculiar charm. Hence, one will see along this avenue, almost from Praça Castro Alves out, the residences of many substantial families and, in Vitoria, just beyond the governor's palace, the more pretentious dwellings of the upper class.

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TABLE 1

FAMILIES DWELLING ALONG THE AVENIDA SETE DE SETEMBRO CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO ETHNIC COMPOSITION, BAHIA, 1936

361 563 * 162

	Number	Per Cent
Black	19	7.6
Mixed-blood	97	38.6
White	128	51.0
Mixed-blood and white	5	2.0
Black and mixed-blood	2	0.8
Total	251	100.0

No Bahian house which boasts any pretension fails to have a balcony, while nearly all possess large casement windows opening out on the street. From this vantage point the family can while away many pleasant hours leaning on elbows and "watching the *gente* (people) go by." Consequently, one can readily gain, especially during the passage of processions when the balconies and windows are fully occupied, rather accurate information on the physical character of the population. It is possible at Carnival, for example, particularly just preceding the passage of the floats, to take a census with respect to racial composition, as far

125 563 * 796 [342] [517]

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at least as color is an index of race.[16] On the first evening of Carnival in 1936 an analysis into color categories of families dwelling along this avenue from Jardim Suspenso to the Church of São Bento gave the distribution shown in Table 1.

361 *563 That families of whites, of mixed-bloods, and of relatively unmixed blacks dwell indiscriminately side by side on this important street is even more clearly evident if one notes the house-by-house distribution as he proceeds along the Avenida:

White	Mixed-blood	Mixed-blood
White	White	White
Mixed-blood	Mixed-blood (dark)	White
Mixed-blood	Mixed-blood (dark)	White
Mixed-blood	White	Mixed-blood
White	Mixed-blood	Mixed-blood
Mixed-blood	Mixed-blood	Black
White	White	Black
White	Mixed-blood	Mixed-blood
Mixed-blood (dark)	Mixed-blood	Mixed-blood
Mixed-blood	White	Mixed-blood
White	White	White

*125 563 361 Of 142 white students to whom the question, "Do you dislike black neighbors?" was put, 120 responded "No." And of 143 who responded to the question, "Do you dislike *pardo* (brown) neighbors?" 129 replied in the negative. Among the small minority who in each case appeared to be somewhat troubled by the immediate proximity of darker neighbors, subsequent inquiry developed that ordinarily the objection arose out of apprehension that residence among black neighbors might imply residence in a lower-class (and hence less

[16] It is obviously likely that the actual residents were joined on this occasion by other persons, either relatives or friends. But since the object was not to count faces but to test the ethnic composition of families dwelling side by side, this possibility did not materially affect the enumeration. Only seven cases were found of mixed ethnic composition, and it is reasonable to assume in the light of the Bahian culture that some of these were so by reason of ethnic mixture in the family itself.

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desirable) neighborhood. The objection appeared to be not so much to the blacks *as such* but rather to those areas in which the darker portion of the population, being less secure financially (as we shall presently see in more detail), ordinarily dwell.

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In this connection it is also significant to note that an occasional black resides in such upper-class sections as Canella or Vitoria without any question being made of the fact. He will ordinarily be a person of wealth, education, professional competence, and "good breeding"; in other words, a member of the upper classes. Similarly significant is the complementary fact that a considerable number of lower-class whites may be found living in the valleys or the outlying regions, scattered among the darker portion of the population, imbedded quite unconsciously in what might be called, if they were in the United States, the "Negro bottoms."[17] Sharing a common life with the other illiterate poor, these occasional white families visit about among their darker neighbors, eat, drink, work, play, and intermarry with them, and participate in a common body of ideas and sentiments, just as at the other end of the class scale an occasional black participates in the predominately white world of the élite.

Thus, although Bahia is divided quite definitely into upper- and lower-class residents who occupy rather distinct areas of the city, and these class and geographical divisions also tend to correspond rather closely to the color divisions in the population, one notes certain significant exceptions whose occurrence points rather clearly toward class rather than caste as the basis of social organization.

[17] An occasional well-to-do white upper-class family will reside in a lower-class area, the house and grounds ordinarily taking on the appearance of a spacious country seat surrounded by more humble dwellings.

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II

SLAVERY

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CHAPTER II

THE COMING OF THE AFRICANS

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THE population of Bahia in 1585 included at least three to four thousand Negroes.[1] During the succeeding century the black portion of the city's inhabitants increased to such an extent that it is said a traveler "might have supposed himself in Negroland."[2] Frézier in 1714 estimated the proportion of blacks to whites in Bahia to be at that time twenty to one, which is probably an overstatement, although the preponderance of Negroes was undoubtedly considerable.[3] Approximately one hundred years later, in 1807, an *alistamento* for military service enumerated nearly twice as many blacks as whites, or approximately the same number of Negroes as both whites and mixed-bloods combined.[4] Twelve years later, in 1819, Conselheiro Velloso

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[1] A. G. Keller, *Colonization* (Boston, 1908), p. 145. Gabriel Soares (*Roteiro do Brasil*, p. 126, quoted by Pedro Calmon, *Historia social do Brasil* [3 vols.; São Paulo, 1937-39, I, 179) puts the number of Negroes able to bear arms in Bahia in 1587 at four thousand. The Jesuit Anchieta estimated the population in 1583 to include three thousand Negroes, a figure thought by Vasconcellos to be an underestimation (see Salomão de Vasconcellos, "A escravatura africana em Minas Geraes," *Jornal do Commercio* [Rio], November 20, 1938).

[2] Robert Southey, *History of Brazil* (3 vols.; London, 1810), II, 674.

[3] At approximately the same time, Cook estimated the proportion in Rio de Janeiro to be seventeen to one (Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 175). Each visitor may have been more familiar with the area immediately about the docks where a greater predominance of Negro workers would naturally be found. It is also probably true that the mixed-bloods were, in each case, included with the blacks.

[4] The totals were: blacks, 25,502; mixed-bloods, 11,350; whites, 14,260 (see João Pandiá Calogeras, "A politica exterior do imperio—as origens,"

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175 162 de Oliveira estimated that there were then in Bahia province 147,263 unfree Negroes.[5]

464 567 249 175 The blacks were practically all introduced as slaves, Brazil being, until 1888, a slaveholding state.[6] Under the favorable conditions of a rich soil, intense tropical sunlight, and plentiful rainfall common to the Reconcavo, sugar cane thrived. Its cultivation and processing in a land of "open resources" demanded a constant and inexpensive labor supply which the Portuguese, by reason of insufficient numbers and imperfect acclimitization, were themselves unable to 567 furnish. At first, as in the West Indies and the United 464 States, the indigenous Indians were enslaved; and, after the 175 limited supply on the littoral was exhausted, raiding expeditions penetrated deep into the interior. But the Indians, familiar with only the crudest forms of agriculture, seminomadic, and as unaccustomed to settled and ordered plan-

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Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro [tomo especial; Rio, 1927], p. 294).

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 293 and 330.

[6] For detailed information on the slave trade and slavery see, especially Perdigão Malheiro, *A escravidão no Brasil* (3 vols.; Rio, 1867); Percy A. Martin, "Slavery and Abolition in Brazil," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. XIII, No. 2 (1933); Louis Couty, *L'esclavage au Brésil* (Paris, 1881); Lawrence F. Hill, "The Abolition of the African Slave Trade to Brazil," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. XI, No. 2 (1931); Braz do Amaral, "Os grandes mercados de escravos africanos; as tribus importadas; sua distribuição regional," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro* (special vol; Rio, 1927), pp. 437–96; Affonso Claudio, "As tribus negras importadas," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro* (special vol., Part II; Rio, 1914), pp. 597–655; Mary W. Williams, "The Treatment of Brazilian Slaves in the Brazilian Empire," *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. XV (July, 1930); Evaristo de Moraes, *A escravidão africana no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1933); João Dornas Filho, *A escrividão no Brasil* (Rio, 1939); Roberto Simonsen, "As consequencias economicas da abolição," *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio), May 8, 1938; Affonso de E. Taunay, "Notas sobre as ultimas decadas do trafico," *ibid.*, July 24, July 31, August 7, 1938.

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tation life as they were at home in the near-by bush, proved inefficient and undependable workers.

Just the reverse was characteristic of the Africans, with whom the Portuguese had for some time been acquainted. As early as 1433,[7] Negro slaves had been imported into Portugal to labor on the large estates of the military and religious orders, particularly in the Algarves. Moreover, the West Coast of Africa lay within easy reach of Brazil, directly opposite its central and northern coasts.

The exact date when African importation began is unknown, although it is thought that the fleet which Martim Affonso de Souza in 1531 encountered in the bay at Bahia was engaged in the transport of slaves.[8] Sometime later in this same century[9] the slave trade began to gather momen-

[7] Prado cites a statement from Georg Friederici (*Der Charakter der Entdeckung und Eroberung Amerikas durch die Europaer* [3 vols.; Stuttgart, 1925-36]) to the effect that the first Africans were imported into Portugal in 1433, instead of 1441, as commonly thought. See J. F. de Almeida Prado, *Pernambuco e as capitanias do norte do Brasil* (2 vols.; São Paulo, 1939-41), I, 250 n. [114]

[8] Malheiro, *op. cit.*, III, 6; cf. Arthur Ramos, *As culturas negras no novo mundo* (Rio, 1937), p. 281.

[9] In a letter dated 1552 Padre Nobrega refers to having requested and received three slaves from Guinea. These arrived with others on orders from the king (see Ignacio Accioli de Cerqueira e Silva, *Memorias historicas e politicas da provincia da Bahia* [4 vols.; Bahia, 1919-33], I, 390). In another letter written June 5, 1559, Padre Nobrega refers to eight "Negros de Guiné" on the estate of one Andre Gavião at Bahia (see Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 442). In 1583 a certain Salvador Correa de Sá made a contract with João Gutteres Valerio in which he agreed to purchase every slave brought from Africa in his ship (F. Borges de Barros, *Novos documentos para a historia colonial* [Bahia, 1931], p. 77). Pedro Calmon (*op. cit.*, p. 178) gives 1548 as the year in which the traffic began, and Arthur Ramos (*The Negro in Brazil* [Washington, 1939], p. 3) says that the first shipment of slaves direct from the Guinea coast is thought to have occurred in 1538 in a vessel belonging to one Jorge Lopes Bixorda.

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tum, Bahia serving for at least two centuries as the principal port of entry.[10] The traffic opened in Guinea and the island of São Thomé, spread shortly to the Congo and Angola, and finally to distant Mozambique. It continued uninterruptedly for nearly three hundred years, assuming its largest proportions in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when first gold-mining and diamond-panning in Minas Geraes, and then the development of coffee cultivation in São Paulo, augmented the demand.[11] How many Africans were brought

[10] Often for transhipment to Rio or for overland delivery to Minas Geraes.

[11] Henry Koster, writing in the early nineteenth century, says of this trade: "As the voyage from the coast of Africa to the opposite shores of South America is usually short, for the winds are subject to little variation and the weather is usually fine, the vessels which are employed in this traffic are generally speaking small, and are not of the best construction. The situation of captain or master of a slave ship is considered of secondary rank in the Portuguese merchant-service; and the persons who are usually so occupied are vastly inferior to the generality of the individuals who command the large and regular trading vessels between Europe and Brazil. The slave ships were formerly crowded to a most shocking degree; nor was there any means of preventing this. But a law has been passed for the purpose of restricting the number of persons for each vessel. However, I more than suspect, that no attention is paid to this regulation. . . . . The slaves . . . . are placed in the streets before the doors of the owners, ... lying or sitting promiscuously upon the foot-path, sometimes to the number of two or three hundred. The males wear a small piece of blue cloth round their waist, which is drawn between the legs and fastened behind. The females are allowed a larger piece of cloth, which is worn as a petticoat; and sometimes a second portion is given to them, for the purpose of covering the upper parts of the body. The stench which is created by these assemblages is almost intolerable to one who is unaccustomed to their vicinity; and the sight of them, good God! is horrid beyond anything. These people do not, however, seem to feel their situation, any farther than that it is uncomfortable. Their food consists of salt meat, the flour of the manioc, beans, and plantain occasionally. The victuals for each day are cooked in the middle of the street in an enormous caldron. At night, they are driven into one or more warehouses: and a driver stands to count them as they pass. They are locked in; and the door is again opened at day-break on the following morning. The wish of these wretched creatures to escape from this state of

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in perhaps never will be known, but the number undoubtedly ran into millions.[12]

Angola furnished most of the importations during the late sixteenth[13] and the seventeenth centuries; Guinea, during the eighteenth and early nineteenth.[14] By 1710 Bahian to-

inaction and discomfort is manifested upon the appearance of a purchaser. They start up willingly, to be placed in the row for the purpose of being viewed and handled like cattle: and on being chosen they give signs of much pleasure. I have had many opportunities of seeing slaves bought; for my particular friends at Recife lived opposite to slave dealers. I never saw any demonstrations of grief at parting from each other: but I attribute this to a resigned or rather despairing sensation, which checks any show of grief, and which has prepared them for the worst, by making them indifferent to whatever may occur: besides, it is not often, that a family is brought over together: the separation of relatives and friends has taken place in Africa. It is among the younger part of the assemblage of persons who are exposed for sale, that pleasure is particularly visible at the change of situation; the Negroes of more advanced age do whatever the driver desires, usually with an unchanged countenance. A species of relationship exists between the individuals who have been imported in the same ship. They call each other *malungos:* and this term is much regarded among them. The purchaser gives to each of his newly-bought slaves a large piece of baize and a straw hat and as soon as possible marches them off to his estate. I have often in travelling met with many parties going up to their new homes, and have observed that they were usually cheerful" (*Travels in Brazil, 1809 to 1815* [2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1817], I, 205-9).

[12] Affonso de E. Taunay, "Numéros do tráfico," *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio), September 30, 1936. Estimates made by Brazilian writers range from three to eighteen millions, although the latter figure would appear to be considerably exaggerated. Ramos believes the number did not exceed five millions (*The Negro in Brazil*, p. 6).

[13] Especially after the founding of São Paulo de Loanda in 1575 (Calmon, *op. cit.*, pp. 178–79). See also *Dialogos das grandezas do Brasil*, ed. Rodolfo García (Rio: Academia Brasileira de Letras, 1930), p. 143.

[14] In 1811 an agreement with England, actively enforced by the latter's cruisers, cut off importations from north of the Equator. Angola once more became the principal source of slave supply, and, between 1815 and 1850, approximately a million Angola Negroes, it is estimated, came in (Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 182).

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By 1710 Bahian tobacco[15] was being shipped in quantity to "the Mina coast," which for more than a century thereafter absorbed a full third of Bahia's production.[16] A visitor early in the eighteenth century referred to Bahia as "New Guinea";[17] while the natives of Guinea were said at that time to have called the outer world "Bahia."[18]

In 1781 fifty vessels were engaged in the Brazilian traffic, "eight or ten with Angola and the rest with the Sudanese coast."[19] In 1800 twenty vessels were plying the trade from Bahia alone. According to custom-house records, 29,172 Negroes from "the Mina coast" and the islands of São Thomé and Principe entered Bahia during the decade from

[15] *Aguardente*, or *cachaça* (cheap rum), sugar, and manioc meal were also extensively used for trading purposes, as similarly were cowries (*buzios*) from the coast south of Bahia.

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[16] Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

[17] Amadeu Francisco Frézier, *Relation d'un voyage à la mer du sud* (Paris, 1716); cf. Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 185. The demand for slave labor in the gold fields of Minas Geraes so stimulated importations that La Barbinais, visiting Bahia in 1717, estimated that in that year 25,000 Africans were landed at Bahia. See Affonso de E. Taunay, *Na Bahia colonial* (Rio, 1925), p. 364.

[18] "It was principally to Bahia . . . . that the unfortunate sons of Lybia were brought, and it is for this reason that the natives of Guinea give the name of Bahia to Brazil, to America, and even to Europe" (Onesime Reclus, quoted by Manoel Querino, "A raça africana e os seus costumes na Bahia," *Annaes do quinto congresso brasileiro de geographia* [Rio, 1916], p. 626).

[19] Calmon, *op. cit.*, pp. 180–81. See letter of Silva Lisboa, *Annaes da Bibliotecа Nacional*, XXXII, 504. From September 29, 1771, to September 22, 1772, nine slave ships with 2,307 Negroes entered the port of Bahia. One ship, "Nossa Senhora do Rosario," carrying 371 Africans "and two babies at the breast" had not had a single death on the voyage. Another vessel, "Nossa Senhora da Conceição da Ponte," sailing from the Mina coast with a call at São Thomé, landed 13 without casualty, July 11, 1772. But other ships lost, respectively, 111 out of 374, 17 out of 468, 17 out of 158, 29 out of 233, 11 out of 308, 44 out of 327, 20 out of 302—a total loss of 249 out of 2,554 leaving the African coast (from custom-house records; see Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 458).

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1785 to 1795, and in the last five of these years 17,409 Africans came in from Angola.[20] From 1797 to 1806 approximately 47,000 "Minas" and 11,000 "Angolas" entered Bahia.[21] In the Angola trade, ships plied directly between the Brazilian ports of Bahia,[22] Pernambuco, Rio de Janeiro, and Maranhão and the Angola ports of São Paulo de Loanda, Benguella, and, particularly, Novo Redondo, exchanging for Angola Negroes tobacco, *cachaça*, cotton prints, knives, glass beads, powder, and lead.[23] Thousands of Yorubas, Gêges (Ewes), Haussás, Fuláhs (Fulbis, Fulanins), Ashantis, Tapas, Effans, and Mandingas were imported from the ports of Lagos, Forte de El Mina, and São João de Ajudá (Whydah).[24] Felix de Sousa, better known as Cháchá,[25] a mulatto from Rio de Janeiro, played a prominent role in the trade in the early part of the nineteenth century.

In the sixteenth century a good slave is said to have been

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[20] Calogeras, *op. cit.*, pp. 325-26.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 322.

[22] Several slave warehouses existed in the area between Agua dos Meninos and the Dourado docks. Some slave merchants used their own houses as *depositos*. A certain Siqueira Lima had such a house in Vitoria on the present site of the governor's palace (Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 70).

[23] Ferreira reports 8,037 Negroes imported into Bahia in the year 1807 (José Carlos Ferreira, "As insurreições dos africanos na Bahia," *Revista do Instituto Geographico e Historico da Bahia*, XXIX [1903], 96). In 1821, 21,199 Negroes entered Rio from Angola; in 1822, 24,934 (Maria Graham, *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil, 1821-1823* [London, 1824], p. 146).

[24] Braz do Amaral says there were also imported Africans known in Bahia as Macuas, Bambas, Jalos, Bechuanos, Balantes, Jingas, Krumanos, Timinis, Bengos, Jalofas, Bengalas, Cabindas, Congos, Manjocos, Sentys, Maguiscas, Benins, Queitos, and Bornûs. Numerically important were the Yorubas (Nagôs) and Gêges (Amaral, *op. cit.*, pp. 474-84). The Yoruba subgroups, the Egbas and Ige-shas, were apparently large.

[25] Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 182; cf. Novas Calvo, *Pedro blanco el negrero* (Madrid, 1933), p. 69.

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In the sixteenth century a good slave is said to have been valued in Bahia at 40 milreis; in 1692, at 60 milreis; in 1703, at 100 milreis; and in 1800, at 140 milreis.[26] At Pernambuco, early in the nineteenth century, Negroes were valued at 32 pounds sterling; oxen at 31 pounds each, and horses the same; although "by management the two last may be obtained at lower prices," Koster informs us,[27] adding that "plantations of the first class ought to have eighty Negroes at least."

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In addition to Bahia and Recife, there were two other centers of African importation on the coast, at Rio de Janeiro to the south and Maranhão to the north, and one interior region of concentration, the province of Minas Geraes. These five areas received the major portion of all importations and remain today the principal centers of Negro population in Brazil.

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In 1831 a treaty with Great Britain sought to abolish the slave trade. But for a quarter of a century this agreement was so little enforced[28] that an estimated 500,000 additional

[26] Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 182. A slave worth 100 milreis in 1830 was valued at five times this figure ten years later, and still more as the pressure of the British blockade continued (Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 472).

[27] *Op. cit.*, II, 139.

[28] "At one time it appeared impossible to abolish the traffic. . . . . The planters declared that without Africans they would be absolutely unable to plant crops; that free labor was not to be had in sufficient numbers for the necessities of agriculture; that only by force could labor be obtained in this hot country; that the citizen, he who was a free man, possessed as his chief privilege 'não trabalhar' [the right not to labor], or at least to work only enough to enable him to eat and to live as 'Deus dará' [God will provide]; that since the 'gente rude' did not lack shelter, being content to live in palm-leaf huts, it was useless to attempt to obtain profitable labor from free men, who were always lazy and inclined to idleness; that the *fazendeiro* who used free labor was soon reduced to penury by the wages paid out and the poor quality of work so secured" (Amaral, *op. cit.*, pp. 472-73). On receiving news of the decree of 1831, the Bahian provincial assembly directed a petition to

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Africans were brought into Brazil, many in United States ships, operated by English capital.[29] In 1846, 50,324 were imported; in 1847, 56,172; and, in the following year, 60,000.[30] This traffic was completely suppressed only by 1852,[30a] Bahia being one of the areas in which it died hardest.[31]

In plant and animal communities different species come

the federal senate, demanding its repeal. At one time a *delegado de policia* in Bahia was dismissed from office for having apprehended a shipment of Africans, although such shipment was obviously illegal under the provisions of this law.

[29] Daniel P. Kidder, *Sketches of Residence and Travels in Brazil* (2 vols.; London, 1845), II, 96–97; Hill, *op. cit.*, pp. 179 ff.; Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 319. The most notorious slave-trade case involving a vessel from the United States was that of the "Mary E. Smith" of New Orleans. The ship was brought into Bahia by the Brazilian brig "Olinda" on January 29, 1856, with 370 slaves from fifteen to twenty years of age aboard. The "Mary E. Smith," despite efforts to detain her, had left Boston on the preceding August 24 and sailed to the Gold Coast, where she had picked up a cargo of nearly five hundred Africans. When captured, she had been attempting unsuccessfully for weeks to land her cargo on the Bahian coast. One hundred and six slaves died before the vessel was finally taken and those still alive upon arrival in Bahia were so weakened by starvation and disease that only a few survived.

[30] Calmon, *op. cit.*, II, 171. According to figures given by the British Anti-slavery Society, 221,800 Africans entered Brazil between 1840 and 1847 (Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 495).

[30a] Percy A. Martin, *Argentina, Brazil and Chile since Independence* (Washington, 1935), p. 208. The last shipload into Bahia landed October 29, 1851. See Wanderley de A. Pinho, "O ultimo desembarque de escravos na Bahia," *Espelho* (September, 1936), pp. 13–16.

[31] Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 236. The *Argos Pernambucano* of January 30, 1850, says: "The way in which free Africans are imported into Bahia and reduced to slavery, with the obvious connivance of the government, is a notorious scandal." In the *Argos Sant'Amarense* appeared the following: "The Governor of the Province himself, at nightfall, on the twenty-first of October, 1849, unloaded in the city of Santo Amaro a large number of newly arrived Africans, which he had brought from the capital [Bahia] in a boat, and transported them to his *engenho*." See also Querino, *op. cit.*, p. 626.

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to live together because they mutually support one another. Similarly, different racial stocks often occupy to mutual advantage the same habitat because each fits into a different niche in an interdependent symbiotic order. The fundamental problem is that of survival. The Portuguese at Bahia to a considerable extent resolved this problem by the development of an economy based upon plantation agriculture and slave labor.

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A considerable number of Negroes died while being transported from Africa. Others subsequently perished from the ravages of cholera, yellow fever, and other epidemics. A few committed suicide or led religiously motivated uprisings against their masters. But the major portion were readily incorporated into the plantation system. Centuries of familiarity with the slave-tradition of their African cultures and, in many cases, familiarity with the slave status itself probably made their adjustment to a slave system in the new land less difficult.

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Most of the Negroes entering and remaining in the vicinity of Bahia were employed in the planting, cultivation, harvesting, processing, and marketing of sugar cane and tobacco. A limited number were engaged in cattle-raising. They also supplied the necessary artisan and domestic labor on the plantations.

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Within the city of Bahia itself, as in other Brazilian ports, most of the slaves were engaged in domestic service. However, in addition, a modified form of slavery existed. Many blacks, known as *negros de ganho*, were employed as porters, stevedores, ironworkers, masons, carpenters, carriage- and cabinet-makers, printers, sign and ornamental painters, silversmiths, lithographers, sculptors in wood and stone, small shopkeepers, street merchants, etc. They were semi-inde-

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pendent, lived apart from their masters, and arranged their own employment. They were usually required to pay a stated sum weekly to their owners, after which they might retain for their own use any balance remaining. In Bahia they are reported to have been principally Yorubas, Gêges, and Haussás.

These Negroes were reputedly strong, capable workers. Almost all the Haussás were ardent Mohammedans, who in Bahia seem to have converted to their faith many Yorubas, Gêges, and other Africans. Shrewd and intelligent, they were at times superior in cultural equipment to their masters. Many were literate, and some are said to have written Arabic fluently. Often they banded together to mature schemes of revolt, to buy the freedom of a favorite friend, or to work under a leader for the liberation of all. The order in which they secured their freedom was ordinarily determined by lot, the earliest liberated remaining with the group until the last was purchased, after which they sometimes returned to Africa, paying their passage with what they had earned.[32]

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It was principally the Haussás who led the numerous slave revolts[33] at Bahia during the early nineteenth century. Although these uprisings were all unsuccessful and ordi-

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[32] Daniel P. Kidder and James C. Fletcher, *Brazil and the Brazilians* (Philadelphia, 1857), p. 135. Between 1850 and 1878 from four to six thousand free Negroes from Brazil settled at Lagos and Whydah and a few in Angola (Sir Harry H. Johnston, *The Negro in the New World* [New York, 1910], p. 98 n.). Repatriated Gêges are said to have founded on the African West Coast a city with the name of a Bahian port, Porto Seguro.

[33] In the Archivo Publico at Bahia are four volumes of police documents covering the revolts of this period. Each volume contains from a thousand to twelve hundred sheets in long hand which, for their age, are fairly well preserved.

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narily ended in the death of their leaders, the Europeans lived throughout this period in a more or less constant state of alarm.[34] Arthur Ramos, following Nina Rodrigues, considers these disturbances to have been "nothing more or less than a continuation of the long and recurrent struggles of religious conquest carried on by the Mohammedan Negroes of the Sudan."[35] In support of this contention it has been pointed out that their animosity was directed not only at the Europeans but also at creole blacks and mulattoes who did not join the crusade.

In estimating the character of these revolts, one should give particular attention to the fact that the participants were either free Negroes or those slaves, like the *negros de ganho* and the field hands, whose relations with the whites were not the intimate relations which ordinarily arise out of close personal contact. It is highly significant that on the eve of revolt the whites always received timely warning from

[34] The following document, which was sent to the governor of Bahia by several *senhores de engenho*, shows the fear which at that time agricultural proprietors had of these disturbances (Silva, *op. cit.*, p. 346):

The undersigned owners of *engenhos*, considering the imminent peril in which by reason of the frequent slave revolts known to Your Excellency their persons and, in general, those of all the inhabitants of the Reconcavo and even perhaps of the entire Province [of Bahia] are placed, and considering that at every moment the property of each one of them is at stake, feel it an unavoidable duty to point out this situation to Your Excellency and to beg the actual placing of those Detachments which Your Excellency sometime ago ordered stationed at various points in the Reconcavo in keeping with the police plan of the 10th of December, 1828, the which, being included in the *Proposta* of the Provincial Counsel General, was approved along with other provisions and ordered put into effect, the expenses of its execution to be paid out of the public treasury.

It not being, however, the intention of the petitioners to load onto the Public Treasury the entire burden, they themselves offer to seek to raise a portion of this expense by means of a subscription.

The petitioners rest confident in the interest which Your Excellency has always taken in the preservation of public order, and are thereby assured that you will give ear to this urgent request which they have here set forth.

[35] Ramos, *As culturas negras*, p. 336; see also Nina Rodrigues, *Os africanos no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1932), pp. 61–107.

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some slave,[36] and many Negroes repeatedly refused to participate in the uprisings.[37] The disturbances were ordinarily led, as we have seen, by Mohammedan Haussás, said to be exceedingly spirited and resolute individuals,[38] who were either free blacks or semi-independent *negros de ganho*. Moreover, they lived for the most part in the city where life was less arduous than on the plantations and where there was, at the same time, more leisure for brooding over grievances and perfecting schemes of revolt. Since all insurrectionists spoke the same or quite similar languages and shared

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[36] Dantas Junior, in commenting on the revolt of 1807, repeats (*A Illustração* [Bahia], June, 1936) that on the night of the twenty-second of May (the revolt was set for 7:00 P.M. of the twenty-eighth) a "person of integrity" urgently sought out the governor at his palace and secretly informed him that "a Negro of mine told me that the slaves of the Ussá nation are plotting to revolt." Following the serious uprising of 1835, the provincial assembly rewarded (*Laws*, No. 344, August 5, 1848, and No. 405, August 2, 1850) the "free Africans," Duarte Mendes and his wife, Sabina da Cruz, with the cancellation of their taxes for having "informed on and thus prevented the success of the planned insurrection."

[37] "The Negroes of the warehouses belonging to Manoel Ignacio da Cunha and Francisco Lourenço Herculano did not wish to join the band" (Silva, *op. cit.*, p. 347). Wied Neuwied, who visited Bahia during the period of these uprisings, says that colored troops were used in suppressing them. See Prince Maximilian Wied Neuwied, *Viagem ao Brasil*, trans. from the German of *Reise nach Brasilien in den Jahren 1815 bis 1817* (2 vols.; Frankfurt, 1820), by Edgar Sussekind de Mendonça and Flavio Poppe de Figueiredo (São Paulo, 1940), pp. 450–51.

[38] Koster, noting that "Pernambuco has never experienced any serious revolt among the slaves; but at Bahia there have been several commotions," and convinced that "Bahia contains fewer free people than Pernambuco in proportion to the number of slaves," wrote, "I cannot avoid attributing the quietude of the latter in some measure to the circumstances of a few of the Gold Coast Negroes being imported into it, whilst at Bahia the principal stock of slaves is from that part of Africa. . . . . They are represented as possessing great firmness of mind and body, and ferociousness of disposition" (*op. cit.*, I, 214).

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the same or similar religious beliefs and practices, they were able to act effectively together.

In 1806, following a raid upon a "conspirator's house," the imprisonment of a number of suspected plotters, and the confiscation of "four hundred arrows, a bundle of sticks, and quantities of cord for the making of bows, a large number of knives and pistols, a gun and a drum," orders were issued to arrest every slave found in the streets after nine o'clock at night "without a letter from his master or in his company."[39] The following year correspondence between African conspirators in Bahia and Santo Amaro (a sugar center in the Reconcavo) was intercepted, and the leaders thus exposed were subsequently tried, sentenced to death, and executed.[40] About the same time the governor of Bahia ordered destroyed two troublesome *quilombos*, or settlements of fugitive slaves, on the outskirts of the city near Cabula and Nossa Senhora dos Mares, and the *capitãomor* with eighty soldiers surrounded their huts and took prisoner seventy-eight blacks, some of whom were free Negroes.[41]

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In 1809 a revolt about twelve miles from Bahia was put down after the Haussás had "committed all sorts of outrages."[42] In 1813 about five hundred Haussás revolted and fled into the surrounding country but were speedily pursued and disarmed and their leaders publicly hung on gallows erected in Praça Piedade, one of the principal squares of the city. Several others were deported to Africa.[43] In 1826 soldiers had to be sent to various points in the Reconcavo,

[39] Silva, *op. cit.*, p. 346.

[40] Alvares do Amaral, *Resumo chronologico da Bahia* (Bahia, n.d.), p. 111.

[41] Eduardo A. de Caldas Britto, "Levantes de pretos na Bahia," *Revista do Instituto Geographico e Historico da Bahia*, XXIX, 72.

[42] Alvares do Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 39. See also Ramos, *As culturas negras*, p. 337.

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including Cachoeira, to put down an African insurrection, whose leader had been chosen a "king of the blacks" and when wounded and captured "carried a red flag, had on his head . . . . a crown, and over his shoulders an old-fashioned mantle of green velveteen on which had been embroidered a golden cock." An incident of this uprising was the successful resistance of a *quilombo* near Pirajá, a few miles distant from Bahia, to the attack of several *capitães do matto*[43a] who, in the mistaken belief that they had to deal with a small number of Negroes, sought without reinforcements to apprehend these fugitives and lost their lives in the attempt. A detachment of soldiers was required to dislodge the Africans.[44]

In 1827 a body of Yoruba slaves fled into the *matto* after sacking and setting fire to houses in the suburbs of the city. A police force sent in pursuit engaged the fugitives, killing or wounding eight of their number, but met with such resistance over a period of two days' skirmishing that it would have itself been wiped out had not a patrol of troops come to its rescue. The next year, following three separate revolts, slaveholders in the Reconcavo appealed to the governor for more effective police protection.

In 1835 the last and most serious revolt broke out, led again by Mohammedan Negroes, each of whom wore upon his person a *paluá*, or charm, presumed to protect the faithful against death in any form.[45] Bahia was at that time the [789]

[43a] "Bush Captains" hired to track down fugitive slaves.

[44] Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

[45] Padre Etienne Ignace Brasil, "Os Malês," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, LXXII, Part II (1909), 83. In São Salvador dos Campos, in the province of Rio de Janeiro, "restless slaves wearing plumes in their hats" were arrested, one of whom on being interrogated confessed that orders had been received from Bahia to revolt on the following Ash Wednesday (Alvares do Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 91).

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seat of the iman, or head in Brazil of all African disciples of the prophet Mohammed. Those who were resident in Rio, Ceará, and Pernambuco owed allegiance to him. Incidentally, it was a time of general social unrest not only among certain of the slaves but among the whites as well.[46] The aim of the conspiracy was "to set up a queen after exterminating all the Europeans." Extensive plans were laid, including the proposed participation of slaves from "every part of the Reconcavo," many of whom, immediately preceding the night set for the uprising, fled from their owners and came to Bahia. A banner was adopted and the robes worn at Mohammedan ceremonies selected as costumes of war. The time chosen for the uprising was during the popular festival of Nossa Senhora da Guia, when most of the European population would be gathered at Bomfim, outside the main area of the city, houses would consequently be deserted by white owners, and slaves might go in and out without arousing suspicion.[47]

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The governor, forewarned by a faithful slave a few hours before the uprising actually occurred, doubled all police

[46] From 1831 to 1837 revolts against the Brazilian imperial government broke out in Pará, Sergipe, Pernambuco, and Rio Grande do Sul. In Maranhão three thousand slaves, led by an African named Cosme, had recently revolted.

[47] The report of the chief of police to the governor of the province of Bahia (republished from the *Diario da Bahia* in the *Jornal do Commercio* of Rio, February 10, 1835) said that the evidence indicated "the insurrection had been plotted for a considerable period of time with absolute secrecy. . . . . Almost all the leaders know how to read and to write in some unknown language, which appears to be Arabic. This is the same language which is used by the Ussás, who seem to be united today with the Nagôs. These Ussás are from the same tribe which has revolted on several occasions in this Province. . . . . Their leaders, among whom are many free and even wealthy Africans, stir up and organize revolts."

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patrols which later, aided by foot soldiers and cavalry and favored by considerable confusion among the widely separated bands of blacks as to the actual hour of attack, scattered and broke up the Negro mobs, but only after a serious struggle.[48] The leaders of the revolt were tried,[49] given two hundred, five hundred, even one thousand lashes, or shot by a firing squad, or deported to Africa. Further importation of the *batá*, or African war drum, was forbidden.

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The number and persistence of these slave insurrections may suggest that slavery in Brazil was unusually severe. The reverse seems to be the fact. Insurrectionists were unassimilated free Negroes and semi-independent slaves, morally isolated from the Europeans. Although the hardships incidental to a plantation system obviously existed, and atrocities occurred here as elsewhere, the slavery involved, as we shall see in detail in chapter iii, was ordinarily a mild form of servitude. In general, slavery in Brazil was characterized by the gradual and continuous growth of intimate, personal relations between master and slave which tended to humanize the institution and undermine its formal character.

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[48] A letter from Bahia published in the *Jornal do Commercio* of Rio on February 10, 1835, and dated January 31, reads: "Business and commerce is completely at a standstill by reason of a Negro uprising which last Sunday suddenly upset public tranquillity in this city. The revolt, which had been planned for a long time, was very serious, but the armed forces managed to put it down."

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[49] The police records deposited in the Archivo Publico at Bahia list 234 Negroes who, subsequent to the uprising, were brought to trial by the authorities. Among these, 165 are listed as Nagôs, 21 as Haussás, 6 as Gêges, and 6 as Tapas. Documents found in their possession, facsimiles of which may be seen in the above depository, were written in Arabic characters. See also the novel by Pedro Calmon, *Os Malês, a insurreição das senzalas* (Rio, 1933).

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One advantage which Brazilian slaves had over bondsmen in the English colonies was the numerous holidays of which the Catholic religion enjoins the observance. Koster wrote:

> These give to the slave many days of rest or time to work for his own profit; thirty-five of these, and the Sundays besides, allow him to employ much of his time as he pleases. Few masters are inclined to restrain the right of their slaves to dispose of these days as they think fit; or, at any rate, few dare, whatever their inclinations may be, to brave public opinion in depriving them of the intervals from work which the law has set apart as their own. . . . . The time which is thus afforded, enables the slave, who is so inclined, to accumulate a considerable sum of money.[50]

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Among the small proprietors, parity of condition in many respects apparently obtained between master and slave, who worked together and fared much alike.[51]

It is, of course, true that cases of the most barbaric and extreme cruelty occurred, but apparently these were relatively rare and confined in large measure to frontier areas, where masters were very much a law unto themselves.[52] Public opinion was ordinarily opposed to such treatment, much of which has been attributed to Negro or mulatto owners or overseers who were notorious for their severity.[53]

[50] *Op. cit.*, I, 191.

[51] Southey, *op. cit.*, III, 782.

[52] However, Koster records as late as 1800 that, owing to the "abominable cruelty" with which they were treated in Rio de Janeiro, frequent murders were committed by slaves. Iron shackles, sharply pronged iron collars, stocks, and thumb screws were employed, and severe beatings to the point of death and even boilings in oil occurred. See also Thomas Ewbank, *Life in Brazil* (New York, 1856), pp. 116–17, 439.

[53] Joaquim Nabuco made public, and Conselheiro Dantas once referred in the federal senate to "a disgraceful tragedy" which occurred in Parahyba do Sul on July 29, 1886. A master who was an *homem de côr*, his *homem de côr* overseer and *algoz* "flayed and tortured" several slaves until they died

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One must not overlook the fact, however, that during the first years of colonization the letters of the Jesuits contained numerous references to Indian slaves who were "tortured and branded in the face."[54] And later, the kings of Portugal, impressed by reports which had come to them concerning hardships inflicted on Negro slaves in Brazil, more than once wrote to their colonial representatives, exhorting them "to put a stop to such crying inhumanities."[55]

Most reports of cruelties, however, date from the abolition campaign and no doubt reflect the agitation and fervor of that movement. Thus, the able Bahian abolitionist, Anselmo da Fonseca, reports the case of a Negro in Rio Grande do Sul whose wrists were tied above his head and, after honey had been poured over his nude body, was left to the insects. Anselmo further reports the raping of small children, the use of stocks, the fracturing of teeth with a ham-

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from the effects of their wounds (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 145). Fonseca estimates that two-thirds of all the *feitores* (overseers), *capitães de mallo*, and *corretores* (slave dealers) in Bahia were either mulattoes or blacks (*ibid.*, p. 151).

[54] Brazilian Indians, who before the coming of the Portuguese had killed their prisoners of war, changed this custom when it was discovered that they could sell their captives to the Europeans. Subsequently the latter organized raids into the interior in search of Indian slaves. The Jesuits fought this traffic, their struggles with the colonists lending a dramatic note to accounts of life in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Gradually their influence at the Portuguese court prevailed, certain restrictions were by royal decree put upon the enslavement of Indians, which, being disregarded by the colonists, led to further Jesuit protest and finally, in 1755, to a royal edict liberating all Indian slaves. Equal legal rights were subsequently granted the Indians, the University of Coimbra was opened to them, and they were even admitted, it is said, to the nobility.

[55] A writer cites three "royal letters" in support, dated, respectively, March 20, 1688, March 1, 1700, and April 27, 1719 (see the anonymous article entitled "Tradiçoes bahianas," *Revista do Instituto Geographico e Historico da Bahia*, LVI [1930], 514).

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mer, the filling of razor slashes with salt, the castration of males and the amputation of the breasts of females, and "murder at the slightest whim."[16] The custom of *novenas* and *trezenas* of slave beatings sometimes resulted in death.[17]

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In 1887 a police sergeant in a village in the interior of Bahia Province reported to the governor: "Considering the number of crimes on slaves in this section which continually go unpunished, this town of Formosa is in great need of at least five soldiers to be stationed here at the disposal of the local police official."[18] The *Diario da Bahia* of July 21, 1887, reports the discovery of a slave woman bearing about her neck a pronged iron collar "weighing twenty-five pounds, from which were suspended heavy chains wrapped about her body like serpents."

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Escapes were frequent, the fugitives being assisted by the character of the *matto*. They were hunted by hired *capitães do matto*, or "bush captains," usually Brazilian-born Negroes or mixed-bloods, whose trained dogs netted them a steady income.[19] Occasionally, fugitive slaves banded together in considerable numbers for mutual protection into *quilombos*.

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[16] Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 561–63. For illustrations of instruments used to punish slaves, see Arthur Ramos, "Castigos de escravos," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* (São Paulo), XLVII (May, 1938), 79–104.

[17] "Each day at a certain hour . . . . the slave is stripped and tied to a post where he receives a certain number of blows which reopen wounds made on previous days. . . . . This is done for periods of nine to thirteen days in accordance with the practices [religious ceremonies extending over a period of nine to thirteen days] of the church" (*ibid.*, p. 43 n.).

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[18] *Ibid.*, p. 673.

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[19] Still played by children at Bahia is the game "Capitão do matto," a form of "hide and go seek" in which those hiding are presumed to be slaves and the hunter a "bush captain."

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The present town of Orobó,[60] approximately a hundred and fifty miles interior from the port of Bahia, is said to have had its origin in such a settlement.[61] Even outlying areas of the city of Bahia like Matta Escura and Estrada da Liberdade, and the neighboring villages of Cabula, Armação, Pirajá, and Itapoan, are said to have had their origin in *quilombos*, dating from the colonial period. From these settlements there were frequent sallies of Negroes into the city to rob and to pillage. However, no *quilombo* in the state of Bahia

[60] The name has recently been changed to Ruy Barbosa.

[61] On September 23, 1796, an investigation was ordered of complaints regarding the *quilombo* of Orobó. On April 6 of the following year this report was made (Silva, *op. cit.*, III, 227):

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ILLUSTRIOUS AND ESTEEMED SIR:

There having been repeated requests on the part of certain *senhores de engenho* and owners of *fazendas* living in the vicinity of Orobó, district of the villa of Cachoeira, that there be destroyed a very old *quilombo* of fugitive slaves who have been wasting and destroying neighboring plantations and committing other excesses of great damage to the settlers, I ordered the *desembargador*, Juiz de Fora, of the same villa to find out if these reports were true, and if they were, to seek by all means possible to destroy this *quilombo*, using all prudence and care to avoid any fatal occurrence in the execution of the order, in view of the great distance between Cachoeira and that district, as well as our ignorance of the size of the *quilombo* which, according to some accounts, was not small. The necessity of collecting provisions, of enrolling and arming men . . . . delayed for some time the execution of this order until, the complaints continuing and the people themselves offering to lend some aid and assistance, I ordered the *capitão-mor* of Entrados e Assaltos of the District of São José das Itapororocas, Severino Pereira, to organize an armed force and to destory the *mocambo*. This order was carried out in December of last year, the two *quilombos*, or *mocambos*, known as Orobó and Andrah being destroyed. At these places were found fields of manioc, *inhame*, rice, fruit, and a little sugar cane, with all of which the inhabitants had easily been able to sustain themselves. Thirteen slaves were apprehended, among them men, women, and children, all of whom were delivered up to their respective masters. Previous to the arrival of the armed force, it is reported, a great number of slaves living there fled, for apparently they suspected, or perhaps were even aware of, the impending attack. As it appeared that they had fled to another *quilombo* called Tupim, farther off, I ordered that it similarly be destroyed, but I have not yet had notice whether such has been done. This is what I have to offer Your Excellency in reply to a letter directed to me and received on the 23rd of September of last year, urging me to undertake the most effective means of destroying the indicated *quilombos* and of relieving the settlers.

God guard Your Excellency.

Bahia, 6th of April, 1797. Most Illustrious and Excellent Sir, D. Rodrigo de Souza Coutinho.

D. FERNANDO JOSÉ DE PORTUGAL

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equaled in size or in importance the famed Palmares of Alagoas.[42]

It is a mistake, however, to conclude that humane and intimate relations between master and slave were by any means rare. In fact, they were in all likelihood, as we shall see in detail later, the general rule. The literature records numerous instances like that witnessed by John Codman in 1866, of which he says:

> We drove up to the door of our Brazilian passengers. They were most boisterously welcomed by a troop of blacks. The pleasantest thing I had seen for some hours was the affection of these poor Negroes. Bright shone their eyes, and what a display was there of ivory! They fairly seized their mistress . . . . in their arms, and "toted" her off into the house, hugging and kissing her, screaming and dancing as they went.[43]

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[42] The famous "Negroes of the Palmares" (or "Palm Forests") were slaves who had escaped from Pernambuco before and particularly during the struggles of the Portuguese with the Dutch. Constantly acquiring recruits, they set up a series of crudely fortified villages scattered over some sixty leagues (about two hundred and forty miles). From these they harried the neighboring regions, taking from outlying *fazendas* both mates and slaves, among the former of which white women were occasionally to be found. They became so strong and so difficult to dislodge, that numerous expeditions sent out by the Dutch and later by the Portuguese served only to check for a time their growth—were unable for seventy years to destroy them completely. Only in 1697 were they finally subdued by an army from Recife led by a Paulista famed for success in such fighting and especially imported for this service, and then only after he had at first encountered serious reversals at their hands and their resistance had subsequently been broken by a failure of the food supply (Southey, *op. cit.*, III, 23–29). This Negro group had at times carried on trade with the whites, exchanging agricultural products for articles of manufacture. That they were seriously treated as an alien but respected group is attested by an exchange of peace commissioners during the governorship of Ayres Souza e Castro and the subsequent signing of a treaty of peace. (Incidentally, this treaty was never kept by the whites.) For a critical examination of the exaggerated reports of this erroneously labeled "Negro Republic" see Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 111–43.

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[43] John Codman, *Two Months in Brazil* (Boston, 1867), p. 125.

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The first recorded protest in Brazil against slavery as an institution was that of the Jesuit Manoel de Nobrega, who, shortly after Bahia was founded, sent a letter to the superior of his order in Lisbon protesting against the importation of Africans into the new settlement.

In 1758 Manoel Ribeiro da Rocha, who had been educated at Coimbra, published in Lisbon a book entitled *Ethiope resgatado, empenhado, sustentado, corrigido, instruido e libertado*, in which the abolition of the slave trade was advocated. Sixty-five years later, in 1823, José Bonifacio de Andrade e Silva unsuccessfully proposed in parliament a measure designed to end importation by 1828. But on November 7, 1831, the regent, Padre Diogo Antonio Feijó, signed a resolution drawn up by Costa Carvalho, Lima e Sousa, and Basilio Muniz, which declared free all Africans subsequently brought into Brazil.

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Manumission existed from the first. Apparently early in the colonial period it became customary for masters to accept remuneration for original cost.[64] Public opinion demanded that an owner set at liberty any slave requesting his freedom and offering the price of his purchase.[65] The requirement was later made legally binding and enforced by law.[65a] Other slaves were given their freedom either during their master's lifetime or upon his death. The fathers of illegitimate offspring often freed their children at the baptismal font. From 1864 to 1870 large numbers of slaves were granted their freedom on agreeing to serve in the Para-

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[64] The wearing of shoes or slippers became a symbol of freedom.

[65] R. Walsh, *Notices of Brazil* (2 vols.; London, 1830), II, 391.

[65a] National Law No. 1040, September 28, 1871. See Manoel Joaquim do Nascimento e Silva, *Synopsis da legislação brasileira* (Rio, 1874), p. 460.

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guayan war.[66] The law eventually provided that Negro women, after rearing ten children, should be automatically liberated.[67] In 1871 the so-called "law of Rio Branco" freed offspring of slaves born subsequent to its adoption[68] and set up a fund for the purchase and liberation of Negroes by the government. By 1880 a widespread emancipation movement was under way.[69] Thousands were freed by will, by payments from emancipation funds,[70] or by outright gift.[71] For instance, in 1883, in the towns of Baturite, Aca-

[66] On March 30, 1867, the monastery of São Bento in Bahia, which had already freed eleven slaves for service in the war with Paraguay, liberated six more Negroes and "presented them to the Governor for the same purpose."

[67] Koster, however, wrote from Pernambuco in the early nineteenth century: "A slave who has brought into the world, and has reared ten children, ought to be free, for so the law ordains. But this regulation is generally evaded" (*op. cit.*, I, 195).

[68] This law was, however, in some cases ineffective. Sixteen years after its passage the Bahian *Diario Official*, of June 4, 1887, reported the following auction of slave property at the *fazenda Concordia:* "Alberto, 10 years of age, one conto of reis; Vicente, 13 years, one conto of reis; Felix, 14 years, 800 milreis; Flauzinha, 13 years, 600 milreis, Simplicio, 14 years, one conto of reis" (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 587 n.)

[69] Among the prominent abolitionists mentioned by Anselmo da Fonseca were: José do Patrocinio, Joaquim Nabuco ("the great and illustrious head of the abolition movement"), Senator Dantas, Ferreira de Menezes, Andre Rebouças, Quintino Bocayuva, Joaquim Serra, Ennes de Souza, Getulio das Neves, Nicolau Moreira, José Mariano, Celso Junior, Senator Jaguaripe, Luiz de Andrade, João Clapp, Beaurepaire Rohan, Aristides Spinola, Ruy Barbosa, Escragnole Taunay, Franco de Sá, Antonio Pinto, Leopoldo Bulhões, and "a writer using the pseudonym of Clarkson" (*ibid.*, p. 23).

[70] These funds were sponsored by emancipation societies, private individuals, and municipal, state, and national treasuries.

[71] The *Provinciano*, a newspaper of Parahyba do Sul, listed in 1884, among others, the following emancipations: "Dona Anna S. José, 16 slaves liberated and a farm given them for their use; Condessa do Rio Novo, 200 slaves

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rapi, and São Francisco, a *Sociedade Libertadora* freed 122 slaves in one day. Scores of these societies operated throughout Brazil.[72]

Dr. João Garcez dos Santos was the first Bahian *fazendeiro* (planter) to exchange slave labor for free. After spending some years in Europe studying agriculture, he returned to Brazil and, in 1864, bought an *engenho* called Pimental, in the *termo* of São Francisco. He freed all the slaves except eight domestic servants and paid these freedmen wages, retaining a portion of their earnings until he had been recompensed for their original cost. During the subsequent year he produced with free labor two hundred boxes of sugar. Three years later, he "freed the womb" of his eight female domestic servants, and, on his death in 1874, he set at liberty all the slaves which he had inherited from his father (a total of about sixty persons) on condition that they continue working for wages on the *engenho* for five years.[73]

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In 1868 the Senhoras Condessa de Barral and Pedra

liberated by will, and the Cantagallo plantation given them for a home; Barão de Dias, 163 slaves liberated, who remain established on his plantation as laborers." In 1887 Anselmo da Fonseca wrote: "As to the *cartas de alforria* granted by slaveholders themselves, it is well known that these have always appeared in greater or lesser number in the country, and that from 1880 on they have multiplied greatly and have now become quite numerous, thanks to the powerful influence of that propaganda which has contributed so much to the elevation of the moral sentiments of the Brazilian people."

[72] On September 7, 1869, an emancipation society was organized in Bahia "with the noble purpose of ending slavery in Bahia," and by March 1, 1874, it had conferred 267 "Letters of Liberty," 89 of which were "granted gratuitously in its name," and 178 by means of its own funds, the amount thus employed totaling 58,289 milreis (Alvares do Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 181). This organization was named A Sociedade Libertadora Sete de Setembro ("The Seventh of September Liberation Society") in honor of the day on which the independence of Brazil was declared.

[73] Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 220–22.

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Branca while sojourning in France "freed the womb" of the slave women on their *engenhos*, São Pedro and São João, in Santo Amaro, and continued gradually to manumit all their slaves. In the same year the friars of the Order of São Bento "freed the womb" of their slave women and announced that all their slaves would be free within three years, or by September, 1871.[74]

The first Bahian abolitionist to raise his voice to "a shout loud enough to be heard throughout the entire country" was Conselheiro Jeronymo Sodré Pereira, a state deputy and professor in the local Faculty of Medicine. In an address to the Bahian *camara* on March 5, 1879, he declared: "We who represent the democratic ideal, we who earnestly desire the liberation of the citizen through the vote and through instruction, ought to proclaim to our fellow-countrymen throughout the land that all Brazilians are citizens, all are free." This speech was favorably reported by several Bahian newspapers, including the *Gazeta de Noticias* and the *Gazeta da Tarde*, which at this time were becoming organs of the abolition movement. Although the ideas they were advancing had been at first considered "antipatriotic, subversive of the social order, and incendiary," they gradually spread.[75]

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The clergy as a group did not support abolition, and many padres who possessed slaves were accused by the abolitionists of "the same cruelty toward the victims, the same outspoken hostility, the same fury toward abolition, the same hypocritical and ridiculous insistence upon the rights of property, the same lack of respect for justice and the true interests of Brazil." Occasionally a priest, like João Manoel,

[74] *Ibid.*, pp. 227–28. [75] *Ibid.*, pp. 18–21.

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became known throughout the country as an opponent of abolition, and, further, in 1791, a bishop of Pernambuco, José Joaquim da Cunha de Azevedo Coutipho, published a book in Lisbon entitled *A analyse sobre a justiça do commercio do resgate dos escravos da costa d'Africa*,[16] in which he upheld slavery as having "existed since the beginning of the world and in the lap of all religions."

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Nevertheless, some noted ecclesiastics did from time to time take up the slave cause. Padre Antonio Vieira, although he later became more cautious under "the necessity of furthering the Jesuit determination to free the Indians, even at the expense of the Negroes," delivered a sermon as early as the middle of the seventeenth century in which he said: "The fact that whites dominate blacks is due to force and not to either reason or nature." On another occasion, he said:

> O inhuman traffic in which the merchandise is men! Few masters, many slaves; masters richly dressed, slaves despised and naked; masters banqueting, slaves dying of hunger; masters swimming in gold and silver, slaves loaded down with irons; masters treating their slaves like brutes, slaves in fear and awe of their masters as if they were gods; masters present at a whipping, standing like statues of might and tyranny, slaves prostrate, their hands strapped behind their backs, like debased emblems of servitude.
>
> Peradventure these men are not our brothers?
>
> Were these souls not redeemed with the blood of the same Christ? Are not these bodies born and do they not die like ours? Do they not breathe the same air? Does not the same sky cover them? Are they not warmed by the same sun?[17]

An archbishop of Bahia, the Marquis of Santa Cruz, in an address to the *camara* in 1827, vigorously opposed slav-

[16] This book went through two editions and was translated into both French and English.

[17] *Sermões* (15 vols., 1679–1748), Vol. X, Sermon 27.

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ery.[78] As early as Independence Day, 1851, the Benedictine friar, Francisco da Natividade Carneiro da Cunha, preached a sermon in the Bahian Cathedral in which he urged Bahians "to complete Brazilian independence by gradually emancipating the slaves."[79] Monsenhor Joaquim Pinto de Campos attacked slavery in sermons as early as 1856, in one of which, preached before the Sociedade Ypiranga, he said: "Humanity is one, and all of its parts have equal rights. The public conscience, which is the voice of God re-echoing in the souls of the people, is always repelled by favoritism in the distribution of liberty."

Canon Rodrigo de Souza Menezes, in the columns of *O Horizonte* as early as 1872, and in a sermon preached in the Cathedral on July 2, 1883, vigorously attacked slavery and advocated its abolition throughout Brazil. Another Bahian canon, Dr. Romualdo Maria de Seixas Barroso, wrote many abolition articles for the newspapers, among them one addressed especially to Bahian women; and in his will, probated in 1886, he declared: "I have always considered it a crime to draw up a contract for the buying and selling of any human being—he who is my own brother and who may be redeemed, as I, by the blood of the Savior of mankind."[80]

The bishop of Olinda, on March 25, 1887, wrote a pastoral letter urging his clergy to free immediately their

[78] *Ibid.*, p. 35. The archbishop said: "I have always been persuaded that the word 'slavery' calls up images of all vices and all crimes; and that the word 'liberty' calls out the ideas and the sentiments attendent upon all virtue and all good. Always I have maintained that slavery is a harmful condition which destroys the spirit, weakens the faculties of understanding, and perverts the heart."

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[79] "Public opinion was aroused against the words of Friar Carneiro. Upon his descending from the pulpit, one of his relatives asked him if he had lost his reason" (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 382–83).

[80] *Ibid.*, pp. 384–88.

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slaves so that "on the next birthday of the Holy Father, Leo XIII, there may be laid next his throne a declaration saying: 'The clergy of Olinda no longer own slaves.'" A similar suggestion was shortly thereafter made to the bishop of São Paulo by several of his priests. On July 29 the archbishop of Bahia issued a pastoral letter in which he referred to slavery as "a cruel injustice practiced on many of our brothers . . . . a blot which stains the Brazilian flag alone among the banners of civilized nations." The archbishop further declared that, while the church had previously feared that abolition would disrupt public order, the consequences of recent manumissions had entirely dispelled this apprehension.

The proposal of the bishop of Olinda was supported by the bishop of Maranhão, who agreed that "one can do nothing which would honor the august head of the great Christian family more than to grant liberty to those who are our brothers and children of our church." The proposal was also supported by the bishop of Rio Grande do Sul, who closed his pastoral letter with the strong declaration that "slavery is a corpse in need of being interred;"[81] and by the bishop of Diamantina, who proposed "a decree written in letters of gold abolishing slavery in Brazil by the thirty-first day of December, 1887." The bishop of Mariana also advocated general abolition, referring to slavery as an obstacle to the spread of "the great principles planted by our Master Jesus Christ" and reminding the priests of his bishopric that

[81] *Ibid.*, pp. 513–19. Although the enumeration in accordance with the law of September 28, 1871, listed 99,401 slaves in Rio Grande do Sul, the census which was completed June 12, 1885, gave only 27,242, or less than one-third of those returned fourteen years earlier. The enumeration of March 30, 1887, listed only 8,436 (*ibid.*, p. 520). It appears that attempts to emancipate by entire provinces originated in this province.

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"slavery is extinct in all other countries of America to the shame of Brazil."

Beginning about 1862 a Bahian professor of mathematics, the mixed-blood, Dr. Francisco Alvares dos Santos, whose classes were said to be attended by two-thirds of the students of mathematics in the city, began carrying on abolition propaganda, and during the subsequent quarter of a century he each year gave a banquet to former students and invited as a special guest a slave whose liberty had been purchased on that day with funds supplied by a "patriotic battalion" composed of his students and organized in honor of the independence of Brazil. Out of his teaching arose the Sociedade Libertadora Dois de Julho, which freed several slaves.

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By 1875 the Sociedade Libertadora Sete de Setembro, organized in 1869, had freed approximately five hundred slaves, and twenty-four numbers of a periodical, *O Abolicionista*, had been published. At a bazaar held by the Society in that year, Castro Alves, Bahia's "glorious poet of liberty," addressed a letter to Bahian women in behalf of the slaves, and Barão de Macahubas, resident at the imperial court, sent several gifts. The Society at that time numbered five hundred and twelve members, of whom fifteen were women.[62]

The Sociedade Humanitaria Abolicionista was organized in 1869, and the Sociedade Libertadora Bahiana in 1883.

[62] Among the more prominent members were: Frederico Marinho de Araujo, Victor Isaac de Araujo, Lourenço Gomes de Araujo e Silva, Abilio Cezar Borges, Conselheiro José Luiz de Almeida Couto, Dr. Francisco José da Rocha, Conselheiro Manoel Pinto de Souza Dantas, Conselheiro Salustiano Ferreira Santo, Dr. Augusto Guimarães, Dr. Antonio Ferreira Garcez, Bellarmino Barretto, Julio Alves Guimarães, Constancio José dos Santos, Major Antonio de Souza Vieira, Dr. Frederico Augusto da Silva Lisboa, Conselheiro Carneiro da Rocha, and Major Antonio Ferreira de Barros.

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Four years later the latter changed its name to Sociedade Abolicionista Bahiana. In that time it had purchased the freedom of about fifty slaves, "including those whose liberty was demanded by reason of illegal servitude." The treasurer of the Society was a Negro shoemaker, Manoel Roque, "a man of the people," who carried on abolition propaganda among the free Negroes and "made several converts to the cause."

Abolitionists in other parts of the province of Bahia were similarly active. In 1884 an emancipation society was organized at Cachoeira, where two "out-spoken abolition newspapers," the *Jornal da Tarde* and *Planeta Venus*, were keeping the slave issue before the public. Another emancipation society, under the leadership of Pedro Alves de São Boaventura, operated at Camisão. Abolition sentiment and activity were also reported from Ilheos, Cannavieiras, Santo Antonio da Barra, and Feira de Sant'Anna, said to be "a strong pro-slave center."

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In 1862 a Bahian student published an antislavery article in a local publication, *O Estudante*. In 1869, after the Liberal party had adopted emancipation as a party policy, the *Diario da Bahia* began to support the antislavery cause. On March 20, 1872, five of the six newspapers then printed in the Bahian capital agreed "not to give publicity from this day forth to advertisements of any kind relative to the flight, purchase, sale, or placement of any slave."[83]

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[83] Signed by Francisco José da Rocha for the *Jornal da Bahia*, Innocencio Marques de Araujo Goes Junior for the *Correio da Bahia*, Manoel Pinto de Souza Dantas for the *Diario da Bahia*, Carvalho Gama for the *Diario de Noticias*, and José Marques de Souza and Aristides Ricardo de Sant'Anna for the *Alabama*. This agreement was renewed nine years later (in 1881), and the resolution was then taken "to urge the adhesion to it of all the press of the Empire." Only the *Gazeta da Bahia* refused to sign (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 276–79).

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In 1872 Dr. Frederico Lisboa advocated in *O Horizonte* "the right of all men to natural liberty" and, in keeping with this sentiment, liberated several slaves which had been presented to him on the occasion of his marriage. Subsequently he bought and freed some thirty Negroes belonging to others. In nine months Bahian abolitionists secured the release of approximately two hundred slaves illegally imported after passage of the law of 1831.[84] To make less difficult the transition from a slave to a free status, the courts appointed lawyers as *curadores* ("guardians") of the freedmen.[85]

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In 1880 Pamphilo da Santa Cruz founded a newspaper called *Gazeta da Tarde*, in whose first issue he stated a frankly abolitionist program. He was assisted in its publication by the journalist, Raymundo Bizarria, and by Conselheiro Luiz Alvares dos Santos, a professor at the Faculty of Medicine. In 1881, on the anniversary of the death of Castro Alves, "the immortal poet," author of the antislavery *Gonzaga* and *Poema dos escravos*, the public was invited through the columns of the *Diario da Bahia* "eloquently to affirm our irrevocable adhesion to the cause of abolition."

[84] For instance, Eduardo Carige demanded the liberation of an African woman whose owner, Antonio Alves Fernandes, had registered her in 1872 as forty years of age. Dr. Amphilophio Botelho Freire de Carvalho, "the first Bahian judge to comply with this law," whose decisions "were widely publicized and attracted the attention of the whole province," freed her on February 10, 1887. One irate master appealed from a decision of Botelho, charging that the judge was incompetent. The Superior Tribunal denied the appeal (see *Diario da Bahia* for March 15, 1887; Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 319–23).

[85] Among Bahian lawyers accepting this charge were: Dr. Affonso de Castro Rebello, Dr. Elpidio de Mesquita, Dr. Arthur de Mello e Mattos, Dr. Mauricio Francisco Ferreira da Silva, Dr. José Heraclides Ferreira, Dr. Francisco Moncorvo de Lima, Dr. Adolpho Carlos Sanches, Dr. Alexandre Galvão, Dr. Severino dos Santos Vieira, and Dr. Izaias Guedes de Mello. Dr. Raymundo Mendes Martins "rendered important services to the cause of the captives" as *curador geral* of orphans (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 324–26).

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At the ceremony Bahia's most famous citizen, the statesman, jurist, and orator, Ruy Barbosa, read from *Gonzaga:* "No more slaves! No more masters! Liberty to all hands, liberty to all heads," and himself added, "Abolition is an expression of the most inflexible of social necessities." Antonio Augusto de Mendonça, one of several Bahian poets then active in the antislavery cause, wrote and recited a poem dedicated to the Sociedade Libertadora Sete de Setembro. In the following year the *Gazeta da Tarde* inaugurated a series of abolition lectures to be given in the Lyceu de Artes e Officios and invited as the first speaker the well-known abolition orator, José do Patrocinio.[86] In 1885 a pamphlet entitled *A incoherencia da escravidão n'um paiz christão* was published in Bahia by Antonio Pereira de Araujo. When the news arrived (June 30, 1887) that the cabinet had secured the dissolution of "the pro-slave" *camara* a celebration was held at the offices of the *Diario da Bahia*, on the initiative of the *Libertadora Bahiana* and the *Gazeta da Tarde*.

In 1872 the province of Bahia freed the twenty-two slaves which it owned and had employed as gardeners, laundry women, and grave-diggers, either at the Hospital dos Lazaros or the cemetery of Quintas. In 1880 Joaquim Nabuco presented a project to the Pernambuco legislature calling for the extinction of slavery within ten years, and three years later he published a stirring abolition treatise entitled *O Abolicionismo.*[86a] In 1885, and again in 1887, he was elected federal deputy on an abolition platform. In 1881 the Bahian

[86] Other lectures were given by Dr. Aristides Spinola, Dr. José de Oliviera Campos, Paula Ney, Conselheiro Luiz Alvares dos Santos, Ennes de Souza, Salles Barbosa, Elpidio de Mesquita, and Dr. Arthur Ferreira Vianna.

[86a] London, 1883.

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In 1881 the Bahian provincial assembly created an emancipation fund "to free slaves in this province."[87] On March 25, 1884, slavery was abolished in the province of Ceará, the culmination of fifteen months of municipal emancipation.[88] Similar action was taken by the provinces of Amazonas and Maranhão later in the same year. In 1885 all Negroes over sixty years of age were liberated by edict of the Brazilian emperor.[89] In 1886

[87] Law No. 2146 of May 14, 1881, sponsored by Deputies Marcolino Moura, Alexandre Herculano, Frederico Lisboa, and Virgilio de Carvalho. Articles 2 and 3 read as follows:

ARTICLE 2.—This Emancipation Fund shall be derived:

SECTION 1. From each and every provincial tax relative to slaves, including the inheritance and legacy stamps.

SEC. 2. From the returns of an annual lottery of 100 contos.

SEC. 3. From the donations of individuals and of philanthropic associations.

SEC. 4. From legacies left or set up for the benefit of the fund.

SEC. 5. From the payment of a tax obligatory for this purpose by every dramatic and musical company which shall play in the Theatro Publico.

ART. 3.—The distribution of this Emancipation Fund shall be in the hands of each *municipio* in accordance with Article 26 of Statute 5135 of the thirteenth of November, 1872.

The seventh apportionment from this fund, made by act of Governor Theodoro Machado on May 13, 1886, amounted to 59 contos, 723$244 (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 233).

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[88] The *Rio News* of April 5, 1884, reported a week's festival being at that time held in Rio in celebration of emancipation in Ceará. Large sums were realized from donations and bazaars, several slaves were liberated, and a movement set on foot to secure complete emancipation in Rio also. On September 28, 1887, there was held at Belem a "redemption celebration" to which flocked "the press, the abolition societies, the Masons, leaders of the city's commercial life, many women, and the people." One hundred and nine *Cartas de Liberdade* were distributed. On the following day, the *Provincio do Pará*, one of the leading abolition journals of Brazil, published an editorial suggesting a *liga redemptora*, whose program would be that of seeking to secure complete emancipation in the Belem *municipio* by the following December 31 (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 548).

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[89] The provisions of this law freed slaves from sixty to sixty-two years of age on the condition that they serve three additional years without remuneration. Slaves sixty-three years of age were to serve two additional years; those sixty-four, one additional year.

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In 1886 the municipal *camara* of Bahia, following the initiative of other Brazilian cities, authorized a *Livro de Ouro* ("Golden Book") in which the names of persons contributing toward the emancipation of slaves in the *municipio* were to be inscribed. On April 19 of the following year a project was presented to the municipal *camara* by its president, Dr. Augusto Guimarães, authorizing the setting-up of a commission to study means of extinguishing slavery throughout the *municipio*.

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On the eve of nation-wide abolition, or in 1887, a number of emancipation projects were presented to the Bahian *camara*. Two were presented in the state senate: one by Senator Taunay and one by Senator Dantas, the former setting Christmas, 1889, as the date of final abolition for the province of Bahia, and the latter naming December 31 of the same year. Slaves in various parts of Brazil, "learning that they are men and will one day be citizens," were by this time deserting the plantations.[99] Police and the soldiery often refused to aid in their recapture.

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In 1887, "as a significant manifestation of abolition senti-

[99] In 1887 Fonseca mentions the "recent flight" en masse of slaves from several *fazendas* in the province of São Paulo. For instance, in Piracicaba, a hundred slaves fled from Barão de Serra Negra. In the *municipio* of Campos fifty slaves fled from the *fazenda* of Becco and, joined by other Negroes who were deserting the *fazenda* of Penha, turned upon the police sent out from Itu to apprehend them and caught, stripped, and beat them. That year the following advertisement appeared in the *Gazeta da Bahia:*

> Fled from the owner whose signature appears below the following slaves: Maria dos Neves, *cabra* [offspring of Negro and mulatto], short, stocky, round faced, with prominent cheek bones, milk-white teeth, straight hair, parted in the middle; speaks very rapidly. Antonio (who sometimes calls himself Maria da Piedade), dark *cabra*, short, fat, with good teeth, and large scars on breast and one arm (these scars are from burns). Was last seen in Rio Vermelho.
>
> Whoever recovers and brings these slaves to my office at Rua do Julião, No. 1, or to No. 193 Ribeira in Itapagipe, will be well rewarded.
>
> DR. JOSÉ ALVES CARDOSO E SILVA

(Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 595, 602-3, 161).

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ment," a picture of José Bonifacio was hung in the salon of the Gremio Litterario at Bahia, in the presence of "the principal civil and military authorities, representatives of the press, and several delegations from other organizations." The Sociedade Libertadora Bahiana took advantage of the occasion to present six "Letters of Liberty." As these were being distributed,

> a young slave girl, so covered with rags as to look like an abandoned beggar, forced her way into the assemblage and, falling upon her knees, begged and pleaded for her liberty. The pitiful aspect of this girl, the recently spoken words of Sr. Carige, and, above all, the sentiments evoked in contemplation of the sacrificial heroism of José Bonifacio, produced a profound effect. . . . . A citizen arose and said, "In honor of the memory of José Bonifacio, I contribute one hundred milreis toward the liberation of this woman."

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Finally, in 1888, the imperial government at Rio, through a decree signed by Princess Isabel, abolished slavery entirely, freeing the last six hundred thousand Negroes in bondage throughout the country.

The extinction of the institution of slavery in Brazil thus came about gradually by means of a progressively increasing and finally irresistible popular movement, aided, it seems, by the decay of the sugar industry,[91] by the arguments of the economists who held that the slave was an expensive workman, by the example of the United States in freeing her slaves (which left Brazil the only slaveholding American nation), and by the "strain for consistency" exerted upon the institution by the philosophy of the French Revolution[92]

[91] Silvio Romero, "O Brasil social," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, LXIX (1906), 111.

[92] In 1883 Joaquim Nabuco wrote: "Slavery has now endured in Brazil almost a century after the French Revolution taught the world to know and to love liberty."

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and the doctrines of Christianity. The normal development of the emancipation process was never checked or seriously hampered by a wave of fear like that which swept over slave areas in the United States following the Haitian revolution and the consequent annihilation of Haitian whites and the slaughter of thousands of mulattoes and blacks.

Resistance to abolition was apparently never strong or well organized. It was not confined to any one section of the country but even in slaveholding centers like Bahia was, as we have seen, constantly being undermined by local criticism. An occasional newspaper "persisted in being a slave organ" or appeared "timid and acquiescent with reference to slavery,"[93] but the overwhelming majority of the press increasingly supported the antislavery cause.

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It is, however, true that commercial leaders like Ramalho Ortigão, president of the Bahian *Centro* of Commerce and Agriculture, "tenaciously opposed" the abolition movement. Anselmo da Fonseca says that Portuguese immigrants, many of whom engaged in trade and commerce, were, with rare exceptions, "decided partisans of slavery" and not only became "the greatest and most audacious slave traders of Bahia" who offered most of the opposition to the cessation of the slave traffic but also energetically opposed the abolition of slavery itself.[94] However, the prestige of this group,

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[93] Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

[94] "The Portuguese cannot comprehend a Brazil without slaves. We hear daily from them, 'The Negro is peculiarly created by nature for the cultivation of sugar' " (*ibid.*, pp. 155–56). The Portuguese are said to have been the principal violators of the law of 1831, several of the more powerful of whom Euzebio de Queiroz felt impelled to deport when, some twenty years after the passage of this law legally abolishing the slave trade, he sought effectively to suppress the traffic. However, immigrant laborers, since they were in competition with slave laborers, ordinarily opposed slavery. See Henry K. Norton, *The Coming of South America* (New York, 1932), pp. 103–4.

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from early colonial times on, seems not to have been very great, and the upheaval which in 1822 culminated in Brazilian independence seems to have buried most of the vestiges of Portuguese prestige. Even today the Portuguese are the constant butt of vaudeville jokes.

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Many of the free *homens de côr* (men of color), especially those who possessed slaves, either were indifferent to the slave question or openly opposed abolition.[95] Most of the large plantation owners and their spokesmen in the provincial legislature and national parliament opposed the abolition campaign, and their forces at one time dominated the Liberal party.[96] However, many of the slaveholders appear to have increasingly accepted abolition as inevitable and merely to have asked remuneration for the financial loss involved. Apprehension that the plantation system would utterly collapse if free labor were substituted for slave

[95] The abolitionist, Anselmo da Fonseca (*ibid.*, pp. 137, 142-43), complains of the persistent opposition to abolition on the part of *homens de côr*. In 1884, out of thirty candidates for the Bahian *camara*, "the only one who in a published document had the audacity to ask election in the name of slavery" was the *homem de côr*, Conselheiro Domingos Carlos e Silva. In 1887 an *homem de côr* canceled his subscription to the *Diario da Bahia* for its refusal to publish an advertisement regarding a fugitive slave. Fonseca regarded this man as "one of the most intolerant slaveholders in Bahia."

[96] On hearing of the program presented by the imperial cabinet on June 6, 1884, "almost all the leaders of the liberal party in Bahia, the owners of large business and commercial houses, and the sugar aristocracy" lodged a protest in which they declared: "The slave is more than a portion of a private fortune; he is a social institution, a labor supply, a necessity to production, an asset of the national life. Above the immediate interests of planter and merchant . . . . are the permanent . . . . interests of society, the benefits which accrue to thousands of human beings living or yet unborn—the necessities of public order, and the development of national wealth" (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 283).

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and that the sudden liberation of large numbers of subjected blacks would subvert public order gradually melted away as the numbers of emancipated Negroes increased and these freedmen gave evidence of their ability and willingness to become an orderly part of the free population and to labor as effectively, if not more effectively, for wages as when impelled by physical force.

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The free people of color (who by 1872 largely outnumbered the slaves)[97] were, Southey says, "an industrious and useful part of the population: most of the maize, manioc and pulse, with which the towns were supplied, was raised by them upon small pieces of ground, which they rented of the great proprietors at a low rate."[98] Freedmen were also employed as laborers on the large estates, where they lived as squatters on the land of their employers, erecting mud and palm-leaf huts for their families, and looking to the planter for protection from any who would do them harm.[99] In the towns they were employed principally as artisans, porters, messengers, barbers, street merchants and small shopkeep-

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[97] Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

[98] Southey, *op. cit.*, III, 787. Cf. also: "The masters who freed slaves often gave them, with their liberty, a piece of land to insure their subsistence. The Negroes who have inherited these small holdings are to-day (1911) the best element of the black agricultural population" (Pierre Denis, *Brazil*, trans. from the French by Bernard Miall [New York, 1911], p. 322).

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[99] Koster writes: "The Negroes in my possession could not perform what ought to be done in proper time; and therefore I collected free laborers for the purpose, and in a short period between thirty and forty men, some of whom brought their families, removed on to the lands of the plantation; and most of them erected hovels of palm-leaves, in which they dwelt; but a few of them were accommodated with huts of mud. . . . . Many of these fellows would have committed almost any crime under the impression that my protection would screen them" (*op. cit.*, I, 295, 297).

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ers; some of them accumulated considerable sums of money. Occasionally, as we have noted, they owned slaves[100] or invested their savings in the slave trade, sending money, arms, and trade goods to some convenient individual in Africa to "get up raids in their old homes or amongst neighboring tribes."[101] In Minas Geraes free black laborers came to own mines like Encardideira and Palacio Velho.[102] In Bahia they maintained their own regiment,[103] fraternal orders, and religious brotherhoods, each limited in membership exclusively to Negroes of pure African descent.[104] Many made sustained efforts to educate their children, and a few even had sons in the priesthood who, since the bishops of Brazil did not confer them, took their orders in São Thomé.[105]

But the free Negro, in competition with the European

[100] Walsh, a visitor to Brazil in the early nineteenth century, writes: "Next came an old free Negro woman, with a young slave of her own sex and color carrying her bundle. . . . . Her young slave was her only property, and she made a good livelihood by hiring her out as a beast of burden, to whoever wanted her, and for whatever purpose" (*op. cit.*, II, 18).

[101] Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

[102] Gilberto Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos* (São Paulo, 1936), p. 73.

[103] "There are two of these regiments for the province of Pernambuco . . . . distinguished from each other by the names Old Henriques and New Henriques. . . . . I have seen some portion of one of these regiments, in Recife. . . . . They were dressed in white cloth uniforms, turned up with scarlet: and they looked very soldier-like. They were in tolerable discipline. . . . . They acted with an appearance of zeal and the desire of excelling. Those of which I speak formed a finer body of men than any other soldiers which I had an opportunity of seeing in that country. . . . . These men receive no pay, so that their neat appearance on such occasions bespeaks a certain degree of wealth among them" (Koster, *op. cit.*, II, 182–83).

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[104] See, in this connection, *Compromisso da Irmandade do Senhor Bom Jesus das Necessidades e Redempção* (Bahia, 1929); Joventino Silvino da Costa, *Relatorio da Sociedade Protectora dos Desvalidos, 1832–1932* (Bahia, 1934).

[105] Affonso de E. Taunay, *Na Bahia de João VI* (Bahia, 1928), p. 173.

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But the free Negro, in competition with the European and his descendants, was faced with a difficult struggle. Even though he might cease to speak Nagô and to scarify his face and body; even though his wife might discard her distinctive African costume, and both no longer identify themselves with African fetish beliefs and practices but give instead allegiance to Catholic forms; nevertheless, the free Negro could not escape the fact that he was sharply differentiated from the ruling class in color, hair texture, and facial characteristics. He could not readily discard a highly visible badge of his former slave status. Wherever he went he would be known, if not for a slave, at least for the descendant of slaves.

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The occupations of the free Negroes, or at least those of their immediate forebears, had been employments commensurate with servile status and had ordinarily consisted in hard, sordid, manual labor. The common saying, "Trabalho é para cachorro e negro" ("Work [i.e., hard manual labor] is for Negroes and dogs"), reflects this fact. To work with one's hands has been in Brazil long considered debasing for a white man. As Monteiro has said, "Even if in Portugal he had been a servant with a hoe in his hands, upon setting his foot upon Brazilian soil, he cared not to work."[106] That artisan labor was not a white man's job was long a tradition in Brazil.[107] To be a white was identical with being noble,[108] and "there was a common root of plebeian origin: it was African descent."[109] Government employ was for a long time

[106] Vahia Monteiro, quoted by F. J. Oliveira Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro* (2d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 153.

[107] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

[108] Vianna, *Populações meridionaes do Brasil* (3d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 139.

[109] "A côr significava nobreza; havia uma comum origem plebéia—o tronco africano" (Calmon, *op. cit.*, I, 24).

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Government employ was for a long time denied to the black.[110] In colonial Brazil marriage into upper-class white families was zealously restricted to individuals of pure European descent,[111] and at least one case is on record of an Indian being seriously rebuked for having married a Negro woman.[112]

[110] There was "a separate justice" in colonial Brazil for cases relating to "Indians, mulattoes, and Negroes" (Vianna, *Populações meridionaes do Brasil*, p. 140).

[111] "It was this preoccupation with purity of lineage and white blood in their prospective sons-in-law which, in those provinces whose development was more irregular, like that of Minas, made the problem of marriage so difficult. In Pernambuco and São Paulo the problem was resolved by marrying cousins with cousins: a custom which gradually made of the early families almost a single strain" (Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 152).

[112] The eighth vice-*rei*, Marques de Lavradio, in an order dated August 6, 1771, removed an Indian from the post of *capitão-mor* for having married a Negro woman and, as the order said, "thus tarnished your blood and shown yourself unworthy of office" (Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* [2d ed.; Rio, 1936], p. 290).

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CHAPTER III

CASA GRANDE AND *SENZALA*[1]

EVEN as late as the second quarter of the nineteenth century a visitor to Brazil wrote: "Again and again, while travelling in the interior, I have seen troops of new slaves of both sexes, who could not speak a single word of Portuguese, varying from twenty to one hundred individuals, marched inland for sale, or already belonging to proprietors of plantations."[2] These newly imported Africans were known as *negros novos*, or "new Negroes."[3]

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Since the major portion of African importations into Bahia came from contiguous territory in Africa, the Negroes ordinarily brought with them closely related dialects and, consequently, could more easily communicate among themselves in African tongues. Gradually there came into general use, especially among the influential semi-independent *negros de ganho*, an African language known as Nagô,[4] which by facilitating intercommunication intensified the Negroes' moral isolation from the white world and retarded the whole acculturation process. Nagô continued for a long time to

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[1] The "Big House" and the "slave quarters."

[2] George Gardner, *Travels in the Interior of Brazil, 1836–1841* (London, 1849), p. 12.

[3] Nina Rodrigues, *Os africanos no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1932), p. 187.

[4] "Like the French, we in Bahia call Nagôs all Negroes from the Slave Coast who speak the Yoruba language. Of this group we have received slaves from all the smaller subdivisions, from Oyó the capital of Yoruba, from Ilorin, Ige-sha, Ibadan, Ifé, Iebú, Egba, Lagos, etc." (*ibid.*, p. 157).

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be the *lingua geral*, or general Negro language.[5] The ritual of the more important fetish-cult centers was, and still is, carried on in this language. Inscriptions in Nagô were occasionally to be seen not only on cult buildings but also in small commercial establishments owned and operated by Negroes, like the meat stall on the Baixa dos Sapateiros over whose entrance Nina Rodrigues in 1895 noted the inscription "Kosi obà Kan afi Olorun."[6] So important did Nagô become, and so widespread its use that, although Nina Rodrigues early in the twentieth century estimated that there were only approximately five hundred Africans still living in the city and they were at that time dying at the rate of a hundred and fifty to two hundred a year,[7] one still today, more than three decades later, finds

[5] Nina Rodrigues, intimately acquainted for many years with Bahian Negroes, commends the accuracy of the Visconde de Porto Seguro when he says, "The best known Negroes in Brazil were those coming from the *Costa da Mina*, whence arrived the greater portion of those imported into Bahia; so that in this city many slaves learned little Portuguese but instead communicated among themselves in Nagô." About 1900 he himself wrote: "The Nagô dialect is commonly spoken in Bahia by almost all the old Africans from the various tribes and by a great number of creoles and mulattoes" (*op. cit.*, p. 197).

[6] Rodrigues translates the phrase: "There is no God but Olorun" (principal deity of the Nagô cult). A photograph of the entrance to the shop showing this inscription may be found in *ibid.*, opp. p. 202.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 154. In the seven years from 1896 to 1902, 1,282 Africans died at Bahia. The distribution was as follows:

Year	Total	Male	Female
1896	110	55	55
1897	258	156	102
1898	200	96	104
1899	209	110	99
1900	151	87	64
1901	152	74	78
1902	202	136	66
Total	1,282	714	568

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Nagô at times spoken in Bahia and an occasional individual whose command of this language is comparable to his command of Portuguese.

The nature of Negro settlement at Bahia favored to a considerable extent the preservation of African cultural forms. Tribal units were not deliberately broken up, as in Jamaica and the United States, and the Negro was thereby able to preserve and to transmit to his children a considerable portion of his African heritage. Even on the plantations the distribution of newly imported Africans among the old-established Negroes seems not to have occurred.[8] The concentration in the city of Bahia over a long period of time of large numbers of semi-independent *negros de ganho*, around whom there gradually accumulated a considerable number of relatively unassimilated free Negroes, also favored the persistence of African cultural elements.

It is likely that Nagô was not maintained in a pure form but came to be a patois containing numerous elements from other African dialects as well as from Portuguese. A Catholic missionary, Padre Coquard, visiting Bahia in 1899 to solicit funds, spoke to the colored population in Nagô. But the sermon, preached in the ancient church of Sé, was wholly ineffective.[9]

Other African languages were spoken in Bahia.[10] Rodrigues believed that Gêge (or Ewe) was used throughout the eighteenth century and until at least the middle of the nine-

[8] Henry Koster, *Travels in Brasil, 1809 to 1815* (2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1817), I, 229 n.

[9] Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 200–201. Perhaps another reason for this ineffectiveness was that the Negroes who were most able to understand Nagô were unassimilated Africans who, out of loyalty to the religion of their fathers, deliberately absented themselves from this ceremony of the Catholic church.

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 197–230.

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teenth. Tapa and Haussá were spoken during the entire nineteenth century, and the latter perhaps long before 1800. Although the Haussás were relatively few in number, their influence was considerable. The slave revolts of the early nineteenth century were, as we have seen, led by this reputedly "most intellectual element" among the imported Africans, many of whom could read and write Arabic characters. Kanúri, spoken in Bahia by the Bornús, and Grúnce, the tongue used by the slaves known as Gallinhas, are included, along with Haussá, Gêge, and Tapa, in the limited vocabularies which Rodrigues collected from Bahian Negroes near the beginning of the twentieth century.[11] Tshi (or Odji), Gá (or Acrá),[12] and Mandê (or Mandinga) were also employed to a limited extent.

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As late as 1900, Negro laborers in Bahia continued to wear "white vestments of coarse cotton cloth," which reminded Rodrigues of "the Nagô *camisús*."[13] The *Bahiana* costume,[14] of partial African origin, was extensively used by the Negro women. It was also customary for them to carry their babies bound to the back with a large cloth. African dishes, in the preparation of which *azeite de dendê* (oil of the *dendê* palm) and *pimenta da costa* (pepper from the West Coast) prominently figured, formed a considerable portion of the Negro diet.

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At that time, also, African music might be frequently heard, particularly in the ceremonies of the *candomblé*. African musical instruments, like the *atabaque*, the *agê*, the *cansá*, the *marímba*, the *agôgô*, the *caxixi*, and the *xáque-xáque*[15] were commonly employed. The fetish cult drew allegiance from numerous and zealous devotees.

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 217–21.

[12] Spoken in Bahia by the Ashantis.

[13] *Op. cit.*, p. 181.

[14] The *Bahiana* costume is described in detail in chap. ix.

[15] These instruments are described in chap. ix.

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giance from numerous and zealous devotees. African dances still invaded the popular festivals of the Europeans to such an extent that vigorous protests on the part of the white citizenry appeared in the newspapers.[16] Numerous images employed in the fetish worship were imported from Africa, and others were made by Negro sculptors in Bahia.

One occasionally encountered Negroes who in Africa had been chiefs or other dignitaries of considerable power and influence. Although in Brazil they shared the fortunes of a slave with their former subjects, they nevertheless often received allegiance and great reverence from them. On a chance meeting in the street these personages were, we are told, "saluted respectfully, their hands kissed, and a blessing requested of them." Even their masters were reported to have paid them, in several cases, considerable respect.

Slaves who were in close contact with their masters, especially the house servants, soon became, by the very necessities of the situation, at least to some extent bilingual. And their offspring, reared in close contact with the children of their masters, acquired little, if any, African vocabulary and came almost exclusively to speak Portuguese. Thus, about 1800, Koster wrote from Pernambuco, "Portuguese

[16] In the *Jornal de Noticias* for February 12, 1901, a white citizen wrote: "I wish to protest against the way in which this great civilized festival [Carnival] is being Africanized." Three days later the following was published: "These infamous Africanized groups *de canzás* and *bunlos* which, far from adding to the brilliance of our Carnival festival, bring shame upon the name of Bahia . . . : have since yesterday been keeping up their infernal tumult." Immediately preceding the opening of Carnival the following year there appeared in the *Jornal de Noticias* (February 5, 1902) the following note: "If during these former Carnival festivals when the popular enthusiasm has been greatly aroused by the passage of the victorious fleets . . . . these groups of *Africanos* have been repugnant, what will the Carnival of 1902 turn out to be, unless the police take effective measures to prevent our streets from looking like *terreiros* where fetish practices reign amid a retinue of *ogans* and their *canzás* and tambourines?" (Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 236–38).

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. . . . is spoken by all the slaves; and their own dialects are allowed to lie dormant until they are by many . . . . quite forgotten."[17] With the acquisition of the master's language went quite naturally other European habits and customs, and the group of assimilated Negroes, known as *ladinos*, grew in numbers relatively rapidly.

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Although the hardships incidental to a plantation system continued, the circumstances under which this gradual assimilation went on were ordinarily those imposed by a mild form of slavery in which the natural and continuous growth of intimate personal relations tended to further humanize the institution and to modify its formal and legal character to such an extent that the widely traveled Richard Burton, enamored as he was of the customs of the East, could in the middle of the nineteenth century say, "Nowhere, even in oriental countries, has the 'bitter draught' so little of gall in it."[18]

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Symbolic of the intimate character of these personal relations is a custom recorded in detail and with some sense of the humor of the situation by the able French artist Debret.[19] The head of a Brazilian household is depicted setting out with his family, all in gala attire, for a customary Sunday promenade. The entire group is in single file, the two

[17] *Op. cit.*, p. 200.

[18] Sir Richard F. Burton, *Explorations of the Highlands of the Brazil* (2 vols.; London, 1869), I, 270.

[19] Invited to Brazil at the request of the Brazilian emperor, Debret subsequently published three volumes of drawings and comment which together furnish a highly illuminating record of the life of Rio de Janeiro in the early part of the nineteenth century (see J. B. Debret, *Voyage pittoresque et historique au Brésil, 1816–1831* [3 vols.; Paris, 1835]). A similar record was made by another competent artist, Maurice Rugendas. See his *Voyage pittoresque dans le Brésil*, trans. from the German by de Colbery (3 vols.; Paris, 1835).

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daughters immediately behind the father, then the mother, followed by her mulatto *femme de chambre*, next the family *ama*, or Negro nurse, and the latter's female assistant, then the father's Negro body servant, and last a young slave in training for domestic service.[20] On such occasions it was a matter of considerable pride to dress the slaves as well as the family's station would permit. As late as 1852 a visitor to Rio recorded:

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> Though less generally the custom than formerly, it is still the habit of some of the *bourgeosie* . . . . at least on Sundays and great holidays, to promenade to and from church, by whole families, parents and children, from adults to infants, with a retinue of servants in their best dresses . . . . bringing up the rear, and, whether male or female, ... usually as elaborately, if not as expensively, dressed as the rest of the family; and often, in the case of the women, with an equal display of laces, muslins, and showy jewelry.[21]

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In the cities domestic slaves ordinarily lived in the same houses as their masters, occupying the lower floor; or, where the buildings were only of one story, "a sort of cellar" underneath.[22] Since the mistress of the household and her daughters lived a very secluded life in the interior of the home,[23] they were in almost constant contact with domestic slaves and the slave's children. Debret has sketched[24] one such intimate scene in which two Negro women are at work,

[20] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Pl. 5 ("Un Employé du gouvernement sortant de chez lui avec sa famille").

[21] C. S. Stewart, *Brazil and La Plata* (New York, 1856), p. 295.

[22] Maria Graham, *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil, 1821–1823* (London, 1824), p. 145.

[23] Until recent years, women from the upper classes in Bahia were rarely seen on the public thoroughfares and then only in the company of a male escort.

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[24] Debret, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Pl. 6 ("Une dame brésilienne dans son intérieur") and p. 33.

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seated on the floor at the feet of their mistress and her daughter, while two little Negro babies play near by.[25] Koster wrote of an estate near Recife that the "Great House" was full of young Negro children. "They were quite naked, and played with each other, and with some large dogs which were lying at full length upon the floor. These ebon cupids were plainly great favorites, and seemed to employ the greater part of the thoughts of the good ladies, the youngest of whom was on the other side of fifty; and even the priest laughed at their gambols."[26] Visiting in the interior of Rio de Janeiro province in 1823, Maria Graham noted that "the female in-door slaves . . . . have been mostly . . . . brought up in their mistress' house." She saw "children of all ages and colors running about, who seemed to be as tenderly treated as if they had been of the family," and commented that, under these conditions, slavery was "more like that of the patriarchal times, where the purchased servant became to all intents one of the family."[27] "How many times," writes Lacerda, "have we not seen masters who did not hesitate to bring their little mulatto slaves to the family table?"[28] Relations within these households became so intimate that, as sometimes also occurred in our South, white women took to their breasts colored babies whose mothers had died in childbirth.[29]

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In the home, on the plantation, along the roads of the

[25] Debret writes (*ibid.*, p. 39): "A Rio de Janeiro et dans toutes les autres villes du Brésil, il est d'usage, pendant le tête-à-tête d'un *dîner marital*, que le mari s'occupe silencieusement de ses affaires, et que la *femme* s'amuse de ses *petits* négrillons, qui remplacent la famille presque éteinte des petits chiens carlins en Europe."

[26] *Op. cit.*, pp. 258–59. [27] *Op. cit.*, pp. 279–80.

[28] Jean Baptiste de Lacerda, "The *Metis*, or Half-breeds, of Brazil," *Papers on Inter-racial Problems*, ed. G. Spiller (London, 1911), p. 379.

[29] Gilberto Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* (2d ed.; Rio, 1936), p. 327.

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rural areas, or in the streets of the cities, on the hunt, at parties, or at church, black and white were constantly to be seen in each other's company. And since human beings, wherever they come into close and uninterrupted contact upon an intimate personal basis, sooner or later tend to lay personal claims upon one another, it is not surprising to find that ties of enduring sentiment arose, which tended gradually to break down the formal barriers between the races and to modify the nature of slavery.

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It is, of course, probably true that the Mohammedan conception of the slave exercised considerable influence over the original form of African slavery in Portugal itself. The Arabian prophet, it is said, while unable to do away with an ancient institution, "did his utmost to soften the rigors of slavery." After conceding to his importuning followers that "God hath ordained" the slave institution, Mohammed added: "Therefore, him whom God hath ordained to be the slave of his brother, his brother must give him of the food which he eateth himself, and of the clothes wherewith he clotheth himself, and not order him to do anything beyond his power. . . . . A man who ill-treats his slave will not enter into Paradise." Thus

> there is no more commendable action in Mohammedan morals than to free slaves, and such enfranchisement is enjoined by the Prophet especially as an atonement for an undeserved blow or other injustice. In Andalusia, the slaves upon the estates that had passed . . . . into the possession of Moslems were almost in the position of small farmers; their Mohammedan masters, whose trade was war, and who despised heartily such menial occupations as tilling the soil, left them free to cultivate the land as they pleased, and only insisted on a fair return of products.[39]

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[39] Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Story of the Moors in Spain* (New York and London, 1886), p. 48. Cf. also: "The Mohammedan slave was rarely

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Mild though its original form may have been, slavery in Brazil was not, as we have already seen, without at least occasional evidences of brutality. The fact is that slavery in Brazil was *both* mild *and* severe. But as an institution continuing over centuries it became more and more mild. Cases of brutality ordinarily occurred under conditions of absentee ownership or in fear of slave insurrection, or arose in dealing with recalcitrant and unsubjected individuals, many of them at the hands of mixed-blood or Negro overseers who in this way unconsciously compensated for otherwise limited social effectiveness.[31] Moreover, the relatively few cases which did occur were so ably used by such prominent political and intellectual leaders as Ruy Barbosa and Joaquim Nabuco that they have probably left behind in the Brazilian mind of today an exaggerated notion of the cruelties of slavery. The important point to note is that, under circumstances of intimate, personal contact, the institution of slavery, with its occasional cases of harsh treatment, gradually lost its character as a political, and assumed that of a patriarchal and familial, institution.

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Obviously, there is inherent in slavery an economic consideration which has little regard for the interests of the slave himself. But wherever human beings live together in close proximity for any period of time there also tend to grow up *personal relations* which humanize whatever formal institutions have been set up. The opportunities in Brazil

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abused. . . . . His acceptance of the faith of Islam rendered his manumission easy. No stigma attached to his (subsequent) condition" (S. P. Scott, *History of the Moorish Empire in Europe* [Philadelphia, 1904], p. 660.

[31] Koster, reflecting over the fact that mulattoes, especially those who had formerly been slaves, "make bad masters," concluded that "the change of situation would lead to the same consequences in any race of human beings" (*op. cit.*, II, 177–78).

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The opportunities in Brazil for these relations to develop, particularly in the case of domestic servants, were extensive. Cooper states a fact long characteristic of the upper classes in Brazil when he says: "As in the East, the houses are . . . . filled with . . . . servants, and these servants partake of the character of their Eastern prototypes in their . . . . willingness to perform the many small and menial acts of personal service which the Brazilian requires, but which would hardly be expected of servants in the United States."[32]

Symbolic of the intimate nature of these relations was the common form of etiquette which grew up and became customary between Brazilian master and slave. It is said to have been a practice observed in all well-regulated families that slaves, "of both sexes and of every age," requested each morning and evening a blessing from their master. According to Stewart, the words used in the middle of the nineteenth century were, "I beseech your blessing [or "Grant me a blessing"], in the name of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ!" To which the master replied, "Jesus Christ bless you forever!"[33] As João Ribeiro has aptly said, "Agrupavam-se em familias, senão no sentido da lei, ao menos da religião."[34]

Debret, who spent several months at Rio in the early part of the same century, says[35] that it was there customary for

[32] Clayton S. Cooper, *The Brazilians and Their Country* (New York, 1917), pp. 61–62. Cf. also Gilberto Freyre, "Social Life in Brazil in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, V, No. 4 (November, 1922), 607.

[33] *Op. cit.*, p. 408.

[34] "They were united into families, if not by law, at least by religion."

[35] *Op. cit.*, III, 130. Cf. also the account of Maria Graham regarding a *fazenda* in the province of Rio de Janeiro: "I attended the weekly muster of all the Negroes of the *fazenda;* clean shirts and trousers were given to the

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slaves, on repeating the evening Ave Maria, to present themselves before the master with a "Boa noite, meu senhor,"[36] in reply to which, as a sign of approbation, the master made a simple movement of the head. It was also customary for a Negro who by chance met a white acquaintance on a public thoroughfare to bow his head, extend his right hand, half-opened, and to request a blessing, to which the white replied, "Deus te faça santo,"[37] or simply "Viva!"

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These forms of etiquette, together with their religious implications, although they became in time highly conventionalized and occasionally were reduced to "the shortest possible abbreviation" and repeated with "all manner of intonations of voice and every mood of humor,"[38] still symbolized the recognition on the part of the master of a common human bond with his slaves. "I can call to mind," writes Codman, "many touching incidents of the kind feelings of masters and servants towards each other."[39]

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Relationships of this character were undoubtedly advantageous to the Negro, not only during his period of subjection as a slave but also after his enfranchisement. Koster says of Brazilian neighbors in Pernambuco who possessed a considerable number of slaves:

> These excellent women and the good priest [intend] eventually to emancipate all of them; and that they may be prepared for the change, several of the men have been brought up as mechanics of different

men, and shifts and shirts to the women, of very coarse white cotton. Each, as he or she came in, kissed a hand, and then bowed to Mr. P. saying either, 'Father, give me blessing,' or 'The names of Jesus and Mary be praised!' and were answered accordingly, either 'Bless you,' or 'Be they praised!' This is the custom in old establishments: it is repeated morning and evening, and seems to acknowledge a kind of relationship between master and slave" (*op. cit.*, p. 196).

[36] "Good night, my master."

[37] "God make thee a saint."

[38] Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 408.

[39] John Codman, *Ten Months in Brazil* (Boston, 1867), p. 201.

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descriptions; and the women have been taught needle-work, embroidery, and all branches of culinary knowledge.[40]

In 1822 an observer in Rio noted:

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When the Emperor had received the public bodies, be came and led the Empress into the great receiving room, and there, both of them standing on the upper step of the throne, had their hands kissed by naval, military and civil officers, and private citizens. . . . . It was curious, but it pleased me, to see some Negro officers take the small white hand of the Empress in their clumsy black hands, and apply their pouting African lips to so delicate a skin; but they looked up to *Nosso Imperador* (Our Emperor), and to her, with a reverence that seemed to me a promise of faith *from* them, a bond of kindness *to* them.[41]

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"There is evidently," commented another visitor, "a sincere wish to make the liberated slave a useful citizen, if possible."[42]

Custom came gradually to grant the slave, as Burton has pointed out, many of the rights of a freeman:

He may educate himself, and he is urged to do so. He is regularly catechised, and in all large plantations there is a daily religious service. If assailed in life or limb he may defend himself against his master, or any white man, and an over-harsh proprietor or overseer always runs considerable risk of not dying in bed. He is legally married, and the chastity of his wife is defended against his owner. He has little fear of being separated from his family: the humane instincts and the religious tenets of the people are strongly opposed to this act of barbarity. He has every chance of becoming a free man: manumission is held to be a Catholic duty and priestly communities are ashamed of holding slaves. . . . .[43]

[40] *Op. cit.*, I, 258: "The owners said that all their own immediate relations were rich; . . . . and that therefore these their children had no right to work for any one else."

[41] Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 319. [42] Codman, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

[43] *Op. cit.*, pp. 271–72. Some cases undoubtedly occurred in which the master refused to manumit a slave upon his presenting the cost price, but these were probably rare. Koster (*op. cit.*, I, 192–94) says that, although

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The two days in seven which according to custom the master allotted the slave for the cultivation of a plot of land[44] was as early as 1700 sanctioned in law.[45] His right in property could be transferred to his children.[46] He could

"a great deal depends upon the inclinations of the master, he will, however, be very careful in refusing to manumit, owing to the well-known opinion of every priest in favor of this regulation, to the feelings of the individuals of his own class in society, and to those of the lower orders of people; and likewise he will be afraid of losing his slave. He may escape with his money; and the master will then run much risk of never seeing him again, particularly if the individual is a creole slave. . . . . The master might indeed deprive the slave of the fruits of his labor, but this is never thought of; because the slave preserves his money in a secret place, or he has entrusted it to some person upon whom he can depend, and would suffer any punishment rather than disclose the spot in which his wealth lies concealed."

[44] "This day [Sunday] . . . . is the Negroes' own; after morning mass they are free to do their own will; and then most of them run to the hill to gather their coffee or maize, or prepare the ground for these or vegetables. They were just beginning to return from the wood, each with his . . . . basket laden with something of his own, something in which the master had no share; and again and again as they passed me, and displayed with glistening eye the little treasure, I blessed the Sabbath, the day of freedom to the slave" (Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 288).

[45] João Ribeiro, *Historia do Brasil* (3d rev. ed.; Rio, 1909), p. 255.

[46] However, if the slave died childless, his property reverted to the master. Note the following account given by Maria Graham regarding a slave on an estate in the province of Rio: "He was a mulatto boatman, the most trusty servant on the estate, and rich, because he is industrious enough to have earned a good deal of private property, besides doing his duty to his master. In his youth, and he is not now old, he had become attached to a creole woman, born, like him on the estate; but he did not marry her until he had earned money enough to purchase her, in order that their children, if they had any, might be born free. Since that time, he has become rich enough to purchase himself, even at the high price which such a slave might fetch; but his master will not sell him his freedom, his services being too valuable to lose, notwithstanding his promise to remain on the estate and work. Unfortunately, these people have no children; therefore on their death their property, now considerable, will revert to the master" (*op. cit.*, pp. 197–98).

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He could take his master's name.[47] Slaves who desired to change masters had the right to request transfer, and the master was expected to acquiesce.[48] Intercession in behalf of a fugitive slave, or even of one about to be punished for some other offense, is said seldom to have been in vain.[49] The master guilty of inhuman treatment toward his slave was liable to the police or tribunals.[50] Some masters preferred to have

[47] Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 256; cf. also Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 327: "Hence, the many Cavalcantis, Albuquerques, Mellos, Mouras, Wanderleys, Lins, Carneiro Leãos, etc., who possess none of the illustrious blood which their names imply."

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[48] Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 256. Koster (*op. cit.*, I, 194) records that "for this purpose a note is given, declaring that the bearer has leave to enter into the service of any one, upon the price which the master demands being paid by the purchaser. With this the slave applies to any individual or property whom he may wish to serve; owing to having heard a good report of his character toward his slaves, or from any other cause. This is a frequent practice." The following interesting case was observed: "A Negro woman applied to a planter to be purchased; for which purpose she had brought a note from her master. She was accepted; and a bargain was concluded between the two persons. However, the day after she had taken up her abode upon the estate of her new master, she came to him, and falling down upon her knees, said that she had a fellow-slave who wished likewise to serve him; and she begged him to purchase her companion. The new master spoke to the owner of the slave in question of the subject; but he refused to sell him, and the matter rested in this manner. But on the third day, he received a visit from the owner, offering the slave for sale, adding, that the man had refused to work, and had threatened to hang himself; and as he was a Gabão Negro (noted for the resolute manner which, on occasion, they committed suicide), he much feared that he might put his threat into execution. The price was soon fixed, and on the following morning the man made his appearance. He proved to be a most excellent slave" (*ibid.*, p. 203 n.).

[49] Codman, *op. cit.*, p. 201. Cf. also: "Costumes belissimos instituem-se entre os senhores; como o de *apadrinhar* os remissos ou fugitivos, o que impede o castigo, e nunhum senhor viola" (Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 255).

[50] J. B. von Spix and C. F. von Martius, *Travels in Brazil, 1817–1820*, trans. H. E. Lloyd (2 vols.; London, 1824), I, 179.

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Some masters preferred to have their slaves, on the payment of a small sum, punished by the civil authorities.[51] Gardner remarked that "many of the crimes for which only a few lashes are awarded, are of such a nature that in England would bring upon the perpetrator either death or transportation."[52]

It was customary each week to grant slaves, in addition to their regular food, an allowance of tobacco.[53] On the large estates certain hospital facilities,[54] and nurseries for Negro children were maintained.[55] Accounts of white mistresses who themselves attended to the sick among their slaves are numerous.[56] The *amas* (nurses) were often "emancipated as soon as their work was over, and nearly always continued to live in freedom under the same roof with their masters and to have various privileges."[57] "The aged Negroes were only employed in light occupations; during the remainder of their time they chatted with the master's young children, telling

[51] Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[52] *Ibid.*

[53] Prince Adalbert, *Travels of Prince Adalbert of Prussia*, trans. from *Aus meinem Tagebuche, 1842–1843* (Berlin, 1847), by Robert H. Schomburgk and John Edward Taylor (2 vols.; London, 1849), II, 37. Prince Adalbert noted on the coffee plantation Aldea, near Novo Friburgo, that "every evening, when their work is done, the slaves light fires in the rooms set apart for them, around which they sit for hours, even after the severest day's work, all talking and smoking, women as well as men."

[54] *Ibid.*, p. 36. "In the hospital, the hall and rooms for the two sexes were separated. A Negro woman was lying on a mat, with her little 'negrinho' at her breast, to which she had given birth only the night before. 'In a few days she will be able to resume work,' said the Doctor to Count Bismarck: In the men's room, there were four or five patients, suffering from accidents of various kinds" (coffee plantation Aldea, near Novo Friburgo).

[55] C. C. Andrews, *Brazil, Its Condition and Prospects* (2d ed.; New York, 1889), p. 164.

[56] Note, e.g., Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[57] Lacerda, *op. cit.*, p. 379.

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them odd stories which were calculated to strike their imagination."[58]

Public opinion expected of masters the acceptance of an offer made to manumit an infant on the occasion of his baptism.[59] It also became customary, when marriages were being solemnized in the master's family, to free one or two favorite slaves.[60] Masters frequently declined the money proffered by a Negro for his purchase and granted his freedom without payment.[61] Slaves of the religious orders, it is said, considered themselves to belong to the saints themselves and were never sold.[62] The law adopted in 1809 to protect the property of sugar planters against attachment for debt also provided that slaves need not be sold separately from an estate to satisfy a creditor's claims. Thus the master could not be forced to dispose of his slaves, unless the debt amounted to the value of the entire estate; and, as Koster has pointed out,[63] the slave in this way was advanced, in some degree at least, toward the condition of a serf.

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[58] *Ibid.*

[59] "Another custom which was advantageous to the slave was that of *alforrias na pia*, which was accomplished with the insignificant amount of 5 to 50 milreis and never was refused; this custom became very common, especially when the child had a light skin" (Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 255). Koster gives the price in Pernambuco early in the nineteenth century as £5 and says that "in this manner, a considerable number of persons are set at liberty; for the smallness of the price enables many freemen who have had connections with female slaves to manumit their offspring; and instances occur of the sponsors performing this . . . . act. Not infrequently female slaves apply to persons of consideration to become sponsors to their children, in the hope that the pride of these will be too great to allow of their godchildren remaining in slavery" (*op. cit.*, I, 195–96).

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[60] Frank Bennett, *Forty Years in Brazil* (London, 1914), p. 111.

[61] Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 256. [62] *Ibid.* [63] *Op. cit.*, I, 229 n.

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In the light of these customs which gradually grew up and ameliorated the lot of the bondsman, it is not surprising that neither Brazil nor the mother-country ever felt it necessary to adopt a "Black Code." The Englishman Dent says "I had certainly opportunity of seeing something of the treatment of slaves, being thirteen months in the country; but I never came across any other than considerate kindness from master to slave, sometimes even far greater benevolence and consideration than is exercised towards servants in our own country."[64] Dent mentions an old Negro woman who "had received her liberty sometime ago, but seemed to be much attached to the family and never to have thought of leaving them."[65] Numerous other visitors to Brazil remark that the slaves appeared to be treated with kindness, to be well cared for, and happy. In 1821 Mathison noted that Negroes on an estate near Rio "showed by their cheerful looks and bodily condition that they were well taken care of."[66] "He who has had occasion to observe the happy songs and dances that are sung and danced after sunset by great groups of Negroes in the streets of Bahia," wrote the German scientists, Spix and Martius, "can with difficulty be convinced that these are the same slaves which one had thought, according to the exaggerated accounts of certain writers, had been pulled down to an animal existence."[67]

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[64] Hastings Charles Dent, *A Year in Brazil* (London, 1886), p. 285. Compare the remarks of another English traveler, Bennett (*op. cit.*, p. 10): "I want to say that, although some slaves may have been (and undoubtedly were) badly treated, a great many of them were better off than some free-born people here in England in the present day."

[65] *Op. cit.*, p. 120.

[66] Gilbert Farquhar Mathison, *Narrative of a Visit to Brazil, Chile, Peru, and the Sandwich Islands, 1821–1822* (London, 1825), pp. 93, 121.

[67] Spix and Martius, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

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Wells, journeying three thousand miles through the interior of Brazil a few years before abolition, thought that "many a poor laborer at home [in the United States] would enjoy their lot."[68] Gardner, who during five years' residence "saw more than has fallen to the lot of most Europeans," said:

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> I have conversed with Negroes in all parts of the country, and have met with but very few who expressed any regret at having been taken from their own country, or a desire to return to it. On some of the large estates at which I have resided for short periods, the number of slaves often amounted to three or four hundred, and but for my previous knowledge of their being such, I could never have found out from my own observations that they were slaves. I saw . . . . contented and well-conditioned laborers turning out from their little huts, often surrounded by a small garden, and proceeding to their respective daily occupations, from which they returned in the evening anything but broken and bent down with the severity of their tasks.[69]

Codman wrote:

> It is the result of my observation, and I believe that of every one who has investigated the subject, that the Brazilians are generally kind and indulgent masters, treating their slaves with much greater leniency than has been practised by any other people among whom the "institution" has existed in modern times.[70]

[68] James W. Wells, *Three Thousand Miles through Brazil* (2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1886), II, 187.

[69] *Op. cit.*, p. 14.

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[70] *Op. cit.*, p. 201. Absentee ownership, however, occasionally resulted, as on the estate of Prince Dom Rodrigo visited by Mawe, in a "system of management . . . . so bad that the slaves are half starved, almost destitute of clothing, and most miserably lodged" (John Mawe, *Travels in the Interior of Brazil* [Philadelphia, 1816], p. 115). Note also Mathison, *op. cit.*, p. 114. Nor is it to be supposed that the field hands always fared as well as the house servants. Compare the conclusion of Stewart (*op. cit.*, p. 296): "House servants in Rio [1852] are said to have easy times, and to do very much as they please; but to judge from the incidents I have seen of field laborers, I fear such have but a sad and wearisome life."

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The "wide spread of gentle manners in Brazil,"[71] which impressed some commentators as contributing to the favored treatment of Brazilian slaves, was an integral part of a social order in which the large family was the principal unit of cohesion. Under such conditions the network of personal relations arising out of the intimate contact of master and slave not only tempered but, over a period of time, tended to destroy the formal barriers between them. "The Negro is everywhere among the Brazilians," wrote Codman, "and they understand him thoroughly."[72]

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It was usually among the newly arrived Africans, the field hands, or those blacks like the semi-independent *negros de ganho*, all of whom were not in intimate contact with the whites, that escapes and insurrections occurred. Some of these Negroes at times affected scorn and contempt of whites.[73] But those who were in close contact with the Europeans over a period of time developed sentiments of "belonging together," of loyalty and affection. Under such cir-

[71] "One afternoon I sat in a street car of the Copacabana line running to and from the heart of Rio de Janeiro city. As we approached the Avenida and paused at a sharp turn at the regulator's signal, a small boy poorly clad in cotton clothes got onto the front platform with a dinner pail in his hand. He set it down, removed his cap, bent his knee as the motorman, with a swift smile at the child, extended his right hand. The boy respectfully kissed it, replaced his cap, and jumped down. The little incident was typical of the wide spread of gentle manners in Brazil; it is here usual enough to see elderly bankers kiss the hands of their parents, but courtesy is not confined to the upper classes. . . . Brazilian men meeting each other in the street a dozen times a day, lift their hats every time to each other" (L. E. Elliott, *Brazil, Today and Tomorrow* [New York, 1917], p. 76).

[72] *Op. cit.*, p. 202.

[73] Bennett (*op. cit.*, p. 9) mentions the following incident from Pernambuco: "One evening when we were walking along the Rua Nova, a black woman who was passing us suddenly drew aside with a lofty air, exclaiming: 'O meu Deus, os brancos perto de mim!' (Oh, my God, whites near me!)"

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cumstances they gradually lost their African customs and traditions and took over more and more European ideas, attitudes, and points of view.

This loyalty and devotion, as well as even deeds of heroism, on the part of Negro slaves quite naturally evoked corresponding sentiments of appreciation and affection in masters and their children. Mrs. Louis Agassiz, visiting, together with her husband, the Academy of Fine Arts in Rio in 1865, noted with particular interest the portrait of a Negro

> who, in a shipwreck off the coast, had saved a number of lives at the risk of his own. When he had brought several passengers to the shore, he was told that two children still remained in the ship. He swam back once more and brought them safely to the beach, but then sank down exhausted, and was seized with a hemorrhage. A considerable sum was raised for him in the city of Rio, and his picture was placed in the Academy to commemorate his heroism.[74]

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There hangs today in the Pinacotheca at Bahia a famous painting of the *mãe preta*, or "black mother." "We children," recently remarked a prominent Bahian banker, "respected our *mãe preta* as much as, or perhaps even more than, we did our own parents. I'm sure we feared her more and obeyed her more readily."

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Henrique Dias, a Pernambucan slave, materially and somewhat spectacularly aided the Portuguese when they were engaged, during the seventeenth century, in driving the Dutch out of Pernambuco. Captured, he was shortly released, the Dutch thinking that "because he was a Negro slave he wasn't worth the cost of feeding." He returned to fight effectively for the Portuguese and was once wounded in battle. Following the expulsion of the Dutch, he was given many honors, commissioned in the local militia, and put in

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[74] Professor and Mrs. Louis Agassiz, *A Journey in Brasil* (Boston and New York, 1888), p. 478.

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command of a Negro regiment. As a Bahian *preto* recently remarked with pride, "His contribution to his country was an honored one."

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Negros novos were required by law to be baptized into the Christian religion on penalty of forfeiture to the state. Those from Portuguese Angola were baptized in lots before they left their native shores.[75] The mark of the royal crown upon their breasts signified that they had undergone this ceremony and also that the king's duty had been paid. With slaves from other parts of Africa, the master was allowed a year for the instruction requisite for baptism.[76] Debret noted that elderly Negroes acquainted with African languages were often used to catechise the candidates, ordinarily the oldest and "most virtuous" slaves being chosen for this purpose.[77] One of the first things taught was the threefold sign of the cross accompanied by the words, "The sign of the cross delivers us from our enemies." Slaves were not considered, we are told, "members of society, but rather brute animals," until they could "lawfully go to mass, confess their sins, and receive the sacrament."[78] Participation in these ceremonies made them fellow human beings.

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On the plantations slaves were regularly instructed in Catholic ritual and belief, chaplains often being retained on the larger estates for this purpose as well as to conduct the public religious ceremonies in the chapel attached to the plantation. Mawe, visiting the estate of Prince Dom Rodrigo near Rio in the early years of the nineteenth century, noted that it was customary "to have prayers publicly read

[75] Koster, *op. cit.*, I, 198.

[76] Koster (*ibid.*) writes that "the law is not always strictly adhered to as to time, but it is never evaded altogether."

[77] *Op. cit.*, III, 129.

[78] Koster, *op. cit.*, I, 199.

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to slaves morning and evening, at the commencement and close of their day's labor."[79] Mathison noted that "on Sunday large numbers of slaves may be seen in the churches, particularly females."[80] For the exclusive worship of the Negroes, certain saints—Nossa Senhora do Rosario, São Benedito, and Santa Efigenia—were set aside, and their images were often, and still are today, painted black. Numerous *irmandades* composed entirely of Negroes were organized, usually under the patronage of São Benedito and Nossa Senhora do Rosario,[81] and in Bahia, at least, these all-Negro organizations persist to the present day. Koster, writing about 1800, tells us:

> The ambition of the slave very generally aims at being admitted into one of these Irmandades, and at being made one of the officers and directors of the concerns of the brotherhood. Even some of the money which the industrious slave is collecting for the purpose of purchasing his freedom, will often times be brought out of its concealment for the decoration of a saint, that the donor may become of importance in the society to which he belongs.[82]

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In 1848 Henry Bates noted that on an estate called Caripí, near Pará, the Christmas festival "was celebrated by the Negroes of their own free will, and in a very pleasing manner."

> The room next to the one I had chosen was the *capella*, or chapel. It had a little altar which was neatly arranged, and the room was furnished with a magnificent brass chandelier. Men, women, and children were busy in the chapel all day on the 24th of December, decorating the altar with flowers and strewing the floor with orange leaves. They invited some of their neighbors to the evening prayers; and when the simple ceremony began, an hour before midnight, the chapel was

[79] Mawe, *op. cit.*, p. 115; cf. also Mathison, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

[80] *Op. cit.*, pp. 156–57.

[81] Cf. Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 255. [82] *Op. cit.*, I, 199–200.

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crowded. They were obliged to dispense with the mass, for they had no priest; the service therefore consisted merely of a long litany and a few hymns. There was placed on the altar a small image of the infant Christ, the "Menino Deus" as they called it, or the Child-God, which had a long ribbon depending from its waist. An old white-haired Negro led off the litany, and the rest of the people joined in the responses. After the service was over they all went up to the altar, one by one, and kissed the end of the ribbon. The gravity and earnestness shown throughout the proceedings was remarkable.[83]

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Slaves were often married according to the forms of the Catholic church, and the banns were published in the same manner as for free persons.[84] Debret has preserved a visual impression of such a ceremony being performed in the house of wealthy Brazilians.[85]

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As Freyre has pointed out,[86] priests continually urged upon white masters the advantage of conceding to the Negroes their African pastimes. A Jesuit, writing in the eighteenth century, advised slaveowners not only to permit but even to encourage the *festas* of the blacks, saying: "You should not make it difficult for them to choose their king, and to sing and dance as they desire on certain appointed days of the year, and legitimately to enjoy themselves on Sunday afternoons when in the morning they have executed the ceremonies in honor of Nossa Senhora do Rosario, São Benedito, or the guardian-saint of the chapel." Slaves were granted permission to use during public festivals—at first the Vespers of Reis, later Christmas, New Year's, and Carnival—

[83] Henry W. Bates, *The Naturalist on the River Amazons* (reprint, London, 1892), p. 88.

[84] Koster, *op. cit.*, I, 202. The consent of the master was required and the ceremony could not be performed until "the requisite prayers have been learned, the nature of the confession . . . . understood, and the sacrament can be received."

[85] *Op. cit.*, Vol. III, Pl. 15. [86] *Op. cit.*, p. 264.

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African costumes, songs, and dances.[87] The Catholic church was never in haste, it seems, to assimilate the Brazilian Negro but adopted instead a patient and tolerant policy which in the end was eminently successful. Early in the nineteenth century Koster wrote from Pernambuco, "No compulsion is resorted to, to make the Negroes embrace the habits of their masters; but their ideas are insensibly led to imitate and adopt them."[88]

As might be expected, the transition from fetish-cult ideas and practices to Catholic ritual and belief was marked by intermediary stages in which elements of both religions coexisted in the Negroes' thought and practice, and the objects of one cult were identified with objects of a similar nature in the other. Hence, the extensive identification, for instance, of several African *orixás* with certain Catholic saints (as we shall later see in greater detail) and the coexistence of African and European forms in the principal religious and popular festivals.

Thus, in 1852, a visitor wrote from Rio de Janeiro:

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> For many nights past, Gloria Hill . . . . has echoed till a late hour with the songs, the wild music, and the tread of the dance in the Negroes' favorite amusements; and yesterday afternoon, I accidentally became a spectator of a grand gathering of this kind. It was "Twelfth" or "King's Day," as sometimes called—being that commemorative of the adoration of the Magi in the stable of Bethlehem; and it is a chief festival with the Negroes. . . . . When about half way up the Larangeiras . . . . my attention was arrested by a large gathering of Negroes within an enclosure by the wayside, engaged in their native dances, accompanied by the wild and rude music brought with them from Africa. . . . . Many of the principal performers, both among the dancers and musicians, were dressed in the most . . . . grotesque manner. . . . . A majority, if not all the performers, were baptized

[87] *Ibid.*

[88] *Op. cit.*, I, 200.

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members of the . . . . church. . . . . Exhibitions of this kind are far from being limited here to extraordinary holidays, or to the seclusion of by-places. I have seen them in open daylight, in the most public corners of the city, while young [white] females . . . . hung over the surrounding balconies as spectators.[28]

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The festival here witnessed was probably that of the Rei do Congo ("King of the Congo"). Throughout Brazil, Africans were permitted on occasion to select a king and a queen and to celebrate their coronation with extensive ceremonies. This festival came to be held at the same time as that of the Catholic celebration of Epiphany and to be confused in the minds of the Negroes with it.[29] Of the king and queen, Koster records:

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The personages . . . . fixed upon may either actually be slaves, or they may be manumitted Negroes. These sovereigns exercise a species of mock jurisdiction over their subjects, which is much laughed at by the whites. But their chief power and superiority over their countrymen is shown on the day of the festival. The Negroes of their nation . . . . pay much respect to them. The man who had acted as their king in Itamaraca (for each district has its king) for several years, was about to resign from old age, and a new chief was to be chosen. He who had been fixed upon for this purpose was an old man and a slave, belonging to the plantation of Amparo. The . . . . queen would not resign, but still continued at her post. The old Negro who was this day to be crowned, came early in the morning to pay his respects to the vicar, who said to him in a jocular manner, "Well, sir, today I am to wait upon you, and to be your chaplain." About eleven o'clock I proceeded to the church with the vicar. We were standing at the door when there appeared a number of male and female Negroes, habited in cotton dresses of colors and of white, with flags flying and drums beating; and as they approached, we discovered among them the king and queen, and the secretary of state. Each of the former wore upon their heads a crown, which was partly covered with gilt

[28] Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

[29] Cf. Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 256: ". . . . festa que eles faziam coincidir e confundir com a catolica dos Tres Reis."

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paper, and painted various colors. The king was dressed in an old fashioned suit of divers tints, green, red, and yellow: coat, waistcoat, and breeches. His sceptre, which was of wood and finely gilt, was in his hand. The queen was in a blue silk gown, also of ancient make; and the wretched secretary had to boast of as many colors as his master; but his dress had evident appearances of each portion having been borrowed from a different quarter; for some parts were too tight, and others too wide for him. The expense of the church service was . . . . provided for by the Negroes . . . . and . . . . the vicar . . . . and his assistant priests were to chant high mass. . . . . At last their Majesties knelt down at the railing of the principal chapel, and the service commenced. As soon as this was over, the new king was to be installed. But as the vicar who had not breakfasted, though it was now midday, was hungry, he dispatched the matter without much ceremony. He asked for the crown, then went to the church door—the new sovereign presented himself, and was requested, or rather desired, to kneel down. The insignia were given to him; and the vicar then said, "Agora, Senhor Rei, vai te embora" (Now, Sir King, go about thy business). As the king belonged to Amparo, the eating, drinking, and dancing were to be at that place.[33]

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Koster did not witness the subsequent ceremony, but Burton has left an account of a similar one in Minas Geraes:

A score of men, after promenading through the settlement, came to the *Casa Grande*. They were dressed, as they fondly imagined, after the style of the Agua-Rosada House,[34] descended from the great Manikongo and hereditary lords of Congo land. But the toilettes, though gorgeous with colored silks and satins, were purely fanciful, and some wore the Kanitar or plumed head-gear, and the Arasira or waist fringe, and carried the Tacape or tomahawk belonging to the red man. All were armed with sword and shield, except the king, who, in sign of dignity, carried his sceptre, a stout and useful stick. The masked old man, with white beard, trembling underjaw, *chewotante* voice, and

[33] *Op. cit.*, II, 25–28.

[34] An interesting account of this African dynasty is given, according to Burton, in M. Valdez, *Six Years of a Traveler's Life in West Africa* (London, 1861), Vol: II, chap. ii.

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testy manner, was clearly represented by a young black from Sabará. On his right sat the captain of war, the Premier; on his left the young Prince, his son and heir. Of course the buffoon of the Dahomean court was there, and the fun consisted in kicking and cuffing him as if he were one of our clowns. . . . . The "play" was a representation of . . . . a slave hunt; the march, accompanied with much running about and clashing of swords, which all handled like butcher's knives; the surprise, dragging in prisoners, directions to put to death recreant ministers and warriors, poisonings and administering antidotes. . . . . His Majesty freely used his staff, threshing everybody right regally. The speeches were delivered in a singsong tone; the language was Hamitico-Lusan, and there was an attempt at cadence and rhyme. Slaughtering the foeman and drinking his blood were the favorite topics, varied by arch allusions to the Superintendent and his guests.[93]

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But the "Kings of the Congo," says Koster,

also worship Nossa Senhora do Rosario; and are dressed in the dress of white men. They and their subjects dance, it is true, after the manner of their country; but to these festivals are admitted Africans of other nations, creole blacks, and mulattoes, all of whom dance after the same manner; and these dances are now as much the national dances of Brazil, as they are of Africa.

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Shortly after 1800 Maria Graham, visiting a plantation in the interior of Rio de Janeiro Province, wrote:

While we were sitting by the sugar-mill presses, Dona Mariana (mistress of the *engenho*) desired the slave women, who were supplying the canes, to sing, and they began at first with some of their own wild African airs, with words adopted at the moment to suit the occasion. She then told them to sing their hymns to the Virgin; when, regularly in tune and time, and with some sweet voices, the evening and other hymns were sung.[94]

[93] Burton, *op. cit.*, I, 237–38. For further information see Mario de Andrade, "*Os Congos*," *Lanterna Verde*, No. 2 (February, 1935), pp. 36–53; Francisco Augusto Pereira da Costa, "Rei do Congo," *Jornal do Brasil* (Rio), August 25, 1901.

[94] *Op. cit.*, p. 282.

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The dances *dos Congos* became attached to the Catholic festivals of São Benedito and Nossa Senhora do Rosario. In Bahia the annual *lavagem* ("washing") of the church of Bomfim became "a Yoruba religious ceremony" and, as late as 1900, was "a living cult, O Senhor do Bomfim[95] being for the Africans, the creole Negroes and the mixed-bloods of the Nagô *seita*,[96] Obatalá[97] himself."[98] The Cucumbys[99] became attached in Bahia to the Catholic festivals of Epiphany and Christmas.

[95] The saint to whom the Church of Bomfim (in Itapagipe) is consecrated is known as O Senhor do Bomfim, and his image is prominently displayed in the church. To evaluate more fully the important role of this famous church to which pilgrimages are still regularly made from long distances, see Carlos Alberto de Carvalho, *Tradições e milagres do Bomfim* (Bahia, 1915); João Varella, *Na Bahia do Senhor do Bomfim* (Bahia, 1936); and Manoel Raymundo Querino, *A Bahia de outrora* (Bahia, 1922), pp. 117–30, 222–31.

[96] The fetish-cult is sometimes called the *seita* (sect).

[97] Obatalá is one of the more important *orixás*, or deities, of the fetish cult. See chap. x.

[98] Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

[99] Moraes describes the Cucumbys of Rio as follows: "After a sumptuous meal of *cucumbe*, which is a dish eaten by the Congos and Munhambanas on the days of the circumcision of their sons, a group of Negroes set out to take to the Queen her new vassals who have just passed through this species of savage baptism. The procession, made up of princes and princesses, soothsayers and magicians, interpreters of foreign languages, and a host of other people, and conducting between two lines of gay celebrants the *mamotos*—those who have just been circumcised with the bamboo splinter—is attacked on the way by an enemy tribe and the King's son killed by an arrow. When the procession finally reaches the King's dwelling-place, they find that the King, having heard of his son's death from a messenger, has already sent for a famous diviner, the most celebrated *feiticeiro* (witch-doctor) of the kingdom, of whom he demands, immediately upon his arrival, the resuscitation of the dead prince. To the divinations of this magician, the youth finally responds and gets to his feet. The dances then continue for some time, until the noisy ceremony ends with the Cucumbys singing the *Bendito* and other popular refrains" (Mello Moraes Filho, *Festas e tradições populares* [Rio, 1888], p. 157, quoted in Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 272–73).

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In the time of Nina Rodrigues, African "carnival clubs" were still active in Bahia.[100] A Embaixada Africana ("The African Legation") and Os Pandegos da Africa ("The African Clowns") were the more prominent. Of lesser importance were A Chegada Africana ("The Arrival of the Africans") and Os Filhos da Africa ("Children of Africa"). A common theme portrayed on the floats prepared by these Negroes was "primitive Africa brought to Brazil a slave." Certain African traditions were also represented. Thus, for the Carnival of 1899, Os Pandegos da Africa prepared a float representing the river Zambesi "on one of whose banks might be seen the King Labossi reclining in an immense seashell and surrounded by his ministers Auá, Oman, and Aboto." A second float carried "two individuals representing the powerful ministers of the King's court—Barborim and Rodá"; and a third showed "the hut of Pae Ajou, his wife and the magical *caboré*[101] which brings good fortune to one and all." Rodrigues was impressed with the enormous crowd of Negroes and mixed-bloods which accompanied the floats, "singing African songs, dancing African dances and applauding the images on the magician's float." The scene was one of "a colossal *candomblé* traversing the streets of the city,"[102] although police regulations at that time forbade the public appearance of the cult.

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Much enjoyed by Brazilian Negroes were certain dances like the *lundú* and the *batuque*, evidently of at least partial African origin, although they perhaps also contained certain Portuguese and native Indian elements.

[100] Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

[101] The *caboré* is a nocturnal bird. [102] Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

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Wells, visiting in Minas Geraes in the latter part of the nineteenth century, witnessed the *batuque* and records that it is usually danced by two couples, sometimes more, who face each other. Two tinkling . . . . guitars on this occasion commenced a thrum-thrum, thrum-thrum, and the head man of the estate . . . . advanced and marshaled the dancers, two women and two men; thrum-thrum, thrum—three or four voices suddenly commenced a loud, high-pitched, wild, rapidly delivered, impromptu refrain, containing allusions to the *patrão*[163] and his merits, the incidents of the daily work mingled with the loveliness of ideal Marias; the other men present joined in the chorus, each taking a second or third, a falsetto, or a bass. With rhythmic songs accompanied by clapping of hands and shuffling of feet, the dance commences, at first a slow measure that is maintained for some time, then gradually it increases in rapidity, the dancers advance and retreat, the women swaying their bodies and waving their arms, the men clapping time with their hands at every chorus. The measured tones rise and fall, then again increase in time, the songs and shuffling steps become fast and furious, hands and feet and voices all keep time; and there is much pantomimic action between the couples. . . . . The surroundings were a bright fire that burned and flickered on the earth floor. A single-wick castor-oil lamp was hung on a post. The forms of men and women, lightened by the upward glow of the fire, figured prominently against the dark obscurity of the interior of the shelter.[164]

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Certain customs of the whites were taken over completely by the Negroes. Especially was this true (with a few exceptions which we shall see later) of dress. Stewart recounts of

[163] Employer.

[164] *Op. cit.*, pp. 198–99. The *samba*, a form of the *batuque*, is today in a modified form the favorite popular music of Brazil. For information on the African contribution to Brazilian music see especially Mario de Andrade, "O samba rural paulista," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal de São Paulo*, XLI, 37–114; Flausino Rodrigues Valle, *Elementos de folk-lore musical brasileiro* (São Paulo, 1936), particularly chap. iii; Luciano Gallet, *Estudos de folklore* (Rio, 1934).

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Stewart recounts of Rio in 1852 that "two black African women, richly and fashionably attired, came sauntering along with the most conscious air of high-bred self-possession. They were followed by a black female slave, also in full dress, carrying a black baby three or four months old, and decked out in all the finery of an aristocratic heir—an elaborately wrought, lace-frilled and rosetted cap, and long flowing robe of thin muslin beautifully embroidered, and ornamented with lace."[105]

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A fashion which in the early part of the nineteenth century served "to mark the high rank of those (of either sex) who adopted it" was that of "permitting the nails of the fore-finger and thumb to grow to a great length . . . . [and be] cut to a sharp point."[106] Today, while the whites in Bahia no longer follow this fashion, one occasionally sees individuals of prominence in the Negro group—for instance, Mãe Anninha of the *candomblé* of São Gonçalo—with long fingernails.

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However, assimilation is not a process in which the individuals of only one of the races in contact are modified thereby while members of the other race remain unchanged. Circumstances in Brazil were such as to favor the taking-over by the whites of certain African elements. One rarely found a white child, especially during the slave period, who had not been reared by a Negro *ama*. She "gave him of her own milk, rocked him in his cradle or hammock, taught him his first words of halting Portuguese, his first Padre Nosso, his first Ave Maria, his first 'vôtel' or 'oxente'; she put into his mouth the first *pirão* with meat and

[105] *Op. cit.*, p. 295.

[106] Andrew Grant, *History of Brazil* (London, 1809), p. 234.

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molho de ferrugem."[107] From her and from the *mucama* (maid), as much as, if not more than, from his father and mother, the white child learned to speak. And almost without exception, he was given a *muleque companheiro de brinquedo*, a little Negro slave of his own age and sex, to be his playmate and his almost constant companion.[108] José Verissimo says that during slavery there was "no house which did not have one or more *muleques*, one or more *corumins*, little victims consecrated to the caprices of *nhônhô:*[109] his horse, his *leva-pancada*, his servant, his companion, his friend."[110] In 1821 Mathison saw on an estate near Rio "a number of fine Negro children playing in front of the house, and in the midst of them a younger brother of the proprietor, a lad about fourteen years of age, who had been brought up in this manner . . . . like the Negroes."[111] Freyre has suggested that "very likely many a Brazilian child took for his first hero, not a white physician, nor a navy official or a lawyer, but a slave acrobat who knew how to execute the difficult pirouettes of the impromptu circuses and of the *bumbas meu bois*[112] of the *engenhos;* or a Negro player of the trombone or the flute."[113] Under these conditions it is not surprising that

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[107] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 247. *Pirão* is made of manioc meal and meat broth; *molho de ferrugem* is oil of the *dendê* palm.

[108] Lacerda, *op. cit.*, p. 379.

[109] Slave rendering of *menino* (male child).

[110] *A educação nacional* (Rio, 1906), quoted in Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 248. A *leva-pancada* is one who "takes the beatings."

[111] *Op. cit.*, p. 93.

[112] The *bumba meu boi* is still to be seen in the Bahian interior. It is a folk drama in which a man dressed to represent an ox plays a prominent role (see Arthur Ramos, *O negro brasileiro* [Rio, 1934], pp. 259–68; see also his *O folk-lore negro do Brasil* [Rio, 1935], pp. 103–14).

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[113] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

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Koster found the masters and their families taking over many of the customs of their slaves.[114]

Grant, visiting Bahia about 1800, noted that the principal amusement engaged in at private gatherings of the upper class was a dance of African origin:

> It is performed by an individual of each sex moving their bodies to the monotonous tones of an instrument, always in one measure, and with scarcely any action of the legs or feet. The spectators seem delighted with the performance, and cheer the dancers by the most clamorous marks of approbation. This national dance . . . . is indulged in by all ranks of the citizens. . . . .[115]

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Numerous changes in the whites' speech occurred. Especially was this true on isolated fazendas where *senhores* and their families were semiliterate or even illiterate. The *r* and the *s* disappeared as final consonants from many words, *fazer* becoming *fazê; mandar*, *mandá; comer*, *comê;* and *lh* was often reduced to *l*, *mulher* becoming *muler; colher*, *coler;* etc. In 1798 the bishop of Recife urged the teachers in a local *recolhimento* to try to correct "certain errors of speech" in the young ladies there studying, especially that of inverting certain letters and saying, for instance, *breço* instead of *berço*, *cravão* instead of *carvão;* of omitting letters in the middle of a word and saying, for example, *teado* instead of *telhado*, *fio* instead of *filho;* of dropping the final letter of the plural or of words ending in a harsh sound and saying, for instance, *muitas florê* for *muitas flores*, and *Portugá* for *Portugal*.[116] Freyre says that these dialectical modifications were particularly noticeable among isolated families in the rural areas, where Negro slaves were "constantly within the

[114] *Op. cit.*, I, 200–201. [115] *Op. cit.*, pp. 232–33.

[116] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos* (São Paulo, 1936), p. 103.

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house like persons of the family." Freyre adds that "still today the members of certain illustrious families *de engenho* can be identified by their peculiar vices of pronunciation which were originally learned from Negroes within their homes," as, for example, the Wanderleys of Serinhaem and Rio Formosa.[117]

The use, among certain slaveholding families, of a "slow and heavy manner of speaking," which gave "an appearance of affectation, fatigue, and illness," is also ascribed by Freyre to African influence. Numerous African words were adopted, especially into the common speech of the lower class, and a few have become good usage even among the educated minority. Freyre writes:

> What Brazilian, at least from the North, feels any strangeness about such words as: caçamba, canga, dengo, cafuné, lubambo, mulambo, caçula, quitute, mandinga, muleque, camondongo, muganga, quibêbe, quengo, batuque, banzo, mucambo, bangué, bozó, mocotó, bunda, zumbí, vatapá, carurú, banzé, mucama, quindim, catinga, mugunzá, malungo, birimbau, tanga, cachimbo, candomblé? Who prefers to say "mal cheiro" instead of "catinga"; or "garoto" instead of "muleque" or "moleque"; or "trapo" instead of "mulambo"? These are terms which correspond better than Portuguese words to our experiences, our palates, our understanding, and our emotions.[118]

[117] *Ibid.*, pp. 101–2.

[118] *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 245. For further information on words and phrases of African origin commonly used today in the predominately Portuguese speech in large areas of Brazil see, particularly, Renato Mendonça, *A influencia africana no português do Brasil* (2d ed.; São Paulo, 1935); Jacques Raymundo, *O elemento afro-negro na lingua portuguesa* (Rio, 1933); Mario Marroquim, *A lingua do Nordeste* (São Paulo, 1934), especially pp. 155–59; Dante de Laytano, *Os africanismos do dialeto gaucho* (Porto Alegre, 1936). The author himself collected approximately three hundred words of African origin commonly used today in Bahia.

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In the speech of very young children the doubling of a tonic syllable became common. Hence, *nhônhô* replaced *menino; titio* and *titia* were used for *tio* and *tia; dodoe* for *doe; dindinho* for *padrinho; vôvô* for *avô*, etc. Proper names "lost their solemnity, dissolving in a delicious manner in the mouths of the slaves." Little Antonia came to call herself, and to be called by her parents and other relatives, "Dondon" or "Toinha" or "Totonha"; Thereza became "Teté"; Manoel became "Mané," "Mandú," or "Nezinho"; Francisco became "Chico," "Chiquinho," or "Chicó"; Pedro became "Pepé"; and Alberto became "Bebeto" or "Betinho."[119]

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In addition to the "hard and imperative" *diga-me, faça-me, espere-me*, of Portugal, another method of placing the pronoun came into use in Brazil. The slave and the lower classes developed *me-diga, me-faça, me-espere*, a manner of speaking which Ribeiro describes as of "great suavity and sweetness."[120] Freyre says "*faça-se* is the master speaking, the father, the patriarch; *me-dê* is the slave, the woman, the child."[121]

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The Negroes in Brazil are said to have been assiduous story-tellers. Many free *pretas*, mostly older women, made their living by wandering from *engenho* to *engenho* recounting tales to the women slaves which eventually found their way, transmitted especially by the *mãe preta* and the *mucama*, into the ears of the master's children. Particularly common were stories of animals possessing human characteris-

[119] Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 243.

[120] João Ribeiro, *A língua nacional* (São Paulo, 1921), quoted in Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 246 n.

[121] *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 246.

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tics, as similarly were tales of the tortoise.[132] Boisterous children were quieted with stories of the Kibungo, a terrifying creature, half-man, half-animal, with an enormous hole in the middle of its back which opened ominously when the creature lowered its head.[133] The Kibungo was especially fond, it is said, of visiting the houses in which naughty boys lived, announcing his presence with:

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> De quem é esta casa?
> auê
> como gérê, como gérê
> como érá.[134]

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Max Schmidt observed in Matto Grosso that many of the local practices connected with cattle-raising were of African origin, as similarly were the iron instruments in use there. Eschwege contends that ironworking was learned in Brazil from imported Africans.[135]

[132] See Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 282–83.

[133] *Ibid.*, pp. 301–3.

[134] Whose is this house?
auê
I eat *gérê*, I eat *gérê*
I eat *érá*.

[135] Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, pp. 220–21. It is also probable that certain microbes were unwittingly brought to Brazil in the bodies of imported Africans. See Octavio de Freitas, *Doenças africanas no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1935).

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CHAPTER IV

RACE MIXTURE AND THE CRUMBLING OF THE COLOR LINE

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DURING at least the first century of colonization relatively few European women emigrated to Brazil.[1] Incoming Portuguese were predominantly males whose adventurous natures had led them to sever more or less completely family ties in the homeland. The soldiers of Thomé de Souza's first permanent garrison, who constituted no inconsiderable portion of Bahia's early population, had been specially chosen, we are told, because they were unincumbered by family ties. The few women, principally prostitutes or girls from orphanages, sent out from Lisbon by the Crown at the insistent request of Padre Nobrega[2] were insufficient to provide the necessary mothers of a new generation.[3] So great at one time was the demand for European women that the king of Portugal issued a decree denying girls permission to go from Brazil to Portugal to be trained as nuns unless they themselves on their own volition expressed an unalterable desire to remain unmarried.

[1] Gilberto Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* (2d ed.; Rio, 1936), p. 60.

[2] Francisco A. de Varnhagen, Visconde de Porto Seguro, *Historia geral do Brazil* (3d complete ed., 4 vols.; São Paulo, n.d.), I, 308.

[3] As late as 1731 Captain-General D. Lourenço de Almeida wrote from Minas Geraes: "Em todas estas minas não ha mulheres que hajam de casar, e quando ha alguma (que são raras) são tantos casamentos que lhe saem que se ve o pai da noiva em grande embaraço a escolha que ha de fazer do genro" (*Revista do Arquivo Publico Mineiro de 1933*, I, 350, cited by Pedro Calmon, *Historia social do Brazil* [3 vols.; São Paulo, 1937–39], I, 95).

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At the same time, if the colonizing venture in Brazil was to succeed, a sufficient population, either European or closely identified with the European, was a necessity.[4] But a shortage of man-power existed in the mother-country. A small number of Portuguese were seeking to establish themselves on a widely extended and constantly expanding frontier. The colonial ventures in India and other areas of the East, where the Portuguese held an irregular coast line fifteen thousand miles long,[5] were draining the mother-country of her quite limited population, depleted as it already was from centuries of war with the Moors. The inhabitants of Portugal at the beginning of the reign of Dom Manoel the Venturesome (1495) are given as only one million.[6] During the thirty years from 1497 to 1527, three hundred and twenty ships are said to have transported to India, "between soldiers and passengers," eighty thousand persons.[7] Some of these returned to Portugal, but most of them remained. Still, Albuquerque complained of the insufficient number of men furnished for his conquests in the East.[8]

The general movement of rural population into Lisbon, drawn by the expansion of overseas trade, had at that time so depleted the supply of agricultural laborers in Portugal, particularly in the southern provinces, that Africans were being imported in considerable numbers to supply the short-

[4] In 1612 Diogo de Vasconcellos in a letter to the Portuguese king complained that without increased population "mal se poderá remediar nem povoar tão larga costa" (Manoel Bomfim, *O Brasil* [São Paulo, 1935], p. 11).

[5] Albert G. Keller, *Colonization* (Boston, 1908), p. 108.

[6] Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

[7] Fidelino de Figueiredo, *Estudos de historia americana* (São Paulo, n.d.), p. 21, quoted in Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

[8] F. C. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India* (2 vols.; London, 1894), I, 305-6.

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age.[9] Such migration to Brazil as did occur so seriously affected Portugal that in 1720 King Dom João V issued a royal proclamation prohibiting further emigration.[10]

An indication of this population scarcity is the fact that seventeenth-century Portuguese law recognized "common-law" marriage (*casamento Conhoçudos*) as legally binding. There grew up throughout Portugal "a great tolerance for every kind of union from which there might result an increase in population." Even the church came to recognize *de juras* marriage, if consummated by sexual intercourse.[11]

A scarcity of European women in the East led Francisco d'Almeida not only to accept the fact that a considerable degree of intermixture was already taking place in the Indies but also deliberately to foster as a matter of administrative policy Portuguese unions with native women. "In every Portuguese settlement the married men rapidly became a class to themselves with special privileges; all petty offices were reserved for them, and in Goa all the lands belonging to the King—a very large part of the area—were divided among them."[12] This policy of encouraging unions with na-

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[9] H. Morse Stephens (*Portugal* [New York, 1903], p. 182) says that the population of Lisbon trebled in eighty years.

[10] The decree stated as its purpose the prohibition "of yearly migrations from this country to the *capitanias* of Brazil of so many people . . . . chiefly from the province of Minho, which from once being the most populous now finds itself without a sufficient number of people to cultivate the soil or to perform necessary services" (J. de A. Corvo, *Estudos sobre as provincias ultramarinas* [4 vols.; London, 1883–87], I, 15, quoted in Keller, *op. cit.*, p. 152 n.).

[11] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 179. *De juras* marriage was a simple ceremony "in which the mutual consent of both parties was affirmed on oath before a representative of the church without, however, the sacrament being given." See Alexandre Herculano, *Casamento civil* (Lisboa, 1907), pp. 30 ff.

[12] R. S. Whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India, 1497–1550* (Westminster, 1899), p. 177; cf. Danvers, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

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tive women was similarly sponsored by the Dutch during their colonizing ventures in South Africa and in Java and later by the English in India—a policy which emerged in each case as a natural response to the actual conditions of settlement.

The first Dutch settlers in South Africa and in Java were, almost without exception, males who, in order to establish themselves on a racial and cultural frontier, took up with native women. The mixed-blood progeny of these unions was treated with tolerance and consideration and often sent to the Netherlands to be educated. It was only with the arrival of the Dutch housewives, after Cape Colony had been fairly established, that the attitude of the Dutch toward the mixed-bloods changed. Today there are probably few people in the world who oppose intermixture more vigorously than do the Boer descendants of these Dutch settlers.[13]

During the early years of English penetration in India intermarriage between the English and native Indians not only extensively took place but was encouraged as a deliberate policy by the English authorities. In 1678 the court of directors of the British East India Company wrote the president of Madras that

> the marriage of our soldiers to the native women of Fort St. George is a matter of such consequence to posterity that we shall be content to encourage it with some expense, and have been thinking for the future to appoint a *pagoda* to be paid to the mother of any child, that shall hereafter be born of any such future marriage, upon the day the child is christened, if you think this small encouragement will increase the number of such marriages.

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This policy in all probability did not so much initiate interracial crossing as recognize its existence in an informal

[13] Robert E. Park, "Race Relations and Certain Frontiers," in *Race and Culture Contacts*, ed. E. B. Reuter (New York, 1934), pp. 67–68.

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state. Unions were not confined to the lower classes but extended into even the upper social ranks, not only of the English, but of other European nationalities as well.[14]

Miscegenation and interracial marriage are perhaps always incidental to the expansion of a racial frontier. As Park has pointed out: "Transplanting a people, like transplanting any other organism, is a ticklish business, and interbreeding is one way of successfully accomplishing the transition."[15]

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Thus, the Brazilian society of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries came to be founded largely upon families in which Indian or part Indian women were the consorts and mothers.[16] At least this was generally true of the lower classes, but it was by no means limited exclusively to them.[17]

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These *de facto* unions were gradually "regularized by the church into Christian marriage," thus lending the powerful sanction of the ecclesiastical authority, chief guardian of the mores in a sacred society, to interracial crossing. The church was joined in this policy by the state, which legalized mixed unions. Thus, neither church nor state injected any "strain for consistency"[18] into the colonial mores which had grown up quite naturally in response to the exigencies of colonization but instead themselves offered support to the "definitions of the situation"[19] already laid down in the prevailing attitudes.

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[14] See Cedric Dover, *Half-caste* (London, 1937), pp. 117 ff.

[15] *Op. cit.*, p. 57.

[16] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

[17] E.g., the *mamaluca* descendants of Caramurú married into prominent families.

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[18] See William Graham Sumner, *Folkways* (Boston, 1906), p. 5.

[19] See W. I. Thomas, *Primitive Behavior* (New York and London, 1937), pp. 8–9.

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The mating in Brazil of Portuguese men with native women was probably facilitated by the fact that many early colonizers were Moçarabes from southern Portugal, who had long been acquainted with the darker peoples and in whom "consciousness of race" was reputedly weak.[20] In fact, in some cases at least, African blood may have flowed in their veins.

It is possible that the first experience of the Portuguese with a darker race was the experience of a conquered people with their more swarthy conquerers. For the Moors, whose occupation of Portugal extended over more than five hundred years (711–1244), were perhaps darker in pigmentation than the Iberian peoples among whom, as lords of a conquered land, they settled. At least we know that their advance into the Iberian peninsula was led by the Berbers of northern Africa, whom Ripley describes as possessed of a slightly concave nose which in profile suggests the Negro, with hair varying from wavy to curly, beards rare, and body hair seldom heavy.[21] Ripley attributes their resemblance to the Negro to admixture with negroid tribes south of the Sahara.

If it is true that the Moors were of darker pigmentation than the Portuguese among whom they settled, men of dark hue had, at the time Brazil was colonized, been for centuries men of prestige in Portugal. They had brought in with them

[20] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 60. From the fifteenth century onward, Negroes were common even in Lisbon. Nicolau Clenard, French tutor of the (at that time) crown prince Dom Henrique, once wrote in a letter: "I believe there is in Lisbon a greater number of Moors and Negroes than of whites. There are nests of slaves in every house" (quoted from Domingos de Magalhães, *Os indigenas do Brasil*, by Luiz Anselmo da Fonseca, *A escravidão, o clero e o abolicionismo* [Bahia, 1887], p. 165).

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[21] William Z. Ripley, *Races of Europe* (New York, 1899), pp. 277–78.

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a superior culture; were more learned in the arts and sciences. They had become the wealthy class who occupied the towns or lived in the principal castles and on the great estates. Consequently, it came to be considered an honor for Portuguese women to mate with them, and we know that such marriages often occurred, even among members of the royal family.[22] Thus, the Portuguese, long before the discovery of Brazil, were "accustomed to mixed unions and their offspring."[23]

If the Portuguese came to look upon the dark Moors, and the somewhat negroid Berbers among them, as objects of prestige and eventually as marriageable individuals, the importation into Portugal of African Negroes (who from 1433 on were introduced in considerable numbers,[24] particularly as agricultural laborers in the Algarves at that time almost depopulated by the long wars of the Moorish expulsion) would have found the Portuguese accustomed to associating on a basis of social equality with, or even being inferior to, people of dark color. Even a royal prince is known to have had intimate Negro associates, for King Affonso VI's chief delight as a boy, it is said, was to roam the streets of Lisbon "at the head of a troop of mulattoes and Negro slaves."[25] Traces of African descent are still today unmistakable in the population of Lisbon.[26]

In the Jesuit schools at Bahia in the sixteenth and seven-

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[22] Stephens, *op. cit.*, p. 23; Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Story of the Moors in Spain* (New York and London, 1886), pp. 48, 55, 247.

[23] Keller, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

[24] African slaves became so numerous that, by the middle of the sixteenth century, they were said to outnumber the free men of Lisbon.

[25] Stephens, *op. cit.*, p. 330.

[26] Noted by Dr. Robert E. Park on a recent visit to Lisbon.

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In the Jesuit schools at Bahia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, mixed-blood, pure Indian, and Portuguese children were accepted with equal favor and educated together. "The chronicles of the time reveal no segregation or any other form of discrimination inspired by prejudice against the Indian; the program adopted by the padres appears to have continually fostered friendly intermingling of the races."[27]

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By the time the relatively small numbers of Indians at Bahia had been absorbed into the dominant population group, African women had been imported in sufficient numbers to continue extensively the process of race mixture. The scarcity of white, or near-white, women, at least as mates for men of the upper classes, was not now so acute as formerly; consequently, most of the sexual unions with African women were extra-legal,[28] comparable in some measure to interbreeding in our South, except that in the case of Brazil the extent of intermixture was perhaps greater.[29] Padre Nobrega wrote from Bahia in the early days of the colony: "Among the people here there are none who do not possess several *negras* from whom they have many children."[30] By 1819 the number of *mestiços* in Brazil was given as 628,000—a figure not greatly inferior to that of the whites, who were estimated at 843,000.[31] The pure Negro, it

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[27] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

[28] Marriages with Negroes were at first frowned upon. Thus an *alvará* of 1755 which referred to marriages of white men with Indian women as "convenient and noble" condemned "staining one's self" by marrying Negroes or Jews (Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 156).

[29] See Freyre, *op. cit.*, esp. chaps. iv and v.

[30] Manoel de Nobrega, *Cartas do Brasil, 1549–1560* (Rio, 1886), quoted in Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

[31] Alcide d'Orbigny, *Voyage dans les deux Amériques* (Paris, 1836), p. 155, quoted in Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

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is said, did not usually exist in Brazil much longer than the third generation.[32] In Minas Geraes, in 1835, while importations from Africa were still large, there were 170,000 mulattoes to 305,000 blacks.[33]

Thus miscegenation has gone on in Brazil in an unobtrusive way over a long period of time. In few places in the world, perhaps, has the interpenetration of peoples of divergent racial stocks proceeded so continuously and on so extensive a scale.[34]

One circumstance in Bahia still favorable to miscegenation is the system of household service universal in upper-class, principally white, families. Whereas no inconsiderable portion of the domestic labor in the United States, at least in northern areas, is white, consisting largely of peasant immigrant women from Europe, household labor in Bahia is almost invariably black or dark mulatto. For example, of 250 servant women noted, 197 were black, 47 were mulatto (predominantly dark), 4 were *cafuso*,[34a] and only 2 were white. In other words, only 0.8 per cent appeared to be of unmixed white descent. For this reason, interbreeding between males in white upper-class families and servant girls leads almost always to black-white, or at least mulatto-white, crosses.

The disposition to tolerate intermixture with the African

[32] Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 163. [33] *Ibid.*

[34] Calmon writes (*ibid.*, p. 158): "Nenhum outro povo tão ligeiro marchou para a estabilização de um tipo procedente dos mais opostos fatores; principalmente em nenhum outro as propriedades unitivas do idioma, da religião, do meio fisico, se conjugaram tão intimamente para uniformizar, num imenso territorio (Luc Durtain disse que o Brasil é um dos cinco paises verdadeiramente cosmicos) a descendencia de inumeros troncos, celtico, negroide, aborigene."

[34a] Indian-Negro mixed-blood.

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563 grew up during slavery, and no circumstance has subsequently arisen to change it. In the United States, on the other hand, the spread of contraceptive practices[35] and the increasing race consciousness of the Negro have led to a decided decrease in miscegenation. Traditional behavior in Bahia is, in this respect as in many others, well defined. The sanction of custom has become, as it always does eventually in any case, moral sanction.

563 583 Race mixture is further favored in Bahia today by the widespread custom of *mancebia*,[36] or those conjugal unions outside marriage in which there is some degree of permanency. In many cases the women involved are mulattoes, rarely blacks. The man agrees to pay for rent and food; the woman, to care for the house and children. The man may have, at the same time, a legal family, although informal unions are often entered into by young men previous to marriage.

563 826 Miscegenation is also favored in Bahia today by the prestige which ordinarily attaches to the so-called "whiter" child. Dark mothers who bear "whiter" children consider themselves especially favored and are so looked upon by their immediate associates. A black mother proudly showed her light child and said, "Estou limpando a minha raça" ("I am cleansing [i.e., I am 'whitening'] my race"). One also

[164] [554] [882] [35] In Bahia there is not the fear of venereal disease common to this country. Its contraction is regarded by young men as an indication of sexual coming-of-age and perhaps enhances their prestige among their associates (cf. Freyre, *op. cit.*, pp. 49 ff.).

[193] [192] [36] This term is used only in more polite conversation. The woman involved is called *mancebа*, the verb is *mancebar*, and the participle *mancebado*. The popular expression, however, is *amasia*, or *amigu* (the feminine form of "friend"), or *amante*, or *comboso*, for the woman; the verb is *amasiar* or *amigar*, the participle *amasiado* or *amigado*.

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often hears in Bahia the expression *melhorando a raca* ("improving the breed").[37]

The attitude here inferred arose during slavery, when it [567] became a distinct privilege for a Negro woman to bear a [178] child to her white master; for she and her progeny were thereby placed in a more advantageous position, especially as far as material benefits, and even freedom, were concerned.

João Varella, in a booklet entitled *Da Bahia do Senhor do Bomfim*, reproduces the figure of a Negro woman bearing a young child bound to her back by a wide cloth. "When the child was black and ugly," Varella writes, "he was usually carried in this fashion. If, however, he was a *coisa mais limpa* (literally, 'a cleaner thing'), he was borne in front, in his mother's arms, so that all the world might the more readily see him."

This desire "to marry whiter" is not limited to the female portion of the black population. Successful males here, as in Haiti and the United States, generally seek to insure further their status and that of their children by marrying lighter-

[37] Of twenty-four babies delivered at the free maternity ward of Santa Isabel Hospital from Negro and mulatto mothers, four, an obstetrician thought, would grow up relatively "white," while only two appeared to be completely negroid. Although pigmentation apparently is not fixed at this early period, the appearance of *manchas* (or deeply colored "stains," called in popular speech *genipapo* after a common Brazilian fruit of a similar coffee-brown color), on either the back or buttocks is, in Bahia, commonly considered an index of subsequent dark pigmentation over the entire body. Three of the babies from dark mulatto women and one whose mother was a light mixed-blood showed no evidence of *manchas*. One dark mulatto mother, when requested, removed her child's clothing and proudly displayed his back free from these marks. The obstetrician, with a smile and a friendly pat on the mother's shoulder, inquired, "It's father was white, wasn't he?" The colored mother, pleased, replied, "I have five other children like him, all without *manchas*." [1743]

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[826] colored women. A common expression heard in this connection is: "I don't want to go back to Africa."

Race mixture is further favored in Bahia today by the economic and social position of the occasional immigrant, usually from Portugal or Spain. Ordinarily from the lower class, he arrives unattached, poor, and with little or no education. He meets a rigid class line and, at least during the first years, before he gains some measure of economic competence, is ordinarily cut off from a better class marriage. Moreover, in many cases he conceives of his stay as temporary. Many immigrants, especially among the Spanish, have left families in Europe to whom they expect to return once they have accumulated a sizable competence.

* 563 583 In his struggle to gain a footing, the immigrant soon discovers that the lower-class black or mixed-blood woman is a valuable assistant. She may become his cook and housekeeper, supplement his income by taking in washings or by preparing and peddling food delicacies, and ordinarily demands little in return. So frequently do such unions occur, especially among Portuguese immigrants, that the Portuguese have come to be popularly regarded, not only in Bahia but throughout Brazil, as peculiarly attached to Negro women.

[441] However, as we have indicated, not all immigrant men living *amancebados* with Negro women are from Portugal. A number of the *vendas*, or small grocery stores, scattered about Bahia are owned by Spanish immigrants, many of whom live with Negro women, as similarly does occasionally an Italian, an Englishman, an American, or a German.[38]

[38] A German who had been manager of a nail factory in Bahia returned a few years ago to Germany. For sometime thereafter a Negro woman with whom he had lived and their son received 200 milreis regularly each month

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One reason why race mixture in Bahia is more extensive than in the United States is that in Bahia it goes on by legal intermarriage in a less restricted way than with us. Although interbreeding between individuals from extreme ends of the color scale is largely extra-legal, intermarriage becomes more frequent as the colors approach along this continuum.

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The general tendency is for the predominantly European portion of the population to absorb the lighter mixed-bloods while the mulattoes in turn absorb the blacks. This means that the Brazilian population is constantly becoming more European, less negroid, in appearance, a tendency which is referred to by local intellectuals as "progressive Aryanization." As Oliveira Vianna has said: "Podemos já assignalar . . . . uma tendencia que cada vez mais se precisa e define: a tendencia para a aryanização progressiva dos nossos grupos regionaes. Isto é, *o coefficiente da raça branca eleva-se cada vez mais em nossa população.*"[38a]

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Family ties are, as we have noted, tenacious. Loyalty to the clan still today transcends loyalty to the state, the church, or any other institution. There is strong personal attachment between white parents and colored offspring, both legitimate and illegitimate, and these ties obviously place the mulatto in an advantageous position for social advancement.

It is commonly thought in Brazil that the Brazilian

from Germany. The man also sent money to a second Negro woman, her two girls and a boy, for whom he, while still in Brazil, had built a comfortable home.

[38a] "A progressive whitening of our population is clearly evident. In other words, the proportion of white blood is constantly increasing" (*Evolução do povo brasileiro* [2d ed.; São Paulo, 1933], p. 172). See also João Pandiá Calogeras, *Formação historica do Brazil* (3d ed.; São Paulo, 1938), p. 36.

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mixed-blood is superior in vitality to both ancestral stocks.[39] The mulatto, being a "native plant," is popularly considered to have been better acclimated than either the European or the African. The Indian-white mixed-blood, concluded Colonel Artur Lobo da Silva of the Brazilian Army Health Service on the basis of a study which he made, is physically superior to both the white and the native Indian.[40]

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There is some evidence, however, that the Brazilian mixed-blood is less resistant than the European and the black to certain diseases, for example, tuberculosis. Comparative statistics given for Bahia some years ago by A. Pacifico Pereira support this hypothesis. Although the percentage of *mestiços* in Bahia in 1904 was given as 35.1 per cent, the percentage of mixed-bloods among those dying from tuberculosis in that year was 49.0 per cent; while the whites, presumably 31.4 per cent of the population, furnished only 21.4 per cent of the deaths from this disease; and the blacks, who were 26.3 per cent of the total population at that time, furnished 26.9 per cent.[41] To resolve the problem of the vitality of the Brazilian mixed-blood in comparison with his parent-stocks would seem to require more extended research.

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The most obvious effect of miscegenation is to reduce physical differences between the races. In Bahia intermixture has now, for more than four hundred years, been breaking down physical barriers and reducing that visibility which

[39] See, e.g., Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

[40] "A anthropologia do exercito brasileiro," *Archivos do Museu Nacional* (Rio), XXX (1928), 33.

[41] A. Pacifico Pereira, *A tuberculose na Bahia* (Bahia, 1904), p. 15. The remaining 7.2 per cent of the population were resident aliens, who accounted for 2.7 of the deaths from tuberculosis.

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in the United States always serves to call out the traditional responses long associated with variations in social status.

Today there exists in Bahia the belief that the population is gradually but persistently "whitening," a conviction difficult to understand, given the heavy preponderance of Africans among the population which originally migrated to this area and the negligible number of European immigrants in recent times.

The probable greater mortality of blacks may in part account for this change. According to a recent unpublished study, the infantile death rate among the lower classes in Bahia, which, as we have seen, are principally black and dark mulatto, is approximately twice that of the upper classes; and, in 1932, deaths under five years of age constituted nearly one-third of all deaths for that year (1,698 out of 5,407). At the same time there does not seem to be any marked difference in fertility between the races.

At any rate, Bahians frequently comment on an appreciable change in the color of the population within their memories. One continually hears remarks like that of a mixed-blood citizen who said:

> Formerly, the *pretos* (blacks) were the most numerous group in Bahia, the *pardos* (browns) next, and the *brancos* (whites) last. Today, the *pardos* are in the majority, the *brancos* next, and the *pretos* last. I am convinced that before long the *pretos* will have completely disappeared. The *brancos* will soon overtake and, in the course of time, completely absorb the *pardos*.

The mixed-bloods tend to look upon themselves as transition points in an inevitable whitening process. Pride in the present advanced stage is common, and the end result is eagerly anticipated. From the mulattoes, as from the whites, one frequently hears the declaration: "We Brazilians are

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rapidly becoming one people. Some day not far distant there will be only *one* race in our country."

On visiting Brazil, Theodore Roosevelt once wrote: "Perhaps the attitude that the Brazilians, including the most intelligent among them, take is best symbolized by a picture which we saw in the Art Museum in Rio. It portrayed a black grandfather, a mulatto son, and a white grandchild, the evident intention of the painter being to express both the hope and the belief that the Negro was being absorbed and transformed so that he would become a white man." Quoting a Brazilian statesman, Roosevelt continued: "You speak of Brazil as having a large Negro population. Well, in a century there will not be any Negroes in Brazil, whereas you will have twenty or thirty millions of them. Then for you there will be a real and very uncomfortable problem, while for us the problem in its most menacing phase will have disappeared."[42]

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It is difficult to check this general impression that the population is constantly becoming more and more European in appearance. Reliable statistics on the present distribution of the various ethnic groups are not available. No adequate data of this sort have recently been compiled by any agency. The last Brazilian census to include racial categories was taken a half-century ago, in 1890. At that time the racial division in Bahia was given as: *brancos*, 32.0 per cent; *pretos*, 26.4 per cent; and *mestiços*, 35.1 per cent.[43]

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Vital statistics, however, are still recorded in the city by

[42] *Outlook*, CVI (February 21, 1914), 410–11.

[43] *Caboclos* were given as 6.5 per cent. It is difficult to understand how so large a number of Indians, or Indian mixed-bloods (the term is variously used at different times and in different places in Brazil), could have at that time existed in the city of Bahia.

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color categories, three being officially recognized: *branco*, *preto*, and *pardo*. These classifications are based upon physical appearance, the principal criteria being pigmentation and hair texture. Racial intermixture has now proceeded to the point where public officials say no attempt is made to indicate ethnic distinctions. Thus the *branco* category includes many light mulattoes and the *preto* category many dark mixed-bloods.

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These official color divisions directly reflect popular distinctions. It is therefore important to note that their usage indicates a shift in criterion from racial descent (as in the United States) to physical appearance; and physical appearance is a characteristic which miscegenation tends continually to modify. Whereas in the United States one drop of Negro blood, if it be known, makes a man a Negro, in Bahia many individuals are listed in the census as white (and, one might add, are so considered by their friends and associates) whose grandmothers were Negroes of pure African descent.

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For instance, the grandmother of a *branco* politician who holds a responsible position in the Rio government, and who himself shows no noticeable traces of Negro ancestry, is said to have been a black woman who wore on Bahia's streets "a *saia grande* and a *panno da Costa*."[44] The *branco* wife of a prominent physician, fair and blue eyed, similarly had an African grandmother. A former governor, to all appearances white and so considered throughout the community, is only two generations removed from an African forebear. Cases might be cited indefinitely similar to that of a Bahian who, referring to a prominent local woman invariably con-

[44] Elements of the distinctive costume, partially African in origin, which is worn in Bahia by Negro women (see chap. ix.).

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sidered white, casually commented: "I learned the other day that she has a Negro grandmother. Someone who knew her family twenty years before she was born showed me a picture of the woman. The grandmother was as black as coal."

That such discovery led, and will lead in all similar cases, to no alteration in the social standing of the individual involved, to no modification in the social esteem in which he or she is held, is a significant indication of the character of the Brazilian racial situation as compared with that in the United States, for example, where a similar revelation would create a scandal. "We never go very far into a person's past," explained another Bahian. "That would be impolite."

The meaning of the term *branco* (white) in Bahia is, as we have indicated, a significant index of the racial situation. [217] A recent comparison of the classification of the first five hundred individuals listed as *brancos* in the files of the Gabinete de Identificação with the photographs (one, sometimes two, occasionally three) attached to the individual's identification record,[45] indicated that the racial probabilities were as given in Table 2.[46]

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It is clear that many individuals are considered white at Bahia who not only have Negro ancestors but whose physical characteristics definitely attest this fact. The old saying, "Quem escapa de branco, negro é" ("Who can't be a white

[45] An identification card is required of all students, travelers, applicants for licenses, etc.

[46] Considering the means employed, one must allow perhaps for some error in the result. But the photographs had received no "retouching." And even if color distinctions were still somewhat subject to misinterpretation, hair texture and facial characteristics were rather readily distinguishable. It is quite probable that what error did occur was in the form of an understatement rather than of an exaggeration.

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man is a Negro"), has now been largely replaced by, as Freyre says, the "more Brazilian saying": "Quem escapa de negro, branco é" ("Who isn't a Negro is a white man").

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With due regard, then, to such qualifications regarding the precise meaning of *branco* as these facts suggest, we may note that the classification of births in Bahia in 1932 indicated the color distribution to be as given in Table 3.

TABLE 2

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PROBABLE ETHNIC ORIGIN OF THE FIRST FIVE HUNDRED INDIVIDUALS LISTED AS *Brancos* IN THE FILES OF THE GABINETE DE IDENTIFICAÇÃO, BAHIA, 1937

Probability	Number	Per Cent
Whites	340	68.0
Mulattoes*	95	19.0
Indian-white mixed-bloods†	39	7.8
Indian-white-Negro mixed-bloods†	26	5.2
Total	500	100.0

* Individuals with the following physical characteristics were noted: (1) nose very broad, lips very full; (2) dark skin, hair almost kinky, lips thick; (3) skin *café com leite* ("coffee with milk"), hair exceedingly curly; (4) hair almost kinky; (5) lips full, nose broad, considerable prognathism.

† Ordinarily only slight traces of Indian ancestry evident in each case.

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Since the total registration of births for each of these years averages slightly in excess of five hundred in a city of an estimated 360,000, the records are obviously incomplete. Many midwife deliveries go unrecorded; and, since these births occur usually among the lower classes, which are largely black and dark mulatto, the relative color percentages are probably skewed toward the white pole.

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Deaths are less likely to go unrecorded. But since deaths

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occur to a considerable extent among the older generation, they throw no light on the extent of miscegenation in recent times. Consequently, their relative frequencies do not ac-

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TABLE 3*

BIRTHS ACCORDING TO COLOR, BAHIA, 1932

Color	City Proper		Outlying Villages		Total	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Branco	1,482	33.3	65	11.0	1,547	30.7
Preto	659	14.8	114	19.3	773	15.3
Pardo	2,314	51.9	411	69.7	2,725	54.0
Total	4,455	100.0	590	100.0	5,045	100.0

[217]
[127]

* Source: City records deposited in the Secretaria de Saude e Assistencia Publica da Bahia.

TABLE 4*

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DEATHS ACCORDING TO COLOR, BAHIA, 1932

Color	City Proper		Outlying Villages		Total	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Branco	1,375	25.4	79	9.8	1,454	23.4
Preto	1,310	24.2	191	23.7	1,501	24.2
Pardo	2,722	50.4	536	66.5	3,258	52.4
Total	5,407	100.0	806	100.0	6,213	100.0

[217]
[127]

* Source: City records deposited in the Secretaria de Saude e Assistencia Publica da Bahia.

curately reflect the present racial distribution in the *total* population.

Bearing in mind these qualifications, we may note the color distribution among deceased at Bahia in 1932 (Table 4).

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Short of a racial census, an adequate statistical statement of the racial composition of Bahia would probably require an extended sampling of the population in various parts of the city—a procedure not feasible under the limits of this study. Samples readily obtainable at the numerous festivals such as Segunda Feira do Bomfim, Conceição da Praia, the Vespers of Reis, etc., are not practical for the reason that participation of one or another of the ethnic components is ordinarily out of proportion to its size in the general population. But at Carnival, when nearly the entire population frequents the public thoroughfares, this difficulty disappears. A new obstacle arises, however, in the form of a considerable infiltration of population from surrounding areas. And since the whites are ordinarily from the upper-income groups and consequently more able to travel, the white percentage of the city's population is probably at that time swollen beyond its normal proportion. The "Micarêta," or second Carnival, held one week after Easter, avoids this latter disadvantage. Of five thousand people noted among the participants in the "Micarêta" for 1936, the racial percentages appeared to be those given in Table 5.

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Thus one can perhaps confirm the common-sense judgment of Bahian citizens to the effect that at least half, and perhaps more, of the population is now noticeably mixed, that both biologically "pure" whites (but not "whites" in the social sense) and biologically "pure" Africans are relatively few in number.

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Some notion of the change in physical characteristics by generations, at least among members of the lower classes, may be had from a study of five hundred cases of mothers and their offspring applying at Bahia's free children's

563* 142 125

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[142] clinic.[47] The offspring of 221 black and 200[48] mulatto moth-
[125] ers appeared to vary from their mothers as indicated in Table 6.

Since cases in which only obvious variations appeared were recorded as differing, the data would indicate a rather noticeable variation by generations. At least this is true in
[836] so far as mothers are concerned. Accurate information on fathers is difficult to obtain, since, in the section of the popu-

TABLE 5

ETHNIC ORIGIN (AS DETERMINED BY INSPECTION) OF FIVE THOUSAND PARTICIPANTS IN THE "MICARÊTA" FESTIVAL, BAHIA, 1936

[162]

Racial Identity	Number	Per Cent
European	1,585	31.7
Negro	900	18.0
Mulatto	2,495	49.9
*Cafuso**	20	0.4
Total	5,000	100.0

* The term *cafuso* is employed to designate an individual of mixed Indian and Negro descent.

lation whence these cases come, one finds extensive cohabitation without formal marriage, either civil or religious.

So widespread has the dispersion of African blood in the predominantly European group now become that relatively few families in Bahia are of undiluted European origin, without African strain somewhere in the lineage. This mixture of the races in Bahia is in some respects similar to the

[47] Since pigmentation, it is presumed by local physicians, does not become "fixed" until approximately six months after birth, children under one year were eliminated from the tally.

[48] Seventy-nine children were white of white mothers.

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mixture of the nationalities in the United States, where old families of pure English descent have for some time been mingling their blood with that of Germans, Scandinavians, Slavs, and the Mediterranean peoples. "Even if one marries a person who does not himself possess some African blood," said a young lady of the upper class, "this same individual

TABLE 6

VARIATION IN PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS BETWEEN CHILDREN AND THEIR MOTHERS,* BAHIA, 1936

[162]
[142]

Child	Mother			
	Black		Mulatto	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Color lighter, hair "straighter"	55	24.9	45	22.5
Color lighter	12	5.4	34	17.0
Hair "straighter"	12	5.4	20	10.0
Color lighter, hair more kinky	0	0.0	2	1.0
Color darker, hair "straighter"	0	0.0	1	0.5
Color darker	0	0.0	3	1.5
Hair more kinky	0	0.0	3	1.5
Color darker, hair more kinky	0	0.0	1	0.5
No noticeable variation	142	64.3	91	45.5
Total	221	100.0	200	100.0

* As determined by inspection.

will have cousins or other relatives of African descent. Somewhere there will be a connection."

"It is very hard to say a man doesn't have some Negro blood coming from somewhere in his recent or remote past," said a prominent *branco* lawyer and politician. "Take myself, for instance. I can't say for certain that my grandparents didn't have African connections. 'Quando não vem de perto, vem de longe' ['If it isn't close, it's distant']."

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The widespread dispersion of Negro blood in the *branco* group obviously makes it difficult for its members to draw sharp, clear-cut racial distinctions. Relatively few pure Europeans, as we have seen, exist. And if rigid distinctions were made between those individuals who appear to be European and those who in their color and features indicate some African lineage, the dividing-line would in many cases pass directly through family groups. The natural ties which ordinarily grow up between parents and offspring, and between brothers and sisters, constantly militate against such invidious distinctions. In like manner, similar ties in the United States tend to undermine nationality distinctions and to fuse together in sentiment and attitude individuals of, for example, English, Danish, French, Czech, and Italian origin. "It's difficult to keep the colors distinct in Bahia," said a *branco* educator. "Look at this boy of mine; he's white! And this girl; she is, you might say, a bit of a *mulata!*" A prominent political figure who is commonly considered white but shows slight traces, especially in his hair, of African ancestry, has a wife who also is considered white but similarly possesses slight indications of African origin. Of their nine children, all except three, possibly four, could readily "pass" in the United States. Each of the others shows slight evidences of African lineage. Said the father playfully, as he caressed a small daughter, "Here's a typical *mulata*." The sense of this remark seemed similar to that of a father in the United States saying, "Look at my little blue-eyed girl," or "Here's a real brunette."[49]

Thus miscegenation, whether by way of legally consti-

[49] Occasionally, children are more negroid than either parent. For instance, the daughter of a Portuguese immigrant and a Brazilian-born *branco* wife has a "yellowish complexion," lips somewhat thick, and nose strongly suggesting the Negro. But the myth of the so-called "throwback," or black child born to near-white parents, is apparently unknown.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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tuted marriages or otherwise, extends personal relations to the point where they inhibit the rise of caste prejudice. Natural ties, personal and familial, grow up to cement with common bonds of sentiment individuals from both racial stocks. 563*

"Racial intermixture has had a long history, a history older than civilization itself," commented Theodoro Sampaio, a prominent Bahian mixed-blood.

> Wherever the conquering Romans went, mixture occurred. Spain and Portugal for centuries interbred with the Moors; Italy, Greece, and the Mediterranean isles, all early mingled their blood with that of Africa. In Crete—that old center of ancient civilization—are statues of men with crinkly (*crespo*) hair. The Gothic hordes which overran Europe as the Roman Empire was crumbling were themselves much mixed; and wherever they went they added their blood to that of the peoples whom they conquered. Race-crossing is obviously no new thing; it has been common the world over wherever races have come together. How natural, then, that Brazil should blend her races into one, and that we Brazilians should become *one* people.

Among the mixed-bloods there is still a wide range of variation in physical type. The distribution, however, is probably skewed toward the Caucasian pole. Indian traits have virtually disappeared, the native element having been almost completely absorbed into the predominantly European population. The occasional traces of Indian characters which are still discernible are usually found in combination with Negro characters and are probably a consequence of the recent migration into the city from the *sertão* of predominantly negroid individuals of partial Indian descent. 563* 142

To designate some of the intermediate types which extensive intermixture has now produced, a number of popular expressions have arisen. These terms describe the variations more accurately than do the official categories. The latter, as we have seen, are limited to three: *branco*, *preto*, and 563* 142 826

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563 *pardo;* but common speech adds *cabra* (or *caibra*), *Cabo Verde*
142 (*Cape Verde*), *sarará*, and *moreno*.
826 The *cabra*, or *caibra*, is slightly lighter in pigmentation than the *preto* and has hair a little less kinky. The *Cabo Verde* is very dark, with Caucasian features and black, glossy, "straight" hair. The infrequent *sarará* is light in color, with hair red (or sandy) and kinky. The *moreno*, many Bahians say, is the new physical type which Brazil is developing.

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563 Quite significantly, the *morena* (or feminine *moreno*) is
142 the "ideal type" of Bahian femininity. She is in many cases
826 an individual of remarkable beauty. Typically, she has
832 dark-brown eyes and dark hair, quite wavy, perhaps even curly, and Caucasian features; her color is *café com leite* (literally, "coffee with milk"; i.e., like that of one "heavily tanned"), and she has a healthy appearance. The term *morena* is seldom mentioned to a Bahian male without there appearing an instant change in his expression. His face "lights up," and a smile breaks on his lips. He pronounces *morena* with a tone indicative of admiration, affection, desire.[10] He seems pleased, happy in the contemplation of an agreeable object. Poets, both professional and amateur, pour out passionate stanzas in her honor,[11] songs are sung

[10] The *morena* has the reputation of being more desirable than lighter Brazilian women; she is commonly described as "more *ardente*" (passionate), "more *adstringente*" (clinging).

[539] [11] As, for example, the following:

Elsa . . . .
Number One girl,
Pretty little "paca" (small Brazilian animal)
Caboclo-colored butterfly,
Splendidly "morena." . . . .

I danced the "catêrêtê" samba with Elsa,
Her warm flesh quivering,
Her breasts full, almost exploding,
Inside her little white blouse.

And then she fell into my arms willingly, voluptuously,
Her eyes like burning coals,
Her ruby lips
Glued to mine in delirious pleasure.

Ah! Ah! mad girl!
"Bamba" girl!
Devilish girl!

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to her,[52] romances written.[53] Of 146 male students responding to the query, "All things being equal, whom would you prefer to marry, a *branca*, a *morena*, a *parda*, a *preta*," 117, or 80.1 per cent, replied "a *morena*." Similarly, of 93 white female students responding to a like question, 80, or 86 per cent, preferred a *moreno* for a mate.

The *morena* may, or may not, have African blood.[54] But at least in Bahia this category includes many individuals of partial African descent. For instance, a study of five hundred women classified as *morenas* in the Gabinete de Identificação indicated the probable distribution given in Table 7.

It is the opinion of Arthur Ramos[55] that, although "the charms of the *morena* exert a profound sexual attraction" and the regard in which she is held "has a sexual base in the Freudian sense," the present attitude toward the *morena* "grew out of the enthusiasm and the sentimentalism of the abolition campaign. The *morena* expresses in a symbolic way the union of the two races—the black and the white—and the absence of [caste] prejudice."

The *morena* probably constitutes a decided bond be-

[52] As, for example, the following:

Beautiful morena,
Morena,
Morena who makes me suffer!
The full moon, so bright,
Is not as luminous as your eyes.
You are a *morena*,
A wonderful girl.
There's not a *branco* who hasn't
fallen for you.

Often,
When you pass by,
Men quarrel over you;
Everyone eagerly anticipates
Your smile.

Your heart is a boarding-house,
A family hotel
Along the seashore.
Oh, *morenínha*, do not rent all!
Leave at least a corner
For me to live in!

[53] A rock on the island of Paquetá in Guanabara Bay at Rio de Janeiro very popular with young lovers, has been dedicated to the *morenínha*.

[54] Pronouncing the word *morena* (or *moreno*) with a certain emphasis or changed inflection indicates darker color.

[55] Stated in personal correspondence with the author.

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tween the races, serving at once as a symbol and as a means of white-Negro union. When, as often happens, marriage occurs between a *branco* and a *morena* some of whose ancestors were Africans, the resulting offspring obviously make it more difficult for white fathers to consider African blood prejudicial—an attitude intensified in the new generation, which actually possesses some African blood.

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TABLE 7

PROBABLE ETHNIC ORIGIN OF THE FIRST FIVE HUNDRED WOMEN CLASSIFIED AS *Morenas* IN THE FILES OF THE GABINETE DE IDENTIFICAÇÃO, BAHIA, 1936

Probability	Number	Per Cent
Whites	131	26 2
Mulattoes	308	61 6
White-Indian mixed-bloods	28	5 6
Negro-Indian mixed-bloods	15	3 0
Negro-White-Indian mixed-bloods	18	3 6
Total	500	100 0

* 563 192

The term "Negro" is seldom heard in Bahia. It is a *palavra pesada*, a harsh, even offensive, term. Its actual meaning is "African," i.e., "foreigner." In this respect it is a term somewhat similar to "Wop," "Dago," "Sheeny," "Greaser." It also implies slave status and hence calls up memories of the harsher aspects of slavery of which the blacks do not like to talk and the whites are ashamed. Its use is therefore "not good form," and one hears it ordinarily employed only in anger, as an epithet. If otherwise used, it must be "with a smile." *Mulato* is coming to have a somewhat similar connotation, and, as a white Bahian put it, "the better people are beginning to use *moreno* instead."

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At the same time, *meu negro* ("my Negro"), with its variation *meu nego*[26] and diminutive *meu negrinho*, all spoken in soft tones, are terms of endearment used even by whites in speaking to other whites, especially in cases of great intimacy as, for instance, between lovers. Their use constitutes, as a Bahian put it, "um modo de tratar bem" ("a way of being nice"). Occasionally one hears these expressions on the lips of a beggar asking alms of a white and, if he appears well to do, of a mulatto as well. Clerks sometimes employ them in addressing a customer. They appear to call up tender memories of intimate, personal relations like those existent, for example, between Mammy and Scarlett O'Hara in Margaret Mitchell's *Gone with the Wind*.

563* 192 [832] [576] [571]

The term *branco da Bahia* ("Bahian white") is also heard, although it is ordinarily employed *outside* Bahia. It has reference to the local custom of including many light mixed-bloods in the *branco* category. The phrase *branco por procuração* ("white by proxy") is occasionally used in Bahia but never when speaking to such an individual directly or in his presence. Light mixed-bloods are sometimes referred to as *bem areiadas* ("well sandpapered"); very dark young Negro boys as *pregos* ("nails"); very dark blacks as *pretos retintos* (literally "black blacks," or "black as coal"), and *reclames do pixe* (literally "shouts of tar," i.e., "black as pitch"). The phrase *ele tem genipapo* refers to the possession of *manchas*, as previously noted. Of a person who shows slight traces of Negro ancestry, it is said, "Ele tem dedo na cozinha" ("He has a finger in the kitchen"). Additional descriptive words or phrases include: *de côr escura* ("of dark color"), *de côr*

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[26] The feminine forms are *minha negra*, *minha nega*, and *minha negrinha*. [193]

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morena, *de côr branca*, *de côr parda*, *de côr preta*, *mestiço* ("mixed-blood"), and *moleque*.[57]

In the Bahian interior four categories are in common use: *branco*, *moreno*, *roxo* ("purple"),[58] and *preto*. *Pardo*, *mulato*, and *negro* are seldom employed. Occasionally, *curiboca* is used in referring to a cross between a *preto* and an Indian.

Indicative of the (as yet) somewhat indeterminate character of these categories are the variations in meaning which several of these terms seem to have for different individuals. For example, *moreno*, an upper-class lady of European descent said, "might for all practical purposes be considered as identical with *branco*," an opinion concurred in by numerous other individuals from the upper class. But a lower-class *preto* thought of *moreno* as "almost identical with *pardo*"; a lower-class *parda* considered a *moreno* more negroid than a *pardo;* while other individuals made a distinction between two classes of *morenos: morenos claros* ("light *morenos*"), and *morenos escuros* ("dark *morenos*").

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In classifying a given individual, hair texture is much more important than color of skin. One often hears in Bahia the expression, "Elè é um pouco escuro, mas o cabello é bom" ("He is a bit dark, but his hair is good").

[57] Also spelled *mulegue*. The word is of African origin and was originally used to refer, as we have seen, to a small Negro boy. It is now occasionally employed in Bahia, without regard to color, in the sense of "street urchin."

[58] The purple tinge of the skin of black individuals under the bright rays of the tropical sun is probably responsible for this expression.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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CHAPTER V

INTERMARRIAGE

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AS WE have already seen, the first Portuguese settlers in Bahia were almost exclusively males and, like the Dutch under similar circumstances in South Africa and in Java, the English in India, and the English and Americans in Hawaii, took native women for wives. It is reported that when Thomé de Souza dropped anchor in Todos os Santos Bay, he found in and about the site on which the city was subsequently founded "more than forty" Portuguese men living with native women.[1] According to legend, De Souza was much indebted to the Indian spouse of one of these adventurers, "the comely Paraguassú," daughter of chief Itaparica of the local Tupinambás, for the eventual success of the settlement.

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Paraguassú had been living with a Portuguese sailor, Diogo Alvares Correia, who, some years earlier, either was shipwrecked or had deserted ship at this point. He had since that time lived with the Indians on what is now known as Graça Hill, which lies within the present limits of the city, and had founded an extensive half-breed family. With the passing of time he has become a legendary figure to whom living descendants proudly trace their lineage. As given by Alvares do Amaral,[2] the legend appears more plausible than Southey's account[3] and is as follows:

[1] Francisco A. de Varnhagen, Visconde de Porto Seguro, *Historia geral do Brasil* (3d complete ed., 4 vols.; São Paulo, n.d.), I, 300. Based on a *Carta* by Nobrega.

[2] *Resumo chronologico da Bahia* (Bahia, n.d.), p. 201.

[3] Robert Southey, *History of Brazil* (3 vols.; London, 1810), I, 30–31.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Diogo Alvares Correia, or Caramurú . . . . was a native of Vianna do Minho, in Portugal. While still a young lad, overcome with the desire to see new lands, he shipped with a vessel bound for India. But the ship was buffeted by contrary winds and finally, lashed by a severe storm, was broken in pieces and cast upon the coast of Brazil at the mouth of the Rio Vermelho near a place called by the Indians *Mairaguiquity* and now known as Mariquita. This was in 1510. The shipwrecked sailors who escaped being eaten by fish served as choice morsels for men, for they were all made prisoners and subsequently devoured by the savage Tupinambás with the exception of Diogo Alvares Correia, who was saved by a young Indian girl, by name Paraguassú, the daughter of Itaparica, the chief of the tribe, who implored her father not to kill this man since she had at first sight become very fond of him; to which appeal the chief was attentive and presented her with Diogo, who then aided the Indians in recovering the spoils of the wreck among which were several kegs of powder and ball, and some muskets. Of the latter he prepared one and began to fire it, shooting down some birds. The flash of fire, the noise of the discharge, and the death of the birds caused great terror among the natives, for they had never before known firearms. Thenceforth they treated Diogo with great veneration, giving him their daughters for concubines, and the chief offering his daughter for a wife. Diogo was given the name of Caramurú-Assú, which in their idiom means "sea-dragon." He was also called "man-of-fire."[4]

In this savage state Diogo Alvares lived for some time, dwelling in a village later called Villa Velha, today the site of Graça until, some eight years later, in 1518, a French ship arrived in Bahia, and he decided to sail back in it by way of France to Portugal. When the ship, filled with a fresh cargo of Brazilwood, set sail again, he and the gentle Paraguassú were on it. Several of his Indian concubines, seeing him leave, swam out after the ship . . . . , among them the charming

[4] Antonio Alexandre Borges dos Reis (*Chorographia e historia do Brasil, especialmente do estado da Bahia* [Bahia, 1894], pp. 161-62) records a variant account of Caramurú's rescue: "Paraguassú, chancing upon him hiding in a pocket of a reef into which he had crawled to escape detection, and taking him under her protection, saved his life, he gaining afterwards, thanks to his qualities as a civilized man, the influence which he came so effectively to exercise."

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Moema, who, exhausted, perished in the billows of the sea. This unhappy Indian maiden is still today sung by the poets. . . . .

On returning from Europe, Catherina Paraguassú, endowed with a beauty that was first among her people, performed the duty of a true heroine by receiving as her guest the first Governor-general, Thomé de Souza. She and her husband made the native Indians, without the least hesitancy, subject themselves to the Portuguese dominion. And it is from Diogo Alvares Caramurú and Catherina Paraguassú that the ancient and noble house of Garcia d'Avila, so celebrated for its wealth and civic services, is descended.

Subsequent to the arrival of Thomé de Souza, Diogo had been legally married to Paraguassú. And the church soon saw to it that most, if not all, of the similarly informal unions between European men and native Indian women were "regularized in Christian marriage." [585] [583] [795]

Although incoming Portuguese colonists and adventurers had readily entered into informal unions with native women, they appear at first to have hesitated before actual marriage. It was the Jesuits, we are told, who "managed to conquer in the early colonists the repugnance which they originally held toward marriages with Indian women."[5] "Most of them [the Portuguese] here," wrote Padre Nobrega from Pernambuco in 1551, "have for a long time kept Indian women from whom they have had children; but to marry them was considered a scandalous thing (*grande infamia*). They are now marrying and assuming a proper life."[6] At any rate, intermarriage eventually became a firmly established custom, sanctioned by both church and state. 175 583 585 563* [797]

Although the scarcity of European women, so notable during the first century of colonization, had by the early 175 563*

[5] Gilberto Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* (2d ed.; Rio, 1936), p. 302.

[6] Padre Manoel de Nobrega, *Cartas do Brasil, 1549-1560* (Rio, 1886), quoted by Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

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*175 563 seventeenth century largely disappeared, Zacharias Wagner at that time observed that unions of Portuguese men with Indian or mixed-blood women were still of frequent occurrence.[7] Capistrano de Abreu records the desire of native women to have children "belonging to the superior race, since, according to the ideas current among them, parentage was important only on the paternal side."[8] Freyre, following Varnhagen, thinks "a decided sexual preference" was involved.[9]

[829]

* 563 593 Intermarriage assures to the family relationships of the mixed-blood a relative permanence and continuity not always characteristic of informal unions. Although human beings are responsive to the natural claims of paternity, illegitimate offspring are often denied the regular presence of a father in the family and the relative security in other respects of legitimate children.

[848]

175 * 212 563 Among the Africans imported into Bahia were numerous individuals possessed, as we have seen, of a cultural equipment superior not only to that of the native Indian but also "to that of the majority of the white colonists . . . . many of whom were illiterate and the greater portion only semiliterate."[10] In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries there was so little literacy among the Europeans that "not rarely rich *fazendeiros* in the interior requested their friends on the coast to arrange a son-in-law who, although he had no

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[7] Alfredo de Carvalho, "O Zoobillion de Zacharias Wagner," *Revista do Instituto Archeologico, Historico e Geographico de Pernambuco*, Vol. XI (1904), quoted by Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

[8] Capistrano de Abreu, *Capitulos de historia colonial* (3d. ed.; Rio, 1934), quoted by Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

[9] *Op. cit.*, p. 59.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 212.

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other possessions, did know how to read and write."[11] Incidentally, some of these men were light mulattoes.

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The Negro women known in Bahia as "Minas" were famed for their fine physiques, their proud, dignified bearing, and their culinary skill.[12] They were probably Fulahs and Ashantis who were called "Minas" after the name of the Portuguese slave factory on the West Coast known as Forte de el Mina,[13] whence they were imported into Brazil. They approximated the whites in color and features perhaps more closely than any other imported Africans. Araripe Junior writes that they made "excellent companions." "Healthy, ingenuous, and affectionate, it was inevitable," he concludes, "under the precarious conditions of the first and second centuries, that they should dominate the situation."[14] It is probably among these women that the first legal marriages of Europeans with Negro women occurred. In 1730 the governor of Rio de Janeiro, Luis Vahia Monteiro, stated that "there is no Mineiro [gold miner] who can live without a Mina Negro woman. They say that only with them are they lucky."[15] The Minas became not only *amigas* and *mancebas* of the Europeans but eventually *donas de casa* ("housewives").

[11] Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil, 1809 to 1815* (2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1817), II, 178–79.

[12] Braz do Amaral, "Os grandes mercados de escravos africanos," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, tomo especial, *Congresso Internacional de Historia da America* (1927), V, 481.

[13] Arthur Ramos, *As culturas negras no novo mundo* (Rio, 1937), pp. 324–25.

[14] Araripe Junior, *Gregorio de Mattos* (Rio, 1894), quoted by Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

[15] F. J. Oliveira Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro* (3d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 149.

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Dampier, who visited Bahia in the seventeenth century, knew several Europeans living in common-law marriage with Negro women. By this time the relations were not merely casual affairs. "Many an African woman," we are told, "had managed to gain the respect of her white mate; some through the fear inspired by their *mandingas* (black magic); others, like the Minas for example, by their affectionate natures and womanly qualities."[16] "At least a minority of these women had by this time achieved for themselves . . . . positions as housekeepers to the whites; no longer were they kept in the *senzalas* merely for the physical pleasure of their masters and the increase of his human capital." By the early nineteenth century the marriage of white men with *mulheres de côr* were, we are told, not rare.[17] The women involved, like the Osage Indian women of the United States, for instance, whose oil lands have increased their desirability as wives for white men,[18] often possessed considerable property. Such cases were "commented upon in intimate circles but without acrimony, especially when the excuse proved to be the dowry of the bride."

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Other marriage partners of the whites were mixed-bloods, men as well as women. Gradually, we are told, marriages with mulattoes came "no longer to be disdained as they formerly were, now that the high position of the mulatto

[16] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

[17] Koster, *op. cit.*, II, 178.

[18] "The white demand for Osage women, who are rich in oil land, is now so great that the Indian agent requires every prospective husband to give a bond, submit to a physical examination, and present character references. White husbands have become so easy to get that they are now considered somewhat less desirable than even Indian men of other tribes" (Ralph Linton, "An Anthropological View of Race Mixture," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, XIX [1924], 76).

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and the proof of his moral qualities have led people to overlook the evident contrast of his physical characters, and his black origin is lost sight of in the approximation of his moral and intellectual qualities to those of the white."[19]

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In Bahia today people neither think nor talk very much about interracial marriage. It is of no more consequence, perhaps, than interclass marriage or marriage between different nationalities in the United States. Few marriages of any kind cross class lines. Marriages between a member of the upper class, on the one hand, and an individual who has climbed up out of the lower class into an intermediate position, on the other, or between the latter and a member of the lower class, do occasionally take place. But they occur very rarely between individuals from the upper and the lower strata.

It is the impression of competent residents well acquainted with the social structure of Bahia that marriages cross race lines more often than class lines; that is, that marriages between individuals from different occupational and income levels within each racial group are less frequent than marriages between members of the different racial groups in the same class. Unfortunately, reliable statistical data upon this important point are not available.

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According to the official records, 42 cases of intermarriage occurred at Bahia out of a total of 1,269 marriages during the year and four months from September 1, 1933, to December 31, 1934. Although this figure represents only 3.3 per cent of the marriages recorded, it does not include those cases in which one of the participants, although classified according to local categories as a *branco* or a *branca*, actually

[19] Jean Baptiste de Lacerda, "The *Metis*, or Half-breeds of Brazil," in *Papers on Inter-racial Problems*, ed. G. Spiller (London, 1911), p. 382.

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has some degree of color in his ancestry. In other words, the white-*branco da Bahia* marriages are omitted.[20] It represents, therefore, the number of intermarriages from the local point of view, but, as a government official pointed out, it does not accurately reflect the amount of actual race-crossing.

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Among the whites of the upper classes a definite line is drawn at intermarriage between individuals from the extreme limits of the color scale, just as a line is drawn, and perhaps for the same reason, at marriage between individuals from the lower and upper limits of the class scale. Although such marriages do occasionally occur, they are ordinarily frowned upon. Thus, of 149 students classifying [125] themselves as *brancos* and responding to the query, "Do you object to marrying a *preto?*" 139, or 93 per cent, replied "Yes." Of 140 similar students, 93, or two-thirds, even objected to dancing with a black.

The brother of a former governor of Bahia, scion of a family which traces its lineage back through a long line of colonial and European aristocracy, had never married but had lived all his life with a lower-class Negro mistress. When, on his deathbed, he desired to marry the woman and thus legitimize the children, his family objected so strenuously that the attempt was abandoned. However, opposition was not only on color but also, and more importantly, on class grounds.

Hence, white-Negro *consorcios* which involve a member of the upper class are ordinarily extra-legal, outside marriage. In the upper circles intermarriage becomes more pronounced as the colors approach along the white-black continuum.

[20] It is also true, of course, that *branco da Bahia-pardo* marriages are included.

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No effective opposition appears to an individual with *um pouco da raça* ("a little color"), provided he also possesses the requisite characteristics of upper-class standing.

As we have indicated, marriages between individuals of different colors, like marriages between individuals from the same race, ordinarily take place within class lines. Thus, of twenty-four marriages at Bahia in which one partner was a *branco* or a *branca* and the other a *preto* or *preta*, all the individuals, with the possible exception of one couple, were from the same class. When such marriages occur outside class lines—that is, between individuals from different occupational or income levels—the economic and social advantage, as might be anticipated, will ordinarily be in favor of the white.[11] A *preto*, speaking of the marriage of a certain white woman on the Ilha de Mare to a black, explained, "She got more out of it than he did ['foi mais para ela']. He had money and she didn't."

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Of 72 cases of intermarriage upon which it was possible to secure accurate and relatively complete information, 61, or 85 per cent, were contracted by individuals from the same occupational level. Of the 11 remaining cases in which people married across class lines, in 8, or 73 per cent, the social and economic advantages accrued to the white partner. In the remaining 3 cases, in which white individuals married a spouse from a lower occupational level, the whites were all women, a circumstance probably to be expected, given a social order wherein women are ordinarily at a disadvantage socially and at the same time under pressure to avoid spinsterhood.

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Of 35 cases on which reliable information regarding financial condition was available, only 8 were from the same eco-

[11] To some extent this is also true of intermarriage *within* the same class.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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563 nomic level. Of the 27 others, in 21, or 80 per cent, of the
565 cases the financial condition of the white was less favorable than that of the colored partner. Of the 6 other cases, in which monetary advantage was in favor of the darker individual, 3 of the whites involved were males, and 3 were females.

One of the males had married the daughter of a respected and widely revered mixed-blood educator, an "authority" on Portuguese grammar, with whom many Bahians of the upper classes had studied and into whose family, by reason of the father's prestige, anyone in Bahia would deem it an honor to be accepted. Moreover, the difference in economic level between the two families was slight. A second had married a "beautiful *morena*" whose physical charm, it is said, readily compensated for the difference in economic status.

*563 In 19 cases of intermarriage on which information was
565 obtained from a town in the interior (Itaquara), 15 were
[114] from the same occupational level. In the 4 cases in which
[463] one spouse came from a lower social stratum than the other, the social advantage was in each case in favor of the white.
[434] Thirteen of the 19 couples came from the same economic level.

One may say that the frequency of intermarriage at Bahia varies inversely with class level. In other words, intermarriage takes place readily in the lower circles, occasionally among whites who are climbing in the class scale, and rarely with whites in the upper class.[11]

When intermarriages involving upper-class individuals do occur, however, "society" does not completely close its doors

[11] This generalization does not hold for *brancos da Bahia*, or those mixed-bloods who have passed over into the white category.

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on the couple. "Some people feel sorry for them and try to treat them as usual; but, especially if the black is from the lower classes, there is always a difference," commented a member of the upper class. If someone marries a person a great deal darker than himself, one hears the phrase "Ele não tem vergonha na cara" (literally, "He does not have shame in his face").

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"But it would be different," added a white upper-class woman, "with Dr. Raul Calogeras,"[23] naming a prominent *preto*, a man of considerable personal charm, with the poise and bearing of a "gentleman," an able engineer for six years in charge of the sanitary service at Bahia and for twenty years at the head of a similar service for the city and state of São Paulo, once a federal senator and friend of the former president of Brazil, Washington Luiz. He is also nationally regarded as the principal Brazilian "authority" on the Tupi language. For years he has been president of an important intellectual and social institution in Bahia among whose membership, principally white, are to be found many of the leading intellectuals of the city. "Several white women whom I know would feel themselves honored to be his wife."

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The implications of this remark are highly significant, if one would understand the actual racial situation at Bahia. It indicates rather clearly that opposition to marriage with a black is more importantly on class than on racial grounds. When black color comes no longer to identify an individual as a member of the lower class, opposition to him tends to disappear. Virtually no opposition attaches to the marriage of light mixed-bloods into even the upper class, especially if they do not show in their features or color too obvious evidence of Negro origin.

[23] The name is, for obvious reasons, fictitious.

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565 In 1914 Theodore Roosevelt wrote of Rio de Janeiro: "In the lower ranks intermarriages are frequent, especially between the Negroes and the most numerous of the immigrant races of Europe. In the middle class these intermarriages are rare, and in the higher class almost unknown so far as concerns men and women in whom the black strain is at all evident. But even in the higher ranks there is apparently no prejudice whatever against marrying a man or girl who is, say, seven-eighths white, the remaining quantity of black blood being treated as a negligible element."[24] Although the Bahian aristocracy has maintained itself as endogamous as any similar group in Brazil, or perhaps even more endogamous, individuals possessing at least some Negro blood are now marrying into its ranks.

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554 A dark mixed-blood at Bahia, a prominent and relatively wealthy commercial figure, courted and married a girl from a distinguished white family. A common expression heard in connection with this case of intermarriage and which perhaps sums up in a pithy statement the racial situation at Bahia is: "Negro rico é branco, e branco pobre é negro" ("A rich Negro is a white man, and a poor white man is a Negro"). This is merely another way of saying that class (one criterion of which is wealth), not race, is the primary consideration.

A prominent medical specialist, a dark mixed-blood, has a blond German wife whom he courted and married while a student in Germany. Because of his professional competence, intellectual ability, and personal charm, he occupies a high position in the community. He is a member of the most exclusive social club, membership in which is an infallible index of social status. Since his professional practice is extensive

[24] "Brazil and the Negro," *Outlook*, CVI (February 21, 1914), 410.

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and his clients are drawn largely from the élite, he is well to do financially. His wife, it is said, is envied by other white women. 565 [554]

A woman of the upper class when asked if a woman's social standing declined after her marriage to a black or dark mulatto said: "This depends largely on the man. It may; but if he is cultivated and refined, it may not. A woman marrying Dr. Raul Calogeras would not lose caste." [558]

Obviously, then, a distinction must be made between interclass and intraclass marriages. The following reasons given by whites responding affirmatively to the query, "Do you object to marrying a *preto?*" indicate that their objection was basically on class, rather than on racial, grounds:

Because *pretos* seldom have social standing.
Because they are ordinarily lower in the social scale.
Because they are usually crude and stupid.
Because they belong to a low class.
Because it would lower me.
Because I think both should be on the same social level.
Because black color usually lowers one's social position.
Because I think social equality is indispensable for marriage.

These statements all reduce perhaps to one general statement: The Negro ordinarily lacks class.

A distinction must also be made between those individuals who are noticeably negroid and those who are *branqueados*, who have only *um pouco da raça*. As an upper-class white woman remarked: "It's different with the lighter shades. You can't easily draw the line between the pure whites and those with only *um pouco da raça*. Race mixture has now become so extensive that there wouldn't be many left to choose among." Very light mixed-bloods often marry whites without any question whatever arising. For instance, the four sons and two daughters of a fam- 563*

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ily which shows slight traces of African ancestry all married white spouses, *brancos finos* ("genteel whites"), as a friend put it. One married the daughter of a distinguished physician and professor at the Faculty of Medicine. Another married into a prominent upper-class family. A third married a young man whose family possesses considerable wealth and lives in a palatial home in one of the select residential areas. The fourth married a descendant of the colonial aristocracy, now a state deputy, an able lawyer, and professor at the Faculty of Law.

A seventeen-year-old white girl "of good family," after replying in the negative to a query whether she would marry a *preto*, was asked, "How dark a man would you be willing to marry"? After reflecting a moment, she replied, "One about like Reginaldo," naming a light mixed-blood with *bom* ("good") hair.

An important commercial figure shows slight traces of Negro lineage, particularly in his hair. He is intelligent, capable, "dynamic." His wife is white, handsome, of gracious bearing. Their daughter, beautiful, of "charming personality," would pass easily for white anywhere. Her fiancé is almost white, but shows a few traces of Negro lineage.

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The rate of interracial marriage is probably increasing, although positive data are not available. As the black and the mixed-blood rise in class, one would expect this to take place. Several individuals from different class levels were quite certain that intermarriage is more prevalent today than formerly. "The races used to stay apart much more than they do now," commented a *preta* cook. "Once in a while a dark person and a white would marry, but it was rare. The whites used to say he was *uma mosca dentro do*

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leite ('a fly in the milk'). There wasn't so much mixture then."

One may perhaps say, then, that black color, although an undeniable handicap to marriage into the upper classes at Bahia (at least when sufficiently obvious to be readily observable) is not an absolute bar and may be overcome with the aid of such advantages as wealth, intelligence, occupational proficiency, beauty, and personal charm. The individual involved will be accepted more on the basis of his mental and social qualities than on racial descent. 565 563*

However, since a Negro cannot escape his color but, on the contrary, constantly carries with him this indelible badge of low status, he tends to be catalogued by one meeting him for the first time as a member of the lower status group. Only as he simultaneously or subsequently gives evidence of other characteristics ordinarily associated with upper-class standing, such as economic competence, professional skill, educational achievement, "gentlemanly bearing," etc., is this original conception modified; and even then the fact of his being in appearance like a lower-class man remains one of the criteria of him and is undoubtedly a handicap.

It is in the light of this distinction that one perhaps best understands what at first sight appears to be discrimination on the basis of race. Since to a large extent discrimination follows color lines, one is likely to assume its similarity to that which we know in the United States and naïvely posit an automatic relationship between race and discrimination. But if one focuses his attention on those *homens de côr* who have risen in class and who for this reason are no longer subjected to the same prejudices as others of their fellows

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who have not yet risen, he sees that the connection between race and discrimination is not direct but *indirect;* that not necessarily discrimination on the basis of *race* is involved but discrimination on the basis of *class*, involving in most cases, quite expectedly, individuals of color, owing to the concentration of the darker portion of the population for centuries in the lower status ranks.

Race has undoubtedly been a factor in Brazil in fixing classes and making them, to some extent at least, hereditary. But race as a criterion of class is breaking down, increasingly, as more and more individuals of dark color give evidence of the possession of, or the ability to achieve, other characteristics indicative of superior status. The significant fact is that a black or dark mulatto *can* overcome the handicap of color, *can* overbalance this liability by means of other assets. His social position is not fixed and rigid. It is always subject to change.

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RACE AND SOCIAL STATUS

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CHAPTER VI

THE RISE OF THE MIXED-BLOOD

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EARLY in the colonial period race mixture resulted in an intermediate population group in more favorable position for social advancement. Mulatto slaves, because they were ordinarily chosen by their masters and mistresses for the more delicate and exacting household tasks, to be *mucamas* (maids), *amas de crear* ("mammies"), and other *pessoal de casa* (house servants), early developed into a distinct group apart from the field hands.[1] They were baptized, received the master's name, and often were married in accordance with the prescribed legal and religious practices, thus establishing legitimate families and adding to the social security of their offspring by building up a family tradition.

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Many *mulatinhos*, illegitimate children of the *senhor*, learned to read and to write even more quickly than white, legitimate children, outstripping them in preparatory and even advanced studies. The Reconcavo of Bahia yields a number of such cases.[2] Particularly fortunate, we are told, were the children of priests. Their fathers, being ordinarily from upper-class families and possessing money and prestige, transmitted to their offspring, colored as well as white, ad-

[1] F. J. Oliveira Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro* (2d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 157; Jean Baptiste de Lacerda, "The *Métis*, or Half-breeds of Brazil," in *Papers on Inter-racial Problems*, ed. G. Spiller (London, 1911), p. 379.

[2] Gilberto Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* (2d ed.; Rio, 1936), pp. 324–25. The author throughout this chapter is greatly indebted to Freyre's *Sobrados e mucambos* (São Paulo, 1936), esp. chap. vii.

4; Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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vantages of ancestry, social position, intellectuality, and wealth. The professions were readily open to them, and "marriages into the bosom of the most exclusive families"[3] sometimes took place. "More fortunate even than the son of a priest" and "A child of a priest is never unhappy" are expressions still heard at Bahia.[4]

Significant also was the widespread system of *creação*, whereby colored children who were being reared within the master's house, the so-called *crias*, *irmãos de creação*, *malungos*, *muleques de estimação*, gained position as "persons of the house," somewhat comparable to poor relations in the households of medieval Europe. Often they were seated at the patriarchal table as if members of the family. Some even rode in the family vehicle with their masters.

Owing to the peculiar personal associations in which the mulattoes grew up, they tended to develop certain traits favorable to their advancement. They were usually more intelligent, we are told, more aggressive, more dexterous, and more cunning than the pure blacks. Consequently, they were often assigned to the more skilled occupations, such as shoemaking, carpentry, and tailoring, where they developed occupational skills symbolic of greater personal worth than ordinarily attaches to unskilled labor.

Because they were liberated in preference to the blacks, the mixed-bloods, early in the colonial period, began to enter the free classes.[5] The disproportion between black

[3] Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 324.

[4] "The social ascension of children of priests, both white and light mixed-blood, has always occurred with great facility" (*ibid.*, pp. 323–24).

[5] In addition, the king of Portugal in 1773 intervened in their behalf, denouncing those persons "so lacking in the sentiments of humanity and of religion" that they still keep in slavery persons "whiter than they are" (Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 327).

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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and mulatto slaves noticeable even before 1800, had by the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century become great. In 1822, for instance, the free blacks in Maranhão were reckoned at 9,308; the free mulattoes, at 25,111. Only 6,580 mulattoes were still in bondage as compared with 77,954 blacks. Thus, in this important center of Negro concentration, over three-fourths of the mixed-bloods had by 1822 been emancipated, whereas approximately only one-eighth of the blacks had been liberated. Walsh in 1828 reports that there were at that time in Brazil approximately 160,000 free blacks and 400,000 free mulattoes. In 1835, among a total of 170,000 mulattoes in Minas Geraes, only 40,000, or less than one-fourth, were reported to be slaves; while 250,000 out of an estimated 305,000 blacks, or approximately five-sixths, were still in bondage.[6] Although no figures are available for Bahia, it is likely that similar proportions held here also.

These numerically important liberated mulattoes began their rise in social rank by becoming small farmers (*lavradores*, *sitiantes*), or artisans (both rural and urban), street merchants, small shopkeepers, etc., taking their places beside those lower-class whites who either had not yet risen or did not possess the requisite ability to rise.

Free blacks, as well as free mulattoes, were able to establish themselves in manual occupations more readily than their brothers in the United States because the descendants of Europeans in Brazil have ordinarily looked down upon manual labor, as attested by the common saying: "Trabalho é para cachorro e negro" (work [that is, hard manual labor] is for Negroes and dogs). "Whatever may have been the en-

[6] Maurice Rugendas, *Voyage pittoresque dans le Brésil*, trans. from the German by de Colbery (3 vols.; Paris, 1835), p. 27.

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ergy exerted by their immigrant fathers, creoles [native Brazilians] ordinarily imbibed the colonial prejudice against labor, and assumed the airs of gentlemen." Free men of color entering agricultural or artisan employment "in no way aroused the jealousy of Europeans."[7]

The mobility of the Brazilian population in the colonial period, both vertically and horizontally, facilitated climbing. Changes in status during the lifetime of a given individual were common phenomena and at times even precipitous, a condition reflected in the common saying "Pae taberneiro, filho cavalheiro, neto mendicante" ("Father an innkeeper, son a squire, grandson a beggar"). Endogamy among the rural aristocracy, even in such *fidalgo* centers as Bahia and Pernambuco, was never absolute. Clerks and small merchants in the cities, immigrant peddlers in the interior, modest proprietors of small farms, owners of small herds of cattle—all aspired to, and some succeeded in attaining, the ranks of the rural aristocracy.[8]

Similarly significant was freedom to move in space. For in areas distant from those of their birth, light mulattoes of slave origin often managed to pass for individuals born of free parents. They were thus able readily to strip from themselves the social stigma of servile origin. One of the functions of the *bandeiras* and the *monções*[9] was to assist ambitious individuals to whom migration and the freedom of the frontier appeared to offer the most rapid and successful means of social advancement. Many mixed-bloods sought out new homes and became settlers, stock-raisers, small

[7] H. A. Wyndham, *The Atlantic and Slavery* (London: Oxford University Press, 1935), pp. 249–50.

[8] Vianna, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

[9] The *bandeiras* (also called *monções*) were groups of hardy explorers and frontier fighters who explored the interior or raided Indian villages for slaves.

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senhores de engenho, fazendeiros, etc.[10] Often they were runaway slaves.[11] In the cities they became masons, cobblers, tinsmiths, soldiers, actors, and at times reached even the small bourgeosie.[12]

The mulatto, owing to his closer approximation in physical characteristics to the European, was better able than the Negro to appropriate certain symbols of status—the small shoe and the little boot, for instance, the wearing of which was an important index of social standing in colonial and imperial Brazil.[13] Small feet, particularly among women, were for a long time, and still are, fashionable.

As the mulatto rose in class, he came to occupy something

[10] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, pp. 190–91, 205, 238.

[11] "I heard of a mulatto slave who ran away from his master; and in the course of years had become a wealthy man, by the purchase of lands which were overrun with cattle. He had, on one occasion, collected in pens great numbers of oxen which he was arranging with his herdsmen to dispatch to different parts for sale, when a stranger who came quite alone, made his appearance, and rode up and spoke to him, saying that he wished to have some private conversation with him. After a little time they retired together; and when they were alone the owner of the estate said, "I thank you for not mentioning the connection between us, whilst my people were present." It was his master, who had fallen into distressed circumstances, and had now made this visit in hopes of obtaining some trifle from him. He said that he would be grateful for anything his slave chose to give him. To reclaim him, he well knew, was out of the question—he was in the man's power, who might order him to be assassinated immediately. The slave gave his master several hundred oxen, and directed some of his men to accompany him with them to a market, giving out among his herdsmen, that he had thus paid a debt of old standing, for which he had only now been called upon" (Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil, 1809 to 1815* [2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1817], I, 244–45).

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[12] Vianna, *op. cit.*, p. 143. In 1774 a law opened to *homens pardos* access "to all offices, honors and dignities, without discrimination on account of difference in color" (*Annaes da Biblioteca Nacional*, XXXVII [1915], 85). See also Pedro Calmon, *História social do Brasil* (3 vols.; São Paulo, 1937–39), I, 168.

[13] "The use of shoes and little boots, which was at first almost entirely limited to persons recently arrived from Portugal, spread among those men

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As the mulatto rose in class, he came to occupy something analogous to a middle position distinct from either that of the dominant European or that of the subject African. In the colonial period, "to appease the repugnance felt by whites at being put on the same level with mulattoes,"[14] the latter were segregated for military duty. Thus separate battalions were organized at Bahia and elsewhere for whites, for *pardos*,[15] and for *pretos*.[16] Similarly, separate church organizations arose for *pardos* (Palma, Guadaloupe, Boqueirão) as well as for *pretos*.[17]

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In the Brazilian rural society of the colonial period Oliveira Vianna identifies three distinct social strata: the predominantly white *senhores* of the upper rank, the predominantly mixed-blood free artisans, *rendeiros*, and petty

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and women of the Brazilian aristocracy who were blessed with small feet. The difficulties of the blacks, even when serving as pages, to adjust themselves to this new European and aristocratic style so ill adapted to their large and flat feet, can be easily understood. The mulattoes, on the other hand, who possessed smaller feet, well formed according to the European standard, could adapt themselves more readily to a practice which Handelmann observed constituted in nineteenth-century Brazil one of the marks of class distinction" (*Freyre, Sobrados e mucambos*, pp. 329–30).

[14] Vianna, *op. cit.*, p. 164; see also his *Populações meridionaes do Brasil* (3d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 140.

[15] In Bahia, the Regimento dos Pardos. See Luiz dos Santos Vilhena, *Cartas*, edited and annotated by Braz do Amaral (2 vols.; Bahia, 1922), pp. 253–54.

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[16] In Bahia, as elsewhere, Os Henriques.

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[17] In Bahia, Rosario de João Pereira, Barroquinha, Corpo Santo, Rosario "at the foot of the Pelourinho." Cf. also: "The cemetery for Africans was located next to the Misericordia Cemetery, as one can see from the map made of the city of Salvador and its suburbs by Carlos Augusto Weyll" (J. B. von Spix and C. F. P. von Martius, *Através da Bahia* [excerpts from the larger work, *Reise in Brasilien* (3 vols.; München, 1823–31)], trans. Pirajá da Silva and Paulo Wolf [3d ed.; São Paulo, 1938], pp. 141–42 [translators' note]).

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officials of the middle tier, and the predominantly black slaves of the lower stratum.[18]

The duration of this particular organization was, however, brief. As the color line bent further under pressure of the rising mulatto, certain of the more able or more successful mixed-bloods broke through into the upper tiers.

The development of the cities increased the possibilities for economic advancement to individuals who, like the mulattoes, were noted for their skill as artisans and—what was more important—for their intellectual ability.[19] The rise, after independence in 1822, of the *academias superiores* offered to the more able mixed-bloods possibilities not previously attainable. Since by reason of their mental alertness the mulattoes often excelled, it is said, in those pursuits wherein intellectual ability is an essential for success, the development of these centers of advanced study opened, at least to the ambitious and favored ones among them, ready access to the rising professional classes, especially as *doutores* or *bachareis*.[20] Many promising young mulattoes were aided to a professional training by indulgent white fathers or other relatives and friends among the dominant class.

Of a prominent Brazilian intellectual, Raul Calogeras, whose father was a Bahian planter and whose mother was a Negro slave, we are told:

> Raul was very intelligent, and showed remarkable ability in his studies. It is said that when a very young boy at Santo Amaro, he used to slip away late at night, after his mother's master had gone to bed, to study by the street lamp on the corner near the house. When his father discovered this, he was much impressed, and other signs

[18] Vianna, *op. cit.*, pp. 72–73.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 151; Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, pp. 160–61, 190.

[20] Physicians, lawyers and engineers.

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of Raul's intelligence and his ability to apply himself multiplied the interest which his father took in him, and he supplied all his needs. When his father left the Reconcavo to come to Bahia, he brought Raul with him, and here, under his tutelage, Raul went to primary school where he had as white playmates his father's nephews and others. And later, when his father went to Rio, he took Raul with him. The boy never left his father's company as long as his father lived.[11]

Raul was a very dark mixed-blood with kinky hair. He came to be a prominent citizen and was noted not only for his fine figure, distinguished bearing, poise, and personal charm but also for his intelligence and professional competence. At one time he was a much-loved confidant of a recent president of Brazil.

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Significant also, so far as the rise of the mulatto is concerned, is the fact that early in the nineteenth century the return of young professional men who had been trained in Europe—in Coimbra, Montpelier, Paris, and other centers—enhanced the prestige of the rising professional classes. These young lawyers and physicians, among whom were a number of quite capable mulattoes, were returning to Brazil after an education abroad, ordinarily more traveled, better informed, and more urbane than their brothers or half-brothers on the plantations, in the army, or among the clergy. They were especially attractive, we are told, to the upper-class ladies of the time. The importation of fashionable articles from the Continent—Parisian haberdashery, perfumes, hair-dressings, and English shoes—with the use of all of which these returning young men were quite familiar, enhanced their standing among the élite. The increasing

[11] From a letter to the author from a man reared in the same community as the individual in question and long acquainted with him. For information on the later life of this mixed-blood see Appen. A.

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The increasing prestige of youth, accelerated by the popular rule of young King Dom Pedro II, together with the increasing dominance of the cities in which the young graduates located, also contributed to their rise in social esteem.

The disruption of the old order based upon slavery, owing to the loss of the sugar monopoly, the increasing dependence of rural *senhores* on their urban agents and commission merchants, and the progress of the abolition campaign, eventually leading as it did to widespread desertion of slaves from the *engenhos*, also facilitated the rise of the professional classes. There was under way a gradual transfer of prestige from the rural aristocracy,[22] which had been almost exclusively European, to the urban intelligentsia, which increasingly included mulattoes, particularly of the lighter shades; for example, Gonçalves Dias, Natividade Saldanha, José do Patrocinio, Machado de Assis, Barão de Cotegipe, Olavo Bilac, Domingos Caldas Barbosa, Salles Torres Homem, Nilo Peçanha, Domicio da Gama, Dom Silvero Gomes Pimenta, Dom Luiz Raymundo da Silva Brito, Tobias Barretto, Antonio Vieira, José Mauricio, Auta de Souza, Francisco Gé Acabaya de Montezuma, the Rebouças brothers, and "hundreds of other Brazilians," as João Dornas Filho says, "whose great mental capacity has brought resounding fame to Brazil."[23]

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Dom Pedro II elevated to the nobility a prominent mixed-blood who was subsequently known familiarly as "Barão do Chocolate."[24] The Count do Gobineau speaks of meeting

[22] For a sketch of the *rise* of the Brazilian aristocracy see Alan K. Manchester, "The Rise of the Brazilian Aristocracy," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XI, No. 2 (May, 1931), 145-68.

[23] *A escravidão no Brasil* (Rio, 1939), p. 228.

[24] Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 190.

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The Count do Grobineau speaks of meeting three mulatto ladies-in-waiting to the Brazilian empress, one "marron," one "chocolat eclair," one "violette."[25] Montezuma became a viscount and sat in the national senate, as did also Salles Torres Homem. The best elements of the aristocracy attended the receptions for the noted engineer, Andre Rebouças.[26] His brother Antonio, a federal deputy, on requesting a representative on the crown council for the *população mulata* was heard attentively by the *camara*.[27] Domicio da Gama and the Barão de Cotegipe were long prominent in political and diplomatic circles. Dom Silvero Gomes Pimenta became an archbishop. No musician is said to have been more distinguished at court than the mixed-blood, José Mauricio. Domingos Caldas Barbosa, the son of a Negro woman from Angola, acquired considerable fame in the salons of Rio de Janiero and of Lisbon as a singer of popular songs. The eighteenth-century sculpture of Antonio Francisco Lisboa, better known as Aleijadinho, which may still be seen today in the old churches of Ouro Preto, Sabará, São João d'El Rei, and other cities of Minas Geraes, attracted much favorable comment. José Basilio da Gama, whose *Uruguay* is said to be the best epic poem of the colonial period, the writer, Machado de Assis, and the lyric poet, Antonio Gonçalves Dias, were universally accorded high rank in Brazilian letters. Tobias Barretto was honored as a poet but even more as a jurist and annotator of German philosophical works which he had translated. José de Natividade Saldanha, an able poet, was one of the leaders of the revolt in Recife in 1824.

[25] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 354.

[26] Visconde de Taunay, *Homens e cousas do imperio* (São Paulo, 1924), p. 145, noted by Calmon, *op. cit.*, II, 112.

[27] Antonio Pereira Rebouças, *Recordações da vida parlamentar* (2 vols.; Rio, 1870), I, 524, noted by Calmon, *op. cit.*, II, 113.

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José do Patrocinio became an able editor and wielded a powerful influence in the abolition movement. Joaquim Manoel was a violinist of considerable talent. A number of Francisco Braga's musical compositions achieved acclaim, and he was later invited to teach composition in the National Institute of Music. The Bahian mulatto, Francisco Chagas, better known as "Cabra," carved images with such skill that at least five of them ("Nossa Senhora do Carmo," "São Benedito," "São João e Magdalena," "Nossa Senhora dos Dores," and "Senhor da Redempção") may still be seen in the Igreja do Carmo. Valentim da Fonseca e Silva, popularly known as "Master Valentim," achieved fame as a skilled worker in gold and silver. The mulatto, Jesus, was a notable figure in an influential school of painting which flourished in Bahia in the eighteenth century. Crispim do Amaral, better known by his pseudonym "Falstaff," and Pedro Americo were accepted as among the most competent Brazilian painters of the nineteenth century. Antonio Gonçalves Teixeira e Sousa, Laurindo Rabello, and Gonçalves Crespo, all won acclaim in the Brazilian world of letters, and at least the latter of these three in the Portuguese world of letters as well. The psychiatrist, Juliano Moreira, became director-general of the hospital for the insane in Rio de Janeiro and was elected an honorary professor of the Faculty of Medicine in Bahia. The name of the Hospital João de Deus in Bahia was, in 1936, changed in honor of him to the Hospital Juliano Moreira. Theodoro Sampaio became widely known and respected throughout Brazil as an able engineer, intellectual figure, and linguistic scholar. José Ferreira de Menezes, Monteiro Lopes, Cardoso Vieira, Eliseu Cesar, Evaristo Ferreira da Veiga, and (in more recent times) the Bahian brothers, João and Octavio Manga-

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beira, have all been influential politicians with national reputations. Luiz Gama, mulatto journalist and lawyer, born a slave in Bahia, became exceedingly popular not only in São Paulo, where he came to reside, but throughout Brazil. At least one president of the Republic, Nilo Pecanha, had African ancestors.[28]

It is said the royal family set the example of social acceptance of the darker Brazilians and gently rebuked those whites inclined to be hesitant in the matter. Dom João VI, in his audiences at São Cristovão, cordially received men of all stations, and the two Pedros (Dom Pedro I and Dom Pedro II) continued the tradition. Once, at a court ball, Princess Isabel, noting that a lady had declined to dance with André Rebouças, herself offered to dance the subsequent waltz with him, "to compensate for the affront to this illustrious man."[29]

The range of acceptance was at that time broadening. Formerly only the exceptionally able mixed-bloods, or those most similar to the Europeans in color, had been incorporated into the upper circles. But "the prestige of the title 'doutor' began to overcome much of the prejudice which had been so active and apparently so invincible during three previous centuries."[30] Similarly, an army uniform, "especially

[28] For information in some detail on prominent Brazilian mixed-bloods see Arthur Ramos, *The Negro in Brazil* (Washington, 1939), *passim*.

[29] Calmon, *op. cit.*, II, 114. Affonso de E. Taunay (in a letter to the author) reports the incident thus: "At a court ball the Princess Isabel, Countess of Eu and heir to the throne of Brazil, insisted on dancing with André Rebouças, a mulatto who was almost black (albeit a man of great mental and moral worth), in order to censure the attitude of certain ladies of the court who had objected to him as a dancing partner."

[30] Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro*, p. 145.

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Similarly, an army uniform, "especially the gold braid of an officer, Aryanized and 'aristocratized' many mulattoes into whites."[31]

The rise of the mixed-bloods was also facilitated by the conviction which, since at least the late eighteenth century, had been crystallizing in the minds of Brazilian intellectuals to the effect that the Negroes, whose strong arms and backs had long furnished the country's labor supply, were to a considerable extent the actual builders of Brazil. In prose and poetry not only the toil of the slave but also the creative energies of the free people of color came to be exalted.[32] This appreciation of the African contribution to Brazilian civilization increased with the progress of the abolition campaign. Especially were the *amas* extolled.[33] Much of the abolition sentiment had its sanction in the affectionate gratitude of young aristocrats whom they had reared.

The rise of the mulatto, as also that of the black, was further favored by the gradual, rather than catastrophic, character of the emancipation process which in Brazil released most of the lower stratum of society from servile status gradually and as individuals, under circumstances favorable to the continuance of those intimate personal ties so highly advantageous to a "new freeman." Moreover, final emancipation was not, as in our South, brought about as an incident of civil strife, and the normal relations which had

[31] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 318.

[32] See Borges dos Reis, "Colonos indigenas e escravos," *Revista do Instituto Geographico e Historico da Bahia*, XXVIII (1902), 61. Note also Alvarengo Peixoto's stanza:

> ". . . . homens de varias accidentes
> pardos, pretos, tintos e tostados
> . . . . os fortes braços feitos ao trabalho."

[33] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 128.

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grown up naturally between the races were never threatened, let alone destroyed, by a program of reconstruction originating from without and imposed by armed conquest. Individual ability, personal ties and family solidarity, instead of external pressure, were the levers of social advancement. The rise of the mixed-blood and of the black in Brazil has always had effectively in its favor those sentiments and personal attachments which primary relations tend normally to develop.

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Such political upheavals as did occur tended to advance the mixed-bloods not as a group but as individuals. Thus the overthrow of the monarchy and the rise of the republic marked a definite break with the rural aristocracy and accelerated the rise of a new class, that of the *bachareis* and the *doutores*, among whom were many mulattoes. And, more recently, the recrystallization of the political structure following the "revolution of 1930" found many Bahian mixed-bloods in positions of trust and responsibility, since the new political "ins," who were diligently seeking to solidify their gains and to establish themselves firmly in power, found it expedient to accept such support as was readily at hand. Again the mixed-bloods figured prominently, not as a group per se but as individuals belonging to an eligible professional class.

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The role of sex and of romantic love should not be overlooked. The sexual attraction which the mulatto male exerted upon daughters of rich and influential European families led quite often to elopement or, occasionally and increasingly, to marriage with parental consent.[14] Similarly,

[14] "The daughters, the *yayas* of the *sobrados*, the *sinhás* of the *casas grandes de engenho*, let themselves be kidnaped by these Don Juans, even by such as were plebeian and of color . . . . Sellin noted the large number of young ladies eloping . . . . during the latter half of the nineteenth century. They were girls whose parents, for reasons of blood or of social position, had

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the mulatto women profited by the myth of the sexual potency of the hybrid,[15] the high mortality of white women (especially during the nineteenth century), and the consequent successive marriages of elderly patriarchs who sought an increasing degree of sexual stimulation. Cases of "marriages of elderly white men from illustrious families, descendants of barons and well situated in life, with beautiful octoroon, quadroon, or mulatto women who carried themselves like fine ladies and gave evidence of a sexual ardor beyond the ordinary,"[16] increasingly occurred.

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Today, the mixed-bloods are gaining a constantly increasing measure of social recognition. Among them are to be found prominent lawyers, jurists, physicians, engineers, politicians, diplomats, priests, educators, business and commercial magnates, musicians, painters, poets, novelists, journalists, planters.[17] In other words, the mulattoes have now penetrated to the top of the class scale.[18]

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not consented to their marriage with men for whom they had come to feel a sentimental or sexual predilection" (*ibid.*, pp. 156-57). Note also the novel *O mulato* (3d ed.; Rio, 1889), by Aluisio de Azevedo, whose hero is a mixed-blood *bachard* educated in Europe and enamored of a white girl from a family "full of prejudices of white purity." Gilberto Freyre calls this book "a human document warm with the life of the time."

[15] A popular saying commonly heard in Bahia is: "A white woman for marriage, a Negro woman for work, a *mulata* for sexual intercourse."

[16] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 337.

[17] See Lacerda, *op. cit.*, pp. 381-82; Manoel de Oliveira Lima, *The Evolution of Brazil Compared with that of Spanish and Anglo-Saxon America* (Palo Alto, 1914), p. 39; Rudiger Bilden, "Laboratory of Civilization," *Nation*, CXXVIII (January 16, 1929), 73; Thomas Ewbank, *Life in Brazil* (New York, 1856), p. 267; Professor and Mrs. Louis Agassis, *A Journey in Brazil* (Boston and New York, 1888), p. 124; Theodore Roosevelt, "Brazil and the Negro," *Outlook*, CVI (February, 1914), 409.

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[18] To accelerate his social climbing, the mixed-blood has developed certain characteristic personality traits: "a pleasant smile and manner, a cordial

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In all probability, the movement was at first largely vertical. When, however, the mixed-blood had gained some economic or professional competence, had definitely established his personal worth, he tended to be recognized as an "exceptional" individual; that is, as a person rather than as a member of a group. As the numbers of these "exceptional" individuals multiplied, the social conventions were subjected to constantly increasing pressure, since it is difficult to treat "exceptional" individuals in situations of intimate social intercourse differently from the way they are treated in intellectual, commercial, or political circles. This "strain for consistency" tends in time to modify conduct.[39]

Thus, as the mixed-bloods rose in class, this upward movement was accompanied by what might be called "horizontal progression." The individual who was rising in rank and establishing himself in the upper intellectual and economic circles began actually to penetrate the "inner sanctuaries" of the more exclusive social groups, breaking down marriage and familial taboos. The class tradition, in so far as it had been fixed by race, gradually began to give way under the irresistible pressure exerted upon it by the rising mulatto group.

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This rise was accompanied by the personal stresses and strains which an individual in the process of moving from one class to another ordinarily experiences. The first mulattoes to penetrate the upper tiers reflected in their personal

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show of hospitality, the use of diminutives as a means of being both respectful and intimate at the same time" (Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, pp. 357–58).

[39] Moreover, class interests tended to become more and more important and eventually to bind members of the same class with common bonds of sentiment, attitude, and idea, and thus to cut across lines of color or of racial descent.

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lives participation in two different, and to some extent antagonistic, worlds which met and fused, so to speak, in their own personalities. They were perhaps, to some extent at least, "marginal men."[40]

The Brazilian mixed-blood was marginal, however, in the cultural rather than in the racial sense. Often he had moved during his lifetime from the lower rungs of the class ladder to the middle or even upper tiers. He had achieved some measure of recognition and was enjoying certain of the advantages of the upper classes. At the same time he was deeply sensitive to his servile origin and to the fact that he inescapably carried with him in his physical characteristics a mark of low status. Thus, Gonçalves Dias was, we are told, throughout his life a melancholy soul. "A wound always bleeding, although hidden under the cloak of a *doutor*. Sensitive to his inferior origin, to the stigma of his color, to his negroid features always shouting at him from his mirror, 'Remember you are a mulatto!' "[41] The mixed-blood became noted for an extravagant use of perfume which seems to have been an overcompensation for the body odor, the so-called *catinga*, or *budum*, reputedly characteristic of the African. At home the mulatto sought to keep out of sight the "*tira-teima* of the family," the relative whose dark color or negroid features too clearly betrayed his "less noble" origin. In an attempt to convince himself and others of his identity with the upper strata, he often developed an "emphatic Aryanism" and became, like Machado de Assis or Olavo Bilac, "a champion of the white against the black."[42]

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[40] See Robert E. Park, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIII (May, 1928), 881; Everett Stonequist, *The Marginal Man* (New York, 1937).

[41] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 320.

[42] *Ibid.*, pp. 335, 355, 363; Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 324.

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It should be noted that, although the light mulattoes have ordinarily set the pace in this struggle to rise and have contributed the bulk of the advancing individuals of color, they have not completely monopolized the advance.[43] They have been followed, and in some notable cases even outdistanced, by individuals from the darker portions of the population. For example, Henrique Dias, the black hero of the expulsion of the Dutch from Pernambuco, was made a member of the nobility and granted membership in the Ordem de Christo.[44] A black is today president of an important intellectual and social institution at Bahia. Another is a member of the most exclusive club. But the appearance of black individuals among the upper classes is still today quite rare. In the attempt to achieve higher standing in the social order, the blacks have had to contend even more decidedly with the handicaps of starting on the bottom and of bearing constantly with them a physical badge of slave ancestry and a symbol of low status.

It is perhaps also true that individuals of African descent, mixed-bloods as well as blacks, have risen in class more slowly than has the Negro in the United States. Being less under the stigma of racial inferiority, the Brazilian blacks and mixed-bloods have naturally had less incentive to demonstrate to a hostile white world their personal competence and ability to achieve. Hence, it is likely that they have been less ambitious, less aggressive, than their northern brothers, and consequently have risen *as a group* less rapidly.

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[43] See Manoel Querino, "Os homens de côr preta na historia," *Revista do Instituto Geographico e Historico da Bahia*, XLVIII (Bahia, 1923), 353–63; see also Augusto Victorino Alves Sacramento Blake, *Dicionario bibliographico brasileiro* (Rio, 1893), II, 452–55.

[44] Heinrich Handelmann, *Historia do Brasil* (Portuguese trans. by the Instituto Historico e Geographico of *Geschichte von Brasilien* [Berlin, 1860]; 2 vols.; Rio, 1931), I, 381.

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CHAPTER VII

THE PRESENT ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE CLASSES IN BAHIAN SOCIETY

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TODAY one finds at Bahia a freely competitive order in which individuals compete for position largely on the basis of personal merit and favorable family circumstance. Individual competence tends to overbalance ethnic origin as a determinant of social status.

However, the darker portion of the population, as we have already noted, have had to contend with the serious handicap that their parents or grandparents or other immediate ancestors began on the bottom as propertyless slaves of the white ruling class and now bear constantly with them, by reason of color and other physical characteristics, indelible badges of this slave ancestry, ineradicable symbols of low status. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the relatively unmixed blacks are still concentrated in the low-pay, low-status employments and that they gradually disappear as one ascends the occupational scale, until in the upper levels they are seldom to be found.

But the mixed-bloods, especially the lighter mulattoes, evidence a strong tendency to climb the occupational ladder. Although the darker individuals still occupy very largely the low-pay employments, the lighter mulattoes tend to be concentrated in the middle tier; while a considerable portion, especially of very light mixed-bloods, or *brancos da Bahia*, as they are sometimes called, have penetrated into the upper strata.

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The whites, as might be anticipated, are concentrated in the upper levels. Their numbers, both absolute and relative, diminish sharply as one descends the occupational scale, and they appear only in small percentages in the lower tiers.

TABLE 8

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION IN THOSE EMPLOYMENTS AT BAHIA IN WHICH BLACKS APPEAR TO BE PREDOMINANT, 1936

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Employment	Sample	Percentage				
		Black*	Mulatto	White	Caboclo§	Total
Carregadores†	100	93.0	7.0	0.0	0.0	100
Laundresses	200	89.5	9.5	0.0	1.0	100
Carroceiros‡	100	83.0	15.0	0.0	2.0	100
Masons	125	82.4	16.8	0.0	0.8	100
Stevedores	125	81.6	15.2	1.6	1.6	100
Truck helpers	250	81.2	18.0	0.8	0.0	100
Domestics	250	78.8	18.8	0.8	1.6	100
Street laborers	225	78.3	21.2	0.5	0.0	100
Candy-peddlers	100	77.0	21.0	1.0	1.0	100
Cobblers	70	74.4	22.8	2.8	0.0	100
Venders	200	68.5	28.0	3.5	0.0	100
Newsboys	100	68.0	31.0	1.0	0.0	100
Shoe-shiners	50	66.0	32.0	2.0	0.0	100
Streetcar motormen	80	60.0	32.5	5.0	2.5	100
Truck-drivers	150	44.7	43.3	10.7	1.3	100

* It is, of course, possible that individuals with some degree of mixture are included in this category. Color and hair texture were the differentials particularly noted.

† *Carregadores* operate at the port, discharging the functions of porters and baggagemen.

‡ Individuals who own a mule and a two-wheeled cart and transport goods about the city are known as *carroceiros*.

§ Indian-Negro mixed-blood.

Of the employments in which relatively unmixed blacks and mulattoes were found to predominate, those in which there appeared to be more blacks than mulattoes (together with the corresponding percentages) were as indicated in Table 8. The mulattoes in each case were predominantly dark mixed-bloods.

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Of the same employments (in which blacks and mulattoes were found to predominate), those in which there appeared to be more mulattoes than unmixed blacks were as indicated in Table 9.

TABLE 9

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION IN THOSE EMPLOYMENTS AT BAHIA IN WHICH MULATTOES APPEAR TO BE PREDOMINANT OVER BLACKS, 1936

Employment	Sample	Percentage				
		Mulatto	Black	White	*Cafuso*	Total
Barbers*	150	74.0	20.0	6.0	0.0	100
Band musicians†	98	68.4	23.5	8.1	0.0	100
Street-sweepers	75	62.7	34.7	2.6	0.0	100
Streetcar *fiscais*‡	50	62.0	24.0	10.0	4.0	100
Streetcar conductors	80	58.8	22.5	16.2	2.5	100
Firemen†	100	58.0	32.0	9.0	1.0	100
Bus *cobradores*§	90	54.5	30.0	12.2	3.3	100
Taxi-drivers	85	54.1	31.8	9.4	4.7	100
Police*	150	54.0	32.6	13.4	0.0	100
Bus-drivers	90	50.0	27.8	17.8	4.4	100
Soldiers†	750	48.1	40.5	11.1	0.3	100

* These mulattoes were predominantly light.
† These mulattoes were predominantly dark.
‡ Individuals who check streetcar conductor's records.
§ *Cobradores* are fare-collectors in some cases, changeboys in others.

Of the employments in which whites and mulattoes appear to be predominant, those in which there appeared to be more mulattoes than whites were as given in Table 10.

Of the same employments (in which whites and mulattoes were found to predominate), those in which there appeared to be more whites than mulattoes were as indicated in Table 11.

Thus, the occupational groups found to be composed probably three-fourths or more of relatively unmixed blacks

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included: *carregadores*, laundresses, masons, stevedores, truck helpers, *carroceiros*, unskilled laborers, domestic servants, and candy-peddlers; those found to be composed perhaps two-thirds or more of blacks (in addition to the foregoing): cobblers, street venders, newsboys, and shoe-shiners; and those composed half or more of blacks (in addition to the above): streetcar motormen.

TABLE 10

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION IN THOSE EMPLOYMENTS AT BAHIA IN WHICH MULATTOES APPEAR TO BE PREDOMINANT OVER WHITES, 1936

Employment	Sample	Percentage			
		Mulatto	White	Black	Total
Army officers:					
Superior*	33	57.6†	42.4	0.0	100
Inferior	38	47.4	34.2	15.8	100‡
Clerks	350	55.1§	44.6	0.3	100

* The range was from lieutenant upward.
† There were only two dark mulattoes.
‡ *Cafuso*, 2.6 per cent.
§ These mixed-bloods were predominantly light.

The occupational groups which appeared to consist half or more of mixed-bloods, included: clerks, barbers, band musicians, army officers (superior), police, firemen, streetcar conductors, streetcar *fiscais*, taxi- and bus-drivers, bus *cobradores*, and street-sweepers. Approximately two-thirds of the band musicians appeared to be mulattoes, and about three-fourths of the barbers.

Among those occupational groups which are composed probably three-fourths or more of whites were found priests,

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bank employees, and businessmen;[1] among those two-thirds white (in addition to the above): professors in the Faculdades, lawyers, politicians, and cabaret entertainers;[2] and among those half or more white (in addition to the groups

TABLE 11

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION IN THOSE EMPLOYMENTS AT BAHIA IN WHICH WHITES APPEAR TO BE PREDOMINANT, 1936

Employment	Sample	Percentage				
		White	Mulatto	Black	*Brancos da Bahia*	Total
Bank employees	125	84.0	2.4	0.0	13.6	100
Priests	50	76.0	8.0	0.0	16.0	100
Businessmen	40	75.0	7.5	0.0	17.5	100
Cabaret entertainers	26	73.1	11.5	0.0	15.4	100
Professors (Faculdades)	232	70.3	14.2	0.0	15.5	100
Lawyers	433	67.1	9.7	1.7	15.2	100*
Politicians	60	66.7	11.6	1.7	18.3	100†
Physicians	100	63.0	20.0	1.0	16.0	100
Teachers (secondary)	58	57.0	24.1	3.4	15.5	100
Commercial employees	325	54.8	27.4	1.6	15.3	100‡
Government *funcionarios*	250	45.2	32.8	5.6	16.0	100§

* Indian-white descent, 0.7 per cent; Indian-Negro descent, 0.7 per cent; white-Negro-Indian descent, 0.5 per cent; incomplete records, 4.4 per cent.

† *Mameluco* (white-Indian mixed-blood), 1.7 per cent.

‡ *Mameluco*, 0.6 per cent; *cafuzo*, 0.3 per cent.

§ *Mameluco*, 0.4 per cent.

just named): physicians, commercial and government employees, and teachers in the secondary schools.

Of the first 500 *brancos* applying in 1935 at the Gabinete

[1] If *brancos da Bahia* are included in the white group, one would have to add cabaret entertainers, professors (advanced schools), politicians, lawyers, and physicians.

[2] If *brancos da Bahia* are included, one would have to add physicians, teachers in the secondary schools, and commercial employees.

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de Identificação for cards of identification, 292 were males. Of these, 213 were classified as students, 17 as businessmen, 11 as salesmen, 8 as government clerks, 8 as commercial employees, 5 as soldiers, 4 as teachers, 4 as hucksters, 3 as peddlers (a Rumanian Jew, a Pole, and a Spaniard), 3 as bus *cobradores*, 2 as engineers, 2 as house servants, and 1 each as carpenter, printer, auto mechanic, sailor, ship's engineer, tailor, musician (instrumental), vocalist, magistrate, laborer, farmer, and *proprietario* (one whose income is derived from rentals). Of the 208 females, 170 were classified as students, 24 as teachers, 7 as government clerks, 5 as housewives, 1 as vocalist, and 1 as typist.

Of the first 500 *pardos*, 244 were males. Of these, 90 were classified as students, 44 as peddlers, 25 as soldiers, 13 as commercial employees, 9 as mechanics, 7 as operators of bakeries, 7 as *carregadores*, 7 as shopkeepers, 6 as farmers, 4 as shoemakers, 3 as orchestra players, 3 as teachers, 2 as barbers, 2 as gardeners, 2 as house servants, 2 as beggars,[3] 2 as masons, 2 as bus *cobradores*, 2 as sailors, 2 as shoe-shiners, and 1 each as salesman, painter, carpenter, ironworker, tinsmith, vulcanizer, tailor, butcher, waiter, and truck-gardener. Of 256 females, 214 were classified as students, 30 as teachers, 4 as housewives, 2 as dressmakers, and 1 each as embroidery worker, designer, house servant, and beggar.

Of the first 155 *pretos*, 125 were males. Of these, 17 were classified as students, 51 as hucksters, 17 as *carregadores*, 8 as soldiers, 4 as bus *cobradores*, 3 as farmers, 4 as bakers, 2 as mechanics, 2 as masons, 2 as shoemakers, and 1 each as commercial employee, small shopkeeper, government clerk, decorator, hairdresser, pianist, jazz orchestra player, ironworker, leather worker, cabinet-maker, *carroceiro*, house

[3] *Mendicantes.*

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servant, sailor, farmer, and shoe-shiner. Of the 30 females, 23 were classified as students, 2 as teachers, 2 as housewives, and 1 each as street peddler, domestic servant, and government clerk.

Inferences based upon this occupational distribution, together with certain other indices (such as tax returns, automobile ownership, the purchase of different-priced seats at cinemas and sport events), indicate that blacks and the darker mixed-bloods ordinarily occupy the lower economic levels, the medium and light mulattoes the middle position, and the whites (including the *brancos da Bahia*) the upper stratum. 563* 434

A Bahian official engaged in income-tax collections knew of no rich blacks in the city,[4] but he did know of several well-to-do mixed-bloods, among whom were a few dark mulattoes. Most incomes in the upper brackets, however, are those of whites. [556]

Of 116 cars being driven along the central thoroughfare, the Rua Chile, during a popular festival, in 90, or 77.6 per cent of the total, only whites were riding; in 26, or 22.4 per cent, mixed-bloods were among the occupants;[5] while no cars were occupied by blacks. However, on a similar occasion, of 50 cars noted, 2 were occupied exclusively by blacks. 563* 162 493

At a cinema performance, of 63 persons occupying *poltronas* at 2$200 a seat, 73 per cent were whites, 20.6 per cent 563* 162 546

[4] Although at Ilhéos in the rich cocoa area south of Bahia a few blacks and dark mulattoes are quite well to do. For a sketch of life in this region see Jorge Amado, *Cacau* (Rio, 1933).

[5] The 6 cars in which only mulattoes were riding constituted 5.2 per cent of the total (only 1 car was occupied by dark mulattoes); the 19 cars in which both whites and mulattoes were riding constituted 16.3 per cent of the total (3 cars were occupied principally by *brancos da Bahia*, 16 by whites, with only one or two light mulattoes in each case); 1 car (0.9 per cent of the total) contained one black and five dark mulattoes.

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were mulattoes, and only 6.4 per cent were relatively unmixed blacks; while, of 30 occupants of general admission seats at one-half this price, only 20 per cent were whites, 40 per cent were mulattoes, and 40 per cent were blacks. Among spectators at a Sunday-afternoon soccer game, one noted the distribution as given in Table 12.

Of five hundred mothers applying for aid at the state's free children's clinic, only 9.2 per cent were white, 40.6 per

TABLE 12

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF SPECTATORS AT A SPORTS EVENT,* BAHIA, 1936

Seats	Price (in Milreis)	Occupants	Percentage			
			Blacks	Mulattoes	Whites	Total
Reserved	10	143	2.1	23.8†	74.1	100
Grandstand	7	267	4.1	29.4†	66.5	100
General admission	3	519	51.1	39.9‡	9.0	100

* *Futebol* (soccer), Campo da Graça, March 22, 1936.

† Chiefly light mulattoes, many of whom were very light with only slight traces of Negro lineage.

‡ Principally dark mulattoes.

cent were mulatto, predominantly dark, and 44.5 per cent appeared to be relatively unmixed blacks.[6] Of 1,511 photographs displayed in eleven photograph galleries, 73.2 per cent were probably of white individuals, 24.9 per cent of mixed-bloods, and only 1.7 per cent of unmixed blacks.[7]

In interpreting this ethnic distribution in the occupations and according to financial means, one might point out that

[6] The remaining 5.7 per cent were *cafuso* (21 individuals), *branco da Bahia* (2 individuals), *mameluco* (2 individuals), and of Indian-white-Negro descent (1 individual).

[7] In addition, 0.2 per cent were *cafuso*.

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the present social order at Bahia results, as it probably does in a free class society anywhere, from the tendency of the more advantaged and the more able to rise to, or to maintain themselves at, the top. Since the Africans began in Brazil at the bottom, the present distribution of color through the class scale obviously indicates the extent to which the Negroes (either pure or diluted) have been able to survive and to rise in competition with the Europeans and their descendants, who in the main began at the top. The present distribution is therefore that probably to be expected, even in a freely competitive society, given the original slave status of the Negro, his relatively disadvantaged position upon receiving freedom, the consequently limited opportunities for economic advancement, and the comparatively brief time he has enjoyed a freely competitive status.

One might also note that racial distribution in the occupations and with reference to economic status is not greatly dissimilar at Bahia to that in the United States. In other words, the Negro, either pure or mixed with the white, has slowly but steadily advanced both in Brazil and in this country, until today he is represented there and here in all the professions and in many, if not most, of the occupations. Even the relative numbers in the different levels of the occupational and economic scales are somewhat similar in the two cases.

The differences, however, are profound. Whereas in the United States the rise of the Negro and of the mixed-blood has been principally within the limits of the Negro world, in Brazil the rise has been with reference to the total community; that is, the Negro in Bahia not only competes freely with all others of his own color but can and does compete with all aspirants to the same class; and, if he has ability and

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563 171 571 gives evidence of definite personal worth, he will be accepted for what he is as an individual, and his racial antecedents will, at least to a considerable degree, be overlooked.

The extent of participation of the different ethnic units in the total life of the community may be indicated by analyzing racial participation in such institutions as exclusive clubs, schools, labor unions, and churches.

* 563 571 575 565 One of Bahia's most exclusive clubs, membership in which is definitely indicative of advanced social status, is composed of Bahian "society," including most of the leading officials and many of the more prominent citizens. Numerous receptions for visiting celebrities are held at this club, and its dances are considered to be among the principal social functions of the year. No blacks have yet been admitted, although several mixed-bloods, including a number of *brancos da Bahia* and even a few dark mulattoes, are regular and honored members. Whites, of course, predominate.

* 563 571 575 463 759 554 Among the members is a dark mixed-blood, with Caucasian hair and features, a prominent citizen, an able eye, ear, nose, and throat specialist trained in Europe, and husband of a white wife. Of him a Bahian of undiluted European descent once commented, "You know when I went to see him about my eyes the other day, I never once thought of him as colored. I needed professional advice and I simply recalled that he, like his father before him, was the best eye specialist in Bahia." Another member of this club is a dark mixed-blood, a wealthy exporter, prominent in Bahian commercial circles, and husband of a white wife, upon whose visits into the interior, it is said, all those with whom he has business dealings (including whites) feel deeply honored when he visits them in their homes.

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Not listed among the members is a dark mixed-blood of distinguished bearing, probably Bahia's leading colored citizen, son of a white planter and a black slave, able engineer, once federal senator, president of an important intellectual and social organization, and "authority" on the Tupi language. However, an officer of the club, a white banker from one of the leading families whose aristocratic lineage, general competence, and recent contribution of a governor to the state and a federal senator to the national *Câmara* unquestionably admits its members to the most exclusive circles, once remarked that "if this distinguished colored citizen should sometime apply for membership, there would be no doubt that a man of his intelligence, refinement, and professional competence would be accepted without serious question."

In the schools there is no segregation in any form. Students, however, are predominantly white and light mulatto. The participation of blacks is somewhat limited, and there is a progressive elimination of the darker shades as one climbs the educational ladder. Illiteracy is high, especially in the lower class, in which, as we have seen, blacks and dark mulattoes predominate.

Table 13 indicates more equable participation of the blacks in the elementary schools, especially in those which are state supported, attendance at which is free and hence more accessible to Negro children, concentrated as their parents are in the lower economic levels.

In a parade of school children celebrating Emancipation Day (the thirteenth of May) twelve elementary schools participated, each group being dressed in its distinctive uniform. For example, the boys of one school wore light gray suits with a blue stripe down the trousers, blue belts, and

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gray caps with blue bands; while the girls wore light gray dresses with blue belts, blue collars, and blue cuffs. Of approximately 325 pupils in the parade, about two-sevenths were black, two-sevenths white, and three-sevenths mulatto, indiscriminately mingled. In eight schools, the proportions were not greatly dissimilar. Two schools, however, were

TABLE 13

COMPARATIVE SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OF THE ETHNIC UNITS AT BAHIA, 1936

School	No. of Schools Sampled	Black	Mulatto	White	Others	Total
Elementary:						
Public	22	438	496	385	16*	1,335
Private	8	40	97	175	3†	315
Parochial	6	31	88	318	13‡	450
Secondary	5§	34	99	390	2‖	525
Superior (Faculties of Law, Medicine, Engineering)	3	12	88	424	6¶	530
Trade	3	88	122	123	2**	335
Normal	1	45	83	157	0	285

* *Cafuso*, 9; *mameluco*, 7.
† *Cafuso*, 12; *mameluco*, 1.
‡ *Cafuso*, 5; *mameluco*, 8.
§ One public, 2 private, 2 ecclesiastical.
‖ *Cafuso*, 2.
¶ *Cafuso*, 2; *mameluco*, 4.
** *Cafuso*, 1; *mameluco*, 1.

principally black and mixed-blood (in one of which there were 16 blacks, 34 mulattoes, 8 whites); and two schools were largely white (in one of which there were 25 whites, 8 mulattoes, and 5 blacks).

During the 1936 Peruada, which is an annual *festa* held by students at the Faculdades, of 168 individuals participating in a parade, 3 per cent were black, 10 per cent were mulatto, and 87 per cent were white.

At the graduating exercises of one of the Faculdades, no

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black families were present. The guests were principally white, including a number of *brancos da Bahia*. A few mulattoes, principally light, also attended. A dark mixed-blood assisted with the ushering, in the course of which he led two of his relatives (young light mulatto ladies) to excellent seats well to the front. Later, as the room became crowded, he was seen to request two white men to give up their seats to two other mulatto ladies. The request was courteously complied with. When, during the subsequent formal ceremonies, this dark mixed-blood received his diploma, he was given by his fellow-students (chiefly whites) a vigorous round of applause, he being one of the few so honored. "He is a fine man with a brilliant mind," remarked a white colleague.

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A number of teachers, particularly in the elementary and secondary institutions, are mixed-bloods, but the greater number are whites. Although 120 of 148 white students responding to an inquiry regarding the matter did not object to being taught by a *preto* teacher, black instructors are rare and are limited, with few exceptions, to the elementary ranks. This is, in all probability, largely due to the fact that comparatively few blacks have so far received educational advantages equal to the whites.

For instance, of 232 instructors at the four Faculdades (Law, Medicine, Engineering, and Economics), none was black; 163, or 70.3 per cent, were white; 36, or 15.5 per cent, were *branco da Bahia;* and 31, or 13.4 per cent, were mulatto.[8] Of 69 *professores cathedraticos*, 54, or 78.3 per cent, were white; 10, or 14.5 per cent, were mulatto; 5, or 7.2 per cent, were *branco da Bahia;* and none was black. Of 5 profes-

[8] One was an Indian-Negro mixed-blood, and one was of Indian-white descent.

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sors honored as *paranymphos*,[9] all were white. Of 21 faculty members honored with *homenagem*,[10] 6 were mulattoes (2 quite negroid), 1 was *branco da Bahia*, 14 were whites, and none was black.

In a prominent secondary institution, of 18 instructors, 1 was a black, 5 were mulattoes, 3 were *brancos da Bahia*, and 9 were whites. In another secondary school, of 33 instructors, 7 were mulattoes, 6 were *brancos da Bahia*, and 20 were whites. While of 30 elementary teachers noted in state schools, 3 were blacks, 10 were mulattoes, 6 were *brancos da Bahia*, 1 was a *mameluco*, and 10 were whites.

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In educational circles one often hears of a dark mixed-blood of distinguished bearing with snow-white hair and beard who organized some years ago one of the present secondary institutions and whose two sons are well-known and widely respected educators. Several whites now prominent in local and national circles speak with pride of their schooling under this distinguished man.

A similar attitude is not infrequently manifested with reference to other colored teachers or professors; for instance, a prominent medical specialist and noted lecturer at the Faculty of Medicine; a legal "authority" and author of textbooks in law, now associate justice of the Brazilian supreme court; a prominent nerve specialist; a noted surgeon; and the city's ablest and most quoted literary critic.

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In a private elementary school a class of boys ranging in age from seven to eleven years were being taught by a Negro teacher. Among the group were two whites, one *branco da*

[9] Each graduating class in the secondary and professional schools selects one of its more popular teachers or professors for special recognition as *paranympho*.

[10] Graduating classes also select, besides a *paranympho*, several teachers or professors to be honored with *homenagem*.

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Bahia, one mulatto, and three blacks. Several substantial white citizens had received their early training under this man.

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The public library is patronized indiscriminately by members of all ethnic groups. Blacks, however, appear among its frequenters only in rather limited numbers. For instance, of 560 individuals using the library facilities on different days and at different hours during the day,[11] only 9.6 per cent were blacks, while 35.9 per cent were mulattoes and 52.7 per cent were whites.[12]

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In labor unions organization definitely follows class lines, and ethnic differences are largely lost sight of in the pursuit of common ends. Leadership, however, tends to be white or near-white, even in those unions composed predominantly of blacks and dark mixed-bloods. For instance, at a "solemn assembly" for the installation of new officers in a local labor union whose membership, limited to 550, is overwhelmingly Negro (as indicated by a detailed check of the members with the aid of the union secretary), the retiring president was a *branco da Bahia* and the incoming president a light mulatto. Only eleven *brancos* (probably all, or nearly all, of whom are *brancos da Bahia*) and relatively few mulattoes are to be found among the membership.[13]

[11] Samples were taken for each hour from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M., with the exception of 12:00 noon to 2:00 P.M., when the institution was closed.

[12] Also 7 (1.2 per cent) *cafusos*, 3 (0.5 per cent) *mamelucos*.

[13] Of the speakers, 6 were blacks, 5 were mulattoes (2 quite light), 1 was a *branco da Bahia*, and 1 was a white. Among the themes presented were: "Solidarity! All Workers Are Brothers!" "Since the Revolution of 1930 Workers Are No Longer Slaves"; "Viva Getulio Vargas, the God, the Jesus, and the Senhor do Bomfim [patron saint of Bahia's poorer classes] of the Workers!" "Remember the Chicago Workers Who Died for Liberty!" "Save Brazil's Wealth from Exploitation by *Norte-Americanos* Who Hope To Seize Her Mines and Her Waterfalls and Make Slaves of Her People!" "Look to the World's Greatest Socialist and Sociologist, Jesus Christ."

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In the churches, both Catholic and Protestant, one notes the side-by-side, unsegregated worship of all ranges of the color scale. For instance, out of 927 worshipers present one Sunday morning[14] at the Matriz Nossa Senhora de Sant' Anna, 277 were blacks, 327 were mulattoes, 312 were whites, 9 were *cafusos*, and 2 were *mamelucos*. At the ancient and historic Igreja do Carmo on another occasion,[15] of 227 persons attending Mass, 34 were blacks, 109 were mulattoes, and 84 were whites. At the famed São Francisco Church one Sunday morning,[16] of 470 worshipers, 124 were blacks, 187 were mulattoes, and 159 were whites. At Santo Antonio da Barra on another Sunday,[17] of a total of 177 persons present, 74 were blacks, 52 were mulattoes, and 48 were whites. One of the best-dressed audiences in the city, at the Convento de Piedade, numbered,[18] among a total of 285, 52 blacks and 64 mulattoes.

Of a total of 7,396 worshipers in thirty-eight Catholic churches, cathedrals, and chapels scattered throughout the city, including (in addition to the foregoing) the Matriz da Vitoria, the Mosteiro de São Bento, the Cathedral, the Matrix de Nazaré, the Basilica do Bomfim, Conceição da Praia, Campo Santo, Rosario de João Pereira, Barroquinha, Palma, Ajuda, Pillar, Conceição do Boqueirão, and the Matriz do Rio Vermelho, 25 per cent were blacks, 33.3 per cent were mulattoes, and 40.8 per cent whites,[19] the various ethnic groups being in each case indiscriminately represented throughout the audience. A similar distribution was

[14] July 26, 1936, 9:00–10:30 A.M.

[15] August 2, 1936, 8:30 A.M.

[16] August 16, 1936, 8:15 A.M.

[17] January 5, 1936.

[18] January 12, 1936, 9:00 A.M.

[19] Absolute numbers: black, 1,846; mulatto, 2,462; white, 3,019; *cafuso* 30; *mameluco*, 19.

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noted in two Protestant churches, one Baptist, the other Presbyterian. Of a total of 157 worshipers, 27.4 per cent were blacks, 29.9 per cent were mulattoes, and 42.7 per cent were whites, seated indiscriminately, in each case.

Although 104 of 130 white students responding to an inquiry regarding the matter did not object to receiving the sacrament from a black priest, priests and pastors are usually white, only occasionally mulatto (ordinarily light), and very rarely black. For instance, of 43 priests officiating at Mass, 42, or 98 per cent, were white, and 1 was a mulatto, quite light. Of 60 novices at the Seminary of Santa Thereza, only 7 were mulattoes, 1 very dark.[20] Of the 2 Protestant pastors, 1 was white, the other a dark mulatto. In the latter's audience were over a score of whites. 563* 793

Altar boys are often mulattoes, occasionally blacks. For instance, of 70 altar boys seen assisting with Mass, 35, or 50 per cent, were whites; 3 were *brancos da Bahia;* 20, or 28.6 per cent, were mulattoes; and 11, or 15.7 per cent, were blacks. 563* 794

A similarly mixed participation may be noted in meetings of the spiritualist cult. At a session of the União Espirita Bahiana, for instance, of 73 persons present, 20 were blacks, 26 were mulattoes, and 27 were whites.[21] Among the leaders gathered about a table in front of the audience, 2 were whites, 2 were *brancos da Bahia*, 1 was a mulatto, and 2 were blacks.

In noting the circumstances under which the Brazilian racial accommodation has taken and is taking place, one ought not to overlook the fact that Catholic ideas and practice, permeating as they do very largely the whole moral order at 563* 795

[20] One *mamaluco*, 52 whites. [21] Also 1 *cafuso*.

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563 795 [571] Bahia, tend to implement and to support the Brazilian racial policy. For the Catholic church, by emphasizing ritual, centers attention *outside the individual* upon common objects; while the Protestant churches, by emphasizing belief, center attention *upon the individual*, thus tending to increase self-consciousness and, consequently, awareness of difference which, in so far as the self and its distinguishing characteristics are identified with a group, automatically increases *group*-consciousness.

795 571 The Catholic conceptions tend to lay emphasis upon the community, upon the totality of individuals. For it is through his participation in the community that the individual in the Catholic view gains recognition as a person. The Protestant churches, on the other hand, tend to emphasize the individual. It is by reason of his inherent worth that the community in which he participates gains meaning in the Protestant ideology.

The Catholic procedure thus tends to unify the community, while the Protestant procedure tends to divide it into separate groups, each of which emphasizes its points of difference with all the others and tends to be divisive in its attitude toward the others. Obviously, a sect (which is by its very nature a conflict group) can in no other way live. The Catholic procedure lays a premium upon solidarity, while the Protestant lays a premium upon diversity.

563 857 Indicative of race relations among the younger generation at Bahia is the behavior of three groups of children who were observed playing together in Campo Grande. Aged approximately four to fifteen years, they were hilariously enjoying themselves. When first noted, there were at the "giant stride" 4 blacks, 5 mulattoes, and 2 whites. At the teeter-totter were 1 black, 9 mulattoes, and 15 whites. At

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the garden swing were 11 blacks, 8 mulattoes, and 7 whites. 563 *
There was considerable moving about from group to group. 857
In the garden of the governor's palace a similar band, aged about seven to thirteen years, were laughing and shouting together around another teeter-totter. Among them were 3 blacks, 5 mulattoes, and 4 whites. "Beginning with his earliest years," wrote a white student, "a child in Bahia is accustomed to associating with all racial types without any distinction being made between them."

In Campo da Graça[22] 6 whites and 5 mulattoes (one of 563*
whom was quite dark) composed the team of the Faculty of 526
Law in a soccer game with the Faculty of Medicine (among whom were 7 whites, 3 mulattoes, and 1 black). In the subsequent professional contest 9 whites, 4 mulattoes, and 4 blacks composed the visiting team from São Paulo, coached by a *cafuso*. Bahia's colors were upheld by 2 whites, 5 mulattoes, 9 blacks, and 1 *cafuso*. The referee was a *branco da Bahia*.

At an informal basketball game played on an outdoor court at the Fortress of São Pedro, a black and 4 mulattoes composed one team; a black, 2 mulattoes, and 2 whites, the other. The referee was a black.

At a tea dance given at Bahia's most exclusive club in 563*
honor of Getulio Vargas, president of Brazil, the city's most 574
distinguished citizens and their families, to an approximate [535]
total of 600, were present. No blacks were among the guests, and only 28 individuals were noticeably negroid, 6 of whom were dark mulattoes. At a banquet subsequently given the President, all individuals seated at his table were white. A number of mixed-bloods, however, principally light mulattoes, were among the guests. Two of the six speakers at the

[22] On March 22, 1936.

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Two of the six speakers at the dedicatory exercises for the newly constructed Instituto de Cacau on the following day were *brancos da Bahia* (each with only slight indications of Negro ancestry), and four were whites.

During the visit of a neighboring governor, a procession formed in the Avenida Sete de Setembro to escort the distinguished visitor, together with the Bahian governor, Juracy Magalhães, to the latter's palace. Riding in the procession, alighting in front of the palace, and following the two chief executives into the spacious rooms of the governor's mansion, were presumably the city's political élite, all in formal attire. Of a total of 99 persons, 70 were whites, 22 were very light mulattoes with only slightly noticeable traces of Negro lineage, 7 were dark mulattoes, and none was black. Of the escort of 23 army officials dressed in appropriate uniform, 9 were whites, 12 were very light mulattoes, 2 were dark mixed-bloods.

Of 46 members of the state legislature, 69.4 per cent were whites, 15.2 per cent were *brancos da Bahia*, and 11.0 per cent were mulattoes.[23] Of 14 aldermen, 8 were whites, 4 were *brancos da Bahia*, and 2 were mulattoes (both very light).

In legal proceedings no discrimination is at all evident. Colored individuals appear not only among the defendants but also among those engaged in the defense or the prosecution, as well as among the jury itself. Whites, however, predominate.

Of the officers of the medical association, 6 were whites, 3 were *brancos da Bahia*, and 3 were mulattoes. Of 18 members of an elective supervisory body for the legal profession, 14 were whites, 3 were *brancos da Bahia*, and only 1 had noticeable evidence of mixed ancestry and that principally

[23] One deputy was a black, and there was also 1 *mameluco*.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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in pigmentation. An able lawyer, with an extended period of practice in Bahia, he was well regarded by his associates.

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At a formal dinner given by *A Tarde*, probably the most influential Bahian daily, in honor of a noted journalist and poet, 15 whites, 4 *brancos da Bahia*, 3 light mulattoes, and 6 medium or dark mixed-bloods sat down together at the banquet table. Among the guests, according to the account on the subsequent day, were "all the editorial writers and collaborators of this newspaper, together with a few specially invited friends and admirers of the honored guest [a white]."

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Among the members attending a session of the Bahian Academy of Letters were 5 whites, 1 *branco da Bahia*, and 3 mulattoes. One of the latter is an able poet, quite dark, with kinky hair.

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Present at a tea dance given by Bahia's Girl Guides at the exclusive club previously mentioned were the city's social élite, including the governor. *A Tarde*, in reporting the event, said, "As was to be expected, there was present our best society—all of it, almost—making the occasion one of elegance and distinction." Of the 414 guests, 346 were whites, 64 were very light mulattoes (exhibiting only slight traces of Negro ancestry), and 3 were dark mixed-bloods. One of the latter, with kinky hair but Caucasian features, was accompanied by a light mulatto wife, almost white, and two light mulatto daughters. One of the latter danced once during the afternoon—with a white youth. Of 30 Girl Guides serving the guests, 3 showed slight traces of Negro origin. The only blacks present were the members of the jazz orchestra (composed of 3 blacks and 6 dark mulattoes) and 2 maids who had accompanied white families.

[533] [357]

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The president of a literary, semiscientific, and social or-

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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*563 571 575 ganization which numbers about 345[24] of the city's intellectual élite, is a dark mixed-blood, the able engineer and Tupi scholar previously mentioned. The secretary of the organization is white, but during his absence on federal appointment in Rio the assistant secretary, a dark mulatto educator, discharges the secretarial duties. Of the 30 officers and committeemen of this institution, 24 are whites, 2 are *brancos da Bahia*, and 4 are mulattoes. Among the whites are several scions of the old aristocracy.

*563 574 575 At a dinner of the Rotary Club, which numbers among its members some of the city's most prominent businessmen, 42 whites, 5 *brancos da Bahia*, and 1 very light mulatto (a visitor) were present. The guest speaker was white. Of 55 members, 47 are whites, 6 are *brancos da Bahia*, and 2 are very light mulattoes.

*563 575 Of 28 citizens assuming prominent roles in a community organization designed to erect a mausoleum to Castro Alves, 15 were whites, 5 were *brancos da Bahia*, 7 were light mulattoes, 2 were dark mulattoes, and 1 was a black, the latter an able engineer and local historian. At a public meeting in honor of Castro Alves, the speaker was a white politician with a national reputation, an able man of letters, and scion of the old aristocracy. Of 200 individuals in the audience, only 18 were colored (15 mulattoes, mostly very light mixed-bloods, and 3 blacks).

*563 545 At a recital given by a noted Brazilian pianist, where there were present, according to a newspaper account, "the most select of Bahia's artistic and social circles,"[25] the audience was composed of 116 whites, 14 mulattoes, predominantly light, and 2 blacks.

[24] According to the secretary of the organization.

[25] *Estado da Bahia*, January 22, 1937.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Carlos Gomes, famed Brazilian composer of the operas *Guaraný* and *Fosca*, 389 Bahians gathered in the Instituto Geographico e Historico. Of these, 316 were whites, 61 were mulattoes (predominately light), 11 were blacks, and 1 was a *cafuso*. With the governor of Bahia (white) on the platform were 12 citizens in formal dress, all whites[26] except the governor's bodyguard, a light mulatto in army uniform. Two young ladies in formal dress, both white, sang and declaimed. Of the 3 subsequent speakers, 2 were whites and 1 was a *branco da Bahia*. The military police band, which furnished instrumental music for the occasion, was composed of 9 blacks, 26 mulattoes, 2 whites, 3 *cafusos*, and 1 *mameluco*, under the direction of a mulatto bandmaster. Fifty students from the Instituto de Musica da Bahia sang one of Gomes' compositions. All were whites, except 2 light mulattoes.

563* 527. [635] [544] [701] [533]

Twenty-one women, aged eighteen to forty, were present at a cooking school sponsored by a foreign resident. A novel experience in Bahia, where for generations Negro servants have prepared the food, this school had assumed somewhat the character of a fad. The group included several ladies from upper-class families, well to do, educated and traveled. The wife of the governor occasionally attended. Present were 18 whites and 3 light mulattoes, among the latter a *morena*, perhaps the best-dressed lady of the group. Her father is deceased, and her mother is a dressmaker in moderate circumstances. The girl's beauty, pleasant manner, and constant well-tailored appearance have secured for her admittance into the upper circles. She is often invited into the "best" homes. Another of the mixed-bloods present was

563* 874 [252] [357]

[26] Including one *branco da Bahia*.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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*563 874 [555] [565] very light. Her mother is a *sarará*, her grandmother is a dark mulatto with kinky hair, and her husband is also a dark mixed-blood. Her family, it is said, has gradually risen from the lower class by reason of constantly taking advantage of every educational opportunity, by increasing their economic competence, and by deliberately cultivating "good manners."

*563 547 535 At a "night club," where there were gambling, liquid refreshments, and partners for dancing, of 128 guests,[27] 62 were whites, 40 were *brancos da Bahia*, 21 were mulattoes (several quite dark), 1 was a *cafuso*, and 4 were blacks. Of the 26 female entertainers (dancers and singers), 19 were whites,[28] 4 were *brancas da Bahia*, and 3 were mulattoes (all very light). None of the darker patrons danced during the evening.

*563 547 525 In the main gambling-room the group about the table were principally whites, with a few light mulattoes and an occasional dark mixed-blood. In the hallway near the entrance, however, was another gaming-table where stakes were lower. It was patronized principally by dark mulattoes, together with an occasional black, a few *brancos da Bahia*, and very few whites.

796 204 Carnival at Bahia lasts three days and is perhaps the most popular festival of the year. At the close of one celebration plans are immediately set on foot for the next. From time to time throughout the ensuing twelve months, newspapers carry reports of the development of these plans, and, beginning about a hundred and fifty days before Carnival, a regular daily feature appears, the time before the big event being checked off, day by day, much as United States newspapers sometimes check off the days preceding Christmas; except

[27] On September 26, 1936. [28] Including a very swarthy Syrian girl.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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that the period of time involved is much greater in the case of Carnival.

In 1936, as for some years previously, three clubs competed in presenting floats on the opening and closing evenings of Carnival. The rivalries, especially between Cruz Vermelha and the Fantoshes, are intense, the Innocentes em Progresso appearing to be rather generally admired. 796 575 [578]

Preceding, during, and following the parade, Negro *batucadas* and *cordões* pass through the milling crowds. The *batucadas* are usually composed of fifteen to twenty young men, invariably blacks or dark mulattoes, who carry small drums, *cuicas*, and *xaque-xaques*,[29] and parade in single file. The music is one toned and monotonous, reminiscent of the *candomblé* ritual. A *cordão* consists of fifty or sixty people of both sexes and all ages, invariably blacks and dark mulattoes, inclosed within a roped quadrangle, some marching, rather informally, some constantly whirling and dancing, all singing African songs and beating their palms. A banner, usually of silk and velvet, bears the group's name. It may be Outum Obá de Africa, Ideal Africano, Onça,[30] or some similar designation. The group also includes from ten to fifteen musicians with brass instruments, a few blacks in African costume, and a dancer bearing an animal's head (tiger, lion, *onça*, etc.). The women and the small children are usually dressed in the *Bahiana* costume, to be described in detail in a subsequent chapter. [533]

In a spirit of levity common to the Carnival season, one will occasionally see a group of whites and light mulattoes burlesquing the *cordão*. Encompassed by a rope, they pass through the crowd, singing, dancing, and beating their palms. In one of these *blocos*, as they are called, 16 of the 563* 796

[29] See chap. ix. [30] The *onça* is the Brazilian jaguar.

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participants were whites and 12 were mulattoes, all light except one. There were no blacks. Whereas in a *cordão* noted, 24 were blacks, 19 were dark mulattoes, and none were whites. In 9 *batucadas*, of a total of 157 young men, 113, or 72 per cent, were blacks; 40, or 25.5 per cent, were mulattoes, all dark except one (who, although light of skin, had kinky hair); 3 were *cafusos*, and only 1 was white.

In the milling, dancing, singing crowd one ordinarily sees whites with whites, blacks and dark mulattoes with blacks and dark mulattoes, the exceptions being that a white occasionally accompanies a group of dark mulattoes and blacks, while *brancos da Bahia* and light mulattoes are often to be seen with whites. For instance, three young men, abreast, arms over each other's shoulders, danced past, singing their way into, and through, the crowd. One was a light mulatto, one a *branco da Bahia*, one a white. About twenty girls in single file danced past, each with her hands on the shoulders of the one in front, all singing, the line weaving in and out of the crowd. Among them whites and light mulattoes were indiscriminately mingled; the leader of the group was a light mulatto.

If one notes carefully the individuals who perform various functions in the Carnival parade, he is likely to find the blacks principally occupied with the menial task of guiding the horses which pull the floats, although occasionally they act as escorts or musicians. The "queen" of the Carnival and the "queens" of the Carnival clubs are all whites, the heralds are whites, as also, with rare exceptions, are the girls on the floats. For instance, of 168 young ladies from Bahia's "best" families on the floats in the Carnival parade of 1936, all were whites except 2, and these were very light mulattoes (see Table 14).

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The entire racial and cultural situation at Bahia is thus symbolized in the Carnival celebration. The *cordão* points to the persistence of African survivals, adherence to which still isolates to some extent the darker portion of the population. The young blacks and dark mulattoes who parade solemnly, quite self-consciously in the long files of the *batucadas*, represent those youths who, although they have in large measure

TABLE 14

PARTICIPATION BY ETHNIC UNITS
CARNIVAL PARADE, BAHIA, 1936

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	Black	Mulatto	White	*Cafuso*	Total
Club sponsors (in autos)	13	67	73	1	154
Heralds	.....	.....	3	.....	3
Horsemen	14	47	42	.....	103
Horsewomen	.....	.....	16	.....	16
Trumpeters	13	.....	1	.....	14
Bandsmen	45	51	5	.....	101
Squires	111	5	1	.....	117
Girls on floats	.....	2	166	.....	168
Men on floats	.....	4	14	.....	18
Queens	.....	.....	3	.....	3
Pages	5	14	8	.....	27
Escorts	6	.....	4	.....	10
Truck-drivers	1	.....	.....	.....	1
Total	208	190	336	1	735

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broken with the African cultural forms of their parents or grandparents, have not yet been entirely incorporated into the European world. Whites and light mulattoes dance together and sing their way through the milling crowds. While most of the blacks and dark mulattoes, neither identified with the African tradition to the extent of participating in the *cordões* nor yet sufficiently established in class to move freely in the white world, merely mill about.

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563 This is the general pattern. The exceptions, however, are
796 significant. One occasionally notes, for instance, a darker person participating, apparently without any inhibition or the slightest show of self-consciousness, in the fun of the lighter groups. He ordinarily is an able individual, as evidenced by general appearance, bearing, and speech. Occasionally a white, in appearance and dress evidently of lower-class identity, will be celebrating with black or dark mulatto companions. Among the directing personnel, mulattoes appear in limited numbers, assisting the whites in planning and executing the various activities.

563 In like manner, the upper social circles at Bahia remain
565 today predominantly white. Only the lighter mixed-bloods, with few exceptions, have penetrated the upper tiers. The darker mulattoes, and particularly the blacks, have only in rare instances gained admittance.

But it is just these few individuals who indicate most clearly the actual racial situation at Bahia. The Negroes began on the bottom. The acceptance, then, of an occasional black, a few dark mulattoes as well as numerous light mixed-bloods into the upper circles points conclusively to the fact that if a person has ability and general competence, the handicap of color can be, and is constantly being, overcome. While it is undoubtedly true that status continues extensively to coincide with color, the fact that certain individuals who are quite dark and otherwise possessed of negroid traits have nevertheless been admitted into exclusive clubs and otherwise have attained positions of trust and responsibility in the community demonstrates quite clearly that in Bahia color is subordinate to other indices of class identification.
[555] Individual competence overbalances racial descent in the final determination of status. Color is undoubtedly a handi-

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cap. But it always tends to be discounted if the individual in question possesses other characteristics of upper-class identity, such as professional competence, intellectual ability, educational achievement, wealth, an "engaging" manner, personal "charm," poise, "breeding," and, especially with the females, beauty. All these are characteristics which define status in a society based upon class rather than upon caste distinctions.

In this connection, an incident in Brazil noted by Edschmid is illuminating:

> The conductor [of the street car] passed all the men wearing collars into the first-class compartment whether they were white, yellow, brown, or black. He relegated all men without collars, regardless of their pigmentation, to the second class. He only looked for a collar. He sent a black-boy with a collar but without boots or shoes into the first, and he relegated a handsome English lad in a low-cut jersey to the second class.[31]

[31] Kasimir Edschmid, *South America* (New York, 1932), p. 370.

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CHAPTER VIII

RACIAL IDEOLOGY AND RACIAL ATTITUDES

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IN RECENT years there has grown up in Brazil a lively interest in the African and his descendants. This has resulted, among other things, in the holding of two *Congressos Afro-brasileiros*, the first of which met in Recife in November, 1934, and the second in Bahia in January, 1937. Composed of intellectuals having a common interest in the Brazilian Negro, their agenda indicate that such interest is confined almost entirely to three fields: (1) the history of African importation and slavery; (2) problems of acculturation, with especial attention to the survivals of African cultural forms; and (3) anthropometric variations. Generally absent is any concern with problems of racial conflict or accommodation, implying quite definitely the comparative absence of these problems in the social order as well as the comparative absence of any race consciousness answering to them on the part of the Negro or any other ethnic group.

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The participants in the 1937 *Congresso*, which met in Bahia, visited fetish-cult centers, witnessed *capoeira*[1] and *samba*[2] presentations, studied the material relics of fetish-cult ceremonies available in Bahian museums, honored the memory of Nina Rodrigues (who some forty years ago pioneered in studies of the Afro-Brazilian cults in Bahia),[3] and

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[1] See chap. ix.

[2] The *samba*, probably of African origin, is a dance with vocal accompaniment (see chap. ix), as well as a musical form.

[3] See Nina Rodrigues, *L'Animisme fétichiste des nègres de Bahia* (Bahia, 1900) and *Os africanos no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1932).

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passed resolutions protesting police interference with the *candomblé* and demanding full religious liberty in the exercise of its rites.

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Papers presented to this congress by Brazilians dealt with such subjects as "Slave Insurrections in the Province of Espirito Santo during the Nineteenth Century," "Old Documents concerning the Negroes of the Palmares," "Castro Alves and Brazilian Poetical Treatment of the Negro Slave," "The *Africano* in Bahia," "Chapters in Afro-Brazilian Ethnology in Rio Grande," "Bantú Contributions to Religious Syncretism in Brazil," "A Revision of Afro-Brazilian Ethnology," "The *Africano* and His Culture in Brazil," "The *Orixá*[4] of the Poor," "The School of Nina Rodrigues," and "The Negro and the Problem of Acculturation in Brazil." Only one paper was not concerned with ethnological or historical problems; and it, although it took account of ethnic differences, did not treat of any form of racial conflict. It dealt with "The Negro Criminal in Bahia."

Similar questions were discussed in the first *Congresso Afro-brasileiro*, which met in Recife, sponsored by Gilberto Freyre, a social historian whose *Casa grande e senzala* and *Sobrados e mucambos* throw significant light upon the Negro in colonial and imperial Brazil.[5] This gathering was, because of its informal character and the attempt to present factual data, "something new in Brazil."[6] As Freyre describes it:

> There was lacking both formality and a consciousness of class. Around a table, at the head of which different individuals took turns

[4] *Orixá* is a Yoruba word meaning "deity."

[5] An interesting estimate of Freyre's work by Dr. Lewis Hanke appears in the *Quarterly Journal of Inter-American Relations*, July, 1939, pp. 24–44, under the title "Gilberto Freyre: Brazilian Social Historian."

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[6] Gilberto Freyre, "O que foi o primeiro Congresso Afro-brasileiro no Recife," in *Novos estudos afro-brasileiros*, ed. Freyre *et al.* (Rio, 1937), p. 348.

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presiding in accordance with the varying subjects under consideration, were seated erudite *doutores* from lecture-room and laboratory; huge *filhas de santo;*[7] aged Negro cooks who brought from . . . . the crude kitchens of their mud huts recipes of . . . . Afro-Brazilian dishes; Negroes from the cane fields (like Jovino, whose paper was as full of errors in Portuguese as of *saudades* of the time of the *almanjarras*);[8] . . . . *babalorixás*[9] like Pae Anselmo; queens of the *maracatú*[10] like Albertina de Fleury, whose name reminded José Lins do Rego[11] of the heroine of a romance by Proust; certain others who, although illiterate or semiliterate, had such intimate knowledge of Afro-Brazilian matters as to be able to make an appreciable contribution to the Congress; students of law, engineering, and medicine . . . . ; elderly folklorists like Rodrigues de Carvalho, who never missed a session . . . . ; individuals like Nobrega da Cunha, who knew intimately the ritual of the *macumba;*[12] psychiatrists of the ability and reputation of Ulysses Pernambucano, who was acclaimed with all justice Honorary President; artists like Luis Jardim and Cicero Dias; intellectuals, journalists, and special representatives of Rio newspapers; the teacher, Ernani Braga, who collected for the Congress a number of invocations to Xangô[13] sung by the young ladies of the Conservatorio on the closing day of school to the enthusiastic applause of the best people of Recife. Individuals

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[7] *Filhas de santo* are ceremonial dancers of the fetish cult (see chap. x).

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[8] On the sugar plantations of colonial Brazil the beam to which animals were hitched to turn the millstone and crush the cane was called the *almanjarra*.

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[9] Priests of the fetish cult are sometimes called *babalorixás*. The word is formed from the Nagô words *bábá* ("father") and *orixá* ("deity").

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[10] The *maracatú* was an organization of Negroes which formerly participated in Carnival at Recife (see Mario Sette, *Maxambombas e maracatús* [São Paulo, n.d.], pp. 339–41).

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[11] José Lins do Rego is a noted Brazilian novelist whose realistic accounts of lower-class life, particularly in the state of Pernambuco, have helped to reveal a level of culture about which little had previously been written. See, e.g., his *Banguê* (Rio, 1934); *Menino de engenho* (2d ed.; Rio, 1934); *Usina* (Rio, 1936); *Histórias da velha Totonia* (Rio, 1936); *Pureza* (Rio, 1937); *Pedra Bonita* (Rio, 1938); *Doidinho* (Rio, n.d.).

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[12] The Afro-Brazilian fetish cult is known in Rio de Janeiro as the *macumba*.

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[13] Xangô (pronounced "Shán-go") is a deity of the fetish cult (see chap. x).

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who at last had seriously taken up "these Negro things" and had found them to be something more than merely picturesque, ... to be, in fact, a great living part of the genuine Brazilian culture.[14]

Before this democratic gathering were read such papers in history and ethnology as the following:[15]

England and the Slave Traffic
Three Centuries of Slavery in Parahyba
The Negro in the History of Alagôas
The Negro during the Dutch Occupation
Unusual Slaves
Physical Deformities of Negro Slaves
The Republic of the Palmares
The Negro Laborer in the Time of the *Banguê*[16] Compared with the Negro Laborer in the Time of the Sugar Factories
The Diet of Brazilian Slaves
Abolition and Its Causes
African Diseases in Brazil
Negro Music in Africa and Brazil
The Negro in the Folklore and Literature of Brazil
The Drama among Early Brazilian Negroes
The Contribution of the Negro to Brazilian Culture
A List of Nagô Words
Xangô
The Legend of Xangô and Its Corruption in Brazil
Invocations to Xangô Heard in Recife
African *Seitas*[17] in Recife
Notes on the *Catimbó*[18]

[14] *Op. cit.*, pp. 348–52.

[15] In several cases titles have not been translated literally; instead, an effort has been made to indicate more definitely the actual subject matter discussed.

[16] The primitive sugar mill used in colonial Brazil, often called the *engenho*, was also known as the *banguê*. [249]

[17] A fetish-cult center is often referred to as a *seita*.

[18] *Catimbó* is a word commonly used in northeast Brazil to designate the fetish cult, which is also known as the *candomblé* (in Bahia) and the *xangô* (in Recife). [794]

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Ohum Eniadúdú[19]
Recipes for Afro-Brazilian *Quitutes*[20]
The *Calunga*[21] of the Maracatús
The "People's Library" and the "Modern Collectanea"[22]

Obviously, there is implied in these titles no interest other than in history and ethnology. But in the following ten papers, although there again appears to be no concern with problems of racial accommodation, one does note an awareness of physical differences and an interest in their measurement.

Some Anthropological Measurements of the Population of Recife
Some Data on the Physical Characteristics of the Population of Recife
Some Physical Measurements of Brazilian Negroes and Mulattoes
A Study of Cephalic Indices and Color Variation among Mulattoes in Pernambuco
A Contribution to the Study of Lapicque's Index
Physical Measurements of Negro Students
Comparative Heights and Weights of Newborn *Branco*, *Pardo*, and *Preto* Babies
A Statistical Study of Longevity in *Brancos*, *Pardos*, and *Pretos*
The Comparative Incidence of Tuberculosis in *Pretos* and *Brancos*
Mental Disease among the Negroes of Pernambuco

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[19] Under this title two topics were considered: (1) legends from Dahomey and (2) Anamburucú (an Afro-Brazilian deity [see chap. x]).

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[20] *Quitutes* are food delicacies.

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[21] The *calunga* referred to here was a richly adorned female image representing a water deity. It was carried by the "Dama do Passo," a female dancer of the Maracatú.

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[22] The "Modern Collectanea" and the "People's Library" are two sets of inexpensive leaflets containing ballads and other folklore, historical sketches, anecdotes, prayers, recipes, etc. See, in this connection, Jorge Amado, "Literatura dos negros e mulatos da Bahia," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal de São Paulo*, XLVIII (June, 1938), 179-82.

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Quite exceptional in their subject matter are the following three papers:

Race Mixture in Brazil as a Eugenic Factor
The Mixed-Blood and the Problem of Degeneracy
The Social, as Opposed to the Racial, Causation of Degeneracy

These three papers, concerned as they obviously are with the oft-considered question of the relation of race mixture to degeneracy, indicate some concern in Brazil with this problem and thus appear at first sight to imply an interest in race relations in the North American sense of that expression. The question at issue turns out to be, however, largely an academic one, evoked perhaps by foreign literature and concerned with supporting arguments of white superiority and of Negro inferiority originating in Europe and the United States. At any rate, it is true that certain scholars, at a loss to account for the persistence in twentieth-century Brazil of African cultural forms, have seriously come to question the cultural capacities of the black race and to believe the future of Brazil prejudiced by the infusion of African blood.

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Thus, about 1900, Nina Rodrigues, intimately acquainted with a number of Africans in Bahia and impressed with the slow rate at which they and their descendants were sloughing off African cultural forms and being assimilated into the white world,[23] and also influenced to a considerable degree by foreign writers,[24] raised very earnestly the question of "the capacity of the Negro to accommodate himself to the civilization of the superior races."[25] Doubting specifically the ability of the Negro to take on European civilization,[26]

[23] *Os africanos no Brasil*, pp. 407–9; see also *ibid.*, chaps. v–vii.

[24] *Ibid.*, chap. vi, esp. pp. 388–98.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 385. [26] *Ibid.*, p. 391.

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he identified the "Negro problem" with the question of "the cultural capacity of the Brazilian Negro; the means of increasing it or of compensating for its deficiencies; the actual value of the African's contribution in acclimating Europeans to the tropical zone; and the advisability of diluting the black population with a preponderance of white blood which would then control the country."[37]

The significant facts about these conclusions of Nina Rodrigues are (1) that they in no way challenged the commonly accepted Brazilian assumption of the inevitability of race mixture and (2) that, when this inquiry into the Negro's native capacity to assimilate European culture was published (posthumously) for the first time in 1932, it immediately aroused a storm of protest, to allay which such zealous but scientifically minded disciples of Nina Rodrigues as Arthur Ramos thought it necessary to remind Brazilians that "the Bahian master" had been influenced by "certain postulates of the epoch in which he labored" and that his followers are well aware that "the science of our days challenges the accuracy" of such conclusions.[38]

Restating, then, the "Negro problem" as far as Brazil is concerned, Arthur Ramos considers it "first of all a historical problem, a question of the slave traffic, of the different tribes imported, of the history of slavery, etc." He continues:

> It is further a problem in anthopogeography, a question of the physical characteristics of the various Negro stocks both in the areas of their origin and in Brazil, and of the variations occurring by reason of the change in their environment. It is an ethnographic problem, a question of the habits, traditions, etc., of the Negro in the countries of his origin, and their modification in the new habitat. It is a biological problem, a question of racial heredity and race mix-

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 392.

[38] *O negro brasileiro* (Rio, 1934), p. 22.

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ture. It is a linguistic problem, a question of the influence of African dialects upon the Portuguese language. It is a sociological problem, a question of the influence of the Negro upon Brazilian social life.[19]

As here defined, then, the concern of Brazilian intellectuals interested in the Negro lies in problems other than those arising from racial maladjustment, with the possible exception implied by the phrase "questions of racial heredity and race mixture," and similarly suggested by the titles of the last-named three papers presented to the first Afro-Brazilian Congress. But, if the situation is analyzed more fully, one finds that each of these three papers *attacks* the positions that the Negro is racially inferior and that race mixture leads to degeneracy.

The thesis of Negro inferiority is today perhaps most forcefully defended by Oliveira Vianna, able sociologist and member of the National Academy of Letters. Well versed in the race literature of Europe and of the United States and impressed, like Nina Rodrigues, with the difficulties in the way of assimilating the African and his descendants, Vianna has written:

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> The pure Negroes never will be able, not even the most advanced representatives of the race, to be assimilated completely into the white culture; their capacity for civilization—their "civilizability," so to speak—does not extend beyond merely imitating, more or less imperfectly, the habits and customs of the whites. Between the Negro's mentality and that of the Caucasian lies a substantial and irreducible difference which no social or cultural pressure, no matter how long it may be continued, can possibly overcome.[20]

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[19] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

[20] Oliveira Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro* (2d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 156. It is obvious from a careful reading of his books that this able scholar inadvertently fails to distinguish between the biological and the cultural determinants in mental functioning and personality and that he also confuses cultural achievement with racial potentiality.

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Thus the Negro, being "insensible to those superior impulses which constitute the dominant force in the white's mentality," contributes to the superior classes, Vianna contends, "only when he loses his purity and mixes with the white."[31]

Recognizing, however, that there are in Brazil "both inferior and superior mixed-bloods," Vianna offers in explanation that "a fortunate crossing of a superior type of Negro (for the Negro is not a unit) . . . . with a white individual well gifted eugenically may produce a superior mulatto . . . . if, by chance, in the play of hereditary influences, the eugenic potentialities of the white predominate."

In another connection Vianna maintains that

> the entire development of Brazilian collective mentality has in reality been nothing more than a continuous bringing-over . . . . of the racially inferior portions of our population to European mentality and morality: that is, to the mind and character of the white race. The superior mixed-bloods, those who during the long period of our national development have risen socially, did not rise nor establish themselves because of their mixed-blood mentality. Instead of preserving as they climbed the characteristics of their hybrid type, they on the contrary lost those very characteristics, left off being psychologically mixed; that is, they Aryanized themselves.[32]

To this latter passage the author of one of the three papers referred to above takes energetic exception.[33] Quoting this passage in full, he immediately disclaims any addiction to what he calls "the Aryan fetish of the illustrious sociologist." He maintains instead that "the greatness of Brazil comes from race mixture"; it has resulted in a better-adapted and more resistant individual, "the new variety, the mixed-blood *superior being*."

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 161.

[32] *Populações meridionaes do Brasil* (3d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 154.

[33] A. Austregesilo, "A mestiçagem no Brasil como factor eugenico," in *Novos estudos afro-brasileiros*, ed. Freyre *et al.*, pp. 325–33.

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Sharply departing from Vianna, and also from Jorge de Lima and Euclydes da Cunha, to all of whom he refers as "devotees of Aryanism," and from "those foreign literary men and sociologists of little standing" who claim "that the Brazilian is a product of three melancholy, inferior, and indolent races: that is, that the Brazilian is racially inferior," this author asserts that "the notable intellectual capacity of the Brazilian people and the existence among us of geniuses to an extent greater than in any other Ibero-American country, prove that it is not Aryan descent but race mixture which has given birth to the intelligence and the creative capacity of the Brazilian people." Not racial inferiority or degeneracy, but illiteracy, malnutrition, and disrespect for labor are responsible for what deficiencies Brazil may possess. This author concludes:

> I am certain that in Brazil miscegenation has brought and will continue to bring more benefits than evils. The greater portion of our people, as well as of our talented invididuals,[34] in politics, in the sciences, and in the arts, were, or are, mixed-bloods. For instance, I can at once cite such men as Gonçalves Dias, Tobias Barreto, Barão de Cotegipe, Floriano Peixoto, Rebouças, José do Patrocinio, Nilo Peçanha, Machado de Assis, Juliano Moreira, Olava Bilac, Lima Barreto, and many others: scientists, painters, sculptors, musicians, poets, military men; in all of whom the blood of Africa is represented to a considerable degree.

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A perhaps less extreme and more scholarly but nonetheless vigorous attack upon the theory of Negro inferiority is to be found in the second of the three papers referred to above.[35] Regretting that "our . . . . physical, moral and so-

[34] This is probably an exaggerated statement of an actual truth.

[35] See Senhora Juliano Moreira, "Juliano Moreira e o problema do negro e do mestiço no Brasil," in *Novos estudos afro-brasileiros*, ed. Freyre *et al.*, pp. 126–50. In this article the widow of the late colored alienist gathers together some of his writings upon the subject.

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cial backwardness . . . . has been unjustly attributed to the single fact of miscegenation," the author of this paper, the able and widely known psychiatrist, Juliano Moreira, suggests that emphasis may more reasonably be laid upon the circumstances of colonization and slavery, the intemperate use of alcohol, and the debilitating effects of malnutrition.

It is much easier to analyze the psychology of a nation than the psychology of a race. The results of psychological tests indicate that there do not exist in Brazil profound differences between individuals of diverse ethnic origin. What variations I have encountered were due more to the degree of instruction of each individual examined than to the ethnic group from which he came. This explains the fact that individuals from supposedly inferior ethnic groups, when born and reared in large cities, present a better psychological profile than those even of Nordic descent who have been reared in the backward environment of the interior.

In the third paper[36] referred to above, the author concludes that "what we have [in Brazil] is not an unalterable racial inferiority or superiority . . . . but an invariable inequality in economic development." Similarly, Gilberto Freyre, who considers Oliveira Vianna "the greatest Aryan mystic who has yet risen among us,"[37] attacks with vigor the theory of racial inferiority;[38] as also does Arthur Ramos, with special reference to the views of Vianna, in a paper[39] given a few years ago before the Centro de Estudos Oswaldo Spengler in Rio de Janeiro.[40] An interesting fact in

[36] Edison Carneiro, "Situação do negro no Brasil," in *Novos estudos afro-brasileiros*, ed. Freyre *et al.*, pp. 237–41.

[37] *Casa grande e senzala* (2d ed.; Rio, 1936), p. 218; see also *ibid.*, pp. 155 and 156.

[38] *Ibid.*, pp. 208–12.

[39] Arthur Ramos, "O negro na evolução social brasileira," read November 25, 1933.

[40] In reply, Vianna wrote: "I do not know whether the Negro is actually inferior or whether he is equal, or even superior, to the other races; but, judg-

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this connection, indicating the purely academic character of this question as conceived in Brazil, is that Vianna is himself a mixed-blood; while both Ramos and Freyre are whites.

That the position of Arthur Ramos, Gilberto Freyre, and the authors of the three papers referred to above represents in a general way the common attitude at Bahia is clearly indicated throughout a number of documents written by white Bahian students, each of whom, although aware of obvious mental and cultural differences between most of the Negroes, on the one hand, and most of the whites, on the other, consider this inequality to spring from the present inferior educational advantages of the Negro and consequently to be transitory in nature. One young lady wrote: "Although the blacks in Bahia are still on a rather inferior intellectual plane, and some people, especially outside Brazil, believe that they will never attain the level of the white man, I think that this class is continually preparing a foundation upon which one day it will rise illustrious." Another wrote: "Their former position as slaves gave to the Negroes a certain degree of inferiority which to some extent has continued down to the present time. However, this inequality is, day by day, disappearing. I believe that very early in the future the *pretos* in Bahia will have ability equal to anything in the white race."

We have already noted the pride in the "progressive whitening" of the population common to all classes in Brazil. A general tendency to absorb diverse ethnic groups has

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ing by the testimony of the past and of the present, the only acceptable conclusion is that, up until now, civilization has been the dowry of races other than the black; and it has been necessary, if the Negro is to exercise any civilizing rôle whatsoever, that he be mixed with other races, especially with the Aryan and the Semitic: that is, he must lose his racial purity" (*Raça e assimilação* [2d ed.; São Paulo, 1934], p. 285).

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been persistently characteristic of Brazilian society. Out of the traditional behavior which developed in response to the circumstances and conditions of colonial life emerged an informal racial policy, or racial ideology, which has served as a philosophy underlying and giving consistency to the mores, appearing only when they are challenged from without and individuals seek to rationalize and defend their customary conduct. A Bahian school girl of white parentage put this informal policy into words when she remarked: "Race mixture is an inevitable thing. We Brazilians are becoming one single people."

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Thus in Bahia the black and the white do not stand over against each other as irreducible ethnic groups, differing not only in appearance, which is obvious, but also in kind, and fated ever to remain separate and distinct. Such inferiority as at present exists is not thought of as racial and permanent but rather as cultural and temporary, and already well on the way to extinction. Every citizen is considered first of all a Brazilian, and every Brazilian takes pride in all other nationals, irrespective of racial origin. Distinctions are secondary. In this connection one ought perhaps to point out that the widespread web of personal relationships in Bahia tends to make a man or woman not so much a member of a category (e.g., a Negro or a mulatto) as an individual (João or Maria).

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Even for individuals beyond the range of intimate personal relationships racial terms are seldom used in Bahia. To call a colored man in his hearing a "Negro" or a "mulatto" is not "good form." These terms are used to a man's face only when one is enraged or otherwise desirous of giving offense. It is, as we have noted, like calling an Italian immigrant a "Wop" or a Mexican a "Greaser." These terms em-

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phasize the alien character of the individual's origin. Thus, if a Bahian wishes to be particularly insulting, he will aggravate the sting of "Negro" by adding to it *de Africa* ("from Africa"). In this way he doubly accentuates his reference to the foreign origin of a black.

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Although it is true that dark color, as we have seen, is ordinarily identified with lower status and white color with upper-class position, rising in class tends to take a man out of even the color category. For instance, a white Bahian remarked of an upper-class mulatto, "I would hesitate to call him a *pardo*, although he plainly is one; some of his friends might overhear me." For use in such cases, *moreno* is the term "mais elegante."

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As early as the imperial period the title of *capitão-mor*, we are told, "whitened even dark mulattoes."[41] Thus, in the second decade of the nineteenth century, the Englishman, Henry Koster, on referring, in a conversation with a citizen of Pernambuco, to the fact that a mulatto was occupying the local office of *capitão-mor*, was told the man in question was not a mulatto. Insisting that he undoubtedly appeared to the eyes to be a mulatto, Koster received the rather unexpected reply, "He used to be a mulatto, but he is not now. For how can a *capitão-mor* be a mulatto?"[42]

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Under such circumstances racial consciousness tends to be reduced to a minimum. For if the individual can with rela-

[41] Gilberto Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos* (São Paulo, 1936), p. 318.

[42] "In conversing on one occasion with a man of color who was in my service, I asked if a certain Capitam-mor was not a mulatto man; he answered, 'he was, but is not now (era; porem já nam he).' I begged him to explain, when he added, 'Can a Capitam-mor be a mulatto man (pois Senhor Capitam-mor pode ser mulato)?' " (Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil, 1809 to 1815* [Philadelphia, 1817], II, 175–76). Note reference to this incident in Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro*, p. 153, and in Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 318.

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tive case escape identification with a group into which he has been born, not only so far as race is concerned but even to some extent color as well, and if there is little attempt on the part of other persons to treat him differently merely because some of his ancestors were of different ethnic origin, "we-group" and "others-group" will delay in arising as objects in his experience; or, having arisen, will tend to be vague and inchoate entities, not vivid, clear cut, and sharply defined.

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Few colored intellectuals in Bahia are at all interested in studying and writing about the Negro; and, of those who are, such as the *preto* João da Silva Campos and the *pardos* Edison Carneiro and João Varella, their interest lies rather in the *Africano*, in his customs and traditions, and especially in those survivals of African culture still extant among descendants of imported slaves.

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There is no tendency to dignify the term "Negro" as there is among race-conscious Negroes in the United States. In fact, as we have already seen, "Negro" is a term rarely used either by blacks or by whites. When on occasion it is employed, no Bahian colored man, unless by chance he has been in the United States or in communication with American Negroes, is at all concerned about spelling it with a capital *N*. Nor does he resent the word *ama* ("mammy").

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This is not to say, however, that the blacks and the mixed-bloods are completely satisfied with their lot and that they utter no protest against the fate which has made the white man largely superordinate both economically and socially. On the contrary, the lower-class Negro often conceives of himself as mistreated and misunderstood.

There are, in this respect, two classes of blacks in Bahia: (1) those who are aware of, and articulate about, the race

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problem abroad and (2) those who are not. The former, a literate minority, are sensitive, for instance, to the situation in the United States and point to Brazil in favorable contrast. As one black remarked, "Here in Bahia whites and blacks are never at one another's throats as they are in the United States. A Negro is treated here as if he were no different from other men. So, while North Americans suffer more and more from internal strife, Brazil will every year become more and more one people, united in blood and sentiment."

A *preto* physician, of relatively unmixed African descent who possessed some command of English wrote the following in that idiom:

> We have not such a thing here in Bahia as race segregation, as among our illustrious North American friends.
>
> There is here only one constitution for all people without race or caste distinction.
>
> There is not here either white or black; there are only Brazilian citizens and foreigners.
>
> The Brazilian Negroes were born just like the whites and die the same way.
>
> The blacks are brothers of the whites and they love each other in our country.
>
> We are one nation and one people and not a conglomeration of peoples.
>
> I think it would be well for North Americans to get acquainted with the great love which unites the whites and the blacks for the grandeur of our country and take with them the example to their country; which being at its elevation still lynches its Negro citizens, as if all men were not equal in the eyes of God and the law.
>
> Is there one sun for the whites and another for the blacks, my good friends?
>
> In Brazil we recognize *one* God, *one* nation, and *one* people.

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Directing attention to a report in a Bahian newspaper of a lynching in Georgia, this man on another occasion said:

> Look at that! We've never known anything like that in Brazil. Why do the whites in the United States do such a thing? [With a tone of unbelief] Is it just because he's black? I can't understand it. You just can't conceive of such a thing happening here. The black man is as much a Brazilian as any white.

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On the other hand, there are Bahian blacks who, as we have noted, are dissatisfied with their lot. These individuals base their dissatisfaction, however, on an entirely different ground from that of Negroes in the United States; namely, upon class, rather than caste, differences. These blacks, who are all from the lower strata, feel very strongly that the classes occupying a superior social position are not giving the other classes what they deserve. The struggle for position in Brazil, therefore, takes on some of the character of a class struggle in the Marxian sense.

A reflection of this attitude is evident in one of the three last-named papers presented to the first Afro-Brazilian Congress. The author is a philanthropically minded young journalist. Under the influence of leftist ideology and earnestly impressed with the obviously low economic level of the Bahian lower classes, he writes, somewhat bitterly:

> The black has been, and continues to be, a being apart, almost an animal, permitted by the authorities merely to have access to the streets and to labor for the whites. Nothing more. For this reason the black can never hope to improve himself, to raise very high his intellectual or moral level, the failure to do which is responsible for his continuing animism, his criminality, etc.[43]

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Attitudes of dissatisfaction and protest are also evident in the following suggestions presented by a Bahian *preto* to the second Afro-Brazilian Congress:

[43] Edison Carneiro, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

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The Afro-Brazilian Congress ought to point out how deplorable is the condition of the black man in Brazil.

The Afro-Brazilian Congress ought to say to the black man that social lynching is worse than physical lynching.

The Afro-Brazilian Congress ought to break the chains of oppression.

The Afro-Brazilian Congress ought to say to the black man that he is dying of tuberculosis, of the heavy labor of carrying weighty burdens, of passing up necessities,[44] and of sorrow.

The Afro-Brazilian Congress ought to remind the black man that he is selected for, and preferred in, the lower occupations.

The Afro-Brazilian Congress ought to ask the black man how long he wants to be a slave?

"What the black does not have here," admitted a Bahian white, "is economic equality. He ordinarily gets only the meanest of jobs. He may be a manual laborer, a *carregador*, a mason or other artisan, but he seldom gets much above this level." "The Bahian black is poor and oppressed," said a mulatto. "The best positions are usually difficult for him to attain, especially if he has no education. He has little chance of becoming an important intellectual, commercial, or political figure; the best jobs are ordinarily beyond his reach." 563 * 829 [463]

The feeling of being abused and unfairly treated by fate is quite evident in the following document written by a *preto* stevedor: 563 * 829

In the past the black man was the laborer, the slave, vilely treated by the owners of great wealth whose descendants today often fail to recognize in him the principal factor in the building of Brazil and continue to deny him what he rightly deserves as a reward and a recompense for his untiring services (and even sacrifices), and for his humility in making himself always acceptable to his masters.

Today the descendants of these slaveowners are the great indus-

[44] I.e., of going without midday meal while at work, without sufficient sleep, medical attention, etc.

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trialists and capitalists. Although they are unable to do as their predecessors did, nevertheless they make use, in a disguised manner, of that same abuse of power. They give evidence of a feeling of superiority, which confirms the presence in them of remnants of the former sentiments; they deprive the black man of equality, if not in ability, at least in the opportunity to make use of it.[48]

If the black man were properly educated, he axiomatically would be equal to those who judge themselves superior. Only from men who have leisure to spend in study will there come descendants with lofty aspirations; not from men handicapped by excessive labor and deficient nourishment. This does not prove less intelligence but only less good fortune. For if the forebears of the blacks had been masters of the plantations, the slave huts, and the mines, their descendants would naturally have been capable of educating their children with the same diligence and care as do the whites.

[463] Today, the blacks are employed only as simple laborers, such as masons, carpenters, tailors, mechanics, shoemakers, ironworkers, stevedores, *carregadores*, etc. The reason the blacks do not use their abilities as business agents, bookkeepers, custom-house clerks, exporters, importers, etc., is that they do not possess the requisite skill and training, a deficiency which is principally due to the whites themselves, who always hinder the entering of this element of the population into the above-indicated classes where they might exercise authority over the other element and then they call them "inferiors," "the poor," "low-class."

(871) The black child may attend elementary school and learn a few indispensable things. But since his parents cannot send him to secondary and superior schools, directly thereafter he goes to work; which causes, or at least contributes to, his inability to enter pursuits other than those in which stevedores, *carregadores*, etc., work.

This is the reason why the black man cannot attain a position of economic security in the Bahian community.

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In assessing the significance of this document, one must draw a distinction between the lower-class *pretos* and those other blacks who have climbed somewhat in the economic

[48] I.e., in opportunities to develop these abilities through education.

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and social order and have attained a measure of security. If one takes account of class identification, the dissatisfaction and protest here illustrated may be interpreted—and in connection with the whole cultural situation in Brazil properly should be interpreted—as incidents of a class rather than of a racial struggle; of a competitive process which naturally takes on the seeming appearance of a racial struggle due to the coincidence, in general, of class and color identifications.

That this interpretation is tenable is borne out by the fact that from Negroes who have improved their social position one does not hear this note of dissatisfaction and protest. *Pretos* or dark *pardos* who have attained some standing in the community and some measure of recognition commonly defend the white man and laud the merits of Brazil, as did the Negro physician quoted above. Said he, on another occasion, somewhat exaggeratedly: "In Brazil there is no fear of color, no prejudice of race. A black man may enter any profession and draw his clients from any group. See, I was a member of the class of 1928 [proudly displaying a framed panel of photographs of graduates in that year of the Faculty of Medicine]. The greater part of my clients are white. And at the clinic, look at this! [showing a photograph of a large number of children, many of whom were white]. These came to me for professional advice."

A black of some social standing remarked with a show of pride, "Here we are all equal, black, white, and mixed-blood. No position is closed to the black man, and no profession. He can reach any level for which he shows himself fit."

If the presence of a limited degree of race consciousness in Bahia does not imply that the lower-class *preto* is completely satisfied with his lot, neither does it mean that the

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whites, as we have already seen, do not ordinarily look upon the mass of the blacks as, at least temporarily, socially and culturally inferior. This attitude is, however, more like that of an indulgent parent toward an immature but gradually developing child than like the attitude of one who feels himself superior because he belongs to a race which he believes to be endowed by nature with capacities superior to those of any other. As a white remarked, "At the present time the *pretos* are very backward in comparison with the whites. But I think that with social evolution they are becoming more and more intelligent and that eventually they will contribute equally with the whites to the forward march of Brazil."

If many of the lower-class blacks and darker mixed-bloods tend to feel themselves somewhat abused and misunderstood, the lighter, and to some extent the medium-dark, mixed-bloods are ordinarily jealous of their social advance, speak well of the whites and of treatment at their hands, and conceive of themselves as being, if not white, at least nearly white. At all events, they want to be white, and they ordinarily are, by their friends at least, so considered.

Pedro Calmon, thoroughly familiar with Bahian tradition, has stated:

> The *pardos* very early in our history came to consider themselves equal to the whites. Usually they were free; and the free man always had contempt for the slave. This scorn, described by Ewbank, Kidder and Fletcher, Agassiz, and all the writers who left their testimony concerning the society of the nineteenth century, is quite characteristic of the time; even dark *pardos* were in their own estimation equal to the whites. The lighter ones did not permit their European character to be at all questioned.[4]

[4] In correspondence with the author.

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While the mixed-bloods are consistently proud of their white lineage, they (at least the ambitious ones among them) tend, as we have noted, to be ashamed of black relatives and to hide, in so far as possible, the too obvious evidence of relation to them. This ordinarily occurs when the mixed-blood has achieved some economic competence or otherwise improved his standing in the social order.

Such an attitude is not greatly dissimilar to that of an upper-class resident of New York, for example, toward his relatives among the mountaineers of Tennessee. As with all individuals who within the span of a few years have climbed from one class to another, the self-confidence and sense of superiority of the Brazilian mixed-blood are to some extent intermittently, or even constantly, threatened by feelings of insecurity. João Varella has written of some of these individuals: [539]

> Of his white father, whom he never saw,
> He has a picture in the parlor;
> But of the Negro woman who gave him birth
> He has no picture, nor does he even speak of her.[47]

Similarly, Gilberto Freyre has pointed out that many times in the past

> there resulted from . . . . the fact that the mother or the grandmother of the house was a mulatto situations often dramatic which are reflected in certain Brazilian romances and other accounts. Fair individuals often sought to keep visitors from seeing the fat mulatto grandmother, or even mother, with her huge negroid buttocks; or kept out of sight the dark brother, or dark sister, the tira-teima"[48]

[47] From an unpublished manuscript entitled "O africano na Bahia."

[48] Elucidating this phrase, a Bahian said, "The *tira teima* is an individual who in himself constitutes a living negation of the family's claim to whiteness. Being darker, or otherwise revealing the presence of Negro blood, this individual destroys the illusion (*tira a teima*) of *fidalguia* [superior standing] which the family wishes to give out." [558]

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of the family, he or she whose color or features would inevitably reveal less noble or less Aryan origin.[49]

The black quite naturally resents this feeling of superiority on the part of the mixed-blood. His characteristic attitude is reflected in the common saying, "He who can't be a white man is a black." A Negro cook burst out one day, "Listen, wise one, you're just a dirty mulatto! You don't even belong to a pure race! I'd rather be black than yellow any day!" Another black, angry at a mixed-blood, blurted out, "All right! That's what you get from a mulatto. Mixing up the races always brings something like this."

"These mulattoes!" bitterly complained another *preto*, angered at the pretentious behavior of one of his mixed-blood relatives. "Dirty scum! Deny their grandparents, their uncles, and their aunts, even their own parents! They don't want to be blacks; they want to be whites!" "Mulattoes, when they get money," complained a black woman, "don't want to admit any longer that they are mulattoes." And, she added, somewhat bitterly, "the whites will accept them, too, if they have money."

[49] *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 355. That, outside the ranks of the relatively small number of colored Bahians identified with the African culture, a desire to approximate as nearly as possible the whites in physical appearance is widespread is attested by numerous advertisements in the newspapers like that in *A Tarde* for November 30, 1936:

HAIR!!!

Wooly hair turned into a permanent!
Kinky hair unkinked!
Pomades Indiana, Americana, etc. [Japonesa, Fiza] correct defects no matter what they are!

Sung by mulattoes is the verse:

Sae azar	Go away!
Por aqui a fora!	Leave me alone!
Cabellos espixados	Only hair that's straightened
Estão na moda agora!	Is now in style!

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Usually the whites acknowledge gratefully the blacks' contribution to the building of Brazil and prefer them to the *pardos* on the ground that they are less pretentious, more friendly, and more loyal and appreciative. "We like the blacks here," said a white Bahian. "And why not? Didn't they help build Brazil and aren't they still helping to create our country? We are not like the English and the North Americans. They are enemies of the Negro, but we are his brothers. We should all be kind to them, for it is not their fault that they are black."

A Bahian historian, in describing the colonial period, wrote:

> The black was an agent of social regeneration by reason of his affective qualities which aided the interpenetration of . . . . diverse elements in the Brazilian population. The slave woman reared in her arms the children of her master; she brought into the white home not only African delicacies but also courteous manners and won protection and lasting friendship from the white family by her tractableness, her devotion, her kindly spirit.[19]

Another white Bahian remarked:

> I like the blacks better than I do the mulattoes; in fact, much better! Do you know why? They're more honest, for one thing. They're more dependable. Why, I wouldn't hesitate to trust a fortune in the keeping of Francisco [his black servant]. They're more friendly, more considerate, more grateful. This is true not only of those who work for me [this man employs regularly sixteen laborers, has eighty-four Negro and dark mulatto hucksters whom he supplies with oranges from his *roça* for peddling in the streets], but it goes for black professional men as well. I know a black lawyer, for instance, a very fine man. I'd trust my legal affairs with him as soon as I would with any white lawyer I know.
>
> I used occasionally to meet North American Negroes in France. I didn't like them. They were proud and haughty and very touchy.

[19] Pedro Calmon, *Historia da Bahia* (2d ed.; Bahia, n.d.), p. 28.

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And I used to tell them that the Brazilian Negro was much superior to them. That made them mad, and they used to say, "That's what you think, because the Brazilian Negro takes everything from you whites and is willing to live on an inferior plane." But I said, "I don't know about that. I'm a member of an organization in Bahia which has a black president."

The white acknowledges the mixed-blood's intelligence, but he often resents the characteristic aggressiveness which the mulatto, in the course of his ambitious struggle to climb the social ladder, has developed, as well as other distinguishing personality traits which have appeared in the course of this competitive struggle. As one man put it: "I resent their forwardness, their enviousness, their jealousy, their 'lack of respect,' their pretentiousness, their inconstancy and unreliability, their arrogance and (upon gaining some measure of improved social position) their overweaning pride, their boastfulness, cocksureness, 'cheekiness,' and general manner of showing off." This attitude is also reflected in the common saying, "A mulatto *pernostico* is a redundant expression," a statement which a Bahian elucidated in the following words:

The mulatto who characteristically desires to be white and who for this reason looks down on the pure black, tends to exaggerate the qualities which he observes in the whites and to emulate them to such an extent that a word, *pernostico*, has been coined to describe him. He is always trying to be what he isn't.

Even the word *mestiço* ("mixed-blood") has come to be, to some extent at least, a term of *desprezo*, connoting, as a local citizen expressed it, "someone who is desirous of supplanting his father, exceedingly ambitious to get ahead, and gain prestige." Another reflection of this aversion is the common saying, "He who sees a mulatto and does not run, has oozing joints."

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Said, somewhat exaggeratedly perhaps, a prominent white: 563* 829

> I'm going to get out of Bahia and go to São Paulo. This town is too full of mulattoes and of mulatto traits. Bahia has become a *pau de sebo* ["greased pole"]. No one wants to get the prizes, but they all want to pull down everyone who tries to get them. This place is full of envy, of ill will and egotism, all mulatto characteristics. The mulatto is not like the black; he is a person without character. He has no honor. He's always envious, he's jealous, he's so busy "maintaining himself," pushing himself in where he isn't wanted, that he can't tend to his business or to his job; he can't do anything except make of himself a general nuisance.

"I always find black servants preferable to mulattoes," another white Bahian said. "They're more faithful, more respectful, even if less intelligent perhaps. The mulattoes are always trying to be 'whiter' than they are."

A student wrote:

> The *pardo* has one quality which the *preto* does not have. He is more *pernostico*, probably because he has the strong conviction that, even if one parent *is* black, the other is white. He ordinarily is not as accomplished as the whites, but he wants to appear in public better than he is. The *pretos*, no; they are more pleasant and have the natural gentleness of a race which has suffered much and has been made a martyr by the *senzalas*. I do not mean by this that there are no *pretos* who are ill-bred and stupid; but I do mean to say that such *pretos* are more rare than those *pardos* who, when they attain some position of importance in our public life, act as if they no longer tread upon the earth.

The attitudes engendered between the various ethnic groups at Bahia tend to be those ordinarily arising out of a struggle for position in any class order. The newly arrived, as well as those engaged in elbowing their way up, are everywhere resented. These attitudes focus upon color for the reason that, within limits, color is still identified with social po- 563* 565 829

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sition. But the fact that these attitudes tend to disappear in cases where the colored man's claim to advanced standing rests on grounds of demonstrated competence and obvious personal worth is highly significant. It identifies the Bahian social order as a class society wherein competition takes the form of a struggle between classes (which by reason of historic accident happen to coincide to a considerable degree with color) rather than a struggle between races or colors as such.

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Said a white Bahian: "We like a person to be modest. One who is aggressive and self-assertive we tend to shove back a little. That's one reason why the black, Raul Calogeras, is so well regarded. He never presumes, never pushes himself forward. Whites respect him for what he is, especially for his great intellectual ability."

Another white Bahian, acquainted with the United States, said:

> As I think of it, the feeling toward the Negro here is somewhat like the feeling toward the Jew in the United States. As long as he remains a Jew, it is not the thing to marry him, but occasionally it is done with more or less comment. Your dealings with the Jew depend a great deal on the kind of a Jew he is. If he's a low type, you leave him to himself. If he's overly ambitious, aggressive, and always pushing himself forward, you resent his behavior. If he's educated and capable, but still modest, and at the same time willing to give up his Jewish separatism, you are apt to share more or less your experiences with him. The less he is like a Jew, the more he tries to be like other Americans, the more you have to do with him. In a similar way, the more the Negro repudiates his African connections, the more he comes to be like Europeans, but in a modest, inoffensive way, the more we have to do with him.

A white Bahian wrote: "Naturally those persons who have ethnic characteristics more like those of the white race enjoy somewhat greater prestige. But this does not prevent

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a man who has real worth from attaining a superior position just because he is colored. Absolutely not."

"Especially in Bahia, where there is much prejudice regarding 'quality,' " wrote a black, "a *pardo* or a *preto* is, in the presence of whites, never well thought of except he be a person of intellectual capacity or of some means; for in Bahia these two characteristics are very important."

A white student wrote:

> Race for me changes nothing in an individual. I think the *preto*, the *pardo*, and the *branco* should all be treated alike. Distinctions open to the whites ought to be equally open to the blacks and to the mulattoes. It is not they who made themselves black; it is not they who are responsible for their dark color. I have seen or known of *pretos* and *pardos* who on every occasion could readily replace certain *brancos*. Such men as these, in my opinion, are at least equal to the whites. I repeat, not race but personality influences me; a man who has a good character and is intelligent and competent merits distinction, be he white, black, or *pardo*.

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Among "the ten most important Bahians" selected by a hundred and twenty-two students in the Escola Normal were three mulattoes and two *brancos da Bahia*. Sixty-seven students in the Law School chose six whites, two *brancos da Bahia*, a mulatto, and a *preto* among the ten most prominent local citizens. Sixteen girls in a mission school conducted by North American missionaries listed two *brancos da Bahia*, a mulatto, and two *pretos* among those who, in their judgment, were "the ten most important Bahians."

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CHAPTER IX

OS AFRICANOS

THE connection between Africa and Bahia is perhaps more intimate and has been maintained over a longer period of time than any similar connection elsewhere in the New World. Although assimilation of the Africans and their descendants has been proceeding at a gradually accelerating rate and has now reached an advanced stage, identification with Africa and with African cultural forms still marks off rather noticeably a portion of the darker population. Differences in dress, in food and food habits, in forms of religious expression, in sacred specialists, in attempts to exercise control over personal destiny and over other human beings, in credulity in folklore, and, to a limited extent, in language describe different worlds which still coexist at Bahia: one largely African in derivation, the other European.

The mental world of the Bahian upper class, which, as we have seen, includes a considerable number of the lighter mixed-bloods, is not greatly dissimilar to that of the same stratum in predominantly Catholic areas of Europe, especially in Portugal, Spain, and France, the latter of which has for a long time been the "intellectual motherland" of Brazil.

But the superior, educated class is relatively small. Most of the people in the city, as well as in the state of Bahia, are illiterate and would be included in what is ordinarily conceived of as the folk. Of this group, the Africans and their descendants obviously constituted in the past, and still constitute today, a large element.

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178 This division in cultural identification, however, is not
184 always sharply defined. Adherence to African cultural forms, for instance, the *candomblé*, often varies not only from family to family but also from individual to individual in the same family group; and, occasionally, in the same individual with reference to different cultural elements, to different periods in his life, and even to varying moods in his experience. In other words, African cultural forms at Bahia are disintegrating at a comparatively rapid rate.

565 Nor should one assume that the body of customs and tra-
178 ditions which marks off to some extent this lower-class
177 world is entirely of African origin. While it undoubtedly is composed in considerable part of elements originating in Africa, certain native Indian customs and traditions, together with ideas and practices common to the lower classes of Europe, as well as other customary behavior which has arisen in response to the circumstances of life in Brazil, contribute to it. The disentanglement of these diverse strands is, in some instances, a difficult and exceedingly laborious task.

It should be emphasized that these distinctions follow cultural and not necessarily racial lines. The lower class, as we have seen, includes a number of Europeans, and these have in numerous cases taken over sentiments and attitudes of African origin. Moreover, as the blacks and the mixed-bloods rise in class, they tend to slough off all identification with Africa and with African cultural forms.

439 Bahian Negroes long maintained direct contact with the
175 West Coast. Even after the extinction of the slave traffic, vessels regularly plied between Bahia and Lagos, repatriating nostalgic emancipated Negroes and returning with West

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Coast products much prized by Africans and their descendants in Brazil.[1] An elderly Bahian Negro recently brought out from among his treasured possessions a faded photograph of blacks aboard a ship on their way to Africa and pointed out an *atabaque*, or sacred drum, and a woman in *saia grande*.[2] He recalls having been many times with his father at the docks in Bahia when vessels came in from Africa and sailors brought news of Lagos.

Trade with the West Coast, however, gradually decreased until, by 1905, it had almost entirely disappeared. Today, only a few important articles employed in the fetish ritual, such as cowries, *obis* and *orobôs* (sacred fruits), *pimenta* (pepper) *da costa*, *palha* (straw) *da costa*, *sabão* (soap) *da costa*, and strips of *pano* (cloth) *da costa*, are occasionally imported from Africa.

Numerous Africans, their interest in Brazil stirred by Brazilian Negroes returning to the West Coast, are said to have emigrated to Bahia as recently as thirty years ago. Considerable areas in and about the city—for example, Caminho do São Gonçalo, Caminho do Cruz, and a portion of the Terreiro—were once owned, it is said, by *Africanos*.

Today, native-born Africans as a population element are

[1] Pedro Calmon, *Historia social do Brasil* (3 vols.; São Paulo, 1937-39), I, 182. It is also reported that on at least two occasions representatives of African chiefs arrived in Bahia from Ajudá, with which port Bahian officials were maintaining direct commercial relations. One arrived during the administration of the Vice-rei Conde de Athouguia; two others "and an interpreter," on May 26, 1795. See João Varella, *Da Bahia que eu vi* (Bahia, 1935), pp. 153-57; J. B. de Sá e Oliveira, "Dois embaixadores africanos mandados a Bahia pelo Rei do Dahomé," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, LVI, Part I (1895), 413.

[2] The large skirt still worn *bouffant* by many Bahian black women. The date was approximately 1895.

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virtually extinct.[3] Only an occasional individual of African birth may be found, like, for instance, a certain elderly black once prominent in the fetish cults not only of Bahia but also of Rio de Janeiro who was born in Lagos, his father having purchased his mother out of slavery in Brazil shortly before his birth and taken her to Africa. He knows four *Africanos* still living in Rio. In 1936 he met in Brotas (a subdivision of Bahia) an elderly African woman with facial scarification and almost no command of Portuguese. She has since died.

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Thus, actual contact with Africa is today little more than a memory in the minds of a few of the older blacks, who recall stories told by their parents or by other Africans of persons, places, and events in Africa; or who years ago visited in the home of African ancestors or were, perhaps, personally acquainted with blacks plying their small vessels between Bahia and the West Coast. However, certain individuals of the older generation still cherish sentimental attachment to Africa, as is indicated by the expression occasionally heard on the lips of an elderly Negro, as he reverently turns his eyes upward toward the sky, "Sou filho de dois Africanos, graças a Deus!"[4] "If I had the money," remarked another black, his eyes lighting up, "I'd go to Africa, to Abeokuta, build me a house, and live like a man ought to."

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An elderly Bahian Negro recalled:

My mother was just a young girl when she was captured by a warrior in Africa. He wanted to sell her to a slave trader in Dahomey.

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[3] Since lower-class Negroes who have difficulty in speaking correct Portuguese occasionally attempt to cover up their chagrin by saying that they are *Africanos*, and others, participating in social circles where prestige attaches to the native-born African, may deliberately misstate their origin, the incautious observer may be led erroneously to think that there are a considerable number of Africans still living in Bahia.

[4] "My father and mother were both Africans, thank God!"

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On that day two younger children were with her, a baby she was carrying on her back and a child she was leading by the hand.

She told me of a terrible thing which she saw on that day. Two warriors were running to catch a young girl. Each grabbed one of her arms, and they began to quarrel, pulling at her and shouting, "She's mine! She's mine!" But neither could jerk her away from the other. Finally one swung his big knife, and slash! He cut the girl in half and told the other man that now he could have his share.

My mother's name was Manjengbasa, which means, "Don't leave me alone." She was born after her mother had lost both of her first two children. She carried a scar on her cheek which meant that she was a Yoruba; for all Yorubas, both men and women, have this mark. She married my father here in Brazil, and when I was born they called me Ógeládé.

When I was thirteen years and eleven months old, my father took me to *Af-ri-ca;* to Lagos, *West-Coast-of-Af-ri-ca*, Nigeria. Ige-sha is two days away. Oyó used to be the capital. And there is Akra on the coast; there is Ashanti, and Groweh, and Ifé, and Egba. My father was from Egba, and his father was from Abeokuta. And there is Efun and Dahomey.

My father was only on a visit. He soon came back to Bahia to take care of his business. He was at that time importing African things. But I stayed in Lagos eleven years and nine months. From 1875 until 1886 I was there. Later I went again to Africa and remained another year. And three years after that I again returned, to sell coral and fine and coarse wool. I bought *pano da costa* to sell here.

My grandfather was a great warrior. He had a large plot of ground, but he was more of a warrior than a farmer. One day while fighting he got an arrow in his arm. He jerked it out and the blood covered him. When, years later, my grandfather died, I was a child of six years.

My uncle also was a great warrior. He was younger than my father. When they brought my father to Brazil, my uncle was left there in Africa.

My grandfather had forty wives. He lived in an *atalaia*,[3] a house

[3] Composed of many dwellings placed side by side and having a common roof.

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as long as from here to the entrance of the fort,[6] just for the family of my grandfather. He was buried in a room. A *quartinho* of water which is always kept full still stands there today.

When my father was born, my grandmother was already an old woman. But she was still very strong. When my grandfather died, she walked all by herself up to the place where they buried him. When I went to Africa, she was in Ibadum. She never saw my father again. When he took me to Africa, she did not get to see him because the Africans were fighting fiercely. No one could travel as far as from here to Rio Vermelho.[7] So my father did not get to see his mother. But when she found out that he had been in Lagos and had left a son there, she never left off speaking of me. She wished to have me stolen, but the men who came to carry me to my grandmother never found me alone. They brought me presents. My grandmother had made me an African food which lasts two or three months and does not spoil. It is made with *fubá* of maize, crushed. All is seasoned with fragrant and savory seasonings, with onions and shrimps, and put in a large pan. It is like a cake they call here *bom bocado*. In the African language it is called *adúm*. Rolled up in leaves they gave it to me. My tutor ate part of it too.[8] For fifteen days we ate *adúm*. When I came back to Bahia and told my father I had eaten *adúm*, he lost almost the whole day crying, because he had not seen his mother for almost fifty years, let alone eaten her cooking. He looked up at me, and said 'You, my son; *you* ate *adúm!*' "

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Some contact with Africa is still maintained through family connections, although these are now rare; by means of African visitors, principally individuals from the crews of English ships recruited in Lagos; and by way of occasional newspapers published on the East or West Coast in Portuguese, English, or even African languages.

Thus, one will occasionally find in the possession of Bahian Negroes a copy of the *Nigerian Daily Times*, published

[6] About one hundred yards.

[7] About three miles.

[8] The boy had been placed in a mission school.

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in Lagos.[9] In this journal for December, 1932, a Bahian black recently pointed out photos of Cleonice de Assumpção Alakija, "the youngest daughter of Dr. Maxwell P. de Assumpção Alakija, a lawyer of Bahia, Brazil," who "recently graduated as a throat and ear specialist from the Faculty of Medicine at Bahia"; of Dally Assumpção Alakija, youngest son of Dr. Maxwell, "recently graduated in Bahia as a civil engineer"; and of Adeyemo Alakija, their cousin, in the royal robes of an African chief from Abeokuta. The caption of the accompanying article was "A Notable Egba, Adeyemo Alakija."

This African cousin of Bahian blacks had been "honored by His Highness, the *Alaké* of Abeokuta," at a festival celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of the settlement of the Egbas at Abeokuta following severe internecine warfare and had subsequently been installed as "The Barujun of Aké." According to the account, Adeyemo Alakija belongs to a "distinguished family." His father was Marculino Assumpção, "Chief Akigbotum, known also as Elemeji, one of the first men to own a cotton gin in Abeokuta"; and his mother, Maxmilliana Assumpção Alakija, was the daughter of the late Alfa Cyprian Akinosho Tairu, native of Oyó, "a chief of Abeokuta with the title of Morope of Aké," for whom Tairu Lane in Lagos is named. Both of Adeyemo Alakija's parents were born in Brazil, the eldest living member of the family being the Bahian lawyer, Dr. Maxwell Porphyrio Assumpção Alakija, "father-in-law of His Worship, Olumuyiwa Jibouwu, our Police Magistrate."

[9] One *Africano* also possesses copies of *Wasu* ("Preach"), a missionary pamphlet used in Nigeria; the English prayer-book and the Bible, both in Yoruba; the *Nigerian Catholic Almanac* for 1933; a life of Marcus Garvey; and a copy of the *Negro World* for April 19, 1930, the latter given him by a Negro fireman on an English ship which occasionally puts in at Bahia.

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191. Although it is exceedingly doubtful if there is in Bahia today anyone of African descent who does not speak Portuguese, a few individuals can and on occasion do converse in Nagô. One may also hear Gêge spoken, as well as those lan-
[794] guages known locally as "Angola" and "Congo." However,
[796] the use of these tongues is very largely confined to the ritual
[576] of the *candomblé*, although at times one hears in the homes of blacks the Nagô greeting, "Ô-kú á-sán!" and the parting salutation, "Ôdi-ôlá-ô!" and even conversations in Nagô.
192 Many African words are to be found in the predominantly Portuguese speech of the lower class, a limited number of which have become common to all Bahia and, to some extent, to all Brazil. Approximately three hundred of the latter were noted.

201 Certain gestures are to be observed among the lower-class
565 blacks which are not common to the general population; for example, the *legua de beiço*, or slight extension of the lower lip when indicating distance (the words accompanying may be "one league," but the sense is much farther); and the *muxóxó*, or pursing of the lips as the lower portion of the face is pushed forward and upward, signifying disdain. Approbation is indicated by touching the tips of the fingers to pursed lips and withdrawing them while making a kissing sound. Silence is compelled by grasping the upper lip with the tips of the fingers. The act of eating is indicated by closing and opening the right hand before the mouth, and the act of drinking by raising the right hand before the face, flexing the three middle digits, and, with thumb and little finger extended, raising and lowering the hand at the wrist. The height of a human being is demonstrated by extending the

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palm flat in horizontal position in contrast to a vertical placement for indicating the height of a lower animal.[10]

Although one is not likely to find any Bahian black who has not been given at baptism a "Christian name," nicknames are very common, and many individuals are much better known by them than by their given names. Among such *apelidos* one will occasionally discover terms of probable African derivation; for instance, Okê, Bábá Cumdê, Cobê, Oum, Tau-édê, and Au-weh, all nicknames of members of a local labor union; or, among personages in the fetish world, such names as: Manoelzinho de Oxóssi, Lourenço Lemba, Maria de Tempo, Senhora de Yemanjá, João de Zázé, and Flaviano Cavungo, each of which recalls the African *orixá* to which the individual in question is dedicated.

Exercising considerable prestige among a portion of the Bahian population is the *babalaô*, or *olhador*, whose primary function, it seems, is to foretell the future; the *curandeiro*, who by means of herbs, prayers, and other magical manipulations seeks both to treat and to prevent disease; and the *feiticeiro*, or "witch doctor," who, for a price, works black magic. The office of the *babalaô* is occasionally exercised by the *pae de santo*, or priest of the fetish cult, although his function is more particularly that of supervising the rituals and public ceremonies of the cult and overseeing the sacred properties. To some extent he also exercises the function of a *curandeiro*.

[10] A form of greeting recalled by older blacks but rarely used today is as follows: If the individuals are social equals, each lifts his hands, palms outward, and grasps the hands of the other in such a way that the fingers of the one are interlaced with the fingers of the other, after which the "*ogan* grip" is exchanged; if not social equals, the individual of greater prestige places his right hand over the closed hands of the other.

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291 [565] Paris fashions largely dictate the nature of female at-
[177] tire among the upper classes at Bahia, but many black women still wear the *vestimenta bahiana*. This costume is
[301] composed of a *saia*, or very full skirt, of varying combinations of colors, which ordinarily measures some twelve to fifteen feet in circumference at the hem and is worn *bouffant*, spread by a heavily starched underskirt; a *bátá*, or long, loose-flowing white blouse which is ordinarily of cotton cloth but occasionally of silk, trimmed, in most cases, with wide lace, sometimes worn very loose at the neck and allowed to slip off one shoulder; a *pano da costa*, or long, heavy, striped cotton cloth, at times worn slung over the shoulder and pinned under the opposite arm, at times wrapped once or twice in a wide fold about the waist and tied rather tightly: a *torso*, or turban, of cotton or silk, bound about the head; *chinelas*, or strapless leather sandals with low heels; numerous necklaces of coral, cowries, or glass beads, with an occasional metal chain, often of silver; earrings of turquoise, coral, silver, or gold; and numerous
[301] bracelets of cowries or of iron, copper, or other metal. The *balangandan*, formerly an important ornament, has disappeared."

As an alternate to the *bátá* a white blouse is sometimes worn tucked inside the *saia*, and in place of the *pano da costa* a woolen or silken shawl is occasionally substituted. For

[532] "The *balangandan* (also known as *berenguenden*, *balançançan*, *cambaio*, or
[789] *penca*) consisted of a gold or silver frame on which were hung gold or silver images of animals, birds, fowls, fish, flowers, parts of the human body, houses, household utensils, amulets (including gold or silver balls inclosing soil from a cemetery), bells, medallions with religious significance, angels, suns, moons, etc. It was worn on festive occasions, tied at the waist (see F. Marques dos Santos, "As balangandans," *Espelho*, April, 1936). Many impoverished fam-
[422] ilies, attracted by recent high prices of gold and silver, have disposed of these relics of a former splendor. A limited number may still be seen among the heirlooms of wealthy Bahians.

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For 291 [292]

festive occasions *sandalias*, or leather "mules," are regularly preferred to *chinelas*, and one often sees the common footwear of the lower class, the *tamancos*, simple sandals with wooden soles and leather toe straps; or, occasionally, cloth slippers. Some women go barefoot.

The *torso*, commonly said to be of Arabic origin, was probably brought to Brazil by the Haussás and other Negro followers of Mohammed who were imported from the areas immediately south of the Sahara. In *Globus* for April 28, 1910,[12] there is a photograph taken in Togoland which shows Negroes wearing *torsos*, *panos da costa*, and *saias* similar to those seen today in Bahia, except that the heavily starched petticoat usually worn with the latter is lacking.[13] [177]

The typical wearer of this costume, or *vestimenta bahiana*, as it is called, is a tall, graceful black woman of remarkable physique, self-confident bearing, and intelligent, cheerful countenance. She is known as a *Bahiana*, the first of whom to emigrate from Bahia to Rio, during the disorders attendant on the struggle for independence, impressed the French visitor Debret as notably different from the black women of Rio, not only in dress, but also in general bearing.[14] "The *Bahiana* came to symbolize, by extension, a gracious (*graciosa*) and spirited creole woman."[15] 291 554 [167]

The *Bahianas* were worth seeing at our festivals, with their resplendent costumes; their arms half-covered with gold or silver bracelets; their diamond earrings; their gold necklaces from which hung . . . . crosses, *figas*, and medallions of the order of *Carmo*, all of gold. . . . . They completely dominated our religious festivals. . . . . They [301]

[12] XCVII, No. 16, 245.

[13] The *saia* is commonly worn in Bahia, on days other than those of festival, without starching the underskirt.

[14] J. B. Debret, *Voyage pittoresque et historique au Brésil, 1816-1831* (3 vols.; Paris, 1835), II, 105.

[15] Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

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filled the churches at Mass, at prayers, and at sermons, accompanied by little black urchins carrying small stools of *jacarandá*[16] with carved feet. They were women who tended small stalls in the markets, or who sold in the streets, proprietors of small eating-places, elderly slaves, and young *mulatas* who came to turn the heads of the "old conquerors."[17]

[16] A very heavy wood of rich coloring much prized for furniture.

[533]

[17] "Onde estão as *Bahianas?*" *A Tarde*, June 23, 1936. It was of these *Bahianas* that Carmen Miranda sang when she recently captivated Broadway with the staccato notes of the rollicking *samba* by Dorival Caymmi, "Que é que a Bahiana tem?"

O que é que a bahiana tem?	What is it that a *Bahiana* has?
O que é que a bahiana tem?	What is it that a *Bahiana* has?
Tem torço de seda, tem	She has a *torço* of silk, she has
Tem brinco de ouro, tem	She has ornaments of gold, she has
Corrente de ouro, tem	She has a golden necklace, she has
Tem pano da Costa, tem	She has a *pano da Costa*, she has
Tem bátá rendada, tem, ah!	She has a *bátá*, embroidered, she has—ah!
Pulseira de ouro, tem	Bracelets of gold, she has
Tem saia engomada, tem	She has a *saia*, starched, she has
Sandalia enfeitada, tem.	Decorated *sandalias*, she has.
Tem graça como ninguem	She has "oomph" like nobody else
Como ela requebra bem	How well she swings those hips!
Quando você se requebrar	When you swing those hips
Caia por cima de mim	Fall on top of me
Caia por cima de mim	Fall on top of me
Caia por cima de mim.	Fall on top of me.
O que é que a bahiana tem?	What is it that a *Bahiana* has?
O que é que a bahiana tem?	What is it that a *Bahiana* has?
Tem torço de seda, tem . . . . etc.	She has a *torço* of silk, she has . . . . etc.
Só vae no Bomfim quem tem	Only those go to Bomfim who have
Só vae no Bomfim quem tem	Only those go to Bomfim who have
Um rosario de ouro	A rosary of gold,
Uma bolota* assim	A little ball, thus,
Quem não tem balangandans	She who has no *balangandans*
Não vae no Bomfim	Can't go to Bomfim
Quem não tem balangandans	She who has no *balangandans*
Não vae no Bomfim	Can't go to Bomfim
Oi, não vae no Bomfim	Oi, can't go to Bomfim
Oi, não vae no Bomfim	Oi, can't go to Bomfim
Oi, não vae no Bomfim	Oi, can't go to Bomfim,
Oi, não vae no Bomfim.	Oi, can't go to Bomfim.

[778]

* Instead of a cross the Malés, or Mohammedan Negroes in Bahia, used a ball on the rosary.

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Although the Bahian upper classes, owing to their Negro 262
cooks, are not unacquainted with those dishes of African 177
origin so commonly eaten in the homes of lower-class blacks, 263
one does not ordinarily find on their tables African delicacies like *abará*, *aberém*, *acassá*, *acaragé*, *arroz de Aussá*, *bóbó de inhame*, *carurú*, *efó*, *xin-xin*, etc., each of which is seasoned according to recipes handed down from African forebears who also extensively made use of African seasonings like *azeite de dendê*, *ataré*, *irú*, *pejerecum*, *iêrê*, and *egussi*.[18] The eating habits of the upper classes are, in general, European in origin. But the poorer inhabitants extensively utilize banana leaves for plates and for packaging foods and replace forks with fingers as eating accessories.

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[177]
[824]
[415]

The music and dances enjoyed by large numbers of the darker population further distinguish this portion of the Bahian community. For instance, the *samba*, or *samba batida*, a regional form of the old *batuque*, although it has now been taken over by the upper classes and in a modified form become not only one of the most characteristic musical forms but also one of the favorite dances of Brazil, is still enjoyed in its primitive simplicity by the Bahian lower classes. With them it is a dance in which first one and then another of the participants enters a circle, dances a shuffling step while singing, cantor-fashion, the first line of a stanza, the others responding as a chorus. A song very popular at Mar Grande on the island of Itaparica in the bay at Bahia recalls the

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[18] *Azeite de dendê* is oil from the *dendê* palm; *ataré*, said to have been imported from Africa by Bahian Negroes, is a variety of pepper; *egussi* are gourd or melon pips; *iêrê* are seeds similar to those of the coriander; *irú* and *pejerecum* (or *bejerecum*) are varieties of small beans. For recipes of a number of these dishes see Manoel Raymundo Querino, *A arte culinaria na Bahia* (Bahia, 1928).

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labor of Negro slaves in the cane fields of the *engenhos* of the Reconcavo. The *cantador*, or leader, sings:

> Olha a cana madura . . . .
> Ela é verde, é madura . . . .
> Para fazer "raspadura" . . . .

to which the chorus responds:

> No cannaviá!"[19]

In a second chorus the solo is: "Lá vem o padre," and the response: "Pra casar vocês dois!"[20] In a third, the solo, "Por mim não, barbulêta," is followed by the chorus, "Você póde avuá!"[21]

535 The principal steps of this primitive *samba* are known as the *corta-a-jaca* (cutting the *jaca*), the *separa-o-visgo* (parting the pulp), and the *apanha-o-bago* (taking out the *bago*, or edible portion).

526 *Capoeira* is often *jogado* (played) in out-of-the-way places, and at times, particularly during Carnival or at such festivals as Segunda Feira do Bomfim and Conceição da Praia, it even invades more public places. It is a highly complex form of personal combat, originally developed by fugitive slaves to enable them to compete more effectively with armed *capitães do mato* and now enjoyed as a sport set to music. The agility of the contestants is remarkable, as they strive for points in a struggle without actual physical contact, where unexpected thrusts of the feet or elbows, rapid pivot-

[19] "See the ripe cane,
It is green, it is ripe,
Ready to make *raspadura* [coarse brown sugar]
Chorus:
In the *cannavid* [roadway through the cane field]!"

[20] "Here comes the priest,
To marry you both! . . . ."

[21] "As for me, no, butterfly,
You can fly away!"

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ing, and sudden "cartwheels" alternate with other attempts to confuse and "cripple" an opponent.[29]

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The musical instruments commonly employed among this portion of the population are the *atabaques*, the *agôgô*, the *caxixi*, the *canzá*, the *agê*, the *chocalho*, the *xaque-xaque*, the *cuica*, and the *berimbau*. All but the last three instruments are rarely seen outside the *candomblé*.

The *atabaques* (or *tambaques*) are wooden drums, each approximately twenty inches in diameter but varying in height, invariably used in sets of three. The largest, called *ilá*, or *rum*, is seldom less than two and one-half feet tall and occasionally attains seven feet, while the medium-sized drum, known as *rumpi*, ranges from two to four feet in height, and the smallest, or *lé*, from one and one-half to two and one-half feet. To produce a soft, muted sound, the drums are beaten with the hands. For the heavier tones, *baquetas*, or short wooden sticks, are employed. The huge *bátá-côtô*, or war drum, which played a prominent role in the slave insurrections, has long since disappeared.

The *agôgô* is a bi-tonal instrument, consisting of two hollow iron cones joined together. It is beaten with an iron pin. The *agê*, or *piano de cuiá*, is a large calabash containing pebbles and covered with a small cotton net in whose meshes *buzios*, or cowries imported from Africa, are firmly secured. If the latter are not available, dry seeds known as *contas da Nossa Senhora* are employed instead, and pebbles are occasionally inserted in the calabash itself to augment the sound. The *caxixi* is a tiny reed or straw basket containing cowries or small pebbles. The *xaque-xaque* is a hollow metal instrument shaped like a dumbbell, each of whose enlarged extremities contains small pebbles. When shaken, it produces

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[29] See Edison Carneiro, *Negros bantus* (Rio, 1937), pp. 147–60.

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the sound from which its name is derived. The *chocalho* is a similar instrument, but with only one extremity enlarged. The *adjá* is a small metal bell used to invite members of the cult to the ritual *dar comido ao santo*.[23] The *canzá*, or *ganzá*, now is seldom seen.[24]

[824] The *berimbau* is used primarily to accompany *capoeira*. It consists of a wire strung upon a stick to form a bow, with a dried gourd open at the top attached at the lower extremity. The instrument is beaten, to produce numerous complex rhythms, with a wooden stick held, together with a *caxixi*, in the right hand, while with the left a copper *vintem* (old Portuguese coin) is alternately pressed against the wire and released. The *cuica* is a drumlike instrument, open at one end. Sound is produced by drawing the hand along a resined stick appended to the center of the drumhead.

753 In the lower-class world health and morality are in many
784 cases closely identified. The cause of disease or bodily harm
[565] is often believed to lie in the direct intervention of a deity who has become angered by the nonfulfilment of obligations prescribed in the sacred ritual or by the breaking of
754 taboos. Evil forces may be invoked, it is believed, through the magical influence of the *feitiço* and bring illness, blindness, insanity, or death.[25] The *mau olhado*, or "evil eye,"

[23] See chap. x.

[24] For illustrations of these instruments see Arthur Ramos, *O negro brasileiro* (Rio, 1934), Figs. 24 and 25 (p. 162).

[25] Rituals vary. A portion of the clothing of the one to be harmed, a shoe or other article, may be submitted to magical manipulation and thrown into the sea. In this way the individual is presumed to be subjected to the ebb and flow of the tide. Or a few hairs from the head of the one to be harmed may be mixed with crushed herbs of supposed magical power. Presumably he is then likely "to hate someone whom he now esteems, drink to excess, become crippled or insane, or lose his life." A pigeon, chicken, sheep, or he-

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The mau olhado, or "evil eye," 754
a magical power presumed in many parts of the world, [171]
including Europe, to be possessed, often unwittingly, by
certain individuals, is thought at Bahia to bring death
to plants, birds, and even small children whom the person
has coveted or, perhaps, merely admired. More natural 753
forces are the *ar do vento*, or "air of the wind," a cold draught 821
said to result in indigestion, deformity, insanity, or death; [826]
the *espinhela caida*, or "fallen breastbone," which presum-
ably brings on an emaciated condition of the body; and
sangue nova, or "new blood," thought to be responsible for
the breaking-out of a rash. Dew must not be allowed to fall 753
on the head. Certain diseases, like syphilis and leprosy, are
considered defects common to all men.[26] However, the per- [744]
sistent efforts of agencies like the Rockefeller Foundation [177]
have widely disseminated the idea that malaria results from
the bite of a mosquito.

The treatment or prevention of disease is the logical coun- 789
terpart of a magical theory of causation. Thus, members of 782
this section of the Bahian population attempt to control per-
sonal destiny through the use of charms or other magical
means or through the direct intervention of a deity, whose
favor is sought by the offering of gifts or the performance of
prescribed rituals. Thus, to counteract the influence of the 755
"evil eye," charms are worn, or pieces of the *Guiné*, *Arruda*, 824
or *Vassourinha Doce* plants are passed, to the accompani-
ment of magical words, over and about the affected person's
head.

goat may be killed, or a doll made and its neck pierced by a bit of wood. [754]
Either object is then placed in the doorway of the individual to be harmed
or in any other place where he is likely to pass, the one depositing the *feitiço*
calling out, as he drops it, the name of the person for whom harm is intended.

[26] "Syphilis," a black explained, "began with the world. Everyone has it, even horses, although it may never show up."

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789 head. The wearing of *patuás*, or written prayers, is presumed to "close the body" (*fechar o corpo*) against disease or accident. The nut known as *chapeu de Napoleão* ("Napoleon's hat"), if worn on a string about the neck, similarly is reputed to possess magical power.[27] A cord of deerskin passed over the affected area is presumed to cure erysipelas; a string of white beads worn about the neck of a mother is thought to increase the flow of her milk; a cord tied tightly about the waist of a pregnant woman will, it is believed, "keep the baby from going to the head"; and a stone in the hair is thought to retard delivery. Considered particularly efficacious in all cases of illness is the "*itá* of Xangô."[28]
782 "Prayers," or the use of magical words or phrases over an
755 affected part of the body, are also extensively employed. A common belief is that the *pae de santo* can in this way cure snakebite.

782 The direct intervention of a deity may be invoked as
[776] when presents are made to the *mães d'agua* (female deities who are presumed to inhabit bodies of water) to remove illness or misfortune or to assure future success. Thus, fisher-

[27] At the children's clinic a black mother brought in a child very ill. About his neck was a cord suspending a *chapeu de Napoleão*. To the physician's query, the mother replied, "They said it would make him well. Everyone told me to use it, and I didn't know."

755 [28] *Itás* (Tupi equivalent of "rocks" or "stones") of Xangô, or, as they are
778 also called, *pedras* of Santa Barbara, are thought to have fallen from heaven during thunderstorms. They are said to have penetrated into the earth seven *braças* (2.2 meters) and to have returned to the surface after seven
[554] years. The person so fortunate as to find one of these stones is considered a highly privileged individual. The *itá* is used by the *pae do santo* to crush the leaves of certain medicinal plants which are then put, together with the yolk of an egg, into a vessel and mixed, while an invocation in Nagô, known as *etutu*, is intoned. The stone is then covered with the crushed leaves and egg yolk and allowed to stand for a period of time. The liquid prepared in this way is considered to possess miraculous healing power.

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men, anxious for a good year's catch, or individuals wishing to be rid of some illness, to obtain employment, or to secure a satisfactory resolution of unrequited love, will purchase foods, wearing apparel, toilet articles, jewelry, and other gifts pleasing to a lady and place them with appropriate ceremonies in a body of water presumed to be inhabited by one of the *mães d'agua*. Particularly sacred are the waters of Mar Grande, off the island of Itaparica, where, a few years ago, a saddle horse, it is said, was presented to Yemanjá; Mont'serrat and Cabeceiras da Ponte, on opposite sides of Itapagipe; Baiutê,[29] near the village of Itapoan; and Mariquita, near Rio Vermelho.[30] Parents of twins make regular food and drink offerings to the twin-deities, the Beji, or Cosme and Damião. Omolú, the "*orixá* of smallpox," is believed to protect not only against the ravishes of this disease

[778] [823] [845] [776] 776 75

[29] A foreigner was swimming in Baiutê when a passer-by, seeing him, shouted excitedly, "What are you doing in there? Don't you know that that water is charmed (*encantado*)? You might even turn into a fish. Haven't you seen the white swans? They say that they are two people who once swam here." For accounts of public offerings to the *mães d'agua* see *Estado da Bahia* for June 19 and September 23, 1936; *A Tarde* (Bahia), February 3, 1938.

[30] A letter headed, "Every Vow Fulfilled up to the End of the Year, 1936," and addressed to "Our Lady of Mont'serrat, the Mistress of the Sea, Janaina," was found in the bay near Mont'serrat. It read: [539]

To my Godmother:

I promise you, my Lady of Mont'serrat, that if you arrange it so that I can marry Domingos Portella, I will give you a present worth fifty milreis. And on the second of February I will put in another present according to my means. If possible, I will give you thirty milreis, and if not I will give you at least twenty. As large a present as I have I will give you on February 2, from twenty milreis up. My Godmother, I promise thee that the day of my marriage to Domingos Portella will be a happy day for you also; while I shall be having a *festa* here on land, you also will be having a *festa* there in the holy sea. I will fix dishes of all that we have in the house for this day, and send them to you, with greetings from me.

Your goddaughter,

Yvonne D. L. Braga

(Letter presented here by courtesy of Friar Tomás.)

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776 75 but also against all skin ailments, including leprosy. Particularly approachable is the deity to whom a person is dedicated. "This bad cut on my foot," remarked a *mãe de santo* dedicated to Xangô, "would not heal. So I talked it over with Xangô. He agreed to heal it, and told me what to use. It's now getting well; it's much better already."

755 789 793 794 An individual troubled by continued ill-health, business difficulties, or even bad dreams may request of the fetish-cult priest the ritual of *lavagem das contas*, or "washing the beads." Divination is first resorted to in order to identify the *orixá* "responsible" for the difficulty. Then the beads sacred to this deity are immersed in water, a newly purchased basin being used for the purpose, and a handful of leaves also sacred to him are crushed and added. After a time, the beads are removed and washed with *sabão da costa* ("soap from the Coast"). Thus purified, they are given to the person suffering the ill fortune, who must subsequently keep them in a clay vessel and from time to time wear them about his neck.

755 789 825 753 Considered one of the most effective methods of "removing" a disease or misfortune is the *troca da cabeça*, or "changing of heads," whose purpose is to transfer the disturbing influence from the afflicted person to another individual. The ritual varies. The afflicted one may have his head rubbed with a chicken or a pigeon, which, having thus acquired the evil influence, is then killed. Or an *ebó*, or *bozó*, as it is more commonly called, may be prepared,[31] and the affliction purposely transferred to another individual by leav-

[31] The *bozó* almost always includes a dead hen, popcorn, manioc meal with *azeite de dendê*, pieces of clothing from the one to be benefited, nickel or copper coins, certain African foods like *acassá*, *aberém*, and *acarajé*, and, if available, the African fruits, the *obí* and the *orobó*, of ritualistic significance.

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ing the *bozó* in a place where the intended victim is likely to step on it or otherwise touch it.[32] An animal may be "prepared with the *ebó*" so that whoever subsequently touches the animal will catch the illness or inherit the misfortune. If, however, one wishes to avoid transferring the evil to another person, he may do so and still rid himself of his affliction by leaving the *ebó* in a cemetery.

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If a *filha de santo* (ceremonial dancer of the fetish cult) would avoid illness or other misfortune, it is considered highly important that she observe all the taboos, especially those attaching to food and drink. A pregnant woman must avoid vegetables and all meats other than chicken; she must not join a funeral procession, since the spirit of the deceased might enter her child; and she must avoid a rose touching her bare breast, for otherwise the child, it is believed, will be born with a birthmark.[33]

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Charms may be of a specific nature like the *figa*[34] or the

[32] The affliction may, however, be transferred to someone toward whom no harm was originally intended if the individual placing the *ebó*, either ignorantly or with intention, fails to leave it in the designated place. The first person coming in physical contact with it will be affected. So widespread is this fear of the *ebó* that chauffeurs, even at the risk of an accident, will not run a wheel over one.

[755]
[757]

[33] Current folk medicines include: for syphilis, whale oil; for a toothache, pig or burro dung smoked in a clay pipe; for a cough, sweetened tea prepared by boiling a termite nest; for sore throat, tea made by boiling a live lizard whose body is then removed from the vessel and buried with its head toward the new moon. Native herbs are extensively employed, particularly by *curandeiros*, or they may be administered at the hands of anyone "instructed" by a "manifesting" deity, a common occurrence in those *candomblés* known as *de caboclo* (a portion of whose ritual is probably of native Indian origin) and in spiritualist centers like that in Alto do Bom Gosto, in Calcada, one of whose directors remarked, "So many *caboclos* 'manifest themselves' because they know so well how to heal with herbs."

[34] The *figa* is an image, usually made from wood, of a closed fist with the thumb inserted between the index and middle fingers.

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oxhorn, both of which are employed for protection against the *mau olhado*, or "evil eye." Or they may be of a more general nature like the letters *J M J* (Jesus, Maria, José), or the *signo de Salomão* ("sign of Solomon")[25] either or both of which may be painted or carved on the door of the house or even tattooed on an individual's arm, leg, or chest; or a small pouch worn around the neck and containing either a *patuá* (presumed to protect against evil, especially the machinations of an enemy or death in battle)[26] or a small piece of garlic, "Danda root," *mil homens*, or *arruda*, a clove, or merely some object sacred to the *orixá* to whom the individual is dedicated. Similarly employed are such magical practices as the sprinkling of sea water in the four corners of the house, the emptying through the front door of a basin of water left overnight in the center of the floor, or the burning regularly at six o'clock in the evening of incense to which, occasionally, sulphur and pieces of oxhorn are added until the house is filled with magically potent smoke.

In the fetish cult, divination is commonly resorted to for such purposes as the identification of an unknown *orixá* who has "manifested himself" in human form, the determination of such matters as the eligibility of a prospective *ogan*, or male functionary of the cult, the cause of a troubling illness, or the proper course to pursue in some contemplated action. Divination is also employed to foretell future events, particularly the outcome of business or amorous ventures, jour-

[25] A six-pointed star at whose apex appears a cross.

[26] During the insurrection of 1835, the Malês, as we have seen, wore *patuás* consisting either of prayers or of verses from the Koran, written or printed in Arabic characters. They were presumed to protect against death in any form. For photographs of some of these see Nina Rodrigues, *Os africanos no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1932), p. 98, Figs. 1, 2, 3, and 4.

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SYMBOLS OF THE SOOTHSAYER'S ART PAINTED ON THE WALL OF A NEGRO DWELLING IN MATATU

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794 787 [789] neys, etc.[37] Oracles are invoked by way of such magical intermediaries as the *obí* and the *orobó*, or the *opêlê-ifá* (a chain of thin disks), or they may be obtained directly from an *orixá* who speaks during the "possession" of a *filha* or a *pae de santo* by way of the mouth of the one "possessed."[38]

787 Contact between the living and the dead is believed not only to be possible but to occur regularly. Hence, the prac-

[37] The serious character of a transaction of this sort puts it in a different category from certain other magical acts, common to all classes, which have the character of a game, being similar, for example, to practices attaching to our festival of Halloween. Thus, one may take a glass, "bless" it three times, put in it the white of an egg, and, holding it over a fire, again thrice "bless" it; or partially fill a basin with water and permit the tallow from a lighted candle to drip into it; or stick a knife up to the hilt in a banana tree and leave it until morning. The patterns formed on the glass, the water, and the knife, respectively, are presumed to indicate the initials of one's future spouse. A similar image is presumed to appear in the dreams of one under whose pillow has been left a freshly husked ear of corn.

[825] [38] Other magical practices of this sort are: the placing of crushed char-
[777] coal under a rock to expedite the recovery of a lost article, the burying of the third of a rosary to stop rain; also, it is commonly believed that a hum-
[821] mingbird inside the house, or the singing of an *adivem-quevem*, announces the coming of guests; that the appearance of an owl, or of an *ouriço cacheiro*, foretells death; that a black butterfly is a sign of misfortune; that a katydid with dark eyes brings unpleasant news, while one with light eyes brings favorable news; that seeing the new moon for the first time between the branches of a tree or anywhere partially obscured is a sign of misfortune throughout the coming month; that the showing of money to the new moon when seen for the first time will assure no want of income for the next thirty days; that ill fortune will attend one who dwells in a house on the corner of a street, enters a house with the right foot, or opens an umbrella inside a house. Still other "signs" of misfortune are: the toad; the black cat (or the "ghost" of a cat); the *anum* perched in a tree near the house; the *jacumim*; the hummingbird, if black; the katydid, if it has a black mouth (if the katydid has a red mouth, happiness is in store for the observer). In the opinion
[262] of numerous people, mutton must not be eaten, since it is "the *lamb of God* who taketh away the sins of the world." Sheep are animals which Christians must not eat.

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tice, now not so common as formerly but still occurring, of forsaking a dwelling-place in which some member of the family has died. "Visions" are commonly reported. A *preto* related: 787

> Once as I was working, I suddenly noticed an old friend, together with another man, standing by me, both of them "out of the flesh." My friend spoke and asked me how I was. I told him I was "so-so." Then he said, "Did you know that Fernando was dead?" I didn't, but, sure enough, I found out the next day that he had died that very morning.

One finds in many individuals an absolute credulity in folk tale and folk myth. Thus to many a Bahian of the lower classes the *lobishomem*, the *caipora*, the *mula de padre*, and the *biatáta* are actual entities which he himself, or someone known to him, has supposedly seen or heard. [538]

The *lobishomem* (werewolf), credulity in which is also common to large areas of Europe, is said at Bahia to roam about on moonlight nights, preferably on Fridays, with dogs following him. He takes the form of a man, very pallid, with an enormous shock of hair and long fingernails. Coming up behind a traveler or sneaking into the house after a child, he grasps his victim and sucks his blood. A person "very yellow" from malaria is thought to be in danger of turning into a *lobishomem*. If a family has seven sons and no daughters, the first-born is believed liable to develop into one of these creatures unless he is made co-padre with his parents at the baptism of the seventh child. The hour of such transformation is midnight sharp. A house servant remarked: 776 754

> When I was a small boy, I knew a man who turned into a *lobishomem*. There in my country, near Joazeiro [state of Bahia]. He had killed his father and his mother. He always went around with his head down, very sad and very pale. The children called him *chicobicho* and ran and hid from him. Every Friday night he turned into a

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754 beast and wandered about. We knew he did, for a man who was passing a dark spot on the road late one night saw him; but when he took out his knife and started after him, the beast fled. The *lobishomem* was covered all over with hair and looked horrible. Other people saw him too, running around on all fours. The dogs always barked on Friday nights something terrible. On Saturday morning this man appeared dusty and more pale than usual. He never caught any children because they were all careful to stay in the house during the hours when he was out. But he caught many dogs and cats. He merely sucked their blood; he did not eat them. People found the bodies later, with all the blood drained out.

776 *Mulas de padre* are reputedly the concubines of priests who, transformed into headless animals, run about at night, preferably on Fridays. Covered with noise-making instruments, such as bells, *chocalhos*, and kitchen utensils, they are said to make "an infernal racket" which can be heard as much as a mile away and "makes one's blood run cold."

[177] The *caipora* and the *biatdid* are probably survivals of Indian lore. The former is a creature thought to inhabit timbered areas, where he is peculiarly fond of leading people astray. When a person is lost, the *caipora* "may make him pass right by the path and never see it." The *caipora* calls out to the unfortunate person and leads him further and further astray. Of female sex, an animal some say, a half-body cut perpendicularly from crown to crotch according to others, the *caipora* may be driven away if one smokes tobacco, takes snuff, or chews garlic.

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781 A young *pardo* shoemaker, having become by reason of his schooling somewhat skeptical of tales of the *lobishomem* and of the *mula de padre*, insisted, however, that

the *caipora* is real. Just as a blow on your arm will leave a red mark, the *caipora* has left signs of himself. I know a Portuguese immigrant, a man upright and truthful, who was warned not to hunt on Fridays. He laughed at the warning, and went on into the timber in search of

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jacás, found one, and shot at it. The *jacá* flew at him with its claws extended and severely scratched him. He shot at it again. It flew back and clawed at his eyes. Then he heard a voice, saying "You know you must not hunt on Fridays." It was the *caipora*. The man staggered home, and fell senseless in the door of his house. I knew this man well.

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The *biatdtá* is said to be a woman who inhabits the sea, appearing above water only at night, gradually increasing in size until she assumes an enormous shape, and "casting a huge and frightening shadow."

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Fear of the toad, probably also a survival of Indian belief, is common.[39] If a toad happens to hop into the door of a house, the occupant will immediately grab a broom and sweep it out, repeating over and over, "Creio em Deus Padre."[40] If a malicious person paints a toad on the wall of a dwelling, its occupants will at once desert the place.

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The following account reveals in an intimate way the mental world of a considerable portion of the Bahian lower class. It was related by a young Negro woman in the form of a series of personal experiences and is presented here in as nearly as possible the exact phrasing in which it was originally given.

I was three years old. I was sitting with my mother when something hit me, and I fell over unconscious. She picked me up and took me to a doctor. He gave me medicine and said that it was congestion. Some thought it was the *ar do vento*.

I knew nothing of what was going on; it was as if I were dead. To

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[39] "Montoya says ('Manuscripto guarani da Bibliotheca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro sobre a primitiva catechese dos Indios das Missões,' *Annaes da Bibliotheca National*, Vol. VI) that among Indians observed by him, the entrance of a toad into a gathering of people was a sign of the approaching death of one of those present" (Gilberto Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* [2d ed.; Rio, 1936], p. 99).

[40] "I believe in God, the Father."

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help me get better, they took me up off the ground.[41] Then my mother called in Mamêdê [the local *pae de santo*], to see what was the matter with me. He came, *abriu a mesa*[42] and said that this had been with me from my birth. My mother then asked him if he could cure it. He said he could. He made her buy plates, *moringues*,[43] beads, cups, coconuts, etc. Then he prepared all that.[44] They washed my head with water from the sacred leaves. My mother asked if he could take that thing away so that it would not come back again. He said he would not dare to do that, or I would die. He said it always came back.

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When it returned, they washed my head again. I did not know what was going on. It was as if I had slept. When I awakened, I was all "prepared": dressed *de creola* with a *saia grande* and a *torso* on my head. Everything red. *Sandalias* too. Everything the same color.

When this happened I was still small. The *pae de santo* said that I was under a spell [*era encanto*]. He "did the work" once more, and I was all right again. But when I was seven years old, it took hold of me once more. My mother was afraid and begged the *pae de santo* to do something about it. She pleaded so earnestly that finally he said he would speak with the enchantment [*encanto*] so that it would not come down any more.

It didn't come back until I was fifteen years old. Then they arranged another dress *de creola*, and also handkerchiefs, strings of beads, bracelets, and *sandalias*. They ordered plates, small glasses, and *quartinhas* bought. When all this was ready, the *pae de santo* washed my head in sacred water. He said it was the "owner of my head" [*dono da minha cabeça*] who had done that to me. There in Cachoeira, across the river from São Felix,[45] is the *casa de Gêge*.[46] The *pae de santo* is the grandson of an African.

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[41] That is, she was removed from the reed mat which, placed directly upon the floor of a hut, is extensively used among the poorer families for sleeping purposes.

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[42] That is, he set up certain means of divination.

[43] Water pots made of red clay.

[44] That is, he submitted it to the proper ritual.

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[45] Cachoeira and São Felix are twin cities, separated by the Paraguassú River, located across the Bay to the north of the city of Bahia.

[46] The *candomblé* of the Gêge cult in which she had now been inducted.

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When I was sixteen years old I went across the river to live in São Felix. There was a man there who was crazy. We asked what was the matter with him, and they said, that he had seven Exú's[47] in his body. They had given him a cigar and when he began to smoke, he became wild. He was nearly insane. He did not want to hear the word of God. When they talked of going to Mass, he wanted to run away. They took him and tied him up. He stayed this way two whole weeks. Once in a while his relatives came to see him. Finally, they decided to take him to a *candomblé*. They untied him and he went. For a long time he remained there and kept on acting the same way. Then the head of the *candomblé* took a hand in the matter. He ordered them to get black cloth, candles, *azeite de dendê*, incense, and several other things which he needed. After he had finished, he gave the man a bath to clean him up. When twelve o'clock came, he stretched him out in the middle of the floor. And there he lay all sprawled out. We saw a black Negro with red lips sitting on his knee. He was about this high [indicating approximately two and one-half feet], and as black as coal. His lips were as red as the lid of that can [indicating a *matte* container with bright red cover]. He had large ears that stuck out like this [indicating about a twelve-inch spread]. He was horrible. His horns were this long [indicating about six inches]. And his tail, about a meter. His eyes were big, like this [indicating an oval three inches in diameter]. They were the size of "three children."[48] His tongue looked like a snake's; it was really four separate tongues. And he was sitting there on the man's knee. We were all afraid. We wanted to run; but we dared not. He didn't stay long. Only about ten minutes. He left the man's knee and disappeared into the body of the man who had bought and brought the "things." The *pae de santo* filled up a basin, and Exú took himself away. We did not see him disappear. Ten minutes later the man got up, feeling better. He had been sitting there crying hard. They shaved off his hair, washed his head and painted it with a pencil, white, blue, pink, and lavender. Then they

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[47] Exú (pronounced "Ã-shu") is an African deity who is often, although not always, thought of as possessing an evil nature. See chap. x.

[48] This expression was explained in the following manner: "A person looking into an ordinary eye sees the image of one child; in Exú's eyes the image was three times as big."

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put many beads of O Senhor do Bomfim on him, and a *figa;* they covered him with ornaments.

[789] The *figa* is to free one from the evil eye. For example: I have a dress. You think it is pretty, and you want it very much; something [754] then happens to it. Or a *sabiá*[10] sings beautifully. You are visiting its owner; you want it, you want it very badly. You leave, and it dies or something else happens to it because you cannot have it. This is the evil eye. One needs to "pray it away" with *Guiné*, *Arruda*, or *Vassourinha Doce*. An oxhorn in the garden will keep it away from plants.

[794] Then the man went around with hands folded, "taking the bless-[776] ing" from everyone there. Seven children went out with lighted can-[793] dles. Then he got up entirely well. Today he has a *casa de candomblé*. He is now very old. His *orixá* is Ogum de Gêge. The *pao de santo* who treated him is of Ogum de Mina.

159 My guardian angel [*anjo de guarda*] is Xangô. Ogum is a soldier,
776 Xangô is of the thunder and also of the lightning. He is Santa Barbara of the Irmandade. All the *orixás* are equal. But Oxalá directs everything. Nanan is his wife. In the Gêge language she is called Odé.

159 My sister, she died, burned up. She caught all on fire. He who
776 killed her is Oxóssi; it was he who killed her. My sister is buried in the
784 Quinta dos Lazaros.[10] She burned to death because she disobeyed him. He sent a message and she paid no attention to it. Her husband had a *saveiro*.[11] Every trip which he made she went along in the boat. She had no children. Everywhere he went, she went too. When, one time, the *orixá* "arrived" and told her that she should not travel on the water, she didn't take his words very seriously; she laughed the matter off, "gave it a *muxóxó*." But about a week afterward, she went with her husband in a *saveiro* across the Bay to Bahia. Between Itaparica and Salinas the *saveiro* caught afire. It had powder on it and the powder exploded. Parts of the *saveiro* were ripped off and hurled into the water. She was surrounded by fire. When they finally reached her, she was badly burned. They brought her to the Santa Isabel Hospital,

[825] [10] A Brazilian bird which can be trained to sing tunes.

[10] A Bahian cemetery.

[501] [11] A sturdy sailboat used on Todos os Santos Bay and its contributory rivers to transport light articles of commerce.

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and the next day she died. But before she died, he "arrived" and said it was he who had set fire to the *saveiro*. It was Oxóssi. Her husband also died. When one doesn't carry out his obligations [*cumpre com os seus deveres*], the *orixá* takes his life.

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Once I had a party at my house for some friends. But Xangô sent me a message that I should go to the *candomblé*. I said that I was not going because I was having a party. A little while later, while I was dancing with my friends, I suddenly got a stiffness in my legs. But I didn't pay much attention to it. Then I suddenly felt an "opening of the body" [*aperto no corpo*],[13] and I didn't know anything more. When I came to, I was dancing in the *candomblé*. When the *candomblé* was over, I went running clear to the top of Boeiros do Inferno ["Funnels of Hell"] without knowing anything about what I was doing. These are two hills called by that name because they are so high. I didn't feel anything. Afterward, Xangô beat me on the hands, and my hands swelled. When he "arrived" again, he said that I should pay more attention to him, or he would beat me some more. Once he struck me. On that day I was very tired, but I went to the *candomblé* and danced anyway.

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I dance when there is a big ceremony; I dance for hours at a time without getting tired. The spell seizes me, and sometimes I dance more than three days without feeling the least bit tired. When the *orixá* "arrives in my head," I spend a week or more "sleeping."[14] I don't feel anything. I don't see anything. People talk to me, but I don't know anything about what is going on.

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If one drinks water, the *orixá* doesn't "arrive." For instance, one feels cold. That cold is in the body. The *orixá* wants "to arrive." Then one drinks water. He who is of the *preceito* does not drink water. And whoever drinks, breaks the *preceito*. It is prayed ten times.[15]

[13] A "trembling of the body," signifying that the *orixá* wished to enter and to "manifest himself" in human form. See chap. x.

[14] That is, moving about, but unconscious of what is happening.

[15] That is, by taking a drink of water, one can presumably prevent the deity from entering the body. One must at the same time pray ten words and tap the ground ten times. In this way, the *preceito* (i.e., the control of the deity over one) is broken.

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I stayed only seven days in the *casa*,[55] because my head was washed. Others spend three months there, lying down all the time. They lie awhile on one side, then on the other, and then face down. One takes a bath in water perfumed with sacred leaves. Every day. The bath is cold, very cold. You must change your clothes and the bed linen every day. It isn't in a real bed that one lies down. They put a mat on the floor, and you have only a pillow and a sheet. You can move, but only from one side to the other, never over on your back. During the time you are in the *camarinha*, you cannot see your relatives. You may see them only on the day you leave. But then you must go at four in the morning and return at four in the evening so that the dew will not fall on your head.

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There may be others in the *camarinha*. Sometimes many others. All of them stay in the same room. They sleep with their heads together. If there are ten, there will be space for all ten. While they are in the *camarinha*, they do not attend ceremonies.

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I did not go through all this because my head did not have to be shaved. I had my *orixá* from birth. When I came into this world, he already knew everything.[56] My *pae de santo* has "worked" with many people. Last week he was here in Fazenda Grande.

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When my *orixá* took possession of me, I quit eating he-goat. Because of the taboo of the *orixá* one cannot eat certain things. During all my life I cannot eat he-goat, because of the taboo. Neither can I eat turtle. For he who is of Xangô does not eat either he-goat or turtle. He who is of Ogum must not eat sheep's meat. Some *filhas* must not eat fruit; others must not eat fish *de couro*, only those fish which have scales. Crabs cannot be eaten by some, nor the leaf of Ogum. Water may be drunk, but only that which is drawn at 4:00 A.M., before the sun rises.

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White maize must be eaten by some, depending on the *orixá*. For every *orixá* of every nation[57] has his own food. There is the food of Odé. There is that of Xangô, which is mutton.

[55] The period during which the candidate is initiated into her new function is spent within the sacred room, or *camarinha*, of the *candomblé* center.

[56] That is, he "knew" that she would be consecrated to him.

[57] That is, of each type of *candomblé*: Gêge-Nagô, Congo, Angolo, *de caboclo*.

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My *pae de santo* made an *ebó* for me last week. It is a *limpeza do corpo* ["cleansing of the body"]. I had an unclean body and dragged myself around, listless. I went to the "master" of the *candomblé* and he "opened the table" and looked to see if my body was unclean. He then asked me to bring toasted maize, a black cloth, popcorn, honey, and a candle. He passed them all over me,[58] and when he had finished, he took them and left them in a crossroads. Friday is the day for this. 159 793 783

Now if a person puts a *bruxaria*[59] in your doorway, with a doll stuck through with pins, that is of the *feiticeiro* and it is different from a "cleansing of the body." My *pae de santo* does not make *feitiço*. He says that he does not care to do harm to people, because he has a soul for which he is responsible to God. But any *pae de santo* who wishes to bring harm upon someone can do so. For example, if I arrive in his *casa* and say that I want to do something to someone he asks me: "What do you want to do to her?" I say that when she comes to my door I want her to go blind. He will "make a business" and the next day she will come to my door and go blind. Or else I say that I want her to be wounded by a knife. He arranges it so that this happens.[60] 159 754 [793]

"Opening the table" is a thing done with *buzios*. The *pae de santo* puts an *orixá* on top of the table, together with his little towel.[61] He takes up the *buzios* and sees if "the way is open." My *pae de santo* "opens the table" with beads.[62] He takes the beads and puts them alongside *palha* from the *pindoba*.[63] These beads come from the Coast.[64] His set cost 1:000$000.[65] 159 787 793 778 [439] [435]

[58] That is, in front, to side, behind, above the head, etc.

[59] Any instrument of black magic.

[60] That is, she will be attacked in a lonely place by robbers, or accidentally stabbed. The action is always mediate.

[61] The table-covering which is placed over the *orixá* in the *pegi*, or sanctuary.

[62] Other means employed: a glass of water, a set of playing cards.

[63] Fronds from a variety of the coconut palm.

[64] That is, from the West Coast of Africa.

[65] One thousand milreis, or one conto, equivalent at that time to approximately $60.

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My sister is preparing *carurú*. She has twin boys. When God gives you twins, you are obliged to present *carurú* to Cosme and Damião. If you fail to do this, someone in the house will die that year.

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If one were now to set down an account of the personal experiences of an upper-class Bahian, it would reveal an entirely different mental world. In general content it would reflect a culture distinctly European. Dress, music, food and food habits, forms of religious expression, sacred specialists, means of exercising control over personal destiny, and the ideas, attitudes, sentiments, points of view, and philosophy of life associated with them would, in general, not vary from those commonly characteristic of individuals of European origin wherever found.

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This variation at Bahia in cultural identification between the Europeans, on the one hand, and the *Africanos*, on the other—this difference in ideas, attitudes, and sentiments—obviously erects serious barriers to intercommunication and consequently retards the development of a body of common understandings upon which the moral solidarity of any society is built. Although most of the Bahian blacks have now to a considerable extent sloughed off their former cultural identity with Africa and have been more or less completely incorporated into the European world, a remnant of *Africanos* still live, in spite of contiguity in space with the Europeans, to a considerable extent culturally apart.

As will be evident in greater detail in the following chapter, the Europeans tend to look upon the beliefs and the practices of the *Africanos* as matters for ridicule, scorn, disparagement, and condemnation. They are thought of as queer, bizarre, unintelligible, inferior forms of behavior.

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They represent, to this element of the Bahian population, another world.

The general disposition, however, is to tolerate these African practices so long as they are not too obviously indulged in, particularly in public places, and they in no way interfere with the European habits of the major portion of the population. The Europeans act in this respect with somewhat the same leniency which an adult exercises toward the immature conduct of a child, in the confident expectation that "time and education" will do away with these evidences of what one upper-class individual referred to as "cultural backwardness and barbarism." Thus, the behavior of the numerically small group of *Africanos*, although under continuous disapproval and disparagement, is ordinarily treated more as a matter for levity than as a cultural threat; it meets with little deliberate effort at eradication, and even such attempts as are made in this direction are sporadic and halfhearted. Partially for these very reasons, African cultural forms are rapidly disappearing at Bahia.

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The *vestimenta bahiana*, for instance, although ordinarily regarded by representatives of the European culture as picturesque, rather romantic wearing apparel, tends today to be largely discarded, especially by the mixed-bloods, and to be withdrawn more and more into the relative privacy of the *candomblé*. Of 500 mulatto women noted on the streets, only 5 were wearing the full costume, and 14 others had on certain portions of it, while 481, or 96.2 per cent, appeared in modern European dress. Of 500 black women noted, 91, or 18.2 per cent, were wearing the full costume, 82 others, or 16.4 per cent, were wearing parts of the costume, while 327, or 65.4 per cent, had on modern European clothing.

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The *Africanos* ordinarily look upon the Europeans as presumptuous and quite naturally resent all evidences of a feeling of cultural superiority. Particularly do they resent what they consider to be unfair comparisons with the Europeans, on the one hand, and with the native Indians (who are ordinarily romanticized in Brazil), on the other. Said an *Africano:*

> These people think the Indian is worth so much! Look here! Brazil has been discovered for more than four hundred years, and there isn't a single book in Tupi like this [showing the English Prayer-book printed in Nagô], or a single magazine like this [pointing to a periodical published in English in Lagos and containing several articles by Africans]. These people here call us fetish worshipers and say, "Aw, that's African nonsense!" It just goes to show that they don't know anything about what we have in Africa.

This sentiment was echoed by another *Africano*, who complained:

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> These people here in Bahia think Africans are all barbarous and uncivilized. They won't believe we write our language and that books are printed in it. They say, "Why, these *Africanos*, they're just pagan fetish worshipers, ignorant, and without culture." They don't know that in Lagos there are good schools, better than they've got in Bahia. Look at this [showing a photograph of a school in Lagos]! Is there anything in Bahia as fine as that?

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It is perhaps obvious that these complaints reflect a sense of inferiority and an unconscious acceptance of European cultural standards. The case of the *Africanos* in Bahia confirms the hypothesis that the transformation of inner experience characteristic of all cases of assimilation is, to a large extent, an unwitting process which may at times go on even in direct opposition to the individual's intention and resolution. The ordinarily patient and tolerant attitude of the Ba-

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hian descendants of Europeans, whether or not they are aware of the fact, has been an eminently successful policy.

This change is not difficult to understand. The children and grandchildren of the *Africanos* are in more direct contact with the schools and other instrumentalities of European cultural diffusion. To a considerable extent they are being weaned away from the beliefs and practices of their ancestors. In most cases they have now come to take toward their parents and grandparents the same attitudes which the European community takes toward them. Gradually, the behavior of these children and grandchildren is developing in the *Africanos* themselves an increasingly acute sense of cultural inferiority.

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At the same time *Africanos* resent every evidence of another *Africano* breaking with the traditions of his ancestors and thus tending, even unwittingly, to undermine the solidarity of the group. Especially do they resent someone's currying favor with Europeans. As one man put it, "If I see an *Africano* talking to one of these whites, I won't look at the white man but I'll look the black fellow all over, this way [giving facial expression to indicate contempt, disdain], and after I'm down the street a ways I'll do this [sharply clearing his throat and spitting]." A white man was walking one day in Caminho da Cruz da Redenção in Brotas (a subdivision of Bahia) in company with two *Africanos*, an elderly *feiticeiro* ("witch doctor") and his son. A black suddenly shoved his head out of the window of a hut which they were passing and shouted, "Such Negroes! Worthless trash! Walking around with a white man!"

At first sight, one is likely to assume that these outbursts, reflecting as they obviously do antagonistic attitudes toward

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571 the whites, are evidences of race prejudice. The fact, how-
178 ever, that outside the *Africano* group, among the more or less assimilated blacks, these antagonistic attitudes tend to disappear, indicates that what we see reflected here is a cultural, and not necessarily a racial, conflict. Antagonism is
[186] directed not at the whites as such but at *Europeans;* it is directed at the bearers of a culture, a body of ideas, attitudes, and sentiments, in conflict with the ideas, attitudes, and sentiments of the *Africanos.*

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CHAPTER X

THE *CANDOMBLE*

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AMONG the last elements of African culture to disappear at Bahia are the customs and traditions associated with the expression of religious sentiment. The *candomblé*, or Afro-Brazilian fetish cult, is still a vigorous institution and numbers among its adherents some of the most widely known and respected members of the Bahian lower classes. Its leaders, in several conspicuous instances, are able and intelligent individuals, whose prestige extends even into the upper circles. Some *seitas*, or cult centers, have maintained the same temple of worship for generations. Their rituals and ceremonies are serious, dignified, and carried on according to definite, fixed, traditional forms.

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This highly complex organization of ritual and belief is built around an order of *orixás*, or deities, each of whom apparently personifies some natural phenomenon. Thus, of the more important and more widely honored deities, Xangô is worshiped as the *orixá* of lightning and thunder; Ogun, of war and iron; Oxossi, of the hunt; Omolú, of pestilence; Nanan, of rain; Yemanjá, of salt water; Oxun, of fresh water; Yansan, of wind and storm; Oxun-manrê, of the rainbow; and Beji, of twin births.

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The older and more respected *seitas* are commonly considered to be of Nagô (Yoruba) or Gêge (Ewe) origin or represent a fusion in Brazil of these two apparently closely related bodies of African ritual and belief.[1] In details of lan-

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[1] Nina Rodrigues, *Os africanos no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1932), p. 320.

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794 In details of language, ceremonial dress, dance, song and pantheon, these
184 centers differ from the *candomblés* known as "Congo" or
[178] "Angola," in which Bantû dialects are spoken, Loanda and Benguela become sacred places, and Tempo and the Angolan
[177] chief Kissimbe are worshiped. They differ also from the apparently more recently organized *caboclo candomblés* whose ritual is, in varying degrees from *seita* to *seita*, a mixture of the rituals of the other cults, together with dances and a pantheon of Tupi origin, the latter of which includes Tupan, an important Tupi deity, and Tupinambá, apparently a personification of the cannibal tribe by that name which inhabited the Bahian coast at the coming of the Europeans.
[191] The *caboclo candomblés* carry on their ceremonies principally in Portuguese, with the addition of certain phrases of African origin, usually much corrupted, which have been picked up
[177] from Gêge-Nagô or Congo-Angola *seitas*, and a few words of Tupi derivation. Feathers, the bow and arrow, and other Indian cultural elements enter into their ritual.

794 This borrowing of ceremonial elements on the part of
184 *caboclo* imitators, who in many, if not most, cases have not been reared in the African tradition, is bitterly resented
178 by the more orthodox and scrupulous *Africanos*, particularly those of the Gêge-Nagô *seitas*. As a Negro once said, "Si seja mistura, é bobagem" ("If it's mixed, it's nonsense"). A leader of a Nagô cult once burst out:

> This fellow João da Pedra Preta! What a disgraceful whelp! His forebears, what did they know? Were they brought up in the *seita*, and did they "deixaram o cargo" [will the office of priest] to him? No! He came here from the *sertão* and started a *candomblé*. Picked up a little Gêge, a little Nagô, a little Congo, a little Indian stuff, and so on. A disgraceful mixture!

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A Nagô *mãe de santo* boasted of the ritual in her seita: "It's all pure Nagô; there's nothing in my *candomblé* of this abominable mixture which these upstart places practice today. They call this *caboclo* nonsense *candomblé!* Why, they know absolutely nothing about the way it's done in Africa!"

However, the borrowing of ritual back and forth from *seita* to *seita* sometimes takes place even in the case of Gêge-Nagô and Congo-Angola centers. Moreover, these *seitas* have not entirely escaped some Indian influence. [177]

With reference, then, to cultural origin and identification, there are three principal types of *candomblés* at Bahia: the Gêge-Nagô, the Congo-Angola, and the *caboclo*.[2] The *seitas* of probably most pure Gêge-Nagô origin are those of Engenho Velho, reputed to be the oldest cult center in Bahia; Gantois, which split off from Engenho Velho approximately a century ago and was, during the time of the famed *mãe de santo* Pulcheria, the seat of the researches of Nina Rodrigues; and São Gonçalo, whose able and widely respected *mãe de santo* speaks a Yoruba dialect locally known as Queito. These three centers are probably largely Nagô in origin,[3] while that of Bogum is said to be with the possible exception

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[2] The Malê, or Mohammedan cult, which at one time was vigorous and flourishing, seems to have been largely forsaken in favor of the fetish cults by the Negroes at Bahia. Although, in 1905, Nina Rodrigues estimated that one-third of the Africans still living in the city were Mohammedans, he at the same time pointed out that they were then making few, if any, converts among blacks born in Brazil and that Mohammedanism would in all probability die with them (*op. cit.*, pp. 93–94). Certain of the Malê ritual, however, has contributed to the general fusion so characteristic of present-day *candomblés*, and at least three Malê centers are still functioning. [178] [795]

[3] Also of Yoruba identification is Lingua da Vaca ("Cow's Tongue"), which was organized by Negroes of Ige-shá and Egbá origin.

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of a *seita* in the city of Cachoeira across the bay, the most purely Gêge in the region. Of the Congo-Angola centers, the one reputed to be most influenced by Congo tradition is Bata Folha; that most influenced by Angola tradition, the *seita* of Maria Nenen. Of the *caboclo* centers, the more noted are perhaps those of the wealthy and widely feared *pae de santo* Jubiabá in Cruz do Cosme, of *mãe de santo* Sabina in Quintas da Barra, and of "Pae Joazinha," or João da Pedra Preta (John-of-the Black-Rock), in Gomea.

Out of the Afro-Brazilian Congress which met at Bahia in January, 1937, came a memorial addressed to the governor of the state asking for official recognition of the *candomblé* as a religious sect with rights and privileges equal, under the Brazilian constitution, to those of all other forms of religious expression. In order to act more effectively in demanding and securing these rights and in combating the sorcery and quackery which are perhaps the principal obstacles in the way of their attainment, an attempt was made, sponsored by the young mulatto journalist, Edison Carneiro, to organize all Bahian *seitas* into one body. The result was an organization known as the União das Seitas Afro-brasileiras da Bahia with a governing body, consisting of one representative from each *seita*, charged with the special responsibility of eliminating unorthodox practices.[4]

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The *seitas* are located in sections of the city where the residents are almost exclusively blacks and dark mulattoes or in the outlying regions where dwellings are few. They number perhaps between a hundred and a hundred and fifty. Some say there are two to three hundred, but this estimate

[4] At the first session animosity between the more orthodox centers and the *caboclo seitas* was so great that any substantial agreement appeared to be quite difficult.

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appears to be an overstatement. In the area surrounding the sacred lake, or the Dique, and lying between the streetcar lines known as Rio Vermelho de Cima and Rio Vermelho de Baixo are more than a score. A black who regularly attends the *seita* known as Engenho Velho is personally acquainted with eighteen *seitas*, can give the location of their sacred grounds, indicate their line of African descent, and repeat the names of their leaders. Of these eighteen *seitas*, he says that eleven are of Nagô origin, six of Angola, and one of Gêge. All are located in the outlying areas of the city in sections principally inhabited by the darker portion of the population or in the more or less open country. Of their leaders, nine are males and nine are females.[5]

Sacred places include the *terreiro*, or temple grounds; the *franquia*, or sacred groves; sacred springs like that called Milagre do São Bartholomeu ("Miracle of St. Bartholomew"), located in an isolated spot near Pirajá, bathing in whose waters on the part of a *filha de santo* dedicated to Oxun-manrê "immediately causes the *orixá* to arrive";[6] sacred lakes, like the Dique; and the sacred arms of the sea, such as Cabeceiras da Ponte, Mont'serrat, and Baiutê. In the *terreiro* are the *barracão*, or sacred dance pavilion; the *pegi*, or fetish sanctuary; the *camarinha*, or sacred room in which initiates are interned during the period of their preparation; special huts for those *orixás*, like Exú, who "prefer to dwell outside the *pegi*"; and the living-quarters for the priest and his retinue.

In one *seita* of Gêge-Nagô origin whose *pae de santo* is dedi-

[5] Of the eleven Nagô centers, four of the heads are males, seven are women; of the Angola centers, five are males, one a female. The leader of the Gêge *seita* is a woman.

[6] See below, p. 286.

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794 796 cated to the *orixá* Ogun, the special ceremonial season begins with the second week in September and concludes with the 794 first week in December. During this period ceremonies are 796 held every Sunday, each dedicated to one or more of the 776 *orixás*. The first ceremony is in honor of Oxalá; the second, of Oxagian ("Oxalá the Younger"); and the following three, of Ogun. Succeeding Sundays are dedicated, respectively, to Xangô, Oxun, Oxóssi, Yemanjá, and Yansan. On the eleventh Sunday and the subsequent Monday special honor is paid to Omolú, and on the following Sunday and Monday, to [782] all of the *mães d'agua*. On the final Sunday a *feijoada* (a 794 Brazilian food delicacy) is offered, with elaborate ritual, to [796] Ogun. In addition to this regular season, special ceremonies are held from time to time throughout the year, with the exception of the Lenten period, when all *candomblé* activity is suspended.

[776] The Gêge-Nagô and the Congo-Angola pantheons contain about the same number of deities, or approximately a hundred *orixás* each. The *caboclo* pantheon has perhaps a score 794 less. Each *orixá* possesses his proper fetish, insignia, sacred 778 day, sacred foods, sacred colors, sacred dress (including [776] bracelets and beads peculiar to himself), and a distinguishing cry. Today, only in rare instances are the fetishes carved images; more often they are polished stones which have been [782] worn smooth by the waters of a river or of the sea. They are carefully cared for in the *pegi*, or sanctuary, by a special functionary who at regular intervals washes them and replenishes the food and drink offerings placed before them.

794 In some *seitas* Oxalá is considered the most important of 776 the deities; in others, Xangô; and, in still others, Omolú or, as he is sometimes called, Xapanan. Olorun, "the father of [178] the *orixás*," is almost forgotten today in Bahia, although

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occasionally one meets an older *Africano* who thinks of Olorun as "the creator of all the other *orixás*." Each is thought to have his home in Africa, and when one inquires of a black how the *orixás* can come so far to eat and drink the offerings set out for them, the answer is always easy, "They are summoned, and they come at once." 776 [178]

Each *orixá* is presumed on occasion to "manifest himself" in human form and to speak his will. Such "manifestation" is accomplished by "arriving in the head" of an individual who has been dedicated to him. His "presence" is attested by an abnormal psychic state accompanied by violent, spasmodic muscular movements, particularly of the neck, shoulder, and back muscles. Seizure ordinarily takes place during ceremonial dances, but occasionally (quite rare today) it may occur spontaneously while the individual is alone and about his work. Subsequently, the one in whom the *orixá* has "arrived" and "manifested himself" is unaware of what has transpired. 794 776 787

The name, sex, personification, fetish, insignia, sacred foods, sacred dress, sacred ornaments, sacred day, and identifying call of the principal Gêge-Nagô *orixás* at Bahia are as given in Table 15. 794 776

Each *seita* is presided over by a priest or priestess known as the *pae de santo* or *mãe de santo* (literally, the "father" or "mother" of the *orixás*). His (or her) most important functions are to identify a "manifesting" deity, supervise the initiation of the ceremonial dancers in whom an initial "manifestation" has occurred, perform the sacred ritual designed to "fix" the *orixá* in the fetish, supervise the sacrifices, and preside at public ceremonies. He may also exercise, to some extent at least, the office of an *olhador*, or diviner, who "throws the Ifá" to determine in advance the 794 793

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PRINCIPAL *Orixás* OF THE GÊGE-NAGÔ FETISH CULTS AT BAHIA

Name	Sex	Personification	Fetish	Insignia	Sacred Foods	Dress	Beads	Bracelet	Sacred Day	Call
Oxalá (Orixá-lá, Obatalá)*	M,F	(?)	Lead ring, cowries	Shepherd's staff with small bells	She-goat, pigeon	White	White	White beads, lead	Friday	Tremulous groan
Xangô	M	Lightning	Meteorite	Lance, hatchet	Cock, turtle, he-goat, *caruru*	Principal color: red	Red and white	Brass	Wednesday	*hay-ee-ee*
Ogun (Ogum)	M	War, iron	Iron: hoe, anvil, scythe, spade, shovel, sledge	Lance, sword	He-goat, cock, oxhead, guinea hen	All colors	All colors	Bronze	Tuesday	*guere-mio-fô*
Oxóssi (Oxo-ossi, Ochossi)	M	The hunt	Bow and arrow, clay skillet, stone	Bow and arrow, hunting bag, powder horn, oxtail	Sheep, cock, maize	Green, yellow; trimmed with *palha da costa*	Green	Bronze	Thursday	Bark like that of a dog
Omolú (Humoulú, Omanlá, Xapanan)	M	Pestilence, especially smallpox	*Piassava* with *búzios*	Lance	He-goat, cock, *acassá*, popcorn, *orôbó*, maize with *azeite de dendê*	Red, black	Red and black, red and white	Cowries	Monday	*hô*
Erê	M	Evil (?), mischievousness	Clay, iron, wood	?	"Eats everything that is edible"	Red, black	Red, black	Bronze	Monday†	?
Yemanjá (Iemanjá)‡	F	Salt water	Seashell	Fan, sword	Pigeon, maize, cock, castrated he-goat	Red, dark blue, rose	*pingos da agua* (transparent)	Aluminum	Saturday	*hio-hay-yo-mio*

* Also known in Gêge as Oulissa; in Angola as Cassumbeca; in Tapa as Inacoude Jegum. (The *x* in Oxalá, etc., is pronounced like *sh* in English.)
† Also the first day of any extended ceremony.
‡ In the *candomblés de cabocio*, Yemanjá is called Rainha do Mar, Dona Janaina (or simply Janaina); Dona Maria, Sereia do Mar, Princesa do Mar.

TABLE 15—*Continued*

Name	Sex	Personification	Fetish	Insignia	Sacred Foods	Dress	Beads	Bracelet	Sacred Day	Call
Yansan (Iansan)	F	Wind, storm	Meteorite	Sword	Goat, hen, *amalá*, § *acarajé*	Principal color: red ("avoids" violet)	Red, coral	Copper, brass	Wednesday	*hey-ee-ee* ("softer" than Xangô)
Oxun (Oxum, Ossa)	F	Fresh water	Stone worn smooth by a river	*Abébé* (fan), looking-glass, small bell	Fish (*ainhe*), she-goat, hen, beans	?	Yellow, blue	Brass	Saturday	*hoon-hoon*
Anamburucú (Nanan, Nanamburucú)‖	F	Rain	Stone	Sword, small straw broom with cowries	Goat, hen, *obí*	White, dark blue	White, red and blue	Aluminum	Wednesday	*ho-ho-ho-ho*
Oxun-maré (Ochu-maré)	F	Rainbow	Stone	?	Cock, he-goat	?	Orange	?	?	?
Lôkô (Rôkô, Irôkô)	?	?	*gameleira* tree	?	Cock, tobacco, beer, white wine	All colors¶	All colors	?	Tuesday	Low whistle
Ifá	?	Future events	Fruit of the *dendê* palm	?	?	?	Green-yellow	?	?	?
Beji (Ibeji)	M	Twin births	Images of São Cosme and São Damião	?	*caruru*, *acassá*, *abará*, *acarajé*, *farofa* with *azeite de dendê*	?	?	?	?	?

§ *Amalá* is *caruru* served with rice or with gruel made from the manioc root.
‖ Also known in Gêge as Tobossi. She is "the oldest" of the *mães d'agua* (Yemanjá, Oxun, Yansan, Anamburucú, Oxun-maré).
¶ Also a straw mat or a strip of white cloth, called *ewjo*, which is wrapped about the trunk of a *gameleira* tree.

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794 outcome of some projected action; and also the office of a
793 *curandeiro*, who diagnoses ailments and prescribes cures. He may minister to a clientele even outside the members of the *seita*, giving advice and counsel on matters of business, politics, love, etc.

794 Disputes between members of the *seita* are ordinarily sub-
793 mitted for adjudication to the *pae* or *mãe de santo*. Persua-
627 sion is at first employed. But if this proves unsuccessful, the priest orders each of the disputants to wash his particular fetish, upon which, with rare exceptions, acceptance of mediation is secured. The settling of the dispute is then celebrated by each party to the quarrel drinking from the water
[688] in which the other's fetish has been washed. Continuance of the altercation will break the implied promise to the *orixá* and render the offender liable to punishment, which is ordinarily death.

794 The *pae* or *mãe de santo* may also exercise the function of
793 a *feiticeiro* and deal in black magic. But this occupation is
754 disclaimed by several of the more prominent priests and priestesses, who refuse to countenance deeds designed to do harm to their fellow-men. It appears to be exercised more often by heads of the recently organized and "less careful" *caboclo seitas*.[7]

794 Age, number of years a member of the cult, intimate
793 knowledge of the ritual, and, particularly, purity of African
554 descent are important considerations in determining the prestige of a *pae* or *mãe de santo*.

For some reason male members of the *seita* rarely experi-

[556] [7] A *pae de santo* of a *caboclo candomblé* who is widely feared for his success in working black magic possesses a considerable bank account, numerous properties in the city, and rich cocoa land near Ilhéos, all acquired, it is said, from the exercise of this profession. However, it is quite probable that his political activity contributed a goodly portion.

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some reason male members of the seita rarely experience, as do the women members, the "manifestation" of an *orixá*. Consequently, very few males ever pass through the rigorous period of training which must always follow the initial "appearance" of a deity in a given individual. Moreover, the men, being more mobile than the women, are ordinarily brought into more extensive contact with the Europeans and their descendants and consequently tend to take over more readily the ideas and sentiments of the whites. The women, on the other hand, ordinarily remain more closely identified with the customs and traditions of their African ancestors. It is probably for this reason that several of the more prominent and influential *candomblés* in Bahia now have women leaders. For the head of a *seita*, upon his approaching death, ordinarily chooses the new priest (or priestess) from among those members of the cult who are most learned in the ritual and other tradition. When asked about the occasion for So-and-so's selection, cult members always say, "Ele [*or* ela] é muito sabido" ("He is very learned in the ritual").

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Other sacred functionaries include the *ogans*, or male members of the *seita*, who assist the *pae* or *mãe de santo* with the ritual, particularly in invoking the presence of the *orixás* during ceremonial dances, help initiate new *ogans*, act as intermediaries between the *seita* and the legal authorities, and contribute toward the expenses of the cult; the *achôgun*, or "second *pae*" as he is often called, who performs the sacrifices; the *jibonam*, or *pequena mãe* ("little mother"), next in authority to the *mãe de santo*, who assists the ceremonial dancers in carrying out their *preceitos*, or ritualistic obligations, and who makes the *despacho*, or food offering, to Exú at the opening of each important ceremony; the musicians, who assist at certain secret rituals and all public cere-

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794 monies, together with their leader, the *alabê;* and the very important *filhas de santo* (literally "daughters of the *orixás*"), or ceremonial dancers, who serve as the so-called *cavalos* ("horses") for the deities who "manifest themselves" in their bodies and speak through them their will.

794 This "visitation" is known as the *estado de santo* ("state of
787 the *orixá*") and is ordinarily induced by prolonged fasting, the pungent odors of certain sacred herbs, the monotonous and long-continued beating of the *atabaques*, the heat from a large number of human bodies densely packed together on a warm night, the fatigue attendant on long-sustained dancing, the imperative expectations of the group, and, often as a precipitating incident, when tensions have been built up to the point where they can no longer be sustained, a sudden, loud, and unexpected noise. Seizure is said to be avoidable, as we have noted, by drinking cold water.

794 On the first "visitation" of an *orixá* in the body of an individual she must submit to either of two initiatory rites. She may elect the complete initiation of *fazer santo* ("to make the *orixá*"), or the partial initiation of *dar comida a cabeça*" ("to give food to the head"). If she elects the former, as most do, she makes an initial food offering to Exú, following which a fetish is secured and "prepared" by being washed by the *pae de santo* and immersed in *azeite de dendê*, honey, or *acaça*, depending on the *orixá*, the entire ritual being accompanied by special invocations. The initiate, or *yaubô*, as she is now called, then surrenders all her garments, which, in symbol of the new life upon which she is about to enter, will never be worn again, and submits to a ritualistic bath, at dusk, in water scented with sacred herbs of a pun-
[782] gent odor. The *yaubô* is then received in the *pegi* by the dignitaries of the cult and seated in a chair never before used,

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while the *orixás* "partake" of a special sacrifice offered to them. Her hair is cut off, her head shaved,[8] and dots and circles are painted in white upon the crown, forehead, and cheeks. The initiate then takes on *obí* in her hand, the *atabaques* begin to beat an invocation to her *orixá*, and she dances the special dance sacred to him until he "arrives in her head" and she experiences once more the *estado de santo*. The *yaubô* is then escorted from the *pegi* to the *camarinha*, where she remains for sixteen days before participating in her first public ceremony, whence she returns to the *camarinha* for a period of six months to a year, to be taught the various rituals of the cult, the songs, and, to some extent at least, an African language. Meanwhile, she is subject to certain food and other taboos.

To verify her acceptance by the *orixá*, a *filha* may be required to undergo without evidence of bodily harm an ordeal, such as swallowing lighted candlewicks soaked in *azeite de dendê*, thrusting her hands into boiling palm oil, chewing the leaves of the *urtiga* (Brazilian thistle), or submitting, on bended knee, to being beaten about the neck and arms with a sprig of the thorny *cansanção*.

Throughout her life the new *filha de santo*, in addition to submitting to the "manifestations" of her *orixá*, must perform on occasion certain ritualistic acts, rigorously observe certain food, drink, and sex taboos, and wear a special costume on ceremonial occasions and "days of obligation" (Fridays especially). On her death this costume, together with the other objects of cult worship belonging to her, are taken and dropped into the sea, "to be carried by the waves back to Africa."

Upon being "made," the *filha de santo* acquires a *guia*

[8] Formerly, all hairy parts of the body were shaved.

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794 ("guide") and a protector who, if she obeys the prescribed rituals and taboos, may bring her, it is thought, much fortune and happiness. "Look at me!" exclaimed a newly "made" *filha*. "My *orixá* is the greatest of all the *orixás*. He's powerful. I'm a black woman and can't read or write. But I'm living with a man *formado* in the Faculdade de Medicina. See what Oxalá did for me!"

794 As has already been noted, the rituals and ceremonies of
796 the cult are serious and dignified and carried on in accord-
[562] ance with fixed traditional forms. Among the essential elements of the Gêge-Nagô ceremonies is the rigid separation of spectators according to sex. The males always occupy the
[273] seats to the left of the drums, the females those to the right. No drunkenness or obscenity is permitted. Said a member of a Nagô *seita*, "If they drink *cachaça* in a *candomblé*, you may know it is not well organized." Once at a ceremony at Gantois an intoxicated man forced his way through the crowd into the *barracão*. Immediately, the *mãe de santo* who was presiding signaled to two *ogans* who, calling out of the crowd a police official, promptly ejected the intruder.[9]

794 The *filhas de santo* before beginning a ceremonial dance
576 make obeisance to the *pae* or *mãe de santo* by dropping to their knees and bowing their heads to the ground before the leader of their cult. Similar obeisance is also made to visiting *paes* or *mães de santo* or other honored personages of the fetish world and, occasionally, to the *ogans*.

794 When, during the ceremonial dance an *orixá* "arrives in
796 the head" of a *filha*, she must, after the first violent seizure
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[9] Such romanticized accounts of fetish cult ceremonies as that given by
[114] Graça Aranha and uncritically quoted by Vera Kelsey (*Seven Keys to Brazil* [New York, 1940], pp. 27–28), if they have any basis in fact at all, owe it to the disintegration of formerly wholesome cultural forms now characteristic of certain *macumbá* centers of Rio de Janeiro.

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has passed, dance the dance sacred to her *orixá*, after which she is assisted from the *barracão* into the *pegi*, taking due care to withdraw with her face always toward the drums. In a special room she is then dressed in the ceremonial robes sacred to her *orixá* and, with his sacred insignia, returns to the *barracão* to dance for hours the dances sacred to him.

The sacrifices are performed according to the ritual peculiar to the occasion and include the offering of chickens, pigeons, sheep, and goats.

In the *candomblé* world certain gestures are obligatory. Thus, when saluting a high dignitary of the cult, a *filha*, if the *orixá* to whom she is dedicated is masculine, prostrates herself, face downward at the feet of the one so honored; if her *orixá* is feminine, she lies at full length first on one side, then on the other, and, on rising, touches her head to the ground. In taking leave of an *orixá* who has "visited" the ceremony, a member of the *seita* clasps tightly the left hand of the ceremonial dancer. *Ogans* have a special handshake used only between them. Following a discussion among members of a *seita*, agreement is signified by rising, beating the palms, and shaking hands.

Status in the *candomblé* depends not only on one's position in the hierarchy of functionaries but more particularly upon priority in being "made" or confirmed. Those whose years of service are less are known as "the younger" and must address "the older" with greater respect and, as an *ogan* remarked, "prefer him above one's self."

The musical instruments employed include the *atabaques*, or drums; the *agôgô*, with which the priest or priestess strikes the first notes of each invocation and later accompanies the drums; the *caxixi;* the *agê* (also known as the *cabaça*, or *piano de cuia*); the *adjá;* and, occasionally, the *xaque-xaque*.

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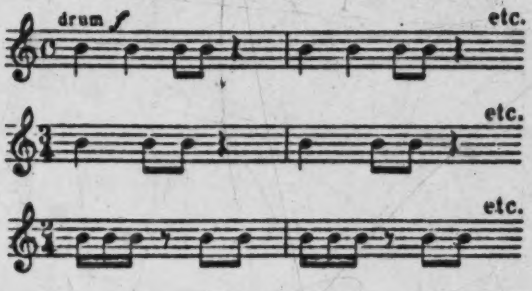
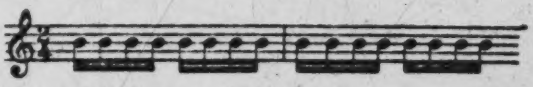
The *atabaques*, or drums, are indispensable to every ceremony. The heavy sound of the larger drum is intersected by the higher tones of the medium-sized and the small one. The rhythm is characterized by one-tone, interrupted syncopation and varies with each *orixá* invoked. Among the more frequent cadences noted by Arthur Ramos[10] are the following:



For the occasions on which an invoked *orixá* "delays" in manifesting himself, even after the tempo of his invocation is greatly increased, there is a special rhythm—vibrant, rapid, continuous, unsyncopated—known as *adarrum*, which the followers of the cult say no *orixá* can possibly "resist." It is the following monotonous rhythm:



Although the instrumental music of the *candomblé* is quite monotonous, as is also the hand-clapping which often accompanies it, the vocal accompaniment is polyphonic. The

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[10] "Os instrumentos musicaes dos candomblés da Bahia," *Bahia Medica*, III (July, 1932), 194.

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songs are ordinarily composed of simple sentences in the minor key, and the scale, which on importation from Africa is said to have consisted of only five intervals, now has seven.

Among the invocations sung to the various *orixás* is that given by a former *ogan* of the *candomblé* of Gantois:

[539]

> Egbêji mori ô ri, okorin-kam
> Orolu mori ô ri, okorin-kam
> (Powerful One, I know thee as the first man)
>
> Ôkum-kum biri-biri
> Ajá lê mori ô korin-kam
> (Even in the dark I can see thou art powerful)
>
> A orêrê aiê, orixá loman,
> Iá, ochê Egbêji orêrê, aiê
> (In the whole world, nothing is hidden from the Great-One)[11]

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At the burial of a cult member the songs and musical instruments of the *candomblé* ceremonies are now seldom used as, it is said, they formerly were. But the casket is carried by *ogans*, and the *filhas*, in *bahiana* costume, accompany the procession. Since it is still believed that the *orixá* of the departed may at this time seek a new *cavalo*, no pregnant woman attends. "Possession," however, may and does occur. Thus, at the burial of an elderly Negro woman, a *filha* of Ogun from the *candomblé* of Engenho Velho, who had been "made" for thirty-three years and was widely known and respected for her knowledge of African ritual, two *filhas de santo* were "seized" as the procession wound its way up the steep ascent to Quinta dos Lazaros Cemetery, and another later as the crypt was being sealed. In each case "possession" began with light weeping which soon increased to loud sobbing, the individual meanwhile pressing her hands

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[11] Manoel Querino, *Costumes africanos no Brasil* (Rio, 1938), p. 108.

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forcefully to her head, one in front and one in back, as if in great pain. Knees then gave way and shoulders and back muscles began to vibrate violently. In one case, the spine stiffened and, with the exception of the shoulder muscles which continued a rapid quivering, the entire body became rigid, with arms and legs stretched out at full length. Meanwhile, the *filha* whimpered, cried, or shrieked aloud.

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To reach the *seita* of a well-known *mãe de santo*, one takes a Calçada car out of the city, past orange groves and fields of tall forage grass, to the Matadouro, where he alights and begins to climb a steep winding road lined with the *nativo* plant (said to be native to Africa) and *uricuri* and coconut palms, until, after more than a mile of trudging, he comes out onto a high ridge overlooking a green valley, where he can see, far in the distance, the houses of the city. A cool breeze blows in from the sea and tempers the heat of the tropical sun. In a grove of scattered palm trees nestle several houses, some of which are neatly whitewashed and others tinted pink, yellow, or blue.

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The *mãe de santo* is called Anninha. She is a tall regal-appearing black, whose slightest gesture is immediately obeyed by members of her *seita*. She owns considerable property and is said to be otherwise quite well to do. She boasts, proudly, "Sou filha de dois Africanos, graças a Deus" ("I am the daughter of two Africans, thank God"). Queito she learned to speak, she says, from her parents; Nagô she acquired "in the *seita*." She is illiterate, but of her learning in the ritual and belief of the African cult an *ogan* says, with pride, "She knows African things better than anyone I know in Bahia." Intelligent, quick-witted, agile in debate, she is one of the most widely respected and revered leaders of the Afro-Brazilian world.

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revered leaders of the Afro-Brazilian world. When a priest argued with her that, since she had not been ordained by the pope, she had no "spiritual authority" to carry on religious rites, she quickly inquired if Moses, "that great prophet and leader of his people, was ordained by the pope?" The first man, she maintains, must not have been a white man but instead a colored man; "if not black, at least red. For do the scholars not say that man originated in Asia, and do white men ever come out of that continent?" Jesus also must have been an African, or at least a person quite dark. "For did not his parents once hide him in Egypt? And is not Egypt in Africa? If Jesus was not dark, how could they have hidden him among the people of Africa?"

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This *mãe de santo* was "made" over fifty years ago in the *candomblé* of Engenho Velho. "My *seita* is pure Nagô, like Engenho Velho," she boasts. "But I have revived much of the African tradition which even Engenho Velho has forgotten. Do they have a ceremony for the twelve ministers of Xangô?[11] No! But I have." She is planning to rebuild her *barracão*, or sacred dance pavilion, to be paid for by tithes levied on the incomes of members of her *seita*. She owns a small store in the Terreiro where she sells the various articles used in the cult ritual and, since the members of the fetish world know that these articles must be, if she sells

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[11] According to a well known Bahian *babalaô*, Xangô was a great African chief whose cruelties the people sought to do away with by setting fire one night to his dwelling. Everyone in it burned except Xangô, who walked unscathed through the flames. Astounded, the people prostrated themselves before him and begged his forgiveness. Xangô became a powerful king and subjected many neighboring tribes, twelve of whose chiefs subsequently became his royal advisers, or ministers. Even before his death, which occurred at an advanced age, Xangô was being worshiped. Cf. Martiniano do Bomfim, "Os ministros de Xangô," *Estado da Bahia*, May 5, 1937.

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793 them, legitimate, the store does a thriving business. She
159 says:
[444]

The *Africano* doesn't worship things made with human hands. He
794 worships nature. What is the *pedra* [the fetish stone]? Is it not a min-
793 eral? No human hands have made it.

We are just as Christian as the Catholics. Only we follow the law
159 of Moses. He commanded that sacrifices be made of sheep, goats,
771 oxen, chickens, pigeons, and so forth. Is it not so? We merely obey his commandments.

There are two parts to the Bible, are there not? The Old Testament and the New. We follow the Old as well as the New. In the days before Christ, the people worshiped God with singing and dancing. Is it not so? David played his harp and sang psalms and danced before the Lord. We have our songs, too, and each has a special meaning. Just as the Catholics have something to remind them of their saints, so we have something to remind us of our *orixás*. But we do not worship images made with human hands like they do. We worship nature.

794 One of the assistants of the *mãe de santo*, an elderly Negro woman who "takes care of" the *terreiro*, is said to be over ninety years of age, is known by an African name, Bádá, and speaks Nagô as well as, or better than, she speaks Portuguese. No one in the fetish world at Bahía is said "to give her the blessing," because she is the "oldest" (that is, the longest "made" or "confirmed") in the city. She laments "the old days" before the Africans in Bahia all died.

794 A Negro man of seventy-seven years of age, Martiniano,
576 one of two *babalaôs* in Bahia, known and thoroughly respected throughout the fetish world for his piety and sincerity and his knowledge of African customs and traditions, is, upon entering the connecting-room to the *pegi*, saluted by a rapid beat of muffled drums. He bows to the drummers, acknowledging their greeting, steps into the *pegi*, bows low before the altar, touches the ground with the tips of his
794 fingers, and repeats a prayer in Nagô. So learned is he "in

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things African" that he is occasionally called to Pernambuco, four hundred miles up the Brazilian coast, to carry out special rituals which cult members in that city are unable to perform. Of the *candomblé*, he says, "The Nagô worships nature because he is realistic and wants to see what he worships. He can't see the Catholics' God." 794

The *barracão* here is about fifty feet by thirty, with roof and one end thatched with palm fronds, and floor freshly sanded. By nightfall it is gaily decorated with paper streamers, most of which are white; some, however, are red, blue, green, or yellow. A large and neat placard, which one of the *ogans* proudly says was painted by his daughter, a first-year student at the Escola Normal, bears the inscription: "Centro Cruz Santa do Aché de Okô Afonjá," a combination of Portuguese and Nagô which means "Sacred Cross Center of the Brothers and Sisters of the Temple of Xangô." Chairs to accommodate the priestess, the elderly Negro woman, and the old Negro man have been placed on a dais to the left of the musicians. The spectators are carefully excluded from the dancing space in front of the drums by railings patrolled by *ogans*. On the end wall hang three white pennants bearing respectively, the inscriptions, "Viva Oxalá," "Viva Oxun," and "Viva Aryra," and one red pennant with the words, "Viva Xangô." 794 346 352 353

The *filhas*, all of whom are escorted into the *barracão* under a white sheet held by *ogans* who also light the procession with flaming torches, number seventeen, all of whom are blacks, with the exception of two dark mulattoes. Of the *ogans*, fourteen are blacks, eleven are mulattoes, six of whom are dark mixed-bloods, and one is a Portuguese immigrant who came to Brazil some thirty years ago and now owns a small retail establishment in the Lower City. 794 [416]

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794 [302] Three of the dancers are *yauôs*, in process of being "made." Their heads have been shaved clean, and white spots and [301] blue lines have been painted upon them. On their cheeks are white spots and white lines. Around the neck, or over the right shoulder and under the left arm, are long chains of large cowries imported from the West Coast.

794 346 353 177 776 In a special building with a cement floor is "the throne room of Xangô." At one side is an altar to him, which is lavishly decorated with candles and flowers, both fresh and artificial. Indicating the fusion of Catholic and fetish elements, one notes on the lower step an image of Santo Antonio, on the second, one of Nossa Senhora das Candeias, on the third, an image of the twins, Cosme and Damião, and, on the top level, one of São Jeronimo. The *mãe de santo* says that Santo Antonio is "just another name" for Ogun; as similarly is Nossa Senhora das Candeias, for the water deity, Oxun; Cosme and Damião, for Beji; and São Jeronimo, for Xangô.

794 346 [352] On the other side of the room is "the throne of Xangô," a wooden chair, intricately carved, with a pillow for a headrest. Suspended on the walls are pictures of several Catholic saints.

[353] In the center of an adjoining room is "the spring of the *mãe d'agua*," a huge basin built of cement and containing ten to twelve inches of water. On the wall is the Nagô inscription, "Ilé Awon Afonjá" ("House of Xangô").

794 793 159 The leader of another *seita* is a male black, known as Pae Procopio, sixty-six years of age, of Gêge descent, whose father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, he proudly boasts, were all Africans and *paes de santo*. His mother's sister was also "an *Africano*," but his mother was a Brazilian-born black, a *mãe de santo* who "deixou o cargo" (i.e., left the

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office of priest) to him. He is dedicated to the same *orixá*, 793
Ogun, as was she, and speaks, he claims, "a little of six dif- 159
ferent African languages: Nagô, Gêge, Ige-chá, Queito, [191]
Egba, and Musurumi." He owns "a roomful" of ceremonial [292]
costumes, one of which is said to have cost six contos (ap- [435]
proximately $360). He considers his task to be that of "doing
good" and refuses to deal in black magic, an attitude which [608]
has cost him, it is said, "much money."[13] He is godfather to
approximately a hundred and fifteen children and is soon to
be godfather to nine others who are on the point of receiving
the baptismal ceremony. He visits about the Reconcavo,
particularly in Cachoeira, exercising his office of *pae de santo*,
and is said to have paid similar visits to Rio de Janeiro,
Pernambuco, Maranhão, and Pará, in each of which he has
"made" several *filhas* and "confirmed" *ogans*.

The *achôgun*, or sacrificer, is an elderly black with a kindly 794
face and snow-white hair. The leader of the drummers, or
the *alabê*, a jolly black whose mother (now deceased) was a
mãe de santo in Cidade de Palha, is very expert with the
drums, speaks Nagô, and sings in a high-pitched but rather
pleasant voice the African *cantigas*, or ritualistic songs. An
ogan says of him, proudly, "He knows almost as much about
African things as a *pae de santo*."

An elderly Negro woman, who walks haltingly with a
cane, attends every ceremony. Younger friends carefully
help her to a seat where she can see everything that goes on.
Leaning forward on her cane, her intelligent eyes wide open,
her face continually breaking into beaming smiles, she joins

[13] An *ogan* of this *seita* says that a *pae de santo* in Itapoan named Gregorio [754]
(now deceased) once declined twelve contos (approximately $720) "to make
a man mad." This *ogan* knows, however, a *mãe de santo* who, as he says, be-
came angered at the remarks of a young skeptic and "made a *negocio*" (liter-
ally a "business"; i.e., black magic) which "drove him mad in two days."

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794 heartily in the songs, occasionally taps her cane on the ground in time with the drums, and appears to enjoy thoroughly each part of the ritual. Every once in a while she leans toward the drummers and shouts at the *alabé* in Nagô. Sometimes, when the *pae de santo* is temporarily absent from the *barracão*, she initiates the ritualistic songs. Her name is Ismeira and she lives in an old house in a section of the city which was once entirely inhabited, it is said, by Nagôs.

794 As the ceremony begins, 22 *filhas*, 1 *filho* (or male cere-
796 monial dancer), and the *pae de santo* are in the circle which has formed around the central post of the *barracão*. Seated in the center of the circle is a visiting *pae de santo* named Vidal. Twenty-one *ogans*, including visitors from other *seitas*, are to the left of the drums. Into the other available spaces are packed 208 spectators, of whom 136 are blacks, 68 are mulattoes (all dark mixed-bloods, except 6), and 4 are *brancos da Bahia*. There are no whites. Approximately two hundred other individuals mill about outside.

794 In this *seita* there are in all 34 *filhas de santo*, nearly 60 per
463 cent of whom are over forty years of age. The eldest are seventy-two and seventy-one years, respectively, and 9 are fifty or over. Ten are from forty to fifty, 7 are from thirty to forty years of age; 6 are twenty to thirty, 1 is nineteen, and 1 is twelve. Two are married, 13 are *amasiada*, 2 are engaged to be married, 15 are single, and 2 are widowed. All are from the lower class. Thirteen are peddlers of African foods in the streets, 7 are seamstresses, 5 are laundresses, 5 are domestic servants, and 1 is a midwife. One, the next to the eldest, is employed in looking after the *casa de candomblé*, 1 is the
794 *selador de santo*,[14] and 1 an adolescent child. Thirteen, or

[14] It is the task of the *selador de santo* to care for the *pegi*, wash the fetishes at regular intervals, and renew the food and drink offerings.

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more than a third, live in the immediate vicinity of the *terreiro*, 16 live from one to four miles away in seven different sections of Bahia, 3 are from the neighboring villages of Armação and Pitúba, and 2 others, residents of Rio de Janeiro, are visiting relatives and friends in Bahia. 794

One *filha de santo* has been "made" fifty-eight years; another, fifty-seven. Three more have been functionaries of the cult thirty years or longer; ten, from twelve to twenty-one years; nine, from six to seven years; six, including the twelve-year-old girl, from one to two years; and two have been "made" only approximately one month. Six are dedicated to the *orixá* of lightning and thunder, Xangô; five to the *orixá* of pestilence, Omolú; four to the deity of the hunt, Oxóssi, and four to the deity of war and iron, Ogun. Two others are dedicated to Oxalá "the Elder," and two to Oxalá "the Younger," or Oxagian. Nine are sacred to the *mães d'agua*, or the water deities: four to Oxun, two each to Yansan and Nanan, and one to Yemanjá, "the *orixá* of the sea."

The sixteen *ogans* range in age from twenty to sixty years, with the exception of a five-year-old boy. The "eldest" in point of service to the cult has been *confirmado* ("confirmed") thirty-two years. Most are persons of relatively assured income from the lower class, there being among them hucksters, stevedores, day laborers, a *carroceiro*, a tinsmith, a painter, a baker, a tailor, and a typesetter. Only three, or less than one-fifth, live in the immediate vicinity of the *terreiro*, the residences of the others being scattered throughout the city in nine different sections.[15] [565] [463]

[15] This dispersion is perhaps indicative of the *candomblé's* gradual disintegration. An *ogan* remarked, "I would like to have all the *ogans* and the *filhas* living here near each other. It would be so much better. Years ago they used to live that way. But today everyone wants to live wherever he chooses anywhere in the city." [178]

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The dances continue unabated for hours, until the air of the *barracão* becomes very warm and permeated with the odor of perspiring bodies. Seriously, with rapt attention, the closely packed crowd looks on, eager to see and hear the numerous *orixás* as they "arrive." During a period of the most intense excitement, when tensions have been built up almost to the breaking-point, a rocket suddenly bursts with a loud report outside the *barracão*. A woman seated among the spectators who is not a *filha de santo* is immediately thrown into violent, convulsive muscular movements and bounces up and down with great force on the board seat, her head snapping back and forth in time to the now almost frenzied beat of the drums. The *pae de santo* rushes to support her in order to prevent imminent injury. Several visiting *filhas de santo* who do not want to dance in this strange place and are consequently "resisting" the imminent "arrival" of their *orixás*, call out with imploring voices, one after the other, "Dê-me agua, por amor de Deus" ("Give me water, for the love of God!"). The face of a servant girl named Joanna, a *filha* from a neighboring *seita*, is drawn, and she appears to be in pain. Afterward, she says that her *orixá*, Xangô, was beating and striking her to make her dance and that she felt more tired than if she had danced all night long. But other spectators remark, "How beautiful! I never saw Ogun dance like that before. And Oxóssi, and Yemanjá, they are wonderful, simply wonderful!"

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The ceiling of another *barracão* (at the *terreiro* called Gantois) is trimmed with paper streamers—red, white, blue, and yellow—each alternating with rows of white paper roses. The electric-light bulb suspended from the ceiling is shaded by red and white pieces of cellophane. On the walls are red and white paper shields, each bearing the words, "Louvores á

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Xangou" ("Praises to Xangô") or "Louvores á Ogun" ("Praises to Ogun"). A small niche built in above the doorway which leads to the *pegi* is neatly decorated with red and white paper bows, and in it stands a crucifix about ten inches high, together with images of the Virgin Mary with the child Jesus in her arms, of Santo Antonio (St. Anthony), and of São Jorge (St. George).

In a circle in front of the drums are twenty-two women, the oldest of whom is about sixty years of age and the youngest eight. Fourteen are blacks, eight are mulattoes, none of whom is very light. All have serious expressions on their faces, especially the little girl, although none appear in the least bit self-conscious. Six are *yaubs*, or initiates, in the process of being "made," and range in age from fourteen to seventeen years. Two are dedicated to Omanlú (Omolú), and four to Oxun. The Omanlú initiates are dressed principally in shades of red. Strands of hemp died reddish-brown drop from the head to below the knee, completely obscuring the face. Above the head the strands rise vertically and are tied together in a cluster at the end. Below the hem of a dark-red skirt appear white pantalettes which fit tightly over the legs and extend to the ankle. Each girl wears four strands of cowries around each bare arm at the biceps and a long string of cowries over the right shoulder and under the left arm.

The Oxun initiates have their heads shaved, and three concentric circles have been painted in white around the crown. Smaller circles intercept the outer of these three. Large white spots have also been painted on the face, the neck, and the back of the head. Four feathers, one of which is red, one white, one black, and one brown, are held firmly upright at the forehead by a ribbon tied very tightly. Each

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794 girl carries in her hand the insignia of Oxun, a *leque* (fan) of brass decorated with a star.

794 All the other dancers, except one, are dressed in the
796 *bahiana* costume, with wide-flowing skirts of bright-colored
[291] cotton prints, blouses trimmed in handmade lace, and a *pano da Costa* two feet in width tied tightly around the small of the back and over the breasts. One woman about thirty-five years of age is dressed in an ordinary street costume of
[301] tailored blouse and skirt. Many of the dancers wear bracelets of copper, brass, bronze, lead, or glass beads, often on both wrists and occasionally three to four to the arm. One dancer has five strands of cowries about her neck.

794 The priestess of the *seita*, Mãe Menininha, is a large
793 black woman, forty-one years of age, who has officiated in this *seita* for twenty-four years. She proudly speaks of herself as "uma neta d'um Africano" ("the granddaughter of an African").

786 Every dance begins with the salutation of the *mãe de san-*
535 *to*, which is accomplished by striking decisively the *agôgô*.
794 Immediately the drums take up the rhythm. The *filhas* be-
796 gin to dance, the circle turning like the rim of a wheel,
[576] counterclockwise. The women have their hands clasped be-
[533] hind their backs, their shoulders are hunching backward and forward, their bodies bending at the waist from side to side. One of the Oxun initiates moves with a halting, jerking movement, then suddenly pivots a complete turn. All the dancers are singing a refrain which sounds like, "Ô-mi-á, bá-
794 tû-lê." After some twenty minutes of continuous dancing,
796 one of the *filhas* suddenly becomes "possessed," her eyes
787 close, her expression becomes listless, while her neck and shoulder muscles work convulsively back and forth "in
786 time to the music." Voluntary control is apparently gone,

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and she is helped around the circle by the next in line. When the music temporarily ceases, she relaxes, staggers, and appears in imminent danger of falling. Several *filhas* rush to catch and support her.

Again the *mãe de santo* strikes the *agôgô*, the leader of the drummers takes up the rhythm and sings out a refrain in which all the dancers join, beating their palms in time with the music. The tempo increases. The dancers as they pass round the circle alternately bow their heads, flex their knees, and touch the right hand to the floor, then snap erect, all in perfect time with the music. An elderly black woman emerges from a connecting-room and, shaking vigorously a *caxixi*, joins in the dance. With loud reports, rockets go off outside the *barracão*. Popcorn is then brought in and thrown over the dancers. The eyes of the initiates, who have also made part of the circle of dancers, are closed and remain closed throughout the ceremony. The shoulders of one *yaô* jerk spasmodically, her head hangs limp and must be supported by other dancers.

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Again the circle forms, and the *filhas*, singing at the top of their voices, shuffle forward in a half-stumbling movement, arms flexed at elbows and flapping up and down. An *ogan* says this dance is called *opanigé*. Sometime later, a *filha*, about forty-five years of age, suddenly sprawls stiff-legged on her hands and the tips of her toes, rapidly touches her forehead to the ground in front of the drums and shouts, "Hay-ee-ee," then leaps erect, jerks herself forward spasmodically, then repeats the performance. A girl joins the circle, wearing a pink and gold turban and carrying in her right hand a brass dagger eighteen inches long. Closing her eyes, she begins a wild dance, thrashing about with the dagger to right and to left. The tempo of the

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786 drums is accelerating. Another *filha*, a large but agile
796 Negro woman, strikes out at the girl with her bare hands,
[535] and the two dance about, fighting a mock fight, while the
[533] beat of the drums becomes even more rapid and tumultuous until, just as the dancers close in upon one another where, it seems, harm might result, other *filhas* swing quickly in, catch each woman around the waist, and draw them apart, while the music slackens its tempo.

[535] All the *filhas* begin to dance again, their arms swinging from side to side, the index finger of the right hand held closely pressing against the thumb of the left. The dancing is very animated. Suddenly, one of the *filhas*, her shoulders heaving violently back and forth, begins to sink upon her knees and, gradually lowering her heaving shoulders to the floor, turns over on her back, all the while keeping the index finger of her right hand firmly in contact with the thumb of her left. She then slowly rises, gets to her feet, and again joins the other *filhas*. An *ogan* says this dance is known as *ecú*.

[787] The dances continue, rockets burst outside, confetti and flower petals are thrown over the initiates, and, at the insistent invocations of the drums and the spirited singing of the *filhas*, many *orixás* "arrive" and "take possession" of their human intermediaries.

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182 The primary social function which the *candomblé* appears to serve is that of reinforcing, by way of the collective experiences of ritual and ceremony, those attitudes and sentiments which distinguish the *Africanos* and their descendants from the European population and from the major portion of the mixed-bloods. By promoting a measure of solidarity and group consciousness, it tends to slow up the process of acculturation. At the same time cult experiences

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help to satisfy the basic human needs for recognition and response. The resolution of all sorts of personal problems by way of the advice and counsel of the priest, priestess, or "manifesting" *orixá*, relieves personal strain and tension. And the reassuring affirmations regarding personal destiny which the body of belief affords, particularly at such times of crisis as the death of an intimate friend or relative, contribute to the apparently universal need of a sense of security.

Moreover, cult experiences serve as cogent means of maintaining group morale and enforcing group sanctions. The genuinely wholesome character of the Bahian *Africanos*, with the exception perhaps of certain individuals connected with recently organized *caboclo* centers, stands in sharp contrast to the personal disorganization which, according to report, characterizes the Rio de Janeiro Negro, whose *candomblé* (known locally as the *macumba*) is now in such a state of disintegration that many unwholesome and even vicious practices have crept into its ritual.

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The Catholic church at Bahia, by exercising almost infinite patience and tact, has now incorporated into its organization all members of the Bahian fetish cults. Even the leaders of the *seitas* regularly attend Mass and, on occasion, participate, together with their entire *candomblé* personnel, in functions of the church. Thus, each year at an appointed time, *mãe de santo* Anninha takes her *filhas de santo*, dressed in their *bahiana* costumes, and her *ogans*, and attends Mass in Bomfim Church; as similarly does the *caboclo mãe de santo*, Sabina, in the *igreja* of Santo Antonio da Barra. Anninha, like certain other cult officials, is a member of a Catholic order. So far has the identification of many elements of the fetish tradition with Catholic ideology and practice now gone that to the simple minds of cult members

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there is little distinction between them. The *pae de santo* of a prominent Congo *seita* recently remarked, "I do everything (i.e., I carry on all cult rituals and ceremonies) in the name of the church."[16]

On the fiftieth anniversary of the death of the father of a well-known and widely respected *babalaô*, a special commemorative Mass was arranged in one of the city's principal churches. During the ceremony, a circle of friars who were standing with lighted candles about the bier was joined by an outer circle of Negro men, each bearing a funeral torch. Although the friars were probably unaware of the fact, the blacks were all *ogans* from the *candomblé* of *mãe de santo* Anninha. In the audience were more than a hundred important personages from the fetish world, including *babalaôs*, *paes* and *mães de santo*, *ogans*, and *filhas*. Said the *babalaô* whose father was being thus honored, "Last night at the *terreiro* we danced all night the African funeral dances for my father."

In the minds of cult members several of the more important African *orixás*, as we have seen, have come to be identified with certain Catholic saints. Thus, Ogun, the *orixá* of war, is now identified with Santo Antonio; Oxóssi, the *orixá* of the hunt, with São Jorge; Oxalá, who to most members of the *candomblé* is "the greatest of the *orixás*," with O Senhor do Bomfim, who is, among the lower classes at least, the most important Catholic saint at Bahia;[17]

[16] This point of view obviously is not that of the Catholic church itself.

[17] In Bomfim Church, which, with two rows of royal palms dominating its approach, occupies majestically the crown of a hill in Itapagipe, is a special room whose walls and ceiling are completely covered with photographs or plaster casts of crippled or diseased limbs or other parts of the body which have been, it is thought, miraculously cured of disease or other infirmary by the direct intervention of the saint. So great is his reputation for healing that thousands of people from miles around visit this shrine every year.

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Omolú, the *orixá* of pestilence, with São Roque, or, in some cases, with São Bento; and Exú, with Satan. Of the *mães d'agua* (water deities), Yemanjá is confused in some cases with Nossa Senhora da Piedade (Our Lady of Compassion), and in others with Nossa Senhora do Rosario (Our Lady of the Rosary); Oxun, in some cases, with Nossa Senhora das Candeias and, in others, with Nossa Senhora da Conceição (Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception); Yansan, with Santa Barbara; and Nanan (Anamburucú, Nanamburucú), with Nossa Senhora de Sant'Ana. Beji, the twins, are identified with Cosme and Damião; Irôko (Rôko, Lôko), who is presumed to dwell in the *gameleira* tree, with Poverello (São Francisco) de Assis;[18] and Ifá, the *orixá* of divination, with Santissimo Sacramento (the Most Holy Sacrament). Even Xangô, the *orixá* of lightning and thunder, to whom Edison Carneiro refers as "indisputably the most African of all the *orixás* worshiped at Bahia,"[19] and who is still thought of by some blacks as being distinct from any Catholic saint, is worshiped in several of the most representative Gêge-Nagô *seitas* under the name of São Jeronimo and, occasionally, of Santa Barbara.

The conditions which favor fusion in this last-named case are not difficult to understand. In Portuguese folklore Santa Barbara is thought of as a protector against lightning, a conception which probably led very easily to the identification of Santa Barbara in the Negroes' minds with Xangô, who is, in the African tradition, "the *orixá* of the thunderbolts." Fusion in this case, as in others, would have been aided by the common conception that each African deity is both a protector and a destroyer; a kindly protector when offered

[18] Edison Carneiro, *Religiões negras* (Rio, 1936), p. 155.

[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 153-54.

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776 the proper ritual, and a vengeful destroyer if rites and taboos
177 are ignored.

Although this fusion is proceeding rapidly, it is still far from complete. A number of Gêge-Nagô and Congo-Angola *orixás*, and at least thirty *caboclo* deities, have not yet been in any way identified with Catholic equivalents.

794 Occasionally, the critical attitude of members of the fetish
177 world toward unorthodox practices in other *seitas* extends
797 also to the incorporation of Catholic ritual, ideas, and sentiments into fetish practice and belief. A *babalaô* and *feiticeiro*, born in Africa of repatriated Brazilian slaves, recently remarked, "These Bahian *candomblés* aren't African any more. Why, they all go to Mass, pray the rosary, and burn candles to the saints! It's all mixed up now."

539 The following story illustrates the fusion of European
177 and African traditions. Related recently by a local black, it recounts some of the experiences of Obaluaiê (Abaláu-aiê) and Omolú, known also in Bahia as Xapanan (Xapanã), and is obviously confused with the biblical stories of the Prodigal Son and of Lazarus. It also refers to a European city.

XAPANÃ, FATHER AND SON

Xapanã was fifteen years old when his parents sent him out into the world to see what life was like. After he had walked a long way, he came to a city called Venice, where he went about looking for work. But no one offered him anything, and finally, becoming very hungry, he began to go up to houses and beg for something to eat. But everywhere he asked he was turned away.

Sad and disillusioned, Xapanã continued on his way. At last he came to a forest, where he remained for some time, living on fruits and insects.

When Xapanã was nineteen years of age, he began to think of returning to his father's house and at last made himself ready and set out on the way. Xapanã walked and walked, until one day just as

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night was falling, he, all covered with sores and bruises, began to approach his father's house.

But his father, who saw the traveler coming a long way off, did not recognize him and consequently did not go out to meet him. Xapanã's mother, however, knew her son and in pity at his misfortune, begged and pleaded with her husband to have compassion for him and to receive him like the legitimate son he was.

But the old man turned to her and said:

"This fellow is not my son, because I never had a son who was full of sores."

But, at last, due to the continued pleadings of his wife, the ancient one inquired of the traveler what his name was. Xapanã replied:

"I am called Lazarus."

"Who is Lazarus?" asked the father.

Then Xapanã said: "I am he whom God permitted to use this name."

But the old man persisted in knowing the reason why, if he was Xapanã, he was using the name of Lazarus.

The son turned to his father and replied very quietly:

"I am Xapanã, the lord over pestilence throughout the whole world." And he sang in Queito:

"I say "Guedé,"
I am Obaluaiê,
I call out "Guedé,"
I am Obaluaiê,
Tôtô."

The old man Omolú then replied:

"Ojé badô
Dó lá."

And the young man sang:

"Ojé di apá."

In this way the two came to know each other, and Xapanã "the Elder" recognized Xapanã "the Younger."

A few whites, even from the upper classes, visit the *pae de santo* to obtain advice on business, politics, and other matters or aid in the cure and prevention of disease. Numerous

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782 Numerous
565 families *da boa sociedade* ("of social standing") "dão comida"
184 (make the food offerings, especially of *carurú*) to Beji
794 (Cosme and Damião) and celebrate the day sacred to their honor. A number of white individuals on occasion make offerings to the *mãe d'agua*. Cases like that of the wife of a former state senator and political chieftain who kept an altar to an African *orixá* in her house are, however, not numerous.

125 Of 66 students in the Escola Normal classifying themselves
782 as *brancos* and responding to the query, "Do members of
184 your family give presents to the *mãe d'agua?*" 7, or 10.6 per
794 cent, answered in the affirmative. Of 36 *pardos*, the families of 9, or 25 per cent, similarly made offerings. Of 63 whites, 29, or 46 per cent, thought one ought to fear the *bozo* (black magic); as did 12, or 37 per cent of the *pardos*, and all 6 of the *pretos* who replied. Of 63 whites, only 1 thought the statement "A *pae de santo* is more useful in time of illness than a physician" was true, but 9, or 14 per cent, regarded it as "partially true"; of 32 *pardos*, 2 believed the statement true, and 7, or 22 per cent, thought it "partially true." Of 197 students in the Escola Normal and the Law School, the families of 25, or 13 per cent, "give *comida*" to Cosme and Damião.

184 Ordinarily the attitudes which the inhabitants of Euro-
798 pean descent take toward the *candomblé* vary from good-
794 natured tolerance, which is the most characteristic, through
829 indifference, which is common, to active opposition, which is comparatively rare, although from time to time complaints like the one below find their way into the newspapers.

[539] In *A Tarde* for May 8, 1936, appeared an editorial under the title:

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DANGEROUS *CANDOMBLES*

Education may perhaps be the most certain means of eradicating harmful customs. But when these customs are linked with the persistent beliefs of African fetichism and constitute outrageous attacks upon the moral and physical well-being of those who practice them, it becomes necessary to insist upon immediate and complete suppression. This can be done in no way except by police action, energetic and persistent.

And, in *A Tarde* for December 9, 1935, appeared the following complaint:

THE CITY THAT GOD FORGOT

Scenes which Degrade and Depress . . . . The Revived *Candomblés* . . . . *Despachos* Even in the Heart of the City . . . .

The above looks like a movie title. But it is not. Our capital really is a city forgotten by . . . . God. . . . .

Your reporter . . . . has set down in his notebook curious scenes which reflect discredit upon our civilization; things which . . . . continue on for the eyes not only of those who live here but also of those who visit us from foreign places.

Bahia already has the reputation of being the city of *candomblés*, the paradise of the *macumbas*. However, these used to be localized in fixed zones where the devotees of Oxalá and Yemanjá beat their drums and "fell into the *santo*." Now they begin to encroach upon the most frequented streets, and the African cult is to be seen even in the best residential areas.

Your reporter verified this fact last Sunday night in the *bairro* of Barra, an elegant and aristocratic suburb. Here is to be found Grenfeld Street, very close to the Avenida Oceanica. And on this very street is a *candomblé*.

Happily there is no noise of drums. But palms are used instead, which beat without ceasing until day dawns. And whenever anyone makes an inquiry, the *pae de santo* insists that he has a license, and continues. . . . .

One morning not long ago, your reporter was passing in front of the

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State Treasury building, a spot very much frequented. A *bozó* had been left there and still remained exposed to the curiosity of all who passed.

A black hen, three copper coins, yellow *farofia*, a cloth doll, stuck full of pins, a piece of a man's shirt, and other *bugigangas* [trinkets].

The thing was there until midday. This is no uncommon occurrence, but one which is frankly deplorable. That in the heart of our city, so close to the Rua Chile, *despachos* are made to Exú is, to say the least, disgusting.

[364] In the same newspaper sometime later (June 10, 1937), under the title, "A Specialist in Sport *Bozós*, *Pae de santo* Manoelzinho Is the Worst Enemy of the Limpeza Publica [Street Cleaning Department]," this complaint appeared:

A short time ago the *macumbeiro* known as Manoelzinho took up his residence in a *roça* at No. 256 Cruz do Cosme, and since that time his *bozós* have led to continuous complaints from dwellers along that road and from those who chance to pass that way.

At the side of the road just below the *roça* is a *loco* tree, that species so much preferred for fetishistic practices. Here *bozós* accumulate from day to day until they constitute a veritable mountain of refuse in which may be found an increasing number of dead fowls.

We are informed that this Manoelzinho, who is a *pae de santo* with considerable prestige, is a specialist in sport *bozós*. For it is said that among those who consult him are certain members of the different soccer clubs. Recently a policeman, on the eve of a great game at Graça, noted in one of these *bozós* the initials "T. V." which are the same as those of a well-known athlete.

Since the Street Cleaners never pass along Cruz do Cosme, the *bozós* keep polluting the atmosphere and obliging those who pass by to cover their noses with handkerchiefs.

To whom shall we appeal? Who will do something about this?

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However, more characteristically, the Bahian identified with European customs and traditions adopts toward the *candomblé* a tolerant attitude. While he looks upon it as "ignorant fetishism," he ordinarily accepts it as "an African institution," which, in the words of a student at the Faculty

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of Law, "will gradually disappear with social evolution." "Education will do away with it. Just give it time," remarked a student at the Faculty of Medicine. There are a few intellectuals, individuals who have broken with the Catholic church, who believe that the *candomblé* is entitled to the same rights and privileges as any other religion. One of these remarked, "We should see to it that the government gives the *candomblé* a square deal."

Indeed, of those Bahians identified with the European culture, the whites tend to be more tolerant of the *candomblé* than either the blacks or the mixed-bloods. These blacks and mixed-bloods are seeking to establish themselves in class and naturally make every effort to disassociate themselves from what are commonly considered to be lower-class cultural elements. Of 66 white students in the Escola Normal who responded to the query "Do you think the *candomblé* ought to be suppressed?" 22, or one-third, said, "No"; while, of 22 *pardos*, all but one replied in the affirmative. Of 5 blacks, 4 said, "Yes."

In the face of constant, although ordinarily tolerant, disparagement on the part of most prestige-bearing individuals in the European portion of the community and of such institutions as the church, the school, and the newspaper, most of the younger Negroes now tend to forsake the *candomblé* and the body of ideas and sentiments identified with it and to look upon these customs and traditions as evidence of "ignorance," "backwardness," and "retarded mental growth." Older leaders of the cult often complain, as did Maria Bádá on one occasion, that "the *candomblé* isn't what it used to be. The young people today don't learn Nagô; they don't know how to carry on any of the ritual; and, what is worse, they don't want to learn." *Mãe de santo* Anninha once remarked, in much the same words as in recent years have

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829 794 178 often been heard, on the lips of older members of, particularly, Protestant churches in the United States, "These young people today are not like we used to be. It's a shame the way they stray away."

829 794 178 159 [873] [658] João is a young black about twenty years of age who has just completed a business course subsequent to graduation from the Ginasio da Bahia, the city's state-supported secondary school. One day, in the home of his uncle, who is a prominent figure in the fetish world, João was copying a page in Nagô. Possessed of a deep affection for his uncle and being characteristically obliging and courteous, he was attempting to learn a few words of this African language. But the impression João made on a visitor was that his efforts with Nagô arose rather from a desire to please his uncle than from any genuine interest in the language itself. João remarked, apologetically, "You know I would like to learn it, but I just don't have time when I'm working every day."

A young mulatto girl who had completed two years at a secondary school remarked, "I don't care much for the *candomblé*, except to watch the dances and to see the [ceremonial] costumes. I seldom go, and then only for some special reason. I like the movies better, especially the North American and the English films." She further remarked: [546]

> My uncle doesn't believe in this business of the *orixás*. One day his daughter—my cousin—said that she felt an *orixá* about to "arrive." She ran all the way to a *candomblé*, began to dance, and, sure enough, "she fell into the *estado de santo*." But my uncle wouldn't stand for it. He got a sprig of *urtiga* and whipped her and then went and whipped the *pae de santo* too. The next day, my cousin couldn't bear anyone's hand on her, she was so sore. But that was the end of the *orixá*. He never came back.

José is a young mixed-blood, twenty-two years of age, employed as a janitor in one of Bahia's public buildings. Although he knows of three *seitas* near his home—one each

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in Pau Miuda, Cidade da Palha, and Cruz do Cosme—he has no interest in them. However, he has a consuming interest in the cinema, keeps an elaborate scrapbook which now contains over a hundred and fifty individual photographs of actors and actresses, and can glibly name nearly all the films in which each has played during the last three or four years.[20]

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The following account by a young mulatto student of secondary-school age who has developed a somewhat skeptical attitude toward the *candomblé* in spite of his father's being a prominent *ogan* in one of the *seitas* who occasionally, when the elderly *achôgun* is ill, officiates at the sacrificial ritual, illustrates the difficulty which *candomblé* leaders now experience in enforcing the sanctions of the cult:

> Pedro [a young *ogan*] didn't show proper respect for my father when he suggested that there ought to be some repairs made at the *terreiro*. Pedro said it had been that way when he was "confirmed" and that it was all right now. He used "você" in speaking to my father, although he is much "younger." And he said my father lied. When I heard about this, I hunted up Pedro and told him that he hadn't treated my father right, and when he talked nonsense I hit him. Pae Procopio then hunted me up. I told him that I didn't believe in anything he did, that I wasn't afraid of any sorcery he might make, that Pedro had ill-treated my father, and that I wanted nothing to do with him and with all his accursed *candomblé*.

[20] For instance, José named five films in which Patricia Ellis had played. His favorite actress is Shirley Temple, after which come, in order, Lilian Harvey, Joe E. Brown, Maurice Chevalier, and Laurel and Hardy. In addition, he likes Raul Roulien, Dolores del Rio, James Cagney, Lyle Talbot, Kay Francis, Dick Powell, Eddie Cantor, Clara Bow, Jeanette MacDonald, George O'Brien, Fred Astaire, John Boles, George Brent, Richard Talmage, José Mojico, Jan Kiepura, Adolphe Menjou, Pat O'Brien, Chester Morris, Buster Crabbe, Charlie Chaplin, Lee Tracy, Gary Cooper, Ramon Navarro, George Bancroft, Johnny Mack Brown, Alice Faye, Olivia de Havilland, and Ken Maynard. José does not care for Buck Jones, although many of his friends do. Neither does he like Lionel Barrymore, Douglas Fairbanks, Jr., Richard Arlen, Ronald Colman, or Gordon Westcott. Paul Muni, he says, is "only fair."

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794 178 177 829 As a Bahian white said, "When a black man puts on a tie and shoes and learns to read and write, he loses interest in the *candomblé*. There are really two civilizations at Bahia, ours and the African. When a black begins seriously to take on our customs, he seldom spends any more time at *candomblés*." A prominent mulatto educator remarked, "I've never been to a fetish cult. I have no interest in them." A Negro laborer admitted that he used to go to such ceremonies, "but no more; I've given all that up now." The young nephew of a prominent *babalaô* said, "All this low stuff ought to be done away with. It's a sign of a very backward people. It has even disappeared in Africa. The English came into Lagos and brought modern civilization. Only in Bahia do these old customs hang on."

794 178 578 Indicative of the disintegrating state of the fetish world is the continuous and, at times, acute jealousy among the leaders and members of its more orthodox centers. In a given *seita* one hears much critical gossip regarding the practices of some other center. It is accused of forsaking the "true" African tradition and of inadequately interpreting mystical experiences. As the number of *Africanos* decreases, competition between the *seitas* for their allegiance is naturally increasing.

794 829 793 554 Among the Negroes who still identify themselves with the cult, the past tends to be romanticized, and the prestige of the "old Africans," like Bambuxê, Adeta, Iyalode Erelu, and others, to be constantly enhanced. Similarly, the prestige of the older cult figures who are still living—the *babalaô* Martiniano, *mãe de santo* Anninha,[11] and the aged Maria Bádá,

793 766 [11] Since this was written, *mãe de santo* Anninha has died. Of her funeral, the *Estado da Bahia* (January 5, 1938) said: "The crowd of people who accompanied the body to Quinta dos Lazaros Cemetery was one of the largest ever seen in Bahia and recalls the funeral for Pae Adão in Recife. More than

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all of whom represent the African tradition in its "purest" form—is, throughout the fetish world, very great."[14]

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two thousand persons were present, including members of the Irmandade of Rosario Church, dressed in their robes. The coffin, which was, in keeping with Anninha's request, quite modest, had over it the robe she had worn as a member of this Irmandade of which she was so proud, and was carried on the shoulders of the Brothers of Nossa Senhora do Rosario and of São Benedicto. The crowd of mourners blocked traffic in Rua Dr. Seabra for more than half an hour. Some *filhas de santo* wept unceasingly. Others related the virtues of the kind Anninha. 793 766

"When the coffin, carried by pious hands, entered the large gate of the cemetery, the *atabaques* broke out into African rhythms, while sad voices rose in the African songs of the *seita* to which the illustrious *mãe de santo* belonged.

"In the chapel of the cemetery, Canon Assis Curvello repeated the *encommendação*, and her body was laid away in a recently opened crypt.

"Then several orators spoke, among them Snr. Alvaro MacDowell de Oliveira in the name of the União das Seitas Afro-Brasileiras da Bahia, the journalist Edison Carneiro, and representatives of the Centro Cruz Santa do Aché de Okô Afonjá and of the Irmandade of Rosario Church. When the ceremony was over, two omnibuses carried a large number of the friends of Anninha to São Gonçalo do Retiro, where they took part in the preparatory ritual for the African funeral ceremony of Axèxè, to be held seven days after the death of the beloved leader of the *terreiro* of Aché de Okô Afonjá. This ceremony will consist of rites for the eternal peace of the dead *mãe de santo* and will be participated in by *ogans*, *filhas de santo*, *paes de santo*, and other friends of the deceased."

[14] This chapter is primarily based upon the author's personal experience as a visitor at numerous ceremonies in eighteen *seitas* at Bahia and as a participant over a period of several months as an *ogan* in the *candomblé* of Pae Procopio in Matatú. For further information see, in addition to the works of Nina Rodrigues, Arthur Ramos, Manoel Querino, and Edison Carneiro previously cited: Padre Étienne Ignace Brasil, "Le Fetichisme des negres du Brésil," *Anthropos*, III (1908), 881–904; Gonçalves Fernandes, *Xangôs do Nordeste* (Rio, 1937) and *O folklore magico do Nordeste* (Rio, 1938); João Vareila, *Cosme e Damião* (Bahia, 1938); the novels *O feiticeiro* by Xavier Marques (Bahia, 1922) and *Jubiabá* by Jorge Amado (Rio, 1935); and newspaper accounts such as "Creado o conselho africano da Bahia," *Estado da Bahia*, August 4, 1937, and "No mundo cheio de mysterios dos espiritos e 'paes de santo,'" *ibid.*, May 14, 1936. 114 123 113

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THE BAHIAN RACIAL SITUATION 000

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CHAPTER XI

BLACK AND WHITE AT BAHIA

THE foregoing chapters have dealt with some of the consequences, in one part of the New World, of what has been the greatest population movement in all history, namely, the series of migrations associated with the expansion of western Europe. The Portuguese, with whom we are here particularly concerned, were in the forefront of this outward movement which now for over five centuries has been bringing European peoples and European cultures into intimate contact with native peoples and native cultures all over the habitable world. Park,[1] McKenzie,[2] and other writers have pointed out in some detail the chain of circumstances occasioned by this expansion which, in fact, has ushered in all that is peculiarly characteristic of the modern world. 121

The expansion of Europe is a distinct historical process. It constitutes an era of world-history which had a definite beginning and which, as Park has pointed out,[3] is now at or quite near an end. It has, therefore, a unitary character which makes it a thing that can be studied like any other natural object. Moreover, it is subject to comparison; simi-

[1] Robert E. Park, "Race Relations and Certain Frontiers," in *Race and Culture Contacts*, ed. E. B. Reuter (New York, 1934), pp. 57–85; and in Andrew W. Lind, *An Island Community: Ecological Succession in Hawaii* (Chicago, 1938), Introduction. [113]

[2] R. D. McKenzie, "Industrial Expansion and the Interrelations of Peoples," in *Race and Culture Contacts*, ed. E. B. Reuter, pp. 19–33.

[3] Lind, *op. cit.*, pp. x–xi.

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121 lar movements have occurred during recorded history: the Arab march across northern Africa and into the Iberian peninsula, for example, as well as the Mohammedan migrations through the passes of the Himalayas onto the plains of northern India, and the so-called "barbarian" invasions of the Roman Empire. The expansion of Europe is not a phenomenon so unique that it cannot profitably be compared with other similar incidents of human dispersion.

The foregoing chapters have been oriented with reference to this general point of view, but they dealt specifically with one locus of European settlement. They sought to explore a particular instance of racial and cultural contact and to describe it in such terms as will perhaps make it comparable with other cases of racial and cultural contact in other parts of the world.

121 *563 Peculiarly significant are the facts that, although probably more Africans were imported into Brazil as one of the consequences of Portuguese settlement than into any other region of the New World, and they at one time constituted, in such centers of concentration as Bahia, a majority of the population, the Negro as a racial unit, like the Brazilian Indian before him, is gradually, but to all appearances inevitably, disappearing. The general tendency throughout Brazilian history has been to absorb, gradually but eventually, all ethnic elements into the dominant European stock.

It is true that the mixed-bloods are increasing, but their increase appears to be at the expense of the African and not of the European. Nor is there growing up in Bahia a relatively permanent mixed racial stock, like the Macanese in China or the "Cape Coloured" in South Africa. Instead, the mixed-bloods appear to be gradually absorbing the

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blacks, while they themselves are increasingly being incorporated into the predominantly European stock.

In the development of this general tendency to amalgamate and to assimilate all ethnic minorities, the circumstances and conditions of settlement played a significant role. In Brazil, unlike in the case of the English settlement of the United States, few women, as we have seen, emigrated from Europe during the first century of colonization. Until stable conditions and a normal distribution of the sexes were achieved, cohabitation with native Indian women commonly occurred. In this way a population large enough to colonize successfully the new frontier was assured, in spite of the fact that Portugal, because of the drain upon her slender resources to enable her to conquer and hold the vast empire in the East, was unable to provide it. When Thomé de Souza in 1549 set up the first [175] permanent settlement at Bahia, he found already on the site a numerous body of mixed-blood descendants of Portuguese sailors and adventurers who for some years had been living with the Indians. As far as the limited number of females made it possible, Thomé de Souza's men took mates from among these mixed-bloods; others cohabited with pure Indian women. These interracial unions, as in Goa (India) and elsewhere throughout the Portuguese dominions in the East, were subsequently encouraged as a matter of policy by the Portuguese state. Moreover, the Catholic church "regularized them into Christian marriage," thereby lending its powerful sanction to interracial crossing and bringing parents and children within the control and discipline of the church. In other words, a tradition of intermarriage became firmly fixed in the colonial mores.

The considerable body of *mestiços* which grew up are said

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to have been better adapted to a tropical climate than their Portuguese fathers and thus to have materially aided the survival of the European stock with which they, by reason of its prestige, came largely to identify themselves and into which they were gradually absorbed.

This case of interbreeding and intermarriage during the precarious days of settlement is not unique in the history of European expansion. In fact, in those instances in which the sex ratio was out of balance, it seems to have been universal. The settlement of the United States, at least in large part, was not one of these cases. But the settlement of South Africa by the Dutch, and of India by the English, as we have noted, were accomplished under similar circumstances. In each of these cases the mixed-bloods were at first accorded the treatment and the career usually falling to the progeny of fathers whose parental sentiments do not run counter to caste sentiments laid down in the local mores. On the frontier new societies are emerging, and the mores which grow up and crystallize into fixed customs and traditions are a result of the unwitting and unplanned responses of human beings to the needs of their time and circumstance.

The similarity, however, between these three cases of European settlement—in India, South Africa, and Brazil—gradually disappeared with the subsequent development of the respective colonies. In India circumstances altered the original situation until intermixture and intermarriage came seriously to be frowned upon and eventually to lose all moral sanction. The mixed-bloods came to be despised and finally to be outcast from both parental groups. In South Africa, when Cape Colony had become fairly established and the Dutch housewives coming in from Europe had succeeded to a considerable extent in getting rid of the na-

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tive concubines, the attitude of this community also changed, until "at the present time there is probably nowhere a more grim determination to preserve the integrity of their racial stock than there is among the descendants of those first Dutch settlers and of the French Huguenot and German immigrants who followed and fused with them to form the Boer people."[4]

But in Brazil the attitudes toward intermixture and intermarriage which grew up during the colonial period in response to the exigencies of the frontier seem not to have been subsequently seriously altered. Instead, the tendency to absorb all diverse ethnic elements appears to have been a persistent character of Brazilian society throughout the four centuries of its existence and is characteristic of it today.

The reasons for this deviation in Brazil are not very clear, and it continues, therefore, to be a problem. One of the difficulties in the way of its solution is the comparatively meager amount of information available on the "social history" of Brazil. Until quite recently, when such intellectuals as Gilberto Freyre became interested in digging out of the voluminous record of the past some understanding of the human relations characteristic of the colonial and imperial periods, Brazilian historians had limited their attention largely to the political, and especially to the administrative, aspects of Brazilian history. There is extant, of course, a considerable literature from the pens of foreign visitors, among whom were several able scientists, artists, and scholars like, for example, J. B. von Spix, C. F. P. von Martius, J. B. Debret, Prince Maximilian Wied-Neuwied, Maurice Rugendas, Henry W. Bates, Louis Agassiz, Richard F. Burton, Prince Adalbert, and L. F. Tollenare, which often con-

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[4] Park, "Race Relations and Certain Frontiers," *op. cit.*, pp. 67–68.

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tains pertinent observation and comment. But, unfortunately, the work of these men is almost entirely limited to the nineteenth century. The accounts which deal with an earlier period—for instance, the *Cartas* of Vilhena and of Nobrega, and the works of such able historians as Robert Southey, Heinrich Handelmann, and Francisco A. de Varnhagen—do not furnish sufficient information to resolve our problem. Voluminous records in numerous public depositories still await the careful sifting of competent scholars.

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It may be that, by the time European women had arrived in any considerable number in Bahia, miscegenation, aided by the decimation occasioned by the rigors of slavery and the introduction of European diseases, had already proceeded to the point where the Indian, as a minority group, had disappeared, or had almost disappeared, so that the problem of serious competition with Indian concubines did not present itself to the incoming Portuguese housewives.

Large numbers of Africans were, however, by this time coming in, and they continued for generations to arrive. There were at least some females among them. No intermarriage with African women, as far as we know, at first took place. Miscegenation, however, was extensive. And the mixed-bloods, as we have seen, were treated with tolerance and consideration. Numerous unions, especially with mulatto women, were subsequently entered into and were socially accepted.

It may have been that one circumstance favorable to a deviant termination of race relations in Brazil was the contact which the Portuguese, unlike the English and the Dutch, had with the Moors. From the customs and traditions of their conquerors, the Portuguese, during the several centuries of Moorish domination of the Iberian peninsula,

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took over at least three cultural elements whose presence in the mores of colonial Brazil may be significant for our problem: the practice of concubinage, the subordinate position of woman in the household, and the comparative absence of color consciousness.

It may be that the Portuguese, like the Moors and other Mohammedans, were, as several commentators have said, a "color-blind" people; that is, awareness of color and other racial differences was not so pronounced with them as with us. It is probably true that the *conceptions* laid down in the culture materially influence the *perceptions* which individuals have.

Perhaps one reason the Portuguese in the New Country and their descendants cohabited with individuals from other races and interbred so extensively was that such behavior had long been common in the Old Country, where their ancestors had taken over from the Moors oriental customs tolerant of plural marriage. Even when Orientals exclude the children of concubines from the legitimate family in an attempt to preserve its status, emphasis is upon preserving status rather than purity of race.

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Concubinage, or *mancebia*, as it is known in Bahia, seems to have been quite common throughout the history of Brazil. It appears always to have been more or less socially sanctioned and accepted into the mores. Divorce is illegal, and many marriages are made for family convenience. It is not rare today in Bahia for a man with a legal wife and family to keep in separate establishments one or more *amantes*.[5] The

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[5] In one reported instance there are five; in another, eight. Usually the man, owing to the expense involved, is well to do; the women are from the lower strata. For instance, a wealthy and prominent intellectual figure lives most of the time apart from his legal wife with a mulatto woman who is intelligent, "attractive," and has traveled (with him) in France, Belgium,

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[851] custom is to some extent recognized in law.[6] Usually the
[848] children take the mother's name, but occasionally the father "recognizes" and registers them, so that they legally bear his name. They are sometimes taken into the legitimate household, where they are usually accepted without serious question by the legal wife.[7]

848 Particularly among the lower classes, illegitimacy is not
[565] seriously prejudicial to the child. Personal qualities and in-
[554] dividual ability largely determine his role and status; his parentage is rather naturally considered to be a matter be-
551 yond his control. A surname is not of great importance, the given name being infinitely more used, even among the upper classes. Prominent intellectual and political figures are
000 known throughout the city by their given names. A stranger

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[837] and Portugal. Their eldest daughter is studying to be a pianist. There are three younger children. The man also supports another mulatto woman, said to be "very young and very pretty."

[837] [6] A single extra-marital amorous experience makes a woman liable to prose-
[671] cution for adultery, whereas for a man such conduct must not only be proved to be habitual but also to have involved an established relationship with a *single* individual. For a wife to have cause for legal action, she must previously have been ignorant of the extra-legal affair of her husband. Otherwise, her implied acquiescence constitutes participation in guilt.

[7] One wife said of her husband's "natural" child, "He's a fine boy. I like him as much as, or more than, my own children." In 1911 an American consul at Pará wrote: "In Amazonia the father assumes all the responsibility and legally adopts his illegitimate children who, in a majority of cases, become a part of his own family, taking an equal place in social privileges with those children within the bounds of the church regulations. . . . . There is no disposition in the higher social circles to discriminate against the number of these illegitimate aristocrats who, in the matter of education, refinement and address, are often the superior of some of those born in wedlock in the same families . . . . [and are], in many prominent cases, the acknowledged leaders of society" (J. Orton Kerbey, *An American Consul in Amazonia* [New York, 1911], p. 119).

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A stranger is often surprised to discover individuals whom he had not previously thought of as related turning out to be brothers or other close relatives. 602

The gradually improving status of women is today working against *mancebia*, and many of the "more scrupulous" families discourage it. In these, the wife, if she knows of her husband's affairs, may reprove him, as also may other members of the family and its friends. But usually, as an upper-class woman said, "the ladies talk very little about it, and then only with their most intimate friends. The subject is not generally discussed." 562 837 [521]

Although in recent years at least two feminists have become quite prominent, and one of these has been elected to the state legislature, the common family pattern at Bahia is still patriarchal. Tempered, of course, by the natural claims which primary relations always tend to set up, the role of the husband and father has, throughout Bahian history, been a decidedly dominant role. For instance, it is said to have formerly been the custom—at Bahia today in some instances a custom still observed—for the husband to select and purchase the materials for his wife's clothing and even indicate the manner in which the goods should be made up. Formerly, women, other than prostitutes, servants, and other individuals of inferior status, were rarely seen upon the streets or in public places, the home being considered their proper sphere. Even in the home, women seem to have rarely appeared in the presence of strangers. Tollenare, visiting Pernambuco in the early nineteenth century, wrote, "At my arrival [in the house of a merchant], the women disappeared, and only the head of the house remained in the *salão* to talk to me." In another connection he remarked: "During eight months of residence in Pernambuco I never once saw the 59 562 [635]

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562 high society of the city in spite of my letters of introduction and my efforts to enter several homes."[8]

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564 Another important question to raise is, "Why did not the structure of Brazilian slave society, like that of the United States, pass over into caste?" The situation here is some-
567 what more clear. The function of caste appears to be that of preserving inviolate the racial integrity of a dominant group. Caste in India apparently arose in an attempt on the part of incoming Aryan peoples to preserve the status of their families against the consequences of intermixture with the conquered aboriginal tribes.[9] The prohibition of intermarriage excluded almost completely from the more intimate social contacts individuals from groups considered undesirable.

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563 In Brazil the characteristic tendency has always been just the reverse: namely, to incorporate eventually all ethnic
567 minorities into the dominant group. The contact of the Portuguese settlers with the imported Africans was, of course, originally that of master and slave. But out of the slave system which grew up there gradually emerged a moral order in which most whites and blacks, as we have seen, came to share a common life on an intimate, personal basis.

> Men come together ordinarily because they are useful to one another. Under these circumstances they may regard each other for a long time as mere utilities. But human beings do not live for long, like plants, in relations that are merely symbiotic. For men, unlike plants, communicate. In this way they come to know one another's minds and to be responsive to one another's attitudes and sentiments. They find themselves, eventually, living as it were, each in the mind of all his neighbors. It is in this way that a moral order grows up in which,

[8] L. F. Tollenare, "Notas dominicais tomadas durante uma residencia no Brasil, 1816–1818" (portion relative to Pernambuco translated by Alfredo de Carvalho from the unpublished French manuscript), *Revista do Instituto Arqueologico e Geographico Pernambucano*, No. 61 (1905), pp. 129 and 230.

[113] [9] Sir Herbert H. Risley, *The People of India* (2d ed.; Calcutta, 1915), pp. 264–65.

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under the happiest circumstances, the individual feels himself constrained only by those obligations which he freely accepts or imposes upon himself.

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It is characteristic of such a moral order that it is nonrational. That means that it is not devised to protect any special interest, to serve any policy, and has no ulterior purposes of any sort. On the contrary, it arises in response to the natural claims which one individual makes upon another, as soon as he recognizes that other individual as human like himself.[10]

Manumission, as we have seen, extensively occurred from the first. And final emancipation came about as the culmination of a widespread liberation movement which had for years dominated the public mind. The Brazilian Negro was thus released from a servile status gradually and under circumstances which favored the continuance of intimate personal ties. Final emancipation was not, as in the United States, brought about as an incident of civil strife, and the race relations which had normally grown up under slavery were never exacerbated by a program of reconstruction imposed from without by armed conquest. The rise of the black and of the mixed-blood in Brazil has always had in its favor those sentiments and personal attachments which primary relations tend to develop.

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In Bahia there is probably little or no race prejudice in the sense in which that term is used in the United States. There are no castes based on race; there are only classes. This does not mean that there is nothing which might be properly called prejudice but that such prejudice as does exist is *class* rather than *caste* prejudice. It is the kind of prejudice which exists *inside* the ranks of the Negro in the United States, the amount and intensity of which is actually very great.

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That race prejudice has not arisen in Brazil is perhaps due

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[10] Park, Introduction to Bertram W. Doyle, *The Etiquette of Race Relations in the South* (Chicago, 1937), pp. xiv–xv.

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to the fact that the Brazilian white has never at any time felt that the black or the mixed-blood offered any serious threat to his status. The past and present experiences of the ethnic groups have not been such as would call out in the whites feelings of fear, distrust, apprehension, dread, resentment, or envy, all of which probably enter into the attitude of race prejudice. Besides, there has not been in Brazil that obscure sense of guilt which men sometimes feel toward those they have wronged or toward those by whom they themselves have been wronged. There have been few or no incidents which the Europeans resent and tend to construe as affronts or unwarranted aggressions and attacks; no events, like those attendant on our Civil War and its aftermath, which would stir the Europeans, arouse their feelings, and give to their conception of the Negro a new meaning and content. There are in Brazil no memories over which the whites brood like those which have been so strikingly called to our attention in a recent novel:

> Looking about her in that cold spring of 1866, Scarlett realized what was facing her and the whole South. . . . . The Yankees had the South prostrate. . . . . The South had been tilted as by a giant malicious hand, and those who had once ruled were now more helpless than their former slaves had ever been.
>
> Georgia was heavily garrisoned with troops and Atlanta had more than its share. The commandants of the Yankee troops in the various cities had complete power, even the power of life and death over the civilian population. . . . . They could and did imprison citizens for any cause, or no cause, seize their property, hang them. They could and did harass and hamstring them with conflicting regulations about the operation of their business, the wages they must pay their servants, what they should say in public and private utterances and what they should write in newspapers. They regulated how, when and where they must dump their garbage and they decided what songs the daughters and wives of ex-Confederates could sing, so that the singing

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of "Dixie" or "Bonnie Blue Flag" became an offense only a little less serious than treason. They ruled that no one could get a letter out of the post office without taking the Iron Clad oath and, in some instances, they even prohibited the issuance of marriage licenses unless the couples had taken the hated oath.

The newspapers were so muzzled that no public protest could be raised against the injustices or depredations of the military, and individual protests were silenced with jail sentences. . . . . Trial by jury and the law of habeas corpus were practically suspended. The civil courts still functioned after a fashion but they functioned at the pleasure of the military, who could and did interfere with their verdicts. . . . .

The Negroes had not yet been given the right to vote but the North was determined that they should vote and equally determined that their vote should be friendly to the North. With this in mind, nothing was too good for the Negroes. The Yankee soldiers backed them up in anything they chose to do, and the surest way for a white person to get himself into trouble was to bring a complaint of any kind against a Negro.

The former slaves were now the lords of creation and, with the aid of the Yankees, the lowest and most ignorant ones were on top. . . . . Thousands of house servants, the highest caste in the slave population, remained with their white folks, doing manual labor which had been beneath them in the old days. Many loyal field hands also refused to avail themselves of the new freedom, but the hordes of "trashy free issue niggers," who were causing most of the trouble, were drawn largely from the field-hand class.

In slave days, these lowly blacks had been despised by the house Negroes and yard Negroes as creatures of small worth. . . . . And now this class, the lowest in the black social order, was making life a misery for the South.

. . . . The former field hands found themselves suddenly elevated to the seats of the mighty. . . . . Like . . . . small children turned loose among treasured objects whose value is beyond their comprehension, they ran wild. . . . .

To the credit of the Negroes, including the least intelligent of them, few were actuated by malice and those few had usually been "mean niggers" even in slave days. But they were, as a class, ... easily led

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and from long habit accustomed to taking orders. Formerly their white masters had given the orders. Now they had a new set of masters, the Bureau and the Carpetbaggers, and their orders were: "You're just as good as any white man, so act that way. Just as soon as you can vote the Republican ticket, you are going to have the white man's property. It's as good as yours now. Take it, if you can get it!"

Dazzled by these tales, freedom became a never-ending picnic, a barbecue every day of the week, a carnival of idleness and theft and insolence. Country Negroes flocked into the cities, leaving the rural districts without labor to make the crops. Atlanta was crowded with them and still they came by the hundreds, lazy and dangerous as a result of the new doctrines being taught them. . . . .

For the first time in their lives the Negroes were able to get all the whisky they might want. . . . . Outrages were inevitable. . . . . The white people, unprotected by law, were terrorized. Men were insulted on the streets by drunken blacks, houses and barns were burned at night, horses and cattle and chickens stolen in broad daylight, crimes of all varieties were committed and few of the perpetrators were brought to justice.

But these ignominies and dangers were as nothing compared with the peril of white women, many bereft by the war of male protection, who lived alone in the outlying districts and on lonely roads. It was the large number of outrages on women and the ever-present fear for the safety of their wives and daughters that drove Southern men to cold and trembling fury. . . . .

Here was the astonishing spectacle of half a nation attempting, at the point of bayonet, to force upon the other half the rule of Negroes, many of them scarcely one generation out of the African jungles. The vote must be given to them but it must be denied to most of their former owners. The South must be kept down and disfranchisement of the whites was one way to keep the South down. Most of those who had fought for the Confederacy, held office under it or given aid and comfort to it were not allowed to vote, had no choice in the selection of their public officials and were wholly under the power of an alien rule. . . . .

Through these anxious days and nights, Scarlett was torn with fear. The ever-present menace of lawless Negroes and Yankee soldiers preyed on her mind, the danger of confiscation was constantly with

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her, even in her dreams, and she dreaded worse terrors to come. Depressed by the helplessness of herself and her friends, of the whole South, it was not strange that she often remembered during these days the words which Tony Fontaine had spoken so passionately:

"By God, Scarlett, it isn't to be borne! And it won't be borne!"[11]

Brazilian society nowhere passed through a comparable period of social upheaval in which a threatened reversal of the status structure elicited such deep-seated fear and apprehension that generations later it is so vividly recalled by the descendants of those who lived through it. The rape of white women by colored men, either real or fancied, has been unknown in Brazil. There has not been anything remotely comparable to the conquest of our South by northern armies, the imposition, for years, of onerous political control from without, and the consequent development of feelings of resentment and bitterness which, lacking normal expression (by reason of the North's formidable power), in the form of effective aggression toward the actual offending object, became displaced upon the more or less helpless Negro when northern force was withdrawn. On the contrary, the relations between the races in Brazil have always been, to a considerable extent, intimate and cordial. The moral order of the Bahian *engenhos*, which, as we have seen, was organized largely on a familial and personal basis, has persisted relatively undisturbed down to the present day, and the members of the different races have, by way of personal feelings and sentiments, long identified themselves with each other, entered into each other's personal experiences, and come to appreciate their common human character. Instead of conceiving the Negro as an abstract object, the Bahian white tends to think of him as João or Maria and as being wholly human like himself.

[11] Margaret Mitchell, *Gone with the Wind* (New York, 1938), pp. 652–57.

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It is true that the Europeans at Bahia, like all groups, are ethnocentric, and individual whites share a general feeling of the superiority of their group. Many of them are adverse to the (to them) strange and bizarre behavior represented by the *candomblé* ritual and other African cultural survivals. In some minds at least these acts have taken on a disgusting and even offensive character and may have evoked deeply rooted antipathies. However, these antagonisms are directed at *cultural* rather than at *racial* variations, and they tend to disappear when the Negro, as he is now rapidly doing, gives up his identification with African cultural forms and becomes assimilated into the European world. The antipathy does not extend, therefore, to the Negro as such but rather to the *Africano*, the foreigner, he who constitutes an alien cyst in the social organism. This attitude is not greatly different from that characteristic of descendants of the first English settlers in the United States toward recent immigrants from southern and eastern Europe who for a time continue to live much to themselves and to cling tenaciously to Old World customs and traditions.

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One might note that the Brazilian case of racial contact definitely supports Faris' challenge of a popular assumption which, confusing the customary with the natural, maintains that race prejudice is instinctive and hereditary.[12] If race prejudice were organic, it obviously would appear in all cases of racial contact. If, then, we discover cases in which it does not appear, the hypothesis that race prejudice is instinctive is no longer valid.

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What we find, then, in Bahia is a multiracial class society.

[12] Ellsworth Faris, "The Natural History of Race Prejudice," in *The Nature of Human Nature* (New York and London, 1937), chap. xxxii, pp. 357 ff.

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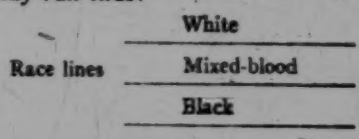
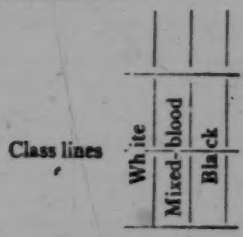
There is no caste based upon race; there are only classes. These classes are still largely identified with color, it is true, but they are classes nonetheless and not castes. The most characteristic tendency of the Bahian social order is the gradual but persistent reduction of all distinguishing racial and cultural marks and the fusing, biologically and culturally, of the African and the European into one race and one common culture.

The actual situation in any case of race contact can perhaps be precisely defined by a diagram which distinguishes between caste and class relations.[13] In a caste system the racial lines may run thus:



In case the structure of society is organized on the basis of class, as in Brazil or Hawaii, the color lines run vertically, cutting across class lines:



Each race, including the mixed-bloods, is likely to be represented in all the occupational classes. The hierarchy of occupations will inevitably take the form of a pyramid, but the

[13] The author is indebted for this schematic arrangement to Dr. Robert E. Park.

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565 percentage of each racial stock in each occupational class will indicate the occupational status of the different racial elements. And since the group with superior status will have proportionately larger numbers in the upper brackets, and the groups with inferior status will have larger numbers in the lower brackets, one may describe a racial situation statistically. Thus, on the basis of a sample census recently taken, the relation to the class structure of the respective ethnic elements in the population at Bahia may be described as shown in Table 16.

TABLE 16

[571] RACIAL DISTRIBUTION IN THE CLASSES AT BAHIA, 1936

Ethnic Groups	Intelligentsia		Marginal		Lower Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Blacks	5	0.4	23	5.1	1,245	75.2
Mixed-bloods	222	15.7	255	56.3	386	23.3
Whites	1,183	83.9	175	38.6	25	1.5
Total	1,410	100.0	453	100.0	1,656	100.0

*463 563 565 One might indicate graphically the vocational distribution of the various ethnic elements at Bahia by a series of pyramids, as illustrated on the facing page.

If now one were able to obtain statistics showing the extent of intermarriage between, on the one hand, members of the different racial stocks in the same occupational class and, on the other hand, between the different classes in the same racial stock, these facts should provide an accurate statistical description of what the racial situation actually is. If one finds that, as in the United States, marriages between

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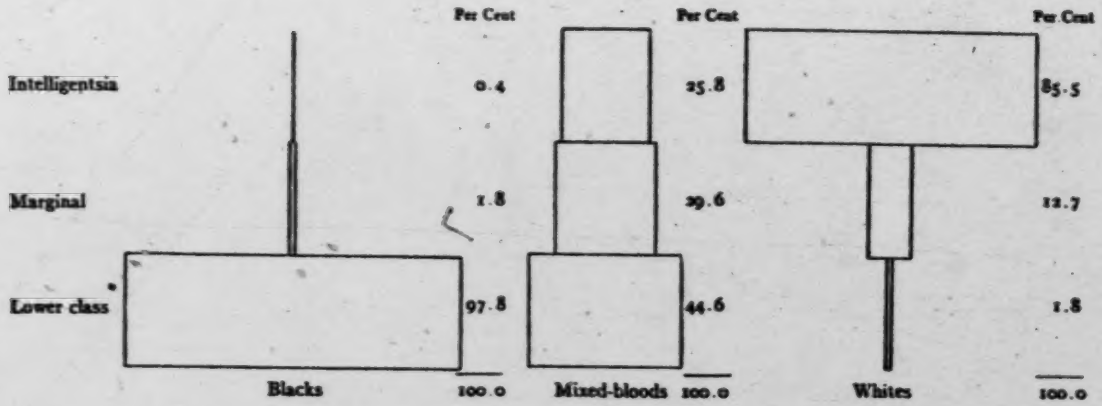
CLASS DISTRIBUTION OF THE RACES, BAHIA, 1936



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different occupational classes within each racial group are more frequent than intermarriage between members of the different racial groups in the same class, we should expect to find solidarity and co-operation for common ends organized along racial lines. The racial group would then assume more or less the character of a nationality or of a racial minority. On the other hand, if solidarity and co-operation were organized along class lines, then the struggle for status would take more or less the form of a class struggle.

Statistical data to resolve this problem are unfortunately not available in any depository in Bahia. Such information as it was possible to secure in the course of this study indicated that marriages cross race lines more often than class lines and that solidarity and co-operation tend to be organized along class lines.

Since, then, the blacks, mixed-bloods, and whites in Bahia do not constitute endogamous occupational groupings, the social structure is not that of caste. Although the hierarchy of occupations still takes a decidedly pyramidal form, and the white race, occupying superior status, has predominantly larger numbers in the upper brackets, and the black race, representing inferior status, is overwhelmingly dominant in the lower brackets, each race and the mixed-bloods are represented in all the occupational classes.

To the extent that the blacks, mixed-bloods, and whites fall into endogamous but not necessarily occupational groupings, one might say that the structure here takes the form of a racial minority, or a nationality, in free association with, but not accepted on a basis of social equality by, a dominant racial majority. Such is the relation of the Jew in Europe and, increasingly now, of the Negro in the United States. Of the latter, Park has said:

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Although caste still persists and serves in a way to regulate race relations, many things—education, the rise within the Negro community of a professional class (teachers, ministers, and physicians) and of an intelligentsia, seeking to organize and direct the Negro's rising race consciousness—have conspired not merely to undermine the traditional caste system but to render it obsolete. 000

Meanwhile, the slow but steady advance of the Negro, as a result of a competition within and without the group, and the gradual rise of a Negro society within the limits of the white man's world have changed the whole structure of race relations in the United States, both in the North and in the South.

The restrictions on intermarriage still persist and continue to make of the Negro an endogamous social group, in much the same sense that the Jews, the Mennonites, and any of the more primitive religious sects are endogamous. On the other hand, in view of the fact that he has developed a society in which all the professions and many, if not most, occupations are represented, the Negro has an opportunity now, which he did not have earlier, to rise within the limits of the Negro world. Under those circumstances the Negro group has gradually ceased to exhibit the characteristics of a caste and has assumed rather the character of a racial or national minority.[14]

With the Negro in Brazil endogamy is far from absolute, breaking down particularly along the biological borders of the race, probably increasingly, with the passage of time and the continued rise of individuals from the inferior status group. The scale of race distinctions, including the Negro at the bottom and the white at the top, seems to correspond in a general way to the scale of color distinctions *within the Negro minority* in the United States. 563* 565

Although color and negroid features are still indicative of slave origin and still tend to be closely identified with low status and hence to constitute a considerable handicap to marriage into the upper classes, these characteristics lose their limiting and restrictive character in proportion as the [142]

[14] Introduction to Doyle, *op. cit.*, pp. xxi-xxii.

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degree of European intermixture increases or their symbolic reference is called into question by evidence of status-enhancing qualities in a given individual. Similarly, personal competence or individual achievement admit persons possessing considerable color into such status-symbolizing institutions as exclusive clubs. Race consciousness is at a minimum, "passing" has no point, and the circumstances are not ordinarily conducive to the appearance of the "marginal man." The organization of society tends to take the form of a competitive order in which the individual finds his place on the basis of personal competence rather than of racial descent.

The racial situation at Bahia probably is, in a general way, typical of all Brazil. At the same time a considerable immigration of Europeans during the past century into the southern Brazilian states, especially São Paulo, Santa Catharina, and Rio Grande do Sul, and the gradual development of an industrial society in São Paulo, may have modified somewhat the attitudes formerly prevailing in these areas. A Bahian mixed-blood recently returned from Rio Grande do Sul with the statement that he had there been referred to as a "Negro" and had otherwise felt uncomfortable distinctions to which in Bahia he had been unaccustomed. That there is some prejudice in the cosmopolitan city of Rio de Janeiro is attested by the organization in 1935 of O Movimento Brasileiro Contra o Preconceito Racial ("The Brazilian Movement against Race Prejudice"), sponsored by the prominent intellectuals, Arthur Ramos and Roquette Pinto. In São Paulo, the organization in 1924 of a Negro journal, *O Clarim d'Alvorada*, and later of others like *A Chibata*, *Cultura*, *O Clarim*, and *A Voz da Raça* ("The Voice of the Race"); of several Negro clubs for recreational and

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literary purposes like the Club 15 de Novembro, Club 13 de Maio, Gremio Dramatus e Recreativo Kosmos, and the Gremio União da Mocidade; of the Negro women's organization, Centro Civico Palmares; and, in 1931, of the Frente Negra Brasileira[15] ("Brazilian Negro Front") with the aim of "bringing together the Negroes of all Brazil," clearly indicates at least some race consciousness on the part of the Negroes of São Paulo and consequently reflects feelings of exclusion and discrimination; as also do the subsequently organized Associação dos Brasileiros de Côr in Santos and the Frente Negra Pelotense in Pelotas, Rio Grande do Sul.[16]

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However, these indications of a measure of race consciousness are probably exceptions to the general Brazilian cultural pattern and not typical of it. Organizers for the Frente Negra do Brasil, after several weeks of fruitless effort, gave up an attempt to organize a chapter at Bahia. The fact that noted intellectuals band together to resist attitudes prejudicial to racial minorities is in itself an evidence of the racial ideology which we have noted. That these intellectuals are not atypical persons is attested by the general tenor of the spontaneous utterances, as well as formal remarks, of numerous Brazilians. It may be that Bahia, by reason of long being a passive cultural area in comparison to the more active cultural areas of the South, is more characteristically representative of the original Brazilian mores than São Paulo and certain other southern zones. But even in São Paulo the journals referred to above have one by one suspended publication, a fact which would seem to indicate

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[15] With the advent of the new regime in November, 1937, the political activities of the Frente Negra Brasileira were suppressed. Its social and educational program, however, was continued and the name changed to União Negra Brasileira.

[16] See Arthur Ramos, *The Negro in Brazil* (Washington, 1939), pp. 168–74.

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no great amount of race consciousness. The study of intermarriage made in São Paulo by Dr. Lowrie[17] would appear merely to confirm the fact that in Brazil still today the Negro in most cases lacks class. At least it is true that several individuals with some colored blood occupy important positions in the Paulista community or have married into white families.

The race problem in Brazil, in so far as there is a race problem, tends rather to be a consequence of the resistance which an ethnic group offers, or is thought to offer, to absorption. Recent opposition to Japanese immigration into São Paulo apparently has been largely motivated by apprehension that the Japanese would constitute a group difficult to assimilate.[18] In an attempt to refute this imputation, the Japanese embassy in Rio published a pamphlet entitled *Intermixture among the Japanese: The Myth That They Do Not Interbreed with Other Races*,[19] to which were appended several photographs of mixed Japanese-Brazilian families.

Of the Negroes, Brazilians ordinarily say there is no Negro problem, because the Negroes are in process of absorption and eventually will be completely incorporated. To individuals from all classes of the population this eventual amalgamation and assimilation of diverse ethnic units is a matter of pride and self-commendation.

In summary, one might set down in the form of hypothe-

[17] Samuel H. Lowrie, "Racial and National Intermarriage in a Brazilian City," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV, No. 5 (March, 1939), 684–707.

[18] See, e.g., "O cruzamento de japonezes com brasileiros," *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio), September 17, 1935; "A infiltração japoneza," *ibid.*, October 16 and 22, 1935; "Oliveira Vianna e a immigração japoneza," *ibid.*, September 13, 1935; "Contra a imigração amarela," *ibid.*, August 11, 1935.

[19] *Cruzamento da ethnia japoneza: hypothese de que o japonez não se cruza com outra ethnia* (São Paulo, 1934).

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ses for further testing what appear to be the more significant facts about the racial situation in Brazil, especially as it is related to the career of the African and his descendants.

1. Although probably more Africans were imported into Brazil than into the United States, or into any other region of the New World, the Brazilian Negro, as a racial unit, like the Brazilian Indian before him, is gradually but to all appearances inevitably disappearing, being biologically absorbed into the predominantly European population. Race mixture has gone on in an unobtrusive way over a long period of time. In few places in the world, perhaps, has the interpenetration of diverse races proceeded so continuously and on so extensive a scale.

2. There is not growing up a relatively permanent mixed racial stock, like the "Cape Coloured" of South Africa, the Macanese in China, or the Goanese in India. The Brazilian mixed-bloods are absorbing the blacks and are themselves in turn being absorbed by the predominantly European population.

3. In answer to the normal needs of a racial and cultural frontier a tradition of intermarriage arose and became firmly fixed in the colonial mores. This appears to be the natural response in all cases of racial contact where the sex ratio is out of balance.

4. Miscegenation, particularly when linked with intermarriage, resulted in bonds of sentiment between parents and offspring which hindered the arising of attitudes of prejudice and at the same time placed the mixed-bloods in a favorable position for social advancement. B BB

5. With rise in class, intermarriage between mixed-bloods (especially those of the lighter shades) and whites became increasingly common. Thus, endogamy has for some time [565]

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been breaking down, particularly along the biological borders of the races, and, with the continued rise of individuals from the inferior status group, this tendency is evidently increasing. Although color and negroid features are still symbolic of slave origin, still tend to be closely identified with low status and hence to constitute an undeniable handicap to marriage into the upper classes, these physical marks lose their restraining character in proportion to the degree white intermixture increases or—what is even more important—in proportion to the degree their symbolic reference is called into question by evidence of other qualities of a status-enhancing character in a given individual.

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6. In general, slavery in Brazil, as also in the United States, was characterized by the continuous growth of intimate, personal relations between master and slave which tended gradually to humanize the institution and undermine its formal character. The Brazilian moral order became organized, to a considerable extent, on a familial and personal basis.

7. The custom of manumission became firmly intrenched in the Brazilian mores, constituting, under certain circumstances, universally expected behavior. Brazilian Negroes were thus released from a servile status gradually and under circumstances which favored the continuance of those intimate personal ties already built up.

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8. Emancipation sentiment in Brazil never suffered from a wave of fear like that which swept our South after the Negro uprising in Haiti and the disorders attendant on the subsequent annihilation of the Haitian whites.

9. Abolition sentiment and agitation was not limited to any one section of Brazil but, on the contrary, penetrated every community, even that of Bahia, where the institution

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of slavery was apparently very firmly intrenched. Thus, the "struggle for consistency" in the Brazilian mores went on *inside* each local community, where it had in its favor the intimate and personal relations of individuals who not only lived in close proximity to each other but were also bound together by ties of family, religion, and friendship.

10. Final emancipation came about as the culmination of a widespread liberation movement which for years had dominated the public mind. The release of the last slaves in bondage did not, as in the United States, occur as an incident of civil strife, nor were the race relations which have normally grown up under slavery ever exacerbated by a program of "reconstruction" imposed by armed conquest from without.

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11. The Brazilian white has never at any time felt that the black or the mixed-blood offered any serious threat to his own status. No feelings of fear, distrust, apprehension, dread, resentment, or envy have been stirred up, as in our South during and following the Civil War, no sense of unwarranted aggressions or attacks.

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12. Today, the blacks and the mixed-bloods are represented throughout the entire occupational scale, although, as is to be expected, considering the original slave status of the Negro, his relatively disadvantaged position upon receiving his liberty, and the comparatively brief time he has enjoyed a freely competitive status, the darker portion of the population is still concentrated in the low-pay, low-status employments. However, the blacks, ordinarily but not always paced by the mixed-bloods, are gradually rising in the occupational scale.

13. This rise in class of the blacks and the mixed-bloods is recognized not merely in a Negro world, as is largely true of

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similar advancement in the United States, but by all members of the Brazilian community.

14. Since, then, the blacks, the mixed-bloods, and the whites do not constitute endogamous occupational groupings, the social structure is not that of caste.

15. Nor does the Negro in Brazil appear to be, as he is in the United States, developing into a self-conscious racial minority in free association with, but not accepted by, a dominant racial majority.

16. Instead, the entire organization of society tends to take the form of a competitive order in which the individual finds his place on the basis of personal competence and individual achievement more than upon the basis of racial descent. This fact is perhaps best reflected in the common saying: "A rich Negro is a white man, and a poor white man is a Negro."

17. The Brazilian racial situation is, then, sufficiently distinct from that in India, for example, where the social order is organized on the principle of caste, and from those in many parts of the world where a national or racial minority (or minorities) is in free association with, but not accepted by, a dominant national or racial majority, to constitute, along with the Hawaiian racial situation and certain others, a distinct type: *a multiracial class society.*

18. There is no deliberate segregation as one finds where races have been embittered for a long time; spatial distribution is largely the consequence of economic sifting. Such isolation as exists is largely due to varying educational levels or to identification with elements of African culture, particularly the fetish cult.

19. For the assimilation of the *Africanos* at Bahia, while now far advanced, is not yet complete. African survivals still

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persist, setting apart to some extent a (comparatively small) portion of the black population.

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20. Lynching and the rape of white women by colored men are both unknown, "passing" has no point, and circumstances are not ordinarily conducive to the appearance of the "marginal man."

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21. One drop of African blood does not, as in the United States (if known), class a mixed-blood as a Negro. Instead, many individuals are listed in the official statistics as whites, and are similarly known in the community, who not only have African ancestors but actually give some evidence of this descent in their color and features.

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22. Prejudice exists in Brazil; but it is *class* rather than *race* prejudice. It is the kind of prejudice which one finds inside the ranks of the Negro in the United States.

23. It is possible that the Brazilian blacks and mixed-bloods, lacking as they do in most cases the sense of inferiority long characteristic of the Negro in the United States, particularly of the mixed-blood, have been less activated by personal ambition. Feeling themselves less under the necessity of demonstrating to a hostile white world their individual talents and abilities, they have not had the same incentive for social advancement and, consequently, have not, perhaps, as a group, risen in class as rapidly as has the Negro in the United States.

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24. Although Brazil seems never to have had a formal racial policy, the traditional behavior which originally grew up and took shape under the influence of the immediate and unreflecting responses to the circumstances and conditions of colonial life gave rise to an *informal* racial policy, or racial ideology, which underlies and gives consistency to the mores, appearing only when they are challenged from without and

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individuals seek to rationalize and to defend their customary conduct. This ideology is perhaps best summarized in the commonly heard phrase, "We Brazilians are becoming one people."

25. Thus, the race problem in Brazil, in so far as there is a race problem, tends to be identified with the resistance which an ethnic group offers, or is thought to offer, to absorption and assimilation.

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This is not to say that there are no social distinctions in Brazil; for such are obviously common to all societies, one thing or another serving as a basis. Neither does it mean that there is no discrimination or that the blacks and mixed-bloods are completely satisfied with their lot. But it does mean (*a*) that a man of color may, by reason of individual merit or favorable circumstance, improve his status and even achieve position in the upper levels of society and (*b*) that this position will then be with reference not merely to the darker group whose color he shares but to the total community.

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APPENDIX A

AN AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF A COLORED CITIZEN

The following autobiographical sketch was written by a man who is one of Bahia's leading colored citizens, a very dark mulatto referred to in Bahia as a *preto* or, literally, a "black": 159 [124]

I was born of modest parents. My father was a white man, an educated gentleman from a family of agriculturists, or "Senhores de Engenho," in the Reconcavo near Santo Amaro. My mother was a black woman, a person of notable beauty among her race. Domingas was her name.

Until I was ten years of age, I lived in Santo Amaro and its vicinity, at that time the richest area of sugar-cane cultivation in the state of Bahia. In 1865, when I was ten years old—for I was born on January 7, 1855—my father took me to Rio de Janeiro, where I finished my elementary education and prepared myself for secondary schooling in the Collegio de São Salvador, which was at that time under the direction of Monsenhor José Joaquim da Fonseca Lima, an illustrious priest, later *reitor* of the Collegio Dom Pedro II, the foremost secondary school in Brazil.

I owe what I know of the Humanities to my dear Masters at the Collegio de São Salvador, whom I later joined as teacher when, in 1871, at seventeen years of age, I entered the Escola Politecnica (then Escola Central) to take a course in Civil Engineering. I had among my teachers in the Escola Central the most eminent intellectual and scientific men of that time in Brazil, including Manoel da Cunha Galvão, Americo Monteiro de Barros, João Eugenia de Lossie e Seylbits, Carneiro, Saldanha da Gama, Villa Nova Machado, André Rebouças, Joaquim Murtinho, Visconde do Rio Branco, Borgia Castro, Sousa Pitanga, and Holanda Cavalcanti, all of whom were men of great

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importance in the field of science and some of whom were prominent in national politics.

In 1876, at twenty-one years of age, I finished my studies at the Escola Politecnica. While a student I had collaborated at the Museu Nacional (directed by Ladislau Netto, an illustrious botanist) with Orville Derby, Lacerda e Almeida, Pirarro, Rodrigues Peixoto, and Schwacke, in the scientific discussions held there and constantly attended by Emperor Dom Pedro II.

I then dedicated myself to the task of teaching in the principal *collegios* of Rio de Janeiro where I had pupils who today in the highest offices of the Brazilian government honor me with their learning and ability.

In 1878 I began my career as an engineer by serving as a member of the Comissão Hidraulica, organized at the instance of the government of Conselheiro Sinimbu for the study of ports and inland navigation and directed by the famed American engineer, Mr. W. Milnor Roberts, especially engaged for this purpose. The Commission was a large body, composed of chosen men destined to direct the future work of this nature in our country. I was invited to join the group by Senator Veriato de Medeiros. I positively did not solicit the position. The invitation was entirely spontaneous, a fact which made me feel somewhat flattered.

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I will touch here upon an incident which occurred at that time because it makes plain one of the few cases of race prejudice which are now very rare in our country. The Commission on a certain day presented itself to the Minister to hear him explain the point of view of the government in creating the Commission. I was present, as were all of my colleagues. On the following day the *Diario Official* published a report in which all the engineers were presumably mentioned. However, my name, for some reason of which I was then ignorant, did not appear with the others. I was apparently omitted from a Commission which I had been invited to join. The omission was due, I later discovered, to the fact that I was the only *homen de côr* in that brilliant group and, to the mind of the official involved, this appeared very shocking (*chocante*); especially since I was to be working with American technicians who, it was said, did not appreciate the company of colored men. Hence I was excluded, and experienced for the first time the sting of prejudice. But to Senator Veriato de

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Medeiros, whom I sought out that night to thank for his spontaneous gesture of invitation, my elimination was not official, and he immediately took the necessary steps so that on the following day everything was straightened out. I owe to the fine courtesy of this illustrious Senator the manner in which the incident was handled, although I did not find this out until much later through a mutual friend.

Meanwhile, the charge of prejudice, which the official had sought to bring against the Americans, completely disappeared, and I had the honor of winning their friendship and esteem. This proved with the passing of the years to be very beneficial and served me well in the profession which I adopted. After two years spent studying the ports of Santos and Maceió, and investigating the navigability of the São Francisco River, we all returned to Rio de Janeiro. Mr. Roberts, our illustrious chief, on presenting his report to the Minister, thought it proper to name me among his assistants, all of whom were distinguished men, and to present, in a special chapter, a description of the work with which I had been especially charged, calling it to the attention of the Minister under the title, "The Report of Snr. Calogeras."[1] The fact was that, in addition to the routine work with which we were each charged on the Commission, I was detailed by Mr. Roberts to explore the territory between the São Francisco River and the Atlantic coast across the Chapada Diamantina, and to collect geographic and geological data, together with information on the productive capacity, population, and commerce of the region. These data were later brought together in a book and published under the title, *O Rio São Francisco e a Chapada Diamantina.*

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From my American colleagues on the Commission I received such proof of consideration and esteem that it captivated me. Rudolf Wiezer, Roberts' assistant who had accompanied him from the United States, in writing to a friend about me, used these words of extreme flattery: ". . . . the best Brazilian engineer on Roberts' staff." Orville Derby, the eminent geologist, who in his time was considered the greatest authority in the science of geology, took me for his collaborator in the work with which we were later intrusted by the governor of the state of São Paulo.

[1] The name is, of course, fictitious.

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In 1882, the Roberts' Commission having been disbanded, I helped extend the rail line from Bahia to the São Francisco River, it being my job to draw up plans and specifications for the steel bridges of the railway.

In 1883 I was invited by Antonio Placido Peixoto de Amarante to be his First Engineer on the Comissão de Desobstrução do Rio de São Francisco, a project which we had studied together under the direction of Roberts three years before and which it had now fallen to his lot to execute as Chief Engineer. We removed the obstruction due to the celebrated Sobradinho Falls, the greatest obstacle to navigation in the upper part of the river, and shipping was soon established between the city of Joazeiro and the Falls of Pirapora, where the navigable section of the river ends.

For a little more than three years, or until 1886, I continued with this work. Orville Derby, who had been named head of the Geographic and Geological Commission of São Paulo, then invited me to be his First Engineer, charged especially with the geodetic survey.

The province of São Paulo was at that time governed by Senator João Alfredo Correa de Oliveira, an eminent man, who had always borne in mind the problem of communication with the interior and had just turned his attention to inland navigation and especially to the possibilities of connecting São Paulo with the faraway province of Matto Grosso. With this object in mind, we began the exploration of the Paranapanema, from its source in the Serra do Mar, in Itapetininga, to its junction with the Paraná River above Sete Quedas (Seven Falls). Studying the river from the point of view of its navigability, a labor which we carried out during the dry season of 1886, we found that more than two-thirds of its course was impracticable for navigation. This river failed to afford the solution for which we were searching. The Paranapanema is a great reservoir of hydroelectric energy rather than a passage between the Paraná-Paraguay and the Atlantic coast of southern Brazil.

On returning from these studies, which had also included an investigation of the geological character of the valley by the notable geologist, Francisco de Paula Oliveira, as well as an examination of those natural conditions bearing upon the productivity of the soil, and, in addition, ethnographic and ethnological studies of the Indians still dominating the woods and the plains of the Lower Paranapanema, we

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went to Campo Largo, setting up our camp near the iron foundry of Ipanema, a location which we had chosen by reason of its natural advantages to be our first base from which to survey the province of São Paulo.

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We were proceeding with this measuring when a communication arrived from Colonel Mursa, director of the foundry, which surprised us greatly. His Majesty, the Emperor Dom Pedro II, the Colonel told us, had arrived there yesterday and had commanded the engineers of the Geographic and Geological Commission to present themselves before him without further delay and to bring with them their field notes and all data gathered during the exploration of the Paranapanema River, since His Majesty wished to see this information before its re-writing in the office. The order was urgent, and the Colonel advised us to go just as we were, in our field attire, since this was the wish of the Emperor.

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All morning in Ipanema, Dom Pedro II examined our blueprints, measurements, notes, calculations, and drawings and inquired about the practical results of our work. He raised still other questions and objections on certain technical points, since he was a professional in this field. At luncheon he invited us all to join him at the same table, and I was given the honor of sitting in the chair at his right. During the luncheon we talked only of the studies carried out during our exploration, of the incidents of the trip, of the Indians, their customs and language. I state these details so that you may see how great was the interest of the Brazilian monarch in scientific studies, his vast erudition, his thirst for knowledge, his manifest desire for justice, and his utter lack of class or color prejudice. For Dom Pedro II was of all Brazilians most exempt from the prejudices of his time.

On taking leave of us, His Majesty desired that the studies of the Paranapanema River should be published as soon as possible.

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Our investigation of the valley of the Paranapanema, a region which in former times was under the dominion of the Tupís and Guaranís, afforded me an opportunity of studying more closely this indigenous element so important in the history of the Brazilian people and in the formation of their national character. I gathered valuable data to contribute to the body of information regarding this race and the *lingua geral* which for nearly three centuries was the language spoken in this part of Brazil.

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While working with the Geographic and Geological Commission, with which I remained for about four years, associated with such able and renowned colleagues as Orville Derby, Gonsaga do Campos, Francisco de Paula Oliveira, Washington de Aguiar, Alberto Loefgren, and other capable assistants, I had the opportunity of surveying nearly a third of the province, from Ipanema and Campo Largo along the ridge of the Serra do Mar, or the Paranapiacaba, and the peaks of the Mantigueira and their foothills from Santos and São Paulo inland as far as the banks of the Mogy-guassu River, which flows from the highlands of Minas Geraes. Owing to the time-consuming nature of this topographic work, we were not able to map completely such a large area. However, by 1890, we had made and published several geographical charts, when I left the Commission and accepted the invitation of the illustrious Dr. Vicente de Carvalho, then *Secretario de Estado dos Negocios do Interior*, to act as Sanitary Engineer for the city of São Paulo, and to carry out a sanitation project for which I, years before, at the instance of the provincial government following the proclamation of the Republic in 1889, had drawn up plans.

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We were at that time in an era of social and political transformation, actually the greatest period of change through which the country has passed since independence. Following the war with Paraguay in 1870, Brazil had entered a notable epoch of reform and progress. This was especially evident during the ministry of Visconde do Rio Branco which brought us the law of civil marriage, the law of free birth, direct elections, as well as teaching reforms, and an extended development of the railway system of the country. Propaganda in favor of the emancipation of slaves was increasing. Those of sixty years and over were shortly freed by law, and, after a few more years of agitation, a most notable victory was achieved with the abolition of slavery without indemnification on the thirteenth of May, 1888. Eminent figures like Joaquim Nabuco, José do Patrocinio, and André Rebouças dominated the emancipation movement. The Emperor and the Princess Regent who signed the abolition decree, their ministers, João Alfredo Correa de Oliveira, and Antonio Ferreira Vianna, were the greatest figures in that glorious crusade which had gripped all Brazil.

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The proclaiming of the Republic on November 15, 1889, a few months after the abolition of slavery, was facilitated by the illness of

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the emperor and by the fact that abolition had been decreed *without* indemnification. The republican propaganda, which had been active since the convention of Itú, gained its victory without great effort since, as it is only fair to remember, the tolerant spirit of the Emperor and the simplicity of his living had contributed greatly to the development of democratic ideas.

During this era of great transformation, in which the intellectuals and the youth of Brazil threw themselves with enthusiasm, we were all swept by the reform wave. I would not have made the Republic just as it was made; but I accepted it as a logical result of its historical antecedents and the democratic atmosphere then dominant in America.

The province of São Paulo soon took the lead in the extensive reforms which the country was experiencing. Political administration, agricultural development, immigration, all were stimulated by the new regime. I collaborated in all this as a citizen and as a public servant in proportion to my ability. In 1896 I was Chief Engineer of Sanitation for the state of São Paulo, a service which I directed for some years. With General Jardim and Salles de Oliveira I served on the Commission which organized the Escola Politecnica of São Paulo during the governorship of Bernardino de Campos. With Antonio Pisa, Cezario Motta, Horacio de Carvalho, Conselheiro Manoel Antonio Duarte de Azevedo, and others, we founded the Instituto Historico e Geographico of São Paulo, and I directed the construction of the building which still houses it. During the celebration of the three hundredth anniversary of Padre José de Anchieta's birth, which, through the initiative of Eduardo Prado, one of our most illustrious journalists and authors, launched a literary movement, I collaborated in the famed "Conferencias Anchietanas," which were to mark an epoch in the literary life of Brazil. My liking for historical studies then led me into the examination of documents from the first years of Brazilian colonization and the publication of the results of such research as monographs or articles in magazines of a scientific character. In this way I made a modest contribution.

It was during this period that I gave my leisure time over to the study of our indigenous races. I wrote and published some observations concerning the language of the Cayuas of the Lower Paranapanema and some data on the Guayanas of São Paulo. I published

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159 *O tupi na geographia nacional*, in which I indicated the extent to which this Indian language had influenced the place names of Brazil. I studied the Krahos of the Upper São Francisco and their linguistic connection with the Krans tribes of the valley of the Tocantins and the Araguaya.

Discontinuing, in 1903, my work with the Sanitation Service of São Paulo, I returned to Bahia the following year to make a study of the possibilities of, and to bid for, a sanitation system for the city of Bahia; and on May 19, 1905, I signed a contract to put in these improvements for the *municipio*. Four years later I had completed the portion relative to the water supply, but only a third part of the sewage system. The failure of funds then paralyzed the work, and it remained suspended for several years, until in 1929 the contract was renewed by common consent of the parties concerned. With the completion of this task, my professional activity ended. As a young man, while still a student in the *curso superior*, I had been a teacher, lecturing in Latin, English, Mathematics, History, and Philosophy; and as a civil engineer, I had now worked without interruption for forty-eight years. I was never unemployed, and I early attained the highest rank in my profession.

Among literary and scientific studies which I have published, I might note: [Here follows a list of nineteen books or articles published in Brazilian literary and scientific publications, followed by the statement: "Various articles and lectures published in the *Revistas* of the Instituto Historico e Geographico de São Paulo, the Instituto Geographico e Historico da Bahia, and the Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro de Rio de Janeiro."]

I had the honor of being chosen by my fellow-citizens of Bahia as their representative in the federal *camara* to replace Dr. Octavio Mangabeira, who had been named minister of foreign relations in the government of President Washington Luis. Not having been a militant politician, I was surprised at this choice which honored me so greatly. I continued in this office until the end of the session in 1929.

From the scientific and literary institutions of the country I have received the following spontaneous proofs of their appreciation: I am a member *effectivo de honra* of the Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro; an active member of the Instituto Historico of São Paulo; president of the Instituto Historico of Bahia; corresponding member of

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the Instituto Historico of Minas Geraes; corresponding member of the Instituto Archeologico e Geographico Pernambucano; corresponding member of the Instituto Historico of Rio Grande do Norte; corresponding member of the Instituto of Ceará; member of the Instituto Historico of Sergipe; member of the Clube de Engenharia of Rio de Janeiro; charter member of the Sociedade Capistrano de Abreu; active member of the Academia de Letras da Bahia; active member of the Instituto Politecnico da Bahia.

I here end these autobiographical notes which are, I realize, somewhat deficient, since at my age [eight-one years] memory cannot be very faithful, and I fear it has failed me many times. These lapses of memory, however, have led me rather to understate than to exaggerate the honors which have been paid my modest talents and achievements.

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APPENDIX B

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COMMON SAYINGS REGARDING THE NEGRO

The following common sayings regarding the Negro probably date from the early years of the slave epoch. They are employed today more as interesting anecdotes of a former time than as characterizations of living individuals. They thus possess more the character of cultural survivals which are gradually disappearing than of racial myths actively functioning to maintain current racial inequalities or a caste order. Ordinarily, they are not thought of when individuals from the different races meet face to face. They are always uttered with a smile which seems to give them a character similar, for instance, to jokes about the Ford car which were so current in the United States in the 1920's or to humorous comments on the Irish, Scotch, or Swedes. Some of them are:

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Negroes aren't born; they just appear.
Negroes don't marry; they just live together.
Negroes don't sleep; they just take naps.
Negroes don't eat; they bolt their food.
Negroes don't look at you; they only glance at you out of the corners of their eyes.
Negroes don't dance; they "samba."
Negroes don't take a bath; they just wet themselves.
Negroes don't dry themselves; they just shake the water off.
Negroes don't comb their hair; they curry it.
A Negro woman doesn't give birth to a child; she just "pops it out."
A Negro with gloves on is a sign of rain.
A Negro dressed in white is a fly in milk.[1]

[1] That is, "he looks out of place," a *pardo* explained.

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A Negro dressed in black is a black vulture with a cape.

A Negro is a *pau de fumo*.[2]

The Negro if he doesn't soil things on entering, soils them before he leaves.

Negro, *onça*'s food.

The following verses of a similar character also are recalled:

The Negro has hair
Which lard will not flatten;
The more he combs it,
The more it kinks.

A Nagô Negro when he dies
Is carried off in a banguê;[3]
His relatives say,
"The vultures have to eat."

An old Negro when he dies
Smells like a skunk;
Our Lady, don't let
That Negro into Heaven!

A Negro when he dies
Is laid out in a shirttail;
His relatives say,
"A poor man has no need of luxury."

The odor of a Negro woman
Comes from two places:
The armpit
And the heel.

If the priest is white, he says Mass;
But if he is a Negro, he only pretends to be saying it.[4]

[2] A piece of wood around which raw tobacco is wrapped for transport. It subsequently turns very black. [276]

[3] A crude litter used in colonial Brazil to carry the bodies of dead slaves, to transport building materials, etc. [493]

[4] An informant explained this line thus: "If he acted as if he was saying Mass, he was merely pretending, for he had not learned how to say it."

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NEGROES IN BRAZIL

The Negro was born to be a dog
And to spend his life barking.

The Negro will not go to heaven,
Even though he prays,
Because his hair is kinky,
And it might stick Our Lord.

I have a pain in my chest
That goes to my heart
When I see a Negro with shoes on
And a mulatto barefoot.

Every white man comes from God,
Every mulatto is a *pimpão*,[1]
Every caboclo is a thief,
Every Negro a *feiticeiro*.

The white man is a son of God,
The mulatto is a foster-child,
The *cabra* has no relatives,
The Negro is a son of Satan.

The white man goes to heaven,
The mulatto stays on earth,
The *caboclo* goes to purgatory,
The Negro goes to hell.

The white man is a gold chain, the mulatto fine silver,
The *cabra* is a *relicario*, the Negro a leather cord.

It seems probable that the following sayings and verses arose as a form of protest from the Negro group itself:

The Negro was born just to be a lackey of the whites.
In the white's fishing, it's the Negro who pulls the net.
If the Negro doesn't want gruel, they give him gruel.
If the Negro doesn't want beans, they give him beans.
An insane white man is said to be only nervous; but an insane Negro is called a "drunk."

[1] A *pimpão* is one who is "sassy," provoking, "goes about with a chip on his shoulder."

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The white man eats out of a plate, the mulatto where he likes, the *cabra* from a *cuia*,[6] the Negro out of an *aribe*.[7]

The white man sleeps in a bed,
The mulatto in the hall,
The *caboclo* in the parlor,
The Negro in the "privy."

Whites sleep in beds,
Mulattoes in the kitchen,
Caboclos on the *terreiro*,[8]
Negroes under the henroost.

The white man drinks champagne,
The mulatto Port wine,
The *caboclo* beer,
The Negro pig's urine.

The *chique-chique* is a thorny wood,
The *umburana* a bee's tree,
The oxen's necktie is a yoke,
The Negro's coat a beating.

The mulatto, the *cabrinha*,[9] and the Negro
Used to be able to drink;
But today only whites and mulattoes
Can swill it down all day.

You call me ugly;
I am ugly, but I am also affectionate.
The seasoning is ugly too,
But it makes a dish taste good.

[6] A *cuia* is a bowl made from half a gourd.

[7] An *aribe* is a crude clay dish.

[8] The space between the house and the servant quarters is called the *terreiro*. It may be paved with brick, or cement, but more often it is only of bare ground.

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[9] Diminutive of *cabra*.

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APPENDIX C

THE BOMFIM FESTIVAL

796 Certain popular festivals, like the Sabado and Segunda
565 Feira do Bomfim, are largely taken over and even dominated
by the lower classes. Individuals from the upper circles,
[439] both white and colored, attend only in their automobiles,
driving slowly back and forth along the principal streets and
through the crowds, or watch the festivities from the windows and doorways of near-by houses. In the words of a local citizen, the festival of Bomfim "springs from the people themselves, who regard O Senhor do Bomfim as their patron saint. It belongs to them more than Carnival does; Carnival is more refined (*mais elevado*), more under the control of the educated, 'cultured' Bahians."

796 Preceded by exclusively religious ceremonies, the celebration begins on the third Saturday in January and continues through the following Sunday and Monday. A large part of the population attends. Formerly, it is said, all business houses closed for the festival, and a few still do, while others take only a half-holiday on Monday. The celebration opens
[368] at the Church of Bomfim, which crowns a gently sloping hill
[443] on the peninsula of Itapagipe which juts out into Todos
os Santos Bay to the north of the port. Black women in
[265] *bahiana* costume sit around the edges of the crowd selling
such wares as *cocada*,[1] cakes, and other confections, mangoes,
[257] peanuts, *umbús*, and *cajús*.[2] In the *adro*, or open space, in

[1] *Cocada* is a confection made of coconut and sugar.

[2] *Cajús* are the fruit of the cashew tree. *Umbús* are a green, smooth-skinned fruit, about the size of a small lime.

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front of the Church of Bomfim, booths are erected, each of which has been named for the patron saint of the proprietor or bears an inscription like *Fé em Deus* ("Faith in God"), *Salve a Nova Aurora* ("Hail to the Dawn"), or *A Bahianinha* ("Dear Little *Bahiana*"). At these booths one may purchase such famous Bahian dishes of African origin as *aberém*, *carurú*, *vatapá*, *efó*, and *acarajé*, as well as drinks and other refreshments. *Kermesses*, or small booths given over to games of chance similar to those of traveling "carnivals" in the United States, bear such names as *Lua Cheia* ("Full Moon") or *Abrigo dos Filhos do Povo* ("Shelter for the Children of the People"). A brass band, composed of blacks from the fire department in uniform, plays intermittently from a raised platform in the center of the square.

443 265 [262] 796 [525] [533] [368]

At night the entire front of the church is ablaze with electric lights. Fireworks almost constantly sputter and bang in the air. An immense crowd mills about the *adro*, while other people sit at tables, eating, drinking, talking, and watching the festivities. About two hours after midnight, the *terno* of *Os Ciganos* ("the Gypsies") appears. It is a band of approximately thirty people, marching two abreast, ten musicians with brass instruments in the lead, followed by a dozen young men each of whom holds aloft a wooden staff branched at the top and lavishly decorated with paper flowers and Japanese lanterns, and an equal number of girls twelve to fourteen years old, dressed in gypsy costumes and shaking castanets and tambourines. After parading around the square, the *terno* halts in front of the church, greets the patron saint, then turns and ascends the platform vacated for this purpose by the band. The girls dance, sing, and play their instruments while one of the men performs a frenzied dance, twirling round and round a standard bearing the name and insignia of the terno.

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796 signia of the *terno*. Before sunrise, the *ternos of Batuiu* from the outlying area of the city known as Alto dos Pombos, of *Gata Abafa a Banca* ("the Cat 'Steals the Show' ") from Plataforma, of *Bacalhau* ("Codfish") from Estrada da Rainha, and *Filho do Arigofe* ("Son of Arigofe") from São Miguel, also appear and perform in a similar manner. Most of the black women venders and many of the celebrants will not return to their homes during the entire three days and nights of the *festa*.

On Monday the locale of the celebration shifts to Ribeiro on the opposite side of Itapagipe. Here in a large open space along the beach people crowd in by the thousands to compose informal groups of dancers, singers, and musicians, or merely promenade. People enjoy themselves for hours at a time, groups of singers and dancers dissolving only to form into new groups composed of different individuals, amid great hilarity and constant *sambas*. *Capoeira* groups form and draw their circles of onlookers. Almost all the actual participants are blacks or mixed-bloods; relatively few are of undiluted European blood.

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GLOSSARY

(Terms identified when first introduced in the text and not used again have been omitted.)

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abará: Food of African origin, consisting of bean paste, seasoned with pepper and oil of the *dendê* palm.

acaça (acassá): Afro-Brazilian drink, made by fermenting a mixture of cracked corn (or rice), sugar, and water.

acarajé: Food of African origin, consisting of a small croquette of bean paste and shrimp, seasoned with onions and pepper and fried in oil of the *dendê* palm.

achôgún (axôgún): Sacred specialist who performs animal sacrifices at an Afro-Brazilian cult center; also called "second *pai-de-santo*" (first assistant to the leader of the cult).

adjá: Musical instrument, composed of a small metal bell with a long handle, which is shaken at the height of the heads of the ceremonial dancers by the leader of an Afro-Brazilian cult, to promote further the arrival of a deity during a ceremonial dance.

adro: Square or other open place in front of or to one or both sides of a church.

Africano (fem. *Africana*): 1. Person born in Africa. 2. *Candomblé* (q.v.).

agê: Musical instrument, consisting of a large gourd containing pebbles and covered with a small cotton net in whose meshes cowries have been fastened, to be shaken in the hand. Also called *piano-de-cuia*.

agôgô: Bi-tonal musical instrument, consisting of two hollow iron cones joined together, to be struck with an iron pin by the leader of an Afro-Brazilian cult ceremony, to sound the first note of each invocation to a deity and then to accompany the drums during that invocation.

alabê: Head drummer in an Afro-Brazilian cult.

ama: Nursemaid, usually (during the slave regime) a colored woman slave.

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amancebado: Living in a "common-law" or other conjugal union outside official marriage. The more common term is *amasiado*.

amante: Paramour (as used here, although has other meanings).

amasiado (amaziado): Living in a "common law" or other conjugal union outside official marriage (see p. 120).

amiga: Feminine form of *amigo;* literally, "friend," but ordinarily meaning either "common-law" wife or "paramour."

anum (anu): Bird, of the Cuculidae family.

ar-do-vento: Literally, "air of the wind"; a folk "illness," presumed to be caused by a breeze or wind which produces temporary paralysis of part of the body or even coma. Also known as *estupor*.

arruda: Rue, an aromatic plant of bitter taste, with presumed magical (as well as medicinal) properties.

atabaque (tambaque): Sacred drum, employed in sets of three, of varying sizes but always of wood, in Afro-Brazilian cult ceremonies.

azeite-de-dendê: Oil of the *dendê* palm *(Elaeis guineensis)*, of African origin acclimated to Brazil.

babalaô: Foreteller of future events, in Afro-Brazilian cult world.

babalôrixá (babá): Leader (male) of the Afro-Brazilian cult; better known as *pai-de-santo* (see p. 208 n.).

bacharel (pl. *bachareis*): Principally, a graduate of a law school (or, more recently, of a Faculty of Philosophy, Science and Letters), but also one who has completed the course of a secondary school *(liceu, ginásio)*.

Bahiana: Literally, "a female inhabitant of Bahia." Term used more commonly to refer to colored women who wear a traditional costume (see pp. 247–48) and sell Afro-Brazilian food delicacies in the streets, as well as to refer to this costume itself.

balangandan (balangandã): Ornament formerly worn upon special occasions by the more well-to-do colored women at Bahia (see p. 246 n.).

barracão: Sacred dance pavilion where public ceremonies of an Afro-Brazilian cult are held (as used here, although has other meanings in Brazil).

bátá: Long, white, loose-flowing blouse, usually of cotton but sometimes of silk, ordinarily trimmed with wide lace.

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batucada: At Bahia, a group, usually composed of fifteen or twenty young men, invariably blacks or dark mixed-bloods, who parade in single file at Carnival time while playing instruments of the Afro-Brazilian cult (see p. 201).

batuque: Dance of Afro-Brazilian origin, with musical accompaniment (see pp. 100–101).

bozó: Magical means for causing harm to a person or thing (see p. 252 n); also called *feitiço*, *bruxaria*, or *negócio*.

branco (fem. *branca*): Literally, "white." Reflects, however, circumstances not only of color but also of status, as well as the personal relationship, at the time, of the speaker to the person referred to.

branco-da-Bahia: See Introduction to this edition.

branqueado: Literally, "whitened"; that is nearly white.

búzios: Cowries, or small, ivory-colored, glossy shells of a mollusk found on the shores of the Indian ocean and used for money in parts of Africa and Asia. Worn by some women specialists of the Afro-Brazilian cult, and also used when foretelling future events.

caboclo: Amerindian (as used here, although has other racial or cultural meanings in Brazil).

cabra: Mixed-blood, one of whose parents is of African descent and the other an European-African half-breed (as used here, although has other meanings).

cachaça: Popular term for aguardente, or Brazilian rum; also known as *pinga*, and by at least some 126 other names, in different parts of Brazil.

cafuzo (cafuso): Amerindian-African mixed-blood.

câmara: Legislative body.

camarinha: Sacred room in which prospective sacred dancers of the Afro-Brazilian cult are interned during their period of training and initiation.

candomblé: Afro-Brazilian cult as known at Bahia (see Chap. X); called *xangô*, in Recife; *catimbó*, in certain other parts of northeast Brazil; and *macumba*, in Rio de Janeiro.

candomblé caboclo: Folk cult whose ritual, ceremony and belief are extensively, or even predominantly, of Amerindian origin.

canzá (canzuá, ganzuá): Afro-Brazilian cult center; term is a cor-

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ruption, and generalization, of "Gantois," the name of one cult center at Bahia (see p. 300).

capitania: Huge land grant and administrative unit in colonial Brazil, which subsequently became a Province and, after the founding of the Republic, a State.

capitão (pl. *capitães*)-*do-mato* (formerly written, *matto*): "Bush-captain," hired to track down, capture and return fugitive slaves.

capitão-mor: Administrative head of a capitania (q.v.).

capoeira: A complex form of personal combat, originally developed by fugitives slaves, and now enjoyed, in simulated form, as a sport (see pp. 250–51).

carregador: Porter, baggageman, packer, loader.

carroceiro: Wagoner, cartman.

caruru: Food of African origin, consisting of okra, fish, shrimp, and other ingredients, seasoned with oil of the *dendê* palm and pepper. Considered to be a special delicacy of the Afro-Brazilian deities, the *Begi* (Cosme and Damião).

casa-de-candomblé: Afro-Brazilian cult center.

caxixi: Musical instrument, consisting of a small reed pouch containing pebbles or cowries, to be shaken in the hand.

cobrador: Collector of fares on streetcars, buses, etc., or one who makes change for the payment of such fares (as used here, although has also a more general meaning).

colégio (formerly written, *collégio*): A secondary school (as used here, although, in different connections and at different times in Brazil, has had other meanings).

comida: Literally "food"; used here in a more special sense, to refer to the food offering made to a deity of the Afro-Brazilian cult.

consórcio: Conjugal union, either legal or outside marriage.

cordão (pl. *cordões*): Group of persons of African descent who march, dance, clap their hands and sing songs of African derivation in the streets at Carnival time (see p. 201).

da costa: "From the West Coast of Africa"; used, for example, in the phrases: *pimenta* (pepper) *da costa*, *pano* (cloth) *da costa*, *sabão* (soap) *da costa*, *palha* (fiber) *da costa*.

cuica: Musical instrument, composed of a hollow wooden cylinder closed at one end and having a stick covered with resin appended

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in the center of the drumhead which is gripped by the hand of the "player," and the hand drawn back and forth to make a muffled, pulsating sound.

despacho: Sacrificial offering, made to a deity of the Afro-Brazilian cult; for example, to Exu, at the opening of each ceremony, to propitiate him and thus avoid any prank which he might occasion and which might disturb the subsequent ceremony. Ordinarily consists of *farofa* (q.v.), with oil of the *dendê* palm, a dead chicken, coins of copper or nickel, a piece of red cloth, a candle, perhaps a rag doll. Often left at crossroads or at the foot of a *gameleira* tree.

desprêzo: Scorn, contempt.

doutor (fem. *doutora*): 1. One who has graduated from a professional school, especially of medicine or law but also of other disciplines. 2. One who has shown himself erudite in any field. 3. One with high prestige.

encomendação: A special prayer for a deceased person.

engenho: Sugar plantation in colonial Brazil, together with its primitive (but effective) mill for processing sugar cane (as used here, although has several other meanings).

estado-de-santo: Literally, "state of the saint (deity)"; that is, "possession," as experienced during an Afro-Brazilian cult ceremony, when a ceremonial dancer "receives" the "visitation" of a deity.

farofa (farófia): Manioc meal, cooked to form a mush, with butter or other fat added.

fazenda: Large rural property, in cultivation or used to raise live stock, especially cattle (as employed here, although has other meanings in Brazil).

fazendeiro: Landed proprietor, who oversees (but does no manual labor on) his rural property (*fazenda*).

feiticeiro: Practitioner of "black" magic.

feitiço: "Black" magic.

festa: Any celebration of familial, religious or popular character; corresponds to the Spanish *fiesta*.

fidalgo: Of noble lineage (as used here).

figa: A charm, made of ebony, coral, gold, silver, jade, or other substance, in the form of a closed fist with the thumb inserted

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between the index and middle fingers, and worn to protect one from the "evil eye."

filha-de-santo: Ceremonial dancer of an Afro-Brazilian cult, who serves as the intermediary of the deity to whom she is dedicated and who is presumed to "enter her head" during a sacred dance.

fiscal (pl. *fiscais*): One who collects fees, taxes, or other public funds, or checks on their collection (including fares) by another.

formado: Graduated from a professional school.

fubá: Meal or flour made from maize or rice.

funcionário público: Federal, state or municipal employee.

gameleira (gamelleira): Wild fig tree. In Bahia, sometimes called *pé* (tree) *de Lôko*, after the Afro-Brazilian deity whose fetish it is presumed to be.

homem (pl. *homens*) *de côr*: Man (men) of color.

irmandade: Religious brotherhood.

jacamim (jacami, jacumim): Bird of the Psophiidae family, or South American trumpeters.

macumba: The Afro-Brazilian cult as known in the area of Rio de Janeiro; occasionally, by extension, this cult in other parts of Brazil.

macumbeiro: Practitioner of "black" magic; in Bahia, more commonly called *feiticeiro*.

mãe-de-santo: Head (female) of an Afro-Brazilian cult center, responsible for the religious, moral, and temporal welfare of its adherents, and especially for the religious education of the *filhas-de-santo*, or ceremonial dancers.

mãe-preta: Literally, "black mother." Colored woman slave to whom the care of the master's children was given.

mães-d'agua: Order of female deities of the Afro-Brazilian cult presumed to inhabit bodies of water (some, fresh water, and some, salt water).

Malê: Mohammedan of African origin.

mameluco: European-Amerindian mixed-blood.

manceba: Either a "common-law" wife or a paramour; term rarely used except in erudite speech, *amiga* or *amasia* being more common.

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mancebia: Conjugal union outside marriage in which there is some degree of permanency.

mato (formerly written, *matto*): "The bush," an uninhabited, usually timbered area (as used here, although has other meanings in Brazil).

mestiço: Mixed-blood.

moreno (fem. *morena*): Person of dark complexion, with dark eyes and dark hair, ordinarily (but not always) a mixed-blood (see pp. 136–38). Friendship, or other source of favorable attitudes, may lead to the term being applied to a person otherwise considered a *prêto*. When pronounced with a certain emphasis, indicates much darker color, representing an ironical reference to the common tendency to "grade up" a black friend to the *moreno* category.

mulher (pl. *mulheres*) *de côr*: Woman (women) of color.

município: Administrative sub-division of a Brazilian State, somewhat (but not completely) comparable to a county in the United States.

muxôxo: Act of pursing the lips and uttering, with the aid of the tongue, a sudden "tsk"-like sound, while the chin is pushed sharply forward and upward, the whole signifying contempt or disdain.

negro (fem. *negra*, *nega*): Literally, "black"; however, has had three other meanings in Brazil, two of which carry low-status connotation: 1) a slave, and 2) one who works hard (at manual labor), and the third of which, paradoxically, reflecting certain intimate personal relations during slavery, makes it a term of endearment. Seldom heard in Bahia today in any of the three earlier meanings except in conflict situations.

negro-de-ganho: Semi-independent slave, who resided away from his master's residence and arranged his own employment, usually paying the master a stated sum weekly and retaining for himself any balance remaining (see pp. 38–39).

negros novos: Literally, "new negroes"; that is, recently imported Africans.

obi (*ôrôbô*): A secred fruit (*kola*), imported from Africa for use in connection with rituals of the Afro-Brazilian cult. Thought to

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possess magical properties, especially in connection with oracular functions and religious sacrifice.

ôgan (*ôgã*): Male functionary of the Afro-Brazilian cult, presumed to be "selected" by the deities. His primary obligation is to assist the head of the cult, especially with finances and public relations, particularly those involving governmental authorities.

onça: *Felis uncia*, a forest cat resembling the leopard; name also popularly given in Brazil to *puma concolor* and *panthera onça*.

ôrixá (*ôrishá*): Afro-Brazilian deity; for example, Ogun, Xangô, Yemanjá (see Chap. X).

pai-de-santo (formerly spelled *pae*): Head (male) of an Afro-Brazilian cult center, responsible for the religious, moral and temporal welfare of its adherents, and especially for the religious education of the *filhas-de-santo*, or ceremonial dancers. Also called *babalôrixá*; or simply, *babá*.

pardo (fem. *parda*): Literally, "brown"; ordinarily used, however, especially in official statistics, to refer to the entire range of intermediate "colors" between black and white.

pegi: Sanctuary in which sacred fetishes of the Afro-Brazilian cult are kept.

piaçaba (*piaçava*, *piassava*): Fibre of certain palms, sometimes used to make brooms.

praça: Public square.

preceito: Ritualistic obligation in connection with the Afro-Brazilian cult.

prêto (fem. *preta*): Literally, "black." Reflects, however, circumstances not only of color but also of status, as well as the personal relationship, at the time, of the speaker to the person referred to.

professor catedrático: Professor at a professional school or a division of a university, who has obtained permanent tenure of a teaching post of the highest rank by means of a public examination, based upon a thesis presented.

quártinha: Clay vessel used to keep water cool by way of evaporation; also called, *quarta*, *moringa*, *moringue*.

reitor: Principal, or director, of a school.

relicário: reliquary.

rendeiro: 1. One who rents his property, usually farmland and "on shares." 2. A renter.

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roça: Literally, "land from which the native vegetation has been cut away, in preparation for planting"; hence, a planted field, plot or orchard.

saia grande: Literally, "large skirt"; used especially to refer to that which is worn bouffant by many colored women at Bahia (see p. 246).

salão: Large room where guests are received and balls, concerts, etc. given (as used here).

samba: Song, or dance, of African origin, with (in rural areas) vocal accompaniment. (The dance as observed in rural areas usually differs markedly from the more sophisticated urban one.)

sandália: A leather slipper, with a low heel and no quarter.

saudade: (A difficult word to translate.) Nostalgia, longing, "pleasurable sadness," with intense emotional content. One dictionary definition: "a sad, but sweet remembrance of a person or thing far away or extinct, accompanied by an ardent desire to see or to possess it once more."

seita: Literally, "sect"; in Bahia, also refers to an Afro-Brazilian cult center.

senhor (pl. *senhores*): 1. Mister. 2. Master (of slaves). 3. (Formerly) member of the rural aristocracy, particularly as used in the phrase, *senhor de engenho* (proprietor of a sugar plantation).

senzala: Slave quarters.

sertão: A predominantly virgin, unsettled area, interior from an important settlement (which ordinarily is located on, or near, the seacoast). Term sometimes translated as "backlands."

termo: A judicial unit, a subdivision of a *comarca* (section of a state judicial system), presided over by a *juiz-de-direito*.

terreiro: 1. Space, ordinarily kept swept bare, immediately around a rural house. 2. Grounds of an Afro-Brazilian cult center; and, by inclusion, 3. The cult center itself.

torço (*torso*): Turban, of silk or cotton, worn by the *Bahianas* (q.v.).

um pouco da raça: Literally, "a little of the race"; that is, "of some African descent."

urtiga: Any one of a number of species of nettles.

velha: Feminine form of *velho*: old.

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vestimenta bahiana: Characteristic costume worn by many Bahian colored women, especially those closely identified with the Afro-Brazilian cult (see p. 246).

xaque-xaque: Musical instrument, composed of a hollow metal shell in the form of a dumbbell in each of whose extremities pebbles have been placed. Term is onomatopoetic, in imitation of the sound produced when the instrument is shaken.

yanô: An initiate of the Afro-Brazilian cult during the period she is being "prepared" to serve as a sacred dancer, or *filha-de-santo*.

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[1] The system of listing Brazilian names here employed is that adopted by the Bibliotheca Municipal of São Paulo.

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The Colored Elite in a Brazilian City
[Les élites de couleur dans une ville brésilienne]

Thales de Azevedo

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[SALVADOR]

/5/

Introduction

121 The subject of this monograph is the study of the social ascent of colored people /Fr. gens de couleur/ in a Brazilian city and the analysis of the mechanisms whereby this "vertical mobility" comes into play. The city that has been chosen as the field of investigation is that of Salvador (Bahia), which for a long time has been cited as a model of racial harmony.

The research project that served as the basis of this report included: 1st, an inquiry into the place given to colored people -- for the most part descendants of African Blacks or of the crossing of Blacks and Portuguese -- in the social groups surrounded by an aura of prestige and, in a general manner, in the upper classes of the society; 2nd, a description of the mechanism of social ascent; 3rd, a study of the way in which Whites and colored people react when confronted by this social phenomenon.

114 The research carried out under our responsibility began in February, 1951, and was pursued until October of the same year.

Our observations dealt with the racial composition of different social groupings and were carried out on the occasion of religious ceremonies, military or civic parades, school functions, academic sessions, or meetings of learned societies, balls, family festivals, and sports events. They were rounded out by visits to administrative and business offices, to stores, schools, clubs, and other places of work and recreation. We likewise examined the [127] portraits of colored people filed in the Bureau of Identification of the police of the State, of students or of school children photographed at the time of the promotion of their class, of members of religious brotherhoods, of recreational and social clubs, and finally of persons belonging to the liberal professions. When we had at our disposal only lists of names, the classification according to ethnic origin was entrusted to three or four individuals who were acquainted with the members of the group in question.

124 In addition to these investigations and the compilation of [127] data furnished by previous studies of a social, historical, ethnographic, and demographic nature, 56 Blacks and mulattoes were interviewed; they were chosen from a list of 128 names, which included a majority of colored people occupying a high position

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/5 cont./

124 in Bahia society. Out of 48 of the individuals mentioned above, with whom I maintained more or less close relations, I interviewed 25 personally and I chose 20 among 80 with whom I had not had any contact; the other 11, almost all of them of the female sex, were interviewed by assistants connected with the investigation. We were thus able /6/ to talk to 20 Blacks and 36 mulattoes of different types, 12 of them women and 44 men who practiced the professions of lawyer, judge, physician, civil engineer, dentist, economist, professor, artist, contractor, merchant, official, not counting the priests and university students, several of whom, besides their principal occupations, devoted themselves to political, bureaucratic, educational, and social activities. Almost all the subjects in question are in modest circumstances, sometimes even very poor, and have attained positions of more or less great prestige. Their ages vary between 20 and 70 years, but with the majority ranging from 30 to 50. All are natives of Bahia or have lived there for a long time.

The interviews (1)

[113]

1. On the techniques and advantages of this kind of interview, cf. Clyde Kluckholn /sic/, "The Personal Document in Anthropological Science," in The Use of Personal Documents in History, Anthropology and Sociology, "Social Science Research Council Bulletin," New York, 1945, p. 125.

dealt with race relations and color prejudices, and stressed the problem of social ascent; the most complete freedom of expression was allowed the informants. The investigator interrupted only in order to prevent the conversation from digressing. It was almost always necessary at one time or another to bring the informant back to his subject, in order to obtain a continuous account.

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124 /6/ Let us remark in passing that among the individuals questioned a large number, in spite of their high intellectual level, experienced some difficulty in expressing their point of view. Doubtless it was a matter of a defense reaction; but in many cases this hesitation is also due to the fact that these persons had never ascribed much importance to the question. These two interpretations, whatever they may be worth, are both significant with regard to race relations in Bahia.

The occasions when the spontaneity of the informants was tempered by mistrust were rare. Only two individuals evaded the interview: a Black belonging to a liberal profession, who showed great reserve, and a woman, a mulattress of light complexion, occupying an administrative post, who appeared irritated by the nature of the investigation, the interest of which she did not see.

For an accurate understanding of the facts, it is useful to recall that the interviews took place, in general, without a previous appointment. Several times, however, I notified our informants that I was engaged in an investigation of race relations and wished to know their opinion. Several interviews were obtained in the course of chance encounters and had the character of a simple conversation. In certain cases they were resumed for the requirements of this study, with the consent of the informants. Certain individuals acted as though it were /7/ difficult for them to enter upon "such a delicate matter"; nevertheless, on the whole, they proved as communicative as one could wish. The intentions of the investigators were generally well understood by the informants. Certain ones among them even seemed finally to have found the occasion, so often desired, to express their grievances or their personal views on their particular case as well as on the problem in general. The method of the interview, as far as one could judge, seemed to be very effective. It may be hoped that its use on a broader scale will furnish new elucidations on the same subject.

124 126 As for the method of recording the interviews, the most important among them were transcribed by means of rapid notes taken during the conversation. On rare occasions the interview was transcribed in a more complete fashion. The reports were written up, with some exceptions, in the first hours following the meeting.

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124 We also called on a limited number of white informants who had the reputation of being familiar with the problems of Bahia in
114 the past and the present. Born and raised in this city, where I have never ceased to dwell, I was also able to use my own experience.
127 In addition, we made use of announcements and editorial commentaries appearing in the periodicals and daily papers of Bahia and reflecting, up to a certain point, the stereotypes of the milieu studied.

121 A simple description of the racial situation in Bahia would not be adequate to make one understand the dynamism of this rising of the Blacks on the social scale. It has also been treated as a process of cultural and social change and therefore examined from a historical perspective; people have refrained, however, from going into details.

114 Our investigation, in one sense, was made difficult by the
127 scarcity of anthropological and sociological works on the society of Bahia. This city has been the subject of several historical studies in the course of recent years. One finds numerous references to the slave trade, to anthropometry, to phenomena of acculturation, and to African survivals, but, as Donald Pierson very rightly says in the work that we shall cite so often, there is only a meager literature on the conflicts or on the processes of adjustment that characterize race relations in Bahia. The book by Donald Pierson (1)

[113]

1. Donald Pierson, Negroes in Brazil. A study of race contact at Bahia. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1947.

is really the first and up to now the only one in which race relations in Bahia have been analyzed and presented according to the methods of modern sociology.

128 I do not pretend to have done exhaustive or definitive work on /8/ the very complex problem of the social mobility of colored people in Bahia. I wanted above all to be objective and to present the problems from a scientific point of view, by avoiding insofar as possible the snares of ethnocentrism so difficult to elude, even unconsciously, when one is a member of the culture that one is describing.

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/8 cont./

122 The realization of this project is due to the initiative of Unesco, which subsidized it and made it possible, thanks to an agreement made with the Foundation for the Development of Science in Bahia, within the framework of the program of social research of the State of Bahia and Columbia University. It is a pleasant duty for me to thank my friends: Professor Charles Wagley of Columbia University, in New York, for the well-informed collaboration that he has kindly given to the organization of the plan of investigation and to the investigation itself, as director of the program mentioned above; Professor Anisio S. Texeira for his clear discussion of certain topics of work and for the support he gave in his capacity as secretary general of the foundation. It is also necessary for me to thank Mr. Alfred Métraux of the Department of Social Sciences of Unesco, who approved our plans for the investigation and the choice of my person to direct it, who has had the kindness to read my notes, to discuss with me the numerous problems of the study, and to help me with his critical comments
114 and his authoritative opinions. I wish likewise to show my gratitude for the excellent co-operation that my assistants in the investigation gave me: Marie Amélie C. Leite, Professor of the School of Social Service of Bahia, Josildeth S. Gomes and Therèse Cardoso, my students of anthropology of the faculty of philosophy of the University of Bahia, and my daughter Sylvia de Azevedo, as well as Mr. Maurilio Pinto da Silva, Jayme Abreu, and Louis R. Sena for other forms of unselfish collaboration, not excepting the excellent photographer Mr. Pierre Verger for his technical assistance. I thank, moreover, the recreational clubs, the religious
[127] brotherhoods, the schools, and the organizations that register professional work for having facilitated for me access to their card-
115 index cabinets and their registers. I wish finally to mention very
114 especially my informants, whom it is unfortunately impossible to name; I wish to express to them here all my gratitude for their good will and for the wealth of data and of personal experiences that they kindly entrusted to me and that I have utilized for a scientific purpose; I add that none of them can be held responsible for the way in which I have utilized this material.

January, 1952 Thales de Azevedo

[SALVADOR]

/9/ The Ethnic Types of Bahia

361 Bahia owes its reputation, not only to its privileged location
*563 on the shores of a magnificent bay and to its churches of an ornate
633 rococo style, but also, to a certain degree, to the excellent relations that exist in the heart of its motley population between people of different color. Stephan Zweig drew a very vivid picture
633 of Bahia and its ancient traditions. For him, Brazil began with
*563 this city, and not only Brazil, but also South America. "In this city was erected the first pier of the vast bridge thrown across the Atlantic; in it has originated, through the combination of European, African, and American material, the new mixture that is fermenting so actively at the present time (1)."

[113] 1. Stephan Zweig, Brazil, País do Futuro /Brazil, Land of the Future/, trans. by Gallotti, Rio de Janeiro, 1941, p. 275.

175 From its founding under the official name of Cidade do
633 Salvador, Bahia began to be known for its wealth, which it owed
[103] to the sugar produced by its fazendas (2)
[249]
[192]

2. Plantations.

and its engenhos (3).

3. Sugar mills.

[796] It was also renowned for the magnificence of the worship in its
[363] numerous churches, for the religious processions that passed through its narrow, climbing streets, and for the traditions, so typically Portuguese, of its inhabitants. Center of importation
[567] of African slaves, Bahia was also famous for the large proportion
[167] of Blacks in its population, to the point that foreign travelers of
[162] the colonial period speak of this city as a "new Guinea" (4).

[113] 4. M. Frezier, Relation du voyage de la mer du Sud aux côtes du Chili et du Pérou fait pendant les années 1712, 1713 and 1714 /Account of the

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BB 175 633 [113] /9 cont./

voyage from the South Sea to the coasts of Chile and Peru made during the years 1712, 1713, and 1714/, Paris, 1732; Adolphe d'Assier, Le Brésil contemporain /Contemporary Brazil/, Paris, 1867.

BB [648]

Founded in 1549, seat of the general government of Brazil and residence of the Portuguese viceroy until 1763, the date when the capital of the colony was transferred to Rio de Janeiro, Bahia was regarded as "the most Portuguese" of the cities of the American continent. Even today it is one of the most important cities of Brazil (5).

N.B. 13 24 31 316 233

5. The State of Bahia has an area of 563,000 square kilometers and a littoral of 100 kilometers; its territory, of varied geographical aspect, is occupied chiefly by plantations of cacao, tobacco, cereals, by stock farms, and by mines of manganese, chromium, diamonds, iron, bituminous schists, etc. After the national census of July, 1950, the State had 4,900,419 inhabitants, 395,993 of them in the city of Salvador itself. The other most populous cities of Brazil are: Rio de Janeiro (federal district), with 2,335,931 inhabitants; São Paulo, with 2,041,716 inhabitants; Recife, with 522,466 inhabitants; Porto Alegre, 381,964 inhabitants, and Belo Horizonte, with 346,207 inhabitants.

NB 161 BB [162] B 633 162

BB 633 *563 [181]

Owing to the conservative and traditionalist nature of its civilization, owing also to the distance that separates it from the other important urban centers, it is considered one of the /10/ demographic and cultural islets of what has been called the "Brazilian Archipelago." As we have said, what makes it particularly interesting is the fact that it was always a melting pot of races, certainly the most representative and the most symbolic of racial relations of the country.

[SALVADOR]

/10 cont./

*563 826 In order to understand the composition of the local population and to interpret correctly the demographic statistics of Bahia, ancient and modern, it is necessary to be well acquainted with the meaning of the terms that serve to designate the different physical types brought together in its vast melting pot. The most common expressions are branco, preto, mulato, pardo, moreno, and [192] caboclo, which one may translate as: White, Black, mulatto (1).

[192] [128] 1. There are no common French terms to designate the terms pardo, moreno, caboclo, the explanation of which is given farther on. We shall therefore leave them in their Brazilian form in these pages.

[829] These terms seemingly designate definite physical types; in reality, their meaning is inspired much more by the social context than by racial characteristics such as the color of the skin, the hair, and the shape of the face.

*563 826 829 565 In a general way Whites are individuals of white phenotype; very tall persons with light eyes and with hair likewise light and fine are often called brancos finos (fine Whites) because they do show any signs of mixture with colored types. Nevertheless individuals who are wealthy and of high rank, whatever their appearance, may very well be called Whites. When one hears a person of humble station, a servant or agricultural worker, call a superior "my White," one is sometimes surprised to discover that the person to whom the title is addressed has a very dark complexion. The stevedores and porters, who are almost all black, indiscriminately call Whites and mulattoes of prosperous appearance "my White." The common people never cease saying that "the one who has money is White."

A colored sociologist says that "a Brazilian Black can become white to the extent that he rises economically and acquires the attitude of the upper groups." Assignment to an upper social class in Brazil is based more on the culture or the economic position of an individual than on his racial characteristics. The

[SALVADOR]

826 /10 cont./
829 The mulattoes of light complexion, socially "whitened" or "Whites
*563 in color" (brancos na côr), are commonly called "Whites of the
565 land" (brancos da terra) or "Whites of Bahia" (2).
[192]

2. According to Donald Pierson, the Whites of Bahia are "very light métis /persons of mixed blood / who in Bahia are generally considered Whites"; cf. Brancos e pretos na Bahia /Whites and Blacks in Bahia/, São Paulo, 1945, p. 200. In commenting on this definition, a writer from Bahia explains that it does not rest upon an observation based on physical anthropology. Factors of a sociological order enter into this specification and make defining it difficult. J. Valadares, "Brancos da Bahia," Estado da Bahia, 2, VI, Bahia, 1943 (this comment refers to an article published by Pierson in 1943).

[114]

[113]

when they occupy an important position and when one /11/ does not wish to offend them by calling them mulattoes. In the characterization of these "presumed Whites," fortune or social rank always plays a large part. In speaking of a light métis /a person with mixed blood/ with slightly Negroid features, one may say with a certain irony: "So-and-So is White, socially speaking, since he has already occupied one of the highest positions in the State." It is for these reasons that a physician from Bahia who had taken up the study of anthropology wrote as early as 1898 that "anatomically the Whites of Bahia are placed between the pardos and the direct descendants of Portuguese not of mixed blood (1)."

[113]

1. J. B. Sá Oliveira, Evoluçao psiquica dos bahianos /Psychic evolution of the Bahians/, Bahia, 1898, p. 51.

[SALVADOR]

826 /11 cont./
829 Pretos, or Blacks, are all the individuals who show the physi-
*563 cal characteristics of the Black, particularly the very dark skin,
576 "the color of charcoal," the frizzy hair, the flat nose, and the
[192] very thick lips. But to use the expression "Negro" /Fr. nègre/ is considered less courteous and sometimes even offensive. A physician who worked in a dermatology clinic registered as "Negro" a patient who had come to be treated; but the father of the latter came to the physician to protest that he should substitute for this term that of preto (Black) or escuro (dark /Fr. foncé/).

A person who is speaking to a Black of a lower class may say
[192] to him, in speaking of another Black, "Someone black like you"; but if it is a matter of a person belonging to a higher class, good form requires that one use the term escuro (dark) or even moreno. Several informants reported that the students of certain black professors with crude manners say of them that they have the "manners of Negroes." In the same way, a dark mulatto intellectual knows that if one wishes to offend him one calls him "this Negro," and a Black practicing a liberal profession is not unaware either that his political adversaries, in speaking of him, say "the Negro Léonard." It is not rare to hear Whites and morenos protest in a low voice against the bad manners, the bursts of laughter, the gossip of these "Negroes," when Blacks and mulattoes give free vent to their noisy gaiety in public conveyances, in cinemas, or in the streets. Nevertheless the expression "my Negro" is a term of friendship, even among Whites. Sometimes the term "Negro" is used as a diminutive, "a sympathetic
[196] little Negro" /Fr. négrillon/, without containing any unkind implication. On the other hand, the word nigrinha, the feminine form of the same diminutive, has a pejorative and insulting meaning; it is applied to young colored people of questionable reputation. To act like a nigrinha is equivalent to behaving badly.

175 In the first years of colonization, Indians were often desig-
>563 nated by the name of Negro. The use of this /12/ word, the true
829 meaning of which has been established only recently, caused much embarrassment to historians who sought to unravel the respective role of Indians and Blacks in the formation of Brazilian civilization. A Portuguese law of 1755 stipulates that Indians must not be

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/12 cont./

175 called Negroes because of the ignominious and base implications
*563 of a term that puts them on the same footing as the people of the
829 coast of Africa destined to become slaves of the Whites. The true African Negroes were at that time called Negroes of Guinea, Negroes of the coast, or Negroes of nation, that is to say, of such
175 and such an African tribe. In a general way the term Negro was
829 applied to every slave, to the point that in 1773 a Portuguese
*563 monarch complained that in Brazil there were still "persons so
561 wanting in feelings of humanity and religion as to keep among
192 them slaves, some of whom are whiter than they themselves, under the names of Blacks and Negresses, or even métisses /plural
829 feminine form of métis, a person of mixed blood/." The sons of
*563 African Negroes born in Brazil were called creoles, a term ap-
192 plied even today, in the feminine, to black women and mulattresses
291 who dress like the Bahian women, with the troquette, the very full
794 skirt, the white, embroidered, and very décolleté blouse, and the colored shawl around the bust, a costume worn by the Africans of Nigeria and even in our day; with certain local modifications, by the women belonging to the religious cults of African origin, the
*563 candomblés. The creoles of Bahia constitute a typical spectacle
794 in the streets of the city; one can see them there, making their
443 way to a fetishist-cult center or sitting beside stalls in which they
262 display, especially during the popular festivals, the foods of the famous local cuisine, which is also of African origin to a great extent.

*563 The words pardo and mestiço, both having, as we have seen,
829 the meaning of mulatto, serve to designate the descendants of a
192 cross between Europeans and Blacks. Every variation of these
826 types, depending on the intensity of the color or the nature of the hair, was formerly designated by a particular name fallen into disuse today. One speaks of light mulatto or dark mulatto, according to the predominance of one or the other of the characteristics: the light mulattoes, when their hair is very similar to that of Whites, are also called cabo verdes or rôxos. A young girl showing
[196] few traces of crossbreeding is a roxinha or even a cabrocha; in this case the inhabitants of Bahia use a diminutive in order to remove from the word any pejorative meaning.

[SALVADOR]

/12 cont./

*563 829 192 826 from the word any pejorative meaning. In fact, to say a "mulattress" in speaking of a young girl of a certain social class is in a way less courteous than to say "a little mulattress" (una mulatinha). Very often, in speaking of a person of distinction, one does not use any of these terms; one then says "a person of color" or "a /13/ dark person." A swarthy métis with slightly frizzy hair, whose features link him with the Whites, is a moreno, especially if he belongs to an upper social class. A journalist, recently describing a part of the city where a large number of colored people are found together, wrote that "one meets beautiful mulattresses there." If the latter belong to the lower classes and if they are poor, they are simply mulattresses; if they are granfinas (1),

1. Granfino, granfina may be translated by "very refined."

they become light morenas; and one could even add morenas the color of jambo (2).

[824] 2. Jambo, fruit of the jambevio, a Myrtaceae (Eugenia sp.).

[533] [541] [204] One finds numerous references to women of this type in the popular songs launched on the occasion of the famous Brazilian carnival. In the journals reporting accidents, crimes, or other facts in which mulattoes happen to be involved, even from the poorest classes, it is rare to come across the word mulatto, for which pardo or *563 562 829 192 826 morena is preferred. The feminine form, moreover, has a sentimental value: it suggests a slightly pigmented skin and features of a beauty peculiar to these "women so sought after and preferred in greater number," as one of our informants told us. Because of this preference, the morena type has been celebrated in prose and in verse by our writers. And this morena, it goes without saying,

[SALVADOR]

826
*563 /13 cont./
562 may not be of African blood (3).
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[113]

3. Arthur Ramos, Introduçao a Antropologia Brasileira, II, Rio de Janeiro, 1947.

829 The Indians and the descendants of the cross between Indians
*563 and Whites are generally called cabôclos, but this expression is
192 no longer very common in Bahia and rarely serves to characterize
[178] the corresponding type. The term cabôclo has become, like that
[196] of "my Negro," rather a formula of tenderness between individuals
of any color whatsoever. It must be noted, moreover, thanks to
175 old statistics, that toward the middle of the eighteenth century, in
829 response to complaints about Brazilian "nativism," the Portuguese
648 government prohibited the use of the term cabôclo, to which was
641 then attached an insulting meaning, and granted at the same time the
576 civil status of Whites to Indians and to their descendants of mixed
192 blood, so that they could contract marriage with the Whites and
fulfill official duties in the colony; it is in that manner that the
contingents of mamelucos or cabôclos were assimilated with the
192 Whites in the military roles of the time. The word meanwhile
178 lost its insulting import and in our day is even considered a com-
829 pliment when it refers to a cabôclo bom, that is to say, a man of
576 good manners.

The Negroid albinos and the mulattoes with red, blond, or
144 light auburn hair are known by the name of sararás.
192

The exact designation of these different types has always /14/
144 represented a difficulty, as much for anthropologists as for the
*563 persons charged with identifying school children, the military,
829 the criminals (1).

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*563
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[113]

1. According to the Bahian anthropologist Nina Rodriguez (in her book As raças humanas e a responsabilidade penal no Brasil /The Human Races and Penal Responsibility in Brazil/, 3rd edition, written at the beginning of the century), the métis include: 1st, the mulattoes produced from the cross between the White and the Negro:

[SALVADOR]

/14 cont./

144 a) mulattoes of prime blood; b) light
x 563 mulattoes tending to revert to the white
829 race; c) dark mulattoes, cabras, product
815 tending to revert to the black race, some almost completely identified with the creole Negroes, the others more easily separable; 2nd, the mamelucos or cabôclos, products of the cross between White and Indian; 3rd, the product of the cross of the three races and especially the cross between the mulatto and the Indian or
144 with the mamelucos and cabôclos. Arthur
x 563 Ramos in his book A aculturaçao negra
829 no Brasil /Negro Acculturation in Brazil/,
114 1942, p. 58, and in other works, one of
[113] which is "The Negro in Brazil," in Brazil, Portrait of Half a Continent, edited by Lynn Smith and A. Marchant, New York, 1950, p. 130, adopts almost the same classification, but proposes that, in order to avoid inaccuracies, one use the words pardo, mulatto, and métis as synonyms.

144 In response to the demand of a lawyer, the head of the Bureau of
x 563 Judicial Identification of the civil police of the State of Bahia
829 stated some years ago that in his department one uses, according
659 to the judgment of the identifier, the terms White, moreno, pardo, métis, and Black. A woman official who has worked for a long time in this service describes the different Bahia types thus: "The métis is a descendant of Black and mulatto; the pardo is the son of a mulatto and a White; the mulatto is derived from a White and a Black: he may be light, but he will always have lips that are thick and reddened by pigmentation; the moreno is the mulatto fino, and the Black is an individual with pronounced Negro traits."

[SALVADOR]

/14 cont./

829 Many persons identified in this office under the word White
*563 are probably métis of different types; the same confusion occurs
659 with persons designated as mulattoes, pardos, or morenos, ac-
192 cording to examinations made by Pierson (2)

2. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 189.

and now repeated by the author. A black lawyer relates that his wife, a relatively light mulattress, was registered in this office as Black, while the latter's sister, almost the same type as she, was classed as a mulattress. It is, moreover, interesting to note that generally in the dossier of identity referring to the persons registered the designation "mulatto" never appears, so to speak, but almost always that of moreno or pardo, the first having a pejorative character. A social worker relates that the women of the most humble milieu who are registered in her office, even when they are Blacks, do not want to be mulattoes, but morenas, sometimes saying that their children are moreninhos (little morenos) "like me," or that their husbands are a little more morenos or "darker." In any case, the terms officially employed
829 in the offices are branco, pardo, and preto. A dark mulatto
*563 physician whom most people would have described as black re-
565 lates that, when he was young /15/ and traveling on a train one day, he was recognized by a friend of his father, and this friend, knowing his father was white, introduced him to the other travelers by saying that, in spite of his appearance, he was really White in origin. "My brother, although darker than I," a morena informant told us, "was once classed as White, perhaps because he had a doctor's diploma."

829 The difficulties of identification and the differences of opinion
*563 among Bahians on the subject of local ethnic types can be easily explained. On account of the lack of unity of the criteria intended for distinguishing Blacks and mulattoes, an anthropologist of Rio de Janeiro divided the colored people of Bahia into two categories: the darker and the less dark (1).

[113]

1. M. Julia Pourchet, Contribuçao ao estudo antropofisico da criança de côr /Contribution

/15 cont./

829 to the anthropophysical study of the colored
*563 child/, Rio de Janeiro, 1939.
[113]

The author of these pages has classified, according to their
125 respective photographs, 30 social-club members of the male sex
829 belonging to the well-educated people of Bahia, and showed them
*563 to a young white girl of the middle class, to a métise of modest class, a student of the social sciences, and to a métis in charge of the administration of the same club, asking them to classify them in turn. Here are the descriptions applied according to the judgment of each identifier:

Designation	Number of individuals of each type (1)			
	A	B	C	D
Whites	19	14	21	6
Brancos da terra . . .	1	11	2	-
Morenos	4	-	6	19
Mulattoes	6	5	1	5

1. A, author; B, young white girl; C, métisse student; D, métis functionary.

The four classifications agree only in certain instances: this was a matter of the Whites whose phenotype was obvious; in five cases, three agreed with regard to the classification of a White who was classified by the fourth as moreno; in 14 cases the opinions were divided by half and so on.

829 Most of the light métis are identified as morenos in the registers
*563 in which are inscribed the members of the social clubs, religious
[575] brotherhoods, in the lists of students of an establishment for uni-
[794] versity instruction examined at the end of the investigation. When
[873] it was requested of different persons of the middle class, most of
[125]
[565]

121

/For a general theoretical background to the study of "race" and related phenomena in Bahia, Brazil, see category 116, pp. v-viii, xi-xiii, xix-lvi, lix, lxi-lxxi, lxxiii-lxxxiii, 3./

/15 cont./

829 whom practiced a liberal profession and were graduates of the
*563 University of Bahia, to classify according to their type the per-
185 sons carried on the list of physicians and pharmacists registered at
565 the Ministry of Public Health, representatives of the State and
/16/ federal representatives, university professors, members of the local academy of letters, and other associations of the city, there too the term moreno was most often used to designate the métis. Those who used the expression "mulatto" were rare. As
[177] a result of the influence exerted by North American films, one
[192] sometimes hears mention of "colored" /quoted in English/; a local journal described a politician of Bahia with this term, and a woman questioned by us acknowledged being "colored" /quoted in English/.

829 In a recent book a writer of the city sums up the semantic
*563 problems in relation to the characterization of local types in
192 this way: "A light Black is called mulatto, the light mulatto is a moreno, a blond becomes a sarará. As for pardo, no one knows what that is. White fino is said of those persons whose origin and appearance do not show this "margin" thanks to which one infallibly recognizes crossbreeding. And those who are whites of mixed blood do not like to show the portraits of their ancestors" (1).

[113] 1. J. Valadares, Beabá da Bahia /ABC's of Bahia/ 1951, p. 91.

829 The foreigners, who are relatively limited in number in the
*563 city, are easily distinguished by the majority of people. A European with strange manners, speaking Portuguese with great difficulty, or expressing himself in another language, is simply considered a "foreigner," particularly if he has a light and pink skin, blue eyes, and fine, blond hair. A Brazilian showing these characteristics is accused of being a "foreigner type" or a "German
829 type." Foreigners may also be called gringos, whatever their
*563 physical characteristics may be. The Spaniards, who are very
[192] numerous in the grocery business, are sometimes called the "gringos of the grocery business." The Russian, Polish, and

/16 cont./

829 Rumanian Jews who devote themselves to the furniture business or
*563 who practice selling on credit are called in a bloc: the "Russians"; the common people do not know that they are Israelites, and in the majority of cases do not even know the term "Jew." The Syrians, Lebanese, Arabs, and Turks, proprietors of small and medium-sized business houses in the center of the city, are indiscriminately called "Arabs," and their descendants, provided they are recognizable by their features, are the "sons of Arabs." /Ills. 1 and 2 appear here./

/17/ A Minimum of Tension in Bahia Society

633
*563 Bahia is considered one of the most "Brazilian" communities of the whole country because of the extremely limited number of foreigners that its population contains and because it continues to be formed of those same elements that constituted the population of Brazil from the beginning. In the entire State of Bahia, at the time of the 1940 census, there were 204 foreigners per 1,000 Brazilians, grouped for the most part in the capital; in the course of the last ten years this number has very likely increased, but the total population has also grown and maintains its homogeneity. These foreigners form small groups (1)

> 1. Spaniards, 2,115; Portuguese, 1,912; Syrians, Lebanese, etc., 1,059; Italians, 950; Germans and Austrians, 592; North Americans, 83; European Russians, 168, etc.

distinct from the Bahians through certain physical traits, but above all through their cultural characteristics (those that one calls "Russians" or "Arabs," for example) or through their professional specializations (for example, the Spaniards). An
[578] antagonism between some of these groups and the Brazilians gives rise to moderate discrimination in certain social sectors, but it is rarely expressed by a declared hostility or in an active form of segregation.

5: Azevedo--19 D, Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
[Salvador]

142
291
352
302
405
206
212
463

1. A colored business-man.

5: Azevedo--20 D. Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
[Salvador]

142
291
302
352
873

At the University

/17 cont./

175 439 167 829 609 Given the isolation in which Brazil remained at least until 1808, the moment when for the first time its ports were opened to international commerce, given too the fact that Bahia was never a center of massive European immigration, like certain southern states, the foreigner is received by the people of Bahia with a mixture of curiosity and distrust. At the same time, *563 the emigrant is easily absorbed here by the milieu and likewise adapts himself to the customs and norms of local life. The 829 Portuguese emigrants, for example, are put in a special category; *563 one has the habit of saying that not one of them is ever, properly speaking Brazilian, but that he is never, properly speaking, a foreigner either. In spite of the two world wars, one nowhere notes manifestations of antipathy with regard to German, Austrian, or Italian emigrants. The nationals of these nations have, in general, an excellent reputation because they are considered good workers, because they marry Brazilians and remain in the country when their businesses prosper. The vast majority of the population and even the persons who are hostile to the "Russian" merchants never have anti-Semitic sentiments. When, however, a Jewish group publicly protested against the presentation of a European musician accused of having had ties with Hitlerism in the past, the association that organizes concerts of famous musicians rejected "this attempt at outside interference dictated by /18/ racial prejudice," declaring that its activities ought to remain "above all religious, philosophical, political, racial, or class prejudice." And yet numerous Israelites are members of this association.

[443] [178] The "Arabs," although living quite isolated in accordance with their customs, marry Brazilians, and no hostility is ever manifested with regard to them; at the time when some of them were carrying on the trade of itinerant vendors of fabrics and hardware, they were ridiculed somewhat, it is true, but that stopped with the disappearance of the last peddlers.

[SALVADOR]

/18 cont./

829 365 The irregularities and inadequacies of electric service in the city are attributed by many inhabitants of Bahia to what they call the "contempt of the Americans for the well-being of the people," as if the Americans were the only ones responsible for the operation of the American-Brazilian enterprise that produces electricity for the region. Everything that is or is supposed to be American otherwise enjoys great prestige. There is, however, a foreign group against which (or, more precisely, against the hidden "trust" that it represents) there exists a very strong hostility, although it manifests itself only on certain occasions. It is a matter of emigrants from Spanish Galicia, accused of exploiting the populace owing to the monopoly that they have acquired in the grocery and bakery business. At certain times when tension is particularly strong, as in 1930, and following the rapid rise of the price of commodities of prime necessity at the beginning of the last world war, the populace gave free vent to its discontent by plundering certain Spanish business establishments. But the attitude of the Bahians toward the person of these immigrants is free of lasting animosity, and marriages between the two groups are frequent. The fact remains, however, that the population attributes to the Spaniards the shortage of certain food commodities, especially bread, and it accuses these emigrants of "enriching themselves off of the misery of the people."

829 *563 578 [443] [152] [458] [579] [261]

529 *563 575 743 The recreational associations of the English, Spaniards, Syrians, and Lebanese are frequented by Brazilians. Likewise the hospitals maintained by the Portuguese and Spanish colonies are managed by Brazilian doctors and receive numerous patients from Bahia, white or colored.

795 771 798 621 The religion of the Catholic majority is traditionally much more external and ritualistic than dogmatic, the religiosity of a large number of those who call themselves "strict Catholics" being chiefly theoretical. This must have constituted a serious difficulty for the clergy; it is also a subject of astonishment for the visitor who imagines that he will come in contact with "the most Catholic of Brazilian cities." The antagonisms between religious groups are also moderate in this domain and /19/ never affect the

[SALVADOR]

/19 cont./

[798] [621] social cohesion of the community (1).

[162] [795] 1. In 1940 the population of the city and of the municipality was made up of 97.49 o/o Roman Apostolic Catholics; 1.11 o/o Protestants; 0.26 o/o Israelites; 0.62 o/o spiritualists, etc.

[797] The Catholic majority views with an evil eye the activities of foreign Protestant missionaries and condemns particularly the "disloyal methods employed by some of them" and their way of distorting the Church. Protestantism is fought in the pulpit as heresy, but never the Protestants as persons having different characteristics and toward whom one vows hostility. The antagonism between Catholics, Protestants, and Presbyterians is also [871] [177] placed on the purely doctrinal plane; the institutions of learning maintained by Baptists and Presbyterians are attended by Catholic students and enjoy prestige because of their "American methods."

794 798 As for the candomblés, sanctuaries devoted to the cults of African origin, the current feeling is that these rites are so many barbaric survivals that ought to be done away with, for they are a matter of shame before foreigners and tourists. In a commentary on tourism, a local journal proposes that the visit to candomblés be omitted from excursion programs, "because there can be no propaganda more negative for this Brazilian city four times a hundred years old, which has so many other interesting things to show." These cults, despite everything, enjoy relative freedom and function by virtue of police authorization. They have sometimes been prohibited and their devotees violently dispersed by police forces. Among the Blacks there are many who share the opinions of the Whites on the subject of these rites.

666 665 578 Only the rivalry between political parties provokes real tension during the election campaigns. This tension is particularly intense in the controversies in the interior of the State; it never expresses itself other than verbally; individual cases of aggression or actual conflicts between groups belonging to different political parties have become extremely rare. The ethnocentric feelings [829] of the Bahians reached great vehemence several years ago when the majority of the electors refused to elect as governor of the State a candidate who was not "born in Bahia."

[SALVADOR]

/19 cont./

665 This means that Brazilians born in other States have made
666 careers in different parties of Bahia and have been elected to
578 represent the Bahians at the legislative assembly of the State or
828 at the national parliament. The same candidate, moreover,
[646] had been elected governor several years earlier, before this attribute of "foreigner" exerted a decisive influence in the fight led against him.

829 /20/ Brazilian customs condemn all social discrimination;
577 the Bahians, particularly those of the more advanced groups, pride themselves on these traditions of tolerance and liberalism, and consider them proper for forming the very prototype of the cordial Brazilian man whom Gobineau describes: "to be very polished, gracious, very friendly," and whose qualities are defined by a Brazilian sociologist as a mixture of kindness, tolerance, and good
181 manners. Life in Bahia is appreciated and envied by some, criti-
182 cized by others for its slow rhythm, its lack of combativeness, its strict particularism, and for the thousand mechanisms that always work in a way to mitigate the antagonisms and the conflicts between groups and individuals. The French sociologist Roger Bastide said some years ago that it is good "that in Bahia very rapid progress is not at all prejudicial to the qualities of soul that make up its charm."

641 What contributes a great deal toward mitigating the tensions
829 between the groups that confront one another in the society of Bahia is the polarization of dissatisfaction that in all of Brazil,
186 but especially in our city, takes place concerning the idea of "government," that is to say, public authorities in general, the population having the habit of discharging on them its aggressive impulses, imputing to this very vague entity all the evils that beset Bahia.

829 As for race relations, one may state that a certain antagonism
*563 exists between Blacks and mulattoes. There are, without doubt, some color prejudices in Bahia, but, as a moreno of liberal profession says, "prejudice is not only the doing of Whites; out of fear of being assimilated with the Blacks, the mulatto avoids them and draws closer to the Whites." A number of informants think that

[SALVADOR]

/20 cont./

829 "the mulattoes, especially the lightest ones, are the worst
*563 enemies of other métis and the Blacks. It is they who have the most prejudice and who offer the most resistance to the social ascent of persons of color." These feelings are, in part, the formulation of class anatagonisms between morenos and light mulattoes of high rank, "whites socially speaking," and the darker persons who strive to improve their position in the society.

829 According to a woman occupying a public office, the heads
*563 of her department, who are pardos in different degrees, recom-
466 mend to their subordinates that they hire only attractive candidates and not take into consideration "black or homely women."

/21/

Population Increase and Crossbreeding

*563 A very significant fact and one that testifies to the good racial
162 relations in Bahia is the intensity of crossbreeding. There are in the city approximately 400,000 inhabitants, of whom almost 20 o/o are Blacks, 47 o/o métis, the majority mulattoes, and
*563 33 o/o Whites. Everywhere one sees persons of all ages, inter-
571 mingled without any distinction of type, men and women, gathered in the most frequented places, commenting on the events of the day, appraising the coming and going in the streets or discussing politics and sports, drinking in the cafés, walking in the environs and on the beaches, making purchases in the shops and in the markets, working in the mills, in the yards, in business firms and in the public administrations and the offices, traveling by means of public transportation, taking part in religious festivals and civic commemorations, without the least constraint. Friends,
[5%) mulattoes, Whites, and Blacks, congratulate one another with a great display of embraces and handshakes; they sit down next to one another in the theater, in churches, in cafés, or in streetcars
*563 with the greatest ease. In accordance with local customs, con-
565 firmed by Pierson (1).
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1. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 421.

[SALVADOR]

/21 cont./

*563 565 829 the Bahians congregate together or avoid one another much more in terms of their social rank than of their color or their race.

[656] [626] Crossbreeding is not forbidden by any law and comes up against the disapprobation of opinion only to the extent that it affects the structure of classes firmly established in the country: upper strata made up almost exclusively of Whites, that is to say, persons of white phenotype or at least "socially white," lower strata made up chiefly of colored people; a classification which makes classes and racial types approximately coincide, without, however, making them identical.

175 *563 From the early days of Portuguese colonization there has been a large number of colored persons in Bahia. In the beginning the [595] colonists mixed largely with the tupi /Tupi/ Indian women of the region, living with them in a state of concubinage and often [567] [641] polygamy. Slavery having been abolished in the first half of the seventeenth century for the aborigines, and civil and political rights having been granted them a short time afterward, cross- [829] breeding continued through marriage. Thus, today a large number of morenos explain their dark color by boasting about some ancestor pegado a dente de cachorro, that is to say, captured like an animal that one hunts in the virgin forest in the wild state. [161] [167] [567] But the number of natives decreased rapidly and had little influence on the formation of the Bahian type. The opposite /22/ occurred with the Africans brought by the thousands and thousands to work on the sugar-cane plantations. The crossbreeding of Portuguese and Brazilians with Africans and Blacks born in Brazil was made possible and even favored by different factors, among them the scarcity of white women in the initial period, the slave system, the laxness of social control with regard to male sexual behavior, the physical and psychological charms of black women, in particular the minas Blacks, natives of the Costa da Mina in [829] the western Sudan. It was commonly said at that time that, in order to see beautiful Negresses, it was necessary to go to Bahia (1);

1. F. Biard, Deux années au Brésil /Two years in Brazil/, Paris, 1862.

[SALVADOR]

/22 cont./

175 a European traveler describes them as gigantic women with the
*563 opulent figures of ancient goddesses carved in blocks of black
[829] marble, who attracted attention by their "wealth of incomparable vigor" (2).

2. A. d'Assier, op. cit., p. 196.

These were the women whom the Whites preferred as concubines.
[829] Certain types of mulattresses and of morenas, especially when they combined the traits of the two races from which they sprang, were also very much sought after by the Whites.

*563 None of the other Brazilian States that have a large number of Blacks presents as high a percentage of crossbreeding as Bahia. This proves that this State has been the most important Afro-
[567] European ethnic melting-pot of Brazil. In truth, it is in our city and in its environs, an ancient center of concentration of slaves,
*563 that the crossing has taken place with the greatest intensity. The
162 ratio between the number of Blacks and of métis, according to the 1940 census, is 1 to 2.55 in Bahia, whereas in States such as Minas Gerais, which has relatively the same number of Blacks, it is only 1 to 1; in other States, such as Maranhão and Piauí, which have, respectively, 27 o/o and 32 o/o Blacks, this ratio
[829] is 1 to 0.93 and 0.71. This results from the fact that in Bahia the factors of segregation and of discrimination that lie heavily on the darkest of its inhabitants are much less than in the other
175 States. The proportion of pure Blacks began to decrease from
*563 the second half of the last century, slave traffic having been
567 forbidden, and especially from 1888, the date of the definitive
161 abolition of slavery, when numerous ex-slaves emigrated to the more prosperous regions of southern Brazil. At present, unfavor-
*563 able social and economic factors influence the conditions of life,
161 the birth and mortality rates of this group, and explain its progressive diminution (3).

[113] 3. Thales de Azevedo, Civilização e mestiçagem /Civilization and Crossbreeding/, Livr. Progresso Edit., Bahia, 1951, p. 63.

[SALVADOR]

/22 cont./

175 829 567 182 797 The generally gentle and humane treatment that the owners reserved for their slaves and the efforts made by the Catholic clergy, from the beginning of the slave trade, to try to incorporate the /23/ Africans into the Catholic religion played an important role in the establishment of good relations between races in Bahia as throughout Brazil. Contrary to what occurred in the other colonial nations, where the aborigines and the imported slaves were kept in a state of segregation, like unassimilable "savages," in Brazil the natives and the Blacks were baptized, catechized, and admitted into the Church as men. Thus, numerous slaves, baptized Negroes, were no longer considered "beasts" and became "Christians," with the same title as the European colonists, having to endure neither hostility nor religious discrimination. They were taught the Christian doctrine, and the preachers endeavored to speak to them in their languages, chiefly in nagô, which had become a sort of lingua franca in which the Africans of different origins were able to understand one another. They intermarried; their marriage having been consecrated by the Church, this protected them when their masters intended to separate the spouses or sell one of the partners; they received the sacraments; they acted as witnesses in religious proceedings and participated as acolytes in religious ceremonies; they marched in the processions, carrying the standards and emblems of their brotherhoods; they were buried in the Christian cemeteries, the owners of slaves being obliged to call the priest in time to assist the dying. No one pretends by that to claim that their lives were free from suffering or that the Negroes were thus completely integrated in Catholicism. The clergy, the owners, and the civil authorities always allowed them some freedom concerning certain proceedings of their pagan cults and never forced them to embrace the official religion. They likewise permitted them to amuse themselves in their way by dances, songs, ceremonies (batuques), banquets in the manner of those of their countries of origin. From that comes this Catholicism somewhat mixed with fetishist beliefs and practices that constitutes the religion of a large part of the colored people of Bahia (1).

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1. Roger Bastide, "Religion and the Church in

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[SALVADOR]

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Brazil," in Brazil, Portrait of Half a Continent, p. 334.

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Because of crossbreeding and other sociobiological factors, the darkest group of black phenotype was gradually absorbed by ethnic blending: the Whites increased at a slightly faster rhythm, while the number of métis registered in the statistics as pardos rose and gave birth finally, as a result of the mixture, to a group in which European ancestry predominated (2).

2. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 417.

"Among our ancestors there were already creoles of "clean belly" (barriga limpa). Their children, being themselves /24/ children of lighter men, tended progressively toward the color of their fathers. Perhaps Bahia is a city that contains many female Blacks and métisses of barriga limpa. Everybody remarks that we are moving toward a population totally of mixed blood but of white appearance (1)."

1. J. Valadares, op. cit., p. 91.

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In consulting the death certificates recorded between 1897 and 1938 (2),

2. A. Rabelo Leite, "A tuberculose do preto na Bahia /The tuberculosis of the Black in Bahia/"; Cesar de Araujo, Anais do Iº Congresso Nacional de Tuberculose /Annals of the First National Tuberculosis Congress/, Vol. I, 1930; see also E. F. Frazier, "The Negro Family in Bahia, Brazil," American Sociological Review, Vol. VII, No. 4, 1942, p. 467.

one can see that the proportional quantities of each type varies in our city as shown below:

[SALVADOR]

/24 cont./

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*563

Year	Percentage of ethnic types		
	Whites	"Pardos"	Blacks
1897	32.61	29	38.39
1907	32.71	34.74	32.55
1917	32.81	39.55	27.64
1927	32.91	43.61	23.48
1938	33.02	47.37	19.61
1940 (1)	28.74	51.11	20.13

[114]

1. Figures of the national census, which differ from those relating to mortality because of a difference of evaluation in the classification of the types.

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*563

The rapid growth of the white group, through the incorporation of "whitened" métis, and thanks to the better social and economic conditions of the upper strata of the population, to which the vast majority of the descendants of Europeans belong, means that in the total figure, in relation to the Whites the proportion of colored persons is decreasing at the same time that the proportion of métis is increasing, which is clearly shown by the census:

Year	Proportions in relation to one White	
	Colored persons	"Pardos"
1872	3.16	1.88
1890	2.84	2.70
1940	2.57	2.55

*563 The intensity of crossbreeding is actually so great that, as a well-known intellectual of Bahia notes, "the autochthonous fino White is no more than a historic memory" (3).

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3. Prado Valadares, Remirando o cáos /Again Considering the Chaos/, Bahia, 1933.

[SALVADOR]

/25/ Opinions about Colored People

829 *563 538 The presence of so many colored people in their region has never constituted a preoccupation or a mark of inferiority for the people of Bahia. The authors of school manuals for primary and secondary education, the political men in their election campaigns, the preachers in their sermons, the journalists in the writing of editorials and news refer to the important contribution of the African slaves to the Brazilian economy and praise certain traits of theirs, natural kindness, good nature, resignation, with which they have enriched the psychology of the nation. In the folklore, in tourist propaganda, in the caricatures that accompany political criticisms, Bahia is generally represented as the Bahian mulattress wearing the characteristic costume of women affiliated with the candomblé. Even in the publications intended for the foreigner, the authorities never intentially reduce the high percentage of the descendants of Africans in the local population (1).

[113] 1. Cf. Impressoes do Brasil no século vinte /Impressions of Brazil in the Twentieth Century/, Lloyd's Greater Britain Publishing Co. Ltd., London, 1913, p. 873.

*563 [204] Condemning the attitude of a professor accused of making humiliating remarks to a colored student, a newspaper of Bahia wrote that even if there were no other reasons for condemning racial discrimination in Bahia, "there will always remain the great contribution that the black race has made to its civilization, to its development." The professor, in his reply, claimed that he too recognized the merit of "many colored people who have elevated themselves so much in society by their personal worth, the fruit of study and of work."

*563 829 Some authors, however, in the past and under the influence of a simplistic evolutionism, have expressed the conviction that the colored people represented a misfortune for Bahia, because of the "psychic inferiority" of the Negro. One of them regarded the black element as a "refractory element in civilization" and

[SALVADOR]

/25 cont./

*563 829 condemned crossbreeding because "in all the countries colonized by the white and colored races there is a substantial difference between the aims of civilization and the savage impulses of individuals of mixed blood or of inferior blood. Civilized or not, the natives, the Africans and their descendants never entirely lose the barbaric customs." Even today such an opinion is very widespread, although it is expressed very discreetly in conversations and almost never in writing; an intellectual who considers himself "progressive," even if he thought that way, would avoid openly expressing this thought. One sometimes hears it said that the slowness of economic development /26/ and the resistance of Bahia to cultural evolution are due to the large number of Blacks in its population, "because the Blacks do not have any ambition." "Anyone who does not think so," an economist suggests in an article devoted to the advantages of foreign immigration, "does not recognize our historic, economic, and racial precedents." "During the period of slavery," he continues, "the Blacks lived like beasts of burden, as ignorant as animals, without family organization (their servile condition made it impossible for them), they brought with them numerous endemic diseases and fetishist practices from their continent of origin; finally, with abolition, the slaves left the fields and came to the cities in order to beg, pillage, give themselves up to all sorts of vices, and to cause all sorts of nuisances." In other parts of Brazil it is not rare to hear the same opinions expressed about our State. Toward the middle
829 of the last century, an author of great renown wrote from Rio de Janeiro: "Let us make a parallel between the development of the province of Bahia, which had relatively the largest number of Blacks, and the Rio Grande do Sul, which contains the strongest center of European colonists! While agriculture, commerce, and the revenues of the first decrease visibly, the other province prospers in all spheres..." (1).

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1. A. C. Tavares Bastos, Cartas do solitário /Letters of the Solitary/, (1862), 3rd edition, Rio de Janeiro, 1938, p. 164.

[SALVADOR]

/26 cont./

829 458 439 175 This author here alludes to the disturbances that the economy of Bahia underwent from the time of the suppression of the slave traffic and Europe's adoption of beet sugar, which brought about the almost total stoppage of the importation of sugar cane, the basis of the wealth of our city.

829 *563 As for the mulattoes, while some declare that there is not "a chapter of our political or social history in which the remarkable personality of a métis does not glitter with particular brilliance," others, along with some praise, make strong reservations. A jurist and scholar of great repute (2)

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2. Almachio Diniz, Historia racial do Brasil, São Paulo, 1934, p. 155.

considered the description of the mulatto given by an author of Bahia excellent: "The mulattoes are in general vain, intelligent, [157] and inclined toward the pleasures of life in society... They have good hearts" (3).

3. Sa Oliveira, op. cit., p. 21.

Although many people consider the Black an inferior being with regard to intelligence, almost no one questions the talent and the intellectual possibilities of the mulattoes. "If," says another economist from Bahia, "we turn toward the intellectual qualities and characteristic morals of the modern civilized man, the classic exponent of which is the European: universality of spiritual horizon, logical and systematic mind, technical gifts, tenacity and energy in the struggle for individual or social rights, and if we consider our most representative men, that is /27/ to say, our strongest personalities, we see among them many Blacks and mulattoes." And he concludes by asserting that the Afro-Brazilians are by no means inferior to the descendants of immigrants who came from more highly civilized and more purely

5: Azevedo--34 D, Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[SALVADOR]

/27 cont./

829 white countries (1).
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1. Romulo Almeida, interview for the Diario Trabelhista, 28, 11, Rio de Janeiro, 1946.

829 The mulattoes, according to others, are supposed to be affected
*563 in their manner of speaking, wishing to display their erudition.
537 The comment of a journalist about a politician is characteristic
157 of this way of thinking: "Without complexes or repressions... he reasons dispassionately, which is astonishing on the part of a red curiboca (2)

[192]
[826]

2. Curiboca, métis of Indian and Black; roxo, bluish red, a warm and dark shade of the pigmentation of the skin of certain métis.

like him. Not having the tropical verbosity of mulatto good speakers..., he is mentally a Nordic who sets forth his ideas without the cerebral complications such as are esteemed among the bachelor /referring to the academic degree/ morenos of our country" (3).

[154]

3. "This tendency to use an elaborate language seems to be a sort of compensation for a feeling of inferiority," says V. L. Bicudo in "Attitudes raciales des Noirs et des mulâtres de São Paulo /Racial attitudes of the Blacks and mulattoes of São Paulo/," Sociologia, Vol. IX, No. 3, São Paulo, 1947, p. 211.

829 Opinions about the mulattoes, especially about those who try to
*563 advance themselves by means of intellectual activities, always
157 throw into relief the weak points of their personality and almost always give an unfavorable interpretation of their character. A literary critic of Bahia, commenting on the works of the greatest Brazilian novelist, the mulatto Machado de Assis, expresses this

/27 cont./

829 opinion in this way: "What marks our métis even more, as a
*563 result of the residues accumulated in his soul by social evolution,
157 is the lack of temperament, of psychology, and of character, with the consequences that this inevitably brings on the plane of the mental life. If a Brazilian mulatto is intellectually capable and sometimes superior, he is, on the other hand, never well-bred, stable, balanced, or energetic. It is from the moral and psychological point of view that he reveals a great inferiority, which cannot fail to influence the social harmony, given the part that he takes in Brazilian life" (4).

[113] 4. Afrânio Coutinho, A filosofia de Machado de Assis /The philosophy of Machado de Assis/, Rio de Janeiro, 1940, p. 80.

For all these reasons the words "mulatto" and "métis" can be used to throw into relief the bad moral qualities of a colored person, as though his pigmentation or his ethnic traits aggravated his shortcomings. In the course of a press dispute someone wrote: "these kinds of mulattoes who surround you," "this métis who gives you his support"; but the discussion had nothing to do with the racial problem. An anonymous epigram that circulated through the city a few years ago about a certain intellectual began with the words mulato pachola (5).

[192] 5. Pachola = lazy, vain, braggart, qualifications that are very often attributed to cultured mulattoes, to such a point that the insulting adjective pachola is at present attributed almost solely to persons of this type.

829 /28/ There is, however, in spite of this, no active hostility against
*563 the mulattoes as a group. Judgments such as those we have related
/ are stereotypes applied especially to individuals who, by virtue of their superior education or aspirations more ambitious than those of their group, tend to detach themselves from it. Let us remember,

[SALVADOR]

/28 cont./

829 moreover, that, in certain cases, they are applied to persons who
*563 actually strive to compensate for their feeling of inferiority by an affected manner of speaking and behavior.

/29/ Color Is a Mere Accident

The expression "black with a white soul" is used as much in Bahia as in the rest of the world, wherever it is believed that a Black, in order to be good, must necessarily possess the qualities of the White. It is most significant that such a way of thinking finds followers even among colored people. The mother, morena,
[115] of one of our informants said that "the Black is black inside and out," and that if she were to marry again she would certainly never marry a man as dark as her husband. In a publication in which,
829 20 years ago, an association of Blacks commemorated the first
*563 centenary of its founding, one can read on the first page: "If we
538 examine the archives of the society or if we leaf through its books,
[577] we shall see there this contrast: black men having a very high ideal, perfect characters, irreproachable sentiments, and, above all, very noble aspirations."

There are also, fortunately, those who deny the intellectual and moral inferiority of the Black. In an article appended to the statutes of another organization of colored people, it is explained that "what happens is that the Black, because he is poor, lacks the necessary tranquillity to which, for him as for the white man, is owed intellectual progress, the source of comfort and joy. Moreover, always tortured by the injustice that pursues him, he should have become a rebel rather than the efficient collaborator that he is, an element in the continuous ascent and moral and intellectual improvement of the Brazilian population." There is in these judgments, along with a complaint, the refutation of the theory of the innate mental inferiority of the black and the idea that there is a contrast between the dark color of the skin and noble aspirations.

/29 cont./

829 Colored persons often repeat that "color is a mere accident,"
*563 an expression that goes back very far in Bahia. A famous dark mulatto intellectual, president of an important scientific association, stated in a speech, in which he denounced a decision of the League of Nations on the discriminatory treatment to be applied to the human races, that: "To discuss the rights of man, even human dignity, as if they depended on an accident, that of color, is to repudiate centuries of struggle among the most glorious in the history of civilization" (1).

[113] 1. Teodoro Sampaio, in Rev. Instituto Geogr. e Historico da Bahia, No. 45, 1919, p. 179.

A black judge, who is at the head of an association of colored people, also considers that color "is an accident to which one
[567] pays no attention among us." That is the reason why few families of the highest classes /30/ of society develop in their children an awareness of their own type, or, if they do, they never associate with this notion a feeling of inferiority or resentment. A Black relates that he did hear his parents make comments about the disadvantages of being of dark color, but the way in which they did it was neither bitter nor hostile. A pardo educator believes that it is not necessary to conceal from the child a feeling about his color, for "that, being purely physical, is of no importance." The attitude of a girl, likewise parda, whose father, White, but married to a mulattress, does not like people of dark color, is different; she herself does not like them, although she claims to feel no shame about her "quality." Her feeling of inferiority is clearly revealed when she says that she has a friend, son of Syrians, who wants to marry her, although of a "race superior" to her own.

829 Among certain individuals the consciousness of class goes be-
*563 yond the consciousness of race. A mulatto official relates that
565 when he was a child he did not feel any different from his companions at school and play from a city in the interior of the State; it was only when his family became very poor that he realized

[SALVADOR]

/30 cont./

829 he was a mulatto. His own mother called his attention to the
*563 difference that existed between him and his friends, but those
565 who were of his type and who had money continued to regard themselves as Whites and to be treated as such. An economist, darker than the official we have just quoted, states that the extreme poverty in which he lived during his childhood did not permit him to think of his color. An intellectual of a dark color says that when he was an adolescent he never thought of his type; no experiences previous to this period were associated with an
[572] awareness of his color. The same thing seems to happen among white children when lasting relationships are allowed to be established between them and their companions at school and play, without discrimination as to type. Numerous informants of very dark color report that they still maintain several friendships made at school with finos Whites. Even among the adults there are some who claim not to have ever been conscious of their type. An
[115] instructor told us that he was never preoccupied with his pigmentation, because he regarded that as having nothing to do with his difficulties or with his professional life. It is clear that statements
[124] of this nature cannot be accepted solely at their face value; they
[123] could, as a matter of fact, be defense reactions against the inquiries of the investigators.

*563 There are nevertheless persons who do not succeed in over-
829 coming the inferiority complex resulting from their "quality."
571 "A look is enough to upset a person of dark color," said a /31/ very black university student. Sometimes when he had been treated as a "Negro" he was irritated and felt humiliated. "But I have succeeded in overcoming this feeling," he adds; "I too am able to treat other "Whites" without antipathy as soon as I see that they are prepared to be pleasant with me." Without doubt there exists "a slight repression" among the Blacks, "but it is never intense and ought to be overcome," states a mulatto lawyer, and he adds that "such a feeling can give birth to a servile attitude"; one of his colleagues, of the same color as he, a very competent and industrious man, does not have the courage to plead cases for himself and continues to be simply the assistant of a white lawyer.

[SALVADOR]

/31 cont./

829 of a white lawyer. Certain colored persons, finally, claim to be
*563 proud of this color. A young girl of high rank claims to have no
regrets about being black and insists that her true "quality" be
[154] recorded in all official documents. This may also be a defense
reaction, especially since this informant has a personality clearly
marked by a frustration complex associated with her physical condition. It is said that when an employee hesitated about the term
by which he had to describe, in an official document, the color
of a very well-known man of liberal profession, the latter, guessing
his difficulty, told him to write "mulatto," "for," he added, "I am
a mulatto without any doubt."

829 Certain individuals are accused of isolating themselves in
571 order not to feel obliged to live in the "inferior" world to which
*563 they belong because of the pigmentation of their skin. This
arouses a certain resentment on the part of the Blacks who
attribute this behavior to the shame that these persons have about
their type, and to the desire never to be seen "among those of
[184] their category." Our informants state that such a way of behaving
[562] is common among the women of the middle or upper class.
[565] Nevertheless the tendency to accept such segregation is not general.
A dark black official relates his experiences thus: "Racial problems
do not affect me. I am very well received everywhere, even
among the most distinguished families; I give Portuguese lessons
to their sons, and they value my friendship. A well-bred Black
has access to all milieus. There is no discrimination among the
men; it is among the women that one perceives this tendency very
[576] clearly. Some are content to be discourteous, avoiding shaking
the hand of Blacks whom they meet among the Whites. Nevertheless, when they take a fancy to a colored man, they are capable of
behaving foolishly." "Undoubtedly," he adds, "in certain milieus
I feel isolated." It is interesting to note that this informant is one
of the few who are concerned about discrimination, but he, like
most of the others, is without rancor and is confident that he is
compensated for it by the good relations that he maintains with his
/32/ white colleagues in the important State administration where
he works, where he has occupied positions of management, and where
he has had to perform missions calling for great responsibility.

[SALVADOR]

/32 cont./

829 *563 156 On the whole, the Blacks speak with calmness, and, even when they are very reserved toward the investigator, they show a certain psychological assurance and a good adjustment to the conditions of life in Bahia. Here, too, there are obviously exceptions: one man practicing a liberal profession and who is thought to have had worries because of his color, proves reticent and even reserved. "He feels inferior because of the fact that he is black," other Blacks say; "for this reason he frequently causes trouble." The informants state that there are mulattoes who, wishing to conceal their origin, avoid appearing in the company of their own parents of black color. One young man practicing a liberal [593] profession, highly esteemed, is covered with praise because he does not have such prejudices; although married to a White, he goes everywhere with his mother, a Black of the most beautiful black, and introduces her to all his friends. On the other hand, another man of the same milieu and the same "quality" is criticized, because, according to some, "he does not wish to be black and for that reason he hides his old mother." Another Black is regarded as full of prejudice and as a racist, "because he prefers to go around with the Whites and he likes to appear in public with women whiter of complexion than of reputation." Some of his colleagues of the same profession and the same social rank regard him as one "repressed," one who is ashamed of being black. "And," it is added, "there are many like him, who, if they could, would be white!"

829 *563 576 There is no doubt but that certain Whites, including light and dark mulattoes, treat the Blacks and colored persons of humble social class with a certain air of superiority. They do so more rarely with individuals of the same rank as they. To say to someone's face that he is inferior because of his color would be a serious offense, according to the etiquette that governs the relations between individuals of different types in Bahia. A moreno educator, [571] native of a northern State, says that during the nine years that he lived in Bahia he was able to observe this mutual respect between persons of different "qualities," provided they were of the same social rank, while in his State colored people are treated with contempt.

[SALVADOR]

/32 cont./

829 contempt. In the highest strata of Bahia society, our informants
*563 say, a colored person generally does not suffer humiliations. It
565 may even be that he is recognized as belonging to the most re-
156 spected groups. A very dark Black practicing a liberal profession is irritated because in the organization where he works many people who do not know him take him for an office boy or an employee of inferior category. A female official, /Figs. 3 and 4 appear here/ /33/ on the contrary, says that she and her family are fortunate and do not attribute any of their difficulties to the fact that they are dark mulattoes. "If I have never been able to pursue a career as I wished, it is because my father was poor and died young. For that reason I always say at home that we must not speak of certain things... Some people might believe that we suffer because of our color."

[562] Among girls, who are more accustomed to discrimination than men, the feeling of inferiority can take quite peculiar forms; thus, a university student claims not to be disgusted with her color, "but she would like to be less homely." Finally, while not acknowledging it, a black woman practicing a liberal profession let the same frustration complex show by saying that she was very discouraged, when she was young, to hear herself called "a pretty little Black."

829 An important aspect of the problem is created by the fact
*563 that the Blacks and the dark mulattoes of urban working circles,
565 to the extent that they are aware of their civil and political rights,
571 are less inhibited in their behavior in front of Whites. The latter feel resentment at the way in which "impudent Negroes" speak loudly in the street, pass in front of them, and do not yield them their place in the tramways and other means of transportation. These incidents take on an aggressive significance in the eyes of those who lay claim to being the dominant class by virtue of their physical or social appearance. In many cases the Blacks do not make use of their color as a distinctive sign of their group. An important mutual-aid association for Blacks has taken as its emblem two white hands held out to each other as a symbol of solidarity. In one of its reports this same organization personifies its own activity by a picture representing a white woman carrying a white child and two other white children with European features, who hold her embraced.

5: Azevedo--42 D, Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
[Salvador]

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3. At the bedside of a sick person.

5: Azevedo--43 D, Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
[Salvador]

142
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4. Woman doctor from Salvador.

[SALVADOR]

/34/ A Multiracial Society with Classes

565 [114] The structure of the classes of Bahia has never been described and analyzed from the sociological point of view, except very summarily by Donald Pierson (1).

1. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 64.

As this scholar shows, one may say schematically that the population of Bahia consists of an "upper" class, to which belong the descendants of the old aristocracy, the great landowners and the merchants, the intellectuals and those who practice a liberal profession, such as lawyers, doctors, engineers, politicians, officers of the armed forces, poets and journalists, university professors, the few industrialists that Bahia has produced, and a lower class made up of very poor people engaged in simple occupations, unskilled workmen and manual laborers. There is, furthermore, a stratum that one cannot exactly call a middle class, but rather an intermediate group, containing minor employees, petty officials, and tradesmen.

*563 555 565 As for their place in society, one may say that, although in general terms the status of the Bahians depends on their birth, there is no doubt that social ascent proceeds by way of free competition. Blacks and métis, as individuals, may, "by their personal merit or as the result of favorable circumstances, improve their social situation and even obtain a position in the upper strata of society; this position will be in keeping, not only with their color group, but with the whole of the community" (2).

2. Ibid., p. 419, 422; cf. also Frazier, art. cit., p. 477.

565 *563 [361] [362] The majority of colored persons, like all the lower class, lives in poor quarters, in the outskirts of the city or in small clusters of modest houses interspersed in the residential quarters of the higher classes; moreover, numerous colored families of intermediate or upper status live in these same quarters. Colored persons are admitted, according to their economic resources and

[SALVADOR]

/34 cont./

*563 565 their degree of education, in the hotels and even more in the boarding houses of various categories. They may freely visit restaurants, cafés, teashops, cabarets; they frequently participate in dinner parties where they meet white friends. The news-
*563 565 204 papers and magazines report anniversaries, marriages, the conferring of diplomas, births, returns from travel, celebrations and tributes received, or the death of any person whomsoever, without any mention of type or color, printing portraits of either of them indiscriminately. And when an individual is not well enough known so that the newspapers spontaneously publish an article about him, /35/ it is not rare to see his name or even his portrait reproduced, after payment of the price of the announcement, in
*563 565 the column devoted to this kind of news. "Few persons," says a White, "could have more prestige in Bahia society, thanks to their exquisite manners and their elegance, than a university professor and his wife, both mulattoes, had ten years ago."

Among the most highly placed families of the present-day society of Bahia, says a morena informant, there are many who "belong to the caste," who, in other words, are métisses, although it would not be discreet to draw attention to the origin of these
[564] families. Since there are no castes, properly speaking, but merely classes, colored people find their way into the world of the Whites, even if they have pronounced black features; it is merely necessary for them to approximate the "superior" dominant group by their behavior. In order to show that she was born already assimilated with the Whites, a woman practicing a liberal profession explains that she is the daughter of a Black who was a domestic "in a milieu other than that of the senzala" (1).

[192] [567] [342]

1. Senzala = all the communicating houses of poor quality where the slaves lived in the fazendas.

She considers herself a privileged creature of God, since she has
*563 565 571 [204] all that she desires. "I am on good terms with people of the best society. I choose my friends in all classes. I visit the clubs and the government palace frequently. A short time ago the newspapers even published my picture beside the governor of the State in the course of a luncheon that one of my friends gave in his honor."

[SALVADOR]

/35 cont./

*563 571 The Whites hope that colored people, especially the darkest ones, will be moderate in their attitude, behave modestly, and, in spite of their personal merits, maintain a certain distance, and colored people are not by any means unaware of this. A mulatto of liberal profession says, for example, that he goes only where his presence is necessary. "Often," says a Black, "the Black does not come up against barriers because, knowing the prejudices of the Whites, he does not go in certain places." Another Black, of liberal profession, thinks that colored people, in order to be able to elevate themselves in the social hierarchy, "must avoid doing certain things." Some of these "things," according to numerous informants, are aggressive attitudes, pretentious and affected manners, immoderate, ludicrous gestures." One individual, practicing a liberal profession, would be better received, for example, if he were not so aggressive and so conspicuous. He prizes being seated among the leaders of associations at the meetings he attends, and he always wants to appear in the photographs. On the occasion of a tribute rendered to a famous visitor, he took his place, before /36/ the session began, at the table of the presidency, causing by this action some irritation among the presiding officers of the association, some of whom are conscious of not being white."

*563 571 576 565 In a society of aristocratic traditions, such as that of Bahia, etiquette concerning the relations between people of different social levels is very important. A person who has "cheek," who oversteps the limits that his rank or his position of outsider sets for him, by resorting, without cause, to manners that reveal a certain intimacy or identity of positions, is always disliked, even if he is white. This is even worse if he is colored, for in this case he is accused not only of ill breeding, but even of brazenness, someone who "takes a great deal of liberty" with those whom he does not know or who "are not of his class." The word "class" used in this sense means a very low social status. "The opposition that appears against the social ascent of Negroes," said an almost black person, "is explained by their lack of education and their bad manners. It is the same with mulattoes, for if some are

/36 cont./

*563 excessively humble and submissive, others are pretentious,
565 vicious, excessive in their manners, desirous of putting them-
571 selves forward." Two Blacks of liberal profession repeat almost
576 the same thing: "Color does not have a direct influence, but it entails certain consequences. Colored people, because of their origin, are humble, have customs that are peculiar to them, and are not prepared for the life of society. Their manners attract attention and displease well-bred people. Because of this, the persons belonging to this class and who detach themselves from it suffer from prejudices that hold sway over them. When one sees a Black elevate himself and when one has to deal with him, one always asks oneself whether he will have bad manners. It is only when one begins to know him that this impression is dispelled."

*563 No less important is adherence to the moral standards of the
565 higher classes in order to be accepted there. According to a highly esteemed and skilled mulatto of liberal profession, "the one who merits respect is respected, whatever his color may be" (1).

[167]
[567]
[829]
[113]

1. Among the Yoruba, who made up a considerable part of the African slaves imported to Bahia, one often hears it said in the course of discussions on the subject of the social situation and classification that "one respects the one who respects himself," cf. W. R. Bascom, "Social Status, Wealth, and Individual Differences among the Yoruba," Am. Anthropologist, Vol. 53, No. 4, Part 1, Oct.-Dec., 1951, p. 504.

An amiable character also facilitates ascent and living with the Whites. As much among the latter as among colored persons, it is said of a dark mulatto educator that he is highly esteemed because of his good character, his gentle and subdued manners; likewise, the success of a Black of liberal profession /37/ is attributed to his communicative temperament, his joviality, and his even temper. But inasmuch as the problem of race relations,

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/37 cont./

*563 565 for many people, is more a question of class than a question of race, "the primacy of culture and of class" having the ascendancy, one may say with a mulatto educator that "if he has money, education, and manners, the Black can elevate himself." This synthesis, however, does not exhaust all the aspects of the problem. A very dark woman of liberal profession declares that "a Black, in order to elevate himself socially, must have talent and friend-
[571] ships." In truth, good personal and family relationships are very important for everybody in Bahia, whether in trade, in administration, or in politics. A maxim constantly cited by Brazilians teaches that "a friend at hand is worth more than money in the till," which means that any enterprise is easier when the interested party is given a "personal" introduction by a friend of the person with whom he must deal. One informant insists on explaining that she does not believe money has a great influence on the social ascent of colored people; she knows several among them who, having previously made a fortune, did not succeed in elevating them-
[156] selves. "For in order to elevate oneself it is necessary not to have an inferiority complex. There are many Blacks who not only do not dare to approach Whites of a high class, but transmit this fear to their children." The fact that the black color recalls the ancient slaves is cited by many as an explanation for the difficulties that
[567] the darkest ones encounter in attaining a high rank. "Lately risen
[826] from the depths of slavery," writes a priest of mixed blood, "rare are the Negroes who succeed in reaching a high level or position.
[571] As for mulattoes and morenos (who are not true Blacks), we can say that, from all points of view, they live in harmony with the Whites, at least here in Bahia." A doctor makes the same comment: "As far as the morenos are concerned, they have a position equivalent to that of the Whites; but it is not correct to say that the Blacks can easily attain the highest offices or positions of the first order in the most esteemed professions. As for mulattoes, one finds some of them in the positions that we have just named, without being able to deny, however, that for the métis whose color closely approaches that of the Negroes, this pigmentation of the skin creates obstacles to the various careers mentioned. On

[SALVADOR]

/37 cont./

*563 565 the other hand, the métis with straight hair and a color very close to that of the white race could succeed in the different branches of human activity without having to suffer any annoyance of an ethnic nature."

[826] Notwithstanding all these difficulties, colored people, especially the lightest ones and those whose features bring them closer /38/ to the Whites, may achieve a rank as high as the latter. As [114] will be seen in the following chapters, they may marry Whites, according to their social position; they may have a pre-eminent place in the liberal professions, in the intellectual life; they may be admitted into the organizations through which one acquires prestige and social rank, which confirms the thesis already set forth by Pierson, that "what we find in Bahia is a multiracial society of classes" (1).

1. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 408.

*563 565 554 571 The social ascent of colored persons, although it is brought about with relative facility, is not without consequence for those who attain it. It is somewhat like "passing" /quoted in English/ for the North American Negroes: those who elevate themselves not only experience doubts and difficulties on the subject of their position, but they are also the object of resentment by some of those -- and they are numerous -- who remain in the lower strata of society.

When he elevates himself to the social rank that is to assimilate him culturally and socially with the White by endowing him with his "social skin," the Black is often criticized because he wants "to act the White" or because he "no longer wants to be colored."

*563 565 554 571 124 Numerous informants pointed out certain colored individuals who are considered that kind and who, they said, would certainly refuse to be interviewed for the investigation. Some of them actually avoided speaking of the racial problem, politely diverting the conversation to other subjects, under the pretext that they did not know anything about the subject and all that was of no importance among us. The author, in spite of his experience in the milieus

/38 cont./

*563 565 557 571 [124] [829] of Bahia, had some difficulty approaching some of the persons thus mentioned. In certain cases, however, he was able to verify that the imputations mentioned above are nothing but the informants' reactions of resentment against people who are much higher or whom they judge superficially because they do not know them personally. A number of persons questioned even showed great interest in race relations, declaring they had read numerous Brazilian or foreign books, had seen films on this subject, and liked to discuss this problem with persons belonging to the same type and to the same professional and social status as they; there were even two who declared they had thought a good deal about writing down their observations on this subject. In only one case a mulatto official replied with a certain irritation that this problem was not important and that the Blacks of Bahia did not elevate themselves socially because they were very "backward and bold."

*563 565 /39/ Interracial Marriages

For colored people, interracial marriage is a means of reaching the higher classes. Individuals with a lighter skin have the greatest possibilities of becoming white socially, and marriage between colored people and Whites gives the former prestige and offers them the prospect of having children closer to the preferred type.

*563 [585] No law in Brazil forbids marriage between members of different races. The candidates for a civil or religious marriage simply present themselves before the authorities of the State or of the Church, provided with the necessary papers, such as certificate of birth or baptism, in which the type or the color are mentioned only for the purposes of identification.

The number of marriages between individuals who differ with regard to color is very high in Bahia. Out of 222 unions concluded [162] some years ago, the man and woman were of the same color in 34 o/o of the cases; in 43 o/o the man was darker than the woman,

[SALVADOR]

/39 cont./

*563 [162] and in 22 o/o the latter was darker (1).

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1. Thales de Azevedo, "Um aspeto da mestiçagem na Bahia /An aspect of cross-breeding in Bahia/," Revista do Arquivo, Year XI, Vol. CI, São Paulo, 1945, p. 45.

But the frequency of true interracial marriages, that is to say, between persons belonging to different racial groups, is difficult to estimate by the customary methods of ethnic classification. In order to do this, it would be necessary to classify genetically the contracting parties or to study the genealogy of numerous families. Given the fact that individuals of "white" phenotype are sometimes métis (2),

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2. Dr. Paul Rivet calls our attention to the facility with which the African Black has cross-bred with the Whites and Indians of South America. On this subject, see Les origines de l'homme américain /The Origins of the American Man/, Montreal, 1947. Also consult M. J. Herskovits, The Anthropometry of the American Negro, New York, 1930.

it becomes extremely difficult to acquire certitude that a marriage is interracial. What matters in this study, however, are the marriages between colored persons and persons "socially white," which undeniably are very frequent. Out of 1,269 marriages, Pierson found 3.3 o/o interracial, a figure actually very low for a region in which the barriers of color are so tenuous. These figures have surely been taken from a total of marriages of persons of all classes (3).

*563 162

3. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 209.

If we examine the situation in the intermediate and lower strata, one will see that the proportion may reach 20% or more.

[SALVADOR]

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*563 one will see that the proportion may reach 20 o/o or more. It
[175] was not always so, however. Portuguese laws during the colonial period prohibited marriages of Whites with the natives and with
17 Negroes. Once the slavery of the aborigines was abolished, mar-
*563 riage between these /40/ last and the Whites was permitted; but
567 before that the Catholic clergy had already regularized by religious marriages the numerous concubinages between Portuguese colonists and native women. The marriages of Whites and natives with the Blacks continued to be forbidden for a long time yet, but as crossbreeding between Europeans and Africans increased because of free unions, the number of interracial marriages increased in parallel fashion, for in reality only marriages between free persons and slaves were forbidden. Finally, with the abolition of black slavery the last barrier set up against interracial marriages
175 fell. Penalized before that, and for quite a long time, by severe
*563 social sanctions (1).
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1. Ch. Expilly wrote in 1863: "The constitution has proclaimed the equality of the citizens. Prejudice stronger than the constitution raises an impassable barrier -- up to now at any rate -- between individuals who differ in the shade of their skin. One in vain distributes bedizenment, decorations, titles to men of mixed blood, no one becomes intimate with them. When has one seen a female White marry a mulatto? The one who would dare so boldly to affront the usages and customs of her country would be immediately rejected by everyone of pure race. She would
[113] be scorned, pointed at, excluded from the society in which in other times she was the ornament and pride," Mulheres e costumes do Brasil /Women and Customs of Brazil/, São Paulo, 1935, p. 279.

000 These marriages increased after Independence, in 1822, with the

[SALVADOR]

175 /40 cont./ These marriages increased after
178 Independence, in 1822, with the
social ascent of mulattoes, military men, bureaucrats, lawyers
*563 graduated from Portuguese and French universities, a process
555 which was intense under the Brazilian monarchical regime and to
which Bahia contributed liberally with statesmen and politicians
coming from these groups (2).

2. G. Freyre, op. cit., III, p. 951.

178 Social pressure against mixed marriages seems to have de-
*563 creased with time, and so the latter became more numerous
626 every day. Formerly the families of high society or of the
584 bourgeoisie verified the origin of fiancés with great care. Many
593 marriages came to grief because one of the future partners was
found to belong to the "caste." The unions that were formed
against the parents' wish were the cause of lasting quarrels be-
tween parents and children, and gave rise to veritable domestic
tragedies. Many fathers cursed their daughters and disinherited
them when they persisted in wanting to marry a man of "inferior
quality," especially if he were a bastard. "In our day," a female
informant told us, "one has it much easier." This indeed seems
to be the general opinion.

*563 The mixed marriage is greatly sought after because it confers
557 prestige on the one of the two partners who is darker. A black
professor made the remark to us that there are few colored men who,
in marrying a light woman, think of "improving the race," but
rather they hope to facilitate their own social ascent. Proof of
this is the frequency with which this intention is /41/ implicitly
indicated or even acknowledged. A colored employee flirts
with white boys "for fun"; in fact, she is trying to get the man
she wants, and she announces that she will never marry a man of
dark color unless he is rich and well situated. Her mother ap-
proves entirely when she announces that she will not accept the
advances of a man of dark color. Her three sisters have married
Whites, and one of them is proud of her children who are blond.
A student of the same physical type "prefers" moreno suitors,
but admits that she would have no objection to marrying a White.

[SALVADOR]

/41 cont./

X 563 557 A young mulatto student boasts of already having had eight flirtations with women lighter than he, except for one, which he illustrates by showing photographs of three of them. There are even some who speak of a Black who is supposed to have a very large sum in reserve in order "to buy a white husband." She declares that "she would never make any efforts to marry"; she will marry if that is her destiny, and she claims to have received advances from both Blacks and Whites, but to have rejected all of them. "I have no preference as to type: I demand only that he be a cultivated man and one who corresponds to my ideal." And as if she had unconsciously given herself away, she says that during a journey she met a German -- the most characteristic type of fino White for the people of Bahia -- who paid her court and who since then had written her numerous letters. Also very characteristic is what a young mulattress said: "The dark girls prefer lovers lighter than they. Myself, if I sought to marry..." She does not finish her sentence, but after a pause she adds: "It depends, for if I wanted to have a lover I would not consider color." And as if she were voicing a complaint: "The colored boys prefer light women," she says, "even if they are ill-bred; it is enough for them that they are light..."

The resentment that these difficulties cause in girls is generally dissimulated by an apparent detachment with regard to marriage. A woman of liberal profession asserts that she does not want to marry because she is of restless temperament. Moreover, she adds, the colored men want to marry white women and the Blacks that she has been able to associate with are mentally inferior to her, which may be perfectly true. The same frustrations are found among the men who do not happen to have white fiancées. One of them lives with a mulattress, but he says that he knows more than one white woman or morena who would accept him as a husband or even as a lover. Two very black Blacks declare that they do not wish to marry, at any rate they do not find white girls who love them. Another complains that the women do not want /42/ dark men, even well-bred ones, and prefer a White, even a poor devil badly "rigged out"; in the streets they repulse

[SALVADOR]

/42 cont./

*563 557 the advances of dark men, but accept those of Whites, however disrespectful. That is why, he explains, they either become concubines of the latter, or else they do not marry.

*563 829 826 832 The white and blond woman, on the other hand, is represented as being strongly attracted by men with a very pigmented skin. A light mulatto, regarded very highly in his profession, is not attracted by dark women, although he admits that they are striking and pretty; he prefers the "Whites, very white." According to what he said, many men of his kind have this same inclination, quite independently of the idea of "purifying the race." He adds that the finas Whites have a real taste for the Blacks, whom they consider particularly virile and strong, and they do not take those who have manners that are too refined. Other informants, on the contrary, speak without enthusiasm of this type of women, whom they consider cold and frail. "Color gives health," says one of them, and he adds that even the Whites think so. "Very light women are repugnant to some men," declares one métis; "I even know a European who has an inclination to vomit when he sees one of them." All these opinions on the very white woman are [171] of the same order as those that in the United States, according to John Dollard (1).

1. "It seems possible that the image of the white woman is in part preserved from sexual thoughts and allusions of the same order, while the black woman tends to bear the entire brunt of uncontrolled sexual desire... If the black women are represented as sexually desirable in the white popular imagination, the black men are represented as particularly virile and experienced in this domain." Caste and Class in a Southern Town, New York, 1949, p. 1 ff. [113]

serve as protection against colored men and sometimes even against Whites. The morena, moreover, is regarded as the most ardent feminine type and even, sexually speaking, the most accessible. Numerous informants who have a plan to marry Whites explain or imply that they are looking for light, socially white métisses.

[SALVADOR]

/42 cont./

*563 829 One of the reasons why mixed marriages are desired is, as we have already said, that thanks to them it is possible to "improve one's own race." Marriages of Blacks with Blacks only prolong the situation, thinks a black man of liberal profession who is considered a racist. "The mulatto son is accepted better and does not suffer what his family has suffered." The finer features of children of mixed blood, declares another informant, facilitates their social integration. "To have a white father," he adds, "is in itself an advantage." A mulatto of dark complexion re-
[671] lates that he started to work in very humble and arduous occupations, but his situation began to improve /43/ when a very important politician learned that he was the son of one of his white friends. He then obtained office work, which left him time to study until he passed his university examinations. Another man practicing a liberal profession believes that one of the assets that he had during his childhood was to have a white father, who, although of modest means, was intimately acquainted with the politicians of the small locality in which he lived.

As for the particular cases of our informants who are married to white or at least very light women, it is interesting to note that none of them has invoked one of the reasons set forth above in order to justify this preference. Some say they first had a dark fiancée who died or who broke the engagement; it is because of this that they ended up by marrying a light woman. Others do not seek any justification. One of them said: "There are many Whites whom I do not like to see at my house. Nevertheless I married a White of Portuguese descent." Another reason given by some informants is that dark girls refuse young men of their type even when they are graduates and have good positions. It seems, however, that this information is somewhat exaggerated. In the white families in which many of these girls are servants, our informants add, they continually hear it said that "they must avoid these bold and ignorant Blacks." But this warning refers to Blacks of humble circumstances, not to those of a high social or professional rank. The dark boys, said a Black, begin to recognize this difficulty as soon as they reach the age of 20: "That is why they

[SALVADOR]

/43 cont./

*563 829 look for light girls." Obviously this question is not one that can be solved with the material of an investigation like ours, but there seems to be no doubt that we are confronted here with reasons intended to mask the wish for a union with white women. This design, moreover, should be interpreted with the help of psychoanalysis and other techniques for investigating personality problems.

In Bahia there are some distinguished Blacks, particularly in the liberal professions, who are married to Whites or to women much lighter than they are. This fact is mentioned with some emphasis and with ill-concealed pride by some persons of dark color, although such cases are also the object of criticism. Very often the women belong to milieus inferior to those to which they themselves belong, "for in the higher classes, although marriages between mulattoes and morenos are frequent, the opposition is still strong against marriages between persons who are very /44/ far apart on the color scale" (1).

[565] [626]

1. Donald Pierson, op. cit.

*563 565 554 The lower the man's status, the less difficult a mixed marriage is for him within his class. That is to say, it is much easier for a Black of intermediate and inferior groups to marry a White of his social class than for a Black of a higher class to marry a girl of his own milieu. Moreover, the less great the difference between the man's and the woman's type, the less great will be the opposition to be overcome in whatever milieu it may be. The marriage of a light man with a dark woman, especially if she is much more pigmented than he, encounters very marked opposition in all milieus, although the opinions about the morena with fine features and the color of jambo make this type desirable for certain Whites, particularly for Portuguese immigrants and somewhat for Germans. A dark woman who marries a White is much more exposed to the hostility of her husband's family than a dark man who marries a light or white woman. In order to explain this in part it is necessary not to forget that, the family in Bahia

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*563 59

[SALVADOR]

/44 cont./

*563 59 being greatly influenced by the family of the bride, the husband is inevitably absorbed by it, so that the children are actually more intimate with their grandparents on the maternal side than with those on the paternal side (2).

[124] [565]

2. In order to verify this hypothesis the author questioned 30 young women of lower and intermediate class, students of a professional school, and was thus able to verify that 63.3 o/o considered themselves more intimate with the family of their mother; 26 o/o did not express any preference; 6.6 o/o inclined to the paternal side, and 3 o/o did not know their ancestors.

*563 565 557 59 A White who is married to a dark woman thereby "leaves" his category, for, according to an oft-repeated maxim, "when a girl marries, her family gains a son." The man thus passes into the world of colored people from which his wife originated. Likewise, a dark man "elevates" himself by being integrated into the family of his light or white spouse. That is the opinion of the Bahians, an opinion that the author has been able to perceive and observe by participating in the local life. On the other hand, this is confirmed analogically by what occurs in marriages between persons of different rank and wealth. In Bahia, as throughout Brazil generally, marriages between "cultivated and upright" young men, even if they are poor, and wealthy women of high rank are much more approved than those of wealthy men with "lower class" women. In the case of the "cultivated and upright" young man (these two conditions are required), even if he is poor or colored, the family of the fiancée capitalizes on these virtues as compensation for his fortune or for his whiteness in the bartering that it does; in the opposite situation, the virtues that the poor or dark girl may have do not generally have /45/ the same power of compensation for the family of her spouse.

[SALVADOR]

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*563 829 The Whites justify their opposition to marriages with Blacks, not only by ideologies concerning the mental and moral inferiority of the Black, but also by an "instinctive" repulsion to certain organic characteristics of Africans and their close descendants. A mulatto, reared among Europeans, expresses this attitude by saying that "it is not so much the color prejudice that is strong in Bahia as the instinctive repulsion of the white race for the taint of the sister race when it is pure or almost pure: bad odor, color, etc., which does not fail to provoke disagreeable comments about the descendants of Ham." It should be noted that, *563 829 828 147 concerning the "bad odor," that of the Blacks is regarded as something inherent in their nature and thus irremediable, the disagreeable odor of the Portuguese and the other immigrants being attributed solely to the lack of body care. This conception puts the Black in a special and inferior psychological category, many Whites not knowing that they themselves emit an odor intolerable to the Asiatics and to the Blacks (1).

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1. It is interesting to note what happens in blood transfusion. When this was done directly from donor to recipient, often the white patient or his family preferred white donors, showing annoyance when the donor was mulatto or black. At present, with the system of preserved blood, almost no one asks what the "quality" of the donor is, except Jews and certain foreigners, especially Europeans who demand blood from members of their family or their "race." In the first instance, what motivated the attitude of the Whites was above all the fact that the donor was lying in a bed parallel to that of the sick person, a situation recalling the intimacy of two persons who sleep side by side.

[SALVADOR]

/46/

Commerce

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The merchants and the fazendeiros enjoy a prestige in Bahia society proportional to the economic importance of their activities, the wealthiest families being made up by them, and their influence being well known in all the social life. It is by means of these two forms of activity that the Bahians acquire a certain social rank and exercise control over other sectors of the social structure (1).

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1. The economic activities that occupy the largest number of persons in the State of Bahia are agriculture and stock raising (67 o/o of individuals of the male sex); there follow in order of importance: small crafts industry and commerce, according to the census of 1940. In the city of Salvador (Bahia) the liberal professions and private instruction, which the statistics record in the aggregate, came in first place, and commerce and the industries are in second place.

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The national and racial groups that make up the population of Bahia participate in different fashion in the commerce and agriculture. While the Whites and the morenos predominate among the most important breeders of livestock, one finds among the owners of cacao plantations a large proportion of colored persons who began as small planters and have progressively enlarged their fazendas as cacoa gained in importance in the international markets. The plantations of cane and the sugar mills that belonged to the families of Portuguese origin, who were very conscious of their social rank during the colonial period, are today almost entirely in the hands of large capitalist enterprises in which Whites and a few mestis predominate.

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As for commercial activities, they are not carried on exclusively by nationally and racially determined groups, but these groups portion them out among themselves up to a certain point --

[SALVADOR]

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*563 441 [186] although these lines of demarcation have a tendency to disappear. The Jews, who have immigrated since the first world war and whom people know under the name of "Russians," are the principal owners of furniture stores and are beginning to become interested in other kinds of commerce; strictly exclusive in their firms, they do not seem to have any Brazilian associates, so that the dark employees that they have among them never occupy any but subordinate positions and never reach the top positions that would permit them to take a place in the higher strata of society.

The characteristic endogamy of the Israelites has also contributed toward restricting the chances of colored people in this [233] [472] sector. Some Jews of French origin who established themselves in the city during the second half of the last century and who turned to commerce and stock raising were entirely assimilated. Their /47/ families today include some light métis and some *563 472 256 441 morenos. The Spaniards who dominate the grocery and bakery business are grouped into firms in which only they themselves and their immediate descendants participate. In order to maintain this commercial structure, the group is constantly renewed through the immigration of young men of the same nationality, who start to work in modest positions and end up by forming new firms or being integrated in the old ones. From the time the *563 472 441 [175] [848] [428] [671] Spanish emigrants came still unmarried or left their families in Spain, they had mulatto children or morenos here by their servants, children who were born illegitimate and who had no right of inheritance (Brazilian law did not insure it to persons in their position until some years later). But for about 20 years the Spaniards have started to send for, or bring with them, their families, so that they now form a very closed group, not only from the economic point of view, but especially from the social and, so to speak, the biological point of view. An informant [256] points out that in the old days numerous bakeries were the property of Blacks; since then the Spaniards have monopolized them almost completely, that they now control this type of business entirely. The antagonism of the inhabitants of Bahia against the

[SALVADOR]

The antagonism of the /47 cont.7 inhabitants of Bahia against the
*563 441 578 829 Spanish merchants is expressed, aside from the manifestations pointed out in another chapter, by the belief that they are responsible for the discrimination that is practiced against colored people in certain recreational clubs. In the trade of textiles and
*563 441 464 petty retail objects, such as the Syrians, Lebanese, Arabs, and Turks carry on in little shops, there are no longer many openings possible for colored people. The Arab merchants accept colored employees to work at the counter in their establishments, but, since these are generally modest family enterprises, their few light descendants of mixed blood or morenos remain in the lower or intermediate strata of the population.

*563 441 464 472 829 In the offices of large export or import firms made up in part of Europeans (Germans, English, Swiss), colored persons are admitted and may obtain positions carrying some responsibility, but they rarely reach the rank of owners. The European merchants, numerous informants say, have the reputation of being liberal with their employees and other colored persons with whom they do business or who collaborate in their activities: harbor services, transport, transit, navigation. A wealthy, dark mulatto merchant states that his transport enterprise works a great deal for large /48/ foreign firms: "The English are particularly pleasant in that they help their colored employees and promote them to the secretariat of management." They often bring them gifts from Europe, invite them to their clubs, and are happy when some of
[191 186] them speak their language. "The German merchants who had very large firms in Bahia in the old days were very good to their colored assistants; they were very jealous of their language, however, and seemed not to like it at all when a Black spoke German. Some European firms honor their employees, even the Blacks, when they complete 20 or 30 years of service and give them bonuses on
[555] this occasion. But they do not promote them to important posts, sometimes because of their incompetence. The same thing does not happen with Brazilian firms, which are not accessible to colored people."

[SALVADOR]

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*563 441 472 829 A fact known in Bahia is that during one of the two world wars an important German firm transferred the responsibility for its warehouses to one of its employees, a moreno, who had always been its confidential agent and who proved in this situation that he was really faithful by subsequently loyally returning the goods that had been entrusted to him. A mulatto merchant, [452] owner of a warehouse, recalls that German firms helped small Brazilian merchants a great deal, no matter what their physical characteristics were, by granting them credit facilities. "It was [464] in this way that this firm developed, with the help of Germans," he says, "at the time when the large Portuguese firms, formerly the most important, did not offer any facilities to colored people and did not even allow them to work in their offices." The ownership of firms was almost always transferred by the familial route [581] by means of marriages between the most capable employees and the daughters of owners and associates, which explains why the management of these firms always remained with the Portuguese and their descendants. One and the same firm could, moreover, in certain cases give birth to two or three other firms of the same structure, thanks to the competence of the owners' sons, who, with the aid of their parents, set themselves up on their own.

*563 441 472 871 555 A wealthy contractor thinks that it is owing to his black color that he did not progress in the modest employment that he had in an important commercial firm. In order to advance, he says, he was obliged to give up commerce and devote himself to jobs as a contractor. It is evident that the stagnation of some employees in occupations of little importance arises, in the majority of cases, from their incompetence, it being a fact that in Bahia, even today, but especially in the very recent past, the /Figs. 5 and 6 appear here/ /49/ young men who intended to go into commerce had not completed secondary studies, or showed themselves [464] incapable of continuing them. This situation is tending to improve, but the majority of minor employees is still made up of young colored men coming from poor families and from a very low level of education. These young people therefore have only minimal possibilities for elevating themselves in careers where success depends a great deal either on the importance of capital invested or on administrative knowledge.

5: Azevedo--64 D. Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
[Salvador]

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5. Mixture of races in Bahia.

5: Azevedo--65 D, Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
[Salvador]

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6. The Black at work.

[SALVADOR]

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*563 444 464 829

The large stores dealing in textiles, fashions, jewelry, and women's articles prefer, for the sale of the displays, employees who "look well," a euphemism for designating persons who are white or approaching it in appearance. Only a few years ago one of the largest stores in the city put an advertisement in the papers offering positions to saleswomen "of sound health, of white color, and at least 18 years of age." An informant relates that her sister, in spite of finos features, was not accepted in a very important store. In vain she made herself up attractively, arranged her hair, which is glossy and beautiful, and dressed with elegance; she was not accepted. The manageress told her that she preferred saleswomen with light hair. "The real reason," our informant explains, "is that the clientele does not like to be waited on by saleswomen of dark complexion. The colored girls, when they read announcements in the newspapers asking for employees of good appearance, do not even try to get the job, for they know very well that Whites are preferred; it is only due to great influence that they may be accepted." Another girl with moderately pigmented skin and slightly curly hair presented herself as a secretary in a large store, but the person in charge of personnel told her (and other candidates of the same type as she) that she was very sorry, but the firm preferred light girls. Someone who was present at the interview declared that it was a Portuguese employee associated with the firm who introduced this "racism" in that establishment. In a very famous firm dealing in women's articles, belonging to foreigners, only morenas finas or Whites are accepted. Almost all the employees of both sexes in the stores on the most central and the most important streets are white or morenos. Even in the more modest commercial spheres the situation is almost the same. In approximately 150 small or medium-sized stores dealing in textiles, haberdashery, women's articles, clothing and household articles, electrical goods and hardware, footwear, drugs, foodstuffs and baked goods, on a business street frequented by workers and the poorest population, /50/ not one black person or dark mulatto was seen as manageress, cashier, or saleswoman. "In any case," says a female

[SALVADOR]

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*563 444 464 829 [027]

informant, "girls of light color are more readily accepted in these occupations, perhaps because they are content with salaries that are not as high as those the young men demand."

The statistics released by the Bureau of Identification of the police of the State of Bahia confirm these data. The physical characteristics of 273 persons registered during several months of 1950 as merchants or employees of commercial firms were the following:

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Position in commerce	Whites	Blacks	"Morenos"	"Pardos"	Métis	Total
Merchants:						
Men	28	-	12	6	-	46
Women .	1	-	-	-	-	1
Employees in commerce:						
Men	80	10	63	42	13	208
Women. . .	8	-	8	2	-	18
Total . . .	117	10	83	50	13	273

One sees that among the merchants the majority is white; among the employees in commerce the majority is colored. This is explained by the fact that the profession of merchant is one in which the Whites predominate (1)

1. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 243.

in part because social ascent in this sector depends on financial possibilities. The informants in general could with difficulty mention the name of more than three or four colored persons having a notable position in commerce. Nevertheless, the names of some dark merchants who have occupied important offices in the Trade Association and in other important social institutions are mentioned.

[SALVADOR]

*563 453 464 /50 cont./

"In the banks dark individuals can no longer have careers," say our informants. In an important national bank, according to some, Blacks or very pigmented mulattoes are not admitted; in the branches that this bank has in the city colored employees are few, and these in any case are very light. This selection occurs in the competition for admission, the candidates of dark color being examined with great strictness. In other banking establishments one notes a less marked discrimination. Although /51/ the directors and the managers of the local banks are all white, more or less finos, several employees of mixed blood are accepted there. In the offices of two of these banks one counts 13 light mulattoes and morenos, two dark mulattoes, and 21 Whites. But access to the offices of the directorship or management is very difficult, because these organizations, aside from the fact that they constitute in a certain sense traditional enterprises of some families, demand that one have at his disposal deposited capital, in the form of shares, in the companies managed by the banks, which is difficult for young colored men."

A public official therefore had valid reasons for saying that "the colored people occupy few positions in commerce."

641 *563 [884] /52/ Politics

Every Brazilian who has reached the age of 21 may be registered as a voter, provided that he can read and write and that he is engaged in a lawful occupation. His physical type is of no importance: the law does not make any distinction and the officials in charge of voting questions do not make any difficulties about registering colored persons of either sex. Everyone may thus enjoy the right to vote and to be elected.

162 641 *563 The number of voters in the State of Bahia is 875,000, in the city itself 139,000, a large proportion of which is colored people. And the number of the latter is increasing rapidly, for the social ascent of the proletarian masses in Brazil comes about by the acquisition of economic advantages and guarantees, but also and above all by the prize of political awareness and by access to civic rights. From this point of view politics is in the process

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[SALVADOR]

From this point of
/52 cont./ view politics is in the process
178 of becoming one of the most powerful means of social transforma-
*563 tion. The politicians take the greatest care to promote the regis-
565 tration on the lists of the largest possible number of persons of the
666 lower classes, among whom there is a majority of Blacks and métis, people more dependent and less educated and for that reason also more amenable to propaganda and demagoguery. In the months that precede the general elections held simultaneously every four years throughout the country, the candidates for political offices spend considerable sums and multiply their efforts, directly or through the instrumentality of their canvassers, to persuade the people to have themselves registered as voters. The services that they render these voters are one of the means they count on to obtain their votes. As a result, the most popular politicians are those who, not having or pretending not to have class or color prejudice, approach the most humble voters, shake hands and embrace them when they meet them, pay them visits or receive them at their homes or in their offices, and who, after having been elected, continue to lavish on them the same demonstrations, in public or in the government palaces or chambers. A number of politicians, because of this, are assisted by black and mulatto canvassers, who thus, in our day, maintain the loyalty and the devotion that their ancestors showed the families in which they were slaves.

178 In former times, an informant tells us, a man of dark color
*563 could not enter political life; he could be a canvasser, but he was
666 rarely a candidate or a member of a party. In spite of this, in the
[665] municipal council of Bahia there was /53/ always one or two Blacks of humble occupation, elected thanks to the influence of political-party chiefs, and some morenos or mulattoes of more or less high rank were elected as representatives in the legislative assembly of the State of Bahia. With the political revolution of
[646] 1930, representation by class in the chamber of the State and
[467] in the federal chamber was created; in that way numerous manual laborers, black or mulatto, were elected as representatives of
[665] their unions. When union representation was suppressed in 1937,
[467] colored men continued to try to obtain improvement of their social situation by taking part in the life of the parties.

[SALVADOR]

/53 cont./

000 situation by taking part in the life of the parties. This phenomenon
175 is not entirely new, except in that it affects men of dark color and
178 modest circumstances, for since the monarchical epoch numerous
*563 métis bearers of nobiliary titles granted by the emperor had rep-
645 resented Bahia in the imperial parliament and occupied posts in the
646 national ministries. At least three ministers of foreign affairs, chosen among the statesmen of Bahia during the Empire and the Republic, were métis of great talent and of great social and political prestige. One of the most brilliant federal deputies of the republican regime established in 1889 was a dark mulatto, a health-service engineer, a historian and linguist of renown. Alluding to this intellectual, someone once said to a dark young man: "You will never be president of the Republic, but you can hope to acquire the fame of a Teodoro Sampaio." If one is to be-
[173] lieve oral tradition, a member of the highest tribunal of justice
[829] of Bahia, a métis of very high social and intellectual rank, asserted in a speech that Bahia has always had the lead in this tradition "of liberty and equality among men who do not belong to the same race or at times to the same religion."

*563 During the last election campaigns, the attitude of certain
666 candidates toward colored persons was exploited in favor of some and to the detriment of others. Thus, rumors were circulated in 1945, according to which a candidate for the presidency of the Republic was supposed to harbor color prejudices and not allow the admission of Blacks and dark mulattoes into the military aviation services, which he then directed. It is maintained that these accusations contributed to reducing the number of votes in favor of this candidate in Bahia, in spite of the efforts that his party made to lessen the bad impression that this revelation had produced, even among the Whites. On the occasion of the 1950 campaign, the followers of one of the candidates for the office of governor of the State distributed a tract in which a newspaper favorable to another candidate was accused of having published an article whose author maintained that Negresses made themselves /54/ ridiculous by aping white women. In both cases it was an attempt to cause difficulties between candidates and voters. Moreover, a national association of colored men recommended to

[SALVADOR]

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*563 666 the voters of Bahia, by means of printed proclamations, a White candidate for the federal deputation because he had been "a champion of racial democracy and of the valorization of the colored masses of the Brazilian people." A recommendation of this kind, however, or the fact that a candidate is colored cannot have a determining influence on his election, as the results of the last plebiscite prove. A young lawyer, a dark mulatto, very attractive in manner, was twice a candidate for a municipal office; his friends told him that as a colored man he would certainly have a chance of being elected. Nevertheless he was not elected either time, and it is precisely in the district of the city where the largest part of the colored proletariate is found that he had the least votes.

*563 666 829 Although some dark leaders think that their group ought to have its own representation in the government (1),

1. A pardo writer asserted that "the Negroes who form our economy ... already definitely assimilated and developed, at present claim, by way of the new generations, a better and more dignified position and even more direct participation in the responsibilities and in the destinies of the State"; cf. W. Morais, in A Tarde, Bahia, 21 October 1950.

the voters do not seem to decide in favor of such a solution. Sometimes, however, the color of the candidate is regarded as the symbol of his rank and of his ties to the lower strata of the population. One of the most popular politicians of the city, elected many times to the municipal chamber as "a true representative of the people," is a non-graduate lawyer, a mulatto.

*563 665 It is possible to come across colored persons in the leadership of certain local parties, but the "peoples" and "workers" parties always group together more Blacks and mulattoes than the center and the right. A dark Black participated in the leadership of one of these parties, along with Whites and morenos, some of who

[SALVADOR]

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*563 665 perform very important duties in the government of the State. A merchant of mixed blood, wealthy and refined, and moreover one of the directors of a strong centrist party, was elected federal deputy in the last elections. These two men exert great influence on their respective parties; this influence is also due to the financial support and to the devotion that they do not cease to lavish on them. The Communist Party does not have a legal existence, but, according to some informants, it exploits the difficulties of the poor and stimulates racial antagonism; the newspaper that it publishes in Bahia and the candidates that it presents under the cover of other parties receive some support from poor colored people; one of /55/ the most important of its leaders is a mulatto of liberal profession.

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*563 666 648 At the last elections numerous persons of dark color were candidates for political offices, but the registers of the electoral tribunal bear no indication of the candidates' type. It is known, however, that among the 103 present representatives of the people of Bahia in the federal, municipal, and State legislative assemblies there are approximately 30 o/o morenos and pardos, some of whom are quite dark. Several of them enjoy great prestige, and it should be noted that in the assemblies they are by no means grouped according to their type of their racial origin. The politicians of one and the same party conduct their tours and their election campaigns together, and their prestige by no means depends on their color, but on their personality and the parties or political leaders with whom they are affiliated. One can currently read in the newspapers appeals signed by persons of different "quality" with a view to paying tribute to politicians likewise of different "quality." A deputy from Bahia is regarded as the one member of the national parliament who shows the most Negroid features, but this does not create any difficulty for him in his political work. It is said that a white deputy speaking from the rostrum of parliament has presented himself more than once as a "mulatto from Bahia" in order to become better identified with the representatives from the State of Bahia.

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[SALVADOR]

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178 Thirty or forty years ago, among the insults hurled at po-
*563 litical adversaries in the newspapers and even in the speeches of
666 the legislative assemblies, the epithet "mulatto" or "Negro" was frequent. Today this takes place less often, because the style of political contests has lost much of its character of personal reprisals. Nevertheless one of the last governors of the State of Bahia, a statesman of national fame and once even a deputy minister to one of the presidents of the Republic, was a moreno of great moral and intellectual prestige. While he was in power, none of his political adversaries publicly alluded to his "caste." But, after he had left his office, a newspaper of another city, criticizing his activity, published a comment entitled "Administrative profile of a pardavasco" (1),

[192] 1. Pardavasco = diminutive sometimes used as a synonym of pardo.

an article in which the qualification mulato pachola was repeated in a contemptuous sense; another politician, in turn condemning his work in the government, delivered a speech against what he called "the creole democracy of the creole M.," the expression "creole" being used here in the sense of a Black or the descendant of a Black born in Brazil. Recently in the national parliament a politician from another State, feeling offended /56/ by the newspaper of an industrialist of Bahia, a whitened mulatto, gave a violent speech in which he called the latter "métis of low extraction." Attacks of this kind, however, do not always come from finos Whites; more than once they are the doing of "Whites in color."

*563 In short, although it is rare that a Black or a dark mulatto
555 reaches a high political position, it is nonetheless true that for many colored people politics is a means of elevating oneself in the social hierarchy. Attacks of the kind that we have alluded to show a certain antagonism toward the colored men who elevate
[646] themselves thanks to politics. At the present time the leader of the governmental party in the legislative assembly of the State of Bahia is the red curiboca (métis of Indian and White blood) of whom we have already had occasion to speak. It is for this reason

[SALVADOR]

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*563 555 that one may say that for more than 100 years Bahia has been governed "by Whites and by those who regard themselves as such" (1).

[113] 1. Von Spix and von Martius, Através a Bahia, /Across Bahia/, 2nd edition, Bahia, p. 75.

/57/ The Bureaucracy

*563 647 [557] In all the public administrations of Bahia one finds colored officials (especially in the modest posts). In the past, and even sometimes in our day, the officials were admitted through the influence of politicians or influential members of the administration itself. This is the way numerous dark officials were introduced in all the categories of the administration, without encountering any barrier or opposition. But well in advance of the governments of the States or the municipal services, the federal administration established a regime of competitive examinations in order to make up its ranks, even affecting purely bureaucratic positions. According to a métis who came into the bureaucracy in 1929, "in the federal civil service, there is no favoritism for the Whites, because the offices there are filled by competitive examinations, and there is no opposition to the registration of colored candidates. A well-bred, pleasant, competent Black or mulatto is accepted as associate or chief without opposition on the part of the Whites. Except when they are rude and when they take advantage of their position as departmental heads to make excessive unreasonable demands on Whites or Blacks, no one cares about their color."

With the perfecting of the system of competitive examinations, carried out by means of examinations in which the names of the candidates are not known by the members of the jury, an increasing number of persons of dark color are entering public service throughout Brazil, and cases of candidates who consider themselves victims of racial discrimination are rare. This system

[SALVADOR]

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*563 647 was introduced in the States and in the municipal services in such a way that possibilities are increasing for colored persons entitled to occupy these posts. Given the fact that in spite of this the support that a candidate may receive from a politician or a friend of an official is always very important, it is obvious that persons of more modest circumstances have more difficulty being appointed after having been admitted for the examinations; they are supposed to have even more difficulties obtaining offices that are advantageous or lead to first-rate positions. During the colonial period some of the participants in a popular revolution that broke out in Bahia, complaining that because they were pardos all promotion was denied them, tried to establish a regime of equality in which Whites, pardos, and Blacks, without distinction as to color, would be judged solely according to their abilities (1).

[175] [668]

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1. Alfonso Ruy, A primeira revolução social brasileira -- 1798 /The First Brazilian Social Revolution -- 1798/, 2nd edition, Bahia, 1951, p. 77.

[178] "In olden times," says one Black, "one never saw a moreno /58/ occupying a first-rate post," which is not altogether accurate, for the métis always had important positions in the administration of Brazil since the colonial period. Today, says another informant, "the incompetent ones advance through influence; as for the others, they advance by their own merit, regardless of their color." He himself, in spite of his very dark color, manages sections in which Whites and Blacks work, and he knows that he is highly esteemed by his colleagues. Others think that the Blacks, although admitted without great difficulties, do not have access, save exceptionally, to positions of management which are temporarily occupied in commission through the individual choice of governors and higher officials. Two of our informants illustrate their assertion by citing the case of a Black "who worked a great deal during an election campaign in favor of a party and who, in spite of

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[SALVADOR]

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*563 642 [665] this, when the aforesaid party was in power, was not offered any of the important positions that he had a right to hope for by reason of his personality, whereas Whites were appointed without having his capabilities." Facts of this order can certainly not be attributed solely to color prejudice. As for the métis, things are different. They have possibilities and, if they are capable, are named to positions of responsibility, although the Whites predominate in public service. The colored women, as their level of education rises, enter into the administration in open competition with the Whites. In one of the most important sections of Bahia, the controller's office responsible for the huge budgets that this section prepares each year is almost entirely in the hands of a dark mulattress who frequently confers with the secretary of State responsible, under the direct orders of the governor, for this sector of the administration of the State. There are, besides, numerous girls of varied crossbreeding in public positions of different categories.

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/59/ The Army

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Bahia is not an important military center. There are small units of the land, air, and naval forces in the city, and men of any type whatsoever are accepted there as simple soldiers. In their battalions there is no separation between Whites and "men of color," as was the case in the colonial period and in part even while slavery lasted. Certain informants state that it is not easy for a Black to go into aviation, even as a soldier, but others affirm the contrary, and one of them cites the case of a young man who did not go into aviation, but who, having been given certain tests, received as recompense a journey to another State. It is true that this branch, some years ago at any rate, preferred white personnel, but today its troops are mixed. The navy had in the city, in addition to a reduced contingent in which finos Whites and retintos Blacks are mixed, a seamen's preparatory school where any student is accepted. But from time to time a commandant who was accused

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563 706 874 [204] of not admitting Blacks came to run this school; this occurred more than 20 years ago, under vehement protests. It is significant that among the articles that the papers published about this event those of a lawyer and professor of English, a black leader originally from a British colony of Africa, stand out in particular (1).

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1. In one of these articles this same Black wrote: "The Black is a preponderant ethnic factor in the formation of the crossbreeding so common in its various nuances in Brazil and, as a Brazilian in fact and by law, he is, before the Constitution, the equal of the White as a citizen of this same Republic. The School of naval apprentices having the right to choose its candidates, this right can be based only on moral precedents, on the aptitudes or the physical stamina of the candidates, and not on physical accidents of color.

*563 641 Such episodes reveal one of the peculiar aspects of race relations in Bahia, as in all of Brazil, the freedom that has been given colored people to defend their rights themselves, by expressing themselves, sometimes with violence, against prejudice. Now not only is this freedom guaranteed them, but numerous finos Whites of high position, particularly university professors and intellectuals, support them by their writings. At present the naval apprentices are recruited among the poor classes, and numerous Blacks are found among them, as one may verify in the civic and military parades in which they take part. Blacks, métis, and Whites may advance in aviation and the navy up to the grades of sergeant and non-commissioned officer. That of officer, apart from the fact that it cannot be obtained except after specialized courses, presents other difficulties. The land army, of all the national military organizations, is the one that is considered the most /60/ accessible to colored people, even with regard to the officers. Among 12 superior officers who took part in a military

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parade, one was recently able to identify three morenos, but it should be added that, the land army, aviation, or the navy being national bodies, the officers detached to serve in the different States include only a small number of local elements.

[873] The Brazilian university students do military service by attending, for two years, courses for the preparation of reserve officers for the army. Colored students are admitted there like all the others, and, as certain of them have assured us, they are not subject to any discriminatory measures. But as few young men of Bahia intend to have a military career, the difficulties that persons of dark color may encounter in this sector are not very important. According to numerous informants, however, only the nearly white métis obtain officers' posts in the combat forces; it is easier for them to obtain posts as doctors, pharmacists, intendants, and procurator of military justice. A mulatto student relates that he aspired to enter military aviation, but that, fearing that he would not be admitted, he decided on another career. The officers' schools do not refuse the registration of dark-colored candidates, but the latter, our informants say, rarely satisfy the physical and intellectual demands required by the respective regulations, which provoked lively debates a few years ago in the national parliament.

*563 708 701 The military police of the State of Bahia is a traditionally popular organization, in the ranks of which no racial distinction is made; its troops have been made up of a majority of colored men. Within its primitive system of promotions a large number of mulatto and black soldiers have advanced to the ranks of officers and have succeeded in performing, under the general command of the State, duties of major importance during periods of political agitation, during periods when the government of the State had to be able to count on the loyalty of its troops. The political intrusions in the granting of these posts have greatly decreased with the changes that have been brought about in the Brazilian democratic system, but they continue nevertheless to play a certain role. From the officers' ranks of this militia have come numerous Blacks who have occupied important posts in the

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*563 708 701 [874] police force and in politics. A school for the training of officers destined for this corps was recently created, in order to improve its capacity as a reserve for the army. Among the present students there are a few with dark skin. One may find two explanations for this: either a preliminary selection at the time of the examinations for admission, when it may happen that the young candidates with /61/ dark skin do not, for various reasons, satisfy the required conditions, or because the career of officer now has more prestige and consequently attracts a larger number of Whites. Up [555] to the present time the career of military-police officer represented one of the ways of social ascent for young colored men. Recently, under indictments of various kinds, a heavily pigmented Black who had reached the rank of captain was expelled from the corps. Not long ago, in a group of 27 young officers whose photographs were displayed in a commercial establishment, eight morenos and light mulattoes and one dark mulatto could be seen. But it is also certain that the officers corps at present, though mixed, is composed of Whites in the majority. Moreover, in the course of recent years the officers chosen by the general command to be integrated in the military department of the government of the State have almost without exception been Whites or "whitened": an aide-de-camp of this high authority must be a representative person, in order to make a "good impression" on individuals who come to the government Palace or on those who are passing through Bahia and on whom this officer must pay courtesy visits. A justification that everyone concedes.

*563 701 368 Among the officers of two local corps of civil character, but having a military organization and insignia, the civil guard and corps of firemen, the majority is dark. The Whites or "whitened" are in the minority in the second of these groups. This proportion corresponds to the lesser prestige that these two organizations enjoy, both, however, greatly appreciated for the services that they render to the community.

5: Azevedo--80 D, Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[SALVADOR]

/62/

The Arts

*563 53 In Bahia the populace has its own art and its artists who interpret it according to their personal conception. And one may say that from this point of view there exists a form of art that is peculiar to poor and colored persons, especially in the [565] realm of music and dance. But in the artistic activities of the higher stratum of the population, the participation of colored *563 people is not important, except for music. Perhaps because of 533 the belief that attributes to mulattoes a particular inclination for [555] music, colored musicians are relatively numerous, and some of them enjoy a great deal of prestige and are admitted into the social scheme. In all the bands and in all the orchestras there is a large proportion of Blacks and mulattoes, sometimes even as [875] soloists. Some of them engage in teaching and in this way reach [555] a higher social rank when, thanks to their competence, they succeed in having pupils who belong to the wealthiest families and when they become part of the teaching corps of the most important schools of music.

*563 875 533 Of three musicians, professors of piano and composition of Bahia, of great renown in the course of these last years, two are mulattoes. The most celebrated among them, after having very brilliantly concluded a course in Germany, taught for many years in Bahia; he then moved to another State; every time that he returns to his country he is the object of demonstrations of fellow-feeling; on these occasions numerous students or instrumentalists seek him out for short refresher courses. All Bahia is proud of the talents of this artist. Another mulatto, with the help of influential persons, organized a school of music which rapidly became very famous for the quality of its teaching and for the frequent concerts that it organized. After his death, the management of the school passed to his moreno son. The teaching of violin, which is at [462] present done almost exclusively by men, includes numerous black or dark mulatto professionals; in the teaching of piano, an activity to a large extent engaged in by women, one finds morenas and *563 "whitened" of great fame. A very popular singer of mixed blood 545 is both founder and directress of an organization which, with the 533 contribution of some thousands of adherents of the highest classes of

[SALVADOR]

/62 cont./

*563 545 533 [204] society, has brought to Bahia the most famous musicians of our time. The newspapers and journals report the concerts that the white and colored artists give in the theaters and halls of the most important organizations of the city, and publish their /63/ pictures as well as the comments that the art critics make on the subject.

*563 814 538 [532] [346] In the plastic arts, colored persons have not played an important role, although in the past they have produced some painters and sculptors of some renown whose works can be viewed in the most beautiful baroque churches of the city. These works are mentioned in the books on the art of Bahia, especially in those of a black or dark mulatto writer, Manoel Querino, son of slaves, whose studies on art, folklore, and Afro-Brazilian ethnography have made him famous. The first centenary of the birth of this intellectual, who in his biographies of numerous artists of Bahia only very rarely indicated their type, was solemnly commemorated in Bahia, as well as in Rio de Janeiro, at the same time that two other folklorists, who were white, one of whom was from Bahia, were honored.

*563 873 [875] In the school of fine arts of the local university, students of all types have acquired university degrees in architecture, painting, drawing, and sculpture; its teaching staff at present includes at least three mulattoes, two of whom are quite dark. Some informants say, however, that one painter, because of his color, was not counted for a prize offered by the school, consisting of a journey outside the State. This incident, which happened some tens of years ago, is interpreted in different ways by our informants.

*563 545 In the theater, colored persons (at least those who are very dark) do not have great possibilities, and one often hears this complaint expressed. The Blacks, says one young informant, never get beyond the stage of laborer or carpenter in our theaters; even for the roles of Blacks, disguised Whites are preferred. On the other hand, a morena amateur actress states that white women refuse to play the parts of Bahians and that they entrust these parts to colored girls. It is also somewhat difficult to present white and [873] colored actors together on the same stage, even in the theatrical

[SALVADOR]

/63 cont./

* 563 545 [873] presentations of the secondary schools and universities, where color prejudice is undeniably greatly reduced. This is confirmed above all with regard to actors with pronounced Negroid features. A mulatto student relates that he often played roles (especially because of his voice) in the theater of the public secondary school where he studied; he almost always performed vocal solos, but he also often played the roles of a charlatan, a fisherman, or others of the same type. He was once designated to play, with a white companion, a love scene in which the two were to appear hand in hand. After numerous rehearsals, he was replaced by a White on the evening of the performance, on the pretext that he appeared /64/ earlier in numerous other scenes and it was necessary to give other students a chance to appear. Our informant assumes, as indeed the theatrical director admitted, that other persons considered it unsuitable for the girl to play a love scene with a mulatto.

The little theater organized and directed by a well-known intellectual of mixed blood has had great success; it is praised by the art critics and greatly admired by the population, which flocks in large numbers to attend its performances. But an incident with the judge for minors gave rise to interpretations that have been linked to color prejudice. Some time ago the theater [671] gave presentations that were prolonged into the night; the judge [692] for minors, basing himself on the law that forbids the labor of children and their presence in cinemas, circuses, theaters, and other places of nocturnal entertainment, decided to suspend the performances and instituted legal action against the director, who also directed a State department for cultural and artistic broadcasting /Fr. diffusion, diffusion, propagation, broadcasting/; the children who belong to this theater as amateur actors are recruited among families of the local intermediate classes. According to certain colored informants, these measures were due to resentment over the success gained by the initiative of a métis; and one informant heard it said in an omnibus that "the mistake of the promoter of the theater was to mix colored children and white children on the stage." These two versions are rejected by many Whites and métis who discussed this incident passionately, but it is undeniable that they have significance for the sociologist and the social psychologist.

[SALVADOR]

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*563 545 [171] For about ten years people have been trying to organize a "Negro theater" in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. In spite of the assistance of white intellectuals of great influence and endowed with the spirit of initiative, the two or three groups that have been founded have had only relative success, in spite of the indisputable artistic and intellectual merit of the Blacks and mulattoes who were at their head. About two years ago, when [658] one of these groups asked for government assistance in order to give a series of performances in Bahia, the presentation of a "Negro theater" in a city such as ours, where there is no separation of races, was considered inopportune. At least this is how some people justified the refusal against it. Two small theater groups were nevertheless founded in Bahia, "to give colored persons the possibility of becoming known," as was announced in a newspaper, but neither of these groups was able to succeed in staging a play. This lack of success may be explained in different ways. One explanation might be that amateur theater enterprises, even those directed by Whites of some prestige and aided by recreational associations able to spend /Figs. 7 and 8 appear here/ /65/ quite large sums on efforts of this kind, have been intermittent in Bahia and generally require an extreme effort by amateurs of the theatrical art; another is that the persons responsible for the two undertakings were young people of mixed blood, without experience and without credit. It should be noted, besides, that, according to one of these, the idea was not popular, even among colored persons. "Everybody doubts that this venture can be successful," he said. Some have even thought that this is "a separatist idea." It is possible that other factors come into play in this tendency to discourage similar endeavors. The theater being a means of [154] emotional expression, serving as a substitute for other ways of [796] liberating emotions, one may agree with the hypothesis of Roger Bastide, according to which the colored people of Bahia satisfy themselves by means of the exciting rites of the candomblé and the external Catholic worship with its brilliant liturgical ceremonies, its frequent and large processions, and the solemn saints' days around the most popular churches (1).

[113] 1. "Teatro de 30 dias /Theater of 30 days/," Anhembi, No. 10, Vol. IV, São Paulo, Sept. 1951.

5: Azevedo--84 D. Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
[Salvador]

142
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291
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7. Black painter.

5: Azevedo--85 D. Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[Salvador]

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533

8. Composers of music.

[SALVADOR]

*563 /65 cont./
545 In any case it is certain that in the realm of the theater the
554 possibilities of social ascent for persons of dark color are ex-
[555] tremely limited, as, moreover, for the people of Bahia in general, because the professions of actor and especially of actress are held in very poor esteem. The city never having had a resident theater company, its theatrical life depends not only on the passing-through of companies from other States, but even, owing to the pejorative opinion concerning the theatrical profession, one can say that at present there are no Bahian actors. The small number of those who do succeed work in other Brazilian cities and rarely perform in Bahia.

/66/ Education

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871 For numerous inhabitants of Bahia, "color prejudice is a problem of education." This opinion is formulated in different ways, but it always expresses the conviction that it is the difference of education, that is to say, of manners and of schooling, that is the greatest obstacle in the acceptance of the Black and of colored persons in the white milieus. It is not rare to hear it said among dark persons that "the evil comes from the fact that many Blacks do not have the necessary education." A Black said that his companions, members of the same association as he, maintain that the Blacks can very well occupy high positions, but he proves to them that they are not on a level that permits them to claim such positions: they lack the teaching and education. "It is not sufficient to appear spick and span, as many believe!" And the same Black adds that a "well-bred and educated Black is able to enter anywhere." And the lighter an individual is, the more easily he advances if he satisfies these requirements. A parda girl relates that the members of a professional circle where she works as a secretary treat her with more courtesy and "less distance" when they learn that she is not a mere employee, but a graduate teacher, "an educated person."

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*563 555 871 Knowing to what extent schooling is useful to them to reduce the social distance that separates them from the ruling classes, colored persons, even the humblest and the darkest, make great efforts to send their children to primary school; they go so far as to make the sacrifice to send them to secondary courses when they could already be helping them in their work. A mulatto who [171] lives in the northern part of the country states that in this the Blacks of Bahia differ from those of the other States: "Here the humblest women -- washerwomen, cooks, domestics -- send their children to school and are very anxious about what they are taught. In the other States this does not interest them (1)."

[162] [872] [463]

1. Among the 92 students of both sexes in a public elementary school chosen at random, 23 were white, 42 pardos, and 27 black. Those responsible for the colored children (mothers, fathers, uncles, or godmothers) were domestics, seamstresses, cabinetmakers, carpenters, masons, petty officials, chauffeurs, commercial employees, cooks, washerwomen, etc.

*563 871 171 "The Blacks of another large Brazilian city," notes a black university student, "are very well dressed and shod, but they speak badly, use slang expressions, and are incapable of carrying on a conversation of a certain level. One might say that they are not at all anxious to learn."

*563 555 829 There is a very widespread conviction that, in order to excel in life and elevate oneself socially, a colored person must be better /67/ prepared and more capable than the Whites. "A young colored man must have great personal merit to be able to assert himself," says the student mentioned above. A mulatto physician who had an exceptional career and who has become one of the greatest names in Brazilian science told one of our informants that a colored man, in order to succeed, must have twice the merit as his white competitor, for exactly the same thing happens with a Black as with two balls of the same weight and the same size, one of metal and the other of wood; when one takes them in one's hand it always seems as though the metal one were heavier. Thus a colored man always gives the impression of having less merit than a White.

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*563 871 In principle the school in Brazil offers the same advantages to Whites and to Blacks, no law preventing or hampering enrollment for ethnic reasons. Nevertheless, inasmuch as the public school is of popular character, free, and the private school is an institution of the higher classes, there is a noticeable difference between the two categories with regard to the number of students of the one type and of the other. But both accept Whites and [162] Blacks. Just as the Whites are in the minority in the total population, the students of this type represent only 35 o/o in the public elementary schools, the Blacks represent about 20 o/o; the rest are pardo. In the private schools of the same level the Whites are as much more numerous as the establishment is more "choice"; one may find up to 90 or 93 o/o Whites there; in those attended by students of the intermediate social group one finds 15 to 25 o/o colored students, very light as a whole (1).

[127] [114]

1. These data have been drawn from the reports of the secretariat of education of the State of Bahia and from the publications of the author on the anthropometric studies made in 1944 and 1947. For this work the author has proceeded with verifications in several public and private schools.

*563 873 In the public and private secondary schools the number of colored students, especially very dark ones, is smaller because they are attended in large part by young people planning liberal careers, which are, in a way, the lot of the Whites, although they are also accessible to colored persons. Among the young people of both sexes enrolled as students during the first three months of [162] 1950 at the Bureau of Identification of the civil police of the State, the following types were noted:

	Whites	Blacks	"Morenos"	"Pardos"	Métis	Total
Male sex . .	349	15	168	83	26	641
Female sex .	300	31	245	95	34	705
Total . .	649	46	413	178	60	1,346

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*563 162 873 The Whites make up scarcely half of the total, and it should be noted that the female group includes a higher proportion of colored girls. It is necessary to emphasize the fact that the public secondary schools recently established always include a larger number of students of dark color; 30 or 40 years ago it was extremely rare to see a Black in one of these establishments. Around *563 873 178 1915 one of these schools refused to admit a very dark student, which gave rise to a vehement protest by a black lawyer; wishing to explain the incident, the head of the establishment claimed to have acted in accordance with the standards in force, that is to say, under the tacit pressure of upper-class families. This opposition has considerably decreased as the social ascent of colored families, confined until then to the lower strata of society, developed. Nevertheless women's schools directed by the religious of foreign origin progressed more slowly in this respect, though already admitting very dark students. Numerous informants have attended the courses of private secondary schools, but most of them, from poor families, have studied in public schools.

*563 875 In the primary and secondary professorship there are also many colored persons, including Blacks and very Negroid métis... Even in the private schools there are colored professors. Some of the most famous professors of the Portuguese language, Latin, and mathematics with whom the young people of the most important families studied were, half a century ago, schoolmasters, priests, and very dark lawyers, of whom numerous intellectuals of Bahia still speak with admiration and respect today. In our times the number of primary professors of the male sex is much smaller, but the female teaching corps includes a large number of dark persons. A normal school maintained by the government of the State is attended by numerous dark girls of the lower and middle classes of the population. Among the teachers of primary instruction, says one of our informants, there is no racial distinction; numerous professors, although very dark, occupy the positions of director and school inspector, and in the schools themselves there is no racial separation between students and professors. The posts of secretary and director of the normal school of the State, as well as those of the college-preparatory secondary schools and public colleges, have many a time been occupied by very dark persons.

[SALVADOR]

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*563 872 572 565 In the public elementary schools the students, in general little conscious of their rank, have a tendency to mix indiscriminately. The informants in general do not recall discriminatory attitudes on the part of their white fellow-students and state /69/ that from these contacts result -- it is not uncommon to ascertain this -- close and lasting friendships. A woman of liberal profession established good relations with white colleagues of the upper classes during her school years, amicable relations that have lasted to this day. In working in the public schools of Bahia, a psychologist confirmed, however, that the children group themselves according to their physical type, but that they have a tendency to seek out in class children lighter than they as seatmates. It is understandable that in this phase of development and socialization of the child the latter has greater facility in identifying those of his group according to physical appearance, especially if he finds himself away from his family and is not influenced by the criteria of social classification current there. Even in the secondary schools, numerous informants say, the students group themselves according to their physical type, but especially in terms of social and economic rank; friendships between young people belonging to two extremes of the color scale are confirmed on each level; more rarely between different social strata. "The daughters of doctors, even if they are dark," a woman informant declared, "are treated with more attention by the professors and their companions than the Whites and the colored children who are poor." The relations between colored students and their Jewish comrades seem to be good, if one is to believe certain information.

*563 [217] In the libraries one can see students of very different types gathered around the same tables and working together. The colored students not only take part in groups on excursions, but sometimes are at the head of them; they happen to command their comrades of all types in the civic parades. A literary association founded by a black professor in a college-preparatory secondary school has white and colored members.

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*563 575 873 A very dark color may, however, create difficulties in some circumstances. One of the founders of the important association of students of secondary education was a dark mulatto, highly esteemed among his colleagues; it was, however, not possible for him to be elected president of the association because, as he was able to confirm, a white Communist colleague insinuated that so dark a young man would not have enough prestige before the educational authorities and the public. Elected vice-president he assumed the office of president only when the latter retired; he was then able to perform many accomplishments without encountering the obstacles that might have been connected with his "quality." When an excursion to another city was organized, a mulatto student felt that some of his /70/ comrades hesitated to include him in their group (1).

[564] [565] [113]

1. "In Brazil there is no caste line. As a colored man assimilates the standards of culture of the dominant class, he is treated as an equal, although one notes a strong tendency among the Whites to avoid relations with colored men in situations requiring a certain setting (diplomacy, elegant salons, military schools, etc.)," Guerreiro Ramos, "Contactos raciais no Brasil," Quilombo, 1st year, No. 1, Rio de Janeiro, 1948.

Taking account of this, he decided to withdraw discreetly and was congratulated by a white comrade for his "elegant gesture." [178] These two episodes occurred about ten years ago, and the informants say that they would hardly occur today, tolerance having become much greater.

*563 873 Relations between students and professors of different "quality" present nothing unusual in our day; they depend, as a general rule, on the psychological characteristics of both, rather than on their physical appearance. But there are white schoolmistresses in the *563 872 public elementary schools who appear more severe and sometimes

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*563 872 intolerant toward very black little girls, pardoning their mistakes only with difficulty and punishing them more severely than the Whites. An informant relates that in his school he heard the schoolmistress say: "This moleque (2)

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2. Moleque = term by which one designates the little children of black slaves; it also means an ill-bred, undisciplined young man; may be heard as a synonym for young colored man.

has no sensibility. Not only is he black, but he is not studious."

*563 873 The students of the secondary schools often admire their colored professors and treat them with the same respect as the white professors; their attitude may vary, however, according to the social rank of the schoolmasters of dark color. Some of them are particularly esteemed for their competence and for the gentleness of their manners. Others are accused of treating their students differently by appearing more exacting and sometimes harsh with the Whites; in such cases the students complain among themselves about the rudeness "of this Negro" and secretly circulate names and epigrams that allude to his Negroid features. There are, on the other hand, dark professors who have the reputation of mistreating the students of their own type, information that is challenged by some people; if this happens, says an informant, it is not because of hostility, but because of the desire to urge these students to work more and thus to distinguish themselves from the others. In the past, however, there have been white professors who openly humiliated the black students and treated them with hostility, which sometimes gave rise to violently aggressive reactions on the part of the latter. Some of these professors were still teaching 20

*563 873 178 or 25 years ago. All this could scarcely happen today, and if anything might cause an attitude of /71/ this kind to be suspected, the milieu reacts sharply in disapproving the "racist" behavior. That is what happened this year when in one public school a professor used words that were interpreted as a contemptuous allusion to

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* 563 873 178 the black color of a female student. The complaint that the father of the latter made in a newspaper was immediately published with a very vehement comment that obliged the accused to defend himself. "In olden times," says a mulatto intellectual, "colored students suffered a great deal. Today, it is enough that they are honest and have real worth for their merit to be recognized." And he adds that in the establishment where he teaches and which he has directed, he has seen white students speak out in positive fashion against all racial discrimination with regard to their colored fellow-students.

* 563 873 Among the professors whom the students of a private secondary establishment honored at the end of the courses in 1950, there were two morenos, two mulattoes, and one Black; ten out of 39 students were métis. Out of the 137 persons graduated by the philosophy faculty of the University of Bahia between 1945 and 1950, among whom a large number intended to take up secondary teaching, 2.9 o/o were black, 33 o/o were pardos and 63 o/o were white.

[555] Education, as one sees, is a very important factor in our city for the social ascent of colored people.

/72/ Religion

* 563 794 The religious institutions of Bahia reflect the structure of the classes and the local social organization. The devout Catholics attend the same churches, mingle in the choir and at the communion table, independently of their "quality." In the solemn [796] festivals organized by the brotherhoods and the associations or carried out by the parishes in honor of their patron saints, one can see Whites, mulattoes, and Blacks gathered together in the places reserved at the high altar, along with the guests of honor, the "presidents of brotherhoods," and the "Maecenases" (festeiros) entrusted with the preparation and financing of these celebrations. Likewise, in the processions, men and women of all types carry [788] the litters of the sacred images that march past, or crowd around them. In the sacred associations there is no longer any discrimination; since, however, some of them are made up of people different [565]

[SALVADOR]

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* 563 794 [565] social classes, the proportion of colored people varies from one to another. This is particularly striking in the brotherhoods and third orders, associations that have centuries of existence, founded for purposes of spiritual perfection, almost all long since transformed into organizations of charity and mutual aid. These organizations have always been very important in all of Latin America for marking or confirming the social classification of their members. When a biographical sketch of a distinguished person is published in a newspaper of Bahia, it always mentions the brotherhoods to which he belongs or in which he occupies a management position. During certain large religious festivals one can see men who are not "practicing" Catholics personally appear with their brotherhoods or third orders, dressed in costumes characteristic of these same societies, a torch in their hand, carrying the canopy and marching in a group. It is greatly desired to be able to become part of these institutions that give evidence of the high position and the prestige that one has acquired. The elections for the management of one of these brotherhoods, upon which hospitals, orphanages, and old people's homes depend and which administer a rich endowment, arouse extraordinary interest among the great merchants and the people of liberal professions who are members of them. The office of headmaster, that is to say, of president, an office to which no remuneration is attached and which demands great devotion, is very eagerly contended for, because it offers its holder the possibility of augmenting his social and political prestige and of showing his administrative abilities. These organizations were created in the colonial period in order to gather together, under the aegis of /73/ the Church, as happened in Portugal, persons of different social and economic groups for the purpose of spiritual improvement, but also in order to permit them to show their rank. Thus it is understood that even today they are arranged in hierarchies according to class lines, although the distinctions that separate them are in the process of becoming less clear and less rigid every day, with new conditions of urban life and with the appearance of other institutions having similar social aims. There are, for example, although

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*563 554 794 relatively decadent and less exclusive, brotherhoods of "colored men," which in olden times grouped together sometimes slaves, sometimes free Blacks or even mulattoes. A few of them still march in the processions, wearing their insignia and their livery and celebrating the festivals of their patron saints in the chapels on their premises with a pomp and luxury greatly reduced in comparison with the brilliant solemnities of their glorious period. But for many men of this type it is an honor to belong to these brotherhoods and to take part in their management committees. It is always a proof of prestige within the group. The brotherhoods and third orders of persons of high rank are always prosperous; in their rules or "compromises" it was formerly stipulated that only "gentlemen, white and of certain professions, would be permitted to be registered in them. The statutes of one of these brotherhoods still contain the following stipulations: "Art. 4. In order to become part of the brotherhood it is necessary: 1st, to practice the Roman Catholic religion; 2nd, to be more than 40 years old and to be of white color; 3rd, to have irreproachable moral and religious conduct and to live honestly from some employment, office, industry, or income; 4th, not to have been convicted of any dishonorable offense and not to have been expelled from any religious or secular corporation, except if one can prove that one has been 'rehabilitated.'" But more than a century ago the con-
[178] cept of "white" began to be enlarged in order to permit the admission of mulattoes, either married to Whites of noble families, or wealthy, or occupying an outstanding social position (1).

1. Gilberto Freyre, op. cit., II, p. 669.

*563 794 Although the arrangements relative to the "color" of their members or their "brothers" have become a dead letter or have completely disappeared from their statutes, people maintain that some of these brotherhoods do not accept colored persons, at least if they are not, one informant told us, nearly white pardos. People illustrate this assertion by citing the case of persons who did not ask for admission to these brotherhoods for fear of being refused, or of persons who, according /74/ to what certain informants assumed,

[SALVADOR]

/74 cont./

*563 794 were refused because of their "quality." Some of the examples mentioned are evidently a matter of class discrimination rather than of race or color. Nevertheless, a morena girl reports that, although she had satisfied all the requisite conditions, she was unable to enter a third order because, as a member of the management of the order told her, it did not accept colored persons. Nevertheless in almost all the most important brotherhoods there are light "brothers" of mixed blood, who are "socially white," and even dark mulattoes. The proportion in which such persons *563 794 463 are accepted varies according to the professional tradition of each organization. In those where merchants predominate, one finds a reflection of what has taken place in commerce: the number of dark persons is smaller there; the Father who directs one of these has more than once cautioned his associates against the opposition they show toward admitting into their ranks dark individuals who otherwise satisfy all the moral and spiritual conditions required. In the brotherhoods controlled by the liberal professions, and above all in those that from organizations of classes have become organizations of charity and mutual aid, one finds numerous colored persons, even in positions of management. In one important brotherhood frequently mentioned by the informants as being very discriminatory, 49 o/o of the members are merchants, 22 o/o practice a liberal profession, 7 o/o are in the bureaucracy. Thus, out of the 1,004 members whose portraits can be consulted in the files of the association, 81 o/o have a white phenotype, 15.64 o/o are morenos, and 2.88 o/o light mulattoes; all the director-members are white. In another brotherhood, traditionally governed by judges, lawyers, physicians, and other members of liberal professions, there are 11 pardos among the 34 members of the board of management; in the list of its "brothers" one can identify numerous métis and even a very dark Black who occupies an important public office. The priests who supervise this brotherhood, members of a *563 794 793 797 foreign religious order, have the right to put their veto against the names of candidates whom they judge not to be suitable for any reason whatsoever; they are not bound to give the reason for their decision; numerous members state that these priests almost always

[SALVADOR]

/74 cont./

*563 794 793 797 [554] give the reasons that make them oppose someone's acceptance, and that they do not use their rights to prevent the acceptance of a candidate solely because of his color. A pardo who has occupied important positions in the administration of the State and who even reached the highest offices of his brotherhood asserts that the fathers who direct it, although the majority are Europeans, maintain the best relations with /75/ dark colored persons and even appear very affectionate toward them; colored persons are able, as may be seen, to be classified socially or to confirm their status by means of institutions. The Catholic religion offers them other, similar

*563 794 554 means. This is what happens, as we have already indicated, with regard to the "judges" and the festeiros, persons chosen each year to solicit donors and to organize the solemn festivals of the patrons of the church or chapel. This choice, made by the priest responsible or by the management of the religious associations, is based on social and economic prestige, much more than on other personal attributes (except morality and reputation); thus, color has never excluded anyone from one of these functions. An observer who has often dealt with these matters can testify to this.

*563 793 [175] [567] The Catholic priesthood is no longer a privilege of finos Whites. The ecclesiastical constitutions in force during the period of slavery forbade the ordination of slaves, so that priests should not be subject to a servile condition, deprived of the liberty and authority necessary for the practice of their ministry. Slaves were excluded, not Blacks, so that at the beginning of the last century foreign travelers were astonished to see black and mulatto priests officiating in the churches of the principal Brazilian cities. At

[555] the end of the eighteenth century colored men were able to take holy orders, and the Church became a means of social ascent "for all kinds of persons of humble circumstances, whatever their racial or family origin (1)."

[113]

1. Roger Bastide, "Religion and the Church in Brazil," in Brazil, Portrait of Half a Continent, p. 339.

[SALVADOR]

/75 cont./

*563 793 Since that time priests who were black and of mixed blood began to distinguish themselves, in Bahia as throughout the country, as sacred orators, professors of Latin, of philosophy and rhetoric, of Portuguese, and as superiors and directors of educational institutions, prefects of studies, etc. Proud of this, the Blacks expressed their antagonism toward the mulattoes and caboclos by repeating [539] this quatrain:

> I have seen many Negroes
> At the altar in the act of saying Mass
> And the caboclo, all that he achieves
> Is to be usher.

*563 792 829 [797] In the religious orders, directed in general by European monks or of European structure, the prejudice that maintains that the métis find it difficult to be faithful to the vow of chastity persisted for a long time. Such a belief must have strongly influenced the opposition to the ordination of colored religious. An /76/ intellectual of dark color relates that during his youth, more than 40 years ago, he, wishing to become a priest, entered a religious order, but the superior of the monastery to which he applied, a Spaniard, advised him to seek another path. Astonished by this refusal, he demanded an explanation, and the superior told him that he might find it difficult to subject himself to the discipline, because men of his type are obliged to make great efforts to remain chaste. And since the informant thought that in the secular clergy he would be very much in danger of betraying his trust, he gave up his idea. Thus, even today, the religious orders include very few métis. [178] The situation is beginning to improve, however, with the ordination of some moreno and light mulatto monks; in an apostolic school in which one of these orders trains young men wishing to embrace the religious life, there is at present a majority of pardos and caboclos recruited from among modest families of the interior, particularly in the rural area of the northeastern part of the State of Bahia. Light mulattoes, ordained in the course of recent years, have been trained in the same school. In the *563 562 792 178 female religious orders the difficulties for the acceptance of colored girls are very much greater. Not only are some of them directed by European religious, but there still persists the Portuguese

[SALVADOR]

/76 cont./

*563 562 792 178 tradition of accepting as religious only the daughters of nobles and of high colonial officials, and as "servants" girls of colored or humble extraction. Therefore, the number of morenas or very light mulatto religious is minimal and all are of recent admission.

*563 793 [829] There is also a prejudice, widespread among the priests of the secular clergy, that "the mulattoes are very inclined to concupiscence and to arrogance when they are intelligent." Nevertheless dark priests are ordained. At least 30 o/o of the 176 priests ordained at the archdiocesan theological seminary of Bahia between 1907 and 1951 were colored; among 50 colored priests identified in the register, at least seven were very dark or black. Approximately the same proportion can be noted among the 42 secular priests living in the city. Among those who are best known as sacred orators and who are invited to preach on solemn occasions in the ecclessiastical life and in the religious ceremonies that precede the examinations of the different schools of the local university, there are numerous pardos and Blacks, some of whom enjoy a great deal of prestige as vicars of important parishes, as professors, and as men of letters. The theo-[874] logical seminary of the archdiocese also includes at present an increased number of young colored students, made up of dark mulattoes and Blacks.

/77/ Sports

*563 526 In no matter what study of the most popular sports of Brazil, whether it is a matter of football, rowing, basketball, volleyball, or tennis, it is indispensable to consider that some of them are practiced by certain socio-economic groups and that others, after having been a pastime of some of these groups, have become a profession.

*563 526 575 Tennis in Bahia is a bourgeois sport that an extremely limited number of people play. On the grounds of one of the principal clubs where this sport is played one does not see colored persons, except now and then one or two morenos of high rank from the liberal professions or from commerce. A mulatto practicing a

[SALVADOR]

/77 cont./

*563 526 575 liberal profession relates that he was more than once invited by the members of this club to join their teams, but he answered them: "You are all white. If one day when I might wish to play with a white girl she refused because I am mulatto, I would be capable of doing something foolish... It is much better to avoid this."

[565] Basketball and volleyball are also games played by the young people of the intermediate and upper classes, members of sporting and recreational clubs. Some of the "teams" as an exception, admit dark players capable of contributing to their victory; the portraits of these players may be seen in the halls of the luxurious buildings of some of these clubs. There are, moreover, some school teams on which students of different types take part.

[178] In the rowing clubs, an informant assures us, discrimination against colored persons was such some ten years ago that a group of dark young men founded a separate club that was allowed to pit itself against the others. Other informants explain, however, [565] that this discrimination was based on the fact that rowing has always been a sport of the bourgeoisie (students of the intermediate class, commercial employees, officials of the higher categories); no one of inferior rank, that is to say, of subordinate occupation (soldiers, domestics, laborers), was accepted on the teams. For some years, however, on the occasion of important competitions, certain clubs have temporarily completed their nautical teams with colored rowers taken from more plebeian teams. It is generally a matter of semiprofessional sportsmen of modest circumstances.

*563 526 The truly popular sport throughout the country is football. Groups of players, having a permanent or temporary organization, practice this game almost everywhere. Football games /78/ arouse extraordinary enthusiasm, especially among persons of the male sex, draw thousands and thousands of spectators to the stadiums, and bring in a great deal. At the beginning of the century football, introduced into Brazil by young men reared in England, was a pastime of the bourgeoisie; on their "teams" there were probably never, or very rarely, young colored men. One

[SALVADOR]

/78 cont./

* 563 of the latter, however, was part of these teams for many years
526 and was known and admired by the entire city. About 30 years
[178] ago football started to become professional; today there are few
[575] important clubs for amateurs. In the present phase that of professionals, there is no restriction against mulatto or black players.
* 563 They are acclaimed with enthusiasm, and many people consider them
542 exceptionally suited for this game because of their agility and
555 their skill. The most important and the richest clubs wrangle over
554 these players and offer them very large sums so that they will consent to play on their teams. Thus several of them are made up almost exclusively of dark players. The most popular footballers of Bahia are almost all black or dark mulattoes. It should be noted, however, that the fame and the popularity of these sportsmen, in large part recruited from the lowest strata of the population, do not confer on them a higher rank: they have access to certain groups who are particularly interested in the sport; but they do not thereby acquire the right to attend the recreational celebrations of certain clubs, except on very rare occasions. Another aspect of football is that its "teams" are organized and supported by associations that generally also carry on recreational activities and are directed with passionate devotion, even at the price of pecuniary sacrifices, by rich and influential people in commerce, the liberal professions, and the bureaucracy. To take part in the management of one of these associations or on the committee that co-ordinates sports activities throughout the State of Bahia is greatly coveted: this permits one to affirm his prestige and to obtain political support from players and from thousands of fans of the sport. Some politicians distinguish themselves by the effort they make to obtain subventions and other resources for the sporting associations. According to the social level of each of these institutions, the opportunities that colored persons have to take part in their management vary. An informant who for many years was a member of the aforementioned committee cites the names of various mulattoes and Blacks who, by their wealth and their devotion, attained the posts of president and of director of several of these organizations, as well as of the sports federation of the State.

5: Azevedo--102 D, Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[SALVADOR]

/79/ The Liberal Professions

*563 463 555 One of the aspects of social mobility in Brazil is the fact that a colored person from the most humble economic condition is able, thanks to his talent and effort, to elevate himself to a high position in the liberal professions and in the intellectual milieus, achieving in this way a status far above that into which he was born (1).

1. "The entire organization of the society tends to take on the form of an order of free competition, in which individuals find their place thanks to the criterion of professional competence and to chance, more than by racial origin." Pierson, op. cit., p. 420. The same remark is found in the book by Ruth Landes, The City of Women, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1947, p. 60.

One of the ways of elevating oneself socially, for everyone, is to practice a liberal profession and to acquire in it the flattering title of doctor, which, almost without discrimination, one bestows in speaking to university graduates. And this is possible [873] for colored persons as well as for whites, for in Brazil there are no separate universities for "Negroes"; all accept any student whatsoever. A black lawyer of African origin, already mentioned for his vigilant attitude on behalf of people of his race, has written: "For them (the Blacks) are open the wide doors of the temple of science, the fine arts, commerce, industry, and scientific agriculture, where, on a par with his white brother, the Black receives teaching that will render him capable of proving himself strong in life's struggle and of attaining the goal that he sets for himself in the arcana of law and justice, of medicine, in the intricate mysteries of engineering, of commerce, of industry, and of work" (2).

[113] 2. Alakija (Maxwell P. Assunçao), "A parábola da velhinha /The parable of the little old man/," A Tarde, Bahia, 17 August 1922.

[SALVADOR]

/79 cont./

*563 873 178 511 With the gradual rise of the standard of living of the lower strata of the population and with the augmentation of facilities granted to poor students in the framework of secondary education, thanks to the creation of new free colleges, the number of colored students is rising from day to day.

*563 555 593 873 Moreover, many fathers and, in the case of young colored people, many mothers of very modest circumstances make extraordinary sacrifices to assure their children a diploma that will permit them to practice a liberal profession. As a result, in the various faculties of the University of Bahia there are numerous

*563 571 873 colored students who share the life, the studies, the diversions of their white comrades and who form groups with them according to their social rank and the center of their intellectual and academic interest. If one sometimes sees groups made up solely of young colored people, it is nevertheless certain that in the university there is no intentional or permanent segregation /80/ based on classifications of "race" or "quality." In no other environment is there more harmony and less tension in interracial relations, the informants unanimously declare. Nevertheless events whose meaning could be debatable, and which some students attribute to race prejudice, do take place. There are even students who have a tendency to remain isolated during all their years of study; certain informants say that they adopt such behavior in the hope of avoiding annoyances that might be on account of their racial affiliation. Others claim to have had difficulties when they made their application to groups of excursionists or when they took part in oratorical contests, the winners of which were to go to Rio de Janeiro as representatives of the students of Bahia. One man practicing a liberal profession, very dark in color, said that he had never suffered from discrimination when he attended the university, but that he had heard his white comrades speak of people of his type by designating them with the pejorative term of "Negro." The interpretations of the informants on the subject of the preceding facts vary, however. Some think that these episodes are caused by the feeling of inferiority and the timidity of students of very low social status. With

[SALVADOR]

*563 873 571 /80 cont./ regard to this, one mulatto asserts that the black students are mistreated by their white comrades on the occasion of the trote inflicted on the calouros by the veterans (1);

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1. Trote = jokes and humorous ceremonies with which the older students, the veterans, receive into the schools of the university those newly admitted, or calouros.

two persons practicing a liberal profession and with very pronounced Negroid features asserted exactly the opposite. The esteem of black and mulatto students for their comrades, and the attentions of which they are the object when they show themselves gifted and industrious, are also proof of the harmony of which we have spoken. At the time of the distribution of diplomas, students of all types are mixed together without distinction and embrace one another as a sign of rejoicing; likewise, in the large pictures showing the portraits of the recipients with the insignia of each discipline, the latter are grouped according to the State from which they come (the University of Bahia includes students from different regions of Brazil), but never according to their physical type. The relations between students and professors are likewise good, the "quality" of one or the other influences their relations only in an altogether exceptional way. There were formerly, in the years that followed the abolition of slavery, university professors who were opposed to the entrance of black students in their faculties and who would have liked to prevent them from attending their courses. Such an attitude was sometimes manifest and it did happen that it obtained the tacit support of certain persons; but it was disapproved of /Figs. 9 and 10 appear here/ /81/ on the whole. Only one informant asserted that in the faculty he attended the colored students did not enjoy the same facilities as the Whites. Nevertheless the prize that one of the faculties offers annually to the student who has completed the courses with a total of the highest marks has often been won by young colored people. Black and mulatto

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 107]

5: Azevedo--105 D. Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[Salvador]

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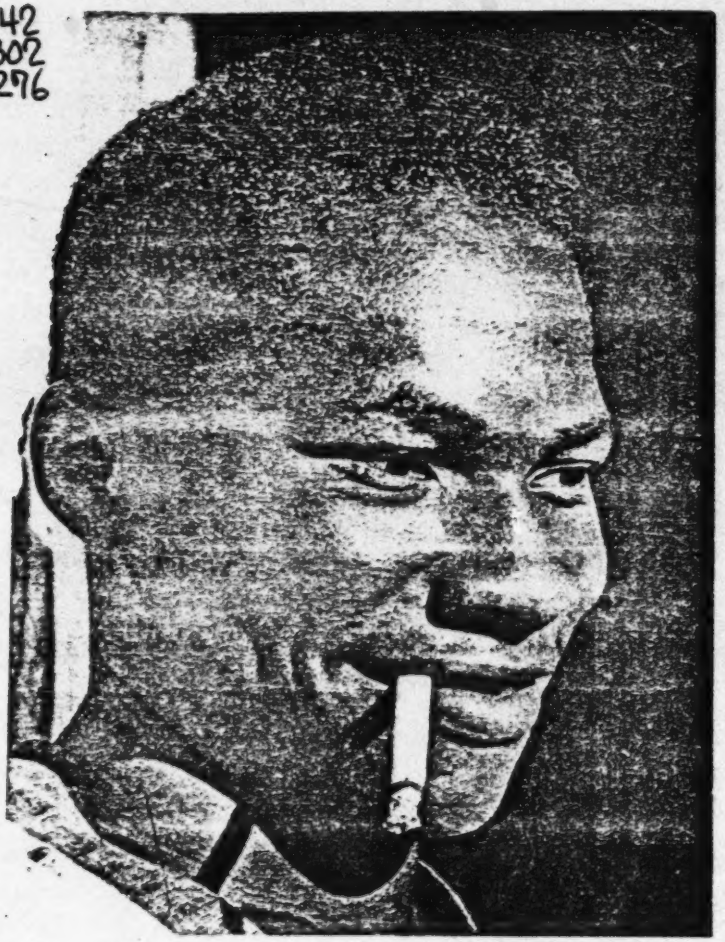

9. Black artist.

5: Azevedo--106 D. Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[Salvador]

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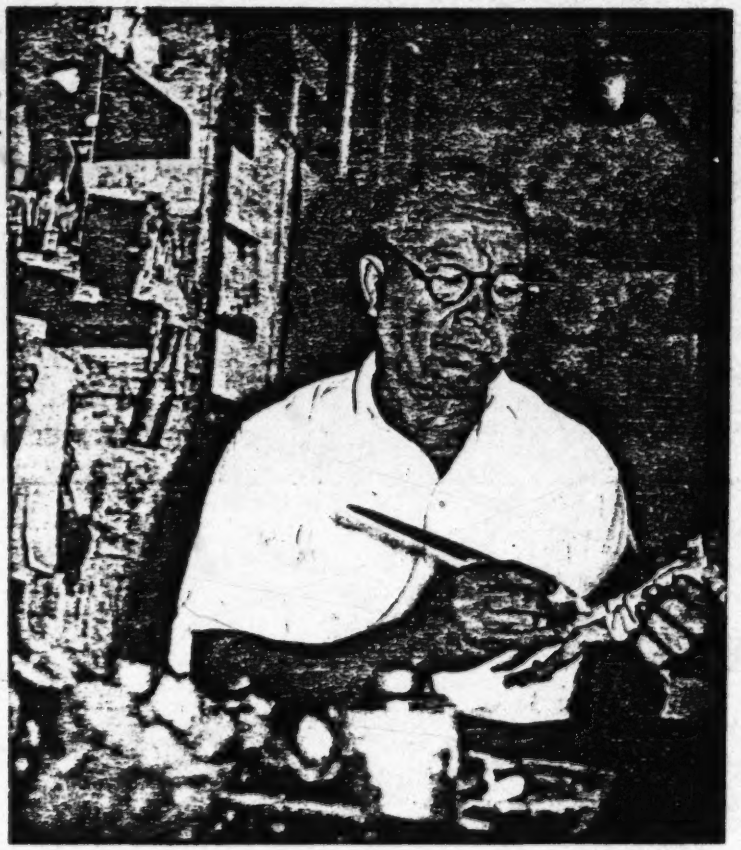

10. A colored artisan.

[SALVADOR]

/81 cont./

*563 571 873 students are admitted, like the others, as probationers at the palace of justice, in the laboratories, in the hospital services of the university, etc., and sometimes enjoy exceptional facilities in pursuing instruction given under the guidance of a professor of renown. It is said, however, that formerly a school for civil *563 874 engineers did not readily admit colored students. This school is particularly strict, and, because of the limited opening that Bahia [178] represented for engineers some years ago, it had a very small number of students; in [illegible]e of this, it awarded diplomas to Blacks and to mulattoes, some of whom achieved a first-class position in their profession or elsewhere; among these is the present director of the school. If one takes at random the lists of students graduated in the course of different years, one can confirm that all types are found among them, the proportion of those with very dark skin being very high. The fact that there are very few civil engineers who are really black is explained by the small number of diplomas awarded by this school in comparison to others of the University of Bahia (1).

1. The Polytechnical School of Bahia in 1918 awarded diplomas to 23 students, two of them mulattoes; in 1948 it awarded a diploma to 51 students, among them one Black and ten métis, and in 1949 to 68 students, among them six métis.

*563 873 875 According to a mulatto informant, "there is a sector prohibited to Blacks and to colored persons: the university professorship." And he relates that having been a candidate for a university chair himself, anyone could say that his competence was unquestionable, but that "he was a mulatto..." Nevertheless he was accepted. Two other informants relate that a young man practicing a liberal profession, assistant in one of the faculties, had been excluded because he was mulatto, despite his recognized competence. The facts seem to contradict such interpretations, for all the faculties of Bahia have always had colored professors, though in different proportions. In the gallery of portraits of the oldest among them,

[SALVADOR]

/81 cont./

*563 873 875 the faculty of medicine, one can see at least eight pardos and morenos who taught there during the first half of the last century (2).

2. The colored candidates sometimes encountered serious difficulties in getting on the higher staffs of the professorship. One of them, Dr. Luiz Alvares dos Santos, in the thesis that he wrote in 1859 in order to become a professor in the faculty of medicine of Bahia, complained of having suffered rebuffs, which he attributed to the fact that he was of mixed blood. After three attempts he nevertheless ended up by being admitted.

In a list of 99 professors now at the university one counts 15 morenos and mulattoes, and /82/ an identical proportion among the assistants. Never is the scientific and social prestige of university professors measured by the pigmentation of the skin, and some of the most renowned intellectuals of Bahia are colored professors whose names are the pride of their faculties. Numerous finos white students are honored to have prepared their doctoral thesis under the direction of these professors and to have done their practical studies with them.

*563 463 555 The liberal professions are indubitably the most direct path of social ascent for persons who are colored and of modest milieu. With regard to these professions, even in the ones that are most on view persons of all types can have a career and build up a clientele, particularly as far as doctors and lawyers are concerned, among the upper-class Whites. The persons practicing a liberal profession whom federal and state organizations register and supervise are divided up as follows:

[SALVADOR]

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Professions	Total number	Percentage		
		Whites	Métis	Blacks
Lawyers	1,088	68.8	30	1.1
Civil engineers .	518	72.8	26.8	0.3
Physicians . . .	1,712	81.1	16.9	2
Pharmacists . .	173	82	14.4	3.6

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Men of all types occupy posts in public administrations and have management posts in them; they can reach the highest offices without having this provoke comments by their subordinates. Some of the better physicians in Bahia have been colored men whose names are recalled with respect and gratitude. A dark mulatto, brother of a female informant, was classed in first place, along with two white colleagues, in a competition for an important technical post. According to other informants, however, the exclusions formerly suffered by the candidates for the posts of the magistracy were attributed to race prejudice. "One did not openly deny the merits of colored candidates, but in the classification they always figured in second or third rank, although they achieved excellent tests," one informant tells us, and he adds that a certain colored candidate, after having been approved, saw his appointment postponed on several repeated occasions. In spite of this, there are in the judicial magistracy numerous morenos and dark colored men occupying the positions of judges, prosecutors, and praetors. The highest tribunal of the State includes about one-third colored judges, some of whom have assumed the /83/ presidency of the court of appeals. Other positions connected with judiciary power are also filled by colored men, and it is the same for those of clerk of the court. The positions of notary, for example, very lucrative positions, are filled by persons of great prestige. Among the five notaries of the city one is fino white, of aristocratic family, and has already occupied important political posts, among them that of governor of the State; another, a very black Black, is very much appreciated for his moral qualities.

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[SALVADOR]

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*563 463 The proportion of colored persons in each liberal profession depends on various factors. In those that have the least prestige (agricultural engineers as compared to civil engineers, non-graduate lawyers as compared to graduate ones) this proportion is *563 759 larger. A very black student of medicine calls attention to the fact that the Blacks in general do not devote themselves to surgery: "Some take up this specialization, but end up by remaining in the general clinic. Odontology is not a good career for them either: what well-dressed white girl would wish to open her mouth *563 758 759 743 565 in front of a Black?" In the hospitals, physicians and attendants of all types care for the sick, who are all gathered together according to their maladies and according to their rank, and not according to their color; in the private clinics that take patients of the higher classes, everyone is admitted, provided that he can pay the price demanded.

*563 554 463 [301] The title of "doctor" and the marks of deference due a graduate are given without distinction to black or white persons who practice a liberal profession, which is why some of them have retained the habit of wearing on one of the fingers of the hand a "symbolic ring" of their profession, in order to be able to be identified and treated with the requisite consideration. Moreover, a Black may manifest the desire to practice a liberal profession without encountering hostility or scorn on the part of the Whites. In spite of this, some tens of years ago there were professors who humiliated a black student showing little intelligence or little industry, by saying "while so many people need a cook or laundress, there are Blacks who have presumed to become doctors." The author asked [124] the professors of a primary school of the State for permission to question its 93 most advanced students, of both sexes, about the careers that they wished to take up later. The percentage of replies received, according to sex and type, were:

[SALVADOR]

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Career chosen	Whites		Mulattoes		Blacks	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Prestige careers (1)	80	62.50	33	46.80	44	15.70
Modest careers (2)	20	37.50	67	53.20	56	84.30

1. Merchant, civil engineer, physician, farmer /Fr. fermier/, accountant /Fr. comptable/, woman doctor, dentist, lawyer, engineer (woman), accountant /Fr. comptable/, pianist, official, professor.

2. Mechanic, salesman, printer, chauffeur, tailor, bookkeeper /Fr. comptable/, saleswoman, typist, dressmaker.

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555 One may make two observations on the subject of these replies. The first is that schoolchildren of modest families, between 12 and 15 years of age, mulatto as well as black, manifest the intention of adopting prestige careers in which Whites predominate. This may denote their desire to escape situations socially and economically inferior; it may also express their faith in the possibility they have of realizing these aspirations, a possibility that would be refused them in a society with racial discrimination. The second observation is that the white persons to whom these replies were shown manifested neither surprise nor reprobation concerning the aspirations of colored children.

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538 In Brazilian folklore there is an anecdote that proves how much Bahia is known as a place where Blacks can acquire status by means of the liberal professions. It is said that a Black, very well dressed, arrived in the State of Ceara and the first person he met called him "doctor." Amazed to see that his rank had been guessed, the Black asked how his interlocutor could know that he was a graduate. And the reply was very clear: "A Black so well dressed can only be a servant among the English or a doctor in Bahia."

5: Azevedo--112 D, Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[SALVADOR]

/85/ The Intellectual Life

*563 554 538 The reputation of an intellectual is independent of his racial "quality." The biographies of illustrious Bahians do not mention their racial affiliation, an omission that constitutes a serious handicap for those who study the contribution of colored men to science, to letters, and to the arts of our city. With the exception of the case, for example, of an article on "Men of black color in the history of Bahia" (1),

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1. "Os Homens de côr preta na Historia da Bahia," by M. Querino, in Revista do Institute Geographico o Historico da Bahia, Vol. 48, 1923, p. 353 (38 brief biographies).

or some short studies of the same kind, it is practically impossible, unless one refers to other sources, to find out who the colored men who have distinguished themselves by their talent have been (2).

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2. M. Querino, As artes na Bahia e Artistas Bahianos /The Arts in Bahia and Bahian Artists/; S. Bocanero Junior, O Teatro na Bahia, 1812-1912, Bahia, 1915; Gonçalo Moniz S. Aragao, A Medicina na Bahia, Diário Oficial, ed. do Centenario, 1923; C. Torres, Vultos, fatos e coisas da Bahia /Faces, Things, and Affairs of Bahia/, Bahia, 1951; and others.

Thus, several months ago, in celebrating the first centenary of the birth of Manoel Querino, who was a mulatto of dark complexion, a newspaper described him as "a poor and artistic Bahian who distinguished himself as a traditionalist historian, folklorist, ethnographer, sociologist, educator and 'leader' /quoted in English/ of the working class to which he belonged and which he tried to elevate."

[SALVADOR]

/85 cont./

* 563 554 571 Among the intellectuals of whom Bahia is proud and who are included among its great names, there are some who are very dark. One of them, speaking of the mixture of races, says that "the descendants of the crossings mentioned are to be found in Brazil in all social classes, in all professions, even the most intellectual" (3).

[113] 3. Viuva J. Moreina, "Juliano Moreina e o problema do negro mestiço no Brasil /Juliano Moreina and the problem of the Negro mestizo in Brazil/," in Novos estudos afro-brasileiros /Recent Afro-Brazilian Studies/, G. Freyre and others, Rio de Janeiro, 1937.

The colored intellectuals not only do not form a separate group, but are judged and classed solely according to their talent and their works, and in scientific and literary associations occupy positions corresponding to their importance. When, in 1923, [520] the first centenary of the struggles for national independence in the territory of Bahia was commemorated, a very well-known photographer in the city, in collaboration with a historian and professor of the university, put together a large picture with the portraits of the Bahian intellectuals who at that time enjoyed the greatest renown: members of parliament, jurists, poets, prose writers, sacred orators, biologists, physicians, musicians, engineers, folklorists, educators, journalists, linguists of both sexes. Among the 79 intellectuals represented, one counted one cabôclo and 20 morenos and pardos, some of them quite /86/ pigmented. One of the four portraits most in view in the upper part of this composition was that of a dark mulatto, already mentioned above as a historian, engineer, and linguist; his picture was placed in the same port as that of Ruy Barbosa, a famous jurist and leader, who is considered "the greatest of Brazilians." The portraits of other métis appeared among those of numerous white intellectuals. [538] Among the recently published 100 biographies of the most notable Bahians of the period that extends from 1564 to 1925, there are 12

[SALVADOR]

/86 cont./

*563 554 571 538 métis celebrated as poets, jurists, linguists, physicians, and preachers, including a son of slaves, who, in the second half of the last century, because of his origin, had great difficulty in being accepted in a faculty of law of his country (1).

[113] 1. A. Loureiro Souza, Bahianos Ilustres, 1564-1925, Bahia, 1949.

All this testifies to the fact that intellectuals are judged according to the standards that apply to the whole of society, without color being taken into account. The literary critics, for example, affirm that the greatest living Bahian poet is a dark pardo and that a moreno is one of the best poets Bahia has had in recent decades. Moreover, the most listened-to literary and artistic critic, who died a few years ago, was a branqueado (whitened) mulatto, who exerted a great influence on the local intellectual [527] life. When, on the occasion of the 350th anniversary of the Lusitanian poet Camoens, the Portuguese colony celebrated Race Day, it was a dark mulatto who, in the name of Brazilians, gave the address of welcome to the Portuguese, while a celebrated sacred orator took the floor for the latter; in 1949, when the fourth centenary of the founding of the city was commemorated, the government of the State, in posthumous homage to this same mulatto intellectual, published one of his remaining unpublished historical works (2).

[113] 2. Teodoro Sampaio, Historia de Fundaçao da Cidade do Salvador /History of the Founding of the City of Salvador/, edited by the Secretaria do Educaçao e Saude, Bahia, 1949.

*563 554 571 The favorable position given colored people in the intellectual milieus is reflected in certain comments that we gathered in the course of our investigation on colored people. One of them made the following remark: "Colored people owe much to Whites, it is they who praise the Negroes of merit and who make known their name and their works." Another assured us that "among intellectuals there was no color prejudice."

[SALVADOR]

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*563 814 571 The Academy of Letters of Bahia, an institution that groups Bahian intellectuals of the greatest renown, includes among its 41 founders eight mulattoes of the most varied shades of skin. One of them, an educator of repute, became a /87/ national celebrity for his works on Portuguese grammar and for the polemic on linguistic problems that he carried on with his old disciple Ruy Barbosa. Two mulattoes -- a very distinguished professor of medicine and another, both an engineer and historian -- were corresponding members of this famous association. Since its founding in 1917, the Academy has counted among its members 15 morenos and mulattoes; among them are names of which Bahia is justly proud. The group of poets and prose writers who, [538] under the influence of symbolism, were originally part of an important literary movement was made up in large part of colored men.

/88/ Recreational Clubs

*563 575 The social and recreational clubs are the sector where admittance is the most difficult for persons of very dark color, if one is to believe the majority of informants. Some of them even declare that the obstacles that stand in the way of their entry into such organizations are due both to color prejudices and to the fact that these associations are dominated by the old families who resist the admission of members not belonging to their social and economic [565] group. It seems, however, that even in the very select clubs of Bahia there are fissures in the class barriers: none of these clubs can keep itself strictly closed nor strictly aristocratic either from the point of view of the filiation of its members to the old families or from that of their color. And this so much the more because the founder groups permitted, not only finos Whites, but persons "socially white" or "white in color" (brancas na côr).

[SALVADOR]

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"The truly black Black does not enter these clubs," says an informant, and if he happens to be accepted it is truly exceptional; in those of the highest classes he feels isolated at the meetings and celebrations. He is then obliged to form a really marginal group with those of his type. Very few persons with quite pigmented skin have been admitted to clubs of this category, according to what people assert, but if they are received, a black leader says, it is the "doctor" who is admitted and not the Black.

A quite pigmented girl who has been at dances in several of the clubs mentioned told her friends that "the clubs accepted her because she had graduated and that people did not have the courage to turn her away." One may imagine the astonishment that a woman of liberal profession caused in Rio de Janeiro, said one informant, by going, perhaps from provocation and undoubtedly because she was accustomed to the mores of Bahia, to a ball in one of the highest-class hotels of the city.

Nevertheless and on condition that they are "socially white," light individuals do not encounter barriers. The latter, moreover, fall away in proportion as the clubs are more modest. In the clubs of intermediate category or that try to improve their class and seek members of circumstances less low, the old members of very dark color are kept somewhat reluctantly, our informants declare, and new ones are not admitted. A mulatto informant who for many years took part in the management of one of these clubs said that the latter are in the process of "having a cleaning" and they take advantage of every occasion to eliminate undesirable members; /89/ this orientation is not accepted by all the directors and has brought about serious crises. One very dark man of liberal profession relates that about eight years ago he was invited to go to the headquarters of one of these organizations to help with the carnival processions; upon his arrival he felt that the porter hesitated to let him in. The friend who had invited him was not present, so he asked to see one of the directors of the association; the latter told him, while excusing himself a great deal, that it was not possible for him to let him enter, the club not being able

[SALVADOR]

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* 563 575 at that time to receive colored people. The informant adds, however, that he does not know of any other incident of this kind, and that he attributes it to the passing influence of some member of the management of the club in question. According to another informant, a mulatto of modest circumstances was recently unable to renew his registration at a club of which he was already a member: he attributed this refusal to his color, for he fulfilled the necessary conditions for his readmission. Thus there are clubs of intermediate category that are mentioned by the informants as being sometimes accessible to Blacks, sometimes inclined to exclude them.

Even in the most modest organizations, cases of discrimination may occur. About ten years ago an association of minor employees in commerce refused entrance to colored people during a festival it held at its headquarters. A few days later a similar association, announcing by way of the newspapers an excursion that it proposed to organize in order to celebrate a national date, added that there would be no "color distinction" and explained that the excursion would be "democratic." More recently one of the weekly newspapers of the city published the [204] following note on the subject of a club of intermediate class:

"The news that reaches us is grave; club X is taking a dangerous road: racism. In the course of the festival of the day before yesterday, at the moment when the ball was at its height, an 'Aryan' director expelled from the festival all persons of very dark color, which was very mortifying, particularly for the young people who were obliged to withdraw humiliated from the festival. If club X is against Blacks, its directors should notify their members in advance for all practical purposes. Never, in short, should they make them leave the premises, which is inelegant and could provoke reprisals."

Toward situations of this kind the attitude of the persons affected varies also. In certain cases they protest by way of the newspapers, [204] but one most frequently encounters an attitude of remoteness, of disaffection, toward the meetings and entertainments of similar

[SALVADOR]

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*563 575 [204] organizations, even among the little pigmented métis of relatively high rank, who, by their features and their social qualifications, could be accepted, but who, /90/ probably out of timidity, prefer to adopt a negative reaction of defense. Almost all claim to be of an eccentric nature, to have always lived very much apart, to have never learned to dance. Some go so far as to pretend that, even if they were accepted, they would very rarely go to a club celebration. One Black explains that "often Negroes do not encounter barriers because, knowing the racial prejudice, they do not go to certain places, particularly to the social clubs, for it is in connection with dancing that this prejudice manifests itself most." There are those who, agreeing with this opinion, console themselves by saying that "a Negro never goes to clubs, but he is admitted to scientific congresses and in intellectual milieus. Still others react like a black student for whom these refusals "ought to stimulate the reaction of colored persons so that those who have education finally endeavor to rise to the point of being amused. But it is the opposite that happens, they withdraw." In truth, there are few who are disposed to cope with the oppositions and those who are determined to do so may be accused, even by those of their type, of being "indiscreet" and of exposing themselves to useless conflicts by going where they have not been invited. Moreover, these attitudes are very typical of persons belonging to groups subject to discrimination and who think it is useless to react against the differential treatment that is applied to them. "I know a club to which some dark colored people were able to be admitted, but by provoking reactions," relates a rather pigmented man of liberal profession. "I do not want to subject myself to such an eventuality. I should be happy to be admitted, however, if I had a sufficiently powerful friend to introduce me and to overcome the resistance of the management committees. This, however, does not interest me, but it would be a favorable precedent for others; I also know that if this happened I would encounter the hostility of the white girls who would be very embarrassed to dance with a Black. On the part of the men there would be no opposition. A colored girl in similar circumstances

[SALVADOR]

/90 cont./ A colored girl in similar circumstances
*563 has greater advantages than a boy, for, being accompanied by a
562 friend or a relative, she is assured of dancing with him and with the
575 friends to whom he introduces her." But the colored girls, almost all the informants acknowledge, have much greater difficulty being accepted in the clubs, unless they are wives or members of the family of members. And the dark girls, for their part, fully accept this situation. In this they behave like "ignorant" colored men, someone remarks (1).

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1. The refusal of female Whites to dance with male Blacks, in Bahia and in the neighboring State of Sergipe, has already been pointed out, cf. Felte Bezerra, Etnias sergipanas, Aracajù, 1950, p. 246.

*563 Refusing to dance with young colored men /91/ is not only done
562 by Whites. A dark student says that she dances with any boy pro-
535 vided that he dances well, "even if he is a blackamoor (pretinho)." Another one, very light, frankly confesses that she does not experience any pleasure and even some shame in dancing with a man darker than she.

*563 The very select clubs having a predominance of members who
575 are merchants or connected with industry and the liberal profes-
463 sions accept only persons who are "socially white," that is to say,
554 showing the white type or classed as white; the clubs of small tradesmen and commercial employees, modest officials, and people practicing a liberal profession of lower category have a much higher number of colored members, including dark
*563 mulattoes and even Blacks. The proportion of the different types
575 encountered among the members of two clubs of the categories
554 mentioned above is the following:

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Club	Number of members	Percentage			
		Whites	"Morenos"	Mulattoes	Blacks
		%	%	%	%
High category	1,522	67.21	24.83	7.95	-
Middle category	1,115	38.02	35.78	25.56	0.62

[535] In the dance clubs of workers, domestics, soldiers, and day laborers, the Whites are a minority and the Blacks are in high proportion.

As has been said above, one of the conditions required for the admission of a colored person in the recreational associations of the highest categories is to have a solid economic basis or a doctor's diploma. Indeed, in the distinguished clubs mentioned in the table above, the group of merchant members includes 76.89 o/o of white phenotype, 16.50 o/o morenos, and 6.60 o/o light branqueados (whitened) mulattoes, while that of the liberal professions contains only 62.03 o/o of the white type, 30.05 o/o morenos, and 7.90 o/o mulattoes. This confirms the observa-
[555] tion that many people succeed in improving their social rank by way of the liberal professions, for they are thus able to be introduced into the brotherhoods and social clubs, organizations which, in addition to their specific functions, are very important in that they are, as it were, an index of the social position of the Bahians.

*563 575 Numerous informants assert that they would not make an application to these clubs on their own, but that they are /92/ sometimes introduced by white friends. It may also happen that such proposals remain without effect when the management committees learn that it is a matter of a very black person. The papers lie in the archives of the club, but the candidate is never told the real or presumed reason for his refusal. It is said of a

[SALVADOR]

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*563 575 mulatto professor that one of his friends wanted to enroll him in a club of the intermediate category located in a neighborhood of the same order, took his photograph for the club file, and ... never told him the result of his procedure; he concluded from it that the refusal was motivated by his "quality."

It is obvious that all the cases cannot be interpreted simply as examples of the screening carried on against colored persons. One notes, however, that this is a sector of social relations where there is a certain conflict, although the tension that results from it is concealed by a mechanism of accommodation on both sides. On the one hand, the clubs allege not to have in their statutes provisions that oppose the admission of colored persons, even black ones, and endeavor to give rational explanations for what the excluded candidates consider acts of discrimination; on the other hand, dark colored persons assume an attitude of negative defense by suppressing the aggressive impulses which usually result from states of frustration.

*563 571 574 In student celebrations that take place in the halls of the clubs of the highest category, restrictions against the entry of dark colored persons and against dancing between Whites and Blacks are considerably reduced. This is what the informants say, and observation altogether confirms this statement. In family reunions, not very frequent in our day among the upper classes, discrimination is relaxed. "Familiarity makes prejudices fall away," according to the utterance of a Black. "When a Black appears at a white family celebration," a student asserts, "he arouses a certain curiosity and a certain reserve until he is introduced and one knows who he is. But from the moment he is introduced, especially if he is a friend of the family, he does not encounter any difficulty in dancing even with white girls." "The girls in such cases do not, or very rarely, refuse to dance with a colored boy, especially if it is a matter of a student or a well-bred person; the mothers, however, create some opposition and appear uneasy to see their daughters approached by a dark young man, sometimes fearing that they will fall in love." This information is given by a mulatto practicing a liberal profession, who, when he was a student, took part in numerous family celebrations at the homes of Whites.

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/93/ Color Prejudice in Bahia

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Color prejudice may be analyzed either through the interpretation that the members of different ethnic groups give of it or by examining their behavior in its symbolic significance. Since the verbal expression of a specific social relationship does not always correspond to the reality of the fact itself, the investigator, in order to approximate objectivity, must attack the problem by the two methods indicated. It is not sufficient to listen to what the one or the other group says, but rather it is necessary to weigh the point of view of each one and compare it to the behavior observed.

In general, in the case of interracial relations, the opposing groups have different concepts about their respective situation. This is the case in Bahia, as the different ideologies that prompt and govern the relations prove.

For the Whites, whether they are truly white or socially white, there is no color or race prejudice in Bahia. One could make an anthology of opinions which vary slightly in terms, but which all express the same fundamental opinion, namely, that Whites and colored people represent "from this point of view an exemplary situation of harmony," as a local paper wrote a few months ago. It will suffice to cite the opinion of a very renowned writer, expressed in articles written at different times and somewhat far apart, that is to say, in the years 1932, 1949 and 1950, respectively, and published by an important newspaper of the city: "That is to say, it seems to us that the problem does not exist. It did not exist in São Paulo, certainly; it does not exist in Bahia. It is new, it is imaginary, it is not real."

[204]

"An isolated Negro problem does not exist in Brazil... There are even provinces in which one is not able to perceive, in the intimacy of person-to-person relationships, the presence of an obstacle that alienates them."

[SALVADOR]

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"We, the Bahians, we have in this respect an invariable opinion. Brazilian racial democracy consists expressly in repudiating any manifestation of privilege based on color, and we believe that these epidermic distinctions have no value over against a superior unity, from now on indissoluble, which is the moral unity of a people within the human unity of the country."

Two other white intellectuals, likewise very much in view, denounced in 1921 and in 1933 isolated attempts at caste separation "against which our entire history protests with indignation, against which our traditions rise up in an outburst of revolt"; they deplored "the stupidity that consists in blowing /94/ on the flame of racial hatred already forgotten ... sometimes nonexistent." After having lived many years in the city, a physician from another State declares that "this is without doubt the strongest impression that one receives and that one keeps of Bahia: the victory over racial prejudice and the presence of the Negro, the mulatto, and the White, who have a mulatto father and a black grandfather, in the social life."

This conception is not peculiar to finos Whites. It is also expressed by colored persons who have become integrated with the attitudes of the white group (1).

[114]

1. In the criticism of the article by Julian Steward, "Acculturation Studies in Latin America: Some Needs and Problems," Frank Tannenbaum declares that "In spite of slavery, in spite of an intermediate period, in spite of centuries of exploitation, the Negro has not only survived, but one may say that he is flourishing. And one may always ask oneself why. The answer seems to be that the Negro has accommodated himself to the culture of the white man, as the Indian never did ... Undoubtedly I shall be accused of exaggeration, but as far as this question is concerned I think that the Negro has become a white man with a black face," in American Anthropologist, Vol. 45, No. 2, April-June 1943, p. 205.

[113]

5: Azevedo--124 D. Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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A dark mulatto intellectual declares that "the Brazilians, because of the gentleness of their customs, have never experienced here the ferocity of this prejudice" (2).

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2. Teodoro Sampaio, speech in Rev. do Inst. Geogr. e Historico da Bahia, Year XXVI, No. 45, Bahia, 1919, p. 179.

The opinion of a light-colored lawyer is no less incisive: "Will the Negro constitute a specific problem within the bosom of the Brazilian community? Our determination not to admit, either theoretically or practically, color or caste prejudice among us is expressed by a definitive word: No" (3).

3. W. Morais, loc. cit.

The reaction of the majority of Bahians to a question bearing on racial discrimination in their territory would be the same as that of these three students of Bahia, one of them a pardo, who, speaking of a Communist congress abroad, published a declaration in which it was said: "Most deplorable was the activity of some Communist members of the Brazilian delegation. They insistently endeavored to defame the political and social organization of our country by exaggerating its errors and its imperfections to the point of declaring that there exists among us an odious racial discrimination."

While the "socially white" express themselves thus, certain Blacks and mulattoes express opinions not only different, but diametrically opposite. A man practicing a liberal profession, of whom we have spoken previously, wrote in 1922 that he observed on the part of certain influential persons "the intense desire to keep the black man in a state of segregation, although this desire was concealed." Several years later another leader of the same type, in an article entitled "The eternal injustice against the Black," confirmed this assertion by saying that "there is a prejudice whose aim is to lower on the human scale the descendants of Blacks among whom the percentage of African blood

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predominates." In /95/ speaking at a congress of Afro-Brazilian studies in 1935, a mulatto sociologist expressed himself in a very radical manner and undoubtedly charged with emotional violence due to the political excitement of the moment:

"Left to himself, master of a fictive freedom, badly paid, badly clothed, badly nourished, serving the game of economic events, brutalized by a job of ten hours a day under unhygienic conditions, enduring the racial oppression of white men (the lords of capital) and the scorn of the white proletarians themselves who inspired the bourgeoisie, putting into practice the old advice: 'divide and conquer,' the Negro lived from day to day... This situation has changed in the course of the last 60 years, it has changed for the worse (1)!"

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1. Edison Carneiro, "Situaçao do negro no Brasil /Situation of the Negro in Brazil," in Estudos afro-brasileiros, Vol. I, Ariel edition, Rio de Janeiro, 1935, p. 238.

A mulatto university professor, speaking during the handing out of university diplomas at the university, said a short time ago: "People state that the sinister racial problem does not exist among us, that the Black enjoys the same rights, the same prerogatives as the white man. This is a sad utopia. The upper sectors of the life of the country keep their doors closed to the Black." And another Bahian sociologist, a moreno, and one of the most influential leaders of "black" movements in Brazil, thinks that "the failures of colored men in our country have been attributed to racial prejudice, whereas they should very often be attributed to class prejudice."

A black informant, local head of movements of the same nature, asserted that there is active prejudice in Bahia, as throughout Brazil; he himself wished to protest against the declaration made to a newspaper by another black leader, according to which there is supposed to be no racial problem among us, although other Blacks asked him not to do so.

[SALVADOR]

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*563 829 Numerous informants admit that actually one can verify prejudices bound up with color, but they add that "this is a question of tradition in Bahia." According to one of them, "conservative persons transmit it to the new generations." The experiences of the informants vary, however. A moreno official, about 45 [178] years old, finds that at present prejudice is stronger than before: "It is possible that it existed previously, but it did not become evident. I know people full of merit who are treated with some contempt because of color. Many also withdraw, saying: now who will become intimate with me?..., I am black." A mulatto [178] merchant who has many white friends affirms that relations are getting better "on the intimate level": the Blacks and mulattoes are received in the homes, make friends, but "on the social level everything continues as in the past; the same /96/ white persons who make friends with colored people do not wish to admit them into their recreational societies and their other associations." It is not rare to hear it said that very dark persons experience a certain resistance in social and even professional life, and in private they frequently comment on this. Nevertheless it is very [171] often affirmed that the situation, from all points of view, is much better in Bahia than in the other States of Brazil; in certain of these States, in fact, and particularly in the industrial region of the south, it seems that there is real conflict between white *563 men and colored men. "In São Paulo, for example," says a man 829 practicing a liberal profession who has visited the States of the south several times, "their situation is worse because of foreign- 171 ers; in Bahia the advantage is that there are few foreigners." Others think that it is the Blacks themselves who, by their hostile attitude, have created the problem in São Paulo. "In Rio, where the milieu is more Brazilian, the situation is better." Some think that the foreigners, even in Bahia, are to a great extent responsible for the racial discrimination, although the majority of them adapt themselves to local customs and treat like Whites the colored men who have a high position. These comparisons are almost always accompanied by an account of incidents of discrimination and hostile antagonism, incidents which, according

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*563 829 171 t our informants, could not happen in Bahia (1).

1. One of the most frequently cited examples is that of the first-class hairdressers of Rio and São Paulo, who refuse to serve clients of dark color, even when they appear well dressed and with manners indicating a perfect education. One of the informants recalls that about 30 years ago, preparing to go to an audience with the governor of the State, he was unable, though he wore evening dress, to be shaved at the establishment of a mulatto hairdresser whom he knew; the latter made many excuses for this and explained to him that he had great difficulty with his white clients. Another affirms that one may note cases of this nature, but that, on account of the great number of American sailors "full of money" passing through since the last war, the barbers practice less discrimination against the local Blacks.

*563 178 [171] Almost all, or at least most, insist on saying that race relations in Bahia are in the process of perceptible improvement, although in other parts of Brazil they seem to be growing worse. With regard to tendencies toward racism there are, however, differences among colored people. "Racism exists, but it is hidden and hence in the process of disappearing," thinks a Black who practices a liberal profession, "but I do not believe that it will cease to exist entirely; it will always exist, though hidden and discreet." Another says that: "The situation has a tendency to change with the social ascent of colored people and with greater educational facilities. It may even grow worse, but it is now too late to separate the Whites from the Blacks, /Figs. 11 and 12 appear here/ /97/ if only because there are families in which some are dark and others may pass for Whites."

5: Azevedo--128 D, Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
[Salvador]

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11. A "mae de santo."

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12. Brotherhood of Blacks.

[SALVADOR]

/97 cont./

*563 Several facts reported in our account show that colored persons are subject, among us, to treatment that tends to class them according to category (1).

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1. Discriminatory judgment on the basis of prejudices bearing on the characteristics of groups or categories of certain individuals. Donald Pierson, "Contacto categórico /Categorical contact/," in Teoria e Pesquisa em Sociologia /Theory and Research in Sociology/, Melhoramento edition, São Paulo, p. 445.

*563 829 [565] The marks of this treatment, which frequently coincides with class feelings, may be seen in the personality of several of our informants. One of them makes a very expressive remark: "Prejudice really exists, no matter how much 'caste' is concealed. But, between denying the problem and wishing to give it excessive importance, there is nothing but a difference in the manner of formulating the beliefs and the defensive attitudes of the group concerned. The position of those who deny prejudice entirely is that of someone who formulates an ideal model of relations, prompted by the desire that the problem might not exist, or in the vain hope of contributing to what society evades" (2).

2. R. Almeida, loc. cit.

Those who exaggerate the proportions of this controversy are supposed to be maladjusted personalities (3).

3. Only a psychological study could elucidate up to what point the difficulties encountered by colored persons are really due to racial barriers, for, without denying that many persons may suffer opposition because of their color, it is also necessary to remember that these same persons may very well have recourse to certain stereotypes and to certain rationalizations in order to

[SALVADOR]

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project their deficiencies, their personality defects, and their professional incompetence on the Whites and their institutions. See on this subject Kimball Young, Handbook of Social Psychology, London, 1948, p. 277.

which is not always the case: exaggeration is a powerful means of drawing attention to a problem that one assumes to be non-existent or without importance, but it may also represent a form of aggression against the discriminator group.

*563 A white sociologist, who admits the existence of the problem, says very justly that "...this prejudice is nimble and cunning. It tries to hide in the folds of the unconscious of the collectivity and, ashamed of itself, reacts to attempts at expression or exposure to the light of conscience. The reaction is thus more vigorous when we suspect some effort to cultivate it. One tolerates the fact that prejudice lives as an unconfessed feeling of class or of social prestige, but one experiences an immediate repulsion when people try to raise it to the rank of an institution or of spirit of caste" (4).

[113]

4. Nelson Sampaio, "Democracia racial," Forum, Vol. IX, No. 21, Bahia, 1945.

/98/ The Black Movements in Bahia

*563 668

About 20 years ago, when the Brazilian urban proletariat began to become aware of its existence, there arose in the southern part of the country a movement intended to group together "the Brazilian Negro population" with the aim "of obtaining political representation, of defending the rights of Negroes and of elevating them on the educational level." From São Paulo, the most important Brazilian industrial center, the Black Front (Frente Negra) began to spread into other cities. In November 1932 a group of less than ten colored men of modest

[SALVADOR]

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*563 668 circumstances, almost all black, founded the Black Front of Bahia. Until that time the only organizations of "colored
*563 668 people" existing in the city were the brotherhoods and some workmen's and charity associations, none of which had as a
747 definite aim the defense of colored men against racial prejudice.
794 The Protective Society for Invalids, founded in 1832 as a religious and charitable brotherhood for persons "exclusively of black color," stated in a publication commemorating the centenary of its founding that "to speak of the ideal of the founder of this great work of philanthropy, it is to eliminate skin prejudice from Brazilian soil." This organization, however, does not include in its statutes, revised in 1948, or mention in its annual reports activities other than those of charity or mutual aid -- something that the informants, including members of the management, confirm.

*563 668 A local enterprise considered "an innovation for Bahia the news that colored men, against whom no distinction is made, are going to form a group." A professor of the university, in an ironic article on the Black Front, tried to advance the hypothesis that this movement was the result of Communist influence which profited from all occasional political agitation. One of the first activities of the Black Front, an activity which was disagreeable to dark persons of higher rank, says a mulatto informant, was a parade of poor Blacks along one of the commercial streets of the city, intended to show the misery in which they lived and to draw attention to the new organization. According to the same informant, the movement was "doomed to failure from its inception," for it was organized "as a kind of revolt." The founder and leader of this group, a worker who lived in São Paulo and took part in identical activities, harassed by financial difficulties and also yielding to what he himself, in an interview given to a newspaper, called his destiny of "wandering Jew," /99/ returned the following year to the southern part of the country, disappointed by the results of his enterprise, which found no support and soon died out.

[SALVADOR]

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*563 668 [669] [642] During this time political agitation increased in the country, a revolution broke out, and the parties of the extreme right and the extreme left made their appearance, thus increasing the confusion, which reached its height in 1937 with a dictatorship that lasted about eight years. During the first months of this same year there was founded in Bahia the Henrique Dias Society, named in honor of a black soldier who had become famous in the struggles against the Dutch invaders during the colonial period. The founders of this association, although much less numerous than those of the preceding one, were men of a higher professional and social position, though modest in the majority. The only intellectual leaders were a lawyer and former judge, the central figure of the group, 12 young physicians, a judge, a pharmacist, eight non-graduate lawyers, two journalists, a musician,and a university student; the other founder-members were 21 petty officials, three merchants, six civil constructors, 14 commercial employees, and 68 artisans. All signed the founding document. The society, according to its statutes, is composed of Brazilians, without distinction as to color, and its aim is "to fight for reconciliation and unity between persons of different color, to develop education, chiefly for the members and their families, to grant them all the assistance desired, to engage in sports and commemorate civic dates." One of the articles of these statutes stipulates that "homage will be rendered to persons who have accomplished a lofty deed for the defense of society, of country, and for the equality of the races." In a page of propaganda, the founder of the society explained that the name of the soldier of whom we have spoken above "symbolically expresses racial and social unity, for this is what Henrique Diaz was: an act of union between the black race, which did the physical work of Brazil, and the white race, which governed and defended it." Continuing the argument he added that "all this demonstrates the reason d'être of racial equality and the absurdity of prejudice, which endeavors to subordinate one race to the other," and he succeeded in justifying the existence of the Henrique Diaz Society, which, "having decided to lead the

[SALVADOR]

/99 cont./

*563 668 struggle against this prejudice, wishes to do so for the unity of individuals of different skins, for the realization of an educational program." "This association," its founder announced in a letter to the author of these pages, "was an outcome of the black fronts and was founded in order to combat the racial prejudice that Nazism wanted to introduce into our country when /100/ integralism (1)

[665] 1. A political movement of the extreme right, organized into a party. One of the principal national leaders of this party at that time published several books of anti-Semitic doctrine.

dominated. It should be noted that the situation was such that Negroes were afraid to be and to call themselves black, this making them suspected of Communism. And in fact a newspaper went so far as to say that this was Communism. But once the New State had disappeared (2),

[642] 2. The name given to the authoritarian political regime established by the dictatorship from 1937 to 1945.

[178] there came democracy and our society continued." The Henrique Diaz Society still exists, but has not acquired great prestige; its management rarely meets, and since its head has settled in the interior of the State, where he performs the duties of judge, it has practically only a nominal existence, limiting itself, thanks to a small federal subvention, to running a modest primary school in a poor district.

One of the founders of the society launched another movement in 1946, the Campanha do Pi Racial (3),

3. Pi (π), a Greek letter adopted by the Campanha do Pi Racial as a symbol of rapprochement.

[SALVADOR]

/100 cont./

*563 668 whose aim was: "To extirpate, annul, abolish the inferiority complex (of the darkest ones); to demolish, enlighten, and purify a false superiority complex (of the lightest ones), so that, by a just and balanced educational process, there may no longer be Blacks and Whites in Brazil, but only Brazilians." Aside from a publication in the form of proverbs, thoughts, and maxims on the inferior situation of the Blacks, this campaign was pursued by means of "conferences of spiritualist philosophy" conducted by the founder, a physician with a modest clientele. This movement too, however, had neither the repercussion nor the prestige hoped for by its founder, with the result that the latter is thinking of starting in Bahia a branch of the Union of Colored Men, created some years ago in the country. But although he believes in the existence of color prejudice and wishes to combat it, the secretary-general of this union, in statements to a newspaper of Bahia on the occasion of a visit to the city, said that "in Brazil there is in reality no race prejudice. And this is so true that, although our principal objective is to unite colored men of all countries, the union opens its doors to citizens of other races; this also because we think it would be impossible to form a separatist association in this land, which is for all."

*563 575 794 The Federation of the Afro-Brazilian Cult, organized to join together the groups of the cult, and the centers of Afro-Brazilian studies are, as their names indicate, organizations of a different nature. Neither their statutes nor their activities tie them directly to the programs of social action in favor of colored people.

*563 668 /101/ As may be seen, the "Negro" movements in Bahia have a very precarious existence and operation. Ordinarily they group almost exclusively Blacks and dark mulattoes of relatively modest circumstances, and they do not practice real social and political action. They do not, however, form hostile groups, but, quite the contrary, they endeavor to bring together Whites and Blacks; they avoid all strife and antagonism with the dominant group, and in the last analysis they have as a fundamental objective the integration, let us say even the acculturation, of colored people,

[SALVADOR]

/101 cont./

*563 668 especially the Blacks, toward the norms of behavior, the attitudes, the concepts of the Whites, in order to permit them to be accepted and classed in the society of Bahia. It is not difficult to perceive
*563 183 829 that the "white" norms are the very ones that everybody in Bahia -- Whites, métis, and Blacks -- endeavors to realize in life, and that to be colored is not considered contemptible; the Blacks, for example, have not always succeeded in concealing some shame that many characteristics of their native culture cause them, particularly those that contrast most with the culture of European origin, such as religion. What seems to account for this is the fact that colored people feel themselves, as much as the Whites, entirely Brazilian, that is to say, integrated or desirous of being integrated in the Luso-Christian and, today still more, Neo-Brazilian
*563 668 culture of the dominant class. A lawyer and a sociologist, both morenos and Bahians, a short time ago expressed the fear lest the "Negro" movements of Brazil take on segregative tendencies. And some leaders of these movements in Bahia are pointed out by the informants as being followers of such tendencies; however, "this isolationism," they add, "does not manage to gain the upper hand." "Up to now I have not wanted to become part of this association, but since there is no racism in it I am going to join," one Black stated.

*563 668 829 [554] The attitude of Blacks of professionally and socially high status is generally expressed by aloofness toward these movements; very few of them, as a matter of fact, can contribute to lend them personal prestige. At most these Blacks give their nominal support and contribute financially to these movements, but they follow their activities from a distance, avoiding all publicity in this respect, though they sympathize with a program that proposes to elevate the Blacks whose education has been neglected. They do not conceal their lack of confidence with regard to the aims and intentions of Negro movements on the national level. In the opinion of an educator, there is no reason for colored people to group themselves in terms of their quality. This would give a character of strife, which is undesirable. The pardo or the Black ought to endeavor to enter social life through the wide /102/ doors

[SALVADOR]

/102 cont./

*563 668 829 of merit, without its being necessary to force them. Others consider that such organizations are not suitable, either because they are proof that discrimination exists, or because they tend to aggravate it by giving it dimensions that it does not have in Bahia. One young man who practices a liberal profession asserts that "he looks on such movements with uneasiness, in fear of ridicule, for its promoters prove their social in adaptation." Some share the opinion of a mulatto, highly esteemed in his profession, who affirms that he refuses to participate in such groupings, not in order to deny his quality as a colored man, but because he considers them unjustified.

The methods of action adopted by the "Negro" movements are likewise criticized. A politician wrote that "the Negroes and mulattoes try to unite in congresses and associations, but give to the struggle merely a doctrinaire character and do not seize all the possibilities that their weakness can prevail upon." In a newspaper article in which he expressed himself thus, he himself proposed a national boycott of merchandise produced by a factory that refused to admit a colored employee. Although his article was very vehement against this foreign enterprise and ended with a stirring appeal to colored persons, it does not seem to have had any practical effect in Bahia. The leaders of these movements, moreover, feared not being understood and not receiving the necessary support. According to one of them, "the Black of Bahia is not convinced that he is black."

*563 671 829 Concerning the federal law recently put in force against religious and racial discrimination, the informants in general have only a very vague notion of its existence and are ignorant of its text. Some consider it useful in some cases (hotelkeepers who refuse Blacks, for instance) or to lower the barriers that prevent young colored people from entering upon a diplomatic career or a military career at the rank of officer. Others consider it simply useless in Bahia; a short time ago the papers featured the news that this law was put into effect in the State of Rio Grande do Sul in the southern part of Brazil. A mulatto priest stated: "We have no need of laws, here in Bahia, to have a Negro

[SALVADOR]

/102 cont./

*563 671 829 esteemed, we only need more respect for the lower class in general; we need to improve its food, to help it effectively rise again, or, before that, to obtain a level of life that it has never as yet had."

/103/ Conclusions

*563 829 That there is no color prejudice in Bahia is a statement that is only partly true. Colored people are still regarded as forming a biological and social category characterized by traits that are considered inferior to those of the Whites. Some people are convinced that Blacks and Whites differ in intellectual capacities, in personality, morality, and aptitude for progress. They declare that if Bahia does not progress the fault lies with the Blacks. That is the reason why such a large number of light mulattoes conceal or deny their caste or feel ill at ease when one makes an indiscreet allusion. These prejudices, though slight, explain the cases of discrimination of which colored people in certain sectors of the society are victims. These incidents, moreover, are not accompanied by any violence, and it is difficult to distinguish them from manifestations of class antagonism, in view of the fact that in Brazil skin color is very often a symbol of social rank. The Whites evoke the memory of the old Portuguese colonists who dominated the economy, politics, and the administration, and whose descendants, even today, make up the major part of high society. As for the Blacks, they remind us of slavery, work on the plantations, and domestic occupations. Even today the colored men are cantoned in the lowest and least educated strata of society.

*563 [565] [564] [555] But the population of Bahia may be defined as a multiracial society with classes, and not with castes, if one defines caste as a closed group to which one belongs by birth and from which it is impossible to escape. In Bahia colored people have a status that is conditioned by their individual qualities and aptitudes, and they may enter into competition with the Whites. In principle

[SALVADOR]

/103 cont./ In principle
*563 anyone at all may elevate himself socially by wealth, by his
555 intellectual merits, by his professional titles, by his moral qualities,
[556] or by a combination of these elements, by virtue of the system of values of a capitalist society. In their ascent toward the higher classes, however, colored people encounter resistance, due in part to the influence of the prejudices of which we have spoken, but also because of the fact that for the most part they belong to classes that economically are at the bottom of the social hierarchy.

The social ascent of colored people, however, is relatively frequent, and there are numerous examples of it. As a group, however, colored people also rise, but with difficulty. It is
*563 sufficient, in order to get a clear idea of this, to compare the dis-
565 tribution of the different ethnic types that are encountered in
555 /104/ Brazil in the groupings and organizations that symbolize
162 the upper classes:
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	Whites		"Pardos"		Blacks	
	%	Indices	%	Indices	%	Indices
In the total population	33	100	47	100	20	100
Religious brotherhoods	82	240	18	38	--	--
Liberal professions (1)	76	230	22	46	2	10
Clubs	67	200	33	70	--	--

1. Average of various liberal professions.

*563 As may be seen, none of the above groups constitutes a sample
565 representative of the total population, which proves, in fact,
555 that the different types still do not have the possibility of advancing to the higher strata. If, by basing ourselves on the
[178] descriptions of the society of Bahia in the past, we could make up a table of the same nature, we would see that "high society" and the prestige professions 50 or 80 years ago were much less mixed, although the participation of individuals of mixed blood in these groups is an old Brazilian tradition.

/104 cont./

000 in these groups is an old Brazilian tradition. In order to account
*563 for the amount of improvement that has occurred in the situation
175 of colored groups, it should be mentioned that on the occasion of
212 the national census of 1872 the totality of the slaves of the city
178 was illiterate. Since the abolition of slavery in 1888, although
[567] it did not do much on behalf of the recently freed men, they
[659] progressed to such an extent that today more than 50 o/o of the Blacks and more than 60 o/o of the pardos over the age of five know how to read and write, and their number is increasing every year in the secondary and higher courses, thus opening the way to the liberal professions, in which one may count them in variable proportions.

*563 It should also be remembered that among those who are
571 called "Whites" there are many light métis who are considered socially white, and that colored persons, even those who are the darkest and show the most obvious Negroid features, are treated like anyone else of the same social situation. Interracial relations are then governed by some "fair play"; in other words, Bahian customs disapprove of openly avowed discrimination motivated by racial intolerance or color prejudice. Another aspect of the Bahian dynamics and social psychology is that both the antagonisms of class and those of color are attenuated by the process of reciprocal accommodation between /105/ the groups and by the development, as much among Whites as among dark individuals, of the type of "cordial" and "gentle" personality that some authors consider to be characteristic of the Brazilian people and the prototype of which is supposed to be the inhabitant of Bahia.

*563 The facilities for the social ascent of colored individuals are
555 in the process of multiplying in Bahia; according to the opinion
178 of numerous informants, they will not cease to be augmented unless cultural change, under the influence of new social conditions created by the industrialization anticipated in the region by the exploitation of oil-bearing lands and with the development of the electrical energy of the waterworks under construction, produces a perceptible modification of the ethos of Bahia; it is

[SALVADOR]

/105 cont./

*563 555 178 important to note that up to now the chief means of social ascent, by which a large number of Blacks and métis have acquired high status, is education in the double sense of good manners and of instruction of a certain level, not to mention adherence to the customs and to the concepts of the predominant culture, which, in the last analysis, is a problem of acculturation or of greater integration of the colored masses into the dominant society. One

*563 608 178 of the mechanisms that facilitate this integration is the protection and aid that numerous godfathers and godmothers offer their colored godchildren by rearing them in their own houses, by procuring employment for them, by sending them on to secondary and higher studies, and often by continuing afterwards to guide and protect them, this even being one of the principal functions of this system of spiritual kinship.

*563 829 The preponderant groups that constitute the upper strata of Bahian society do not oppose these tendencies with organized resistance, and, in accordance with the liberalism that is the basis of their mentality, they consider them proof of moral progress and of "civilization," of which, in general, the Bahians of all types are very proud.

/Tables I-III follow on pages 142-144./

5: Azevedo--142 D, Z-5 (1951) 1958 SO11 Bahia Brasilians SO11

/106/ [SALVADOR]

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Table I. Types of members belonging to a "high-class" recreational club.

Professions	Whites		"Morenos"		"Mulattoes"		Totals
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Commerce, agriculture, industry	396	76.89	85	16.50	34	6.60	515
Officials	40	68.96	11	18.96	7	12.06	58
Military men	12	57.10	5	23.80	4	19	21
Artists, professors	3	50			3	50	6
Technicians (chemists, agronomists, draftsmen, translators, etc.	23	62.10	11	29.70	3	8.1	37
Lawyers	96		58		13		167
Physicians, dentists Pharmacists	142	62.03	79	30.05	20	7.90	241
Civil engineers	71		34		11		116
Students	240		95		26		361
	1,023	67.21	378	24.83	121	7.95	1,522

/106 cont./ [SALVADOR]

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. Table II. Types of members belonging to a recreational club of the intermediate social group.

Professions	Whites		"Morenos"		"Mulattoes"		Blacks		Totals
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Merchants, commercial employees	246	36.28	267	39.38	163	24.04	2	0.29	678
Officials	81	41.96	74	38.34	38	19.68			193
Military men	6	28.56	11	52.37	4	19.04			21
Artists, professors	4	17.39	11	47.82	7	30.43	1	4.34	23
Technicians	8	33.66	5	18.51	12	40.74	2	7.40	27
Liberal professions, students	79	45.66	31	17.91	61	35.26	2	1.15	173
	424	38.02	399	35.78	285	25.56	7	0.62	1,115

5: Azevedo--144 D, Z-5 (1951) 1958 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

/107/ [SALVADOR]

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Table III. Types of members of a "high-class" religious brotherhood.

Professions	Whites		"Morenos"		"Mulattoes"		Totals
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Commerce, agriculture, industry . . .	419	84.98	59	11.98	15	3.04	493
Officials	57	81.42	12	17.14	1	1.42	70
Military men	6	85.71	1	14.29			7
Artists, professors	3	60	2	40			5
Technicians	14	93.33			1	6.67	15
Liberal professions	192	79.01	48	19.75	3	1.23	243
Students	64	82.05	10	12.82	4	5.12	78
Priests, including six bishops	14	48.27	15	51.73			29
Professions not indicated	49	75.56	10	15.62	5	7.81	64
	818	81.47	157	15.64	29	2.88	1,004

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/For information on the "colored people" of the city of Salvador (Bahia), Brazil, including data on their proportion in the total population, occupations, social and political status, race crossing, race prejudice and discrimination exhibited against them, etc., see category 116, pp. 6-18, 21-42, 44-63, 66-83, 86-104, 107-127, and 130-144./

5: Azevedo SO11 Bahia Brazilians

RACE ET SOCIÉTÉ

LES ÉLITES DE COULEUR DANS UNE VILLE BRÉSILIENNE

par

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[title page]

[P. 1]

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5: Azevedo SO11 Bahia Brazilians

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[P. 2]

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INTRODUCTION

Le sujet de cette monographie est l'étude de l'ascension sociale des gens de couleur dans une ville brésilienne et l'analyse des mécanismes au moyen desquels joue cette « mobilité verticale ». La ville qui a été choisie comme terrain d'enquête est celle de Salvador (Bahia), qui depuis longtemps est citée comme un modèle d'harmonie raciale.

Le projet de recherche qui a servi de base à ce rapport comportait : 1° une enquête sur la place faite aux gens de couleur — pour la plupart descendants de Noirs africains ou du croisement de Noirs et de Portugais — dans les groupes sociaux entourés d'une auréole de prestige et d'une manière générale dans les classes supérieures de la société; 2° une description du mécanisme d'ascension sociale; 3° une étude sur la façon dont Blancs et gens de couleur réagissent devant ce phénomène social.

Les recherches effectuées sous notre responsabilité commencèrent en février 1951 et se poursuivirent jusqu'en octobre de la même année.

Nos observations portèrent sur la composition raciale de différents groupements sociaux et furent réalisées à l'occasion de cérémonies religieuses, de parades militaires ou civiques, de réunions scolaires, de sessions universitaires ou de réunions de sociétés savantes, de bals, de fêtes familiales et d'événements sportifs. Elles furent complétées par des visites à des bureaux administratifs et commerciaux, à des magasins, à des écoles, à des clubs et autres lieux de travail et de récréation. Nous avons examiné également les portraits de gens de couleur enregistrés au Bureau d'identification de la police de l'État, d'étudiants ou d'écoliers photographiés lors de la promotion de leur classe, de membres de confréries religieuses, de clubs récréatifs et sociaux, et enfin de personnes appartenant aux professions libérales. Lorsque nous ne disposions que des listes de noms, le classement selon l'origine ethnique fut confié à trois ou quatre personnes qui connaissaient les membres du groupe en question.

En plus de ces enquêtes et de la compilation des données fournies par des études antérieures de caractère social, historique, ethnographique et démographique, 56 Noirs et mulâtres furent interviewés; ils avaient été choisis sur une liste de 128 noms, qui comprenait une majorité de gens de couleur occupant une position élevée dans la société de Bahia. Sur 48 des personnes citées plus haut avec lesquelles j'entretenais des relations plus ou moins étroites, j'en interviewai personnellement 25 et j'en choisis 20 parmi les 80 avec lesquelles je n'avais eu aucun contact; les 11 autres, presque toutes du sexe féminin, furent interviewées par les assistantes de l'enquête. Nous pûmes ainsi nous entre-

tenir avec 20 Noirs et 36 mulâtres de différents types dont 12 femmes et 44 hommes qui exerçaient les professions d'avocat, de juge, de médecin, d'ingénieur civil, de dentiste, d'économiste, de professeur, d'artiste, d'entrepreneur, de commerçant, de fonctionnaire, sans compter les prêtres et les étudiants univertaires dont quelques-uns, en dehors de leurs occupations principales, s'adonnaient à des activités politiques, bureaucratiques, éducatives et sociales. Presque tous les sujets en question sont partis d'une condition modeste, parfois même de la plus grande pauvreté, et sont parvenus à des situations de plus ou moins grand prestige. Leur âge varie entre vingt et soixante-dix ans, mais avec une majorité allant de trente à cinquante. Tous sont natifs de Bahia ou y habitent depuis longtemps.

Les interviews [1] portèrent sur les relations raciales et sur les préjugés de couleur, et mirent l'accent sur le problème de l'ascension sociale; la plus complète liberté d'expression fut laissée aux informateurs. L'enquêteur n'intervint que pour empêcher l'entretien de dévier. Il fallut presque toujours ramener de temps à autre l'informateur à son sujet pour obtenir un exposé continu.

Remarquons en passant que parmi les personnes interrogées un grand nombre éprouvèrent, malgré leur haut niveau intellectuel, une certaine difficulté à exprimer leur point de vue. Sans doute s'agissait-il d'une réaction de défense; mais, en beaucoup de cas, cette hésitation tient aussi au fait que ces personnes n'avaient jamais donné beaucoup d'importance à la question. Ces deux interprétations, quelle que soit la bonne, sont l'une et l'autre significatives des relations raciales à Bahia.

Rares furent les occasions où la spontanéité des informateurs fut tempérée par la méfiance. Deux personnes seulement éludèrent l'interview : un Noir appartenant à une profession libérale, qui fit preuve d'une grande réserve, et une femme, mulâtresse au teint clair, occupant un poste administratif, qui se montra irritée par la nature de l'enquête, dont elle ne voyait pas l'intérêt.

Pour une exacte compréhension des faits, il est utile de rappeler que les entrevues eurent lieu, en général, sans rendez-vous préalables. Plusieurs fois cependant je fis avertir nos informateurs que je me livrais à une enquête sur les relations raciales et souhaitais connaître leur opinion. Plusieurs entrevues furent obtenues au cours de rencontres fortuites et eurent le caractère d'une simple conversation. En certains cas elles furent reprises pour les besoins de cette étude avec l'assentiment des informateurs. Certaines personnes se comportèrent comme s'il leur était

1. Sur les techniques et les avantages de ce genre d'interviews, cf. Clyde Kluckholn, « The Personal Document in Anthropological Science », dans *The Use of Personal Documents in History, Anthropology and Sociology*, « *Social Science Research Council Bulletin* », New York, 1945, p. 125.

difficile d'aborder « une matière aussi délicate »; cependant dans l'ensemble elles se montrèrent communicatives à souhait. Les intentions des enquêteurs furent généralement bien comprises des informateurs. Certains d'entre eux paraissaient même avoir trouvé enfin l'occasion si souvent désirée d'exprimer leurs doléances ou leurs vues personnelles tant sur leur cas particulier que sur le problème en général. La méthode de l'interview se révéla, pour autant qu'on puisse en juger, fort efficace. Il est permis d'espérer que son emploi sur une plus vaste échelle fournira de nouveaux éclaircissements sur le même thème.

Quant à la façon d'enregistrer les entrevues, les plus importantes d'entre elles furent transcrites au moyen de notes rapides prises durant la conversation. En de rares occasions l'entretien fut transcrit de façon plus complète. Les rapports furent rédigés, à quelques exceptions près, dans les premières heures qui suivaient la rencontre.

Nous avons aussi eu recours à un nombre limité d'informateurs blancs qui avaient la réputation d'être familiers avec les problèmes de Bahia dans le passé et le présent. Né et élevé dans cette ville où je n'ai cessé d'habiter, j'ai pu également utiliser mon expérience personnelle. Nous nous sommes servis, en outre, d'annonces et de commentaires éditoriaux parus dans les revues et les quotidiens de Bahia et reflétant jusqu'à un certain point les stéréotypes du milieu étudié.

Une simple description de la situation raciale à Bahia ne suffirait pas à faire comprendre le dynamisme de cette montée des Noirs dans l'échelle sociale. Aussi a-t-elle été traitée comme un processus de changement culturel et social et par conséquent examinée selon une perspective historique; on s'est cependant abstenu d'entrer dans les détails.

Notre enquête fut, en un sens, rendue difficile par la pénurie de travaux anthropologiques et sociologiques sur la société de Bahia. Cette ville a été l'objet, au cours de ces dernières années, de plusieurs études historiques. On y trouve des références nombreuses au trafic négrier, à l'anthropométrie, aux phénomènes d'acculturation et aux survivances africaines, mais, comme le dit fort justement Donald Pierson, dans l'ouvrage que nous citerons si souvent, il n'existe qu'une maigre littérature sur les conflits ou sur les processus d'ajustement qui caractérisent les rapports raciaux à Bahia. Le livre de Donald Pierson[1] est réellement le premier et, à ce jour, le seul dans lequel les relations raciales à Bahia aient été analysées et présentées selon les méthodes de la sociologie moderne.

Je ne prétends pas avoir fait œuvre exhaustive ou définitive sur

1. Donald Pierson, *Negroes in Brazil. A study of Race contact at Bahia*, The University Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1967.

le problème si complexe de la mobilité sociale des gens de couleur à Bahia. J'ai voulu avant tout être objectif et présenter les problèmes d'un point de vue scientifique, en évitant, dans la mesure du possible, les pièges de l'ethnocentrisme si difficiles à éluder, même inconsciemment, lorsqu'on est membre de la culture que l'on décrit.

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LES TYPES ETHNIQUES DE BAHIA

Bahia doit sa réputation non seulement à sa situation privilégiée, sur les rives d'une baie magnifique, et à ses églises d'un style rococo exubérant, mais aussi, dans une certaine mesure, aux excellentes relations qui existent au sein de sa population bigarrée entre gens de couleurs différentes. Stephan Zweig a tracé de Bahia et de ses vieilles traditions un tableau très vivant. Pour lui, c'est avec cette ville que le Brésil a commencé, et non seulement le Brésil, mais aussi l'Amérique du Sud. « Dans cette cité a été élevée la première pile de l'immense pont lancé sur l'Atlantique; en elle a pris naissance, par la combinaison de la matière européenne, africaine et américaine, le mélange nouveau qui à l'heure actuelle fermente si activement [1]. »

Dès sa fondation sous le nom officiel de Cidade do Salvador, Bahia commença à être connue par sa richesse, qu'elle devait au sucre produit par ses *fazendas* [2] et ses *engenhos* [3]. Elle était aussi renommée pour l'éclat du culte dans ses nombreuses églises, par les processions religieuses qui parcouraient ses étroites rues grimpantes et par les traditions si typiquement portugaises de ses habitants. Centre d'importation d'esclaves africains, Bahia était aussi célèbre par la forte proportion des Noirs dans sa population, au point que les voyageurs étrangers de la période coloniale parlent de cette ville comme d'une « nouvelle Guinée » [4].

Fondée en 1549, siège du gouvernement général du Brésil et résidence du vice-roi portugais jusqu'en 1763, date à laquelle la capitale de la colonie fut transférée à Rio de Janeiro, Bahia passait pour « la plus portugaise » des villes du continent américain. Elle est encore aujourd'hui une des plus importantes villes du Brésil [5]. Grâce à la nature conservatrice et traditionaliste de sa civilisation, grâce aussi à la distance qui la sépare des autres centres urbains importants, elle passe pour être l'un des îlots

1. Stephan Zweig, *Brasil, País do Futuro* (Brésil, terre d'avenir), trad. par Gallotti, Rio de Janeiro, 1941, p. 275.
2. Plantations.
3. Usines à sucre.
4. M. Frezier, *Relation du voyage de la mer du Sud aux côtes du Chili et du Pérou fait pendant les années 1712, 1713 et 1714*, Paris, 1732; Adolphe d'Assier, *Le Brésil contemporain*, Paris, 1867.
5. L'État de Bahia a une superficie de 563.000 kilomètres carrés et un littoral de 100 kilomètres; son territoire, d'aspect géographique varié, est occupé surtout par des plantations de cacao, de tabac, de céréales, par des élevages et par des mines de manganèse, de chrome, de diamant, de fer, de schistes bitumineux, etc. D'après le recensement national de juillet 1950, l'État compte 4.000.419 habitants, dont 395.993 dans la ville même de Salvador. Les autres villes les plus peuplées du Brésil sont : Rio de Janeiro (district fédéral), avec 2.335.931 habitants; Sao Paulo, avec 2.041.716 habitants; Recife, avec 522.466 habitants; Porto Alegre, 381.964 habitants, et Belo Horizonte, avec 346.207 habitants.

démographiques et culturels de ce qui a été appelé l'« archipel brésilien ». Ce qui, nous l'avons dit, la rend tout particulièrement intéressante est le fait qu'elle fut toujours un creuset de races, certainement le plus représentatif et le plus symbolique des relations raciales du pays.

Pour comprendre la composition de la population locale et interpréter correctement les statistiques démographiques de Bahia, anciennes et modernes, il est nécessaire de bien connaître le sens des termes qui servent à désigner les différents types physiques réunis dans son vaste creuset. Les expressions les plus usitées sont *branco*, *preto*, *mulato*, *pardo*, *moreno* et *caboclo* qu'on peut ainsi traduire : Blanc, Noir, mulâtre[1]. Apparemment ces vocables désignent des types physiques déterminés; en réalité, leur sens est inspiré beaucoup plus par le contexte social que par des caractéristiques raciales telles que la couleur de la peau, les cheveux et la forme du visage.

Sont Blancs, d'une manière générale, les individus à phénotype blanc; les personnes très grandes, aux yeux clairs, aux cheveux également clairs et fins sont très souvent appelés *brancos finos* (Blancs fins) parce que ne présentant aucun indice de mélange avec les types de couleur. Cependant des individus riches et d'un rang élevé, quel que soit leur aspect, peuvent fort bien être appelés Blancs. Quand on entend une personne de condition humble, domestique ou ouvrier agricole, traiter un supérieur de « mon Blanc », on est parfois surpris de découvrir que la personne à laquelle le titre s'adresse est d'un teint très foncé. Les débardeurs et porteurs qui sont presque tous noirs traitent indistinctement les Blancs et les mulâtres d'apparence prospère de « mon Blanc ». Les gens du peuple ne cessent de répéter que « celui qui a de l'argent est Blanc ».

Un sociologue de couleur dit qu'« un Noir brésilien peut se blanchir dans la mesure où il s'élève économiquement et acquiert les manières d'être des groupes supérieurs ». L'attribution à une classe sociale supérieure est basée au Brésil plus sur la culture ou la position économique d'un individu que sur ses caractéristiques raciales. Les mulâtres au teint clair, socialement « blanchis » ou « Blancs dans la couleur » (*brancos na côr*), sont communément appelés « Blancs de la terre » (*brancos da terra*) ou « Blancs de Bahia »[2], lorsqu'ils occupent une situation importante et qu'on

1. Il n'existe pas de termes français courants pour désigner les termes *pardo*, *moreno*, *caboclo*, dont l'explication est donnée plus loin. Nous les laisserons donc, au cours de ces pages, sous leur forme brésilienne.

2. D'après Donald Pierson, les Blancs de Bahia sont des « métis très clairs qui généralement, à Bahia, sont considérés comme Blancs »; cf. *Brancos e pretos na Bahia*, Sao Paulo, 1945, p. 200. En commentant cette définition, un écrivain de Bahia explique qu'elle ne repose pas sur une observation d'anthropologie physique. Des facteurs d'ordre sociologique entrent dans cette spécification et en rendent la définition

désire ne pas les froisser en les appelant mulâtres. Dans la caractérisation de ces « présumés Blancs » la fortune ou le rang social jouent toujours un grand rôle. En parlant d'un métis clair aux traits légèrement négroïdes, on peut dire avec une certaine ironie : « Un tel est Blanc, socialement parlant, puisqu'il a déjà occupé un des postes les plus élevés de l'État. » C'est pour ces raisons qu'un médecin de Bahia adonné aux études d'anthropologie écrivait, dès 1898, qu' « anatomiquement, les Blancs de Bahia se classent entre les *pardos* et les descendants directs des Portugais non métissés »[1].

Sont *pretos* ou Noirs tous les individus qui présentent les caractéristiques physiques du Noir, particulièrement la peau très foncée « couleur de charbon », les cheveux crépus, le nez épaté et les lèvres très épaisses. Mais user de l'expression « nègre » est considéré comme peu courtois et parfois même blessant. Un médecin qui travaillait dans une clinique de dermatologie enregistra comme « nègre » un malade venu pour se faire soigner; mais le père de ce dernier vint protester auprès du médecin pour qu'on substituât à ce terme celui de *preto* (Noir) ou *escuro* (foncé).

Une personne qui s'adresse à un Noir d'une classe inférieure peut lui dire, en parlant d'un autre Noir, « Quelqu'un de noir comme vous »; mais s'il s'agit d'une personne appartenant à une classe plus élevée le bon ton exige qu'on use du terme *escuro* (foncé) ou même *moreno*. Plusieurs informateurs rapportent que les élèves de certains professeurs noirs aux manières rudes disent d'eux qu'ils ont des « manières de nègres ». De même un intellectuel mulâtre foncé sait bien que, si on veut l'offenser, on l'appelle « ce nègre », et un Noir exerçant une profession libérale n'ignore pas non plus que ses adversaires politiques en parlant de lui disent « le nègre Léonard ». Il n'est pas rare d'entendre Blancs et *morenos* protester à mi-voix contre les mauvaises manières, les éclats de rire, les parlotes de ces « nègres » lorsque Noirs et mulâtres donnent libre cours à leur gaîté bruyante dans les véhicules publics, dans les cinémas ou dans les rues. Cependant, l'expression « mon nègre » est un terme d'amitié, même entre Blancs. Parfois le terme « nègre » est employé comme diminutif : « un négrillon sympathique », sans qu'il comporte aucun sous-entendu désobligeant. Par contre le mot *nigrinha*, forme féminine du même diminutif, a un sens péjoratif et injurieux; il s'applique aux jeunes personnes de couleur de réputation douteuse. Agir comme une *nigrinha* équivaut à se mal conduire.

Dans les premières années de la colonisation, les Indiens étaient souvent désignés sous le nom de nègres. L'emploi de ce

difficile. J. Valadares, « Brancos da Bahia », *Estado da Bahia*, 2, VI, Bahia 1943 (ce commentaire se rapporte à un article publié par Pierson en 1943).

1. J. B. Sá Oliveira, *Evolução psíquica dos bahianos*, Bahia, 1898, p. 51.

mot dont le sens véritable a été établi tout récemment a causé beaucoup d'embarras aux historiens qui ont cherché à démêler la part respective des Indiens et des Noirs dans la formation de la civilisation brésilienne. Une loi portugaise de 1755 stipule que les Indiens ne doivent pas être appelés nègres, en raison des implications infamantes et viles d'un terme qui les met sur le même pied que les gens de la côte d'Afrique destinés à devenir les esclaves des Blancs. Les vrais nègres africains étaient en ce temps-là appelés nègres de Guinée, nègres de la côte ou nègres de nation, c'est-à-dire de telle ou telle tribu africaine. De façon générale, le terme de nègre s'appliquait à tout esclave au point que, en 1773, un monarque portugais se plaignait de ce qu'au Brésil il existât encore « des personnes assez dépourvues de sentiments d'humanité et de religion pour garder chez elles des esclaves, dont quelques-unes sont plus blanches qu'elles-mêmes, sous les noms de Noires et négresses, ou encore de métisses ». Les fils de nègres africains nés au Brésil étaient appelés créoles, terme appliqué encore aujourd'hui, au féminin, aux noires et aux mulâtresses qui s'habillent comme les Bahianaises, avec la *troquette*, la jupe très ample, la chemise blanche brodée et très décolletée et le châle de couleur autour du buste, costume porté par les Africaines de la Nigeria et, de nos jours encore avec certaines modifications locales, par les femmes appartenant aux cultes religieux d'origine africaine, les *candomblés*. Les créoles de Bahia constituent un spectacle typique des rues de la ville; on peut les y voir se dirigeant vers un centre de culte fétichiste ou assises à côté des éventaires sur lesquels elles exposent, surtout pendant les fêtes populaires, les mets de la célèbre cuisine locale qui, elle aussi, est en grande partie d'origine africaine.

Les mots *pardo* et *mestiço*, ayant l'un et l'autre comme nous l'avons vu le sens de mulâtre, servent à désigner les descendants du croisement entre Européens et Noirs. Chaque variété de ces types, d'après l'intensité de la couleur ou la nature du cheveu, était autrefois qualifiée d'un nom particulier aujourd'hui tombé en désuétude. On parle de mulâtre clair ou de mulâtre foncé selon la prédominance de l'une ou de l'autre des caractéristiques; les mulâtres clairs, lorsque leurs cheveux sont très semblables à ceux des Blancs, sont aussi appelés *cabo verdes* ou *rôxos*. Une jeune fille présentant peu de traces de métissage est une *roxinha* ou encore une *cabrocha*; les habitants de Bahia usent, dans ce cas, d'un diminutif pour ôter au mot toute signification péjorative. En effet, dire une « mulâtresse » pour parler d'une jeune fille d'une certaine classe sociale est en quelque sorte moins courtois que de dire « une petite mulâtresse » (*una mulatinha*). Très souvent, en parlant d'une personne de marque, on n'use d'aucun de ces termes; on dit alors « une personne de couleur » ou « une personne

foncée ». Un métis basané, aux cheveux légèrement crépus et dont les traits l'apparentent aux Blancs est un *moreno*, surtout s'il appartient à une classe sociale supérieure. Un journaliste, décrivant récemment un endroit de la ville où se trouvait réuni un grand nombre de gens de couleur, écrivait qu'« on y rencontre de belles mulâtresses ». Si celles-ci appartiennent au peuple et si elles sont pauvres, elles sont des mulâtresses tout court; si elles sont *granfinas* [1], elles deviennent des *morenas* claires; et on pourrait même ajouter *morenas* couleur de *jambo* [2]. On trouve de nombreuses références aux femmes de ce type dans les chansons populaires lancées à l'occasion du fameux carnaval brésilien. Dans les journaux relatant les accidents, les crimes ou autres faits auxquels se trouvent mêlés des mulâtres, même des classes les plus pauvres, il est rare de rencontrer le terme mulâtre, auquel on préfère ceux de *pardo* ou *morena*. La forme féminine a, de plus, une valeur sentimentale : elle suggère une peau légèrement pigmentée et des traits d'une beauté propre à ces « femmes tellement recherchées et préférées du plus grand nombre », comme nous le déclara un de nos informateurs. A cause de cette préférence, le type de la *morena* a été célébré en prose et en vers par nos écrivains. Et cette *morena*, cela va sans dire, ne peut pas être de sang africain [3].

Les Indiens et les descendants du croisement entre Indiens et Blancs sont généralement appelés *cabôclos*, mais cette expression n'est plus très usitée à Bahia et sert rarement à caractériser le type correspondant. Le terme *cabôclo* est devenu, comme celui de « mon nègre », plutôt une formule de tendresse entre individus de quelque couleur que ce soit. Il faut noter, de plus, grâce aux statistiques anciennes, que vers la moitié du XVIIIe siècle, répondant aux réclamations du « nativisme » brésilien, le gouvernement portugais interdit l'usage du terme *cabôclo* auquel s'attachait alors un sens injurieux et accorda en même temps un état civil de Blancs aux Indiens et à leurs descendants métissés, afin qu'ils pussent contracter mariage avec des Blancs et remplir des charges officielles dans la colonie; c'est ainsi que, dans les rôles militaires du temps, les contingents de *mamelucos* ou *cabôclos* étaient assimilés aux Blancs. Le mot, entretemps, perdait de sa valeur injurieuse et est même, de nos jours, considéré comme un compliment lorsqu'il désigne un *cabôclo bom*, c'est-à-dire un homme de bonnes manières.

Les albinos négroïdes et les mulâtres à la chevelure rousse, blonde ou châtain clair sont connus sous le nom de *sarards*.

La désignation exacte de ces différents types a toujours repré-

1. *Granfino*, *granfina* peuvent se traduire par « très raffiné ».
2. *Jambo*, fruit du jambevio, une myrtacée (*Eugenia* sp).
3. Arthur Ramos, *Introdução à Antropologia Brasileira*, II, Rio de Janeiro, 1947.

senté une difficulté tant pour les anthropologues que pour les personnes chargées d'identifier les écoliers, les militaires, les criminels [1]. En réponse à la demande d'un avocat, le chef du Bureau d'identification judiciaire de la police civile de l'État de Bahia déclara il y a quelques années que, dans son département, on use, selon l'avis de l'identificateur, des termes Blanc, *moreno*, *pardo*, métis et Noir. Une femme fonctionnaire qui travaille depuis longtemps dans ce service décrit ainsi les différents types de Bahia : « Le métis est un descendant de Noir et de mulâtre; le *pardo* est le fils d'un mulâtre et d'un Blanc; le mulâtre dérive du Blanc et du Noir : il peut être clair, mais il aura toujours les lèvres épaisses et rougies par la pigmentation; le *moreno* est le mulâtre *fino*, et le Noir est un individu aux traits nègres accentués. »

Beaucoup de personnes identifiées dans ce cabinet sous le vocable de Blanc sont probablement des métis de différents types; la même confusion se produit avec les personnes dénommées mulâtres, *pardos* ou *morenos* d'après les vérifications faites par Pierson [2] et actuellement répétées par l'auteur. Un avocat noir raconte que sa femme, mulâtresse relativement claire, fut enregistrée dans ce cabinet comme Noire, tandis que la sœur de cette dernière, à peu près de même type qu'elle, était classée comme mulâtresse. Il est, de plus, intéressant de noter que, généralement, dans le dossier d'identité se rapportant aux personnes enregistrées, la dénomination « mulâtre » n'apparaît pour ainsi dire jamais, mais presque toujours celle de *moreno* ou de *pardo*, la première ayant un caractère péjoratif. Une assistante sociale raconte que les femmes du milieu le plus humble qui se font immatriculer dans son bureau, même quand elles sont Noires, ne veulent pas être mulâtres, mais *morenas*, en disant parfois que leurs enfants sont *moreninhos* (de petits *morenos*) « comme moi », ou que leurs maris sont un peu plus *morenos* ou « plus foncés ». En tout cas, les termes officiellement employés dans les bureaux sont *branco*, *pardo* et *preto*. Un médecin mulâtre foncé, que la plupart des gens auraient qualifié de noir, raconte que, étant jeune

1. D'après l'anthropologue bahianais Nina Rodrigues (dans son livre *As raças humanas e a responsabilidade penal no Brasil*, 3e édition, écrit au début du siècle), les métis comprennent : 1° les mulâtres, produit du croisement du Blanc et du nègre : *a*) mulâtres du premier sang; *b*) mulâtres clairs tendant au retour vers la race blanche; *c*) mulâtres foncés, *cabras*, produit tendant au retour vers la race noire, les uns presque complètement confondus avec les nègres créoles, les autres plus facilement séparables; 2° Les *mamelucos* ou *cabôclos*, produits du croisement entre Blanc et Indien; 3° Le produit du croisement des trois races et surtout du croisement entre le mulâtre et l'Indien ou avec les *mamelucos* et *cabôclos*. Arthur Ramos, dans son livre *A aculturação negra no Brasil*, 1942, p. 38, et dans d'autres ouvrages dont « The Negro in Brazil » dans *Brazil, Portrait of Half a Continent*, édité par Lynn Smith et A. Marchant, New York, 1950, p. 130, adopte à peu près la même classification, mais propose que pour éviter les imprécisions on use des mots : *pardo*, mulâtre et métis comme de synonymes.

2. Donald Pierson, *Op. cit.*, p. 189.

et voyageant un jour dans un train, il fut reconnu par un ami de son père, et que cet ami sachant son père blanc le présenta aux autres voyageurs en disant que, malgré son apparence, il était en réalité Blanc de par son origine. « Mon frère, quoique plus foncé que moi, nous dit une informatrice *morena*, fut classé une fois comme Blanc, peut-être parce qu'il a un diplôme de docteur. »

Les difficultés d'identification et les diversités d'opinion entre Bahianais au sujet des types ethniques locaux peuvent facilement s'expliquer. Par suite du manque d'unité des critères destinés à distinguer Noirs et mulâtres, une anthropologue de Rio de Janeiro répartit les gens de couleur de Bahia en deux catégories : les plus foncés et les moins foncés [1].

L'auteur de ces pages a classé d'après leurs photographies respectives trente associés d'un club social du sexe masculin, appartenant à la bonne société de Bahia, et les montra à une jeune fille blanche de classe moyenne, à une métisse de classe modeste, étudiante en sciences sociales, et à un métis chargé de l'administration du même club, en leur demandant de les classer à leur tour. Voici les définitions appliquées d'après le jugement de chaque identificateur :

Dénominations	*Nombre d'individus de chaque type* [1]			
	A	*B*	*C*	*D*
Blancs	19	14	21	6
Brancos da terra	1	11	2	—
Morenos	4	—	6	19
Mulâtres	6	5	1	5

1. *A*, auteur; *B*, jeune fille blanche; *C*, étudiante métisse; *D*, fonctionnaire métis.

Les quatre classifications concordèrent seulement en certains cas : il s'agissait de Blancs dont le phénotype était évident; sur cinq cas, trois concordèrent quant à la classification d'un Blanc qui fut par le quatrième classé comme *moreno*; en quatorze cas les opinions furent partagées par moitié et ainsi de suite.

La plupart des métis clairs sont identifiés comme *morenos* dans les registres où sont inscrits les membres des clubs sociaux, des confréries religieuses, dans les listes d'élèves d'un établissement d'enseignement universitaire examinés aux fins d'enquête. Quand il fut demandé à différentes personnes de classe moyenne, dont la plupart exerçaient une profession libérale et étaient diplômées de l'Université de Bahia, de classer selon leur type les personnes portées sur la liste des médecins et pharmaciens enregistrés au Ministère de la santé publique, des députés de l'État et des

1. M. Julia Pourchet, *Contribuçao ao estudo antropofisico da criança de côr*, Rio de Janeiro, 1939.

1. Un homme d'affaires de couleur

[facing p. 16]

députés fédéraux, des professeurs de l'université, des membres de l'académie des lettres locale et des autres associations de la ville, là aussi le terme de *moreno* fut le plus souvent employé pour désigner les métis. Rares furent ceux qui usèrent de l'expression « mulâtre ». A la suite de l'influence exercée par les films nord-américains, on entend parfois parler de *colored*; un journal local définit par ce terme un homme politique de Bahia, et une femme interrogée par nous reconnaît être *colored*.

Dans un livre récent, un écrivain de la ville résume ainsi les problèmes de sémantique en relation avec la caractérisation des types locaux : « Un Noir clair est appelé mulâtre, le mulâtre clair est un *moreno*, un *sarará* devient un blond. Quant au *pardo* nul ne sait ce que c'est. Blanc *fino* se dit de ces personnes dont l'origine et l'aspect ne présentent pas cette « marge » grâce à laquelle on reconnaît à coup sûr le métissage. Et ceux qui sont blancs métissés n'aiment pas montrer les portraits de leurs ancêtres »[1].

Les étrangers, qui sont en nombre relativement réduit dans la ville, sont aisément distingués par la majorité des gens. Un Européen aux manières étrangères, parlant avec beaucoup de difficulté le portugais ou s'exprimant dans une autre langue, est simplement considéré comme « étranger », particulièrement s'il a la peau claire et rosée, les yeux bleus et les cheveux blonds et fins. Un Brésilien présentant ces caractéristiques est taxé de « type d'étranger » ou de « type d'Allemand ». Les étrangers peuvent aussi être appelés *gringos* quelles que soient leurs caractéristiques physiques. Les Espagnols qui sont très nombreux dans l'épicerie sont parfois appelés les « *gringos* de l'épicerie ». Les Juifs russes, polonais et roumains qui s'adonnent au commerce du meuble ou qui pratiquent la vente à crédit sont appelés en bloc : les « Russes »; les gens du peuple ne savent pas qu'ils sont israélistes et dans la majorité des cas ignorent jusqu'au terme « juif ». Les Syriens, les Libanais, les Arabes et les Turcs, propriétaires de petites et moyennes maisons de commerce dans le centre de la ville, sont appelés indistinctement « Arabes », et leurs descendants, pourvu qu'ils soient reconnaissables à leurs traits, sont des « fils d'Arabes ».

1. J. Valadares, *Boabá da Bahia*, 1951, p. 91.

[facing p. 17]

2. A l'Université

UN MINIMUM DE TENSION DANS LA SOCIÉTÉ DE BAHIA

Bahia est considérée comme l'une des communautés les plus « brésiliennes » de tout le pays à cause du nombre extrêmement réduit d'étrangers que comporte sa population et parce qu'elle continue à être formée de ces mêmes éléments qui constituèrent dès le début la population du Brésil. Dans tout l'État de Bahia, lors du recensement de 1940, il y avait 204 étrangers pour 1.000 Brésiliens groupés en majeure partie dans la capitale; au cours des derniers dix ans ce nombre a vraisemblablement augmenté, mais la population totale s'accroît aussi et maintient son homogénéité. Ces étrangers forment de petits groupes [1] distincts des Bahianais par certains traits physiques, mais surtout par leurs caractéristiques culturelles (ceux qu'on appelle « Russes » ou « Arabes » par exemple), ou par leurs spécialisations professionnelles (par exemple les Espagnols). Un antagonisme entre quelques-uns de ces groupes et les Brésiliens donne lieu à une discrimination modérée en certains secteurs sociaux, mais elle se traduit rarement par une hostilité déclarée ou par une ségrégation à forme active.

Étant donné l'isolement dans lequel fut maintenu le Brésil au moins jusqu'en 1808, moment où pour la première fois ses ports furent ouverts au commerce international, étant donné aussi que Bahia ne fut jamais un centre d'immigration européenne massive comme certains États du Sud, l'étranger est reçu par les gens de Bahia avec un mélange de curiosité et de méfiance. L'émigrant y est, en même temps, facilement absorbé par le milieu et s'adapte de même aux mœurs et aux normes de vie locales. Les émigrants portugais, par exemple, sont placés dans une catégorie spéciale; on a coutume de dire qu'aucun d'eux n'est jamais à proprement parler brésilien, mais qu'il n'est jamais non plus à proprement parler étranger. En dépit des deux guerres mondiales, on n'enregistre nulle part de manifestations d'antipathie à l'égard des émigrants allemands, autrichiens ou italiens. Les ressortissants de ces nationalités ont en général une excellente réputation parce qu'ils sont considérés comme de bons travailleurs, parce qu'ils épousent des Brésiliennes et restent dans le pays lorsque leurs affaires prospèrent. L'immense majorité de la population et même les personnes qui sont hostiles aux commerçants « russes » n'ont jamais de sentiments antisémites. Cependant, lorsqu'un groupe juif protesta publiquement contre la présentation d'un musicien européen accusé d'avoir eu dans le passé des liens avec l'hitlérisme, l'association qui organise des concerts de musiciens célèbres rejeta « cette tentative d'interférence étrangère dictée par le préjugé

1. Espagnols, 2.115; Portugais, 1.912; Syriens, Libanais, etc., 1.059; Italiens, 950; Allemands et Autrichiens, 592; Nord-Américains, 83; Russes européens, 168, etc.

racial », en déclarant que ses activités devaient rester « au-dessus de tout préjugé religieux, philosophique, politique, racial ou de classe ». Et pourtant de nombreux israélites sont membres de cette association.

Les « Arabes », quoique vivant assez isolés par suite de leurs coutumes, épousent des Brésiliennes, et jamais aucune hostilité ne se manifeste à leur égard; au temps où certains d'entre eux exerçaient le métier de vendeurs ambulants de tissus et de quincaillerie, ils étaient, il est vrai, un peu tournés en ridicule, mais cela cessa avec la disparition des derniers colporteurs.

Les irrégularités et les insuffisances des services d'électricité dans la ville sont attribuées par beaucoup d'habitants de Bahia à ce qu'ils appellent le « mépris des Américains pour le bien-être du peuple », comme si les Américains étaient les seuls responsables du fonctionnement de l'entreprise américano-brésilienne qui produit l'électricité pour la région. Tout ce qui est ou est supposé être américain jouit d'ailleurs de beaucoup de prestige. Il est cependant un groupe étranger contre lequel (ou plus précisément contre le « trust » occulte qu'il représente) il existe une hostilité assez forte quoiqu'elle ne se manifeste qu'en certaines occasions. Il s'agit des émigrants de la Galicie espagnole, accusés d'exploiter le peuple grâce au monopole qu'ils se sont acquis dans le commerce de l'épicerie et de la boulangerie. A certains moments où la tension est particulièrement forte, comme en 1930, et par suite de la montée rapide du prix des denrées de première nécessité au début de la dernière guerre mondiale, le peuple donna libre cours à son mécontentement en pillant certains établissements de commerce espagnols. Mais l'attitude des Bahianais envers la personne de ces immigrants est dépourvue d'animosité durable et les mariages entre les deux groupes sont fréquents. Il reste pourtant que la population attribue aux Espagnols la raréfaction de certaines denrées alimentaires, surtout du pain, et qu'elle accuse ces émigrants de « s'enrichir de la misère du peuple ».

Les associations récréatives des Anglais, des Espagnols, des Syriens et des Libanais sont fréquentées par des Brésiliens. De même les hôpitaux entretenus par les colonies portugaises et espagnoles sont dirigés par des médecins brésiliens et reçoivent de nombreux clients de Bahia, blancs ou de couleur.

La religion de la majorité catholique est traditionnellement beaucoup plus extérieure et ritualiste que dogmatique, la religiosité d'un grand nombre de ceux qui se disent « catholiques intransigeants » étant surtout théorique. Cela devait constituer une sérieuse difficulté pour le clergé; c'est aussi un sujet d'étonnement pour le visiteur qui s'imagine entrer en contact avec « la plus catholique des villes brésiliennes ». Les antagonismes entre groupes religieux sont, dans ce domaine, aussi modérés, et

n'affectent jamais la cohésion sociale de la communauté [1]. La majorité catholique voit d'un mauvais œil les activités des missionnaires protestants étrangers et condamnent particulièrement les « méthodes déloyales employées par certains d'entre eux » et leur façon de défigurer l'Église. Le protestantisme est combattu en chaire en tant qu'hérésie, mais jamais les protestants en tant que personnes ayant des caractéristiques différentes et auxquelles on voue de l'hostilité. L'antagoniame entre catholiques, protestants et presbytériens se place aussi sur le plan purement doctrinal; les institutions d'enseignement soutenues par les baptistes et les presbytériens sont fréquentées par des élèves catholiques et jouissent de prestige à cause de leurs « méthodes américaines ».

En ce qui concerne les *candomblés*, sanctuaires voués aux cultes d'origine africaine, le sentiment courant est que ses rites sont autant de survivances barbares qui doivent être éliminées car elles sont un sujet de honte devant les étrangers et les touristes. Dans un commentaire sur le tourisme, un journal local propose que soit supprimée des programmes d'excursions la visite aux *candomblés*, « parce qu'il ne peut pas y avoir de propagande plus négative envers cette ville brésilienne quatre fois centenaire, qui a tant d'autres choses intéressantes à montrer ». Ces cultes jouissent malgré tout d'une liberté relative et fonctionnent en vertu d'une autorisation de police. Ils ont parfois été interdits et leurs fervents violemment dispersés par les forces de police. Parmi les Noirs, nombreux sont ceux qui partagent les opinions des Blancs au sujet de ces rites.

Seules les compétitions entre partis politiques provoquent une tension véritable durant les campagnes électorales. Cette tension est particulièrement intense dans les controverses à l'intérieur de l'État; elle ne se traduit jamais que verbalement; les cas d'agression individuels ou de véritables conflits entre groupes appartenant à des partis politiques différents sont devenus extrêmement rares. Les sentiments ethnocentriques des Bahianais atteignirent une grande véhémence il y a quelques années lorsque la majorité des électeurs refusa d'élire comme gouverneur de l'État un candidat qui n'était pas « né à Bahia ».

Ceci dit, des Brésiliens nés dans d'autres États ont fait carrière dans différents partis de Bahia et ont été élus pour représenter les Bahianais à l'assemblée législative de l'État ou au parlement national. Le même candidat d'ailleurs avait été élu gouverneur quelques années plus tôt, avant que cette qualité d'« étranger » n'exerçât une influence décisive dans la lutte menée contre lui.

1. En 1940, la population de la ville et de la municipalité se composait de 97,49 % de catholiques apostoliques romains; 1,11 % de protestants; 0,26 % d'israélites; 0,62 % de spirites, etc.

Les mœurs brésiliennes condamnent toute discrimination sociale; les Bahianais, particulièrement ceux des groupements les plus évolués, s'honorent de ces traditions de tolérance et de libéralisme, et les considèrent comme propres à former le prototype même de l'homme brésilien cordial que décrit Gobineau : « être très poli, accueillant, très aimable », et dont les qualités sont définies par un sociologue brésilien comme un mélange d'aménité, de tolérance et de bonnes manières. La vie à Bahia est appréciée et enviée par les uns, critiquée par les autres pour son rythme lent, son manque de combativité, son particularisme intransigeant et pour les mille mécanismes qui jouent toujours de manière à atténuer les antagonismes et les conflits entre groupes et individus. Le sociologue français Roger Bastide disait, voici quelques années, qu'il est bon « qu'à Bahia le progrès très rapide ne porte aucun préjudice aux qualités d'âme qui font son charme ».

Ce qui contribue beaucoup à atténuer les tensions entre les groupes qui s'affrontent dans la société de Bahia c'est la polarisation du mécontentement qui s'opère dans tout le Brésil, mais surtout dans notre ville, sur l'idée « gouvernement », c'est-à-dire sur les pouvoirs publics en général, la population ayant l'habitude de déverser sur eux ses impulsions agressives, imputant à cette entité assez vague tous les maux qui accablent Bahia.

Pour ce qui est des relations raciales on peut constater qu'il existe un certain antagonisme entre Noirs et mulâtres. Il y a à Bahia, à n'en pas douter, quelques préjugés de couleur, mais, comme le dit un *moreno* de profession libérale, « le préjugé n'est pas seulement le fait des Blancs; par crainte d'être assimilé aux Noirs, le mulâtre les évite et se rapproche des Blancs ». De nombreux informateurs pensent que « les mulâtres, surtout les plus clairs, sont les pires ennemis des autres métis et des Noirs. Ce sont eux qui ont le plus de préjugés et qui offrent le plus de résistance à l'ascension sociale des personnes de couleur ». Ces sentiments sont, en partie, la formulation des antagonismes de classe entre *morenos* et mulâtres clairs de rang élevé, « blancs socialement parlant », et les personnes plus foncées qui s'efforcent d'améliorer leur position dans la société.

Au dire d'une femme occupant une fonction publique, les chefs de son département, qui sont des *pardos* à des degrés différents, recommandent à leurs subordonnés de n'embaucher que des candidates présentant bien, et de ne pas prendre en considération les « femmes noires ou laides ».

ACCROISSEMENT DE POPULATION ET MÉTISSAGE

Un fait très significatif et qui témoigne des bonnes relations raciales à Bahia est l'intensité du métissage. Il y a dans la ville environ 400.000 habitants dont 20 % à peu près sont Noirs, 47 % métis, en majorité mulâtres, et 33 % Blancs. On voit partout des personnes de tous âges, mêlées sans aucune distinction de type, hommes et femmes, réunis dans les lieux les plus fréquentés, commentant les événements du jour, appréciant le va-et-vient des rues ou discutant de politique et de sports, buvant dans les cafés, se promenant dans les environs et sur les plages, achetant dans les magasins et dans les marchés, travaillant dans les usines, dans les chantiers, dans les maisons de commerce et dans les administrations publiques et les bureaux, voyageant par les moyens de transport collectifs, participant aux fêtes religieuses et aux commémorations civiques sans la moindre contrainte. Les amis, mulâtres, Blancs et Noirs, se congratulent mutuellement à grand renfort d'embrassades et de poignées de main; ils s'asseyent les uns près des autres au théâtre, dans les églises, dans les cafés ou dans les tramways avec le plus grand naturel. D'après les coutumes locales, confirmées par Pierson [1], les Bahianais se rassemblent ou s'évitent, en fonction bien plus de leur rang social que de leur couleur ou de leur race.

Le métissage n'est interdit par aucune loi et ne se heurte au blâme de l'opinion que dans la mesure où il affecte la structure de classes solidement établie dans le pays : couches supérieures constituées presque exclusivement par les Blancs, c'est-à-dire par des personnes de phénotype blanc ou au moins « socialement blanc », couches inférieures constituées surtout par des gens de couleur; classification qui fait coïncider approximativement les classes et les types raciaux sans cependant les identifier tout à fait.

Dès les premiers jours de la colonisation portugaise, il y eut à Bahia un grand nombre de personnes de couleur. Au début, les colons se mêlaient largement aux indiennes *tupi* de la région, vivant en état de concubinage et souvent de polygamie avec elles. L'esclavage ayant été aboli dans la première moitié du XVIIe siècle pour les aborigènes, et les droits civils et politiques leur ayant été accordés peu de temps après, le mélange continua à se faire par mariage. Ainsi aujourd'hui un grand nombre de personnes *morenos* expliquent-elles leur couleur foncée en se vantant de quelque ancêtre *pegado a dente de cachorro*, c'est-à-dire capturé comme une bête que l'on chasse dans la forêt vierge à l'état sauvage. Mais le nombre d'indigènes décrut rapidement et influença peu la formation du type bahianais. Le contraire se

1. Donald Pierson, *op. cit.*, p. 421.

produisit avec les Africains, amenés par milliers et par milliers pour travailler aux plantations de canne à sucre. Le métissage des Portugais et des Brésiliens avec des Africaines et des Noires nées au Brésil fut rendu possible et même favorisé par différents facteurs parmi lesquels la pénurie de femmes blanches dans la période initiale, le système esclavagiste, la nonchalance du contrôle social à l'égard du comportement sexuel masculin, les attraits physiques et psychologiques des femmes noires, en particulier des noires *minas* originaires de la Costa da Mina dans le Soudan occidental. On disait couramment en ce temps-là que pour voir de belles négresses il fallait aller à Bahia [1]; un voyageur européen les décrit comme des femmes gigantesques, aux formes opulentes de déesses antiques taillées dans des blocs de marbre noir, qui attirent l'attention par leur « richesse de sève incomparable » [2]. C'étaient ces femmes que les Blancs préféraient comme concubines. Certains types de mulâtresses et de *morenas*, surtout lorsqu'elles réunissaient les traits des deux races dont elles étaient issues, étaient aussi très recherchées des Blancs.

Aucun des autres États brésiliens qui comptent un grand nombre de Noirs ne présente un pourcentage de métissage aussi élevé que Bahia. Ceci prouve que cet État a été le plus important creuset ethnique afro-européen du Brésil. En vérité, c'est en notre ville et dans ses environs, ancien centre de concentration des esclaves, que le croisement eut lieu avec le plus d'intensité. Le rapport entre le nombre de Noirs et de métis, suivant le recensement de 1940, est de 1 pour 2,55 à Bahia alors que dans les États comme Minas Gerais, qui a relativement le même nombre de Noirs, il est seulement de 1 pour 1; en d'autres États comme Maranhão et Piaui, qui comptent respectivement 27 % et 32 % de Noirs, ce rapport est de 1 pour 0,93 et pour 0,71. Ceci vient du fait qu'à Bahia les facteurs de ségrégation et de discrimination qui pèsent sur les plus foncés de ses habitants sont bien moindres que dans les autres États. La proportion de Noirs purs commença à décroître à partir de la seconde moitié du siècle dernier, le trafic négrier ayant été interdit, et surtout à partir de 1888, date de l'abolition définitive de l'esclavage, quand de nombreux ex-esclaves émigrèrent vers des régions plus prospères du Brésil du Sud. Actuellement, des facteurs sociaux et économiques défavorables influent sur les conditions de vie, la natalité et la mortalité de ce groupe et en expliquent la diminution progressive [3]. Le traitement généralement doux et humain que les propriétaires réservaient à leurs esclaves et les efforts faits par le clergé catholique pour arriver, dès le début de la traite, à incorporer les

1. F. Biard, *Deux années au Brésil*, Paris, 1862.
2. A. d'Assier, *op. cit.*, p. 196.
3. Thales de Azevedo, *Civilização e mestiçagem*, Livr. Progresso Edit., Bahia, 1951, p. 63.

Africains à la religion catholique jouèrent un grand rôle dans l'établissement des bonnes relations entre races, tant à Bahia que dans tout le Brésil. Au contraire de ce qui se passait dans les autres nations coloniales, où les aborigènes et les esclaves importés étaient maintenus en état de ségrégation comme des « sauvages » inassimilables, au Brésil les indigènes et les Noirs étaient baptisés, catéchisés et reçus dans l'Église en tant qu'hommes. Ainsi de nombreux esclaves, nègres baptisés, cessaient-ils d'être considérés comme des « brutes » pour devenir « chrétiens », au même titre que les colons européens, n'ayant à supporter ni hostilité, ni discrimination religieuse. Ils étaient instruits dans la doctrine chrétienne, et les prédicateurs s'efforçaient de leur parler dans leurs langues, surtout en *nagô* devenu une sorte de langue franche dans laquelle les Africains de différentes provenances pouvaient se comprendre. Ils se mariaient entre eux; leur mariage ayant été consacré par l'Église, celle-ci les protégeait lorsque leurs maîtres prétendaient séparer les époux ou vendre un des conjoints; ils recevaient les sacrements; ils faisaient fonction de témoins dans les actes religieux et participaient en tant qu'acolytes aux cérémonies religieuses; ils défilaient dans les processions portant les étendards et les insignes de leurs confréries; ils étaient enterrés dans des cimetières chrétiens, les propriétaires d'esclaves étant obligés d'appeler le prêtre à temps pour assister les moribonds. Nul ne prétend par là soutenir que leurs vies furent exemptes de souffrances, ni que les nègres se trouvaient être ainsi entièrement intégrés au catholicisme. Le clergé, les propriétaires et les autorités civiles leur laissèrent toujours une certaine liberté en ce qui concerne certains actes de leurs cultes païens, et ne les contraignirent jamais à embrasser la religion officielle. De même ils leur permettaient de se divertir à leur manière par des danses, des chants, des cérémonies (*batuques*), des repas à la mode de ceux de leurs pays d'origine. De là vient ce catholicisme tant soit peu mêlé de croyances et de pratiques fétichistes qui constitue la religion d'une grande partie des gens de couleur de Bahia [1].

Par suite du métissage et d'autres facteurs socio-biologiques, le groupe le plus foncé de phénotype noir fut absorbé graduellement par le brassage ethnique; les Blancs augmentèrent à un rythme un peu plus rapide, tandis que le nombre des métis enregistrés dans les statistiques comme *pardos* crût et donna naissance enfin, par suite du mélange, à un groupe où prédomina l'ascendance européenne [2]. « Déjà parmi nos ancêtres il y avait des créoles de « ventre propre » (*barriga limpa*). Leurs enfants, étant eux-

1. Roger Bastide, « Religion and the Church in Brazil », dans *Brazil, Portrait of Half a Continent*, p. 334.
2. Donald Pierson, *op. cit.*, p. 417.

mêmes enfants d'hommes plus clairs, tendirent progressivement vers la couleur de leurs pères. Peut-être Bahia est-elle une ville qui contient beaucoup de Noires et de métisses de *barriga limpa*. Tout le monde remarque que nous allons vers une population totalement métisse mais d'apparence blanche[1]. »

En consultant les actes de décès enregistrés entre 1897 et 1938 [2], on peut voir que les quantités proportionnelles de chaque type varient en notre ville comme indiqué ci-dessous :

Année	*Pourcentage de types ethniques*		
	Blancs	*« Pardos »*	*Noirs*
1897	32,61	29	38,39
1907	32,71	34,74	32,55
1917	32,81	39,55	27,64
1927	32,91	43,61	23,48
1938	33,02	47,37	19,61
1940[1]	28,74	51,11	20,13

1. Chiffres du recensement national, qui diffèrent de ceux concernant la mortalité à cause d'une différence d'appréciation dans la classification des types.

L'accroissement rapide du groupe blanc, par l'incorporation des métis « blanchis », et grâce aux meilleures conditions sociales et économiques des couches supérieures de la population, à laquelle appartiennent l'immense majorité des descendants d'Européens, fait que, dans le chiffre total, la proportion, par rapport aux Blancs, des personnes de couleur décroît en même temps qu'augmente la proportion des métis, ce qui apparaît clairement d'après les recensements :

Année	*Proportions par rapport à un Blanc*	
	Personnes de couleur	*« Pardos »*
1872	3,16	1,88
1890	2,84	2,70
1940	2,57	2,55

L'intensité du métissage est en réalité si grande que, ainsi que le fait remarquer un intellectuel bien connu de Bahia, « le Blanc *fino* autochtone n'est plus qu'un souvenir historique » [3].

1. J. Valadares, *op. cit.*, p. 91.
2. A. Rabelo Leite, « A tuberculose do preto na Bahia »; Cesar de Araujo, *Anais do 1º Congresso Nacional de Tuberculose*, vol. I, 1939; voir aussi E. F. Frazier, « The Negro family in Bahia, Brazil », *American Sociological Review*, vol. VII, nº 4, 1942, p. 467.
3. Prado Valadares, *Remirando o ciclo*, Bahia, 1933.

OPINIONS SUR LES GENS DE COULEUR

La présence de tant de gens de couleur dans leur territoire n'a jamais constitué une préoccupation ou une marque d'infériorité pour les gens de Bahia. Les auteurs des manuels scolaires de l'enseignement primaire et secondaire, les hommes politiques dans leurs campagnes électorales, les prédicateurs dans leurs sermons, les journalistes dans la rédaction des éditoriaux et des nouvelles se réfèrent à l'importante contribution des esclaves africains à l'économie brésilienne et exaltent certains de leurs traits, bonté naturelle, douceur, résignation, dont ils ont enrichi la psychologie du peuple. Dans le folklore, dans la propagande touristique, dans les caricatures qui accompagnent les critiques politiques, Bahia est généralement représentée comme la mulâtresse bahianaise, portant le costume caractéristique des femmes affiliées au *candomblé*. Même dans les publications destinées à l'étranger, les autorités ne diminuent jamais intentionnellement le pourcentage élevé des descendants d'Africains dans la population locale [1].

Condamnant l'attitude d'un professeur accusé d'avoir tenu des propos humiliants à une élève de couleur, un journal de Bahia écrivait que même s'il n'y avait pas d'autres motifs de condamner les discriminations raciales à Bahia « il resterait toujours la grande contribution que la race noire a apportée à sa civilisation, à son développement ». Le professeur, dans sa réponse, affirma reconnaître lui aussi le mérite de « nombreux hommes de couleur qui se sont tellement élevés dans la société par leur valeur personnelle, fruit de l'étude et du travail ».

Certains auteurs cependant, dans le passé et sous l'influence d'un évolutionnisme simpliste, ont manifesté la conviction que les gens de couleur représentaient un mal pour Bahia, à cause de l'« infériorité psychique » du nègre. L'un d'entre eux considérait l'élément noir comme un « terrain réfractaire à la civilisation » et condamnait le métissage parce que « dans tous les pays colonisés par les races blanches et de couleur il y a une différence substantielle entre les buts de la civilisation et les élans sauvages des individus métissés ou de sang inférieur. Civilisés ou pas, les indigènes, les Africains et leurs descendants ne perdent jamais tout à fait les coutumes barbares ». Encore aujourd'hui une telle opinion est assez répandue, quoiqu'elle soit exprimée très discrètement dans les conversations et presque jamais par écrit; un intellectuel qui se considère « progressiste », même s'il pensait de la sorte, éviterait de manifester ouvertement cette pensée. On entend dire parfois que la lenteur du développement écono-

1. Cf. *Impressões do Brasil no século vinte*, Lloyd's Greater Britain Publishing Co. Ltd., Londres, 1913, p. 873.

mique et la résistance de Bahia à l'évolution culturelle sont dues au grand nombre de Noirs de sa population « parce que les Noirs n'ont pas d'ambition ». « Qui ne pense pas ainsi, insinue un économiste, dans un article consacré aux avantages de l'immigration étrangère, méconnaît nos précédents historiques, économiques et raciaux. » « Durant la période de l'esclavage, continue-t-il, les Noirs vivaient comme des bêtes de somme aussi ignorants que des animaux, sans organisation familiale (leur condition servile la leur rendait impossible), ils apportèrent avec eux de nombreuses maladies endémiques et des pratiques fétichistes de leur continent d'origine; finalement, avec l'abolition, les esclaves abandonnèrent les champs et vinrent dans les villes pour mendier, piller, s'adonner à toutes sortes de vices et causer toutes sortes d'ennuis. » Dans les autres parties du Brésil, il n'est pas rare d'entendre émettre les mêmes opinions sur notre État. Vers la moitié du siècle passé, un écrivain de grand renom écrivait, à Rio de Janeiro : « Que l'on fasse un parallèle entre le développement de la province de Bahia qui possédait relativement le plus grand nombre de Noirs, et le Rio Grande do Sul qui contient les plus forts noyaux de colons européens! Tandis que l'agriculture, le commerce et les revenus de la première diminuent à vue d'œil, l'autre province prospère dans tous les domaines... »[1] Cet auteur fait ici allusion aux perturbations que subit l'économie de Bahia depuis la suppression du trafic esclavagiste et l'adoption par l'Europe du sucre de betterave, qui provoqua l'arrêt presque total de l'importation du sucre de canne, base de la richesse de notre ville.

Pour ce qui est des mulâtres, tandis que les uns affirment qu'il n'est pas « un chapitre de notre histoire, politique ou sociale, où ne brille d'un éclat particulier la personnalité remarquable d'un métis », les autres font, en même temps que des éloges, de fortes réserves. Un juriste et lettré de grand renom[2] jugeait excellente la description du mulâtre faite par un auteur de Bahia : « Les mulâtres sont en général vaniteux, intelligents et enclins aux plaisirs de la vie en société... Ils ont un cœur excellent. »[3] Quoique beaucoup de gens considèrent le Noir comme un être inférieur quant à l'intelligence, presque personne ne met en doute le talent et les possibilités intellectuelles des mulâtres. « Si, dit un autre économiste de Bahia, nous nous tournons vers les qualités intellectuelles et morales caractéristiques de l'homme civilisé moderne, dont l'exposant classique est l'Européen : universalité de l'horizon spirituel, esprit logique et systématique, dons techniques, ténacité et énergie dans la lutte pour les droits individuels ou sociaux, et si nous regardons nos hommes les plus représentatifs, c'est-

1. A.C. Tavares Bastos, *Cartas do solitário* (1862), 3e édit., Rio de Janeiro, 1938, p. 164.
2. Almachio Diniz, *História racial do Brasil*, Sao Paulo, 1934, p. 155.
3. Sa Oliveira, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

à-dire nos plus fortes personnalités, nous y voyons beaucoup de Noirs et de mulâtres. » Et il conclut en affirmant que les Afro-Brésiliens ne sont nullement inférieurs aux descendants des immigrants venus de pays plus hautement civilisés et plus purement blancs [1]. Les mulâtres seraient, selon d'autres, emphatiques dans leur façon de parler, désireux d'étaler leur érudition. Le commentaire d'un journaliste sur un homme politique est caractéristique de cette façon de penser : « Sans complexes, ni refoulements... il raisonne froidement, ce qui est étonnant de la part d'un *curiboca* rouge [2] comme lui. N'ayant pas la verbosité tropicale des mulâtres beaux parleurs..., il est mentalement un nordique qui expose ses idées sans les complications cérébrales tellement en honneur chez les *morenos* bacheliers de notre pays. » [3] Les opinions sur les mulâtres, surtout sur ceux qui essaient de s'élever au moyen d'activités intellectuelles, mettent toujours en relief les points faibles de leur personnalité et donnent presque toujours une interprétation défavorable de leur caractère. Un critique littéraire de Bahia, commentant les œuvres du plus grand romancier brésilien, le mulâtre Machado de Assis, exprime ainsi cette opinion : « Ce qui marque encore le plus notre métis, par suite de résidus accumulés en son âme par l'évolution sociale, c'est le manque de tempérament, de psychologie et de caractère, avec les conséquences que cela entraîne inévitablement sur le plan de la vie mentale. Si un mulâtre brésilien est intellectuellement capable et parfois supérieur, il n'est par contre ni jamais bien élevé, ni stable, ni équilibré, ni énergique. C'est du point de vue moral et psychologique qu'il révèle une grande infériorité, laquelle ne peut manquer d'influer sur l'harmonie sociale, étant donné la part qu'il prend à la vie brésilienne. » [4] Pour toutes ces raisons les vocables : « mulâtres » et « métis » peuvent être employés pour mettre en relief les mauvaises qualités morales d'une personne de couleur, comme si sa pigmentation ou ses traits ethniques aggravaient ses défauts. Au cours d'un débat de presse, quelqu'un écrivit : « ces espèces de mulâtres qui t'entourent », « ce métis qui te donne son appui »; or la discussion n'avait rien à voir avec le problème racial. Une épigramme anonyme, qui circulait par la ville il y a quelques années sur certain intellectuel, commençait par ces mots *mulato pachola* [5].

1. Romulo Almeida, interview au *Diario Trabalhista*, 28. 11, Rio de Janeiro, 1946.
2. *Curiboca* : métis d'Indien et de Noir; *roxo* : rouge bleuté, ton chaud et sombre de la pigmentation de la peau de certains métis.
3. « Cette tendance à se servir d'un langage recherché paraît être une sorte de compensation au sentiment d'infériorité », dit V. L. Bicudo, « Attitudes raciales des Noirs et des mulâtres de Sao Paulo », dans *Sociologia*, vol. IX, n° 3, Sao Paulo, 1947, p. 211.
4. Afrânio Coutinho, *A filosofia de Machado de Assis*, Rio de Janeiro, 1940, p. 80.
5. *Pachola* = paresseux, vaniteux, hâbleur, qualificatifs qu'on attribue très souvent aux mulâtres lettrés, à tel point que l'adjectif injurieux *pachola* n'est presque attribué actuellement qu'à des personnes de ce type.

Il n'existe pourtant, en dépit de cela, aucune hostilité active contre les mulâtres en tant que groupe. Des jugements comme ceux que nous avons relatés sont des stéréotypes appliqués surtout à des individus qui, en vertu de leur éducation supérieure ou d'aspirations plus ambitieuses que celles de leur groupe, tendent à s'en détacher. Reconnaissons d'ailleurs que, dans certains cas, ils sont appliqués à des personnes qui, réellement, s'efforcent de compenser leur sentiment d'infériorité par un comportement et des façons de parler emphatiques.

LA COULEUR EST UN SIMPLE ACCIDENT

La locution : « Noir à l'âme blanche », est employée tant à Bahia que dans le reste du monde, partout où l'on croit qu'un Noir, pour être bon, doit nécessairement posséder les qualités du Blanc. Le plus significatif est qu'une telle façon de penser trouve des adeptes même parmi les personnes de couleur. La mère, *morena*, d'une de nos informatrices dit que « le Noir est noir au-dedans et au-dehors », et que si elle devait se marier de nouveau elle ne le ferait sûrement jamais avec un homme aussi foncé que son mari. Dans une publication par laquelle une association de Noirs commémora, il y a vingt ans, le premier centenaire de sa fondation, on peut lire, à la première page : « Si nous parcourions les archives de la société, ou si nous feuilletions ses livres, nous y verrions ce contraste : des hommes noirs ayant un idéal très élevé, des caractères parfaits, des sentiments irréprochables, et surtout des aspirations très nobles. »

Il y a aussi, heureusement, ceux qui nient l'infériorité intellectuelle et morale du Noir. Dans un article annexe aux statuts d'une autre organisation de personnes de couleur, on explique que « ce qui arrive, c'est que le Noir, parce qu'il est pauvre, manque de la tranquillité nécessaire à laquelle, pour lui comme pour l'homme blanc, est dû le progrès intellectuel, source de réconfort et de joie. De plus, toujours torturé par l'injustice qui le poursuit, il devrait devenir un révolté plutôt que le collaborateur efficient qu'il est, élément d'ascension permanente et de perfectionnement moral et intellectuel de la population brésilienne ». Il y a dans ces jugements, en même temps qu'une plainte, la réfutation de la théorie de l'infériorité mentale innée du noir et de l'idée qu'il y a un contraste entre la couleur foncée de la peau et de nobles aspirations.

Les personnes de couleur répètent souvent que « la couleur est un simple accident », locution qui à Bahia remonte fort loin. Un célèbre intellectuel mulâtre foncé, président d'une importante association scientifique, déclarait dans un discours par lequel il dénonçait une décision de la Société des Nations sur le traitement différentiel à appliquer aux races humaines que : « Discuter des droits de l'homme, même de la dignité humaine, comme s'ils dépendaient d'un accident, celui de la couleur, c'est renier des siècles de lutte parmi les plus glorieux de l'histoire de la civilisation. »[1] Un juge noir, qui est à la tête d'une association de personnes de couleur, considère aussi que la couleur « est un accident auquel on ne fait pas attention parmi nous ». C'est la raison pour laquelle peu de familles des classes les plus élevées

1. Teodoro Sampaio, dans *Rev. Instituto Geogr. e Historico da Bahia* n° 45, 1919, p. 179.

de la société développent chez leurs enfants la conscience de leur propre type ou, s'ils le font, ils n'associent jamais à cette notion un sentiment d'infériorité ou un ressentiment. Un Noir raconte qu'il entendait bien ses parents faire des commentaires sur les désavantages d'être de couleur foncée, mais que la façon dont ils le faisaient n'était ni amère, ni hostile. Un éducateur *pardo* pense qu'il ne faut pas cacher à l'enfant le sentiment de sa couleur, car « cela étant purement physique n'a aucune importance ». Différente est l'attitude d'une jeune fille également *parda*, dont le père, Blanc, cependant marié à une mulâtresse, n'aime pas les gens de couleur foncée; elle-même ne les aime pas, quoiqu'elle prétende n'éprouver nulle honte de sa « qualité ». Son sentiment d'infériorité se révèle clairement lorsqu'elle dit qu'elle a un ami fils de Syriens qui désire l'épouser, quoique d'une « race supérieure » à la sienne.

Chez certains individus la conscience de classe dépasse la conscience de race. Un fonctionnaire mulâtre raconte qu'étant enfant il ne se sentait nullement différent de ses compagnons d'école et de jeux d'une ville de l'intérieur de l'État; ce fut seulement lorsque sa famille devint très pauvre qu'il réalisa qu'il était mulâtre. Sa propre mère attira son attention sur la différence qu'il y avait entre lui et ses amis, mais ceux qui étaient de son type et qui avaient de l'argent continuaient à se considérer comme Blancs et à être traités comme tels. Un économiste, plus foncé que le fonctionnaire que nous venons de citer, déclare que l'extrême pauvreté dans laquelle il vécut pendant son enfance ne lui permettait pas de penser à sa couleur. Un intellectuel de couleur foncée dit que, lorsqu'il était adolescent, il ne pensait jamais à son type; aucune des expériences antérieures à cette époque n'est associée à la conscience de sa couleur. Le même fait paraît se produire chez les enfants blancs, lorsqu'on permet que des relations durables s'établissent entre eux et leurs compagnons d'école et de jeux sans discrimination de type. De nombreux informateurs de couleur assez foncée rapportent qu'ils gardent encore plusieurs amitiés nouées à l'école avec des Blancs *finos*. Même parmi les adultes il en est qui affirment n'avoir pas toujours conscience de leur type. Un instituteur nous a déclaré n'être jamais préoccupé de sa pigmentation parce qu'il considère que cela n'a rien à voir avec ses difficultés ou avec sa vie professionnelle. Il est clair que des affirmations de cette nature ne sauraient être acceptées uniquement dans leur signification apparente; elles pourraient en effet être des réactions de défense contre les investigations des enquêteurs.

Il est toutefois des personnes qui n'arrivent pas à dominer le complexe d'infériorité résultant de leur « qualité ». « Il suffit d'un regard pour troubler une personne de couleur foncée », dit un

étudiant d'université très noir. Autrefois, quand on le traitait de « nègre », il s'irritait et se sentait humilié. « Mais je suis arrivé à vaincre ce sentiment, ajoute-t-il; moi aussi je peux traiter les autres de « Blancs » sans antipathie, aussitôt que je vois qu'ils sont prêts à plaisanter avec moi. » Il existe, sans doute « un léger refoulement » chez les Noirs, « mais il n'est jamais intense et doit être vaincu », déclare un avocat mulâtre, et il ajoute qu' « un tel sentiment peut donner naissance à une attitude servile » : un de ses collègues, de même couleur que lui, homme très compétent et travailleur, n'a pas le courage de plaider pour son compte et continue à être simplement l'assistant d'un avocat blanc. Certaines personnes de couleur, enfin, affirment être fières de cette couleur. Une jeune fille de rang élevé affirme n'avoir aucun regret d'être noire et tenir à ce que dans tous les documents officiels sa véritable « qualité » soit enregistrée. Ceci peut être aussi une réaction de défense, d'autant que cette informatrice a une personnalité nettement marquée d'un complexe de frustration lié à sa condition physique. On raconte qu'un employé hésitant quant au terme par lequel il lui faudrait définir, en un document officiel, la couleur d'un homme de profession libérale très connu, celui-ci, devinant son embarras, lui demanda d'écrire « mulâtre », « car, ajouta-t-il, je suis mulâtre, sans aucun doute ».

Certaines personnes sont accusées de s'isoler pour ne pas se sentir obligées de vivre dans le monde « inférieur » auquel elles appartiennent par la pigmentation de leur peau. Ceci provoque un certain ressentiment de la part des Noirs qui attribuent ce comportement à la honte qu'ont ces personnes de leur type, et au désir de ne jamais être vues « parmi ceux de leur catégorie ». Nos informateurs affirment qu'une telle façon d'agir est courante parmi les femmes de la classe moyenne ou élevée. Cependant la tendance à accepter une telle ségrégation n'est pas générale. Un fonctionnaire noir foncé raconte ainsi ses expériences : « Les problèmes raciaux n'influent pas sur moi. Je suis très bien reçu partout, même parmi les familles les plus distinguées; je donne des leçons de portugais à leurs fils, et elles tiennent à mon amitié. Un Noir bien élevé a son entrée dans tous les milieux. On ne fait pas de discrimination parmi les hommes; c'est parmi les femmes qu'on perçoit très nettement cette tendance. Les unes se contentent d'être discourtoises, évitant de serrer la main des Noirs qu'elles rencontrent parmi les Blancs. Cependant, quand elles ont le goût d'un homme de couleur elles sont capables de faire des folies. » « Sans doute, ajoute-t-il, en certains milieux je me sens isolé. » Il est intéressant de noter que cet informateur est un des rares qui s'occupent de discrimination, mais il le fait, comme la plupart d'ailleurs, sans rancœur et en assurant qu'il en est récompensé par les bonnes relations qu'il entretient avec ses collègues

3 Au chevet d'un malade

[facing P. 32]

blancs dans l'importante administration d'État où il travaille, où il a occupé des postes de direction et où il a eu à remplir des missions comportant une grande responsabilité.

Dans l'ensemble, les Noirs parlent avec calme, et même lorsqu'ils sont très réservés avec l'enquêteur ils témoignent d'une certaine assurance psychologique et d'une bonne adaptation aux conditions de vie de Bahia. Il y a évidemment, là aussi, des exceptions : un homme exerçant une profession libérale, et qui passe pour avoir eu des ennuis à cause de sa couleur, se montre réticent et même réservé. « Il se sent inférieur du fait qu'il est noir, disent les autres Noirs; en raison de cela il provoque fréquemment des histoires. » Les informateurs affirment qu'il y a des mulâtres qui, désirant cacher leur origine, évitent de paraître en compagnie de leurs propres parents de couleur noire. Un jeune homme exerçant une profession libérale, très estimé, est couvert d'éloges parce qu'il n'a pas de tels préjugés; quoique marié avec une Blanche, il va partout avec sa mère, une Noire du plus beau noir, et la présente à tous ses amis. Au contraire, un autre homme de même milieu et de même « qualité » est critiqué parce que, selon les uns, « il ne voudrait pas être noir et pour cela il cache sa vieille mère ». Un autre Noir est considéré comme plein de préjugés et comme raciste « parce qu'il préfère aller avec les Blancs, et qu'il aime se montrer en public avec des femmes plus blanches de teint que de réputation ». Certains de ses collègues de même profession et de même rang social le considèrent comme un « refoulé » qui a honte d'être noir. « Et, ajoute-t-on, il y en a beaucoup comme lui, qui, s'ils le pouvaient, seraient blancs! »

Il ne fait aucun doute que certains Blancs, y compris les mulâtres clairs et foncés, traitent les Noirs et les personnes de couleur de classe sociale humble avec un certain air de supériorité. Ils le font plus rarement avec des personnes de même rang qu'eux. Lancer à la tête de quelqu'un qu'il est inférieur à cause de sa couleur serait une grave faute, d'après l'étiquette qui régit les relations entre individus de types différents à Bahia. Un éducateur *moreno*, originaire d'un État du Nord, dit que durant les neuf ans qu'il vécut à Bahia il put observer ce respect mutuel entre personnes de « qualités » différentes, pourvu qu'elles fussent du même rang social, alors que dans son État les personnes de couleur sont traitées avec mépris. Dans les couches les plus élevées de la société de Bahia, disent nos informateurs, une personne de couleur en général ne subit pas d'humiliations. Il se peut même qu'on la reconnaisse comme appartenant aux groupes les plus considérés. Un Noir très foncé, exerçant une profession libérale, s'irrite parce que, dans l'organisation où il travaille, beaucoup de gens qui ne le connaissent pas le prennent pour un garçon de bureau ou un employé de catégorie inférieure. Une fonctionnaire,

[facing p. 33]

4. Femme médecin de Salvador

par contre, dit qu'elle-même et sa famille sont heureuses et n'attribuent aucune de leurs difficultés au fait d'être mulâtres foncés. « Si je n'ai jamais pu suivre une carrière comme je le désirais, c'est parce que mon père était pauvre et mourut jeune. A cause de cela, je dis toujours chez nous que nous ne devons pas parler de certaines choses... Certaines personnes pourraient croire que nous souffrons à cause de notre couleur. »

Chez les jeunes filles qui sont plus habituées que les hommes aux discriminations, le sentiment d'infériorité peut prendre des formes tout à fait particulières; c'est ainsi qu'une étudiante universitaire affirme n'être pas dégoûtée de sa couleur, « mais qu'elle préférerait être moins laide ». Enfin, tout en ne l'avouant pas, une femme noire exerçant une profession libérale laissait percer le même complexe de frustration en racontant qu'elle était très découragée, lorsqu'elle était jeune, de s'entendre appeler une « jolie petite Noire ».

Un aspect important du problème est constitué par le fait que les Noirs et les mulâtres foncés des cercles ouvriers urbains, à mesure qu'ils prennent conscience de leurs droits civils et politiques, sont moins inhibés dans leur comportement devant les Blancs. Ces derniers éprouvent du ressentiment de ce que des « nègres effrontés » parlent haut dans la rue, passent devant eux et ne leur cèdent pas leur place dans les tramways et autres moyens de transport. Ces incidents revêtent une signification agressive aux yeux de ceux qui se réclament de la classe dominante en vertu de leur apparence physique ou sociale. En bien des cas, les Noirs ne font pas usage de leur couleur comme signe distinctif de leur groupe. Une importante association d'assistance mutuelle pour Noirs a pris pour emblème deux mains blanches qui se tendent en symbole de solidarité. Dans un de ses rapports cette même organisation personnifie sa propre activité par une image représentant une femme blanche portant un enfant blanc, et deux autres enfants blancs, aux traits européens, qui la tiennent embrassée.

UNE SOCIÉTÉ MULTIRACIALE A CLASSES

La structure des classes de Bahia n'a jamais été décrite et analysée du point de vue sociologique, sinon très sommairement par Donald Pierson [1]. Ainsi que le montre ce savant, on peut dire schématiquement que la population de Bahia consiste en une classe « supérieure » à laquelle appartiennent les descendants de la vieille aristocratie, les grands propriétaires et les commerçants, les intellectuels et ceux qui exercent une profession libérale, tels qu'avocats, médecins, ingénieurs, politiciens, officiers des forces armées, poètes et journalistes, professeurs d'université, les quelques industriels que Bahia a produits et une classe basse constituée de gens très pauvres, exerçant des professions modestes, manœuvres et ouvriers manuels. Il existe, de plus, une couche qu'on ne pourrait pas appeler exactement une classe moyenne, mais plutôt un groupe intermédiaire, comprenant les petits employés, les petits fonctionnaires et les commerçants.

Quant à leur place dans la société, on peut dire que, bien qu'en termes généraux le statut des Bahianais dépende de leur naissance, il ne fait pas de doute que l'ascension sociale procède par libre compétition. Noirs et métis, en tant qu'individus, peuvent, « par leur mérite personnel ou par suite de circonstances favorables, améliorer leur condition sociale et même obtenir une situation dans les couches supérieures de la société; cette situation sera en rapport, non seulement avec leur groupe de couleur, mais avec l'ensemble de la communauté » [2].

La majorité des personnes de couleur vit, comme toute la classe basse, dans des quartiers pauvres, dans les faubourgs de la ville ou en de petites agglomérations de maisons modestes intercalées dans les quartiers résidentiels des classes plus élevées; de plus, dans ces mêmes quartiers, vivent de nombreuses familles de couleur, de condition intermédiaire ou supérieure. Les personnes de couleur sont reçues, selon leurs ressources économiques et leur degré d'éducation, dans les hôtels et plus encore dans les pensions des diverses catégories. Elles peuvent fréquenter librement restaurants, cafés, maisons de thé, cabarets; elles participent, fréquemment, à des dîners où elles rencontrent des amis blancs. Les journaux et les revues relatent les anniversaires, les mariages, les remises de diplômes, les naissances, les retours de voyages, les manifestations et les hommages reçus ou le décès de n'importe quelle personne, sans aucune mention de type ou de couleur, imprimant indistinctement les portraits des unes et des autres. Et lorsqu'une personne n'est pas assez connue pour que les journaux publient spontanément un article à son sujet,

1. Donald Pierson, *op. cit.*, p. 64.
2. *Ibid*, p. 419, 422; voir aussi Frazier, *art. cit.*, p. 477.

il n'est pas rare de voir reproduit son nom ou même son portrait, après paiement du prix de l'annonce, dans la rubrique consacrée à ce genre de nouvelles. « Peu de personnes, dit un Blanc, pourraient avoir plus de prestige dans la société de Bahia, grâce à leurs manières raffinées et leur élégance, que n'en eurent il y a quelque dix ans un professeur de l'université et sa femme, l'un et l'autre mulâtres. » Parmi les familles les plus haut placées de l'actuelle société de Bahia, il en est beaucoup, affirme une informatrice *morena*, qui « appartiennent à la caste », qui sont autrement dit métisses, quoiqu'il ne soit pas discret d'attirer l'attention sur l'origine de ces familles. Puisqu'il n'y a pas, à proprement parler, de castes, mais simplement des classes, les personnes de couleur s'introduisent dans le monde des Blancs, même si elles ont des traits noirs marqués; il leur faut simplement se rapprocher par leur comportement du groupe dominant « supérieur ». Pour montrer qu'elle est née déjà assimilée aux Blancs, une femme exerçant une profession libérale explique qu'elle est fille d'un Noir qui fut domestique « dans un milieu autre que celui des *senzala* »[1]. Elle se considère une créature privilégiée de Dieu, puisqu'elle a tout ce qu'elle désire. « Je m'entends avec les gens de la meilleure société. Je choisis mes amis dans toutes les classes. Je fréquente les clubs et le palais du gouvernement. Il y a peu de temps même, les journaux ont publié mon portrait aux côtés du gouverneur de l'État au cours d'un déjeuner qu'un de mes amis donnait en son honneur. »

Les Blancs espèrent que les personnes de couleur, en particulier les plus foncées, soient modérées dans leur attitude, aient un comportement modeste, et que, en dépit de leurs mérites personnels, elles gardent certaines distances, et les personnes de couleur n'en ignorent rien. Un mulâtre de profession libérale dit, par exemple, qu'il ne va que là où sa présence est nécessaire. « Souvent, dit un Noir, le Noir ne rencontre pas de barrières parce que, connaissant les préjugés des Blancs, il ne va pas dans certains lieux ». Un autre Noir, de profession libérale, celui-là, pense que les personnes de couleur, pour pouvoir s'élever dans l'échelle sociale, « doivent éviter de faire certaines choses ». Certaines de ces « choses », d'après de nombreux informateurs, sont les attitudes agressives, les façons prétentieuses et affectées, les gestes désordonnés, ridicules. « Un individu, exerçant une profession libérale, par exemple, serait bien mieux reçu s'il n'était pas si agressif et si voyant. Il tient à s'asseoir entre les dirigeants des associations aux réunions desquelles il assiste, et il désire toujours paraître sur les photographies. A l'occasion d'un hommage rendu à un visiteur illustre, il prit place, avant que

1. *Senzala* = ensemble de maisons communicantes, de mauvaise qualité, où vivaient les esclaves dans les *fazendas*.

la séance commençât, à la table de la présidence, en causant, par ce geste, de l'irritation aux présidents de l'association dont quelques-uns ont conscience de ne pas être blancs. »

Dans une société de traditions aristocratiques comme celle de Bahia, l'étiquette en ce qui concerne les rapports entre personnes de niveaux sociaux différents est très importante. Une personne qui a du « toupet », qui outrepasse les limites que lui fixent son rang ou sa situation d'étranger, en usant sans raison de manières qui révèlent une certaine intimité ou identité de positions, est toujours mal vue, même si elle est blanche. Cela est pire encore si elle est de couleur parce que, non seulement dans ce cas elle est taxée de mal élevée, mais encore d'effrontée, de personne qui « prend beaucoup de liberté » avec ceux qu'elle ne connaît pas ou qui « ne sont pas de sa classe ». Le mot « classe » usé dans ce sens signifie condition sociale très basse. « Les résistances qui se manifestent contre l'ascension sociale des nègres, dit une personne presque noire, s'expliquent par leur manque d'éducation et leurs mauvaises manières. Avec les mulâtres, il en est de même, car si les uns sont excessivement humbles et soumis, les autres sont prétentieux, vicieux, exagérés dans leurs manières, désireux de se mettre en avant. » Deux Noirs de profession libérale répètent à peu près la même chose : « La couleur n'a pas d'influence directe, mais elle entraîne certaines conséquences. Les personnes de couleur, à cause de leur origine, sont humbles, ont des coutumes qui leur sont particulières et ne sont pas préparées à la vie de société. Leurs manières attirent l'attention et déplaisent aux gens bien élevés. A cause de cela les personnes appartenant à cette classe et qui s'en détachent souffrent des préjugés qui règnent sur eux. Lorsqu'on voit un Noir s'élever et qu'on a affaire à lui, on se demande toujours s'il aura de mauvaises manières. C'est seulement lorsqu'on commence à le connaître que cette impression se dissipe. »

Non moins importante est l'adhésion aux normes morales des classes plus élevées pour s'y faire admettre. D'après un mulâtre de profession libérale très estimé et expérimenté « celui qui mérite le respect est respecté, quelle que puisse être sa couleur »[1].

Un caractère aimable facilite aussi l'ascension et la cohabitation avec les Blancs. Autant chez ces derniers que parmi les personnes de couleur, on dit d'un éducateur mulâtre foncé qu'il est très estimé à cause de son bon caractère, de ses manières douces et modérées; de même la réussite d'un Noir de profession libérale

1. Parmi les Yorubas qui constituèrent une partie considérable des esclaves africains importés à Bahia, on entend fréquemment dire au cours des discussions au sujet de la situation et de la classification sociale qu'« on respecte qui se respecte », cf. W.R. Bascom, « Social Status Wealth and Individual Differences among the Yoruba », *Am. Anthropologist*, vol. 53, n° 4, 1re partie, oct-déc. 1951, p. 504.

est attribuée à son tempérament communicatif, à sa jovialité et à son humeur constante. Mais comme le problème des relations raciales est, pour beaucoup de personnes, plus une question de classe qu'une question de race, « la primauté de la culture et de la classe » ayant le dessus, on peut dire avec un éducateur mulâtre que « s'il a de l'argent, de l'instruction et des manières, le Noir peut s'élever ». Cette synthèse cependant n'épuise pas tous les aspects du problème. Une femme de profession libérale assez foncée assure qu' « un Noir pour s'élever socialement doit avoir du talent et des amitiés ». A la vérité, les bonnes relations personnelles et familiales sont très importantes pour tout, à Bahia, que ce soit dans le commerce, dans l'administration ou dans la politique. Un dicton constamment cité par les Brésiliens enseigne que « mieux vaut ami en place qu'argent en caisse », ce qui fait que toute entreprise est plus facile quand l'intéressé est muni d'une présentation « personnelle » d'un ami de la personne avec laquelle il doit traiter. Une informatrice insiste pour expliquer qu'elle ne croit pas que l'argent ait une grande influence sur l'ascension sociale des personnes de couleur; elle connaît plusieurs d'entre elles qui, ayant déjà fortune faite, n'arrivaient pas à s'élever. « Car pour s'élever il ne faut pas avoir de complexe d'infériorité. Il y a beaucoup de Noirs qui, non seulement n'osent pas se rapprocher des Blancs de classe élevée, mais transmettent cette crainte à leurs enfants. » Le fait que la couleur noire rappelle les anciens esclaves est invoqué par beaucoup comme une explication aux difficultés que rencontrent les plus foncés pour atteindre un rang élevé. « Surgis depuis peu des abîmes de l'esclavage, écrit un prêtre métis, rares sont les nègres qui arrivent à atteindre des situations ou un niveau élevés. Pour ce qui est des mulâtres et des *morenos* (qui ne sont pas de vrais Noirs), nous pouvons dire qu'ils vivent, à tous les points de vue, en harmonie avec les Blancs au moins ici à Bahia. » Un médecin fait la même remarque : « En ce qui concerne les *morenos*, ceux-ci se trouvent avoir une situation équivalente à celle des Blancs; mais il n'est pas juste d'affirmer que les Noirs peuvent atteindre facilement les plus hautes charges ni des situations de premier plan dans les professions les plus cotées. Quant aux mulâtres, on en trouve quelques-uns dans les situations que nous venons de nommer, sans qu'on puisse nier toutefois que pour les métis, dont la couleur se rapproche beaucoup de celle des nègres, cette pigmentation de la peau crée des obstacles aux diverses carrières citées. Par contre, les métis à cheveux lisses et à couleur très proche de celle de la race blanche pourront réussir dans les différentes branches de l'activité humaine, sans avoir à subir aucun ennui de nature ethnique. »

Nonobstant toutes ces difficultés, les personnes de couleur, surtout les plus claires et celles dont les traits les rapprochent le

plus des Blancs, peuvent acquérir un rang aussi élevé que ceux-ci. Comme on le verra dans les chapitres suivants, elles peuvent se marier avec des Blancs, selon leur situation sociale; elles peuvent avoir une place prééminente dans les professions libérales, dans la vie intellectuelle; elles peuvent être admises dans les organisations par lesquelles on acquiert prestige et rang social, ce qui confirme la thèse déjà exposée par Pierson, que « ce que nous rencontrons à Bahia, c'est une société multiraciale à classes »[1].

L'ascension sociale des personnes de couleur, bien qu'elle se produise avec une facilité relative, n'est pas sans conséquence pour ceux qui y atteignent. Elle se rapproche un peu de ce qu'est le *passing* pour les nègres nord-américains : ceux qui s'élèvent non seulement éprouvent des doutes et des difficultés au sujet de leur situation, mais ils sont aussi l'objet du ressentiment d'une partie de ceux — et ils sont nombreux — qui restent dans les couches inférieures de la société.

Lorsqu'il s'élève vers le rang social qui doit l'assimiler culturellement et socialement au Blanc, en le dotant de son « épiderme social », le Noir est souvent censuré parce qu'il veut « faire le Blanc » ou parce qu'il « ne veut plus être de couleur ». De nombreux informateurs désignèrent certains individus de couleur qui sont jugés de la sorte et qui, disaient-ils, refuseraient certainement d'être interviewés pour l'enquête. Certains d'entre eux, effectivement, évitèrent de parler du problème racial, faisant poliment dévier la conversation sur d'autres thèmes, sous prétexte qu'ils ne connaissaient rien en la matière et que tout cela n'avait aucune importance chez nous. L'auteur, malgré son expérience des milieux de Bahia, eut quelques difficultés à approcher quelques-unes des personnes ainsi mentionnées. Dans certains cas, cependant, il put vérifier que les imputations citées plus haut ne sont pas autre chose que des réactions de ressentiment des informateurs contre des gens qui se sont beaucoup élevés ou qu'ils jugent superficiellement, parce qu'ils ne les connaissent pas personnellement. Nombre de personnes interrogées manifestèrent même un grand intérêt pour les relations raciales, expliquant avoir lu de nombreux livres brésiliens ou étrangers, avoir vu des films sur ce sujet, et aimer discuter ce problème avec des personnes appartenant au même type et au même statut professionnel et social qu'eux; il y en eut même deux qui déclarèrent avoir beaucoup pensé à écrire leurs observations sur ce sujet. Dans un seul cas une fonctionnaire mulâtre répondit avec une certaine irritation que ce problème n'était pas important et que les Noirs de Bahia ne s'élevaient pas socialement parce qu'ils étaient très « arriérés et effrontés ».

1. Donald Pierson, *op. cit.*, p. 408.

LES MARIAGES INTERRACIAUX

Le mariage interracial est, pour les gens de couleur, un moyen d'accéder aux classes les plus élevées. Les individus à peau plus claire ont de plus grandes possibilités de devenir socialement blancs et le mariage entre gens de couleur et Blancs donne du prestige aux premiers et leur offre la perspective d'avoir des enfants plus proches du type préféré.

Aucune loi ne défend au Brésil le mariage entre membres de races différentes. Les candidats au mariage civil ou religieux se présentent simplement devant les autorités de l'État ou de l'Église, munis des papiers nécessaires, tels que certificat de naissance ou de baptême, dans lesquels le type ou la couleur sont mentionnés seulement aux fins d'identification.

Le nombre de mariages entre personnes qui diffèrent quant à la couleur est très élevé à Bahia. Sur deux cent vingt-deux unions conclues, il y a quelques années, dans 34 % des cas l'homme et la femme étaient de même couleur; dans 43 % l'homme était plus foncé que la femme et dans 22 % cette dernière l'était davantage [1].

Mais la fréquence des véritables mariages interraciaux, c'est-à-dire entre personnes appartenant à des groupes raciaux différents, est difficile à estimer par les méthodes habituelles de classification ethnique. Pour ce faire, il faudrait classer génétiquement les contractants ou étudier la généalogie de nombreuses familles. Étant donné que les individus de phénotype « blanc » sont parfois des métis [2], il devient extrêmement difficile d'acquérir la certitude qu'un mariage est interracial. Ce qui importe, toutefois, en cette étude, ce sont les mariages entre personnes de couleur et les personnes « socialement blanches » qui sont, indéniablement, très fréquents. Sur 1.269 mariages, Pierson en rencontra 3,3 % interraciaux, chiffre réellement très bas pour une région dans laquelle les barrières de la couleur sont si ténues. Ces chiffres ont certainement été pris dans un ensemble de mariages de personnes de toutes les classes [3]. Si nous examinons la situation dans les couches intermédiaires et inférieures, on verra que la proportion peut atteindre 20 % ou plus. Cependant il n'en fut pas toujours ainsi. Les lois portugaises durant la période coloniale interdisaient les mariages de Blancs avec des indigènes et avec des nègres. Une fois l'esclavage des aborigènes aboli, le mariage entre ces

1. Thales de Azevedo, « Um aspeto da mestiçagem na Bahia », *Revista do Arquivo*, *an. XI*, vol. CI, Sao Paulo, 1945, p. 45.
2. Le Dr Paul Rivet attire notre attention sur la facilité avec laquelle le Noir africain s'est métissé avec les Blancs et les Indiens de l'Amérique du Sud. Voir à ce sujet, *Les origines de l'homme américain*. Montréal, 1947. Consulter aussi M. J. Herskovits, *The Anthropometry of the American Negro*, New York, 1930.
3. Donald Pierson, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

derniers et les Blancs fut autorisé; mais déjà avant cela le clergé catholique régularisait par des mariages religieux les nombreux concubinages entre colons portugais et femmes indigènes. Les mariages de Blancs et d'indigènes avec des Noirs continuèrent à être interdits pour longtemps encore, mais à mesure que le métissage entre Européens et Africains augmentait par suite des unions libres, le nombre des mariages interraciaux augmentait parallèlement, car en réalité seuls les mariages entre personnes libres et esclaves étaient interdits. Enfin, avec l'abolition de l'esclavage noir la dernière barrière dressée contre les mariages interraciaux tomba. Punis auparavant et pendant assez longtemps de sévères sanctions sociales [1], ces mariages augmentèrent depuis l'Indépendance, en 1822, avec l'ascension sociale des mulâtres, des militaires, des bureaucrates, des avocats diplômés des universités portugaises et françaises, processus qui fut intense sous le régime monarchique brésilien et auquel Bahia contribua largement par des hommes d'État et des hommes politiques sortis de ces groupes [2].

La pression sociale contre les mariages mixtes paraît avoir diminué avec le temps, si bien que ceux-ci se firent chaque jour plus nombreux. Jadis les familles de la haute société ou de la bourgeoisie vérifiaient avec beaucoup de soin l'origine des fiancés. Beaucoup de mariages échouaient parce que l'un des futurs conjoints se trouvait appartenir à la « caste ». Les unions qui se formaient contre la volonté des parents étaient causes de brouilles durables entre parents et enfants, et donnaient lieu à de véritables tragédies domestiques. Beaucoup de pères maudissaient leurs filles et les déshéritaient lorsqu'elles s'entêtaient à vouloir épouser un homme de « qualité inférieure », surtout si celui-ci était un bâtard. « De nos jours, nous dit une informatrice, on a beaucoup plus de facilités. » Ceci semble bien être l'opinion générale.

Le mariage mixte est très recherché parce qu'il confère du prestige à celui des deux conjoints qui est le plus foncé. Un professeur noir nous a fait la remarque qu'il y a peu d'hommes de couleur qui pensent, en épousant une femme claire, « améliorer la race », mais ils espèrent faciliter leur propre ascension sociale. Preuve en est la fréquence avec laquelle ce dessein est implici-

1. Ch. Expilly écrivait en 1863 : « La constitution a proclamé l'égalité des citoyens. Le préjugé plus fort que la constitution élève une barrière infranchissable — jusqu'à ce jour du moins — entre individus qui se différencient par la tonalité de leur peau. On a beau distribuer des chamarrures, des décorations, des titres à des hommes métis, personne ne se lie à eux. Quand a-t-on vu une Blanche se marier avec un mulâtre ? Celle qui oserait affronter audacieusement les us et coutumes de son pays serait rejetée au moment même par toutes les personnes de race pure. Elle serait méprisée, montrée du doigt, exclue de la société, dont elle était en d'autres temps ornement et orgueil », *Mulheres e costumes do Brasil*, Sao Paulo, 1935, p. 279.
2. G. Freyre, *op. cit.*, III, p. 951.

tement indiqué ou même avoué. Une employée de couleur flirte « pour s'amuser » avec des garçons blancs; en fait, elle cherche à obtenir l'homme qu'elle désire, et elle proclame qu'elle n'épousera jamais un homme au teint sombre à moins qu'il ne soit riche et bien placé. Sa mère l'approuve entièrement lorsqu'elle annonce qu'elle n'acceptera pas les avances d'un homme de couleur foncée. Ses trois sœurs ont épousé des Blancs et l'une d'elles se montre orgueilleuse de ses enfants qui sont blonds. Une étudiante du même type physique « préfère » des soupirants *morenos*, mais admet qu'elle n'aurait aucune objection à se marier avec un Blanc. Un jeune étudiant mulâtre se vante d'avoir déjà eu huit flirts avec des femmes plus claires que lui à l'exception d'une, ce qu'il illustre en montrant les photos de trois d'entre elles. Il en est même qui parlent d'une Noire qui aurait une assez grosse somme en réserve pour « acheter un mari blanc ». Celle-ci déclare qu'« elle ne fera jamais d'efforts pour se marier »; elle se mariera si tel est son destin, et elle affirme avoir reçu des avances à la fois de Noirs et de Blancs, mais les avoir rejetées les unes et les autres. « Je n'ai pas de préférence de type; j'exige seulement que ce soit un homme cultivé et qui corresponde à mon idéal. » Et comme si elle se trahissait inconsciemment, elle raconte que, durant un voyage, elle rencontra un Allemand — le type le plus caractéristique du Blanc *fino* pour les gens de Bahia — qui lui a fait la cour et qui depuis lui a écrit de nombreuses lettres. Très caractéristique aussi est ce que dit une jeune mulâtresse : « Les jeunes filles foncées préfèrent des amoureux plus clairs qu'elles. Moi-même, si je cherchais à me marier... » Elle ne termine pas sa phrase, mais, après une pause, elle ajoute : « Cela dépend, car si je voulais avoir un amoureux, je ne regarderais pas à la couleur. » Et comme si elle élevait une plainte : « Les garçons de couleur préfèrent les femmes claires, dit-elle, même si elles sont mal élevées; il leur suffit qu'elles soient claires... »

Le ressentiment que ces difficultés causent aux jeunes filles est en général dissimulé par un détachement apparent à l'égard du mariage. Une femme de profession libérale affirme qu'elle ne veut pas se marier parce qu'elle est de tempérament inquiet. De plus, ajoute-t-elle, les hommes de couleur désirent épouser des femmes blanches et les Noirs qu'elle a pu fréquenter sont mentalement inférieurs à elle, ce qui peut être parfaitement vrai. Des frustrations identiques se rencontrent parmi les hommes qui n'arrivent pas à avoir de fiancées blanches. L'un d'entre eux vit avec une mulâtresse, mais il dit qu'il connaît plus d'une femme blanche ou *morena* qui l'accepterait comme mari ou même comme amant. Deux Noirs très noirs déclarent ne pas vouloir se marier à moins qu'ils ne trouvent des jeunes filles blanches qui les aiment. Un autre se plaint de ce que les femmes ne veulent pas d'hommes

foncés, même bien élevés, et donnent la préférence à un Blanc, même si c'est un pauvre diable mal « nippé »; dans les rues elles repoussent les avances des hommes foncés, mais acceptent celles pourtant irrespectueuses des Blancs. C'est pour cela, explique-t-il, que, ou bien elles deviennent les concubines de ces derniers, ou bien elles ne se marient pas.

La femme blanche et blonde est, d'autre part, représentée comme étant fortement attirée par les hommes à la peau très pigmentée. Un mulâtre clair, très bien vu dans sa profession, n'est pas attiré par les femmes foncées, quoiqu'il reconnaisse qu'elles sont éclatantes et jolies; il préfère les « Blanches, bien blanches ». Selon ce qu'il affirme, beaucoup d'hommes de son espèce ont cette même inclination tout à fait indépendante de l'idée de « purifier la race ». Il ajoute que les Blanches *finas* ont un véritable goût pour les Noirs, qu'elles considèrent comme particulièrement virils et forts, et ne prisent pas ceux qui ont des manières trop délicates. D'autres informateurs, par contre, parlent sans enthousiasme de ce type de femmes qu'ils considèrent comme froides et fragiles. « La couleur donne de la santé », dit l'un d'eux, et il ajoute que même les Blancs pensent ainsi. « Les femmes très claires répugnent à quelques hommes, affirme un métis; je connais même un Européen qui a envie de vomir quand il voit l'une d'elles. » Toutes ces opinions sur la femme très blanche sont du même ordre que celles qui aux États-Unis, suivant John Dollard [1], servent à la protéger contre les hommes de couleur et quelquefois même contre les Blancs. La *morena* par ailleurs est considérée comme le type féminin le plus ardent et même sexuellement parlant la plus accessible. De nombreux informateurs qui forment le projet d'épouser des Blanches expliquent ou laissent entendre qu'ils cherchent des métisses claires, socialement blanches.

Une des raisons pour lesquelles les mariages mixtes sont désirés est, nous l'avons déjà dit, que grâce à eux il est possible d'« améliorer sa propre race ». Les mariages de Noirs avec les Noires ne font que prolonger la situation, pense un homme noir de profession libérale et qui passe pour être raciste. « Le fils mulâtre est mieux accepté et ne souffre pas ce que sa famille a souffert. » Les traits plus fins des enfants métis, explique un autre informateur, facilitent leur intégration sociale. « Avoir un père blanc, ajoute-t-il, est en soi un avantage. » Un mulâtre au teint sombre raconte qu'il commença à travailler dans des professions très humbles et pénibles, mais que sa situation commença à s'améliorer

1. « Il semble possible que l'image de la femme blanche soit en partie préservée des pensées sexuelles et des allusions du même ordre, tandis que la femme noire tend à porter tout le fardeau du désir sexuel incontrôlé... Si les femmes noires sont représentées comme sexuellement désirables dans l'imagination populaire blanche, les hommes noirs sont représentés comme particulièrement virils et expérimentés en ce domaine. » *Caste and Class in a Southern Town*, New York, 1949, p. 1 et suiv.

lorsqu'un homme politique très important apprit qu'il était le fils d'un de ses amis blancs. Il obtint alors un travail de bureau qui lui laissait du temps pour étudier jusqu'au moment où il passa ses examens universitaires. Un autre homme exerçant une profession libérale considère que l'un des atouts qu'il eut durant son enfance fut d'avoir un père blanc, qui, bien que de situation modeste, était très lié avec les hommes politiques de la petite localité dans laquelle il vivait.

Pour ce qui est des cas particuliers de nos informateurs qui se sont mariés avec des femmes blanches ou pour le moins très claires, il est intéressant de noter qu'aucun d'eux n'a invoqué pour justifier cette préférence, l'une des raisons exposées plus haut. Certains disent avoir eu une première fiancée foncée qui mourut ou qui rompit les fiançailles; c'est à cause de cela qu'ils finirent par se marier avec une femme claire. D'autres ne cherchent aucune justification. L'un d'eux dit : « Il y a beaucoup de Blancs que je n'aime pas voir chez moi. Cependant j'ai épousé une Blanche descendante de Portugais. » Une autre raison donnée par certains informateurs est que les jeunes filles foncées se refusent aux jeunes gens de leur type même lorsqu'ils sont diplômés et qu'ils ont de belles situations. Il semble cependant que cette information soit quelque peu exagérée. Dans les familles blanches auprès desquelles beaucoup de ces jeunes filles sont servantes, ajoutent nos informateurs, elles entendent constamment dire qu' « elles doivent éviter ces Noirs effrontés et ignorants ». Mais cet avertissement se réfère aux Noirs de condition humble, non à ceux d'un rang social ou professionnel élevé. Les garçons foncés, dit un Noir, commencent à connaître cette difficulté dès qu'ils arrivent à l'âge de vingt ans : « C'est pour cela qu'ils recherchent les jeunes filles claires. » Évidemment, cette question n'est pas de celles qu'on peut résoudre avec le matériel d'une enquête comme la nôtre, mais il paraît ne pas faire de doute que nous soyons ici en face de raisons destinées à masquer le désir d'une union avec des femmes blanches. Ce dessein, par ailleurs, devrait être interprété à l'aide de la psychanalyse et d'autres techniques d'investigation des problèmes de la personnalité.

Il y a à Bahia quelques Noirs distingués, particulièrement dans les professions libérales, qui se sont mariés avec des Blanches ou avec des femmes beaucoup plus claires qu'eux-mêmes. Ce fait est cité avec quelque emphase et avec un orgueil mal dissimulé par quelques personnes de couleur foncée, quoique de tels cas fassent aussi l'objet de critiques. Très souvent les femmes appartiennent à des milieux bien inférieurs à ceux auxquels ils appartiennent eux-mêmes, « car dans les classes plus élevées, quoique les mariages entre mulâtres et *morenos* soient fréquents, l'opposition est encore forte contre les mariages entre personnes très

éloignées l'une de l'autre dans la gamme des couleurs »[1]. Plus la condition de l'homme est basse, moins le mariage mixte est difficile pour lui à l'intérieur de sa classe. C'est-à-dire qu'il est beaucoup plus facile à un Noir des groupes intermédiaires et inférieurs de se marier avec une Blanche de sa classe sociale qu'à un Noir d'une classe supérieure avec une jeune fille de son propre milieu. Par ailleurs, moins la différence est grande entre le type de l'homme et de la femme, moins l'opposition à vaincre sera grande dans quelque milieu que ce soit. Le mariage d'un homme clair avec une femme foncée, surtout quand elle est beaucoup plus pigmentée que lui, rencontre une opposition très marquée dans tous les milieux, bien que les opinions sur la *morena* aux traits fins et à la couleur de *jambo* rendent ce type désirable pour certains Blancs, particulièrement pour les immigrants portugais et un peu pour les Allemands. Une femme foncée qui se marie avec un Blanc est beaucoup plus exposée à l'hostilité de la famille de son mari qu'un homme foncé qui épouse une femme claire ou blanche. Pour expliquer en partie ceci il ne faut pas oublier que la famille à Bahia étant très influencée par la famille de l'épouse, le mari est fatalement absorbé par elle de sorte que les enfants se lient effectivement davantage avec leurs grands-parents du côté maternel qu'avec ceux du côté paternel[2]. Un Blanc qui se marie avec une femme foncée « sort » donc de sa catégorie, car suivant un dicton souvent répété : « quand une jeune fille se marie, sa famille y gagne un fils ». L'homme passe ainsi au monde des personnes de couleur d'où sa femme est originaire. De même, un homme foncé s'« élève » en s'intégrant à la famille de son épouse claire ou blanche. C'est là le sentiment des Bahianais, sentiment que l'auteur a pu connaître et observer en participant à la vie locale. D'autre part, ceci est confirmé analogiquement par ce qui se passe dans les mariages entre personnes de rang et de fortunes différentes. A Bahia, comme en général dans tout le Brésil, les mariages entre des jeunes gens « cultivés et bien », même s'ils sont pauvres, avec des femmes riches de rang élevé sont beaucoup plus approuvés que ceux d'hommes riches avec des femmes de « classe inférieure ». Dans le cas du jeune homme « cultivé et bien » (ces deux conditions sont requises), même s'il est pauvre ou de couleur, la famille de la fiancée capitalise ces titres comme compensation au troc qu'elle fait de sa fortune ou de sa blancheur; dans la situation opposée, les titres que la jeune fille pauvre ou foncée peut avoir n'ont pas en général

1. Donald Pierson, *op. cit.*
2. Pour vérifier cette hypothèse, l'auteur a interrogé trente jeunes filles de classe inférieure et intermédiaire, élèves d'une école professionnelle, et a ainsi pu vérifier que 63,3 % se considéraient plus liées à la famille de leur mère; 26 % n'ont pas témoigné de préférence; 6,6 % ont penché pour le côté paternel et 3 % ne connaissaient pas leurs ascendants.

le même pouvoir de compensation pour la famille de son époux.

Les Blancs justifient leur opposition aux mariages avec des Noirs, non seulement par des idéologies concernant l'infériorité mentale et morale du Noir, mais aussi par une répulsion « instinctive » pour certaines caractéristiques organiques des Africains et de leurs descendants proches. Un mulâtre, élevé parmi les Européens, exprime cette attitude en disant que « ce n'est pas tant le préjugé de couleur qui est fort à Bahia que la répulsion instinctive de la race blanche devant les tares de la race sœur, lorsqu'elle est pure ou presque pure : mauvaise odeur, couleur, etc., qui ne manque pas de provoquer quelques commentaires désagréables sur les descendants de Cham ». Il faut remarquer que, en ce qui concerne la « mauvaise odeur », celle des Noirs est considérée comme quelque chose d'inhérent à leur nature et donc irrémédiable, la désagréable odeur des Portugais et des autres immigrants étant attribuée uniquement au manque de soins corporels. Cette conception met le Noir en une catégorie physiologique particulière et inférieure, beaucoup de Blancs ignorant qu'eux-mêmes émettent une odeur intolérable aux Asiatiques et aux Noirs [1].

1. Il est intéressant de noter ce qui se passe avec la transfusion du sang. Quand celle-ci se faisait directement du donneur au receveur, souvent le patient blanc ou sa famille préférait des donneurs blancs, se montrant contrariés quand le donneur était mulâtre ou noir. Actuellement avec le système du sang conservé, presque personne ne demande quelle est la « qualité » du donneur, sauf les Juifs et certains étrangers, surtout Européens, qui demandent du sang des membres de leur famille ou de leur « race ». Dans le premier cas, ce qui motivait l'attitude des Blancs était surtout le fait que le donneur était couché dans un lit parallèle à celui du malade, situation rappelant l'intimité de deux personnes qui dorment côte à côte.

LE COMMERCE

Les commerçants et les *fazendeiros* jouissent dans la société de Bahia d'un prestige proportionnel à l'importance économique de leurs activités, les familles les plus riches étant constituées par eux, et leur influence étant notoire dans toute la vie sociale. C'est par ces deux formes d'activité que les Bahianais acquièrent un certain rang social et exercent un contrôle sur les autres secteurs de la structure sociale [1].

Les groupes nationaux et raciaux dont est formée la population de Bahia participent de façon différente au commerce et à l'agriculture. Tandis que parmi les plus importants éleveurs de bestiaux, les Blancs et les *morenos* prédominent, on trouve parmi les propriétaires de plantations de cacao une forte proportion de personnes de couleur qui ont commencé comme petits planteurs et ont progressivement élargi leurs *fazendas* à mesure que le cacao gagnait en importance dans les marchés internationaux. Les plantations de canne et les fabriques de sucre, qui appartenaient à des familles d'origine portugaise très conscientes de leur rang social durant la période coloniale, sont aujourd'hui presque entièrement entre les mains de grandes entreprises capitalistes dans lesquelles prédominent les Blancs et de rares métis.

Quant aux activités commerciales, elles ne sont pas exercées exclusivement par des groupes nationaux et raciaux déterminés, mais ces groupes se les répartissent jusqu'à un certain point entre eux — quoique ces lignes de démarcation aient tendance à disparaître. Les Juifs qui immigrèrent depuis la première guerre mondiale, et que le peuple connaît sous la dénomination de « Russes », sont les principaux propriétaires des magasins d'ameublement et commencent à s'intéresser à d'autres genres de commerce; strictement exclusifs dans leurs firmes, il semble qu'ils n'aient aucun associé brésilien, de sorte que les employés foncés qu'ils ont chez eux n'y occupent jamais que des situations subalternes et n'arrivent jamais aux positions de premier plan qui leur permettraient de prendre place dans les couches les plus élevées de la société.

L'endogamie caractéristique des Israélites a aussi contribué à restreindre les chances des gens de couleur dans ce secteur. Quelques Juifs d'origine française, qui s'établirent dans la ville durant la seconde moitié du siècle dernier et qui se tournèrent vers le commerce et l'élevage, furent entièrement assimilés. Leurs

1. Les activités économiques qui occupent le plus grand nombre de personnes dans l'État de Bahia sont l'agriculture et l'élevage (67 % des individus de sexe masculin); suivent par rang d'importance : la petite industrie artisanale et le commerce, d'après le recensement de 1940. Dans la ville de Salvador (Bahia) viennent en premier lieu les professions libérales et l'enseignement privé que les statistiques enregistrent globalement, et en second lieu le commerce et les industries.

familles comptent aujourd'hui quelques métis clairs et quelques *morenos*. Les Espagnols qui dominent dans le commerce de l'épicerie et de la boulangerie sont groupés par firmes auxquelles ne participent qu'eux-mêmes et leurs descendants immédiats. Pour maintenir cette structure commerciale le groupe se renouvelle constamment par l'immigration de jeunes gens de même nationalité, qui commencent à travailler dans des situations modestes et finissent par former de nouvelles firmes ou par s'intégrer aux anciennes. Du temps où les émigrants espagnols venaient encore célibataires ou laissaient leur famille en Espagne, ils avaient ici des enfants mulâtres ou *morenos* de leurs domestiques, enfants qui naissaient illégitimes et qui n'avaient aucun droit de succession (la loi brésilienne n'en assure aux personnes dans leur cas que depuis quelques années). Mais depuis une vingtaine d'années les Espagnols ont commencé à faire venir ou à emmener avec eux leur famille, de sorte qu'ils forment maintenant un groupe assez fermé, non seulement du point de vue économique, mais surtout du point de vue social, et, pour ainsi dire, biologique. Un informateur fait observer qu'anciennement de nombreuses boulangeries étaient la propriété de Noirs; depuis les Espagnols les ont monopolisées presque toutes, de sorte qu'ils contrôlent maintenant entièrement ce genre de commerce. L'antagonisme des habitants de Bahia contre les négociants espagnols s'exprime, en dehors des manifestations indiquées dans un autre chapitre, par la croyance que ceux-ci sont responsables de la discrimination qui s'exerce contre les personnes de couleur en certains clubs récréatifs. Dans le commerce de tissus et de menus objets au détail, que les Syriens, les Libanais, les Arabes et les Turcs pratiquent dans de petites boutiques, il n'y a pas non plus beaucoup de débouchés possibles pour les personnes de couleur. Les commerçants arabes acceptent des employés de couleur pour travailler au comptoir de leurs établissements, mais, comme ceux-ci sont généralement des entreprises familiales modestes, leurs rares descendants métis clairs ou *morenos* se maintiennent dans les couches inférieures ou intermédiaires de la population.

Dans les bureaux des grandes firmes d'exportation ou d'importation constituées en partie par des Européens (Allemands, Anglais, Suisses), les personnes de couleur sont admises et peuvent obtenir des situations comportant une certaine responsabilité, mais elles accèdent rarement au rang de propriétaires. Les commerçants européens, disent de nombreux informateurs, ont la réputation d'être libéraux avec leurs employés et les autres personnes de couleur avec lesquelles ils commercent ou qui collaborent à leurs activités : services portuaires, transports, transit, navigation. Un riche commerçant mulâtre foncé déclare que son entreprise de transports travaille beaucoup pour de grandes

5. Mélange de races à Bahia

[facing p. 48]

firmes étrangères : « Les Anglais sont particulièrement agréables en ceci qu'ils aident leurs employés de couleur et les élèvent au secrétariat de direction. » Ils leur rapportent souvent des cadeaux d'Europe, les invitent à leurs clubs et sont heureux lorsque quelques-uns d'entre eux parlent leur langue. « Les négociants allemands qui avaient anciennement des firmes très fortes à Bahia se montraient très bons pour leurs auxiliaires de couleur; ils étaient cependant très jaloux de leur langue et ne paraissaient nullement goûter qu'un Noir parlât allemand. Quelques firmes européennes rendent hommage à leurs employés, même aux Noirs, lorsqu'ils comptent vingt ou trente ans de service, et leur donnent des gratifications à cette occasion. Mais ils ne les élèvent pas à des postes importants, parfois en raison de leur incompétence. Le même fait ne se produit pas avec les firmes brésiliennes qui ne sont pas accessibles aux gens de couleur. »

Un fait connu à Bahia est que, durant l'une des deux guerres mondiales, une importante firme allemande transmit la responsabilité de ses magasins à l'un de ses employés, un *moreno*, qui avait toujours été son homme de confiance et qui, dans cette situation, prouva qu'il était réellement fidèle en rendant loyalement par la suite les biens qui lui avaient été confiés. Un négociant mulâtre, propriétaire d'un magasin, se rappelle que les firmes allemandes aidaient beaucoup, en leur accordant des facilités de crédit, les petits commerçants brésiliens, quelles que fussent leurs caractéristiques physiques. « C'est ainsi que cette maison se fit, avec l'aide des Allemands, dit-il, alors que les grandes maisons portugaises, autrefois les plus importantes, n'offraient aucune facilité aux gens de couleur, et ne les admettaient même pas à travailler dans leurs bureaux. » La propriété des firmes se transmettait presque toujours par voie familiale au moyen de mariages entre les employés les plus capables avec les filles des propriétaires et des associés, ce qui explique comment la direction de ces firmes restait toujours à des Portugais et à leurs descendants. Une même firme pouvait d'ailleurs, dans certains cas, donner naissance à deux ou trois autres firmes de même structure grâce à la compétence des fils des propriétaires qui, avec l'aide des parents, s'établissaient à leur propre compte.

Un riche entrepreneur pense que c'est à sa couleur noire qu'il doit de ne pas avoir progressé dans le modeste emploi qu'il avait dans une importante maison commerciale. Pour avancer, dit-il, il dut abandonner le commerce et se consacrer à des travaux d'entrepreneur. Il est évident que la stagnation de certains employés dans des emplois de peu d'importance provient, dans la majorité des cas, de leur incompétence, étant donné qu'à Bahia, aujourd'hui encore, mais surtout dans un passé très proche, les

6. Le Noir dans le travail

[facing p. 49]

jeunes gens qui se destinaient au commerce n'avaient pas fait d'études secondaires ou s'étaient montrés incapables de les continuer. Cette situation tend à s'améliorer, mais la majorité des petits employés est encore composée de jeunes gens de couleur venant de familles pauvres et d'un très bas niveau d'instruction. Ces jeunes gens n'ont donc que des possibilités minimes de s'élever dans des carrières où le succès dépend beaucoup soit de l'importance des capitaux apportés, soit des connaissances administratives.

Les grands magasins de tissus, de mode, de bijoux, d'articles féminins, préfèrent, pour la vente aux étalages, des employés qui « présentent bien », euphémisme pour désigner les personnes blanches ou s'en approchant par l'apparence. Il y a encore peu d'années un des plus grands magasins de la ville mettait une annonce dans les journaux pour offrir des places à des vendeuses « de santé robuste, de couleur blanche et âgées d'au moins dix-huit ans ». Une informatrice raconte que sa sœur, malgré les traits *finos*, ne fut pas acceptée dans un magasin très important. Elle eut beau se bien maquiller, arranger ses cheveux qui sont lisses et beaux, s'habiller avec élégance, elle ne fut pas acceptée. La gérante lui dit qu'elle aimait mieux des vendeuses ayant des cheveux clairs. « La vraie raison, explique notre informatrice, c'est que la clientèle n'aime pas être servie par des vendeuses au teint foncé. Les jeunes filles de couleur, lorsqu'elles lisent les annonces des journaux demandant des employées présentant bien, n'essaient même pas d'avoir l'emploi, parce qu'elles savent bien qu'on préfère les Blanches; ce n'est que grâce à de fortes protections qu'elles peuvent être acceptées. » Une autre jeune fille à la peau moyennement pigmentée et aux cheveux légèrement crépus se présenta comme secrétaire dans un grand magasin, mais la personne chargée du personnel lui dit (et à d'autres candidates de même type comme à elle) qu'elle s'excusait beaucoup, mais que la maison préférait des jeunes filles claires. Quelqu'un qui assista à l'entrevue affirme que ce fut un employé portugais, associé de la maison, qui introduisit ce « racisme » dans cet établissement. Dans une maison d'articles féminins très réputée, appartenant à des étrangers, on n'accepte que des *morenas finas* ou des Blanches. La presque totalité des employés des deux sexes dans les magasins des rues les plus centrales et les plus importantes sont blancs ou *morenos*. Même dans les sphères commerciales plus modestes, la situation est à peu près la même. Sur environ cent cinquante magasins, petits ou moyens, de tissus, de mercerie, d'articles féminins, de vêtements et d'articles domestiques, d'électricité et de quincaillerie, de chaussures, de pharmacie, de produits alimentaires et de boulangerie, d'une rue commerçante fréquentée par les ouvriers et par la population la plus pauvre,

il n'a pas été vu une personne noire ou mulâtre foncée comme gérante, caissière ou vendeuse. « De toutes façons, dit une informatrice, les jeunes filles de couleur claire sont plus facilement acceptées dans ces emplois, peut-être parce qu'elles se contentent de traitements moins élevés que ceux qu'exigent les jeunes gens. »

Les statistiques relevées par le Bureau d'identification de la police de l'État de Bahia confirment ces informations. Les caractéristiques physiques de 273 personnes enregistrées durant quelques mois de 1950 comme commerçants ou employés de maisons commerciales étaient les suivantes :

Situation dans le commerce	*Blancs*	*Noirs*	*« Morenos »*	*« Pardos »*	*Métis*	*Total*
Commerçants :						
Hommes . .	28	—	12	6	—	46
Femmes . .	1	—	—	—	—	1
Employés de commerce :						
Hommes . .	80	10	63	42	13	208
Femmes . .	8	—	8	2	—	18
Total . .	117	10	83	50	13	273

On voit que parmi les commerçants la majorité est blanche; parmi les employés de commerce la majorité est de couleur. Ceci s'explique par le fait que la profession de commerçant est une de celles dans lesquelles les Blancs prédominent [1] en partie parce que l'ascension sociale dans ce secteur dépend des possibilités financières. Les informateurs en général peuvent difficilement indiquer le nom de plus de trois ou quatre personnes de couleur ayant une situation notable dans le commerce. On cite toutefois les noms de quelques négociants foncés qui ont occupé des charges importantes dans l'Association commerciale et dans d'autres institutions sociales importantes.

« Dans les banques non plus les personnes foncées ne peuvent faire carrière » disent nos informateurs. Dans une banque nationale importante, d'après certains, les Noirs ou les mulâtres très pigmentés ne sont pas admis; dans les agences que cette banque possède dans la ville, rares sont les employés de couleur et ceux-ci, de toutes façons, sont très clairs. Cette sélection se fait dans les concours d'admission, les candidats de couleur foncée étant examinés avec une grande sévérité. Dans d'autres établissements bancaires on note une discrimination moins marquée. Quoique

1. Donald Pierson, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

les directeurs et les gérants des banques locales soient tous blancs, plus ou moins *finos*, on y accepte plusieurs employés métis. Dans les bureaux de deux de ces banques, on compte treize mulâtres clairs et *morenos*, deux mulâtres foncés et vingt et un Blancs. Mais l'accès aux charges de direction ou de gérance est très difficile parce que ces organisations, outre qu'elles constituent en un certain sens des entreprises traditionnelles de quelques familles, exigent qu'on dispose de capitaux déposés, sous forme d'actions, dans les sociétés gérées par les banques, ce qui est difficile pour des jeunes gens de couleur. »

Un fonctionnaire public avait donc des raisons valables de dire que « les personnes de couleur occupent peu de place dans le commerce ».

LA POLITIQUE

Tout Brésilien, arrivé à l'âge de vingt et un ans, peut être inscrit comme électeur pourvu qu'il sache lire et écrire, et qu'il exerce une profession licite. Son type physique n'a aucune importance : la loi ne fait pas de distinctions et les fonctionnaires chargés des questions électorales ne font aucune difficulté pour inscrire les personnes de couleur de l'un ou l'autre sexe. Tous peuvent ainsi jouir du droit de voter et d'être élu.

Le nombre des électeurs dans l'État de Bahia est de 875.000, dans la ville elle-même de 139.000, dont une forte proportion de personnes de couleur. Et le nombre de ces derniers croît rapidement, car l'ascension sociale des masses prolétariennes se fait au Brésil par l'obtention d'avantages et de garanties économiques, mais aussi et surtout par la prise de conscience politique et par l'accès aux droits civiques. De ce point de vue, la politique est en train de devenir un des moyens les plus puissants de transformation sociale. Les hommes politiques ont le plus grand soin de promouvoir l'inscription sur les listes du plus grand nombre possible de personnes des classes inférieures, parmi lesquelles on compte une majorité de Noirs et de métis, gens plus dépendants et moins instruits et pour cela même plus dociles à la propagande et à la démagogie. Dans les mois qui précèdent les élections générales réalisées simultanément tous les quatre ans dans l'ensemble du pays, les candidats aux charges politiques dépensent des sommes considérables et multiplient les efforts, directement ou par l'intermédiaire de leurs agents électoraux, pour convaincre les gens de s'inscrire parmi les électeurs. Les services qu'ils rendent à ces électeurs sont un des moyens sur lesquels ils comptent pour obtenir leurs voix. Par conséquent les politiciens les plus populaires sont ceux qui, n'ayant pas ou feignant de n'avoir pas de préjugé de classe et de couleur, s'approchent le plus des électeurs humbles, leur tendent la main et les embrassent lorsqu'ils les rencontrent, leur rendent visite ou les reçoivent chez eux ou dans leurs bureaux, et qui, après avoir été élus, continuent à leur prodiguer les mêmes démonstrations, en public ou dans les palais du gouvernement ou des chambres. Nombre d'hommes politiques sont, à cause de cela, aidés par des agents électoraux noirs et mulâtres qui maintiennent ainsi de nos jours la loyauté et le dévouement que leurs ascendants témoignèrent aux familles dont ils étaient les esclaves.

Autrefois, nous dit un informateur, un homme de couleur foncée ne pouvait pas entrer dans la vie politique; il pouvait être agent électoral, mais il était rarement candidat ou membre d'un parti. Malgré cela, dans le conseil municipal de Bahia, il y avait

toujours un ou deux Noirs de professions modestes, élus grâce à l'influence des chefs de partis politiques, et quelques *morenos* ou mulâtres de rang plus ou moins élevé étaient élus comme représentants à l'assemblée législative de l'État de Bahia. Avec la révolution politique de 1930, il se forma à la chambre de l'État et à la chambre fédérale une représentation par classe; de la sorte de nombreux travailleurs manuels, noirs ou mulâtres, furent élus comme représentants de leurs syndicats. Une fois la représentation syndicale supprimée, en 1937, des hommes de couleur continuèrent à tenter d'obtenir une amélioration de leur condition sociale en participant à la vie des partis. Ce phénomène n'est pas entièrement nouveau, sinon en ce qu'il affecte des hommes de couleur foncée et de condition modeste, car depuis l'époque monarchique de nombreux métis porteurs de titres nobiliaires accordés par l'empereur avaient représenté Bahia au parlement impérial et occupé des postes dans les ministères nationaux. Au moins trois ministres des affaires étrangères, choisis parmi les hommes d'État de Bahia durant l'Empire et la République, furent des métis de grand talent et de grand prestige social et politique. Un des députés fédéraux les plus brillants du régime républicain instauré en 1889 fut un mulâtre foncé, ingénieur du service de santé, historien et linguiste de renom. En faisant allusion à cet intellectuel, quelqu'un dit un jour à un jeune homme foncé : « Vous n'arriverez jamais à être président de la République, mais vous pouvez espérer acquérir la renommée d'un Teodoro Sampaio. » Si l'on en croit la tradition orale, un membre du plus haut tribunal de justice de Bahia, métis de rang social et intellectuel très élevé, affirma dans un discours que Bahia a toujours eu la primauté de cette tradition « de liberté et d'égalité entre les hommes qui n'appartiennent pas à la même race ni parfois à la même religion ».

Durant les dernières campagnes électorales, l'attitude de certains candidats envers les personnes de couleur fut exploitée en faveur des uns et au détriment des autres. C'est ainsi que des bruits furent lancés en 1945 d'après lesquels un candidat à la présidence de la République aurait nourri des préjugés de couleur et n'aurait pas autorisé l'admission de Noirs et de mulâtres foncés dans les services de l'aviation militaire qu'il dirigeait alors. On prétend que ces accusations contribuèrent à diminuer le nombre des voix en faveur de ce candidat à Bahia, en dépit des efforts que son parti déploya pour atténuer la mauvaise impression que cette révélation avait produite, même parmi les Blancs. A l'occasion de la campagne de 1950, les adeptes d'un des candidats au poste de gouverneur de l'État distribuèrent un tract dans lequel un journal favorable à un autre candidat était accusé d'avoir publié un article dont l'auteur prétendait que les négresses se rendaient

ridicules en singeant les femmes blanches. Dans les deux cas, on essayait de provoquer des difficultés entre candidats et électeurs. Par ailleurs, une association nationale d'hommes de couleur recommanda aux électeurs de Bahia, au moyen de manifestes imprimés, un Blanc candidat à la députation fédérale, parce qu'il avait été « un champion de la démocratie raciale et de la valorisation des masses de couleur du peuple brésilien ». Cependant une recommandation de ce genre ou le fait qu'un candidat est de couleur ne peuvent avoir une influence déterminante sur son élection, comme le prouvent les résultats du dernier plébiscite. Un jeune avocat mulâtre foncé, très attrayant d'allure, fut deux fois candidat à une charge municipale; ses amis lui disaient qu'en tant qu'homme de couleur il aurait certainement des chances d'être élu. Cependant il ne le fut ni l'une ni l'autre fois, et c'est précisément dans le district de la ville où se trouve la plus grande partie du prolétariat de couleur qu'il eut le moins de voix.

Quoique quelques leaders foncés pensent que leur groupe devrait avoir sa propre représentation auprès du gouvernement [1], les électeurs ne semblent pas se décider pour une telle solution. Quelquefois cependant la couleur du candidat est considérée comme le symbole de son rang et de ses attaches avec les couches inférieures de la population. Un des hommes politiques les plus populaires de la ville, élu bien des fois à la chambre municipale comme « un authentique représentant du peuple », est un avocat non diplômé, mulâtre.

A la direction de certains partis locaux il est possible de rencontrer des personnes de couleur, mais les partis « populistes » et « travaillistes » groupent toujours plus de Noirs et de mulâtres que le centre et la droite. Un Noir foncé participa à la direction d'un de ces partis auprès de Blancs et de *morenos*, dont quelques-uns remplissent des fonctions très importantes dans le gouvernement de l'État. Un commerçant métis, riche et raffiné, et de plus l'un des dirigeants d'un fort parti *centriste*, fut élu député fédéral aux dernières élections. Ces deux hommes exercent une grande influence sur leurs partis respectifs; cette influence est due aussi à l'appui financier et au dévouement qu'ils ne cessent de leur prodiguer. Le parti communiste n'a pas d'existence légale, mais, d'après certains informateurs, il exploite les difficultés des pauvres et stimule l'antagonisme racial; le journal qu'il publie à Bahia et les candidats qu'il présente sous le couvert d'autres partis reçoivent quelque appui des pauvres gens de couleur; l'un de

1. Un écrivain *pardo* affirma que « les nègres qui forment notre économie... déjà définitivement assimilés et évolués réclament, actuellement, par la voie des générations nouvelles une situation meilleure et plus digne, et même une participation plus directe aux responsabilités et aux destins de l'État »; cf. W. Morais, dans *A Tarde*, Bahia, 21 octobre 1950.

ses dirigeants les plus importants est un mulâtre de profession libérale.

Aux dernières élections, de nombreuses personnes de couleur foncée furent candidates à des charges politiques, mais les registres du tribunal électoral ne comportent aucune indication du type des candidats. On sait cependant que parmi les cent trois représentants actuels du peuple de Bahia aux assemblées législative, fédérale, municipale et d'État, il y a environ 30 % de *morenos* et de *pardos* dont quelques-uns assez foncés. Plusieurs d'entre eux jouissent d'un grand prestige et il faut noter que dans les assemblées ils ne se groupent nullement d'après leur type ou leur origine raciale. Les hommes politiques d'un même parti font leurs tournées et leurs campagnes électorales ensemble, et leur prestige ne dépend nullement de leur couleur, mais de leur personnalité et des partis ou des chefs politiques auxquels ils sont liés. On peut lire couramment dans les journaux des appels signés de personnes de « qualité » différente en vue de rendre hommage à des hommes politiques de « qualité » également différente. Un député de Bahia est considéré comme l'un des membres du parlement national qui présentent le plus de traits négroïdes, mais ceci ne lui crée aucune difficulté dans son action politique. On raconte qu'un député blanc parlant de la tribune du parlement s'est présenté lui-même plus d'une fois comme « mulâtre de Bahia » pour se mieux identifier aux représentants de l'État de Bahia.

Il y a trente ou quarante ans, parmi les insultes lancées à des adversaires politiques dans les journaux et même dans les discours des assemblées législatives, l'épithète de « mulâtre » ou de « nègre » était fréquente. Aujourd'hui cela a lieu moins souvent, parce que le style des luttes politiques a beaucoup perdu de son caractère de représailles personnelles. Pourtant un des derniers gouverneurs de l'État de Bahia, homme d'État de renommée nationale et déjà une fois ministre adjoint à l'un des présidents de la République, était un *moreno* de grand prestige moral et intellectuel. Tant qu'il fut au pouvoir aucun de ses adversaires politiques ne fit publiquement allusion à sa « caste ». Mais, après qu'il eut abandonné sa charge, un journal d'une autre ville, en critiquant son activité, publia un commentaire intitulé « Profil administratif d'un *pardavasco* »[1], article dans lequel le qualificatif de *mulato pachola* était répété dans un sens méprisant; un autre homme politique, condamnant à son tour son action au gouvernement, prononça un discours contre ce qu'il nomma « la démocratie créole du créole M. », l'expression *créole* étant prise ici dans le sens de Noir ou descendant de Noir né au Brésil. Récemment au parlement national, un homme politique d'un autre État, se jugeant offensé

1. *Pardavasco* = diminutif, employé parfois comme synonyme de *pardo*.

par le journal d'un industriel de Bahia, mulâtre *blanchi*, prononça un discours violent dans lequel il appelait ce dernier « métis de basse extraction ». Des attaques de ce genre cependant ne viennent pas toujours de Blancs *finos*; plus d'une fois, elles sont le fait de « Blancs dans la couleur ».

En somme, bien qu'il soit rare qu'un Noir ou qu'un mulâtre foncé soit parvenu à une situation politique élevée, il n'en est pas moins vrai que la politique est pour beaucoup de gens de couleur un moyen de s'élever dans l'échelle sociale. Les attaques du genre de celles auxquelles nous avons fait allusion manifestent un certain antagonisme envers les hommes de couleur qui s'élèvent grâce à la politique. A l'heure actuelle, le leader du parti gouvernemental à l'assemblée législative de l'État de Bahia est ce *curiboca* rouge (métis de sang indien et blanc) dont nous avons déjà eu l'occasion de parler. C'est pour cette raison qu'on peut dire que, depuis plus de cent ans, Bahia est gouvernée « par des Blancs et par ceux qui se considèrent comme tels »[1].

1. Von Spix et von Martius, *Através a Bahia*, 2e, éd., Bahia, p. 75.

LA BUREAUCRATIE

Dans toutes les administrations publiques de Bahia on trouve des fonctionnaires de couleur (surtout dans les postes modestes). Dans le passé, et encore parfois de nos jours, les fonctionnaires étaient admis grâce à l'influence des politiciens ou des membres influents de l'administration elle-même. C'est ainsi que de nombreux fonctionnaires foncés furent introduits dans toutes les catégories de l'administration sans rencontrer ni barrière, ni résistance. Mais, bien avant les gouvernements des États ou les services municipaux, l'administration fédérale institua un régime de concours pour constituer ses cadres et même pour affecter les emplois purement bureaucratiques. D'après un métis qui entra dans la bureaucratie en 1929, « dans le fonctionnariat fédéral, il n'y a pas de favoritisme pour les Blancs, parce que les charges y sont pourvues par concours et aucune opposition n'est faite à l'inscription des candidats de couleur. Un Noir ou un mulâtre bien élevé, avenant, compétent, est accepté comme compagnon ou comme chef sans opposition de la part des Blancs. Sauf lorsqu'ils sont grossiers et qu'ils se prévalent de leur situation de chefs de service pour manifester des exigences exagérées envers Blancs ou Noirs, nul ne se soucie de leur couleur ».

Avec le perfectionnement du système des concours, réalisé au moyen d'examens dans lesquels les noms des candidats ne sont pas connus des membres du jury, un nombre croissant de personnes de couleur foncée pénètrent dans les services publics dans tout le Brésil, et les cas de candidats qui se considèrent victimes de discrimination raciale sont rares. Ce système a été introduit dans les États et dans les services municipaux, de telle sorte que les possibilités se multiplient pour les personnes de couleur habilitées à occuper ces postes. Étant donné qu'en dépit de cela l'appui qu'un candidat peut recevoir d'un homme politique ou d'un ami de fonctionnaire est toujours très important, il est évident que les personnes de situation plus modeste ont plus de difficultés à être nommées après avoir été reçues aux examens; elles auront de même plus de difficultés pour obtenir des charges avantageuses ou menant à des situations de premier plan. Dans la période coloniale, quelques-uns des participants à une révolution populaire qui éclata à Bahia, se plaignant de ce que, parce que *pardos*, toute promotion leur était refusée, essayèrent d'établir un régime d'égalité dans lequel Blancs, *pardos* et Noirs, sans distinction de couleur, seraient jugés seulement d'après leurs capacités [1]. « Anciennement, dit un Noir, on ne voyait jamais un *moreno*

1. Afonso Ruy, *A primeira revolução social brasileira-1798*, 2e éd., Bahia, 1951, p. 77.

occuper un poste de premier plan », ce qui n'est pas tout à fait exact, car les métis eurent toujours des situations importantes dans l'administration au Brésil depuis l'époque coloniale. Aujourd'hui, dit un autre informateur, « les incompétents s'élèvent par protection; quant aux autres, ils s'élèvent par leur propre mérite, indépendamment de leur couleur ». Lui-même, en dépit de sa couleur très foncée, dirige des sections où travaillent Blancs et Noirs, et il se sait très estimé de ses collègues. D'autres pensent que les Noirs, quoique admis sans grandes difficultés, n'ont pas accès, sinon exceptionnellement, aux postes de direction qui sont occupés temporairement en commission par choix individuel des gouvernants et des fonctionnaires supérieurs. Deux de nos informateurs illustrent leur affirmation en citant le cas d'un Noir « qui travailla beaucoup, durant une campagne électorale, en faveur d'un parti et qui, malgré cela, ne se vit offrir, lorsque ledit parti fut au pouvoir, aucune des charges importantes qu'il était en droit d'espérer en raison de sa personnalité, alors que des Blancs y étaient nommés sans avoir ses capacités ». Des faits de cet ordre ne peuvent certainement pas être attribués uniquement au préjugé de couleur. Pour ce qui est des métis, les choses se passent d'une manière différente. Ils ont des possibilités et, s'ils sont capables, sont appelés à des charges de responsabilité, bien que les Blancs prédominent dans les services publics. Les femmes de couleur, à mesure que s'élève leur niveau d'instruction, pénètrent dans l'administration en libre concurrence avec les Blanches. Dans une des sections les plus importantes de Bahia, le contrôle comptable des volumineux budgets dont dispose chaque année cette section est presque entièrement entre les mains d'une mulâtresse foncée qui discute fréquemment avec le secrétaire d'État responsable, sous les ordres directs du gouverneur, de ce secteur de l'administration de l'État. Il existe, en outre, de nombreuses jeunes filles de métissage varié dans les postes publics de différentes catégories.

L'ARMÉE

Bahia n'est pas un centre militaire important. Il existe, dans la ville, de petites unités de l'armée de terre, de l'air et de la marine, et des hommes de n'importe quel type y sont admis comme simples soldats. Dans ses bataillons, il n'y a pas de séparation entre Blancs et « hommes de couleur », comme ce fut le cas dans la période coloniale et en partie même tant que dura l'esclavage. Certains informateurs affirment qu'il n'est pas facile à un Noir d'entrer dans l'aviation, même comme soldat, mais d'autres affirment le contraire et l'un d'eux cite le cas d'un jeune homme qui n'entra pas dans l'aviation mais qui, ayant été reçu à certaines épreuves, reçut comme récompense un voyage dans un autre État. Il est vrai que cette arme, il y a quelques années du moins, préférait un personnel blanc, mais aujourd'hui sa troupe est mixte. La marine a dans la ville, en plus d'un contingent réduit dans lequel Blancs *finos* et Noirs *retintos* se mêlent, une école préparatoire de marins où l'on accepte n'importe quel élève. Mais, de temps en temps, un commandant venait diriger cette école, qui était accusé de ne pas admettre les Noirs; ceci donna lieu, il y a vingt ans et plus, à de véhémentes protestations. Il est significatif que, parmi les articles que les journaux publièrent sur ce fait, se détachent tout particulièrement ceux d'un avocat et professeur d'anglais, leader noir originaire d'une colonie britannique de l'Afrique [1]. De tels épisodes révèlent un des aspects particuliers des relations raciales à Bahia, comme dans tout le Brésil, la liberté qui a été donnée aux personnes de couleur de défendre elles-mêmes leurs droits, en s'exprimant parfois avec violence contre les préjugés. Or non seulement cette liberté leur est garantie, mais de nombreux Blancs *finos* de situation élevée, particulièrement des professeurs d'université et des intellectuels, les appuyent par leurs écrits. Actuellement les apprentis marins se recrutent parmi les classes pauvres, et parmi eux se trouvent de nombreux Noirs comme on peut le constater dans les défilés civiques et militaires auxquels ils prennent part. Noirs, métis et Blancs peuvent s'élever dans l'aviation et la marine jusqu'aux grades de sergent et de sous-officier. Celui d'officier, outre qu'il ne peut être obtenu qu'après des cours spécialisés, présente d'autres difficultés. L'armée de terre est, de toutes les organisations militaires nationales, celle qui est considérée comme la plus

1. Dans un de ces articles, ce même Noir écrivait : « Le Noir est un facteur ethnique prépondérant dans la formation du métissage si commun dans la variété de ses nuances au Brésil, et, en tant que Brésilien de fait et de droit, il est, devant la Constitution, l'égal du Blanc en tant que citoyen de cette même République. L'École d'apprentis marins ayant le droit de choisir ses candidats, ce droit peut se baser seulement sur les précédents moraux, sur les aptitudes ou la résistance physique des candidats et non sur des accidents physiques de couleur. »

accessible aux gens de couleur, même en ce qui concerne les officiers. Parmi douze officiers supérieurs qui assistaient à un défilé militaire, on pouvait récemment identifier trois *morenos*, mais il convient d'ajouter que l'armée de terre, l'aviation ou la marine étant des corporations nationales, les officiers détachés pour servir dans les différents États comportent seulement un petit nombre d'éléments locaux.

Les étudiants universitaires brésiliens font le service militaire en suivant pendant deux ans des cours de préparation d'officiers de réserve de l'armée. Les étudiants de couleur y sont admis comme tous les autres, et comme certains d'entre eux nous l'ont affirmé ils ne sont soumis à aucune mesure discriminatoire. Mais comme peu de jeunes gens de Bahia se destinent à la carrière militaire, les difficultés que les personnes de couleur foncée peuvent rencontrer dans ce secteur ne sont pas très importantes. D'après de nombreux informateurs, pourtant, seuls des métis presque blancs obtiennent des postes d'officiers dans les forces combattantes; il leur est plus facile d'obtenir des postes de médecins, de pharmaciens, d'intendants et de procureur de justice militaire. Un étudiant mulâtre raconte qu'il aspirait à entrer dans l'aviation militaire, mais que, craignant de ne pas être admis, il se décida pour une autre carrière. Les écoles d'officiers ne refusent pas l'inscription des candidats de couleur foncée, mais ceux-ci, disent nos informateurs, satisfont rarement aux exigences physiques et intellectuelles requises par les règlements respectifs, ce qui provoqua de vifs débats, il y a peu d'années, au parlement national.

La police militaire de l'État de Bahia est une organisation traditionnellement populaire, dans les rangs de laquelle on ne fait aucune distinction raciale; sa troupe a été constituée en majorité par des hommes de couleur. A l'intérieur de son système primitif de promotions, un grand nombre de soldats mulâtres et noirs se sont élevés aux cadres d'officiers et sont arrivés à remplir au commandement général de l'État des charges de première importance dans les périodes d'agitation politique, aux périodes où le gouvernement de l'État devait pouvoir compter sur la loyauté de ses troupes. Les intrusions politiques dans l'octroi de ces postes ont beaucoup diminué avec les changements qui se sont produits dans le système démocratique brésilien, mais continuent néanmoins à jouer un certain rôle. Des cadres d'officiers de cette milice sont sortis de nombreux Noirs qui ont occupé des charges importantes dans la police et dans la politique. Une école pour la formation d'officiers destinés à ce corps fut récemment créée, afin d'améliorer sa capacité comme réserve de l'armée. Parmi les élèves actuels, il en est peu à la peau foncée. On peut trouver à cela deux explications : soit une sélection préliminaire au moment des épreuves d'admissibilité où il peut arriver que les jeunes candidats à peau

foncée pour différentes raisons ne satisfont pas aux conditions requises, soit parce que la carrière d'officier a maintenant plus de prestige et par conséquent attire un plus grand nombre de Blancs. Jusqu'à présent, la carrière d'officier de la police militaire représentait une des voies d'ascension sociale pour les jeunes gens de couleur. Récemment, sous des accusations de divers ordres, un Noir très pigmenté qui était arrivé au grade de capitaine fut expulsé de ce corps. Dernièrement, dans un groupe de vingt-sept jeunes officiers dont la photographie fut exposée dans un établissement commercial, on pouvait voir huit *morenos* et mulâtres clairs, et un mulâtre foncé. Mais il est certain aussi que le corps des officiers est actuellement, quoique mixte, en majorité composé de Blancs. De plus, les officiers choisis par le commandement général pour être intégrés au cabinet militaire du gouverneur de l'État ont été, au cours de ces dernières années, presque sans exception des Blancs ou des « blanchis » : un aide de camp de cette haute autorité doit être une personne représentative, afin de donner « une bonne impression » aux personnes qui vont au Palais du gouvernement ou à celles qui sont de passage à Bahia et auxquelles cet officier doit rendre des visites de courtoisie. Justification que tout le monde admet.

Parmi les officiers des deux corps locaux à caractère civil, mais ayant une organisation et des insignes militaires, la garde civile et le corps des pompiers, la majorité est foncée. Les Blancs ou « blanchis » sont en minorité dans le second de ces groupes. Cette proportion correspond au prestige moindre dont jouissent ces deux organisations, l'une et l'autre pourtant très appréciées pour les services qu'elles rendent à la communauté.

LES ARTS

A Bahia le peuple a son art propre et ses artistes qui l'interprètent d'après leur conception personnelle. Et l'on peut dire qu'à ce point de vue il existe une forme d'art qui est particulière aux personnes pauvres et de couleur, surtout dans le domaine de la musique et de la danse. Mais dans les activités artistiques de la couche supérieure de la population, exception faite pour la musique, la participation des gens de couleur n'est pas importante. Peut-être par suite de la croyance qui attribue aux mulâtres une inclination particulière pour la musique, les musiciens de couleur sont relativement nombreux, et certains d'entre eux jouissent de beaucoup de prestige et sont admis sur le plan social. Dans toutes les musiques et dans tous les orchestres, il y a une forte proportion de Noirs et de mulâtres, quelquefois même comme solistes. Certains d'entre eux s'adonnent à l'enseignement et, de cette manière, atteignent un rang social plus élevé lorsqu'ils parviennent, grâce à leur compétence, à avoir des élèves appartenant aux familles les plus riches et lorsqu'ils font partie du corps enseignant des plus importantes écoles de musique.

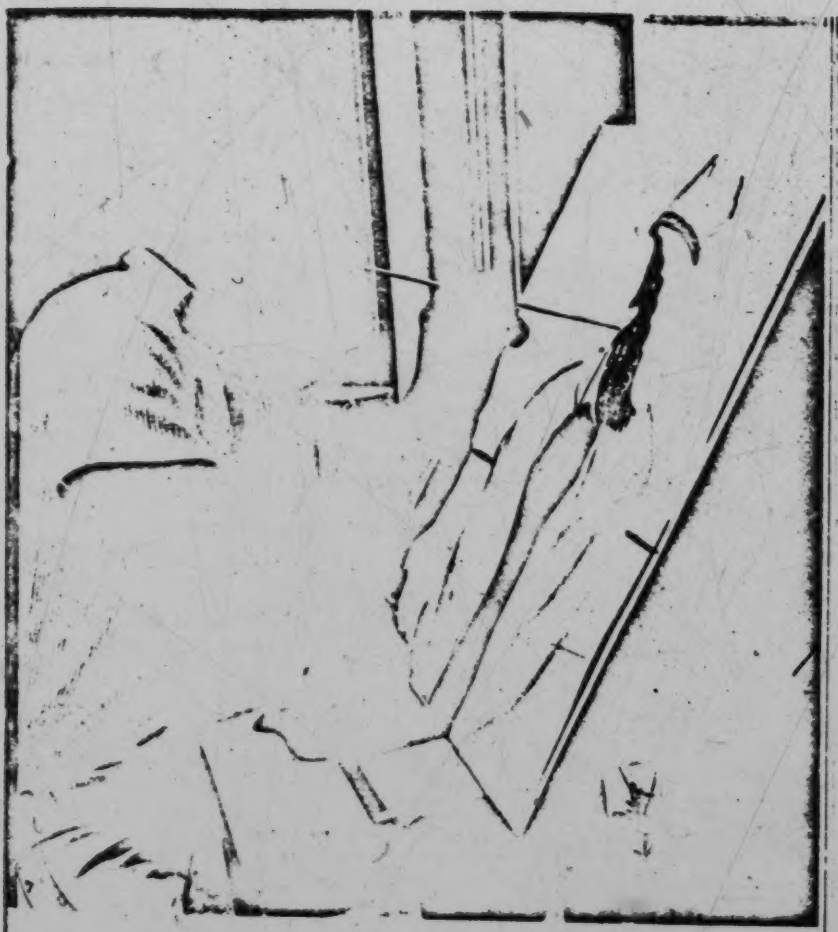
Des trois musiciens, professeurs de piano et compositeurs de Bahia du plus grand renom au cours de ces dernières années, deux sont mulâtres. Le plus célèbre d'entre eux, après avoir très brillamment suivi un cours en Allemagne, enseigna durant de nombreuses années à Bahia; il se transporta par la suite dans un autre État; chaque fois qu'il revient dans son pays, il est l'objet de démonstrations de sympathie; en ces occasions, de nombreux étudiants ou instrumentistes le recherchent pour de brefs cours de perfectionnement. Tout Bahia est fier des mérites de cet artiste. Un autre mulâtre organisa, avec l'appui de personnes influentes, une école de musique qui fut rapidement très célèbre pour la qualité de son enseignement et pour les fréquents concerts qu'elle organise. Après sa mort, la direction de l'école passa à son fils *moreno*. L'enseignement du violon, qui est actuellement donné presque exclusivement par des hommes, comprend de nombreux professionnels noirs ou mulâtres foncés; dans l'enseignement du piano, activité en grande partie exercée par des femmes, on signale des *morenas* et des « blanchies » de grand renom. Une chanteuse métisse très populaire est à la fois fondatrice et directrice d'une organisation qui, avec la contribution de quelques milliers d'adhérents des classes les plus élevées de la société, a fait venir à Bahia les musiciens les plus fameux de notre temps. Les journaux et les revues relatent les concerts que des artistes blancs et de couleur donnent dans les théâtres et les salons des organisations les plus importantes de la ville, et publient leurs

portraits ainsi que les commentaires que les critiques d'art font à leur sujet.

Dans les arts plastiques, les personnes de couleur n'ont pas joué un rôle important, quoique dans le passé elles aient produit quelques peintres et sculpteurs d'un certain renom, dont les œuvres peuvent être vues dans les plus belles églises baroques de la ville. Ces œuvres sont mentionnées dans les livres sur l'art de Bahia, surtout dans ceux d'un écrivain noir ou mulâtre foncé, Manoel Querino, fils d'esclaves, que ses études sur l'art, le folklore et l'ethnographie afro-brésilienne ont rendu célèbre. Le premier centenaire de la naissance de cet intellectuel, qui, dans ses biographies de nombreux artistes de Bahia, n'indiqua que très rarement leur type, fut solennellement commémoré à Bahia, ainsi qu'à Rio de Janeiro, en même temps qu'étaient honorés deux autres folkloristes blancs, dont l'un était de Bahia.

Dans l'école des beaux arts de l'univérsité locale, des élèves de tous les types ont acquis des grades universitaires en architecture, en peinture, en dessin et en sculpture; son corps enseignant compte actuellement au moins trois mulâtres, dont deux assez foncés. Certains informateurs racontent cependant qu'un peintre ne fut pas classé, en raison de sa couleur, pour l'obtention d'un prix consistant en un voyage hors de l'État offert par l'école. Cet incident, arrivé il y a quelques dizaines d'années, est interprété de différentes manières par nos informateurs.

Au théâtre, les personnes de couleur (du moins celles qui sont très foncées) n'ont pas de grandes possibilités, et il est fréquent d'entendre formuler cette plainte. Les Noirs, dit un jeune informateur, ne dépassent jamais le stade de manœuvre ou de charpentier dans nos théâtres; même pour les rôles de Noirs, on préfère des Blancs déguisés. Par contre, une actrice amateur *morena* affirme que les femmes blanches refusent de jouer des rôles de Bahianaises et qu'elles confient ces rôles à des jeunes filles de couleur. Il y a aussi quelque difficulté à présenter réunis sur la même scène des acteurs blancs et des acteurs de couleur, même dans les représentations théâtrales des écoles secondaires et universitaires où le préjugé de couleur est indéniablement très réduit. Ceci se vérifie surtout en ce qui concerne les acteurs aux traits négroïdes accusés. Un étudiant mulâtre raconte qu'il a souvent joué des rôles (surtout à cause de sa voix) dans le théâtre de l'école secondaire publique où il étudia; il exécuta presque toujours des solos de chant, mais il joua aussi fréquemment des rôles de charlatan, de pêcheur ou d'autres du même genre. Une fois il fut désigné pour jouer, avec une camarade blanche, une scène d'amour dans laquelle tous deux devaient se présenter la main dans la main. Après de nombreuses répétitions, à la veille de la représentation, il fut substitué par un Blanc sous prétexte qu'il apparaissait



7. Peintre noir

[facing p. 64]

déjà en de nombreuses autres scènes et qu'il était nécessaire de donner à d'autres étudiants l'occasion de paraître. Notre informateur suppose que, bien que le directeur théâtral l'eût admis, d'autres personnes considérèrent qu'il n'était pas convenable pour la jeune fille qu'elle jouât une scène d'amour avec un mulâtre.

Le théâtre enfantin organisé et dirigé par un intellectuel métis connu a obtenu un grand succès; il est loué par les critiques d'art et très admiré par la population qui accourt en grand nombre pour assister à ses spectacles. Mais un incident avec le juge des mineurs donna lieu à des interprétations qui ont été rattachées au préjugé de couleur. Le théâtre donna, il y a peu de temps, des représentations qui se prolongeaient jusqu'à la nuit; le juge des mineurs, en s'appuyant sur la loi qui interdit le travail des enfants et leur présence dans les cinémas, les cirques, les théâtres et autres lieux de divertissement nocturnes, décida la suspension des spectacles et engagea une action judiciaire contre le directeur, qui dirigeait aussi un département d'État de diffusion culturelle et artistique; les enfants qui adhèrent à ce théâtre en tant qu'acteurs amateurs sont recrutés parmi les familles des classes locales intermédiaires. D'après certains informateurs de couleur, ces mesures auraient été dues au dépit devant le succès remporté par l'initiative d'un métis; et un informateur s'entendit dire, dans un omnibus, que « la faute de l'animateur du théâtre fut de mêler sur la scène enfants de couleur et enfants blancs ». Ces deux versions sont rejetées par beaucoup de Blancs et de métis qui discutaient passionnément cet incident, mais il est indéniable qu'elles ont une signification pour le sociologue et pour le psychologue social.

Depuis une dizaine d'années environ on tente d'organiser à Rio de Janeiro et à São Paulo un « théâtre nègre ». Malgré l'appui d'intellectuels blancs de grande influence et doués d'esprit d'initiative, les deux ou trois groupes qui furent fondés n'ont obtenu qu'un succès relatif en dépit de la valeur artistique et intellectuelle indiscutable des Noirs et des mulâtres qui étaient à sa tête. Il y a environ deux ans, lorsqu'un de ces groupes demanda l'appui du gouvernement pour donner une série de représentations à Bahia, la présentation d'un « théâtre nègre » dans une ville comme la nôtre où il n'existe pas de séparation de races fut considérée comme inopportune. C'est ainsi du moins que d'aucuns justifièrent le refus opposé. Deux petits groupes de théâtre furent cependant fondés à Bahia « pour donner à des personnes de couleur la possibilité de se faire connaître », comme cela fut annoncé dans un journal, mais aucun de ces groupes ne put arriver à monter une pièce. Cet insuccès peut s'expliquer de différentes manières. Une explication serait que les entreprises d'amateurs de théâtre, même celles dirigées par des Blancs de quelque prestige et appuyées par des associations récréatives pouvant dépenser des

[Facing P. 65]

8. Compositeurs de musique

sommes assez importantes dans des initiatives de ce genre, ont été intermittentes à Bahia et demandent généralement un effort excessif aux amateurs d'art théâtral; une autre est que les personnes responsables des deux initiatives étaient des jeunes gens métis sans expérience et sans crédit. Il faut noter en outre que, d'après l'un de ceux-ci, l'idée ne fut pas populaire, même parmi les personnes de couleur. « Tout le monde doute que cette initiative puisse avoir du succès », dit-il. Certains ont même pensé que c'est là « une idée séparatiste ». Il est possible que d'autres facteurs jouent dans cette tendance à décourager de semblables tentatives. Le théâtre étant un moyen d'expression émotionnelle, se substituant à d'autres voies de libération des émotions, on peut admettre l'hypothèse de Roger Bastide, d'après laquelle les personnes de couleur de Bahia se satisfont au moyen des rites excitants du *candomblé* et du culte extérieur catholique avec ses brillantes cérémonies liturgiques, ses fréquentes et grandes processions et les pompeuses fêtes de ses saints autour des églises les plus populaires [1]. Il est en tous cas certain que, dans le domaine du théâtre, les possibilités d'ascension sociale pour les personnes de couleur foncée sont extrêmement limitées comme, du reste, pour les gens de Bahia en général, parce que les professions d'acteur et surtout d'actrice y sont très mal vues. La ville n'ayant jamais eu de compagnie de théâtre établie à demeure, sa vie théâtrale dépend non seulement du passage de compagnies venues d'autres États, mais encore par suite de l'opinion péjorative concernant la profession théâtrale on peut dire qu'il n'existe pas actuellement d'acteurs bahianais. Le petit nombre de ceux qui réussissent travaillent en d'autres villes brésiliennes et se produisent rarement à Bahia.

1. « Teatro de 30 dias », *Anhembi*, nº 10, vol. IV, Sao Paulo, sept. 1951.

L'ÉDUCATION

Pour de nombreux habitants de Bahia, « le préjugé de couleur est un problème d'éducation ». Cette opinion est formulée de différentes façons, mais elle exprime toujours la conviction que c'est la différence d'éducation, c'est-à-dire de manières et d'instruction, qui est le plus grand obstacle à l'acceptation du Noir et des personnes de couleur dans les milieux blancs. Il n'est pas rare d'entendre dire, entre personnes foncées, que « le mal vient de ce que de nombreux Noirs n'ont pas l'éducation nécessaire ». Un Noir dit que ses camarades, membres de la même association que lui, prétendent que les Noirs peuvent fort bien occuper des situations élevées, mais il leur démontre qu'ils ne sont pas à un niveau qui leur permette de prétendre à de telles situations : l'instruction et l'éducation leur font défaut. « Il ne suffit pas de se présenter tiré à quatre épingles comme beaucoup le croient! » Et le même Noir ajoute qu'un « Noir bien élevé et instruit peut pénétrer partout ». Et plus l'individu est clair, plus facilement il s'élève s'il satisfait à ces exigences. Une jeune fille *parda* raconte que les associés d'un cercle professionnel, où elle travaille en qualité de secrétaire, la traitent avec plus de courtoisie et « moins de distance » quand ils apprennent qu'elle n'est pas une simple employée, mais une institutrice diplômée, « une personne instruite ».

Sachant combien l'instruction leur est utile pour diminuer la distance sociale qui les sépare des classes dirigeantes, les personnes de couleur, même les plus humbles et les plus foncées, font les plus grands efforts pour envoyer leurs enfants à l'école primaire; elles vont jusqu'à faire le sacrifice de les envoyer dans les cours secondaires alors qu'ils pourraient déjà les aider dans leur travail. Un mulâtre qui vit dans le nord du pays affirme qu'en ceci les Noirs de Bahia se distinguent de ceux des autres États : « Ici, les femmes les plus humbles — blanchisseuses, cuisinières, domestiques — envoient leurs enfants à l'école et tiennent beaucoup à ce qu'ils s'instruisent. Dans les autres États, cela ne les intéresse pas [1]. « Les Noirs d'une autre grande ville brésilienne, remarque un étudiant universitaire noir, sont très bien habillés et chaussés, mais ils parlent mal, usent d'expressions d'argot et sont incapables de tenir une conversation d'un certain niveau. On dirait qu'ils ne se préoccupent nullement de s'instruire. »

Pour vaincre dans la vie et s'élever socialement, la conviction est très répandue qu'une personne de couleur doit être plus pré-

1. Parmi les 92 élèves des deux sexes, d'une école élémentaire publique choisie au hasard, 23 étaient blancs, 42 *pardos* et 27 noirs. Les répondants des enfants de couleur (mères, pères, oncles ou marraines) étaient domestiques, couturières, menuisiers, charpentiers, maçons, petits fonctionnaires, chauffeurs, employés de commerce, cuisinières, blanchisseuses, etc.

parée et plus capable que les Blancs. « Un jeune homme de couleur doit avoir une grande valeur personnelle pour pouvoir s'imposer », dit l'étudiant indiqué plus haut. Un médecin mulâtre, qui fit une carrière exceptionnelle et qui est devenu un des plus grands noms de la science brésilienne, dit à un de nos informateurs qu'un homme de couleur, pour arriver, doit avoir deux fois plus de valeur que son compétiteur blanc, car avec un Noir il se passe exactement la même chose qu'avec deux billes de même poids et de même taille, l'une en métal et l'autre en bois; lorsqu'on les prend dans la main, il semble toujours que celle de métal est plus lourde. Ainsi un homme de couleur donne toujours l'impression d'avoir moins de mérite qu'un Blanc.

En principe l'école, au Brésil, offre les mêmes avantages aux Blancs et aux Noirs, aucune loi n'empêchant ou n'entravant l'inscription pour raisons ethniques. Cependant comme l'école publique est de caractère populaire, gratuite, et que l'école privée est une institution des classes plus élevées, il y a entre les deux catégories une différence sensible quant au nombre d'élèves de l'un et de l'autre type. Mais les deux acceptent les Blancs et les Noirs. De même que les Blancs sont en minorité dans l'ensemble de la population, les élèves de ce type représentent seulement 35 % dans les écoles publiques élémentaires, les Noirs y figurent environ pour 20 %; le reste est *pardo*. Dans les écoles privées de même degré, les Blancs sont d'autant plus nombreux que l'établissement est plus « choisi »; on peut y rencontrer jusqu'à 90 ou 93 % de Blancs; dans ceux fréquentés par des étudiants du groupe social intermédiaire, on rencontre de 15 à 25 % d'élèves de couleur, assez clairs dans l'ensemble [1].

Dans les écoles secondaires publiques et privées le nombre d'élèves de couleur, surtout très foncés, est moindre parce qu'elles sont fréquentées en grande partie par des jeunes gens se destinant aux carrières libérales, lesquelles sont en quelque sorte l'apanage des Blancs, bien qu'elles soient accessibles aussi aux personnes de couleur. Parmi les jeunes gens des deux sexes qui s'inscrivirent durant les trois premiers mois de 1950 au Bureau d'identification de la police civile de l'État comme étudiants, on relevait les types suivants :

	Blancs	*Noirs*	*Mulâtres*	*Pardos*	*Mixts*	*Total*
Sexe masculin .	349	15	168	83	26	641
Sexe féminin .	300	31	245	95	34	705
Total . .	649	46	413	178	60	1.346

1. Ces données ont été puisées dans les rapports du secrétariat à l'éducation de l'État de Bahia et dans les publications de l'auteur sur les travaux anthropométriques réalisés en 1944 et 1947. Pour ce travail l'auteur a procédé à des vérifications en plusieurs écoles publiques et privées.

Les Blancs constituent la moitié à peine du total, et il faut noter que le groupe féminin inclut une proportion plus élevée de jeunes filles de couleur. Il faut mettre en relief le fait que les écoles secondaires publiques récemment créées comprennent une quantité toujours plus grande d'élèves de couleur foncée; il y a trente ou quarante ans il était extrêmement rare de voir un Noir dans un de ces établissements. Vers 1915 une de ces écoles refusa d'admettre un étudiant très foncé, ce qui donna lieu à une protestation véhémente d'un avocat noir; voulant expliquer l'incident, la direction de l'établissement déclara avoir agi en accord avec les normes en vigueur, c'est-à-dire sous la pression tacite des familles de classe élevée. Cette résistance a considérablement diminué à mesure que se développait l'ascension sociale des familles de couleur localisées jusque-là dans les couches inférieures de la société. Cependant les écoles féminines, dirigées par des religieuses d'origine étrangère, progressent plus lentement à ce point de vue, quoique admettant déjà des élèves assez foncés. De nombreux informateurs ont suivi les cours d'écoles secondaires privées, mais la plupart d'entre eux, de famille pauvre, ont étudié dans les écoles publiques.

Dans le professorat primaire et secondaire il y a aussi beaucoup de personnes de couleur, y compris des Noirs et des métis très négroïdes. Même dans les écoles privées il y a des professeurs de couleur. Certains des professeurs les plus renommés de langue portugaise, de latin, de mathématiques, avec lesquels étudiaient les jeunes gens des plus importantes familles, étaient, il y a un demi-siècle, des maitres d'école, des prêtres, des avocats très foncés, dont de nombreux intellectuels de Bahia aujourd'hui encore parlent avec admiration et respect. De nos jours le nombre des professeurs primaires du sexe masculin est bien moins important, mais le corps enseignant féminin comporte un grand nombre de personnes foncées. Une école normale maintenue par le gouvernement de l'État est fréquentée par de nombreuses jeunes filles foncées des classes inférieures et moyennes de la population. Parmi les maitres de l'enseignement primaire, dit un de nos informateurs, il n'est pas fait de distinctions raciales; de nombreux professeurs, quoique très foncés, occupent des charges de directeur et d'inspecteur d'école, et dans les écoles mêmes il n'y a aucune séparation raciale entre élèves et professeurs. Les postes de secrétaire et de directeur de l'école normale de l'État, comme ceux des lycées et collèges publics, ont été maintes fois occupés par des personnes assez foncées.

Dans les écoles élémentaires publiques, les élèves, en général peu conscients de leur rang, ont tendance à se mêler indistinctement. Les informateurs en général ne se rappellent pas d'attitudes discriminatoires de la part de leurs condisciples blancs et affirment

que de ces contacts résultent — il n'est pas rare de le constater — des amitiés intimes et durables. Une femme de profession libérale noua, durant ses années d'école, de bonnes relations avec des collègues blanches des classes plus élevées, relations amicales qui se sont poursuivies jusqu'à ce jour. En travaillant dans les écoles publiques de Bahia, une psychologue vérifia cependant que les enfants se groupent selon leur type physique, mais qu'ils ont tendance à rechercher en classe des enfants plus clairs qu'eux comme compagnons de banc. Il est compréhensible qu'en cette phase de développement et de socialisation de l'enfant, celui-ci ait plus de facilité à identifier ceux de son groupe d'après l'aspect physique, surtout s'il se trouve loin de sa famille et s'il n'est pas influencé par les critères de classification sociale qui y ont cours. Déjà dans les écoles secondaires, disent de nombreux informateurs, les étudiants se groupent selon leur type physique, mais surtout en fonction du rang social et économique; des amitiés entre jeunes appartenant aux deux extrêmes de l'échelle des couleurs se vérifient à chaque niveau; plus rarement entre couches sociales différentes. « Les filles de médecins, même si elles sont foncées, assure une informatrice, sont traitées avec plus d'attentions par les professeurs et leurs camarades que les Blanches et les enfants de couleur qui sont pauvres. » Les relations entre étudiants de couleur et leurs camarades juifs paraissent être bonnes si l'on en croit certains renseignements.

Dans les bibliothèques on peut voir des étudiants de types très différents réunis autour des mêmes tables et travaillant ensemble. Les étudiants de couleur non seulement prennent part aux groupes d'excursions, mais quelquefois en prennent la tête; il leur arrive de commander leurs camarades de tous types dans les défilés civiques. Une association littéraire créée par un professeur noir dans un lycée a des adhérents blancs et de couleur.

Une couleur très foncée peut cependant créer des difficultés en quelques circonstances. L'un des fondateurs de l'importante association des étudiants d'enseignement secondaire était un mulâtre foncé, très estimé parmi ses collègues; il ne lui fut cependant pas possible de se faire élire comme président de l'association parce que, ainsi qu'il put le constater, un collègue blanc communiste insinua qu'un jeune homme si foncé n'aurait pas assez de prestige devant les autorités éducatives et le public. Élu vice-président, il n'assuma la charge de président que lorsque celui-ci se retira; il put alors effectuer de nombreuses réalisations sans rencontrer les obstacles qui eussent pu être en rapport avec sa « qualité ». Alors qu'on organisait une excursion dans une autre ville, un étudiant mulâtre sentit que certains de ses

camarades hésitaient à l'inclure dans leur groupe [1]. S'en étant rendu compte, il résolut de s'effacer discrètement et fut félicité par un camarade blanc pour son « geste élégant ». Ces deux épisodes se sont produits il y a environ dix ans, et les informateurs disent qu'ils se produiraient difficilement aujourd'hui, la tolérance étant devenue bien plus grande.

Les relations entre élèves et professeurs de « qualité » différente ne présentent rien de particulier de nos jours; elles dépendent, en règle générale, des caractéristiques psychologiques des uns et des autres, bien plus que de leur physique. Mais il existe des institutrices blanches qui, dans les écoles élémentaires publiques, se montrent plus sévères et quelquefois intolérantes avec les fillettes très noires, ne leur pardonnant qu'avec peine leurs fautes et les punissant avec plus de rigueur que les Blanches. Un informateur raconte que, dans son école, il entendait l'institutrice dire : « Ce *moleque* [2] n'a aucune sensibilité. Non seulement il est noir, mais il n'est pas studieux. » Les élèves des écoles secondaires admirent souvent leurs professeurs de couleur et les traitent avec le même respect que les professeurs blancs; leur attitude peut, toutefois, varier selon le rang social des maîtres de couleur foncée. Certains de ceux-ci sont particulièrement estimés pour leur compétence et pour la douceur de leurs manières. D'autres sont accusés de traiter différemment leurs élèves en se montrant plus exigeants et parfois durs avec les Blancs; dans des cas semblables les élèves se plaignent entre eux des grossièretés « de ce nègre » et font circuler sous le manteau des appellations et des épigrammes qui font allusion à ses traits négroïdes. Il y a, d'un autre côté, des professeurs foncés qui ont la réputation de maltraiter les élèves de leur propre type, information qui est contestée par certaines personnes; si cela arrive, dit un informateur, ce n'est pas par hostilité, mais par le désir de pousser ces élèves à travailler davantage et à se distinguer ainsi des autres. Il y avait cependant, dans le passé, des professeurs blancs qui humiliaient ouvertement, traitaient avec hostilité les élèves noirs, et parfois donnaient lieu à des réactions violemment agressives de la part de ces derniers. Il y a vingt ou vingt-cinq ans quelques-uns de ces professeurs enseignaient encore. Tout ceci se produirait difficilement aujourd'hui, et si quelque chose peut faire soupçonner une attitude de

1. « Au Brésil il n'y a pas de ligne de caste. Dans la mesure où un homme de couleur assimile les normes de culture de la classe dominante, il est traité en égal, bien que l'on enregistre une forte tendance, parmi les Blancs, à éviter des relations avec des hommes de couleur dans des situations exigeant une certaine mise en scène (diplomatie, salons élégants, écoles militaires, etc.). Guerreiro Ramos, « Contactos raciais no Brasil », *Quilombo*, 1re année, n° 1, Rio de Janeiro, 1948.

2. *Moleque* — terme par lequel on désignait les petits enfants des esclaves noirs; signifie aussi jeune homme mal élevé, indiscipliné; peut être entendu comme synonyme de jeune homme de couleur.

cette nature, le milieu réagit vivement en désapprouvant le comportement « raciste ». C'est ce qui arriva cette année lorsque dans une école publique un professeur prononça des paroles qui furent interprétées comme une allusion méprisante à la couleur noire d'une étudiante. La plainte que le père de cette dernière fit paraître dans un journal fut immédiatement publiée avec un commentaire très véhément qui obligea l'accusé à se défendre. « Anciennement, dit un intellectuel mulâtre, les élèves de couleur souffraient beaucoup. Aujourd'hui, il suffit qu'ils soient honnêtes et aient une valeur véritable pour voir reconnaître leur mérite. » Et il ajoute que, dans l'établissement où il enseigne et qu'il a dirigé, il a vu des étudiants blancs se déclarer de façon absolue contre toute discrimination raciale à l'égard de leurs condisciples de couleur.

Parmi les professeurs auxquels les élèves d'un établissement secondaire privé rendirent hommage à la fin des cours en 1950, il y avait deux *morenos*, deux mulâtres et un Noir; dix des trente-neuf étudiants étaient métis. Sur les cent trente-sept personnes diplômées par la faculté de philosophie de l'Université de Bahia entre 1945 et 1950, parmi lesquels un grand nombre se destinent à l'enseignement secondaire, 2,9 % étaient noirs, 33 % étaient *pardos* et 63 % étaient blancs.

L'éducation est, comme on le voit, un facteur très important de notre ville pour l'ascension sociale des personnes de couleur.

LA RELIGION

Les institutions religieuses de Bahia reflètent la structure des classes et l'organisation sociale locale. Les fidèles catholiques fréquentent les mêmes temples, se mêlent dans le chœur et à la table de communion, indépendamment de leur « qualité ». Dans les fêtes solennelles, organisées par les confréries et les associations ou réalisées par les paroisses en honneur de leurs saints patrons, on peut voir Blancs, mulâtres et Noirs réunis dans les lieux réservés au grand autel, avec les invités d'honneur, les « présidents de confréries » et les « mécènes » (*festeiros*) chargés de la préparation et du financement de ces célébrations. De même dans les processions, hommes et femmes de tous les types portent les brancards des images pieuses qui défilent, ou se pressent autour d'elles. Dans les associations pieuses, il n'est fait non plus aucune discrimination; cependant, comme certaines d'entre elles sont constituées par des personnes de classes sociales distinctes, la proportion des personnes de couleur varie des unes aux autres. Ceci est particulièrement frappant dans les confréries et les tiers ordres, associations qui ont des siècles d'existence, fondées à des fins de perfectionnement spirituel, transformées presque toutes depuis longtemps déjà en organisations de bienfaisance et de secours mutuel. Ces associations ont toujours été très importantes dans toute l'Amérique latine pour marquer ou confirmer la classification sociale de leurs membres. Lorsque, dans un journal de Bahia, on publie la notice biographique d'une personne distinguée, il est toujours fait mention des confréries auxquelles elle appartient ou dans lesquelles elle occupe un poste de direction. Dans certaines grandes fêtes religieuses on peut voir des hommes qui, personnellement, ne sont pas des catholiques « pratiquants » apparaître avec leurs confréries ou tiers ordres, revêtus des costumes caractéristiques de ces mêmes associations, une torche à la main, portant le dais et défilant en groupe. On désire beaucoup pouvoir faire partie de ces institutions qui témoignent de la situation élevée et du prestige que l'on s'est acquis. Les élections pour la direction d'une de ces confréries, dont dépendent des hôpitaux, des orphelinats et des asiles pour vieillards et qui gèrent un riche patrimoine, suscitent un intérêt extraordinaire parmi les grands commerçants et les gens des professions libérales qui en sont membres. La dignité de proviseur, c'est-à-dire de président, dignité à laquelle ne s'attache aucune rémunération et qui exige un grand dévouement, est très vivement disputée, parce qu'elle offre à son titulaire la possibilité d'augmenter son prestige social et politique et de montrer ses aptitudes administratives. Ces organisations furent créées dans la période coloniale pour réunir, sous l'égide de

l'Église, comme cela se faisait au Portugal, des personnes de différents groupes sociaux et économiques aux fins de perfectionnement spirituel, mais aussi pour leur permettre de manifester leur rang. On comprend ainsi que, même aujourd'hui, elles se hiérarchisent selon une ligne de classe, quoique les distinctions qui les séparent soient en train de devenir, avec les nouvelles conditions de la vie urbaine et avec l'apparition d'autres institutions ayant des buts sociaux semblables, chaque jour moins nettes et moins rigides. Il existe par exemple, quoique relativement décadentes et moins exclusives, les confréries des « hommes de couleur » qui anciennement groupaient tantôt des esclaves, tantôt des Noirs libres ou même des mulâtres. Plusieurs d'entre elles défilent encore dans les processions, portant leurs insignes et leurs livrées, et célébrant les fêtes de leurs saints patrons dans des chapelles de leur propriété, avec une pompe et un luxe fort réduits en comparaison des brillantes solennités de leur période glorieuse. Mais pour beaucoup d'hommes de ce type, c'est un honneur d'appartenir à ces confréries et de faire partie de leurs comités de direction. C'est toujours une preuve de prestige à l'intérieur du groupe. Les confréries et les tiers ordres des personnes de rang élevé sont toujours prospères; dans leurs règlements ou « compromissions » il était stipulé autrefois que seuls seraient admis à s'y inscrire les « hommes bien », blancs et de professions déterminées. Les statuts d'une de ces confréries contiennent encore les stipulations suivantes : « Art. 4. Pour faire partie de la confrérie il est nécessaire : 1° de pratiquer la religion catholique romaine; 2° d'avoir plus de quatorze ans et être de couleur blanche; 3° d'avoir une conduite morale et religieuse irréprochable, et vivre honnêtement de quelque emploi, charge, industrie ou rente; 4° de n'avoir été condamné pour aucun délit infamant et n'avoir été expulsé d'aucune corporation religieuse de séculiers, sauf si l'on peut prouver qu'on a été « réhabilité ». Mais il y a plus d'un siècle le concept de « blanc » commença à être élargi, afin de permettre l'admission de mulâtres, soit mariés avec des Blanches de familles nobles, soit riches, soit occupant une situation sociale marquante [1].

Quoique les dispositions relatives à la « couleur » de leurs associés ou de leurs « frères » soient devenues lettre morte ou aient complètement disparu de leurs statuts, on prétend que quelques-unes de ces confréries n'acceptent pas de personnes de couleur, à moins qu'elles ne soient, nous dit un informateur, des *pardos* presque blancs. On illustre cette affirmation en citant le cas de personnes qui renoncèrent à demander leur admission dans ces confréries par crainte d'être refusées, ou de personnes qui, selon

1. Gilberto Freyre, op. cit., II, p. 660.

ce que supposèrent certains informateurs, furent refusées à cause de leur « qualité ». Certains des exemples mentionnés sont évidemment le fait d'une discrimination de classe plus que de race ou de couleur. Toutefois, une jeune fille *morena* rapporte que, bien qu'ayant satisfait à toutes les conditions requises, elle ne put entrer dans un tiers ordre, parce que, comme le lui dit un membre de la direction de l'ordre, celui-ci ne recevait pas de personnes de couleur. Cependant, dans presque toutes les plus importantes confréries, il y a des « frères » métis clairs « socialement blancs » et même mulâtres foncés. La proportion dans laquelle de semblables personnes sont acceptées varie selon la tradition professionnelle de chaque organisation. Dans celles où dominent les commerçants, on trouve le reflet de ce qui a lieu dans le commerce : le nombre de personnes foncées y est moindre; le Père qui dirige une de celles-ci a, plus d'une fois, mis en garde ses associés contre la résistance qu'ils manifestent à admettre dans leurs rangs des personnes foncées qui satisfont par ailleurs à toutes les conditions morales et spirituelles exigées. Dans les confréries contrôlées par les professions libérales, et surtout dans celles qui d'organisations de classes sont devenues des organisations de bienfaisance et de secours mutuel, on trouve de nombreuses personnes de couleur, même dans les postes de direction. Dans une importante confrérie, fréquemment mentionnée par les informateurs comme étant très discriminatoire, 49 % des membres sont commerçants, 22 % exercent une profession libérale, 7 % sont dans la bureaucratie. Or, sur les 1.004 associés dont les portraits peuvent être consultés dans le fichier de l'association, 81 % ont un phénotype blanc, 15,64 % sont *morenos* et 2,88 % mulâtres clairs; tous les membres directeurs sont blancs. Dans une autre confrérie, traditionnellement gouvernée par des juges, des avocats, des médecins et autres membres de professions libérales, il y a onze *pardos* parmi les trente-quatre membres du conseil de direction; dans la liste de ses « frères » on peut identifier de nombreux métis et même un Noir très foncé qui occupe une charge publique importante. Les prêtres, membres d'un ordre religieux étranger, qui supervisent cette confrérie ont le droit d'opposer leur veto aux noms des candidats qu'ils ne jugent pas convenables pour quelque motif que ce soit; ils ne sont pas tenus de motiver leur décision; de nombreux membres affirment que ces prêtres donnent presque toujours les raisons qui les font s'opposer à l'acceptation de quelqu'un, et qu'ils n'usent pas de leurs droits pour empêcher l'acceptation d'un candidat uniquement à cause de sa couleur. Un *pardo* qui a occupé d'importantes situations dans l'administration de l'État, et qui accéda même aux plus hautes charges de sa confrérie, affirme que les pères qui la dirigent, quoique Européens en majorité, entretiennent les meilleures relations avec les per-

sonnes de couleur foncée et se montrent même très affectueux avec elles; les personnes de couleur peuvent, comme on le voit, être classifiées socialement ou confirmer leur statut par le truchement d'institutions. La religion catholique leur offre d'autres moyens similaires. C'est ce qui arrive, ainsi que nous l'avons déjà indiqué, avec les « juges » et les *festeiros*, personnes choisies chaque année pour solliciter les donateurs et organiser les fêtes solennelles des patrons d'église ou de chapelle. Ce choix, fait par le prêtre responsable ou par la direction des associations religieuses, se fonde sur le prestige social et économique, beaucoup plus que sur d'autres attributs personnels (sauf la moralité et la réputation); ainsi la couleur n'a jamais fait exclure personne d'une de ces fonctions. Un observateur qui a souvent pris part à ces questions peut en témoigner.

Le sacerdoce catholique n'est pas non plus un privilège des Blancs *finos*. Les constitutions ecclésiastiques en vigueur durant la période de l'esclavage défendaient l'ordination d'esclaves afin que des prêtres ne fussent pas soumis à une condition servile, privés de la liberté et de l'autorité nécessaires à l'exercice de leur ministère. On excluait les esclaves, non les Noirs, si bien qu'au commencement du siècle passé les voyageurs étrangers étaient étonnés de voir des prêtres noirs et mulâtres officiant dans les églises des principales villes brésiliennes. Dès la fin du XVIIIe siècle, les hommes de couleur pouvaient recevoir les ordres, et l'Église devenait un moyen d'ascension sociale « pour les personnes de condition humble de toutes les espèces, sans souci de leurs origines raciales ou familiales [1] ». Depuis lors des prêtres noirs et métis commencèrent à se distinguer, à Bahia comme dans tout le pays, comme orateurs sacrés, professeurs de latin, de philosophie et de rhétorique, de portugais, et comme supérieurs et directeurs d'institutions d'enseignement, préfets des études, etc. Fiers de cela les Noirs exprimaient leur antagonisme envers les mulâtres et les *cabôclos* en répétant ce quatrain :

> J'ai vu beaucoup de nègres
> A l'autel en train de dire la messe
> Et le *cabôclo*, tout ce à quoi il arrive
> C'est à être huissier.

Dans les ordres religieux, dirigés en général par des moines européens ou de formation européenne, le préjugé qui veut que les métis soient difficilement fidèles au vœu de chasteté persista longtemps. Une telle croyance doit avoir influencé fortement les résistances opposées à l'ordination de religieux de couleur. Un

1. Roger Bastide, « Religion and the Church in Brazil », dans *Brazil, Portrait of Half a Continent*, p. 339.

intellectuel de couleur foncée raconte que, durant sa jeunesse, il y a plus de quarante ans, désirant se faire prêtre, il entra dans un ordre religieux, mais le supérieur du couvent auquel il s'adressa, un Espagnol, lui conseilla de chercher une autre voie. Étonné de ce refus, il demanda une explication et le supérieur lui dit qu'il pourrait difficilement s'assujettir à la discipline, parce que les gens de son type sont obligés à beaucoup d'efforts pour demeurer chastes. Et comme l'informateur pensait que dans le clergé séculier il serait très exposé à la prévarication, il renonça à son idée. C'est ainsi qu'aujourd'hui encore les ordres religieux comprennent très peu de métis. La situation cependant commence à s'améliorer avec l'ordination de quelques moines *morenos* et mulâtres clairs; dans une école apostolique où l'un de ses ordres élève des jeunes gens désireux d'embrasser la vie religieuse, il existe actuellement une majorité de *pardos* et de *cabôclos* recrutés parmi les familles modestes de l'intérieur, particulièrement dans la région rurale du nord-est de l'État de Bahia. Dans la même école ont été formés des mulâtres clairs, ordonnés au cours des dernières années. Dans les ordres religieux féminins, les difficultés pour l'acceptation des jeunes filles de couleur sont bien plus grandes. Non seulement quelques-uns d'entre eux sont dirigés par des religieuses européennes, mais encore y persiste la tradition portugaise de ne recevoir comme religieuses que les filles des nobles et des hauts fonctionnaires coloniaux, et comme « servantes » les jeunes filles d'extraction modeste ou de couleur. Aussi le nombre de religieuses *morenas* ou mulâtresses très claires est-il minime et toutes sont d'admission récente.

C'est aussi un préjugé répandu parmi les prêtres du clergé séculier que « les mulâtres sont très enclins à la concupiscence et à l'orgueil lorsqu'ils sont intelligents ». Cependant on ordonne des prêtres foncés. Au moins 30 % des cent soixante-seize prêtres ordonnés au séminaire théologique archidiocésain de Bahia, entre 1907 et 1951, étaient de couleur; parmi ces cinquante prêtres de couleur identifiés dans la liste, sept au moins étaient assez foncés ou noirs. La même proportion approximative peut être relevée parmi les quarante-deux prêtres séculiers résidant dans la ville. Parmi ceux qui sont le plus connus comme orateurs sacrés et qu'on invite à prêcher dans les occasions solennelles de la vie ecclésiastique et dans les cérémonies religieuses qui précèdent les examens des différentes écoles de l'université locale, il y a eu de nombreux *pardos* et Noirs dont quelques-uns jouissent de beaucoup de prestige comme vicaires de paroisses importantes, comme professeurs et comme hommes de lettres. Le séminaire théologique de l'archidiocèse compte aussi, actuellement, un nombre accru de jeunes élèves de couleur, y compris des mulâtres foncés et des Noirs.

LES SPORTS

Dans n'importe quelle étude sur les sports les plus populaires au Brésil, qu'il s'agisse de football, d'aviron, de basket-ball, de volley-ball ou de tennis, il est indispensable de considérer que certains d'entre eux sont pratiqués par des groupes socio-économiques déterminés, et que les autres, après avoir été un passe-temps de quelques-uns de ces groupes, sont devenus une profession.

Le tennis est, à Bahia, un sport bourgeois, que pratique un nombre extrêmement réduit de personnes. Dans les terrains d'un des principaux clubs où ce sport est pratiqué, on ne voit pas de personnes de couleur, sinon de temps à autre un ou deux *morenos* de rang élevé, des professions libérales ou du commerce. Un mulâtre exerçant une profession libérale raconte qu'il fut plus d'une fois invité par des membres de ce club à se mêler à leurs équipes, mais il leur répondait : « Vous êtes tous blancs. Si un jour où je désirerais jouer avec une jeune fille blanche, celle-ci me le refusait parce que je suis mulâtre je serais capable de faire une sottise... Il vaut beaucoup mieux éviter cela. »

Le basket-ball et le volley-ball sont aussi des jeux pratiqués par les jeunes gens des classes intermédiaires et élevées, membres des clubs sportifs et récréatifs. Quelques-uns des *teams* admettent, exceptionnellement, des joueurs foncés, capables de contribuer à leur victoire; les portraits de ces joueurs peuvent être vus dans les salons des édifices luxueux de certains de ces clubs. Il existe de plus quelques équipes scolaires dont font partie des étudiants de différents types.

Dans les clubs d'aviron, nous affirme un informateur, la discrimination contre les personnes de couleur était telle, il y a quelques dizaines d'années, qu'un groupe de jeunes gens foncés fonda un club à part, lequel était admis à se mesurer aux autres. D'autres informateurs expliquent cependant que cette discrimination était basée sur le fait que l'aviron a toujours été un sport de la bourgeoisie (étudiants de classe intermédiaire, employés de commerce, fonctionnaires de catégories les plus élevées); dans les équipes n'était admise aucune personne de rang inférieur, c'est-à-dire de profession subalterne (soldats, domestiques, ouvriers). Pourtant, depuis quelques années, à l'occasion de compétitions importantes, certains clubs complètent temporairement leurs équipes nautiques avec des rameurs de couleur enlevés à des équipes plus plébéiennes. Il s'agit généralement de sportifs semi-professionnels de condition modeste.

Le sport vraiment populaire dans tout le pays est le football. Des groupes de joueurs, ayant une organisation permanente ou transitoire, s'exercent un peu partout à ce jeu. Les parties de

football suscitent un enthousiasme extraordinaire, spécialement parmi les personnes de sexe masculin, attirent des milliers et des milliers de spectateurs dans les stades et rapportent gros. Au début du siècle le football, introduit au Brésil par des jeunes gens élevés en Angleterre, était un divertissement de la bourgeoisie; dans ses *teams* il n'y avait probablement jamais ou très rarement de jeunes gens de couleur. Un de ceux-ci, cependant, fit partie de ces équipes durant de nombreuses années, et fut connu et admiré de toute la ville. Il y a environ trente ans, le football commença à devenir professionnel; il existe aujourd'hui peu de clubs importants d'amateurs. Dans la phase actuelle, celle des professionnels, il n'est fait aucune restriction envers les joueurs mulâtres ou noirs. Ils sont acclamés avec enthousiasme et de nombreuses personnes les considèrent comme exceptionnellement aptes à ce jeu, pour leur agilité et leur adresse. Les clubs les plus importants et les plus riches se disputent ces joueurs et leur offrent des sommes très élevées pour qu'ils acceptent de jouer dans leurs équipes. C'est ainsi que plusieurs d'entre elles sont presque exclusivement composées de joueurs foncés. Les footballers les plus populaires de Bahia sont presque toujours noirs ou mulâtres foncés. Il faut noter cependant que le renom et la popularité de ces sportifs, en majeure partie recrutés dans les couches les plus basses de la population, ne confèrent pas à ceux-ci un rang plus élevé; ils ont accès à certains groupes qui s'intéressent tout particulièrement au sport; mais ils n'acquièrent pas pour cela le droit de fréquenter les fêtes récréatives de certains clubs, sinon en de très rares occasions. Un autre aspect du football est que ses *teams* sont organisés et soutenus par des associations qui, généralement, exercent aussi des activités récréatives et sont dirigées avec un dévouement passionné, même au prix de sacrifices pécuniaires, par des personnes riches et influentes du commerce, des professions libérales et de la bureaucratie. Prendre part à la direction d'une de ces associations, ou au conseil qui coordonne les activités sportives dans tout l'État de Bahia, fait l'objet d'une grande convoitise : cela permet d'affirmer son prestige et d'obtenir l'appui politique des joueurs et des milliers de fervents du sport. Certains hommes politiques se distinguent par l'effort qu'ils font pour obtenir des subventions et d'autres ressources pour les associations sportives. Selon le niveau social de chacune de ces institutions, les chances qu'ont les personnes de couleur de prendre part à leur direction varient. Un informateur qui, durant de longues années, fut membre du conseil mentionné plus haut cité le nom des divers mulâtres et Noirs qui, par leur richesse et par leur dévouement, arrivèrent aux postes de président et de directeur de plusieurs de ces organisations, ainsi que de la fédération sportive de l'État.

LES PROFESSIONS LIBÉRALES

Un des aspects de la mobilité sociale au Brésil consiste en ce qu'une personne de couleur issue de la condition économique la plus humble peut, grâce à son talent et à son effort, s'élever à une haute situation dans les professions libérales et dans les milieux intellectuels, en acquérant de cette façon un statut bien supérieur à celui dans lequel elle est née [1]. L'une des façons de s'élever socialement est, pour tous, d'exercer une profession libérale et d'y acquérir le titre flatteur de docteur qu'à peu près sans discrimination on accorde en parlant aux diplômés de l'université. Et ceci est possible aussi bien pour les Blancs que pour les personnes de couleur, car au Brésil il n'existe pas d'universités séparées pour les « nègres »; toutes acceptent n'importe quel élève. Un avocat noir d'origine africaine, déjà mentionné pour son attitude vigilante en faveur des gens de sa race, a écrit : « Pour eux (les Noirs) sont ouvertes les larges portes du temple de la science, des beaux-arts, du commerce, de l'industrie et de l'agriculture scientifique, où, de pair avec son frère blanc, le Noir va recevoir l'enseignement qui le rendra apte à se montrer fort dans la lutte pour la vie, et à atteindre le but qu'il se propose dans les arcanes du droit et de la justice, de la médecine, dans les mystères ardus du génie, du commerce, de l'industrie et du travail. » [2] Avec l'élévation graduelle du niveau de vie des couches inférieures de la population et avec l'augmentation des facilités accordées aux étudiants pauvres dans le cadre de l'éducation secondaire, grâce à la création de nouveaux collèges gratuits, le nombre des étudiants de couleur va s'élevant de jour en jour.

De plus, bien des pères et, dans le cas des jeunes gens de couleur, bien des mères de condition très modeste font des sacrifices inouïs pour assurer à leurs enfants un diplôme qui leur permette d'exercer une profession libérale. Il y a par conséquent, dans les différentes facultés de l'Université de Bahia, de nombreux étudiants de couleur qui partagent la vie, les études, les divertissements de leurs camarades blancs et qui se groupent avec eux d'après leur rang social et leur centre d'intérêt intellectuel et universitaire. Si on voit parfois des groupes composés seulement de jeunes gens de couleur, il est certain pourtant qu'il n'y a dans l'université aucune ségrégation intentionnelle ou permanente,

1. « Toute l'organisation de la société tend à assumer la forme d'un *ordre de libre compétition*, dans lequel les individus trouvent leur place grâce au critère de la compétence professionnelle et à la chance, plus que par l'origine raciale. » Pierson, *op. cit.*, p. 430. La même remarque se trouve dans le livre de Ruth Landes, *The City of Women*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1947, p. 60.
2. Alakija (Maxwell P. Assunçao), « A parábola da velhinha », *A Tarde*, Bahia, 17 août 1944.

9. Artiste noir

[facing p. 80]

basée sur les classifications de « race » ou de « qualité ». En aucun autre milieu il n'existe plus d'harmonie et moins de tension dans les relations interraciales, affirment unanimement les informateurs. Cependant il se passe des faits dont la signification peut être discutable et que quelques étudiants attribuent à des préjugés raciaux. Il y a même des étudiants qui ont tendancé à rester isolés durant toutes leurs années d'études; certains informateurs disent qu'ils adoptent un tel comportement dans l'espoir d'éviter les ennuis que pourrait leur valoir leur appartenance raciale. D'autres disent avoir eu des difficultés lorsqu'ils posèrent leur candidature à des groupements d'excursionnistes ou lorsqu'ils prirent part à des concours oratoires dont les vainqueurs devaient se rendre à Rio de Janeiro en tant que représentants des étudiants de Bahia. Un homme exerçant une profession libérale, de couleur très foncée, dit qu'il n'eut jamais à souffrir de discrimination lorsqu'il fréquentait l'université, mais qu'il entendait ses camarades blancs parler des gens de son type en les désignant par le terme péjoratif de « nègre ». Cependant les interprétations des informateurs au sujet des faits précédents varient. Certains pensent que ces épisodes sont causés par le sentiment d'infériorité et la timidité des étudiants de condition sociale très basse. Quant à ce qu'affirme un mulâtre : que les étudiants noirs sont maltraités par leurs camarades blancs à l'occasion du *trote* infligé aux *calouros* par les vétérans [1], deux personnes exerçant une profession libérale et de traits négroïdes très accentués affirment exactement le contraire. L'estime des étudiants noirs et mulâtres pour leurs camarades, et les attentions dont ils sont l'objet quand ils se montrent doués et travailleurs sont aussi des preuves de l'harmonie dont nous avons parlé. Lors de la distribution des diplômes, les étudiants de tous les types sont mêlés sans distinction et s'embrassent en signe de réjouissance; de même dans les grands tableaux où sont exposés les portraits des impétrants avec les insignes de chaque discipline, ceux-ci sont groupés selon l'État dont ils sont originaires (l'Université de Bahia compte des élèves de différentes régions du Brésil), mais jamais selon leur type physique. Les relations entre élèves et professeurs sont également bonnes, la « qualité » des uns et des autres n'influe que de façon tout à fait exceptionnelle sur leurs rapports. Il y eut, autrefois, dans les années qui suivirent l'abolition de l'esclavage, des professeurs d'université qui s'opposaient à l'entrée des étudiants noirs dans leurs facultés et qui auraient voulu les empêcher d'assister à leurs cours. Une telle attitude était quelquefois manifeste, et il arrivait qu'elle obtînt l'appui tacite de certaines personnes; mais elle était réprou-

1. *Trote* = plaisanteries et cérémonies humoristiques par lesquelles les élèves plus anciens, les vétérans, reçoivent dans les écoles de l'université les nouveaux reçus ou *calouros*.

10. Un artisan de couleur

[facing p. 81]

vée dans l'ensemble. Un seul informateur affirma que, dans la faculté qu'il fréquentait, les élèves de couleur ne rencontraient pas les mêmes facilités que les Blancs. Cependant le prix qu'une des facultés offre annuellement à l'élève qui a terminé les cours avec l'ensemble de notes le plus élevé a souvent été gagné par des jeunes gens de couleur. Les étudiants noirs et mulâtres sont admis, comme les autres, en tant que stagiaires au palais, dans les laboratoires, dans les services hospitaliers de l'université, etc., et jouissent parfois de facilités exceptionnelles pour suivre un enseignement donné sous la direction de professeurs de renom. Cependant, on dit qu'une école d'ingénieurs civils admettait difficilement, autrefois, les élèves de couleur. Cette école est particulièrement sévère et, à cause du débouché restreint que représentait Bahia pour les ingénieurs il y a quelques années, elle avait un très petit nombre d'élèves; malgré cela, elle accorda des diplômes à des Noirs et à des mulâtres, dont quelques-uns arrivèrent à une situation de tout premier ordre dans leur profession ou ailleurs; parmi eux se trouve l'actuel directeur de l'école. Si l'on prend au hasard les listes des élèves diplômés au cours de différentes années, on peut constater que, parmi ceux-ci, se trouvent tous les types, la proportion de ceux à peau très foncée étant très élevée. Le fait qu'il existe fort peu d'ingénieurs civils véritablement noirs s'explique par le petit nombre de diplômes accordés par cette école en comparaison aux autres de l'Université de Bahia [1].

D'après un informateur mulâtre, « il existe un secteur interdit aux Noirs et aux personnes de couleur : le professorat universitaire ». Et il raconte qu'ayant été lui-même candidat à une chaire universitaire, quelqu'un put dire que sa compétence était certaine, mais qu'« il était mulâtre... ». Cependant il fut agréé. Deux autres informateurs racontent qu'un jeune homme exerçant une profession libérale, assistant d'une des facultés, malgré sa compétence reconnue avait été exclu parce que mulâtre. Les faits paraissent démentir de semblables interprétations car toutes les facultés de Bahia ont toujours eu des professeurs de couleur, quoique en proportions variées. Dans la galerie de portraits de la plus ancienne d'entre elles, la faculté de médecine, on peut voir au moins huit *pardos* et *morenos* qui y enseignèrent depuis la première moitié du siècle passé [2]. Dans une liste de quatre-vingt-dix-neuf professeurs actuels de l'université on compte quinze *morenos* et mulâtres, et

1. L'École polytechnique de Bahia en 1918 accorda des diplômes à vingt-trois élèves, dont deux mulâtres; en 1948 elle accorda le diplôme à cinquante et un élèves, dont un Noir et dix métis, et en 1949 à soixante-huit élèves dont six métis.

2. Les candidats de couleur rencontraient parfois de sérieuses difficultés pour pénétrer dans les cadres supérieurs du professorat. L'un d'eux le Dr Luis Alvares dos Santos, dans la thèse qu'il écrivit en 1859 pour devenir professeur à la faculté de médecine de Bahia, se plaint d'avoir subi des rebuffades qu'il attribue au fait qu'il était métis. Après trois tentatives, il finit néanmoins par être admis.

une proportion identique parmi les assistants. Jamais le prestige scientifique et social des professeurs universitaires ne se mesure à la pigmentation de la peau, et quelques-uns parmi les plus renommés intellectuels de Bahia sont des professeurs de couleur dont les noms font la gloire de leurs facultés. De nombreux étudiants blancs *finos* s'honorent d'avoir préparé leur thèse de doctorat sous la direction de ces professeurs et d'avoir fait avec eux leurs études pratiques.

Les professions libérales sont, indéniablement, la voie d'ascension sociale la plus franche pour des personnes de couleur et de milieu modeste. Même dans celles de ces professions qui sont le plus en vue, les personnes de tous les types peuvent faire carrière et se faire une clientèle, particulièrement en ce qui concerne les médecins et les avocats, parmi les Blancs de classe élevée. Les personnes exerçant une profession libérale qu'enregistrent et contrôlent les organisations fédérales et de l'État se répartissent comme suit :

Professions	*Nombre total*	*Pourcentages*		
		Blancs	*Métis*	*Noirs*
Avocats	1.088	68,8	30	1,1
Ingénieurs civils . .	518	72,8	26,8	0,3
Médecins	1.712	81,1	16,9	2
Pharmaciens . . .	173	82	14,4	3,6

Des hommes de tous les types occupent des emplois dans les administrations publiques et y ont des postes de direction; ils peuvent parvenir aux plus hautes charges sans que cela provoque des réflexions de leurs subordonnés. Quelques-uns des meilleurs médecins ont été, à Bahia, des hommes de couleur dont les noms sont rappelés avec respect et gratitude. Un mulâtre foncé, frère d'une informatrice, fut classé en première place, avec deux collègues blancs, dans un concours pour une importante charge technique. On attribue pourtant au préjugé racial, selon d'autres informateurs, les exclusives subies autrefois par des candidats à des postes de la magistrature. « On ne niait pas ouvertement les mérites des candidats de couleur, mais, dans le classement, ils figuraient toujours en deuxième ou troisième rang, quoiqu'ils fissent d'excellentes épreuves », nous dit un informateur, et il ajoute que certain candidat de couleur, après avoir été agréé, vit sa nomination différée à plusieurs reprises. Malgré cela il y a dans la magistrature judiciaire de nombreux *morenos* et hommes de couleur foncée remplissant les charges de juges, de procureurs et de préteurs. Le plus haut tribunal de l'État comprend environ un tiers de juges de couleur dont quelques-uns ont assumé la

présidence de la cour d'appel. D'autres charges, en rapport avec le pouvoir judiciaire, sont aussi remplies par des hommes de couleur, et il en est de même pour celles de greffier. Les charges de notaire par exemple, charges très lucratives, sont remplies par des personnes de grand prestige. Parmi les cinq notaires de la ville, un est blanc *fino*, de famille aristocratique, et a déjà occupé des postes politiques importants parmi lesquels celui de gouverneur de l'État; un autre, un Noir très noir, est fort apprécié pour ses qualités morales.

La proportion des personnes de couleur dans chaque profession libérale dépend de différents facteurs. Dans celles qui ont le moins de prestige (ingénieurs agronomes par rapport aux ingénieurs civils, avocats non diplômés par rapport aux diplômés), cette proportion est plus grande. Un étudiant de médecine très noir, attire l'attention sur le fait que les Noirs en général ne se consacrent pas à la chirurgie : « Certains tentent cette spécialisation, mais finissent par s'arrêter à la clinique générale. L'odontologie n'est pas non plus une bonne carrière pour eux : quelle est la jeune fille blanche bien parée qui désirerait ouvrir la bouche devant un Noir ? » Dans les hôpitaux, médecins et infirmiers de tous les types soignent les malades, qui sont tous réunis d'après leurs maladies et selon leur rang et non pas d'après leur couleur; dans les cliniques privées qui reçoivent des patients de classes les plus élevées, on admet toute personne pourvu qu'elle puisse payer les prix en vigueur.

Le titre de « docteur » et les marques de déférence dues à une personne diplômée sont donnés sans distinction aux personnes noires ou blanches qui exercent une profession libérale, raison pour laquelle certaines d'entre elles ont gardé l'habitude de porter, à un des doigts de la main, un « anneau symbolique » de leur profession, afin de pouvoir être identifiées et traitées avec les égards voulus. En outre, un Noir peut manifester le désir d'exercer une profession libérale sans rencontrer d'hostilité ni de mépris de la part des Blancs. Malgré cela, il y eut, voici quelques dizaines d'années, des professeurs qui humiliaient une élève noire, paraissant peu intelligente ou peu travailleuse, en disant « tandis que tant de gens ont besoin de cuisinière ou de blanchisseuse, il y a des Noires qui prétendaient devenir docteurs ». L'auteur demanda aux professeurs d'une école primaire de l'État la permission d'interroger ses quatre-vingt-treize élèves les plus avancés, des deux sexes, sur la carrière qu'ils désiraient embrasser plus tard. Le pourcentage des réponses reçues par sexe et selon le type fut :

Carrière choisie	*Blancs*		*Mulâtres*		*Noirs*	
	Garçons	*Filles*	*Garçons*	*Filles*	*Garçons*	*Filles*
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Carrières de prestige [1]	80	62,50	33	46,80	44	15,70
Carrières modestes [2].	20	37,50	67	53,20	56	84,30

1. Commerçant, ingénieur civil, médecin, fermier, comptable, doctoresse, dentiste avocate, ingénieur (femme), comptable, pianiste, fonctionnaire, professeur.
2. Mécanicien, vendeur, typographe, chauffeur, tailleur, comptable, vendeuse, dactylographe, couturière.

On peut faire deux observations au sujet de ces réponses. La première est que les écoliers de familles modestes, entre douze et quinze ans, tant mulâtres que noirs, manifestent l'intention d'embrasser des carrières de prestige dans lesquelles prédominent les Blancs. Ceci peut dénoter leur désir d'échapper aux situations socialement et économiquement inférieures; cela peut aussi exprimer leur foi dans la possibilité qu'ils ont de réaliser ces aspirations, possibilité qui leur serait refusée dans une société à discrimination raciale. La seconde observation est que les personnes blanches auxquelles furent montrées ces réponses ne manifestèrent ni surprise, ni réprobation devant les aspirations des enfants de couleur.

Il y a, dans le folklore brésilien, une anecdote qui prouve combien Bahia est connue pour être un lieu où les Noirs peuvent acquérir un statut au moyen des professions libérales. On raconte qu'un Noir, très bien habillé, arriva dans l'État de Ceara et que la première personne qu'il y rencontra l'appela « docteur ». Émerveillé de voir qu'on avait deviné son grade, le Noir demanda comment son interlocuteur pouvait savoir qu'il était diplômé. Et la réponse fut très nette: « Un Noir aussi bien habillé ne peut être que domestique chez des Anglais ou docteur à Bahia. »

LA VIE INTELLECTUELLE

La réputation d'un intellectuel est indépendante de sa « qualité » raciale. Les biographies des Bahianais illustres ne font pas mention de leur appartenance raciale, omission qui constitue un sérieux handicap pour ceux qui étudient la contribution des hommes de couleur à la science, aux lettres et aux arts de notre ville. A part le cas, par exemple, d'un article sur « Les hommes de couleur noire dans l'histoire de Bahia »[1], ou de quelques petites études du même genre, il est pratiquement impossible, à moins de s'adresser à d'autres sources, de savoir quels ont été les hommes de couleur qui se sont distingués par leur talent[2].

Ainsi il y a quelques mois, en célébrant le premier centenaire de la naissance de Manoel Querino, qui était un mulâtre au teint foncé, un journal le décrivait comme « un Bahianais pauvre et artiste, qui s'est distingué en tant qu'historien traditionaliste, folkloriste, ethnographe, sociologue, éducateur, et « leader » de la classe ouvrière à laquelle il appartenait et qu'il essayait d'élever ».

Parmi les intellectuels dont Bahia s'enorgueillit et qui comptent parmi ses grands noms, il en est de très foncés. Un de ceux-ci parlant du mélange des races déclare que « dans toutes les classes sociales, dans toutes les professions, même les plus intellectuelles, se rencontrent au Brésil les descendants des croisements mentionnés »[3]. Les intellectuels de couleur, à moins de former un groupe à part, sont jugés et classés uniquement d'après leur talent et leurs œuvres, et occupent dans les associations scientifiques et littéraires des situations en rapport avec leur importance. Quand, en 1923, fut commémoré le premier centenaire des luttes de l'indépendance nationale dans le territoire de Bahia, un photographe très connu dans la ville composa, en collaboration avec un historien et professeur de l'université, un grand tableau fait avec les portraits des intellectuels bahianais qui jouissaient alors du plus grand renom : parlementaires, juristes, poètes, prosateurs, orateurs sacrés, biologistes, médecins, musiciens, ingénieurs, folkloristes, éducateurs, journalistes, linguistes des deux sexes. Parmi les soixante-dix-neuf intellectuels représentés, on comptait un *cabôclo* et vingt *morenos* et *pardos* dont quelques-uns assez pigmen-

1. « Os Homens de côr preta na Historia da Bahia », par M. Querino, dans *Revista do Instituto Geographico e Historico da Bahia*, vol. 48, 1923, p. 333 (38 brèves biographies).
2. M. Querino, *As artes na Bahia e Artistas Bahianos*; S. Bocanera Junior, *O Teatro na Bahia, 1812-1912*, Bahia, 1913; Gonçalo Moniz S. Aragão, *A Medicina na Bahia*, Diário Oficial, ed. do Centenario, 1923; C. Torres, *Vultos, fatos e coisas da Bahia*, Bahia 1931; et autres.
3. Viuva J. Morsina, « Juliano Morsina e o problema do negro mestiço no Brasil », dans *Novos estudos afro-brasileiros*, G. Freyre et autres, Rio de Janeiro, 1937.

tés. Un des quatre portraits les plus en vue dans la partie supérieure de cette composition était celui d'un mulâtre foncé, déjà mentionné plus haut comme historien, ingénieur et linguiste; son image était placée dans la même partie que celle de Ruy Barbosa, fameux juriste et tribun, qui est considéré comme « le plus grand des Brésiliens ». Les portraits des autres métis figuraient parmi ceux de nombreux intellectuels blancs. Parmi les cent biographies récemment publiées des Bahianais les plus notables de la période qui va de 1564 à 1925 se trouve celle de douze métis célèbres comme poètes, juristes, linguistes, médecins, et prédicateurs, y compris un fils d'esclaves qui, dans la seconde moitié du siècle passé, eut, à cause de ces origines, de grandes difficultés à se faire admettre dans une faculté de droit de son pays [1].

Tout ceci témoigne du fait que les intellectuels sont jugés selon les normes qui s'appliquent à l'ensemble de la société sans que la couleur entre en ligne de compte. Les critiques littéraires, par exemple, affirment que le plus grand poète bahianais vivant est un *pardo* foncé et que parmi les meilleurs poètes que Bahia compte au cours des dernières décades il y a un *moreno*. De plus, le critique littéraire et artistique le plus écouté, mort il y a peu d'années, était un mulâtre *branqueado* (blanchi), qui exerça une forte influence sur la vie intellectuelle locale. Alors que, à l'occasion du trois cent cinquantième anniversaire du poète lusitan Camoens, la colonie portugaise célébrait le Jour de la race, ce fut un mulâtre foncé qui prononça, au nom des Brésiliens, le discours de bienvenue aux Portugais, alors qu'un célèbre orateur sacré prenait la parole pour ces derniers; en 1949, lorsqu'on commémora le quatrième centenaire de la fondation de la ville, le gouvernement de l'État fit publier, en hommage posthume à ce même intellectuel mulâtre, une de ses œuvres historiques demeurées inédites [2].

La situation favorable faite aux gens de couleur dans les milieux intellectuels se reflète dans certains propos que nous avons recueillis au cours de notre enquête auprès des gens de couleur. L'un d'eux fit la remarque suivante : « Les gens de couleur doivent beaucoup aux Blancs, ce sont eux qui exaltent les nègres de valeur et qui lancent leur nom et leurs œuvres. » Un autre nous assura que « parmi les intellectuels il n'y avait aucun préjugé de couleur ».

L'Académie des lettres de Bahia, institution qui groupe des intellectuels bahianais du plus grand renom, compte, parmi ses quarante et un fondateurs, huit mulâtres aux nuances de peau les plus variées. Un de ceux-ci, éducateur réputé, devint une célé-

1. A. Loureiro Souza, *Bahianos Ilustres, 1564-1925*, Bahia, 1949.
2. Teodoro Sampaio, *Historia de Fundaçao da Cidade do Salvador*, éd. de la Secretaria de Educaçao e Sáude, Bahia, 1949.

brité nationale pour ses travaux sur la grammaire portugaise et pour la polémique qu'il soutint sur des questions de linguistique avec son ancien disciple Ruy Barbosa. Deux mulâtres — un professeur de médecine fort distingué et un autre à la fois ingénieur et historien — furent membres correspondants de cette célèbre association. Depuis sa fondation en 1917, l'académie compta parmi ses membres quinze *morenos* et mulâtres; parmi eux figurent des noms dont Bahia est justement fière. Le groupe de poètes et de prosateurs, qui, sous l'influence du symbolisme, fut à l'origine d'un important mouvement littéraire, était composé en grande partie d'hommes de couleur.

LES CLUBS RÉCRÉATIFS

Les clubs sociaux et récréatifs sont le secteur d'accès le plus difficile aux personnes de couleur très foncée, si l'on en croit la majorité des informateurs. Certains affirment même que les obstacles qui s'opposent à leur entrée dans de telles organisations sont dus à la fois à des préjugés de couleur et au fait que ces associations sont dominées par les vieilles familles qui résistent à l'admission de membres n'appartenant pas à leur groupe social et économique. Il paraît, cependant, que même dans les clubs très sélects de Bahia il se produit des fissures dans les barrières de classe : aucun de ces clubs ne peut se conserver strictement fermé, ni rigoureusement aristocratique tant du point de vue de la filiation de ses associés aux anciennes familles qu'à celui de leur couleur. Et cela d'autant plus que les groupes fondateurs comportent, non seulement des Blancs *finos*, mais des personnes « socialement blanches » ou « blanches dans la couleur » (*brancas na côr*).

« Le Noir vraiment noir n'entre pas dans ces clubs », dit un informateur, et s'il arrive à se faire accepter, ce qui est vraiment exceptionnel, dans ceux des classes les plus élevées, il se sent isolé dans les réunions et dans les fêtes. Il est alors obligé de former, avec ceux de son type, un véritable groupe marginal. Très peu de personnes de peau assez pigmentée ont été admises, d'après ce qu'on affirme, dans des clubs de cette catégorie, mais si on les y reçoit, dit un leader noir, c'est le « docteur » qui est admis et non pas le Noir.

Une jeune fille assez pigmentée, qui a été à des fêtes dansantes dans plusieurs des clubs mentionnés, apprit de ses amis que « les clubs l'acceptaient parce qu'elle était diplômée et qu'on n'avait pas le courage de l'écarter ». Qu'on imagine l'étonnement qu'aurait causé à Rio de Janeiro, dit un informateur, une femme de profession libérale se rendant, peut-être par provocation et certainement parce qu'habituée aux mœurs de Bahia, à un bal dans un des hôtels de la classe la plus élevée de la ville.

Cependant et à condition qu'elles soient « socialement blanches » les personnes claires ne rencontrent pas de barrières. Celles-ci, d'ailleurs, s'abaissent à mesure que les clubs sont plus modestes. Dans les clubs de catégorie intermédiaire ou qui essaient d'améliorer leur classe et cherchent des associés de condition moins basse, les anciens membres de couleur très foncée sont gardés un peu à contrecœur, assurent nos informateurs, et on n'en admet pas de nouveaux. Un informateur mulâtre, qui fit partie pendant de longues années de la direction d'un de ces clubs, dit que ces derniers sont en train de « faire un nettoyage » et qu'ils profitent de toutes les occasions pour éliminer les associés indésirables;

cette orientation n'est pas acceptée par tous les directeurs et a provoqué des crises graves. Un homme de profession libérale, très foncé, raconte qu'il fut invité, il y a environ huit ans, à se rendre au siège d'une de ces organisations pour y assister aux défilés du carnaval; à son arrivée il sentit que le portier hésitait à le faire entrer. L'ami qui l'avait invité n'étant pas présent, il demanda à voir un des directeurs de l'association; celui-ci lui dit, en s'excusant beaucoup, qu'il ne lui était pas possible de le laisser entrer, le club ne pouvant pas à cette occasion recevoir de gens de couleur. L'informateur ajoute, pourtant, qu'il ne connaît pas d'autre incident de ce genre, et qu'il l'attribue à l'influence passagère de quelque membre de la direction du club en question. Selon un autre informateur, un mulâtre de condition modeste ne put récemment renouveler son inscription à un club dont il était déjà membre : il attribuait ce refus à sa couleur, car il remplissait les conditions nécessaires pour sa réadmission. Ainsi il y a des clubs de catégorie intermédiaire qui sont mentionnés par les informateurs, tantôt comme étant accessibles aux Noirs, tantôt comme portés à les exclure.

Même dans des organisations plus modestes, des cas de discrimination peuvent se produire. Il y a environ dix ans une association de petits employés de commerce refusa l'entrée aux personnes de couleur au cours d'une fête qu'elle donnait à son siège. Quelques jours plus tard, une association similaire annonçant par la voie des journaux une excursion qu'elle se proposait d'organiser pour fêter une date nationale ajoutait qu'il n'y aurait pas de « distinction de couleur » et expliquait que l'excursion serait « démocratique ». Plus récemment un des hebdomadaires de la ville publia la note suivante au sujet d'un club de classe intermédiaire :

« La nouvelle qui nous parvient est grave; le club X est en train de prendre un chemin dangereux : le racisme. Au cours de la fête d'avant-hier, au moment où le bal battait son plein, un directeur « arien » expulsa de la fête toutes les personnes de couleur très foncée, ce qui fut très blessant, notamment pour les jeunes filles qui furent obligées de se retirer humiliées de la fête. Si le club X est contre les Noirs, que ses dirigeants préviennent leurs associés à l'avance à toutes fins utiles. Jamais enfin ils ne doivent les obliger à quitter les lieux, ce qui est inélégant et pourrait provoquer des représailles. »

Devant des situations de ce genre, l'attitude des personnes visées varie aussi. Dans certains cas elles protestent par la voie des journaux, mais on rencontre plus fréquemment une attitude d'éloignement, de désaffection envers les réunions et les divertissements de semblables organisations, même parmi les métis peu pigmentés et de rang relativement élevé qui, de par leurs traits et leurs qualifications sociales, pourraient être acceptés, mais qui,

probablement par timidité, préfèrent adopter une réaction négative de défense. Presque tous affirment être d'un caractère bizarre, avoir toujours vécu très à l'écart, n'avoir jamais appris à danser. Quelques-uns vont jusqu'à prétendre que, même si on les acceptait, ils n'iraient que très rarement à une fête de club. Un Noir explique que « souvent les nègres ne rencontrent pas de barrières parce que, connaissant le préjugé racial, ils ne vont pas dans certains endroits, particulièrement dans les clubs sociaux, car c'est à propos de danse que ce préjugé se manifeste le plus ». Il y a ceux qui, se conformant à cette opinion, se consolent en disant qu' « un nègre ne va jamais dans les clubs, mais qu'il est admis dans les congrès scientifiques et dans les milieux intellectuels ». D'autres encore réagissent comme un étudiant noir pour lequel ces refus « devraient stimuler la réaction des personnes de couleur pour que ceux qui ont de l'éducation s'efforcent enfin de s'élever au lieu de s'amuser. Mais si c'est le contraire qui arrive, elles se retirent ». En vérité, il y en a peu qui soient disposés à tenir tête aux résistances, et ceux qui y sont décidés peuvent être accusés, même par ceux de leur type, d'être « indiscrets » et de s'exposer à des conflits inutiles en allant là où ils ne sont pas invités. De plus, ces attitudes sont très typiques de personnes appartenant à des groupes soumis à la discrimination et qui pensent qu'il est inutile de réagir contre le traitement différentiel qui leur est appliqué. « Je connais un club auquel quelques personnes de couleur foncée purent être admises, mais en provoquant des réactions », raconte un homme de profession libérale, assez pigmenté. « Je ne veux pas me soumettre à une telle éventualité. Cependant, je serais heureux d'être admis si j'avais un ami assez puissant pour me présenter et pour vaincre la résistance des commissions de direction. Ceci, d'ailleurs, ne m'intéresse pas, mais ce serait un précédent favorable pour les autres; je sais aussi que si cela arrivait, je rencontrerais l'hostilité des jeunes filles blanches qui seraient très gênées de danser avec un Noir. De la part des hommes il n'y aurait pas d'opposition. Une jeune fille de couleur a, dans une circonstance semblable, plus d'avantages qu'un garçon, car étant amenée par un ami ou un parent, elle est assurée de danser avec lui et avec les amis auxquels il la présente. » Mais les jeunes filles de couleur, presque tous les informateurs le reconnaissent, ont beaucoup plus de difficultés à être acceptées dans les clubs, à moins que ce ne soit en tant que femmes ou membres de la famille des associés. Et les jeunes filles foncées, de leur côté, acceptent pleinement cette situation. Elles se conduisent en cela comme les hommes de couleur « ignorants », remarque quelqu'un [1]. Le refus de danser avec des jeunes gens

1. Le refus des Blanches de danser avec des Noirs, à Bahia et dans l'État voisin de Sergipe, fut déjà signalé, cf. Felte Bezerra, *Etnias sergipanas*, Aracajú, 1950, p. 246.

de couleur n'est pas seulement le fait des Blanches. Une étudiante foncée dit qu'elle danse avec n'importe quel garçon, à condition qu'il danse bien « même si c'est un moricaud (*pretinho*) ». Une autre, très claire, avoue franchement qu'elle n'éprouve aucun plaisir et même une certaine honte à danser avec un homme plus foncé qu'elle.

Les clubs très sélects ayant une prédominance d'associés appartenant au haut commerce, à l'industrie et aux professions libérales acceptent seulement des personnes « socialement blanches », c'est-à-dire présentant le type blanc, ou classées comme blanches; les clubs de petits commerçants et d'employés de commerce, de modestes fonctionnaires et de gens exerçant une profession libérale de catégorie plus basse ont un nombre beaucoup plus élevé d'associés de couleur, y compris des mulâtres foncés et même des Noirs. La proportion des différents types rencontrés parmi les associés de deux clubs des catégories mentionnées plus haut est la suivante :

Club	*Nombre d'associés*	*Pourcentage*			
		Blancs	*« Morenos »*	*Mulâtres*	*Noirs*
		%	%	%	%
Catégorie élevée	1.522	67,21	24,83	7,95	—
Catégorie moyenne	1.115	38,02	35,78	25,56	0,62

Dans les clubs dansants d'ouvriers, de domestiques, de soldats, de travailleurs journaliers, les Blancs sont une minorité et les Noirs sont en proportion élevée.

Comme il a été dit plus haut, une des conditions requises pour l'admission d'une personne de couleur dans les associations récréatives des catégories les plus élevées est d'avoir une assise économique solide ou le diplôme de docteur. En effet, dans les clubs distingues mentionnés dans le tableau ci-dessus, le groupe d'associés commerçants comprend 76,89 % de phénotype blanc, 16,50 de *morenos* et 6,60 % de mulâtres clairs *branqueados* (blanchis), alors que celui des professions libérales compte seulement 62,03 % du type blanc, 30,05 % de *morenos* et 7,90 % de mulâtres. Ceci confirme l'observation d'après laquelle beaucoup de personnes arrivent à améliorer leur rang social par la voie des professions libérales, car elles peuvent ainsi s'introduire dans les confréries et dans les clubs sociaux, organisations qui, en plus de leurs fonctions spécifiques, sont très importantes en ce qu'elles sont en quelque sorte l'exposant de la situation sociale des Bahianais.

De nombreux informateurs affirment qu'ils ne se porteraient pas de leur propre chef candidats à ces clubs, mais qu'ils sont

parfois présentés par des amis blancs. Il peut arriver aussi que de telles propositions restent sans suite, lorsque les commissions de direction apprennent qu'il s'agit de quelque personne très noire. Les papiers languissent dans les archives du club, mais on ne dit jamais au candidat le motif réel ou supposé de son refus. On raconte d'un professeur mulâtre, qu'un de ses amis voulait l'inscrire en un club de catégorie intermédiaire situé dans un quartier de même ordre, prit sa photo pour le fichier du club, et... ne lui parla jamais du résultat de sa démarche; il en conclut que le refus aurait été motivé par sa « qualité ».

Il est évident que tous les cas ne peuvent être interprétés, sans plus, comme des exemples du filtrage exercé à l'encontre des personnes de couleur. On note, cependant, que c'est là un secteur des relations sociales où il existe un certain conflit, quoique la tension qui en résulte soit dissimulée par un mécanisme d'accommodation de part et d'autre. D'une part les clubs allèguent n'avoir pas dans leurs statuts de dispositions qui s'opposent à l'admission de personnes de couleur, même noires, et s'efforcent de donner des explications rationnelles à ce que les candidats écartés considèrent des actes de discrimination; d'autre part, les personnes de couleur foncée assument une attitude de défense négative, en supprimant les impulsions agressives qui résultent d'ordinaire des états de frustration.

Dans les fêtes d'étudiants qui ont lieu dans les salons des clubs de la catégorie la plus élevée, les restrictions à l'entrée des personnes de couleur foncée et à la danse entre Blancs et Noirs sont considérablement réduites. C'est ce que disent les informateurs, et l'observation confirme entièrement ce dire. Dans les réunions de famille, peu fréquentes de nos jours dans les classes supérieures, les discriminations se relâchent. « La familiarité fait tomber les préjugés », selon l'expression d'un Noir. « Quand un Noir paraît dans une fête familiale blanche, affirme un étudiant, il suscite une certaine curiosité et une certaine réserve, jusqu'à ce qu'il soit présenté et qu'on sache qui il est. Mais à partir du moment où il est présenté, surtout s'il est un ami de la famille, il ne rencontre aucune difficulté pour danser, même avec des jeunes filles blanches. » « Les jeunes filles, dans des cas semblables, ne refusent pas ou très rarement, de danser avec un garçon de couleur, surtout s'il s'agit d'un étudiant ou d'une personne bien élevée; les mères, cependant, font une certaine opposition et se montrent inquiètes de voir leurs filles approchées par un jeune homme foncé, craignant parfois qu'elles n'en tombent amoureuses. » Cette information est donnée par un mulâtre exerçant une profession libérale et qui prit part, alors qu'il était étudiant, à de nombreuses fêtes de famille chez les Blancs.

LE PRÉJUGÉ DE COULEUR A BAHIA

Le préjugé de couleur peut être analysé soit à travers l'interprétation qu'en font les membres de différents groupes ethniques, soit en examinant leur comportement dans sa signification symbolique. Comme l'expression verbale d'un rapport social déterminé ne correspond pas toujours à la réalité du fait lui-même, le chercheur, pour se rapprocher de l'objectivité, doit attaquer le problème par les deux méthodes indiquées. Il ne suffit pas d'écouter ce que dit l'un ou l'autre groupe, mais il faut encore peser le point de vue de chacun et le comparer aux comportements observés.

En général, dans le cas des relations interraciales, les groupes opposés ont des concepts différents sur leur situation respective. C'est le cas pour Bahia, comme le prouvent les différentes idéologies qui inspirent et règlent les rapports.

Pour les Blancs, qu'ils soient vraiment blancs ou socialement blancs, il n'existe pas de préjugé de couleur ou de race à Bahia. On pourrait faire une anthologie des opinions qui varient à peine dans les termes, mais qui expriment toutes la même opinion fondamentale, à savoir que les Blancs et les personnes de couleur représentent, « à ce point de vue, une situation exemplaire d'harmonie », ainsi que l'écrivit il y a peu de mois un journal local. Il suffirait de citer l'opinion d'un écrivain de grand renom, exprimée en des articles écrits à des époques différentes et assez éloignées, c'est-à-dire respectivement dans les années 1932, 1949 et 1950, et publiés par un journal important de la ville : « C'est-à-dire qu'il nous semble que le problème n'existait pas. Il n'existait pas à São Paulo, certainement; il n'existe pas à Bahia. Il est nouveau, il est imaginaire, il n'est pas réel. »

« Un problème isolé du nègre n'existe pas au Brésil... Il y a même des provinces dans lesquelles on ne peut percevoir, dans l'intimité des relations de personnes à personnes, la présence d'un obstacle qui les éloigne. »

« Nous, les Bahianais, nous avons à cet égard une opinion invariable. La démocratie raciale brésilienne consiste expressément à répudier toute manifestation de privilèges basés sur la couleur, et nous considérons que ces distinctions épidermiques n'ont aucune valeur en face d'une unité supérieure, désormais indissoluble, qui est l'unité morale du peuple dans l'unité humaine de la patrie. »

Deux autres intellectuels blancs, également très en vue, dénonçaient en 1921 et 1933 les tentatives isolées de séparation de caste « contre laquelle toute notre histoire proteste avec indignation, contre laquelle nos traditions se dressent en un élan de révolte »; ils déploraient « la sottise qui consiste à souffler

sur le brasier de la haine raciale déjà oubliée... parfois inexistante ». Après avoir vécu de longues années dans la ville, un médecin d'un autre État affirme que « c'est sans doute l'impression la plus forte qu'on reçoit et qu'on garde de Bahia : la victoire sur le préjugé racial et la présence du nègre, du mulâtre et du Blanc, qui ont un père mulâtre et un grand-père noir, dans la vie sociale ».

Ce concept n'est pas particulier aux Blancs *finos*. Il est exprimé aussi par des personnes de couleur qui se sont intégrées aux attitudes du groupe blanc [1]. Un mulâtre intellectuel foncé affirme que « jamais les Brésiliens, à cause de la douceur de leurs mœurs, n'ont éprouvé ici la férocité de ce préjugé » [2]. L'opinion d'un avocat de couleur claire n'est pas moins incisive : « Le nègre constituera-t-il un problème spécifique au sein de la communauté brésilienne ? Notre volonté de ne pas admettre, soit théoriquement, soit pratiquement, le préjugé de couleur ou de caste parmi nous s'exprime par un mot définitif : Non. » [3] La réaction de la majorité des Bahianais devant une question portant sur la discrimination raciale sur leur territoire serait la même que celle de ces trois étudiants de Bahia, dont un *pardo*, qui, parlant d'un congrès communiste à l'étranger, publièrent une déclaration dans laquelle il était dit : « Le plus lamentable fut l'activité de quelques membres communistes de la délégation brésilienne. Ils s'efforcèrent instamment de diffamer l'organisation politique et sociale de notre pays, en exagérant ses erreurs et ses imperfections au point d'affirmer qu'il existe parmi nous une odieuse discrimination raciale. »

Tandis que les « socialement blancs » s'expriment ainsi, certains Noirs et mulâtres expriment des opinions, non seulement différentes, mais diamétralement opposées. Un homme exerçant une profession libérale, dont nous avons précédemment parlé, écrivait en 1922 qu'il remarquait, de la part de certaines personnes influentes, « le désir intense de maintenir l'homme noir en état de ségrégation, quoique ce désir fût dissimulé ». Un autre leader du même type, plusieurs années plus tard, dans un article intitulé « L'éternelle injustice à l'encontre du Noir », confirmait cette assertion, en disant qu' « il existe un préjugé dont le but est de rabaisser dans l'échelle humaine les descendants des Noirs chez lesquels le pourcentage de sang africain prédomine ». En

1. Dans la critique de l'article de Julian Steward, « Acculturation Studies in Latin America: Some Needs and Problems », Frank Tannenbaum affirme que « En dépit de l'esclavage, en dépit d'une période intermédiaire, en dépit de siècles d'exploitation, le nègre n'a pas seulement survécu, mais on peut dire qu'il s'est épanoui. Et on peut toujours se demander pourquoi. La réponse semble être que le nègre s'est accommodé lui-même à la culture de l'homme blanc, comme ne le fit jamais l'Indien... Sans doute serai-je accusé d'exagération, mais en ce qui concerne cette question je pense que le nègre est devenu un homme blanc à visage noir », dans *American Anthropologist*, vol. 45, n° 2, avril-juin 1943, p. 205.
2. Teodoro Sampaio, discours, dans *Rev. do Inst. Geogr. e Historico da Bahia*, a. XXVI, n° 43, Bahia, 1919, p. 179.
3. W. Morais, *loc. cit.*

parlant dans un congrès d'études afro-brésiliennes en 1935, un sociologue mulâtre s'exprima de façon très radicale et sans doute chargée d'une violence émotionnelle due à l'exaltation politique du moment :

« Livré à lui-même, maître d'une liberté fictive, mal payé, mal habillé, mal nourri, servant le jeu des événements économiques, s'abrutissant dans un travail de dix heures par jour dans des conditions antihygiéniques, souffrant l'oppression raciale des hommes blancs (les seigneurs du capital) et le mépris des propres prolétaires blancs qu'inspirait la bourgeoisie, mettant en pratique le vieux conseil : « diviser pour régner », le nègre vivait au jour le jour... Cette situation a changé au cours des derniers soixante ans, elle a changé en pire! »[1] Un professeur universitaire mulâtre, parlant au cours de la remise des diplômes universitaires, à l'université, disait il y a peu de temps : « On affirme que le sinistre problème racial n'existe pas entre nous, que le Noir jouit des mêmes droits, des mêmes prérogatives que l'homme blanc. C'est là une triste utopie. Les secteurs élevés de la vie du pays gardent leurs portes fermées devant le Noir. » Et un autre sociologue bahianais, *moreno* celui-là, et un des leaders les plus influents des mouvements « noirs » au Brésil, pense que « les insuccès des hommes de couleur dans notre pays sont attribués au préjugé racial, alors qu'ils devraient très souvent être attribués au préjugé de classe ».

Un informateur noir, chef local de mouvements de même nature, affirma qu'il y a un préjugé actif à Bahia, comme dans tout le Brésil; lui-même désirait protester contre la déclaration faite à un journal par un autre leader noir et d'après laquelle il n'existerait pas, parmi nous, de problème racial, bien que d'autres Noirs lui eussent demandé de ne pas le faire. De nombreux informateurs admettent que réellement on peut vérifier des préjugés liés à la couleur, mais ils ajoutent que « ceci est une question de tradition à Bahia ». Selon l'un d'eux, « les personnes conservatrices la transmettent aux nouvelles générations ». Cependant, les expériences des informateurs varient. Une fonctionnaire *moreno*, âgée d'environ quarante-cinq ans, trouve qu'actuellement le préjugé est plus fort qu'avant : « C'est possible qu'il ait déjà existé, mais il n'apparaissait pas. Je connais des gens pleins de mérite et qui sont traités avec un certain mépris parce que de couleur. Aussi beaucoup se retirent-ils en disant : maintenant qui se liera à moi?..., je suis noir. » Un commerçant mulâtre ayant beaucoup d'amis blancs assure que les relations se sont améliorées « sur le plan intime » : les Noirs et les mulâtres sont reçus dans les foyers, se font des amitiés, mais « sur le plan social tout continue comme par le passé; les mêmes personnes

1. Edison Carneiro, « Situação do negro no Brasil », dans *Estudos afro-brasileiros*, vol. I, Ariel édit., Rio de Janeiro, 1935, p. 238.

11. Une «mae de santo»

[facing p. 96]

blanches qui font amitié avec des gens de couleur ne désirent pas les admettre dans leurs sociétés récréatives et leurs autres associations ». Il n'est pas rare d'entendre dire que les personnes très foncées éprouvent une certaine résistance dans la vie sociale et même professionnelle, et que dans l'intimité ils commentent fréquemment ce fait. Cependant on affirme très souvent que la situation est, à tous points de vue, bien meilleure à Bahia que dans les autres États du Brésil; dans certains de ces États, en effet, et particulièrement dans la région industrielle du Sud, il semble qu'il y ait conflit véritable entre hommes blancs et hommes de couleur. « A São Paulo par exemple, dit un homme exerçant une profession libérale qui a visité plusieurs fois les États du Sud, leur situation est pire à cause des étrangers; à Bahia l'avantage est qu'il y a peu d'étrangers. » D'autres pensent que ce sont les Noirs eux-mêmes qui, par leur attitude hostile, ont créé le problème à São Paulo. « A Rio, où le milieu est plus brésilien, la situation est meilleure. » Certains pensent que les étrangers, même à Bahia, sont très responsables de la discrimination raciale, bien que la majorité d'entre eux s'adaptent aux coutumes locales et traitent comme des Blancs les hommes de couleur ayant une situation élevée. Ces comparaisons sont presque toujours accompagnées du récit d'incidents de discrimination et d'antagonisme hostile, incidents qui, d'après nos informateurs, n'auraient pas pu se produire à Bahia [1].

Presque tous, ou au moins la plupart, insistent en disant que les relations raciales à Bahia sont en voie d'amélioration sensible, alors que dans d'autres parties du Brésil elles paraissent devoir s'aggraver. Sur les tendances du racisme il y a, cependant, des divergences parmi les personnes de couleur. « Le racisme existe, mais il se cache et donc est en train de disparaître, pense un Noir qui exerce une profession libérale, mais je ne crois pas qu'il cessera complètement d'exister; il existera toujours, même occulte et discret. » Un autre dit que : « La situation a tendance à changer avec l'ascension sociale des personnes de couleur et avec les plus grandes facilités d'éducation. Elle peut encore empirer, mais il est désormais trop tard pour séparer les Blancs des Noirs, ne

1. Un des exemples les plus fréquemment cités est celui des coiffeurs de première catégorie de Rio et de Sao Paulo qui se refusent à servir les clients de couleur foncée, même quand ils se présentent bien habillés et avec des manières dénotant une parfaite éducation. Un des informateurs se rappelle que, il y a environ trente ans, se préparant à aller à une audience du gouverneur de l'État, il ne put, quoiqu'il portât l'habit, se faire raser chez un coiffeur mulâtre qu'il connaissait, celui-ci lui fit pour cela beaucoup d'excuses et lui expliqua qu'il avait beaucoup de difficultés avec ses clients blancs. Un autre affirme qu'on peut aussi enregistrer des cas de cette nature, mais que, par suite du passage d'un grand nombre de marins américains « remplis d'argent », depuis la dernière guerre les barbiers exercent une moins grande discrimination contre les Noirs locaux.

12. Confrérie de Noirs

[facing p. 97]

5: Azevedo SO11 Bahia Brazilians

serait-ce que parce qu'il y a des familles dans lesquelles les uns sont foncés et les autres peuvent passer pour Blancs. »

Plusieurs faits rapportés dans notre récit montrent que les personnes de couleur sont sujettes, parmi nous, à un traitement qui tend à les classer par catégorie [1]. Les marques de ce traitement qui coïncide fréquemment avec les sentiments de classe peuvent être perçues dans la personnalité de plusieurs de nos informateurs. Un d'entre eux fait une remarque très expressive : « Le préjugé existe réellement, tout autant que se dissimule la « caste ». Mais, entre nier le problème et vouloir lui donner une importance excessive, il n'y a rien d'autre qu'une différence dans la manière de formuler les croyances et les attitudes défensives du groupe en cause. La position de ceux qui nient entièrement le préjugé est celle de quelqu'un qui formule un modèle idéal de relations, inspiré par le désir que le problème n'existât pas, ou dans le vain espoir de contribuer à ce que la société l'évite. » [2] Ceux qui exagèrent les proportions de cette controverse seraient des personnalités inadaptées [3], ce qui n'est pas toujours le cas; l'exagération est un moyen puissant pour attirer l'attention sur un problème qu'on suppose inexistant ou sans importance, mais elle peut aussi représenter une forme d'agression contre le groupe discriminateur.

Un sociologue blanc, qui admet l'existence du problème, dit fort justement que «... ce préjugé est léger et sournois. Il s'efforce de se cacher dans les plis de l'inconscient de la collectivité et réagit, honteux de lui-même, aux tentatives d'expression ou d'exposition à la lumière de la conscience. La réaction est ainsi plus vigoureuse lorsque nous suspectons quelque effort pour le cultiver. On tolère que le préjugé vive comme un sentiment inavoué de classe ou de prestige social, mais on éprouve une répulsion immédiate lorsqu'on tente de l'élever au rang d'institution ou d'esprit de caste » [4].

1. Jugement discriminatoire à base de préjugés portés sur les caractéristiques de groupes ou de catégories d'individus déterminés. Donald Pierson, « Contacto categórico », dans *Teoria e Pesquisa em Sociologia*, éd. Melhoramento, Sao Paulo, p. 445.
2. R. Almeida, *loc. cit.*
3. Seulement une étude psychologique pourrait élucider jusqu'à quel point les difficultés rencontrées par les personnes de couleur sont réellement dues à des barrières raciales, car sans nier que beaucoup de personnes puissent souffrir de résistances à cause de leur couleur, il faut se rappeler aussi que ces mêmes personnes peuvent fort bien recourir à certains stéréotypes et à certaines rationalisations pour projeter leurs déficiences, leur *défaut* de personnalité et leur incapacité professionnelle sur les Blancs et leurs institutions. Voir à ce sujet Kimball Young, *Handbook of Social Psychology*, Londres, 1948, p. 277.
4. Nelson Sampaio, « Democracia racial », *Forum*, vol. IX, fasc. 21, Bahia, 1945.

LES MOUVEMENTS NOIRS A BAHIA

Il y a environ vingt ans, quand le prolétariat urbain brésilien commença à prendre conscience de son existence, surgit dans le sud du pays un mouvement destiné à grouper « la population nègre brésilienne » dans le but « d'obtenir une représentation politique, de défendre les droits des nègres et de les élever sur le plan de l'éducation ». De São Paulo, le plus important centre industriel brésilien, le Front noir. (Frente Negra) commença à se répandre dans d'autres villes. En novembre 1932, un groupe de moins de dix hommes de couleur de condition modeste, presque tous noirs, fondait le Front noir de Bahia. Jusqu'à ce moment-là, les seules organisations de « gens de couleur » existant dans la ville étaient des confréries, quelques associations ouvrières et de bienfaisance dont aucune n'avait comme but précis la défense des hommes de couleur contre le préjugé racial. La Société protectrice des invalides, fondée depuis 1832 en tant que confrérie religieuse et de bienfaisance par des personnes « exclusivement de couleur noire », affirmait, dans une publication commémorative du centenaire de sa fondation, que « parler de l'idéal du fondateur de cette grande œuvre de philanthropie, c'est éliminer le préjugé d'épiderme de la terre brésilienne ». Cependant, cette organisation ne comporte, dans ses statuts réformés en 1948, ni ne signale dans ses rapports annuels d'autres activités que celles de bienfaisance ou de secours réciproque — chose que les informateurs, y compris des membres de la direction, confirment.

Une entreprise locale considéra comme « une nouveauté pour Bahia la nouvelle que les hommes de couleur, envers lesquels on ne fait aucune distinction, vont se grouper ». Un professeur de l'université, dans un article ironique sur le Front noir, essaya de soulever l'hypothèse que ce mouvement fut le résultat de l'influence communiste qui profitait de toute agitation politique occasionnelle. Une des premières activités du Front noir, activité qui fut désagréable aux personnes foncées de rang plus élevé, dit un informateur mulâtre, fut un défilé de pauvres Noirs par une des rues commerçantes de la ville, destiné à montrer la misère dans laquelle vivent ceux-ci et à attirer l'attention sur la nouvelle organisation. Selon le même informateur, le mouvement était « dès sa naissance voué à l'insuccès », car il fut organisé « comme une espèce de révolte ». Le fondateur et leader de ce groupe, un ouvrier qui vivait à São Paulo et prenait part à des activités identiques, harcelé par des difficultés pécuniaires et cédant aussi à ce que lui-même nomma, dans une interview accordée à un journal, son sort de « juif errant »,

retourna l'année suivante dans le sud du pays, déçu par les résultats de son entreprise qui ne rencontra aucun appui et s'éteignit rapidement.

Pendant ce temps, l'agitation politique augmentait dans le pays, une révolution éclatait et les partis d'extrême droite et d'extrême gauche faisaient leur apparition, augmentant ainsi la confusion qui en 1937 atteignit à son comble avec une dictature qui dura environ huit ans. Au cours des premiers mois de cette même année fut fondée à Bahia la société Henrique Dias, ainsi nommée en honneur d'un soldat noir qui s'était rendu célèbre dans les luttes contre les envahisseurs hollandais durant la période coloniale. Les fondateurs de cette association, bien que beaucoup moins nombreux que ceux de la précédente, étaient des hommes de condition professionnelle et sociale plus élevée, quoique modestes dans leur majorité. Les seuls leaders intellectuels étaient un avocat et ancien juge, figure centrale du groupe, douze jeunes médecins, un juge, un pharmacien, huit avocats non diplômés, deux journalistes, un musicien et un étudiant universitaire; les autres membres fondateurs étaient vingt et un petits fonctionnaires, trois commerçants, six constructeurs civils, quatorze employés de commerce et soixante-huit artisans. Tous signèrent l'acte de fondation. La société est, selon ses statuts, composée de Brésiliens, sans distinction de couleur, et son but est « de lutter pour la réconciliation et l'union entre personnes de couleur différente, de développer l'éducation, principalement des associés et de leur famille, de leur accorder toute l'assistance voulue, de pratiquer les sports et de commémorer les dates civiques ». Un des articles de ces statuts stipule qu' « on rendra des hommages aux personnes qui auront accompli un haut fait pour la défense de la société, de la patrie et pour l'égalité des races ». Dans une page de propagande, le fondateur de la société expliquait que le nom du soldat dont nous avons parlé plus haut « exprime symboliquement l'union raciale et sociale, car voici ce que fut Henrique Diaz : un trait d'union entre la race noire qui accomplissait le travail matériel au Brésil et la race blanche qui le gouvernait et le défendait ». Continuant à argumenter, il ajoutait que « tout ceci en vient à démontrer la raison d'être de l'égalité raciale et l'absurdité du préjugé qui s'efforce de subordonner une race à l'autre », et il en arrivait à justifier l'existence de la société Henrique Diaz qui « ayant décidé de mener le combat contre ce préjugé, désire le faire pour l'union des individus d'épidermes différents, pour la réalisation d'un programme éducatif ». « Cette association, annonça son fondateur en une lettre à l'auteur de ces pages, fut une conséquence des fronts noirs et fut fondée pour combattre le préjugé racial que le nazisme voulut introduire dans notre pays lorsque dominait

l'intégralisme [1]. Il faut remarquer que la situation était telle que les nègres craignaient d'être et de se dire noirs, cela les rendant suspects de communisme. Et de fait, un journal alla jusqu'à dire que cela était du communisme. Mais l'État nouveau une fois passé [2], vint la démocratie et notre association continue. » La société Henrique Diaz existe encore, mais n'a pas acquis un grand prestige; sa direction se réunit rarement, et depuis que son chef s'est établi dans l'intérieur de l'État, où il exerce les fonctions de juge, elle n'a pratiquement plus qu'une existence nominale, se limitant à faire fonctionner, grâce à une petite subvention fédérale, une modeste école primaire dans un quartier pauvre.

Un des fondateurs de la société inaugura en 1946 un autre mouvement, la Campanha do Pi Racial [3], dont le but était : « Extirper, annuler, abolir le complexe d'infériorité (des plus foncés); démolir, éclairer et purifier un faux complexe de supériorité (des plus clairs), afin que, par un processus éducatif juste et équilibré, il n'y ait plus au Brésil de Noirs ou de Blancs, mais seulement des Brésiliens. » A part une publication sous forme de proverbes, pensées et maximes sur la condition inférieure des Noirs, cette campagne se poursuit au moyen de « conférences de philosophie spiritualiste » faites par le fondateur, un médecin à la clientèle modeste. Cependant, ce mouvement non plus n'a eu ni la répercussion, ni le prestige espérés par son fondateur, si bien que celui-ci pense ouvrir à Bahia une section de l'Union des hommes de couleur, créée il y a quelques années dans le pays. Mais quoiqu'il croie à l'existence du préjugé de couleur et désire le combattre, le secrétaire général de cette union, dans des déclarations à un journal de Bahia à l'occasion d'une visite à la ville, dit qu' « au Brésil il n'y a pas en réalité de préjugé de races. Et cela est si vrai que, bien que notre principal objectif soit d'unir les hommes de couleur de tous les pays, l'union ouvre ses portes aux citoyens des autres races; cela aussi parce que nous pensons qu'il serait impossible de constituer une association séparatiste sur cette terre qui est à tous ».

La Fédération du culte afro-brésilien, organisée pour réunir les groupes du culte, et les centres d'études afro-brésiliennes sont, comme l'indiquent leurs noms, des organisations d'une autre nature. Ni leurs statuts, ni leurs activités ne les relient directement aux programmes d'action sociale en faveur des gens de couleur.

1. Mouvement politique d'extrême droite, organisé en parti. Un des principaux dirigeants nationaux de ce parti publia, à cette époque, plusieurs livres de doctrine antisémite.
2. Nom donné au régime politique autoritaire établi par la dictature de 1937 à 1945.
3. *Pi* (π), lettre grecque adoptée par la Campanha do Pi Racial comme symbole de rapprochement.

Comme on peut le voir, les mouvements « nègres » ont à Bahia une existence et une action très précaires. D'habitude ils groupent presque exclusivement des Noirs et des mulâtres foncés de condition relativement modeste, et ils n'exercent pas une action sociale et politique véritable. Ils ne forment cependant pas des groupes hostiles, mais bien au contraire ils s'efforcent de rapprocher Blancs et Noirs; ils évitent toute lutte ou antagonisme avec le groupe dominant, et, en dernière analyse, ils ont comme but fondamental l'intégration, disons même l'acculturation, des gens de couleur, surtout des Noirs, aux normes de comportement, aux attitudes, aux concepts des Blancs, afin de leur permettre d'être acceptés et classés dans la société de Bahia. Il n'est pas difficile de percevoir que les normes « blanches » sont celles-là mêmes que tout le monde à Bahia — Blancs, métis et Noirs — s'efforce de réaliser dans la vie, et qu'être de couleur n'est pas considéré comme méprisable; les Noirs, par exemple, n'arrivent pas toujours à dissimuler une certaine honte que leur causent bien des caractères de leur culture d'origine, particulièrement ceux qui contrastent le plus avec la culture de provenance européenne, comme la religion. Ce qui paraît expliquer ceci est le fait que les personnes de couleur se sentent, tout autant que les Blancs, entièrement brésiliennes, c'est-à-dire intégrées ou désireuses de s'intégrer à la culture luso-chrétienne et actuellement plus encore néo-brésilienne des classes dominantes. Un avocat et un sociologue, l'un et l'autre *morenos* et bahianais, exprimaient il y a peu de temps la crainte que les mouvements « nègres » du Brésil n'assument des tendances ségrégatives. Et quelques leaders de ces mouvements à Bahia sont désignés, par les informateurs, comme étant des adeptes de semblables tendances; cependant « cet isolationnisme, ajoutent-ils, n'arrive pas à vaincre ». « Jusqu'à présent je n'ai pas voulu faire partie de cette association, mais comme il n'y a aucun racisme en elle je vais y entrer », affirme un Noir.

L'attitude des Noirs de statut professionnel et social élevé se traduit généralement par l'éloignement envers ces mouvements; très peu d'entre eux en effet peuvent contribuer à leur donner du prestige personnel. Tout au plus ces Noirs donnent-ils leur adhésion nominale et contribuent-ils pécuniairement à ces mouvements, mais ils suivent leurs activités de loin, évitant toute publicité à cet égard, quoiqu'ils sympathisent avec un programme qui se propose d'élever les Noirs dont l'éducation est négligée. Ils ne cachent pas leur manque de confiance quant aux buts et aux intentions des mouvements nègres sur le plan national. Dans l'opinion d'un éducateur, il n'y a aucun motif pour que les personnes de couleur se groupent en fonction de leur qualité. Cela donnerait un caractère de lutte qui est indésirable. Le *pardo* ou le Noir doivent s'efforcer d'entrer dans la vie sociale par les grandes

portes du mérite, sans qu'il soit nécessaire de les forcer. D'autres considèrent que de telles organisations ne sont pas convenables, soit parce qu'elles sont la preuve que les discriminations existent, soit parce qu'elles tendent à les aggraver en leur donnant une proportion qu'elles n'ont pas à Bahia. Un jeune homme qui exerce une profession libérale affirme qu'« il regarde avec inquiétude de tels mouvements, dans la crainte du ridicule, car ses promoteurs prouvent leur inadaptation sociale ». Certains partagent l'opinion d'un mulâtre, très estimé dans sa profession, et qui affirme refuser de participer à de tels groupements, non pas pour renier sa qualité d'homme de couleur, mais parce qu'il les considère comme injustifiables.

Les moyens d'action adoptés par les mouvements « nègres » sont également critiqués. Un homme politique écrivait que « les nègres et les mulâtres essaient de s'unir en congrès et en associations, mais donnent à la lutte un caractère seulement doctrinaire et ne s'emparent pas de toutes les possibilités dont leur faiblesse peut disposer ». Dans un article de journal dans lequel il s'exprimait ainsi, lui-même proposait un boycottage national des marchandises produites par une fabrique qui se refusait à admettre une employée de couleur. Quoique son article fût très véhément contre cette entreprise étrangère et se terminât par un appel vibrant aux personnes de couleur, il ne paraît pas qu'il eût à Bahia quelque effet pratique. Les leaders de ces mouvements, d'ailleurs, redoutaient de ne pas être compris et de ne pas recevoir l'appui nécessaire. D'après l'un d'eux, « le Noir de Bahia ne se convainc pas qu'il est noir ».

En ce qui concerne la loi fédérale récemment mise en vigueur contre les discriminations religieuse et raciale, les informateurs, en général, n'ont qu'une notion très vague de son existence et ignorent son texte. Les uns la considèrent utile pour certains cas (hôteliers qui refusent des Noirs par exemple) ou pour abaisser les barrières qui empêchent les jeunes gens de couleur d'entrer dans la carrière diplomatique ou dans la carrière militaire au grade d'officier. D'autres la jugent simplement inutile à Bahia; il y a peu de temps les journaux mettaient en relief la nouvelle d'après laquelle cette loi venait d'être mise en application dans l'État de Rio Grande do Sul dans le sud du Brésil. Un prêtre mulâtre déclara : « Nous n'avons aucun besoin de lois, ici à Bahia, pour faire estimer un nègre, nous n'avons besoin que de plus d'égards pour la classe inférieure en général; nous avons besoin d'améliorer son alimentation, de l'aider efficacement à se relever ou, avant cela, à obtenir un niveau de vie qu'elle n'a encore jamais eu. »

CONCLUSIONS

Qu'il n'y ait pas de préjugés de couleur à Bahia est une affirmation qui n'est que partiellement vraie. Les gens de couleur sont encore considérés comme faisant partie d'une catégorie biologique et sociale caractérisée par des traits qui passent pour être inférieurs à ceux des Blancs. D'aucuns sont convaincus que Noirs et Blancs diffèrent par les capacités intellectuelles, la personnalité, la moralité et l'aptitude au progrès. Ils déclarent que si Bahia ne progresse pas, la faute en est aux Noirs. C'est là la raison pour laquelle un si grand nombre de mulâtres clairs cachent ou renient leur caste ou se sentent peu à leur aise quand on y fait une allusion indiscrète. Ces préjugés, bien que faibles, expliquent les cas de discrimination dont sont victimes les gens de couleur dans certains secteurs de la société. Ces incidents ne s'accompagnent d'ailleurs d'aucune violence, et il est difficile de les distinguer des manifestations d'un antagonisme de classe, étant donné qu'au Brésil la couleur de la peau est très souvent un symbole de rang social. Les Blancs évoquent le souvenir des anciens colons portugais qui dominaient l'économie, la politique et l'administration, et dont les descendants composent, aujourd'hui encore, la majeure partie de la haute société. Quant aux Noirs, ils nous rappellent l'esclavage, le travail des plantations et les occupations domestiques. Aujourd'hui encore les hommes de couleur sont cantonnés dans les couches les plus basses et les moins instruites de la société.

Mais la population de Bahia peut se définir comme une société multiraciale à classes, et non à castes, si l'on définit la caste comme un groupe fermé auquel on appartient par la naissance et dont il est impossible de s'évader. A Bahia les gens de couleur ont un statut qui est conditionné par leurs qualités et leurs aptitudes individuelles, et ils peuvent entrer en compétition avec les Blancs. En principe n'importe qui peut s'élever socialement par la fortune, par ses mérites intellectuels, par ses titres professionnels, par ses qualités morales ou par la combinaison de ces éléments en vertu du système de valeurs d'une société capitaliste. Cependant dans leur ascension vers les classes les plus élevées les gens de couleur rencontrent des résistances, dues en partie à l'influence des préjugés dont nous avons parlé, mais aussi au fait que pour la plupart ils appartiennent aux classes qui économiquement sont au bas de l'échelle sociale.

L'ascension sociale de gens de couleur est cependant relativement fréquente et il en existe de nombreux exemples. En tant que groupe, cependant, les gens de couleur montent aussi, mais avec difficulté. Il suffit, pour s'en rendre compte, de comparer la distribution des différents types ethniques qui se rencontrent au

Brésil dans les groupements et organisations qui symbolisent les classes élevées :

	Blancs		« Pardos »		Noirs	
	%	Indices	%	Indices	%	Indices
Dans la population totale	33	100	47	100	20	100
Confréries religieuses	82	240	18	38	—	—
Professions libérales [1]	76	230	22	46	2	10
Clubs	67	200	33	70	—	—

1. Moyenne des diverses professions libérales.

Comme on peut le voir aucun des groupes ci-dessus ne constitue un échantillonnage représentatif de la population totale, ce qui prouve, en fait, que les différents types n'ont pas encore la possibilité de s'élever jusqu'aux couches supérieures. Si, en nous fondant sur des descriptions de la société de Bahia dans le passé, nous pouvions faire un tableau de même nature, nous verrions que la « haute société » et les professions à prestige d'il y a cinquante ou quatre-vingts ans étaient beaucoup moins mêlées, bien que la participation d'individus métissés dans ces groupes soit une vieille tradition brésilienne. Pour se rendre compte de l'importance de l'amélioration survenue dans la situation des groupes de couleur, il faut mentionner qu'à l'occasion du recensement national de 1872 la totalité des esclaves de la ville était analphabète. Depuis l'abolition de l'esclavage en 1888, quoiqu'il ne fût pas fait grand-chose en faveur des nouveaux hommes libres, ceux-ci progressèrent à tel point qu'aujourd'hui plus de 50 % des Noirs et plus de 60 % des *pardos* âgés de plus de cinq ans savent lire et écrire, et que leur nombre augmente chaque année dans les cours secondaires et supérieurs, s'ouvrant ainsi le chemin des professions libérales, dans lesquelles on peut les compter dans des proportions variables.

Il faut aussi rappeler que parmi ceux qu'on nomme « Blancs » il existe beaucoup de métis clairs qui sont considérés comme socialement blancs et que les personnes de couleur, même celles qui sont le plus foncées et présentent des traits négroïdes les plus évidents, sont traitées comme n'importe quelles autres de même situation sociale. Les relations interraciales sont, désormais, réglées par un certain *fair play*; en d'autres termes, les mœurs bahianaises réprouvent les discriminations ouvertement avouées motivées par l'intolérance raciale ou le préjugé de couleur. Un autre aspect de la dynamique et de la psychologie sociale bahianaise est qu'autant les antagonismes de classe que ceux de couleur sont atténués par le processus d'accommodation réciproque entre

les groupes et par le développement tant entre Blancs qu'entre foncés de ce type de personnalité « cordiale » et « douce » que quelques auteurs considèrent être caractéristique du peuple brésilien et dont le prototype serait l'habitant de Bahia.

Les facilités pour l'ascension sociale des personnes de couleur sont en train de se multiplier à Bahia; selon l'opinion de nombreux informateurs, elles ne cesseront d'augmenter à moins que le changement culturel, sous l'influence des nouvelles conditions sociales créées par l'industrialisation escomptée dans la région par l'exploitation des terrains pétrolifères et avec le développement de l'énergie électrique des usines hydrauliques en construction, ne produise une modification sensible de l'éthos de Bahia; il est important de noter que, dès maintenant, le principal moyen d'ascension sociale, par lequel un grand nombre de Noirs et de métis ont acquis un statut élevé, est l'éducation dans le double sens des bonnes manières et d'une instruction d'un certain niveau, sans compter l'adhésion aux mœurs et aux concepts de la culture prédominante, ce qui, en dernière analyse, est un problème d'acculturation ou de plus grande intégration des masses de couleur à la société dominante. Un des mécanismes qui facilitent cette intégration est la protection et l'aide que de nombreux parrains et marraines offrent à leurs filleuls de couleur, en les élevant dans leur propre maison, en leur procurant des emplois, en les acheminant aux études secondaires et supérieures et souvent en continuant ensuite à les orienter et à les protéger, ceci étant même une des fonctions principales de ce système de parenté spirituelle.

Les groupes prépondérants qui constituent les couches supérieures de la société Bahianaise n'opposent pas de résistance organisée à ces tendances et, en accord avec le libéralisme qui est le fond de leur mentalité, ils les considèrent comme une preuve de progrès moral et de « civilisation », dont en général les Bahianais de tous les types sont très fiers.

TABLEAU I. Types des membres associés d'un club récréatif de « classe élévée ».

Professions	*Blancs*		*« Morenos »*		*« Mulatos »*		*Totaux*
	Nombre	*%*	*Nombre*	*%*	*Nombre*	*%*	
Commerce, agriculture, industrie .	396	76,89	85	16,50	34	6,60	515
Fonctionnaires. .	40	68,96	11	18,96	7	12,06	58
Militaires. . .	12	57,10	5	23,80	4	19	21
Artistes, professeurs	3	50			3	50	6
Techniciens (chimistes, agronomes, dessinateurs, traducteurs, etc.) .	23	62,10	11	29,70	3	8,1	37
Avocats . . .	96		58		13		167
Médecins, dentistes Pharmaciens . .	142	62,03	79	30,05	20	7,90	241
Ingénieurs civils .	71		34		11		116
Étudiants . . .	240		95		26		361
	1.023	67,21	378	24,83	121	7,95	1.522

TABLEAU II. Types des membres associés d'un club récréatif du groupe social intermédiaire.

Professions	*Blancs*		*« Morenos »*		*« Mulatos »*		*Noirs*		*Totaux*
	Nombre	*%*	*Nombre*	*%*	*Nombre*	*%*	*Nombre*	*%*	
Commerçants, employés de commerce .	246	36,28	267	39,38	163	24,04	2	0,29	678
Fonctionnaires	81	41,96	74	38,34	38	19,68			193
Militaires. .	6	28,56	11	52,37	4	19,04			21
Artistes, professeurs. .	4	17,39	11	47,82	7	30,43	1	4,34	23
Techniciens .	8	33,66	5	18,51	12	40,74	2	7,40	27
Professions libérales, étudiants. .	79	45,66	31	17,91	61	35,26	2	1,15	173
	424	38,02	399	35,78	285	25,56	7	0,62	1.115

TABLEAU III. Types des membres d'une confrérie religieuse de « classe élevée ».

Professions	Blancs		« Moreno »		« Mulâtre »		Totaux
	Nombre	%	Nombre	%	Nombre	%	
Commerce, agriculture, industrie	419	84,98	59	11,98	15	3,04	493
Fonctionnaires	57	81,42	12	17,14	1	1,42	70
Militaires	6	85,71	1	14,29			7
Artistes, professeurs	3	60	2	40			5
Techniciens	14	93,33			1	6,67	15
Professions libérales	192	79,01	48	19,75	3	1,23	243
Étudiants	64	82,05	10	12,82	4	5,12	78
Prêtres, y compris six évêques	14	48,27	15	51,73			29
Professions non indiquées	49	76,56	10	15,62	5	7,81	64
	818	81,47	157	15,64	29	2,88	1.004

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954) 1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

• 12 The research upon which this monograph was based was undertaken along two lines: statistical estimation and field investigation. The publication in 1950 of the 1940 agricultural census,[8] and crop,[9] and livestock[10] data for 1948 provided a body of statistical information for the minor civil divisions (municípios) of the Brazilian states. The assembly and tentative plotting of data from the above sources was the preliminary phase of the study. The variable quality and limited scope of the data made necessary an extensive field inquiry to validate and to extend the statistical analysis. The field investigation was divided into two sections: (1) general appraisal; and (2) intensive study of the two dominant agricultural sub-regions. In the general appraisal an effort was made to observe as many of the agricultural centers of the Recôncavo as the time available allowed. During the intensive [114] study the investigator lived in the two sub-regions in an attempt to observe and understand the covert as well as the overt agricultural phenomena of the community and the functional organization of the local economy.

128 The opening chapters of the study (Chapters II through IV) deal with the physical background, historical evolution, and social and demographic characteristics of the agricultural society of the Recôncavo. There follows an analysis of the distribution of the individual crops and of the total cultivated area (Chapter V) and a discussion of the combinations and functional associations of crops and the characteristic systems of cultivation (Chapter VI). The place of livestock in the pattern of crop cultivation is appraised in Chapter VII, and the distribution of various types of agricultural properties are discussed in Chapter VIII. The succeeding chapters deal with the value of agricultural products (Chapter IX) and with the marketing, transportation, and

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

[P. ii]

121 The field work on the agricultural systems of the Recôncavo, which formed the basis of the present study, was inspired by the interest and enthusiasm of the late Professor Leo Waibel. The development of the study owes much to the guidance and criticism of Professor John R. Borchert (of the Department of Geography, University of Minnesota) and Professor John C. Weaver (formerly of the Department of Geography, University of Minnesota). The various drafts of the study were read, in whole or in part, by Professor J. O. M. Broek and Dr. Robert Eidt (University of Minnesota), both of whom made many valuable suggestions for the improvement of organization and content. Dr. Erich Bordne and Professor Stephen Jones (of Yale University), generously read and criticised parts of the manuscript. Professor Herold Wiens (Yale University) also advised the author on several occasions.

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New Haven, Connecticut
May, 1956

Edward C. Haskins

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

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For four centuries the agricultural development of Brazil has bee characterized by a series of speculative phases, each focused on a singl product, each centered upon a single region of Brazil. The first commercial product was sugar, the first region was the Recôncavo of Bahia. The agricultural society founded on the shore of the Baía de Todos os Santos in the mid-sixteenth century has persisted with an almost unbroke continuity for over four hundred years. It is with the geography of thi agricultural society that the present study is concerned.

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B BB 433

After sugar had ceased to bring a quick profit, the Brazilian center of effort shifted to other areas where economies of cotton, orang rice, cacao, and many lesser products opened the land and drew the ambitious and the desperate from the older settlements. Intermeshed with these phases of agricultural development were booms in the exploitative industries--in the mining of gold and diamonds and in the gathering of rubber. So characteristic have been these speculative convulsions, each followed by a shift to a new region, that they might almost seem to be the whole of Brazilian history and Brazilian reality--the nation might have been practicing a system of shifting cultivation on an immense scale with not only fields but whole regions abandoned as the yield declined. Yet this is not the case, for in each of these regions men remain and crops persist. The Recôncavo, long past its triumph, has a present day population of one million people, many of whom are still cultivating the original speculative crop, sugar cane. The Recôncavo is not unique in this respect, for coastal Pernambuco, eastern

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[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 3]

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249 178 of the Paulista,[4] the aggressive business man and agricultural capitalist of São Paulo state. (2) The departure of the more adventurous elements from the sugar economy and the transference of the center of economic development from the Recôncavo have allowed the region to maintain its traditional practices and values and to preserve the colonial background of Brazilian agriculture. Although no single area can typify the entire constellation of the Brazilian agricultural regions, the Recôncavo does seem to epitomize the characteristics which underlie their diversity. It is in a sense a microcosm in which many of the agricultural problems which beset Brazil are isolated in their acute phases.

241 171 The Recôncavo does not, of course, reflect every aspect of agricultural life which may be found in Brazil. Not all the various crops are cultivated in the Recôncavo, although most of the important Brazilian crops are grown to some extent. There is no mixed agriculture such as is found in Rio Grande do Sul, nor are there vast pastoral enterprises like those of Mato Grosso or the remote Northeastern interior. There are few peasant proprietors such as are found in São Paulo. Its pattern of regional organization is not a duplicate of that of any other Brazilian region. In all, however, most of the characteristics of Brazilian agriculture and especially the systems of cultivation and the pattern of agricultural institutions are present in the Recôncavo microcosm. This region has several special advantages as the subject of a regional investigation of agricultural phenomena. It is small enough so that it can be studied thoroughly and in a limited period of time. It is large enough to have a diverse internal organization and conflicts of interest which can be analyzed. It is relatively detached so that the gross regional pattern is undisturbed by overlapping and is easy to observe.

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[13] [101] Regional Terminology. The term "o recôncavo" can be applied to any crescentic littoral. In Brazil, however, "the Recôncavo" is almost universally understood to refer to a semicircle of land bordering the Baía de Todos os Santos in the state of Bahia. It is no more necessary to ask which Recôncavo in Brazil than to ask which South in the United States.

The Recôncavo has a less consistently defined content and boundary than the United States South. The extent of the area intended is individually determined in both common and scholarly usage—usually the limit of the region is implied rather than delineated. In traditional usage the Recôncavo generally is equated with the sugar cane area, but at least as often the area designated includes all the relatively densely settled and intensively utilized zone around the Baía de Todos os Santos.

• [121] [131] In delimiting the Recôncavo as a preliminary to field and statistical investigation it seemed desirable to enclose all areas which may customarily be included in the region. In addition, since the Recôncavo is conceived here primarily as an agricultural region, it seemed most consistent to include all other contiguous areas of equivalent agricultural utilization. Thus a search was made for a criterion for a tentative boundary which would circumscribe: (1) the traditional Recôncavo areas; and (2) the contiguous areas of equal agricultural intensity; and which in addition would (3) define the limit on a consistent statistical basis. These three requirements would be met with a boundary determined by the per cent of the land in agricultural use—a criterion which would summarize the intensity of land-use for [127] cultivation, fallow, and pasture. Appropriate data were available from the 1940 census. By inspection it was determined that twenty per cent [311] of the total area in agricultural use was the value of an isopleth which would enclose the traditional and equivalent areas and would

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121 separate them from the manifestly non-Recôncavo areas of the surrounding
131 zone. This limit of twenty per cent of the total area in agricultural
[311] land use corresponded rather closely to the outer boundary of a compact group of twenty-one municípios, and as a tentative regional concept, these twenty-one municípios were considered to be the Recôncavo.[5] The area of the region thus defined is 4,827 square miles (12,500 square kilometers), about equal to the size of the state of Connecticut.

121 Purpose and Procedure. The primary purpose of the research upon
241 which this monograph has been based was to analyze, from a geographical point of view, the structure and the functional organization of agriculture within the Recôncavo. It is not within the present scope to make a detailed comparison of the agricultural patterns of the Recôncavo with those of the rest of the nation. However, because of the general unity of the Brazilian agricultural system and the special relationship between the Recôncavo and the origins of the system, a study of the agriculture of the Recôncavo microcosm is a study of many of the basal aspects of Brazilian agriculture.

241 Very little literature is presently available on the agricultural
127 patterns of the Recôncavo. Certain general characteristics of the agriculture of the region may be deduced from the brief interpretations of maps of the 1948 production of sugar cane, tobacco, and manioc in the state of Bahia published by the Conselho Nacional de Geografia.[6] Indirect information may be gleaned from the general economic and agricultural histories of Brazil and from the sociological studies of the Brazilian northeast.[7] But comprehensive analysis based upon field or statistical study of the geographical patterns of agriculture of either the state of Bahia or of its nuclear region, the Recôncavo, are lacking.

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CHAPTER II

PHYSICAL SETTING

121 13 Introduction. The analysis of the physical setting of the Recôncavo which follows is intended primarily as a background for the interpretation of agricultural phenomena. As such, it is particularly concerned with those physical elements--flat and rough lands, productive and unproductive soils, humid and dry climates, and exploitable wild vegetation--which bear directly upon crop cultivation and animal industry. The statistical and map information and the literature on these physical elements are very limited. The general procedure used in developing this analysis was to formulate inferences based upon these limited sources and then to confirm or modify the inferences by field observation.

13 The narrow coastal plain and tabular uplands, the humid and sub-humid climates, the soils, and the forest and scrub forest vegetation typical of the northeast of Brazil are also characteristic of the Recôncavo. However, the presence of a rift occupied by the Baía de Todos os Santos and by a compact lowland pocket has given these characteristic features a distinctive geographical pattern in the Recôncavo.

Transition is a basic feature of the physical setting in which the economic and social institutions of the northeast of Brazil have been developed. Throughout the Northeast there are profound environmental differences between the coast and the interior. Even in as restricted an area as the Recôncavo, the rapid transition from the humid coastal lowland to the drier interior upland is a significant element in the regional complex.

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1967 SC11 Bahia Brazilians SC11
Vila Recôncavo

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Introduction

THE CULTIVATION of sugar cane, and the production of sugar, rum, and molasses, was one of the first commercial enterprises of the New World, following closely upon the heels of the discovery and exploration of the Americas. In many of the east coast lowlands, where the Portuguese, Spanish, English, and French did not find the metallic El Dorado they sought, they settled down to the extraction of white gold through an agricultural medium. Sugar cane was found to be an ideal crop for the rich soils and the climate of the tropical and semitropical bayoulike lowlands of Brazil, the Caribbean Islands, the Guianas, and later of Louisiana and Florida. Sugar was gaining in popularity throughout Europe at this time, and in the early days of European exploitation of the New World there was a rapidly growing sugar market in Europe, providing extraordinary returns for those who had sugar to sell. 121 • 249*

Wherever sugar cane took hold in the New World, there arose a distinct socioeconomic pattern. This pattern, whether in the Portuguese, Spanish, English, or French colonies, was marked by certain traits. The first of these was large landholding. Sugar planters possessed large tracts of land, usually received as grants from their respective colonial governments. Sugar-cane cultivation was done on a large scale and seldom engaged in by small farmers or peasants.

Everywhere sugar cane was grown, its cultivation was the scene of the growth of large, aristocratic families whose members were interested in and took part in colonial government, politics, the professions, and the church. Sugar-cane planters built large mansions on their plantations and

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created a tradition of gracious living, of literature and learning, of opulence, hospitality, and ostentation.

The European did not attempt to do the agricultural labor himself but quickly put the Indians to work. When Indians proved unsuccessful as plantation laborers, the planters seized upon African slaves, who shortly became the third most important trait of the sugar-cane way of life. With the addition of the African to the scene, there grew another strong tradition among the sugar-cane planters, a tradition of paternalism and noblesse oblige toward their Negro slaves.

The cultivation of sugar cane, over a period of two hundred and more years, developed into a remarkably stable way of life and, in spite of a long history of good times mixed with depressions, became firmly entrenched in the areas where it was possible to grow it. For centuries it was a family enterprise, based on slavery, and generation after generation exploited the same plantation with the same crop, to which they developed a strong loyalty. There are few instances where, once sugar cane was planted, it has given way to other crops, even though it has not always provided the extraordinary monetary returns it gave two or three centuries ago.

During the nineteenth century, a series of important changes took place throughout the Americas which affected this very stable way of life and modified the traditional culture patterns that had been built up over a long period of time. First was the general movement during the century to abolish slavery, the very basis of New World sugar-cane cultivation. Following abolition of slavery there were also changes in the colonial governments, and, in general, the position of the aristocratic sugar planters was challenged. The exact sequence of events and their political results differed from colony to colony, but in general the same outlines were observed wherever sugar cane was grown.

More important than all of these changes, however, was the modification of the sugar industry itself at the end of the nineteenth century, which, to a great extent, hinged on the social and political changes already mentioned. In addition, competition among the various sugar-cane areas was leading to experiments with new types of machinery and refining techniques, with the hope of securing an improved product and consequently a larger share of the world sugar market. The introduction of steam-powered machinery made possible the

121 249*

creation of the large central sugar mill, a process which was speeded up by the loss of slave labor and the need to mechanize in order to make up for a shortage of labor. Thus the "factory-in-the-field" came to the sugar-cane industry and set off a series of changes in the former sugar-cane way of life which reached beyond the sugar-cane plantations into regional economics, into the structure of local communities, and into the social class system. It implied a more modern and far greater capital structure for the sugar industry, different types of relations between employer and employee, and the growth of a body of skilled workmen and office workers.

Finally, in the twentieth century, there are changes, everywhere apparent in the Western world, which have greatly modified the old traditional patterns of cane-growing areas. Cities are growing with remarkable rapidity; transportation is greatly improved. The radio, cinema, newspapers, magazines, schools, health posts, and more efficient national and state government action--all these and many other influences and modern trends have reached down deep into the economics, the social structure, individual and family life, and the religion and politics of the cane-growing areas.

In fact, two stages can be distinguished in the change of New World sugar-cane plantation organization since the early nineteenth century. First there was the engenho (in Brazil), or ingenio (in the Spanish-speaking colonies), the family-owned and -directed plantation and sugar mill combination.[1] Here the cane was grown and milled on the same nonmechanized plantation, where labor was provided by Negro slaves, while animal and sometimes water power was employed for milling. Paternalism, mutual rights and obligations, and a sense of noblesse oblige distinguished the relations between the planters and their slave laborers.

The second stage in the sugar-cane plantation organization is characterized by the opposite of all these traits and has been well described in Puerto Rico.[2] Land ownership has

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1. Hereafter, the term "plantation" will be used to designate the engenho; it should be understood that, in each instance, the reference is to the family-owned and -directed plantation and sugar mill combination. (Editor's note.)

2. Sidney W. Mintz, Cañamelar: The Contemporary Cul-

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passed out of family hands and into the hands of large-scale corporations, the actual owners of which are most often absentee. Administration is in the hands of corporation employees and specialists. The field hands and millworkers are employees of a large, impersonal corporation, basing their rights on labor laws and labor unions rather than on paternalism and traditional family obligations. The corporate, central, mechanized mill, which is the center of a large corporate agricultural enterprise, is larger than any of the old plantation types and far more efficient. Its operations are based upon the cooperative efforts of agricultural, mechanical, and chemical specialists. Transportation and communications are better, and factory towns of the new type feel the pull of modern urban patterns more strongly than did the old plantation nuclei.

Yet these influences of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have not been felt with equal intensity throughout the American sugar-producing regions. In limited areas, large sugar mills owned and operated by powerful corporations, with veritable factory towns, may be found. In other sugar-producing areas the transition is less complete, and many patterns out of the traditional past of the areas have persisted and have been adjusted to new conditions.

The northeast coast of Brazil took part in this widespread tradition of sugar-cane cultivation. The first region of Brazil to be settled, the northeast coast is often known as the cradle of Brazilian civilization. For many years it was the most important part of the Portuguese colony, economically, socially, and politically. Sugar cane was introduced shortly after the first successful colonization in the mid-sixteenth century and became the basis for the economic, social, and political power of the region.

The golden age of this regional, large-scale sugar-cane plantation culture occurred during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and was a colorful and affluent period which holds a great nostalgia for many Brazilians. This regional culture has been admirably described by several Brazilian authors. As early as 1700, Antonil, a Jesuit priest, wrote a detailed description of the physical appearance of the early

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ture of a Rural Puerto Rican Proletariat (Ph. D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1951).

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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sugar-cane plantations and mills, of the techniques of cane cultivation and milling, and of the opulent way of life of the plantation owners.[3] More recently, Gilberto Freyre has given us a vivid picture of plantation life in this region during the colonial and empire periods; he describes the relations of the masters in their "big houses" (casas grandes) with the slaves in their huts (senzalas).[4] In addition, such Brazilian historians as Wanderley de Araujo Pinho[5] and Manuel Diegues, Jr.,[6] have added significantly to our picture of the way of life in the region during the early periods. Out of these historical materials emerges the picture of a well-integrated, stable society, based upon wealth from sugar, in which the aristocratic, landholding and slave-owning families were economically, socially, and politically dominant.

The sugar-cane culture of the northeast Brazilian coast kept step with the developments in the industry throughout the Americas. In 1888 slavery was abolished in Brazil, affecting the labor situation severely. One year later came the end of the Brazilian empire and the formation of the republic. In the republic the church and state were separated, and the position of the nobility of the empire, who in this region were sugar planters, was challenged. By 1900 the corporate central mill had been introduced to the region, thereby causing a series of far-reaching changes in the over-all regional culture.

However, in northeastern Brazil there are local areas which are in various degrees of change between the two major stages outlined above, that is, between the family-owned plantation and the highly industrialized, corporate, absentee-owned, land-factory system. The Recôncavo area of the state of Bahia in which this study was undertaken, for example, contains several large sugar factories (usinas), but even on the largest of these there is still a maximum of family tra-

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3. Andre João Antonil, Cultura e opulencia do Brasil (Bahia, 1950).

4. Gilberto Freyre, The Masters and the Slaves (New York, 1946).

5. J. Wanderley de Araujo Pinho, Historia de um engenho do Recôncavo, 1552-1944 (Rio de Janeiro, 1946).

6. Manuel Diegues, Jr., O banguê nas alagoas (Rio de Janeiro, 1949).

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*249 ditions and of paternalism. Here, the privately owned plantation is also still an important element.

In the community on which the present study focuses, there is a modern sugar factory or usina, but control by the factory of the entire process, from cane planting and harvesting to milling, is far from complete. Although the factory, in this case a family corporation, has bought up six neighboring plantations, at least half its supply of sugar cane comes from individual, family-owned plantations. Owners of these plantations, which have conserved their original boundaries, are often descendants of the aristocratic landholders of the past, and many of their workers are descendants of slaves who lived on the same plantations.

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*249 In this community, changes in sugar-producing technology have not reached down into the actual cane cultivation on the plantations. Emphasis has been on the improvement of milling techniques, the further refinement of sugar-cane juice, and the perfection of the finished product by the central mill. But the agricultural methods--planting, cultivation, harvesting, and transportation--have remained relatively unchanged.

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571 Most important of all, with the retention of these older techniques has gone the retention to a very great degree of the old accompanying social system. The present social system tends to follow the old, traditional, family-oriented, slaveholding complex. The pattern of face-to-face interpersonal relations, developed during centuries of sugar-cane monoculture based on slavery, persists in a modified form. Although the relations between workers and owner on these family plantations are now those of employee and employer, and not slave and owner, there is still the highly personal, intimate relationship based upon mutual rights and obligations and a sense of the obligations of nobility. Even the usina system perpetuates this paternalism to a high degree.

121 The present work is a "community study" in the full sense of the term as it is understood today in social anthropology. It is primarily a descriptive analysis of one community in the sugar-producing region of northeastern Brazil, but it is conceived within the framework of the historical sequence outlined above.

It must be remembered that these figures include the capital city, the population of which is about 450,000. If this is subtracted from the total population of the Recôncavo, the average density of the Recôncavo is approximately 27 persons per square kilometer. 161 [162]

Vila Recôncavo, the community of this study, is part of a county located 41 kilometers across the bay from Salvador. The community includes the town of Vila Recôncavo, which is the county seat, and the surrounding rural zone. Throughout the study we will be dealing with these two components of the sugar-cane plantation community, sometimes separately and sometimes together. 101 634 [121]

The only public transportation to the town is by boat from the capital, a three-hour trip across the bay, threading through numerous islands. The major part of the trip is made on remarkably blue water, usually serenely calm but occasionally violently agitated, especially during the winter. One-, two-, and three-masted sailing vessels and an occasional large sailing canoe, the centuries-old methods of transportation in Bahia, are passed on their way into the city, carrying fruit, vegetables, pottery, firewood, fish, tobacco, manioc flour, and sugar to the more than four hundred thousand people of the city, as they have done since the early colonization of the Recôncavo. The only new element in the scene is the small diesel boat which makes the trip back and forth across the bay, outward bound one day and returning the next with the outgoing tide. 505 501

As the boat nears the luxuriantly green, palm-crested islands, stopping at several to discharge the mail, passengers, and "city goods," one becomes aware of the feeling of stepping back into the past. Barefoot children are selling oranges, peanuts, and fish; and parrots and parakeets, sometimes doped with rum to make them appear tame. The mailman on the dock receives the sack of mail and gives it to his helper to carry to the post office; the island priest may receive a message or package entrusted to the captain of the boat or may even go aboard to travel to the church on another island. The others on the dock call to friends on the boat and exchange news or else simply watch the activity of docking the boat and the casting off. The people of the islands are light-skinned, although well sunburned. Many of them are vacationers from the city, dressed in brightly colored clothes, for the islands are well-known resorts. The others, barefoot, wearing shorts 505 [857] [443] [205] [793] [142] [528]

2. *History of the Town*

A STRANGER newly arrived in the town of Vila Recôncavo might justifiably question the reasons for its existence, since it almost seems to be an island in a vast sea of sugar cane. The daily life of the town dwellers, who are fishermen, artisans, and county officials, apparently has little to do with the rural area. In order to understand the separateness of the town and the rural area, it is necessary to investigate the history of both. For, although Vila Recôncavo now appears to be sharply cut off from the life of the plantations and the sugar mill, it has been in the past closely bound up with the fortunes of the rural landowners and is still directly affected by the rural area.

The history of this area began during the governorship of Mem de Sá, which lasted from 1557 to 1574. Mem de Sá was the third governor general of the new Portuguese colony of Brazil. The capital of the colony was the city of Salvador, which was settled successfully in 1549 in the second of two attempts. By the time of Mem de Sá, the back part of the Bay of All Saints remained to be wrested from the Indians to complete the colonization of the Recôncavo, a task to which he dedicated himself and which he accomplished in a few years. As new areas were conquered, the land was divided among the favored few in the form of land grants (sesmarias). Mem de Sá took as his own land grant three and a half leagues of coastline extending four leagues inland, plus two islands. The eastern tip of this land grant is now Vila Recôncavo, and the remainder falls into the county of Purificação. Mem de Sá erected one of the largest and best plantations of the colony here, which "he esteemed as much for its value and income

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ties between Negroes and whites on these colonial plantations. All writers have mentioned the frequency of sexual relations between the white plantation owners and their female slaves. Slavery was not a humane institution in Brazil or elsewhere, but in Brazil relations between the slave and the master were of a more personal nature than in other regions where slavery existed in the New World.

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By the middle of the last century, the West Indies and other regions of the world were competing with the Brazilian north-east for the world sugar market; and the abolition of slavery in 1888 caused difficulties of labour supply on these plantations. The sugar industry no longer provided the great wealth that it had in the past, and many of the old plantations were abandoned or sold to large commercial companies who installed modern equipment for large-scale sugar production. Plantation slaves became wage labourers, and the old traditional patterns of behaviour between the Negro slave and the white plantation-owning aristocrat began to disappear, to be replaced by an impersonal employee-employer relationship in keeping with the new way of life. Yet many patterns persist from the days of the old plantation system. Many of the descendants of the aristocratic plantation owners try to preserve the old traditions. They are proud of their family names, and large aristocratic families are still important in the economic and social life of the region. In many rural localities, there are still plantations where the relations between the workers and the owners are highly personalized, as they were in the past, and where customs and traditions formed during the period of opulence and slavery continue, if modified, by modern conditions. Throughout this part of Brazil, the relations between people of different racial groups have been influenced by the large proportion of Negroes in the population, by the importance of slavery in the relatively recent past, and by the particular form which the relations between the Negro slave and the European master took on the plantations.

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11. The community with which the present article is concerned is called Vila Recôncavo; it is a real town situated in the zone known as the Recôncavo which surrounds Salvador, the capital of the State of Bahia, and which borders on the Bay of All Saints, extending inland from the shores of the bay some 30 miles on the northern side, and considerably less on the southern side. The Recôncavo was characteristic of the whole north-eastern plantation region. The Portuguese who settled in Salvador in 1549 recognized the value of these lands around the new city and the Bay of All Saints for sugar production. The third governor of Bahia, Mem de Sá (1557–74),

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/For a general theoretical background to the study of "race" and related pheno
see category 116, pp. v-viii, xi-xiii, xix-lvi, lix, lxi-lxxi, lxxiii-lxxxiii, 3./

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At the same time, if the colonizing venture in Brazil was to succeed, a sufficient population, either European or closely identified with the European, was a necessity.[4] But a shortage of man-power existed in the mother-country. A small number of Portuguese were seeking to establish themselves on a widely extended and constantly expanding frontier. The colonial ventures in India and other areas of the East, where the Portuguese held an irregular coast line fifteen thousand miles long,[5] were draining the mother-country of her quite limited population, depleted as it already was from centuries of war with the Moors. The inhabitants of Portugal at the beginning of the reign of Dom Manoel the Venturesome (1495) are given as only one million.[6] During the thirty years from 1497 to 1527, three hundred and twenty ships are said to have transported to India, "between soldiers and passengers," eighty thousand persons.[7] Some of these returned to Portugal, but most of them remained. Still, Albuquerque complained of the insufficient number of men furnished for his conquests in the East.[8]

The general movement of rural population into Lisbon, drawn by the expansion of overseas trade, had at that time so depleted the supply of agricultural laborers in Portugal, particularly in the southern provinces, that Africans were being imported in considerable numbers to supply the short-

[4] In 1612 Diogo de Vasconcellos in a letter to the Portuguese king complained that without increased population "mal se poderá remediar nem povoar tão larga costa" (Manoel Bomfim, *O Brasil* [São Paulo, 1935], p. 11).

[5] Albert G. Keller, *Colonization* (Boston, 1908), p. 108.

[6] Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

[7] Fidelino de Figueiredo, *Estudos de historia americana* (São Paulo, n.d.), p. 21, quoted in Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

[8] F. C. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India* (2 vols.; London, 1894), I, 305–6.

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age.[9] Such migration to Brazil as did occur so seriously affected Portugal that in 1720 King Dom João V issued a royal proclamation prohibiting further emigration.[10]

An indication of this population scarcity is the fact that seventeenth-century Portuguese law recognized "common-law" marriage (*casamento Conhoçudos*) as legally binding. There grew up throughout Portugal "a great tolerance for every kind of union from which there might result an increase in population." Even the church came to recognize *de juras* marriage, if consummated by sexual intercourse.[11]

A scarcity of European women in the East led Francisco d'Almeida not only to accept the fact that a considerable degree of intermixture was already taking place in the Indies but also deliberately to foster as a matter of administrative policy Portuguese unions with native women. "In every Portuguese settlement the married men rapidly became a class to themselves with special privileges; all petty offices were reserved for them, and in Goa all the lands belonging to the King—a very large part of the area—were divided among them."[12] This policy of encouraging unions with na-

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[9] H. Morse Stephens (*Portugal* [New York, 1903], p. 182) says that the population of Lisbon trebled in eighty years.

[10] The decree stated as its purpose the prohibition "of yearly migrations from this country to the *capitanias* of Brazil of so many people . . . . chiefly from the province of Minho, which from once being the most populous now finds itself without a sufficient number of people to cultivate the soil or to perform necessary services" (J. de A. Corvo, *Estudos sobre as provincias ultramarinas* [4 vols.; London, 1883–87], I, 15, quoted in Keller, *op. cit.*, p. 152 n.).

[11] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 179. *De juras* marriage was a simple ceremony "in which the mutual consent of both parties was affirmed on oath before a representative of the church without, however, the sacrament being given." See Alexandre Herculano, *Casamento civil* (Lisboa, 1907), pp. 30 ff.

[12] R. S. Whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India, 1497–1550* (Westminster, 1899), p. 177; cf. Danvers, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

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tive women was similarly sponsored by the Dutch during their colonizing ventures in South Africa and in Java and later by the English in India—a policy which emerged in each case as a natural response to the actual conditions of settlement.

The first Dutch settlers in South Africa and in Java were, almost without exception, males who, in order to establish themselves on a racial and cultural frontier, took up with native women. The mixed-blood progeny of these unions was treated with tolerance and consideration and often sent to the Netherlands to be educated. It was only with the arrival of the Dutch housewives, after Cape Colony had been fairly established, that the attitude of the Dutch toward the mixed-bloods changed. Today there are probably few people in the world who oppose intermixture more vigorously than do the Boer descendants of these Dutch settlers.[11]

During the early years of English penetration in India intermarriage between the English and native Indians not only extensively took place but was encouraged as a deliberate policy by the English authorities. In 1678 the court of directors of the British East India Company wrote the president of Madras that

> the marriage of our soldiers to the native women of Fort St. George is a matter of such consequence to posterity that we shall be content to encourage it with some expense, and have been thinking for the future to appoint a *pagoda* to be paid to the mother of any child, that shall hereafter be born of any such future marriage, upon the day the child is christened, if you think this small encouragement will increase the number of such marriages.

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This policy in all probability did not so much initiate interracial crossing as recognize its existence in an informal

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[11] Robert E. Park, "Race Relations and Certain Frontiers," in *Race and Culture Contacts*, ed. E. B. Reuter (New York, 1934), pp. 67–68.

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state. Unions were not confined to the lower classes but extended into even the upper social ranks, not only of the English, but of other European nationalities as well.[14]

Miscegenation and interracial marriage are perhaps always incidental to the expansion of a racial frontier. As Park has pointed out: "Transplanting a people, like transplanting any other organism, is a ticklish business, and interbreeding is one way of successfully accomplishing the transition."[15]

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Thus, the Brazilian society of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries came to be founded largely upon families in which Indian or part Indian women were the consorts and mothers.[16] At least this was generally true of the lower classes, but it was by no means limited exclusively to them.[17]

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These *de facto* unions were gradually "regularized by the church into Christian marriage," thus lending the powerful sanction of the ecclesiastical authority, chief guardian of the mores in a sacred society, to interracial crossing. The church was joined in this policy by the state, which legalized mixed unions. Thus, neither church nor state injected any "strain for consistency"[18] into the colonial mores which had grown up quite naturally in response to the exigencies of colonization but instead themselves offered support to the "definitions of the situation"[19] already laid down in the prevailing attitudes.

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[14] See Cedric Dover, *Half-caste* (London, 1937), pp. 117 ff.

[15] *Op. cit.*, p. 57.

[16] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

[17] E.g., the *mamaluca* descendants of Caramurú married into prominent families.

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[18] See William Graham Sumner, *Folkways* (Boston, 1906), p. 5.

[19] See W. I. Thomas, *Primitive Behavior* (New York and London, 1937), pp. 8-9.

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The mating in Brazil of Portuguese men with native women was probably facilitated by the fact that many early colonizers were Moçarabes from southern Portugal, who had long been acquainted with the darker peoples and in whom "consciousness of race" was reputedly weak.[20] In fact, in some cases at least, African blood may have flowed in their veins.

It is possible that the first experience of the Portuguese with a darker race was the experience of a conquered people with their more swarthy conquerers. For the Moors, whose occupation of Portugal extended over more than five hundred years (711–1244), were perhaps darker in pigmentation than the Iberian peoples among whom, as lords of a conquered land, they settled. At least we know that their advance into the Iberian peninsula was led by the Berbers of northern Africa, whom Ripley describes as possessed of a slightly concave nose which in profile suggests the Negro, with hair varying from wavy to curly, beards rare, and body hair seldom heavy.[21] Ripley attributes their resemblance to the Negro to admixture with negroid tribes south of the Sahara.

If it is true that the Moors were of darker pigmentation than the Portuguese among whom they settled, men of dark hue had, at the time Brazil was colonized, been for centuries men of prestige in Portugal. They had brought in with them

[20] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 60. From the fifteenth century onward, Negroes were common even in Lisbon. Nicolau Clenard, French tutor of the (at that time) crown prince Dom Henrique, once wrote in a letter: "I believe there is in Lisbon a greater number of Moors and Negroes than of whites. There are nests of slaves in every house" (quoted from Domingos de Magalhães, *Os indígenas do Brasil*, by Luiz Anselmo da Fonseca, *A escravidão, o clero e o abolicionismo* [Bahia, 1887], p. 165).

[21] William Z. Ripley, *Races of Europe* (New York, 1899), pp. 277–78.

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a superior culture; were more learned in the arts and sciences. They had become the wealthy class who occupied the towns or lived in the principal castles and on the great estates. Consequently, it came to be considered an honor for Portuguese women to mate with them, and we know that such marriages often occurred, even among members of the royal family.[22] Thus, the Portuguese, long before the discovery of Brazil, were "accustomed to mixed unions and their offspring."[23]

If the Portuguese came to look upon the dark Moors, and the somewhat negroid Berbers among them, as objects of prestige and eventually as marriageable individuals, the importation into Portugal of African Negroes (who from 1433 on were introduced in considerable numbers,[24] particularly as agricultural laborers in the Algarves at that time almost depopulated by the long wars of the Moorish expulsion) would have found the Portuguese accustomed to associating on a basis of social equality with, or even being inferior to, people of dark color. Even a royal prince is known to have had intimate Negro associates, for King Affonso VI's chief delight as a boy, it is said, was to roam the streets of Lisbon "at the head of a troop of mulattoes and Negro slaves."[25] Traces of African descent are still today unmistakable in the population of Lisbon.[26]

In the Jesuit schools at Bahia in the sixteenth and seven-

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[22] Stephens, *op. cit.*, p. 23; Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Story of the Moors in Spain* (New York and London, 1886), pp. 48, 55, 247.

[23] Keller, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

[24] African slaves became so numerous that, by the middle of the sixteenth century, they were said to outnumber the free men of Lisbon.

[25] Stephens, *op. cit.*, p. 330.

[26] Noted by Dr. Robert E. Park on a recent visit to Lisbon.

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Short of a racial census, an adequate statistical statement of the racial composition of Bahia would probably require an extended sampling of the population in various parts of the city—a procedure not feasible under the limits of this study. Samples readily obtainable at the numerous festivals such as Segunda Feira do Bomfim, Conceição da Praia, the Vespers of Reis, etc., are not practical for the reason that participation of one or another of the ethnic components is ordinarily out of proportion to its size in the general population. But at Carnival, when nearly the entire population frequents the public thoroughfares, this difficulty disappears. A new obstacle arises, however, in the form of a considerable infiltration of population from surrounding areas. And since the whites are ordinarily from the upper-income groups and consequently more able to travel, the white percentage of the city's population is probably at that time swollen beyond its normal proportion. The "Micarêta," or second Carnival, held one week after Easter, avoids this latter disadvantage. Of five thousand people noted among the participants in the "Micarêta" for 1936, the racial percentages appeared to be those given in Table 5.

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Thus one can perhaps confirm the common-sense judgment of Bahian citizens to the effect that at least half, and perhaps more, of the population is now noticeably mixed, that both biologically "pure" whites (but not "whites" in the social sense) and biologically "pure" Africans are relatively few in number.

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Some notion of the change in physical characteristics by generations, at least among members of the lower classes, may be had from a study of five hundred cases of mothers and their offspring applying at Bahia's free children's

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CHAPTER XI

BLACK AND WHITE AT BAHIA

THE foregoing chapters have dealt with some of the consequences, in one part of the New World, of what has been the greatest population movement in all history, namely, the series of migrations associated with the expansion of western Europe. The Portuguese, with whom we are here particularly concerned, were in the forefront of this outward movement which now for over five centuries has been bringing European peoples and European cultures into intimate contact with native peoples and native cultures all over the habitable world. Park,[1] McKenzie,[2] and other writers have pointed out in some detail the chain of circumstances occasioned by this expansion which, in fact, has ushered in all that is peculiarly characteristic of the modern world. 121

The expansion of Europe is a distinct historical process. It constitutes an era of world-history which had a definite beginning and which, as Park has pointed out,[3] is now at or quite near an end. It has, therefore, a unitary character which makes it a thing that can be studied like any other natural object. Moreover, it is subject to comparison; simi-

[1] Robert E. Park, "Race Relations and Certain Frontiers," in *Race and Culture Contacts*, ed. E. B. Reuter (New York, 1934), pp. 57–85; and in Andrew W. Lind, *An Island Community: Ecological Succession in Hawaii* (Chicago, 1938), Introduction. [113]

[2] R. D. McKenzie, "Industrial Expansion and the Interrelations of Peoples," in *Race and Culture Contacts*, ed. E. B. Reuter, pp. 19–33.

[3] Lind, *op. cit.*, pp. x–xi.

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121 lar movements have occurred during recorded history: the Arab march across northern Africa and into the Iberian peninsula, for example, as well as the Mohammedan migrations through the passes of the Himalayas onto the plains of northern India, and the so-called "barbarian" invasions of the Roman Empire. The expansion of Europe is not a phenomenon so unique that it cannot profitably be compared with other similar incidents of human dispersion.

The foregoing chapters have been oriented with reference to this general point of view, but they dealt specifically with one locus of European settlement. They sought to explore a particular instance of racial and cultural contact and to describe it in such terms as will perhaps make it comparable with other cases of racial and cultural contact in other parts of the world.

121 *563 Peculiarly significant are the facts that, although probably more Africans were imported into Brazil as one of the consequences of Portuguese settlement than into any other region of the New World, and they at one time constituted, in such centers of concentration as Bahia, a majority of the population, the Negro as a racial unit, like the Brazilian Indian before him, is gradually, but to all appearances inevitably, disappearing. The general tendency throughout Brazilian history has been to absorb, gradually but eventually, all ethnic elements into the dominant European stock.

It is true that the mixed-bloods are increasing, but their increase appears to be at the expense of the African and not of the European. Nor is there growing up in Bahia a relatively permanent mixed racial stock, like the Macanese in China or the "Cape Coloured" in South Africa. Instead, the mixed-bloods appear to be gradually absorbing the

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blacks, while they themselves are increasingly being incorporated into the predominantly European stock.

In the development of this general tendency to amalgamate and to assimilate all ethnic minorities, the circumstances and conditions of settlement played a significant role. In Brazil, unlike in the case of the English settlement of the United States, few women, as we have seen, emigrated from Europe during the first century of colonization. Until stable conditions and a normal distribution of the sexes were achieved, cohabitation with native Indian women commonly occurred. In this way a population large enough to colonize successfully the new frontier was assured, in spite of the fact that Portugal, because of the drain upon her slender resources to enable her to conquer and hold the vast empire in the East, was unable to provide it. When Thomé de Souza in 1549 set up the first permanent settlement at Bahia, he found already on the site a numerous body of mixed-blood descendants of Portuguese sailors and adventurers who for some years had been living with the Indians. As far as the limited number of females made it possible, Thomé de Souza's men took mates from among these mixed-bloods; others cohabited with pure Indian women. These interracial unions, as in Goa (India) and elsewhere throughout the Portuguese dominions in the East, were subsequently encouraged as a matter of policy by the Portuguese state. Moreover, the Catholic church "regularized them into Christian marriage," thereby lending its powerful sanction to interracial crossing and bringing parents and children within the control and discipline of the church. In other words, a tradition of intermarriage became firmly fixed in the colonial mores.

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The considerable body of *mestiços* which grew up are said

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to have been better adapted to a tropical climate than their Portuguese fathers and thus to have materially aided the survival of the European stock with which they, by reason of its prestige, came largely to identify themselves and into which they were gradually absorbed.

This case of interbreeding and intermarriage during the precarious days of settlement is not unique in the history of European expansion. In fact, in those instances in which the sex ratio was out of balance, it seems to have been universal. The settlement of the United States, at least in large part, was not one of these cases. But the settlement of South Africa by the Dutch, and of India by the English, as we have noted, were accomplished under similar circumstances. In each of these cases the mixed-bloods were at first accorded the treatment and the career usually falling to the progeny of fathers whose parental sentiments do not run counter to caste sentiments laid down in the local mores. On the frontier new societies are emerging, and the mores which grow up and crystallize into fixed customs and traditions are a result of the unwitting and unplanned responses of human beings to the needs of their time and circumstance.

The similarity, however, between these three cases of European settlement—in India, South Africa, and Brazil—gradually disappeared with the subsequent development of the respective colonies. In India circumstances altered the original situation until intermixture and intermarriage came seriously to be frowned upon and eventually to lose all moral sanction. The mixed-bloods came to be despised and finally to be outcast from both parental groups. In South Africa, when Cape Colony had become fairly established and the Dutch housewives coming in from Europe had succeeded to a considerable extent in getting rid of the na-

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tive concubines, the attitude of this community also changed, until "at the present time there is probably nowhere a more grim determination to preserve the integrity of their racial stock than there is among the descendants of those first Dutch settlers and of the French Huguenot and German immigrants who followed and fused with them to form the Boer people."[4]

But in Brazil the attitudes toward intermixture and intermarriage which grew up during the colonial period in response to the exigencies of the frontier seem not to have been subsequently seriously altered. Instead, the tendency to absorb all diverse ethnic elements appears to have been a persistent character of Brazilian society throughout the four centuries of its existence and is characteristic of it today.

The reasons for this deviation in Brazil are not very clear, and it continues, therefore, to be a problem. One of the difficulties in the way of its solution is the comparatively meager amount of information available on the "social history" of Brazil. Until quite recently, when such intellectuals as Gilberto Freyre became interested in digging out of the voluminous record of the past some understanding of the human relations characteristic of the colonial and imperial periods, Brazilian historians had limited their attention largely to the political, and especially to the administrative, aspects of Brazilian history. There is extant, of course, a considerable literature from the pens of foreign visitors, among whom were several able scientists, artists, and scholars like, for example, J. B. von Spix, C. F. P. von Martius, J. B. Debret, Prince Maximilian Wied-Neuwied, Maurice Rugendas, Henry W. Bates, Louis Agassiz, Richard F. Burton, Prince Adalbert, and L. F. Tollenare, which often con-

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[4] Park, "Race Relations and Certain Frontiers," *op. cit.*, pp. 67–68.

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tains pertinent observation and comment. But, unfortunately, the work of these men is almost entirely limited to the nineteenth century. The accounts which deal with an earlier period—for instance, the *Cartas* of Vilhena and of Nobrega, and the works of such able historians as Robert Southey, Heinrich Handelmann, and Francisco A. de Varnhagen—do not furnish sufficient information to resolve our problem. Voluminous records in numerous public depositories still await the careful sifting of competent scholars.

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It may be that, by the time European women had arrived in any considerable number in Bahia, miscegenation, aided by the decimation occasioned by the rigors of slavery and the introduction of European diseases, had already proceeded to the point where the Indian, as a minority group, had disappeared, or had almost disappeared, so that the problem of serious competition with Indian concubines did not present itself to the incoming Portuguese housewives.

Large numbers of Africans were, however, by this time coming in, and they continued for generations to arrive. There were at least some females among them. No intermarriage with African women, as far as we know, at first took place. Miscegenation, however, was extensive. And the mixed-bloods, as we have seen, were treated with tolerance and consideration. Numerous unions, especially with mulatto women, were subsequently entered into and were socially accepted.

It may have been that one circumstance favorable to a deviant termination of race relations in Brazil was the contact which the Portuguese, unlike the English and the Dutch, had with the Moors. From the customs and traditions of their conquerors, the Portuguese, during the several centuries of Moorish domination of the Iberian peninsula,

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took over at least three cultural elements whose presence in the mores of colonial Brazil may be significant for our problem: the practice of concubinage, the subordinate position of woman in the household, and the comparative absence of color consciousness.

It may be that the Portuguese, like the Moors and other Mohammedans, were, as several commentators have said, a "color-blind" people; that is, awareness of color and other racial differences was not so pronounced with them as with us. It is probably true that the *conceptions* laid down in the culture materially influence the *perceptions* which individuals have.

Perhaps one reason the Portuguese in the New Country and their descendants cohabited with individuals from other races and interbred so extensively was that such behavior had long been common in the Old Country, where their ancestors had taken over from the Moors oriental customs tolerant of plural marriage. Even when Orientals exclude the children of concubines from the legitimate family in an attempt to preserve its status, emphasis is upon preserving status rather than purity of race.

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Concubinage, or *mancebia*, as it is known in Bahia, seems to have been quite common throughout the history of Brazil. It appears always to have been more or less socially sanctioned and accepted into the mores. Divorce is illegal, and many marriages are made for family convenience. It is not rare today in Bahia for a man with a legal wife and family to keep in separate establishments one or more *amantes*.[5] The

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[5] In one reported instance there are five; in another, eight. Usually the man, owing to the expense involved, is well to do; the women are from the lower strata. For instance, a wealthy and prominent intellectual figure lives most of the time apart from his legal wife with a mulatto woman who is intelligent, "attractive," and has traveled (with him) in France, Belgium,

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high society of the city in spite of my letters of introduction and my efforts to enter several homes."[8]

Another important question to raise is, "Why did not the structure of Brazilian slave society, like that of the United States, pass over into caste?" The situation here is somewhat more clear. The function of caste appears to be that of preserving inviolate the racial integrity of a dominant group. Caste in India apparently arose in an attempt on the part of incoming Aryan peoples to preserve the status of their families against the consequences of intermixture with the conquered aboriginal tribes.[9] The prohibition of intermarriage excluded almost completely from the more intimate social contacts individuals from groups considered undesirable.

In Brazil the characteristic tendency has always been just the reverse: namely, to incorporate eventually all ethnic minorities into the dominant group. The contact of the Portuguese settlers with the imported Africans was, of course, originally that of master and slave. But out of the slave system which grew up there gradually emerged a moral order in which most whites and blacks, as we have seen, came to share a common life on an intimate, personal basis.

Men come together ordinarily because they are useful to one another. Under these circumstances they may regard each other for a long time as mere utilities. But human beings do not live for long, like plants, in relations that are merely symbiotic. For men, unlike plants, communicate. In this way they come to know one another's minds and to be responsive to one another's attitudes and sentiments. They find themselves, eventually, living as it were, each in the mind of all his neighbors. It is in this way that a moral order grows up in which,

[8] L. F. Tollenare, "Notas dominicais tomadas durante uma residencia no Brasil, 1816–1818" (portion relative to Pernambuco translated by Alfredo de Carvalho from the unpublished French manuscript), *Revista do Instituto Arqueologico e Geographico Pernambucano*, No. 61 (1905), pp. 129 and 230.

[9] Sir Herbert H. Risley, *The People of India* (2d ed.; Calcutta, 1915), pp. 264–65.

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under the happiest circumstances, the individual feels himself constrained only by those obligations which he freely accepts or imposes upon himself.

It is characteristic of such a moral order that it is nonrational. That means that it is not devised to protect any special interest, to serve any policy, and has no ulterior purposes of any sort. On the contrary, it arises in response to the natural claims which one individual makes upon another, as soon as he recognizes that other individual as human like himself.[10]

Manumission, as we have seen, extensively occurred from the first. And final emancipation came about as the culmination of a widespread liberation movement which had for years dominated the public mind. The Brazilian Negro was thus released from a servile status gradually and under circumstances which favored the continuance of intimate personal ties. Final emancipation was not, as in the United States, brought about as an incident of civil strife, and the race relations which had normally grown up under slavery were never exacerbated by a program of reconstruction imposed from without by armed conquest. The rise of the black and of the mixed-blood in Brazil has always had in its favor those sentiments and personal attachments which primary relations tend to develop.

In Bahia there is probably little or no race prejudice in the sense in which that term is used in the United States. There are no castes based on race; there are only classes. This does not mean that there is nothing which might be properly called prejudice but that such prejudice as does exist is *class* rather than *caste* prejudice. It is the kind of prejudice which exists *inside* the ranks of the Negro in the United States, the amount and intensity of which is actually very great.

That race prejudice has not arisen in Brazil is perhaps due

[10] Park, Introduction to Bertram W. Doyle, *The Etiquette of Race Relations in the South* (Chicago, 1937), pp. xiv–xv.

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to the fact that the Brazilian white has never at any time felt that the black or the mixed-blood offered any serious threat to his status. The past and present experiences of the ethnic groups have not been such as would call out in the whites feelings of fear, distrust, apprehension, dread, resentment, or envy, all of which probably enter into the attitude of race prejudice. Besides, there has not been in Brazil that obscure sense of guilt which men sometimes feel toward those they have wronged or toward those by whom they themselves have been wronged. There have been few or no incidents which the Europeans resent and tend to construe as affronts or unwarranted aggressions and attacks; no events, like those attendant on our Civil War and its aftermath, which would stir the Europeans, arouse their feelings, and give to their conception of the Negro a new meaning and content. There are in Brazil no memories over which the whites brood like those which have been so strikingly called to our attention in a recent novel:

> Looking about her in that cold spring of 1866, Scarlett realized what was facing her and the whole South. . . . . The Yankees had the South prostrate. . . . . The South had been tilted as by a giant malicious hand, and those who had once ruled were now more helpless than their former slaves had ever been.
>
> Georgia was heavily garrisoned with troops and Atlanta had more than its share. The commandants of the Yankee troops in the various cities had complete power, even the power of life and death over the civilian population. . . . . They could and did imprison citizens for any cause, or no cause, seize their property, hang them. They could and did harass and hamstring them with conflicting regulations about the operation of their business, the wages they must pay their servants, what they should say in public and private utterances and what they should write in newspapers. They regulated how, when and where they must dump their garbage and they decided what songs the daughters and wives of ex-Confederates could sing, so that the singing

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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her, even in her dreams, and she dreaded worse terrors to come. Depressed by the helplessness of herself and her friends, of the whole South, it was not strange that she often remembered during these days the words which Tony Fontaine had spoken so passionately:

"By God, Scarlett, it isn't to be borne! And it won't be borne!"[11]

Brazilian society nowhere passed through a comparable period of social upheaval in which a threatened reversal of the status structure elicited such deep-seated fear and apprehension that generations later it is so vividly recalled by the descendants of those who lived through it. The rape of white women by colored men, either real or fancied, has been unknown in Brazil. There has not been anything remotely comparable to the conquest of our South by northern armies, the imposition, for years, of onerous political control from without, and the consequent development of feelings of resentment and bitterness which, lacking normal expression (by reason of the North's formidable power), in the form of effective aggression toward the actual offending object, became displaced upon the more or less helpless Negro when northern force was withdrawn. On the contrary, the relations between the races in Brazil have always been, to a considerable extent, intimate and cordial. The moral order of the Bahian *engenhos*, which, as we have seen, was organized largely on a familial and personal basis, has persisted relatively undisturbed down to the present day, and the members of the different races have, by way of personal feelings and sentiments, long identified themselves with each other, entered into each other's personal experiences, and come to appreciate their common human character. Instead of conceiving the Negro as an abstract object, the Bahian white tends to think of him as João or Maria and as being wholly human like himself.

[11] Margaret Mitchell, *Gone with the Wind* (New York, 1938), pp. 652–57.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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It is true that the Europeans at Bahia, like all groups, are ethnocentric, and individual whites share a general feeling of the superiority of their group. Many of them are adverse to the (to them) strange and bizarre behavior represented by the *candomblé* ritual and other African cultural survivals. In some minds at least these acts have taken on a disgusting and even offensive character and may have evoked deeply rooted antipathies. However, these antagonisms are directed at *cultural* rather than at *racial* variations, and they tend to disappear when the Negro, as he is now rapidly doing, gives up his identification with African cultural forms and becomes assimilated into the European world. The antipathy does not extend, therefore, to the Negro as such but rather to the *Africano*, the foreigner, he who constitutes an alien cyst in the social organism. This attitude is not greatly different from that characteristic of descendants of the first English settlers in the United States toward recent immigrants from southern and eastern Europe who for a time continue to live much to themselves and to cling tenaciously to Old World customs and traditions.

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One might note that the Brazilian case of racial contact definitely supports Faris' challenge of a popular assumption which, confusing the customary with the natural, maintains that race prejudice is instinctive and hereditary.[11] If race prejudice were organic, it obviously would appear in all cases of racial contact. If, then, we discover cases in which it does not appear, the hypothesis that race prejudice is instinctive is no longer valid.

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What we find, then, in Bahia is a multiracial class society.

[11] Ellsworth Faris, "The Natural History of Race Prejudice," in *The Nature of Human Nature* (New York and London, 1937), chap. xxxii, pp. 357 ff.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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At the same time, if the colonizing venture in Brazil was to succeed, a sufficient population, either European or closely identified with the European, was a necessity.[4] But a shortage of man-power existed in the mother-country. A small number of Portuguese were seeking to establish themselves on a widely extended and constantly expanding frontier. The colonial ventures in India and other areas of the East, where the Portuguese held an irregular coast line fifteen thousand miles long,[5] were draining the mother-country of her quite limited population, depleted as it already was from centuries of war with the Moors. The inhabitants of Portugal at the beginning of the reign of Dom Manoel the Venturesome (1495) are given as only one million.[6] During the thirty years from 1497 to 1527, three hundred and twenty ships are said to have transported to India, "between soldiers and passengers," eighty thousand persons.[7] Some of these returned to Portugal, but most of them remained. Still, Albuquerque complained of the insufficient number of men furnished for his conquests in the East.[8]

The general movement of rural population into Lisbon, drawn by the expansion of overseas trade, had at that time so depleted the supply of agricultural laborers in Portugal, particularly in the southern provinces, that Africans were being imported in considerable numbers to supply the short-

[4] In 1612 Diogo de Vasconcellos in a letter to the Portuguese king complained that without increased population "mal se poderá remediar nem povoar tão larga costa" (Manoel Bomfim, *O Brasil* [São Paulo, 1935], p. 11).

[5] Albert G. Keller, *Colonization* (Boston, 1908), p. 108.

[6] Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

[7] Fidelino de Figueiredo, *Estudos de historia americana* (São Paulo, n.d.), p. 21, quoted in Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

[8] F. C. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India* (2 vols.; London, 1894), I, 305-6.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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age.[9] Such migration to Brazil as did occur so seriously affected Portugal that in 1720 King Dom João V issued a royal proclamation prohibiting further emigration.[10]

An indication of this population scarcity is the fact that seventeenth-century Portuguese law recognized "common-law" marriage (*casamento Conhoçudos*) as legally binding. There grew up throughout Portugal "a great tolerance for every kind of union from which there might result an increase in population." Even the church came to recognize *de juras* marriage, if consummated by sexual intercourse.[11]

A scarcity of European women in the East led Francisco d'Almeida not only to accept the fact that a considerable degree of intermixture was already taking place in the Indies but also deliberately to foster as a matter of administrative policy Portuguese unions with native women. "In every Portuguese settlement the married men rapidly became a class to themselves with special privileges; all petty offices were reserved for them, and in Goa all the lands belonging to the King—a very large part of the area—were divided among them."[12] This policy of encouraging unions with na-

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[9] H. Morse Stephens (*Portugal* [New York, 1903], p. 182) says that the population of Lisbon trebled in eighty years.

[10] The decree stated as its purpose the prohibition "of yearly migrations from this country to the *capitanias* of Brazil of so many people . . . . chiefly from the province of Minho, which from once being the most populous now finds itself without a sufficient number of people to cultivate the soil or to perform necessary services" (J. de A. Corvo, *Estudos sobre as provincias ultramarinas* [4 vols.; London, 1883–87], I, 15, quoted in Keller, *op. cit.*, p. 152 n.).

[11] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 179. *De juras* marriage was a simple ceremony "in which the mutual consent of both parties was affirmed on oath before a representative of the church without, however, the sacrament being given." See Alexandre Herculano, *Casamento civil* (Lisboa, 1907), pp. 30 ff.

[12] R. S. Whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India, 1497–1550* (Westminster, 1899), p. 177; cf. Danvers, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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tive women was similarly sponsored by the Dutch during their colonizing ventures in South Africa and in Java and later by the English in India—a policy which emerged in each case as a natural response to the actual conditions of settlement.

The first Dutch settlers in South Africa and in Java were, almost without exception, males who, in order to establish themselves on a racial and cultural frontier, took up with native women. The mixed-blood progeny of these unions was treated with tolerance and consideration and often sent to the Netherlands to be educated. It was only with the arrival of the Dutch housewives, after Cape Colony had been fairly established, that the attitude of the Dutch toward the mixed-bloods changed. Today there are probably few people in the world who oppose intermixture more vigorously than do the Boer descendants of these Dutch settlers.[13]

During the early years of English penetration in India intermarriage between the English and native Indians not only extensively took place but was encouraged as a deliberate policy by the English authorities. In 1678 the court of directors of the British East India Company wrote the president of Madras that

> the marriage of our soldiers to the native women of Fort St. George is a matter of such consequence to posterity that we shall be content to encourage it with some expense, and have been thinking for the future to appoint a *pagoda* to be paid to the mother of any child, that shall hereafter be born of any such future marriage, upon the day the child is christened, if you think this small encouragement will increase the number of such marriages.

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This policy in all probability did not so much initiate interracial crossing as recognize its existence in an informal

[13] Robert E. Park, "Race Relations and Certain Frontiers," in *Race and Culture Contacts*, ed. E. B. Reuter (New York, 1934), pp. 67–68.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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state. Unions were not confined to the lower classes but extended into even the upper social ranks, not only of the English, but of other European nationalities as well.[14]

Miscegenation and interracial marriage are perhaps always incidental to the expansion of a racial frontier. As Park has pointed out: "Transplanting a people, like transplanting any other organism, is a ticklish business, and interbreeding is one way of successfully accomplishing the transition."[15]

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Thus, the Brazilian society of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries came to be founded largely upon families in which Indian or part Indian women were the consorts and mothers.[16] At least this was generally true of the lower classes, but it was by no means limited exclusively to them.[17]

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These *de facto* unions were gradually "regularized by the church into Christian marriage," thus lending the powerful sanction of the ecclesiastical authority, chief guardian of the mores in a sacred society, to interracial crossing. The church was joined in this policy by the state, which legalized mixed unions. Thus, neither church nor state injected any "strain for consistency"[18] into the colonial mores which had grown up quite naturally in response to the exigencies of colonization but instead themselves offered support to the "definitions of the situation"[19] already laid down in the prevailing attitudes.

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[14] See Cedric Dover, *Half-caste* (London, 1937), pp. 117 ff.

[15] *Op. cit.*, p. 57.

[16] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

[17] E.g., the *mameluco* descendants of Caramurú married into prominent families.

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[18] See William Graham Sumner, *Folkways* (Boston, 1906), p. 5.

[19] See W. I. Thomas, *Primitive Behavior* (New York and London, 1937), pp. 8–9.

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The mating in Brazil of Portuguese men with native women was probably facilitated by the fact that many early colonizers were Moçarabes from southern Portugal, who had long been acquainted with the darker peoples and in whom "consciousness of race" was reputedly weak.[20] In fact, in some cases at least, African blood may have flowed in their veins.

It is possible that the first experience of the Portuguese with a darker race was the experience of a conquered people with their more swarthy conquerers. For the Moors, whose occupation of Portugal extended over more than five hundred years (711–1244), were perhaps darker in pigmentation than the Iberian peoples among whom, as lords of a conquered land, they settled. At least we know that their advance into the Iberian peninsula was led by the Berbers of northern Africa, whom Ripley describes as possessed of a slightly concave nose which in profile suggests the Negro, with hair varying from wavy to curly, beards rare, and body hair seldom heavy.[21] Ripley attributes their resemblance to the Negro to admixture with negroid tribes south of the Sahara.

If it is true that the Moors were of darker pigmentation than the Portuguese among whom they settled, men of dark hue had, at the time Brazil was colonized, been for centuries men of prestige in Portugal. They had brought in with them

[20] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 60. From the fifteenth century onward, Negroes were common even in Lisbon. Nicolau Clenard, French tutor of the (at that time) crown prince Dom Henrique, once wrote in a letter: "I believe there is in Lisbon a greater number of Moors and Negroes than of whites. There are nests of slaves in every house" (quoted from Domingos de Magalhães, *Os indigenas do Brasil*, by Luiz Anselmo da Fonseca, *A escravidão, o clero e o abolicionismo* [Bahia, 1887], p. 165).

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[21] William Z. Ripley, *Races of Europe* (New York, 1899), pp. 277–78.

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a superior culture; were more learned in the arts and sciences. They had become the wealthy class who occupied the towns or lived in the principal castles and on the great estates. Consequently, it came to be considered an honor for Portuguese women to mate with them, and we know that such marriages often occurred, even among members of the royal family.[22] Thus, the Portuguese, long before the discovery of Brazil, were "accustomed to mixed unions and their offspring."[23]

If the Portuguese came to look upon the dark Moors, and the somewhat negroid Berbers among them, as objects of prestige and eventually as marriageable individuals, the importation into Portugal of African Negroes (who from 1433 on were introduced in considerable numbers,[24] particularly as agricultural laborers in the Algarves at that time almost depopulated by the long wars of the Moorish expulsion) would have found the Portuguese accustomed to associating on a basis of social equality with, or even being inferior to, people of dark color. Even a royal prince is known to have had intimate Negro associates, for King Affonso VI's chief delight as a boy, it is said, was to roam the streets of Lisbon "at the head of a troop of mulattoes and Negro slaves."[25] Traces of African descent are still today unmistakable in the population of Lisbon.[26]

In the Jesuit schools at Bahia in the sixteenth and seven-

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[22] Stephens, *op. cit.*, p. 23; Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Story of the Moors in Spain* (New York and London, 1886), pp. 48, 55, 247.

[23] Keller, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

[24] African slaves became so numerous that, by the middle of the sixteenth century, they were said to outnumber the free men of Lisbon.

[25] Stephens, *op. cit.*, p. 330.

[26] Noted by Dr. Robert E. Park on a recent visit to Lisbon.

[SALVADOR]

/5/ Introduction

121 The subject of this monograph is the study of the social ascent of colored people /Fr. gens de couleur/ in a Brazilian city and the analysis of the mechanisms whereby this "vertical mobility" comes into play. The city that has been chosen as the field of investigation is that of Salvador (Bahia), which for a long time has been cited as a model of racial harmony.

The research project that served as the basis of this report included: 1st, an inquiry into the place given to colored people -- for the most part descendants of African Blacks or of the crossing of Blacks and Portuguese -- in the social groups surrounded by an aura of prestige and, in a general manner, in the upper classes of the society; 2nd, a description of the mechanism of social ascent; 3rd, a study of the way in which Whites and colored people react when confronted by this social phenomenon.

114 The research carried out under our responsibility began in February, 1951, and was pursued until October of the same year.

Our observations dealt with the racial composition of different social groupings and were carried out on the occasion of religious ceremonies, military or civic parades, school functions, academic sessions, or meetings of learned societies, balls, family festivals, and sports events. They were rounded out by visits to administrative and business offices, to stores, schools, clubs, and other places of work and recreation. We likewise examined the [127] portraits of colored people filed in the Bureau of Identification of the police of the State, of students or of school children photographed at the time of the promotion of their class, of members of religious brotherhoods, of recreational and social clubs, and finally of persons belonging to the liberal professions. When we had at our disposal only lists of names, the classification according to ethnic origin was entrusted to three or four individuals who were acquainted with the members of the group in question.

124 In addition to these investigations and the compilation of [127] data furnished by previous studies of a social, historical, ethnographic, and demographic nature, 56 Blacks and mulattoes were interviewed; they were chosen from a list of 128 names, which included a majority of colored people occupying a high position

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124 We also called on a limited number of white informants who had the reputation of being familiar with the problems of Bahia in
114 the past and the present. Born and raised in this city, where I have never ceased to dwell, I was also able to use my own experience.
127 In addition, we made use of announcements and editorial commentaries appearing in the periodicals and daily papers of Bahia and reflecting, up to a certain point, the stereotypes of the milieu studied.

• 121 A simple description of the racial situation in Bahia would not be adequate to make one understand the dynamism of this rising of the Blacks on the social scale. It has also been treated as a process of cultural and social change and therefore examined from a historical perspective; people have refrained, however, from going into details.

114 Our investigation, in one sense, was made difficult by the
127 scarcity of anthropological and sociological works on the society of Bahia. This city has been the subject of several historical studies in the course of recent years. One finds numerous references to the slave trade, to anthropometry, to phenomena of acculturation, and to African survivals, but, as Donald Pierson very rightly says in the work that we shall cite so often, there is only a meager literature on the conflicts or on the processes of adjustment that characterize race relations in Bahia. The book by Donald Pierson (1)

[113] 1. Donald Pierson, Negroes in Brazil. A study of race contact at Bahia. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1947.

is really the first and up to now the only one in which race relations in Bahia have been analyzed and presented according to the methods of modern sociology.

128 I do not pretend to have done exhaustive or definitive work on /8/ the very complex problem of the social mobility of colored people in Bahia. I wanted above all to be objective and to present the problems from a scientific point of view, by avoiding insofar as possible the snares of ethnocentrism so difficult to elude, even unconsciously, when one is a member of the culture that one is describing.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

[P. ii]

121 The field work on the agricultural systems of the Recôncavo, which formed the basis of the present study, was inspired by the interest and enthusiasm of the late Professor Leo Waibel. The development of the study owes much to the guidance and criticism of 128 Professor John R. Borchert (of the Department of Geography, University of Minnesota) and Professor John C. Weaver (formerly of the Department of Geography, University of Minnesota). The various drafts of the study were read, in whole or in part, by Professor J. O. M. Broek and Dr. Robert Eidt (University of Minnesota), both of whom made many valuable suggestions for the improvement of organization and content. Dr. Erich Bordne and Professor Stephen Jones (of Yale University), generously read and criticised parts of the manuscript. Professor Herold Wiens (Yale University) also advised the author on several occasions.

122 Funds necessary for the field work in Bahia were made available through an Area Research Fellowship of the Social Science Research Council (1952-1953) and through a grant from the Fundação Para O Desenvolvimento da Ciência na Bahia (first quarter of 1954).

The contribution of a number of individuals and organizations in Bahia and in Rio de Janeiro to the research is gratefully acknowledged: Drs. Anísio Teixeira and Thales de Azevedo of the Fundação Para O Desenvolvimento da Ciência na Bahia; Professors Moyses Waxman and Geraldo C. Pereira Pinto and Dr. Edgar Regis of the Instituto Agronômico do Leste; Dr. Robert Fowler of the Institute of Inter-American Affairs; Dr. Augusto Villas-Boas of Usina Aliança; Dr. Miguel Alves de Lima of the Campanha Nacional de Educação Rural; Dr. Carlo Castaldi; Sra. Nanita Junqueira-Ayres; Mr. C. O. Jay, and many others in Salvador, Cruz das Almas, Santo Amaro, and São Francisco.

New Haven, Connecticut
May, 1956

Edward C. Haskins

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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Acknowledgments

THE FIELD WORK upon which this study is based was carried out as part of the State of Bahia-Columbia University Community Study Project, from July, 1950, to June, 1951. The Secretaria de Educação of the State of Bahia, Brazil, the Fundação para o Desenvolvimento da Ciencia na Bahia, and Columbia University are the organizations chiefly responsible for sponsoring and financing the project. My participation in the project was made possible through a grant from the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Charitable Foundation and through additional financial aid from the Department of Anthropology, Columbia University. To the men and women of these organizations I owe a deep debt of gratitude.

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To Dr. Anisio S. Teixeira, former secretary of education of the state of Bahia, whose belief in the social sciences made the study possible, I am deeply grateful for the exceptionally high degree of cooperation and intellectual stimulus which was the keynote of my visit to Bahia. I also wish to thank Dr. Thales Azevedo of the University of Bahia for his enduring friendship and scientific counsel as well as for his suggestions during the writing of the manuscript.

The research in Vila Recôncavo was carried out in coordination with three other community studies in other regions of the state of Bahia. I am much indebted for the cooperation of Dr.

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Marvin Harris, Benjamin Zimmerman, and Anthony Leeds, who conducted these related studies.

To the many members of the Tourinho, Junqueira Ayres, Ariani Machado, and Albuquerque Porciuncula families of Bahia, who opened their doors to me, extending traditional Bahian hospitality throughout my stay both in Salvador and in the field, I am very grateful. Their full cooperation, understanding, and good will have contributed immeasurably to this study.

To those who made it possible for me to extend the scope of the field work to other areas of the Recôncavo, the directors of Magalhães and company, the director of Usina Terra Nova, Dr. Themístocles Monteiro, the director of Usina Aliança, Dr. Helenauro Sampaio, the chemical engineer of Usina São Carlos, Dr. Augusto Vilas Boas, and Eugenio Santos, who gave inestimable aid, my sincerest thanks.

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H. W. Hutchinson

Faculdade de Filosofia
Universidade da Bahia
September, 1956

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*Although Vila Recôncavo is a real town, the names of all persons and places have been changed for the purposes of this study.

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RACE RELATIONS IN A RURAL COMMUNITY OF THE BAHIAN RECÔNCAVO[1]

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by
HARRY W. HUTCHINSON

I. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, a narrow strip along the north-eastern coast of Brazil in what are now the States of Pernambuco, Alagoas, Sergipe and Bahia, was the most important region of economic, political and social life in the whole colony. The rainfall along this portion of the coast is dependable and the extremely fertile soil, which was originally covered with thick forests, was ideally suited for sugar cane. By the seventeenth century, this region produced a large part of the world's sugar supply. Sugar, which was then a luxury in Europe, brought fabulous profits, and the north-eastern coast of Brazil became an exceedingly prosperous colony. Large cities grew up along the coast; Salvador in Bahia and Recife in Pernambuco became the most important centres of colonial life, and Salvador was the capital of the colony from 1549 to 1763. Both were cities of great wealth based on the booming sugar industry. The numerous churches built in Salvador during the period of opulence, with their elaborate gold-leafed wood carving and polychrome tile work, are witnesses to the tremendous wealth of the era.

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It was the plantation system, the basis of this lucrative sugar industry, which gave this region many of its characteristic traditions and formed patterns of race relations which have persisted in a modified form into the present. Gilberto Freyre in his monumental *Casa Grande e Senzala*, and other Brazilian writers [1],[2] have described life on these sugar plantations. African slaves provided the manpower. More than three million Negroes were imported from Africa during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and a large proportion came to the sugar plantations of north-eastern Brazil. The Portuguese plantation owners became rich, and came to form a regional aristocracy with a luxurious and ostentatious way of life. The slaves and their masters, on these plantations, formed two distinct social groups, but it is distinctive of the region that their relations were intimate and warm; Freyre describes the intimacy between the *moleque* (Negro lad) and the master's son as playmates, between the master's wife and her domestic servants, between the Negro nurse and her white charges, and other close

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[1]In addition to thanking those persons listed in the Introduction to this series of articles for their aid and co-operation in making this study possible, I wish to thank the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Charitable Foundation Inc. and the Department of Anthropology of Columbia University, whose grants of funds contributed largely to the possibility of this study. Also, to acknowledge with thanks the aid of Carmelita Junqueira Ayres and Elisa Amelia Ferreira for their assistance in the collection of the data.

[2]The figures in brackets refer to the bibliography on pages 46.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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121 research. With its appearance, and with that of other studies carried out since that time—but also including a few which had appeared previously, in addition to the pioneer work of Professor Gilberto Freyre and of others which antedated this book—a considerable body of materials on the Brazilian racial situation is now available, especially in Portuguese.

122 In an attempt to extend and to bring more up-to-date my knowledge and understanding of this situation, I have consulted a rather extensive bibliography, in so far as it was possible to gain access to it by diligent effort in both Brazil and the United States. For patient and considerate assistance with this task, I am under especial obligation to Dr. Zacharias Pithon Barreto and Thales de Azevedo of Bahia, Nell W. Herbert of the reference department of Pack Memorial Library in Asheville, Professor Edgar T. Thompson of Duke University, Professor Mario Wagner Vieira da Cunha, Maria Isabel dos Santos Carvalho, and Maria Aparecida Madeira Kerbeg of São Paulo, and, most especially of all, Professor Emilio Willems of Vanderbilt University. For suggestions regarding bibliography and other encouragement, I am grateful to Professors Richard M. Morse of Yale University, Charles Wagley of Columbia University, and T. Lynn Smith of the University of Florida.

128 Some of the materials from a paper prepared for the World Conference on Race Relations, held in Honolulu in 1954, and which appeared in *Race Relations in World Perspective*, edited by Andrew W. Lind and published the next year by the University of Hawaii Press, appear in altered form in this new Introduction. That book is now out-of-print; and I am grateful to Professor Lind, and to Thomas Nickerson, director of the University of Hawaii Press, for permission to use these materials here.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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In 1934, while I was a Fellow in sociology at the University of Chicago, my attention was called by Dr. Herbert Blumer to the possibilities of Brazil as a locus for the study of racial and cultural contacts, and I subsequently received encouragement from Drs. Robert Redfield, Louis Wirth, and Ellsworth Faris to consider these possibilities seriously. As I subsequently went through the available literature in several languages, I became increasingly interested in Brazil, particularly as a locus for investigating, in an intimate and detailed way, what appeared to be a racial situation sufficiently distinct from that in India, for example, where the social order is based upon caste, or that in the United States, where the Negro is now escaping from a caste status and becoming a racial minority similar to the Jew in Europe and elsewhere, to constitute, along with, perhaps, the Hawaiian and certain other similar racial situations, a distinct type. At approximately this same time Dr. Robert E. Park returned from an extended world-tour, during which he had observed at first hand a number of the more important centers of racial and cultural contact, including Brazil, in which he also had for some time been particularly interested.

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The outgrowth of these converging interests was a two-year period of field work in Brazil (from 1935 to 1937) as research assistant of the Social Science Research Committee of the University of Chicago, to which organization, together with the Rosenwald Fund, I am indebted for making this study financially possible. Twenty-two months of this period of residence were spent in intimate study of the social order of one city, the old seaport of Bahia.

This focusing of attention upon one particular locus is, in my opinion, an inescapable procedure, since the sentiments which determine human and personal relations are so in-

5: Azevedo--5 D, Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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122 The realization of this project is due to the initiative of Unesco, which subsidized it and made it possible, thanks to an agreement made with the Foundation for the Development of Science in Bahia, within the framework of the program of social research of the State of Bahia and Columbia University. It is a pleasant duty for me to thank my friends: Professor Charles Wagley of Columbia University, in New York, for the well-informed collaboration that he has kindly given to the organization of the plan of investigation and to the investigation itself, as director of the program mentioned above; Professor Anisio S. Texeira for his clear discussion of certain topics of work and for the support he gave in his capacity as secretary general of the foundation. It is also necessary for me to thank Mr. Alfred Métraux of the Department of Social Sciences of Unesco, who approved our plans for the investigation and the choice of my person to direct it, who has had the kindness to read my notes, to discuss with me the numerous problems of the study, and to help me with his critical comments
114 and his authoritative opinions. I wish likewise to show my gratitude for the excellent co-operation that my assistants in the investigation gave me: Marie Amélie C. Leite, Professor of the School of Social Service of Bahia, Josildeth S. Gomes and Thérèse Cardoso, my students of anthropology of the faculty of philosophy of the University of Bahia, and my daughter Sylvia de Azevedo, as well as Mr. Maurilio Pinto da Silva, Jayme Abreu, and Louis R. Sena for other forms of unselfish collaboration, not excepting the excellent photographer Mr. Pierre Verger for his technical assistance. I thank, moreover, the recreational clubs, the religious
[127] brotherhoods, the schools, and the organizations that register professional work for having facilitated for me access to their card-index cabinets and their registers. I wish finally to mention very
115 especially my informants, whom it is unfortunately impossible to
114 name; I wish to express to them here all my gratitude for their good will and for the wealth of data and of personal experiences that they kindly entrusted to me and that I have utilized for a scientific purpose; I add that none of them can be held responsible for the way in which I have utilized this material.

January, 1952 Thales de Azevedo

3: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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100 Marvin Harris, Benjamin Zimmerman, and Anthony Leeds, who conducted these related studies.

122 To the many members of the Tourinho, Junqueira Ayres, 123 Ariani Machado, and Albuquerque Porciuncula families of Bahia, who opened their doors to me, extending traditional Bahian hospitality throughout my stay both in Salvador and in the field, I am very grateful. Their full cooperation, understanding, and good will have contributed immeasurably to this study.

122 To those who made it possible for me to extend the scope of the field work to other areas of the Recôncavo, the directors of Magalhães and company, the director of Usina Terra Nova, Dr. Themístocles Monteiro, the director of Usina Aliança, Dr. Helenauro Sampaio, the chemical engineer of Usina São Carlos, Dr. Augusto Vilas Boas, and Eugenio Santos, who gave inestimable aid, my sincerest thanks.

114 To Frei Miguel Marcinkowski, Frei Pacifico Weismann, 101 Dona Maria Pinto, Elisa Amelia Ferreira, and all my friends of Vila Recôncavo* where the study was made is due my pro- 128 found gratitude. Last and most profoundly, I am indebted to my 114 wife, Carmelita Junqueira Ayres Hutchinson, for her invaluable assistance in the field and constant encouragement during the preparation of the manuscript.

H. W. Hutchinson

Faculdade de Filosofia
Universidade da Bahia
September, 1956

128 *Although Vila Recôncavo is a real town, the names of all persons and places have been changed for the purposes of this study.

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constantly growing, or at least changing. New members are added, people who have made their mark on the society and who, although they have less family tradition behind them, are on the whole acceptable to the elite.

Locally the upper-class members are addressed by the formal term o senhor and a senhora, at times by meu patrão or meu branco (my white), frequently by title name, such as "Dr. Louis," and in some cases by the traditional intimate term of yoyô (for a man) and yayá (for a woman). At times even the very formal, older term of Vossa Excelencia (Your Excellency) is used. Yoyô is an old term formerly used by some slaves toward their masters, and although it is generally restricted to white people, there are occasions when a member of a mulatto family is known to his intimates as yoyô. With rare exceptions, members of the upper class address all those below them simply as você, and usually use the imperative form of the verb in giving directions. These two linguistic devices tend to strengthen and maintain the differences between these groups of people.

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Relations between members of Class A and those below are simple. As has already been stated, the landowners avoid the town of Vila Recôncavo, and it is seldom that Class B town people are invited to a social gathering at a plantation or at the factory, so that these two classes are rarely in social contact. Since the rural Class B consists mainly of overseers and other employees of Class A, relationships between them are those of employee and employer. However, when a planter celebrates a special occasion such as a birthday, the overseers are invited, and may "drop in" as a matter of form or courtesy; they escape as soon as possible, for they are rarely included in the brincadeiras (plays, or jokes) of the owners and their guests. For the most part the overseers and others of their class come alone, without their wives and families. This is an important indication of class position, for as a rule the wife of an overseer feels embarrassed in the company of gente (people) and refuses to go even when specially invited. The very strong em familia pattern, combined with the intimacy of the large families, makes it extremely difficult for a lower-class person to feel any sort of equality at such a gathering.

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During the course of field work the author was given a party, a Reis, a kind of surprise party which takes place during the period following the sixth of January, the Day of Kings.

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A group of people decide to "take a party of kings" to someone's house. They wait until the lights in the house go out late at night and then knock on the door, playing and singing a song which is traditional for the purpose. The owner must then open the house and let everyone in to dance and make merry. The surprise element has been removed, for it is now considered courteous to sound out the householder to see whether he would like to be the recipient of such a party, and also to give him time to prepare food and drink. The householder also has the privilege of inviting anyone he wants who might be overlooked by those who organize the party. A group of young men approached the author in the prescribed manner, and in due course all arrangements were completed. The young men were to supply an electric phonograph and records for the dancing, and the author was requested to invite the rural planters, especially those with daughters.

A group of twenty-four planters and about a hundred townspeople, factory technicians, overseers, and a few men of urban Class C came to the party. The planters arrived in a truck a little early and entered the house, which was then closed and the lights turned off. Shortly afterwards the others arrived at the door and knocked, and the band began to play the long serenade. (A band was brought along for the song, which is an important part of the Reis; but nowadays no one likes to dance to a hometown band when records are available, so the men played only the serenade and then put their instruments away.) At the end of the song, the doors and windows were opened and the guests began to pour in.

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The rooms of the house were small, but all the furniture had been removed to make room for dancing in the two largest rooms, which were joined by two wide doors. At the beginning of the party everyone was very formal and shy; the young men remained on one side of the room, the young women on the other, and the entire planter group in a huddle by itself. Gradually things got under way, and as drinks were served to esquentar a gente (warm up the people) as many as could dance in the cramped quarters did so. For the first hour or so all the guests mingled, dancing with one another; then gradually the members of Class A began to pull away, at first beginning to dance among themselves and finally usurping a third room in which they danced away from the others, uninterrupted by anyone.

Reactions to this were varied in the days after the party

2: Hutchinson E-4.5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

when the affair was discussed. The young men were rather disappointed by the withdrawal of the upper-class girls, for they had looked forward to dancing with them with great expectations. Their disappointment, however, was expressed by saying, "We dance differently, and since it was the first time together there wasn't time to get used to each others' style." Some of the older men simply asked, "What did you expect? You know they don't mix with us." The planters, on the other hand, enjoyed the party but were embarrassed by the fact that they had created a separate group and ended up by saying that "the only kind of good party is a family party, which it was for us."

This party was by no means typical, for the very existence of such an affair was due to the presence of a stranger in the town who was able to bring together the different elements. Under other conditions it would not have taken place. Under the novel conditions, each group after completing the formalities withdrew to itself, enjoying the party and creating no embarrassing moments for the host. Reflection on what had happened pointed out to everyone the distance between the two groups, but there was no bitterness or resentment shown by anyone. It passed as an incident, and afterwards people discussed only the part of the party they had enjoyed, ignoring the rest.

Class A members participate in a broader schedule of activities in Salvador, where not only planters, but also professional, commercial, and industrial people mix. The children of Class A go to private schools, belong to the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts (organizations which have not as yet penetrated the rural zone) and to social clubs for sports and dancing. Their parents participate in a round of social activities including the theater, lectures, dances, and anniversaries. Birthdays are usually important celebrations, when as many members of the extended family as possible gather. For special occasions, such as a wedding in other parts of the family, they may go to Rio de Janeiro; at other times they go there simply for a vacation or on a shopping tour. Those who own plantations usually spend only the summer harvest season in the country. It is vacation time for the children, and they invite relatives and friends to spend some time with them swimming, fishing, hunting, and horseback riding. The entire area is their playground. Their parents participate in these activities as much as possible after their official duties of plan-

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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all of whom represent the African tradition in its "purest" form—is, throughout the fetish world, very great."

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two thousand persons were present, including members of the Irmandade of Rosario Church, dressed in their robes. The coffin, which was, in keeping with Anninha's request, quite modest, had over it the robe she had worn as a member of this Irmandade of which she was so proud, and was carried on the shoulders of the Brothers of Nossa Senhora do Rosario and of São Benedicto. The crowd of mourners blocked traffic in Rua Dr. Seabra for more than half an hour. Some *filhas de santo* wept unceasingly. Others related the virtues of the kind Anninha. 793 766

"When the coffin, carried by pious hands, entered the large gate of the cemetery, the *atabaques* broke out into African rhythms, while sad voices rose in the African songs of the *seita* to which the illustrious *mãe de santo* belonged.

"In the chapel of the cemetery, Canon Assis Curvello repeated the *encommendação*, and her body was laid away in a recently opened crypt.

"Then several orators spoke, among them Snr. Alvaro MacDowell de Oliveira in the name of the União das Seitas Afro-Brasileiras da Bahia, the journalist Edison Carneiro, and representatives of the Centro Cruz Santa do Aché de Okô Afonjá and of the Irmandade of Rosario Church. When the ceremony was over, two omnibuses carried a large number of the friends of Anninha to São Gonçalo do Retiro, where they took part in the preparatory ritual for the African funeral ceremony of Axêxê, to be held seven days after the death of the beloved leader of the *terreiro* of Aché de Okô Afonjá. This ceremony will consist of rites for the eternal peace of the dead *mãe de santo* and will be participated in by *ogans*, *filhas de santo*, *paes de santo*, and other friends of the deceased."

" This chapter is primarily based upon the author's personal experience as a visitor at numerous ceremonies in eighteen *seitas* at Bahia and as a participant over a period of several months as an *ogan* in the *candomblé* of Pae Procopio in Matatú. For further information see, in addition to the works of Nina Rodrigues, Arthur Ramos, Manoel Querino, and Edison Carneiro previously cited: Padre Étienne Ignace Brasil, "Le Fetichisme des negres du Brésil," *Anthropos*, III (1908), 881–904; Gonçalves Fernandes, *Xangôs do Nordeste* (Rio, 1937) and *O folklore magico do Nordeste* (Rio, 1938); João Varella, *Cosme e Damião* (Bahia, 1938); the novels *O feiticeiro* by Xavier Marques (Bahia, 1922) and *Jubiabá* by Jorge Amado (Rio, 1935); and newspaper accounts such as "Creado o conselho africano da Bahia," *Estado da Bahia*, August 4, 1937, and "No mundo cheio de mysterios dos espiritos e 'paes de santo,'" *ibid.*, May 14, 1936. 114 123 113

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[SALVADOR]

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829 he was a mulatto. His own mother called his attention to the
*563 difference that existed between him and his friends, but those
565 who were of his type and who had money continued to regard themselves as Whites and to be treated as such. An economist, darker than the official we have just quoted, states that the extreme poverty in which he lived during his childhood did not permit him to think of his color. An intellectual of a dark color says that when he was an adolescent he never thought of his type; no experiences previous to this period were associated with an
[572] awareness of his color. The same thing seems to happen among white children when lasting relationships are allowed to be established between them and their companions at school and play, without discrimination as to type. Numerous informants of very dark color report that they still maintain several friendships made at school with finos Whites. Even among the adults there are some who claim not to have ever been conscious of their type. An
[115] instructor told us that he was never preoccupied with his pigmentation, because he regarded that as having nothing to do with his difficulties or with his professional life. It is clear that statements
[124] of this nature cannot be accepted solely at their face value; they
[123] could, as a matter of fact, be defense reactions against the inquiries of the investigators.

*563 There are nevertheless persons who do not succeed in over-
829 coming the inferiority complex resulting from their "quality."
571 "A look is enough to upset a person of dark color," said a /31/ very black university student. Sometimes when he had been treated as a "Negro" he was irritated and felt humiliated. "But I have succeeded in overcoming this feeling," he adds; "I too am able to treat other "Whites" without antipathy as soon as I see that they are prepared to be pleasant with me." Without doubt there exists "a slight repression" among the Blacks, "but it is never intense and ought to be overcome," states a mulatto lawyer, and he adds that "such a feeling can give birth to a servile attitude"; one of his colleagues, of the same color as he, a very competent and industrious man, does not have the courage to plead cases for himself and continues to be simply the assistant of a white lawyer.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

OOO Footnotes - Chapter VI

[124] [129] [114] [1]The discussion of the cultivation of tobacco and manioc is based upon the following sources: (1) private conversations with Mr. G. G. Jay, a tobacco buyer and grower of long experience in Bahia and in other regions of South America; (2) Walter Alberto Egler, "Aspectos Gerais da Cultura do Furo na Região do Recôncavo na Bahia," Boletim Geográfico, Vol. X, No. 111 (November-December, 1952), pp. 679-688; (3) general field observations throughout the zone, except in Coração de Maria and Catu, and, during 1953-1954, detailed observations in São Gonçalo and in Cruz das Almas.

[804] [2]Tarefa means "a task," "a day's work," or "a piece of work," but it is also an antique unit of area which is the folk-unit of area throughout much of Brazil. Its size varies from place to place, but the tarefa baiana equals 0.4356 hectares. In many areas one tarefa is considered to be the usual size of the tobacco planting of one man, but it is obvious from a comparison of the labor force and area in tobacco that in many areas the plantings per person must run much larger. In any case, the individual plots are very likely to be one tarefa each.

[3]In many areas the tree stumps have entirely disappeared as a result of the intensive cultivation, which severely restricts the size of the wild vegetation which can develop during the fallow period.

[114] [243] [4]This interpretation differs, at least in emphasis, from that of Walter Alberto Egler, op. cit., pp. 679-688. He suggests as the characteristic sequence, tobacco, corn and/or beans, and then manioc. Undoubtedly this sequence is important, but the field investigation for the present study revealed that the direct replacement of tobacco with manioc is more characteristic.

[237] [5]However, tobacco does not produce well on these poor soils unless manure is used, and even the yields of manioc are low unless it is planted in a field where there has been a relatively recent application of manure.

[244] [6]The seed for corn, which is edible, has value in itself. The stalk of manioc has no utility except to reproduce the crop. Thus when manioc is planted, the cultivator invests only his labor and the questionable value of the land.

[7]See section by George Wythe in Simon Kuznets, Wilbert E. Moore, and Joseph J. Spengler (eds.), Economic Growth: Brazil, India, Japan, p. 34.

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[Class C Families]

*565 291 During the day young boys go about with only shorts on, or with both shirt and shorts, depending upon the weather. Girls always wear a dress. Children who are in the crawling stage *565 515 854 become extremely dirty because of the amount of dirt tracked into the house from the streets, although this is now changing as a result of paving. Babies, however, seem to have a propensity for getting into the charcoal sack, usually kept near the kitchen stove, and emerging well blackened. They are bathed twice daily, morning and afternoon, at first in cold water to accustom them to the cold water they will be using for [853] the rest of their lives. Bathing the child is usually considered a pleasure for the mother as well as the baby, as is breast *565 143 feeding. If the child of light-skinned parents exhibits the genipapo (a bluish spot near the base of the spine, sometimes [826] known as the "Mongolian blue spot") the mothers will take care not to let visitors see it, as the spot is thought to be a strong indication of the nearness of Negro ancestry. It disappears after the child is seven or eight months old.

*565 515 The men and older boys of Class C take their daily baths in the afternoon, either at one of the two wells which are behind the convent and therefore out of sight of the town, or at wooden structures which have been built across the wells in the Cortume. They stand on a wooden floor and drop a small bucket on a string down into the water, which is hoisted up and poured over them, running back into the well with the soap suds and whatever grime has come off their skin. Frequently a woman when getting water will undress her son on the spot and pour buckets of water over him. This is not done after a boy has reached five years or six, however, and is never done to a girl of any age. The women and girls take a daily sponge bath in their kitchens late in the afternoon, before *565 starting to fix the evening meal. None of the houses has toi- 514 let facilities other than a secluded place in the back yard. During a survey of housing facilities in the town, when the [124] question was asked, "Do you have a toilet?" the answer was usually laughingly given, "What for?" (But practically everyone knows what a toilet is, and there are several different *565 types in the town, belonging to upper-class houses. The con- 291 struction of a flush type, with an adequate cesspool, has been [515] known for many years.) After the daily bath most people put on clean clothes in which they often sleep, although sleeping [513] garments range from daytime clothing to long nightgowns, shorts, or nothing at all. Daytime clothing for the men consists of little more than trousers, shirt, and wooden shoes

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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APPENDIX A

AN AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF A COLORED CITIZEN

The following autobiographical sketch was written by a man who is one of Bahia's leading colored citizens, a very dark mulatto referred to in Bahia as a *preto* or, literally, a "black": 159 [124]

I was born of modest parents. My father was a white man, an educated gentleman from a family of agriculturists, or "Senhores de Engenho," in the Reconcavo near Santo Amaro. My mother was a black woman, a person of notable beauty among her race. Domingas was her name.

Until I was ten years of age, I lived in Santo Amaro and its vicinity, at that time the richest area of sugar-cane cultivation in the state of Bahia. In 1865, when I was ten years old—for I was born on January 7, 1855—my father took me to Rio de Janeiro, where I finished my elementary education and prepared myself for secondary schooling in the Collegio de São Salvador, which was at that time under the direction of Monsenhor José Joaquim da Fonseca Lima, an illustrious priest, later *reitor* of the Collegio Dom Pedro II, the foremost secondary school in Brazil.

I owe what I know of the Humanities to my dear Masters at the Collegio de São Salvador, whom I later joined as teacher when, in 1871, at seventeen years of age, I entered the Escola Politecnica (then Escola Central) to take a course in Civil Engineering. I had among my teachers in the Escola Central the most eminent intellectual and scientific men of that time in Brazil, including Manoel da Cunha Galvão, Americo Monteiro de Barros, João Eugenia de Lossie e Seylbits, Carneiro, Saldanha da Gama, Villa Nova Machado, André Rebouças, Joaquim Murtinho, Visconde do Rio Branco, Borgia Castro, Sousa Pitanga, and Holanda Cavalcanti, all of whom were men of great

5: Azevedo--1 D. Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[SALVADOR]

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Introduction

121 The subject of this monograph is the study of the social ascent of colored people /Fr. gens de couleur/ in a Brazilian city and the analysis of the mechanisms whereby this "vertical mobility" comes into play. The city that has been chosen as the field of investigation is that of Salvador (Bahia), which for a long time has been cited as a model of racial harmony.

The research project that served as the basis of this report included: 1st, an inquiry into the place given to colored people -- for the most part descendants of African Blacks or of the crossing of Blacks and Portuguese -- in the social groups surrounded by an aura of prestige and, in a general manner, in the upper classes of the society; 2nd, a description of the mechanism of social ascent; 3rd, a study of the way in which Whites and colored people react when confronted by this social phenomenon.

114 The research carried out under our responsibility began in February, 1951, and was pursued until October of the same year.

Our observations dealt with the racial composition of different social groupings and were carried out on the occasion of religious ceremonies, military or civic parades, school functions, academic sessions, or meetings of learned societies, balls, family festivals, and sports events. They were rounded out by visits to administrative and business offices, to stores, schools, clubs, and other places of work and recreation. We likewise examined the [127] portraits of colored people filed in the Bureau of Identification of the police of the State, of students or of school children photographed at the time of the promotion of their class, of members of religious brotherhoods, of recreational and social clubs, and finally of persons belonging to the liberal professions. When we had at our disposal only lists of names, the classification according to ethnic origin was entrusted to three or four individuals who were acquainted with the members of the group in question.

124 In addition to these investigations and the compilation of [127] data furnished by previous studies of a social, historical, ethnographic, and demographic nature, 56 Blacks and mulattoes were interviewed; they were chosen from a list of 128 names, which included a majority of colored people occupying a high position

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124 in Bahia society. Out of 48 of the individuals mentioned above, with whom I maintained more or less close relations, I interviewed 25 personally and I chose 20 among 80 with whom I had not had any contact; the other 11, almost all of them of the female sex, were interviewed by assistants connected with the investigation. We were thus able /6/ to talk to 20 Blacks and 36 mulattoes of different types, 12 of them women and 44 men who practiced the professions of lawyer, judge, physician, civil engineer, dentist, economist, professor, artist, contractor, merchant, official, not counting the priests and university students, several of whom, besides their principal occupations, devoted themselves to political, bureaucratic, educational, and social activities. Almost all the subjects in question are in modest circumstances, sometimes even very poor, and have attained positions of more or less great prestige. Their ages vary between 20 and 70 years, but with the majority ranging from 30 to 50. All are natives of Bahia or have lived there for a long time.

The interviews (1)

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1. On the techniques and advantages of this kind of interview, cf. Clyde Kluckholn /sic/, "The Personal Document in Anthropological Science," in The Use of Personal Documents in History, Anthropology and Sociology, "Social Science Research Council Bulletin," New York, 1945, p. 125.

dealt with race relations and color prejudices, and stressed the problem of social ascent; the most complete freedom of expression was allowed the informants. The investigator interrupted only in order to prevent the conversation from digressing. It was almost always necessary at one time or another to bring the informant back to his subject, in order to obtain a continuous account.

[SALVADOR]

• 124 /6/ Let us remark in passing that among the individuals questioned a large number, in spite of their high intellectual level, experienced some difficulty in expressing their point of view. Doubtless it was a matter of a defense reaction; but in many cases this hesitation is also due to the fact that these persons had never ascribed much importance to the question. These two interpretations, whatever they may be worth, are both significant with regard to race relations in Bahia.

The occasions when the spontaneity of the informants was tempered by mistrust were rare. Only two individuals evaded the interview: a Black belonging to a liberal profession, who showed great reserve, and a woman, a mulattress of light complexion, occupying an administrative post, who appeared irritated by the nature of the investigation, the interest of which she did not see.

For an accurate understanding of the facts, it is useful to recall that the interviews took place, in general, without a previous appointment. Several times, however, I notified our informants that I was engaged in an investigation of race relations and wished to know their opinion. Several interviews were obtained in the course of chance encounters and had the character of a simple conversation. In certain cases they were resumed for the requirements of this study, with the consent of the informants. Certain individuals acted as though it were /7/ difficult for them to enter upon "such a delicate matter"; nevertheless, on the whole, they proved as communicative as one could wish. The intentions of the investigators were generally well understood by the informants. Certain ones among them even seemed finally to have found the occasion, so often desired, to express their grievances or their personal views on their particular case as well as on the problem in general. The method of the interview, as far as one could judge, seemed to be very effective. It may be hoped that its use on a broader scale will furnish new elucidations on the same subject.

124 126 As for the method of recording the interviews, the most important among them were transcribed by means of rapid notes taken during the conversation. On rare occasions the interview was transcribed in a more complete fashion. The reports were written up, with some exceptions, in the first hours following the meeting.

[SALVADOR]

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124 We also called on a limited number of white informants who had the reputation of being familiar with the problems of Bahia in
114 the past and the present. Born and raised in this city, where I have never ceased to dwell, I was also able to use my own experience.
127 In addition, we made use of announcements and editorial commentaries appearing in the periodicals and daily papers of Bahia and reflecting, up to a certain point, the stereotypes of the milieu studied.

121 A simple description of the racial situation in Bahia would not be adequate to make one understand the dynamism of this rising of the Blacks on the social scale. It has also been treated as a process of cultural and social change and therefore examined from a historical perspective; people have refrained, however, from going into details.

114 Our investigation, in one sense, was made difficult by the
127 scarcity of anthropological and sociological works on the society of Bahia. This city has been the subject of several historical studies in the course of recent years. One finds numerous references to the slave trade, to anthropometry, to phenomena of acculturation, and to African survivals, but, as Donald Pierson very rightly says in the work that we shall cite so often, there is only a meager literature on the conflicts or on the processes of adjustment that characterize race relations in Bahia. The book by Donald Pierson (1)

[113] 1. Donald Pierson, Negroes in Brazil. A study of race contact at Bahia. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1947.

is really the first and up to now the only one in which race relations in Bahia have been analyzed and presented according to the methods of modern sociology.

128 I do not pretend to have done exhaustive or definitive work on /8/ the very complex problem of the social mobility of colored people in Bahia. I wanted above all to be objective and to present the problems from a scientific point of view, by avoiding insofar as possible the snares of ethnocentrism so difficult to elude, even unconsciously, when one is a member of the culture that one is describing.

[SALVADOR]

/30 cont./

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*563 There are nevertheless persons who do not succeed in over-
829 coming the inferiority complex resulting from their "quality."
571 "A look is enough to upset a person of dark color," said a /31/ very black university student. Sometimes when he had been treated as a "Negro" he was irritated and felt humiliated. "But I have succeeded in overcoming this feeling," he adds; "I too am able to treat other "Whites" without antipathy as soon as I see that they are prepared to be pleasant with me." Without doubt there exists "a slight repression" among the Blacks, "but it is never intense and ought to be overcome," states a mulatto lawyer, and he adds that "such a feeling can give birth to a servile attitude"; one of his colleagues, of the same color as he, a very competent and industrious man, does not have the courage to plead cases for himself and continues to be simply the assistant of a white lawyer.

[SALVADOR]

/37 cont./

*563 565 the other hand, the métis with straight hair and a color very close to that of the white race could succeed in the different branches of human activity without having to suffer any annoyance of an ethnic nature."

[826] Notwithstanding all these difficulties, colored people, especially the lightest ones and those whose features bring them closer /38/ to the Whites, may achieve a rank as high as the latter. As [114] will be seen in the following chapters, they may marry Whites, according to their social position; they may have a pre-eminent place in the liberal professions, in the intellectual life; they may be admitted into the organizations through which one acquires prestige and social rank, which confirms the thesis already set forth by Pierson, that "what we find in Bahia is a multiracial society of classes" (1).

1. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 408.

*563 565 554 571 The social ascent of colored persons, although it is brought about with relative facility, is not without consequence for those who attain it. It is somewhat like "passing" /quoted in English/ for the North American Negroes: those who elevate themselves not only experience doubts and difficulties on the subject of their position, but they are also the object of resentment by some of those -- and they are numerous -- who remain in the lower strata of society.

When he elevates himself to the social rank that is to assimilate him culturally and socially with the White by endowing him with his "social skin," the Black is often criticized because he wants "to act the White" or because he "no longer wants to be colored."

*563 565 554 571 124 Numerous informants pointed out certain colored individuals who are considered that kind and who, they said, would certainly refuse to be interviewed for the investigation. Some of them actually avoided speaking of the racial problem, politely diverting the conversation to other subjects, under the pretext that they did not know anything about the subject and all that was of no importance among us. The author, in spite of his experience in the milieus

[SALVADOR]

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*563 565 554 571 •[124] [829] of Bahia, had some difficulty approaching some of the persons thus mentioned. In certain cases, however, he was able to verify that the imputations mentioned above are nothing but the informants' reactions of resentment against people who are much higher or whom they judge superficially because they do not know them personally. A number of persons questioned even showed great interest in race relations, declaring they had read numerous Brazilian or foreign books, had seen films on this subject, and liked to discuss this problem with persons belonging to the same type and to the same professional and social status as they; there were even two who declared they had thought a good deal about writing down their observations on this subject. In only one case a mulatto official replied with a certain irritation that this problem was not important and that the Blacks of Bahia did not elevate themselves socially because they were very "backward and bold."

*563 565 /39/ Interracial Marriages

For colored people, interracial marriage is a means of reaching the higher classes. Individuals with a lighter skin have the greatest possibilities of becoming white socially, and marriage between colored people and Whites gives the former prestige and offers them the prospect of having children closer to the preferred type.

*563 [585] No law in Brazil forbids marriage between members of different races. The candidates for a civil or religious marriage simply present themselves before the authorities of the State or of the Church, provided with the necessary papers, such as certificate of birth or baptism, in which the type or the color are mentioned only for the purposes of identification.

The number of marriages between individuals who differ with regard to color is very high in Bahia. Out of 222 unions concluded [162] some years ago, the man and woman were of the same color in 34 o/o of the cases; in 43 o/o the man was darker than the woman,

[SALVADOR]

/44 cont./

*563 59 being greatly influenced by the family of the bride, the husband is inevitably absorbed by it, so that the children are actually more intimate with their grandparents on the maternal side than with those on the paternal side (2).

• [124] [565]

2. In order to verify this hypothesis the author questioned 30 young women of lower and intermediate class, students of a professional school, and was thus able to verify that 63.3 o/o considered themselves more intimate with the family of their mother; 26 o/o did not express any preference; 6.6 o/o inclined to the paternal side, and 3 o/o did not know their ancestors.

*563 565 557 59 A White who is married to a dark woman thereby "leaves" his category, for, according to an oft-repeated maxim, "when a girl marries, her family gains a son." The man thus passes into the world of colored people from which his wife originated. Likewise, a dark man "elevates" himself by being integrated into the family of his light or white spouse. That is the opinion of the Bahians, an opinion that the author has been able to perceive and observe by participating in the local life. On the other hand, this is confirmed analogically by what occurs in marriages between persons of different rank and wealth. In Bahia, as throughout Brazil generally, marriages between "cultivated and upright" young men, even if they are poor, and wealthy women of high rank are much more approved than those of wealthy men with "lower class" women. In the case of the "cultivated and upright" young man (these two conditions are required), even if he is poor or colored, the family of the fiancée capitalizes on these virtues as compensation for his fortune or for his whiteness in the bartering that it does; in the opposite situation, the virtues that the poor or dark girl may have do not generally have /45/ the same power of compensation for the family of her spouse.

[SALVADOR]

/83 cont./

*563 463 The proportion of colored persons in each liberal profession depends on various factors. In those that have the least prestige (agricultural engineers as compared to civil engineers, non-graduate lawyers as compared to graduate ones) this proportion is *563 759 larger. A very black student of medicine calls attention to the fact that the Blacks in general do not devote themselves to surgery: "Some take up this specialization, but end up by remaining in the general clinic. Odontology is not a good career for them either: what well-dressed white girl would wish to open her mouth *563 758 759 743 565 in front of a Black?" In the hospitals, physicians and attendants of all types care for the sick, who are all gathered together according to their maladies and according to their rank, and not according to their color; in the private clinics that take patients of the higher classes, everyone is admitted, provided that he can pay the price demanded.

*563 554 463 [301] The title of "doctor" and the marks of deference due a graduate are given without distinction to black or white persons who practice a liberal profession, which is why some of them have retained the habit of wearing on one of the fingers of the hand a "symbolic ring" of their profession, in order to be able to be identified and treated with the requisite consideration. Moreover, a Black may manifest the desire to practice a liberal profession without encountering hostility or scorn on the part of the Whites. In spite of this, some tens of years ago there were professors who humiliated a black student showing little intelligence or little industry, by saying "while so many people need a cook or laundress, there are Blacks who have presumed to become doctors." The author asked [124] the professors of a primary school of the State for permission to question its 93 most advanced students, of both sexes, about the careers that they wished to take up later. The percentage of replies received, according to sex and type, were:

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 8011 Bahia Brazilians 8011
VILA RECÔNCAVO

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ers to keep households of stable families, even without formal marriage. In Class D are found mostly the washerwomen and ironers listed under Occupation Group 2 in the preceding chapter.

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The unwed mother seldom marries, for few men are willing to take a wife who is not a virgin, and fewer still can accept the responsibility of a whole family at once unless the woman has some property to offer along with herself. Once she has had a child a woman loses prestige and status and becomes a mark for men who are looking for an affair. She may even move in with a man for a while. Later, either she leaves him or he leaves her. She must support herself and her offspring, for her father can seldom support another family. As her children grow up, especially the daughters, she hopes for a legal marriage for them; but this is seldom realized for the girls will escape her control just as she herself did. In such a case a woman has little influence and very often cannot force the man to marry her daughter, so that her household is eventually composed of three generations, with two unwed mothers and their children. This is especially true when the young daughters are pretty or, as often happens, light-skinned, as a result of the fact that their fathers often belong to the lighter-colored group of men in town. Often girls from Class D are sent to the city to work as domestics in much the same way as girls from the rural area; there they may marry and avoid a repetition of the cycle, or else they return to their mothers pregnant and unmarried, for few employers will keep a pregnant girl in the house.

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The following data were collected through the use of a questionnaire given after the author had been in the field about nine months. The actual collection was accomplished by the author and two paid assistants. The questionnaire was long and detailed, and each one took approximately three hours to complete.

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Many people in all the classes did not want to respond, feeling that it was too much an invasion of their privacy. Many said that they did not know how much money they earned over a long period, that they simply spent whatever came into their hands. Others produced written, detailed records of all the money they earned and spent and how they spent it. The total number of samples finally collected was 125. Sixty-two are urban samples from the town of Vila Recôncavo, and sixty-

2: Hutchinson E-4,8 (1960-1961) 1967 8011 Bahia Brazilians 8011
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three are rural samples from the factory and plantation nuclei. The total sample is divided by classes as follows:

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Urban	Class	Rural
	A	2
11	B	7
41	C	54 (field workers 25; factory workers 29)
10	D	

Class C in the rural zone is divided into two groups, field workers and factory workers, to point out the slight differences between the two groups.

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TABLE 3
MONTHLY INCOME

Urban Average Monthly Income of Head of Family (Cr$)	Class		Rural Average Monthly Income of Head of Family (Cr$)
	A		15.500,00
1.822,72	B		2.040,00
805,85	C	field workers	450,44
		factory workers	847,00
483,74	D		

The economic gap between Class A of the rural area and classes B, C, and D of both the rural and urban areas is quickly apparent. In United States currency the income is roughly $750 per month for Class A, $100 per month for Class B, and only $20 per month for Class D. The figures for Class B, both urban and rural, show how closely the segments of the class correspond in income. However, urban Class C and rural Class C differ in that the urban group's cash income is higher, although it does not approach that of Class B. Although the field workers' income appears to be close to that of urban Class D, the produce from the garden plots to which all field workers are entitled is not included in this figure. Class D, whose income is the lowest, must live on its wages, since members of this class do not have garden plots.

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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826 ers have some positive qualities. People arrange their pref-
157 erences in many ways, according to the physical qualities they wish to emphasize.

563 There is also a series of expressions used by everyone to
578 describe the person who is trying to appear white. It is almost axiomatic that whoever tries to be what he is not is considered
557 ridiculous by all. Both whites and Negroes gossip about the social climber and use the terms "tem pinta" (has a "touch of the tarbrush"), or "tem sangue" (has Negro blood), or "é da raça" (is of the Negro race), or simply "besta" (show-off), "cheio de arte" (artful), "cheio de manha" (full of little tricks), or "fala bonito" (talks pretty).

563 There are also many phrases used by lower-class people
578 to ridicule Negroes and mestiços who are showing off, or "pushing." Most of these start off with Negro:

Negro doesn't marry, he gets together.
Negro doesn't accompany a procession, he runs after it.
Negro doesn't sit down, he squats.
Negro in white clothes is a sign of rain.
Negro doesn't hear Mass, he spies on it.
Negro at a white man's party is the first to grab and the last to eat.
Negro's intelligence is the same size as his hair.

563 The concepts and fixed ideas which the people of Vila Re-
125 côncavo have of these racial types were also revealed in their responses to a pictorial questionnaire devised in the field. A series of eight photographs were shown. These were of people unknown to those answering the questionnaire. They consisted of a male and a female representative of each of the four major racial types, the caboclo, the preto, the mulato, and the branco. An attempt was made to keep the photographs from giving any clue to the possible class position of the eight persons. However, the photographs we were able to secure were not entirely satisfactory for our purposes in Vila Recôncavo.
[159] The picture of the caboclo male was that of a middle-aged man, but of a type considered locally as having a strong personality, while the caboclo woman was older and certainly not simpatica (pleasant) in the local view. The two pretos were both unmistakably pretos, and both young. The mulato male and female differed one from the other, for the man was definitely a common mulato type, while the woman was almost

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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a morena mulata rather than "pure" mulata. She was young and considered much more simpatica than any of the other three women presented. The two whites were also both young, but neither was distinguished in any way, and there was doubt in the minds of the people answering the questionnaire as to whether these two were "pure" white or not. 563 125

The questionnaire was given to eighty-five people, broken down into the following groups:

18 brancos	11 males	7 females
41 mulatos	21 males	20 females
18 pretos	7 males	11 females
8 caboclos	6 males	2 females
85	45	40

Table 6 gives the results as to which racial types were found respectively most physically attractive, most wealthy, best worker, most honest, and most religious. 563 125 157 826 577

TABLE 6
PHYSICAL TYPES

Question	Number of people selected in 1st place			
	Branco	Preto	Mulato	Caboclo
Most attractive man	39*	17	14	15
Most attractive woman	26	3	30	26
Most wealthy man	27	11	9	38
Most wealthy woman	37	8	17	23
Best worker (man)	4	38	13	30
Best worker (woman)	7	22	23	33
Most honest man	11	22	8	44
Most honest woman	15	13	22	33
Most religious man	21	15	13	36
Most religious woman	17	11	17	40

*Underlined numbers indicate the group most frequently selected in first place.

From Table 6 it becomes clear that the ideal of the most attractive male is the white; and that the numerically indicated preference for the female type is the mulata--but the cabocla, it must be noted, is equally selected with the white.

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Both the mulata and the cabocla (despite her apparent age) of the photographs are of types which have the physical characteristics of the morena, so preferred in Vila Recôncavo. It is surprising that the caboclo male was selected as the wealthiest, in view of the stereotype that it is the white who is generally wealthiest; but I believe that this is due to the fact that people found the photograph of the caboclo to have a rather "distinguished" face, while the white on the photograph was felt to be a young man with what might be considered a "characterless" face. The preto man was chosen as the best worker, which supports the stereotype discussed earlier, while the cabocla was chosen as the best woman worker. This may be explained by the local phrase used to describe her: "Good for nothing else." The caboclos, both male and female, were chosen as most honest and most religious, which is in keeping with the stereotype of the caboclo, who is considered more serious and solemn than the native of the Recôncavo.

Table 7, a breakdown of Table 6 by racial types, shows clearly the types selected in first place by the Negroes, the mulattoes, the whites, and the caboclos.

TABLE 7
BREAKDOWN OF TABLE 6 BY RACIAL TYPES

Question	Chosen in first place by: Pretos(P)	Mulatos(M)	Brancos(B)	Caboclos(C)
Most attractive man	P	B	B	B
Most attractive woman	C&B	M	B	B
Most wealthy man	P	C	C	C
Most wealthy woman	B	B	B	B
Best worker (man)	P	C	P	P
Best worker (woman)	P	C	M	C
Most honest man	C	C	C	C
Most honest woman	C	C	C	C
Most religious man	C&M	C	C	C&B
Most religious woman	C	C	B	C

*Where two racial types are in first place it means they received an equal number of "votes."

Table 7 shows the extremely low position of the Negro woman in relation to the other women. She was chosen in the first

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place in only one instance--namely, as best worker--and only by the Negroes. In spite of the fact that in Table 6 the mulatto woman was considered the most attractive, she was chosen as such only by the mulattoes. The other three racial types selected the cabocla and the white woman. In summing up the total number of "votes," the mulatto woman won by the narrow margin of four. It is interesting to note that the Negroes chose the preto man as the wealthiest, selecting the caboclo in second place, while the other three racial types selected the caboclo first.

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Most people who desire to ascend socially will say that it is better to be white, or at least light, than dark, because it is the white who has the most money, the most education, and consequently the greatest number of opportunities. Traditionally the light-skinned mulatto has been able to share to some extent in these things. Therefore, today, if an individual is lighter it will be easier for him to climb, simply because of his lightness. Nevertheless, it is considered better to be a wealthy preto than a poor white.

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No one in any class likes a marriage in which the skin colors are too far apart. Any marriage of dark with light or white will be referred to as mosca no leite ("fly in the milk"), and a certain repugnance is felt by all. One man, formerly a fisherman but now a merchant of some means, is a preto married to a branca da terra who was poor but almost white. This marriage has not aided him much, as his wife did not bring him social position, but it has "lightened" his children. His own status is increased through his financial transactions. But his children are being educated in the city, and are more readily acceptable because of their color and their economic background. Their chances for a good marriage are greater than if they had the same background but were dark.

In another case, a white girl of the town's uppermost class is engaged to a preto who is an engineer in Salvador, but whose family has roots in Vila Recôncavo. There was great resistance to the engagement on the part of the girl's family, and all her friends felt that although she had a good "catch"--that is, a successful man--he was too dark for her, in spite of the fact that the girl's father is a branco da terra, and that her grandmother was dark-skinned.

The one impassable gap between the upper class of "aristocratic whites" and those below them is marriage. The white of the second class may be acceptable to the upper class be-

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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[Class B Families]

[Class C Families]

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[114] plantation during the author's stay in the community, and her father gave her a large wedding. The wedding party left the plantation early in the morning in an oxcart decorated with white crepe paper, and proceeded to the town of Vila Recôncavo. The wedding was held in the Franciscan chapel. The townspeople did not attend the wedding or show any interest in it. Immediately after the ceremony the wedding party started back to the plantation, a five-mile trip. As each plantation nucleus was passed the cart stopped in front of the overseer's house, and small glasses of rum were passed to the guests, and the happiness of bride and groom was toasted.

[342] On arrival at the new brick house which the groom's father had presented to the couple, the bride went into the kitchen
[431] to help her mother and the other women who were preparing the luncheon. Then she passed small glasses of wine to the
[114] guests. With the exception of Dona Sinhá and the author, the guests were all overseers from the neighboring plantations. The female guests were relatives of the bride. The meal con-
[262] sisted of everything the region had to offer: fish, shrimp, salads; roasts of beef, pork, lamb, and turkey; potatoes and farina; followed by fruits, desserts, and coffee. After all the men had eaten and moved into the living room to chat, the bride and the other women sat down in the dining room to eat.

*565 In a sample of eighteen Class B households (eleven urban
585 and seven rural), fifteen couples were married by both civil
583 and religious ceremonies. The remaining three couples were simply living together, a state known in northern Brazil as
• [125] amasiado. In Class C a sample of ninety-five households (forty-one urban and fifty-four rural) showed twenty-three couples in the amasiado state, twenty-two married by civil and religious ceremonies, thirty-four married in church only, and eight by civil marriage alone. Eight of the couples sampled did not answer the question. In Class B, one partner in each of the three couples living in the amasiado state was married to someone else whom he or she had left.

585 Nineteen civil marriages were performed in the entire coun-
583 ty (population over 11,000) during the year of 1950. They are shown below by age group. Fifty religious marriages were
[161] performed during the same year throughout the five parishes attended by the Franciscans. Because of differences in the
[127] manner of recording the two types of marriages, however, no correlation could be worked out as to how many marriages were both civil and religious. There are no statistics avail-

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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who never miss a Mass, benediction, or prayer. By means of a questionnaire in the town and the rural area, the following data were obtained concerning the average frequency of church attendance per year for men and women over fourteen years of age:

TABLE 11
FREQUENCY OF CHURCH ATTENDANCE

Urban Number of times per year		Class	Rural Number of times per year	
Males	Females		Males	Females
		A	19	23
40	96	B	4	3
17	25	C	3	3
4	41	D		

Several things are shown by this table. First, the higher a man's social position, the more often he goes to church, at least in classes B, C, and D. Second, the frequency of attendance by the women of all classes is considerably greater than that of the men. Third, the women of Class A attend church fewer times per year than do the women of classes B, C, and D of the urban area. Fourth, there are great differences in the rural and urban attendance: people from the plantations seldom go to town for Mass, preferring to wait for some special plantation occasion when the priest will go to the plantation. The difference between the attendance frequencies of Class A and Classes B and C of the rural zone is due to the time that Class A spends in Salvador, where members often attend Sunday Mass, as well as family Masses.

African Cults

Brazilian candomblé is usually thought of as a syncretism between African cultism and Catholicism. There has been a partial identification of the African deities with Catholic saints. For example, Ôgún, the African god of war, has been identified with St. Anthony; Ôxóssi, deity of the hunt, with St. George; Ômolú, the god of pestilence, with St. Roch; Êxu, the trickster, with Satan; Yansan, with St. Barbara; and Xangô, with either St. Jerome or St. Barbara. There has been

31 Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1963 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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the *homem de côr* to say '*Ele É um senhor*' (he IS a real gentleman) or '*um branco bom*' (a good white) is to admit that the white and the Negro can live together in dignity.

There is a series of expressions used by all types to describe the person who is trying to appear white. Whoever tries to be what he is not is considered ridiculous by all. Both whites and Negroes gossip about the social climber and use the terms '*tem pinta*' (has a 'touch of the tarbrush'), '*tem sangue*' (has Negro blood), '*é da raça*' (is of the Negro race), or simply '*besta*' (show-off), '*cheio de arte*' (artful), '*cheio de manha*' (full of little tricks), or '*fala bonito*' (talks pretty).

There are also many phrases used by lower-class people to ridicule Negroes and *mestiços* who are showing off, or 'pushing'. Most of these start off with *Negro*:

[539]

Negro doesn't marry, he gets together.
Negro doesn't accompany a procession, he runs after it.
Negro doesn't sit down, he squats.
Negro in white clothes is a sign of rain.
Negro doesn't hear Mass, he spies on it.
Negro at a white man's party is the first to grab and the last to eat.
Negro's intelligence is the same size as his hair.

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The concepts and fixed ideas which the people of Vila Recôncavo have of these racial types were also revealed in their responses to a pictorial questionnaire devised in the field.[1] A series of eight photographs of people unknown to those answering the questionnaire was shown, consisting of a male and a female of each of the four major racial types, the *caboclo*, the *preto*, the *mulato* and the *branco*. An attempt was made to use photographs giving no clue to the possible class position of the eight persons. However, the photographs which we were able to secure were not entirely satisfactory for our purposes in Vila Recôncavo. The picture of the caboclo male was of a man of middle age, but a type considered in the local conception as having a strong personality, while the *caboclo* woman was older and certainly not *simpática* (pleasant) in the local view. The two *pretos* were both unmistakably *pretos*, and both young. The *mulato* male and female differed one from the other, as the man was definitely a common *mulato* type, while the woman was almost a *morena mulata* rather than 'pure' *mulata*. She was young and considered much more *simpática* than any of the four women presented. The two whites were not distinguished in any way; and there was doubt in the minds of the people answering the questionnaire as to whether these two were 'pure' white or not.

The questionnaire was given to 85 people: 18 *brancos*—11 males,

[1] These questionnaires were given by a local assistant after the author's stay in Vila Recôncavo, but the results agree in general with the observations made during research in the community.

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3t Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1960-1981) 1963 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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7 females; 41 *mulatos*—21 males, 20 females; 18 *pretos*—7 males, 11 females; 8 *caboclos*—6 males, 2 females.

Table I gives the racial types which were found respectively most physically attractive, most wealthy, best worker, most honest and most religious.

TABLE I.

Question	No. of people who selected in first place			
	Branco	Preto	Mulato	Caboclo
Most attractive man	**39**	17	14	15
Most attractive woman	26	3	**30**	26
Most wealthy man	27	11	9	**38**
Most wealthy woman	**37**	8	17	23
Best worker, man	4	**38**	13	30
Best worker, woman	7	22	23	**33**
Most honest man	11	22	8	**44**
Most honest woman	15	13	22	**38**
Most religious man	21	15	13	**36**
Most religious woman	17	11	17	**40**

(Bold type indicates the group most frequently selected in first place.)

From Table I, it results that: (a) the ideal of the most attractive male is the white; (b) the preferred female type is the *mulata*, but the *cabocla*, it must be noted, is almost equally selected with the white; both the *mulata* and the *cabocla* (despite her apparent age) of the photos are of types which have the physical characteristics of the *morena* so preferred in Vila Recôncavo; (c) surprisingly, the *caboclo* male was selected as the wealthiest, in view of the stereotype that it is the white who is generally wealthiest, but I believe that this is due to the fact that people found the photo of the *caboclo* to have a rather 'distinguished' face, while the photo of the white was considered to be a young man with what might be considered a 'characterless' face; (d) the *preto* man was chosen as the best worker, which supports the stereotype discussed earlier, but the *cabocla* was chosen as the best woman worker (this may be explained by the local phrase used to describe her: 'Good for nothing else'); (e) the *caboclos*, both male and female, were chosen as most honest and most religious, which is in keeping with the stereotype of the *caboclo*, who is considered more serious and solemn than the native of the Recôncavo.

Table II, a breakdown of Table I by racial types, shows clearly the type selected in first place by the Negroes, the mulattoes, the whites and the *caboclos*, in answer to the same questionnaire. The most obvious inference derived from Table II is the extremely low posi-

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tion of the Negro woman in relation to the other women. She was chosen in first place in only one instance, namely as best worker, and only by the Negroes. In spite of the fact that in Table I the mulatto woman was considered the most attractive, she was chosen so only by the mulattoes. The other three racial types selected the *caboclo*

TABLE II.

Question	Chosen in first place by			
	Negroes	Mulattoes	Whites	Caboclos
Most attractive man	P	B	B	B
Most attractive woman	C & B	M	B	B
Most wealthy man	P	C	C	C
Most wealthy woman	B	B	B	B
Best worker, man	P	C	P	P
Best worker, woman	P	C	M	C
Most honest man	C	C	C	C
Most honest woman	C	C	C	C
Most religious man	C & M	C	C	C & B
Most religious woman	C	C	B	C

(P—preto; B—branco; C—caboclo; M—mulato. Where two racial types are in first place, they received an equal number of 'votes'.)

and the white woman. In summing up the total number of 'votes', the mulatto woman won by a narrow margin (four votes). It is interesting to note that the Negroes chose the *preto* man as the most wealthy, putting the caboclo in second place, while the other three racial types put the *caboclo* first.

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VI. There is a saying in the Recôncavo that where there was sugar, there were Negroes. This rule of thumb seems to hold remarkably well even today. On the islands in the bay where there never were *engenhos*, there are few *pretos*. In the town of Vila Recôncavo, and in a small settlement to the west of Vila Recôncavo where there never was an *engenho*, there are relatively few *pretos*, in comparison with the area of *engenhos* and plantations. The region as a whole can be shaded off in dark and light, to distinguish roughly the spatial arrangement according to colour. In the areas where there was still is sugar, there are many more *gente branqueada* (whitened people) than in the non-plantation areas.

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These lightened areas seem to continue to lighten, while the darker areas retain their dark characteristics. In Vila Recôncavo, which is a *mestiço* community, there is much more opportunity for

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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individuals. In a society with aristocratic traditions like that of Bahia, Thales de Azevedo (73–74) reminds us, the etiquette between persons of different levels is an extremely important consideration, so that a person whose manners imply a degree of intimacy or a conception of role out of keeping with the actual situation as commonly defined is always looked upon with disfavor, even if he be a white. It is not race, nor is it color, which is actually involved here; it is a matter far more inclusive, namely, good form for *any* person.

Just how important *is* color as a criterion of rank in Brazil? Some writers, particularly those acquainted at first hand with the United States, or who are unconsciously influenced by a knowledge of the racial situation here or elsewhere, give it primary attention. In this justified?

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As indicated in the Preface, a brief survey of the role of certain criteria in determining social rank in Brazil was made, previous to preparing this Introduction. Five of the presumably most significant criteria were employed: family affiliation, economic condition, personal competence, educational achievement—and color.[22] The respondents were university students in Bahia and four other Brazilian cities: Recife, João Pessoa, Vitória and São Paulo. Each of these criteria was paired with each of the others; and respondents were then asked their preference between, for instance, 1) being poor and belonging to a family of prestige and 2) being rich and belonging to a family of low standing; or between 1) having little education and being a branco and 2) having a "good" education and being a prêto; etc. In addition, prefer-

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4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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ences were asked regarding the "most important" characteristic in a marriage partner, the "second most important" characteristic, and the "least important."

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Pending further and more thorough investigation, then, at least certain tendencies in these samples may be quoted, especially where the stated preferences were as high as approximately five to one. In Bahia, for instance, this decidedly clear preference appeared in two cases (considering only those choices in which color figured): an approximately five to one preference for "belonging to a family with prestige and being a mixed-blood," in contrast to "belonging to a family of low standing and being a branco"; and an approximately five to one preference also for "having a 'good' education and being a mixed-blood," in contrast to "having little education and being a branco." At least a three to one preference was indicated also for "being rich and a mixed-blood," in contrast to "being poor and a branco"; and also for "having a 'good' education and being a prêto," in contrast to "having little education and being a branco." The approximately two to one preference for "belonging to a family of prestige and being a prêto," in contrast to "belonging to a family of low standing and being a branco," and the approximately equal preference between "being rich and a

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Whatever the limitations of this preliminary survey, however, there would appear to be a strong presumption—at least this hypothesis might be advanced for further testing—that, in determining rank at Bahia, the possession of white color is of *less* importance than certain other criteria.

In choosing a marriage partner, students at Bahia considered to be "most important" personal competence, followed closely by extent of education. Only three respondents selected family affiliation (indicating, probably, that a shift in the traditional attitudes in this respect is well under way); and none selected economic condition. Nor did anyone mention color as the "most important" criterion. Chosen as the "second most important" was extent of education, closely followed by personal competence, family affiliation, and economic condition, in that order. Color was selected as "second most important" by only two respondents. Given as "*least* important" was color, a striking fact, since, in such a situation as that involved in these selections many observers think the so-called "acid test" of any racial situation lies.

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When choosing a life partner, these students in all five cities considered the "most important" criterion to be: first, extent of education; and, then, personal competence, family

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Wagley (1963b:152) reports that the hypotheses which emerged out of our study of Bahia were reaffirmed, in general, by the studies which he and his associates made in the same state and in the Amazon valley. They appear to be acceptable to the Bahian researcher, Thales de Azevedo; as well as to Felte Bezerra (1950; 1956), with reference to the

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sirable as a seat of residence for one weary of the noises of an industrial city, but for the Bahian wife and daughters, whose world is still largely inside the doors of the home, these characteristics seem to give it a peculiar charm. Hence, one will see along this avenue, almost from Praça Castro Alves out, the residences of many substantial families and, in Vitoria, just beyond the governor's palace, the more pretentious dwellings of the upper class.

[362] [565]

TABLE 1

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FAMILIES DWELLING ALONG THE AVENIDA SETE DE SETEMBRO CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO ETHNIC COMPOSITION, BAHIA, 1936

	Number	Per Cent
Black	19	7.6
Mixed-blood	97	38.6
White	128	51.0
Mixed-blood and white	5	2.0
Black and mixed-blood	2	0.8
Total	251	100.0

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No Bahian house which boasts any pretension fails to have a balcony, while nearly all possess large casement windows opening out on the street. From this vantage point the family can while away many pleasant hours leaning on elbows and "watching the *gente* (people) go by." Consequently, one can readily gain, especially during the passage of processions when the balconies and windows are fully occupied, rather accurate information on the physical character of the population. It is possible at Carnival, for example, particularly just preceding the passage of the floats, to take a census with respect to racial composition, as far

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at least as color is an index of race.[16] On the first evening of Carnival in 1936 an analysis into color categories of families dwelling along this avenue from Jardim Suspenso to the Church of São Bento gave the distribution shown in Table 1.

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That families of whites, of mixed-bloods, and of relatively unmixed blacks dwell indiscriminately side by side on this important street is even more clearly evident if one notes the house-by-house distribution as he proceeds along the Avenida:

White	Mixed-blood	Mixed-blood
White	White	White
Mixed-blood	Mixed-blood (dark)	White
Mixed-blood	Mixed-blood (dark)	White
Mixed-blood	White	Mixed-blood
White	Mixed-blood	Mixed-blood
Mixed-blood	Mixed-blood	Black
White	White	Black
White	Mixed-blood	Mixed-blood
Mixed-blood (dark)	Mixed-blood	Mixed-blood
Mixed-blood	White	Mixed-blood
White	White	White

*125 563 361

Of 142 white students to whom the question, "Do you dislike black neighbors?" was put, 120 responded "No." And of 143 who responded to the question, "Do you dislike *pardo* (brown) neighbors?" 129 replied in the negative. Among the small minority who in each case appeared to be somewhat troubled by the immediate proximity of darker neighbors, subsequent inquiry developed that ordinarily the objection arose out of apprehension that residence among black neighbors might imply residence in a lower-class (and hence less

[16] It is obviously likely that the actual residents were joined on this occasion by other persons, either relatives or friends. But since the object was not to count faces but to test the ethnic composition of families dwelling side by side, this possibility did not materially affect the enumeration. Only seven cases were found of mixed ethnic composition, and it is reasonable to assume in the light of the Bahian culture that some of these were so by reason of ethnic mixture in the family itself.

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desirable) neighborhood. The objection appeared to be not so much to the blacks *as such* but rather to those areas in which the darker portion of the population, being less secure financially (as we shall presently see in more detail), ordinarily dwell.

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In this connection it is also significant to note that an occasional black resides in such upper-class sections as Canella or Vitoria without any question being made of the fact. He will ordinarily be a person of wealth, education, professional competence, and "good breeding"; in other words, a member of the upper classes. Similarly significant is the complementary fact that a considerable number of lower-class whites may be found living in the valleys or the outlying regions, scattered among the darker portion of the population, imbedded quite unconsciously in what might be called, if they were in the United States, the "Negro bottoms."[17] Sharing a common life with the other illiterate poor, these occasional white families visit about among their darker neighbors, eat, drink, work, play, and intermarry with them, and participate in a common body of ideas and sentiments, just as at the other end of the class scale an occasional black participates in the predominately white world of the élite.

Thus, although Bahia is divided quite definitely into upper- and lower-class residents who occupy rather distinct areas of the city, and these class and geographical divisions also tend to correspond rather closely to the color divisions in the population, one notes certain significant exceptions whose occurrence points rather clearly toward class rather than caste as the basis of social organization.

[17] An occasional well-to-do white upper-class family will reside in a lower-class area, the house and grounds ordinarily taking on the appearance of a spacious country seat surrounded by more humble dwellings.

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Short of a racial census, an adequate statistical statement of the racial composition of Bahia would probably require an extended sampling of the population in various parts of the city—a procedure not feasible under the limits of this study. Samples readily obtainable at the numerous festivals such as Segunda Feira do Bomfim, Conceição da Praia, the Vespers of Reis, etc., are not practical for the reason that participation of one or another of the ethnic components is ordinarily out of proportion to its size in the general population. But at Carnival, when nearly the entire population frequents the public thoroughfares, this difficulty disappears. A new obstacle arises, however, in the form of a considerable infiltration of population from surrounding areas. And since the whites are ordinarily from the upper-income groups and consequently more able to travel, the white percentage of the city's population is probably at that time swollen beyond its normal proportion. The "Micarêta," or second Carnival, held one week after Easter, avoids this latter disadvantage. Of five thousand people noted among the participants in the "Micarêta" for 1936, the racial percentages appeared to be those given in Table 5.

563* 121 125• 162 [796] [796]

Thus one can perhaps confirm the common-sense judgment of Bahian citizens to the effect that at least half, and perhaps more, of the population is now noticeably mixed, that both biologically "pure" whites (but not "whites" in the social sense) and biologically "pure" Africans are relatively few in number.

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Some notion of the change in physical characteristics by generations, at least among members of the lower classes, may be had from a study of five hundred cases of mothers and their offspring applying at Bahia's free children's

563* 142 125

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[142] clinic.[47] The offspring of 221 black and 200[48] mulatto moth-
[125] ers appeared to vary from their mothers as indicated in Table 6.

Since cases in which only obvious variations appeared were recorded as differing, the data would indicate a rather noticeable variation by generations. At least this is true in
[836] so far as mothers are concerned. Accurate information on fathers is difficult to obtain, since, in the section of the popu-

TABLE 5

ETHNIC ORIGIN (AS DETERMINED BY INSPECTION) OF FIVE THOUSAND PARTICIPANTS IN THE "MICARÊTA" FESTIVAL, BAHIA, 1936

[162]

Racial Identity	Number	Per Cent
European	1,585	31.7
Negro	900	18.0
Mulatto	2,495	49.9
*Cafuso**	20	0.4
Total	5,000	100.0

* The term *cafuso* is employed to designate an individual of mixed Indian and Negro descent.

lation whence these cases come, one finds extensive cohabitation without formal marriage, either civil or religious.

So widespread has the dispersion of African blood in the predominantly European group now become that relatively few families in Bahia are of undiluted European origin, without African strain somewhere in the lineage. This mixture of the races in Bahia is in some respects similar to the

[47] Since pigmentation, it is presumed by local physicians, does not become "fixed" until approximately six months after birth, children under one year were eliminated from the tally.

[48] Seventy-nine children were white of white mothers.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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to her,[52] romances written.[53] Of 146 male students responding to the query, "All things being equal, whom would you prefer to marry, a *branca*, a *morena*, a *parda*, a *preta*," 117, or 80.1 per cent, replied "a *morena*." Similarly, of 93 white female students responding to a like question, 80, or 86 per cent, preferred a *moreno* for a mate.

The *morena* may, or may not, have African blood.[54] But at least in Bahia this category includes many individuals of partial African descent. For instance, a study of five hundred women classified as *morenas* in the Gabinete de Identificação indicated the probable distribution given in Table 7.

It is the opinion of Arthur Ramos[55] that, although "the charms of the *morena* exert a profound sexual attraction" and the regard in which she is held "has a sexual base in the Freudian sense," the present attitude toward the *morena* "grew out of the enthusiasm and the sentimentalism of the abolition campaign. The *morena* expresses in a symbolic way the union of the two races—the black and the white—and the absence of [caste] prejudice."

The *morena* probably constitutes a decided bond be-

[52] As, for example, the following:

Beautiful morena,
Morena,
Morena who makes me suffer!
The full moon, so bright,
Is not as luminous as your eyes.
You are a *morena*,
A wonderful girl.
There's not a *branca* who hasn't
fallen for you.

Often,
When you pass by,
Men quarrel over you;
Everyone eagerly anticipates
Your smile.

Your heart is a boarding-house,
A family hotel
Along the seashore.
Oh, *moreninha*, do not rent all!
Leave at least a corner
For me to live in!

[53] A rock on the island of Paquetá in Guanabara Bay at Rio de Janeiro very popular with young lovers, has been dedicated to the *moreninha*.

[54] Pronouncing the word *morena* (or *moreno*) with a certain emphasis or changed inflection indicates darker color.

[55] Stated in personal correspondence with the author.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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563 tween the races, serving at once as a symbol and as a means of white-Negro union. When, as often happens, marriage occurs between a *branco* and a *morena* some of whose ancestors were Africans, the resulting offspring obviously make it more difficult for white fathers to consider African blood prejudicial—an attitude intensified in the new generation, which actually possesses some African blood.

[125]

TABLE 7

PROBABLE ETHNIC ORIGIN OF THE FIRST FIVE HUNDRED WOMEN CLASSIFIED AS *Morenas* IN THE FILES OF THE GABINETE DE IDENTIFICAÇÃO, BAHIA, 1936

Probability	Number	Per Cent
Whites	131	26 2
Mulattoes	308	61 6
White-Indian mixed-bloods	28	5 0
Negro-Indian mixed-bloods	15	3 0
Negro-White-Indian mixed-bloods	18	3 6
Total	500	100 0

563 192 The term "Negro" is seldom heard in Bahia. It is a *palavra pesada*, a harsh, even offensive, term. Its actual meaning is "African," i.e., "foreigner." In this respect it is a term somewhat similar to "Wop," "Dago," "Sheeny," "Greaser." It also implies slave status and hence calls up memories of the harsher aspects of slavery of which the blacks do not like to talk and the whites are ashamed. Its use is therefore "not good form," and one hears it ordinarily employed only in anger, as an epithet. If otherwise used, it must be "with a smile." *Mulato* is coming to have a somewhat similar connotation, and, as a white Bahian put it, "the better people are beginning to use *moreno* instead."

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has some degree of color in his ancestry. In other words, the white-*branco da Bahia* marriages are omitted.** It represents, therefore, the number of intermarriages from the local point of view, but, as a government official pointed out, it does not accurately reflect the amount of actual race-crossing.

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Among the whites of the upper classes a definite line is drawn at intermarriage between individuals from the extreme limits of the color scale, just as a line is drawn, and perhaps for the same reason, at marriage between individuals from the lower and upper limits of the class scale. Although such marriages do occasionally occur, they are ordinarily frowned upon. Thus, of 149 students classifying themselves as *brancos* and responding to the query, "Do you object to marrying a *preto?*" 139, or 93 per cent, replied "Yes." Of 140 similar students, 93, or two-thirds, even objected to dancing with a black.

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The brother of a former governor of Bahia, scion of a family which traces its lineage back through a long line of colonial and European aristocracy, had never married but had lived all his life with a lower-class Negro mistress. When, on his deathbed, he desired to marry the woman and thus legitimize the children, his family objected so strenuously that the attempt was abandoned. However, opposition was not only on color but also, and more importantly, on class grounds.

Hence, white-Negro *consorcios* which involve a member of the upper class are ordinarily extra-legal, outside marriage. In the upper circles intermarriage becomes more pronounced as the colors approach along the white-black continuum.

** It is also true, of course, that *branco da Bahia-pardo* marriages are included.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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782 Numerous
565 families *da boa sociedade* ("of social standing") "dão comida"
184 (make the food offerings, especially of *carurú*) to Beji
794 (Cosme and Damião) and celebrate the day sacred to their honor. A number of white individuals on occasion make offerings to the *mãe d'agua*. Cases like that of the wife of a former state senator and political chieftain who kept an altar to an African *orixá* in her house are, however, not numerous.

125 Of 66 students in the Escola Normal classifying themselves
782 as *brancos* and responding to the query, "Do members of
184 your family give presents to the *mãe d'agua?*" 7, or 10.6 per
794 cent, answered in the affirmative. Of 36 *pardos*, the families of 9, or 25 per cent, similarly made offerings. Of 63 whites, 29, or 46 per cent, thought one ought to fear the *bozo* (black magic); as did 12, or 37 per cent of the *pardos*, and all 6 of the *pretos* who replied. Of 63 whites, only 1 thought the statement "A *pae de santo* is more useful in time of illness than a physician" was true, but 9, or 14 per cent, regarded it as "partially true"; of 32 *pardos*, 2 believed the statement true, and 7, or 22 per cent, thought it "partially true." Of 197 students in the Escola Normal and the Law School, the families of 25, or 13 per cent, "give *comida*" to Cosme and Damião.

184 Ordinarily the attitudes which the inhabitants of Euro-
798 pean descent take toward the *candomblé* vary from good-
794 natured tolerance, which is the most characteristic, through
829 indifference, which is common, to active opposition, which is comparatively rare, although from time to time complaints like the one below find their way into the newspapers.

[539] In *A Tarde* for May 8, 1936, appeared an editorial under the title:

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829 to the anthropophysical study of the colored
*563 child/, Rio de Janeiro, 1939.
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• 125 The author of these pages has classified, according to their
829 respective photographs, 30 social-club members of the male sex
*563 belonging to the well-educated people of Bahia, and showed them to a young white girl of the middle class, to a métise of modest class, a student of the social sciences, and to a métis in charge of the administration of the same club, asking them to classify them in turn. Here are the descriptions applied according to the judgment of each identifier:

Designation	Number of individuals of each type (1)			
	A	B	C	D
Whites	19	14	21	6
Brancos da terra . . .	1	11	2	-
Morenos	4	-	6	19
Mulattoes	6	5	1	5

1. A, author; B, young white girl; C, métisse student; D, métis functionary.

The four classifications agree only in certain instances: this was a matter of the Whites whose phenotype was obvious; in five cases, three agreed with regard to the classification of a White who was classified by the fourth as moreno; in 14 cases the opinions were divided by half and so on.

829 Most of the light métis are identified as morenos in the registers
*563 in which are inscribed the members of the social clubs, religious
[575] brotherhoods, in the lists of students of an establishment for uni-
[794] versity instruction examined at the end of the investigation. When
[873] it was requested of different persons of the middle class, most of
[125]
[565]

/15 cont./

829 whom practiced a liberal profession and were graduates of the
*563 University of Bahia, to classify according to their type the per-
• 125 sons carried on the list of physicians and pharmacists registered at
565 the Ministry of Public Health, representatives of the State and
/16/ federal representatives, university professors, members of the local academy of letters, and other associations of the city, there too the term moreno was most often used to designate the métis. Those who used the expression "mulatto" were rare. As
[177] a result of the influence exerted by North American films, one
[192] sometimes hears mention of "colored" /quoted in English/; a local journal described a politician of Bahia with this term, and a woman questioned by us acknowledged being "colored" /quoted in English/.

829 In a recent book a writer of the city sums up the semantic
*563 problems in relation to the characterization of local types in
192 this way: "A light Black is called mulatto, the light mulatto is a moreno, a blond becomes a sarará. As for pardo, no one knows what that is. White fino is said of those persons whose origin and appearance do not show this "margin" thanks to which one infallibly recognizes crossbreeding. And those who are whites of mixed blood do not like to show the portraits of their ancestors" (1).

[113] 1. J. Valadares, Beabá da Bahia /ABC's of Bahia/ 1951, p. 91.

829 The foreigners, who are relatively limited in number in the
*563 city, are easily distinguished by the majority of people. A European with strange manners, speaking Portuguese with great difficulty, or expressing himself in another language, is simply considered a "foreigner," particularly if he has a light and pink skin, blue eyes, and fine, blond hair. A Brazilian showing these characteristics is accused of being a "foreigner type" or a "German
829 type." Foreigners may also be called gringos, whatever their
*563 physical characteristics may be. The Spaniards, who are very
[192] numerous in the grocery business, are sometimes called the "gringos of the grocery business." The Russian, Polish, and

[SALVADOR]

124 /6/ Let us remark in passing that among the individuals questioned a large number, in spite of their high intellectual level, experienced some difficulty in expressing their point of view. Doubtless it was a matter of a defense reaction; but in many cases this hesitation is also due to the fact that these persons had never ascribed much importance to the question. These two interpretations, whatever they may be worth, are both significant with regard to race relations in Bahia.

The occasions when the spontaneity of the informants was tempered by mistrust were rare. Only two individuals evaded the interview: a Black belonging to a liberal profession, who showed great reserve, and a woman, a mulattress of light complexion, occupying an administrative post, who appeared irritated by the nature of the investigation, the interest of which she did not see.

For an accurate understanding of the facts, it is useful to recall that the interviews took place, in general, without a previous appointment. Several times, however, I notified our informants that I was engaged in an investigation of race relations and wished to know their opinion. Several interviews were obtained in the course of chance encounters and had the character of a simple conversation. In certain cases they were resumed for the requirements of this study, with the consent of the informants. Certain individuals acted as though it were /7/ difficult for them to enter upon "such a delicate matter"; nevertheless, on the whole, they proved as communicative as one could wish. The intentions of the investigators were generally well understood by the informants. Certain ones among them even seemed finally to have found the occasion, so often desired, to express their grievances or their personal views on their particular case as well as on the problem in general. The method of the interview, as far as one could judge, seemed to be very effective. It may be hoped that its use on a broader scale will furnish new elucidations on the same subject.

124 126 As for the method of recording the interviews, the most important among them were transcribed by means of rapid notes taken during the conversation. On rare occasions the interview was transcribed in a more complete fashion. The reports were written up, with some exceptions, in the first hours following the meeting.

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[13] [101] Regional Terminology. The term "o recôncavo" can be applied to any crescentic littoral. In Brazil, however, "the Recôncavo" is almost universally understood to refer to a semicircle of land bordering the Baía de Todos os Santos in the state of Bahia. It is no more necessary to ask which Recôncavo in Brazil than to ask which South in the United States.

The Recôncavo has a less consistently defined content and boundary than the United States South. The extent of the area intended is individually determined in both common and scholarly usage--usually the limit of the region is implied rather than delineated. In traditional usage the Recôncavo generally is equated with the sugar cane area, but at least as often the area designated includes all the relatively densely settled and intensively utilized zone around the Baía de Todos os Santos.

[12] [13] In delimiting the Recôncavo as a preliminary to field and statistical investigation it seemed desirable to enclose all areas which may customarily be included in the region. In addition, since the Recôncavo is conceived here primarily as an agricultural region, it seemed most consistent to include all other contiguous areas of equivalent agricultural utilization. Thus a search was made for a criterion for a tentative boundary which would circumscribe: (1) the traditional Recôncavo areas; and (2) the contiguous areas of equal agricultural intensity; and which in addition would (3) define the limit on a consistent statistical basis. These three requirements would be met with a boundary determined by the per cent of the land in agricultural use--a criterion which would summarize the intensity of land-use for [127] cultivation, fallow, and pasture. Appropriate data were available from the 1940 census. By inspection it was determined that twenty per cent [311] of the total area in agricultural use was the value of an isopleth which would enclose the traditional and equivalent areas and would

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 8

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121 separate them from the manifestly non-Recôncavo areas of the surrounding
131 zone. This limit of twenty per cent of the total area in agricultural
[311] land use corresponded rather closely to the outer boundary of a compact group of twenty-one municípios, and as a tentative regional concept, these twenty-one municípios were considered to be the Recôncavo.[5] The area of the region thus defined is 4,827 square miles (12,500 square kilometers), about equal to the size of the state of Connecticut.

121 Purpose and Procedure. The primary purpose of the research upon
241 which this monograph has been based was to analyze, from a geographical point of view, the structure and the functional organization of agriculture within the Recôncavo. It is not within the present scope to make a detailed comparison of the agricultural patterns of the Recôncavo with those of the rest of the nation. However, because of the general unity of the Brazilian agricultural system and the special relationship between the Recôncavo and the origins of the system, a study of the agriculture of the Recôncavo microcosm is a study of many of the basal aspects of Brazilian agriculture.

241 Very little literature is presently available on the agricultural
• 127 patterns of the Recôncavo. Certain general characteristics of the agriculture of the region may be deduced from the brief interpretations of maps of the 1948 production of sugar cane, tobacco, and manioc in the state of Bahia published by the Conselho Nacional de Geografia.[6] Indirect information may be gleaned from the general economic and agricultural histories of Brazil and from the sociological studies of the Brazilian northeast.[7] But comprehensive analysis based upon field or statistical study of the geographical patterns of agriculture of either the state of Bahia or of its nuclear region, the Recôncavo, are lacking.

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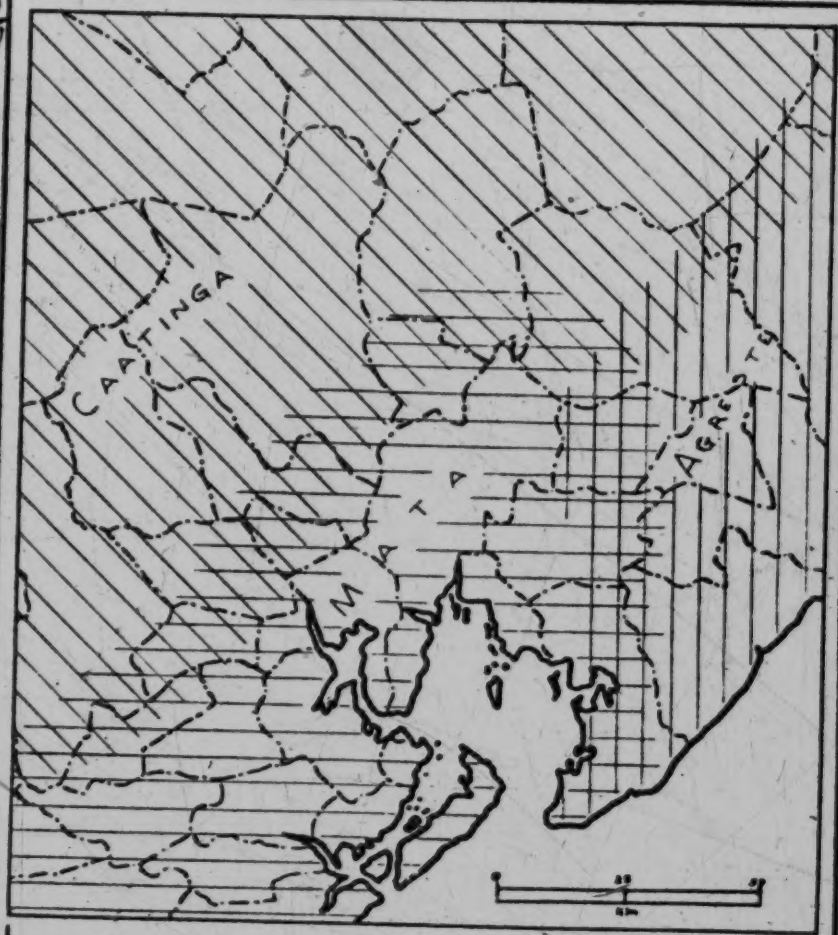

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Vegetation Types

[129] Modified from a private map of Dr. Geraldo C. Pereira Pinto, Instituto Agronômico do Leste

MAP 15

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Footnotes - Chapter II.

[127] [114]

[1]The general scheme of classification and the map which are used in the following discussion are based upon the field interpretation of small-scale geologic and topographic maps. The description of the land-forms is based upon field experience in all municípios of the Recôncavo except Coração de Maria and all other municípios shown on the maps excep Esplanada and Entre Rios. The basic sources include:

Gregorio Bondar, "Solos da Bahia, Sua Conservação e Aproveitamen Boletim Geográfico, Vol. IX, No. 99 (June, 1951), pp. 243-281. Mario Martins de Oliveira, "Recôncavo." Map at scale of approximately 1:500,000 (Bahia: Organização Brasileira de Edições Culturais, [n.d.]). Conselho Nacional de Geografia and Departmento de Geografia, Engenharia Rural e Açudagem do Estado da Bahia, "Mapa Geral do Estado da Bahia." Map at scale of 1:1,000,000 (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço Gráfico do Institu Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, 1953).

[2]Bondar, op. cit., pp. 261-263, and attached map.

[3]These depressions very much resemble the small depressions encountered in karst regions. However, mechanical removal of soil materi and perhaps of rock from joints in the crystalline regolith, rather tha solution, would be the most likely process.

[4]There are two Rios Jacuípe in the Recôncavo. One is the tributary of the Rio Paraguaçu mentioned above. The other is the main strea of the central part of the sugar cane zone, which drains eastward direc to the ocean.

[114] [5]Bondar, op. cit., p. 253. In Brazil, Bondar is recognized as t outstanding authority on the soils of Bahia.

[6]Bondar, op. cit., pp. 243-281.

[7]Sylvio Froes Abreu, "O Recôncavo da Bahia e o Petróleo do Lobat Revista Brasileira de Geografia, Vol. I, No. 2 (July-September, 1939), pp. 57-83.

[8]Other sources used as a basis for the discussion and mapping of soils were: Companhia Energia Electrica da Bahia, Geology and Climate (Information Sheet No. 2, with geological information maps and sections furnished by Horace E. Williams. Bahia: Companhia Energia Electrica da Bahia, [1931], 28 pp. Orlando G. Teixeira, "Solos do Recôncavo da Bahi Boletim da Secretaria da Agricultura, Industria, e Comercio do Estado da Bahia, Vol. XLIX, No. 11.

[9]Bondar, op. cit., pp. 243-281.

[10]However, this presumed low fertility is not always reflected in lower actual yields.

[11]Geology and Climate, p. 10.

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[12]Teixeira, in his "Solos do Recôncavo da Bahia," pp. 36 and 38, gives the following data (here summarized) for the soils of Paranagua, near Rio Fundo in the município of Santo Amaro:

	Per cent		Per cent
Clay	28 - 48	Total Nitrogen	0.224
Lime	19 - 34	Exchangeable Calcium ME	44.8
Fine Sand	23 - 41	Exchangeable Magnesium ME	6.8
Coarse Sand	1.6- 6.5	Clorides	0.011
Residual Humidity	2.6- 5	Phosphorus	0.055
Rock	3.6- 10.7	Potassium Cloride	0.585
Water Capacity	40 - 58	Sodium Cloride	1.1577

[13]The Rio Pojuca has a gradient of 1-1351 from Catuiçara in northern Santo Amaro to the cidade of Pojuca, near the point at which the river enters the crystalline. The Rio Traripe has a gradient of about 1-125 for its last 10 km. before entering the Bay. Its valley is deeply incised, with deep gullies on the slopes.

[135] [14]These rock fragments, usually much weathered, almost invariably were identified as either gneiss or granite in the exposures observed in the field.

[15]Teixeira, op. cit., pp. 31-39.

[16]Bondar, op. cit., p. 256.

[17]One of the islands of the group pendant to the middle of the north coast.

[171] [18]Thus this part of Brazil is not like many areas in the United States, where relatively uniform cultivation practices are conspicuously minimizing soils differences.

[114] [19]According to the Köppen system of classification the coastal Recôncavo has an Af (tropical rainforest) climate, and the interior an Aw (tropical savanna) climate. According to the Thornthwaite system, all of the Recôncavo has a CA'w (subhumid tropical with winter rainfall deficiency) climate. Glen T. Trewartha, An Introduction to Climate (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1954), plates II and III.

[20]Gilberto Freyre, Nordeste (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio Livraria Editora, 1937), pp. 9, 21.

132 127 [21]Official data from government weather stations was available for only four places in the Recôncavo--Salvador and São Bento das Lajes, in the município of São Francisco, on the littoral of the Bay; and Cruz das Almas and São Gonçalo in the western interior. Of these, only Salvador had maintained a continuous record over a relatively long period--including the years immediately preceeding the field study. There were a number of stations in adjacent parts of the state of Bahia, but none were close enough to the Recôncavo to be reliable guides to its climatic pattern.

The data upon which the climatic analysis of this study was based came from three basic sources: (1) Ministério da Agricultura, Departamento Nacional da Produção Mineral, Divisão de Águas Secção de Hidrologi Atlas Pluviométrico do Brasil 1911-1938 (Boletim #5. Rio de Janeiro: Departamento Nacional da Produção Mineral, Divisão de Águas Secção de

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127 Hidrologia, 1948). (2) Ministério da Agricultura, Serviço de Meteorologia,
132 Normais Climatológicas (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço de Meteorologia, 1941).
(3) Data made available by the meteorological section of the Instituto Agronômico Léste at Cruz das Almas,

132 The risks involved in using these data are considerable. Of the
127 20 meteorological stations in eastern and central Bahia, only 2 or
114 perhaps 3 are reliable. For the others, gross errors and even deliberate falsification are notorious. Probably the data for Salvador is reasonably dependable, and during the field investigation for this study, there was opportunity to observe the conscientious attention to detail at Cruz das Almas.

The sheer lack of meteorological stations makes it necessary to infer most of the climatic pattern of the Recôncavo. It is fortunate that the two dependable stations occupy relatively representative sites in terms of the terrain and the land-sea relationship. Nevertheless, even the highly generalized climatic analysis of this section is offered with considerable hesitation. It is included in the study primarily as a base for agricultural research and, it is hoped, as a stimulant to a more adequate analysis of weather and climate for the Recôncavo.

000 [22]The municípios of Santo Estêvão, Feira de Santana, and Irará.

[137] [23]Often the slopes are more heavily forested than the surrounding tablelands, but it is not absolutely certain that this difference is related to land use--the slopes are usually too steep for cultivation. In a number of municípios immediately to the east of this dry belt perennial or seasonal ponds were observed at the eastern or southern base of a number of monadnocks. Presumably these ponds are related to heavier precipitation on the slopes above.

[24]The mean annual precipitation of São Bento das Lajes (in the município of São Francisco) is 1947 mm. At São Gonçalo the mean annual precipitation is 1005 mm.

[25]According the advice of agronomists in the area. This approximation is based upon the general experience of the cultivators and not upon controlled experiments which could take into account varying temperatures, humidity, and soil moisture conditions.

[26]The mean of the deviations at Cruz das Almas was 33 per cent.

[249] [27]Except that 100 mm. is considered to be the minimum for tobacco cultivation, this exact figure has no particular significance. It is used here merely as a device to record the movement and duration of the season.

[249] [28]This seems to reflect accurately the climatic situation in the Coastal Plain, where sugar cane is grown, for the cane planters frequently complain of the irregularity of the end of the wet season.

[29]It is not possible to assign strict values for "too much" and "too little" precipitation in these agricultural zones of the Recôncavo. In the tobacco zone there is likely to be difficulty if the precipitation for September--or the following months--the cutting period, falls below

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

000 25 mm. The upper limit is less definite; humidity as well as rainfall is an important factor in determining the danger of molding. In the sugar cane area, in addition to September rainfall, the precipitation retained from the months preceding September is clearly a factor in soil moisture at harvest time and is thus related to the sugar content and the difficulties of harvesting.

[30]The specific harvest requirements of the crop and the debts of the small farmer combine to force the harvesting and processing--no matter how unfavorable the precipitation.

[113] [31]Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II. Mata as used in the census classification signifies forest in general, and perhaps also savanna. Mata, except in this specific discussion of the utilization of wild vegetation, will be used throughout the study to refer only to the littoral forest.

[127] [32]The map of wild vegetation of the Recôncavo is derived from a private map of Dr. Geraldo C. Pereira Pinto, of the Instituto Agronômico Léste. The descriptions of the three vegetation types are based upon his classification, but have been expanded and interpreted on the basis of field observations of this study.

[113] [33]Preston E. James, Latin America (New York: The Odyssey Press, 1952), pp. 413, 439.

[192] [34]Sertão is not strictly a vegetation type, for this term is applied also to all that part of the northeastern interior which is sparsely settled and under-developed, even where scrub-forest is not characteristic. In Bahia, however, caatinga and sertão are often used interchangeably to designate both the scrub-forest vegetation and the general area where the scrub-forest is dominant.

[35]Several vegetation maps show an area of tropical savanna as a continuous belt, parallel to the coast of Bahia, in such a position that it should cross the Recôncavo. For example, James, op. cit., p. 413, map 81, "Northeast Brazil Natural Vegetation." This would raise the question of the utilization of these grasslands. However, savanna (campo cerrado) was not observed in the course of the field investigation in the Recôncavo, nor did the botanists or agronomists who were interviewed identify any local vegetation as campo cerrado. A grassland area of very limited size was observed in the northern part of the municipio of Salvador, on extremely sandy soil, but steppe rather than savanna seemed the appropriate term for this almost treeless enclave. Elsewhere in the Recôncavo trees rather than grasses dominate the uncultivated landscape, and the term savanna seems inappropriate.

[36]For a listing of the municípios in each sub-region see Appendix A.

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241 464 and plantations, and to a lesser extent, ranchers and vaquéiros (cowboys).[21] Silviculture is not an important occupation in the Recôncavo.

161 162 241 464 634 The mean density of the agricultural labor force for the Recôncavo was 15.7 per square kilometer. Since the distribution is very irregular, this mean density is far from representative of local situations—only six municípios had densities within 10 per cent of the mean. Because of the uneven distribution of cultivation, mean [128] figures for individual municípios, especially the larger ones, are likely to be equally misleading. In the discussion which follows [127] the gross distributions derived from census data have been modified on the basis of field observation and of inferences drawn from related demographic, cartographic, and agricultural information.[22]

161 162 241 464 The density of agricultural workers in the Central Recôncavo (Map 18) is appreciably higher than in the surrounding areas, except in the southwest. This central zone has densities in excess of 20 per square kilometer, and within it are four areas with densities in excess of 25 per square kilometer. Along the border of the Recôncavo, densities usually fall to 10 per square kilometer. However, this is not true of the more densely occupied "bridge" zone which connects the area of heavy concentration in the Recôncavo, south of the Rio Paraguaçu, with the "coffee area" to the southwest beyond the Recôncavo. The map of densities (Map 18) and the dot map (Map 17) of the agricultural labor force suggest that this population segment is clustered in areas which generally have an eccentric location in relation to such centers as Salvador and the Baía de Todos os Santos.

Over 20 per cent of the agricultural workers of the Recôncavo live along the southern, western, and northern extremes of the region,

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Brazil SL1
Northeast Brazil SO1

000 Footnotes - Chapter IV.

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[1]The basic sources of population data used in the following demographic analysis were:

Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censo Demográfico, Regional Series, Part XII-Bahia, Vol. I (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço Gráfico do Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, 1950). Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II. Anuário Estatística do Brasil-1953. Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, No. 8.

B [13] [162]

[2]This coastal belt includes 36 per cent of the area of Brazil and, in 1950, over 90 per cent of its population.

NB [633] [162]

[3]After Salvador, the chief cities of the state of Bahia were:

Feira de Santana (in Recôncavo)	26,559	- 1950 population
Itabuna	25,351	" "
Ilhéus	22,593	" "
Alagoinhas (in Recôncavo)	21,283	" "
Jequié	20,652	" "

[4]Mineiros, inhabitants of Minas Gerais; Paulistas, inhabitants of São Paulo; Gaúchos, inhabitants of Rio Grande do Sul; Pernambucanos, inhabitants of Pernambuco.

[5]See, for example, section by Charles Wagley in Charles Wagley (ed.), Race and Class in Rural Brazil (Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 1952), pp. 10-11 and map op. p. 65.

[6]T. Lynn Smith, Brazil: People and Institutions (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1946), p. 186.

[7]Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, No. 8, p. 47.

[8]Ibid., p. 59. In the 1940 census the racial classes were: brancos (white), pretos (black), amarelos (yellow), and outros (other). In the Recôncavo the "others" were predominately mulatto.

[9]A dark skin is a social disadvantage and thus may, in certain circumstances, limit the economic opportunity of the Negro or mulatto. The composition of the upper class, with occasional dark-skinned individuals and many brancos da Bahia (persons with Caucasoid appearance but known Negro or mulatto ancestors) testifies to the racial fluidity of the Recôncavo compared with the American South. These individuals have access to such opportunities for education and cultural development as are available to the upper class in the Recôncavo.

[10]See section by Charles Wagley in Wagley, op. cit., pp. 148-149.

[11]See section by Harry W. Hutchinson in Wagley, op. cit., pp. 16-1

[12]See section by Charles Wagley in Wagley, op. cit., pp. 10-11 and map op. p. 65.

[13]Smith, op. cit., pp. 633-634.

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Brazil SL1
Northeast Brazil SO1

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[14]See section by Charles Wagley in Wagley, op. cit., pp. 148-149.

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[586
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[15]Smith, op. cit., pp. 637-640, citing Anuário Estatístico do Brasil-1939/40, states that there were 687 church marriages for each civil marriage in Bahia. The number of common law marriages is, obviously, not precisely known. Brazilian statutes do not permit divorce from civil marriage.

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[883]

[16]The chief exception to this social pattern is during Carnaval, when people of all classes "let themselves go." However, it is mainly the adolescents of the upper class who, for the moment, escape from the rigid social code of their class.

[17]As a consequence of the high mobility of the lower class, many of these community or neighborhood identifications are transitory. However, because of the free social intercourse within the class, the local relationships are quickly established and easily maintained. The core of local identification and of the community or neighborhood seems to be maintained primarily by the more stable upper-stratum of the class.

[18]The industries, trading houses, and exporters of Salvador are concerned to a large degree with agricultural products.

[19]For the United States, see Smith, op. cit., p. 221. For Brazil, calculated from the 1940 census.

BB
[127]

[20]A special statement is required because the problems of deriving data for population in this region profoundly affect the reliability of the demographic analysis. At the time this analysis was made, only incomplete and preliminary population data from the 1950 census had been published. Total population data by political units--municípios and distritos--and by "urban" places were available. It was necessary to estimate the agricultural occupational data. The 1950 agricultural labor force was projected from the 1940 data on the basis of changes in the rural population. Because the agricultural labor force and the rural population of which it is a part are subject to approximately the same social and economic forces, it was assumed that the change in the latter could be used to project the 1950 size of the former. The tables showing the derivation of the agricultural labor force for 1950 are based upon this procedure.

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[21]In 1940 the composition of this occupational group--based upon a combination of population census and agricultural census data--for the state of Bahia was approximately as follows:

Independent operators	44 per cent
Members of family	27 per cent
Employees	24 per cent
Employers	2 per cent
Non-owner administrators	2.5 per cent

Thus less than 5 per cent of the agricultural labor force were administrators; the others were either cultivators, vaquéiros, or agricultural laborers. In the Recôncavo the administrative group probably was relatively smaller.

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[128]

[22]In a region of such large statistical areas and diverse physical resources, it is almost inevitable that mean figures for some municípios, such as Feira de Santana, Alagoinhas, Irará, or, most of all, Santo Amaro,

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231 Livestock production, which offers
241 social prestige as well as economic gain, may occupy land within the
311 cultivated area which more profitably could be devoted to crops. These
554 factors, together with the eccentricities of political boundaries and the vagaries of terrain features, help to produce many distinctive local variations of the general geographical pattern of cultivation and of specific crops.

241 As will be seen in the following discussion, both land rotation (field and fallow) and permanent systems of cultivation are practiced in the Recôncavo. Under the land rotation system, the field is planted for a single year or for several years and is then abandoned to wild vegetation for a fallow period which, in some areas of the Recôncavo, has been reduced to as little as five years. Under the system of permanent cultivation, cropping is either continuous or is interrupted only by brief, widely-spaced fallow periods--in the sugar cane area, four years of cultivation are followed by one year of fallow. The significance of the data on the per cent of the area in cropland depends in part upon the system of cultivation employed.

127 Sources of Data. The statistical data used in the analysis of
241 crops and animals in the following sections were drawn almost exclusively
231 from two sources. Produção Agrícola: 1948[2] was the only source available with relatively complete data, gathered on a consistent basis, for the area, production, and value of the principal crops of Brazil by município units. This basic source has been supplemented by data for livestock taken from "Pobulação Pecuária em 31/12/1948."[3] In general these two sources provide a reasonably accurate and detailed statistical basis for the analysis of crops and livestock.

127 However, a careful inspection of the crop data, and especially
241 the calculation of crop yields by combining area and production data, revealed obvious errors in the figures in a number of instances. Usually

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127 the errors concerned crops of trivial importance, but occasionally the
241 use of such erroneous data would have produced serious misinterpretations. Where this has been the case, it was necessary to estimate a more appropriate figure. Such estimates were developed by inferences from related
127 statistical data supported by observations in the field. The procedures
28 which were employed are illustrated in full in Appendix D through a
241 detailed analysis of the data (for manioc) which were most thoroughly modified in this fashion. Wherever modified, rather than official data have been used in the text, the official data and the basis of modification have been indicated in a footnote or in the appendix.

241 Crops and Animals of the Recôncavo. A very large number of crops
433 are known to the agriculturalists of the Recôncavo, but the number of important crops is small. It is convenient to divide these into three groups--basic subsistence crops, basic commercial crops, and supplementary (minor subsistence and commercial) crops. As will be seen, many subsistence crops have their commercial importance, but the present concern
241 is only with a broad grouping. The crops of the Recôncavo are listed
433 below, together with their local names and the area of their cultivation
192 in 1948:

Basic Subsistence Crops:		
Manioc or Cassava (Mandioca)	22,472	hectares
Corn (Milho)	9,679	"
Beans (Feijão)	7,034	"
Bananas (Banana)	1,069	"
Peanuts (Amendoim)	550	"
Sweet Potatoes (Batata doce)	344	"
Basic Commercial Crops:		
Tobacco (Fumo)	21,886	"
Sugar Cane (Cana de Açúcar)	11,695	"
Coffee (Café)	2,941	"
Orange (Laranja)	1,116	"
Coconut (Côco)	876	"

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Footnotes - Chapter V

000 [1]The outstanding example of the ribbon development of cropland along the highway which traverses the Crystalline Uplands from Santo Antônio to Feira de Santana. Each of the cidades along this road--Conceição do Almeida, Cruz das Almas, Muritiba, São Félix, Cachoeira, Conceição da Feira, and São Gonçalo--is the center of an intensively cu tivated zone and is connected with the others by a belt of cropland running along the highway. In part this ribbon development is the resu [133] of restrictive factors; in Conceição da Feira and São Gonçalo the inten sively cultivated strip runs between the rough Intermediate Hills on th [132] east and the dry caatinga on the west. The same negative relationships are characteristic of the Southwestern Recôncavo, but the intermediate zone of acceptable terrain and climate is here broader than in the nort

[2]Produção Agrícola: 1948.

[3]Ministério da Agricultura, Serviço de Estatística da Produção, "Pobulação Pecuária, Em 31/12/1948."

[4]For a map of manioc production in Latin America, see: Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, Map of "Manioc Estimated Production Latin America," Agriculture in the Americas, Vol. III, Nos. 8-9 (August September, 1947), p. 120.

[128] [5]A more detailed discussion of processing of farinha de mandioc is given in Chapter X.

[6]Ruth Matos Almeida Simões, "Comentário do Mapa da Produção de Mandioca no Estado da Bahia," Boletim Geográfico, Vol. XI, No. 112. (January-February, 1953) pp. 84-86.

[7]It is likely that the official figures underestimate the area and production of manioc. A considerable part of the crop is grown on small plots remote from political centers and well-traveled routes and may thus have escaped the enumerator. Moreover, its cultivation is so commonplace and its exchange often so local and in such small quantitie that even tax-conscious local government officials may easily be unawar [127] of small and scattered plots which in sum may bulk fairly large. Some of the official data which have been used in the analysis of manioc cultivation, production, and value have been modified. For a discussio of these modifications and for maps based upon the unmodified data, see Appendix D.

[8]Conceição do Almeida, Cruz das Almas, and São Filipe.

[9]This popular and official view underestimates the importance o [128] manioc production in its own right. The commercial element in manioc production is discussed in Chapter II.

[128] [10]The system of manioc cultivation will be discussed in conjunction with the tobacco-manioc system in Chapter VI.

[245] [11]The "coffee zone" of Bahia includes a number of municípios, fr Laje (adjoining Santo Antônio) to Jequié along the Estrada de Ferro Naz

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[12]Centered in the município of Valença.

[127] [13]In the comparison of yields here and in the following discussion, the data for Brazil and for the other countries or regions have been taken from the 1948-1950 yields as given in: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Yearbook of Food and Agricultural Statistics 1953, Vol. VII, Part I (Rome, Italy: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, 1954), pp. 1-334.

[128] [14]For a more detailed discussion of tobacco grades and zones, see Appendix E.

[15]Because of the great variations in tobacco area from year to year, the data for a single season are a less reliable guide to characteristic distribution for tobacco than for most other crops of the Recôncavo. The modifications which have been made in the official data are given in Appendix D.

[16]See Appendix E.

[17]The great local variation in yield in these zones is probably due to the concentration of the small quantity of tobacco in areas of highly diverse soils and irregular precipitation.

[18]However, this comparison should be considered with regard for the harvesting practices mentioned above.

[19]In ten of the thirteen years from 1939 to 1951, the area planted in tobacco in the Recôncavo rose and fell in accordance with the price of the preceding year. Data from: Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, Contribuição
[127] do Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, A Report Prepared for the First National Tobacco Congress (Salvador, Bahia: Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, 1952), pp. 1-16.

[20]The sources used in the discussion of tobacco production for
[127] 1931 to 1951, in this and the following paragraphs, were: (1) Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, Contribuição do Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, pp. 1-16; and (2) Antonio Monato Marques, Geografia do Fumo na Bahia (Salvador, Bahia: Centro de Estudos Ruralistas, Monato Marques [1952]), pp. 1-85.

[128] [21]For a more detailed discussion of this aspect of tobacco-manioc cultivation, see the discussion of the tobacco-manioc system in Chapter VI.

[127] [22]The common practice of corn-bean interculture raises a problem in the interpretation of the statistical data which is discussed in Appendix D, as are modifications in the official data for corn.

[241] [35] [23]The typical American or European garden, a permanent area for the production of household vegetables, fruits, and herbs, is practically unknown in the Recôncavo. Garden crops are grown at odd places within the cultivated areas or scattered around the houses, except for a few small, fenced plots for food production within the sugar cane zone. In all these gardens there is a very limited variety of crops.

[128] [24]The system of sugar cane cultivation will be discussed in Chapter VI.

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[127] [25]The official data for banana production have been adjusted, a is shown in Appendix D. According to: Immigration and Colonization Cou Modern Brazil (Rio de Janeiro: Immigration and Colonization Council, 19 p. 119, a bunch of Brazilian bananas contains an average of 60 fruits a weighs 8 kilograms.

[35] [565] [26]Indeed, bananas are common plants within the city. Each uppe class house, perched on top of the ridge, has its banana grove on the declivity behind. In the valley bottoms, banana plants surround the adobe houses of the lower class.

[27]These yields are offered for the purpose of general comparisc The diversity of conversion figures used in estimating the weight of bananas does not allow for precise comparison.

[127] [28]The official data for area in coffee in São Filipe apparently is a three-fold exaggeration, unless the yields are incredibly low. Th production data are more reasonable.

[244] [29]Although manioc is not an annual plant, it is usually harvest in the Recôncavo before it is a year old. It seems more useful to classify these plants as annuals or perennials by their respective systems of cultivation rather than by their botanical characteristics.

[30]This comparison is somewhat unfair to Paraíba and Alagoas, since these states both include extensive non-agricultural areas, while the Recôncavo is an area specifically selected on the basis of intensit of agricultural land use.

[128] [31]For a comparison of 1940 and 1948 cultivated and agricultural area, see Appendix F.

[127] [219] [32]The cropland figure for Serrinha, derived from the 1948 data, is 25 per cent larger than the cultivated area given in the 1940 census A complicating and contradictory line of evidence is supplied by the da on tobacco production, which is usually a good index of crop cultivatio changes in this area. The tobacco production of Serrinha showed a decided decline from 1940 to 1948. It can only be assumed, in the ligh of the obvious growth of the cidade, that there was some expansion, but in food crops rather than in tobacco.

[33]The region which includes these two municípios follows the railroad from Nazaré to Jequié—the Estrada de Ferro Nazaré—and includes all the municípios touched by the line. In general this is thought of as a "coffee zone," but in its eastern section other crops, notably sugar cane and tobacco, displace coffee as the chief commercial products. Where this region approaches the Recôncavo most closely, in northern Santo Antônio, it is difficult to draw the boundary between th two. However, in 1948, even in 1953, the basic economic associations o Santo Antônio were with the railroad zone.

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000 Footnotes - Chapter VI

[124] [122] [114] [1]The discussion of the cultivation of tobacco and manioc is based upon the following sources: (1) private conversations with Mr. G. G. Jay a tobacco buyer and grower of long experience in Bahia and in other regions of South America; (2) Walter Alberto Egler, "Aspectos Gerais da Cultura do Fumo na Região do Recôncavo na Bahia," Boletim Geográfico, Vol. X, No. 111 (November-December, 1952), pp. 679-688; (3) general field observations throughout the zone, except in Coração de Maria and Catu, and, during 1953-1954, detailed observations in São Gonçalo and in Cruz das Almas.

[804] [2]Tarefa means "a task," "a day's work," or "a piece of work," but it is also an antique unit of area which is the folk-unit of area throughout much of Brazil. Its size varies from place to place, but the tarefa baiana equals 0.4356 hectares. In many areas one tarefa is considered to be the usual size of the tobacco planting of one man, but it is obvious from a comparison of the labor force and area in tobacco that in many areas the plantings per person must run much larger. In any case, the individual plots are very likely to be one tarefa each.

[3]In many areas the tree stumps have entirely disappeared as a result of the intensive cultivation, which severely restricts the size of the wild vegetation which can develop during the fallow period.

[114] [243] [4]This interpretation differs, at least in emphasis, from that of Walter Alberto Egler, op. cit., pp. 679-688. He suggests as the characteristic sequence, tobacco, corn and/or beans, and then manioc. Undoubtedly this sequence is important, but the field investigation for the present study revealed that the direct replacement of tobacco with manioc is more characteristic.

[237] [5]However, tobacco does not produce well on these poor soils unless manure is used, and even the yields of manioc are low unless it is planted in a field where there has been a relatively recent application of manure.

[244] [6]The seed for corn, which is edible, has value in itself. The stalk of manioc has no utility except to reproduce the crop. Thus when manioc is planted, the cultivator invests only his labor and the questionable value of the land.

[7]See section by George Wythe in Simon Kuznets, Wilbert E. Moore, and Joseph J. Spengler (eds.), Economic Growth: Brazil, India, Japan, p. 34.

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000 Footnotes - Chapter VII

[436] [1]The approximate value of the cruzeiro at the time these data were compiled by the government was five cents.

[127] [2]The basic sources for data on livestock populations used in t following discussion were: (1) Ministério da Agricultura, Serviço de Estatística da Produção, "Pobulação Pecuária, Em 31/12/1948," pp. 1-8 (2) Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vo

[3]Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia Vol. II.

[4]The use of the term "milk shed," generally applied to the tre mendous movement of milk into the highly urbanized centers of the Uni States and western Europe, is somewhat inappropriate for the small-sc operations in Bahia. However, the essential elements are the same: movement from countryside to urban places of fluid milk for home consumption.

[127] [5]Anuario Estatística do Brasil--1953 is used as a source of 19 data on the livestock population of the state of Bahia in this and th following discussion.

[491] [6]Although there are trunk highways through São Gonçalo and Feira de Santana, the back country of each is remote from the cidade and the highway.

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CHAPTER VIII

AGRICULTURAL PROPERTIES

241 231 423 311 The agricultural properties of the Recôncavo are diverse in functional type, tenure, and size. In most municípios there are to be found three basic production types: crop cultivation units, mixed crop cultivation and livestock producing units, and ranches. The properties of any local area may be owner or administrator operated, rented, or, in some areas, occupied informally by "squatters." In distinction to most agricultural areas of the United States, the Recôncavo has a very large number of extremely small agricultural properties, frequently with less than 2 hectares. There are also a number of large properties with more than 10,000 hectares, and in many areas large and small properties are closely intermixed.

241 423 184 Despite the widespread diversity of agricultural properties, there are distinct regional patterns which are based upon the predominance of certain types and sizes of properties and upon characteristic modes of possession. The regional patterns of agricultural properties correspond in a general manner to the crop regions delineated in the previous discussion.

241 423 [127] The basic source of information about the agricultural properties of the Recôncavo is the 1940 economic census.[1] No more recent source is as yet available to replace or to verify or correct these fifteen year old data. However, generalizations based upon these data were substantiated in most cases by the field investigations undertaken for the present study. [178] It is apparent that in so traditional a region as the Recôncavo, the institutional characteristics of agriculture, property types included, change very slowly.

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241 423 127 311 Of the 12,500 square kilometers of the Recôncavo, only about 800,000 hectares were enumerated in the agricultural section of the 1940 economic census--71 per cent of the total land area. In the variou municípios of the region, the enumerated area varied from 39 per cent o the land surface in Alagoinhas to 110 per cent in Itaparica (Map 87). In a few cases, such as Itaparica, the area given in the agricultural section of the census exceeded the official total area of the município. Where the political boundaries were not delimited precisely, properties may have been credited to the wrong município. More probably, however, these situations result from the over-estimation of the areas of individual properties--precise surveys of agricultural properties are virtually unknown.

There was a general correspondence between the intensity of land use (Map 2) and the relative area included in the 1940 agricultural census. This latter area will be referred to as "enumerated area" in the following discussion. Those lands not included in the agricultural census were urban areas, public domain, or in a few cases, private land held for speculation. However, not all of the unenumerated land was unused from the agricultural point of view, for in some of the less densely settled areas "squatters" are quite common.

241 231 423 311 Production Types of Agricultural Enterprises. In the 1940 censu the agricultural properties of Brazil were divided into six classes, based in part upon the type of production and in part upon the scale of operation. The three main functional types were agricultura (crop cultivation), agro-pecuária (crop cultivation with livestock production and pecuária (livestock production). In this context it is important to note that while agro-pecuária may include mixed agriculture--in the sense of functionally interdependent crop and livestock production

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000 Footnotes - Chapter VIII

[1]Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

[2]The data for the total area of the various municipios used in this analysis are taken from Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, No. 8. These data are the most recent and presumably most accur available for the state of Bahia. In a number of cases they disagree markedly with area given in the 1940 census, which was based upon earli and probably less accurate calculations from older maps.

[127] [3]The distinction between large- and small-scale units was made i the census as follows: (1) Agricultural units with over 50 hectares in "major crops (pineapple, alfalfa, cotton, rice, oats, potatoes, sugar cane, rye, barley, beans, tobacco, castor beans, manioc, corn, wheat, coffee, cacao, cocomuts, oranges, bananas, or grapes) were large-scale. All others were small-scale. Area in these crops was estimated from production figures and mean yields. (2) Livestock units with 200 head of cattle or sheep; 100 head of horses, goats, or pigs; or 50 asses or mules, or an appropriate combination of these, were large-scale. Alternatively, a smaller number of reproductive females--100 cows or ewes; 60 mares; or 20 sows--made the unit large-scale. All others were small-scale. (3) Crop-livestock units, in order to qualify as large-scale units, had to satisfy both criteria simultaneously.

[241] [13] [84] [361] [4]The size, shape, and physical and economic diversity of many of the municípios of the Recôncavo make it very difficult to evaluate and to map mean data. This is particularly true of Santo Amaro, of which part is in the sugar cane region, part in the tobacco-manioc region, an part in sparsely settled forest land. It is also true for São Gonçalo, which stretches from the humid Intermediate Hills to the dry western caatinga. Of all the municípios, only São Félix and Conceição da Feira both very small, have a relatively homogeneous landscape. The details of the interpretations and, to an even greater extent, the maps were drawn with numerous inferences based upon correlative data and field observations.

[5]Agricultural properties are also held by religious orders, syndicates, cooperatives, and other legal persons, but such properties are not very common in the Recôncavo. "Squatters," as defined by the census, included both those who occupied public land legally but withou title and those who illegally occupied private land. Renters included both cash and share renters.

[6]There were about 50 administrator-operated properties, with an average size of 30 hectares, in the município of São Félix, according to the census. The reasons for this concentration are not apparent, especially since this local phenomenon was not studied in the field. The concentrations around Salvador and on the island of Itaparica are suburban country houses--chácaras--a Brazilian institution. Many of these chácaras are on small properties which are operated by an oversee and which produce some agricultural products, especially vegetables and fruits. A large number of these properties line the eastern shore of the island of Itaparica; there are also a few in the forested area arou Salvador.

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000 Footnotes - Chapter IX

[127] The data used in the discussion of the value of agricultural production have been drawn from the following sources: 1948 crop data--Produção Agrícola: 1948; 1948 livestock data--"Pobulação Pecuária, Em 31/12/1948;" 1940 crop and livestock data--Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

[128] The modifications which have been made in the data taken from Produção Agrícola: 1948 are explained in Appendix D. The method used in estimating the value of livestock production in 1948 is explained in Appendix G.

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APPENDIX D

Changes in Crop Data

241 433 127 128 [659] The crop data in Produção Agrícola: 1948 were gathered by statistical agencies of the Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística established in each cidade of Bahia and of most other states in Brazil. The quality of statistical data assembled is highly variable, depending in part upon the efficiency of the agent but also upon the size of the município and upon whether the products are easily assessable, or are marketed locally, and a number of other factors. In a number of cases it has been necessary to modify obviously erroneous parts of the official data, which were sometimes contradictory and sometimes at variance with the agricultural pattern as determined by field investigation. This usually has been done by interpolating from other more creditable data from the same basic source or from other sources. In the following pages the important changes which have been made in the data for various crops will be discussed, and maps based upon the original data will be presented.

When the data for area, production, and value were combined to determine yield and price, and these relationships were mapped, certain obvious errors and a number of clues to the direction and extent of error were discernible because the general outline of price and yield pattern in the Recôncavo was clear. Generally one of the three base figures--area, production, or value--was accepted as valid and the others adjusted to bring yield and/or price into line. Because of an almost complete lack of property surveys, the crop area data are at best a gross estimate and liable to great error. On the other hand, [443] [659] the location of the statistical bureau in the cidades, usually the primary market, does give opportunity to make reasonably close estimates of value and production, at least of marketed crops.

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241 of value and production, at least of marketed crops. The choice between
433 value or production as a base figure for correction was dependent upon
127 the individual case and the generally expected pattern of price and
128 yield.

244 Manioc. The basic shortcomings of the manioc data were clearly
433 revealed when area and production figures were combined to show yield.
127 While the mean calculated yield for the Recôncavo was 16.3 tons per
128 hectare, the mean calculated yield for individual municípios varied from 5.3 tons per hectare for Salvador to 39.0 tons per hectare for São Filipe (Map 130). Certain variations, related to precipitation, soil, and intensity and care of cultivation, are to be expected, but the yield maps revealed incredible contrasts. Especially noteworthy was the case of São Filipe, with its yield of 39 tons per hectare. Adjoining Cruz das Almas and Conceição do Almeida, with similar and if anything more efficient practices of cultivation and with similar soils and climate--especially since most manioc in São Filipe is grown in the area adjoining Cruz das Almas and Conceição do Almeida--produced only 14 and 10 tons per hectare, respectively. It was apparent that at least one element in the São Filipe data was in error. The other municípios with exceptionally high yields--São Francisco, with 34.5 tons per hectare, and Santo Amaro, with 25.3 tons per hectare--probably can be explained by high productivity when manioc is grown on a small and intensive scale on the more fertile clay soils.

In São Filipe the yield calculated from official data was three
[435] to four times that of the surrounding municípios. Moreover, the unit value per ton was Cr.$60, compared with Cr.$150 to Cr.$200 for adjacent areas. The conclusion that the production figure was an error was re-enforced through a comparison of the density of production in

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244 São Filipe, 230 tons per square kilometer, with the 162 tons per square
433 kilometer of Conceição do Almeida, a more notable producer.
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128 It was assumed that the unit value in São Filipe was the mean of the prices of Maragogipe and Conceição do Almeida—São Filipe is midway between these municípios in terms of location, transport, and external market relationship—and that:

$$\text{Production} = \frac{\text{Value}}{\text{Unit Value}} = \frac{4,290,000}{\frac{170 + 190}{2}} = 27,333 \text{ tons}$$

This figure is close to 28,000 tons, and it was inferred that the original figure had been transposed to 82,000 tons. Yield was then derived:

$$\frac{28,000 \text{ tons}}{2,100 \text{ hectares}} = 13.3 \text{ tons per hectare}$$

compared with 13.9 tons per hectare for Cruz das Almas and 11.1 tons per hectare for São Félix, nearby areas with similar conditions. Perhaps this yield is slightly high, but it is in the possible range of variation, and is an acceptable approximation.

[435] There was a second problem in Irará. The unit value of manioc here was Cr.$90 per ton, compared to Cr.$300 in nearby Coração de Maria, Cr.$240 in Feira de Santana, and Cr.$320 in Santo Amaro. Moreover, the density of production was very high, 26.45 tons per square kilometer total area, compared to 10.72 tons per square kilometer for Coração de Maria, especially since so much of northern Irará is not densely settled. When Cr.$200 per ton was postulated as the unit value of manioc, the production derived was 10,500 tons. Yield calculated by using this figure and the original area data would be 4.38 tons per hectare, which is unreasonably small. The yield calculated from the original data—14.6 tons per hectare—seemed approximately correct, and using these yield figures, with the derived production value of 10,500 tons, area was calculated as 719 hectares. The new area figure

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244 433 127 128 [435] gave 0.54 tons per square kilometer total area, which corresponded to 0.59 tons per square kilometer for Coração de Maria.

In São Sebastião, the low unit value of manioc—Cr.$80 per ton—indicated possible error. The reasonable intensity of production suggested that the total value data were in error. The mean unit value of the four surrounding municípios—Cr.$240 per ton—was accepted for São Sebastião and was used to calculate a revised total value of Cr.$168,000.

Minor errors were apparent in the data for certain other municípios. For example, the yields of Maragogipe, Cachoeira, and Salvador were extremely low. Adjustments could have been made, but the relatively small manioc area and production in these municípios indicated that the resulting alterations would not markedly change the general area or production pattern. Maps 130, 131, 132, 133, and 134 show the patterns of manioc cultivation, production, and yield as taken from unmodified official data in Produção Agrícola: 1948. The corresponding maps based upon modified data (Maps 22, 23, 24, 25, and 27) are presented in Chapter V.

243 433 27 128 Corn. Calculations from the original data gave Maragogipe a yield of .40 tons of corn per hectare, less than one-half the yield of neighboring municípios. This was excessively low, and it seemed preferable to use the figure of 1.24 tons per hectare, the mean of adjacent São Filipe and Cachoeira. These municípios, though not similar to the whole of Maragogipe, resemble very much the adjoining areas where cultivation is concentrated. The production figure for Maragogipe was accepted as reasonable, since when combined with value it produced a credible unit value. Thus the area was reduced from 15 hectares to 5 hectares, raising the yield to a more acceptable level. However, these changes do not modify the gross pattern extensively, and therefore the maps in Chapter V were based upon the original data.

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243 127 Area data for corn should be used with reservation, especially for the northern and western municípios. In the drier areas it is the 243 244 127 custom to plant corn and beans together in the same field, generally in the same row, and the area could have been counted, in its entirety, twice (once for each crop). Yield calculations for corn and beans suggest that this has not been done; however, the vagaries of climate and cultivation in these dry zones produce such variations in mean yield from year to year and place to place that it was impossible to secure a clearcut verification. Conversations with personnel of the compiling agency failed to clarify the situation.

245 433 127 Bananas. The maps of banana area, based upon the official data, reveal a definite gap in Cruz das Almas and northern São Filipe (Map 135). However, this area lies in the middle of a belt of relatively dense production. Field experience in this immediate area indicated that bananas were at least as important in these two areas as in adjacent Conceição do Almeida. The official data show only 7 hectares and 3,000 bunches of bananas in Santo Antônio, but the large numbers of banana plants which were observed would tend to discredit these figures. Since in the Recôncavo the area planted in bananas does not usually have a consistent relationship to the number of plants and thus to production, yields are not a trustworthy guide to the estimation of 245 production. On the map of banana production in the text (Map 52) the 433 official data have been modified to allow Cruz das Almas 190,000 127 bunches in place of the 29,000 in the official data; São Filipe, 128 70,000 in place of the official 20,000; and Santo Antônio, 86,000 in place of the official 3,000. These changes were made by arbitrarily increasing the production data to give these areas the same density of production as similar areas in adjacent municípios. Since, as has

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245 been indicated, banana area and production do not have a consistent re-
433
127 lationship, no attempt has been made to alter the map of cultivated
128 area for bananas.

249 Tobacco. Although there is a large range in tobacco yields
433 within the Recôncavo as calculated from the official data, only those
127 for São Filipe seem completely unacceptable. If the area of this município were at the high level—3,600 hectares--indicated and the given production data are correct, then its yield was an infinitesimal 190 kilograms per hectare. The official production data are, in approximate terms, confirmed by other sources.[1] However, the area indicated by the official data is much higher than either the data
249 of Marques or field experience would indicate. Estimates from the
433 mean of surrounding municípios, from the mean yield calculated from
127 Marques, and from the area given by Marques adjusted to the 1948 level of
128 production, give the following figures, respectively: 675 hectares, 692 hectares, and 700 hectares. The median of these figures—692 hectares--was selected and used in preparing Maps 28, 29, and 33 in Chapter V.

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[113] [1]Antonio Monanto Marques, op. cit., pp. 1-85; and Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, Contribuição do Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, pp. 1-16.

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APPENDIX F

Comparison of 1940 and 1948 Data for Cultivated Areas

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The figure for cropland in 1948, derived from the total area in principal crops, is less than half the total cultivated area which is given in the 1940 Censos Econômicos, as shown on the table which follows (Table XIX). The development of the individual crops, indicated by the statistical material available and by the situation which is to be observed in the area, indicates quite clearly that the catastrophic decline which these figures would seem to indicate has not in fact taken place. The growth of the population of the Recôncavo, without concurrent industrialization or radical reorganization of the agricultural system, has required the expansion, not the contraction, of the cultivated area. It is clear that the 1940 census data must have included much land that was not in crops--probably it included those areas which customarily were cultivated under the land rotation system but which were not, in 1940, in crops. Since the census was based upon the opinion of the agriculturalist as to the cultivated area and since it is the custom to regard fields recently abandoned as cultivated land, it is easy to see how the 1940 figure was so large. It is assumed, therefore, that the 165,235 hectares which the census called cultivated area in 1940 corresponds to the general area in which cultivation was customary and not to actual cropland.

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TABLE XIX

COMPARISON OF LAND CULTIVATED AS GIVEN IN THE 1940 CENSUS AND AS CALCULATED FROM 1948 CROPLAND DATA

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	Land Cultivated 1940	Land Cultivated 1948	Change
Central Recôncavo:			
Santo Amaro	19,252	8,417	-10,835
São Francisco	3,227	1,063	- 2,164
São Sebastião	4,798	2,516	- 2,282
Cachoeira	4,326	1,154	- 3,172
Northern Recôncavo:			
Coração de Maria	4,653	1,092	- 3,561
Irará	27,630	9,115	-18,515
Alagoinhas	3,868	2,464	- 1,404
Northwestern Recôncavo:			
Feira de Santana	20,457	3,994	-16,463
São Gonçalo	4,270	3,614	- 656
Conceição da Feira	2,363	1,343	- 1,020
Santo Estêvão	10,145	8,500	- 1,645
Southwestern Recôncavo:			
Muritiba	7,654	3,333	- 4,321
Cruz das Almas	8,585	12,796	+ 4,211
Conceição do Almeida	11,419	7,506	- 3,913
São Filipe	5,942	6,430	+ 488
São Félix	3,482	1,512	- 1,970
Eastern Recôncavo:			
Catu	5,484	741	- 4,743
Pojuca	1,037	259	- 778
Southern Recôncavo:			
Maragogipe	7,221	1,342	- 5,879
Itaparica	4,492	891	- 3,601
Salvador	4,930	1,921	- 3,009
Recôncavo Total	165,235	80,003	-85,232

Source: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II, and Produção Agrícola: 1948.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

APPENDIX G

Procedure Used in Estimating Value of Animals Produced in the Recôncavo in 1948

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The 1948 data on livestock[1] gave the total number of animals for each município but did not show the number slaughtered nor the value of animal production. An estimate of the latter figure was made for 1948 in order to compare the value of crop and livestock production for that year. The method of estimation was as follows.

It was assumed that the change in the cattle population between these years was the best available index of the change in the value of animal production, since cattle are the most common and most valuable major animal. The index of change thus derived was used to raise or lower the 1940 value of animal production of each município, as given in the Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II, to a 1948 level, but still in terms of 1940 currency. This latter figure was increased by 350 per cent to conform to the declining value of the cruzeiro. For example:

Alagoinhas: $\frac{\text{1948 cattle}}{\text{1940 cattle}} = \frac{26,060}{13,090} = 2$ (approx.)

1940 value of production = Cr.$825,000

Cr.$ 825,000 x 2 = Cr.$1,650,000

Cr.$1,650,000 x 3.5 = Cr.$5,775.000.

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[1]Ministério da Agricultura, Serviço de Estatística da Produção, "Population Pecuária, Em 31/12/1948."

814 phrase one hears often but without further elucidation. Although there are many ruins of old town houses and plantations dotting the area and even the town streets, few people can tell anything about them or about their former illustrious owners.
217 Almost no historical documents can be found in the town, as most of the old records have either been destroyed by insects and dampness or burned at intervals when there was no longer room for their storage, or else have come into private hands in small quantities. Most clerical records of the convent and mother church of the parish have disappeared, although undoubtedly some are stored in church archives in Salvador and
• [127] Olinda (Pernambuco). Some information was obtained from the office of the justice of the peace, where records go back to 1800 and consist mostly of testaments and inventories and records of a few lawsuits involving property, including slaves.

621 The community of Vila Recôncavo gives the impression of
609 being a large private preserve. The town serves as contact point with the outside. Although the inhabitants of the community frequently leave it for business or visits, it is seldom that a stranger enters the area. There are no facilities in the town or in the rural area to care for one who has no family ties in the community. Going along the roads of the community one can identify practically everyone encountered, if not by name then at least as to where he is from. The higher a person's position on the social scale, the more likely he is to be known by name to a great part of the community. Strangers are probably someone's guests. But the appearance of an unidentified person alone gives cause for speculation.

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Class B Families]

[Class C Families]

*565
585
[114]

plantation during the author's stay in the community, and her father gave her a large wedding. The wedding party left the plantation early in the morning in an oxcart decorated with white crepe paper, and proceeded to the town of Vila Recôncavo. The wedding was held in the Franciscan chapel. The townspeople did not attend the wedding or show any interest in it. Immediately after the ceremony the wedding party started back to the plantation, a five-mile trip. As each plantation nucleus was passed the cart stopped in front of the overseer's house, and small glasses of rum were passed to the guests, and the happiness of bride and groom was toasted.

[342]
[431]
[114]
[262]

On arrival at the new brick house which the groom's father had presented to the couple, the bride went into the kitchen to help her mother and the other women who were preparing the luncheon. Then she passed small glasses of wine to the guests. With the exception of Dona Sinhá and the author, the guests were all overseers from the neighboring plantations. The female guests were relatives of the bride. The meal consisted of everything the region had to offer: fish, shrimp, salads; roasts of beef, pork, lamb, and turkey; potatoes and farina; followed by fruits, desserts, and coffee. After all the men had eaten and moved into the living room to chat, the bride and the other women sat down in the dining room to eat.

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[125]

In a sample of eighteen Class B households (eleven urban and seven rural), fifteen couples were married by both civil and religious ceremonies. The remaining three couples were simply living together, a state known in northern Brazil as amasiado. In Class C a sample of ninety-five households (forty-one urban and fifty-four rural) showed twenty-three couples in the amasiado state, twenty-two married by civil and religious ceremonies, thirty-four married in church only, and eight by civil marriage alone. Eight of the couples sampled did not answer the question. In Class B, one partner in each of the three couples living in the amasiado state was married to someone else whom he or she had left.

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[161]
[127]

Nineteen civil marriages were performed in the entire county (population over 11,000) during the year of 1950. They are shown below by age group. Fifty religious marriages were performed during the same year throughout the five parishes attended by the Franciscans. Because of differences in the manner of recording the two types of marriages, however, no correlation could be worked out as to how many marriages were both civil and religious. There are no statistics avail-

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 S011 Bahia Brazilians S011
VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Class C Families]

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583
127

able for the total number of marital unions formed during the years, so it is impossible to know the percentage of amasiado unions throughout the entire population.

TABLE 8
CIVIL MARRIAGES BY AGE GROUPS

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162

Males		Females	
minors under 18	1	minors under 15	2
18-22	4	15-19	6
23-27	6	20-24	7
28-32	5	25-29	2
33-37	1	30-34	1
38-43	2	35-39	1
	19		19

585
583

There are occasions when a couple marry in the church only after having lived together for many years, at which time their children may be the principal witnesses at the wedding. Such a wedding always gives the couple a feeling of satisfaction and well-being, for there is sometimes a certain shame attached to the amasiado state, especially when it is necessary to fill in official forms such as birth registration, the census, or registration at the Institute of Vila Recôncavo. A woman who can say "meu esposo" or "meu marido" (my husband) feels a certain superiority over the one who can only say "meu homem" (my man).

842

The attitude toward children in Class C is somewhat ambivalent. Married women with as many as ten or twelve children may say they never wanted children, but simply "took what God sent." Frequently little girls pray that their mother will have another child so they may take care of it. All girls from the age of seven to thirteen or fourteen seem to like small children. There are few men who do not want children. Even though the mother may say she did not want them, she always seems pleased with them after they are born, and children, especially boys, are well loved and spoiled. Part of the women's gossip is often about another woman who is about to have a baby, and many women with five or six children of their own accuse others of having children "como ratos" (like rats) because they have eight or nine.

[521]

There is no use of contraceptives in Class C, although they

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

tional policy chose to assimilate the Negro rather than to segregate him; thus, with a significantly large Negro population, Brazil has no real race problem. Moreover, any Negro in Brazil who is qualified is given a status to which his abilities entitle him.

We are fortunate to have the original author, Dr. Donald Pierson, write the new introduction to the present work. Dr. Pierson, a man widely published in sociology, is a distinguished scholar, who has spent many years studying the Brazilian racial situation. In his new introduction, Donald Pierson has carefully reanalyzed his original work in terms of events which have transpired. In so doing he has integrated the significant scholarly publications which have emerged over the years. Although significant social changes have transpired in Brazil since the original publication of this work, the original formulations regarding race relations still remain valid, a testimony to the original perceptions of the author. The result is one of the most up-to-date analyses of race relations in Brazil today.

The author's original preface and the original introduction by Robert E. Park have been retained. Each gives a sense of historical continuity to the effort; and each contains comments for the present. Indeed, as suggested by Park, the task of maintaining an effective social order in the context of drastic social change constitutes one of man's greatest challenges; this observation is surely of contemporary relevance.

Herman R. Lantz

Southern Illinois University
January, 1966

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
BRAZIL SL1
East Brazil SN1

advanced in our study also describe regions "located far beyond the limits of the city of Bahia." Do these hypotheses also hold true, in general, for all Brazil? An extensive bibliography regarding the "racial" situation outside the Bahian area was analyzed in preparation for this Introduction, but limitations of space obviously make a detailed consideration of these studies impossible here.[26] One might suggest briefly, however, certain variants between Bahia, on the one hand, and, for instance, São Paulo, on the other.

The development of plantations came relatively late to the state of São Paulo, in comparison with northern Brazil; in fact, not many years before emancipation. As Samuel H. Lowrie (1938:9) reminds us, this area throughout much of its history saw few Africans or their descendants, in comparison to the plantation areas of the northeast coast. The "extreme poverty" of its early colonists did not permit the purchase of African slaves; nor was there at that time much demand for them, owing to the absence of plantations and the relative facility with which Amerindian slaves could be obtained for other services. The relations of master to slave involving Africans and their descendants began for most São Paulo owners when they were away from home, in search of gold or diamonds in Minas Gerais. These contacts on the whole were probably more categoric and less primary than those which ordinarily developed on the northern plantations. Although miscegenation involving Amerindians was basic to the formation of the original population of São Paulo, miscegenation involving Africans and their descendants, not only then but later, was much less here than in Bahia, Sergipe, or Pernambuco. Besides, European immigra-

[26] Perhaps such will appear elsewhere. Attention already has been called to a few of these materials (Pierson 1955).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

occur to a considerable extent among the older generation, they throw no light on the extent of miscegenation in recent times. Consequently, their relative frequencies do not ac-

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TABLE 3*

BIRTHS ACCORDING TO COLOR, BAHIA, 1932

Color	City Proper		Outlying Villages		Total	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Branco	1,482	33.3	65	11.0	1,547	30.7
Preto	659	14.8	114	19.3	773	15.3
Pardo	2,314	51.9	411	69.7	2,725	54.0
Total	4,455	100.0	590	100.0	5,045	100.0

[217]
[127]

* Source: City records deposited in the Secretaria de Saude e Assistencia Publica da Bahia.

TABLE 4*

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DEATHS ACCORDING TO COLOR, BAHIA, 1932

Color	City Proper		Outlying Villages		Total	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Branco	1,375	25.4	79	9.8	1,454	23.4
Preto	1,310	24.2	191	23.7	1,501	24.2
Pardo	2,722	50.4	536	66.5	3,258	52.4
Total	5,407	100.0	806	100.0	6,213	100.0

[217]
[127]

* Source: City records deposited in the Secretaria de Saude e Assistencia Publica da Bahia.

curately reflect the present racial distribution in the *total* population.

Bearing in mind these qualifications, we may note the color distribution among deceased at Bahia in 1932 (Table 4).

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

different occupational classes within each racial group are more frequent than intermarriage between members of the different racial groups in the same class, we should expect to find solidarity and co-operation for common ends organized along racial lines. The racial group would then assume more or less the character of a nationality or of a racial minority. On the other hand, if solidarity and co-operation were organized along class lines, then the struggle for status would take more or less the form of a class struggle.

• [127] Statistical data to resolve this problem are unfortunately not available in any depository in Bahia. Such information as it was possible to secure in the course of this study indicated that marriages cross race lines more often than class lines and that solidarity and co-operation tend to be organized along class lines.

Since, then, the blacks, mixed-bloods, and whites in Bahia do not constitute endogamous occupational groupings, the social structure is not that of caste. Although the hierarchy of occupations still takes a decidedly pyramidal form, and the white race, occupying superior status, has predominantly larger numbers in the upper brackets, and the black race, representing inferior status, is overwhelmingly dominant in the lower brackets, each race and the mixed-bloods are represented in all the occupational classes.

To the extent that the blacks, mixed-bloods, and whites fall into endogamous but not necessarily occupational groupings, one might say that the structure here takes the form of a racial minority, or a nationality, in free association with, but not accepted on a basis of social equality by, a dominant racial majority. Such is the relation of the Jew in Europe and, increasingly now, of the Negro in the United States. 000 Of the latter, Park has said:

4: Pierson Z-4.5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
BRAZIL SL1
East Brazil SN1

advanced in our study also describe regions "located far beyond the limits of the city of Bahia." Do these hypotheses also hold true, in general, for all Brazil? An extensive bibliography regarding the "racial" situation outside the Bahian area was analyzed in preparation for this Introduction, but limitations of space obviously make a detailed consideration of these studies impossible here.[26] One might suggest briefly, however, certain variants between Bahia, on the one hand, and, for instance, São Paulo, on the other.

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[26] Perhaps such will appear elsewhere. Attention already has been called to a few of these materials (Pierson 1955).

[SALVADOR]

/5/ Introduction

121 The subject of this monograph is the study of the social ascent of colored people /Fr. gens de couleur/ in a Brazilian city and the analysis of the mechanisms whereby this "vertical mobility" comes into play. The city that has been chosen as the field of investigation is that of Salvador (Bahia), which for a long time has been cited as a model of racial harmony.

The research project that served as the basis of this report included: 1st, an inquiry into the place given to colored people -- for the most part descendants of African Blacks or of the crossing of Blacks and Portuguese -- in the social groups surrounded by an aura of prestige and, in a general manner, in the upper classes of the society; 2nd, a description of the mechanism of social ascent; 3rd, a study of the way in which Whites and colored people react when confronted by this social phenomenon.

114 The research carried out under our responsibility began in February, 1951, and was pursued until October of the same year.

Our observations dealt with the racial composition of different social groupings and were carried out on the occasion of religious ceremonies, military or civic parades, school functions, academic sessions, or meetings of learned societies, balls, family festivals, and sports events. They were rounded out by visits to administrative and business offices, to stores, schools, clubs, and other places of work and recreation. We likewise examined the [127] portraits of colored people filed in the Bureau of Identification of the police of the State, of students or of school children photographed at the time of the promotion of their class, of members of religious brotherhoods, of recreational and social clubs, and finally of persons belonging to the liberal professions. When we had at our disposal only lists of names, the classification according to ethnic origin was entrusted to three or four individuals who were acquainted with the members of the group in question.

124 In addition to these investigations and the compilation of [127] data furnished by previous studies of a social, historical, ethnographic, and demographic nature, 56 Blacks and mulattoes were interviewed; they were chosen from a list of 128 names, which included a majority of colored people occupying a high position

/7 cont./

124 We also called on a limited number of white informants who had the reputation of being familiar with the problems of Bahia in
114 the past and the present. Born and raised in this city, where I have never ceased to dwell, I was also able to use my own experience.
127 In addition, we made use of announcements and editorial commentaries appearing in the periodicals and daily papers of Bahia and reflecting, up to a certain point, the stereotypes of the milieu studied.

121 A simple description of the racial situation in Bahia would not be adequate to make one understand the dynamism of this rising of the Blacks on the social scale. It has also been treated as a process of cultural and social change and therefore examined from a historical perspective; people have refrained, however, from going into details.

114 Our investigation, in one sense, was made difficult by the
127 scarcity of anthropological and sociological works on the society of Bahia. This city has been the subject of several historical studies in the course of recent years. One finds numerous references to the slave trade, to anthropometry, to phenomena of acculturation, and to African survivals, but, as Donald Pierson very rightly says in the work that we shall cite so often, there is only a meager literature on the conflicts or on the processes of adjustment that characterize race relations in Bahia. The book by Donald Pierson (1)

[113]

1. Donald Pierson, Negroes in Brazil. A study of race contact at Bahia. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1947.

is really the first and up to now the only one in which race relations in Bahia have been analyzed and presented according to the methods of modern sociology.

128 I do not pretend to have done exhaustive or definitive work on /8/ the very complex problem of the social mobility of colored people in Bahia. I wanted above all to be objective and to present the problems from a scientific point of view, by avoiding insofar as possible the snares of ethnocentrism so difficult to elude, even unconsciously, when one is a member of the culture that one is describing.

[SALVADOR]

/8 cont./

122 The realization of this project is due to the initiative of Unesco, which subsidized it and made it possible, thanks to an agreement made with the Foundation for the Development of Science in Bahia, within the framework of the program of social research of the State of Bahia and Columbia University. It is a pleasant duty for me to thank my friends: Professor Charles Wagley of Columbia University, in New York, for the well-informed collaboration that he has kindly given to the organization of the plan of investigation and to the investigation itself, as director of the program mentioned above; Professor Anisio S. Texeira for his clear discussion of certain topics of work and for the support he gave in his capacity as secretary general of the foundation. It is also necessary for me to thank Mr. Alfred Métraux of the Department of Social Sciences of Unesco, who approved our plans for the investigation and the choice of my person to direct it, who has had the kindness to read my notes, to discuss with me the numerous problems of the study, and to help me with his critical comments
114 and his authoritative opinions. I wish likewise to show my gratitude for the excellent co-operation that my assistants in the investigation gave me: Marie Amélie C. Leite, Professor of the School of Social Service of Bahia, Josildeth S. Gomes and Thérèse Cardoso, my students of anthropology of the faculty of philosophy of the University of Bahia, and my daughter Sylvia de Azevedo, as well as Mr. Maurilio Pinto da Silva, Jayme Abreu, and Louis R. Sena for other forms of unselfish collaboration, not excepting the excellent photographer Mr. Pierre Verger for his technical assistance. I thank, moreover, the recreational clubs, the religious
[127] brotherhoods, the schools, and the organizations that register professional work for having facilitated for me access to their card-
115 index cabinets and their registers. I wish finally to mention very
114 especially my informants, whom it is unfortunately impossible to name; I wish to express to them here all my gratitude for their good will and for the wealth of data and of personal experiences that they kindly entrusted to me and that I have utilized for a scientific purpose; I add that none of them can be held responsible for the way in which I have utilized this material.

January, 1952 Thales de Azevedo

[SALVADOR]

/23 cont./

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[113]

Brazil," in Brazil, Portrait of Half a Continent, p. 334.

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Because of crossbreeding and other sociobiological factors, the darkest group of black phenotype was gradually absorbed by ethnic blending; the Whites increased at a slightly faster rhythm, while the number of métis registered in the statistics as pardos rose and gave birth finally, as a result of the mixture, to a group in which European ancestry predominated (2).

2. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 417.

"Among our ancestors there were already creoles of "clean belly" (barriga limpa). Their children, being themselves /24/ children of lighter men, tended progressively toward the color of their fathers. Perhaps Bahia is a city that contains many female Blacks and métisses of barriga limpa. Everybody remarks that we are moving toward a population totally of mixed blood but of white appearance (1)."

1. J. Valadares, op. cit., p. 91.

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[113]

In consulting the death certificates recorded between 1897 and 1938 (2),

2. A. Rabelo Leite, "A tuberculose do preto na Bahia /The tuberculosis of the Black in Bahia/"; Cesar de Araujo, Anais do I° Congresso Nacional de Tuberculose /Annals of the First National Tuberculosis Congress/, Vol. I, 1930; see also E. F. Frazier, "The Negro Family in Bahia, Brazil," American Sociological Review, Vol. VII, No. 4, 1942, p. 467.

one can see that the proportional quantities of each type varies in our city as shown below:

[SALVADOR]

/24 cont./

• 127
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Year	Percentage of ethnic types		
	Whites	"Pardos"	Blacks
1897	32.61	29	38.39
1907	32.71	34.74	32.55
1917	32.81	39.55	27.64
1927	32.91	43.61	23.48
1938	33.02	47.37	19.61
1940 (1)	28.74	51.11	20.13

[114]

1. Figures of the national census, which differ from those relating to mortality because of a difference of evaluation in the classification of the types.

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*563 The rapid growth of the white group, through the incorporation of "whitened" métis, and thanks to the better social and economic conditions of the upper strata of the population, to which the vast majority of the descendants of Europeans belong, means that in the total figure, in relation to the Whites the proportion of colored persons is decreasing at the same time that the proportion of métis is increasing, which is clearly shown by the census:

Year	Proportions in relation to one White	
	Colored persons	"Pardos"
1872	3.16	1.88
1890	2.84	2.70
1940	2.57	2.55

*563 The intensity of crossbreeding is actually so great that, as a well-known intellectual of Bahia notes, "the autochthonous fino White is no more than a historic memory" (3).

[113]

3. Prado Valadares, Remirando o cáos /Again Considering the Chaos/, Bahia, 1933.

[SALVADOR]

/50 cont./

*563 444 464 829 0277 *563 44 464

informant, "girls of light color are more readily accepted in these occupations, perhaps because they are content with salaries that are not as high as those the young men demand."

The statistics released by the Bureau of Identification of the police of the State of Bahia confirm these data. The physical characteristics of 273 persons registered during several months of 1950 as merchants or employees of commercial firms were the following:

Position in commerce	Whites	Blacks	"Morenos"	"Pardos"	Métis	Total
Merchants:						
Men . . .	28	-	12	6	-	46
Women .	1	-	-	-	-	1
Employees in commerce:						
Men	80	10	63	42	13	208
Women. . .	8	-	8	2	-	18
Total . . .	117	10	83	50	13	273

One sees that among the merchants the majority is white; among the employees in commerce the majority is colored. This is explained by the fact that the profession of merchant is one in which the Whites predominate (1)

1. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 243.

in part because social ascent in this sector depends on financial possibilities. The informants in general could with difficulty mention the name of more than three or four colored persons having a notable position in commerce. Nevertheless, the names of some dark merchants who have occupied important offices in the Trade Association and in other important social institutions are mentioned.

[SALVADOR]

/67 cont./

*563 871 In principle the school in Brazil offers the same advantages to Whites and to Blacks, no law preventing or hampering enrollment for ethnic reasons. Nevertheless, inasmuch as the public school is of popular character, free, and the private school is an institution of the higher classes, there is a noticeable difference between the two categories with regard to the number of students of the one type and of the other. But both accept Whites and [162] Blacks. Just as the Whites are in the minority in the total population, the students of this type represent only 35 o/o in the public elementary schools, the Blacks represent about 20 o/o; the rest are pardo. In the private schools of the same level the Whites are as much more numerous as the establishment is more "choice"; one may find up to 90 or 93 o/o Whites there; in those attended by students of the intermediate social group one finds 15 to 25 o/o colored students, very light as a whole (1).

• [127] [114]

1. These data have been drawn from the reports of the secretariat of education of the State of Bahia and from the publications of the author on the anthropometric studies made in 1944 and 1947. For this work the author has proceeded with verifications in several public and private schools.

*563 873 In the public and private secondary schools the number of colored students, especially very dark ones, is smaller because they are attended in large part by young people planning liberal careers, which are, in a way, the lot of the Whites, although they are also accessible to colored persons. Among the young people of both sexes enrolled as students during the first three months of [162] 1950 at the Bureau of Identification of the civil police of the State, the following types were noted:

	Whites	Blacks	"Morenos"	"Pardos"	Métis	Total
Male sex . .	349	15	168	83	26	641
Female sex .	300	31	245	95	34	705
Total . .	649	46	413	178	60	1,346

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

[P. ii]

121 The field work on the agricultural systems of the Recôncavo, which formed the basis of the present study, was inspired by the interest and enthusiasm of the late Professor Leo Waibel. The development of the study owes much to the guidance and criticism of Professor John R. Borchert (of the Department of Geography, University of Minnesota) and Professor John C. Weaver (formerly of the Department of Geography, University of Minnesota). The various drafts of the study were read, in whole or in part, by Professor J. O. M. Broek and Dr. Robert Eidt (University of Minnesota), both of whom made many valuable suggestions for the improvement of organization and content. Dr. Erich Bordne and Professor Stephen Jones (of Yale University), generously read and criticised parts of the manuscript. Professor Herold Wiens (Yale University) also advised the author on several occasions.

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12 The research upon which this monograph was based was undertaken along two lines: statistical estimation and field investigation. The publication in 1950 of the 1940 agricultural census,[8] and crop,[9] and livestock[10] data for 1948 provided a body of statistical information for the minor civil divisions (municípios) of the Brazilian states. The assembly and tentative plotting of data from the above sources was the preliminary phase of the study. The variable quality and limited scope of the data made necessary an extensive field inquiry to validate and to extend the statistical analysis. The field investigation was divided into two sections: (1) general appraisal; and (2) intensive study of the two dominant agricultural sub-regions. In the general appraisal an effort was made to observe as many of the agricultural centers of the Recôncavo as the time available allowed. During the intensive [114] study the investigator lived in the two sub-regions in an attempt to observe and understand the covert as well as the overt agricultural phenomena of the community and the functional organization of the local economy.

128 The opening chapters of the study (Chapters II through IV) deal with the physical background, historical evolution, and social and demographic characteristics of the agricultural society of the Recôncavo. There follows an analysis of the distribution of the individual crops and of the total cultivated area (Chapter V) and a discussion of the combinations and functional associations of crops and the characteristic systems of cultivation (Chapter VI). The place of livestock in the pattern of crop cultivation is appraised in Chapter VII, and the distribution of various types of agricultural properties are discussed in Chapter VIII. The succeeding chapters deal with the value of agricultural products (Chapter IX) and with the marketing, transportation, and

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128 processing of these products (Chapter X). The conclusion (Chapter XI) summarizes the agricultural geography of the Recôncavo and discusses the problems of agricultural development in the region.

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132 agriculturalist responds to rainfall not as a statistical mean but as
132 rain falling from day to day and month to month. It is beyond the
128 scope of this study to analyze the day to day march of precipitation--indeed, the poor data available merit no more than a superficial analysis. By a study of deviations from the annual and seasonal averages, it is possible to draw general conclusions and to qualify the patterns on the climatic maps. The analysis below deals with the two meteorological stations of the Recôncavo with reasonably reliable data—Salvador and Cruz das Almas—and is for the years 1947 through 1952. This span includes both relatively wet and relatively dry years. The accompanying table (Table I) presents the complete summary of mean figures and deviations.

132 Though the movement of annual and seasonal totals for these two sections was similar, the deviations from the averages were significantly different, as the accompanying table (Table I) reveals. For the major wet season, Salvador had a mean deviation of 10 per cent, Cruz das Almas of 16 per cent. The greater mean deviation in the interior corresponds to the usual generalization of drier areas having a less reliable (more deviate) rainfall pattern. Thus the farmer of
[249] Cruz das Almas, cultivating tobacco and manioc with a minimum of
[244] seasonal rainfall, must cope with more serious deviations from the "expected" average than the sugar cane planter in his zone of relatively plentiful rainfall.

Of the 36 wet season months (March-August for 6 years), 14 months had less than 100 mm. at Cruz das Almas, and 100 mm. falling
[249] in "well-distributed" showers, is the minimum monthly growing season precipitation necessary for tobacco, the chief commercial crop.[25]

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TABLE I

132 SUMMARY OF PRECIPITATION DATA--SALVADOR, CRUZ DAS ALMAS

	1952	1951	1950	1949	1948	1947
			Annual Precipitation - mm.			
Salvador	1846.4	1662.6	1741.4	2343.4	2074.2	2880.6
Cruz das Almas	1010.6	845.8	948.3	1235.3	1319.3	1067.6*
			March-August Precipitation - mm.			
Salvador	1510.0	1355.4	1136.5	1496.6	1645.6	1324.1
Cruz das Almas	567.3	594.3	544.6	737.7	909.4	638.8
			Deviation from Mean of 1411.4 mm. for Salvador and from 665.3 mm. for Cruz das Almas - mm.			
Salvador	+98.6	-56.0	-274.9	+85.2	+234.2	-87.3
Cruz das Almas	-98.0	-71.0	-120.7	+72.4	+244.1	-26.5
			Per cent Deviation from Mean			
Salvador	+ 7	- 4	- 19	+ 6	+ 17	- 6
Cruz das Almas	-15	-11	- 18	+11	+ 37	- 4
			October-December "Trovoada" Precipitation - mm.			
Salvador	297.5	167.2	293.0	464.5	361.2	891.8
Cruz das Almas	429.5	155.4	188.2	367.6	309.5	456.7
			Deviation from Mean of 410.9 mm. for Salvador and from 317.8 mm. for Cruz das Almas - mm.			
Salvador	-113.4	-243.7	-117.9	+53.6	-49.7	+480.9
Cruz das Almas	+111.7	-162.4	-129.6	+49.8	- 8.3	+138.9
			Per cent Deviation from Mean			
Salvador	-28	-59	- 29	+13	-12	+117
Cruz das Almas	+35	-51	- 41	+16	- 3	+ 43

*The records of the Cruz das Almas station begin with April 1947. [128] Therefore, the annual and March-August totals are fictional totals in which the mean January, February, and March figures 1948-1952 have been used.

137 31 similar to caatinga sêca appear where soil and moisture conditions would seem to indicate caatinga grande. These areas are especially common where cultivation and grazing are intensive.

The wild vegetation of the Recôncavo is used for forage, timber, [313] and fuel. Only the mata is used for timber, and it is exploited only on a small scale. All three of the main vegetation types contribute toward supplying the local market with fuel--firewood and charcoal. The [314] mata is the principal charcoal source, especially in the forest zone northwest of the city of Salvador and along the Salvador-Feira de Santana highway. In the interior sections of the Recôncavo the caatinga and the agreste provide firewood for cooking and other household purposes. For grazing, the caatinga is far superior to the agreste and the mata, except when the latter is in the first stages of regrowth. Burning is employed extensively in an effort to increase the grazing value of the caatinga and agreste. At first this provides more grass and herbaceous growth, but after repeated burning and continuous over-grazing, there develops an impenetrable cover of thorny, tough brush, three to five feet tall, and quite valueless.[35]

13 Conclusion - Physical Setting. The analysis of the physical setting which is to serve as background for the discussion of agriculture in the Recôncavo does not reveal a homogeneous region. Rather it would seem that the Recôncavo is best visualized as a nodal region, with a relatively homogeneous but areally restricted core and a broad transitional perimeter. The perimeter is composed of several sub-regions, each with a distinctive transitional character. As a summation of [128] the physical setting, each of the sub-regions of the perimeter and core of the Recôncavo will be assigned a name, as a matter of convenience, with the physical elements briefly indicated for each:[36]

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433 241 178 Recôncavo remains today a backward and traditional agricultural society.

However, not all elements in Recôncavo life are static. In the field one was incessantly conscious both of the gradual course of change in this region and of the latent instability of its economic organization. Particularly in the last 75 years the agricultural economy of the Recôncavo has begun to shift--it is apparently in the throes of a drastic economic reorganization. It remains to be seen whether the traditional values will survive this economic revolution. [128] The brief historical discussion to follow is not intended as a substitute for a full-scale historical reconstruction. Its purpose is to indicate the major patterns in the evolution of the Recôncavo.

175 The Evolution of Colonial Agricultural Institutions. By the end of the initial half century of settlement (1600) those ethnic groups, crops, animals, and agricultural institutions which were to [567] become characteristic of the Recôncavo were already in evidence. Negro [249] slaves were brought in on the heels of the first Portuguese settlers,[3] [231] and sugar cane and cattle were also introduced at this time.[4] Tobacco [244] and manioc, produced by the Indians indigenous to the northeast of [249] [177] Brazil, were rapidly integrated into the colonial agriculture of the [249] Recôncavo.[5] The combined sugar mill and plantation (engenho), which [471] was the basic economic institution of the Recôncavo until the end of the nineteenth century, already existed in rudimentary form before 1600.[6]

175 249 [244] From the beginning the new colony in the Recôncavo had three important crops--sugar cane, tobacco, and manioc. It was the cultivation of sugar which the Portuguese crown and the initial settlers had

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CHAPTER IV

POPULATION

162 [161] Introduction. In 1950 there were about one million people living in the 12,500 square kilometers of the Recôncavo--0.15 per cent of Brazil's area and about 2 per cent of its total population.[1] A more meaningful comparison is one with the effectively occupied coastal belt extending from Maranhão to Rio Grande do Sul, including the interior state of Minas Gerais.[2] The Recôncavo occupies 0.4 per cent of the area of these states and has a little over 2 per cent of the people.

[361] The relatively modest size of this population does not reflect adequately the great historical importance of the Recôncavo. The compact distribution and cohesion of this settlement make it a significant concentration of the people of modern Brazil.

161 162 The Recôncavo is the foremost nucleus of settlement in the state of Bahia in both the historical and purely demographic sense. With its one million people, it had in 1950 almost 86 people per square kilometer. There were 3,800,000 people in the rest of the state, but there was no concentration which had a size and density equal to that of the Recôncavo. The only other areas with even approximately equal density—Santo Antônio de Jesus and Nazaré--were contiguous with the 633 162 Recôncavo. The chief city of the Recôncavo, Salvador, was fourteen times the size of any other urban center in Bahia, and of the five next most populous cities--with a population range of 20,000 to 30,000--two were in the Recôncavo.[3]

128 The discussion which follows is divided into two parts. First the general character of the population will be analyzed in terms of general cultural development, race, class, family, and economic

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128 orientation. This will be followed by a discussion of demography as a basis for the understanding of the agricultural economy.

181 The People of the Recôncavo - Introduction. The Recôncavo is the nucleus of a sub-culture which is a distinctive but integral part of the national culture of modern Brazil. Throughout Brazil the Baiano is characterized by a formality of behavior, an oratorical turn of speech, a sentimental attachment to the region of his birth, and a special accent which distinguishes him from the Mineiros, Paulistas, Gaúchos, or Pernambucanos of the other Brazilian regions.[4] These superficial distinctions seem to be a reflection of deep-seated differences in the culture and personality of the people who live in the Recôncavo and in the surrounding zone. On another level, the culture and personality of the people of the northeastern coast, including the inhabitants of the Recôncavo, is unlike that of the sertanejos (people of the arid northeastern interior--the Sertão).[5] Some of the culture and personality traits of the Recôncavo have a significant relationship to local agricultural phenomena.

178 181 241 567 The Baiano of today, as has been seen, is the product of several centuries of historical evolution along lines distinct from those of Central and Southern Brazil and to a lesser degree from those of the rest of the Northeast. A significant feature of the development of the Recôncavo was the social cohesiveness which derived in a large measure from the original strength and periodic re-enforcement of the slave labor latifundia system. Although this system was operative in other regions of Brazil, it was generally less highly organized, and its vestiges have had less impact on contemporary society. In the Recôncavo it remained the chief cohesive social force until the end of the nineteenth century, and cultural and economic survivals of the system remain in force today.

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128 Demography of the Recôncavo. The discussion of the composition and distribution of the population in the Recôncavo which follows is intended primarily as a basis for the study of agricultural phenomena. As such it is concerned with those population elements which are important in the production and distribution of agricultural products and in the servicing of the agricultural economy. The agricultural labor force is therefore the primary object of analysis, while the remaining population elements receive secondary consideration.

128 162 241 464 369 The population of the Recôncavo has been divided into two segments: (1) the rural population of the countryside and villages, which includes those engaged in direct agricultural production and those with a direct service or dependency relationship to agriculture; and (2) the urban population of the towns and cities, which has an indirect service or dependency relationship to agricultural production. (Table VI). The rural population has been subdivided in order to distinguish the agricultural labor force, consisting of those in direct agricultural production as workers or as administrators, from the service and dependent groups.[20] The accompanying table (Table VII) relates the area, total population, urban and rural population, and agricultural labor force of the 21 municipios of the Recôncavo.

241 464 [162] Agricultural Labor Force. Conceived in the narrowest sense, the basic human resource for agricultural production in the Recôncavo consists of the energy and skill of 196,000 agriculturalists--the agriculture labor force (Table VIII). In census terminology these are people ten years old or over who consider their principal occupation as that of employer, employee, or worker in crop cultivation (agricultura), animal husbandry (pecuária), or silviculture. In the Recôncavo these people are primarily cultivators and operators of farms

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 112]

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241 464 and plantations, and to a lesser extent, ranchers and vaquéiros (cowboys).[21] Silviculture is not an important occupation in the Recôncavo.

161 162 241 464 634 The mean density of the agricultural labor force for the Recôncavo was 15.7 per square kilometer. Since the distribution is very irregular, this mean density is far from representative of local situations--only six municípios had densities within 10 per cent of the mean. Because of the uneven distribution of cultivation, mean [128] figures for individual municípios, especially the larger ones, are likely to be equally misleading. In the discussion which follows [127] the gross distributions derived from census data have been modified on the basis of field observation and of inferences drawn from related demographic, cartographic, and agricultural information.[22]

161 162 241 464 The density of agricultural workers in the Central Recôncavo (Map 18) is appreciably higher than in the surrounding areas, except in the southwest. This central zone has densities in excess of 20 per square kilometer, and within it are four areas with densities in excess of 25 per square kilometer. Along the border of the Recôncavo, densities usually fall to 10 per square kilometer. However, this is not true of the more densely occupied "bridge" zone which connects the area of heavy concentration in the Recôncavo, south of the Rio Paraguaçu, with the "coffee area" to the southwest beyond the Recôncavo. The map of densities (Map 18) and the dot map (Map 17) of the agricultural labor force suggest that this population segment is clustered in areas which generally have an eccentric location in relation to such centers as Salvador and the Baía de Todos os Santos.

Over 20 per cent of the agricultural workers of the Recôncavo live along the southern, western, and northern extremes of the region,

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[14]See section by Charles Wagley in Wagley, op. cit., pp. 148-149.

B BB NB [585] [586] [671]

[15]Smith, op. cit., pp. 637-640, citing Anuário Estatístico do Brasil-1939/40, states that there were 687 church marriages for each civil marriage in Bahia. The number of common law marriages is, obviously, not precisely known. Brazilian statutes do not permit divorce from civil marriage.

BB [182] [541] [883]

[16]The chief exception to this social pattern is during Carnavál, when people of all classes "let themselves go." However, it is mainly the adolescents of the upper class who, for the moment, escape from the rigid social code of their class.

[17]As a consequence of the high mobility of the lower class, many of these community or neighborhood identifications are transitory. However, because of the free social intercourse within the class, the local relationships are quickly established and easily maintained. The core of local identification and of the community or neighborhood seems to be maintained primarily by the more stable upper-stratum of the class.

[18]The industries, trading houses, and exporters of Salvador are concerned to a large degree with agricultural products.

[19]For the United States, see Smith, op. cit., p. 221. For Brazil, calculated from the 1940 census.

BB [127]

[20]A special statement is required because the problems of deriving data for population in this region profoundly affect the reliability of the demographic analysis. At the time this analysis was made, only incomplete and preliminary population data from the 1950 census had been published. Total population data by political units—municípios and distritos—and by "urban" places were available. It was necessary to estimate the agricultural occupational data. The 1950 agricultural labor force was projected from the 1940 data on the basis of changes in the rural population. Because the agricultural labor force and the rural population of which it is a part are subject to approximately the same social and economic forces, it was assumed that the change in the latter could be used to project the 1950 size of the former. The tables showing the derivation of the agricultural labor force for 1950 are based upon this procedure.

BB [162] [463]

[21]In 1940 the composition of this occupational group—based upon a combination of population census and agricultural census data—for the state of Bahia was approximately as follows:

Independent operators	44 per cent
Members of family	27 per cent
Employees	24 per cent
Employers	2 per cent
Non-owner administrators	2.5 per cent

Thus less than 5 per cent of the agricultural labor force were administrators; the others were either cultivators, vaquéiros, or agricultural laborers. In the Recôncavo the administrative group probably was relatively smaller.

BB [128]

[22]In a region of such large statistical areas and diverse physical resources, it is almost inevitable that mean figures for some municípios, such as Feira de Santana, Alagoinhas, Irará, or, most of all, Santo Amaro,

000 BB [128] should be misleading. District data are desirable, but occupational breakdowns for these smaller political units are available neither for 1940 nor 1950. Furthermore, the areas of these districts cannot be calculated with even minimal accuracy from existing sources. Thus the distribution of rural population and agricultural labor force within municípios is largely a matter of inference. For example, the 1950 agricultural labor force was estimated, as has been seen, from the 1940 data and changes in rural population. Densities for each município were calculated from these estimates, and these densities were used as guides, in conjunction with the total populations of the various districts, in determining the distributional patterns of the map of the density of the agricultural labor force and the dot map of agricultural labor force. These maps are thus inferential distributions of inferred data.

[23]Smith, op. cit., p. 297.

BB [435] [24]Labor turnover is one of the explanations proffered for the high cost of sugar production in Bahia.

[25]The explanations offered by these migrants are various: lack of opportunity, a hostile or unfriendly landlord or creditor, a quarrel within the family or neighborhood, crop failure, or a desire to be near relatives.

[26]Joint Brazil-United States Economic Development Commission, The Development of Brazil (Institute of Inter-American Affairs, Foreign Operations Division. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1953), p. 16.

BB [096] [27]However, these people muster tremendous energy for festas (holidays or feast days), especially Carnavál. At such a time, a middle-aged lady with a chronic heart condition was observed to dance, in a procession, for several miles down the road. During the novena of Nossa Senhora de Purificão in Santo Amaro, the troups of performers will journey many miles to attend the celebration, dance and sing throughout the nights of each of the nine days, and without rest return to their homes.

BB [633] [28]The people of nine urban centers of the Recôncavo--Salvador, Feira de Santana, Alagoinhas, Cachoeira-São Félix, Santo Amaro, Maragogipe, Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, and São Gonçalo--are thus excluded from the rural population. These are the nine ranking cities of the Recôncavo, and all except São Gonçalo have more than 5,000 people. In addition to industry, those transportation, financial, retail, trade, and administrative functions which are not strictly local are confined to these urban centers, as well as wholesale trade and international commerce.

B [631] [633] [29]It is significant that Brazil has no urban political unit per se--the município or the distrito has both urban (city, town, or village) and rural sections without administrative expression.

B BB [665] [662] [850] [30]In this society there are many women, especially in the lower class, who can scarcely be considered as dependent. Moreover, as has been seen, children are also frequently productive members of lower class families. In the upper class of the villages and towns, however, there are many children and housewives whose activities are either purely domestic or are only indirectly productive.

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CHAPTER V

CROPS AND CROPLAND DISTRIBUTION

BB 241 133

Introduction. The Recôncavo is an enclave of cultivated land facing on the sea and more than half surrounded by the Sertão of Northeastern Brazil. It is one of a number of detached areas of dense settlement and intensive crop cultivation scattered along the northeastern coast--Pernambuco, Sergipe, Alagoas, and the states of the northern coast of the "bulge" of Brazil have similar coastal nuclei. Indeed, this littoral mode of settlement is characteristic of Brazil, although in the center and the south of the country the concentrations of settlement and cultivation are usually separated from the ocean by a belt of rough hills or mountains. A glance at a population map clearly reveals that Brazil is a coastal nation as far as the distribution of its people is concerned; indirectly such a map demonstrates the coastal distribution of crop cultivation. In this, Brazil somewhat resembles the United States at the opening of the nineteenth century when it, too, was altogether a nation of the Atlantic seaboard. The specific nuclear character of the Recôncavo dates from the beginning of its settlement—it was from the first a region of crop cultivation, and the settlement of the sertão of Bahia derived from the people and needs of the Recôncavo. During the four centuries since the Portuguese first came, the crops, animals, and systems of production of the Recôncavo have retained much of their original character.

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The present chapter deals with the principal activity of the Recôncavo, the production of crops. As a preliminary to the discussion of the individual crops and their distributions, it is appropriate to

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128 241 sketch the modes of cropland distribution which are characteristic of the region. This introductory discussion will be extended in the conclusion of the chapter, when it will be possible to discuss the general patterns of cropland distribution and the changes in the intensity of land use in terms of the specific component crops. The details of the practices of cultivation will be discussed in Chapter VI.

241 311 The mean intensity of crop cultivation within the Recôncavo is high only in terms of the surrounding sertão. Indeed, there are very [171] few areas of Brazil of any great size in which the intensity of land use is comparable to that of such areas as Northwestern Europe, Japan, India, or even the Midwest of the United States. The landscape of the Recôncavo is composed of a series of small, intensively utilized areas separated and surrounded by zones in which the cultivation of crops is scattered. As a result, the mean intensity of cultivation is low—for the Recôncavo generally, mean figures for agricultural phenomena tend to mask great differences between specific areas. As will be seen, the chief concentrations of crop cultivation are in the Central Recôncavo and on the seaward edge of the Uplands. The principal zones of scattered cultivation are in the Intermediate Hills, in the littoral forest behind the beach line, and on the interior margins of the Uplands where the Recôncavo gradually gives way to the sertão.

241 Even within the areas of relatively intensive cultivation, there are many interruptions. These gaps are not very conspicuous within the restricted confines of the sugar-cane growing Central Recôncavo, but elsewhere the continuity of the fields is broken by patches of second growth and by the slopelands and wet valley bottoms. Most of the cultivated areas of the Recôncavo seem to reflect the grudging acquiescence of nature to the efforts of man and not the triumph of the cultivator

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127 the errors concerned crops of trivial importance, but occasionally the
241 use of such erroneous data would have produced serious misinterpretations. Where this has been the case, it was necessary to estimate a more appropriate figure. Such estimates were developed by inferences from related
127 128 statistical data supported by observations in the field. The procedures
241 which were employed are illustrated in full in Appendix D through a detailed analysis of the data (for manioc) which were most thoroughly modified in this fashion. Wherever modified, rather than official data have been used in the text, the official data and the basis of modification have been indicated in a footnote or in the appendix.

241 433 Crops and Animals of the Recôncavo. A very large number of crops are known to the agriculturalists of the Recôncavo, but the number of important crops is small. It is convenient to divide these into three groups--basic subsistence crops, basic commercial crops, and supplementary (minor subsistence and commercial) crops. As will be seen, many subsistence crops have their commercial importance, but the present concern
241 is only with a broad grouping. The crops of the Recôncavo are listed
433 below, together with their local names and the area of their cultivation
192 in 1948:

Basic Subsistence Crops:		
Manioc or Cassava (Mandioca)	22,472	hectares
Corn (Milho)	9,679	"
Beans (Feijão)	7,034	"
Bananas (Banana)	1,069	"
Peanuts (Amendoim)	550	"
Sweet Potatoes (Batata doce)	344	"
Basic Commercial Crops:		
Tobacco (Fumo)	21,886	"
Sugar Cane (Cana de Açúcar)	11,695	"
Coffee (Café)	2,941	"
Orange (Laranja)	1,116	"
Coconut (Côco)	876	"

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Footnotes - Chapter V

000 [1]The outstanding example of the ribbon development of cropland is along the highway which traverses the Crystalline Uplands from Santo Antônio to Feira de Santana. Each of the cidades along this road—Conceição do Almeida, Cruz das Almas, Muritiba, São Félix, Cachoeira, Conceição da Feira, and São Gonçalo—is the center of an intensively cultivated zone and is connected with the others by a belt of cropland running along the highway. In part this ribbon development is the result
[133] of restrictive factors; in Conceição da Feira and São Gonçalo the inten-
[132] sively cultivated strip runs between the rough Intermediate Hills on the east and the dry caatinga on the west. The same negative relationships are characteristic of the Southwestern Recôncavo, but the intermediate zone of acceptable terrain and climate is here broader than in the north.

[2]Produção Agrícola: 1948.

[3]Ministério da Agricultura, Serviço de Estatística da Produção, "Pobulação Pecuária, Em 31/12/1948."

[4]For a map of manioc production in Latin America, see: Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, Map of "Manioc Estimated Production Latin America," Agriculture in the Americas, Vol. III, Nos. 8-9 (August-September, 1947), p. 120.

• [128] [5]A more detailed discussion of processing of farinha de mandioca is given in Chapter X.

[6]Ruth Matos Almeida Simões, "Comentário do Mapa da Produção de Mandioca no Estado da Bahia," Boletim Geográfico, Vol. XI, No. 112, (January-February, 1953) pp. 84-86.

[7]It is likely that the official figures underestimate the area and production of manioc. A considerable part of the crop is grown on small plots remote from political centers and well-traveled routes and may thus have escaped the enumerator. Moreover, its cultivation is so commonplace and its exchange often so local and in such small quantities that even tax-conscious local government officials may easily be unaware
[127] of small and scattered plots which in sum may bulk fairly large. Some of the official data which have been used in the analysis of manioc cultivation, production, and value have been modified. For a discussion of these modifications and for maps based upon the unmodified data, see Appendix D.

[8]Conceição do Almeida, Cruz das Almas, and São Filipe.

[9]This popular and official view underestimates the importance of
[128] manioc production in its own right. The commercial element in manioc production is discussed in Chapter IX.

[10]The system of manioc cultivation will be discussed in conjunc-
[128] tion with the tobacco-manioc system in Chapter VI.

[245] [11]The "coffee zone" of Bahia includes a number of municípios, from Laje (adjoining Santo Antônio) to Jequié along the Estrada de Ferro Nazaré

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[12]Centered in the município of Valença.

[127] [13]In the comparison of yields here and in the following discussion, the data for Brazil and for the other countries or regions have been taken from the 1948-1950 yields as given in: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Yearbook of Food and Agricultural Statistics 1953, Vol. VII, Part I (Rome, Italy: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, 1954), pp. 1-334.

[128] [14]For a more detailed discussion of tobacco grades and zones, see Appendix E.

[15]Because of the great variations in tobacco area from year to year, the data for a single season are a less reliable guide to characteristic distribution for tobacco than for most other crops of the Recôncavo. The modifications which have been made in the official data are given in Appendix D.

[16]See Appendix E.

[17]The great local variation in yield in these zones is probably due to the concentration of the small quantity of tobacco in areas of highly diverse soils and irregular precipitation.

[18]However, this comparison should be considered with regard for the harvesting practices mentioned above.

[19]In ten of the thirteen years from 1939 to 1951, the area planted in tobacco in the Recôncavo rose and fell in accordance with the price of the preceding year. Data from: Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, Contribuição
[127] do Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, A Report Prepared for the First National Tobacco Congress (Salvador, Bahia: Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, 1952), pp. 1-16.

[20]The sources used in the discussion of tobacco production for
[127] 1931 to 1951, in this and the following paragraphs, were: (1) Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, Contribuição do Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, pp. 1-16; and (2) Antonio Nonato Marques, Geografia do Fumo na Bahia (Salvador, Bahia: Centro de Estudos Ruralistas Nonato Marques [1952]), pp. 1-85.

[128] [21]For a more detailed discussion of this aspect of tobacco-manioc cultivation, see the discussion of the tobacco-manioc system in Chapter VI.

[127] [22]The common practice of corn-bean interculture raises a problem in the interpretation of the statistical data which is discussed in Appendix D, as are modifications in the official data for corn.

[241] [23]The typical American or European garden, a permanent area for
[35] the production of household vegetables, fruits, and herbs, is practically unknown in the Recôncavo. Garden crops are grown at odd places within the cultivated areas or scattered around the houses, except for a few small, fenced plots for food production within the sugar cane zone. In all these gardens there is a very limited variety of crops.

[128] [24]The system of sugar cane cultivation will be discussed in Chapter VI.

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[127] [25]The official data for banana production have been adjusted, as is shown in Appendix D. According to: Immigration and Colonization Council, Modern Brazil (Rio de Janeiro: Immigration and Colonization Council, 1949), p. 119, a bunch of Brazilian bananas contains an average of 60 fruits and weighs 8 kilograms.

[351] [565] [26]Indeed, bananas are common plants within the city. Each upper class house, perched on top of the ridge, has its banana grove on the declivity behind. In the valley bottoms, banana plants surround the adobe houses of the lower class.

[27]These yields are offered for the purpose of general comparison. The diversity of conversion figures used in estimating the weight of bananas does not allow for precise comparison.

[127] [28]The official data for area in coffee in São Filipe apparently is a three-fold exaggeration, unless the yields are incredibly low. The production data are more reasonable.

[244] [29]Although manioc is not an annual plant, it is usually harvested in the Recôncavo before it is a year old. It seems more useful to classify these plants as annuals or perennials by their respective systems of cultivation rather than by their botanical characteristics.

[30]This comparison is somewhat unfair to Paraíba and Alagoas, since these states both include extensive non-agricultural areas, while the Recôncavo is an area specifically selected on the basis of intensity of agricultural land use.

[128] [31]For a comparison of 1940 and 1948 cultivated and agricultural area, see Appendix F.

[127] [249] [32]The cropland figure for Serrinha, derived from the 1948 data, is 25 per cent larger than the cultivated area given in the 1940 census. A complicating and contradictory line of evidence is supplied by the data on tobacco production, which is usually a good index of crop cultivation changes in this area. The tobacco production of Serrinha showed a decided decline from 1940 to 1948. It can only be assumed, in the light of the obvious growth of the cidade, that there was some expansion, but in food crops rather than in tobacco.

[33]The region which includes these two municípios follows the railroad from Nazaré to Jequié--the Estrada de Ferro Nazaré--and includes all the municípios touched by the line. In general this is thought of as a "coffee zone," but in its eastern section other crops, notably sugar cane and tobacco, displace coffee as the chief commercial products. Where this region approaches the Recôncavo most closely, in northern Santo Antônio, it is difficult to draw the boundary between the two. However, in 1948, even in 1953, the basic economic associations of Santo Antônio were with the railroad zone.

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CHAPTER VI

CROP REGIONS AND SYSTEMS

128 241 The discussion in the preceding sections has emphasized the analysis of the character and distribution of individual crops. As has been suggested, the Recôncavo has several specific crop associations, particularly manioc with tobacco and corn with beans, and several monocultural systems--sugar cane, coconuts, and coffee. The discussion which follows will deal with the crop associations and monocultures as areal and as functional groupings--a first step in the synthetic development of the sub-regional and regional patterns of agriculture in the Recôncavo. Since the município tends to be a highly integrated micro-region with a distinctive pattern of crops and cropland, the first level of generalization is this politically delimited local area. The summation of the crop pattern of the local area leads to the determination of the region in which crops are cultivated in isolation or in co-existence and in which co-existent crops are cultivated in interdependent crop systems.

128 241 311 Crop Ranks. In order to determine the areal importance of the principal crops in relation to each other, the crops of the several municípios of the Recôncavo and the adjoining regions were ranked in accordance with the amount of the cropland area which they occupied. The accompanying series of maps, based upon these rankings, reveal that more cropland was devoted to manioc (Map 65) than any other crop 241 311 in seven municípios. Tobacco occupied this position in six municípios, sugar cane in four municípios, corn in three, and cocomuts in one. The relative area devoted to these five most cultivated crops varied from

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241 311 In many municípios on the north, west, and southwest of the Recôncavo, where corn and beans were the first and second crops, manioc and tobacco were third and fourth or vice versa. On the other hand, sugar cane was rarely a significant crop in any município where either corn, beans, tobacco, or manioc occupied a leading position.

128 241 311 Crop Combinations and Monocultures. The crop combinations shown on Map 71 and Map 72 exist on two levels, as statistical combinations of the crops of various municípios and as functional associations of crops grown in an interdependent system.

241 311 The statistical crop combinations of the Central Recôncavo do not correspond to functional systems of cultivation, for although sugar cane, manioc, and tobacco are produced within individual municípios, the cultivation of sugar cane is entirely separate. The manioc and sugar cane of São Filipe and the tobacco and coffee of São Félix are also cultivated separately. The statistical combinations, therefore, merely summarize the economic specialization and diversification of the município economies. The tobacco-manioc and the corn-bean combinations of most municípios of the perimeter of the Recôncavo, from Alagoinhas on the northeast to Conceição do Almeida on the southwest, signify functional as well as statistical relationships. On the other hand, monocultural systems dominate within the Central Recôncavo and in a few other places. The areas in which the individual functional combinations and monocultures predominate are delimited as nodal crop regions on Map 73. The arrows on the map (Map 73) indicate the intermeshing of crop regions in the transitional zones.

249 244 311 The most extensive of the crop regions belongs to tobacco and manioc. In this region, which extends from the Southwestern Recôncavo in a long arc to the Eastern Recôncavo, at least 70 per cent and usually

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249 161 361 The portion of the sugar cane region north of the Bay is an area of relatively dense rural population, with a large number of villages and plantation settlements and one city--Santo Amaro. The remaining areas of the sugar cane region have only moderately dense rural populations and no major urban centers, although the cidade of Nazaré is very close to the southern border of São Filipe.

[128] The tremendous historical significance of the sugar cane region has been discussed at length in the section on the historical setting of the Recôncavo. 249 198 As far as the sugar cane zone of Santo Amaro, São Francisco, and São Sebastião is concerned, the extent of the region does not appear to have changed very much since colonial times. Old engenhos are found throughout the zone, indicating past cultivation in all areas now in cane. The present usinas cultivate sugar cane intensively clear across the Cretaceous zone, so that it is not likely that the cane area has contracted. However, there are several abandoned engenhos and settlements on the north and east shores of the estuary of the Paraguaçu which seem to indicate that sugar cane cultivation was formerly more extensive around the Bacia do Iguape.

244 249 311 The two intensive crop regions of tobacco and manioc and sugar cane, as outlined above, can be viewed as nodal areas which are basic to the regional distinctiveness of the Recôncavo; they are for all practical purposes included totally within its limits; their crop patterns are not duplicated in any nearby area; and they include within their boundaries a very large part--and the most productive part--of its agricultural area.

241 311 In distinction to the above intra-Recôncavo regions there are at least three crops which overlap the borders of the Recôncavo, forming crop regions which have their most characteristic development in adjoining areas. The Atlantic coast of Salvador and Itaparica supports

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233 lower intensity of crop cultivation beyond the Recôncavo gives livestock greater relative importance around the periphery.

Cattle were the most numerous of the major livestock in the Recôncavo in 1948, except in four municípios--Cruz das Almas, Conceição do Almeida, São Filipe, and Itaparica, where there were more swine. Cattle were also the most numerous livestock in all municípios bordering the Recôncavo on the east and north and in Castro Alves on the west.

233 433 Apparently the total cattle population in the Recôncavo is increasing rapidly. In 1940 there were only 250,000 cattle in the Recôncavo; in 1948, 394,990. It is inferred from both the state livestock data for 1952[5] and from field observation that this growth continued through 1953, though probably at a more moderate rate. Unfortunately, a comparison of the total cattle population of most of the municípios in 1940 with the number in 1948 does not provide a clear basis for generalizations which can be checked against the situation as [128] observed in the field. Either many of the data are in error, or the changes in cattle population were often unrelated to the general pattern of agricultural development in many municípios. Some of the changes indicated by the data can be accepted without too much question--the growth of the cattle population of Feira de Santana, 206 per cent, is a concomitant, it seems likely, of the general increase in cattle population in Bahia. It is possible that the contemporary growth of the city of Salvador and the improved transportation system have produced a precipitous decline in the cattle population in the sub-urban area and an increase in the tributary area beyond--Camassari, Mata de São João, and Pojuca. The population growth of the cidade of Alagoinhas apparently has resulted in a local displacement of cattle fazendas but in a peripheral expansion of livestock production. The decline

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[128] [7]The marketing system of tobacco will be treated in the chapter on marketing. The development of the supervisory government agencies was discussed in the chapter on the evolution of the Recôncavo.

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CHAPTER IX

VALUE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

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The analysis of the distribution of cropland and of the quantity of production has established the Recôncavo as a distinctive regional unit of Bahia and of Brazil without formulating clearly the importance of the region to the state or the nation. Similarly, the internal differentiation of the region has been discussed in terms of various municípios, sub-regions, and crop regions without establishing the basic importance of these to the Recôncavo except as components of the agricultural landscape or as producers of crops with an unspecified value. Although the value of agricultural production is not exclusively economic, monetary value is one of the most useful general standards for estimating the collective and individual importance of diverse agricultural products.

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The tables and discussion which follow have three purposes: (1) the estimation of the importance of the Recôncavo and its individual products to the Brazilian and the Bahian economy; (2) the determination of the importance of individual products within the economy of the region; and (3) the evaluation of the economic importance of the crop regions, previously delimited, to the Recôncavo.

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The total value of the crops of the Recôncavo was less than 1 per cent of the total value of crop production in Brazil in 1948, based upon a comparison of the value of 21 principal crops of Brazil and of the Recôncavo which are given in Table XV. Although for several centuries the region was an outstandingly productive center of the Brazilian economy, today it plays a secondary role even within Bahia. In recent decades the southern coast of the state, growing cacao for foreign markets, has

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Except in the
241 southwest and around Salvador, commercial crops produced only 40 per
433 cent of the total value of all crops. It is apparent that agriculture in the Recôncavo is by no means universally commercial. Moreover, in all parts of the Recôncavo except the sugar cane area, there are small agriculturalists who produce few commercial crops and are thus virtually subsistence cultivators.

241 The estimated value of livestock production was less than that of
231 crops in all areas of the Recôncavo except Feira de Santana, and, except
233 in Feira de Santana and Alagoinhas, less than half the value of crops
433 (Map 128). In the chief commercial crop areas--Central and Southwestern Recôncavo--livestock production had about 10 per cent of the value of crops. These areas, on the evidence of value as well as land use and quantity of production, have highly commercial crop economies. Only Feira de Santana can be said to have a livestock economy, and in this area livestock production is concentrated around the cidade, and the rest of the município has a predominately crop-producing economy.

128 The table which follows (Table XVIII) summarizes the distribution
241 of the value of crops and animals in the principal regions and zones
231 of production. These areas accounted for 82 per cent of the total
233 value of agricultural production in the Recôncavo in 1948. The data
433 of this table give further evidence of the tremendous economic importance of the tobacco-manioc and sugar cane regions to the Recôncavo.

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000 Footnotes - Chapter II

[127] [1]The data used in the discussion of the value of agricultural production have been drawn from the following sources: 1948 crop data--Produção Agrícola: 1948; 1948 livestock data--"Pobulação Pecuária, Em 31/12/1948;" 1940 crop and livestock data--Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

[128] The modifications which have been made in the data taken from Produção Agrícola: 1948 are explained in Appendix D. The method used in estimating the value of livestock production in 1948 is explained in Appendix G.

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CHAPTER X

MARKETING, TRANSPORTATION, AND PROCESSING OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS

44 Introduction. The institutions of marketing, processing, and transportation in the Recôncavo are of two basic types, local and regional. Those which serve the local economies, that is, the municípios, are traditional. These are the municipal market and the casa de farinha (manioc mill). The institutions which serve the regional economy--sugar [178] and tobacco processing plants and marketing systems--have their traditional element but have been extensively modified in the last half 489 century. Much the same division is reflected in the transportation systems of the Recôncavo, for although the chief media within the local economies are essentially traditional and primitive, the transportation • 128 net of the region as a whole has a number of modern features. The discussion which follows will deal with the various institutions which have developed in the Recôncavo to accommodate the marketing, transportation, and processing of the more important agricultural products.

443 Marketing of Agricultural Products. Municipal markets play an important role in the exchange of the agricultural products in the Recôncavo as in most of Brazil. Large quantities of agricultural goods are sold within the local area in which they are produced, and much of this exchange takes place within the municipal market. The feira is the regular open market which usually is held once a week in the smaller centers but somewhat more frequently in the larger cities. It [366] is usually housed in a public building, the municipal mercado. The other type of municipal market is the matadôuro municipál (slaughter

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CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSION

128 In the preceding chapters the results of a statistical appraisal and a field investigation of agriculture in the Recôncavo have been presented. As a conclusion it seems appropriate to: (1) summarize the findings; and (2) discuss the potentialities of the Recôncavo for agricultural development

433 241 Like most of the densely-settled east coast of Brazil, the Recôncavo is engaged primarily in the production of crops. This is true not only of the region as a whole, but also of each of its individual parts excepting only the area around the cattle market town of Feira de Santana. The total cultivated area of the region, about 6.4 per cent 241 311 of the land surface, was almost evenly divided in 1948 between purely commercial crops--tobacco, sugar cane, coffee, oranges, and coconuts--and subsistence-commercial crops--manioc, corn, beans, bananas, peanuts, and sweet potatoes. About 70 per cent of the cropland was used for the three predominant crops--manioc, tobacco, and sugar cane. Livestock production is associated with crop cultivation in many parts of the 231 233 241 Recôncavo, but the region is also dependent upon the sertão of Bahia for livestock, which are driven into Feira de Santana and are used in several different areas within the region.

249 244 433 The three principal crops as determined by cultivated area--tobacco, manioc, and sugar cane--accounted for 77 per cent of the total value of crops in 1948, and no other crop accounted for more than [231] [233] 6 per cent of the total value. Thus agriculture in the Recôncavo is primarily concerned with these three crops and with the production

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241 The following assumptions underlie the discussion of the potentialities for agricultural development in the Recôncavo: (1) The Recôncavo, at least for the immediately foreseeable future, will remain a primarily agricultural region, i.e., agricultural production will remain the basic source of wealth. (2) Probably the region will continue to be dependent upon distant markets, either in central Brazil, Europe, or in the United States. (3) The population of the region apparently will continue to grow, as the result of the natural increase and probably as a result of continued migration from the sertão. If these assumptions are correct, two conclusions seem almost inescapable: (1) Commercial agriculture, at least partially oriented toward outside markets, will continue to be essential to the region, and, if imports are to keep pace with the growing population, will have to be expanded. (2) Greater food production will be necessary. It should be noted that these assumptions and conclusions are probably valid for Brazil as a whole as well as for the Recôncavo. Moreover, they are merely a restatement of the situation in which both the nation and region have found themselves for the last four centuries.

The two problems of food and export crop production are closely related--arable land is limited in the Recôncavo, and food production is necessary for the operation of the commercial agricultural economy. These two problems in their turn are inseparable from the physical and social context in which they exist. It is the particular advantage of agricultural geography that it provides the framework within which specific agricultural problems may be evaluated in relation to the
128 relevant human and physical environmental factors. The discussion
241 which follows will deal with the two basic problems of agricultural development under the following categories: (1) the sugar industry;

128 241 (2) tobacco production; (3) manioc production; (4) the land rotation system; and (5) alternative agricultural products.

249 471 For three centuries the sugar industry was the basis of the commercial economy of the Recôncavo, and for the last century it has continued to play an important role. As a result of its long and profitable history, it has a number of advantages as a basis for agricultural development. Its capital assets are large--the best land in the region, a number of industrial plants, and a transportation network. Moreover, its [565] land is organized into large units, many of which are under the control of a single company, and all of which are under the control of a small group of the upper class. The industry has a large administrative staff, the most experienced in the region in large-scale enterprises--the organization of agricultural and industrial production, labor, transportation, and finance. It has the very great advantage of good political connections and government support. A part of the industry, [242] composed chiefly of the largest usinas, has had some experience with improved varieties of cane, and on a very limited scale with mechanization.

249 471 433 Against these advantages are a number of limiting factors. Most of the local capital of the sugar industry apparently is committed in the present plant. The sugar economy of the Recôncavo is large scale only in relation to the other agricultural enterprises of the region--the mean daily capacity of the mills can scarcely exceed 500 ton. Moreover, many of the mills are obsolescent--there is only one new usina, and only the larger mills have very much new equipment. Despite [464] the presumed administrative skill of the industry, labor has been one [178] of the continuing problems since the deterioration of the old feudalistic [466] employer-employee relationships of the late nineteenth century. However,

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APPENDIX D

Changes in Crop Data

241 433 127 128 [659] The crop data in Produção Agrícola: 1948 were gathered by statistical agencies of the Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística established in each cidade of Bahia and of most other states in Brazil. The quality of statistical data assembled is highly variable, depending in part upon the efficiency of the agent but also upon the size of the município and upon whether the products are easily assessable, or are marketed locally, and a number of other factors. In a number of cases it has been necessary to modify obviously erroneous parts of the official data, which were sometimes contradictory and sometimes at variance with the agricultural pattern as determined by field investigation. This usually has been done by interpolating from other more creditable data from the same basic source or from other sources. In the following pages the important changes which have been made in the data for various crops will be discussed, and maps based upon the original data will be presented.

When the data for area, production, and value were combined to determine yield and price, and these relationships were mapped, certain obvious errors and a number of clues to the direction and extent of error were discernible because the general outline of price and yield pattern in the Recôncavo was clear. Generally one of the three base figures--area, production, or value--was accepted as valid and the others adjusted to bring yield and/or price into line. Because of an almost complete lack of property surveys, the crop area data are at best a gross estimate and liable to great error. On the other hand, [443] [659] the location of the statistical bureau in the cidades, usually the primary market, does give opportunity to make reasonably close estimates of value and production, at least of marketed crops.

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241 of value and production, at least of marketed crops. The choice between
433 value or production as a base figure for correction was dependent upon
127 the individual case and the generally expected pattern of price and
128 yield.

244 Manioc. The basic shortcomings of the manioc data were clearly
433 revealed when area and production figures were combined to show yield.
127 While the mean calculated yield for the Recôncavo was 16.3 tons per
128 hectare, the mean calculated yield for individual municípios varied from 5.3 tons per hectare for Salvador to 39.0 tons per hectare for São Filipe (Map 130). Certain variations, related to precipitation, soil, and intensity and care of cultivation, are to be expected, but the yield maps revealed incredible contrasts. Especially noteworthy was the case of São Filipe, with its yield of 39 tons per hectare. Adjoining Cruz das Almas and Conceição do Almeida, with similar and if anything more efficient practices of cultivation and with similar soils and climate--especially since most manioc in São Filipe is grown in the area adjoining Cruz das Almas and Conceição do Almeida--produced only 14 and 10 tons per hectare, respectively. It was apparent that at least one element in the São Filipe data was in error. The other municípios with exceptionally high yields--São Francisco, with 34.5 tons per hectare, and Santo Amaro, with 25.3 tons per hectare--probably can be explained by high productivity when manioc is grown on a small and intensive scale on the more fertile clay soils.

In São Filipe the yield calculated from official data was three
[435] to four times that of the surrounding municípios. Moreover, the unit value per ton was Cr.$60, compared with Cr.$150 to Cr.$200 for adjacent areas. The conclusion that the production figure was an error was re-enforced through a comparison of the density of production in

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244 São Filipe, 230 tons per square kilometer, with the 162 tons per square
433 kilometer of Conceição do Almeida, a more notable producer.
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128 It was assumed that the unit value in São Filipe was the mean of the prices of Maragogipe and Conceição do Almeida--São Filipe is midway between these municípios in terms of location, transport, and external market relationship--and that:

$$\text{Production} = \frac{\text{Value}}{\text{Unit Value}} = \frac{4,290,000}{\frac{170 + 190}{2}} = 27,333 \text{ tons}$$

This figure is close to 28,000 tons, and it was inferred that the original figure had been transposed to 82,000 tons. Yield was then derived:

$$\frac{28,000 \text{ tons}}{2,100 \text{ hectares}} = 13.3 \text{ tons per hectare}$$

compared with 13.9 tons per hectare for Cruz das Almas and 11.1 tons per hectare for São Félix, nearby areas with similar conditions. Perhaps this yield is slightly high, but it is in the possible range of variation, and is an acceptable approximation.

[435] There was a second problem in Irará. The unit value of manioc here was Cr.$90 per ton, compared to Cr.$300 in nearby Coração de Maria, Cr.$240 in Feira de Santana, and Cr.$320 in Santo Amaro. Moreover, the density of production was very high, 26.45 tons per square kilometer total area, compared to 10.72 tons per square kilometer for Coração de Maria, especially since so much of northern Irará is not densely settled. When Cr.$200 per ton was postulated as the unit value of manioc, the production derived was 10,500 tons. Yield calculated by using this figure and the original area data would be 4.38 tons per hectare, which is unreasonably small. The yield calculated from the original data--14.6 tons per hectare--seemed approximately correct, and using these yield figures, with the derived production value of 10,500 tons, area was calculated as 719 hectares. The new area figure

244 gave 0.54 tons per square kilometer total area, which corresponded to
433
127 0.59 tons per square kilometer for Coração de Maria.
• 128 In São Sebastião, the low unit value of manioc—Cr.$80 per ton—
[435] indicated possible error. The reasonable intensity of production suggested that the total value data were in error. The mean unit value of the four surrounding municípios—Cr.$240 per ton--was accepted for São Sebastião and was used to calculate a revised total value of Cr.$168,000.

Minor errors were apparent in the data for certain other municípios. For example, the yields of Maragogipe, Cachoeira, and Salvador were extremely low. Adjustments could have been made, but the relatively small manioc area and production in these municípios indicated that the resulting alterations would not markedly change the general area or production pattern. Maps 130, 131, 132, 133, and 134 show the patterns of manioc cultivation, production, and yield as taken from unmodified official data in Produção Agrícola: 1948. The corresponding maps based upon modified data (Maps 22, 23, 24, 25, and 27) are presented in Chapter V.

243 Corn. Calculations from the original data gave Maragogipe a
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127 yield of .40 tons of corn per hectare, less than one-half the yield
128 of neighboring municípios. This was excessively low, and it seemed preferable to use the figure of 1.24 tons per hectare, the mean of adjacent São Filipe and Cachoeira. These municípios, though not similar to the whole of Maragogipe, resemble very much the adjoining areas where cultivation is concentrated. The production figure for Maragogipe was accepted as reasonable, since when combined with value it produced a credible unit value. Thus the area was reduced from 15 hectares to 5 hectares, raising the yield to a more acceptable level. However, these changes do not modify the gross pattern extensively, and therefore the maps in Chapter 7 were based upon the original data.

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127 Area data for corn should be used with reservation, especially
243 for the northern and western municípios. In the drier areas it is the
244 custom to plant corn and beans together in the same field, generally
127 in the same row, and the area could have been counted, in its entirety, twice (once for each crop). Yield calculations for corn and beans suggest that this has not been done; however, the vagaries of climate and cultivation in these dry zones produce such variations in mean yield from year to year and place to place that it was impossible to secure a clearcut verification. Conversations with personnel of the compiling agency failed to clarify the situation.

245 Bananas. The maps of banana area, based upon the official data,
433 reveal a definite gap in Cruz das Almas and northern São Filipe (Map 135).
127 However, this area lies in the middle of a belt of relatively dense production. Field experience in this immediate area indicated that bananas were at least as important in these two areas as in adjacent Conceição do Almeida. The official data show only 7 hectares and 3,000 bunches of bananas in Santo Antônio, but the large numbers of banana plants which were observed would tend to discredit these figures. Since in the Recôncavo the area planted in bananas does not usually have a consistent relationship to the number of plants and thus to production, yields are not a trustworthy guide to the estimation of
245 production. On the map of banana production in the text (Map 52) the
433 official data have been modified to allow Cruz das Almas 190,000
127 bunches in place of the 29,000 in the official data; São Filipe,
128 70,000 in place of the official 20,000; and Santo Antônio, 86,000 in place of the official 3,000. These changes were made by arbitrarily increasing the production data to give these areas the same density of production as similar areas in adjacent municípios. Since, as has

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245 been indicated, banana area and production do not have a consistent re-
433 lationship, no attempt has been made to alter the map of cultivated
127 area for bananas.
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249 Tobacco. Although there is a large range in tobacco yields
433 within the Recôncavo as calculated from the official data, only those
127 for São Filipe seem completely unacceptable. If the area of this
município were at the high level—3,600 hectares--indicated and the given production data are correct, then its yield was an infinitesimal 190 kilograms per hectare. The official production data are, in approximate terms, confirmed by other sources.[1] However, the area indicated by the official data is much higher than either the data
249 of Marques or field experience would indicate. Estimates from the
433 mean of surrounding municípios, from the mean yield calculated from
127 Marques, and from the area given by Marques adjusted to the 1948 level of
128 production, give the following figures, respectively: 675 hectares, 692 hectares, and 700 hectares. The median of these figures—692 hectares--was selected and used in preparing Maps 28, 29, and 33 in Chapter V.

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[1]Antonio Nonanto Marques, op. cit., pp. 1-85; and Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, Contribuição do Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, pp. 1-16.

[113]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

APPENDIX F

Comparison of 1940 and 1948 Data for Cultivated Areas

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The figure for cropland in 1948, derived from the total area in principal crops, is less than half the total cultivated area which is given in the 1940 Censos Econômicos, as shown on the table which follows (Table XIX). The development of the individual crops, indicated by the statistical material available and by the situation which is to be observed in the area, indicates quite clearly that the catastrophic decline which these figures would seem to indicate has not in fact taken place. The growth of the population of the Recôncavo, without concurrent industrialization or radical reorganization of the agricultural system, has required the expansion, not the contraction, of the cultivated area. It is clear that the 1940 census data must have included much land that was not in crops--probably it included those areas which customarily were cultivated under the land rotation system but which were not, in 1940, in crops. Since the census was based upon the opinion of the agriculturalist as to the cultivated area and since it is the custom to regard fields recently abandoned as cultivated land, it is easy to see how the 1940 figure was so large. It is assumed, therefore, that the 165,235 hectares which the census called cultivated area in 1940 corresponds to the general area in which cultivation was customary and not to actual cropland.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

TABLE XIX

COMPARISON OF LAND CULTIVATED AS GIVEN IN THE 1940 CENSUS AND AS CALCULATED FROM 1948 CROPLAND DATA

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	Land Cultivated 1940	Land Cultivated 1948	Change
Central Recôncavo:			
Santo Amaro	19,252	8,417	-10,835
São Francisco	3,227	1,063	- 2,164
São Sebastião	4,798	2,516	- 2,282
Cachoeira	4,326	1,154	- 3,172
Northern Recôncavo:			
Coração de Maria	4,653	1,092	- 3,561
Irará	27,630	9,115	-18,515
Alagoinhas	3,868	2,464	- 1,404
Northwestern Recôncavo:			
Feira de Santana	20,457	3,994	-16,463
São Gonçalo	4,270	3,614	- 656
Conceição da Feira	2,363	1,343	- 1,020
Santo Estêvão	10,145	8,500	- 1,645
Southwestern Recôncavo:			
Muritiba	7,654	3,333	- 4,321
Cruz das Almas	8,585	12,796	+ 4,211
Conceição do Almeida	11,419	7,506	- 3,913
São Filipe	5,942	6,430	+ 488
São Félix	3,482	1,512	- 1,970
Eastern Recôncavo:			
Catu	5,484	741	- 4,743
Pojuca	1,037	259	- 778
Southern Recôncavo:			
Maragogipe	7,221	1,342	- 5,879
Itaparica	4,492	891	- 3,601
Salvador	4,930	1,921	- 3,009
Recôncavo Total	165,235	80,003	-85,232

Source: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II, and Produção Agrícola: 1948.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

APPENDIX G

Procedure Used in Estimating Value of Animals Produced in the Recôncavo in 1948

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The 1948 data on livestock[1] gave the total number of animals for each *município* but did not show the number slaughtered nor the value of animal production. An estimate of the latter figure was made for 1948 in order to compare the value of crop and livestock production for that year. The method of estimation was as follows.

It was assumed that the change in the cattle population between these years was the best available index of the change in the value of animal production, since cattle are the most common and most valuable major animal. The index of change thus derived was used to raise or lower the 1940 value of animal production of each *município*, as given in the *Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II*, to a 1948 level, but still in terms of 1940 currency. This latter figure was increased by 350 per cent to conform to the declining value of the *cruzeiro*. For example:

Alagoinhas: $\frac{\text{1948 cattle}}{\text{1940 cattle}} = \frac{26,060}{13,090} = 2$ (approx.)

1940 value of production = Cr.$825,000

Cr.$ 825,000 x 2 = Cr.$1,650,000

Cr.$1,650,000 x 3.5 = Cr.$5,775.000.

[1] Ministério da Agricultura, Serviço de Estatística da Produção, "Pobulação Pecuária, Em 31/12/1948."

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SC11 Bahia Brazilians SC11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

Acknowledgments

THE FIELD WORK upon which this study is based was carried out as part of the State of Bahia-Columbia University Community Study Project, from July, 1950, to June, 1951. The Secretaria de Educação of the State of Bahia, Brazil, the Fundação para o Desenvolvimento da Ciencia na Bahia, and Columbia University are the organizations chiefly responsible for sponsoring and financing the project. My participation in the project was made possible through a grant from the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Charitable Foundation and through additional financial aid from the Department of Anthropology, Columbia University. To the men and women of these organizations I owe a deep debt of gratitude.

I am especially indebted to Dr. Charles Wagley, director of the project, for his foresight, guidance, and encouragement before, during, and after the field work, and for his patience as well as invaluable advice during the preparation of the manuscript.

To Dr. Anisio S. Teixeira, former secretary of education of the state of Bahia, whose belief in the social sciences made the study possible, I am deeply grateful for the exceptionally high degree of cooperation and intellectual stimulus which was the keynote of my visit to Bahia. I also wish to thank Dr. Thales Azevedo of the University of Bahia for his enduring friendship and scientific counsel as well as for his suggestions during the writing of the manuscript.

The research in Vila Recôncavo was carried out in coordination with three other community studies in other regions of the state of Bahia. I am much indebted for the cooperation of Dr.

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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100 Marvin Harris, Benjamin Zimmerman, and Anthony Leeds, who conducted these related studies.

122 To the many members of the Tourinho, Junqueira Ayres,
123 Ariani Machado, and Albuquerque Porciuncula families of Bahia, who opened their doors to me, extending traditional Bahian hospitality throughout my stay both in Salvador and in the field, I am very grateful. Their full cooperation, understanding, and good will have contributed immeasurably to this study.

122 To those who made it possible for me to extend the scope of the field work to other areas of the Recôncavo, the directors of Magalhães and company, the director of Usina Terra Nova, Dr. Themístocles Monteiro, the director of Usina Aliança, Dr. Helenauro Sampaio, the chemical engineer of Usina São Carlos, Dr. Augusto Vilas Boas, and Eugenio Santos, who gave inestimable aid, my sincerest thanks.

114 To Frei Miguel Marcinkowski, Frei Pacifico Weismann,
101 Dona Maria Pinto, Eliza Amelia Ferreira, and all my friends of Vila Recôncavo* where the study was made is due my pro-
128 found gratitude. Last and most profoundly, I am indebted to my
114 wife, Carmelita Junqueira Ayres Hutchinson, for her invaluable assistance in the field and constant encouragement during the preparation of the manuscript.

H. W. Hutchinson

Faculdade de Filosofia
Universidade da Bahia
September, 1956

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128 *Although Vila Recôncavo is a real town, the names of all persons and places have been changed for the purposes of this study.

505 The others, barefoot, wearing shorts
[291] and large-brimmed straw hats, are the permanent dwellers of the islands: fishermen, stevedores, and storekeepers.

When the islands are left behind, the scene begins to change.
505 The color of the water changes from a clear, deep blue to a
133 muddy gray. Groups of canoes are seen, their occupants busy with their fish nets, for this shallow part of the bay is a good
[581] fishing ground. Once again the mainland is close, rolling hills
[226] covered with a thousand shades of green--sugar cane, the crop which nearly four hundred years ago replaced the virgin forests. The deltalike shores of this part of the bay are cov-
[361] ered with mangue, muddy areas with low-growing trees which at high tide are standing in the water. On a hill at the water's
[162] edge is the town of Vila Recôncavo, a town of 1,462 persons. The first thing one sees is the huge Franciscan convent[5] with
[368] its two tall towers and its royal palms. Approaching the long dock which juts out into the water, one can see almost the
[504] whole town, which is built on three hills and in the valleys between them.

[361] The arrival of the boat from Salvador every other day is an event in an otherwise dull day. Nearly all the men of the town
505 go down to the dock to meet the boat, to see who is traveling,
512 to see what is arriving for someone in the town, to receive messages or parcels, to greet friends, and to gossip. The postmistress is there, and with her the man whose duty it is to carry the mail sack, but who has a helper to do it for him. After a few minutes the boat continues its journey, and the townsfolk walk back along the dock, breaking up into small groups on reaching the main square and then each going his own way.

361 On the square at the end of the dock, at the foot of the
344 main street which leads up the middle hill and out into the

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[128] 5. It should be explained that "convent" in this case is a direct translation from Portuguese. In Portuguese, convent does not have the connotation of being a religious establishment only for women. The word convento is applied to the Franciscans' establishment because the Franciscans are not monks; if they were, their establishment would be called a mosteiro (monastery). In English, Franciscans are known as "friars," and their houses are called "friaries." However, throughout this monograph the direct translation, convent, is used.

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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[The Private Plantation]

The following discussion will examine one of the five private plantations in the community of Vila Recôncavo and will then describe the network of factory plantations in the same community. 128

The Private Plantation: Fazenda das Moças

472
The Fazenda das Moças ("G" on map of community) is typical of a privately owned plantation in all respects but one. Its owner is a lady who assumed active direction of the plantation after her husband's death. At first there was some difficulty in persuading the overseer of the plantation to take orders from a woman, for he felt his prestige was lowered in the eyes of the workmen as well as the overseers of neighboring plantations. However, after three or four years, Dona Sinhá, in cooperation with "Seu"[1] Paulo, the overseer, has made an outstanding success of her plantation, and the original friction between the two has greatly diminished. Below is an inventory of the Fazenda das Moças: 249* 562 466 [558]

249*
Extent: 930 tarefas,[2] mostly of massapê, 450 of which are under sugar-cane cultivation, the rest consisting of pasture and small gardens 423

Water: 4 drinking tanks for livestock
2 small freshwater streams
(Drinking water must be brought from a neighboring plantation, which has a spring well known in the area for the salubrious qualities of its water.) [312]

Houses: 45 workers' houses
Owner's house, with living room, dining room, 4 bedrooms, kitchen, bathroom, 2 maids' rooms, 2 other dependencies, veranda; surrounded by orchard [342]
1 overseer's house
1 house formerly used as a school

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1. "Seu" is a corruption of Senhor and is a title often given to persons of some prestige. [576] [554]

2. The tarefa is the unit of land measurement used in Bahia. It equals 900 square braças. The braça equals 6 feet, which gives the tarefa 32,400 square feet. This is 11,160 square feet less than one acre. [804]

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Private Plantation]

*249 829 178 [434] The entire harvest is done with great sacrifice, my head wearied by accounts; 6,000 tons of cane, over Cr$600.000,00--a lot of money, enough for all the expenses, and still some left over. What a mistake! The general costs, the extraordinary costs, house repairs, etc., will take it all. So we start again--new plantings, larger fields, all for more money. But we lack the courage to stop planting sugar cane and plant corn or coffee, anything else. We were born hearing of senhores de engenho, of trays and trays of silver service, of Negro slaves, of everything which has disappeared into the past. But it still burns in our blood, and deep down we want to have lands, to order and be obeyed. We like the humble and servile vassalage of the Negro, which makes us feel important, the dispensers of favors.

*249 829

I think of this as old Saturno goes along, step by step. There is Paulos Santos coming along the road, with his little burro and two baskets, going to get manioc for the ever-present farinha. "Good morning, Patron!" What affection I feel for each one of them! Pedro Manuel with so many little children; Zé Julião with his sick wife, Conceição with his air of secular servility. But affection resolves nothing! Money and action do! I could knock down those miserable hovels and make good hygienic houses.

Once home I fall into the hammock, reading Proust and forgetting everything.

*249 473

The Usina: Usina São Pedro

The Sociedad Anonima, the corporation which operates this factory, represents the new pattern in the Recôncavo. There are now nine factories functioning in the Recôncavo, for the trend has been to close the small ones which could not function economically. Five of the nine belong to one corporation, which holds extensive lands and receives the cane of many suppliers. We will describe the smallest of the four independent factories, which has a rated capacity of seventy-two thousand sacks of sugar as compared with the two hundred thousand of one of the larger mills (a sack equaling 60 kilograms). The legal capacity of the Usina São Pedro--which it has never reached--is fifty-two thousand sacks, as determined by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol. At the present time, however,

*249 433 • [128] [656]

VILA RECÔNCAVO

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three are rural samples from the factory and plantation nuclei. The total sample is divided by classes as follows:

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Urban	Class	Rural
	A	2
11	B	7
41	C	54 (field workers 25; factory workers 29)
10	D	

Class C in the rural zone is divided into two groups, field workers and factory workers, to point out the slight differences between the two groups.

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TABLE 3
MONTHLY INCOME

Urban Average Monthly Income of Head of Family (Cr$)	Class		Rural Average Monthly Income of Head of Family (Cr$)
	A		15.500,00
1.822,72	B		2.040,00
805,85	C	field workers	450,44
		factory workers	847,00
483,74	D		

The economic gap between Class A of the rural area and classes B, C, and D of both the rural and urban areas is quickly apparent. In United States currency the income is roughly $750 per month for Class A, $100 per month for Class B, and only $20 per month for Class D. The figures for Class B, both urban and rural, show how closely the segments of the class correspond in income. However, urban Class C and rural Class C differ in that the urban group's cash income is higher, although it does not approach that of Class B. Although the field workers' income appears to be close to that of urban Class D, the produce from the garden plots to which all field workers are entitled is not included in this figure. Class D, whose income is the lowest, must live on its wages, since members of this class do not have garden plots.

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SC11 Bahia Brazilians SC11
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9. *Recent Changes in Vila Recôncavo*

THE FIELD WORK described in Chapters 1 through 8 of this study was carried out from June, 1950, to June, 1951. In 1955 and 1956 the author had the opportunity to do further work in Vila Recôncavo. This chapter is a summary of some of the changes which have occurred during the five-year period from 1951 to 1956.

First, the sugar industry has undergone several changes, developing still further from the plantation (engenho) toward the highly industrialized factory (usina) as postulated in the introduction. The factory-plantation system, as distinct from the private plantations, has experienced the most change.

Usina São Pedro was described earlier as a family corporation, owned and directed by members of one extended family. At one time in the past five years, this family was obliged to take into the corporation a large amount of capital representing a second family enterprise, considerably larger in scope than that of the first. Within a short period the second family achieved complete control of the factory through a series of financial manipulations. As a result, Usina São Pedro passed from the Conde family's ownership and direction, and is now just one element of a large commercial firm.

For a more complete understanding of Bahian society it is necessary that we examine this second family corporation. The key word is "family," which represents almost a constant in this culture. The second family, the Helvetians, is a second generation immigrant family. The major activities of the family corporation--there are other stockholders, especially employees, with small holdings--have always been commercial: exporting, importing, distributing, and transporting. The cor-

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

121 tional policy chose to assimilate the Negro rather than to segregate him; thus, with a significantly large Negro population, Brazil has no real race problem. Moreover, any Negro in Brazil who is qualified is given a status to which his abilities entitle him.

• 128 [114] We are fortunate to have the original author, Dr. Donald Pierson, write the new introduction to the present work. Dr. Pierson, a man widely published in sociology, is a distinguished scholar, who has spent many years studying the Brazilian racial situation. In his new introduction, Donald Pierson has carefully reanalyzed his original work in terms [127] of events which have transpired. In so doing he has integrated the significant scholarly publications which have emerged over the years. Although significant social changes have transpired in Brazil since the original publication of this work, the original formulations regarding race relations still remain valid, a testimony to the original perceptions of the author. The result is one of the most up-to-date analyses of race relations in Brazil today.

The author's original preface and the original introduction by Robert E. Park have been retained. Each gives a sense of historical continuity to the effort; and each contains comments for the present. Indeed, as suggested by Park, the task of maintaining an effective social order in the context of drastic social change constitutes one of man's greatest challenges; this observation is surely of contemporary relevance.

Herman R. Lantz

Southern Illinois University
January, 1966

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

PREFACE TO THIS EDITION

FOLLOWING several impressions, this book has been out-of-print for some time; and, accordingly, I am grateful to Professor Herman R. Lantz and to Southern Illinois University Press for making it available again. 128 •

In preparation for the new Introduction a limited and preliminary survey was made of the criteria of rank in Brazil, with particular attention to the role of color. For assistance in this effort I am indebted to Professor Thales de Azevedo of Bahia, Professors Levy Cruz and Cecilia Sanioto DiLascio of Recife, Professors Santos Neves and Renato José Costa Pacheco of Vitória, and Professor Hiroshi Saito of São Paulo. 121* [114]

As the manuscript for the original book was being completed, in 1939, I was invited to São Paulo to help build up a pioneer school in Brazil in the social sciences; and I remained in that country for nearly two decades. At the time of this return, however, and for many years thereafter, there was little interest, in educational circles or elsewhere, in the study of the local racial situation. My time became so absorbed by an extensive round of other activities that for many years it was possible to give only limited attention to this problem.

By 1951, however, interest had built up in certain intellectual circles to the point where the UNESCO studies in several parts of the country were possible; but I was at that time also engaged, along with a considerable number of students and young professors whom I had helped train, in a series of studies in the São Francisco valley, so that it was not possible to accept the invitation to join the UNESCO

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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121 research. With its appearance, and with that of other studies carried out since that time—but also including a few which had appeared previously, in addition to the pioneer work of Professor Gilberto Freyre and of others which antedated this book—a considerable body of materials on the Brazilian racial situation is now available, especially in Portuguese.

122 In an attempt to extend and to bring more up-to-date my knowledge and understanding of this situation, I have consulted a rather extensive bibliography, in so far as it was possible to gain access to it by diligent effort in both Brazil and the United States. For patient and considerate assistance with this task, I am under especial obligation to Dr. Zacharias Pithon Barreto and Thales de Azevedo of Bahia, Nell W. Herbert of the reference department of Pack Memorial Library in Asheville, Professor Edgar T. Thompson of Duke University, Professor Mario Wagner Vieira da Cunha, Maria Isabel dos Santos Carvalho, and Maria Aparecida Madeira Kerbeg of São Paulo, and, most especially of all, Professor Emilio Willems of Vanderbilt University. For suggestions regarding bibliography and other encouragement, I am grateful to Professors Richard M. Morse of Yale University, Charles Wagley of Columbia University, and T. Lynn Smith of the University of Florida.

128 Some of the materials from a paper prepared for the World Conference on Race Relations, held in Honolulu in 1954, and which appeared in *Race Relations in World Perspective*, edited by Andrew W. Lind and published the next year by the University of Hawaii Press, appear in altered form in this new Introduction. That book is now out-of-print; and I am grateful to Professor Lind, and to Thomas Nickerson, director of the University of Hawaii Press, for permission to use these materials here.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Thales de Azevedo, anthropologist and director of the *Faculdade de Filosofia* of the University of Bahia, a lifetime resident of that city and a researcher whose studies of the local racial situation have received considerable attention, has honored me by reading the new Introduction in manuscript; as also have Emilio Willems, whose researches and publications during a long residence in Brazil are well known, and Professor Herbert Blumer of the University of California, who has carried on research in Brazil in a related field. Obviously, however, no one except the present author is responsible for any imprecision or inadequacy which the reader may note; nor are these specialists necessarily in agreement with the author on all points. For painstaking attention to numerous tasks in connection with the preparation of the new Introduction, and especially to the typing of extensive notes and to manuscript detail, I am much indebted to my wife, Helen Batchelor Pierson.

JULY, 1965 DONALD PIERSON

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[P. X is blank]

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SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

000 Gleig, M. G. and Kate White, Peter and Irene Baker, Ralph and Catherine Varhaug, and "Slim" Jordan; and to a host of others, including Maria Bádá, Maria do Carmo, Pae Procopio, Pae Bernardinho, Pae Joazinho, Pae Manoel Paim, Mãe Minininha, Mãe Sabina, Dona Germania, Felisbertus, Hypolito, Bimba, Rodolfo, Marciano, Nestor, Edgar, Satyro, Estanislau, Antonio, Bábê, Angelo, Joanna, Dédé, Adalberto, and Eulalia.

• 128 For the clarification of several obscure points raised in reading, observation, or investigation I am grateful to such able interpreters of the Brazilian scene as Gilberto Freyre, Affonso de E. Taunay, Oliveira Vianna, Pedro Calmon, Rüdiger Bilden, and Lois Williams. Dr. Arthur Ramos, who is intimately acquainted with the Bahian Negro, and Dr. Hugh C. Tucker, who during fifty-four years' residence in Brazil has become acquainted with the country as have few North Americans, read the manuscript and offered pertinent comment. Drs. Robert Redfield, Herbert Blumer, Louis Wirth, Ellsworth Faris, and William F. Ogburn have from the inception of the study extended me many courtesies, the most important of which have been their unsparingly critical but always constructive suggestions. I am deeply indebted to Dr. Charles Johnson and Fisk University for the leisure to prepare the manuscript for publication and to Mrs. Martha Harris for patient and careful attention to manuscript detail. I am under perhaps the greatest obligation to Dr. Robert E. Park, whose seminal mind, long-range patience as a teacher, and rich research experience have contributed in fundamental ways to this study. My wife, Helen Batchelor Pierson, has been an invaluable assistant.

DONALD PIERSON

ESCOLA LIVRE DE SOCIOLOGIA E POLITICA
DE SÃO PAULO
October 1939

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
BRAZIL SL1

INTRODUCTION TO THIS EDITION

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IN CONSIDERATION of the general lack of knowledge in the United States at the time regarding anything south of the Rio Grande, the original publisher used "Brazil" in the title of this book, although the author never claimed so wide a coverage for it. A more precise indication appeared in the subtitle which the original publisher considerately permitted—and which again appears in this edition—"A Study of Race Contact at Bahia." In other words, this is a case study, in a given place, of a more general situation.

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To one who picks up this study, undertaken as it was in 1935, or thirty years ago, several questions will perhaps occur: How precise was the identification of the Bahian racial situation at the time? Has this situation changed since? How representative of the situation throughout Brazil was, and is, that of Bahia? Do we know any more today than we did then regarding the circumstances which produced it?

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Each of these questions is all the more pertinent because some persons have been puzzled by conflicting reports, in more recent years, regarding the precise character of the Brazilian racial situation. The confusion is due, in our judgment, to the heterogeneity of a vast land; to the rather subtle character of the Brazilian racial situation; to the role of semantics in the process of communication; to the limited amount of empirical research which has been carried out with reference to this problem; and to variations in the objectives, approaches and methods of writers in the field, some of whom, by emphasizing, unduly, certain aspects of

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BRAZIL SL1

ticularly São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro but also Belo Horizonte, Recife, Porto Alegre, and others, including Bahia.[3] For, stimulated by needs which could not be satisfied by importation from Europe or the United States under the conditions existing during two World Wars—and more particularly during the last one—and also by growing internal demand, industrialization has been assuming a continually larger role in what has previously been a predominantly agricultural and pastoral country. Concomitant with this increased industrialization—but not to be confused with it, since, for one thing, it began long before—there also has occurred a rapid and extensive growth of the cities. A high rate of natural increase of the population has meanwhile continued in all parts of the country, so that it is now estimated that approximately two and a half million persons are being added annually to the Brazilian people. New primary, secondary, technological and professional schools have been set up, in an urgent, but not yet adequate attempt—since it began with a huge deficit—to keep up with expanding educational needs.

The emergence of new employment opportunities, espe-

[3] Since the matter may have puzzled some readers, it perhaps should be pointed out that, in keeping with the traditional patterns in such cases during colonization and later, the term "Bahia" was long used to indicate, on the one hand, the Capitania, Province or State of Bahia and, on the other, its capital city, even though the latter had another (and less used) name—Salvador. At the time of our research, the capital city of the State of Bahia—where most of our research was carried on—was widely and commonly known also as "Bahia"; and this name is still being employed. Since this name was used in the original study, it will be retained in this Introduction, in order to avoid possible confusion when consulting different parts of this edition. Incidentally, the spelling of "Bahia" is correctly given here and throughout this book, although, for a time during the "spelling reform" in Brazil (but only temporarily), an effort was made in some quarters to write the name differently.

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Octavio da Costa Eduardo in Maranhão; Seth Leacock at Belém; Duglas Teixeira Monteiro at Vitória; Nelson de Senna in Minas Gerais; Candido Procópio Ferreira de Camargo in São Paulo; and several authors with a more general reference, including, especially, Arthur Ramos (1938b, 1942, 1943, 1949). Frazier (1942) studied the structure and function of the family among colored persons at Bahia.

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If this were a revised edition, certain alterations or additions would be made; for instance, it probably would be advantageous either to bring over into English or to identify more extensively several terms which were left in Portuguese, either because translation would have distorted meaning or because the author was in doubt regarding an *adequate* rendering in English and unable to resolve the problem by a return to the field or through correspondence, yet desirous to be as precise as possible. An effort was made to define each term when first introduced; but this is perhaps inadequate, especially where the term appears again, later, several pages away. To obviate this difficulty somewhat, a glossary is appended to the present edition.[30]

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Today, we probably would use a substitute for "branco da Bahia" (p. 139 and *passim*), since this term is ordinarily used only outside Bahia, and—more especially—since we subsequently have learned that it sometimes carries a certain depreciatory connotation.[31] Besides, it is subject to some ambiguity, as José Valadares (1943), in a perhaps humorous

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[30] A few words which were spelled according to the custom prevailing at the time, previous to the "spelling reform" some years later, should be altered; for example, cathedrático (p. 189), is now spelled "catedrático," and paranympho (p. 190), "paraninfo."

[31] Ribeiro (1956:128) reports this term used at Recife when scoffing at persons "the legitimacy of whose pretentions to being white is subject to question."

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*128 vein, has pointed out. It was used in our original study to
*563 refer to very light mixed-bloods whose racial origin was evident to an anthropologist but not so evident to others, in an effort to make more understandable to a United States audience the actual situation at Bahia.

114 Perhaps it would be helpful to clarify certain matters
*563 mentioned in this book which have led serious critics to
565 erroneous conclusions. Citing a Portuguese version of Chap-
*121 ter VII, Bastide (1943a:31) quotes us as saying that "in Bahia race prejudice is linked inexplicably (sic) to that of class." This statement we are unable to find in the translation of that chapter or in any other of our publications; nor do we subscribe to it.[32] The need to define terms is imperative. In their criticism of hypothesis 22 (see p. 349), Bastide and Fernandes (1951)[33] do not refer to *race* prejudice at all but instead—and repeatedly—to *color* prejudice. Obviously, they have misunderstood our intention. In an article published in the United States, Bastide and Pierre van den Berghe (1957:693) claim to have invalidated this hypothesis, "so far as São Paulo is concerned." They also write, however, that "we have not been able to isolate the effects of class and racial prejudice." It is therefore difficult to understand the subsequent statement to the effect that "we can definitely assert that, after *having eliminated*[34] the effects of class prejudice against colored people, there would remain an important residue of properly racial prejudice."

The principal difference of opinion, however, would seem to be due to a variation in the use of terms. It is the implica-

[32] A similarly erroneous (if more acceptable) ascription to our authorship is made by Staley (18).

[33] Republished, 1959:333.

[34] Italics ours.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
BRAZIL SL1
East Brazil SN1

tion of our research, confirmed, and much more clearly stated, by Wagley and his associates—particularly by Harris—that one of the criteria of class is color. In so far as this is true, class discrimination and color discrimination (but *not* race prejudice as defined above) are inevitably linked. Bastide and Van den Berghe contend that they are dealing with "race prejudice" when we believe they mean "discrimination on the basis of color."[35] That such exists by reason of color being one of the criteria of rank is admitted, in the same sense in which discrimination exists in the case of low family origin, or of low economic condition, or of low educational level, or of lack of personal competence.

Bastide and Van den Berghe also claim to have invalidated, as far as São Paulo is concerned, another hypothesis of this study which they identify as follows: "Prejudice against Negroes is directly proportional to socio-economic status." It is not clear to what these authors refer. We do not recognize this hypothesis as being among those formulated by us, either in this book or elsewhere; nor do we subscribe to it, as stated.

The hypotheses which emerged out of our original study[36] may require, however, certain qualifications and additions, in order to make the description and analysis more precise and complete.

With reference to hypotheses 1 and 2, Willems has called our attention to the possibility that the mortality rate among the lower (and extensively colored) ranks of the Brazilian population may be proportionately lower now than in the

[35] Plus a few limited and atypical cases, as we have suggested above, of discrimination on the basis of race, neither derived from, however, nor supported by, the local mores.

[36] See pages 345–50 of this book.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
BRAZIL SL1
East Brazil SN1

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[36] See pages 345–50 of this book.

[SALVADOR]

/7 cont./

124 We also called on a limited number of white informants who had the reputation of being familiar with the problems of Bahia in
114 the past and the present. Born and raised in this city, where I have never ceased to dwell, I was also able to use my own experience.
127 In addition, we made use of announcements and editorial commentaries appearing in the periodicals and daily papers of Bahia and reflecting, up to a certain point, the stereotypes of the milieu studied.

121 A simple description of the racial situation in Bahia would not be adequate to make one understand the dynamism of this rising of the Blacks on the social scale. It has also been treated as a process of cultural and social change and therefore examined from a historical perspective; people have refrained, however, from going into details.

114 Our investigation, in one sense, was made difficult by the
127 scarcity of anthropological and sociological works on the society of Bahia. This city has been the subject of several historical studies in the course of recent years. One finds numerous references to the slave trade, to anthropometry, to phenomena of acculturation, and to African survivals, but, as Donald Pierson very rightly says in the work that we shall cite so often, there is only a meager literature on the conflicts or on the processes of adjustment that characterize race relations in Bahia. The book by Donald Pierson (1)

[113]

1. Donald Pierson, Negroes in Brazil. A study of race contact at Bahia. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1947.

is really the first and up to now the only one in which race relations in Bahia have been analyzed and presented according to the methods of modern sociology.

128 I do not pretend to have done exhaustive or definitive work on /8/ the very complex problem of the social mobility of colored people in Bahia. I wanted above all to be objective and to present the problems from a scientific point of view, by avoiding insofar as possible the snares of ethnocentrism so difficult to elude, even unconsciously, when one is a member of the culture that one is describing.

[SALVADOR]

/10 cont./

*563 826 In order to understand the composition of the local population and to interpret correctly the demographic statistics of Bahia, ancient and modern, it is necessary to be well acquainted with the meaning of the terms that serve to designate the different physical types brought together in its vast melting pot. The most common expressions are branco, preto, mulato, pardo, moreno, and caboclo, which one may translate as: White, Black, mulatto (1). [192]

[192] [128] 1. There are no common French terms to designate the terms pardo, moreno, caboclo, the explanation of which is given farther on. We shall therefore leave them in their Brazilian form in these pages.

[829] These terms seemingly designate definite physical types; in reality, their meaning is inspired much more by the social context than by racial characteristics such as the color of the skin, the hair, and the shape of the face.

*563 827 826 829 565 In a general way Whites are individuals of white phenotype; very tall persons with light eyes and with hair likewise light and fine are often called brancos finos (fine Whites) because they do show any signs of mixture with colored types. Nevertheless individuals who are wealthy and of high rank, whatever their appearance, may very well be called Whites. When one hears a person of humble station, a servant or agricultural worker, call a superior "my White," one is sometimes surprised to discover that the person to whom the title is addressed has a very dark complexion. The stevedores and porters, who are almost all black, indiscriminately call Whites and mulattoes of prosperous appearance "my White." The common people never cease saying that "the one who has money is White."

A colored sociologist says that "a Brazilian Black can become white to the extent that he rises economically and acquires the attitude of the upper groups." Assignment to an upper social class in Brazil is based more on the culture or the economic position of an individual than on his racial characteristics. The

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

CHAPTER II

PHYSICAL SETTING

121 13 Introduction. The analysis of the physical setting of the Recôncavo which follows is intended primarily as a background for the interpretation of agricultural phenomena. As such, it is particularly concerned with those physical elements--flat and rough lands, productive and unproductive soils, humid and dry climates, and exploitable wild vegetation--which bear directly upon crop cultivation and animal industry. The statistical and map information and the literature on these physical elements are very limited. The general procedure used in developing this analysis was to formulate inferences based upon these limited sources and then to confirm or modify the inferences by field observation.

13 The narrow coastal plain and tabular uplands, the humid and sub-humid climates, the soils, and the forest and scrub forest vegetation typical of the northeast of Brazil are also characteristic of the Recôncavo. However, the presence of a rift occupied by the Baía de Todos os Santos and by a compact lowland pocket has given these characteristic features a distinctive geographical pattern in the Recôncavo.

Transition is a basic feature of the physical setting in which the economic and social institutions of the northeast of Brazil have been developed. Throughout the Northeast there are profound environmental differences between the coast and the interior. Even in as restricted an area as the Recôncavo, the rapid transition from the humid coastal lowland to the drier interior upland is a significant element in the regional complex.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

134 133 correlations are in part only apparent: they result from using geologic and topographic categories to map and classify soils.

13 Both climate and vegetation are also important factors in soil formation. Since the Recôncavo is a zone of sharp transitions in climate and vegetation, it is to be expected that these variations would be reflected in the soil pattern. In the Recôncavo, however, patterns of climate and vegetation generally re-enforce the patterns of material and terrain as they affect soils. The Cretaceous coastal lowlands are the most humid part of the Recôncavo. The inland Tabular and Crystalline Uplands, which is to say the Tertiary and crystalline soil zones, are markedly drier, as will be seen below. Thus the boundary between the Cretaceous and non-Cretaceous soils approximates a climatic transition, a transition which is also the forest and scrub-forest boundary.

134 241 The soils of the Recôncavo have been used for agricultural purposes for a long time--for about 400 years in the Cretaceous zone. They have been used with varying intensity: in the Cretaceous zone under an intensive monoculture, in the other soils zones under less intensive systems of field and fallow or as wild pasture. The affects of this prolonged use, with little soil conservation, can be only inferred. In the Cretaceous zone there is much complaint of low sugar cane yields, and a few cultivators are turning to commercial fertilizer. It is not clear whether these complaints and remedies result from a marked deterioration of the soil or from the declining competitive position of the sugar industry of the Recôncavo. In the crystalline zone it seems likely that only in the last few decades has cultivation become sufficiently intensive to cause--through shortening the fallow period--the deterioration of the soils. This affect is now beginning to be noticeable in the relatively intensively cultivated lands near the Rio Paraguaçu.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

137 31 similar to caatinga sêca appear where soil and moisture conditions would seem to indicate caatinga grande. These areas are especially common where cultivation and grazing are intensive.

The wild vegetation of the Recôncavo is used for forage, timber, [313] and fuel. Only the mata is used for timber, and it is exploited only on a small scale. All three of the main vegetation types contribute toward supplying the local market with fuel--firewood and charcoal. The [314] mata is the principal charcoal source, especially in the forest zone northwest of the city of Salvador and along the Salvador-Feira de Santana highway. In the interior sections of the Recôncavo the caatinga and the agreste provide firewood for cooking and other household purposes. For grazing, the caatinga is far superior to the agreste and the mata, except when the latter is in the first stages of regrowth. Burning is employed extensively in an effort to increase the grazing value of the caatinga and agreste. At first this provides more grass and herbaceous growth, but after repeated burning and continuous over-grazing, there develops an impenetrable cover of thorny, tough brush, three to five feet tall, and quite valueless.[35]

• 13 Conclusion - Physical Setting. The analysis of the physical setting which is to serve as background for the discussion of agriculture in the Recôncavo does not reveal a homogeneous region. Rather it would seem that the Recôncavo is best visualized as a nodal region, with a relatively homogeneous but areally restricted core and a broad transitional perimeter. The perimeter is composed of several sub-regions, each with a distinctive transitional character. As a summation of [188] the physical setting, each of the sub-regions of the perimeter and core of the Recôncavo will be assigned a name, as a matter of convenience, with the physical elements briefly indicated for each:[36]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

• 13 Central Recôncavo: a zone of Coastal Plain and lower Intermediate Hills north of the Bay. It is humid and, when uncultivated, forested. Its soils are of the Cretaceous series, chiefly clay and clay-sands.

Northern Recôncavo: a zone of dry, Tabular Uplands, with caatinga in the west and agreste in the east. Its soils are Tertiary sands except in the deeper valleys, where Cretaceous soils appear.

Northwestern Recôncavo. a zone of crystalline soils and caatinga vegetation. Most of the area is Crystalline Upland, but there are extensive sandy taboleiros. This is one of the driest sections of the Recôncavo.

Southwestern Recôncavo: The Crystalline Uplands south of the Rio Paraguaçu are less sandy and more humid than the Northwestern Recôncavo. This zone is mata in the east and south, caatinga in the west and southwest. Its soils are of the crystalline series but less sandy than is characteristic in the Northwestern Recôncavo.

Eastern Recôncavo: a small zone of relatively humid, agreste covered Tabular Uplands and Intermediate Hills.

Southern Recôncavo: The most diverse of the sub-regions it is composed of three sections: (1) the Bay littoral south of the estuary of the Paraguaçu; (2) the island of Itaparica; and (3) the peninsula of Salvador. It is forested and humid and is either rough Coastal Plain or Intermediate Hills, with mixed crystalline, Cretaceous, and Tertiary soils.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 The physical setting of the tobacco and manioc region is distinc-
244 tive in terms of the particular combination of topography, soils, climate,
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13 and vegetation which are joined along its crescent axis. The region lies along the semi-circular edge of the interior upland, overlooking the Bay and the Coastal Plain. In the south the fields of manioc and tobacco occupy the upper surfaces of the Crystalline Uplands and the adjacent Intermediate Hills. In the north, cultivation shifts to the summits and upper slopes of the Intermediate Hills, although there is some concentration on the extreme southern edge of the taboleiros. Thus the region occupies the deep flat-lying residual crystalline soils in the south but in the Tertiary soil zone to the north follows the slope lands where there is more rainfall and perhaps better local soils. The close correspondence of this region with the forest and scrub-forest transition has been repeatedly emphasized. A traverse across the tobacco-manioc region anywhere between Conceição do Almeida and Feira de Santana takes one from rough hills with at least scattered patches of broadleaf evergreen forest to flat uplands with cactus, thorny brush, and licurí palms.

249 A comparison of the map of population (Map 21) and of the rela-
244 tionship of tobacco and manioc cultivation (Map 75) points up the neces-
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161 sity for local sources of basic subsistence products. In the Southwest,
361 where rural populations are relatively dense and where there are a number of large villages and towns, manioc tends to be cultivated over a greater area than does tobacco. In the tobacco-manioc region north of the Rio Paraguaçu, where tobacco is usually the leading crop, the density of rural population is lower, and there are no towns and only
[438] a few large villages. Thus there is close relationship between the relative intensity of manioc and the size of the local market.

175 The recent historical pattern of agriculture in the tobacco-manioc
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244 region can be reconstructed only on a general level. Cachoeira, which

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 178 249 [567] [439] Cachoeira, which formerly included most of the western part of the region, was the center of the production of tobacco for use in the slave trade. The growth of the trade in leaf tobacco in the nineteenth century brought great changes to the region, for it made tobacco a major commercial product in its own right, no longer dependent upon the slave trade. Eventually this development gave the region of tobacco production a greater economic importance than the sugar cane region, although it remained subordinate in political and social influence. The development of the new tobacco economy also gave the region a greater superiority over the sertão, which could satisfactorily produce fumo em corda, but could grow only the poorest grades of fumo em fôlha.

174 244 249 433 Probably the tobacco-manioc region supplied manioc as the subsistence food of the sugar economy, since it is the only nearby area which was a center of manioc production. Perhaps manioc was produced in the sugar cane zone, but in view of the intensity of sugar cane cultivation, this seems doubtful. In any case, the present relative level of manioc production in this crop region probably dates from the nineteenth century development of cigar tobacco production.

249 311 The second basic crop region of the Recôncavo is the sugar cane monocultural area. It is sub-divided into a major zone, in Santo Amaro, São Sebastião, and São Francisco; a minor zone in Cachoeira; and an outlier in São Filipe. It is estimated that in the first two zones 90 per cent of the cropland was in cane in 1948. In the São Filipe outlier of the sugar cane region the proportion seems to have been lower--perhaps 50 per cent of the cultivated area.

[13] The physical association of the sugar cane region north of the Rio Paraguaçu and the Bay is relatively simple--a humid and formerly forested undulating plain composed of mixed Cretaceous soils--massapê, salão, and areia. In São Filipe the land is rougher, but the sugar cane is grown upon heavy soils similar to the Cretaceous series.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

000 Footnotes - Chapter VIII

[1]Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

[2]The data for the total area of the various municipios used in this analysis are taken from Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, No. 8. These data are the most recent and presumably most accurate available for the state of Bahia. In a number of cases they disagree markedly with area given in the 1940 census, which was based upon earlier and probably less accurate calculations from older maps.

[129] [3]The distinction between large- and small-scale units was made in the census as follows: (1) Agricultural units with over 50 hectares in "major crops (pineapple, alfalfa, cotton, rice, oats, potatoes, sugar cane, rye, barley, beans, tobacco, castor beans, manioc, corn, wheat, coffee, cacao, cocoanuts, oranges, bananas, or grapes) were large-scale. All others were small-scale. Area in these crops was estimated from production figures and mean yields. (2) Livestock units with 200 head of cattle or sheep; 100 head of horses, goats, or pigs; or 50 asses or mules, or an appropriate combination of these, were large-scale. Alternatively, a smaller number of reproductive females--100 cows or ewes; 60 mares; or 20 sows--made the unit large-scale. All others were small-scale. (3) Crop-livestock units, in order to qualify as large-scale units, had to satisfy both criteria simultaneously.

[241] [13] [84] [261] [4]The size, shape, and physical and economic diversity of many of the municípios of the Recôncavo make it very difficult to evaluate and to map mean data. This is particularly true of Santo Amaro, of which part is in the sugar cane region, part in the tobacco-manioc region, and part in sparsely settled forest land. It is also true for São Gonçalo, which stretches from the humid Intermediate Hills to the dry western caatinga. Of all the municípios, only São Félix and Conceição da Feira, both very small, have a relatively homogeneous landscape. The details of the interpretations and, to an even greater extent, the maps were drawn with numerous inferences based upon correlative data and field observations.

[5]Agricultural properties are also held by religious orders, syndicates, cooperatives, and other legal persons, but such properties are not very common in the Recôncavo. "Squatters," as defined by the census, included both those who occupied public land legally but without title and those who illegally occupied private land. Renters included both cash and share renters.

[6]There were about 50 administrator-operated properties, with an average size of 30 hectares, in the município of São Félix, according to the census. The reasons for this concentration are not apparent, especially since this local phenomenon was not studied in the field. The concentrations around Salvador and on the island of Itaparica are suburban country houses--chácaras--a Brazilian institution. Many of these chácaras are on small properties which are operated by an overseer and which produce some agricultural products, especially vegetables and fruits. A large number of these properties line the eastern shore of the island of Itaparica; there are also a few in the forested area around Salvador.

3: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1963 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Vila Recôncavo

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RACE RELATIONS IN A RURAL COMMUNITY OF THE BAHIAN RECÔNCAVO[1]

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[13]
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by
HARRY W. HUTCHINSON

I. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, a narrow strip along the north-eastern coast of Brazil in what are now the States of Pernambuco, Alagoas, Sergipe and Bahia, was the most important region of economic, political and social life in the whole colony. The rainfall along this portion of the coast is dependable and the extremely fertile soil, which was originally covered with thick forests, was ideally suited for sugar cane. By the seventeenth century, this region produced a large part of the world's sugar supply. Sugar, which was then a luxury in Europe, brought fabulous profits, and the north-eastern coast of Brazil became an exceedingly prosperous colony. Large cities grew up along the coast; Salvador in Bahia and Recife in Pernambuco became the most important centres of colonial life, and Salvador was the capital of the colony from 1549 to 1763. Both were cities of great wealth based on the booming sugar industry. The numerous churches built in Salvador during the period of opulence, with their elaborate gold-leafed wood carving and polychrome tile work, are witnesses to the tremendous wealth of the era.

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It was the plantation system, the basis of this lucrative sugar industry, which gave this region many of its characteristic traditions and formed patterns of race relations which have persisted in a modified form into the present. Gilberto Freyre in his monumental *Casa Grande e Senzala*, and other Brazilian writers [1],[2] have described life on these sugar plantations. African slaves provided the manpower. More than three million Negroes were imported from Africa during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and a large proportion came to the sugar plantations of north-eastern Brazil. The Portuguese plantation owners became rich, and came to form a regional aristocracy with a luxurious and ostentatious way of life. The slaves and their masters, on these plantations, formed two distinct social groups, but it is distinctive of the region that their relations were intimate and warm; Freyre describes the intimacy between the *moleque* (Negro lad) and the master's son as playmates, between the master's wife and her domestic servants, between the Negro nurse and her white charges, and other close

[122]

[1] In addition to thanking those persons listed in the introduction to this series of articles for their aid and co-operation in making this study possible, I wish to thank the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Charitable Foundation Inc. and the Department of Anthropology of Columbia University, whose grants of funds contributed largely to the possibility of this study. Also, to acknowledge with thanks the aid of Carmelita Junqueira Ayres and Elza Amélia Ferreira for their assistance in the collection of the data.

[2] The figures in brackets refer to the bibliography on page 65.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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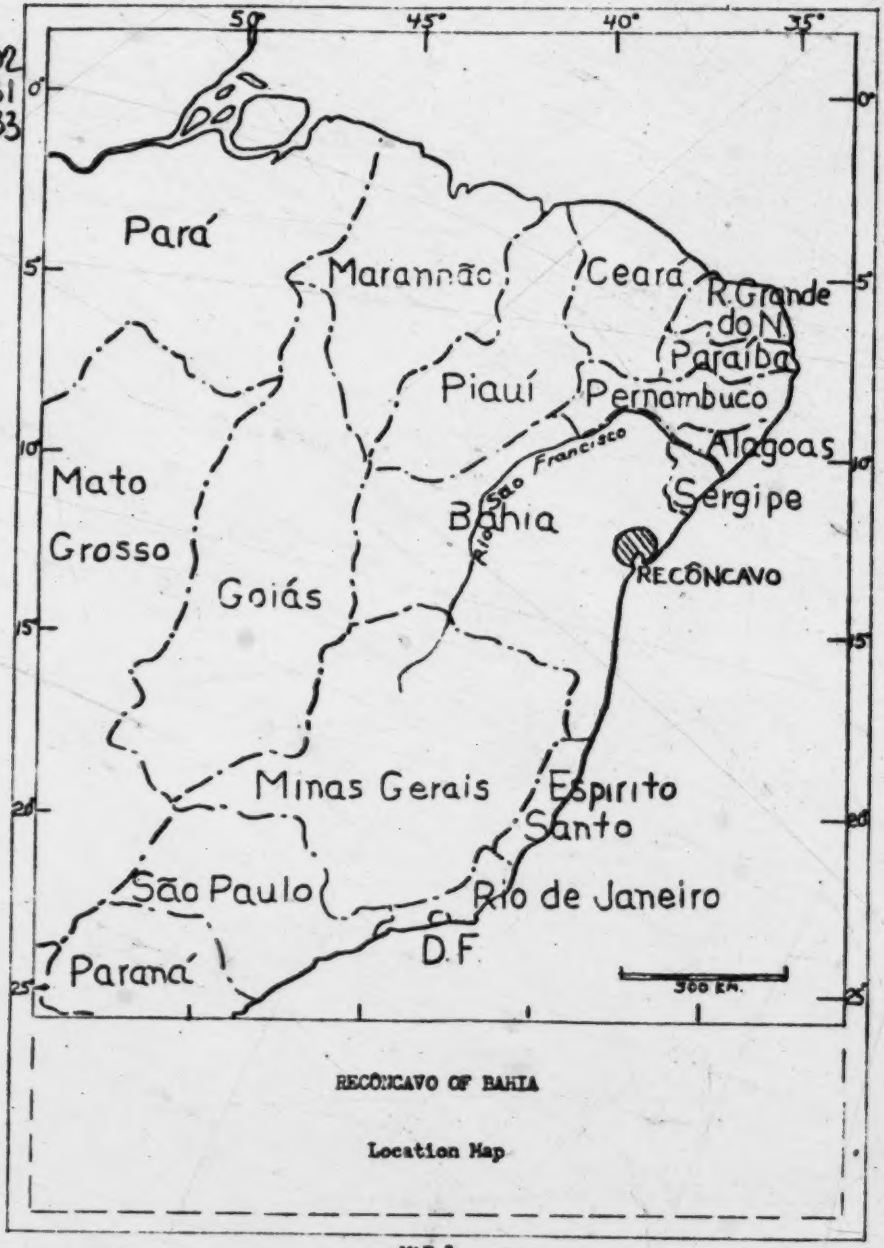

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Location Map

MAP 1

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[13] [101] Regional Terminology. The term "o recôncavo" can be applied to any crescentic littoral. In Brazil, however, "the Recôncavo" is almost universally understood to refer to a semicircle of land bordering the Baía de Todos os Santos in the state of Bahia. It is no more necessary to ask which Recôncavo in Brazil than to ask which South in the United States.

The Recôncavo has a less consistently defined content and boundary than the United States South. The extent of the area intended is individually determined in both common and scholarly usage--usually the limit of the region is implied rather than delineated. In traditional usage the Recôncavo generally is equated with the sugar cane area, but at least as often the area designated includes all the relatively densely settled and intensively utilized zone around the Baía de Todos os Santos.

[12] [13] In delimiting the Recôncavo as a preliminary to field and statistical investigation it seemed desirable to enclose all areas which may customarily be included in the region. In addition, since the Recôncavo is conceived here primarily as an agricultural region, it seemed most consistent to include all other contiguous areas of equivalent agricultural utilization. Thus a search was made for a criterion for a tentative boundary which would circumscribe: (1) the traditional Recôncavo areas; and (2) the contiguous areas of equal agricultural intensity; and which in addition would (3) define the limit on a consistent statistical basis. These three requirements would be met with a boundary determined by the per cent of the land in agricultural use--a criterion which would summarize the intensity of land-use for [127] cultivation, fallow, and pasture. Appropriate data were available from the 1940 census. By inspection it was determined that twenty per cent [311] of the total area in agricultural use was the value of an isopleth which would enclose the traditional and equivalent areas and would

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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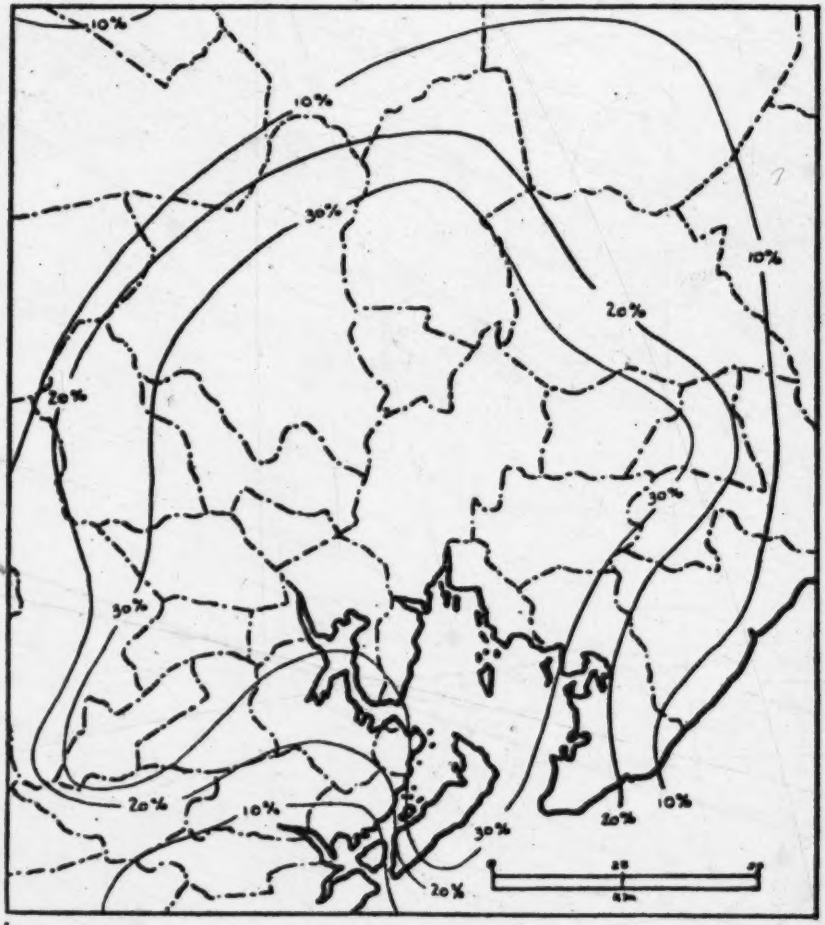

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Area in Agricultural Use—1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia. Vol. II.

MAP 2

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

121 separate them from the manifestly non-Recôncavo areas of the surrounding
13 zone. This limit of twenty per cent of the total area in agricultural
[311] land use corresponded rather closely to the outer boundary of a compact group of twenty-one municípios, and as a tentative regional concept, these twenty-one municípios were considered to be the Recôncavo.[5] The area of the region thus defined is 4,827 square miles (12,500 square kilometers), about equal to the size of the state of Connecticut.

121 Purpose and Procedure. The primary purpose of the research upon
241 which this monograph has been based was to analyze, from a geographical point of view, the structure and the functional organization of agriculture within the Recôncavo. It is not within the present scope to make a detailed comparison of the agricultural patterns of the Recôncavo with those of the rest of the nation. However, because of the general unity of the Brazilian agricultural system and the special relationship between the Recôncavo and the origins of the system, a study of the agriculture of the Recôncavo microcosm is a study of many of the basal aspects of Brazilian agriculture.

241 Very little literature is presently available on the agricultural
127 patterns of the Recôncavo. Certain general characteristics of the agriculture of the region may be deduced from the brief interpretations of maps of the 1948 production of sugar cane, tobacco, and manioc in the state of Bahia published by the Conselho Nacional de Geografia.[6] Indirect information may be gleaned from the general economic and agricultural histories of Brazil and from the sociological studies of the Brazilian northeast.[7] But comprehensive analysis based upon field or statistical study of the geographical patterns of agriculture of either the state of Bahia or of its nuclear region, the Recôncavo, are lacking.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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Conceição do Coité
Serrinha
Riachão do Jacuípe
Inhambupe
Entre Rios
Irará
Ipirá
Alagoinhas
Feira de Santana
Coração de Maria
Cotu
Pojuca
Santo Estêvão
São Gonçalo
Santo Amaro
Mata de São João
Conceição da Feira
São Sebastião
Muritiba
Cachoeira
Rio Paraguaçu
Rio Paraguaçu
Rio Jacuípe
Rio Jacuípe
Rio Subaé
Rio Subaé

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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Bahia. The broad cluster of the agricultural labor force is composed of several major zones of concentration and two minor agglomerations.

(1) The Southwestern Concentration: The most important of these concentrations, in terms of total number of agriculturalists, occupies the southwestern corner of the Recôncavo. This concentration is a major segment of the eccentric belt discussed above. It is located [131] in the Crystalline Uplands and the Intermediate Hills, along the drainage divide between the Rio Paraguaçu and the Rio Jaguaripe. This is an area of tobacco and manioc cultivation. There are some 35,000 agriculturalists in this concentration, which spreads over approximately 1,000 square kilometers in six municípios—São Félix, Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, Conceição do Almeida, São Filipe, and Maragogipe. The cidade of Cruz das Almas lies very near its center.

TABLE IX

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS—SOUTHWESTERN CONCENTRATION

[634]

Município	Distrito	Agricultural Workers 1950
São Felix	São Felix	2,568
	Outeiro Redondo	1,724
Muritiba	Muritiba	3,044
	Cabeças	1,699
Cruz das Almas	Cruz das Almas	6,038
	Sapé	1,845
	Baixa do Palmeira	1,476
Conceição do Almeida	Conceição do Almeida	3,878
	Comércio	2,038
São Filipe	São Filipe	4,931
	Cararipe	2,471
Maragogipe	Guapira	1,169
	Nagé	788
	Coqueiras	1,072
Approximately 1,000 square kilometers		34,741

With about 12 per cent of the Recôncavo's total area, the southwestern concentration includes 18 per cent of its agricultural labor force. In its core there are over forty agriculturalists per [634] square kilometer (the município of São Félix as a whole has 42.05 per square kilometer), and this compact core includes São Félix, northern

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

161 São Filipe, northern Conceição do Almeida, southeastern Cruz das Almas,
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241 and the southeastern tenth of Muritiba.
464
[634] The boundaries of this concentration are similar to the boundaries of labor concentrations in other parts of the western Recôncavo. To the southeast the density of the cluster declines sharply across the Intermediate Hills. There are very few fields and few farmers along the estuary of the Paraguaçu, which lies beyond the hills. Much of
[311] this land is in forest. To the west the decline in density is even more abrupt. In the dry caatinga beyond the western limits of Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, and Conceição do Almeida there are only a few scattered ranchers and small-scale farmers.

From the core of the concentration the distribution of agricultural workers continues to be relatively dense toward the north and toward the southwest, and this pattern extends across the "bridge" zone and into the coffee area beyond the Recôncavo. Just beyond the Recôncavo, in the middle of the "bridge," is the city and suburban zone of Santo Antônio de Jesus, which has a minor cluster of agricultural workers. The "bridge" follows the forest and scrub-forest transition.

161 (2) The Northern Concentration: Though the northern and
162 central clusters of the agricultural labor force of the Recôncavo
241
464 are less well defined and individually less important than the
131 southwestern cluster, they are major concentrations. In the northern Recôncavo a series of clusters extending through eastern Feira de Santana, Irará, and Coração de Maria are grouped in a rough "u-shaped" pattern. This concentration is the second major element of the eccentric belt of dense agricultural labor. The verticals of the "u" follow agricultural belts along the valleys of two tributaries of the (eastern) Rio Pojuca. This is a zone of Tabular Upland and caatinga vegetation.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

161 162 241 464 131 Because it does not correspond to census divisions, it is difficult to determine the area and population of this "u" zone. Apparently it has about 1,150 square kilometers and about 30,000 agricultural workers (Table X). Maximum densities within this zone are 30 to 40 per square kilometer.

TABLE X

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS--NORTHERN CONCENTRATION

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Município	Distrito	Agricultural Workers 1950
Feira de Santana	Feira de Santana	9,840
	Tiquaruçu	1,725
Coração de Maria	Coração de Maria	4,176
	Itacava	4,332
Irará	Irará	4,130
	Bento Simões	1,675
	Pedrão	2,454
	Ouriçangas	2,683
Approximately 1,150 square kilometers		31,015

The "u-shaped" zone is linked with the southwestern cluster by a belt of moderate population density. This belt, running north to south along the caatinga-forest transition, is followed by the Feira de Santana-Cachoeira railroad.

161 162 241 464 131 (3) The Central Concentration: The central concentration of agricultural labor, in east-central Santo Amaro, western São Sebastião, and São Francisco--the sugar cane zone, is not a part of the eccentric belt discussed above, but rather lies in the heart of the Recôncavo. There are about 6,000 agriculturalists in the 300 square kilometers of this area. The maximum density is about 25 per square kilometer. In distinction to the concentrations discussed above, the central cluster is in the lowlands--the humid Coastal Plain. (see Table XI).

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

TABLE XI

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AGRICULTURAL WORKERS--CENTRAL CONCENTRATION

Município	Distrito	Agricultural Workers 1950
Santo Amaro	Rio Fundo	1,849
	Inhatá	1,542
	Mata de Aliança	920
São Sebastião	Jacuípe	1,036
São Francisco	São Francisco	804
	Santa Elisa	176
Approximately 300 square kilometers		6,327

(4) The Minor Agglomerations: Minor concentrations of agriculturalists surround two urban centers in the Recôncavo: Salvador and Alagoinhas. Most of the 12,000 agricultural workers in the município of Salvador are grouped either in the northeast--close to the central cluster of the sugar cane zone--or around the capital city. The latter either live in the city or in the sub-urban areas around and between the various urban segments. These sub-urban cultivators primarily work to supply the large urban market. Alagoinhas lies in the midst of relatively unproductive taboleiros. The agri-
[245] culturalists who serve its urban market and produce its chief commercial crop--oranges--are gathered compactly in a symmetrical ring around the city.

The concentrations discussed above account for some 80,000
[131] (41 per cent) of the agricultural workers and 3,150 square kilometers (25 per cent) of the area of the Recôncavo. In general, a straight line from the southwestern tip of Conceição do Almeida to the southern tip of Serrinha is the western limit of moderately dense distribution of the agricultural labor force. Beyond this line, in the caatinga of Feira de Santana and Castro Alves, there are few agricultural workers. However, in the caatinga of the município of Santo Estêvão and the adjacent part of Feira de Santana there is a zone with a population density of about 15 per square kilometer--higher than anywhere

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

161 162 241 464 [361] else along the western border. This modest concentration, scarcely a cluster, represents the sum of a number of small agricultural settlements scattered along the humid slopes of low serras. There are about 12,000 agricultural workers distributed over this area.

161 162 • 131 241 464 The distributional pattern of the rest of the Recôncavo can be visualized as a coarse net in which the clusters are linked by areas with population densities of 10 to 20 per square kilometer. There is one large hole in this connecting net: along the common border of Cachoeira, São Gonçalo, and Santo Amaro there is a zone with less than ten and sometimes less than five agricultural workers per square kilometer. This zone, very near to the center of the Recôncavo, for [133] the most part is an area of rough sandy hills bordering the crystalline here the hills are particularly rugged and the transition zone broad. On three sides--southwest, north, and northeast--this sparsely settled zone is bordered by important clusters of agriculturalists.

161 162 241 464 The agricultural labor force of the Recôncavo is, as has been seen, irregularly distributed. This distribution is highly fluid--movement and growth and decline are continuously altering the pattern. The whole region gained about 6,500 agriculturalists between 1940 and 1950, but these statistics do not reflect the extent of local relocation.

161 162 241 464 634 In the central Recôncavo one município, Santo Amaro, lost almost 6,000 agricultural workers between 1940 and 1950, and in three municípios of the central and eastern Recôncavo, Santo Amaro, São Francisco, and Pojuca, losses exceeded 20 per cent. On the other hand, in three municípios of the uplands of the northern and northweste Recôncavo--Alagoinhas, Feira de Santana, and Santo Estêvão--there were gains of over 20 per cent. Over all, twelve municípios gained and nine lost agriculturalists; the mean change in the agricultural labor

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 464 As has been shown, the 196,000 agricultural workers in the Recôncavo in 1950 formed a relatively distinct cluster within Bahia. [131] These workers were concentrated especially in an arcuate belt near the western and northern frontiers, in the sub-urban zone of the larger cities, and in the central sugar zone. They were in complex motion, the net result of which was to reduce, in the decade 1940 to 1950, the agricultural labor force in the Central Recôncavo and to increase the labor force near the cities and along the western frontier. The labor force generally is adequately skilled for the agricultural tasks of the present system, but its tolerance for new ideas is [461] limited. The agricultural workers can work cheerfully and hard, but usually do so only with frequent interruptions, and the individual level of energy is low.

162 241 464 463 Rural Population. The agricultural labor force of the Recôncavo is a functionally but not residentially distinct segment of a larger population assemblage, the rural population. Rural population, as used here, includes not only the people of the countryside but also the village and town dwellers of all settlements without industrial establishments.[28] Although this assemblage can be defined in approximate residential terms as a rural population, it is considered here primarily as a functional grouping which includes agricultural workers and elements of all other major occupational groups except industrial workers. In this overwhelmingly agricultural society the associations of the non-agricultural occupational groups of the rural area with agriculture are of primary economic importance and compelling personal interest. While most of the agricultural workers are rural in the strictest sense, living in the countryside and on the fringes of the villages, towns, and cities, many others live within the small and

The railroad from Salvador to the interior passes about 15 kilometers east of Vila Recôncavo, and the planters situated near it experience the same difficulties of horseback travel when getting the train to go to the city. 496 492

There is no public transportation within the county. The train is so far from the town of Vila Recôncavo that it is not used by the town dwellers. Most of the population walks to wherever it is going, except to Salvador. Few people in town have horses or mules, for there is insufficient pasture nearby. As a result of the poor roads, the townspeople are dependent upon water navigation, a factor which helps to orient them to other towns by the water's edge and discourages communication between the town and the plantations of the interior of the county. At any season, there is little happening in the plantation area to attract the townspeople. On the other hand, people from the plantation come to the town, especially to see the doctor, for a special Mass, or to take the boat to Salvador. They rarely come for the movie, except those few subsistence gardeners (roçeiros) who live nearby, for travel is too difficult. During the dry season almost all transportation of goods is accomplished by an ox-drawn cart (carro de boi) with two large, solid wooden wheels drawn by eight oxen (junta de boi). The cart is driven by a man, and the oxen follow a small boy who walks in front of them. 484 [489] 49 484

The community of Vila Recôncavo comprises an area of some 80 square kilometers in the shape of a semicircle, bounded on one side by water and on the other by a high ridge. This area, which includes the town of Vila Recôncavo, forms a natural as well as a cultural unit. The remaining 100 square kilometers of the county fall into two subregions, one very small area which is oriented toward Centro and Cana-Uba (see map), and another which is strongly oriented toward Salvador. The three areas are drawn together by local administration: police, school system, tax collecting, and the collection of statistics--in other words, by the formal structure of county administration. 131 361 [634]

The 80 square kilometers of the community of Vila Recôncavo are composed almost entirely of thirteen large plantations, eleven of which are devoted to the cultivation of sugar cane. Of the other two, one plants cane on a small scale and rents most of its land to subsistence gardeners, while the second is a summer home, producing nothing. Of the eleven which plant sugar cane, six belong to the sugar factory which 361 249*

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 S011 Bahia Brazilians S011
VILA RECÔNCAVO

438 Centro, situated on the banks of a navigable river which
175 empties into the Bay in front of the town of Vila Recôncavo,
361 was in a good position to serve the entire back region of the
Recôncavo. As a county it now comprises 1,180 square kilo-
(634) meters. As a port, Centro served two purposes in the early
[131] eighteenth century. A great deal of produce and many persons
passed through it, including the families of sugar-cane grow-
(504) ers from other regions of the Recôncavo; and it also served
as a "gateway to the West" at a time when western Bahia and
Minas Gerais were being opened and the gold and diamond
rushes were in progress. Centro was the end of navigable
(487) waters and the beginning of one of the overland routes lead-
ing to the uplands of the sertão and the mining areas of the
(634) west. As Centro grew, Vila Recôncavo stagnated. In 1833
Centro was made judicial center (cabeça de comarca) of the
district and Vila Recôncavo became part of this judicial dis-
trict, thereby losing its prominence as the center of juris-
diction for the interior zone of the Recôncavo. Commercially,
Vila Recôncavo was soon overshadowed by Centro. In 1802,
Vilhena wrote:

> . . . In Centro there is a great deal of commerce, because of the amount of sugar, tobacco, and the number of distilleries and of Mineiros [miners and people from the state of Minas Gerais] who arrive there. Continuing along the bank of the river one finds Vila Recôncavo, which in spite of enough sugar passing through it, always had a weak commerce, and the town is known among all the others as the town of the least traffic.[8]

He says later:

175 In spite of its antiquity, Vila Recôncavo has few in-
361 habitants, and most of them poor, although through-
438 out the termo there are many good families of noble
433 people, rich through the products of their large engenhos, from which they take much and excellent sugar, the only commerce of that town; in it also there is fishing for a little sardinelike fish called xangó and a large quantity of good and large shrimp, which is the main

8. Ibid., Letter I, p. 32 (author's translation).

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In the very large *usinas*, the mill hands and even the field hands are modern industrial workers. They are employees of a large industrial corporation and are protected at least theoretically by the labour laws of the nation. The highly personalized relationship between the plantation workers and the owner-administrator of his own plantation, which persisted from the slave era, has been replaced on the larger *usinas* by the impersonal employee-employer relationship of the modern industrial age. Today, modern plantations and small towns have electricity; there is modern housing for workmen; the State and even the sugar companies provide medical aid; there are primary schools both in the small towns and on many plantations; recreation facilities are found in the towns and provided by the *usinas*; and the sugar-cane experimental station situated in the area constantly urges fertilization of the land and modern techniques and methods of sugar-cane production. But the older and more traditional patterns exist side by side with the new, and each of them influences the relations among the racial groups of the zone.

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III. Vila Recôncavo is a small town on the Bay of All Saints. The rural area around it, which lies within the social and economic orbit of the town and which is the unit under consideration, comprises some 80 square kilometres, or slightly less than half the entire area of the county of which the town of Vila Recôncavo is the county seat.[1]

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It this area there are 14 plantations, three of which nowadays plant very little sugar cane. Parts of the town itself are built on the land of one of these plantations, and the rest of the town area is owned in small lots by private individuals or by the Church. Although Vila Recôncavo is the county seat, local government is the only important function which it fulfils for the surrounding area. It is not used as a shipping point, either for receiving supplies from the outside or for sending sugar to the outside. *Braços do mar*, or inlets of the bay, go to many of the plantations and are deep enough for the *saveiros* (shallow draft sailboats) used on the bay for transport. Many of the plantations have direct connexion with Salvador. Commerce in Vila Recôncavo is almost entirely limited to supplying the 1,462 inhabitants of the town and of some small islands and of one community near by which is not devoted to sugar production. It is not the major supply source even for these groups which live near enough to another and far larger commercial centre where they prefer to do their marketing. The *prefeito* or mayor of the county is rarely a resident of the town itself. Rather he is usually a planter of the surrounding area. He goes into town to do municipal business,

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[1] Both the town and the county bear the name of Vila Recôncavo.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[City of Salvador]

*121 563 races, and the ensuing termination is perhaps most clearly discernible.

•131 361 [132] Bahia lies in the tropics of the Southern Hemisphere, approximately thirteen degrees south of the Equator, her naturally warm and humid climate almost constantly tempered by the refreshing Southeast Trades. Located seven hundred miles above Rio de Janeiro, the Brazilian capital, and four hundred miles below the old sugar center of Pernambuco, Bahia marks approximately the mid-point of Brazil's four thousand miles of coast line which stretches from temperate [167] Uruguay to the torrid Guianas. Some twenty-five hundred miles to the northeast lie the Gold and Slave coasts of Africa, once the home of the parents or grandparents of many present-day Bahians; directly to the east is Angola, another important source of the city's population.

175 361 In 1949 Bahia will celebrate her four hundredth anniversary. As cities go in the New World, she is an old city; in fact, one of the very oldest. Permanently founded fifty- [504] eight years before Jamestown and thirty-five years earlier than St. Augustine, this outpost of Portuguese civilization was one of the world's richest ports long before New York had outgrown her swaddling clothes.

175 162 *563 Here, shortly after 1500, set in the Portuguese transplantation, at first composed of adventurers, shipwrecked and deserting sailors; *degredados* banished from Portugal for criminal, political, or religious offenses; ambitious young men chosen for physical fitness and freedom from marital ties to serve in the colonial garrison; impoverished nobles seeking to recuperate fortunes squandered at the Portuguese court; a few officials, Jesuits, and secular clergy; Jews expelled by the Inquisition (who incidentally were to furnish a considerable portion of the much-needed capital for the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 6]

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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P OF SOUTH AMERICA SHOWING BAHIA AND SURROUNDING AREA

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[City of Salvador]

36 In the lower city lies, of course,
[504] the port, with its customs, warehouses, shipping and consular offices, banks, the marine arsenal, the post office, the Association of Commerce, the principal public market, jewelry shops, hardware and cigar stores, and most of the men's shops of the city. Up on the promontory and extending out toward the suburbs are the public buildings and most of the churches, the convents and monasteries, hotels and movie theaters, the public library, museums, professional schools, primary and secondary institutions, hospitals, women's shops, photographic galleries, furniture and dry-goods stores, confectionary stalls, the "five and tens," physicians' and dentists' offices, clubs, the principal parks and *praças*, and the residential areas of the city.

• 131 Bahia the city is the economic and political capital of Bahia the state, whose area of 342,000 square miles makes
133 it considerably larger than Texas. The region is composed in large part of a vast plain of gneiss formation which rises abruptly from the comparatively narrow coastal belt to heights varying from 600 to 1,200 feet in the interior.
[135] Upon this plateau and running north and south across the central portion of the state lie a series of low mountains composed principally of sedimentary rock, sandstone, or conglomerates and containing such minerals as iron, manganese, copper, lead, gold, and diamonds (including the
132 black *carbonado* so essential for tool-cutting). This mountain
133 barrier acts as a valuable condenser, gathering moisture for a land which otherwise might be virtually desert. In the extreme western part of the state the plateau is composed of sandstone overlying limestone, and thus it provides a natural sponge which assures perennial rivers in a region where light rains and near drought alternate in six-month periods.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

Outside the city of Bahia and skirting the rim of All Saints Bay lies the Reconcavo,[7] some sixty miles long and varying from a few to thirty miles wide. Its soil is a cretaceous marl of great thickness, similar to the black gumbo of southern Arkansas and northern Texas, known locally as *massapé* or, in literal translation, "that which sticks to the feet." It is quite fertile and well watered and today appears only slightly impaired after nearly four centuries of cultivation. This is the cane and tobacco area upon which formerly both Bahia's commercial greatness and her need for reliable agricultural (hence slave) labor was based.

The Reconcavo was formerly a center of large landholdings, of a rural aristocracy, of a patriarchal system, and of slavery. Today, cane and tobacco are still cultivated, although the former, and to some extent the latter, languish by reason of the condition of the world-market and the persistence of primitive techniques of production. Although large landholdings are still common, the rural aristocracy is decadent, its prestige having suffered a gradual but persistent decline throughout the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries with the loss of the sugar monopoly, the growth of the coastal towns, and the accompanying increase in prestige of the urban professional classes. The abolition of slavery in the late nineteenth century was the final blow, and absentee ownership is now the predominating pattern. However, the present population is more dense in the Reconcavo than elsewhere in the state outside the city of Bahia and remains to this day markedly negroid in character.

[7] The literal meanings of the Portuguese word *reconcavo* are (1) a bay or semicircular shape and (2) the environs of a city. These two meanings appear to have fused in the Bahian use of the term.

134 The taboleiro (upland) soils of this type are in some areas almost sterile, completely unsuited to cultivation. Even the best of the upland Tertiary soils is relatively unproductive. Whether the [132] soils are deep or shallow, the crops grown upon them suffer severely from desiccation during the dry season and during the perennial droughts characteristic of the northeastern interior. The porous [133] character of these sands has restricted the development of surface streams and of erosion in the centers of the taboleiros. On the edges the exposed slopes of the taboleiros have been gullied deeply.

Two contrasting soil types are found in the valleys. Sands carried from the uplands have mixed with fresh materials and with small quantities of humus and have produced more fertile sandy soils. These alluvial soils are much more intensively used than those of the taboleiros, but cultivation is hazardous because of frequent flooding. Where the main streams--such as the Rio Inhambupe--have cut deeply they have exposed the underlying Cretaceous series. In these deeper valleys the soils are very similar to those of the larger Cretaceous zone to the south.

The boundary between the zones of Tertiary and Cretaceous soils is broad and irregular. The surfaces of the interfluves are covered with Tertiary sands; the deeper valleys have Cretaceous clays. The wide boundary zone has never been mapped in any detail; therefore the location of the common border on the map of this study can be drawn only approximately. A few Tertiary sands are found in the crystalline zone to the west--these will be discussed below.

Soils of the Crystalline Zone. The geologic and topographic maps which are available for the Recôncavo are a useful guide to the distribution of soils derived from sedimentary deposits. However, in

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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241 The different cultivation practices of the agricultural systems associated with the soils zones seem likely to intensify the present soils pattern. If commercial fertilizer is used on an increasing scale in the Cretaceous zone and if intensification of cultivation continues in the crystalline--as seems possible--the differences between these soils will be accentuated. It is apparent in any case that significant regional differences in soils will be a continuing feature of the Recôncavo for some time to come.[18]

• 132

Climate

Introduction. The northeast of Brazil is an area of tropical climates, without frost except in a few interior highlands, and without pronounced seasonality of temperature. The margins of the sea are generally humid; the interior is dry. Usually the humid maritime belt is narrow, and the transition to the drier Northeastern interior is very rapid.[19] The profound climatic differences between the coast (the *praia* or beach) and the interior (the *sertão*) are reflected in the contrasting economies--coastal cultivation and interior livestock industry--and in the deep social gulf which separates the people of the coast and the interior. "The two Northeasts," Freyre calls these contrasting physical and cultural zones.[20]

Along the central coast of Bahia the transition from humid littoral to dry interior has an irregular character, due to the presence of the Serra do Mar (here called the *Serra da Papuã*) to the ocean south of the Recôncavo. The mountain-backed southern coast is more humid than the lower northern shore. The coastal humid zone is carried inland around the littoral of the Bay.

The temperature pattern of the Recôncavo is relatively simple.[21] The mean annual temperature at Salvador is 25° C. and at Cruz das Almas (the most interior weather station in the Recôncavo), 24° C. Neither

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

132 station has an annual range of more than 7° C. The average daily minimum for the brief record of Cruz das Almas is 19° C.--the average maximum, 28° C. The absolute minimum recorded temperature was 13° C, while the absolute maximum was 37° C. These data for Cruz das Almas are probably typical of the interior section of the Recôncavo. More narrow ranges between maximum and minimum temperatures are characteristic of the coast. The mean deviation for the region--since Cruz das Almas is probably representative of the most variable situation--is less than 5° C. From the foregoing it is apparent that winter and summer have little meaning in the Recôncavo in terms of absolute temperatures.

Sensible temperatures are more variable, for they depend upon humidity, sunlight, and winds as well as upon absolute temperature. In the interior, outdoor activity is reduced during the cooler wet season and also during mid-day in the hot dry season. Wind exposure becomes very important, and those locations where the even flow of the trades is uninterrupted are preferred for dwellings, especially in Salvador. On the other hand, humid coastal areas which are cut off from the trades--such as the "lower city" of Salvador--often are very oppressive.

132 133 <u>Annual Precipitation</u>. The uneven seasonal and areal distribution of rainfall in the Recôncavo contrasts with the relatively uniform distribution of temperatures. With insignificant exceptions, any traverse from the coast to the interior passes from a humid to a less humid zone. Thus the outline of the coast, including the indentation of the Bay, is generally reflected in the distribution of precipitation. In addition, the coast north of the Recôncavo is distinctly less humid than the mountain-backed southern coast, and this general transition also is reflected in the rainfall pattern of the Recôncavo, as may be seen on the map of mean annual precipitation.

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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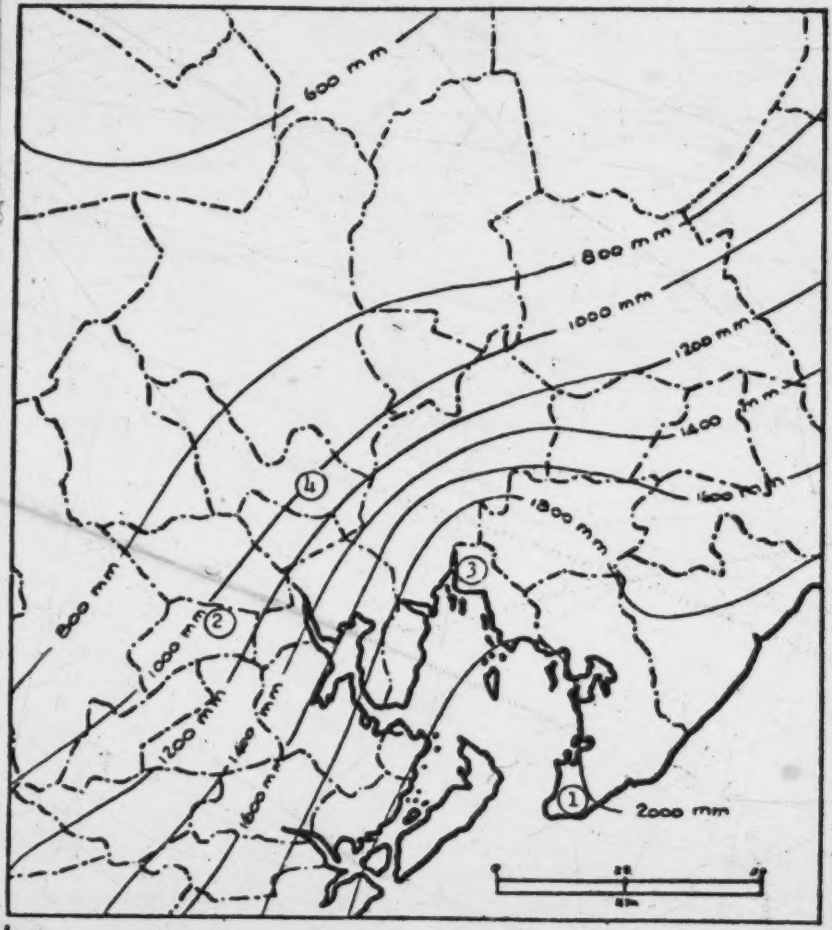

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Mean Annual Precipitation

Meteorological Stations:
1 - Salvador. 2 - Cruz das Almas. 3 - São Bento das Lajes. 4 - São Gonçalo.

MAP 7

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

132
133 Most of the lowland margins of the Bay have an estimated precipitation of from 1800 to 2000 mm. It may be inferred that the steep slopes rising from the ocean and the Bay have somewhat more rainfall and that some of the sheltered areas, such as the head of the Bacia do Iguape, have less. These inferred differences in rainfall do not seem to be great enough to have produced detectable contrasts in the natural vegetation or in cultivation practices.

The northwestern sector of the Recôncavo[22] is significantly drier, with less than half as much annual precipitation as the Bay littoral. The rainfall of this dry sector is estimated roughly--there are no weather stations in this area--at 600 to 800 mm. Orographic factors probably do not affect significantly the general rainfall pattern in this zone of tabular hills, but the windward slopes and eastern bases of the monadnocks seem appreciably more humid.[23]

The humid littoral and the sub-humid northwest of the Recôncavo are separated by a very steep gradient zone. Weather data from two stations within this zone, one at the northernmost point of the Bay and the other 21 miles westward, indicate a decline of 48 per cent in annual precipitation.[24] Although the isohyets on the map of annual rainfall are more or less evenly spaced over the transition zone, it is likely that the decline in precipitation is very rapid along the Intermediate Hill zone. The eastern intermediate hills are in moderately heavy coastal forest, but the western hills, like the uplands beyond, are in scrub-forest--presumably these differences reflect a rapid decline in precipitation.

In general, then, the Coastal Plain of the Recôncavo has from 1800 to 2000 mm. of annual rainfall. The Tabular Uplands and the northern Crystalline Uplands have less than 1000 mm. The Crystalline Uplands south of the Rio Paraguaçu have about 1200 to 1400 mm.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

• 132 The Major Wet Season--March through August. From 60 to 70 per cent of the total annual precipitation of the Recôncavo falls in the six-month period from March through August, which is the growing season for most annual crops. Although of different values, the isohyets of the map of the major wet season follow closely those of the annual rainfall map. The margins of the Bay have about 1300 mm., and the dry northwest less than 500 mm. of precipitation during these six months. The scanty data which are available suggest that the decline in precipitation across the narrow transition zone from the head of the Bay westward is greater for the wet season (54 per cent) than for the whole year (48 per cent). This fact, even more than the rapid decline in annual precipitation, may help to explain the sharp transition in agricultural phenomena which characterizes this zone. The [241] eastern edge of this transition zone is, as will be seen, in sugar cane monoculture, and the western edge is in tobacco and manioc under a field-fallow system.

Along the coast about 70 per cent of the annual precipitation falls in this six-month period, but in the interior only 60 per cent. Since this is the only season of regular and relatively dependable precipitation, the drier interior area receives less of its annual precipitation under conditions of high reliability than does the coast.

The precipitation of this season comes from either intermittent heavy showers or slow steady, day-long rains. A day may open with cloudless sky and hot sun. In late morning clouds gather, and there is a quick, sharp shower, followed by sunshine, and then a second shower. This sequence continues until evening. More characteristic, if the period of field investigation for this study was representative, is a slow continuous rain from a low-hanging blanket of clouds, lasting a

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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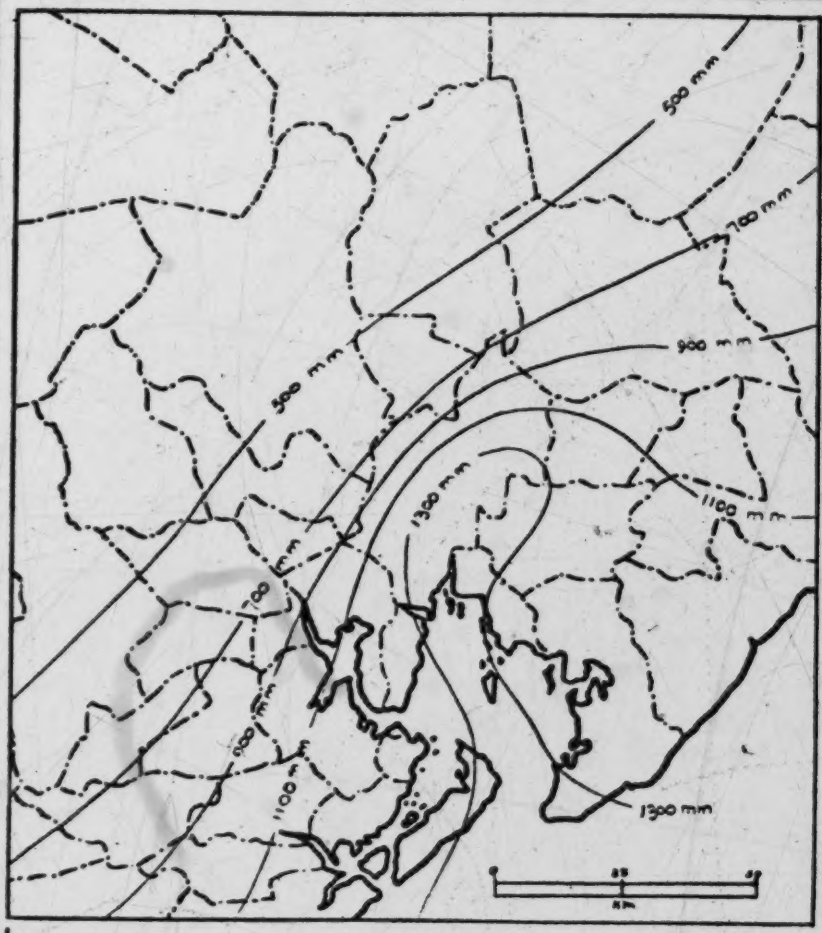

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Major Wet Season Precipitation

March through August

MAP 8

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

132 day, several days, or even a week. In the interior these latter spells were cool, and the cool, damp weather appeared to restrict the general activity of the people.

Minor Wet Season. In addition to the major six-month wet season, in "summer" much of the Recôncavo has a short season of showers--the trovoadas (thunders) of October, November, and December. These irregular storms are generally confined to the Central and Southern Recôncavo and the coast further south, but they may occur occasionally in all of East Central Bahia. The mean values of ischyets on the map of the minor wet season are not to be taken as actual values likely to be encountered in any particular year--they are the averages of seasonal totals which have an exceedingly large range. These rains usually fall in heavy, irregularly spaced downpours.

At Salvador, and presumably along the rest of the coast, about 17 per cent of the average annual precipitation comes in this minor wet season. In Cruz das Almas, 29 per cent of the average annual precipitation comes in this season, but because these showers are so irregular they are of limited value to agriculture in the dry interior.

Along the coast the rains of this season come in the characteristic tropical sun and shower sequence, separated by long rainless periods. This pattern is also typical of the interior, but here there are occasional heavy violent thunderstorms lasting as long as half a day.

Departures from the Mean Pattern. The real significance of the mean annual and seasonal precipitation totals cannot be understood without reference to the annual and seasonal variations which they mask. In the context of this study the variations are approached as an agricultural rather than as a climatological problem. The

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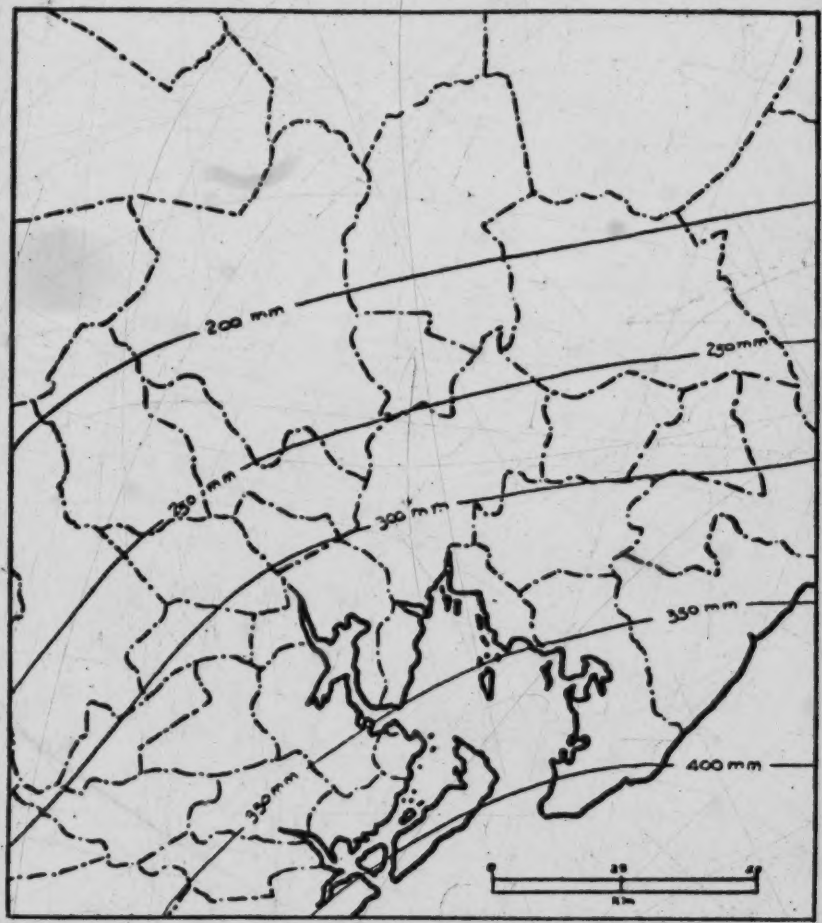

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Minor Wet Season Precipitation

October, November, and December

MAP 9

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

132 agriculturalist responds to rainfall not as a statistical mean but as
132 rain falling from day to day and month to month. It is beyond the
128 scope of this study to analyze the day to day march of precipitation--indeed, the poor data available merit no more than a superficial analysis. By a study of deviations from the annual and seasonal averages, it is possible to draw general conclusions and to qualify the patterns on the climatic maps. The analysis below deals with the two meteorological stations of the Recôncavo with reasonably reliable data--Salvador and Cruz das Almas--and is for the years 1947 through 1952. This span includes both relatively wet and relatively dry years. The accompanying table (Table I) presents the complete summary of mean figures and deviations.

132 Though the movement of annual and seasonal totals for these two sections was similar, the deviations from the averages were significantly different, as the accompanying table (Table I) reveals. For the major wet season, Salvador had a mean deviation of 10 per cent, Cruz das Almas of 16 per cent. The greater mean deviation in the interior corresponds to the usual generalization of drier areas having a less reliable (more deviate) rainfall pattern. Thus the farmer of
[249] Cruz das Almas, cultivating tobacco and manioc with a minimum of
[244] seasonal rainfall, must cope with more serious deviations from the "expected" average than the sugar cane planter in his zone of relatively plentiful rainfall.

Of the 36 wet season months (March-August for 6 years), 14 months had less than 100 mm. at Cruz das Almas; and 100 mm. falling
[249] in "well-distributed" showers, is the minimum monthly growing season precipitation necessary for tobacco, the chief commercial crop.[25]

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I:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

TABLE I

• 132 SUMMARY OF PRECIPITATION DATA--SALVADOR, CRUZ DAS ALMAS

	1952	1951	1950	1949	1948	1947
			Annual Precipitation - mm.			
Salvador	1846.4	1662.6	1741.4	2343.4	2074.2	2880.6
Cruz das Almas	1010.6	845.8	948.3	1235.3	1319.3	1067.6*
			March-August Precipitation - mm.			
Salvador	1510.0	1355.4	1136.5	1496.6	1645.6	1324.1
Cruz das Almas	567.3	594.3	544.6	737.7	909.4	638.8
			Deviation from Mean of 1411.4 mm. for Salvador and from 665.3 mm. for Cruz das Almas - mm.			
Salvador	+98.6	-56.0	-274.9	+85.2	+234.2	-87.3
Cruz das Almas	-98.0	-71.0	-120.7	+72.4	+244.1	-26.5
			Per cent Deviation from Mean			
Salvador	+ 7	- 4	- 19	+ 6	+ 17	- 6
Cruz das Almas	-15	-11	- 18	+11	+ 37	- 4
			October-December "Trovoada" Precipitation - mm.			
Salvador	297.5	167.2	293.0	464.5	361.2	891.8
Cruz das Almas	429.5	155.4	188.2	367.6	309.5	456.7
			Deviation from Mean of 410.9 mm. for Salvador and from 317.8 mm. for Cruz das Almas - mm.			
Salvador	-113.4	-243.7	-117.9	+53.6	-49.7	+480.9
Cruz das Almas	+111.7	-162.4	-129.6	+49.8	- 8.3	+138.9
			Per cent Deviation from Mean			
Salvador	-28	-59	- 29	+13	-12	+117
Cruz das Almas	+35	-51	- 41	+16	- 3	+ 43

[128] *The records of the Cruz das Almas station begin with April 1947. Therefore, the annual and March-August totals are fictional totals in which the mean January, February, and March figures 1948-1952 have been used.

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132 For the period 1949-1952, inclusive, Cruz das Almas had the following number of rainy days:

March	12 days	June	18 days
April	16 "	July	17 "
May	24 "	August	19 "

Of the 24 months of the wet seasons of these years, three had less than ten rainy days, and four others had from ten to fifteen. Moreover, in the periods March-April and July-August there were a number of cases in which one-third or more of the monthly precipitation fell in one 24-hour period. It is clear that the desirable 100 mm. of well-distributed monthly precipitation is frequently lacking.

In contrast with the major wet season, the trovoadas of October, November, and December show much greater variation—a mean deviation of 43 per cent at Salvador and 31 per cent at Cruz das Almas. These two mean seasonal figures, though mathematically correct, rarely correspond even approximately to the actual seasonal totals of any particular year.[26] Moreover, the totals of particular seasons mask very capricious monthly and daily rainfall patterns. Usually an important part of these minor wet season rains comes as heavy thunderstorms. In 1952, for example, Cruz das Almas had 429.5 mm. of rainfall in the October-December season, of which 344.7 mm. fell in December—120.1 mm. in one day, indeed in one continuous downpour. If the 1949-1952 period was representative, these heavy (over 100 mm.) 24-hour storms are a typical December occurrence. Such rains are a greater threat to agriculture than they are a resource.

132 241 Advance and Retreat of the Wet Season. In agriculture the cultivation calendar is likely to be fixed: the seasons of planting and harvest are often kept without regard to the variation in climate. This is especially so in the Recôncavo, where custom is so compelling an aspect of life. Under these circumstances the timely arrival and

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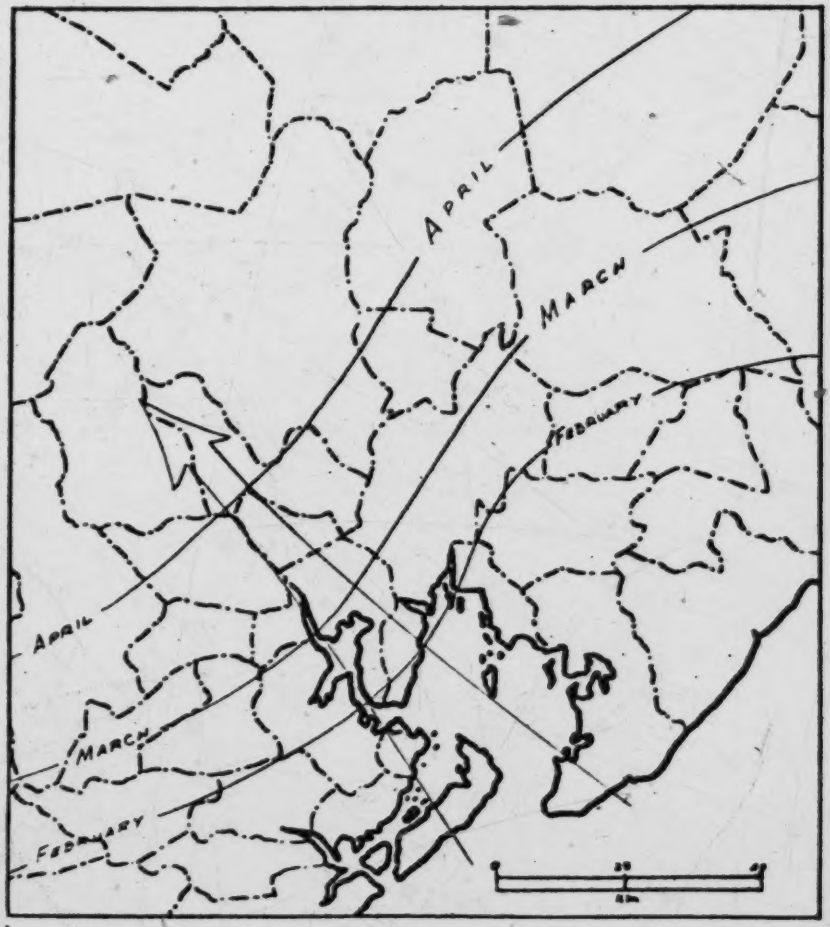

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Monthly Advance of the Major Wet Season

MAP 10

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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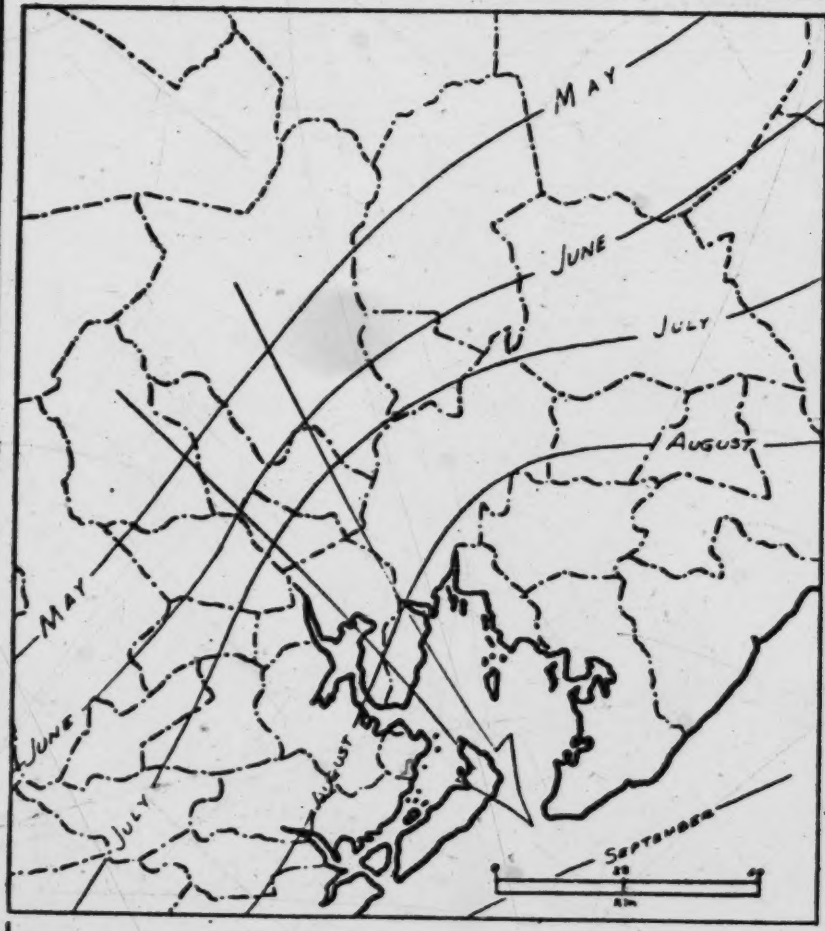

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Monthly Retreat of the Major Wet Season

MAP 11

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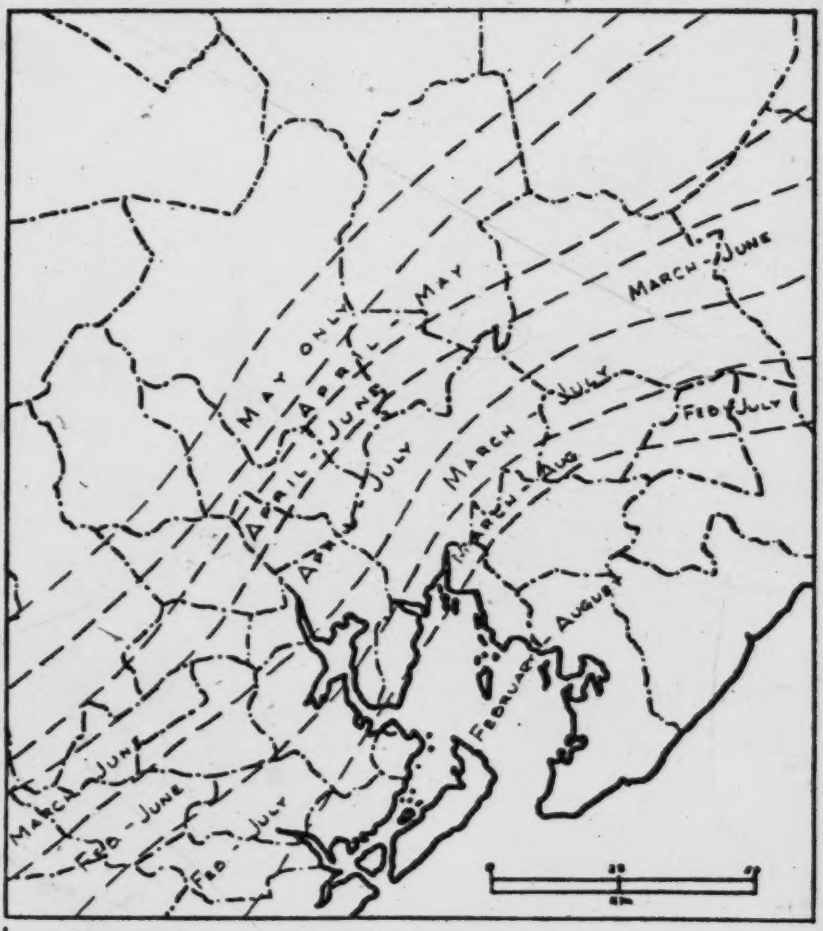

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Duration of the Major Wet Season

MAP 12

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

132 [241] departure of the wet season is of great significance. On the accompanying maps the advance, retreat, and duration of the wet season has been plotted in terms of 100 mm. of monthly rainfall.[27]

The wet season, defined as 100 mm. of rainfall monthly, comes in from the sea and crosses the Bay in January-February and moves across the Recôncavo through March and April. In May the retreat begins, and by September the wet season is over.

By combining the isopleths indicating advance and retreat it is possible to derive a map showing the duration of the wet season. On this basis the northwestern sector of the Recôncavo has no wet season or has only one month--May. The southern Crystalline Uplands have a wet season of three, four, or five months--April-June, April-July, or March-July, the shorter season occurring in the most interior section. The Tabular Uplands have two, three, or four months--April-May, April-June or March-June--of wet season. Most of the coastal lowlands have a seven-month--February-August--wet season.

The wet season outlined on the accompanying maps is the statistical mean of the wet seasons of six years--1947 to 1952. The accompanying table (Table II) shows the advance and retreat of the individual wet seasons at Salvador and Cruz das Almas. These data suggest that the advance and retreat of the wet season is highly irregular in the area around the Bay.[28] In the interior, if Cruz das Almas is representative, the advance and retreat of the wet season is more regular. However, in every year from 1947 to 1952 there was a dry month--with less than 100 mm. of rainfall--in the midst of the wet season of the interior.

[249] <u>September Precipitation</u>. September precipitation is a critical factor in the harvesting and processing of the two chief commercial

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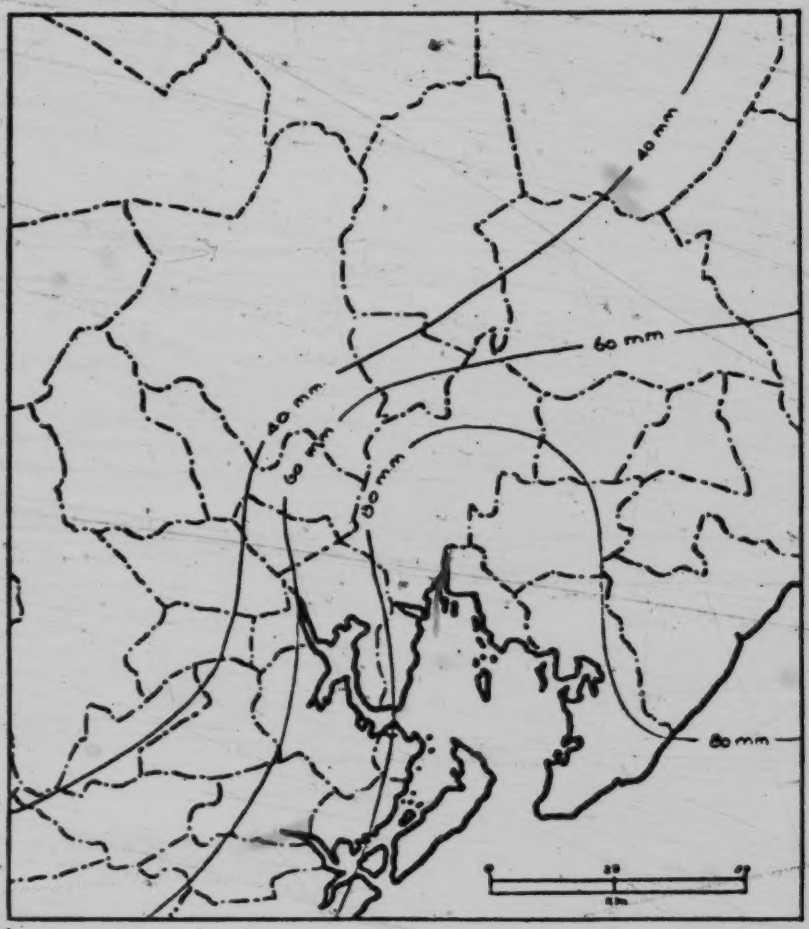

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Mean September Precipitation

MAP 13

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

TABLE II

ADVANCE, DURATION, AND RETREAT OF THE WET SEASON
100 mm. MONTHLY TOTAL FOR SALVADOR AND CRUZ DAS ALMAS

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	Salvador				Cruz das Almas			
Year	Month of Advance	Month with less than 100 mm.	Month of Retreat	Total	Month of Advance	Month with less than 100 mm.	Month of Retreat	Total
1947	March		July	5		June	July	
1948	March		Nov.	9	April	May	Aug.	4
1949	April		Nov.	8	April	May	July	3
1950	Feb.		July	6	April	June	July	3
1951	March		July	5	April	May	June	3
1952	March		Aug.	6	March	April	Aug.	4
Mean	March			6-1/2	April	June	July	4

Note: There are certain discrepancies between these figures and those on the map. This results from the necessity of using mean monthly data on the latter.

TABLE III

SEPTEMBER PRECIPITATION—SALVADOR AND CRUZ DAS ALMAS

	September Precipitation in mm.	
Year	Salvador	Cruz das Almas
1947	37.7	44.2
1948	106.6	41.7
1949	168.1	60.2
1950	32.3	25.5
1951	76.9	62.7
1952	21.5	7.0

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products of the Recôncavo—tobacco and sugar cane. In the tobacco zone there must be enough rainfall so that the shoots will continue to develop but not enough to cause the already-harvested leaves to mold. In the sugar cane zone the moisture-retentive soil will nourish the cane through a relatively dry month. However, too much September precipitation

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132 [249] will turn the cane fields into quagmires from which it is impossible to move the laden ox-carts.[29]

The table above (Table III) indicates that the September rainfall is highly variable both on the coast and in the interior, although Cruz das Almas has a slightly more consistent pattern for this month. The variability of September precipitation, as will be seen, raises serious agricultural problems in the Recôncavo. However, the greater [249] variability of the coastal zone is in some ways a less serious problem than the lesser variability of the interior, for cane harvests can be temporarily postponed, but the cutting and drying of tobacco has an extremely critical time factor.[30]

Climate - Summary. The climate of the Recôncavo is dichotomous. The temperature of the region is fairly constant from day to day and from season to season. In contrast, precipitation is unevenly distributed--in area and in season--and is relatively unreliable. The cultivator of the Recôncavo may take the temperature for granted, but rainfall is an almost incessant concern.

Along the margins of the ocean and the Bay the climate is humid and the precipitation relatively reliable--it is a rare season when the crops of this zone suffer from drought. Because of the heavy invest- [249] [257] ment in industrial equipment and labor, a long delay in harvest is costly to the sugar industry.

In general the uplands have marginal precipitation. Beyond the [241] Recôncavo, in the sertão (backland) crop cultivation is scattered and precarious, chiefly on account of the low and uncertain rainfall. Although the uplands of the Recôncavo have more total precipitation than [241] the sertão, they share in the pattern of uncertain rains. Several areas in these uplands are intensively cultivated, and the recurring severe

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132 241 droughts and unseasonable heavy rains fall upon valuable, and vulnerable, field crops. Moreover, the cultivators of the Uplands are characteristically small farmers without large financial resources, so that the social repercussions of bad weather in this area may be marked.

311 137 [241] Wild Vegetation. Wild vegetation is a significant element in the landscape and an important resource for agricultural production in the Recôncavo. In 13 of the 21 municipios of the region, over 10 per cent of the total area, in 1940, was in mata, or forest, which was used as an agricultural resource.[31] In the southwestern third of the Recôncavo as the accompanying map indicates (Map 14), almost one-fifth of the total area was in this "exploited mata." It is inferred, through the addition of "unused and non-productive" land to the "exploited mata," that well over one-half of the total area of the Recôncavo was in wild vegetation.

137 192 In east-central Bahia three terms are used both colloqiually and professionally to designate the wild vegetation: (1) Mata is used generally to refer to the littoral evergreen forest of the Brazilian east coast. (2) Caatinga refers to the semi-deciduous scrub-forest of the northeastern Brazilian interior. (3) Agreste designates the transitional forest, intermediate in structure and position between the mata and the caatinga.[32]

137 Vegetation Types. The narrow coastal plain of eastern Brazil, from the Rio Paraíba—in eastern Rio de Janeiro state—to central Bahia, bears a heavy evergreen forest or selva.[33] The northern end of this forest belt is the Baía de Todos os Santos. Although the trees are lower and the species somewhat less diverse than in northern Brazil, the littoral forests of the Recôncavo and the Bahian coast farther south are a characteristic variation of the "tropical rain forest."

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137 not unique to the coast of northern Bahia--it extends northward along the littoral almost to Cape São Roque, with the Recôncavo forming its [233] southern limit. In Bahia the grazing value of the agreste is not great, since the grassland areas consist of small and scattered patches and since there are relatively few herbaceous plants which are palatable to grazing animals.

The characteristic vegetation of the dry interior of the Northeast is the scrub forest, called caatinga or, sometimes, sertão.[34] Compared with the agreste, the grassy patches are more extensive, and the trees are lower. The tall vegetation of the scrub forest consists of thorny, xerophytic, deciduous brush and low trees and of low palms, especially the licurí (Syagrus Coronata). Cacti are very common in the caatinga of Bahia; the tall branched cactus is a very conspicuous element in the landscape, and there are several low, thorny cacti on [233] the scrub-forest floor. The cover also contains many herbaceous plants which are valuable forage.

137 132 Both the agreste and the caatinga show a phenomenal seasonal rhythm in response to the rainfall cycle. During the dry season in the caatinga the landscape is brown, bare of leaves, and hostile with thorns; the only green plants are the cacti. Much of the earth is bare, and its brown is indistinguishable from the bare trunks and twisted branches of the scrub trees. With the first rains a tremendous exuberance of green leaves, coarse grass, and succulent herbs [233] spring up, and the entire landscape is transformed. During this season the caatinga provides good forage for herds of cattle, sheep, and goats. But this lush season is brief, and soon the caatinga is again brown. In some years there is no rain, and although the stubborn vegetation manages to survive in a dormant state, men and animals must leave for the more humid coastal forests.

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[12] Teixeira, in his "Solos do Recôncavo da Bahia," pp. 36 and 38, gives the following data (here summarized) for the soils of Paranagua, near Rio Fundo in the município of Santo Amaro:

	Per cent		Per cent
Clay	28 - 48	Total Nitrogen	0.224
Lime	19 - 34	Exchangeable Calcium ME	44.8
Fine Sand	23 - 41	Exchangeable Magnesium ME	6.8
Coarse Sand	1.6- 6.5	Clorides	0.011
Residual Humidity	2.6- 5	Phosphorus	0.055
Rock	3.6- 10.7	Potassium Cloride	0.585
Water Capacity	40 - 58	Sodium Cloride	1.1577

[13] The Rio Pojuca has a gradient of 1-1351 from Catuiçara in northern Santo Amaro to the cidade of Pojuca, near the point at which the river enters the crystalline. The Rio Traripe has a gradient of about 1-125 for its last 10 km. before entering the Bay. Its valley is deeply incised, with deep gullies on the slopes.

[135] [14] These rock fragments, usually much weathered, almost invariably were identified as either gneiss or granite in the exposures observed in the field.

[15] Teixeira, op. cit., pp. 31-39.

[16] Bondar, op. cit., p. 256.

[17] One of the islands of the group pendant to the middle of the north coast.

[171] [18] Thus this part of Brazil is not like many areas in the United States, where relatively uniform cultivation practices are conspicuously minimizing soils differences.

[114] [19] According to the Köppen system of classification the coastal Recôncavo has an Af (tropical rainforest) climate, and the interior an Aw (tropical savanna) climate. According to the Thornthwaite system, all of the Recôncavo has a Ca'w (subhumid tropical with winter rainfall deficiency) climate. Glen T. Trewartha, An Introduction to Climate (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1954), plates II and III.

[20] Gilberto Freyre, Nordeste (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio Livraria Editora, 1937), pp. 9, 21.

132 127 [21] Official data from government weather stations was available for only four places in the Recôncavo--Salvador and São Bento das Lajes, in the município of São Francisco, on the littoral of the Bay; and Cruz das Almas and São Gonçalo in the western interior. Of these, only Salvador had maintained a continuous record over a relatively long period--including the years immediately preceeding the field study. There were a number of stations in adjacent parts of the state of Bahia, but none were close enough to the Recôncavo to be reliable guides to its climatic pattern.

The data upon which the climatic analysis of this study was based came from three basic sources: (1) Ministério da Agricultura, Departamento Nacional da Produção Mineral, Divisão de Águas Secção de Hidrologia, Atlas Pluviométrico do Brasil 1911-1938 (Boletim #5. Rio de Janeiro: Departamento Nacional da Produção Mineral, Divisão de Águas Secção de

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127 Hidrologia, 1948). (2) Ministério da Agricultura, Serviço de Meteorologia,
132 Normais Climatológicas (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço de Meteorologia, 1941).
(3) Data made available by the meteorological section of the Instituto Agronômico Léste at Cruz das Almas,

132 The risks involved in using these data are considerable. Of the
127 20 meteorological stations in eastern and central Bahia, only 2 or
114 perhaps 3 are reliable. For the others, gross errors and even deliberate falsification are notorious. Probably the data for Salvador is reasonably dependable, and during the field investigation for this study, there was opportunity to observe the conscientious attention to detail at Cruz das Almas.

The sheer lack of meteorological stations makes it necessary to infer most of the climatic pattern of the Recôncavo. It is fortunate that the two dependable stations occupy relatively representative sites in terms of the terrain and the land-sea relationship. Nevertheless, even the highly generalized climatic analysis of this section is offered with considerable hesitation. It is included in the study primarily as a base for agricultural research and, it is hoped, as a stimulant to a more adequate analysis of weather and climate for the Recôncavo.

000 [22]The municípios of Santo Estêvão, Feira de Santana, and Irará.

[137] [23]Often the slopes are more heavily forested than the surrounding tablelands, but it is not absolutely certain that this difference is unrelated to land use--the slopes are usually too steep for cultivation. In a number of municípios immediately to the east of this dry belt perennial or seasonal ponds were observed at the eastern or southern base of a number of monadnocks. Presumably these ponds are related to heavier precipitation on the slopes above.

[24]The mean annual precipitation of São Bento das Lajes (in the município of São Francisco) is 1947 mm. At São Gonçalo the mean annual precipitation is 1005 mm.

[25]According the advice of agronomists in the area. This approximation is based upon the general experience of the cultivators and not upon controlled experiments which could take into account varying temperatures, humidity, and soil moisture conditions.

[26]The mean of the deviations at Cruz das Almas was 33 per cent.

[249] [27]Except that 100 mm. is considered to be the minimum for tobacco cultivation, this exact figure has no particular significance. It is used here merely as a device to record the movement and duration of the season.

[249] [28]This seems to reflect accurately the climatic situation in the Coastal Plain, where sugar cane is grown, for the cane planters frequently complain of the irregularity of the end of the wet season.

[29]It is not possible to assign strict values for "too much" and "too little" precipitation in these agricultural zones of the Recôncavo. In the tobacco zone there is likely to be difficulty if the precipitation for September--or the following months--the cutting period, falls below

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TABLE XII

COMPOSITION OF RECÔNCAVO POPULATION 1940-1950

Year	Total Population	Urban Centers	Rural Population	Agricultural Labor Force
		Absolute		
1940	924,032	368,932	555,100	189,967
1950	1,072,452	493,944	578,508	196,468
Change	+ 148,420	+125,012	+ 23,408	+ 6,501
		Relative		
1940	100 %	40 %	60 %	21 %
1950	100 %	46 %	54 %	18 %
Change		+ 6 %	- 6 %	- 3 %
		Growth of Recôncavo Population		
1940 to 1950	16 %	34 %	4 %	3 %
		Per cent of Total Growth		
1940 to 1950	100 %	84 %	16 %	4 %

connections with the western section of the Recôncavo. On the other hand, its location combines oceanic access with the rest of Brazil, Europe, and the Americas and a direct approach, via the Bay, to all of the central municípios of the Recôncavo.

The major concentrations of rural, agricultural population in the region are in the outer municípios of the Southwestern, Northwestern, and Northern Recôncavo. In the southwest, there is a notable concentration on the Crystalline Uplands. In the northern part of the Recôncavo, the concentrations lie along the dissected edges of the Tertiary taboleiros. Thus most of the agricultural people of the region live in upland areas of deep, porous soils and marginal rainfall. The only major lowland concentration of agricultural people is in the area of Cretaceous clay soils on the Coastal Plain of the Central Recôncavo. The relatively small size of the agricultural population in this area is reflective of the declining role of sugar cane cultivation in the Recôncavo.

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249 In addition to these major and minor concentrations of production, there was scattered cultivation in most of the outer ring of municípios of the Recôncavo, especially in Catu, in Alagoinhas, and in Santo Estêvão and adjacent western São Gonçalo. On the other hand, tobacco cultivation was conspicuously absent in the Central and Southern Recôncavo.

249 311 In 1948 tobacco was grown on 27 per cent of the total cropland of the region. The zone of intensive tobacco production, as shown by the proportion of the cultivated land which it occupies, is clearly revealed on the accompanying map (Map 32). In a continuous belt, which follows the humid edges of the Uplands and adjacent Intermediate Hills from Santo Antônio to Catu, tobacco was grown on over 30 per cent of all cropland in 1948. There were extensive areas in which over half the cultivated land was in tobacco—a remarkable showing for a non-food commercial crop grown on a small scale by semi-subsistence cultivators.

The gradients which separate the belt of intensive tobacco production from the Bay littoral and from the Central Recôncavo are very steep. On the other hand, the inland transition from intensive tobacco production to the scattered cultivation of the dry caatinga is very gradual. In the lowlands tobacco almost everywhere occupied less than 10 per cent of the cultivated area in 1948; in the caatinga to the west it was grown on 10 to 20 per cent of the total cropland.

249 134 132 There is a basic association between tobacco cultivation and the Crystalline and Tabular Upland; production is concentrated along the wetter, inner edge of these formations, in a zone which closely corresponds to the forest and scrub forest boundary. Tobacco is practically excluded from the humid Coastal Plain and littoral sections of the Intermediate Hills. It might be assumed that the location of tobacco is a result of the monopolization of the humid, clay-soil Coastal Plain

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 134 132

by sugar or other commercial crops, but this does not appear to be the case. There are a few patches of tobacco in the garden plots of sugar cane workers, but the small quantity of tobacco produced in the Central Recôncavo is rank and harsh, despite cultivation practices almost identical with the high-quality areas. Apparently high grade leaf production is excluded by the climate-soil complex of this zone.

Local agronomists and cultivators familiar with tobacco cultivation insist that such areas as Cruz das Almas and São Gonçalo are optimum for tobacco, and certainly the leaf of these areas brings the best price. It is said that the best tobacco in these areas is produced on the "poor" soils of the upland surfaces--leached sandy loams. In the Southwestern Recôncavo the "better" soils--that is, heavier soils found on the slopes and bottomlands--are not used for tobacco, although they produce good yields of corn, beans, or manioc. Precipitation is also a very important locational factor, both indirectly, as an agent in soil formation, and directly, as a source of moisture for the plants. Too little moisture will produce a gummy tobacco which is very difficult to cure. Too much moisture, a rarity in these areas, produces a washed-out, insipid leaf.

A comparison of the maps of tobacco types[16] (Map 138) and of soils (Map 6) and precipitation (Maps 7 and 8) indicates quite clearly that the best grade of tobacco--"Mata"--is grown on the most humid section of the zone of crystalline soils, i.e, the Southwestern Recôncavo and Santo Antônio. This is also, of course, the area of most intensive production. In general this same combination of physical elements is characteristic of the smaller "Mata" area around São Gonçalo.

The second most valuable grade of tobacco, "Caatinga," is grown west of the Southwestern Recôncavo and, within the Recôncavo, in

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 134 132 Santo Estêvão. The third grade—"Feira"—is grown on the humid edge of the sandy Tertiary uplands. This suggests that it is soil which is the immediate control of quality, although precipitation is the over-all factor. Although the southern part of the zone of Tertiary soils is more humid than the crystalline zone peripheral to the Recôncavo, the tobacco of the former--"Feira"—is less valuable than the "Caatinga" grade of the latter. The drier Tertiary zone produces only fumo em corda but the even drier crystalline zone, stretching west to the Chapada Diamantina, manages to produce the cheap but salable "Sertão" leaf. Thus in every case the crystalline soils, with equal or even less precipitation than the Tertiary zone, produce a better grade of leaf tobacco.

249 433 In 1948 the yields of the main zones of tobacco cultivation were from 750 to 1,000 kilograms per hectare (Map 33). Yields were higher in the Central Recôncavo, where there is only trivial production of low quality leaf. Yields were also higher in isolated sections of the "Sertão" and "Caatinga" grade zones to the west.[17] The mean yield of the Recôncavo, 840 kilograms per hectare, was slightly above the 808 kilograms per hectare of the state of Bahia as a whole. This yield compares very favorably with the yield of Cuba, 640 kilograms per hectare, and Indonesia, 530 to 650 kilograms per hectare on Estates, but is lower than that of Mexico, 1,010, Canada, 1,360, or the United States, 1,400.[18]

[241] The production of most of the chief crops of the Recôncavo is somewhat stabilized by steady demand for food--in the case of manioc, corn, and beans—or by government control—in the case of sugar cane. In contrast, tobacco is a highly speculative and mobile crop. It is produced primarily by small cultivators in anticipation of a combination

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 172]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

245 311 small coffee groves occupied as much as one-third of the total cultivated area (Map 56). In São Félix coffee was the second ranking crop in area of cultivation, in São Filipe, the third. The coffee cultivation in these municípios is concentrated along the eastern side of the tobacco-manioc area, on the rough Intermediate Hills. The slope-land [134] [132] soils are relatively fertile; yet there is not too much precipitation for the harvesting and drying of the beans.

Although coffee production in the "coffee zone" beyond the Recôncavo is on a moderately large scale, within the Southwestern Recôncavo coffee is planted in very small, irregular plots. The coffee is shade-grown, usually under a remnant of old mata or under jackfruit and similar trees. Except in São Filipe and São Félix, it is generally cultivated as an auxiliary rather than as a principal crop. The harvest is non-selective, and the entire bush is stripped at one time. 245 311 433 The beans produced under this system are of low quality compared with the selected beans of the Spanish-American highlands, but the people of Bahia claim that their coffee has a special flavor. The mean yield of coffee in the Recôncavo in 1948 was about 300 kilograms per hectare, compared to over 400 kilograms per hectare for Brazil. The main center of production had yields near the mean of 300 kilograms per hectare, except for São Filipe which produced less than 200 kilograms per hectare (Map 57). Yields, as derived from the official data, were highly variable among the minor producers.

245 Cocomut. In a sense the coconut is, like coffee, an alien intrusion into the Recôncavo. Although Bahia is by far the leading producer of coconuts in Brazil—they are called côcos da Bahia—the main centers of production are on the coast north and, to a lesser extent, south of the Recôncavo.

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Footnotes - Chapter V

000 [1]The outstanding example of the ribbon development of cropland is along the highway which traverses the Crystalline Uplands from Santo Antônio to Feira de Santana. Each of the cidades along this road—Conceição do Almeida, Cruz das Almas, Muritiba, São Félix, Cachoeira, Conceição da Feira, and São Gonçalo—is the center of an intensively cultivated zone and is connected with the others by a belt of cropland running along the highway. In part this ribbon development is the result [133] of restrictive factors; in Conceição da Feira and São Gonçalo the intensively cultivated strip runs between the rough Intermediate Hills on the • [132] east and the dry caatinga on the west. The same negative relationships are characteristic of the Southwestern Recôncavo, but the intermediate zone of acceptable terrain and climate is here broader than in the north.

[2]Produção Agrícola: 1948.

[3]Ministério da Agricultura, Serviço de Estatística da Produção, "Pobulação Pecuária, Em 31/12/1948."

[4]For a map of manioc production in Latin America, see: Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, Map of "Manioc Estimated Production Latin America," Agriculture in the Americas, Vol. III, Nos. 8-9 (August-September, 1947), p. 120.

[128] [5]A more detailed discussion of processing of farinha de mandioca is given in Chapter X.

[6]Ruth Matos Almeida Simões, "Comentário do Mapa da Produção de Mandioca no Estado da Bahia," Boletim Geográfico, Vol. XI, No. 112. (January-February, 1953) pp. 84-86.

[7]It is likely that the official figures underestimate the area and production of manioc. A considerable part of the crop is grown on small plots remote from political centers and well-traveled routes and may thus have escaped the enumerator. Moreover, its cultivation is so commonplace and its exchange often so local and in such small quantities that even tax-conscious local government officials may easily be unaware [127] of small and scattered plots which in sum may bulk fairly large. Some of the official data which have been used in the analysis of manioc cultivation, production, and value have been modified. For a discussion of these modifications and for maps based upon the unmodified data, see Appendix D.

[8]Conceição do Almeida, Cruz das Almas, and São Filipe.

[9]This popular and official view underestimates the importance of manioc production in its own right. The commercial element in manioc [128] production is discussed in Chapter IX.

[128] [10]The system of manioc cultivation will be discussed in conjunction with the tobacco-manioc system in Chapter VI.

[245] [11]The "coffee zone" of Bahia includes a number of municípios, fro Laje (adjoining Santo Antônio) to Jequié along the Estrada de Ferro Naza

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954) 1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 [457] purchased in Europe at the expense of precious foreign exchange, tobacco can be processed for the trade with only a shed and a few crude presses. [489] Rather than a relatively expensive rail net to assemble the crop, tobacco can be carried by truck, small boat, or even by pack animal. More- [433] over, since the cultivation of tobacco is integrated with the production of food and is primarily an activity of small farmers, it is possible to adjust the size of the crop from year to year with a minimum sacrifice of capital investment.

277 The tobacco industry of the Recôncavo has a number of disadvantages as a base for commercial development which may be summarized as problems of: (1) land; (2) markets; and (3) system of production.

249 311 Leaf tobacco production in the Recôncavo and in the adjoining areas of Bahia is confined to a narrow belt between the humid edges of the Up- [134] lands and the dry interior of the state. An expansion toward the coast would bring tobacco first into the Intermediate Hills where the upland soils which are preferred for tobacco cultivation are of limited area and then into the humid lowlands in which the Cretaceous soils are unsuitable, apparently, for the cultivation of quality leaf tobacco [132] and in which the Tertiary soils are extremely infertile. An expansion westward would bring tobacco into an area where the precipitation in [134] most years is inadequate. The interior north of the tobacco area is dry and has very poor soils, the Tertiary upland soils. There is an [137] opportunity for the further expansion of the cultivation of tobacco toward the southwest along the forest and scrub forest boundary into a region which produces the same general type of tobacco as the Southwestern Recôncavo--the "Mata" grade. This apparently is the meaning of the increased tobacco production in Santo Antônio. It should be possible, at least as far as the soils and climate are concerned, to continue the expansion toward the southwest into the adjoining

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249 311 soils under more dependable rainfall conditions than are characteristic of the other zones.

The "Caatinga" zone includes Santo Estêvão, Castro Alves, Ipirá, and Santa Teresinha--the município west of Castro Alves. When the rains [132] [134] of the growing season--June, July, and August--are plentiful, these tobaccos are much like those of the "Mata" zone, though somewhat harsher--probably because of the more saline soils. If precipitation is scarce, the tobacco is gummy and requires long curing--two years or so--before use. If the rains fail entirely, a second attempt may be made to plant during the summer rains of November, December, and January.

The "Feira" zone includes Feira de Santana, Coração de Maria, Irará, Alagoinhas, Catu, Pojuca, northeastern Santo Amaro, and northern São Sebastião, as well as Inhambupe, Entre Rios, and Serrinha. "Feira" leaf is often large, rather dark, and moderately strong, and requires [132] at least two years for curing. Like the "Caatinga," its quality varies in response to changes in precipitation, but in general it is more uniform.

"Sertão" tobacco is highly diverse in type and quality. Its zone of production is large in size, extending west to the Chapada Diamantina and southward beyond the Rio de Contas. Generally this leaf is large and coarse, but as a result of the diverse physical conditions in the scattered areas in which the crop is produced, the quality of the leaf is variable over a wide range.

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*[249] tant centers of colonial life, and until 1763 Salvador was the capital of the Portuguese colony.

The Recôncavo helped to make Brazil a unique part of the Portuguese empire in the sixteenth century. Brazil was different from any of the other Portuguese colonies, for its wealth proved to lie in agriculture rather than in trade, as
133 was the case in India and Africa. The Bay of All Saints, with a circumference of 200 kilometers, is in effect an inland sea,
[361] the entrance to which can be guarded from the heights on which the city of Salvador is situated. There are a number of picturesque islands throughout the bay, with good beaches and landing facilities. Many small rivers empty into the bay, and numerous creeks navigable at high tide extend further inland
[487] along its shores. The presence of such a large network of navigable waters was an important factor in the rapid development of the Recôncavo, providing easy and inexpensive transportation of sugar to the point of shipment to Europe.

• 132 The climate is semitropical, with two seasons. Summer, from September to sometime in March, is relatively dry, dotted by showers and thunderstorms and cooled by fresh breezes blowing in from the Atlantic. Winter begins in April, lasting until August or September, the exact time of change differing from year to year. This season is marked by continued rain, usually a soft, constantly falling drizzle or light rain, interspersed with heavy showers, as front after front moves in from the Atlantic, dropping its moisture before being pushed upward by the abruptly rising land which surrounds the Recôncavo. According to statistics for the years 1914 to 1938, the months of minimum rainfall are October, November, and December; during this time the average rainfall was 11.81 inches. The period of maximum rainfall is April, May, and June, with an average of 35.83 inches for the three-month period. The yearly average from 1914 to 1938 was 65.93 inches.[1] The temperature range is from 70 to 90 degrees Fahrenheit.

134 The soil of the Recôncavo, especially that of the sugar-Recôncavo, is extraordinarily fertile. It is a heavy black soil, known as massapê, approximately 6 inches to 2 feet thick, covering a clayey subsoil, known locally as tauá. Here and there are outcroppings of sand and mixtures of sand with clay.

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1. Atlas pluviometrico do Brasil (Rio de Janeiro, 1914-1938).

mers. However, on almost every plantation there are brick- 312
lined springs from which the inhabitants get their drinking water. Women or children carrying five-gallon cans of water on [482]
their heads, and donkeys carrying four wooden kegs of water, [492]
are common sights along the roads of the Recôncavo. For the
cattle and other livestock of the plantations, drinking places 231
are excavated wherever there promises to be enough water. 312
Frequently, however, these go dry in the summer, especially [132]
during the drought years which occur cyclically in rhythm with the droughts of the sertão. At such times loss of cattle is prevalent, except on plantations situated near one of the small rivers.

A high-voltage electric line passes through this section 377
leading from the generating station further inland to the capital city. Recently most of the plantations have been able to connect with this line, so that at least the owners' houses have electric light. The houses of the workers are without it except at the factory, where the mill supplies its own electric power which is carried to almost all the workers' houses.

There are four state schools and one county school distrib- 871
uted among the plantations. The central school in the town of Vila Recôncavo is not attended by children from the plantations. Two plantations have their own chapels, which are vis- 347
ited at irregular intervals by the priests of Vila Recôncavo. 796
On the other plantations a small altar is set up in the owner's 793
house for special occasions such as Christmas, when the town priest is invited to celebrate the Mass.

There is in the town a medical post with a visiting doctor, 743
a dentist, and several nurses in training, which is administered by a Franciscan lay brother and supported by federal, state, and county funds and by private donations. This post is fairly recent, and its influences are spreading only slowly to the rural area. Also in the town is a small county medical [249]*
post run by a resident physician. The sugar factory has a dispensary with a nurse and is visited by the town doctor. Al- [752]
most every plantation has its own first-aid equipment, generally in the owner's house.

There are no fairs in the community. There are stores in 543
the town and a large supply store at the factory, run by the 443
corporation, and nearly every plantation has its own small [249]*
store. Major purchases are made at the weekly market in Centro, in the neighboring county. There are also traveling ped-

is very rough, though strong. Most of the men complain about it, for it cuts their hands when they are fishing and the action of salt water on the cuts inflames their hands badly. 227

There are between seventy-five and one hundred canoes in Vila Recôncavo, of all sizes, from 16 to about 50 feet long. They come from the southern part of the state, and cost between Cr$1.000,00 and Cr$6.000,00 apiece, depending on their size. They are made of vinhatico preto, a large tree from which an entire canoe can be hollowed out. As the canoes grow older, they are strengthened inside by the addition of ribs. The center support (pé do banco) has a hole in it through which a mast can be stepped for sailing. The fishermen use a variety of sails, but usually a simple square sail called traquête. Four flour sacks sewn together make a passable square sail. The canoes last a long time and are handed down from generation to generation. A hundred years is not an uncommon age for such a craft. 501 [313] [428]

The majority of fishermen cannot swim well and have a great respect for the water on two counts: the water is deep, which to them implies danger, and it is said to hide large, man-eating fish. There are stories of three men who have disappeared in the last few years, snatched away by fish. One was a baixador, and the other two fell overboard. Falling is not uncommon, for often a man steps on a small fish on the bottom of the canoe or simply slips on the wet wood, loses his balance, and goes overboard, as the canoes are narrow-beamed and unstable. In their canoes they are fearless, and will go anywhere in any weather. Severe storms which arise suddenly are ridden out in the canoe, which generally lies at anchor while the men lie under cover of the sail, peering out occasionally to see if the weather is clearing. Many of them, however, become violently ill on a larger boat during a storm. 501 226 [481] [825] [164]

Winter is the most productive season for fishing, although the most uncomfortable. There are many storms, and the rains are more or less constant. But the fishermen say that the mixture of salt water with the fresh water from small rivers emptying into the bay seems to produce many more fish than in the summer months. The fishermen dress only in a pair of shorts and a straw hat when fishing, and remain in the cold rain for hours on end. Colds are common among them, as is rheumatism among the older men. 226 [221] [132] [291] [164]

There is always a market for fish. There is a discussion currently going on in Vila Recôncavo, for some of the older 226 43

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[City of Salvador]

* *121 563 races, and the ensuing termination is perhaps most clearly discernible.

131 361 [132] Bahia lies in the tropics of the Southern Hemisphere, approximately thirteen degrees south of the Equator, her naturally warm and humid climate almost constantly tempered by the refreshing Southeast Trades. Located seven hundred miles above Rio de Janeiro, the Brazilian capital, and four hundred miles below the old sugar center of Pernambuco, Bahia marks approximately the mid-point of Brazil's four thousand miles of coast line which stretches from temperate [167] Uruguay to the torrid Guianas. Some twenty-five hundred miles to the northeast lie the Gold and Slave coasts of Africa, once the home of the parents or grandparents of many present-day Bahians; directly to the east is Angola, another important source of the city's population.

175 361 In 1949 Bahia will celebrate her four hundredth anniversary. As cities go in the New World, she is an old city; in fact, one of the very oldest. Permanently founded fifty- [504] eight years before Jamestown and thirty-five years earlier than St. Augustine, this outpost of Portuguese civilization was one of the world's richest ports long before New York had outgrown her swaddling clothes.

175 162 *563 Here, shortly after 1500, set in the Portuguese transplantation, at first composed of adventurers, shipwrecked and deserting sailors; *degredados* banished from Portugal for criminal, political, or religious offenses; ambitious young men chosen for physical fitness and freedom from marital ties to serve in the colonial garrison; impoverished nobles seeking to recuperate fortunes squandered at the Portuguese court; a few officials, Jesuits, and secular clergy; Jews expelled by the Inquisition (who incidentally were to furnish a considerable portion of the much-needed capital for the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 6]

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[City of Salvador]

36 In the lower city lies, of course,
[504] the port, with its customs, warehouses, shipping and consular offices, banks, the marine arsenal, the post office, the Association of Commerce, the principal public market, jewelry shops, hardware and cigar stores, and most of the men's shops of the city. Up on the promontory and extending out toward the suburbs are the public buildings and most of the churches, the convents and monasteries, hotels and movie theaters, the public library, museums, professional schools, primary and secondary institutions, hospitals, women's shops, photographic galleries, furniture and dry-goods stores, confectionary stalls, the "five and tens," physicians' and dentists' offices, clubs, the principal parks and *praças*, and the residential areas of the city.

131 Bahia the city is the economic and political capital of Bahia the state, whose area of 342,000 square miles makes
133 it considerably larger than Texas. The region is composed in large part of a vast plain of gneiss formation which rises abruptly from the comparatively narrow coastal belt to heights varying from 600 to 1,200 feet in the interior.
[135] Upon this plateau and running north and south across the central portion of the state lie a series of low mountains composed principally of sedimentary rock, sandstone, or conglomerates and containing such minerals as iron, manganese, copper, lead, gold, and diamonds (including the
• 132 black *carbonado* so essential for tool-cutting). This mountain
133 barrier acts as a valuable condenser, gathering moisture for a land which otherwise might be virtually desert. In the extreme western part of the state the plateau is composed of sandstone overlying limestone, and thus it provides a natural sponge which assures perennial rivers in a region where light rains and near drought alternate in six-month periods.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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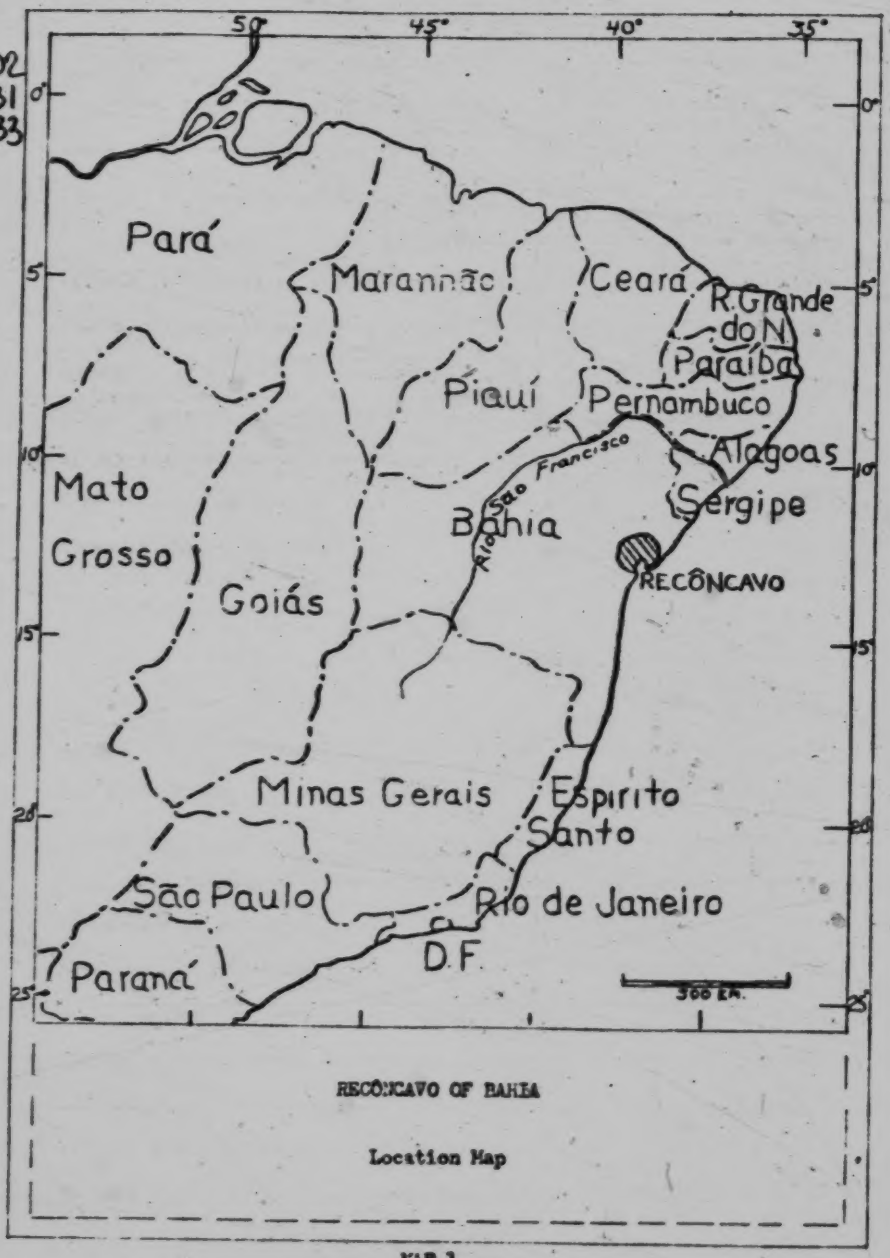

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Location Map

MAP 1

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

• 133 Landforms. Flat surfaces are a characteristic feature of the landscape of the Recôncavo. Where these flat surfaces are low and undivided, they form the plains of the coast and the central Recôncavo. Where they are higher and separated by valleys into relatively extensive tabular segments, they form the uplands of the north and west of the region. Where the flat surfaces are dissected into numerous small tabular or rounded segments, they form the belt of intermediate hills. The slopes separating the hills and the uplands have different forms. Some tabular surfaces are separated by steep and rugged slopes, occasionally leading to flat valley floors. In other cases rounded slopes are common. The accompanying map of east-central Bahia delineates four zones in each of which a distinctive association of these various forms is characteristic.[1]

The Tabular Uplands. The Tabular Uplands have a landscape of considerable simplicity. They have been formed upon a surface of relatively flat-lying sedimentary rock, generally Tertiary sandstone, although sometimes Cretaceous shale has been exposed in the valleys.[2] The surface has been subdivided by stream erosion into tabular segments called taboleiros. Many of these taboleiros are very extensive: one continuous taboleiro on the northern border of the Recôncavo covers a large part of northern Irará, southern Inhambupe, and eastern Serrinha. They are essentially plain surfaces with a local relief on the order of ten meters or less. At the edges these tablelands break away sharply into very rough zones, often of badland topography. The larger valleys are cut one hundred meters or so below the upland surface. Minor valleys are generally narrow, but the major streams have cut laterally so that they have produced relatively flat-bottomed valleys up to two [134] or three kilometers wide. The taboleiro surface is commonly mantled

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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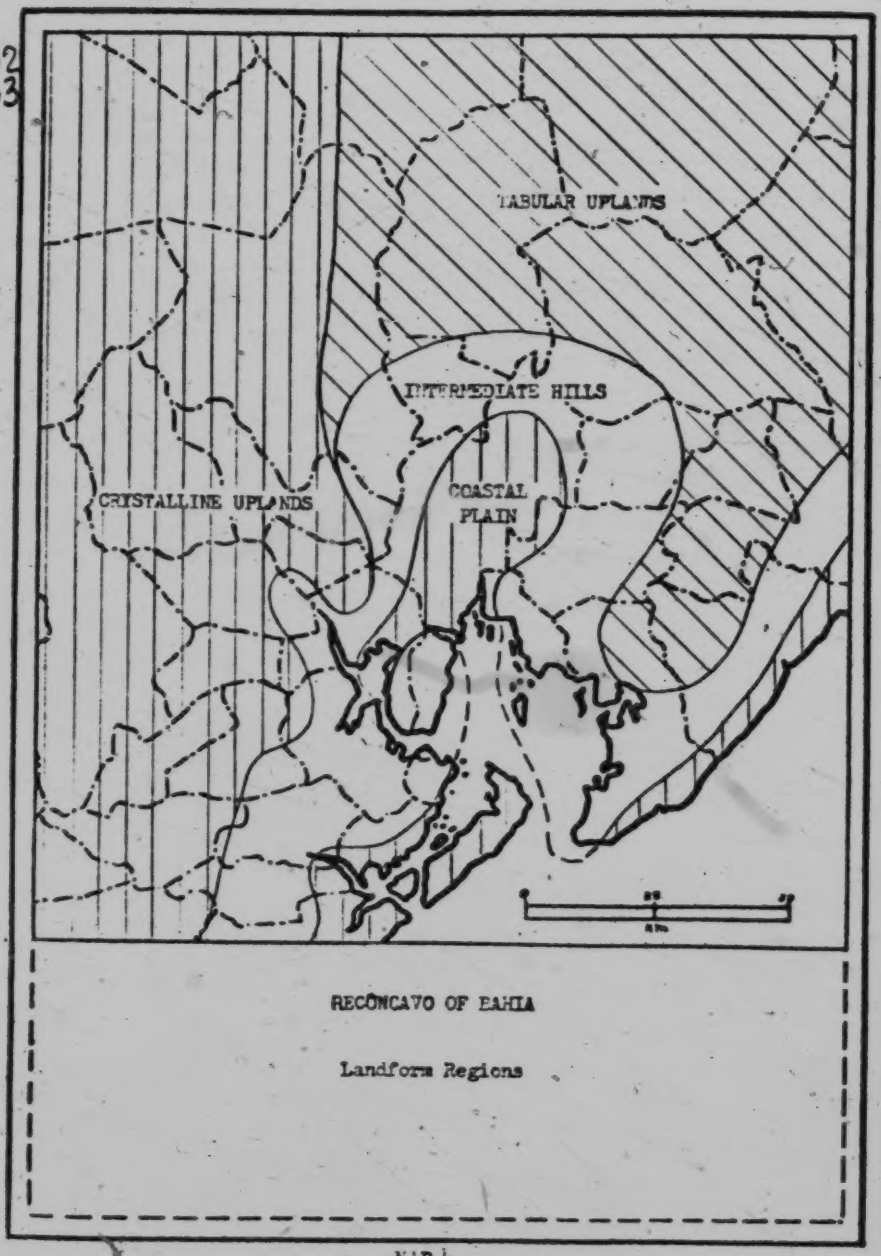

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Landform Regions

MAP 4

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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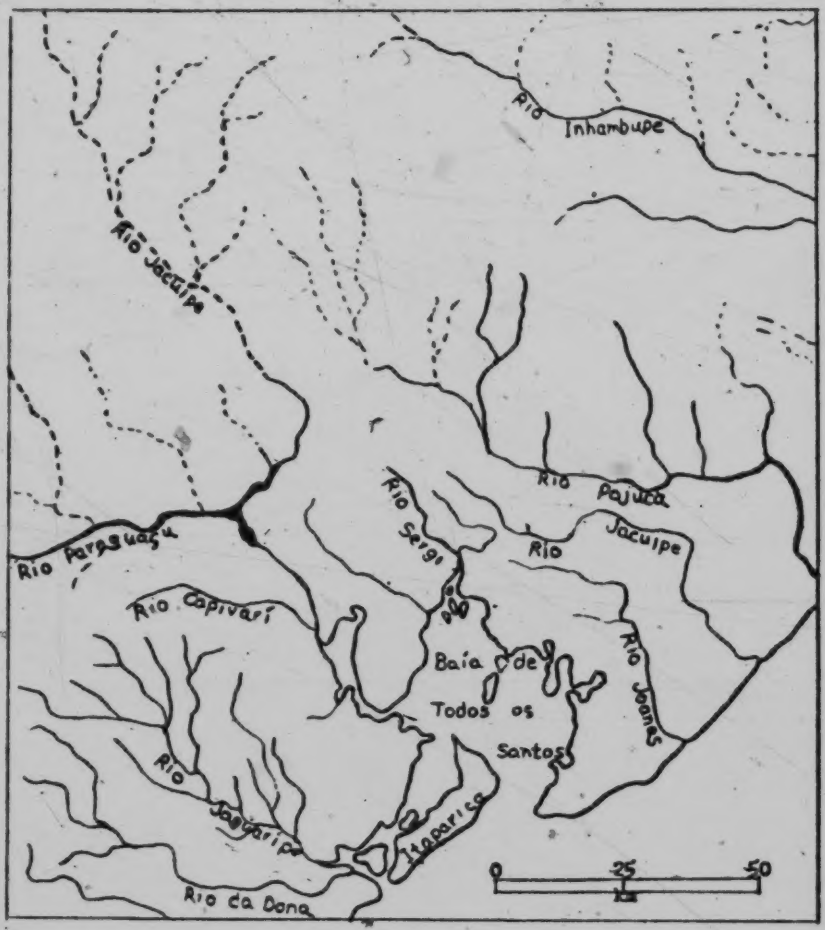

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Important Physical Features

MAP 5

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

133 in a layer of porous sand, and surface drainage is not well developed.
134 The valley floors are often choked with loose sand brought down from the upland, which is re-sorted and shifted by the rising streams in the wet season.

133 The southern part of the Tabular Upland zone, which borders the Recôncavo, is drained by two major river systems which flow directly eastward to the open ocean. The Rio Inhambupe rises in the midst of the vast taboleiros of Serrinha, Inhambupe, and Irará and skirts the northern boundary of the Recôncavo. The southern edge of the Tabular Upland zone, lying within the Recôncavo, is drained by tributaries of the Rio Pojuca, which flow southward to join the main stream in its eastward course to the ocean.

The Crystalline Uplands. Tabular surfaces of a different order are characteristic of the crystalline zone which stretches from the western margin of the Bay westward to the Chapada Diamantina. These surfaces have been formed upon a relatively flat platform of crystalline rock--the so-called crystalline peneplain of Eastern and Northeastern Brazil. In this part of Bahia, however, the rock surface usually is buried deeply under a layer of residual mantle and appears only on valley walls and bottoms. The mantle has been dissected into tabular segments which are generally smaller than those of the Tabular Uplands. The valley formation is more distinctive: after an abrupt break the slopes form a continuous curve so that the valley bottoms are relatively more narrow and are gently sloping. Rising above the general upland level are occasional monadnocks with rounded, often rocky, surfaces.

So similar are the upper surfaces of the crystalline zone to those of the Tabular Uplands that the individual surfaces occasionally

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

133 [134] are called taboleiros. This similarity is enhanced by the occasional appearance of sandy surface materials. However, the taboleiros of the Tabular Uplands are generally extensive; the individual uplands of the crystalline zone are generally of limited area. Valleys are an exceptional and areally limited part of the Tabular Uplands; in the crystalline, the valleys occupy a very significant part of the land, although collectively the area in tabular surfaces exceeds that in valleys.

The upland surfaces of the crystalline, like the Tabular Uplands, lack surface drainage. Where the upland surface is extensive, shallow circular depressions are often encountered. Some of these form large, shallow lakes or swamps overlying impervious clay layers. Equally characteristic is a small circular depression, ten to fifty meters in diameter, with a pit in the center through which water drains into the porous subsoil.[3] Neither of these depression forms was observed outside the crystalline zone.

Swamps and ponds are also found in the valley bottoms. Very often a resistant section of bedrock forms a constriction in the valley walls, and when this constriction becomes choked, streams are partially dammed. The streams themselves almost invariably originate in springs at the bottom of steeply sloping valley walls. A very characteristic site for these springs is in the very regular ampitheater-like bowls at the valley heads.

Almost all of the Crystalline Uplands of the Recôncavo are drained by a single river system—the Paraguaçu. The main stream and its major tributaries rise in the Chapada Diamantina and the Serra da Sincorá far to the west in central Bahia. By the time it has reached the Recôncavo, the Paraguaçu is deeply entrenched in the upland. It

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

133 drains only a narrow belt along each side by means of short, precipitous, and intermittent streams. Its main northern tributary, the Rio Jacuípe,[4] which is less deeply entrenched, drains the northern half of the Crystalline Uplands within the Recôncavo. The Rio Capivarí, which joins the estuary of the Paraguaçu, drains part of the southern half. The extreme southern part is drained by south-flowing tributaries of the Rio Jaguaripe, which reaches the ocean at the southernmost extreme of the Bay.

The Intermediate Hills. The coastal margins of both the Tabular and the Crystalline Uplands have general elevations of about 150 meters. The drop from this elevation to the coastal plain takes the form of a rough and deeply-dissected hill land, here called the Intermediate Hills. Tabular forms are still important in this area, especially along the interior boundary. However, these hills are differentiated from the uplands because of the relatively large amount of the total area which is in slope.

In those areas where the hills are cut in crystalline rock--along the edge of the Crystalline Uplands and along the coast north of Salvador--rounded, narrow-valley profiles are common. In the part of the hill land south of the Paraguaçu the transition from upland to seashore is very rapid, and the hills are particularly rough. North of the Paraguaçu and along the north coast the hills are less rugged.

In the northern Recôncavo, where the hills are cut in sedimentary material, the slopes are straight and steep, the valleys extremely narrow, and the whole complex minutely dissected. The sequence of hill forms from the uplands to the plains have the following characteristic stages: (1) in the upland the valleys cut deeper and the flat surfaces become smaller and smaller; (2) the valleys become very deep

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133 (100 meters), and all flat upper surfaces disappear; (3) the height and circumference of the hills decrease and the valley floors widen; and finally (4) the plains dominate the surface.

The Intermediate Hills continue both north and south of the Recôncavo. In the south they become progressively rougher as they approach the low serras which here lie near to the coast. To the north, beyond the Recôncavo, the hills have relatively gentle slopes.

The Coastal Plain. Along the ocean both north and south of the Recôncavo the Coastal Plain is narrow. This plain enters the Recôncavo through the Bay (Baía de Todos os Santos) and forms a pocket of low-lying, relatively flat land which is the heart, geographically and historically, of the region. Most of surface of this zone is an undulant plain with an almost complete lack of steep slopes, but there are exceptions. In terms of the amount of land in steep slope and of elevation, the plain falls naturally into two sections. The part of the Coastal Plain which directly borders the ocean, including the islands of the Bay, lies very close to sea level. In the interior of the island of Itaparica and the smaller islands there are occasional steep slopes, but these are formed either on small hills or low sea cliffs.

The section of the Coastal Plain north of the Bay lies at an elevation of from 75 to 125 meters. Its surface is very gently undulating, and there are no steep slopes except for scattered and isolated hills near the interior margins and for the rough zone separating the slightly elevated plain from the Bay. Only around the cidade of Santo Amaro is there an appreciable plains area at near sea level. Much the same alignment of landforms is found in the smaller compartment of the Coastal Plain at the head of the Bacia do Iguape in the município of Cachoeira.

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133 The parts of the Coastal Plain along the ocean and above the Bacia do Iguape are drained by local streams. In the more extensive plain north of the Bay there are a number of larger and more significant rivers and streams. The northern part of the latter area is drained by the Rio Pojuca, the middle part by the Rios Jacuípe and Joanes, and the southern part by the Rios Traripe and Sergi. The Traripe and Sergi enter the Bay, but the other, larger streams drain eastward to the ocean. Except where the Traripe and the Sergi cross the rough edge of the plain, all the stream valleys are relatively shallow.

The Bay. There remains a last section to deal with—a very significant part of the Recôncavo, but not properly a "landform" area. This is the Baía de Todos os Santos. The Bay may be viewed as a central parallelogram which contains within it the deep water and which has a number of shallow, jointed channels extended from the corners. Beyond these channels, estuaries extend the Bay inland in three directions. Structurally the Bay is a part of the rift valley, but its present outline corresponds to the major fault scarp in only one place—in Salvador. Here the scarp separates the upper and lower [134] sections of the city. Elsewhere the form of the Bay is determined by erosion of, and to a lesser extent, deposition upon the folded and faulted sedimentary deposits accumulated within the rift. These processes have produced a northern coast of bluff-enclosed bays and steep-sided archipelagoes, a western coast which is relatively straight and which rises to a higher elevation above the Baía de Todos os Santos, and on the south, the island of Itaparica, which stands like a door half-closed across the entrance to the Bay.

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133 487 The three most significant channels enter the western Bay from north, west, and south. Of these the Rio Sergi, on the north, is navigable for the shortest distance--this estuary is navigable by river launch only to Conde, which is the approximate limit of salt water, but sailing boats penetrate to the cidade of Santo Amaro.

The lower Paraguaçu provides entrance westward deep into the Intermediate Hills and to the edge of the Crystalline Uplands and opens a route to a smaller bay--the Bacia do Iguape. Motor vessels can reach São Roque, Maragogipe, and Cachoeira-São Félix through this deeply incised channel.

The southern channel, broader but more shallow, passes between the island of Itaparica and the mainland and entering the estuary of the Jaguaripe extends as far as Nazaré, which is the head of navigation of the southern area peripheral to the Recôncavo.

The Bay is the central area of the southern Recôncavo. Two of the channels, the Paraguaçu and the Sergi, link parts of the Recôncavo with the Bay. The third, which leads to Nazaré, primarily connects the Bay with an area outside the Recôncavo.

133 Land - Summary. In the Recôncavo there is much flat land in the uplands, but the area in plains is relatively limited. In the uplands, and to a lesser extent in the hills and along the margins of the plains, the flat surface is subdivided into individual segments.

The largest single segment of relatively flat land in the Recôncavo is the coastal plains area north of the Bay. The other plains areas--the island of Itaparica and the small compartment north of the Bacia do Iguape--are smaller flat-surfaced segments. After these, the largest continuous flat surfaces are the extensive taboleiros of the Tabular Uplands. Smaller tabular surfaces are

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133 characteristic of the Crystalline Uplands; while in the hill zone the individual flat surfaces are very small.

Local relief is usually greatest in the uplands, near the major rivers, such as the Paraguaçu, Jacuípe, and the Inhambupe, and where these rivers cross the hill belts. On the plains the local relief is usually about fifty meters, but north of the Bay about twenty-five meters.

Soils

134 Introduction. Fertile soils are not extensive in the northeast of Brazil. In this respect it is typical of the tropics, where only singularly propitious base materials or exceptional genetic processes have succeeded in producing soils of high natural fertility. As a result of the prevailing infertility, the limited fertile areas have an extraordinary importance.

Bondar testifies to the general infertility of the soils of Bahia and thus indirectly to the significance of the areas of good soil:

> The modest percentage of the soil which is cultivated, in relation to the expanse of territory, does not allow us to conclude that it is still too early to worry ourselves with the conservation of agricultural soils. Arable land is scarce in Bahia. There are great expanses of territory which are not suitable for the cultivation of annuals.[5]

Perhaps the lack of interest in soil conservation in the Recôncavo is a result of the almost mystical faith in the unending richness of the massapê--the Cretaceous soils of the sugar cane zone.

The Recôncavo as a whole is an area of only moderately fertile soil. There are many zones of extreme infertility. The soils of the Recôncavo generally have been divided into three general types, and as will be seen, tend to have a distinctive pattern of land use.

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134 suggests a better English equivalent:

> North of the Bay of Todos os Santos lies an undulating region some sixty miles long by thirty wide. The soil of this region is a cretaceous marl, exposed by the tertiary overburden having been eroded away. The deposit is of great thickness and may be compared with the black gumbo Belt of Southern Arkansas and Northern Texas.[11]

The fertility of the massapê is established by both chemical analysis[12] and the history of agriculture in the Cretaceous zone. For four centuries these soils have supported a system of intensive sugar cane cultivation, presumably without severe decline in yield. Soil fertilization was practically unknown until the last half-century and is still uncommon.

134 An element in the local mythology of the massapê is that it is 133 completely resistant to erosion; and indeed there seems to be little erosion in most areas of massapê soil. However, the southern edge of the massapê zone, drained by the Rios Traripe and Sergi, is deeply and severely gullied. In the north the downcutting of the Rios Jacuípe and Joanes apparently has been limited by the resistant barrier of crystalline rocks through which the rivers pass in their seaward course.[13] The low gradients of these streams may have restricted stream bed erosion and reduced the erosion of the interfluves.

134 Sandy Soils of the Tertiary Taboleiros. While the Tertiary deposits and the soils derived from them have been removed almost entirely from the mainland areas close to the Bay, they still cover most of the land surface farther north. Most of the Tertiary soils are derived from fine-grained and weakly-cemented sandstones. The sandy soils are variable in depth, but very thick soils are not uncommon. Because of their porosity, these sands are extremely vulnerable to drought. They are easily eroded and especially subject to gullying. Their fertility, especially *in situ*, usually is very low.

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134 The taboleiro (upland) soils of this type are in some areas almost sterile, completely unsuited to cultivation. Even the best of the upland Tertiary soils is relatively unproductive. Whether the [132] soils are deep or shallow, the crops grown upon them suffer severely from desiccation during the dry season and during the perennial droughts characteristic of the northeastern interior. The porous [133] character of these sands has restricted the development of surface streams and of erosion in the centers of the taboleiros. On the edges the exposed slopes of the taboleiros have been gullied deeply.

Two contrasting soil types are found in the valleys. Sands carried from the uplands have mixed with fresh materials and with small quantities of humus and have produced more fertile sandy soils. These alluvial soils are much more intensively used than those of the taboleiros, but cultivation is hazardous because of frequent flooding. Where the main streams--such as the Rio Inhambupe--have cut deeply they have exposed the underlying Cretaceous series. In these deeper valleys the soils are very similar to those of the larger Cretaceous zone to the south.

The boundary between the zones of Tertiary and Cretaceous soils is broad and irregular. The surfaces of the interfluves are covered with Tertiary sands; the deeper valleys have Cretaceous clays. The wide boundary zone has never been mapped in any detail; therefore the location of the common border on the map of this study can be drawn only approximately. A few Tertiary sands are found in the crystalline zone to the west--these will be discussed below.

Soils of the Crystalline Zone. The geologic and topographic maps which are available for the Recôncavo are a useful guide to the distribution of soils derived from sedimentary deposits. However, in

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134 The soils of the peninsula northeast of the city of Salvador are chiefly crystalline-derived. Near the sea and extending inland five or [245] ten kilometers is a belt of white sand dunes, which are not cultivated but are planted in coconut palms. Bondar reports some fertile diorite-derived soils in the peninsula above Salvador, but does not precisely locate the area.[16] Observations in Salvador and its environs suggest that at least two soils of the Western Recôncavo, the crystalline massapê and the slope-land clays and clay-loams, are characteristic also of the peninsular area.

Alluvial Soils. The areas of alluvium in the Recôncavo are so 134 133 limited that it might almost be said that there are no alluvial soils. There are no conspicuous deltas. Along the margin of the Bay and the estuaries which feed into it there is usually a precipitous decline from the plains or hills to the narrow beach. Narrow lowlands with alluvial soil were observed in three areas: (1) on the west coast of the island of Itaparica and on the mainland opposite; (2) on the north side of the Bay between the Rio Sergi and the island of Madre de Deus;[17] and (3) along the estuary of the Rio Paraguaçu between the cidade of Maragogipe and the head of the Bacia do Iguape. These marginal alluvial lowlands cover only a very limited area of the total Recôncavo. Most of the alluvial lands are mangrove swamps or very low-lying semi-swampy [241] plains. No cultivation was observed in any of these alluvial areas.

Most of the valleys of the Recôncavo are so narrow that except in the major valleys of the Tabular Uplands, river bottom alluvium is rare.

Soils - Conclusion. The soils pattern which has been developed above is closely related to the patterns of parent material and topography. These correlations are in part a reflection of strong functional relationships between material, terrain, and soil in the Recôncavo. These

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134 133 correlations are in part only apparent: they result from using geologic and topographic categories to map and classify soils.

13 Both climate and vegetation are also important factors in soil formation. Since the Recôncavo is a zone of sharp transitions in climate and vegetation, it is to be expected that these variations would be reflected in the soil pattern. In the Recôncavo, however, patterns of climate and vegetation generally re-enforce the patterns of material and terrain as they affect soils. The Cretaceous coastal lowlands are the most humid part of the Recôncavo. The inland Tabular and Crystalline Uplands, which is to say the Tertiary and crystalline soil zones, are markedly drier, as will be seen below. Thus the boundary between the Cretaceous and non-Cretaceous soils approximates a climatic transition, a transition which is also the forest and scrub-forest boundary.

134 241 The soils of the Recôncavo have been used for agricultural purposes for a long time--for about 400 years in the Cretaceous zone. They have been used with varying intensity: in the Cretaceous zone under an intensive monoculture, in the other soils zones under less intensive systems of field and fallow or as wild pasture. The affects of this prolonged use, with little soil conservation, can be only inferred. In the Cretaceous zone there is much complaint of low sugar cane yields, and a few cultivators are turning to commercial fertilizer. It is not clear whether these complaints and remedies result from a marked deterioration of the soil or from the declining competitive position of the sugar industry of the Recôncavo. In the crystalline zone it seems likely that only in the last few decades has cultivation become sufficiently intensive to cause--through shortening the fallow period--the deterioration of the soils. This affect is now beginning to be noticeable in the relatively intensively cultivated lands near the Rio Paraguaçu.

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132 station has an annual range of more than 7° C. The average daily minimum for the brief record of Cruz das Almas is 19° C.--the average maximum, 28° C. The absolute minimum recorded temperature was 13° C, while the absolute maximum was 37° C. These data for Cruz das Almas are probably typical of the interior section of the Recôncavo. More narrow ranges between maximum and minimum temperatures are characteristic of the coast. The mean deviation for the region--since Cruz das Almas is probably representative of the most variable situation--is less than 5° C. From the foregoing it is apparent that winter and summer have little meaning in the Recôncavo in terms of absolute temperatures.

Sensible temperatures are more variable, for they depend upon humidity, sunlight, and winds as well as upon absolute temperature. In the interior, outdoor activity is reduced during the cooler wet season and also during mid-day in the hot dry season. Wind exposure becomes very important, and those locations where the even flow of the trades is uninterrupted are preferred for dwellings, especially in Salvador. On the other hand, humid coastal areas which are cut off from the trades--such as the "lower city" of Salvador--often are very oppressive.

132 133 <u>Annual Precipitation</u>. The uneven seasonal and areal distribution of rainfall in the Recôncavo contrasts with the relatively uniform distribution of temperatures. With insignificant exceptions, any traverse from the coast to the interior passes from a humid to a less humid zone. Thus the outline of the coast, including the indentation of the Bay, is generally reflected in the distribution of precipitation. In addition, the coast north of the Recôncavo is distinctly less humid than the mountain-backed southern coast, and this general transition also is reflected in the rainfall pattern of the Recôncavo, as may be seen on the map of mean annual precipitation.

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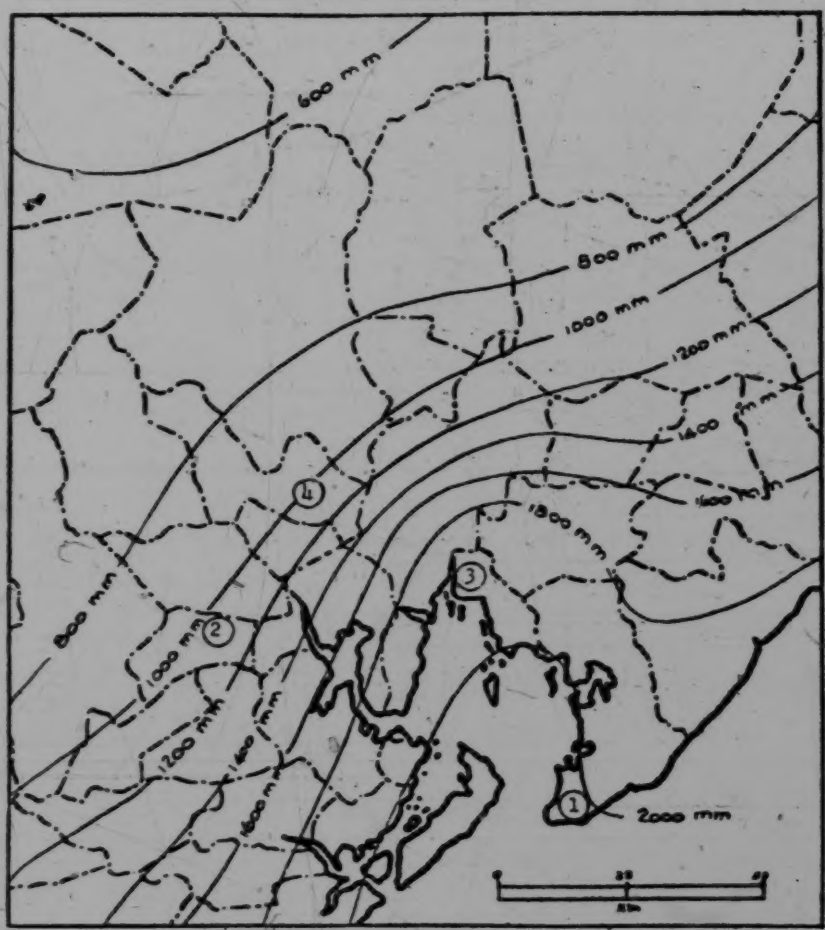

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Mean Annual Precipitation

Meteorological Stations:
1 - Salvador. 2 - Cruz das Almas. 3 - São Bento das Lajes. 4 - São Gonçalo.

MAP 7

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132
133 Most of the lowland margins of the Bay have an estimated precipitation of from 1800 to 2000 mm. It may be inferred that the steep slopes rising from the ocean and the Bay have somewhat more rainfall and that some of the sheltered areas, such as the head of the Bacia do Iguape, have less. These inferred differences in rainfall do not seem to be great enough to have produced detectable contrasts in the natural vegetation or in cultivation practices.

The northwestern sector of the Recôncavo[22] is significantly drier, with less than half as much annual precipitation as the Bay littoral. The rainfall of this dry sector is estimated roughly—there are no weather stations in this area—at 600 to 800 mm. Orographic factors probably do not affect significantly the general rainfall pattern in this zone of tabular hills, but the windward slopes and eastern bases of the monadnocks seem appreciably more humid.[23]

The humid littoral and the sub-humid northwest of the Recôncavo are separated by a very steep gradient zone. Weather data from two stations within this zone, one at the northernmost point of the Bay and the other 21 miles westward, indicate a decline of 48 per cent in annual precipitation.[24] Although the isohyets on the map of annual rainfall are more or less evenly spaced over the transition zone, it is likely that the decline in precipitation is very rapid along the Intermediate Hill zone. The eastern intermediate hills are in moderately heavy coastal forest, but the western hills, like the uplands beyond, are in scrub-forest—presumably these differences reflect a rapid decline in precipitation.

In general, then, the Coastal Plain of the Recôncavo has from 1800 to 2000 mm. of annual rainfall. The Tabular Uplands and the northern Crystalline Uplands have less than 1000 mm. The Crystalline Uplands south of the Rio Paraguaçu have about 1200 to 1400 mm.

161 every section of which is more than 50 kilometers from Salvador, the
162 economic center of the Recôncavo, and also more than 50 kilometers from
241 the geometric center in Santo Amaro. If a line were drawn from the
464 cidade of Alagoinhas southwestward to the cidade of Nazaré, the
161 following municípios would fall entirely west of that line: Irará,
162 Coração de Maria, Feira de Santana, São Gonçalo, Conceição da Feira,
241 and Santo Estêvão--all north of the Rio Paraguaçu--and Muritiba,
464 Cruz das Almas, São Félix, São Filipe, and Conceição do Almeida--all
634 south of the Rio Paraguaçu. These 11 of the 21 municípios of the Recôncavo are all more than 50 kilometers from Salvador--all are much farther in terms of land transport. In these eleven municípios live 125,000 of the 196,000 agricultural workers. In part, this eccentricity with respect to Salvador is a result of the shape of the land surface, with the city located at the end of a peninsula. Only one of these 11 municípios, São Félix, lies on tide water, and that at the extreme upper limit of navigation. The others are so arranged that they cannot make optimum use of the central position of the Bay, with its relatively cheap and direct route into the capital.

This eccentrically located belt is arcuate in form. It is the
161 demographic representation of the transition zone from forest to
162 scrub forest, which is often also the transition from the Coastal
241 Plain to the Tabular or Crystalline Uplands. The concentration of
464 agricultural labor in this belt is obviously significant from many
[132] points of view: social and political as well as economic.
[133]

Clustering is a characteristic pattern of Latin American population. The Recôncavo is the chief population cluster and the greatest single concentration of agricultural labor force within the state of

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else along the western border. This modest concentration, scarcely a cluster, represents the sum of a number of small agricultural settlements scattered along the humid slopes of low serras. There are about 12,000 agricultural workers distributed over this area.

The distributional pattern of the rest of the Recôncavo can be visualized as a coarse net in which the clusters are linked by areas with population densities of 10 to 20 per square kilometer. There is one large hole in this connecting net: along the common border of Cachoeira, São Gonçalo, and Santo Amaro there is a zone with less than ten and sometimes less than five agricultural workers per square kilometer. This zone, very near to the center of the Recôncavo, for the most part is an area of rough sandy hills bordering the crystalline--here the hills are particularly rugged and the transition zone broad. On three sides--southwest, north, and northeast--this sparsely settled zone is bordered by important clusters of agriculturalists.

The agricultural labor force of the Recôncavo is, as has been seen, irregularly distributed. This distribution is highly fluid--movement and growth and decline are continuously altering the pattern. The whole region gained about 6,500 agriculturalists between 1940 and 1950, but these statistics do not reflect the extent of local relocation.

In the central Recôncavo one município, Santo Amaro, lost almost 6,000 agricultural workers between 1940 and 1950, and in three municípios of the central and eastern Recôncavo, Santo Amaro, São Francisco, and Pojuca, losses exceeded 20 per cent. On the other hand, in three municípios of the uplands of the northern and northwestern Recôncavo--Alagoinhas, Feira de Santana, and Santo Estêvão--there were gains of over 20 per cent. Over all, twelve municípios gained and nine lost agriculturalists; the mean change in the agricultural labor

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31However, almost all areas of Brazil have perennial labor shortages.

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32In 1950, the urban centers in Brazil with more than 250,000 population were:

Rio de Janeiro	2,303,063
São Paulo	2,017,025
Recife	512,370
Salvador	389,422
Porto Alegre	375,049
Belo Horizonte	338,585

33Others are Campina Grande in Paraíba, Sorocaba in São Paulo, and Tres Corações and Campo Belo in Minas Gerais.

BB [133] [491]

34Cachoeira and São Félix are twin urban developments opposite each other on the Rio Paraguaçu. The river here is narrow, and the two centers are linked effectively by a combined railroad-highway bridge. In 1950 the population of Cachoeira was 10,825; the population of São Félix, 5,872. The two cidades are, in the main, a single functional unit.

BB [505] [493]

35Santo Amaro proper can be reached by sailing craft or canoes only, but small steamers of the type used in the Bay regularly ascend the Rio Sergi to the outskirts—the connection into the city proper is by a streetcar drawn by two recalcitrant mules.

36There is little direct evidence for this conclusion, but it is a reasonable inference from the present flow of goods and the observable decline in wealth and prestige in these cities. Nowadays the steamers which serve these ports carry passengers almost exclusively, and the number of sailing craft (saveiros) loading is generally small. It should be noted that trucks play a much more important role in the movement of goods than the railroads, except in the sugar zone, and that busses rival railroads as passenger carriers. The main highway system of Bahia has by-passed both Santo Amaro and Cachoeira.

BB [491]

BB [491]

37An all-weather road is now being constructed from Conceição do Almeida to Maragogipe. This will enable passengers and goods moving toward Salvador via the Bay to by-pass Cachoeira-São Félix. This may well further reduce the importance of the latter and increase the growing prosperity of Maragogipe.

38Muritiba is only 5 kilometers from São Félix, but the two cities are quite distinct. São Félix-Cachoeira occupies the lower slopes of the narrow valley of the Rio Paraguaçu. A belt, composed of the upper slopes and the edge of the Uplands, which is all either cultivated or in second growth, makes a distinct but narrow, 3 kilometers wide, break between Muritiba and São Félix.

39Nazaré is the main shop and Santo Antônio an important station of the Estrada de Ferro Nazaré. The terminus of the "Nazaré" is São Roque do Paraguaçu—down river from Maragogipe. Castro Alves is on the Brumado, Caculé, and Rio de Janeiro branch of the "Léste," and Serrinha is on the Alagoinhas, Bonfim, Juàzeiro branch of the same line.

40Estimated from 1940 occupational data.

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CHAPTER V

CROPS AND CROPLAND DISTRIBUTION

BB 241 133

Introduction. The Recôncavo is an enclave of cultivated land facing on the sea and more than half surrounded by the Sertão of Northeastern Brazil. It is one of a number of detached areas of dense settlement and intensive crop cultivation scattered along the northeastern coast--Pernambuco, Sergipe, Alagoas, and the states of the northern coast of the "bulge" of Brazil have similar coastal nuclei. Indeed, this littoral mode of settlement is characteristic of Brazil, although in the center and the south of the country the concentrations of settlement and cultivation are usually separated from the ocean by a belt of rough hills or mountains. A glance at a population map clearly reveals that Brazil is a coastal nation as far as the distribution of its people is concerned; indirectly such a map demonstrates the coastal distribution of crop cultivation. In this, Brazil somewhat resembles the United States at the opening of the nineteenth century when it, too, was altogether a nation of the Atlantic seaboard. The specific nuclear character of the Recôncavo dates from the beginning of its settlement--it was from the first a region of crop cultivation, and the settlement of the sertão of Bahia derived from the people and needs of the Recôncavo. During the four centuries since the Portuguese first came, the crops, animals, and systems of production of the Recôncavo have retained much of their original character.

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The present chapter deals with the principal activity of the Recôncavo, the production of crops. As a preliminary to the discussion of the individual crops and their distributions, it is appropriate to

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B 249 433 Sugar cane is the fifth or sixth--depending upon the year--most valuable crop grown in Brazil, and it is cultivated, at least on a small scale, in all states of the country. Large scale commercial production, however, is confined to two areas--the Central-South (São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Minas Gerais) and the Northeast (Paraíba, Pernambuco, Alagoas, and Bahia). Each of these states produced over one million tons of cane in 1948.

B BB 249 175 177 In distinction to the principal subsistence crops of the Recôncavo, sugar cane is an old world domesticate. The variety acquired by the Portuguese from the Arabs in North Africa and brought to the colony via the Madeira Islands was the sole type cultivated during most of the colonial period, but today a number of varieties of East or West Indian origin are grown.

BB 249 Sugar cane is differentiated from other crops of the Recôncavo by the intensive monocultural character of its production. Tobacco and manioc and corn and beans are grown jointly, but sugar cane shares the land with no other crop. North of the cidade of Santo Amaro there is BB [134] [133] an extensive area of clay soils and undulating plain almost completely blanketed in bright green sugar cane. The monochrome is interrupted only by a few pastured valley bottoms or by the widely scattered usinas (sugar mills), plantation settlements, and villages. There are similar, though less extensive landscapes wherever sugar cane is important in other parts of the Recôncavo.

The system of cultivation of sugar cane is also very different from those employed in producing other crops in the Recôncavo. One planting is sufficient for several reasons, for the stalk re-develops from the root after the plant is harvested, though with progressively declining vigor. In Bahia, three, four, or five harvests from the

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245 311 Within the Recôncavo coconut production is important along the sandy beach line of the island of Itaparica and along the ocean coast of Salvador, where coconuts are virtually the only agricultural product [133] (Maps 58, 59, and 60). The inner shores of the Bay, which rise abruptly [134] with rocky clay slopes, bear very few coconuts, except in a low-lying sandy zone along the estuary of the Paraguaçu. Coconuts are produced 245 [423] chiefly on large properties which are frequently owned by urban families. [464] The plantations are operated with hired labor drawn from the coastal [438] population. When harvested, the coconuts are sold in the urban markets [258] of Salvador and other cities and towns. Very little of the Recôncavo [439] production is converted into oil, and little is exported.

Oranges. The navel orange is a Bahian development, a mutation [433] of the orange brought from Europe. The main centers of Brazilian production, however, are elsewhere in the country, and cultivation of orange within the Recôncavo is primarily for local consumption.

245 311 Scattered orange trees are a feature of the rural and urban landscape in many areas. In addition to this generalized cultivation, which frequently is not shown in the official data, there is commercial production in the environs of several urban centers—Alagoinhas, Santo Antônio, and to a lesser extent, Salvador (Maps 61 and 62). The [489] cidades of Alagoinhas and Santo Antônio are both markets for part of [443] the local crop; moreover, both are on the railroads leading to Salvador, which is the chief market for the entire region. In addition to these three main concentrations, there are numerous orange groves in the Southwestern Recôncavo which apparently serve both local and regional markets, though on a small scale. In general the relative area in orange groves is not great, yet in 1948 they occupied 10 per cent of the cropland of Alagoinhas.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

Footnotes - Chapter V

000 [1]The outstanding example of the ribbon development of cropland is along the highway which traverses the Crystalline Uplands from Santo Antônio to Feira de Santana. Each of the cidades along this road—Conceição do Almeida, Cruz das Almas, Muritiba, São Félix, Cachoeira, Conceição da Feira, and São Gonçalo—is the center of an intensively cultivated zone and is connected with the others by a belt of cropland running along the highway. In part this ribbon development is the result [133] of restrictive factors; in Conceição da Feira and São Gonçalo the intensively cultivated strip runs between the rough Intermediate Hills on the [132] east and the dry caatinga on the west. The same negative relationships are characteristic of the Southwestern Recôncavo, but the intermediate zone of acceptable terrain and climate is here broader than in the north.

[2]Produção Agrícola: 1948.

[3]Ministério da Agricultura, Serviço de Estatística da Produção, "Pobulação Pecuária, Em 31/12/1948."

[4]For a map of manioc production in Latin America, see: Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, Map of "Manioc Estimated Production Latin America," Agriculture in the Americas, Vol. III, Nos. 8-9 (August-September, 1947), p. 120.

[P28] [5]A more detailed discussion of processing of farinha de mandioca is given in Chapter X.

[6]Ruth Matos Almeida Simões, "Comentário do Mapa da Produção de Mandioca no Estado da Bahia," Boletim Geográfico, Vol. XI, No. 112. (January-February, 1953) pp. 84-86.

[7]It is likely that the official figures underestimate the area and production of manioc. A considerable part of the crop is grown on small plots remote from political centers and well-traveled routes and may thus have escaped the enumerator. Moreover, its cultivation is so commonplace and its exchange often so local and in such small quantities that even tax-conscious local government officials may easily be unaware of small and scattered plots which in sum may bulk fairly large. Some [127] of the official data which have been used in the analysis of manioc cultivation, production, and value have been modified. For a discussion of these modifications and for maps based upon the unmodified data, see Appendix D.

[8]Conceição do Almeida, Cruz das Almas, and São Filipe.

[9]This popular and official view underestimates the importance of manioc production in its own right. The commercial element in manioc [128] production is discussed in Chapter IX.

[10]The system of manioc cultivation will be discussed in conjunc- [128] tion with the tobacco-manioc system in Chapter VI.

[11]The "coffee zone" of Bahia includes a number of municípios, from [245] Laje (adjoining Santo Antônio) to Jequié along the Estrada de Ferro Nazaré

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

APPENDIX B

Geologic Structure

133 135 The Archaean granites, gneisses, schists, and metamorphics are the most common surface rocks in eastern Bahia, where they form part of the so-called crystalline peneplain of Northeast Brazil. The Baía de Todos os Santos and the sedimentary lowlands and uplands north of the Bay occupy a rift in the crystalline platform which extends northward beyond the borders of the state. This rift runs through the center of the Recôncavo and is occupied in the south by an arm of the sea and in the north by sedimentary rock. On each side are crystalline zones, extending far beyond the Recôncavo to the west, but limited on the east by the sea.

[134] In the rift zone the upland deposits primarily are Tertiary, but where erosion has cut deeply, as it has north of the Bay and in major valleys such as that of the Rio Inhambupe, the underlying Cretaceous material has been exposed.

In a few places on the crystalline platform, especially south of the Rio Paraguaçu, there are small remnants of the Tertiary sediments.

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

1. Sugar Country

THE REGION of Brazil in which this study was made is a small area in the state of Bahia called the Recôncavo. This is the land surrounding the Bay of All Saints, a fertile basin extending inland no more than 40 kilometers at the most. Situated on a high bluff overlooking the entrance to the Bay of All Saints is Salvador, the capital of the state of Bahia, generally referred to as Bahia, or "the capital," or simply "the city." After Salvador was settled in 1549, the colonization of the Recôncavo proceeded at a rapid rate. Since early in the colonial period, the Recôncavo has been divided into three distinct areas: a southern area devoted mainly to the raising of manioc, the food staple of much of Brazil; a western section devoted to the cultivation of tobacco; and a northern and eastern area, given almost exclusively to large-scale sugar-cane monoculture. This study was made in the third zone, the one producing sugar cane.

The region, which can be called the "sugar-Recôncavo," partakes of the long tradition of sugar-cane growing which formed the basis for the early colonization of Brazil. A narrow strip of land along the northeast coast of Brazil in what are now the states of Pernambuco, Sergipe, Alagoas, and Bahia was the focus of the economic, political, and social life of the entire colony. This region, under the colonization of the Portuguese, produced a large part of the world's sugar supply at a time when sugar was a great luxury in Europe. The northeast coast of Brazil became an exceedingly prosperous part of the colony early in its history. Salvador, in Bahia, and Recife, in Pernambuco, became the most impor-

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tant centers of colonial life, and until 1763 Salvador was the capital of the Portuguese colony.

The Recôncavo helped to make Brazil a unique part of the Portuguese empire in the sixteenth century. Brazil was different from any of the other Portuguese colonies, for its wealth proved to lie in agriculture rather than in trade, as was the case in India and Africa. The Bay of All Saints, with a circumference of 200 kilometers, is in effect an inland sea, the entrance to which can be guarded from the heights on which the city of Salvador is situated. There are a number of picturesque islands throughout the bay, with good beaches and landing facilities. Many small rivers empty into the bay, and numerous creeks navigable at high tide extend further inland along its shores. The presence of such a large network of navigable waters was an important factor in the rapid development of the Recôncavo, providing easy and inexpensive transportation of sugar to the point of shipment to Europe.

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The climate is semitropical, with two seasons. Summer, from September to sometime in March, is relatively dry, dotted by showers and thunderstorms and cooled by fresh breezes blowing in from the Atlantic. Winter begins in April, lasting until August or September, the exact time of change differing from year to year. This season is marked by continued rain, usually a soft, constantly falling drizzle or light rain, interspersed with heavy showers, as front after front moves in from the Atlantic, dropping its moisture before being pushed upward by the abruptly rising land which surrounds the Recôncavo. According to statistics for the years 1914 to 1938, the months of minimum rainfall are October, November, and December; during this time the average rainfall was 11.81 inches. The period of maximum rainfall is April, May, and June, with an average of 35.83 inches for the three-month period. The yearly average from 1914 to 1938 was 65.93 inches.[1] The temperature range is from 70 to 90 degrees Fahrenheit.

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The soil of the Recôncavo, especially that of the sugar-Recôncavo, is extraordinarily fertile. It is a heavy black soil, known as massapê, approximately 6 inches to 2 feet thick, covering a clayey subsoil, known locally as tauá. Here and there are outcroppings of sand and mixtures of sand with clay.

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1. Atlas pluviometrico do Brasil (Rio de Janeiro, 1914-1938).

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Sugar cane has proved to grow especially well with the combination of warmth, rain, and massapê, and the soil has been producing the same crop for almost four hundred years. The area of massapê is sharply defined, for at its farthest edges the land rises to the regions of sandy scrub forest and desert which characterize what has been called the "other northeast"[2] or the sertão.

The surface of the sugar-Recôncavo is characterized by rolling fields cut by shallow valleys. Although the massapê is not subject to erosion, the other soils, where exposed, are. During the rainy winter season much damage is done, especially to the roads, which for the most part follow the non-massapê soils. Underneath the soil of the sugar-Recôncavo there are recently discovered oil deposits. The quantity of oil has not yet been determined, for the explorations are still going on. However, the national government has already begun to exploit the oil, which is close to the surface. Under Brazilian law, subsoil resources belong to the national government and not to the owner of the lands. As a result there has been a small-scale invasion of petroleum workers on the privately owned lands of the sugar-cane planters. To date, this has not interrupted the agricultural routine to any great extent, at least not in Vila Recôncavo. In Conselho (see map of community), where the drilling was first started, the government bought the land from the individuals and the sugar mill corporation owning it and has turned once green fields of sugar cane into bare fields, spotted here and there with oil wells. The former agriculturalists have had to leave the area or become laborers in the oil camps and refinery.

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The Recôncavo is one of the most densely populated regions in Brazil. It is an area of 6,500 square kilometers, with a population of 683,000 in 1940, distributed in 14 counties including the capital. It has an average density of 106 inhabitants per square kilometer,[3] in comparison with the average density of the state of Bahia, which is 7 persons per square kilometer, and with the national average of 5 persons per square kilometer.[4] It must be remembered that these figures include

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TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 13

2. Preston James, Latin America (New York, 1942), p. 411.
3. Aroldo de Azevedo, "Recôncavo da Bahia," Revista da Universidade de São Paulo, I (1950), 14.
4. T. Lynn Smith, Brazil (Baton Rouge, 1947), p. 131.

The others, barefoot, wearing shorts and large-brimmed straw hats, are the permanent dwellers of the islands: fishermen, stevedores, and storekeepers.

When the islands are left behind, the scene begins to change. The color of the water changes from a clear, deep blue to a muddy gray. Groups of canoes are seen, their occupants busy with their fish nets, for this shallow part of the bay is a good fishing ground. Once again the mainland is close, rolling hills covered with a thousand shades of green--sugar cane, the crop which nearly four hundred years ago replaced the virgin forests. The deltalike shores of this part of the bay are covered with mangue, muddy areas with low-growing trees which at high tide are standing in the water. On a hill at the water's edge is the town of Vila Recôncavo, a town of 1,462 persons. The first thing one sees is the huge Franciscan convent[5] with its two tall towers and its royal palms. Approaching the long dock which juts out into the water, one can see almost the whole town, which is built on three hills and in the valleys between them.

The arrival of the boat from Salvador every other day is an event in an otherwise dull day. Nearly all the men of the town go down to the dock to meet the boat, to see who is traveling, to see what is arriving for someone in the town, to receive messages or parcels, to greet friends, and to gossip. The postmistress is there, and with her the man whose duty it is to carry the mail sack, but who has a helper to do it for him. After a few minutes the boat continues its journey, and the townsfolk walk back along the dock, breaking up into small groups on reaching the main square and then each going his own way.

On the square at the end of the dock, at the foot of the main street which leads up the middle hill and out into the

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5. It should be explained that "convent" in this case is a direct translation from Portuguese. In Portuguese, convent does not have the connotation of being a religious establishment only for women. The word convento is applied to the Franciscans' establishment because the Franciscans are not monks; if they were, their establishment would be called a mosteiro (monastery). In English, Franciscans are known as "friars," and their houses are called "friaries." However, throughout this monograph the direct translation, convent, is used.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[City of Salvador]

36 In the lower city lies, of course,
[504] the port, with its customs, warehouses, shipping and consular offices, banks, the marine arsenal, the post office, the Association of Commerce, the principal public market, jewelry shops, hardware and cigar stores, and most of the men's shops of the city. Up on the promontory and extending out toward the suburbs are the public buildings and most of the churches, the convents and monasteries, hotels and movie theaters, the public library, museums, professional schools, primary and secondary institutions, hospitals, women's shops, photographic galleries, furniture and dry-goods stores, confectionary stalls, the "five and tens," physicians' and dentists' offices, clubs, the principal parks and *praças*, and the residential areas of the city.

131 Bahia the city is the economic and political capital of Bahia the state, whose area of 342,000 square miles makes
133 it considerably larger than Texas. The region is composed in large part of a vast plain of gneiss formation which rises abruptly from the comparatively narrow coastal belt to heights varying from 600 to 1,200 feet in the interior.
[135] Upon this plateau and running north and south across the central portion of the state lie a series of low mountains composed principally of sedimentary rock, sandstone, or conglomerates and containing such minerals as iron, manganese, copper, lead, gold, and diamonds (including the
132 black *carbonado* so essential for tool-cutting). This mountain
133 barrier acts as a valuable condenser, gathering moisture for a land which otherwise might be virtually desert. In the extreme western part of the state the plateau is composed of sandstone overlying limestone, and thus it provides a natural sponge which assures perennial rivers in a region where light rains and near drought alternate in six-month periods.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[City of Salvador]

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struggle of native labor versus foreign capital and thus tend [466] to unify rather than to divide the local group. Religious [798] competition has not become severe enough to intensify self-consciousness on the part of rival adherents and thus evoke serious animosities. As far as national affairs are concerned, [621] intense local loyalties had not, at least at the time this study was made, been seriously exacerbated by onerous control from without. A minimum of racial conflict will be evident throughout this account.

THE *ricos* OF THE RIDGES AND THE *pobres* OF THE VALLEYS

One of the things Darwin noted, when he visited Bahia 361 in 1832, was that the city rested upon "a level plain of about 134 three hundred feet in elevation, which in all parts has been worn into flat-bottomed valleys."[11] Today the scene is still much as Darwin saw it. Continuing erosion has merely emphasized the general characteristics of the landscape, transforming the once level plain somewhat more decidedly into alternating ridges, relatively steep declivities, and comparatively narrow valleys.

This physiography of the country has not been without 361 significance in the cultural life of Bahia; for, in general, the 565 distribution of the population by classes, and even to some extent by ethnic divisions, follows quite closely the lay of the land. Along the ridges, which wind with the changing [363] terrain, ordinarily run the principal streets, bearing the chief [133] lines of transportation, whether by streetcar, bus, or automobile. So far as accessibility to the center and other prin- [494] cipal parts of the city is concerned, here are the more convenient residential locations. The elevation of the ridges,

[11] Charles Darwin, *The Voyage of the Beagle* ("Harvard Classics," Vol. XXIX [New York, 1909]), p. 521.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

133 Landforms. Flat surfaces are a characteristic feature of the landscape of the Recôncavo. Where these flat surfaces are low and undivided, they form the plains of the coast and the central Recôncavo. Where they are higher and separated by valleys into relatively extensive tabular segments, they form the uplands of the north and west of the region. Where the flat surfaces are dissected into numerous small tabular or rounded segments, they form the belt of intermediate hills. The slopes separating the hills and the uplands have different forms. Some tabular surfaces are separated by steep and rugged slopes, occasionally leading to flat valley floors. In other cases rounded slopes are common. The accompanying map of east-central Bahia delineates four zones in each of which a distinctive association of these various forms is characteristic.[1]

The Tabular Uplands. The Tabular Uplands have a landscape of considerable simplicity. They have been formed upon a surface of relatively flat-lying sedimentary rock, generally Tertiary sandstone, although sometimes Cretaceous shale has been exposed in the valleys.[2] The surface has been subdivided by stream erosion into tabular segments called taboleiros. Many of these taboleiros are very extensive: one continuous taboleiro on the northern border of the Recôncavo covers a large part of northern Irará, southern Inhambupe, and eastern Serrinha. They are essentially plain surfaces with a local relief on the order of ten meters or less. At the edges these tablelands break away sharply into very rough zones, often of badland topography. The larger valleys are cut one hundred meters or so below the upland surface. Minor valleys are generally narrow, but the major streams have cut laterally so that they have produced relatively flat-bottomed valleys up to two [134] or three kilometers wide. The taboleiro surface is commonly mantled

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 18]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

133 in a layer of porous sand, and surface drainage is not well developed.
134 The valley floors are often choked with loose sand brought down from the upland, which is re-sorted and shifted by the rising streams in the wet season.

133 The southern part of the Tabular Upland zone, which borders the Recôncavo, is drained by two major river systems which flow directly eastward to the open ocean. The Rio Inhambupe rises in the midst of the vast taboleiros of Serrinha, Inhambupe, and Irará and skirts the northern boundary of the Recôncavo. The southern edge of the Tabular Upland zone, lying within the Recôncavo, is drained by tributaries of the Rio Pojuca, which flow southward to join the main stream in its eastward course to the ocean.

The Crystalline Uplands. Tabular surfaces of a different order are characteristic of the crystalline zone which stretches from the western margin of the Bay westward to the Chapada Diamantina. These surfaces have been formed upon a relatively flat platform of crystalline rock--the so-called crystalline peneplain of Eastern and Northeastern Brazil. In this part of Bahia, however, the rock surface usually is buried deeply under a layer of residual mantle and appears only on valley walls and bottoms. The mantle has been dissected into tabular segments which are generally smaller than those of the Tabular Uplands. The valley formation is more distinctive: after an abrupt break the slopes form a continuous curve so that the valley bottoms are relatively more narrow and are gently sloping. Rising above the general upland level are occasional monadnocks with rounded, often rocky, surfaces.

So similar are the upper surfaces of the crystalline zone to those of the Tabular Uplands that the individual surfaces occasionally

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

133 are called taboleiros. This similarity is enhanced by the occasional
[134] appearance of sandy surface materials. However, the taboleiros of the Tabular Uplands are generally extensive; the individual uplands of the crystalline zone are generally of limited area. Valleys are an exceptional and areally limited part of the Tabular Uplands; in the crystalline, the valleys occupy a very significant part of the land, although collectively the area in tabular surfaces exceeds that in valleys.

The upland surfaces of the crystalline, like the Tabular Uplands, lack surface drainage. Where the upland surface is extensive, shallow circular depressions are often encountered. Some of these form large, shallow lakes or swamps overlying impervious clay layers. Equally characteristic is a small circular depression, ten to fifty meters in diameter, with a pit in the center through which water drains into the porous subsoil.[3] Neither of these depression forms was observed outside the crystalline zone.

Swamps and ponds are also found in the valley bottoms. Very often a resistant section of bedrock forms a constriction in the valley walls, and when this constriction becomes choked, streams are partially dammed. The streams themselves almost invariably originate in springs at the bottom of steeply sloping valley walls. A very characteristic site for these springs is in the very regular amphitheater-like bowls at the valley heads.

Almost all of the Crystalline Uplands of the Recôncavo are drained by a single river system—the Paraguaçu. The main stream and its major tributaries rise in the Chapada Diamantina and the Serra da Sincorá far to the west in central Bahia. By the time it has reached the Recôncavo, the Paraguaçu is deeply entrenched in the upland. It

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

133 The parts of the Coastal Plain along the ocean and above the Bacia do Iguape are drained by local streams. In the more extensive plain north of the Bay there are a number of larger and more significant rivers and streams. The northern part of the latter area is drained by the Rio Pojuca, the middle part by the Rios Jacuípe and Joanes, and the southern part by the Rios Traripe and Sergi. The Traripe and Sergi enter the Bay, but the other, larger streams drain eastward to the ocean. Except where the Traripe and the Sergi cross the rough edge of the plain, all the stream valleys are relatively shallow.

The Bay. There remains a last section to deal with—a very significant part of the Recôncavo, but not properly a "landform" area. This is the Baía de Todos os Santos. The Bay may be viewed as a central parallelogram which contains within it the deep water and which has a number of shallow, jointed channels extended from the corners. Beyond these channels, estuaries extend the Bay inland in three directions. Structurally the Bay is a part of the rift valley, but its present outline corresponds to the major fault scarp in only one place—in Salvador. Here the scarp separates the upper and lower sections of the city. Elsewhere the form of the Bay is determined by [134] erosion of, and to a lesser extent, deposition upon the folded and faulted sedimentary deposits accumulated within the rift. These processes have produced a northern coast of bluff-enclosed bays and steep-sided archipelagoes, a western coast which is relatively straight and which rises to a higher elevation above the Baía de Todos os Santos, and on the south, the island of Itaparica, which stands like a door half-closed across the entrance to the Bay.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

133 characteristic of the Crystalline Uplands; while in the hill zone the individual flat surfaces are very small.

Local relief is usually greatest in the uplands, near the major rivers, such as the Paraguaçu, Jacuípe, and the Inhambupe, and where these rivers cross the hill belts. On the plains the local relief is usually about fifty meters, but north of the Bay about twenty-five meters.

Soils

134 Introduction. Fertile soils are not extensive in the northeast of Brazil. In this respect it is typical of the tropics, where only singularly propitious base materials or exceptional genetic processes have succeeded in producing soils of high natural fertility. As a result of the prevailing infertility, the limited fertile areas have an extraordinary importance.

Bondar testifies to the general infertility of the soils of Bahia and thus indirectly to the significance of the areas of good soil:

> The modest percentage of the soil which is cultivated, in relation to the expanse of territory, does not allow us to conclude that it is still too early to worry ourselves with the conservation of agricultural soils. Arable land is scarce in Bahia. There are great expanses of territory which are not suitable for the cultivation of annuals.[5]

Perhaps the lack of interest in soil conservation in the Recôncavo is a result of the almost mystical faith in the unending richness of the massapê--the Cretaceous soils of the sugar cane zone.

The Recôncavo as a whole is an area of only moderately fertile soil. There are many zones of extreme infertility. The soils of the Recôncavo generally have been divided into three general types, and as will be seen, tend to have a distinctive pattern of land use.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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Soil mapping and analysis are still in a preliminary stage in Bahia. The most comprehensive source, the work of Bondar, includes a soils map of the state on a scale of 1:3,000,000.[6] Although the scale of this map is too small to give precise information for the Recôncavo, his accompanying description is in greater detail. It is based upon geologic zones. The discussion of soils below is based primarily upon the descriptions of Bondar, but the soils regions are derived from a more detailed geologic map.[7] Although the system of classification of Bondar has been retained, his soils descriptions were modified in some details to conform to the field observations of this research.[8]

The System of Classification Based upon Bondar.[9]

1. Clay soils of Cretaceous origin
   a. massapê (heavy dark clay)
   b. salão (light reddish clay)
   c. areia (sands)
   [d. clay soils of taboleiros]

2. Sandy soils of Tertiary taboleiros
   a. valley alluvium
   b. taboleiro soils
   c. sands of crystalline zone

3. Variable crystalline soils originating on Archeozoic rocks
   a. poor soils from clear, white acid rocks } 1. light upland soils
   b. better soils from neutral pigmented rocks } 2. red and brown clays
   c. good soils from dark basic rocks } 3. crystalline massapê
   d. good soils from clear rocks
      1. granite-calcite
      2. feldspar-mica-amphibole

[4. Calcareous soils from Algonkian rocks]

[5. Soils from sandstones of Paleozoic and Algonkian chapadas]

[6. Mixed soils of fluvial origin.]

Note: Soils types which are bracketed are part of Bondar's system but do not appear in appreciable areas of the Recôncavo.

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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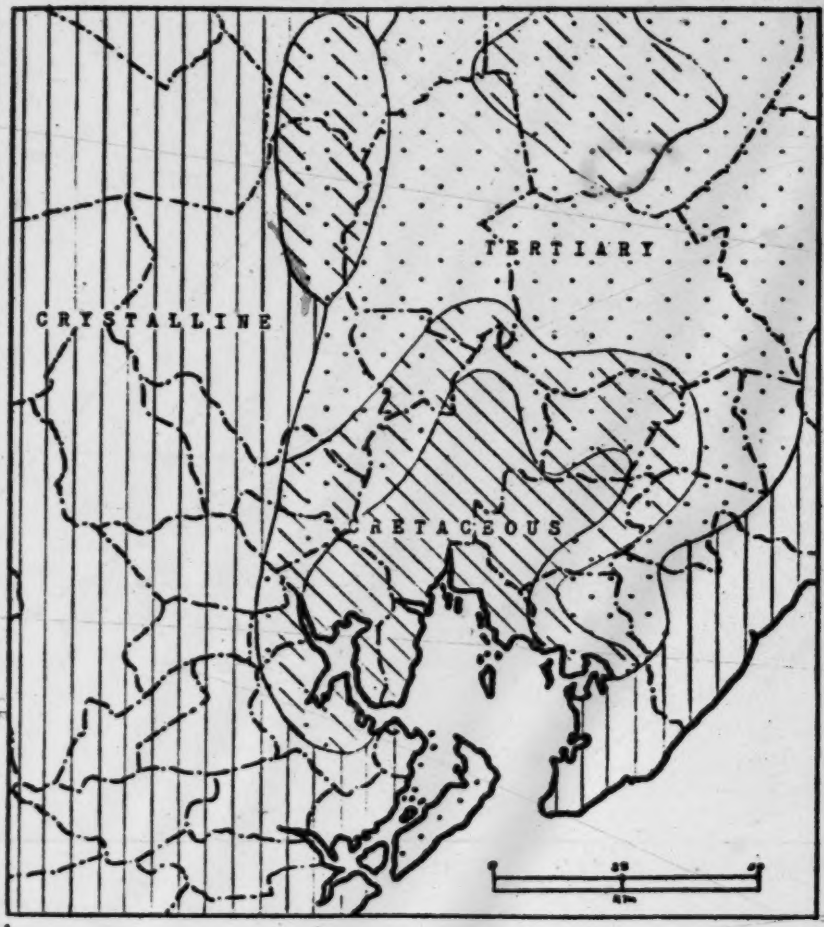

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Soil Types

Modified from maps by Gregorio Bondar, "Solos da Bahia, Sua Conservação e Aproveitamento," and Sylvio Froes Abreu, "O Recôncavo da Bahia e o Petróleo do Lobato."

MAP 6

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

134 Clay Soils of Cretaceous Origin. The Cretaceous soils occupy an extensive zone in the Recôncavo, chiefly on the northern perimeter of the Bay and in the adjacent coastal plain compartment. These soils are predominately colloids of clays derived from calcareous shales and sandstone through the decalcification and mixing of materials. The result of these processes has been an extremely adherent and coherent clay with good water holding capacity, moderate depth, and marked resistance to erosion. In dry seasons it develops deep cracks and is thus, to some extent, self-cultivating. This is a good soil for general agricultural purposes, but in the Recôncavo it is usually used for sugar cane.

The clay soils are by no means uniform, and the cultivators of the area distinguish by local names three types which correspond to different mixtures of sands and clays: massapê, salÃo, and areia.

"Areia" means sand, and the soils of this designation are the sandiest of the Cretaceous soils. As the term is commonly used in this area it seems not to refer to the relic deposits of Tertiary sands, in situ, but rather to soils derived from the mixing of these Tertiary sands with Cretaceous clays or to soils derived from the sandier Cretaceous materials. Whatever their origin, the areia soils range in composition from sands to sandy loams and in color from grey to dun. [249] From the point of view of yield, the areia soils are considered to be the least valuable by the sugar cane growers of this zone.[10] They are, however, the most easily worked soils of the Cretaceous series, especially when wet, and this is a significant virtue, because these soils are located in a zone of heavy precipitation.

The massapê is the soil par excellence in the tradition of the Recôncavo. Brazilian soil scientists classify this soil as an argila (clay). However, the following citation from an American geologist

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

• 134 suggests a better English equivalent:

> North of the Bay of Todos os Santos lies an undulating region some sixty miles long by thirty wide. The soil of this region is a cretaceous marl, exposed by the tertiary overburden having been eroded away. The deposit is of great thickness and may be compared with the black gumbo Belt of Southern Arkansas and Northern Texas.[11]

The fertility of the massapê is established by both chemical analysis[12] and the history of agriculture in the Cretaceous zone. For four centuries these soils have supported a system of intensive sugar cane cultivation, presumably without severe decline in yield. Soil fertilization was practically unknown until the last half-century and is still uncommon.

134 An element in the local mythology of the massapê is that it is
133 completely resistant to erosion; and indeed there seems to be little erosion in most areas of massapê soil. However, the southern edge of the massapê zone, drained by the Rios Traripe and Sergi, is deeply and severely gullied. In the north the downcutting of the Rios Jacuípe and Joanes apparently has been limited by the resistant barrier of crystalline rocks through which the rivers pass in their seaward course.[13] The low gradients of these streams may have restricted stream bed erosion and reduced the erosion of the interfluves.

134 Sandy Soils of the Tertiary Taboleiros. While the Tertiary deposits and the soils derived from them have been removed almost entirely from the mainland areas close to the Bay, they still cover most of the land surface farther north. Most of the Tertiary soils are derived from fine-grained and weakly-cemented sandstones. The sandy soils are variable in depth, but very thick soils are not uncommon. Because of their porosity, these sands are extremely vulnerable to drought. They are easily eroded and especially subject to gullying. Their fertility, especially in situ, usually is very low.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

134 The taboleiro (upland) soils of this type are in some areas almost sterile, completely unsuited to cultivation. Even the best of the upland Tertiary soils is relatively unproductive. Whether the [132] soils are deep or shallow, the crops grown upon them suffer severely from desiccation during the dry season and during the perennial droughts characteristic of the northeastern interior. The porous [133] character of these sands has restricted the development of surface streams and of erosion in the centers of the taboleiros. On the edges the exposed slopes of the taboleiros have been gullied deeply.

Two contrasting soil types are found in the valleys. Sands carried from the uplands have mixed with fresh materials and with small quantities of humus and have produced more fertile sandy soils. These alluvial soils are much more intensively used than those of the taboleiros, but cultivation is hazardous because of frequent flooding. Where the main streams--such as the Rio Inhambupe--have cut deeply they have exposed the underlying Cretaceous series. In these deeper valleys the soils are very similar to those of the larger Cretaceous zone to the south.

The boundary between the zones of Tertiary and Cretaceous soils is broad and irregular. The surfaces of the interfluves are covered with Tertiary sands; the deeper valleys have Cretaceous clays. The wide boundary zone has never been mapped in any detail; therefore the location of the common border on the map of this study can be drawn only approximately. A few Tertiary sands are found in the crystalline zone to the west--these will be discussed below.

Soils of the Crystalline Zone. The geologic and topographic maps which are available for the Recôncavo are a useful guide to the distribution of soils derived from sedimentary deposits. However, in

134 the crystalline zone, where the intricate alternations of granites, gneisses, and schists have not been mapped, there is no such guide to soil distributions.

Bondar has divided the soils of the crystalline zone into four types, based upon the character of the rock material, but these soil types have not been mapped. The lack of geologic maps limits the utility of his classification in a study of this scale.

Field observations in the course of this research suggest that, at least as far as the Western Recôncavo is concerned, topography is a useful guide to soils on the crystalline rocks. Tabular uplands, slope lands, and valley bottoms each have characteristic soil associations.

The common upland soils are extremely deep--20 to 30 meters is not at all uncommon--and except for a thin surface layer disturbed by cultivation or by roots, they are physically uniform from top to bottom. They are usually brown sandy loams, often with a large percentage of very coarse dark sand and with a complete absence of rock particles of any size except for the last few centimeters in contact with the rock surface. These soils are very porous, generally lacking any sort of surface drainage, and are very flat-lying. The name taboleiro (tableland) is applied to both the surface and the soil of this zone, as well as to the surface and the soil of the Tertiary taboleiros which are so similar. These upland soils apparently are very ancient and heavily leached, thus relatively infertile. In the drier areas they are sometimes saline.

On the relatively steep but usually rounded slopes of the Crystalline Uplands the rocks generally come nearer to the surface. On these slopes the sandy loams are replaced by reddish brown clay-loams and clays, which are usually extremely plastic. Rock fragments are common.[14] Clay-loams and clays are the best general purpose soils of

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134 the Crystalline Uplands. Although in slope, these soils stand up remarkably well under abusive cultivation methods. The general distribution of these upland and slope-land soils is related to the pattern of landforms in the Recôncavo. In the Intermediate Hills the red-brown argillaceous soils predominate. In the Crystalline Uplands the arenaceous soils occupy the largest area, but the slope-land clays and clay-loams are also extensive.

On the less well-drained valley floors and in the shallow depressions on the uplands, a soil has developed which locally is called massapê or crystalline massapê[15] because of its resemblance to the massapê of the Cretaceous zone. In the depressions a black or grey marl is common. It is very similar, at least in physical character, to the Cretaceous massapê In the valleys the soils are less argillaceous but have a greater humus content. Although heavy and sometimes acid, especially in the depressions, these soils are very useful when drained. However, draining the soil is usually an insuperable problem for the small cultivator. Nevertheless, he finds some use for the soil, for he laboriously transports it to the upland to use as a fertilizer.

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Soils derived from non-crystalline rocks are also found in the crystalline zone. In the Western Recôncavo the Tertiary deposits were laid down directly on the crystalline rocks. In some areas there are minor remnants of these rocks. Over more extensive areas, Tertiary-derive soils are the characteristic surface material, locally called areia branca (white sand). These soils are almost pure sand, very light colored and very porous and infertile. Such soils are frequently encountered south of the Rio Paraguaçu. Similar soils are found along the crystalline-sedimentary boundary north of the river. These may not be residual--it is possible that they were transported westward from the main Tertiary zone by wind or stream action. Though areia branca is a characteristic feature of much of the Western Recôncavo, this soil is not typical of the area farther west.

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134 The soils of the peninsula northeast of the city of Salvador are chiefly crystalline-derived. Near the sea and extending inland five or [245] ten kilometers is a belt of white sand dunes, which are not cultivated but are planted in cocomut palms. Bondar reports some fertile diorite-derived soils in the peninsula above Salvador, but does not precisely locate the area.[16] Observations in Salvador and its environs suggest that at least two soils of the Western Recôncavo, the crystalline massapê and the slope-land clays and clay-loams, are characteristic also of the peninsular area.

134 133 Alluvial Soils. The areas of alluvium in the Recôncavo are so limited that it might almost be said that there are no alluvial soils. There are no conspicuous deltas. Along the margin of the Bay and the estuaries which feed into it there is usually a precipitous decline from the plains or hills to the narrow beach. Narrow lowlands with alluvial soil were observed in three areas: (1) on the west coast of the island of Itaparica and on the mainland opposite; (2) on the north side of the Bay between the Rio Sergi and the island of Madre de Deus;[17] and (3) along the estuary of the Rio Paraguaçu between the cidade of Maragogipe and the head of the Bacia do Iguape. These marginal alluvial lowlands cover only a very limited area of the total Recôncavo. Most of the alluvial lands are mangrove swamps or very low-lying semi-swampy [241] plains. No cultivation was observed in any of these alluvial areas.

Most of the valleys of the Recôncavo are so narrow that except in the major valleys of the Tabular Uplands, river bottom alluvium is rare.

Soils - Conclusion. The soils pattern which has been developed above is closely related to the patterns of parent material and topography. These correlations are in part a reflection of strong functional relationships between material, terrain, and soil in the Recôncavo. These

134 133 correlations are in part only apparent: they result from using geologic and topographic categories to map and classify soils.

13 Both climate and vegetation are also important factors in soil formation. Since the Recôncavo is a zone of sharp transitions in climate and vegetation, it is to be expected that these variations would be reflected in the soil pattern. In the Recôncavo, however, patterns of climate and vegetation generally re-enforce the patterns of material and terrain as they affect soils. The Cretaceous coastal lowlands are the most humid part of the Recôncavo. The inland Tabular and Crystalline Uplands, which is to say the Tertiary and crystalline soil zones, are markedly drier, as will be seen below. Thus the boundary between the Cretaceous and non-Cretaceous soils approximates a climatic transition, a transition which is also the forest and scrub-forest boundary.

134 241 The soils of the Recôncavo have been used for agricultural purposes for a long time--for about 400 years in the Cretaceous zone. They have been used with varying intensity: in the Cretaceous zone under an intensive monoculture, in the other soils zones under less intensive systems of field and fallow or as wild pasture. The affects of this prolonged use, with little soil conservation, can be only inferred. In the Cretaceous zone there is much complaint of low sugar cane yields, and a few cultivators are turning to commercial fertilizer. It is not clear whether these complaints and remedies result from a marked deterioration of the soil or from the declining competitive position of the sugar industry of the Recôncavo. In the crystalline zone it seems likely that only in the last few decades has cultivation become sufficiently intensive to cause--through shortening the fallow period--the deterioration of the soils. This affect is now beginning to be noticeable in the relatively intensively cultivated lands near the Rio Paraguaçu.

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The different cultivation practices of the agricultural systems associated with the soils zones seem likely to intensify the present soils pattern. If commercial fertilizer is used on an increasing scale in the Cretaceous zone and if intensification of cultivation continues in the crystalline--as seems possible--the differences between these soils will be accentuated. It is apparent in any case that significant regional differences in soils will be a continuing feature of the Recôncavo for some time to come.[18]

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Climate

Introduction. The northeast of Brazil is an area of tropical climates, without frost except in a few interior highlands, and without pronounced seasonality of temperature. The margins of the sea are generally humid; the interior is dry. Usually the humid maritime belt is narrow, and the transition to the drier Northeastern interior is very rapid.[19] The profound climatic differences between the coast (the *praia* or beach) and the interior (the *sertão*) are reflected in the contrasting economies--coastal cultivation and interior livestock industry--and in the deep social gulf which separates the people of the coast and the interior. "The two Northeasts," Freyre calls these contrasting physical and cultural zones.[20]

Along the central coast of Bahia the transition from humid littoral to dry interior has an irregular character, due to the presence of the Serra do Mar (here called the *Serra da Papuã*) to the ocean south of the Recôncavo. The mountain-backed southern coast is more humid than the lower northern shore. The coastal humid zone is carried inland around the littoral of the Bay.

The temperature pattern of the Recôncavo is relatively simple.[21] The mean annual temperature at Salvador is 25° C. and at Cruz das Almas (the most interior weather station in the Recôncavo), 24° C. Neither

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BB 175 249 in mind when they founded the colony of Bahia.

> Already enough was known of Brazil to hope that sugar cane would do well in it. The hot and humid climate of its coast would be highly favorable, and as for hands for work, they counted mainly on the indigenous people who, as we have seen, were relatively numerous and peaceful on the coast. These perspectives were completely confirmed; the one factor of which they were ignorant before the attempt--the quality of the soil--revealed itself as supremely propitious, at some points at least, on the extensive coast. This was particularly the case in the extreme northeast, on the coastal plain occupied by the state of Pernambuco and on the contours of the Baía de Todos os Santos (the Recôncavo Baiano, as it would be called). These were not the only ones: in a general way all the Brazilian coast paid homage to sugar cane.
>
> It was on this base that the effective occupation and colonization of Brazil was initiated.[7]

BB [134]

By the end of the sixteenth century sugar cane cultivation had spread at least as far as its present western and southern limits in the Recôncavo, on the Paraguaçu and Jaguaripe rivers. Forty engenhos were engaged in the production of sugar.[8] The engenhos were the nuclei of the economic organization of the colony. The cultivation of sugar cane and the milling of sugar demanded a labor force too large to be recruited from among the indigenous Indians.[9] This labor force was supplied from the slave pens of Africa--chiefly on the Guinea Coast and in Angola. The city of Salvador, which had the advantage of a commodious port and a central location among the slave markets of Brazil, was the chief point of debarkation for these Africans.[10] Estimates of the number of slaves imported and the number who remained in Bahia vary over a wide range. In 1583, when the population of Brazil was estimated at 57,000 people, 25,000 were listed as whites, 18,000 as civilized Indians, and 14,000 as Negro slaves. The Negroes were concentrated mainly in Bahia and Pernambuco.[11] It seems likely that in Bahia the number of Negroes was at least equal to the number of whites. These two racial groups and their mixed-blood derivatives

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TABLE XII

COMPOSITION OF RECÔNCAVO POPULATION 1940-1950

Year	Total Population	Urban Centers	Rural Population	Agricultural Labor Force
		Absolute		
1940	924,032	368,932	555,100	189,967
1950	1,072,452	493,944	578,508	196,468
Change	+ 148,420	+125,012	+ 23,408	+ 6,501
		Relative		
1940	100 o/o	40 o/o	60 o/o	21 o/o
1950	100 o/o	46 o/o	54 o/o	18 o/o
Change		+ 6 o/o	- 6 o/o	- 3 o/o
		Growth of Recôncavo Population		
1940 to 1950	16 o/o	34 o/o	4 o/o	3 o/o
		Per cent of Total Growth		
1940 to 1950	100 o/o	84 o/o	16 o/o	4 o/o

connections with the western section of the Recôncavo. On the other hand, its location combines oceanic access with the rest of Brazil, Europe, and the Americas and a direct approach, via the Bay, to all of the central municípios of the Recôncavo.

The major concentrations of rural, agricultural population in the region are in the outer municípios of the Southwestern, Northwestern, and Northern Recôncavo. In the southwest, there is a notable concentration on the Crystalline Uplands. In the northern part of the Recôncavo, the concentrations lie along the dissected edges of the Tertiary taboleiros. Thus most of the agricultural people of the region live in upland areas of deep, porous soils and marginal rainfall. The only major lowland concentration of agricultural people is in the area of Cretaceous clay soils on the Coastal Plain of the Central Recôncavo. The relatively small size of the agricultural population in this area is reflective of the declining role of sugar cane cultivation in the Recôncavo.

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244 311 From the latitude of the head of the Bay northward, manioc appears as a dominant crop only in the município of Pojuca. In the Central Recôncavo, around the perimeter of the sugar cane area, manioc generally occupied, in 1948, less than 30 per cent of the cropland. In the north, [243] along the borders of the Recôncavo, the share of manioc in the cropland dropped to 10 per cent, and it was replaced by corn and beans as the basis of the subsistence economy.

244 311 433 The yield of manioc in the areas of heavy production was relatively low--10 to 15 tons of roots per hectare--compared to the Central Recôncavo, which produced small quantities at 30 tons per hectare (Map 27). These [134] differences in yield are related in part to the difference in soil fertility between the Cretaceous soils of the Central Recôncavo and the sandy loams of the Southwest. In addition, manioc is cultivated alone in the former zone, but follows the soil-taxing tobacco plant on the fields of the Southwest, thus further reducing the yield. The mean yield of manioc in the Recôncavo in 1948 was 14 tons per hectare, which is close to the 13 tons per hectare of Brazil and of the French Cameroons, but much higher than the 7 tons per hectare of Java and Madura.[13]

244 249 Manioc is, then, a crop characteristic of most parts of the Recôncavo and the surrounding zone, except in the sugar cane area and [242] the Tabular Uplands. The area of greatest concentration of cultivation and production is the Southwestern Recôncavo where manioc is integrated with tobacco production in a system of land rotation. In addition, as discussed above, manioc has the greatest relative importance of the crops of two zones in which the total area cultivated is small: the southwestern belt of forested lowland and the drier, scrub-forest Crystalline Uplands.

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249 In addition to these major and minor concentrations of production, there was scattered cultivation in most of the outer ring of municípios of the Recôncavo, especially in Catu, in Alagoinhas, and in Santo Estêvão and adjacent western São Gonçalo. On the other hand, tobacco cultivation was conspicuously absent in the Central and Southern Recôncavo.

249 311 In 1948 tobacco was grown on 27 per cent of the total cropland of the region. The zone of intensive tobacco production, as shown by the proportion of the cultivated land which it occupies, is clearly revealed on the accompanying map (Map 32). In a continuous belt, which follows the humid edges of the Uplands and adjacent Intermediate Hills from Santo Antônio to Catu, tobacco was grown on over 30 per cent of all cropland in 1948. There were extensive areas in which over half the cultivated land was in tobacco—a remarkable showing for a non-food commercial crop grown on a small scale by semi-subsistence cultivators.

The gradients which separate the belt of intensive tobacco production from the Bay littoral and from the Central Recôncavo are very steep. On the other hand, the inland transition from intensive tobacco production to the scattered cultivation of the dry caatinga is very gradual. In the lowlands tobacco almost everywhere occupied less than 10 per cent of the cultivated area in 1948; in the caatinga to the west it was grown on 10 to 20 per cent of the total cropland.

249 134 132 There is a basic association between tobacco cultivation and the Crystalline and Tabular Upland; production is concentrated along the wetter, inner edge of these formations, in a zone which closely corresponds to the forest and scrub forest boundary. Tobacco is practically excluded from the humid Coastal Plain and littoral sections of the Intermediate Hills. It might be assumed that the location of tobacco is a result of the monopolization of the humid, clay-soil Coastal Plain

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249 134 132

by sugar or other commercial crops, but this does not appear to be the case. There are a few patches of tobacco in the garden plots of sugar cane workers, but the small quantity of tobacco produced in the Central Recôncavo is rank and harsh, despite cultivation practices almost identical with the high-quality areas. Apparently high grade leaf production is excluded by the climate-soil complex of this zone.

Local agronomists and cultivators familiar with tobacco cultivation insist that such areas as Cruz das Almas and São Gonçalo are optimum for tobacco, and certainly the leaf of these areas brings the best price. It is said that the best tobacco in these areas is produced on the "poor" soils of the upland surfaces--leached sandy loams. In the Southwestern Recôncavo the "better" soils--that is, heavier soils found on the slopes and bottomlands--are not used for tobacco, although they produce good yields of corn, beans, or manioc. Precipitation is also a very important locational factor, both indirectly, as an agent in soil formation, and directly, as a source of moisture for the plants. Too little moisture will produce a gummy tobacco which is very difficult to cure. Too much moisture, a rarity in these areas, produces a washed-out, insipid leaf.

A comparison of the maps of tobacco types[16] (Map 138) and of soils (Map 6) and precipitation (Maps 7 and 8) indicates quite clearly that the best grade of tobacco--"Mata"--is grown on the most humid section of the zone of crystalline soils, i.e, the Southwestern Recôncavo and Santo Antônio. This is also, of course, the area of most intensive production. In general this same combination of physical elements is characteristic of the smaller "Mata" area around São Gonçalo.

The second most valuable grade of tobacco, "Caatinga," is grown west of the Southwestern Recôncavo and, within the Recôncavo, in

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249 134 132 Santo Estêvão. The third grade—"Feira"—is grown on the humid edge of the sandy Tertiary uplands. This suggests that it is soil which is the immediate control of quality, although precipitation is the over-all factor. Although the southern part of the zone of Tertiary soils is more humid than the crystalline zone peripheral to the Recôncavo, the tobacco of the former--"Feira"—is less valuable than the "Caatinga" grade of the latter. The drier Tertiary zone produces only fumo em corda but the even drier crystalline zone, stretching west to the Chapada Diamantina, manages to produce the cheap but salable "Sertão" leaf. Thus in every case the crystalline soils, with equal or even less precipitation than the Tertiary zone, produce a better grade of leaf tobacco.

249 433 In 1948 the yields of the main zones of tobacco cultivation were from 750 to 1,000 kilograms per hectare (Map 33). Yields were higher in the Central Recôncavo, where there is only trivial production of low quality leaf. Yields were also higher in isolated sections of the "Sertão" and "Caatinga" grade zones to the west.[17] The mean yield of the Recôncavo, 840 kilograms per hectare, was slightly above the 808 kilograms per hectare of the state of Bahia as a whole. This yield compares very favorably with the yield of Cuba, 640 kilograms per hectare, and Indonesia, 530 to 650 kilograms per hectare on Estates, but is lower than that of Mexico, 1,010, Canada, 1,360, or the United States, 1,400.[18]

[241] The production of most of the chief crops of the Recôncavo is somewhat stabilized by steady demand for food--in the case of manioc, corn, and beans—or by government control—in the case of sugar cane. In contrast, tobacco is a highly speculative and mobile crop. It is produced primarily by small cultivators in anticipation of a combination

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B 249 433 Sugar cane is the fifth or sixth--depending upon the year--most valuable crop grown in Brazil, and it is cultivated, at least on a small scale, in all states of the country. Large scale commercial production, however, is confined to two areas--the Central-South (São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Minas Gerais) and the Northeast (Paraíba, Pernambuco, Alagoas, and Bahia). Each of these states produced over one million tons of cane in 1948.

B BB 249 175 177 In distinction to the principal subsistence crops of the Recôncavo, sugar cane is an old world domesticate. The variety acquired by the Portuguese from the Arabs in North Africa and brought to the colony via the Madeira Islands was the sole type cultivated during most of the colonial period, but today a number of varieties of East or West Indian origin are grown.

BB 249 Sugar cane is differentiated from other crops of the Recôncavo by the intensive monocultural character of its production. Tobacco and manioc and corn and beans are grown jointly, but sugar cane shares the land with no other crop. North of the cidade of Santo Amaro there is BB [134] [135] an extensive area of clay soils and undulating plain almost completely blanketed in bright green sugar cane. The monochrome is interrupted only by a few pastured valley bottoms or by the widely scattered usinas (sugar mills), plantation settlements, and villages. There are similar, though less extensive landscapes wherever sugar cane is important in other parts of the Recôncavo.

The system of cultivation of sugar cane is also very different from those employed in producing other crops in the Recôncavo. One planting is sufficient for several reasons, for the stalk re-develops from the root after the plant is harvested, though with progressively declining vigor. In Bahia, three, four, or five harvests from the

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249 same planting are common--then the field is rested for a year and replanted to cane.[24]

249 311 Sugar cane is encountered in all parts of the Recôncavo, but it is produced commercially only in three very restricted and closely defined areas. Of the 11,695 hectares of sugar cane in the Recôncavo in 1948, over 6,000 hectares were in Santo Amaro and 650 hectares and 2,400 hectares, respectively, in adjacent São Francisco and São Sebastião (Map 44). The remaining one-third of the total sugar cane area was largely in São Filipe, 650 hectares, and Cachoeira, 530 hectares. The association between sugar cane cultivation and the Cretaceous soils is [134] very close. Within the Central Recôncavo, cane is grown only on the Cretaceous massapê, salão, and areia soils; although there are occasional outliers of Tertiary sands, no cane was observed on these soils in the course of field investigation. Cane cultivation in São Filipe is associated with similar heavy soils--the so-called crystalline massapê. [433] In 1948 the Recôncavo produced 670,626 tons of cane, 39 per cent of the total of the state, but only 2 per cent of Brazil's production. Eighty-two per cent of the cane of the Recôncavo was produced in the Central Recôncavo sugar cane zone of Santo Amaro, São Francisco, and São Sebastião (Map 45).

Because sugar cane cultivation is so highly concentrated, the mean value of 15 per cent of the total cropland of the Recôncavo in sugar cane is somewhat misleading. What is significant is that an estimated 90 per cent of the cropland--excluding fallow land--on the Cretaceous coastal lowland at the head of the Bay was planted to cane in 1948 (Map 46). A similar, though smaller, monocultural zone lay at the head of the Bacia do Iguape in the município of Cachoeira. In the minor sugar cane area of São Filipe, cane production was less concentrated. There was also scattered cane cultivation on the lowlands

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249 and Intermediate Hills between and around these zones, but usually on
311 an exceedingly small scale.

249 The yields calculated for 1948 were as follows:
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Santo Amaro	65.7	tons per hectare
São Francisco	80.0	" " "
São Sebastião	41.2	" " "
Cachoeira	37.0	" " "
São Filipe	50.0	" " "

These may be compared with 38.7 tons per hectare for Brazil as a whole, 35.0 tons per hectare for Cuba, and 89.3 tons per hectare for Java and
249 Madura for the same year. The relatively low yields of Cachoeira and
433 São Filipe are to be explained, at least in part, by the primitive
134 character of cultivation and processing in these more remote areas. São
257 Sebastião is a sort of frontier zone into which the big sugar mills are expanding their operations at the expense of smaller operators, but the methods of production are still less efficient than in the main production area, and the soils are sandier and less fertile. In Santo Amaro, yields are higher on account of generally better soils and techniques, but the demands of the large usinas require intensive and continuous cultivation on even the poorer soils. On the other hand, the less intensive cultivation in São Francisco, where the mills are smaller, allows a freer selection of soils, so that the yields of this area are the highest in the Recôncavo.

244 Sweet Potatoes and Peanuts. Two other American domesticates are
311 grown in the Recôncavo, though on a small scale--peanuts and sweet potatoes. Both are cultivated primarily along the forest and scrub forest transition as auxiliary subsistence crops, in conjunction with manioc and tobacco. There are also scattered plots of these crops in most other parts of the Recôncavo. Neither crop occupied over 1 per cent of the total crop land of the region.

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245 311 small coffee groves occupied as much as one-third of the total cultivated area (Map 56). In São Félix coffee was the second ranking crop in area of cultivation, in São Filipe, the third. The coffee cultivation in these municípios is concentrated along the eastern side of the tobacco-manioc area, on the rough Intermediate Hills. The slope-land [134] [132] soils are relatively fertile; yet there is not too much precipitation for the harvesting and drying of the beans.

Although coffee production in the "coffee zone" beyond the Recôncavo is on a moderately large scale, within the Southwestern Recôncavo coffee is planted in very small, irregular plots. The coffee is shade-grown, usually under a remnant of old mata or under jackfruit and similar trees. Except in São Filipe and São Félix, it is generally cultivated as an auxiliary rather than as a principal crop. The harvest is non-selective, and the entire bush is stripped at one time. 245 311 The beans produced under this system are of low quality compared with the selected beans of the Spanish-American highlands, but the people of 433 Bahia claim that their coffee has a special flavor. The mean yield of coffee in the Recôncavo in 1948 was about 300 kilograms per hectare, compared to over 400 kilograms per hectare for Brazil. The main centers of production had yields near the mean of 300 kilograms per hectare, except for São Filipe which produced less than 200 kilograms per hectare (Map 57). Yields, as derived from the official data, were highly variable among the minor producers.

245 Coconut. In a sense the coconut is, like coffee, an alien intrusion into the Recôncavo. Although Bahia is by far the leading producer of coconuts in Brazil—they are called côcos da Bahia—the main centers of production are on the coast north and, to a lesser extent, south of the Recôncavo.

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245 311 Within the Recôncavo coconut production is important along the sandy beach line of the island of Itaparica and along the ocean coast of Salvador, where coconuts are virtually the only agricultural product [133] (Maps 58, 59, and 60). The inner shores of the Bay, which rise abruptly [134] with rocky clay slopes, bear very few coconuts, except in a low-lying sandy zone along the estuary of the Paraguaçu. Coconuts are produced 245 [423] chiefly on large properties which are frequently owned by urban families. [464] The plantations are operated with hired labor drawn from the coastal [438] population. When harvested, the coconuts are sold in the urban markets [258] of Salvador and other cities and towns. Very little of the Recôncavo [439] production is converted into oil, and little is exported.

Oranges. The navel orange is a Bahian development, a mutation [433] of the orange brought from Europe. The main centers of Brazilian production, however, are elsewhere in the country, and cultivation of oranges within the Recôncavo is primarily for local consumption.

245 311 Scattered orange trees are a feature of the rural and urban landscape in many areas. In addition to this generalized cultivation, which frequently is not shown in the official data, there is commercial production in the environs of several urban centers—Alagoinhas, Santo Antônio, and to a lesser extent, Salvador (Maps 61 and 62). The [489] cidades of Alagoinhas and Santo Antônio are both markets for part of [443] the local crop; moreover, both are on the railroads leading to Salvador, which is the chief market for the entire region. In addition to these three main concentrations, there are numerous orange groves in the Southwestern Recôncavo which apparently serve both local and regional markets, though on a small scale. In general the relative area in orange groves is not great, yet in 1948 they occupied 10 per cent of the cropland of Alagoinhas.

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245 438 [471] Oranges, like coconuts, are usually grown on plantations. The capital investment in tree crops is usually too great for small cultivators. Moreover, as a highly perishable crop, oranges require more or less direct marketing, which is frequently beyond the capacity of the small grower. If oranges were marketed by trickling from the small grower through the hands of merchants, buyers, and the like, as is tobacco, they would be spoiled long before reaching the consumer. The small cultivator can market his handful of oranges only in the local market.

241 433 Supplementary Crops. Although the official data show only a very limited distribution of minor supplementary crops, their cultivation is not confined to those municípios where exceptionally conscientious [262] statistical agents have made detailed records. The common vegetables--green beans, onions, garlic, and tomatoes--are cultivated in small quantities in all parts of the Recôncavo and are a traditional part of Bahian dishes. Around the cities and towns there is some specialization [443] in vegetable farming, but there are no major concentrations. The Salvador market is supplied with produce from a broad rural zone which includes [489] most of the Recôncavo. The produce is brought to the city by donkey, truck, or by sailing boat.

The most important of the supplementary commercial crops is [134] pineapple, which is produced on the sandy soils of the Northern, and to a lesser extent, Southwestern Recôncavo. There is very scattered production of grapes, cotton, rice, and white potatoes, but there are no important centers of cultivation of these crops.

245 311 Minor Spontaneous Tree Crops. Mangoes are very common within the houseyards of Salvador and throughout the humid Coastal Plain. In

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

The Atlantic coast of Salvador and Itaparica supports
245 a coconut monoculture--a monoculture which is most strongly developed
311 north of the Recôncavo in Camassari and Mata de São João. The actual area of the coconut monoculture within the Recôncavo is slight, and beyond this monocultural zone, coconut cultivation is rarely significant within the region.

The coconut monoculture lies between the littoral forest and the beach in Itaparica and between the agreste and the beach in Salvador and in the municípios farther north. Except in the município of
[161] Salvador, the rural population of the coconut area is not dense. The
[162]
[361] typical settlement of this zone is the fishing village, sprawled over the beach near the mouth of a small stream. Inland the population is scattered.

243 A much more important crop system intrudes upon the Northwestern
244 Recôncavo--the corn-bean system. The nuclear area for this system seems
311 to lie in northern Serrinha and in the municípios bordering upon the state of Sergipe. The area in which over 80 per cent of the cropland was in corn and beans in 1948 overlapped the borders of the Recôncavo into western Feira de Santana and Santo Estêvão--a zone of low serras (Map 76). In this zone the area in corn was from one to two times the area in beans (Map 77).

Most of the soils of this region are either crystalline or
[134] Tertiary sands, but the pockets of soil which are actually cultivated are almost invariably heavier and more water retentive than are the sandy upland soils of the taboleiros. The corn-bean region generally
[162] has a small but nucleated rural population and a few medium-sized cidades, which are the only towns of the very large municípios which are charac-
[361] teristic of the area. However, the part of the corn-bean region which overlaps the Recôncavo has a number of villages and hamlets in the valleys of the serras.

249 244 still producing, they are carefully left in place--and narrow, shallow trenches eighteen inches or two feet apart are dug across the field. Segments of manioc stalk, freshly cut and two to four inches long, are planted in the trenches and covered.

(2) When the manioc appears, the plants are slightly hilled, and the field is kept clean.

(3) Any time after six months, but if conditions are not too pressing after nine months, the roots are dug up with a hoe. The disposition of the manioc roots will be discussed in a later section on processing.

(4) The field is re-planted to manioc until it will no longer produce a reasonable yield--one to four years depending upon the fertility.[4]

(5) The field is abandoned to wild vegetation and used as a rough pasture, or, if land is in very short supply, it is fertilized and planted to tobacco.

There are a number of problems which lead to departures from the ideal system of cultivation discussed above:

(1) In many areas where the intensity of cultivation is extreme, no second growth is available, and it is necessary to take fields directly from the cultivation of manioc, or other crops, to the planting of tobacco. It is important to remember that by no means all the soils of the tobacco-manioc region are suitable for tobacco cultivation, even [134] in such favorable centers as Cruz das Almas or São Gonçalo. Only the lighter, sandier soils of the hill tops and upper slopes and occasionally the porous soils of the basins are used for tobacco. These tobacco soils are popularly considered to be "poor," because crops other than tobacco or manioc do not thrive upon them.[5]

[237] (2) A key problem in the main areas of tobacco-manioc cultivation

243 either separately or in conjunction with tobacco and manioc. They are
244 frequently grown on land thought to be not suitable for tobacco culti-
[134] vation yet too good for manioc alone, such as the steeper slopes of the crystalline area where the heavier soils do not produce good quality tobacco.

Since the area in corn and beans is small and the amount of slope land large, the capoéira is extensive and frequently quite tall. After the slopes are cleared, the land is very often planted to mixed corn and beans, more rarely to one or the other. The crops are planted [221] in March or April, perhaps in May, and even in June for beans alone. The planting season for these crops is extended both because they are tolerant of changes in season and because as crops secondary to tobacco they have a lesser priority. Some corn is usually planted early enough [527] so that it will ripen in time for São João (mid-summer day) festival [862] for which fresh corn-on-the-cob is the traditional food. This festival is usually the beginning of the corn harvest, but the bean harvest [251] begins a month later. Both crops are harvested by hand and, after drying, are shelled by hand, sacked, and either stored or sold. When the fertility of the soil is higher than normal or when there is labor to spare, the field may be planted to manioc after the corn and bean harvest.

243 As a result of the interpenetration of the corn-bean and the
244 tobacco-manioc systems, in many regions and on many individual proper-
249 ties the two co-exist. Usually the upland fields are in tobacco and
311 manioc, with an occasional plot of corn and/or beans. Usually the slope-land plots are in corn or beans.

249 The Cultivation of Sugar Cane. In distinction to the crops discussed above, sugar cane is grown under a system of permanent

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954) 1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 311 [134] Commercial sugar cane cultivation is confined to the humid Coastal Plain areas with Cretaceous clay soils, except for a small area in São Filipe. Since the areas of Cretaceous clay soils are limited and compact, sugar cane production is highly localized in two areas: (1) the main sugar cane area in the municípios of Santo Amaro, São Francisco, and São Sebastião; and (2) a smaller area north of the Bacia do Iguape in the município of Cachoeira. There is a third area of less intensive production in southern São Filipe.

249 244 [433] The sole purpose of cultivation in the sugar cane area is the production of a commercial product, but the areas of tobacco-manioc cultivation produce both a staple food and a commodity for sale outside the region. Most of the tobacco and manioc of the Recôncavo are produced under a land rotation system in which the sequence is: (1) tobacco; (2) manioc; and (3) fallow in wild vegetation. The tobacco is planted in small fields, usually after an application of manure. The entire plant is harvested repeatedly until it will no longer produce a salable leaf. Manioc is planted following tobacco, sometimes several times, until the field is exhausted and abandoned to the second growth. The fallow period is frequently short, sometimes as little as one year. Cultivation is entirely by hand--no plows are used. There is very little selection of seed, and only one variety of tobacco--Bahia Brasil--is [423] [427] produced. Tobacco and manioc are produced almost exclusively by small cultivators who are either owners or renters. Frequently livestock [231] [233] are raised upon the properties of the cultivators, but except for the use of manure in the cultivation of tobacco, there is little integration of crop and livestock production. The leaf is harvested, dried, 276 and partially fermented by the cultivator. The marketing of tobacco 276 438 is inseparable from the credit arrangement between the cultivator and [452] [488] the tobacco buyer or agent. The leaf is delivered by the producer to the storekeeper-buyer or the local tobacco warehouse.

000 the storekeeper-buyer or the local tobacco warehouse. The roots of the
258 manioc are processed locally, in casas de farinha, and the farinha de
438 mandioca is sold in the local market or to storekeepers in the nearby village or town.

249 The sub-region of tobacco and manioc production occupies the
244 humid eastern and southern edges of the Uplands. The chief center of
311 production, the Southwestern Recôncavo, occupies a zone of deep, sandy
134 and sandy loam soils lying in flat-surfaced uplands above crystalline rocks. The northern parts of the tobacco-manioc sub-region occupy the rough, dissected southern edge of the sandy Tertiary taboleiros--in this northern area the production of both crops is less intensive than in the Southwestern Recôncavo. The area of primary tobacco and manioc production generally conforms to the forest and scrub forest transition and is expanding southwestward beyond the traditional Recôncavo along this
[433] physical boundary zone. The intensity of production is also increasing,
[178] but with violent year to year fluctuations.

241 In addition to sugar cane, tobacco and manioc, other subsistence
433 and commercial products are grown in the Recôncavo. The most important of these are corn and beans, grown as commercial and subsistence crops in the north and west of the region, and coconuts, which are produced along the beach line. Bananas, sweet potatoes, and peanuts are grown in most parts of the Recôncavo, but on a small scale.

241 There are several areas in which there is little or no cultiva-
311 tion. The rougher Intermediate Hills, which are forested, separate the
137 sugar cane sub-region from the tobacco-manioc sub-region. The lowland areas of Tertiary and crystalline soils are also forested and are cultivated under a non-intensive land rotation system with some associated
241 livestock. The Recôncavo is distinguished from the surrounding areas by its relatively greater mean intensity of cultivation. In the

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249 471 433 these individual shortcomings of the industry are less important than, and to a certain extent derived from, three basic problems of the sugar economy: land, market, and leadership.

249 [311] Most of the area of Cretaceous soil in the lowlands of the Recôncavo presently is occupied by sugar cane or by the fallow fields. Only those lands which are too wet or which are needed for settlement, mills, or transportation are not used for cultivation. Thus there seems to be little opportunity to increase the area of good sugar cane land. It would presumably be possible to reduce the fallow period by lengthening the period of ratoon harvests or to abandon the fallow period altogether. If, as seems likely, these changes would reduce the yield of cane, then it would be necessary to begin to use expensive imported fertilizers in order not to lose the advantages gained by increasing the intensiveness of cultivation. [242] The introduction of high-yielding Javanese varieties of cane has already been attempted, but because of climatic conditions, soil deficiencies, poor cultivation practices, or a combination of these factors, yields remain below East Indian levels. [134] It is theoretically possible that sugar cane cultivation could be extended to the other soils of the lowland--the Tertiary sandy soils and the crystalline soils of the peninsula and of the Intermediate Hills west of the Bay. Both of these soils, however, are relatively infertile, and the sandy soils are particularly unsuited for cane because of their poor retention of water. Sugar cane cultivation is not practical on the Uplands on account of the low precipitation--cane can be grown in only a few damp valleys of the Uplands.

175 249 439 The second great disadvantage of the sugar cane industry of the Recôncavo is in its market relationship. The history of the sugar cane economy of the region may be summarized as follows. At the end of the sixteenth century the forty <u>engenhos</u> of the Recôncavo exported 1,800 tons

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249 [457] purchased in Europe at the expense of precious foreign exchange, tobacco can be processed for the trade with only a shed and a few crude presses. [489] Rather than a relatively expensive rail net to assemble the crop, tobacco can be carried by truck, small boat, or even by pack animal. More- [433] over, since the cultivation of tobacco is integrated with the production of food and is primarily an activity of small farmers, it is possible to adjust the size of the crop from year to year with a minimum sacrifice of capital investment.

277 The tobacco industry of the Recôncavo has a number of disadvantages as a base for commercial development which may be summarized as problems of: (1) land; (2) markets; and (3) system of production.

249 311 Leaf tobacco production in the Recôncavo and in the adjoining areas of Bahia is confined to a narrow belt between the humid edges of the Up- [134] lands and the dry interior of the state. An expansion toward the coast would bring tobacco first into the Intermediate Hills where the upland soils which are preferred for tobacco cultivation are of limited area and then into the humid lowlands in which the Cretaceous soils are unsuitable, apparently, for the cultivation of quality leaf tobacco. [132] and in which the Tertiary soils are extremely infertile. An expansion westward would bring tobacco into an area where the precipitation in [134] most years is inadequate. The interior north of the tobacco area is dry and has very poor soils, the Tertiary upland soils. There is an [137] opportunity for the further expansion of the cultivation of tobacco toward the southwest along the forest and scrub forest boundary into a region which produces the same general type of tobacco as the Southwestern Recôncavo--the "Mata" grade. This apparently is the meaning of the increased tobacco production in Santo Antônio. It should be possible, at least as far as the soils and climate are concerned, to continue the expansion toward the southwest into the adjoining

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APPENDIX B

Geologic Structure

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135 The Archaean granites, gneisses, schists, and metamorphics are the most common surface rocks in eastern Bahia, where they form part of the so-called crystalline peneplain of Northeast Brazil. The Baía de Todos os Santos and the sedimentary lowlands and uplands north of the Bay occupy a rift in the crystalline platform which extends northward beyond the borders of the state. This rift runs through the center of the Recôncavo and is occupied in the south by an arm of the sea and in the north by sedimentary rock. On each side are crystalline zones, extending far beyond the Recôncavo to the west, but limited on the east by the sea.

[134] In the rift zone the upland deposits primarily are Tertiary, but where erosion has cut deeply, as it has north of the Bay and in major valleys such as that of the Rio Inhambupe, the underlying Cretaceous material has been exposed.

In a few places on the crystalline platform, especially south of the Rio Paraguaçu, there are small remnants of the Tertiary sediments.

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249 311 soils under more dependable rainfall conditions than are characteristic of the other zones.

The "Caatinga" zone includes Santo Estêvão, Castro Alves, Ipirá, and Santa Teresinha--the município west of Castro Alves. When the rains [132] of the growing season--June, July, and August--are plentiful, these [134] tobaccos are much like those of the "Mata" zone, though somewhat harsher--probably because of the more saline soils. If precipitation is scarce, the tobacco is gummy and requires long curing--two years or so--before use. If the rains fail entirely, a second attempt may be made to plant during the summer rains of November, December, and January.

The "Feira" zone includes Feira de Santana, Coração de Maria, Irará, Alagoinhas, Catu, Pojuca, northeastern Santo Amaro, and northern São Sebastião, as well as Inhambupe, Entre Rios, and Serrinha. "Feira" leaf is often large, rather dark, and moderately strong, and requires at least two years for curing. Like the "Caatinga," its quality varies [132] in response to changes in precipitation, but in general it is more uniform.

"Sertão" tobacco is highly diverse in type and quality. Its zone of production is large in size, extending west to the Chapada Diamantina and southward beyond the Rio de Contas. Generally this leaf is large and coarse, but as a result of the diverse physical conditions in the scattered areas in which the crop is produced, the quality of the leaf is variable over a wide range.

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tant centers of colonial life, and until 1763 Salvador was the capital of the Portuguese colony.

The Recôncavo helped to make Brazil a unique part of the Portuguese empire in the sixteenth century. Brazil was different from any of the other Portuguese colonies, for its wealth proved to lie in agriculture rather than in trade, as was the case in India and Africa. The Bay of All Saints, with a circumference of 200 kilometers, is in effect an inland sea, the entrance to which can be guarded from the heights on which the city of Salvador is situated. There are a number of picturesque islands throughout the bay, with good beaches and landing facilities. Many small rivers empty into the bay, and numerous creeks navigable at high tide extend further inland along its shores. The presence of such a large network of navigable waters was an important factor in the rapid development of the Recôncavo, providing easy and inexpensive transportation of sugar to the point of shipment to Europe.

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The climate is semitropical, with two seasons. Summer, from September to sometime in March, is relatively dry, dotted by showers and thunderstorms and cooled by fresh breezes blowing in from the Atlantic. Winter begins in April, lasting until August or September, the exact time of change differing from year to year. This season is marked by continued rain, usually a soft, constantly falling drizzle or light rain, interspersed with heavy showers, as front after front moves in from the Atlantic, dropping its moisture before being pushed upward by the abruptly rising land which surrounds the Recôncavo. According to statistics for the years 1914 to 1938, the months of minimum rainfall are October, November, and December; during this time the average rainfall was 11.81 inches. The period of maximum rainfall is April, May, and June, with an average of 35.83 inches for the three-month period. The yearly average from 1914 to 1938 was 65.93 inches.[1] The temperature range is from 70 to 90 degrees Fahrenheit.

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The soil of the Recôncavo, especially that of the sugar-Recôncavo, is extraordinarily fertile. It is a heavy black soil, known as massapê, approximately 6 inches to 2 feet thick, covering a clayey subsoil, known locally as tauá. Here and there are outcroppings of sand and mixtures of sand with clay.

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1. Atlas pluviometrico do Brasil (Rio de Janeiro, 1914-1938).

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Sugar cane has proved to grow especially well with the combination of warmth, rain, and massapê, and the soil has been producing the same crop for almost four hundred years. The area of massapê is sharply defined, for at its farthest edges the land rises to the regions of sandy scrub forest and desert which characterize what has been called the "other northeast"[2] or the sertão.

[133]

The surface of the sugar-Recôncavo is characterized by rolling fields cut by shallow valleys. Although the massapê is not subject to erosion, the other soils, where exposed, are. During the rainy winter season much damage is done, especially to the roads, which for the most part follow the non-massapê soils. Underneath the soil of the sugar-Recôncavo there are recently discovered oil deposits. The quantity of oil has not yet been determined, for the explorations are still going on. However, the national government has already begun to exploit the oil, which is close to the surface. Under Brazilian law, subsoil resources belong to the national government and not to the owner of the lands. As a result there has been a small-scale invasion of petroleum workers on the privately owned lands of the sugar-cane planters. To date, this has not interrupted the agricultural routine to any great extent, at least not in Vila Recôncavo. In Conselho (see map of community), where the drilling was first started, the government bought the land from the individuals and the sugar mill corporation owning it and has turned once green fields of sugar cane into bare fields, spotted here and there with oil wells. The former agriculturalists have had to leave the area or become laborers in the oil camps and refinery.

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The Recôncavo is one of the most densely populated regions in Brazil. It is an area of 6,500 square kilometers, with a population of 683,000 in 1940, distributed in 14 counties including the capital. It has an average density of 106 inhabitants per square kilometer,[3] in comparison with the average density of the state of Bahia, which is 7 persons per square kilometer, and with the national average of 5 persons per square kilometer.[4] It must be remembered that these figures include

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[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 13]

2. Preston James, Latin America (New York, 1942), p. 411.
3. Aroldo de Azevedo, "Recôncavo da Bahia," Revista da Universidade de São Paulo, I (1950), 14.
4. T. Lynn Smith, Brazil (Baton Rouge, 1947), p. 131.

[The Usina]

Financially the two units--factory and plantation--are run separately. One set of books is kept for the agricultural part, and one set for the factory. The six plantations combined produced eighteen thousand tons of cane in 1950, although they had planned on twenty-three thousand. The fall in the expected harvest was due to several things. First, less new cane was planted, because of the activities of the petroleum workers who were invading the cane fields of the factory and drilling oil wells. (The first time a field is cut, the percentage of cane is higher than that obtained by cuts during the next four or five years. The same amount of land, therefore, will produce more cane if it is replanted regularly. The factory, however, deemed it wiser to be content with the older plantings for one year because of the oil workers' invasion, for newly planted cane is more subject to damage than an established field.) Second, during that year there was a serious drought which affected adversely the growth of sugar cane. There is no irrigation in the Recôncavo, and during the drought seasons which come periodically a partial crop loss nearly always occurs. In addition one entire taboleiro caught fire and burned to the ground, causing the loss of many tons of cane. 249* 451 184 249* 433 [731]

The agricultural cycle and the work on a plantation may be divided into two broad epochs, summer and winter. Summer is the busiest season, for it is harvest time and all hands are occupied, including the migrant workers. The cutters with their machetes cut an average of three to four tons a day apiece, which must be quickly loaded and carried to the factory and milled, for the longer the lapse of time between the two operations, the greater the loss of sugar content. After a field has been cut, one of two things occurs. If it is to be turned into pasture, it is fenced, and the draft animals are turned loose in it. Otherwise the leaves which were cut from the top of the plant and left lying on the ground are burned, and within a short time the roots start sending up new shoots. This old planting (soca) each year gives a decreased yield. As a rule a field is cut and burned three to four years before being turned into pasture. In the days of the old plantations, when the soil was more vigorous, cane of twelve years was considered "new cane." Now, however, the yield is so decreased by the increasing poverty of the soil that three to four years is the best, depending upon the amount of rain. During the summer, if land is prepared and there are prospects of heavy showers, "summer plantings" may be made. They are never as good as those done in the winter, for the sun frequently 249* 221 [461] [134]

226 men say that the fish are leaving, while others say there are
43 just as many as ever. It is a difficult thing to prove one way or the other, for written records of the annual catches are only recent. However, there is no such thing as being unable to sell the fish they bring in. Many people in town have increased their consumption of fresh fish as a result of infla-
[226] tion, for it is less expensive than dried or fresh meat. The fishermen themselves eat a great deal of fish, always keep-
[458] ing enough out of a catch for their own family. The planters of the rural area complain that the fresh fish never arrive at the plantations any more as they did in the past. This is prob-
[251] ably due to the icehouse in the town. The fishermen sell first to their "usual customers," the women who work with xangó and shrimp; what is left is sold to the icehouse to be packed and shipped to Bahia, rather than being sent out to the country.

226 The jererê, a small basketlike net built around an iron ring 1 1/2 feet in circumference, is used by women and children along the shore and is part of a subsistence activity. It catches
[252] only a small crab (siri), an occasional eel, and other small fish which are cooked for the table in the form of moqueca,
[262] a sort of stew highly seasoned with peppers and dendê oil. The tideswamps abound in a large crab called the caranguejo,
[857] which is also highly prized for the table. Children often catch these, but a man who does so is called a caranguejeiro, a derogatory term. The hunter seeks the crab by sticking his arm down into its hole, which is usually very deep, at least
• [134] arm's length. As a result he is always covered with the thick black mud so typical of the tideswamps. Often a tropeiro de
[443] cima comes to the town and commissions someone to catch the crabs, which he wraps carefully in mud and leaves and carries to the northern hinterland to sell.

463 The second largest subgroup in Group 3 is composed of the twenty-four gardeners (roçeiros) who are engaged in small-
241 scale commercial farming, rather than subsistence horticulture. They live in town and have their small fields on the
[427] outskirts of Vila Recôncavo. All of these fields are located on the plantation Engenho Da Vila ("P" on map of community), and they range from one, two, or three acres in size to as many as fifteen acres, rented from the plantation at Cr$100,00
241 an acre per year. The major crops are manioc, bananas, and to a lesser extent tobacco, sugar cane for chewing (cana de
000 chupar), corn, beans, and squash. Because there are only 265

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

Outside the city of Bahia and skirting the rim of All Saints Bay lies the Reconcavo,[7] some sixty miles long and varying from a few to thirty miles wide. Its soil is a cretaceous marl of great thickness, similar to the black gumbo of southern Arkansas and northern Texas, known locally as *massapé* or, in literal translation, "that which sticks to the feet." It is quite fertile and well watered and today appears only slightly impaired after nearly four centuries of cultivation. This is the cane and tobacco area upon which formerly both Bahia's commercial greatness and her need for reliable agricultural (hence slave) labor was based.

The Reconcavo was formerly a center of large landholdings, of a rural aristocracy, of a patriarchal system, and of slavery. Today, cane and tobacco are still cultivated, although the former, and to some extent the latter, languish by reason of the condition of the world-market and the persistence of primitive techniques of production. Although large landholdings are still common, the rural aristocracy is decadent, its prestige having suffered a gradual but persistent decline throughout the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries with the loss of the sugar monopoly, the growth of the coastal towns, and the accompanying increase in prestige of the urban professional classes. The abolition of slavery in the late nineteenth century was the final blow, and absentee ownership is now the predominating pattern. However, the present population is more dense in the Reconcavo than elsewhere in the state outside the city of Bahia and remains to this day markedly negroid in character.

[7] The literal meanings of the Portuguese word *reconcavo* are (1) a bay of semicircular shape and (2) the environs of a city. These two meanings appear to have fused in the Bahian use of the term.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[City of Salvador]

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struggle of native labor versus foreign capital and thus tend [466] to unify rather than to divide the local group. Religious [798] competition has not become severe enough to intensify self-consciousness on the part of rival adherents and thus evoke [621] serious animosities. As far as national affairs are concerned, intense local loyalties had not, at least at the time this study was made, been seriously exacerbated by onerous control from without. A minimum of racial conflict will be evident throughout this account.

THE *ricos* OF THE RIDGES AND THE *pobres* OF THE VALLEYS

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One of the things Darwin noted, when he visited Bahia in 1832, was that the city rested upon "a level plain of about three hundred feet in elevation, which in all parts has been worn into flat-bottomed valleys."[11] Today the scene is still much as Darwin saw it. Continuing erosion has merely emphasized the general characteristics of the landscape, transforming the once level plain somewhat more decidedly into alternating ridges, relatively steep declivities, and comparatively narrow valleys.

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This physiography of the country has not been without significance in the cultural life of Bahia; for, in general, the distribution of the population by classes, and even to some extent by ethnic divisions, follows quite closely the lay of the land. Along the ridges, which wind with the changing [363] terrain, ordinarily run the principal streets, bearing the chief [133] lines of transportation, whether by streetcar, bus, or automobile. So far as accessibility to the center and other principal parts of the city is concerned, here are the more convenient residential locations. The elevation of the ridges, [494]

[11] Charles Darwin, *The Voyage of the Beagle* ("Harvard Classics," Vol. XXIX [New York, 1909]), p. 521.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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[12] Teixeira, in his "Solos do Recôncavo da Bahia," pp. 36 and 38, gives the following data (here summarized) for the soils of Paranagua, near Rio Fundo in the município of Santo Amaro:

	Per cent		Per cent
Clay	28 - 48	Total Nitrogen	0.224
Lime	19 - 34	Exchangeable Calcium ME	44.8
Fine Sand	23 - 41	Exchangeable Magnesium ME	6.8
Coarse Sand	1.6- 6.5	Clorides	0.011
Residual Humidity	2.6- 5	Phosphorus	0.055
Rock	3.6- 10.7	Potassium Cloride	0.585
Water Capacity	40 - 58	Sodium Cloride	1.1577

[13] The Rio Pojuca has a gradient of 1-1351 from Catuiçara in northern Santo Amaro to the cidade of Pojuca, near the point at which the river enters the crystalline. The Rio Traripe has a gradient of about 1-125 for its last 10 km. before entering the Bay. Its valley is deeply incised, with deep gullies on the slopes.

[135] [14] These rock fragments, usually much weathered, almost invariably were identified as either gneiss or granite in the exposures observed in the field.

[15] Teixeira, op. cit., pp. 31-39.

[16] Bondar, op. cit., p. 256.

[17] One of the islands of the group pendant to the middle of the north coast.

[171] [18] Thus this part of Brazil is not like many areas in the United States, where relatively uniform cultivation practices are conspicuously minimizing soils differences.

[114] [19] According to the Köppen system of classification the coastal Recôncavo has an Af (tropical rainforest) climate, and the interior an Aw (tropical savanna) climate. According to the Thornthwaite system, all of the Recôncavo has a CA'w (subhumid tropical with winter rainfall deficiency) climate. Glen T. Trewartha, An Introduction to Climate (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1954), plates II and III.

[20] Gilberto Freyre, Nordeste (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio Livraria Editora, 1937), pp. 9, 21.

132 127 [21] Official data from government weather stations was available for only four places in the Recôncavo--Salvador and São Bento das Lajes, in the município of São Francisco, on the littoral of the Bay; and Cruz das Almas and São Gonçalo in the western interior. Of these, only Salvador had maintained a continuous record over a relatively long period--including the years immediately preceeding the field study. There were a number of stations in adjacent parts of the state of Bahia, but none were close enough to the Recôncavo to be reliable guides to its climatic pattern.

The data upon which the climatic analysis of this study was based came from three basic sources: (1) Ministério da Agricultura, Departamento Nacional da Produção Mineral, Divisão de Águas Secção de Hidrologia, Atlas Pluviométrico do Brasil 1931-1938 (Boletim #5. Rio de Janeiro: Departamento Nacional da Produção Mineral, Divisão de Águas Secção de

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APPENDIX B

Geologic Structure

133 135 The Archaean granites, gneisses, schists, and metamorphics are the most common surface rocks in eastern Bahia, where they form part of the so-called crystalline peneplain of Northeast Brazil. The Baía de Todos os Santos and the sedimentary lowlands and uplands north of the Bay occupy a rift in the crystalline platform which extends northward beyond the borders of the state. This rift runs through the center of the Recôncavo and is occupied in the south by an arm of the sea and in the north by sedimentary rock. On each side are crystalline zones, extending far beyond the Recôncavo to the west, but limited on the east by the sea.

[134] In the rift zone the upland deposits primarily are Tertiary, but where erosion has cut deeply, as it has north of the Bay and in major valleys such as that of the Rio Inhambupe, the underlying Cretaceous material has been exposed.

In a few places on the crystalline platform, especially south of the Rio Paraguaçu, there are small remnants of the Tertiary sediments.

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Sugar cane has proved to grow especially well with the combination of warmth, rain, and massapê, and the soil has been producing the same crop for almost four hundred years. The area of massapê is sharply defined, for at its farthest edges the land rises to the regions of sandy scrub forest and desert which characterize what has been called the "other northeast"[2] or the sertão.

[133]

The surface of the sugar-Recôncavo is characterized by rolling fields cut by shallow valleys. Although the massapê is not subject to erosion, the other soils, where exposed, are. During the rainy winter season much damage is done, especially to the roads, which for the most part follow the non-massapê soils. Underneath the soil of the sugar-Recôncavo there are recently discovered oil deposits. The quantity of oil has not yet been determined, for the explorations are still going on. However, the national government has already begun to exploit the oil, which is close to the surface. Under Brazilian law, subsoil resources belong to the national government and not to the owner of the lands. As a result there has been a small-scale invasion of petroleum workers on the privately owned lands of the sugar-cane planters. To date, this has not interrupted the agricultural routine to any great extent, at least not in Vila Recôncavo. In Conselho (see map of community), where the drilling was first started, the government bought the land from the individuals and the sugar mill corporation owning it and has turned once green fields of sugar cane into bare fields, spotted here and there with oil wells. The former agriculturalists have had to leave the area or become laborers in the oil camps and refinery.

135 315 421

The Recôncavo is one of the most densely populated regions in Brazil. It is an area of 6,500 square kilometers, with a population of 683,000 in 1940, distributed in 14 counties including the capital. It has an average density of 106 inhabitants per square kilometer,[3] in comparison with the average density of the state of Bahia, which is 7 persons per square kilometer, and with the national average of 5 persons per square kilometer.[4] It must be remembered that these figures include

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[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 13]

2. Preston James, Latin America (New York, 1942), p. 411.
3. Aroldo de Azevedo, "Recôncavo da Bahia," Revista da Universidade de São Paulo, I (1950), 14.
4. T. Lynn Smith, Brazil (Baton Rouge, 1947), p. 131.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[City of Salvador]

In the lower city lies, of course,
36 the port, with its customs, warehouses, shipping and con-
[504] sular offices, banks, the marine arsenal, the post office, the Association of Commerce, the principal public market, jewelry shops, hardware and cigar stores, and most of the men's shops of the city. Up on the promontory and extending out toward the suburbs are the public buildings and most of the churches, the convents and monasteries, hotels and movie theaters, the public library, museums, professional schools, primary and secondary institutions, hospitals, women's shops, photographic galleries, furniture and dry-goods stores, confectionary stalls, the "five and tens," physicians' and dentists' offices, clubs, the principal parks and *praças*, and the residential areas of the city.

131 Bahia the city is the economic and political capital of Bahia the state, whose area of 342,000 square miles makes
133 it considerably larger than Texas. The region is composed in large part of a vast plain of gneiss formation which rises abruptly from the comparatively narrow coastal belt to heights varying from 600 to 1,200 feet in the interior.
• [135] Upon this plateau and running north and south across the central portion of the state lie a series of low mountains composed principally of sedimentary rock, sandstone, or conglomerates and containing such minerals as iron, manganese, copper, lead, gold, and diamonds (including the
132 black *carbonado* so essential for tool-cutting). This mountain
133 barrier acts as a valuable condenser, gathering moisture for a land which otherwise might be virtually desert. In the extreme western part of the state the plateau is composed of sandstone overlying limestone, and thus it provides a natural sponge which assures perennial rivers in a region where light rains and near drought alternate in six-month periods.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 [276] removed by drying or by fermentation, and the leaves are very bitter.

(6) There is a constant but generally ineffective struggle [136] against insects which damage the tobacco crop. The most serious pest is the ant, which not only cuts the leaves but which also covers whole plants with extensive mounds. A number of plant diseases are common in the Recôncavo--their general effect is to reduce quality rather than to destroy the crop. The effects of plant diseases generally are masked by the much greater damage which occurs in cultivation and processing.

241 (7) The practices of land clearing, soil preparation, planting, harvesting, and curing, discussed above, are more highly standardized than is the sequence of land use. The "ideal" land use sequence is more characteristic of the zone of tobacco and manioc south of the Rio Paraguaçu--the Southwestern Recôncavo--than north of it. This land use sequence has been used as a standard of comparison because it is practiced where the highest quality of tobacco is grown and because it was the most commonly observed practice in most other parts of the tobacco-manioc region. However, even in this southwestern area, departures from the "ideal" sequence are relatively common--the introduction of corn and/or beans between tobacco and manioc is especially important. The sequence which is followed after tobacco cultivation depends not only upon the relative price of farinha de mandioca, corn, and beans, but also on the amount of fertilizer applied to the tobacco plot the previous year. Moreover, the chosen sequence will depend upon the original quality of the soil. In Cruz das Almas, at least, corn and beans were not planted in the old tobacco field unless the cultivator felt assured that the fertility was reasonably certain. If substantial risks were involved, manioc was planted.[6]

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132 241 droughts and unseasonable heavy rains fall upon valuable, and vulnerable, field crops. Moreover, the cultivators of the Uplands are characteristically small farmers without large financial resources, so that the social repercussions of bad weather in this area may be marked.

311 137 [241] Wild Vegetation. Wild vegetation is a significant element in the landscape and an important resource for agricultural production in the Recôncavo. In 13 of the 21 municipios of the region, over 10 per cent of the total area, in 1940, was in mata, or forest, which was used as an agricultural resource.[31] In the southwestern third of the Recôncavo as the accompanying map indicates (Map 14), almost one-fifth of the total area was in this "exploited mata." It is inferred, through the addition of "unused and non-productive" land to the "exploited mata," that well over one-half of the total area of the Recôncavo was in wild vegetation.

137 192 In east-central Bahia three terms are used both colloqiually and professionally to designate the wild vegetation: (1) Mata is used generally to refer to the littoral evergreen forest of the Brazilian east coast. (2) Caatinga refers to the semi-deciduous scrub-forest of the northeastern Brazilian interior. (3) Agreste designates the transitional forest, intermediate in structure and position between the mata and the caatinga.[32]

137 Vegetation Types. The narrow coastal plain of eastern Brazil, from the Rio Paraíba—in eastern Rio de Janeiro state—to central Bahia, bears a heavy evergreen forest or selva.[33] The northern end of this forest belt is the Baía de Todos os Santos. Although the trees are lower and the species somewhat less diverse than in northern Brazil, the littoral forests of the Recôncavo and the Bahian coast farther south are a characteristic variation of the "tropical rain forest."

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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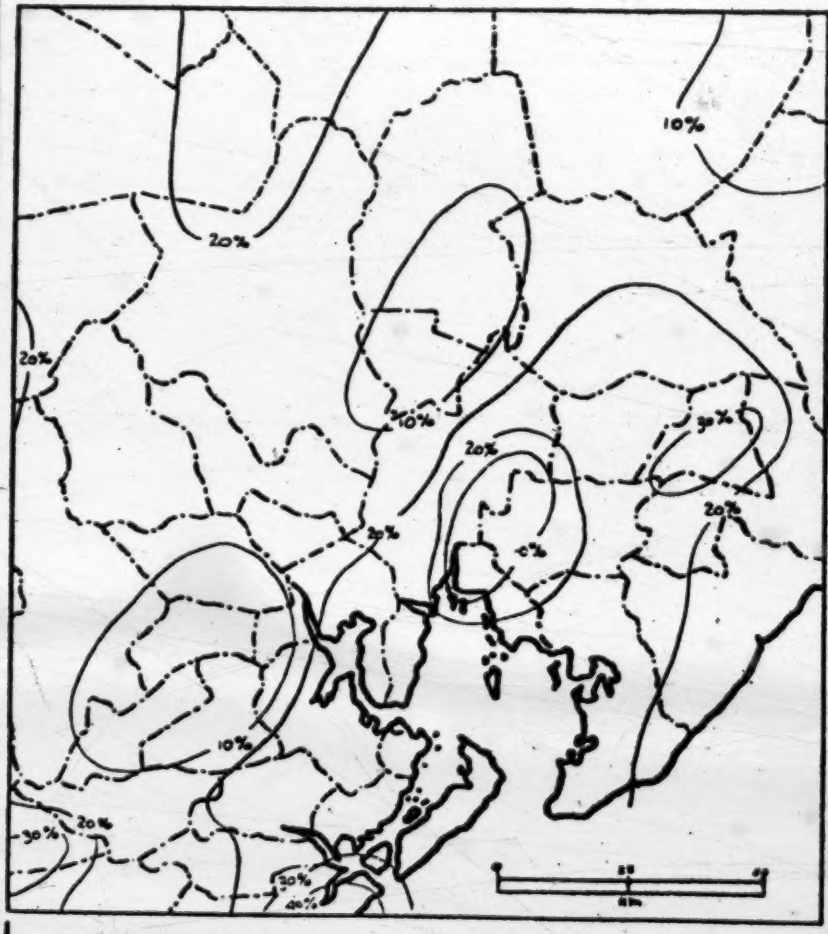

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Area in "Exploited Mata"—1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 14

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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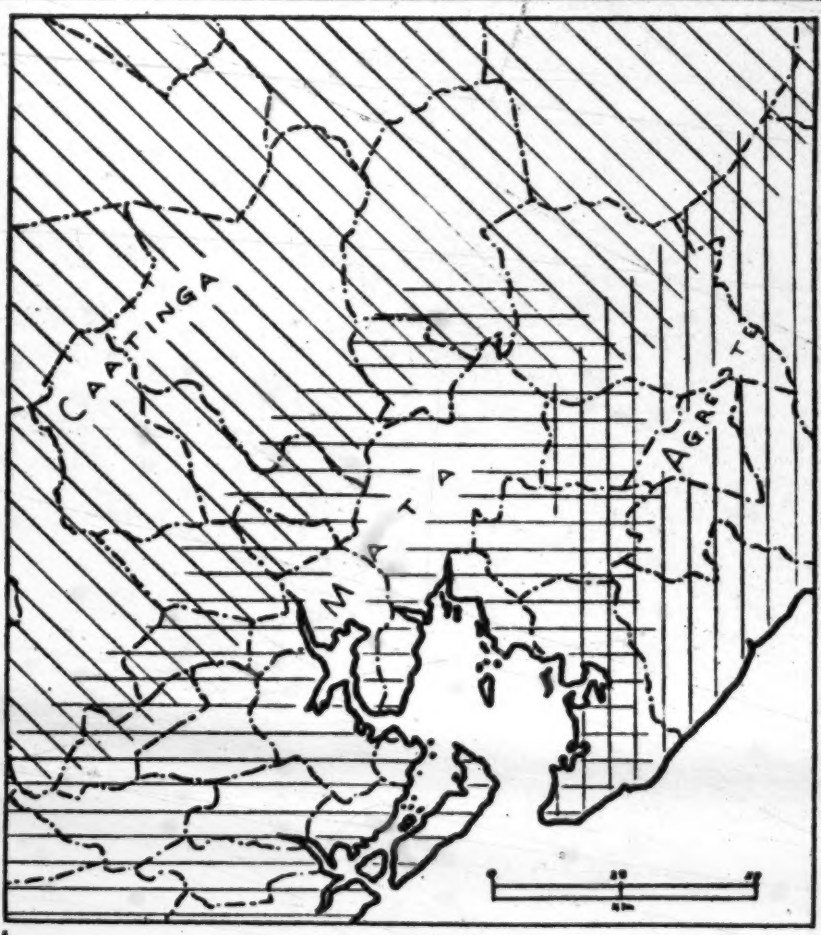

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Vegetation Types

[129] Modified from a private map of Dr. Geraldo C. Pereira Pinto, Instituto Agronômico do Léste

MAP 15

137 Either because of some ecological limit or because almost all of the forest, even the tallest part, is second-growth, there usually are only two tiers of forest trees. Below the trees there is usually a mass of lianas and dense impassable brush. Often, however, the forest is too young to be fully developed, and there are vast areas of low second-growth trees protruding out of a jungle of climbers, creepers, low brush, and herbaceous plants. This low second-growth, called capoéira de mata, is especially common within the Recôncavo and is the dominant forest type in a zone bounded on the south by an arc from Salvador to Cachoeira and on the north by the limit of the littoral forest. The second-growth forest is characteristic also of the island of Itaparica. The forest of the mainland coast south of the estuary of the Rio Paraguaçu, both within and beyond the Recôncavo, is usually older and thus taller--this southern Bay coast is a zone of widely-scattered cultivation. The forest is interrupted in some places by open areas
137 of grass or low deciduous trees. These openings seem to occur in
311 areas of particularly sandy soils. The littoral forest is used primarily as a land reserve for a system of shifting cultivation and secondarily as a source of fuel (charcoal) and lumber. It is not used to any appreciable extent as pasture, even where the grassy openings are extensive.

137 North of the Bay the evergreen littoral forest gives way to the agreste--the semi-deciduous transition forest. The agreste is differentiated from the mata by its deciduous trees and shrubs and by the frequency of the breaks in the forest where open patches of grass are found. The dominant cover is, however, a very dense growth of gnarled brush and low deciduous trees. Above these rise scattered taller deciduous trees and occasional palms, especially the wax palms (such as carnauba). All the vegetation is sub-xerophytic. The agreste is

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

137 not unique to the coast of northern Bahia--it extends northward along the littoral almost to Cape São Roque, with the Recôncavo forming its [233] southern limit. In Bahia the grazing value of the agreste is not great, since the grassland areas consist of small and scattered patches and since there are relatively few herbaceous plants which are palatable to grazing animals.

The characteristic vegetation of the dry interior of the Northeast is the scrub forest, called caatinga or, sometimes, sertão.[34] Compared with the agreste, the grassy patches are more extensive, and the trees are lower. The tall vegetation of the scrub forest consists of thorny, xerophytic, deciduous brush and low trees and of low palms, especially the licurí (Syagrus Coronata). Cacti are very common in the caatinga of Bahia; the tall branched cactus is a very conspicuous element in the landscape, and there are several low, thorny cacti on [233] the scrub-forest floor. The cover also contains many herbaceous plants which are valuable forage.

137 132 Both the agreste and the caatinga show a phenomenal seasonal rhythm in response to the rainfall cycle. During the dry season in the caatinga the landscape is brown, bare of leaves, and hostile with thorns; the only green plants are the cacti. Much of the earth is bare, and its brown is indistinguishable from the bare trunks and twisted branches of the scrub trees. With the first rains a tremendous exuberance of green leaves, coarse grass, and succulent herbs [233] spring up, and the entire landscape is transformed. During this season the caatinga provides good forage for herds of cattle, sheep, and goats. But this lush season is brief, and soon the caatinga is again brown. In some years there is no rain, and although the stubborn vegetation manage to survive in a dormant state, men and animals must leave for the more humid coastal forests.

• 137 The seasonal variation of the agreste is much like that of the caatinga, but the extremes of vegetative luxuriance are less marked. The scattered evergreen trees and shrubs make the agreste, in the dry season, less of a monochrome than the caatinga.

In addition to the general contrasts between the three basic vegetation types, there are lesser variations within each which are the result of differences in exposure, soil, and land use. These differences are clearly to be seen in the contrasting varieties of scrub forest. In the caatinga sêca (dry scrub forest) the trees are low, usually less than 4 to 5 meters, and the forest is open, with extensive patches of grass and of bare sand. It is most characteristic of sandy uplands in the Crystalline or Tabular Upland zones. In areas where soils, moisture conditions, land-use patterns, etc., are more favorable to forest growth, the characteristic vegetation is caatinga grande. The trees and tall cacti reach 7 to 10 meters, and underneath there is a continuous cover of tall herbaceous plants with little grass and no bare spots. In the agreste, formations similar to caatinga grande and sêca are found. Within the littoral forest, soil and exposure differences sometimes produce marked contrasts. However, the intensive land use in the littoral forest has produced so much second-growth that it is not certain which variations result from environmental and which from human factors. In the littoral forest and to a lesser extent in the caatinga and agreste, there are poorly drained areas with open glades of coarse grass and rank herbaceous plants.

[311]

137 311 In the littoral forest, crop cultivation is leaving its mark upon the wild vegetation, producing a formation of low trees and dense ground cover. In those parts of the caatinga and agreste within the Recôncavo, both cultivation and grazing are constantly altering the "natural" development of the vegetation. Extensive areas of a growth

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

137 31 similar to caatinga sêca appear where soil and moisture conditions would seem to indicate caatinga grande. These areas are especially common where cultivation and grazing are intensive.

The wild vegetation of the Recôncavo is used for forage, timber, [313] and fuel. Only the mata is used for timber, and it is exploited only on a small scale. All three of the main vegetation types contribute toward supplying the local market with fuel—firewood and charcoal. The [314] mata is the principal charcoal source, especially in the forest zone northwest of the city of Salvador and along the Salvador-Feira de Santana highway. In the interior sections of the Recôncavo the caatinga and the agreste provide firewood for cooking and other household purposes. For grazing, the caatinga is far superior to the agreste and the mata, except when the latter is in the first stages of regrowth. Burning is employed extensively in an effort to increase the grazing value of the caatinga and agreste. At first this provides more grass and herbaceous growth, but after repeated burning and continuous over-grazing, there develops an impenetrable cover of thorny, tough brush, three to five feet tall, and quite valueless.[35]

13 Conclusion - Physical Setting. The analysis of the physical setting which is to serve as background for the discussion of agriculture in the Recôncavo does not reveal a homogeneous region. Rather it would seem that the Recôncavo is best visualized as a nodal region, with a relatively homogeneous but areally restricted core and a broad transitional perimeter. The perimeter is composed of several sub-regions, each with a distinctive transitional character. As a summation of [128] the physical setting, each of the sub-regions of the perimeter and core of the Recôncavo will be assigned a name, as a matter of convenience, with the physical elements briefly indicated for each:[36]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

127 Hidrologia, 1948). (2) Ministério da Agricultura, Serviço de Meteorologia,
132 Normais Climatológicas (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço de Meteorologia, 1941).
(3) Data made available by the meteorological section of the Instituto Agronômico Léste at Cruz das Almas,

132 The risks involved in using these data are considerable. Of the
127 20 meteorological stations in eastern and central Bahia, only 2 or
114 perhaps 3 are reliable. For the others, gross errors and even deliberate falsification are notorious. Probably the data for Salvador is reasonably dependable, and during the field investigation for this study, there was opportunity to observe the conscientious attention to detail at Cruz das Almas.

The sheer lack of meteorological stations makes it necessary to infer most of the climatic pattern of the Recôncavo. It is fortunate that the two dependable stations occupy relatively representative sites in terms of the terrain and the land-sea relationship. Nevertheless, even the highly generalized climatic analysis of this section is offered with considerable hesitation. It is included in the study primarily as a base for agricultural research and, it is hoped, as a stimulant to a more adequate analysis of weather and climate for the Recôncavo.

000 [22]The municípios of Santo Estêvão, Feira de Santana, and Irará.

[137] [23]Often the slopes are more heavily forested than the surrounding tablelands, but it is not absolutely certain that this difference is unrelated to land use--the slopes are usually too steep for cultivation. In a number of municípios immediately to the east of this dry belt perennial or seasonal ponds were observed at the eastern or southern base of a number of monadnocks. Presumably these ponds are related to heavier precipitation on the slopes above.

[24]The mean annual precipitation of São Bento das Lajes (in the município of São Francisco) is 1947 mm. At São Gonçalo the mean annual precipitation is 1005 mm.

[25]According the advice of agronomists in the area. This approximation is based upon the general experience of the cultivators and not upon controlled experiments which could take into account varying temperatures, humidity, and soil moisture conditions.

[26]The mean of the deviations at Cruz das Almas was 33 per cent.

[249] [27]Except that 100 mm. is considered to be the minimum for tobacco cultivation, this exact figure has no particular significance. It is used here merely as a device to record the movement and duration of the season.

[249] [28]This seems to reflect accurately the climatic situation in the Coastal Plain, where sugar cane is grown, for the cane planters frequently complain of the irregularity of the end of the wet season.

[29]It is not possible to assign strict values for "too much" and "too little" precipitation in these agricultural zones of the Recôncavo. In the tobacco zone there is likely to be difficulty if the precipitation for September--or the following months--the cutting period, falls below

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

000

[113] [12]Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, No. 8 (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço Gráfico do Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatistica, 1949), pp. 59-80.

[114] The Zona Fisiográfica Centro-Litoral (Central-Littoral Physiographic zone) is one of a series of nine so-called physiographic zones used as major subdivisions in Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, No. 8. It includes all 21 of the Recôncavo municipios, and 17 others.

[13]Amaral, op. cit., II, 367.

[14]Amaral, op. cit., II, 366, and Calogeras, op. cit., p. 31.

[137] [15]Manihot utilissima, called cassava, manioc, or, sometimes, tapioca in English and mandioca in Portuguese.

[16]Amaral, op. cit., II, 11-12.

[17]Prado, op. cit., pp. 40-41.

[18]Minas, Yorbes, Geges, Hausa, and other Guinea Coast peoples.

[113] See T. Lynn Smith, Brazil: People and Institutions (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1946), pp. 168-169.

[794] [791] [19]African religions, for example, survive in a modified form in the candomblé (fetish) cults and in the supernatural conceptions prevalent in the Recôncavo.

[20]Neither the total number of slaves imported into Brazil nor the number brought to the Recôncavo is known. Calogeras, op. cit., pp. 27-28, estimates the number as 40,000 per year in the seventeenth century, 50,000 per year in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, or 14,000,000 for the 300 years of the slave trade. Another source has estimated that 1,200,000 slaves were imported between 1550 and 1850, a more reasonable figure. See section by Pedro Calmon in Curious and Interesting Facts Concerning the First European Settlement Made in the New World, p. 9. It is also asserted in this latter source that "more than half remained in Bahia;" this is less reasonable.

[21]Prado, op. cit., p. 46.

[216] [22]A rope-like twist of dark, often sweetened, tobacco wound in a large coil of 50 to 100 lbs.

[23]At the end of the seventeenth century Bahia was exporting 7,500 tons of sugar per year; Pernambuco 5,400 tons, and Rio de Janeiro 5,350 tons. At this same period Bahia exported 25,000 rolls of tobacco (perhaps 1,125 tons at 45 kg. per roll) compared with 2,500 rolls from Pernambuco and Alagoas. Calogeras, op. cit., p. 31.

[433] [24]Calogeras, op. cit., pp. 30-31, cites João Antonil, Cultura e Opulencia do Brasil, por sus Drogas e Minas (1711), who says that in 1711 the mean sugar export--which must have been virtually the entire production--per engenho in Bahia was 52 tons, in Rio de Janeiro 41 tons, and in Pernambuco 22 tons. The weight is given in arrobas by Calogeras.

[25]Amaral, op. cit., II, 84.

[26]Calogeras, op. cit., pp. 38-39.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

161 every section of which is more than 50 kilometers from Salvador, the
162
241 economic center of the Recôncavo, and also more than 50 kilometers from
464 the geometric center in Santo Amaro. If a line were drawn from the
161 cidade of Alagoinhas southwestward to the cidade of Nazaré, the
162 following municípios would fall entirely west of that line: Irará,
241
464 Coração de Maria, Feira de Santana, São Gonçalo, Conceição da Feira,
634 and Santo Estêvão--all north of the Rio Paraguaçu--and Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, São Félix, São Filipe, and Conceição do Almeida--all south of the Rio Paraguaçu. These 11 of the 21 municípios of the Recôncavo are all more than 50 kilometers from Salvador--all are much farther in terms of land transport. In these eleven municípios live 125,000 of the 196,000 agricultural workers. In part, this eccentricity with respect to Salvador is a result of the shape of the land surface, with the city located at the end of a peninsula. Only one of these 11 municípios, São Félix, lies on tide water, and that at the extreme upper limit of navigation. The others are so arranged that they cannot make optimum use of the central position of the Bay, with its relatively cheap and direct route into the capital.

This eccentrically located belt is arcuate in form. It is the
161
162 demographic representation of the transition zone from forest to
241
464 scrub forest, which is often also the transition from the Coastal
• [132] Plain to the Tabular or Crystalline Uplands. The concentration of
[133] agricultural labor in this belt is obviously significant from many points of view: social and political as well as economic.

Clustering is a characteristic pattern of Latin American population. The Recôncavo is the chief population cluster and the greatest single concentration of agricultural labor force within the state of

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249 244 311 important had less intensive cultivation than the two principal centers mentioned above.

241 311 Most of the remaining crops of the Recôncavo were either minor subsistence crops of general distribution, not of themselves accounting for any strong concentration of cropland, or were major crops produced in small separated centers of intensive cultivation. The Northwestern Recôncavo corn and bean areas, the coconut plantations of the beach line, the Southwestern Recôncavo sugar cane and coffee areas, and the suburban rings of orange production were zones where the mean intensity of cropland was low or, at best, modest.

There were two zones of very low intensity of cropland which have not been discussed previously because they did not have significant concentrations of individual crops. The belt of Intermediate Hills around [137] [231] the Central Recôncavo sugar cane area is largely forested, the scene of very scattered cultivation, livestock enterprises, and extractive industries. This belt was used, as will be seen, to provide fuel and to maintain a livestock reserve for the adjoining sugar cane area. The forested belt between the beach line and the inland areas of sugar cane and tobacco cultivation were used primarily for extensive systems of cultivation and for the small scale production of livestock. Only around the perimeter of Salvador was this forested belt intensively used, for in this area there were orange groves, manioc gardens, and a few very small truck farms.

241 311 178 [161] [434] Expansion of Cropland. There can be little question but that the Recôncavo as a whole was an area of expanding cropland in the 1940's.[31] In no other way could the increased food necessary for the growing population be supplied, for there were not then nor are there now external sources for large quantities of staples, excepting only livestock. There

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

000 the storekeeper-buyer or the local tobacco warehouse. The roots of the
258 manioc are processed locally, in casas de farinha, and the farinha de
438 mandioca is sold in the local market or to storekeepers in the nearby village or town.

249 The sub-region of tobacco and manioc production occupies the
244 humid eastern and southern edges of the Uplands. The chief center of
311 production, the Southwestern Recôncavo, occupies a zone of deep, sandy
134 and sandy loam soils lying in flat-surfaced uplands above crystalline rocks. The northern parts of the tobacco-manioc sub-region occupy the rough, dissected southern edge of the sandy Tertiary taboleiros--in this northern area the production of both crops is less intensive than in the Southwestern Recôncavo. The area of primary tobacco and manioc production generally conforms to the forest and scrub forest transition and is expanding southwestward beyond the traditional Recôncavo along this
[433] physical boundary zone. The intensity of production is also increasing,
[178] but with violent year to year fluctuations.

241 In addition to sugar cane, tobacco and manioc, other subsistence
433 and commercial products are grown in the Recôncavo. The most important of these are corn and beans, grown as commercial and subsistence crops in the north and west of the region, and coconuts, which are produced along the beach line. Bananas, sweet potatoes, and peanuts are grown in most parts of the Recôncavo, but on a small scale.

241 There are several areas in which there is little or no cultiva-
311 tion. The rougher Intermediate Hills, which are forested, separate the
137 sugar cane sub-region from the tobacco-manioc sub-region. The lowland areas of Tertiary and crystalline soils are also forested and are cultivated under a non-intensive land rotation system with some associated
241 livestock. The Recôncavo is distinguished from the surrounding areas by its relatively greater mean intensity of cultivation. In the

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249 [457] purchased in Europe at the expense of precious foreign exchange, tobacco can be processed for the trade with only a shed and a few crude presses. [489] Rather than a relatively expensive rail net to assemble the crop, tobacco can be carried by truck, small boat, or even by pack animal. More- [433] over, since the cultivation of tobacco is integrated with the production of food and is primarily an activity of small farmers, it is possible to adjust the size of the crop from year to year with a minimum sacrifice of capital investment.

277 The tobacco industry of the Recôncavo has a number of disadvantages as a base for commercial development which may be summarized as problems of: (1) land; (2) markets; and (3) system of production. 249 311 Leaf tobacco production in the Recôncavo and in the adjoining areas of Bahia is confined to a narrow belt between the humid edges of the Uplands and the dry interior of the state. [134] An expansion toward the coast would bring tobacco first into the Intermediate Hills where the upland soils which are preferred for tobacco cultivation are of limited area and then into the humid lowlands in which the Cretaceous soils are unsuitable, apparently, for the cultivation of quality leaf tobacco [132] and in which the Tertiary soils are extremely infertile. An expansion westward would bring tobacco into an area where the precipitation in [134] most years is inadequate. The interior north of the tobacco area is dry and has very poor soils, the Tertiary upland soils. There is an [137] opportunity for the further expansion of the cultivation of tobacco toward the southwest along the forest and scrub forest boundary into a region which produces the same general type of tobacco as the Southwestern Recôncavo--the "Mata" grade. This apparently is the meaning of the increased tobacco production in Santo Antônio. It should be possible, at least as far as the soils and climate are concerned, to continue the expansion toward the southwest into the adjoining

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

[City of Salvador]

At Bahia in 1807, 1809, 1813, 1816, 1826, 1827, 1828, and 1830, slave revolts broke out, terminating in the serious Malê uprising of 1835. There existed here, particularly in the nineteenth century, a well-established group of Negro disciples of the prophet Mohammed. Here Nagô was for a long time a Negro lingua franca (or, to use the corresponding Portuguese expression, a *lingua geral*), and Nagô is still occasionally to be heard among some of the older blacks. Here one might have encountered in the years just preceding abolition in 1888 an interesting paradox: while at home Bahia clung tenaciously to slavery, she was known abroad for the eloquence of her abolition orators.[3] Here, also, one might have observed the gradual fusion of Catholic belief and ritual with African mythology and religious practice, evidences of which may be seen today in *candomblés*, or fetish-cult centers, like that of Gantois, for example, whose ceremonies have been carried on in the same sacred place for many decades.

175 567 [669] [792] [197] [183] [771] [177]

In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries Bahia became one of the world's great sugar centers where a small aristocracy, as is attested today by the pretentious edifices still standing, achieved great wealth. As early as 1587 there were forty-seven sugar *engenhos*[4] in and about Bahia, and

175 249

[3] See Luiz Anselmo da Fonseca, *A escravidão, o clero e o abolicionismo* (Bahia, 1887), *passim*. This book, although obviously written as abolition propaganda, cites names, places, and dates to support its contentions and does not overlook negative cases.

[113]

[4] Each *engenho* consisted of a sugar plantation and a mill for processing the cane. Those at Bahia often had a capacity of a thousand tons or more yearly. Each was largely a self-sustaining economic unit, dependent upon the labor of numbers of Negro slaves. H. Morse Stephens says (*Portugal* [New York, 1903], p. 118) that sugar cane was imported into Brazil from the Madeira Islands in 1548.

[433] [464] [567] [137]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

633 tributary area does not extend beyond the state, it does include the coffee and cacao areas, parts of the São Francisco basin, and the sertão of Bahia. It is the focus of transportation and communication, of finance and administration, and of foreign trade for the entire state. Despite the economic, political, and social pre-eminence of Salvador, a few cities operate quasi-independently in a particular function, notably Ilhéus and Itabuna, in the cacao area.

The next largest cities in the Recôncavo--Feira de Santana and Alagoinhas--are much alike in size, location, and function. Feira de [162] Santana--often called merely Feira--with 26,559 people in 1950, was the second largest city of the Recôncavo and of the state. It is the [543] cite of one of the most famous cattle fairs in Brazil.[33] Alagoinhas is smaller--21,289 people in 1950--and less notable historically. It is the third largest city of the Recôncavo and the fifth largest of the state. One of the common functions of both these cities is trans-
633 494 496 portation. Feira is the railhead of railroads from Salvador and from Cachoeira and is the junction of the Transnordestina trunk highway which crosses the northeast interior of Brazil, with a highway to Salvador and with the only highway from Bahia to Rio de Janeiro. Alagoinhas is the junction where the railraod (Leste) to Senhor do Bonfim and Juàzeiro--on the Rio São Francisco--branches from the main line from Salvador to Maceió, the capital of the state of Alagoas. Just outside Alagoinhas are the main railroad shops of the Leste line
633 (Viação Férrea Federal Leste Brasileiro). The position of these cities,
369 291 intermediate between the Recôncavo and the sertão, is reflected in
142 the appearance of the people who are met on their streets--dark Recôncavo agriculturalists in straw hats, patched khaki trousers, and wooden clogs and mestiço vaquéiros (cowboys) from the sertão in
633 495 161 their leather hats and vests. Each has a number of postos (garages)

It must be remembered that these figures include the capital city, the population of which is about 450,000. If this is subtracted from the total population of the Recôncavo, the average density of the Recôncavo is approximately 27 persons per square kilometer. 161 [162]

Vila Recôncavo, the community of this study, is part of a county located 41 kilometers across the bay from Salvador. The community includes the town of Vila Recôncavo, which is the county seat, and the surrounding rural zone. Throughout the study we will be dealing with these two components of the sugar-cane plantation community, sometimes separately and sometimes together. 101 634 [121]

The only public transportation to the town is by boat from the capital, a three-hour trip across the bay, threading through numerous islands. The major part of the trip is made on remarkably blue water, usually serenely calm but occasionally violently agitated, especially during the winter. One-, two-, and three-masted sailing vessels and an occasional large sailing canoe, the centuries-old methods of transportation in Bahia, are passed on their way into the city, carrying fruit, vegetables, pottery, firewood, fish, tobacco, manioc flour, and sugar to the more than four hundred thousand people of the city, as they have done since the early colonization of the Recôncavo. The only new element in the scene is the small diesel boat which makes the trip back and forth across the bay, outward bound one day and returning the next with the outgoing tide. 505 501

As the boat nears the luxuriantly green, palm-crested islands, stopping at several to discharge the mail, passengers, and "city goods," one becomes aware of the feeling of stepping back into the past. Barefoot children are selling oranges, peanuts, and fish; and parrots and parakeets, sometimes doped with rum to make them appear tame. The mailman on the dock receives the sack of mail and gives it to his helper to carry to the post office; the island priest may receive a message or package entrusted to the captain of the boat or may even go aboard to travel to the church on another island. The others on the dock call to friends on the boat and exchange news or else simply watch the activity of docking the boat and the casting off. The people of the islands are light-skinned, although well sunburned. Many of them are vacationers from the city, dressed in brightly colored clothes, for the islands are well-known resorts. The others, barefoot, wearing shorts 505 [857] [443] [205] [793] [142] [528]

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[P.155]

VILA RECÔNCAVO

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An old cult priestess

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The "beauty parlor," Vila Recôncavo

3: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1963 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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1. Mulatto cowboy of the interior of Bahia

[facing P. 18]

3: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1963 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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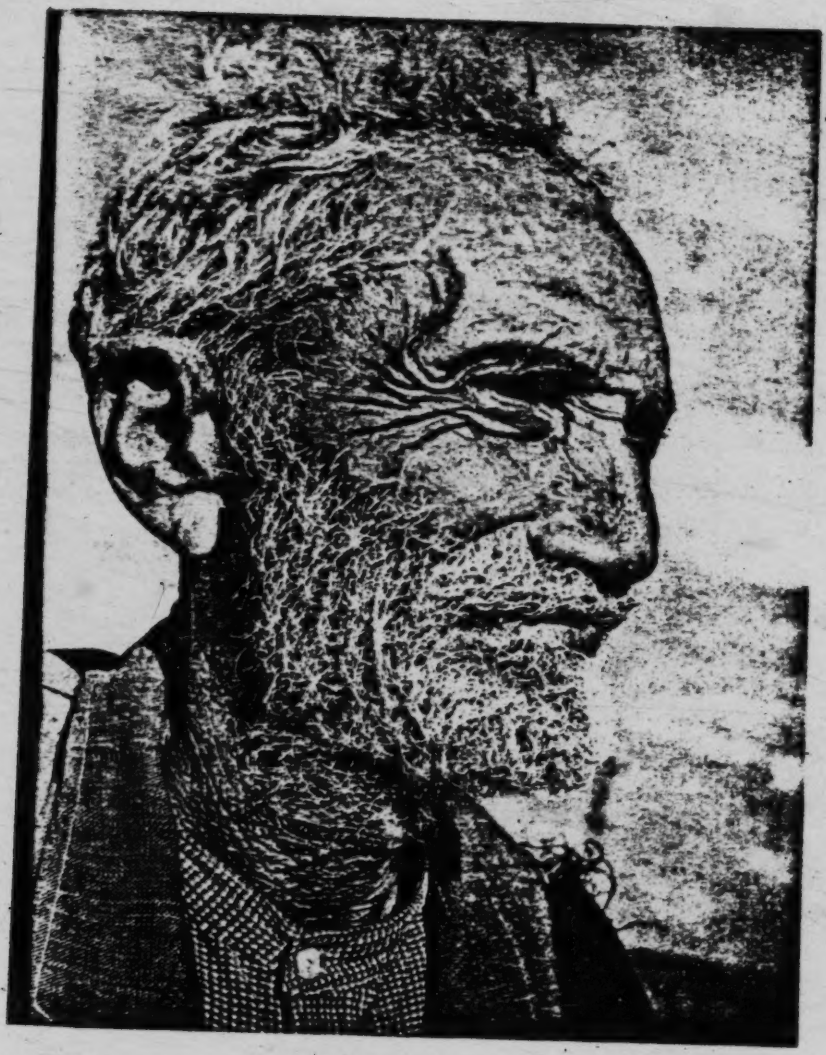
[facing p. 19]

2. Cabocla of the interior of Bahia

3: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1963 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11



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3. Caboclo of the interior of Bahia

[facing P. 42]

3t Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1963 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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4. A black cowboy of the Sertão

[facing P. 43]

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

Short of a racial census, an adequate statistical statement of the racial composition of Bahia would probably require an extended sampling of the population in various parts of the city—a procedure not feasible under the limits of this study. Samples readily obtainable at the numerous festivals such as Segunda Feira do Bomfim, Conceição da Praia, the Vespers of Reis, etc., are not practical for the reason that participation of one or another of the ethnic components is ordinarily out of proportion to its size in the general population. But at Carnival, when nearly the entire population frequents the public thoroughfares, this difficulty disappears. A new obstacle arises, however, in the form of a considerable infiltration of population from surrounding areas. And since the whites are ordinarily from the upper-income groups and consequently more able to travel, the white percentage of the city's population is probably at that time swollen beyond its normal proportion. The "Micarêta," or second Carnival, held one week after Easter, avoids this latter disadvantage. Of five thousand people noted among the participants in the "Micarêta" for 1936, the racial percentages appeared to be those given in Table 5.

563* 121 125 162 [796] [796]

Thus one can perhaps confirm the common-sense judgment of Bahian citizens to the effect that at least half, and perhaps more, of the population is now noticeably mixed, that both biologically "pure" whites (but not "whites" in the social sense) and biologically "pure" Africans are relatively few in number.

563* 162

Some notion of the change in physical characteristics by generations, at least among members of the lower classes, may be had from a study of five hundred cases of mothers and their offspring applying at Bahia's free children's

563* 142 125

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

[142] clinic.[47] The offspring of 221 black and 200[48] mulatto moth-
[125] ers appeared to vary from their mothers as indicated in Table 6.

Since cases in which only obvious variations appeared were recorded as differing, the data would indicate a rather noticeable variation by generations. At least this is true in
[836] so far as mothers are concerned. Accurate information on fathers is difficult to obtain, since, in the section of the popu-

TABLE 5

ETHNIC ORIGIN (AS DETERMINED BY INSPECTION) OF FIVE THOUSAND PARTICIPANTS IN THE "MICARÊTA" FESTIVAL, BAHIA, 1936

[162]

Racial Identity	Number	Per Cent
European	1,585	31.7
Negro	900	18.0
Mulatto	2,495	49.9
*Cafuso**	20	0.4
Total	5,000	100.0

* The term *cafuso* is employed to designate an individual of mixed Indian and Negro descent.

lation whence these cases come, one finds extensive cohabitation without formal marriage, either civil or religious.

So widespread has the dispersion of African blood in the predominantly European group now become that relatively few families in Bahia are of undiluted European origin, without African strain somewhere in the lineage. This mixture of the races in Bahia is in some respects similar to the

[47] Since pigmentation, it is presumed by local physicians, does not become "fixed" until approximately six months after birth, children under one year were eliminated from the tally.

[48] Seventy-nine children were white of white mothers.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

563*

mixture of the nationalities in the United States, where old families of pure English descent have for some time been mingling their blood with that of Germans, Scandinavians, Slavs, and the Mediterranean peoples. "Even if one marries a person who does not himself possess some African blood," said a young lady of the upper class, "this same individual

TABLE 6

VARIATION IN PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS BETWEEN CHILDREN AND THEIR MOTHERS,* BAHIA, 1936

[162]
[142]

Child	Mother			
	Black		Mulatto	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Color lighter, hair "straighter"	55	24.9	45	22.5
Color lighter	12	5.4	34	17.0
Hair "straighter"	12	5.4	20	10.0
Color lighter, hair more kinky	0	0.0	2	1.0
Color darker, hair "straighter"	0	0.0	1	0.5
Color darker	0	0.0	3	1.5
Hair more kinky	0	0.0	3	1.5
Color darker, hair more kinky	0	0.0	1	0.5
No noticeable variation	142	64.3	91	45.5
Total	221	100.0	200	100.0

* As determined by inspection.

will have cousins or other relatives of African descent. Somewhere there will be a connection."

"It is very hard to say a man doesn't have some Negro blood coming from somewhere in his recent or remote past," said a prominent *branco* lawyer and politician. "Take myself, for instance. I can't say for certain that my grandparents didn't have African connections. 'Quando não vem de perto, vem de longe' ['If it isn't close, it's distant']."

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

tuted marriages or otherwise, extends personal relations to the point where they inhibit the rise of caste prejudice. Natural ties, personal and familial, grow up to cement with common bonds of sentiment individuals from both racial stocks. 563*

"Racial intermixture has had a long history, a history older than civilization itself," commented Theodoro Sampaio, a prominent Bahian mixed-blood.

> Wherever the conquering Romans went, mixture occurred. Spain and Portugal for centuries interbred with the Moors; Italy, Greece, and the Mediterranean isles, all early mingled their blood with that of Africa. In Crete—that old center of ancient civilization—are statues of men with crinkly (*crespo*) hair. The Gothic hordes which overran Europe as the Roman Empire was crumbling were themselves much mixed; and wherever they went they added their blood to that of the peoples whom they conquered. Race-crossing is obviously no new thing; it has been common the world over wherever races have come together. How natural, then, that Brazil should blend her races into one, and that we Brazilians should become *one* people.

Among the mixed-bloods there is still a wide range of variation in physical type. The distribution, however, is probably skewed toward the Caucasian pole. Indian traits have virtually disappeared, the native element having been almost completely absorbed into the predominantly European population. The occasional traces of Indian characters which are still discernible are usually found in combination with Negro characters and are probably a consequence of the recent migration into the city from the *sertão* of predominantly negroid individuals of partial Indian descent. 563* 142

To designate some of the intermediate types which extensive intermixture has now produced, a number of popular expressions have arisen. These terms describe the variations more accurately than do the official categories. The latter, as we have seen, are limited to three: *branco*, *preto*, and 563* 142 826

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

563 *pardo;* but common speech adds *cabra* (or *caibra*), *Cabo Verde*
142 (*Cape Verde*), *sarará*, and *moreno*.
826 The *cabra*, or *caibra*, is slightly lighter in pigmentation than the *preto* and has hair a little less kinky. The *Cabo Verde* is very dark, with Caucasian features and black, glossy, "straight" hair. The infrequent *sarará* is light in color, with hair red (or sandy) and kinky. The *moreno*, many Bahians say, is the new physical type which Brazil is developing.

563 Quite significantly, the *morena* (or feminine *moreno*) is
142 the "ideal type" of Bahian femininity. She is in many cases
826 an individual of remarkable beauty. Typically, she has
832 dark-brown eyes and dark hair, quite wavy, perhaps even curly, and Caucasian features; her color is *café com leite* (literally, "coffee with milk"; i.e., like that of one "heavily tanned"), and she has a healthy appearance. The term *morena* is seldom mentioned to a Bahian male without there appearing an instant change in his expression. His face "lights up," and a smile breaks on his lips. He pronounces *morena* with a tone indicative of admiration, affection, desire.[50] He seems pleased, happy in the contemplation of an agreeable object. Poets, both professional and amateur, pour out passionate stanzas in her honor,[51] songs are sung

[50] The *morena* has the reputation of being more desirable than lighter Brazilian women; she is commonly described as "more *ardente*" (passionate), "more *adstringente*" (clinging).

[539] [51] As, for example, the following:

Elsa . . . .
Number One girl,
Pretty little "paca" [small Brazilian animal]
Caboclo-colored butterfly,
Splendidly "morena." . . . .

I danced the "catêrêtê" samba with Elsa,
Her warm flesh quivering,
Her breasts full, almost exploding,
Inside her little white blouse.

And then she fell into my arms willingly, voluptuously,
Her eyes like burning coals,
Her ruby lips
Glued to mine in delirious pleasure.

Ah! Ah! mad girl!
"Bamba" girl!
Devilish girl!

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

to her,[52] romances written.[53] Of 146 male students responding to the query, "All things being equal, whom would you prefer to marry, a *branca*, a *morena*, a *parda*, a *preta*," 117, or 80.1 per cent, replied "a *morena*." Similarly, of 93 white female students responding to a like question, 80, or 86 per cent, preferred a *moreno* for a mate.

The *morena* may, or may not, have African blood.[54] But at least in Bahia this category includes many individuals of partial African descent. For instance, a study of five hundred women classified as *morenas* in the Gabinete de Identificação indicated the probable distribution given in Table 7.

It is the opinion of Arthur Ramos[55] that, although "the charms of the *morena* exert a profound sexual attraction" and the regard in which she is held "has a sexual base in the Freudian sense," the present attitude toward the *morena* "grew out of the enthusiasm and the sentimentalism of the abolition campaign. The *morena* expresses in a symbolic way the union of the two races—the black and the white—and the absence of [caste] prejudice."

The *morena* probably constitutes a decided bond be-

[52] As, for example, the following:

Beautiful morena,
Morena,
Morena who makes me suffer!
The full moon, so bright,
Is not as luminous as your eyes.
You are a *morena*,
A wonderful girl.
There's not a *branco* who hasn't
fallen for you.

Often,
When you pass by,
Men quarrel over you;
Everyone eagerly anticipates
Your smile.

Your heart is a boarding-house,
A family hotel
Along the seashore.
Oh, *morenínha*, do not rent all!
Leave at least a corner
For me to live in!

[53] A rock on the island of Paquetá in Guanabara Bay at Rio de Janeiro very popular with young lovers, has been dedicated to the *morenínha*.

[54] Pronouncing the word *morena* (or *moreno*) with a certain emphasis or changed inflection indicates darker color.

[55] Stated in personal correspondence with the author.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

Although caste still persists and serves in a way to regulate race relations, many things—education, the rise within the Negro community of a professional class (teachers, ministers, and physicians) and of an intelligentsia, seeking to organize and direct the Negro's rising race consciousness—have conspired not merely to undermine the traditional caste system but to render it obsolete. 000

Meanwhile, the slow but steady advance of the Negro, as a result of a competition within and without the group, and the gradual rise of a Negro society within the limits of the white man's world have changed the whole structure of race relations in the United States, both in the North and in the South.

The restrictions on intermarriage still persist and continue to make of the Negro an endogamous social group, in much the same sense that the Jews, the Mennonites, and any of the more primitive religious sects are endogamous. On the other hand, in view of the fact that he has developed a society in which all the professions and many, if not most, occupations are represented, the Negro has an opportunity now, which he did not have earlier, to rise within the limits of the Negro world. Under those circumstances the Negro group has gradually ceased to exhibit the characteristics of a caste and has assumed rather the character of a racial or national minority.[14]

With the Negro in Brazil endogamy is far from absolute, breaking down particularly along the biological borders of the race, probably increasingly, with the passage of time and the continued rise of individuals from the inferior status group. The scale of race distinctions, including the Negro at the bottom and the white at the top, seems to correspond in a general way to the scale of color distinctions *within the Negro minority* in the United States. 563* 565

Although color and negroid features are still indicative of slave origin and still tend to be closely identified with low status and hence to constitute a considerable handicap to marriage into the upper classes, these characteristics lose their limiting and restrictive character in proportion as the [142]

[14] Introduction to Doyle, *op. cit.*, pp. xxi–xxii.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
BRAZIL SL1
East Brazil SN1

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[142]
BB
* 563
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degree of European intermixture increases or their symbolic reference is called into question by evidence of status-enhancing qualities in a given individual. Similarly, personal competence or individual achievement admit persons possessing considerable color into such status-symbolizing institutions as exclusive clubs. Race consciousness is at a minimum, "passing" has no point, and the circumstances are not ordinarily conducive to the appearance of the "marginal man." The organization of society tends to take the form of a competitive order in which the individual finds his place on the basis of personal competence rather than of racial descent.

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The racial situation at Bahia probably is, in a general way, typical of all Brazil. At the same time a considerable immigration of Europeans during the past century into the southern Brazilian states, especially São Paulo, Santa Catharina, and Rio Grande do Sul, and the gradual development of an industrial society in São Paulo, may have modified somewhat the attitudes formerly prevailing in these areas. A Bahian mixed-blood recently returned from Rio Grande do Sul with the statement that he had there been referred to as a "Negro" and had otherwise felt uncomfortable distinctions to which in Bahia he had been unaccustomed. That there is some prejudice in the cosmopolitan city of Rio de Janeiro is attested by the organization in 1935 of O Movimento Brasileiro Contra o Preconceito Racial ("The Brazilian Movement against Race Prejudice"), sponsored by the prominent intellectuals, Arthur Ramos and Roquette Pinto. In São Paulo, the organization in 1924 of a Negro journal, *O Clarim d'Alvorada*, and later of others like *A Chibata*, *Cultura*, *O Clarim*, and *A Voz da Raça* ("The Voice of the Race"); of several Negro clubs for recreational and

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5: Azevedo--19 D, Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
[Salvador]

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1. A colored business-man.

5: Azevedo--20 D, Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[Salvador]

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At the University

5: Azevedo--42 D, Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[Salvador]

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3. At the bedside of a sick person.

5: Azevedo--43 D. Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
[Salvador]

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4. Woman doctor from Salvador.

5: Azevedo--64 D. Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
[Salvador]

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5. Mixture of races in Bahia.

5: Azevedo--65 D, Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
[Salvador]

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6. The Black at work.

5: Azevedo--84 D. Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
[Salvador]

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7. Black painter.

5: Azevedo--85 D, Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[Salvador]

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8. Composers of music.

5: Azevedo--105 D, Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[Salvador]

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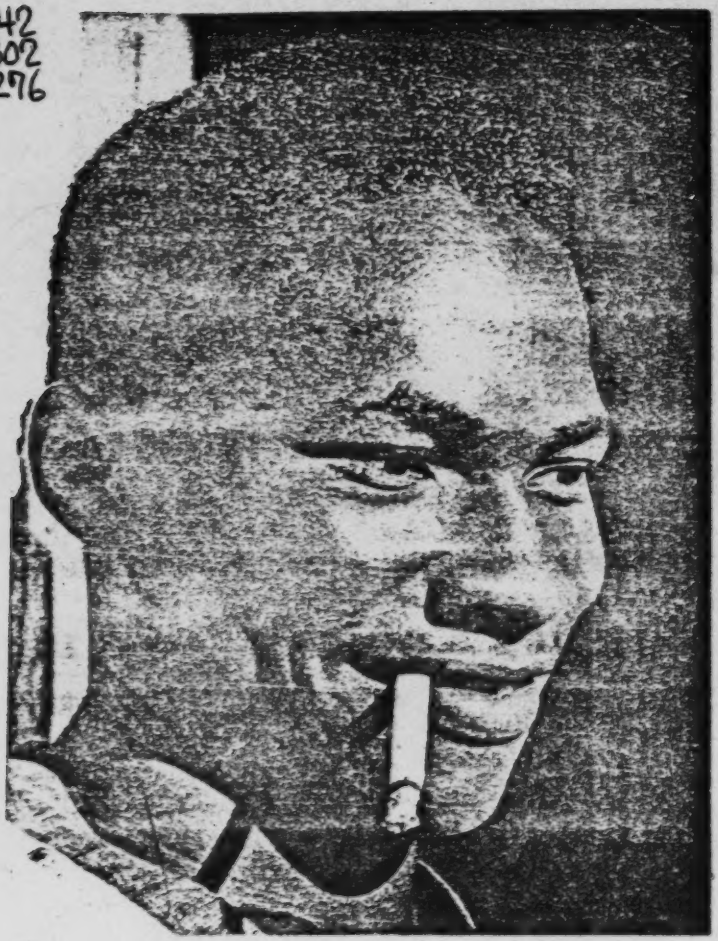

9. Black artist.

5: Azevedo--106 D, Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[Salvador]

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10. A colored artisan.

5: Azevedo--128 D. Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
[Salvador]

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11. A "mae de santo."

5: Azevedo--129 D, Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
[Salvador]

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12. Brotherhood of Blacks.

[Class C Families]

*565 291 During the day young boys go about with only shorts on, or with both shirt and shorts, depending upon the weather. Girls always wear a dress. Children who are in the crawling stage *565 515 854 become extremely dirty because of the amount of dirt tracked into the house from the streets, although this is now changing as a result of paving. Babies, however, seem to have a propensity for getting into the charcoal sack, usually kept near the kitchen stove, and emerging well blackened. They are bathed twice daily, morning and afternoon, at first in cold water to accustom them to the cold water they will be using for [853] the rest of their lives. Bathing the child is usually considered a pleasure for the mother as well as the baby, as is breast *565 feeding. If the child of light-skinned parents exhibits the genipapo (a bluish spot near the base of the spine, sometimes • 143 known as the "Mongolian blue spot") the mothers will take care [826] not to let visitors see it, as the spot is thought to be a strong indication of the nearness of Negro ancestry. It disappears after the child is seven or eight months old.

*565 515 The men and older boys of Class C take their daily baths in the afternoon, either at one of the two wells which are behind the convent and therefore out of sight of the town, or at wooden structures which have been built across the wells in the Cortume. They stand on a wooden floor and drop a small bucket on a string down into the water, which is hoisted up and poured over them, running back into the well with the soap suds and whatever grime has come off their skin. Frequently a woman when getting water will undress her son on the spot and pour buckets of water over him. This is not done after a boy has reached five years or six, however, and is never done to a girl of any age. The women and girls take a daily sponge bath in their kitchens late in the afternoon, before *565 starting to fix the evening meal. None of the houses has toilet facilities other than a secluded place in the back yard. 514 During a survey of housing facilities in the town, when the [124] question was asked, "Do you have a toilet?" the answer was usually laughingly given, "What for?" (But practically everyone knows what a toilet is, and there are several different *565 types in the town, belonging to upper-class houses. The construction of a flush type, with an adequate cesspool, has been 291 known for many years.) After the daily bath most people put [515] on clean clothes in which they often sleep, although sleeping [513] garments range from daytime clothing to long nightgowns, shorts, or nothing at all. Daytime clothing for the men consists of little more than trousers, shirt, and wooden shoes

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

Outside the city of Bahia and skirting the rim of All Saints Bay lies the Reconcavo,[7] some sixty miles long and varying from a few to thirty miles wide. Its soil is a cretaceous marl of great thickness, similar to the black gumbo of southern Arkansas and northern Texas, known locally as *massapé* or, in literal translation, "that which sticks to the feet." It is quite fertile and well watered and today appears only slightly impaired after nearly four centuries of cultivation. This is the cane and tobacco area upon which formerly both Bahia's commercial greatness and her need for reliable agricultural (hence slave) labor was based.

The Reconcavo was formerly a center of large landholdings, of a rural aristocracy, of a patriarchal system, and of slavery. Today, cane and tobacco are still cultivated, although the former, and to some extent the latter, languish by reason of the condition of the world-market and the persistence of primitive techniques of production. Although large landholdings are still common, the rural aristocracy is decadent, its prestige having suffered a gradual but persistent decline throughout the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries with the loss of the sugar monopoly, the growth of the coastal towns, and the accompanying increase in prestige of the urban professional classes. The abolition of slavery in the late nineteenth century was the final blow, and absentee ownership is now the predominating pattern. However, the present population is more dense in the Reconcavo than elsewhere in the state outside the city of Bahia and remains to this day markedly negroid in character.

[7] The literal meanings of the Portuguese word *reconcavo* are (1) a bay of semicircular shape and (2) the environs of a city. These two meanings appear to have fused in the Bahian use of the term.

[SALVADOR]

826 /13 cont./
*563 may not be of African blood (3).
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3. Arthur Ramos, Introduçao a Antropologia Brasileira, II, Rio de Janeiro, 1947.

829 The Indians and the descendants of the cross between Indians
*563 and Whites are generally called cabôclos, but this expression is
192 no longer very common in Bahia and rarely serves to characterize
[178] the corresponding type. The term cabôclo has become, like that
[196] of "my Negro," rather a formula of tenderness between individuals
of any color whatsoever. It must be noted, moreover, thanks to
175 old statistics, that toward the middle of the eighteenth century, in
829 response to complaints about Brazilian "nativism," the Portuguese
648 government prohibited the use of the term cabôclo, to which was
641 then attached an insulting meaning, and granted at the same time the
576 civil status of Whites to Indians and to their descendants of mixed
192 blood, so that they could contract marriage with the Whites and fulfill official duties in the colony; it is in that manner that the contingents of mamelucos or cabôclos were assimilated with the
192 Whites in the military roles of the time. The word meanwhile
178 lost its insulting import and in our day is even considered a com-
829 pliment when it refers to a cabôclo bom, that is to say, a man of
576 good manners.

The Negroid albinos and the mulattoes with red, blond, or
144 light auburn hair are known by the name of sararás.
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The exact designation of these different types has always /14/
144 represented a difficulty, as much for anthropologists as for the
*563 persons charged with identifying school children, the military,
829 the criminals (1).

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1. According to the Bahian anthropologist Nina Rodriguez (in her book As raças humanas e a responsabilidade penal no Brasil /The Human Races and Penal Responsibility in Brazil/, 3rd edition, written at the beginning of the century), the métis include: 1st, the mulattoes produced from the cross between the White and the Negro:

[SALVADOR]

/14 cont./

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a) mulattoes of prime blood; b) light mulattoes tending to revert to the white race; c) dark mulattoes, cabras, product tending to revert to the black race, some almost completely identified with the creole Negroes, the others more easily separable; 2nd, the mamelucos or cabôclos, products of the cross between White and Indian; 3rd, the product of the cross of the three races and especially the cross between the mulatto and the Indian or with the mamelucos and cabôclos. Arthur Ramos in his book A aculturaçao negra no Brasil /Negro Acculturation in Brazil/, 1942, p. 58, and in other works, one of which is "The Negro in Brazil," in Brazil, Portrait of Half a Continent, edited by Lynn Smith and A. Marchant, New York, 1950, p. 130, adopts almost the same classification, but proposes that, in order to avoid inaccuracies, one use the words pardo, mulatto, and métis as synonyms.

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In response to the demand of a lawyer, the head of the Bureau of Judicial Identification of the civil police of the State of Bahia stated some years ago that in his department one uses, according to the judgment of the identifier, the terms White, moreno, pardo, métis, and Black. A woman official who has worked for a long time in this service describes the different Bahia types thus: "The métis is a descendant of Black and mulatto; the pardo is the son of a mulatto and a White; the mulatto is derived from a White and a Black: he may be light, but he will always have lips that are thick and reddened by pigmentation; the moreno is the mulatto fino, and the Black is an individual with pronounced Negro traits."

[SALVADOR]

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Brazil," in Brazil, Portrait of Half a Continent, p. 334.

175 567 79 [113] *563 144

Because of crossbreeding and other sociobiological factors, the darkest group of black phenotype was gradually absorbed by ethnic blending; the Whites increased at a slightly faster rhythm, while the number of métis registered in the statistics as pardos rose and gave birth finally, as a result of the mixture, to a group in which European ancestry predominated (2).

2. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 417.

"Among our ancestors there were already creoles of "clean belly" (barriga limpa). Their children, being themselves /24/ children of lighter men, tended progressively toward the color of their fathers. Perhaps Bahia is a city that contains many female Blacks and métisses of barriga limpa. Everybody remarks that we are moving toward a population totally of mixed blood but of white appearance (1)."

1. J. Valadares, op. cit., p. 91.

127 165 *563 [113]

In consulting the death certificates recorded between 1897 and 1938 (2),

2. A. Rabelo Leite, "A tuberculose do preto na Bahia /The tuberculosis of the Black in Bahia/"; Cesar de Araujo, Anais do Iº Congresso Nacional de Tuberculose /Annals of the First National Tuberculosis Congress/, Vol. I, 1930; see also E. F. Frazier, "The Negro Family in Bahia, Brazil," American Sociological Review, Vol. VII, No. 4, 1942, p. 467.

one can see that the proportional quantities of each type varies in our city as shown below:

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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CHAPTER VI

THE RISE OF THE MIXED-BLOOD

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EARLY in the colonial period race mixture resulted in an intermediate population group in more favorable position for social advancement. Mulatto slaves, because they were ordinarily chosen by their masters and mistresses for the more delicate and exacting household tasks, to be *mucamas* (maids), *amas de crear* ("mammies"), and other *pessoal de casa* (house servants), early developed into a distinct group apart from the field hands.[1] They were baptized, received the master's name, and often were married in accordance with the prescribed legal and religious practices, thus establishing legitimate families and adding to the social security of their offspring by building up a family tradition.

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Many *mulatinhos*, illegitimate children of the *senhor*, learned to read and to write even more quickly than white, legitimate children, outstripping them in preparatory and even advanced studies. The Reconcavo of Bahia yields a number of such cases.[2] Particularly fortunate, we are told, were the children of priests. Their fathers, being ordinarily from upper-class families and possessing money and prestige, transmitted to their offspring, colored as well as white, ad-

[1] F. J. Oliveira Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro* (2d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 157; Jean Baptiste de Lacerda, "The *Métis*, or Half-breeds of Brazil," in *Papers on Inter-racial Problems*, ed. G. Spiller (London, 1911), p. 379.

[2] Gilberto Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* (2d ed.; Rio, 1936), pp. 324–25. The author throughout this chapter is greatly indebted to Freyre's *Sobrados e mucambos* (São Paulo, 1936), esp. chap. vii.

252 they produce. The juice which is squeezed out is saved, and starch is extracted from it to be used in pressing clothes. The nonpoisonous variety of manioc (aipim) is used to a much smaller extent. Usually the tuber is boiled in water and then eaten as though it were a potato, for it does not need any processing to render it edible.

241 463 Ten of the twenty-four gardeners concentrate on manioc, while the others raise bananas. Most of them also grow their own household subsistence crops, scattered among the manioc and bananas, such as corn, beans, squash, and often a few shoots of excellent tobacco. Many of them also produce a quarter or half acre of a heavy type of sugar cane (cana de chupar) which is stripped of its bark, cut into short pieces, and masticated, the pulp being spit out after the person has [146] sucked out the juice. Almost everyone indulges in this, and [825] the sugar which is absorbed is undoubtedly a great source of energy. The plots (roças) are fenced and protected by an ox [789] skull stuck on one of the fence posts to keep out the evil eye.

There are many gardeners to the west of the town who rent 241 their small plots from either the Engenho da Vila or the fed- 463 eral school. This area has not produced sugar cane for many 554 years, for it lacks the surface covering of massapê. These [427] gardeners are often called matutos ("hicks"), real backwoodsmen who get along on subsistence agriculture and seldom leave their rural neighborhood. They are as far removed from contact with modern civilization as anyone could be while living in the Recôncavo. They live in well-hidden, small houses of mud and thatch, and one can ride through this section without seeing anyone.

443 463 [608] The peddlers (ambulantes) listed in Group 3 have their houses in Vila Recôncavo but go from town to town selling their wares. While they do some trading at the fairs they also cover a regular route independent of the fairs. Compadresco, the system of godparentship, is important to them, for the houses of such relations give them a base of operations in every town they visit. One of the three is a man who buys and sells jewelry, and the other two are women; one sells cloth for dresses and the other sweets (doces), peanuts, and dried shrimp. The latter is one of the famous street merchants (bahianas) of Salvador; she sits on a street corner before a portable table selling favorite Bahian snacks such as acarajé and abará. She goes to Salvador on the boat on Saturdays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays, returning to Vila Recôncavo the

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

On the cane plantations

241 462 857 the field work of planting and harvesting is done by labor gangs composed of men, women, and older children. There is some specialization: men cut the cane, women gather and pile the cane stalks and leaves, and the older children assist at these tasks and at managing the ox carts. The smaller children remain at home, where they are responsible from a very early age for some household tasks.

241 592 462 857 Outside the sugar zone the family is a basic labor unit. Men, women, and children work in the fields as required and participate in processing tobacco and manioc. To an even greater extent than is characteristic of the sugar zone the children participate in family tasks, and as soon as they can manage the hoe, they join in the field work.

461 [565] The upper class Baiano seldom does physical labor—to do physical work is to lower one's status. In the lower class work would seem to be approached as a somewhat unpleasant necessity which is best tackled in a cheerful and convivial atmosphere. The agricultural laborer is given to spells of extremely hard work interrupted by banter and occasional "horseplay." While the lone worker often seems rather cheerless and plodding in the field, the shouted jokes, songs, and exclamations of groups of laborers frequently resound throughout the countryside. The intermittent vigorous labor seems to be an extension of play, for there is little social evaluation of hard work for its own sake.

Despite the enthusiasm and commotion which surrounds almost any effort, the per capita productivity of the worker in the Recôncavo 461 147 is relatively modest. In part this is a result of the intermittent character of the work, but a more important factor is the limited energy of the worker. The lower class of the Recôncavo is weakened by perennial hunger, bad diet, and disease.[27]

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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lives participation in two different, and to some extent antagonistic, worlds which met and fused, so to speak, in their own personalities. They were perhaps, to some extent at least, "marginal men."[40]

The Brazilian mixed-blood was marginal, however, in the cultural rather than in the racial sense. Often he had moved during his lifetime from the lower rungs of the class ladder to the middle or even upper tiers. He had achieved some measure of recognition and was enjoying certain of the advantages of the upper classes. At the same time he was deeply sensitive to his servile origin and to the fact that he inescapably carried with him in his physical characteristics a mark of low status. Thus, Gonçalves Dias was, we are told, throughout his life a melancholy soul. "A wound always bleeding, although hidden under the cloak of a *doutor*. Sensitive to his inferior origin, to the stigma of his color, to his negroid features always shouting at him from his mirror, 'Remember you are a mulatto!' "[41] The mixed-blood became noted for an extravagant use of perfume which seems to have been an overcompensation for the body odor, the so-called *catinga*, or *budum*, reputedly characteristic of the African. At home the mulatto sought to keep out of sight the "*tira-teima* of the family," the relative whose dark color or negroid features too clearly betrayed his "less noble" origin. In an attempt to convince himself and others of his identity with the upper strata, he often developed an "emphatic Aryanism" and became, like Machado de Assis or Olavo Bilac, "a champion of the white against the black."[42]

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[40] See Robert E. Park, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIII (May, 1928), 881; Everett Stonequist, *The Marginal Man* (New York, 1937).

[41] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 320.

[42] *Ibid.*, pp. 335, 355, 363; Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 324.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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[40] See Robert E. Park, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIII (May, 1928), 881; Everett Stonequist, *The Marginal Man* (New York, 1937).

[41] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 320.

[42] *Ibid.*, pp. 335, 355, 363; Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 324.

[SALVADOR]

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*563 829 The Whites justify their opposition to marriages with Blacks, not only by ideologies concerning the mental and moral inferiority of the Black, but also by an "instinctive" repulsion to certain organic characteristics of Africans and their close descendants. A mulatto, reared among Europeans, expresses this attitude by saying that "it is not so much the color prejudice that is strong in Bahia as the instinctive repulsion of the white race for the taint of the sister race when it is pure or almost pure: bad odor, color, etc., which does not fail to provoke disagreeable comments about the descendants of Ham." It should be noted that, *563 829 828 147 concerning the "bad odor," that of the Blacks is regarded as something inherent in their nature and thus irremediable, the disagreeable odor of the Portuguese and the other immigrants being attributed solely to the lack of body care. This conception puts the Black in a special and inferior psychological category, many Whites not knowing that they themselves emit an odor intolerable to the Asiatics and to the Blacks (1).

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1. It is interesting to note what happens in blood transfusion. When this was done directly from donor to recipient, often the white patient or his family preferred white donors, showing annoyance when the donor was mulatto or black. At present, with the system of preserved blood, almost no one asks what the "quality" of the donor is, except Jews and certain foreigners, especially Europeans who demand blood from members of their family or their "race." In the first instance, what motivated the attitude of the Whites was above all the fact that the donor was lying in a bed parallel to that of the sick person, a situation recalling the intimacy of two persons who sleep side by side.

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

er of the Waters. Naturally, in such a small group, the secret is not very well kept and it is soon known who has sent a present, why, and when. Many people in this group, and some in Class A, entertain the fear that they may become themselves possessed by a deity, especially if they expose themselves to cult activities during a ceremony, and for this reason they do not attend the rituals. To a certain extent this fear is the basis for the protest many of them make against night-long drumming, although the common complaint is that they cannot sleep because of the noise. The sound of the drums at night is very impressive, and no one is unaware that nearby the supernatural is being called. It is very disturbing to those who do not understand the mechanics of the ceremonies and the meaning of the drumming and sacrifices.

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Spiritualism

Spiritualism, which does not use drums, is as disturbing as cultism to people of all classes, although because of its quieter character it is not always known when a session is taking place. Spiritualism seems to be gaining popularity in the area, although it is greatly feared by many people. It is slowly gaining adherents, however, because of the healing powers exhibited by the mediums. In most cases people are drawn to it, both in the town and in the rural area, through illness and the promise of a cure. Because of lack of aid from the doctor, or because of the expense of medical treatment, or perhaps because of the failure of the African cult to cure him, a patient may try spiritualism as a last resort. For those who are helped by it, it becomes a constant companion, and although they may have entered with fear, they soon lose it. They become staunch defenders and try to draw in their friends. The greatest successes in curing seem to follow the herbal treatments of the African cultists, but spiritualism requires no further obligations, as do the cults. It is common to hear someone say that attendance at a spiritualist seance cured him of some minor ailment and left him free of obligations, and that he did not even have to pay the medium. Spiritualism is also used to discover and counteract the evil eye and evil machinations of any enemy. In spiritualism one finds the same Indian spirits which are found in the local African cults, although no dancing is involved. There is now definite competition between the mediums and the cult leaders for adherents.

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[SALVADOR]

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829 365 The irregularities and inadequacies of electric service in the city are attributed by many inhabitants of Bahia to what they call the "contempt of the Americans for the well-being of the people," as if the Americans were the only ones responsible for the operation of the American-Brazilian enterprise that produces electricity for the region. Everything that is or is supposed to be American otherwise enjoys great prestige. There is, however, a foreign group against which (or, more precisely, against the hidden "trust" that it represents) there exists a very strong hostility, although it manifests itself only on certain occasions. It is a matter of emigrants from Spanish Galicia, accused of exploiting the populace owing to the monopoly that they have acquired in the grocery and bakery business. At certain times when tension is particularly strong, as in 1930, and following the rapid rise of the price of commodities of prime necessity at the beginning of the last world war, the populace gave free vent to its discontent by plundering certain Spanish business establishments. But the attitude of the Bahians toward the person of these immigrants is free of lasting animosity, and marriages between the two groups are frequent. The fact remains, however, that the population attributes to the Spaniards the shortage of certain food commodities, especially bread, and it accuses these emigrants of "enriching themselves off of the misery of the people."

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529 *563 575 743 The recreational associations of the English, Spaniards, Syrians, and Lebanese are frequented by Brazilians. Likewise the hospitals maintained by the Portuguese and Spanish colonies are managed by Brazilian doctors and receive numerous patients from Bahia, white or colored.

795 771 The religion of the Catholic majority is traditionally much more external and ritualistic than dogmatic, the religiosity of a large number of those who call themselves "strict Catholics" being chiefly theoretical. This must have constituted a serious difficulty for the clergy; it is also a subject of astonishment for the visitor who imagines that he will come in contact with "the most Catholic of Brazilian cities." The antagonisms between religious groups are also moderate in this domain and /19/ never affect the

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[SALVADOR]

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829 *563 [113] white countries (1).

1. Romulo Almeida, interview for the Diario Trabelhista, 28, 11, Rio de Janeiro, 1946.

829 *563 537 157 The mulattoes, according to others, are supposed to be affected in their manner of speaking, wishing to display their erudition. The comment of a journalist about a politician is characteristic of this way of thinking: "Without complexes or repressions... he reasons dispassionately, which is astonishing on the part of a red curiboca (2)

[192] [826]

2. Curiboca, métis of Indian and Black; roxo, bluish red, a warm and dark shade of the pigmentation of the skin of certain métis.

like him. Not having the tropical verbosity of mulatto good speakers..., he is mentally a Nordic who sets forth his ideas without the cerebral complications such as are esteemed among the bachelor /referring to the academic degree/ morenos of our country" (3).

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3. "This tendency to use an elaborate language seems to be a sort of compensation for a feeling of inferiority," says V. L. Bicudo in "Attitudes raciales des Noirs et des mulâtres de São Paulo /Racial attitudes of the Blacks and mulattoes of São Paulo/," Sociologia, Vol. IX, No. 3, São Paulo, 1947, p. 211.

829 *563 157 Opinions about the mulattoes, especially about those who try to advance themselves by means of intellectual activities, always throw into relief the weak points of their personality and almost always give an unfavorable interpretation of their character. A literary critic of Bahia, commenting on the works of the greatest Brazilian novelist, the mulatto Machado de Assis, expresses this

[SALVADOR]

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829 of a white lawyer. Certain colored persons, finally, claim to be
*563 proud of this color. A young girl of high rank claims to have no regrets about being black and insists that her true "quality" be
• [154] recorded in all official documents. This may also be a defense reaction, especially since this informant has a personality clearly marked by a frustration complex associated with her physical condition. It is said that when an employee hesitated about the term by which he had to describe, in an official document, the color of a very well-known man of liberal profession, the latter, guessing his difficulty, told him to write "mulatto," "for," he added, "I am a mulatto without any doubt."

829 Certain individuals are accused of isolating themselves in
571 order not to feel obliged to live in the "inferior" world to which they belong because of the pigmentation of their skin. This
*563 arouses a certain resentment on the part of the Blacks who attribute this behavior to the shame that these persons have about their type, and to the desire never to be seen "among those of
[184] their category." Our informants state that such a way of behaving
[562] is common among the women of the middle or upper class.
[565] Nevertheless the tendency to accept such segregation is not general. A dark black official relates his experiences thus: "Racial problems do not affect me. I am very well received everywhere, even among the most distinguished families; I give Portuguese lessons to their sons, and they value my friendship. A well-bred Black has access to all milieus. There is no discrimination among the men; it is among the women that one perceives this tendency very
[576] clearly. Some are content to be discourteous, avoiding shaking the hand of Blacks whom they meet among the Whites. Nevertheless, when they take a fancy to a colored man, they are capable of behaving foolishly." "Undoubtedly," he adds, "in certain milieus I feel isolated." It is interesting to note that this informant is one of the few who are concerned about discrimination, but he, like most of the others, is without rancor and is confident that he is compensated for it by the good relations that he maintains with his /32/ white colleagues in the important State administration where he works, where he has occupied positions of management, and where he has had to perform missions calling for great responsibility.

[SALVADOR]

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*563 545 [171] For about ten years people have been trying to organize a "Negro theater" in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. In spite of the assistance of white intellectuals of great influence and endowed with the spirit of initiative, the two or three groups that have been founded have had only relative success, in spite of the indisputable artistic and intellectual merit of the Blacks and mulattoes who were at their head. About two years ago, when [658] one of these groups asked for government assistance in order to give a series of performances in Bahia, the presentation of a "Negro theater" in a city such as ours, where there is no separation of races, was considered inopportune. At least this is how some people justified the refusal against it. Two small theater groups were nevertheless founded in Bahia, "to give colored persons the possibility of becoming known," as was announced in a newspaper, but neither of these groups was able to succeed in staging a play. This lack of success may be explained in different ways. One explanation might be that amateur theater enterprises, even those directed by Whites of some prestige and aided by recreational associations able to spend /Figs. 7 and 8 appear here/ /65/ quite large sums on efforts of this kind, have been intermittent in Bahia and generally require an extreme effort by amateurs of the theatrical art; another is that the persons responsible for the two undertakings were young people of mixed blood, without experience and without credit. It should be noted, besides, that, according to one of these, the idea was not popular, even among colored persons. "Everybody doubts that this venture can be successful," he said. Some have even thought that this is "a separatist idea." It is possible that other factors come into play in this tendency to discourage similar endeavors. The theater being a means of [154] [796] emotional expression, serving as a substitute for other ways of liberating emotions, one may agree with the hypothesis of Roger Bastide, according to which the colored people of Bahia satisfy themselves by means of the exciting rites of the candomblé and the external Catholic worship with its brilliant liturgical ceremonies, its frequent and large processions, and the solemn saints' days around the most popular churches (1).

[113] 1. "Teatro de 30 dias /Theater of 30 days/," Anhembi, No. 10, Vol. IV, São Paulo, Sept. 1951.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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In all probability, the movement was at first largely vertical. When, however, the mixed-blood had gained some economic or professional competence, had definitely established his personal worth, he tended to be recognized as an "exceptional" individual; that is, as a person rather than as a member of a group. As the numbers of these "exceptional" individuals multiplied, the social conventions were subjected to constantly increasing pressure, since it is difficult to treat "exceptional" individuals in situations of intimate social intercourse differently from the way they are treated in intellectual, commercial, or political circles. This "strain for consistency" tends in time to modify conduct.[19]

Thus, as the mixed-bloods rose in class, this upward movement was accompanied by what might be called "horizontal progression." The individual who was rising in rank and establishing himself in the upper intellectual and economic circles began actually to penetrate the "inner sanctuaries" of the more exclusive social groups, breaking down marriage and familial taboos. The class tradition, in so far as it had been fixed by race, gradually began to give way under the irresistible pressure exerted upon it by the rising mulatto group.

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This rise was accompanied by the personal stresses and strains which an individual in the process of moving from one class to another ordinarily experiences. The first mulattoes to penetrate the upper tiers reflected in their personal

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show of hospitality, the use of diminutives as a means of being both respectful and intimate at the same time" (Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, pp. 357-58).

[19] Moreover, class interests tended to become more and more important and eventually to bind members of the same class with common bonds of sentiment, attitude, and idea, and thus to cut across lines of color or of racial descent.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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[40] See Robert E. Park, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIII (May, 1928), 881; Everett Stonequist, *The Marginal Man* (New York, 1937).

[41] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 320.

[42] *Ibid.*, pp. 335, 355, 363; Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 324.

[SALVADOR]

/32 cont./

829 *563 • 156 On the whole, the Blacks speak with calmness, and, even when they are very reserved toward the investigator, they show a certain psychological assurance and a good adjustment to the conditions of life in Bahia. Here, too, there are obviously exceptions: one man practicing a liberal profession and who is thought to have had worries because of his color, proves reticent and even reserved. "He feels inferior because of the fact that he is black," other Blacks say; "for this reason he frequently causes trouble." The informants state that there are mulattoes who, wishing to conceal their origin, avoid appearing in the company of their own parents of black color. One young man practicing a liberal [593] profession, highly esteemed, is covered with praise because he does not have such prejudices; although married to a White, he goes everywhere with his mother, a Black of the most beautiful black, and introduces her to all his friends. On the other hand, another man of the same milieu and the same "quality" is criticized, because, according to some, "he does not wish to be black and for that reason he hides his old mother." Another Black is regarded as full of prejudice and as a racist, "because he prefers to go around with the Whites and he likes to appear in public with women whiter of complexion than of reputation." Some of his colleagues of the same profession and the same social rank regard him as one "repressed," one who is ashamed of being black. "And," it is added, "there are many like him, who, if they could, would be white!"

829 *563 576 There is no doubt but that certain Whites, including light and dark mulattoes, treat the Blacks and colored persons of humble social class with a certain air of superiority. They do so more rarely with individuals of the same rank as they. To say to someone's face that he is inferior because of his color would be a serious offense, according to the etiquette that governs the relations between individuals of different types in Bahia. A moreno educator, [671] native of a northern State, says that during the nine years that he lived in Bahia he was able to observe this mutual respect between persons of different "qualities," provided they were of the same social rank, while in his State colored people are treated with contempt.

[SALVADOR]

/32 cont./

829 contempt. In the highest strata of Bahia society, our informants
*563 say, a colored person generally does not suffer humiliations. It
565 may even be that he is recognized as belonging to the most re-
•156 spected groups. A very dark Black practicing a liberal profession is irritated because in the organization where he works many people who do not know him take him for an office boy or an employee of inferior category. A female official, /Figs. 3 and 4 appear here/ /33/ on the contrary, says that she and her family are fortunate and do not attribute any of their difficulties to the fact that they are dark mulattoes. "If I have never been able to pursue a career as I wished, it is because my father was poor and died young. For that reason I always say at home that we must not speak of certain things... Some people might believe that we suffer because of our color."

[562] Among girls, who are more accustomed to discrimination than men, the feeling of inferiority can take quite peculiar forms; thus, a university student claims not to be disgusted with her color, "but she would like to be less homely." Finally, while not acknowledging it, a black woman practicing a liberal profession let the same frustration complex show by saying that she was very discouraged, when she was young, to hear herself called "a pretty little Black."

829 An important aspect of the problem is created by the fact
*563 that the Blacks and the dark mulattoes of urban working circles,
565 to the extent that they are aware of their civil and political rights,
• 571 are less inhibited in their behavior in front of Whites. The latter feel resentment at the way in which "impudent Negroes" speak loudly in the street, pass in front of them, and do not yield them their place in the tramways and other means of transportation. These incidents take on an aggressive significance in the eyes of those who lay claim to being the dominant class by virtue of their physical or social appearance. In many cases the Blacks do not make use of their color as a distinctive sign of their group. An important mutual-aid association for Blacks has taken as its emblem two white hands held out to each other as a symbol of solidarity. In one of its reports this same organization personifies its own activity by a picture representing a white woman carrying a white child and two other white children with European features, who hold her embraced.

[SALVADOR]

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*563 565 for many people, is more a question of class than a question of race, "the primacy of culture and of class" having the ascendancy, one may say with a mulatto educator that "if he has money, education, and manners, the Black can elevate himself." This synthesis, however, does not exhaust all the aspects of the problem. A very dark woman of liberal profession declares that "a Black, in order to elevate himself socially, must have talent and friend-
[571] ships." In truth, good personal and family relationships are very important for everybody in Bahia, whether in trade, in administration, or in politics. A maxim constantly cited by Brazilians teaches that "a friend at hand is worth more than money in the till," which means that any enterprise is easier when the interested party is given a "personal" introduction by a friend of the person with whom he must deal. One informant insists on explaining that she does not believe money has a great influence on the social ascent of colored people; she knows several among them who, having previously made a fortune, did not succeed in elevating them-
[156] selves. "For in order to elevate oneself it is necessary not to have an inferiority complex. There are many Blacks who not only do not dare to approach Whites of a high class, but transmit this fear to their children." The fact that the black color recalls the ancient slaves is cited by many as an explanation for the difficulties that
[567] the darkest ones encounter in attaining a high rank. "Lately risen
[826] from the depths of slavery," writes a priest of mixed blood, "rare are the Negroes who succeed in reaching a high level or position.
[571] As for mulattoes and morenos (who are not true Blacks), we can say that, from all points of view, they live in harmony with the Whites, at least here in Bahia." A doctor makes the same comment: "As far as the morenos are concerned, they have a position equivalent to that of the Whites; but it is not correct to say that the Blacks can easily attain the highest offices or positions of the first order in the most esteemed professions. As for mulattoes, one finds some of them in the positions that we have just named, without being able to deny, however, that for the métis whose color closely approaches that of the Negroes, this pigmentation of the skin creates obstacles to the various careers mentioned. On

have remained. Nevertheless, the population of Vila Recôncavo shows a considerable Indian element, that is, of people with a reddish or bronze tinge to their skin color, more prominent cheekbones than the Africans or whites, and a tendency toward an almond-shaped eye. However, few people in Vila Recôncavo bearing these marks are called caboclos. They are classified instead in the local terms mentioned above, ignoring Indian traits. In Vila Recôncavo, there is a certain dispraisal of the caboclo. He is considered less civilized than the resident of the Recôncavo. He is often known as a better worker, more ambitious, trustworthy, and frugal, but less genial than the easygoing person of the Recôncavo. In the rural area of Vila Recôncavo, each year many caboclo men come to the plantations to work during harvest time. For the most part they stay together, away from the resident workers of the plantation. The plantations construct a type of barracks to accommodate these men, who do their own cooking, care for their own clothes, and spend their evenings gathered around a fire, singing songs of the sertão, apart from the permanent workers.

The following percentages of racial types were taken from a sample of 162 heads of families, using the four major types:

Preto	50, or 40 per cent
Mulato	59, or 49 per cent
Caboclo	3, or 2 per cent
Branco	11, or 9 per cent

Each physical type in Vila Recôncavo is thought to have a series of personality traits correlated with physical appearance. Furthermore, these stereotypes of expected behavior reflect the attitude of people toward the various racial types. Two physical types, for example, the cabra-cabrocha and the sarará, are usually "more to be pitied than censured," for they are considered ugly by most people. There is a feeling that they are unfortunate crosses between parents of physical characteristics which do not mix well. They are thought to lack the definite traits which characterize the other physical types, and "even a preto de qualidade is better than either of these--at least more handsome." Furthermore, people of these physical types are thought to be difficult to deal with. They are sometimes irritable and easily angered. They are the physical types least preferred in Vila Recôncavo; all oth-

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826 ers have some positive qualities. People arrange their pref-
157 erences in many ways, according to the physical qualities they wish to emphasize.

563 There is also a series of expressions used by everyone to
578 describe the person who is trying to appear white. It is almost axiomatic that whoever tries to be what he is not is considered
557 ridiculous by all. Both whites and Negroes gossip about the social climber and use the terms "tem pinta" (has a "touch of the tarbrush"), or "tem sangue" (has Negro blood), or "é da raça" (is of the Negro race), or simply "besta" (show-off), "cheio de arte" (artful), "cheio de manha" (full of little tricks), or "fala bonito" (talks pretty).

563 There are also many phrases used by lower-class people
578 to ridicule Negroes and mestiços who are showing off, or "pushing." Most of these start off with Negro:

Negro doesn't marry, he gets together.
Negro doesn't accompany a procession, he runs after it.
Negro doesn't sit down, he squats.
Negro in white clothes is a sign of rain.
Negro doesn't hear Mass, he spies on it.
Negro at a white man's party is the first to grab and the last to eat.
Negro's intelligence is the same size as his hair.

563 The concepts and fixed ideas which the people of Vila Re-
125 côncavo have of these racial types were also revealed in their responses to a pictorial questionnaire devised in the field. A series of eight photographs were shown. These were of people unknown to those answering the questionnaire. They consisted of a male and a female representative of each of the four major racial types, the caboclo, the preto, the mulato, and the branco. An attempt was made to keep the photographs from giving any clue to the possible class position of the eight persons. However, the photographs we were able to secure were not entirely satisfactory for our purposes in Vila Recôncavo.
[159] The picture of the caboclo male was that of a middle-aged man, but of a type considered locally as having a strong personality, while the caboclo woman was older and certainly not simpatica (pleasant) in the local view. The two pretos were both unmistakably pretos, and both young. The mulato male and female differed one from the other, for the man was definitely a common mulato type, while the woman was almost

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a morena mulata rather than "pure" mulata. She was young and considered much more simpatica than any of the other three women presented. The two whites were also both young, but neither was distinguished in any way, and there was doubt in the minds of the people answering the questionnaire as to whether these two were "pure" white or not.

The questionnaire was given to eighty-five people, broken down into the following groups:

18 brancos	11 males	7 females
41 mulatos	21 males	20 females
18 pretos	7 males	11 females
8 cabocios	6 males	2 females
85	45	40

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Table 6 gives the results as to which racial types were found respectively most physically attractive, most wealthy, best worker, most honest, and most religious.

TABLE 6
PHYSICAL TYPES

Question	Number of people selected in 1st place			
	Branco	Preto	Mulato	Caboclo
Most attractive man	39*	17	14	15
Most attractive woman	26	3	30	26
Most wealthy man	27	11	9	38
Most wealthy woman	37	8	17	23
Best worker (man)	4	38	13	30
Best worker (woman)	7	22	23	33
Most honest man	11	22	8	44
Most honest woman	15	13	22	33
Most religious man	21	15	13	36
Most religious woman	17	11	17	40

*Underlined numbers indicate the group most frequently selected in first place.

From Table 6 it becomes clear that the ideal of the most attractive male is the white; and that the numerically indicated preference for the female type is the mulata--but the cabocla, it must be noted, is equally selected with the white.

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Both the mulata and the cabocla (despite her apparent age) of the photographs are of types which have the physical characteristics of the morena, so preferred in Vila Recôncavo. It is surprising that the caboclo male was selected as the wealthiest, in view of the stereotype that it is the white who is generally wealthiest; but I believe that this is due to the fact that people found the photograph of the caboclo to have a rather "distinguished" face, while the white on the photograph was felt to be a young man with what might be considered a "characterless" face. The preto man was chosen as the best worker, which supports the stereotype discussed earlier, while the cabocla was chosen as the best woman worker. This may be explained by the local phrase used to describe her: "Good for nothing else." The caboclos, both male and female, were chosen as most honest and most religious, which is in keeping with the stereotype of the caboclo, who is considered more serious and solemn than the native of the Recôncavo.

Table 7, a breakdown of Table 6 by racial types, shows clearly the types selected in first place by the Negroes, the mulattoes, the whites, and the caboclos.

TABLE 7
BREAKDOWN OF TABLE 6 BY RACIAL TYPES

Question	Chosen in first place by: Pretos(P)	Mulatos(M)	Brancos(B)	Caboclos(C)
Most attractive man	P	B	B	B
Most attractive woman	C&B	M	B	B
Most wealthy man	P	C	C	C
Most wealthy woman	B	B	B	B
Best worker (man)	P	C	P	P
Best worker (woman)	P	C	M	C
Most honest man	C	C	C	C
Most honest woman	C	C	C	C
Most religious man	C&M	C	C	C&B
Most religious woman	C	C	B	C

*Where two racial types are in first place it means they received an equal number of "votes."

Table 7 shows the extremely low position of the Negro woman in relation to the other women. She was chosen in the first

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place in only one instance--namely, as best worker--and only by the Negroes. In spite of the fact that in Table 6 the mulatto woman was considered the most attractive, she was chosen as such only by the mulattoes. The other three racial types selected the cabocla and the white woman. In summing up the total number of "votes," the mulatto woman won by the narrow margin of four. It is interesting to note that the Negroes chose the preto man as the wealthiest, selecting the caboclo in second place, while the other three racial types selected the caboclo first.

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Most people who desire to ascend socially will say that it is better to be white, or at least light, than dark, because it is the white who has the most money, the most education, and consequently the greatest number of opportunities. Traditionally the light-skinned mulatto has been able to share to some extent in these things. Therefore, today, if an individual is lighter it will be easier for him to climb, simply because of his lightness. Nevertheless, it is considered better to be a wealthy preto than a poor white.

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No one in any class likes a marriage in which the skin colors are too far apart. Any marriage of dark with light or white will be referred to as mosca no leite ("fly in the milk"), and a certain repugnance is felt by all. One man, formerly a fisherman but now a merchant of some means, is a preto married to a branca da terra who was poor but almost white. This marriage has not aided him much, as his wife did not bring him social position, but it has "lightened" his children. His own status is increased through his financial transactions. But his children are being educated in the city, and are more readily acceptable because of their color and their economic background. Their chances for a good marriage are greater than if they had the same background but were dark.

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In another case, a white girl of the town's uppermost class is engaged to a preto who is an engineer in Salvador, but whose family has roots in Vila Recôncavo. There was great resistance to the engagement on the part of the girl's family, and all her friends felt that although she had a good "catch"--that is, a successful man--he was too dark for her, in spite of the fact that the girl's father is a branco da terra, and that her grandmother was dark-skinned.

The one impassable gap between the upper class of "aristocratic whites" and those below them is marriage. The white of the second class may be acceptable to the upper class be-

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remarkable fact about these female households is that mother and children manage to remain together as long as they do. Usually the husbandless woman finds work as a laundress or at ironing, or dries fish (xangó), three tasks which permit her to keep her children near her. When she becomes a cook or servant in someone's home, it is common for her to take the children to work and let them play nearby in the back yard. In such a case her children may eventually receive aid from her employer, who because of the children's continued presence in the house becomes fond of them and wants to do something for them. If this does not happen, the mother herself must take care of their future. As a rule, boys from such families leave town as soon as they are old enough, finding employment in Salvador. Girls, on the other hand, remain with their mothers more often than leaving. If they do leave, they often return, like Maria José, with children of their own.

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Because of the poverty of these households, there is little or no provision for the care of older people, and it is from this class that come the very few, poor, old women who beg for food, medicine, and other aid. The people of the town are in general extremely generous in view of their own financial circumstances, and they do what they can to help. In Vila Recôncavo there are no "professional" beggars; there is no one seated on a street corner asking for alms. There is, instead, a very proud spirit of independence, and having to go from door to door (or, rather, from kitchen to kitchen) asking for food or money is highly repugnant. Families will often send food to an old person regularly in order to avoid face-to-face contact with begging. Begging is also sometimes done through a third person, often a child, again to avoid face-to-face relationships in asking for aid.

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Class D does not exist in the rural area, for reasons already noted, particularly the pressure brought to bear by plantation owners and administrators. In addition, however, it also seems that women can only support themselves and their children in the more crowded urban areas, where they can find work which allows them to be near their children.

their own cooking, care for their own clothes, and spend their evenings gathered around a fire, singing songs of the *sertão*, apart from the permanent workers.

There is a mutual desire to keep apart, for while the *morador* looks down on the *caboclo*, the *caboclo* feels very much the same about the local people. He feels that they are lazy, ignorant, and above all superstitious. The *caboclo vaqueiro* (north-eastern cowboy) of one plantation says that the workers of the plantation are always talking about black magic, that they are lazy and spendthrifts, and at the same time deride his frugality. He says he is not afraid of their black magic, since he knows there is nothing to it, but he distrusts those who speak of it. People in Vila Recôncavo will not admit they have *caboclo* or Indian ancestors. One young girl who is almost a perfect American Indian type says she is a *mulatinha*.[1] She vehemently denied there was any Indian blood in her family, but finally reluctantly admitted that a great-grandparent of hers had been partly Indian. This girl's niece would make a perfect double for the popular conception of Pocahontas, given a feather in her hair and a sarong, but she is considered a '*mulata*, almost *morena*'.

However, among the 'pure' whites there is a different feeling about the *caboclo*. White families say that they would feel proud to know that they have 'Indian blood', for it would show the length of time their family had been in Brazil. Frequently a white child is extremely 'Indian looking', that is, a *moreno* with jet-black, straight hair. The nickname of *tapuya* is often given to this type, which is generally admired by the whites. All plantation owners agree that, for work, no one can top the *caboclo*. The north-eastern worker of American Indian physical type will go into the fields at six in the morning and not return until six at night. He takes his lunch with him and eats it there. On the other hand, the *morador* will go to the fields at six and return at noon. However, as permanent resident workers, plantation owners prefer the Negroes of the Recôncavo. Little if any effort is made to 'fix' the *caboclo* on the plantations. When the harvest is finished, he takes his money and departs. Next year he may come again to the same plantation, or he may not. It seems to make little difference to either party.

There have been no serious tensions between the two groups. They work together during part of the year, but spend their free time separately. This does not mean that an occasional *caboclo* will not stay, take a wife from among the *moradores* and start a family.

The following percentages of racial types were taken from a sample of 162 heads of families, using the four major types: *preto*, 50 or 40 per cent; *mulato*, 59 or 49 per cent; *caboclo*, 3 or 2 per cent; *branco*, 11 or 9 per cent.

[1] Little mulata. Using the diminutive form seems to be a softer and more agreeable way of saying 'mulatto'.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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[City of Salvador]

siderable extent over those of the male portion, the church exercises a substantial measure of control. Prestige of the military is high.

The large family, with its wide ramifications and its patriarchal organization, also bespeaks a preindustrial era. Social cohesion in the community is maintained by the close association of members of these large family groups, together with the intimate ties common to friends of long standing, the degree of whose intimacy is much greater than that ordinarily to be found in the cities of comparable size in industrial societies. One notes in Bahia a warmth of manner uncommon to the United States. Bahians, like most Brazilians, tend to be very affectionate in the family and warmhearted toward their friends. Characteristic of such primary relationships is a high order of courtesy and politeness and an almost limitless consideration for the convenience and comfort of relatives and friends. Religious affiliation and guild association weave further strands of solidarity, binding the urban community together as if it were merely an overgrown village.

In this stable society there is a comparative absence of most forms of conflict. In commerce and finance competition is comparatively slight and limited in considerable measure to foreigners. The economy is almost entirely extractive and industry is minimal. The few differences which arise between labor and capital often take the form of a

ual educated in Rio, to be seen on the beaches. Snug-fitting street dresses or those made of sheer or transparent material, and skirts which do not fall at least several inches below the knee, are subject to general criticism. At the exit of the principal churches and cathedrals is posted an official proclamation of the archbishop of Bahia specifying permissible dress. Failure to observe these regulations automatically bars the offender from the sacraments of the church.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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vantages of ancestry, social position, intellectuality, and wealth. The professions were readily open to them, and "marriages into the bosom of the most exclusive families"[3] sometimes took place. "More fortunate even than the son of a priest" and "A child of a priest is never unhappy" are expressions still heard at Bahia.[4]

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Significant also was the widespread system of *creação*, whereby colored children who were being reared within the master's house, the so-called *crias*, *irmãos de creação*, *malungos*, *muleques de estimação*, gained position as "persons of the house," somewhat comparable to poor relations in the households of medieval Europe. Often they were seated at the patriarchal table as if members of the family. Some even rode in the family vehicle with their masters.

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Owing to the peculiar personal associations in which the mulattoes grew up, they tended to develop certain traits favorable to their advancement. They were usually more intelligent, we are told, more aggressive, more dexterous, and more cunning than the pure blacks. Consequently, they were often assigned to the more skilled occupations, such as shoemaking, carpentry, and tailoring, where they developed occupational skills symbolic of greater personal worth than ordinarily attaches to unskilled labor.

Because they were liberated in preference to the blacks, the mixed-bloods, early in the colonial period, began to enter the free classes.[5] The disproportion between black

[3] Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 324.

[4] "The social ascension of children of priests, both white and light mixed-blood, has always occurred with great facility" (*ibid.*, pp. 323–24).

[5] In addition, the king of Portugal in 1773 intervened in their behalf, denouncing those persons "so lacking in the sentiments of humanity and of religion" that they still keep in slavery persons "whiter than they are" (Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 327).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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the mulatto women profited by the myth of the sexual potency of the hybrid,[15] the high mortality of white women (especially during the nineteenth century), and the consequent successive marriages of elderly patriarchs who sought an increasing degree of sexual stimulation. Cases of "marriages of elderly white men from illustrious families, descendants of barons and well situated in life, with beautiful octoroon, quadroon, or mulatto women who carried themselves like fine ladies and gave evidence of a sexual ardor beyond the ordinary,"[16] increasingly occurred.

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Today, the mixed-bloods are gaining a constantly increasing measure of social recognition. Among them are to be found prominent lawyers, jurists, physicians, engineers, politicians, diplomats, priests, educators, business and commercial magnates, musicians, painters, poets, novelists, journalists, planters.[17] In other words, the mulattoes have now penetrated to the top of the class scale.[18]

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not consented to their marriage with men for whom they had come to feel a sentimental or sexual predilection" (*ibid.*, pp. 156–57). Note also the novel *O mulato* (3d ed.; Rio, 1889), by Aluisio de Azevedo, whose hero is a mixed-blood *bacharel* educated in Europe and enamored of a white girl from a family "full of prejudices of white purity." Gilberto Freyre calls this book "a human document warm with the life of the time."

[15] A popular saying commonly heard in Bahia is: "A white woman for marriage, a Negro woman for work, a *mulato* for sexual intercourse."

[16] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 337.

[17] See Lacerda, *op. cit.*, pp. 381–82; Manoel de Oliveira Lima, *The Evolution of Brazil Compared with that of Spanish and Anglo-Saxon America* (Palo Alto, 1914), p. 39; Rudiger Bilden, "Laboratory of Civilization," *Nation*, CXXVIII (January 16, 1929), 73; Thomas Ewbank, *Life in Brazil* (New York, 1856), p. 267; Professor and Mrs. Louis Agassiz, *A Journey in Brazil* (Boston and New York, 1888), p. 124; Theodore Roosevelt, "Brazil and the Negro," *Outlook*, CVI (February, 1914), 409.

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[18] To accelerate his social climbing, the mixed-blood has developed certain characteristic personality traits: "a pleasant smile and manner, a cordial

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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In all probability, the movement was at first largely vertical. When, however, the mixed-blood had gained some economic or professional competence, had definitely established his personal worth, he tended to be recognized as an "exceptional" individual; that is, as a person rather than as a member of a group. As the numbers of these "exceptional" individuals multiplied, the social conventions were subjected to constantly increasing pressure, since it is difficult to treat "exceptional" individuals in situations of intimate social intercourse differently from the way they are treated in intellectual, commercial, or political circles. This "strain for consistency" tends in time to modify conduct.[19]

Thus, as the mixed-bloods rose in class, this upward movement was accompanied by what might be called "horizontal progression." The individual who was rising in rank and establishing himself in the upper intellectual and economic circles began actually to penetrate the "inner sanctuaries" of the more exclusive social groups, breaking down marriage and familial taboos. The class tradition, in so far as it had been fixed by race, gradually began to give way under the irresistible pressure exerted upon it by the rising mulatto group.

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This rise was accompanied by the personal stresses and strains which an individual in the process of moving from one class to another ordinarily experiences. The first mulattoes to penetrate the upper tiers reflected in their personal

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show of hospitality, the use of diminutives as a means of being both respectful and intimate at the same time" (Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, pp. 357–58).

[19] Moreover, class interests tended to become more and more important and eventually to bind members of the same class with common bonds of sentiment, attitude, and idea, and thus to cut across lines of color or of racial descent.

4; Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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It should be noted that, although the light mulattoes have ordinarily set the pace in this struggle to rise and have contributed the bulk of the advancing individuals of color, they have not completely monopolized the advance.[43] They have been followed, and in some notable cases even outdistanced, by individuals from the darker portions of the population. For example, Henrique Dias, the black hero of the expulsion of the Dutch from Pernambuco, was made a member of the nobility and granted membership in the Ordem de Christo.[44] A black is today president of an important intellectual and social institution at Bahia. Another is a member of the most exclusive club. But the appearance of black individuals among the upper classes is still today quite rare. In the attempt to achieve higher standing in the social order, the blacks have had to contend even more decidedly with the handicaps of starting on the bottom and of bearing constantly with them a physical badge of slave ancestry and a symbol of low status.

It is perhaps also true that individuals of African descent, mixed-bloods as well as blacks, have risen in class more slowly than has the Negro in the United States. Being less under the stigma of racial inferiority, the Brazilian blacks and mixed-bloods have naturally had less incentive to demonstrate to a hostile white world their personal competence and ability to achieve. Hence, it is likely that they have been less ambitious, less aggressive, than their northern brothers, and consequently have risen *as a group* less rapidly.

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[43] See Manoel Querino, "Os homens de côr preta na historia," *Revista do Instituto Geographico e Historico da Bahia*, XLVIII (Bahia, 1923), 353–63; see also Augusto Victorino Alves Sacramento Blake, *Dicionario bibliographico brasileiro* (Rio, 1893), II, 452–55.

[44] Heinrich Handelmann, *Historia do Brasil* (Portuguese trans. by the Instituto Historico e Geographico of *Geschichte von Brasilien* [Berlin, 1860]; 2 vols.; Rio, 1931), I, 381.

[SALVADOR]

/26 cont./

829 458 439 175 This author here alludes to the disturbances that the economy of Bahia underwent from the time of the suppression of the slave traffic and Europe's adoption of beet sugar, which brought about the almost total stoppage of the importation of sugar cane, the basis of the wealth of our city.

829 * 563 As for the mulattoes, while some declare that there is not "a chapter of our political or social history in which the remarkable personality of a métis does not glitter with particular brilliance," others, along with some praise, make strong reservations. A jurist and scholar of great repute (2)

[113]

2. Almachio Diniz, Historia racial do Brasil, São Paulo, 1934, p. 155.

considered the description of the mulatto given by an author of Bahia excellent: "The mulattoes are in general vain, intelligent, [157] and inclined toward the pleasures of life in society... They have good hearts" (3).

3. Sa Oliveira, op. cit., p. 21.

Although many people consider the Black an inferior being with regard to intelligence, almost no one questions the talent and the intellectual possibilities of the mulattoes. "If," says another economist from Bahia, "we turn toward the intellectual qualities and characteristic morals of the modern civilized man, the classic exponent of which is the European: universality of spiritual horizon, logical and systematic mind, technical gifts, tenacity and energy in the struggle for individual or social rights, and if we consider our most representative men, that is /27/ to say, our strongest personalities, we see among them many Blacks and mulattoes." And he concludes by asserting that the Afro-Brazilians are by no means inferior to the descendants of immigrants who came from more highly civilized and more purely

[SALVADOR]

/27 cont./

829 white countries (1).
*563
[113]

1. Romulo Almeida, interview for the Diario Trabelhista, 28, 11, Rio de Janeiro, 1946.

829 The mulattoes, according to others, are supposed to be affected
*563 in their manner of speaking, wishing to display their erudition.
537 The comment of a journalist about a politician is characteristic
•157 of this way of thinking: "Without complexes or repressions...
he reasons dispassionately, which is astonishing on the part of a red curiboca (2)

[192]
[826]

2. Curiboca, métis of Indian and Black; roxo, bluish red, a warm and dark shade of the pigmentation of the skin of certain métis.

like him. Not having the tropical verbosity of mulatto good speakers..., he is mentally a Nordic who sets forth his ideas without the cerebral complications such as are esteemed among the bachelor /referring to the academic degree/ morenos of our country" (3).

[154]

3. "This tendency to use an elaborate language seems to be a sort of compensation for a feeling of inferiority," says V. L. Bicudo in "Attitudes raciales des Noirs et des mulâtres de São Paulo /Racial attitudes of the Blacks and mulattoes of São Paulo/," Sociologia, Vol. IX, No. 3, São Paulo, 1947, p. 211.

829 Opinions about the mulattoes, especially about those who try to
*563 advance themselves by means of intellectual activities, always
157 throw into relief the weak points of their personality and almost always give an unfavorable interpretation of their character. A literary critic of Bahia, commenting on the works of the greatest Brazilian novelist, the mulatto Machado de Assis, expresses this

/27 cont./

829 opinion in this way: "What marks our métis even more, as a
+563 result of the residues accumulated in his soul by social evolution,
• 157 is the lack of temperament, of psychology, and of character, with the consequences that this inevitably brings on the plane of the mental life. If a Brazilian mulatto is intellectually capable and sometimes superior, he is, on the other hand, never well-bred, stable, balanced, or energetic. It is from the moral and psychological point of view that he reveals a great inferiority, which cannot fail to influence the social harmony, given the part that he takes in Brazilian life" (4).

[113]

4. Afrânio Coutinho, A filosofia de Machado de Assis /The philosophy of Machado de Assis/, Rio de Janeiro, 1940, p. 80.

For all these reasons the words "mulatto" and "métis" can be used to throw into relief the bad moral qualities of a colored person, as though his pigmentation or his ethnic traits aggravated his shortcomings. In the course of a press dispute someone wrote: "these kinds of mulattoes who surround you," "this métis who gives you his support"; but the discussion had nothing to do with the racial problem. An anonymous epigram that circulated through the city a few years ago about a certain intellectual began with the words mulato pachola (5).

[192]

5. Pachola = lazy, vain, braggart, qualifications that are very often attributed to cultured mulattoes, to such a point that the insulting adjective pachola is at present attributed almost solely to persons of this type.

829 /28/ There is, however, in spite of this, no active hostility against
+563 the mulattoes as a group. Judgments such as those we have related are stereotypes applied especially to individuals who, by virtue of their superior education or aspirations more ambitious than those of their group, tend to detach themselves from it. Let us remember,

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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jacús, found one, and shot at it. The *jacú* flew at him with its claws extended and severely scratched him. He shot at it again. It flew back and clawed at his eyes. Then he heard a voice, saying "You know you must not hunt on Fridays." It was the *caipora*. The man staggered home, and fell senseless in the door of his house. I knew this man well.

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The *biatáld* is said to be a woman who inhabits the sea, appearing above water only at night, gradually increasing in size until she assumes an enormous shape, and "casting a huge and frightening shadow."

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[177]

Fear of the toad, probably also a survival of Indian belief, is common.[39] If a toad happens to hop into the door of a house, the occupant will immediately grab a broom and sweep it out, repeating over and over, "Creio em Deus Padre."[40] If a malicious person paints a toad on the wall of a dwelling, its occupants will at once desert the place.

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The following account reveals in an intimate way the mental world of a considerable portion of the Bahian lower class. It was related by a young Negro woman in the form of a series of personal experiences and is presented here in as nearly as possible the exact phrasing in which it was originally given.

I was three years old. I was sitting with my mother when something hit me, and I fell over unconscious. She picked me up and took me to a doctor. He gave me medicine and said that it was congestion. Some thought it was the *ar do vento*.

I knew nothing of what was going on; it was as if I were dead. To

[171]

[39] "Montoya says ('Manuscripto guarani da Bibliotheca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro sobre a primitiva catechese dos Indios das Missões,' *Annaes da Bibliotheca National*, Vol. VI) that among Indians observed by him, the entrance of a toad into a gathering of people was a sign of the approaching death of one of those present" (Gilberto Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* [2d ed.; Rio, 1936], p. 99).

[40] "I believe in God, the Father."

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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help me get better, they took me up off the ground.[40] Then my mother called in Mamédê [the local *pae de santo*], to see what was the matter with me. He came, *abriu a mesa*[41] and said that this had been with me from my birth. My mother then asked him if he could cure it. He said he could. He made her buy plates, *moringues*,[42] beads, cups, coconuts, etc. Then he prepared all that.[44] They washed my head with water from the sacred leaves. My mother asked if he could take that thing away so that it would not come back again. He said he would not dare to do that, or I would die. He said it always came back.

When it returned, they washed my head again. I did not know what was going on. It was as if I had slept. When I awakened, I was all "prepared": dressed *de creola* with a *saia grande* and a *torso* on my head. Everything red. *Sandalias* too. Everything the same color.

When this happened I was still small. The *pae de santo* said that I was under a spell [*era encanto*]. He "did the work" once more, and I was all right again. But when I was seven years old, it took hold of me once more. My mother was afraid and begged the *pae de santo* to do something about it. She pleaded so earnestly that finally he said he would speak with the enchantment [*encanto*] so that it would not come down any more.

It didn't come back until I was fifteen years old. Then they arranged another dress *de creola*, and also handkerchiefs, strings of beads, bracelets, and *sandalias*. They ordered plates, small glasses, and *quartinhas* bought. When all this was ready, the *pae de santo* washed my head in sacred water. He said it was the "owner of my head" [*dono da minha cabeça*] who had done that to me. There in Cachoeira, across the river from São Felix,[46] is the *casa de Gêge*.[47] The *pae de santo* is the grandson of an African.

[40] That is, she was removed from the reed mat which, placed directly upon the floor of a hut, is extensively used among the poorer families for sleeping purposes.

[41] That is, he set up certain means of divination.

[42] Water pots made of red clay.

[44] That is, he submitted it to the proper ritual.

[46] Cachoeira and São Felix are twin cities, separated by the Paraguassú River, located across the Bay to the north of the city of Bahia.

[47] The *candomblé* of the Gêge cult in which she had now been inducted.

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When I was sixteen years old I went across the river to live in São Felix. There was a man there who was crazy. We asked what was the matter with him, and they said that he had seven Exú's[47] in his body. They had given him a cigar and when he began to smoke, he became wild. He was nearly insane. He did not want to hear the word of God. When they talked of going to Mass, he wanted to run away. They took him and tied him up. He stayed this way two whole weeks. Once in a while his relatives came to see him. Finally, they decided to take him to a *candomblé*. They untied him and he went. For a long time he remained there and kept on acting the same way. Then the head of the *candomblé* took a hand in the matter. He ordered them to get black cloth, candles, *azeite de dendê*, incense, and several other things which he needed. After he had finished, he gave the man a bath to clean him up. When twelve o'clock came, he stretched him out in the middle of the floor. And there he lay all sprawled out. We saw a black Negro with red lips sitting on his knee. He was about this high [indicating approximately two and one-half feet], and as black as coal. His lips were as red as the lid of that can [indicating a *malle* container with bright red cover]. He had large ears that stuck out like this [indicating about a twelve-inch spread]. He was horrible. His horns were this long [indicating about six inches]. And his tail, about a meter. His eyes were big, like this [indicating an oval three inches in diameter]. They were the size of "three children."[48] His tongue looked like a snake's; it was really four separate tongues. And he was sitting there on the man's knee. We were all afraid. We wanted to run; but we dared not. He didn't stay long. Only about ten minutes. He left the man's knee and disappeared into the body of the man who had bought and brought the "things." The *pae de santo* filled up a basin, and Exú took himself away. We did not see him disappear. Ten minutes later the man got up, feeling better. He had been sitting there crying hard. They shaved off his hair, washed his head and painted it with a pencil, white, blue, pink, and lavender. Then they

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[47] Exú (pronounced "Ā-shu") is an African deity who is often, although not always, thought of as possessing an evil nature. See chap. x.

[48] This expression was explained in the following manner: "A person looking into an ordinary eye sees the image of one child; in Exú's eyes the image was three times as big." [826]

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put many beads of O Senhor do Bomfim on him, and a *figa*; they covered him with ornaments.

The *figa* is to free one from the evil eye. For example: I have a dress. You think it is pretty, and you want it very much; something then happens to it. Or a *sabiá*[49] sings beautifully. You are visiting its owner; you want it, you want it very badly. You leave, and it dies or something else happens to it because you cannot have it. This is the evil eye. One needs to "pray it away" with *Guiné*, *Arruda*, or *Vassourinha Doce*. An oxhorn in the garden will keep it away from plants.

Then the man went around with hands folded, "taking the blessing" from everyone there. Seven children went out with lighted candles. Then he got up entirely well. Today he has a *casa de candomblé*. He is now very old. His *orixá* is Ogum de Gêge. The *pao de santo* who treated him is of Ogum de Mina.

My guardian angel [*anjo de guarda*] is Xangô. Ogum is a soldier, Xangô is of the thunder and also of the lightning. He is Santa Barbara of the Irmandade. All the *orixás* are equal. But Oxalá directs everything. Nanan is his wife. In the Gêge language she is called Odé.

My sister, she died, burned up. She caught all on fire. He who killed her is Oxóssi; it was he who killed her. My sister is buried in the Quinta dos Lazaros.[50] She burned to death because she disobeyed him. He sent a message and she paid no attention to it. Her husband had a *saveiro*.[51] Every trip which he made she went along in the boat. She had no children. Everywhere he went, she went too. When, one time, the *orixá* "arrived" and told her that she should not travel on the water, she didn't take his words very seriously; she laughed the matter off, "gave it a *muxóxó*." But about a week afterward, she went with her husband in a *saveiro* across the Bay to Bahia. Between Itaparica and Salinas the *saveiro* caught afire. It had powder on it and the powder exploded. Parts of the *saveiro* were ripped off and hurled into the water. She was surrounded by fire. When they finally reached her, she was badly burned. They brought her to the Santa Isabel Hospital,

[49] A Brazilian bird which can be trained to sing tunes.

[50] A Bahian cemetery.

[51] A sturdy sailboat used on Todos os Santos Bay and its contributory rivers to transport light articles of commerce.

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[The Private Plantation]

*249 Then everyone dons his best and the
517 women dance while the men play the drums, tambourines, and
535 cavaquinhos (a ukelelelike instrument) or simply stand around
534 watching, gossiping and "passing the branquinha" (the local white rum).

273 There is a hierarchy of personnel on the plantation, which starts with the owner, Dona Sinhá, and her family. On other
*249 plantations the owner is also sometimes a lawyer, doctor, or
463 engineer whose main interests, both economic and social, are in the city of Salvador. This is not always the case, however, for many owners are only rural proprietors, as is Dona Sinhá. But it is always considered a sacrifice to be obliged to
[221] spend the winter on one's plantation. It has been a traditional prerogative of the plantation master to spend the winter in the city, and it is one of the traditions kept up today by the planters. However, as soon as the rains show signs of abating in August or September, Dona Sinhá appears on the scene, generally grateful for her release from the city and from the round of anniversaries, parties, and official functions she feels called upon to attend while there.

This aspect of partial absenteeism has given rise to the next rung in the hierarchical ladder: the overseer. As such he is a relatively new phenomenon, but he has actually been part of the scene for a long time. At the time of the engenho, the feitor-mor, or head foreman, frequently occupied the place of today's overseer. Seu Paulo is the focal point for most activities on Fazenda das Moças. It is he who puts into action Dona Sinhá's plans, for he has the greatest contact with the workers in the fields and at home, on the arruado (the street on which the houses are located). During the time Dona Sinhá is away
*249 he is ruler of the plantation (dono da terra).

Seu Paulo rose from the workers' ranks; he is familiar with all aspects of sugar-cane cultivation, and is able to handle
463 men and to deal with the owner as well as with the workers.
•159 He is a dark mulatto, about forty-six years old, with a large family. He is sought after by the workers as godfather to their children. He rents a small piece of land on which he raises his own sugar cane. He has his own burros, oxen, and carts, which he rents to Dona Sinhá during the harvest season. Although unable to read or write, he can do figures in his head in an astounding fashion. He dresses well, in what is sometimes thought to be an attempt to imitate the plantation master of bygone days, while Dona Sinhá and her family have adopted a more comfortable garb for the country--"modo ameri-

[The Private Plantation]

cano." He spends most of his day in the saddle, riding from one point of operation to another; going to the sugar mill to straighten out this or that matter, such as the nonappearance of railroad cars at the plantation loading point; caring for the troubles of the workers; and looking to his own interests. 249* 463 159

Below these two figures of authority is a salaried man who stands only slightly apart from the bulk of the workers, the foreman (feitor), Asclepiades. It is his duty to keep track of how much work is done each day and by whom. He walks about the plantation, from field to field, measuring with the six-foot stick he carries and marking down in his notebook the amount of work done by each man. The plantation laborers are paid according to how much each of them weeded, or planted, or to how many tons of cane each cut or conducted to the factory. Asclepiades writes it down in his little black book, and it appears on the daily work sheet which in turn is transferred to the fortnightly payroll. During harvest time the records of who was the driver and who the guide, of how much sugar cane was cut and by whom, are kept at each end of the plantation where the carts must pass to be weighed before the cane is transferred to the factory. It is Seu Paulo's duty every morning to assign tasks to the workmen, while Asclepiades keeps track of how much is done but does not see that it gets done, for this is the duty of the overseer. The foreman is paid a monthly salary of one thousand cruzeiros, and although he does not occupy the position of prestige which the overseer has there is always the chance that he may become an overseer either on that plantation or on another. 249* 463 465

There is one other salaried person on the plantation--the cowboy (vaqueiro) João who receives four hundred cruzeiros a month, plus room and board. João takes care of the cattle, milk cows, and saddle horses. He must also inspect the fences constantly and report any breaks, and whenever possible retrieve animals which have broken out of the pasture and wandered into the cane fields, where they cause great damage. As a rule the pastures are fenced, as are new cane plantations, but the established cane fields are left unguarded. Fences do not last more than one season, for the posts rot because of the wet soil, and the barbed wire rusts quickly. João is also the constant companion of the plantation owner when she is present, accompanying her or her children or guests on pleasure rides, meeting the train or boat with horses for guests or business acquaintances, and getting the mail from the post office in 249* 463 233 249* 463

[The Usina]

*249 463 466 [492] [465] *249 463 159 [427] *249 466 *249 [184] [496] [493] [311] 000

seer is entitled to the same rights and privileges as any other worker: a house, land on which to grow subsistence crops, and the use of the owner's pastures for his oxen, burros, and horses. The horses used in his work are supplied by the corporation, as are those of the other overseers. His salary is high: Cr$2.000,00 a month, plus a bonus of one cruzeiro for each ton of cane produced on all six plantations. The regional overseers receive Cr$800,00 a month, plus a bonus of half a cruzeiro per ton of cane produced on their plantation. Seu Pipiu has been general overseer of Usina São Pedro for twenty-five years, during which time he has accumulated a good deal of property. He is a mulatto, somewhat lighter skinned than the six administrators who are under him. Two of his sons work in the factory office, and a third runs the store on one of the plantations. In addition he is a small farmer, renting some forty acres from the factory, on which he plants sugar cane. He pays 25 per cent of the harvest to the factory for the use of the land.

The usineiros have the same complaints against their general overseers that private plantation owners have against their. At the same time, after many years of service such an official becomes indispensable, or is thought to be, and is allowed to go his way--quiet, well dressed, well mounted, ruler of all he surveys--while the usineiro watches and mutters to himself.

So far the rural properties of the factories have led the private plantations in the field of mechanization, as they have greater funds for purchasing equipment and can get more use out of each piece. Mechanization, however, is used as yet only in preparing the soil for planting. The ground is plowed and replowed, and grooves are made to receive the cane shoots. Also, planting in unplowed land is still common--grooves are opened for the seed with the simple plow, and no soil preparation is done at all. Here mechanization ends, and all further cultivation, as well as the cutting and harvesting of the cane, is done by hand. Narrow-gauge railway tracks reach out from the mill to loading points on the six plantations, where the cane is transferred from the oxcarts to the railroad wagons to be drawn to the mill. Approximately two thousand acres are under cultivation; the remaining land is used as pasture or as garden plots by the workers, in accordance with a rotation system.

Financially the two units--factory and plantation--are run

trative work; he comes into office with a mayor and frequently remains through the terms of several other mayors. He therefore knows the duties well and can aid the mayor considerably. In addition, the secretary has a small store in town, capitalized at Cr$10.000,00, where drinks (rum and soft drinks), dried meat (charque), cigars, cigarettes, grass mats, condensed milk, wooden sandals, and a few other small items are sold.

The top municipal office is that of the mayor, which in Brazil is a county-wide office. The mayor is not on the above list as an employee, because he occupies another place in the census from which these data were taken. In Vila Recôncavo the mayor has come traditionally from the top social level, the rural landowning group. The office is elective, with a four-year term, except in the 1930's and 1940's, when the mayor was chosen by the appointed governor of the state (interventor). In Vila Recôncavo, as a general rule, the mayor has little or no interest in the town or, except in a few cases, in the office, which is considered a more-or-less onerous duty. He traditionally does not accept his salary. At the time of the last election there was consternation on the part of the planters, for no one wanted the office but clearly someone had to take it. When the choice was made, the candidate--one of the usina directors--was elected, for he had no opponent. The majority of the duties are left in the hands of the secretary, the mayor doing only a minimum of supervision and contributing little that is constructive. Generally any important matters are discussed at the home of the mayor, and his orders are conveyed to the secretary by messenger or telephone.

The last mayor, Dr. Aliança, was an exception to the rule. He was interventor in 1947 and was elected mayor in 1948, serving until the general elections in the fall of 1950. He is a civil engineer and the owner of two large plantations, maintaining in perfect condition the old master's house of the former plantation in which he lives, as well as a large house in Salvador. While the roots of his family are in the Recôncavo, he himself came from the north and married into a plantation family of Vila Recôncavo. Although his family tradition has been that of sugar cane, he has not hesitated to break many of the traditional patterns of the area. One of his two plantations has been given over to experiments with other crops, such as bananas, rice, and manioc, on a relatively large scale, and also some production of milk and butter. A few

•159 632 463 [242] years ago, after determining that these crops were not sufficiently rewarding, he made a large-scale planting of white cacao. It is still too early to speak of the outcome of this venture, for the trees have not yet started to give their first fruit, but this instance illustrates his usual energetic spirit.

159 632 463 653 Dr. Aliança took the office of mayor seriously and gave a great deal of energy to it. His accomplishments were many in the space of a few years: the paving of most of the town's streets, the installation of electric lights on the streets, the formation of a company to sell electricity to those who wanted it, the installation of telephone communications with the capital, and the construction of a new, modern primary school building. As a result of his personal energy and direction these works were completed, or at least nearly so, when he left the office. (According to law, the mayor cannot be reelected). However, with the exception of building a bridge, nothing was done in the rural areas of the county. Traditionally any public works in the county are done in the county seat.

441 463 443 [471] Many of the merchants in Group 1 are small operators. The capitalization of the stores in Vila Recôncavo runs from Cr$100.000,00 to as low as Cr$5.00,00. However, no matter how small the store, it provides a living for someone, or as they say in Vila Recôncavo, "Sempre da!" To the ordinary town citizen it is difficult to get enough capital together to open a store, but once opened it rarely closes for lack of business. Of the twelve stores in town, eight are owned and operated by men, and the other four belong to women. The best store in town and the poorest one both belong to women. The "best" store, Dona Carmen's, is the oldest, located on the main street leading from the boat dock. At present it is owned by Dona Carmen, who inherited it from her brother. It combines a general store and a bakery, and its prices are often slightly higher than those in other stores. It serves most of the people living in the older section of town. In addition to having the largest stock of ordinary foods, the store also carries finer packaged products such as wines, jellies, and preserves.

441 444 [428]

444 256 Bread is baked in the afternoon and delivered to the doors of the customers' houses, still warm and with the delicious odor always associated with bread fresh from the oven. The bakery's customers for the most part have standing orders, receiving bread or rolls each day in time for supper. What is left over is hawked through the streets by the delivery boy,

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826 ers have some positive qualities. People arrange their pref-
157 erences in many ways, according to the physical qualities they wish to emphasize.

563 There is also a series of expressions used by everyone to
578 describe the person who is trying to appear white. It is almost axiomatic that whoever tries to be what he is not is considered
557 ridiculous by all. Both whites and Negroes gossip about the social climber and use the terms "tem pinta" (has a "touch of the tarbrush"), or "tem sangue" (has Negro blood), or "é da raça" (is of the Negro race), or simply "besta" (show-off), "cheio de arte" (artful), "cheio de manha" (full of little tricks), or "fala bonito" (talks pretty).

563 There are also many phrases used by lower-class people
578 to ridicule Negroes and mestiços who are showing off, or "pushing." Most of these start off with Negro:

Negro doesn't marry, he gets together.
Negro doesn't accompany a procession, he runs after it.
Negro doesn't sit down, he squats.
Negro in white clothes is a sign of rain.
Negro doesn't hear Mass, he spies on it.
Negro at a white man's party is the first to grab and the last to eat.
Negro's intelligence is the same size as his hair.

563 The concepts and fixed ideas which the people of Vila Re-
125 côncavo have of these racial types were also revealed in their responses to a pictorial questionnaire devised in the field. A series of eight photographs were shown. These were of people unknown to those answering the questionnaire. They consisted of a male and a female representative of each of the four major racial types, the caboclo, the preto, the mulato, and the branco. An attempt was made to keep the photographs from giving any clue to the possible class position of the eight persons. However, the photographs we were able to secure were not entirely satisfactory for our purposes in Vila Recôncavo.
[159] The picture of the caboclo male was that of a middle-aged man, but of a type considered locally as having a strong personality, while the caboclo woman was older and certainly not simpatica (pleasant) in the local view. The two pretos were both unmistakably pretos, and both young. The mulato male and female differed one from the other, for the man was definitely a common mulato type, while the woman was almost

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[Class D Families]

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[162]

nieces, and nephews
46 agregados and hospedes

Examples of the household units are given below.

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TABLE 10
COMPOSITION OF CLASS D HOUSEHOLDS

Status of Head of Family	Age	Occupation	Number of Head of Family's Children Living in House	Number of Others in House
unmarried	62	none	2	4 grandchildren
widow	70	cook	1	1 grandchild; 1 hospede
unmarried	59	laundress	1	4 grandchildren
unmarried	24	laundress	4	none
widow	49	seamstress	4	7 grandchildren, 1 agregado
unmarried	42	cook	3	1 sister, 1 niece, 1 hospede
unmarried	39	laundress	3	1 hospede
unmarried	66	ironing	0	6 nieces & nephews
widow	42	ironing	6	none
unmarried	56	laundress	0	1 grandchild
unmarried	36	laundress	6	1 nephew
unmarried	48	laundress	3	1 brother
married	36	ironing	6	1 mother, 1 nephew
unmarried	38	laundress	3	1 aunt, 1 cousin
unmarried	84	none	0	1 agregado
unmarried	21	ironing	1	none
unmarried	54	laundress	0	1 hospede, 2 agregados
married	52	laundress	1	3 grandchildren

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The household of Damiana is a good example for Class D. Damiana, who is now in her fifties, had a prolonged affair with a married man when she was young, and gave birth to three daughters. Orphaned herself at about the same time, she took her children and went to reside in the house of a good friend who was living in an unmarried relationship with a man. When Maria José, one of her daughters, was sixteen she was deflowered, and Damiana managed through a godfather's influence to force the boy who was responsible to marry the girl. Maria José, however, did not want to live with him, and since

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Class D Families]

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no child was born of the affair she went to Salvador where she found employment. There she met Vavá, whom she liked very much. She went to live with him for eleven years and had three children.

During this time, Vavá had affairs with several other women and had two other children. Finally he tired of Maria José and told her to go home to her mother, which she did, taking her three children with her. Damiana's godfather allowed her, Maria José and her children, and Tatá, another of Damiana's daughters who by then had six illegitimate children, to live rent-free in a house he owned. Childless, he took one daughter from each of the two girls to bring up in his own home.

Shortly after the three women had set up this household, Vavá tired of his new companion and wanted Maria José to come back to him, which she refused to do. From time to time he also asked her for money, as he was now unemployed. She always gave him some, since she was employed, explaining that it was not for him but for his two other children, for she could not think of their going hungry.

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In almost every case of break-up of the unmarried state, the children remain with the mother. This is also true in the case of an affair which results in a child. The father never takes on the responsibility of the children. In addition to this, as stated earlier, the children bear the mother's name and not that of the father. Often a break-up occurs because the man goes to live with another woman who does not want the children of his previous union, as she may have some of her own either by him or by someone else. On the other hand, women in Vila Recôncavo say that they would be ashamed to let the children go and be brought up by another woman, except in the case of a godparent, in whose home the treatment is expected to be at least as good as that which the mother could have given the child.

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Sometimes women in this class have affairs with men who are already married and who do not leave their wives and children. A woman seldom has more than one lover at one time, and usually stays with the same man for a long period. Although the man takes no responsibility for the resulting children, he may, nevertheless, try to help the woman sometimes; but his first allegiance is to his own wife and children.

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Unless there has been a formal marriage, the children are always considered as belonging to the mother, and the most

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rapi, and São Francisco, a *Sociedade Libertadora* freed 122 slaves in one day. Scores of these societies operated throughout Brazil.[71]

Dr. João Garcez dos Santos was the first Bahian *fazendeiro* (planter) to exchange slave labor for free. After spending some years in Europe studying agriculture, he returned to Brazil and, in 1864, bought an *engenho* called Pimental, in the *termo* of São Francisco. He freed all the slaves except eight domestic servants and paid these freedmen wages, retaining a portion of their earnings until he had been recompensed for their original cost. During the subsequent year he produced with free labor two hundred boxes of sugar. Three years later, he "freed the womb" of his eight female domestic servants, and, on his death in 1874, he set at liberty all the slaves which he had inherited from his father (a total of about sixty persons) on condition that they continue working for wages on the *engenho* for five years.[72]

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In 1868 the Senhoras Condessa de Barral and Pedra

liberated by will, and the Cantagallo plantation given them for a home; Barão de Dias, 163 slaves liberated, who remain established on his plantation as laborers." In 1887 Anselmo da Fonseca wrote: "As to the *cartas de alforria* granted by slaveholders themselves, it is well known that these have always appeared in greater or lesser number in the country, and that from 1880 on they have multiplied greatly and have now become quite numerous, thanks to the powerful influence of that propaganda which has contributed so much to the elevation of the moral sentiments of the Brazilian people."

[71] On September 7, 1869, an emancipation society was organized in Bahia "with the noble purpose of ending slavery in Bahia," and by March 1, 1874, it had conferred 267 "Letters of Liberty," 89 of which were "granted gratuitously in its name," and 178 by means of its own funds, the amount thus employed totaling 58,289 milreis (Alvares do Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 181). This organization was named A Sociedade Libertadora Sete de Setembro ("The Seventh of September Liberation Society") in honor of the day on which the independence of Brazil was declared.

[72] Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 220–22.

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officials of the middle tier, and the predominantly black slaves of the lower stratum.[18]

The duration of this particular organization was, however, brief. As the color line bent further under pressure of the rising mulatto, certain of the more able or more successful mixed-bloods broke through into the upper tiers.

The development of the cities increased the possibilities for economic advancement to individuals who, like the mulattoes, were noted for their skill as artisans and—what was more important—for their intellectual ability.[19] The rise, after independence in 1822, of the *academias superiores* offered to the more able mixed-bloods possibilities not previously attainable. Since by reason of their mental alertness the mulattoes often excelled, it is said, in those pursuits wherein intellectual ability is an essential for success, the development of these centers of advanced study opened, at least to the ambitious and favored ones among them, ready access to the rising professional classes, especially as *doutores* or *bachareis*.[20] Many promising young mulattoes were aided to a professional training by indulgent white fathers or other relatives and friends among the dominant class.

Of a prominent Brazilian intellectual, Raul Calogeras, whose father was a Bahian planter and whose mother was a Negro slave, we are told:

> Raul was very intelligent, and showed remarkable ability in his studies. It is said that when a very young boy at Santo Amaro, he used to slip away late at night, after his mother's master had gone to bed, to study by the street lamp on the corner near the house. When his father discovered this, he was much impressed, and other signs

[18] Vianna, *op. cit.*, pp. 72–73.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 151; Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, pp. 160–61, 190.

[20] Physicians, lawyers and engineers.

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of Raul's intelligence and his ability to apply himself multiplied the interest which his father took in him, and he supplied all his needs. When his father left the Reconcavo to come to Bahia, he brought Raul with him, and here, under his tutelage, Raul went to primary school where he had as white playmates his father's nephews and others. And later, when his father went to Rio, he took Raul with him. The boy never left his father's company as long as his father lived.[11]

Raul was a very dark mixed-blood with kinky hair. He came to be a prominent citizen and was noted not only for his fine figure, distinguished bearing, poise, and personal charm but also for his intelligence and professional competence. At one time he was a much-loved confidant of a recent president of Brazil.

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Significant also, so far as the rise of the mulatto is concerned, is the fact that early in the nineteenth century the return of young professional men who had been trained in Europe—in Coimbra, Montpelier, Paris, and other centers—enhanced the prestige of the rising professional classes. These young lawyers and physicians, among whom were a number of quite capable mulattoes, were returning to Brazil after an education abroad, ordinarily more traveled, better informed, and more urbane than their brothers or half-brothers on the plantations, in the army, or among the clergy. They were especially attractive, we are told, to the upper-class ladies of the time. The importation of fashionable articles from the Continent—Parisian haberdashery, perfumes, hair-dressings, and English shoes—with the use of all of which these returning young men were quite familiar, enhanced their standing among the élite. The increasing

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[11] From a letter to the author from a man reared in the same community as the individual in question and long acquainted with him. For information on the later life of this mixed-blood see Appen. A.

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virtually extinct.[3] Only an occasional individual of African birth may be found, like, for instance, a certain elderly black once prominent in the fetish cults not only of Bahia but also of Rio de Janeiro who was born in Lagos, his father having purchased his mother out of slavery in Brazil shortly before his birth and taken her to Africa. He knows four *Africanos* still living in Rio. In 1936 he met in Brotas (a subdivision of Bahia) an elderly African woman with facial scarification and almost no command of Portuguese. She has since died.

Thus, actual contact with Africa is today little more than a memory in the minds of a few of the older blacks, who recall stories told by their parents or by other Africans of persons, places, and events in Africa; or who years ago visited in the home of African ancestors or were, perhaps, personally acquainted with blacks plying their small vessels between Bahia and the West Coast. However, certain individuals of the older generation still cherish sentimental attachment to Africa, as is indicated by the expression occasionally heard on the lips of an elderly Negro, as he reverently turns his eyes upward toward the sky, "Sou filho de dois Africanos, graças a Deus!"[4] "If I had the money," remarked another black, his eyes lighting up, "I'd go to Africa, to Abeokuta, build me a house, and live like a man ought to."

An elderly Bahian Negro recalled:

My mother was just a young girl when she was captured by a warrior in Africa. He wanted to sell her to a slave trader in Dahomey.

[3] Since lower-class Negroes who have difficulty in speaking correct Portuguese occasionally attempt to cover up their chagrin by saying that they are *Africanos*, and others, participating in social circles where prestige attaches to the native-born African, may deliberately misstate their origin, the incautious observer may be led erroneously to think that there are a considerable number of Africans still living in Bahia.

[4] "My father and mother were both Africans, thank God!"

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On that day two younger children were with her, a baby she was carrying on her back and a child she was leading by the hand.

She told me of a terrible thing which she saw on that day. Two warriors were running to catch a young girl. Each grabbed one of her arms, and they began to quarrel, pulling at her and shouting, "She's mine! She's mine!" But neither could jerk her away from the other. Finally one swung his big knife, and slash! He cut the girl in half and told the other man that now he could have his share.

My mother's name was Manjengbasa, which means, "Don't leave me alone." She was born after her mother had lost both of her first two children. She carried a scar on her cheek which meant that she was a Yoruba; for all Yorubas, both men and women, have this mark. She married my father here in Brazil, and when I was born they called me Ôgeládê.

When I was thirteen years and eleven months old, my father took me to *Af-ri-ca;* to Lagos, *West-Coast-of-Af-ri-ca*, Nigeria. Ige-sha is two days away. Oyó used to be the capital. And there is Akra on the coast; there is Ashanti, and Groweh, and Ifé, and Egba. My father was from Egba, and his father was from Abeokuta. And there is Efun and Dahomey.

My father was only on a visit. He soon came back to Bahia to take care of his business. He was at that time importing African things. But I stayed in Lagos eleven years and nine months. From 1875 until 1886 I was there. Later I went again to Africa and remained another year. And three years after that I again returned, to sell coral and fine and coarse wool. I bought *pano da costa* to sell here.

My grandfather was a great warrior. He had a large plot of ground, but he was more of a warrior than a farmer. One day while fighting he got an arrow in his arm. He jerked it out and the blood covered him. When, years later, my grandfather died, I was a child of six years.

My uncle also was a great warrior. He was younger than my father. When they brought my father to Brazil, my uncle was left there in Africa.

My grandfather had forty wives. He lived in an *atalaia*,[1] a house

[1] Composed of many dwellings placed side by side and having a common roof.

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as long as from here to the entrance of the fort,[6] just for the family of my grandfather. He was buried in a room. A *quartinha* of water which is always kept full still stands there today.

When my father was born, my grandmother was already an old woman. But she was still very strong. When my grandfather died, she walked all by herself up to the place where they buried him. When I went to Africa, she was in Ibadum. She never saw my father again. When he took me to Africa, she did not get to see him because the Africans were fighting fiercely. No one could travel as far as from here to Rio Vermelho.[7] So my father did not get to see his mother. But when she found out that he had been in Lagos and had left a son there, she never left off speaking of me. She wished to have me stolen, but the men who came to carry me to my grandmother never found me alone. They brought me presents. My grandmother had made me an African food which lasts two or three months and does not spoil. It is made with *fubá* of maize, crushed. All is seasoned with fragrant and savory seasonings, with onions and shrimps, and put in a large pan. It is like a cake they call here *bom bocado*. In the African language it is called *adúm*. Rolled up in leaves they gave it to me. My tutor ate part of it too.[8] For fifteen days we ate *adúm*. When I came back to Bahia and told my father I had eaten *adúm*, he lost almost the whole day crying, because he had not seen his mother for almost fifty years, let alone eaten her cooking. He looked up at me, and said 'You, my son; *you* ate *adúm!*' "

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Some contact with Africa is still maintained through family connections, although these are now rare; by means of African visitors, principally individuals from the crews of English ships recruited in Lagos; and by way of occasional newspapers published on the East or West Coast in Portuguese, English, or even African languages.

Thus, one will occasionally find in the possession of Bahian Negroes a copy of the *Nigerian Daily Times*, published

[6] About one hundred yards.

[7] About three miles.

[8] The boy had been placed in a mission school.

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jacás, found one, and shot at it. The *jacá* flew at him with its claws extended and severely scratched him. He shot at it again. It flew back and clawed at his eyes. Then he heard a voice, saying "You know you must not hunt on Fridays." It was the *caipora*. The man staggered home, and fell senseless in the door of his house. I knew this man well.

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The *biatdtá* is said to be a woman who inhabits the sea, appearing above water only at night, gradually increasing in size until she assumes an enormous shape, and "casting a huge and frightening shadow."

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Fear of the toad, probably also a survival of Indian belief, is common.[39] If a toad happens to hop into the door of a house, the occupant will immediately grab a broom and sweep it out, repeating over and over, "Creio em Deus Padre."[40] If a malicious person paints a toad on the wall of a dwelling, its occupants will at once desert the place.

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The following account reveals in an intimate way the mental world of a considerable portion of the Bahian lower class. It was related by a young Negro woman in the form of a series of personal experiences and is presented here in as nearly as possible the exact phrasing in which it was originally given.

I was three years old. I was sitting with my mother when something hit me, and I fell over unconscious. She picked me up and took me to a doctor. He gave me medicine and said that it was congestion. Some thought it was the *ar do vento*.

I knew nothing of what was going on; it was as if I were dead. To

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[39] "Montoya says ('Manuscripto guarani da Bibliotheca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro sobre a primitiva catechese dos Indios das Missões,' *Annaes da Bibliotheca National*, Vol. VI) that among Indians observed by him, the entrance of a toad into a gathering of people was a sign of the approaching death of one of those present" (Gilberto Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* [2d ed.; Rio, 1936], p. 99).

[40] "I believe in God, the Father."

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755 help me get better, they took me up off the ground.[42] Then my mother called in Mamêdê [the local *pae de santo*], to see what was the matter with me. He came, *abriu a mesa*[43] and said that this had been with me from my birth. My mother then asked him if he could cure it. He said he could. He made her buy plates, *moringues*,[43] beads, cups, coconuts, etc. Then he prepared all that.[44] They washed my head with water from the sacred leaves. My mother asked if he could take that thing away so that it would not come back again. He said he would not dare to do that, or I would die. He said it always came back.

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When it returned, they washed my head again. I did not know what was going on. It was as if I had slept. When I awakened, I was all "prepared": dressed *de creola* with a *saia grande* and a *torso* on my head. Everything red. *Sandalias* too. Everything the same color.

When this happened I was still small. The *pae de santo* said that I was under a spell [*era encanto*]. He "did the work" once more, and I was all right again. But when I was seven years old, it took hold of me once more. My mother was afraid and begged the *pae de santo* to do something about it. She pleaded so earnestly that finally he said he would speak with the enchantment [*encanto*] so that it would not come down any more.

It didn't come back until I was fifteen years old. Then they arranged another dress *de creola*, and also handkerchiefs, strings of beads, bracelets, and *sandalias*. They ordered plates, small glasses, and *quartinhas* bought. When all this was ready, the *pae de santo* washed my head in sacred water. He said it was the "owner of my head" [*dono da minha cabeça*] who had done that to me. There in Cachoeira, across the river from São Felix,[45] is the *casa de Gêge*.[46] The *pae de santo* is the grandson of an African.

[513] [42] That is, she was removed from the reed mat which, placed directly upon the floor of a hut, is extensively used among the poorer families for sleeping purposes.

[285] [43] That is, he set up certain means of divination.

[415] [43] Water pots made of red clay.

[44] That is, he submitted it to the proper ritual.

[361] [45] Cachoeira and São Felix are twin cities, separated by the Paraguassú River, located across the Bay to the north of the city of Bahia.

[794] [46] The *candomblé* of the Gêge cult in which she had now been inducted.

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When I was sixteen years old I went across the river to live in São Felix. There was a man there who was crazy. We asked what was the matter with him, and they said that he had seven Exú's[47] in his body. They had given him a cigar and when he began to smoke, he became wild. He was nearly insane. He did not want to hear the word of God. When they talked of going to Mass, he wanted to run away. They took him and tied him up. He stayed this way two whole weeks. Once in a while his relatives came to see him. Finally, they decided to take him to a *candomblé*. They untied him and he went. For a long time he remained there and kept on acting the same way. Then the head of the *candomblé* took a hand in the matter. He ordered them to get black cloth, candles, *azeite de dendê*, incense, and several other things which he needed. After he had finished, he gave the man a bath to clean him up. When twelve o'clock came, he stretched him out in the middle of the floor. And there he lay all sprawled out. We saw a black Negro with red lips sitting on his knee. He was about this high [indicating approximately two and one-half feet], and as black as coal. His lips were as red as the lid of that can [indicating a *malle* container with bright red cover]. He had large ears that stuck out like this [indicating about a twelve-inch spread]. He was horrible. His horns were this long [indicating about six inches]. And his tail, about a meter. His eyes were big, like this [indicating an oval three inches in diameter]. They were the size of "three children."[48] His tongue looked like a snake's; it was really four separate tongues. And he was sitting there on the man's knee. We were all afraid. We wanted to run; but we dared not. He didn't stay long. Only about ten minutes. He left the man's knee and disappeared into the body of the man who had bought and brought the "things." The *pae de santo* filled up a basin, and Exú took himself away. We did not see him disappear. Ten minutes later the man got up, feeling better. He had been sitting there crying hard. They shaved off his hair, washed his head and painted it with a pencil, white, blue, pink, and lavender. Then they

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[47] Exú (pronounced "Ã-shu") is an African deity who is often, although not always, thought of as possessing an evil nature. See chap. x.

[48] This expression was explained in the following manner: "A person looking into an ordinary eye sees the image of one child; in Exú's eyes the image was three times as big."

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put many beads of O Senhor do Bomfim on him, and a *figa;* they covered him with ornaments.

[789] The *figa* is to free one from the evil eye. For example: I have a dress. You think it is pretty, and you want it very much; something
[754] then happens to it. Or a *sabiá*[49] sings beautifully. You are visiting its owner; you want it, you want it very badly. You leave, and it dies or something else happens to it because you cannot have it. This is the evil eye. One needs to "pray it away" with *Guiné*, *Arruda*, or *Vassourinha Doce*. An oxhorn in the garden will keep it away from plants.

[794] Then the man went around with hands folded, "taking the bless-
[776] ing" from everyone there. Seven children went out with lighted can-
[793] dles. Then he got up entirely well. Today he has a *casa de candomblé*. He is now very old. His *orixá* is Ogum de Gêge. The *pae de santo* who treated him is of Ogum de Mina.

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My guardian angel [*anjo de guarda*] is Xangô. Ogum is a soldier, Xangô is of the thunder and also of the lightning. He is Santa Barbara of the Irmandade. All the *orixás* are equal. But Oxalá directs everything. Nanan is his wife. In the Gêge language she is called Odé.

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My sister, she died, burned up. She caught all on fire. He who killed her is Oxóssi; it was he who killed her. My sister is buried in the Quinta dos Lazaros.[50] She burned to death because she disobeyed him. He sent a message and she paid no attention to it. Her husband had a *saveiro*.[51] Every trip which he made she went along in the boat. She had no children. Everywhere he went, she went too. When, one time, the *orixá* "arrived" and told her that she should not travel on the water, she didn't take his words very seriously; she laughed the matter off, "gave it a *muxóxó*." But about a week afterward, she went with her husband in a *saveiro* across the Bay to Bahia. Between Itaparica and Salinas the *saveiro* caught afire. It had powder on it and the powder exploded. Parts of the *saveiro* were ripped off and hurled into the water. She was surrounded by fire. When they finally reached her, she was badly burned. They brought her to the Santa Isabel Hospital,

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[49] A Brazilian bird which can be trained to sing tunes.

[50] A Bahian cemetery.

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[51] A sturdy sailboat used on Todos os Santos Bay and its contributory rivers to transport light articles of commerce.

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and the next day she died. But before she died, he "arrived" and said it was he who had set fire to the *saveiro*. It was Oxóssi. Her husband also died. When one doesn't carry out his obligations [*cumpre com os seus deveres*], the *orixá* takes his life.

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Once I had a party at my house for some friends. But Xangô sent me a message that I should go to the *candomblé*. I said that I was not going because I was having a party. A little while later, while I was dancing with my friends, I suddenly got a stiffness in my legs. But I didn't pay much attention to it. Then I suddenly felt an "opening of the body" [*aperto no corpo*],[53] and I didn't know anything more. When I came to, I was dancing in the *candomblé*. When the *candomblé* was over, I went running clear to the top of Boeiros do Inferno ["Funnels of Hell"] without knowing anything about what I was doing. These are two hills called by that name because they are so high. I didn't feel anything. Afterward, Xangô beat me on the hands, and my hands swelled. When he "arrived" again, he said that I should pay more attention to him, or he would beat me some more. Once he struck me. On that day I was very tired, but I went to the *candomblé* and danced anyway.

159 787

I dance when there is a big ceremony; I dance for hours at a time without getting tired. The spell seizes me, and sometimes I dance more than three days without feeling the least bit tired. When the *orixá* "arrives in my head," I spend a week or more "sleeping."[54] I don't feel anything. I don't see anything. People talk to me, but I don't know anything about what is going on.

159 787 271

If one drinks water, the *orixá* doesn't "arrive." For instance, one feels cold. That cold is in the body. The *orixá* wants "to arrive." Then one drinks water. He who is of the *preceito* does not drink water. And whoever drinks, breaks the *preceito*. It is prayed ten times.[54]

[53] A "trembling of the body," signifying that the *orixá* wished to enter and to "manifest himself" in human form. See chap. x.

[54] That is, moving about, but unconscious of what is happening.

[54] That is, by taking a drink of water, one can presumably prevent the deity from entering the body. One must at the same time pray ten words and tap the ground ten times. In this way, the *preceito* (i.e., the control of the deity over one) is broken.

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I stayed only seven days in the *casa*,[15] because my head was washed. Others spend three months there, lying down all the time. They lie awhile on one side, then on the other, and then face down. One takes a bath in water perfumed with sacred leaves. Every day. The bath is cold, very cold. You must change your clothes and the bed linen every day. It isn't in a real bed that one lies down. They put a mat on the floor, and you have only a pillow and a sheet. You can move, but only from one side to the other, never over on your back. During the time you are in the *camarinha*, you cannot see your relatives. You may see them only on the day you leave. But then you must go at four in the morning and return at four in the evening so that the dew will not fall on your head.

[513]

There may be others in the *camarinha*. Sometimes many others. All of them stay in the same room. They sleep with their heads together. If there are ten, there will be space for all ten. While they are in the *camarinha*, they do not attend ceremonies.

[302] [776] [793]

I did not go through all this because my head did not have to be shaved. I had my *orixá* from birth. When I came into this world, he already knew everything.[16] My *pae de santo* has "worked" with many people. Last week he was here in Fazenda Grande.

159 262 776

When my *orixá* took possession of me, I quit eating he-goat. Because of the taboo of the *orixá* one cannot eat certain things. During all my life I cannot eat he-goat, because of the taboo. Neither can I eat turtle. For he who is of Xangô does not eat either he-goat or turtle. He who is of Ogum must not eat sheep's meat. Some *filhas* must not eat fruit; others must not eat fish *de couro*, only those fish which have scales. Crabs cannot be eaten by some, nor the leaf of Ogum. Water may be drunk, but only that which is drawn at 4:00 A.M., before the sun rises.

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White maize must be eaten by some, depending on the *orixá*. For every *orixá* of every nation[17] has his own food. There is the food of Odé. There is that of Xangô, which is mutton.

[15] The period during which the candidate is initiated into her new function is spent within the sacred room, or *camarinha*, of the *candomblé* center.

[16] That is, he "knew" that she would be consecrated to him.

[17] That is, of each type of *candomblé*: Gêge-Nagô, Congo, Angolo, *de caboclo*.

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My *pae de santo* made an *ebó* for me last week. It is a *limpeza do corpo* ["cleansing of the body"]. I had an unclean body and dragged myself around, listless. I went to the "master" of the *candomblé* and he "opened the table" and looked to see if my body was unclean. He then asked me to bring toasted maize, a black cloth, popcorn, honey, and a candle. He passed them all over me,[48] and when he had finished, he took them and left them in a crossroads. Friday is the day for this.

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Now if a person puts a *bruxaria*[49] in your doorway, with a doll stuck through with pins, that is of the *feiticeiro* and it is different from a "cleansing of the body." My *pae de santo* does not make *feitiço*. He says that he does not care to do harm to people, because he has a soul for which he is responsible to God. But any *pae de santo* who wishes to bring harm upon someone can do so. For example, if I arrive in his *casa* and say that I want to do something to someone he asks me: "What do you want to do to her?" I say that when she comes to my door I want her to go blind. He will "make a business" and the next day she will come to my door and go blind. Or else I say that I want her to be wounded by a knife. He arranges it so that this happens.[50]

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"Opening the table" is a thing done with *busios*. The *pae de santo* puts an *orixá* on top of the table, together with his little towel.[51] He takes up the *busios* and sees if "the way is open." My *pae de santo* "opens the table" with beads.[52] He takes the beads and puts them alongside *palha* from the *pindoba*.[53] These beads come from the Coast.[54] His set cost 1:000$000.[55]

[48] That is, in front, to side, behind, above the head, etc.

[49] Any instrument of black magic.

[50] That is, she will be attacked in a lonely place by robbers, or accidentally stabbed. The action is always mediate.

[51] The table-covering which is placed over the *orixá* in the *pegi*, or sanctuary.

[52] Other means employed: a glass of water, a set of playing cards.

[53] Fronds from a variety of the coconut palm.

[54] That is, from the West Coast of Africa.

[55] One thousand milreis, or one conto, equivalent at that time to approximately $60.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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My sister is preparing *carurú*. She has twin boys. When God gives you twins, you are obliged to present *carurú* to Cosme and Damião. If you fail to do this, someone in the house will die that year.

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If one were now to set down an account of the personal experiences of an upper-class Bahian, it would reveal an entirely different mental world. In general content it would reflect a culture distinctly European. Dress, music, food and food habits, forms of religious expression, sacred specialists, means of exercising control over personal destiny, and the ideas, attitudes, sentiments, points of view, and philosophy of life associated with them would, in general, not vary from those commonly characteristic of individuals of European origin wherever found.

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This variation at Bahia in cultural identification between the Europeans, on the one hand, and the *Africanos*, on the other—this difference in ideas, attitudes, and sentiments—obviously erects serious barriers to intercommunication and consequently retards the development of a body of common understandings upon which the moral solidarity of any society is built. Although most of the Bahian blacks have now to a considerable extent sloughed off their former cultural identity with Africa and have been more or less completely incorporated into the European world, a remnant of *Africanos* still live, in spite of contiguity in space with the Europeans, to a considerable extent culturally apart.

As will be evident in greater detail in the following chapter, the Europeans tend to look upon the beliefs and the practices of the *Africanos* as matters for ridicule, scorn, disparagement, and condemnation. They are thought of as queer, bizarre, unintelligible, inferior forms of behavior.

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forcefully to her head, one in front and one in back, as if in great pain. Knees then gave way and shoulders and back muscles began to vibrate violently. In one case, the spine stiffened and, with the exception of the shoulder muscles which continued a rapid quivering, the entire body became rigid, with arms and legs stretched out at full length. Meanwhile, the *filha* whimpered, cried, or shrieked aloud.

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To reach the *seita* of a well-known *mãe de santo*, one takes a Calçada car out of the city, past orange groves and fields of tall forage grass, to the Matadouro, where he alights and begins to climb a steep winding road lined with the *nativo* plant (said to be native to Africa) and *uricuri* and coconut palms, until, after more than a mile of trudging, he comes out onto a high ridge overlooking a green valley, where he can see, far in the distance, the houses of the city. A cool breeze blows in from the sea and tempers the heat of the tropical sun. In a grove of scattered palm trees nestle several houses, some of which are neatly whitewashed and others tinted pink, yellow, or blue.

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The *mãe de santo* is called Anninha. She is a tall regal-appearing black, whose slightest gesture is immediately obeyed by members of her *seita*. She owns considerable property and is said to be otherwise quite well to do. She boasts, proudly, "Sou filha de dois Africanos, graças a Deus" ("I am the daughter of two Africans, thank God"). Queito she learned to speak, she says, from her parents; Nagô she acquired "in the *seita*." She is illiterate, but of her learning in the ritual and belief of the African cult an *ogan* says, with pride, "She knows African things better than anyone I know in Bahia." Intelligent, quick-witted, agile in debate, she is one of the most widely respected and revered leaders of the Afro-Brazilian world.

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revered leaders of the Afro-Brazilian world. When a priest argued with her that, since she had not been ordained by the pope, she had no "spiritual authority" to carry on religious rites, she quickly inquired if Moses, "that great prophet and leader of his people, was ordained by the pope?" The first man, she maintains, must not have been a white man but instead a colored man; "if not black, at least red. For do the scholars not say that man originated in Asia, and do white men ever come out of that continent?" Jesus also must have been an African, or at least a person quite dark. "For did not his parents once hide him in Egypt? And is not Egypt in Africa? If Jesus was not dark, how could they have hidden him among the people of Africa?"

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This *mãe de santo* was "made" over fifty years ago in the *candomblé* of Engenho Velho. "My *seita* is pure Nagô, like Engenho Velho," she boasts. "But I have revived much of the African tradition which even Engenho Velho has forgotten. Do they have a ceremony for the twelve ministers of Xangô?[11] No! But I have." She is planning to rebuild her *barracão*, or sacred dance pavilion, to be paid for by tithes levied on the incomes of members of her *seita*. She owns a small store in the Terreiro where she sells the various articles used in the cult ritual and, since the members of the fetish world know that these articles must be, if she sells

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[11] According to a well known Bahian *babalaô*, Xangô was a great African chief whose cruelties the people sought to do away with by setting fire one night to his dwelling. Everyone in it burned except Xangô, who walked unscathed through the flames. Astounded, the people prostrated themselves before him and begged his forgiveness. Xangô became a powerful king and subjected many neighboring tribes, twelve of whose chiefs subsequently became his royal advisers, or ministers. Even before his death, which occurred at an advanced age, Xangô was being worshiped. Cf. Martiniano do Bomfim, "Os ministros de Xangô," *Estado da Bahia*, May 5, 1937.

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them, legitimate, the store does a thriving business. She says:

> The *Africano* doesn't worship things made with human hands. He worships nature. What is the *pedra* [the fetish stone]? Is it not a mineral? No human hands have made it.
>
> We are just as Christian as the Catholics. Only we follow the law of Moses. He commanded that sacrifices be made of sheep, goats, oxen, chickens, pigeons, and so forth. Is it not so? We merely obey his commandments.
>
> There are two parts to the Bible, are there not? The Old Testament and the New. We follow the Old as well as the New. In the days before Christ, the people worshiped God with singing and dancing. Is it not so? David played his harp and sang psalms and danced before the Lord. We have our songs, too, and each has a special meaning. Just as the Catholics have something to remind them of their saints, so we have something to remind us of our *orixás*. But we do not worship images made with human hands like they do. We worship nature.

One of the assistants of the *mãe de santo*, an elderly Negro woman who "takes care of" the *terreiro*, is said to be over ninety years of age, is known by an African name, Bádá, and speaks Nagô as well as, or better than, she speaks Portuguese. No one in the fetish world at Bahia is said "to give her the blessing," because she is the "oldest" (that is, the longest "made" or "confirmed") in the city. She laments "the old days" before the Africans in Bahia all died.

A Negro man of seventy-seven years of age, Martiniano, one of two *babalaôs* in Bahia, known and thoroughly respected throughout the fetish world for his piety and sincerity and his knowledge of African customs and traditions, is, upon entering the connecting-room to the *pegi*, saluted by a rapid beat of muffled drums. He bows to the drummers, acknowledging their greeting, steps into the *pegi*, bows low before the altar, touches the ground with the tips of his fingers, and repeats a prayer in Nagô. So learned is he "in

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794 [302] Three of the dancers are *yauôs*, in process of being "made." Their heads have been shaved clean, and white spots and [301] blue lines have been painted upon them. On their cheeks are white spots and white lines. Around the neck, or over the right shoulder and under the left arm, are long chains of large cowries imported from the West Coast.

794 346 353 177 776 In a special building with a cement floor is "the throne room of Xangô." At one side is an altar to him, which is lavishly decorated with candles and flowers, both fresh and artificial. Indicating the fusion of Catholic and fetish elements, one notes on the lower step an image of Santo Antonio, on the second, one of Nossa Senhora das Candeias, on the third, an image of the twins, Cosme and Damião, and, on the top level, one of São Jeronimo. The *mãe de santo* says that Santo Antonio is "just another name" for Ogun; as similarly is Nossa Senhora das Candeias, for the water deity, Oxun; Cosme and Damião, for Beji; and São Jeronimo, for Xangô.

794 346 [352] On the other side of the room is "the throne of Xangô," a wooden chair, intricately carved, with a pillow for a headrest. Suspended on the walls are pictures of several Catholic saints.

[353] In the center of an adjoining room is "the spring of the *mãe d'agua*," a huge basin built of cement and containing ten to twelve inches of water. On the wall is the Nagô inscription, "Ilé Awon Afonjá" ("House of Xangô").

794 793 • 159 The leader of another *seita* is a male black, known as Pae Procopio, sixty-six years of age, of Gêge descent, whose father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, he proudly boasts, were all Africans and *paes de santo*. His mother's sister was also "an *Africano*," but his mother was a Brazilian-born black, a *mãe de santo* who "deixou o cargo" (i.e., left the

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office of priest) to him. He is dedicated to the same *orixá*, Ogun, as was she, and speaks, he claims, "a little of six different African languages: Nagô, Gêge, Ige-chá, Queito, Egba, and Musurumi." He owns "a roomful" of ceremonial costumes, one of which is said to have cost six contos (approximately $360). He considers his task to be that of "doing good" and refuses to deal in black magic, an attitude which has cost him, it is said, "much money."[13] He is godfather to approximately a hundred and fifteen children and is soon to be godfather to nine others who are on the point of receiving the baptismal ceremony. He visits about the Reconcavo, particularly in Cachoeira, exercising his office of *pae de santo*, and is said to have paid similar visits to Rio de Janeiro, Pernambuco, Maranhão, and Pará, in each of which he has "made" several *filhas* and "confirmed" *ogans*.

The *achôgun*, or sacrificer, is an elderly black with a kindly face and snow-white hair. The leader of the drummers, or the *alabê*, a jolly black whose mother (now deceased) was a *mãe de santo* in Cidade de Palha, is very expert with the drums, speaks Nagô, and sings in a high-pitched but rather pleasant voice the African *cantigas*, or ritualistic songs. An *ogan* says of him, proudly, "He knows almost as much about African things as a *pae de santo*."

An elderly Negro woman, who walks haltingly with a cane, attends every ceremony. Younger friends carefully help her to a seat where she can see everything that goes on. Leaning forward on her cane, her intelligent eyes wide open, her face continually breaking into beaming smiles, she joins

[13] An *ogan* of this *seita* says that a *pae de santo* in Itapoan named Gregorio (now deceased) once declined twelve contos (approximately $720) "to make a man mad." This *ogan* knows, however, a *mãe de santo* who, as he says, became angered at the remarks of a young skeptic and "made a *negocio*" (literally a "business"; i.e., black magic) which "drove him mad in two days."

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often been heard, on the lips of older members of, particularly, Protestant churches in the United States, "These young people today are not like we used to be. It's a shame the way they stray away."

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João is a young black about twenty years of age who has just completed a business course subsequent to graduation from the Ginasio da Bahia, the city's state-supported secondary school. One day, in the home of his uncle, who is a prominent figure in the fetish world, João was copying a page in Nagô. Possessed of a deep affection for his uncle and being characteristically obliging and courteous, he was attempting to learn a few words of this African language. But the impression João made on a visitor was that his efforts with Nagô arose rather from a desire to please his uncle than from any genuine interest in the language itself. João remarked, apologetically, "You know I would like to learn it, but I just don't have time when I'm working every day."

A young mulatto girl who had completed two years at a secondary school remarked, "I don't care much for the *candomblé*, except to watch the dances and to see the [ceremonial] costumes. I seldom go, and then only for some special reason. I like the movies better, especially the North American and the English films." She further remarked:

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> My uncle doesn't believe in this business of the *orixás*. One day his daughter—my cousin—said that she felt an *orixá* about to "arrive." She ran all the way to a *candomblé*, began to dance, and, sure enough, "she fell into the *estado de santo*." But my uncle wouldn't stand for it. He got a sprig of *urtiga* and whipped her and then went and whipped the *pae de santo* too. The next day, my cousin couldn't bear anyone's hand on her, she was so sore. But that was the end of the *orixá*. He never came back.

José is a young mixed-blood, twenty-two years of age, employed as a janitor in one of Bahia's public buildings. Although he knows of three *seitas* near his home—one each

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in Pau Miuda, Cidade da Palha, and Cruz do Cosme—he has no interest in them. However, he has a consuming interest in the cinema, keeps an elaborate scrapbook which now contains over a hundred and fifty individual photographs of actors and actresses, and can glibly name nearly all the films in which each has played during the last three or four years.**

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The following account by a young mulatto student of secondary-school age who has developed a somewhat skeptical attitude toward the *candomblé* in spite of his father's being a prominent *ogan* in one of the *seitas* who occasionally, when the elderly *achôgun* is ill, officiates at the sacrificial ritual, illustrates the difficulty which *candomblé* leaders now experience in enforcing the sanctions of the cult:

> Pedro [a young *ogan*] didn't show proper respect for my father when he suggested that there ought to be some repairs made at the *terreiro*. Pedro said it had been that way when he was "confirmed" and that it was all right now. He used "você" in speaking to my father, although he is much "younger." And he said my father lied. When I heard about this, I hunted up Pedro and told him that he hadn't treated my father right, and when he talked nonsense I hit him. Pae Procopio then hunted me up. I told him that I didn't believe in anything he did, that I wasn't afraid of any sorcery he might make, that Pedro had ill-treated my father, and that I wanted nothing to do with him and with all his accursed *candomblé*.

** For instance, José named five films in which Patricia Ellis had played. His favorite actress is Shirley Temple, after which come, in order, Lilian Harvey, Joe E. Brown, Maurice Chevalier, and Laurel and Hardy. In addition, he likes Raul Roulien, Dolores del Rio, James Cagney, Lyle Talbot, Kay Francis, Dick Powell, Eddie Cantor, Clara Bow, Jeanette MacDonald, George O'Brien, Fred Astaire, John Boles, George Brent, Richard Talmage, José Mojico, Jan Kiepura, Adolphe Menjou, Pat O'Brien, Chester Morris, Buster Crabbe, Charlie Chaplin, Lee Tracy, Gary Cooper, Ramon Navarro, George Bancroft, Johnny Mack Brown, Alice Faye, Olivia de Havilland, and Ken Maynard. José does not care for Buck Jones, although many of his friends do. Neither does he like Lionel Barrymore, Douglas Fairbanks, Jr., Richard Arlen, Ronald Colman, or Gordon Westcott. Paul Muni, he says, is "only fair."

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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APPENDIX A

AN AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF A COLORED CITIZEN

The following autobiographical sketch was written by a man who is one of Bahia's leading colored citizens, a very dark mulatto referred to in Bahia as a *preto* or, literally, a "black": 159 [124]

I was born of modest parents. My father was a white man, an educated gentleman from a family of agriculturists, or "Senhores de Engenho," in the Reconcavo near Santo Amaro. My mother was a black woman, a person of notable beauty among her race. Domingas was her name.

Until I was ten years of age, I lived in Santo Amaro and its vicinity, at that time the richest area of sugar-cane cultivation in the state of Bahia. In 1865, when I was ten years old—for I was born on January 7, 1855—my father took me to Rio de Janeiro, where I finished my elementary education and prepared myself for secondary schooling in the Collegio de São Salvador, which was at that time under the direction of Monsenhor José Joaquim da Fonseca Lima, an illustrious priest, later *reitor* of the Collegio Dom Pedro II, the foremost secondary school in Brazil.

I owe what I know of the Humanities to my dear Masters at the Collegio de São Salvador, whom I later joined as teacher when, in 1871, at seventeen years of age, I entered the Escola Politecnica (then Escola Central) to take a course in Civil Engineering. I had among my teachers in the Escola Central the most eminent intellectual and scientific men of that time in Brazil, including Manoel da Cunha Galvão, Americo Monteiro de Barros, João Eugenia de Lossie e Seylbits, Carneiro, Saldanha da Gama, Villa Nova Machado, André Rebouças, Joaquim Murtinho, Visconde do Rio Branco, Borgia Castro, Sousa Pitanga, and Holanda Cavalcanti, all of whom were men of great

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• 159 importance in the field of science and some of whom were prominent in national politics.

In 1876, at twenty-one years of age, I finished my studies at the Escola Politecnica. While a student I had collaborated at the Museu Nacional (directed by Ladislau Netto, an illustrious botanist) with Orville Derby, Lacerda e Almeida, Pirarro, Rodrigues Peixoto, and Schwacke, in the scientific discussions held there and constantly attended by Emperor Dom Pedro II.

I then dedicated myself to the task of teaching in the principal *collegios* of Rio de Janeiro where I had pupils who today in the highest offices of the Brazilian government honor me with their learning and ability.

In 1878 I began my career as an engineer by serving as a member of the Comissão Hidraulica, organized at the instance of the government of Conselheiro Sinimbu for the study of ports and inland navigation and directed by the famed American engineer, Mr. W. Milnor Roberts, especially engaged for this purpose. The Commission was a large body, composed of chosen men destined to direct the future work of this nature in our country. I was invited to join the group by Senator Veriato de Medeiros. I positively did not solicit the position. The invitation was entirely spontaneous, a fact which made me feel somewhat flattered.

159 I will touch here upon an incident which occurred at that time
* 563 because it makes plain one of the few cases of race prejudice which are now very rare in our country. The Commission on a certain day presented itself to the Minister to hear him explain the point of view of the government in creating the Commission. I was present, as were all of my colleagues. On the following day the *Diario Official* published a report in which all the engineers were presumably mentioned. However, my name, for some reason of which I was then ignorant, did not appear with the others. I was apparently omitted from a Commission which I had been invited to join. The omission was due, I later discovered, to the fact that I was the only *homen de côr* in that brilliant group and, to the mind of the official involved, this appeared very shocking (*chocante*); especially since I was to be working with American technicians who, it was said, did not appreciate the company of colored men. Hence I was excluded, and experienced for the first time the sting of prejudice. But to Senator Veriato de

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Medeiros, whom I sought out that night to thank for his spontaneous gesture of invitation, my elimination was not official, and he immediately took the necessary steps so that on the following day everything was straightened out. I owe to the fine courtesy of this illustrious Senator the manner in which the incident was handled, although I did not find this out until much later through a mutual friend.

Meanwhile, the charge of prejudice, which the official had sought to bring against the Americans, completely disappeared, and I had the honor of winning their friendship and esteem. This proved with the passing of the years to be very beneficial and served me well in the profession which I adopted. After two years spent studying the ports of Santos and Maceió, and investigating the navigability of the São Francisco River, we all returned to Rio de Janeiro. Mr. Roberts, our illustrious chief, on presenting his report to the Minister, thought it proper to name me among his assistants, all of whom were distinguished men, and to present, in a special chapter, a description of the work with which I had been especially charged, calling it to the attention of the Minister under the title, "The Report of Snr. Calogeras."[1] The fact was that, in addition to the routine work with which we were each charged on the Commission, I was detailed by Mr. Roberts to explore the territory between the São Francisco River and the Atlantic coast across the Chapada Diamantina, and to collect geographic and geological data, together with information on the productive capacity, population, and commerce of the region. These data were later brought together in a book and published under the title, *O Rio São Francisco e a Chapada Diamantina*.

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From my American colleagues on the Commission I received such proof of consideration and esteem that it captivated me. Rudolf Wiezer, Roberts' assistant who had accompanied him from the United States, in writing to a friend about me, used these words of extreme flattery: ". . . . the best Brazilian engineer on Roberts' staff." Orville Derby, the eminent geologist, who in his time was considered the greatest authority in the science of geology, took me for his collaborator in the work with which we were later intrusted by the governor of the state of São Paulo.

[1] The name is, of course, fictitious.

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In 1882, the Roberts' Commission having been disbanded, I helped extend the rail line from Bahia to the São Francisco River, it being my job to draw up plans and specifications for the steel bridges of the railway.

In 1883 I was invited by Antonio Placido Peixoto de Amarante to be his First Engineer on the Comissão de Desobstrução do Rio de São Francisco, a project which we had studied together under the direction of Roberts three years before and which it had now fallen to his lot to execute as Chief Engineer. We removed the obstruction due to the celebrated Sobradinho Falls, the greatest obstacle to navigation in the upper part of the river, and shipping was soon established between the city of Joazeiro and the Falls of Pirapora, where the navigable section of the river ends.

For a little more than three years, or until 1886, I continued with this work. Orville Derby, who had been named head of the Geographic and Geological Commission of São Paulo, then invited me to be his First Engineer, charged especially with the geodetic survey.

The province of São Paulo was at that time governed by Senator João Alfredo Correa de Oliveira, an eminent man, who had always borne in mind the problem of communication with the interior and had just turned his attention to inland navigation and especially to the possibilities of connecting São Paulo with the faraway province of Matto Grosso. With this object in mind, we began the exploration of the Paranapanema, from its source in the Serra do Mar, in Itapetininga, to its junction with the Paraná River above Sete Quedas (Seven Falls). Studying the river from the point of view of its navigability, a labor which we carried out during the dry season of 1886, we found that more than two-thirds of its course was impracticable for navigation. This river failed to afford the solution for which we were searching. The Paranapanema is a great reservoir of hydroelectric energy rather than a passage between the Paraná-Paraguay and the Atlantic coast of southern Brazil.

On returning from these studies, which had also included an investigation of the geological character of the valley by the notable geologist, Francisco de Paula Oliveira, as well as an examination of those natural conditions bearing upon the productivity of the soil, and, in addition, ethnographic and ethnological studies of the Indians still dominating the woods and the plains of the Lower Paranapanema, we

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went to Campo Largo, setting up our camp near the iron foundry of Ipanema, a location which we had chosen by reason of its natural advantages to be our first base from which to survey the province of São Paulo.

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We were proceeding with this measuring when a communication arrived from Colonel Mursa, director of the foundry, which surprised us greatly. His Majesty, the Emperor Dom Pedro II, the Colonel told us, had arrived there yesterday and had commanded the engineers of the Geographic and Geological Commission to present themselves before him without further delay and to bring with them their field notes and all data gathered during the exploration of the Paranapanema River, since His Majesty wished to see this information before its re-writing in the office. The order was urgent, and the Colonel advised us to go just as we were, in our field attire, since this was the wish of the Emperor.

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All morning in Ipanema, Dom Pedro II examined our blueprints, measurements, notes, calculations, and drawings and inquired about the practical results of our work. He raised still other questions and objections on certain technical points, since he was a professional in this field. At luncheon he invited us all to join him at the same table, and I was given the honor of sitting in the chair at his right. During the luncheon we talked only of the studies carried out during our exploration, of the incidents of the trip, of the Indians, their customs and language. I state these details so that you may see how great was the interest of the Brazilian monarch in scientific studies, his vast erudition, his thirst for knowledge, his manifest desire for justice, and his utter lack of class or color prejudice. For Dom Pedro II was of all Brazilians most exempt from the prejudices of his time.

On taking leave of us, His Majesty desired that the studies of the Paranapanema River should be published as soon as possible.

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Our investigation of the valley of the Paranapanema, a region which in former times was under the dominion of the Tupís and Guaranís, afforded me an opportunity of studying more closely this indigenous element so important in the history of the Brazilian people and in the formation of their national character. I gathered valuable data to contribute to the body of information regarding this race and the *lingua geral* which for nearly three centuries was the language spoken in this part of Brazil.

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While working with the Geographic and Geological Commission, with which I remained for about four years, associated with such able and renowned colleagues as Orville Derby, Gonsaga do Campos, Francisco de Paula Oliveira, Washington de Aguiar, Alberto Loefgren, and other capable assistants, I had the opportunity of surveying nearly a third of the province, from Ipanema and Campo Largo along the ridge of the Serra do Mar, or the Paranapiacaba, and the peaks of the Mantigueira and their foothills from Santos and São Paulo inland as far as the banks of the Mogy-guassu River, which flows from the highlands of Minas Geraes. Owing to the time-consuming nature of this topographic work, we were not able to map completely such a large area. However, by 1890, we had made and published several geographical charts, when I left the Commission and accepted the invitation of the illustrious Dr. Vicente de Carvalho, then *Secretario de Estado dos Negocios do Interior*, to act as Sanitary Engineer for the city of São Paulo, and to carry out a sanitation project for which I, years before, at the instance of the provincial government following the proclamation of the Republic in 1889, had drawn up plans.

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We were at that time in an era of social and political transformation, actually the greatest period of change through which the country has passed since independence. Following the war with Paraguay in 1870, Brazil had entered a notable epoch of reform and progress. This was especially evident during the ministry of Visconde do Rio Branco which brought us the law of civil marriage, the law of free birth, direct elections, as well as teaching reforms, and an extended development of the railway system of the country. Propaganda in favor of the emancipation of slaves was increasing. Those of sixty years and over were shortly freed by law, and, after a few more years of agitation, a most notable victory was achieved with the abolition of slavery without indemnification on the thirteenth of May, 1888. Eminent figures like Joaquim Nabuco, José do Patrocinio, and André Rebouças dominated the emancipation movement. The Emperor and the Princess Regent who signed the abolition decree, their ministers, João Alfredo Correa de Oliveira, and Antonio Ferreira Vianna, were the greatest figures in that glorious crusade which had gripped all Brazil.

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The proclaiming of the Republic on November 15, 1889, a few months after the abolition of slavery, was facilitated by the illness of

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the emperor and by the fact that abolition had been decreed *without* indemnification. The republican propaganda, which had been active since the convention of Itú, gained its victory without great effort since, as it is only fair to remember, the tolerant spirit of the Emperor and the simplicity of his living had contributed greatly to the development of democratic ideas.

During this era of great transformation in which the intellectuals and the youth of Brazil threw themselves with enthusiasm, we were all swept by the reform wave. I would not have made the Republic just as it was made; but I accepted it as a logical result of its historical antecedents and the democratic atmosphere then dominant in America.

The province of São Paulo soon took the lead in the extensive reforms which the country was experiencing. Political administration, agricultural development, immigration, all were stimulated by the new regime. I collaborated in all this as a citizen and as a public servant in proportion to my ability. In 1896 I was Chief Engineer of Sanitation for the state of São Paulo, a service which I directed for some years. With General Jardim and Salles de Oliveira I served on the Commission which organized the Escola Politecnica of São Paulo during the governorship of Bernardino de Campos. With Antonio Pisa, Cezario Motta, Horacio de Carvalho, Conselheiro Manoel Antonio Duarte de Azevedo, and others, we founded the Instituto Historico e Geographico of São Paulo, and I directed the construction of the building which still houses it. During the celebration of the three hundredth anniversary of Padre José de Anchieta's birth, which, through the initiative of Eduardo Prado, one of our most illustrious journalists and authors, launched a literary movement, I collaborated in the famed "Conferencias Anchietanas," which were to mark an epoch in the literary life of Brazil. My liking for historical studies then led me into the examination of documents from the first years of Brazilian colonization and the publication of the results of such research as monographs or articles in magazines of a scientific character. In this way I made a modest contribution.

It was during this period that I gave my leisure time over to the study of our indigenous races. I wrote and published some observations concerning the language of the Cayuas of the Lower Paranapanema and some data on the Guayanas of São Paulo. I published

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•159 *O tupi na geographia nacional*, in which I indicated the extent to which this Indian language had influenced the place names of Brazil. I studied the Krahos of the Upper São Francisco and their linguistic connection with the Krans tribes of the valley of the Tocantins and the Araguaya.

Discontinuing, in 1903, my work with the Sanitation Service of São Paulo, I returned to Bahia the following year to make a study of the possibilities of, and to bid for, a sanitation system for the city of Bahia; and on May 19, 1905, I signed a contract to put in these improvements for the *municipio*. Four years later I had completed the portion relative to the water supply, but only a third part of the sewage system. The failure of funds then paralyzed the work, and it remained suspended for several years, until in 1929 the contract was renewed by common consent of the parties concerned. With the completion of this task, my professional activity ended. As a young man, while still a student in the *curso superior*, I had been a teacher, lecturing in Latin, English, Mathematics, History, and Philosophy; and as a civil engineer, I had now worked without interruption for forty-eight years. I was never unemployed, and I early attained the highest rank in my profession.

Among literary and scientific studies which I have published, I might note: [Here follows a list of nineteen books or articles published in Brazilian literary and scientific publications, followed by the statement: "Various articles and lectures published in the *Revistas* of the Instituto Historico e Geographico de São Paulo, the Instituto Geographico e Historico da Bahia, and the Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro de Rio de Janeiro."]

I had the honor of being chosen by my fellow-citizens of Bahia as their representative in the federal *camara* to replace Dr. Octavio Mangabeira, who had been named minister of foreign relations in the government of President Washington Luis. Not having been a militant politician, I was surprised at this choice which honored me so greatly. I continued in this office until the end of the session in 1929.

From the scientific and literary institutions of the country I have received the following spontaneous proofs of their appreciation: I am a member *effectivo de honra* of the Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro; an active member of the Instituto Historico of São Paulo; president of the Instituto Historico of Bahia; corresponding member of

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the Instituto Historico of Minas Geraes; corresponding member of the Instituto Archeologico e Geographico Pernambucano; corresponding member of the Instituto Historico of Rio Grande do Norte; corresponding member of the Instituto of Ceará; member of the Instituto Historico of Sergipe; member of the Clube de Engenharia of Rio de Janeiro; charter member of the Sociedade Capistrano de Abreu; active member of the Academia de Letras da Bahia; active member of the Instituto Politecnico da Bahia.

I here end these autobiographical notes which are, I realize, somewhat deficient, since at my age [eight-one years] memory cannot be very faithful, and I fear it has failed me many times. These lapses of memory, however, have led me rather to understate than to exaggerate the honors which have been paid my modest talents and achievements.

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tion of our research, confirmed, and much more clearly stated, by Wagley and his associates—particularly by Harris—that one of the criteria of class is color. In so far as this is true, class discrimination and color discrimination (but *not* race prejudice as defined above) are inevitably linked. Bastide and Van den Berghe contend that they are dealing with "race prejudice" when we believe they mean "discrimination on the basis of color."[35] That such exists by reason of color being one of the criteria of rank is admitted, in the same sense in which discrimination exists in the case of low family origin, or of low economic condition, or of low educational level, or of lack of personal competence.

Bastide and Van den Berghe also claim to have invalidated, as far as São Paulo is concerned, another hypothesis of this study which they identify as follows: "Prejudice against Negroes is directly proportional to socio-economic status." It is not clear to what these authors refer. We do not recognize this hypothesis as being among those formulated by us, either in this book or elsewhere; nor do we subscribe to it, as stated.

The hypotheses which emerged out of our original study[36] may require, however, certain qualifications and additions, in order to make the description and analysis more precise and complete.

With reference to hypotheses 1 and 2, Willems has called our attention to the possibility that the mortality rate among the lower (and extensively colored) ranks of the Brazilian population may be proportionately lower now than in the

[35] Plus a few limited and atypical cases, as we have suggested above, of discrimination on the basis of race, neither derived from, however, nor supported by, the local mores.

[36] See pages 345-50 of this book.

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past, while the birth rate may have remained more or less constant. If this apparent shift in natural increase continues, it will of course slow down, or even reverse, the trend toward biological absorption evident in the past.[37]

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With reference to hypotheses 3, 4, and 5, one should note three qualifications. In the first place, although the originally unbalanced sex ratio undoubtedly played a definite role in colonial Brazil in developing a tradition of interracial unions, it became more normal shortly after first contact; in the second place, miscegenation, from the colonial period to the present, has proceeded considerably (but not exclusively) *outside* marriage, by way of informal unions; and, in the third place, the term "endogamy" in hypothesis 5 perhaps should be substituted by some such phrase as "the biological distinctiveness of the races." Endogamy still exists, however, among a numerically small segment of the upper class, including certain families which evidence an uncommon pride in their European origin and, even more particularly, certain families among the landed aristocracy which have long sought to keep property in the family and—for this and other reasons—to resist the intrusion of individuals from outside the kinship group, including native-born and immigrant whites as well as colored individuals. This has been accomplished by extensive and continuous marriage within the kinship group, including cousin with cousin and, until recent

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[37] T. Lynn Smith (102–6) reminds us that the fertility index for brancos, according to the 1950 census, was at that time higher than that for prêtos in all but one of the Brazilian states and territories (the State of Rio de Janeiro, where the two were approximately even); and that the fertility index for brancos also was higher in fourteen states than that of even the pardos (browns). (In assessing these data, one must of course take into consideration the meaning of these supposedly racial terms, as indicated above.)

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mixed-blood is superior in vitality to both ancestral stocks.[39] The mulatto, being a "native plant," is popularly considered to have been better acclimated than either the European or the African. The Indian-white mixed-blood, concluded Colonel Artur Lobo da Silva of the Brazilian Army Health Service on the basis of a study which he made, is physically superior to both the white and the native Indian.[40]

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There is some evidence, however, that the Brazilian mixed-blood is less resistant than the European and the black to certain diseases, for example, tuberculosis. Comparative statistics given for Bahia some years ago by A. Pacifico Pereira support this hypothesis. Although the percentage of *mestiços* in Bahia in 1904 was given as 35.1 per cent, the percentage of mixed-bloods among those dying from tuberculosis in that year was 49.0 per cent; while the whites, presumably 31.4 per cent of the population, furnished only 21.4 per cent of the deaths from this disease; and the blacks, who were 26.3 per cent of the total population at that time, furnished 26.9 per cent.[41] To resolve the problem of the vitality of the Brazilian mixed-blood in comparison with his parent-stocks would seem to require more extended research.

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The most obvious effect of miscegenation is to reduce physical differences between the races. In Bahia intermixture has now, for more than four hundred years, been breaking down physical barriers and reducing that visibility which

[39] See, e.g., Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

[40] "A anthropologia do exercito brasileiro," *Archivos do Museu Nacional* (Rio), XXX (1928), 33.

[41] A. Pacifico Pereira, *A tuberculose na Bahia* (Bahia, 1904), p. 15. The remaining 7.2 per cent of the population were resident aliens, who accounted for 2.7 of the deaths from tuberculosis.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

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For four centuries the agricultural development of Brazil has been characterized by a series of speculative phases, each focused on a single product, each centered upon a single region of Brazil. The first commercial product was sugar, the first region was the Recôncavo of Bahia. The agricultural society founded on the shore of the Baía de Todos os Santos in the mid-sixteenth century has persisted with an almost unbroken continuity for over four hundred years. It is with the geography of this agricultural society that the present study is concerned.

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After sugar had ceased to bring a quick profit, the Brazilian center of effort shifted to other areas where economies of cotton, oranges rice, cacao, and many lesser products opened the land and drew the ambitious and the desperate from the older settlements. Intermeshed with these phases of agricultural development were booms in the exploitative industries--in the mining of gold and diamonds and in the gathering of rubber. So characteristic have been these speculative convulsions, each followed by a shift to a new region, that they might almost seem to be the whole of Brazilian history and Brazilian reality--the nation might have been practicing a system of shifting cultivation on an immense scale with not only fields but whole regions abandoned as the yield declined. Yet this is not the case, for in each of these regions men remain and crops persist. The Recôncavo, long past its triumph, has a present day population of one million people, many of whom are still cultivating the original speculative crop, sugar cane. The Recôncavo is not unique in this respect, for coastal Pernambuco, eastern

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175 249 567 [563] the offspring of master and slave and sometimes were considered as members of the household.

A set of feudalistic inter-relations developed in the society, loosely defining the responsibilities and privileges of master and slave. Ideally the slave had the privilege, almost the right, to appeal to the master in person for assistance and advice. Manumission and the granting of the right to purchase freedom were common. At the [466] same time, the economic system was based upon involuntary labor. The slave was exploited, and the fruit of his toil went to maintain the luxurious existence of the small upper class.

175 565 [463] [554] The small freemen occupied a very inferior social and economic position in this society. In the cities they became tradesmen or craftsmen, occupations without status. In the country some were petty dependents of the engenho, others established themselves as small cultivators. Since the sugar cane plantations dominated the central Recôncavo, it seems reasonable to assume that the small holders were segregated mainly in the outer zone.

175 161 162 In 1819--during the florescence of the Recôncavo--the population of the comarca (district) of Bahia was 362,503. Most of this population was centered in the Recôncavo--200,000 in the lowlands north of the Bay--the sugar cane area--and 77,503 in the western uplands around Cachoeira--the tobacco area.[31] At this time the total population of Bahia was estimated at 592,908 and that of Brazil as between 175 4,000,000 to 4,500,000.[32] Salvador, with a population somewhere 633 162 between 100,000 and 130,000, was the largest city in Brazil and remained so until 1830.[33] The class and ethnic composition of the 175 563 population of this period is not clearly indicated. By some estimates, 565 567 over half of the population of Bahia was slave and over three-fifths

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of the twentieth century there were four cigarette factories and twelve cigar factories in the Recôncavo.[47]

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As was characteristic for other products in Brazil, a semi-autonomous government organization was set up to stabilize the tobacco industry in Bahia--the Instituto Bahiano do Fumo (Bahian Institute of Tobacco). Founded in 1935, the Instituto attempts to stimulate the production and improvement of techniques and quality, supervise marketing through a grading system, set minimum prices, and control export of leaf tobacco. Although the Instituto has not succeeded in changing significantly the techniques of the tobacco industry, it has been reasonably successful in maintaining production and price.

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Just as Bahia had been displaced from its leading position within Brazil, so in turn was the Recôncavo displaced from its exalted position within the state. Tobacco replaced sugar as Bahia's leading commercial product in the nineteenth century, but forfeited its position to cacao in the twentieth century. The replacement of sugar by tobacco was primarily a shift within the Recôncavo, but the rise of cacao brought to the fore Bahia's southern coast. In one sense, however, the Recôncavo retained its old centrality—Salvador remains today the leading political and economic focus of the state, even for the cacao trade.

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The continued importance of the Recôncavo in Bahia has been partially the result of the vested interests of the sugar and tobacco systems.

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In addition, the Recôncavo remains today the leading center of population in Bahia, despite its relative decline. In 1872 the Recôncavo had at least 450,000 out of a total state population of 1,379,616. Thereafter the position of the Recôncavo declined, so that by 1940 only one-fourth of the almost four million people of the state lived in this region. However, the compact population

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161 162 distribution and the vested political and economic interests of the Recôncavo allowed it to continue as the dominant region of the state.

177 178 433 249 565 181 The Recôncavo has remained a conservative area in Brasil, and within the state it seems to exert a strong traditional influence. On a national scale, however, the traditional values which are preserved in Bahian culture have been overridden by the aggressive dynamism of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. Moreover, the economic core of tradition in the Recôncavo--the sugar-producing upper class--is being progressively infiltrated and dominated by the new economic interests of the Central-South. The effects of these new economic interests are manifest in the administrative and labor problems of the sugar industry in the present decade.[48] New economic groups also are coming to the fore in the tobacco industry.

The technological revolution in the sugar industry and the emergence of a new "progressive" upper class have weakened but not destroyed the traditional orientation of the Recôncavo. The cultural patterns which have so successfully resisted basic change for almost four centuries will not easily give way. However, the issues have been joined, and already the old technology, the old upper class, and the old inter-class social fabric have been profoundly disturbed. In the long run it seems inevitable that the cultural patterns of the Recôncavo will have to accommodate many new values.

177 178 565 181 Not all the new social forces are restricted to the upper class. More and more new technology, such as the automobile, new political and social institutions, such as labor unions, and new ideas from the South, brought through newspapers, radios, and travelers, have affected the lives of the lower classes. While the access of this group to new ideas is more limited than that of the upper class,

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CHAPTER IV

POPULATION

162 Introduction. In 1950 there were about one million people living
[161] in the 12,500 square kilometers of the Recôncavo--0.15 per cent of Brazil's area and about 2 per cent of its total population.[1] A more meaningful comparison is one with the effectively occupied coastal belt extending from Maranhão to Rio Grande do Sul, including the interior state of Minas Gerais.[2] The Recôncavo occupies 0.4 per cent of the area of these states and has a little over 2 per cent of the people.

[361] The relatively modest size of this population does not reflect adequately the great historical importance of the Recôncavo. The compact distribution and cohesion of this settlement make it a significant concentration of the people of modern Brazil.

The Recôncavo is the foremost nucleus of settlement in the state
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162 of Bahia in both the historical and purely demographic sense. With its one million people, it had in 1950 almost 86 people per square kilometer. There were 3,800,000 people in the rest of the state, but there was no concentration which had a size and density equal to that of the Recôncavo. The only other areas with even approximately equal density--Santo Antônio de Jesus and Nazaré--were contiguous with the
633 Recôncavo. The chief city of the Recôncavo, Salvador, was fourteen
162 times the size of any other urban center in Bahia, and of the five next most populous cities--with a population range of 20,000 to 30,000--two were in the Recôncavo.[3]

128 The discussion which follows is divided into two parts. First the general character of the population will be analyzed in terms of general cultural development, race, class, family, and economic

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TABLE VI

TOTAL, URBAN, AND RURAL POPULATION OF THE MUNICÍPIOS OF THE RECÔNCAVO IN 1950

Município	Total Population	Urban Population (Urban Centers with Manufacturing)	Rural Population (Total minus Urban Population)
Alagoinhas	52,007	21,283	30,724
Cachoeira	26,979	10,825	16,154
Catu	16,437		16,437
Conceição da Feira	10,532		10,532
Conceição do Almeida	25,407		25,407
Coração de Maria	20,256		20,256
Cruz das Almas	32,276	6,758	25,518
Feira de Santana	107,205	26,559	80,646
Irará	46,711		46,711
Itaparica	21,433		21,433
Maragogipe	36,868	9,744	27,124
Muritiba	31,605	7,452	24,153
Pojuca	6,911		6,911
Salvador	417,235	389,422	27,813
Santo Amaro	85,739	12,258	73,481
Santo Estêvão	31,665		31,665
São Félix	14,801	5,872	8,929
São Filipe	25,343		25,343
São Francisco	11,077		11,077
São Gonçalo	30,830	3,771	27,059
São Sebastião	21,135		21,135
Recôncavo	1,072,452	493,944	578,508

Source: Anuário Estatística do Brasil-1953, Ano. XIV.

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TABLE VIII

AGRICULTURAL LABOR FORCE OF THE MUNICÍPIOS OF THE RECÔNCAVO IN 1940 AND 1950

Município	1940 Agricultural Labor Force	Per cent of Change 1940-1950*	1950 Agricultural Labor Force—Estimated
Alagoinhas	8,922	25	11,152
Cachoeira	4,367	- 3	4,236
Catu	5,395	- 5	5,125
Conceição da Feira	3,132	7	3,351
Conceição do Almeida	10,066	- 7	9,361
Coração de Maria	8,205	3	8,451
Cruz das Almas	8,763	6	9,289
Feira de Santana	26,140	16	30,322
Irará	19,920	- 2	19,522
Itaparica	1,379	10	1,517
Maragogipe	7,513	2	7,663
Muritiba	8,959	15	10,303
Pojuca	2,575	-31	1,777
Salvador	7,697	57**	12,075**
Santo Amaro	25,566	-23	19,686
Santo Estêvão	9,315	20	11,178
São Félix	4,086	6	4,331
São Filipe	10,327	- 2	10,120
São Francisco	2,373	-22	1,851
São Gonçalo	8,872	- 4	8,517
São Sebastião	6,395	4	6,651
Recôncavo	189,967		196,468

*Calculated change in rural population from 1940 to 1950. It has been assumed that the agricultural labor changed at the same rate as the rural population.

**Because of a change in the method of totaling the non-urban population of Salvador, it was not possible to derive the 1940-1950 rural population change in the usual manner. The 1950 figure is the mean of three estimates of increase derived from total population change 1940-1950, rural quadrant change 1940-1950, and per cent of total population in agriculture 1940 projected to 1950. These estimates were, in order, 11,097, 12,517, and 12,700. The rural quadrant is a statistical subdivision of the município which does not necessarily include all the rural areas.

Source: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censo Demográfico—Bahia, Vol. I, and Anuário Estatístico do Brasil-1953, Ano XIV.

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241 464 and plantations, and to a lesser extent, ranchers and vaquêiros (cowboys).[21] Silviculture is not an important occupation in the Recôncavo.

161 162 241 464 634 The mean density of the agricultural labor force for the Recôncavo was 15.7 per square kilometer. Since the distribution is very irregular, this mean density is far from representative of local situations—only six municípios had densities within 10 per cent of the mean. Because of the uneven distribution of cultivation, mean [128] figures for individual municípios, especially the larger ones, are likely to be equally misleading. In the discussion which follows [127] the gross distributions derived from census data have been modified on the basis of field observation and of inferences drawn from related demographic, cartographic, and agricultural information.[22]

161 162 241 464 The density of agricultural workers in the Central Recôncavo (Map 18) is appreciably higher than in the surrounding areas, except in the southwest. This central zone has densities in excess of 20 per square kilometer, and within it are four areas with densities in excess of 25 per square kilometer. Along the border of the Recôncavo, densities usually fall to 10 per square kilometer. However, this is not true of the more densely occupied "bridge" zone which connects the area of heavy concentration in the Recôncavo, south of the Rio Paraguaçu, with the "coffee area" to the southwest beyond the Recôncavo. The map of densities (Map 18) and the dot map (Map 17) of the agricultural labor force suggest that this population segment is clustered in areas which generally have an eccentric location in relation to such centers as Salvador and the Baía de Todos os Santos.

Over 20 per cent of the agricultural workers of the Recôncavo live along the southern, western, and northern extremes of the region,

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161 162 241 464 every section of which is more than 50 kilometers from Salvador, the economic center of the Recôncavo, and also more than 50 kilometers from the geometric center in Santo Amaro. If a line were drawn from the

161 162 241 464 634 cidade of Alagoinhas southwestward to the cidade of Nazaré, the following municípios would fall entirely west of that line: Irará, Coração de Maria, Feira de Santana, São Gonçalo, Conceição da Feira, and Santo Estêvão--all north of the Rio Paraguaçu--and Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, São Félix, São Filipe, and Conceição do Almeida--all south of the Rio Paraguaçu. These 11 of the 21 municípios of the Recôncavo are all more than 50 kilometers from Salvador--all are much farther in terms of land transport. In these eleven municípios live 125,000 of the 196,000 agricultural workers. In part, this eccentricity with respect to Salvador is a result of the shape of the land surface, with the city located at the end of a peninsula. Only one of these 11 municípios, São Félix, lies on tide water, and that at the extreme upper limit of navigation. The others are so arranged that they cannot make optimum use of the central position of the Bay, with its relatively cheap and direct route into the capital.

161 162 241 464 [132] [133] This eccentrically located belt is arcuate in form. It is the demographic representation of the transition zone from forest to scrub forest, which is often also the transition from the Coastal Plain to the Tabular or Crystalline Uplands. The concentration of agricultural labor in this belt is obviously significant from many points of view: social and political as well as economic.

Clustering is a characteristic pattern of Latin American population. The Recôncavo is the chief population cluster and the greatest single concentration of agricultural labor force within the state of

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Bahia. The broad cluster of the agricultural labor force is composed of several major zones of concentration and two minor agglomerations.

(1) The Southwestern Concentration: The most important of these concentrations, in terms of total number of agriculturalists, occupies the southwestern corner of the Recôncavo. This concentration is a major segment of the eccentric belt discussed above. It is located [131] in the Crystalline Uplands and the Intermediate Hills, along the drainage divide between the Rio Paraguaçu and the Rio Jaguaripe. This is an area of tobacco and manioc cultivation. There are some 35,000 agriculturalists in this concentration, which spreads over approximately 1,000 square kilometers in six municípios—São Félix, Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, Conceição do Almeida, São Filipe, and Maragogipe. The cidade of Cruz das Almas lies very near its center.

TABLE IX

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS—SOUTHWESTERN CONCENTRATION

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Município	Distrito	Agricultural Workers 1950
São Felix	São Felix	2,568
	Outeiro Redondo	1,724
Muritiba	Muritiba	3,044
	Cabeças	1,699
Cruz das Almas	Cruz das Almas	6,038
	Sapé	1,845
	Baixa do Palmeira	1,476
Conceição do Almeida	Conceição do Almeida	3,878
	Comércio	2,038
São Filipe	São Filipe	4,931
	Cararipe	2,471
Maragogipe	Guapira	1,169
	Nagé	788
	Coqueiras	1,072
Approximately 1,000 square kilometers		34,741

With about 12 per cent of the Recôncavo's total area, the southwestern concentration includes 18 per cent of its agricultural labor force. In its core there are over forty agriculturalists per [634] square kilometer (the município of São Félix as a whole has 42.05 per square kilometer), and this compact core includes São Félix, northern

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161 162 241 464 [634] São Filipe, northern Conceição do Almeida, southeastern Cruz das Almas, and the southeastern tenth of Muritiba.

The boundaries of this concentration are similar to the boundaries of labor concentrations in other parts of the western Recôncavo. To the southeast the density of the cluster declines sharply across the Intermediate Hills. There are very few fields and few farmers along the estuary of the Paraguaçu, which lies beyond the hills. Much of [311] this land is in forest. To the west the decline in density is even more abrupt. In the dry caatinga beyond the western limits of Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, and Conceição do Almeida there are only a few scattered ranchers and small-scale farmers.

From the core of the concentration the distribution of agricultural workers continues to be relatively dense toward the north and toward the southwest, and this pattern extends across the "bridge" zone and into the coffee area beyond the Recôncavo. Just beyond the Recôncavo, in the middle of the "bridge," is the city and suburban zone of Santo Antônio de Jesus, which has a minor cluster of agricultural workers. The "bridge" follows the forest and scrub-forest transition.

161 162 241 464 131 (2) The Northern Concentration: Though the northern and central clusters of the agricultural labor force of the Recôncavo are less well defined and individually less important than the southwestern cluster, they are major concentrations. In the northern Recôncavo a series of clusters extending through eastern Feira de Santana, Irará, and Coração de Maria are grouped in a rough "u-shaped" pattern. This concentration is the second major element of the eccentric belt of dense agricultural labor. The verticals of the "u" follow agricultural belts along the valleys of two tributaries of the (eastern) Rio Pojuca. This is a zone of Tabular Upland and caatinga vegetation.

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161 162 241 464 131 Because it does not correspond to census divisions, it is difficult to determine the area and population of this "u" zone. Apparently it has about 1,150 square kilometers and about 30,000 agricultural workers (Table X). Maximum densities within this zone are 30 to 40 per square kilometer.

TABLE X

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS--NORTHERN CONCENTRATION

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Município	Distrito	Agricultural Workers 1950
Feira de Santana	Feira de Santana	9,840
	Tiquaruçu	1,725
Coração de Maria	Coração de Maria	4,176
	Itacava	4,332
Irará	Irará	4,130
	Bento Simões	1,675
	Pedrão	2,454
	Ouriçangas	2,683
Approximately 1,150 square kilometers		31,015

The "u-shaped" zone is linked with the southwestern cluster by a belt of moderate population density. This belt, running north to south along the caatinga-forest transition, is followed by the Feira de Santana-Cachoeira railroad.

161 162 241 464 131 (3) The Central Concentration: The central concentration of agricultural labor, in east-central Santo Amaro, western São Sebastião, and São Francisco--the sugar cane zone, is not a part of the eccentric belt discussed above, but rather lies in the heart of the Recôncavo. There are about 6,000 agriculturalists in the 300 square kilometers of this area. The maximum density is about 25 per square kilometer. In distinction to the concentrations discussed above, the central cluster is in the lowlands--the humid Coastal Plain. (see Table XI).

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TABLE XI

161 162 241 464 [634]

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS--CENTRAL CONCENTRATION

Município	Distrito	Agricultural Workers 1950
Santo Amaro	Rio Fundo	1,849
	Inhatá	1,542
	Mata de Aliança	920
São Sebastião	Jacuípe	1,036
São Francisco	São Francisco	804
	Santa Elisa	176
Approximately 300 square kilometers		6,327

(4) The Minor Agglomerations: Minor concentrations of agriculturalists surround two urban centers in the Recôncavo: Salvador and Alagoinhas. Most of the 12,000 agricultural workers in the município of Salvador are grouped either in the northeast--close to the central cluster of the sugar cane zone--or around the capital city. The latter either live in the city or in the sub-urban areas around and between the various urban segments. These sub-urban cultivators primarily work to supply the large urban market. Alagoinhas lies in the midst of relatively unproductive taboleiros. The agri- [245] culturalists who serve its urban market and produce its chief commercial crop--oranges--are gathered compactly in a symmetrical ring around the city.

The concentrations discussed above account for some 80,000 [131] (41 per cent) of the agricultural workers and 3,150 square kilometers (25 per cent) of the area of the Recôncavo. In general, a straight line from the southwestern tip of Conceição do Almeida to the southern tip of Serrinha is the western limit of moderately dense distribution of the agricultural labor force. Beyond this line, in the caatinga of Feira de Santana and Castro Alves, there are few agricultural workers. However, in the caatinga of the município of Santo Estêvão and the adjacent part of Feira de Santana there is a zone with a population density of about 15 per square kilometer--higher than anywhere

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161 else along the western border. This modest concentration, scarcely a
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241 cluster, represents the sum of a number of small agricultural settle-
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[361] ments scattered along the humid slopes of low serras. There are about 12,000 agricultural workers distributed over this area.

161 The distributional pattern of the rest of the Recôncavo can be
162 visualized as a coarse net in which the clusters are linked by areas
131 with population densities of 10 to 20 per square kilometer. There is
241
464 one large hole in this connecting net: along the common border of Cachoeira, São Gonçalo, and Santo Amaro there is a zone with less than ten and sometimes less than five agricultural workers per square
[133] kilometer. This zone, very near to the center of the Recôncavo, for the most part is an area of rough sandy hills bordering the crystalline--here the hills are particularly rugged and the transition zone broad. On three sides--southwest, north, and northeast--this sparsely settled zone is bordered by important clusters of agriculturalists.

161 The agricultural labor force of the Recôncavo is, as has been
162 seen, irregularly distributed. This distribution is highly fluid--
241
464 movement and growth and decline are continuously altering the pattern. The whole region gained about 6,500 agriculturalists between 1940 and 1950, but these statistics do not reflect the extent of local relocation.

161 In the central Recôncavo one município, Santo Amaro, lost
162
241 almost 6,000 agricultural workers between 1940 and 1950, and in three
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634 municípios of the central and eastern Recôncavo, Santo Amaro, São Francisco, and Pojuca, losses exceeded 20 per cent. On the other hand, in three municípios of the uplands of the northern and northwestern Recôncavo--Alagoinhas, Feira de Santana, and Santo Estêvão--there were gains of over 20 per cent. Over all, twelve municípios gained and nine lost agriculturalists; the mean change in the agricultural labor

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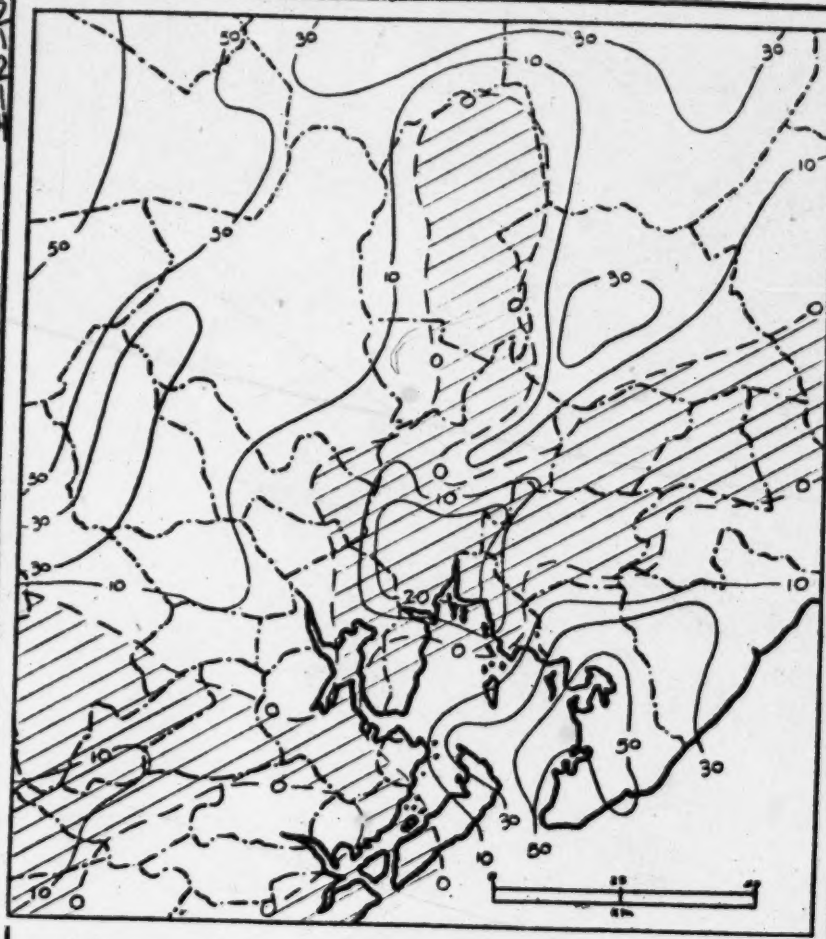

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of Change in the Agricultural Labor Force (Estimated)

and in the Rural Population from 1940 to 1950

Shaded area shows zone of loss of agricultural labor force.

MAP 19

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

161 162 241 464 [634] force of the 21 municípios--without regard to direction of change--was 13 per cent.

In general the area around Salvador and the northeastern and western margins of the Recôncavo gained in agricultural labor force (Map 19). The Central Recôncavo and areas in the north-central, eastern, and southwestern Recôncavo lost agriculturalists between 1940 and 1950. Some of the factors which produced these changes were local; others were identified with the Northeast or with Brazil as a whole.

The growth of cities in the Recôncavo is a manifestation of a nationwide phenomenon. The expanding urban centers create an increasing market for agricultural products which, because of the difficulty of transportation and the lack of food processing facilities, must be supplied primarily from local sources. These expanding markets attract discontented or displaced agriculturalists, who settle as close to the urban center as possible. There is a marked increase in the concentration of agricultural labor around Salvador, Feira de Santana, and Alagoinhas.

731 166 [369] [241] In 1950 and 1951 the urban trend and its agricultural concomitant was re-enforced by a specific Northeastern phenomenon--the flight from the drought (sêca) of the interior. Most of the refugees (flagelados) from the dry sertão settled along the periphery of the Recôncavo. Here, where they could remain close to their cherished sertão, much land was open for squatters. As indicated above, others settled around the urban centers of the Recôncavo caatinga zone--Feira de Santana and Alagoinhas.

241 464 178 166 731 Observations suggest that the greatest relative increases in agricultural labor force from the sertão were in the municípios bordering the Recôncavo on the west and north, where the "normal"

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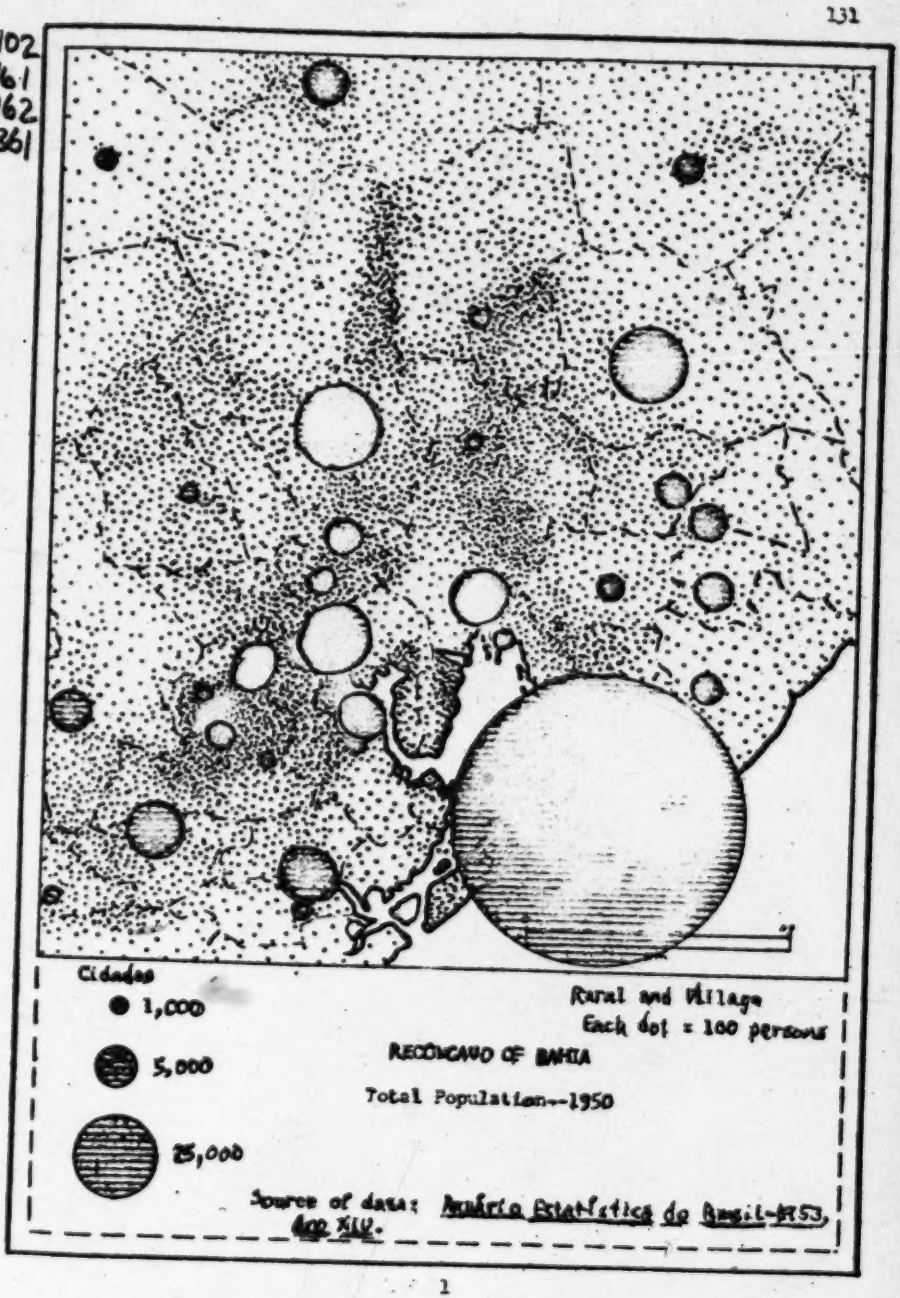

633 tributary area does not extend beyond the state, it does include the coffee and cacao areas, parts of the São Francisco basin, and the sertão of Bahia. It is the focus of transportation and communication, of finance and administration, and of foreign trade for the entire state. Despite the economic, political, and social pre-eminence of Salvador, a few cities operate quasi-independently in a particular function, notably Ilhéus and Itabuna, in the cacao area.

The next largest cities in the Recôncavo--Feira de Santana and Alagoinhas--are much alike in size, location, and function. Feira de [162] Santana--often called merely Feira--with 26,559 people in 1950, was the second largest city of the Recôncavo and of the state. It is the [543] cite of one of the most famous cattle fairs in Brazil.[33] Alagoinhas is smaller--21,289 people in 1950--and less notable historically. It is the third largest city of the Recôncavo and the fifth largest of the state. One of the common functions of both these cities is trans-
633 portation. Feira is the railhead of railroads from Salvador and from
494 Cachoeira and is the junction of the Transnordestina trunk highway
496 which crosses the northeast interior of Brazil, with a highway to Salvador and with the only highway from Bahia to Rio de Janeiro. Alagoinhas is the junction where the railraod (Leste) to Senhor do Bonfim and Juàzeiro--on the Rio São Francisco--branches from the main line from Salvador to Maceió, the capital of the state of Alagoas. Just outside Alagoinhas are the main railroad shops of the Leste line
633 (Viação Férrea Federal Leste Brasileiro). The position of these cities,
369 intermediate between the Recôncavo and the sertão, is reflected in
291 the appearance of the people who are met on their streets--dark
142 Recôncavo agriculturalists in straw hats, patched khaki trousers, and wooden clogs and mestiço vaquéiros (cowboys) from the sertão in
633 their leather hats and vests. Each has a number of postos (garages)
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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

633 495 161 to service the hundreds of trucks and busses which are transforming the transportation of the interior. Both cities reflected their growing function by a great increase in population between 1940 and 1950.

633 [162] Cachoeira-São Félix, 16,697 people in 1950,[34] and Santo Amaro, 12,258 people in 1950, are respectively the fourth and fifth largest cities in the Recôncavo and the eighth and tenth largest cities in Bahia. [443] Both of these cities are important agricultural and marketing centers within the Recôncavo, and both are notable historical centers. Santo Amaro was the great local social and economic focus of the slave-holding engenho sugar culture of the Central Recôncavo. Cachoeira was the major local center of the Western Recôncavo and of the tobacco economy throughout colonial times. While these cities maintain some of their former importance, they are mainly cities of the past, 633 growing at a much slower rate than most urban centers. Both cities 496 lie at or near the head of navigation,[35] and both are on the rail- 494 road which runs from Salvador to the western interior. The construction of the railroad and the development of automotive transport apparently have been important factors in the declining importance of these cities, for it is no longer necessary to trans-ship goods brought down from the interior into boats at these places. The 633 railroads and trucks move the goods directly to Salvador.[36] At present [565] these cities function as local trade centers, as minor industrial centers--Cachoeira-São Félix in tobacco; Santo Amaro in sugar--and as the residences of decadent upper class families whose fortunes declined with the disappearance of the slave-holding agricultural systems.

The other urban centers of the Recôncavo:

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BB 633 464 433 and, to a lesser extent, the rest of the Recôncavo and the state. The relatively large and affluent upper class of Salvador utilizes an extravagantly large number of domestics and of industrial workers--in food, clothing, and construction industries.

BB 178 181 433 161 B BB 161 162 Conclusion. The preservation of traditional values among the people of the Recôncavo is evidence of the survival value of their conservative culture, but the relatively slow growth of the population is indicative of a declining economic role in the nation. Although the population of both Brazil and the Recôncavo grew between 1940 and 1950, Brazil's population increased 26.5 per cent, the Reconcavo's only 16 per cent. In Brazil as a whole, urban populations increased 46 per cent, in the Recôncavo only 34 per cent. The rural population of Brazil increased by 17 per cent; the approximately comparable figure for the Recôncavo was 4 per cent.

Within the Recôncavo the net effect of population changes in the decade 1940 to 1950 was the reduction in rural population from 60 per cent to 54 per cent of the total population (see Table XII). BB 161 162 241 464 Even more serious, from the agricultural point of view, was the decline in the relative number of agricultural workers. Despite the influx of agricultural people from the sertão, the percentage of the total population in the agricultural labor force fell from 21 per cent (1940) to 18 per cent (1950).

BB 633 [162] The greatest single concentration of population in the Recôncavo is the city of Salvador. One-third of the people of the region live in this predominant city, occupying the tip of the peninsula which separates the Baía de Todos os Santos from the sea. In this eccentric peninsular location, Salvador is relatively distant from the main centers of agricultural production and has only circuitous land

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TABLE XII

COMPOSITION OF RECÔNCAVO POPULATION 1940-1950

Year	Total Population	Urban Centers	Rural Population	Agricultural Labor Force
		Absolute		
1940	924,032	368,932	555,100	189,967
1950	1,072,452	493,944	578,508	196,468
Change	+ 148,420	+125,012	+ 23,408	+ 6,501
		Relative		
1940	100 %	40 %	60 %	21 %
1950	100 %	46 %	54 %	18 %
Change		+ 6 %	- 6 %	- 3 %
		Growth of Recôncavo Population		
1940 to 1950	16 %	34 %	4 %	3 %
		Per cent of Total Growth		
1940 to 1950	100 %	84 %	16 %	4 %

connections with the western section of the Recôncavo. On the other hand, its location combines oceanic access with the rest of Brazil, Europe, and the Americas and a direct approach, via the Bay, to all of the central municípios of the Recôncavo.

The major concentrations of rural, agricultural population in the region are in the outer municípios of the Southwestern, Northwestern, and Northern Recôncavo. In the southwest, there is a notable concentration on the Crystalline Uplands. In the northern part of the Recôncavo, the concentrations lie along the dissected edges of the Tertiary taboleiros. Thus most of the agricultural people of the region live in upland areas of deep, porous soils and marginal rainfall. The only major lowland concentration of agricultural people is in the area of Cretaceous clay soils on the Coastal Plain of the Central Recôncavo. The relatively small size of the agricultural population in this area is reflective of the declining role of sugar cane cultivation in the Recôncavo.

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241 464 "Falta de braços"--lack of labor--is a problem much discussed in the Recôncavo. The landholders, merchants, and agronomists interviewed in the region almost invariably complained of the shortage of agricul- [461] tural workers or renters. At the same time, the level of per capita productivity of most agricultural labor remains low, and, as will be seen, there have been few attempts at improvement of agricultural techniques. Neither is there any apparent trend toward higher wages or higher returns on rented properties, which might attract more people to the area. The complaints of labor shortages must be viewed in the context of the systems of production and the economic organization of agriculture, which will be discussed in the following chapters.

241 464 161 162 433 Several basic agricultural problems are prefigured in the analysis of the distribution of the population of the Recôncavo. The concentration of agricultural people in the western and northern municípios of the region corresponds, as will be shown, to a major area of agricultural production. Since this is also an area of marginal and irregular precipitation, it is almost inevitable that the level of production must be uneven and the lives of the agriculturalists unstable. The declining agricultural population of the Central Recôncavo is a symptom of the declining importance of the sugar economy, discussed previously, and of the centralization and rationalization currently under way. The alternating zones with high and low densities of population indicate the nuclear and separate character of the areas of agricultural production, detailed in the pattern of crop regions to be discussed in the chapters which follow.

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Manioc is generally cultivated by hand by small cultivators on land near the huts in which they live--[land] called the mandiocal, very common in the interior of the state. The immediate preoccupation of the sertanejo [countryman of the interior] after the construction of his house is the planting of manioc to secure cheap food--either sweet manioc or bitter manioc, which is transformed into flour. All the family are employed in this work. The industry of flour production is rudimentary and it uses simple processes.

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The cultivation of manioc in Bahia is to provide flour for the local market, since the state does not export this product. The development of this culture is, therefore, closely related to the distribution of population, the most productive zones which are noted on the map corresponding to regions where the population is most dense. It is perfectly reasonable that the most productive region corresponds to the Recôncavo, where there is concentrated the mass of the population of Bahia and a large number of towns and cities, the most important and populous in the state. . . . . it is the region of the most highly developed agriculture in the state; it united a relatively dense rural population with manioc, almost always cultivated on a large scale in the zones of the cultivation of tobacco.[6]

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As is indicated in the foregoing quotation, the distributional pattern of manioc reveals a very close association with the cultivation of tobacco and with certain urban centers. But as might be expected in view of the broad environmental tolerance of manioc, its distribution within the Recôncavo is not directly determined by any particular physical factor. Manioc is grown in all parts of the Recôncavo, excepting only the compact pockets of sugar cane cultivation. Only one município, São Sebastião, grew less than 100 hectares or produced less than 1,000 tons of tubers in 1948. In eight municípios the area of manioc cultivation exceeded 1,000 hectares, and the production was more than 10,000 tons in each. About 28 per cent of the cropland of the Recôncavo was in mandioca.[7]

The major concentration of manioc cultivation (Maps 22 and 23) and production (Maps 24 and 25) is along the eastern edge of the Crystalline Uplands in the Southwestern Recôncavo, where in 1948 three municípios[8] grew 54 per cent of the Recôncavo's 22,472 hectares of

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244 important had less intensive cultivation than the two principal centers
311 mentioned above.

241 Most of the remaining crops of the Recôncavo were either minor
311 subsistence crops of general distribution, not of themselves accounting for any strong concentration of cropland, or were major crops produced in small separated centers of intensive cultivation. The Northwestern Recôncavo corn and bean areas, the coconut plantations of the beach line, the Southwestern Recôncavo sugar cane and coffee areas, and the suburban rings of orange production were zones where the mean intensity of cropland was low or, at best, modest.

There were two zones of very low intensity of cropland which have not been discussed previously because they did not have significant concentrations of individual crops. The belt of Intermediate Hills around
[137] the Central Recôncavo sugar cane area is largely forested, the scene of
[231] very scattered cultivation, livestock enterprises, and extractive industries. This belt was used, as will be seen, to provide fuel and to maintain a livestock reserve for the adjoining sugar cane area. The forested belt between the beach line and the inland areas of sugar cane and tobacco cultivation were used primarily for extensive systems of cultivation and for the small scale production of livestock. Only around the perimeter of Salvador was this forested belt intensively used, for in this area there were orange groves, mandioc gardens, and a few very small truck farms.

241 Expansion of Cropland. There can be little question but that
311 the Recôncavo as a whole was an area of expanding cropland in the 1940's.[31]
178 In no other way could the increased food necessary for the growing popu-
[161] lation be supplied, for there were not then nor are there now external
[434] sources for large quantities of staples, excepting only livestock. There

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249 The physical setting of the tobacco and manioc region is distinc-
244 tive in terms of the particular combination of topography, soils, climate,
311
13 and vegetation which are joined along its crescent axis. The region lies along the semi-circular edge of the interior upland, overlooking the Bay and the Coastal Plain. In the south the fields of manioc and tobacco occupy the upper surfaces of the Crystalline Uplands and the adjacent Intermediate Hills. In the north, cultivation shifts to the summits and upper slopes of the Intermediate Hills, although there is some concentration on the extreme southern edge of the taboleiros. Thus the region occupies the deep flat-lying residual crystalline soils in the south but in the Tertiary soil zone to the north follows the slope lands where there is more rainfall and perhaps better local soils. The close correspondence of this region with the forest and scrub-forest transition has been repeatedly emphasized. A traverse across the tobacco-manioc region anywhere between Conceição do Almeida and Feira de Santana takes one from rough hills with at least scattered patches of broadleaf evergreen forest to flat uplands with cactus, thorny brush, and licuri palms.

249 A comparison of the map of population (Map 21) and of the rela-
244 tionship of tobacco and manioc cultivation (Map 75) points up the neces-
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161 sity for local sources of basic subsistence products. In the Southwest,
361 where rural populations are relatively dense and where there are a number of large villages and towns, manioc tends to be cultivated over a greater area than does tobacco. In the tobacco-manioc region north of the Rio Paraguaçu, where tobacco is usually the leading crop, the density of rural population is lower, and there are no towns and only
[438] a few large villages. Thus there is close relationship between the relative intensity of manioc and the size of the local market.

175 The recent historical pattern of agriculture in the tobacco-manioc
249
244 region can be reconstructed only on a general level. Cachoeira, which

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249 The portion of the sugar cane region north of the Bay is an area
• 161 of relatively dense rural population, with a large number of villages
361 and plantation settlements and one city--Santo Amaro. The remaining areas of the sugar cane region have only moderately dense rural populations and no major urban centers, although the cidade of Nazaré is very close to the southern border of São Filipe.

[128] The tremendous historical significance of the sugar cane region has been discussed at length in the section on the historical setting of the
249 Recôncavo. As far as the sugar cane zone of Santo Amaro, São Francisco,
198 and São Sebastião is concerned, the extent of the region does not appear to have changed very much since colonial times. Old engenhos are found throughout the zone, indicating past cultivation in all areas now in cane. The present usinas cultivate sugar cane intensively clear across the Cretaceous zone, so that it is not likely that the cane area has contracted. However, there are several abandoned engenhos and settlements on the north and east shores of the estuary of the Paraguaçu which seem to indicate that sugar cane cultivation was formerly more extensive around the Bacia do Iguape.

244 The two intensive crop regions of tobacco and manioc and sugar
249 cane, as outlined above, can be viewed as nodal areas which are basic
311 to the regional distinctiveness of the Recôncavo; they are for all practical purposes included totally within its limits; their crop patterns are not duplicated in any nearby area; and they include within their boundaries a very large part--and the most productive part--of its agricultural area.

241 In distinction to the above intra-Recôncavo regions there are
311 at least three crops which overlap the borders of the Recôncavo, forming crop regions which have their most characteristic development in adjoining areas. The Atlantic coast of Salvador and Itaparica supports

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The Atlantic coast of Salvador and Itaparica supports
245 a coconut monoculture--a monoculture which is most strongly developed
311 north of the Recôncavo in Camassari and Mata de São João. The actual area of the coconut monoculture within the Recôncavo is slight, and beyond this monocultural zone, coconut cultivation is rarely significant within the region.

The coconut monoculture lies between the littoral forest and the beach in Itaparica and between the agreste and the beach in Salvador and in the municípios farther north. Except in the município of
[161] [162] Salvador, the rural population of the coconut area is not dense. The
[361] typical settlement of this zone is the fishing village, sprawled over the beach near the mouth of a small stream. Inland the population is scattered.

243 A much more important crop system intrudes upon the Northwestern
244 Recôncavo--the corn-bean system. The nuclear area for this system seems
311 to lie in northern Serrinha and in the municípios bordering upon the state of Sergipe. The area in which over 80 per cent of the cropland was in corn and beans in 1948 overlapped the borders of the Recôncavo into western Feira de Santana and Santo Estêvão--a zone of low serras (Map 76). In this zone the area in corn was from one to two times the area in beans (Map 77).

[134] Most of the soils of this region are either crystalline or Tertiary sands, but the pockets of soil which are actually cultivated are almost invariably heavier and more water retentive than are the sandy upland soils of the taboleiros. The corn-bean region generally
[162] has a small but nucleated rural population and a few medium-sized cidades, which are the only towns of the very large municípios which are charac-
[361] teristic of the area. However, the part of the corn-bean region which overlaps the Recôncavo has a number of villages and hamlets in the valleys of the serras.

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APPENDIX C

Sources of Population Increase

161 In the demographic analysis increase in population generally has been discussed without regard to its source. There are two possible sources: (1) immigration; or (2) growth of local population through the excess of births over deaths.

161 167 Although exact data for immigration into the Recôncavo is lacking, it is probably realistic to disregard sources outside the state of Bahia. The 1950 census gives 144,055 as the number of people in Bahia who were born in other Brazilian states, but shows 430,217 natives of Bahia who were resident in other states. In general, the state of Bahia is the source, not the destination, of a current of migration. The principal origin of this current apparently is the back country of the state, not the Recôncavo. Immigration from other countries is negligible.

It may be inferred that the Recôncavo had a net gain as a result of intra-state migration between 1940 and 1950. The extent to which this gain was permanent is not clear.

163 165 The birth rate of Bahia has been estimated at 42 or 43 per thousand, while the death rate of Salvador has been estimated at about 161 27 per thousand.[1] This suggests that the rate of population increase must be relatively high. On the basis of a population increase of 15 per thousand, the 1940 Recôncavo population of 924,032 would have been 1,060,372 by 1950.

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[1] Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, pp. 285, 295. Since death records are not available in many parts of the interior, death rates ordinarily are available for the capital cities only.

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Sugar cane has proved to grow especially well with the combination of warmth, rain, and massapê, and the soil has been producing the same crop for almost four hundred years. The area of massapê is sharply defined, for at its farthest edges the land rises to the regions of sandy scrub forest and desert which characterize what has been called the "other northeast"[2] or the sertão.

[133]

The surface of the sugar-Recôncavo is characterized by rolling fields cut by shallow valleys. Although the massapê is not subject to erosion, the other soils, where exposed, are. During the rainy winter season much damage is done, especially to the roads, which for the most part follow the non-massapê soils. Underneath the soil of the sugar-Recôncavo there are recently discovered oil deposits. The quantity of oil has not yet been determined, for the explorations are still going on. However, the national government has already begun to exploit the oil, which is close to the surface. Under Brazilian law, subsoil resources belong to the national government and not to the owner of the lands. As a result there has been a small-scale invasion of petroleum workers on the privately owned lands of the sugar-cane planters. To date, this has not interrupted the agricultural routine to any great extent, at least not in Vila Recôncavo. In Conselho (see map of community), where the drilling was first started, the government bought the land from the individuals and the sugar mill corporation owning it and has turned once green fields of sugar cane into bare fields, spotted here and there with oil wells. The former agriculturalists have had to leave the area or become laborers in the oil camps and refinery.

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The Recôncavo is one of the most densely populated regions in Brazil. It is an area of 6,500 square kilometers, with a population of 683,000 in 1940, distributed in 14 counties including the capital. It has an average density of 106 inhabitants per square kilometer,[3] in comparison with the average density of the state of Bahia, which is 7 persons per square kilometer, and with the national average of 5 persons per square kilometer.[4] It must be remembered that these figures include

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TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 13

2. Preston James, Latin America (New York, 1942), p. 411.
3. Aroldo de Azevedo, "Recôncavo da Bahia," Revista da Universidade de São Paulo, I (1950), 14.
4. T. Lynn Smith, Brazil (Baton Rouge, 1947), p. 131.

It must be remembered that these figures include the capital city, the population of which is about 450,000. If this is subtracted from the total population of the Recôncavo, the average density of the Recôncavo is approximately 27 persons per square kilometer.

Vila Recôncavo, the community of this study, is part of a county located 41 kilometers across the bay from Salvador. The community includes the town of Vila Recôncavo, which is the county seat, and the surrounding rural zone. Throughout the study we will be dealing with these two components of the sugar-cane plantation community, sometimes separately and sometimes together.

The only public transportation to the town is by boat from the capital, a three-hour trip across the bay, threading through numerous islands. The major part of the trip is made on remarkably blue water, usually serenely calm but occasionally violently agitated, especially during the winter. One-, two-, and three-masted sailing vessels and an occasional large sailing canoe, the centuries-old methods of transportation in Bahia, are passed on their way into the city, carrying fruit, vegetables, pottery, firewood, fish, tobacco, manioc flour, and sugar to the more than four hundred thousand people of the city, as they have done since the early colonization of the Recôncavo. The only new element in the scene is the small diesel boat which makes the trip back and forth across the bay, outward bound one day and returning the next with the outgoing tide.

As the boat nears the luxuriantly green, palm-crested islands, stopping at several to discharge the mail, passengers, and "city goods," one becomes aware of the feeling of stepping back into the past. Barefoot children are selling oranges, peanuts, and fish; and parrots and parakeets, sometimes doped with rum to make them appear tame. The mailman on the dock receives the sack of mail and gives it to his helper to carry to the post office; the island priest may receive a message or package entrusted to the captain of the boat or may even go aboard to travel to the church on another island. The others on the dock call to friends on the boat and exchange news or else simply watch the activity of docking the boat and the casting off. The people of the islands are light-skinned, although well sunburned. Many of them are vacationers from the city, dressed in brightly colored clothes, for the islands are well-known resorts. The others, barefoot, wearing shorts

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

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county seats, functions which they would still fulfill if they were farther removed from the state capital.

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Finally, and perhaps most important of all, there has been a population shift in the last half century. New centers of population and industry have appeared in the Recôncavo, and there has been a refocusing of commercial activity but no accompanying administrative reform. The old towns, such as Vila Recôncavo, have remained as county seats to carry on administrative duties and the pretense of being the center of municipal activity. Official statistics indicate a great predominance of rural inhabitants in the Recôncavo. Actually, however, much of the population lives in towns. Although these centers are not officially called towns, their pattern of living is urban and not rural. For example, the district of Richão in the county of Purificação reported in the 1940 census 442 urban and suburban inhabitants, and 9,369 rural inhabitants. This gives no indication of the existence of a large factory town which contains almost nine thousand people.

The older towns may in the long run prove to be more permanent than the newer centers, which for the most part are factory towns, for it is possible that some day in the future the factories may close, causing a complete dislocation. In the meantime towns such as Vila Recôncavo are left out of the new developments, without industry or commerce except what can be done on a small scale, such as fishing or the weekly market. Still known as the formal centers of their counties or districts, they retain their local bureaucratic functions.

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Until the second half of the nineteenth century, the county was the principal community organization, and the town of Vila Recôncavo was the major center of attraction for its county. However, because of developments in the sugar industry, this older community structure began to change. These developments, which will be described in the next chapter, had the effect of further isolating the town of Vila Recôncavo from the main streams of life revolving about the sugar industry, which has always been the major feature of life in the Recôncavo. New developments in the industry caused new community alignments, the end results of which have been to leave the formal administrative centers, such as the town of Vila Recôncavo, out of rural community life to a very great degree. In the next chapter the history of the rural area will be discussed, linking together the town and the rural area.

[Class B Families]

[Class C Families]

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[114] plantation during the author's stay in the community, and her father gave her a large wedding. The wedding party left the plantation early in the morning in an oxcart decorated with white crepe paper, and proceeded to the town of Vila Recôncavo. The wedding was held in the Franciscan chapel. The townspeople did not attend the wedding or show any interest in it. Immediately after the ceremony the wedding party started back to the plantation, a five-mile trip. As each plantation nucleus was passed the cart stopped in front of the overseer's house, and small glasses of rum were passed to the guests, and the happiness of bride and groom was toasted.

[342] On arrival at the new brick house which the groom's father had presented to the couple, the bride went into the kitchen
[431] to help her mother and the other women who were preparing the luncheon. Then she passed small glasses of wine to the
[114] guests. With the exception of Dona Sinhá and the author, the guests were all overseers from the neighboring plantations. The female guests were relatives of the bride. The meal con-
[262] sisted of everything the region had to offer: fish, shrimp, salads; roasts of beef, pork, lamb, and turkey; potatoes and farina; followed by fruits, desserts, and coffee. After all the men had eaten and moved into the living room to chat, the bride and the other women sat down in the dining room to eat.

*565 In a sample of eighteen Class B households (eleven urban
585 and seven rural), fifteen couples were married by both civil
583 and religious ceremonies. The remaining three couples were simply living together, a state known in northern Brazil as
[125] amasiado. In Class C a sample of ninety-five households (forty-one urban and fifty-four rural) showed twenty-three couples in the amasiado state, twenty-two married by civil and religious ceremonies, thirty-four married in church only, and eight by civil marriage alone. Eight of the couples sampled did not answer the question. In Class B, one partner in each of the three couples living in the amasiado state was married to someone else whom he or she had left.

585 Nineteen civil marriages were performed in the entire coun-
583 ty (population over 11,000) during the year of 1950. They are shown below by age group. Fifty religious marriages were
[161] performed during the same year throughout the five parishes attended by the Franciscans. Because of differences in the
[127] manner of recording the two types of marriages, however, no correlation could be worked out as to how many marriages were both civil and religious. There are no statistics avail-

3t Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1983 8011 Bahia Brazilians 8011

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but spends most of his time on his plantation. The rest of the municipal officials are, for the most part, people who live in the town, although some of the town councillors are also planters living in the rural area.

162 [161]

The population of the area under study was 4,269 in 1940, and is approximately the same now. Of this number, 1,462 are residents of the town. Of the total of 4, 269, only 17 adults (plus their 16 children) in the rural area are considered locally, and appear to be, pure Caucasoid. They are all plantation owners, and all of them also have residences in the city of Salvador as well as in the rural area of Vila Recôncavo. Living in the town are 14 persons (plus their eight children) who are also considered pure Caucasoid. Three of these are foreign-born priests, one is a doctor, one a dentist, one a state tax collector, one a federal tax collector, and two are young men who have married into town families. The others are the wives and sisters of the men in the group, although one of the wives is suspected of having Negro ancestors since she has to have her hair straightened while the others have theirs curled. There are five families and numerous other individuals in Vila Recôncavo who are called 'white', but whose ancestry is known to all as not being entirely Caucasoid, and in the rural area there are even fewer. These people are known as *brancos da terra* (whites of the land), a term similar to the *brancos da Bahia* of which Pierson speaks.[6]

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The two other elements which are present in the population of Vila Recôncavo and the surrounding rural area are the Negro and the Indian. As might be expected, the Negroid element in the population overwhelmingly predominates, and there are people who represent mixtures of Negro and Caucasoid ancestry in all possible proportions. The American Indian element appears in the people called locally the *caboclos*, generally from the arid north-eastern *sertão*, who are of mixed Indian and Caucasoid descent. These *caatingueiros* (literally, people from the low brush country of *caatinga*) and *sertanejos* (literally, people from the *sertão*) are not usually permanent residents of the Recôncavo. As a rule, *levas* or groups of these *caboclos* of *caatingueiros* come down into the Recôncavo at harvest time, from September to March, to work during the period when the *sertão* is dry and unproductive. Generally also, only men come, and they remain apart from the permanent plantation workers and at the end of the harvest head for home.

565 [582]

In Vila Recôncavo and its rural area, four social strata can be distinguished. First, there is a small upper class of aristocratic whites. This is almost an endogamous class, and intermarriage between first cousins is extremely frequent. The 17 white adults mentioned above are the members of the five families which locally compose this class. These families have been in the area for generations; two of them have been linked through first-cousin marriages

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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ticularly São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro but also Belo Horizonte, Recife, Porto Alegre, and others, including Bahia.[3] For, stimulated by needs which could not be satisfied by importation from Europe or the United States under the conditions existing during two World Wars—and more particularly during the last one—and also by growing internal demand, industrialization has been assuming a continually larger role in what has previously been a predominantly agricultural and pastoral country. Concomitant with this increased industrialization—but not to be confused with it, since, for one thing, it began long before—there also has occurred a rapid and extensive growth of the cities. A high rate of natural increase of the population has meanwhile continued in all parts of the country, so that it is now estimated that approximately two and a half million persons are being added annually to the Brazilian people. New primary, secondary, technological and professional schools have been set up, in an urgent, but not yet adequate attempt—since it began with a huge deficit—to keep up with expanding educational needs.

The emergence of new employment opportunities, espe-

[3] Since the matter may have puzzled some readers, it perhaps should be pointed out that, in keeping with the traditional patterns in such cases during colonization and later, the term "Bahia" was long used to indicate, on the one hand, the Capitania, Province or State of Bahia and, on the other, its capital city, even though the latter had another (and less used) name—Salvador. At the time of our research, the capital city of the State of Bahia—where most of our research was carried on—was widely and commonly known also as "Bahia"; and this name is still being employed. Since this name was used in the original study, it will be retained in this Introduction, in order to avoid possible confusion when consulting different parts of this edition. Incidentally, the spelling of "Bahia" is correctly given here and throughout this book, although, for a time during the "spelling reform" in Brazil (but only temporarily), an effort was made in some quarters to write the name differently.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

Outside the city of Bahia and skirting the rim of All Saints Bay lies the Reconcavo,[7] some sixty miles long and varying from a few to thirty miles wide. Its soil is a cretaceous marl of great thickness, similar to the black gumbo of southern Arkansas and northern Texas, known locally as *massapé* or, in literal translation, "that which sticks to the feet." It is quite fertile and well watered and today appears only slightly impaired after nearly four centuries of cultivation. This is the cane and tobacco area upon which formerly both Bahia's commercial greatness and her need for reliable agricultural (hence slave) labor was based.

The Reconcavo was formerly a center of large landholdings, of a rural aristocracy, of a patriarchal system, and of slavery. Today, cane and tobacco are still cultivated, although the former, and to some extent the latter, languish by reason of the condition of the world-market and the persistence of primitive techniques of production. Although large landholdings are still common, the rural aristocracy is decadent, its prestige having suffered a gradual but persistent decline throughout the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries with the loss of the sugar monopoly, the growth of the coastal towns, and the accompanying increase in prestige of the urban professional classes. The abolition of slavery in the late nineteenth century was the final blow, and absentee ownership is now the predominating pattern. However, the present population is more dense in the Reconcavo than elsewhere in the state outside the city of Bahia and remains to this day markedly negroid in character.

[7] The literal meanings of the Portuguese word *reconcavo* are (1) a bay of semicircular shape and (2) the environs of a city. These two meanings appear to have fused in the Bahian use of the term.

[SALVADOR]

/21 cont./

*563 565 829 the Bahians congregate together or avoid one another much more in terms of their social rank than of their color or their race.

Crossbreeding is not forbidden by any law and comes up against [656] [626] the disapprobation of opinion only to the extent that it affects the structure of classes firmly established in the country: upper strata made up almost exclusively of Whites, that is to say, persons of white phenotype or at least "socially white," lower strata made up chiefly of colored people; a classification which makes classes and racial types approximately coincide, without, however, making them identical.

175 *563 From the early days of Portuguese colonization there has been a large number of colored persons in Bahia. In the beginning the [595] colonists mixed largely with the tupi /Tupi/ Indian women of the region, living with them in a state of concubinage and often [567] polygamy. Slavery having been abolished in the first half of the [641] seventeenth century for the aborigines, and civil and political rights having been granted them a short time afterward, cross- [829] breeding continued through marriage. Thus, today a large number of morenos explain their dark color by boasting about some ancestor pegado a dente de cachorro, that is to say, captured like an animal that one hunts in the virgin forest in the wild state. [161] But the number of natives decreased rapidly and had little influence on the formation of the Bahian type. The opposite /22/ [167] occurred with the Africans brought by the thousands and thousands [567] to work on the sugar-cane plantations. The crossbreeding of Portuguese and Brazilians with Africans and Blacks born in Brazil was made possible and even favored by different factors, among them the scarcity of white women in the initial period, the slave system, the laxness of social control with regard to male sexual behavior, the physical and psychological charms of black women, in particular the minas Blacks, natives of the Costa da Mina in [829] the western Sudan. It was commonly said at that time that, in order to see beautiful Negresses, it was necessary to go to Bahia (1):

1. F. Biard, Deux années au Brésil /Two years in Brazil/, Paris, 1862.

5: Azevedo--27 D, Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[SALVADOR]

/22 cont./

175 a European traveler describes them as gigantic women with the
*563 opulent figures of ancient goddesses carved in blocks of black
[829] marble, who attracted attention by their "wealth of incomparable vigor" (2).

2. A. d'Assier, op. cit., p. 196.

These were the women whom the Whites preferred as concubines.
[829] Certain types of mulattresses and of morenas, especially when they combined the traits of the two races from which they sprang, were also very much sought after by the Whites.

*563 None of the other Brazilian States that have a large number of Blacks presents as high a percentage of crossbreeding as Bahia. This proves that this State has been the most important Afro-
[567] European ethnic melting-pot of Brazil. In truth, it is in our city and in its environs, an ancient center of concentration of slaves, that the crossing has taken place with the greatest intensity. The
*563 ratio between the number of Blacks and of métis, according to
162 the 1940 census, is 1 to 2.55 in Bahia, whereas in States such as Minas Gerais, which has relatively the same number of Blacks, it is only 1 to 1; in other States, such as Maranhão and Piauí, which have, respectively, 27 o/o and 32 o/o Blacks, this ratio
[829] is 1 to 0.93 and 0.71. This results from the fact that in Bahia the factors of segregation and of discrimination that lie heavily on the darkest of its inhabitants are much less than in the other
175 States. The proportion of pure Blacks began to decrease from
*563 the second half of the last century, slave traffic having been
567 forbidden, and especially from 1888, the date of the definitive
161 abolition of slavery, when numerous ex-slaves emigrated to the more prosperous regions of southern Brazil. At present, unfavor-
*563 able social and economic factors influence the conditions of life,
161 the birth and mortality rates of this group, and explain its progressive diminution (3).

[113] 3. Thales de Azevedo, Civilização e mestiçagem /Civilization and Crossbreeding/, Livr. Progresso Edit., Bahia, 1951, p. 63.

[SALVADOR]

/24 cont./

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Year	Percentage of ethnic types		
	Whites	"Pardos"	Blacks
1897	32.61	29	38.39
1907	32.71	34.74	32.55
1917	32.81	39.55	27.64
1927	32.91	43.61	23.48
1938	33.02	47.37	19.61
1940 (1)	28.74	51.11	20.13

[114]

1. Figures of the national census, which differ from those relating to mortality because of a difference of evaluation in the classification of the types.

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The rapid growth of the white group, through the incorporation of "whitened" métis, and thanks to the better social and economic conditions of the upper strata of the population, to which the vast majority of the descendants of Europeans belong, means that in the total figure, in relation to the Whites the proportion of colored persons is decreasing at the same time that the proportion of métis is increasing, which is clearly shown by the census:

Year	Proportions in relation to one White	
	Colored persons	"Pardos"
1872	3.16	1.88
1890	2.84	2.70
1940	2.57	2.55

*563 The intensity of crossbreeding is actually so great that, as a well-known intellectual of Bahia notes, "the autochthonous fino White is no more than a historic memory" (3).

[113]

3. Prado Valadares, Remirando o cáos /Again Considering the Chaos/, Bahia, 1933.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1

BB 175 249 in mind when they founded the colony of Bahia.

> Already enough was known of Brazil to hope that sugar cane would do well in it. The hot and humid climate of its coast would be highly favorable, and as for hands for work, they counted mainly on the indigenous people who, as we have seen, were relatively numerous and peaceful on the coast. These perspectives were completely confirmed; the one factor of which they were ignorant before the attempt—the quality of the soil--revealed itself as supremely propitious, at some points at least, on the extensive coast. This was particularly the case in the extreme northeast, on the coastal plain occupied by the state of Pernambuco and on the contours of the Baía de Todos os Santos (the Recôncavo Baiano, as it would be called). These were not the only ones: in a general way all the Brazilian coast paid homage to sugar cane.
>
> It was on this base that the effective occupation and colonization of Brazil was initiated.[7]

BB [134]

By the end of the sixteenth century sugar cane cultivation had spread at least as far as its present western and southern limits in the Recôncavo, on the Paraguaçu and Jaguaripe rivers. Forty engenhos were engaged in the production of sugar.[8] The engenhos were the nuclei of the economic organization of the colony. The cultivation of sugar cane and the milling of sugar demanded a labor force too large to be recruited from among the indigenous Indians.[9] This labor force was supplied from the slave pens of Africa--chiefly on the Guinea Coast and in Angola. The city of Salvador, which had the advantage of a commodious port and a central location among the slave markets of Brazil, was the chief point of debarkation for these Africans.[10]

BB 175 249 464 567

BB [504]

Estimates of the number of slaves imported and the number who remained in Bahia vary over a wide range. In 1583, when the population of Brazil was estimated at 57,000 people, 25,000 were listed as whites, 18,000 as civilized Indians, and 14,000 as Negro slaves. The Negroes were concentrated mainly in Bahia and Pernambuco.[11] It seems likely that in Bahia the number of Negroes was at least equal to the number of whites. These two racial groups and their mixed-blood derivatives

B 175 161 162

BB 162 563 [174]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

162 563 compose most of the population of the Recôncavo today. In 1940 the population of the Centro-Litoral of Bahia--the census area most closely corresponding to the Recôncavo--had the following composition: white, 22 per cent; black, 29 per cent; and others, predominately mulatto, 49 per cent.[12]

175 439 567 436 276 [273] [249] The purchase of large quantities of slaves required the production of a commodity which could be used as exchange in Africa. The indigenous tobacco proved eminently suitable for this purpose. Although rum apparently was used also in this trade, tobacco became the essential source of exchange for the slave traffic.[13] Bahia was the main area of tobacco production, and probably most of this production was localized in the Recôncavo.[14]

175 244 433 [567] The initial period of settlement saw also the incorporation of manioc[15] into the agricultural economy as a staple. Like tobacco, it was an indigenous crop. Thus one indigenous crop was adopted to purchase slaves in Africa and another to feed them in Brazil. By 1587 manioc apparently was being cultivated on a moderate scale in Bahia.[16] A recurring theme in the history of the Recôncavo is the shortage of this essential foodstuff.

241 262 175 433 In addition to the principal crops--sugar, tobacco, and manioc--a number of lesser agricultural products were important in the early history of the Recôncavo. Corn, beans, and bananas were grown on a small scale and used to supplement the manioc diet. Other diversi-
231 fications of the diet were provided by meat and fish. Cattle were maintained to draw the ox carts and to power many of the cane mills. For lighter tasks asses and mules were used.

178 249 433 Out of this complex of Portuguese settlers and Negro slaves, of old world and new world crops, there developed certain characteristic agricultural enterprises. The engenho--old world in the origin of its

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 In
433 contemporary Bahia chronic shortages of staple foods, particularly
178 manioc, are characteristic of the zones of commercial agriculture.

175 The equipment and technology of the engenhos was primitive.
249 The cane was transported on the backs of mules or on ox carts to the
492 mill where it was crushed in a crude press sometimes turned by water power but usually by animal- or even man-power. The cane juice was evaporated in large iron caldrons which were heated by fire made from wood. This type of processing was in general use in the Recôncavo for several centuries and still persists in some areas of the extra-Recôncavo
[464] backlands. The engenhos were operated almost exclusively with slave
[567] labor. Most of the slaves of Bahia are thought to have come from the
[177] Guinea Coast of Africa. These "Mina" Negroes[18] had a relatively sophisticated cultural inheritance from Africa and undoubtedly made substantial contributions to the cultural development of Bahia.[19]

175 The Negroes were introduced when Indian slaves failed to pro-
249 vide the necessary labor supply, but they were rarely available in
464 sufficient numbers and at a low enough cost to prevent chronic labor
567 shortages. Falta de braços (literally, lack of arms) has been a perennial concern in the Recôncavo no less than elsewhere in Brazil.
[162] The importation of hundreds of thousands of Negroes into Brazil--of which certainly a considerable number were settled in the Recôncavo--did not solve the problem.[20] In the early period most engenhos had from about 80 to 100 slaves, but by the eighteenth century some had as many as 1,000.[21]

175 From the beginning of settlement there was extensive miscegna-
563 tion. The Portuguese settlers were predominately male, and they bred
567 on a large scale with both Indian and Negro slave women. Some of the mestizo and mulatto children--chiefly the latter in the Recôncavo--retained the slave status of their mothers. Others were freed and sometimes occupied favored positions in their fathers' households.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 249 567 the offspring of master and slave and sometimes were considered as [563] members of the household.

A set of feudalistic inter-relations developed in the society, loosely defining the responsibilities and privileges of master and slave. Ideally the slave had the privilege, almost the right, to appeal to the master in person for assistance and advice. Manumission and the granting of the right to purchase freedom were common. At the [466] same time, the economic system was based upon involuntary labor. The slave was exploited, and the fruit of his toil went to maintain the luxurious existence of the small upper class.

175 565 The small freemen occupied a very inferior social and economic position in this society. In the cities they became tradesmen or [463] [554] craftsmen, occupations without status. In the country some were petty dependents of the engenho, others established themselves as small cultivators. Since the sugar cane plantations dominated the central Recôncavo, it seems reasonable to assume that the small holders were segregated mainly in the outer zone.

175 161 162 In 1819--during the florescence of the Recôncavo--the population of the comarca (district) of Bahia was 362,503. Most of this population was centered in the Recôncavo--200,000 in the lowlands north of the Bay--the sugar cane area--and 77,503 in the western uplands around Cachoeira--the tobacco area.[31] At this time the total population of Bahia was estimated at 592,908 and that of Brazil as between 175 4,000,000 to 4,500,000.[32] Salvador, with a population somewhere 633 162 between 100,000 and 130,000, was the largest city in Brazil and remained so until 1830.[33] The class and ethnic composition of the 175 563 population of this period is not clearly indicated. By some estimates, 565 567 over half of the population of Bahia was slave and over three-fifths

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1

BB 175 of the twentieth century there were four cigarette factories and twelve 277 472 cigar factories in the Recôncavo.[47]

BB 647 As was characteristic for other products in Brazil, a semi-249 autonomous government organization was set up to stabilize the tobacco 654 industry in Bahia--the Instituto Bahiano do Fumo (Bahian Institute of 656 Tobacco). Founded in 1935, the Instituto attempts to stimulate the production and improvement of techniques and quality, supervise marketing through a grading system, set minimum prices, and control export of leaf tobacco. Although the Instituto has not succeeded in changing significantly the techniques of the tobacco industry, it has been reasonably successful in maintaining production and price.

BB 175 Just as Bahia had been displaced from its leading position 178 within Brazil, so in turn was the Recôncavo displaced from its exalted 249 position within the state. Tobacco replaced sugar as Bahia's leading 245 commercial product in the nineteenth century, but forfeited its position to cacao in the twentieth century. The replacement of sugar by tobacco was primarily a shift within the Recôncavo, but the rise of cacao brought to the fore Bahia's southern coast. In one sense, however, the Recôncavo retained its old centrality--Salvador remains today the leading political and economic focus of the state, even for the cacao trade.

BB 433 The continued importance of the Recôncavo in Bahia has been 249 partially the result of the vested interests of the sugar and tobacco BB 161 systems. In addition, the Recôncavo remains today the leading center 162 of population in Bahia, despite its relative decline. In 1872 the Recôncavo had at least 450,000 out of a total state population of 1,379,616. Thereafter the position of the Recôncavo declined, so that by 1940 only one-fourth of the almost four million people of the state lived in this region. However, the compact population

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

161 distribution and the vested political and economic interests of the
162 Recôncavo allowed it to continue as the dominant region of the state.

177 The Recôncavo has remained a conservative area in Brazil, and
178 within the state it seems to exert a strong traditional influence. On
433 a national scale, however, the traditional values which are preserved
249 in Bahian culture have been overridden by the aggressive dynamism of
565 São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. Moreover, the economic core of tradition
181 in the Recôncavo--the sugar-producing upper class--is being progressively infiltrated and dominated by the new economic interests of the Central-South. The effects of these new economic interests are manifest in the administrative and labor problems of the sugar industry in the present decade.[48] New economic groups also are coming to the fore in the tobacco industry.

The technological revolution in the sugar industry and the emergence of a new "progressive" upper class have weakened but not destroyed the traditional orientation of the Recôncavo. The cultural patterns which have so successfully resisted basic change for almost four centuries will not easily give way. However, the issues have been joined, and already the old technology, the old upper class, and the old inter-class social fabric have been profoundly disturbed. In the long run it seems inevitable that the cultural patterns of the Recôncavo will have to accommodate many new values.

177 Not all the new social forces are restricted to the upper
178 class. More and more new technology, such as the automobile, new
565 political and social institutions, such as labor unions, and new ideas
181 from the South, brought through newspapers, radios, and travelers, have affected the lives of the lower classes. While the access of this group to new ideas is more limited than that of the upper class,

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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[27]Prado, op. cit., p. 87.

BB [113] [28]Prado, op. cit., p. 97.

[29]See section by Pedro Calmon in Curious and Interesting Facts Concerning the First European Settlement Made in the New World, pp. 5-6.

[30]The number of people who went abroad must always have been small. The upper class as a whole seems to have been extremely provincial, so that the few cosmopolitans were very conspicuous.

[31]Amaral, op. cit., I, 91-92, citing Pizarro, Balbi, Manoel Antonio de Souza, and Spix and Martius for population data of the colonial period.

[32]Amaral, op. cit., I, 73.

[33]See section by Pedro Calmon in Curious and Interesting Facts Concerning the First European Settlement Made in the New World, pp. 9. At this time Rio de Janeiro, which had been the national capital since 1763, became also the largest city.

BB [162] [34]Amaral, op cit., I, 91, after Balbi, gives the following breakdown [1819]

	Total	Slave	Negro	Mulatto
White	192,000			
Indian	13,000			
Mulatto-Free	80,000			80,000
Mulatto-Slave	35,000	35,000		35,000
Negro-Free	49,000		49,000	
Negro-Slave	489,000	489,000	489,000	
	858,000	524,000	538,000	115,000

after Pizarro [1822]

Free	419,432
Slave	173,476
Total	592,908

[35]Amaral, op. cit., II, 85.

EB [563] [463] [36]The Paulista bandeirantes were wandering cultivators, herdsmen, and slave raiders who moved out of São Paulo to penetrate into most of the interior of Brazil south of the Amazon Valley. Their society was, in comparison with that of the Recôncavo, equalitarian.

EB [635] [37]The Central-South as used here includes the states of Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais, and São Paulo.

[38]Amaral, op. cit., II, 86.

[39]Ibid., p. 98.

[40]The discussion of the twentieth century reorganization of the sugar industry and of the tobacco industry outlines the general lines of development. A fuller discussion will follow in the chapters on crops and cropland distribution (Chapter V), crop regions and systems (Chapter VI), and marketing, transportation and processing of agricultural products (Chapter X).

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CHAPTER IV

POPULATION

162 [161] Introduction. In 1950 there were about one million people living in the 12,500 square kilometers of the Recôncavo--0.15 per cent of Brazil's area and about 2 per cent of its total population.[1] A more meaningful comparison is one with the effectively occupied coastal belt extending from Maranhão to Rio Grande do Sul, including the interior state of Minas Gerais.[2] The Recôncavo occupies 0.4 per cent of the area of these states and has a little over 2 per cent of the people.

[361] The relatively modest size of this population does not reflect adequately the great historical importance of the Recôncavo. The compact distribution and cohesion of this settlement make it a significant concentration of the people of modern Brazil.

161 162 The Recôncavo is the foremost nucleus of settlement in the state of Bahia in both the historical and purely demographic sense. With its one million people, it had in 1950 almost 86 people per square kilometer. There were 3,800,000 people in the rest of the state, but there was no concentration which had a size and density equal to that of the Recôncavo. The only other areas with even approximately equal density--Santo Antônio de Jesus and Nazaré--were contiguous with the 633 162 Recôncavo. The chief city of the Recôncavo, Salvador, was fourteen times the size of any other urban center in Bahia, and of the five next most populous cities--with a population range of 20,000 to 30,000--two were in the Recôncavo.[3]

128 The discussion which follows is divided into two parts. First the general character of the population will be analyzed in terms of general cultural development, race, class, family, and economic

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TABLE V

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THE STATE OF BAHIA AND THE RECÔNCAVO MUNICÍPIOS

	Per cent of Total Population - 1940		
	Whites	Blacks	Others
State of Bahia	28.74	20.13	51.11
Central Recôncavo:			
Santo Amaro	10.47	37.59	51.94
São Francisco	14.02	29.96	56.01
São Sebastião	12.74	32.76	54.50
Cachoeira	11.71	38.51	49.78
Northern Recôncavo:			
Coração de Maria	15.58	37.18	47.23
Irará	12.50	34.07	53.43
Alagoinhas	22.88	24.41	52.69
Northwestern Recôncavo:			
Feira de Santana	12.16	28.31	59.53
São Gonçalo	10.63	48.19	41.18
Conceição da Feira	15.24	47.46	37.16
Santo Estêvão	17.06	31.38	50.95
Southwestern Recôncavo:			
Muritiba	10.48	40.48	49.03
Cruz das Almas	16.34	36.84	46.82
Conceição do Almeida	19.63	30.54	49.83
São Filipe	25.32	30.66	44.02
São Félix	15.78	33.33	50.87
Eastern Recôncavo:			
Catu	23.78	22.58	53.64
Pojuca	22.69	21.90	55.41
Southern Recôncavo:			
Maragogipe	37.40	23.05	39.53
Itaparica	14.60	26.99	58.38
Salvador	35.08	26.33	38.54

Note: The difference between the totals of these figures and 100 per cent consists of a very small percentage of Orientals.
Source: Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, 1940. Rio de Janeiro, 1949.

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From the above table (Table V) it can be seen that "whites" compose less than one-third of the total population of all Recôncavo municípios except Maragogipe and Salvador. Over one-fourth of the population is classified as "black" in all but the three municípios of Alagoinhas, Maragogipe, and Catu. Those persons classified as "others"--mulatos and mestiços--account for 40 to 60 per cent of the population

563 in all municípios but three--Maragogipe, Salvador, and Conceição da
162 Feira. The variations between the individual municípios reflect:
634 (1) concentrations of Negroes in the sugar cane area; and (2) concentrations of mixed-bloods, some of which are mestiços, on the inland borders of the Recôncavo and around the sugar zone. Salvador has a relatively larger white group--35 per cent--and a lower proportion of mixed-bloods--38 per cent.

563 With the possible exception of the prevailing white upper class,
565 no significant cultural segment of Recôncavo society can be defined in racial terms. The lower class is composed of Negroes, mixed bloods, and whites--it is an economic, not a racial unit. The upper class is predominantly white, but this primarily reflects the historical economic advantages of the white people and only incidentally the social advantages of a lighter skin. Given wealth, dark-skinned people enter the upper class with little--but nevertheless perceptible--difficulty on account of their racial background. Baianos say "a rich man is not a Negro." If a Negro or mulato is wealthy, many people think of him as being light-skinned. The cultural range between the upper and lower class in Recôncavo society is great. Neither the simpler cultural system of the lower classes nor the sophisticated upper class culture is associated with race per se.[9]

565 Class Differences. Recôncavo society is characterized by a strongly developed class structure and little vertical social mobility. In a recent anthropological survey of class in Brazil, "one's income, the kind of work one does, one's education, one's family (in varying degrees) and finally, one's physical [i.e. racial] appearance" were the main criteria used.[10] The study made by Hutchinson of a small community in the Central Recôncavo sugar cane area in 1950-51 distinguished four social strata.[11] Among the findings of the study were the following:

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Five families, out of a total community population of 4,269, composed the aristocratic upper class. All five were plantation-owning families, resident on their fazendas or engenhos. All were closely linked either to each other or to other aristocratic families in the sugar-cane area and in Salvador by marriage [and were linked through these to the national Brazilian upper class]. All were relatively well educated, and most of the males had university degrees in law, engineering, or medicine. All were of Caucasoid appearance.

[871]

The second class consisted of local bureaucrats, plantation administrators, sugar-mill technicians, merchants, and professional people of the only small town (cidade, a sort of county seat). For the most part they were descendants of local people. The educational range was from university educated doctors to illiterates. Members of this class included pure Caucasoids, brancos da terra (whites of the land, or whites with known or suspected Négro ancestors) mulattoes, and some Negroes. This was called a local upper class to distinguish it from the regional, aristocratic, upper class.

[871]

The third and most numerous class was that of "the people" (gente). This was the class of those who did physical work. They were plantation and mill workers, craftsmen, and fishermen. In the urban segment of this class, in the cidade, there was a fairly continuous gradation of standing within this class, with each occupational group occupying a defined social position. In the agricultural segment there is also a definite heirarchy. The feitor (foreman) and the vaquéiro (cowboy) form an upper level. On the basis of the sequence of promotion and the degree of authority elsewhere in the sugar zone, the balançéiro or weigh master also belongs in this group. The bulk of the plantation workers form the next

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Economic Orientation of the Population. The Baianos of the Recôncavo are predominately an agricultural people. This is true not only of the actual cultivators and the associated economic classes of the countryside, villages, and towns, but also in a sense of the almost 350,000 urban peoples of Salvador. As a result of longstanding economic interdependence and continuous travel and migration back and forth, the associations of the people of Salvador with the soil are compelling and personal.[18] In their agricultural orientation the people of the Recôncavo are typical of the general Brazilian population. Even with the inclusion of Salvador, with its relatively large number of domestic and industrial workers, 47 per cent of the male workers of the Recôncavo were classified as agricultural laborers, whereas for the nation as a whole the comparable figure was 57 per cent, and for the United States, 31 per cent.[19] In the Recôncavo, if Salvador is disregarded, agricultural workers (with hunters and fishers) composed 65 per cent of the total male working population.

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Agriculture is even more important than the above figures indicate, for a large share of the remaining population of the Recôncavo is occupied with processing and marketing agricultural products, supplying the agriculturalists with goods and with credit, or serving indirectly the needs of agriculture. Thus it is evident that life and livelihood in the Recôncavo is essentially dependent upon agriculture. The agricultural orientation of the Recôncavo is reflected in the economic roles of individuals and classes, but also in the preoccupation of the people with matters of soil, climate, crops, and land value. In Salvador the price and market for agricultural products are commonplace subjects of discussion, and throughout the region merchants and businessmen observe the weather and conditions of the crops with interest and, on many occasions, with anxiety.

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128 Demography of the Recôncavo. The discussion of the composition and distribution of the population in the Recôncavo which follows is intended primarily as a basis for the study of agricultural phenomena. As such it is concerned with those population elements which are important in the production and distribution of agricultural products and in the servicing of the agricultural economy. The agricultural labor force is therefore the primary object of analysis, while the remaining population elements receive secondary consideration.

128 162 241 464 369 The population of the Recôncavo has been divided into two segments: (1) the rural population of the countryside and villages, which includes those engaged in direct agricultural production and those with a direct service or dependency relationship to agriculture; and (2) the urban population of the towns and cities, which has an indirect service or dependency relationship to agricultural production. (Table VI). The rural population has been subdivided in order to distinguish the agricultural labor force, consisting of those in direct agricultural production as workers or as administrators, from the service and dependent groups.[20] The accompanying table (Table VII) relates the area, total population, urban and rural population, and agricultural labor force of the 21 municipios of the Recôncavo.

241 464 [162] Agricultural Labor Force. Conceived in the narrowest sense, the basic human resource for agricultural production in the Recôncavo consists of the energy and skill of 196,000 agriculturalists--the agriculture labor force (Table VIII). In census terminology these are people ten years old or over who consider their principal occupation as that of employer, employee, or worker in crop cultivation (agricultura), animal husbandry (pecuária), or silviculture. In the Recôncavo these people are primarily cultivators and operators of farms

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 112]

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TABLE VI

TOTAL, URBAN, AND RURAL POPULATION OF THE MUNICÍPIOS OF THE RECÔNCAVO IN 1950

Município	Total Population	Urban Population (Urban Centers with Manufacturing)	Rural Population (Total minus Urban Population)
Alagoinhas	52,007	21,283	30,724
Cachoeira	26,979	10,825	16,154
Catu	16,437		16,437
Conceição da Feira	10,532		10,532
Conceição do Almeida	25,407		25,407
Coração de Maria	20,256		20,256
Cruz das Almas	32,276	6,758	25,518
Feira de Santana	107,205	26,559	80,646
Irará	46,711		46,711
Itaparica	21,433		21,433
Maragogipe	36,868	9,744	27,124
Muritiba	31,605	7,452	24,153
Pojuca	6,911		6,911
Salvador	417,235	389,422	27,813
Santo Amaro	85,739	12,258	73,481
Santo Estêvão	31,665		31,665
São Félix	14,801	5,872	8,929
São Filipe	25,343		25,343
São Francisco	11,077		11,077
São Gonçalo	30,830	3,771	27,059
São Sebastião	21,135		21,135
Recôncavo	1,072,452	493,944	578,508

Source: Anuário Estatística do Brasil-1953, Ano. XIV.

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TABLE VII

RELATIVE POPULATION OF THE MUNICÍPIOS OF THE RECÔNCAVO IN 1950

Município	% of Area of Recôncavo	% of Total Population of Recôncavo	% of Urban Population of Recôncavo	% of Rural Population of Recôncavo	% of Agricultural Labor Force of Recôncavo
Alagoinhas	12	5	4	5	6
Cachoeira	3	3	2	3	2
Catu	3	2		3	3
Conceição da Feira	1	1		2	2
Conceição do Almeida	2	2	1	4	5
Coração de Maria	2	2		4	4
Cruz das Almas	2	3		4	5
Feira de Santana	17	10	5	14	15
Irará	11	4		8	10
Itaparica	2	2		4	1
Maragogipe	3	3	2	5	4
Muritiba	3	3	2	4	4
Pojuca	3	1		1	1
Salvador	6	39	79	5	6
Santo Amaro	9	8	2	13	10
Santo Estêvão	6	3		5	6
São Felix	1	1	1	2	2
São Filipe	3	2		4	5
São Francisco	2	1		2	1
São Gonçalo	4	3	1	5	4
São Sebastião	4	2		4	3

Calculated from Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, No. 8 and Anuário Estatística do Brasil-1953, Ano XIV.

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TABLE VIII

AGRICULTURAL LABOR FORCE OF THE MUNICÍPIOS OF THE RECÔNCAVO IN 1940 AND 1950

Município	1940 Agricultural Labor Force	Per cent of Change 1940-1950*	1950 Agricultural Labor Force--Estimated
Alagoinhas	8,922	25	11,152
Cachoeira	4,367	- 3	4,236
Catu	5,395	- 5	5,125
Conceição da Feira	3,132	7	3,351
Conceição do Almeida	10,066	- 7	9,361
Coração de Maria	8,205	3	8,451
Cruz das Almas	8,763	6	9,289
Feira de Santana	26,140	16	30,322
Irará	19,920	- 2	19,522
Itaparica	1,379	10	1,517
Maragogipe	7,513	2	7,663
Muritiba	8,959	15	10,303
Pojuca	2,575	-31	1,777
Salvador	7,697	57**	12,075**
Santo Amaro	25,566	-23	19,686
Santo Estêvão	9,315	20	11,178
São Félix	4,086	6	4,331
São Filipe	10,327	- 2	10,120
São Francisco	2,373	-22	1,851
São Gonçalo	8,872	- 4	8,517
São Sebastião	6,395	4	6,651
Recôncavo	189,967		196,468

*Calculated change in rural population from 1940 to 1950. It has been assumed that the agricultural labor changed at the same rate as the rural population.

**Because of a change in the method of totaling the non-urban population of Salvador, it was not possible to derive the 1940-1950 rural population change in the usual manner. The 1950 figure is the mean of three estimates of increase derived from total population change 1940-1950, rural quadrant change 1940-1950, and per cent of total population in agriculture 1940 projected to 1950. These estimates were, in order, 11,097, 12,517, and 12,700. The rural quadrant is a statistical subdivision of the município which does not necessarily include all the rural areas.

Source: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censo Demográfico--Bahia, Vol. I, and Anuário Estatístico do Brasil-1953, Ano XIV.

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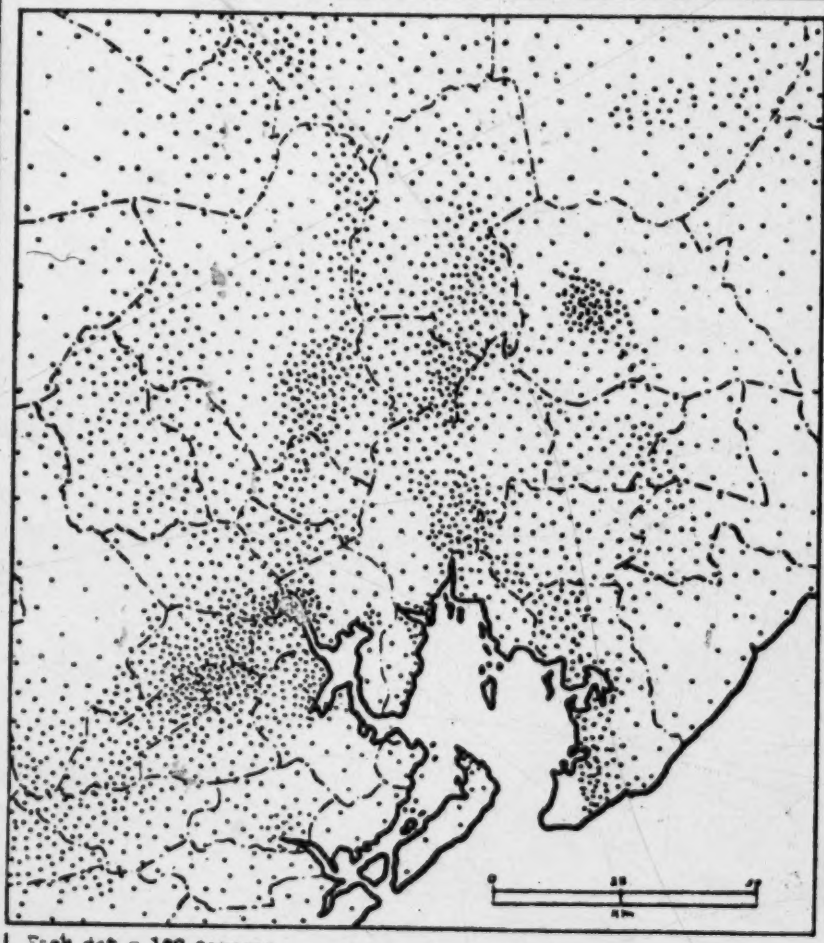

Each dot = 100 persons

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Agricultural Labor Force--1950

(Estimated)

Data estimated from Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censo Demográfico--Bahia, Vol. I, and (for 1950 data) Anuario Estatistico do Brasil-1953, Ano XIV.

MAP 17

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954) 1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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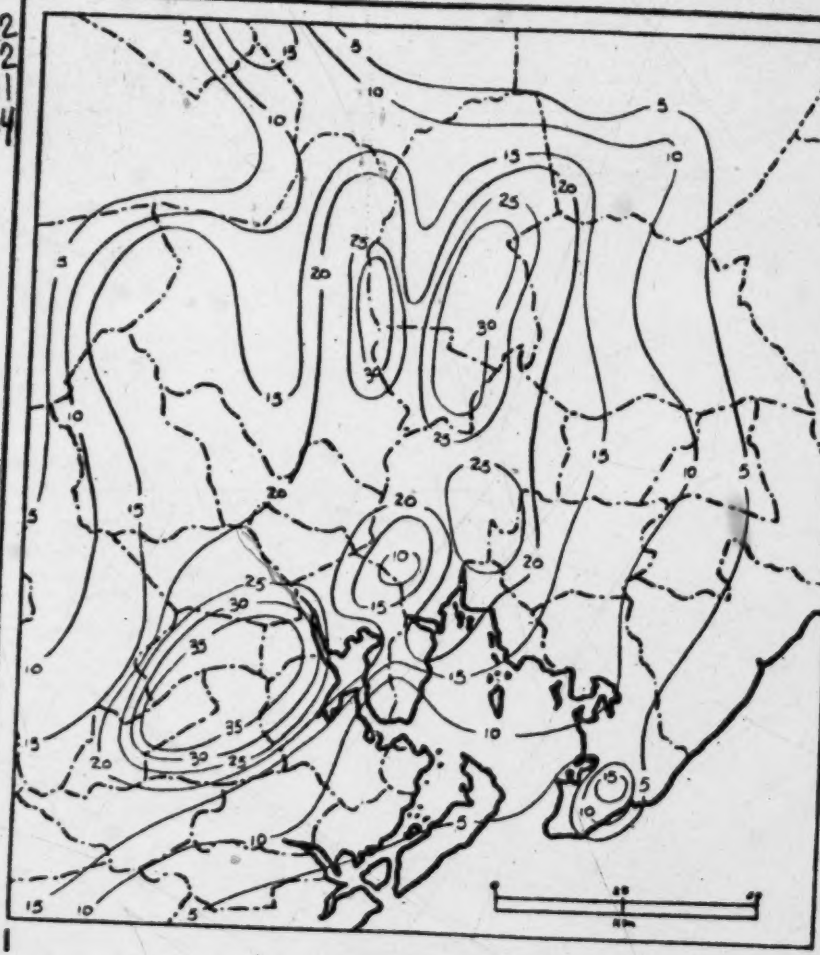

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Agricultural Labor Force per Square Kilometer of Total Area--1950
(estimated)

MAP 18

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 464 and plantations, and to a lesser extent, ranchers and vaqueiros (cowboys).[21] Silviculture is not an important occupation in the Recôncavo.

161 162 241 464 634 The mean density of the agricultural labor force for the Recôncavo was 15.7 per square kilometer. Since the distribution is very irregular, this mean density is far from representative of local situations--only six municípios had densities within 10 per cent of the mean. Because of the uneven distribution of cultivation, mean [128] figures for individual municípios, especially the larger ones, are [127] likely to be equally misleading. In the discussion which follows the gross distributions derived from census data have been modified on the basis of field observation and of inferences drawn from related demographic, cartographic, and agricultural information.[22]

161 162 241 464 The density of agricultural workers in the Central Recôncavo (Map 18) is appreciably higher than in the surrounding areas, except in the southwest. This central zone has densities in excess of 20 per square kilometer, and within it are four areas with densities in excess of 25 per square kilometer. Along the border of the Recôncavo, densities usually fall to 10 per square kilometer. However, this is not true of the more densely occupied "bridge" zone which connects the area of heavy concentration in the Recôncavo, south of the Rio Paraguaçu, with the "coffee area" to the southwest beyond the Recôncavo. The map of densities (Map 18) and the dot map (Map 17) of the agricultural labor force suggest that this population segment is clustered in areas which generally have an eccentric location in relation to such centers as Salvador and the Baía de Todos os Santos.

Over 20 per cent of the agricultural workers of the Recôncavo live along the southern, western, and northern extremes of the region,

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

161 every section of which is more than 50 kilometers from Salvador, the
162 economic center of the Recôncavo, and also more than 50 kilometers from
241 464 the geometric center in Santo Amaro. If a line were drawn from the
161 cidade of Alagoinhas southwestward to the cidade of Nazaré, the
162 following municípios would fall entirely west of that line: Irará,
241 464 Coração de Maria, Feira de Santana, São Gonçalo, Conceição da Feira,
634 and Santo Estêvão--all north of the Rio Paraguaçu--and Muritiba,
Cruz das Almas, São Félix, São Filipe, and Conceição do Almeida--all
south of the Rio Paraguaçu. These 11 of the 21 municípios of the
Recôncavo are all more than 50 kilometers from Salvador--all are much
farther in terms of land transport. In these eleven municípios live
125,000 of the 196,000 agricultural workers. In part, this
eccentricity with respect to Salvador is a result of the shape of
the land surface, with the city located at the end of a peninsula.
Only one of these 11 municípios, São Félix, lies on tide water, and
that at the extreme upper limit of navigation. The others are so
arranged that they cannot make optimum use of the central position
of the Bay, with its relatively cheap and direct route into the
capital.

This eccentrically located belt is arcuate in form. It is the
61 62 demographic representation of the transition zone from forest to
41 64 scrub forest, which is often also the transition from the Coastal
32 33 Plain to the Tabular or Crystalline Uplands. The concentration of
agricultural labor in this belt is obviously significant from many
points of view: social and political as well as economic.

Clustering is a characteristic pattern of Latin American population. The Recôncavo is the chief population cluster and the greatest single concentration of agricultural labor force within the state of

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

161 162 241 464 Bahia. The broad cluster of the agricultural labor force is composed of several major zones of concentration and two minor agglomerations.

(1) The Southwestern Concentration: The most important of these concentrations, in terms of total number of agriculturalists, occupies the southwestern corner of the Recôncavo. This concentration is a major segment of the eccentric belt discussed above. It is located [131] in the Crystalline Uplands and the Intermediate Hills, along the drainage divide between the Rio Paraguaçu and the Rio Jaguaripe. This is an area of tobacco and manioc cultivation. There are some 35,000 agriculturalists in this concentration, which spreads over approximately 1,000 square kilometers in six municípios—São Félix, Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, Conceição do Almeida, São Filipe, and Maragogipe. The cidade of Cruz das Almas lies very near its center.

TABLE IX

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS—SOUTHWESTERN CONCENTRATION

[634]

Município	Distrito	Agricultural Workers 1950
São Félix	São Félix	2,568
	Outeiro Redondo	1,724
Muritiba	Muritiba	3,044
	Cabeças	1,699
Cruz das Almas	Cruz das Almas	6,038
	Sapé	1,845
	Baixa do Palmeira	1,476
Conceição do Almeida	Conceição do Almeida	3,878
	Comércio	2,038
São Filipe	São Filipe	4,931
	Cararipe	2,471
Maragogipe	Guapira	1,169
	Nagé	788
	Coqueiras	1,072
Approximately 1,000 square kilometers		34,741

With about 12 per cent of the Recôncavo's total area, the southwestern concentration includes 18 per cent of its agricultural labor force. In its core there are over forty agriculturalists per [634] square kilometer (the município of São Félix as a whole has 42.05 per square kilometer), and this compact core includes São Félix, northern

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

161 São Filipe, northern Conceição do Almeida, southeastern Cruz das Almas,
162
241 and the southeastern tenth of Muritiba.
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The boundaries of this concentration are similar to the boundaries of labor concentrations in other parts of the western Recôncavo. To the southeast the density of the cluster declines sharply across the Intermediate Hills. There are very few fields and few farmers along the estuary of the Paraguaçu, which lies beyond the hills. Much of [311] this land is in forest. To the west the decline in density is even more abrupt. In the dry caatinga beyond the western limits of Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, and Conceição do Almeida there are only a few scattered ranchers and small-scale farmers.

From the core of the concentration the distribution of agricultural workers continues to be relatively dense toward the north and toward the southwest, and this pattern extends across the "bridge" zone and into the coffee area beyond the Recôncavo. Just beyond the Recôncavo, in the middle of the "bridge," is the city and suburban zone of Santo Antônio de Jesus, which has a minor cluster of agricultural workers. The "bridge" follows the forest and scrub-forest transition.

161 (2) The Northern Concentration: Though the northern and
162 central clusters of the agricultural labor force of the Recôncavo
241 are less well defined and individually less important than the
464 southwestern cluster, they are major concentrations. In the northern
131 Recôncavo a series of clusters extending through eastern Feira de Santana, Irará, and Coração de Maria are grouped in a rough "u-shaped" pattern. This concentration is the second major element of the eccentric belt of dense agricultural labor. The verticals of the "u" follow agricultural belts along the valleys of two tributaries of the (eastern) Rio Pojuca. This is a zone of Tabular Upland and caatinga vegetation.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

161 Because it does not correspond to census divisions, it is diffi-
162 cult to determine the area and population of this "u" zone. Apparently
241 it has about 1,150 square kilometers and about 30,000 agricultural
464 workers (Table X). Maximum densities within this zone are 30 to 40
131 per square kilometer.

TABLE X

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS--NORTHERN CONCENTRATION

634

Município	Distrito	Agricultural Workers 1950
Feira de Santana	Feira de Santana	9,840
	Tiquaruçu	1,725
Coração de Maria	Coração de Maria	4,176
	Itacava	4,332
Irará	Irará	4,130
	Bento Simões	1,675
	Pedrão	2,454
	Ouriçangas	2,683
Approximately 1,150 square kilometers		31,015

The "u-shaped" zone is linked with the southwestern cluster by a belt of moderate population density. This belt, running north to south along the caatinga-forest transition, is followed by the Feira de Santana-Cachoeira railroad.

161 (3) The Central Concentration: The central concentration of
162 agricultural labor, in east-central Santo Amaro, western São Sebastião,
241 and São Francisco--the sugar cane zone, is not a part of the eccentric
464 belt discussed above, but rather lies in the heart of the Recôncavo.
131 There are about 6,000 agriculturalists in the 300 square kilometers of this area. The maximum density is about 25 per square kilometer. In distinction to the concentrations discussed above, the central cluster is in the lowlands--the humid Coastal Plain. (see Table XI).

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TABLE XI

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AGRICULTURAL WORKERS--CENTRAL CONCENTRATION

Município	Distrito	Agricultural Workers 1950
Santo Amaro	Rio Fundo	1,849
	Inhatá	1,542
	Mata de Aliança	920
São Sebastião	Jacuípe	1,036
São Francisco	São Francisco	804
	Santa Elisa	176
Approximately 300 square kilometers		6,327

(4) The Minor Agglomerations: Minor concentrations of agriculturalists surround two urban centers in the Recôncavo: Salvador and Alagoinhas. Most of the 12,000 agricultural workers in the município of Salvador are grouped either in the northeast--close to the central cluster of the sugar cane zone--or around the capital city. The latter either live in the city or in the sub-urban areas around and between the various urban segments. These sub-urban cultivators primarily work to supply the large urban market. Alagoinhas lies in the midst of relatively unproductive taboleiros. The agri-
[245] culturalists who serve its urban market and produce its chief commercial crop--oranges--are gathered compactly in a symmetrical ring around the city.

The concentrations discussed above account for some 80,000
[131] (41 per cent) of the agricultural workers and 3,150 square kilometers (25 per cent) of the area of the Recôncavo. In general, a straight line from the southwestern tip of Conceição do Almeida to the southern tip of Serrinha is the western limit of moderately dense distribution of the agricultural labor force. Beyond this line, in the caatinga of Feira de Santana and Castro Alves, there are few agricultural workers. However, in the caatinga of the município of Santo Estêvão and the adjacent part of Feira de Santana there is a zone with a population density of about 15 per square kilometer--higher than anywhere

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161 else along the western border. This modest concentration, scarcely a
162
241 cluster, represents the sum of a number of small agricultural settle-
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[361] ments scattered along the humid slopes of low serras. There are about 12,000 agricultural workers distributed over this area.

161 The distributional pattern of the rest of the Recôncavo can be
162 visualized as a coarse net in which the clusters are linked by areas
131 with population densities of 10 to 20 per square kilometer. There is
241
464 one large hole in this connecting net: along the common border of Cachoeira, São Gonçalo, and Santo Amaro there is a zone with less than ten and sometimes less than five agricultural workers per square
[133] kilometer. This zone, very near to the center of the Recôncavo, for the most part is an area of rough sandy hills bordering the crystalline--here the hills are particularly rugged and the transition zone broad. On three sides--southwest, north, and northeast--this sparsely settled zone is bordered by important clusters of agriculturalists.

161 The agricultural labor force of the Recôncavo is, as has been
162 seen, irregularly distributed. This distribution is highly fluid--
241
464 movement and growth and decline are continuously altering the pattern. The whole region gained about 6,500 agriculturalists between 1940 and 1950, but these statistics do not reflect the extent of local relocation.

161 In the central Recôncavo one município, Santo Amaro, lost
162
241 almost 6,000 agricultural workers between 1940 and 1950, and in three
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634 municípios of the central and eastern Recôncavo, Santo Amaro, São Francisco, and Pojuca, losses exceeded 20 per cent. On the other hand, in three municípios of the uplands of the northern and northwestern Recôncavo--Alagoinhas, Feira de Santana, and Santo Estêvão--there were gains of over 20 per cent. Over all, twelve municípios gained and nine lost agriculturalists; the mean change in the agricultural labor

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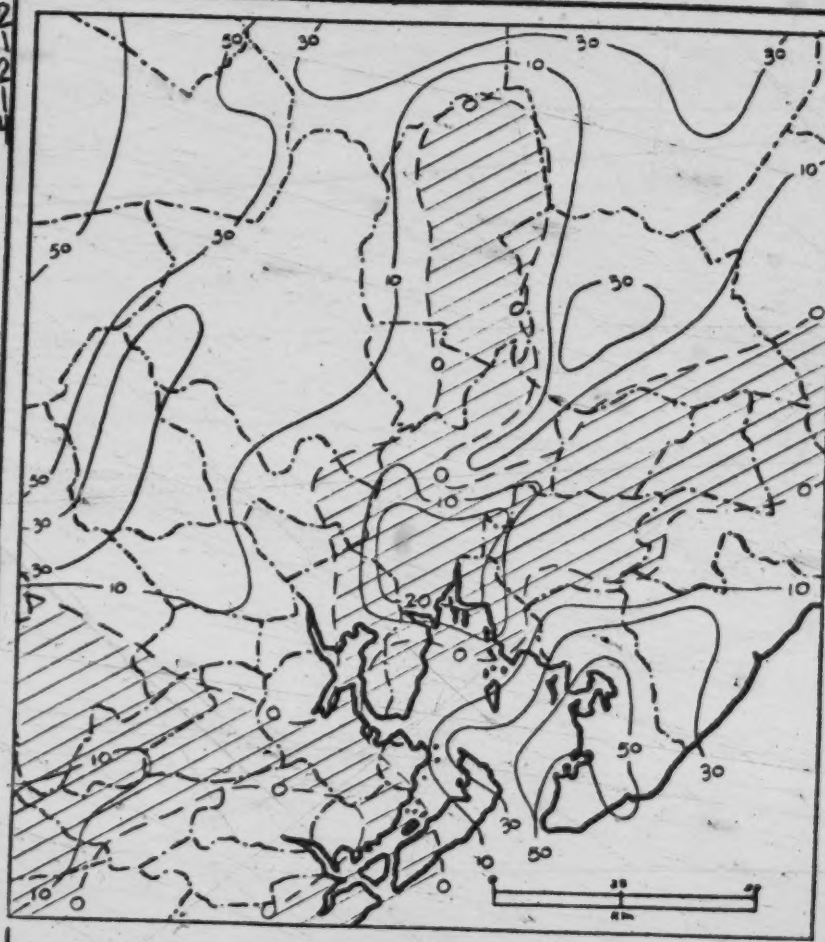

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of Change in the Agricultural Labor Force (Estimated)

and in the Rural Population from 1940 to 1950

Shaded area shows zone of loss of agricultural labor force.

MAP 19

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

161 force of the 21 municípios--without regard to direction of change--was
162
241 13 per cent.
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In general the area around Salvador and the northeastern and western margins of the Recôncavo gained in agricultural labor force (Map 19). The Central Recôncavo and areas in the north-central, eastern, and southwestern Recôncavo lost agriculturalists between 1940 and 1950. Some of the factors which produced these changes were local; others were identified with the Northeast or with Brazil as a whole.

The growth of cities in the Recôncavo is a manifestation of a nationwide phenomenon. The expanding urban centers create an increasing market for agricultural products which, because of the difficulty of transportation and the lack of food processing facilities, must be supplied primarily from local sources. These expanding markets attract discontent d or displaced agriculturalists, who settle as close to the urban center as possible. There is a marked increase in the concentration of agricultural labor around Salvador, Feira de Santana, and Alagoinhas.

731 In 1950 and 1951 the urban trend and its agricultural con-
166 comitant was re-enforced by a specific Northeastern phenomenon--the
[369] flight from the drought (sêca) of the interior. Most of the refugees
[241] (flagelados) from the dry sertão settled along the periphery of the Recôncavo. Here, where they could remain close to their cherished sertão, much land was open for squatters. As indicated above, others settled around the urban centers of the Recôncavo caatinga zone--Feira de Santana and Alagoinhas.

241 Observations suggest that the greatest relative increases in
464 agricultural labor force from the sertão were in the municípios
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166 bordering the Recôncavo on the west and north, where the "normal"
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> shift about from place to place. In few nations are such large proportions of the rural people, who in turn are three fourths of all people, so constantly on the move.[23]

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In the Recôncavo this shifting is like a game of musical chairs, in which the old participant, probably thinking himself lucky, goes to Salvador. The exchange of places occurs on many levels: there is movement from plantation to plantation within the sugar zone, even between plantations operated by the same usina.[24] Many agricultural workers shift from one to another of the various agricultural zones within the Recôncavo.[25] These shifts of population in the Recôncavo primarily involve the agricultural laborers, share croppers, and tenant farmers. The landowners move only under the strongest pressure, and the upper class landowners are as immobile as the lower classes are migratory. However, these landowners compose only a small part of the agricultural labor force.

Another fluid element in the agricultural labor force of the Recôncavo is seasonal labor.

> Itinerant seasonal agricultural labor has for a long time been an important element in the sugar zones of the Northeast where at harvest time many of the cane cutters come from the "agreste" or even from the "sertao" into the "mata" zone.[26]

The principal source of this seasonal labor for the Recôncavo is the small farmer class of the sertão of Bahia north of the Rio Paraguaçu and east of the Chapada Diamantina. These workers are males, exclusively; the number involved is not known, but it is probably on the order of 5,000. Some sertanejos return again and again to the same fazenda or usina; others change their place of employment from year to year. They all return to the sertão at the beginning of the wet season to plant gardens for their families and to harvest cotton and other crops.

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241 464 As has been shown, the 196,000 agricultural workers in the Recôncavo in 1950 formed a relatively distinct cluster within Bahia. [131] These workers were concentrated especially in an arcuate belt near the western and northern frontiers, in the sub-urban zone of the larger cities, and in the central sugar zone. They were in complex motion, the net result of which was to reduce, in the decade 1940 to 1950, the agricultural labor force in the Central Recôncavo and to increase the labor force near the cities and along the western frontier. The labor force generally is adequately skilled for the agricultural tasks of the present system, but its tolerance for new ideas is [461] limited. The agricultural workers can work cheerfully and hard, but usually do so only with frequent interruptions, and the individual level of energy is low.

162 241 464 463 Rural Population. The agricultural labor force of the Recôncavo is a functionally but not residentially distinct segment of a larger population assemblage, the rural population. Rural population, as used here, includes not only the people of the countryside but also the village and town dwellers of all settlements without industrial establishments.[28] Although this assemblage can be defined in approximate residential terms as a rural population, it is considered here primarily as a functional grouping which includes agricultural workers and elements of all other major occupational groups except industrial workers. In this overwhelmingly agricultural society the associations of the non-agricultural occupational groups of the rural area with agriculture are of primary economic importance and compelling personal interest. While most of the agricultural workers are rural in the strictest sense, living in the countryside and on the fringes of the villages, towns, and cities, many others live within the small and

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

162 241 464 463 some in large urban centers. On the other hand, occupational groups sometimes considered to be urban--shopkeepers, for example--may have residences and places of business in the countryside. Thus it is not possible to differentiate occupational groups precisely on the basis of residence.[29]

162 241 464 In 1950 the rural population of the Recôncavo, as defined here, included 578,508 people. This assemblage represented about 54 per cent of the total population of the Recôncavo. Its distribution was broadly but not precisely comparable to that of the agricultural labor force, as will be seen.

162 241 464 463 The agricultural labor force, which has been discussed above, composes 34 per cent of the rural population. The remaining 66 per cent will be called the "service segment" of the rural population. This segment is composed primarily of the following elements: merchants, tradesmen, and speculators who buy agricultural products and supply the simple needs of the agriculturalists; indirect service groups such as financial agents, public administrators, and transport workers; and minors and dependent women.[30] All of these are directly or indirectly dependent upon the agricultural economy. This dependency is, of course, mutual: the farmer of the Recôncavo is, at least partially, a commercial agriculturalist who must market his products in order to purchase food and clothing. However, the agriculturalist is the primary producer; the service segment basically is auxiliary to the agricultural economy.

241 463 464 [162] The map (Map 20) of the service segment relative to the agricultural labor force reveals several significant contrasts. In the outer Recôncavo--from the southwest corner around the periphery to the northeast--the service segment is from 1.5 to 2.0 times the agricultural labor force. As will be seen, this is the zone of tobacco

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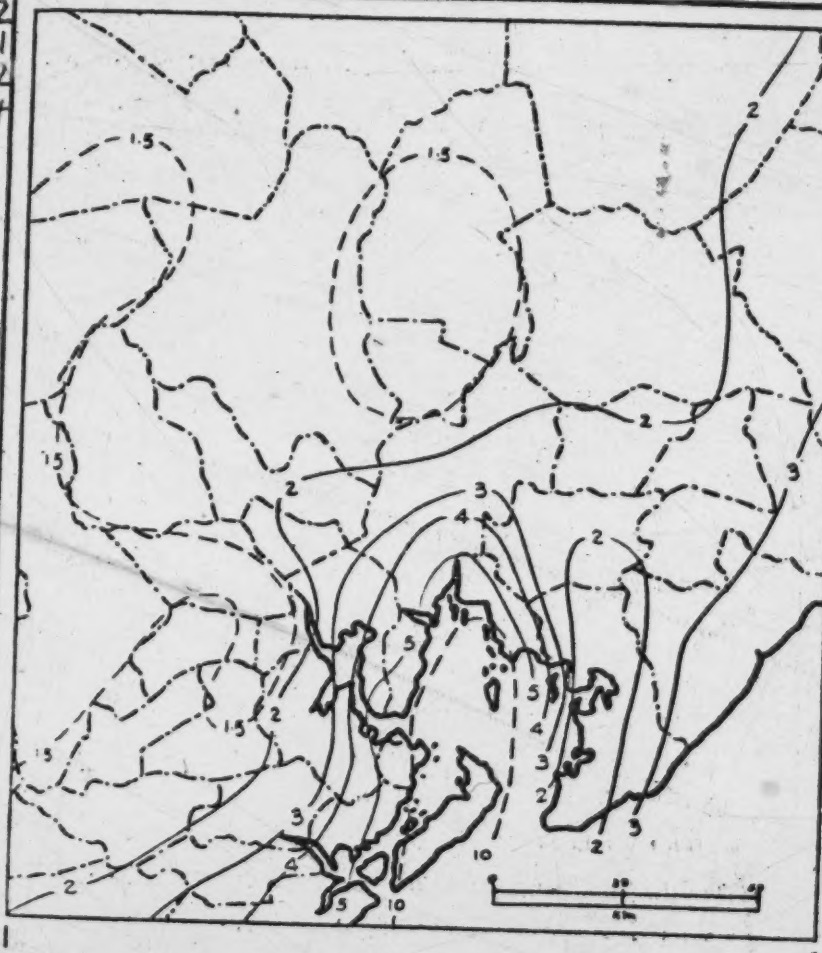

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Ratio of the "Service Segment" of the Rural Population

to the Agricultural Labor Force--1950

(estimated)

MAP 20

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

464 extravagant urban centers, the oil field and refineries north of the Bay, and the fishing and shipping industries. Moreover, this area has [565] a larger upper-class element, which as has been seen, could be counted upon to perform manual labor only under dire circumstances.

464 241 Thus in all parts of the Recôncavo the local labor reserve readily available for agricultural production and expansion is small. In compensation the general high mobility of the lower class would make available non-local reserves,[31] providing the proper incentives were offered. The exploitative agricultural system of the Recôncavo is ill-equipped to offer these incentives.

162 369 433 Urban Population. The remaining 493,944 people of the Recôncavo, 46 per cent of the total 1950 population, lived in the nine major urban centers. These people have much the same relationship to agricultural production as the "service segment" discussed above, but the relationship is less direct. These urban centers are engaged almost exclusively in serving and in exploiting the agricultural population of the Recôncavo and other agricultural areas of Bahia.

633 162 Salvador is the dominant city of the Recôncavo and of Bahia. In 1950 it contained 389,422 people, 36 per cent of the total population of the Recôncavo and 8 per cent of the total population of Bahia, or 79 per cent of all urban people of the Recôncavo and 41 per cent of all urban people of the state. The next largest city in Bahia was Feira de Santana--less than one-fourteenth the size of Salvador.

633 Although Salvador is the fourth city in Brazil, it is much smaller than either Rio de Janeiro or São Paulo and somewhat smaller than Recife.[32] It ranked just above Pôrto Alegre in total population. Salvador, often called either Bahia or o capital, cannot be interpreted entirely or even predominately in terms of the Recôncavo. While its

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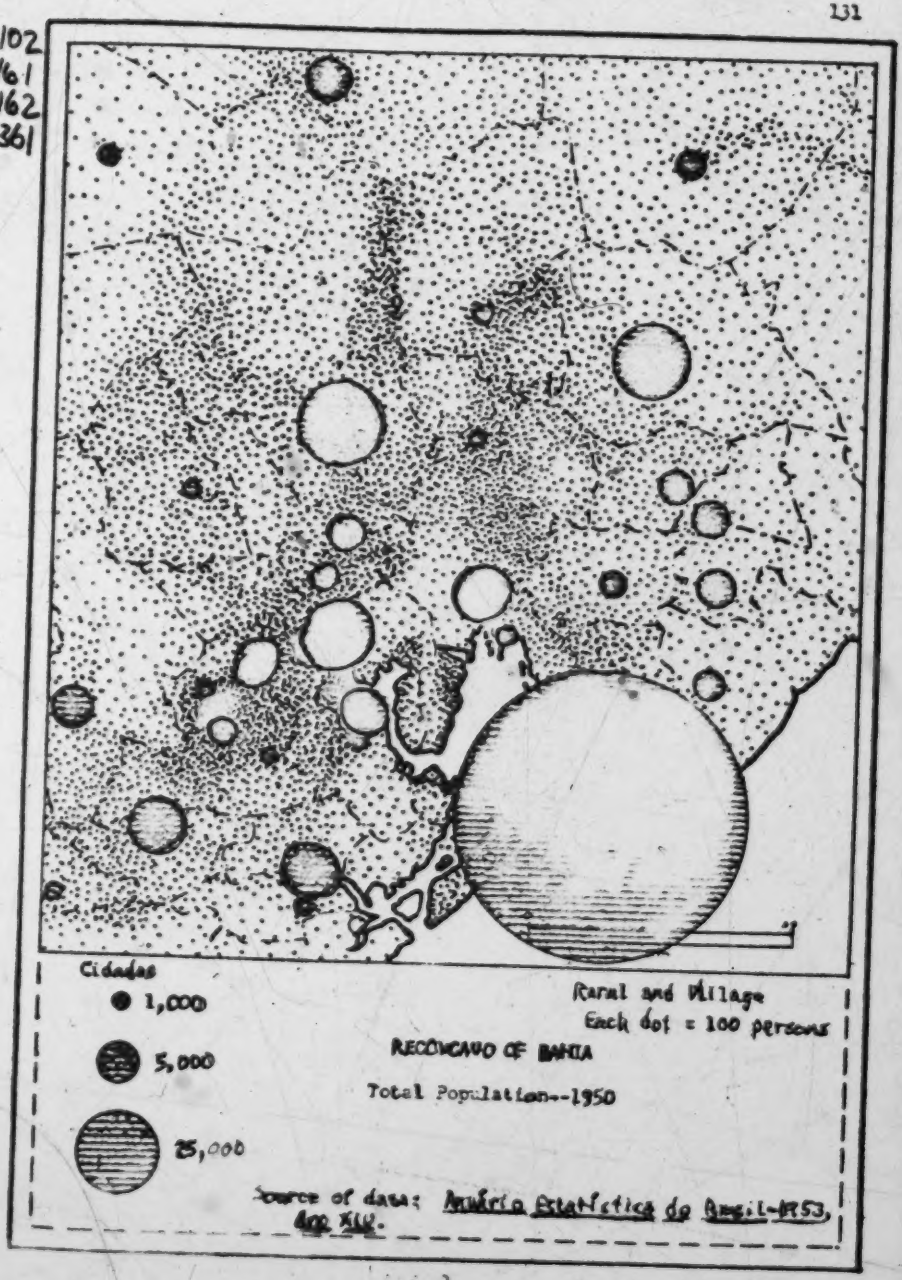

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633 tributary area does not extend beyond the state, it does include the coffee and cacao areas, parts of the São Francisco basin, and the sertão of Bahia. It is the focus of transportation and communication, of finance and administration, and of foreign trade for the entire state. Despite the economic, political, and social pre-eminence of Salvador, a few cities operate quasi-independently in a particular function, notably Ilhéus and Itabuna, in the cacao area.

The next largest cities in the Recôncavo--Feira de Santana and Alagoinhas--are much alike in size, location, and function. Feira de [162] Santana--often called merely Feira--with 26,559 people in 1950, was the second largest city of the Recôncavo and of the state. It is the [543] cite of one of the most famous cattle fairs in Brazil.[33] Alagoinhas is smaller--21,289 people in 1950--and less notable historically. It is the third largest city of the Recôncavo and the fifth largest of the state. One of the common functions of both these cities is trans-
633 portation. Feira is the railhead of railroads from Salvador and from
494 Cachoeira and is the junction of the Transnordestina trunk highway
496 which crosses the northeast interior of Brazil, with a highway to Salvador and with the only highway from Bahia to Rio de Janeiro. Alagoinhas is the junction where the railraod (Leste) to Senhor do Bonfim and Juàzeiro--on the Rio São Francisco--branches from the main line from Salvador to Maceió, the capital of the state of Alagoas. Just outside Alagoinhas are the main railroad shops of the Leste line
633 (Viação Férrea Federal Leste Brasileiro). The position of these cities,
369 intermediate between the Recôncavo and the sertão, is reflected in
291 the appearance of the people who are met on their streets--dark
142 Recôncavo agriculturalists in straw hats, patched khaki trousers,
633 and wooden clogs and mestiço vaquéiros (cowboys) from the sertão in
495 their leather hats and vests. Each has a number of postos (garages)
161

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

633 495 161 to service the hundreds of trucks and busses which are transforming the transportation of the interior. Both cities reflected their growing function by a great increase in population between 1940 and 1950.

633 [162] Cachoeira-São Félix, 16,697 people in 1950,[34] and Santo Amaro, 12,258 people in 1950, are respectively the fourth and fifth largest cities in the Recôncavo and the eighth and tenth largest cities in Bahia. [443] Both of these cities are important agricultural and marketing centers within the Recôncavo, and both are notable historical centers. Santo Amaro was the great local social and economic focus of the slave-holding engenho sugar culture of the Central Recôncavo. Cachoeira was the major local center of the Western Recôncavo and of the tobacco economy throughout colonial times. While these cities maintain some of their former importance, they are mainly cities of the past, 633 growing at a much slower rate than most urban centers. Both cities 496 lie at or near the head of navigation,[35] and both are on the rail- 494 road which runs from Salvador to the western interior. The construction of the railroad and the development of automotive transport apparently have been important factors in the declining importance of these cities, for it is no longer necessary to trans-ship goods brought down from the interior into boats at these places. The 633 railroads and trucks move the goods directly to Salvador.[36] At present [565] these cities function as local trade centers, as minor industrial centers--Cachoeira-São Félix in tobacco; Santo Amaro in sugar--and as the residences of decadent upper class families whose fortunes declined with the disappearance of the slave-holding agricultural systems.

The other urban centers of the Recôncavo:

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The other urban centers of the Recôncavo:

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	1950 Population
Maragogipe	9,744
Muritiba	7,452
Cruz das Almas	6,758
São Gonçalo	3,771

[277] are all local trade and cigar manufacturing centers. Maragogipe is a
[504] port of minor importance.[37] The other urban centers have inland loca-
[361] tions, near the inner edge of the Crystalline Uplands.[38]

Near the Recôncavo are four urban centers which have minor but appreciable effect upon its agricultural economy:

[162]

	1950 Population
Santo Antônio de Jesus	11,417
Nazaré	11,215
Castro Alves	6,479
Serrinha	4,602

Santo Antônio de Jesus and Nazaré are located along the southern periphery of the Recôncavo, and Castro Alves and Serrinha on the southwestern and northwestern periphery, respectively. All these centers
[496] are on one of Bahia's two main railroads, both of which terminate at the Bay—at Salvador or at São Roque do Paraguaçu.[39]

633 In 1950 the nine major urban centers of the Recôncavo had
464 100,000 to 120,000 workers in industry, transportation, and merchan-
433 dising.[40] In all cities of the Recôncavo, except Salvador, the
[162] industrial workers almost exclusively were engaged in processing agricultural products--in sugar refining, cigar manufacturing, and
[123] slaughtering. Except for some of the animals slaughtered in Feira de
[241] Santana and the poorer grades of tobacco brought in from the sertão, these agricultural products originate in the Recôncavo.

The industrial structure of Salvador is more complex. It processes agricultural products from the Recôncavo, but also from other parts of the state, notably cacao. There is a small textile industry. It is probable that the majority of the industrial workers are employed in numerous small service industries which supply Salvador

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BB 633 464 433 and, to a lesser extent, the rest of the Recôncavo and the state. The relatively large and affluent upper class of Salvador utilizes an extravagantly large number of domestics and of industrial workers--in food, clothing, and construction industries.

BB 178 181 433 161 B BB 161 162 Conclusion. The preservation of traditional values among the people of the Recôncavo is evidence of the survival value of their conservative culture, but the relatively slow growth of the population is indicative of a declining economic role in the nation. Although the population of both Brazil and the Recôncavo grew between 1940 and 1950, Brazil's population increased 26.5 per cent, the Reconcavo's only 16 per cent. In Brazil as a whole, urban populations increased 46 per cent, in the Recôncavo only 34 per cent. The rural population of Brazil increased by 17 per cent; the approximately comparable figure for the Recôncavo was 4 per cent.

Within the Recôncavo the net effect of population changes in the decade 1940 to 1950 was the reduction in rural population from 60 per cent to 54 per cent of the total population (see Table XII). BB 161 162 241 464 Even more serious, from the agricultural point of view, was the decline in the relative number of agricultural workers. Despite the influx of agricultural people from the sertão, the percentage of the total population in the agricultural labor force fell from 21 per cent (1940) to 18 per cent (1950).

BB 633 [162] The greatest single concentration of population in the Recôncavo is the city of Salvador. One-third of the people of the region live in this predominant city, occupying the tip of the peninsula which separates the Baía de Todos os Santos from the sea. In this eccentric peninsular location, Salvador is relatively distant from the main centers of agricultural production and has only circuitous land

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TABLE XII

COMPOSITION OF RECÔNCAVO POPULATION 1940-1950

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Year	Total Population	Urban Centers	Rural Population	Agricultural Labor Force
		Absolute		
1940	924,032	368,932	555,100	189,967
1950	1,072,452	493,944	578,508	196,468
Change	+ 148,420	+125,012	+ 23,408	+ 6,501
		Relative		
1940	100 o/o	40 o/o	60 o/o	21 o/o
1950	100 o/o	46 o/o	54 o/o	18 o/o
Change		+ 6 o/o	- 6 o/o	- 3 o/o
		Growth of Recôncavo Population		
1940 to 1950	16 o/o	34 o/o	4 o/o	3 o/o
		Per cent of Total Growth		
1940 to 1950	100 o/o	84 o/o	16 o/o	4 o/o

633 connections with the western section of the Recôncavo. On the other hand, its location combines oceanic access with the rest of Brazil, Europe, and the Americas and a direct approach via the Bay, to all of the central municípios of the Recôncavo.

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The major concentrations of rural, agricultural population in the region are in the outer municípios of the Southwestern, Northwestern, and Northern Recôncavo. In the southwest, there is a notable concentration on the Crystalline Uplands. In the northern part of the Recôncavo, the concentrations lie along the dissected edges of the Tertiary taboleiros. Thus most of the agricultural people of the region live [134] [132] in upland areas of deep, porous soils and marginal rainfall. The only major lowland concentration of agricultural people is in the area of Cretaceous clay soils on the Coastal Plain of the Central Recôncavo. The relatively small size of the agricultural population [249] [178] in this area is reflective of the declining role of sugar cane cultivation in the Recôncavo.

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241 464 "Falta de braços"--lack of labor--is a problem much discussed in the Recôncavo. The landholders, merchants, and agronomists interviewed in the region almost invariably complained of the shortage of agricul-
[461] tural workers or renters. At the same time, the level of per capita productivity of most agricultural labor remains low, and, as will be seen, there have been few attempts at improvement of agricultural techniques. Neither is there any apparent trend toward higher wages or higher returns on rented properties, which might attract more people to the area. The complaints of labor shortages must be viewed in the context of the systems of production and the economic organization of agriculture, which will be discussed in the following chapters.

241 464 161 162 433 Several basic agricultural problems are prefigured in the analysis of the distribution of the population of the Recôncavo. The concentration of agricultural people in the western and northern municípios of the region corresponds, as will be shown, to a major area of agricultural production. Since this is also an area of marginal and irregular precipitation, it is almost inevitable that the level of production must be uneven and the lives of the agriculturalists unstable. The declining agricultural population of the Central Recôncavo is a symptom of the declining importance of the sugar economy, discussed previously, and of the centralization and rationalization currently under way. The alternating zones with high and low densities of population indicate the nuclear and separate character of the areas of agricultural production, detailed in the pattern of crop regions to be discussed in the chapters which follow.

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[14]See section by Charles Wagley in Wagley, op. cit., pp. 148-149.

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[15]Smith, op. cit., pp. 637-640, citing Anuário Estatístico do Brasil-1939/40, states that there were 687 church marriages for each civil marriage in Bahia. The number of common law marriages is, obviously, not precisely known. Brazilian statutes do not permit divorce from civil marriage.

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[16]The chief exception to this social pattern is during Carnaval, when people of all classes "let themselves go." However, it is mainly the adolescents of the upper class who, for the moment, escape from the rigid social code of their class.

[17]As a consequence of the high mobility of the lower class, many of these community or neighborhood identifications are transitory. However, because of the free social intercourse within the class, the local relationships are quickly established and easily maintained. The core of local identification and of the community or neighborhood seems to be maintained primarily by the more stable upper-stratum of the class.

[18]The industries, trading houses, and exporters of Salvador are concerned to a large degree with agricultural products.

[19]For the United States, see Smith, op. cit., p. 221. For Brazil, calculated from the 1940 census.

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[20]A special statement is required because the problems of deriving data for population in this region profoundly affect the reliability of the demographic analysis. At the time this analysis was made, only incomplete and preliminary population data from the 1950 census had been published. Total population data by political units—municípios and distritos—and by "urban" places were available. It was necessary to estimate the agricultural occupational data. The 1950 agricultural labor force was projected from the 1940 data on the basis of changes in the rural population. Because the agricultural labor force and the rural population of which it is a part are subject to approximately the same social and economic forces, it was assumed that the change in the latter could be used to project the 1950 size of the former. The tables showing the derivation of the agricultural labor force for 1950 are based upon this procedure.

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[21]In 1940 the composition of this occupational group—based upon a combination of population census and agricultural census data—for the state of Bahia was approximately as follows:

Independent operators	44 per cent
Members of family	27 per cent
Employees	24 per cent
Employers	2 per cent
Non-owner administrators	2.5 per cent

Thus less than 5 per cent of the agricultural labor force were administrators; the others were either cultivators, vaquêiros, or agricultural laborers. In the Recôncavo the administrative group probably was relatively smaller.

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[22]In a region of such large statistical areas and diverse physical resources, it is almost inevitable that mean figures for some municípios, such as Feira de Santana, Alagoinhas, Irará, or, most of all, Santo Amaro,

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The Atlantic coast of Salvador and Itaparica supports
245 a coconut monoculture--a monoculture which is most strongly developed
311 north of the Recôncavo in Camassari and Mata de São João. The actual area of the coconut monoculture within the Recôncavo is slight, and beyond this monocultural zone, coconut cultivation is rarely significant within the region.

The coconut monoculture lies between the littoral forest and the beach in Itaparica and between the agreste and the beach in Salvador and in the municípios farther north. Except in the município of
[161] [162] Salvador, the rural population of the coconut area is not dense. The
[361] typical settlement of this zone is the fishing village, sprawled over the beach near the mouth of a small stream. Inland the population is scattered.

243 A much more important crop system intrudes upon the Northwestern
244 Recôncavo--the corn-bean system. The nuclear area for this system seems
311 to lie in northern Serrinha and in the municípios bordering upon the state of Sergipe. The area in which over 80 per cent of the cropland was in corn and beans in 1948 overlapped the borders of the Recôncavo into western Feira de Santana and Santo Estêvão--a zone of low serras (Map 76). In this zone the area in corn was from one to two times the area in beans (Map 77).

[134] Most of the soils of this region are either crystalline or Tertiary sands, but the pockets of soil which are actually cultivated are almost invariably heavier and more water retentive than are the sandy upland soils of the taboleiros. The corn-bean region generally
[162] has a small but nucleated rural population and a few medium-sized cidades, which are the only towns of the very large municípios which are charac-
[361] teristic of the area. However, the part of the corn-bean region which overlaps the Recôncavo has a number of villages and hamlets in the valleys of the serras.

It must be remembered that these figures include the capital city, the population of which is about 450,000. If this is subtracted from the total population of the Recôncavo, the average density of the Recôncavo is approximately 27 persons per square kilometer.

Vila Recôncavo, the community of this study, is part of a county located 41 kilometers across the bay from Salvador. The community includes the town of Vila Recôncavo, which is the county seat, and the surrounding rural zone. Throughout the study we will be dealing with these two components of the sugar-cane plantation community, sometimes separately and sometimes together.

The only public transportation to the town is by boat from the capital, a three-hour trip across the bay, threading through numerous islands. The major part of the trip is made on remarkably blue water, usually serenely calm but occasionally violently agitated, especially during the winter. One-, two-, and three-masted sailing vessels and an occasional large sailing canoe, the centuries-old methods of transportation in Bahia, are passed on their way into the city, carrying fruit, vegetables, pottery, firewood, fish, tobacco, manioc flour, and sugar to the more than four hundred thousand people of the city, as they have done since the early colonization of the Recôncavo. The only new element in the scene is the small diesel boat which makes the trip back and forth across the bay, outward bound one day and returning the next with the outgoing tide.

As the boat nears the luxuriantly green, palm-crested islands, stopping at several to discharge the mail, passengers, and "city goods," one becomes aware of the feeling of stepping back into the past. Barefoot children are selling oranges, peanuts, and fish; and parrots and parakeets, sometimes doped with rum to make them appear tame. The mailman on the dock receives the sack of mail and gives it to his helper to carry to the post office; the island priest may receive a message or package entrusted to the captain of the boat or may even go aboard to travel to the church on another island. The others on the dock call to friends on the boat and exchange news or else simply watch the activity of docking the boat and the casting off. The people of the islands are light-skinned, although well sunburned. Many of them are vacationers from the city, dressed in brightly colored clothes, for the islands are well-known resorts. The others, barefoot, wearing shorts

505 The others, barefoot, wearing shorts
[291] and large-brimmed straw hats, are the permanent dwellers of the islands: fishermen, stevedores, and storekeepers.

505 When the islands are left behind, the scene begins to change.
133 The color of the water changes from a clear, deep blue to a
[501] muddy gray. Groups of canoes are seen, their occupants busy with their fish nets, for this shallow part of the bay is a good
[226] fishing ground. Once again the mainland is close, rolling hills covered with a thousand shades of green--sugar cane, the crop which nearly four hundred years ago replaced the virgin forests. The deltalike shores of this part of the bay are cov-
[361] ered with mangue, muddy areas with low-growing trees which at high tide are standing in the water. On a hill at the water's
[162] edge is the town of Vila Recôncavo, a town of 1,462 persons. The first thing one sees is the huge Franciscan convent[5] with
[368] its two tall towers and its royal palms. Approaching the long dock which juts out into the water, one can see almost the
[504] whole town, which is built on three hills and in the valleys between them.

[361] The arrival of the boat from Salvador every other day is an event in an otherwise dull day. Nearly all the men of the town
505 go down to the dock to meet the boat, to see who is traveling,
512 to see what is arriving for someone in the town, to receive messages or parcels, to greet friends, and to gossip. The postmistress is there, and with her the man whose duty it is to carry the mail sack, but who has a helper to do it for him. After a few minutes the boat continues its journey, and the townsfolk walk back along the dock, breaking up into small groups on reaching the main square and then each going his own way.

361 On the square at the end of the dock, at the foot of the
344 main street which leads up the middle hill and out into the

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[128] 5. It should be explained that "convent" in this case is a direct translation from Portuguese. In Portuguese, convent does not have the connotation of being a religious establishment only for women. The word convento is applied to the Franciscans' establishment because the Franciscans are not monks; if they were, their establishment would be called a mosteiro (monastery). In English, Franciscans are known as "friars," and their houses are called "friaries." However, throughout this monograph the direct translation, convent, is used.

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*249 is located at the water's edge on one of the six plantations; three belong to different members of another family related to the sugar factory owners through marriage; one belongs individually to a member of the family owning the factory; and the last one belongs to a nonrelative, a mestiço (person of mixed racial descent), who is socially reticent but considered
[871] an astute businessman. Within the area there is also a federal school which has a large expanse of noncultivated land.

361 The pattern of settlement on the plantations is that of a village. The homes of the cultivators are grouped in a cluster apart from the land they work, the point of orientation being the owner's home. "Although the village settlement as represented by the homes of the small-farming classes is hardly to be found in Brazil, the village manner of arranging the population on the land is widely used on the large estates that are prominent throughout the Brazilian countryside. For the most part the fazendas and usinas of Brazil utilized this nucleated form of settlement in their 'quarters' or 'colonies' for the workers who till the crops."[6]

• 162 The population of the rural zone of the community of Vila Recôncavo is 2,800, of whom 500 live at the sugar factory nucleus; on each of the sugar-cane plantations there are between
*249 150 and 200 persons. Traveling about from one plantation nucleus to another, one sees no sign of habitation, for the coun-
311 try is devoted to intensified sugar-cane cultivation. Fields of sugar cane, 10 to 20 acres in size, alternate with pastures--fields which are being rested for three or four years. Each private plantation has a section of forest to produce firewood and lumber. The factory plantations, however, for the most part are entirely cleared, as the corporation owns another plantation on the other side of the Recôncavo which is used ex-
*249 clusively for raising and pasturing cattle and for supplying firewood for the large fires of the factory. Land divisions or
[423] boundaries are generally long lines of graceful bamboo trees which also supply fence posts. On each plantation can be seen the remains either of the old sobrado or of the antique mill (engenho) or chapel (capela), and in some cases the sobrado is still in good repair and inhabited by the owner.

312 The Recôncavo is not blessed with abundant fresh water. The rivers are few and small, prone to dry up in the hot sum-

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6. T. Lynn Smith, Brazil (Baton Rouge, 1947), p. 396.

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5. (1950-1951) 1957 S011 Bahia Brazilian S011
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occupation of the poor people, who sell them after drying in the city of Salvador. . . .[9]

In 1837 Centro officially became a city, and for another hundred years it was the major commercial point of the sugar-Recôncavo. Gradually, however, it fell into the same pattern of decline which continues today in so much of the Recôncavo. In the 1900's a railroad was constructed from Salvador to Feira de Santana; it passed well back of Vila Recôncavo, missing it so far as to be of no aid whatsoever. Although it passed through Centro, the terminal point, Feira, became more important commercially to the state and became the new gateway to the north, west, and south of the state and of the nation. Although Centro is now a large town with a population of some ten thousand people and a weekly market which attracts people from the countryside and the neighboring towns, this is not enough to sustain it. Its port is now comparatively little used for the export of sugar, which in most cases goes directly to Salvador by train from the factories.

The immediate cause for the decay of the town of Vila Recôncavo, and to a great extent that of Centro and of so many other older towns, was the loss of functions after the period of frontier growth. Those towns which had been religious centers lost this function. Military posts were no longer needed, and administrative activities became more restricted as the counties were cut down in size and as the state and federal governments took over more functions, such as schools and health programs. Railroads and trucks have lately reduced the importance of the port towns. The rural towns no longer interest the wealthy rural aristocracy who always dominated and supported them. More rapid transportation has made it possible for this class to move about from plantation or factory to the town or the city and back in one day instead of three, thus removing the need for a town house in which to spend the night. Better transportation has also made it possible for the other classes to go to Salvador easily for shopping, medical purposes, festivals, and visiting. Thus Salvador, because of its nearness and the relative ease of transportation, has taken on many of the functions of the rural

9. Ibid., Letter XIII, p. 501 (author's translation).

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

*249 463 [578] [466] the town of Vila Recôncavo. João lives in the owner's house, enjoying her confidence to a greater degree than anyone else except perhaps the overseer. This is frequently the cause of friction between the cowboy and overseer, and this fact is not helped by the fact that João is an inlander (sertanejo), a true cowboy, taciturn and independent, from the cattle country to the north of Recôncavo. When Dona Sinhá is away, he occupies a different position, subject to the orders of Seu Paulo unless Dona Sinhá has left definite instructions for him. When Dona Sinhá is present he receives orders directly from her, bypassing the overseer. João is in a position to check on much of the plantation activity, bringing to the owner's attention any necessary works forgotten by Seu Paulo.

*249 464 • 162 Below the owner, overseer, foreman, and cowboy are the bulk of the resident workmen (moradores). On the Fazenda das Moças, there is a population of slightly over two hundred men, women, and children, providing a working force of between sixty and seventy men and boys, plus a few women who occasionally do light work in the fields.

*249 461 465 Below is an extract from one of the fortnightly pay sheets of the plantation. A brief explanation of the list, beginning at the top, will give a good idea of at least a part of the work on a plantation in this community. The "second weeding of a cane field" indicates that the man worked in a field which had already been weeded once since planting. Depending upon the amount of sunshine and rain and the quality of the weeding done, a field may have to be weeded as many as seven times between harvests. A cane field (taboleiro) varies from ten to twenty tarefas, and each field is numbered. Seu Paulo can therefore assign a man to weed a certain field, and they will both know whether it is the first, second, third, or other weeding. The weedings become progressively more difficult so that the amount paid per unit increases with the number of weedings. Weeding constitutes one of the major expenditures on Fazenda das Mocas, as it is done slowly with a hoe. As with all other tasks on the plantation, there is a set price for this work.

"Carrying seed" indicates the transference of bundles of tops of sugar-cane stalks from a field where they are cut to another where they are planted. The amount paid per trip increases with the distance the man must travel between fields. As a rule, several fields of cane are planted to be used exclusively for seed. The next item on the list, "cutting seed,"

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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5. Town Life

THE OCCUPATIONS of the townspeople in Vila Recôncavo differ considerably from the pursuits of the people in the rural zone. The town residents are engaged in gaining a living from a number of small enterprises; the economy is a money economy, and not one dominated by mutual obligations and rights, as it is to a certain degree on the plantations. Vila Recôncavo is the county seat and lacks any organized commerce or industry. It can be called an administrative town, inasmuch as government employment is the life of many of the people, especially the town's upper class. 369 463 632 [434] [433] [647]

The economic occupations of the townspeople can be divided into four groups: (1) the bureaucrats and merchants; (2) the group which serves them, such as cooks and laundresses; (3) a middle group of artisans whose greatest asset, as well as liability, is their independence; (4) a small group of people who do not fit into any of the three groups above. 463

According to the census which was taken in June, 1950, the labor force of the town numbered 459 persons, including men and women. Of the 459, eleven listed themselves as unemployed. The remainder of the population were listed as housewives, students, small children, and old people who were retired or incapacitated. In this category, which numbers about one thousand people, there are individuals who engage in part-time work, such as carrying water or firewood or doing piecework sewing--in other words, small occupations which in their eyes are not worthy of being classed as employment. [162]

The occupations which were listed can be broken down into the four groups mentioned above as follows:

lending money or even giving some to the overseer. Some of
* 565 the members of Class B even acquire property in Salvador
423 or in Centro, such as a house or houses which they may rent.
It is the possession of this material wealth, plus the position
* 565 of responsibility and authority, the greater proximity to the
183 owner, and the invariably legalized status of the man's family which distinguish him from those below, placing him in a class by himself. In the case of the higher-placed white-collar workers of the factory, education is also important.

* 565 In material possessions other than those already listed,
422 Class B differs considerably from the other two classes, having much less than Class A but much more than Class C.
[342] Their houses are always better and larger than those of the
[365] workers, and they usually have electricity supplied by the plantation. They generally have complete sets of manufac-
[352] tured dining and living room furniture, better bedroom fur-
[412] niture than the scanty belongings of the workers, china, rather than the clay dishes (nagé) of the workers, and table serv-
[415] ice for as many as a dozen persons. Usually their clothes are better and more numerous. Overseers are well known for their use of khaki coats, shirts, ties, and riding breeches,
[291] their well-polished leather boots and their felt hats, in contrast with the more informal sports clothes of the landowners and with the ragged, tight trousers and shirt and the straw hat of the shoeless rural worker.

* 565 Class B in the town of Vila Recôncavo is represented by Group 1 as described in the preceding chapter, with a few exceptions such as the minor municipal employees and a few of the smaller-scale merchants and lower-rated petroleum workers. Because there are no representatives of Class A in the town, Class B represents the top of the urban social scale. It is a class which has long existed in the town and which has always been composed of more or less the same occupation groups. For the most part, members of this stratum live on the hill which constitutes the old part of Vila Recôncavo, and
• [162] seldom go down to the newer section. There are fourteen persons residing in town, plus their eight children, who are con-
[792] sidered pure Caucasoid; they are all members of this local upper class. Three of them are foreign-born Franciscans who do not participate in much of public life once their official duties are completed. The others are brancos da terra ("whites of the land," a term which will be explained later in this chap-

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have remained. Nevertheless, the population of Vila Recôncavo shows a considerable Indian element, that is, of people with a reddish or bronze tinge to their skin color, more prominent cheekbones than the Africans or whites, and a tendency toward an almond-shaped eye. However, few people in Vila Recôncavo bearing these marks are called caboclos. They are classified instead in the local terms mentioned above, ignoring Indian traits. In Vila Recôncavo, there is a certain dispraisal of the caboclo. He is considered less civilized than the resident of the Recôncavo. He is often known as a better worker, more ambitious, trustworthy, and frugal, but less genial than the easygoing person of the Recôncavo. In the rural area of Vila Recôncavo, each year many caboclo men come to the plantations to work during harvest time. For the most part they stay together, away from the resident workers of the plantation. The plantations construct a type of barracks to accommodate these men, who do their own cooking, care for their own clothes, and spend their evenings gathered around a fire, singing songs of the sertão, apart from the permanent workers. [157] [571]

The following percentages of racial types were taken from a sample of 162 heads of families, using the four major types: [162]

Preto	50, or 40 per cent
Mulato	59, or 49 per cent
Caboclo	3, or 2 per cent
Branco	11, or 9 per cent

Each physical type in Vila Recôncavo is thought to have a series of personality traits correlated with physical appearance. Furthermore, these stereotypes of expected behavior reflect the attitude of people toward the various racial types. Two physical types, for example, the cabra-cabrocha and the sarará, are usually "more to be pitied than censured," for they are considered ugly by most people. There is a feeling that they are unfortunate crosses between parents of physical characteristics which do not mix well. They are thought to lack the definite traits which characterize the other physical types, and "even a preto de qualidade is better than either of these--at least more handsome." Furthermore, people of these physical types are thought to be difficult to deal with. They are sometimes irritable and easily angered. They are the physical types least preferred in Vila Recôncavo; all oth- 563 826 157

3: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilian: SO11
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*565
596 riages and realignments between branches of these old families.

The Conde and Jacuipe families are good examples of family structure and cohesiveness in Class A. The Conde family is the principal owner of the factory, while several members of the Jacuipe family have stock in the corporation. The ancestral plantation of the Jacuipe family lies outside, although near, the community of Vila Recôncavo and is rented to a neighboring factory. Dona Sinhá, a member of the Jacuipe family and widow of a Conde, owns Fazenda das Moças within the community, a property adjoining the lands of Usina São Pedro. The Conde and Aliança families are joined by a mar-
[423] riage which has brought them into close contact. The Aliança family has three plantations in the community. Thus ten of the eleven functioning plantations in the area belong to the members of three interrelated extended families.

The senior member of the Conde family, the "Colonel," is one of the two men who founded the factory and the brother of the senior member of the Jacuipe family, Dona Yayá, now a widow. A son and a daughter of the Colonel married a daughter and a son of Dona Yayá, thus strengthening the ties between the two families. The Condes are represented by three generations: the mother and father, their eleven children, ten of whom are married, and their twenty-three grandchildren. The Jacuipe family is represented by four generations: Dona Yayá, her eight children, seven of whom are married, twenty-six grandchildren, and three great-grandchildren. Through marriages in the second descending generation of both families, seventeen more persons have been brought into the family group, and through marriages of the third descendent Jacuipe generation six more people have been added. The total number of persons in the two immediate families is ninety-
• [162] seven. Nineteen members of the Jacuipe family now live in Rio de Janeiro, reducing the number constantly present in Bahia to seventy-eight. Those in Rio, however, maintain constant communication with Bahia and often spend their vacations "home" in Salvador.
[528]

The Colonel and his wife, and the Colonel's sister Dona Yayá, form the nucleus around which the two extended kin-
[474] dred groups are organized. At the factory there are three residences: the large chalet, where the Colonel and his wife live, and a house apiece for his son and son-in-law, who are the two active directors of the factory. There are accommodations

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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[Class C Families]

able for the total number of marital unions formed during the years, so it is impossible to know the percentage of amasiado unions throughout the entire population.

TABLE 8
CIVIL MARRIAGES BY AGE GROUPS

Males		Females	
minors under 18	1	minors under 15	2
18-22	4	15-19	6
23-27	6	20-24	7
28-32	5	25-29	2
33-37	1	30-34	1
38-43	2	35-39	1
	19		19

There are occasions when a couple marry in the church only after having lived together for many years, at which time their children may be the principal witnesses at the wedding. Such a wedding always gives the couple a feeling of satisfaction and well-being, for there is sometimes a certain shame attached to the amasiado state, especially when it is necessary to fill in official forms such as birth registration, the census, or registration at the Institute of Vila Recôncavo. A woman who can say "meu esposo" or "meu marido" (my husband) feels a certain superiority over the one who can only say "meu homem" (my man).

The attitude toward children in Class C is somewhat ambivalent. Married women with as many as ten or twelve children may say they never wanted children, but simply "took what God sent." Frequently little girls pray that their mother will have another child so they may take care of it. All girls from the age of seven to thirteen or fourteen seem to like small children. There are few men who do not want children. Even though the mother may say she did not want them, she always seems pleased with them after they are born, and children, especially boys, are well loved and spoiled. Part of the women's gossip is often about another woman who is about to have a baby, and many women with five or six children of their own accuse others of having children "como ratos" (like rats) because they have eight or nine.

There is no use of contraceptives in Class C, although they

[Class C Families]

her services ranges anywhere from fifty cruzeiros to nothing but thanks, but with the understanding that when she is ill the family will help her, since she lives alone. 759

If a baptized child dies before it is seven years old, it is called an angel and goes straight to heaven, while if it dies before this age and is unbaptized, it is called a pagan and goes to limbo. The angel is carried through the streets in an open coffin, for everyone to see. The lid is put on the coffin after it is in the ground, whereupon all those in attendance scoop in some earth. The attitude toward the death of a child is one of mixed joy and sadness, and sometimes of joy only. If the mother and father wanted the child very badly, they feel sad; but otherwise the general attitude is that the child is better off dead, especially since he becomes an angel. The difference in the ringing of the church bells also shows this, for the ringing for a dead child is a short, almost joyous sound, while that for an adult is a long, sad tolling. 761 851 775 [533]

If it appears that a child is going to die after it has been born, an effort is made to have it baptized as soon as possible. But if it is healthy, it is baptized whenever the family can do so. The baptism includes a small party for the family and godparents. Formerly if a child died before it was baptized, its grave was sometimes baptized on the eve of São João by the woman who had been chosen to be its godmother. The family and godparents would go to the cemetery at midnight and gather around the grave, which the godmother sprinkled with water and baptized. This, however, is no longer done. 763 851 769 851. 178

According to the parish records, 705 children were baptized in the county during 1950; 320 of those belonged to the community of Vila Recôncavo. The civil register, however, showed only 276 persons of all ages registered in the county for the same year. A child is seldom registered right after birth, or even at the time of baptism, but whenever the parents think of it. Sometimes a person must do it himself when, as an adult, he needs a registration certificate. The situation is changing gradually as life becomes more entangled in official red tape, and people are registering their children more frequently than they used to. Members of classes A and B are much more careful about this matter than are the lower classes. 851 217 162 [178] [565]*

According to law, the medical doctor must sign a death certificate before a permit to bury someone can be obtained, so the figures for deaths are more accurate than those for births. The civil register for the community of Vila Recôncavo 217 [763] [759] 600

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 S011 Bahia Brazilians S011
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[Class C Families]

[Class D Families]

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Orphans, or children whose parents cannot care for them because of financial difficulties, are always taken in by some member of the family--an aunt, or uncle, or perhaps the grandparents if they are still alive, or the godparents.

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[162]

The Class D family presents a very different picture from that of any of the other social classes in Vila Recôncavo. It is almost the reverse of the patriarchal upper-class family, for in Class D the woman is the chief member, the chefe de familia. In Vila Recôncavo, 90 of the 290 households counted in the 1950 census reported a woman as the family head. Of these, thirty listed themselves as widows, seventeen as married but with husbands who lived elsewhere, and forty-three as unmarried. It is difficult to determine with certainty how many of the women who declared themselves widows or married actually were so. It is a favorite device of Vila Recôncavo women who have lived in an unmarried relationship with a man and subsequently separated from him to say that they are widows. It is equally difficult to determine from these figures how many unmarried relationships are involved.

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The composition of these households almost defies classification. Fifty-five are composed of mothers and children, with the addition in some cases of relatives and an agregado (official census term designating someone who lives in the house permanently but does not pay for his board), as well as hospedes (census designation of someone who is staying in the house temporarily and who is not paying for his board). Of the fifty-five houses with children, twenty-four are represented by unmarried, female family heads. Eight of these twenty-four households list agregados of approximately the same age as the woman, which may indicate, although not necessarily so, amasiado relationships. The other households are composed of what appear to be "left overs" from other families or marital unions: elderly people who have outlived their own conjugal units, younger people whose families either never existed as legal units or have been dissolved, agregados, and hospedes. These ninety households include a total of 353 people, who can be classified as follows:

[583]

[162]

55 mothers
142 children
37 grandchildren
35 relatives, including mothers, aunts, cousins, sisters, brothers,

*565
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[162]

nieces, and nephews
46 agregados and hospedes

Examples of the household units are given below.

*565
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TABLE 10
COMPOSITION OF CLASS D HOUSEHOLDS

Status of Head of Family	Age	Occupation	Number of Head of Family's Children Living in House	Number of Others in House
unmarried	62	none	2	4 grandchildren
widow	70	cook	1	1 grandchild; 1 hospede
unmarried	59	laundress	1	4 grandchildren
unmarried	24	laundress	4	none
widow	49	seamstress	4	7 grandchildren, 1 agregado
unmarried	42	cook	3	1 sister, 1 niece, 1 hospede
unmarried	39	laundress	3	1 hospede
unmarried	66	ironing	0	6 nieces & nephews
widow	42	ironing	6	none
unmarried	56	laundress	0	1 grandchild
unmarried	36	laundress	6	1 nephew
unmarried	48	laundress	3	1 brother
married	36	ironing	6	1 mother, 1 nephew
unmarried	38	laundress	3	1 aunt, 1 cousin
unmarried	84	none	0	1 agregado
unmarried	21	ironing	1	none
unmarried	54	laundress	0	1 hospede, 2 agregados
married	52	laundress	1	3 grandchildren

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583
836
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The household of Damiana is a good example for Class D. Damiana, who is now in her fifties, had a prolonged affair with a married man when she was young, and gave birth to three daughters. Orphaned herself at about the same time, she took her children and went to reside in the house of a good friend who was living in an unmarried relationship with a man. When Maria José, one of her daughters, was sixteen she was deflowered, and Damiana managed through a godfather's influence to force the boy who was responsible to marry the girl. Maria José, however, did not want to live with him, and since

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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ter them any others who want to receive it. Through the year few people from the rural area go to hear Mass in town, unless they have asked for a special service in honor of their patron saint or in the memory of a dead relative. They usually wait for the priest's visit to their own locality. The same is true of weddings and baptisms, which are often held up pending the arrival of the priest.

In case of death, the corpse is buried within twenty-four hours. Each parish has its own cemetery, and the relatives and friends of the dead carry the coffin there for burial. In the parish of Vila Recôncavo, the cemetery lies just outside the town. People from this parish, as well as those from the town itself, take the coffin to the convent before burial to be blessed, for there is always a priest there. Then they carry the coffin to the cemetery. In the other parishes the dead are buried without the benefit of a blessing, which will however take place on the second of November, when priests try to visit each cemetery and bless all the dead.

The many duties which have fallen upon the Franciscans have made it almost impossible for them to continue the type of life prescribed for those who enter an order. It is very difficult for them to attend the retreats to which they should go; there is little or no time for them to study or contemplate, or to teach, for they have been faced with the discouraging reality of trying to keep religion alive in a population too large and scattered for proper contact to be maintained. In 1941 Vila Recôncavo was described by the provincial canonical visitors as "one of the greatest crosses of our Province, because of the five decadent parishes entrusted to it."[2] The same book speaks constantly of the "deplorable indifference" and "religious coldness" of the people of Vila Recôncavo. In 1949 the statistics of religious activities were as follows: 333 baptisms (184 legitimate and 149 illegitimate children), 27 weddings, 200 First Communions, 8,292 general Communions, and 80 Communions for sick people.

As of today there are no religious brotherhoods in Vila Recôncavo. The last to pass out of existence was the Brotherhood of the Most Sacred Sacrament, which was closed upon the death of its treasurer early in this century. The Third Order of Franciscans, formally closed in 1902, was reopened in

2. Livro de cronica do convento, Vila Recôncavo (MS in Franciscan Convent, Vila Recôncavo).

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In the very large *usinas*, the mill hands and even the field hands are modern industrial workers. They are employees of a large industrial corporation and are protected at least theoretically by the labour laws of the nation. The highly personalized relationship between the plantation workers and the owner-administrator of his own plantation, which persisted from the slave era, has been replaced on the larger *usinas* by the impersonal employee-employer relationship of the modern industrial age. Today, modern plantations and small towns have electricity; there is modern housing for workmen; the State and even the sugar companies provide medical aid; there are primary schools both in the small towns and on many plantations; recreation facilities are found in the towns and provided by the *usinas*; and the sugar-cane experimental station situated in the area constantly urges fertilization of the land and modern techniques and methods of sugar-cane production. But the older and more traditional patterns exist side by side with the new, and each of them influences the relations among the racial groups of the zone.

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III. Vila Recôncavo is a small town on the Bay of All Saints. The rural area around it, which lies within the social and economic orbit of the town and which is the unit under consideration, comprises some 80 square kilometres, or slightly less than half the entire area of the county of which the town of Vila Recôncavo is the county seat.[1]

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It this area there are 14 plantations, three of which nowadays plant very little sugar cane. Parts of the town itself are built on the land of one of these plantations, and the rest of the town area is owned in small lots by private individuals or by the Church. Although Vila Recôncavo is the county seat, local government is the only important function which it fulfils for the surrounding area. It is not used as a shipping point, either for receiving supplies from the outside or for sending sugar to the outside. *Braços do mar*, or inlets of the bay, go to many of the plantations and are deep enough for the *saveiros* (shallow draft sailboats) used on the bay for transport. Many of the plantations have direct connexion with Salvador. Commerce in Vila Recôncavo is almost entirely limited to supplying the 1,462 inhabitants of the town and of some small islands and of one community near by which is not devoted to sugar production. It is not the major supply source even for these groups which live near enough to another and far larger commercial centre where they prefer to do their marketing. The *prefeito* or mayor of the county is rarely a resident of the town itself. Rather he is usually a planter of the surrounding area. He goes into town to do municipal business,

[1] Both the town and the county bear the name of Vila Recôncavo.

but spends most of his time on his plantation. The rest of the municipal officials are, for the most part, people who live in the town, although some of the town councillors are also planters living in the rural area. 634

The population of the area under study was 4,269 in 1940, and is approximately the same now. Of this number, 1,462 are residents of the town. Of the total of 4, 269, only 17 adults (plus their 16 children) in the rural area are considered locally, and appear to be, pure Caucasoid. They are all plantation owners, and all of them also have residences in the city of Salvador as well as in the rural area of Vila Recôncavo. Living in the town are 14 persons (plus their eight children) who are also considered pure Caucasoid. Three of these are foreign-born priests, one is a doctor, one a dentist, one a state tax collector, one a federal tax collector, and two are young men who have married into town families. The others are the wives and sisters of the men in the group, although one of the wives is suspected of having Negro ancestors since she has to have her hair straightened while the others have theirs curled.' There are five families and numerous other individuals in Vila Recôncavo who are called 'white', but whose ancestry is known to all as not being entirely Caucasoid, and in the rural area there are even fewer. These people are known as *brancos da terra* (whites of the land), a term similar to the *brancos da Bahia* of which Pierson speaks.[6] 1620 [161]

The two other elements which are present in the population of Vila Recôncavo and the surrounding rural area are the Negro and the Indian. As might be expected, the Negroid element in the population overwhelmingly predominates, and there are people who represent mixtures of Negro and Caucasoid ancestry in all possible proportions. The American Indian element appears in the people called locally the *caboclos*, generally from the arid north-eastern *sertão*, who are of mixed Indian and Caucasoid descent. These *caatingueiros* (literally, people from the low brush country of *caatinga*) and *sertanejos* (literally, people from the *sertão*) are not usually permanent residents of the Recôncavo. As a rule, *levas* or groups of these *caboclos* of *caatingueiros* come down into the Recôncavo at harvest time, from September to March, to work during the period when the *sertão* is dry and unproductive. Generally also, only men come, and they remain apart from the permanent plantation workers and at the end of the harvest head for home. 563

In Vila Recôncavo and its rural area, four social strata can be distinguished. First, there is a small upper class of aristocratic whites. This is almost an endogamous class, and intermarriage between first cousins is extremely frequent. The 17 white adults mentioned above are the members of the five families which locally compose this class. These families have been in the area for generations; two of them have been linked through first-cousin marriages 565 [582]

town, which is the centre of the municipal bureaucracy. The upper stratum of the lower classes is also found in both zones, since it contains town-dwelling artisans and fishermen as well as plantation workers. But the stratum of lowest prestige, the people who live marginally in Vila Recôncavo, is limited to the town itself. There is no place for them on the plantations or *usina* of the rural area. 565

As has already been indicated, the major economic factor in the community area of Vila Recôncavo is sugar-cane growing and the manufacture of sugar. There are approximately 2,500 people dependent upon this activity.[1] Each plantation has its small community, with a store, houses, repair shop and the owner's house. Plantation workers live on the plantation, in houses belonging to it. They are paid according to the amount of work they do—that is, how much cane they cut per ton, or how many feet of planting they cultivate, etc. As a rule, there are only three salaried persons employed on a typical sugar plantation—the administrator, the *feitor* (foreman), and the *vaqueiro* (cowboy). The administrator is the most important person on the plantation, directing the work, making estimates for the forthcoming harvest, co-ordinating the cutting, transport and planting of cane, etc. It is the administrator who runs the plantation, who remains in the saddle all day overseeing the work, who checks on everything. The administrator is responsible only to the owner of the plantation, who generally acts through him. In nearly all cases the administrator is either a mulatto or a Negro. In two cases, Negro administrators are unable to read or write, but they are experts at their job and enjoy the full confidence of the owner and the respect of the workers. The *feitor* acts as the assistant of the administrator; he walks about carrying a measuring rod and a notebook, making note of the amount of work done by each man in the field. Frequently this is the middle step up the ladder from worker to administrator. As a rule, the *feitor* in Vila Recôncavo plantations is a mulatto, a dark *mestiço* (mixed) or a Negro as is the administrator. The *vaqueiro* is preferably a *caboclo* from the north. He looks after the oxen used for hauling the sugar cane—of which there may be as many as 90 to 100 head—and the milk cows, inspects fences, for the horses and mules, carries messages, and generally rides with the owner when he travels about from plantation to plantation. The three racial elements are thus represented among the high-prestige men of a typical plantation—the owner is Caucasoid, the administrator and the *feitor* are Negro-Caucasoid mixtures, and the cowboy from the *sertão* is generally of partly American-Indian descent. 249 463 563 [233]

Under this hierarchy comes the main body of workers and their families, which totals about 200 on the average plantation. Such 249 464

[1] Of the total population of 2,500 people living on the sugar plantations and at the usina, approximately 600 men are the actual cane field and usina workers. Obviously this permanent labour force is inadequate; it is supplemented by groups of *cortiqueiros* at the harvest-planting season. [162] [464]

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[241] sugar workers move rarely, remaining for generations on the same plantation. Each family has its garden where a little maize, beans
[465] and manioc are grown. Pay day comes every two weeks, when as a rule the worker goes to the owner's house to receive his money. The pay is small, 15 to 25 dollars a fortnight, depending on how
[461] much the man has worked during the period. Men do not like to work more than five to six hours a day, from six a.m. to twelve noon, and seldom work more than five days a week. They work easily, without hurry. In the afternoon they work in their garden, if their
249 wives have not already done so. On the plantation no one starves;
466 everyone has his *patrão* (protector) in the person of the owner, and in case of an emergency, accident or sickness, he expects help from him. This personal element is very important on most plantations in the vicinity of Vila Recôncavo; as a rule, the owner knows all the workers by name, knows their families and their family troubles and
[164] problems. He is aware of their love affairs and up-to-date on the health of new-born children and their mothers. Nearly all cases of sickness, from common colds and rheumatism to more serious ailments, are brought directly to the attention of the *patrão* or his wife. The owner, returning from a prolonged stay in the city, receives visits from the workers or from their wives, during which all the personal gossip is exchanged. The workers inquire about the owner's family and more extended family, for they generally know them all. Engagements, weddings, births, deaths and illnesses are reported on both sides. Complaints or requests are also made to the owner. The relationship is highly personal, intimate, gentle and frank.

466 On one rather small *usina*, which will be called São Pedro, in the
249 rural zone of Vila Recôncavo, the situation is somewhat different.
472 São Pedro is not one of the large *usinas* of the Recôncavo, owned by a corporation; it is relatively small and owned by one of the most
[473] important families of the Vila Recôncavo community, members of the regional aristocracy whose family has held plantations there for many generations. Because the owners of the *usina* actually administrate it, and since they are in residence in the locality at least part of the year, they are able to maintain many of the traditional personal relations with their employees, many of whom have worked on the plantations belonging to their family and in the *usina* for most
[162] of their lives. But there is a total of 1,183 workers and their families at the *usina* and on the plantations belonging to São Pedro, and the very size of the enterprise and the number of workers make for a more impersonal and more strictly economic relationship between employer and employee. Workers become more a name on a payroll, and the employer a person with whom one seldom has direct contact. In the larger *usinas* of the Recôncavo this trend is even more marked especially where the employer is a large corporation with offices in Salvador.

their own cooking, care for their own clothes, and spend their evenings gathered around a fire, singing songs of the *sertão*, apart from the permanent workers.

There is a mutual desire to keep apart, for while the *morador* looks down on the *caboclo*, the *caboclo* feels very much the same about the local people. He feels that they are lazy, ignorant, and above all superstitious. The *caboclo vaqueiro* (north-eastern cowboy) of one plantation says that the workers of the plantation are always talking about black magic, that they are lazy and spendthrifts, and at the same time deride his frugality. He says he is not afraid of their black magic, since he knows there is nothing to it, but he distrusts those who speak of it. People in Vila Recôncavo will not admit they have *caboclo* or Indian ancestors. One young girl who is almost a perfect American Indian type says she is a *mulatinha*.[1] She vehemently denied there was any Indian blood in her family, but finally reluctantly admitted that a great-grandparent of hers had been partly Indian. This girl's niece would make a perfect double for the popular conception of Pocahontas, given a feather in her hair and a sarong, but she is considered a '*mulata*, almost *morena*'.

However, among the 'pure' whites there is a different feeling about the *caboclo*. White families say that they would feel proud to know that they have 'Indian blood', for it would show the length of time their family had been in Brazil. Frequently a white child is extremely 'Indian looking', that is, a *moreno* with jet-black, straight hair. The nickname of *tapuya* is often given to this type, which is generally admired by the whites. All plantation owners agree that, for work, no one can top the *caboclo*. The north-eastern worker of American Indian physical type will go into the fields at six in the morning and not return until six at night. He takes his lunch with him and eats it there. On the other hand, the *morador* will go to the fields at six and return at noon. However, as permanent resident workers, plantation owners prefer the Negroes of the Recôncavo. Little if any effort is made to 'fix' the *caboclo* on the plantations. When the harvest is finished, he takes his money and departs. Next year he may come again to the same plantation, or he may not. It seems to make little difference to either party.

There have been no serious tensions between the two groups. They work together during part of the year, but spend their free time separately. This does not mean that an occasional *caboclo* will not stay, take a wife from among the *moradores* and start a family.

The following percentages of racial types were taken from a sample of 162 heads of families, using the four major types: *preto*, 50 or 40 per cent; *mulato*, 59 or 49 per cent; *caboclo*, 3 or 2 per cent; *branco*, 11 or 9 per cent.

[1] Little mulata. Using the diminutive form seems to be a softer and more agreeable way of saying 'mulata'.

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*121 563 races, and the ensuing termination is perhaps most clearly discernible.

131 361 [132] Bahia lies in the tropics of the Southern Hemisphere, approximately thirteen degrees south of the Equator, her naturally warm and humid climate almost constantly tempered by the refreshing Southeast Trades. Located seven hundred miles above Rio de Janeiro, the Brazilian capital, and four hundred miles below the old sugar center of Pernambuco, Bahia marks approximately the mid-point of Brazil's four thousand miles of coast line which stretches from temperate [167] Uruguay to the torrid Guianas. Some twenty-five hundred miles to the northeast lie the Gold and Slave coasts of Africa, once the home of the parents or grandparents of many present-day Bahians; directly to the east is Angola, another important source of the city's population.

175 361 In 1949 Bahia will celebrate her four hundredth anniversary. As cities go in the New World, she is an old city; in fact, one of the very oldest. Permanently founded fifty- [504] eight years before Jamestown and thirty-five years earlier than St. Augustine, this outpost of Portuguese civilization was one of the world's richest ports long before New York had outgrown her swaddling clothes.

175 162 *563 Here, shortly after 1500, set in the Portuguese transplantation, at first composed of adventurers, shipwrecked and deserting sailors; *degredados* banished from Portugal for criminal, political, or religious offenses; ambitious young men chosen for physical fitness and freedom from marital ties to serve in the colonial garrison; impoverished nobles seeking to recuperate fortunes squandered at the Portuguese court; a few officials, Jesuits, and secular clergy; Jews expelled by the Inquisition (who incidentally were to furnish a considerable portion of the much-needed capital for the

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colony's development); gypsies destined to play a role in the subsequent slave trade and to bequeath their name permanently to the section of the city in which they settled; prostitutes and orphan girls sent over in limited numbers as wives by the Crown; and a few hardy peasant colonists, with their families, from Portugal, the Cape Verde Islands, and the Azores.

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This incoming wave of European population met the indigenous Indians and eventually absorbed or expelled them from the coast. In and about Bahia they were the Tupinambás and the Tupiniquins, part of the earlier Tupí expansion from the south, and of very primitive culture. The wifeless soldiers and colonists took Indian or half-breed women, first for concubines and later for legally married wives, and soon a numerous mixed-blood population sprang up which was gradually absorbed into the dominant white. Indian males were annihilated in battle, died from the rigors of slavery, or were driven, together with their women and children, far back into the interior. When they put up too stubborn resistance, whole villages were deliberately exterminated, one of the most effective means being the planting of smallpox germs from the clothing of a recent victim of the disease. The Indians, previously strangers to this European malady, rapidly succumbed.

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As early as the middle of the sixteenth century there began at Bahia extensive and prolonged Negro importation from Africa, and Bahia's Bay of All Saints subsequently served for generations as the principal port of entry into Brazil for this black commerce from the African coast. This involuntary population movement to Brazil eventually became what is, probably, the greatest intercontinental displacement of Negro peoples which ever occurred.

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these, together with the plantations of Pernambuco, supplied a large part of the sugar for the tables of Europe.

175 By 1670 Bahia was a wealthy capital boasting that her
439 flag was known upon the seven seas. Ships from the Portu-
433 guese empire in the East called regularly on their way back
[162] to Portugal. By the early eighteenth century Bahia had
[34] grown into a city of 70,000, her commerce protected by the
[352] cross-fire of fourteen forts. Six- and seven-story buildings
[554] were common; the possession of carved ebony furniture had
[567] become a symbol of social standing; silks, palanquins, and the finest porcelain were imported from China. In the surrounding cane fields toiled, it is estimated, ten times as many slaves as in Virginia. A century later, Lindley, an English smuggler, after admiring the abundance of gold jewelry worn by the women of Bahia, looked out over the shipping in the harbor and wrote of "a degree of wealth unknown in Europe."

Bahia continued to be the first commercial city of Brazil until about 1830,[1] when she finally yielded front rank to São Paulo, the rising young metropolis to the south. But during the entire colonial period (1549–1822), Bahia possessed the principal Brazilian firms and the largest Brazilian fortunes.

175 During the first two centuries of the colonial era, Bahia
633 was the seat of Portuguese control in Brazil, the official residence of high functionaries representing the Portuguese crown. Even after the government was transferred to Rio (1763), Bahia continued to play a prominent role in the politics of the colony and, subsequent to independence

[249] [1] In 1868, although the decline in sugar production was by that time well advanced, Bahia had 511 *engenhos* producing nearly 19,000 tons of sugar a year.

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in 1822, in the politics of the Empire, a role similar to that assumed by Minas Geraes, São Paulo, and Rio Grande do Sul in the Republic following 1889. In fact, she has been called "the Brazilian Virginia." Until 1907 Bahia was also the religious center of the Brazilian nation. Her archbishop was the head of the Roman Catholic church in Brazil, and the religious orders maintained here their principal representatives. Thus in the economic, political, and religious life of Brazil, Bahia boasts a long tradition of distinction and prestige.

The present city is about the size of Indianapolis or Seattle.[6] It nestles along the eastern rim of a huge bay, Bahia de Todos os Santos. The bay is formed by the projection out into the ocean of Cape Santo Antonio, which, on its western side, breaks rather sharply almost at the water's edge, exposing a bold promontory approximately three hundred feet in height which parallels for some two to three miles the rim of the bay. The city clings to the narrow shelf between the bay and the cliff and then sprawls up over this sizable barrier and spreads out along the ridges and into the valleys to the east and north, where centuries of erosion have carved a one-time flat plain into alternating crests and steep-sloping depressions.

Bahia is thus divided by a natural barrier into a lower and an upper city, into a Cidade Baixa and a Cidade Alta, as the two parts are locally called; the one connected with the other by steep, winding streets paved with cobblestones, by inclined planes and modern hydraulic elevators, or by numerous well-worn footpaths. In the lower city lies, of course,

[6] An estimate by the state government gave for the city of Bahia on December 31, 1934, a population of 352,244 (*Annuario estatistico da Bahia, 1934*, p. 131). The federal census of 1920 gave for Bahia City 283,422 (*Recenseamento do Brasil, 1920*, Vol. IV: *População*, Book I, p. xxiv).

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• 162 As one moves interior from the Reconcavo into the *sertão*, the Negro contribution to the population tends to decrease and the Indian contribution, much mixed with both white and Negro, to increase. Both on the moderately watered plateaus and river basins, chiefly devoted to cattle-raising and light farming and occasionally covered with virgin or second-growth timber, as well as in the sandy, dry, and hot *caatinga* country of the semiarid zones, one finds a frontier society which is relatively isolated and has been only slightly modified during recent decades by contact with the outside world.[8]

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Thus, in this particular area of intimate racial and cultural contact where the Negro and his descendants have been fated to work out a rather picturesque career, one will find three distinct types of settlement and population. In the *sertão*, or interior, is a highly mixed stock to whose composition the Indian has contributed in greater proportion probably than either the Negro or the European. In the Reconcavo, with its tradition of a departed rural aristocracy, a disintegrated plantation system, and a long history of slavery, the population is still principally negroid. While in the city of Bahia itself the people are largely of mixed European-African origin, individuals of either pure European or pure African descent being clearly in the minority.

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571 In the city also, the social order is still relatively stable. There has been in recent times little change. Bahia is, as we have seen, a comparatively old city, conscious of its traditions and proud of them. Conventions originally developed

[8] Euclydes da Cunha's *Os Sertões* (12th ed.; Rio, 1933) gives a vivid and dramatic account of life on the *sertão*. Although written in 1902, it is still timely. R. B. Cunningham-Graham's *A Brazilian Mystic* (New York, 1925) is based upon this more detailed account.

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sirable as a seat of residence for one weary of the noises of an industrial city, but for the Bahian wife and daughters, whose world is still largely inside the doors of the home, these characteristics seem to give it a peculiar charm. Hence, one will see along this avenue, almost from Praça Castro Alves out, the residences of many substantial families and, in Vitoria, just beyond the governor's palace, the more pretentious dwellings of the upper class.

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TABLE 1

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FAMILIES DWELLING ALONG THE AVENIDA SETE DE SETEMBRO CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO ETHNIC COMPOSITION, BAHIA, 1936

	Number	Per Cent
Black	19	7.6
Mixed-blood	97	38.6
White	128	51.0
Mixed-blood and white	5	2.0
Black and mixed-blood	2	0.8
Total	251	100.0

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No Bahian house which boasts any pretension fails to have a balcony, while nearly all possess large casement windows opening out on the street. From this vantage point the family can while away many pleasant hours leaning on elbows and "watching the *gente* (people) go by." Consequently, one can readily gain, especially during the passage of processions when the balconies and windows are fully occupied, rather accurate information on the physical character of the population. It is possible at Carnival, for example, particularly just preceding the passage of the floats, to take a census with respect to racial composition, as far

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CHAPTER II

THE COMING OF THE AFRICANS

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THE population of Bahia in 1585 included at least three to four thousand Negroes.[1] During the succeeding century the black portion of the city's inhabitants increased to such an extent that it is said a traveler "might have supposed himself in Negroland."[2] Frézier in 1714 estimated the proportion of blacks to whites in Bahia to be at that time twenty to one, which is probably an overstatement, although the preponderance of Negroes was undoubtedly considerable.[3] Approximately one hundred years later, in 1807, an *alistamento* for military service enumerated nearly twice as many blacks as whites, or approximately the same number of Negroes as both whites and mixed-bloods combined.[4] Twelve years later, in 1819, Conselheiro Velloso

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[1] A. G. Keller, *Colonization* (Boston, 1908), p. 145. Gabriel Soares (*Roteiro do Brasil*, p. 126, quoted by Pedro Calmon, *Historia social do Brasil* [3 vols.; São Paulo, 1937–39, I, 179) puts the number of Negroes able to bear arms in Bahia in 1587 at four thousand. The Jesuit Anchieta estimated the population in 1583 to include three thousand Negroes, a figure thought by Vasconcellos to be an underestimation (see Salomão de Vásconcellos, "A escravatura africana em Minas Geraes," *Jornal do Commercio* [Rio], November 20, 1938).

[2] Robert Southey, *History of Brasil* (3 vols.; London, 1810), II, 674.

[3] At approximately the same time, Cook estimated the proportion in Rio de Janeiro to be seventeen to one (Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 175). Each visitor may have been more familiar with the area immediately about the docks where a greater predominance of Negro workers would naturally be found. It is also probably true that the mixed-bloods were, in each case, included with the blacks.

[4] The totals were: blacks, 25,502; mixed-bloods, 11,350; whites, 14,260 (see João Pandiá Calogeras, "A politica exterior do imperio—as origens,"

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de Oliveira estimated that there were then in Bahia province 147,263 unfree Negroes.[5]

The blacks were practically all introduced as slaves, Brazil being, until 1888, a slaveholding state.[6] Under the favorable conditions of a rich soil, intense tropical sunlight, and plentiful rainfall common to the Reconcavo, sugar cane thrived. Its cultivation and processing in a land of "open resources" demanded a constant and inexpensive labor supply which the Portuguese, by reason of insufficient numbers and imperfect acclimitization, were themselves unable to furnish. At first, as in the West Indies and the United States, the indigenous Indians were enslaved; and, after the limited supply on the littoral was exhausted, raiding expeditions penetrated deep into the interior. But the Indians, familiar with only the crudest forms of agriculture, seminomadic, and as unaccustomed to settled and ordered plan-

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Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro [tomo especial; Rio, 1927], p. 294).

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 293 and 330.

[6] For detailed information on the slave trade and slavery see, especially Perdigão Malheiro, *A escravidão no Brasil* (3 vols.; Rio, 1867); Percy A. Martin, "Slavery and Abolition in Brazil," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. XIII, No. 2 (1933); Louis Couty, *L'esclavage au Brésil* (Paris, 1881); Lawrence F. Hill, "The Abolition of the African Slave Trade to Brazil," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. XI, No. 2 (1931); Braz do Amaral, "Os grandes mercados de escravos africanos; as tribus importadas; sua distribuição regional," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro* (special vol; Rio, 1927), pp. 437–96; Affonso Claudio, "As tribus negras importadas," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro* (special vol., Part II; Rio, 1914), pp. 597–655; Mary W. Williams, "The Treatment of Brazilian Slaves in the Brazilian Empire," *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. XV (July, 1930); Evaristo de Moraes, *A escravidão africana no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1933); João Dornas Filho, *A escravidão no Brasil* (Rio, 1939); Roberto Simonsen, "As consequencias economicas da abolição," *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio), May 8, 1938; Affonso de E. Taunay, "Notas sobre as ultimas decadas do trafico," *ibid.*, July 24, July 31, August 7, 1938.

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be the *lingua geral*, or general Negro language.[5] The ritual of the more important fetish-cult centers was, and still is, carried on in this language. Inscriptions in Nagô were occasionally to be seen not only on cult buildings but also in small commercial establishments owned and operated by Negroes, like the meat stall on the Baixa dos Sapateiros over whose entrance Nina Rodrigues in 1895 noted the inscription "Kosi oba Kan afi Olorun."[6] So important did Nagô become, and so widespread its use that, although Nina Rodrigues early in the twentieth century estimated that there were only approximately five hundred Africans still living in the city and they were at that time dying at the rate of a hundred and fifty to two hundred a year,[7] one still today, more than three decades later, finds

[5] Nina Rodrigues, intimately acquainted for many years with Bahian Negroes, commends the accuracy of the Visconde de Porto Seguro when he says, "The best known Negroes in Brazil were those coming from the *Costa da Mina*, whence arrived the greater portion of those imported into Bahia; so that in this city many slaves learned little Portuguese but instead communicated among themselves in Nagô." About 1900 he himself wrote: "The Nagô dialect is commonly spoken in Bahia by almost all the old Africans from the various tribes and by a great number of creoles and mulattoes" (*op. cit.*, p. 197).

[6] Rodrigues translates the phrase: "There is no God but Olorun" (principal deity of the Nagô cult). A photograph of the entrance to the shop showing this inscription may be found in *ibid.*, opp. p. 202.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 154. In the seven years from 1896 to 1902, 1,282 Africans died at Bahia. The distribution was as follows:

Year	Total	Male	Female
1896	110	55	55
1897	238	136	102
1898	200	96	104
1899	209	110	99
1900	151	87	64
1901	152	74	78
1902	202	136	66
Total	1,282	714	568

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Nagô at times spoken in Bahia and an occasional individual whose command of this language is comparable to his command of Portuguese.

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The nature of Negro settlement at Bahia favored to a considerable extent the preservation of African cultural forms. Tribal units were not deliberately broken up, as in Jamaica and the United States, and the Negro was thereby able to preserve and to transmit to his children a considerable portion of his African heritage. Even on the plantations the distribution of newly imported Africans among the old-established Negroes seems not to have occurred.[8] The concentration in the city of Bahia over a long period of time of large numbers of semi-independent *negros de ganho*, around whom there gradually accumulated a considerable number of relatively unassimilated free Negroes, also favored the persistence of African cultural elements.

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It is likely that Nagô was not maintained in a pure form but came to be a patois containing numerous elements from other African dialects as well as from Portuguese. A Catholic missionary, Padre Coquard, visiting Bahia in 1899 to solicit funds, spoke to the colored population in Nagô. But the sermon, preached in the ancient church of Sé, was wholly ineffective.[9]

Other African languages were spoken in Bahia.[10] Rodrigues believed that Gêge (or Ewe) was used throughout the eighteenth century and until at least the middle of the nine-

[8] Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil, 1809 to 1815* (2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1817), I, 229 n.

[9] Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 200–201. Perhaps another reason for this ineffectiveness was that the Negroes who were most able to understand Nagô were unassimilated Africans who, out of loyalty to the religion of their fathers, deliberately absented themselves from this ceremony of the Catholic church.

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 197–230.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Wells, journeying three thousand miles through the interior of Brazil a few years before abolition, thought that "many a poor laborer at home [in the United States] would enjoy their lot."[68] Gardner, who during five years' residence "saw more than has fallen to the lot of most Europeans," said:

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> I have conversed with Negroes in all parts of the country, and have met with but very few who expressed any regret at having been taken from their own country, or a desire to return to it. On some of the large estates at which I have resided for short periods, the number of slaves often amounted to three or four hundred, and but for my previous knowledge of their being such, I could never have found out from my own observations that they were slaves. I saw . . . . contented and well-conditioned laborers turning out from their little huts, often surrounded by a small garden, and proceeding to their respective daily occupations, from which they returned in the evening anything but broken and bent down with the severity of their tasks.[69]

Codman wrote:

> It is the result of my observation, and I believe that of every one who has investigated the subject, that the Brazilians are generally kind and indulgent masters, treating their slaves with much greater leniency than has been practised by any other people among whom the "institution" has existed in modern times.[70]

[68] James W. Wells, *Three Thousand Miles through Brazil* (2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1886), II, 187.

[69] *Op. cit.*, p. 14.

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[70] *Op. cit.*, p. 201. Absentee ownership, however, occasionally resulted, as on the estate of Prince Dom Rodrigo visited by Mawe, in a "system of management . . . . so bad that the slaves are half starved, almost destitute of clothing, and most miserably lodged" (John Mawe, *Travels in the Interior of Brazil* [Philadelphia, 1816], p. 115). Note also Mathison, *op. cit.*, p. 114. Nor is it to be supposed that the field hands always fared as well as the house servants. Compare the conclusion of Stewart (*op. cit.*, p. 296): "House servants in Rio [1852] are said to have easy times, and to do very much as they please; but to judge from the incidents I have seen of field laborers, I fear such have but a sad and wearisome life."

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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CHAPTER IV

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RACE MIXTURE AND THE CRUMBLING OF THE COLOR LINE

DURING at least the first century of colonization relatively few European women emigrated to Brazil.[1] Incoming Portuguese were predominantly males whose adventurous natures had led them to sever more or less completely family ties in the homeland. The soldiers of Thomé de Souza's first permanent garrison, who constituted no inconsiderable portion of Bahia's early population, had been specially chosen, we are told, because they were unincumbered by family ties. The few women, principally prostitutes or girls from orphanages, sent out from Lisbon by the Crown at the insistent request of Padre Nobrega[2] were insufficient to provide the necessary mothers of a new generation.[3] So great at one time was the demand for European women that the king of Portugal issued a decree denying girls permission to go from Brazil to Portugal to be trained as nuns unless they themselves on their own volition expressed an unalterable desire to remain unmarried.

[1] Gilberto Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* (2d ed.; Rio, 1936), p. 60.

[2] Francisco A. de Varnhagen, Visconde de Porto Seguro, *Historia geral do Brasil* (3d complete ed., 4 vols.; São Paulo, n.d.), I, 308.

[3] As late as 1731 Captain-General D. Lourenço de Almeida wrote from Minas Geraes: "Em todas estas minas não ha mulheres que hajam de casar, e quando ha alguma (que são raras) são tantos casamentos que lhe saem que se ve o pai da noiva em grande embaraço a escolha que ha de fazer do genro" (*Revista do Arquivo Publico Mineiro de 1933*, I, 350, cited by Pedro Calmon, *Historia social do Brasil* [3 vols.; São Paulo, 1937–39], I, 95).

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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In the Jesuit schools at Bahia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, mixed-blood, pure Indian, and Portuguese children were accepted with equal favor and educated together. "The chronicles of the time reveal no segregation or any other form of discrimination inspired by prejudice against the Indian; the program adopted by the padres appears to have continually fostered friendly intermingling of the races."[27]

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By the time the relatively small numbers of Indians at Bahia had been absorbed into the dominant population group, African women had been imported in sufficient numbers to continue extensively the process of race mixture. The scarcity of white, or near-white, women, at least as mates for men of the upper classes, was not now so acute as formerly; consequently, most of the sexual unions with African women were extra-legal,[28] comparable in some measure to interbreeding in our South, except that in the case of Brazil the extent of intermixture was perhaps greater.[29] Padre Nobrega wrote from Bahia in the early days of the colony: "Among the people here there are none who do not possess several *negras* from whom they have many children."[30] By 1819 the number of *mestiços* in Brazil was given as 628,000—a figure not greatly inferior to that of the whites, who were estimated at 843,000.[31] The pure Negro, it

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[27] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

[28] Marriages with Negroes were at first frowned upon. Thus an *alvará* of 1755 which referred to marriages of white men with Indian women as "convenient and noble" condemned "staining one's self" by marrying Negroes or Jews (Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 156).

[29] See Freyre, *op. cit.*, esp. chaps. iv and v.

[30] Manoel de Nobrega, *Cartas do Brasil, 1549–1560* (Rio, 1886), quoted in Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

[31] Alcide d'Orbigny, *Voyage dans les deux Amériques* (Paris, 1836), p. 155, quoted in Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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is said, did not usually exist in Brazil much longer than the third generation.[32] In Minas Geraes, in 1835, while importations from Africa were still large, there were 170,000 mulattoes to 305,000 blacks.[33]

Thus miscegenation has gone on in Brazil in an unobtrusive way over a long period of time. In few places in the world, perhaps, has the interpenetration of peoples of divergent racial stocks proceeded so continuously and on so extensive a scale.[34]

One circumstance in Bahia still favorable to miscegenation is the system of household service universal in upper-class, principally white, families. Whereas no inconsiderable portion of the domestic labor in the United States, at least in northern areas, is white, consisting largely of peasant immigrant women from Europe, household labor in Bahia is almost invariably black or dark mulatto. For example, of 250 servant women noted, 197 were black, 47 were mulatto (predominantly dark), 4 were *cafuso*,[34a] and only 2 were white. In other words, only 0.8 per cent appeared to be of unmixed white descent. For this reason, interbreeding between males in white upper-class families and servant girls leads almost always to black-white, or at least mulatto-white, crosses.

The disposition to tolerate intermixture with the African

[32] Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 163. [33] *Ibid.*

[34] Calmon writes (*ibid.*, p. 158): "Nenhum outro povo tão ligeiro marchou para a estabilização de um tipo procedente dos mais opostos fatores; principalmente em nenhum outro as propriedades unitivas do idioma, da religião, do meio fisico, se conjugaram tão intimamente para uniformizar, num imenso territorio (Luc Durtain disse que o Brasil é um dos cinco paises verdadeiramente cosmicos) a descendencia de inumeros troncos, celtico, negroide, aborigene."

[34a] Indian-Negro mixed-blood.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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rapidly becoming one people. Some day not far distant there will be only *one* race in our country."

On visiting Brazil, Theodore Roosevelt once wrote: "Perhaps the attitude that the Brazilians, including the most intelligent among them, take is best symbolized by a picture which we saw in the Art Museum in Rio. It portrayed a black grandfather, a mulatto son, and a white grandchild, the evident intention of the painter being to express both the hope and the belief that the Negro was being absorbed and transformed so that he would become a white man." Quoting a Brazilian statesman, Roosevelt continued: "You speak of Brazil as having a large Negro population. Well, in a century there will not be any Negroes in Brazil, whereas you will have twenty or thirty millions of them. Then for you there will be a real and very uncomfortable problem, while for us the problem in its most menacing phase will have disappeared."[42]

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It is difficult to check this general impression that the population is constantly becoming more and more European in appearance. Reliable statistics on the present distribution of the various ethnic groups are not available. No adequate data of this sort have recently been compiled by any agency. The last Brazilian census to include racial categories was taken a half-century ago, in 1890. At that time the racial division in Bahia was given as: *brancos*, 32.0 per cent; *pretos*, 26.4 per cent; and *mestiços*, 35.1 per cent.[43]

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Vital statistics, however, are still recorded in the city by

[42] *Outlook*, CVI (February 21, 1914), 410-11.

[43] *Caboclos* were given as 6.5 per cent. It is difficult to understand how so large a number of Indians, or Indian mixed-bloods (the term is variously used at different times and in different places in Brazil), could have at that time existed in the city of Bahia.

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man is a Negro"), has now been largely replaced by, as Freyre says, the "more Brazilian saying": "Quem escapa de negro, branco é" ("Who isn't a Negro is a white man").

With due regard, then, to such qualifications regarding the precise meaning of *branco* as these facts suggest, we may note that the classification of births in Bahia in 1932 indicated the color distribution to be as given in Table 3. 563* 826 162

TABLE 2

PROBABLE ETHNIC ORIGIN OF THE FIRST FIVE HUNDRED INDIVIDUALS LISTED AS *Brancos* IN THE FILES OF THE GABINETE DE IDENTIFICAÇÃO, BAHIA, 1937 [217]

Probability	Number	Per Cent
Whites	340	68.0
Mulattoes*	95	19.0
Indian-white mixed-bloods†	39	7.8
Indian-white-Negro mixed-bloods†	26	5.2
Total	500	100.0

* Individuals with the following physical characteristics were noted: (1) nose very broad, lips very full; (2) dark skin, hair almost kinky, lips thick; (3) skin *café com leite* ("coffee with milk"), hair exceedingly curly; (4) hair almost kinky; (5) lips full, nose broad, considerable prognathism.

† Ordinarily only slight traces of Indian ancestry evident in each case.

Since the total registration of births for each of these years averages slightly in excess of five hundred in a city of an estimated 360,000, the records are obviously incomplete. Many midwife deliveries go unrecorded; and, since these births occur usually among the lower classes, which are largely black and dark mulatto, the relative color percentages are probably skewed toward the white pole. 563* 163 114 [565] [162]

Deaths are less likely to go unrecorded. But since deaths 165 563*

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Short of a racial census, an adequate statistical statement of the racial composition of Bahia would probably require an extended sampling of the population in various parts of the city—a procedure not feasible under the limits of this study. Samples readily obtainable at the numerous festivals such as Segunda Feira do Bomfim, Conceição da Praia, the Vespers of Reis, etc., are not practical for the reason that participation of one or another of the ethnic components is ordinarily out of proportion to its size in the general population. But at Carnival, when nearly the entire population frequents the public thoroughfares, this difficulty disappears. A new obstacle arises, however, in the form of a considerable infiltration of population from surrounding areas. And since the whites are ordinarily from the upper-income groups and consequently more able to travel, the white percentage of the city's population is probably at that time swollen beyond its normal proportion. The "Micarêta," or second Carnival, held one week after Easter, avoids this latter disadvantage. Of five thousand people noted among the participants in the "Micarêta" for 1936, the racial percentages appeared to be those given in Table 5.

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Thus one can perhaps confirm the common-sense judgment of Bahian citizens to the effect that at least half, and perhaps more, of the population is now noticeably mixed, that both biologically "pure" whites (but not "whites" in the social sense) and biologically "pure" Africans are relatively few in number.

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Some notion of the change in physical characteristics by generations, at least among members of the lower classes, may be had from a study of five hundred cases of mothers and their offspring applying at Bahia's free children's

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[142] clinic.[47] The offspring of 221 black and 200[48] mulatto moth-
[125] ers appeared to vary from their mothers as indicated in Table 6.

Since cases in which only obvious variations appeared were recorded as differing, the data would indicate a rather noticeable variation by generations. At least this is true in
[836] so far as mothers are concerned. Accurate information on fathers is difficult to obtain, since, in the section of the popu-

TABLE 5

ETHNIC ORIGIN (AS DETERMINED BY INSPECTION) OF FIVE THOUSAND PARTICIPANTS IN THE "MICARÊTA" FESTIVAL, BAHIA, 1936

[162]

Racial Identity	Number	Per Cent
European	1,585	31.7
Negro	900	18.0
Mulatto	2,495	49.9
*Cafuso**	20	0.4
Total	5,000	100.0

* The term *cafuso* is employed to designate an individual of mixed Indian and Negro descent.

lation whence these cases come, one finds extensive cohabitation without formal marriage, either civil or religious.

So widespread has the dispersion of African blood in the predominantly European group now become that relatively few families in Bahia are of undiluted European origin, without African strain somewhere in the lineage. This mixture of the races in Bahia is in some respects similar to the

[47] Since pigmentation, it is presumed by local physicians, does not become "fixed" until approximately six months after birth, children under one year were eliminated from the tally.

[48] Seventy-nine children were white of white mothers.

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mixture of the nationalities in the United States, where old families of pure English descent have for some time been mingling their blood with that of Germans, Scandinavians, Slavs, and the Mediterranean peoples. "Even if one marries a person who does not himself possess some African blood," said a young lady of the upper class, "this same individual

TABLE 6

VARIATION IN PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS BETWEEN CHILDREN AND THEIR MOTHERS,* BAHIA, 1936

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Child	Mother			
	Black		Mulatto	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Color lighter, hair "straighter"	55	24.9	45	22.5
Color lighter	12	5.4	34	17.0
Hair "straighter"	12	5.4	20	10.0
Color lighter, hair more kinky	0	0.0	2	1.0
Color darker, hair "straighter"	0	0.0	1	0.5
Color darker	0	0.0	3	1.5
Hair more kinky	0	0.0	3	1.5
Color darker, hair more kinky	0	0.0	1	0.5
No noticeable variation	142	64.3	91	45.5
Total	221	100.0	200	100.0

* As determined by inspection.

will have cousins or other relatives of African descent. Somewhere there will be a connection."

"It is very hard to say a man doesn't have some Negro blood coming from somewhere in his recent or remote past," said a prominent *branco* lawyer and politician. "Take myself, for instance. I can't say for certain that my grandparents didn't have African connections. 'Quando não vem de perto, vem de longe' ['If it isn't close, it's distant']."

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and the proof of his moral qualities have led people to overlook the evident contrast of his physical characters, and his black origin is lost sight of in the approximation of his moral and intellectual qualities to those of the white."[19]

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In Bahia today people neither think nor talk very much about interracial marriage. It is of no more consequence, perhaps, than interclass marriage or marriage between different nationalities in the United States. Few marriages of any kind cross class lines. Marriages between a member of the upper class, on the one hand, and an individual who has climbed up out of the lower class into an intermediate position, on the other, or between the latter and a member of the lower class, do occasionally take place. But they occur very rarely between individuals from the upper and the lower strata.

It is the impression of competent residents well acquainted with the social structure of Bahia that marriages cross race lines more often than class lines; that is, that marriages between individuals from different occupational and income levels within each racial group are less frequent than marriages between members of the different racial groups in the same class. Unfortunately, reliable statistical data upon this important point are not available.

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According to the official records, 42 cases of intermarriage occurred at Bahia out of a total of 1,269 marriages during the year and four months from September 1, 1933, to December 31, 1934. Although this figure represents only 3.3 per cent of the marriages recorded, it does not include those cases in which one of the participants, although classified according to local categories as a *branco* or a *branca*, actually

[19] Jean Baptiste de Lacerda, "The *Metis*, or Half-breeds of Brazil," in *Papers on Inter-racial Problems*, ed. G. Spiller (London, 1911), p. 382.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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has some degree of color in his ancestry. In other words, the white–*branco da Bahia* marriages are omitted.[20] It represents, therefore, the number of intermarriages from the local point of view, but, as a government official pointed out, it does not accurately reflect the amount of actual race-crossing.

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Among the whites of the upper classes a definite line is drawn at intermarriage between individuals from the extreme limits of the color scale, just as a line is drawn, and perhaps for the same reason, at marriage between individuals from the lower and upper limits of the class scale. Although such marriages do occasionally occur, they are ordinarily frowned upon. Thus, of 149 students classifying themselves as *brancos* and responding to the query, "Do you object to marrying a *preto?*" 139, or 93 per cent, replied "Yes." Of 140 similar students, 93, or two-thirds, even objected to dancing with a black.

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The brother of a former governor of Bahia, scion of a family which traces its lineage back through a long line of colonial and European aristocracy, had never married but had lived all his life with a lower-class Negro mistress. When, on his deathbed, he desired to marry the woman and thus legitimize the children, his family objected so strenuously that the attempt was abandoned. However, opposition was not only on color but also, and more importantly, on class grounds.

Hence, white-Negro *consorcios* which involve a member of the upper class are ordinarily extra-legal, outside marriage. In the upper circles intermarriage becomes more pronounced as the colors approach along the white-black continuum.

[20] It is also true, of course, that *branco da Bahia-pardo* marriages are included.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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and mulatto slaves noticeable even before 1800, had by the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century become great. In 1822, for instance, the free blacks in Maranhão were reckoned at 9,308; the free mulattoes, at 25,111. Only 6,580 mulattoes were still in bondage as compared with 77,954 blacks. Thus, in this important center of Negro concentration, over three-fourths of the mixed-bloods had by 1822 been emancipated, whereas approximately only one-eighth of the blacks had been liberated. Walsh in 1828 reports that there were at that time in Brazil approximately 160,000 free blacks and 400,000 free mulattoes. In 1835, among a total of 170,000 mulattoes in Minas Geraes, only 40,000, or less than one-fourth, were reported to be slaves; while 250,000 out of an estimated 305,000 blacks, or approximately five-sixths, were still in bondage.[6] Although no figures are available for Bahia, it is likely that similar proportions held here also.

These numerically important liberated mulattoes began their rise in social rank by becoming small farmers (*lavradores*, *sitiantes*), or artisans (both rural and urban), street merchants, small shopkeepers, etc., taking their places beside those lower-class whites who either had not yet risen or did not possess the requisite ability to rise.

Free blacks, as well as free mulattoes, were able to establish themselves in manual occupations more readily than their brothers in the United States because the descendants of Europeans in Brazil have ordinarily looked down upon manual labor, as attested by the common saying: "Trabalho é para cachorro e negro" (work [that is, hard manual labor] is for Negroes and dogs). "Whatever may have been the en-

[6] Maurice Rugendas, *Voyage pittoresque dans le Brésil*, trans. from the German by de Colbery (3 vols.; Paris, 1835), p. 27.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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The whites, as might be anticipated, are concentrated in the upper levels. Their numbers, both absolute and relative, diminish sharply as one descends the occupational scale, and they appear only in small percentages in the lower tiers.

TABLE 8

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION IN THOSE EMPLOYMENTS AT BAHIA IN WHICH BLACKS APPEAR TO BE PREDOMINANT, 1936

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Employment	Sample	Percentage				
		Black*	Mulatto	White	*Cafuso*§	Total
Carregadores†	100	93.0	7.0	0.0	0.0	100
Laundresses	200	89.5	9.5	0.0	1.0	100
Carroceiros‡	100	83.0	15.0	0.0	2.0	100
Masons	125	82.4	16.8	0.0	0.8	100
Stevedores	125	81.6	15.2	1.6	1.6	100
Truck helpers	250	81.2	18.0	0.8	0.0	100
Domestics	250	78.8	18.8	0.8	1.6	100
Street laborers	225	78.3	21.2	0.5	0.0	100
Candy-peddlers	100	77.0	21.0	1.0	1.0	100
Cobblers	70	74.4	22.8	2.8	0.0	100
Venders	200	68.5	28.0	3.5	0.0	100
Newsboys	100	68.0	31.0	1.0	0.0	100
Shoe-shiners	50	66.0	32.0	2.0	0.0	100
Streetcar motormen	80	60.0	32.5	5.0	2.5	100
Truck-drivers	150	44.7	43.3	10.7	1.3	100

* It is, of course, possible that individuals with some degree of mixture are included in this category. Color and hair texture were the differentials particularly noted.

† *Carregadores* operate at the port, discharging the functions of porters and baggagemen.

‡ Individuals who own a mule and a two-wheeled cart and transport goods about the city are known as *carroceiros*.

§ Indian-Negro mixed-blood.

Of the employments in which relatively unmixed blacks and mulattoes were found to predominate, those in which there appeared to be more blacks than mulattoes (together with the corresponding percentages) were as indicated in Table 8. The mulattoes in each case were predominantly dark mixed-bloods.

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Of the same employments (in which blacks and mulattoes were found to predominate), those in which there appeared to be more mulattoes than unmixed blacks were as indicated in Table 9.

TABLE 9

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION IN THOSE EMPLOYMENTS AT BAHIA IN WHICH MULATTOES APPEAR TO BE PREDOMINANT OVER BLACKS, 1936

Employment	Sample	Percentage				
		Mulatto	Black	White	*Cafuso*	Total
Barbers*	150	74.0	20.0	6.0	0.0	100
Band musicians†	98	68.4	23.5	8.1	0.0	100
Street-sweepers	75	62.7	34.7	2.6	0.0	100
Streetcar *fiscais*‡	50	62.0	24.0	10.0	4.0	100
Streetcar conductors	80	58.8	22.5	16.2	2.5	100
Firemen†	100	58.0	32.0	9.0	1.0	100
Bus *cobradores*§	90	54.5	30.0	12.2	3.3	100
Taxi-drivers	85	54.1	31.8	9.4	4.7	100
Police*	150	54.0	32.6	13.4	0.0	100
Bus-drivers	90	50.0	27.8	17.8	4.4	100
Soldiers†	750	48.1	40.5	11.1	0.3	100

* These mulattoes were predominantly light.
† These mulattoes were predominantly dark.
‡ Individuals who check streetcar conductor's records.
§ *Cobradores* are fare-collectors in some cases, changeboys in others.

Of the employments in which whites and mulattoes appear to be predominant, those in which there appeared to be more mulattoes than whites were as given in Table 10.

Of the same employments (in which whites and mulattoes were found to predominate), those in which there appeared to be more whites than mulattoes were as indicated in Table 11.

Thus, the occupational groups found to be composed probably three-fourths or more of relatively unmixed blacks

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included: *carregadores*, laundresses, masons, stevedores, truck helpers, *carroceiros*, unskilled laborers, domestic servants, and candy-peddlers; those found to be composed perhaps two-thirds or more of blacks (in addition to the foregoing): cobblers, street venders, newsboys, and shoe-shiners; and those composed half or more of blacks (in addition to the above): streetcar motormen.

TABLE 10

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION IN THOSE EMPLOYMENTS AT BAHIA IN WHICH MULATTOES APPEAR TO BE PREDOMINANT OVER WHITES, 1936

Employment	Sample	Percentage			
		Mulatto	White	Black	Total
Army officers:					
Superior*	33	57.6†	42.4	0.0	100
Inferior	38	47.4	34.2	15.8	100‡
Clerks	350	55.1§	44.6	0.3	100

* The range was from lieutenant upward.
† There were only two dark mulattoes.
‡ *Cafuzo*, 2.6 per cent.
§ These mixed-bloods were predominantly light.

The occupational groups which appeared to consist half or more of mixed-bloods, included: clerks, barbers, band musicians, army officers (superior), police, firemen, streetcar conductors, streetcar *fiscais*, taxi- and bus-drivers, bus *cobradores*, and street-sweepers. Approximately two-thirds of the band musicians appeared to be mulattoes, and about three-fourths of the barbers.

Among those occupational groups which are composed probably three-fourths or more of whites were found priests,

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bank employees, and businessmen;[1] among those two-thirds white (in addition to the above): professors in the Faculdades, lawyers, politicians, and cabaret entertainers;[2] and among those half or more white (in addition to the groups

TABLE 11

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION IN THOSE EMPLOYMENTS AT BAHIA IN WHITES APPEAR TO BE PREDOMINANT, 1936

Employment	Sample	Percentage				
		White	Mulatto	Black	*Branco da Bahia*	Total
Bank employees	125	84.0	2.4	0.0	13.6	100
Priests	50	76.0	8.0	0.0	16.0	100
Businessmen	40	75.0	7.5	0.0	17.5	100
Cabaret entertainers	26	73.1	11.5	0.0	15.4	100
Professors (Faculdades)	232	70.3	14.2	0.0	15.5	100
Lawyers	413	67.1	9.7	1.7	15.2	100*
Politicians	60	66.7	11.6	1.7	18.3	100†
Physicians	100	63.0	20.0	1.0	16.0	100
Teachers (secondary)	58	57.0	24.1	3.4	15.5	100
Commercial employees	325	54.8	27.4	1.6	15.3	100‡
Government *funcionarios*	250	45.2	32.8	5.6	16.0	100§

* Indian-white descent, 0.7 per cent; Indian-Negro descent, 0.7 per cent; white-Negro-Indian descent, 0.5 per cent; incomplete records, 4.4 per cent.

† *Mamaluco* (white-Indian mixed-blood), 1.7 per cent.

‡ *Mamaluco*, 0.6 per cent; *cafuso*, 0.3 per cent.

§ *Mamaluco*, 0.4 per cent.

just named): physicians, commercial and government employees, and teachers in the secondary schools.

Of the first 500 *brancos* applying in 1935 at the Gabinete

[1] If *brancos da Bahia* are included in the white group, one would have to add cabaret entertainers, professors (advanced schools), politicians, lawyers, and physicians.

[2] If *brancos da Bahia* are included, one would have to add physicians, teachers in the secondary schools, and commercial employees.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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de Identificação for cards of identification, 292 were males. Of these, 213 were classified as students, 17 as businessmen, 11 as salesmen, 8 as government clerks, 8 as commercial employees, 5 as soldiers, 4 as teachers, 4 as hucksters, 3 as peddlers (a Rumanian Jew, a Pole, and a Spaniard), 3 as bus *cobradores*, 2 as engineers, 2 as house servants, and 1 each as carpenter, printer, auto mechanic, sailor, ship's engineer, tailor, musician (instrumental), vocalist, magistrate, laborer, farmer, and *proprietario* (one whose income is derived from rentals). Of the 208 females, 170 were classified as students, 24 as teachers, 7 as government clerks, 5 as housewives, 1 as vocalist, and 1 as typist.

Of the first 500 *pardos*, 244 were males. Of these, 90 were classified as students, 44 as peddlers, 25 as soldiers, 13 as commercial employees, 9 as mechanics, 7 as operators of bakeries, 7 as *carregadores*, 7 as shopkeepers, 6 as farmers, 4 as shoemakers, 3 as orchestra players, 3 as teachers, 2 as barbers, 2 as gardeners, 2 as house servants, 2 as beggars,[1] 2 as masons, 2 as bus *cobradores*, 2 as sailors, 2 as shoe-shiners, and 1 each as salesman, painter, carpenter, ironworker, tinsmith, vulcanizer, tailor, butcher, waiter, and truck-gardener. Of 256 females, 214 were classified as students, 30 as teachers, 4 as housewives, 2 as dressmakers, and 1 each as embroidery worker, designer, house servant, and beggar.

Of the first 155 *pretos*, 125 were males. Of these, 17 were classified as students, 51 as hucksters, 17 as *carregadores*, 8 as soldiers, 4 as bus *cobradores*, 3 as farmers, 4 as bakers, 2 as mechanics, 2 as masons, 2 as shoemakers, and 1 each as commercial employee, small shopkeeper, government clerk, decorator, hairdresser, pianist, jazz orchestra player, ironworker, leather worker, cabinet-maker, *carroceiro*, house

[1] *Mendicantes.*

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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servant, sailor, farmer, and shoe-shiner. Of the 30 females, 23 were classified as students, 2 as teachers, 2 as housewives, and 1 each as street peddler, domestic servant, and government clerk.

Inferences based upon this occupational distribution, together with certain other indices (such as tax returns, automobile ownership, the purchase of different-priced seats at cinemas and sport events), indicate that blacks and the darker mixed-bloods ordinarily occupy the lower economic levels, the medium and light mulattoes the middle position, and the whites (including the *brancos da Bahia*) the upper stratum. 563* 434

A Bahian official engaged in income-tax collections knew of no rich blacks in the city,[4] but he did know of several well-to-do mixed-bloods, among whom were a few dark mulattoes. Most incomes in the upper brackets, however, are those of whites. [556]

Of 116 cars being driven along the central thoroughfare, the Rua Chile, during a popular festival, in 90, or 77.6 per cent of the total, only whites were riding; in 26, or 22.4 per cent, mixed-bloods were among the occupants;[5] while no cars were occupied by blacks. However, on a similar occasion, of 50 cars noted, 2 were occupied exclusively by blacks. 563* 162 493

At a cinema performance, of 63 persons occupying *poltronas* at 2$200 a seat, 73 per cent were whites, 20.6 per cent 563* 162 546

[4] Although at Ilhéos in the rich cocoa area south of Bahia a few blacks and dark mulattoes are quite well to do. For a sketch of life in this region see Jorge Amado, *Cacau* (Rio, 1933).

[5] The 6 cars in which only mulattoes were riding constituted 5.2 per cent of the total (only 1 car was occupied by dark mulattoes); the 19 cars in which both whites and mulattoes were riding constituted 16.3 per cent of the total (3 cars were occupied principally by *brancos da Bahia*, 16 by whites, with only one or two light mulattoes in each case); 1 car (0.9 per cent of the total) contained one black and five dark mulattoes.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

were mulattoes, and only 6.4 per cent were relatively unmixed blacks; while, of 30 occupants of general admission seats at one-half this price, only 20 per cent were whites, 40 per cent were mulattoes, and 40 per cent were blacks. Among spectators at a Sunday-afternoon soccer game, one noted the distribution as given in Table 12.

Of five hundred mothers applying for aid at the state's free children's clinic, only 9.2 per cent were white, 40.6 per

TABLE 12

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF SPECTATORS AT A SPORTS EVENT,* BAHIA, 1936

Seats	Price (in Milreis)	Occupants	Percentage			
			Blacks	Mulattoes	Whites	Total
Reserved	10	143	2.1	23.8†	74.1	100
Grandstand	7	267	4.1	29.4†	66.5	100
General admission	3	519	51.1	39.9‡	9.0	100

* *Futebol* (soccer), Campo da Graça, March 22, 1936.

† Chiefly light mulattoes, many of whom were very light with only slight traces of Negro lineage.

‡ Principally dark mulattoes.

cent were mulatto, predominantly dark, and 44.5 per cent appeared to be relatively unmixed blacks.[6] Of 1,511 photographs displayed in eleven photograph galleries, 73.2 per cent were probably of white individuals, 24.9 per cent of mixed-bloods, and only 1.7 per cent of unmixed blacks.[7]

In interpreting this ethnic distribution in the occupations and according to financial means, one might point out that

[6] The remaining 5.7 per cent were *cafuso* (21 individuals), *branco da Bahia* (2 individuals), *mameluco* (2 individuals), and of Indian-white-Negro descent (1 individual).

[7] In addition, 0.2 per cent were *cafuso*.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

gray caps with blue bands; while the girls wore light gray dresses with blue belts, blue collars, and blue cuffs. Of approximately 325 pupils in the parade, about two-sevenths were black, two-sevenths white, and three-sevenths mulatto, indiscriminately mingled. In eight schools, the proportions were not greatly dissimilar. Two schools, however, were

TABLE 13

COMPARATIVE SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OF THE ETHNIC UNITS AT BAHIA, 1936

School	No. of Schools Sampled	Black	Mulatto	White	Others	Total
Elementary:						
Public	22	438	496	385	16*	1,335
Private	8	40	97	175	3†	315
Parochial	6	31	88	318	13‡	450
Secondary	5§	34	99	390	2‖	525
Superior (Faculties of Law, Medicine, Engineering)	3	12	88	424	6¶	530
Trade	3	88	122	123	2**	335
Normal	1	45	83	157	0	285

* *Cafuzo*, 9; *mameluco*, 7.
† *Cafuzo*, 2; *mameluco*, 1.
‡ *Cafuzo*, 4; *mameluco*, 8.
§ One public, 2 private, 2 ecclesiastical.
‖ *Cafuzo*, 2.
¶ *Cafuzo*, 2; *mameluco*, 4.
** *Cafuzo*, 1; *mameluco*, 1.

principally black and mixed-blood (in one of which there were 16 blacks, 34 mulattoes, 8 whites); and two schools were largely white (in one of which there were 25 whites, 8 mulattoes, and 5 blacks).

During the 1936 Peruada, which is an annual *festa* held by students at the Faculdades, of 168 individuals participating in a parade, 3 per cent were black, 10 per cent were mulatto, and 87 per cent were white.

At the graduating exercises of one of the Faculdades, no

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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The entire racial and cultural situation at Bahia is thus symbolized in the Carnival celebration. The *cordão* points to the persistence of African survivals, adherence to which still isolates to some extent the darker portion of the population. The young blacks and dark mulattoes who parade solemnly, quite self-consciously in the long files of the *batucadas*, represent those youths who, although they have in large measure

TABLE 14

PARTICIPATION BY ETHNIC UNITS
CARNIVAL PARADE, BAHIA, 1936

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	Black	Mulatto	White	*Cafuso*	Total
Club sponsors (in autos)	13	67	73	1	154
Heralds			3		3
Horsemen	14	47	42		103
Horsewomen			16		16
Trumpeters	13		1		14
Bandsmen	45	51	5		101
Squires	111	5	1		117
Girls on floats		2	166		168
Men on floats		4	14		18
Queens			3		3
Pages	5	14	8		27
Escorts	6		4		10
Truck-drivers	1				1
Total	208	190	336	1	735

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broken with the African cultural forms of their parents or grandparents, have not yet been entirely incorporated into the European world. Whites and light mulattoes dance together and sing their way through the milling crowds. While most of the blacks and dark mulattoes, neither identified with the African tradition to the extent of participating in the *cordões* nor yet sufficiently established in class to move freely in the white world, merely mill about.

[SALVADOR]

/9/ The Ethnic Types of Bahia

361 Bahia owes its reputation, not only to its privileged location
*563 on the shores of a magnificent bay and to its churches of an ornate
633 rococo style, but also, to a certain degree, to the excellent relations that exist in the heart of its motley population between people of different color. Stephan Zweig drew a very vivid picture
633 of Bahia and its ancient traditions. For him, Brazil began with
*563 this city, and not only Brazil, but also South America. "In this city was erected the first pier of the vast bridge thrown across the Atlantic; in it has originated, through the combination of European, African, and American material, the new mixture that is fermenting so actively at the present time (1)."

[113] 1. Stephan Zweig, Brazil, País do Futuro /Brazil, Land of the Future/, trans. by Gallotti, Rio de Janeiro, 1941, p. 275.

175 From its founding under the official name of Cidade do
633 Salvador, Bahia began to be known for its wealth, which it owed
[103] to the sugar produced by its fazendas (2)
[249]
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2. Plantations.

and its engenhos (3).

3. Sugar mills.

[796] It was also renowned for the magnificence of the worship in its
[363] numerous churches, for the religious processions that passed through its narrow, climbing streets, and for the traditions, so typically Portuguese, of its inhabitants. Center of importation
[567] of African slaves, Bahia was also famous for the large proportion
[167] of Blacks in its population, to the point that foreign travelers of
[162] the colonial period speak of this city as a "new Guinea" (4).

[113] 4. M. Frezier, Relation du voyage de la mer du Sud aux côtes du Chili et du Pérou fait pendant les années 1712, 1713 and 1714 /Account of the

5: Azevedo--7 D, Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Northeast Brazil SO1
Brazil SL1

[SALVADOR]

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voyage from the South Sea to the coasts of Chile and Peru made during the years 1712, 1713, and 1714/, Paris, 1732; Adolphe d'Assier, Le Brésil contemporain /Contemporary Brazil/, Paris, 1867.

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Founded in 1549, seat of the general government of Brazil and residence of the Portuguese viceroy until 1763, the date when the capital of the colony was transferred to Rio de Janeiro, Bahia was regarded as "the most Portuguese" of the cities of the American continent. Even today it is one of the most important cities of Brazil (5).

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5. The State of Bahia has an area of 563,000 square kilometers and a littoral of 100 kilometers; its territory, of varied geographical aspect, is occupied chiefly by plantations of cacao, tobacco, cereals, by stock farms, and by mines of manganese, chromium, diamonds, iron, bituminous schists, etc. After the national census of July, 1950, the State had 4,900,419 inhabitants, 395,993 of them in the city of Salvador itself. The other most populous cities of Brazil are: Rio de Janeiro (federal district), with 2,335,931 inhabitants; São Paulo, with 2,041,716 inhabitants; Recife, with 522,466 inhabitants; Porto Alegre, 381,964 inhabitants, and Belo Horizonte, with 346,207 inhabitants.

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Owing to the conservative and traditionalist nature of its civilization, owing also to the distance that separates it from the other important urban centers, it is considered one of the /10/ demographic and cultural islets of what has been called the "Brazilian Archipelago." As we have said, what makes it particularly interesting is the fact that it was always a melting pot of races, certainly the most representative and the most symbolic of racial relations of the country.

[SALVADOR]

/19 cont./

798 social cohesion of the community (1).
[621]

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1. In 1940 the population of the city and of the municipality was made up of 97.49 o/o Roman Apostolic Catholics; 1.11 o/o Protestants; 0.26 o/o Israelites; 0.62 o/o spiritualists, etc.

[797] The Catholic majority views with an evil eye the activities of foreign Protestant missionaries and condemns particularly the "disloyal methods employed by some of them" and their way of distorting the Church. Protestantism is fought in the pulpit as heresy, but never the Protestants as persons having different characteristics and toward whom one vows hostility. The antagonism between Catholics, Protestants, and Presbyterians is also placed on the purely doctrinal plane; the institutions of learning maintained by Baptists and Presbyterians are attended by Catholic students and enjoy prestige because of their "American methods."
[871]
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794 As for the candomblés, sanctuaries devoted to the cults of
798 African origin, the current feeling is that these rites are so many barbaric survivals that ought to be done away with, for they are a matter of shame before foreigners and tourists. In a commentary on tourism, a local journal proposes that the visit to candomblés be omitted from excursion programs, "because there can be no propaganda more negative for this Brazilian city four times a hundred years old, which has so many other interesting things to show." These cults, despite everything, enjoy relative freedom and function by virtue of police authorization. They have sometimes been prohibited and their devotees violently dispersed by police forces. Among the Blacks there are many who share the opinions of the Whites on the subject of these rites.

666 Only the rivalry between political parties provokes real
665 tension during the election campaigns. This tension is particularly
578 intense in the controversies in the interior of the State; it never expresses itself other than verbally; individual cases of aggression or actual conflicts between groups belonging to different political parties have become extremely rare. The ethnocentric feelings of the Bahians reached great vehemence several years ago when the majority of the electors refused to elect as governor of the State a candidate who was not "born in Bahia."
[829]

[SALVADOR]

/20 cont./

829 "the mulattoes, especially the lightest ones, are the worst
*563 enemies of other métis and the Blacks. It is they who have the most prejudice and who offer the most resistance to the social ascent of persons of color." These feelings are, in part, the formulation of class anatagonisms between morenos and light mulattoes of high rank, "whites socially speaking," and the darker persons who strive to improve their position in the society.

829 According to a woman occupying a public office, the heads
*563 of her department, who are pardos in different degrees, recom-
466 mend to their subordinates that they hire only attractive candidates and not take into consideration "black or homely women."

/21/

Population Increase and Crossbreeding

*563
• 162 A very significant fact and one that testifies to the good racial relations in Bahia is the intensity of crossbreeding. There are in the city approximately 400,000 inhabitants, of whom almost 20 o/o are Blacks, 47 o/o métis, the majority mulattoes, and
*563 33 o/o Whites. Everywhere one sees persons of all ages, inter-
571 mingled without any distinction of type, men and women, gathered in the most frequented places, commenting on the events of the day, appraising the coming and going in the streets or discussing politics and sports, drinking in the cafés, walking in the environs and on the beaches, making purchases in the shops and in the markets, working in the mills, in the yards, in business firms and in the public administrations and the offices, traveling by means of public transportation, taking part in religious festivals and civic commemorations, without the least constraint. Friends,
[576) mulattoes, Whites, and Blacks, congratulate one another with a great display of embraces and handshakes; they sit down next to one another in the theater, in churches, in cafés, or in streetcars
*563 with the greatest ease. In accordance with local customs, con-
565 firmed by Pierson (1).
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1. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 421.

/22 cont./

175 a European traveler describes them as gigantic women with the
*563 opulent figures of ancient goddesses carved in blocks of black
[829] marble, who attracted attention by their "wealth of incomparable vigor" (2).

2. A. d'Assier, op. cit., p. 196.

These were the women whom the Whites preferred as concubines.
[829] Certain types of mulattresses and of morenas, especially when they combined the traits of the two races from which they sprang, were also very much sought after by the Whites.

*563 None of the other Brazilian States that have a large number of Blacks presents as high a percentage of crossbreeding as Bahia. This proves that this State has been the most important Afro-
[567] European ethnic melting-pot of Brazil. In truth, it is in our city and in its environs, an ancient center of concentration of slaves, that the crossing has taken place with the greatest intensity. The
*563 ratio between the number of Blacks and of métis, according to
• 162 the 1940 census, is 1 to 2.55 in Bahia, whereas in States such as Minas Gerais, which has relatively the same number of Blacks, it is only 1 to 1; in other States, such as Maranhão and Piaui, which have, respectively, 27 o/o and 32 o/o Blacks, this ratio
[829] is 1 to 0.93 and 0.71. This results from the fact that in Bahia the factors of segregation and of discrimination that lie heavily on the darkest of its inhabitants are much less than in the other
175 States. The proportion of pure Blacks began to decrease from
*563 the second half of the last century, slave traffic having been
567 forbidden, and especially from 1888, the date of the definitive
161 abolition of slavery, when numerous ex-slaves emigrated to the more prosperous regions of southern Brazil. At present, unfavor-
*563 able social and economic factors influence the conditions of life,
161 the birth and mortality rates of this group, and explain its progressive diminution (3).

[113] 3. Thales de Azevedo, Civilização e mestiçagem /Civilization and Crossbreeding/, Livr. Progresso Edit., Bahia, 1951, p. 63.

/38 cont./

*563 565 557 571 [124] [829] of Bahia, had some difficulty approaching some of the persons thus mentioned. In certain cases, however, he was able to verify that the imputations mentioned above are nothing but the informants' reactions of resentment against people who are much higher or whom they judge superficially because they do not know them personally. A number of persons questioned even showed great interest in race relations, declaring they had read numerous Brazilian or foreign books, had seen films on this subject, and liked to discuss this problem with persons belonging to the same type and to the same professional and social status as they; there were even two who declared they had thought a good deal about writing down their observations on this subject. In only one case a mulatto official replied with a certain irritation that this problem was not important and that the Blacks of Bahia did not elevate themselves socially because they were very "backward and bold."

*563 565 /39/ Interracial Marriages

For colored people, interracial marriage is a means of reaching the higher classes. Individuals with a lighter skin have the greatest possibilities of becoming white socially, and marriage between colored people and Whites gives the former prestige and offers them the prospect of having children closer to the preferred type.

*563 [585] No law in Brazil forbids marriage between members of different races. The candidates for a civil or religious marriage simply present themselves before the authorities of the State or of the Church, provided with the necessary papers, such as certificate of birth or baptism, in which the type or the color are mentioned only for the purposes of identification.

The number of marriages between individuals who differ with regard to color is very high in Bahia. Out of 222 unions concluded [162] some years ago, the man and woman were of the same color in 34 o/o of the cases; in 43 o/o the man was darker than the woman,

[SALVADOR]

/39 cont./

*563 [162] [113]

and in 22 o/o the latter was darker (1).

1. Thales de Azevedo, "Um aspeto da mestiçagem na Bahia /An aspect of cross-breeding in Bahia/," Revista do Arquivo, Year XI, Vol. CI, São Paulo, 1945, p. 45.

But the frequency of true interracial marriages, that is to say, between persons belonging to different racial groups, is difficult to estimate by the customary methods of ethnic classification. In order to do this, it would be necessary to classify genetically the contracting parties or to study the genealogy of numerous families. Given the fact that individuals of "white" phenotype are sometimes métis (2),

2. Dr. Paul Rivet calls our attention to the facility with which the African Black has cross-bred with the Whites and Indians of South America. On this subject, see Les origines de l'homme américain /The Origins of the American Man/, Montreal, 1947. Also consult M. J. Herskovits, The Anthropometry of the American Negro, New York, 1930.

[113]

it becomes extremely difficult to acquire certitude that a marriage is interracial. What matters in this study, however, are the marriages between colored persons and persons "socially white," which undeniably are very frequent. Out of 1,269 marriages, Pierson found 3.3 o/o interracial, a figure actually very low for a region in which the barriers of color are so tenuous. These figures have surely been taken from a total of marriages of persons of all classes (3).

*563 162

3. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 209.

If we examine the situation in the intermediate and lower strata, one will see that the proportion may reach 20% or more.

[SALVADOR]

/46/

Commerce

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The merchants and the fazendeiros enjoy a prestige in Bahia society proportional to the economic importance of their activities, the wealthiest families being made up by them, and their influence being well known in all the social life. It is by means of these two forms of activity that the Bahians acquire a certain social rank and exercise control over other sectors of the social structure (1).

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• [162]

1. The economic activities that occupy the largest number of persons in the State of Bahia are agriculture and stock raising (67 o/o of individuals of the male sex); there follow in order of importance: small crafts industry and commerce, according to the census of 1940. In the city of Salvador (Bahia) the liberal professions and private instruction, which the statistics record in the aggregate, came in first place, and commerce and the industries are in second place.

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The national and racial groups that make up the population of Bahia participate in different fashion in the commerce and agriculture. While the Whites and the morenos predominate among the most important breeders of livestock, one finds among the owners of cacao plantations a large proportion of colored persons who began as small planters and have progressively enlarged their fazendas as cacoa gained in importance in the international markets. The plantations of cane and the sugar mills that belonged to the families of Portuguese origin, who were very conscious of their social rank during the colonial period, are today almost entirely in the hands of large capitalist enterprises in which Whites and a few métis predominate.

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As for commercial activities, they are not carried on exclusively by nationally and racially determined groups, but these groups portion them out among themselves up to a certain point --

[SALVADOR]

*563 453 464 /50 cont./

"In the banks dark individuals can no longer have careers," say our informants. In an important national bank, according to some, Blacks or very pigmented mulattoes are not admitted; in the branches that this bank has in the city colored employees are few, and these in any case are very light. This selection occurs in the competition for admission, the candidates of dark color being examined with great strictness. In other banking establishments one notes a less marked discrimination. Although /51/ the directors and the managers of the local banks are all white, more or less finos, several employees of mixed blood are accepted there. In the offices of two of these banks one counts 13 light mulattoes and morenos, two dark mulattoes, and 21 Whites. But access to the offices of the directorship or management is very difficult, because these organizations, aside from the fact that they constitute in a certain sense traditional enterprises of some families, demand that one have at his disposal deposited capital, in the form of shares, in the companies managed by the banks, which is difficult for young colored men."

A public official therefore had valid reasons for saying that "the colored people occupy few positions in commerce."

641 *563 [884] /52/ Politics

Every Brazilian who has reached the age of 21 may be registered as a voter, provided that he can read and write and that he is engaged in a lawful occupation. His physical type is of no importance: the law does not make any distinction and the officials in charge of voting questions do not make any difficulties about registering colored persons of either sex. Everyone may thus enjoy the right to vote and to be elected.

• 162 641 *563 The number of voters in the State of Bahia is 875,000, in the city itself 139,000, a large proportion of which is colored people. And the number of the latter is increasing rapidly, for the social ascent of the proletarian masses in Brazil comes about by the acquisition of economic advantages and guarantees, but also and above all by the prize of political awareness and by access 000 to civic rights. From this point of view politics is in the process

[SALVADOR]

/54 cont./

*563 665 perform very important duties in the government of the State. A merchant of mixed blood, wealthy and refined, and moreover one of the directors of a strong centrist party, was elected federal deputy in the last elections. These two men exert great influence on their respective parties; this influence is also due to the financial support and to the devotion that they do not cease to lavish on them. The Communist Party does not have a legal existence, but, according to some informants, it exploits the difficulties of the poor and stimulates racial antagonism; the newspaper that it publishes in Bahia and the candidates that it presents under the cover of other parties receive some support from poor colored people; one of /55/ the most important of its leaders is a mulatto of liberal profession.

[204]

*563 666 648 At the last elections numerous persons of dark color were candidates for political offices, but the registers of the electoral tribunal bear no indication of the candidates' type. It is known, however, that among the 103 present representatives of the people of Bahia in the federal, municipal, and State legislative assemblies there are approximately 30 o/o morenos and pardos, some of whom are quite dark. Several of them enjoy great prestige, and it should be noted that in the assemblies they are by no means grouped according to their type or their racial origin. The politicians of one and the same party conduct their tours and their election campaigns together, and their prestige by no means depends on their color, but on their personality and the parties or political leaders with whom they are affiliated. One can currently read in the newspapers appeals signed by persons of different "quality" with a view to paying tribute to politicians likewise of different "quality." A deputy from Bahia is regarded as the one member of the national parliament who shows the most Negroid features, but this does not create any difficulty for him in his political work. It is said that a white deputy speaking from the rostrum of parliament has presented himself more than once as a "mulatto from Bahia" in order to become better identified with the representatives from the State of Bahia.

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*563 555 871 Knowing to what extent schooling is useful to them to reduce the social distance that separates them from the ruling classes, colored persons, even the humblest and the darkest, make great efforts to send their children to primary school; they go so far as to make the sacrifice to send them to secondary courses when they could already be helping them in their work. A mulatto who [171] lives in the northern part of the country states that in this the Blacks of Bahia differ from those of the other States: "Here the humblest women -- washerwomen, cooks, domestics -- send their children to school and are very anxious about what they are taught. In the other States this does not interest them (1)."

[162] [872] [763]

1. Among the 92 students of both sexes in a public elementary school chosen at random, 23 were white, 42 pardos, and 27 black. Those responsible for the colored children (mothers, fathers, uncles, or godmothers) were domestics, seamstresses, cabinetmakers, carpenters, masons, petty officials, chauffeurs, commercial employees, cooks, washerwomen, etc.

*563 871 171 "The Blacks of another large Brazilian city," notes a black university student, "are very well dressed and shod, but they speak badly, use slang expressions, and are incapable of carrying on a conversation of a certain level. One might say that they are not at all anxious to learn."

*563 555 829 There is a very widespread conviction that, in order to excel in life and elevate oneself socially, a colored person must be better /67/ prepared and more capable than the Whites. "A young colored man must have great personal merit to be able to assert himself," says the student mentioned above. A mulatto physician who had an exceptional career and who has become one of the greatest names in Brazilian science told one of our informants that a colored man, in order to succeed, must have twice the merit as his white competitor, for exactly the same thing happens with a Black as with two balls of the same weight and the same size, one of metal and the other of wood; when one takes them in one's hand it always seems as though the metal one were heavier. Thus a colored man always gives the impression of having less merit than a White.

[SALVADOR]

/67 cont./

*563 87 In principle the school in Brazil offers the same advantages to Whites and to Blacks, no law preventing or hampering enrollment for ethnic reasons. Nevertheless, inasmuch as the public school is of popular character, free, and the private school is an institution of the higher classes, there is a noticeable difference between the two categories with regard to the number of students of the one type and of the other. But both accept Whites and Blacks. Just as the Whites are in the minority in the total population, the students of this type represent only 35 o/o in the public elementary schools, the Blacks represent about 20 o/o; the rest are pardo. In the private schools of the same level the Whites are as much more numerous as the establishment is more "choice"; one may find up to 90 or 93 o/o Whites there; in those attended by students of the intermediate social group one finds 15 to 25 o/o colored students, very light as a whole (1).

[162]

[127] [114]

1. These data have been drawn from the reports of the secretariat of education of the State of Bahia and from the publications of the author on the anthropometric studies made in 1944 and 1947. For this work the author has proceeded with verifications in several public and private schools.

*563 873 In the public and private secondary schools the number of colored students, especially very dark ones, is smaller because they are attended in large part by young people planning liberal careers, which are, in a way, the lot of the Whites, although they are also accessible to colored persons. Among the young people of both sexes enrolled as students during the first three months of 1950 at the Bureau of Identification of the civil police of the State, the following types were noted:

[162]

	Whites	Blacks	"Morenos"	"Pardos"	Métis	Total
Male sex . .	349	15	168	83	26	641
Female sex .	300	31	245	95	34	705
Total . .	649	46	413	178	60	1,346

[SALVADOR]

/68/

*563 The Whites make up scarcely half of the total, and it should be
• 162 noted that the female group includes a higher proportion of
873 colored girls. It is necessary to emphasize the fact that the public secondary schools recently established always include a larger number of students of dark color; 30 or 40 years ago it was extremely rare to see a Black in one of these establishments. Around
*563 1915 one of these schools refused to admit a very dark student,
873 which gave rise to a vehement protest by a black lawyer; wishing
178 to explain the incident, the head of the establishment claimed to have acted in accordance with the standards in force, that is to say, under the tacit pressure of upper-class families. This opposition has considerably decreased as the social ascent of colored families, confined until then to the lower strata of society, developed. Nevertheless women's schools directed by the religious of foreign origin progressed more slowly in this respect, though already admitting very dark students. Numerous informants have attended the courses of private secondary schools, but most of them, from poor families, have studied in public schools.

*563 In the primary and secondary professorship there are also many
875 colored persons, including Blacks and very Negroid métis... Even in the private schools there are colored professors. Some of the most famous professors of the Portuguese language, Latin, and mathematics with whom the young people of the most important families studied were, half a century ago, schoolmasters, priests, and very dark lawyers, of whom numerous intellectuals of Bahia still speak with admiration and respect today. In our times the number of primary professors of the male sex is much smaller, but the female teaching corps includes a large number of dark persons. A normal school maintained by the government of the State is attended by numerous dark girls of the lower and middle classes of the population. Among the teachers of primary instruction, says one of our informants, there is no racial distinction; numerous professors, although very dark, occupy the positions of director and school inspector, and in the schools themselves there is no racial separation between students and professors. The posts of secretary and director of the normal school of the State, as well as those of the college-preparatory secondary schools and public colleges, have many a time been occupied by very dark persons.

[SALVADOR]

/103 cont./ In principle
*563 anyone at all may elevate himself socially by wealth, by his
655 intellectual merits, by his professional titles, by his moral qualities,
[556] or by a combination of these elements, by virtue of the system of values of a capitalist society. In their ascent toward the higher classes, however, colored people encounter resistance, due in part to the influence of the prejudices of which we have spoken, but also because of the fact that for the most part they belong to classes that economically are at the bottom of the social hierarchy.

The social ascent of colored people, however, is relatively frequent, and there are numerous examples of it. As a group, however, colored people also rise, but with difficulty. It is
*563 sufficient, in order to get a clear idea of this, to compare the dis-
565 tribution of the different ethnic types that are encountered in
555 /104/ Brazil in the groupings and organizations that symbolize
162 the upper classes:
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	Whites		"Pardos"		Blacks	
	%	Indices	%	Indices	%	Indices
In the total population	33	100	47	100	20	100
Religious brotherhoods	82	240	18	38	--	--
Liberal professions (1)	76	230	22	46	2	10
Clubs	67	200	33	70	--	--

1. Average of various liberal professions.

*563 As may be seen, none of the above groups constitutes a sample
565 representative of the total population, which proves, in fact,
555 that the different types still do not have the possibility of advancing to the higher strata. If, by basing ourselves on the
[178] descriptions of the society of Bahia in the past, we could make up a table of the same nature, we would see that "high society" and the prestige professions 50 or 80 years ago were much less mixed, although the participation of individuals of mixed blood in these groups is an old Brazilian tradition.

5: Azevedo--142 D, Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

/106/ [SALVADOR]

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Table I. Types of members belonging to a "high-class" recreational club.

Professions	Whites		"Morenos"		"Mulattoes"		Totals
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Commerce, agriculture, industry	396	76.89	85	16.50	34	6.60	515
Officials	40	68.96	11	18.96	7	12.06	58
Military men	12	57.10	5	23.80	4	19	21
Artists, professors	3	50			3	50	6
Technicians (chemists, agronomists, draftsmen, translators, etc.,	23	62.10	11	29.70	3	8.1	37
Lawyers	96		58		13		167
Physicians, dentists Pharmacists	142	62.03	79	30.05	20	7.90	241
Civil engineers	71		34		11		116
Students	240		95		26		361
	1,023	67.21	378	24.83	121	7.95	1,522

St Azevedo--149 D.Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
/106 cont./ [SALVADOR]
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Table II. Types of members belonging to a recreational club of the intermediate social group.

Professions	Whites		"Morenos"		"Mulattoes"		Blacks		Totals
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Merchants, commercial employees	246	36.28	267	39.38	163	24.04	2	0.29	678
Officials	81	41.96	74	38.34	38	19.68			193
Military men	6	28.56	11	52.37	4	19.04			21
Artists, professors	4	17.39	11	47.82	7	30.43	1	4.34	23
Technicians	8	33.66	5	18.51	12	40.74	2	7.40	27
Liberal professions, students	79	45.66	31	17.91	61	35.26	2	1.15	173
	424	38.02	399	35.78	285	25.56	7	0.62	1,115

5: Azevedo--144 D,Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

/107/ [SALVADOR]

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Table III. Types of members of a "high-class" religious brotherhood.

Professions	Whites		"Morenos"		"Mulattoes"		Totals
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Commerce, agriculture, industry . . .	419	84.98	59	11.98	15	3.04	493
Officials	57	81.42	12	17.14	1	1.42	70
Military men	6	85.71	1	14.29			7
Artists, professors.	3	60	2	40			5
Technicians	14	93.33			1	6.67	15
Liberal professions	192	79.01	48	19.75	3	1.23	243
Students	64	82.05	10	12.82	4	5.12	78
Priests, including six bishops	14	48.27	15	51.73			29
Professions not indicated	49	75.56	10	15.62	5	7.81	64
	818	81.47	157	15.64	29	2.88	1,004

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

APPENDIX C

Sources of Population Increase

161 In the demographic analysis increase in population generally has been discussed without regard to its source. There are two possible sources: (1) immigration; or (2) growth of local population through the excess of births over deaths.

161 167 Although exact data for immigration into the Recôncavo is lacking, it is probably realistic to disregard sources outside the state of Bahia. The 1950 census gives 144,055 as the number of people in Bahia who were born in other Brazilian states, but shows 430,217 natives of Bahia who were resident in other states. In general, the state of Bahia is the source, not the destination, of a current of migration. The principal origin of this current apparently is the back country of the state, not the Recôncavo. Immigration from other countries is negligible.

It may be inferred that the Recôncavo had a net gain as a result of intra-state migration between 1940 and 1950. The extent to which this gain was permanent is not clear.

163 165 The birth rate of Bahia has been estimated at 42 or 43 per thousand, while the death rate of Salvador has been estimated at about 161 27 per thousand.[1] This suggests that the rate of population increase must be relatively high. On the basis of a population increase of 15 per thousand, the 1940 Recôncavo population of 924,032 would have been 1,060,372 by 1950.

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[1] Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, pp. 285, 295. Since death records are not available in many parts of the interior, death rates ordinarily are available for the capital cities only.

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Class A Families]

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596 will take the girl to his family gatherings and that he will be
584 invited to hers, so that their lives continue to be within the family, though now within two families. There are so few public places of entertainment in Salvador, other than the movies, that the couple is seldom alone. Dating nearly always takes place in family circles, so there is little need for a formal chaperone. Courtship continues until the boy has finished school (if it began that early, as it sometimes does), or is settled in business, at which time an engagement may be announced. Once the couple are engaged (noivos), they are allowed greater freedom; this does not, however, amount to much, as their social activities continue to be confined within the family. If for some reason the boy or the girl goes away for a time, the one left at home is invited to all family parties just as though both were there. The engagement period does not last very long--not as long as the gostando period, which may extend for two years--for once engaged, a couple is considered to be serious about marriage, which then takes place as soon as possible.

585 The wedding, always in Salvador, is both a religious and a
*565 civil ceremony. The former is a formal, fashionable church
596 ceremony followed by a reception and luncheon, before the bride and groom leave for their honeymoon. The civil wedding takes place in the bride's home shortly before the religious ceremony. Only the godparents and closest relatives
[591] attend this ceremony. After marriage the couple usually set up their own home, but if this is not possible they may live with one of their in-laws. This, however, is undesirable, and often the wedding is postponed until the couple can have their own home. The parents on both sides help toward this end as much as they can by getting the young man settled in a suitable position. Family connections are extremely important throughout Class A in placing young people in business or a profession.

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● 163 As a rule a child is born to the young couple by the end of
[608] the first year of marriage, and the compadres (godparents) are chosen from close members of the two families, at least
[596] for the first child. Succeeding children may have close friends of the father as godparents. Children are named after family
[553] members of preceding generations or--as has happened in
[178] some cases--after a much-loved slave. The old pattern was for the couple to continue having children regularly as long as the wife was able to, but the trend is now for each generation

[Class A Families]

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to have fewer offspring. Four or five generations ago a couple 594
might have as many as twenty children. It was common among 163
these large families for at least one child to enter the priest- 178
hood or a convent. This is no longer the case, not only be- [463]
cause of the smaller size of the families, but also because the colonial pattern of a priest for each plantation is now gone.

The marriage age for girls is also changing, for several 582
reasons: it takes longer for a boy now to be educated and set- 178
tled in business; the families can no longer support married 562
children; and girls are being better educated. Instead of be- 565*
ing married at sixteen, seventeen, and eighteen, they now go to school much longer, sometimes taking advanced degrees as do their brothers. This delays marriage till the twenties and gives the girls a certain amount of independence, rather than simply a position of wife and mother. As yet few of them [463]
have entered the professions, but recently it has become styl- ish to study nursing or social work at least for a while before marriage. The old pattern was for widows to be supported by [736]
their families, but now girls want to feel self-sufficient, with- out the dreary prospect of living as dependents in the case of their husbands' death. In this century, also, marriage has assumed an aspect of companionship, which was formerly lacking, for women have achieved a much greater equality with their husbands and are now partners rather than household fixtures.

There has been a reaction to the family aspect of Bahian 565*
society, and frequently people are heard complaining of the 596
narrowness of life in such surroundings and expressing a de- 178
sire to live in Rio de Janeiro, or some place where they would not be always in the same restricted group of relatives. Many 574
of the former obligations of formal visits to close and distant [206]
relatives are now relaxed, although telephone calls at least are expected with some sort of regularity and members of the extended family, as well as their attendants, are still expect- ed at all weddings, birthdays, and deaths. The arrival of fam- ily members from Rio calls for many dinners and celebrations in their honor. But the conjugal families seek outside ac- 571
quaintances more and more, and as they enter new groups they 565*
become less able to cope with the numerous family affairs. 596
Nevertheless, it is still membership in these extensive, pa- 178
triarchal families which gives people their status in the com- [594]
munity as a whole and their right to enter new groups which form along class lines. Everyone is well aware of this, and [554]

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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man is a Negro"), has now been largely replaced by, as Freyre says, the "more Brazilian saying": "Quem escapa de negro, branco é" ("Who isn't a Negro is a white man").

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With due regard, then, to such qualifications regarding the precise meaning of *branco* as these facts suggest, we may note that the classification of births in Bahia in 1932 indicated the color distribution to be as given in Table 3.

TABLE 2

[217]

PROBABLE ETHNIC ORIGIN OF THE FIRST FIVE HUNDRED INDIVIDUALS LISTED AS *Brancos* IN THE FILES OF THE GABINETE DE IDENTIFICAÇÃO, BAHIA, 1937

Probability	Number	Per Cent
Whites	340	68.0
Mulattoes*	95	19.0
Indian-white mixed-bloods†	39	7.8
Indian-white-Negro mixed-bloods†	26	5.2
Total	500	100.0

* Individuals with the following physical characteristics were noted: (1) nose very broad, lips very full; (2) dark skin, hair almost kinky, lips thick; (3) skin *café com leite* ("coffee with milk"), hair exceedingly curly; (4) hair almost kinky; (5) lips full, nose broad, considerable prognathism.

† Ordinarily only slight traces of Indian ancestry evident in each case.

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Since the total registration of births for each of these years averages slightly in excess of five hundred in a city of an estimated 360,000, the records are obviously incomplete. Many midwife deliveries go unrecorded; and, since these births occur usually among the lower classes, which are largely black and dark mulatto, the relative color percentages are probably skewed toward the white pole.

[565]
[162]

Deaths are less likely to go unrecorded. But since deaths

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4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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occur to a considerable extent among the older generation, they throw no light on the extent of miscegenation in recent times. Consequently, their relative frequencies do not ac-

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TABLE 3*

BIRTHS ACCORDING TO COLOR, BAHIA, 1932

Color	City Proper		Outlying Villages		Total	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Branco	1,482	33.3	65	11.0	1,547	30.7
Preto	659	14.8	114	19.3	773	15.3
Pardo	2,314	51.9	411	69.7	2,725	54.0
Total	4,455	100.0	590	100.0	5,045	100.0

[217]
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* Source: City records deposited in the Secretaria de Saude e Assistencia Publica da Bahia.

TABLE 4*

DEATHS ACCORDING TO COLOR, BAHIA, 1932

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Color	City Proper		Outlying Villages		Total	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Branco	1,375	25.4	79	9.8	1,454	23.4
Preto	1,310	24.2	191	23.7	1,501	24.2
Pardo	2,722	50.4	536	66.5	3,258	52.4
Total	5,407	100.0	806	100.0	6,213	100.0

[217]
[127]

* Source: City records deposited in the Secretaria de Saude e Assistencia Publica da Bahia.

curately reflect the present racial distribution in the *total* population.

Bearing in mind these qualifications, we may note the color distribution among deceased at Bahia in 1932 (Table 4).

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is very rough, though strong. Most of the men complain about it, for it cuts their hands when they are fishing and the action of salt water on the cuts inflames their hands badly.

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There are between seventy-five and one hundred canoes in Vila Recôncavo, of all sizes, from 16 to about 50 feet long. They come from the southern part of the state, and cost between Cr$1.000,00 and Cr$6.000,00 apiece, depending on their size. They are made of vinhatico preto, a large tree [313] from which an entire canoe can be hollowed out. As the canoes grow older, they are strengthened inside by the addition of ribs. The center support (pé do banco) has a hole in it through which a mast can be stepped for sailing. The fishermen use a variety of sails, but usually a simple square sail called traquête. Four flour sacks sewn together make a passable [428] square sail. The canoes last a long time and are handed down from generation to generation. A hundred years is not an uncommon age for such a craft.

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The majority of fishermen cannot swim well and have a great respect for the water on two counts: the water is deep, 226 which to them implies danger, and it is said to hide large, [481] man-eating fish. There are stories of three men who have disappeared in the last few years, snatched away by fish. One [825] was a baixador, and the other two fell overboard. Falling is not uncommon, for often a man steps on a small fish on the bottom of the canoe or simply slips on the wet wood, loses his balance, and goes overboard, as the canoes are narrow-beamed and unstable. In their canoes they are fearless, and will go anywhere in any weather. Severe storms which arise suddenly are ridden out in the canoe, which generally lies at anchor while the men lie under cover of the sail, peering out occasionally to see if the weather is clearing. Many of them, [164] however, become violently ill on a larger boat during a storm.

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Winter is the most productive season for fishing, although the most uncomfortable. There are many storms, and the [221] rains are more or less constant. But the fishermen say that the mixture of salt water with the fresh water from small rivers emptying into the bay seems to produce many more fish [132] than in the summer months. The fishermen dress only in a pair of shorts and a straw hat when fishing, and remain in the [291] cold rain for hours on end. Colds are common among them, [164] as is rheumatism among the older men.

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There is always a market for fish. There is a discussion currently going on in Vila Recôncavo, for some of the older

[Class C Families]

165 The civil register for the community of Vila Recôncavo
[217] listed 111 deaths for 1950, fifty-one male and sixty female. The age breakdown was as follows:

TABLE 9
NUMBER OF DEATHS BY AGE GROUPS, 1950

under 1 year	36
1- 4	20
5- 9	1
10-14	4
15-19	4
20-29	10
30-39	10
40-49	6
50-59	9
60-69	4
70-79	3
80-89	1
90-99	2
over 99	1
	111

165 It is apparent that the first five years are those in which the
164 death rate is highest. According to the local doctor's records, the most frequent causes of these deaths are diarrhea and enteritis (seven deaths), whooping cough (seven deaths), chronic nephritis (five deaths), and acute bronchitis (four deaths). The mal de sete dias (literally, "illness of seven days," an umbilical infection in newly born infants) was the cause of only two deaths, and only one natural abortion was registered, as well as one stillbirth. According to the same doctor, many more adults die of heart trouble and kidney ailments than of anything else.

553 The most popular method of naming children is by choosing from an almanac a name which strikes the fancy of the
[214] parents. In Brazil many commercial concerns publish yearly almanacs which are widely distributed. In addition to giving national holidays, saints' days, and various other kinds of
551 calendars, they include lists of names, often of saints. While
553 in the upper classes children are named after their parents and grandparents, lower-class families give their offspring all sorts of exotic names chosen from the almanacs, such as Estanislaus, Enoch, or Ignace. Sometimes the name is cho-

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[464]
sugar workers move rarely, remaining for generations on the same
[241] plantation. Each family has its garden where a little maize, beans
and manioc are grown. Pay day comes every two weeks, when as a
[465] rule the worker goes to the owner's house to receive his money.
The pay is small, 15 to 25 dollars a fortnight, depending on how
[461] much the man has worked during the period. Men do not like to
work more than five to six hours a day, from six a.m. to twelve noon,
and seldom work more than five days a week. They work easily,
without hurry. In the afternoon they work in their garden, if their
249 wives have not already done so. On the plantation no one starves;
466 everyone has his *patrão* (protector) in the person of the owner, and
in case of an emergency, accident or sickness, he expects help from
him. This personal element is very important on most plantations in
the vicinity of Vila Recôncavo; as a rule, the owner knows all the
workers by name, knows their families and their family troubles and
[164] problems. He is aware of their love affairs and up-to-date on the
health of new-born children and their mothers. Nearly all cases of
sickness, from common colds and rheumatism to more serious
ailments, are brought directly to the attention of the *patrão* or his
wife. The owner, returning from a prolonged stay in the city,
receives visits from the workers or from their wives, during which all
the personal gossip is exchanged. The workers inquire about the
owner's family and more extended family, for they generally know
them all. Engagements, weddings, births, deaths and illnesses are
reported on both sides. Complaints or requests are also made to the
466 owner. The relationship is highly personal, intimate, gentle and frank.

On one rather small *usina*, which will be called São Pedro, in the
249 rural zone of Vila Recôncavo, the situation is somewhat different.
São Pedro is not one of the large *usinas* of the Recôncavo, owned by
472 a corporation; it is relatively small and owned by one of the most
[473] important families of the Vila Recôncavo community, members of
the regional aristocracy whose family has held plantations there for
many generations. Because the owners of the *usina* actually administrate it, and since they are in residence in the locality at least part of the year, they are able to maintain many of the traditional personal relations with their employees, many of whom have worked on the plantations belonging to their family and in the *usina* for most
[162] of their lives. But there is a total of 1,183 workers and their families at the *usina* and on the plantations belonging to São Pedro, and the very size of the enterprise and the number of workers make for a more impersonal and more strictly economic relationship between employer and employee. Workers become more a name on a payroll, and the employer a person with whom one seldom has direct contact. In the larger *usinas* of the Recôncavo this trend is even more marked especially where the employer is a large corporation with offices in Salvador.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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to live together because they mutually support one another. Similarly, different racial stocks often occupy to mutual advantage the same habitat because each fits into a different niche in an interdependent symbiotic order. The fundamental problem is that of survival. The Portuguese at Bahia to a considerable extent resolved this problem by the development of an economy based upon plantation agriculture and slave labor.

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A considerable number of Negroes died while being transported from Africa. Others subsequently perished from the ravages of cholera, yellow fever, and other epidemics. A few committed suicide or led religiously motivated uprisings against their masters. But the major portion were readily incorporated into the plantation system. Centuries of familiarity with the slave tradition of their African cultures and, in many cases, familiarity with the slave status itself probably made their adjustment to a slave system in the new land less difficult.

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Most of the Negroes entering and remaining in the vicinity of Bahia were employed in the planting, cultivation, harvesting, processing, and marketing of sugar cane and tobacco. A limited number were engaged in cattle-raising. They also supplied the necessary artisan and domestic labor on the plantations.

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Within the city of Bahia itself, as in other Brazilian ports, most of the slaves were engaged in domestic service. However, in addition, a modified form of slavery existed. Many blacks, known as *negros de ganho*, were employed as porters, stevedores, ironworkers, masons, carpenters, carriage- and cabinet-makers, printers, sign and ornamental painters, silversmiths, lithographers, sculptors in wood and stone, small shopkeepers, street merchants, etc. They were semi-inde-

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

563 grew up during slavery, and no circumstance has subsequently arisen to change it. In the United States, on the other hand, the spread of contraceptive practices[35] and the increasing race consciousness of the Negro have led to a decided decrease in miscegenation. Traditional behavior in Bahia is, in this respect as in many others, well defined. The sanction of custom has become, as it always does eventually in any case, moral sanction.

563 583 Race mixture is further favored in Bahia today by the widespread custom of *mancebia*,[36] or those conjugal unions outside marriage in which there is some degree of permanency. In many cases the women involved are mulattoes, rarely blacks. The man agrees to pay for rent and food; the woman, to care for the house and children. The man may have, at the same time, a legal family, although informal unions are often entered into by young men previous to marriage.

563 826 Miscegenation is also favored in Bahia today by the prestige which ordinarily attaches to the so-called "whiter" child. Dark mothers who bear "whiter" children consider themselves especially favored and are so looked upon by their immediate associates. A black mother proudly showed her light child and said, "Estou limpando a minha raça" ("I am cleansing [i.e., I am 'whitening'] my race"). One also

[164] [554] [882] [35] In Bahia there is not the fear of venereal disease common to this country. Its contraction is regarded by young men as an indication of sexual coming-of-age and perhaps enhances their prestige among their associates (cf. Freyre, *op. cit.*, pp. 49 ff.).

[193] [192] [36] This term is used only in more polite conversation. The woman involved is called *manceba*, the verb is *mancebar*, and the participle *mancebado*. The popular expression, however, is *amasia*, or *amiga* (the feminine form of "friend"), or *amante*, or *comboso*, for the woman; the verb is *amasiar* or *amigar*, the participle *amasiado* or *amigado*.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

APPENDIX C

Sources of Population Increase

161 In the demographic analysis increase in population generally has been discussed without regard to its source. There are two possible sources: (1) immigration; or (2) growth of local population through the excess of births over deaths.

161 Although exact data for immigration into the Recôncavo is lack-
167 ing, it is probably realistic to disregard sources outside the state of Bahia. The 1950 census gives 144,055 as the number of people in Bahia who were born in other Brazilian states, but shows 430,217 natives of Ba a who were resident in other states. In general, the state of Bahia is the source, not the destination, of a current of migration. The principal origin of this current apparently is the back country of the state, not the Recôncavo. Immigration from other countries is negligible.

It may be inferred that the Recôncavo had a net gain as a result of intra-state migration between 1940 and 1950. The extent to which this gain was permanent is not clear.

163 The birth rate of Bahia has been estimated at 42 or 43 per
165 thousand, while the death rate of Salvador has been estimated at about
161 27 per thousand.[1] This suggests that the rate of population increase must be relatively high. On the basis of a population increase of 15 per thousand, the 1940 Recôncavo population of 924,032 would have been 1,060,372 by 1950.

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[1] Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, pp. 285, 295. Since death records are not available in many parts of the interior, death rates ordinarily are available for the capital cities only.

[Class C Families]

165 [217] The civil register for the community of Vila Recôncavo listed 111 deaths for 1950, fifty-one male and sixty female. The age breakdown was as follows:

TABLE 9
NUMBER OF DEATHS BY AGE GROUPS, 1950

under 1 year	36
1- 4	20
5- 9	1
10-14	4
15-19	4
20-29	10
30-39	10
40-49	6
50-59	9
60-69	4
70-79	3
80-89	1
90-99	2
over 99	1
	111

165 164 It is apparent that the first five years are those in which the death rate is highest. According to the local doctor's records, the most frequent causes of these deaths are diarrhea and enteritis (seven deaths), whooping cough (seven deaths), chronic nephritis (five deaths), and acute bronchitis (four deaths). The mal de sete dias (literally, "illness of seven days," an umbilical infection in newly born infants) was the cause of only two deaths, and only one natural abortion was registered, as well as one stillbirth. According to the same doctor, many more adults die of heart trouble and kidney ailments than of anything else.

553 [214] 551 553 The most popular method of naming children is by choosing from an almanac a name which strikes the fancy of the parents. In Brazil many commercial concerns publish yearly almanacs which are widely distributed. In addition to giving national holidays, saints' days, and various other kinds of calendars, they include lists of names, often of saints. While in the upper classes children are named after their parents and grandparents, lower-class families give their offspring all sorts of exotic names chosen from the almanacs, such as Estanislaus, Enoch, or Ignace. Sometimes the name is cho-

St Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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are easier to understand and to comply with. In the town of Vila Recôncavo there are two houses of cult activities with female leaders, and in the rural area there is one such house with a male leader. These are the three houses which were studied by the author. There are six more in the area, but they are much smaller and poorer than these three.

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One of the three is led by a woman almost a hundred years old. She is now completely blind and can barely walk about the house. She has not been outside of it for several years. She has an assistant, a young man in his twenties, who as a child brought her firewood and water and who now has been taught by her much of the cult ritual. The house is now inactive, for the old woman has outlived her former followers, or else they have moved away. The room which contains the insignia of the African spirits is still kept up, and the proper foods and drinks are always placed there by the young man, in accordance with the instructions of the old lady. She herself does little, although she still consults the spirits by throwing cowrie shells. Her fame as a cult leader is widespread, and people still come to her for help, but she is too feeble to do much. In her day she was a "purist" and went through the long training period necessary to become a devotee and later a cult leader. She still knows a few words of Nagô, the Yoruban language, and laments the passing of her generation, with whom she says she conversed only in this language. Several of her initiates broke away and started their own houses in other places, although according to her they were not ready to assume leadership since they did not know enough of the mysteries.

The other two houses studied are led by disciples of one of the old woman's devotees who broke away. There is no contact among the three, although the two younger leaders are in awe of the old woman, aware that she knows much more than they do and that in her eyes they are only upstarts, manipulating something mystical which they are not sufficiently prepared to control. She does not intimidate them, however, and now ignores their activities, since they both have recently accepted the Indian spirits which the old woman feels are bogus. She is more interested in passing on her knowledge to the young man who cares for her house, though she complains that he is too indifferent to her teachings. He is learning a great deal, however, though he has not yet "made" his saint, that is, he is not yet a full-fledged devotee. Preparations for

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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be the *lingua geral*, or general Negro language.[5] The ritual of the more important fetish-cult centers was, and still is, carried on in this language. Inscriptions in Nagô were occasionally to be seen not only on cult buildings but also in small commercial establishments owned and operated by Negroes, like the meat stall on the Baixa dos Sapateiros over whose entrance Nina Rodrigues in 1895 noted the inscription "Kosi oba Kan afi Olorun."[6] So important did Nagô become, and so widespread its use that, although Nina Rodrigues early in the twentieth century estimated that there were only approximately five hundred Africans still living in the city and they were at that time dying at the rate of a hundred and fifty to two hundred a year,[7] one still today, more than three decades later, finds

[5] Nina Rodrigues, intimately acquainted for many years with Bahian Negroes, commends the accuracy of the Visconde de Porto Seguro when he says, "The best known Negroes in Brazil were those coming from the *Costa da Mina*, whence arrived the greater portion of those imported into Bahia; so that in this city many slaves learned little Portuguese but instead communicated among themselves in Nagô." About 1900 he himself wrote: "The Nagô dialect is commonly spoken in Bahia by almost all the old Africans from the various tribes and by a great number of creoles and mulattoes" (*op. cit.*, p. 197).

[6] Rodrigues translates the phrase: "There is no God but Olorun" (principal deity of the Nagô cult). A photograph of the entrance to the shop showing this inscription may be found in *ibid.*, opp. p. 202.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 154. In the seven years from 1896 to 1902, 1,282 Africans died at Bahia. The distribution was as follows:

Year	Total	Male	Female
1896	110	55	55
1897	258	156	102
1898	200	96	104
1899	209	110	99
1900	151	87	64
1901	152	74	78
1902	202	136	66
Total	1,282	714	568

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Nagô at times spoken in Bahia and an occasional individual whose command of this language is comparable to his command of Portuguese.

The nature of Negro settlement at Bahia favored to a considerable extent the preservation of African cultural forms. Tribal units were not deliberately broken up, as in Jamaica and the United States, and the Negro was thereby able to preserve and to transmit to his children a considerable portion of his African heritage. Even on the plantations the distribution of newly imported Africans among the old-established Negroes seems not to have occurred.[8] The concentration in the city of Bahia over a long period of time of large numbers of semi-independent *negros de ganho*, around whom there gradually accumulated a considerable number of relatively unassimilated free Negroes, also favored the persistence of African cultural elements.

It is likely that Nagô was not maintained in a pure form but came to be a patois containing numerous elements from other African dialects as well as from Portuguese. A Catholic missionary, Padre Coquard, visiting Bahia in 1899 to solicit funds, spoke to the colored population in Nagô. But the sermon, preached in the ancient church of Sé, was wholly ineffective.[9]

Other African languages were spoken in Bahia.[10] Rodrigues believed that Gêge (or Ewe) was used throughout the eighteenth century and until at least the middle of the nine-

[8] Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil, 1809 to 1815* (2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1817), I, 229 n.

[9] Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 200–201. Perhaps another reason for this ineffectiveness was that the Negroes who were most able to understand Nagô were unassimilated Africans who, out of loyalty to the religion of their fathers, deliberately absented themselves from this ceremony of the Catholic church.

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 197–230.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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in the United States always serves to call out the traditional responses long associated with variations in social status.

Today there exists in Bahia the belief that the population is gradually but persistently "whitening," a conviction difficult to understand, given the heavy preponderance of Africans among the population which originally migrated to this area and the negligible number of European immigrants in recent times.

The probable greater mortality of blacks may in part account for this change. According to a recent unpublished study, the infantile death rate among the lower classes in Bahia, which, as we have seen, are principally black and dark mulatto, is approximately twice that of the upper classes; and, in 1932, deaths under five years of age constituted nearly one-third of all deaths for that year (1,698 out of 5,407). At the same time there does not seem to be any marked difference in fertility between the races.

At any rate, Bahians frequently comment on an appreciable change in the color of the population within their memories. One continually hears remarks like that of a mixed-blood citizen who said:

> Formerly, the *pretos* (blacks) were the most numerous group in Bahia, the *pardos* (browns) next, and the *brancos* (whites) last. Today, the *pardos* are in the majority, the *brancos* next, and the *pretos* last. I am convinced that before long the *pretos* will have completely disappeared. The *brancos* will soon overtake and, in the course of time, completely absorb the *pardos*.

The mixed-bloods tend to look upon themselves as transition points in an inevitable whitening process. Pride in the present advanced stage is common, and the end result is eagerly anticipated. From the mulattoes, as from the whites, one frequently hears the declaration: "We Brazilians are

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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man is a Negro"), has now been largely replaced by, as 826
Freyre says, the "more Brazilian saying": "Quem escapa de negro, branco é" ("Who isn't a Negro is a white man").

With due regard, then, to such qualifications regarding 563*
the precise meaning of *branco* as these facts suggest, we may 826
note that the classification of births in Bahia in 1932 indicated the color distribution to be as given in Table 3. 162

TABLE 2

PROBABLE ETHNIC ORIGIN OF THE FIRST FIVE HUNDRED INDIVIDUALS LISTED AS *Brancos* IN THE FILES OF THE GABINETE DE IDENTIFICAÇÃO, BAHIA, 1937 [217]

Probability	Number	Per Cent
Whites	340	68.0
Mulattoes*	95	19.0
Indian-white mixed-bloods†	39	7.8
Indian-white-Negro mixed-bloods†	26	5.2
Total	500	100.0

* Individuals with the following physical characteristics were noted: (1) nose very broad, lips very full; (2) dark skin, hair almost kinky, lips thick; (3) skin *café com leite* ("coffee with milk"), hair exceedingly curly; (4) hair almost kinky; (5) lips full, nose broad, considerable prognathism.

† Ordinarily only slight traces of Indian ancestry evident in each case.

Since the total registration of births for each of these 563*
years averages slightly in excess of five hundred in a city of 163
an estimated 360,000, the records are obviously incomplete. 114
Many midwife deliveries go unrecorded; and, since these [565]
births occur usually among the lower classes, which are [162]
largely black and dark mulatto, the relative color percentages are probably skewed toward the white pole.

Deaths are less likely to go unrecorded. But since deaths 165●
563*

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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occur to a considerable extent among the older generation, they throw no light on the extent of miscegenation in recent times. Consequently, their relative frequencies do not ac-

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TABLE 3*

BIRTHS ACCORDING TO COLOR, BAHIA, 1932

Color	City Proper		Outlying Villages		Total	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Branco	1,482	33.3	65	11.0	1,547	30.7
Preto	659	14.8	114	19.3	773	15.3
Pardo	2,314	51.9	411	69.7	2,725	54.0
Total	4,455	100.0	590	100.0	5,045	100.0

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* Source: City records deposited in the Secretaria de Saude e Assistencia Publica da Bahia.

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TABLE 4*

DEATHS ACCORDING TO COLOR, BAHIA, 1932

Color	City Proper		Outlying Villages		Total	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Branco	1,375	25.4	79	9.8	1,454	23.4
Preto	1,310	24.2	191	23.7	1,501	24.2
Pardo	2,722	50.4	536	66.5	3,258	52.4
Total	5,407	100.0	806	100.0	6,213	100.0

[217]
[127]

* Source: City records deposited in the Secretaria de Saude e Assistencia Publica da Bahia.

curately reflect the present racial distribution in the *total* population.

Bearing in mind these qualifications, we may note the color distribution among deceased at Bahia in 1932 (Table 4).

[SALVADOR]

/23 cont./

Brazil," in Brazil, Portrait of Half a Continent, p. 334.

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Because of crossbreeding and other sociobiological factors, the darkest group of black phenotype was gradually absorbed by ethnic blending: the Whites increased at a slightly faster rhythm, while the number of métis registered in the statistics as pardos rose and gave birth finally, as a result of the mixture, to a group in which European ancestry predominated (2).

2. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 417.

"Among our ancestors there were already creoles of "clean belly" (barriga limpa). Their children, being themselves /24/ children of lighter men, tended progressively toward the color of their fathers. Perhaps Bahia is a city that contains many female Blacks and métisses of barriga limpa. Everybody remarks that we are moving toward a population totally of mixed blood but of white appearance (1)."

1. J. Valadares, op. cit., p. 91.

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In consulting the death certificates recorded between 1897 and 1938 (2),

2. A. Rabelo Leite, "A tuberculose do preto na Bahia /The tuberculosis of the Black in Bahia/"; Cesar de Araujo, Anais do Iº Congresso Nacional de Tuberculose /Annals of the First National Tuberculosis Congress/, Vol. I, 1930; see also E. F. Frazier, "The Negro Family in Bahia, Brazil," American Sociological Review, Vol. VII, No. 4, 1942, p. 467.

one can see that the proportional quantities of each type varies in our city as shown below:

[SALVADOR]

/24 cont./

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Year	Percentage of ethnic types		
	Whites	"Pardos"	Blacks
1897	32.61	29	38.39
1907	32.71	34.74	32.55
1917	32.81	39.55	27.64
1927	32.91	43.61	23.48
1938	33.02	47.37	19.61
1940 (1)	28.74	51.11	20.13

[114]

1. Figures of the national census, which differ from those relating to mortality because of a difference of evaluation in the classification of the types.

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*563 The rapid growth of the white group, through the incorporation of "whitened" métis, and thanks to the better social and economic conditions of the upper strata of the population, to which the vast majority of the descendants of Europeans belong, means that in the total figure, in relation to the Whites the proportion of colored persons is decreasing at the same time that the proportion of métis is increasing, which is clearly shown by the census:

Year	Proportions in relation to one White	
	Colored persons	"Pardos"
1872	3.16	1.88
1890	2.84	2.70
1940	2.57	2.55

*563 The intensity of crossbreeding is actually so great that, as a well-known intellectual of Bahia notes, "the autochthonous fino White is no more than a historic memory" (3).

[113]

3. Prado Valadares, Remirando o cáos /Again Considering the Chaos/, Bahia, 1933.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

161 force of the 21 municípios--without regard to direction of change--was
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241 13 per cent.
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In general the area around Salvador and the northeastern and western margins of the Recôncavo gained in agricultural labor force (Map 19). The Central Recôncavo and areas in the north-central, eastern, and southwestern Recôncavo lost agriculturalists between 1940 and 1950. Some of the factors which produced these changes were local; others were identified with the Northeast or with Brazil as a whole.

The growth of cities in the Recôncavo is a manifestation of a nationwide phenomenon. The expanding urban centers create an increasing market for agricultural products which, because of the difficulty of transportation and the lack of food processing facilities, must be supplied primarily from local sources. These expanding markets attract discontented or displaced agriculturalists, who settle as close to the urban center as possible. There is a marked increase in the concentration of agricultural labor around Salvador, Feira de Santana, and Alagoinhas.

731 In 1950 and 1951 the urban trend and its agricultural con-
166 comitant was re-enforced by a specific Northeastern phenomenon—the
[369] flight from the drought (sêca) of the interior. Most of the refugees
[241] (flagelados) from the dry sertão settled along the periphery of the Recôncavo. Here, where they could remain close to their cherished sertão, much land was open for squatters. As indicated above, others settled around the urban centers of the Recôncavo caatinga zone—Feira de Santana and Alagoinhas.

241 Observations suggest that the greatest relative increases in
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178 agricultural labor force from the sertão were in the municípios
166 bordering the Recôncavo on the west and north, where the "normal"
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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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BB 241 464 178 166 731 agricultural population is small. However, refugees from the drought also found their way into most parts of the Recôncavo. Even in 1953 they were to be encountered as squatters in Muritiba, as cane field workers in Santo Amaro, and as porters in Salvador.

Refugees from secas usually have not become permanent additions to the labor force of the Recôncavo. The sertanejo of the Northeast is renowned in Brazil for his attachment to his terra (native soil), no matter how cruelly it treats him. Especially those migrants who settle as squatters on the margins of the Recôncavo seem only to wait for the renewal of the rains to return to the sertão. In 1953 migrants were still entering the Recôncavo along the Feira de Santana-Salvador highway, but others were boarding the train in Salvador and returning to the sertão. They had come from the sertão on foot or by begging rides on trucks, found jobs in the Recôncavo, saved a few cruzeiros, and were returning to their native terra. Some refugees remain in the Recôncavo, of course, but the number is proportionately very small.

BB 249 464 166 178 Several sections of the Recôncavo, notably the sugar cane zone, are losing rural population and agricultural labor at a serious rate. The municípios of Santo Amaro and São Francisco lost 6,400 agriculturalists between 1940 and 1950. The reduction in the number of agriculturalists in the sugar area is at least partially a symptom of the growing rationalization of labor under the big usinas, which increasingly dominate the sugar industry. The emigration from these areas is selective--the majority of the emigrants are young adults who leave to seek employment and broader opportunity elsewhere.

B BB 24 166 [181] [565] Emigration within the Recôncavo is one current of the great tide of agricultural unrest ascribed to all of Brazil.

The rural Brazilian of the lower classes is notorious for his nomadic or migratory habits, for his lack of permanent attachment to the soil, for his tendency to

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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> shift about from place to place. In few nations are such large proportions of the rural people, who in turn are three fourths of all people, so constantly on the move.[23]

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In the Recôncavo this shifting is like a game of musical chairs, in which the odd participant, probably thinking himself lucky, goes to Salvador. The exchange of places occurs on many levels: there is movement from plantation to plantation within the sugar zone, even between plantations operated by the same usina.[24] Many agricultural workers shift from one to another of the various agricultural zones within the Recôncavo.[25] These shifts of population in the Recôncavo primarily involve the agricultural laborers, share croppers, and tenant farmers. The landowners move only under the strongest pressure, and the upper class landowners are as immobile as the lower classes are migratory. However, these landowners compose only a small part of the agricultural labor force.

Another fluid element in the agricultural labor force of the Recôncavo is seasonal labor.

> Itinerant seasonal agricultural labor has for a long time been an important element in the sugar zones of the Northeast where at harvest time many of the cane cutters come from the "agreste" or even from the "sertao" into the "mata" zone.[26]

The principal source of this seasonal labor for the Recôncavo is the small farmer class of the sertão of Bahia north of the Rio Paraguaçu and east of the Chapada Diamantina. These workers are males, exclusively; the number involved is not known, but it is probably on the order of 5,000. Some sertanejos return again and again to the same fazenda or usina; others change their place of employment from year to year. They all return to the sertão at the beginning of the wet season to plant gardens for their families and to harvest cotton and other crops.

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*565 tation administration are over. In general, however, neither the children nor the parents mix with the permanent residents of Vila Recôncavo. Although as small children they may have a worker's son as a constant playmate, by the time they are teenagers this relationship has usually faded into a fond memory.

*565 458 The standard of living of this class is far above that of any of the other local groups. It is important to realize that because of the fluctuations of the sugar market, members of this class have not always had fluid wealth at their command, while at other periods they have been undeniably wealthy. But even during a slump they have been able to raise money when necessary. One of the major reasons that planters turned to the professions was the need to assure themselves of a continued income when the sugar market falls. At such times their main activities are directed toward earning a living in the city. But at those times when sugar producing is profitable the practicing of the activities becomes a strain, and one or the other must suffer. Nevertheless, at any time these people have earned enough to maintain a standard of living which compares favorably with that of the upper class in any large city. Households are complete with refrigerators, radios, and other electrical appliances which must be imported. Many have automobiles, receive magazines from abroad, follow Parisian dress styles, take interest in international affairs, and in general lead a life of wide interests. In the rural zone their houses are much better than those of any others, often having running water, electricity, and a full range of service provided by servants. Usually the household servants move from country to city with the family.

*565 511 [416] [207] [184] [357] [166]

Class B in the rural zone of the community is made up of plantation overseers, factory technicians, and white-collar workers of the factory offices. It is almost as small as Class A, comprising about twenty adult members. As in the case of the planters, who associate with other planters outside the community, the overseers of various plantations have reunions. There is much more social contact between the overseers and the mass of workers, however, than between the planters and the workers. The planters usually know all the workers on their plantations, as well as their families; but although there is frequent visiting and chatting between the women of the two groups and between the males of the two groups, there is little basis for conversation. The planta-

*565 571 [574]

[Class B Families]

*565 594 capacities, or they are "newly arrived" socially, which often indicates that the relatives of either or both spouses may belong to the lower class; in this case the local upper-class families are inclined to ignore them. In these conjugal families the husband is the central figure, participating in business and social activities of the town, while his wife and children, especially daughters, remain at home. The sons usually go to the city to school and remain there after graduation, so there is little chance of continuing a strong family line in the town. At the factory the case is somewhat different, for the sons of Class B families may enter the factory in one of the higher office positions, thus forming a larger family group as they marry and settle down there. This pattern, however, is only apparent in the second generation, and there are only three cases of it.

[166] [871]

*565 517 [571] [596] [574] [562] [871] [166] [183] [528] *565 562 517 As a result of the lack of public entertainment in Vila Recôncavo and the competitive attitude of members of Class B among themselves and toward the higher members of Class C, there is little social gathering, especially for the women. There are never extended family gatherings for Class B such as those described for Class A. The men go to the bar or visit one another's homes to some slight extent, but wives and daughters seldom do. The wives are kept occupied bearing children and caring for them. Those few daughters who are sent to school in the city are indeed fortunate, for their chances of marrying and remaining in Salvador, the desire of most young people, are greatest. The summer vacation is boring to them in comparison with their scope of activities in the winter. The sons can enjoy the summer, going swimming, horseback riding, playing ball, making the most of the few parties and festivals (festas) which take place during the summer, lounging in the bar gossiping, meeting the boat, and visiting lower-class girls. The daughters, on the other hand, can do nothing of the sort. They spend their time at home with their mothers and sometimes visit a married girl friend or sister to gossip.

For those girls who remain in the town, life can be intolerably dull. They must be extremely careful of where they go, when, and with whom, and of what they do, for the town gossip about them can be vicious. The reputation of a girl seen on the street at night without one of her parents is ruined. These girls are expected to be virgins, models of propriety,

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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[Class B Families]

and the social forces compelling them to conform to this ideal are strong enough to keep them at home. 565* 562 517

To some extent the Class B families take as their pattern the older traditions of the upper-class families. The father is the most important person in the home and has the final word in all decisions. His wife is not his equal in a social sense and plays a much more passive role than the women of classes A, C, and D. This, however, is slowly changing, for married couples of the younger generation are beginning to share more activities, such as going to the movies, visiting friends, or going on short trips to Salvador. But this is a recent development and applies only to four couples in the town. The others still maintain the old pattern whereby the man attends social functions while his wife remains home. On occasion of a farewell party, invitations were carefully extended to the married couples in Class B at the author's instigation. Of the thirteen couples invited, only four came together. In the other cases only the husbands came. Among the others, one of the husbands was away, and his wife would not come to the party even though her mother, father, and two sisters did. It is still common for the wife either to remain discreetly silent or to disappear altogether when her husband has visitors at home, and among the older families the father and his guests are served separately at meals, the women of the household eating afterwards alone. 565* 562 594 178 [184]

Family life in rural Class B follows to some extent that of the town family of the same class. The father is the central figure in the family and makes all decisions. He travels about the community while his wife remains at home. The sons of overseers, however, are seldom sent to Salvador to school, although the sons of Class B families living at the factory usually are, at least for a short time. So far, however, none of them has entered a profession. 369 565* 594 [871] [166]

As has already been stated, the women of rural Class B lead much the same kind of life as the women in Class C, with whom they associate. Daughters are guarded carefully, while sons are placed in some advantageous position whenever possible, frequently through the aid of the plantation owner or usineiro. They may enter the factory office, and in several cases they have been set up in business on the plantations, running small stores which belong to their fathers. 565* 562 184 464

A daughter of Seu Paulo, the overseer of the Fazenda das Moças, married the son of the overseer on a neighboring 565* 585 114

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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the total situation, have thrown the "picture" out of perspective and unwittingly distorted it.

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Brazil is an enormous country; and, in spite of its culture being homogeneous to a surprising extent, considerable variation in historical, ecological, economic and sociological circumstance exists from region to region.[1] Moreover, the extensive changes which have taken place since this study was made increase some of the differences between various parts of the country. A sizeable internal migration has been occurring (cf. Vicente Unzer de Almeida and Octávio Teixeira Mendes Sobrinho, 1952), as individuals have left the rural areas and moved to the towns,[2] and from there, ordinarily later, in considerable numbers and including a high percentage of persons of color, to the larger cities, par-

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[1] For one thing, the character and effects of slavery perhaps were not uniform, especially in the more isolated areas on the fringes of settlement, in contrast to the more settled areas, where the controls of public opinion and law were more effective. Little attention has been given to possible variations in the character of the personal relations developed during this period in the coastal plantation areas, with their probable higher degree of primary contacts, in contrast to the mining areas of the interior, with their perhaps more impersonal relations, and to the pastoral areas, where the opportunities for the escape of slaves were perhaps greatest of all. This is not to say that some investigators are not aware of these possible differences, but that there is still lacking any systematic attempt to trace these variations in detail; and especially in terms of *personal*, rather than of merely economic, or power, relationships. The more recent attention to part of this problem has been directed to illustrating the evolution of a historical process whose unfolding is preconceived and hence known in advance, so that the investigator tends to be insulated from new knowledge and new hypotheses.

[2] Cf. Charles Wagley 1960a:210. For recent changes in Brazil see, particularly, that illuminating essay, and also L. A. Costa Pinto (1958), Albert O. Hirshman (1963), Rollie E. Poppino (1963), and Irving Louis Horowitz (1964). For bibliographical references in this Introduction, see the appended "Supplementary Bibliography."

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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ticularly São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro but also Belo Horizonte, Recife, Porto Alegre, and others, including Bahia.[3] For, stimulated by needs which could not be satisfied by importation from Europe or the United States under the conditions existing during two World Wars—and more particularly during the last one—and also by growing internal demand, industrialization has been assuming a continually larger role in what has previously been a predominantly agricultural and pastoral country. Concomitant with this increased industrialization—but not to be confused with it, since, for one thing, it began long before—there also has occurred a rapid and extensive growth of the cities. A high rate of natural increase of the population has meanwhile continued in all parts of the country, so that it is now estimated that approximately two and a half million persons are being added annually to the Brazilian people. New primary, secondary, technological and professional schools have been set up, in an urgent, but not yet adequate attempt—since it began with a huge deficit—to keep up with expanding educational needs.

The emergence of new employment opportunities, espe-

[3] Since the matter may have puzzled some readers, it perhaps should be pointed out that, in keeping with the traditional patterns in such cases during colonization and later, the term "Bahia" was long used to indicate, on the one hand, the Capitania, Province or State of Bahia and, on the other, its capital city, even though the latter had another (and less used) name—Salvador. At the time of our research, the capital city of the State of Bahia—where most of our research was carried on—was widely and commonly known also as "Bahia"; and this name is still being employed. Since this name was used in the original study, it will be retained in this Introduction, in order to avoid possible confusion when consulting different parts of this edition. Incidentally, the spelling of "Bahia" is correctly given here and throughout this book, although, for a time during the "spelling reform" in Brazil (but only temporarily), an effort was made in some quarters to write the name differently.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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The emergence of new employment opportunities, espe-

cially in the centers of industry but also elsewhere, not only has stimulated internal migration but—more importantly for our interest here—has also facilitated social mobility. This has brought significant change, particularly to persons in the lower ranks, who are extensively (but far from exclusively) of dark color, and whose economic position has long been, on the whole, stagnant. There is clearly evident in Brazil what perhaps is the principal long-range trend in the modern world, namely, the rise of the underprivileged classes into increasingly greater economic and political power; while the growing anonymity of the developing cities is making human relations more impersonal and categoric, and this has led to a heightened sense of insecurity while also aiding the escape of individuals of color from the controls of the old superordinate and subordinate relationships developed during slavery and giving these individuals new conceptions of themselves and of others.

Until comparatively recent years, a middle class like that known in Europe or the United States scarcely existed. At the time of our research at Bahia, for instance, there were only two clearly-defined classes in the city, as attested (see pp. 15 ff.) by the popular division of the inhabitants into *ricos* (literally, "the rich") and *pobres* ("the poor"). There were many families, however, whose occupation, skills, education, or level of living placed them above the lower class but who were not attached by kinship or achievement to the upper ranks. They thus occupied an intermediate position between the two extremes of the social pyramid, although they tended to identify themselves with the interests and values of the upper class. In recent decades, however, the changes mentioned above have produced occupational and educational opportunities never before known, and also greatly stimulated those previously existent, so that, in the large and more

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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in response to the needs of colonial life still persist and direct 633
life pretty much in the old familiar channels. Bahia has long 571
been a relatively isolated city; and isolation has intensified personal intimacies and, by so doing, has promoted the growth of peculiarly local customs in response to peculiarly local conditions.

The character of Bahia's population, as might be ex- 167
pected, is also relatively stable. Virtually no immigration has come in from foreign lands in recent years, and little from other parts of Brazil. What population movement 166
there is into the city comes largely from the interior of the state or from contiguous areas like Alagoas and Sergipe. Similarly there is little emigration.

Bahia is thus a "culturally passive" area[9] with a stability 571
and an order reminiscent of Europe in the Middle Ages. In 178
fact, Bahia is, in some respects at least, a medieval town. 795
Every eminence of the city is dominated by a church or a [368]
cathedral. Until very recently there were no modern office buildings or industrial edifices to overshadow or to crowd out these symbols of a sacred order, and such as have in the past few years been erected only accentuate the dominance of the ecclesiastical structures. Over the habits of the female portion of the population in particular,[10] and to a con-

[9] Dr. Robert E. Park has used this phrase to describe an area "in which life continues, on the whole, to revolve in the same unbroken and traditional routine," where "population, natural resources, and the standard of living have achieved some sort of equilibrium and where custom and tradition provide for most of the exigencies of life." In such an area, "changes still take place, to be sure, but take place silently, continuously, and at an almost imperceptible pace" (see Robert E. Park, "Race Relations and Certain Frontiers," in *Race and Culture Contacts*, ed. E. B. Reuter [New York, 1934], p. 57).

[10] The ecclesiastical authorities have rigorously censured women's bathing suits which do not have sleeves to the elbow and knee-length skirts. [291]
Rarely is a woman other than a foreign resident or an occasional individ-

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 648 the Recôncavo, for they took with them a newly acquired knowledge of sugar cane cultivation.

175 167 567 The eighteenth century opened with a series of disasters for the region. When word of gold discoveries in Minas Gerais (1704) reached Bahia, an exodus began.[25] Slaves were sold at exorbitant prices, and often masters and slaves together went off to the mines. The colonial authorities took drastic steps to halt the flight, but [731] to no avail. The first quarter of the century ended with floods in the Recôncavo and the discovery of diamonds in the interior. There was a second exodus.[26]

175 171 249 In the meantime there were momentous developments in the West Indies. Sugar cane cultivation spread rapidly in the Antilles as the Netherlands and other northwestern European states which had been lucrative markets for Brazilian sugar began their own production in their respective West Indian colonies. In addition to the protected markets which the mother countries afforded, these new centers enjoyed sound economic and geographical advantages. As newcomers to the field of sugar production, the Antilles were free of both the antiquated equipment and the backward techniques which burdened Brazil, and they were closer to the major European markets.[27]

175 178 185 249 The Recôncavo was unable to counter these West Indian developments. In a century and a half of commercial development there had been few improvements in agricultural or industrial methods. There was no conservation of the soil. Only one variety of cane was known, and there was no attempt to develop improved strains. The mills continued to burn expensive wood rather than to use bagasse. Antique, low-yielding crushing mills continued to be used for extraction.[28]

175 249 178 439 At the end of the eighteenth century, however, developments abroad restored to the Recôncavo and to Brazil many of the advantages which it had formerly held in the international market. This

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

APPENDIX C

Sources of Population Increase

161 In the demographic analysis increase in population generally has been discussed without regard to its source. There are two possible sources: (1) immigration; or (2) growth of local population through the excess of births over deaths.

161 167 Although exact data for immigration into the Recôncavo is lacking, it is probably realistic to disregard sources outside the state of Bahia. The 1950 census gives 144,055 as the number of people in Bahia who were born in other Brazilian states, but shows 430,217 natives of Bahia who were resident in other states. In general, the state of Bahia is the source, not the destination, of a current of migration. The principal origin of this current apparently is the back country of the state, not the Recôncavo. Immigration from other countries is negligible.

It may be inferred that the Recôncavo had a net gain as a result of intra-state migration between 1940 and 1950. The extent to which this gain was permanent is not clear.

163 165 The birth rate of Bahia has been estimated at 42 or 43 per thousand, while the death rate of Salvador has been estimated at about 161 27 per thousand.[1] This suggests that the rate of population increase must be relatively high. On the basis of a population increase of 15 per thousand, the 1940 Recôncavo population of 924,032 would have been 1,060,372 by 1950.

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[1] Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, pp. 285, 295. Since death records are not available in many parts of the interior, death rates ordinarily are available for the capital cities only.

175 as with pride and love for having made it appear from untamed wilds."[1] After his death the land passed to his son, who died shortly after and left the property to his sister, the Countess of Linhares and wife of Fernando Noronha. Noronha died not too long after, and his wife remarried, again becoming a widow and also losing her own children. At her death in 1618, what had not already been sold of the land was bequeathed to various religious organizations.[2]

It was reported in 1587 that there were fourteen plantations in the area that later became the county of Vila Recôncavo.[3] In 1591 the Franciscans went through the Recôncavo, looking for a place to build a convent. They established a "small hospice" in 1618 on what is now plantation "N" (see map of community). This hospice lasted only two years, for in 1620 the friars returned to Salvador.[4] In 1624 the Franciscans returned to the town, selected a spot of high ground on the shoreline overlooking the Bay of All Saints, and started to construct a chapel and convent. At this time Gaspar dos Reis Pinto was in possession of plantation "N," which included the area chosen by the Franciscans for their construction. In 1633 Gaspar gave 143 square braças (1 braça=6 ft.) to the religious order.[5] With the founding of the convent, the town of Vila Recôncavo received a major impulse, becoming a nucleus for further development.

175 The seventeenth century saw a period of great expansion in
• 167 the Recôncavo--the erection of many plantations and the in-
567 crease of population, mainly due to the importation of great
634 numbers of African slaves. During this period the first two formal administrative divisions of the Recôncavo were organized. In Vila Recôncavo, a military district created in 1668 was the first formal unit. Troubles with the Dutch in the
712 early part of the century and continuing invasions and sack-
175 ings by pirates led to the necessity of fortifying appropriate
634 places in the Recôncavo, such as the mouths of rivers emp-
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1. J. Wanderley de Araujo Pinho, Testamento de Mem de Sá (Rio de Janeiro, 1941), p. 33.
2. Ibid., p. 19.
3. Gabriel Soares de Sousa, Noticias do Brasil (São Paulo, n.d.), I, Book I, 282.
4. de Araujo Pinho, Testamento de Mem de Sá, p. 54.
5. Ibid.

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1960-1961) 1967 8011 Bahia Brazilians 8011
VILA RECÔNCAVO

6. Class and Race

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56 IT WAS the colonial sugar-cane plantation system which gave the Recôncavo many of its characteristic traditions, and which formed patterns of class and race or color relations which have persisted in the region in a modified form. More than [167] three million Negroes were imported from Africa during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, and a large proportion of them were brought to northeastern Brazil. The Portuguese plantation owners became rich and formed a regional aristocracy which led a luxurious and ostentatious way of life. The slaves and their masters formed two distinct social groups. As the colony developed, intermediate groups came into existence. As early as 1549 there existed a small independent group of people, composed of Europeans and mestiços, for many Europeans who came to the colony did not receive land grants. They were merchants, soldiers, or priests in the colony, gente pequena (small people), free but without the social and political influence of the landowners. The mestiços date back to the times when Portuguese ships first began to touch the coast of Brazil, even before colonization began. A notable example is Caramurú, a Portuguese sailor who was stranded on the shore of what is now Bahia and who had a large mestiço family by the time the city of Salvador was founded in 1549.[1]

The early period of colonization is crucial to an understanding of the Brazilian class complex of today, since ap-

1. See Thales de Azevedo, Povoamento da cidade do Salvador, (Bahia, 1949), pp. 57 ff.

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The most valuable property of a colonial *engenho*, however, was the slaves. Comparatively few Portuguese came to the Recôncavo, and even those among them who had been labourers in Portugal did not come to Brazil to do manual work. African slaves had already been used on sugar plantations in the Madeira Islands, and a slave system was imported into Brazil along with sugar cane. Although it was expressly prohibited by the Portuguese Government,[4] the early settlers in Bahia enslaved the Indians who did not flee or who were not killed in the early fighting with the colonists. Governor Mem de Sá's Testament lists 95 Indian men slaves, 84 Indian women slaves and only 20 African slaves.[5] From the start, however, Indians were considered inferior to Africans as slaves; they seemed unable to adapt themselves to continuous labour in the fields and mills. Yet in many cases they were kept as fishermen, hunters and boatmen for the *engenho*, being in these activities superior to the newly-arrived Negroes. By 1700, the Negro slaves greatly outnumbered the Europeans in the region, and there were but few Indian slaves. Slave was almost synonymous with Negro.

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An inventory of an *engenho* of about 650 acres, made in 1866 shortly before the end of slavery, gives a total value of 200 contos[1] for the *engenho*. The land, houses, slaves and livestock were valued at 125 contos; the value of the slaves alone was placed at 65 contos. The inventory divides the slaves into two categories: house slaves *(escravos de casa)* and work slaves *(escravos de lavoura)*. There were 18 house slaves and 103 work slaves. Among the house slaves were 1 barber-tailor-painter, 6 servants, 1 cook, 2 seamstresses and 1 apprentice seamstress, 2 sweet-makers, 2 laundresses, and 3 children without specific 'profession', as their occupation was called. Of the work slaves, 59 were listed as field workers (26 men and 33 women of all ages above the age of 12), 18 as small children, and 26 as specialists—including 4 ox-cart drivers, 5 sailors, 2 ironsmiths, 3 bricklayers, 1 field manager, 1 ship captain, 1 gardener, 1 barrel-maker, 1 specialist in the boiling of sugar, and 1 nurse. The prices of the slaves ran from 'without value' or as low as 20 milreis to as high as 1 conto 400 milreis, depending upon the age, physical condition and degree of skill of the slave.[2] The slaves were always listed in such inventories as foreign- or native-born and generally, if it were known, the place or tribe of origin was given. Many are listed simply as *Africano*. For those born in Brazil, the terms used are *Pardo*, *Cabra* or *Crioulo*; the diminutive form of these terms is used for all

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[1] The conto is a unit of Brazilian currency, composed of 1,000 milreis. The milreis, or cruzeiro as it is also called today, is the standard unit of currency. In 1951 the milreis was officially valued at 5.27 cents in U.S. currency, making the conto worth $52.70. However, it must be kept in mind that in 1866 the value of the milreis was considerably higher.

[2] In 1835 this same *engenho* had 48 house slaves and 135 work slaves. The highest valued slave was 900 milreis.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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* 121 563 races, and the ensuing termination is perhaps most clearly discernible.

131 361 [132] Bahia lies in the tropics of the Southern Hemisphere, approximately thirteen degrees south of the Equator, her naturally warm and humid climate almost constantly tempered by the refreshing Southeast Trades. Located seven hundred miles above Rio de Janeiro, the Brazilian capital, and four hundred miles below the old sugar center of Pernambuco, Bahia marks approximately the mid-point of Brazil's four thousand miles of coast line which stretches from temperate [167] Uruguay to the torrid Guianas. Some twenty-five hundred miles to the northeast lie the Gold and Slave coasts of Africa, once the home of the parents or grandparents of many present-day Bahians; directly to the east is Angola, another important source of the city's population.

175 361 In 1949 Bahia will celebrate her four hundredth anniversary. As cities go in the New World, she is an old city; in fact, one of the very oldest. Permanently founded fifty- [504] eight years before Jamestown and thirty-five years earlier than St. Augustine, this outpost of Portuguese civilization was one of the world's richest ports long before New York had outgrown her swaddling clothes.

175 162 *563 Here, shortly after 1500, set in the Portuguese transplantation, at first composed of adventurers, shipwrecked and deserting sailors; *degredados* banished from Portugal for criminal, political, or religious offenses; ambitious young men chosen for physical fitness and freedom from marital ties to serve in the colonial garrison; impoverished nobles seeking to recuperate fortunes squandered at the Portuguese court; a few officials, Jesuits, and secular clergy; Jews expelled by the Inquisition (who incidentally were to furnish a considerable portion of the much-needed capital for the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 6]

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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colony's development); gypsies destined to play a role in the subsequent slave trade and to bequeath their name permanently to the section of the city in which they settled; prostitutes and orphan girls sent over in limited numbers as wives by the Crown; and a few hardy peasant colonists, with their families, from Portugal, the Cape Verde Islands, and the Azores.

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This incoming wave of European population met the indigenous Indians and eventually absorbed or expelled them from the coast. In and about Bahia they were the Tupinambás and the Tupiniquins, part of the earlier Tupí expansion from the south, and of very primitive culture. The wifeless soldiers and colonists took Indian or half-breed women, first for concubines and later for legally married wives, and soon a numerous mixed-blood population sprang up which was gradually absorbed into the dominant white. Indian males were annihilated in battle, died from the rigors of slavery, or were driven, together with their women and children, far back into the interior. When they put up too stubborn resistance, whole villages were deliberately exterminated, one of the most effective means being the planting of smallpox germs from the clothing of a recent victim of the disease. The Indians, previously strangers to this European malady, rapidly succumbed.

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As early as the middle of the sixteenth century there began at Bahia extensive and prolonged Negro importation from Africa, and Bahia's Bay of All Saints subsequently served for generations as the principal port of entry into Brazil for this black commerce from the African coast. This involuntary population movement to Brazil eventually became what is, probably, the greatest intercontinental displacement of Negro peoples which ever occurred.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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in response to the needs of colonial life still persist and direct life pretty much in the old familiar channels. Bahia has long been a relatively isolated city; and isolation has intensified personal intimacies and, by so doing, has promoted the growth of peculiarly local customs in response to peculiarly local conditions. 633 571

The character of Bahia's population, as might be expected, is also relatively stable. Virtually no immigration has come in from foreign lands in recent years, and little from other parts of Brazil. What population movement there is into the city comes largely from the interior of the state or from contiguous areas like Alagoas and Sergipe. Similarly there is little emigration. 167 166

Bahia is thus a "culturally passive" area[9] with a stability and an order reminiscent of Europe in the Middle Ages. In fact, Bahia is, in some respects at least, a medieval town. Every eminence of the city is dominated by a church or a cathedral. Until very recently there were no modern office buildings or industrial edifices to overshadow or to crowd out these symbols of a sacred order, and such as have in the past few years been erected only accentuate the dominance of the ecclesiastical structures. Over the habits of the female portion of the population in particular,[10] and to a con- 571 178 795 [368]

[9] Dr. Robert E. Park has used this phrase to describe an area "in which life continues, on the whole, to revolve in the same unbroken and traditional routine," where "population, natural resources, and the standard of living have achieved some sort of equilibrium and where custom and tradition provide for most of the exigencies of life." In such an area, "changes still take place, to be sure, but take place silently, continuously, and at an almost imperceptible pace" (see Robert E. Park, "Race Relations and Certain Frontiers," in *Race and Culture Contacts*, ed. E. B. Reuter [New York, 1934], p. 57).

[10] The ecclesiastical authorities have rigorously censured women's bathing suits which do not have sleeves to the elbow and knee-length skirts. Rarely is a woman other than a foreign resident or an occasional individ- [291]

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CHAPTER IV

RACE MIXTURE AND THE CRUMBLING OF THE COLOR LINE

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DURING at least the first century of colonization relatively few European women emigrated to Brazil.[1] Incoming Portuguese were predominantly males whose adventurous natures had led them to sever more or less completely family ties in the homeland. The soldiers of Thomé de Souza's first permanent garrison, who constituted no inconsiderable portion of Bahia's early population, had been specially chosen, we are told, because they were unincumbered by family ties. The few women, principally prostitutes or girls from orphanages, sent out from Lisbon by the Crown at the insistent request of Padre Nobrega[2] were insufficient to provide the necessary mothers of a new generation.[3] So great at one time was the demand for European women that the king of Portugal issued a decree denying girls permission to go from Brazil to Portugal to be trained as nuns unless they themselves on their own volition expressed an unalterable desire to remain unmarried.

[1] Gilberto Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* (2d ed.; Rio, 1936), p. 60.

[2] Francisco A. de Varnhagen, Visconde de Porto Seguro, *Historia geral do Brasil* (3d complete ed., 4 vols.; São Paulo, n.d.), I, 308.

[3] As late as 1731 Captain-General D. Lourenço de Almeida wrote from Minas Geraes: "Em todas estas minas não ha mulheres que hajam de casar, e quando ha alguma (que são raras) são tantos casamentos que lhe saem que se ve o pai da noiva em grande embaraço a escolha que ha de fazer do genro" (*Revista do Arquivo Publico Mineiro de 1933*, I, 330, cited by Pedro Calmon, *Historia social do Brasil* [3 vols.; São Paulo, 1937–39], I, 95).

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age.[9] Such migration to Brazil as did occur so seriously affected Portugal that in 1720 King Dom João V issued a royal proclamation prohibiting further emigration.[10]

An indication of this population scarcity is the fact that seventeenth-century Portuguese law recognized "common-law" marriage (*casamento Conhoçudos*) as legally binding. There grew up throughout Portugal "a great tolerance for every kind of union from which there might result an increase in population." Even the church came to recognize *de juras* marriage, if consummated by sexual intercourse.[11]

A scarcity of European women in the East led Francisco d'Almeida not only to accept the fact that a considerable degree of intermixture was already taking place in the Indies but also deliberately to foster as a matter of administrative policy Portuguese unions with native women. "In every Portuguese settlement the married men rapidly became a class to themselves with special privileges; all petty offices were reserved for them, and in Goa all the lands belonging to the King—a very large part of the area—were divided among them."[12] This policy of encouraging unions with na-

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[9] H. Morse Stephens (*Portugal* [New York, 1903], p. 182) says that the population of Lisbon trebled in eighty years.

[10] The decree stated as its purpose the prohibition "of yearly migrations from this country to the *capitanias* of Brazil of so many people . . . . chiefly from the province of Minho, which from once being the most populous now finds itself without a sufficient number of people to cultivate the soil or to perform necessary services" (J. de A. Corvo, *Estudos sobre as provincias ultramarinas* [4 vols.; London, 1883–87], I, 15, quoted in Keller, *op. cit.*, p. 152 n.).

[11] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 179. *De juras* marriage was a simple ceremony "in which the mutual consent of both parties was affirmed on oath before a representative of the church without, however, the sacrament being given." See Alexandre Herculano, *Casamento civil* (Lisboa, 1907), pp. 30 ff.

[12] R. S. Whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India, 1497–1550* (Westminster, 1899), p. 177; cf. Danvers, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

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Coast products much prized by Africans and their descendants in Brazil.[1] An elderly Bahian Negro recently brought out from among his treasured possessions a faded photograph of blacks aboard a ship on their way to Africa and pointed out an *atabaque*, or sacred drum, and a woman in *saia grande*.[2] He recalls having been many times with his father at the docks in Bahia when vessels came in from Africa and sailors brought news of Lagos.

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Trade with the West Coast, however, gradually decreased until, by 1905, it had almost entirely disappeared. Today, only a few important articles employed in the fetish ritual, such as cowries, *obis* and *orobôs* (sacred fruits), *pimenta* (pepper) *da costa*, *palha* (straw) *da costa*, *sabão* (soap) *da costa*, and strips of *pano* (cloth) *da costa*, are occasionally imported from Africa.

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Numerous Africans, their interest in Brazil stirred by Brazilian Negroes returning to the West Coast, are said to have emigrated to Bahia as recently as thirty years ago. Considerable areas in and about the city—for example, Caminho do São Gonçalo, Caminho do Cruz, and a portion of the Terreiro—were once owned, it is said, by *Africanos*.

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Today, native-born Africans as a population element are

[1] Pedro Calmon, *Historia social do Brasil* (3 vols.; São Paulo, 1937-39), I, 182. It is also reported that on at least two occasions representatives of African chiefs arrived in Bahia from Ajudá, with which port Bahian officials were maintaining direct commercial relations. One arrived during the administration of the Vice-rei Conde de Athouguia; two others "and an interpreter," on May 26, 1795. See João Varella, *Da Bahia que eu vi* (Bahia, 1935), pp. 153-57; J. B. de Sá e Oliveira, "Dois embaixadores africanos mandados a Bahia pelo Rei do Dahomé," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, LVI, Part I (1895), 413.

[291]

[2] The large skirt still worn *bouffant* by many Bahian black women. The date was approximately 1895.

[178]

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For 291 [292]

festive occasions *sandalias*, or leather "mules," are regularly preferred to *chinelas*, and one often sees the common footwear of the lower class, the *tamancos*, simple sandals with wooden soles and leather toe straps; or, occasionally, cloth slippers. Some women go barefoot.

The *torso*, commonly said to be of Arabic origin, was probably brought to Brazil by the Haussás and other Negro followers of Mohammed who were imported from the areas immediately south of the Sahara. In *Globus* for April 28, 1910,[12] there is a photograph taken in Togoland which shows Negroes wearing *torsos*, *panos da costa*, and *saias* similar to those seen today in Bahia, except that the heavily starched petticoat usually worn with the latter is lacking.[13] [177]

The typical wearer of this costume, or *vestimenta bahiana*, as it is called, is a tall, graceful black woman of remarkable physique, self-confident bearing, and intelligent, cheerful countenance. She is known as a *Bahiana*, the first of whom to emigrate from Bahia to Rio, during the disorders attendant on the struggle for independence, impressed the French visitor Debret as notably different from the black women of Rio, not only in dress, but also in general bearing.[14] "The *Bahiana* came to symbolize, by extension, a gracious (*graciosa*) and spirited creole woman."[15] 291 554 [167]

The *Bahianas* were worth seeing at our festivals, with their resplendent costumes; their arms half-covered with gold or silver bracelets; their diamond earrings; their gold necklaces from which hung . . . . crosses, *figas*, and medallions of the order of *Carmo*, all of gold. . . . . They completely dominated our religious festivals. . . . . They [301]

[12] XCVII, No. 16, 245.

[13] The *saia* is commonly worn in Bahia, on days other than those of festival, without starching the underskirt.

[14] J. B. Debret, *Voyage pittoresque et historique au Brésil, 1816–1831* (3 vols.; Paris, 1835), II, 105.

[15] Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

[SALVADOR]

/9/ The Ethnic Types of Bahia

361 Bahia owes its reputation, not only to its privileged location
*563 on the shores of a magnificent bay and to its churches of an ornate
633 rococo style, but also, to a certain degree, to the excellent relations that exist in the heart of its motley population between people of different color. Stephan Zweig drew a very vivid picture
633 of Bahia and its ancient traditions. For him, Brazil began with
*563 this city, and not only Brazil, but also South America. "In this city was erected the first pier of the vast bridge thrown across the Atlantic: in it has originated, through the combination of European, African, and American material, the new mixture that is fermenting so actively at the present time (1)."

[113] 1. Stephan Zweig, Brazil, País do Futuro /Brazil, Land of the Future/, trans. by Gallotti, Rio de Janeiro, 1941, p. 275.

175 From its founding under the official name of Cidade do
633 Salvador, Bahia began to be known for its wealth, which it owed
[103] to the sugar produced by its fazendas (2)
[249]
[192]

2. Plantations.

and its engenhos (3).

3. Sugar mills.

[796] It was also renowned for the magnificence of the worship in its
[363] numerous churches, for the religious processions that passed through its narrow, climbing streets, and for the traditions, so typically Portuguese, of its inhabitants. Center of importation
[567] of African slaves, Bahia was also famous for the large proportion
[167] of Blacks in its population, to the point that foreign travelers of
[162] the colonial period speak of this city as a "new Guinea" (4).

[113] 4. M. Frezier, Relation du voyage de la mer du Sud aux côtes du Chili et du Pérou fait pendant les années 1712, 1713 and 1714 /Account of the

/17 cont./

175 439 167 829 609 *563 829 *563 Given the isolation in which Brazil remained at least until 1808, the moment when for the first time its ports were opened to international commerce, given too the fact that Bahia was never a center of massive European immigration, like certain southern states, the foreigner is received by the people of Bahia with a mixture of curiosity and distrust. At the same time, the emigrant is easily absorbed here by the milieu and likewise adapts himself to the customs and norms of local life. The Portuguese emigrants, for example, are put in a special category; one has the habit of saying that not one of them is ever, properly speaking Brazilian, but that he is never, properly speaking, a foreigner either. In spite of the two world wars, one nowhere notes manifestations of antipathy with regard to German, Austrian, or Italian emigrants. The nationals of these nations have, in general, an excellent reputation because they are considered good workers, because they marry Brazilians and remain in the country when their businesses prosper. The vast majority of the population and even the persons who are hostile to the "Russian" merchants never have anti-Semitic sentiments. When, however, a Jewish group publicly protested against the presentation of a European musician accused of having had ties with Hitlerism in the past, the association that organizes concerts of famous musicians rejected "this attempt at outside interference dictated by /18/ racial prejudice," declaring that its activities ought to remain "above all religious, philosophical, political, racial, or class prejudice." And yet numerous Israelites are members of this association.

[443] [178] The "Arabs," although living quite isolated in accordance with their customs, marry Brazilians, and no hostility is ever manifested with regard to them; at the time when some of them were carrying on the trade of itinerant vendors of fabrics and hardware, they were ridiculed somewhat, it is true, but that stopped with the disappearance of the last peddlers.

[SALVADOR]

/21 cont./

*563 565 829 the Bahians congregate together or avoid one another much more in terms of their social rank than of their color or their race.

Crossbreeding is not forbidden by any law and comes up against [656] the disapprobation of opinion only to the extent that it affects the [626] structure of classes firmly established in the country: upper strata made up almost exclusively of Whites, that is to say, persons of white phenotype or at least "socially white," lower strata made up chiefly of colored people; a classification which makes classes and racial types approximately coincide, without, however, making them identical.

175 From the early days of Portuguese colonization there has been *563 a large number of colored persons in Bahia. In the beginning the [595] colonists mixed largely with the tupi /Tupi/ Indian women of the region, living with them in a state of concubinage and often [567] polygamy. Slavery having been abolished in the first half of the [641] seventeenth century for the aborigines, and civil and political rights having been granted them a short time afterward, cross- [829] breeding continued through marriage. Thus, today a large number of morenos explain their dark color by boasting about some ancestor pegado a dente de cachorro, that is to say, captured like an animal that one hunts in the virgin forest in the wild state. [161] But the number of natives decreased rapidly and had little influ- [167] ence on the formation of the Bahian type. The opposite /22/ [567] occurred with the Africans brought by the thousands and thousands to work on the sugar-cane plantations. The crossbreeding of Portuguese and Brazilians with Africans and Blacks born in Brazil was made possible and even favored by different factors, among them the scarcity of white women in the initial period, the slave system, the laxness of social control with regard to male sexual behavior, the physical and psychological charms of black women, in particular the minas Blacks, natives of the Costa da Mina in [829] the western Sudan. It was commonly said at that time that, in order to see beautiful Negresses, it was necessary to go to Bahia (1):

1. F. Biard, Deux années au Brésil /Two years in Brazil/, Paris, 1862.

/36 cont./

*563 excessively humble and submissive, others are pretentious,
565 vicious, excessive in their manners, desirous of putting them-
571 selves forward." Two Blacks of liberal profession repeat almost
576 the same thing: "Color does not have a direct influence, but it entails certain consequences. Colored people, because of their origin, are humble, have customs that are peculiar to them, and are not prepared for the life of society. Their manners attract attention and displease well-bred people. Because of this, the persons belonging to this class and who detach themselves from it suffer from prejudices that hold sway over them. When one sees a Black elevate himself and when one has to deal with him, one always asks oneself whether he will have bad manners. It is only when one begins to know him that this impression is dispelled."

*563 No less important is adherence to the moral standards of the
565 higher classes in order to be accepted there. According to a highly esteemed and skilled mulatto of liberal profession, "the one who merits respect is respected, whatever his color may be" (1).

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[567]
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1. Among the Yoruba, who made up a considerable part of the African slaves imported to Bahia, one often hears it said in the course of discussions on the subject of the social situation and classification that "one respects the one who respects himself," cf. W. R. Bascom, "Social Status, Wealth, and Individual Differences among the Yoruba," Am. Anthropologist, Vol. 53, No. 4, Part 1, Oct.-Dec., 1951, p. 504.

An amiable character also facilitates ascent and living with the Whites. As much among the latter as among colored persons, it is said of a dark mulatto educator that he is highly esteemed because of his good character, his gentle and subdued manners; likewise, the success of a Black of liberal profession /37/ is attributed to his communicative temperament, his joviality, and his even temper. But inasmuch as the problem of race relations,

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members of the . . . . church. . . . . Exhibitions of this kind are far from being limited here to extraordinary holidays, or to the seclusion of by-places. I have seen them in open daylight, in the most public corners of the city, while young [white] females . . . . hung over the surrounding balconies as spectators.[89]

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The festival here witnessed was probably that of the Rei do Congo ("King of the Congo"). Throughout Brazil, Africans were permitted on occasion to select a king and a queen and to celebrate their coronation with extensive ceremonies. This festival came to be held at the same time as that of the Catholic celebration of Epiphany and to be confused in the minds of the Negroes with it.[90] Of the king and queen, Koster records:

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The personages . . . . fixed upon may either actually be slaves, or they may be manumitted Negroes. These sovereigns exercise a species of mock jurisdiction over their subjects, which is much laughed at by the whites. But their chief power and superiority over their countrymen is shown on the day of the festival. The Negroes of their nation . . . . pay much respect to them. The man who had acted as their king in Itamaraca (for each district has its king) for several years, was about to resign from old age, and a new chief was to be chosen. He who had been fixed upon for this purpose was an old man and a slave, belonging to the plantation of Amparo. The . . . . queen would not resign, but still continued at her post. The old Negro who was this day to be crowned, came early in the morning to pay his respects to the vicar, who said to him in a jocular manner, "Well, sir, today I am to wait upon you, and to be your chaplain." About eleven o'clock I proceeded to the church with the vicar. We were standing at the door when there appeared a number of male and female Negroes, habited in cotton dresses of colors and of white, with flags flying and drums beating; and as they approached, we discovered among them the king and queen, and the secretary of state. Each of the former wore upon their heads a crown, which was partly covered with gilt

[89] Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

[90] Cf. Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 256: ". . . . festa que eles faziam coincidir e confundir com a catolica dos Tres Reis."

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paper, and painted various colors. The king was dressed in an old fashioned suit of divers tints, green, red, and yellow: coat, waistcoat, and breeches. His sceptre, which was of wood and finely gilt, was in his hand. The queen was in a blue silk gown, also of ancient make; and the wretched secretary had to boast of as many colors as his master; but his dress had evident appearances of each portion having been borrowed from a different quarter; for some parts were too tight, and others too wide for him. The expense of the church service was . . . . provided for by the Negroes . . . . and . . . . the vicar . . . . and his assistant priests were to chant high mass. . . . . At last their Majesties knelt down at the railing of the principal chapel, and the service commenced. As soon as this was over, the new king was to be installed. But as the vicar who had not breakfasted, though it was now midday, was hungry, he dispatched the matter without much ceremony. He asked for the crown, then went to the church door—the new sovereign presented himself, and was requested, or rather desired, to kneel down. The insignia were given to him; and the vicar then said, "Agora, Senhor Rei, vai te embora" (Now, Sir King, go about thy business). As the king belonged to Amparo, the eating, drinking, and dancing were to be at that place.[33]

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Koster did not witness the subsequent ceremony, but Burton has left an account of a similar one in Minas Geraes:

A score of men, after promenading through the settlement, came to the *Casa Grande*. They were dressed, as they fondly imagined, after the style of the Agua-Rosada House,[34] descended from the great Manikongo and hereditary lords of Congo land. But the toilettes, though gorgeous with colored silks and satins, were purely fanciful, and some wore the Kanitar or plumed head-gear, and the Arasira or waist fringe, and carried the Tacape or tomahawk belonging to the red man. All were armed with sword and shield, except the king, who, in sign of dignity, carried his sceptre, a stout and useful stick. The masked old man, with white beard, trembling underjaw, *chevrotante* voice, and

[33] *Op. cit.*, II, 25–28.

[34] An interesting account of this African dynasty is given, according to Burton, in M. Valdez, *Six Years of a Traveler's Life in West Africa* (London, 1861), Vol. II, chap. ii.

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testy manner, was clearly represented by a young black from Sabará. On his right sat the captain of war, the Premier; on his left the young Prince, his son and heir. Of course the buffoon of the Dahomean court was there, and the fun consisted in kicking and cuffing him as if he were one of our clowns. . . . . The "play" was a representation of . . . . a slave hunt; the march, accompanied with much running about and clashing of swords, which all handled like butcher's knives; the surprise, dragging in prisoners, directions to put to death recreant ministers and warriors, poisonings and administering antidotes. . . . . His Majesty freely used his staff, threshing everybody right regally. The speeches were delivered in a singsong tone; the language was Hamitico-Lusan, and there was an attempt at cadence and rhyme. Slaughtering the foeman and drinking his blood were the favorite topics, varied by arch allusions to the Superintendent and his guests.[33]

But the "Kings of the Congo," says Koster,

also worship Nossa Senhora do Rosario; and are dressed in the dress of white men. They and their subjects dance, it is true, after the manner of their country; but to these festivals are admitted Africans of other nations, creole blacks, and mulattoes, all of whom dance after the same manner; and these dances are now as much the national dances of Brazil, as they are of Africa.

Shortly after 1800 Maria Graham, visiting a plantation in the interior of Rio de Janeiro Province, wrote:

While we were sitting by the sugar-mill presses, Dona Mariana (mistress of the *engenho*) desired the slave women, who were supplying the canes, to sing, and they began at first with some of their own wild African airs, with words adopted at the moment to suit the occasion. She then told them to sing their hymns to the Virgin; when, regularly in tune and time, and with some sweet voices, the evening and other hymns were sung.[34]

[33] Burton, *op. cit.*, I, 237-38. For further information see Mario de Andrade, "*Os Congos*," *Lanterna Verde*, No. 2 (February, 1935), pp. 36-53; Francisco Augusto Pereira da Costa, "Rei do Congo," *Jornal do Brasil* (Rio), August 25, 1901.

[34] *Op. cit.*, p. 282.

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The dances *dos Congos* became attached to the Catholic festivals of São Benedito and Nossa Senhora do Rosario. In Bahia the annual *lavagem* ("washing") of the church of Bomfim became "a Yoruba religious ceremony" and, as late as 1900, was "a living cult, O Senhor do Bomfim[95] being for the Africans, the creole Negroes and the mixed-bloods of the Nagô *seita*,[96] Obatalá[97] himself."[98] The Cucumbys[99] became attached in Bahia to the Catholic festivals of Epiphany and Christmas.

[95] The saint to whom the Church of Bomfim (in Itapagipe) is consecrated is known as O Senhor do Bomfim, and his image is prominently displayed in the church. To evaluate more fully the important role of this famous church to which pilgrimages are still regularly made from long distances, see Carlos Alberto de Carvalho, *Tradições e milagres do Bomfim* (Bahia, 1915); João Varella, *Na Bahia do Senhor do Bomfim* (Bahia, 1936); and Manoel Raymundo Querino, *A Bahia de outrora* (Bahia, 1922), pp. 117–30, 222–31.

[96] The fetish-cult is sometimes called the *seita* (sect).

[97] Obatalá is one of the more important *orixás*, or deities, of the fetish cult. See chap. x.

[98] Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

[99] Moraes describes the Cucumbys of Rio as follows: "After a sumptuous meal of *cucumbe*, which is a dish eaten by the Congos and Munhambanas on the days of the circumcision of their sons, a group of Negroes set out to take to the Queen her new vassals who have just passed through this species of savage baptism. The procession, made up of princes and princesses, soothsayers and magicians, interpreters of foreign languages, and a host of other people, and conducting between two lines of gay celebrants the *mamotos*—those who have just been circumcized with the bamboo splinter—is attacked on the way by an enemy tribe and the King's son killed by an arrow. When the procession finally reaches the King's dwelling-place, they find that the King, having heard of his son's death from a messenger, has already sent for a famous diviner, the most celebrated *feiticeiro* (witch-doctor) of the kingdom, of whom he demands, immediately upon his arrival, the resuscitation of the dead prince. To the divinations of this magician, the youth finally responds and gets to his feet. The dances then continue for some time, until the noisy ceremony ends with the Cucumbys singing the *Bemdito* and other popular refrains" (Mello Moraes Filho, *Festas e tradições populares* [Rio, 1888], p. 157, quoted in Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 272–73).

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tics, as similarly were tales of the tortoise.[132] Boisterous children were quieted with stories of the Kibungo, a terrifying creature, half-man, half-animal, with an enormous hole in the middle of its back which opened ominously when the creature lowered its head.[133] The Kibungo was especially fond, it is said, of visiting the houses in which naughty boys lived, announcing his presence with:

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> De quem é esta casa?
> auê
> como gérê, como gérê
> como érá.[134]

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Max Schmidt observed in Matto Grosso that many of the local practices connected with cattle-raising were of African origin, as similarly were the iron instruments in use there. Eschwege contends that ironworking was learned in Brazil from imported Africans.[135]

[132] See Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 282–83.

[133] *Ibid.*, pp. 301–3.

[134] Whose is this house?
auê
I eat *gérê*, I eat *gérê*
I eat *érá*.

[135] Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, pp. 120–21. It is also probable that certain microbes were unwittingly brought to Brazil in the bodies of imported Africans. See Octavio de Freitas, *Doenças africanas no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1935).

[P. 108 is blank]

[SALVADOR]

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*563 one will see that the proportion may reach 20 o/o or more. It
[175] was not always so, however. Portuguese laws during the colonial period prohibited marriages of Whites with the natives and with
● 17 Negroes. Once the slavery of the aborigines was abolished, mar-
*563 riage between these /40/ last and the Whites was permitted; but
567 before that the Catholic clergy had already regularized by religious marriages the numerous concubinages between Portuguese colonists and native women. The marriages of Whites and natives with the Blacks continued to be forbidden for a long time yet, but as crossbreeding between Europeans and Africans increased because of free unions, the number of interracial marriages increased in parallel fashion, for in reality only marriages between free persons and slaves were forbidden. Finally, with the abolition of black slavery the last barrier set up against interracial marriages
175 fell. Penalized before that, and for quite a long time, by severe
*563 social sanctions (1).
626

1. Ch. Expilly wrote in 1863: "The constitution has proclaimed the equality of the citizens. Prejudice stronger than the constitution raises an impassable barrier -- up to now at any rate -- between individuals who differ in the shade of their skin. One in vain distributes bedizenment, decorations, titles to men of mixed blood, no one becomes intimate with them. When has one seen a female White marry a mulatto? The one who would dare so boldly to affront the usages and customs of her country would be immediately rejected by everyone of pure race. She would
[113) be scorned, pointed at, excluded from the society in which in other times she was the ornament and pride." Mulheres e costumes do Brasil /Women and Customs of Brazil/, São Paulo, 1935, p. 279.

ooo These marriages increased after Independence, in 1822, with the

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249 178 of the Paulista,[4] the aggressive business man and agricultural capitalist of São Paulo state. (2) The departure of the more adventurous elements from the sugar economy and the transference of the center of economic development from the Recôncavo have allowed the region to maintain its traditional practices and values and to preserve the colonial background of Brazilian agriculture. Although no single area can typify the entire constellation of the Brazilian agricultural regions, the Recôncavo does seem to epitomize the characteristics which underlie their diversity. It is in a sense a microcosm in which many of the agricultural problems which beset Brazil are isolated in their acute phases.

241 171 The Recôncavo does not, of course, reflect every aspect of agricultural life which may be found in Brazil. Not all the various crops are cultivated in the Recôncavo, although most of the important Brazilian crops are grown to some extent. There is no mixed agriculture such as is found in Rio Grande do Sul, nor are there vast pastoral enterprises like those of Mato Grosso or the remote Northeastern interior. There are few peasant proprietors such as are found in São Paulo. Its pattern of regional organization is not a duplicate of that of any other Brazilian region. In all, however, most of the characteristics of Brazilian agriculture and especially the systems of cultivation and the pattern of agricultural institutions are present 241 121 in the Recôncavo microcosm. This region has several special advantages as the subject of a regional investigation of agricultural phenomena. It is small enough so that it can be studied thoroughly and in a limited period of time. It is large enough to have a diverse internal organization and conflicts of interest which can be analyzed. It is relatively detached so that the gross regional pattern is undisturbed by overlapping and is easy to observe.

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[12]Teixeira, in his "Solos do Recôncavo da Bahia," pp. 36 and 38, gives the following data (here summarized) for the soils of Paranagua, near Rio Fundo in the município of Santo Amaro:

	Per cent		Per cent
Clay	28 - 48	Total Nitrogen	0.224
Lime	19 - 34	Exchangeable Calcium ME	44.8
Fine Sand	23 - 41	Exchangeable Magnesium ME	6.8
Coarse Sand	1.6- 6.5	Clorides	0.011
Residual Humidity	2.6- 5	Phosphorus	0.055
Rock	3.6- 10.7	Potassium Cloride	0.585
Water Capacity	40 - 58	Sodium Cloride	1.1577

[13]The Rio Pojuca has a gradient of 1-1351 from Catuiçara in northern Santo Amaro to the cidade of Pojuca, near the point at which the river enters the crystalline. The Rio Traripe has a gradient of about 1-125 for its last 10 km. before entering the Bay. Its valley is deeply incised, with deep gullies on the slopes.

[135] [14]These rock fragments, usually much weathered, almost invariably were identified as either gneiss or granite in the exposures observed in the field.

[15]Teixeira, op. cit., pp. 31-39.

[16]Bondar, op. cit., p. 256.

[17]One of the islands of the group pendant to the middle of the north coast.

[18]Thus this part of Brazil is not like many areas in the United [171] States, where relatively uniform cultivation practices are conspicuously minimizing soils differences.

[19]According to the Köppen system of classification the coastal [114] Recôncavo has an Af (tropical rainforest) climate, and the interior an Aw (tropical savanna) climate. According to the Thornthwaite system, all of the Recôncavo has a C1'w (subhumid tropical with winter rainfall deficiency) climate. Glen T. Trewartha, An Introduction to Climate (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1954), plates II and III.

[20]Gilberto Freyre, Nordeste (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio Livraria Editora, 1937), pp. 9, 21.

132 127 [21]Official data from government weather stations was available for only four places in the Recôncavo--Salvador and São Bento das Lajes, in the município of São Francisco, on the littoral of the Bay; and Cruz das Almas and São Gonçalo in the western interior. Of these, only Salvador had maintained a continuous record over a relatively long period--including the years immediately preceeding the field study. There were a number of stations in adjacent parts of the state of Bahia, but none were close enough to the Recôncavo to be reliable guides to its climatic pattern.

The data upon which the climatic analysis of this study was based came from three basic sources: (1) Ministério da Agricultura, Departamento Nacional da Produção Mineral, Divisão de Águas Secção de Hidrologia, Atlas Pluviométrico do Brasil 1912-1938 (Boletim #5. Rio de Janeiro: Departamento Nacional da Produção Mineral, Divisão de Águas Secção de

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175 231 After they had recuperated from the long drives, the cattle were used for both labor and food.

175 433 439 171 The colonial economy developed in the Recôncavo--in common with Pernambuco, Campinas (Rio de Janeiro), and lesser centers like Sergipe and Alagoas--was distinct from the economy of the south of Brazil. São Paulo, for example, was self-sufficient, buying little from abroad and having little to sell. Bahia and Pernambuco were almost completely dependent upon exchange with European markets, with Portugal acting as the middleman.

175 249 439 Economic Development from 1600 to 1850. By the middle of the seventeenth century most of the institutions discussed above existed in at least rudimentary form. They were nurtured by an expanding Brazilian commercial economy which enjoyed, for the moment, a virtual monopoly in sugar. Bahia was the leading province in Brazil in the export of both sugar and tobacco.[23] The production of these crops was centered almost entirely in the Recôncavo area of the state. The [567] tobacco was sent at first to Africa, in exchange for increasingly large numbers of slaves for the ever-greedy sugar industry. Slowly, however, a secondary market for Bahia tobacco developed in Europe. With few exceptions the sugar was marketed in Europe and at a high price. The engenhos of Bahia were the largest in Brazil, though still very small by modern standards.[24]

175 648 The development of the colony did not proceed smoothly. In the mid-seventeenth century Bahia was occupied for a brief period by the Dutch, but the development of the colony faltered only momentarily. On the other hand, the Dutch occupied Pernambuco and the north coast for a longer period. The subsequent transference of Dutch efforts to the West Indies was to have a profound effect upon the future of

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175 648 the Recôncavo, for they took with them a newly acquired knowledge of sugar cane cultivation.

175 169 567 The eighteenth century opened with a series of disasters for the region. When word of gold discoveries in Minas Gerais (1704) reached Bahia, an exodus began.[25] Slaves were sold at exorbitant prices, and often masters and slaves together went off to the mines. The colonial authorities took drastic steps to halt the flight, but [731] to no avail. The first quarter of the century ended with floods in the Recôncavo and the discovery of diamonds in the interior. There was a second exodus.[26]

175 171 249 In the meantime there were momentous developments in the West Indies. Sugar cane cultivation spread rapidly in the Antilles as the Netherlands and other northwestern European states which had been lucrative markets for Brazilian sugar began their own production in their respective West Indian colonies. In addition to the protected markets which the mother countries afforded, these new centers enjoyed sound economic and geographical advantages. As newcomers to the field of sugar production, the Antilles were free of both the antiquated equipment and the backward techniques which burdened Brazil, and they were closer to the major European markets.[27]

175 178 185 249 The Recôncavo was unable to counter these West Indian developments. In a century and a half of commercial development there had been few improvements in agricultural or industrial methods. There was no conservation of the soil. Only one variety of cane was known, and there was no attempt to develop improved strains. The mills continued to burn expensive wood rather than to use bagasse. Antique, low-yielding crushing mills continued to be used for extraction.[28]

175 249 178 439 At the end of the eighteenth century, however, developments abroad restored to the Recôncavo and to Brazil many of the advantages which it had formerly held in the international market. This

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

128 sketch the modes of cropland distribution which are characteristic of
241 the region. This introductory discussion will be extended in the conclusion of the chapter, when it will be possible to discuss the general patterns of cropland distribution and the changes in the intensity of land use in terms of the specific component crops. The details of the practices of cultivation will be discussed in Chapter VI.

241 The mean intensity of crop cultivation within the Recôncavo is
311 high only in terms of the surrounding sertão. Indeed, there are very
[171] few areas of Brazil of any great size in which the intensity of land use is comparable to that of such areas as Northwestern Europe, Japan, India, or even the Midwest of the United States. The landscape of the Recôncavo is composed of a series of small, intensively utilized areas separated and surrounded by zones in which the cultivation of crops is scattered. As a result, the mean intensity of cultivation is low—for the Recôncavo generally, mean figures for agricultural phenomena tend to mask great differences between specific areas. As will be seen, the chief concentrations of crop cultivation are in the Central Recôncavo and on the seaward edge of the Uplands. The principal zones of scattered cultivation are in the Intermediate Hills, in the littoral forest behind the beach line, and on the interior margins of the Uplands where the Recôncavo gradually gives way to the sertão.

241 Even within the areas of relatively intensive cultivation, there are many interruptions. These gaps are not very conspicuous within the restricted confines of the sugar-cane growing Central Recôncavo, but elsewhere the continuity of the fields is broken by patches of second growth and by the slopelands and wet valley bottoms. Most of the cultivated areas of the Recôncavo seem to reflect the grudging acquiescence of nature to the efforts of man and not the triumph of the cultivator

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their properties to the expanding usinas. This same process is taking place in most sugar areas of Brazil.

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The marketing of tobacco centers on one key figure--the agent. With the resources of the tobacco company he extends direct credit to the larger tobacco producers and indirect credit to the small producers via his buyer, who is generally a local shopkeeper. The company grants a specified sum of money to each agent at the beginning of the season, and he disburses this at his own discretion. Bad debts are charged against the company rather than the agent. Most of the tobacco crop is pledged to the buyers in advance, by meahs of a formal contract or an informal agreement which specifies the price, quantity, and quality of the leaf to be delivered. Most of these contracts are entered into in order to secure credit; there are few agriculturalists who could produce tobacco without first receiving credit. There is much opportunity for speculation within the framework of this marketing system. Those buyers who are shopkeepers have in stock the supplies which the cultivator needs. The shopkeeper delivers the goods needed by the cultivator and retains the money which has been advanced by the agent. Since most of the stock of the buyer--storekeeper--has been purchased on credit, he may accumulate a considerable sum in cash or bills of exchange. Speculation is an acknowledged feature of the marketing of tobacco in Bahia, and in many cases the buyer uses the credit advanced by the agent for speculation in the tobacco crop. He does this by extending credit against the tobacco crop of cultivators who are not included in the normal relationships with the agent. Sometimes these debtors are unable to liquidate their debt, and the buyer is caught short. In this event he can use his position as the agent's representative and as a local economic power to recoup, at least partially, by forcing the price upward or through the substitution of cheaper leaf

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

482 492 their journeys thus, and many agricultural products are transported in
489 no other fashion from the site of cultivation to the ultimate consumer.
[491] In each of the municípios of the Recôncavo, as in almost all of Brazil, there are extensive areas which are neither on nor near roads. In these areas, but also along the highways and in the cities, men and beasts of burden transport the products of the agricultural economy.
489 Long distance transportation, formerly dependent on animals, has been
490 changed in the last half century by the introduction of railroads and
493 more recently, automotive vehicles. In a similar fashion, both prini-
177 178 tive and relatively modern transport are used on the waters of the Bâia
505 de Todos os Santos and of the various estuaries. Most of the agricultural products which cross the Bay are carried on open-decked sailing vessels and canoes, but there are also a number of motor vessels and motorboats which provide relatively effective transport from Salvador to all the cidades on or near tidewater.

492 In the tobacco-manioc region, and in rural Brazil generally, the donkey or the mule is the characteristic beast of burden. On the backs of these animals the bales of tobacco, the sacks of manioc and farinha de mandioca, and the baskets of corn and vegetables are carried to the market. The equipage of the donkey is simple--a halter and a rough
492 crosstree pack saddle with a thick pad of vegetable fiber. In the
493 sugar cane region the donkey is supplemented and, in most areas, almost
[171] supplanted by the ox cart. The ox cart of Bahia, essentially like the carts used in other Brazilian sugar areas, is built of heavy wood, with a thick wooden bed and tongue, wooden axle, and solid wooden wheels about five-feet in diameter. This high, massive contraption has no bearings, and in dry weather especially it is frequently necessary to repair the wheels and axles. The ox cart is an admirable device for the Cretaceous lowland, for with its high wheels it can carry as much

258 The manioc mill, called a casa de farinha, is found in most parts of
407 the Recôncavo except the sugar cane zone. At the mill the root of the manioc is scraped with a knife in order to remove the rough skin. It is then shredded by being held against a roughened rotating cylinder which is turned by a belt attached to a large wheel and crank. The crank is rotated by one or two workers, except in the few mills where small electric motors are attached. The shredded manioc, which has the appearance of moist sawdust, is shoveled into a press made of a hollowed log, and a lid is forced into the press in such a way that the juices
[401] are expelled through the holes in the sides and bottom. The necessary force is applied by means of a long lever drawn down with a large wooden screw jack. After the lid is forced downward as far as possible, the pressure is maintained until there is no perceptible leakage of
258 poisonous juices. In none of the mills observed in the area or described
[171] in the literature of the Recôncavo was the leaching process used, as is the practice in some other areas of Brazil. From the press the manioc is thrown upon the top of an earthenware stove where it is agitated until the remaining manihotoxine is volatilized and the flour is dry. The juices which have been expelled from the press usually are caught in flat pans which are then placed in the sun. Settling and evaporation produce a pasty residue of starch--tapioca--which is dried into thin sheets.

These mills are small, one-press operations carried on in enclosed adobe and thatch sheds. They are scattered over the countryside wherever manioc is grown. The 1940 census enumerated 200 casas de farinha in the Recôncavo, but the number must now be a good deal greater. In 1940 Cruz das Almas, according to the census, had no farinha mills, but in 1953 more than a dozen were observed. The number of mills is large not only because the capacity of each is limited

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SC11 Bahia Brazilians SC11
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3. History of the Rural Area

THE HISTORY of the development of the rural area of Vila Recôncavo is more or less representative of that of most of the sugar area in the states of Bahia, Alagoas, and Pernambuco, and consists of two major aspects. It is first of all the history of the sugar-cane industry in Brazil, and secondly the social, economic, and political record of the people who grew the cane. 175 [184] [171] • [249]*

The Bahian Recôncavo occupies a unique position in Brazil, for its history is as long as that of what is today the nation. From 1549 until 1763 Salvador was the capital of the new and prosperous Portuguese colony. The Recôncavo, because of its proximity to Salvador, and because of the excellent transportation facilities provided by the Bay of All Saints, was the only part of Brazil in easy communication with the capital city. Although the governors general were occupied with the settlement of other far-flung places in the colony and with the raiding and pirating of the French, English, and Dutch, their first or at least closest worries were those of settling and exploiting Bahia and its immediate environs. By the end of the first fifty years of activity, most of the Recôncavo had been wrested from the wilderness; and, although not free from molestation by the Indians for many more years, it was rapidly planted in sugar cane. As noted earlier, sugar at this time was a luxury item in Europe and brought a very high price. In the first century of its cultivation sugar cane made the fortunes of many people: the growers, the middlemen, the slavers, and the colonial governors. 175 249*

At the start of the colonial period land was given out in the form of grants which originally carried with them the idea of [423]

total expenditures for food, just half in total value of what Class A spends. Both Class A and Class B spend more for food alone than the total expenditures of classes C and D. The rural field workers spend the least amount for food, which again reflects their possession of garden plots. 565* 511

Color consciousness runs all through class relations and can even be equated with class to a certain extent. All Class A members are white; Class B has whites and a mixture of the others; Class C is nearly entirely composed of mestiços and blacks with the exception of a few "whites of the land" who are usually considered separately from mestiços; while Class D has light mestiços as well as blacks. "Color consciousness, or "color relations," would better describe the situation in this Bahian rural area than would the term "race relations," for although the Portuguese word raça, directly translatable into English as race, is used in this area to designate the three major racial stocks, American Indian, Negro, and Caucasian, it also means Brazilian in the sense of nationality. It is even more commonly used to describe animals which are pedigreed in contrast with those which are not. When asked questions about race, people are apt to ask first what kind of race is meant. If one speaks of color the situation is much clearer. 565* 563 826

In the United States an absolute "line" is drawn between white and Negro. A person who is not white is a Negro, whatever his percentage of Negro heritage may be. In Vila Recôncavo, this "line" is recognized rather than drawn. A distinction between Negro and white is always kept in mind when classifying an individual. Everyone knows who is "pure" white and who is not. Classification by color is one of the most important aspects of local culture, and one of the most difficult aspects for the outsider to grasp. Recôncavo Bahians feel that one may instantly recognize the difference between a "pure" white and a mixed white-Indian, white-Negro, or Negro-Indian, but they do not let it go at that. They classify or describe minutely each person; they classify according to skin color, hair form, and facial features. Their classifications of physical types are used in everyday conversation. Just as it would be said in the United States that someone is short and fat, the people of Vila Recôncavo will describe a person's color and hair form. 563 826 [171]

In the Recôncavo a white person is called a branco. The term Negro is rarely used to denote a person of African de-

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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herents of these cults, female slaves and former slaves for the most part, followed a lengthy routine to become practitioners in the various cult houses and spent large sums of money, according to legend, on the required bracelets, necklaces, and clothing.

Today, however, the cult priests and priestesses have the same complaint as the Catholic priests. They say that young people no longer have the understanding or the patience necessary to prepare for devotion in the cult houses. The older priestesses deplore the degeneration of some of these houses and the admission of Indian spirits, which are now displacing the African gods.

Spiritualism has recently entered the community. So far it has been limited to few people in the community, although it is very popular in Salvador.

The use of the supernatural as described in Willems' Cunha[1] does not take place in Vila Recôncavo. In Cunha the saints are asked to send rain whenever it appears that the crops are in danger. But in Vila Recôncavo, which lies in a semitropical rain area, there is no need for such invocations. Besides, these are large-scale economic crops, not subsistence produce on which the people depend directly for their living.

The Catholic Church in Vila Recôncavo

During the colonial period each religious parish was carefully delineated and conserved, but later political divisions cut across parish lines. This has made the use of colonial statistics very difficult. During colonial and empire times the church was the main census organ, but since parishes and counties do not coincide in their outlines the statistics are little help today in comparing the present with the past. Each parish built a mother church (matriz) in the parish town. Each of these churches had a patron saint, who was also the patron of the parish, and a resident priest or priests.

In the town of Vila Recôncavo, the county seat, a mother church was built, with São Gonçalo as its patron saint; also constructed was the Franciscan convent, connected with an opulent Third Order. As the Recôncavo entered its long per-

1. Emilio Willems, Cunha: Tradição e transição en uma cultura rural do Brasil (Sao Paulo, 1947), Chapter 7.

Traditionally

565 the preto is linked with ignorance and superstition,
563 and a most common example of his 'ignorance', cited by the upper
794 strata of Vila Recôncavo society, is his belief in *candomblé*, the fetish
[171] cults of African origin so numerous in Salvador which have been
[177] described by various authors.[8] In the Caribbean, *candomblé* is
[172] known as voodoo and, as in Brazil, there is a mixture of Roman Catholic with African religious elements. In Vila Recôncavo there are highly complicated rituals of ceremony and healing, but owing to the pressures of modern life almost no one has the time necessary to spend in the full preparation for a *filha de santo* (servant of the god) or a *mãe de santo* (caretaker of the gods) and much of the old ritual is being forgotten and discarded, and newer and simpler
[776] innovations are in evidence. Another example given of the *preto's* 'superstition' in Vila Recôncavo is his participation in the cult of Janaina, the goddess of the water. This cult is really an offshoot of *candomblé*, Yemanja being the name of the African *orixa* or divinity, while Janaina is the name given to her by many of the cults in
[782] Brazil. It is Janaina 'who sends the fish to the fishermen', and they
[226] must thank her and give her gifts occasionally. Generally it is the *mãe de santo* who knows all the calls and prayers for Janaina and who presents the fishermen's gifts. Anyone who intends to climb the social ladder first disassociates himself from these rites, and then publicly condemns those who participate in them—although, in many cases, such an individual will continue secretly to give financial support to a local *mãe de santo* and to send gifts to Janaina. Often it is heard of a person: 'Oh yes, he is *gente* now, but last night he secretly sent his usual present to Janaina.' Individuals of all racial classifications belong to *candomblé*, although popular opinion has it that only the *pretos* engage in these activities. One can observe all racial types at a *candomblé festa* (ceremony), either as participants or as spectators. In one case in another area of the Recôncavo there is even a white *pae de santo* (male caretaker of the gods), a former lawyer!

563 Nevertheless, in Vila Recôncavo, there are examples of *pretos* and
555 *mestiços* who have shown themselves capable of progress, with and without education. Two examples are the plantation administrators, cited earlier, who have risen to that honoured and relatively
[463] well-paid occupation in spite of the fact that they cannot read or
[872] write. On another plantation, the *feitor* has taught himself to read and write and is known as an excellent story-teller. Primary schools
[873] were recently opened in the rural zone of Vila Recôncavo, and night schools for the adults. The response has been great, people often walking long distances at night to attend class, in spite of the fact that one of the most disliked and feared things is going out at night.

563 In Vila Recôncavo, there has been a central primary school for
565 many years, with an attendance of 354 of all racial types, children of
872 the whites as well as those of the others, although no children of the

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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confusion over terms, particularly those whose form is identical but whose meaning varies in the two situations. So powerful is the grip of habit over the mind that the connotation of a word in our own culture tends automatically to be carried over into our thinking about an apparent referent elsewhere, even though we may be aware of the difference in meaning. This is particularly true of the general public; but it is also true to some extent of specialists and occurs even in spite of their normal caution.

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The simple use of the term "Negro," for instance, when describing the Bahian racial situation, automatically conveys to many persons United States meanings from which it is difficult to escape (cf. E. Franklin Frazier 1942:465). Moreover, the unwarranted assumption on the part of those who use the English language, or who are familiar with it, that the Brazilian term "prêto" can be translated by "Negro," and "branco" by "white," adds to the confusion.

These terms are not interchangeable. In the United States "white" means "of undiluted Caucasian descent"; but in Brazil "branco" can mean "a predominantly white person, no matter what his racial origin," including thousands of light mixed-bloods and, in the case of prestige-bearing individuals, darker mixed-bloods and even an occasional black; or it can mean, at times, merely "a person of prestige" or simply "my friend." On the other hand, "Negro" in the United States means "anyone descended in any degree from an African, *including all mixed-bloods*" (provided origin is known); while "prêto" in Brazil may mean "a person with noticeably Negroid traits" or, at times, merely "a person of low status"[4] or simply "a personal enemy."

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[4] Particularly revealing in this respect is an incident witnessed in Sergipe by Felte Bezerra (1950:252). On the beach at a seaside town a

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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"Branco" and "prêto" are, therefore, first of all, categories of *physical appearance* rather than of race, so that a child will not necessarily be identified with the same "race" as one, or even both, of his parents. These terms also are categories of *social position*, so that rising in rank can take a colored person out of the colored category, a fact observed long ago at Recife by "the careful Koster," as Sir Richard Burton called him (see p. 219 of this book). These and similar terms employed in Brazil are descriptive not only of racial descent but of other and more important (to local individuals) phenomena; and, even more significantly, as we (1955:434) and others have pointed out, the use of these terms *varies with individuals*, in keeping with varying personal relationships, and also with the *same* individual at different times, in keeping with different moods or other circumstances.

In the United States one ordinarily hears only two terms being employed regularly in this connection: "Negro" and "white." "Mulatto" also is used but less often, as are certain other terms in popular speech. Nevertheless, as far as the behavior of the superordinate group is concerned, the principal terms are two; and all persons will be classified with reference to these two categories and behavior will be oriented in keeping with that classification.

In Brazil, on the other hand, the situation is quite different; for one thing, there exists a whole series of what at

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group of persons from the lower class were engaged in a folk dance, accompanied by singing, known as *cururu*. Although composed largely (but not exclusively) of colored persons, this group was led by a lower-class white. Approaching several other persons nearby, who were spending their vacation at the seaside, and asking if they would like his group to sing and dance where they could be seen and heard more easily, the white leader referred to himself and to the other members of his group as "Nois prêtos" (We blacks).

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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nection also, the report by Felte Bezerra (1950:266–67) of the bewilderment of several colored girls at Aracaju upon seeing a film concerned with the racial situation in the United States. Wagley is seeking to escape from some of the ambiguities involved when he uses the term "social race" (e.g., 1963b:14); and several investigators either begin by using "color" instead of "race," or shift to color in the course of research or in subsequent publications.

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Moreover, as Robert E. Park (3) has pointed out in an illuminating analysis, "race relations . . . are not so much the relations that exist between individuals of different races as between individuals *conscious* of these differences."[7] Frazier (1942:469) records that none of the colored persons he interviewed during several months residence in Bahia, in 1940, "regarded themselves as Negroes but simply as Brazilians." In the United States, "we expect all persons of color to feel a mutual bond," Ruth Landes (1947:60) reminds us; but in Bahia "no such assumption is ever dreamed of." As Gilberto Freyre (1959:144) puts it, the colored man in Brazil can "express himself as a Brazilian and not . . . as an ethnic [racial] and cultural intruder." Several of Austin J. Staley's (1959:82) Brazilian informants "thought it humorous, and genuinely so, that someone should take time out to inquire about such an obviously unimportant issue as race and race prejudice." "As far as actual behavior is concerned," Harris (1964:64) also recognizes, " 'races' do not exist for the Brazilians." In fact, solidarity along racial or even color lines is of so low an order in Bahia and Brazil that those interested in "mobilizing the colored masses" are in despair. Considering these circumstances, as Frazier (1944:255) also has observed, "one may not properly speak of race relations in Brazil" at all.

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[7] Italics ours.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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sex depreciated, although this situation, in more recent years and especially in the cities, is changing.

That we are not dealing with merely racial phenomena, then, is borne out by the thousands of persons scattered across the colored continuum, of at least partial and sometimes of considerable African descent, who have escaped socially (and openly) into the branco category and been accepted by brancos;[17] and that we are also dealing with a class, rather than with a color phenomenon alone, is borne out, first of all, by the fact that the discrimination[18] which all observers note—and which some think either constitutes or reflects prejudice—virtually does not exist among the *lower* class, but tends to appear only as one proceeds up the class scale.[19] In Brazil, as Bastide has pointed out with reference to São Paulo, to see a race problem among members of the lower class would be absurd. "In the poorer sections of the city," Bastide (1955:137) has written, "where the brancos live in promiscuity with blacks, any prejudice would be ridiculous." Frazier (1944:266) also recognized this absence of discrimination in the lower class; and that was our conclusion at Cruz das Almas (cf. 1951:190 ff.).

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[17] If it be suggested that many light-colored persons also escape into the white group in the United States, the difference is that, in every case, this is not known to the whites; and, if it does become known later, the individual will automatically be put back into the "Negro" category, a possibility which, in Brazil, would everywhere be considered absurd, as Freyre long ago pointed out.

[18] It should of course be clear that we are using "discrimination" here only as defined above, and that we do not imply that persons in the lower class are unaware of physical differences.

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[19] Although it may be possible to find an occasional branco among the lower-status groups who shows some measure of withdrawal from colored persons, and who even may speak disapprovingly of them, he will in all likelihood turn out to be a person with an ambitious desire to rise in rank, who holds similar attitudes toward all "pobres" (the lower-class poor), regardless of color (cf. Virginia Bicudo 1955:270).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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times, of uncle with niece and aunt with nephew, as observers have noted.

With reference to hypothesis 20, a few highly sensitive mixed-bloods who have risen in rank have become obsessed by a repugnance for the color which continued to symbolize low status, a repugnance which is reflected, at least symbolically, in word and act. This feeling, however, does not seem to be the result of the internalization of external conflict. At least little, if any, evidence of this sort has been turned up. In discussing several of these cases, Bastide (1941a:32) makes an illuminating comment when he writes, "An interesting paradox is that the effect of prejudice upon the subconscious is stronger *the less visible* it is."[38] Moreover, as Frazier (1944:265) has observed, "there was no segregated colored community with which they could be identified" and in terms of which they would become "marginal men." The feelings in question resulted from brooding over a sense of inferiority which derived not so much from actual personal experiences of discrimination as from internally-generated pressures, a fact clearly evident if one contrasts the feelings of these men with the markedly different ones of a host of similar mixed-bloods, including Machado de Assis, André Rebouças and Theodoro Sampaio (who wrote the autobiographical sketch beginning on p. 353).

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For some reason, the matters mentioned in hypothesis 22 (p. 349) have attracted most attention, although they would not seem to us to be of that importance. As this hypothesis now stands, however, it perhaps is too brief for clarity; and for that reason we have given considerable attention above to the matters mentioned in it.

Frazier[39] has with justice called attention to a measure of

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[38] Italics ours.

[39] *The Negro in the United States* (New York, 1949), p. 675.

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confusion which may emerge in the minds of persons in the United States from a reading of hypothesis 23. This is due to the variant meanings attached in Brazil and in the United States to the term "Negro," as pointed out above. Taking into consideration this fact, and also the unfavorable economic condition of underprivileged persons in Brazil mentioned previously, we might reformulate this hypothesis in the following way: It is possible that the darker persons of color, *considered as an aggregate*, have not risen as rapidly, perhaps, as the Negroes in the United States. This may be due : (a) to fewer economic opportunities in Brazil, in comparison to those afforded by an expansion of industry much earlier in the United States; (b) to the limited educational opportunities available in Brazil until comparatively recent years and the low value long placed upon education for all except the sons of the elite; (c) to the possibility that local prêtos, feeling themselves less under the necessity of demonstrating to a skeptical white world their personal competence and their ability to achieve, have had less social incentive for advancement; and (d) to certain structural differences in the two cases, as Willems has suggested, "especially the fact that most achievements of the American Negro occurred within his own class structure, while the Brazilian colored did not have these structural incentives and opportunities."

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With reference to hypothesis 24, Wagley (1963b:153) has well suggested that the absorption of the African and his descendants into the predominantly branco group (as referred to in hypothesis 1), and the process of whitening by which it is being accomplished (see pp. 120 ff.), are also part of the informal racial policy, so that "the common . . . statement that 'We Brazilians are becoming one people,' " Wagley writes, "seems to imply that Brazilians hope to become a nation more Caucasian in physical appearance."

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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rural areas, or in the streets of the cities, on the hunt, at parties, or at church, black and white were constantly to be seen in each other's company. And since human beings, wherever they come into close and uninterrupted contact upon an intimate personal basis, sooner or later tend to lay personal claims upon one another, it is not surprising to find that ties of enduring sentiment arose, which tended gradually to break down the formal barriers between the races and to modify the nature of slavery.

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It is, of course, probably true that the Mohammedan conception of the slave exercised considerable influence over the original form of African slavery in Portugal itself. The Arabian prophet, it is said, while unable to do away with an ancient institution, "did his utmost to soften the rigors of slavery." After conceding to his importuning followers that "God hath ordained" the slave institution, Mohammed added: "Therefore, him whom God hath ordained to be the slave of his brother, his brother must give him of the food which he eateth himself, and of the clothes wherewith he clotheth himself, and not order him to do anything beyond his power. . . . . A man who ill-treats his slave will not enter into Paradise." Thus

> there is no more commendable action in Mohammedan morals than to free slaves, and such enfranchisement is enjoined by the Prophet especially as an atonement for an undeserved blow or other injustice. In Andalusia, the slaves upon the estates that had passed . . . . into the possession of Moslems were almost in the position of small farmers; their Mohammedan masters, whose trade was war, and who despised heartily such menial occupations as tilling the soil, left them free to cultivate the land as they pleased, and only insisted on a fair return of products.[19]

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[19] Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Story of the Moors in Spain* (New York and London, 1886), p. 48. Cf. also: "The Mohammedan slave was rarely

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Mild though its original form may have been, slavery in Brazil was not, as we have already seen, without at least occasional evidences of brutality. The fact is that slavery in Brazil was *both* mild *and* severe. But as an institution continuing over centuries it became more and more mild. Cases of brutality ordinarily occurred under conditions of absentee ownership or in fear of slave insurrection, or arose in dealing with recalcitrant and unsubjected individuals, many of them at the hands of mixed-blood or Negro overseers who in this way unconsciously compensated for otherwise limited social effectiveness.[31] Moreover, the relatively few cases which did occur were so ably used by such prominent political and intellectual leaders as Ruy Barbosa and Joaquim Nabuco that they have probably left behind in the Brazilian mind of today an exaggerated notion of the cruelties of slavery. The important point to note is that, under circumstances of intimate, personal contact, the institution of slavery, with its occasional cases of harsh treatment, gradually lost its character as a political, and assumed that of a patriarchal and familial, institution.

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Obviously, there is inherent in slavery an economic consideration which has little regard for the interests of the slave himself. But wherever human beings live together in close proximity for any period of time there also tend to grow up *personal relations* which humanize whatever formal institutions have been set up. The opportunities in Brazil

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abused. . . . . His acceptance of the faith of Islam rendered his manumission easy. No stigma attached to his (subsequent) conversion" (S. P. Scott, *History of the Moorish Empire in Europe* [Philadelphia, 1904], p. 660.

[31] Koster, reflecting over the fact that mulattoes, especially those who had formerly been slaves, "make bad masters," concluded that "the change of situation would lead to the same consequences in any race of human beings" (*op. cit.*, II, 177–78).

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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slaves, on repeating the evening Ave Maria, to present themselves before the master with a "Boa noite, meu senhor,"[36] in reply to which, as a sign of approbation, the master made a simple movement of the head. It was also customary for a Negro who by chance met a white acquaintance on a public thoroughfare to bow his head, extend his right hand, half-opened, and to request a blessing, to which the white replied, "Deus te faça santo,"[37] or simply "Viva!"

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These forms of etiquette, together with their religious implications, although they became in time highly conventionalized and occasionally were reduced to "the shortest possible abbreviation" and repeated with "all manner of intonations of voice and every mood of humor,"[38] still symbolized the recognition on the part of the master of a common human bond with his slaves. "I can call to mind," writes Codman, "many touching incidents of the kind feelings of masters and servants towards each other."[39]

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Relationships of this character were undoubtedly advantageous to the Negro, not only during his period of subjection as a slave but also after his enfranchisement. Koster says of Brazilian neighbors in Pernambuco who possessed a considerable number of slaves:

> These excellent women and the good priest [intend] eventually to emancipate all of them; and that they may be prepared for the change, several of the men have been brought up as mechanics of different

men, and shifts and shirts to the women, of very coarse white cotton. Each, as he or she came in, kissed a hand, and then bowed to Mr. P. saying either, 'Father, give me blessing,' or 'The names of Jesus and Mary be praised!' and were answered accordingly, either 'Bless you,' or 'Be they praised!' This is the custom in old establishments: it is repeated morning and evening, and seems to acknowledge a kind of relationship between master and slave" (*op. cit.*, p. 198).

[36] "Good night, my master."

[37] "God make thee a saint."

[38] Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 408.

[39] John Codman, *Ten Months in Brazil* (Boston, 1867), p. 201.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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age.[9] Such migration to Brazil as did occur so seriously affected Portugal that in 1720 King Dom João V issued a royal proclamation prohibiting further emigration.[10]

An indication of this population scarcity is the fact that seventeenth-century Portuguese law recognized "common-law" marriage (*casamento Conhoçudos*) as legally binding. There grew up throughout Portugal "a great tolerance for every kind of union from which there might result an increase in population." Even the church came to recognize *de juras* marriage, if consummated by sexual intercourse.[11]

A scarcity of European women in the East led Francisco d'Almeida not only to accept the fact that a considerable degree of intermixture was already taking place in the Indies but also deliberately to foster as a matter of administrative policy Portuguese unions with native women. "In every Portuguese settlement the married men rapidly became a class to themselves with special privileges; all petty offices were reserved for them, and in Goa all the lands belonging to the King—a very large part of the area—were divided among them."[12] This policy of encouraging unions with na-

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[9] H. Morse Stephens (*Portugal* [New York, 1903], p. 182) says that the population of Lisbon trebled in eighty years.

[10] The decree stated as its purpose the prohibition "of yearly migrations from this country to the *capitanias* of Brazil of so many people . . . . chiefly from the province of Minho, which from once being the most populous now finds itself without a sufficient number of people to cultivate the soil or to perform necessary services" (J. de A. Corvo, *Estudos sobre as provincias ultramarinas* [4 vols.; London, 1883–87], I, 15, quoted in Keller, *op. cit.*, p. 152 n.).

[11] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 179. *De juras* marriage was a simple ceremony "in which the mutual consent of both parties was affirmed on oath before a representative of the church without, however, the sacrament being given." See Alexandre Herculano, *Casamento civil* (Lisboa, 1907), pp. 30 ff.

[12] R. S. Whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India, 1497–1550* (Westminster, 1899), p. 177; cf. Danvers, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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tive women was similarly sponsored by the Dutch during their colonizing ventures in South Africa and in Java and later by the English in India—a policy which emerged in each case as a natural response to the actual conditions of settlement.

The first Dutch settlers in South Africa and in Java were, almost without exception, males who, in order to establish themselves on a racial and cultural frontier, took up with native women. The mixed-blood progeny of these unions was treated with tolerance and consideration and often sent to the Netherlands to be educated. It was only with the arrival of the Dutch housewives, after Cape Colony had been fairly established, that the attitude of the Dutch toward the mixed-bloods changed. Today there are probably few people in the world who oppose intermixture more vigorously than do the Boer descendants of these Dutch settlers.[13]

During the early years of English penetration in India intermarriage between the English and native Indians not only extensively took place but was encouraged as a deliberate policy by the English authorities. In 1678 the court of directors of the British East India Company wrote the president of Madras that

> the marriage of our soldiers to the native women of Fort St. George is a matter of such consequence to posterity that we shall be content to encourage it with some expense, and have been thinking for the future to appoint a *pagoda* to be paid to the mother of any child, that shall hereafter be born of any such future marriage, upon the day the child is christened, if you think this small encouragement will increase the number of such marriages.

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This policy in all probability did not so much initiate interracial crossing as recognize its existence in an informal

[13] Robert E. Park, "Race Relations and Certain Frontiers," in *Race and Culture Contacts*, ed. E. B. Reuter (New York, 1934), pp. 67–68.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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state. Unions were not confined to the lower classes but extended into even the upper social ranks, not only of the English, but of other European nationalities as well.[14]

Miscegenation and interracial marriage are perhaps always incidental to the expansion of a racial frontier. As Park has pointed out: "Transplanting a people, like transplanting any other organism, is a ticklish business, and interbreeding is one way of successfully accomplishing the transition."[15]

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Thus, the Brazilian society of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries came to be founded largely upon families in which Indian or part Indian women were the consorts and mothers.[16] At least this was generally true of the lower classes, but it was by no means limited exclusively to them.[17]

These *de facto* unions were gradually "regularized by the church into Christian marriage," thus lending the powerful sanction of the ecclesiastical authority, chief guardian of the mores in a sacred society, to interracial crossing. The church was joined in this policy by the state, which legalized mixed unions. Thus, neither church nor state injected any "strain for consistency"[18] into the colonial mores which had grown up quite naturally in response to the exigencies of colonization but instead themselves offered support to the "definitions of the situation"[19] already laid down in the prevailing attitudes.

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[14] See Cedric Dover, *Half-caste* (London, 1937), pp. 117 ff.

[15] *Op. cit.*, p. 57.

[16] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

[17] E.g., the *mamaluca* descendants of Caramurú married into prominent families.

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[18] See William Graham Sumner, *Folkways* (Boston, 1906), p. 5.

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[19] See W. I. Thomas, *Primitive Behavior* (New York and London, 1937), pp. 8–9.

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4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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is said, did not usually exist in Brazil much longer than the third generation.[32] In Minas Geraes, in 1835, while importations from Africa were still large, there were 170,000 mulattoes to 305,000 blacks.[33]

Thus miscegenation has gone on in Brazil in an unobtrusive way over a long period of time. In few places in the world, perhaps, has the interpenetration of peoples of divergent racial stocks proceeded so continuously and on so extensive a scale.[34]

One circumstance in Bahia still favorable to miscegenation is the system of household service universal in upper-class, principally white, families. Whereas no inconsiderable portion of the domestic labor in the United States, at least in northern areas, is white, consisting largely of peasant immigrant women from Europe, household labor in Bahia is almost invariably black or dark mulatto. For example, of 250 servant women noted, 197 were black, 47 were mulatto (predominantly dark), 4 were *cafuso*,[34a] and only 2 were white. In other words, only 0.8 per cent appeared to be of unmixed white descent. For this reason, interbreeding between males in white upper-class families and servant girls leads almost always to black-white, or at least mulatto-white, crosses.

The disposition to tolerate intermixture with the African

[32] Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 163. [33] *Ibid.*

[34] Calmon writes (*ibid.*, p. 158): "Nenhum outro povo tão ligeiro marchou para a estabilização de um tipo procedente dos mais opostos fatores; principalmente em nenhum outro as propriedades unitivas do idioma, da religião, do meio fisico, se conjugaram tão intimamente para uniformizar, num imenso territorio (Luc Durtain disse que o Brasil é um dos cinco paises verdadeiramente cosmicos) a descendencia de inumeros troncos, celtico, negroide, aborigene."

[34a] Indian-Negro mixed-blood.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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color categories, three being officially recognized: *branco*, *preto*, and *pardo*. These classifications are based upon physical appearance, the principal criteria being pigmentation and hair texture. Racial intermixture has now proceeded to the point where public officials say no attempt is made to indicate ethnic distinctions. Thus the *branco* category includes many light mulattoes and the *preto* category many dark mixed-bloods.

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These official color divisions directly reflect popular distinctions. It is therefore important to note that their usage indicates a shift in criterion from racial descent (as in the United States) to physical appearance; and physical appearance is a characteristic which miscegenation tends continually to modify. Whereas in the United States one drop of Negro blood, if it be known, makes a man a Negro, in Bahia many individuals are listed in the census as white (and, one might add, are so considered by their friends and associates) whose grandmothers were Negroes of pure African descent.

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For instance, the grandmother of a *branco* politician who holds a responsible position in the Rio government, and who himself shows no noticeable traces of Negro ancestry, is said to have been a black woman who wore on Bahia's streets "a *saia grande* and a *panno da Costa*."[44] The *branco* wife of a prominent physician, fair and blue eyed, similarly had an African grandmother. A former governor, to all appearances white and so considered throughout the community, is only two generations removed from an African forebear. Cases might be cited indefinitely similar to that of a Bahian who, referring to a prominent local woman invariably con-

[44] Elements of the distinctive costume, partially African in origin, which is worn in Bahia by Negro women (see chap. ix.).

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Dampier, who visited Bahia in the seventeenth century, knew several Europeans living in common-law marriage with Negro women. By this time the relations were not merely casual affairs. "Many an African woman," we are told, "had managed to gain the respect of her white mate; some through the fear inspired by their *mandingas* (black magic); others, like the Minas for example, by their affectionate natures and womanly qualities."[16] "At least a minority of these women had by this time achieved for themselves . . . . positions as housekeepers to the whites; no longer were they kept in the *sensalas* merely for the physical pleasure of their masters and the increase of his human capital." By the early nineteenth century the marriage of white men with *mulheres de côr* were, we are told, not rare.[17] The women involved, like the Osage Indian women of the United States, for instance, whose oil lands have increased their desirability as wives for white men,[18] often possessed considerable property. Such cases were "commented upon in intimate circles but without acrimony, especially when the excuse proved to be the dowry of the bride."

Other marriage partners of the whites were mixed-bloods, men as well as women. Gradually, we are told, marriages with mulattoes came "no longer to be disdained as they formerly were, now that the high position of the mulatto

[16] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

[17] Koster, *op. cit.*, II, 178.

[18] "The white demand for Osage women, who are rich in oil land, is now so great that the Indian agent requires every prospective husband to give a bond, submit to a physical examination, and present character references. White husbands have become so easy to get that they are now considered somewhat less desirable than even Indian men of other tribes" (Ralph Linton, "An Anthropological View of Race Mixture," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, XIX [1924], 76).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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the present social order at Bahia results, as it probably does in a free class society anywhere, from the tendency of the more advantaged and the more able to rise to, or to maintain themselves at, the top. Since the Africans began in Brazil at the bottom, the present distribution of color through the class scale obviously indicates the extent to which the Negroes (either pure or diluted) have been able to survive and to rise in competition with the Europeans and their descendants, who in the main began at the top. The present distribution is therefore that probably to be expected, even in a freely competitive society, given the original slave status of the Negro, his relatively disadvantaged position upon receiving freedom, the consequently limited opportunities for economic advancement, and the comparatively brief time he has enjoyed a freely competitive status.

One might also note that racial distribution in the occupations and with reference to economic status is not greatly dissimilar at Bahia to that in the United States. In other words, the Negro, either pure or mixed with the white, has slowly but steadily advanced both in Brazil and in this country, until today he is represented there and here in all the professions and in many, if not most, of the occupations. Even the relative numbers in the different levels of the occupational and economic scales are somewhat similar in the two cases.

The differences, however, are profound. Whereas in the United States the rise of the Negro and of the mixed-blood has been principally within the limits of the Negro world, in Brazil the rise has been with reference to the total community; that is, the Negro in Bahia not only competes freely with all others of his own color but can and does compete with all aspirants to the same class; and, if he has ability and

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gives evidence of definite personal worth, he will be accepted for what he is as an individual, and his racial antecedents will, at least to a considerable degree, be overlooked.

The extent of participation of the different ethnic units in the total life of the community may be indicated by analyzing racial participation in such institutions as exclusive clubs, schools, labor unions, and churches.

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One of Bahia's most exclusive clubs, membership in which is definitely indicative of advanced social status, is composed of Bahian "society," including most of the leading officials and many of the more prominent citizens. Numerous receptions for visiting celebrities are held at this club, and its dances are considered to be among the principal social functions of the year. No blacks have yet been admitted, although several mixed-bloods, including a number of *brancos da Bahia* and even a few dark mulattoes, are regular and honored members. Whites, of course, predominate.

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Among the members is a dark mixed-blood, with Caucasian hair and features, a prominent citizen, an able eye, ear, nose, and throat specialist trained in Europe, and husband of a white wife. Of him a Bahian of undiluted European descent once commented, "You know when I went to see him about my eyes the other day, I never once thought of him as colored. I needed professional advice and I simply recalled that he, like his father before him, was the best eye specialist in Bahia." Another member of this club is a dark mixed-blood, a wealthy exporter, prominent in Bahian commercial circles, and husband of a white wife, upon whose visits into the interior, it is said, all those with whom he has business dealings (including whites) feel deeply honored when he visits them in their homes.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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CHAPTER IX

OS AFRICANOS

THE connection between Africa and Bahia is perhaps more intimate and has been maintained over a longer period of time than any similar connection elsewhere in the New World. Although assimilation of the Africans and their descendants has been proceeding at a gradually accelerating rate and has now reached an advanced stage, identification with Africa and with African cultural forms still marks off rather noticeably a portion of the darker population. Differences in dress, in food and food habits, in forms of religious expression, in sacred specialists, in attempts to exercise control over personal destiny and over other human beings, in credulity in folklore, and, to a limited extent, in language describe different worlds which still coexist at Bahia: one largely African in derivation, the other European.

The mental world of the Bahian upper class, which, as we have seen, includes a considerable number of the lighter mixed-bloods, is not greatly dissimilar to that of the same stratum in predominantly Catholic areas of Europe, especially in Portugal, Spain, and France, the latter of which has for a long time been the "intellectual motherland" of Brazil.

But the superior, educated class is relatively small. Most of the people in the city, as well as in the state of Bahia, are illiterate and would be included in what is ordinarily conceived of as the folk. Of this group, the Africans and their descendants obviously constituted in the past, and still constitute today, a large element.

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The mau olhado, or "evil eye," 754
a magical power presumed in many parts of the world, [171]
including Europe, to be possessed, often unwittingly, by
certain individuals, is thought at Bahia to bring death
to plants, birds, and even small children whom the person
has coveted or, perhaps, merely admired. More natural 753
forces are the *ar do vento*, or "air of the wind," a cold draught 821
said to result in indigestion, deformity, insanity, or death; [826]
the *espinhela caida*, or "fallen breastbone," which presumably brings on an emaciated condition of the body; and *sangue nova*, or "new blood," thought to be responsible for the breaking-out of a rash. Dew must not be allowed to fall 753
on the head. Certain diseases, like syphilis and leprosy, are
considered defects common to all men.[28] However, the per- [744]
sistent efforts of agencies like the Rockefeller Foundation [177]
have widely disseminated the idea that malaria results from the bite of a mosquito.

The treatment or prevention of disease is the logical coun- 789
terpart of a magical theory of causation. Thus, members of 782
this section of the Bahian population attempt to control personal destiny through the use of charms or other magical means or through the direct intervention of a deity, whose favor is sought by the offering of gifts or the performance of prescribed rituals. Thus, to counteract the influence of the 755
"evil eye," charms are worn, or pieces of the *Guiné*, *Arruda*, 824
or *Vassourinha Doce* plants are passed, to the accompaniment of magical words, over and about the affected person's head.

goat may be killed, or a doll made and its neck pierced by a bit of wood. [754]
Either object is then placed in the doorway of the individual to be harmed or in any other place where he is likely to pass, the one depositing the *feitiço* calling out, as he drops it, the name of the person for whom harm is intended.

[28] "Syphilis," a black explained, "began with the world. Everyone has it, even horses, although it may never show up."

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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jacás, found one, and shot at it. The *jacú* flew at him with its claws extended and severely scratched him. He shot at it again. It flew back and clawed at his eyes. Then he heard a voice, saying "You know you must not hunt on Fridays." It was the *caipora*. The man staggered home, and fell senseless in the door of his house. I knew this man well.

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The *biatáká* is said to be a woman who inhabits the sea, appearing above water only at night, gradually increasing in size until she assumes an enormous shape, and "casting a huge and frightening shadow."

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Fear of the toad, probably also a survival of Indian belief, is common.[39] If a toad happens to hop into the door of a house, the occupant will immediately grab a broom and sweep it out, repeating over and over, "Creio em Deus Padre."[40] If a malicious person paints a toad on the wall of a dwelling, its occupants will at once desert the place.

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The following account reveals in an intimate way the mental world of a considerable portion of the Bahian lower class. It was related by a young Negro woman in the form of a series of personal experiences and is presented here in as nearly as possible the exact phrasing in which it was originally given.

I was three years old. I was sitting with my mother when something hit me, and I fell over unconscious. She picked me up and took me to a doctor. He gave me medicine and said that it was congestion. Some thought it was the *ar do vento*.

I knew nothing of what was going on; it was as if I were dead. To

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[39] "Montoya says ('Manuscripto guarani da Bibliotheca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro sobre a primitiva catechese dos Indios das Missões,' *Annaes da Bibliotheca Nacional*, Vol. VI) that among Indians observed by him, the entrance of a toad into a gathering of people was a sign of the approaching death of one of those present" (Gilberto Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* [2d ed.; Rio, 1936], p. 99).

[40] "I believe in God, the Father."

[SALVADOR]

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175 829 567 182 797 The generally gentle and humane treatment that the owners reserved for their slaves and the efforts made by the Catholic clergy, from the beginning of the slave trade, to try to incorporate the /23/ Africans into the Catholic religion played an important role in the establishment of good relations between races in Bahia as throughout Brazil. Contrary to what occurred in the other colonial nations, where the aborigines and the imported slaves were kept in a state of segregation, like unassimilable "savages," in Brazil the natives and the Blacks were baptized, catechized, and admitted into the Church as men. Thus, numerous slaves, baptized Negroes, were no longer considered "beasts" and became "Christians," with the same title as the European colonists, having to endure neither hostility nor religious discrimination. They were taught the Christian doctrine, and the preachers endeavored to speak to them in their languages, chiefly in nagô, which had become a sort of lingua franca in which the Africans of different origins were able to understand one another. They intermarried: their marriage having been consecrated by the Church, this protected them when their masters intended to separate the spouses or sell one of the partners; they received the sacraments; they acted as witnesses in religious proceedings and participated as acolytes in religious ceremonies; they marched in the processions, carrying the standards and emblems of their brotherhoods; they were buried in the Christian cemeteries, the owners of slaves being obliged to call the priest in time to assist the dying. No one pretends by that to claim that their lives were free from suffering or that the Negroes were thus completely integrated in Catholicism. The clergy, the owners, and the civil authorities always allowed them some freedom concerning certain proceedings of their pagan cults and never forced them to embrace the official religion. They likewise permitted them to amuse themselves in their way by dances, songs, ceremonies (batuques), banquets in the manner of those of their countries of origin. From that comes this Catholicism somewhat mixed with fetishist beliefs and practices that constitutes the religion of a large part of the colored people of Bahia (1).

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1. Roger Bastide, "Religion and the Church in

[SALVADOR]

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*563 557 the advances of dark men, but accept those of Whites, however disrespectful. That is why, he explains, they either become concubines of the latter, or else they do not marry.

*563 829 826 832 The white and blond woman, on the other hand, is represented as being strongly attracted by men with a very pigmented skin. A light mulatto, regarded very highly in his profession, is not attracted by dark women, although he admits that they are striking and pretty; he prefers the "Whites, very white." According to what he said, many men of his kind have this same inclination, quite independently of the idea of "purifying the race." He adds that the finas Whites have a real taste for the Blacks, whom they consider particularly virile and strong, and they do not take those who have manners that are too refined. Other informants, on the contrary, speak without enthusiasm of this type of women, whom they consider cold and frail. "Color gives health," says one of them, and he adds that even the Whites think so. "Very light women are repugnant to some men," declares one métis; "I even know a European who has an inclination to vomit when he sees one of them." All these opinions on the very white woman are [191] of the same order as those that in the United States, according to John Dollard (1).

> 1. "It seems possible that the image of the white woman is in part preserved from sexual thoughts and allusions of the same order, while the black woman tends to bear the entire brunt of uncontrolled sexual desire... If the black women are represented as sexually desirable in the white popular imagination, the black men are represented as particularly virile and experienced in this domain." Caste and Class in a Southern Town, New York, 1949, p. 1 ff.

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serve as protection against colored men and sometimes even against Whites. The morena, moreover, is regarded as the most ardent feminine type and even, sexually speaking, the most accessible. Numerous informants who have a plan to marry Whites explain or imply that they are looking for light, socially white métisses.

[SALVADOR]

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*563 545 [171] For about ten years people have been trying to organize a "Negro theater" in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. In spite of the assistance of white intellectuals of great influence and endowed with the spirit of initiative, the two or three groups that have been founded have had only relative success, in spite of the indisputable artistic and intellectual merit of the Blacks and mulattoes who were at their head. About two years ago, when [658] one of these groups asked for government assistance in order to give a series of performances in Bahia, the presentation of a "Negro theater" in a city such as ours, where there is no separation of races, was considered inopportune. At least this is how some people justified the refusal against it. Two small theater groups were nevertheless founded in Bahia, "to give colored persons the possibility of becoming known," as was announced in a newspaper, but neither of these groups was able to succeed in staging a play. This lack of success may be explained in different ways. One explanation might be that amateur theater enterprises, even those directed by Whites of some prestige and aided by recreational associations able to spend /Figs. 7 and 8 appear here/ /65/ quite large sums on efforts of this kind, have been intermittent in Bahia and generally require an extreme effort by amateurs of the theatrical art; another is that the persons responsible for the two undertakings were young people of mixed blood, without experience and without credit. It should be noted, besides, that, according to one of these, the idea was not popular, even among colored persons. "Everybody doubts that this venture can be successful," he said. Some have even thought that this is "a separatist idea." It is possible that other factors come into play in this tendency to discourage similar endeavors. The theater being a means of [154] emotional expression, serving as a substitute for other ways of [796] liberating emotions, one may agree with the hypothesis of Roger Bastide, according to which the colored people of Bahia satisfy themselves by means of the exciting rites of the candomblé and the external Catholic worship with its brilliant liturgical ceremonies, its frequent and large processions, and the solemn saints' days around the most popular churches (1).

[113] 1. "Teatro de 30 dias /Theater of 30 days/," Anhembi, No. 10, Vol. IV, São Paulo, Sept. 1951.

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*563 555 871 Knowing to what extent schooling is useful to them to reduce the social distance that separates them from the ruling classes, colored persons, even the humblest and the darkest, make great efforts to send their children to primary school; they go so far as to make the sacrifice to send them to secondary courses when they could already be helping them in their work. A mulatto who [171] lives in the northern part of the country states that in this the Blacks of Bahia differ from those of the other States: "Here the humblest women -- washerwomen, cooks, domestics -- send their children to school and are very anxious about what they are taught. In the other States this does not interest them (1)."

[162] [872] [463]

1. Among the 92 students of both sexes in a public elementary school chosen at random, 23 were white, 42 pardos, and 27 black. Those responsible for the colored children (mothers, fathers, uncles, or godmothers) were domestics, seamstresses, cabinetmakers, carpenters, masons, petty officials, chauffeurs, commercial employees, cooks, washerwomen, etc.

*563 871 171 "The Blacks of another large Brazilian city," notes a black university student, "are very well dressed and shod, but they speak badly, use slang expressions, and are incapable of carrying on a conversation of a certain level. One might say that they are not at all anxious to learn."

*563 555 829 There is a very widespread conviction that, in order to excel in life and elevate oneself socially, a colored person must be better /67/ prepared and more capable than the Whites. "A young colored man must have great personal merit to be able to assert himself," says the student mentioned above. A mulatto physician who had an exceptional career and who has become one of the greatest names in Brazilian science told one of our informants that a colored man, in order to succeed, must have twice the merit as his white competitor, for exactly the same thing happens with a Black as with two balls of the same weight and the same size, one of metal and the other of wood; when one takes them in one's hand it always seems as though the metal one were heavier. Thus a colored man always gives the impression of having less merit than a White.

[SALVADOR]

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*563 829 Numerous informants admit that actually one can verify prejudices bound up with color, but they add that "this is a question of tradition in Bahia." According to one of them, "conservative persons transmit it to the new generations." The experiences of the informants vary, however. A moreno official, about 45 [178] years old, finds that at present prejudice is stronger than before: "It is possible that it existed previously, but it did not become evident. I know people full of merit who are treated with some contempt because of color. Many also withdraw, saying: now who will become intimate with me?...., I am black." A mulatto [178] merchant who has many white friends affirms that relations are getting better "on the intimate level": the Blacks and mulattoes are received in the homes, make friends, but "on the social level everything continues as in the past; the same /96/ white persons who make friends with colored people do not wish to admit them into their recreational societies and their other associations." It is not rare to hear it said that very dark persons experience a certain resistance in social and even professional life, and in private they frequently comment on this. Nevertheless it is very [171] often affirmed that the situation, from all points of view, is much better in Bahia than in the other States of Brazil; in certain of these States, in fact, and particularly in the industrial region of the south, it seems that there is real conflict between white *563 829 171 men and colored men. "In São Paulo, for example," says a man practicing a liberal profession who has visited the States of the south several times, "their situation is worse because of foreigners; in Bahia the advantage is that there are few foreigners." Others think that it is the Blacks themselves who, by their hostile attitude, have created the problem in São Paulo. "In Rio, where the milieu is more Brazilian, the situation is better." Some think that the foreigners, even in Bahia, are to a great extent responsible for the racial discrimination, although the majority of them adapt themselves to local customs and treat like Whites the colored men who have a high position. These comparisons are almost always accompanied by an account of incidents of discrimination and hostile antagonism, incidents which, according

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*563 829 171 to our informants, could not happen in Bahia (1).

1. One of the most frequently cited examples is that of the first-class hairdressers of Rio and São Paulo, who refuse to serve clients of dark color, even when they appear well dressed and with manners indicating a perfect education. One of the informants recalls that about 30 years ago, preparing to go to an audience with the governor of the State, he was unable, though he wore evening dress, to be shaved at the establishment of a mulatto hairdresser whom he knew; the latter made many excuses for this and explained to him that he had great difficulty with his white clients. Another affirms that one may note cases of this nature, but that, on account of the great number of American sailors "full of money" passing through since the last war, the barbers practice less discrimination against the local Blacks.

*563 178 [171] Almost all, or at least most, insist on saying that race relations in Bahia are in the process of perceptible improvement, although in other parts of Brazil they seem to be growing worse. With regard to tendencies toward racism there are, however, differences among colored people. "Racism exists, but it is hidden and hence in the process of disappearing," thinks a Black who practices a liberal profession, "but I do not believe that it will cease to exist entirely; it will always exist, though hidden and discreet." Another says that: "The situation has a tendency to change with the social ascent of colored people and with greater educational facilities. It may even grow worse, but it is now too late to separate the Whites from the Blacks, /Figs. 11 and 12 appear here/ /97/ if only because there are families in which some are dark and others may pass for Whites."

21 Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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this are being made, however, and it is hoped he will be ready for it before her death. In the meantime she has legally willed the house and its material belongings to him, and is also passing along to him her spiritual heritage. He is learning the mystical part of the cult, but she cannot show him the outer forms, such as dancing and other physical motions of worship, because she is too infirm. Traditionally only women went through training for worship in the Brazilian cults, for the belief is that the gods descend and "ride" or "mount" the disciple. This could only be done with women disciples. However, one of the changes reaching the cults now is the entrance of men as devotees. Very often they are effeminate, as is the case with the young man who is helping the old woman. The old one is not pleased with having a man perform the duties of her cult house, but she feels she must be satisfied with him because there is no one else in her house. Although all her former disciples are gone, now at least she will have someone to dispatch her saints when she dies, a complicated ritual which must be properly carried out.

One of the other two houses is in the town and is led by Roxa, who has "made her saint" but who by cult standards should still be a devotee in another house, for she is not considered well enough prepared to be leading a house of her own. Her house is extremely weak, with few followers, most of whom have not yet "made their saints." Roxa is the main figure, the one most often possessed and through whom the spirits speak. As a young girl she went through a fairly rigorous period of training, but broke away before it was completed. She says she fulfills the necessary obligations now only because if she did not she would become sick. She calls the whole thing a "complication" in her life which must be looked after. She has been married but is now widowed and childless.

The other house, located on one of the plantations run by an overseer, is led by a man in his forties. He also claims that he is in the cult because of his health. As a boy and young man he was always sick and his entire body ached. One day in the field he found a "lightning stone" (pedra de raio). Such stones are common in the cults and are thought to have been sent from the sky, although they really are American Indian artifacts, such as arrowheads and hatchets, and are constantly turned up in the soil. At first he did not know what the stone was and took it home, but on discovering that it had supernatural significance, he threw it away, for he wanted nothing

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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CHAPTER V

INTERMARRIAGE

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AS WE have already seen, the first Portuguese settlers in Bahia were almost exclusively males and, like the Dutch under similar circumstances in South Africa and in Java, the English in India, and the English and Americans in Hawaii, took native women for wives. It is reported that when Thomé de Souza dropped anchor in Todos os Santos Bay, he found in and about the site on which the city was subsequently founded "more than forty" Portuguese men living with native women.[1] According to legend, De Souza was much indebted to the Indian spouse of one of these adventurers, "the comely Paraguassú," daughter of chief Itaparica of the local Tupinambás, for the eventual success of the settlement.

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Paraguassú had been living with a Portuguese sailor, Diogo Alvares Correia, who, some years earlier, either was shipwrecked or had deserted ship at this point. He had since that time lived with the Indians on what is now known as Graça Hill, which lies within the present limits of the city, and had founded an extensive half-breed family. With the passing of time he has become a legendary figure to whom living descendants proudly trace their lineage. As given by Alvares do Amaral,[2] the legend appears more plausible than Southey's account[3] and is as follows:

[1] Francisco A. de Varnhagen, Visconde de Porto Seguro, *Historia geral do Brasil* (3d complete ed., 4 vols.; São Paulo, n.d.), I, 300. Based on a *Carta* by Nobrega.

[2] *Resumo chronologico da Bahia* (Bahia, n.d.), p. 201.

[3] Robert Southey, *History of Brasil* (3 vols.; London, 1810), I, 30–31.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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Diogo Alvares Correia, or Caramurú . . . . was a native of Vianna do Minho, in Portugal. While still a young lad, overcome with the desire to see new lands, he shipped with a vessel bound for India. But the ship was buffeted by contrary winds and finally, lashed by a severe storm, was broken in pieces and cast upon the coast of Brazil at the mouth of the Rio Vermelho near a place called by the Indians *Mairaguiquity* and now known as Mariquita. This was in 1510. The shipwrecked sailors who escaped being eaten by fish served as choice morsels for men, for they were all made prisoners and subsequently devoured by the savage Tupinambás with the exception of Diogo Alvares Correia, who was saved by a young Indian girl, by name Paraguassú, the daughter of Itaparica, the chief of the tribe, who implored her father not to kill this man since she had at first sight become very fond of him; to which appeal the chief was attentive and presented her with Diogo, who then aided the Indians in recovering the spoils of the wreck among which were several kegs of powder and ball, and some muskets. Of the latter he prepared one and began to fire it, shooting down some birds. The flash of fire, the noise of the discharge, and the death of the birds caused great terror among the natives, for they had never before known firearms. Thenceforth they treated Diogo with great veneration, giving him their daughters for concubines, and the chief offering his daughter for a wife. Diogo was given the name of Caramurú-Assú, which in their idiom means "sea-dragon." He was also called "man-of-fire."[4]

In this savage state Diogo Alvares lived for some time, dwelling in a village later called Villa Velha, today the site of Graça until, some eight years later, in 1518, a French ship arrived in Bahia, and he decided to sail back in it by way of France to Portugal. When the ship, filled with a fresh cargo of Brazilwood, set sail again, he and the gentle Paraguassú were on it. Several of his Indian concubines, seeing him leave, swam out after the ship . . . . , among them the charming

[4] Antonio Alexandre Borges dos Reis (*Chorographia e historia do Brasil, especialmente do estado da Bahia* [Bahia, 1894], pp. 161–62) records a variant account of Caramurú's rescue: "Paraguassú, chancing upon him hiding in a pocket of a reef into which he had crawled to escape detection, and taking him under her protection, saved his life, he gaining afterwards, thanks to his qualities as a civilized man, the influence which he came so effectively to exercise."

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Moema, who, exhausted, perished in the billows of the sea. This unhappy Indian maiden is still today sung by the poets. . . . .

On returning from Europe, Catherina Paraguassú, endowed with a beauty that was first among her people, performed the duty of a true heroine by receiving as her guest the first Governor-general, Thomé de Souza. She and her husband made the native Indians, without the least hesitancy, subject themselves to the Portuguese dominion. And it is from Diogo Alvares Caramurú and Catherina Paraguassú that the ancient and noble house of Garcia d'Avila, so celebrated for its wealth and civic services, is descended.

Subsequent to the arrival of Thomé de Souza, Diogo had been legally married to Paraguassú. And the church soon saw to it that most, if not all, of the similarly informal unions between European men and native Indian women were "regularized in Christian marriage." [585] [583] [795]

Although incoming Portuguese colonists and adventurers had readily entered into informal unions with native women, they appear at first to have hesitated before actual marriage. It was the Jesuits, we are told, who "managed to conquer in the early colonists the repugnance which they originally held toward marriages with Indian women."[5] "Most of them [the Portuguese] here," wrote Padre Nobrega from Pernambuco in 1551, "have for a long time kept Indian women from whom they have had children; but to marry them was considered a scandalous thing (*grande infamia*). They are now marrying and assuming a proper life."[6] At any rate, intermarriage eventually became a firmly established custom, sanctioned by both church and state. 175 583 585 563* [797]

Although the scarcity of European women, so notable during the first century of colonization, had by the early 175 563*

[5] Gilberto Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* (2d ed.; Rio, 1936), p. 302.

[6] Padre Manoel de Nobrega, *Cartas do Brasil, 1549–1560* (Rio, 1886), quoted by Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

[SALVADOR]

/53 cont./

000 situation by taking part in the life of the parties. This phenomenon
175 is not entirely new, except in that it affects men of dark color and
178 modest circumstances, for since the monarchical epoch numerous
*563 métis bearers of nobiliary titles granted by the emperor had rep-
645 resented Bahia in the imperial parliament and occupied posts in the
646 national ministries. At least three ministers of foreign affairs, chosen among the statesmen of Bahia during the Empire and the Republic, were métis of great talent and of great social and political prestige. One of the most brilliant federal deputies of the republican regime established in 1889 was a dark mulatto, a health-service engineer, a historian and linguist of renown. Alluding to this intellectual, someone once said to a dark young man: "You will never be president of the Republic, but you can hope to acquire the fame of a Teodoro Sampaio." If one is to be-
[173] lieve oral tradition, a member of the highest tribunal of justice
[829] of Bahia, a métis of very high social and intellectual rank, asserted in a speech that Bahia has always had the lead in this tradition "of liberty and equality among men who do not belong to the same race or at times to the same religion."

*563 During the last election campaigns, the attitude of certain
666 candidates toward colored persons was exploited in favor of some and to the detriment of others. Thus, rumors were circulated in 1945, according to which a candidate for the presidency of the Republic was supposed to harbor color prejudices and not allow the admission of Blacks and dark mulattoes into the military aviation services, which he then directed. It is maintained that these accusations contributed to reducing the number of votes in favor of this candidate in Bahia, in spite of the efforts that his party made to lessen the bad impression that this revelation had produced, even among the Whites. On the occasion of the 1950 campaign, the followers of one of the candidates for the office of governor of the State distributed a tract in which a newspaper favorable to another candidate was accused of having published an article whose author maintained that Negresses made themselves /54/ ridiculous by aping white women. In both cases it was an attempt to cause difficulties between candidates and voters. Moreover, a national association of colored men recommended to

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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BB 175 249 in mind when they founded the colony of Bahia.

> Already enough was known of Brazil to hope that sugar cane would do well in it. The hot and humid climate of its coast would be highly favorable, and as for hands for work, they counted mainly on the indigenous people who, as we have seen, were relatively numerous and peaceful on the coast. These perspectives were completely confirmed; the one factor of which they were ignorant before the attempt--the quality of the soil--revealed itself as supremely propitious, at some points at least, on the extensive coast. This was particularly the case in the extreme northeast, on the coastal plain occupied by the state of Pernambuco and on the contours of the Baía de Todos os Santos (the Recôncavo Baiano, as it would be called). These were not the only ones: in a general way all the Brazilian coast paid homage to sugar cane.
>
> It was on this base that the effective occupation and colonization of Brazil was initiated.[7]

BB [134]

By the end of the sixteenth century sugar cane cultivation had spread at least as far as its present western and southern limits in the Recôncavo, on the Paraguaçu and Jaguaripe rivers. Forty engenhos were engaged in the production of sugar.[8] The engenhos were the nuclei of the economic organization of the colony. The cultivation of sugar cane and the milling of sugar demanded a labor force too large to be recruited from among the indigenous Indians.[9] This labor force was supplied from the slave pens of Africa--chiefly on the Guinea Coast and in Angola. The city of Salvador, which had the advantage of a commodious port and a central location among the slave markets of Brazil, was the chief point of debarkation for these Africans.[10]

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Estimates of the number of slaves imported and the number who remained in Bahia vary over a wide range. In 1583, when the population of Brazil was estimated at 57,000 people, 25,000 were listed as whites, 18,000 as civilized Indians, and 14,000 as Negro slaves. The Negroes were concentrated mainly in Bahia and Pernambuco.[11] It seems likely that in Bahia the number of Negroes was at least equal to the number of whites. These two racial groups and their mixed-blood derivatives

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 178 249 [567] [439] Cachoeira, which formerly included most of the western part of the region, was the center of the production of tobacco for use in the slave trade. The growth of the trade in leaf tobacco in the nineteenth century brought great changes to the region, for it made tobacco a major commercial product in its own right, no longer dependent upon the slave trade. Eventually this development gave the region of tobacco production a greater economic importance than the sugar cane region, although it remained subordinate in political and social influence. The development of the new tobacco economy also gave the region a greater superiority over the sertão, which could satisfactorily produce fumo em corda, but could grow only the poorest grades of fumo em fôlha.

174 244 249 433 Probably the tobacco-manioc region supplied manioc as the subsistence food of the sugar economy, since it is the only nearby area which was a center of manioc production. Perhaps manioc was produced in the sugar cane zone, but in view of the intensity of sugar cane cultivation, this seems doubtful. In any case, the present relative level of manioc production in this crop region probably dates from the nineteenth century development of cigar tobacco production.

249 311 The second basic crop region of the Recôncavo is the sugar cane monocultural area. It is sub-divided into a major zone, in Santo Amaro, São Sebastião, and São Francisco; a minor zone in Cachoeira; and an outlier in São Filipe. It is estimated that in the first two zones 90 per cent of the cropland was in cane in 1948. In the São Filipe outlier of the sugar cane region the proportion seems to have been lower--perhaps 50 per cent of the cultivated area.

[13] The physical association of the sugar cane region north of the Rio Paraguaçu and the Bay is relatively simple--a humid and formerly forested undulating plain composed of mixed Cretaceous soils--massapê, salão, and areia. In São Filipe the land is rougher, but the sugar cane is grown upon heavy soils similar to the Cretaceous series.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 311 Southwest of the estuary of the Rio Paraguaçu, in Maragogipe and São Filipe, the crop pattern becomes very complex, as is shown by the relative distribution of cropland in São Filipe:

Manioc	33	per cent
Sugar cane	28	" "
Coffee	25	" "
Tobacco	11	" "
Peanuts	1	" "
Corn	1	" "

Plus small areas of beans, oranges, bananas, sweet potatoes, and coconut.

174 245 249 311 It is very likely that there has been a historical connection between the coffee culture of São Filipe and the main coffee zone far to the southwest. Apparently the development of tobacco cultivation in Santo Antônio has severed this connection.

249 244 221 Cultivation Systems—Tobacco and Manioc. The "ideal" system of cultivation of tobacco and manioc[1] in the tobacco-manioc region has the following general pattern:

(1) In mid-February a small tract, very commonly with an area of one tarefa[2] but sometimes larger, is cleared in the capoéira de caatinga (second-growth scrub-forest) or the capoéira de mata (second-growth littoral forest). Generally the capoéira is low brush, two to five [412] feet tall, which is easily cut with a facão--a long heavy knife which is a universal agricultural tool. Any heavy waste material that can be moved is dragged away from the plot; if there are tree stumps, they will not be grubbed out.[3] Sometimes the waste material on the surface of the field is burned, but this is by no means universal.

(2) A favored spot, either within the cleared field or in the adjoining capoéira, is prepared for a seed bed. Usually a site on the edge of a wood or near a steep slope is selected. Any available waste materials--corn stalks, old tobacco plants, weeds, brush, pieces of wood, and the like--are piled on the small plot, allowed to dry, and then burned.

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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some confusion in the minds of the cultists themselves as to exactly which saint an African spirit represents, and there often are slight differences in interpretation which do not, however, upset the cult practices to any great extent. Cultism in Brazil has been described in detail by Nina Rodrigues,[3] Arthur Ramos,[4] and Edison Carneiro,[5] and by the Americans Donald Pierson[6] and Ruth Landes,[7] all of whom concentrated on cultism in the city of Salvador; Eduardo Octavio da Costa[8] has good material on urban-rural cultism in Maranhão (northern Brazil). In Vila Recôncavo the syncretisms are being forgotten as the content of cults changes from African spirits to the Indian spirits, for which no identification is made with the Catholic saints.

Cultism apparently got its start in Bahia in the early nineteenth century. Carneiro[9] sets the date for the establishment of the first cult house in the city as 1838. Old people in Vila Recôncavo do not remember cultism beyond two generations ago. There is one woman in town who is in her late nineties and who only remembers hearing of her mother and her mother's generation as active in cults. Apparently the force of cultism increased with the decrease in Catholic proselytization, as the number of priests in the rural areas diminished. It also increased in tempo with the manumission of slaves, and apparently was one of the institutions through which former slaves bought the freedom of other slaves.

Today the cults of the rural area are far less elaborate than those in the city of Salvador, although it seems that even in the city, cultism is showing the same general trend toward disintegration which is so strongly apparent in the rural area. In both places there is a shift away from African ritual to practices connected with the Indian spirits, whose demands

3. Raymundo Nina Rodrigues, O animismo fetichista dos negros bahianos (Rio de Janeiro, 1935).

4. Arthur Ramos, O negro brasileiro (2nd ed.; São Paulo, 1940).

5. Edison Carneiro, Candomblés da Bahia, (Publicações do Museu do Estado, No. 8 [Bahia, 1948]).

6. Donald Pierson, Negroes in Brazil (Chicago, 1942).

7. Ruth Landes, The City of Women (New York, 1947).

8. Octavio da Costa Eduardo, The Negro in Northern Brazil (New York, 1948).

9. Carneiro, Candomblés da Bahia, p. 31.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

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For four centuries the agricultural development of Brazil has been characterized by a series of speculative phases, each focused on a single product, each centered upon a single region of Brazil. The first commercial product was sugar, the first region was the Recôncavo of Bahia. The agricultural society founded on the shore of the Baía de Todos os Santos in the mid-sixteenth century has persisted with an almost unbroken continuity for over four hundred years. It is with the geography of this agricultural society that the present study is concerned.

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After sugar had ceased to bring a quick profit, the Brazilian center of effort shifted to other areas where economies of cotton, oranges rice, cacao, and many lesser products opened the land and drew the ambitious and the desperate from the older settlements. Intermeshed with these phases of agricultural development were booms in the exploitative industries--in the mining of gold and diamonds and in the gathering of rubber. So characteristic have been these speculative convulsions, each followed by a shift to a new region, that they might almost seem to be the whole of Brazilian history and Brazilian reality--the nation might have been practicing a system of shifting cultivation on an immense scale with not only fields but whole regions abandoned as the yield declined. Yet this is not the case, for in each of these regions men remain and crops persist. The Recôncavo, long past its triumph, has a present day population of one million people, many of whom are still cultivating the original speculative crop, sugar cane. The Recôncavo is not unique in this respect, for coastal Pernambuco, eastern

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 3]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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The pattern of national agricultural characteristics is given explicit form by Spiegel in The Brazilian Economy.[2] He speaks of the exploitive character of the land rotation system, the dominance of the latifundio system of land holding, of private, corporate, and absentee ownership with extensive tenancy. Rents are relatively high, the status of agricultural labor low. Technology is backward, and the system of marketing is speculative. Most of these same characterizations appear in the appraisal of Brazilian agricultural development which Preston James has made in Economic Growth: Brazil, India, Japan.[3]

B 121

Brazil is a huge country, like India almost a sub-continent. The investigation of its agricultural economy on an intensive scale and in all its aspects is an overwhelming task. For the individual investigator working alone and with a limited time, it seems impossible. One approach is to study the economy in one of its variant regional expressions, a method which seems particularly appropriate on account of the pronounced regionalization of Brazilian agriculture. In particular, the investigation of a "passive" region in which the underlying national patterns are present in a relatively intensified and permanent form should give insight into the basal characteristics of Brazilian agricultural life. Such a region is the Recôncavo of Bahia.

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The special place of the Recôncavo in Brazilian agriculture is the result of two historical factors: (1) Many of the agricultural institutions and attributes which evolved in the Recôncavo and in the other sugar cane economies during the colonial period have spread to the rest of the nation, partly through migration and partly through cultural diffusion. The characteristic figure of the sugar cane economy was the fazendéiro (the planter). "With the change in the structure of the fazenda [plantation] the fazendeiro was regenerated in a series of new types," Normano has said, and points to the fazendéiro background

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

CHAPTER III

EVOLUTION OF THE RECÔNCAVO

175 Introduction. The first permanent colony on the Baía de Todos os Santos was established by the Portuguese in 1549.[1] This colony, at the city of Salvador, was the nucleus of settlement in the Recôncavo. The Recôncavo was thus one of the early European colonies in the New World.[2] The first Portuguese colonists came to seek their fortunes in the exploitation of the land. The ethos of the Recôncavo economy in the four centuries since its founding has remained fairly constant: the realization of the greatest agricultural profits with the least capital investment, the minimum conservation of land and labor, and the most grudging adjustments to changes in technology, markets, and the social and political order. Most of the million descendants of Portuguese colonists and Negro slaves who live in the Recôncavo today are imbued with the orthodox values of the exploitative agricultural society established here in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Shifts in markets and in the relative importance of commercial products have not been accompanied by equivalent changes in the speculative and exploitative orientation of the society. In the initial period a market for Recôncavo agricultural products was assured because it had a virtual monopoly. The development of alternative and competitive sources for these products broke this monopoly and caused a continuous increase in the speculative character of agriculture in the Recôncavo. This area did not respond to the increased risk by diversifying its agricultural base but persisted in the same crops and the same methods of cultivation. Such change as did take place was in the form of reluctant, tardy, and minimal adjustments so that in many ways the

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433 241 178 [181]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

433 241 178 Recôncavo remains today a backward and traditional agricultural society.

However, not all elements in Recôncavo life are static. In the field one was incessantly conscious both of the gradual course of change in this region and of the latent instability of its economic organization. Particularly in the last 75 years the agricultural economy of the Recôncavo has begun to shift--it is apparently in the throes of a drastic economic reorganization. It remains to be seen whether the traditional values will survive this economic revolution.

[128] The brief historical discussion to follow is not intended as a substitute for a full-scale historical reconstruction. Its purpose is to indicate the major patterns in the evolution of the Recôncavo.

• 175 <u>The Evolution of Colonial Agricultural Institutions</u>. By the end of the initial half century of settlement (1600) those ethnic groups, crops, animals, and agricultural institutions which were to [567] become characteristic of the Recôncavo were already in evidence. Negro [249] slaves were brought in on the heels of the first Portuguese settlers,[3] [231] and sugar cane and cattle were also introduced at this time.[4] Tobacco [244] and manioc, produced by the Indians indigenous to the northeast of [249] Brazil, were rapidly integrated into the colonial agriculture of the [179] Recôncavo.[5] The combined sugar mill and plantation (<u>engenho</u>), which [249] was the basic economic institution of the Recôncavo until the end of [471] the nineteenth century, already existed in rudimentary form before 1600.[6]

175 249 [244] From the beginning the new colony in the Recôncavo had three important crops--sugar cane, tobacco, and manioc. It was the cultivation of sugar which the Portuguese crown and the initial settlers had

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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BB 175 249 in mind when they founded the colony of Bahia.

> Already enough was known of Brazil to hope that sugar cane would do well in it. The hot and humid climate of its coast would be highly favorable, and as for hands for work, they counted mainly on the indigenous people who, as we have seen, were relatively numerous and peaceful on the coast. These perspectives were completely confirmed; the one factor of which they were ignorant before the attempt--the quality of the soil--revealed itself as supremely propitious, at some points at least, on the extensive coast. This was particularly the case in the extreme northeast, on the coastal plain occupied by the state of Pernambuco and on the contours of the Baía de Todos os Santos (the Recôncavo Baiano, as it would be called). These were not the only ones: in a general way all the Brazilian coast paid homage to sugar cane.
>
> It was on this base that the effective occupation and colonization of Brazil was initiated.[7]

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By the end of the sixteenth century sugar cane cultivation had spread at least as far as its present western and southern limits in the Recôncavo, on the Paraguaçu and Jaguaripe rivers. Forty engenhos were engaged in the production of sugar.[8] The engenhos were the nuclei of the economic organization of the colony. The cultivation of sugar cane and the milling of sugar demanded a labor force too large to be recruited from among the indigenous Indians.[9] This labor force was supplied from the slave pens of Africa--chiefly on the Guinea Coast and in Angola. The city of Salvador, which had the advantage of a commodious port and a central location among the slave markets of Brazil, was the chief point of debarkation for these Africans.[10]

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Estimates of the number of slaves imported and the number who remained in Bahia vary over a wide range. In 1583, when the population of Brazil was estimated at 57,000 people, 25,000 were listed as whites, 18,000 as civilized Indians, and 14,000 as Negro slaves. The Negroes were concentrated mainly in Bahia and Pernambuco.[11] It seems likely that in Bahia the number of Negroes was at least equal to the number of whites. These two racial groups and their mixed-blood derivatives

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162 compose most of the population of the Recôncavo today. In 1940 the
563 population of the Centro-Litoral of Bahia--the census area most closely corresponding to the Recôncavo--had the following composition: white, 22 per cent; black, 29 per cent; and others, predominately mulatto, 49 per cent.[12]

The purchase of large quantities of slaves required the produc-
175 439 tion of a commodity which could be used as exchange in Africa. The
567 436 indigenous tobacco proved eminently suitable for this purpose. Although
276 rum apparently was used also in this trade, tobacco became the essential
[203] source of exchange for the slave traffic.[13] Bahia was the main area of
[249] tobacco production, and probably most of this production was localized in the Recôncavo.[14]

175 The initial period of settlement saw also the incorporation of
244 433 manioc[15] into the agricultural economy as a staple. Like tobacco, it
[567] was an indigenous crop. Thus one indigenous crop was adopted to purchase slaves in Africa and another to feed them in Brazil. By 1587 manioc apparently was being cultivated on a moderate scale in Bahia.[16] A recurring theme in the history of the Recôncavo is the shortage of this essential foodstuff.

In addition to the principal crops--sugar, tobacco, and
241 262 manioc--a number of lesser agricultural products were important in the
175 433 early history of the Recôncavo. Corn, beans, and bananas were grown on a small scale and used to supplement the manioc diet. Other diversi-
231 fications of the diet were provided by meat and fish. Cattle were maintained to draw the ox carts and to power many of the cane mills. For lighter tasks asses and mules were used.

178 Out of this complex of Portuguese settlers and Negro slaves, of
249 433 old world and new world crops, there developed certain characteristic agricultural enterprises. The engenho--old world in the origin of its

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178 crop, technology, and market—was the most important of these enter-
249 prises. The sugar industry flourished in its new world setting and
433 developed from the beginning an institutional character different from that of the old world, particularly in terms of land holding, labor, and the organization of production.

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> The regime of possession of the land was that of completely alodial properties. Among the powers of the donatários of the capitania was, as we have seen, that of disposing of the land, which they distributed among the colonists. The grants were as a rule very large, the lots measuring many leagues. This is understandable: the lands were abundant, and the ambitions of these pioneers, recruited at such a cost, were evidently not contented with small properties; it was not the position of modest peasants to which they aspired in the new world but as great senhores [gentlemen] and latifundiários [landowners]. In addition to this and more important, there was a material factor which determined the type of property established. The culture of cane is practical, economically, only on a large scale. Merely conveniently to clear and prepare the lands (a costly task in this tropical and virgin setting so hostile to man) made necessary the united energy of many workers: it was not an enterprise for small and isolated proprietors. This done, the planting, the harvesting, and the transportation of the cane to the engenhos where it was made into sugar was only profitable when done in large volume. In these conditions the small producer could not exist.
>
> It was above all these circumstances which determined the type of agricultural enterprise adopted in Brazil: the large property.[17]

175 241 471 433

The latifundia established by these colonists ideally were self-sustaining units producing food and sometimes clothing for the entire engenho community—free and slave. In fact, however, they often seem to have neglected food production for the cultivation of the universal commercial product--sugar cane. From the beginning of colonization a succession of regulations and decrees were issued to compel the cultivation of manioc. Recurrent food shortages suggest that these measures were not effective in the face of the "monocultural mentality" of the senhores de engenho (sugar plantation owners). In

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241 In
433 contemporary Bahia chronic shortages of staple foods, particularly
178 manioc, are characteristic of the zones of commercial agriculture.

175 The equipment and technology of the engenhos was primitive.
249 The cane was transported on the backs of mules or on ox carts to the
[492] mill where it was crushed in a crude press sometimes turned by water power but usually by animal- or even man-power. The cane juice was evaporated in large iron caldrons which were heated by fire made from wood. This type of processing was in general use in the Recôncavo for several centuries and still persists in some areas of the extra-Recôncavo
[464] backlands. The engenhos were operated almost exclusively with slave
[567] labor. Most of the slaves of Bahia are thought to have come from the
[177] Guinea Coast of Africa. These "Mina" Negroes[18] had a relatively sophisticated cultural inheritance from Africa and undoubtedly made substantial contributions to the cultural development of Bahia.[19]

175 The Negroes were introduced when Indian slaves failed to pro-
249 vide the necessary labor supply, but they were rarely available in
464 sufficient numbers and at a low enough cost to prevent chronic labor
567 shortages. Falta de braços (literally, lack of arms) has been a perennial concern in the Recôncavo no less than elsewhere in Brazil.
[162] The importation of hundreds of thousands of Negroes into Brazil--of which certainly a considerable number were settled in the Recôncavo--did not solve the problem.[20] In the early period most engenhos had from about 80 to 100 slaves, but by the eighteenth century some had as many as 1,000.[21]

175 From the beginning of settlement there was extensive miscegna-
563 tion. The Portuguese settlers were predominately male, and they bred
567 on a large scale with both Indian and Negro slave women. Some of the mestizo and mulatto children--chiefly the latter in the Recôncavo--retained the slave status of their mothers. Others were freed and sometimes occupied favored positions in their fathers' households.

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175 565 The landed, slave-owning aristocrat was the master of Recôncavo society. The extended aristocratic family was the basic social, economic, and political unit of colonial society. The upper class of the Recôncavo, composed of inter-related family units, continued without substantial alteration until the twentieth century.

175 241 433 565 563 Despite the predominance of sugar cane and the engenho in the colonial Recôncavo--and in the literature on the region--other products and other institutions were important. It is clear that tobacco and manioc were the chief secondary agricultural products, but the development of the associated institutions is not documented. Presumably a class of small semi-subsistence cultivators occupied the lands unsuitable for sugar cane. This class probably was composed of whites lacking the capital for plantation agriculture and freed mulattoes and slaves--manumission was very common in the Recôncavo. The chief commercial product of these small farmers was rolo or corda tobacco (similar to a "twist" of tobacco),[22] and probably to a lesser extent farinha de mandioca (manioc flour). In addition, corn, beans, rice, and bananas were produced.

175 43 The colonial economy of the Recôncavo was not self-sufficient, in spite of the production of food crops and meat animals on small farms and on plantations. Near the beginning of colonization the livestock ranching industry, originating in coastal areas like the Recôncavo, migrated into the interior of the Northeast. Thereafter [231] a strong current of trade in animals, especially cattle, flowed into the Recôncavo from the São Francisco valley, from Ceará, and probably from the sertão of Bahia between the coast and the mountains. These animals were exchanged at the cattle fairs--notably at Feira de Santana--for the products of the coast and for imports from abroad.

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175 231 After they had recuperated from the long drives, the cattle were used for both labor and food.

175 433 439 171 The colonial economy developed in the Recôncavo--in common with Pernambuco, Campinas (Rio de Janeiro), and lesser centers like Sergipe and Alagoas--was distinct from the economy of the south of Brazil. São Paulo, for example, was self-sufficient, buying little from abroad and having little to sell. Bahia and Pernambuco were almost completely dependent upon exchange with European markets, with Portugal acting as the middleman.

175 249 439 Economic Development from 1600 to 1850. By the middle of the seventeenth century most of the institutions discussed above existed in at least rudimentary form. They were nurtured by an expanding Brazilian commercial economy which enjoyed, for the moment, a virtual monopoly in sugar. Bahia was the leading province in Brazil in the export of both sugar and tobacco.[23] The production of these crops was centered almost entirely in the Recôncavo area of the state. The [567] tobacco was sent at first to Africa, in exchange for increasingly large numbers of slaves for the ever-greedy sugar industry. Slowly, however, a secondary market for Bahia tobacco developed in Europe. With few exceptions the sugar was marketed in Europe and at a high price. The engenhos of Bahia were the largest in Brazil, though still very small by modern standards.[24]

175 648 The development of the colony did not proceed smoothly. In the mid-seventeenth century Bahia was occupied for a brief period by the Dutch, but the development of the colony faltered only momentarily. On the other hand, the Dutch occupied Pernambuco and the north coast for a longer period. The subsequent transference of Dutch efforts to the West Indies was to have a profound effect upon the future of

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175 648 the Recôncavo, for they took with them a newly acquired knowledge of sugar cane cultivation.

175 167 567 The eighteenth century opened with a series of disasters for the region. When word of gold discoveries in Minas Gerais (1704) reached Bahia, an exodus began.[25] Slaves were sold at exorbitant prices, and often masters and slaves together went off to the mines. The colonial authorities took drastic steps to halt the flight, but [731] to no avail. The first quarter of the century ended with floods in the Recôncavo and the discovery of diamonds in the interior. There was a second exodus.[26]

175 171 249 In the meantime there were momentous developments in the West Indies. Sugar cane cultivation spread rapidly in the Antilles as the Netherlands and other northwestern European states which had been lucrative markets for Brazilian sugar began their own production in their respective West Indian colonies. In addition to the protected markets which the mother countries afforded, these new centers enjoyed sound economic and geographical advantages. As newcomers to the field of sugar production, the Antilles were free of both the antiquated equipment and the backward techniques which burdened Brazil, and they were closer to the major European markets.[27]

175 178 185 249 The Recôncavo was unable to counter these West Indian developments. In a century and a half of commercial development there had been few improvements in agricultural or industrial methods. There was no conservation of the soil. Only one variety of cane was known, and there was no attempt to develop improved strains. The mills continued to burn expensive wood rather than to use bagasse. Antique, low-yielding crushing mills continued to be used for extraction.[28]

175 249 178 439 At the end of the eighteenth century, however, developments abroad restored to the Recôncavo and to Brazil many of the advantages which it had formerly held in the international market. This

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175 inaugurated a brief "golden age" in the evolution of the Recôncavo.
178 The mythology which this age engendered is an integral part of the
249 social and economic patterns in the present day Recôncavo. The
439 collapse of the sugar economy in the West Indies, particularly in Santo Domingo in 1792, and the expanding urban markets in Europe had given, for a moment, a great opportunity to the sugar industry of Northeast Brazil. Moreover, an important supplementary market had developed in the mining areas of Minas Gerais. In the subsequent economic expansion to supply these markets, the Recôncavo became an even more important center of sugar production in Brazil.

175 The landed proprietors of the Recôncavo apparently took this
249 resurgence as a vindication of their economic system.
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> They squandered money like the fidalgos [landed, slave-holding aristocrats] that they were. They installed sumptuous dwellings and lived the life of a nobility. Each sugar factory was a community where hundreds of slaves were dedicated to extraction of wealth from the soil. Each of these communities achieved a merited importance. A little Agricultural World gyrated around the Big House, and the Chapel, with its Holy Administrator, [was] dedicated to the dissemination of Catholicism in the community. In time many of these "Engenhos" developed into villas, and were succeeded by the cities of today.
>
> Each of these "Engenhos," as these agricultural communities were called, produced everything that they consumed except luxury, and this was imported from Portugal in exchange for sugar, high-grade tobacco, cotton, and rare cabinet woods. The "Senhor" of the
[466] Engenho was a veritable Feudal Baron, with the power of life and death over his black and mestizo slaves. He exercised the right of torture and flogging in proportion to the offenses committed. These sugar Engenhos,
175 because of their collective and independent existence,
249 produced a pride of origin, an attachment to the soil,
471 that flowered into a hatred of the monarchial exploiters
565 and became the dominating factor in the movement for
[668] independence.
>
> The fidalgos were essentially a product of the land, and spent the major part of their luxurious existence on their estates, attended by innumerable slaves. Their homes were built upon a vast scale and equipped with every luxury known to so simple a people. They also

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175 249 565 [471] maintained splendid establishments, called Solars, in the Capital, to which they repaired in the winter season, June, July and August, for social diversion.[29]

[178] The above citation is characteristic of the present-day views of many upper-class Baianos who identify themselves with this opulent era of the Recôncavo social evolution. The mythology engendered by the colonial sugar industry is outliving the engenho system. The wealth, pride, and ostentation of these fidalgos is undeniable. Within the limits of the provincial social environment, upper-class life was luxurious indeed. Compared with the upper-class society of the period in Europe or in the American South, however, social opportunities in the Recôncavo must have been rather limited. The casas [342] grandes—if the surviving specimens can be taken as typical—generally were rather modest plantation houses. Transportation was difficult: [489] few engenhos had carriage roads, and travel was by horseback or [571] palanquin. Social intercourse often was restricted to an ingrown [484] local circle. Apparently many of the social needs of the upper class could not be met within the rural Recôncavo so that trips were made frequently to Salvador, Rio de Janeiro, and sometimes Paris.[30]

Little has been recorded of the way of life of the slaves and 175 249 poor freemen in the Recôncavo. It is significant that both apologists 567 and critics of slavery usually have agreed that the masters were relatively clement in the treatment of their slave laborers. These slaves were very valuable possessions, particularly after the British began to suppress the slave trade. Because absentee ownership and delegation of administration to people outside the family was not usual, the masters and slaves were perforce in daily contact. Out of these daily contacts between landholder and laborer, a relatively personal relationship was developed. Within the household, relation- [563] ships were even more familiar. In addition, some of the slaves were

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175 249 567 [563] the offspring of master and slave and sometimes were considered as members of the household.

A set of feudalistic inter-relations developed in the society, loosely defining the responsibilities and privileges of master and slave. Ideally the slave had the privilege, almost the right, to appeal to the master in person for assistance and advice. Manumission and the granting of the right to purchase freedom were common. At the [466] same time, the economic system was based upon involuntary labor. The slave was exploited, and the fruit of his toil went to maintain the luxurious existence of the small upper class.

175 565 [463] [554] The small freemen occupied a very inferior social and economic position in this society. In the cities they became tradesmen or craftsmen, occupations without status. In the country some were petty dependents of the engenho, others established themselves as small cultivators. Since the sugar cane plantations dominated the central Recôncavo, it seems reasonable to assume that the small holders were segregated mainly in the outer zone.

175 161 162 In 1819--during the florescence of the Recôncavo--the population of the comarca (district) of Bahia was 362,503. Most of this population was centered in the Recôncavo--200,000 in the lowlands north of the Bay--the sugar cane area--and 77,503 in the western uplands around Cachoeira--the tobacco area.[31] At this time the total population of Bahia was estimated at 592,908 and that of Brazil as between 175 633 162 4,000,000 to 4,500,000.[32] Salvador, with a population somewhere between 100,000 and 130,000, was the largest city in Brazil and remained so until 1830.[33] The class and ethnic composition of the 175 563 565 567 population of this period is not clearly indicated. By some estimates, over half of the population of Bahia was slave and over three-fifths

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was Negro. Other estimates state that less than one-third of the people were slaves.[34]

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Table IV, below, illustrates the economic organization of the sugar industry in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

TABLE IV

TOTAL CAPITAL INVESTMENT IN SUGAR ENGENHOS OF BAHIA IN 1833

	In U. S. Dollars*	
	Per Unit	Total Investment
603 mills	$2,500	$1,507,500
48,240 slaves	150	7,236,000
60,300 oxen	20	904,500
23,100 horses	20	464,500
78,800 ha. of agric. land	46 (approx)	3,618,000
38,528 ha. of forest	23 (approx)	884,000
47 steam engines	3,000	141,000
62 water canals	3,000	186,000
Improvements of each mill	2,000	1,206,000
Total in Bahia		$16,147,500

*Conversion at $500 per thousand of reis, after Calogeras, p. 47 in footnote.
Source: Amaral, II, 84 after the Marquez de Abrantes.

The usefulness of the above data is limited by the ambiguity of several of its categories. "Agricultural land" could be either land cultivated or cultivable. The most serious problem of interpretation is the meaning of "improvements," since the value of these improvements is relatively high. It is reasonably certain, from the nature of the engenho, that these improvements are not technological advances but only those simple measures necessary to maintain the traditional structure--warehouses, corrals, slave quarters, etc. If the value of the house of the senhor de engenho is included in this figure, this would help to account for the relatively high figure for improvements.

Nevertheless, the data do represent certain significant elements of the mid-nineteenth century sugar cane system of the Recôncavo. Almo

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175 249 471 454 45 per cent of the total investment was in slaves—labor costs, always high, had been driven up by the suppression of the slave trade. The relatively small proportion of steam mills is at once a reflection of the continuing primitive technology and a sign of the improvements which were to come later in the century. The value of production for [433] this year was $1,213,000--a return of 6.6 per cent on the capital investment.[35]

175 249 178 439 While the attention of the Baiano was focused on the sugar industry during this golden age, tobacco unobtrusively was becoming a primary commercial product. The suppression of the slave trade deprived tobacco of its African market, but at the same time the European market was expanding. The spread of cigar smoking in Europe created an increasing demand for Bahian leaf. Ultimately the European demand for quality leaf and the development of a Brazilian market for the poorer grades were to carry tobacco to the leading position among Bahia's commercial products.

175 433 249 To a very large degree, the mold of the colonial Recôncavo was fixed in the sixteenth century. Its socio-economic system was nurtured by the prosperous semi-monopoly of sugar production. While the south [565] of Brazil was a raw frontier zone of migratory agricultural adventurers, the Paulistas (natives of São Paulo) of early colonial times,[36] a stable and wealthy aristocratic society was developing in the Recôncavo. In [477] the early eighteenth century, when West Indies competition undermined the sugar monopoly, the Recôncavo might have responded creatively to the challenge, but failed to do so. The simultaneous mineral boom in Minas Gerais drained away the more experimental elements and left behind those who were less adventurous. Yet before the denial of markets had disrupted entirely the old economic and cultural pattern, the late eighteenth-early nineteenth century resurgence reaffirmed

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BB 175 249 433 the traditional values. As has been seen, the re-opening of the markets at first particularly benefited the Recôncavo.

NB 175 433 The developments in the Recôncavo were shared only partially by the other areas of the Brazilian Northeast. The colonial economy of Pernambuco, the second major center in the Northeast, was not nurtured NB EB [316] by a prosperity equal to that of Bahia. The booms in the mineral areas, which had a disruptive effect on the Recôncavo, apparently were less strongly felt in more-distant Pernambuco. In the south of Brazil, EB 175 433 316 241 neither Rio de Janeiro nor São Paulo shared in Bahia's colonial opulence until the nineteenth century. Moreover, the mining developments, which were a disturbing influence on Recôncavo society, had a stimulating effect on agriculture and trade in the South, especially in São Paulo. Although Minas Gerais attracted some settlers from the South, in the main the mineral development acted as a stimulant to agriculture. Thus the forces of colonial evolution in the Recôncavo were distinctive variants of those characteristic of the whole of Brazil.

BB 175 <u>The Last Hundred Years--1850 to the Present</u>. The series of external forces which contributed to the revival of the Recôncavo in the early nineteenth century were destined to sweep it from the main current of Brazilian development. The pressure of these outside events were apparent in the Recôncavo as early as 1825, but it was in the last half of the century that the region was relegated to the subordinate position which it occupies today.

B BB 175 567 648 [439] There is a historical connection between the events which first bestowed and later took away Recôncavo prosperity. The collapse in the West Indies sugar industry re-opened markets to Brazil, but it also ended England's economic interests in slavery. With no vested

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interest to deter her, Great Britain became in the nineteenth century the great anti-slavery force of the world. The British government began to press Brazil for a treaty to halt the slave trade. In 1826 a treaty was signed in which Brazil agreed to end the slave trade within four years. However, Brazil had just achieved its independence (1824), and the new national government was too weak to enforce the provisions of the treaty. After 25 years of bitter diplomatic exchanges with Great Britain, the Brazilian government succeeded in fulfilling its treaty obligations, and after 1852 almost no slaves were landed in Brazil.

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The end of the slave trade foreshadowed the end of slave labor in Brazil. The Northeast fought to preserve the system, but it was doomed not only as a result of extra-Brazilian pressures but also because of internal economic development. Just as in the eighteenth century the political capital had shifted from the North (Salvador) to the Central-South (Rio de Janeiro), so in the nineteenth century the economic center of gravity moved to São Paulo and adjacent Rio de Janeiro and Minas Gerais.[37] At first the developments in São Paulo imitated those of the Northeast, and a sugar industry employing traditional techniques was established. Almost immediately, however, the Central-South began to demonstrate an initiative unknown in the old sugar regions.

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At the beginning of the nineteenth century Bahia was exporting 12,000 tons of sugar, Pernambuco 8,400 tons, Rio de Janeiro 5,400 tons, and São Paulo 600 tons.[38] By mid-century Rio de Janeiro--chiefly Campos, near the mouth of the Rio Paraíba--was producing more sugar than any other province. In 1875, Rio de Janeiro was still the largest producer, with São Paulo second, Pernambuco third, and Bahia fourth. By the end of the century, São Paulo was the largest sugar

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By the end of the century, São Paulo was the largest sugar producer, chiefly supplying its own internal market, but also exporting in small quantity. The Recôncavo struggled to maintain even a poor fourth position.[39]

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The growth of the sugar industry in the South was not an isolated development but was one part of a general agricultural and economic expansion. The south of Brazil, which had gained new political power as a result of its expansion, began to press for abolition of slaves. Slave labor had not played a significant role in the south after 1850.

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In 1871 a law was passed providing for the gradual emancipation of slaves and the compensation of slave holders. The Northeast resisted bitterly but in vain. A new law passed in 1888 gave complete and immediate freedom to the slaves; and this law did not provide for compensation of the slave owners.

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The end of slavery threatened the Recôncavo in two ways. The suppression of the slave traffic destroyed the African trade in tobacco. The loss was soon more than compensated by the rapid expansion of the market for Bahian tobacco in Europe. By the 1870's tobacco surpassed sugar and became the chief export of Bahia. The effect of the emancipation on the sugar industry was much more far-reaching. The freeing of the slaves destroyed the labor base of sugar cultivation and processing. The gradual character of emancipation cushioned the blow somewhat, but it was still disastrous to the industry. Slaves left the plantations by the thousands, and there was no alternative source of labor. Sugar exports fell to a fourth of the pre-emancipation level. After a time the emancipated Negroes and mulattoes returned to the plantations and mills under a system of free labor. But Bahian sugar could not regain even a substantial part of its former importance.

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The world-wide expansion of sugar cane production, the development of the sugar beet, and the improvement of sugar technology had changed sugar from an expensive luxury to a relatively cheap semi-necessity. The sugar industry of the Recôncavo always had been based upon the production of small quantities of a high-value product. Only with great reluctance and considerable difficulty could it convert itself to cheap mass production.

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The Brazilian industry as a whole was unable to compete effectively in the international mass market. Brazilian exports in the early twentieth century dropped to one-half, even one-third of the nineteenth century level. At the London Conference in 1937, Brazil could claim as her quota only 1.6 per cent of the total international sugar trade.

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The Brazilian industry maintained itself behind a tariff wall. The more efficient and strategically located sugar areas of Campos (Rio de Janeiro) and São Paulo had access to growing local markets in the expanding Central-South. But Bahia had no sizable local market, and distance limited its access to the main Brazilian markets. Moreover, it was an inefficient, high-cost producer. Under these circumstances it could not compete in a free-market situation.

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For the sugar industry as a whole the difficulties of adjustment to the almost complete loss of foreign markets were increased by the necessity for sweeping technological reorganization.[40] Until the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Brazil's entire sugar production was manufactured in small and primitive <u>engenhos</u> which used the open pan method ~~and~~ produced dark, low-quality sugar. The development of the steam engine, vacuum pans, centrifuges, and filters had made possible a mill both larger and more efficient. Under the name of <u>engenho central</u> (central mill), the new industrial complex

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B 175 257 178 BB [178] was introduced in Brazil after 1870.[41] As might be expected, the more progressive Central-South led in the modernization of the industry. The Northeast, and especially Bahia, lagged behind--further evidence of Bahia's resistance to change.

BB 175 249 257 471 178 The technological revolution had two historical stages: (1) engenhos centrais, and (2) usinas,[42] both of which still are clearly identifyable in Bahia (as is their predecessor, the engenho stage). In the engenho central stage the mills purchased cane from fornecedores (suppliers). These suppliers were old engenho properties which no longer operated a mill. The resistance of the fornecedores to a strict scheduling of delivery and price soon caused dissatisfaction among the mill owners. They began to buy out the fornecedores and go into direct production of cane.[43] The source of cane is the basic distinction between the engenho central system and the usina system. Once the central mill grew most of its own cane, it became an usina and entered the second phase of the technological revolution. The sugar industry in the present-day Recôncavo is characterized by both systems. In practice the systems employed by the various sugar mills tend to include features characteristic of both types, and there is no stereotype. The existing systems in Bahia are distinct from those of the Central-South, where the usinas have largely replaced the engenhos centrais.

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NB BB 175 178 249 257 471 In the twentieth century, as in the nineteenth, the Recôncavo persisted in its monoculture and was reluctant to accept technological innovations in agriculture and industry. This conservatism was typical of most of the Northeast, but in Pernambuco the industry began simultaneously to intensify its monoculture and to modernize its industrial plant, and this state ultimately became the largest sugar producing state of Brazil.

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In the first quarter of the twentieth century this competition of the more efficient and centrally located sugar industry of the Central-South threatened to bankrupt the Northeast.[44] Because the nation feared that a collapse of the sugar economy in the Northeast would destroy the social and economic base of these states, steps were taken to stabilize the industry. In 1933 the Instituto de Açúcar e do Álcool (Institute of Sugar and Alcohol) was created as a semi-autonomous branch of the federal government. Its purpose was to stabilize prices, maintain an equilibrium of production through quotas, and to control foreign sale of sugar. The effect of this program has been to subsidize the less efficient industry of the Northeast at the expense of the industry of the Central-South.

NB EB 178 249 257 43 BB 178 249 257 433 B [433]

During World War II temporary disruption of the national production quota system allowed the Central-South to expand, an advance which it continued to maintain after the war. This expansion limited the markets available to the sugar industry of the Northeast. In Bahia the relative decline in sugar production, begun in the 1860's, continued steadily except for a break during and following World War I. In 1952 the mills of Bahia produced only 60,279 tons of (white) sugar of a total Brazilian production of 1,785,017 tons.[45]

BB 175 178 249 43 BB 175 277 472

While the sugar industry of the Recôncavo was losing markets in the initial half of the twentieth century, the tobacco industry was able to maintain and in some cases even to expand its markets. Although the maximum level of export of Brazilian tobacco was reached in 1902 (50,000 tons), the decline thereafter was only moderate, and the export was stabilized, except for World War II, at about 30,000 tons, 80 per cent of which was from Bahia. In 1865 the first cigarette factory in Bahia had been founded.[46] Small operators had produced cigars for some time, but by the beginning

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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BB 175 177 272 472 of the twentieth century there were four cigarette factories and twelve cigar factories in the Recôncavo.[47]

As was characteristic for other products in Brazil, a semi-autonomous government organization was set up to stabilize the tobacco industry in Bahia—the Instituto Bahiano do Fumo (Bahian Institute of Tobacco). Founded in 1935, the Instituto attempts to stimulate the production and improvement of techniques and quality, supervise marketing through a grading system, set minimum prices, and control export of leaf tobacco. Although the Instituto has not succeeded in changing significantly the techniques of the tobacco industry, it has been reasonably successful in maintaining production and price.

BB 647 249 654 655

Just as Bahia had been displaced from its leading position within Brazil, so in turn was the Recôncavo displaced from its exalted position within the state. Tobacco replaced sugar as Bahia's leading commercial product in the nineteenth century, but forfeited its position to cacao in the twentieth century. The replacement of sugar by tobacco was primarily a shift within the Recôncavo, but the rise of cacao brought to the fore Bahia's southern coast. In one sense, however, the Recôncavo retained its old centrality—Salvador remains today the leading political and economic focus of the state, even for the cacao trade.

BB 175 178 249 245

The continued importance of the Recôncavo in Bahia has been partially the result of the vested interests of the sugar and tobacco systems. In addition, the Recôncavo remains today the leading center of population in Bahia, despite its relative decline. In 1872 the Recôncavo had at least 450,000 out of a total state population of 1,379,616. Thereafter the position of the Recôncavo declined, so that by 1940 only one-fourth of the almost four million people of the state lived in this region. However, the compact population

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Supplementary Crops
(Subsistence and Commercial):

Pineapple (Abacaxi)	168 hectares
Rice (Arroz)	61 "
Tomatoes (Tomate)	46 "
White Potatoes (Batata inglêsa)	44 "
Cotton (Algodão)	40 "
Onions (Cebola)	14 "
Garlic (Alho)	5 "
Green or Snap Beans (Fava)	4 "

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On the basis of the above figures, the total cultivated land in the Recôncavo in 1948 was about 80,000 hectares. In addition to the above, there are a number of tree crops, not cultivated in the true sense, which are important in the agricultural complex. More often than not these "crops" are of spontaneous origin.

[192]

African Oil Palm (Dendê)
Mango (Manga)
Jack Fruit (Jaca)
Cashew (Caju)
Bread Fruit (Fruta de pão)

231 The following animals are important in the livestock economy of the Recôncavo:

[192]

Cattle (Bovinos)
  Cows (Vacas)
  Oxen (Bois de trabalho)
Sheep (Ovinos)
Goats (Caprinos)
Swine (Suinos)
Donkeys (Asinino or Burros)
Mules (Muares)
Horses (Equinos or Cavalos)

These animals will be discussed in the chapter on animal industry (Chapter VII).

244 Manioc. Manioc was one of the most important cultivated plants which the Portuguese colonists borrowed from the Indians of Brazil.

[175] Flour made from the manioc root, farinha de mandioca, was the basic
[262] subsistence food of the colonial sugar economy and remains today the
[178] principal element of the diet of much of the Brazilian lower class.
[565] Manioc production is most notable along the coast of Brazil, from the
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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 Rope tobacco, fumo em corda, is a twist of sweetened, fermented tobacco of rope-like appearance which is smoked in pipes or in hand-made cigarettes or may be used as a chewing tobacco—however, the habit of chewing tobacco is not common in the Recôncavo. This type of tobacco originally was produced for exchange in the slave trade, but at the present time it is consumed almost exclusively by the rural lower class. The urban lower class, formerly also consumers of rope tobacco, are turning increasingly to manufactured cigarettes, which for the most part are made from the tobacco grown in Rio Grande do Sul.

[115] [439] [567] [565]

In general the production of leaf tobacco in Brazil is restricted to the Recôncavo and adjacent sections of Bahia, but rope tobacco is a product of the sertão of Bahia and the northeastern interior and of Minas Gerais. In Bahia the moderate rainfall and the sandy soils of the humid edge of the crystalline zone, in areas of caatinga or mata vegetation, produce a relatively mild leaf. The best—most valuable—leaf of Bahia is the Mata grade of the Southwestern Recôncavo and certain adjacent municípios.[14] Of the Mata grade, the highest quality comes from Cruz das Almas. Rope tobacco is made primarily from the harsh, strong leaves grown in the sertão, but it is made also from leaves of poorer plants or very strong end-of-season leaves of plants originally harvested for fumo em fôlha. Thus the Recôncavo may sometimes produce small quantities of rope tobacco, but the main Bahian production is north of the Recôncavo in the agreste, especially in Inhambupe and Entre Rios.

The cultivation of tobacco will be discussed in the chapter on agricultural systems (Chapter VI), but one singular characteristic of its harvesting should be borne in mind in evaluating production statistics. In distinction to cultivation of quality tobacco in most other parts of the world, Bahia-Brasil is harvested repeatedly until

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1

B 249 433 Sugar cane is the fifth or sixth--depending upon the year--most valuable crop grown in Brazil, and it is cultivated, at least on a small scale, in all states of the country. Large scale commercial production, however, is confined to two areas--the Central-South (São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Minas Gerais) and the Northeast (Paraíba, Pernambuco, Alagoas, and Bahia). Each of these states produced over one million tons of cane in 1948.

B BB 249 175 177 In distinction to the principal subsistence crops of the Recôncavo, sugar cane is an old world domesticate. The variety acquired by the Portuguese from the Arabs in North Africa and brought to the colony via the Madeira Islands was the sole type cultivated during most of the colonial period, but today a number of varieties of East or West Indian origin are grown.

BB 249 Sugar cane is differentiated from other crops of the Recôncavo by the intensive monocultural character of its production. Tobacco and manioc and corn and beans are grown jointly, but sugar cane shares the land with no other crop. North of the cidade of Santo Amaro there is BB [134] [133] an extensive area of clay soils and undulating plain almost completely blanketed in bright green sugar cane. The monochrome is interrupted only by a few pastured valley bottoms or by the widely scattered usinas (sugar mills), plantation settlements, and villages. There are similar, though less extensive landscapes wherever sugar cane is important in other parts of the Recôncavo.

The system of cultivation of sugar cane is also very different from those employed in producing other crops in the Recôncavo. One planting is sufficient for several reasons, for the stalk re-develops from the root after the plant is harvested, though with progressively declining vigor. In Bahia, three, four, or five harvests from the

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 The physical setting of the tobacco and manioc region is distinc-
244 tive in terms of the particular combination of topography, soils, climate,
311
13 and vegetation which are joined along its crescent axis. The region lies along the semi-circular edge of the interior upland, overlooking the Bay and the Coastal Plain. In the south the fields of manioc and tobacco occupy the upper surfaces of the Crystalline Uplands and the adjacent Intermediate Hills. In the north, cultivation shifts to the summits and upper slopes of the Intermediate Hills, although there is some concentration on the extreme southern edge of the taboleiros. Thus the region occupies the deep flat-lying residual crystalline soils in the south but in the Tertiary soil zone to the north follows the slope lands where there is more rainfall and perhaps better local soils. The close correspondence of this region with the forest and scrub-forest transition has been repeatedly emphasized. A traverse across the tobacco-manioc region anywhere between Conceição do Almeida and Feira de Santana takes one from rough hills with at least scattered patches of broadleaf evergreen forest to flat uplands with cactus, thorny brush, and licuri palms.

249 A comparison of the map of population (Map 21) and of the rela-
244 tionship of tobacco and manioc cultivation (Map 75) points up the neces-
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161 sity for local sources of basic subsistence products. In the Southwest,
361 where rural populations are relatively dense and where there are a number of large villages and towns, manioc tends to be cultivated over a greater area than does tobacco. In the tobacco-manioc region north of the Rio Paraguaçu, where tobacco is usually the leading crop, the density of rural population is lower, and there are no towns and only
[438] a few large villages. Thus there is close relationship between the relative intensity of manioc and the size of the local market.

175 The recent historical pattern of agriculture in the tobacco-manioc
249
244 region can be reconstructed only on a general level. Cachoeira, which

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 Cachoeira, which
178 formerly included most of the western part of the region, was the center
249 of the production of tobacco for use in the slave trade. The growth of
[567] the trade in leaf tobacco in the nineteenth century brought great changes
[439] to the region, for it made tobacco a major commercial product in its own right, no longer dependent upon the slave trade. Eventually this development gave the region of tobacco production a greater economic importance than the sugar cane region, although it remained subordinate in political and social influence. The development of the new tobacco economy also gave the region a greater superiority over the sertão, which could satisfactorily produce fumo em corda, but could grow only the poorest grades of fumo em fôlha.

174 Probably the tobacco-manioc region supplied manioc as the sub-
244 sistence food of the sugar economy, since it is the only nearby area
249 which was a center of manioc production. Perhaps manioc was produced
433 in the sugar cane zone, but in view of the intensity of sugar cane cultivation, this seems doubtful. In any case, the present relative level of manioc production in this crop region probably dates from the nineteenth century development of cigar tobacco production.

249 The second basic crop region of the Recôncavo is the sugar cane
311 monocultural area. It is sub-divided into a major zone, in Santo Amaro, São Sebastião, and São Francisco; a minor zone in Cachoeira; and an outlier in São Filipe. It is estimated that in the first two zones 90 per cent of the cropland was in cane in 1948. In the São Filipe outlier of the sugar cane region the proportion seems to have been lower--perhaps 50 per cent of the cultivated area.

[13] The physical association of the sugar cane region north of the Rio Paraguaçu and the Bay is relatively simple--a humid and formerly forested undulating plain composed of mixed Cretaceous soils--massapê, salão, and areia. In São Filipe the land is rougher, but the sugar cane is grown upon heavy soils similar to the Cretaceous series.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 471 433 these individual shortcomings of the industry are less important than, and to a certain extent derived from, three basic problems of the sugar economy: land, market, and leadership.

249 [311] Most of the area of Cretaceous soil in the lowlands of the Recôncavo presently is occupied by sugar cane or by the fallow fields. Only those lands which are too wet or which are needed for settlement, mills, or transportation are not used for cultivation. Thus there seems to be little opportunity to increase the area of good sugar cane land. It would presumably be possible to reduce the fallow period by lengthening the period of ratoon harvests or to abandon the fallow period altogether. If, as seems likely, these changes would reduce the yield of cane, then it would be necessary to begin to use expensive imported fertilizers in order not to lose the advantages gained by increasing [242] the intensiveness of cultivation. The introduction of high-yielding Javanese varieties of cane has already been attempted, but because of climatic conditions, soil deficiencies, poor cultivation practices, or a combination of these factors, yields remain below East Indian levels. [134] It is theoretically possible that sugar cane cultivation could be extended to the other soils of the lowland--the Tertiary sandy soils and the crystalline soils of the peninsula and of the Intermediate Hills west of the Bay. Both of these soils, however, are relatively infertile, and the sandy soils are particularly unsuited for cane because of their poor retention of water. Sugar cane cultivation is not practical on the Uplands on account of the low precipitation--cane can be grown in only a few damp valleys of the Uplands.

175 249 439 The second great disadvantage of the sugar cane industry of the Recôncavo is in its market relationship. The history of the sugar cane economy of the region may be summarized as follows. At the end of the sixteenth century the forty engenhos of the Recôncavo exported 1,800 tons

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 439 [175] of sugar to Europe. This 1,800 tons of sugar was probably a very large part of the total world trade in sugar at that time. In 1948 the twenty usinas of the region exported 8,497 tons of sugar to the rest of Brazil, primarily to Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. In this year the total international trade in sugar was about twelve million tons. Moreover, the Recôncavo was able to sell in the Brazilian market only by virtue of the support which has been given to the sugar industry of the Northeast by the Brazilian government. The European market has long been lost to the Recôncavo, and the chances of regaining any substantial part of it are not good--not only on account of the low level of efficiency of the Bahian sugar industry but also because of the local and foreign sources of sugar against which it would have to compete in the European market.

249 565 178 571 The third problem of the sugar industry is leadership, which is to say the problem of the Bahian upper class. The development of the sugar economy and of the aristocratic upper class of the Reconcavo are practically inseparable, and the decline of the former is in part a reflection of the inability of the latter to provide intelligent and progressive leadership. The institutions which were developed in the opening century of colonization for the production of sugar succeeded altogether too well as far as the region is concerned, for since then the industry has not succeeded in establishing a new pattern in conformity with the changing systems of technology and the new competitive situation. A century of failure either to develop an efficient sugar industry or to find new sources of income for the sugar area is a sign of the continuing failure of the upper class. More and more the leadership of the sugar industry is passing from the artistocrats to the new segment of the upper class, the agricultural capitalists. In most cases these men seem to have a broader view of the problems of the

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 industry than the aristocrats, as the partial rationalization of the
565 sugar system since 1900 testifies. However, the entry of even these
178 relatively progressive and forward-looking business men into an indus-
571 try whose only future is that guaranteed by the protection of the gov-
ernment does not reveal a willingness either to accept short-term risks
or to make an investment in the long-term future of the Recôncavo.

175 Tobacco, as has been seen, began its history as an auxiliary of
277 the sugar cane economy. The development of the commercial tobacco
433 economy since 1800 indicates a greater flexibility than is characteristic
439 of the sugar industry. When the decline of the slave trade brought an
[567] end to the African market for fumo em corda, the tobacco economy turned
277 to a new product, fumo em fôlha, and to a new market, Europe. Unlike
439 the sugar of the Recôncavo, Bahian tobacco has been able to compete
successfully in the European market against leaf imported from Cuba and
from Sumatra. Moreover, the leaf tobacco of Bahia dominates the internal
market of Brazil to a degree not equaled by the local sugar industry
for several centuries.

There are several possible explanations for the relatively
277 greater flexibility of the tobacco economy. Several of the more promi-
472 nent firms in the manufacturing of cigars and in the export of tobacco
249 have foreign origins or are owned by people of European background.
178 Indirectly these firms may have affected the operation of the tobacco
economy, but it is difficult to find any signs of significant changes
in the methods of cultivation. On the other hand, the tobacco industry
and trade seem to have been spared the unimaginative and inflexible
leadership which the aristocratic upper class of the Recôncavo has
given to the sugar industry.

249 Tobacco cultivation by its very nature is more flexible than
[457] the system of sugar production. Instead of the usina, which must be

1. Sugar Country

THE REGION of Brazil in which this study was made is a small area in the state of Bahia called the Recôncavo. This is the land surrounding the Bay of All Saints, a fertile basin extending inland no more than 40 kilometers at the most. Situated on a high bluff overlooking the entrance to the Bay of All Saints is Salvador, the capital of the state of Bahia, generally referred to as Bahia, or "the capital," or simply "the city." After Salvador was settled in 1549, the colonization of the Recôncavo proceeded at a rapid rate. Since early in the colonial period, the Recôncavo has been divided into three distinct areas: a southern area devoted mainly to the raising of manioc, the food staple of much of Brazil; a western section devoted to the cultivation of tobacco; and a northern and eastern area, given almost exclusively to large-scale sugar-cane monoculture. This study was made in the third zone, the one producing sugar cane. 101 [133] [361]

The region, which can be called the "sugar-Recôncavo," partakes of the long tradition of sugar-cane growing which formed the basis for the early colonization of Brazil. A narrow strip of land along the northeast coast of Brazil in what are now the states of Pernambuco, Sergipe, Alagoas, and Bahia was the focus of the economic, political, and social life of the entire colony. This region, under the colonization of the Portuguese, produced a large part of the world's sugar supply at a time when sugar was a great luxury in Europe. The northeast coast of Brazil became an exceedingly prosperous part of the colony early in its history. Salvador, in Bahia, and Recife, in Pernambuco, became the most impor- 175 ● 311 ★ 249

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[249] tant centers of colonial life, and until 1763 Salvador was the capital of the Portuguese colony.

The Recôncavo helped to make Brazil a unique part of the Portuguese empire in the sixteenth century. Brazil was different from any of the other Portuguese colonies, for its wealth proved to lie in agriculture rather than in trade, as
133 was the case in India and Africa. The Bay of All Saints, with a circumference of 200 kilometers, is in effect an inland sea,
[361] the entrance to which can be guarded from the heights on which the city of Salvador is situated. There are a number of picturesque islands throughout the bay, with good beaches and landing facilities. Many small rivers empty into the bay, and numerous creeks navigable at high tide extend further inland
[487] along its shores. The presence of such a large network of navigable waters was an important factor in the rapid development of the Recôncavo, providing easy and inexpensive transportation of sugar to the point of shipment to Europe.

132 The climate is semitropical, with two seasons. Summer, from September to sometime in March, is relatively dry, dotted by showers and thunderstorms and cooled by fresh breezes blowing in from the Atlantic. Winter begins in April, lasting until August or September, the exact time of change differing from year to year. This season is marked by continued rain, usually a soft, constantly falling drizzle or light rain, interspersed with heavy showers, as front after front moves in from the Atlantic, dropping its moisture before being pushed upward by the abruptly rising land which surrounds the Recôncavo. According to statistics for the years 1914 to 1938, the months of minimum rainfall are October, November, and December; during this time the average rainfall was 11.81 inches. The period of maximum rainfall is April, May, and June, with an average of 35.83 inches for the three-month period. The yearly average from 1914 to 1938 was 65.93 inches.[1] The temperature range is from 70 to 90 degrees Fahrenheit.

134 The soil of the Recôncavo, especially that of the sugar-Recôncavo, is extraordinarily fertile. It is a heavy black soil, known as massapê, approximately 6 inches to 2 feet thick, covering a clayey subsoil, known locally as tauá. Here and there are outcroppings of sand and mixtures of sand with clay.

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1. Atlas pluviometrico do Brasil (Rio de Janeiro, 1914-1938).

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1967 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

2. *History of the Town*

A STRANGER newly arrived in the town of Vila Recôncavo might justifiably question the reasons for its existence, since it almost seems to be an island in a vast sea of sugar cane. The daily life of the town dwellers, who are fishermen, artisans, and county officials, apparently has little to do with the rural area. In order to understand the separateness of the town and the rural area, it is necessary to investigate the history of both. For, although Vila Recôncavo now appears to be sharply cut off from the life of the plantations and the sugar mill, it has been in the past closely bound up with the fortunes of the rural landowners and is still directly affected by the rural area.

The history of this area began during the governorship of Mem de Sá, which lasted from 1557 to 1574. Mem de Sá was the third governor general of the new Portuguese colony of Brazil. The capital of the colony was the city of Salvador, which was settled successfully in 1549 in the second of two attempts. By the time of Mem de Sá, the back part of the Bay of All Saints remained to be wrested from the Indians to complete the colonization of the Recôncavo, a task to which he dedicated himself and which he accomplished in a few years. As new areas were conquered, the land was divided among the favored few in the form of land grants (sesmarias). Mem de Sá took as his own land grant three and a half leagues of coastline extending four leagues inland, plus two islands. The eastern tip of this land grant is now Vila Recôncavo, and the remainder falls into the county of Purificação. Mem de Sá erected one of the largest and best plantations of the colony here, which "he esteemed as much for its value and income

175 as with pride and love for having made it appear from untamed wilds."[1] After his death the land passed to his son, who died shortly after and left the property to his sister, the Countess of Linhares and wife of Fernando Noronha. Noronha died not too long after, and his wife remarried, again becoming a widow and also losing her own children. At her death in 1618, what had not already been sold of the land was bequeathed to various religious organizations.[2]

It was reported in 1587 that there were fourteen plantations in the area that later became the county of Vila Recôncavo.[3] In 1591 the Franciscans went through the Recôncavo, looking for a place to build a convent. They established a "small hospice" in 1618 on what is now plantation "N" (see map of community). This hospice lasted only two years, for in 1620 the friars returned to Salvador.[4] In 1624 the Franciscans returned to the town, selected a spot of high ground on the shoreline overlooking the Bay of All Saints, and started to construct a chapel and convent. At this time Gaspar dos Reis Pinto was in possession of plantation "N," which included the area chosen by the Franciscans for their construction. In 1633 Gaspar gave 143 square braças (1 braça=6 ft.) to the religious order.[5] With the founding of the convent, the town of Vila Recôncavo received a major impulse, becoming a nucleus for further development.

175 The seventeenth century saw a period of great expansion in
161 the Recôncavo--the erection of many plantations and the in-
567 crease of population, mainly due to the importation of great
634 numbers of African slaves. During this period the first two formal administrative divisions of the Recôncavo were organized. In Vila Recôncavo, a military district created in 1668 was the first formal unit. Troubles with the Dutch in the
712 early part of the century and continuing invasions and sack-
175 ings by pirates led to the necessity of fortifying appropriate
634 places in the Recôncavo, such as the mouths of rivers emp-
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1. J. Wanderley de Araujo Pinho, Testamento de Mem de Sá (Rio de Janeiro, 1941), p. 33.
2. Ibid., p. 19.
3. Gabriel Soares de Sousa, Noticias do Brasil (São Paulo, n.d.), I, Book I, 282.
4. de Araujo Pinho, Testamento de Mem de Sá, p. 54.
5. Ibid.

175 634 713 726 [706]

tying into the Bay, to protect the plantations situated on river banks, a location in all other respects ideal for sugar mills. Vila Recôncavo was chosen as the site for a battery in 1668 and was given guns and men. It was also necessary to maintain a small fleet of armed ships to help repel pirates. One side of the hill on which the convent is situated, which overlooks the Bay and lies directly at the mouth of the river coming from Centro, is still called the Battery in remembrance of the days when it was part of the old fortifications.

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The second formal administrative unit to be formed was that of the county of Vila Recôncavo. Until 1693 Salvador was the only judicial and legislative center in Bahia. Because of development in the Recôncavo it was thought necessary at this time to create three vilas in the area, this being the term then applied to the administrative centers of counties. Thus in February of 1698 Vila Recôncavo became one of the first organized counties (municipios) in the Recôncavo, a transformation which made it the center of much activity as it was now the seat of local rural government, tax collecting, and justice. Since its creation the county of Vila Recôncavo has shrunk in size as new counties have been established in the Recôncavo. Vila Recôncavo lost part of its land, until in 1945 it retained only 189 square kilometers, less than half its original area.

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Prior to either military or civil divisions, there had already existed religious divisions, or parishes. The parish of São Gonçalo included the town of Vila Recôncavo and much of the hinterland. The mother church (matriz) of the parish was constructed in the town in 1678. It was reconstructed in 1887 by the third Baron of Vila Recôncavo, at which time it had fallen into such disrepair that the reconstruction was a complete renovation. This was done in great simplicity, blotting out most of the former ornateness. Today it is again in need of repair as the plaster is falling off, exposing the still solid stone and cement construction of three-foot-thick walls. Most of the wood in the altars, floors, and inner partitions is rotting away. The outside has turned black from the action of the salt air on the whitewash. For more than forty years the parish has been unable to support a priest, and the duties of caring for the spiritual needs of the parishioners has fallen upon the Franciscans. The church is opened now only for Mass on Sundays, and for occasional missions and weddings throughout the year. [793]

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In 1718 the chapel of the Franciscan convent was replaced

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346 by a large and sumptuous church, in which the first Mass was celebrated in 1722. The magnificence of the church is still present, although the original altars have been replaced by
[532] new ones. Exquisite tiles depicting the life of St. Anthony, to whom the church is dedicated, line the sides of the church. The floors are of marble, and the wooden ceilings are painted
[322] in oils. It is said that the marble and the painted ceilings were brought from Portugal. The woodwork in the choir loft and
[805] sacristy is beautiful hand-worked rosewood. The clock in the bell tower which rings the hour and half-hour is still the town timepiece, its sound reaching far out over the Bay. Under the marble floor, between the altar and the communion rail, are
[764] the tombs of the early families of Vila Recôncavo. The names inscribed on the tombs constitute a roster of families now scattered throughout the nation.

175 It is not known exactly when the Tertiary Order of Franciscans was first formed in Vila Recôncavo, but it too has left
792 its mark on the face of the town, for it constructed another large church and two-story building at the side of the convent.
346 The chronicler of the convent in the early 1900's wrote:

> Of the epoch of the formation of the Tertiary Order and the construction of the church and buildings nothing remains, not a document exists, with the exception of one book, consisting of the elections, offices, and resolutions of the Order. This book was begun in 1853 and ended in 1866. On the ceiling of the church appears the date 1751, in white paint, which seems to be of the original workmanship, and at the side of it can be seen in black paint "repaired in 1844." The lands of the Order are known only through the tradition of the people, since no document exists.[6]

If the date 1751 can be taken as the date of the construction of the church of the Tertiary Order, it can be assumed that the Order existed in Vila Recôncavo some time before this date, at least early in the 1700's. These additions to the convent were the last of the noble constructions in the town of Vila Recôncavo and took place at the end of the town's flourishing period. They were the last public expression of grandeur in the

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6. Author's translation.

county and among the first to fall into decline and extinction in the days following the sugar boom. The remaining buildings of the Order are now used for quite a different purpose, which will be discussed later.

The first half of the eighteenth century saw the final flourishing of Vila Recôncavo and the beginning of its fall into obscurity. By 1700 the town was a thriving urban center--the newly created seat of local government, a military post, a highly active religious center, and the scene of the local courts of justice. In addition to large public buildings, imposing private residences dotted the streets, for many of the plantation owners constructed large houses in the town, which they used as stopping places in their journeys to and from their plantations and Salvador. Then as now, however, Vila Recôncavo was not the main center of attraction for the planters and their families, most of whom had houses in the capital where they spent the rainy seasons. Nevertheless, the presence of their large and ornate town houses gave a certain air of distinction and prosperity to the town.

The story of the decline of the town of Vila Recôncavo is symptomatic of what happened to many other towns in the region at a later date. Vilhena connects the decadence of Vila Recôncavo with the creation of the administrative center of Centro in 1727.[7] Until that time Centro had been a sitio (terminal designation for a small town), created in 1608. Toward the end of the seventeenth century the best lands of the Recôncavo, situated in what is now the county of Purificação, came into use as a result of the cessation of Indian attacks and of improvement in the machinery used in the plantations. Sugar mills powered by water no longer held as great an advantage as they had previously; over a hundred years of sugar-cane operation had pretty well stripped the littoral of the firewood necessary for continued high production; and by this time the coastal regions no longer held room for expansion. As the colonists pushed farther inland from Centro they found an abundance of the rich massapê lands and sufficient firewood for the needs of many plantations, and soon the number of inland sugar mills surpassed that of the coast.

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7. Luis dos Santos Vilhena, Noticias soteropolitanas e brasilicas, 1802, ed. Braz do Amaral (Salvador, 1922), p. 502.

438 Centro, situated on the banks of a navigable river which
175 empties into the Bay in front of the town of Vila Recôncavo,
361 was in a good position to serve the entire back region of the
Recôncavo. As a county it now comprises 1,180 square kilo-
(634) meters. As a port, Centro served two purposes in the early
(131) eighteenth century. A great deal of produce and many persons
passed through it, including the families of sugar-cane grow-
(504) ers from other regions of the Recôncavo; and it also served
as a "gateway to the West" at a time when western Bahia and
Minas Gerais were being opened and the gold and diamond
rushes were in progress. Centro was the end of navigable
(487) waters and the beginning of one of the overland routes lead-
ing to the uplands of the sertão and the mining areas of the
(634) west. As Centro grew, Vila Recôncavo stagnated. In 1833
Centro was made judicial center (cabeça de comarca) of the
district and Vila Recôncavo became part of this judicial dis-
trict, thereby losing its prominence as the center of juris-
diction for the interior zone of the Recôncavo. Commercially,
Vila Recôncavo was soon overshadowed by Centro. In 1802,
Vilhena wrote:

> . . . In Centro there is a great deal of commerce, because of the amount of sugar, tobacco, and the number of distilleries and of Mineiros [miners and people from the state of Minas Gerais] who arrive there. Continuing along the bank of the river one finds Vila Recôncavo, which in spite of enough sugar passing through it, always had a weak commerce, and the town is known among all the others as the town of the least traffic.[8]

He says later:

175 In spite of its antiquity, Vila Recôncavo has few in-
361 habitants, and most of them poor, although through-
438 out the termo there are many good families of noble
433 people, rich through the products of their large engen-
hos, from which they take much and excellent sugar,
the only commerce of that town; in it also there is fish-
ing for a little sardinelike fish called xangó and a large
quantity of good and large shrimp, which is the main

8. Ibid., Letter I, p. 32 (author's translation).

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilian SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

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occupation of the poor people, who sell them after drying in the city of Salvador. . . .[9]

In 1837 Centro officially became a city, and for another hundred years it was the major commercial point of the sugar-Recôncavo. Gradually, however, it fell into the same pattern of decline which continues today in so much of the Recôncavo. In the 1900's a railroad was constructed from Salvador to Feira de Santana; it passed well back of Vila Recôncavo, missing it so far as to be of no aid whatsoever. Although it passed through Centro, the terminal point, Feira, became more important commercially to the state and became the new gateway to the north, west, and south of the state and of the nation. Although Centro is now a large town with a population of some ten thousand people and a weekly market which attracts people from the countryside and the neighboring towns, this is not enough to sustain it. Its port is now comparatively little used for the export of sugar, which in most cases goes directly to Salvador by train from the factories.

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The immediate cause for the decay of the town of Vila Recôncavo, and to a great extent that of Centro and of so many other older towns, was the loss of functions after the period of frontier growth. Those towns which had been religious centers lost this function. Military posts were no longer needed, and administrative activities became more restricted as the counties were cut down in size and as the state and federal governments took over more functions, such as schools and health programs. Railroads and trucks have lately reduced the importance of the port towns. The rural towns no longer interest the wealthy rural aristocracy who always dominated and supported them. More rapid transportation has made it possible for this class to move about from plantation or factory to the town or the city and back in one day instead of three, thus removing the need for a town house in which to spend the night. Better transportation has also made it possible for the other classes to go to Salvador easily for shopping, medical purposes, festivals, and visiting. Thus Salvador, because of its nearness and the relative ease of transportation, has taken on many of the functions of the rural

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9. Ibid., Letter XIII, p. 501 (author's translation).

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

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county seats, functions which they would still fulfill if they were farther removed from the state capital.

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Finally, and perhaps most important of all, there has been a population shift in the last half century. New centers of population and industry have appeared in the Recôncavo, and there has been a refocusing of commercial activity but no accompanying administrative reform. The old towns, such as Vila Recôncavo, have remained as county seats to carry on administrative duties and the pretense of being the center of municipal activity. Official statistics indicate a great predominance of rural inhabitants in the Recôncavo. Actually, however, much of the population lives in towns. Although these centers are not officially called towns, their pattern of living is urban and not rural. For example, the district of Richão in the county of Purificação reported in the 1940 census 442 urban and suburban inhabitants, and 9,369 rural inhabitants. This gives no indication of the existence of a large factory town which contains almost nine thousand people.

The older towns may in the long run prove to be more permanent than the newer centers, which for the most part are factory towns, for it is possible that some day in the future the factories may close, causing a complete dislocation. In the meantime towns such as Vila Recôncavo are left out of the new developments, without industry or commerce except what can be done on a small scale, such as fishing or the weekly market. Still known as the formal centers of their counties or districts, they retain their local bureaucratic functions.

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Until the second half of the nineteenth century, the county was the principal community organization, and the town of Vila Recôncavo was the major center of attraction for its county. However, because of developments in the sugar industry, this older community structure began to change. These developments, which will be described in the next chapter, had the effect of further isolating the town of Vila Recôncavo from the main streams of life revolving about the sugar industry, which has always been the major feature of life in the Recôncavo. New developments in the industry caused new community alignments, the end results of which have been to leave the formal administrative centers, such as the town of Vila Recôncavo, out of rural community life to a very great degree. In the next chapter the history of the rural area will be discussed, linking together the town and the rural area.

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SC11 Bahia Brazilians SC11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

3. History of the Rural Area

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THE HISTORY of the development of the rural area of Vila Recôncavo is more or less representative of that of most of the sugar area in the states of Bahia, Alagoas, and Pernambuco, and consists of two major aspects. It is first of all the history of the sugar-cane industry in Brazil, and secondly the social, economic, and political record of the people who grew the cane.

The Bahian Recôncavo occupies a unique position in Brazil, for its history is as long as that of what is today the nation. From 1549 until 1763 Salvador was the capital of the new and prosperous Portuguese colony. The Recôncavo, because of its proximity to Salvador, and because of the excellent transportation facilities provided by the Bay of All Saints, was the only part of Brazil in easy communication with the capital city. Although the governors general were occupied with the settlement of other far-flung places in the colony and with the raiding and pirating of the French, English, and Dutch, their first or at least closest worries were those of settling and exploiting Bahia and its immediate environs. By the end of the first fifty years of activity, most of the Recôncavo had been wrested from the wilderness; and, although not free from molestation by the Indians for many more years, it was rapidly planted in sugar cane. As noted earlier, sugar at this time was a luxury item in Europe and brought a very high price. In the first century of its cultivation sugar cane made the fortunes of many people: the growers, the middlemen, the slavers, and the colonial governors.

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At the start of the colonial period land was given out in the form of grants which originally carried with them the idea of

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423 the responsibility of holders to colonize and develop their
* 249 areas. The grants were as a rule very large, consisting of leagues of land rather than of acres. Only one grant could be made to a family. As a result the son of a man who was a holder of a grant either had to remain on his father's land or had to leave the province and go elsewhere to acquire land.
[425] The only remaining alternative was to forget about land and go into commerce or a profession. However, since the grants were so very large, the original holders were able to break them up, selling or renting parts, giving some to their married sons or daughters and yet retaining and cultivating enough to support themselves. Thus the original land grants were broken up, and several plantations were made of each.

175 Engenho was the name given to the total plantation, as well
* 249 as being the specific designation for the mill itself. Every
313 plantation, regardless of whether it was inland or on the coast, needed two things: the soil known as massapé, and woods as close as possible to the mill to supply firewood for boiling the
[185] sugar-cane juice. Firewood soon became a crucial problem, one which has haunted the sugar industry for centuries. Conservation never was a Brazilian practice, and the tropical forests of the Recôncavo were soon stripped to feed the hun-
[435] gry mouths of the furnaces. As time went on it became necessary to import firewood by boat from wherever it could be
[376] found, which added greatly to the costs of producing sugar. The steam mill came much later and added further to the problem.

175 At first the owner's house was a veritable fort, surrounded
* 249 by bulwarks and stockades to resist Indian attacks, but by the end of the seventeenth century the need for this precaution had
342 passed away and the plantation houses were assuming noble
361 proportions. Many were imposing two-story buildings built of stone and mortar, the ground level generally being used as a storehouse and the master (senhor de engenho) and his family living on the upper floor. As a rule the Big House of the Recôncavo was situated so that there would be an excellent view from the windows, not only of the mill and slave quarters nearby but of the surrounding countryside. There was no sight so dear to the heart of a plantation master as that of fields of sugar cane, the leaves of many shades of green waving gently in the breeze.

175 Frequently a chapel was connected with the house or built
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36 near it. Not very far away would be the mill, and nearby the
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slave quarters. The entire unit formed a small village, for each plantation needed many specialists--carpenters, ironsmiths, bricklayers, coopers, sailors, fishermen, a barber, tailor, cowboy, chaplain--in addition to those whose trade was that of making sugar. In the morning the agricultural workers, cutters, and drivers went out to work in the fields, returning later in the day. Because of the size of the plantation and the number of its slaves--which frequently reached two or three hundred--the casa grande, settled among its royal palms and overlooking the mill, the slave quarters, the chapel, and other buildings, took on a distinct village appearance. 175 249* 361 [463] [567]

The owner and absolute ruler of these domains was the senhor de engenho, a title which became a symbol of wealth and later of nobility. The senhor de engenho dominated Bahia, and indeed all of the sugar-producing area of Alagoas and Pernambuco, for many years, socially and politically, until sugar was surpassed in importance by other crops and industries. Even much later, however, when sugar was less profitable and other activities surpassed it in economic importance to the nation, the plantation master was still a prominent figure, at least in northeastern Brazil. 175 249* 554 565*

Each unit was a complete entity in itself, with its sobrado, chapel, mill, slave quarters, slaves, cane fields, pastures, oxen, and forest land. The pattern for the Recôncavo plantation was set in the early years. Today many of the original boundary lines still exist, and the plantations have often kept their original names. In addition to cultivating several units of 700 to 1,000 acres within the land grant, the owner also often rented smaller parcels of land to lavradores--free individuals who with a few slaves cultivated a small amount of sugar cane which they sent to the plantation to be milled and made into sugar. These people were the nearest approach to small-scale farmers in the Recôncavo; however, they did not own their own land and were completely dependent upon the plantation master. There are many sad tales of small farmers who were cheated by the master and virtually became his slaves. They had to send their cane to his mill and often were told the cane was dry, or sour, or that less had been sent than they recorded. In all this it was necessary to take the word of the plantation's bookkeeper. There was no court of appeals--only the master, who represented law, order, and justice in the Recôncavo. 175 249* 361 [178] 175 249* 427 565*

As time went on the aspect of the sesmaria was lost, and the plantation complex became the principal characteristic. [178]

3: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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the plantation complex became the principal characteristic. Marriages between the families of plantation owners brought new alignments of property, some families acquiring more land and others losing it through the natural processes of the marriage and growth of parts of families and the dying out of others. Family became increasingly important. As a rule the conjugal family was large and the extended family enormous; marriages between cousins, uncles, nieces, and other relatives were common. Social life was carried on between neighboring plantations, and of course many marriages took place as a result of these contacts, so that it was not infrequent to find many plantations, both contiguous and scattered, owned by the same family. As a rule each extended family had its traditional plantation as a sort of home base, and the head of the family frequently resided there, although not always. The patriarch was generally granted great respect and prestige by the members of his family, both far and near.

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Many who received land grants were the noblemen of the province, and many of them were representatives of the government. In this way the plantation master was securely establishing himself and his family not only in the Recôncavo but also in the governmental hierarchy, and was often in a position to see that the government action did not adversely affect the interests of the sugar-cane growers. At any rate, for several centuries social and political domination was in the hands of a small group which gradually intermarried, always strengthening itself. Its members were, first and foremost, the landowning gentry; next in importance were professional people such as lawyers, doctors, clerics, educators, and politicians. Members of this group were also soldiers, and in the War of Independence in 1822 the plantation masters of Vila Recôncavo took a foremost part both personally and financially, for which many were later honored by having royal titles bestowed upon them.

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As the small rural towns, and later the counties, grew, they also fell under the domination of one or several plantation masters. Not infrequently a feud would arise between two families to determine which was to be the dominant one. As the plantation master prospered, he showed his wealth and power with a degree of ostentation which was commented upon by travelers and chroniclers of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. The ruins of houses built at this time can be seen today scattered throughout the coastal northeast.

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These houses (solares, or sobrados) were enormous, constructed of stone and mortar, with wooden floors and ceilings. Stone and wood were themselves a sign of wealth, since it was necessary to bring them from a great distance. The furniture was often of handworked rosewood. Affluence was especially shown in table service of silver, porcelain, and crystal, most of which was imported from Europe. Members of the families frequently dressed in fine damask silks and were adorned with fine jewelry of gold and precious stones. It was not unusual for the plantation master to dress a few of his favorite slaves almost as well as his family and to parade them to church as an indication of his wealth. Another method of demonstrating wealth was the support of churches, especially that of the Tertiary Order of Franciscans.

The plantation master eventually lost his prominence. When the capital of the colony was moved from Bahia to Rio de Janeiro in 1763 he was no longer so politically powerful, except locally, for there was too much distance between him and the new capital. Transportation was poor and communication still poorer. Also, other crops--namely coffee, cotton, rubber, and finally cacao--became more valuable than sugar. The abolition of slavery in 1888 was the final blow to the power of the plantation master.

It was usually admitted that the greatest wealth or source of wealth of the plantation master was his slaves. At first the Portuguese colonists tried to enslave the Indians and put them to work on the sugar plantations, but the Indians sickened and died off easily. There was also great opposition, on the part of the Jesuits, to the enslavement of Indians. The importation of African slaves seemed to be the solution. From the middle of the sixteenth century until about the middle of the nineteenth century ships plied back and forth from Bahia to the west coast of Africa, carrying tobacco, leather, and rum to be traded for slaves. The African slave always brought a higher price in the market in Bahia than did the Indian slave. It was considered that a normal plantation or mill of a thousand acres needed approximately two hundred slaves, divided among the fields, the mill, the various skills, and the house of the owner. In the nineteenth century the procurement of slaves became increasingly difficult as a result of European, North American, and even Brazilian opposition to slavery. In the mid-nineteenth century the slave trade was officially prohibited and the traffic became clandestine. The prices of slaves soared at this

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*249 time and remained high until the 1888 decree which ended slavery completely. Before this time there had already been a great deal of manumission.

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571 In fact, it is distinctive of the entire region that the relations between the whites and the slaves were relatively warm and intimate. Gilberto Freyre describes the intimacy between the moleque (little Negro boy) and the master's son as playmates, between the master's wife and her domestics, between the Negro nursemaid and her white charges, between Negroes and whites in other close relationships on these plantations. A good deal of race mixture occurred. It is still a joke in this region to say that a particular plantation owner "populated the area."

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[654] The crises through which the sugar industry passed during its four-hundred-year history are interesting and worthy of consideration. During the first fifty years of production (until early in the seventeenth century), the sugar industry prospered and expanded. It was a "period of formation, official protection, and government stimulation, during which the liberties of production, transportation, prices and commerce suffered little or no restrictions."[1] The seventeenth

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648 century, however, was full of crises, one of the greatest being the war with Holland. In 1624 the Dutch attempted to capture Bahia but were repulsed. However, they sailed along the shores of the Bay of All Saints, burning and sacking plantations and setting fire to the cane fields. In the north the Dutch succeeded in capturing Pernambuco, which they retained for twenty-four years, also engaging in the production of sugar. In 1644 the Dutch governor, Maurice of Nassau, was recalled to Holland, and the colony was left undirected. The Brazilians revolted and recaptured Pernambuco.

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[458] In 1666 there was an epidemic of smallpox in the Recôncavo which reduced the slave population and left many plantation owners without laborers. There followed a period of near-famine for some years, due to the lack of food-plant cultivation. While this situation continued, plantation masters frequently mortgaged their plantations in order to buy new

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1. J. Wanderley de Araujo Pinho, Historia de um engenho do Recôncavo, 1552-1944 (Rio de Janeiro, 1946), p. 193. The following three paragraphs are a condensation of the material contained in pp. 193-220 (author's translation).

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slaves and equipment. Thus began a long series of mortgages which continued for several centuries. The commercial agents in the city, for the most part representatives of Portuguese companies, loaned money to the plantation owners, using the next crop as collateral. They also charged high interest rates. When the next crop did not materialize, nor the next, the plantation owners found themselves inextricably in debt. At the same time the sugar market in Portugal was lost because the sugar was arriving there in a spoiled condition due to poor transportation, a cargo at times taking two years to arrive at its destination. Furthermore, the prices of most necessities were rising, and, in addition, Portugal began to tax the colonists heavily.

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In the early 1700's there was a more prosperous phase, due to higher prices for sugar in Europe. Many plantations were reconstructed, enlarged, and modified, and new ones were built. As a result many people went into debt again. During the eighteenth century two major factors turned against the prosperity of the sugar-cane growers: competition in the European market with the French, Spanish, and British, who were now producing sugar on their Caribbean islands; and the discovery of gold in the western part of Brazil. Sugar could be shipped to Europe more rapidly from the Caribbean than from Brazil. It was subject to less spoilage, and there was also probably less governmental interference. As soon as the European market was flooded with sugar, the price fell.

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The discovery of gold in Minas Gerais further dislocated the sugar industry of the Recôncavo at the time when it could least afford it. The prices of slaves, metals, cloth, cattle, horses, and all the necessities of life increased. Many of the freemen who worked in the plantations in administrative capacities were enticed away to the mines by the promise of great wealth. The need for slaves at the mines was great, and traders who sold slaves preferred to sell them to the miners, who could pay cash, rather than to the plantation owners, who frequently paid in sugar. During this time there was also a serious shortage of foodstuffs, for many of the smaller farmers who normally raised food crops emigrated to Minas Gerais.

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The agriculturalists--those who planted tobacco as well as those who planted sugar--were still being pressed by high taxes. There are many letters and documents from the governing bodies of the colony, addressed to the Portuguese king, telling him of the deplorable situation in which sugar planters

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia-Brazilians SO11
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*249 found themselves, with no food, their slaves dying, the price
458 of sugar falling, the markets lost, and, especially, overbur-
648 dening taxes. Most of the documents which remain are pessi-
651 mistic ones, for during the times of prosperity little was writ-
ten. At any rate, late in the eighteenth century some measures were taken to lighten the burden of taxation and to provide better means of transportation to Europe than the irregular system of fleets which were frequently spaced two and three years apart. As a result, many plantation owners took heart and applied themselves again to the raising of sugar cane. They were further aided by an increasing market in Europe, which finally became almost entirely theirs at the turn of the century, as a result of the European wars.

175 By the end of the Napoleonic wars sugar production was at
*249 its best, and Bahia was once again experiencing a pleasurable
458 prosperity. However, 1822 brought the War of Independence,
669 much of it fought in the Recôncavo. The war was supported to
[731] a great extent by the plantation masters, both financially and physically. Although they gained a great deal of prestige, they lost two harvests, and their exports fell off greatly. It took them some time to recuperate, and in 1855 they suffered another violent blow, an epidemic of cholera.

175 An indication of the difficulties caused by the epidemic is
*249 given in the following passage, translated from a document in
458 the inventory of the Baron of Caju made upon the death of his
731 wife, a victim of cholera:

> The family was in a good state of animation and prosperity in 1855, when the fatal epidemic of cholera morbus wasted this Province, invading the home of the inventoried and causing him horrible damages and enormous losses! The Baroness fell victim to this voracious scourge! Eighty-two of the most valuable and useful slaves had the same fate; the best expediencies, treatment, and vigilant care were of no effect! Almost the entire harvest of this fatal year was lost in the complete absence of field hands, for the number not stricken was small, and the others, convalescents, were truly specters! The harvests of 1856 and 1857 also suffered.

433 Soon afterwards a new phase began when the Civil War
175 started in the United States, sending up the price of sugar
*249 and increasing the market. Some years after this a disease
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struck the sugar cane itself, and production again dropped greatly. At the same time, coffee began to attract attention in São Paulo and the few slaves for sale were sent there, where they commanded a higher price, thereby causing a shortage of workmen in the Recôncavo. In 1888 a final blow was the abolition of slavery. Production dropped to a new low, and the twentieth century was entered during what was called the gravest crisis the industry had ever experienced.

During the late nineteenth century there were several attempts to better the machinery used in the fabrication of sugar. New methods were introduced from abroad, and at the turn of the century the usina made its first appearance on the scene. The usina represents the large-scale central factory, designed to mill the cane of many plantations, thereby raising the total sugar production.[2] The state government took a hand and financed the construction of three factories which were given to various individuals as concessions. There was an effort to revive the industry on a different and stronger basis. At the same time, however, the Recôncavo, as well as other parts of Brazil, felt the pull of the rubber boom in the Amazon and lost some of its manpower. But once again a European war came to the rescue, and during the second and third decades of this century the sugar industry prospered. Many factories were erected, and there was a definite feeling of optimism, which ended abruptly in 1929 and 1930 as a result of prolonged overproduction. In 1933 the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol was established by the national government to regulate production. The new regulations caused dissatisfaction and disputes, and production fell off sharply, only to rise again after World War II when many of the restrictions imposed by the institute were lifted. At the present time the Recôncavo seems to be experiencing a mild phase of affluence.

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It is the introduction of the large-scale central factory which holds the most interest for us in this recital of crises, for it was this innovation which brought the maximum amount of change to the town and the entire community structure.

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The factory was conceived of as a large mechanized mill,

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2. Hereafter, the word "factory" will be used to designate the usina; wherever the word "factory" appears it should be understood to mean sugar-cane milling factory, unless otherwise qualified. (Editor's note.)

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175 located in a position where it could grind the cane of many
178 plantations. The two aspects of the sugar industry, the agri-
*249 cultural and the industrial, were to be separated. The cane was to be planted, cultivated, and harvested by one group of people; these were the former plantation masters, who under the new system became simply suppliers of sugar cane (fornecedores de cana) to the mill. The cane was then milled, processed, and marketed by another group of people, a corporate body which became personified as the usineiro.

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175 However, this division did not last long, for the modern up-
*249 to-date machinery of the new factories proved capable of
473 grinding more cane than the planters were supplying. Because of their poor financial conditions and loss of laborers due to
433 the abolition of slavery and the consequent resettlement of the former slaves, the planters were not able to expand their sugar-cane production enough to meet the demands of the factories. In other cases the planters resented the new factories and simply refused to cooperate, continuing to operate their outmoded mills in spite of adverse conditions. As a result, the corporations began buying plantations of their own, situated as near their mills as possible, in order to assure themselves of a larger supply of cane, and to lessen their dependence upon the individual planters.

175 There was an epoch when the hunger for land seemed insa-
*249 tiable. The usineiros not only had funds at their disposal which could be used for the purchase of land, but also had the means
425 of forcing individual planters to sell their land to the corpora-
473 tion. By refusing to mill the cane of the planter, or by taking his cane and then letting it sour, and by various other methods, the usineiros were able to force many planters into bankruptcy, after which the corporation bought the land. Also, many planters who continued to depend upon their own efforts, producing sugar in their old-style mills, gradually went into bankruptcy, since they could not compete with the improved product of the new factories.

175 In effect the factory system in Vila Recôncavo is an enlarged
*249 agricultural-industrial combination, an engenho enlarged many
473 times over. The ownership pattern has changed; whereas the engenho was owned by a family, and therefore subject to transfer on the death of the owner, the usina is a corporation, which continues despite the death of stockholders. As will be shown later, however, the corporation may even be a family. The plantation master, owner of lands and of slaves and ruler of

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small empires, disappeared. But in his place an even more powerful figure appeared, the usineiro, the land-factory combination director and representative of corporate power. 175 • 249* 473

However, not all private plantations succumbed to pressure from the factories or to economic collapse. There are many which still continue to plant and cultivate sugar cane and send it to the factory for milling. After 1933 the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol prescribed the amount of sugar cane each plantation, whether private or corporate, could produce, and indicated the total amount of sugar each factory could produce and how much cane it had to accept from each plantation. As a result of this protection, many private plantations continue to function in equilibrium with the factory to which they send their sugar cane. The private plantation owners also have a separate association which looks after their interests. [178] 175 249* 433 [656]

Thus the twentieth century has seen the introduction and development of the factory system and in its wake a series of fundamental changes. The growth of factory towns (the usina nuclei) has created further competition for the older county seats, such as the town of Vila Recôncavo, and further disintegration of the former community structure. 175 249* 178

Since its discovery and settlement, the rural area of Vila Recôncavo has been the scene of sugar-cane planting and sugar making. The rural area was settled before the town of Vila Recôncavo, and the plantation nuclei were actually self-sufficient small towns in themselves. The landowning pattern in this rural area has gone full cycle. First were the large land grants which were then split up into separate engenhos (after 1889 known as fazendas) through division due to inheritance, sale, or donation. For about three hundred years the pattern of the area was that of the engenho. However, at the end of the nineteenth century, this way of life came to an end as a result of financial crises and the abolition of slavery. The twentieth century has seen the introduction of the factory, which has led to a concentration of lands again under single ownership, although this time corporate and not that of a single individual or family. 175 178 249* 423

During the epoch of the plantations there was a necessity for the existence of the town to serve the needs of the landowning class. The community during this time was focused to a large extent toward the county seat. But with the abolition of slavery, the disappearance of the plantation master and his large family, and the coming of the factory, the former com- 175 178 249* 621

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munity structure began to break up. The corporations gradually acquired plantations which became commercial enterprises. The Big House was no longer the home of a master and the scene of his family life and social activities. The top level of the social strata partially disappeared, and those who were left to do the agricultural work looked now to the factory for their instructions and pay, to the new factory store for supplies, and to the chalet of the usineiro as the new senhor and patron. The owners of single plantations who joined the factory networks also began to look to the factory nucleus for social life, for buying supplies, and for selling their cane and receiving their money.

Thus each factory slowly became the focus of a new community structure, composed of the nucleus--the factory, the store, and the director's and workers' houses--surrounded by the corporation plantations, each of which still preserves the former plantation pattern of settlement, plus the private plantations, which are little changed in appearance from the days of the engenho. The factory towns, however, did not take over the formal functions of the county seats. In fact, rarely have factory towns received formal recognition as towns by the government. For the most part the factory nuclei appear on official records only as plantations.

Because of the growth of the factory and its surrounding network of plantations, the new community structures of the Recôncavo have taken on almost circular appearances. Vila Recôncavo demonstrates this well. In the spaces between the circles which represent factory systems, may be found the old formal administrative towns, with little of the influence or attraction that they once had. And yet they are bureaucratically important to the functioning of the county. As a result of this breakup of the old community structure, a process which is still going on, there is now no definite, clear-cut community center in Vila Recôncavo.

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 8011 Bahia Brazilians 8011
VILA RECÔNCAVO

6. Class and Race

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IT WAS the colonial sugar-cane plantation system which gave the Recôncavo many of its characteristic traditions, and which formed patterns of class and race or color relations which have persisted in the region in a modified form. More than three million Negroes were imported from Africa during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, and a large proportion of them were brought to northeastern Brazil. The Portuguese plantation owners became rich and formed a regional aristocracy which led a luxurious and ostentatious way of life. The slaves and their masters formed two distinct social groups. As the colony developed, intermediate groups came into existence. As early as 1549 there existed a small independent group of people, composed of Europeans and mestiços, for many Europeans who came to the colony did not receive land grants. They were merchants, soldiers, or priests in the colony, gente pequena (small people), free but without the social and political influence of the landowners. The mestiços date back to the times when Portuguese ships first began to touch the coast of Brazil, even before colonization began. A notable example is Caramurú, a Portuguese sailor who was stranded on the shore of what is now Bahia and who had a large mestiço family by the time the city of Salvador was founded in 1549.[1]

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The early period of colonization is crucial to an understanding of the Brazilian class complex of today, since ap-

1. See Thales de Azevedo, Povoamento da cidade do Salvador, (Bahia, 1949), pp. 57 ff.

parently the criteria for class distinctions were evolved and "set" at that time. The white Portuguese males, and the few Portuguese women present, were the owners of the land and of the people, both Indian and Negro, who were drawn into the cultural milieu which became Brazilian society. They were the group who set up and presented the ideal behavior patterns to the others. They were at the peak of the status and prestige hierarchy, while the slave was at the bottom. Thus was established the original dichotomy of the whites as upper-class and the colored people as lower-class. As colonial development continued, other factors were added to this basic one by the will of the whites. For it was the white group which was primarily responsible for the creation of the mestiço, and it was the white who placed this new mestiço socially between himself and the darkest colored person. 175 56

It is clear that color distinctions arose along with the creation of the multishaded mestiço group, and that at the same time other factors were brought into being, qualifying that of color, such as education, family, and occupation. White masters who had children by dark slaves often raised them as legitimate if they were light-skinned, that is, if the difference between father and child was not too great. In such a case the child could become a member of the upper end of the social hierarchy, with education, family, and a position in which he could command others rather than do any manual labor. 175 563 565*

This was particularly the case when the white master did not have a legitimate, European wife to bear him children. If the difference between father and offspring was too great for the child to be easily acceptable as the son of a European, the child was nevertheless not infrequently partially recognized and helped by the father in some fashion. He then took his place among the gente pequena, free but illegitimate and rather dark-skinned. With marked Negroid features his status was even lower than the European gente pequena. An illegitimate child who proved to be clearly Negroid was likely to be left in bondage with its mother. Thus, early in Brazilian society the degree of skin darkness and the kind of facial features and hair form became important. Opportunity for personal advancement was linked with similarity to the white European, who was the giver of status and who liked to give higher status to those in his image. 175 563 565* 848

Until 1888 there were two major social categories: slaves and nonslaves. Within the nonslave group, however, there 175 565* 567

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

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567 were definite subdivisions or classes, with the white European landowner at the top and the darkest-colored free laborer at the bottom. This bottom group grew constantly as a result of the addition of manumitted slaves, especially during the second half of the nineteenth century.

Abolition of slavery removed the strongest barrier to mobility for the largest homogeneous segment of Brazilian population, that of the slaves. Overnight the former slaves became the bottom rank of a new prestige system based mainly on five major criteria: economic power or wealth, profession, education, family, and color. As the lower ranks swelled in size after the abolition, color decreased in importance for mobility, as the other four factors became increasingly meaningful for this large segment of the population. Because of the fact that for three hundred years such a large part of the nonslave population had been colored or mestiço, and there was already in existence a social scale which included them, the entrance of the former slaves into free society did not upset what was already a fully functioning class system, even though the addition of so many people to the bottom class made this by far the largest, numerically.

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*565 The abolition of slavery also gave increased emphasis to class competition, or at least to the possibilities of competition among a greatly enlarged number of people. Nevertheless, the gap between the top of the hierarchy, the regional aristocracy, and any of those below remained as great as before, restricting class competition to the members of the lower classes. Few people from below were able to enter the uppermost group unless they were white and had in some way accumulated sufficient wealth. Some merchants moved into this class through the purchase of property as former aristocratic families died out. As time went on, many people in the upper brackets of the middle class maintained easy social relations with the upper class.

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*565 However, formal marriage between colored people of the ranks below and white people of the upper class has always been forbidden; the small group of landowners and other upper-class people continued to intermarry as they had for centuries. Nevertheless, even this barrier has broken down occasionally, for upper-class people have married and do marry persons known to be of mixed descent. Usually, however, the mestiço partner in such a union is very light-skinned and comes from a family in good economic circumstances which

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has already been accepted by other members of the upper class as their equal or nearly so.

Race or color prejudice finds its strongest expression at just this point--marriage into the upper class--but even here, if the mestiço is sufficiently light-skinned, educated, and well mannered, he or she can and does marry into the best families. The importance of the "bleaching process" in this society cannot be overestimated, for apparently the trend is toward lighter skins and straighter hair on a national scale. In the case of a marriage between one known to be of mixed descent and a member of an upper-class family, no point is ever made of the fact that one partner is "less white" than the other. Aside from the question of marriage into the small top group, color merges in importance with the other criteria, such as economic situation and education, in the contention for class position.

The three-class system which has been implied in the foregoing passages has recently been thoroughly described.[2] Although finer local distinctions have called for the addition of a fourth class here, Vila Recôncavo provides an excellent example of the various national classes. As in all discussions about this community, the urban-rural distinctions must be kept in mind. The local class system may be portrayed as follows:

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TABLE 2
SOCIAL CLASSES IN VILA RECÔNCAVO

	Urban	Rural
Class A	none	landowners
Class B	local bureaucrats, merchants, professional people	plantation administrators, mill technicians, specialists, office help
Class C	fishermen, gardeners, craftsmen	millworkers, field hands
Class D	laundresses, servants, persons without steady employment or craft	none

2. Charles Wagley, ed., Race and Class in Rural Brazil (Paris, 1952), pp. 144 ff.

3i Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

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8. Religion

[249] DURING COLONIAL and empire times, religion occupied a large part of the lives of the landed aristocracy. The town of Vila Recôncavo had a Franciscan convent, a large mother church of the parish of São Gonçalo, and the chapel of the [793] Third Order of Franciscans. In the rural area of the community nearly every plantation had its own chapel, which formed part of the owner's house, and its own chaplain to care for the spiritual needs of the landowning families and their [794] slaves. Much of the wealth of landowners was used to build magnificent churches, to sponsor religious processions, and to maintain religious brotherhoods for laymen.

178 In this century, however, Catholicism is no longer the official state religion, the landowners no longer support the 79 town church as they used to, and the Third Order of Franciscans has died out in Vila Recôncavo. Today members of the [565] upper class (Class A) confine their support to the churches they attend in Salvador, leaving the local church to the mercy of God and to the gente pequena of the town. Visits from the Franciscans to celebrate Mass and give instruction for first communion have taken the place of the plantation chaplain and chapel. The priests today say that the people of the community have no intellectual basis for understanding religious teachings or beliefs. Consequently, they say that they now seek only to have as many as possible conform to the outer forms and rituals of the church and refrain from attending the African cults.

175 In addition to the formal structure of the Catholic Church there arose, especially in the nineteenth century, many houses 794 of African cultism, called in this region candomblé. The ad-

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1967 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

herents of these cults, female slaves and former slaves for the most part, followed a lengthy routine to become practitioners in the various cult houses and spent large sums of money, according to legend, on the required bracelets, necklaces, and clothing.

Today, however, the cult priests and priestesses have the same complaint as the Catholic priests. They say that young people no longer have the understanding or the patience necessary to prepare for devotion in the cult houses. The older priestesses deplore the degeneration of some of these houses and the admission of Indian spirits, which are now displacing the African gods.

Spiritualism has recently entered the community. So far it has been limited to few people in the community, although it is very popular in Salvador.

The use of the supernatural as described in Willems' Cunha[1] does not take place in Vila Recôncavo. In Cunha the saints are asked to send rain whenever it appears that the crops are in danger. But in Vila Recôncavo, which lies in a semitropical rain area, there is no need for such invocations. Besides, these are large-scale economic crops, not subsistence produce on which the people depend directly for their living.

The Catholic Church in Vila Recôncavo

During the colonial period each religious parish was carefully delineated and conserved, but later political divisions cut across parish lines. This has made the use of colonial statistics very difficult. During colonial and empire times the church was the main census organ, but since parishes and counties do not coincide in their outlines the statistics are little help today in comparing the present with the past. Each parish built a mother church (matriz) in the parish town. Each of these churches had a patron saint, who was also the patron of the parish, and a resident priest or priests.

In the town of Vila Recôncavo, the county seat, a mother church was built, with São Gonçalo as its patron saint; also constructed was the Franciscan convent, connected with an opulent Third Order. As the Recôncavo entered its long per-

1. Emilio Willems, Cunha: Tradição e transição en uma cultura rural do Brasil (Sao Paulo, 1947), Chapter 7.

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79 iod of decline, the parishes suffered financially; the buildings fell into a state of disrepair, and the parish priests were no longer replaced, for there was no money to support them. The Franciscans in town also suffered materially, and their personnel greatly diminished. About the time the empire ended and the republic began, the flow of young men and women into the religious orders ceased. At the end of the nineteenth century there were no longer enough Brazilian Franciscans to carry on the work in the convent, and a contingent of German Franciscans was sent to Brazil. Since that time, the Franciscans in Vila Recôncavo have been of German birth. Today there are only four Friars in Vila Recôncavo, three ordained priests and one lay brother.

One by one the county parishes were turned over to the Franciscans as the parishes became too poor to support their own priests, until today the three ordained Franciscans must
79 care for the spiritual needs of five parishes. These include, in addition to the convent itself and the five parish churches, thirty smaller churches and chapels, all of which serve a population of over fifteen thousand people scattered over a wide area accessible only by canoe, foot, and horseback. Of these many churches, the only one which has a daily Mass is the Franciscan convent in the town of Vila Recôncavo, for there is always a priest there while the other two are traveling. On Sundays three Masses are celebrated in town: one in the convent, one in the mother church, and one in the small chapel in the lower part of town, commonly known as the fishermen's chapel. Only one town in all five parishes has a scheduled monthly Mass. This special effort is being made because, in the words of the priest, "There is a large religious movement there." In general it is understood between the parish people and the priests that when a town or smaller settlement wants a Mass celebrated the people fix a date for it and notify the convent. If possible, a priest fulfills the engagement, carrying his own robes, Book, Host, and chalices with him.

In addition to saying Mass, the priests are called upon to bless new houses, to give last rites to the sick, to take communion to the aged and infirm at home, and to teach the young
(871) children their catechism. Catechism is taught in the schools, and once a week the priest journeys to each school to teach. Near the end of the school year, First Communion is celebrated in the school or, if on a plantation, in the owner's house. The young children receive Communion first, and af-

3: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1963 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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RACE RELATIONS IN A RURAL COMMUNITY OF THE BAHIAN RECÔNCAVO[1]

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by
HARRY W. HUTCHINSON

I. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, a narrow strip along the north-eastern coast of Brazil in what are now the States of Pernambuco, Alagoas, Sergipe and Bahia, was the most important region of economic, political and social life in the whole colony. The rainfall along this portion of the coast is dependable and the extremely fertile soil, which was originally covered with thick forests, was ideally suited for sugar cane. By [439] the seventeenth century, this region produced a large part of the world's sugar supply. Sugar, which was then a luxury in Europe, brought fabulous profits, and the north-eastern coast of Brazil [633] became an exceedingly prosperous colony. Large cities grew up along the coast; Salvador in Bahia and Recife in Pernambuco became the most important centres of colonial life, and Salvador was the capital [346] of the colony from 1549 to 1763. Both were cities of great wealth based on the booming sugar industry. The numerous churches built in Salvador during the period of opulence, with their elaborate gold-leafed wood carving and polychrome tile work, are witnesses to the tremendous wealth of the era.

175 It was the plantation system, the basis of this lucrative sugar industry, which gave this region many of its characteristic traditions 249 and formed patterns of race relations which have persisted in a 567 modified form into the present. Gilberto Freyre in his monumental 565 *Casa Grande e Senzala*, and other Brazilian writers [1],[2] have described life on these sugar plantations. African slaves provided the manpower. More than three million Negroes were imported from Africa during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and a large proportion came to the sugar plantations of north-[571] eastern Brazil. The Portuguese plantation owners became rich, and came to form a regional aristocracy with a luxurious and ostentatious way of life. The slaves and their masters, on these plantations, formed two distinct social groups, but it is distinctive of the region that their relations were intimate and warm; Freyre describes the intimacy between the *moleque* (Negro lad) and the master's son as playmates, between the master's wife and her domestic servants, between the Negro nurse and her white charges, and other close

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[1] In addition to thanking those persons listed in the introduction to this series of articles for their aid and co-operation in making this study possible, I wish to thank the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Charitable Foundation Inc. and the Department of Anthropology of Columbia University, whose grants of funds contributed largely to the possibility of this study. Also, to acknowledge with thanks the aid of Carmelita Junqueira Ayres and Elza Amelia Ferreira for their assistance in the collection of the data.

[2] The figures in brackets refer to the bibliography on page 40.

ties between Negroes and whites on these colonial plantations. All writers have mentioned the frequency of sexual relations between the white plantation owners and their female slaves. Slavery was not a humane institution in Brazil or elsewhere, but in Brazil relations between the slave and the master were of a more personal nature than in other regions where slavery existed in the New World. 175 249 567 565 571

By the middle of the last century, the West Indies and other regions of the world were competing with the Brazilian north-east for the world sugar market; and the abolition of slavery in 1888 caused difficulties of labour supply on these plantations. The sugar industry no longer provided the great wealth that it had in the past, and many of the old plantations were abandoned or sold to large commercial companies who installed modern equipment for large-scale sugar production. Plantation slaves became wage labourers, and the old traditional patterns of behaviour between the Negro slave and the white plantation-owning aristocrat began to disappear, to be replaced by an impersonal employee-employer relationship in keeping with the new way of life. Yet many patterns persist from the days of the old plantation system. Many of the descendants of the aristocratic plantation owners try to preserve the old traditions. They are proud of their family names, and large aristocratic families are still important in the economic and social life of the region. In many rural localities, there are still plantations where the relations between the workers and the owners are highly personalized, as they were in the past, and where customs and traditions formed during the period of opulence and slavery continue, if modified, by modern conditions. Throughout this part of Brazil, the relations between people of different racial groups have been influenced by the large proportion of Negroes in the population, by the importance of slavery in the relatively recent past, and by the particular form which the relations between the Negro slave and the European master took on the plantations. 175 249 567 571 466 178 565 [464]

II. The community with which the present article is concerned is called Vila Recôncavo; it is a real town situated in the zone known as the Recôncavo which surrounds Salvador, the capital of the State of Bahia, and which borders on the Bay of All Saints, extending inland from the shores of the bay some 30 miles on the northern side, and considerably less on the southern side. The Recôncavo was characteristic of the whole north-eastern plantation region. The Portuguese who settled in Salvador in 1549 recognised the value of these lands around the new city and the Bay of All Saints for sugar production. The third governor of Bahia, Mem de Sá (1557–74), 121 361 175 249 [311]

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gave sugar growing a great impetus by organizing expeditions of soldiers which he led into the farthest reaches of the Bay of All Saints, killing, driving out or enslaving the hostile Indian inhabitants, so as to make the area safe for settlers to move out of the city into the surrounding area and plant sugar. Mem de Sá himself built one of the largest and most productive of the sugar plantations in the Recôncavo.[2] His lands comprised three and a half leagues along the coastline of the Bay, extending four leagues inland, and two islands.[3] This *sesmaria*—as the early land grants were called—of Mem de Sá was broken down into smaller pieces by his daughter who inherited it, and by the end of the sixteenth century, most of the *sesmarias* of the Recôncavo had similarly, been divided into plantations averaging approximately 600 to 1,000 acres. In the past 250 years, many of these have kept the same boundaries and names, but their ownership has changed hands many times and they have passed through many cycles of prosperity and depression.

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The essential form of a plantation in the Recôncavo has changed little since the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the past, the entire plantation was known as an *engenho*, taking its name from the sugar-mill building which was the heart of the plantation. There were two chief types of sugar mills, one operated by water power and the other driven by traction power supplied by oxen. Before the end of slavery, steam-driven machinery had also come into use. A typical *engenho* had four main items of wealth—its lands, its buildings, the livestock and the slaves. Most of the land was, of course, planted in sugar cane, but there were also wood forests to supply firewood, pastures for the livestock, and small areas devoted to the raising of food stuffs for the personnel of the *engenho*. The buildings of an *engenho* included the sugar mill, the *sobrado*, or home of the owner, and the slave quarters. The owner's house was frequently a very large and pretentious building with one and a half or two storeys. In the Recôncavo the landowners sought to build their houses *a meia encosta*, or against the side of a hill, giving the appearance of a two-storey house in front, but only one in the rear. Such homes were frequently constructed of stone, wood and mortar, with tile roofs. The slave quarters, which were known as *senzalas*, were generally long narrow buildings with sides of mud or *taipa* and and roofs of palm fronds. The livestock of a typical *engenho* consisted of oxen, burros, horses, sheep and cows. The oxen supplied the power to turn the grinding mills when there was no water power, and they pulled the large two-wheeled carts which were used to transport the cane from the fields to the mill. Horses and burros provided transportation for the plantation owner in supervising the work in the fields, and for him and his family for visits to nearby *engenhos* and to town. Cattle and sheep grazing on the portions of the land which were fallow supplied milk and meat to the plantation community.

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The most valuable property of a colonial *engenho*, however, was the slaves. Comparatively few Portuguese came to the Recôncavo, and even those among them who had been labourers in Portugal did not come to Brazil to do manual work. African slaves had already been used on sugar plantations in the Madeira Islands, and a slave system was imported into Brazil along with sugar cane. Although it was expressly prohibited by the Portuguese Government,[4] the early settlers in Bahia enslaved the Indians who did not flee or who were not killed in the early fighting with the colonists. Governor Mem de Sá's Testament lists 95 Indian men slaves, 84 Indian women slaves and only 20 African slaves.[5] From the start, however, Indians were considered inferior to Africans as slaves; they seemed unable to adapt themselves to continuous labour in the fields and mills. Yet in many cases they were kept as fishermen, hunters and boatmen for the *engenho*, being in these activities superior to the newly-arrived Negroes. By 1700, the Negro slaves greatly outnumbered the Europeans in the region, and there were but few Indian slaves. Slave was almost synonymous with Negro.

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An inventory of an *engenho* of about 650 acres, made in 1866 shortly before the end of slavery, gives a total value of 200 contos[1] for the *engenho*. The land, houses, slaves and livestock were valued at 125 contos; the value of the slaves alone was placed at 65 contos. The inventory divides the slaves into two categories: house slaves *(escravos de casa)* and work slaves *(escravos de lavoura)*. There were 18 house slaves and 103 work slaves. Among the house slaves were 1 barber-tailor-painter, 6 servants, 1 cook, 2 seamstresses and 1 apprentice seamstress, 2 sweet-makers, 2 laundresses, and 3 children without specific 'profession', as their occupation was called. Of the work slaves, 59 were listed as field workers (26 men and 33 women of all ages above the age of 12), 18 as small children, and 26 as specialists—including 4 ox-cart drivers, 5 sailors, 2 ironsmiths, 3 bricklayers, 1 field manager, 1 ship captain, 1 gardener, 1 barrel-maker, 1 specialist in the boiling of sugar, and 1 nurse. The prices of the slaves ran from 'without value' or as low as 20 milreis to as high as 1 conto 400 milreis, depending upon the age, physical condition and degree of skill of the slave.[2] The slaves were always listed in such inventories as foreign- or native-born and generally, if it were known, the place or tribe of origin was given. Many are listed simply as *Africano*. For those born in Brazil, the terms used are *Pardo*, *Cabra* or *Crioulo*; the diminutive form of these terms is used for all

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[1] The conto is a unit of Brazilian currency, composed of 1,000 milreis. The milreis, or cruzeiro as it is also called today, is the standard unit of currency. In 1951 the milreis was officially valued at 5.27 cents in U.S. currency, making the conto worth $52.70. However, it must be kept in mind that in 1866 the value of the milreis was considerably higher.

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[2] In 1855 this same *engenho* had 48 house slaves and 150 work slaves. The highest valued slave was 900 milreis.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[City of Salvador]

*121 563 races, and the ensuing termination is perhaps most clearly discernible.

131 361 [132] Bahia lies in the tropics of the Southern Hemisphere, approximately thirteen degrees south of the Equator, her naturally warm and humid climate almost constantly tempered by the refreshing Southeast Trades. Located seven hundred miles above Rio de Janeiro, the Brazilian capital, and four hundred miles below the old sugar center of Pernambuco, Bahia marks approximately the mid-point of Brazil's four thousand miles of coast line which stretches from temperate [167] Uruguay to the torrid Guianas. Some twenty-five hundred miles to the northeast lie the Gold and Slave coasts of Africa, once the home of the parents or grandparents of many present-day Bahians; directly to the east is Angola, another important source of the city's population.

•175 361 [504] In 1949 Bahia will celebrate her four hundredth anniversary. As cities go in the New World, she is an old city; in fact, one of the very oldest. Permanently founded fifty-eight years before Jamestown and thirty-five years earlier than St. Augustine, this outpost of Portuguese civilization was one of the world's richest ports long before New York had outgrown her swaddling clothes.

175 162 *563 Here, shortly after 1500, set in the Portuguese transplantation, at first composed of adventurers, shipwrecked and deserting sailors; *degredados* banished from Portugal for criminal, political, or religious offenses; ambitious young men chosen for physical fitness and freedom from marital ties to serve in the colonial garrison; impoverished nobles seeking to recuperate fortunes squandered at the Portuguese court; a few officials, Jesuits, and secular clergy; Jews expelled by the Inquisition (who incidentally were to furnish a considerable portion of the much-needed capital for the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 6]

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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•175 162 *563 colony's development); gypsies destined to play a role in the subsequent slave trade and to bequeath their name permanently to the section of the city in which they settled; prostitutes and orphan girls sent over in limited numbers as wives by the Crown; and a few hardy peasant colonists, with their families, from Portugal, the Cape Verde Islands, and the Azores.

*175 563 648 This incoming wave of European population met the indigenous Indians and eventually absorbed or expelled them from the coast. In and about Bahia they were the Tupinambás and the Tupiniquins, part of the earlier Tupí expansion from the south, and of very primitive culture. The wifeless soldiers and colonists took Indian or half-breed women, first for concubines and later for legally married wives, and soon a numerous mixed-blood population sprang up which was gradually absorbed into the dominant white. Indian males were annihilated in battle, died from the rigors of slavery, or were driven, together with their women and children, far back into the interior. When they put up too stubborn resistance, whole villages were deliberately exterminated, one of the most effective means being the planting of smallpox germs from the clothing of a recent victim of the disease. The Indians, previously strangers to this European malady, rapidly succumbed.

175 167 567 As early as the middle of the sixteenth century there began at Bahia extensive and prolonged Negro importation from Africa, and Bahia's Bay of All Saints subsequently served for generations as the principal port of entry into Brazil for this black commerce from the African coast. This involuntary population movement to Brazil eventually became what is, probably, the greatest intercontinental displacement of Negro peoples which ever occurred.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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At Bahia in 1807, 1809, 1813, 1816, 1826, 1827, 1828, and 1830, slave revolts broke out, terminating in the serious Malê uprising of 1835. There existed here, particularly in the nineteenth century, a well-established group of Negro disciples of the prophet Mohammed. Here Nagô was for a long time a Negro lingua franca (or, to use the corresponding Portuguese expression, a *lingua geral*), and Nagô is still occasionally to be heard among some of the older blacks. Here one might have encountered in the years just preceding abolition in 1888 an interesting paradox: while at home Bahia clung tenaciously to slavery, she was known abroad for the eloquence of her abolition orators.[3] Here, also, one might have observed the gradual fusion of Catholic belief and ritual with African mythology and religious practice, evidences of which may be seen today in *candomblés*, or fetish-cult centers, like that of Gantois, for example, whose ceremonies have been carried on in the same sacred place for many decades.

In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries Bahia became one of the world's great sugar centers where a small aristocracy, as is attested today by the pretentious edifices still standing, achieved great wealth. As early as 1587 there were forty-seven sugar *engenhos*[4] in and about Bahia, and

[3] See Luiz Anselmo da Fonseca, *A escravidão, o clero e o abolicionismo* (Bahia, 1887), *passim*. This book, although obviously written as abolition propaganda, cites names, places, and dates to support its contentions and does not overlook negative cases.

[4] Each *engenho* consisted of a sugar plantation and a mill for processing the cane. Those at Bahia often had a capacity of a thousand tons or more yearly. Each was largely a self-sustaining economic unit, dependent upon the labor of numbers of Negro slaves. H. Morse Stephens says (*Portugal* [New York, 1903], p. 128) that sugar cane was imported into Brazil from the Madeira Islands in 1548.

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these, together with the plantations of Pernambuco, supplied a large part of the sugar for the tables of Europe.

By 1670 Bahia was a wealthy capital boasting that her flag was known upon the seven seas. Ships from the Portuguese empire in the East called regularly on their way back to Portugal. By the early eighteenth century Bahia had grown into a city of 70,000, her commerce protected by the cross-fire of fourteen forts. Six- and seven-story buildings were common; the possession of carved ebony furniture had become a symbol of social standing; silks, palanquins, and the finest porcelain were imported from China. In the surrounding cane fields toiled, it is estimated, ten times as many slaves as in Virginia. A century later, Lindley, an English smuggler, after admiring the abundance of gold jewelry worn by the women of Bahia, looked out over the shipping in the harbor and wrote of "a degree of wealth unknown in Europe."

Bahia continued to be the first commercial city of Brazil until about 1830,[5] when she finally yielded front rank to São Paulo, the rising young metropolis to the south. But during the entire colonial period (1549-1822), Bahia possessed the principal Brazilian firms and the largest Brazilian fortunes.

During the first two centuries of the colonial era, Bahia was the seat of Portuguese control in Brazil, the official residence of high functionaries representing the Portuguese crown. Even after the government was transferred to Rio (1763), Bahia continued to play a prominent role in the politics of the colony and, subsequent to independence

[5] In 1868, although the decline in sugar production was by that time well advanced, Bahia had 511 *engenhos* producing nearly 19,000 tons of sugar a year.

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in 1822, in the politics of the Empire, a role similar to that assumed by Minas Geraes, São Paulo, and Rio Grande do Sul in the Republic following 1889. In fact, she has been called "the Brazilian Virginia." Until 1907 Bahia was also the religious center of the Brazilian nation. Her archbishop was the head of the Roman Catholic church in Brazil, and the religious orders maintained here their principal representatives. Thus in the economic, political, and religious life of Brazil, Bahia boasts a long tradition of distinction and prestige.

The present city is about the size of Indianapolis or Seattle.[6] It nestles along the eastern rim of a huge bay, Bahia de Todos os Santos. The bay is formed by the projection out into the ocean of Cape Santo Antonio, which, on its western side, breaks rather sharply almost at the water's edge, exposing a bold promontory approximately three hundred feet in height which parallels for some two to three miles the rim of the bay. The city clings to the narrow shelf between the bay and the cliff and then sprawls up over this sizable barrier and spreads out along the ridges and into the valleys to the east and north, where centuries of erosion have carved a one-time flat plain into alternating crests and steep-sloping depressions.

Bahia is thus divided by a natural barrier into a lower and an upper city, into a Cidade Baixa and a Cidade Alta, as the two parts are locally called; the one connected with the other by steep, winding streets paved with cobblestones, by inclined planes and modern hydraulic elevators, or by numerous well-worn footpaths. In the lower city lies, of course,

[6] An estimate by the state government gave for the city of Bahia on December 31, 1934, a population of 352,244 (*Annuario estatistico da Bahia, 1934*, p. 131). The federal census of 1920 gave for Bahia City 283,422 (*Recenseamento do Brazil, 1920*, Vol. IV: *População*, Book I, p. xxiv).

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CHAPTER II

THE COMING OF THE AFRICANS

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THE population of Bahia in 1585 included at least three to four thousand Negroes.[1] During the succeeding century the black portion of the city's inhabitants increased to such an extent that it is said a traveler "might have supposed himself in Negroland."[2] Frézier in 1714 estimated the proportion of blacks to whites in Bahia to be at that time twenty to one, which is probably an overstatement, although the preponderance of Negroes was undoubtedly considerable.[3] Approximately one hundred years later, in 1807, an *alistamento* for military service enumerated nearly twice as many blacks as whites, or approximately the same number of Negroes as both whites and mixed-bloods combined.[4] Twelve years later, in 1819, Conselheiro Velloso

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[1] A. G. Keller, *Colonization* (Boston, 1908), p. 145. Gabriel Soares (*Roteiro do Brazil*, p. 126, quoted by Pedro Calmon, *Historia social do Brazil* [3 vols.; São Paulo, 1937–39, I, 179) puts the number of Negroes able to bear arms in Bahia in 1587 at four thousand. The Jesuit Anchieta estimated the population in 1583 to include three thousand Negroes, a figure thought by Vasconcellos to be an underestimation (see Salomão de Vasconcellos, "A escravatura africana em Minas Geraes," *Jornal do Commercio* [Rio], November 20, 1938).

[2] Robert Southey, *History of Brazil* (3 vols.; London, 1810), II, 674.

[3] At approximately the same time, Cook estimated the proportion in Rio de Janeiro to be seventeen to one (Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 175). Each visitor may have been more familiar with the area immediately about the docks where a greater predominance of Negro workers would naturally be found. It is also probably true that the mixed-bloods were, in each case, included with the blacks.

[4] The totals were: blacks, 25,502; mixed-bloods, 11,350; whites, 14,260 (see João Pandiá Calogeras, "A politica exterior do imperio—as origens,"

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de Oliveira estimated that there were then in Bahia province 147,263 unfree Negroes.[5]

The blacks were practically all introduced as slaves, Brazil being, until 1888, a slaveholding state.[6] Under the favorable conditions of a rich soil, intense tropical sunlight, and plentiful rainfall common to the Reconcavo, sugar cane thrived. Its cultivation and processing in a land of "open resources" demanded a constant and inexpensive labor supply which the Portuguese, by reason of insufficient numbers and imperfect acclimitization, were themselves unable to furnish. At first, as in the West Indies and the United States, the indigenous Indians were enslaved; and, after the limited supply on the littoral was exhausted, raiding expeditions penetrated deep into the interior. But the Indians, familiar with only the crudest forms of agriculture, seminomadic, and as unaccustomed to settled and ordered plan-

Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro [tomo especial; Rio, 1927], p. 294).

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 293 and 330.

[6] For detailed information on the slave trade and slavery see, especially Perdigão Malheiro, *A escravidão no Brasil* (3 vols.; Rio, 1867); Percy A. Martin, "Slavery and Abolition in Brazil," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. XIII, No. 2 (1933); Louis Couty, *L'esclavage au Brésil* (Paris, 1881); Lawrence F. Hill, "The Abolition of the African Slave Trade to Brazil," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. XI, No. 2 (1931); Braz do Amaral, "Os grandes mercados de escravos africanos; as tribus importadas; sua distribuição regional," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro* (special vol; Rio, 1927), pp. 437–96; Affonso Claudio, "As tribus negras importadas," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro* (special vol., Part II; Rio, 1914), pp. 597–655; Mary W. Williams, "The Treatment of Brazilian Slaves in the Brazilian Empire," *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. XV (July, 1930); Evaristo de Moraes, *A escravidão africana no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1933); João Dornas Filho, *A escravidão no Brasil* (Rio, 1939); Roberto Simonsen, "As consequencias economicas da abolição," *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio), May 8, 1938; Affonso de E. Taunay, "Notas sobre as ultimas decadas do trafico," *ibid.*, July 24, July 31, August 7, 1938.

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tation life as they were at home in the near-by bush, proved inefficient and undependable workers.

Just the reverse was characteristic of the Africans, with whom the Portuguese had for some time been acquainted. As early as 1433,[7] Negro slaves had been imported into Portugal to labor on the large estates of the military and religious orders, particularly in the Algarves. Moreover, the West Coast of Africa lay within easy reach of Brazil, directly opposite its central and northern coasts.

The exact date when African importation began is unknown, although it is thought that the fleet which Martim Affonso de Souza in 1531 encountered in the bay at Bahia was engaged in the transport of slaves.[8] Sometime later in this same century[9] the slave trade began to gather momen-

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[7] Prado cites a statement from Georg Friederici (*Der Charakter der Entdeckung und Eroberung Amerikas durch die Europaer* [3 vols.; Stuttgart, 1925–36]) to the effect that the first Africans were imported into Portugal in 1433, instead of 1441, as commonly thought. See J. F. de Almeida Prado, *Pernambuco e as capitanias do norte do Brasil* (2 vols.; São Paulo, 1939–41), I, 250 n.

[8] Malheiro, *op. cit.*, III, 6; cf. Arthur Ramos, *As culturas negras no novo mundo* (Rio, 1937), p. 281.

[9] In a letter dated 1552 Padre Nobrega refers to having requested and received three slaves from Guinea. These arrived with others on orders from the king (see Ignacio Accioli de Cerqueira e Silva, *Memorias historicas e politicas da provincia da Bahia* [4 vols.; Bahia, 1919–33], I, 390). In another letter written June 5, 1559, Padre Nobrega refers to eight "Negros de Guiné" on the estate of one Andre Gavião at Bahia (see Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 442). In 1583 a certain Salvador Correa de Sá made a contract with João Gutteres Valerio in which he agreed to purchase every slave brought from Africa in his ship (F. Borges de Barros, *Novos documentos para a historia colonial* [Bahia, 1931], p. 77). Pedro Calmon (*op. cit.*, p. 178) gives 1548 as the year in which the traffic began, and Arthur Ramos (*The Negro in Brazil* [Washington, 1939], p. 3) says that the first shipment of slaves direct from the Guinea coast is thought to have occurred in 1538 in a vessel belonging to one Jorge Lopes Bixorda.

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tum, Bahia serving for at least two centuries as the principal port of entry.[10] The traffic opened in Guinea and the island of São Thomé, spread shortly to the Congo and Angola, and finally to distant Mozambique. It continued uninterruptedly for nearly three hundred years, assuming its largest proportions in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when first gold-mining and diamond-panning in Minas Geraes, and then the development of coffee cultivation in São Paulo, augmented the demand.[11] How many Africans were brought

[10] Often for transhipment to Rio or for overland delivery to Minas Geraes.

[11] Henry Koster, writing in the early nineteenth century, says of this trade: "As the voyage from the coast of Africa to the opposite shores of South America is usually short, for the winds are subject to little variation and the weather is usually fine, the vessels which are employed in this traffic are generally speaking small, and are not of the best construction. The situation of captain or master of a slave ship is considered of secondary rank in the Portuguese merchant-service; and the persons who are usually so occupied are vastly inferior to the generality of the individuals who command the large and regular trading vessels between Europe and Brazil. The slave ships were formerly crowded to a most shocking degree; nor was there any means of preventing this. But a law has been passed for the purpose of restricting the number of persons for each vessel. However, I more than suspect, that no attention is paid to this regulation. . . . . The slaves . . . . are placed in the streets before the doors of the owners, ... lying or sitting promiscuously upon the foot-path, sometimes to the number of two or three hundred. The males wear a small piece of blue cloth round their waist, which is drawn between the legs and fastened behind. The females are allowed a larger piece of cloth, which is worn as a petticoat; and sometimes a second portion is given to them, for the purpose of covering the upper parts of the body. The stench which is created by these assemblages is almost intolerable to one who is unaccustomed to their vicinity; and the sight of them, good God! is horrid beyond anything. These people do not, however, seem to feel their situation, any farther than that it is uncomfortable. Their food consists of salt meat, the flour of the manioc, beans, and plantain occasionally. The victuals for each day are cooked in the middle of the street in an enormous caldron. At night, they are driven into one or more warehouses: and a driver stands to count them as they pass. They are locked in; and the door is again opened at day-break on the following morning. The wish of these wretched creatures to escape from this state of

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in perhaps never will be known, but the number undoubtedly ran into millions.[12]

Angola furnished most of the importations during the late sixteenth[13] and the seventeenth centuries; Guinea, during the eighteenth and early nineteenth.[14] By 1710 Bahian to-

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inaction and discomfort is manifested upon the appearance of a purchaser. They start up willingly, to be placed in the row for the purpose of being viewed and handled like cattle: and on being chosen they give signs of much pleasure. I have had many opportunities of seeing slaves bought; for my particular friends at Recife lived opposite to slave dealers. I never saw any demonstrations of grief at parting from each other: but I attribute this to a resigned or rather despairing sensation, which checks any show of grief, and which has prepared them for the worst, by making them indifferent to whatever may occur: besides, it is not often, that a family is brought over together: the separation of relatives and friends has taken place in Africa. It is among the younger part of the assemblage of persons who are exposed for sale, that pleasure is particularly visible at the change of situation; the Negroes of more advanced age do whatever the driver desires, usually with an unchanged countenance. A species of relationship exists between the individuals who have been imported in the same ship. They call each other *malungos:* and this term is much regarded among them. The purchaser gives to each of his newly-bought slaves a large piece of baize and a straw hat and as soon as possible marches them off to his estate. I have often in travelling met with many parties going up to their new homes, and have observed that they were usually cheerful" (*Travels in Brazil, 1809 to 1815* [2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1817], I, 205–9).

[12] Affonso de E. Taunay, "Numeros do trafico," *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio), September 30, 1936. Estimates made by Brazilian writers range from three to eighteen millions, although the latter figure would appear to be considerably exaggerated. Ramos believes the number did not exceed five millions (*The Negro in Brazil*, p. 6).

[13] Especially after the founding of São Paulo de Loanda in 1575 (Calmon, *op. cit.*, pp. 178–79). See also *Dialogos das grandezas do Brasil*, ed. Rodolfo Garcia (Rio: Academia Brasileira de Letras, 1930), p. 143.

[14] In 1811 an agreement with England, actively enforced by the latter's cruisers, cut off importations from north of the Equator. Angola once more became the principal source of slave supply, and, between 1815 and 1850, approximately a million Angola Negroes, it is estimated, came in (Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 182).

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By 1710 Bahian tobacco[15] was being shipped in quantity to "the Mina coast," which for more than a century thereafter absorbed a full third of Bahia's production.[16] A visitor early in the eighteenth century referred to Bahia as "New Guinea";[17] while the natives of Guinea were said at that time to have called the outer world "Bahia."[18]

In 1781 fifty vessels were engaged in the Brazilian traffic, "eight or ten with Angola and the rest with the Sudanese coast."[19] In 1800 twenty vessels were plying the trade from Bahia alone. According to custom-house records, 29,172 Negroes from "the Mina coast" and the islands of São Thomé and Principe entered Bahia during the decade from

[15] *Aguardente*, or *cachaça* (cheap rum), sugar, and manioc meal were also extensively used for trading purposes, as similarly were cowries (*buzios*) from the coast south of Bahia.

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[16] Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

[17] Amadeu Francisco Frézier, *Relation d'un voyage à la mer du sud* (Paris, 1716); cf. Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 185. The demand for slave labor in the gold fields of Minas Geraes so stimulated importations that La Barbinais, visiting Bahia in 1717, estimated that in that year 25,000 Africans were landed at Bahia. See Affonso de E. Taunay, *Na Bahia colonial* (Rio, 1925), p. 364.

[18] "It was principally to Bahia . . . . that the unfortunate sons of Lybia were brought, and it is for this reason that the natives of Guinea give the name of Bahia to Brazil, to America, and even to Europe" (Onesime Reclus, quoted by Manoel Querino, "A raça africana e os seus costumes na Bahia," *Annaes do quinto congresso brasileiro de geographia* [Rio, 1916], p. 626).

[19] Calmon, *op. cit.*, pp. 180–81. See letter of Silva Lisboa, *Annaes da Bibliotecа Nacional*, XXXII, 504. From September 20, 1771, to September 22, 1772, nine slave ships with 2,307 Negroes entered the port of Bahia. One ship, "Nossa Senhora do Rosario," carrying 371 Africans "and two babies at the breast" had not had a single death on the voyage. Another vessel, "Nossa Senhora da Conceição da Ponte," sailing from the Mina coast with a call at São Thomé, landed 13 without casualty, July 11, 1772. But other ships lost, respectively, 111 out of 374, 17 out of 468, 17 out of 158, 29 out of 233, 11 out of 308, 44 out of 327, 20 out of 302—a total loss of 249 out of 2,554 leaving the African coast (from custom-house records; see Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 458).

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1785 to 1795, and in the last five of these years 17,409 Africans came in from Angola.[20] From 1797 to 1806 approximately 47,000 "Minas" and 11,000 "Angolas" entered Bahia.[21] In the Angola trade, ships plied directly between the Brazilian ports of Bahia,[22] Pernambuco, Rio de Janeiro, and Maranhão and the Angola ports of São Paulo de Loanda, Benguella, and, particularly, Novo Redondo, exchanging for Angola Negroes tobacco, *cachaça*, cotton prints, knives, glass beads, powder, and lead.[23] Thousands of Yorubas, Gêges (Ewes), Haussás, Fuláhs (Fulbis, Fulanins), Ashantis, Tapas, Effans, and Mandingas were imported from the ports of Lagos, Forte de El Mina, and São João de Ajudá (Whydah).[24] Felix de Sousa, better known as Cháchá,[25] a mulatto from Rio de Janeiro, played a prominent role in the trade in the early part of the nineteenth century.

In the sixteenth century a good slave is said to have been

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[20] Calogeras, *op. cit.*, pp. 325–26.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 322.

[22] Several slave warehouses existed in the area between Agua dos Meninos and the Dourado docks. Some slave merchants used their own houses as *depositos*. A certain Siqueira Lima had such a house in Vitoria on the present site of the governor's palace (Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 70).

[23] Ferreira reports 8,037 Negroes imported into Bahia in the year 1807 (José Carlos Ferreira, "As insurreições dos africanos na Bahia," *Revista do Instituto Geographico e Historico da Bahia*, XXIX [1903], 96). In 1821, 21,199 Negroes entered Rio from Angola; in 1822, 24,934 (Maria Graham, *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil, 1821–1823* [London, 1824], p. 146).

[24] Braz do Amaral says there were also imported Africans known in Bahia as Macuas, Bambas, Jalos, Bechuanos, Balantes, Jingas, Krumanos, Timinis, Bengos, Jalofas, Bengalas, Cabindas, Congos, Manjocos, Sentys, Maguiscas, Benins, Queitos, and Bornûs. Numerically important were the Yorubas (Nagôs) and Gêges (Amaral, *op. cit.*, pp. 474–84). The Yoruba subgroups, the Egbas and Ige-shas, were apparently large.

[25] Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 182; cf. Novas Calvo, *Pedro blanco el negrero* (Madrid, 1933), p. 69.

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In the sixteenth century a good slave is said to have been valued in Bahia at 40 milreis; in 1692, at 60 milreis; in 1703, at 100 milreis; and in 1800, at 140 milreis.[26] At Pernambuco, early in the nineteenth century, Negroes were valued at 32 pounds sterling; oxen at 31 pounds each, and horses the same; although "by management the two last may be obtained at lower prices," Koster informs us,[27] adding that "plantations of the first class ought to have eighty Negroes at least."

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In addition to Bahia and Recife, there were two other centers of African importation on the coast, at Rio de Janeiro to the south and Maranhão to the north, and one interior region of concentration, the province of Minas Geraes. These five areas received the major portion of all importations and remain today the principal centers of Negro population in Brazil.

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In 1831 a treaty with Great Britain sought to abolish the slave trade. But for a quarter of a century this agreement was so little enforced[28] that an estimated 500,000 additional

[26] Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 182. A slave worth 100 milreis in 1830 was valued at five times this figure ten years later, and still more as the pressure of the British blockade continued (Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 472).

[27] *Op. cit.*, II, 139.

[28] "At one time it appeared impossible to abolish the traffic. . . . The planters declared that without Africans they would be absolutely unable to plant crops; that free labor was not to be had in sufficient numbers for the necessities of agriculture; that only by force could labor be obtained in this hot country; that the citizen, he who was a free man, possessed as his chief privilege 'não trabalhar' [the right not to labor], or at least to work only enough to enable him to eat and to live as 'Deus dará' [God will provide]; that since the 'gente rude' did not lack shelter, being content to live in palm-leaf huts, it was useless to attempt to obtain profitable labor from free men, who were always lazy and inclined to idleness; that the *fazendeiro* who used free labor was soon reduced to penury by the wages paid out and the poor quality of work so secured" (Amaral, *op. cit.*, pp. 472–73). On receiving news of the decree of 1831, the Bahian provincial assembly directed a petition to

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Africans were brought into Brazil, many in United States ships, operated by English capital.[29] In 1846, 50,324 were imported; in 1847, 56,172; and, in the following year, 60,000.[30] This traffic was completely suppressed only by 1852,[30a] Bahia being one of the areas in which it died hardest.[31]

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In plant and animal communities different species come

the federal senate, demanding its repeal. At one time a *delegado de policia* in Bahia was dismissed from office for having apprehended a shipment of Africans, although such shipment was obviously illegal under the provisions of this law.

[29] Daniel P. Kidder, *Sketches of Residence and Travels in Brazil* (2 vols.; London, 1845), II, 96–97; Hill, *op. cit.*, pp. 179 ff.; Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 319. The most notorious slave-trade case involving a vessel from the United States was that of the "Mary E. Smith" of New Orleans. The ship was brought into Bahia by the Brazilian brig "Olinda" on January 29, 1856, with 370 slaves from fifteen to twenty years of age aboard. The "Mary E. Smith," despite efforts to detain her, had left Boston on the preceding August 24 and sailed to the Gold Coast, where she had picked up a cargo of nearly five hundred Africans. When captured, she had been attempting unsuccessfully for weeks to land her cargo on the Bahian coast. One hundred and six slaves died before the vessel was finally taken and those still alive upon arrival in Bahia were so weakened by starvation and disease that only a few survived.

[30] Calmon, *op. cit.*, II, 171. According to figures given by the British Anti-slavery Society, 221,800 Africans entered Brazil between 1840 and 1847 (Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 495).

[30a] Percy A. Martin, *Argentina, Brazil and Chile since Independence* (Washington, 1935), p. 208. The last shipload into Bahia landed October 29, 1851. See Wanderley de A. Pinho, "O ultimo desembarque de escravos na Bahia," *Espelho* (September, 1936), pp. 13–16.

[31] Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 236. The *Argos Pernambucano* of January 30, 1850, says: "The way in which free Africans are imported into Bahia and reduced to slavery, with the obvious connivance of the government, is a notorious scandal." In the *Argos Sant'Amarense* appeared the following: "The Governor of the Province himself, at nightfall, on the twenty-first of October, 1849, unloaded in the city of Santo Amaro a large number of newly arrived Africans, which he had brought from the capital [Bahia] in a boat, and transported them to his *engenho*." See also Querino, *op. cit.*, p. 626.

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to live together because they mutually support one another. Similarly, different racial stocks often occupy to mutual advantage the same habitat because each fits into a different niche in an interdependent symbiotic order. The fundamental problem is that of survival. The Portuguese at Bahia to a considerable extent resolved this problem by the development of an economy based upon plantation agriculture and slave labor.

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A considerable number of Negroes died while being transported from Africa. Others subsequently perished from the ravages of cholera, yellow fever, and other epidemics. A few committed suicide or led religiously motivated uprisings against their masters. But the major portion were readily incorporated into the plantation system. Centuries of familiarity with the slave tradition of their African cultures and, in many cases, familiarity with the slave status itself probably made their adjustment to a slave system in the new land less difficult.

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Most of the Negroes entering and remaining in the vicinity of Bahia were employed in the planting, cultivation, harvesting, processing, and marketing of sugar cane and tobacco. A limited number were engaged in cattle-raising. They also supplied the necessary artisan and domestic labor on the plantations.

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Within the city of Bahia itself, as in other Brazilian ports, most of the slaves were engaged in domestic service. However, in addition, a modified form of slavery existed. Many blacks, known as *negros de ganho*, were employed as porters, stevedores, ironworkers, masons, carpenters, carriage- and cabinet-makers, printers, sign and ornamental painters, silversmiths, lithographers, sculptors in wood and stone, small shopkeepers, street merchants, etc. They were semi-inde-

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pendent, lived apart from their masters, and arranged their own employment. They were usually required to pay a stated sum weekly to their owners, after which they might retain for their own use any balance remaining. In Bahia they are reported to have been principally Yorubas, Gêges, and Haussás.

These Negroes were reputedly strong, capable workers. Almost all the Haussás were ardent Mohammedans, who in Bahia seem to have converted to their faith many Yorubas, Gêges, and other Africans. Shrewd and intelligent, they were at times superior in cultural equipment to their masters. Many were literate, and some are said to have written Arabic fluently. Often they banded together to mature schemes of revolt, to buy the freedom of a favorite friend, or to work under a leader for the liberation of all. The order in which they secured their freedom was ordinarily determined by lot, the earliest liberated remaining with the group until the last was purchased, after which they sometimes returned to Africa, paying their passage with what they had earned.[32]

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It was principally the Haussás who led the numerous slave revolts[33] at Bahia during the early nineteenth century. Although these uprisings were all unsuccessful and ordi-

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[32] Daniel P. Kidder and James C. Fletcher, *Brazil and the Brazilians* (Philadelphia, 1857), p. 135. Between 1850 and 1878 from four to six thousand free Negroes from Brazil settled at Lagos and Whydah and a few in Angola (Sir Harry H. Johnston, *The Negro in the New World* [New York, 1910], p. 98 n.). Repatriated Gêges are said to have founded on the African West Coast a city with the name of a Bahian port, Porto Seguro.

[33] In the Archivo Publico at Bahia are four volumes of police documents covering the revolts of this period. Each volume contains from a thousand to twelve hundred sheets in long hand which, for their age, are fairly well preserved.

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narily ended in the death of their leaders, the Europeans lived throughout this period in a more or less constant state of alarm.[34] Arthur Ramos, following Nina Rodrigues, considers these disturbances to have been "nothing more or less than a continuation of the long and recurrent struggles of religious conquest carried on by the Mohammedan Negroes of the Sudan."[35] In support of this contention it has been pointed out that their animosity was directed not only at the Europeans but also at creole blacks and mulattoes who did not join the crusade.

In estimating the character of these revolts, one should give particular attention to the fact that the participants were either free Negroes or those slaves, like the *negros de ganho* and the field hands, whose relations with the whites were not the intimate relations which ordinarily arise out of close personal contact. It is highly significant that on the eve of revolt the whites always received timely warning from

[34] The following document, which was sent to the governor of Bahia by several *senhores de engenho*, shows the fear which at that time agricultural proprietors had of these disturbances (Silva, *op. cit.*, p. 346):

The undersigned owners of *engenhos*, considering the imminent peril in which by reason of the frequent slave revolts known to Your Excellency their persons and, in general, those of all the inhabitants of the Reconcavo and even perhaps of the entire Province [of Bahia] are placed, and considering that at every moment the property of each one of them is at stake, feel it an unavoidable duty to point out this situation to Your Excellency and to beg the actual placing of those Detachments which Your Excellency sometime ago ordered stationed at various points in the Reconcavo in keeping with the police plan of the 10th of December, 1828, the which, being included in the *Proposta* of the Provincial Counsel General, was approved along with other provisions and ordered put into effect, the expenses of its execution to be paid out of the public treasury.

It not being, however, the intention of the petitioners to load onto the Public Treasury the entire burden, they themselves offer to seek to raise a portion of this expense by means of a subscription.

The petitioners rest confident in the interest which Your Excellency has always taken in the preservation of public order, and are thereby assured that you will give ear to this urgent request which they have here set forth.

[35] Ramos, *As culturas negras*, p. 336; see also Nina Rodrigues, *Os africanos no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1932), pp. 61–107.

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some slave,[36] and many Negroes repeatedly refused to participate in the uprisings.[37] The disturbances were ordinarily led, as we have seen, by Mohammedan Haussás, said to be exceedingly spirited and resolute individuals,[38] who were either free blacks or semi-independent *negros de ganho*. Moreover, they lived for the most part in the city where life was less arduous than on the plantations and where there was, at the same time, more leisure for brooding over grievances and perfecting schemes of revolt. Since all insurrectionists spoke the same or quite similar languages and shared

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[36] Dantas Junior, in commenting on the revolt of 1807, repeats (*A Illustração* [Bahia], June, 1936) that on the night of the twenty-second of May (the revolt was set for 7:00 P.M. of the twenty-eighth) a "person of integrity" urgently sought out the governor at his palace and secretly informed him that "a Negro of mine told me that the slaves of the Ussá nation are plotting to revolt." Following the serious uprising of 1835, the provincial assembly rewarded (*Laws*, No. 344, August 5, 1848, and No. 405, August 2, 1850) the "free Africans," Duarte Mendes and his wife, Sabina da Cruz, with the cancellation of their taxes for having "informed on and thus prevented the success of the planned insurrection."

[37] "The Negroes of the warehouses belonging to Manoel Ignacio da Cunha and Francisco Lourenço Herculano did not wish to join the band" (Silva, *op. cit.*, p. 347). Wied Neuwied, who visited Bahia during the period of these uprisings, says that colored troops were used in suppressing them. See Prince Maximilian Wied Neuwied, *Viagem ao Brasil*, trans. from the German of *Reise nach Brasilien in den Jahren 1815 bis 1817* (2 vols.; Frankfurt, 1820), by Edgar Sussekind de Mendonça and Flavio Poppe de Figueiredo (São Paulo, 1940), pp. 450–51.

[38] Koster, noting that "Pernambuco has never experienced any serious revolt among the slaves; but at Bahia there have been several commotions," and convinced that "Bahia contains fewer free people than Pernambuco in proportion to the number of slaves," wrote, "I cannot avoid attributing the quietude of the latter in some measure to the circumstances of a few of the Gold Coast Negroes being imported into it, whilst at Bahia the principal stock of slaves is from that part of Africa. . . . . They are represented as possessing great firmness of mind and body, and ferociousness of disposition" (*op. cit.*, I, 214).

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the same or similar religious beliefs and practices, they were able to act effectively together.

In 1806, following a raid upon a "conspirator's house," the imprisonment of a number of suspected plotters, and the confiscation of "four hundred arrows, a bundle of sticks, and quantities of cord for the making of bows, a large number of knives and pistols, a gun and a drum," orders were issued to arrest every slave found in the streets after nine o'clock at night "without a letter from his master or in his company."[39] The following year correspondence between African conspirators in Bahia and Santo Amaro (a sugar center in the Reconcavo) was intercepted, and the leaders thus exposed were subsequently tried, sentenced to death, and executed.[40] About the same time the governor of Bahia ordered destroyed two troublesome *quilombos*, or settlements of fugitive slaves, on the outskirts of the city near Cabula and Nossa Senhora dos Mares, and the *capitãomor* with eighty soldiers surrounded their huts and took prisoner seventy-eight blacks, some of whom were free Negroes.[41]

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In 1809 a revolt about twelve miles from Bahia was put down after the Haussás had "committed all sorts of outrages."[42] In 1813 about five hundred Haussás revolted and fled into the surrounding country but were speedily pursued and disarmed and their leaders publicly hung on gallows erected in Praça Piedade, one of the principal squares of the city. Several others were deported to Africa.[43] In 1826 soldiers had to be sent to various points in the Reconcavo,

[39] Silva, *op. cit.*, p. 346.

[40] Alvares do Amaral, *Resumo chronologico da Bahia* (Bahia, n.d.), p. 111.

[41] Eduardo A. de Caldas Britto, "Levantes de pretos na Bahia," *Revista do Instituto Geographico e Historico da Bahia*, XXIX, 72.

[42] Alvares do Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 39. See also Ramos, *As culturas negras*, p. 337.

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including Cachoeira, to put down an African insurrection, whose leader had been chosen a "king of the blacks" and when wounded and captured "carried a red flag, had on his head . . . . a crown, and over his shoulders an old-fashioned mantle of green velveteen on which had been embroidered a golden cock." An incident of this uprising was the successful resistance of a *quilombo* near Pirajá, a few miles distant from Bahia, to the attack of several *capitães do matto*[43a] who, in the mistaken belief that they had to deal with a small number of Negroes, sought without reinforcements to apprehend these fugitives and lost their lives in the attempt. A detachment of soldiers was required to dislodge the Africans.[44]

In 1827 a body of Yoruba slaves fled into the *matto* after sacking and setting fire to houses in the suburbs of the city. A police force sent in pursuit engaged the fugitives, killing or wounding eight of their number, but met with such resistance over a period of two days' skirmishing that it would have itself been wiped out had not a patrol of troops come to its rescue. The next year, following three separate revolts, slaveholders in the Reconcavo appealed to the governor for more effective police protection.

In 1835 the last and most serious revolt broke out, led again by Mohammedan Negroes, each of whom wore upon his person a *patuá*, or charm, presumed to protect the faithful against death in any form.[45] Bahia was at that time the [789]

[43a] "Bush Captains" hired to track down fugitive slaves.

[44] Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

[45] Padre Etienne Ignace Brasil, "Os Malês," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, LXXII, Part II (1909), 83. In São Salvador dos Campos, in the province of Rio de Janeiro, "restless slaves wearing plumes in their hats" were arrested, one of whom on being interrogated confessed that orders had been received from Bahia to revolt on the following Ash Wednesday (Alvares do Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 91).

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seat of the iman, or head in Brazil of all African disciples of the prophet Mohammed. Those who were resident in Rio, Ceará, and Pernambuco owed allegiance to him. Incidentally, it was a time of general social unrest not only among certain of the slaves but among the whites as well.[46] The aim of the conspiracy was "to set up a queen after exterminating all the Europeans." Extensive plans were laid, including the proposed participation of slaves from "every part of the Reconcavo," many of whom, immediately preceding the night set for the uprising, fled from their owners and came to Bahia. A banner was adopted and the robes worn at Mohammedan ceremonies selected as costumes of war. The time chosen for the uprising was during the popular festival of Nossa Senhora da Guia, when most of the European population would be gathered at Bomfim, outside the main area of the city, houses would consequently be deserted by white owners, and slaves might go in and out without arousing suspicion.[47]

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The governor, forewarned by a faithful slave a few hours before the uprising actually occurred, doubled all police

[46] From 1831 to 1837 revolts against the Brazilian imperial government broke out in Pará, Sergipe, Pernambuco, and Rio Grande do Sul. In Maranhão three thousand slaves, led by an African named Cosme, had recently revolted.

[47] The report of the chief of police to the governor of the province of Bahia (republished from the *Diario da Bahia* in the *Jornal do Commercio* of Rio, February 10, 1835) said that the evidence indicated "the insurrection had been plotted for a considerable period of time with absolute secrecy. . . . . Almost all the leaders know how to read and to write in some unknown language, which appears to be Arabic. This is the same language which is used by the Ussás, who seem to be united today with the Nagôs. These Ussás are from the same tribe which has revolted on several occasions in this Province. . . . . Their leaders, among whom are many free and even wealthy Africans, stir up and organise revolts."

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patrols which later, aided by foot soldiers and cavalry and favored by considerable confusion among the widely separated bands of blacks as to the actual hour of attack, scattered and broke up the Negro mobs, but only after a serious struggle.[48] The leaders of the revolt were tried,[49] given two hundred, five hundred, even one thousand lashes, or shot by a firing squad, or deported to Africa. Further importation of the *batá*, or African war drum, was forbidden.

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The number and persistence of these slave insurrections may suggest that slavery in Brazil was unusually severe. The reverse seems to be the fact. Insurrectionists were unassimilated free Negroes and semi-independent slaves, morally isolated from the Europeans. Although the hardships incidental to a plantation system obviously existed, and atrocities occurred here as elsewhere, the slavery involved, as we shall see in detail in chapter iii, was ordinarily a mild form of servitude. In general, slavery in Brazil was characterized by the gradual and continuous growth of intimate, personal relations between master and slave which tended to humanize the institution and undermine its formal character.

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[48] A letter from Bahia published in the *Jornal do Commercio* of Rio on February 10, 1835, and dated January 31, reads: "Business and commerce is completely at a standstill by reason of a Negro uprising which last Sunday suddenly upset public tranquillity in this city. The revolt, which had been planned for a long time, was very serious, but the armed forces managed to put it down."

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[49] The police records deposited in the Archivo Publico at Bahia list 234 Negroes who, subsequent to the uprising, were brought to trial by the authorities. Among these, 165 are listed as Nagôs, 21 as Haussás, 6 as Gêges, and 6 as Tapas. Documents found in their possession, facsimiles of which may be seen in the above depository, were written in Arabic characters. See also the novel by Pedro Calmon, *Os Malês, a insurreição das senzalas* (Rio, 1933).

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One advantage which Brazilian slaves had over bondsmen in the English colonies was the numerous holidays of which the Catholic religion enjoins the observance. Koster wrote:

> These give to the slave many days of rest or time to work for his own profit; thirty-five of these, and the Sundays besides, allow him to employ much of his time as he pleases. Few masters are inclined to restrain the right of their slaves to dispose of these days as they think fit; or, at any rate, few dare, whatever their inclinations may be, to brave public opinion in depriving them of the intervals from work which the law has set apart as their own. . . . . The time which is thus afforded, enables the slave, who is so inclined, to accumulate a considerable sum of money.[50]

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Among the small proprietors, parity of condition in many respects apparently obtained between master and slave, who worked together and fared much alike.[51]

It is, of course, true that cases of the most barbaric and extreme cruelty occurred, but apparently these were relatively rare and confined in large measure to frontier areas, where masters were very much a law unto themselves.[52] Public opinion was ordinarily opposed to such treatment, much of which has been attributed to Negro or mulatto owners or overseers who were notorious for their severity.[53]

[50] *Op. cit.*, I, 191.

[51] Southey, *op. cit.*, III, 782.

[52] However, Koster records as late as 1800 that, owing to the "abominable cruelty" with which they were treated in Rio de Janeiro, frequent murders were committed by slaves. Iron shackles, sharply pronged iron collars, stocks, and thumb screws were employed, and severe beatings to the point of death and even boilings in oil occurred. See also Thomas Ewbank, *Life in Brazil* (New York, 1856), pp. 116–17, 439.

[53] Joaquim Nabuco made public, and Conselheiro Dantas once referred in the federal senate to "a disgraceful tragedy" which occurred in Parahyba do Sul on July 29, 1886. A master who was an *homem de côr*, his *homem de côr* overseer and *algoz* "flayed and tortured" several slaves until they died

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One must not overlook the fact, however, that during the first years of colonization the letters of the Jesuits contained numerous references to Indian slaves who were "tortured and branded in the face."[54] And later, the kings of Portugal, impressed by reports which had come to them concerning hardships inflicted on Negro slaves in Brazil, more than once wrote to their colonial representatives, exhorting them "to put a stop to such crying inhumanities."[55]

Most reports of cruelties, however, date from the abolition campaign and no doubt reflect the agitation and fervor of that movement. Thus, the able Bahian abolitionist, Anselmo da Fonseca, reports the case of a Negro in Rio Grande do Sul whose wrists were tied above his head and, after honey had been poured over his nude body, was left to the insects. Anselmo further reports the raping of small children, the use of stocks, the fracturing of teeth with a ham-

from the effects of their wounds (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 145). Fonseca estimates that two-thirds of all the *feitores* (overseers), *capitães de mato*, and *correlores* (slave dealers) in Bahia were either mulattoes or blacks (*ibid.*, p. 151).

[54] Brazilian Indians, who before the coming of the Portuguese had killed their prisoners of war, changed this custom when it was discovered that they could sell their captives to the Europeans. Subsequently the latter organized raids into the interior in search of Indian slaves. The Jesuits fought this traffic, their struggles with the colonists lending a dramatic note to accounts of life in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Gradually their influence at the Portuguese court prevailed, certain restrictions were by royal decree put upon the enslavement of Indians, which, being disregarded by the colonists, led to further Jesuit protest and finally, in 1755, to a royal edict liberating all Indian slaves. Equal legal rights were subsequently granted the Indians, the University of Coimbra was opened to them, and they were even admitted, it is said, to the nobility.

[55] A writer cites three "royal letters" in support, dated, respectively, March 20, 1688, March 1, 1700, and April 27, 1719 (see the anonymous article entitled "Tradiçoes bahianas," *Revista do Instituto Geographico e Historico da Bahia*, LVI [1930], 514).

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mer, the filling of razor slashes with salt, the castration of males and the amputation of the breasts of females, and "murder at the slightest whim."[56] The custom of *novenas* and *trezenas* of slave beatings sometimes resulted in death.[57]

In 1887 a police sergeant in a village in the interior of Bahia Province reported to the governor: "Considering the number of crimes on slaves in this section which continually go unpunished, this town of Formosa is in great need of at least five soldiers to be stationed here at the disposal of the local police official."[58] The *Diario da Bahia* of July 21, 1887, reports the discovery of a slave woman bearing about her neck a pronged iron collar "weighing twenty-five pounds, from which were suspended heavy chains wrapped about her body like serpents."

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Escapes were frequent, the fugitives being assisted by the character of the *matto*. They were hunted by hired *capitães do matto*, or "bush captains," usually Brazilian-born Negroes or mixed-bloods, whose trained dogs netted them a steady income.[59] Occasionally, fugitive slaves banded together in considerable numbers for mutual protection into *quilombos*.

[56] Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 561–63. For illustrations of instruments used to punish slaves, see Arthur Ramos, "Castigos de escravos," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* (São Paulo), XLVII (May, 1938), 79–104.

[57] "Each day at a certain hour . . . . the slave is stripped and tied to a post where he receives a certain number of blows which reopen wounds made on previous days. . . . . This is done for periods of nine to thirteen days in accordance with the practices [religious ceremonies extending over a period of nine to thirteen days] of the church" (*ibid.*, p. 43 n.).

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[58] *Ibid.*, p. 673.

[59] Still played by children at Bahia is the game "Capitão do matto," a form of "hide and go seek" in which those hiding are presumed to be slaves and the hunter a "bush captain."

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The present town of Orobó,[60] approximately a hundred and fifty miles interior from the port of Bahia, is said to have had its origin in such a settlement.[61] Even outlying areas of the city of Bahia like Matta Escura and Estrada da Liberdade, and the neighboring villages of Cabula, Armação, Pirajá, and Itapoan, are said to have had their origin in *quilombos*, dating from the colonial period. From these settlements there were frequent sallies of Negroes into the city to rob and to pillage. However, no *quilombo* in the state of Bahia

[60] The name has recently been changed to Ruy Barbosa.

[61] On September 23, 1796, an investigation was ordered of complaints regarding the *quilombo* of Orobó. On April 6 of the following year this report was made (Silva, *op. cit.*, III, 227):

ILLUSTRIOUS AND ESTEEMED SIR:

There having been repeated requests on the part of certain *senhores de engenho* and owners of *fazendas* living in the vicinity of Orobó, district of the villa of Cachoeira, that there be destroyed a very old *quilombo* of fugitive slaves who have been wasting and destroying neighboring plantations and committing other excesses of great damage to the settlers, I ordered the *desembargador*, Juiz de Fora, of the same villa to find out if these reports were true, and if they were, to seek by all means possible to destroy this *quilombo*, using all prudence and care to avoid any fatal occurrence in the execution of the order, in view of the great distance between Cachoeira and that district, as well as our ignorance of the size of the *quilombo* which, according to some accounts, was not small. The necessity of collecting provisions, of enrolling and arming men . . . . delayed for some time the execution of this order until, the complaints continuing and the people themselves offering to lend some aid and assistance, I ordered the *capitão-mor* of Entradas e Assaltos of the District of São José das Itapororocas, Severino Pereira, to organize an armed force and to destory the *mocambo*. This order was carried out in December of last year, the two *quilombos*, or *mocambos*, known as Orobó and Andrah being destroyed. At these places were found fields of manioc, *fahame*, rice, fruit, and a little sugar cane, with all of which the inhabitants had easily been able to sustain themselves. Thirteen slaves were apprehended, among them men, women, and children, all of whom were delivered up to their respective masters. Previous to the arrival of the armed force, it is reported, a great number of slaves living there fled, for apparently they suspected, or perhaps were even aware of, the impending attack. As it appeared that they had fled to another *quilombo* called Tupim, farther off, I ordered that it similarly be destroyed, but I have not yet had notice whether such has been done. This is what I have to offer Your Excellency in reply to a letter directed to me and received on the 23rd of September of last year, urging me to undertake the most effective means of destroying the indicated *quilombos* and of relieving the settlers.

God guard Your Excellency.

Bahia, 6th of April, 1797. Most Illustrious and Excellent Sir, D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho.

D. FERNANDO JOSÉ DE PORTUGAL

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equaled in size or in importance the famed Palmares of Alagoas.[63]

It is a mistake, however, to conclude that humane and intimate relations between master and slave were by any means rare. In fact, they were in all likelihood, as we shall see in detail later, the general rule. The literature records numerous instances like that witnessed by John Codman in 1866, of which he says:

> We drove up to the door of our Brazilian passengers. They were most boisterously welcomed by a troop of blacks. The pleasantest thing I had seen for some hours was the affection of these poor Negroes. Bright shone their eyes, and what a display was there of ivory! They fairly seized their mistress . . . . in their arms, and "toted" her off into the house, hugging and kissing her, screaming and dancing as they went.[64]

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[63] The famous "Negroes of the Palmares" (or "Palm Forests") were slaves who had escaped from Pernambuco before and particularly during the struggles of the Portuguese with the Dutch. Constantly acquiring recruits, they set up a series of crudely fortified villages scattered over some sixty leagues (about two hundred and forty miles). From these they harried the neighboring regions, taking from outlying *fazendas* both mates and slaves, among the former of which white women were occasionally to be found. They became so strong and so difficult to dislodge, that numerous expeditions sent out by the Dutch and later by the Portuguese served only to check for a time their growth—were unable for seventy years to destroy them completely. Only in 1697 were they finally subdued by an army from Recife led by a Paulista famed for success in such fighting and especially imported for this service, and then only after he had at first encountered serious reversals at their hands and their resistance had subsequently been broken by a failure of the food supply (Southey, *op. cit.*, III, 23-29). This Negro group had at times carried on trade with the whites, exchanging agricultural products for articles of manufacture. That they were seriously treated as an alien but respected group is attested by an exchange of peace commissioners during the governorship of Ayres Souza e Castro and the subsequent signing of a treaty of peace. (Incidentally, this treaty was never kept by the whites.) For a critical examination of the exaggerated reports of this erroneously labeled "Negro Republic" see Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-43.

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[64] John Codman, *Ten Months in Brazil* (Boston, 1867), p. 125.

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The first recorded protest in Brazil against slavery as an institution was that of the Jesuit Manoel de Nobrega, who, shortly after Bahia was founded, sent a letter to the superior of his order in Lisbon protesting against the importation of Africans into the new settlement.

In 1758 Manoel Ribeiro da Rocha, who had been educated at Coimbra, published in Lisbon a book entitled *Ethiope resgatado, empenhado, sustentado, corrigido, instruido e libertado*, in which the abolition of the slave trade was advocated. Sixty-five years later, in 1823, José Bonifacio de Andrade e Silva unsuccessfully proposed in parliament a measure designed to end importation by 1828. But on November 7, 1831, the regent, Padre Diogo Antonio Feijó, signed a resolution drawn up by Costa Carvalho, Lima e Sousa, and Basilio Muniz, which declared free all Africans subsequently brought into Brazil.

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Manumission existed from the first. Apparently early in the colonial period it became customary for masters to accept remuneration for original cost.[64] Public opinion demanded that an owner set at liberty any slave requesting his freedom and offering the price of his purchase.[65] The requirement was later made legally binding and enforced by law.[65a] Other slaves were given their freedom either during their master's lifetime or upon his death. The fathers of illegitimate offspring often freed their children at the baptismal font. From 1864 to 1870 large numbers of slaves were granted their freedom on agreeing to serve in the Para-

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[64] The wearing of shoes or slippers became a symbol of freedom.

[65] R. Walsh, *Notices of Brazil* (2 vols.; London, 1830), II, 391.

[65a] National Law No. 2040, September 28, 1871. See Manoel Joaquim do Nascimento e Silva, *Synopsis da legislação brasileira* (Rio, 1874), p. 460.

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guayan war.[66] The law eventually provided that Negro women, after rearing ten children, should be automatically liberated.[67] In 1871 the so-called "law of Rio Branco" freed offspring of slaves born subsequent to its adoption[68] and set up a fund for the purchase and liberation of Negroes by the government. By 1880 a widespread emancipation movement was under way.[69] Thousands were freed by will, by payments from emancipation funds,[70] or by outright gift.[71] For instance, in 1883, in the towns of Baturite, Aca-

[66] On March 30, 1867, the monastery of São Bento in Bahia, which had already freed eleven slaves for service in the war with Paraguay, liberated six more Negroes and "presented them to the Governor for the same purpose."

[67] Koster, however, wrote from Pernambuco in the early nineteenth century: "A slave who has brought into the world, and has reared ten children, ought to be free, for so the law ordains. But this regulation is generally evaded" (*op. cit.*, I, 195).

[68] This law was, however, in some cases ineffective. Sixteen years after its passage the Bahian *Diario Official*, of June 4, 1887, reported the following auction of slave property at the *fazenda Concordia:* "Alberto, 10 years of age, one conto of reis; Vicente, 13 years, one conto of reis; Felix, 14 years, 800 milreis; Flauzinha, 13 years, 600 milreis, Simplicio, 14 years, one conto of reis" (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 587 n.)

[69] Among the prominent abolitionists mentioned by Anselmo da Fonseca were: José do Patrocinio, Joaquim Nabuco ("the great and illustrious head of the abolition movement"), Senator Dantas, Ferreira de Menezes, Andre Rebouças, Quintino Bocayuva, Joaquim Serra, Ennes de Souza, Getulio das Neves, Nicolau Moreira, José Mariano, Celso Junior, Senator Jaguaripe, Luiz de Andrade, João Clapp, Beaurepaire Rohan, Aristides Spinola, Ruy Barbosa, Escragnole Taunay, Franco de Sá, Antonio Pinto, Leopoldo Bulhões, and "a writer using the pseudonym of Clarkson" (*ibid.*, p. 23).

[70] These funds were sponsored by emancipation societies, private individuals, and municipal, state, and national treasuries.

[71] The *Provinciano*, a newspaper of Parahyba do Sul, listed in 1884, among others, the following emancipations: "Dona Anna S. José, 16 slaves liberated and a farm given them for their use; Condessa do Rio Novo, 200 slaves

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rapi, and São Francisco, a *Sociedade Libertadora* freed 122 slaves in one day. Scores of these societies operated throughout Brazil.[72]

Dr. João Garcez dos Santos was the first Bahian *fazendeiro* (planter) to exchange slave labor for free. After spending some years in Europe studying agriculture, he returned to Brazil and, in 1864, bought an *engenho* called Pimental, in the *termo* of São Francisco. He freed all the slaves except eight domestic servants and paid these freedmen wages, retaining a portion of their earnings until he had been recompensed for their original cost. During the subsequent year he produced with free labor two hundred boxes of sugar. Three years later, he "freed the womb" of his eight female domestic servants, and, on his death in 1874, he set at liberty all the slaves which he had inherited from his father (a total of about sixty persons) on condition that they continue working for wages on the *engenho* for five years.[73]

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In 1868 the Senhoras Condessa de Barral and Pedra

liberated by will, and the Cantagallo plantation given them for a home; Barão de Dias, 163 slaves liberated, who remain established on his plantation as laborers." In 1887 Anselmo da Fonseca wrote: "As to the *cartas de alforria* granted by slaveholders themselves, it is well known that these have always appeared in greater or lesser number in the country, and that from 1880 on they have multiplied greatly and have now become quite numerous, thanks to the powerful influence of that propaganda which has contributed so much to the elevation of the moral sentiments of the Brazilian people."

[72] On September 7, 1869, an emancipation society was organized in Bahia "with the noble purpose of ending slavery in Bahia," and by March 1, 1874, it had conferred 267 "Letters of Liberty," 89 of which were "granted gratuitously in its name," and 178 by means of its own funds, the amount thus employed totaling 58,289 milreis (Alvares do Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 181). This organization was named A Sociedade Libertadora Sete de Setembro ("The Seventh of September Liberation Society") in honor of the day on which the independence of Brazil was declared.

[73] Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 220–22.

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Branca while sojourning in France "freed the womb" of the slave women on their *engenhos*, São Pedro and São João, in Santo Amaro, and continued gradually to manumit all their slaves. In the same year the friars of the Order of São Bento "freed the womb" of their slave women and announced that all their slaves would be free within three years, or by September, 1871.[74]

The first Bahian abolitionist to raise his voice to "a shout loud enough to be heard throughout the entire country" was Conselheiro Jeronymo Sodré Pereira, a state deputy and professor in the local Faculty of Medicine. In an address to the Bahian *camara* on March 5, 1879, he declared: "We who represent the democratic ideal, we who earnestly desire the liberation of the citizen through the vote and through instruction, ought to proclaim to our fellow-countrymen throughout the land that all Brazilians are citizens, all are free." This speech was favorably reported by several Bahian newspapers, including the *Gazeta de Noticias* and the *Gazeta da Tarde*, which at this time were becoming organs of the abolition movement. Although the ideas they were advancing had been at first considered "antipatriotic, subversive of the social order, and incendiary," they gradually spread.[75]

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The clergy as a group did not support abolition, and many padres who possessed slaves were accused by the abolitionists of "the same cruelty toward the victims, the same outspoken hostility, the same fury toward abolition, the same hypocritical and ridiculous insistence upon the rights of property, the same lack of respect for justice and the true interests of Brazil." Occasionally a priest, like João Manoel,

[74] *Ibid.*, pp. 227–28. [75] *Ibid.*, pp. 18–21.

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became known throughout the country as an opponent of abolition, and, further, in 1791, a bishop of Pernambuco, José Joaquim da Cunha de Azevedo Coutinho, published a book in Lisbon entitled *A analyse sobre a justiça do commercio do resgate dos escravos da costa d'Africa*,[16] in which he upheld slavery as having "existed since the beginning of the world and in the lap of all religions."

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Nevertheless, some noted ecclesiastics did from time to time take up the slave cause. Padre Antonio Vieira, although he later became more cautious under "the necessity of furthering the Jesuit determination to free the Indians, even at the expense of the Negroes," delivered a sermon as early as the middle of the seventeenth century in which he said: "The fact that whites dominate blacks is due to force and not to either reason or nature." On another occasion, he said:

> O inhuman traffic in which the merchandise is men! Few masters, many slaves; masters richly dressed, slaves despised and naked; masters banqueting, slaves dying of hunger; masters swimming in gold and silver, slaves loaded down with irons; masters treating their slaves like brutes, slaves in fear and awe of their masters as if they were gods; masters present at a whipping, standing like statues of might and tyranny, slaves prostrate, their hands strapped behind their backs, like debased emblems of servitude.
>
> Peradventure these men are not our brothers?
>
> Were these souls not redeemed with the blood of the same Christ? Are not these bodies born and do they not die like ours? Do they not breathe the same air? Does not the same sky cover them? Are they not warmed by the same sun?[17]

An archbishop of Bahia, the Marquis of Santa Cruz, in an address to the *camara* in 1827, vigorously opposed slav-

[16] This book went through two editions and was translated into both French and English.

[17] *Sermões* (15 vols., 1679–1748), Vol. X, Sermon 27.

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ery.[78] As early as Independence Day, 1851, the Benedictine friar, Francisco da Natividade Carneiro da Cunha, preached a sermon in the Bahian Cathedral in which he urged Bahians "to complete Brazilian independence by gradually emancipating the slaves."[79] Monsenhor Joaquim Pinto de Campos attacked slavery in sermons as early as 1856, in one of which, preached before the Sociedade Ypiranga, he said: "Humanity is one, and all of its parts have equal rights. The public conscience, which is the voice of God re-echoing in the souls of the people, is always repelled by favoritism in the distribution of liberty."

Canon Rodrigo de Souza Menezes, in the columns of *O Horizonte* as early as 1872, and in a sermon preached in the Cathedral on July 2, 1883, vigorously attacked slavery and advocated its abolition throughout Brazil. Another Bahian canon, Dr. Romualdo Maria de Seixas Barroso, wrote many abolition articles for the newspapers, among them one addressed especially to Bahian women; and in his will, probated in 1886, he declared: "I have always considered it a crime to draw up a contract for the buying and selling of any human being—he who is my own brother and who may be redeemed, as I, by the blood of the Savior of mankind."[80]

The bishop of Olinda, on March 25, 1887, wrote a pastoral letter urging his clergy to free immediately their

[78] *Ibid.*, p. 35. The archbishop said: "I have always been persuaded that the word 'slavery' calls up images of all vices and all crimes; and that the word 'liberty' calls out the ideas and the sentiments attendent upon all virtue and all good. Always I have maintained that slavery is a harmful condition which destroys the spirit, weakens the faculties of understanding, and perverts the heart."

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[79] "Public opinion was aroused against the words of Friar Carneiro. Upon his descending from the pulpit, one of his relatives asked him if he had lost his reason" (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 382–83).

[80] *Ibid.*, pp. 384–88.

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slaves so that "on the next birthday of the Holy Father, Leo XIII, there may be laid next his throne a declaration saying: 'The clergy of Olinda no longer own slaves.'" A similar suggestion was shortly thereafter made to the bishop of São Paulo by several of his priests. On July 29 the archbishop of Bahia issued a pastoral letter in which he referred to slavery as "a cruel injustice practiced on many of our brothers . . . . a blot which stains the Brazilian flag alone among the banners of civilized nations." The archbishop further declared that, while the church had previously feared that abolition would disrupt public order, the consequences of recent manumissions had entirely dispelled this apprehension.

The proposal of the bishop of Olinda was supported by the bishop of Maranhão, who agreed that "one can do nothing which would honor the august head of the great Christian family more than to grant liberty to those who are our brothers and children of our church." The proposal was also supported by the bishop of Rio Grande do Sul, who closed his pastoral letter with the strong declaration that "slavery is a corpse in need of being interred;"[81] and by the bishop of Diamantina, who proposed "a decree written in letters of gold abolishing slavery in Brazil by the thirty-first day of December, 1887." The bishop of Mariana also advocated general abolition, referring to slavery as an obstacle to the spread of "the great principles planted by our Master Jesus Christ" and reminding the priests of his bishopric that

[81] *Ibid.*, pp. 513–19. Although the enumeration in accordance with the law of September 28, 1871, listed 99,401 slaves in Rio Grande do Sul, the census which was completed June 12, 1885, gave only 27,242, or less than one-third of those returned fourteen years earlier. The enumeration of March 30, 1887, listed only 8,436 (*ibid.*, p. 520). It appears that attempts to emancipate by entire provinces originated in this province.

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"slavery is extinct in all other countries of America to the shame of Brazil."

Beginning about 1862 a Bahian professor of mathematics, the mixed-blood, Dr. Francisco Alvares dos Santos, whose classes were said to be attended by two-thirds of the students of mathematics in the city, began carrying on abolition propaganda, and during the subsequent quarter of a century he each year gave a banquet to former students and invited as a special guest a slave whose liberty had been purchased on that day with funds supplied by a "patriotic battalion" composed of his students and organized in honor of the independence of Brazil. Out of his teaching arose the Sociedade Libertadora Dois de Julho, which freed several slaves.

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By 1875 the Sociedade Libertadora Sete de Setembro, organized in 1869, had freed approximately five hundred slaves, and twenty-four numbers of a periodical, *O Abolicionista*, had been published. At a bazaar held by the Society in that year, Castro Alves, Bahia's "glorious poet of liberty," addressed a letter to Bahian women in behalf of the slaves, and Barão de Macahubas, resident at the imperial court, sent several gifts. The Society at that time numbered five hundred and twelve members, of whom fifteen were women.[53]

The Sociedade Humanitaria Abolicionista was organized in 1869, and the Sociedade Libertadora Bahiana in 1883.

[53] Among the more prominent members were: Frederico Marinho de Araujo, Victor Isaac de Araujo, Lourenço Gomes de Araujo e Silva, Abilio Cezar Borges, Conselheiro José Luiz de Almeida Couto, Dr. Francisco José da Rocha, Conselheiro Manoel Pinto de Souza Dantas, Conselheiro Salustiano Ferreira Santo, Dr. Augusto Guimarães, Dr. Antonio Ferreira Garcez, Bellarmino Barretto, Julio Alves Guimarães, Constancio José dos Santos, Major Antonio de Souza Vieira, Dr. Frederico Augusto da Silva Lisboa, Conselheiro Carneiro da Rocha, and Major Antonio Ferreira de Barros.

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Four years later the latter changed its name to Sociedade Abolicionista Bahiana. In that time it had purchased the freedom of about fifty slaves, "including those whose liberty was demanded by reason of illegal servitude." The treasurer of the Society was a Negro shoemaker, Manoel Roque, "a man of the people," who carried on abolition propaganda among the free Negroes and "made several converts to the cause."

Abolitionists in other parts of the province of Bahia were similarly active. In 1884 an emancipation society was organized at Cachoeira, where two "out-spoken abolition newspapers," the *Jornal da Tarde* and *Planeta Venus*, were keeping the slave issue before the public. Another emancipation society, under the leadership of Pedro Alves de São Boaventura, operated at Camisão. Abolition sentiment and activity were also reported from Ilheos, Cannavieiras, Santo Antonio da Barra, and Feira de Sant'Anna, said to be "a strong pro-slave center."

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In 1862 a Bahian student published an antislavery article in a local publication, *O Estudante*. In 1869, after the Liberal party had adopted emancipation as a party policy, the *Diario da Bahia* began to support the antislavery cause. On March 20, 1872, five of the six newspapers then printed in the Bahian capital agreed "not to give publicity from this day forth to advertisements of any kind relative to the flight, purchase, sale, or placement of any slave."[63]

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[63] Signed by Francisco José da Rocha for the *Jornal da Bahia*, Innocencio Marques de Araujo Goes Junior for the *Correio da Bahia*, Manoel Pinto de Souza Dantas for the *Diario da Bahia*, Carvalho Gama for the *Diario de Noticias*, and José Marques de Souza and Aristides Ricardo de Sant'Anna for the *Alabama*. This agreement was renewed nine years later (in 1881), and the resolution was then taken "to urge the adhesion to it of all the press of the Empire." Only the *Gazeta da Bahia* refused to sign (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 276–79).

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In 1872 Dr. Frederico Lisboa advocated in *O Horizonte* "the right of all men to natural liberty" and, in keeping with this sentiment, liberated several slaves which had been presented to him on the occasion of his marriage. Subsequently he bought and freed some thirty Negroes belonging to others. In nine months Bahian abolitionists secured the release of approximately two hundred slaves illegally imported after passage of the law of 1831.[84] To make less difficult the transition from a slave to a free status, the courts appointed lawyers as *curadores* ("guardians") of the freedmen.[85]

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In 1880 Pamphilo da Santa Cruz founded a newspaper called *Gazeta da Tarde*, in whose first issue he stated a frankly abolitionist program. He was assisted in its publication by the journalist, Raymundo Bizarria, and by Conselheiro Luiz Alvares dos Santos, a professor at the Faculty of Medicine. In 1881, on the anniversary of the death of Castro Alves, "the immortal poet," author of the antislavery *Gonzaga* and *Poema dos escravos*, the public was invited through the columns of the *Diario da Bahia* "eloquently to affirm our irrevocable adhesion to the cause of abolition."

[84] For instance, Eduardo Carige demanded the liberation of an African woman whose owner, Antonio Alves Fernandes, had registered her in 1872 as forty years of age. Dr. Amphilophio Botelho Freire de Carvalho, "the first Bahian judge to comply with this law," whose decisions "were widely publicized and attracted the attention of the whole province," freed her on February 10, 1887. One irate master appealed from a decision of Botelho, charging that the judge was incompetent. The Superior Tribunal denied the appeal (see *Diario da Bahia* for March 15, 1887; Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 319–23).

[85] Among Bahian lawyers accepting this charge were: Dr. Affonso de Castro Rebello, Dr. Elpidio de Mesquita, Dr. Arthur de Mello e Mattos, Dr. Mauricio Francisco Ferreira da Silva, Dr. José Heraclides Ferreira, Dr. Francisco Moncorvo de Lima, Dr. Adolpho Carlos Sanches, Dr. Alexandre Galvão, Dr. Severino dos Santos Vieira, and Dr. Izaias Guedes de Mello. Dr. Raymundo Mendes Martins "rendered important services to the cause of the captives" as *curador geral* of orphans (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 324–26).

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At the ceremony Bahia's most famous citizen, the statesman, jurist, and orator, Ruy Barbosa, read from *Gonzaga:* "No more slaves! No more masters! Liberty to all hands, liberty to all heads," and himself added, "Abolition is an expression of the most inflexible of social necessities." Antonio Augusto de Mendonça, one of several Bahian poets then active in the antislavery cause, wrote and recited a poem dedicated to the Sociedade Libertadora Sete de Setembro. In the following year the *Gazeta da Tarde* inaugurated a series of abolition lectures to be given in the Lyceu de Artes e Officios and invited as the first speaker the well-known abolition orator, José do Patrocinio.[86] In 1885 a pamphlet entitled *A incoherencia da escravidão n'um paiz christão* was published in Bahia by Antonio Pereira de Araujo. When the news arrived (June 30, 1887) that the cabinet had secured the dissolution of "the pro-slave" *camara* a celebration was held at the offices of the *Diario da Bahia*, on the initiative of the *Libertadora Bahiana* and the *Gazeta da Tarde.*

In 1872 the province of Bahia freed the twenty-two slaves which it owned and had employed as gardeners, laundry women, and grave-diggers, either at the Hospital dos Lazaros or the cemetery of Quintas. In 1880 Joaquim Nabuco presented a project to the Pernambuco legislature calling for the extinction of slavery within ten years, and three years later he published a stirring abolition treatise entitled *O Abolicionismo.*[86a] In 1885, and again in 1887, he was elected federal deputy on an abolition platform. In 1881 the Bahian

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[86] Other lectures were given by Dr. Aristides Spinola, Dr. José de Oliviera Campos, Paula Ney, Conselheiro Luiz Alvares dos Santos, Ennes de Souza, Salles Barbosa, Elpidio de Mesquita, and Dr. Arthur Ferreira Vianna.

[86a] London, 1883.

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In 1881 the Bahian provincial assembly created an emancipation fund "to free slaves in this province."[87] On March 25, 1884, slavery was abolished in the province of Ceará, the culmination of fifteen months of municipal emancipation.[88] Similar action was taken by the provinces of Amazonas and Maranhão later in the same year. In 1885 all Negroes over sixty years of age were liberated by edict of the Brazilian emperor.[89] In 1886

[87] Law No. 2146 of May 14, 1881, sponsored by Deputies Marcolino Moura, Alexandre Herculano, Frederico Lisboa, and Virgilio de Carvalho. Articles 2 and 3 read as follows:

ARTICLE 2.—This Emancipation Fund shall be derived:

SECTION 1. From each and every provincial tax relative to slaves, including the inheritance and legacy stamps.

SEC. 2. From the returns of an annual lottery of 100 contos.

SEC. 3. From the donations of individuals and of philanthropic associations.

SEC. 4. From legacies left or set up for the benefit of the fund.

SEC. 5. From the payment of a tax obligatory for this purpose by every dramatic and musical company which shall play in the Theatro Publico.

ART. 3.—The distribution of this Emancipation Fund shall be in the hands of each *municipio* in accordance with Article 16 of Statute 5135 of the thirteenth of November, 1872.

The seventh apportionment from this fund, made by act of Governor Theodoro Machado on May 13, 1886, amounted to 59 contos, 723$244 (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 233).

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[88] The *Rio News* of April 5, 1884, reported a week's festival being at that time held in Rio in celebration of emancipation in Ceará. Large sums were realized from donations and bazaars, several slaves were liberated, and a movement set on foot to secure complete emancipation in Rio also. On September 28, 1887, there was held at Belem a "redemption celebration" to which flocked "the press, the abolition societies, the Masons, leaders of the city's commercial life, many women, and the people." One hundred and nine *Cartas de Liberdade* were distributed. On the following day, the *Provincio do Pará*, one of the leading abolition journals of Brazil, published an editorial suggesting a *liga redemptora*, whose program would be that of seeking to secure complete emancipation in the Belem *municipio* by the following December 31 (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 548).

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[89] The provisions of this law freed slaves from sixty to sixty-two years of age on the condition that they serve three additional years without remuneration. Slaves sixty-three years of age were to serve two additional years; those sixty-four, one additional year.

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In 1888 the municipal *camara* of Bahia, following the initiative of other Brazilian cities, authorized a *Livro de Ouro* ("Golden Book") in which the names of persons contributing toward the emancipation of slaves in the *municipio* were to be inscribed. On April 19 of the following year a project was presented to the municipal *camara* by its president, Dr. Augusto Guimarães, authorizing the setting-up of a commission to study means of extinguishing slavery throughout the *municipio*.

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On the eve of nation-wide abolition, or in 1887, a number of emancipation projects were presented to the Bahian *camara*. Two were presented in the state senate: one by Senator Taunay and one by Senator Dantas, the former setting Christmas, 1889, as the date of final abolition for the province of Bahia, and the latter naming December 31 of the same year. Slaves in various parts of Brazil, "learning that they are men and will one day be citizens," were by this time deserting the plantations.[99] Police and the soldiery often refused to aid in their recapture.

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In 1887, "as a significant manifestation of abolition senti-

[99] In 1887 Fonseca mentions the "recent flight" en masse of slaves from several *fazendas* in the province of São Paulo. For instance, in Piracicaba, a hundred slaves fled from Barão de Serra Negra. In the *municipio* of Campos fifty slaves fled from the *fazenda* of Becco and, joined by other Negroes who were deserting the *fazenda* of Penha, turned upon the police sent out from Itu to apprehend them and caught, stripped, and beat them. That year the following advertisement appeared in the *Gazeta da Bahia:*

Fled from the owner whose signature appears below the following slaves: Maria dos Neves, *cabra* (offspring of Negro and mulatto), short, stocky, round faced, with prominent cheek bones, milk-white teeth, straight hair, parted in the middle; speaks very rapidly. Antonio (who sometimes calls himself Maria da Piedade), dark *cabra*, short, fat, with good teeth, and large scars on breast and one arm (these scars are from burns). Was last seen in Rio Vermelho.

Whoever recovers and brings these slaves to my office at Rua do Julião, No. 1, or to No. 125 Ribeira in Itapagipe, will be well rewarded.

Da. José Alves Cardoso e Silva

(Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 595, 602–3, 161).

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ment," a picture of José Bonifacio was hung in the salon of the Gremio Litterario at Bahia, in the presence of "the principal civil and military authorities, representatives of the press, and several delegations from other organizations." The Sociedade Libertadora Bahiana took advantage of the occasion to present six "Letters of Liberty." As these were being distributed,

> a young slave girl, so covered with rags as to look like an abandoned beggar, forced her way into the assemblage and, falling upon her knees, begged and pleaded for her liberty. The pitiful aspect of this girl, the recently spoken words of Sr. Carige, and, above all, the sentiments evoked in contemplation of the sacrificial heroism of José Bonifacio, produced a profound effect. . . . . A citizen arose and said, "In honor of the memory of José Bonifacio, I contribute one hundred milreis toward the liberation of this woman."

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Finally, in 1888, the imperial government at Rio, through a decree signed by Princess Isabel, abolished slavery entirely, freeing the last six hundred thousand Negroes in bondage throughout the country.

The extinction of the institution of slavery in Brazil thus came about gradually by means of a progressively increasing and finally irresistible popular movement, aided, it seems, by the decay of the sugar industry,[91] by the arguments of the economists who held that the slave was an expensive workman, by the example of the United States in freeing her slaves (which left Brazil the only slaveholding American nation), and by the "strain for consistency" exerted upon the institution by the philosophy of the French Revolution[92]

[91] Silvio Romero, "O Brasil social," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, LXIX (1906), 111.

[92] In 1883 Joaquim Nabuco wrote: "Slavery has now endured in Brazil almost a century after the French Revolution taught the world to know and to love liberty."

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and the doctrines of Christianity. The normal development of the emancipation process was never checked or seriously hampered by a wave of fear like that which swept over slave areas in the United States following the Haitian revolution and the consequent annihilation of Haitian whites and the slaughter of thousands of mulattoes and blacks.

Resistance to abolition was apparently never strong or well organized. It was not confined to any one section of the country but even in slaveholding centers like Bahia was, as we have seen, constantly being undermined by local criticism. An occasional newspaper "persisted in being a slave organ" or appeared "timid and acquiescent with reference to slavery,"[93] but the overwhelming majority of the press increasingly supported the antislavery cause.

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It is, however, true that commercial leaders like Ramalho Ortigão, president of the Bahian *Centro* of Commerce and Agriculture, "tenaciously opposed" the abolition movement. Anselmo da Fonseca says that Portuguese immigrants, many of whom engaged in trade and commerce, were, with rare exceptions, "decided partisans of slavery" and not only became "the greatest and most audacious slave traders of Bahia" who offered most of the opposition to the cessation of the slave traffic but also energetically opposed the abolition of slavery itself.[94] However, the prestige of this group,

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[93] Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

[94] "The Portuguese cannot comprehend a Brazil without slaves. We hear daily from them, 'The Negro is peculiarly created by nature for the cultivation of sugar' " (*ibid.*, pp. 155-56). The Portuguese are said to have been the principal violators of the law of 1831, several of the more powerful of whom Euzebio de Queiroz felt impelled to deport when, some twenty years after the passage of this law legally abolishing the slave trade, he sought effectively to suppress the traffic. However, immigrant laborers, since they were in competition with slave laborers, ordinarily opposed slavery. See Henry K. Norton, *The Coming of South America* (New York, 1932), pp. 103-4.

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from early colonial times on, seems not to have been very great, and the upheaval which in 1822 culminated in Brazilian independence seems to have buried most of the vestiges of Portuguese prestige. Even today the Portuguese are the constant butt of vaudeville jokes.

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Many of the free *homens de côr* (men of color), especially those who possessed slaves, either were indifferent to the slave question or openly opposed abolition.[95] Most of the large plantation owners and their spokesmen in the provincial legislature and national parliament opposed the abolition campaign, and their forces at one time dominated the Liberal party.[96] However, many of the slaveholders appear to have increasingly accepted abolition as inevitable and merely to have asked remuneration for the financial loss involved. Apprehension that the plantation system would utterly collapse if free labor were substituted for slave

[95] The abolitionist, Anselmo da Fonseca (*ibid.*, pp. 137, 142–43), complains of the persistent opposition to abolition on the part of *homens de côr*. In 1884, out of thirty candidates for the Bahian *camara*, "the only one who in a published document had the audacity to ask election in the name of slavery" was the *homem de côr*, Conselheiro Domingos Carlos e Silva. In 1887 an *homem de côr* canceled his subscription to the *Diario da Bahia* for its refusal to publish an advertisement regarding a fugitive slave. Fonseca regarded this man as "one of the most intolerant slaveholders in Bahia."

[96] On hearing of the program presented by the imperial cabinet on June 6, 1884, "almost all the leaders of the liberal party in Bahia, the owners of large business and commercial houses, and the sugar aristocracy" lodged a protest in which they declared: "The slave is more than a portion of a private fortune; he is a social institution, a labor supply, a necessity to production, an asset of the national life. Above the immediate interests of planter and merchant . . . . are the permanent . . . . interests of society, the benefits which accrue to thousands of human beings living or yet unborn—the necessities of public order, and the development of national wealth" (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 283).

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and that the sudden liberation of large numbers of subjected blacks would subvert public order gradually melted away as the numbers of emancipated Negroes increased and these freedmen gave evidence of their ability and willingness to become an orderly part of the free population and to labor as effectively, if not more effectively, for wages as when impelled by physical force.

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The free people of color (who by 1872 largely outnumbered the slaves)[97] were, Southey says, "an industrious and useful part of the population: most of the maize, manioc and pulse, with which the towns were supplied, was raised by them upon small pieces of ground, which they rented of the great proprietors at a low rate."[98] Freedmen were also employed as laborers on the large estates, where they lived as squatters on the land of their employers, erecting mud and palm-leaf huts for their families, and looking to the planter for protection from any who would do them harm.[99] In the towns they were employed principally as artisans, porters, messengers, barbers, street merchants and small shopkeep-

[97] Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

[98] Southey, *op. cit.*, III, 787. Cf. also: "The masters who freed slaves often gave them, with their liberty, a piece of land to insure their subsistence. The Negroes who have inherited these small holdings are to-day (1911) the best element of the black agricultural population" (Pierre Denis, *Brazil*, trans. from the French by Bernard Miall [New York, 1911], p. 322). [423]

[99] Koster writes: "The Negroes in my possession could not perform what ought to be done in proper time; and therefore I collected free laborers for the purpose, and in a short period between thirty and forty men, some of whom brought their families, removed on to the lands of the plantation; and most of them erected hovels of palm-leaves, in which they dwelt; but a few of them were accommodated with huts of mud. . . . . Many of these fellows would have committed almost any crime under the impression that my protection would screen them" (*op. cit.*, I, 295, 297). [342]

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ers; some of them accumulated considerable sums of money. Occasionally, as we have noted, they owned slaves[100] or invested their savings in the slave trade, sending money, arms, and trade goods to some convenient individual in Africa to "get up raids in their old homes or amongst neighboring tribes."[101] In Minas Geraes free black laborers came to own mines like Encardideira and Palacio Velho.[102] In Bahia they maintained their own regiment,[103] fraternal orders, and religious brotherhoods, each limited in membership exclusively to Negroes of pure African descent.[104] Many made sustained efforts to educate their children, and a few even had sons in the priesthood who, since the bishops of Brazil did not confer them, took their orders in São Thomé.[105]

But the free Negro, in competition with the European

[100] Walsh, a visitor to Brazil in the early nineteenth century, writes: "Next came an old free Negro woman, with a young slave of her own sex and color carrying her bundle. . . . . Her young slave was her only property, and she made a good livelihood by hiring her out as a beast of burden, to whoever wanted her, and for whatever purpose" (*op. cit.*, II, 18).

[101] Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

[102] Gilberto Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos* (São Paulo, 1936), p. 73.

[103] "There are two of these regiments for the province of Pernambuco . . . . distinguished from each other by the names Old Henriques and New Henriques. . . . . I have seen some portion of one of these regiments, in Recife. . . . . They were dressed in white cloth uniforms, turned up with scarlet: and they looked very soldier-like. They were in tolerable discipline. . . . . They acted with an appearance of zeal and the desire of excelling. Those of which I speak formed a finer body of men than any other soldiers which I had an opportunity of seeing in that country. . . . . These men receive no pay, so that their neat appearance on such occasions bespeaks a certain degree of wealth among them" (Koster, *op. cit.*, II, 182-83).

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[104] See, in this connection, *Compromisso da Irmandade do Senhor Bom Jesus das Necessidades e Redempção* (Bahia, 1929); Joventino Silvino da Costa, *Relatorio da Sociedade Protectora dos Desvalidos, 1832-1932* (Bahia, 1934).

[105] Affonso de E. Taunay, *Na Bahia de João VI* (Bahia, 1928), p. 173.

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But the free Negro, in competition with the European and his descendants, was faced with a difficult struggle. Even though he might cease to speak Nagô and to scarify his face and body; even though his wife might discard her distinctive African costume, and both no longer identify themselves with African fetish beliefs and practices but give instead allegiance to Catholic forms; nevertheless, the free Negro could not escape the fact that he was sharply differentiated from the ruling class in color, hair texture, and facial characteristics. He could not readily discard a highly visible badge of his former slave status. Wherever he went he would be known, if not for a slave, at least for the descendant of slaves.

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The occupations of the free Negroes, or at least those of their immediate forebears, had been employments commensurate with servile status and had ordinarily consisted in hard, sordid, manual labor. The common saying, "Trabalho é para cachorro e negro" ("Work [i.e., hard manual labor] is for Negroes and dogs"), reflects this fact. To work with one's hands has been in Brazil long considered debasing for a white man. As Monteiro has said, "Even if in Portugal he had been a servant with a hoe in his hands, upon setting his foot upon Brazilian soil, he cared not to work."[106] That artisan labor was not a white man's job was long a tradition in Brazil.[107] To be a white was identical with being noble,[108] and "there was a common root of plebeian origin: it was African descent."[109] Government employ was for a long time

[106] Vahia Monteiro, quoted by F. J. Oliveira Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro* (2d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 153.

[107] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

[108] Vianna, *Populações meridionaes do Brasil* (3d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 139.

[109] "A côr significava nobreza; havia uma comum origem plebéia—o tronco africano" (Calmon, *op. cit.*, I, 24).

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Government employ was for a long time denied to the black.[110] In colonial Brazil marriage into upper-class white families was zealously restricted to individuals of pure European descent,[111] and at least one case is on record of an Indian being seriously rebuked for having married a Negro woman.[112]

[110] There was "a separate justice" in colonial Brazil for cases relating to "Indians, mulattoes, and Negroes" (Vianna, *Populações meridionaes do Brasil*, p. 140).

[111] "It was this preoccupation with purity of lineage and white blood in their prospective sons-in-law which, in those provinces whose development was more irregular, like that of Minas, made the problem of marriage so difficult. In Pernambuco and São Paulo the problem was resolved by marrying cousins with cousins: a custom which gradually made of the early families almost a single strain" (Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 152).

[112] The eighth vice-*rei*, Marques de Lavradio, in an order dated August 6, 1771, removed an Indian from the post of *capitão-mor* for having married a Negro woman and, as the order said, "thus tarnished your blood and shown yourself unworthy of office" (Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* [2d ed.; Rio, 1936], p. 290).

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CHAPTER III

CASA GRANDE AND *SENZALA*[1]

EVEN as late as the second quarter of the nineteenth century a visitor to Brazil wrote: "Again and again, while travelling in the interior, I have seen troops of new slaves of both sexes, who could not speak a single word of Portuguese, varying from twenty to one hundred individuals, marched inland for sale, or already belonging to proprietors of plantations."[2] These newly imported Africans were known as *negros novos*, or "new Negroes."[3]

Since the major portion of African importations into Bahia came from contiguous territory in Africa, the Negroes ordinarily brought with them closely related dialects and, consequently, could more easily communicate among themselves in African tongues. Gradually there came into general use, especially among the influential semi-independent *negros de ganho*, an African language known as Nagô,[4] which by facilitating intercommunication intensified the Negroes' moral isolation from the white world and retarded the whole acculturation process. Nagô continued for a long time to

[1] The "Big House" and the "slave quarters."

[2] George Gardner, *Travels in the Interior of Brazil, 1836–1841* (London, 1849), p. 12.

[3] Nina Rodrigues, *Os africanos no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1932), p. 187.

[4] "Like the French, we in Bahia call Nagôs all Negroes from the Slave Coast who speak the Yoruba language. Of this group we have received slaves from all the smaller subdivisions, from Oyó the capital of Yoruba, from Ilorin, Ige-sha, Ibadan, Ifé, Iebú, Egba, Lagos, etc." (*ibid.*, p. 157).

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be the *lingua geral*, or general Negro language.[5] The ritual of the more important fetish-cult centers was, and still is, carried on in this language. Inscriptions in Nagô were occasionally to be seen not only on cult buildings but also in small commercial establishments owned and operated by Negroes, like the meat stall on the Baixa dos Sapateiros over whose entrance Nina Rodrigues in 1895 noted the inscription "Kosi oba Kan afi Olorun."[6] So important did Nagô become, and so widespread its use that, although Nina Rodrigues early in the twentieth century estimated that there were only approximately five hundred Africans still living in the city and they were at that time dying at the rate of a hundred and fifty to two hundred a year,[7] one still today, more than three decades later, finds

[5] Nina Rodrigues, intimately acquainted for many years with Bahian Negroes, commends the accuracy of the Visconde de Porto Seguro when he says, "The best known Negroes in Brazil were those coming from the *Costa da Mina*, whence arrived the greater portion of those imported into Bahia; so that in this city many slaves learned little Portuguese but instead communicated among themselves in Nagô." About 1900 he himself wrote: "The Nagô dialect is commonly spoken in Bahia by almost all the old Africans from the various tribes and by a great number of creoles and mulattoes" (*op. cit.*, p. 197).

[6] Rodrigues translates the phrase: "There is no God but Olorun" (principal deity of the Nagô cult). A photograph of the entrance to the shop showing this inscription may be found in *ibid.*, opp. p. 202.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 154. In the seven years from 1896 to 1902, 1,282 Africans died at Bahia. The distribution was as follows:

Year	Total	Male	Female
1896	110	55	55
1897	258	156	102
1898	200	96	104
1899	209	110	99
1900	151	87	64
1901	152	74	78
1902	202	136	66
Total	1,282	714	568

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Nagô at times spoken in Bahia and an occasional individual whose command of this language is comparable to his command of Portuguese.

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The nature of Negro settlement at Bahia favored to a considerable extent the preservation of African cultural forms. Tribal units were not deliberately broken up, as in Jamaica and the United States, and the Negro was thereby able to preserve and to transmit to his children a considerable portion of his African heritage. Even on the plantations the distribution of newly imported Africans among the old-established Negroes seems not to have occurred.[8] The concentration in the city of Bahia over a long period of time of large numbers of semi-independent *negros de ganho*, around whom there gradually accumulated a considerable number of relatively unassimilated free Negroes, also favored the persistence of African cultural elements.

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It is likely that Nagô was not maintained in a pure form but came to be a patois containing numerous elements from other African dialects as well as from Portuguese. A Catholic missionary, Padre Coquard, visiting Bahia in 1899 to solicit funds, spoke to the colored population in Nagô. But the sermon, preached in the ancient church of Sé, was wholly ineffective.[9]

Other African languages were spoken in Bahia.[10] Rodrigues believed that Gêge (or Ewe) was used throughout the eighteenth century and until at least the middle of the nine-

[8] Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil, 1809 to 1815* (2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1817), I, 229 n.

[9] Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 200–201. Perhaps another reason for this ineffectiveness was that the Negroes who were most able to understand Nagô were unassimilated Africans who, out of loyalty to the religion of their fathers, deliberately absented themselves from this ceremony of the Catholic church.

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 197–230.

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197 teenth. Tapa and Haussá were spoken during the entire nineteenth century, and the latter perhaps long before 1800. Although the Haussás were relatively few in number, their influence was considerable. The slave revolts of the early nineteenth century were, as we have seen, led by this reputedly "most intellectual element" among the imported Africans, many of whom could read and write Arabic characters. Kanúri, spoken in Bahia by the Bornús, and Grúnce, the tongue used by the slaves known as Gallinhas, are included, along with Haussá, Gêge, and Tapa, in the limited vocabularies which Rodrigues collected from Bahian Negroes near the beginning of the twentieth century.[11] Tshi (or Odji), Gá (or Acrá),[12] and Mandê (or Mandinga) were also employed to a limited extent.

175 178 [291] As late as 1900, Negro laborers in Bahia continued to wear "white vestments of coarse cotton cloth," which reminded Rodrigues of "the Nagô *camisús*."[13] The *Bahiana* costume,[14] of partial African origin, was extensively used by [854] the Negro women. It was also customary for them to carry [262] their babies bound to the back with a large cloth. African dishes, in the preparation of which *azeite de dendê* (oil of the *dendê* palm) and *pimenta da costa* (pepper from the West Coast) prominently figured, formed a considerable portion of the Negro diet.

[533] At that time, also, African music might be frequently heard, particularly in the ceremonies of the *candomblé*. [534] African musical instruments, like the *atabaque*, the *agê*, the [794] *cansá*, the *marimba*, the *agôgô*, the *caxixi*, and the *xáque-xáque*[15] were commonly employed. The fetish cult drew allegiance from numerous and zealous devotees.

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 217-21.

[12] Spoken in Bahia by the Ashantis. [13] *Op. cit.*, p. 181.

[14] The *Bahiana* costume is described in detail in chap. ix.

[15] These instruments are described in chap. ix.

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giance from numerous and zealous devotees. African dances 796
still invaded the popular festivals of the Europeans to such 535
an extent that vigorous protests on the part of the white 571
citizenry appeared in the newspapers.[16] Numerous images 177
employed in the fetish worship were imported from Africa,
and others were made by Negro sculptors in Bahia. 175

One occasionally encountered Negroes who in Africa had 778
been chiefs or other dignitaries of considerable power and in- 794
fluence. Although in Brazil they shared the fortunes of a 178
slave with their former subjects, they nevertheless often re- 175
ceived allegiance and great reverence from them. On a 554
chance meeting in the street these personages were, we are 567
told, "saluted respectfully, their hands kissed, and a bless-
ing requested of them." Even their masters were reported
to have paid them, in several cases, considerable respect.

Slaves who were in close contact with their masters, 175
especially the house servants, soon became, by the very 191
necessities of the situation, at least to some extent bilingual. 567
And their offspring, reared in close contact with the children 177
of their masters, acquired little, if any, African vocabu-
lary and came almost exclusively to speak Portuguese. Thus,
about 1800, Koster wrote from Pernambuco, "Portuguese

[16] In the *Jornal de Noticias* for February 12, 1901, a white citizen wrote: [541]
"I wish to protest against the way in which this great civilized festival [Carnival] is being Africanized." Three days later the following was published: "These infamous Africanized groups *de canzás* and *busios* which, far from adding to the brilliance of our Carnival festival, bring shame upon the name of Bahia . . . . have since yesterday been keeping up their infernal tumult." Immediately preceding the opening of Carnival the following year there appeared in the *Jornal de Noticias* (February 5, 1902) the following note: "If during these former Carnival festivals when the popular enthusiasm has been greatly aroused by the passage of the victorious floats . . . . these groups of *Africanos* have been repugnant, what will the Carnival of 1902 turn out to be, unless the police take effective measures to prevent our streets from looking like *terreiros* where fetish practices reign amid a retinue of *ogans* and their *canzás* and tambourines?" (Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 136–38).

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. . . . is spoken by all the slaves; and their own dialects are allowed to lie dormant until they are by many . . . . quite forgotten."[17] With the acquisition of the master's language went quite naturally other European habits and customs, and the group of assimilated Negroes, known as *ladinos*, grew in numbers relatively rapidly.

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Although the hardships incidental to a plantation system continued, the circumstances under which this gradual assimilation went on were ordinarily those imposed by a mild form of slavery in which the natural and continuous growth of intimate personal relations tended to further humanize the institution and to modify its formal and legal character to such an extent that the widely traveled Richard Burton, enamored as he was of the customs of the East, could in the middle of the nineteenth century say, "Nowhere, even in oriental countries, has the 'bitter draught' so little of gall in it."[18]

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Symbolic of the intimate character of these personal relations is a custom recorded in detail and with some sense of the humor of the situation by the able French artist Debret.[19] The head of a Brazilian household is depicted setting out with his family, all in gala attire, for a customary Sunday promenade. The entire group is in single file, the two

[17] *Op. cit.*, p. 200.

[18] Sir Richard F. Burton, *Explorations of the Highlands of the Brazil* (2 vols.; London, 1869), I, 270.

[19] Invited to Brazil at the request of the Brazilian emperor, Debret subsequently published three volumes of drawings and comment which together furnish a highly illuminating record of the life of Rio de Janeiro in the early part of the nineteenth century (see J. B. Debret, *Voyage pittoresque et historique au Brésil, 1816–1831* [3 vols.; Paris, 1835]). A similar record was made by another competent artist, Maurice Rugendas. See his *Voyage pittoresque dans le Brésil*, trans. from the German by de Colbery (3 vols.; Paris, 1835).

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daughters immediately behind the father, then the mother, followed by her mulatto *femme de chambre*, next the family *ama*, or Negro nurse, and the latter's female assistant, then the father's Negro body servant, and last a young slave in training for domestic service.[20] On such occasions it was a matter of considerable pride to dress the slaves as well as the family's station would permit. As late as 1852 a visitor to Rio recorded:

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> Though less generally the custom than formerly, it is still the habit of some of the *bourgeoisie* . . . . at least on Sundays and great holidays, to promenade to and from church, by whole families, parents and children, from adults to infants, with a retinue of servants in their best dresses . . . . bringing up the rear, and, whether male or female, ... usually as elaborately, if not as expensively, dressed as the rest of the family; and often, in the case of the women, with an equal display of laces, muslins, and showy jewelry.[21]

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In the cities domestic slaves ordinarily lived in the same houses as their masters, occupying the lower floor; or, where the buildings were only of one story, "a sort of cellar" underneath.[22] Since the mistress of the household and her daughters lived a very secluded life in the interior of the home,[23] they were in almost constant contact with domestic slaves and the slave's children. Debret has sketched[24] one such intimate scene in which two Negro women are at work,

[20] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Pl. 5 ("Un Employé du gouvernement sortant de chez lui avec sa famille").

[21] C. S. Stewart, *Brazil and La Plata* (New York, 1856), p. 295.

[22] Maria Graham, *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil, 1821–1823* (London, 1824), p. 145.

[23] Until recent years, women from the upper classes in Bahia were rarely seen on the public thoroughfares and then only in the company of a male escort.

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[24] Debret, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Pl. 6 ("Une dame brésilienne dans son intérieur") and p. 33.

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seated on the floor at the feet of their mistress and her daughter, while two little Negro babies play near by.[25] Koster wrote of an estate near Recife that the "Great House" was full of young Negro children. "They were quite naked, and played with each other, and with some large dogs which were lying at full length upon the floor. These ebon cupids were plainly great favorites, and seemed to employ the greater part of the thoughts of the good ladies, the youngest of whom was on the other side of fifty; and even the priest laughed at their gambols."[26] Visiting in the interior of Rio de Janeiro province in 1823, Maria Graham noted that "the female in-door slaves . . . . have been mostly . . . . brought up in their mistress' house." She saw "children of all ages and colors running about, who seemed to be as tenderly treated as if they had been of the family," and commented that, under these conditions, slavery was "more like that of the patriarchal times, where the purchased servant became to all intents one of the family."[27] "How many times," writes Lacerda, "have we not seen masters who did not hesitate to bring their little mulatto slaves to the family table?"[28] Relations within these households became so intimate that, as sometimes also occurred in our South, white women took to their breasts colored babies whose mothers had died in childbirth.[29]

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In the home, on the plantation, along the roads of the

[25] Debret writes (*ibid.*, p. 39): "A Rio de Janeiro et dans toutes les autres villes du Brésil, il est d'usage, pendant le tête-à-tête d'un *dîner marital*, que le mari s'occupe silencieusement de ses affaires, et que la *femme* s'amuse de ses *petits* négrillons, qui remplacent la famille presque éteinte des petits chiens câlins en Europe."

[26] *Op. cit.*, pp. 258–59. [27] *Op. cit.*, pp. 279–80.

[28] Jean Baptiste de Lacerda, "The *Metis*, or Half-breeds, of Brazil," *Papers on Inter-racial Problems*, ed. G. Spiller (London, 1911), p. 379.

[29] Gilberto Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* (2d ed.; Rio, 1936), p. 327.

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rural areas, or in the streets of the cities, on the hunt, at parties, or at church, black and white were constantly to be seen in each other's company. And since human beings, wherever they come into close and uninterrupted contact upon an intimate personal basis, sooner or later tend to lay personal claims upon one another, it is not surprising to find that ties of enduring sentiment arose, which tended gradually to break down the formal barriers between the races and to modify the nature of slavery.

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It is, of course, probably true that the Mohammedan conception of the slave exercised considerable influence over the original form of African slavery in Portugal itself. The Arabian prophet, it is said, while unable to do away with an ancient institution, "did his utmost to soften the rigors of slavery." After conceding to his importuning followers that "God hath ordained" the slave institution, Mohammed added: "Therefore, him whom God hath ordained to be the slave of his brother, his brother must give him of the food which he eateth himself, and of the clothes wherewith he clotheth himself, and not order him to do anything beyond his power. . . . . A man who ill-treats his slave will not enter into Paradise." Thus

> there is no more commendable action in Mohammedan morals than to free slaves, and such enfranchisement is enjoined by the Prophet especially as an atonement for an undeserved blow or other injustice. In Andalusia, the slaves upon the estates that had passed . . . . into the possession of Moslems were almost in the position of small farmers; their Mohammedan masters, whose trade was war, and who despised heartily such menial occupations as tilling the soil, left them free to cultivate the land as they pleased, and only insisted on a fair return of products.[19]

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[19] Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Story of the Moors in Spain* (New York and London, 1886), p. 48. Cf. also: "The Mohammedan slave was rarely

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Mild though its original form may have been, slavery in Brazil was not, as we have already seen, without at least occasional evidences of brutality. The fact is that slavery in Brazil was *both* mild *and* severe. But as an institution continuing over centuries it became more and more mild. Cases of brutality ordinarily occurred under conditions of absentee ownership or in fear of slave insurrection, or arose in dealing with recalcitrant and unsubjected individuals, many of them at the hands of mixed-blood or Negro overseers who in this way unconsciously compensated for otherwise limited social effectiveness.[31] Moreover, the relatively few cases which did occur were so ably used by such prominent political and intellectual leaders as Ruy Barbosa and Joaquim Nabuco that they have probably left behind in the Brazilian mind of today an exaggerated notion of the cruelties of slavery. The important point to note is that, under circumstances of intimate, personal contact, the institution of slavery, with its occasional cases of harsh treatment, gradually lost its character as a political, and assumed that of a patriarchal and familial, institution.

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Obviously, there is inherent in slavery an economic consideration which has little regard for the interests of the slave himself. But wherever human beings live together in close proximity for any period of time there also tend to grow up *personal relations* which humanize whatever formal institutions have been set up. The opportunities in Brazil

abused. . . . . His acceptance of the faith of Islam rendered his manumission easy. No stigma attached to his (subsequent) condition" (S. P. Scott, *History of the Moorish Empire in Europe* [Philadelphia, 1904], p. 660.

[31] Koster, reflecting over the fact that mulattoes, especially those who had formerly been slaves, "make bad masters," concluded that "the change of situation would lead to the same consequences in any race of human beings" (*op. cit.*, II, 177–78).

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The opportunities in Brazil for these relations to develop, particularly in the case of domestic servants, were extensive. Cooper states a fact long characteristic of the upper classes in Brazil when he says: "As in the East, the houses are . . . . filled with . . . . servants, and these servants partake of the character of their Eastern prototypes in their . . . . willingness to perform the many small and menial acts of personal service which the Brazilian requires, but which would hardly be expected of servants in the United States."[32]

Symbolic of the intimate nature of these relations was the common form of etiquette which grew up and became customary between Brazilian master and slave. It is said to have been a practice observed in all well-regulated families that slaves, "of both sexes and of every age," requested each morning and evening a blessing from their master. According to Stewart, the words used in the middle of the nineteenth century were, "I beseech your blessing [or "Grant me a blessing"], in the name of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ!" To which the master replied, "Jesus Christ bless you forever!"[33] As João Ribeiro has aptly said, "Agrupavam-se em familias, senão no sentido da lei, ao menos da religião."[34]

Debret, who spent several months at Rio in the early part of the same century, says[35] that it was there customary for

[32] Clayton S. Cooper, *The Brazilians and Their Country* (New York, 1917), pp. 61-62. Cf. also Gilberto Freyre, "Social Life in Brazil in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, V, No. 4 (November, 1922), 607.

[33] *Op. cit.*, p. 408.

[34] "They were united into families, if not by law, at least by religion."

[35] *Op. cit.*, III, 130. Cf. also the account of Maria Graham regarding a *fazenda* in the province of Rio de Janeiro: "I attended the weekly muster of all the Negroes of the *fazenda*; clean shirts and trousers were given to the

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slaves, on repeating the evening Ave Maria, to present themselves before the master with a "Boa noite, meu senhor,"[36] in reply to which, as a sign of approbation, the master made a simple movement of the head. It was also customary for a Negro who by chance met a white acquaintance on a public thoroughfare to bow his head, extend his right hand, half-opened, and to request a blessing, to which the white replied, "Deus te faça santo,"[37] or simply "Viva!"

These forms of etiquette, together with their religious implications, although they became in time highly conventionalized and occasionally were reduced to "the shortest possible abbreviation" and repeated with "all manner of intonations of voice and every mood of humor,"[38] still symbolized the recognition on the part of the master of a common human bond with his slaves. "I can call to mind," writes Codman, "many touching incidents of the kind feelings of masters and servants towards each other."[39]

Relationships of this character were undoubtedly advantageous to the Negro, not only during his period of subjection as a slave but also after his enfranchisement. Koster says of Brazilian neighbors in Pernambuco who possessed a considerable number of slaves:

> These excellent women and the good priest [intend] eventually to emancipate all of them; and that they may be prepared for the change, several of the men have been brought up as mechanics of different

men, and shifts and shirts to the women, of very coarse white cotton. Each, as he or she came in, kissed a hand, and then bowed to Mr. P. saying either, 'Father, give me blessing,' or 'The names of Jesus and Mary be praised!' and were answered accordingly, either 'Bless you,' or 'Be they praised!' This is the custom in old establishments: it is repeated morning and evening, and seems to acknowledge a kind of relationship between master and slave" (*op. cit.*, p. 196).

[36] "Good night, my master."

[37] "God make thee a saint."

[38] Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 408.

[39] John Codman, *Ten Months in Brazil* (Boston, 1867), p. 101.

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descriptions; and the women have been taught needle-work, embroidery, and all branches of culinary knowledge.[40]

In 1822 an observer in Rio noted:

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When the Emperor had received the public bodies, he came and led the Empress into the great receiving room, and there, both of them standing on the upper step of the throne, had their hands kissed by naval, military and civil officers, and private citizens. . . . . It was curious, but it pleased me, to see some Negro officers take the small white hand of the Empress in their clumsy black hands, and apply their pouting African lips to so delicate a skin; but they looked up to *Nosso Imperador* (Our Emperor), and to her, with a reverence that seemed to me a promise of faith *from* them, a bond of kindness *to* them.[41]

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"There is evidently," commented another visitor, "a sincere wish to make the liberated slave a useful citizen, if possible."[42]

Custom came gradually to grant the slave, as Burton has pointed out, many of the rights of a freeman:

He may educate himself, and he is urged to do so. He is regularly catechised, and in all large plantations there is a daily religious service. If assailed in life or limb he may defend himself against his master, or any white man, and an over-harsh proprietor or overseer always runs considerable risk of not dying in bed. He is legally married, and the chastity of his wife is defended against his owner. He has little fear of being separated from his family: the humane instincts and the religious tenets of the people are strongly opposed to this act of barbarity. He has every chance of becoming a free man: manumission is held to be a Catholic duty and priestly communities are ashamed of holding slaves. . . . .[43]

[40] *Op. cit.*, I, 258: "The owners said that all their own immediate relations were rich; . . . . and that therefore these their children had no right to work for any one else."

[41] Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 319. [42] Codman, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

[43] *Op. cit.*, pp. 271–72. Some cases undoubtedly occurred in which the master refused to manumit a slave upon his presenting the cost price, but these were probably rare. Koster (*op. cit.*, I, 192–94) says that, although

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The two days in seven which according to custom the master allotted the slave for the cultivation of a plot of land[44] was as early as 1700 sanctioned in law.[45] His right in property could be transferred to his children.[46] He could

"a great deal depends upon the inclinations of the master, he will, however, be very careful in refusing to manumit, owing to the well-known opinion of every priest in favor of this regulation, to the feelings of the individuals of his own class in society, and to those of the lower orders of people; and likewise he will be afraid of losing his slave. He may escape with his money; and the master will then run much risk of never seeing him again, particularly if the individual is a creole slave. . . . . The master might indeed deprive the slave of the fruits of his labor, but this is never thought of; because the slave preserves his money in a secret place, or he has entrusted it to some person upon whom he can depend, and would suffer any punishment rather than disclose the spot in which his wealth lies concealed."

[44] "This day [Sunday] . . . . is the Negroes' own; after morning mass they are free to do their own will; and then most of them run to the hill to gather their coffee or maize, or prepare the ground for these or vegetables. They were just beginning to return from the wood, each with his . . . . basket laden with something of his own, something in which the master had no share; and again and again as they passed me, and displayed with glistening eye the little treasure, I blessed the Sabbath, the day of freedom to the slave" (Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 288).

[45] João Ribeiro, *Historia do Brasil* (3d rev. ed.; Rio, 1909), p. 255.

[46] However, if the slave died childless, his property reverted to the master. Note the following account given by Maria Graham regarding a slave on an estate in the province of Rio: "He was a mulatto boatman, the most trusty servant on the estate, and rich, because he is industrious enough to have earned a good deal of private property, besides doing his duty to his master. In his youth, and he is not now old, he had become attached to a creole woman, born, like him on the estate; but he did not marry her until he had earned money enough to purchase her, in order that their children, if they had any, might be born free. Since that time, he has become rich enough to purchase himself, even at the high price which such a slave might fetch; but his master will not sell him his freedom, his services being too valuable to lose, notwithstanding his promise to remain on the estate and work. Unfortunately, these people have no children; therefore on their death their property, now considerable, will revert to the master" (*op. cit.*, pp. 197–98).

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He could take his master's name.[47] Slaves who desired to change masters had the right to request transfer, and the master was expected to acquiesce.[48] Intercession in behalf of a fugitive slave, or even of one about to be punished for some other offense, is said seldom to have been in vain.[49] The master guilty of inhuman treatment toward his slave was liable to the police or tribunals.[50] Some masters preferred to have

[47] Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 256; cf. also Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 327: "Hence, the many Cavalcantis, Albuquerques, Mellos, Mouras, Wanderleys, Lins, Carneiro Leãos, etc., who possess none of the illustrious blood which their names imply."

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[48] Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 256. Koster (*op. cit.*, I, 194) records that "for this purpose a note is given, declaring that the bearer has leave to enter into the service of any one, upon the price which the master demands being paid by the purchaser. With this the slave applies to any individual or property whom he may wish to serve; owing to having heard a good report of his character toward his slaves, or from any other cause. This is a frequent practice." The following interesting case was observed: "A Negro woman applied to a planter to be purchased; for which purpose she had brought a note from her master. She was accepted; and a bargain was concluded between the two persons. However, the day after she had taken up her abode upon the estate of her new master, she came to him, and falling down upon her knees, said that she had a fellow-slave who wished likewise to serve him; and she begged him to purchase her companion. The new master spoke to the owner of the slave in question of the subject; but he refused to sell him, and the matter rested in this manner. But on the third day, he received a visit from the owner, offering the slave for sale, adding, that the man had refused to work, and had threatened to hang himself; and as he was a Gabão Negro (noted for the resolute manner which, on occasion, they committed suicide), he much feared that he might put his threat into execution. The price was soon fixed, and on the following morning the man made his appearance. He proved to be a most excellent slave" (*ibid.*, p. 203 n.).

[49] Codman, *op. cit.*, p. 201. Cf. also: "Costumes bellissimos instituem-se entre os senhores; como o de *apadrinhar* os remissos ou fugitivos, o que impede o castigo, e nunhum senhor viola" (Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 255).

[50] J. B. von Spix and C. F. von Martius, *Travels in Brazil, 1817–1820*, trans. H. E. Lloyd (2 vols.; London, 1824), I, 179.

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Some masters preferred to have their slaves, on the payment of a small sum, punished by the civil authorities.[51] Gardner remarked that "many of the crimes for which only a few lashes are awarded, are of such a nature that in England would bring upon the perpetrator either death or transportation."[52]

It was customary each week to grant slaves, in addition to their regular food, an allowance of tobacco.[53] On the large estates certain hospital facilities,[54] and nurseries for Negro children were maintained.[55] Accounts of white mistresses who themselves attended to the sick among their slaves are numerous.[56] The *amas* (nurses) were often "emancipated as soon as their work was over, and nearly always continued to live in freedom under the same roof with their masters and to have various privileges."[57] "The aged Negroes were only employed in light occupations; during the remainder of their time they chatted with the master's young children, telling

[51] Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[52] *Ibid.*

[53] Prince Adalbert, *Travels of Prince Adalbert of Prussia*, trans. from *Aus meinem Tagebuche, 1842–1843* (Berlin, 1847), by Robert H. Schomburgk and John Edward Taylor (2 vols.; London, 1849), II, 37. Prince Adalbert noted on the coffee plantation Aldea, near Novo Friburgo, that "every evening, when their work is done, the slaves light fires in the rooms set apart for them, around which they sit for hours, even after the severest day's work, all talking and smoking, women as well as men."

[54] *Ibid.*, p. 36. "In the hospital, the hall and rooms for the two sexes were separated. A Negro woman was lying on a mat, with her little 'negrinho' at her breast, to which she had given birth only the night before. 'In a few days she will be able to resume work,' said the Doctor to Count Bismarck. In the men's room, there were four or five patients, suffering from accidents of various kinds" (coffee plantation Aldea, near Novo Friburgo).

[55] C. C. Andrews, *Brazil, Its Condition and Prospects* (2d ed.; New York, 1889), p. 164.

[56] Note, e.g., Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[57] Lacerda, *op. cit.*, p. 379.

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them odd stories which were calculated to strike their imagination."[58]

Public opinion expected of masters the acceptance of an offer made to manumit an infant on the occasion of his baptism.[59] It also became customary, when marriages were being solemnized in the master's family, to free one or two favorite slaves.[60] Masters frequently declined the money proffered by a Negro for his purchase and granted his freedom without payment.[61] Slaves of the religious orders, it is said, considered themselves to belong to the saints themselves and were never sold.[62] The law adopted in 1809 to protect the property of sugar planters against attachment for debt also provided that slaves need not be sold separately from an estate to satisfy a creditor's claims. Thus the master could not be forced to dispose of his slaves, unless the debt amounted to the value of the entire estate; and, as Koster has pointed out,[63] the slave in this way was advanced, in some degree at least, toward the condition of a serf.

[58] *Ibid.*

[59] "Another custom which was advantageous to the slave was that of *alforrias na pia*, which was accomplished with the insignificant amount of 5 to 50 milreis and never was refused; this custom became very common, especially when the child had a light skin" (Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 255). Koster gives the price in Pernambuco early in the nineteenth century as £5 and says that "in this manner, a considerable number of persons are set at liberty; for the smallness of the price enables many freemen who have had connections with female slaves to manumit their offspring; and instances occur of the sponsors performing this .... act. Not infrequently female slaves apply to persons of consideration to become sponsors to their children, in the hope that the pride of these will be too great to allow of their godchildren remaining in slavery" (*op. cit.*, I, 195-96).

[60] Frank Bennett, *Forty Years in Brazil* (London, 1914), p. 111.

[61] Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 296. [62] *Ibid.* [63] *Op. cit.*, I, 229 n.

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In the light of these customs which gradually grew up and ameliorated the lot of the bondsman, it is not surprising that neither Brazil nor the mother-country ever felt it necessary to adopt a "Black Code." The Englishman Dent says "I had certainly opportunity of seeing something of the treatment of slaves, being thirteen months in the country; but I never came across any other than considerate kindness from master to slave, sometimes even far greater benevolence and consideration than is exercised towards servants in our own country."[64] Dent mentions an old Negro woman who "had received her liberty sometime ago, but seemed to be much attached to the family and never to have thought of leaving them."[65] Numerous other visitors to Brazil remark that the slaves appeared to be treated with kindness, to be well cared for, and happy. In 1821 Mathison noted that Negroes on an estate near Rio "showed by their cheerful looks and bodily condition that they were well taken care of."[66] "He who has had occasion to observe the happy songs and dances that are sung and danced after sunset by great groups of Negroes in the streets of Bahia," wrote the German scientists, Spix and Martius, "can with difficulty be convinced that these are the same slaves which one had thought, according to the exaggerated accounts of certain writers, had been pulled down to an animal existence."[67]

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[64] Hastings Charles Dent, *A Year in Brazil* (London, 1886), p. 285. Compare the remarks of another English traveler, Bennett (*op. cit.*, p. 10): "I want to say that, although some slaves may have been (and undoubtedly were) badly treated, a great many of them were better off than some free-born people here in England in the present day."

[65] *Op. cit.*, p. 120.

[66] Gilbert Farquhar Mathison, *Narrative of a Visit to Brazil, Chile, Peru, and the Sandwich Islands, 1821–1822* (London, 1825), pp. 93, 121.

[67] Spix and Martius, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

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Wells, journeying three thousand miles through the interior of Brazil a few years before abolition, thought that "many a poor laborer at home [in the United States] would enjoy their lot."[68] Gardner, who during five years' residence "saw more than has fallen to the lot of most Europeans," said:

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> I have conversed with Negroes in all parts of the country, and have met with but very few who expressed any regret at having been taken from their own country, or a desire to return to it. On some of the large estates at which I have resided for short periods, the number of slaves often amounted to three or four hundred, and but for my previous knowledge of their being such, I could never have found out from my own observations that they were slaves. I saw . . . . contented and well-conditioned laborers turning out from their little huts, often surrounded by a small garden, and proceeding to their respective daily occupations, from which they returned in the evening anything but broken and bent down with the severity of their tasks.[69]

Codman wrote:

> It is the result of my observation, and I believe that of every one who has investigated the subject, that the Brazilians are generally kind and indulgent masters, treating their slaves with much greater leniency than has been practised by any other people among whom the "institution" has existed in modern times.[70]

[68] James W. Wells, *Three Thousand Miles through Brazil* (2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1886), II, 187.

[69] *Op. cit.*, p. 14.

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[70] *Op. cit.*, p. 201. Absentee ownership, however, occasionally resulted, as on the estate of Prince Dom Rodrigo visited by Mawe, in a "system of management . . . . so bad that the slaves are half starved, almost destitute of clothing, and most miserably lodged" (John Mawe, *Travels in the Interior of Brazil* [Philadelphia, 1816], p. 115). Note also Mathison, *op. cit.*, p. 114. Nor is it to be supposed that the field hands always fared as well as the house servants. Compare the conclusion of Stewart (*op. cit.*, p. 296): "House servants in Rio [1852] are said to have easy times, and to do very much as they please; but to judge from the incidents I have seen of field laborers, I fear such have but a sad and wearisome life."

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The "wide spread of gentle manners in Brazil,"[72] which impressed some commentators as contributing to the favored treatment of Brazilian slaves, was an integral part of a social order in which the large family was the principal unit of cohesion. Under such conditions the network of personal relations arising out of the intimate contact of master and slave not only tempered but, over a period of time, tended to destroy the formal barriers between them. "The Negro is everywhere among the Brazilians," wrote Codman, "and they understand him thoroughly."[73]

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It was usually among the newly arrived Africans, the field hands, or those blacks like the semi-independent *negros de ganho*, all of whom were not in intimate contact with the whites, that escapes and insurrections occurred. Some of these Negroes at times affected scorn and contempt of whites.[73] But those who were in close contact with the Europeans over a period of time developed sentiments of "belonging together," of loyalty and affection. Under such cir-

[72] "One afternoon I sat in a street car of the Copacabana line running to and from the heart of Rio de Janeiro city. As we approached the Avenida and paused at a sharp turn at the regulator's signal, a small boy poorly clad in cotton clothes got onto the front platform with a dinner pail in his hand. He set it down, removed his cap, bent his knee as the motorman, with a swift smile at the child, extended his right hand. The boy respectfully kissed it, replaced his cap, and jumped down. The little incident was typical of the wide spread of gentle manners in Brazil; it is here usual enough to see elderly bankers kiss the hands of their parents, but courtesy is not confined to the upper classes. . . . Brazilian men meeting each other in the street a dozen times a day, lift their hats every time to each other" (L. E. Elliott, *Brazil, Today and Tomorrow* [New York, 1917], p. 76).

[73] *Op. cit.*, p. 202.

[73] Bennett (*op. cit.*, p. 9) mentions the following incident from Pernambuco: "One evening when we were walking along the Rua Nova, a black woman who was passing us suddenly drew aside with a lofty air, exclaiming: 'O meu Deus, os brancos perto de mim!' (Oh, my God, whites near me!)"

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cumstances they gradually lost their African customs and traditions and took over more and more European ideas, attitudes, and points of view.

This loyalty and devotion, as well as even deeds of heroism, on the part of Negro slaves quite naturally evoked corresponding sentiments of appreciation and affection in masters and their children. Mrs. Louis Agassiz, visiting, together with her husband, the Academy of Fine Arts in Rio in 1865, noted with particular interest the portrait of a Negro

> who, in a shipwreck off the coast, had saved a number of lives at the risk of his own. When he had brought several passengers to the shore, he was told that two children still remained in the ship. He swam back once more and brought them safely to the beach, but then sank down exhausted, and was seized with a hemorrhage. A considerable sum was raised for him in the city of Rio, and his picture was placed in the Academy to commemorate his heroism.[74]

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There hangs today in the Pinacotheca at Bahia a famous painting of the *mãe preta*, or "black mother." "We children," recently remarked a prominent Bahian banker, "respected our *mãe preta* as much as, or perhaps even more than, we did our own parents. I'm sure we feared her more and obeyed her more readily."

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Henrique Dias, a Pernambucan slave, materially and somewhat spectacularly aided the Portuguese when they were engaged, during the seventeenth century, in driving the Dutch out of Pernambuco. Captured, he was shortly released, the Dutch thinking that "because he was a Negro slave he wasn't worth the cost of feeding." He returned to fight effectively for the Portuguese and was once wounded in battle. Following the expulsion of the Dutch, he was given many honors, commissioned in the local militia, and put in

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[74] Professor and Mrs. Louis Agassiz, *A Journey in Brazil* (Boston and New York, 1888), p. 478.

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command of a Negro regiment. As a Bahian *preto* recently remarked with pride, "His contribution to his country was an honored one."

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Negros novos were required by law to be baptized into the Christian religion on penalty of forfeiture to the state. Those from Portuguese Angola were baptized in lots before they left their native shores.[75] The mark of the royal crown upon their breasts signified that they had undergone this ceremony and also that the king's duty had been paid. With slaves from other parts of Africa, the master was allowed a year for the instruction requisite for baptism.[76] Debret noted that elderly Negroes acquainted with African languages were often used to catechise the candidates, ordinarily the oldest and "most virtuous" slaves being chosen for this purpose.[77] One of the first things taught was the threefold sign of the cross accompanied by the words, "The sign of the cross delivers us from our enemies." Slaves were not considered, we are told, "members of society, but rather brute animals," until they could "lawfully go to mass, confess their sins, and receive the sacrament."[78] Participation in these ceremonies made them fellow human beings.

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On the plantations slaves were regularly instructed in Catholic ritual and belief, chaplains often being retained on the larger estates for this purpose as well as to conduct the public religious ceremonies in the chapel attached to the plantation. Mawe, visiting the estate of Prince Dom Rodrigo near Rio in the early years of the nineteenth century, noted that it was customary "to have prayers publicly read

[75] Koster, *op. cit.*, I, 198.

[76] Koster (*ibid.*) writes that "the law is not always strictly adhered to as to time, but it is never evaded altogether."

[77] *Op. cit.*, III, 129.

[78] Koster, *op. cit.*, I, 199.

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to slaves morning and evening, at the commencement and close of their day's labor."[79] Mathison noted that "on Sunday large numbers of slaves may be seen in the churches, particularly females."[80] For the exclusive worship of the Negroes, certain saints—Nossa Senhora do Rosario, São Benedito, and Santa Efigenia—were set aside, and their images were often, and still are today, painted black. Numerous *irmandades* composed entirely of Negroes were organized, usually under the patronage of São Benedito and Nossa Senhora do Rosario,[81] and in Bahia, at least, these all-Negro organizations persist to the present day. Koster, writing about 1800, tells us:

> The ambition of the slave very generally aims at being admitted into one of these Irmandades, and at being made one of the officers and directors of the concerns of the brotherhood. Even some of the money which the industrious slave is collecting for the purpose of purchasing his freedom, will often times be brought out of its concealment for the decoration of a saint, that the donor may become of importance in the society to which he belongs.[82]

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In 1848 Henry Bates noted that on an estate called Caripí, near Pará, the Christmas festival "was celebrated by the Negroes of their own free will, and in a very pleasing manner."

> The room next to the one I had chosen was the *capella*, or chapel. It had a little altar which was neatly arranged, and the room was furnished with a magnificent brass chandelier. Men, women, and children were busy in the chapel all day on the 24th of December, decorating the altar with flowers and strewing the floor with orange leaves. They invited some of their neighbors to the evening prayers; and when the simple ceremony began, an hour before midnight, the chapel was

[79] Mawe, *op. cit.*, p. 115; cf. also Mathison, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

[80] *Op. cit.*, pp. 156–57.

[81] Cf. Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 255. [82] *Op. cit.*, I, 199–200.

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crowded. They were obliged to dispense with the mass, for they had no priest; the service therefore consisted merely of a long litany and a few hymns. There was placed on the altar a small image of the infant Christ, the "Menino Deus" as they called it, or the Child-God, which had a long ribbon depending from its waist. An old white-haired Negro led off the litany, and the rest of the people joined in the responses. After the service was over they all went up to the altar, one by one, and kissed the end of the ribbon. The gravity and earnestness shown throughout the proceedings was remarkable.[83]

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Slaves were often married according to the forms of the Catholic church, and the banns were published in the same manner as for free persons.[84] Debret has preserved a visual impression of such a ceremony being performed in the house of wealthy Brazilians.[85]

As Freyre has pointed out,[86] priests continually urged upon white masters the advantage of conceding to the Negroes their African pastimes. A Jesuit, writing in the eighteenth century, advised slaveowners not only to permit but even to encourage the *festas* of the blacks, saying: "You should not make it difficult for them to choose their king, and to sing and dance as they desire on certain appointed days of the year, and legitimately to enjoy themselves on Sunday afternoons when in the morning they have executed the ceremonies in honor of Nossa Senhora do Rosario, São Benedito, or the guardian-saint of the chapel." Slaves were granted permission to use during public festivals—at first the Vespers of Reis, later Christmas, New Year's, and Carnival—

[83] Henry W. Bates, *The Naturalist on the River Amazons* (reprint, London, 1892), p. 88.

[84] Koster, *op. cit.*, I, 202. The consent of the master was required and the ceremony could not be performed until "the requisite prayers have been learned, the nature of the confession . . . . understood, and the sacrament can be received."

[85] *Op. cit.*, Vol. III, Pl. 15. [86] *Op. cit.*, p. 264.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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African costumes, songs, and dances.[37] The Catholic church was never in haste, it seems, to assimilate the Brazilian Negro but adopted instead a patient and tolerant policy which in the end was eminently successful. Early in the nineteenth century Koster wrote from Pernambuco, "No compulsion is resorted to, to make the Negroes embrace the habits of their masters; but their ideas are insensibly led to imitate and adopt them."[38]

As might be expected, the transition from fetish-cult ideas and practices to Catholic ritual and belief was marked by intermediary stages in which elements of both religions coexisted in the Negroes' thought and practice, and the objects of one cult were identified with objects of a similar nature in the other. Hence, the extensive identification, for instance, of several African *orixds* with certain Catholic saints (as we shall later see in greater detail) and the coexistence of African and European forms in the principal religious and popular festivals.

Thus, in 1852, a visitor wrote from Rio de Janeiro:

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> For many nights past, Gloria Hill . . . . has echoed till a late hour with the songs, the wild music, and the tread of the dance in the Negroes' favorite amusements; and yesterday afternoon, I accidentally became a spectator of a grand gathering of this kind. It was "Twelfth" or "King's Day," as sometimes called—being that commemorative of the adoration of the Magi in the stable of Bethlehem; and it is a chief festival with the Negroes. . . . . When about half way up the Larangeiras . . . . my attention was arrested by a large gathering of Negroes within an enclosure by the wayside, engaged in their native dances, accompanied by the wild and rude music brought with them from Africa. . . . . Many of the principal performers, both among the dancers and musicians, were dressed in the most . . . . grotesque manner. . . . . A majority, if not all the performers, were baptized

[37] *Ibid.*

[38] *Op. cit.*, I, 200.

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In the time of Nina Rodrigues, African "carnival clubs" were still active in Bahia.[100] A Embaixada Africana ("The African Legation") and Os Pandegos da Africa ("The African Clowns") were the more prominent. Of lesser importance were A Chegada Africana ("The Arrival of the Africans") and Os Filhos da Africa ("Children of Africa"). A common theme portrayed on the floats prepared by these Negroes was "primitive Africa brought to Brazil a slave." Certain African traditions were also represented. Thus, for the Carnival of 1899, Os Pandegos da Africa prepared a float representing the river Zambesi "on one of whose banks might be seen the King Labossi reclining in an immense seashell and surrounded by his ministers Auá, Oman, and Aboto." A second float carried "two individuals representing the powerful ministers of the King's court—Barborim and Rodá"; and a third showed "the hut of Pae Ajou, his wife and the magical *caboré*[101] which brings good fortune to one and all." Rodrigues was impressed with the enormous crowd of Negroes and mixed-bloods which accompanied the floats, "singing African songs, dancing African dances and applauding the images on the magician's float." The scene was one of "a colossal *candomblé* traversing the streets of the city,"[102] although police regulations at that time forbade the public appearance of the cult.

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Much enjoyed by Brazilian Negroes were certain dances like the *lundú* and the *batuque*, evidently of at least partial African origin, although they perhaps also contained certain Portuguese and native Indian elements.

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[100] Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

[101] The *caboré* is a nocturnal bird. [102] Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

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Wells, visiting in Minas Geraes in the latter part of the nineteenth century, witnessed the *batuque* and records that it is usually danced by two couples, sometimes more, who face each other. Two tinkling . . . . guitars on this occasion commenced a thrum-thrum, thrum-thrum, and the head man of the estate . . . . advanced and marshaled the dancers, two women and two men; thrum-thrum, thrum—three or four voices suddenly commenced a loud, high-pitched, wild, rapidly delivered, impromptu refrain, containing allusions to the *patrão*[103] and his merits, the incidents of the daily work mingled with the loveliness of ideal Marias; the other men present joined in the chorus, each taking a second or third, a falsetto, or a bass. With rhythmic songs accompanied by clapping of hands and shuffling of feet, the dance commences, at first a slow measure that is maintained for some time, then gradually it increases in rapidity, the dancers advance and retreat, the women swaying their bodies and waving their arms, the men clapping time with their hands at every chorus. The measured tones rise and fall, then again increase in time, the songs and shuffling steps become fast and furious, hands and feet and voices all keep time; and there is much pantomimic action between the couples. . . . . The surroundings were a bright fire that burned and flickered on the earth floor. A single-wick castor-oil lamp was hung on a post. The forms of men and women, lightened by the upward glow of the fire, figured prominently against the dark obscurity of the interior of the shelter.[104]

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Certain customs of the whites were taken over completely by the Negroes. Especially was this true (with a few exceptions which we shall see later) of dress. Stewart recounts of

[103] Employer.

[104] *Op. cit.*, pp. 198–99. The *samba*, a form of the *batuque*, is today in a modified form the favorite popular music of Brazil. For information on the African contribution to Brazilian music see especially Mario de Andrade, "O samba rural paulista," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal de São Paulo*, XLI, 37–114; Flausino Rodrigues Valle, *Elementos de folk-lore musical brasileiro* (São Paulo, 1936), particularly chap. iii; Luciano Gallet, *Estudos de folklore* (Rio, 1934).

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Stewart recounts of Rio in 1852 that "two black African women, richly and fashionably attired, came sauntering along with the most conscious air of high-bred self-possession. They were followed by a black female slave, also in full dress, carrying a black baby three or four months old, and decked out in all the finery of an aristocratic heir—an elaborately wrought, lace-frilled and rosetted cap, and long flowing robe of thin muslin beautifully embroidered, and ornamented with lace."[105]

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A fashion which in the early part of the nineteenth century served "to mark the high rank of those (of either sex) who adopted it" was that of "permitting the nails of the fore-finger and thumb to grow to a great length . . . . [and be] cut to a sharp point."[106] Today, while the whites in Bahia no longer follow this fashion, one occasionally sees individuals of prominence in the Negro group—for instance, Mãe Anninha of the *candomblé* of São Gonçalo—with long fingernails.

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However, assimilation is not a process in which the individuals of only one of the races in contact are modified thereby while members of the other race remain unchanged. Circumstances in Brazil were such as to favor the taking-over by the whites of certain African elements. One rarely found a white child, especially during the slave period, who had not been reared by a Negro *ama*. She "gave him of her own milk, rocked him in his cradle or hammock, taught him his first words of halting Portuguese, his first Padre Nosso, his first Ave Maria, his first 'vôte!' or 'oxente'; she put into his mouth the first *pirão* with meat and

[105] *Op. cit.*, p. 295.

[106] Andrew Grant, *History of Brasil* (London, 1809), p. 334.

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molho de ferrugem."[107] From her and from the *mucama* (maid), as much as, if not more than, from his father and mother, the white child learned to speak. And almost without exception, he was given a *muleque companheiro de brinquedo*, a little Negro slave of his own age and sex, to be his playmate and his almost constant companion.[108] José Verissimo says that during slavery there was "no house which did not have one or more *muleques*, one or more *corumins*, little victims consecrated to the caprices of *nhônhô*:[109] his horse, his *leva-pancada*, his servant, his companion, his friend."[110] In 1821 Mathison saw on an estate near Rio "a number of fine Negro children playing in front of the house, and in the midst of them a younger brother of the proprietor, a lad about fourteen years of age, who had been brought up in this manner . . . . like the Negroes."[111] Freyre has suggested that "very likely many a Brazilian child took for his first hero, not a white physician, nor a navy official or a lawyer, but a slave acrobat who knew how to execute the difficult pirouettes of the impromptu circuses and of the *bumbas meu bois*[112] of the *engenhos;* or a Negro player of the trombone or the flute."[113] Under these conditions it is not surprising that

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[107] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 247. *Pirão* is made of manioc meal and meat broth; *molho de ferrugem* is oil of the *dendê* palm.

[108] Lacerda, *op. cit.*, p. 379.

[109] Slave rendering of *menino* (male child).

[110] *A educação nacional* (Rio, 1906), quoted in Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 248. A *leva-pancada* is one who "takes the beatings."

[111] *Op. cit.*, p. 93.

[112] The *bumba meu boi* is still to be seen in the Bahian interior. It is a folk drama in which a man dressed to represent an ox plays a prominent role (see Arthur Ramos, *O negro brasileiro* [Rio, 1934], pp. 259–68; see also his *O folk-lore negro do Brasil* [Rio, 1935], pp. 103–14).

[113] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

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Koster found the masters and their families taking over many of the customs of their slaves.[114]

Grant, visiting Bahia about 1800, noted that the principal amusement engaged in at private gatherings of the upper class was a dance of African origin:

> It is performed by an individual of each sex moving their bodies to the monotonous tones of an instrument, always in one measure, and with scarcely any action of the legs or feet. The spectators seem delighted with the performance, and cheer the dancers by the most clamorous marks of approbation. This national dance . . . . is indulged in by all ranks of the citizens. . . . .[115]

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Numerous changes in the whites' speech occurred. Especially was this true on isolated fazendas where *senhores* and their families were semiliterate or even illiterate. The *r* and the *s* disappeared as final consonants from many words, *fazer* becoming *fazê; mandar*, *mandá; comer*, *comé;* and *lh* was often reduced to *l*, *mulher* becoming *muler; colher*, *cóler;* etc. In 1798 the bishop of Recife urged the teachers in a local *recolhimento* to try to correct "certain errors of speech" in the young ladies there studying, especially that of inverting certain letters and saying, for instance, *breço* instead of *berço*, *cravão* instead of *carvão;* of omitting letters in the middle of a word and saying, for example, *teado* instead of *telhado*, *fio* instead of *filho;* of dropping the final letter of the plural or of words ending in a harsh sound and saying, for instance, *muitas florê* for *muitas flores*, and *Portugá* for *Portugal*.[116] Freyre says that these dialectical modifications were particularly noticeable among isolated families in the rural areas, where Negro slaves were "constantly within the

[114] *Op. cit.*, I, 200–201. [115] *Op. cit.*, pp. 232–33.

[116] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos* (São Paulo, 1936), p. 103.

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house like persons of the family." Freyre adds that "still today the members of certain illustrious families *de engenho* can be identified by their peculiar vices of pronunciation which were originally learned from Negroes within their homes," as, for example, the Wanderleys of Serinhaem and Rio Formosa."[117]

The use, among certain slaveholding families, of a "slow and heavy manner of speaking," which gave "an appearance of affectation, fatigue, and illness," is also ascribed by Freyre to African influence. Numerous African words were adopted, especially into the common speech of the lower class, and a few have become good usage even among the educated minority. Freyre writes:

> What Brazilian, at least from the North, feels any strangeness about such words as: caçamba, canga, dengo, cafuné, lubambo, mulambo, caçula, quitute, mandinga, muleque, camondongo, muganga, quibêbe, quengo, batuque, banzo, mucambo, bangué, bozó, mocotó, bunda, zumbí, vatapá, carurú, banzé, mucama, quindim, catinga, mugunzá, malungo, birimbau, tanga, cachimbo, candomblé? Who prefers to say "mal cheiro" instead of "catinga"; or "garoto" instead of "muleque" or "moleque"; or "trapo" instead of "mulambo"? These are terms which correspond better than Portuguese words to our experiences, our palates, our understanding, and our emotions."[118]

[117] *Ibid.*, pp. 101–2.

[118] *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 245. For further information on words and phrases of African origin commonly used today in the predominately Portuguese speech in large areas of Brazil see, particularly, Renato Mendonça, *A influencia africana no português do Brasil* (2d ed.; São Paulo, 1935); Jacques Raymundo, *O elemento afro-negro na lingua portuguesa* (Rio, 1933); Mario Marroquim, *A lingua do Nordeste* (São Paulo, 1934), especially pp. 155–59; Dante de Laytano, *Os africanismos do dialeto gaucho* (Porto Alegre, 1936). The author himself collected approximately three hundred words of African origin commonly used today in Bahia.

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In the speech of very young children the doubling of a tonic syllable became common. Hence, *nhônhô* replaced *menino; titio* and *titia* were used for *tio* and *tia; dodoe* for *doe; dindinho* for *padrinho; vôvô* for *avô*, etc. Proper names "lost their solemnity, dissolving in a delicious manner in the mouths of the slaves." Little Antonia came to call herself, and to be called by her parents and other relatives, "Dondon" or "Toinha" or "Totonha"; Thereza became "Teté"; Manoel became "Mané," "Mandú," or "Nezinho"; Francisco became "Chico," "Chiquinho," or "Chicó"; Pedro became "Pepé"; and Alberto became "Bebeto" or "Betinho."[119]

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In addition to the "hard and imperative" *diga-me, faça-me, espere-me*, of Portugal, another method of placing the pronoun came into use in Brazil. The slave and the lower classes developed *me-diga, me-faça, me-espere*, a manner of speaking which Ribeiro describes as of "great suavity and sweetness."[120] Freyre says "*faça-se* is the master speaking, the father, the patriarch; *me-dê* is the slave, the woman, the child."[121]

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The Negroes in Brazil are said to have been assiduous story-tellers. Many free *pretas*, mostly older women, made their living by wandering from *engenho* to *engenho* recounting tales to the women slaves which eventually found their way, transmitted especially by the *mãe preta* and the *mucama*, into the ears of the master's children. Particularly common were stories of animals possessing human characteris-

[119] Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 243.

[120] João Ribeiro, *A lingua nacional* (São Paulo, 1921), quoted in Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 246 n.

[121] *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 246.

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tics, as similarly were tales of the tortoise.[122] Boisterous children were quieted with stories of the Kibungo, a terrifying creature, half-man, half-animal, with an enormous hole in the middle of its back which opened ominously when the creature lowered its head.[123] The Kibungo was especially fond, it is said, of visiting the houses in which naughty boys lived, announcing his presence with:

> De quem é esta casa?
> auê
> como gérê, como gérê
> como érá.[124]

Max Schmidt observed in Matto Grosso that many of the local practices connected with cattle-raising were of African origin, as similarly were the iron instruments in use there. Eschwege contends that ironworking was learned in Brazil from imported Africans.[125]

[122] See Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 282–83.

[123] *Ibid.*, pp. 301–3.

[124] Whose is this house?
auê
I eat *gérê*, I eat *gérê*
I eat *érá*.

[125] Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, pp. 220–21. It is also probable that certain microbes were unwittingly brought to Brazil in the bodies of imported Africans. See Octavio de Freitas, *Doenças africanas no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1935).

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CHAPTER IV

RACE MIXTURE AND THE CRUMBLING OF THE COLOR LINE

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DURING at least the first century of colonization relatively few European women emigrated to Brazil.[1] Incoming Portuguese were predominantly males whose adventurous natures had led them to sever more or less completely family ties in the homeland. The soldiers of Thomé de Souza's first permanent garrison, who constituted no inconsiderable portion of Bahia's early population, had been specially chosen, we are told, because they were unincumbered by family ties. The few women, principally prostitutes or girls from orphanages, sent out from Lisbon by the Crown at the insistent request of Padre Nobrega[2] were insufficient to provide the necessary mothers of a new generation.[3] So great at one time was the demand for European women that the king of Portugal issued a decree denying girls permission to go from Brazil to Portugal to be trained as nuns unless they themselves on their own volition expressed an unalterable desire to remain unmarried.

[1] Gilberto Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* (2d ed.; Rio, 1936), p. 60.

[2] Francisco A. de Varnhagen, Visconde de Porto Seguro, *Historia geral do Brasil* (3d complete ed., 4 vols.; São Paulo, n.d.), I, 308.

[3] As late as 1731 Captain-General D. Lourenço de Almeida wrote from Minas Geraes: "Em todas estas minas não ha mulheres que hajam de casar, e quando ha alguma (que são raras) são tantos casamentos que lhe saem que se ve o pai da noiva em grande embaraço a escolha que ha de fazer do genro" (*Revista do Arquivo Publico Mineiro de 1933*, I, 350, cited by Pedro Calmon, *Historia social do Brasil* [3 vols.; São Paulo, 1937–39], I, 95).

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At the same time, if the colonizing venture in Brazil was to succeed, a sufficient population, either European or closely identified with the European, was a necessity.[4] But a shortage of man-power existed in the mother-country. A small number of Portuguese were seeking to establish themselves on a widely extended and constantly expanding frontier. The colonial ventures in India and other areas of the East, where the Portuguese held an irregular coast line fifteen thousand miles long,[5] were draining the mother-country of her quite limited population, depleted as it already was from centuries of war with the Moors. The inhabitants of Portugal at the beginning of the reign of Dom Manoel the Venturesome (1495) are given as only one million.[6] During the thirty years from 1497 to 1527, three hundred and twenty ships are said to have transported to India, "between soldiers and passengers," eighty thousand persons.[7] Some of these returned to Portugal, but most of them remained. Still, Albuquerque complained of the insufficient number of men furnished for his conquests in the East.[8]

The general movement of rural population into Lisbon, drawn by the expansion of overseas trade, had at that time so depleted the supply of agricultural laborers in Portugal, particularly in the southern provinces, that Africans were being imported in considerable numbers to supply the short-

[4] In 1612 Diogo de Vasconcellos in a letter to the Portuguese king complained that without increased population "mal se poderá remediar nem povoar tão larga costa" (Manoel Bomfim, *O Brasil* [São Paulo, 1935], p. 11).

[5] Albert G. Keller, *Colonisation* (Boston, 1908), p. 108.

[6] Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

[7] Fidelino de Figueiredo, *Estudos de historia americana* (São Paulo, n.d.), p. 21, quoted in Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

[8] F. C. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India* (2 vols.; London, 1894), I, 305–6.

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age.[9] Such migration to Brazil as did occur so seriously affected Portugal that in 1720 King Dom João V issued a royal proclamation prohibiting further emigration.[10]

An indication of this population scarcity is the fact that seventeenth-century Portuguese law recognized "common-law" marriage (*casamento Conhoçudos*) as legally binding. There grew up throughout Portugal "a great tolerance for every kind of union from which there might result an increase in population." Even the church came to recognize *de juras* marriage, if consummated by sexual intercourse.[11]

A scarcity of European women in the East led Francisco d'Almeida not only to accept the fact that a considerable degree of intermixture was already taking place in the Indies but also deliberately to foster as a matter of administrative policy Portuguese unions with native women. "In every Portuguese settlement the married men rapidly became a class to themselves with special privileges; all petty offices were reserved for them, and in Goa all the lands belonging to the King—a very large part of the area—were divided among them."[12] This policy of encouraging unions with na-

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[9] H. Morse Stephens (*Portugal* [New York, 1903], p. 182) says that the population of Lisbon trebled in eighty years.

[10] The decree stated as its purpose the prohibition "of yearly migrations from this country to the *capitanias* of Brazil of so many people . . . . chiefly from the province of Minho, which from once being the most populous now finds itself without a sufficient number of people to cultivate the soil or to perform necessary services" (J. de A. Corvo, *Estudos sobre as provincias ultramarinas* [4 vols.; London, 1883–87], I, 15, quoted in Keller, *op. cit.*, p. 152 n.).

[11] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 179. *De juras* marriage was a simple ceremony "in which the mutual consent of both parties was affirmed on oath before a representative of the church without, however, the sacrament being given." See Alexandre Herculano, *Casamento civil* (Lisboa, 1907), pp. 30 ff.

[12] R. S. Whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India, 1497–1550* (Westminster, 1899), p. 177; cf. Danvers, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

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tive women was similarly sponsored by the Dutch during their colonizing ventures in South Africa and in Java and later by the English in India—a policy which emerged in each case as a natural response to the actual conditions of settlement.

The first Dutch settlers in South Africa and in Java were, almost without exception, males who, in order to establish themselves on a racial and cultural frontier, took up with native women. The mixed-blood progeny of these unions was treated with tolerance and consideration and often sent to the Netherlands to be educated. It was only with the arrival of the Dutch housewives, after Cape Colony had been fairly established, that the attitude of the Dutch toward the mixed-bloods changed. Today there are probably few people in the world who oppose intermixture more vigorously than do the Boer descendants of these Dutch settlers.[13]

During the early years of English penetration in India intermarriage between the English and native Indians not only extensively took place but was encouraged as a deliberate policy by the English authorities. In 1678 the court of directors of the British East India Company wrote the president of Madras that

> the marriage of our soldiers to the native women of Fort St. George is a matter of such consequence to posterity that we shall be content to encourage it with some expense, and have been thinking for the future to appoint a *pagoda* to be paid to the mother of any child, that shall hereafter be born of any such future marriage, upon the day the child is christened, if you think this small encouragement will increase the number of such marriages.

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This policy in all probability did not so much initiate interracial crossing as recognize its existence in an informal

[13] Robert E. Park, "Race Relations and Certain Frontiers," in *Race and Culture Contacts*, ed. E. B. Reuter (New York, 1934), pp. 67–68.

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state. Unions were not confined to the lower classes but extended into even the upper social ranks, not only of the English, but of other European nationalities as well.[14]

Miscegenation and interracial marriage are perhaps always incidental to the expansion of a racial frontier. As Park has pointed out: "Transplanting a people, like transplanting any other organism, is a ticklish business, and interbreeding is one way of successfully accomplishing the transition."[15]

Thus, the Brazilian society of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries came to be founded largely upon families in which Indian or part Indian women were the consorts and mothers.[16] At least this was generally true of the lower classes, but it was by no means limited exclusively to them.[17]

These *de facto* unions were gradually "regularized by the church into Christian marriage," thus lending the powerful sanction of the ecclesiastical authority, chief guardian of the mores in a sacred society, to interracial crossing. The church was joined in this policy by the state, which legalized mixed unions. Thus, neither church nor state injected any "strain for consistency"[18] into the colonial mores which had grown up quite naturally in response to the exigencies of colonization but instead themselves offered support to the "definitions of the situation"[19] already laid down in the prevailing attitudes.

[14] See Cedric Dover, *Half-caste* (London, 1937), pp. 117 ff.

[15] *Op. cit.*, p. 57.

[16] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

[17] E.g., the *mameluco* descendants of Caramurú married into prominent families.

[18] See William Graham Sumner, *Folkways* (Boston, 1906), p. 5.

[19] See W. I. Thomas, *Primitive Behavior* (New York and London, 1937), pp. 8–9.

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The mating in Brazil of Portuguese men with native women was probably facilitated by the fact that many early colonizers were Moçarabes from southern Portugal, who had long been acquainted with the darker peoples and in whom "consciousness of race" was reputedly weak.[20] In fact, in some cases at least, African blood may have flowed in their veins.

It is possible that the first experience of the Portuguese with a darker race was the experience of a conquered people with their more swarthy conquerers. For the Moors, whose occupation of Portugal extended over more than five hundred years (711–1244), were perhaps darker in pigmentation than the Iberian peoples among whom, as lords of a conquered land, they settled. At least we know that their advance into the Iberian peninsula was led by the Berbers of northern Africa, whom Ripley describes as possessed of a slightly concave nose which in profile suggests the Negro, with hair varying from wavy to curly, beards rare, and body hair seldom heavy.[21] Ripley attributes their resemblance to the Negro to admixture with negroid tribes south of the Sahara.

If it is true that the Moors were of darker pigmentation than the Portuguese among whom they settled, men of dark hue had, at the time Brazil was colonized, been for centuries men of prestige in Portugal. They had brought in with them

[20] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 60. From the fifteenth century onward, Negroes were common even in Lisbon. Nicolau Clenard, French tutor of the (at that time) crown prince Dom Henrique, once wrote in a letter: "I believe there is in Lisbon a greater number of Moors and Negroes than of whites. There are nests of slaves in every house" (quoted from Domingos de Magalhães, *Os indigenas do Brasil*, by Luiz Anselmo da Fonseca, *A escravidão, o clero e o abolicionismo* [Bahia, 1887], p. 165).

[21] William Z. Ripley, *Races of Europe* (New York, 1899), pp. 277–78.

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a superior culture; were more learned in the arts and sciences. They had become the wealthy class who occupied the towns or lived in the principal castles and on the great estates. Consequently, it came to be considered an honor for Portuguese women to mate with them, and we know that such marriages often occurred, even among members of the royal family.[22] Thus, the Portuguese, long before the discovery of Brazil, were "accustomed to mixed unions and their offspring."[23]

If the Portuguese came to look upon the dark Moors, and the somewhat negroid Berbers among them, as objects of prestige and eventually as marriageable individuals, the importation into Portugal of African Negroes (who from 1433 on were introduced in considerable numbers,[24] particularly as agricultural laborers in the Algarves at that time almost depopulated by the long wars of the Moorish expulsion) would have found the Portuguese accustomed to associating on a basis of social equality with, or even being inferior to, people of dark color. Even a royal prince is known to have had intimate Negro associates, for King Affonso VI's chief delight as a boy, it is said, was to roam the streets of Lisbon "at the head of a troop of mulattoes and Negro slaves."[25] Traces of African descent are still today unmistakable in the population of Lisbon.[26]

In the Jesuit schools at Bahia in the sixteenth and seven-

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[22] Stephens, *op. cit.*, p. 23; Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Story of the Moors in Spain* (New York and London, 1886), pp. 48, 55, 247.

[23] Keller, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

[24] African slaves became so numerous that, by the middle of the sixteenth century, they were said to outnumber the free men of Lisbon.

[25] Stephens, *op. cit.*, p. 330.

[26] Noted by Dr. Robert E. Park on a recent visit to Lisbon.

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In the Jesuit schools at Bahia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, mixed-blood, pure Indian, and Portuguese children were accepted with equal favor and educated together. "The chronicles of the time reveal no segregation or any other form of discrimination inspired by prejudice against the Indian; the program adopted by the padres appears to have continually fostered friendly intermingling of the races."[27]

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By the time the relatively small numbers of Indians at Bahia had been absorbed into the dominant population group, African women had been imported in sufficient numbers to continue extensively the process of race mixture. The scarcity of white, or near-white, women, at least as mates for men of the upper classes, was not now so acute as formerly; consequently, most of the sexual unions with African women were extra-legal,[28] comparable in some measure to interbreeding in our South, except that in the case of Brazil the extent of intermixture was perhaps greater.[29]

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Padre Nobrega wrote from Bahia in the early days of the colony: "Among the people here there are none who do not possess several *negras* from whom they have many children."[30] By 1819 the number of *mestiços* in Brazil was given as 628,000—a figure not greatly inferior to that of the whites, who were estimated at 843,000.[31] The pure Negro, it

[27] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

[28] Marriages with Negroes were at first frowned upon. Thus an *alvará* of 1755 which referred to marriages of white men with Indian women as "convenient and noble" condemned "staining one's self" by marrying Negroes or Jews (Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 156).

[29] See Freyre, *op. cit.*, esp. chaps. iv and v.

[30] Manoel de Nobrega, *Cartas do Brasil, 1549–1560* (Rio, 1886), quoted in Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

[31] Alcide d'Orbigny, *Voyage dans les deux Amériques* (Paris, 1836), p. 155, quoted in Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

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is said, did not usually exist in Brazil much longer than the third generation.[32] In Minas Geraes, in 1835, while importations from Africa were still large, there were 170,000 mulattoes to 305,000 blacks.[33]

Thus miscegenation has gone on in Brazil in an unobtrusive way over a long period of time. In few places in the world, perhaps, has the interpenetration of peoples of divergent racial stocks proceeded so continuously and on so extensive a scale.[34]

One circumstance in Bahia still favorable to miscegenation is the system of household service universal in upper-class, principally white, families. Whereas no inconsiderable portion of the domestic labor in the United States, at least in northern areas, is white, consisting largely of peasant immigrant women from Europe, household labor in Bahia is almost invariably black or dark mulatto. For example, of 250 servant women noted, 197 were black, 47 were mulatto (predominantly dark), 4 were *cafuso*,[34a] and only 2 were white. In other words, only 0.8 per cent appeared to be of unmixed white descent. For this reason, interbreeding between males in white upper-class families and servant girls leads almost always to black-white, or at least mulatto-white, crosses.

The disposition to tolerate intermixture with the African

[32] Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 163. [33] *Ibid.*

[34] Calmon writes (*ibid.*, p. 158): "Nenhum outro povo tão ligeiro marchou para a estabilização de um tipo procedente dos mais opostos fatores; principalmente em nenhum outro as propriedades unitivas do idioma, da religião, do meio físico, se conjugaram tão intimamente para uniformizar, num imenso territorio (Luc Durtain disse que o Brasil é um dos cinco países verdadeiramente cosmicos) a descendencia de inumeros troncos, celtico, negroide, aborigene."

[34a] Indian-Negro mixed-blood.

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CHAPTER V

INTERMARRIAGE

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AS WE have already seen, the first Portuguese settlers in Bahia were almost exclusively males and, like the Dutch under similar circumstances in South Africa and in Java, the English in India, and the English and Americans in Hawaii, took native women for wives. It is reported that when Thomé de Souza dropped anchor in Todos os Santos Bay, he found in and about the site on which the city was subsequently founded "more than forty" Portuguese men living with native women.[1] According to legend, De Souza was much indebted to the Indian spouse of one of these adventurers, "the comely Paraguassú," daughter of chief Itaparica of the local Tupinambás, for the eventual success of the settlement.

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Paraguassú had been living with a Portuguese sailor, Diogo Alvares Correia, who, some years earlier, either was shipwrecked or had deserted ship at this point. He had since that time lived with the Indians on what is now known as Graça Hill, which lies within the present limits of the city, and had founded an extensive half-breed family. With the passing of time he has become a legendary figure to whom living descendants proudly trace their lineage. As given by Alvares do Amaral,[2] the legend appears more plausible than Southey's account[3] and is as follows:

[1] Francisco A. de Varnhagen, Visconde de Porto Seguro, *Historia geral do Brasil* (3d complete ed., 4 vols.; São Paulo, n.d.), I, 300. Based on a *Carta* by Nobrega.

[2] *Resumo chronologico da Bahia* (Bahia, n.d.), p. 201.

[3] Robert Southey, *History of Brasil* (3 vols.; London, 1816), I, 30–31.

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Moema, who, exhausted, perished in the billows of the sea. This unhappy Indian maiden is still today sung by the poets. . . . .

On returning from Europe, Catherina Paraguassú, endowed with a beauty that was first among her people, performed the duty of a true heroine by receiving as her guest the first Governor-general, Thomé de Souza. She and her husband made the native Indians, without the least hesitancy, subject themselves to the Portuguese dominion. And it is from Diogo Alvares Caramurú and Catherina Paraguassú that the ancient and noble house of Garcia d'Avila, so celebrated for its wealth and civic services, is descended.

Subsequent to the arrival of Thomé de Souza, Diogo had been legally married to Paraguassú. And the church soon saw to it that most, if not all, of the similarly informal unions between European men and native Indian women were "regularized in Christian marriage." [585] [583] [795]

Although incoming Portuguese colonists and adventurers had readily entered into informal unions with native women, they appear at first to have hesitated before actual marriage. It was the Jesuits, we are told, who "managed to conquer in the early colonists the repugnance which they originally held toward marriages with Indian women."[5] "Most of them [the Portuguese] here," wrote Padre Nobrega from Pernambuco in 1551, "have for a long time kept Indian women from whom they have had children; but to marry them was considered a scandalous thing (*grande infamia*). They are now marrying and assuming a proper life."[6] At any rate, intermarriage eventually became a firmly established custom, sanctioned by both church and state. 175 583 585 563* [797]

Although the scarcity of European women, so notable during the first century of colonization, had by the early 175 563*

[5] Gilberto Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* (2d ed.; Rio, 1936), p. 302.

[6] Padre Manoel de Nobrega, *Cartas do Brasil, 1549–1560* (Rio, 1886), quoted by Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

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seventeenth century largely disappeared, Zacharias Wagner at that time observed that unions of Portuguese men with Indian or mixed-blood women were still of frequent occurrence.[7] Capistrano de Abreu records the desire of native women to have children "belonging to the superior race, since, according to the ideas current among them, parentage was important only on the paternal side."[8] Freyre, following Varnhagen, thinks "a decided sexual preference" was involved.[9]

Intermarriage assures to the family relationships of the mixed-blood a relative permanence and continuity not always characteristic of informal unions. Although human beings are responsive to the natural claims of paternity, illegitimate offspring are often denied the regular presence of a father in the family and the relative security in other respects of legitimate children.

Among the Africans imported into Bahia were numerous individuals possessed, as we have seen, of a cultural equipment superior not only to that of the native Indian but also "to that of the majority of the white colonists . . . . many of whom were illiterate and the greater portion only semiliterate."[10] In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries there was so little literacy among the Europeans that "not rarely rich *fazendeiros* in the interior requested their friends on the coast to arrange a son-in-law who, although he had no

[7] Alfredo de Carvalho, "O Zoobillion de Zacharias Wagner," *Revista do Instituto Archeologico, Historico e Geographico de Pernambuco*, Vol. XI (1904), quoted by Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

[8] Capistrano de Abreu, *Capitulos de historia colonial* (3d. ed.; Rio, 1934), quoted by Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

[9] *Op. cit.*, p. 59.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 212.

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other possessions, did know how to read and write."[11] Incidentally, some of these men were light mulattoes.

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The Negro women known in Bahia as "Minas" were famed for their fine physiques, their proud, dignified bearing, and their culinary skill.[12] They were probably Fulahs and Ashantis who were called "Minas" after the name of the Portuguese slave factory on the West Coast known as Forte de el Mina,[13] whence they were imported into Brazil. They approximated the whites in color and features perhaps more closely than any other imported Africans. Araripe Junior writes that they made "excellent companions." "Healthy, ingenuous, and affectionate, it was inevitable," he concludes, "under the precarious conditions of the first and second centuries, that they should dominate the situation."[14] It is probably among these women that the first legal marriages of Europeans with Negro women occurred. In 1730 the governor of Rio de Janeiro, Luis Yahia Monteiro, stated that "there is no Mineiro [gold miner] who can live without a Mina Negro woman. They say that only with them are they lucky."[15] The Minas became not only *amigas* and *mancebas* of the Europeans but eventually *donas de casa* ("housewives").

[11] Henry Koster, *Travels in Brasil, 1809 to 1815* (2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1817), II, 178–79.

[12] Braz do Amaral, "Os grandes mercados de escravos africanos," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, tomo especial, *Congresso Internacional de Historia de America* (1927), V, 481.

[13] Arthur Ramos, *As culturas negras no novo mundo* (Rio, 1937), pp. 324–25.

[14] Araripe Junior, *Gregorio de Mattos* (Rio, 1894), quoted by Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

[15] F. J. Oliveira Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro* (2d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 149.

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[11] Henry Koster, *Travels in Brasil, 1809 to 1815* (2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1817), II, 178–79.

[12] Braz do Amaral, "Os grandes mercados de escravos africanos," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brazileiro*, tomo especial, *Congresso Internacional de Historia de America* (1927), V, 481.

[13] Arthur Ramos, *As culturas negras no novo mundo* (Rio, 1937), pp. 324–25.

[14] Araripe Junior, *Gregorio de Mattos* (Rio, 1894), quoted by Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

[15] F. J. Oliveira Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro* (2d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 149.

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and the proof of his moral qualities have led people to overlook the evident contrast of his physical characters, and his black origin is lost sight of in the approximation of his moral and intellectual qualities to those of the white."[19]

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In Bahia today people neither think nor talk very much about interracial marriage. It is of no more consequence, perhaps, than interclass marriage or marriage between different nationalities in the United States. Few marriages of any kind cross class lines. Marriages between a member of the upper class, on the one hand, and an individual who has climbed up out of the lower class into an intermediate position, on the other, or between the latter and a member of the lower class, do occasionally take place. But they occur very rarely between individuals from the upper and the lower strata.

It is the impression of competent residents well acquainted with the social structure of Bahia that marriages cross race lines more often than class lines; that is, that marriages between individuals from different occupational and income levels within each racial group are less frequent than marriages between members of the different racial groups in the same class. Unfortunately, reliable statistical data upon this important point are not available.

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According to the official records, 42 cases of intermarriage occurred at Bahia out of a total of 1,269 marriages during the year and four months from September 1, 1933, to December 31, 1934. Although this figure represents only 3.3 per cent of the marriages recorded, it does not include those cases in which one of the participants, although classified according to local categories as a *branco* or a *branca*, actually

[19] Jean Baptiste de Lacerda, "The *Metis*, or Half-breeds of Brazil," in *Papers on Inter-racial Problems*, ed. G. Spiller (London, 1911), p. 382.

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CHAPTER VI

THE RISE OF THE MIXED-BLOOD

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EARLY in the colonial period race mixture resulted in an intermediate population group in more favorable position for social advancement. Mulatto slaves, because they were ordinarily chosen by their masters and mistresses for the more delicate and exacting household tasks, to be *mucamas* (maids), *amas de crear* ("mammies"), and other *pessoal de casa* (house servants), early developed into a distinct group apart from the field hands.[1] They were baptized, received the master's name, and often were married in accordance with the prescribed legal and religious practices, thus establishing legitimate families and adding to the social security of their offspring by building up a family tradition.

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Many *mulatinhos*, illegitimate children of the *senhor*, learned to read and to write even more quickly than white, legitimate children, outstripping them in preparatory and even advanced studies. The Reconcavo of Bahia yields a number of such cases.[2] Particularly fortunate, we are told, were the children of priests. Their fathers, being ordinarily from upper-class families and possessing money and prestige, transmitted to their offspring, colored as well as white, ad-

[1] F. J. Oliveira Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro* (2d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 157; Jean Baptiste de Lacerda, "The *Métis*, or Half-breeds of Brazil," in *Papers on Inter-racial Problems*, ed. G. Spiller (London, 1911), p. 379.

[2] Gilberto Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* (2d ed.; Rio, 1936), pp. 324–25. The author throughout this chapter is greatly indebted to Freyre's *Sobrados e mucambos* (São Paulo, 1936), esp. chap. vii.

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vantages of ancestry, social position, intellectuality, and wealth. The professions were readily open to them, and "marriages into the bosom of the most exclusive families"[3] sometimes took place. "More fortunate even than the son of a priest" and "A child of a priest is never unhappy" are expressions still heard at Bahia.[4]

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Significant also was the widespread system of *creação*, whereby colored children who were being reared within the master's house, the so-called *crias*, *irmãos de creação*, *malungos*, *muleques de estimação*, gained position as "persons of the house," somewhat comparable to poor relations in the households of medieval Europe. Often they were seated at the patriarchal table as if members of the family. Some even rode in the family vehicle with their masters.

Owing to the peculiar personal associations in which the mulattoes grew up, they tended to develop certain traits favorable to their advancement. They were usually more intelligent, we are told, more aggressive, more dexterous, and more cunning than the pure blacks. Consequently, they were often assigned to the more skilled occupations, such as shoemaking, carpentry, and tailoring, where they developed occupational skills symbolic of greater personal worth than ordinarily attaches to unskilled labor.

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Because they were liberated in preference to the blacks, the mixed-bloods, early in the colonial period, began to enter the free classes.[5] The disproportion between black

[3] Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 324.

[4] "The social ascension of children of priests, both white and light mixed-blood, has always occurred with great facility" (*ibid.*, pp. 323–24).

[5] In addition, the king of Portugal in 1773 intervened in their behalf, denouncing those persons "so lacking in the sentiments of humanity and of religion" that they still keep in slavery persons "whiter than they are" (Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 327).

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and mulatto slaves noticeable even before 1800, had by the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century become great. In 1822, for instance, the free blacks in Maranhão were reckoned at 9,308; the free mulattoes, at 25,111. Only 6,580 mulattoes were still in bondage as compared with 77,954 blacks. Thus, in this important center of Negro concentration, over three-fourths of the mixed-bloods had by 1822 been emancipated, whereas approximately only one-eighth of the blacks had been liberated. Walsh in 1828 reports that there were at that time in Brazil approximately 160,000 free blacks and 400,000 free mulattoes. In 1835, among a total of 170,000 mulattoes in Minas Geraes, only 40,000, or less than one-fourth, were reported to be slaves; while 250,000 out of an estimated 305,000 blacks, or approximately five-sixths, were still in bondage.[6] Although no figures are available for Bahia, it is likely that similar proportions held here also.

These numerically important liberated mulattoes began their rise in social rank by becoming small farmers (*lavradores*, *sitiantes*), or artisans (both rural and urban), street merchants, small shopkeepers, etc., taking their places beside those lower-class whites who either had not yet risen or did not possess the requisite ability to rise.

Free blacks, as well as free mulattoes, were able to establish themselves in manual occupations more readily than their brothers in the United States because the descendants of Europeans in Brazil have ordinarily looked down upon manual labor, as attested by the common saying: "Trabalho é para cachorro e negro" (work [that is, hard manual labor] is for Negroes and dogs). "Whatever may have been the en-

[6] Maurice Rugendas, *Voyage pittoresque dans le Brésil*, trans. from the German by de Colbery (3 vols.; Paris, 1835), p. 27.

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ergy exerted by their immigrant fathers, creoles [native Brazilians] ordinarily imbibed the colonial prejudice against labor, and assumed the airs of gentlemen." Free men of color entering agricultural or artisan employment "in no way aroused the jealousy of Europeans."[7]

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The mobility of the Brazilian population in the colonial period, both vertically and horizontally, facilitated climbing. Changes in status during the lifetime of a given individual were common phenomena and at times even precipitous, a condition reflected in the common saying "Pae taberneiro, filho cavalheiro, neto mendicante" ("Father an innkeeper, son a squire, grandson a beggar"). Endogamy among the rural aristocracy, even in such *fidalgo* centers as Bahia and Pernambuco, was never absolute. Clerks and small merchants in the cities, immigrant peddlers in the interior, modest proprietors of small farms, owners of small herds of cattle—all aspired to, and some succeeded in attaining, the ranks of the rural aristocracy.[8]

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Similarly significant was freedom to move in space. For in areas distant from those of their birth, light mulattoes of slave origin often managed to pass for individuals born of free parents. They were thus able readily to strip from themselves the social stigma of servile origin. One of the functions of the *bandeiras* and the *monçoes*[9] was to assist ambitious individuals to whom migration and the freedom of the frontier appeared to offer the most rapid and successful means of social advancement. Many mixed-bloods sought out new homes and became settlers, stock-raisers, small

[7] H. A. Wyndham, *The Atlantic and Slavery* (London: Oxford University Press, 1935), pp. 249-50.

[8] Vianna, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

[9] The *bandeiras* (also called *monções*) were groups of hardy explorers and frontier fighters who explored the interior or raided Indian villages for slaves.

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senhores de engenho, fazendeiros, etc.[10] Often they were runaway slaves.[11] In the cities they became masons, cobblers, tinsmiths, soldiers, actors, and at times reached even the small bourgeosie.[12]

The mulatto, owing to his closer approximation in physical characteristics to the European, was better able than the Negro to appropriate certain symbols of status—the small shoe and the little boot, for instance, the wearing of which was an important index of social standing in colonial and imperial Brazil.[13] Small feet, particularly among women, were for a long time, and still are, fashionable.

As the mulatto rose in class, he came to occupy something

[10] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, pp. 190–91, 205, 238.

[11] "I heard of a mulatto slave who ran away from his master; and in the course of years had become a wealthy man, by the purchase of lands which were overrun with cattle. He had, on one occasion, collected in pens great numbers of oxen which he was arranging with his herdsmen to dispatch to different parts for sale, when a stranger who came quite alone, made his appearance, and rode up and spoke to him, saying that he wished to have some private conversation with him. After a little time they retired together; and when they were alone the owner of the estate said, "I thank you for not mentioning the connection between us, whilst my people were present." It was his master, who had fallen into distressed circumstances, and had now made this visit in hopes of obtaining some trifle from him. He said that he would be grateful for anything his slave chose to give him. To reclaim him, he well knew, was out of the question—he was in the man's power, who might order him to be assassinated immediately. The slave gave his master several hundred oxen, and directed some of his men to accompany him with them to a market, giving out among his herdsmen, that he had thus paid a debt of old standing, for which he had only now been called upon" (Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil, 1809 to 1815* [2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1817], I, 244–45).

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[12] Vianna, *op. cit.*, p. 143. In 1774 a law opened to *homens pardos* access "to all offices, honors and dignities, without discrimination on account of difference in color" (*Annaes da Biblioteca Nacional*, XXXVII [1913], 85). See also Pedro Calmon, *Historia social do Brasil* (3 vols.; São Paulo, 1937–39), I, 168.

[13] "The use of shoes and little boots, which was at first almost entirely limited to persons recently arrived from Portugal, spread among those men

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As the mulatto rose in class, he came to occupy something analogous to a middle position distinct from either that of the dominant European or that of the subject African. In the colonial period, "to appease the repugnance felt by whites at being put on the same level with mulattoes,"[14] the latter were segregated for military duty. Thus separate battalions were organized at Bahia and elsewhere for whites, for *pardos*,[15] and for *pretos*.[16] Similarly, separate church organizations arose for *pardos* (Palma, Guadaloupe, Boqueirão) as well as for *pretos*.[17]

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In the Brazilian rural society of the colonial period Oliveira Vianna identifies three distinct social strata: the predominantly white *senhores* of the upper rank, the predominantly mixed-blood free artisans, *rendeiros*, and petty

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and women of the Brazilian aristocracy who were blessed with small feet. The difficulties of the blacks, even when serving as pages, to adjust themselves to this new European and aristocratic style so ill adapted to their large and flat feet, can be easily understood. The mulattoes, on the other hand, who possessed smaller feet, well formed according to the European standard, could adapt themselves more readily to a practice which Handelmann observed constituted in nineteenth-century Brazil one of the marks of class distinction" (Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, pp. 329–30).

[14] Vianna, *op. cit.*, p. 164; see also his *Populações meridionaes do Brasil* (3d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 140.

[15] In Bahia, the Regimento dos Pardos. See Luiz dos Santos Vilhena, *Cartas*, edited and annotated by Braz do Amaral (2 vols.; Bahia, 1922), pp. 253–54.

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[16] In Bahia, as elsewhere, Os Henriques.

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[17] In Bahia, Rosario de João Pereira, Barroquinha, Corpo Santo, Rosario "at the foot of the Pelourinho." Cf. also: "The cemetery for Africans was located next to the Misericordia Cemetery, as one can see from the map made of the city of Salvador and its suburbs by Carlos Augusto Weyll" (J. B. von Spix and C. F. P. von Martius, *Através da Bahia* [excerpts from the larger work, *Reise in Brasilien* (3 vols.; München, 1823–31)], trans. Pirajá da Silva and Paulo Wolf [3d ed.; São Paulo, 1938], pp. 141–42 [translators' note]).

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officials of the middle tier, and the predominantly black slaves of the lower stratum.[18]

The duration of this particular organization was, however, brief. As the color line bent further under pressure of the rising mulatto, certain of the more able or more successful mixed-bloods broke through into the upper tiers.

The development of the cities increased the possibilities for economic advancement to individuals who, like the mulattoes, were noted for their skill as artisans and—what was more important—for their intellectual ability.[19] The rise, after independence in 1822, of the *academias superiores* offered to the more able mixed-bloods possibilities not previously attainable. Since by reason of their mental alertness the mulattoes often excelled, it is said, in those pursuits wherein intellectual ability is an essential for success, the development of these centers of advanced study opened, at least to the ambitious and favored ones among them, ready access to the rising professional classes, especially as *doutores* or *bachareis*.[20] Many promising young mulattoes were aided to a professional training by indulgent white fathers or other relatives and friends among the dominant class.

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Of a prominent Brazilian intellectual, Raul Calogeras, whose father was a Bahian planter and whose mother was a Negro slave, we are told:

> Raul was very intelligent, and showed remarkable ability in his studies. It is said that when a very young boy at Santo Amaro, he used to slip away late at night, after his mother's master had gone to bed, to study by the street lamp on the corner near the house. When his father discovered this, he was much impressed, and other signs

[18] Vianna, *op. cit.*, pp. 72–73.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 151; Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, pp. 160–61, 190.

[20] Physicians, lawyers and engineers.

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of Raul's intelligence and his ability to apply himself multiplied the interest which his father took in him, and he supplied all his needs. When his father left the Reconcavo to come to Bahia, he brought Raul with him, and here, under his tutelage, Raul went to primary school where he had as white playmates his father's nephews and others. And later, when his father went to Rio, he took Raul with him. The boy never left his father's company as long as his father lived.[21]

Raul was a very dark mixed-blood with kinky hair. He came to be a prominent citizen and was noted not only for his fine figure, distinguished bearing, poise, and personal charm but also for his intelligence and professional competence. At one time he was a much-loved confidant of a recent president of Brazil.

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Significant also, so far as the rise of the mulatto is concerned, is the fact that early in the nineteenth century the return of young professional men who had been trained in Europe—in Coimbra, Montpelier, Paris, and other centers—enhanced the prestige of the rising professional classes. These young lawyers and physicians, among whom were a number of quite capable mulattoes, were returning to Brazil after an education abroad, ordinarily more traveled, better informed, and more urbane than their brothers or half-brothers on the plantations, in the army, or among the clergy. They were especially attractive, we are told, to the upper-class ladies of the time. The importation of fashionable articles from the Continent—Parisian haberdashery, perfumes, hair-dressings, and English shoes—with the use of all of which these returning young men were quite familiar, enhanced their standing among the élite. The increasing

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[21] From a letter to the author from a man reared in the same community as the individual in question and long acquainted with him. For information on the later life of this mixed-blood see Appen. A.

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The increasing prestige of youth, accelerated by the popular rule of young King Dom Pedro II, together with the increasing dominance of the cities in which the young graduates located, also contributed to their rise in social esteem.

The disruption of the old order based upon slavery, owing to the loss of the sugar monopoly, the increasing dependence of rural *senhores* on their urban agents and commission merchants, and the progress of the abolition campaign, eventually leading as it did to widespread desertion of slaves from the *engenhos*, also facilitated the rise of the professional classes. There was under way a gradual transfer of prestige from the rural aristocracy,[22] which had been almost exclusively European, to the urban intelligentsia, which increasingly included mulattoes, particularly of the lighter shades; for example, Gonçalves Dias, Natividade Saldanha, José do Patrocinio, Machado de Assis, Barão de Cotegipe, Olavo Bilac, Domingos Caldas Barbosa, Salles Torres Homem, Nilo Peçanha, Domicio da Gama, Dom Silvero Gomes Pimenta, Dom Luiz Raymundo da Silva Brito, Tobias Barretto, Antonio Vieira, José Mauricio, Auta de Souza, Francisco Gé Acabaya de Montezuma, the Rebouças brothers, and "hundreds of other Brazilians," as João Dornas Filho says, "whose great mental capacity has brought resounding fame to Brazil."[23]

Dom Pedro II elevated to the nobility a prominent mixed-blood who was subsequently known familiarly as "Barão do Chocolate."[24] The Count do Gobineau speaks of meeting

[22] For a sketch of the *rise* of the Brazilian aristocracy see Alan K. Manchester, "The Rise of the Brazilian Aristocracy," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XI, No. 2 (May, 1931), 145-68.

[23] *A escravidão no Brasil* (Rio, 1939), p. 228.

[24] Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 190.

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The Count do Grobineau speaks of meeting three mulatto ladies-in-waiting to the Brazilian empress, one "marron," one "chocolat eclair," one "violette."[25] Montezuma became a viscount and sat in the national senate, as did also Salles Torres Homem. The best elements of the aristocracy attended the receptions for the noted engineer, Andre Rebouças.[26] His brother Antonio, a federal deputy, on requesting a representative on the crown council for the *população mulata* was heard attentively by the *camara*.[27] Domicio da Gama and the Barão de Cotegipe were long prominent in political and diplomatic circles. Dom Silvero Gomes Pimenta became an archbishop. No musician is said to have been more distinguished at court than the mixed-blood, José Mauricio. Domingos Caldas Barbosa, the son of a Negro woman from Angola, acquired considerable fame in the salons of Rio de Janiero and of Lisbon as a singer of popular songs. The eighteenth-century sculpture of Antonio Francisco Lisboa, better known as Aleijadinho, which may still be seen today in the old churches of Ouro Preto, Sabará, São João d'El Rei, and other cities of Minas Geraes, attracted much favorable comment. José Basilio da Gama, whose *Uruguay* is said to be the best epic poem of the colonial period, the writer, Machado de Assis, and the lyric poet, Antonio Gonçalves Dias, were universally accorded high rank in Brazilian letters. Tobias Barretto was honored as a poet but even more as a jurist and annotator of German philosophical works which he had translated. José de Natividade Saldanha, an able poet, was one of the leaders of the revolt in Recife in 1824.

[25] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 354.

[26] Visconde de Taunay, *Homens e cousas do imperio* (São Paulo, 1924), p. 145, noted by Calmon, *op. cit.*, II, 112.

[27] Antonio Pereira Rebouças, *Recordações da vida parlamentar* (2 vols.; Rio, 1870), I, 524, noted by Calmon, *op. cit.*, II, 113.

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José do Patrocinio became an able editor and wielded a powerful influence in the abolition movement. Joaquim Manoel was a violinist of considerable talent. A number of Francisco Braga's musical compositions achieved acclaim, and he was later invited to teach composition in the National Institute of Music. The Bahian mulatto, Francisco Chagas, better known as "Cabra," carved images with such skill that at least five of them ("Nossa Senhora do Carmo," "São Benedito," "São João e Magdalena," "Nossa Senhora dos Dores," and "Senhor da Redempção") may still be seen in the Igreja do Carmo. Valentim da Fonseca e Silva, popularly known as "Master Valentim," achieved fame as a skilled worker in gold and silver. The mulatto, Jesus, was a notable figure in an influential school of painting which flourished in Bahia in the eighteenth century. Crispim do Amaral, better known by his pseudonym "Falstaff," and Pedro Americo were accepted as among the most competent Brazilian painters of the nineteenth century. Antonio Gonçalves Teixeira e Sousa, Laurindo Rabello, and Gonçalves Crespo, all won acclaim in the Brazilian world of letters, and at least the latter of these three in the Portuguese world of letters as well. The psychiatrist, Juliano Moreira, became director-general of the hospital for the insane in Rio de Janeiro and was elected an honorary professor of the Faculty of Medicine in Bahia. The name of the Hospital João de Deus in Bahia was, in 1936, changed in honor of him to the Hospital Juliano Moreira. Theodoro Sampaio became widely known and respected throughout Brazil as an able engineer, intellectual figure, and linguistic scholar. José Ferreira de Menezes, Monteiro Lopes, Cardoso Vieira, Eliseu Cesar, Evaristo Ferreira da Veiga, and (in more recent times) the Bahian brothers, João and Octavio Manga-

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beira, have all been influential politicians with national reputations. Luiz Gama, mulatto journalist and lawyer, born a slave in Bahia, became exceedingly popular not only in São Paulo, where he came to reside, but throughout Brazil. At least one president of the Republic, Nilo Pecanha, had African ancestors.[28]

It is said the royal family set the example of social acceptance of the darker Brazilians and gently rebuked those whites inclined to be hesitant in the matter. Dom João VI, in his audiences at São Cristovão, cordially received men of all stations, and the two Pedros (Dom Pedro I and Dom Pedro II) continued the tradition. Once, at a court ball, Princess Isabel, noting that a lady had declined to dance with André Rebouças, herself offered to dance the subsequent waltz with him, "to compensate for the affront to this illustrious man."[29]

The range of acceptance was at that time broadening. Formerly only the exceptionally able mixed-bloods, or those most similar to the Europeans in color, had been incorporated into the upper circles. But "the prestige of the title 'doutor' began to overcome much of the prejudice which had been so active and apparently so invincible during three previous centuries."[30] Similarly, an army uniform, "especially

[28] For information in some detail on prominent Brazilian mixed-bloods see Arthur Ramos, *The Negro in Brazil* (Washington, 1939), *passim*.

[29] Calmon, *op. cit.*, II, 114. Affonso de E. Taunay (in a letter to the author) reports the incident thus: "At a court ball the Princess Isabel, Countess of Eu and heir to the throne of Brazil, insisted on dancing with André Rebouças, a mulatto who was almost black (albeit a man of great mental and moral worth), in order to censure the attitude of certain ladies of the court who had objected to him as a dancing partner."

[30] Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro*, p. 145.

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Similarly, an army uniform, "especially the gold braid of an officer, Aryanized and 'aristocratized' many mulattoes into whites."[31]

The rise of the mixed-bloods was also facilitated by the conviction which, since at least the late eighteenth century, had been crystallizing in the minds of Brazilian intellectuals to the effect that the Negroes, whose strong arms and backs had long furnished the country's labor supply, were to a considerable extent the actual builders of Brazil. In prose and poetry not only the toil of the slave but also the creative energies of the free people of color came to be exalted.[32] This appreciation of the African contribution to Brazilian civilization increased with the progress of the abolition campaign. Especially were the *amas* extolled.[33] Much of the abolition sentiment had its sanction in the affectionate gratitude of young aristocrats whom they had reared.

The rise of the mulatto, as also that of the black, was further favored by the gradual, rather than catastrophic, character of the emancipation process which in Brazil released most of the lower stratum of society from servile status gradually and as individuals, under circumstances favorable to the continuance of those intimate personal ties so highly advantageous to a "new freeman." Moreover, final emancipation was not, as in our South, brought about as an incident of civil strife, and the normal relations which had

[31] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 318.

[32] See Borges dos Reis, "Colonos indigenas e escravos," *Revista do Instituto Geographico e Historico da Bahia*, XXVIII (1902), 61. Note also Alvarengo Peixoto's stanza:

> ". . . . homens de varias accidentes
> pardos, pretos, tintos e tostados
> . . . . os fortes braços feitos ao trabalho."

[33] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 128.

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grown up naturally between the races were never threatened, let alone destroyed, by a program of reconstruction originating from without and imposed by armed conquest. Individual ability, personal ties and family solidarity, instead of external pressure, were the levers of social advancement. The rise of the mixed-blood and of the black in Brazil has always had effectively in its favor those sentiments and personal attachments which primary relations tend normally to develop.

Such political upheavals as did occur tended to advance the mixed-bloods not as a group but as individuals. Thus the overthrow of the monarchy and the rise of the republic marked a definite break with the rural aristocracy and accelerated the rise of a new class, that of the *bachareis* and the *doutores*, among whom were many mulattoes. And, more recently, the recrystallization of the political structure following the "revolution of 1930" found many Bahian mixed-bloods in positions of trust and responsibility, since the new political "ins," who were diligently seeking to solidify their gains and to establish themselves firmly in power, found it expedient to accept such support as was readily at hand. Again the mixed-bloods figured prominently, not as a group per se but as individuals belonging to an eligible professional class.

The role of sex and of romantic love should not be overlooked. The sexual attraction which the mulatto male exerted upon daughters of rich and influential European families led quite often to elopement or, occasionally and increasingly, to marriage with parental consent.[14] Similarly,

[14] "The daughters, the *yayas* of the *sobrados*, the *sinhas* of the *casas grandes de engenho*, let themselves be kidnaped by these Don Juans, even by such as were plebeian and of color. . . . . Sellin noted the large number of young ladies eloping . . . during the latter half of the nineteenth century. They were girls whose parents, for reasons of blood or of social position, had

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the mulatto women profited by the myth of the sexual potency of the hybrid,[15] the high mortality of white women (especially during the nineteenth century), and the consequent successive marriages of elderly patriarchs who sought an increasing degree of sexual stimulation. Cases of "marriages of elderly white men from illustrious families, descendants of barons and well situated in life, with beautiful octoroon, quadroon, or mulatto women who carried themselves like fine ladies and gave evidence of a sexual ardor beyond the ordinary,"[16] increasingly occurred.

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Today, the mixed-bloods are gaining a constantly increasing measure of social recognition. Among them are to be found prominent lawyers, jurists, physicians, engineers, politicians, diplomats, priests, educators, business and commercial magnates, musicians, painters, poets, novelists, journalists, planters.[17] In other words, the mulattoes have now penetrated to the top of the class scale.[18]

not consented to their marriage with men for whom they had come to feel a sentimental or sexual predilection" (*ibid.*, pp. 156-57). Note also the novel *O mulato* (3d ed.; Rio, 1889), by Aluisio de Azevedo, whose hero is a mixed-blood *backarel* educated in Europe and enamored of a white girl from a family "full of prejudices of white purity." Gilberto Freyre calls this book "a human document warm with the life of the time."

[15] A popular saying commonly heard in Bahia is: "A white woman for marriage, a Negro woman for work, a *mulata* for sexual intercourse."

[16] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 337.

[17] See Lacerda, *op. cit.*, pp. 381-82; Manoel de Oliveira Lima, *The Evolution of Brazil Compared with that of Spanish and Anglo-Saxon America* (Palo Alto, 1914), p. 39; Rudiger Bilden, "Laboratory of Civilization," *Nation*, CXXVIII (January 16, 1929), 73; Thomas Ewbank, *Life in Brazil* (New York, 1856), p. 267; Professor and Mrs. Louis Agassiz, *A Journey in Brazil* (Boston and New York, 1888), p. 124; Theodore Roosevelt, "Brazil and the Negro," *Outlook*, CVI (February, 1914), 409.

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[18] To accelerate his social climbing, the mixed-blood has developed certain characteristic personality traits: "a pleasant smile and manner, a cordial

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178 This division in cultural identification, however, is not
184 always sharply defined. Adherence to African cultural forms, for instance, the *candomblé*, often varies not only from family to family but also from individual to individual in the same family group; and, occasionally, in the same individual with reference to different cultural elements, to different periods in his life, and even to varying moods in his experience. In other words, African cultural forms at Bahia are disintegrating at a comparatively rapid rate.

565 Nor should one assume that the body of customs and tra-
178 ditions which marks off to some extent this lower-class
177 world is entirely of African origin. While it undoubtedly is composed in considerable part of elements originating in Africa, certain native Indian customs and traditions, together with ideas and practices common to the lower classes of Europe, as well as other customary behavior which has arisen in response to the circumstances of life in Brazil, contribute to it. The disentanglement of these diverse strands is, in some instances, a difficult and exceedingly laborious task.

It should be emphasized that these distinctions follow cultural and not necessarily racial lines. The lower class, as we have seen, includes a number of Europeans, and these have in numerous cases taken over sentiments and attitudes of African origin. Moreover, as the blacks and the mixed-bloods rise in class, they tend to slough off all identification with Africa and with African cultural forms.

439 Bahian Negroes long maintained direct contact with the
175 West Coast. Even after the extinction of the slave traffic, vessels regularly plied between Bahia and Lagos, repatriating nostalgic emancipated Negroes and returning with West

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Coast products much prized by Africans and their descendants in Brazil.[1] An elderly Bahian Negro recently brought out from among his treasured possessions a faded photograph of blacks aboard a ship on their way to Africa and pointed out an *atabaque*, or sacred drum, and a woman in *saia grande*.[2] He recalls having been many times with his father at the docks in Bahia when vessels came in from Africa and sailors brought news of Lagos.

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Trade with the West Coast, however, gradually decreased until, by 1905, it had almost entirely disappeared. Today, only a few important articles employed in the fetish ritual, such as cowries, *obis* and *orobôs* (sacred fruits), *pimenta* (pepper) *da costa*, *palha* (straw) *da costa*, *sabão* (soap) *da costa*, and strips of *pano* (cloth) *da costa*, are occasionally imported from Africa.

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Numerous Africans, their interest in Brazil stirred by Brazilian Negroes returning to the West Coast, are said to have emigrated to Bahia as recently as thirty years ago. Considerable areas in and about the city—for example, Caminho do São Gonçalo, Caminho do Cruz, and a portion of the Terreiro—were once owned, it is said, by *Africanos*.

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Today, native-born Africans as a population element are

[1] Pedro Calmon, *Historia social do Brasil* (3 vols.; São Paulo, 1937-39), I, 182. It is also reported that on at least two occasions representatives of African chiefs arrived in Bahia from Ajudá, with which port Bahian officials were maintaining direct commercial relations. One arrived during the administration of the Vice-rei Conde de Athouguia; two others "and an interpreter," on May 26, 1795. See João Varella, *Da Bahia que eu vi* (Bahia, 1935), pp. 153-57; J. B. de Sá e Oliveira, "Dois embaixadores africanos mandados a Bahia pelo Rei do Dahomé," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, LVI, Part I (1895), 413.

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[2] The large skirt still worn *boufant* by many Bahian black women. The date was approximately 1895.

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[824] oxhorn, both of which are employed for protection against the *mau olhado*, or "evil eye." Or they may be of a more general nature like the letters *J M J* (Jesus, Maria, José), or the *signo de Salomão* ("sign of Solomon")[35] either or both of which may be painted or carved on the door of the house or even tattooed on an individual's arm, leg, or chest; or a small pouch worn around the neck and containing either a *patuá* (presumed to protect against evil, especially the machinations of an enemy or death in battle)[36] or a small piece of garlic, "Danda root," *mil homens*, or *arruda*, a clove, or merely some object sacred to the *orixá* to whom the individual is dedicated. Similarly employed are such magical practices as the sprinkling of sea water in the four corners of the house, the emptying through the front door of a basin of water left overnight in the center of the floor, or the burning regularly at six o'clock in the evening of incense to which, occasionally, sulphur and pieces of oxhorn are added until the house is filled with magically potent smoke.

794 787 In the fetish cult, divination is commonly resorted to for such purposes as the identification of an unknown *orixá* who has "manifested himself" in human form, the determination of such matters as the eligibility of a prospective *ogan*, or male functionary of the cult, the cause of a troubling illness, or the proper course to pursue in some contemplated action. Divination is also employed to foretell future events, particularly the outcome of business or amorous ventures, jour-

[35] A six-pointed star at whose apex appears a cross.

[175] [669] [36] During the insurrection of 1835, the Malês, as we have seen, wore *patuás* consisting either of prayers or of verses from the Koran, written or printed in Arabic characters. They were presumed to protect against death in any form. For photographs of some of these see Nina Rodrigues, *Os africanos no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1932), p. 98, Figs. 1, 2, 3, and 4.

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blacks, while they themselves are increasingly being incorporated into the predominantly European stock.

In the development of this general tendency to amalgamate and to assimilate all ethnic minorities, the circumstances and conditions of settlement played a significant role. In Brazil, unlike in the case of the English settlement of the United States, few women, as we have seen, emigrated from Europe during the first century of colonization. Until stable conditions and a normal distribution of the sexes were achieved, cohabitation with native Indian women commonly occurred. In this way a population large enough to colonize successfully the new frontier was assured, in spite of the fact that Portugal, because of the drain upon her slender resources to enable her to conquer and hold the vast empire in the East, was unable to provide it. When Thomé de Souza in 1549 set up the first permanent settlement at Bahia, he found already on the site a numerous body of mixed-blood descendants of Portuguese sailors and adventurers who for some years had been living with the Indians. As far as the limited number of females made it possible, Thomé de Souza's men took mates from among these mixed-bloods; others cohabited with pure Indian women. These interracial unions, as in Goa (India) and elsewhere throughout the Portuguese dominions in the East, were subsequently encouraged as a matter of policy by the Portuguese state. Moreover, the Catholic church "regularized them into Christian marriage," thereby lending its powerful sanction to interracial crossing and bringing parents and children within the control and discipline of the church. In other words, a tradition of intermarriage became firmly fixed in the colonial mores.

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The considerable body of *mestiços* which grew up are said

[SALVADOR]

/9/ The Ethnic Types of Bahia

361 Bahia owes its reputation, not only to its privileged location
*563 on the shores of a magnificent bay and to its churches of an ornate
633 rococo style, but also, to a certain degree, to the excellent relations that exist in the heart of its motley population between people of different color. Stephan Zweig drew a very vivid picture
633 of Bahia and its ancient traditions. For him, Brazil began with
*563 this city, and not only Brazil, but also South America. "In this city was erected the first pier of the vast bridge thrown across the Atlantic; in it has originated, through the combination of European, African, and American material, the new mixture that is fermenting so actively at the present time (1)."

[113] 1. Stephan Zweig, Brazil, País do Futuro /Brazil, Land of the Future/, trans. by Gallotti, Rio de Janeiro, 1941, p. 275.

•175 From its founding under the official name of Cidade do
633 Salvador, Bahia began to be known for its wealth, which it owed
103 to the sugar produced by its fazendas (2)
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2. Plantations.

and its engenhos (3).

3. Sugar mills.

796 It was also renowned for the magnificence of the worship in its
363 numerous churches, for the religious processions that passed through its narrow, climbing streets, and for the traditions, so typically Portuguese, of its inhabitants. Center of importation
567 of African slaves, Bahia was also famous for the large proportion
167 of Blacks in its population, to the point that foreign travelers of
162 the colonial period speak of this city as a "new Guinea" (4).

[113] 4. M. Frezier, Relation du voyage de la mer du Sud aux côtes du Chili et du Pérou fait pendant les années 1712, 1713 and 1714 /Account of the

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voyage from the South Sea to the coasts of Chile and Peru made during the years 1712, 1713, and 1714/, Paris, 1732; Adolphe d'Assier, Le Brésil contemporain /Contemporary Brazil/, Paris, 1867.

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Founded in 1549, seat of the general government of Brazil and residence of the Portuguese viceroy until 1763, the date when the capital of the colony was transferred to Rio de Janeiro, Bahia was regarded as "the most Portuguese" of the cities of the American continent. Even today it is one of the most important cities of Brazil (5).

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5. The State of Bahia has an area of 563,000 square kilometers and a littoral of 100 kilometers; its territory, of varied geographical aspect, is occupied chiefly by plantations of cacao, tobacco, cereals, by stock farms, and by mines of manganese, chromium, diamonds, iron, bituminous schists, etc. After the national census of July, 1950, the State had 4,900,419 inhabitants, 395,993 of them in the city of Salvador itself. The other most populous cities of Brazil are: Rio de Janeiro (federal district), with 2,335,931 inhabitants; São Paulo, with 2,041,716 inhabitants; Recife, with 522,466 inhabitants; Porto Alegre, 381,964 inhabitants, and Belo Horizonte, with 346,207 inhabitants.

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Owing to the conservative and traditionalist nature of its civilization, owing also to the distance that separates it from the other important urban centers, it is considered one of the /10/ demographic and cultural islets of what has been called the "Brazilian Archipelago." As we have said, what makes it particularly interesting is the fact that it was always a melting pot of races, certainly the most representative and the most symbolic of racial relations of the country.

[SALVADOR]

826 /11 cont./
829 Pretos, or Blacks, are all the individuals who show the physi-
x 563 cal characteristics of the Black, particularly the very dark skin,
576 "the color of charcoal," the frizzy hair, the flat nose, and the
[192] very thick lips. But to use the expression "Negro" /Fr. nègre/ is considered less courteous and sometimes even offensive. A physician who worked in a dermatology clinic registered as "Negro" a patient who had come to be treated; but the father of the latter came to the physician to protest that he should substitute for this term that of preto (Black) or escuro (dark /Fr. foncé/).

[192] A person who is speaking to a Black of a lower class may say to him, in speaking of another Black, "Someone black like you"; but if it is a matter of a person belonging to a higher class, good form requires that one use the term escuro (dark) or even moreno. Several informants reported that the students of certain black professors with crude manners say of them that they have the "manners of Negroes." In the same way, a dark mulatto intellectual knows that if one wishes to offend him one calls him "this Negro," and a Black practicing a liberal profession is not unaware either that his political adversaries, in speaking of him, say "the Negro Léonard." It is not rare to hear Whites and morenos protest in a low voice against the bad manners, the bursts of laughter, the gossip of these "Negroes," when Blacks and mulattoes give free vent to their noisy gaiety in public conveyances, in cinemas, or in the streets. Nevertheless the expression "my Negro" is a term of friendship, even among Whites. Sometimes the term "Negro" is used as a diminutive, "a sympathetic
[196] little Negro" /Fr. négrillon/, without containing any unkind implication. On the other hand, the word nigrinha, the feminine form of the same diminutive, has a pejorative and insulting meaning; it is applied to young colored people of questionable reputation. To act like a nigrinha is equivalent to behaving badly.

• 175 In the first years of colonization, Indians were often desig-
x 563 nated by the name of Negro. The use of this /12/ word, the true
829 meaning of which has been established only recently, caused much embarrassment to historians who sought to unravel the respective role of Indians and Blacks in the formation of Brazilian civilization. A Portuguese law of 1755 stipulates that Indians must not be

[SALVADOR]

/12 cont./

175 called Negroes because of the ignominious and base implications
* 563 of a term that puts them on the same footing as the people of the
829 coast of Africa destined to become slaves of the Whites. The true African Negroes were at that time called Negroes of Guinea, Negroes of the coast, or Negroes of nation, that is to say, of such
175 and such an African tribe. In a general way the term Negro was
829 applied to every slave, to the point that in 1773 a Portuguese
* 563 monarch complained that in Brazil there were still "persons so
567 wanting in feelings of humanity and religion as to keep among
192 them slaves, some of whom are whiter than they themselves, under the names of Blacks and Negresses, or even métisses /plural
829 feminine form of métis, a person of mixed blood/." The sons of
* 563 African Negroes born in Brazil were called creoles, a term ap-
192 plied even today, in the feminine, to black women and mulattresses
291 who dress like the Bahian women, with the troquette, the very full
794 skirt, the white, embroidered, and very décolleté blouse, and the colored shawl around the bust, a costume worn by the Africans of Nigeria and even in our day, with certain local modifications, by the women belonging to the religious cults of African origin, the
* 563 candomblés. The creoles of Bahia constitute a typical spectacle
794 in the streets of the city; one can see them there, making their
443 way to a fetishist-cult center or sitting beside stalls in which they
262 display, especially during the popular festivals, the foods of the famous local cuisine, which is also of African origin to a great extent.

* 563 The words pardo and mestiço, both having, as we have seen,
829 the meaning of mulatto, serve to designate the descendants of a
192 cross between Europeans and Blacks. Every variation of these
826 types, depending on the intensity of the color or the nature of the hair, was formerly designated by a particular name fallen into disuse today. One speaks of light mulatto or dark mulatto, according to the predominance of one or the other of the characteristics; the light mulattoes, when their hair is very similar to that of Whites, are also called cabo verdes or rôxos. A young girl showing
[196] few traces of crossbreeding is a roxinha or even a cabrocha; in this case the inhabitants of Bahia use a diminutive in order to remove from the word any pejorative meaning.

[SALVADOR]

826 /13 cont./
*563 may not be of African blood (3).
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3. Arthur Ramos, Introduçao a Antropologia Brasileira, II, Rio de Janeiro, 1947.

829 The Indians and the descendants of the cross between Indians
*563 and Whites are generally called cabôclos, but this expression is
192 no longer very common in Bahia and rarely serves to characterize
[178] the corresponding type. The term cabôclo has become, like that
[196] of "my Negro," rather a formula of tenderness between individuals
of any color whatsoever. It must be noted, moreover, thanks to
• 175 old statistics, that toward the middle of the eighteenth century, in
829 response to complaints about Brazilian "nativism," the Portuguese
648 government prohibited the use of the term cabôclo, to which was
641 then attached an insulting meaning, and granted at the same time the
576 civil status of Whites to Indians and to their descendants of mixed
192 blood, so that they could contract marriage with the Whites and fulfill official duties in the colony; it is in that manner that the contingents of mamelucos or cabôclos were assimilated with the
192 Whites in the military roles of the time. The word meanwhile
178 lost its insulting import and in our day is even considered a com-
829 pliment when it refers to a cabôclo bom, that is to say, a man of
576 good manners.

The Negroid albinos and the mulattoes with red, blond, or
144 light auburn hair are known by the name of sararás.
192

The exact designation of these different types has always /14/
144 represented a difficulty, as much for anthropologists as for the
*563 persons charged with identifying school children, the military,
829 the criminals (1).

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1. According to the Bahian anthropologist Nina Rodriguez (in her book As raças humanas e a responsabilidade penal no Brasil /The Human Races and Penal Responsibility in Brazil/, 3rd edition, written at the beginning of the century), the métis include: 1st, the mulattoes produced from the cross between the White and the Negro:

/17 cont./

• 175 439 167 829 609 *563 829 *563 [443] [178]

[illegible]n the isolation in which Brazil remained at least until 1808, the moment when for the first time its ports were opened to international commerce, given too the fact that Bahia was never a center of massive European immigration, like certain southern states, the foreigner is received by the people of Bahia with a mixture of curiosity and distrust. At the same time, the emigrant is easily absorbed here by the milieu and likewise adapts himself to the customs and norms of local life. The Portuguese emigrants, for example, are put in a special category; one has the habit of saying that not one of them is ever, properly speaking Brazilian, but that he is never, properly speaking, a foreigner either. In spite of the two world wars, one nowhere notes manifestations of antipathy with regard to German, Austrian, or Italian emigrants. The nationals of these nations have, in general, an excellent reputation because they are considered good workers, because they marry Brazilians and remain in the country when their businesses prosper. The vast majority of the population and even the persons who are hostile to the "Russian" merchants never have anti-Semitic sentiments. When, however, a Jewish group publicly protested against the presentation of a European musician accused of having had ties with Hitlerism in the past, the association that organizes concerts of famous musicians rejected "this attempt at outside interference dictated by /18/ racial prejudice," declaring that its activities ought to remain "above all religious, philosophical, political, racial, or class prejudice." And yet numerous Israelites are members of this association.

The "Arabs," although living quite isolated in accordance with their customs, marry Brazilians, and no hostility is ever manifested with regard to them; at the time when some of them were carrying on the trade of itinerant vendors of fabrics and hardware, they were ridiculed somewhat, it is true, but that stopped with the disappearance of the last peddlers.

[SALVADOR]

/21 cont./

*563 565 829 the Bahians congregate together or avoid one another much more in terms of their social rank than of their color or their race.

Crossbreeding is not forbidden by any law and comes up against [656] [626] the disapprobation of opinion only to the extent that it affects the structure of classes firmly established in the country: upper strata made up almost exclusively of Whites, that is to say, persons of white phenotype or at least "socially white," lower strata made up chiefly of colored people; a classification which makes classes and racial types approximately coincide, without, however, making them identical.

● 175 *563 From the early days of Portuguese colonization there has been a large number of colored persons in Bahia. In the beginning the [595] colonists mixed largely with the tupi /Tupi/ Indian women of the region, living with them in a state of concubinage and often [567] polygamy. Slavery having been abolished in the first half of the [641] seventeenth century for the aborigines, and civil and political rights having been granted them a short time afterward, cross-[829] breeding continued through marriage. Thus, today a large number of morenos explain their dark color by boasting about some ancestor pegado a dente de cachorro, that is to say, captured like an animal that one hunts in the virgin forest in the wild state. [161] But the number of natives decreased rapidly and had little influence on the formation of the Bahian type. The opposite /22/ [167] occurred with the Africans brought by the thousands and thousands [567] to work on the sugar-cane plantations. The crossbreeding of Portuguese and Brazilians with Africans and Blacks born in Brazil was made possible and even favored by different factors, among them the scarcity of white women in the initial period, the slave system, the laxness of social control with regard to male sexual behavior, the physical and psychological charms of black women, in particular the minas Blacks, natives of the Costa da Mina in [829] the western Sudan. It was commonly said at that time that, in order to see beautiful Negresses, it was necessary to go to Bahia (1);

1. F. Biard, Deux années au Brésil /Two years in Brazil/, Paris, 1862.

5: Azevedo--27 D-7-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
[SALVADOR]

/22 cont./

175 a European traveler describes them as gigantic women with the
*563 opulent figures of ancient goddesses carved in blocks of black
[829] marble, who attracted attention by their "wealth of incomparable vigor" (2).

2. A. d'Assier, op. cit., p. 196.

These were the women whom the Whites preferred as concubines.
[829] Certain types of mulattresses and of morenas, especially when they combined the traits of the two races from which they sprang, were also very much sought after by the Whites.

*563 None of the other Brazilian States that have a large number of Blacks presents as high a percentage of crossbreeding as Bahia. This proves that this State has been the most important Afro-
[567] European ethnic melting-pot of Brazil. In truth, it is in our city and in its environs, an ancient center of concentration of slaves, that the crossing has taken place with the greatest intensity. The
*563 ratio between the number of Blacks and of métis, according to
162 the 1940 census, is 1 to 2.55 in Bahia, whereas in States such as Minas Gerais, which has relatively the same number of Blacks, it is only 1 to 1; in other States, such as Maranhão and Piauí, which have, respectively, 27 o/o and 32 o/o Blacks, this ratio
[829] is 1 to 0.93 and 0.71. This results from the fact that in Bahia the factors of segregation and of discrimination that lie heavily on the darkest of its inhabitants are much less than in the other
175 States. The proportion of pure Blacks began to decrease from
*563 the second half of the last century, slave traffic having been
567 forbidden, and especially from 1888, the date of the definitive
161 abolition of slavery, when numerous ex-slaves emigrated to the more prosperous regions of southern Brazil. At present, unfavor-
*563 able social and economic factors influence the conditions of life,
161 the birth and mortality rates of this group, and explain its progressive diminution (3).

[113] 3. Thales de Azevedo, Civilização e mestiçagem /Civilization and Crossbreeding/, Livr. Progresso Edit., Bahia, 1951, p. 63.

[SALVADOR]

/22 cont./

The generally gentle and humane treatment that the owners reserved for their slaves and the efforts made by the Catholic clergy, from the beginning of the slave trade, to try to incorporate the /23/ Africans into the Catholic religion played an important role in the establishment of good relations between races in Bahia as throughout Brazil. Contrary to what occurred in the other colonial nations, where the aborigines and the imported slaves were kept in a state of segregation, like unassimilable "savages," in Brazil the natives and the Blacks were baptized, catechized, and admitted into the Church as men. Thus, numerous slaves, baptized Negroes, were no longer considered "beasts" and became "Christians," with the same title as the European colonists, having to endure neither hostility nor religious discrimination. They were taught the Christian doctrine, and the preachers endeavored to speak to them in their languages, chiefly in nagô, which had become a sort of lingua franca in which the Africans of different origins were able to understand one another. They intermarried; their marriage having been consecrated by the Church, this protected them when their masters intended to separate the spouses or sell one of the partners; they received the sacraments; they acted as witnesses in religious proceedings and participated as acolytes in religious ceremonies; they marched in the processions, carrying the standards and emblems of their brotherhoods; they were buried in the Christian cemeteries, the owners of slaves being obliged to call the priest in time to assist the dying. No one pretends by that to claim that their lives were free from suffering or that the Negroes were thus completely integrated in Catholicism. The clergy, the owners, and the civil authorities always allowed them some freedom concerning certain proceedings of their pagan cults and never forced them to embrace the official religion. They likewise permitted them to amuse themselves in their way by dances, songs, ceremonies (batuques), banquets in the manner of those of their countries of origin. From that comes this Catholicism somewhat mixed with fetishist beliefs and practices that constitutes the religion of a large part of the colored people of Bahia (1).

1. Roger Bastide, "Religion and the Church in

[SALVADOR]

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Brazil," in Brazil, Portrait of Half a Continent, p. 334.

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Because of crossbreeding and other sociobiological factors, the darkest group of black phenotype was gradually absorbed by ethnic blending; the Whites increased at a slightly faster rhythm, while the number of métis registered in the statistics as pardos rose and gave birth finally, as a result of the mixture, to a group in which European ancestry predominated (2).

2. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 417.

"Among our ancestors there were already creoles of "clean belly" (barriga limpa). Their children, being themselves /24/ children of lighter men, tended progressively toward the color of their fathers. Perhaps Bahia is a city that contains many female Blacks and métisses of barriga limpa. Everybody remarks that we are moving toward a population totally of mixed blood but of white appearance (1)."

1. J. Valadares, op. cit., p. 91.

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In consulting the death certificates recorded between 1897 and 1938 (2),

2. A. Rabelo Leite, "A tuberculose do preto na Bahia /The tuberculosis of the Black in Bahia/"; Cesar de Araujo, Anais do I° Congresso Nacional de Tuberculose /Annals of the First National Tuberculosis Congress/, Vol. I, 1930; see also E. F. Frazier, "The Negro Family in Bahia, Brazil," American Sociological Review, Vol. VII, No. 4, 1942, p. 467.

one can see that the proportional quantities of each type varies in our city as shown below:

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829 This author here alludes to the disturbances that the economy of
458 Bahia underwent from the time of the suppression of the slave
439 traffic and Europe's adoption of beet sugar, which brought about
• 175 the almost total stoppage of the importation of sugar cane, the basis of the wealth of our city.

829 As for the mulattoes, while some declare that there is not
x 563 "a chapter of our political or social history in which the remarkable personality of a métis does not glitter with particular brilliance," others, along with some praise, make strong reservations. A jurist and scholar of great repute (2)

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2. Almachio Diniz, Historia racial do Brasil, São Paulo, 1934, p. 155.

considered the description of the mulatto given by an author of
[157] Bahia excellent: "The mulattoes are in general vain, intelligent, and inclined toward the pleasures of life in society... They have good hearts" (3).

3. Sa Oliveira, op. cit., p. 21.

Although many people consider the Black an inferior being with regard to intelligence, almost no one questions the talent and the intellectual possibilities of the mulattoes. "If," says another economist from Bahia, "we turn toward the intellectual qualities and characteristic morals of the modern civilized man, the classic exponent of which is the European: universality of spiritual horizon, logical and systematic mind, technical gifts, tenacity and energy in the struggle for individual or social rights, and if we consider our most representative men, that is /27/ to say, our strongest personalities, we see among them many Blacks and mulattoes." And he concludes by asserting that the Afro-Brazilians are by no means inferior to the descendants of immigrants who came from more highly civilized and more purely

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*563 one will see that the proportion may reach 20 o/o or more. It
[175] was not always so, however. Portuguese laws during the colonial period prohibited marriages of Whites with the natives and with
17 Negroes. Once the slavery of the aborigines was abolished, mar-
*563 riage between these /40/ last and the Whites was permitted; but
567 before that the Catholic clergy had already regularized by religious marriages the numerous concubinages between Portuguese colonists and native women. The marriages of Whites and natives with the Blacks continued to be forbidden for a long time yet, but as crossbreeding between Europeans and Africans increased because of free unions, the number of interracial marriages increased in parallel fashion, for in reality only marriages between free persons and slaves were forbidden. Finally, with the abolition of black slavery the last barrier set up against interracial marriages
175 fell. Penalized before that, and for quite a long time, by severe
*563 social sanctions (1).
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1. Ch. Expilly wrote in 1863: "The constitution has proclaimed the equality of the citizens. Prejudice stronger than the constitution raises an impassable barrier -- up to now at any rate -- between individuals who differ in the shade of their skin. One in vain distributes bedizenment, decorations, titles to men of mixed blood, no one becomes intimate with them. When has one seen a female White marry a mulatto? The one who would dare so boldly to affront the usages and customs of her country would be immediately rejected by everyone of pure race. She would
[113] be scorned, pointed at, excluded from the society in which in other times she was the ornament and pride." Mulheres e costumes do Brasil /Women and Customs of Brazil/, São Paulo, 1935, p. 279.

ooo These marriages increased after Independence, in 1822, with the

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175 178 *563 555 /40 cont./ These marriages increased after Independence, in 1822, with the social ascent of mulattoes, military men, bureaucrats, lawyers graduated from Portuguese and French universities, a process which was intense under the Brazilian monarchical regime and to which Bahia contributed liberally with statesmen and politicians coming from these groups (2).

2. G. Freyre, op. cit., III, p. 951.

178 *563 626 584 593 Social pressure against mixed marriages seems to have decreased with time, and so the latter became more numerous every day. Formerly the families of high society or of the bourgeoisie verified the origin of fiancés with great care. Many marriages came to grief because one of the future partners was found to belong to the "caste." The unions that were formed against the parents' wish were the cause of lasting quarrels between parents and children, and gave rise to veritable domestic tragedies. Many fathers cursed their daughters and disinherited them when they persisted in wanting to marry a man of "inferior quality," especially if he were a bastard. "In our day," a female informant told us, "one has it much easier." This indeed seems to be the general opinion.

*563 557 The mixed marriage is greatly sought after because it confers prestige on the one of the two partners who is darker. A black professor made the remark to us that there are few colored men who, in marrying a light woman, think of "improving the race," but rather they hope to facilitate their own social ascent. Proof of this is the frequency with which this intention is /41/ implicitly indicated or even acknowledged. A colored employee flirts with white boys "for fun"; in fact, she is trying to get the man she wants, and she announces that she will never marry a man of dark color unless he is rich and well situated. Her mother approves entirely when she announces that she will not accept the advances of a man of dark color. Her three sisters have married Whites, and one of them is proud of her children who are blond. A student of the same physical type "prefers" moreno suitors, but admits that she would have no objection to marrying a White.

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*563 441 [186] although these lines of demarcation have a tendency to disappear. The Jews, who have immigrated since the first world war and whom people knew under the name of "Russians," are the principal owners of furniture stores and are beginning to become interested in other kinds of commerce; strictly exclusive in their firms, they do not seem to have any Brazilian associates, so that the dark employees that they have among them never occupy any but subordinate positions and never reach the top positions that would permit them to take a place in the higher strata of society.

The characteristic endogamy of the Israelites has also contributed toward restricting the chances of colored people in this [233] [472] sector. Some Jews of French origin who established themselves in the city during the second half of the last century and who turned to commerce and stock raising were entirely assimilated. Their /47/ families today include some light métis and some *563 472 256 441 morenos. The Spaniards who dominate the grocery and bakery business are grouped into firms in which only they themselves and their immediate descendants participate. In order to maintain this commercial structure, the group is constantly renewed through the immigration of young men of the same nationality, who start to work in modest positions and end up by forming new firms or being integrated in the old ones. From the time the *563 472 441 [175] [848] [428] [671] Spanish emigrants came still unmarried or left their families in Spain, they had mulatto children or morenos here by their servants, children who were born illegitimate and who had no right of inheritance (Brazilian law did not insure it to persons in their position until some years later). But for about 20 years the Spaniards have started to send for, or bring with them, their families, so that they now form a very closed group, not only from the economic point of view, but especially from the social and, so to speak, the biological point of view. An informant [256] points out that in the old days numerous bakeries were the property of Blacks; since then the Spaniards have monopolized them almost completely, that they now control this type of business entirely. The antagonism of the inhabitants of Bahia against the

[SALVADOR]

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000 situation by taking part in the life of the parties. This phenomenon
• 175 is not entirely new, except in that it affects men of dark color and
178 modest circumstances, for since the monarchical epoch numerous
*563 métis bearers of nobiliary titles granted by the emperor had rep-
645 resented Bahia in the imperial parliament and occupied posts in the
646 national ministries. At least three ministers of foreign affairs, chosen among the statesmen of Bahia during the Empire and the Republic, were métis of great talent and of great social and political prestige. One of the most brilliant federal deputies of the republican regime established in 1889 was a dark mulatto, a health-service engineer, a historian and linguist of renown. Alluding to this intellectual, someone once said to a dark young man: "You will never be president of the Republic, but you can hope to acquire the fame of a Teodoro Sampaio." If one is to be-
[173] lieve oral tradition, a member of the highest tribunal of justice
[829] of Bahia, a métis of very high social and intellectual rank, asserted in a speech that Bahia has always had the lead in this tradition "of liberty and equality among men who do not belong to the same race or at times to the same religion."

*563 During the last election campaigns, the attitude of certain
666 candidates toward colored persons was exploited in favor of some and to the detriment of others. Thus, rumors were circulated in 1945, according to which a candidate for the presidency of the Republic was supposed to harbor color prejudices and not allow the admission of Blacks and dark mulattoes into the military aviation services, which he then directed. It is maintained that these accusations contributed to reducing the number of votes in favor of this candidate in Bahia, in spite of the efforts that his party made to lessen the bad impression that this revelation had produced, even among the Whites. On the occasion of the 1950 campaign, the followers of one of the candidates for the office of governor of the State distributed a tract in which a newspaper favorable to another candidate was accused of having published an article whose author maintained that Negresses made themselves /54/ ridiculous by aping white women. In both cases it was an attempt to cause difficulties between candidates and voters. Moreover, a national association of colored men recommended to

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*563 647 was introduced in the States and in the municipal services in such a way that possibilities are increasing for colored persons entitled to occupy these posts. Given the fact that in spite of this the support that a candidate may receive from a politician or a friend of an official is always very important, it is obvious that persons of more modest circumstances have more difficulty being appointed after having been admitted for the examinations; they are supposed to have even more difficulties obtaining offices that are advantageous or lead to first-rate positions. During the [175] [668] colonial period some of the participants in a popular revolution that broke out in Bahia, complaining that because they were pardos all promotion was denied them, tried to establish a regime of equality in which Whites, pardos, and Blacks, without distinction as to color, would be judged solely according to their abilities (1).

[113] 1. Alfonso Ruy, A primeira revolução social brasileira -- 1798 /The First Brazilian Social Revolution -- 1798/, 2nd edition, Bahia, 1951, p. 77.

[178] "In olden times," says one Black, "one never saw a moreno /58/ occupying a first-rate post," which is not altogether accurate, for the métis always had important positions in the administration of [557] Brazil since the colonial period. Today, says another informant, [555] "the incompetent ones advance through influence; as for the others, [178] they advance by their own merit, regardless of their color." He himself, in spite of his very dark color, manages sections in which Whites and Blacks work, and he knows that he is highly esteemed by his colleagues. Others think that the Blacks, although admitted without great difficulties, do not have access, save exceptionally, to positions of management which are temporarily occupied in commission through the individual choice of governors and higher officials. Two of our informants illustrate their asser- [665] tion by citing the case of a Black "who worked a great deal during an election campaign in favor of a party and who, in spite of

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* 563 794 [565] social classes, the proportion of colored people varies from one to another. This is particularly striking in the brotherhoods and third orders, associations that have centuries of existence, founded for purposes of spiritual perfection, almost all long since trans-

* 563 554 794 formed into organizations of charity and mutual aid. These organizations have always been very important in all of Latin America for marking or confirming the social classification of their members. When a biographical sketch of a distinguished person is published in a newspaper of Bahia, it always mentions the brotherhoods to which he belongs or in which he occupies a

[796] [292] management position. During certain large religious festivals one can see men who are not "practicing" Catholics personally appear with their brotherhoods or third orders, dressed in costumes characteristic of these same societies, a torch in their hand, carrying the canopy and marching in a group. It is greatly desired to be able to become part of these institutions that give evidence of the high position and the prestige that one has acquired. The elections for the management of one of these brotherhoods, upon which hospitals, orphanages, and old people's homes depend and which administer a rich endowment, arouse extraordinary interest among the great merchants and the people of liberal professions who are members of them. The office of headmaster, that is to say, of president, an office to which no remuneration is attached and which demands great devotion, is very eagerly contended for, because it offers its holder the possibility of augmenting his social and political prestige and of showing his administrative abili-

[175] ties. These organizations were created in the colonial period in order to gather together, under the aegis of /73/ the Church, as happened in Portugal, persons of different social and economic groups for the purpose of spiritual improvement, but also in order

[178] [565] to permit them to show their rank. Thus it is understood that even today they are arranged in hierarchies according to class lines, although the distinctions that separate them are in the process of becoming less clear and less rigid every day, with new conditions of urban life and with the appearance of other institutions having similar social aims. There are, for example, although

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*563 794 793 797 [554] give the reasons that make them oppose someone's acceptance, and that they do not use their rights to prevent the acceptance of a candidate solely because of his color. A pardo who has occupied important positions in the administration of the State and who even reached the highest offices of his brotherhood asserts that the fathers who direct it, although the majority are Europeans, maintain the best relations with /75/ dark colored persons and even appear very affectionate toward them; colored persons are able, as may be seen, to be classified socially or to confirm their status by means of institutions. The Catholic religion offers them other, similar

*563 794 554 means. This is what happens, as we have already indicated, with regard to the "judges" and the festeiros, persons chosen each year to solicit donors and to organize the solemn festivals of the patrons of the church or chapel. This choice, made by the priest responsible or by the management of the religious associations, is based on social and economic prestige, much more than on other personal attributes (except morality and reputation); thus, color has never excluded anyone from one of these functions. An observer who has often dealt with these matters can testify to this.

*563 793 • [175] [567] The Catholic priesthood is no longer a privilege of finos Whites. The ecclesiastical constitutions in force during the period of slavery forbade the ordination of slaves, so that priests should not be subject to a servile condition, deprived of the liberty and authority necessary for the practice of their ministry. Slaves were excluded, not Blacks, so that at the beginning of the last century foreign travelers were astonished to see black and mulatto priests officiating in the churches of the principal Brazilian cities. At [555] the end of the eighteenth century colored men were able to take holy orders, and the Church became a means of social ascent "for all kinds of persons of humble circumstances, whatever their racial or family origin (1)."

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1. Roger Bastide, "Religion and the Church in Brazil," in Brazil, Portrait of Half a Continent, p. 339.

/104 cont./

000 in these groups is an old Brazilian tradition. In order to account
*563 for the amount of improvement that has occurred in the situation
175 of colored groups, it should be mentioned that on the occasion of
212 the national census of 1872 the totality of the slaves of the city
178 was illiterate. Since the abolition of slavery in 1888, although
[562] it did not do much on behalf of the recently freed men, they
[659] progressed to such an extent that today more than 50 o/o of the Blacks and more than 60 o/o of the pardos over the age of five know how to read and write, and their number is increasing every year in the secondary and higher courses, thus opening the way to the liberal professions, in which one may count them in variable proportions.

*563 It should also be remembered that among those who are
571 called "Whites" there are many light métis who are considered socially white, and that colored persons, even those who are the darkest and show the most obvious Negroid features, are treated like anyone else of the same social situation. Interracial relations are then governed by some "fair play"; in other words, Bahian customs disapprove of openly avowed discrimination motivated by racial intolerance or color prejudice. Another aspect of the Bahian dynamics and social psychology is that both the antagonisms of class and those of color are attenuated by the process of reciprocal accommodation between /105/ the groups and by the development, as much among Whites as among dark individuals, of the type of "cordial" and "gentle" personality that some authors consider to be characteristic of the Brazilian people and the prototype of which is supposed to be the inhabitant of Bahia.

*563 The facilities for the social ascent of colored individuals are
555 in the process of multiplying in Bahia; according to the opinion
178 of numerous informants, they will not cease to be augmented unless cultural change, under the influence of new social conditions created by the industrialization anticipated in the region by the exploitation of oil-bearing lands and with the development of the electrical energy of the waterworks under construction, produces a perceptible modification of the ethos of Bahia; it is

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

433 241 178 Recôncavo remains today a backward and traditional agricultural society.

However, not all elements in Recôncavo life are static. In the field one was incessantly conscious both of the gradual course of change in this region and of the latent instability of its economic organization. Particularly in the last 75 years the agricultural economy of the Recôncavo has begun to shift--it is apparently in the throes of a drastic economic reorganization. It remains to be seen whether the traditional values will survive this economic revolution. [128] The brief historical discussion to follow is not intended as a substitute for a full-scale historical reconstruction. Its purpose is to indicate the major patterns in the evolution of the Recôncavo.

175 The Evolution of Colonial Agricultural Institutions. By the end of the initial half century of settlement (1600) those ethnic groups, crops, animals, and agricultural institutions which were to [567] become characteristic of the Recôncavo were already in evidence. Negro [249] slaves were brought in on the heels of the first Portuguese settlers,[3] [231] and sugar cane and cattle were also introduced at this time.[4] Tobacco [244] and manioc, produced by the Indians indigenous to the northeast of [249] [179] Brazil, were rapidly integrated into the colonial agriculture of the [249] Recôncavo.[5] The combined sugar mill and plantation (engenho), which [471] was the basic economic institution of the Recôncavo until the end of the nineteenth century, already existed in rudimentary form before 1600.[6]

175 249 [244] From the beginning the new colony in the Recôncavo had three important crops--sugar cane, tobacco, and manioc. It was the cultivation of sugar which the Portuguese crown and the initial settlers had

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 433 178 In contemporary Bahia chronic shortages of staple foods, particularly manioc, are characteristic of the zones of commercial agriculture.

175 249 [492] The equipment and technology of the engenhos was primitive. The cane was transported on the backs of mules or on ox carts to the mill where it was crushed in a crude press sometimes turned by water power but usually by animal- or even man-power. The cane juice was evaporated in large iron caldrons which were heated by fire made from wood. This type of processing was in general use in the Recôncavo for several centuries and still persists in some areas of the extra-Recôncavo backlands. [464] [567] The engenhos were operated almost exclusively with slave labor. Most of the slaves of Bahia are thought to have come from the Guinea Coast of Africa. [177] These "Mina" Negroes[18] had a relatively sophisticated cultural inheritance from Africa and undoubtedly made substantial contributions to the cultural development of Bahia.[19]

175 249 464 567 The Negroes were introduced when Indian slaves failed to provide the necessary labor supply, but they were rarely available in sufficient numbers and at a low enough cost to prevent chronic labor shortages. Falta de braços (literally, lack of arms) has been a perennial concern in the Recôncavo no less than elsewhere in Brazil. [162] The importation of hundreds of thousands of Negroes into Brazil--of which certainly a considerable number were settled in the Recôncavo--did not solve the problem.[20] In the early period most engenhos had from about 80 to 100 slaves, but by the eighteenth century some had as many as 1,000.[21]

175 563 567 From the beginning of settlement there was extensive miscegnation. The Portuguese settlers were predominately male, and they bred on a large scale with both Indian and Negro slave women. Some of the mestizo and mulatto children--chiefly the latter in the Recôncavo--retained the slave status of their mothers. Others were freed and sometimes occupied favored positions in their fathers' households.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

161 162 distribution and the vested political and economic interests of the Recôncavo allowed it to continue as the dominant region of the state.

177 178 433 249 565 181 The Recôncavo has remained a conservative area in Brazil, and within the state it seems to exert a strong traditional influence. On a national scale, however, the traditional values which are preserved in Bahian culture have been overridden by the aggressive dynamism of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. Moreover, the economic core of tradition in the Recôncavo--the sugar-producing upper class--is being progressively infiltrated and dominated by the new economic interests of the Central-South. The effects of these new economic interests are manifest in the administrative and labor problems of the sugar industry in the present decade.[48] New economic groups also are coming to the fore in the tobacco industry.

The technological revolution in the sugar industry and the emergence of a new "progressive" upper class have weakened but not destroyed the traditional orientation of the Recôncavo. The cultural patterns which have so successfully resisted basic change for almost four centuries will not easily give way. However, the issues have been joined, and already the old technology, the old upper class, and the old inter-class social fabric have been profoundly disturbed. In the long run it seems inevitable that the cultural patterns of the Recôncavo will have to accommodate many new values.

177 178 565 181 Not all the new social forces are restricted to the upper class. More and more new technology, such as the automobile, new political and social institutions, such as labor unions, and new ideas from the South, brought through newspapers, radios, and travelers, have affected the lives of the lower classes. While the access of this group to new ideas is more limited than that of the upper class,

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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178 its vested interest in the traditional system is weaker. Thus on all
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181 social levels the old Recôncavo is being threatened.

For the present, however, tradition is a continuing and power-
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181 ful force in agriculture and in the economic and social institutions
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433 which surround agriculture in the Recôncavo.

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Economic and social changes in Brazil during the last century have had two important effects upon the relative position of the Recôncavo: (1) This historic region, in common with much of the Northeast, has lagged behind the new economic and social centers of the Central-South--the Recôncavo has become, vis-a-vis Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and the southern states, an under-developed area. (2) Many new, usually externally originated, cultural elements have been rapidly accepted in the Recôncavo, whereas much of the conservative ideology of the society has remained essentially unchanged.

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Racial Characteristics. The Recôncavo is a region of heterogenous racial characteristics--in every município each of the three basic racial groups (white, black, and mixed) comprises at least 10 per cent of the population. These racial categories generally do not correspond to social groups, nor is the Recôncavo in any sense a plural society. In linage, in social and cultural interaction, and in the daily business of earning a living the various people of the region are closely linked.

During three centuries of slavery hundreds of thousands of Africans were brought into Bahia, and the Negro element in the population is still large. As a result of this and the more or less continuous miscegenation "Baia [Bahia] and Negroid characteristics are very closely associated in Brazilian thinking."[6] On the basis of the 1940 census, over 70 per cent of the people of the state of Bahia were Negroes or mixed bloods. Only one other Brazilian state--Amazonas--had a higher proportion, and the national average was only 36 per cent.[7] Within Bahia the proportion of non-whites was highest in the Centro-Litoral (east-central Bahia), which includes the Recôncavo. In 1940, 78 per cent of the people of this census division were Negroes or mixed bloods.[8]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1

B 249 433 Sugar cane is the fifth or sixth--depending upon the year--most valuable crop grown in Brazil, and it is cultivated, at least on a small scale, in all states of the country. Large scale commercial production, however, is confined to two areas--the Central-South (São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Minas Gerais) and the Northeast (Paraíba, Pernambuco, Alagoas, and Bahia). Each of these states produced over one million tons of cane in 1948.

B BB 249 175 177 In distinction to the principal subsistence crops of the Recôncavo, sugar cane is an old world domesticate. The variety acquired by the Portuguese from the Arabs in North Africa and brought to the colony via the Madeira Islands was the sole type cultivated during most of the colonial period, but today a number of varieties of East or West Indian origin are grown.

BB 249 Sugar cane is differentiated from other crops of the Recôncavo by the intensive monocultural character of its production. Tobacco and manioc and corn and beans are grown jointly, but sugar cane shares the land with no other crop. North of the cidade of Santo Amaro there is BB [134] [133] an extensive area of clay soils and undulating plain almost completely blanketed in bright green sugar cane. The monochrome is interrupted only by a few pastured valley bottoms or by the widely scattered usinas (sugar mills), plantation settlements, and villages. There are similar, though less extensive landscapes wherever sugar cane is important in other parts of the Recôncavo.

The system of cultivation of sugar cane is also very different from those employed in producing other crops in the Recôncavo. One planting is sufficient for several reasons, for the stalk re-develops from the root after the plant is harvested, though with progressively declining vigor. In Bahia, three, four, or five harvests from the

482 their journeys thus, and many agricultural products are transported in
492 no other fashion from the site of cultivation to the ultimate consumer.
489 [491] In each of the municípios of the Recôncavo, as in almost all of Brazil, there are extensive areas which are neither on nor near roads. In these areas, but also along the highways and in the cities, men and beasts of burden transport the products of the agricultural economy.

489 Long distance transportation, formerly dependent on animals, has been
490 changed in the last half century by the introduction of railroads and
493 more recently, automotive vehicles. In a similar fashion, both primi-
178 tive and relatively modern transport are used on the waters of the Báia
505 de Todos os Santos and of the various estuaries. Most of the agricultural products which cross the Bay are carried on open-decked sailing vessels and canoes, but there are also a number of motor vessels and motorboats which provide relatively effective transport from Salvador to all the cidades on or near tidewater.

492 In the tobacco-manioc region, and in rural Brazil generally, the donkey or the mule is the characteristic beast of burden. On the backs of these animals the bales of tobacco, the sacks of manioc and farinha de mandioca, and the baskets of corn and vegetables are carried to the market. The equipage of the donkey is simple--a halter and a rough
492 crosstree pack saddle with a thick pad of vegetable fiber. In the
493 sugar cane region the donkey is supplemented and, in most areas, almost
[171] supplanted by the ox cart. The ox cart of Bahia, essentially like the carts used in other Brazilian sugar areas, is built of heavy wood, with a thick wooden bed and tongue, wooden axle, and solid wooden wheels about five-feet in diameter. This high, massive contraption has no bearings, and in dry weather especially it is frequently necessary to repair the wheels and axles. The ox cart is an admirable device for the Cretaceous lowland, for with its high wheels it can carry as much

struck the sugar cane itself, and production again dropped greatly. At the same time, coffee began to attract attention in São Paulo and the few slaves for sale were sent there, where they commanded a higher price, thereby causing a shortage of workmen in the Recôncavo. In 1888 a final blow was the abolition of slavery. Production dropped to a new low, and the twentieth century was entered during what was called the gravest crisis the industry had ever experienced.

During the late nineteenth century there were several attempts to better the machinery used in the fabrication of sugar. New methods were introduced from abroad, and at the turn of the century the usina made its first appearance on the scene. The usina represents the large-scale central factory, designed to mill the cane of many plantations, thereby raising the total sugar production.[2] The state government took a hand and financed the construction of three factories which were given to various individuals as concessions. There was an effort to revive the industry on a different and stronger basis. At the same time, however, the Recôncavo, as well as other parts of Brazil, felt the pull of the rubber boom in the Amazon and lost some of its manpower. But once again a European war came to the rescue, and during the second and third decades of this century the sugar industry prospered. Many factories were erected, and there was a definite feeling of optimism, which ended abruptly in 1929 and 1930 as a result of prolonged overproduction. In 1933 the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol was established by the national government to regulate production. The new regulations caused dissatisfaction and disputes, and production fell off sharply, only to rise again after World War II when many of the restrictions imposed by the institute were lifted. At the present time the Recôncavo seems to be experiencing a mild phase of affluence.

It is the introduction of the large-scale central factory which holds the most interest for us in this recital of crises, for it was this innovation which brought the maximum amount of change to the town and the entire community structure.

The factory was conceived of as a large mechanized mill,

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2. Hereafter, the word "factory" will be used to designate the usina; wherever the word "factory" appears it should be understood to mean sugar-cane milling factory, unless otherwise qualified. (Editor's note.)

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 .S011 Bahia Brazilians S011
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[The Private Plantation]

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1 new, rural school, with rooms for classes and living quarters for teacher, constructed by the state on land donated by Dona Sinhá

Value of the plantation: Cr$1.500.000,00.[3]

Equipment: 1 Caterpillar tractor, model D2
1 John Deere plow
1 jeep
2 four-wheeled, rubber-tired wagons
9 juntas of oxen (the junta equals ten oxen, eight in use and two resting)
9 two-wheeled carts drawn by oxen--the antique and most used transportation in the Recôncavo
30 burros for carrying cane
12 saddle horses
35 milk cows and breeding mares
78 cattle for breeding purposes

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The Fazenda das Moças is unusual in its possession of a tractor, a mechanical plow, and a jeep. (Even more recently a second tractor and a mechanical cultivator have been added.) More commonly the pai adão (Father Adam) plow is used, drawn by eight oxen. According to Pinho the plow was introduced into Brazil in the late eighteenth century. Before this all cultivation was done with the hoe.[4] For the past 150 years the pai adão has been used primarily to open the rows in which the sugar cane is planted. All the rest of the cultivation is done by hand, with the hoe and billhook. The pai adão is a simple plow with a single plowshare. When it is drawn by oxen, a driver is needed, plus a small boy helper and another man to manage the plow. When it is drawn by tractor, only two men are needed, the driver and the plowman. Various properties of the soil, such as its hardness in the summer when it dries, its swamplike character during the rainy season, and the danger of turning up the infertile tauá which underlies the shallow layer of massapê, have made plowing difficult in the Re-

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3. The cruzeiro (Cr$) is the Brazilian monetary unit and equals roughly five cents in United States currency. Thus the value of the plantation is approximately $75,000.00.

4. de Araujo Pinho, Historia de um engenho do Recôncavo, 1522-1944 (Rio de Janeiro, 1946), p. 243.

21 Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 8011 Bahia Brazilians 8011
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* 249 361 a Mass can be celebrated for the family when a priest is available.

Situated nearest the chalet are the houses of the general overseer, the chief mechanic of the factory, the major office employees, and the director of the factory store. Next in order are the houses of the technical personnel of the factory. Behind them and farthest from the center are the homes of the agricultural workers who work on the plantation nearest the factory nucleus. The regional overseer of this plantation also lives among his plantation workers. The school and the store are located just outside the small park of the chalet.

[342] The chalet has replaced the former solar (mansion) of the plantation masters. Its style differs from the earlier type [177] and its name is derived from the fact that it is a modified copy of a Swiss chalet. In a different way it is as ornate as the old solar, but more up-to-date, with running water and electricity.

* 249 466 The personal, paternal aspect of the private plantation obviously cannot function on the usina, which has 1,350 people living on its lands. There is, nevertheless, an attempt at just such relations. The owning family spends vacations in the chalet. They also spend Christmas, Carnaval, and Botada[6] there, and at those times there are parties for the workers, Christmas presents for them and for their wives and children, dances, and ball games. The Coronel (Colonel, an honorary title now going out of use), the patriarch of the family, now incapacitated, still receives visits from the older workmen who used to have daily contact with him. His son and son-in-law, present directors of the enterprise, make their presence felt throughout the factory and the six plantations as best they can. As on the private plantation, the final arbitration of any difficulty lies with the usineiro, and no worker considers himself too far removed to go to him if he cannot get satisfaction from his overseer. However, the strongest relationships, both business and personal, lie between overseer and worker--employee and employee--rather than between employee and employer.

The private plantation presents a far better appearance than

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[788] 6. Botada is the annual blessing of the factory machinery, performed on the first day of the grinding season. It is a traditional ceremony formerly carried out on the plantations.

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attached to the canoe by a cord called the espia (literally, "it spies"), with which the fisherman can feel when the net has reached the bottom; he can also feel any activity within the net indicating that he has caught something. The net is about 18 feet high, and its round bottom has a circumference of approximately 120 feet. A series of lead weights are sewn into the bottom to carry it downward through the water. The whole net, with its lead, weighs between 5 and 6 kilograms. The sizes of nets vary with their age, for constant repair enlarges them or sometimes makes them smaller. While the man is fishing, the canoe remains drifting, undirected. As the tide begins to run out the fisherman must stop casting his net every so often to paddle the canoe back to the starting point and to keep it from being carried away from the fishing grounds. At other times, if the shrimp appear to be moving away, he picks up his paddle and follows them. The entire operation of casting the net, pulling it in, and emptying it into the bottom of the canoe takes from ten to twenty minutes. If the shrimp are present in great numbers the fisherman speeds up his activities; if not he moves more slowly. C. F. Ott calls the circular casting net "incontestably a Portuguese cultural element."[4]

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The period of fishing rarely lasts more than three hours, for by then the tide is moving more strongly and a breeze has arisen. These two factors upset the fishing for they move the canoes away from the fishing grounds. During the month there are approximately fifteen days of fishing with the casting net. If his luck is good a man may catch 20 to 30 kilograms of shrimp a day, and occasionally more; or else he may catch next to nothing. It should be stated that the author never saw a good-sized catch taken with any net, in spite of the great number of times he accompanied the fishermen.

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As a rule the fisherman owns his own casting net or borrows one. The canoe is usually rented, and the usual price is two cruzeiros for the morning's fishing. Shrimp bring from Cr$15,00 to Cr$25,00 a kilogram, so this type of fishing is relatively remunerative and involves little expense. A net

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4. C. F. Ott, "Os elementos culturais da pescaria baiana," Boletim do Museu Nacional (Rio de Janeiro), No. 4 (October, 1944), p. 31.

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The above scheme shows that Class A, composed of landowners, who in this community are sugar-cane planters, is found only in the rural area of Vila Recôncavo. As has already been indicated, this class still follows the old pattern of the plantation master in that its members are part-time residents of the county, maintaining winter homes in the capital. This class is locally composed of seventeen adults and their sixteen children. A total of five families are represented, three of which are related to one another through marriage. These people have no competition from below in Vila Recôncavo. In the capital they are part of the national upper class, and as such are subject to all the stress and strain of any cosmopolitan "high society" group. They are largely descendants of former plantation masters, barons, viscounts, and other former aristocrats, who belonged traditionally to the national, as well as the local, upper class. Other members of these families are successful lawyers, doctors, and educators, and their political participation in state and federal matters is as traditional as their landowning. They belong to the upper class because they are legitimate descendants of former white aristocrats with long family traditions, because they are large-scale landowners and therefore major economic agents, because they are highly educated, some of them holding advanced degrees from European or North American universities, and because they engage in traditional gentlemen's professions such as law, medicine, and engineering.

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This is the group which is rapidly shedding the constraints of traditional behavior and embracing new ideas which come to them from Europe and North America. In contrast, the class immediately below them has for its goals and its patterns of ideal behavior the now historic upper-class traditions such as the double sex standard, the cloistering and protection of women, and dignity of dress and formal manners.

On the local scene it can be said that it is impossible for anyone to move up into Class A, for while its relations with the lower classes are cordial, they take place on the level of paternalism. The gulf between this small upper class and any of the classes below it is so great that it is inconceivable that anyone should cross it. In Salvador this upper class is considerably larger and less homogeneous, and although the usual pattern within this class is for social life to be spent em família--that is, in extended family gatherings rather than gatherings of several different families--the class is

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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herents of these cults, female slaves and former slaves for the most part, followed a lengthy routine to become practitioners in the various cult houses and spent large sums of money, according to legend, on the required bracelets, necklaces, and clothing.

Today, however, the cult priests and priestesses have the same complaint as the Catholic priests. They say that young people no longer have the understanding or the patience necessary to prepare for devotion in the cult houses. The older priestesses deplore the degeneration of some of these houses and the admission of Indian spirits, which are now displacing the African gods.

Spiritualism has recently entered the community. So far it has been limited to few people in the community, although it is very popular in Salvador.

The use of the supernatural as described in Willems' Cunha[1] does not take place in Vila Recôncavo. In Cunha the saints are asked to send rain whenever it appears that the crops are in danger. But in Vila Recôncavo, which lies in a semitropical rain area, there is no need for such invocations. Besides, these are large-scale economic crops, not subsistence produce on which the people depend directly for their living.

The Catholic Church in Vila Recôncavo

During the colonial period each religious parish was carefully delineated and conserved, but later political divisions cut across parish lines. This has made the use of colonial statistics very difficult. During colonial and empire times the church was the main census organ, but since parishes and counties do not coincide in their outlines the statistics are little help today in comparing the present with the past. Each parish built a mother church (matriz) in the parish town. Each of these churches had a patron saint, who was also the patron of the parish, and a resident priest or priests.

In the town of Vila Recôncavo, the county seat, a mother church was built, with São Gonçalo as its patron saint; also constructed was the Franciscan convent, connected with an opulent Third Order. As the Recôncavo entered its long per-

1. Emilio Willems, Cunha: Tradição e transição en uma cultura rural do Brasil (Sao Paulo, 1947), Chapter 7.

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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who never miss a Mass, benediction, or prayer. By means of a questionnaire in the town and the rural area, the following data were obtained concerning the average frequency of church attendance per year for men and women over fourteen years of age:

TABLE 11
FREQUENCY OF CHURCH ATTENDANCE

Urban Number of times per year		Class	Rural Number of times per year	
Males	Females		Males	Females
		A	19	23
40	96	B	4	3
17	25	C	3	3
4	41	D		

Several things are shown by this table. First, the higher a man's social position, the more often he goes to church, at least in classes B, C, and D. Second, the frequency of attendance by the women of all classes is considerably greater than that of the men. Third, the women of Class A attend church fewer times per year than do the women of classes B, C, and D of the urban area. Fourth, there are great differences in the rural and urban attendance: people from the plantations seldom go to town for Mass, preferring to wait for some special plantation occasion when the priest will go to the plantation. The difference between the attendance frequencies of Class A and Classes B and C of the rural zone is due to the time that Class A spends in Salvador, where members often attend Sunday Mass, as well as family Masses.

African Cults

Brazilian candomblé is usually thought of as a syncretism between African cultism and Catholicism. There has been a partial identification of the African deities with Catholic saints. For example, Ôgún, the African god of war, has been identified with St. Anthony; Ôxóssi, deity of the hunt, with St. George; Ômolú, the god of pestilence, with St. Roch; Êxu, the trickster, with Satan; Yansan, with St. Barbara; and Xangô, with either St. Jerome or St. Barbara. There has been

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

some confusion in the minds of the cultists themselves as to exactly which saint an African spirit represents, and there often are slight differences in interpretation which do not, however, upset the cult practices to any great extent. Cultism in Brazil has been described in detail by Nina Rodrigues,[3] Arthur Ramos,[4] and Edison Carneiro,[5] and by the Americans Donald Pierson[6] and Ruth Landes,[7] all of whom concentrated on cultism in the city of Salvador; Eduardo Octavio da Costa[8] has good material on urban-rural cultism in Maranhão (northern Brazil). In Vila Recôncavo the syncretisms are being forgotten as the content of cults changes from African spirits to the Indian spirits, for which no identification is made with the Catholic saints.

Cultism apparently got its start in Bahia in the early nineteenth century. Carneiro[9] sets the date for the establishment of the first cult house in the city as 1838. Old people in Vila Recôncavo do not remember cultism beyond two generations ago. There is one woman in town who is in her late nineties and who only remembers hearing of her mother and her mother's generation as active in cults. Apparently the force of cultism increased with the decrease in Catholic proselytization, as the number of priests in the rural areas diminished. It also increased in tempo with the manumission of slaves, and apparently was one of the institutions through which former slaves bought the freedom of other slaves.

Today the cults of the rural area are far less elaborate than those in the city of Salvador, although it seems that even in the city, cultism is showing the same general trend toward disintegration which is so strongly apparent in the rural area. In both places there is a shift away from African ritual to practices connected with the Indian spirits, whose demands

3. Raymundo Nina Rodrigues, O animismo fetichista dos negros bahianos (Rio de Janeiro, 1935).

4. Arthur Ramos, O negro brasileiro (2nd ed.; São Paulo, 1940).

5. Edison Carneiro, Candomblés da Bahia, (Publicações do Museu do Estado, No. 8 [Bahia, 1948]).

6. Donald Pierson, Negroes in Brazil (Chicago, 1942).

7. Ruth Landes, The City of Women (New York, 1947).

8. Octavio da Costa Eduardo, The Negro in Northern Brazil (New York, 1948).

9. Carneiro, Candomblés da Bahia, p. 31.

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are easier to understand and to comply with. In the town of Vila Recôncavo there are two houses of cult activities with female leaders, and in the rural area there is one such house with a male leader. These are the three houses which were studied by the author. There are six more in the area, but they are much smaller and poorer than these three.

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One of the three is led by a woman almost a hundred years old. She is now completely blind and can barely walk about the house. She has not been outside of it for several years. She has an assistant, a young man in his twenties, who as a child brought her firewood and water and who now has been taught by her much of the cult ritual. The house is now inactive, for the old woman has outlived her former followers, or else they have moved away. The room which contains the insignia of the African spirits is still kept up, and the proper foods and drinks are always placed there by the young man, in accordance with the instructions of the old lady. She herself does little, although she still consults the spirits by throwing cowrie shells. Her fame as a cult leader is widespread, and people still come to her for help, but she is too feeble to do much. In her day she was a "purist" and went through the long training period necessary to become a devotee and later a cult leader. She still knows a few words of Nagô, the Yoruban language, and laments the passing of her generation, with whom she says she conversed only in this language. Several of her initiates broke away and started their own houses in other places, although according to her they were not ready to assume leadership since they did not know enough of the mysteries.

The other two houses studied are led by disciples of one of the old woman's devotees who broke away. There is no contact among the three, although the two younger leaders are in awe of the old woman, aware that she knows much more than they do and that in her eyes they are only upstarts, manipulating something mystical which they are not sufficiently prepared to control. She does not intimidate them, however, and now ignores their activities, since they both have recently accepted the Indian spirits which the old woman feels are bogus. She is more interested in passing on her knowledge to the young man who cares for her house, though she complains that he is too indifferent to her teachings. He is learning a great deal, however, though he has not yet "made" his saint, that is, he is not yet a full-fledged devotee. Preparations for

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794 to do with cultism. His parents were strongly opposed to cult-
[778] ism and had told him that it was bad. But the next day the stone was back in his house, frightening him. He again threw it away, and again it reappeared in his house. Then he took it to the cult leader on the plantation, who told him that it was
[782] a sign that he had an obligation to fulfill toward the gods. To put an end to the matter, it was necessary to make certain appeasements in the form of food and drink. So he began to save money, and at the same time took instruction from the woman as to what to do. During this time he became genuinely interested in cultism and became the "most curious"
[428] of the woman's disciples. He studied for many years with her
[765] and did as much as he could in the ceremonies. When she died she left the house to him, as he was the most active among her followers. After he had observed the honorary period of a year after her death and had properly dispatched her saints,
[578] he moved into the house where he has now been leader for thirteen years. Because of jealousies and fights over the inheritance, many of the devotees broke away and went to other houses, taking their saints with them.

793 Three years after he had taken over the house, he had his
794 first experience with the Indian spirit Seven Stars, who came to him in a dream and let it be known that he wanted to enter
787 the man and become part of the cult. For some time the man
177 resisted, for the cult was traditionally Nagô and the former leader would have had nothing to do with Indian spirits. Seven Stars, however, threatened him with extinction if he did not comply, so in the end he gave in, and one night during a ceremony was possessed by Seven Stars. Everyone liked Seven Stars, because he was a very happy and gay spirit and danced well. After this many other devotees in the house were also possessed by this as well as by one or two other Indian spirits, neither of which, however, was considered as nice as Seven Stars.

794 According to dogma, there are twenty-one Indian spirits,
787 although the informant could not name them all and neither
177 could anyone else. All twenty-one live in an aldeia (village) in the woods. There was nothing in the African tradition to tell
[776] what preparation was necessary for these spirits, so the entire ritual became one of inventiveness and propitiousness. Nowadays young people who enter the cults are nearly always taken by an Indian spirit and are much pleased, for these spirits involve less expense and much less work. The major com-

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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plaint about African deities is the amount of work involved and the great expense entailed by making the proper clothes and buying the beads and bracelets. All leaders say that no one can afford traditional spirits these days. Those who had formerly had them, of course, still do, but have also been visited by Indian spirits which they much prefer. So they carry out the more fundamental obligations toward the African spirits, such as providing food and drink, but they dress and dance for their Indian spirits. The result has been a confusion of rituals--the use of African music and incantations and the addition of new dances, costumes, and foods appropriate for the simpler tastes of the Indian spirits.

The cult houses (terreiros) are built like other houses in the community. The active one in town is located on a street in line with all the other houses, while that on the plantation is set slightly apart from the others, because of the scattered configuration of the village. The front room, which is the largest, is usually bare except for a few long wooden benches and a small altar with pictures of the patron saints of the cult leader and of several of the cult members. This room is decorated with crepe paper streamers and paper flowers; the dances are held here. The other rooms of the house consist of a bedroom, a dining room, a kitchen, and another room known as the pegi, which houses the African altar with its plants and leaves, dishes, bottles, cups, and glasses of food and drink for the spirits, as well as the symbol of each one of them, such as a spade, a sword, or a hatchet. In this room there is also usually a trunk containing the ceremonial paraphernalia used during the festivities, such as the dress and headdress of each spirit. This is the room in which sacrificial killings (matanças) are made of the goats and chickens used during the ceremonies. In the rural house there are also pictures of Catholic saints in the pegi, another departure from the older traditional houses where such a thing would never occur.

The cult leader lives in the cult house. In the literature on candomblé the cult leader is usually referred to as the mae, or pai, de santo, which means literally "mother (or father) of the saints." None of the cult leaders in Vila Recôncavo likes this term; they say they could not possibly be the mother or father of the divine beings. They consider themselves rather zeladores, that is, caretakers of the saints on earth. There is much the same complaint about the term filha, or filho, de

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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er of the Waters. Naturally, in such a small group, the secret is not very well kept and it is soon known who has sent a present, why, and when. Many people in this group, and some in Class A, entertain the fear that they may become themselves possessed by a deity, especially if they expose themselves to cult activities during a ceremony, and for this reason they do not attend the rituals. To a certain extent this fear is the basis for the protest many of them make against night-long drumming, although the common complaint is that they cannot sleep because of the noise. The sound of the drums at night is very impressive, and no one is unaware that nearby the supernatural is being called. It is very disturbing to those who do not understand the mechanics of the ceremonies and the meaning of the drumming and sacrifices.

565* 794 184 [152]

Spiritualism

Spiritualism, which does not use drums, is as disturbing as cultism to people of all classes, although because of its quieter character it is not always known when a session is taking place. Spiritualism seems to be gaining popularity in the area, although it is greatly feared by many people. It is slowly gaining adherents, however, because of the healing powers exhibited by the mediums. In most cases people are drawn to it, both in the town and in the rural area, through illness and the promise of a cure. Because of lack of aid from the doctor, or because of the expense of medical treatment, or perhaps because of the failure of the African cult to cure him, a patient may try spiritualism as a last resort. For those who are helped by it, it becomes a constant companion, and although they may have entered with fear, they soon lose it. They become staunch defenders and try to draw in their friends. The greatest successes in curing seem to follow the herbal treatments of the African cultists, but spiritualism requires no further obligations, as do the cults. It is common to hear someone say that attendance at a spiritualist seance cured him of some minor ailment and left him free of obligations, and that he did not even have to pay the medium. Spiritualism is also used to discover and counteract the evil eye and evil machinations of any enemy. In spiritualism one finds the same Indian spirits which are found in the local African cults, although no dancing is involved. There is now definite competition between the mediums and the cult leaders for adherents.

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755 There is one outstanding case of a Class A family which has
787 been "helped" by spiritualism. This family had not been too
*565 well liked in the town and felt that evil was being worked against it. It was claimed that a local medium prevented harm to the father of this family through the medium's spirit. The father became convinced of the value of spiritualism and converted his wife to it. They now make no move without first consulting the spirits, and they frequently call the medium to their house in Salvador for aid. The urban upper class is no stranger to spiritualism, and even those who make no use of mediums and spiritualistic sessions seem to consider themselves possible victims of spiritualism. A decade or so ago, experiments with spiritualism, such as the moving glass, were popular. These experiments gained many adherents and left many others in a state between belief and disbelief in the possibilities of spiritualism.

Protestantism

795 Protestantism has made no entry in Vila Recôncavo. This
797 is a minor point of pride among the residents, who have heard
•177 of Protestantism but know nothing about it. In other areas of the Recôncavo there have been converts, but as yet there are no Protestant churches, chapels, or house groups in Vila Recôncavo. In other communities, traveling ministers hold services in small private houses of the adherents. Just as with the African cults, there always are many onlookers standing outside who discuss the merits of the sermon and of the Bible readings and hymn singing. Those who are sufficiently impressed sometimes join, but as yet there is considerable resistance to another organized religion.

Traditionally

565 the preto is linked with ignorance and superstition,
563 and a most common example of his 'ignorance', cited by the upper
794 strata of Vila Recôncavo society, is his belief in *candomblé*, the fetish
[171] cults of African origin so numerous in Salvador which have been
described by various authors.[8] In the Caribbean, *candomblé* is
[177] known as voodoo and, as in Brazil, there is a mixture of Roman
Catholic with African religious elements. In Vila Recôncavo there
[178] are highly complicated rituals of ceremony and healing, but owing
to the pressures of modern life almost no one has the time necessary
to spend in the full preparation for a *filha de santo* (servant of the
god) or a *mãe de santo* (caretaker of the gods) and much of the old
ritual is being forgotten and discarded, and newer and simpler
[776] innovations are in evidence. Another example given of the *preto's*
'superstition' in Vila Recôncavo is his participation in the cult of
Janaina, the goddess of the water. This cult is really an offshoot of
candomblé, Yemanja being the name of the African *orixa* or divinity,
while Janaina is the name given to her by many of the cults in
[782] Brazil. It is Janaina 'who sends the fish to the fishermen', and they
[226] must thank her and give her gifts occasionally. Generally it is the
mãe de santo who knows all the calls and prayers for Janaina and
who presents the fishermen's gifts. Anyone who intends to climb
the social ladder first disassociates himself from these rites, and then
publicly condemns those who participate in them—although, in
many cases, such an individual will continue secretly to give financial
support to a local *mãe de santo* and to send gifts to Janaina. Often it
is heard of a person: 'Oh yes, he is *gente* now, but last night he
secretly sent his usual present to Janaina.' Individuals of all racial
classifications belong to *candomblé*, although popular opinion has it
that only the *pretos* engage in these activities. One can observe all
racial types at a *candomblé festa* (ceremony), either as participants or
as spectators. In one case in another area of the Recôncavo there is
even a white *pae de santo* (male caretaker of the gods), a former
lawyer!

563 Nevertheless, in Vila Recôncavo, there are examples of *pretos* and
555 *mestiços* who have shown themselves capable of progress, with and
without education. Two examples are the plantation adminis-
[463] trators, cited earlier, who have risen to that honoured and relatively
[872] well-paid occupation in spite of the fact that they cannot read or
write. On another plantation, the *feitor* has taught himself to read
[873] and write and is known as an excellent story-teller. Primary schools
were recently opened in the rural zone of Vila Recôncavo, and night
schools for the adults. The response has been great, people often
walking long distances at night to attend class, in spite of the fact
that one of the most disliked and feared things is going out at night.

563 In Vila Recôncavo, there has been a central primary school for
565 many years, with an attendance of 354 of all racial types, children of
872 the whites as well as those of the others, although no children of the

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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At Bahia in 1807, 1809, 1813, 1816, 1826, 1827, 1828, and 1830, slave revolts broke out, terminating in the serious Malê uprising of 1835. There existed here, particularly in the nineteenth century, a well-established group of Negro disciples of the prophet Mohammed. Here Nagô was for a long time a Negro lingua franca (or, to use the corresponding Portuguese expression, a *lingua geral*), and Nagô is still occasionally to be heard among some of the older blacks. Here one might have encountered in the years just preceding abolition in 1888 an interesting paradox: while at home Bahia clung tenaciously to slavery, she was known abroad for the eloquence of her abolition orators.[3] Here, also, one might have observed the gradual fusion of Catholic belief and ritual with African mythology and religious practice, evidences of which may be seen today in *candomblés*, or fetish-cult centers, like that of Gantois, for example, whose ceremonies have been carried on in the same sacred place for many decades.

In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries Bahia became one of the world's great sugar centers where a small aristocracy, as is attested today by the pretentious edifices still standing, achieved great wealth. As early as 1587 there were forty-seven sugar *engenhos*[4] in and about Bahia, and

[3] See Luiz Anselmo da Fonseca, *A escravidão, o clero e o abolicionismo* (Bahia, 1887), *passim*. This book, although obviously written as abolition propaganda, cites names, places, and dates to support its contentions and does not overlook negative cases.

[4] Each *engenho* consisted of a sugar plantation and a mill for processing the cane. Those at Bahia often had a capacity of a thousand tons or more yearly. Each was largely a self-sustaining economic unit, dependent upon the labor of numbers of Negro slaves. H. Morse Stephens says (*Portugal* [New York, 1903], p. 228) that sugar cane was imported into Brazil from the Madeira Islands in 1548.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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361 162 As one moves interior from the Reconcavo into the *sertão*, the Negro contribution to the population tends to decrease and the Indian contribution, much mixed with [311] both white and Negro, to increase. Both on the moderately watered plateaus and river basins, chiefly devoted to cattle- [177] raising and light farming and occasionally covered with virgin or second-growth timber, as well as in the sandy, dry, and hot *caatinga* country of the semiarid zones, one finds a frontier society which is relatively isolated and has been only slightly modified during recent decades by contact with the outside world.[8]

Thus, in this particular area of intimate racial and cultural contact where the Negro and his descendants have been fated to work out a rather picturesque career, one will find three distinct types of settlement and population. In the *sertão*, or interior, is a highly mixed stock to whose composition the Indian has contributed in greater proportion probably than either the Negro or the European. In the Reconcavo, with its tradition of a departed rural aristocracy, a disintegrated plantation system, and a long history of slavery, the population is still principally negroid. While in the city of Bahia itself the people are largely of mixed European-African origin, individuals of either pure European or pure African descent being clearly in the minority.

633 571 In the city also, the social order is still relatively stable. There has been in recent times little change. Bahia is, as we have seen, a comparatively old city, conscious of its traditions and proud of them. Conventions originally developed

[114] [8] Euclydes da Cunha's *Os Sertões* (12th ed.; Rio, 1933) gives a vivid and dramatic account of life on the *sertão*. Although written in 1902, it is still timely. R. B. Cunningham-Graham's *A Brazilian Mystic* (New York, 1925) is based upon this more detailed account.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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361 565 permitting as it does a full and unobstructed sweep of the cooling sea breeze, makes these heights more comfortable, more healthful, and, consequently, more desirable places of [362] residence. One usually finds here the more modern and [463] substantial buildings, the homes of the upper classes. Here ordinarily live the scions of the old aristocracy, the large landholders, the city's intellectuals, and the leaders of its "society"; the lawyers, physicians, engineers, and politicians; the officials of the army, the poets and journalists, the professors in the Faculdades, the few industrialists which Bahia has so far produced—in fact, nearly all those prominent in the intellectual, political, "social," and economic life of the city. These families possess considerable property [873] and employ numerous servants. Their members are usually [463] literate, and at least the males are *formados* (i.e., graduated from one of the Faculdades, either in law, medicine, or engineering), a distinction which in the Bahian society marks them off quite sharply from the rest of the population.

[204] It is in these areas that the five newspapers published in [291] the city circulate almost exclusively and the latest fashions from Paris or Hollywood are known and generally adopted. [341] In recent years an occasional example of modernistic archi- [422] tecture and interior design has appeared. Here are to be [206] found the owners of virtually all the city's 3,855 telephones, [217] its 1,028 automobiles, its radios, and private libraries. Here live most of the 20,524 voters who cast ballots in the munici- [207] pal election of 1936. Here attachment to the *candomblé*, or [794] Afro-Brazilian fetish cult, is minimal and Catholic belief is least modified by elements from the more primitive reli- [177] gions. Here live that portion of the population which *o povo* ("the people") call the *ricos*, or the "rich."

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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CHAPTER III

CASA GRANDE AND *SENZALA*[1]

EVEN as late as the second quarter of the nineteenth century a visitor to Brazil wrote: "Again and again, while travelling in the interior, I have seen troops of new slaves of both sexes, who could not speak a single word of Portuguese, varying from twenty to one hundred individuals, marched inland for sale, or already belonging to proprietors of plantations."[2] These newly imported Africans were known as *negros novos*, or "new Negroes."[3]

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Since the major portion of African importations into Bahia came from contiguous territory in Africa, the Negroes ordinarily brought with them closely related dialects and, consequently, could more easily communicate among themselves in African tongues. Gradually there came into general use, especially among the influential semi-independent *negros de ganho*, an African language known as Nagô,[4] which by facilitating intercommunication intensified the Negroes' moral isolation from the white world and retarded the whole acculturation process. Nagô continued for a long time to

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[1] The "Big House" and the "slave quarters."

[2] George Gardner, *Travels in the Interior of Brazil, 1836–1841* (London, 1849), p. 12. [113]

[3] Nina Rodrigues, *Os africanos no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1932), p. 187. BB

[4] "Like the French, we in Bahia call Nagôs all Negroes from the Slave Coast who speak the Yoruba language. Of this group we have received slaves from all the smaller subdivisions, from Oyó the capital of Yoruba, from Ilorin, Ige-sha, Ibadan, Ifé, Iebú, Egba, Lagos, etc." (*ibid.*, p. 157). [161]

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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giance from numerous and zealous devotees. African dances still invaded the popular festivals of the Europeans to such an extent that vigorous protests on the part of the white citizenry appeared in the newspapers.[16] Numerous images employed in the fetish worship were imported from Africa, and others were made by Negro sculptors in Bahia.

One occasionally encountered Negroes who in Africa had been chiefs or other dignitaries of considerable power and influence. Although in Brazil they shared the fortunes of a slave with their former subjects, they nevertheless often received allegiance and great reverence from them. On a chance meeting in the street these personages were, we are told, "saluted respectfully, their hands kissed, and a blessing requested of them." Even their masters were reported to have paid them, in several cases, considerable respect.

Slaves who were in close contact with their masters, especially the house servants, soon became, by the very necessities of the situation, at least to some extent bilingual. And their offspring, reared in close contact with the children of their masters, acquired little, if any, African vocabulary and came almost exclusively to speak Portuguese. Thus, about 1800, Koster wrote from Pernambuco, "Portuguese

[16] In the *Jornal de Noticias* for February 12, 1901, a white citizen wrote: "I wish to protest against the way in which this great civilized festival [Carnival] is being Africanized." Three days later the following was published: "These infamous Africanized groups *de canzás* and *bursos* which, far from adding to the brilliance of our Carnival festival, bring shame upon the name of Bahia . . . . have since yesterday been keeping up their infernal tumult." Immediately preceding the opening of Carnival the following year there appeared in the *Jornal de Noticias* (February 5, 1902) the following note: "If during these former Carnival festivals when the popular enthusiasm has been greatly aroused by the passage of the victorious floats . . . . these groups of *Africanos* have been repugnant, what will the Carnival of 1902 turn out to be, unless the police take effective measures to prevent our streets from looking like *terreiros* where fetish practices reign amid a retinue of *ogans* and their *canzás* and tambourines?" (Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 236–38).

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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. . . . is spoken by all the slaves; and their own dialects are allowed to lie dormant until they are by many . . . . quite forgotten."[17] With the acquisition of the master's language went quite naturally other European habits and customs, and the group of assimilated Negroes, known as *ladinos*, grew in numbers relatively rapidly.

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Although the hardships incidental to a plantation system continued, the circumstances under which this gradual assimilation went on were ordinarily those imposed by a mild form of slavery in which the natural and continuous growth of intimate personal relations tended to further humanize the institution and to modify its formal and legal character to such an extent that the widely traveled Richard Burton, enamored as he was of the customs of the East, could in the middle of the nineteenth century say, "Nowhere, even in oriental countries, has the 'bitter draught' so little of gall in it."[18]

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Symbolic of the intimate character of these personal relations is a custom recorded in detail and with some sense of the humor of the situation by the able French artist Debret.[19] The head of a Brazilian household is depicted setting out with his family, all in gala attire, for a customary Sunday promenade. The entire group is in single file, the two

[17] *Op. cit.*, p. 200.

[18] Sir Richard F. Burton, *Explorations of the Highlands of the Brazil* (2 vols.; London, 1869), I, 270.

[19] Invited to Brazil at the request of the Brazilian emperor, Debret subsequently published three volumes of drawings and comment which together furnish a highly illuminating record of the life of Rio de Janeiro in the early part of the nineteenth century (see J. B. Debret, *Voyage pittoresque et historique au Brésil, 1816–1831* [3 vols.; Paris, 1835]). A similar record was made by another competent artist, Maurice Rugendas. See his *Voyage pittoresque dans le Brésil*, trans. from the German by de Colbery (3 vols.; Paris, 1835).

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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The "wide spread of gentle manners in Brazil,"[72] which impressed some commentators as contributing to the favored treatment of Brazilian slaves, was an integral part of a social order in which the large family was the principal unit of cohesion. Under such conditions the network of personal relations arising out of the intimate contact of master and slave not only tempered but, over a period of time, tended to destroy the formal barriers between them. "The Negro is everywhere among the Brazilians," wrote Codman, "and they understand him thoroughly."[73]

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It was usually among the newly arrived Africans, the field hands, or those blacks like the semi-independent *negros de ganho*, all of whom were not in intimate contact with the whites, that escapes and insurrections occurred. Some of these Negroes at times affected scorn and contempt of whites.[73] But those who were in close contact with the Europeans over a period of time developed sentiments of "belonging together," of loyalty and affection. Under such cir-

[72] "One afternoon I sat in a street car of the Copacabana line running to and from the heart of Rio de Janeiro city. As we approached the Avenida and paused at a sharp turn at the regulator's signal, a small boy poorly clad in cotton clothes got onto the front platform with a dinner pail in his hand. He set it down, removed his cap, bent his knee as the motorman, with a swift smile at the child, extended his right hand. The boy respectfully kissed it, replaced his cap, and jumped down. The little incident was typical of the wide spread of gentle manners in Brazil; it is here usual enough to see elderly bankers kiss the hands of their parents, but courtesy is not confined to the upper classes. . . . Brazilian men meeting each other in the street a dozen times a day, lift their hats every time to each other" (L. E. Elliott, *Brazil, Today and Tomorrow* [New York, 1917], p. 76).

[73] *Op. cit.*, p. 202.

[73] Bennett (*op. cit.*, p. 9) mentions the following incident from Pernambuco: "One evening when we were walking along the Rua Nova, a black woman who was passing us suddenly drew aside with a lofty air, exclaiming: 'O meu Deus, os brancos perto de mim!' (Oh, my God, whites near me!)"

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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cumstances they gradually lost their African customs and traditions and took over more and more European ideas, attitudes, and points of view.

This loyalty and devotion, as well as even deeds of heroism, on the part of Negro slaves quite naturally evoked corresponding sentiments of appreciation and affection in masters and their children. Mrs. Louis Agassiz, visiting, together with her husband, the Academy of Fine Arts in Rio in 1865, noted with particular interest the portrait of a Negro

> who, in a shipwreck off the coast, had saved a number of lives at the risk of his own. When he had brought several passengers to the shore, he was told that two children still remained in the ship. He swam back once more and brought them safely to the beach, but then sank down exhausted, and was seized with a hemorrhage. A considerable sum was raised for him in the city of Rio, and his picture was placed in the Academy to commemorate his heroism.[74]

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There hangs today in the Pinacotheca at Bahia a famous painting of the *mãe preta*, or "black mother." "We children," recently remarked a prominent Bahian banker, "respected our *mãe preta* as much as, or perhaps even more than, we did our own parents. I'm sure we feared her more and obeyed her more readily."

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Henrique Dias, a Pernambucan slave, materially and somewhat spectacularly aided the Portuguese when they were engaged, during the seventeenth century, in driving the Dutch out of Pernambuco. Captured, he was shortly released, the Dutch thinking that "because he was a Negro slave he wasn't worth the cost of feeding." He returned to fight effectively for the Portuguese and was once wounded in battle. Following the expulsion of the Dutch, he was given many honors, commissioned in the local militia, and put in

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[74] Professor and Mrs. Louis Agassiz, *A Journey in Brazil* (Boston and New York, 1888), p. 478.

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African costumes, songs, and dances.[57] The Catholic church was never in haste, it seems, to assimilate the Brazilian Negro but adopted instead a patient and tolerant policy which in the end was eminently successful. Early in the nineteenth century Koster wrote from Pernambuco, "No compulsion is resorted to, to make the Negroes embrace the habits of their masters; but their ideas are insensibly led to imitate and adopt them."[58]

As might be expected, the transition from fetish-cult ideas and practices to Catholic ritual and belief was marked by intermediary stages in which elements of both religions coexisted in the Negroes' thought and practice, and the objects of one cult were identified with objects of a similar nature in the other. Hence, the extensive identification, for instance, of several African *orixds* with certain Catholic saints (as we shall later see in greater detail) and the coexistence of African and European forms in the principal religious and popular festivals.

Thus, in 1852, a visitor wrote from Rio de Janeiro:

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> For many nights past, Gloria Hill . . . . has echoed till a late hour with the songs, the wild music, and the tread of the dance in the Negroes' favorite amusements; and yesterday afternoon, I accidentally became a spectator of a grand gathering of this kind. It was "Twelfth" or "King's Day," as sometimes called—being that commemorative of the adoration of the Magi in the stable of Bethlehem; and it is a chief festival with the Negroes. . . . . When about half way up the Larangeiras . . . . my attention was arrested by a large gathering of Negroes within an enclosure by the wayside, engaged in their native dances, accompanied by the wild and rude music brought with them from Africa. . . . . Many of the principal performers, both among the dancers and musicians, were dressed in the most . . . . grotesque manner. . . . . A majority, if not all the performers, were baptized

[57] *Ibid.*

[58] *Op. cit.*, I, 200.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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In the time of Nina Rodrigues, African "carnival clubs" were still active in Bahia.[100] A Embaixada Africana ("The African Legation") and Os Pandegos da Africa ("The African Clowns") were the more prominent. Of lesser importance were A Chegada Africana ("The Arrival of the Africans") and Os Filhos da Africa ("Children of Africa"). A common theme portrayed on the floats prepared by these Negroes was "primitive Africa brought to Brazil a slave." Certain African traditions were also represented. Thus, for the Carnival of 1899, Os Pandegos da Africa prepared a float representing the river Zambesi "on one of whose banks might be seen the King Labossi reclining in an immense seashell and surrounded by his ministers Auá, Oman, and Aboto." A second float carried "two individuals representing the powerful ministers of the King's court—Barborim and Rodá"; and a third showed "the hut of Pae Ajou, his wife and the magical *caboré*[101] which brings good fortune to one and all." Rodrigues was impressed with the enormous crowd of Negroes and mixed-bloods which accompanied the floats, "singing African songs, dancing African dances and applauding the images on the magician's float." The scene was one of "a colossal *candomblé* traversing the streets of the city,"[102] although police regulations at that time forbade the public appearance of the cult.

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Much enjoyed by Brazilian Negroes were certain dances like the *lundú* and the *batuque*, evidently of at least partial African origin, although they perhaps also contained certain Portuguese and native Indian elements.

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[100] Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

[101] The *caboré* is a nocturnal bird. [102] Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Wells, visiting in Minas Geraes in the latter part of the nineteenth century, witnessed the *batuque* and records that it is usually danced by two couples, sometimes more, who face each other. Two tinkling . . . . guitars on this occasion commenced a thrum-thrum, thrum-thrum, and the head man of the estate . . . . advanced and marshaled the dancers, two women and two men; thrum-thrum, thrum—three or four voices suddenly commenced a loud, high-pitched, wild, rapidly delivered, impromptu refrain, containing allusions to the *patrão*[163] and his merits, the incidents of the daily work mingled with the loveliness of ideal Marias; the other men present joined in the chorus, each taking a second or third, a falsetto, or a bass. With rhythmic songs accompanied by clapping of hands and shuffling of feet, the dance commences, at first a slow measure that is maintained for some time, then gradually it increases in rapidity, the dancers advance and retreat, the women swaying their bodies and waving their arms, the men clapping time with their hands at every chorus. The measured tones rise and fall, then again increase in time, the songs and shuffling steps become fast and furious, hands and feet and voices all keep time; and there is much pantomimic action between the couples. . . . . The surroundings were a bright fire that burned and flickered on the earth floor. A single-wick castor-oil lamp was hung on a post. The forms of men and women, lightened by the upward glow of the fire, figured prominently against the dark obscurity of the interior of the shelter.[164]

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Certain customs of the whites were taken over completely by the Negroes. Especially was this true (with a few exceptions which we shall see later) of dress. Stewart recounts of

[163] Employer.

[164] *Op. cit.*, pp. 198–99. The *samba*, a form of the *batuque*, is today in a modified form the favorite popular music of Brazil. For information on the African contribution to Brazilian music see especially Mario de Andrade, "O samba rural paulista," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal de São Paulo*, XLI, 37–114; Flausino Rodrigues Valle, *Elementos de folk-lore musical brasileiro* (São Paulo, 1936), particularly chap. iii; Luciano Gallet, *Estudos de folklore* (Rio, 1934).

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Stewart recounts of Rio in 1852 that "two black African women, richly and fashionably attired, came sauntering along with the most conscious air of high-bred self-possession. They were followed by a black female slave, also in full dress, carrying a black baby three or four months old, and decked out in all the finery of an aristocratic heir—an elaborately wrought, lace-frilled and rosetted cap, and long flowing robe of thin muslin beautifully embroidered, and ornamented with lace."[105]

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A fashion which in the early part of the nineteenth century served "to mark the high rank of those (of either sex) who adopted it" was that of "permitting the nails of the fore-finger and thumb to grow to a great length . . . . [and be] cut to a sharp point."[106] Today, while the whites in Bahia no longer follow this fashion, one occasionally sees individuals of prominence in the Negro group—for instance, Mãe Anninha of the *candomblé* of São Gonçalo—with long fingernails.

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However, assimilation is not a process in which the individuals of only one of the races in contact are modified thereby while members of the other race remain unchanged. Circumstances in Brazil were such as to favor the taking-over by the whites of certain African elements. One rarely found a white child, especially during the slave period, who had not been reared by a Negro *ama*. She "gave him of her own milk, rocked him in his cradle or hammock, taught him his first words of halting Portuguese, his first Padre Nosso, his first Ave Maria, his first 'vôtel' or 'oxente'; she put into his mouth the first *pirão* with meat and

[105] *Op. cit.*, p. 205.

[106] Andrew Grant, *History of Brazil* (London, 1809), p. 234.

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molho de ferrugem."[107] From her and from the *mucama* (maid), as much as, if not more than, from his father and mother, the white child learned to speak. And almost without exception, he was given a *muleque companheiro de brinquedo*, a little Negro slave of his own age and sex, to be his playmate and his almost constant companion.[108] José Verissimo says that during slavery there was "no house which did not have one or more *muleques*, one or more *corumins*, little victims consecrated to the caprices of *nhônhô*:[109] his horse, his *leva-pancada*, his servant, his companion, his friend."[110] In 1821 Mathison saw on an estate near Rio "a number of fine Negro children playing in front of the house, and in the midst of them a younger brother of the proprietor, a lad about fourteen years of age, who had been brought up in this manner . . . . like the Negroes."[111] Freyre has suggested that "very likely many a Brazilian child took for his first hero, not a white physician, nor a navy official or a lawyer, but a slave acrobat who knew how to execute the difficult pirouettes of the impromptu circuses and of the *bumbas meu bois*[112] of the *engenhos;* or a Negro player of the trombone or the flute."[113] Under these conditions it is not surprising that

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[107] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 247. *Pirão* is made of manioc meal and meat broth; *molho de ferrugem* is oil of the *dendê* palm.

[108] Lacerda, *op. cit.*, p. 379.

[109] Slave rendering of *menino* (male child).

[110] *A educação nacional* (Rio, 1906), quoted in Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 148. A *leva-pancada* is one who "takes the beatings."

[111] *Op. cit.*, p. 93.

[112] The *bumba meu boi* is still to be seen in the Bahian interior. It is a folk drama in which a man dressed to represent an ox plays a prominent role (see Arthur Ramos, *O negro brasileiro* [Rio, 1934], pp. 259–68; see also his *O folk-lore negro do Brasil* [Rio, 1935], pp. 103–14).

[113] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

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Koster found the masters and their families taking over many of the customs of their slaves.[114]

Grant, visiting Bahia about 1800, noted that the principal amusement engaged in at private gatherings of the upper class was a dance of African origin:

> It is performed by an individual of each sex moving their bodies to the monotonous tones of an instrument, always in one measure, and with scarcely any action of the legs or feet. The spectators seem delighted with the performance, and cheer the dancers by the most clamorous marks of approbation. This national dance . . . . is indulged in by all ranks of the citizens. . . . .[115]

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Numerous changes in the whites' speech occurred. Especially was this true on isolated fazendas where *senhores* and their families were semiliterate or even illiterate. The *r* and the *s* disappeared as final consonants from many words, *fazer* becoming *fazê; mandar*, *mandá; comer*, *comé;* and *lh* was often reduced to *l*, *mulher* becoming *muler; colher*, *coler;* etc. In 1798 the bishop of Recife urged the teachers in a local *recolhimento* to try to correct "certain errors of speech" in the young ladies there studying, especially that of inverting certain letters and saying, for instance, *breço* instead of *berço*, *cravão* instead of *carvão;* of omitting letters in the middle of a word and saying, for example, *teado* instead of *telhado*, *fio* instead of *filho;* of dropping the final letter of the plural or of words ending in a harsh sound and saying, for instance, *muitas florê* for *muitas flores*, and *Portugá* for *Portugal*.[116] Freyre says that these dialectical modifications were particularly noticeable among isolated families in the rural areas, where Negro slaves were "constantly within the

[114] *Op. cit.*, I, 200–201. [115] *Op. cit.*, pp. 232–33.

[116] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos* (São Paulo, 1936), p. 103.

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house like persons of the family." Freyre adds that "still today the members of certain illustrious families *de engenho* can be identified by their peculiar vices of pronunciation which were originally learned from Negroes within their homes," as, for example, the Wanderleys of Serinhaem and Rio Formosa.[117]

The use, among certain slaveholding families, of a "slow and heavy manner of speaking," which gave "an appearance of affectation, fatigue, and illness," is also ascribed by Freyre to African influence. Numerous African words were adopted, especially into the common speech of the lower class, and a few have become good usage even among the educated minority. Freyre writes:

> What Brazilian, at least from the North, feels any strangeness about such words as: caçamba, canga, dengo, cafuné, lubambo, mulambo, caçula, quitute, mandinga, muleque, camondongo, muganga, quibêbe, quengo, batuque, banzo, mucambo, bangué, bozó, mocotó, bunda, zumbí, vatapá, carurú, banzé, mucama, quindim, catinga, mugunzá, malungo, birimbau, tanga, cachimbo, candomblé? Who prefers to say "mal cheiro" instead of "catinga"; or "garoto" instead of "muleque" or "moleque"; or "trapo" instead of "mulambo"? These are terms which correspond better than Portuguese words to our experiences, our palates, our understanding, and our emotions.[118]

[117] *Ibid.*, pp. 101–2.

[118] *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 245. For further information on words and phrases of African origin commonly used today in the predominately Portuguese speech in large areas of Brazil see, particularly, Renato Mendonça, *A influencia africana no português do Brasil* (2d ed.; São Paulo, 1935); Jacques Raymundo, *O elemento afro-negro na lingua portuguesa* (Rio, 1933); Mario Marroquim, *A lingua do Nordeste* (São Paulo, 1934), especially pp. 155–59; Dante de Laytano, *Os africanismos do dialeto gaucho* (Porto Alegre, 1936). The author himself collected approximately three hundred words of African origin commonly used today in Bahia.

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In the speech of very young children the doubling of a tonic syllable became common. Hence, *nhônhô* replaced *menino; titio* and *titia* were used for *tio* and *tia; dodoe* for *doe; dindinho* for *padrinho; vôvô* for *avô*, etc. Proper names "lost their solemnity, dissolving in a delicious manner in the mouths of the slaves." Little Antonia came to call herself, and to be called by her parents and other relatives, "Dondon" or "Toinha" or "Totonha"; Thereza became "Tetê"; Manoel became "Mané," "Mandú," or "Nezinho"; Francisco became "Chico," "Chiquinho," or "Chicó"; Pedro became "Pepê"; and Alberto became "Bebeto" or "Betinho."[119]

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In addition to the "hard and imperative" *diga-me, faça-me, espere-me*, of Portugal, another method of placing the pronoun came into use in Brazil. The slave and the lower classes developed *me-diga, me-faça, me-espere*, a manner of speaking which Ribeiro describes as of "great suavity and sweetness."[120] Freyre says "*faça-se* is the master speaking, the father, the patriarch; *me-dê* is the slave, the woman, the child."[121]

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The Negroes in Brazil are said to have been assiduous story-tellers. Many free *pretas*, mostly older women, made their living by wandering from *engenho* to *engenho* recounting tales to the women slaves which eventually found their way, transmitted especially by the *mãe preta* and the *mucama*, into the ears of the master's children. Particularly common were stories of animals possessing human characteris-

[119] Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 243.

[120] João Ribeiro, *A língua nacional* (São Paulo, 1921), quoted in Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 246 n.

[121] *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 246.

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of Raul's intelligence and his ability to apply himself multiplied the interest which his father took in him, and he supplied all his needs. When his father left the Reconcavo to come to Bahia, he brought Raul with him, and here, under his tutelage, Raul went to primary school where he had as white playmates his father's nephews and others. And later, when his father went to Rio, he took Raul with him. The boy never left his father's company as long as his father lived.[21]

Raul was a very dark mixed-blood with kinky hair. He came to be a prominent citizen and was noted not only for his fine figure, distinguished bearing, poise, and personal charm but also for his intelligence and professional competence. At one time he was a much-loved confidant of a recent president of Brazil.

Significant also, so far as the rise of the mulatto is concerned, is the fact that early in the nineteenth century the return of young professional men who had been trained in Europe—in Coimbra, Montpelier, Paris, and other centers—enhanced the prestige of the rising professional classes. These young lawyers and physicians, among whom were a number of quite capable mulattoes, were returning to Brazil after an education abroad, ordinarily more traveled, better informed, and more urbane than their brothers or half-brothers on the plantations, in the army, or among the clergy. They were especially attractive, we are told, to the upper-class ladies of the time. The importation of fashionable articles from the Continent—Parisian haberdashery, perfumes, hair-dressings, and English shoes—with the use of all of which these returning young men were quite familiar, enhanced their standing among the élite. The increasing

[21] From a letter to the author from a man reared in the same community as the individual in question and long acquainted with him. For information on the later life of this mixed-blood see Appen. A.

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Quite exceptional in their subject matter are the following three papers:

Race Mixture in Brazil as a Eugenic Factor
The Mixed-Blood and the Problem of Degeneracy
The Social, as Opposed to the Racial, Causation of Degeneracy

These three papers, concerned as they obviously are with the oft-considered question of the relation of race mixture to degeneracy, indicate some concern in Brazil with this problem and thus appear at first sight to imply an interest in race relations in the North American sense of that expression. The question at issue turns out to be, however, largely an academic one, evoked perhaps by foreign literature and concerned with supporting arguments of white superiority and of Negro inferiority originating in Europe and the United States. At any rate, it is true that certain scholars, at a loss to account for the persistence in twentieth-century Brazil of African cultural forms, have seriously come to question the cultural capacities of the black race and to believe the future of Brazil prejudiced by the infusion of African blood.

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Thus, about 1900, Nina Rodrigues, intimately acquainted with a number of Africans in Bahia and impressed with the slow rate at which they and their descendants were sloughing off African cultural forms and being assimilated into the white world,[23] and also influenced to a considerable degree by foreign writers,[24] raised very earnestly the question of "the capacity of the Negro to accommodate himself to the civilization of the superior races."[25] Doubting specifically the ability of the Negro to take on European civilization,[26]

[23] *Os africanos no Brasil*, pp. 407–9; see also *ibid.*, chaps. v–vii.

[24] *Ibid.*, chap. vi, esp. pp. 388–98.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 385. [26] *Ibid.*, p. 391.

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ture. It is a linguistic problem, a question of the influence of African dialects upon the Portuguese language. It is a sociological problem, a question of the influence of the Negro upon Brazilian social life.[29]

As here defined, then, the concern of Brazilian intellectuals interested in the Negro lies in problems other than those arising from racial maladjustment, with the possible exception implied by the phrase "questions of racial heredity and race mixture," and similarly suggested by the titles of the last-named three papers presented to the first Afro-Brazilian Congress. But, if the situation is analyzed more fully, one finds that each of these three papers *attacks* the positions that the Negro is racially inferior and that race mixture leads to degeneracy.

The thesis of Negro inferiority is today perhaps most forcefully defended by Oliveira Vianna, able sociologist and member of the National Academy of Letters. Well versed in the race literature of Europe and of the United States and impressed, like Nina Rodrigues, with the difficulties in the way of assimilating the African and his descendants, Vianna has written:

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The pure Negroes never will be able, not even the most advanced representatives of the race, to be assimilated completely into the white culture; their capacity for civilization—their "civilizability," so to speak—does not extend beyond merely imitating, more or less imperfectly, the habits and customs of the whites. Between the Negro's mentality and that of the Caucasian lies a substantial and irreducible difference which no social or cultural pressure, no matter how long it may be continued, can possibly overcome.[30]

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

[30] Oliveira Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro* (2d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 156. It is obvious from a careful reading of his books that this able scholar inadvertently fails to distinguish between the biological and the cultural determinants in mental functioning and personality and that he also confuses cultural achievement with racial potentiality.

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CHAPTER IX

OS AFRICANOS

THE connection between Africa and Bahia is perhaps more intimate and has been maintained over a longer period of time than any similar connection elsewhere in the New World. Although assimilation of the Africans and their descendants has been proceeding at a gradually accelerating rate and has now reached an advanced stage, identification with Africa and with African cultural forms still marks off rather noticeably a portion of the darker population. Differences in dress, in food and food habits, in forms of religious expression, in sacred specialists, in attempts to exercise control over personal destiny and over other human beings, in credulity in folklore, and, to a limited extent, in language describe different worlds which still coexist at Bahia: one largely African in derivation, the other European.

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The mental world of the Bahian upper class, which, as we have seen, includes a considerable number of the lighter mixed-bloods, is not greatly dissimilar to that of the same stratum in predominantly Catholic areas of Europe, especially in Portugal, Spain, and France, the latter of which has for a long time been the "intellectual motherland" of Brazil.

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But the superior, educated class is relatively small. Most of the people in the city, as well as in the state of Bahia, are illiterate and would be included in what is ordinarily conceived of as the folk. Of this group, the Africans and their descendants obviously constituted in the past, and still constitute today, a large element.

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178 This division in cultural identification, however, is not
184 always sharply defined. Adherence to African cultural forms, for instance, the *candomblé*, often varies not only from family to family but also from individual to individual in the same family group; and, occasionally, in the same individual with reference to different cultural elements, to different periods in his life, and even to varying moods in his experience. In other words, African cultural forms at Bahia are disintegrating at a comparatively rapid rate.

565 Nor should one assume that the body of customs and tra-
178 ditions which marks off to some extent this lower-class
•177 world is entirely of African origin. While it undoubtedly is composed in considerable part of elements originating in Africa, certain native Indian customs and traditions, together with ideas and practices common to the lower classes of Europe, as well as other customary behavior which has arisen in response to the circumstances of life in Brazil, contribute to it. The disentanglement of these diverse strands is, in some instances, a difficult and exceedingly laborious task.

It should be emphasized that these distinctions follow cultural and not necessarily racial lines. The lower class, as we have seen, includes a number of Europeans, and these have in numerous cases taken over sentiments and attitudes of African origin. Moreover, as the blacks and the mixed-bloods rise in class, they tend to slough off all identification with Africa and with African cultural forms.

439 Bahian Negroes long maintained direct contact with the
175 West Coast. Even after the extinction of the slave traffic, vessels regularly plied between Bahia and Lagos, repatriating nostalgic emancipated Negroes and returning with West

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as long as from here to the entrance of the fort,[6] just for the family of my grandfather. He was buried in a room. A *quartinho* of water which is always kept full still stands there today.

When my father was born, my grandmother was already an old woman. But she was still very strong. When my grandfather died, she walked all by herself up to the place where they buried him. When I went to Africa, she was in Ibadum. She never saw my father again. When he took me to Africa, she did not get to see him because the Africans were fighting fiercely. No one could travel as far as from here to Rio Vermelho.[7] So my father did not get to see his mother. But when she found out that he had been in Lagos and had left a son there, she never left off speaking of me. She wished to have me stolen, but the men who came to carry me to my grandmother never found me alone. They brought me presents. My grandmother had made me an African food which lasts two or three months and does not spoil. It is made with *fubá* of maize, crushed. All is seasoned with fragrant and savory seasonings, with onions and shrimps, and put in a large pan. It is like a cake they call here *bom bocado*. In the African language it is called *adúm*. Rolled up in leaves they gave it to me. My tutor ate part of it too.[8] For fifteen days we ate *adúm*. When I came back to Bahia and told my father I had eaten *adúm*, he lost almost the whole day crying, because he had not seen his mother for almost fifty years, let alone eaten her cooking. He looked up at me, and said 'You, my son, *you* ate *adúm!*' "

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Some contact with Africa is still maintained through family connections, although these are now rare; by means of African visitors, principally individuals from the crews of English ships recruited in Lagos; and by way of occasional newspapers published on the East or West Coast in Portuguese, English, or even African languages.

Thus, one will occasionally find in the possession of Bahian Negroes a copy of the *Nigerian Daily Times*, published

[6] About one hundred yards.

[7] About three miles.

[8] The boy had been placed in a mission school.

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in Lagos.[9] In this journal for December, 1932, a Bahian black recently pointed out photos of Cleonice de Assumpção Alakija, "the youngest daughter of Dr. Maxwell P. de Assumpção Alakija, a lawyer of Bahia, Brazil," who "recently graduated as a throat and ear specialist from the Faculty of Medicine at Bahia"; of Dally Assumpção Alakija, youngest son of Dr. Maxwell, "recently graduated in Bahia as a civil engineer"; and of Adeyemo Alakija, their cousin, in the royal robes of an African chief from Abeokuta. The caption of the accompanying article was "A Notable Egba, Adeyemo Alakija."

This African cousin of Bahian blacks had been "honored by His Highness, the *Alaké* of Abeokuta," at a festival celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of the settlement of the Egbas at Abeokuta following severe internecine warfare and had subsequently been installed as "The Barujun of Aké." According to the account, Adeyemo Alakija belongs to a "distinguished family." His father was Marculino Assumpção, "Chief Akigbotum, known also as Elemeji, one of the first men to own a cotton gin in Abeokuta"; and his mother, Maxmilliana Assumpção Alakija, was the daughter of the late Alfa Cyprian Akinosho Tairu, native of Oyó, "a chief of Abeokuta with the title of Morope of Aké," for whom Tairu Lane in Lagos is named. Both of Adeyemo Alakija's parents were born in Brazil, the eldest living member of the family being the Bahian lawyer, Dr. Maxwell Porphyrio Assumpção Alakija, "father-in-law of His Worship, Olumuyiwa Jibouwu, our Police Magistrate."

[9] One *Africano* also possesses copies of *Wasu* ("Preach"), a missionary pamphlet used in Nigeria; the English prayer-book and the Bible, both in Yoruba; the *Nigerian Catholic Almanac* for 1933; a life of Marcus Garvey; and a copy of the *Negro World* for April 19, 1930, the latter given him by a Negro fireman on an English ship which occasionally puts in at Bahia.

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291 [565] Paris fashions largely dictate the nature of female attire among the upper classes at Bahia, but many black [177] women still wear the *vestimenta bahiana*. This costume is [301] composed of a *saia*, or very full skirt, of varying combinations of colors, which ordinarily measures some twelve to fifteen feet in circumference at the hem and is worn *bouffant*, spread by a heavily starched underskirt; a *bátá*, or long, loose-flowing white blouse which is ordinarily of cotton cloth but occasionally of silk, trimmed, in most cases, with wide lace, sometimes worn very loose at the neck and allowed to slip off one shoulder; a *pano da costa*, or long, heavy, striped cotton cloth, at times worn slung over the shoulder and pinned under the opposite arm, at times wrapped once or twice in a wide fold about the waist and tied rather tightly; a *torso*, or turban, of cotton or silk, bound about the head; *chinelas*, or strapless leather sandals with low heels; numerous necklaces of coral, cowries, or glass beads, with an occasional metal chain, often of silver; earrings of turquoise, coral, silver, or gold; and numerous [301] bracelets of cowries or of iron, copper, or other metal. The *balangandan*, formerly an important ornament, has disappeared."

As an alternate to the *bátá* a white blouse is sometimes worn tucked inside the *saia*, and in place of the *pano da costa* a woolen or silken shawl is occasionally substituted. For

[532] [789] "The *balangandan* (also known as *berenguenden*, *balançançan*, *cambaio*, or *penca*) consisted of a gold or silver frame on which were hung gold or silver images of animals, birds, fowls, fish, flowers, parts of the human body, houses, household utensils, amulets (including gold or silver balls inclosing soil from a cemetery), bells, medallions with religious significance, angels, suns, moons, etc. It was worn on festive occasions, tied at the waist (see F. Marques dos Santos, "As balangandans," *Espelho*, April, 1936). Many impoverished fam- [422] ilies, attracted by recent high prices of gold and silver, have disposed of these relics of a former splendor. A limited number may still be seen among the heirlooms of wealthy Bahians.

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festive occasions *sandalias*, or leather "mules," are regularly preferred to *chinelas*, and one often sees the common footwear of the lower class, the *tamancos*, simple sandals with wooden soles and leather toe straps; or, occasionally, cloth slippers. Some women go barefoot.

The *torso*, commonly said to be of Arabic origin, was probably brought to Brazil by the Haussás and other Negro followers of Mohammed who were imported from the areas immediately south of the Sahara. In *Globus* for April 28, 1910,[12] there is a photograph taken in Togoland which shows Negroes wearing *torsos*, *panos da costa*, and *saias* similar to those seen today in Bahia, except that the heavily starched petticoat usually worn with the latter is lacking.[13] [177]

The typical wearer of this costume, or *vestimenta bahiana*, as it is called, is a tall, graceful black woman of remarkable physique, self-confident bearing, and intelligent, cheerful countenance. She is known as a *Bahiana*, the first of whom to emigrate from Bahia to Rio, during the disorders attendant on the struggle for independence, impressed the French visitor Debret as notably different from the black women of Rio, not only in dress, but also in general bearing.[14] "The *Bahiana* came to symbolize, by extension, a gracious (*graciosa*) and spirited creole woman."[15] 291 554 [167]

The *Bahianas* were worth seeing at our festivals, with their resplendent costumes; their arms half-covered with gold or silver bracelets; their diamond earrings; their gold necklaces from which hung . . . . crosses, *figas*, and medallions of the order of *Carmo*, all of gold. . . . . They completely dominated our religious festivals. . . . . They [301]

[12] XCVII, No. 16, 245.

[13] The *saia* is commonly worn in Bahia, on days other than those of festival, without starching the underskirt.

[14] J. B. Debret, *Voyage pittoresque et historique au Brésil, 1816-1831* (3 vols.; Paris, 1835), II, 105.

[15] Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

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Although the Bahian upper classes, owing to their Negro cooks, are not unacquainted with those dishes of African origin so commonly eaten in the homes of lower-class blacks, one does not ordinarily find on their tables African delicacies like *abará*, *aberém*, *acassá*, *acaragé*, *arroz de Aussá*, *bôbó de inhame*, *carurú*, *efó*, *xin-xin*, etc., each of which is seasoned according to recipes handed down from African forebears who also extensively made use of African seasonings like *azeite de dendê*, *atarê*, *irú*, *pejerecum*, *iêrê*, and *egussi*.[18] The eating habits of the upper classes are, in general, European in origin. But the poorer inhabitants extensively utilize banana leaves for plates and for packaging foods and replace forks with fingers as eating accessories.

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The music and dances enjoyed by large numbers of the darker population further distinguish this portion of the Bahian community. For instance, the *samba*, or *samba batida*, a regional form of the old *batuque*, although it has now been taken over by the upper classes and in a modified form become not only one of the most characteristic musical forms but also one of the favorite dances of Brazil, is still enjoyed in its primitive simplicity by the Bahian lower classes. With them it is a dance in which first one and then another of the participants enters a circle, dances a shuffling step while singing, cantor-fashion, the first line of a stanza, the others responding as a chorus. A song very popular at Mar Grande on the island of Itaparica in the bay at Bahia recalls the

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[18] *Azeite de dendê* is oil from the *dendê* palm; *atarê*, said to have been imported from Africa by Bahian Negroes, is a variety of pepper; *egussi* are gourd or melon pips; *iêrê* are seeds similar to those of the coriander; *irú* and *pejerecum* (or *bejerecum*) are varieties of small beans. For recipes of a number of these dishes see Manoel Raymundo Querino, *A arte culinaria na Bahia* (Bahia, 1928).

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The mau olhado, or "evil eye," 754
a magical power presumed in many parts of the world, [171]
including Europe, to be possessed, often unwittingly, by
certain individuals, is thought at Bahia to bring death
to plants, birds, and even small children whom the person
has coveted or, perhaps, merely admired. More natural 753
forces are the *ar do vento*, or "air of the wind," a cold draught 821
said to result in indigestion, deformity, insanity, or death; [826]
the *espinhela caida*, or "fallen breastbone," which presumably brings on an emaciated condition of the body; and
sangue nova, or "new blood," thought to be responsible for
the breaking-out of a rash. Dew must not be allowed to fall 753
on the head. Certain diseases, like syphilis and leprosy, are
considered defects common to all men.[26] However, the per- [744]
sistent efforts of agencies like the Rockefeller Foundation [177]
have widely disseminated the idea that malaria results from
the bite of a mosquito.

The treatment or prevention of disease is the logical coun- 789
terpart of a magical theory of causation. Thus, members of 782
this section of the Bahian population attempt to control personal destiny through the use of charms or other magical
means or through the direct intervention of a deity, whose
favor is sought by the offering of gifts or the performance of
prescribed rituals. Thus, to counteract the influence of the 755
"evil eye," charms are worn, or pieces of the *Guiné*, *Arruda*, 824
or *Vassourinha Doce* plants are passed, to the accompaniment of magical words, over and about the affected person's
head.

goat may be killed, or a doll made and its neck pierced by a bit of wood. [754]
Either object is then placed in the doorway of the individual to be harmed or in any other place where he is likely to pass, the one depositing the *feitiço* calling out, as he drops it, the name of the person for whom harm is intended.

[26] "Syphilis," a black explained, "began with the world. Everyone has it, even horses, although it may never show up."

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beast and wandered about. We knew he did, for a man who was passing a dark spot on the road late one night saw him; but when he took out his knife and started after him, the beast fled. The *lobishomem* was covered all over with hair and looked horrible. Other people saw him too, running around on all fours. The dogs always barked on Friday nights something terrible. On Saturday morning this man appeared dusty and more pale than usual. He never caught any children because they were all careful to stay in the house during the hours when he was out. But he caught many dogs and cats. He merely sucked their blood; he did not eat them. People found the bodies later, with all the blood drained out.

776 *Mulas de padre* are reputedly the concubines of priests who, transformed into headless animals, run about at night, preferably on Fridays. Covered with noise-making instruments, such as bells, *chocalhos*, and kitchen utensils, they are said to make "an infernal racket" which can be heard as much as a mile away and "makes one's blood run cold."

[177] The *caipora* and the *biatdlá* are probably survivals of Indian lore. The former is a creature thought to inhabit timbered areas, where he is peculiarly fond of leading people astray. When a person is lost, the *caipora* "may make him pass right by the path and never see it." The *caipora* calls out to the unfortunate person and leads him further and further astray. Of female sex, an animal some say, a half-body cut perpendicularly from crown to crotch according to others, the *caipora* may be driven away if one smokes tobacco, takes snuff, or chews garlic.

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A young *pardo* shoemaker, having become by reason of his schooling somewhat skeptical of tales of the *lobishomem* and of the *mula de padre*, insisted, however, that

the *caipora* is real. Just as a blow on your arm will leave a red mark, the *caipora* has left signs of himself. I know a Portuguese immigrant, a man upright and truthful, who was warned not to hunt on Fridays. He laughed at the warning, and went on into the timber in search of

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jacú, found one, and shot at it. The *jacú* flew at him with its claws extended and severely scratched him. He shot at it again. It flew back and clawed at his eyes. Then he heard a voice, saying "You know you must not hunt on Fridays." It was the *caipora*. The man staggered home, and fell senseless in the door of his house. I knew this man well.

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The *bialdiá* is said to be a woman who inhabits the sea, appearing above water only at night, gradually increasing in size until she assumes an enormous shape, and "casting a huge and frightening shadow."

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Fear of the toad, probably also a survival of Indian belief, is common.[39] If a toad happens to hop into the door of a house, the occupant will immediately grab a broom and sweep it out, repeating over and over, "Creio em Deus Padre."[40] If a malicious person paints a toad on the wall of a dwelling, its occupants will at once desert the place.

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The following account reveals in an intimate way the mental world of a considerable portion of the Bahian lower class. It was related by a young Negro woman in the form of a series of personal experiences and is presented here in as nearly as possible the exact phrasing in which it was originally given.

I was three years old. I was sitting with my mother when something hit me, and I fell over unconscious. She picked me up and took me to a doctor. He gave me medicine and said that it was congestion. Some thought it was the *ar do vento*.

I knew nothing of what was going on; it was as if I were dead. To

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[39] "Montoya says ('Manuscripto guarani da Bibliotheca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro sobre a primitiva catechese dos Indios das Missões,' *Annaes da Bibliotheca Nacional*, Vol. VI) that among Indians observed by him, the entrance of a toad into a gathering of people was a sign of the approaching death of one of those present" (Gilberto Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* [2d ed.; Rio, 1936], p. 99).

[40] "I believe in God, the Father."

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My sister is preparing *carurú*. She has twin boys. When God gives you twins, you are obliged to present *carurú* to Cosme and Damião. If you fail to do this, someone in the house will die that year.

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If one were now to set down an account of the personal experiences of an upper-class Bahian, it would reveal an entirely different mental world. In general content it would reflect a culture distinctly European. Dress, music, food and food habits, forms of religious expression, sacred specialists, means of exercising control over personal destiny, and the ideas, attitudes, sentiments, points of view, and philosophy of life associated with them would, in general, not vary from those commonly characteristic of individuals of European origin wherever found.

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This variation at Bahia in cultural identification between the Europeans, on the one hand, and the *Africanos*, on the other—this difference in ideas, attitudes, and sentiments—obviously erects serious barriers to intercommunication and consequently retards the development of a body of common understandings upon which the moral solidarity of any society is built. Although most of the Bahian blacks have now to a considerable extent sloughed off their former cultural identity with Africa and have been more or less completely incorporated into the European world, a remnant of *Africanos* still live, in spite of contiguity in space with the Europeans, to a considerable extent culturally apart.

As will be evident in greater detail in the following chapter, the Europeans tend to look upon the beliefs and the practices of the *Africanos* as matters for ridicule, scorn, disparagement, and condemnation. They are thought of as queer, bizarre, unintelligible, inferior forms of behavior.

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They represent, to this element of the Bahian population, another world.

The general disposition, however, is to tolerate these African practices so long as they are not too obviously indulged in, particularly in public places, and they in no way interfere with the European habits of the major portion of the population. The Europeans act in this respect with somewhat the same leniency which an adult exercises toward the immature conduct of a child, in the confident expectation that "time and education" will do away with these evidences of what one upper-class individual referred to as "cultural backwardness and barbarism." Thus, the behavior of the numerically small group of *Africanos*, although under continuous disapproval and disparagement, is ordinarily treated more as a matter for levity than as a cultural threat; it meets with little deliberate effort at eradication, and even such attempts as are made in this direction are sporadic and halfhearted. Partially for these very reasons, African cultural forms are rapidly disappearing at Bahia.

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The *vestimenta bahiana*, for instance, although ordinarily regarded by representatives of the European culture as picturesque, rather romantic wearing apparel, tends today to be largely discarded, especially by the mixed-bloods, and to be withdrawn more and more into the relative privacy of the *candomblé*. Of 500 mulatto women noted on the streets, only 5 were wearing the full costume, and 14 others had on certain portions of it, while 481, or 96.2 per cent, appeared in modern European dress. Of 500 black women noted, 91, or 18.2 per cent, were wearing the full costume, 82 others, or 16.4 per cent, were wearing parts of the costume, while 327, or 65.4 per cent, had on modern European clothing.

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In details of language, ceremonial dress, dance, song and pantheon, these centers differ from the *candomblés* known as "Congo" or "Angola," in which Bantú dialects are spoken, Loanda and Benguela become sacred places, and Tempo and the Angolan chief Kissimbe are worshiped. They differ also from the apparently more recently organized *caboclo candomblés* whose ritual is, in varying degrees from *seita* to *seita*, a mixture of the rituals of the other cults, together with dances and a pantheon of Tupi origin, the latter of which includes Tupan, an important Tupi deity, and Tupinambá, apparently a personification of the cannibal tribe by that name which inhabited the Bahian coast at the coming of the Europeans. The *caboclo candomblés* carry on their ceremonies principally in Portuguese, with the addition of certain phrases of African origin, usually much corrupted, which have been picked up from Gêge-Nagô or Congo-Angola *seitas*, and a few words of Tupi derivation. Feathers, the bow and arrow, and other Indian cultural elements enter into their ritual.

This borrowing of ceremonial elements on the part of *caboclo* imitators, who in many, if not most, cases have not been reared in the African tradition, is bitterly resented by the more orthodox and scrupulous *Africanos*, particularly those of the Gêge-Nagô *seitas*. As a Negro once said, "Si seja mistura, é bobagem" ("If it's mixed, it's nonsense"). A leader of a Nagô cult once burst out:

> This fellow João da Pedra Preta! What a disgraceful whelp! His forebears, what did they know? Were they brought up in the *seita*, and did they "deixaram o cargo" [will the office of priest] to him? No! He came here from the *sertão* and started a *candomblé*. Picked up a little Gêge, a little Nagô, a little Congo, a little Indian stuff, and so on. A disgraceful mixture!

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A Nagô *mãe de santo* boasted of the ritual in her seita: "It's all pure Nagô; there's nothing in my *candomblé* of this abominable mixture which these upstart places practice today. They call this *caboclo* nonsense *candomblé!* Why, they know absolutely nothing about the way it's done in Africa!"

However, the borrowing of ritual back and forth from *seita* to *seita* sometimes takes place even in the case of Gêge-Nagô and Congo-Angola centers. Moreover, these *seitas* have not entirely escaped some Indian influence. [177]

With reference, then, to cultural origin and identification, there are three principal types of *candomblés* at Bahia: the Gêge-Nagô, the Congo-Angola, and the *caboclo*.[2] The *seitas* of probably most pure Gêge-Nagô origin are those of Engenho Velho, reputed to be the oldest cult center in Bahia; Gantois, which split off from Engenho Velho approximately a century ago and was, during the time of the famed *mãe de santo* Pulcheria, the seat of the researches of Nina Rodrigues; and São Gonçalo, whose able and widely respected *mãe de santo* speaks a Yoruba dialect locally known as Queito. These three centers are probably largely Nagô in origin,[3] while that of Bogum is said to be with the possible exception

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[2] The Malê, or Mohammedan cult, which at one time was vigorous and flourishing, seems to have been largely forsaken in favor of the fetish cults by the Negroes at Bahia. Although, in 1905, Nina Rodrigues estimated that one-third of the Africans still living in the city were Mohammedans, he at the same time pointed out that they were then making few, if any, converts among blacks born in Brazil and that Mohammedanism would in all probability die with them (*op. cit.*, pp. 93–94). Certain of the Malê ritual, however, has contributed to the general fusion so characteristic of present-day *candomblés*, and at least three Malê centers are still functioning. [178] [795]

[3] Also of Yoruba identification is Lingua da Vaca ("Cow's Tongue"), which was organised by Negroes of Ige-shá and Egbá origin.

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[302] Three of the dancers are *yaués*, in process of being "made."
Their heads have been shaved clean, and white spots and
[301] blue lines have been painted upon them. On their cheeks
are white spots and white lines. Around the neck, or over
the right shoulder and under the left arm, are long chains
of large cowries imported from the West Coast.

794 In a special building with a cement floor is "the throne
346 room of Xangô." At one side is an altar to him, which is lav-
353 ishly decorated with candles and flowers, both fresh and
• 177 artificial. Indicating the fusion of Catholic and fetish ele-
776 ments, one notes on the lower step an image of Santo An-
tonio, on the second, one of Nossa Senhora das Candeias, on
the third, an image of the twins, Cosme and Damião, and,
on the top level, one of São Jeronimo. The *mãe de santo* says
that Santo Antonio is "just another name" for Ogun; as
similarly is Nossa Senhora das Candeias, for the water deity,
Oxun; Cosme and Damião, for Beji; and São Jeronimo, for
Xangô.

794 On the other side of the room is "the throne of Xangô," a
346 wooden chair, intricately carved, with a pillow for a head-
[352] rest. Suspended on the walls are pictures of several Catholic
saints.

[353] In the center of an adjoining room is "the spring of the
mãe d'agua," a huge basin built of cement and containing ten
to twelve inches of water. On the wall is the Nagô inscrip-
tion, "Ilé Awon Afonjá" ("House of Xangô").

794 The leader of another *seita* is a male black, known as Pae
793 Procopio, sixty-six years of age, of Gêge descent, whose
159 father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, he proudly
boasts, were all Africans and *paes de santo*. His mother's sis-
ter was also "an *Africano*," but his mother was a Brazilian-
born black, a *mãe de santo* who "deixou o cargo" (i.e., left the

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there is little distinction between them. The *pae de santo* of a prominent Congo *seita* recently remarked, "I do everything (i.e., I carry on all cult rituals and ceremonies) in the name of the church."[16]

On the fiftieth anniversary of the death of the father of a well-known and widely respected *babalaô*, a special commemorative Mass was arranged in one of the city's principal churches. During the ceremony, a circle of friars who were standing with lighted candles about the bier was joined by an outer circle of Negro men, each bearing a funeral torch. Although the friars were probably unaware of the fact, the blacks were all *ogans* from the *candomblé* of *mãe de santo* Anninha. In the audience were more than a hundred important personages from the fetish world, including *babalaôs*, *paes* and *mães de santo*, *ogans*, and *filhas*. Said the *babalaô* whose father was being thus honored, "Last night at the *terreiro* we danced all night the African funeral dances for my father."

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In the minds of cult members several of the more important African *orixás*, as we have seen, have come to be identified with certain Catholic saints. Thus, Ogun, the *orixá* of war, is now identified with Santo Antonio; Oxóssi, the *orixá* of the hunt, with São Jorge; Oxalá, who to most members of the *candomblé* is "the greatest of the *orixás*," with O Senhor do Bomfim, who is, among the lower classes at least, the most important Catholic saint at Bahia;[17]

[16] This point of view obviously is not that of the Catholic church itself.

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[17] In Bomfim Church, which, with two rows of royal palms dominating its approach, occupies majestically the crown of a hill in Itapagipe, is a special room whose walls and ceiling are completely covered with photographs or plaster casts of crippled or diseased limbs or other parts of the body which have been, it is thought, miraculously cured of disease or other infirmary by the direct intervention of the saint. So great is his reputation for healing that thousands of people from miles around visit this shrine every year.

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Omolú, the *orixá* of pestilence, with São Roque, or, in some cases, with São Bento; and Exú, with Satan. Of the *mães d'agua* (water deities), Yemanjá is confused in some cases with Nossa Senhora da Piedade (Our Lady of Compassion), and in others with Nossa Senhora do Rosario (Our Lady of the Rosary); Oxun, in some cases, with Nossa Senhora das Candeias and, in others, with Nossa Senhora da Conceição (Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception); Yansan, with Santa Barbara; and Nanan (Anamburucú, Nanamburucú), with Nossa Senhora de Sant'Ana. Beji, the twins, are identified with Cosme and Damião; Irôko (Rôko, Lôko), who is presumed to dwell in the *gameleira* tree, with Poverello (São Francisco) de Assis;[18] and Ifá, the *orixá* of divination, with Santissimo Sacramento (the Most Holy Sacrament). Even Xangô, the *orixá* of lightning and thunder, to whom Edison Carneiro refers as "indisputably the most African of all the *orixás* worshiped at Bahia,"[19] and who is still thought of by some blacks as being distinct from any Catholic saint, is worshiped in several of the most representative Gêge-Nagô *seitas* under the name of São Jeronimo and, occasionally, of Santa Barbara.

The conditions which favor fusion in this last-named case are not difficult to understand. In Portuguese folklore Santa Barbara is thought of as a protector against lightning, a conception which probably led very easily to the identification of Santa Barbara in the Negroes' minds with Xangô, who is, in the African tradition, "the *orixá* of the thunderbolts." Fusion in this case, as in others, would have been aided by the common conception that each African deity is both a protector and a destroyer; a kindly protector when offered

[18] Edison Carneiro, *Religiões negras* (Rio, 1936), p. 155.

[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 153–54.

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776 the proper ritual, and a vengeful destroyer if rites and taboos
•177 are ignored.

Although this fusion is proceeding rapidly, it is still far from complete. A number of Gêge-Nagô and Congo-Angola *orixás*, and at least thirty *caboclo* deities, have not yet been in any way identified with Catholic equivalents.

794 Occasionally, the critical attitude of members of the fetish
177 world toward unorthodox practices in other *seitas* extends
797 also to the incorporation of Catholic ritual, ideas, and sentiments into fetish practice and belief. A *babalaô* and *feiticeiro*, born in Africa of repatriated Brazilian slaves, recently remarked, "These Bahian *candomblés* aren't African any more. Why, they all go to Mass, pray the rosary, and burn candles to the saints! It's all mixed up now."

539 The following story illustrates the fusion of European
177 and African traditions. Related recently by a local black, it recounts some of the experiences of Obaluaiê (Abaláu-aiê) and Omolú, known also in Bahia as Xapanan (Xapanã), and is obviously confused with the biblical stories of the Prodigal Son and of Lazarus. It also refers to a European city.

XAPANÃ, FATHER AND SON

Xapanã was fifteen years old when his parents sent him out into the world to see what life was like. After he had walked a long way, he came to a city called Venice, where he went about looking for work. But no one offered him anything, and finally, becoming very hungry, he began to go up to houses and beg for something to eat. But everywhere he asked he was turned away.

Sad and disillusioned, Xapanã continued on his way. At last he came to a forest, where he remained for some time, living on fruits and insects.

When Xapanã was nineteen years of age, he began to think of returning to his father's house and at last made himself ready and set out on the way. Xapanã walked and walked, until one day just as

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night was falling, he, all covered with sores and bruises, began to approach his father's house.

But his father, who saw the traveler coming a long way off, did not recognize him and consequently did not go out to meet him. Xapanã's mother, however, knew her son and in pity at his misfortune, begged and pleaded with her husband to have compassion for him and to receive him like the legitimate son he was.

But the old man turned to her and said:

"This fellow is not my son, because I never had a son who was full of sores."

But, at last, due to the continued pleadings of his wife, the ancient one inquired of the traveler what his name was. Xapanã replied:

"I am called Lazarus."

"Who is Lazarus?" asked the father.

Then Xapanã said: "I am he whom God permitted to use this name."

But the old man persisted in knowing the reason why, if he was Xapanã, he was using the name of Lazarus.

The son turned to his father and replied very quietly:

"I am Xapanã, the lord over pestilence throughout the whole world." And he sang in Queito:

"I say "Guedé,"
I am Obaluaiê,
I call out "Guedé,"
I am Obaluaiê,
Tôtô."

The old man Omolú then replied:

"Ojé badô
Dô lá."

And the young man sang:

"Ojé di apá."

In this way the two came to know each other, and Xapanã "the Elder" recognized Xapanã "the Younger."

A few whites, even from the upper classes, visit the *pae de santo* to obtain advice on business, politics, and other matters or aid in the cure and prevention of disease. Numerous

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As a Bahian white said, "When a black man puts on a tie and shoes and learns to read and write, he loses interest in the *candomblé*. There are really two civilizations at Bahia, ours and the African. When a black begins seriously to take on our customs, he seldom spends any more time at *candomblés*." A prominent mulatto educator remarked, "I've never been to a fetish cult. I have no interest in them." A Negro laborer admitted that he used to go to such ceremonies, "but no more; I've given all that up now." The young nephew of a prominent *babalaô* said, "All this low stuff ought to be done away with. It's a sign of a very backward people. It has even disappeared in Africa. The English came into Lagos and brought modern civilization. Only in Bahia do these old customs hang on."

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Indicative of the disintegrating state of the fetish world is the continuous and, at times, acute jealousy among the leaders and members of its more orthodox centers. In a given *seita* one hears much critical gossip regarding the practices of some other center. It is accused of forsaking the "true" African tradition and of inadequately interpreting mystical experiences. As the number of *Africanos* decreases, competition between the *seitas* for their allegiance is naturally increasing.

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Among the Negroes who still identify themselves with the cult, the past tends to be romanticized, and the prestige of the "old Africans," like Bambuxê, Adeta, Iyalode Erelu, and others, to be constantly enhanced. Similarly, the prestige of the older cult figures who are still living—the *babalaô* Martiniano, *mãe de santo* Anninha,[11] and the aged Maria Bádá,

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[11] Since this was written, *mãe de santo* Anninha has died. Of her funeral, the *Estado da Bahia* (January 5, 1938) said: "The crowd of people who accompanied the body to Quinta dos Lazaros Cemetery was one of the largest ever seen in Bahia and recalls the funeral for Pae Adão in Recife. More than

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829 whom practiced a liberal profession and were graduates of the
*563 University of Bahia, to classify according to their type the per-
125 sons carried on the list of physicians and pharmacists registered at
565 the Ministry of Public Health, representatives of the State and
/16/ federal representatives, university professors, members of the local academy of letters, and other associations of the city, there too the term moreno was most often used to designate the métis. Those who used the expression "mulatto" were rare. As
• [177] a result of the influence exerted by North American films, one
[192] sometimes hears mention of "colored" /quoted in English/; a local journal described a politician of Bahia with this term, and a woman questioned by us acknowledged being "colored" /quoted in English/.

829 In a recent book a writer of the city sums up the semantic
*563 problems in relation to the characterization of local types in
192 this way: "A light Black is called mulatto, the light mulatto is a moreno, a blond becomes a sarará. As for pardo, no one knows what that is. White fino is said of those persons whose origin and appearance do not show this "margin" thanks to which one infallibly recognizes crossbreeding. And those who are whites of mixed blood do not like to show the portraits of their ancestors" (1).

[113] 1. J. Valadares, Beabá da Bahia /ABC's of Bahia/ 1951, p. 91.

829 The foreigners, who are relatively limited in number in the
*563 city, are easily distinguished by the majority of people. A European with strange manners, speaking Portuguese with great difficulty, or expressing himself in another language, is simply considered a "foreigner," particularly if he has a light and pink skin, blue eyes, and fine, blond hair. A Brazilian showing these characteristics is accused of being a "foreigner type" or a "German
829 type." Foreigners may also be called gringos, whatever their
*563 physical characteristics may be. The Spaniards, who are very
[192] numerous in the grocery business, are sometimes called the "gringos of the grocery business." The Russian, Polish, and

[SALVADOR]

/19 cont./

[798] [621] social cohesion of the community (1).

[162] [795] 1. In 1940 the population of the city and of the municipality was made up of 97.49 o/o Roman Apostolic Catholics; 1.11 o/o Protestants; 0.26 o/o Israelites; 0.62 o/o spiritualists, etc.

[797] The Catholic majority views with an evil eye the activities of foreign Protestant missionaries and condemns particularly the "disloyal methods employed by some of them" and their way of distorting the Church. Protestantism is fought in the pulpit as heresy, but never the Protestants as persons having different characteristics and toward whom one vows hostility. The antagonism between Catholics, Protestants, and Presbyterians is also [871] [177] placed on the purely doctrinal plane; the institutions of learning maintained by Baptists and Presbyterians are attended by Catholic students and enjoy prestige because of their "American methods."

794 798 As for the candomblés, sanctuaries devoted to the cults of African origin, the current feeling is that these rites are so many barbaric survivals that ought to be done away with, for they are a matter of shame before foreigners and tourists. In a commentary on tourism, a local journal proposes that the visit to candomblés be omitted from excursion programs, "because there can be no propaganda more negative for this Brazilian city four times a hundred years old, which has so many other interesting things to show." These cults, despite everything, enjoy relative freedom and function by virtue of police authorization. They have sometimes been prohibited and their devotees violently dispersed by police forces. Among the Blacks there are many who share the opinions of the Whites on the subject of these rites.

666 665 578 Only the rivalry between political parties provokes real tension during the election campaigns. This tension is particularly intense in the controversies in the interior of the State; it never expresses itself other than verbally; individual cases of aggression or actual conflicts between groups belonging to different political parties have become extremely rare. The ethnocentric feelings [829] of the Bahians reached great vehemence several years ago when the majority of the electors refused to elect as governor of the State a candidate who was not "born in Bahia."

[SALVADOR]

175 /22 cont./
829 The generally gentle and humane treatment that the owners re-
567 served for their slaves and the efforts made by the Catholic
182 clergy, from the beginning of the slave trade, to try to incorpo-
797 rate the /23/ Africans into the Catholic religion played an im-
portant role in the establishment of good relations between races
175 in Bahia as throughout Brazil. Contrary to what occurred in the
171 other colonial nations, where the aborigines and the imported
829 slaves were kept in a state of segregation, like unassimilable
567 "savages," in Brazil the natives and the Blacks were baptized,
797 catechized, and admitted into the Church as men. Thus, numer-
ous slaves, baptized Negroes, were no longer considered "beasts"
and became "Christians," with the same title as the European
colonists, having to endure neither hostility nor religious dis-
175 crimination. They were taught the Christian doctrine, and the
797 preachers endeavored to speak to them in their languages, chiefly
198 in nagô, which had become a sort of lingua franca in which the
567 Africans of different origins were able to understand one another.
175 They intermarried; their marriage having been consecrated
567 by the Church, this protected them when their masters intended
79 to separate the spouses or sell one of the partners; they received
[585] the sacraments; they acted as witnesses in religious proceedings
[564] and participated as acolytes in religious ceremonies; they
marched in the processions, carrying the standards and emblems
of their brotherhoods; they were buried in the Christian cemeteries, the owners of slaves being obliged to call the priest in time to assist the dying. No one pretends by that to claim that their lives were free from suffering or that the Negroes were thus completely integrated in Catholicism. The clergy, the owners, and the civil authorities always allowed them some freedom concerning certain proceedings of their pagan cults and never forced them to embrace the official religion. They likewise permitted them to amuse themselves in their way by dances, songs, ceremonies (batuques), banquets in the manner of those of their countries of
[177] origin. From that comes this Catholicism somewhat mixed with
[171] fetishist beliefs and practices that constitutes the religion of a large part of the colored people of Bahia (1).

[113] 1. Roger Bastide, "Religion and the Church in

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

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For four centuries the agricultural development of Brazil has been characterized by a series of speculative phases, each focused on a single product, each centered upon a single region of Brazil. The first commercial product was sugar, the first region was the Recôncavo of Bahia. The agricultural society founded on the shore of the Baía de Todos os Santos in the mid-sixteenth century has persisted with an almost unbroken continuity for over four hundred years. It is with the geography of this agricultural society that the present study is concerned.

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B BB 433

After sugar had ceased to bring a quick profit, the Brazilian center of effort shifted to other areas where economies of cotton, orange, rice, cacao, and many lesser products opened the land and drew the ambitious and the desperate from the older settlements. Intermeshed with these phases of agricultural development were booms in the exploitative industries--in the mining of gold and diamonds and in the gathering of rubber. So characteristic have been these speculative convulsions, each followed by a shift to a new region, that they might almost seem to be the whole of Brazilian history and Brazilian reality--the nation might have been practicing a system of shifting cultivation on an immense scale with not only fields but whole regions abandoned as the yield declined. Yet this is not the case, for in each of these regions men remain and crops persist. The Recôncavo, long past its triumph, has a present day population of one million people, many of whom are still cultivating the original speculative crop, sugar cane. The Recôncavo is not unique in this respect, for coastal Pernambuco, eastern

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Rio de Janeiro, the Paraíba Valley, and the older coffee areas of eastern São Paulo still contain enduring settlements and cultivated fields. If the speculative development of the nation continues, more and more of the Brazilian landscape will be occupied by these "passive" regions. Such areas have considerable significance as individual sections of Brazilian land and society, and they also provide an opportunity to examine some of the stable and traditional institutions which are concealed in the frenzy of the agricultural booms. It is reasonable to suppose that in these regions the hard core of Brazilian agricultural life is preserved. Here are maintained the values and systems which will not be surrendered.

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As a consequence of the localization of the speculative developments, most of the settlements of Brazil are demographically detached and culturally and economically distinctive regions. Frequently these regions compose the effectively settled cores of individual states. Usually they have a single pre-eminent city in which are centralized not only political and social activities but also the organization of commercial agriculture--capital, marketing, processing, and foreign trade. Such central cities include São Paulo, Curitiba (in Paraná), Recife (in Pernambuco), and Salvador (in Bahia). Such is the regional diversity that one may wonder if it is possible to speak of a Brazilian national culture or of a characteristic Brazilian agricultural pattern. Yet, "throughout Brazil, the people share in one basic culture pattern . . . The different regions present specialized versions of the national culture," the anthropologists have decided.[1] The existence of common agricultural patterns is implicit in the generalizations made about "Brazilian agriculture" by the agricultural specialists, geographers, sociologists, and economists.

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The pattern of national agricultural characteristics is given explicit form by Spiegel in The Brazilian Economy.[2] He speaks of the exploitive character of the land rotation system, the dominance of the latifundio system of land holding, of private, corporate, and absentee ownership with extensive tenancy. Rents are relatively high, the status of agricultural labor low. Technology is backward, and the system of marketing is speculative. Most of these same characterizations appear in the appraisal of Brazilian agricultural development which Preston James has made in Economic Growth: Brazil, India, Japan.[3]

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Brazil is a huge country, like India almost a sub-continent. The investigation of its agricultural economy on an intensive scale and in all its aspects is an overwhelming task. For the individual investigator working alone and with a limited time, it seems impossible. One approach is to study the economy in one of its variant regional expressions, a method which seems particularly appropriate on account of the pronounced regionalization of Brazilian agriculture. In particular, the investigation of a "passive" region in which the underlying national patterns are present in a relatively intensified and permanent form should give insight into the basal characteristics of Brazilian agricultural life. Such a region is the Recôncavo of Bahia.

BB 249 175 178

The special place of the Recôncavo in Brazilian agriculture is the result of two historical factors: (1) Many of the agricultural institutions and attributes which evolved in the Recôncavo and in the other sugar cane economies during the colonial period have spread to the rest of the nation, partly through migration and partly through cultural diffusion. The characteristic figure of the sugar cane economy was the fazendéiro (the planter). "With the change in the structure of the fazenda [plantation] the fazendeiro was regenerated in a series of new types," Normano has said, and points to the fazendéiro background

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 178 of the Paulista,[4] the aggressive business man and agricultural capitalist of São Paulo state. (2) The departure of the more adventurous elements from the sugar economy and the transference of the center of economic development from the Recôncavo have allowed the region to maintain its traditional practices and values and to preserve the colonial background of Brazilian agriculture. Although no single area can typify the entire constellation of the Brazilian agricultural regions, the Recôncavo does seem to epitomize the characteristics which underlie their diversity. It is in a sense a microcosm in which many of the agricultural problems which beset Brazil are isolated in their acute phases.

241 171 The Recôncavo does not, of course, reflect every aspect of agricultural life which may be found in Brazil. Not all the various crops are cultivated in the Recôncavo, although most of the important Brazilian crops are grown to some extent. There is no mixed agriculture such as is found in Rio Grande do Sul, nor are there vast pastoral enterprises like those of Mato Grosso or the remote Northeastern interior. There are few peasant proprietors such as are found in São Paulo. Its pattern of regional organization is not a duplicate of that of any other Brazilian region. In all, however, most of the characteristics of Brazilian agriculture and especially the systems of cultivation and the pattern of agricultural institutions are present 241 121 in the Recôncavo microcosm. This region has several special advantages as the subject of a regional investigation of agricultural phenomena. It is small enough so that it can be studied thoroughly and in a limited period of time. It is large enough to have a diverse internal organization and conflicts of interest which can be analyzed. It is relatively detached so that the gross regional pattern is undisturbed by overlapping and is easy to observe.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

CHAPTER III

EVOLUTION OF THE RECÔNCAVO

175 Introduction. The first permanent colony on the Baía de Todos os Santos was established by the Portuguese in 1549.[1] This colony, at the city of Salvador, was the nucleus of settlement in the Recôncavo. The Recôncavo was thus one of the early European colonies in the New World.[2] The first Portuguese colonists came to seek their fortunes in the exploitation of the land. The ethos of the Recôncavo economy in the four centuries since its founding has remained fairly constant: the realization of the greatest agricultural profits with the least capital investment, the minimum conservation of land and labor, and the most grudging adjustments to changes in technology, markets, and the social and political order. Most of the million descendants of Portuguese colonists and Negro slaves who live in the Recôncavo today are imbued with the orthodox values of the exploitative agricultural society established here in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Shifts in markets and in the relative importance of commercial products have not been accompanied by equivalent changes in the speculative and exploitative orientation of the society. In the initial period a market for Recôncavo agricultural products was assured because it had a virtual monopoly. The development of alternative and competitive sources for these products broke this monopoly and caused a continuous increase in the speculative character of agriculture in the Recôncavo. This area did not respond to the increased risk by diversifying its agricultural base but persisted in the same crops and the same methods of cultivation. Such change as did take place was in the form of reluctant, tardy, and minimal adjustments so that in many ways the

175 178 181 433 241 433 241 178 [181]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

433 241 178 Recôncavo remains today a backward and traditional agricultural society.

However, not all elements in Recôncavo life are static. In the field one was incessantly conscious both of the gradual course of change in this region and of the latent instability of its economic organization. Particularly in the last 75 years the agricultural economy of the Recôncavo has begun to shift--it is apparently in the throes of a drastic economic reorganization. It remains to be seen whether the traditional values will survive this economic revolution. [128] The brief historical discussion to follow is not intended as a substitute for a full-scale historical reconstruction. Its purpose is to indicate the major patterns in the evolution of the Recôncavo.

175 <u>The Evolution of Colonial Agricultural Institutions</u>. By the end of the initial half century of settlement (1600) those ethnic groups, crops, animals, and agricultural institutions which were to [567] become characteristic of the Recôncavo were already in evidence. Negro [249] slaves were brought in on the heels of the first Portuguese settlers,[3] [231] and sugar cane and cattle were also introduced at this time.[4] Tobacco [244] and manioc, produced by the Indians indigenous to the northeast of [249] [177] Brazil, were rapidly integrated into the colonial agriculture of the [249] Recôncavo.[5] The combined sugar mill and plantation (<u>engenho</u>), which [471] was the basic economic institution of the Recôncavo until the end of the nineteenth century, already existed in rudimentary form before 1600.[6]

175 249 [244] From the beginning the new colony in the Recôncavo had three important crops--sugar cane, tobacco, and manioc. It was the cultivation of sugar which the Portuguese crown and the initial settlers had

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

162 compose most of the population of the Recôncavo today. In 1940 the
563 population of the Centro-Litoral of Bahia--the census area most closely corresponding to the Recôncavo--had the following composition: white, 22 per cent; black, 29 per cent; and others, predominately mulatto, 49 per cent.[12]

The purchase of large quantities of slaves required the produc-
175 439 tion of a commodity which could be used as exchange in Africa. The
567 indigenous tobacco proved eminently suitable for this purpose. Although
436 276 rum apparently was used also in this trade, tobacco became the essential
[273] source of exchange for the slave traffic.[13] Bahia was the main area of
[249] tobacco production, and probably most of this production was localized in the Recôncavo.[14]

175 The initial period of settlement saw also the incorporation of
244 manioc[15] into the agricultural economy as a staple. Like tobacco, it
433 was an indigenous crop. Thus one indigenous crop was adopted to
[567] purchase slaves in Africa and another to feed them in Brazil. By 1587 manioc apparently was being cultivated on a moderate scale in Bahia.[16] A recurring theme in the history of the Recôncavo is the shortage of this essential foodstuff.

In addition to the principal crops--sugar, tobacco, and
241 262 manioc--a number of lesser agricultural products were important in the
175 433 early history of the Recôncavo. Corn, beans, and bananas were grown on a small scale and used to supplement the manioc diet. Other diversi-
231 fications of the diet were provided by meat and fish. Cattle were maintained to draw the ox carts and to power many of the cane mills. For lighter tasks asses and mules were used.

178 Out of this complex of Portuguese settlers and Negro slaves, of
249 old world and new world crops, there developed certain characteristic
433 agricultural enterprises. The engenho--old world in the origin of its

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

178 crop, technology, and market—was the most important of these enter-
249 prises. The sugar industry flourished in its new world setting and
433 developed from the beginning an institutional character different from that of the old world, particularly in terms of land holding, labor, and the organization of production.

175 The regime of possession of the land was that of completely
423 alodial properties. Among the powers of the donatários of
249 the capitania was, as we have seen, that of disposing of
471 the land, which they distributed among the colonists. The grants were as a rule very large, the lots measuring many leagues. This is understandable: the lands were abundant, and the ambitions of these pioneers, recruited at such a cost, were evidently not contented with small properties; it was not the position of modest peasants to which they aspired in the new world but as great senhores [gentlemen] and latifundiários [landowners]. In addition to this and more important, there was a material factor which determined the type of property established. The culture of cane is practical, economically, only on a large scale. Merely conveniently to clear and prepare the lands (a costly task in this tropical and virgin setting so hostile to man) made necessary the united energy of many workers: it was not an enterprise for small and isolated proprietors. This done, the planting, the harvesting, and the transportation of the cane to the engenhos where it was made into sugar was only profitable when done in large volume. In these conditions the small producer could not exist.

It was above all these circumstances which determined the type of agricultural enterprise adopted in Brazil: the large property.[17]

175 The latifundia established by these colonists ideally were
241 self-sustaining units producing food and sometimes clothing for the
471 entire engenho community—free and slave. In fact, however, they often
433 seem to have neglected food production for the cultivation of the universal commercial product—sugar cane. From the beginning of colonization a succession of regulations and decrees were issued to compel the cultivation of manioc. Recurrent food shortages suggest that these measures were not effective in the face of the "monocultural mentality" of the senhores de engenho (sugar plantation owners). In

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 433 178 In contemporary Bahia chronic shortages of staple foods, particularly manioc, are characteristic of the zones of commercial agriculture.

175 249 [492] The equipment and technology of the engenhos was primitive. The cane was transported on the backs of mules or on ox carts to the mill where it was crushed in a crude press sometimes turned by water power but usually by animal- or even man-power. The cane juice was evaporated in large iron caldrons which were heated by fire made from wood. This type of processing was in general use in the Recôncavo for several centuries and still persists in some areas of the extra-Recôncavo backlands. [464] [567] The engenhos were operated almost exclusively with slave labor. Most of the slaves of Bahia are thought to have come from the Guinea Coast of Africa. [177] These "Mina" Negroes[18] had a relatively sophisticated cultural inheritance from Africa and undoubtedly made substantial contributions to the cultural development of Bahia.[19]

175 249 464 567 The Negroes were introduced when Indian slaves failed to provide the necessary labor supply, but they were rarely available in sufficient numbers and at a low enough cost to prevent chronic labor shortages. Falta de braços (literally, lack of arms) has been a perennial concern in the Recôncavo no less than elsewhere in Brasil. [162] The importation of hundreds of thousands of Negroes into Brazil--of which certainly a considerable number were settled in the Recôncavo--did not solve the problem.[20] In the early period most engenhos had from about 80 to 100 slaves, but by the eighteenth century some had as many as 1,000.[21]

175 563 567 From the beginning of settlement there was extensive miscegnation. The Portuguese settlers were predominately male, and they bred on a large scale with both Indian and Negro slave women. Some of the mestizo and mulatto children--chiefly the latter in the Recôncavo--retained the slave status of their mothers. Others were freed and sometimes occupied favored positions in their fathers' households.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 648 the Recôncavo, for they took with them a newly acquired knowledge of sugar cane cultivation.

175 167 569 The eighteenth century opened with a series of disasters for the region. When word of gold discoveries in Minas Gerais (1704) reached Bahia, an exodus began.[25] Slaves were sold at exorbitant prices, and often masters and slaves together went off to the mines. The colonial authorities took drastic steps to halt the flight, but [731] to no avail. The first quarter of the century ended with floods in the Recôncavo and the discovery of diamonds in the interior. There was a second exodus.[26]

175 171 249 In the meantime there were momentous developments in the West Indies. Sugar cane cultivation spread rapidly in the Antilles as the Netherlands and other northwestern European states which had been lucrative markets for Brazilian sugar began their own production in their respective West Indian colonies. In addition to the protected markets which the mother countries afforded, these new centers enjoyed sound economic and geographical advantages. As newcomers to the field of sugar production, the Antilles were free of both the antiquated equipment and the backward techniques which burdened Brazil, and they were closer to the major European markets.[27]

175 178 185 249 The Recôncavo was unable to counter these West Indian developments. In a century and a half of commercial development there had been few improvements in agricultural or industrial methods. There was no conservation of the soil. Only one variety of cane was known, and there was no attempt to develop improved strains. The mills continued to burn expensive wood rather than to use bagasse. Antique, low-yielding crushing mills continued to be used for extraction.[28]

175 249 178 439 At the end of the eighteenth century, however, developments abroad restored to the Recôncavo and to Brazil many of the advantages which it had formerly held in the international market. This

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 inaugurated a brief "golden age" in the evolution of the Recôncavo.
198 The mythology which this age engendered is an integral part of the
249 social and economic patterns in the present day Recôncavo. The
439 collapse of the sugar economy in the West Indies, particularly in Santo Domingo in 1792, and the expanding urban markets in Europe had given, for a moment, a great opportunity to the sugar industry of Northeast Brazil. Moreover, an important supplementary market had developed in the mining areas of Minas Gerais. In the subsequent economic expansion to supply these markets, the Recôncavo became an even more important center of sugar production in Brazil.

175 The landed proprietors of the Recôncavo apparently took this
249 resurgence as a vindication of their economic system.
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567
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> They squandered money like the fidalgos [landed, slave-holding aristocrats] that they were. They installed sumptuous dwellings and lived the life of a nobility. Each sugar factory was a community where hundreds of slaves were dedicated to extraction of wealth from the soil. Each of these communities achieved a merited importance. A little Agricultural World gyrated around the Big House, and the Chapel, with its Holy Administrator, [was] dedicated to the dissemination of Catholicism in the community. In time many of these "Engenhos" developed into villas, and were succeeded by the cities of today.
>
> Each of these "Engenhos," as these agricultural communities were called, produced everything that they consumed except luxury, and this was imported from Portugal in exchange for sugar, high-grade tobacco, cotton, and rare cabinet woods. The "Senhor" of the
[466] Engenho was a veritable Feudal Baron, with the power of life and death over his black and mestizo slaves. He exercised the right of torture and flogging in proportion to the offenses committed. These sugar Engenhos,
175 because of their collective and independent existence,
249 produced a pride of origin, an attachment to the soil,
471 that flowered into a hatred of the monarchial exploiters
565 and became the dominating factor in the movement for
[668] independence.
>
> The fidalgos were essentially a product of the land, and spent the major part of their luxurious existence on their estates, attended by innumerable slaves. Their homes were built upon a vast scale and equipped with every luxury known to so simple a people. They also

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 249 565 [471] maintained splendid establishments, called Solars, in the Capital, to which they repaired in the winter season, June, July and August, for social diversion.[29]

[178] The above citation is characteristic of the present-day views of many upper-class Baianos who identify themselves with this opulent era of the Recôncavo social evolution. The mythology engendered by the colonial sugar industry is outliving the engenho system. The wealth, pride, and ostentation of these fidalgos is undeniable. Within the limits of the provincial social environment, upper-class life was luxurious indeed. Compared with the upper-class society of the period in Europe or in the American South, however, social opportunities in the Recôncavo must have been rather limited. The casas [342] grandes—if the surviving specimens can be taken as typical—generally [489] were rather modest plantation houses. Transportation was difficult: few engenhos had carriage roads, and travel was by horseback or [671] palanquin. Social intercourse often was restricted to an ingrown [484] local circle. Apparently many of the social needs of the upper class could not be met within the rural Recôncavo so that trips were made frequently to Salvador, Rio de Janeiro, and sometimes Paris.[30]

Little has been recorded of the way of life of the slaves and 175 249 567 poor freemen in the Recôncavo. It is significant that both apologists and critics of slavery usually have agreed that the masters were relatively clement in the treatment of their slave laborers. These slaves were very valuable possessions, particularly after the British began to suppress the slave trade. Because absentee ownership and delegation of administration to people outside the family was not usual, the masters and slaves were perforce in daily contact. Out of these daily contacts between landholder and laborer, a relatively personal relationship was developed. Within the household, relation- [563] ships were even more familiar. In addition, some of the slaves were

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 45 per cent of the total investment was in slaves--labor costs, always
249 high, had been driven up by the suppression of the slave trade. The
471 relatively small proportion of steam mills is at once a reflection of
454 the continuing primitive technology and a sign of the improvements
which were to come later in the century. The value of production for
[433] this year was $1,213,000--a return of 6.6 per cent on the capital
investment.[35]

175 While the attention of the Baiano was focused on the sugar
249 industry during this golden age, tobacco unobtrusively was becoming
178 a primary commercial product. The suppression of the slave trade
439 deprived tobacco of its African market, but at the same time the
European market was expanding. The spread of cigar smoking in Europe
created an increasing demand for Bahian leaf. Ultimately the European
demand for quality leaf and the development of a Brazilian market for
the poorer grades were to carry tobacco to the leading position among
Bahia's commercial products.

175 To a very large degree, the mold of the colonial Recôncavo was
433 fixed in the sixteenth century. Its socio-economic system was nurtured
249 by the prosperous semi-monopoly of sugar production. While the south
[565] of Brazil was a raw frontier zone of migratory agricultural adventurers,
the Paulistas (natives of São Paulo) of early colonial times,[36] a stable
and wealthy aristocratic society was developing in the Recôncavo. In
[477] the early eighteenth century, when West Indies competition undermined
the sugar monopoly, the Recôncavo might have responded creatively to
the challenge, but failed to do so. The simultaneous mineral boom in
Minas Gerais drained away the more experimental elements and left
behind those who were less adventurous. Yet before the denial of
markets had disrupted entirely the old economic and cultural pattern,
the late eighteenth-early nineteenth century resurgence reaffirmed

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Brazil SL1

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The world-wide expansion of sugar cane production, the development of the sugar beet, and the improvement of sugar technology had changed sugar from an expensive luxury to a relatively cheap semi-necessity. The sugar industry of the Recôncavo always had been based upon the production of small quantities of a high-value product. Only with great reluctance and considerable difficulty could it convert itself to cheap mass production.

B 175 178 433 439

The Brazilian industry as a whole was unable to compete effectively in the international mass market. Brazilian exports in the early twentieth century dropped to one-half, even one-third of the nineteenth century level. At the London Conference in 1937, Brazil could claim as her quota only 1.6 per cent of the total international sugar trade.

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The Brazilian industry maintained itself behind a tariff wall. The more efficient and strategically located sugar areas of Campos (Rio de Janeiro) and São Paulo had access to growing local markets in the expanding Central-South. But Bahia had no sizable local market, and distance limited its access to the main Brazilian markets. Moreover, it was an inefficient, high-cost producer. Under these circumstances it could not compete in a free-market situation.

B 175 257 178

For the sugar industry as a whole the difficulties of adjustment to the almost complete loss of foreign markets were increased by the necessity for sweeping technological reorganization.[40] Until the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Brazil's entire sugar

B [249]

production was manufactured in small and primitive engenhos which used the open pan method and produced dark, low-quality sugar. The development of the steam engine, vacuum pans, centrifuges, and filters had made possible a mill both larger and more efficient. Under the name of engenho central (central mill), the new industrial complex

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
East Brazil SN1
Northeast Brazil SO1
Brazil SL1

B 175 257 178 BB [178] was introduced in Brazil after 1870.[41] As might be expected, the more progressive Central-South led in the modernization of the industry. The Northeast, and especially Bahia, lagged behind--further evidence of Bahia's resistance to change.

BB 175 249 257 471 178 The technological revolution had two historical stages: (1) engenhos centrais, and (2) usinas,[42] both of which still are clearly identifyable in Bahia (as is their predecessor, the engenho stage). In the engenho central stage the mills purchased cane from fornecedores (suppliers). These suppliers were old engenho properties which no longer operated a mill. The resistance of the fornecedores to a strict scheduling of delivery and price soon caused dissatisfaction among the mill owners. They began to buy out the fornecedores and go into direct production of cane.[43] The source of cane is the basic distinction between the engenho central system and the usina system. Once the central mill grew most of its own cane, it became an usina and entered the second phase of the technological revolution. The sugar industry in the present-day Recôncavo is characterized by both systems. In practice the systems employed by the various sugar mills tend to include features characteristic of both types, and there is no stereotype. The existing systems in Bahia are distinct from FB [249] [257] those of the Central-South, where the usinas have largely replaced the engenhos centrais.

NB BB 175 178 249 257 471 In the twentieth century, as in the nineteenth, the Recôncavo persisted in its monoculture and was reluctant to accept technological innovations in agriculture and industry. This conservatism was typical of most of the Northeast, but in Pernambuco the industry began simultaneously to intensify its monoculture and to modernize its industrial plant, and this state ultimately became the largest sugar producing state of Brazil.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
East Brazil SN1
Northeast Brazil SO1
Brazil SL1

EB NB 175 249 257 B 175 654 249 257 B [647]

In the first quarter of the twentieth century this competition of the more efficient and centrally located sugar industry of the Central-South threatened to bankrupt the Northeast.[44] Because the nation feared that a collapse of the sugar economy in the Northeast would destroy the social and economic base of these states, steps were taken to stabilize the industry. In 1933 the Instituto do Açúcar e do Álcool (Institute of Sugar and Alcohol) was created as a semi-autonomous branch of the federal government. Its purpose was to stabilize prices, maintain an equilibrium of production through quotas, and to control foreign sale of sugar. The effect of this program has been to subsidize the less efficient industry of the Northeast at the expense of the industry of the Central-South.

NB EB 178 249 257 43

During World War II temporary disruption of the national production quota system allowed the Central-South to expand, an advance which it continued to maintain after the war. This expansion limited the markets available to the sugar industry of the Northeast.

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In Bahia the relative decline in sugar production, begun in the 1860's, continued steadily except for a break during and following World War I. In 1952 the mills of Bahia produced only 60,279 tons of (white) sugar of a total Brazilian production of 1,785,017 tons.[45]

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While the sugar industry of the Recôncavo was losing markets in the initial half of the twentieth century, the tobacco industry was able to maintain and in some cases even to expand its markets. Although the maximum level of export of Brazilian tobacco was reached in 1902 (50,000 tons), the decline thereafter was only moderate, and the export was stabilized, except for World War II, at about 30,000 tons, 80 per cent of which was from Bahia. In 1865

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the first cigarette factory in Bahia had been founded.[46] Small operators had produced cigars for some time, but by the beginning

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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BB 175 277 472 of the twentieth century there were four cigarette factories and twelve cigar factories in the Recôncavo.[47]

BB 647 249 654 656 As was characteristic for other products in Brazil, a semi-autonomous government organization was set up to stabilize the tobacco industry in Bahia--the Instituto Bahiano do Fumo (Bahian Institute of Tobacco). Founded in 1935, the Instituto attempts to stimulate the production and improvement of techniques and quality, supervise marketing through a grading system, set minimum prices, and control export of leaf tobacco. Although the Instituto has not succeeded in changing significantly the techniques of the tobacco industry, it has been reasonably successful in maintaining production and price.

BB 175 178 249 245 Just as Bahia had been displaced from its leading position within Brazil, so in turn was the Recôncavo displaced from its exalted position within the state. Tobacco replaced sugar as Bahia's leading commercial product in the nineteenth century, but forfeited its position to cacao in the twentieth century. The replacement of sugar by tobacco was primarily a shift within the Recôncavo, but the rise of cacao brought to the fore Bahia's southern coast. In one sense, however, the Recôncavo retained its old centrality--Salvador remains today the leading political and economic focus of the state, even for the cacao trade.

BB 433 249 BB 161 162 The continued importance of the Recôncavo in Bahia has been partially the result of the vested interests of the sugar and tobacco systems. In addition, the Recôncavo remains today the leading center of population in Bahia, despite its relative decline. In 1872 the Recôncavo had at least 450,000 out of a total state population of 1,379,616. Thereafter the position of the Recôncavo declined, so that by 1940 only one-fourth of the almost four million people of the state lived in this region. However, the compact population

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161 distribution and the vested political and economic interests of the
162 Recôncavo allowed it to continue as the dominant region of the state.

177 The Recôncavo has remained a conservative area in Brazil, and
178 within the state it seems to exert a strong traditional influence. On
433 a national scale, however, the traditional values which are preserved
249 in Bahian culture have been overridden by the aggressive dynamism of
565 São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. Moreover, the economic core of tradition
181 in the Recôncavo--the sugar-producing upper class--is being progressively infiltrated and dominated by the new economic interests of the Central-South. The effects of these new economic interests are manifest in the administrative and labor problems of the sugar industry in the present decade.[48] New economic groups also are coming to the fore in the tobacco industry.

The technological revolution in the sugar industry and the emergence of a new "progressive" upper class have weakened but not destroyed the traditional orientation of the Recôncavo. The cultural patterns which have so successfully resisted basic change for almost four centuries will not easily give way. However, the issues have been joined, and already the old technology, the old upper class, and the old inter-class social fabric have been profoundly disturbed. In the long run it seems inevitable that the cultural patterns of the Recôncavo will have to accommodate many new values.

177 Not all the new social forces are restricted to the upper
178 class. More and more new technology, such as the automobile, new
565 political and social institutions, such as labor unions, and new ideas
181 from the South, brought through newspapers, radios, and travelers, have affected the lives of the lower classes. While the access of this group to new ideas is more limited than that of the upper class,

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178 its vested interest in the traditional system is weaker. Thus on all
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181 social levels the old Recôncavo is being threatened.

For the present, however, tradition is a continuing and power-
178
181 ful force in agriculture and in the economic and social institutions
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433 which surround agriculture in the Recôncavo.

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128 orientation. This will be followed by a discussion of demography as a basis for the understanding of the agricultural economy.

181 The People of the Recôncavo - Introduction. The Recôncavo is the nucleus of a sub-culture which is a distinctive but integral part of the national culture of modern Brazil. Throughout Brazil the Baiano is characterized by a formality of behavior, an oratorical turn of speech, a sentimental attachment to the region of his birth, and a special accent which distinguishes him from the Mineiros, Paulistas, Gaúchos, or Pernambucanos of the other Brazilian regions.[4] These superficial distinctions seem to be a reflection of deep-seated differences in the culture and personality of the people who live in the Recôncavo and in the surrounding zone. On another level, the culture and personality of the people of the northeastern coast, including the inhabitants of the Recôncavo, is unlike that of the sertanejos (people of the arid northeastern interior—the Sertão).[5] Some of the culture and personality traits of the Recôncavo have a significant relationship to local agricultural phenomena.

178 181 241 567 The Baiano of today, as has been seen, is the product of several centuries of historical evolution along lines distinct from those of Central and Southern Brazil and to a lesser degree from those of the rest of the Northeast. A significant feature of the development of the Recôncavo was the social cohesiveness which derived in a large measure from the original strength and periodic re-enforcement of the slave labor latifundia system. Although this system was operative in other regions of Brazil, it was generally less highly organized, and its vestiges have had less impact on contemporary society. In the Recôncavo it remained the chief cohesive social force until the end of the nineteenth century, and cultural and economic survivals of the system remain in force today.

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Economic and social changes in Brazil during the last century have had two important effects upon the relative position of the Recôncavo: (1) This historic region, in common with much of the Northeast, has lagged behind the new economic and social centers of the Central-South--the Recôncavo has become, vis-a-vis Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and the southern states, an under-developed area. (2) Many new, usually externally originated, cultural elements have been rapidly accepted in the Recôncavo, whereas much of the conservative ideology of the society has remained essentially unchanged.

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Racial Characteristics. The Recôncavo is a region of heterogenous racial characteristics--in every município each of the three basic racial groups (white, black, and mixed) comprises at least 10 per cent of the population. These racial categories generally do not correspond to social groups, nor is the Recôncavo in any sense a plural society. In linage, in social and cultural interaction, and in the daily business of earning a living the various people of the region are closely linked.

During three centuries of slavery hundreds of thousands of Africans were brought into Bahia, and the Negro element in the population is still large. As a result of this and the more or less continuous miscegenation "Baia [Bahia] and Negroid characteristics are very closely associated in Brazilian thinking."[6] On the basis of the 1940 census, over 70 per cent of the people of the state of Bahia were Negroes or mixed bloods. Only one other Brazilian state--Amazonas--had a higher proportion, and the national average was only 36 per cent.[7] Within Bahia the proportion of non-whites was highest in the Centro-Litoral (east-central Bahia), which includes the Recôncavo. In 1940, 78 per cent of the people of this census division were Negroes or mixed bloods.[8]

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It is easy to over-emphasize the cultural differences between classes and between areas within the Recôncavo. It is possible to assemble an array of significant cultural differences on a class or areal basis, as has been done above. But underneath these differences there seems to exist an implicit and almost universally shared way of life. As far as most of the people are concerned, Recôncavo society is probably best viewed as a cultural continuum of great vertical range, in which extreme positions are occupied by the cosmopolitan upper class of Salvador and the more remote agricultural people of the lower class. The validity of the concept of the Recôncavo as a cultural region is recognized by the anthropologist who studies Recôncavo society and by Brazilians who characterize the man of the Recôncavo as a particular type. This Recôncavo continuum or sub-culture is a part of what Wagley has called the cultural region of the Northeastern Coast. Also included within this region are coastal Pernambuco, Alagoas, and Sergipe.[12] In turn, the Northeastern Coast is a part of the Brazilian cultural region.

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<u>The Family</u>. One of the basic social institutions which has strong historical roots in the Recôncavo, and in the other colonial sugar cane regions, is the Brazilian family. The most conspicuous survival of the colonial family is the present-day family stereotype of the aristocratic stratum of Recôncavo society.

> The large, aristocratic, patriarchal family always has been the most important of Brazil's social institutions. Rarely has this primary kinship group had to play a role secondary to that of the church, as so frequently has been true in Spanish-American countries; nor has its relative importance ever been seriously challenged by the school, as may be the case in a North-American community. In colonial times such a large, closely knit group of relatives, acknowledging allegiance to the oldest living male, possessing many slaves, and carrying on the aristocratic tradition at its best, was the chief instrument employed in the occupation of Brazil. This

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was in sharp contrast to the colonization of Spanish America where the conquistador and the priest were largely responsible for establishing the Spaniards as a ruling caste, and to the founding of the English colonies in North America where the community and the smaller, more equalitarian family were basic elements. As has been shown so well by Freyre's monumental work, the patriarchal form of social organization early obtained almost unlimited sway in Brazil. For centuries Portuguese America continued to be dominated by a few thousand casas grandes, seats of sugar engenhos and cattle fazendas, each of which was the fortress headquarters of a numerous clan. Even today there remains much of this feudal type of social organization, and this great family is the institution through which the white or near-white upper class maintains its control. Of course this patriarchal family has little in common with the equalitarian family of the United States and western Europe.[13]

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596 The colonial family is the idealized family of both the aristocratic upper class in Salvador and the sugar cane zone and of the local upper classes in the smaller cities. It also corresponds rather closely to the actual family structure of much of the upper class of the Recôncavo. The lower class families of the Recôncavo seem to have quite a different functional character and social significance.

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582 The Upper Class Family. Marriage, contracted almost exclusively from within the class group, has the important function of uniting the relatively small number of large extended families which compose the
594 upper class. The unit families, parents and children, of the Recôncavo
596 are relatively large, in conformation to the Brasilian stereotype of five children. This unit family is tightly enclosed in a net of relationships with the extended families of both husband and wife, and many social functions are centered within these larger groups.

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596 The upper class child is reared within a well-defined circle which includes the immediate family, the servants--who frequently have
861 a quasi-parental relationship to the children, like the legendary
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571 "mammy" of the United States South--and the more immediate members of the extended family.

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161 force of the 21 municípios—without regard to direction of change—was
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241 13 per cent.
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[634]

In general the area around Salvador and the northeastern and western margins of the Recôncavo gained in agricultural labor force (Map 19). The Central Recôncavo and areas in the north-central, eastern, and southwestern Recôncavo lost agriculturalists between 1940 and 1950. Some of the factors which produced these changes were local; others were identified with the Northeast or with Brazil as a whole.

The growth of cities in the Recôncavo is a manifestation of a nationwide phenomenon. The expanding urban centers create an increasing market for agricultural products which, because of the difficulty of transportation and the lack of food processing facilities, must be supplied primarily from local sources. These expanding markets attract discontented or displaced agriculturalists, who settle as close to the urban center as possible. There is a marked increase in the concentration of agricultural labor around Salvador, Feira de Santana, and Alagoinhas.

731 In 1950 and 1951 the urban trend and its agricultural con-
166 comitant was re-enforced by a specific Northeastern phenomenon—the
[369] flight from the drought (sêca) of the interior. Most of the refugees
[241] (flagelados) from the dry sertão settled along the periphery of the Recôncavo. Here, where they could remain close to their cherished sertão, much land was open for squatters. As indicated above, others settled around the urban centers of the Recôncavo caatinga zone—Feira de Santana and Alagoinhas.

241 Observations suggest that the greatest relative increases in
464 agricultural labor force from the sertão were in the municípios
178 bordering the Recôncavo on the west and north, where the "normal"
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agricultural population is small. However, refugees from the drought also found their way into most parts of the Recôncavo. Even in 1953 they were to be encountered as squatters in Muritiba, as cane field workers in Santo Amaro, and as porters in Salvador.

Refugees from secas usually have not become permanent additions to the labor force of the Recôncavo. The sertanejo of the Northeast is renowned in Brazil for his attachment to his terra (native soil), no matter how cruelly it treats him. Especially those migrants who settle as squatters on the margins of the Recôncavo seem only to wait for the renewal of the rains to return to the sertão. In 1953 migrants were still entering the Recôncavo along the Feira de Santana-Salvador highway, but others were boarding the train in Salvador and returning to the sertão. They had come from the sertão on foot or by begging rides on trucks, found jobs in the Recôncavo, saved a few cruzeiros, and were returning to their native terra. Some refugees remain in the Recôncavo, of course, but the number is proportionately very small.

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Several sections of the Recôncavo, notably the sugar cane zone, are losing rural population and agricultural labor at a serious rate. The municípios of Santo Amaro and São Francisco lost 6,400 agriculturalists between 1940 and 1950. The reduction in the number of agriculturalists in the sugar area is at least partially a symptom of the growing rationalization of labor under the big usinas, which increasingly dominate the sugar industry. The emigration from these areas is selective--the majority of the emigrants are young adults who leave to seek employment and broader opportunity elsewhere.

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Emigration within the Recôncavo is one current of the great tide of agricultural unrest ascribed to all of Brazil.

The rural Brazilian of the lower classes is notorious for his nomadic or migratory habits, for his lack of permanent attachment to the soil, for his tendency to

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241 [464] The skills of the 196,000 workers are an important agricultural resource in the Recôncavo. This resource can best be evaluated in terms of the prevailing agricultural systems: hoe and rudimentary plow agriculture. Hoe agriculture is universal in the Recôncavo, and in a society so thoroughly permeated with agricultural activity it is fair to assume that, except for some completely urbanized laborers in Salvador, all workers are familiar with the simple tools of this form of cultivation. Plow cultivation is more specialized; it is used [249] throughout the sugar cane zone but only in preparing the fields for planting. The seedstalks are covered with a hoe, and knives are used [407] for weeding and harvesting. Outside the sugar zone plows are rarely encountered.

[231] The domesticated animals which play a prominent role in cultivation in the Recôncavo are oxen, horses, mules, and donkeys, and the rudiments of their management are almost universally understood. The prominent crops of the Recôncavo are ubiquitous--manioc, corn, beans, sweet potatoes, peanuts, tobacco, sugar cane, bananas, and oranges are grown in all areas, and their cultivation under the prevailing agricultural system is common knowledge. There is little present need for agricultural labor specialized beyond this level.

241 178 It is clear that the introduction into the Recôncavo of new, radically different crops or techniques of cultivation would alter this [181] relatively favorable situation. The agricultural worker of the Recôncavo, like his counterpart in many other parts of the world, is inherently conservative. As in the past, he will continue to resist even minor changes, such as improved methods of seed selection in corn or improved curing of tobacco. More radical changes would probably be resisted more strongly. The problem of "selling" new ways of pro- [212] ducing agricultural products is difficult not only because of the

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241 178 212 satisfaction with traditional ways but also because the low level of literacy makes difficult even the presentation of new methods. The low level of literacy directly limits the media available for propagation of new ideas, and there is little consciousness of the existence of other methods in other areas. These factors restrict the intellectual horizon and reduce the tolerance for change.

241 407 As yet, mechanized agriculture is almost unknown--there are probably less than fifty tractors in the entire Recôncavo. Agricultural [242] machinery is confined almost exclusively to government agricultural [354] experiment stations and extension services or to the largest sugar fazendas--in 1952-53 the tractors of the fazendas were largely unused because of the lack of new parts or general unsuitability for the tasks at hand. A very small number of agricultural workers have had any experience with agricultural machinery. The introduction of large quantities of farm equipment would raise many problems related to skill [493] and receptivity. However, the truck, bus, and jeep are omnipresent in the Recôncavo, and the number of competent drivers and mechanics is surprisingly large. Most of these mechanically skilled workers live in the cities and towns, but some are available everywhere, especially in the sugar area. In this area, too, many workers have had experience with such massive equipment as the ox-plow. Thus the introduction of tractors and their accessories into the sugar zone, the area most adapted to mechanization at the present moment, would find at least a small cadre of experienced workers available.

241 461 In addition to skills, the mode of labor and the attitude toward work are important factors in evaluating the agricultural labor force. Agricultural work in the Recôncavo tends to be a joint enterprise--it is joint effort which makes it possible to perform many heavy or arduous tasks with little mechanical assistance. On the cane plantations

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and, to a lesser extent, the rest of the Recôncavo and the state. The relatively large and affluent upper class of Salvador utilizes an extravagantly large number of domestics and of industrial workers--in food, clothing, and construction industries.

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Conclusion. The preservation of traditional values among the people of the Recôncavo is evidence of the survival value of their conservative culture, but the relatively slow growth of the population is indicative of a declining economic role in the nation. Although the population of both Brazil and the Recôncavo grew between 1940 and 1950, Brazil's population increased 26.5 per cent, the Reconcavo's only 16 per cent. In Brazil as a whole, urban populations increased 46 per cent, in the Recôncavo only 34 per cent. The rural population of Brazil increased by 17 per cent; the approximately comparable figure for the Recôncavo was 4 per cent.

Within the Recôncavo the net effect of population changes in the decade 1940 to 1950 was the reduction in rural population from 60 per cent to 54 per cent of the total population (see Table XII).

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Even more serious, from the agricultural point of view, was the decline in the relative number of agricultural workers. Despite the influx of agricultural people from the sertão, the percentage of the total population in the agricultural labor force fell from 21 per cent (1940) to 18 per cent (1950).

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The greatest single concentration of population in the Recôncavo is the city of Salvador. One-third of the people of the region live in this predominant city, occupying the tip of the peninsula which separates the Baía de Todos os Santos from the sea. In this eccentric peninsular location, Salvador is relatively distant from the main centers of agricultural production and has only circuitous land

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TABLE XII

COMPOSITION OF RECÔNCAVO POPULATION 1940-1950

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Year	Total Population	Urban Centers	Rural Population	Agricultural Labor Force
		Absolute		
1940	924,032	368,932	555,100	189,967
1950	1,072,452	493,944	578,508	196,468
Change	+ 148,420	+125,012	+ 23,408	+ 6,501
		Relative		
1940	100 %	40 %	60 %	21 %
1950	100 %	46 %	54 %	18 %
Change		+ 6 %	- 6 %	- 3 %
		Growth of Recôncavo Population		
1940 to 1950	16 %	34 %	4 %	3 %
		Per cent of Total Growth		
1940 to 1950	100 %	84 %	16 %	4 %

633 connections with the western section of the Recôncavo. On the other hand, its location combines oceanic access with the rest of Brazil, Europe, and the Americas and a direct approach, via the Bay, to all of the central municípios of the Recôncavo.

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The major concentrations of rural, agricultural population in the region are in the outer municípios of the Southwestern, Northwestern, and Northern Recôncavo. In the southwest, there is a notable concentration on the Crystalline Uplands. In the northern part of the Recôncavo, the concentrations lie along the dissected edges of the Tertiary taboleiros. Thus most of the agricultural people of the region live [134] [132] in upland areas of deep, porous soils and marginal rainfall. The only major lowland concentration of agricultural people is in the area of Cretaceous clay soils on the Coastal Plain of the Central Recôncavo. The relatively small size of the agricultural population [249] [178] in this area is reflective of the declining role of sugar cane cultivation in the Recôncavo.

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CHAPTER V

CROPS AND CROPLAND DISTRIBUTION

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Introduction. The Recôncavo is an enclave of cultivated land facing on the sea and more than half surrounded by the Sertão of Northeastern Brazil. It is one of a number of detached areas of dense settlement and intensive crop cultivation scattered along the northeastern coast—Pernambuco, Sergipe, Alagoas, and the states of the northern coast of the "bulge" of Brazil have similar coastal nuclei. Indeed, this littoral mode of settlement is characteristic of Brazil, although in the center and the south of the country the concentrations of settlement and cultivation are usually separated from the ocean by a belt of rough hills or mountains. A glance at a population map clearly reveals that Brazil is a coastal nation as far as the distribution of its people is concerned; indirectly such a map demonstrates the coastal distribution of crop cultivation. In this, Brazil somewhat resembles the United States at the opening of the nineteenth century when it, too, was altogether a nation of the Atlantic seaboard. The specific nuclear character of the Recôncavo dates from the beginning of its settlement—it was from the first a region of crop cultivation, and the settlement of the sertão of Bahia derived from the people and needs of the Recôncavo. During the four centuries since the Portuguese first came, the crops, animals, and systems of production of the Recôncavo have retained much of their original character.

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The present chapter deals with the principal activity of the Recôncavo, the production of crops. As a preliminary to the discussion of the individual crops and their distributions, it is appropriate to

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241 over the forest or the caatinga. In most areas it is the second growth, not the cultivated fields, which dominates the landscape.

241 361 443 634 The scale of the maps accompanying the following sections does not allow the indication of one of the significant patterns of cropland distribution in the Recôncavo—the concentration of cultivation around the cidades, the political centers. Each cidade is the economic focus of its município and is usually the primary market for the products of its cultivators. The poorly developed system of transportation in the [489] rural areas puts a premium on proximity to the market center. Thus in most of the municípios there is a decrease in cultivation away from the cidade, and where the municípios are large, such as on the northern and western perimeter of the Recôncavo, cropland becomes very widely scattered 241 before the political boundary is reached. This centralized distribution 361 of cropland has been complicated by the development of roads and truck 443 491 traffic. Cultivators tend to cluster along the main highways with little regard for the absolute distance to the market of the cidade; accessibility as represented by time rather than distance seems to be the more important factor in choosing land for cultivation, providing that land is available. The pattern of concentration of cultivation along the highway is especially characteristic of the Upland sections of the Recôncavo.[1]

241 There are many exceptions to the modes of cropland distribution • 178 mentioned above. In the Recôncavo tradition and prestige often contravene direct economic self-interest. On a large scale the persistence of sugar cultivation is an example of the unwillingness to explore new sources of income. In other areas the traditional social advantages of land ownership may impede the subdivision of large properties into farms or rented plots, even where hired labor is not available to 000 cultivate the land efficiently. Livestock production, which offers

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Supplementary Crops
(Subsistence and Commercial):

Pineapple (Abacaxi)	168	hectares
Rice (Arroz)	61	"
Tomatoes (Tomate)	46	"
White Potatoes (Batata inglêsa)	44	"
Cotton (Algodão)	40	"
Onions (Cebola)	14	"
Garlic (Alho)	5	"
Green or Snap Beans (Fava)	4	"

241 311 On the basis of the above figures, the total cultivated land in the Recôncavo in 1948 was about 80,000 hectares. In addition to the above, 245 there are a number of tree crops, not cultivated in the true sense, which are important in the agricultural complex. More often than not these "crops" are of spontaneous origin.

[192]

African Oil Palm (Dendê)
Mango (Manga)
Jack Fruit (Jaca)
Cashew (Caju)
Bread Fruit (Fruta de pão)

231 The following animals are important in the livestock economy of the Recôncavo:

[192]

Cattle (Bovinos)
  Cows (Vacas)
  Oxen (Bois de trabalho)
Sheep (Ovinos)
Goats (Caprinos)
Swine (Suinos)
Donkeys (Asininos or Burros)
Mules (Muares)
Horses (Equinos or Cavalos)

These animals will be discussed in the chapter on animal industry (Chapter VII).

244 Manioc. Manioc was one of the most important cultivated plants which the Portuguese colonists borrowed from the Indians of Brazil. [175] Flour made from the manioc root, farinha de mandioca, was the basic [262] subsistence food of the colonial sugar economy and remains today the [178] principal element of the diet of much of the Brazilian lower class. [565] 006 Manioc production is most notable along the coast of Brazil, from the

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249 244 433 has made increasingly greater demands upon the land, at least during the decades between 1930 and 1950. In some areas, such as Cruz das Almas, the mean fallow period seems to have been reduced to a minimum of one or two years during the late 1940's. As the result of these developments, the município seems to be faced with the necessity of either a decrease in production or a radical reorganization of the system of cultivation.[21]

249 24 433 However, tobacco is to Cruz das Almas or São Gonçalo what sugar cane is to the Central Recôncavo—a way of life. Agriculture without tobacco is both economically and culturally distressing to the cultivator of the Southwestern Recôncavo. Unlike the sugar cane planter, the agri- [178] culturalists of the tobacco zone cultivate crops other than the chief commercial product, but as a cash crop they are very reluctant to accept any substitute. Habit is a very great force in the agriculture of all parts of the Recôncavo.

249 433 A result of the traditional and speculative orientation of the people of the tobacco zone is the extreme importance of tobacco—a commercial non-food crop—throughout the zone. In 1948, six municípios of the Recôncavo cultivated more tobacco than any other crop, and in five others it was second in importance. In only two municípios, Itaparica and Salvador, was it lower than fourth in area occupied.

243 433 Corn. Traditionally corn (milho) is a crop of the caatinga (scrub forest), and its greatest relative dominance is found just northwest of the Recôncavo in the município of Serrinha. It is, however, grown on a small scale throughout the Recôncavo, and there are at least two areas of intensive production. Corn is overshadowed by other crops, particularly manioc, tobacco, and sugar cane, in all parts of the Recôncavo except the North and the Northwest.

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244 433 [311] involved are very similar (Maps 39, 40, and 41). In 1948 beans occupied 9 per cent of the total cropland of the Recôncavo. While the area of the greatest dominance of corn lies north of the Recôncavo, beans had the greatest relative importance in the west, in the município of Ipirá (Map 42). The reason for this minor difference in concentration is not apparent.

244 311 433 The yield pattern as revealed by the 1948 data is very distinctive (Map 43). Relatively high yields were closely associated with the forest and scrub-forest transition from Santo Antônio in the south to Irará in the north, where, however, less than 10 per cent of the cropland was in beans. In Muritiba, Castro Alves, and Santo Antônio, where joint corn-bean cultivation is not always the rule, yields of both plants were high. In the Northern and Northwestern Recôncavo the yield patterns of the two crops, which are usually intercropped in this area, were very different. No explanation for these differences was found. The mean yield of beans in the Recôncavo in 1948 was 988 kilograms per hectare, higher than the 690 kilograms per hectare of Brazil, the 540 kilograms per hectare of French Equatorial Africa, or the 200 kilograms per hectare of India, but much lower than the 1,220 kilograms per hectare yield in the United States.

249 Sugar Cane. Much of the history and a good deal of the cultural geography of the Recôncavo could be written in terms of sugar cane [433] [198] cultivation. The colony of Bahia was organized around the cultivation of cane, and sugar was the mainstay of the colonial commercial economy until the last half of the nineteenth century. During the colonial period the cultivation of sugar cane acquired a prestige which it has never lost, despite the fact that it is no longer the most valuable nor, it seems likely, the most profitable crop of the Recôncavo.

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311 important had less intensive cultivation than the two principal centers mentioned above.

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311 Most of the remaining crops of the Recôncavo were either minor subsistence crops of general distribution, not of themselves accounting for any strong concentration of cropland, or were major crops produced in small separated centers of intensive cultivation. The Northwestern Recôncavo corn and bean areas, the coconut plantations of the beach line, the Southwestern Recôncavo sugar cane and coffee areas, and the suburban rings of orange production were zones where the mean intensity of cropland was low or, at best, modest.

There were two zones of very low intensity of cropland which have not been discussed previously because they did not have significant concentrations of individual crops. The belt of Intermediate Hills around
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[231] the Central Recôncavo sugar cane area is largely forested, the scene of very scattered cultivation, livestock enterprises, and extractive industries. This belt was used, as will be seen, to provide fuel and to maintain a livestock reserve for the adjoining sugar cane area. The forested belt between the beach line and the inland areas of sugar cane and tobacco cultivation were used primarily for extensive systems of cultivation and for the small scale production of livestock. Only around the perimeter of Salvador was this forested belt intensively used, for in this area there were orange groves, manioc gardens, and a few very small truck farms.

241 <u>Expansion of Cropland</u>. There can be little question but that
311 the Recôncavo as a whole was an area of expanding cropland in the 1940's.[31]
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[161] In no other way could the increased food necessary for the growing popu-
[434] lation be supplied, for there were not then nor are there now external sources for large quantities of staples, excepting only livestock. There

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241 311 178 are many local signs of the increase in cultivation—expanding rural settlement, overcrowded market facilities, and stories of the "old days" [361] when life was more leisurely and the land problem less severe. Two areas of the Recôncavo are in great contrast as far as the trend of land use is concerned—the Central Recôncavo on the one hand and the 249 311 178 outer Recôncavo, especially the Southwest, on the other. As a result of the stabilization of the sugar industry by the Instituto do Açúcar e do [654] [656] Álcool and, undoubtedly, of the high fixed costs of the sugar industry, the area under cultivation in the Central Recôncavo has remained relatively constant. Indeed, since large-scale speculation in the cultivation of cane is no longer feasible, as a result of government control, it is possible that marginal lands have been withdrawn from cultivation or have been converted to other uses. However, the evidence of the present land use pattern, at least in the area north of the Bay, is against this hypothesis--there are no signs of abandoned cane fields and no extensive areas with any form of land use except those associated with the sugar industry. There are indications of the abandonment of cultivation near the lesser sugar cane area north of the Bacia do Iguape, but the state of the abandoned sugar mills suggest that the decline in cultivation took place before the last decade. In general, then, the area in cane probably was relatively stable during the 1940's and the 1950's, at least to 1953.

249 244 311 178 The situation in the areas of the cultivation of tobacco and manioc is more complicated, in part because the economies of these crops are not stabilized. The area in tobacco undoubtedly has fluctuated over a wide range from year to year, although the area in manioc probably has tended to change more steadily, since it is a basic food crop. There seems to be no question but that during the 1940's the area in

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249 tobacco and manioc increased in the zones of intensive production of
244 both crops. Particularly in the Southwestern Recôncavo does the expan-
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178 sion of settlement, the present critical intensity of land use, the florescence of tobacco cultivation during the early 1940's, soil exhaustion as evidenced by the declining yields, and the testimony of the people of the people of the area attest to the increase during these years. Detailed field investigation in Cruz das Almas, in the heart of the Southwestern Recôncavo, indicated that if the intensity of cultivation shown by the 1948 figure is correct, then the cropland has declined in the years since. In 1948, according to the data, one-half of the total area of the *município* was cultivated; in 1953 the total land in crops can scarcely have been more than one quarter of the total area, and there were several signs of decline. Although there was no mature second growth, there was a good deal of *capoéira de caatinga* and *capoéira de mata* (second growth) which was about one to three meters high, that is, from about two to six years old. Cruz das Almas seems to be the extreme case of a *município* which went through a period of rapid growth and precipitous decline in these years, but the same processes undoubtedly have taken place in many of the other *municípios* where tobacco was important. Probably none of these areas have returned to the 1940 level, because of the concomitant increase in the population and the fall in the productivity of the land in the years since.

241 There have apparently been major expansions of the cropland of
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178 two areas which border on the Recôncavo. Serrinha is known as a *município* of recent agricultural expansion.[32] The growth of the *cidade* of Serrinha in the last decade is a clear expression of greater agricultural production, although the new cropland is not in the vicinity of the city. Apparently the main expansion was around a group of low *serras* and

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shallow lakes west of the cidade, along the border of Conceição do Coité, where intensive production of corn and beans on newly settled land could be observed in 1953.

The agricultural expansion in Santo Antônio and in Nazaré was more notable. Both of these municípios lie in a zone of continuing agricultural development which is contiguous with the Recôncavo and which shows signs of becoming an integral part of the region. If the criterion originally used to delimit the Recôncavo and define the area of intensive field investigation—over 20 per cent of the total area in agricultural use—were to be applied to the 1948 distribution of cropland, then Santo Antônio, though not Nazaré, would lie within the region. The current agricultural development of Santo Antônio, and to a lesser extent of Nazaré, is making these municípios progressively more like the Recôncavo.[33] The pattern of the production of tobacco and manioc in Santo Antônio is essentially the same as in the Southwestern Recôncavo. However, these two areas are still primarily oriented toward a zone along the Nazaré railroad, in which coffee and sugar cane, as well as tobacco and manioc, are important crops. For the moment, Nazaré and Santo Antônio are excluded from the Recôncavo, but with the explicit recognition of the possibility of new orientation.

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Cachoeira, which
175 formerly included most of the western part of the region, was the center
178 of the production of tobacco for use in the slave trade. The growth of
249 the trade in leaf tobacco in the nineteenth century brought great changes
[567] to the region, for it made tobacco a major commercial product in its own
[439] right, no longer dependent upon the slave trade. Eventually this development gave the region of tobacco production a greater economic importance than the sugar cane region, although it remained subordinate in political and social influence. The development of the new tobacco economy also gave the region a greater superiority over the sertão, which could satisfactorily produce fumo em corda, but could grow only the poorest grades of fumo em fôlha.

174 Probably the tobacco-manioc region supplied manioc as the sub-
244 sistence food of the sugar economy, since it is the only nearby area
249 which was a center of manioc production. Perhaps manioc was produced
433 in the sugar cane zone, but in view of the intensity of sugar cane cultivation, this seems doubtful. In any case, the present relative level of manioc production in this crop region probably dates from the nineteenth century development of cigar tobacco production.

249 The second basic crop region of the Recôncavo is the sugar cane
311 monocultural area. It is sub-divided into a major zone, in Santo Amaro, São Sebastião, and São Francisco; a minor zone in Cachoeira; and an outlier in São Filipe. It is estimated that in the first two zones 90 per cent of the cropland was in cane in 1948. In the São Filipe outlier of the sugar cane region the proportion seems to have been lower--perhaps 50 per cent of the cultivated area.

The physical association of the sugar cane region north of the
[13] Rio Paraguaçu and the Bay is relatively simple--a humid and formerly forested undulating plain composed of mixed Cretaceous soils--massapê, salão, and areia. In São Filipe the land is rougher, but the sugar cane is grown upon heavy soils similar to the Cretaceous series.

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249 The portion of the sugar cane region north of the Bay is an area
161 of relatively dense rural population, with a large number of villages
361 and plantation settlements and one city--Santo Amaro. The remaining areas of the sugar cane region have only moderately dense rural populations and no major urban centers, although the cidade of Nazaré is very close to the southern border of São Filipe.

[128] The tremendous historical significance of the sugar cane region has been discussed at length in the section on the historical setting of the
249 Recôncavo. As far as the sugar cane zone of Santo Amaro, São Francisco,
178 and São Sebastião is concerned, the extent of the region does not appear to have changed very much since colonial times. Old engenhos are found throughout the zone, indicating past cultivation in all areas now in cane. The present usinas cultivate sugar cane intensively clear across the Cretaceous zone, so that it is not likely that the cane area has contracted. However, there are several abandoned engenhos and settlements on the north and east shores of the estuary of the Paraguaçu which seem to indicate that sugar cane cultivation was formerly more extensive around the Bacia do Iguape.

244 The two intensive crop regions of tobacco and manioc and sugar
249 cane, as outlined above, can be viewed as nodal areas which are basic
311 to the regional distinctiveness of the Recôncavo; they are for all practical purposes included totally within its limits; their crop patterns are not duplicated in any nearby area; and they include within their boundaries a very large part--and the most productive part--of its agricultural area.

241 In distinction to the above intra-Recôncavo regions there are
311 at least three crops which overlap the borders of the Recôncavo, forming crop regions which have their most characteristic development in adjoining areas. The Atlantic coast of Salvador and Itaparica supports

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245 [311] Most coconuts are grown on moderate-sized plantations along the beaches, in sands, or occasionally in sandy loams. North of Salvador they are grown on dunes and beaches and, back from the sea, in sandy stream valleys where the supply of ground water is generous. There seems to be little selection in choosing coconuts for reproduction. Usually the nuts are planted eight meters or so apart, with a pile of organic trash over and around the nut to provide some additional fertility and to hold the moisture necessary for germination. The sprout must be protected from foraging animals, but once growth is well started, the tree receives little attention and no fertilization.

[433] Yields are moderate to low, from 15 to 40 per tree. Apparently the yields per tree are substantially higher (double) in the Bay area--Itaparica and Caramassari--than in the area farther north--Mata de São João and Esplanada. In the Bay area the nuts are usually sold in the markets [443] of Salvador without processing.

241 178 Conclusion. The basic determinant of cultivation practices in the Recôncavo is custom. This is probably less true of the cultivation of sugar than of other crops, but the weight of tradition is heavy upon all agricultural enterprises. It may be said that many relatively [454] primitive agricultural practices survive because of ignorance of newer techniques and because of a lack of capital for investment in new tools, in machinery, in better seed, and in permanent land improvement. The importance of these factors in limiting change in Recôncavo agriculture, particularly as general factors operating indirectly upon individual cultivators and individual farms is not to be denied.

However, when the individual cultivator--sugar planter or tobacco share-cropper--is given an opportunity, in the form of new techniques and the necessary capital, to change and improve his operations and

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increase his production and he rejects these opportunities, it is clear that strong non-economic forces are operating directly upon the individual. These forces are the rigid agricultural and social traditions of the Recôncavo society, which are given particular rigidity by the explicit conservatism of the Recôncavo. These traditions are given particular force by the strongly personal character of social and economic relationships in the Recôncavo. The relationship of the share-cropper with the landlord, of the buyer of tobacco with the seller, of the cane field worker with the foreman or usina manager, of the cidade store keeper or agent with the banker or dealer in the capital, are all strongly personal and generally of long standing. Under these circumstances any adventurism by one individual will bring him, if he is in a subordinate position, under the pressure of the traditional bias of those above. If he is in a superior position, any adventurism on his part will bring him not only the criticism of all his colleagues but the personally expressed resistance of his dependents. To the present at least, the vested interest of Recôncavo culture in the fixity of its agricultural systems has successfully resisted major change.

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The system of monocultural agriculture, represented in the Recôncavo by sugar cane cultivation, is a traditional element in Brazilian agriculture. Not only sugar cane, but also cacao, coffee, and many other commercial crops are grown in Brazil as monocultures. Specifically, sugar cane monocultures are found in Pernambuco and the other states of the Northeast, in Rio de Janeiro, in Minas Gerais, and in São Paulo.

However, in Brazil as in the Recôncavo, monoculture is being superseded by diversified cultivation. "Too much has . . . been made of the misleading statement that Brazil is a 'one-crop' country," the has said.[7] In the center and south of the country, growing

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CHAPTER VIII

AGRICULTURAL PROPERTIES

241 231 423 311 The agricultural properties of the Recôncavo are diverse in functional type, tenure, and size. In most municípios there are to be found three basic production types: crop cultivation units, mixed crop cultivation and livestock producing units, and ranches. The properties of any local area may be owner or administrator operated, rented, or, in some areas, occupied informally by "squatters." In distinction to most agricultural areas of the United States, the Recôncavo has a very large number of extremely small agricultural properties, frequently with less than 2 hectares. There are also a number of large properties with more than 10,000 hectares; and in many areas large and small properties are closely intermixed.

241 423 184 Despite the widespread diversity of agricultural properties, there are distinct regional patterns which are based upon the predominance of certain types and sizes of properties and upon characteristic modes of possession. The regional patterns of agricultural properties correspond in a general manner to the crop regions delineated in the previous discussion.

241 423 [127] The basic source of information about the agricultural properties of the Recôncavo is the 1940 economic census.[1] No more recent source is as yet available to replace or to verify or correct these fifteen year old data. However, generalizations based upon these data were substantiated in most cases by the field investigations undertaken for the present study. It is apparent that in so traditional a region as the [178] Recôncavo, the institutional characteristics of agriculture, property types included, change very slowly.

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241 Southwestern Recôncavo--the 80 per cent of all units which were owner-
423 operated had a mean size of 16 hectares in 1940. In São Francisco--
472 Central Recôncavo--the 75 per cent of all units which were owner-operated had a mean size of 113 hectares. In general the mean size of owner-operated units in the tobacco-manioc region was from 15 to 30 hectares, while the mean size in the sugar cane region exceeded 100 hectares.

241 Operation by Administrator. Absentee ownership in the Recôncavo
423 probably had its origin in the colonial period, when it was the practice
471 of many of the senhores de engenho (sugar cane planters) to spend part
178 of the year in Salvador. As the urban interests of the owner increased, the management of some properties passed into the hands of overseers, frequently drawn from the mixed-blood retinue of the plantation owner. To a lesser extent the same practice seems to have developed in other parts of the Recôncavo, as the property owner became involved in business, in the professions, or in politics in the cidades or in Salvador. The development of corporate landholding as a concomitant of the usina system has made agricultural administrators even more numerous.

241 Properties operated by administrators were found in every muni-
423 cípio of the Recôncavo in 1940 (Map 115). In 13 municípios over
471 one-tenth of the properties were so operated. The number of administrator-operated properties was relatively large in São Félix--25 per cent--in the sugar cane region, but also in the município of Salvador and on the island of Itaparica opposite.[6] The area in administrator-operated properties was relatively great in the sugar cane zone--30 to 40 per cent--and near Salvador, in general conforming to the pattern of the relative number of properties under administrators (Map 116). However, administrator-operated properties in the Central Recôncavo were relatively large--200 hectares in São Francisco

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In other areas, as in the Recôncavo, more and more of the cane plantations are passing into the hands of the central mills and are being operated by administrators. Small properties, owner or renter operated, are also a widespread feature of the Brazilian agricultural scene. Frequently, as in the Recôncavo, large and small properties are intermixed in zones where several crops and livestock are raised jointly. Throughout Brazil the class of small property holders is tied to the merchant and large landholder class by a network of economic and social relationships much like those of the Recôncavo. Apparently the number and total area of small properties is growing, especially in Central and South Brazil. If this be so, the development of small farms in the Recôncavo, such as those producing tobacco and manioc, is part of the nationwide trend.

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CHAPTER X

MARKETING, TRANSPORTATION, AND PROCESSING OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS

44 Introduction. The institutions of marketing, processing, and transportation in the Recôncavo are of two basic types, local and regional. Those which serve the local economies, that is, the municípios, are traditional. These are the municipal market and the casa de farinha [178] (manioc mill). The institutions which serve the regional economy--sugar and tobacco processing plants and marketing systems--have their traditional element but have been extensively modified in the last half 489 century. Much the same division is reflected in the transportation systems of the Recôncavo, for although the chief media within the local economies are essentially traditional and primitive, the transportation 128 net of the region as a whole has a number of modern features. The discussion which follows will deal with the various institutions which have developed in the Recôncavo to accommodate the marketing, transportation, and processing of the more important agricultural products.

443 Marketing of Agricultural Products. Municipal markets play an important role in the exchange of the agricultural products in the Recôncavo as in most of Brazil. Large quantities of agricultural goods are sold within the local area in which they are produced, and much of this exchange takes place within the municipal market. The feira is the regular open market which usually is held once a week in the smaller centers but somewhat more frequently in the larger cities. It [366] is usually housed in a public building, the municipal mercado. The other type of municipal market is the matadouro municipal (slaughter

443 house). The municipal markets of the Recôncavo have a highly institutionalized character supported by long tradition. There have been [178] very few modifications in the local marketing system either to accept new products or to incorporate new techniques. Despite their highly institutionalized character, markets serve to accommodate and to re-enforce and stabilize the basic personal relationships between buyer and seller. Thus it is both difficult and misleading to approach marketing from a purely economic point of view.

Weekly markets (feiras) are held in every villa and cidade of the Recôncavo. Each of these feiras has a specified day and location. Usually the market of the cidade will be held on a different day than those of the villas of the locality, and usually adjacent cidades have their markets on different days. This arrangement facilitates the marketing of surplus products and makes it possible for itinerant buyers and sellers to travel from feira to feira. The market place [366] of most cidades and of the larger villas includes a public building [347] and the adjacent streets, and in some cases, a corral. Usually the market building itself is a large shed with open windows and doors, earthen or concrete floor, and no internal divisions except those provided by the pillars which support the roof. Stalls are sometimes provided in the newer or more pretentious buildings, but this is exceptional. Generally the market is located on a main square or a principal street. On the day of the feira, market activities expand beyond the main buildings and onto the streets, covering an area of about one city block in a typical center.

Participation in the feira is practically universal--the rural areas of the município, or the distrito if it is a villa market, are half emptied on market day. At sunrise or even earlier the farm families, or sometimes only the farmer, his wife, or child, begin

482 their journeys thus, and many agricultural products are transported in
492 no other fashion from the site of cultivation to the ultimate consumer.
489 [491] In each of the municípios of the Recôncavo, as in almost all of Brazil, there are extensive areas which are neither on nor near roads. In these areas, but also along the highways and in the cities, men and beasts of burden transport the products of the agricultural economy.

489 Long distance transportation, formerly dependent on animals, has been
490 changed in the last half century by the introduction of railroads and
493 more recently, automotive vehicles. In a similar fashion, both prini-
171 tive and relatively modern transport are used on the waters of the Bâia
198 de Todos os Santos and of the various estuaries. Most of the agricultural products which cross the Bay are carried on open-decked sailing vessels and canoes, but there are also a number of motor vessels and motorboats which provide relatively effective transport from Salvador to all the cidades on or near tidewater.

492 In the tobacco-manioc region, and in rural Brazil generally, the donkey or the mule is the characteristic beast of burden. On the backs of these animals the bales of tobacco, the sacks of manioc and farinha de mandioca, and the baskets of corn and vegetables are carried to the market. The equipage of the donkey is simple--a halter and a rough

492 crosstree pack saddle with a thick pad of vegetable fiber. In the
493 sugar cane region the donkey is supplemented and, in most areas, almost
[171] supplanted by the ox cart. The ox cart of Bahia, essentially like the carts used in other Brazilian sugar areas, is built of heavy wood, with a thick wooden bed and tongue, wooden axle, and solid wooden wheels about five-feet in diameter. This high, massive contraption has no bearings, and in dry weather especially it is frequently necessary to repair the wheels and axles. The ox cart is an admirable device for the Cretaceous lowland, for with its high wheels it can carry as much

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249 which it is hauled by railroad or boat to the mill, although sometimes
497 the cane which is carried by boat is weighed at the mill. The rail-
505 roads which handle the cane, as has been indicated, are owned and
496 operated by the usinas, except that the government right-of-way is
471 used whenever these tracks pass close to the plantations. One of the
249 usinas is new and a few of the older mills have some new equipment, but the general level of technology is considerably below that of Pernambuco or São Paulo, and the mills are somewhat smaller. The usinas grind the cane, extract the juices, and refine the sugar by means of vacuum pans and centrifuges. The more modern usinas produce a high quality sugar, but in general the product is coarse and not a pure white.
274 The by-products of the large usinas and part or all of the cane juice
385 of some of the usinas and engenhos is converted into rum or commercial
262 alcohol. The sugar, rum, and alcohol from the sugar industry of the
273 Recôncavo are consumed primarily within the Recôncavo and the adjoining
438 regions of Bahia. About one-tenth of the production of sugar is
439 exported, chiefly to Rio de Janeiro. The commercial alcohol usually
382 is mixed with gasoline in the bulk plants in Salvador to provide fuel
385 for automotive transport. By law a specified amount of commercial
654 alcohol must be mixed with gasoline--this is designed to subsidize the sugar industry.

249 There are twenty usinas in the Recôncavo, and these produced
471 an estimated 80 per cent of the total sugar of the state of Bahia in
433 1948. The three largest of these are owned by a single sugar company, which also owns the associated plantations, transportation equipment, and cattle fazendas. This company plays an important role in the
249 marketing of sugar from its own usinas and from other companies. The
471 concentration of the cultivation of sugar cane and of the production
178 of sugar in the hands of this single enterprise is a symptom of the

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249 decline of the old system of independent plantations and small usinas and
471 the rise of agricultural capitalism in the Recôncavo as in Brazil's other
178 sugar areas. With greater capital resources, drawn from Salvador, Rio de Janeiro, and São Paulo, the large companies are slowly buying up the fazendas of the core area of sugar cane production and are closing out the small mills.

249 The typical usina involves a large-scale organization of land,
471 transportation, processing, and labor by means of an administrative hier-
489 archy. Timing is one of the critical aspects in converting cane to a finished product, for the harvesting of the cane and the operation of the mill must be closely coordinated. A basic factor in this coordination is the weather, which governs the quality of the cane, the transportation of the harvest, and thus the operation of the mill. In dry weather the
[492] [493] sugar content of the cane is high, and the ox carts move easily through the fields. In wet weather the harvesting bogs down, and the operation of the mill comes to a standstill. Since the fixed costs of the mill and the plantations are very great, delays in harvest are costly to the in-
249 dustry. Another important administrative problem for the industry is
464 labor. The sugar economy depends upon itinerant seasonal labor and upon the declining local agricultural population. Occasionally the operation of the mill is delayed because of labor shortages. It is sometimes necessary to shift labor from the fields to the mill or vice versa or from one plantation to another and to balance the cost of maintaining a labor reserve, if available, against the losses incurred when the op-
249 eration of the mill is curtailed. The scope of operation of the usina
471 may be illustrated by a list of the major physical equipment of one of the large usinas in Santo Amaro:

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Land:
9,000 hectares in 19 plantations and ranches; each of the 15 cane plantations has a small settlement, livestock, and a weighing station.

Transportation Equipment:
25 kilometers of railway, 9 locomotives, over 100 railway cars, 4 trucks, 2 jeeps, and for each cane plantation an average of 10 ox carts.

Agricultural Machinery:
9 tracked tractors with accessory plows and grading equipment, 1 wheeled tractor, and on each cane plantation 4 or 5 ox-drawn plows.

Housing:
About 50 houses and miscellaneous service buildings for each cane plantation.

Processing Plant:
Grinding and extracting plant, distillery, power house, 2 warehouses, garage, railroad shop, and medical dispensary.

Miscellaneous:
Office building, houses for company manager and administrator, school for the mill settlement, and church.

249 The operation of such a large enterprise as this requires a large administrative staff. The administrative staff of the particular usina described above includes the following: a general manager for all properties; an administrator over all the plantations; an administrator in charge of the mill; a sub-administrator over each group of four or five plantations; and an overseer and several foremen for each plantation. There are also a number of supervisors in the mill and on the
249 railroad. In addition, the usina pays the salary of the teachers in
466 the local school, engages the priest for the irregular services which are held in the church of the usina establishment, and in conjunction with several other nearby usinas, employs a doctor. These activities
[178] reflect the desire of the sugar company to stabilize labor relations through social services, but on a more impersonal basis than was characteristic of the feudalistic sugar system of the nineteenth century.

258 Manioc can be converted into a staple food which is easy to transport and store by simple processes and small-scale enterprises.

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of livestock, which had a value greater than sugar cane but less than manioc.

Agricultural activities within the Recôncavo are localized in several distinct sub-regions, each with a specialized system of cultivation and each with either one or two principal crops. The primary agricultural subdivisions of the region are: (1) the sugar cane monocultural sub-region; and (2) the tobacco-manioc sub-region.

249 Sugar cane is grown as the exclusive crop in its major area of production--the pocket of coastal plain north of the Baía de Todos os Santos. Cane is generally cultivated under a four-year monoculture and one-year fallow system on large properties employing large quantities of hand labor and using oxen to draw plows and carts. Neither fertilizer [407] nor agricultural machinery is used to any appreciable extent. Most of [492] the animals used as labor in the production of sugar cane are brought [231] [233] into the area from the sertão, and little livestock breeding is found in this area. The processing of sugar cane is in the hands of a small [471] number of medium-sized usinas. The companies which own these usinas [178] are gradually buying up the plantations so that to an increasing extent the mills directly control the production of sugar cane. Most of the [499] cane is brought to the usinas by railroad, although sailing boats are [489] used for this purpose along tidewater. Most of the sugar produced in [505] the Recôncavo is consumed within the state of Bahia, but small quantities [438] [439] are shipped to other parts of Brazil. Both the aristocratic upper class [565] and the rising non-aristocratic business interests of the Recôncavo are [471] [492] involved in the ownership and administration of the sugar industry. The [464] permanent labor force is supplied from the settlements of the sugar cane [178] plantations and the mills, but the rural population and the labor force of the sugar area are declining. Seasonal labor for the harvest comes from the interior sertão of Bahia.

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000 the storekeeper-buyer or the local tobacco warehouse. The roots of the
258 manioc are processed locally, in casas de farinha, and the farinha de
438 mandioca is sold in the local market or to storekeepers in the nearby village or town.

249 The sub-region of tobacco and manioc production occupies the
244 humid eastern and southern edges of the Uplands. The chief center of
311 production, the Southwestern Recôncavo, occupies a zone of deep, sandy
134 and sandy loam soils lying in flat-surfaced uplands above crystalline rocks. The northern parts of the tobacco-manioc sub-region occupy the rough, dissected southern edge of the sandy Tertiary taboleiros--in this northern area the production of both crops is less intensive than in the Southwestern Recôncavo. The area of primary tobacco and manioc production generally conforms to the forest and scrub forest transition and is expanding southwestward beyond the traditional Recôncavo along this
[433] physical boundary zone. The intensity of production is also increasing,
[178] but with violent year to year fluctuations.

241 In addition to sugar cane, tobacco and manioc, other subsistence
433 and commercial products are grown in the Recôncavo. The most important of these are corn and beans, grown as commercial and subsistence crops in the north and west of the region, and coconuts, which are produced along the beach line. Bananas, sweet potatoes, and peanuts are grown in most parts of the Recôncavo, but on a small scale.

241 There are several areas in which there is little or no cultiva-
311 tion. The rougher Intermediate Hills, which are forested, separate the
137 sugar cane sub-region from the tobacco-manioc sub-region. The lowland areas of Tertiary and crystalline soils are also forested and are cultivated under a non-intensive land rotation system with some associated
241 livestock. The Recôncavo is distinguished from the surrounding areas by its relatively greater mean intensity of cultivation. In the

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

128 241 (2) tobacco production; (3) manioc production; (4) the land rotation system; and (5) alternative agricultural products.

249 471 For three centuries the sugar industry was the basis of the commercial economy of the Recôncavo, and for the last century it has continued to play an important role. As a result of its long and profitable history, it has a number of advantages as a basis for agricultural development. Its capital assets are large--the best land in the region, a number of industrial plants, and a transportation network. Moreover, its [565] land is organized into large units, many of which are under the control of a single company, and all of which are under the control of a small group of the upper class. The industry has a large administrative staff, the most experienced in the region in large-scale enterprises—the organization of agricultural and industrial production, labor, transportation, and finance. It has the very great advantage of good political connections and government support. A part of the industry, [242] composed chiefly of the largest usinas, has had some experience with improved varieties of cane, and on a very limited scale with mechanization.

249 471 433 Against these advantages are a number of limiting factors. Most of the local capital of the sugar industry apparently is committed in the present plant. The sugar economy of the Recôncavo is large scale only in relation to the other agricultural enterprises of the region—the mean daily capacity of the mills can scarcely exceed 500 ton. Moreover, many of the mills are obsolescent—there is only one new usina, and only the larger mills have very much new equipment. Despite [464] the presumed administrative skill of the industry, labor has been one [178] of the continuing problems since the deterioration of the old feudalistic [466] employer-employee relationships of the late nineteenth century. However,

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 439 [175] of sugar to Europe. This 1,800 tons of sugar was probably a very large part of the total world trade in sugar at that time. In 1948 the twenty usinas of the region exported 8,497 tons of sugar to the rest of Brazil, primarily to Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. In this year the total international trade in sugar was about twelve million tons. Moreover, the Recôncavo was able to sell in the Brazilian market only by virtue of the support which has been given to the sugar industry of the Northeast by the Brazilian government. The European market has long been lost to the Recôncavo, and the chances of regaining any substantial part of it are not good--not only on account of the low level of efficiency of the Bahian sugar industry but also because of the local and foreign sources of sugar against which it would have to compete in the European market.

249 565 178 571 The third problem of the sugar industry is leadership, which is to say the problem of the Bahian upper class. The development of the sugar economy and of the aristocratic upper class of the Reconcavo are practically inseparable, and the decline of the former is in part a reflection of the inability of the latter to provide intelligent and progressive leadership. The institutions which were developed in the opening century of colonization for the production of sugar succeeded altogether too well as far as the region is concerned, for since then the industry has not succeeded in establishing a new pattern in conformity with the changing systems of technology and the new competitive situation. A century of failure either to develop an efficient sugar industry or to find new sources of income for the sugar area is a sign of the continuing failure of the upper class. More and more the leadership of the sugar industry is passing from the artistocrats to the new segment of the upper class, the agricultural capitalists. In most cases these men seem to have a broader view of the problems of the

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 industry than the aristocrats, as the partial rationalization of the
565 sugar system since 1900 testifies. However, the entry of even these
178 relatively progressive and forward-looking business men into an indus-
571 try whose only future is that guaranteed by the protection of the government does not reveal a willingness either to accept short-term risks or to make an investment in the long-term future of the Recôncavo.

175 Tobacco, as has been seen, began its history as an auxiliary of
277 the sugar cane economy. The development of the commercial tobacco
433 economy since 1800 indicates a greater flexibility than is characteristic
439 of the sugar industry. When the decline of the slave trade brought an
[567] end to the African market for fumo em corda, the tobacco economy turned
277 to a new product, fumo em fôlha, and to a new market, Europe. Unlike
439 the sugar of the Recôncavo, Bahian tobacco has been able to compete successfully in the European market against leaf imported from Cuba and from Sumatra. Moreover, the leaf tobacco of Bahia dominates the internal market of Brazil to a degree not equaled by the local sugar industry for several centuries.

There are several possible explanations for the relatively
277 greater flexibility of the tobacco economy. Several of the more promi-
472 nent firms in the manufacturing of cigars and in the export of tobacco
249 have foreign origins or are owned by people of European background.
178 Indirectly these firms may have affected the operation of the tobacco economy, but it is difficult to find any signs of significant changes in the methods of cultivation. On the other hand, the tobacco industry and trade seem to have been spared the unimaginative and inflexible leadership which the aristocratic upper class of the Recôncavo has given to the sugar industry.

249 Tobacco cultivation by its very nature is more flexible than
[457] the system of sugar production. Instead of the usina, which must be

249 the crop region would decline and that manure, essential to the production of tobacco, would become even more expensive than at present. Any increase in the intensity of tobacco production would probably decrease the production of manioc, so that both the sub-region and the Recôncavo would have an even greater food deficit than at present.

241 The system of land rotation is clearly one of the basic problems of the Recôncavo. As the population of the region grows, the problem of the system of cultivation will almost certainly become progressively more acute. One solution which is being proposed by the rural missions of the Ministry of Education is the use of composting as a [178] substitute for manure. As yet the results of the mission program is not clear, but it is obvious that the resistance and the apathy toward new agricultural ideas in the region are very great. As far as could be ascertained, mixed agriculture has not been suggested as a solution to the problem. Indeed, in view of the lack of additional land for the production of forage crops or of grasses, it is difficult to see how such a proposal could be implemented.

242 It is apparent even to the casual observer that there are some alternative crops which might be produced in the Recôncavo. From time to time the agricultural experiment stations and a few enterprising [243] land owners point the way. One example is the production of corn as a commercial crop in the northern part of the município of Muritiba. At [312] the price of corn prevailing in 1953, it was believed possible to produce the crop profitably using irrigation water pumped from the Rio Paraguaçu, and a single landowner was making the attempt. Obviously there are no large areas in the narrow valley which can be irrigated, nor is the water supply great. It is, however, suggestive that it is possible to produce a staple food crop at as great a profit as tobacco. In the

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

242 [245] In the sugar cane zone there has been one small scale experiment with white cacao, which can be sold at a higher price than the ordinary variety. It is believed that this crop would do well on the soils now under sugar cane and perhaps on some of the other soils of the lowlands. Since cacao in the Recôncavo presumably would be free of the diseases which cause so much difficulty in the main area of cultivation along the southern coast of the state, it might be possible to stabilize Bahia's cacao production and at the same time to improve agricultural conditions in the Recôncavo. [243] Another alternative use for the Cretaceous soils of the sugar cane region might be for the cultivation of rice, which is presently grown on a small scale in Santo Amaro. In view of the perennial shortages and high cost of food in both the Recôncavo and in Brazil, such a generally acceptable food should find a ready market. On the other hand, the development of cacao or rice cultivation in this area would mean the abandonment of the heavy investment in sugar mills and plantations.

241 178 Although the evaluation of specific suggestions is the province of the agricultural specialist, one fact is clearly shown in the results of the present research--any proposal for the future development of the Recôncavo will have to conquer the inherent traditional orientation of agriculture in the region.

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*249 ditions and of paternalism. Here, the privately owned plantation is also still an important element.

In the community on which the present study focuses, there is a modern sugar factory or usina, but control by the fac-
[473] tory of the entire process, from cane planting and harvest-
ing to milling, is far from complete. Although the factory,
[423] in this case a family corporation, has bought up six neighboring plantations, at least half its supply of sugar cane comes from individual, family-owned plantations. Owners of these plantations, which have conserved their original boundaries, are often descendants of the aristocratic landholders of the past, and many of their workers are descendants of slaves who lived on the same plantations.

121 In this community, changes in sugar-producing technology
178 have not reached down into the actual cane cultivation on the
*249 plantations. Emphasis has been on the improvement of milling techniques, the further refinement of sugar-cane juice, and the perfection of the finished product by the central mill. But the agricultural methods--planting, cultivation, harvesting, and transportation--have remained relatively unchanged.

121 Most important of all, with the retention of these older tech-
178 niques has gone the retention to a very great degree of the old
*249 accompanying social system. The present social system tends
571 to follow the old, traditional, family-oriented, slaveholding complex. The pattern of face-to-face interpersonal relations, developed during centuries of sugar-cane monoculture based on slavery, persists in a modified form. Although the relations between workers and owner on these family plantations are now those of employee and employer, and not slave and owner, there is still the highly personal, intimate relationship based upon mutual rights and obligations and a sense of the obligations of nobility. Even the usina system perpetuates this paternalism to a high degree.

121 The present work is a "community study" in the full sense of the term as it is understood today in social anthropology. It is primarily a descriptive analysis of one community in the sugar-producing region of northeastern Brazil, but it is conceived within the framework of the historical sequence outlined above.

To the west, on the third hill, along the "beach," and in the small valleys, there is a different atmosphere. Here, in the Caquende, Boqueirão, Cortume, and Rua Nova (see map of town), there are no sobrados, no signs of former grandeur. The houses are of another style--small, one-story buildings with no air of antiquity about them. Some are made of brick, but most are of mud on a bamboo or mangue frame. Many have been coated with whitewash, some recently and some a long time ago. On the summit of this third hill, the Oiteiro, are the poorest houses of all, one- and two-room mud houses with thatched roofs. Recently in this section there have been some new-style houses built, tipo bangalo (bungalow-type), and there are signs of a growing prosperity among a few enterprising people. These areas of fishermen, of small storekeepers, and of those with crafts such as carpentry, bricklaying, and shoemaking, are the most heavily populated parts of the town of Vila Recôncavo today. According to the old inhabitants of the town, this section was undeveloped sixty years ago, and, to the old people, Vila Recôncavo is still up there on the hill, in the area of the sobrados. Nevertheless, the majority of the stores are in the lower part of town, which even has its own chapel. It is here that the children play although they must go up the hill to school. It is here that there are groups of men gossiping and having a drink of rum. It is here that an attitude of open friendliness prevails, and there are friendly faces at the windows. It is here that the drums beat when the African gods are feted.

The post office, located in the upper part of town, also has a telegraph. Messages go by special telephone to the nearby town of Centro, from where they are sent by wire. There is also a public telephone in the town which has two extensions, one in the house of the mayor and one in the house of the doctor. Other people must go to the telephone office to make or receive calls. The telephone is very uncertain; not only is it frequently impossible to get a call through but often nothing can be heard once the connection is made. From the town it is possible to speak through Centro to Salvador. It is also possible to speak to the sugar factory, and through its switchboard to several of the sugar plantations.

In recent years electricity has been brought to the town, and, in addition to lights on the streets, 78 of the 408 buildings in town have electricity. Of these, twenty-one have radios, and three have electric irons. Only the doctor, the health post, and the bar have refrigerators.

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SC11 Bahia Brazilians SC11
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2. *History of the Town*

A STRANGER newly arrived in the town of Vila Recôncavo might justifiably question the reasons for its existence, since it almost seems to be an island in a vast sea of sugar cane. The daily life of the town dwellers, who are fishermen, artisans, and county officials, apparently has little to do with the rural area. In order to understand the separateness of the town and the rural area, it is necessary to investigate the history of both. For, although Vila Recôncavo now appears to be sharply cut off from the life of the plantations and the sugar mill, it has been in the past closely bound up with the fortunes of the rural landowners and is still directly affected by the rural area. 36 121 [178]

The history of this area began during the governorship of Mem de Sá, which lasted from 1557 to 1574. Mem de Sá was the third governor general of the new Portuguese colony of Brazil. The capital of the colony was the city of Salvador, which was settled successfully in 1549 in the second of two attempts. By the time of Mem de Sá, the back part of the Bay of All Saints remained to be wrested from the Indians to complete the colonization of the Recôncavo, a task to which he dedicated himself and which he accomplished in a few years. As new areas were conquered, the land was divided among the favored few in the form of land grants (sesmarias). Mem de Sá took as his own land grant three and a half leagues of coastline extending four leagues inland, plus two islands. The eastern tip of this land grant is now Vila Recôncavo, and the remainder falls into the county of Purificação. Mem de Sá erected one of the largest and best plantations of the colony here, which "he esteemed as much for its value and income 175

2: Hutchinson E-4/5 (1950-1951) 1957 3011 Bahia Brazilian 5011
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county and among the first to fall into decline and extinction in the days following the sugar boom. The remaining buildings of the Order are now used for quite a different purpose, which will be discussed later.

The first half of the eighteenth century saw the final flourishing of Vila Recôncavo and the beginning of its fall into obscurity. By 1700 the town was a thriving urban center--the newly created seat of local government, a military post, a highly active religious center, and the scene of the local courts of justice. In addition to large public buildings, imposing private residences dotted the streets, for many of the plantation owners constructed large houses in the town, which they used as stopping places in their journeys to and from their plantations and Salvador. Then as now, however, Vila Recôncavo was not the main center of attraction for the planters and their families, most of whom had houses in the capital where they spent the rainy seasons. Nevertheless, the presence of their large and ornate town houses gave a certain air of distinction and prosperity to the town.

The story of the decline of the town of Vila Recôncavo is symptomatic of what happened to many other towns in the region at a later date. Vilhena connects the decadence of Vila Recôncavo with the creation of the administrative center of Centro in 1727.[7] Until that time Centro had been a sítio (terminal designation for a small town), created in 1608. Toward the end of the seventeenth century the best lands of the Recôncavo, situated in what is now the county of Purificação, came into use as a result of the cessation of Indian attacks and of improvement in the machinery used in the plantations. Sugar mills powered by water no longer held as great an advantage as they had previously; over a hundred years of sugar-cane operation had pretty well stripped the littoral of the firewood necessary for continued high production; and by this time the coastal regions no longer held room for expansion. As the colonists pushed farther inland from Centro they found an abundance of the rich massapê lands and sufficient firewood for the needs of many plantations, and soon the number of inland sugar mills surpassed that of the coast.

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7. Luís dos Santos Vilhena, Notícias soteropolitanas e brasílicas, 1802, ed. Braz do Amaral (Salvador, 1922), p. 502.

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilian SO11
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occupation of the poor people, who sell them after drying in the city of Salvador. . . .[9]

In 1837 Centro officially became a city, and for another hundred years it was the major commercial point of the sugar-Recôncavo. Gradually, however, it fell into the same pattern of decline which continues today in so much of the Recôncavo. In the 1900's a railroad was constructed from Salvador to Feira de Santana; it passed well back of Vila Recôncavo, missing it so far as to be of no aid whatsoever. Although it passed through Centro, the terminal point, Feira, became more important commercially to the state and became the new gateway to the north, west, and south of the state and of the nation. Although Centro is now a large town with a population of some ten thousand people and a weekly market which attracts people from the countryside and the neighboring towns, this is not enough to sustain it. Its port is now comparatively little used for the export of sugar, which in most cases goes directly to Salvador by train from the factories.

The immediate cause for the decay of the town of Vila Recôncavo, and to a great extent that of Centro and of so many other older towns, was the loss of functions after the period of frontier growth. Those towns which had been religious centers lost this function. Military posts were no longer needed, and administrative activities became more restricted as the counties were cut down in size and as the state and federal governments took over more functions, such as schools and health programs. Railroads and trucks have lately reduced the importance of the port towns. The rural towns no longer interest the wealthy rural aristocracy who always dominated and supported them. More rapid transportation has made it possible for this class to move about from plantation or factory to the town or the city and back in one day instead of three, thus removing the need for a town house in which to spend the night. Better transportation has also made it possible for the other classes to go to Salvador easily for shopping, medical purposes, festivals, and visiting. Thus Salvador, because of its nearness and the relative ease of transportation, has taken on many of the functions of the rural

9. Ibid., Letter XIII, p. 501 (author's translation).

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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county seats, functions which they would still fulfill if they were farther removed from the state capital.

Finally, and perhaps most important of all, there has been a population shift in the last half century. New centers of population and industry have appeared in the Recôncavo, and there has been a refocusing of commercial activity but no accompanying administrative reform. The old towns, such as Vila Recôncavo, have remained as county seats to carry on administrative duties and the pretense of being the center of municipal activity. Official statistics indicate a great predominance of rural inhabitants in the Recôncavo. Actually, however, much of the population lives in towns. Although these centers are not officially called towns, their pattern of living is urban and not rural. For example, the district of Richão in the county of Purificação reported in the 1940 census 442 urban and suburban inhabitants, and 9,369 rural inhabitants. This gives no indication of the existence of a large factory town which contains almost nine thousand people.

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The older towns may in the long run prove to be more permanent than the newer centers, which for the most part are factory towns, for it is possible that some day in the future the factories may close, causing a complete dislocation. In the meantime towns such as Vila Recôncavo are left out of the new developments, without industry or commerce except what can be done on a small scale, such as fishing or the weekly market. Still known as the formal centers of their counties or districts, they retain their local bureaucratic functions.

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Until the second half of the nineteenth century, the county was the principal community organization, and the town of Vila Recôncavo was the major center of attraction for its county. However, because of developments in the sugar industry, this older community structure began to change. These developments, which will be described in the next chapter, had the effect of further isolating the town of Vila Recôncavo from the main streams of life revolving about the sugar industry, which has always been the major feature of life in the Recôncavo. New developments in the industry caused new community alignments, the end results of which have been to leave the formal administrative centers, such as the town of Vila Recôncavo, out of rural community life to a very great degree. In the next chapter the history of the rural area will be discussed, linking together the town and the rural area.

slave quarters. The entire unit formed a small village, for each plantation needed many specialists--carpenters, ironsmiths, bricklayers, coopers, sailors, fishermen, a barber, tailor, cowboy, chaplain--in addition to those whose trade was that of making sugar. In the morning the agricultural workers, cutters, and drivers went out to work in the fields, returning later in the day. Because of the size of the plantation and the number of its slaves--which frequently reached two or three hundred--the casa grande, settled among its royal palms and overlooking the mill, the slave quarters, the chapel, and other buildings, took on a distinct village appearance.

The owner and absolute ruler of these domains was the senhor de engenho, a title which became a symbol of wealth and later of nobility. The senhor de engenho dominated Bahia, and indeed all of the sugar-producing area of Alagoas and Pernambuco, for many years, socially and politically, until sugar was surpassed in importance by other crops and industries. Even much later, however, when sugar was less profitable and other activities surpassed it in economic importance to the nation, the plantation master was still a prominent figure, at least in northeastern Brazil.

Each unit was a complete entity in itself, with its sobrado, chapel, mill, slave quarters, slaves, cane fields, pastures, oxen, and forest land. The pattern for the Recôncavo plantation was set in the early years. Today many of the original boundary lines still exist, and the plantations have often kept their original names. In addition to cultivating several units of 700 to 1,000 acres within the land grant, the owner also often rented smaller parcels of land to lavradores--free individuals who with a few slaves cultivated a small amount of sugar cane which they sent to the plantation to be milled and made into sugar. These people were the nearest approach to small-scale farmers in the Recôncavo; however, they did not own their own land and were completely dependent upon the plantation master. There are many sad tales of small farmers who were cheated by the master and virtually became his slaves. They had to send their cane to his mill and often were told the cane was dry, or sour, or that less had been sent than they recorded. In all this it was necessary to take the word of the plantation's bookkeeper. There was no court of appeals--only the master, who represented law, order, and justice in the Recôncavo.

As time went on the aspect of the sesmaria was lost, and the plantation complex became the principal characteristic.

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These houses (solares, or sobrados) were enormous, constructed of stone and mortar, with wooden floors and ceilings. Stone and wood were themselves a sign of wealth, since it was necessary to bring them from a great distance. The furniture was often of handworked rosewood. Affluence was especially shown in table service of silver, porcelain, and crystal, most of which was imported from Europe. Members of the families frequently dressed in fine damask silks and were adorned with fine jewelry of gold and precious stones. It was not unusual for the plantation master to dress a few of his favorite slaves almost as well as his family and to parade them to church as an indication of his wealth. Another method of demonstrating wealth was the support of churches, especially that of the Tertiary Order of Franciscans.

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The plantation master eventually lost his prominence. When the capital of the colony was moved from Bahia to Rio de Janeiro in 1763 he was no longer so politically powerful, except locally, for there was too much distance between him and the new capital. Transportation was poor and communication still poorer. Also, other crops--namely coffee, cotton, rubber, and finally cacao--became more valuable than sugar. The abolition of slavery in 1888 was the final blow to the power of the plantation master.

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It was usually admitted that the greatest wealth or source of wealth of the plantation master was his slaves. At first the Portuguese colonists tried to enslave the Indians and put them to work on the sugar plantations, but the Indians sickened and died off easily. There was also great opposition, on the part of the Jesuits, to the enslavement of Indians. The importation of African slaves seemed to be the solution. From the middle of the sixteenth century until about the middle of the nineteenth century ships plied back and forth from Bahia to the west coast of Africa, carrying tobacco, leather, and rum to be traded for slaves. The African slave always brought a higher price in the market in Bahia than did the Indian slave. It was considered that a normal plantation or mill of a thousand acres needed approximately two hundred slaves, divided among the fields, the mill, the various skills, and the house of the owner. In the nineteenth century the procurement of slaves became increasingly difficult as a result of European, North American, and even Brazilian opposition to slavery. In the mid-nineteenth century the slave trade was officially prohibited and the traffic became clandestine. The prices of slaves soared at this

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struck the sugar cane itself, and production again dropped greatly. At the same time, coffee began to attract attention in São Paulo and the few slaves for sale were sent there, where they commanded a higher price, thereby causing a shortage of workmen in the Recôncavo. In 1888 a final blow was the abolition of slavery. Production dropped to a new low, and the twentieth century was entered during what was called the gravest crisis the industry had ever experienced.

During the late nineteenth century there were several attempts to better the machinery used in the fabrication of sugar. New methods were introduced from abroad, and at the turn of the century the usina made its first appearance on the scene. The usina represents the large-scale central factory, designed to mill the cane of many plantations, thereby raising the total sugar production.[2] The state government took a hand and financed the construction of three factories which were given to various individuals as concessions. There was an effort to revive the industry on a different and stronger basis. At the same time, however, the Recôncavo, as well as other parts of Brazil, felt the pull of the rubber boom in the Amazon and lost some of its manpower. But once again a European war came to the rescue, and during the second and third decades of this century the sugar industry prospered. Many factories were erected, and there was a definite feeling of optimism, which ended abruptly in 1929 and 1930 as a result of prolonged overproduction. In 1933 the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol was established by the national government to regulate production. The new regulations caused dissatisfaction and disputes, and production fell off sharply, only to rise again after World War II when many of the restrictions imposed by the institute were lifted. At the present time the Recôncavo seems to be experiencing a mild phase of affluence.

It is the introduction of the large-scale central factory which holds the most interest for us in this recital of crises, for it was this innovation which brought the maximum amount of change to the town and the entire community structure.

The factory was conceived of as a large mechanized mill,

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2. Hereafter, the word "factory" will be used to designate the usina; wherever the word "factory" appears it should be understood to mean sugar-cane milling factory, unless otherwise qualified. (Editor's note.)

175 located in a position where it could grind the cane of many
• 178 plantations. The two aspects of the sugar industry, the agri-
*249 cultural and the industrial, were to be separated. The cane
was to be planted, cultivated, and harvested by one group of
people; these were the former plantation masters, who under
the new system became simply suppliers of sugar cane (for-
[473] necedores de cana) to the mill. The cane was then milled,
processed, and marketed by another group of people, a cor-
porate body which became personified as the usineiro.

175 However, this division did not last long, for the modern up-
*249 to-date machinery of the new factories proved capable of
473 grinding more cane than the planters were supplying. Because
433 of their poor financial conditions and loss of laborers due to
the abolition of slavery and the consequent resettlement of
the former slaves, the planters were not able to expand their
sugar-cane production enough to meet the demands of the
factories. In other cases the planters resented the new fac-
tories and simply refused to cooperate, continuing to oper-
ate their outmoded mills in spite of adverse conditions. As
a result, the corporations began buying plantations of their
own, situated as near their mills as possible, in order to as-
sure themselves of a larger supply of cane, and to lessen their
dependence upon the individual planters.

175 There was an epoch when the hunger for land seemed insa-
*249 tiable. The usineiros not only had funds at their disposal which
425 could be used for the purchase of land, but also had the means
473 of forcing individual planters to sell their land to the corpora-
tion. By refusing to mill the cane of the planter, or by taking
his cane and then letting it sour, and by various other meth-
ods, the usineiros were able to force many planters into bank-
ruptcy, after which the corporation bought the land. Also,
many planters who continued to depend upon their own efforts,
producing sugar in their old-style mills, gradually went into
bankruptcy, since they could not compete with the improved
product of the new factories.

175 In effect the factory system in Vila Recôncavo is an enlarged
* 249 agricultural-industrial combination, an engenho enlarged many
473 times over. The ownership pattern has changed; whereas the
engenho was owned by a family, and therefore subject to trans-
fer on the death of the owner, the usina is a corporation, which
continues despite the death of stockholders. As will be shown
[178] later, however, the corporation may even be a family. The
plantation master, owner of lands and of slaves and ruler of

small empires, disappeared. But in his place an even more powerful figure appeared, the usineiro, the land-factory combination director and representative of corporate power. 175 249* 473

However, not all private plantations succumbed to pressure from the factories or to economic collapse. There are many which still continue to plant and cultivate sugar cane and send it to the factory for milling. After 1933 the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol prescribed the amount of sugar cane each plantation, whether private or corporate, could produce, and indicated the total amount of sugar each factory could produce and how much cane it had to accept from each plantation. As a result of this protection, many private plantations continue to function in equilibrium with the factory to which they send their sugar cane. The private plantation owners also have a separate association which looks after their interests. [178] 175 249* 433 [656]

Thus the twentieth century has seen the introduction and development of the factory system and in its wake a series of fundamental changes. The growth of factory towns (the usina nuclei) has created further competition for the older county seats, such as the town of Vila Recôncavo, and further disintegration of the former community structure. 175 249* 178

Since its discovery and settlement, the rural area of Vila Recôncavo has been the scene of sugar-cane planting and sugar making. The rural area was settled before the town of Vila Recôncavo, and the plantation nuclei were actually self-sufficient small towns in themselves. The landowning pattern in this rural area has gone full cycle. First were the large land grants which were then split up into separate engenhos (after 1889 known as fazendas) through division due to inheritance, sale, or donation. For about three hundred years the pattern of the area was that of the engenho. However, at the end of the nineteenth century, this way of life came to an end as a result of financial crises and the abolition of slavery. The twentieth century has seen the introduction of the factory, which has led to a concentration of lands again under single ownership, although this time corporate and not that of a single individual or family. 175 178 249* 423

During the epoch of the plantations there was a necessity for the existence of the town to serve the needs of the landowning class. The community during this time was focused to a large extent toward the county seat. But with the abolition of slavery, the disappearance of the plantation master and his large family, and the coming of the factory, the former com- 175 178 249* 621

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 5011 Bahia Brazilians 5011
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621

munity structure began to break up. The corporations gradually acquired plantations which became commercial enterprises. The Big House was no longer the home of a master and the scene of his family life and social activities. The top level of the social strata partially disappeared, and those who were left to do the agricultural work looked now to the factory for their instructions and pay, to the new factory store for supplies, and to the chalet of the usineiro as the new senhor and patron. The owners of single plantations who joined the factory networks also began to look to the factory nucleus for social life, for buying supplies, and for selling their cane and receiving their money.

Thus each factory slowly became the focus of a new community structure, composed of the nucleus--the factory, the store, and the director's and workers' houses--surrounded by the corporation plantations, each of which still preserves the former plantation pattern of settlement, plus the private plantations, which are little changed in appearance from the days of the engenho. The factory towns, however, did not take over the formal functions of the county seats. In fact, rarely have factory towns received formal recognition as towns by the government. For the most part the factory nuclei appear on official records only as plantations.

Because of the growth of the factory and its surrounding network of plantations, the new community structures of the Recôncavo have taken on almost circular appearances. Vila Recôncavo demonstrates this well. In the spaces between the circles which represent factory systems, may be found the old formal administrative towns, with little of the influence or attraction that they once had. And yet they are bureaucratically important to the functioning of the county. As a result of this breakup of the old community structure, a process which is still going on, there is now no definite, clear-cut community center in Vila Recôncavo.

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 8011 Bahia Brazilians 8011
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4. Plantation Life

* 249 THE GOLDEN AGE of the sugar industry was typified by the
• 178 plantation complex, which was accompanied by a definite way of life. The final breakdown of this complex came at the end of the nineteenth century with the creation of the large central mill. Changes in the agricultural practices, however, have only begun to take place. Almost all the emphasis of change in the past was placed on the development of the technical aspects of processing the cane, and very little attention was given to the agricultural side of the industry.

* 249 Modern plantations continue to be relatively self-sufficient
361 units, just as the engenhos were. The factories brought al-
178 most no change in the land settlement patterns of the area.
[464] Since they were established on the site of former plantations, they did not create new nuclei; rather, they simply enlarged the old centers. Some of the former slave population moved to those factories which needed more workmen. But in subsequent years there was a gradual resettlement of the former slaves on the old plantations, in the same locations and even at times in the same buildings.

The disappearance of the small smokestacks of many plantation mills and the appearance of the more widely scattered but far larger ones of the factories, together with the appearance of networks of narrow gauge railways radiating out from the factories, mark the major changes in the landscape of the Recôncavo. The outlines of the new plantations and their boundaries remain much the same as they were a hundred or more years ago. The former small mills are frequently still used as workshops and sheds for the oxcarts.

The following discussion will examine one of the five pri-

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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TABLE 1
PRODUCTION, COSTS, PROFITS: FAZENDA DAS MOÇAS

1947-1948	
4,000 tons of cane at the selling price of Cr$81,40 a ton	Cr$325.600,00
Cost of production	206.244,00
Profit	119.356,00
1948-1949	
2,500 tons of cane at Cr$88,90	222.250,00
Cost of production	225.198,00
Loss	32.948,00
1949-1950	
5,000 tons of cane at Cr$107,40	537.000,00
Cost of production	319.248,00
Profit	217.751,00

[407] wheeled carts were added which could be drawn by the tractor,
[493] thus cutting down transportation costs. Recently a jeep was acquired to pull the carts, and a second tractor equipped with the mechanism to cultivate cane fields was purchased.

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[426]
[492]
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Still, the plantation is heavily in debt, and any profits are immediately used for improvements or for paying off debts. Moreover, the cost of tractors, jeeps, and fertilizer is very high since they are imported products. Because of the dollar exchange rate their cost is extravagantly high in Brazil, compared with the United States. In addition, the plantation is still burdened with the old equipment and the necessity of pasture for the oxen, which cuts down the acreage available for planting. Animal traction cannot yet be entirely dispensed with, because of the condition of the soil in winter. The problem of maintaining the old system of work as well as introducing the new, which can only slowly pay for itself, is considerable. Dona Sinhá is faced with the dilemma of difficult natural conditions which, while good in many ways for sugar cane, impede the application of modern techniques. She is also faced with personnel problems in relation to the overseer. One solution is clearly apparent and has been adopted by Dona Sinhá: to spend more and more time on the plantation, sharing more and more work with Seu Paulo. This of course is a complete break with the past traditions of the plantation master. It is a difficult break for both parties concerned. Dona Sinhá misses her city

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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[The Private Plantation]

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life, and Seu Paulo resents the continued presence of the owner and the consequent lessening of his authority.

Along with their feeling of pride and love for the Recôncavo, many landowners recognize clearly the difficulties with which they are faced. The following excerpt from the diary of Dona Sinhá, which I was allowed to read, illustrates the outlook of a sugar-cane planter of the Recôncavo:

[757]

. . . "Dona Sinhá, there is a man here looking for you." "What is it, my son?" "I have some boils coming out all over my body." Some sulfa and a little ointment do the trick, and just in time, for here comes Seu Paulo, the overseer.

"The oxen of Pedras, the neighboring plantation, invaded the cane fields last night. Also those of Seu Cosme." "I'll telephone the usina immediately." "Also, there are no wagons at the loading point." "I'll find out about that too."

The tractor driver comes, complaining that there is no oil. I get that from the storeroom. Now there are two men on the veranda wanting to know about the last payday, when they claim their money "came out wrong." Going through the pay sheets, that was straightened out.

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Now, while there is no one else, I'll go out and look over the fields. I look at the plantings, feel the earth which I love. But it doesn't satisfy me. Something is missing. We are backward and retrogressing, passively. This place puts an inertia in the heart of a person, a desire to stop fighting, to find everything fine and as it should be--the ragamuffin Negroes, poorly fed, ignorant and rude, their dirty children with protruding stomachs and the white pretending that there is progress, his house full of company, electricity, radio, telephone, horseback rides, poetry of Baudelaire, Verlaine, philosophy of Voltaire, Carlyle, etc. --but in the end, zero! Sometimes I feel a tremendous anguish, I feel that nothing can be done in the Recôncavo and I want to leave this paralyzed land, poisoned with tradition, with its ruined sobrados. And we today hold fast to these fantasies and want to relive the opulent past. Deep down there is a clash against these indefatigable overseers, mulattoes, and Negroes with their boots, senhores da fazenda.

*249 829 178 [434] The entire harvest is done with great sacrifice, my head wearied by accounts; 6,000 tons of cane, over Cr$600.000,00--a lot of money, enough for all the expenses, and still some left over. What a mistake! The general costs, the extraordinary costs, house repairs, etc., will take it all. So we start again--new plantings, larger fields, all for more money. But we lack the courage to stop planting sugar cane and plant corn or coffee, anything else. We were born hearing of senhores de engenho, of trays and trays of silver service, of Negro slaves, of everything which has disappeared into the past. But it still burns in our blood, and deep down we want to have lands, to order and be obeyed. We like the humble and servile vassalage of the Negro, which makes us feel important, the dispensers of favors.

*249 829

I think of this as old Saturno goes along, step by step. There is Paulos Santos coming along the road, with his little burro and two baskets, going to get manioc for the ever-present farinha. "Good morning, Patron!" What affection I feel for each one of them! Pedro Manuel with so many little children; Zé Julião with his sick wife, Conceição with his air of secular servility. But affection resolves nothing! Money and action do! I could knock down those miserable hovels and make good hygienic houses.

Once home I fall into the hammock, reading Proust and forgetting everything.

*249 473 The Usina: Usina São Pedro

The Sociedad Anonima, the corporation which operates this factory, represents the new pattern in the Recôncavo. There are now nine factories functioning in the Recôncavo, for the trend has been to close the small ones which could not function economically. Five of the nine belong to one corporation, which holds extensive lands and receives the cane of many suppliers. We will describe the smallest of the four independent factories, which has a rated capacity of seventy-two thousand sacks of sugar as compared with the two hundred thousand of one of the larger mills (a sack equaling 60 kilograms). The legal capacity of the Usina São Pedro--which it has never reached--is fifty-two thousand sacks, as determined by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol. At the present time, however,

*249 433 [128] [656]

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[The Usina]

the factory is undergoing a reformation which will raise its capacity to over one hundred thousand sacks, and the legal capacity will be readjusted. 249* 433

Usina São Pedro, although the smallest, is representative of the others and experiences the same problems and difficulties. It differs from some in that it is a family enterprise. The stockholders are nearly all members of the Conde family, and the operations are directed by two members of the family. The factory itself was one of the three built by the state government in 1900 on land controlled by the Navy,[5] on the edge of the Bay, which provides excellent year-round transportation facilities. The mill was acquired in 1909 by the Conde family with two plantations, to which the family has since added four other contiguous plantations. The corporation has a total area of slightly over four thousand acres, mostly of rich massapê soil. The factory receives cane from the plantation of Dona Sinhá, who is also a member of the Conde family by birth and by marriage. It also gets cane from four other plantations within the community and four outside the community, which send their cane by the traditional sailboat. In addition, the factory owns a 2,324-acre plantation in the county of Purificação which is used for grazing and raising cattle and for supplying wood for the factory fires. There is direct water transportation between the factory and the plantation in Purificação. 249* 473 [653] [423] 249* [602] [423] [505]

The designation usina has several meanings which are quite similar to the meanings of the older term, engenho. In its larger context, usina means the entire land-factory combination, including the mill and all the plantations belonging to the corporation. More specifically, usina means the factory building itself. In another context, usina simply indicates the population nucleus, including the factory, the owner's house, and the other buildings. 249* 192

The usina or factory nucleus roughly follows the same settlement pattern of the old plantations. The point of orientation is the factory building, near which stand the chalet and other homes of the owning family, which are grouped together in a park of royal palms and mango trees. Usually a small chapel or oratory is included in one wing of the chalet, where 249* 361 [178]

5. The shoreline bordering salt water is controlled to the depth of 33 meters by the Brazilian Navy. [311]

743 so there is competent medical assistance. Those who are too poor to pay receive free aid and medications, milk, and soup; those who can pay do so, paying only the wholesale prices of the articles. The institute is well equipped, with an x-ray machine, diathermy, and other heat appliances, which are popular because of the prevalence of colds and rheumatism.

743 529 [546] 743 873 The institute also operates the weekly motion picture which has been a great boon to the town, a recreation room, centrally located in the town, which has a radio, billiard tables, and a bar selling milk shakes, sandwiches, beer, and soft drinks. This place has become the major meeting place for the men and boys of the town. In addition to this, the institute also runs a night school for adults.

463 [571] [462] Group 2, as listed at the beginning of this chapter, consists mainly of the people who work for those in Group 1 and who are attached to them by the bonds of the patronship to some extent, as well as by salary. The majority of persons in this category are women, engaged in the traditional female pursuits of washing, ironing, sewing, embroidering, and general housework.

296 462 463 [482] As a rule the laundry is washed at one of the town wells, which are encased in cement. The women carry the dirty clothes, a bucket, and wooden basin, all piled on top of their heads, to the well. They pull up enough water in their buckets to fill the basins in which the clothes are washed. After a soaking and scrubbing with soap the wet, soapy clothes are spread out on the ground in the sun, and from time to time water is sprinkled on them to aid the sun in bleaching. Then the clothes are rewashed and spread out to dry. Depending upon the weather, the washing and drying process may take from a whole day to three or four days before the clothes are considered clean enough. Then they are taken home to be ironed. The older pattern demanded that a different person do the ironing, but today this pattern is breaking down and frequently the same person washes and irons. The irons used are the old-fashioned kind heated by charcoal, which is placed inside and ignited. The irons are made with drafts to keep the fire going, and the women must stop frequently to fan the fire or renew the charcoal. Often a busy woman has two irons going and sets one aside to heat while she irons with the other.

[463] [178]

462 252 463 Many women also prepare xangô, a small sardinelike fish caught in great quantities by the fishermen of Vila Recônca-

the remainder being divided among the crew, the master and baixador receiving slightly more than the moços. Most fishermen dislike fishing with the drag net for several reasons: although the catch is usually large, it must be divided among many men; there really should be thirteen men to handle the net, which limits the amount each receives, and when only ten participate, the work is much greater for each although the increase in pay is slight; also, the operation is a rather boring process involving long waiting periods. It is becoming more and more difficult to get a crew together. 226 465 226 461

The resse, used to catch xangó, and the abaladeira, used to catch other small fish such as sardines and tainha, present a different operation. The resse is a net of close weave, 660 feet long and 1[illegible] feet wide. Like the deep net, it has wooden floats on the top and lead weights on the bottom. A small canoe (18 to 20 feet) is used, and only two men are necessary. This net can be used with either the incoming or the outgoing tide, and at any place. The fishermen have certain favorite sand and shell banks where they like to fish, east of town. They launch the net when they see the schools of small fish breaking water. The resse is a recent innovation in Vila Recôncavo, where it was first used with great secrecy to prevent knowledge of its weave from falling into the hands of too many people. But now most fishermen in this part of the Bay of All Saints are acquainted with it, and the entire county lists twenty-five resse nets. 226 [178]

A second innovation with this net, and one which applies also to the abaladeira, is the cooperative launching of two nets at once in order to catch more fish. Two canoes participate, each with two men and a net. An exceptional catch for a six-hour period of fishing may run as high as Cr$600,00 and usually averages between Cr$300,00 and Cr$400,00. When two canoes fish together the total catch is divided equally between the two. The resse and abaladeira fishermen estimate that they can earn an average of Cr$15,00 every day of the year. This is considered relatively good, for they do not fish constantly. After a few profitable days they are inclined to give up for a period of time, resting and enjoying themselves. [178] [476] [435] [434] [461]

The calão is another large net requiring at least six men to manipulate it, working from the canoe and from the water as with the deep net. It is used to catch fish of all sizes except the very small xangó and shrimp. The net is 780 feet [461]

226 long and has ropes on each end 420 feet long. This net demands a large canoe. The usual size in use is 30 feet long.

226 Few of the fishermen own their own calão--most rent it
427 from a merchant who has one. It is rented by the master on a long-term basis rather than for just one trip. It is said that the master "toma conta da rede," meaning that he not only is fishing with the net, but also repairs it and dyes it when needed. The owner of the net, who usually also owns the canoe
226 and the paddles, receives 20 per cent of the profits of each trip. The remainder is divided among the six men, although the master and baixador each receive one-third more than the
[435] other four. Depending on how the fish are running, the calão may catch as much as Cr$1.000,00 to Cr$1.500,00 worth of fish per trip, or as little as Cr$120,00 worth. Two trips a day are made when the fishing is good. There are only eight of these nets in the town, and they are worth about Cr$1.500,00 apiece. The calãozinho is a smaller net of the same type, sometimes called the redinha, or little net. Although its operation is almost the same as that of the larger net, it re-
[178] quires only four men to maneuver it. However, it is becoming
[461] less and less popular as the resse increases in popularity.

On land, good care must be taken of the nets. After the
227 fishing, the nets are carried up along the beach to the drying racks, long lines of poles over which the nets are spread. As they dry the master checks them, looking for holes which he immediately sews with a wooden bobbin and cotton thread.
[824] The nets are hand-woven of cotton, and dyed in water in which the bark of the red mangue has soaked. This turns the white cotton a dark reddish brown and protects it from the action of the salt water and the sun. A new net must be soaked in this dye every two or three days, and later every eight days.
227 The resse, abaladeira, and tarrafa are frequently woven by
286 women, and, unless worked on steadily, these nets may take as long as eight months to make. With steady work a circular
[462] casting net can be made in about twelve days. The women are
[461] paid Cr$12,00 per box of cotton line which contains twenty-
[435] five spools of cotton thread, and it takes five boxes to make an average-size net. The other nets require heavier thread and take much longer to make. The calão and the deep net are made by men, and a year is not considered too long for the
[824] manufacture of one. Piassava, a plant fiber which grows in the Recôncavo, is used as line. The fishermen of Vila Recôn-
227 cavo go to the southwestern part of the bay to purchase it. It

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574 A group of people decide to "take a party of kings" to some-
123 one's house. They wait until the lights in the house go out
571 late at night and then knock on the door, playing and singing a song which is traditional for the purpose. The owner must then open the house and let everyone in to dance and make merry. The surprise element has been removed, for it is now considered courteous to sound out the householder to see whether he would like to be the recipient of such a party, and also to give him time to prepare food and drink. The householder also has the privilege of inviting anyone he wants who might be overlooked by those who organize the party. A group of young men approached the author in the prescribed manner, and in due course all arrangements were completed. The young men were to supply an electric phonograph and records for the dancing, and the author was requested to invite the rural planters, especially those with daughters.

A group of twenty-four planters and about a hundred townspeople, factory technicians, overseers, and a few men of urban Class C came to the party. The planters arrived in a truck a little early and entered the house, which was then closed
[533] and the lights turned off. Shortly afterwards the others arrived
[178] at the door and knocked, and the band began to play the long serenade. (A band was brought along for the song, which is an important part of the Reis; but nowadays no one likes to dance to a hometown band when records are available, so the men played only the serenade and then put their instruments away.) At the end of the song, the doors and windows were opened and the guests began to pour in.

571 The rooms of the house were small, but all the furniture
*565 had been removed to make room for dancing in the two largest
574 rooms, which were joined by two wide doors. At the begin-
535 ning of the party everyone was very formal and shy; the young
123 men remained on one side of the room, the young women on
571 the other, and the entire planter group in a huddle by itself. Gradually things got under way, and as drinks were served to esquentar a gente (warm up the people) as many as could dance in the cramped quarters did so. For the first hour or so all the guests mingled, dancing with one another; then gradually the members of Class A began to pull away, at first beginning to dance among themselves and finally usurping a third room in which they danced away from the others, uninterrupted by anyone.

Reactions to this were varied in the days after the party

1 *565
596 will take the girl to his family gatherings and that he will be
584 invited to hers, so that their lives continue to be within the family, though now within two families. There are so few public places of entertainment in Salvador, other than the movies, that the couple is seldom alone. Dating nearly always takes place in family circles, so there is little need for a formal chaperone. Courtship continues until the boy has finished school (if it began that early, as it sometimes does), or is settled in business, at which time an engagement may be announced. Once the couple are engaged (noivos), they are allowed greater freedom; this does not, however, amount to much, as their social activities continue to be confined within the family. If for some reason the boy or the girl goes away for a time, the one left at home is invited to all family parties just as though both were there. The engagement period does not last very long--not as long as the gostando period, which may extend for two years--for once engaged, a couple is considered to be serious about marriage, which then takes place as soon as possible.

585 The wedding, always in Salvador, is both a religious and a
*565 civil ceremony. The former is a formal, fashionable church ceremony followed by a reception and luncheon, before the
596 bride and groom leave for their honeymoon. The civil wedding takes place in the bride's home shortly before the reli-
[591] gious ceremony. Only the godparents and closest relatives attend this ceremony. After marriage the couple usually set up their own home, but if this is not possible they may live with one of their in-laws. This, however, is undesirable, and often the wedding is postponed until the couple can have their own home. The parents on both sides help toward this end as
* much as they can by getting the young man settled in a suit-
565 able position. Family connections are extremely important
594 throughout Class A in placing young people in business or a profession.

163 As a rule a child is born to the young couple by the end of
[608] the first year of marriage, and the compadres (godparents) are chosen from close members of the two families, at least
[596] for the first child. Succeeding children may have close friends of the father as godparents. Children are named after family
[553] members of preceding generations or--as has happened in
[178] some cases--after a much-loved slave. The old pattern was for the couple to continue having children regularly as long as the wife was able to, but the trend is now for each generation

[Class A Families]

to have fewer offspring. Four or five generations ago a couple 565* 594
might have as many as twenty children. It was common among 163
these large families for at least one child to enter the priest- 178 •
hood or a convent. This is no longer the case, not only be- [463]
cause of the smaller size of the families, but also because
the colonial pattern of a priest for each plantation is now gone.

The marriage age for girls is also changing, for several 582
reasons: it takes longer for a boy now to be educated and set- 178
tled in business; the families can no longer support married
children; and girls are being better educated. Instead of be- 562
ing married at sixteen, seventeen, and eighteen, they now go 565*
to school much longer, sometimes taking advanced degrees
as do their brothers. This delays marriage till the twenties
and gives the girls a certain amount of independence, rather
than simply a position of wife and mother. As yet few of them [463]
have entered the professions, but recently it has become styl-
ish to study nursing or social work at least for a while before
marriage. The old pattern was for widows to be supported by [736]
their families, but now girls want to feel self-sufficient, with-
out the dreary prospect of living as dependents in the case of
their husbands' death. In this century, also, marriage has
assumed an aspect of companionship, which was formerly
lacking, for women have achieved a much greater equality with
their husbands and are now partners rather than household
fixtures.

There has been a reaction to the family aspect of Bahian 565*
society, and frequently people are heard complaining of the 596
narrowness of life in such surroundings and expressing a de- 178
sire to live in Rio de Janeiro, or some place where they would
not be always in the same restricted group of relatives. Many 574
of the former obligations of formal visits to close and distant [206]
relatives are now relaxed, although telephone calls at least
are expected with some sort of regularity and members of the
extended family, as well as their attendants, are still expect-
ed at all weddings, birthdays, and deaths. The arrival of fam-
ily members from Rio calls for many dinners and celebrations
in their honor. But the conjugal families seek outside ac- 571
quaintances more and more, and as they enter new groups they 565*
become less able to cope with the numerous family affairs. 596
Nevertheless, it is still membership in these extensive, pa- 178
triarchal families which gives people their status in the com-
munity as a whole and their right to enter new groups which [594]
form along class lines. Everyone is well aware of this, and [554]

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596 the first thing done on making new acquaintances is to inquire
[178] into their family background and place them mentally on the
[571] appropriate social level.

As a rule each extended family has a head, usually the oldest male. He is recognized by the rest of the family as the leader, and few things are done by them without his knowledge and advice. The head of the Jacuipe family is the eldest son of Dona Yayá. He has made his home in Rio de Janeiro and has not lived in Salvador for a long time. Nevertheless, he is informed of all that goes on within the family, and no serious step would be taken by any member without his counsel. On the local scene, however, it is his next younger sister who has taken the family lead in all social activities. It is she who sees to it that the family is represented at any function where it is a duty to appear. Among the Condes, the Colonel is still the family head in spite of his age and infirmity. For many years his eldest son showed himself capable of taking charge of the sugar mill and of the family fortunes as well, but since his untimely death none of the other sons has shown such vigor, and in the long run major decisions are left to the old gentleman.

[594] In the conjugal households, however, decisions and actions are made jointly by the married partners. Unless the action is a very serious one which might affect the rest of the family, they need by no means seek advice from the family head. The family leader has no strong control over the other members of the family; rather, he is someone to whom they can go if they need advice. Also, if any member of the family is in difficulties of any sort, the rest of the group rallies around him under the direction of such a person. Because of the many positions in public life occupied by members of these extended families, the family is able to muster considerable pistolão ("pull") in many fields. Requests are frequently made, especially to aid lower-class people who look to the various
[557] family members as patrons. A call here or there by the recognized leader of a large extended family can be a great assistance in getting someone into the already crowded hospitals, in helping with a will which has become entangled in legal difficulties, in getting a young man into the Air Force, and in the myriad other things which arise in this very personalized culture.

[73] The cohesiveness of the extended family also acts to take
[589] care of the aged, infirm, widowed, and unmarried. Not infre-

[Class A Families]

565*
quently one girl in the family does not marry but remains 596
home with her parents, taking care of them until they have 589
passed away. Unless the father has made specific arrange- 73
ments for her before his death, the family usually sees to it that she is cared for properly, since she has relieved them of the responsibility of taking care of their parents for many years. Or, if any member of the family lingers beyond what might be considered to be a normal life span, the other members help in some way so that person will be cared for. Thus no one is left out because of misfortune of any kind. Nevertheless, any individual member always tries not to become a burden on the family.

Of the former patriarchalism of Class A families only ves- 565*
tiges remain, which however are still important: the contin- 596
ued close relationship of family members, even though sep- 178
arated by distance and interests; the intermarriage of cous-
ins, and the strong pattern of life em familia; the fact that the family as a unit still provides care and protection for those members who are incapable of doing so themselves; and finally the acknowledgment of an extended-family head, a man accorded deference and respect by members of his own family as well as by other families. The upper-class family of today differs in significant ways from that of former centuries, especially in the increasing emphasis placed upon the conjugal family and the decrease in family size. A major de- [562]
parture from the old family traditions is the increasing equality of women, their increased participation both in home activities and in activities outside the home.

Birthdays are the most important occasions in these fami- 565*
lies aside from weddings. Whether in the city or on the planta- 596
tion, birthdays are commemorated on a large scale by an al- 527
moço (luncheon). During the summer in the country the planters sometimes also have a series of luncheons, each Sunday on a different plantation. In such cases the house in which the luncheon is to be held provides the bulk of the food, but as a rule all the women make desserts which they bring with them. The menu, in accordance with old Bahian tradition, is huge, 565*
usually beginning with a feijoada (a deep dish of beans and 596
meat, usually eaten with rice or farina), sarapatel (a highly 527
seasoned dish of which the basis is pork blood), moqueca de 262
camarão (a type of shrimp ragout made with dendê palm oil), and ensopado de porco (pork stew). These are followed by roasts of beef, pork, lamb, and turkey, and filet mignon.

[Class A Families]

*565
596 All these dishes are served with rice, potatoes, farina, and
527 cooked vegetable salads. Then fruits are served, followed by
262 a series of desserts including puddings, ice cream, and cakes.
The meal is concluded with a demitasse (cafèzinho). Lunch
[272] is usually served at midday, and afterwards the guests gen-
erally break into small groups, talk, sleep, play cards, or
stroll about the garden. In midafternoon a small merenda
* (snack) is served for those who want it, consisting of cake and
565 demitasse, and in the evening ceia (supper) is served, in-
596 cluding cold cuts, salads, and dessert. After this the group
527 may go en masse to the movies, either at the Petroleum Camp
or in the town of Vila Recôncavo. Or, if in gay spirits, they
[546] may spend the evening dancing in the living room to popular
records. People go to these almocos by horseback, jeep,
[535] truck, or sometimes, in a spirit of fun, by oxcart. Hospital-
ity has for hundreds of years been the tradition of the rural
[492] landowners, who envelop guests with an overabundance of
everything. One planter always has the dining-room table
[493] set for at least ten people, although only he and his wife live
in the house. Others have the reputation of always providing
*565 a good meal for anyone who passes at mealtime.

574 The decreasing size of families, the shift in individual em-
ployment from agriculture to the professions, and this cen-
423 tury's change to large-scale industrial holdings for the pro-
178 duction of sugar have caused some differences in land ten-
428 ure and, hence, inheritance. The Recôncavo is not an area in
which land title was ever vague or lost as was often the case
in the sertão. Land was always scarce here, for the desir-
able massapê soils are limited in extent. The plantations of
today for the most part fall into one of two categories: those
which have been in the hands of one family for a century or
more, and those which were bought after the abolition of slav-
ery by newcomers to the Recôncavo or by those who already
had plantations and at a time of falling value bought new ones
from the creditors who had taken them over from their for-
mer owners for debt. In both cases title passed free and clear.
The common form of inheritance is for one half of the estate
to go to the widow and the other half to be divided among oth-
er heirs.

178 A century ago, it was common for plantation masters to
42 have extensive holdings, not only in the Recôncavo, but also
in other parts of the state, as well as houses and even com-
mercial buildings in the city of Salvador. In addition to this,

[Class A Families]

[Class B Families]

such families also usually had fairly extensive accumulations of silver service, china and crystal, and linens. It was the custom for such possessions to be distributed among the heirs as separate items. One son would receive a plantation in the Recôncavo, another a ranch in the sertão; a daughter might receive a full and valuable set of table service, or perhaps a whole house and its furnishings in Salvador. Single plantations were almost never divided, unless they were large enough to make such a division practicable. Property divisions were often made rather arbitrarily by the family patriarch, and were often bitterly disputed by the heirs after his death. Slaves were also part of the property divided, although it was not infrequent that certain favorite slaves were freed at such a time. In other cases, the favorite slave of a son or daughter would be willed to him by the father. Through inheritances and constant divisions, the former large holdings of these aristocratic families came to be well broken up.

Today in the event of a death in a family, there is often only one plantation in which the heirs may share. However, the plantation is rarely divided. In some cases where there is no strong emotional tie to the plantation, the heirs may sell it outright and share the proceeds. Another solution has been to rent the plantation to a factory and thereby delay the final solution. Still another has been for one of the heirs to take over the management of the plantation, paying a rental fee to the other heirs. A final solution is often reached by allowing one of the heirs to purchase the plantation from his coinheritors, and in this way the plantation and its traditions remain in the family, and are to some extent shared by all members of the extended family.

The problem of land disposal exists only for the private plantation. In the case of factory lands, ownership is corporate. Death of the holder of shares in the corporation does not affect the land tenure, which goes on as before. His shares in the corporation are simply distributed among his heirs.

The family pattern in Class B is quite different from that which has just been described. Although the conjugal family is equally small and shows the same trend toward diminution, there is never the extent or strength of the extended family which exists in Class A. In Vila Recôncavo, with only one exception, Class B families are only conjugal units without local tradition of generations in the area, for either they are couples who have recently come to the town in governmental

[Class B Families]

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and the social forces compelling them to conform to this ideal are strong enough to keep them at home.

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To some extent the Class B families take as their pattern the older traditions of the upper-class families. The father is the most important person in the home and has the final word in all decisions. His wife is not his equal in a social sense and plays a much more passive role than the women of classes A, C, and D. This, however, is slowly changing, for married couples of the younger generation are beginning to share more activities, such as going to the movies, visiting friends, or going on short trips to Salvador. But this is a recent development and applies only to four couples in the town. The others still maintain the old pattern whereby the man attends social functions while his wife remains home. On occasion of a farewell party, invitations were carefully extended to the married couples in Class B at the author's instigation. Of the thirteen couples invited, only four came together. In the other cases only the husbands came. Among the others, one of the husbands was away, and his wife would not come to the party even though her mother, father, and two sisters did. It is still common for the wife either to remain discreetly silent or to disappear altogether when her husband has visitors at home, and among the older families the father and his guests are served separately at meals, the women of the household eating afterwards alone.

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Family life in rural Class B follows to some extent that of the town family of the same class. The father is the central figure in the family and makes all decisions. He travels about the community while his wife remains at home. The sons of overseers, however, are seldom sent to Salvador to school, although the sons of Class B families living at the factory usually are, at least for a short time. So far, however, none of them has entered a profession.

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As has already been stated, the women of rural Class B lead much the same kind of life as the women in Class C, with whom they associate. Daughters are guarded carefully, while sons are placed in some advantageous position whenever possible, frequently through the aid of the plantation owner or usineiro. They may enter the factory office, and in several cases they have been set up in business on the plantations, running small stores which belong to their fathers.

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A daughter of Seu Paulo, the overseer of the Fazenda das Moças, married the son of the overseer on a neighboring

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512 days when their husbands cannot go. The wives of fishermen
462 also have to cook meals at different times in the day for their husbands, who generally bring enough fish from the last catch for one or two meals. It is the woman who goes to the store for farina, coffee, beans, rice, and so on. Their evenings are usually spent at home sewing, making or mending a net either for their husbands or for someone else. If there is a samba they may go and watch but seldom stay long, but if there is a candomblé ceremony they may spend the whole night there, especially if they participate in it. In such a case they often take their children with them and put them to sleep in the house, or else put them on a bench to watch the proceedings.

759 The institute has broken down the pattern of the practical
743 midwife, known locally as parteira or curiosa, since one of
178 the first things done when it opened in 1945 was to have several young girls trained in Salvador as midwives. Up to that time, however, there had only been older women, who through experience and sometimes through necessity had taken on the job of midwives. In the rural area the untrained midwife is still important, for the clinic has not yet made itself felt to
846 the majority of people living there. When the time comes for
759 the birth of a child, a neighbor or perhaps a relative comes
462 into the house to cook and clean and look after the other chil-
[844] dren, and occasionally to assist with the birth. The father continues his usual round of occupations, as most women put it, "earning enough to feed another mouth." In some cases the man helps with the housework when he is home, and there are several men in the town who are good cooks and who can look after the children. In other cases the midwife may stay several days in the house, doing all these things. Recently, however, as a result of the death of one midwife and the resignation of two trained ones of the institute, the other two have been so busy that they cannot spend much time in any one house. A common complaint because of this is that the midwife tries to hurry the birth, massaging the woman's abdomen, and frequently attempting to induce birth before the normal time.

759 The most popular midwife in town rarely has a chance to rest. She is in her seventies and is frequently in a state of exhaustion from caring for households where a birth has taken place. She sleeps there, usually on a grass mat since the mother occupies the only bed. She serves in the rural area also, as well as on the islands facing the town. Payment for

[Class C Families]

her services ranges anywhere from fifty cruzeiros to nothing but thanks, but with the understanding that when she is ill the family will help her, since she lives alone. 759

If a baptized child dies before it is seven years old, it is called an angel and goes straight to heaven, while if it dies before this age and is unbaptized, it is called a pagan and goes to limbo. The angel is carried through the streets in an open coffin, for everyone to see. The lid is put on the coffin after it is in the ground, whereupon all those in attendance scoop in some earth. The attitude toward the death of a child is one of mixed joy and sadness, and sometimes of joy only. If the mother and father wanted the child very badly, they feel sad; but otherwise the general attitude is that the child is better off dead, especially since he becomes an angel. The difference in the ringing of the church bells also shows this, for the ringing for a dead child is a short, almost joyous sound, while that for an adult is a long, sad tolling. 761 851 775 [533]

If it appears that a child is going to die after it has been born, an effort is made to have it baptized as soon as possible. But if it is healthy, it is baptized whenever the family can do so. The baptism includes a small party for the family and godparents. Formerly if a child died before it was baptized, its grave was sometimes baptized on the eve of São João by the woman who had been chosen to be its godmother. The family and godparents would go to the cemetery at midnight and gather around the grave, which the godmother sprinkled with water and baptized. This, however, is no longer done. 763 851 769 851 178

According to the parish records, 705 children were baptized in the county during 1950; 320 of those belonged to the community of Vila Recôncavo. The civil register, however, showed only 276 persons of all ages registered in the county for the same year. A child is seldom registered right after birth, or even at the time of baptism, but whenever the parents think of it. Sometimes a person must do it himself when, as an adult, he needs a registration certificate. The situation is changing gradually as life becomes more entangled in official red tape, and people are registering their children more frequently than they used to. Members of classes A and B are much more careful about this matter than are the lower classes. 851 217 162 [178] [565]*

According to law, the medical doctor must sign a death certificate before a permit to bury someone can be obtained, so the figures for deaths are more accurate than those for births. The civil register for the community of Vila Recôncavo 217 [763] [759] 600

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 5011 Bahia Brazilians 5011
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8. Religion

[249] DURING COLONIAL and empire times, religion occupied a large part of the lives of the landed aristocracy. The town of Vila Recôncavo had a Franciscan convent, a large mother church of the parish of São Gonçalo, and the chapel of the [193] Third Order of Franciscans. In the rural area of the community nearly every plantation had its own chapel, which formed part of the owner's house, and its own chaplain to care for the spiritual needs of the landowning families and their [794] slaves. Much of the wealth of landowners was used to build magnificent churches, to sponsor religious processions, and to maintain religious brotherhoods for laymen.

178 In this century, however, Catholicism is no longer the official state religion, the landowners no longer support the 79 town church as they used to, and the Third Order of Franciscans has died out in Vila Recôncavo. Today members of the [565] upper class (Class A) confine their support to the churches they attend in Salvador, leaving the local church to the mercy of God and to the gente pequena of the town. Visits from the Franciscans to celebrate Mass and give instruction for first communion have taken the place of the plantation chaplain and chapel. The priests today say that the people of the community have no intellectual basis for understanding religious teachings or beliefs. Consequently, they say that they now seek only to have as many as possible conform to the outer forms and rituals of the church and refrain from attending the African cults.

175 In addition to the formal structure of the Catholic Church there arose, especially in the nineteenth century, many houses 794 of African cultism, called in this region candomblé. The ad-

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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some confusion in the minds of the cultists themselves as to exactly which saint an African spirit represents, and there often are slight differences in interpretation which do not, however, upset the cult practices to any great extent. Cultism in Brazil has been described in detail by Nina Rodrigues,[3] Arthur Ramos,[4] and Edison Carneiro,[5] and by the Americans Donald Pierson[6] and Ruth Landes,[7] all of whom concentrated on cultism in the city of Salvador; Eduardo Octavio da Costa[8] has good material on urban-rural cultism in Maranhão (northern Brazil). In Vila Recôncavo the syncretisms are being forgotten as the content of cults changes from African spirits to the Indian spirits, for which no identification is made with the Catholic saints.

Cultism apparently got its start in Bahia in the early nineteenth century. Carneiro[9] sets the date for the establishment of the first cult house in the city as 1838. Old people in Vila Recôncavo do not remember cultism beyond two generations ago. There is one woman in town who is in her late nineties and who only remembers hearing of her mother and her mother's generation as active in cults. Apparently the force of cultism increased with the decrease in Catholic proselytization, as the number of priests in the rural areas diminished. It also increased in tempo with the manumission of slaves, and apparently was one of the institutions through which former slaves bought the freedom of other slaves.

Today the cults of the rural area are far less elaborate than those in the city of Salvador, although it seems that even in the city, cultism is showing the same general trend toward disintegration which is so strongly apparent in the rural area. In both places there is a shift away from African ritual to practices connected with the Indian spirits, whose demands

3. Raymundo Nina Rodrigues, O animismo fetichista dos negros bahianos (Rio de Janeiro, 1935).

4. Arthur Ramos, O negro brasileiro (2nd ed.; São Paulo, 1940).

5. Edison Carneiro, Candomblés da Bahia, (Publicações do Museu do Estado, No. 8 [Bahia, 1948]).

6. Donald Pierson, Negroes in Brazil (Chicago, 1942).

7. Ruth Landes, The City of Women (New York, 1947).

8. Octavio da Costa Eduardo, The Negro in Northern Brazil (New York, 1948).

9. Carneiro, Candomblés da Bahia, p. 31.

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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are easier to understand and to comply with. In the town of Vila Recôncavo there are two houses of cult activities with female leaders, and in the rural area there is one such house with a male leader. These are the three houses which were studied by the author. There are six more in the area, but they are much smaller and poorer than these three.

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One of the three is led by a woman almost a hundred years old. She is now completely blind and can barely walk about the house. She has not been outside of it for several years. She has an assistant, a young man in his twenties, who as a child brought her firewood and water and who now has been taught by her much of the cult ritual. The house is now inactive, for the old woman has outlived her former followers, or else they have moved away. The room which contains the insignia of the African spirits is still kept up, and the proper foods and drinks are always placed there by the young man, in accordance with the instructions of the old lady. She herself does little, although she still consults the spirits by throwing cowrie shells. Her fame as a cult leader is widespread, and people still come to her for help, but she is too feeble to do much. In her day she was a "purist" and went through the long training period necessary to become a devotee and later a cult leader. She still knows a few words of Nagô, the Yoruban language, and laments the passing of her generation, with whom she says she conversed only in this language. Several of her initiates broke away and started their own houses in other places, although according to her they were not ready to assume leadership since they did not know enough of the mysteries.

The other two houses studied are led by disciples of one of the old woman's devotees who broke away. There is no contact among the three, although the two younger leaders are in awe of the old woman, aware that she knows much more than they do and that in her eyes they are only upstarts, manipulating something mystical which they are not sufficiently prepared to control. She does not intimidate them, however, and now ignores their activities, since they both have recently accepted the Indian spirits which the old woman feels are bogus. She is more interested in passing on her knowledge to the young man who cares for her house, though she complains that he is too indifferent to her teachings. He is learning a great deal, however, though he has not yet "made" his saint, that is, he is not yet a full-fledged devotee. Preparations for

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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this are being made, however, and it is hoped he will be ready for it before her death. In the meantime she has legally willed the house and its material belongings to him, and is also passing along to him her spiritual heritage. He is learning the mystical part of the cult, but she cannot show him the outer forms, such as dancing and other physical motions of worship, because she is too infirm. Traditionally only women went through training for worship in the Brazilian cults, for the belief is that the gods descend and "ride" or "mount" the disciple. This could only be done with women disciples. However, one of the changes reaching the cults now is the entrance of men as devotees. Very often they are effeminate, as is the case with the young man who is helping the old woman. The old one is not pleased with having a man perform the duties of her cult house, but she feels she must be satisfied with him because there is no one else in her house. Although all her former disciples are gone, now at least she will have someone to dispatch her saints when she dies, a complicated ritual which must be properly carried out.

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One of the other two houses is in the town and is led by Roxa, who has "made her saint" but who by cult standards should still be a devotee in another house, for she is not considered well enough prepared to be leading a house of her own. Her house is extremely weak, with few followers, most of whom have not yet "made their saints." Roxa is the main figure, the one most often possessed and through whom the spirits speak. As a young girl she went through a fairly rigorous period of training, but broke away before it was completed. She says she fulfills the necessary obligations now only because if she did not she would become sick. She calls the whole thing a "complication" in her life which must be looked after. She has been married but is now widowed and childless.

The other house, located on one of the plantations run by an overseer, is led by a man in his forties. He also claims that he is in the cult because of his health. As a boy and young man he was always sick and his entire body ached. One day in the field he found a "lightning stone" (pedra de raio). Such stones are common in the cults and are thought to have been sent from the sky, although they really are American Indian artifacts, such as arrowheads and hatchets, and are constantly turned up in the soil. At first he did not know what the stone was and took it home, but on discovering that it had supernatural significance, he threw it away, for he wanted nothing

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plaint about African deities is the amount of work involved and 787
the great expense entailed by making the proper clothes and 177
buying the beads and bracelets. All leaders say that no one can afford traditional spirits these days. Those who had formerly had them, of course, still do, but have also been visited by Indian spirits which they much prefer. So they carry out the more fundamental obligations toward the African 794
spirits, such as providing food and drink, but they dress and 178
dance for their Indian spirits. The result has been a confusion of rituals--the use of African music and incantations and 177
the addition of new dances, costumes, and foods appropriate [782]
for the simpler tastes of the Indian spirits.

The cult houses (terreiros) are built like other houses in 794
the community. The active one in town is located on a street
in line with all the other houses, while that on the plantation 346
is set slightly apart from the others, because of the scattered 353
configuration of the village. The front room, which is the
largest, is usually bare except for a few long wooden bench- [361]
es and a small altar with pictures of the patron saints of the
cult leader and of several of the cult members. This room is [352]
decorated with crepe paper streamers and paper flowers; the dances are held here. The other rooms of the house consist of a bedroom, a dining room, a kitchen, and another room known as the pegi, which houses the African altar with its plants and leaves, dishes, bottles, cups, and glasses of food and drink for the spirits, as well as the symbol of each one of them, such as a spade, a sword, or a hatchet. In this room there is also usually a trunk containing the ceremonial paraphernalia used during the festivities, such as the dress and
headdress of each spirit. This is the room in which sacri- [782]
ficial killings (matanças) are made of the goats and chickens used during the ceremonies. In the rural house there are also pictures of Catholic saints in the pegi, another departure from the older traditional houses where such a thing would never occur.

The cult leader lives in the cult house. In the literature on 793
candomblé the cult leader is usually referred to as the mae, 794
or pai, de santo, which means literally "mother (or father) 192
of the saints." None of the cult leaders in Vila Recôncavo likes [346]
this term; they say they could not possibly be the mother or father of the divine beings. They consider themselves rather
zeladores, that is, caretakers of the saints on earth. There is 794
much the same complaint about the term filha, or filho, de 192

2: Hutchinson E-4, 8 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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9. Recent Changes in Vila Recôncavo

THE FIELD WORK described in Chapters 1 through 8 of this study was carried out from June, 1950, to June, 1951. In 1955 and 1956 the author had the opportunity to do further work in Vila Recôncavo. This chapter is a summary of some of the changes which have occurred during the five-year period from 1951 to 1956.

First, the sugar industry has undergone several changes, developing still further from the plantation (engenho) toward the highly industrialized factory (usina) as postulated in the introduction. The factory-plantation system, as distinct from the private plantations, has experienced the most change.

Usina São Pedro was described earlier as a family corporation, owned and directed by members of one extended family. At one time in the past five years, this family was obliged to take into the corporation a large amount of capital representing a second family enterprise, considerably larger in scope than that of the first. Within a short period the second family achieved complete control of the factory through a series of financial manipulations. As a result, Usina São Pedro passed from the Conde family's ownership and direction, and is now just one element of a large commercial firm.

For a more complete understanding of Bahian society it is necessary that we examine this second family corporation. The key word is "family," which represents almost a constant in this culture. The second family, the Helvetians, is a second generation immigrant family. The major activities of the family corporation--there are other stockholders, especially employees, with small holdings--have always been commercial: exporting, importing, distributing, and transporting. The cor-

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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473 poration has extensive landholdings in other parts of the state,
but they are exploited on an impersonal, profit basis, not on
*249 the traditional, paternalistic basis common in the sugar area.
*[565] The Helvetians have taken a place in the upper ranks of Bahian society, representing new money and economic power. Their history is important. The original immigrant married into a Bahian family of "good name," and all of his sons have done the same. One of them married a daughter of the Coronel, founder of Usina São Pedro. It was through this marriage that the transfer of the factory was channeled. Today, although the Condes still own stock in the corporation, the Helvetians have the controlling interest, and the Condes are gradually selling their shares to the Helvetians.

466 The new corporation has brought about many changes in ad-
178 ministration of the factory. Although still a family corporation,
*249 it has become, from the wider, community, point of view, a
473 strictly business enterprise with no family ties and no face-
[596] to-face personal relations. A new directorship and management was established. The new "boss" of the factory is a man
[571] from a different part of the state, and his background is entirely different from that of sugar-cane growers. The thread of "family" is still unbroken, for the new manager is related to the new owning family by marriage. He is treated, however, as a paid employee of the corporation. His brother, now general administrator of the agricultural part of the factory-in-the-field, is treated similarly.

These two new managers have put the relations between management and labor on a strictly business basis and have removed all elements of paternalism. Upon taking over, they dismissed most of the older, higher-level factory, field, and office workers. Administrators, mechanics, and bookkeepers, most of whom had seen twenty years or more of service, were dispatched. New people came to take their places, and some of the vacancies were filled by promotions. Time clocks were installed, and the system of authority was reinforced all the way down the line. Social legislation--a new factor in rural, agricultural Brazil--was invoked to take the place of paternalism.

178 Thus the old, paternalistic, personal, owner-director pat-
*249 tern has changed completely. The chalet is no longer the scene of family gatherings for summer vacations, for Carnaval, or for Christmas; even the traditional Botada has undergone a

change. New faces and basically different relationships prevail at Usina São Pedro.

Another change, but this time in tune with the past, was an increase of capital, applied to the improvement of the factory. The capacity of the mill has been greatly enlarged. However, the agricultural part of the combination continues as it did before, with no innovations. The result is that the factory is able to mill and produce sugar much more quickly than it can be supplied with sugar cane. The hierarchical aspect of the factory as earlier diagrammed remains the same, and each plantation is still run as a separate unit.

In contrast, the private plantation in the community of Vila Recôncavo has undergone relatively little change in these five years. Always the most conservative element in the Recôncavo, the private plantation continues to retain its distinguishing feature: the personal, face-to-face, paternalistic owner-worker relations. The hierarchical pattern remains the same. Operations are still basically hand- and animal-powered, but private planters are slowly introducing mechanization in certain aspects of the process, especially that of transportation; trucks and tractor-drawn wagons carry cane from the fields to the factory. Tractors and mechanical plows are used to an increasingly large extent in the preparation of the soil, and mechanical cultivators are already in use on some plantations. However, the bulk of the work is still done by hand, and traction is supplied by oxen and mules. As yet no mechanical loaders, ditch-diggers, or planters have appeared, and little use is made of fertilization or herbicides. Few scientific agricultural practices are in use. The planter is still first and foremost a "practical" man.

Relations between the factory and the private plantations have also undergone considerable change, in both business and social aspects. The new managers of the factory have succeeded in almost completely alienating the private planters who supply them with sugar cane. Not only the members of the extended Conde family, but also other cane suppliers resented the highhanded, brusque methods of the new managers. Wishing to break completely with the past, the new managers instituted several new policies in relations with the cane suppliers. Formerly the private suppliers bought sugar by the sack, bought their supplies at the company store, and had their machines repaired at the company workshops, paying for such services at the end of the harvest season. The sup-

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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* 249 pliers were presented with accounts showing how much cane
571 had been sent to the mill, the price, how much the factory had
452 paid the bank on the supplier's loans, how much had been ad-
407 vanced the supplier for his cane, and how much was still owed
the supplier, discounting the costs of services received from
the factory facilities. This has been traditional practice, not
only at Usina São Pedro, but also at the other factories of the
178 area. Now, however, Usina São Pedro expects to receive
cash at the moment of the transaction for each such service
*249 the supplier receives. In addition, the factory has gradually
571 cut down on the number of services it offers the suppliers.
This has been particularly serious regarding services of the
407 mechanics, as the private suppliers have no other source of
437 repair for their machines except in the city; taking them into
the city costs a great deal of time and is more expensive than
were the services performed by the factory mechanics.

178 The new managers at first charged an automatic discount
* 249 upon the cane tonnage supplied by each private plantation. This
571 resulted in a considerable loss of money at the end of the year
for each private supplier, thereby straining even more the
relations which daily were becoming more and more disagree-
432 able. Any question of scale and tonnage is a touchy one for
private planters, who sell their cane by the weight. The dis-
[656] count charged on general principles by the factory was so
serious a matter that several of the private suppliers united
and called the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol to their defense
and succeeded in correcting the situation. This was a "first"
for Usina São Pedro, where such a thing had never before
happened, and where such a recourse is considered an ex-
treme.

178 Social relationships between the private planters and the
* 249 managers of the factory are almost nonexistent. Whereas a
571 few years ago the factory was the central gathering point for
the social life of the planters of the area, it is now a place to
be avoided. In addition to making working conditions difficult,
the new managers and their families are "outsiders" in this
small, closed plantation society, with different backgrounds
and manners. As a result of the new conditions, the private
planters are spending more time on their plantations than be-
fore, but their social life rotates from one plantation to an-
other, skipping the factory nucleus. This pattern is also re-
flected in the activities of the resident workers, who are up-
set at the treatment shown to the older employees of the fac-

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tory and its fields, and who are slowly drifting away from visiting the factory nucleus.

An overall result of the new conditions between private planters and the factory is a desire on the part of the suppliers of São Pedro to become independent of this outlet. Several of the suppliers are shifting their cane to other neighboring factories, when this is convenient. Most of them are seriously considering shifting to another crop, as will be described below; in fact a goodly proportion of land has already been taken out of sugar-cane production, thus diminishing future cane harvests and endangering the cane supply of Usina São Pedro. [311]

What was formerly a peaceful, "all in the family," almost preservelike area has become an area of tensions and of poor business, and social, relations. The situation has all the possibilities of a traditional sugar-cane kind of land capture. The factory needs land in order to produce more cane so that the mill can operate at capacity. No one is willing to sell to the factory, nor even to supply as much cane as he might under other conditions. But the private planters are dependent upon the factory, economically and for services. Therefore it is an easy matter for the factory to make difficulties for the individual planter, even gradually forcing him into failure, since the planter operates on credit and has little latitude for even a single crop failure. Such a failure gives the factory an opportunity to acquire badly needed lands at a bargain. [452] [425]

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The sugar industry in the community of Vila Recôncavo has also undergone changes in the labor aspects, in line with the entire industry. As was pointed out in Chapter 4, the price of the sugar cane and the sugar is artificially regulated, and has been rising slowly over a period of years. However, nationwide social legislation in the past three years has raised the wages of the workers annually, before the price increases were granted by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol. Spiraling inflation has also helped raise all the costs, of labor, of materials, and of machinery. Whereas prices for the task done have always been fairly well regulated, they have recently become a very strong issue, and there is much worker discontent. The planter, whether private or corporate, is more than ever interested in holding down the costs of his labor supply, since other costs, particularly of machinery and repairs, are soaring, always narrowing the margin between the total cost of production and the established selling price. [656] [458] [466]

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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*249 For the first time in the history of Vila Recôncavo the work-
468 ers' discontent has taken the form of a strike accompanied by violence. The strike, although a general one throughout the sugar industry, was the first one in which workers of Vila Recôncavo participated. It was specifically directed against the
178 agricultural part of the factory combination; however, it af-
*249 fected some private plantations as well, and was joined by
468 workers of private plantations. The strike was put down immediately and effectively by the state police. On investigation
467 the police found considerable Communist literature and prop-
668 aganda in the quarters of the labor union in Centro which had organized the strike. The labor union itself was illegal, since
[625] it was not registered with the proper authorities, and its leaders were well-known Communist agitators. What is important for our study is the appearance in the community of Vila Recôncavo of written and verbal Communist propaganda and the willingness of the local agricultural workers to participate in a general strike. This is a tremendous change for such a conservative area, where loyalty and paternalism have always been so strong.

178 Thus the sugar industry of Vila Recôncavo has entered a
*249 phase of many new difficulties: ties between factory and pri-
571 vate planters are strained, and labor relations are becoming a problem for the private, as well as the corporate, planters.
466 Inflation and the "dollar situation," which affect planters directly since all machinery must be imported, are also working toward the build-up of a new "crisis," continuing the pattern described in Chapter 3.

178 However, a new element is entering the community of Vila
245 Recôncavo in the form of a new crop, cacao. One of the plant-
242 ers began experimenting with cacao during the author's first period of research in Vila Reconcavo. However, at least five years must pass before it can be known if the cacao tree will give satisfactory fruit. At the end of 1955 the Institute of Cacao of Bahia presented the experiment to the public as a success and is now systematically stimulating interest in cacao as a possible and lucrative substitute for sugar cane.

245 Cacao is Bahia's major export crop and in general means
439 money to a Bahian. Still more attractive is the fact that the
178 cacao introduced to the Recôncavo is a genetic mutation, giving a white-seeded fruit which brings a much higher price on the
*[249] world market than does the ordinary fruit. The financial attraction of cacao, plus the disagreeable and financially weak

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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position of the sugar industry in Vila Recôncavo, is creating considerable interest on the part of the community's planters. Just as sugar cane is limited by soil and climatic conditions, so also is the cacao. There is little fear, therefore, of competition from many other areas. In addition, cacao is exportable, while the sugar of the area is for internal consumption only.

In spite of the attraction of this new crop, there are a number of problems which must be dealt with. First, the details of a change from sugar cane to cacao must be worked out, especially as regards space and financing. The planter must juggle his sugar plantings, pastures, and rotation lands so that he can slowly take out land for preparation for cacao. If he wants to finance the changeover himself, he cannot lessen his sugar production; in fact, he needs more money than before. Banks in general lend on the forthcoming crop; if the crop is reduced, so is the amount which can be borrowed. However, to overcome this, the Institute of Cacao of Bahia is preparing a financing program on a long-term basis. Sugar cane is a perennial, planted one year, bearing for the next three or four years, then ploughed under and replanted. Cacao, on the other hand, is a permanent tree crop which gives its first fruit in five years, reaches maturity in fifteen or twenty years, and then continues to produce annually for sixty to one hundred years. Thus sugar cane is financed on a one-year basis, while initial plantings of cacao must be financed on a long-term basis of ten to fifteen years. The change from a perennial crop to a permanent crop also requires a totally different mental set on the part of the planter.

Cacao is a "forest crop," which means that it requires shading. Under primitive conditions it is planted in dense tropical forest. In Vila Recôncavo, however, the former tropical forest has been entirely cleared away during the last four hundred years, since sugar cane tolerates no shade. Therefore, before the cacao can be planted, shade must be provided. This is done by planting banana trees and, at fixed intervals, single seedlings of a precocious, long-living, high-growing shade tree. To pay for the work involved it is common to plant manioc between the banana trees. The manioc is gathered the following year, and shortly thereafter the young cacao trees can be planted. The banana trees offer sufficient shade for the young plants. For a period of five or six years the planter

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242 can collect bananas, which should pay for the operating costs
[434] while waiting for the cacao to mature.

At the end of a five- or six-year period, the shade tree is usually large enough to provide sufficient shade, and the banana trees are gradually removed. At the same time the cacao begins to give its fruit, and one can then consider himself a cacauicultor.

178 Several planters in Vila Recôncavo are at the banana-manioc
245 planting stage, and have met with their first serious labor
461 problem. No one wants to work in banana and manioc fields,
464 as the work is arduous and slow. Machines are not available
[407] for the mechanical cultivation of manioc, so the work must be done by hand. The work is slowly being accomplished, but at costs which will make the manioc a considerable liability.

178 Nevertheless, in spite of these difficulties, there is con-
245 siderable interest in cacao in Vila Recôncavo, and cacao must
433 be considered as an element of change in the community which
*[247] will have far-reaching effects. The area of sugar production will be considerably reduced, requiring adjustments on the part of the factories, which represent large financial investments. Furthermore, cacao is a fairly simple product to process--its conversion into chocolate is usually done after export --and so it is quite likely that each plantation will return to the older aspect of the plantation, both growing and processing the crop, and become once again a highly self-sufficient unit.
[571] This would of course bring about a new alignment of socio-economic relations and would undoubtedly alter the community structure.

178 A third principal cause of change in Vila Recôncavo is the
315 growth of a new and potent industry within the community and
433 throughout the county. This new industry is the nascent Brazilian petroleum industry. Exploratory work was done in Vila Recôncavo in 1950 and 1951 under the guidance of the Conselho Nacional de Petroleo. Since that date a nationalized company, Petrobrás, has been formed to exploit the oil fields which lie under the topsoil of the county of Vila Recôncavo. Petrobrás has brought in several hundred oil wells and has built roads, pipelines, storage tanks, and machine shops. Just outside the limits of the community, but within the county, it has built its oil refinery and has created a small new, modern city to
[425] house the technical workers of the refinery and the field. On land expropriated from the Usina São Pedro it has also con-

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structed a series of barracks, a recreation hall, a restaurant, and a service center for the unmarried field workers.

In spite of this, the changes in the community structure brought about by the petroleum industry have been as yet relatively few. The industry exists in the community as an intruder, not affecting communal life to any great extent, and not contributing any substantial local benefits. This is perhaps in part due to the fact that it is a nationalized company, with headquarters located in the city of Salvador, rather than a product of local efforts. The petroleum workers for the most part have not been drawn from the local labor force but have come from outside the county. It is almost as if a military base had been established in Vila Recôncavo on a temporary basis. [464]

The effect on the town has been principally to increase the number of houses. The married workers of Petrobrás for the most part live in the town. Naturally there has occurred a broadening of point of view among the town dwellers as a result of social intercourse, as well as a certain new prosperity due to greater numbers. Nevertheless, there are still no private cars, buses, or public transportation in the county. The petroleum workers and their families go to Salvador whenever possible for shopping and amusements, rather than attempting to satisfy these needs in Vila Recôncavo, where public services, diversions, and so forth have continued to be almost nonexistent. [362] [571] [493] [494] [484]

To counterbalance the effect of prosperity brought to the town by increased population, the petroleum industry has had an adverse effect on the fishing activities of the townspeople. Many wells have been drilled in the shallow waters of the Bay of All Saints in front of the town. As a result of underwater explosions, the constant passage of rapid motor launches, and digging and dredging machines, the traditional fishing area of the town's fishermen has been rapidly depleted and its ecological balance destroyed. The fishermen are gradually turning away from fishing as an occupation and seeking other remunerative activity, either outside the community or in the petroleum industry and, to a slight extent, in the sugar industry. Others are turning to service occupations, such as bricklaying, as stopgap activities. 178 315 433 226

Petrobrás to date has affected rural life very little. The planters of the area have profited to some extent because of the roads constructed by the company. It is now possible to 178 315 433 49

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433 travel from the city to the plantations by car at almost any
49 season of the year. It is a two-hour trip, considerably more comfortable than the old system of travel by boat and on horseback. In addition, the roads have made it possible for the planters to transport their cane more efficiently, using trucks and tractor-drawn wagons. Along with this, the refinery has led to greater supplies of diesel oil, gasoline, and kerosene, so that it is no longer necessary to transport these items from the city at great cost and delay.

178 The planters have also profited in another manner. Petro-
315 brás invaded the cane fields in its search of oil. It fenced
311 small areas where it drilled and constructed storage tanks,
433 and it took out of cane production a good deal of land for roads and installations. Recently a basis has been reached for paying
427 the planters in a satisfactory manner for the use of the lands. As a result each planter whose land is partially occupied now receives an annual cash payment based on what the occupied
[421] land could produce. As yet no arrangements have been made for the landowners to participate in the profits of Petrobrás, since all subsoil riches belong to the nation, and therefore in this case to Petrobrás.

178 There has been little social intercourse between the planters
315 and the personnel of Petrobrás, either in the rural area or in the city of Salvador. From time to time the higher echelon
571 employees of Petrobras are invited to larger parties given by the planters, and in return the planters are sometimes invited to parties at the refinery. But the plantation society is so closed and so firmly based on family relationships that it is difficult to maintain steady social relations with newcomers. In addition, the engineers and other specialists of the oil industry are principally oriented toward the capital city, and there is no serious attempt made to establish social relationships with the planters.

The sugar-cane workers for their part are so definitely plantation-oriented that they seek little diversion among the new oil workers. The unmarried field workers of Petrobrás who might be expected to establish relationships with the rural population seldom do so. They live in a fenced barracks area which immediately gives the impression of a group cut off from the rest of society. When they do seek entertainment they go as a rule to the factory nucleus, or to the town of Vila Recôncavo, or to the nearby town of Milagres.

Politically, this influx of new workers has had little in-

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Politically, this influx of new workers has had little influence. Local politics, at least, remain in the hands of the traditional landowners. However, national political parties other than that of the landowners are gaining force, especially the labor party, and within the near future there will undoubtedly be considerable modification in the voting patterns. The bulk of the rural population do not have the franchise because of their illiteracy. On the other hand, the petroleum workers, whose level of living is considerably higher than that of the rural population, have the franchise and according to law must exercise it.

A major area of change in the community is the class structure. In its main outlines the class structure remains the same, but there are some differences in emphasis. Class A, the rural upper class, which also is part of the upper class in the capital city where it resides part of the year, has been somewhat depleted. The Coronel and his son and son-in-law and their families, who constituted the family owner-directors of Usina São Pedro, are no longer part of the scene. As a result of the shift in ownership and direction the former usineiro has been replaced by paid employees.[1] Although these employees are related to the principal members of the new owning firm by marriage, they are treated as employees rather than as family members. They do not have the "social standing," meaning tradition, background, extended family relations, and the scholarly training, which distinguish the former owners. Class A therefore is now represented only by the private plantation owners.

On the other hand, Class B is slowly becoming larger in both the rural and the urban areas of the community, as a result of the addition of two new groups: the members of the new factory organization, and the petroleum workers with their much higher standard of living, considerably higher education, and their steady employment as members of a new bureaucracy, Petrobrás. Unmarried workers belonging to Petrobrás are to some extent seeking marital alliances with girls of the area, especially from the factory nucleus and from the town of Vila Recôncavo. In some cases legal and religious marriages have taken place. In other cases the couple has simply

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1. The term usineiro is usually limited to the owner-director who is the founder of the factory, or is the son of the founder. When the director is a paid employee, he is just "the boss."

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begun to live together. But it is a general policy of Petrobrás that its employees establish regularized households and register their children, as the benefits of social legislation and insurance must be paid to legal beneficiaries, such as wives and children. Because of the many recent marriages, there are no longer any houses available in Vila Recôncavo, nor in Milagres, and there has been a spurt of housebuilding.

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There have also been some shifts in emphasis in the structure of the community. While the factory nucleus is no longer the scene of social gathering for the upper class of the area, the structure of the factory-private plantation system ensures that it continues to be the economic center as long as sugar cane is being planted in the area. The system of quotas established for the private planter and the factory by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol requires that planter and factory cooperate in supplying and receiving sugar cane. Also, the physical structure of the area, in which the factory is the center of the network of a small railroad which reaches out to each of the private properties, strengthens the impression of the factory as the center of activities.

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The possible future shift from sugar to cacao will of course diminish the importance of the sugar factory. However, in the meantime there is a new factor which will give more importance than ever to the factory: a feira, or market place. The county of Vila Recôncavo does not have a weekly market. For many years the county officials have wanted to establish one, not only for increased municipal income, but also to help attract more people to the area and to make life easier for the population. A market place is now under construction at the factory nucleus. When the market is completed, the factory town will become at least a weekly center of attraction for many people of the surrounding plantations.

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The development of the petroleum industry is bringing new life to the town of Vila Recôncavo, to the nearby town of Milagres, and to the new city of Conselhó. Petrobrás cannot develop a nucleus on the land which belongs to the factory or to the private owners, and therefore it must concentrate any local community building efforts in the old public towns which already exist. Petrobrás, indirectly, through the county court of Vila Recôncavo, will soon contribute considerably to the county income. The same sort of compensation which was worked out in regard to the planters is now being arranged for the county, through taxes on the finished products from

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the refinery, namely gasoline, kerosene, diesel oil, bottled gas, and other petroleum derivatives. As a result of the increased income, the county government will be able to build up the county seat considerably. A hospital is already being built, as well as a new dock for the boat which comes from the city.

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In Milagres, located in the neighboring county, there is already a considerable movement for breaking away from the parent county and becoming a separate municipio, a common pattern in Brazil for districts which reach a certain population and degree of economic activity. Thus there are two possibilities for urban growth in the area and for the formation of urban centers which will attract the large rural population.

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The town of Vila Recôncavo is close to realizing other possibilities. The construction of a road from the town to Centro has already begun, filling a long-felt need. Its completion will make it possible for cars, buses, and trucks to come from Feira, on the edge of the sertão, to Centro, down through Vila Recôncavo to Milagres, and on into the city, shortening the long trip by the existing road which follows the edges of the Recôncavo. Such traffic would "put Vila Recôncavo on the map," and would greatly increase its contacts with the outside world. In addition, the possibilities of the introduction of a new crop to the community will bring increased commercial activity and a much greater tax income, enabling the county to build its own roads and bridges and to make other improvements for the development of the area.

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Thus the community structure of Vila Recôncavo, which five years ago was in the process of crystallizing around the factory town, is now ripe for further change. The factory town continues for the present to be the major center, but the old county seat has all the possibilities of a rebirth of its former importance. In fact, because of the petroleum industry and the forthcoming changeover from sugar cane to cacao, the factory town is threatened as a community center, the position which it has only recently been consolidating.

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Finally, one of the most important changes in Vila Recôncavo in these five years is a change in attitude on the part of the people. Vila Recôncavo was always known as a conservative community, maintaining its old traditions and ways, rejecting innovations. However, there is now an air of expectancy and a search for new ways and new things. Dissatisfaction with the sugar industry, combined with the appearance

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of a new industry and new people, has brought new ideas and the desire for change. The town of Vila Recôncavo is beginning to lose its forlorn air. Inhabitants of the rural area are no longer content with the old ways of hand and animal labor. The community as a whole seems to feel that it is on the verge of something new and exciting. The major outlines of what is to come are not yet clear, but a willingness for change is invading the area.

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ties between Negroes and whites on these colonial plantations. All writers have mentioned the frequency of sexual relations between the white plantation owners and their female slaves. Slavery was not a humane institution in Brazil or elsewhere, but in Brazil relations between the slave and the master were of a more personal nature than in other regions where slavery existed in the New World.

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By the middle of the last century, the West Indies and other regions of the world were competing with the Brazilian north-east for the world sugar market; and the abolition of slavery in 1888 caused difficulties of labour supply on these plantations. The sugar industry no longer provided the great wealth that it had in the past, and many of the old plantations were abandoned or sold to large commercial companies who installed modern equipment for large-scale sugar production. Plantation slaves became wage labourers, and the old traditional patterns of behaviour between the Negro slave and the white plantation-owning aristocrat began to disappear, to be replaced by an impersonal employee-employer relationship in keeping with the new way of life. Yet many patterns persist from the days of the old plantation system. Many of the descendants of the aristocratic plantation owners try to preserve the old traditions. They are proud of their family names, and large aristocratic families are still important in the economic and social life of the region. In many rural localities, there are still plantations where the relations between the workers and the owners are highly personalized, as they were in the past, and where customs and traditions formed during the period of opulence and slavery continue, if modified, by modern conditions. Throughout this part of Brazil, the relations between people of different racial groups have been influenced by the large proportion of Negroes in the population, by the importance of slavery in the relatively recent past, and by the particular form which the relations between the Negro slave and the European master took on the plantations.

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II. The community with which the present article is concerned is called Vila Recôncavo; it is a real town situated in the zone known as the Recôncavo which surrounds Salvador, the capital of the State of Bahia, and which borders on the Bay of All Saints, extending inland from the shores of the bay some 30 miles on the northern side, and considerably less on the southern side. The Recôncavo was characteristic of the whole north-eastern plantation region. The Portuguese who settled in Salvador in 1549 recognized the value of these lands around the new city and the Bay of All Saints for sugar production. The third governor of Bahia, Mem de Sá (1557–74),

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gave sugar growing a great impetus by organizing expeditions of soldiers which he led into the farthest reaches of the Bay of All Saints, killing, driving out or enslaving the hostile Indian inhabitants, so as to make the area safe for settlers to move out of the city into the surrounding area and plant sugar. Mem de Sá himself built one of the largest and most productive of the sugar plantations in the Recôncavo.[2] His lands comprised three and a half leagues along the coastline of the Bay, extending four leagues inland, and two islands.[3] This *sesmaria*—as the early land grants were called—of Mem de Sá was broken down into smaller pieces by his daughter who inherited it, and by the end of the sixteenth century, most of the *sesmarias* of the Recôncavo had similarly, been divided into plantations averaging approximately 600 to 1,000 acres. In the past 250 years, many of these have kept the same boundaries and names, but their ownership has changed hands many times and they have passed through many cycles of prosperity and depression.

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The essential form of a plantation in the Recôncavo has changed little since the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the past, the entire plantation was known as an *engenho*, taking its name from the sugar-mill building which was the heart of the plantation. There were two chief types of sugar mills, one operated by water power and the other driven by traction power supplied by oxen. Before the end of slavery, steam-driven machinery had also come into use. A typical *engenho* had four main items of wealth—its lands, its buildings, the livestock and the slaves. Most of the land was, of course, planted in sugar cane, but there were also wood forests to supply firewood, pastures for the livestock, and small areas devoted to the raising of food stuffs for the personnel of the *engenho*. The buildings of an *engenho* included the sugar mill, the *sobrado*, or home of the owner, and the slave quarters. The owner's house was frequently a very large and pretentious building with one and a half or two storeys. In the Recôncavo the landowners sought to build their houses *a meia encosta*, or against the side of a hill, giving the appearance of a two-storey house in front, but only one in the rear. Such homes were frequently constructed of stone, wood and mortar, with tile roofs. The slave quarters, which were known as *senzalas*, were generally long narrow buildings with sides of mud or *taipa* and and roofs of palm fronds. The livestock of a typical *engenho* consisted of oxen, burros, horses, sheep and cows. The oxen supplied the power to turn the grinding mills when there was no water power, and they pulled the large two-wheeled carts which were used to transport the cane from the fields to the mill. Horses and burros provided transportation for the plantation owner in supervising the work in the fields, and for him and his family for visits to nearby *engenhos* and to town. Cattle and sheep grazing on the portions of the land which were fallow supplied milk and meat to the plantation community.

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567 those under 12 years of age.[1] Of the 121 slaves listed in the particular inventory mentioned above, 40 were African. Most of these came from West Africa. Of those whose African origin is indicated, *Nago* (Yoruba) is most often listed, and *Gege* (Ewe) is second.

249 On these sugar plantations of the Recôncavo in the colonial period,
565 the overseer of all operations involved in the growth of sugar cane and production of sugar was the owner himself. Generally, only the
463 oldest son was trained to take over his duties on the plantation; the younger sons were sent to Salvador, to Recife, or even to Europe to be educated as lawyers, physicians, engineers or Catholic priests. Daughters were married early and given their dowry, or they were
[582] sent to convents to become nuns or live as lay sisters. Marriages with first cousins were frequent. Every effort was made to keep the plantation undivided and in the family. The Recôncavo sugar plantation, until about the middle of the nineteenth century, was a remarkably stable community changing little in size and organization from generation to generation.

249 After the abolition of slavery, there was a partial exodus of ex-
567 slaves from the plantations to nearby towns and to the capital of Bahia. The ex-slaves who moved to small towns became manual
463 labourers or fishermen, or engaged in the profession they had learned on the plantations, such as barbering, bricklaying, etc. In other
464 cases, ex-slaves rented small plots of land on neighbouring plantations to raise manioc, corn, tobacco and other crops which required little
[427] outlay of capital. Others became sugar planters on a small scale; known as *rendeiros*, they rented a few acres from a plantation and cultivated sugar cane, sending the product to the nearby *engenhos* for milling. In other cases, the ex-slaves simply moved from one plantation to another, or they often remained as free men on the same plantation, still engaged in raising sugar cane, living under the same
249 conditions as before, but legally free. Contrary to popular opinion,
433 the *engenhos* of the Recôncavo did not all cease operations after abolition. Many of them kept on producing as before. In other cases
567 the *engenho* or mill closed down while the plantation continued to plant sugar cane, sending it to a nearby *engenho* which was still functioning for milling. Some *engenhos*, however, did close down altogether and were abandoned, or went into the hands of receivers.

249 At this time many plantations changed owners—wealthy people in
471 the city were able to buy lands at a low cost and did so. But the
567 failure of many of the *engenhos* in the Recôncavo was not a direct result of abolition, it was rather the continuation of an economic
[425] trend which had been going on for a long time. For many years previous to abolition, the plantations of the Recôncavo had suffered from lack of capital, poor administration, occasional crop failure, and

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[1] In the inventories, pardo indicated light skin; cabra, dark skin; and crioulo, black. These same terms nowadays are used differently in the Recôncavo. See page 30 ff.

from the competition of other sugar-producing areas. Abolition was the factor which, in many cases, simply ended a struggle several decades old.

The overall production of sugar in the Recôncavo was already dropping noticeably at the time of abolition, and it continued to decrease afterwards. At the end of the last century, state-supported *usinas*, or large mechanical factories for milling sugar cane, were opened in an effort to stimulate sugar production. At the same time, various other *usinas* were opened by private capital. These central mills received and processed the sugar cane of many plantations. The *usina* had the advantage of freeing the planter from the worries of milling and marketing the sugar, allowing him to concentrate on higher production of sugar cane, while the mechanized *usina* was able to produce more sugar out of the cane, thus increasing production. This system of sugar production proved relatively lucrative, and the government *usinas* passed into private hands. The owners of *usinas* bought as many neighbouring plantations as possible, and in this way the *usineiros*, as they were called, became at the same time the mill owners and sugar-cane planters—employers of factory workers and of agricultural workers. The plantations which did not pass into the hands of an *usina* became *fornecedores*, supplying cane to one or another large sugar mill.

The *usina* system, however, in many respects did little to change the traditional plantation system. The plantations belonging to *usineiros* continue as separate units; each generally had an administrator, a man responsible to the *usineiro*, who is in charge of the plantation. As a rule the administrator, who is an employee of the *usina*, lives in the old *sobrado*, the former residence of the *senhor do engenho*, as the old plantation owners were known. The workers on the plantations and their families frequently still live in *senzala*-like houses, usually a long narrow building under one roof divided into separate apartments of two or three rooms. Despite many changes of technology, many examples of the old and the new exist side by side on these Recôncavo plantations. On the same plantation both mechanical tractor and ox traction may be used to pull plows. There are workers' houses side by side, one with electricity and a radio, and another using candles and kerosene lamps. Furthermore, the hierarchy of workers and specialists in sugar-cane raising persists little modified from the early nineteenth century. There are the field hands, the ox-cart drivers, the artisans and other specialists. The plantation is also approximately the same size as it was in the early nineteenth century (although several may be the property of one company nowadays) and it has about the same number of hired workers as it had slaves before.

But the *usina* system and other outside influences have made for many fundamental changes in the Recôncavo. In the very large

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In the very large *usinas*, the mill hands and even the field hands are modern industrial workers. They are employees of a large industrial corporation and are protected at least theoretically by the labour laws of the nation. The highly personalized relationship between the plantation workers and the owner-administrator of his own plantation, which persisted from the slave era, has been replaced on the larger *usinas* by the impersonal employee-employer relationship of the modern industrial age. Today, modern plantations and small towns have electricity; there is modern housing for workmen; the State and even the sugar companies provide medical aid; there are primary schools both in the small towns and on many plantations; recreation facilities are found in the towns and provided by the *usinas*; and the sugar-cane experimental station situated in the area constantly urges fertilization of the land and modern techniques and methods of sugar-cane production. But the older and more traditional patterns exist side by side with the new, and each of them influences the relations among the racial groups of the zone.

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III. Vila Recôncavo is a small town on the Bay of All Saints. The rural area around it, which lies within the social and economic orbit of the town and which is the unit under consideration, comprises some 80 square kilometres, or slightly less than half the entire area of the county of which the town of Vila Recôncavo is the county seat.[1]

It this area there are 14 plantations, three of which nowadays plant very little sugar cane. Parts of the town itself are built on the land of one of these plantations, and the rest of the town area is owned in small lots by private individuals or by the Church. Although Vila Recôncavo is the county seat, local government is the only important function which it fulfils for the surrounding area. It is not used as a shipping point, either for receiving supplies from the outside or for sending sugar to the outside. *Braços do mar*, or inlets of the bay, go to many of the plantations and are deep enough for the *saveiros* (shallow draft sailboats) used on the bay for transport. Many of the plantations have direct connexion with Salvador. Commerce in Vila Recôncavo is almost entirely limited to supplying the 1,462 inhabitants of the town and of some small islands and of one community near by which is not devoted to sugar production. It is not the major supply source even for these groups which live near enough to another and far larger commercial centre where they prefer to do their marketing. The *prefeito* or mayor of the county is rarely a resident of the town itself. Rather he is usually a planter of the surrounding area. He goes into town to do municipal business,

[1] Both the town and the county bear the name of Vila Recôncavo.

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The other important occupation is fishing and there is the new petroleum industry. In Vila Recôncavo, bureaucracy plays a large part in the economics of the urban upper-class. The municipal secretary, the statistics agent, the federal and state tax collectors and their clerks, the postmaster and various other 'white collar' positions belong to this small group. Often members of the municipal government divide their attention between commerce (owning small stores) and their government jobs. Despite its long history and rather easy communication with the large city of Salvador, Vila Recôncavo is still an isolated community. After landing in the town from the regular steamer coming from Salvador, one must proceed inland either by foot or by animal. The only motor vehicles in the community area (except for those of the petroleum industry) are a truck and a delivery-type pick-up truck owned by the São Pedro *usina*. One hears from all classes that the town is backward, abandoned and dead. It has had a glorious past: wealth, the large and beautiful *sobrados* of the barons who were *donos dos engenhos* (owners of the *engenhos*), two beautiful churches, a national guard post with almost 1,000 soldiers stationed in it, a record of bravery and leadership in the war for Independence in 1822, and a place worthy of a visit from the emperor, Don Pedro II. Today the *sobrados* are in ruins, or have disappeared completely, as today's *donos dos engenhos* remain on their plantations or in the city, forsaking the town. The military have gone, the splendours of the religious feast-days are no more. Vila Recôncavo is representative of the decadence which has overtaken the entire area. Today it is known only for its *xangô* and shrimps.

IV. In the United States an absolute 'line' is drawn between white and Negro. A person who is not white is a Negro, however small the percentage of Negro blood may be. In Vila Recôncavo, this 'line' is recognized rather than drawn. A distinction between Negro and white is always kept in mind when classifying an individual. Everyone knows who is 'pure' white and who is not. Classification by race is one of the most important aspects of local culture, and one of the most difficult aspects for the outsider to grasp. *Bahianos* of the Recôncavo feel that one may instantly recognize the difference between a 'pure' white and a mixed white-Indian, white-Negro or Negro-Indian, but they do not let it go at that. They classify or minutely describe each person; they classify according to skin colour, according to hair form and according to facial features, and their classifications or racial types are used in everyday conversation. Just as it would be said in the United States that someone is short and fat, the people of Vila Recôncavo will describe a person's colour and hair.

Traditionally

565 the preto is linked with ignorance and superstition,
563 and a most common example of his 'ignorance', cited by the upper
794 strata of Vila Recôncavo society, is his belief in *candomblé*, the fetish
[171] cults of African origin so numerous in Salvador which have been described by various authors.[8] In the Caribbean, *candomblé* is
[177] known as voodoo and, as in Brazil, there is a mixture of Roman Catholic with African religious elements. In Vila Recôncavo there
[178] are highly complicated rituals of ceremony and healing, but owing to the pressures of modern life almost no one has the time necessary to spend in the full preparation for a *filha de santo* (servant of the god) or a *mãe de santo* (caretaker of the gods) and much of the old ritual is being forgotten and discarded, and newer and simpler
[776] innovations are in evidence. Another example given of the *preto's* 'superstition' in Vila Recôncavo is his participation in the cult of Janaina, the goddess of the water. This cult is really an offshoot of *candomblé*, Yemanja being the name of the African *orixa* or divinity, while Janaina is the name given to her by many of the cults in
[782] Brazil. It is Janaina 'who sends the fish to the fishermen', and they
[226] must thank her and give her gifts occasionally. Generally it is the *mãe de santo* who knows all the calls and prayers for Janaina and who presents the fishermen's gifts. Anyone who intends to climb the social ladder first disassociates himself from these rites, and then publicly condemns those who participate in them—although, in many cases, such an individual will continue secretly to give financial support to a local *mãe de santo* and to send gifts to Janaina. Often it is heard of a person: 'Oh yes, he is *gente* now, but last night he secretly sent his usual present to Janaina.' Individuals of all racial classifications belong to *candomblé*, although popular opinion has it that only the *pretos* engage in these activities. One can observe all racial types at a *candomblé festa* (ceremony), either as participants or as spectators. In one case in another area of the Recôncavo there is even a white *pae de santo* (male caretaker of the gods), a former lawyer!

563 Nevertheless, in Vila Recôncavo, there are examples of *pretos* and
555 *mestiços* who have shown themselves capable of progress, with and without education. Two examples are the plantation administrators, cited earlier, who have risen to that honoured and relatively
[463] well-paid occupation in spite of the fact that they cannot read or
[872] write. On another plantation, the *feitor* has taught himself to read and write and is known as an excellent story-teller. Primary schools
[873] were recently opened in the rural zone of Vila Recôncavo, and night schools for the adults. The response has been great, people often walking long distances at night to attend class, in spite of the fact that one of the most disliked and feared things is going out at night.

563 In Vila Recôncavo, there has been a central primary school for
565 many years, with an attendance of 354 of all racial types, children of
872 the whites as well as those of the others, although no children of the

planters. People in the upper class of the town, when they can, send their children to the capital to continue their education, and there are several *mestiço* students from Vila Recôncavo studying, law, medicine and engineering in Salvador. The intelligence of the mulatto is traditional, and it has been equally traditional that the darker-skinned person is unintelligent. Today these traditions are not as strong as before, but still it is felt that the mulatto has somewhat more aptitude than the Negro. The old idea of the Negro, meant for work and to be servile, still exists, now tempered with the knowledge that education can change the situation. There is only one club in Vila Recôncavo—a football club—and the players are all shades, from white to black, and so are the spectators. They all sit or stand together under the shade of the one big tree which gives shade to the playing field. The field is on the property of a white man who, while he has nothing to do with the team, allows them to play there, put up goal posts and markers. The bar and recreation centre are open to all so long as they wear shoes—a ruling made to keep out the muddy feet of children who came straight from the beach to have a 'coke'. All the racial types and classes get together here to play pool and gossip, this being the one and only point of public social activity in the town. At the movies, the admission price is extremely low, the same for everyone, and all four classes attend. Negroes and whites of all classes sit next to each other. At church there are no special pews, the faithful usually gathering in the front and the less faithful hanging about near the back. The choir and the acolytes are from all classes and colours. At parties, which are few, colour lines are disregarded, *brancos* and *morenos* dance with *mulatos* and *pretos* just as long as both partners can *pular* (jump).

The social situation is gradually changing, and the extremely personal element is being lost. It is strongest on the private plantation, where the owner spends the greater part of the year, but at the *usina* much of the personal element is weakened because of the numbers of workers. Even at the *usina*, there is visiting and gossiping between the owners' families and the workers. But at the *usina* not all the workers accept their subservient position as do those of the plantations. This is specially true of the higher echelon of specialists and technicians of the mill, who will frequently not go to a party given by the owner, even though invited. It seems to be a way of saying that the company of the white owners is neither needed nor wanted. They prefer to keep their relations on a strictly business basis. At the *usina*, when a worker is sick, he goes to the medical post where he is treated by a paid nurse, rather than to the owner's house. On pay day, the *usina* worker is paid at the mill by a paymaster, not in the living room of the owner's house. Nevertheless, in spite of the industrialized aspect of the mill, the number of workers is not too large to exclude all personal contact with the owners, who adminis-

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571 trate and oversee most of the operations. This type of relationship
466 has proved so satisfactory that up to date there have been no strikes,
[468] and no labour movements, or unions formed among the workmen
[467] of São Pedro. The length of time the technicians and other workmen of the *usina* have remained in their employ, refusing employment in other *usinas* and other occupations, has been a matter of pride to the owners of São Pedro.

249 It is on the plantations belonging to the *usina* that the white
466 owner-*mestiço* worker personal relations are least close. The *usina*
463 owners are able to make only occasional tours of inspection of the
571 plantations, and therefore have little personal contact with the workers. However, the administrator has in many respects taken the place of the owner. He is the only man on the plantation with authority, and all complaints and requests for favours or help must be presented to him. In one case, an administrator has been on the same plantation for 26 years, and is well-known for the 'court' he holds. Once a year he gives an immense party for the entire community, and people from all four classes attend. He is wanted as godfather for the children of the workmen, and as *compadre* in their marriages. Nevertheless, the administrator is as much an employee of the *usina* as is the worker, and while the administrator can and does assume some of the attitudes and responsibilities of the owner, he cannot assume them all. However, it is a frequent saying among the white-owner class that the real owners are the administrators, for they are the group closest to the workers and to the land. A plantation with a poor administrator is not only a poor producer, but also means hardship for the *moradores*; a poor administrator will take no interest in them, and take little care of them.

249 In other areas of the Recôncavo, where the *usinas* are larger and
46 more industrialized and where no owner resides either at the *usina*
571 or on one of the plantations, but lives always in Salvador, there is only a paid representative of the corporation at the *usina*. In such large industrial units the personal element is almost entirely lacking both at the *usina* and on the company-owned plantations. There have been cases of labour difficulties, strikes, violence and the intrusion of political groups. In several instances, there are efforts today, on the owner's part to re-establish personal contact with mill and field workers, even on the largest of the corporation *usinas* and plantations.

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571 VII. The relations between people of different physical types in
Vila Recôncavo and on the surrounding sugar plantations have grown
466 out of the plantation-slave system which flourished in the region
249 about a century ago. Many patterns and attitudes formed in that epoch persist even today in the town and on the privately-owned
44 plantations in the vicinity.

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plantations in the vicinity. There is the aristocratic group of whites descendants of the *senhores de engenho*—who form almost a caste, marrying among themselves and living out their own social life apart from the Negro and racially mixed population of the community. Just as the slave owners in the past, however, they depend upon the Negro and *mestiço* for labour; the Negro is pictured as the faithful servant and attendant of the white aristocrat. Again, as in the past, the mulatto who was the offspring of the European master and a slave mother is pictured as a social upstart and an intelligent trouble-maker. Yet it is the man of mixed ancestry who holds the intermediate economic and social positions; he is the minor bureaucrat, the technician in the *usina*, and the administrator and *feitor* on the plantations. The essential hierarchy has changed little since colonial times; and the relationship between these aristocratic whites and their Negro and mixed workmen is still a highly personal one lacking in social tensions, since each knows his proper position and each knows his rights, duties and obligations toward the other.

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There is no race problem in Vila Recôncavo, nor does prejudice or discrimination work out as it does in other parts of the Western world. A Negro cannot become a member of the aristocracy, but a well-educated and economically successful Negro can have easy social relations with this stratum. Negro ancestry is without doubt a grave disadvantage in economic and social mobility, but there are no political and economic positions closed to a man of Negro or mixed descent. As yet, however, only a few Negroes have moved into high political or economic positions. There is only one plantation owner who is a Negro, and Negroes and *mestiços* hold only minor bureaucratic and political positions in the community. The *prefeito* or mayor has nearly always been drawn from the aristocratic white group, and has never been challenged from the Negro and mixed population. Yet in the town and among the mill workers, 'people of colour' are beginning to show independence, and unwillingness always to occupy a subservient and lowly position. The administrators like to ride better horses than the aristocrats, to have fancier saddles, to dress better, and to be more ostentatious than their employers. Many townspeople know the big city, and the essential class and racial democracy which exists there. There is competition to join the local upper class, and derogatory racial criteria are used to deride competitors who would like to rise out of the lower class groups into this growing upper class. African culture traits such as *candomblé* and the cult of Janaina are associated with low status, and people who would rise in the local social hierarchy are anxious to dissassociate themselves from these groups.

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As modern attitudes and ideology penetrate Vila Recôncavo, there are more and more problems of class relationships; the population is becoming extremely class-conscious, and there is an in-

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creasing desire to rise in the social hierarchy. In the rural districts physical type is less important than in the town, since there is less chance for one to rise socially, the positions of prestige being highly limited. But in the town and at the *usina*, the opportunities are greater, and therefore more emphasis is put upon racial type; although, even in the town, racial type is not the most important criterion for ascending the social scale, the most important being the possession of wealth and education. However, in the town, people who have wealth and education also show a tendency to 'lighten', generation after generation, as well as to ascend socially. There is no such thing as 'passing' in Vila Recôncavo, and there is no need for it, for many individuals who clearly show traces of Negro ancestry are called white and treated as white, with no constraint or embarrassment. Also there are no social activities closed to the *homem de côr*, provided he has the money and the education to take advantage of them. Physical attraction is also extremely important in the social acceptance of rejection of people, as is shown in the complicated fashion of classifying and stereotyping individuals, and the idealization of the *morena*.

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In other areas of the Recôncavo, the personal element has been lost to a great extent, and has been replaced with a rigid class system, based upon wealth, personal initiative, education, racial type and 'luck'. For the most part, the tradition of the *patrão* is disappearing and people are more dependent upon their own resources in a more strictly monetary economy. Vila Recôncavo still however remains sufficiently isolated to preserve much of the tradition of the past, of easy-going personal relations between people of all classes and racial types.

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5. Araújo Pinho, op. cit., p. 49.
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ticularly São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro but also Belo Horizonte, Recife, Porto Alegre, and others, including Bahia.[3] For, stimulated by needs which could not be satisfied by importation from Europe or the United States under the conditions existing during two World Wars—and more particularly during the last one—and also by growing internal demand, industrialization has been assuming a continually larger role in what has previously been a predominantly agricultural and pastoral country. Concomitant with this increased industrialization—but not to be confused with it, since, for one thing, it began long before—there also has occurred a rapid and extensive growth of the cities. A high rate of natural increase of the population has meanwhile continued in all parts of the country, so that it is now estimated that approximately two and a half million persons are being added annually to the Brazilian people. New primary, secondary, technological and professional schools have been set up, in an urgent, but not yet adequate attempt—since it began with a huge deficit—to keep up with expanding educational needs.

The emergence of new employment opportunities, espe-

[3] Since the matter may have puzzled some readers, it perhaps should be pointed out that, in keeping with the traditional patterns in such cases during colonization and later, the term "Bahia" was long used to indicate, on the one hand, the Capitania, Province or State of Bahia and, on the other, its capital city, even though the latter had another (and less used) name—Salvador. At the time of our research, the capital city of the State of Bahia—where most of our research was carried on—was widely and commonly known also as "Bahia"; and this name is still being employed. Since this name was used in the original study, it will be retained in this Introduction, in order to avoid possible confusion when consulting different parts of this edition. Incidentally, the spelling of "Bahia" is correctly given here and throughout this book, although, for a time during the "spelling reform" in Brazil (but only temporarily), an effort was made in some quarters to write the name differently.

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The emergence of new employment opportunities, espe-

cially in the centers of industry but also elsewhere, not only has stimulated internal migration but—more importantly for our interest here—has also facilitated social mobility. This has brought significant change, particularly to persons in the lower ranks, who are extensively (but far from exclusively) of dark color, and whose economic position has long been, on the whole, stagnant. There is clearly evident in Brazil what perhaps is the principal long-range trend in the modern world, namely, the rise of the underprivileged classes into increasingly greater economic and political power; while the growing anonymity of the developing cities is making human relations more impersonal and categoric, and this has led to a heightened sense of insecurity while also aiding the escape of individuals of color from the controls of the old superordinate and subordinate relationships developed during slavery and giving these individuals new conceptions of themselves and of others.

Until comparatively recent years, a middle class like that known in Europe or the United States scarcely existed. At the time of our research at Bahia, for instance, there were only two clearly-defined classes in the city, as attested (see pp. 15 ff.) by the popular division of the inhabitants into *ricos* (literally, "the rich") and *pobres* ("the poor"). There were many families, however, whose occupation, skills, education, or level of living placed them above the lower class but who were not attached by kinship or achievement to the upper ranks. They thus occupied an intermediate position between the two extremes of the social pyramid, although they tended to identify themselves with the interests and values of the upper class. In recent decades, however, the changes mentioned above have produced occupational and educational opportunities never before known, and also greatly stimulated those previously existent, so that, in the large and more

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industrialized cities at least, these intermediate ranks have developed into a definite middle class.

The so-called "traditional" families, who for so long virtually constituted almost the entire upper class, still play an important role in industrial, commercial, intellectual, and political activities; but although they perhaps were never a completely closed unit, they now are having to accept into their ranks as never before an increasing number of persons who have risen from the intermediate tiers by reason of occupational or educational achievement, acquired wealth, or political influence.

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Brazil is thus in process of transition from a predominantly rural, agricultural and pastoral society, with a rather rigid class system, to an urban and industrialized society, where class lines are somewhat less important, and other elements of the economic, political and sociological structures are changing. There is a considerable degree of fluidity, in the midst of which the high value formerly placed upon primary relations, particularly the intimate attachments of members of large kinship, godparent or friendship groups, upon exclusiveness toward groups outside those of immediate personal contact, upon class membership, and upon loyalty is giving away, and new values are emerging. These changes are so extensive that Charles Wagley (1960a) has referred to them as "the Brazilian revolution."

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Owing also to the complex and rather subtle character of the Brazilian racial situation, its analysis is not an easy or simple procedure. Regarding the fact that this differs from that in the United States there is no disagreement. But there is disagreement regarding the character of this difference, its extent, and the circumstances which produced it.

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A sizable obstacle to analyzing this situation, and also to making it intelligible to persons in the United States, is a

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neighboring state of Sergipe.[22] Wagley (1963b:152–53) considered as "among the most important" of these generalizations portions of hypotheses 17 and 22, as well as the concluding paragraph, and restated them as follows: 1) "Brazil is a multi-racial class[23] society distinct from India, for example, where the social order is based upon the principle of caste and from those parts of the world where a national or racial minority (or minorities) is in free association with, but not accepted by, a dominant national or racial majority"; 2) "prejudice exists in Brazil; but it is *class* rather than *race* prejudice"; 3) "this does not mean that there are no social distinctions in Brazil. . . . Neither does it mean that there is no discrimination or that blacks or mixed-bloods are completely satisfied with their lot. But it does mean (a) that a man of color may, by reason of individual merit or favorable circumstances, improve his status and even achieve position in the upper levels of society, and (b) that this position will then be with reference not merely to the darker group whose color he shares but to the total community."

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In the Recôncavo area around the city of Bahia, Hutchinson (1957) and Costa Pinto (1958) report a shift under way in the relations between laborer and employer, from the formerly personal and face-to-face relations of the colonial and subsequent periods to those of a more contractual character,

[22] The statement on p. 134 of this book to the effect that a strictly-drawn color line would have to pass through families also has been noted by many other observers, including Frazier (1944:266) and Nelson de Souza Sampaio (1944) at Bahia; Freyre (1959:8) at Recife; and Willems (1949:407) at São Paulo.

[23] It is perhaps obvious that neither Wagley nor the present author uses the term "class" in the sense popular today in certain circles, wherein the "classes" and the "masses" are distinguished. On the contrary, it seems legitimate to include all persons in the class structure, whatever their rank.

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as the old patriarchal order continues to decline and industrialization increases; a shift which is intensified by the secularization deriving from the increasingly metropolitan character of the area and by the gradual emergence of new social groups. Have these and the other changes sketched above been sufficient to alter the character of the "racial" situation at Bahia since our original study was made? After a careful survey of the studies in the area in recent years, it seems to us that the evidence would lead one to agree with Wagley:[25] "Change has occurred, but *not* that much."

As Thales de Azevedo has pointed out (1955a:197), however, the possibilities of colored persons rising in class are increasing at Bahia; and many observers believe that this rise will continue to increase in the future. As this alteration in rank extends to continually larger and larger numbers of previously underprivileged individuals, greater strains and pressures probably will be exerted throughout the social order. For one thing, as Bahia continues to grow into a larger and larger metropolitan center, relations will be more difficult to maintain on a primary and face-to-face basis; and, for another, the anticipated industrialization, deriving from the extraction of petroleum resources in the area and the utilization of the recently-developed electric power on the São Francisco river, will in all likelihood augment the presently increasing anonymity and make relations more contractual and categoric. Moreover, as educational opportunities increase and extend downward further into the masses of previously unlettered individuals, thus adding to the effects of these other processes, the social order of Bahia may alter, perhaps markedly.

Wagley (1955:12) writes that "many" of the hypotheses

[25] In a letter to the author.

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to be desired. The policy of the United States, on the other hand, from the Brazilian point of view, particularly in so far as it counts every man a Negro who, to use the census definition, "is known to be a Negro in the community in which he lives," tends to perpetuate "a menacing element" —menacing not to the racial purity of the dominant race but to the political and cultural solidarity of the nation.

As a matter of fact the attitude of the Brazilian people to the race problem so far as concerns the Negro seems, on the whole, to be academic rather than pragmatic and actual. There is a certain ethnological and archeological interest in the survivals of the African fetish cults, the so-called *candomblés*, of which there seem to be an extraordinary number, especially in and about the cities of Bahia and Pernambuco. This archeological interest in the African is evidenced by two successive *Congressos Afro-brasileiros* which met in Recife and in Bahia in 1934 and 1937.

Since most of these *candomblés* are living and functioning forms of African religious practices, although obviously in process of assimilation to the ritual and mythology of local Catholicism, perhaps they should not be classed as survivals.

In any case it is a somewhat bizarre experience to a stranger in Bahia, walking along one of the ridges where *os ricos*, that is, the rich folk, live, to hear from the palm groves in the neighboring valleys where *os pobres*, the poor folk, live, the insistent boom of African drums. So narrow are the spatial distances that divide Europe on the ridges from Africa in the valleys that it is difficult to realize how wide the social distances are that separate them.

It is even more difficult for those of us whose conception of the Negro problem and of race relations generally has been

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Outside the city of Bahia and skirting the rim of All Saints Bay lies the Reconcavo,[7] some sixty miles long and varying from a few to thirty miles wide. Its soil is a cretaceous marl of great thickness, similar to the black gumbo of southern Arkansas and northern Texas, known locally as *massapé* or, in literal translation, "that which sticks to the feet." It is quite fertile and well watered and today appears only slightly impaired after nearly four centuries of cultivation. This is the cane and tobacco area upon which formerly both Bahia's commercial greatness and her need for reliable agricultural (hence slave) labor was based.

The Reconcavo was formerly a center of large landholdings, of a rural aristocracy, of a patriarchal system, and of slavery. Today, cane and tobacco are still cultivated, although the former, and to some extent the latter, languish by reason of the condition of the world-market and the persistence of primitive techniques of production. Although large landholdings are still common, the rural aristocracy is decadent, its prestige having suffered a gradual but persistent decline throughout the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries with the loss of the sugar monopoly, the growth of the coastal towns, and the accompanying increase in prestige of the urban professional classes. The abolition of slavery in the late nineteenth century was the final blow, and absentee ownership is now the predominating pattern. However, the present population is more dense in the Reconcavo than elsewhere in the state outside the city of Bahia and remains to this day markedly negroid in character.

[7] The literal meanings of the Portuguese word *reconcavo* are (1) a bay of semicircular shape and (2) the environs of a city. These two meanings appear to have fused in the Bahian use of the term.

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in response to the needs of colonial life still persist and direct life pretty much in the old familiar channels. Bahia has long been a relatively isolated city; and isolation has intensified personal intimacies and, by so doing, has promoted the growth of peculiarly local customs in response to peculiarly local conditions. 633 571

The character of Bahia's population, as might be expected, is also relatively stable. Virtually no immigration has come in from foreign lands in recent years, and little from other parts of Brazil. What population movement there is into the city comes largely from the interior of the state or from contiguous areas like Alagoas and Sergipe. Similarly there is little emigration. 167 166

Bahia is thus a "culturally passive" area[9] with a stability and an order reminiscent of Europe in the Middle Ages. In fact, Bahia is, in some respects at least, a medieval town. Every eminence of the city is dominated by a church or a cathedral. Until very recently there were no modern office buildings or industrial edifices to overshadow or to crowd out these symbols of a sacred order, and such as have in the past few years been erected only accentuate the dominance of the ecclesiastical structures. Over the habits of the female portion of the population in particular,[10] and to a con- 571 178 795 [368]

[9] Dr. Robert E. Park has used this phrase to describe an area "in which life continues, on the whole, to revolve in the same unbroken and traditional routine," where "population, natural resources, and the standard of living have achieved some sort of equilibrium and where custom and tradition provide for most of the exigencies of life." In such an area, "changes still take place, to be sure, but take place silently, continuously, and at an almost imperceptible pace" (see Robert E. Park, "Race Relations and Certain Frontiers," in *Race and Culture Contacts*, ed. E. B. Reuter [New York, 1934], p. 57).

[10] The ecclesiastical authorities have rigorously censured women's bathing suits which do not have sleeves to the elbow and knee-length skirts. Rarely is a woman other than a foreign resident or an occasional individ- [291]

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571 178 795 [554] siderable extent over those of the male portion, the church exercises a substantial measure of control. Prestige of the military is high.

596 621 The large family, with its wide ramifications and its patriarchal organization, also bespeaks a preindustrial era. Social cohesion in the community is maintained by the close association of members of these large family groups, together with the intimate ties common to friends of long standing, the degree of whose intimacy is much greater than that ordinarily to be found in the cities of comparable size in industrial societies. One notes in Bahia a warmth of manner uncommon to the United States. Bahians, like most Brazilians, tend to be very affectionate in the family and warmhearted toward their friends. Characteristic of such primary relationships is a high order of courtesy and politeness and an almost limitless consideration for the convenience and comfort of relatives and friends. Religious affiliation and guild association weave further strands of solidarity, binding the urban community together as if it were merely an overgrown village.

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578 [477] [433] [466] In this stable society there is a comparative absence of most forms of conflict. In commerce and finance competition is comparatively slight and limited in considerable measure to foreigners. The economy is almost entirely extractive and industry is minimal. The few differences which arise between labor and capital often take the form of a

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571 178 795 291 ual educated in Rio, to be seen on the beaches. Snug-fitting street dresses or those made of sheer or transparent material, and skirts which do not fall at least several inches below the knee, are subject to general criticism. At the exit of the principal churches and cathedrals is posted an official proclamation of the archbishop of Bahia specifying permissible dress. Failure to observe these regulations automatically bars the offender from the sacraments of the church.

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But the free Negro, in competition with the European and his descendants, was faced with a difficult struggle. Even though he might cease to speak Nagô and to scarify his face and body; even though his wife might discard her distinctive African costume, and both no longer identify themselves with African fetish beliefs and practices but give instead allegiance to Catholic forms; nevertheless, the free Negro could not escape the fact that he was sharply differentiated from the ruling class in color, hair texture, and facial characteristics. He could not readily discard a highly visible badge of his former slave status. Wherever he went he would be known, if not for a slave, at least for the descendant of slaves.

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The occupations of the free Negroes, or at least those of their immediate forebears, had been employments commensurate with servile status and had ordinarily consisted in hard, sordid, manual labor. The common saying, "Trabalho é para cachorro e negro" ("Work [i.e., hard manual labor] is for Negroes and dogs"), reflects this fact. To work with one's hands has been in Brazil long considered debasing for a white man. As Monteiro has said, "Even if in Portugal he had been a servant with a hoe in his hands, upon setting his foot upon Brazilian soil, he cared not to work."[106] That artisan labor was not a white man's job was long a tradition in Brazil.[107] To be a white was identical with being noble,[108] and "there was a common root of plebeian origin: it was African descent."[109] Government employ was for a long time

[106] Vahia Monteiro, quoted by F. J. Oliveira Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro* (2d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 153.

[107] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

[108] Vianna, *Populações meridionaes do Brasil* (3d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 139.

[109] "A côr significava nobreza; havia uma comum origem plebéia—o tronco africano" (Calmon, *op. cit.*, I, 24).

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Nagô at times spoken in Bahia and an occasional individual whose command of this language is comparable to his command of Portuguese.

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The nature of Negro settlement at Bahia favored to a considerable extent the preservation of African cultural forms. Tribal units were not deliberately broken up, as in Jamaica and the United States, and the Negro was thereby able to preserve and to transmit to his children a considerable portion of his African heritage. Even on the plantations the distribution of newly imported Africans among the old-established Negroes seems not to have occurred.[8] The concentration in the city of Bahia over a long period of time of large numbers of semi-independent *negros de ganho*, around whom there gradually accumulated a considerable number of relatively unassimilated free Negroes, also favored the persistence of African cultural elements.

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It is likely that Nagô was not maintained in a pure form but came to be a patois containing numerous elements from other African dialects as well as from Portuguese. A Catholic missionary, Padre Coquard, visiting Bahia in 1899 to solicit funds, spoke to the colored population in Nagô. But the sermon, preached in the ancient church of Sé, was wholly ineffective.[9]

Other African languages were spoken in Bahia.[10] Rodrigues believed that Gêge (or Ewe) was used throughout the eighteenth century and until at least the middle of the nine-

[8] Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil, 1809 to 1815* (2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1817), I, 229 n.

[9] Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 200–201. Perhaps another reason for this ineffectiveness was that the Negroes who were most able to understand Nagô were unassimilated Africans who, out of loyalty to the religion of their fathers, deliberately absented themselves from this ceremony of the Catholic church.

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 197–230.

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teenth. Tapa and Haussá were spoken during the entire nineteenth century, and the latter perhaps long before 1800. Although the Haussás were relatively few in number, their influence was considerable. The slave revolts of the early nineteenth century were, as we have seen, led by this reputedly "most intellectual element" among the imported Africans, many of whom could read and write Arabic characters. Kanúri, spoken in Bahia by the Bornús, and Grúnce, the tongue used by the slaves known as Gallinhas, are included, along with Haussá, Gêge, and Tapa, in the limited vocabularies which Rodrigues collected from Bahian Negroes near the beginning of the twentieth century.[11] Tshi (or Odji), Gá (or Acrá),[12] and Mandê (or Mandinga) were also employed to a limited extent.

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As late as 1900, Negro laborers in Bahia continued to wear "white vestments of coarse cotton cloth," which reminded Rodrigues of "the Nagô *camisuis*."[13] The *Bahiana* costume,[14] of partial African origin, was extensively used by the Negro women. It was also customary for them to carry their babies bound to the back with a large cloth. African dishes, in the preparation of which *azeite de dendê* (oil of the *dendê* palm) and *pimenta da costa* (pepper from the West Coast) prominently figured, formed a considerable portion of the Negro diet.

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At that time, also, African music might be frequently heard, particularly in the ceremonies of the *candomblé*. African musical instruments, like the *atabaque*, the *agê*, the *cantá*, the *marîmba*, the *agôgô*, the *caxixi*, and the *xáque-xáque*[15] were commonly employed. The fetish cult drew allegiance from numerous and zealous devotees.

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 217–21.

[12] Spoken in Bahia by the Ashantis.

[13] *Op. cit.*, p. 181.

[14] The *Bahiana* costume is described in detail in chap. ix.

[15] These instruments are described in chap. ix.

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giance from numerous and zealous devotees. African dances 796
still invaded the popular festivals of the Europeans to such 535
an extent that vigorous protests on the part of the white 571
citizenry appeared in the newspapers.[16] Numerous images 177
employed in the fetish worship were imported from Africa,
and others were made by Negro sculptors in Bahia. 175

One occasionally encountered Negroes who in Africa had 778
been chiefs or other dignitaries of considerable power and in- 794
fluence. Although in Brazil they shared the fortunes of a 178
slave with their former subjects, they nevertheless often re- 175
ceived allegiance and great reverence from them. On a 554
chance meeting in the street these personages were, we are 567
told, "saluted respectfully, their hands kissed, and a bless-
ing requested of them." Even their masters were reported
to have paid them, in several cases, considerable respect.

Slaves who were in close contact with their masters, 175
especially the house servants, soon became, by the very 191
necessities of the situation, at least to some extent bilingual. 567
And their offspring, reared in close contact with the children 177
of their masters, acquired little, if any, African vocabu-
lary and came almost exclusively to speak Portuguese. Thus,
about 1800, Koster wrote from Pernambuco, "Portuguese

[16] In the *Jornal de Noticias* for February 12, 1901, a white citizen wrote: [541]
"I wish to protest against the way in which this great civilized festival [Carnival] is being Africanized." Three days later the following was published: "These infamous Africanized groups *de canzás* and *busios* which, far from adding to the brilliance of our Carnival festival, bring shame upon the name of Bahia . . . . have since yesterday been keeping up their infernal tumult." Immediately preceding the opening of Carnival the following year there appeared in the *Jornal de Noticias* (February 5, 1902) the following note: "If during these former Carnival festivals when the popular enthusiasm has been greatly aroused by the passage of the victorious floats . . . . these groups of *Africanos* have been repugnant, what will the Carnival of 1902 turn out to be, unless the police take effective measures to prevent our streets from looking like *terreiros* where fetish practices reign amid a retinue of *ogans* and their *canzás* and tambourines?" (Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 236–38).

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descriptions; and the women have been taught needle-work, embroidery, and all branches of culinary knowledge.[40]

In 1822 an observer in Rio noted:

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When the Emperor had received the public bodies, he came and led the Empress into the great receiving room, and there, both of them standing on the upper step of the throne, had their hands kissed by naval, military and civil officers, and private citizens. . . . . It was curious, but it pleased me, to see some Negro officers take the small white hand of the Empress in their clumsy black hands, and apply their pouting African lips to so delicate a skin; but they looked up to *Nosso Imperador* (Our Emperor), and to her, with a reverence that seemed to me a promise of faith *from* them, a bond of kindness *to* them.[41]

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"There is evidently," commented another visitor, "a sincere wish to make the liberated slave a useful citizen, if possible."[42]

Custom came gradually to grant the slave, as Burton has pointed out, many of the rights of a freeman:

He may educate himself, and he is urged to do so. He is regularly catechised, and in all large plantations there is a daily religious service. If assailed in life or limb he may defend himself against his master, or any white man, and an over-harsh proprietor or overseer always runs considerable risk of not dying in bed. He is legally married, and the chastity of his wife is defended against his owner. He has little fear of being separated from his family: the humane instincts and the religious tenets of the people are strongly opposed to this act of barbarity. He has every chance of becoming a free man: manumission is held to be a Catholic duty and priestly communities are ashamed of holding slaves. . . . .[43]

[40] *Op. cit.*, I, 258: "The owners said that all their own immediate relations were rich; . . . . and that therefore these their children had no right to work for any one else."

[41] Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 319. [42] Codman, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

[43] *Op. cit.*, pp. 271–72. Some cases undoubtedly occurred in which the master refused to manumit a slave upon his presenting the cost price, but these were probably rare. Koster (*op. cit.*, I, 192–94) says that, although

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to slaves morning and evening, at the commencement and close of their day's labor."[79] Mathison noted that "on Sunday large numbers of slaves may be seen in the churches, particularly females."[80] For the exclusive worship of the Negroes, certain saints—Nossa Senhora do Rosario, São Benedito, and Santa Efigenia—were set aside, and their images were often, and still are today, painted black. Numerous *irmandades* composed entirely of Negroes were organized, usually under the patronage of São Benedito and Nossa Senhora do Rosario,[81] and in Bahia, at least, these all-Negro organizations persist to the present day. Koster, writing about 1800, tells us:

> The ambition of the slave very generally aims at being admitted into one of these Irmandades, and at being made one of the officers and directors of the concerns of the brotherhood. Even some of the money which the industrious slave is collecting for the purpose of purchasing his freedom, will often times be brought out of its concealment for the decoration of a saint, that the donor may become of importance in the society to which he belongs.[82]

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In 1848 Henry Bates noted that on an estate called Caripí, near Pará, the Christmas festival "was celebrated by the Negroes of their own free will, and in a very pleasing manner."

> The room next to the one I had chosen was the *capella*, or chapel. It had a little altar which was neatly arranged, and the room was furnished with a magnificent brass chandelier. Men, women, and children were busy in the chapel all day on the 24th of December, decorating the altar with flowers and strewing the floor with orange leaves. They invited some of their neighbors to the evening prayers; and when the simple ceremony began, an hour before midnight, the chapel was

[79] Mawe, *op. cit.*, p. 115; cf. also Mathison, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

[80] *Op. cit.*, pp. 156–57.

[81] Cf. Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

[82] *Op. cit.*, I, 199–200.

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crowded. They were obliged to dispense with the mass, for they had no priest; the service therefore consisted merely of a long litany and a few hymns. There was placed on the altar a small image of the infant Christ, the "Menino Deus" as they called it, or the Child-God, which had a long ribbon depending from its waist. An old white-haired Negro led off the litany, and the rest of the people joined in the responses. After the service was over they all went up to the altar, one by one, and kissed the end of the ribbon. The gravity and earnestness shown throughout the proceedings was remarkable.[83]

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Slaves were often married according to the forms of the Catholic church, and the banns were published in the same manner as for free persons.[84] Debret has preserved a visual impression of such a ceremony being performed in the house of wealthy Brazilians.[85]

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As Freyre has pointed out,[86] priests continually urged upon white masters the advantage of conceding to the Negroes their African pastimes. A Jesuit, writing in the eighteenth century, advised slaveowners not only to permit but even to encourage the *festas* of the blacks, saying: "You should not make it difficult for them to choose their king, and to sing and dance as they desire on certain appointed days of the year, and legitimately to enjoy themselves on Sunday afternoons when in the morning they have executed the ceremonies in honor of Nossa Senhora do Rosario, São Benedito, or the guardian-saint of the chapel." Slaves were granted permission to use during public festivals—at first the Vespers of Reis, later Christmas, New Year's, and Carnival—

[83] Henry W. Bates, *The Naturalist on the River Amazons* (reprint, London, 1892), p. 88.

[84] Koster, *op. cit.*, I, 202. The consent of the master was required and the ceremony could not be performed until "the requisite prayers have been learned, the nature of the confession . . . . understood, and the sacrament can be received."

[85] *Op. cit.*, Vol. III, Pl. 15. [86] *Op. cit.*, p. 264.

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African costumes, songs, and dances.[87] The Catholic church was never in haste, it seems, to assimilate the Brazilian Negro but adopted instead a patient and tolerant policy which in the end was eminently successful. Early in the nineteenth century Koster wrote from Pernambuco, "No compulsion is resorted to, to make the Negroes embrace the habits of their masters; but their ideas are insensibly led to imitate and adopt them."[88]

As might be expected, the transition from fetish-cult ideas and practices to Catholic ritual and belief was marked by intermediary stages in which elements of both religions coexisted in the Negroes' thought and practice, and the objects of one cult were identified with objects of a similar nature in the other. Hence, the extensive identification, for instance, of several African *orixás* with certain Catholic saints (as we shall later see in greater detail) and the coexistence of African and European forms in the principal religious and popular festivals.

Thus, in 1852, a visitor wrote from Rio de Janeiro:

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> For many nights past, Gloria Hill . . . . has echoed till a late hour with the songs, the wild music, and the tread of the dance in the Negroes' favorite amusements; and yesterday afternoon, I accidentally became a spectator of a grand gathering of this kind. It was "Twelfth" or "King's Day," as sometimes called—being that commemorative of the adoration of the Magi in the stable of Bethlehem; and it is a chief festival with the Negroes. . . . . When about half way up the Larangeiras . . . . my attention was arrested by a large gathering of Negroes within an enclosure by the wayside, engaged in their native dances, accompanied by the wild and rude music brought with them from Africa. . . . . Many of the principal performers, both among the dancers and musicians, were dressed in the most . . . . grotesque manner. . . . . A majority, if not all the performers, were baptized

[87] *Ibid.* [88] *Op. cit.*, I, 200.

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often hears in Bahia the expression *melhorando a raca* ("improving the breed").[37]

The attitude here inferred arose during slavery, when it [567] became a distinct privilege for a Negro woman to bear a [178] child to her white master; for she and her progeny were thereby placed in a more advantageous position, especially as far as material benefits, and even freedom, were concerned.

João Varella, in a booklet entitled *Da Bahia do Senhor do Bomfim*, reproduces the figure of a Negro woman bearing a young child bound to her back by a wide cloth. "When the child was black and ugly," Varella writes, "he was usually carried in this fashion. If, however, he was a *coisa mais limpa* (literally, 'a cleaner thing'), he was borne in front, in his mother's arms, so that all the world might the more readily see him."

This desire "to marry whiter" is not limited to the female portion of the black population. Successful males here, as in Haiti and the United States, generally seek to insure further their status and that of their children by marrying lighter-

[37] Of twenty-four babies delivered at the free maternity ward of Santa Isabel Hospital from Negro and mulatto mothers, four, an obstetrician thought, would grow up relatively "white," while only two appeared to be completely negroid. Although pigmentation apparently is not fixed at this early period, the appearance of *manchas* (or deeply colored "stains," called in popular speech *genipapo* after a common Brazilian fruit of a similar coffee-brown color), on either the back or buttocks is, in Bahia, commonly considered an index of subsequent dark pigmentation over the entire body. Three of the babies from dark mulatto women and one whose mother was a light mixed-blood showed no evidence of *manchas*. One dark mulatto mother, when requested, removed her child's clothing and proudly displayed his back free from these marks. The obstetrician, with a smile and a friendly pat on the mother's shoulder, inquired, "It's father was white, wasn't he?" The colored mother, pleased, replied, "I have five other children like him, all without *manchas*." [743]

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ily which shows slight traces of African ancestry all married white spouses, *brancos finos* ("genteel whites"), as a friend put it. One married the daughter of a distinguished physician and professor at the Faculty of Medicine. Another married into a prominent upper-class family. A third married a young man whose family possesses considerable wealth and lives in a palatial home in one of the select residential areas. The fourth married a descendant of the colonial aristocracy, now a state deputy, an able lawyer, and professor at the Faculty of Law.

A seventeen-year-old white girl "of good family," after replying in the negative to a query whether she would marry a *preto*, was asked, "How dark a man would you be willing to marry"? After reflecting a moment, she replied, "One about like Reginaldo," naming a light mixed-blood with *bom* ("good") hair.

An important commercial figure shows slight traces of Negro lineage, particularly in his hair. He is intelligent, capable, "dynamic." His wife is white, handsome, of gracious bearing. Their daughter, beautiful, of "charming personality," would pass easily for white anywhere. Her fiancé is almost white, but shows a few traces of Negro lineage.

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The rate of interracial marriage is probably increasing, although positive data are not available. As the black and the mixed-blood rise in class, one would expect this to take place. Several individuals from different class levels were quite certain that intermarriage is more prevalent today than formerly. "The races used to stay apart much more than they do now," commented a *preta* cook. "Once in a while a dark person and a white would marry, but it was rare. The whites used to say he was *uma mosca dentro do*

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leite ('a fly in the milk'). There wasn't so much mixture then."

One may perhaps say, then, that black color, although an undeniable handicap to marriage into the upper classes at Bahia (at least when sufficiently obvious to be readily observable) is not an absolute bar and may be overcome with the aid of such advantages as wealth, intelligence, occupational proficiency, beauty, and personal charm. The individual involved will be accepted more on the basis of his mental and social qualities than on racial descent. 565
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However, since a Negro cannot escape his color but, on the contrary, constantly carries with him this indelible badge of low status, he tends to be catalogued by one meeting him for the first time as a member of the lower status group. Only as he simultaneously or subsequently gives evidence of other characteristics ordinarily associated with upper-class standing, such as economic competence, professional skill, educational achievement, "gentlemanly bearing," etc., is this original conception modified; and even then the fact of his being in appearance like a lower-class man remains one of the criteria of him and is undoubtedly a handicap.

It is in the light of this distinction that one perhaps best understands what at first sight appears to be discrimination on the basis of race. Since to a large extent discrimination follows color lines, one is likely to assume its similarity to that which we know in the United States and naïvely posit an automatic relationship between race and discrimination. But if one focuses his attention on those *homens de côr* who have risen in class and who for this reason are no longer subjected to the same prejudices as others of their fellows

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officials of the middle tier, and the predominantly black slaves of the lower stratum.[18]

The duration of this particular organization was, however, brief. As the color line bent further under pressure of the rising mulatto, certain of the more able or more successful mixed-bloods broke through into the upper tiers.

The development of the cities increased the possibilities for economic advancement to individuals who, like the mulattoes, were noted for their skill as artisans and—what was more important—for their intellectual ability.[19] The rise, after independence in 1822, of the *academias superiores* offered to the more able mixed-bloods possibilities not previously attainable. Since by reason of their mental alertness the mulattoes often excelled, it is said, in those pursuits wherein intellectual ability is an essential for success, the development of these centers of advanced study opened, at least to the ambitious and favored ones among them, ready access to the rising professional classes, especially as *doutores* or *bachareis*.[20] Many promising young mulattoes were aided to a professional training by indulgent white fathers or other relatives and friends among the dominant class.

Of a prominent Brazilian intellectual, Raul Calogeras, whose father was a Bahian planter and whose mother was a Negro slave, we are told:

> Raul was very intelligent, and showed remarkable ability in his studies. It is said that when a very young boy at Santo Amaro, he used to slip away late at night, after his mother's master had gone to bed, to study by the street lamp on the corner near the house. When his father discovered this, he was much impressed, and other signs

[18] Vianna, *op. cit.*, pp. 72–73.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 151; Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, pp. 160–61, 190.

[20] Physicians, lawyers and engineers.

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The increasing prestige of youth, accelerated by the popular rule of young King Dom Pedro II, together with the increasing dominance of the cities in which the young graduates located, also contributed to their rise in social esteem.

The disruption of the old order based upon slavery, owing to the loss of the sugar monopoly, the increasing dependence of rural *senhores* on their urban agents and commission merchants, and the progress of the abolition campaign, eventually leading as it did to widespread desertion of slaves from the *engenhos*, also facilitated the rise of the professional classes. There was under way a gradual transfer of prestige from the rural aristocracy,[22] which had been almost exclusively European, to the urban intelligentsia, which increasingly included mulattoes, particularly of the lighter shades; for example, Gonçalves Dias, Natividade Saldanha, José do Patrocinio, Machado de Assis, Barão de Cotegipe, Olavo Bilac, Domingos Caldas Barbosa, Salles Torres Homem, Nilo Peçanha, Domicio da Gama, Dom Silvero Gomes Pimenta, Dom Luiz Raymundo da Silva Brito, Tobias Barretto, Antonio Vieira, José Mauricio, Auta de Souza, Francisco Gé Acabaya de Montezuma, the Rebouças brothers, and "hundreds of other Brazilians," as João Dornas Filho says, "whose great mental capacity has brought resounding fame to Brazil."[23]

Dom Pedro II elevated to the nobility a prominent mixed-blood who was subsequently known familiarly as "Barão do Chocolate."[24] The Count do Gobineau speaks of meeting

[22] For a sketch of the *rise* of the Brazilian aristocracy see Alan K. Manchester, "The Rise of the Brazilian Aristocracy," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XI, No. 2 (May, 1931), 145–68.

[23] *A escravidão no Brasil* (Rio, 1939), p. 228.

[24] Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 190.

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beira, have all been influential politicians with national reputations. Luiz Gama, mulatto journalist and lawyer, born a slave in Bahia, became exceedingly popular not only in São Paulo, where he came to reside, but throughout Brazil. At least one president of the Republic, Nilo Pecanha, had African ancestors.[28]

It is said the royal family set the example of social acceptance of the darker Brazilians and gently rebuked those whites inclined to be hesitant in the matter. Dom João VI, in his audiences at São Cristovão, cordially received men of all stations, and the two Pedros (Dom Pedro I and Dom Pedro II) continued the tradition. Once, at a court ball, Princess Isabel, noting that a lady had declined to dance with André Rebouças, herself offered to dance the subsequent waltz with him, "to compensate for the affront to this illustrious man."[29]

The range of acceptance was at that time broadening. Formerly only the exceptionally able mixed-bloods, or those most similar to the Europeans in color, had been incorporated into the upper circles. But "the prestige of the title 'doutor' began to overcome much of the prejudice which had been so active and apparently so invincible during three previous centuries."[30] Similarly, an army uniform, "especially

[28] For information in some detail on prominent Brazilian mixed-bloods see Arthur Ramos, *The Negro in Brazil* (Washington, 1939), *passim*.

[29] Calmon, *op. cit.*, II, 114. Affonso de E. Taunay (in a letter to the author) reports the incident thus: "At a court ball the Princess Isabel, Countess of Eu and heir to the throne of Brazil, insisted on dancing with André Rebouças, a mulatto who was almost black (albeit a man of great mental and moral worth), in order to censure the attitude of certain ladies of the court who had objected to him as a dancing partner."

[30] Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro*, p. 145.

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Similarly, an army uniform, "especially the gold braid of an officer, Aryanized and 'aristocratized' many mulattoes into whites."[31]

The rise of the mixed-bloods was also facilitated by the conviction which, since at least the late eighteenth century, had been crystallizing in the minds of Brazilian intellectuals to the effect that the Negroes, whose strong arms and backs had long furnished the country's labor supply, were to a considerable extent the actual builders of Brazil. In prose and poetry not only the toil of the slave but also the creative energies of the free people of color came to be exalted.[32] This appreciation of the African contribution to Brazilian civilization increased with the progress of the abolition campaign. Especially were the *amas* extolled.[33] Much of the abolition sentiment had its sanction in the affectionate gratitude of young aristocrats whom they had reared.

The rise of the mulatto, as also that of the black, was further favored by the gradual, rather than catastrophic, character of the emancipation process which in Brazil released most of the lower stratum of society from servile status gradually and as individuals, under circumstances favorable to the continuance of those intimate personal ties so highly advantageous to a "new freeman." Moreover, final emancipation was not, as in our South, brought about as an incident of civil strife, and the normal relations which had

[31] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 318.

[32] See Borges dos Reis, "Colonos indigenas e escravos," *Revista do Instituto Geographico e Historico da Bahia*, XXVIII (1902), 61. Note also Alvarengo Peixoto's stanza:

> ". . . . homens de varias accidentes
> pardos, pretos, tintos e tostados
> . . . . os fortes braços feitos ao trabalho."

[33] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 128.

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grown up naturally between the races were never threatened, let alone destroyed, by a program of reconstruction originating from without and imposed by armed conquest. Individual ability, personal ties and family solidarity, instead of external pressure, were the levers of social advancement. The rise of the mixed-blood and of the black in Brazil has always had effectively in its favor those sentiments and personal attachments which primary relations tend normally to develop.

Such political upheavals as did occur tended to advance the mixed-bloods not as a group but as individuals. Thus the overthrow of the monarchy and the rise of the republic marked a definite break with the rural aristocracy and accelerated the rise of a new class, that of the *bachareis* and the *doutores*, among whom were many mulattoes. And, more recently, the recrystallization of the political structure following the "revolution of 1930" found many Bahian mixed-bloods in positions of trust and responsibility, since the new political "ins," who were diligently seeking to solidify their gains and to establish themselves firmly in power, found it expedient to accept such support as was readily at hand. Again the mixed-bloods figured prominently, not as a group per se but as individuals belonging to an eligible professional class.

The role of sex and of romantic love should not be overlooked. The sexual attraction which the mulatto male exerted upon daughters of rich and influential European families led quite often to elopement or, occasionally and increasingly, to marriage with parental consent.[34] Similarly,

[34] "The daughters, the *yáyás* of the *sobrados*, the *sinhás* of the *casas grandes de engenho*, let themselves be kidnaped by these Don Juans, even by such as were plebeian and of color. . . . . Sellin noted the large number of young ladies eloping . . . . during the latter half of the nineteenth century. They were girls whose parents, for reasons of blood or of social position, had

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In all probability, the movement was at first largely vertical. When, however, the mixed-blood had gained some economic or professional competence, had definitely established his personal worth, he tended to be recognized as an "exceptional" individual; that is, as a person rather than as a member of a group. As the numbers of these "exceptional" individuals multiplied, the social conventions were subjected to constantly increasing pressure, since it is difficult to treat "exceptional" individuals in situations of intimate social intercourse differently from the way they are treated in intellectual, commercial, or political circles. This "strain for consistency" tends in time to modify conduct.[19]

Thus, as the mixed-bloods rose in class, this upward movement was accompanied by what might be called "horizontal progression." The individual who was rising in rank and establishing himself in the upper intellectual and economic circles began actually to penetrate the "inner sanctuaries" of the more exclusive social groups, breaking down marriage and familial taboos. The class tradition, in so far as it had been fixed by race, gradually began to give way under the irresistible pressure exerted upon it by the rising mulatto group.

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This rise was accompanied by the personal stresses and strains which an individual in the process of moving from one class to another ordinarily experiences. The first mulattoes to penetrate the upper tiers reflected in their personal

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show of hospitality, the use of diminutives as a means of being both respectful and intimate at the same time" (Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, pp. 357–58).

[19] Moreover, class interests tended to become more and more important and eventually to bind members of the same class with common bonds of sentiment, attitude, and idea, and thus to cut across lines of color or of racial descent.

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lives participation in two different, and to some extent antagonistic, worlds which met and fused, so to speak, in their own personalities. They were perhaps, to some extent at least, "marginal men."[40]

The Brazilian mixed-blood was marginal, however, in the cultural rather than in the racial sense. Often he had moved during his lifetime from the lower rungs of the class ladder to the middle or even upper tiers. He had achieved some measure of recognition and was enjoying certain of the advantages of the upper classes. At the same time he was deeply sensitive to his servile origin and to the fact that he inescapably carried with him in his physical characteristics a mark of low status. Thus, Gonçalves Dias was, we are told, throughout his life a melancholy soul. "A wound always bleeding, although hidden under the cloak of a *doutor*. Sensitive to his inferior origin, to the stigma of his color, to his negroid features always shouting at him from his mirror, 'Remember you are a mulatto!' "[41] The mixed-blood became noted for an extravagant use of perfume which seems to have been an overcompensation for the body odor, the so-called *catinga*, or *budum*, reputedly characteristic of the African. At home the mulatto sought to keep out of sight the "*tira-teima* of the family," the relative whose dark color or negroid features too clearly betrayed his "less noble" origin. In an attempt to convince himself and others of his identity with the upper strata, he often developed an "emphatic Aryanism" and became, like Machado de Assis or Olavo Bilac, "a champion of the white against the black."[42]

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[40] See Robert E. Park, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIII (May, 1928), 881; Everett Stonequist, *The Marginal Man* (New York, 1937).

[41] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 320.

[42] *Ibid.*, pp. 335, 355, 363; Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 324.

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It should be noted that, although the light mulattoes have ordinarily set the pace in this struggle to rise and have contributed the bulk of the advancing individuals of color, they have not completely monopolized the advance.[43] They have been followed, and in some notable cases even outdistanced, by individuals from the darker portions of the population. For example, Henrique Dias, the black hero of the expulsion of the Dutch from Pernambuco, was made a member of the nobility and granted membership in the Ordem de Christo.[44] A black is today president of an important intellectual and social institution at Bahia. Another is a member of the most exclusive club. But the appearance of black individuals among the upper classes is still today quite rare. In the attempt to achieve higher standing in the social order, the blacks have had to contend even more decidedly with the handicaps of starting on the bottom and of bearing constantly with them a physical badge of slave ancestry and a symbol of low status.

It is perhaps also true that individuals of African descent, mixed-bloods as well as blacks, have risen in class more slowly than has the Negro in the United States. Being less under the stigma of racial inferiority, the Brazilian blacks and mixed-bloods have naturally had less incentive to demonstrate to a hostile white world their personal competence and ability to achieve. Hence, it is likely that they have been less ambitious, less aggressive, than their northern brothers, and consequently have risen *as a group* less rapidly.

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[43] See Manoel Querino, "Os homens de côr preta na historia," *Revista do Instituto Geographico e Historico da Bahia*, XLVIII (Bahia, 1923), 353–63; see also Augusto Victorino Alves Sacramento Blake, *Dicionario bibliographico brasileiro* (Rio, 1893), II, 452–55.

[44] Heinrich Handelmann, *Historia do Brasil* (Portuguese trans. by the Instituto Historico e Geographico of *Geschichte von Brasilien* [Berlin, 1860]; 2 vols.; Rio, 1931), I, 381.

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The entire racial and cultural situation at Bahia is thus symbolized in the Carnival celebration. The *cordão* points to the persistence of African survivals, adherence to which still isolates to some extent the darker portion of the population. The young blacks and dark mulattoes who parade solemnly, quite self-consciously in the long files of the *batucadas*, represent those youths who, although they have in large measure

TABLE 14

PARTICIPATION BY ETHNIC UNITS
CARNIVAL PARADE, BAHIA, 1936

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	Black	Mulatto	White	*Caboclo*	Total
Club sponsors (in autos)	13	67	73	1	154
Heralds	.....	.....	3	.....	3
Horsemen	14	47	42	.....	103
Horsewomen	.....	.....	16	.....	16
Trumpeters	13	.....	1	.....	14
Bandsmen	45	51	5	.....	101
Squires	111	5	1	.....	117
Girls on floats	.....	2	166	.....	168
Men on floats	.....	4	14	.....	18
Queens	.....	.....	3	.....	3
Pages	5	14	8	.....	27
Escorts	6	.....	4	.....	10
Truck-drivers	1	.....	.....	.....	1
Total	208	190	336	1	735

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broken with the African cultural forms of their parents or grandparents, have not yet been entirely incorporated into the European world. Whites and light mulattoes dance together and sing their way through the milling crowds. While most of the blacks and dark mulattoes, neither identified with the African tradition to the extent of participating in the *cordões* nor yet sufficiently established in class to move freely in the white world, merely mill about.

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CHAPTER VIII

RACIAL IDEOLOGY AND RACIAL ATTITUDES

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IN RECENT years there has grown up in Brazil a lively interest in the African and his descendants. This has resulted, among other things, in the holding of two *Congressos Afro-brasileiros*, the first of which met in Recife in November, 1934, and the second in Bahia in January, 1937. Composed of intellectuals having a common interest in the Brazilian Negro, their agenda indicate that such interest is confined almost entirely to three fields: (1) the history of African importation and slavery; (2) problems of acculturation, with especial attention to the survivals of African cultural forms; and (3) anthropometric variations. Generally absent is any concern with problems of racial conflict or accommodation, implying quite definitely the comparative absence of these problems in the social order as well as the comparative absence of any race consciousness answering to them on the part of the Negro or any other ethnic group.

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The participants in the 1937 *Congresso*, which met in Bahia, visited fetish-cult centers, witnessed *capoeira*[1] and *samba*[2] presentations, studied the material relics of fetish-cult ceremonies available in Bahian museums, honored the memory of Nina Rodrigues (who some forty years ago pioneered in studies of the Afro-Brazilian cults in Bahia),[3] and

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[1] See chap. ix.

[2] The *samba*, probably of African origin, is a dance with vocal accompaniment (see chap. ix), as well as a musical form.

[3] See Nina Rodrigues, *L'Animisme fétichiste des nègres de Bahia* (Bahia, 1900) and *Os africanos no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1932).

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Quite exceptional in their subject matter are the following three papers:

Race Mixture in Brazil as a Eugenic Factor
The Mixed-Blood and the Problem of Degeneracy
The Social, as Opposed to the Racial, Causation of Degeneracy

These three papers, concerned as they obviously are with the oft-considered question of the relation of race mixture to degeneracy, indicate some concern in Brazil with this problem and thus appear at first sight to imply an interest in race relations in the North American sense of that expression. The question at issue turns out to be, however, largely an academic one, evoked perhaps by foreign literature and concerned with supporting arguments of white superiority and of Negro inferiority originating in Europe and the United States. At any rate, it is true that certain scholars, at a loss to account for the persistence in twentieth-century Brazil of African cultural forms, have seriously come to question the cultural capacities of the black race and to believe the future of Brazil prejudiced by the infusion of African blood.

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Thus, about 1900, Nina Rodrigues, intimately acquainted with a number of Africans in Bahia and impressed with the slow rate at which they and their descendants were sloughing off African cultural forms and being assimilated into the white world,[23] and also influenced to a considerable degree by foreign writers,[24] raised very earnestly the question of "the capacity of the Negro to accommodate himself to the civilization of the superior races."[25] Doubting specifically the ability of the Negro to take on European civilization,[26]

[23] *Os africanos no Brasil*, pp. 407–9; see also *ibid.*, chaps. v–vii.

[24] *Ibid.*, chap. vi, esp. pp. 388–98.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 385. [26] *Ibid.*, p. 391.

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CHAPTER IX

OS AFRICANOS

THE connection between Africa and Bahia is perhaps more intimate and has been maintained over a longer period of time than any similar connection elsewhere in the New World. Although assimilation of the Africans and their descendants has been proceeding at a gradually accelerating rate and has now reached an advanced stage, identification with Africa and with African cultural forms still marks off rather noticeably a portion of the darker population. Differences in dress, in food and food habits, in forms of religious expression, in sacred specialists, in attempts to exercise control over personal destiny and over other human beings, in credulity in folklore, and, to a limited extent, in language describe different worlds which still coexist at Bahia: one largely African in derivation, the other European.

The mental world of the Bahian upper class, which, as we have seen, includes a considerable number of the lighter mixed-bloods, is not greatly dissimilar to that of the same stratum in predominantly Catholic areas of Europe, especially in Portugal, Spain, and France, the latter of which has for a long time been the "intellectual motherland" of Brazil.

But the superior, educated class is relatively small. Most of the people in the city, as well as in the state of Bahia, are illiterate and would be included in what is ordinarily conceived of as the folk. Of this group, the Africans and their descendants obviously constituted in the past, and still constitute today, a large element.

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178 This division in cultural identification, however, is not
184 always sharply defined. Adherence to African cultural forms, for instance, the *candomblé*, often varies not only from family to family but also from individual to individual in the same family group; and, occasionally, in the same individual with reference to different cultural elements, to different periods in his life, and even to varying moods in his experience. In other words, African cultural forms at Bahia are disintegrating at a comparatively rapid rate.

565 Nor should one assume that the body of customs and tra-
178 ditions which marks off to some extent this lower-class
177 world is entirely of African origin. While it undoubtedly is composed in considerable part of elements originating in Africa, certain native Indian customs and traditions, together with ideas and practices common to the lower classes of Europe, as well as other customary behavior which has arisen in response to the circumstances of life in Brazil, contribute to it. The disentanglement of these diverse strands is, in some instances, a difficult and exceedingly laborious task.

It should be emphasized that these distinctions follow cultural and not necessarily racial lines. The lower class, as we have seen, includes a number of Europeans, and these have in numerous cases taken over sentiments and attitudes of African origin. Moreover, as the blacks and the mixed-bloods rise in class, they tend to slough off all identification with Africa and with African cultural forms.

439 Bahian Negroes long maintained direct contact with the
175 West Coast. Even after the extinction of the slave traffic, vessels regularly plied between Bahia and Lagos, repatriating nostalgic emancipated Negroes and returning with West

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Coast products much prized by Africans and their descendants in Brazil.[1] An elderly Bahian Negro recently brought out from among his treasured possessions a faded photograph of blacks aboard a ship on their way to Africa and pointed out an *atabaque*, or sacred drum, and a woman in *saia grande*.[2] He recalls having been many times with his father at the docks in Bahia when vessels came in from Africa and sailors brought news of Lagos.

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Trade with the West Coast, however, gradually decreased until, by 1905, it had almost entirely disappeared. Today, only a few important articles employed in the fetish ritual, such as cowries, *obis* and *orobôs* (sacred fruits), *pimenta* (pepper) *da costa*, *palha* (straw) *da costa*, *sabão* (soap) *da costa*, and strips of *pano* (cloth) *da costa*, are occasionally imported from Africa.

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Numerous Africans, their interest in Brazil stirred by Brazilian Negroes returning to the West Coast, are said to have emigrated to Bahia as recently as thirty years ago. Considerable areas in and about the city—for example, Caminho do São Gonçalo, Caminho do Cruz, and a portion of the Terreiro—were once owned, it is said, by *Africanos*.

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Today, native-born Africans as a population element are

[1] Pedro Calmon, *Historia social do Brasil* (3 vols.; São Paulo, 1937-39), I, 182. It is also reported that on at least two occasions representatives of African chiefs arrived in Bahia from Ajudá, with which port Bahian officials were maintaining direct commercial relations. One arrived during the administration of the Vice-rei Conde de Athouguia; two others "and an interpreter," on May 26, 1795. See João Varella, *Da Bahia que eu vi* (Bahia, 1935), pp. 153-57; J. B. de Sá e Oliveira, "Dois embaixadores africanos mandados a Bahia pelo Rei do Dahomé," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, LVI, Part I (1895), 413.

[2] The large skirt still worn *boufani* by many Bahian black women. The date was approximately 1895.

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palm flat in horizontal position in contrast to a vertical 565
placement for indicating the height of a lower animal.[19]

Although one is not likely to find any Bahian black who 551
has not been given at baptism a "Christian name," nicknames are very common, and many individuals are much better known by them than by their given names. Among such *apelidos* one will occasionally discover terms of probable African derivation; for instance, Okê, Bábá Cumdê, Cobê, Oum, Tau-édê, and Au-weh, all nicknames of members of a local labor union; or, among personages in the fetish world, such names as: Manoelzinho de Oxóssi, Lourenço Lemba, Maria de Tempo, Senhora de Yemanjá, João de Zázé, and Flaviano Cavungo, each of which recalls the African *orixá* to which the individual in question is dedicated.

Exercising considerable prestige among a portion of the 791
Bahian population is the *babalaô*, or *olhador*, whose primary 793
function, it seems, is to foretell the future; the *curandeiro*, 756
who by means of herbs, prayers, and other magical manipu- [754]
lations seeks both to treat and to prevent disease; and the
feiticeiro, or "witch doctor," who, for a price, works black
magic. The office of the *babalaô* is occasionally exercised by [794]
the *pae de santo*, or priest of the fetish cult, although his function is more particularly that of supervising the rituals and public ceremonies of the cult and overseeing the sacred properties. To some extent he also exercises the function of a *curandeiro*.

[19] A form of greeting recalled by older blacks but rarely used today is as follows: If the individuals are social equals, each lifts his hands, palms outward, and grasps the hands of the other in such a way that the fingers of the one are interlaced with the fingers of the other, after which the "*egan* grip" is exchanged; if not social equals, the individual of greater prestige places his right hand over the closed hands of the other. [576] [178]

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My sister is preparing *carurú*. She has twin boys. When God gives you twins, you are obliged to present *carurú* to Cosme and Damião. If you fail to do this, someone in the house will die that year.

If one were now to set down an account of the personal experiences of an upper-class Bahian, it would reveal an entirely different mental world. In general content it would reflect a culture distinctly European. Dress, music, food and food habits, forms of religious expression, sacred specialists, means of exercising control over personal destiny, and the ideas, attitudes, sentiments, points of view, and philosophy of life associated with them would, in general, not vary from those commonly characteristic of individuals of European origin wherever found.

This variation at Bahia in cultural identification between the Europeans, on the one hand, and the *Africanos*, on the other—this difference in ideas, attitudes, and sentiments—obviously erects serious barriers to intercommunication and consequently retards the development of a body of common understandings upon which the moral solidarity of any society is built. Although most of the Bahian blacks have now to a considerable extent sloughed off their former cultural identity with Africa and have been more or less completely incorporated into the European world, a remnant of *Africanos* still live, in spite of contiguity in space with the Europeans, to a considerable extent culturally apart.

As will be evident in greater detail in the following chapter, the Europeans tend to look upon the beliefs and the practices of the *Africanos* as matters for ridicule, scorn, disparagement, and condemnation. They are thought of as queer, bizarre, unintelligible, inferior forms of behavior.

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They represent, to this element of the Bahian population, another world.

The general disposition, however, is to tolerate these African practices so long as they are not too obviously indulged in, particularly in public places, and they in no way interfere with the European habits of the major portion of the population. The Europeans act in this respect with somewhat the same leniency which an adult exercises toward the immature conduct of a child, in the confident expectation that "time and education" will do away with these evidences of what one upper-class individual referred to as "cultural backwardness and barbarism." Thus, the behavior of the numerically small group of *Africanos*, although under continuous disapproval and disparagement, is ordinarily treated more as a matter for levity than as a cultural threat; it meets with little deliberate effort at eradication, and even such attempts as are made in this direction are sporadic and halfhearted. Partially for these very reasons, African cultural forms are rapidly disappearing at Bahia.

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The *vestimenta bahiana*, for instance, although ordinarily regarded by representatives of the European culture as picturesque, rather romantic wearing apparel, tends today to be largely discarded, especially by the mixed-bloods, and to be withdrawn more and more into the relative privacy of the *candomblé*. Of 500 mulatto women noted on the streets, only 5 were wearing the full costume, and 14 others had on certain portions of it, while 481, or 96.2 per cent, appeared in modern European dress. Of 500 black women noted, 91, or 18.2 per cent, were wearing the full costume, 82 others, or 16.4 per cent, were wearing parts of the costume, while 327, or 65.4 per cent, had on modern European clothing.

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The *Africanos* ordinarily look upon the Europeans as presumptuous and quite naturally resent all evidences of a feeling of cultural superiority. Particularly do they resent what they consider to be unfair comparisons with the Europeans, on the one hand, and with the native Indians (who are ordinarily romanticized in Brazil), on the other. Said an *Africano:*

> These people think the Indian is worth so much! Look here! Brazil has been discovered for more than four hundred years, and there isn't a single book in Tupi like this [showing the English Prayer-book printed in Nagô], or a single magazine like this [pointing to a periodical published in English in Lagos and containing several articles by Africans]. These people here call us fetish worshipers and say, "Aw, that's African nonsense!" It just goes to show that they don't know anything about what we have in Africa.

This sentiment was echoed by another *Africano*, who complained:

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> These people here in Bahia think Africans are all barbarous and uncivilized. They won't believe we write our language and that books are printed in it. They say, "Why, these *Africanos*, they're just pagan fetish worshipers, ignorant, and without culture." They don't know that in Lagos there are good schools, better than they've got in Bahia. Look at this [showing a photograph of a school in Lagos]! Is there anything in Bahia as fine as that?

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It is perhaps obvious that these complaints reflect a sense of inferiority and an unconscious acceptance of European cultural standards. The case of the *Africanos* in Bahia confirms the hypothesis that the transformation of inner experience characteristic of all cases of assimilation is, to a large extent, an unwitting process which may at times go on even in direct opposition to the individual's intention and resolution. The ordinarily patient and tolerant attitude of the Ba-

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hian descendants of Europeans, whether or not they are aware of the fact, has been an eminently successful policy.

This change is not difficult to understand. The children and grandchildren of the *Africanos* are in more direct contact with the schools and other instrumentalities of European cultural diffusion. To a considerable extent they are being weaned away from the beliefs and practices of their ancestors. In most cases they have now come to take toward their parents and grandparents the same attitudes which the European community takes toward them. Gradually, the behavior of these children and grandchildren is developing in the *Africanos* themselves an increasingly acute sense of cultural inferiority.

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At the same time *Africanos* resent every evidence of another *Africano* breaking with the traditions of his ancestors and thus tending, even unwittingly, to undermine the solidarity of the group. Especially do they resent someone's currying favor with Europeans. As one man put it, "If I see an *Africano* talking to one of these whites, I won't look at the white man but I'll look the black fellow all over, this way [giving facial expression to indicate contempt, disdain], and after I'm down the street a ways I'll do this [sharply clearing his throat and spitting]." A white man was walking one day in Caminho da Cruz da Redenção in Brotas (a subdivision of Bahia) in company with two *Africanos*, an elderly *feiticeiro* ("witch doctor") and his son. A black suddenly shoved his head out of the window of a hut which they were passing and shouted, "Such Negroes! Worthless trash! Walking around with a white man!"

At first sight, one is likely to assume that these outbursts, reflecting as they obviously do antagonistic attitudes toward

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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571 the whites, are evidences of race prejudice. The fact, how-
•178 ever, that outside the *Africano* group, among the more or less assimilated blacks, these antagonistic attitudes tend to disappear, indicates that what we see reflected here is a cultural, and not necessarily a racial, conflict. Antagonism is
[186] directed not at the whites as such but at *Europeans;* it is directed at the bearers of a culture, a body of ideas, attitudes, and sentiments, in conflict with the ideas, attitudes, and sentiments of the *Africanos*.

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CHAPTER X

THE *CANDOMBLE*

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AMONG the last elements of African culture to disappear at Bahia are the customs and traditions associated with the expression of religious sentiment. The *candomblé*, or Afro-Brazilian fetish cult, is still a vigorous institution and numbers among its adherents some of the most widely known and respected members of the Bahian lower classes. Its leaders, in several conspicuous instances, are able and intelligent individuals, whose prestige extends even into the upper circles. Some *seitas*, or cult centers, have maintained the same temple of worship for generations. Their rituals and ceremonies are serious, dignified, and carried on according to definite, fixed, traditional forms.

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This highly complex organization of ritual and belief is built around an order of *orixás*, or deities, each of whom apparently personifies some natural phenomenon. Thus, of the more important and more widely honored deities, Xangô is worshiped as the *orixá* of lightning and thunder; Ogun, of war and iron; Oxossi, of the hunt; Omolú, of pestilence; Nanan, of rain; Yemanjá, of salt water; Oxun, of fresh water; Yansan, of wind and storm; Oxun-manrê, of the rainbow; and Beji, of twin births.

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The older and more respected *seitas* are commonly considered to be of Nagô (Yoruba) or Gêge (Ewe) origin or represent a fusion in Brazil of these two apparently closely related bodies of African ritual and belief.[1] In details of lan-

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[1] Nina Rodrigues, *Os africanos no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1932), p. 320.

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794 In details of lan-
184 guage, ceremonial dress, dance, song and pantheon, these
[178] centers differ from the *candomblés* known as "Congo" or "Angola," in which Bantú dialects are spoken, Loanda and Benguela become sacred places, and Tempo and the Angolan
[177] chief Kissimbe are worshiped. They differ also from the apparently more recently organized *caboclo candomblés* whose ritual is, in varying degrees from *seita* to *seita*, a mixture of the rituals of the other cults, together with dances and a pantheon of Tupi origin, the latter of which includes Tupan, an important Tupi deity, and Tupinambá, apparently a personification of the cannibal tribe by that name which inhabited the Bahian coast at the coming of the Europeans.
[191] The *caboclo candomblés* carry on their ceremonies principally in Portuguese, with the addition of certain phrases of African origin, usually much corrupted, which have been picked up
[177] from Gêge-Nagô or Congo-Angola *seitas*, and a few words of Tupi derivation. Feathers, the bow and arrow, and other Indian cultural elements enter into their ritual.

794 This borrowing of ceremonial elements on the part of
184 *caboclo* imitators, who in many, if not most, cases have not been reared in the African tradition, is bitterly resented
• 178 by the more orthodox and scrupulous *Africanos*, particularly those of the Gêge-Nagô *seitas*. As a Negro once said, "Si seja mistura, é bobagem" ("If it's mixed, it's nonsense"). A leader of a Nagô cult once burst out:

> This fellow João da Pedra Preta! What a disgraceful whelp! His forebears, what did they know? Were they brought up in the *seita*, and did they "deixaram o cargo" [will the office of priest] to him? No! He came here from the *sertão* and started a *candomblé*. Picked up a little Gêge, a little Nagô, a little Congo, a little Indian stuff, and so on. A disgraceful mixture!

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A Nagô *mãe de santo* boasted of the ritual in her seita: "It's all pure Nagô; there's nothing in my *candomblé* of this abominable mixture which these upstart places practice today. They call this *caboclo* nonsense *candomblé!* Why, they know absolutely nothing about the way it's done in Africa!"

However, the borrowing of ritual back and forth from *seita* to *seita* sometimes takes place even in the case of Gêge-Nagô and Congo-Angola centers. Moreover, these *seitas* have not entirely escaped some Indian influence. [177]

With reference, then, to cultural origin and identification, there are three principal types of *candomblés* at Bahia: the Gêge-Nagô, the Congo-Angola, and the *caboclo*.[2] The *seitas* of probably most pure Gêge-Nagô origin are those of Engenho Velho, reputed to be the oldest cult center in Bahia; Gantois, which split off from Engenho Velho approximately a century ago and was, during the time of the famed *mãe de santo* Pulcheria, the seat of the researches of Nina Rodrigues; and São Gonçalo, whose able and widely respected *mãe de santo* speaks a Yoruba dialect locally known as Queito. These three centers are probably largely Nagô in origin,[3] while that of Bogum is said to be with the possible exception

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[2] The Malê, or Mohammedan cult, which at one time was vigorous and flourishing, seems to have been largely forsaken in favor of the fetish cults by the Negroes at Bahia. Although, in 1905, Nina Rodrigues estimated that one-third of the Africans still living in the city were Mohammedans, he at the same time pointed out that they were then making few, if any, converts among blacks born in Brazil and that Mohammedanism would in all probability die with them (*op. cit.*, pp. 93–94). Certain of the Malê ritual, however, has contributed to the general fusion so characteristic of present-day *candomblés*, and at least three Malê centers are still functioning. [178] [795]

[3] Also of Yoruba identification is Lingua da Vaca ("Cow's Tongue"), which was organised by Negroes of Ige-shá and Egbá origin.

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cated to the *orixá* Ogun, the special ceremonial season begins with the second week in September and concludes with the first week in December. During this period ceremonies are held every Sunday, each dedicated to one or more of the *orixás*. The first ceremony is in honor of Oxalá; the second, of Oxagian ("Oxalá the Younger"); and the following three, of Ogun. Succeeding Sundays are dedicated, respectively, to Xangô, Oxun, Oxóssi, Yemanjá, and Yansan. On the eleventh Sunday and the subsequent Monday special honor is paid to Omolú, and on the following Sunday and Monday, to all of the *mães d'agua*. On the final Sunday a *feijoada* (a Brazilian food delicacy) is offered, with elaborate ritual, to Ogun. In addition to this regular season, special ceremonies are held from time to time throughout the year, with the exception of the Lenten period, when all *candomblé* activity is suspended.

The Gêge-Nagô and the Congo-Angola pantheons contain about the same number of deities, or approximately a hundred *orixás* each. The *caboclo* pantheon has perhaps a score less. Each *orixá* possesses his proper fetish, insignia, sacred day, sacred foods, sacred colors, sacred dress (including bracelets and beads peculiar to himself), and a distinguishing cry. Today, only in rare instances are the fetishes carved images; more often they are polished stones which have been worn smooth by the waters of a river or of the sea. They are carefully cared for in the *pegi*, or sanctuary, by a special functionary who at regular intervals washes them and replenishes the food and drink offerings placed before them.

In some *seitas* Oxalá is considered the most important of the deities; in others, Xangô; and, in still others, Omolú or, as he is sometimes called, Xapanan. Olorun, "the father of the *orixás*," is almost forgotten today in Bahia, although

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occasionally one meets an older *Africano* who thinks of Olorun as "the creator of all the other *orixás*." Each is thought to have his home in Africa, and when one inquires of a black how the *orixás* can come so far to eat and drink the offerings set out for them, the answer is always easy, "They are summoned, and they come at once." 776 [178]

Each *orixá* is presumed on occasion to "manifest himself" in human form and to speak his will. Such "manifestation" is accomplished by "arriving in the head" of an individual who has been dedicated to him. His "presence" is attested by an abnormal psychic state accompanied by violent, spasmodic muscular movements, particularly of the neck, shoulder, and back muscles. Seizure ordinarily takes place during ceremonial dances, but occasionally (quite rare today) it may occur spontaneously while the individual is alone and about his work. Subsequently, the one in whom the *orixá* has "arrived" and "manifested himself" is unaware of what has transpired. 794 776 787

The name, sex, personification, fetish, insignia, sacred foods, sacred dress, sacred ornaments, sacred day, and identifying call of the principal Gêge-Nagô *orixás* at Bahia are as given in Table 15. 794 776

Each *seita* is presided over by a priest or priestess known as the *pae de santo* or *mãe de santo* (literally, the "father" or "mother" of the *orixás*). His (or her) most important functions are to identify a "manifesting" deity, supervise the initiation of the ceremonial dancers in whom an initial "manifestation" has occurred, perform the sacred ritual designed to "fix" the *orixá* in the fetish, supervise the sacrifices, and preside at public ceremonies. He may also exercise, to some extent at least, the office of an *olhador*, or diviner, who "throws the Ifá" to determine in advance the 794 793

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 284]

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songs are ordinarily composed of simple sentences in the minor key, and the scale, which on importation from Africa is said to have consisted of only five intervals, now has seven.

Among the invocations sung to the various *orixás* is that given by a former *ogan* of the *candomblé* of Gantois:

[539]

Egbéji mori ô ri, okorin-kam
Orolu mori ô ri, okorin-kam
(Powerful One, I know thee as the first man)

Ôkum-kum biri-biri
Ajá lê mori ô korin-kam
(Even in the dark I can see thou art powerful)

A orêrê aiê, orixá loman,
Iá, ochê Egbéji orêrê, aiê
(In the whole world, nothing is hidden from the Great-One)[11].

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At the burial of a cult member the songs and musical instruments of the *candomblé* ceremonies are now seldom used as, it is said, they formerly were. But the casket is carried by *ogans*, and the *filhas*, in *bahiana* costume, accompany the procession. Since it is still believed that the *orixá* of the departed may at this time seek a new *cavalo*, no pregnant woman attends. "Possession," however, may and does occur. Thus, at the burial of an elderly Negro woman, a *filha* of Ogun from the *candomblé* of Engenho Velho, who had been "made" for thirty-three years and was widely known and respected for her knowledge of African ritual, two *filhas de santo* were "seized" as the procession wound its way up the steep ascent to Quinta dos Lazaros Cemetery, and another later as the crypt was being sealed. In each case "possession" began with light weeping which soon increased to loud sobbing, the individual meanwhile pressing her hands

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[11] Manoel Querino, *Costumes africanos no Brasil* (Rio, 1938), p. 108.

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more than a third, live in the immediate vicinity of the *terreiro*, 16 live from one to four miles away in seven different sections of Bahia, 3 are from the neighboring villages of Armação and Pitúba, and 2 others, residents of Rio de Janeiro, are visiting relatives and friends in Bahia. 794

One *filha de santo* has been "made" fifty-eight years; another, fifty-seven. Three more have been functionaries of the cult thirty years or longer; ten, from twelve to twenty-one years; nine, from six to seven years; six, including the twelve-year-old girl, from one to two years; and two have been "made" only approximately one month. Six are dedicated to the *orixá* of lightning and thunder, Xangô; five to the *orixá* of pestilence, Omolú; four to the deity of the hunt, Oxóssi, and four to the deity of war and iron, Ogun. Two others are dedicated to Oxalá "the Elder," and two to Oxalá "the Younger," or Oxagian. Nine are sacred to the *mães d'agua*, or the water deities: four to Oxun, two each to Yansan and Nanan, and one to Yemanjá, "the *orixá* of the sea."

The sixteen *ogans* range in age from twenty to sixty years, with the exception of a five-year-old boy. The "eldest" in point of service to the cult has been *confirmado* ("confirmed") thirty-two years. Most are persons of relatively assured income from the lower class, there being among them hucksters, stevedores, day laborers, a *carroceiro*, a tinsmith, a painter, a baker, a tailor, and a typesetter. Only three, or less than one-fifth, live in the immediate vicinity of the *terreiro*, the residences of the others being scattered throughout the city in nine different sections.[15] [565] [463]

[15] This dispersion is perhaps indicative of the *candomblé's* gradual disintegration. An *ogan* remarked, "I would like to have all the *ogans* and the *filhas* living here near each other. It would be so much better. Years ago they used to live that way. But today everyone wants to live wherever he chooses anywhere in the city." [178]

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help to satisfy the basic human needs for recognition and response. The resolution of all sorts of personal problems by way of the advice and counsel of the priest, priestess, or "manifesting" *orixá*, relieves personal strain and tension. And the reassuring affirmations regarding personal destiny which the body of belief affords, particularly at such times of crisis as the death of an intimate friend or relative, contribute to the apparently universal need of a sense of security. 794 182

Moreover, cult experiences serve as cogent means of maintaining group morale and enforcing group sanctions. The genuinely wholesome character of the Bahian *Africanos*, with the exception perhaps of certain individuals connected with recently organized *caboclo* centers, stands in sharp contrast to the personal disorganization which, according to report, characterizes the Rio de Janeiro Negro, whose *candomblé* (known locally as the *macumba*) is now in such a state of disintegration that many unwholesome and even vicious practices have crept into its ritual.

The Catholic church at Bahia, by exercising almost infinite patience and tact, has now incorporated into its organization all members of the Bahian fetish cults. Even the leaders of the *seitas* regularly attend Mass and, on occasion, participate, together with their entire *candomblé* personnel, in functions of the church. Thus, each year at an appointed time, *mãe de santo* Anninha takes her *filhas de santo*, dressed in their *bahiana* costumes, and her *ogans*, and attends Mass in Bomfim Church; as similarly does the *caboclo mãe de santo*, Sabina, in the *igreja* of Santo Antonio da Barra. Anninha, like certain other cult officials, is a member of a Catholic order. So far has the identification of many elements of the fetish tradition with Catholic ideology and practice now gone that to the simple minds of cult members 79 178

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there is little distinction between them. The *pae de santo* of a prominent Congo *seita* recently remarked, "I do everything (i.e., I carry on all cult rituals and ceremonies) in the name of the church."[16]

On the fiftieth anniversary of the death of the father of a well-known and widely respected *babalaô*, a special commemorative Mass was arranged in one of the city's principal churches. During the ceremony, a circle of friars who were standing with lighted candles about the bier was joined by an outer circle of Negro men, each bearing a funeral torch. Although the friars were probably unaware of the fact, the blacks were all *ogans* from the *candomblé* of *mãe de santo* Anninha. In the audience were more than a hundred important personages from the fetish world, including *babalaôs*, *paes* and *mães de santo*, *ogans*, and *filhas*. Said the *babalaô* whose father was being thus honored, "Last night at the *terreiro* we danced all night the African funeral dances for my father."

In the minds of cult members several of the more important African *orixás*, as we have seen, have come to be identified with certain Catholic saints. Thus, Ogun, the *orixá* of war, is now identified with Santo Antonio; Oxóssi, the *orixá* of the hunt, with São Jorge; Oxalá, who to most members of the *candomblé* is "the greatest of the *orixás*," with O Senhor do Bomfim, who is, among the lower classes at least, the most important Catholic saint at Bahia;[17]

[16] This point of view obviously is not that of the Catholic church itself.

[17] In Bomfim Church, which, with two rows of royal palms dominating its approach, occupies majestically the crown of a hill in Itapagipe, is a special room whose walls and ceiling are completely covered with photographs or plaster casts of crippled or diseased limbs or other parts of the body which have been, it is thought, miraculously cured of disease or other infirmary by the direct intervention of the saint. So great is his reputation for healing that thousands of people from miles around visit this shrine every year.

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of Law, "will gradually disappear with social evolution." "Education will do away with it. Just give it time," remarked a student at the Faculty of Medicine. There are a few intellectuals, individuals who have broken with the Catholic church, who believe that the *candomblé* is entitled to the same rights and privileges as any other religion. One of these remarked, "We should see to it that the government gives the *candomblé* a square deal."

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Indeed, of those Bahians identified with the European culture, the whites tend to be more tolerant of the *candomblé* than either the blacks or the mixed-bloods. These blacks and mixed-bloods are seeking to establish themselves in class and naturally make every effort to disassociate themselves from what are commonly considered to be lower-class cultural elements. Of 66 white students in the Escola Normal who responded to the query "Do you think the *candomblé* ought to be suppressed?" 22, or one-third, said, "No"; while, of 22 *pardos*, all but one replied in the affirmative. Of 5 blacks, 4 said, "Yes."

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In the face of constant, although ordinarily tolerant, disparagement on the part of most prestige-bearing individuals in the European portion of the community and of such institutions as the church, the school, and the newspaper, most of the younger Negroes now tend to forsake the *candomblé* and the body of ideas and sentiments identified with it and to look upon these customs and traditions as evidence of "ignorance," "backwardness," and "retarded mental growth." Older leaders of the cult often complain, as did Maria Bádá on one occasion, that "the *candomblé* isn't what it used to be. The young people today don't learn Nagô; they don't know how to carry on any of the ritual; and, what is worse, they don't want to learn." *Mãe de santo* Anninha once remarked, in much the same words as in recent years have

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often been heard, on the lips of older members of, particularly, Protestant churches in the United States, "These young people today are not like we used to be. It's a shame the way they stray away."

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João is a young black about twenty years of age who has just completed a business course subsequent to graduation from the Ginasio da Bahia, the city's state-supported secondary school. One day, in the home of his uncle, who is a prominent figure in the fetish world, João was copying a page in Nagô. Possessed of a deep affection for his uncle and being characteristically obliging and courteous, he was attempting to learn a few words of this African language. But the impression João made on a visitor was that his efforts with Nagô arose rather from a desire to please his uncle than from any genuine interest in the language itself. João remarked, apologetically, "You know I would like to learn it, but I just don't have time when I'm working every day."

A young mulatto girl who had completed two years at a secondary school remarked, "I don't care much for the *candomblé*, except to watch the dances and to see the [ceremonial] costumes. I seldom go, and then only for some special reason. I like the movies better, especially the North American and the English films." She further remarked:

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> My uncle doesn't believe in this business of the *orixás*. One day his daughter—my cousin—said that she felt an *orixá* about to "arrive." She ran all the way to a *candomblé*, began to dance, and, sure enough, "she fell into the *estado de santo*." But my uncle wouldn't stand for it. He got a sprig of *urtiga* and whipped her and then went and whipped the *pae de santo* too. The next day, my cousin couldn't bear anyone's hand on her, she was so sore. But that was the end of the *orixá*. He never came back.

José is a young mixed-blood, twenty-two years of age, employed as a janitor in one of Bahia's public buildings. Although he knows of three *seitas* near his home—one each

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in Pau Miuda, Cidade da Palha, and Cruz do Cosme—he has no interest in them. However, he has a consuming interest in the cinema, keeps an elaborate scrapbook which now contains over a hundred and fifty individual photographs of actors and actresses, and can glibly name nearly all the films in which each has played during the last three or four years.[*]

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The following account by a young mulatto student of secondary-school age who has developed a somewhat skeptical attitude toward the *candomblé* in spite of his father's being a prominent *ogan* in one of the *seitas* who occasionally, when the elderly *achôgun* is ill, officiates at the sacrificial ritual, illustrates the difficulty which *candomblé* leaders now experience in enforcing the sanctions of the cult:

> Pedro [a young *ogan*] didn't show proper respect for my father when he suggested that there ought to be some repairs made at the *terreiro*. Pedro said it had been that way when he was "confirmed" and that it was all right now. He used "você" in speaking to my father, although he is much "younger." And he said my father lied. When I heard about this, I hunted up Pedro and told him that he hadn't treated my father right, and when he talked nonsense I hit him. Pae Procopio then hunted me up. I told him that I didn't believe in anything he did, that I wasn't afraid of any sorcery he might make, that Pedro had ill-treated my father, and that I wanted nothing to do with him and with all his accursed *candomblé*.

[*] For instance, José named five films in which Patricia Ellis had played. His favorite actress is Shirley Temple, after which come, in order, Lilian Harvey, Joe E. Brown, Maurice Chevalier, and Laurel and Hardy. In addition, he likes Raul Roulien, Dolores del Rio, James Cagney, Lyle Talbot, Kay Francis, Dick Powell, Eddie Cantor, Clara Bow, Jeanette MacDonald, George O'Brien, Fred Astaire, John Boles, George Brent, Richard Talmage, José Mojico, Jan Kiepura, Adolphe Menjou, Pat O'Brien, Chester Morris, Buster Crabbe, Charlie Chaplin, Lee Tracy, Gary Cooper, Ramon Navarro, George Bancroft, Johnny Mack Brown, Alice Faye, Olivia de Havilland, and Ken Maynard. José does not care for Buck Jones, although many of his friends do. Neither does he like Lionel Barrymore, Douglas Fairbanks, Jr., Richard Arlen, Ronald Colman, or Gordon Westcott. Paul Muni, he says, is "only fair."

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As a Bahian white said, "When a black man puts on a tie and shoes and learns to read and write, he loses interest in the *candomblé*. There are really two civilizations at Bahia, ours and the African. When a black begins seriously to take on our customs, he seldom spends any more time at *candomblés*." A prominent mulatto educator remarked, "I've never been to a fetish cult. I have no interest in them." A Negro laborer admitted that he used to go to such ceremonies, "but no more; I've given all that up now." The young nephew of a prominent *babalaô* said, "All this low stuff ought to be done away with. It's a sign of a very backward people. It has even disappeared in Africa. The English came into Lagos and brought modern civilization. Only in Bahia do these old customs hang on."

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Indicative of the disintegrating state of the fetish world is the continuous and, at times, acute jealousy among the leaders and members of its more orthodox centers. In a given *seita* one hears much critical gossip regarding the practices of some other center. It is accused of forsaking the "true" African tradition and of inadequately interpreting mystical experiences. As the number of *Africanos* decreases, competition between the *seitas* for their allegiance is naturally increasing.

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Among the Negroes who still identify themselves with the cult, the past tends to be romanticized, and the prestige of the "old Africans," like Bambuxê, Adeta, Iyalode Erelu, and others, to be constantly enhanced. Similarly, the prestige of the older cult figures who are still living—the *babalaô* Martiniano, *mãe de santo* Anninha,[11] and the aged Maria Bádá,

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[11] Since this was written, *mãe de santo* Anninha has died. Of her funeral, the *Estado da Bahia* (January 5, 1938) said: "The crowd of people who accompanied the body to Quinta dos Lazaros Cemetery was one of the largest ever seen in Bahia and recalls the funeral for Pae Adão in Recife. More than

[SALVADOR]

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*563 /13 cont./
562 may not be of African blood (3).
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3. Arthur Ramos, Introduçao a Antropologia Brasileira, II, Rio de Janeiro, 1947.

829 The Indians and the descendants of the cross between Indians
*563 and Whites are generally called cabôclos, but this expression is
192 no longer very common in Bahia and rarely serves to characterize
[178] the corresponding type. The term cabôclo has become, like that
[196] of "my Negro," rather a formula of tenderness between individuals
of any color whatsoever. It must be noted, moreover, thanks to
175 old statistics, that toward the middle of the eighteenth century, in
829 response to complaints about Brazilian "nativism," the Portuguese
648 government prohibited the use of the term cabôclo, to which was
641 then attached an insulting meaning, and granted at the same time the
576 civil status of Whites to Indians and to their descendants of mixed
192 blood, so that they could contract marriage with the Whites and fulfill official duties in the colony; it is in that manner that the contingents of mamelucos or cabôclos were assimilated with the
192 Whites in the military roles of the time. The word meanwhile
178 lost its insulting import and in our day is even considered a com-
829 pliment when it refers to a cabôclo bom, that is to say, a man of
576 good manners.

The Negroid albinos and the mulattoes with red, blond, or
144 light auburn hair are known by the name of sararás.
192 The exact designation of these different types has always /14/
144 represented a difficulty, as much for anthropologists as for the
*563 persons charged with identifying school children, the military,
829 the criminals (1).

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*563 1. According to the Bahian anthropologist Nina
829 Rodriguez (in her book As raças humanas e a
815 responsabilidade penal no Brasil /The Human
[113] Races and Penal Responsibility in Brazil/, 3rd edition, written at the beginning of the century), the métis include: 1st, the mulattoes produced from the cross between the White and the Negro:

/17 cont./

175 439 167 829 609 Given the isolation in which Brazil remained at least until 1808, the moment when for the first time its ports were opened to international commerce, given too the fact that Bahia was never a center of massive European immigration, like certain southern states, the foreigner is received by the people of Bahia with a mixture of curiosity and distrust. At the same time, *563 the emigrant is easily absorbed here by the milieu and likewise adapts himself to the customs and norms of local life. The 829 Portuguese emigrants, for example, are put in a special category; *563 one has the habit of saying that not one of them is ever, properly speaking Brazilian, but that he is never, properly speaking, a foreigner either. In spite of the two world wars, one nowhere notes manifestations of antipathy with regard to German, Austrian, or Italian emigrants. The nationals of these nations have, in general, an excellent reputation because they are considered good workers, because they marry Brazilians and remain in the country when their businesses prosper. The vast majority of the population and even the persons who are hostile to the "Russian" merchants never have anti-Semitic sentiments. When, however, a Jewish group publicly protested against the presentation of a European musician accused of having had ties with Hitlerism in the past, the association that organizes concerts of famous musicians rejected "this attempt at outside interference dictated by /18/ racial prejudice," declaring that its activities ought to remain "above all religious, philosophical, political, racial, or class prejudice." And yet numerous Israelites are members of this association.

[443] [178] The "Arabs," although living quite isolated in accordance with their customs, marry Brazilians, and no hostility is ever manifested with regard to them; at the time when some of them were carrying on the trade of itinerant vendors of fabrics and hardware, they were ridiculed somewhat, it is true, but that stopped with the disappearance of the last peddlers.

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175 178 *563 555 These marriages increased after /40 cont./ Independence, in 1822, with the social ascent of mulattoes, military men, bureaucrats, lawyers graduated from Portuguese and French universities, a process which was intense under the Brazilian monarchical regime and to which Bahia contributed liberally with statesmen and politicians coming from these groups (2).

2. G. Freyre, op. cit., III, p. 951.

178 *563 626 584 593 Social pressure against mixed marriages seems to have decreased with time, and so the latter became more numerous every day. Formerly the families of high society or of the bourgeoisie verified the origin of fiancés with great care. Many marriages came to grief because one of the future partners was found to belong to the "caste." The unions that were formed against the parents' wish were the cause of lasting quarrels between parents and children, and gave rise to veritable domestic tragedies. Many fathers cursed their daughters and disinherited them when they persisted in wanting to marry a man of "inferior quality," especially if he were a bastard. "In our day," a female informant told us, "one has it much easier." This indeed seems to be the general opinion.

*563 557 The mixed marriage is greatly sought after because it confers prestige on the one of the two partners who is darker. A black professor made the remark to us that there are few colored men who, in marrying a light woman, think of "improving the race," but rather they hope to facilitate their own social ascent. Proof of this is the frequency with which this intention is /41/ implicitly indicated or even acknowledged. A colored employee flirts with white boys "for fun"; in fact, she is trying to get the man she wants, and she announces that she will never marry a man of dark color unless he is rich and well situated. Her mother approves entirely when she announces that she will not accept the advances of a man of dark color. Her three sisters have married Whites, and one of them is proud of her children who are blond. A student of the same physical type "prefers" moreno suitors, but admits that she would have no objection to marrying a White.

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/52 cont./ From this point of view politics is in the process
178 of becoming one of the most powerful means of social transforma-
*563 tion. The politicians take the greatest care to promote the regis-
565 tration on the lists of the largest possible number of persons of the
666 lower classes, among whom there is a majority of Blacks and métis, people more dependent and less educated and for that reason also more amenable to propaganda and demagoguery. In the months that precede the general elections held simultaneously every four years throughout the country, the candidates for political offices spend considerable sums and multiply their efforts, directly or through the instrumentality of their canvassers, to persuade the people to have themselves registered as voters. The services that they render these voters are one of the means they count on to obtain their votes. As a result, the most popular politicians are those who, not having or pretending not to have class or color prejudice, approach the most humble voters, shake hands and embrace them when they meet them, pay them visits or receive them at their homes or in their offices, and who, after having been elected, continue to lavish on them the same demonstrations, in public or in the government palaces or chambers. A number of politicians, because of this, are assisted by black and mulatto canvassers, who thus, in our day, maintain the loyalty and the devotion that their ancestors showed the families in which they were slaves.

178 In former times, an informant tells us, a man of dark color
*563 could not enter political life; he could be a canvasser, but he was
666 rarely a candidate or a member of a party. In spite of this, in the
[665] municipal council of Bahia there was /53/ always one or two Blacks of humble occupation, elected thanks to the influence of political-party chiefs, and some morenos or mulattoes of more or less high rank were elected as representatives in the legislative assembly of the State of Bahia. With the political revolution of
[646] 1930, representation by class in the chamber of the State and
[467] in the federal chamber was created; in that way numerous manual laborers, black or mulatto, were elected as representatives of
[665] their unions. When union representation was suppressed in 1937,
[467] colored men continued to try to obtain improvement of their social situation by taking part in the life of the parties.

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/53 cont./

000 situation by taking part in the life of the parties. This phenomenon
175 is not entirely new, except in that it affects men of dark color and
• 178 modest circumstances, for since the monarchical epoch numerous
*563 métis bearers of nobiliary titles granted by the emperor had rep-
645 resented Bahia in the imperial parliament and occupied posts in the
646 national ministries. At least three ministers of foreign affairs, chosen among the statesmen of Bahia during the Empire and the Republic, were métis of great talent and of great social and political prestige. One of the most brilliant federal deputies of the republican regime established in 1889 was a dark mulatto, a health-service engineer, a historian and linguist of renown. Alluding to this intellectual, someone once said to a dark young man: "You will never be president of the Republic, but you can hope to acquire the fame of a Teodoro Sampaio." If one is to be-
[173 lieve oral tradition, a member of the highest tribunal of justice
[829 of Bahia, a métis of very high social and intellectual rank, asserted in a speech that Bahia has always had the lead in this tradition "of liberty and equality among men who do not belong to the same race or at times to the same religion."

*563 During the last election campaigns, the attitude of certain
666 candidates toward colored persons was exploited in favor of some and to the detriment of others. Thus, rumors were circulated in 1945, according to which a candidate for the presidency of the Republic was supposed to harbor color prejudices and not allow the admission of Blacks and dark mulattoes into the military aviation services, which he then directed. It is maintained that these accusations contributed to reducing the number of votes in favor of this candidate in Bahia, in spite of the efforts that his party made to lessen the bad impression that this revelation had produced, even among the Whites. On the occasion of the 1950 campaign, the followers of one of the candidates for the office of governor of the State distributed a tract in which a newspaper favorable to another candidate was accused of having published an article whose author maintained that Negresses made themselves /54/ ridiculous by aping white women. In both cases it was an attempt to cause difficulties between candidates and voters. Moreover, a national association of colored men recommended to

[SALVADOR]

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• 178 * 563 666 Thirty or forty years ago, among the insults hurled at political adversaries in the newspapers and even in the speeches of the legislative assemblies, the epithet "mulatto" or "Negro" was frequent. Today this takes place less often, because the style of political contests has lost much of its character of personal reprisals. Nevertheless one of the last governors of the State of Bahia, a statesman of national fame and once even a deputy minister to one of the presidents of the Republic, was a moreno of great moral and intellectual prestige. While he was in power, none of his political adversaries publicly alluded to his "caste." But, after he had left his office, a newspaper of another city, criticizing his activity, published a comment entitled "Administrative profile of a pardavasco" (1),

[192] 1. Pardavasco = diminutive sometimes used as a synonym of pardo.

an article in which the qualification mulato pachola was repeated in a contemptuous sense; another politician, in turn condemning his work in the government, delivered a speech against what he called "the creole democracy of the creole M.," the expression "creole" being used here in the sense of a Black or the descendant of a Black born in Brazil. Recently in the national parliament a politician from another State, feeling offended /56/ by the newspaper of an industrialist of Bahia, a whitened mulatto, gave a violent speech in which he called the latter "métis of low extraction." Attacks of this kind, however, do not always come from finos Whites; more than once they are the doing of "Whites in color."

* 563 555 In short, although it is rare that a Black or a dark mulatto reaches a high political position, it is nonetheless true that for many colored people politics is a means of elevating oneself in the social hierarchy. Attacks of the kind that we have alluded to show a certain antagonism toward the colored men who elevate themselves thanks to politics. At the present time the leader of [646] the governmental party in the legislative assembly of the State of Bahia is the red curiboca (métis of Indian and White blood) of whom we have already had occasion to speak. It is for this reason

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*563 647 was introduced in the States and in the municipal services in such a way that possibilities are increasing for colored persons entitled to occupy these posts. Given the fact that in spite of this the support that a candidate may receive from a politician or a friend of an official is always very important, it is obvious that persons of more modest circumstances have more difficulty being appointed after having been admitted for the examinations; they are supposed to have even more difficulties obtaining offices that are advantageous or lead to first-rate positions. During the [175] colonial period some of the participants in a popular revolution [668] that broke out in Bahia, complaining that because they were pardos all promotion was denied them, tried to establish a regime of equality in which Whites, pardos, and Blacks, without distinction as to color, would be judged solely according to their abilities (1).

[113] 1. Alfonso Ruy, A primeira revolução social brasileira -- 1798 /The First Brazilian Social Revolution -- 1798/, 2nd edition, Bahia, 1951, p. 77.

[178] "In olden times," says one Black, "one never saw a moreno /58/ occupying a first-rate post," which is not altogether accurate, for the métis always had important positions in the administration of [557] Brazil since the colonial period. Today, says another informant, [555] "the incompetent ones advance through influence; as for the others, [178] they advance by their own merit, regardless of their color." He himself, in spite of his very dark color, manages sections in which Whites and Blacks work, and he knows that he is highly esteemed by his colleagues. Others think that the Blacks, although admitted without great difficulties, do not have access, save exceptionally, to positions of management which are temporarily occupied in commission through the individual choice of governors and higher officials. Two of our informants illustrate their asser- [665] tion by citing the case of a Black "who worked a great deal during an election campaign in favor of a party and who, in spite of

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*563 162 873 The Whites make up scarcely half of the total, and it should be noted that the female group includes a higher proportion of colored girls. It is necessary to emphasize the fact that the public secondary schools recently established always include a larger number of students of dark color; 30 or 40 years ago it was extremely rare to see a Black in one of these establishments. Around *563 873 •178 1915 one of these schools refused to admit a very dark student, which gave rise to a vehement protest by a black lawyer; wishing to explain the incident, the head of the establishment claimed to have acted in accordance with the standards in force, that is to say, under the tacit pressure of upper-class families. This opposition has considerably decreased as the social ascent of colored families, confined until then to the lower strata of society, developed. Nevertheless women's schools directed by the religious of foreign origin progressed more slowly in this respect, though already admitting very dark students. Numerous informants have attended the courses of private secondary schools, but most of them, from poor families, have studied in public schools.

*563 875 In the primary and secondary professorship there are also many colored persons, including Blacks and very Negroid métis... Even in the private schools there are colored professors. Some of the most famous professors of the Portuguese language, Latin, and mathematics with whom the young people of the most important families studied were, half a century ago, schoolmasters, priests, and very dark lawyers, of whom numerous intellectuals of Bahia still speak with admiration and respect today. In our times the number of primary professors of the male sex is much smaller, but the female teaching corps includes a large number of dark persons. A normal school maintained by the government of the State is attended by numerous dark girls of the lower and middle classes of the population. Among the teachers of primary instruction, says one of our informants, there is no racial distinction; numerous professors, although very dark, occupy the positions of director and school inspector, and in the schools themselves there is no racial separation between students and professors. The posts of secretary and director of the normal school of the State, as well as those of the college-preparatory secondary schools and public colleges, have many a time been occupied by very dark persons.

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*563 575 873 A very dark color may, however, create difficulties in some circumstances. One of the founders of the important association of students of secondary education was a dark mulatto, highly esteemed among his colleagues; it was, however, not possible for him to be elected president of the association because, as he was able to confirm, a white Communist colleague insinuated that so dark a young man would not have enough prestige before the educational authorities and the public. Elected vice-president he assumed the office of president only when the latter retired; he was then able to perform many accomplishments without encountering the obstacles that might have been connected with his "quality." When an excursion to another city was organized, a mulatto student felt that some of his /70/ comrades hesitated to include him in their group (1).

[564] [565] [113]

1. "In Brazil there is no caste line. As a colored man assimilates the standards of culture of the dominant class, he is treated as an equal, although one notes a strong tendency among the Whites to avoid relations with colored men in situations requiring a certain setting (diplomacy, elegant salons, military schools, etc.)," Guerreiro Ramos, "Contactos raciais no Brasil," Quilombo, 1st year, No. 1, Rio de Janeiro, 1948.

Taking account of this, he decided to withdraw discreetly and was congratulated by a white comrade for his "elegant gesture." [178] These two episodes occurred about ten years ago, and the informants say that they would hardly occur today, tolerance having become much greater.

*563 873 Relations between students and professors of different "quality" present nothing unusual in our day; they depend, as a general rule, on the psychological characteristics of both, rather than on their physical appearance. But there are white schoolmistresses in the *563 872 public elementary schools who appear more severe and sometimes

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*563 872 intolerant toward very black little girls, pardoning their mistakes only with difficulty and punishing them more severely than the Whites. An informant relates that in his school he heard the schoolmistress say: "This moleque (2)

[192] [567]

2. Moleque = term by which one designates the little children of black slaves; it also means an ill-bred, undisciplined young man; may be heard as a synonym for young colored man.

has no sensibility. Not only is he black, but he is not studious."
*563 873 The students of the secondary schools often admire their colored professors and treat them with the same respect as the white professors; their attitude may vary, however, according to the social rank of the schoolmasters of dark color. Some of them are particularly esteemed for their competence and for the gentleness of their manners. Others are accused of treating their students differently by appearing more exacting and sometimes harsh with the Whites; in such cases the students complain among themselves about the rudeness "of this Negro" and secretly circulate names and epigrams that allude to his Negroid features. There are, on the other hand, dark professors who have the reputation of mistreating the students of their own type, information that is challenged by some people; if this happens, says an informant, it is not because of hostility, but because of the desire to urge these students to work more and thus to distinguish themselves from the others. In the past, however, there have been white professors who openly humiliated the black students and treated them with hostility, which sometimes gave rise to violently aggressive reactions on the part of the latter. Some of these professors were still teaching 20
*563 or 25 years ago. All this could scarcely happen today, and if anything
873 might cause an attitude of /71/ this kind to be suspected, the
● 178 milieu reacts sharply in disapproving the "racist" behavior. That is what happened this year when in one public school a professor used words that were interpreted as a contemptuous allusion to

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/71 cont./

* 563 the black color of a female student. The complaint that the
873 father of the latter made in a newspaper was immediately pub-
• 178 lished with a very vehement comment that obliged the accused to defend himself. "In olden times," says a mulatto intellectual; "colored students suffered a great deal. Today, it is enough that they are honest and have real worth for their merit to be recognized." And he adds that in the establishment where he teaches and which he has directed, he has seen white students speak out in positive fashion against all racial discrimination with regard to their colored fellow-students.

*563 Among the professors whom the students of a private secondary
873 establishment honored at the end of the courses in 1950, there were two morenos, two mulattoes, and one Black; ten out of 39 students were métis. Out of the 137 persons graduated by the philosophy faculty of the University of Bahia between 1945 and 1950, among whom a large number intended to take up secondary teaching, 2.9 o/o were black, 33 o/o were pardos and 63 o/o were white.

[555] Education, as one sees, is a very important factor in our city for the social ascent of colored people.

/72/ Religion

*563 The religious institutions of Bahia reflect the structure of the
794 classes and the local social organization. The devout Catholics attend the same churches, mingle in the choir and at the com-
[796] munion table, independently of their "quality." In the solemn festivals organized by the brotherhoods and the associations or carried out by the parishes in honor of their patron saints, one can see Whites, mulattoes, and Blacks gathered together in the places reserved at the high altar, along with the guests of honor, the "presidents of brotherhoods," and the "Maecenases" (festeiros) entrusted with the preparation and financing of these celebrations.
[788] Likewise, in the processions, men and women of all types carry the litters of the sacred images that march past, or crowd around
[565] them. In the sacred associations there is no longer any discrimination; since, however, some of them are made up of people different

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* 563 794 [565] social classes, the proportion of colored people varies from one to another. This is particularly striking in the brotherhoods and third orders, associations that have centuries of existence, founded for purposes of spiritual perfection, almost all long since trans-
* 563 554 794 formed into organizations of charity and mutual aid. These organizations have always been very important in all of Latin America for marking or confirming the social classification of their members. When a biographical sketch of a distinguished person is published in a newspaper of Bahia, it always mentions the brotherhoods to which he belongs or in which he occupies a
[196] [292] management position. During certain large religious festivals one can see men who are not "practicing" Catholics personally appear with their brotherhoods or third orders, dressed in costumes characteristic of these same societies, a torch in their hand, carrying the canopy and marching in a group. It is greatly desired to be able to become part of these institutions that give evidence of the high position and the prestige that one has acquired. The elections for the management of one of these brotherhoods, upon which hospitals, orphanages, and old people's homes depend and which administer a rich endowment, arouse extraordinary interest among the great merchants and the people of liberal professions who are members of them. The office of headmaster, that is to say, of president, an office to which no remuneration is attached and which demands great devotion, is very eagerly contended for, because it offers its holder the possibility of augmenting his social and political prestige and of showing his administrative abili-
[175] ties. These organizations were created in the colonial period in order to gather together, under the aegis of /73/ the Church, as happened in Portugal, persons of different social and economic groups for the purpose of spiritual improvement, but also in order
• [178] [565] to permit them to show their rank. Thus it is understood that even today they are arranged in hierarchies according to class lines, although the distinctions that separate them are in the process of becoming less clear and less rigid every day, with new conditions of urban life and with the appearance of other institutions having similar social aims. There are, for example, although

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*563 554 794 relatively decadent and less exclusive, brotherhoods of "colored men," which in olden times grouped together sometimes slaves, sometimes free Blacks or even mulattoes. A few of them still march in the processions, wearing their insignia and their livery and celebrating the festivals of their patron saints in the chapels on their premises with a pomp and luxury greatly reduced in comparison with the brilliant solemnities of their glorious period. But for many men of this type it is an honor to belong to these brotherhoods and to take part in their management committees. It is always a proof of prestige within the group. The brotherhoods and third orders of persons of high rank are always prosperous; in their rules or "compromises" it was formerly stipulated that only "gentlemen," white and of certain professions, would be permitted to be registered in them. The statutes of one of these brotherhoods still contain the following stipulations: "Art. 4. In order to become part of the brotherhood it is necessary: 1st, to practice the Roman Catholic religion; 2nd, to be more than 40 years old and to be of white color; 3rd, to have irreproachable moral and religious conduct and to live honestly from some employment, office, industry, or income; 4th, not to have been convicted of any dishonorable offense and not to have been expelled from any religious or secular corporation, except if one can prove that one has been 'rehabilitated.'" But more than a century ago the con- [178] cept of "white" began to be enlarged in order to permit the admission of mulattoes, either married to Whites of noble families, or wealthy, or occupying an outstanding social position (1).

1. Gilberto Freyre, op. cit., II, p. 669.

*563 794 Although the arrangements relative to the "color" of their members or their "brothers" have become a dead letter or have completely disappeared from their statutes, people maintain that some of these brotherhoods do not accept colored persons, at least if they are not, one informant told us, nearly white pardos. People illustrate this assertion by citing the case of persons who did not ask for admission to these brotherhoods for fear of being refused, or of persons who, according /74/ to what certain informants assumed,

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*563 793 Since that time priests who were black and of mixed blood began to distinguish themselves, in Bahia as throughout the country, as sacred orators, professors of Latin, of philosophy and rhetoric, of Portuguese, and as superiors and directors of educational institutions, prefects of studies, etc. Proud of this, the Blacks expressed their antagonism toward the mulattoes and caboclos by repeating [539] this quatrain:

> I have seen many Negroes
> At the altar in the act of saying Mass
> And the caboclo, all that he achieves
> Is to be usher.

*563 792 829 [797] In the religious orders, directed in general by European monks or of European structure, the prejudice that maintains that the métis find it difficult to be faithful to the vow of chastity persisted for a long time. Such a belief must have strongly influenced the opposition to the ordination of colored religious. An /76/ intellectual of dark color relates that during his youth, more than 40 years ago, he, wishing to become a priest, entered a religious order, but the superior of the monastery to which he applied, a Spaniard, advised him to seek another path. Astonished by this refusal, he demanded an explanation, and the superior told him that he might find it difficult to subject himself to the discipline, because men of his type are obliged to make great efforts to remain chaste. And since the informant thought that in the secular clergy he would be very much in danger of betraying his trust, he gave up his idea. Thus, even today, the religious orders include very few métis. [178] The situation is beginning to improve, however, with the ordination of some moreno and light mulatto monks; in an apostolic school in which one of these orders trains young men wishing to embrace the religious life, there is at present a majority of pardos and caboclos recruited from among modest families of the interior, particularly in the rural area of the northeastern part of the State of Bahia. Light mulattoes, ordained in the course of recent years, have been trained in the same school. In the *563 562 792 178 female religious orders the difficulties for the acceptance of colored girls are very much greater. Not only are some of them directed by European religious, but there still persists the Portuguese

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*563 tradition of accepting as religious only the daughters of nobles
562 and of high colonial officials, and as "servants" girls of colored
792 or humble extraction. Therefore, the number of morenas or
•178 very light mulatto religious is minimal and all are of recent admission.

*563 There is also a prejudice, widespread among the priests
793 of the secular clergy, that "the mulattoes are very inclined
[829] to concupiscence and to arrogance when they are intelligent." Nevertheless dark priests are ordained. At least 30 o/o of the 176 priests ordained at the archdiocesan theological seminary of Bahia between 1907 and 1951 were colored; among 50 colored priests identified in the register, at least seven were very dark or black. Approximately the same proportion can be noted among the 42 secular priests living in the city. Among those who are best known as sacred orators and who are invited to preach on solemn occasions in the ecclessiastical life and in the religious ceremonies that precede the examinations of the different schools of the local university, there are numerous pardos and Blacks, some of whom enjoy a great deal of prestige as vicars of important parishes, as professors, and as men of letters. The theo-
[874] logical seminary of the archdiocese also includes at present an increased number of young colored students, made up of dark mulattoes and Blacks.

/77/ Sports

*563 In no matter what study of the most popular sports of Brazil,
526 whether it is a matter of football, rowing, basketball, volleyball, or tennis, it is indispensable to consider that some of them are practiced by certain socio-economic groups and that others, after having been a pastime of some of these groups, have become a profession.

*563 Tennis in Bahia is a bourgeois sport that an extremely limited
526 number of people play. On the grounds of one of the principal
575 clubs where this sport is played one does not see colored persons, except now and then one or two morenos of high rank from the liberal professions or from commerce. A mulatto practicing a

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*563 526 575 liberal profession relates that he was more than once invited by the members of this club to join their teams, but he answered them: "You are all white. If one day when I might wish to play with a white girl she refused because I am mulatto, I would be capable of doing something foolish... It is much better to avoid this."

[565] Basketball and volleyball are also games played by the young people of the intermediate and upper classes, members of sporting and recreational clubs. Some of the "teams" as an exception, admit dark players capable of contributing to their victory; the portraits of these players may be seen in the halls of the luxurious buildings of some of these clubs. There are, moreover, some school teams on which students of different types take part.

In the rowing clubs, an informant assures us, discrimination [178] against colored persons was such some ten years ago that a group of dark young men founded a separate club that was allowed to pit itself against the others. Other informants explain, however, [565] that this discrimination was based on the fact that rowing has always been a sport of the bourgeoisie (students of the intermediate class, commercial employees, officials of the higher categories); no one of inferior rank, that is to say, of subordinate occupation (soldiers, domestics, laborers), was accepted on the teams. For some years, however, on the occasion of important competitions, certain clubs have temporarily completed their nautical teams with colored rowers taken from more plebeian teams. It is generally a matter of semiprofessional sportsmen of modest circumstances.

*563 526 The truly popular sport throughout the country is football. Groups of players, having a permanent or temporary organization, practice this game almost everywhere. Football games /78/ arouse extraordinary enthusiasm, especially among persons of the male sex, draw thousands and thousands of spectators to the stadiums, and bring in a great deal. At the beginning of the century football, introduced into Brazil by young men reared in England, was a pastime of the bourgeoisie; on their "teams" there were probably never, or very rarely, young colored men. One

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* 563 of the latter, however, was part of these teams for many years
526 and was known and admired by the entire city. About 30 years
• [178] ago football started to become professional; today there are few
[575] important clubs for amateurs. In the present phase that of pro-
fessionals, there is no restriction against mulatto or black players.
* 563 They are acclaimed with enthusiasm, and many people consider them
542 exceptionally suited for this game because of their agility and
555 their skill. The most important and the richest clubs wrangle over
554 these players and offer them very large sums so that they will consent to play on their teams. Thus several of them are made up almost exclusively of dark players. The most popular footballers of Bahia are almost all black or dark mulattoes. It should be noted, however, that the fame and the popularity of these sportsmen, in large part recruited from the lowest strata of the population, do not confer on them a higher rank; they have access to certain groups who are particularly interested in the sport; but they do not thereby acquire the right to attend the recreational celebrations of certain clubs, except on very rare occasions. Another aspect of football is that its "teams" are organized and supported by associations that generally also carry on recreational activities and are directed with passionate devotion, even at the price of pecuniary sacrifices, by rich and influential people in commerce, the liberal professions, and the bureaucracy. To take part in the management of one of these associations or on the committee that co-ordinates sports activities throughout the State of Bahia is greatly coveted: this permits one to affirm his prestige and to obtain political support from players and from thousands of fans of the sport. Some politicians distinguish themselves by the effort they make to obtain subventions and other resources for the sporting associations. According to the social level of each of these institutions, the opportunities that colored persons have to take part in their management vary. An informant who for many years was a member of the aforementioned committee cites the names of various mulattoes and Blacks who, by their wealth and their devotion, attained the posts of president and of director of several of these organizations, as well as of the sports federation of the State.

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*563 873 178 511 With the gradual rise of the standard of living of the lower strata of the population and with the augmentation of facilities granted to poor students in the framework of secondary education, thanks to the creation of new free colleges, the number of colored students is rising from day to day.

*563 555 573 873 Moreover, many fathers and, in the case of young colored people, many mothers of very modest circumstances make extraordinary sacrifices to assure their children a diploma that will permit them to practice a liberal profession. As a result, in the various faculties of the University of Bahia there are numerous

*563 571 873 colored students who share the life, the studies, the diversions of their white comrades and who form groups with them according to their social rank and the center of their intellectual and academic interest. If one sometimes sees groups made up solely of young colored people, it is nevertheless certain that in the university there is no intentional or permanent segregation /80/ based on classifications of "race" or "quality." In no other environment is there more harmony and less tension in interracial relations, the informants unanimously declare. Nevertheless events whose meaning could be debatable, and which some students attribute to race prejudice, do take place. There are even students who have a tendency to remain isolated during all their years of study; certain informants say that they adopt such behavior in the hope of avoiding annoyances that might be on account of their racial affiliation. Others claim to have had difficulties when they made their application to groups of excursionists or when they took part in oratorical contests, the winners of which were to go to Rio de Janeiro as representatives of the students of Bahia. One man practicing a liberal profession, very dark in color, said that he had never suffered from discrimination when he attended the university, but that he had heard his white comrades speak of people of his type by designating them with the pejorative term of "Negro." The interpretations of the informants on the subject of the preceding facts vary, however. Some think that these episodes are caused by the feeling of inferiority and the timidity of students of very low social status. With

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*563 571 873 students are admitted, like the others, as probationers at the palace of justice, in the laboratories, in the hospital services of the university, etc., and sometimes enjoy exceptional facilities in pursuing instruction given under the guidance of a professor of renown. It is said, however, that formerly a school for civil engineers did not readily admit colored students. This school is particularly strict, and, because of the limited opening that Bahia represented for engineers some years ago, it had a very small number of students; in spite of this, it awarded diplomas to Blacks and to mulattoes, some of whom achieved a first-class position in their profession or elsewhere; among these is the present director of the school. If one takes at random the lists of students graduated in the course of different years, one can confirm that all types are found among them, the proportion of those with very dark skin being very high. The fact that there are very few civil engineers who are really black is explained by the small number of diplomas awarded by this school in comparison to others of the University of Bahia (1).

*563 874 [178]

1. The Polytechnical School of Bahia in 1918 awarded diplomas to 23 students, two of them mulattoes; in 1948 it awarded a diploma to 51 students, among them one Black and ten métis, and in 1949 to 68 students, among them six métis.

*563 873 875 According to a mulatto informant, "there is a sector prohibited to Blacks and to colored persons: the university professorship." And he relates that having been a candidate for a university chair himself, anyone could say that his competence was unquestionable, but that "he was a mulatto..." Nevertheless he was accepted. Two other informants relate that a young man practicing a liberal profession, assistant in one of the faculties, had been excluded because he was mulatto, despite his recognized competence. The facts seem to contradict such interpretations, for all the faculties of Bahia have always had colored professors, though in different proportions. In the gallery of portraits of the oldest among them,

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predominates." In /95/ speaking at a congress of Afro-Brazilian studies in 1935, a mulatto sociologist expressed himself in a very radical manner and undoubtedly charged with emotional violence due to the political excitement of the moment:

"Left to himself, master of a fictive freedom, badly paid, badly clothed, badly nourished, serving the game of economic events, brutalized by a job of ten hours a day under unhygienic conditions, enduring the racial oppression of white men (the lords of capital) and the scorn of the white proletarians themselves who inspired the bourgeoisie, putting into practice the old advice: 'divide and conquer,' the Negro lived from day to day... [178] This situation has changed in the course of the last 60 years, it has changed for the worse (1)!"

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1. Edison Carneiro, "Situaçao do negro no Brasil /Situation of the Negro in Brazil," in Estudos afro-brasileiros, Vol. I, Ariel edition, Rio de Janeiro, 1935, p. 238.

A mulatto university professor, speaking during the handing out of university diplomas at the university, said a short time ago: "People state that the sinister racial problem does not exist among us, that the Black enjoys the same rights, the same prerogatives as the white man. This is a sad utopia. The upper sectors of the life of the country keep their doors closed to the Black." And another Bahian sociologist, a moreno, and one of the most influential leaders of "black" movements in Brazil, thinks that "the failures of colored men in our country have been attributed to racial prejudice, whereas they should very often be attributed to class prejudice."

A black informant, local head of movements of the same nature, asserted that there is active prejudice in Bahia, as throughout Brazil: he himself wished to protest against the declaration made to a newspaper by another black leader, according to which there is supposed to be no racial problem among us, although other Blacks asked him not to do so.

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*563 829 Numerous informants admit that actually one can verify prejudices bound up with color, but they add that "this is a question of tradition in Bahia." According to one of them, "conservative persons transmit it to the new generations." The experiences of the informants vary, however. A moreno official, about 45 [178] years old, finds that at present prejudice is stronger than before: "It is possible that it existed previously, but it did not become evident. I know people full of merit who are treated with some contempt because of color. Many also withdraw, saying: now who will become intimate with me?...., I am black." A mulatto [178] merchant who has many white friends affirms that relations are getting better "on the intimate level": the Blacks and mulattoes are received in the homes, make friends, but "on the social level everything continues as in the past: the same /96/ white persons who make friends with colored people do not wish to admit them into their recreational societies and their other associations." It is not rare to hear it said that very dark persons experience a certain resistance in social and even professional life, and in [171] private they frequently comment on this. Nevertheless it is very often affirmed that the situation, from all points of view, is much better in Bahia than in the other States of Brazil; in certain of these States, in fact, and particularly in the industrial region of the south, it seems that there is real conflict between white *563 829 171 men and colored men. "In São Paulo, for example," says a man practicing a liberal profession who has visited the States of the south several times, "their situation is worse because of foreigners; in Bahia the advantage is that there are few foreigners." Others think that it is the Blacks themselves who, by their hostile attitude, have created the problem in São Paulo. "In Rio, where the milieu is more Brazilian, the situation is better." Some think that the foreigners, even in Bahia, are to a great extent responsible for the racial discrimination, although the majority of them adapt themselves to local customs and treat like Whites the colored men who have a high position. These comparisons are almost always accompanied by an account of incidents of discrimination and hostile antagonism, incidents which, according

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*563 829 17 to our informants, could not happen in Bahia (1).

1. One of the most frequently cited examples is that of the first-class hairdressers of Rio and São Paulo, who refuse to serve clients of dark color, even when they appear well dressed and with manners indicating a perfect education. One of the informants recalls that about 30 years ago, preparing to go to an audience with the governor of the State, he was unable, though he wore evening dress, to be shaved at the establishment of a mulatto hairdresser whom he knew; the latter made many excuses for this and explained to him that he had great difficulty with his white clients. Another affirms that one may note cases of this nature, but that, on account of the great number of American sailors "full of money" passing through since the last war, the barbers practice less discrimination against the local Blacks.

*563 178 [171] Almost all, or at least most, insist on saying that race relations in Bahia are in the process of perceptible improvement, although in other parts of Brazil they seem to be growing worse. With regard to tendencies toward racism there are, however, differences among colored people. "Racism exists, but it is hidden and hence in the process of disappearing," thinks a Black who practices a liberal profession, "but I do not believe that it will cease to exist entirely; it will always exist, though hidden and discreet." Another says that: "The situation has a tendency to change with the social ascent of colored people and with greater educational facilities. It may even grow worse, but it is now too late to separate the Whites from the Blacks, /Figs. 11 and 12 appear here/ /97/ if only because there are families in which some are dark and others may pass for Whites."

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*563 668 struggle against this prejudice, wishes to do so for the unity of individuals of different skins, for the realization of an educational program." "This association," its founder announced in a letter to the author of these pages, "was an outcome of the black fronts and was founded in order to combat the racial prejudice that Nazism wanted to introduce into our country when /100/ integralism (1)

[665] 1. A political movement of the extreme right, organized into a party. One of the principal national leaders of this party at that time published several books of anti-Semitic doctrine.

dominated. It should be noted that the situation was such that Negroes were afraid to be and to call themselves black, this making them suspected of Communism. And in fact a newspaper went so far as to say that this was Communism. But once the New State had disappeared (2),

[642] 2. The name given to the authoritarian political regime established by the dictatorship from 1937 to 1945.

[178] there came democracy and our society continued." The Henrique Diaz Society still exists, but has not acquired great prestige; its management rarely meets, and since its head has settled in the interior of the State, where he performs the duties of judge, it has practically only a nominal existence, limiting itself, thanks to a small federal subvention, to running a modest primary school in a poor district.

One of the founders of the society launched another movement in 1946, the Campanha do Pi Racial (3),

3. Pi (π), a Greek letter adopted by the Campanha do Pi Racial as a symbol of rapprochement.

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/103 cont./ In principle
*563 anyone at all may elevate himself socially by wealth, by his
555 intellectual merits, by his professional titles, by his moral qualities,
[556] or by a combination of these elements, by virtue of the system of values of a capitalist society. In their ascent toward the higher classes, however, colored people encounter resistance, due in part to the influence of the prejudices of which we have spoken, but also because of the fact that for the most part they belong to classes that economically are at the bottom of the social hierarchy.

The social ascent of colored people, however, is relatively frequent, and there are numerous examples of it. As a group,
*563 however, colored people also rise, but with difficulty. It is
565 sufficient, in order to get a clear idea of this, to compare the dis-
555 tribution of the different ethnic types that are encountered in
162 /104/ Brazil in the groupings and organizations that symbolize
794 the upper classes:
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	Whites		"Pardos"		Blacks	
	%	Indices	%	Indices	%	Indices
In the total population	33	100	47	100	20	100
Religious brotherhoods	82	240	18	38	--	--
Liberal professions (1)	76	230	22	46	2	10
Clubs	67	200	33	70	--	--

1. Average of various liberal professions.

*563 As may be seen, none of the above groups constitutes a sample
565 representative of the total population, which proves, in fact,
555 that the different types still do not have the possibility of advancing to the higher strata. If, by basing ourselves on the
• [178] descriptions of the society of Bahia in the past, we could make up a table of the same nature, we would see that "high society" and the prestige professions 50 or 80 years ago were much less mixed, although the participation of individuals of mixed blood in these groups is an old Brazilian tradition.

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000 in these groups is an old Brazilian tradition. In order to account
*563 for the amount of improvement that has occurred in the situation
175 of colored groups, it should be mentioned that on the occasion of
212 the national census of 1872 the totality of the slaves of the city
•178 was illiterate. Since the abolition of slavery in 1888, although
[567] it did not do much on behalf of the recently freed men, they
[659] progressed to such an extent that today more than 50 o/o of the Blacks and more than 60 o/o of the pardos over the age of five know how to read and write, and their number is increasing every year in the secondary and higher courses, thus opening the way to the liberal professions, in which one may count them in variable proportions.

*563 It should also be remembered that among those who are
571 called "Whites" there are many light métis who are considered socially white, and that colored persons, even those who are the darkest and show the most obvious Negroid features, are treated like anyone else of the same social situation. Interracial relations are then governed by some "fair play": in other words, Bahian customs disapprove of openly avowed discrimination motivated by racial intolerance or color prejudice. Another aspect of the Bahian dynamics and social psychology is that both the antagonisms of class and those of color are attenuated by the process of reciprocal accommodation between /105/ the groups and by the development, as much among Whites as among dark individuals, of the type of "cordial" and "gentle" personality that some authors consider to be characteristic of the Brazilian people and the prototype of which is supposed to be the inhabitant of Bahia.

*563 The facilities for the social ascent of colored individuals are
555 in the process of multiplying in Bahia; according to the opinion
178 of numerous informants, they will not cease to be augmented unless cultural change, under the influence of new social conditions created by the industrialization anticipated in the region by the exploitation of oil-bearing lands and with the development of the electrical energy of the waterworks under construction, produces a perceptible modification of the ethos of Bahia; it is

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*563 555 178 important to note that up to now the chief means of social ascent, by which a large number of Blacks and métis have acquired high status, is education in the double sense of good manners and of instruction of a certain level, not to mention adherence to the customs and to the concepts of the predominant culture, which, in the last analysis, is a problem of acculturation or of greater integration of the colored masses into the dominant society. One *563 608 178 of the mechanisms that facilitate this integration is the protection and aid that numerous godfathers and godmothers offer their colored godchildren by rearing them in their own houses, by procuring employment for them, by sending them on to secondary and higher studies, and often by continuing afterwards to guide and protect them, this even being one of the principal functions of this system of spiritual kinship.

*563 829 The preponderant groups that constitute the upper strata of Bahian society do not oppose these tendencies with organized resistance, and, in accordance with the liberalism that is the basis of their mentality, they consider them proof of moral progress and of "civilization," of which, in general, the Bahians of all types are very proud.

/Tables I-III follow on pages 142-144./

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

CHAPTER III

EVOLUTION OF THE RECÔNCAVO

175 Introduction. The first permanent colony on the Baía de Todos os Santos was established by the Portuguese in 1549.[1] This colony, at the city of Salvador, was the nucleus of settlement in the Recôncavo. The Recôncavo was thus one of the early European colonies in the New World.[2] The first Portuguese colonists came to seek their fortunes in the exploitation of the land. The ethos of the Recôncavo economy in the four centuries since its founding has remained fairly constant: the realization of the greatest agricultural profits with the least capital investment, the minimum conservation of land and labor, and the most grudging adjustments to changes in technology, markets, and the social and political order. Most of the million descendants of Portuguese colonists and Negro slaves who live in the Recôncavo today are imbued with the orthodox values of the exploitative agricultural society established here in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Shifts in markets and in the relative importance of commercial products have not been accompanied by equivalent changes in the speculative and exploitative orientation of the society. In the initial period a market for Recôncavo agricultural products was assured because it had a virtual monopoly. The development of alternative and competitive sources for these products broke this monopoly and caused a continuous increase in the speculative character of agriculture in the Recôncavo. This area did not respond to the increased risk by diversifying its agricultural base but persisted in the same crops and the same methods of cultivation. Such change as did take place was in the form of reluctant, tardy, and minimal adjustments so that in many ways the

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

161 distribution and the vested political and economic interests of the
162 Recôncavo allowed it to continue as the dominant region of the state.

The Recôncavo has remained a conservative area in Brazil, and
178 within the state it seems to exert a strong traditional influence. On
433 a national scale, however, the traditional values which are preserved
248 in Bahian culture have been overridden by the aggressive dynamism of
565 São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. Moreover, the economic core of tradition
181 in the Recôncavo--the sugar-producing upper class--is being progressively infiltrated and dominated by the new economic interests of the Central-South. The effects of these new economic interests are manifest in the administrative and labor problems of the sugar industry in the present decade.[48] New economic groups also are coming to the fore in the tobacco industry.

The technological revolution in the sugar industry and the emergence of a new "progressive" upper class have weakened but not destroyed the traditional orientation of the Recôncavo. The cultural patterns which have so successfully resisted basic change for almost four centuries will not easily give way. However, the issues have been joined, and already the old technology, the old upper class, and the old inter-class social fabric have been profoundly disturbed. In the long run it seems inevitable that the cultural patterns of the Recôncavo will have to accommodate many new values.

Not all the new social forces are restricted to the upper
178 class. More and more new technology, such as the automobile, new
565 political and social institutions, such as labor unions, and new ideas
181 from the South, brought through newspapers, radios, and travelers, have affected the lives of the lower classes. While the access of this group to new ideas is more limited than that of the upper class,

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178 its vested interest in the traditional system is weaker. Thus on all
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181 social levels the old Recôncavo is being threatened.

For the present, however, tradition is a continuing and power-
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181 ful force in agriculture and in the economic and social institutions
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433 which surround agriculture in the Recôncavo.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

128 orientation. This will be followed by a discussion of demography as a basis for the understanding of the agricultural economy.

• 181 The People of the Recôncavo - Introduction. The Recôncavo is the nucleus of a sub-culture which is a distinctive but integral part of the national culture of modern Brazil. Throughout Brazil the Baiano is characterized by a formality of behavior, an oratorical turn of speech, a sentimental attachment to the region of his birth, and a special accent which distinguishes him from the Mineiros, Paulistas, Gaúchos, or Pernambucanos of the other Brazilian regions.[4] These superficial distinctions seem to be a reflection of deep-seated differences in the culture and personality of the people who live in the Recôncavo and in the surrounding zone. On another level, the culture and personality of the people of the northeastern coast, including the inhabitants of the Recôncavo, is unlike that of the sertanejos (people of the arid northeastern interior--the Sertão).[5] Some of the culture and personality traits of the Recôncavo have a significant relationship to local agricultural phenomena.

178 181 241 567 The Baiano of today, as has been seen, is the product of several centuries of historical evolution along lines distinct from those of Central and Southern Brazil and to a lesser degree from those of the rest of the Northeast. A significant feature of the development of the Recôncavo was the social cohesiveness which derived in a large measure from the original strength and periodic re-enforcement of the slave labor latifundia system. Although this system was operative in other regions of Brazil, it was generally less highly organized, and its vestiges have had less impact on contemporary society. In the Recôncavo it remained the chief cohesive social force until the end of the nineteenth century, and cultural and economic survivals of the system remain in force today.

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Economic and social changes in Brazil during the last century have had two important effects upon the relative position of the Recôncavo: (1) This historic region, in common with much of the Northeast, has lagged behind the new economic and social centers of the Central-South--the Recôncavo has become, vis-a-vis Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and the southern states, an under-developed area. (2) Many new, usually externally originated, cultural elements have been rapidly accepted in the Recôncavo, whereas much of the conservative ideology of the society has remained essentially unchanged.

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Racial Characteristics. The Recôncavo is a region of heterogenous racial characteristics--in every município each of the three basic racial groups (white, black, and mixed) comprises at least 10 per cent of the population. These racial categories generally do not correspond to social groups, nor is the Recôncavo in any sense a plural society. In linage, in social and cultural interaction, and in the daily business of earning a living the various people of the region are closely linked.

During three centuries of slavery hundreds of thousands of Africans were brought into Bahia, and the Negro element in the population is still large. As a result of this and the more or less continuous miscegenation "Baia [Bahia] and Negroid characteristics are very closely associated in Brazilian thinking."[6] On the basis of the 1940 census, over 70 per cent of the people of the state of Bahia were Negroes or mixed bloods. Only one other Brazilian state--Amazonas--had a higher proportion, and the national average was only 36 per cent.[7] Within Bahia the proportion of non-whites was highest in the Centro-Litoral (east-central Bahia), which includes the Recôncavo. In 1940, 78 per cent of the people of this census division were Negroes or mixed bloods.[8]

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agricultural population is small. However, refugees from the drought also found their way into most parts of the Recôncavo. Even in 1953 they were to be encountered as squatters in Muritiba, as cane field workers in Santo Amaro, and as porters in Salvador.

Refugees from secas usually have not become permanent additions to the labor force of the Recôncavo. The sertanejo of the Northeast is renowned in Brazil for his attachment to his terra (native soil), no matter how cruelly it treats him. Especially those migrants who settle as squatters on the margins of the Recôncavo seem only to wait for the renewal of the rains to return to the sertão. In 1953 migrants were still entering the Recôncavo along the Feira de Santana-Salvador highway, but others were boarding the train in Salvador and returning to the sertão. They had come from the sertão on foot or by begging rides on trucks, found jobs in the Recôncavo, saved a few cruzeiros, and were returning to their native terra. Some refugees remain in the Recôncavo, of course, but the number is proportionately very small.

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Several sections of the Recôncavo, notably the sugar cane zone, are losing rural population and agricultural labor at a serious rate. The municípios of Santo Amaro and São Francisco lost 6,400 agriculturalists between 1940 and 1950. The reduction in the number of agriculturalists in the sugar area is at least partially a symptom of the growing rationalization of labor under the big usinas, which increasingly dominate the sugar industry. The emigration from these areas is selective--the majority of the emigrants are young adults who leave to seek employment and broader opportunity elsewhere.

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Emigration within the Recôncavo is one current of the great tide of agricultural unrest ascribed to all of Brazil.

The rural Brazilian of the lower classes is notorious for his nomadic or migratory habits, for his lack of permanent attachment to the soil, for his tendency to

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> shift about from place to place. In few nations are such large proportions of the rural people, who in turn are three fourths of all people, so constantly on the move.[23]

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In the Recôncavo this shifting is like a game of musical chairs, in which the odd participant, probably thinking himself lucky, goes to Salvador. The exchange of places occurs on many levels: there is movement from plantation to plantation within the sugar zone, even between plantations operated by the same usina.[24] Many agricultural workers shift from one to another of the various agricultural zones within the Recôncavo.[25] These shifts of population in the Recôncavo primarily involve the agricultural laborers, share croppers, and tenant farmers. The landowners move only under the strongest pressure, and the upper class landowners are as immobile as the lower classes are migratory. However, these landowners compose only a small part of the agricultural labor force.

Another fluid element in the agricultural labor force of the Recôncavo is seasonal labor.

> Itinerant seasonal agricultural labor has for a long time been an important element in the sugar zones of the Northeast where at harvest time many of the cane cutters come from the "agreste" or even from the "sertao" into the "mata" zone.[26]

The principal source of this seasonal labor for the Recôncavo is the small farmer class of the sertão of Bahia north of the Rio Paraguaçu and east of the Chapada Diamantina. These workers are males, exclusively; the number involved is not known, but it is probably on the order of 5,000. Some sertanejos return again and again to the same fazenda or usina; others change their place of employment from year to year. They all return to the sertão at the beginning of the wet season to plant gardens for their families and to harvest cotton and other crops.

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241 [464] The skills of the 196,000 workers are an important agricultural resource in the Recôncavo. This resource can best be evaluated in terms of the prevailing agricultural systems: hoe and rudimentary plow agriculture. Hoe agriculture is universal in the Recôncavo, and in a society so thoroughly permeated with agricultural activity it is fair to assume that, except for some completely urbanized laborers in Salvador, all workers are familiar with the simple tools of this form of cultivation. Plow cultivation is more specialized; it is used [249] throughout the sugar cane zone but only in preparing the fields for planting. The seedstalks are covered with a hoe, and knives are used [407] for weeding and harvesting. Outside the sugar zone plows are rarely encountered.

[231] The domesticated animals which play a prominent role in cultivation in the Recôncavo are oxen, horses, mules, and donkeys, and the rudiments of their management are almost universally understood. The prominent crops of the Recôncavo are ubiquitous—manioc, corn, beans, sweet potatoes, peanuts, tobacco, sugar cane, bananas, and oranges are grown in all areas, and their cultivation under the prevailing agricultural system is common knowledge. There is little present need for agricultural labor specialized beyond this level.

241 178 It is clear that the introduction into the Recôncavo of new, radically different crops or techniques of cultivation would alter this [181] relatively favorable situation. The agricultural worker of the Recôncavo, like his counterpart in many other parts of the world, is inherently conservative. As in the past, he will continue to resist even minor changes, such as improved methods of seed selection in corn or improved curing of tobacco. More radical changes would probably be resisted more strongly. The problem of "selling" new ways of pro- [212] ducing agricultural products is difficult not only because of the

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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BB 633 464 433 and, to a lesser extent, the rest of the Recôncavo and the state. The relatively large and affluent upper class of Salvador utilizes an extravagantly large number of domestics and of industrial workers--in food, clothing, and construction industries.

BB 178 181 433 161 B BB 161 162 Conclusion. The preservation of traditional values among the people of the Recôncavo is evidence of the survival value of their conservative culture, but the relatively slow growth of the population is indicative of a declining economic role in the nation. Although the population of both Brazil and the Recôncavo grew between 1940 and 1950, Brazil's population increased 26.5 per cent, the Reconcavo's only 16 per cent. In Brazil as a whole, urban populations increased 46 per cent, in the Recôncavo only 34 per cent. The rural population of Brazil increased by 17 per cent; the approximately comparable figure for the Recôncavo was 4 per cent.

Within the Recôncavo the net effect of population changes in the decade 1940 to 1950 was the reduction in rural population from 60 per cent to 54 per cent of the total population (see Table XII). BB 161 162 241 464 Even more serious, from the agricultural point of view, was the decline in the relative number of agricultural workers. Despite the influx of agricultural people from the sertão, the percentage of the total population in the agricultural labor force fell from 21 per cent (1940) to 18 per cent (1950).

BB 633 [162] The greatest single concentration of population in the Recôncavo is the city of Salvador. One-third of the people of the region live in this predominant city, occupying the tip of the peninsula which separates the Baía de Todos os Santos from the sea. In this eccentric peninsular location, Salvador is relatively distant from the main centers of agricultural production and has only circuitous land

country beyond, is a large, colonial, two-story building--the county courthouse (prefeitura), the official center of local county administration. With heavily barred windows on the ground level, it also serves as the county jail. At the top of the hill is a large church, the mother church of the parish of São Roque. On the right, on top of another hill, is the imposing Franciscan convent. The main street of the town is narrow, paved with cobblestones and lined by old colonial houses in various stages of repair. To the left one sees the "beach," which at low tide is an expanse of ugly black mud, typical of the shores of this back part of the bay. The long dugout canoes of the fishermen are anchored there and rest on the bottom when the tide is out.

As the boat sails away and the townspeople go about their business, the streets empty, and a peculiar hush, which is characteristic of Vilà Recôncavo, falls over the town. There is an atmosphere not so much of sleepiness and inertia as of decadence, as though life had already passed by. The few people who remain somehow seem to be left over from something in the past. The houses which face the main street are somber, their façades going straight up two stories from the street, their windows shuttered. Some of them are crumbling, the mortar falling away, exposing the stone of which they are built; others are in complete ruin. All of them are turning black from the constant exposure to humid salt air, and moss is growing on the walls where the sun never strikes.

From the top of the hill, in front of the mother church, there is a magnificent view of the Bay of All Saints, and it is easily understood why this place was chosen 332 years ago as the site for a new town. This part of town is the old Vila Recôncavo (see map of town), dating back to a time when the settlement was the only administrative center of inland colonial Bahia. Upon this hill and the one on which the convent stands, the elite of the sugar lands built their town houses called sobrados. Once upon a time these streets with their steppingstones were the scene of colonial opulence, of sedan chairs carried by liveried slaves, of soldiers in uniform, of ladies wearing gloves and carrying parasols. Today this old part of Vila Recôncavo is inhabited by simpler people, the town's upper class, who eke out a living in the local bureaucracy, or as merchants, or as representatives of the state and federal governments. They are quiet, gentlemanly people trying to keep up a semblance of dignity, a feat which becomes more difficult all the time.

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the refinery, namely gasoline, kerosene, diesel oil, bottled gas, and other petroleum derivatives. As a result of the increased income, the county government will be able to build up the county seat considerably. A hospital is already being built, as well as a new dock for the boat which comes from the city.

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In Milagres, located in the neighboring county, there is already a considerable movement for breaking away from the parent county and becoming a separate municipio, a common pattern in Brazil for districts which reach a certain population and degree of economic activity. Thus there are two possibilities for urban growth in the area and for the formation of urban centers which will attract the large rural population.

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The town of Vila Recôncavo is close to realizing other possibilities. The construction of a road from the town to Centro has already begun, filling a long-felt need. Its completion will make it possible for cars, buses, and trucks to come from Feira, on the edge of the sertão, to Centro, down through Vila Recôncavo to Milagres, and on into the city, shortening the long trip by the existing road which follows the edges of the Recôncavo. Such traffic would "put Vila Recôncavo on the map," and would greatly increase its contacts with the outside world. In addition, the possibilities of the introduction of a new crop to the community will bring increased commercial activity and a much greater tax income, enabling the county to build its own roads and bridges and to make other improvements for the development of the area.

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Thus the community structure of Vila Recôncavo, which five years ago was in the process of crystallizing around the factory town, is now ripe for further change. The factory town continues for the present to be the major center, but the old county seat has all the possibilities of a rebirth of its former importance. In fact, because of the petroleum industry and the forthcoming changeover from sugar cane to cacao, the factory town is threatened as a community center, the position which it has only recently been consolidating.

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Finally, one of the most important changes in Vila Recôncavo in these five years is a change in attitude on the part of the people. Vila Recôncavo was always known as a conservative community, maintaining its old traditions and ways, rejecting innovations. However, there is now an air of expectancy and a search for new ways and new things. Dissatisfaction with the sugar industry, combined with the appearance

St Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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of a new industry and new people, has brought new ideas and the desire for change. The town of Vila Recôncavo is beginning to lose its forlorn air. Inhabitants of the rural area are no longer content with the old ways of hand and animal labor. The community as a whole seems to feel that it is on the verge of something new and exciting. The major outlines of what is to come are not yet clear, but a willingness for change is invading the area.

[SALVADOR]

BB 175 633 [113]

/9 cont./

voyage from the South Sea to the coasts of Chile and Peru made during the years 1712, 1713, and 1714/, Paris, 1732; Adolphe d'Assier, Le Brésil contemporain /Contemporary Brazil/, Paris, 1867.

BB [548]

Founded in 1549, seat of the general government of Brazil and residence of the Portuguese viceroy until 1763, the date when the capital of the colony was transferred to Rio de Janeiro, Bahia was regarded as "the most Portuguese" of the cities of the American continent. Even today it is one of the most important cities of Brazil (5).

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5. The State of Bahia has an area of 563,000 square kilometers and a littoral of 100 kilometers; its territory, of varied geographical aspect, is occupied chiefly by plantations of cacao, tobacco, cereals, by stock farms, and by mines of manganese, chromium, diamonds, iron, bituminous schists, etc. After the national census of July, 1950, the State had 4,900,419 inhabitants, 395,993 of them in the city of Salvador itself. The other most populous cities of Brazil are: Rio de Janeiro (federal district), with 2,335,931 inhabitants; São Paulo, with 2,041,716 inhabitants; Recife, with 522,466 inhabitants; Porto Alegre, 381,964 inhabitants, and Belo Horizonte, with 346,207 inhabitants.

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BB 633 *563 [181]

Owing to the conservative and traditionalist nature of its civilization, owing also to the distance that separates it from the other important urban centers, it is considered one of the /10/ demographic and cultural islets of what has been called the "Brazilian Archipelago." As we have said, what makes it particularly interesting is the fact that it was always a melting pot of races, certainly the most representative and the most symbolic of racial relations of the country.

[SALVADOR]

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666 careers in different parties of Bahia and have been elected to
578 represent the Bahians at the legislative assembly of the State or
829 at the national parliament. The same candidate, moreover,
[646] had been elected governor several years earlier, before this attribute of "foreigner" exerted a decisive influence in the fight led against him.

829 /20/ Brazilian customs condemn all social discrimination;
577 the Bahians, particularly those of the more advanced groups, pride themselves on these traditions of tolerance and liberalism, and consider them proper for forming the very prototype of the cordial Brazilian man whom Gobineau describes: "to be very polished, gracious, very friendly," and whose qualities are defined by a Brazilian sociologist as a mixture of kindness, tolerance, and good
• 181 manners. Life in Bahia is appreciated and envied by some, criti-
182 cized by others for its slow rhythm, its lack of combativeness, its strict particularism, and for the thousand mechanisms that always work in a way to mitigate the antagonisms and the conflicts between groups and individuals. The French sociologist Roger Bastide said some years ago that it is good "that in Bahia very rapid progress is not at all prejudicial to the qualities of soul that make up its charm."

641 What contributes a great deal toward mitigating the tensions
829 between the groups that confront one another in the society of
186 Bahia is the polarization of dissatisfaction that in all of Brazil, but especially in our city, takes place concerning the idea of "government," that is to say, public authorities in general, the population having the habit of discharging on them its aggressive impulses, imputing to this very vague entity all the evils that beset Bahia.

829 As for race relations, one may state that a certain antagonism
* 563 exists between Blacks and mulattoes. There are, without doubt, some color prejudices in Bahia, but, as a moreno of liberal profession says, "prejudice is not only the doing of Whites; out of fear of being assimilated with the Blacks, the mulatto avoids them and draws closer to the Whites." A number of informants think that

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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[14]See section by Charles Wagley in Wagley, op. cit., pp. 148-149.

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[15]Smith, op. cit., pp. 637-640, citing Anuário Estatístico do Brasil-1939/40, states that there were 687 church marriages for each civil marriage in Bahia. The number of common law marriages is, obviously, not precisely known. Brazilian statutes do not permit divorce from civil marriage.

BB [182] [541] [883]

[16]The chief exception to this social pattern is during Carnaval, when people of all classes "let themselves go." However, it is mainly the adolescents of the upper class who, for the moment, escape from the rigid social code of their class.

[17]As a consequence of the high mobility of the lower class, many of these community or neighborhood identifications are transitory. However, because of the free social intercourse within the class, the local relationships are quickly established and easily maintained. The core of local identification and of the community or neighborhood seems to be maintained primarily by the more stable upper-stratum of the class.

[18]The industries, trading houses, and exporters of Salvador are concerned to a large degree with agricultural products.

[19]For the United States, see Smith, op. cit., p. 221. For Brazil, calculated from the 1940 census.

BB [127]

[20]A special statement is required because the problems of deriving data for population in this region profoundly affect the reliability of the demographic analysis. At the time this analysis was made, only incomplete and preliminary population data from the 1950 census had been published. Total population data by political units—municípios and distritos—and by "urban" places were available. It was necessary to estimate the agricultural occupational data. The 1950 agricultural labor force was projected from the 1940 data on the basis of changes in the rural population. Because the agricultural labor force and the rural population of which it is a part are subject to approximately the same social and economic forces, it was assumed that the change in the latter could be used to project the 1950 size of the former. The tables showing the derivation of the agricultural labor force for 1950 are based upon this procedure.

BB [162] [463]

[21]In 1940 the composition of this occupational group—based upon a combination of population census and agricultural census data—for the state of Bahia was approximately as follows:

Independent operators	44 per cent
Members of family	27 per cent
Employees	24 per cent
Employers	2 per cent
Non-owner administrators	2.5 per cent

Thus less than 5 per cent of the agricultural labor force were administrators; the others were either cultivators, vaquéiros, or agricultural laborers. In the Recôncavo the administrative group probably was relatively smaller.

BB [128]

[22]In a region of such large statistical areas and diverse physical resources, it is almost inevitable that mean figures for some municípios, such as Feira de Santana, Alagoinhas, Irará, or, most of all, Santo Amaro,

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

277 the more expensive varieties are hand made. The fillers and inner wrappers of the cigars are made from local tobaccos. Local leaf also [439] is used to a very limited extent for the outer wrappers, but almost all of the high quality cigars are made from wrapper leaf imported [471] from Havana, Sumatra, or the Connecticut Valley. The ownership of all the cigar factories is concentrated in three companies, all of which [439] have their headquarters in Salvador. The cigars produced in the Recôncavo are sold throughout Brazil.

182 43 44 184 Conclusion. Many of the features of the systems of marketing, transportation, and processing which are characteristic of the Recôncavo are effective in unifying the region. In particular, the centralized marketing and economic control of the production and processing of tobacco and sugar draw both the tobacco and manioc region and the sugar cane region closer to Salvador. At the same time, the differences in marketing techniques and the separate channels of control which are associated with these two products accentuate the sub-regional pattern 182 of the two crop regions. The system of general marketing exemplified 438 443 by the municipal markets might at first glance seem to be a focus 184 for local rather than regional interests. However, as has been seen, there are itinerant merchants who pass from market to market throughout the Recôncavo. Moreover, the major public markets, such as Feira de Santana and Salvador, draw large numbers of people from most of the rural sections. Even the local marketing institutions contribute to the identification of the people of this area with the region.

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constantly growing, or at least changing. New members are added, people who have made their mark on the society and who, although they have less family tradition behind them, are on the whole acceptable to the elite.

Locally the upper-class members are addressed by the formal term o senhor and a senhora, at times by meu patrão or meu branco (my white), frequently by title name, such as "Dr. Louis," and in some cases by the traditional intimate term of yoyô (for a man) and yayá (for a woman). At times even the very formal, older term of Vossa Excelencia (Your Excellency) is used. Yoyô is an old term formerly used by some slaves toward their masters, and although it is generally restricted to white people, there are occasions when a member of a mulatto family is known to his intimates as yoyô. With rare exceptions, members of the upper class address all those below them simply as você, and usually use the imperative form of the verb in giving directions. These two linguistic devices tend to strengthen and maintain the differences between these groups of people.

565* 576 [182]

Relations between members of Class A and those below are simple. As has already been stated, the landowners avoid the town of Vila Recôncavo, and it is seldom that Class B town people are invited to a social gathering at a plantation or at the factory, so that these two classes are rarely in social contact. Since the rural Class B consists mainly of overseers and other employees of Class A, relationships between them are those of employee and employer. However, when a planter celebrates a special occasion such as a birthday, the overseers are invited, and may "drop in" as a matter of form or courtesy; they escape as soon as possible, for they are rarely included in the brincadeiras (plays, or jokes) of the owners and their guests. For the most part the overseers and others of their class come alone, without their wives and families. This is an important indication of class position, for as a rule the wife of an overseer feels embarrassed in the company of gente (people) and refuses to go even when specially invited. The very strong em familia pattern, combined with the intimacy of the large families, makes it extremely difficult for a lower-class person to feel any sort of equality at such a gathering.

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During the course of field work the author was given a party, a Reis, a kind of surprise party which takes place during the period following the sixth of January, the Day of Kings.

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4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

794 drums is accelerating. Another *filha*, a large but agile
786 Negro woman, strikes out at the girl with her bare hands,
796 and the two dance about, fighting a mock fight, while the
[635] beat of the drums becomes even more rapid and tumultuous
[533] until, just as the dancers close in upon one another where, it seems, harm might result, other *filhas* swing quickly in, catch each woman around the waist, and draw them apart, while the music slackens its tempo.

[535] All the *filhas* begin to dance again, their arms swinging from side to side, the index finger of the right hand held closely pressing against the thumb of the left. The dancing is very animated. Suddenly, one of the *filhas*, her shoulders heaving violently back and forth, begins to sink upon her knees and, gradually lowering her heaving shoulders to the floor, turns over on her back, all the while keeping the index finger of her right hand firmly in contact with the thumb of her left. She then slowly rises, gets to her feet, and again joins the other *filhas*. An *ogan* says this dance is known as *ecú*.

[787] The dances continue, rockets burst outside, confetti and flower petals are thrown over the initiates, and, at the insistent invocations of the drums and the spirited singing of the *filhas*, many *orixás* "arrive" and "take possession" of their human intermediaries.

794 The primary social function which the *candomblé* appears
182 to serve is that of reinforcing, by way of the collective experiences of ritual and ceremony, those attitudes and sentiments which distinguish the *Africanos* and their descendants from the European population and from the major portion of the mixed-bloods. By promoting a measure of solidarity and group consciousness, it tends to slow up the process of acculturation. At the same time cult experiences

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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help to satisfy the basic human needs for recognition and response. The resolution of all sorts of personal problems by way of the advice and counsel of the priest, priestess, or "manifesting" *orixá*, relieves personal strain and tension. And the reassuring affirmations regarding personal destiny which the body of belief affords, particularly at such times of crisis as the death of an intimate friend or relative, contribute to the apparently universal need of a sense of security.

Moreover, cult experiences serve as cogent means of maintaining group morale and enforcing group sanctions. The genuinely wholesome character of the Bahian *Africanos*, with the exception perhaps of certain individuals connected with recently organized *caboclo* centers, stands in sharp contrast to the personal disorganization which, according to report, characterizes the Rio de Janeiro Negro, whose *candomblé* (known locally as the *macumba*) is now in such a state of disintegration that many unwholesome and even vicious practices have crept into its ritual.

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The Catholic church at Bahia, by exercising almost infinite patience and tact, has now incorporated into its organization all members of the Bahian fetish cults. Even the leaders of the *seitas* regularly attend Mass and, on occasion, participate, together with their entire *candomblé* personnel, in functions of the church. Thus, each year at an appointed time, *mãe de santo* Anninha takes her *filhas de santo*, dressed in their *bahiana* costumes, and her *ogans*, and attends Mass in Bomfim Church; as similarly does the *caboclo mãe de santo*, Sabina, in the *igreja* of Santo Antonio da Barra. Anninha, like certain other cult officials, is a member of a Catholic order. So far has the identification of many elements of the fetish tradition with Catholic ideology and practice now gone that to the simple minds of cult members

[SALVADOR]

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666 careers in different parties of Bahia and have been elected to
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[SALVADOR]

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The generally gentle and humane treatment that the owners reserved for their slaves and the efforts made by the Catholic clergy, from the beginning of the slave trade, to try to incorporate the /23/ Africans into the Catholic religion played an important role in the establishment of good relations between races in Bahia as throughout Brazil. Contrary to what occurred in the other colonial nations, where the aborigines and the imported slaves were kept in a state of segregation, like unassimilable "savages," in Brazil the natives and the Blacks were baptized, catechized, and admitted into the Church as men. Thus, numerous slaves, baptized Negroes, were no longer considered "beasts" and became "Christians," with the same title as the European colonists, having to endure neither hostility nor religious discrimination. They were taught the Christian doctrine, and the preachers endeavored to speak to them in their languages, chiefly in nagô, which had become a sort of lingua franca in which the Africans of different origins were able to understand one another. They intermarried; their marriage having been consecrated by the Church, this protected them when their masters intended to separate the spouses or sell one of the partners; they received the sacraments; they acted as witnesses in religious proceedings and participated as acolytes in religious ceremonies; they marched in the processions, carrying the standards and emblems of their brotherhoods; they were buried in the Christian cemeteries, the owners of slaves being obliged to call the priest in time to assist the dying. No one pretends by that to claim that their lives were free from suffering or that the Negroes were thus completely integrated in Catholicism. The clergy, the owners, and the civil authorities always allowed them some freedom concerning certain proceedings of their pagan cults and never forced them to embrace the official religion. They likewise permitted them to amuse themselves in their way by dances, songs, ceremonies (batuques), banquets in the manner of those of their countries of origin. From that comes this Catholicism somewhat mixed with fetishist beliefs and practices that constitutes the religion of a large part of the colored people of Bahia (1).

1. Roger Bastide, "Religion and the Church in

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The above scheme shows that Class A, composed of landowners, who in this community are sugar-cane planters, is found only in the rural area of Vila Recôncavo. As has already been indicated, this class still follows the old pattern of the plantation master in that its members are part-time residents of the county, maintaining winter homes in the capital. This class is locally composed of seventeen adults and their sixteen children. A total of five families are represented, three of which are related to one another through marriage. These people have no competition from below in Vila Recôncavo. In the capital they are part of the national upper class, and as such are subject to all the stress and strain of any cosmopolitan "high society" group. They are largely descendants of former plantation masters, barons, viscounts, and other former aristocrats, who belonged traditionally to the national, as well as the local, upper class. Other members of these families are successful lawyers, doctors, and educators, and their political participation in state and federal matters is as traditional as their landowning. They belong to the upper class because they are legitimate descendants of former white aristocrats with long family traditions, because they are large-scale landowners and therefore major economic agents, because they are highly educated, some of them holding advanced degrees from European or North American universities, and because they engage in traditional gentlemen's professions such as law, medicine, and engineering.

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This is the group which is rapidly shedding the constraints of traditional behavior and embracing new ideas which come to them from Europe and North America. In contrast, the class immediately below them has for its goals and its patterns of ideal behavior the now historic upper-class traditions such as the double sex standard, the cloistering and protection of women, and dignity of dress and formal manners.

On the local scene it can be said that it is impossible for anyone to move up into Class A, for while its relations with the lower classes are cordial, they take place on the level of paternalism. The gulf between this small upper class and any of the classes below it is so great that it is inconceivable that anyone should cross it. In Salvador this upper class is considerably larger and less homogeneous, and although the usual pattern within this class is for social life to be spent em família--that is, in extended family gatherings rather than gatherings of several different families--the class is

lending money or even giving some to the overseer. Some of the members of Class B even acquire property in Salvador or in Centro, such as a house or houses which they may rent. It is the possession of this material wealth, plus the position of responsibility and authority, the greater proximity to the owner, and the invariably legalized status of the man's family which distinguish him from those below, placing him in a class by himself. In the case of the higher-placed white-collar workers of the factory, education is also important.

In material possessions other than those already listed, Class B differs considerably from the other two classes, having much less than Class A but much more than Class C. Their houses are always better and larger than those of the workers, and they usually have electricity supplied by the plantation. They generally have complete sets of manufactured dining and living room furniture, better bedroom furniture than the scanty belongings of the workers, china, rather than the clay dishes (nagé) of the workers, and table service for as many as a dozen persons. Usually their clothes are better and more numerous. Overseers are well known for their use of khaki coats, shirts, ties, and riding breeches, their well-polished leather boots and their felt hats, in contrast with the more informal sports clothes of the landowners and with the ragged, tight trousers and shirt and the straw hat of the shoeless rural worker.

Class B in the town of Vila Recôncavo is represented by Group 1 as described in the preceding chapter, with a few exceptions such as the minor municipal employees and a few of the smaller-scale merchants and lower-rated petroleum workers. Because there are no representatives of Class A in the town, Class B represents the top of the urban social scale. It is a class which has long existed in the town and which has always been composed of more or less the same occupation groups. For the most part, members of this stratum live on the hill which constitutes the old part of Vila Recôncavo, and seldom go down to the newer section. There are fourteen persons residing in town, plus their eight children, who are considered pure Caucasoid; they are all members of this local upper class. Three of them are foreign-born Franciscans who do not participate in much of public life once their official duties are completed. The others are brancos da terra ("whites of the land," a term which will be explained later in this chap-

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ter) and homens de côr (men of color) including a few pretos (blacks).

Most individuals in this class are conscious of their "superiority" over the bulk of the town population, because of their higher economic status, the kind of work they do (usually white-collar), their better educations, better family traditions, and whiter, or at least lighter, skins. They are conscious of the fact that they are at the top of the scale on the local scene, and that to go any higher is impossible in the town. To do this they would have to move to a city. If one had a special ability he might be able to improve his condition in a large city, but he might also remain unrecognized. In the town he is the "big frog in the little pond," and this seems to give a certain amount of satisfaction to many.

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People of Class B seek to maintain favorable relations with the rural landowners, who dispense the municipal patronage and have the contacts in Salvador necessary to influence federal and state appointments, since members of their families are frequently state and federal government representatives. Only the merchants of Class B are in a relatively independent position, for they can operate independently of politics. Their market is the town population and is in no way dependent upon trade or patronage from the planters or their workers. There are no traditional merchant families in Vila Recôncavo. All contemporary storekeepers are persons who have worked their way up from fishing or some other activity to storekeeping.

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This class is slowly growing, and there are certain standards to which all its members conform, such as living in the old part of town, dressing with more care than the lower classes, supporting the church and patronizing the few religious holiday celebrations, sending their children to Salvador for their secondary education, owning radios, good dishes and furniture, displaying family solidarity and good manners, and maintaining a good relationship with members of Class A. But there is little or no cohesion among members of the group. They seldom act as a unit or express a group opinion (except to condemn candomblé, the local variation of African cultism).

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The social life of these people is definitely limited and to some extent follows the same pattern as that of the rural members of the same class, in that the men go out more than do their wives. The women of this group remain at home most

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*565 594 capacities, or they are "newly arrived" socially, which often indicates that the relatives of either or both spouses may belong to the lower class; in this case the local upper-class families are inclined to ignore them. In these conjugal families the husband is the central figure, participating in business and social activities of the town, while his wife and children, [166] especially daughters, remain at home. The sons usually go to the city to school and remain there after graduation, so there [871] is little chance of continuing a strong family line in the town. At the factory the case is somewhat different, for the sons of Class B families may enter the factory in one of the higher office positions, thus forming a larger family group as they marry and settle down there. This pattern, however, is only apparent in the second generation, and there are only three cases of it.

*565 517 As a result of the lack of public entertainment in Vila Recôncavo and the competitive attitude of members of Class B among themselves and toward the higher members of Class C, there [571] is little social gathering, especially for the women. There [596] are never extended family gatherings for Class B such as those described for Class A. The men go to the bar or visit one an- [574] other's homes to some slight extent, but wives and daughters seldom do. The wives are kept occupied bearing children and [562] caring for them. Those few daughters who are sent to school in the city are indeed fortunate, for their chances of marry- [871] ing and remaining in Salvador, the desire of most young people, are greatest. The summer vacation is boring to them in [166] comparison with their scope of activities in the winter. The [183] sons can enjoy the summer, going swimming, horseback riding, playing ball, making the most of the few parties and fes- [528] tivals (festas) which take place during the summer, lounging in the bar gossiping, meeting the boat, and visiting lower- *565 class girls. The daughters, on the other hand, can do noth- 562 ing of the sort. They spend their time at home with their moth- 517 ers and sometimes visit a married girl friend or sister to gossip.

For those girls who remain in the town, life can be intolerably dull. They must be extremely careful of where they go, when, and with whom, and of what they do, for the town gossip about them can be vicious. The reputation of a girl seen on the street at night without one of her parents is ruined. These girls are expected to be virgins, models of propriety,

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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[City of Salvador]

At Bahia in 1807, 1809, 1813, 1816, 1826, 1827, 1828, and 1830, slave revolts broke out, terminating in the serious Malê uprising of 1835. There existed here, particularly in the nineteenth century, a well-established group of Negro disciples of the prophet Mohammed. Here Nagô was for a long time a Negro lingua franca (or, to use the corresponding Portuguese expression, a *lingua geral*), and Nagô is still occasionally to be heard among some of the older blacks. Here one might have encountered in the years just preceding abolition in 1888 an interesting paradox: while at home Bahia clung tenaciously to slavery, she was known abroad for the eloquence of her abolition orators.[3] Here, also, one might have observed the gradual fusion of Catholic belief and ritual with African mythology and religious practice, evidences of which may be seen today in *candomblés*, or fetish-cult centers, like that of Gantois, for example, whose ceremonies have been carried on in the same sacred place for many decades.

In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries Bahia became one of the world's great sugar centers where a small aristocracy, as is attested today by the pretentious edifices still standing, achieved great wealth. As early as 1587 there were forty-seven sugar *engenhos*[4] in and about Bahia, and

[3] See Luiz Anselmo da Fonseca, *A escravidão, o clero e o abolicionismo* (Bahia, 1887), *passim*. This book, although obviously written as abolition propaganda, cites names, places, and dates to support its contentions and does not overlook negative cases.

[4] Each *engenho* consisted of a sugar plantation and a mill for processing the cane. Those at Bahia often had a capacity of a thousand tons or more yearly. Each was largely a self-sustaining economic unit, dependent upon the labor of numbers of Negro slaves. H. Morse Stephens says (*Portugal* [New York, 1903], p. 228) that sugar cane was imported into Brazil from the Madeira Islands in 1548.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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persist, setting apart to some extent a (comparatively small) portion of the black population.

20. Lynching and the rape of white women by colored men are both unknown, "passing" has no point, and circumstances are not ordinarily conducive to the appearance of the "marginal man."

21. One drop of African blood does not, as in the United States (if known), class a mixed-blood as a Negro. Instead, many individuals are listed in the official statistics as whites, and are similarly known in the community, who not only have African ancestors but actually give some evidence of this descent in their color and features.

22. Prejudice exists in Brazil; but it is *class* rather than *race* prejudice. It is the kind of prejudice which one finds inside the ranks of the Negro in the United States.

23. It is possible that the Brazilian blacks and mixed-bloods, lacking as they do in most cases the sense of inferiority long characteristic of the Negro in the United States, particularly of the mixed-blood, have been less activated by personal ambition. Feeling themselves less under the necessity of demonstrating to a hostile white world their individual talents and abilities, they have not had the same incentive for social advancement and, consequently, have not, perhaps, as a group, risen in class as rapidly as has the Negro in the United States.

24. Although Brazil seems never to have had a formal racial policy, the traditional behavior which originally grew up and took shape under the influence of the immediate and unreflecting responses to the circumstances and conditions of colonial life gave rise to an *informal* racial policy, or racial ideology, which underlies and gives consistency to the mores, appearing only when they are challenged from without and

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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individuals seek to rationalize and to defend their customary conduct. This ideology is perhaps best summarized in the commonly heard phrase, "We Brazilians are becoming one people."

25. Thus, the race problem in Brazil, in so far as there is a race problem, tends to be identified with the resistance which an ethnic group offers, or is thought to offer, to absorption and assimilation.

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This is not to say that there are no social distinctions in Brazil; for such are obviously common to all societies, one thing or another serving as a basis. Neither does it mean that there is no discrimination or that the blacks and mixed-bloods are completely satisfied with their lot. But it does mean (*a*) that a man of color may, by reason of individual merit or favorable circumstance, improve his status and even achieve position in the upper levels of society and (*b*) that this position will then be with reference not merely to the darker group whose color he shares but to the total community.

[SALVADOR]

/101 cont./

*563 668 especially the Blacks, toward the norms of behavior, the attitudes, the concepts of the Whites, in order to permit them to be accepted and classed in the society of Bahia. It is not difficult to perceive that the "white" norms are the very ones that everybody in Bahia -- Whites, métis, and Blacks -- endeavors to realize in life, and that to be colored is not considered contemptible; the Blacks, for example, have not always succeeded in concealing some shame that many characteristics of their native culture cause them, particularly those that contrast most with the culture of European origin, such as religion. What seems to account for this is the fact that colored people feel themselves, as much as the Whites, entirely Brazilian, that is to say, integrated or desirous of being integrated in the Luso-Christian and, today still more, Neo-Brazilian culture of the dominant class. A lawyer and a sociologist, both morenos and Bahians, a short time ago expressed the fear lest the "Negro" movements of Brazil take on segregative tendencies. And some leaders of these movements in Bahia are pointed out by the informants as being followers of such tendencies; however, "this isolationism," they add, "does not manage to gain the upper hand." "Up to now I have not wanted to become part of this association, but since there is no racism in it I am going to join," one Black stated.

*563 668 829 [554] The attitude of Blacks of professionally and socially high status is generally expressed by aloofness toward these movements; very few of them, as a matter of fact, can contribute to lend them personal prestige. At most these Blacks give their nominal support and contribute financially to these movements, but they follow their activities from a distance, avoiding all publicity in this respect, though they sympathize with a program that proposes to elevate the Blacks whose education has been neglected. They do not conceal their lack of confidence with regard to the aims and intentions of Negro movements on the national level. In the opinion of an educator, there is no reason for colored people to group themselves in terms of their quality. This would give a character of strife, which is undesirable. The pardo or the Black ought to endeavor to enter social life through the wide /102/ doors

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Northeast Brazil SO1

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It is easy to over-emphasize the cultural differences between classes and between areas within the Recôncavo. It is possible to assemble an array of significant cultural differences on a class or areal basis, as has been done above. But underneath these differences there seems to exist an implicit and almost universally shared way of life. As far as most of the people are concerned, Recôncavo society is probably best viewed as a cultural continuum of great vertical range, in which extreme positions are occupied by the cosmopolitan upper class of Salvador and the more remote agricultural people of the lower class. The validity of the concept of the Recôncavo as a cultural region is recognized by the anthropologist who studies Recôncavo society and by Brazilians who characterize the man of the Recôncavo as a particular type. This Recôncavo continuum or sub-culture is a part of what Wagley has called the cultural region of the Northeastern Coast. Also included within this region are coastal Pernambuco, Alagoas, and Sergipe.[12] In turn, the Northeastern Coast is a part of the Brazilian cultural region.

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The Family. One of the basic social institutions which has strong historical roots in the Recôncavo, and in the other colonial sugar cane regions, is the Brazilian family. The most conspicuous survival of the colonial family is the present-day family stereotype of the aristocratic stratum of Recôncavo society.

> The large, aristocratic, patriarchal family always has been the most important of Brazil's social institutions. Rarely has this primary kinship group had to play a role secondary to that of the church, as so frequently has been true in Spanish-American countries; nor has its relative importance ever been seriously challenged by the school, as may be the case in a North-American community. In colonial times such a large, closely knit group of relatives, acknowledging allegiance to the oldest living male, possessing many slaves, and carrying on the aristocratic tradition at its best, was the chief instrument employed in the occupation of Brazil. This

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

565 796 [184] (festas) and informal social activities. The uninhibited enjoyment of a samba (dance), a candomblé (fetish cult observance), a religious procession, or a Saint's day by the lower class is very different from the self-conscious upper class behavior under comparable conditions.[16]

565 562 369 The discussion above is largely in terms of stereotypes, and in fact there are many exceptions. In the upper class, strong-willed women may on occasion enter a profession--such as nursing or teaching--or operate a business or plantation, but usually with the aid and the advice of male relatives. In Salvador the upper class women are relatively more emancipated than are those of the villages and towns. 565 596 369 Many lower class people, especially the less poverty ridden groups of the villages and towns, tend to imitate the idealized upper class family pattern, within the limits of their economic, educational, and social resources.

565 571 621 59 In general it may be said that the interests of upper class families in the Recôncavo are regional the interests of lower class families are local. The areally and biologically extended families of the upper class, interconnected through marriage and intermeshed in over-all economic, political, and social interests, are a basic element in the regional unity of the Recôncavo and in its integration into the Brazilian nation. In contrast the extra-local interests of lower class families are weak and unstable. The lower class community or neighborhood identification is the more effective unifying factor and seems to provide, in the Recôncavo, a focus for local interests generally lacking in at least the aristocratic and urban strata of the upper class.[17] However, the institutions of the community for the most part are maintained and directed by the aristocratic and the local upper class.

249 (4) The field is burned for the last time, and as new cane or grass appears, it is used as pasture.

(5) After one year of pasture, sometimes more, the field is replanted to cane.

[527] The length of the harvest varies. It begins with a festa (fest in the first week of September and continues as long as there is cane as long as the heavy rains hold off--usually about six months.

249 311 Within the sugar cane area most of the land is in cane or in te rary fallow pasture except: (1) very wet bottom lands; (2) steep slop (3) villages; and (4) the lands and yards occupied by the mills. The general aspect of this area is that of an unbroken sea of cane. Singl fields are often large--a square kilometer is not uncommon--but they are divided into separate plots. The cultivation of other crops withi the sugar cane area is very limited. Small house gardens for the laborers are common, but other commercial agricultural forms of land use are rare.

249 423 257 184 Land holdings, as will be seen, generally are large under this system. The orientation of the sugar industry in São Filipe is somewhat different than in the zone discussed above. Properties are smaller, the monocultural aspect less dominant, and the whole sugar economy more primitive. There were eighty-two small sugar mills in this area in 1940, compared to the eight large usinas of Santo Amaro. [273] Many of these produced crude sugar (rapadura) rather than the refined sugar or cane brandy (cachaça) which are the main products of the zone north of the Bay.

245 The Cultivation of Coconuts. The final important agricultural system of the Recôncavo is the coconut monoculture, a less highly organized permanent culture than the sugar cane system.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

CHAPTER VIII

AGRICULTURAL PROPERTIES

241 231 423 311 The agricultural properties of the Recôncavo are diverse in functional type, tenure, and size. In most municípios there are to be found three basic production types: crop cultivation units, mixed crop cultivation and livestock producing units, and ranches. The properties of any local area may be owner or administrator operated, rented, or, in some areas, occupied informally by "squatters." In distinction to most agricultural areas of the United States, the Recôncavo has a very large number of extremely small agricultural properties, frequently with less than 2 hectares. There are also a number of large properties with more than 10,000 hectares; and in many areas large and small properties are closely intermixed.

241 423 184 Despite the widespread diversity of agricultural properties, there are distinct regional patterns which are based upon the predominance of certain types and sizes of properties and upon characteristic modes of possession. The regional patterns of agricultural properties correspond in a general manner to the crop regions delineated in the previous discussion.

241 423 [127] The basic source of information about the agricultural properties of the Recôncavo is the 1940 economic census.[1] No more recent source is as yet available to replace or to verify or correct these fifteen year old data. However, generalizations based upon these data were substantiated in most cases by the field investigations undertaken for the present study. It is apparent that in so traditional a region as the [178] Recôncavo, the institutional characteristics of agriculture, property types included, change very slowly.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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233 and locomotives of the cane area, but, as has been pointed out previously,
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[313] they have supplementary livestock production.[4]
[249]

Of the 247 large-scale livestock units in the Reconcavo, 65, with
231 a total area of almost 30,000 hectares, were in the município of Feira de
233
311 Santana (Maps 92 and 93). Another 39, with about 16,000 hectares of
433 land, were in the Central Recôncavo. Each of these two areas has a distinctive character: the Central Recôncavo fazendas de gado--cattle ranches--supply oxen and horses, asses, and mules to the sugar economy; the large fazendas of Feira de Santana, with extensive grassy pastures, serve the campo de gado--cattle market--of the cidade and thereby the whole economy of the Recôncavo.

231 Crop Cultivation Units. Almost one-half of all farms in the
241 Recôncavo produced no animals in 1940. In the marginal areas of the
311
184 region, excepting always the southwest, less than one-third of the farms were pure crop cultivation units (Map 94). On the other hand, crop farms were particularly numerous on the southern littoral, where the forests are not salutary to livestock--except swine and fighting cocks. The Northern Recôncavo, where ranching is not an important activity, had a relatively large number of crop cultivation units, as had Salvador and the adjoining coastal município, Camassari.

241 Relative to both the enumerated and the total area, the purely
311 crop cultivation units were very important in Itaparica and Santo Amaro and unimportant around the border zone of the Recôncavo (Maps 95 and 96). On Itaparica and in the sugar cane region, crop cultivation units occupied over one-half the total land area--over 85 per cent on the island of Itaparica. The size of crop cultivation properties in the Recôncavo was generally small, but there were very great local differences
000 (Map 97). The tobacco-manioc region, especially in the Southwestern

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 306]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

244 the tobacco-manioc region is an area of co-existing crop and livestock
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231 production. The mean size of mixed units of both the tobacco-manioc
233 region and the western and northern perimeter of the Recôncavo was
[423] small—20 to 40 hectares—but was significantly larger than the mean
[311] size of crop farms in the same areas (Map 101). Like the purely cane-producing plantations, the mixed units of the Central Recôncavo were relatively large.

241 Crop Cultivation and Mixed Crop Cultivation and Livestock Pro-
231 ducing Units Combined. The distribution of the area in crop and crop-
232
311 livestock units combined, as shown on Maps 102 and 103, reaffirms the regional distinctiveness of the Recôncavo. In almost the entire region over one-half the total area was in these two types of crop-producing properties. None of the adjoining municípios had as much as 50 per cent of their total area in these two types of units, and in all but three, less than one-third the land was in crop or crop-livestock properties.

241 Regional Pattern of Agricultural Properties. The distribution
311 of the three major production units is summarized on Map 104. In each
184 of the two basic regions—crop and crop-livestock—one production
[231] type dominated, in number and in area, over the others. The Central
[233] Recôncavo with the island of Itaparica and, beyond the Recôncavo, the environs of Nazaré composed a region in which most of the agricultural land was in crop cultivation units. North of the Bay, most of these crop cultivation units were sugar cane plantations. On Itaparica there were several kinds of crop cultivation units—coconut plantations, diminutive manioc farms, and across from Salvador, small summer estates with a few cultivated fields. Around Nazaré most of the crop cultivation properties appeared to specialize in the production of manioc.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1

BB 249 471 472 [656] operation is determined by the company officers, who generally live in Salvador. The company, in its turn, is subject to some control from Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo investors. This structured system of control probably is one of the reasons for the continuation of the monoculture in the sugar cane area. The usual explanation offered for the cane monoculture is the unique suitability of the soil and climate and the innate conservatism of the Baiano. However, one of the features of the present sugar economy is the lack of capital for other enterprises. The absentee owners, who are the only likely source of capital, are hesitant to advance money for new and untried enterprises. Moreover, alternative agricultural enterprises, if successful, would reduce the supply of cane and thus eventually raise the cost of usina operation.

BB 249 244 442 In the tobacco-manioc region the control exercised by Salvador is indirect, but compelling, because the small tobacco producer is almost completely at the mercy of the buyer, who receives orders from the tobacco exporter and manufacturer through the agent.

BB 241 423 471 [184] [231] [233] The differences in production specialization, size, and tenure among the agricultural properties of the Recôncavo both accentuate the basic dichotomy of the region and re-emphasize its unity. The small-scale mixed crop cultivation and livestock producing unit of the tobacco-manioc region and the large-scale crop cultivation unit of the sugar region are both esentially engaged in the production of commercial crops. Both are distinct from the primary agricultural unit of the sertão, the livestock ranch. Both are subject to the over-all economic control of the center—Salvador.

B BB 241 423 184 [249] In most parts of Brazil, as in the Recôncavo, the agricultural properties are highly diverse in size, function, and ownership. Most areas of sugar cane cultivation have relatively large properties, primarily engaged in crop cultivation. In other areas, as in

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

000 Footnotes - Chapter VIII

[1]Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

[2]The data for the total area of the various municípios used in this analysis are taken from Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, No. 8. These data are the most recent and presumably most accurate available for the state of Bahia. In a number of cases they disagree markedly with area given in the 1940 census, which was based upon earlier and probably less accurate calculations from older maps.

[127] [3]The distinction between large- and small-scale units was made in the census as follows: (1) Agricultural units with over 50 hectares in major crops (pineapple, alfalfa, cotton, rice, oats, potatoes, sugar cane, rye, barley, beans, tobacco, castor beans, manioc, corn, wheat, coffee, cacao, coconuts, oranges, bananas, or grapes) were large-scale. All others were small-scale. Area in these crops was estimated from production figures and mean yields. (2) Livestock units with 200 head of cattle or sheep; 100 head of horses, goats, or pigs; or 50 asses or mules, or an appropriate combination of these, were large-scale. Alternatively, a smaller number of reproductive females--100 cows or ewes; 60 mares; or 20 sows--made the unit large-scale. All others were small-scale. (3) Crop-livestock units, in order to qualify as large-scale units, had to satisfy both criteria simultaneously.

[241] [13] [84] [361] [4]The size, shape, and physical and economic diversity of many of the municípios of the Recôncavo make it very difficult to evaluate and to map mean data. This is particularly true of Santo Amaro, of which part is in the sugar cane region, part in the tobacco-manioc region, and part in sparsely settled forest land. It is also true for São Gonçalo, which stretches from the humid Intermediate Hills to the dry western caatinga. Of all the municípios, only São Félix and Conceição da Feira, both very small, have a relatively homogeneous landscape. The details of the interpretations and, to an even greater extent, the maps were drawn with numerous inferences based upon correlative data and field observations.

[5]Agricultural properties are also held by religious orders, syndicates, cooperatives, and other legal persons, but such properties are not very common in the Recôncavo. "Squatters," as defined by the census, included both those who occupied public land legally but without title and those who illegally occupied private land. Renters included both cash and share renters.

[6]There were about 50 administrator-operated properties, with an average size of 30 hectares, in the município of São Félix, according to the census. The reasons for this concentration are not apparent, especially since this local phenomenon was not studied in the field. The concentrations around Salvador and on the island of Itaparica are suburban country houses--chácaras--a Brazilian institution. Many of these chácaras are on small properties which are operated by an overseer and which produce some agricultural products, especially vegetables and fruits. A large number of these properties line the eastern shore of the island of Itaparica; there are also a few in the forested area around Salvador.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

277 the more expensive varieties are hand made. The fillers and inner wrappers of the cigars are made from local tobaccos. Local leaf also [439] is used to a very limited extent for the outer wrappers, but almost all of the high quality cigars are made from wrapper leaf imported [471] from Havana, Sumatra, or the Connecticut Valley. The ownership of all the cigar factories is concentrated in three companies, all of which [439] have their headquarters in Salvador. The cigars produced in the Recôncavo are sold throughout Brazil.

182 43 44 184 Conclusion. Many of the features of the systems of marketing, transportation, and processing which are characteristic of the Recôncavo are effective in unifying the region. In particular, the centralized marketing and economic control of the production and processing of tobacco and sugar draw both the tobacco and manioc region and the sugar cane region closer to Salvador. At the same time, the differences in marketing techniques and the separate channels of control which are associated with these two products accentuate the sub-regional pattern 182 438 443 184 of the two crop regions. The system of general marketing exemplified by the municipal markets might at first glance seem to be a focus for local rather than regional interests. However, as has been seen, there are itinerant merchants who pass from market to market throughout the Recôncavo. Moreover, the major public markets, such as Feira de Santana and Salvador, draw large numbers of people from most of the rural sections. Even the local marketing institutions contribute to the identification of the people of this area with the region.

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1960-1961) 1967 SC11 Bahia Brazilians SC11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

3. History of the Rural Area

THE HISTORY of the development of the rural area of Vila Recôncavo is more or less representative of that of most of the sugar area in the states of Bahia, Alagoas, and Pernambuco, and consists of two major aspects. It is first of all the history of the sugar-cane industry in Brazil, and secondly the social, economic, and political record of the people who grew the cane.

The Bahian Recôncavo occupies a unique position in Brazil, for its history is as long as that of what is today the nation. From 1549 until 1763 Salvador was the capital of the new and prosperous Portuguese colony. The Recôncavo, because of its proximity to Salvador, and because of the excellent transportation facilities provided by the Bay of All Saints, was the only part of Brazil in easy communication with the capital city. Although the governors general were occupied with the settlement of other far-flung places in the colony and with the raiding and pirating of the French, English, and Dutch, their first or at least closest worries were those of settling and exploiting Bahia and its immediate environs. By the end of the first fifty years of activity, most of the Recôncavo had been wrested from the wilderness; and, although not free from molestation by the Indians for many more years, it was rapidly planted in sugar cane. As noted earlier, sugar at this time was a luxury item in Europe and brought a very high price. In the first century of its cultivation sugar cane made the fortunes of many people: the growers, the middlemen, the slavers, and the colonial governors.

At the start of the colonial period land was given out in the form of grants which originally carried with them the idea of

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[The Usina]

The private plantation presents a far better appearance than any plantation belonging to the factory, for it is usually "home" to the owner, who is interested in keeping it as pleasant as possible, while the factory plantation in charge of an overseer is simply a business project existing only to produce sugar cane. 249* 466 184

At the Usina São Pedro, as stated earlier for the Recôncavo generally, the consolidation of land by the corporations has not turned the entire property into one large plantation. Instead, each plantation has retained its old boundaries, indeed complete autonomy, following only the general policies of the factory directory. The Usina São Pedro happens to be situated in a central position in relation to its six plantations. This is not always the case, for frequently the lands of a factory are scattered far from the plant itself, creating difficulties of administration and transportation. 249* 423

Each of the plantations has its own nucleus, the street of workers' houses oriented toward the house of the overseer. Each of these little villages has its own small store, usually a private enterprise of the overseer. The largest plantation, Pedras, has a chapel and a school. None of the plantations has an electric power line, but each has a telephone in the overseer's house. The feeling of isolation and abandonment is strong, as indeed it is on almost all overseer-directed plantations belonging to a factory. There is a general feeling of pity for the residents who are situated so far from their patrão and whose first recourse must be the overseer, a man like themselves, with little or no education and little interest in the people other than to keep them working. In other words, the factory plantation lacks the paternal hand of the owner. In other respects it is similar to the private plantation in that it has an overseer, a foreman, a cowboy, and resident workmen. 249* 36 [206] 249* 571 [184]

The bulk of the agricultural direction of the São Pedro plantations is in the hands of the general overseer, Seu Pipiu. It is his duty to direct and supervise the activities of all six plantations. He is a man of no small status. He is practically independent in his actions, for the directors of the factory tell him how much cane they feel they need in the forthcoming harvest, and it is up to him to produce it. The methods and problems in doing this are left up to him. Seu Pipiu gives orders to each of the regional overseers, whose duties are the same as those of the overseer on a private plantation. The only difference is that they are dealing with a superior employee, instead of with the owner in person. The general over- 249* 463 466

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Usina]

seer is entitled to the same rights and privileges as any other worker: a house, land on which to grow subsistence crops, and the use of the owner's pastures for his oxen, burros, and horses. The horses used in his work are supplied by the corporation, as are those of the other overseers. His salary is high: Cr$2.000,00 a month, plus a bonus of one cruzeiro for each ton of cane produced on all six plantations. The regional overseers receive Cr$800,00 a month, plus a bonus of half a cruzeiro per ton of cane produced on their plantation. Seu Pipiu has been general overseer of Usina São Pedro for twenty-five years, during which time he has accumulated a good deal of property. He is a mulatto, somewhat lighter skinned than the six administrators who are under him. Two of his sons work in the factory office, and a third runs the store on one of the plantations. In addition he is a small farmer, renting some forty acres from the factory, on which he plants sugar cane. He pays 25 per cent of the harvest to the factory for the use of the land.

The usineiros have the same complaints against their general overseers that private plantation owners have against theirs. At the same time, after many years of service such an official becomes indispensable, or is thought to be, and is allowed to go his way--quiet, well dressed, well mounted, ruler of all he surveys--while the usineiro watches and mutters to himself.

So far the rural properties of the factories have led the private plantations in the field of mechanization, as they have greater funds for purchasing equipment and can get more use out of each piece. Mechanization, however, is used as yet only in preparing the soil for planting. The ground is plowed and replowed, and grooves are made to receive the cane shoots. Also, planting in unplowed land is still common--grooves are opened for the seed with the simple plow, and no soil preparation is done at all. Here mechanization ends, and all further cultivation, as well as the cutting and harvesting of the cane, is done by hand. Narrow-gauge railway tracks reach out from the mill to loading points on the six plantations, where the cane is transferred from the oxcarts to the railroad wagons to be drawn to the mill. Approximately two thousand acres are under cultivation; the remaining land is used as pasture or as garden plots by the workers, in accordance with a rotation system.

Financially the two units--factory and plantation--are run

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Usina]

Financially the two units--factory and plantation--are run separately. One set of books is kept for the agricultural part, and one set for the factory. The six plantations combined produced eighteen thousand tons of cane in 1950, although they had planned on twenty-three thousand. The fall in the expected harvest was due to several things. First, less new cane was planted, because of the activities of the petroleum workers who were invading the cane fields of the factory and drilling oil wells. (The first time a field is cut, the percentage of cane is higher than that obtained by cuts during the next four or five years. The same amount of land, therefore, will produce more cane if it is replanted regularly. The factory, however, deemed it wiser to be content with the older plantings for one year because of the oil workers' invasion, for newly planted cane is more subject to damage than an established field.) Second, during that year there was a serious drought which affected adversely the growth of sugar cane. There is no irrigation in the Recôncavo, and during the drought seasons which come periodically a partial crop loss nearly always occurs. In addition one entire taboleiro caught fire and burned to the ground, causing the loss of many tons of cane.

249* 451 184 249* 433 [731]

The agricultural cycle and the work on a plantation may be divided into two broad epochs, summer and winter. Summer is the busiest season, for it is harvest time and all hands are occupied, including the migrant workers. The cutters with their machetes cut an average of three to four tons a day apiece, which must be quickly loaded and carried to the factory and milled, for the longer the lapse of time between the two operations, the greater the loss of sugar content. After a field has been cut, one of two things occurs. If it is to be turned into pasture, it is fenced, and the draft animals are turned loose in it. Otherwise the leaves which were cut from the top of the plant and left lying on the ground are burned, and within a short time the roots start sending up new shoots. This old planting (soca) each year gives a decreased yield. As a rule a field is cut and burned three to four years before being turned into pasture. In the days of the old plantations, when the soil was more vigorous, cane of twelve years was considered "new cane." Now, however, the yield is so decreased by the increasing poverty of the soil that three to four years is the best, depending upon the amount of rain. During the summer, if land is prepared and there are prospects of heavy showers, "summer plantings" may be made. They are never as good as those done in the winter, for the sun frequently

249* 221 [461] [134]

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VILA RECÔNCAVO

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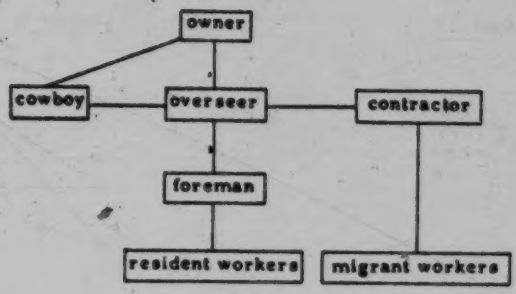

Fig. 1. Hierarchical diagram of the private plantation (Fazenda das Moças)

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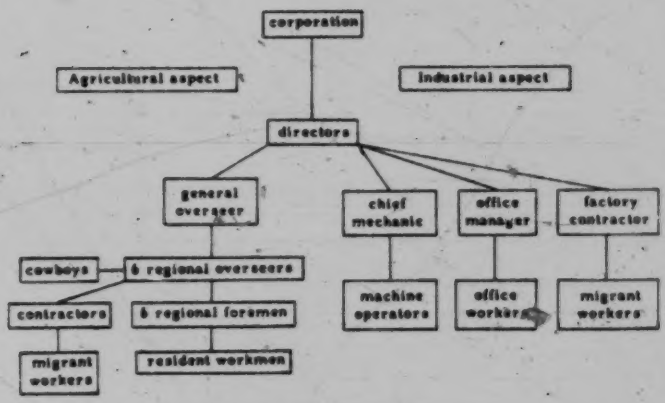

Fig. 2. Hierarchical diagram of the usina system (Usina São Pedro)

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Town Life]

were included in Group 4 because they worked for a nonprofit charitable institution.

Occupationally, the town dwellers differ sharply from the people of the rural area of the community. Their work rarely requires them to go out of town to the rural area. Of the entire working force of the town, only twelve men are employed in the sugar industry. Even during the harvest season, the town does not supply men to work in the cane fields or the factory. However, the few people in town who have mules occasionally rent them to planters during the harvest season to help carry the cane. The twenty-five petroleum workers have to leave town each day for work, but their work is also very different from that of any of the rural dwellers.

In the town, as on the plantations, there is specialization and division of labor. Among the fishermen, each man fishes constantly with one or two types of net. Change from one type of net to another is unusual and disliked. A fisherman seldom supplements his fishing by planting a garden. Instead, he depends upon his catch of fish to give him enough money to buy garden produce, as well as meat and manufactured articles. In his turn, the gardener never fishes, depending upon the returns from his garden to buy what he does not produce.

Daily routine for the fisherman varies considerably because it depends closely upon the tides, while the daily routine of merchants, teachers, and bureaucrats, as well as household servants and craftsmen, follows a more citylike pattern, beginning at about seven in the morning and ending late in the evening. There is also less seasonal variance in the work of the town dwellers, for it does not depend upon the planting and harvesting of crops as does that of the rural workers.

The town and plantation ways of life also vary considerably with respect to paternalism, which plays a much smaller part in the life of the town dweller. Most of the municipal bureaucrats have patrons among the rural landowners who have placed them in their bureaucratic positions. Bureaucrats, in turn, are to a smaller extent the patrons of people living in the town, particularly of their household servants. Although they have neither the financial resources nor the prestige to provide the security which a rural landowner can offer his people, they do what they can to help whenever asked. This help often takes the form of asking their own patrons for help

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[Town Life]

for another person. In this way paternalism helps to link the two subcultures together. Nevertheless, the town subculture is much more of a money culture, and in general the people of the town are more independent than those of the rural area.

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*565 tation administration are over. In general, however, neither the children nor the parents mix with the permanent residents of Vila Recôncavo. Although as small children they may have a worker's son as a constant playmate, by the time they are teenagers this relationship has usually faded into a fond memory.

*565 458 The standard of living of this class is far above that of any of the other local groups. It is important to realize that because of the fluctuations of the sugar market, members of this class have not always had fluid wealth at their command, while at other periods they have been undeniably wealthy. But even during a slump they have been able to raise money when necessary. One of the major reasons that planters turned to the professions was the need to assure themselves of a continued income when the sugar market falls. At such times their main activities are directed toward earning a living in the city. But at those times when sugar producing is profitable the practicing of the activities becomes a strain, and one or the other *565 511 must suffer. Nevertheless, at any time these people have earned enough to maintain a standard of living which compares favorably with that of the upper class in any large city. Households are complete with refrigerators, radios, and other electrical appliances which must be imported. Many have automobiles, receive magazines from abroad, follow Parisian [416] [207] dress styles, take interest in international affairs, and in general lead a life of wide interests. In the rural zone their [184] houses are much better than those of any others, often having [357] running water, electricity, and a full range of service provided by servants. Usually the household servants move from [166] country to city with the family.

*565 571 Class B in the rural zone of the community is made up of plantation overseers, factory technicians, and white-collar workers of the factory offices. It is almost as small as Class A, comprising about twenty adult members. As in the case of the planters, who associate with other planters outside the community, the overseers of various plantations have reunions. There is much more social contact between the overseers and the mass of workers, however, than between the [574] planters and the workers. The planters usually know all the workers on their plantations, as well as their families; but although there is frequent visiting and chatting between the women of the two groups and between the males of the two groups, there is little basis for conversation. The planta-

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517 of the time, visiting little and receiving the local gossip from
[546] their servants. Since the advent of movies, however, it has
become fashionable for husband and wife and sometimes the
children to attend the show together. When the circus comes
[541] to town it is now common for them to go as a family at least
[794] once. As a rule, however, church services are attended separately, the wives and daughters going together and the men singly if at all, and standing in the back rather than sitting
[574] with the family. Dinners, card parties, or social gatherings with friends in the house, such as are common to North American small towns, do not exist here at all. About the only traveling these people do is to Salvador, where they stay with relatives while they make short visits, go to the doctor, or go shopping.

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871 Even the older members of Class B are less well educated than those of Class A, and do not belong to families which are nationally prominent. In many cases they have relatives in Salvador, but in no case do they maintain a second home there. Although their children may go to primary school in Vila Recôncavo, which the children of Class A would never do, they are sent to Salvador for further education; and several of the
*565 present generation are studying for degrees in law and medicine. As has already been pointed out, this class engages in
[571] little social activity in common with Class A, and in almost
[867] none with rural Class B persons. Daughters of families belonging to this class are carefully chaperoned and have little
[582] freedom. Their lives are spent at home, sewing, embroidering, and helping their mothers in the house. Their prospects for
*565 marriage are poor. This applies also to the schoolteachers who are sent to the town and who also belong to this class.
582 There is little opportunity for them to marry in Vila Recôncavo unless they accept a social inferior, which commonly
875 happens to rural schoolteachers in Brazil. "Felipe," as the schoolteacher's husband is generally known, is always a "no-good" supported by his wife. There are two cases in Vila Recôncavo of local upper-class wives who work--they are both schoolteachers, supplementing their husbands' incomes and alleviating the dullness of their lives.

*565 Class C in the rural area consists of the field hands and the factory workers, who constitute the major part of the population. There are no "pure whites" in this group, but a scat-
• [184] tering of "whites of the land." In general the factory workers consider themselves superior to the agricultural laborers;

[Class A Families]

[Class B Families]

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such families also usually had fairly extensive accumulations of silver service, china and crystal, and linens. It was the custom for such possessions to be distributed among the heirs as separate items. One son would receive a plantation in the Recôncavo, another a ranch in the sertão; a daughter might receive a full and valuable set of table service, or perhaps a whole house and its furnishings in Salvador. Single plantations were almost never divided, unless they were large enough to make such a division practicable. Property divisions were often made rather arbitrarily by the family patriarch, and were often bitterly disputed by the heirs after his death. Slaves were also part of the property divided, although it was not infrequent that certain favorite slaves were freed at such a time. In other cases, the favorite slave of a son or daughter would be willed to him by the father. Through inheritances and constant divisions, the former large holdings of these aristocratic families came to be well broken up.

Today in the event of a death in a family, there is often only one plantation in which the heirs may share. However, the plantation is rarely divided. In some cases where there is no strong emotional tie to the plantation, the heirs may sell it outright and share the proceeds. Another solution has been to rent the plantation to a factory and thereby delay the final solution. Still another has been for one of the heirs to take over the management of the plantation, paying a rental fee to the other heirs. A final solution is often reached by allowing one of the heirs to purchase the plantation from his coinheritors, and in this way the plantation and its traditions remain in the family, and are to some extent shared by all members of the extended family.

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The problem of land disposal exists only for the private plantation. In the case of factory lands, ownership is corporate. Death of the holder of shares in the corporation does not affect the land tenure, which goes on as before. His shares in the corporation are simply distributed among his heirs.

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The family pattern in Class B is quite different from that which has just been described. Although the conjugal family is equally small and shows the same trend toward diminution, there is never the extent or strength of the extended family which exists in Class A. In Vila Recôncavo, with only one exception, Class B families are only conjugal units without local tradition of generations in the area, for either they are couples who have recently come to the town in governmental

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they are generally conceded to be so by the field hands and the members of classes A and B, because their occupations are more specialized and they work in the mill. There are actually several factors which distinguish them from the field laborers, for in addition to receiving protection by national legislation, including minimum salaries and rights to vacations and medical services, they receive from the factory electric light for their houses and firewood. In addition, factory workers do not plant gardens to supply their farina, and they consider themselves far superior to the agricultural laborers in that their own wives "do not use the hoe" (nao pegam na enxada). 565* 184 [656] [466]

At the factory nucleus where both millworkers and the agricultural laborers of one plantation live in the same place, the houses of the former are grouped in the middle of the village, clustered about the owner's chalet, while those of the latter are on the fringes, farther from the usineiro's house, the mill, and the large store. The factory workers' houses are better constructed than those of the field laborers. They are mostly of brick with tile roofs, while the field workers' homes are often of wattle-work covered with plaster and painted over. The houses of the factory nucleus follow the old slavequarter pattern. The buildings are long and narrow and divided into apartments under one roof. The factory owns all the houses, which the workers receive rent-free. The factory worker is better paid than the field worker, and consequently has more and better material possessions. His house is better furnished, and he dresses better. [361] 565* 342 184 [423]

Illiteracy is widespread in the rural area. The factory nucleus has had a state primary school for thirty years, and Pedras, the largest of the factory plantations, has had one for about twenty. As a result the factory workers, as well as the people of Pedras, have had the opportunity to attend four years of primary school. The rural laborers on other plantations, however, have lacked this opportunity in most cases. An exception is the Fazenda das Moças, which has had a school in recent years, for children in the daytime and for adults at night. 565* 184 871 [212]

The social life of the workers is almost entirely confined to the place in which they live. Their lives are spent on the plantation except for the days when they walk to the fair in Centro, usually on the Monday following payday. During the summer, when the roads are good for travel, they are busy with the 565* 517

[Class B Families]

and the social forces compelling them to conform to this ideal are strong enough to keep them at home. 565* 562 517

To some extent the Class B families take as their pattern the older traditions of the upper-class families. The father is the most important person in the home and has the final word in all decisions. His wife is not his equal in a social sense and plays a much more passive role than the women of classes A, C, and D. This, however, is slowly changing, for married couples of the younger generation are beginning to share more activities, such as going to the movies, visiting friends, or going on short trips to Salvador. But this is a recent development and applies only to four couples in the town. The others still maintain the old pattern whereby the man attends social functions while his wife remains home. On occasion of a farewell party, invitations were carefully extended to the married couples in Class B at the author's instigation. Of the thirteen couples invited, only four came together. In the other cases only the husbands came. Among the others, one of the husbands was away, and his wife would not come to the party even though her mother, father, and two sisters did. It is still common for the wife either to remain discreetly silent or to disappear altogether when her husband has visitors at home, and among the older families the father and his guests are served separately at meals, the women of the household eating afterwards alone. 565* 562 594 178 [184]

Family life in rural Class B follows to some extent that of the town family of the same class. The father is the central figure in the family and makes all decisions. He travels about the community while his wife remains at home. The sons of overseers, however, are seldom sent to Salvador to school, although the sons of Class B families living at the factory usually are, at least for a short time. So far, however, none of them has entered a profession. 369 565* 594 [871] [166]

As has already been stated, the women of rural Class B lead much the same kind of life as the women in Class C, with whom they associate. Daughters are guarded carefully, while sons are placed in some advantageous position whenever possible, frequently through the aid of the plantation owner or usineiro. They may enter the factory office, and in several cases they have been set up in business on the plantations, running small stores which belong to their fathers. 565* 562 184 464

A daughter of Seu Paulo, the overseer of the Fazenda das Moças, married the son of the overseer on a neighboring 565* 585 114

[Class C Families]

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(tamancos), or perhaps leather shoes. Women wear a dress and a slip and are usually barefoot. Dress-up occasions also call for undergarments, stockings, and shoes. Great modesty is always shown about exposing oneself in front of others. Few of the men shave themselves, going to the barber for this as well as for haircuts. There are several women who are experts at hair straightening, which they do with a flat-iron, although most women and girls in this class who have the problem of straightening their hair know how to do it themselves.

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In Class C as well as in Class B the father is the dominant person. He rules the household. He is the one who is served at meals, whose clothing is always clean and pressed, and who goes out the most. He spends much of his leisure time in one of the several stores, talking and taking an occasional drink of rum; or on one of the few shaded corners playing dominoes with his friends; or else in the bar playing billiards and gossiping. As a rule he goes to the movies alone, or at least without his family, although in the higher echelons of the class families often go to the movies and to church together. There is one family which is musically inclined, and which often spends evenings at home together, making up a small orchestra. If there is a samba in someone's house, many men from this class will be there watching, while the participants are usually single women and girls from the same class. The men will discuss a woman's physical attributes while she is in the center of the ring dancing. This is one of the most common ways in which a girl gets "looked over" and is watched as she develops. Sooner or later some man will fall in love with her (apaixonar-se dela), and if she is not well guarded by her family he will eventually have an affair with her. In the case of fishermen, most of the time is taken up either by fishing or by caring for equipment, for the nets need a good deal of attention. Since the fishermen's hours follow the tides, their working hours differ from day to day. They often go to bed early, in anticipation of getting up at three or four in the morning.

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The women, on the other hand, follow a more regular daily routine of getting the morning coffee ready, getting the children off to school, going for water and wood, doing the ever-present laundry and ironing, and caring for the younger children. In addition, if possible, they prepare xangô to help supplement the family income and go to the fair in Centro on Mon-

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794 1933 when two women took the scapular and cord. But nothing
747 more came of it. There is a benevolent organization, the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, which gives aid to the poor and is run by three men of Class B. It is very weak, however, and at present can help only four persons in the town. The society conducts no festivals or public displays.

Festivals

796 The festivals which take place in Vila Recôncavo are based
[184] on the religious calendar and are participated in to a great extent by the African cult members. January 1 is an im-
[793] portant date in town and is celebrated by a Mass in the fishermen's chapel, after which the priest goes out on the beach and blesses all the canoes. After he has gone, the participants in
796 African cults make their offering for the day. This is the date
794 when presents are given to the Mother of Waters (Mae d'Agua locally, but sometimes known as Janaina, Sereia, or Yansan
782 in other parts of Brazil). The presentations are made by the
776 cult priestesses, but anyone who wants to give a present to the Mother of Waters may do so by handing the gift to the cult
[822] priestess beforehand. The presents may consist of money or of anything a woman can use, as long as it is white: combs, ribbons, powders, perfumes, soaps, flowers, and so on. Everything is wrapped together and placed in a large clay basin covered with white cloths and decked with white flowers.

The cult priestess comes out of the cult house after Mass and, accompanied by participants and onlookers, goes down to the beach and enters one of the large canoes prepared for the occasion. The cult drummers accompany her, as well as most of the female devotees (filhas de santo). Usually two presents are given, one to the young Mother of Waters, who lives near the town, and another, larger one to the old Mother of Waters, who lives at about an hour's distance from town, where the water is very deep. The canoes take off and proceed up the river, while the drums beat and the devotees sing. The Mother of Waters is called and praised, and when the canoes arrive where the younger one lives, her present is lowered into the water. If it does not sink it is a very bad sign, for it means that the present was rejected. The bundles usu-
[787] ally sink, however, for they are bound in a heavy clay basin. At this moment the Mother of Waters is supposed to enter the body of the person who placed the gift in the water. This person, usually an older devotee, enters a trance state and must

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*794 supposedly there is competition among them as to which night
[565] will be the loveliest. This becomes more expensive each year, however, and the patrons are becoming less willing to donate money. This festival is most enjoyed by the lower classes. It is avoided by members of Class B, who in many instances are nevertheless called upon to be patrons.

796 The festival takes on a carnival aspect each night, with
[525] booths set up in the streets by professional people from Sal-
[275] vador and Centro. The booths have wheels of fortune and guessing games, and sell sweets and drinks. After the religious celebration in the chapel, everyone goes out into the square to talk, play games, and dance.

796 The day before the first Mass of the festival is celebrated,
794 the chapel is thoroughly washed by the women participants of
358 the African cult house, who dress up in their many starched skirts and bandanas and go to the well as a group for water,
[291] which they take to the chapel to throw on the floor. A few little barefoot girls wash down the floor with brooms. After the
[535] washing the women go out dancing in the streets. They dance
*[565] on every street in town and ask for alms. This entire procedure, known as the lavagem (washing), is much frowned upon by members of Class B.

796 Most of the ordinary town life ceases during these nine days, for everyone is tired after staying up so late at night. The day of the patron saint of the town falls during this festival, and is passed over with nothing more than a simple Mass celebrated in the mother church in his honor. The people of the rural area of this parish do not observe the day of the patron saint
[794] at all. The day after the nine-day festival, a group of young men go out dancing and singing in the streets, asking for alms to make a large feijoada (feast of beans) at night. This is called mazorra (the clowns). After this the men settle down again to their fishing, for by now their money is all used up.

The next festival on the calendar is the second of February, when the nearby towns of Centro, Conselho, and Morro celebrate the day of their patron saint. People from Vila Recôncavo go to one or another of these three towns, although not
[778] in great numbers. The majority go to Conselho, which has the reputation of being a holy place, and to which pilgrimages are
*[565] frequently made.

All festivities end during Lent, which is quietly observed. It is interesting to note that Carnaval, which takes place the
[184] three days before Lent, is observed in Vila Recôncavo only among members of Class A.

among members of Class A. In the cult houses it is said that the African gods go back to Africa for Lent and that the Indian spirits go back to the forests, not coming back again to Vila Recôncavo until Easter Eve. Good Friday is usually marked by the eating of foods with much palm and olive oil, mostly the favorite Bahian dishes of acarajé and vatapá. On Saturday some people in the town "burn Judas." They make a figure stuffed with straw or grass and in the evening parade it through the whole town on a donkey until they arrive at the fishermen's chapel, where the dummy is strung up and burned. While it burns the man who made it reads a long poem which he has composed during the year and which tells about his friends and their individual peculiarities.

During the month of May a service is held each night in the mother church in honor of the Virgin Mary. A priest officiates, and the women of the upper class sing in the choir. This ceremony is attended almost entirely by townspeople, mostly women. St. John's Day, which comes at the end of June and is a popular holiday throughout most of Brazil, goes unnoticed in the town, although at dawn on that day there may be a reveille for St. John (alvorada de São João), which consists of shouting, "Wake up, St. John!" The sixteenth of August is celebrated, mostly by the rural people, as the day of St. Roch, who is considered a foe of pestilence. There is usually a Mass in the mother church on this day, after which the priest conducts Mass in as many of the rural chapels as he can. St. Roch is also celebrated by the African cults.

On September 27, the twin saints Cosme and Damião are celebrated, often with a Mass, but especially with a party called the carurú, the dish distinctive of this day and the days which follow it; for, as with the Day of Kings, Cosme and Damião may be feted any day within a month or so following the proper date. Before a carurú, it is customary for small images of the two saints to be carried about the streets from house to house asking for alms for a party in their honor. Usually the party is for the children, who dance and eat as much as they can, while the older people at first look on, and then finish up the food that was left and also dance. Anyone who is a twin or who likes twins may give a carurú in his house.

St. Francis is also feted, since there is a Franciscan convent in the town, by a devotion on three nights and a Mass on the morning of St. Francis' day. The last Sunday in October,

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the day of Christ the King, there is always a procession in town which starts from the mother church and goes to a small altar set up in front of the County Hall, then to the fishermen's chapel, to a cross which stands in one of the squares, and back to the convent and church. A few people set their small household oratories in the street in front of their houses to be blessed by the priest as he passes. This procession is accompanied mostly by women of all classes, although the canopy over the Host is carried by men from Class B. Christmas is observed quietly except for the exchange of gifts.

[778] [788] *[565] [184] [431]

Prayers

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Prayers are very popular throughout the year among the women of classes C and D. For a variety of reasons a group of women will get together in the house of one of them and pray aloud, standing before the little decorated niche which contains a picture or figure of the household saint. The one who knows the prayer best leads the others. A group may pray on the evening before the day of the patron saint of one of them, especially if they have been unable to have a Mass said because of the lack of money or a previous commitment of the priest. At times they pray because someone has promised his patron saint that he would do so if he were cured of an illness.

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Strangely, perhaps, the fishermen never seem to feel a need for supernatural help to overcome bad weather or lack of fish. A few of them, however, give a present to the Mother of the Waters in thanks for an exceptionally fine catch. At other times, people simply pray to their patron saints if they cannot have a party in their honor. Personal patron saints, however, do not play a very important part in the lives of the people of Vila Recôncavo, although nearly everyone has one and has at least a picture of the saint on the wall. It is common to find women who belong to an African cult group praying at these nightly gatherings in honor of the various saints who may or may not be represented in their cult houses.

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Exceptional fatigue, light illness, and pains may all be caused by the evil eye, and are removed by having a woman pray over the victim. There are several women in town who can make such prayers particularly well; however, they do not pray as a group. A woman goes to the house of the victim and, with a piece of thread in her hand which she passes over the body of the victim, says the Lord's Prayer and the

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794 travagant ceremonial of the house. The fulfillment of individ-
435 ual obligations is very expensive, too much so for one person to pay for it himself. The ceremony given at the end of the year in 1950 cost the members of the house almost two thousand cruzeiros in foods, sacrificial animals, candles, kerosene for the lamps, clothing, and ornaments. Individual members spent as much as four hundred cruzeiros on their clothes and beads, in addition to contributing to the common fund, not to mention their labor in cooking and in washing and ironing all the costumes and clothes used during the ceremonies.
[434] Such large sums of money are hard to get, so the number of
[458] ceremonies per year is decreasing. Not only are the salaries
[511] of the people low and inflation high, but more and more things which were not formerly available in the area--such as movies, wrist watches, jewelry other than the beads and bracelets symbolic of the deities, perfume, and lipstick--lay claim on the people's attention and purses.

* 565 Participation in the cults is generally considered to be an
794 activity of lower-class people, and in Vila Recôncavo only
• 184 such people are seen dancing and carrying out their other cult obligations. Individuals of other classes, however, do participate either indirectly or secretly. Class A displays a genuine lack of knowledge about the cult activities, in spite of being brought up within sound of the drums and within sight of the outward symbols of the African and Indian deities. These people, although they speak with disdain of cultism and of the paganism involved, have a certain respect for it and usually refrain from interfering with it in any way. They maintain a type of joking relationship in regard to it with the workers who they know participate in it, but seldom if ever attend a ceremony. Ceremonies are infrequently held on family-owned plantations when the owners are present. Most of them take place on plantations run by overseers.

Class B in the town has several members who help support the cult house and indirectly participate in its activities, especially in reference to the Mother of the Waters ritual. Since education, which implies freedom from belief in cultism, is a criterion of class position, members of Class B in public denounce cultism and those who participate in it. But many of them, coming from families which participated in it, retain some belief in the cults and fear them. They do not completely cut themselves off from cultism. They participate in it secretly, sending money to the cult leader and presents to the Moth-

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er of the Waters. Naturally, in such a small group, the secret is not very well kept and it is soon known who has sent a present, why, and when. Many people in this group, and some in Class A, entertain the fear that they may become themselves possessed by a deity, especially if they expose themselves to cult activities during a ceremony, and for this reason they do not attend the rituals. To a certain extent this fear is the basis for the protest many of them make against night-long drumming, although the common complaint is that they cannot sleep because of the noise. The sound of the drums at night is very impressive, and no one is unaware that nearby the supernatural is being called. It is very disturbing to those who do not understand the mechanics of the ceremonies and the meaning of the drumming and sacrifices.

565* 794 184 [152]

Spiritualism

Spiritualism, which does not use drums, is as disturbing as cultism to people of all classes, although because of its quieter character it is not always known when a session is taking place. Spiritualism seems to be gaining popularity in the area, although it is greatly feared by many people. It is slowly gaining adherents, however, because of the healing powers exhibited by the mediums. In most cases people are drawn to it, both in the town and in the rural area, through illness and the promise of a cure. Because of lack of aid from the doctor, or because of the expense of medical treatment, or perhaps because of the failure of the African cult to cure him, a patient may try spiritualism as a last resort. For those who are helped by it, it becomes a constant companion, and although they may have entered with fear, they soon lose it. They become staunch defenders and try to draw in their friends. The greatest successes in curing seem to follow the herbal treatments of the African cultists, but spiritualism requires no further obligations, as do the cults. It is common to hear someone say that attendance at a spiritualist seance cured him of some minor ailment and left him free of obligations, and that he did not even have to pay the medium. Spiritualism is also used to discover and counteract the evil eye and evil machinations of any enemy. In spiritualism one finds the same Indian spirits which are found in the local African cults, although no dancing is involved. There is now definite competition between the mediums and the cult leaders for adherents.

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/Information on cultural differences between classes will be found in category 565./

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In fact, the great mass of lower-class brancos, mixed-bloods and prêtos share very much a common life. As Nogueira (1955:513) observed at Itapetininga, there is a "more complete fraternization between colored and brancos in the less-favored stratum." This situation is *just the reverse* of that in South Africa, or of that in the United States, where the most intense and implacable race prejudice in each country is to be found among the "poor whites." Whatever be the type of "prejudice" which those who write about "prejudice" in Brazil are dealing with, then, it is almost without exception "prejudice" in the upper and middle classes; and consequently it is more of class, rather than of strictly racial, or even of merely color, character. For, if discrimination is comparatively absent in the lower class but, as Bastide (1955: 131, 132) observed in São Paulo even with reference to immigrants, "increases as one climbs up the class scale," are we not observing a primarily class phenomenon?

That we are dealing more with class than with color, *per se*, is further borne out by the comparative lack of either race- or color-consciousness among colored persons in the lower ranks[20] and by their widespread insistence, on the contrary, that "there is no prejudice in Brazil," an attitude which puzzles (and even gives concern) to some observers. It also is borne out by the strong adverse feeling which lower-class colored sometimes direct toward other colored persons who have managed to rise in class and who, like successful newcomers to New York, tend to "forget" former friends "back

[20] Some informants at Bahia say that political agitators have attempted to foster and to exploit color antagonism as an aid in the class struggle which they hope to exacerbate (Thales de Azevedo 1955a:106); but, although this agitation has had some effect, particularly among frustrated individuals, it apparently has had little to feed upon except resentment against the world in general.

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plex and need further study. If the discrimination turns out to be due only (or largely) to color, it will in most cases be because color is one of the criteria of rank. However, nowhere in Brazil is it supported by public opinion. On the contrary, it receives severe and widespread condemnation, in press and elsewhere, and legislators hasten to pass laws bringing it under repressive legal sanction. In other words, public opinion and public action invariably are *in favor of*—never against—the darker portion of the population.

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7. Nevertheless, in any conflict situation, the lack of one of the determinants of status—namely, light color—*just as any other lack*, may be seized upon, to a person's disadvantage, by competitors.

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8. Numerous common sayings regarding Africans and their descendants (cf. pp. 362–65 of this book) which originated during the slave epoch, and which long ago lost all, or most, of their function as stereotypes (cf. Florestan Fernandes 1959:328), occasionally are employed by brancos but ordinarily with a smile and in a humorous manner and when colored persons are not present. Moreover, actual behavior tends to belie these common sayings; and they are even used in jocular fashion by colored persons themselves. Nevertheless, they are remnants of a superordinate-subordinate relationship in a former caste order and, as such, constitute threats to status in possible conflict situations, and also potential aids to the development of group-consciousness.

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To these hypotheses, there might be added the following one, suggested by Wagley (1963b:154):

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9. "The ability of 'people of color' to improve their status . . . varies considerably from community to community according to the possibilities open to them."

Wagley's further statement that "rural Brazilian society

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some slave,[36] and many Negroes repeatedly refused to participate in the uprisings.[37] The disturbances were ordinarily led, as we have seen, by Mohammedan Haussás, said to be exceedingly spirited and resolute individuals,[38] who were either free blacks or semi-independent *negros de ganho*. Moreover, they lived for the most part in the city where life was less arduous than on the plantations and where there was, at the same time, more leisure for brooding over grievances and perfecting schemes of revolt. Since all insurrectionists spoke the same or quite similar languages and shared

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[36] Dantas Junior, in commenting on the revolt of 1807, repeats (*A Illustração* [Bahia], June, 1936) that on the night of the twenty-second of May (the revolt was set for 7:00 P.M. of the twenty-eighth) a "person of integrity" urgently sought out the governor at his palace and secretly informed him that "a Negro of mine told me that the slaves of the Ussá nation are plotting to revolt." Following the serious uprising of 1835, the provincial assembly rewarded (*Laws*, No. 344, August 5, 1848, and No. 405, August 2, 1850) the "free Africans," Duarte Mendes and his wife, Sabina da Cruz, with the cancellation of their taxes for having "informed on and thus prevented the success of the planned insurrection."

[37] "The Negroes of the warehouses belonging to Manoel Ignacio da Cunha and Francisco Lourenço Herculano did not wish to join the band" (Silva, *op. cit.*, p. 347). Wied Neuwied, who visited Bahia during the period of these uprisings, says that colored troops were used in suppressing them. See Prince Maximilian Wied Neuwied, *Viagem ao Brasil*, trans. from the German of *Reise nach Brasilien in den Jahren 1815 bis 1817* (2 vols.; Frankfurt, 1820), by Edgar Sussekind de Mendonça and Flavio Poppe de Figueiredo (São Paulo, 1940), pp. 450–51.

[38] Koster, noting that "Pernambuco has never experienced any serious revolt among the slaves; but at Bahia there have been several commotions," and convinced that "Bahia contains fewer free people than Pernambuco in proportion to the number of slaves," wrote, "I cannot avoid attributing the quietude of the latter in some measure to the circumstances of a few of the Gold Coast Negroes being imported into it, whilst at Bahia the principal stock of slaves is from that part of Africa. . . . They are represented as possessing great firmness of mind and body, and ferociousness of disposition" (*op. cit.*, I, 214).

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the same or similar religious beliefs and practices, they were able to act effectively together.

In 1806, following a raid upon a "conspirator's house," the imprisonment of a number of suspected plotters, and the confiscation of "four hundred arrows, a bundle of sticks, and quantities of cord for the making of bows, a large number of knives and pistols, a gun and a drum," orders were issued to arrest every slave found in the streets after nine o'clock at night "without a letter from his master or in his company."[39] The following year correspondence between African conspirators in Bahia and Santo Amaro (a sugar center in the Reconcavo) was intercepted, and the leaders thus exposed were subsequently tried, sentenced to death, and executed.[40] About the same time the governor of Bahia ordered destroyed two troublesome *quilombos*, or settlements of fugitive slaves, on the outskirts of the city near Cabula and Nossa Senhora dos Mares, and the *capitãomor* with eighty soldiers surrounded their huts and took prisoner seventy-eight blacks, some of whom were free Negroes.[41]

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In 1809 a revolt about twelve miles from Bahia was put down after the Haussás had "committed all sorts of outrages."[42] In 1813 about five hundred Haussás revolted and fled into the surrounding country but were speedily pursued and disarmed and their leaders publicly hung on gallows erected in Praça Piedade, one of the principal squares of the city. Several others were deported to Africa.[43] In 1826 soldiers had to be sent to various points in the Reconcavo,

[39] Silva, *op. cit.*, p. 346.

[40] Alvares do Amaral, *Resumo chronologico da Bahia* (Bahia, n.d.), p. 111.

[41] Eduardo A. de Caldas Britto, "Levantes de pretos na Bahia," *Revista do Instituto Geographico e Historico da Bahia*, XXIX, 72.

[42] Alvares do Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 39. See also Ramos, *As culturas negras*, p. 337.

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184 This division in cultural identification, however, is not always sharply defined. Adherence to African cultural forms, for instance, the *candomblé*, often varies not only from family to family but also from individual to individual in the same family group; and, occasionally, in the same individual with reference to different cultural elements, to different periods in his life, and even to varying moods in his experience. In other words, African cultural forms at Bahia are disintegrating at a comparatively rapid rate.

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177 Nor should one assume that the body of customs and traditions which marks off to some extent this lower-class world is entirely of African origin. While it undoubtedly is composed in considerable part of elements originating in Africa, certain native Indian customs and traditions, together with ideas and practices common to the lower classes of Europe, as well as other customary behavior which has arisen in response to the circumstances of life in Brazil, contribute to it. The disentanglement of these diverse strands is, in some instances, a difficult and exceedingly laborious task.

It should be emphasized that these distinctions follow cultural and not necessarily racial lines. The lower class, as we have seen, includes a number of Europeans, and these have in numerous cases taken over sentiments and attitudes of African origin. Moreover, as the blacks and the mixed-bloods rise in class, they tend to slough off all identification with Africa and with African cultural forms.

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175 Bahian Negroes long maintained direct contact with the West Coast. Even after the extinction of the slave traffic, vessels regularly plied between Bahia and Lagos, repatriating nostalgic emancipated Negroes and returning with West

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My sister is preparing *carurú*. She has twin boys. When God gives you twins, you are obliged to present *carurú* to Cosme and Damião. If you fail to do this, someone in the house will die that year.

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If one were now to set down an account of the personal experiences of an upper-class Bahian, it would reveal an entirely different mental world. In general content it would reflect a culture distinctly European. Dress, music, food and food habits, forms of religious expression, sacred specialists, means of exercising control over personal destiny, and the ideas, attitudes, sentiments, points of view, and philosophy of life associated with them would, in general, not vary from those commonly characteristic of individuals of European origin wherever found.

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This variation at Bahia in cultural identification between the Europeans, on the one hand, and the *Africanos*, on the other—this difference in ideas, attitudes, and sentiments—obviously erects serious barriers to intercommunication and consequently retards the development of a body of common understandings upon which the moral solidarity of any society is built. Although most of the Bahian blacks have now to a considerable extent sloughed off their former cultural identity with Africa and have been more or less completely incorporated into the European world, a remnant of *Africanos* still live, in spite of contiguity in space with the Europeans, to a considerable extent culturally apart.

As will be evident in greater detail in the following chapter, the Europeans tend to look upon the beliefs and the practices of the *Africanos* as matters for ridicule, scorn, disparagement, and condemnation. They are thought of as queer, bizarre, unintelligible, inferior forms of behavior.

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794 In details of lan-
•184 guage, ceremonial dress, dance, song and pantheon, these
[178] centers differ from the *candomblés* known as "Congo" or "Angola," in which Bantû dialects are spoken, Loanda and Benguela become sacred places, and Tempo and the Angolan
[177] chief Kissimbe are worshiped. They differ also from the apparently more recently organized *caboclo candomblés* whose ritual is, in varying degrees from *seita* to *seita*, a mixture of the rituals of the other cults, together with dances and a pantheon of Tupi origin, the latter of which includes Tupan, an important Tupi deity, and Tupinambá, apparently a personification of the cannibal tribe by that name which inhabited the Bahian coast at the coming of the Europeans.
[191] The *caboclo candomblés* carry on their ceremonies principally in Portuguese, with the addition of certain phrases of African origin, usually much corrupted, which have been picked up
[177] from Gêge-Nagô or Congo-Angola *seitas*, and a few words of Tupi derivation. Feathers, the bow and arrow, and other Indian cultural elements enter into their ritual.

794 This borrowing of ceremonial elements on the part of
184 *caboclo* imitators, who in many, if not most, cases have not been reared in the African tradition, is bitterly resented
178 by the more orthodox and scrupulous *Africanos*, particularly those of the Gêge-Nagô *seitas*. As a Negro once said, "Si seja mistura, é bobagem" ("If it's mixed, it's nonsense"). A leader of a Nagô cult once burst out:

> This fellow João da Pedra Preta! What a disgraceful whelp! His forebears, what did they know? Were they brought up in the *seita*, and did they "deixaram o cargo" [will the office of priest] to him? No! He came here from the *sertão* and started a *candomblé*. Picked up a little Gêge, a little Nagô, a little Congo, a little Indian stuff, and so on. A disgraceful mixture!

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A Nagô *mãe de santo* boasted of the ritual in her seita: "It's all pure Nagô; there's nothing in my *candomblé* of this abominable mixture which these upstart places practice today. They call this *caboclo* nonsense *candomblé!* Why, they know absolutely nothing about the way it's done in Africa!"

However, the borrowing of ritual back and forth from *seita* to *seita* sometimes takes place even in the case of Gêge-Nagô and Congo-Angola centers. Moreover, these *seitas* have not entirely escaped some Indian influence. [177]

With reference, then, to cultural origin and identification, there are three principal types of *candomblés* at Bahia: the Gêge-Nagô, the Congo-Angola, and the *caboclo*.[2] The *seitas* of probably most pure Gêge-Nagô origin are those of Engenho Velho, reputed to be the oldest cult center in Bahia; Gantois, which split off from Engenho Velho approximately a century ago and was, during the time of the famed *mãe de santo* Pulcheria, the seat of the researches of Nina Rodrigues; and São Gonçalo, whose able and widely respected *mãe de santo* speaks a Yoruba dialect locally known as Queito. These three centers are probably largely Nagô in origin,[3] while that of Bogum is said to be with the possible exception

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[2] The Malê, or Mohammedan cult, which at one time was vigorous and flourishing, seems to have been largely forsaken in favor of the fetish cults by the Negroes at Bahia. Although, in 1905, Nina Rodrigues estimated that one-third of the Africans still living in the city were Mohammedans, he at the same time pointed out that they were then making few, if any, converts among blacks born in Brazil and that Mohammedanism would in all probability die with them (*op. cit.*, pp. 93–94). Certain of the Malê ritual, however, has contributed to the general fusion so characteristic of present-day *candomblés*, and at least three Malê centers are still functioning. [178] [795]

[3] Also of Yoruba identification is Lingua da Vaca ("Cow's Tongue"), which was organized by Negroes of Ige-shá and Egbá origin.

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565 families *da boa sociedade* ("of social standing") "dão comida"
184 (make the food offerings, especially of *caruru*) to Beji
794 (Cosme and Damião) and celebrate the day sacred to their honor. A number of white individuals on occasion make offerings to the *mãe d'agua*. Cases like that of the wife of a former state senator and political chieftain who kept an altar to an African *orixá* in her house are, however, not numerous.

125 Of 66 students in the Escola Normal classifying themselves
782 as *brancos* and responding to the query, "Do members of
184 your family give presents to the *mãe d'agua?*" 7, or 10.6 per
794 cent, answered in the affirmative. Of 36 *pardos*, the families of 9, or 25 per cent, similarly made offerings. Of 63 whites, 29, or 46 per cent, thought one ought to fear the *bozo* (black magic); as did 12, or 37 per cent of the *pardos*, and all 6 of the *pretos* who replied. Of 63 whites, only 1 thought the statement "A *pae de santo* is more useful in time of illness than a physician" was true, but 9, or 14 per cent, regarded it as "partially true"; of 32 *pardos*, 2 believed the statement true, and 7, or 22 per cent, thought it "partially true." Of 197 students in the Escola Normal and the Law School, the families of 25, or 13 per cent, "give *comida*" to Cosme and Damião.

184 Ordinarily the attitudes which the inhabitants of Euro-
798 pean descent take toward the *candomblé* vary from good-
794 natured tolerance, which is the most characteristic, through
829 indifference, which is common, to active opposition, which is comparatively rare, although from time to time complaints like the one below find their way into the newspapers.

[539] In *A Tarde* for May 8, 1936, appeared an editorial under the title:

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DANGEROUS *CANDOMBLES*

Education may perhaps be the most certain means of eradicating harmful customs. But when these customs are linked with the persistent beliefs of African fetichism and constitute outrageous attacks upon the moral and physical well-being of those who practice them, it becomes necessary to insist upon immediate and complete suppression. This can be done in no way except by police action, energetic and persistent.

And, in *A Tarde* for December 9, 1935, appeared the following complaint:

THE CITY THAT GOD FORGOT

Scenes which Degrade and Depress . . . . The Revived *Candomblés* . . . . *Despachos* Even in the Heart of the City . . . .

The above looks like a movie title. But it is not. Our capital really is a city forgotten by . . . . God. . . . .

Your reporter . . . . has set down in his notebook curious scenes which reflect discredit upon our civilization; things which . . . . continue on for the eyes not only of those who live here but also of those who visit us from foreign places.

Bahia already has the reputation of being the city of *candomblés*, the paradise of the *macumbas*. However, these used to be localized in fixed zones where the devotees of Oxalá and Yemanjá beat their drums and "fell into the *santo*." Now they begin to encroach upon the most frequented streets, and the African cult is to be seen even in the best residential areas.

Your reporter verified this fact last Sunday night in the *bairro* of Barra, an elegant and aristocratic suburb. Here is to be found Grenfeld Street, very close to the Avenida Oceanica. And on this very street is a *candomblé*.

Happily there is no noise of drums. But palms are used instead, which beat without ceasing until day dawns. And whenever anyone makes an inquiry, the *pae de santo* insists that he has a license, and continues. . . . .

One morning not long ago, your reporter was passing in front of the

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State Treasury building, a spot very much frequented. A *bozó* had been left there and still remained exposed to the curiosity of all who passed.

A black hen, three copper coins, yellow *farofia*, a cloth doll stuck full of pins, a piece of a man's shirt, and other *bugigangas* [trinkets].

The thing was there until midday. This is no uncommon occurrence, but one which is frankly deplorable. That in the heart of our city, so close to the Rua Chile, *despachos* are made to Exú is, to say the least, disgusting.

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In the same newspaper sometime later (June 10, 1937), under the title, "A Specialist in Sport *Bozós*, *Pae de santo* Manoelzinho Is the Worst Enemy of the Limpeza Publica [Street Cleaning Department]," this complaint appeared:

A short time ago the *macumbeiro* known as Manoelzinho took up his residence in a *roça* at No. 256 Cruz do Cosme, and since that time his *bozós* have led to continuous complaints from dwellers along that road and from those who chance to pass that way.

At the side of the road just below the *roça* is a *loco* tree, that species so much preferred for fetishistic practices. Here *bozós* accumulate from day to day until they constitute a veritable mountain of refuse in which may be found an increasing number of dead fowls.

We are informed that this Manoelzinho, who is a *pae de santo* with considerable prestige, is a specialist in sport *bozós*. For it is said that among those who consult him are certain members of the different soccer clubs. Recently a policeman, on the eve of a great game at Graça, noted in one of these *bozós* the initials "T. V." which are the same as those of a well-known athlete.

Since the Street Cleaners never pass along Cruz do Cosme, the *bozós* keep polluting the atmosphere and obliging those who pass by to cover their noses with handkerchiefs.

To whom shall we appeal? Who will do something about this?

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However, more characteristically, the Bahian identified with European customs and traditions adopts toward the *candomblé* a tolerant attitude. While he looks upon it as "ignorant fetishism," he ordinarily accepts it as "an African institution," which, in the words of a student at the Faculty

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829 of a white lawyer. Certain colored persons, finally, claim to be
*563 proud of this color. A young girl of high rank claims to have no regrets about being black and insists that her true "quality" be
[154] recorded in all official documents. This may also be a defense reaction, especially since this informant has a personality clearly marked by a frustration complex associated with her physical condition. It is said that when an employee hesitated about the term by which he had to describe, in an official document, the color of a very well-known man of liberal profession, the latter, guessing his difficulty, told him to write "mulatto," "for," he added, "I am a mulatto without any doubt."

829 Certain individuals are accused of isolating themselves in order not to feel obliged to live in the "inferior" world to which
571 they belong because of the pigmentation of their skin. This
*563 arouses a certain resentment on the part of the Blacks who attribute this behavior to the shame that these persons have about their type, and to the desire never to be seen "among those of
• [184] their category." Our informants state that such a way of behaving
[562] is common among the women of the middle or upper class.
[565] Nevertheless the tendency to accept such segregation is not general. A dark black official relates his experiences thus: "Racial problems do not affect me. I am very well received everywhere, even among the most distinguished families; I give Portuguese lessons to their sons, and they value my friendship. A well-bred Black has access to all milieus. There is no discrimination among the men; it is among the women that one perceives this tendency very
[576] clearly. Some are content to be discourteous, avoiding shaking the hand of Blacks whom they meet among the Whites. Nevertheless, when they take a fancy to a colored man, they are capable of behaving foolishly." "Undoubtedly," he adds, "in certain milieus I feel isolated." It is interesting to note that this informant is one of the few who are concerned about discrimination, but he, like most of the others, is without rancor and is confident that he is compensated for it by the good relations that he maintains with his /32/ white colleagues in the important State administration where he works, where he has occupied positions of management, and where he has had to perform missions calling for great responsibility.

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175 648 the Recôncavo, for they took with them a newly acquired knowledge of sugar cane cultivation.

175 167 567 The eighteenth century opened with a series of disasters for the region. When word of gold discoveries in Minas Gerais (1704) reached Bahia, an exodus began.[25] Slaves were sold at exorbitant prices, and often masters and slaves together went off to the mines. The colonial authorities took drastic steps to halt the flight, but [731] to no avail. The first quarter of the century ended with floods in the Recôncavo and the discovery of diamonds in the interior. There was a second exodus.[26]

175 171 249 In the meantime there were momentous developments in the West Indies. Sugar cane cultivation spread rapidly in the Antilles as the Netherlands and other northwestern European states which had been lucrative markets for Brazilian sugar began their own production in their respective West Indian colonies. In addition to the protected markets which the mother countries afforded, these new centers enjoyed sound economic and geographical advantages. As newcomers to the field of sugar production, the Antilles were free of both the antiquated equipment and the backward techniques which burdened Brazil, and they were closer to the major European markets.[27]

175 178 185 249 The Recôncavo was unable to counter these West Indian developments. In a century and a half of commercial development there had been few improvements in agricultural or industrial methods. There was no conservation of the soil. Only one variety of cane was known, and there was no attempt to develop improved strains. The mills continued to burn expensive wood rather than to use bagasse. Antique, low-yielding crushing mills continued to be used for extraction.[28]

175 249 178 439 At the end of the eighteenth century, however, developments abroad restored to the Recôncavo and to Brazil many of the advantages which it had formerly held in the international market. This

175 423 * 249 the responsibility of holders to colonize and develop their areas. The grants were as a rule very large, consisting of leagues of land rather than of acres. Only one grant could be made to a family. As a result the son of a man who was a holder of a grant either had to remain on his father's land or had to leave the province and go elsewhere to acquire land. [425] The only remaining alternative was to forget about land and go into commerce or a profession. However, since the grants were so very large, the original holders were able to break them up, selling or renting parts, giving some to their married sons or daughters and yet retaining and cultivating enough to support themselves. Thus the original land grants were broken up, and several plantations were made of each.

175 * 249 313 Engenho was the name given to the total plantation, as well as being the specific designation for the mill itself. Every plantation, regardless of whether it was inland or on the coast, needed two things: the soil known as massapê, and woods as close as possible to the mill to supply firewood for boiling the sugar-cane juice. [185] Firewood soon became a crucial problem, one which has haunted the sugar industry for centuries. Conservation never was a Brazilian practice, and the tropical forests of the Recôncavo were soon stripped to feed the hungry mouths of the furnaces. [435] As time went on it became necessary to import firewood by boat from wherever it could be found, which added greatly to the costs of producing sugar. [376] The steam mill came much later and added further to the problem.

175 * 249 342 361 At first the owner's house was a veritable fort, surrounded by bulwarks and stockades to resist Indian attacks, but by the end of the seventeenth century the need for this precaution had passed away and the plantation houses were assuming noble proportions. Many were imposing two-story buildings built of stone and mortar, the ground level generally being used as a storehouse and the master (senhor de engenho) and his family living on the upper floor. As a rule the Big House of the Recôncavo was situated so that there would be an excellent view from the windows, not only of the mill and slave quarters nearby but of the surrounding countryside. There was no sight so dear to the heart of a plantation master as that of fields of sugar cane, the leaves of many shades of green waving gently in the breeze.

175 * 249 36 [346] Frequently a chapel was connected with the house or built near it. Not very far away would be the mill, and nearby the

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nection also, the report by Felte Bezerra (1950:266–67) of the bewilderment of several colored girls at Aracaju upon seeing a film concerned with the racial situation in the United States. Wagley is seeking to escape from some of the ambiguities involved when he uses the term "social race" (e.g., 1963b:14): and several investigators either begin by using "color" instead of "race," or shift to color in the course of research or in subsequent publications.

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Moreover, as Robert E. Park (3) has pointed out in an illuminating analysis, "race relations . . . are not so much the relations that exist between individuals of different races, as between individuals *conscious* of these differences."[7] Frazier (1942:469) records that none of the colored persons he interviewed during several months residence in Bahia, in 1940, "regarded themselves as Negroes but simply as Brazilians." In the United States, "we expect all persons of color to feel a mutual bond," Ruth Landes (1947:60) reminds us; but in Bahia "no such assumption is ever dreamed of." As Gilberto Freyre (1959:144) puts it, the colored man in Brazil can "express himself as a Brazilian and not . . . as an ethnic [racial] and cultural intruder." Several of Austin J. Staley's (1959:82) Brazilian informants "thought it humorous, and genuinely so, that someone should take time out to inquire about such an obviously unimportant issue as race and race prejudice." "As far as actual behavior is concerned," Harris (1964:64) also recognizes, " 'races' do not exist for the Brazilians." In fact, solidarity along racial or even color lines is of so low an order in Bahia and Brazil that those interested in "mobilizing the colored masses" are in despair. Considering these circumstances, as Frazier (1944:255) also has observed, "one may not properly speak of race relations in Brazil" at all.

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In a more recent publication (1958), Blumer has emphasized this "sense of group position." Although there ordinarily are present in the minds of the members of any dominant racial group "a feeling that the subordinate race is intrinsically different and alien," and also a feeling of superiority toward the members of this subordinate race, these two feelings alone, as Blumer clearly points out, do *not* constitute race prejudice. They amount merely to ethnocentrism, a common characteristic of all groups.[9] There ordinarily is present also "a feeling of proprietary claim to certain areas of privilege and advantage"; and this feeling is usually quite strong. But even when this is added to the sense of superiority and of distinctiveness mentioned above, we do not yet have race prejudice. As Blumer (4) reminds us, these three feelings are often present in social orders "showing no prejudice"; for example, in settled and long-established relations between conquerors and conquered in certain forms of feudalism; in caste structures; and in societies of chiefs and commoners.

[9] From this point of view, common sayings regarding colored persons which are mentioned with a smile and in jocular tone (see pp. 362–65 of this book) are not necessarily evidence of race prejudice; as also are not those pejorative words or phrases which accompany them or are sometimes used alone. Survivals of a slave epoch, they are now merely verbal behavior which ordinarily is belied by conduct, as several observers have noted (e.g., Thales de Azevedo 1959:154; Wagley 1963a:140; 1963b:150; Harris 1964:60), and they often are employed by colored persons themselves in banter, even in the presence of brancos (cf. Nogueira 1955:508n). At most, these sayings and terms reflect the ethnocentrism characteristic of all groups. To see them in perspective, one should recall the extensive use in Brazil of similar terms and sayings with reference to the *Portuguese* and, in Portugal, with reference to the *Brazilians;* as well as the use in the United States of "city slicker," "country bumpkin," "flatlander," and "the great unwashed." These all are pejorative terms; and they also are ethnocentric terms, reflecting a sense of superiority and of satisfaction that "We are not as thou art."

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sex depreciated, although this situation, in more recent years and especially in the cities, is changing.

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That we are not dealing with merely racial phenomena, then, is borne out by the thousands of persons scattered across the colored continuum, of at least partial and sometimes of considerable African descent, who have escaped socially (and openly) into the branco category and been accepted by brancos;[17] and that we are also dealing with a class, rather than with a color phenomenon alone, is borne out, first of all, by the fact that the discrimination[18] which all observers note—and which some think either constitutes or reflects prejudice—virtually does not exist among the *lower* class, but tends to appear only as one proceeds up the class scale.[19] In Brazil, as Bastide has pointed out with reference to São Paulo, to see a race problem among members of the lower class would be absurd. "In the poorer sections of the city," Bastide (1955:137) has written, "where the brancos live in promiscuity with blacks, any prejudice would be ridiculous." Frazier (1944:266) also recognized this absence of discrimination in the lower class; and that was our conclusion at Cruz das Almas (cf. 1951:190 ff.).

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[17] If it be suggested that many light-colored persons also escape into the white group in the United States, the difference is that, in every case, this is not known to the whites; and, if it does become known later, the individual will automatically be put back into the "Negro" category, a possibility which, in Brazil, would everywhere be considered absurd, as Freyre long ago pointed out.

[18] It should of course be clear that we are using "discrimination" here only as defined above, and that we do not imply that persons in the lower class are unaware of physical differences.

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[19] Although it may be possible to find an occasional branco among the lower-status groups who shows some measure of withdrawal from colored persons, and who even may speak disapprovingly of them, he will in all likelihood turn out to be a person with an ambitious desire to rise in rank, who holds similar attitudes toward all "pobres" (the lower-class poor), regardless of color (cf. Virginia Bicudo 1955:270).

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In fact, the great mass of lower-class brancos, mixed-bloods and prêtos share very much a common life. As Nogueira (1955:513) observed at Itapetininga, there is a "more complete fraternization between colored and brancos in the less-favored stratum." This situation is *just the reverse* of that in South Africa, or of that in the United States, where the most intense and implacable race prejudice in each country is to be found among the "poor whites." Whatever be the type of "prejudice" which those who write about "prejudice" in Brazil are dealing with, then, it is almost without exception "prejudice" in the upper and middle classes; and consequently it is more of class, rather than of strictly racial, or even of merely color, character. For, if discrimination is comparatively absent in the lower class but, as Bastide (1955: 131, 132) observed in São Paulo even with reference to immigrants, "increases as one climbs up the class scale," are we not observing a primarily class phenomenon?

That we are dealing more with class than with color, *per se*, is further borne out by the comparative lack of either race- or color-consciousness among colored persons in the lower ranks[20] and by their widespread insistence, on the contrary, that "there is no prejudice in Brazil," an attitude which puzzles (and even gives concern) to some observers. It also is borne out by the strong adverse feeling which lower-class colored sometimes direct toward other colored persons who have managed to rise in class and who, like successful newcomers to New York, tend to "forget" former friends "back

[20] Some informants at Bahia say that political agitators have attempted to foster and to exploit color antagonism as an aid in the class struggle which they hope to exacerbate (Thales de Azevedo 1955a:106); but, although this agitation has had some effect, particularly among frustrated individuals, it apparently has had little to feed upon except resentment against the world in general.

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home" (Florestan Fernandes 1955:160; Bastide 1955:163); and also by the acceptance—and use—on the part of certain individuals of dark color who have risen in rank of derogatory statements regarding colored persons, but only with reference to those in ranks *below* themselves (Bastide 1955: 163).

Much emphasis is laid by some writers upon the presence in the lower ranks of the Brazilian economic order of a large mass of underprivileged colored; and this fact repeatedly is cited as evidence of a disharmonious racial situation in Brazil, and even of race, or at least color, prejudice. It is claimed that this fact defines the racial situation. In a restricted sense, it may do so to some extent, in that it points out the economic effects coming down to today of the long "shadow of the plantation," in the expressive phrase of Charles S. Johnson;[21] but in a more inclusive sense it is only one aspect of the total situation. Moreover, it often is either assumed or left to be assumed by implication that this unequal distribution is due entirely to discrimination, hostility, and prejudice on the part of brancos. This is too simple a conclusion. It should not be forgotten that hundreds of thousands of brancos are themselves in these lower ranks. In fact, the great mass of the Brazilian population, *both colored and branco,* is still concentrated on these low economic levels, "belonging to the same class, without regard to color," as Willems has observed, "and not to two different class systems, as in the United States."

Besides, there always has been a great "gulf" between the lower and the upper classes in Brazil, a "gulf" which is extremely difficult to cross, whatever be the color of the individual. Except in recent years—and only in a few metro-

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[21] *Shadow of the Plantation* (Chicago, 1934).

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confusion which may emerge in the minds of persons in the United States from a reading of hypothesis 23. This is due to the variant meanings attached in Brazil and in the United States to the term "Negro," as pointed out above. Taking into consideration this fact, and also the unfavorable economic condition of underprivileged persons in Brazil mentioned previously, we might reformulate this hypothesis in the following way: It is possible that the darker persons of color, *considered as an aggregate,* have not risen as rapidly, perhaps, as the Negroes in the United States. This may be due : (a) to fewer economic opportunities in Brazil, in comparison to those afforded by an expansion of industry much earlier in the United States; (b) to the limited educational opportunities available in Brazil until comparatively recent years and the low value long placed upon education for all except the sons of the elite; (c) to the possibility that local prêtos, feeling themselves less under the necessity of demonstrating to a skeptical white world their personal competence and their ability to achieve, have had less social incentive for advancement; and (d) to certain structural differences in the two cases, as Willems has suggested, "especially the fact that most achievements of the American Negro occurred within his own class structure, while the Brazilian colored did not have these structural incentives and opportunities."

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With reference to hypothesis 24, Wagley (1963b:153) has well suggested that the absorption of the African and his descendants into the predominantly branco group (as referred to in hypothesis 1), and the process of whitening by which it is being accomplished (see pp. 120 ff.), are also part of the informal racial policy, so that "the common . . . statement that 'We Brazilians are becoming one people,' " Wagley writes, "seems to imply that Brazilians hope to become a nation more Caucasian in physical appearance."

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565 Conversation is carried on in the Portuguese
[197] vernacular, with a limited vocabulary and numerous errors
[489] in grammar. Many words of African or native Indian origin
are commonly heard. Transport is primitive. Here the fe-
[771] tish cult, and the attitudes, sentiments, and beliefs associated
[794] with it, gains its most zealous and faithful devotees. Here,
cut off quite sharply from participation in the upper levels of European culture, live that portion of the population which the upper classes refer to as *o povo*, and who think of themselves as *os pobres* ("the poor").

The social gulf between the *pobres* of the valleys and the *ricos* of the ridges is wide and not easy to bridge. This is, of course, to be anticipated in a society with an aristocratic tradition whose upper circles still look somewhat askance upon manual labor and have always regarded education, family connection, and "good breeding" as indices of class.
[1068] Attitudes in this respect have changed little since the time
[567] when the abolitionist Anselmo da Fonseca felt it necessary to apologize for including the name of "a man of the people," a humble Negro shoemaker, among the prominent upper-class abolitionists of Bahia, arguing that "intelligence, patriotism, and truth are not the privilege of any one class" and explaining that this particular individual had been more useful to the abolition cause than many "more noble."

565 The upper classes habitually refer to members of the lower
• 186 classes as *trabalhadores* ("laborers"), *operarios* ("workers"), or *o povo baixo* ("common people") and humorously caricature them by a cartoon character known as Zé Povinho, an
[867] illiterate, stupid, and unprepossessing lout. To their children they often direct such phrases as "não seja gentinha" ("don't be like common people"), "não tenha modos de gentinha" ("don't take up the manners of common people"), "não ligue a (or *para*) povo miudo" ("don't attach yourself

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to vulgar persons"), "não faça caso de gente baixa" ("don't mind low people"), "não dê attenção á gentinha" ("don't pay any attention to common people"), and "não se incommode com a gente baixa" ("don't trouble yourself about common people"). Of themselves, the upper classes use the rather general expressions *as altas rodas* ("the upper circles"), *grand monde*, and the "élite." 186 [867]

The lower classes refer to the upper classes as *os "chefões"* ("the big shots"), *os donos da gente* ("the owners of the people"), *os grandes graudos* ("the illustrious great"), *os manda-chuvas da cidade* ("the rainmakers of the city"; i.e., those who can do anything), *ricaços* ("the plutocrats"), or merely *os brancos* ("the whites").

Although this rather simple pattern in which ridges and valleys appear as contrasted residential areas is, in general, characteristic of the entire city, it is modified in a few minor instances. The upper-class suburb of Barra, for example, lies low on the seacoast, albeit well swept by the refreshing sea breeze; while the ridges (as well as the valleys) in the less accessible areas outside the main portion of the city are covered with the huts of the lower class. In the old outmoded four-to-seven-story buildings (relics of Bahia's former splendor), which hedge about the central portion of the city and lie either on top, or well up toward the top, of the central ridges, are crowded together in something approaching slum conditions hundreds of the city's poor.[12] But in general the pattern of the city conforms quite closely to that which has been described. 361 565 [362]

As one moves about the different residential areas, he [563]*

[12] For an intimate glimpse into the life of this latter area see Jorge Amado, *Suor* (2d ed.; Rio, 1936). The locale of these interesting sketches is an old building at No. 68 on the Pelourinho which fronts on the triangular *praça* where the old slave whipping-post used to stand.

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seat of the iman, or head in Brazil of all African disciples of the prophet Mohammed. Those who were resident in Rio, Ceará, and Pernambuco owed allegiance to him. Incidentally, it was a time of general social unrest not only among certain of the slaves but among the whites as well.[46] The aim of the conspiracy was "to set up a queen after exterminating all the Europeans." Extensive plans were laid, including the proposed participation of slaves from "every part of the Reconcavo," many of whom, immediately preceding the night set for the uprising, fled from their owners and came to Bahia. A banner was adopted and the robes worn at Mohammedan ceremonies selected as costumes of war. The time chosen for the uprising was during the popular festival of Nossa Senhora da Guia, when most of the European population would be gathered at Bomfim, outside the main area of the city, houses would consequently be deserted by white owners, and slaves might go in and out without arousing suspicion.[47]

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The governor, forewarned by a faithful slave a few hours before the uprising actually occurred, doubled all police

[46] From 1831 to 1837 revolts against the Brazilian imperial government broke out in Pará, Sergipe, Pernambuco, and Rio Grande do Sul. In Maranhão three thousand slaves, led by an African named Cosme, had recently revolted.

[47] The report of the chief of police to the governor of the province of Bahia (republished from the *Diario da Bahia* in the *Jornal do Commercio* of Rio, February 10, 1835) said that the evidence indicated "the insurrection had been plotted for a considerable period of time with absolute secrecy. . . . . Almost all the leaders know how to read and to write in some unknown language, which appears to be Arabic. This is the same language which is used by the Ussás, who seem to be united today with the Nagôs. These Ussás are from the same tribe which has revolted on several occasions in this Province. . . . . Their leaders, among whom are many free and even wealthy Africans, stir up and organise revolts."

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The *Africanos* ordinarily look upon the Europeans as presumptuous and quite naturally resent all evidences of a feeling of cultural superiority. Particularly do they resent what they consider to be unfair comparisons with the Europeans, on the one hand, and with the native Indians (who are ordinarily romanticized in Brazil), on the other. Said an *Africano:*

> These people think the Indian is worth so much! Look here! Brazil has been discovered for more than four hundred years, and there isn't a single book in Tupi like this [showing the English Prayer-book printed in Nagô], or a single magazine like this [pointing to a periodical published in English in Lagos and containing several articles by Africans]. These people here call us fetish worshipers and say, "Aw, that's African nonsense!" It just goes to show that they don't know anything about what we have in Africa.

This sentiment was echoed by another *Africano*, who complained:

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> These people here in Bahia think Africans are all barbarous and uncivilized. They won't believe we write our language and that books are printed in it. They say, "Why, these *Africanos*, they're just pagan fetish worshipers, ignorant, and without culture." They don't know that in Lagos there are good schools, better than they've got in Bahia. Look at this [showing a photograph of a school in Lagos]! Is there anything in Bahia as fine as that?

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It is perhaps obvious that these complaints reflect a sense of inferiority and an unconscious acceptance of European cultural standards. The case of the *Africanos* in Bahia confirms the hypothesis that the transformation of inner experience characteristic of all cases of assimilation is, to a large extent, an unwitting process which may at times go on even in direct opposition to the individual's intention and resolution. The ordinarily patient and tolerant attitude of the Ba-

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the whites, are evidences of race prejudice. The fact, however, that outside the *Africano* group, among the more or less assimilated blacks, these antagonistic attitudes tend to disappear, indicates that what we see reflected here is a cultural, and not necessarily a racial, conflict. Antagonism is directed not at the whites as such but at *Europeans;* it is directed at the bearers of a culture, a body of ideas, attitudes, and sentiments, in conflict with the ideas, attitudes, and sentiments of the *Africanos.*

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individuals seek to rationalize and to defend their customary conduct. This ideology is perhaps best summarized in the commonly heard phrase, "We Brazilians are becoming one people."

25. Thus, the race problem in Brazil, in so far as there is a race problem, tends to be identified with the resistance which an ethnic group offers, or is thought to offer, to absorption and assimilation.

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This is not to say that there are no social distinctions in Brazil; for such are obviously common to all societies, one thing or another serving as a basis. Neither does it mean that there is no discrimination or that the blacks and mixed-bloods are completely satisfied with their lot. But it does mean (*a*) that a man of color may, by reason of individual merit or favorable circumstance, improve his status and even achieve position in the upper levels of society and (*b*) that this position will then be with reference not merely to the darker group whose color he shares but to the total community.

[SALVADOR]

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665 This means that Brazilians born in other States have made
666 careers in different parties of Bahia and have been elected to
578 represent the Bahians at the legislative assembly of the State or
829 at the national parliament. The same candidate, moreover,
[646] had been elected governor several years earlier, before this attribute of "foreigner" exerted a decisive influence in the fight led against him.

829 /20/ Brazilian customs condemn all social discrimination;
577 the Bahians, particularly those of the more advanced groups, pride themselves on these traditions of tolerance and liberalism, and consider them proper for forming the very prototype of the cordial Brazilian man whom Gobineau describes: "to be very polished, gracious, very friendly," and whose qualities are defined by a Brazilian sociologist as a mixture of kindness, tolerance, and good
181 manners. Life in Bahia is appreciated and envied by some, criti-
182 cized by others for its slow rhythm, its lack of combativeness, its strict particularism, and for the thousand mechanisms that always work in a way to mitigate the antagonisms and the conflicts between groups and individuals. The French sociologist Roger Bastide said some years ago that it is good "that in Bahia very rapid progress is not at all prejudicial to the qualities of soul that make up its charm."

641 What contributes a great deal toward mitigating the tensions
829 between the groups that confront one another in the society of Bahia is the polarization of dissatisfaction that in all of Brazil,
• 186 but especially in our city, takes place concerning the idea of "government," that is to say, public authorities in general, the population having the habit of discharging on them its aggressive impulses, imputing to this very vague entity all the evils that beset Bahia.

829 As for race relations, one may state that a certain antagonism
* 563 exists between Blacks and mulattoes. There are, without doubt, some color prejudices in Bahia, but, as a moreno of liberal profession says, "prejudice is not only the doing of Whites; out of fear of being assimilated with the Blacks, the mulatto avoids them and draws closer to the Whites." A number of informants think that

[SALVADOR]

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*563 441 [186] although these lines of demarcation have a tendency to disappear. The Jews, who have immigrated since the first world war and whom people know under the name of "Russians," are the principal owners of furniture stores and are beginning to become interested in other kinds of commerce; strictly exclusive in their firms, they do not seem to have any Brazilian associates, so that the dark employees that they have among them never occupy any but subordinate positions and never reach the top positions that would permit them to take a place in the higher strata of society.

The characteristic endogamy of the Israelites has also contributed toward restricting the chances of colored people in this sector. Some Jews of French origin who established themselves in the city during the second half of the last century and who turned to commerce and stock raising were entirely assimilated. Their /47/ families today include some light métis and some morenos. The Spaniards who dominate the grocery and bakery business are grouped into firms in which only they themselves and their immediate descendants participate. In order to maintain this commercial structure, the group is constantly renewed through the immigration of young men of the same nationality, who start to work in modest positions and end up by forming new firms or being integrated in the old ones. From the time the Spanish emigrants came still unmarried or left their families in Spain, they had mulatto children or morenos here by their servants, children who were born illegitimate and who had no right of inheritance (Brazilian law did not insure it to persons in their position until some years later). But for about 20 years the Spaniards have started to send for, or bring with them, their families, so that they now form a very closed group, not only from the economic point of view, but especially from the social and, so to speak, the biological point of view. An informant points out that in the old days numerous bakeries were the property of Blacks; since then the Spaniards have monopolized them almost completely, that they now control this type of business entirely. The antagonism of the inhabitants of Bahia against the

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[SALVADOR]

The antagonism of the
/47 cont./ inhabitants of Bahia against the
*563 441 528 829 Spanish merchants is expressed, aside from the manifestations pointed out in another chapter, by the belief that they are responsible for the discrimination that is practiced against colored people in certain recreational clubs. In the trade of textiles and
*563 441 464 petty retail objects, such as the Syrians, Lebanese, Arabs, and Turks carry on in little shops, there are no longer many openings possible for colored people. The Arab merchants accept colored employees to work at the counter in their establishments, but, since these are generally modest family enterprises, their few light descendants of mixed blood or morenos remain in the lower or intermediate strata of the population.

*563 441 464 472 829 In the offices of large export or import firms made up in part of Europeans (Germans, English, Swiss), colored persons are admitted and may obtain positions carrying some responsibility, but they rarely reach the rank of owners. The European merchants, numerous informants say, have the reputation of being liberal with their employees and other colored persons with whom they do business or who collaborate in their activities: harbor services, transport, transit, navigation. A wealthy, dark mulatto merchant states that his transport enterprise works a great deal for large /48/ foreign firms: "The English are particularly pleasant in that they help their colored employees and promote them to the secretariat of management." They often bring them gifts from Europe, invite them to their clubs, and are happy when some of
[191] [186] them speak their language. The German merchants who had very large firms in Bahia in the old days were very good to their colored assistants; they were very jealous of their language, however, and seemed not to like it at all when a Black spoke German. Some European firms honor their employees, even the Blacks, when they complete 20 or 30 years of service and give them bonuses on
[555] this occasion. But they do not promote them to important posts, sometimes because of their incompetence. The same thing does not happen with Brazilian firms, which are not accessible to colored people."

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Koster found the masters and their families taking over many of the customs of their slaves.[114]

Grant, visiting Bahia about 1800, noted that the principal amusement engaged in at private gatherings of the upper class was a dance of African origin:

> It is performed by an individual of each sex moving their bodies to the monotonous tones of an instrument, always in one measure, and with scarcely any action of the legs or feet. The spectators seem delighted with the performance, and cheer the dancers by the most clamorous marks of approbation. This national dance . . . . is indulged in by all ranks of the citizens. . . . .[115]

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Numerous changes in the whites' speech occurred. Especially was this true on isolated fazendas where *senhores* and their families were semiliterate or even illiterate. The *r* and the *s* disappeared as final consonants from many words, *fazer* becoming *fazê; mandar*, *mandá; comer*, *comé;* and *lh* was often reduced to *l*, *mulher* becoming *muler; colher*, *coler;* etc. In 1798 the bishop of Recife urged the teachers in a local *recolhimento* to try to correct "certain errors of speech" in the young ladies there studying, especially that of inverting certain letters and saying, for instance, *breço* instead of *berço*, *cravão* instead of *carvão;* of omitting letters in the middle of a word and saying, for example, *teado* instead of *telhado*, *fio* instead of *filho;* of dropping the final letter of the plural or of words ending in a harsh sound and saying, for instance, *muitas florê* for *muitas flores*, and *Portugá* for *Portugal*.[116] Freyre says that these dialectical modifications were particularly noticeable among isolated families in the rural areas, where Negro slaves were "constantly within the

[114] *Op. cit.*, I, 200–201. [115] *Op. cit.*, pp. 232–33.

[116] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos* (São Paulo, 1936), p. 103.

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house like persons of the family." Freyre adds that "still today the members of certain illustrious families *de engenho* can be identified by their peculiar vices of pronunciation which were originally learned from Negroes within their homes," as, for example, the Wanderleys of Serinhaem and Rio Formosa.[117]

The use, among certain slaveholding families, of a "slow and heavy manner of speaking," which gave "an appearance of affectation, fatigue, and illness," is also ascribed by Freyre to African influence. Numerous African words were adopted, especially into the common speech of the lower class, and a few have become good usage even among the educated minority. Freyre writes:

> What Brazilian, at least from the North, feels any strangeness about such words as: caçamba, canga, dengo, cafuné, lubambo, mulambo, caçula, quitute, mandinga, muleque, camondongo, muganga, quibêbe, quengo, batuque, banzo, mucambo, banguê, bozó, mocotó, bunda, zumbí, vatapá, carurú, banzé, mucama, quindim, catinga, mugunzá, malungo, birimbau, tanga, cachimbo, candomblé? Who prefers to say "mal cheiro" instead of "catinga"; or "garoto" instead of "muleque" or "moleque"; or "trapo" instead of "mulambo"? These are terms which correspond better than Portuguese words to our experiences, our palates, our understanding, and our emotions.[118]

[117] *Ibid.*, pp. 101–2.

[118] *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 245. For further information on words and phrases of African origin commonly used today in the predominately Portuguese speech in large areas of Brazil see, particularly, Renato Mendonça, *A influencia africana no português do Brasil* (2d ed.; São Paulo, 1935); Jacques Raymundo, *O elemento afro-negro na lingua portuguesa* (Rio, 1933); Mario Marroquim, *A lingua do Nordeste* (São Paulo, 1934), especially pp. 155–59; Dante de Laytano, *Os africanismos do dialeto gaucho* (Porto Alegre, 1936). The author himself collected approximately three hundred words of African origin commonly used today in Bahia.

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In the speech of very young children the doubling of a tonic syllable became common. Hence, *nhônhô* replaced *menino; titio* and *titia* were used for *tio* and *tia; dodoe* for *doe; dindinho* for *padrinho; vôvô* for *avô*, etc. Proper names "lost their solemnity, dissolving in a delicious manner in the mouths of the slaves." Little Antonia came to call herself, and to be called by her parents and other relatives, "Dondon" or "Toinha" or "Totonha"; Thereza became "Teté"; Manoel became "Mané," "Mandú," or "Nezinho"; Francisco became "Chico," "Chiquinho," or "Chicó"; Pedro became "Pepé"; and Alberto became "Bebeto" or "Betinho."[119]

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In addition to the "hard and imperative" *diga-me, faça-me, espere-me*, of Portugal, another method of placing the pronoun came into use in Brazil. The slave and the lower classes developed *me-diga, me-faça, me-espere*, a manner of speaking which Ribeiro describes as of "great suavity and sweetness."[120] Freyre says "*faça-se* is the master speaking, the father, the patriarch; *me-dê* is the slave, the woman, the child."[121]

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The Negroes in Brazil are said to have been assiduous story-tellers. Many free *pretas*, mostly older women, made their living by wandering from *engenho* to *engenho* recounting tales to the women slaves which eventually found their way, transmitted especially by the *mãe preta* and the *mucama*, into the ears of the master's children. Particularly common were stories of animals possessing human characteris-

[119] Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 243.

[120] João Ribeiro, *A lingua nacional* (São Paulo, 1921), quoted in Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 246 n.

[121] *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 246.

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CHAPTER III

CASA GRANDE AND *SENZALA*[1]

EVEN as late as the second quarter of the nineteenth century a visitor to Brazil wrote: "Again and again, while travelling in the interior, I have seen troops of new slaves of both sexes, who could not speak a single word of Portuguese, varying from twenty to one hundred individuals, marched inland for sale, or already belonging to proprietors of plantations."[2] These newly imported Africans were known as *negros novos*, or "new Negroes."[3]

Since the major portion of African importations into Bahia came from contiguous territory in Africa, the Negroes ordinarily brought with them closely related dialects and, consequently, could more easily communicate among themselves in African tongues. Gradually there came into general use, especially among the influential semi-independent *negros de ganho*, an African language known as Nagô,[4] which by facilitating intercommunication intensified the Negroes' moral isolation from the white world and retarded the whole acculturation process. Nagô continued for a long time to

[1] The "Big House" and the "slave quarters."

[2] George Gardner, *Travels in the Interior of Brazil, 1836–1841* (London, 1849), p. 12.

[3] Nina Rodrigues, *Os africanos no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1932), p. 187.

[4] "Like the French, we in Bahia call Nagôs all Negroes from the Slave Coast who speak the Yoruba language. Of this group we have received slaves from all the smaller subdivisions, from Oyó the capital of Yoruba, from Ilorin, Ige-sha, Ibadan, Ilé, Iebú, Egba, Lagos, etc." (*ibid.*, p. 157).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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giance from numerous and zealous devotees. African dances still invaded the popular festivals of the Europeans to such an extent that vigorous protests on the part of the white citizenry appeared in the newspapers.[16] Numerous images employed in the fetish worship were imported from Africa, and others were made by Negro sculptors in Bahia.

One occasionally encountered Negroes who in Africa had been chiefs or other dignitaries of considerable power and influence. Although in Brazil they shared the fortunes of a slave with their former subjects, they nevertheless often received allegiance and great reverence from them. On a chance meeting in the street these personages were, we are told, "saluted respectfully, their hands kissed, and a blessing requested of them." Even their masters were reported to have paid them, in several cases, considerable respect.

Slaves who were in close contact with their masters, especially the house servants, soon became, by the very necessities of the situation, at least to some extent bilingual. And their offspring, reared in close contact with the children of their masters, acquired little, if any, African vocabulary and came almost exclusively to speak Portuguese. Thus, about 1800, Koster wrote from Pernambuco, "Portuguese

[16] In the *Jornal de Noticias* for February 12, 1901, a white citizen wrote: "I wish to protest against the way in which this great civilized festival [Carnival] is being Africanized." Three days later the following was published: "These infamous Africanized groups *de canzás* and *buzios* which, far from adding to the brilliance of our Carnival festival, bring shame upon the name of Bahia . . . . have since yesterday been keeping up their infernal tumult." Immediately preceding the opening of Carnival the following year there appeared in the *Jornal de Noticias* (February 5, 1902) the following note: "If during these former Carnival festivals when the popular enthusiasm has been greatly aroused by the passage of the victorious floats . . . . these groups of *Africanos* have been repugnant, what will the Carnival of 1902 turn out to be, unless the police take effective measures to prevent our streets from looking like *terreiros* where fetish practices reign amid a retinue of *ogans* and their *canzás* and tambourines?" (Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 236–38).

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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BRAZIL SL1

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. . . . is spoken by all the slaves; and their own dialects are allowed to lie dormant until they are by many . . . . quite forgotten."[17] With the acquisition of the master's language went quite naturally other European habits and customs, and the group of assimilated Negroes, known as *ladinos*, grew in numbers relatively rapidly.

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Although the hardships incidental to a plantation system continued, the circumstances under which this gradual assimilation went on were ordinarily those imposed by a mild form of slavery in which the natural and continuous growth of intimate personal relations tended to further humanize the institution and to modify its formal and legal character to such an extent that the widely traveled Richard Burton, enamored as he was of the customs of the East, could in the middle of the nineteenth century say, "Nowhere, even in oriental countries, has the 'bitter draught' so little of gall in it."[18]

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Symbolic of the intimate character of these personal relations is a custom recorded in detail and with some sense of the humor of the situation by the able French artist Debret.[19] The head of a Brazilian household is depicted setting out with his family, all in gala attire, for a customary Sunday promenade. The entire group is in single file, the two

[17] *Op. cit.*, p. 200.

[18] Sir Richard F. Burton, *Explorations of the Highlands of the Brazil* (2 vols.; London, 1869), I, 270.

[19] Invited to Brazil at the request of the Brazilian emperor, Debret subsequently published three volumes of drawings and comment which together furnish a highly illuminating record of the life of Rio de Janeiro in the early part of the nineteenth century (see J. B. Debret, *Voyage pittoresque et historique au Brésil, 1816–1831* [3 vols.; Paris, 1835]). A similar record was made by another competent artist, Maurice Rugendas. See his *Voyage pittoresque dans le Brésil*, trans. from the German by de Colbery (3 vols.; Paris, 1835).

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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virtually extinct.[3] Only an occasional individual of African birth may be found, like, for instance, a certain elderly black once prominent in the fetish cults not only of Bahia but also of Rio de Janeiro who was born in Lagos, his father having purchased his mother out of slavery in Brazil shortly before his birth and taken her to Africa. He knows four *Africanos* still living in Rio. In 1936 he met in Brotas (a subdivision of Bahia) an elderly African woman with facial scarification and almost no command of Portuguese. She has since died.

Thus, actual contact with Africa is today little more than a memory in the minds of a few of the older blacks, who recall stories told by their parents or by other Africans of persons, places, and events in Africa; or who years ago visited in the home of African ancestors or were, perhaps, personally acquainted with blacks plying their small vessels between Bahia and the West Coast. However, certain individuals of the older generation still cherish sentimental attachment to Africa, as is indicated by the expression occasionally heard on the lips of an elderly Negro, as he reverently turns his eyes upward toward the sky, "Sou filho de dois Africanos, graças a Deus!"[4] "If I had the money," remarked another black, his eyes lighting up, "I'd go to Africa, to Abeokuta, build me a house, and live like a man ought to."

An elderly Bahian Negro recalled:

> My mother was just a young girl when she was captured by a warrior in Africa. He wanted to sell her to a slave trader in Dahomey.

[3] Since lower-class Negroes who have difficulty in speaking correct Portuguese occasionally attempt to cover up their chagrin by saying that they are *Africanos*, and others, participating in social circles where prestige attaches to the native-born African, may deliberately misstate their origin, the incautious observer may be led erroneously to think that there are a considerable number of Africans still living in Bahia.

[4] "My father and mother were both Africans, thank God!"

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Although it is exceedingly doubtful if there is in Bahia today anyone of African descent who does not speak Portuguese, a few individuals can and on occasion do converse in Nagô. One may also hear Gêge spoken, as well as those languages known locally as "Angola" and "Congo." However, the use of these tongues is very largely confined to the ritual of the *candomblé*, although at times one hears in the homes of blacks the Nagô greeting, "Ô-kú á-sán!" and the parting salutation, "Ôdi-ôlá-ô!" and even conversations in Nagô. Many African words are to be found in the predominantly Portuguese speech of the lower class, a limited number of which have become common to all Bahia and, to some extent, to all Brazil. Approximately three hundred of the latter were noted.

[794] [796] [576] 192

Certain gestures are to be observed among the lower-class blacks which are not common to the general population; for example, the *legua de beiço*, or slight extension of the lower lip when indicating distance (the words accompanying may be "one league," but the sense is much farther); and the *muxóxó*, or pursing of the lips as the lower portion of the face is pushed forward and upward, signifying disdain. Approbation is indicated by touching the tips of the fingers to pursed lips and withdrawing them while making a kissing sound. Silence is compelled by grasping the upper lip with the tips of the fingers. The act of eating is indicated by closing and opening the right hand before the mouth, and the act of drinking by raising the right hand before the face, flexing the three middle digits, and, with thumb and little finger extended, raising and lowering the hand at the wrist. The height of a human being is demonstrated by extending the

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4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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794 In details of lan-
184 guage, ceremonial dress, dance, song and pantheon, these
centers differ from the *candomblés* known as "Congo" or
[178] "Angola," in which Bantú dialects are spoken, Loanda and
Benguela become sacred places, and Tempo and the Angolan
[177] chief Kissimbe are worshiped. They differ also from the
apparently more recently organized *caboclo candomblés*
whose ritual is, in varying degrees from *seita* to *seita*, a
mixture of the rituals of the other cults, together with dances
and a pantheon of Tupi origin, the latter of which includes
Tupan, an important Tupi deity, and Tupinambá, apparent-
ly a personification of the cannibal tribe by that name which
inhabited the Bahian coast at the coming of the Europeans.
[191] The *caboclo candomblés* carry on their ceremonies principally
in Portuguese, with the addition of certain phrases of African
origin, usually much corrupted, which have been picked up
[177] from Gêge-Nagô or Congo-Angola *seitas*, and a few words of
Tupi derivation. Feathers, the bow and arrow, and other
Indian cultural elements enter into their ritual.

794 This borrowing of ceremonial elements on the part of
184 *caboclo* imitators, who in many, if not most, cases have not
been reared in the African tradition, is bitterly resented
178 by the more orthodox and scrupulous *Africanos*, particularly
those of the Gêge-Nagô *seitas*. As a Negro once said, "Si
seja mistura, é bobagem" ("If it's mixed, it's nonsense").
A leader of a Nagô cult once burst out:

> This fellow João da Pedra Preta! What a disgraceful whelp! His forebears, what did they know? Were they brought up in the *seita*, and did they "deixaram o cargo" [will the office of priest] to him? No! He came here from the *sertão* and started a *candomblé*. Picked up a little Gêge, a little Nagô, a little Congo, a little Indian stuff, and so on. A disgraceful mixture!

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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office of priest) to him. He is dedicated to the same *orixá*, Ogun, as was she, and speaks, he claims, "a little of six different African languages: Nagô, Gêge, Ige-chá, Queito, Egba, and Musurumi." He owns "a roomful" of ceremonial costumes, one of which is said to have cost six contos (approximately $360). He considers his task to be that of "doing good" and refuses to deal in black magic, an attitude which has cost him, it is said, "much money."[13] He is godfather to approximately a hundred and fifteen children and is soon to be godfather to nine others who are on the point of receiving the baptismal ceremony. He visits about the Reconcavo, particularly in Cachoeira, exercising his office of *pae de santo*, and is said to have paid similar visits to Rio de Janeiro, Pernambuco, Maranhão, and Pará, in each of which he has "made" several *filhas* and "confirmed" *ogans*.

The *achôgun*, or sacrificer, is an elderly black with a kindly face and snow-white hair. The leader of the drummers, or the *alabê*, a jolly black whose mother (now deceased) was a *mãe de santo* in Cidade de Palha, is very expert with the drums, speaks Nagô, and sings in a high-pitched but rather pleasant voice the African *cantigas*, or ritualistic songs. An *ogan* says of him, proudly, "He knows almost as much about African things as a *pae de santo*."

An elderly Negro woman, who walks haltingly with a cane, attends every ceremony. Younger friends carefully help her to a seat where she can see everything that goes on. Leaning forward on her cane, her intelligent eyes wide open, her face continually breaking into beaming smiles, she joins

[13] An *ogan* of this *seita* says that a *pae de santo* in Itapoan named Gregorio (now deceased) once declined twelve contos (approximately $720) "to make a man mad." This *ogan* knows, however, a *mãe de santo* who, as he says, became angered at the remarks of a young skeptic and "made a *negocio*" (literally a "business"; i.e., black magic) which "drove him mad in two days."

[SALVADOR]

The antagonism of the
/47 cont./ inhabitants of Bahia against the
*563 441 578 829 Spanish merchants is expressed, aside from the manifestations pointed out in another chapter, by the belief that they are responsible for the discrimination that is practiced against colored people in certain recreational clubs. In the trade of textiles and
*563 441 464 petty retail objects, such as the Syrians, Lebanese, Arabs, and Turks carry on in little shops, there are no longer many openings possible for colored people. The Arab merchants accept colored employees to work at the counter in their establishments, but, since these are generally modest family enterprises, their few light descendants of mixed blood or morenos remain in the lower or intermediate strata of the population.

*563 441 464 472 829 In the offices of large export or import firms made up in part of Europeans (Germans, English, Swiss), colored persons are admitted and may obtain positions carrying some responsibility, but they rarely reach the rank of owners. The European merchants, numerous informants say, have the reputation of being liberal with their employees and other colored persons with whom they do business or who collaborate in their activities: harbor services, transport, transit, navigation. A wealthy, dark mulatto merchant states that his transport enterprise works a great deal for large /48/ foreign firms: "The English are particularly pleasant in that they help their colored employees and promote them to the secretariat of management." They often bring them gifts from Europe, invite them to their clubs, and are happy when some of
[191] [186] them speak their language. "The German merchants who had very large firms in Bahia in the old days were very good to their colored assistants; they were very jealous of their language, however, and seemed not to like it at all when a Black spoke German. Some European firms honor their employees, even the Blacks, when they complete 20 or 30 years of service and give them bonuses on
[555] this occasion. But they do not promote them to important posts, sometimes because of their incompetence. The same thing does not happen with Brazilian firms, which are not accessible to colored people."

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

132 241 droughts and unseasonable heavy rains fall upon valuable, and vulnerable, field crops. Moreover, the cultivators of the Uplands are characteristically small farmers without large financial resources, so that the social repercussions of bad weather in this area may be marked.

311 137 [241] Wild Vegetation. Wild vegetation is a significant element in the landscape and an important resource for agricultural production in the Recôncavo. In 13 of the 21 municipios of the region, over 10 per cent of the total area, in 1940, was in mata, or forest, which was used as an agricultural resource.[31] In the southwestern third of the Recôncavo as the accompanying map indicates (Map 14), almost one-fifth of the total area was in this "exploited mata." It is inferred, through the addition of "unused and non-productive" land to the "exploited mata," that well over one-half of the total area of the Recôncavo was in wild vegetation.

137 192 In east-central Bahia three terms are used both colloqiually and professionally to designate the wild vegetation: (1) Mata is used generally to refer to the littoral evergreen forest of the Brazilian east coast. (2) Caatinga refers to the semi-deciduous scrub-forest of the northeastern Brazilian interior. (3) Agreste designates the transitional forest, intermediate in structure and position between the mata and the caatinga.[32]

137 Vegetation Types. The narrow coastal plain of eastern Brazil, from the Rio Paraíba--in eastern Rio de Janeiro state--to central Bahia, bears a heavy evergreen forest or selva.[33] The northern end of this forest belt is the Baía de Todos os Santos. Although the trees are lower and the species somewhat less diverse than in northern Brazil, the littoral forests of the Recôncavo and the Bahian coast farther south are a characteristic variation of the "tropical rain forest."

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 55]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Braxilians SO11

000 25 mm. The upper limit is less definite; humidity as well as rainfall is an important factor in determining the danger of molding. In the sugar cane area, in addition to September rainfall, the precipitation retained from the months preceding September is clearly a factor in soil moisture at harvest time and is thus related to the sugar content and the difficulties of harvesting.

[30]The specific harvest requirements of the crop and the debts of the small farmer combine to force the harvesting and processing--no matter how unfavorable the precipitation.

[113] [31]Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II. Mata as used in the census classification signifies forest in general, and perhaps also savanna. Mata, except in this specific discussion of the utilization of wild vegetation, will be used throughout the study to refer only to the littoral forest.

[127] [32]The map of wild vegetation of the Recôncavo is derived from a private map of Dr. Geraldo C. Pereira Pinto, of the Instituto Agronômico Lêste. The descriptions of the three vegetation types are based upon his classification, but have been expanded and interpreted on the basis of field observations of this study.

[113] [33]Preston E. James, Latin America (New York: The Odyssey Press, 1952), pp. 413, 439.

[192] [34]Sertão is not strictly a vegetation type, for this term is applied also to all that part of the northeastern interior which is sparsely settled and under-developed, even where scrub-forest is not characteristic. In Bahia, however, caatinga and sertão are often used interchangeably to designate both the scrub-forest vegetation and the general area where the scrub-forest is dominant.

[35]Several vegetation maps show an area of tropical savanna as a continuous belt, parallel to the coast of Bahia, in such a position that it should cross the Recôncavo. For example, James, op. cit., p. 413, map 81, "Northeast Brazil Natural Vegetation." This would raise the question of the utilization of these grasslands. However, savanna (campo cerrado) was not observed in the course of the field investigation in the Recôncavo, nor did the botanists or agronomists who were interviewed identify any local vegetation as campo cerrado. A grassland area of very limited size was observed in the northern part of the municipio of Salvador, on extremely sandy soil, but steppe rather than savanna seemed the appropriate term for this almost treeless enclave. Elsewhere in the Recôncavo trees rather than grasses dominate the uncultivated landscape, and the term savanna seems inappropriate.

[36]For a listing of the municípios in each sub-region see Appendix A.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

127 the errors concerned crops of trivial importance, but occasionally the
241 use of such erroneous data would have produced serious misinterpretations. Where this has been the case, it was necessary to estimate a more appropriate figure. Such estimates were developed by inferences from related statistical data supported by observations in the field. The procedures which were employed are illustrated in full in Appendix D through a detailed analysis of the data (for manioc) which were most thoroughly modified in this fashion. Wherever modified, rather than official data have been used in the text, the official data and the basis of modification have been indicated in a footnote or in the appendix.

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241 Crops and Animals of the Recôncavo. A very large number of crops
433 are known to the agriculturalists of the Recôncavo, but the number of important crops is small. It is convenient to divide these into three groups--basic subsistence crops, basic commercial crops, and supplementary (minor subsistence and commercial) crops. As will be seen, many subsistence crops have their commercial importance, but the present concern
241 is only with a broad grouping. The crops of the Recôncavo are listed
433 below, together with their local names and the area of their cultivation
192 in 1948:

Basic Subsistence Crops:		
Manioc or Cassava (Mandioca)	22,472	hectares
Corn (Milho)	9,679	"
Beans (Feijão)	7,034	"
Bananas (Banana)	1,069	"
Peanuts (Amendoim)	550	"
Sweet Potatoes (Batata doce)	344	"
Basic Commercial Crops:		
Tobacco (Fumo)	21,886	"
Sugar Cane (Cana de Açúcar)	11,695	"
Coffee (Café)	2,941	"
Orange (Laranja)	1,116	"
Coconut (Côco)	876	"

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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Supplementary Crops
(Subsistence and Commercial):

Pineapple (Abacaxi)	168	hectares
Rice (Arroz)	61	"
Tomatoes (Tomate)	46	"
White Potatoes (Batata inglêsa)	44	"
Cotton (Algodão)	40	"
Onions (Cebola)	14	"
Garlic (Alho)	5	"
Green or Snap Beans (Fava)	4	"

241 311 On the basis of the above figures, the total cultivated land in the Recôncavo in 1948 was about 80,000 hectares. In addition to the above, 245 there are a number of tree crops, not cultivated in the true sense, which are important in the agricultural complex. More often than not these "crops" are of spontaneous origin.

[192]

African Oil Palm (Dendê)
Mango (Manga)
Jack Fruit (Jaca)
Cashew (Caju)
Bread Fruit (Fruta de pão)

231 The following animals are important in the livestock economy of the Recôncavo:

[192]

Cattle (Bovinos)
Cows (Vacas)
Oxen (Bois de trabalho)
Sheep (Ovinos)
Goats (Caprinos)
Swine (Suinos)
Donkeys (Asininos or Burros)
Mules (Muares)
Horses (Equinos or Cavalos)

These animals will be discussed in the chapter on animal industry (Chapter VII).

244 Manioc. Manioc was one of the most important cultivated plants which the Portuguese colonists borrowed from the Indians of Brazil. [175] Flour made from the manioc root, farinha de mandioca, was the basic [262] subsistence food of the colonial sugar economy and remains today the [178] [565] principal element of the diet of much of the Brazilian lower class. 006 Manioc production is most notable along the coast of Brazil, from the

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Usina]

the factory is undergoing a reformation which will raise its capacity to over one hundred thousand sacks, and the legal capacity will be readjusted. 249* 433

Usina São Pedro, although the smallest, is representative of the others and experiences the same problems and difficulties. It differs from some in that it is a family enterprise. The stockholders are nearly all members of the Conde family, and the operations are directed by two members of the family. The factory itself was one of the three built by the state government in 1900 on land controlled by the Navy,[5] on the edge of the Bay, which provides excellent year-round transportation facilities. The mill was acquired in 1909 by the Conde family with two plantations, to which the family has since added four other contiguous plantations. The corporation has a total area of slightly over four thousand acres, mostly of rich massapê soil. The factory receives cane from the plantation of Dona Sinhá, who is also a member of the Conde family by birth and by marriage. It also gets cane from four other plantations within the community and four outside the community, which send their cane by the traditional sailboat. In addition, the factory owns a 2,324-acre plantation in the county of Purificação which is used for grazing and raising cattle and for supplying wood for the factory fires. There is direct water transportation between the factory and the plantation in Purificação. 249* 473 [653] [423] 249* [602] [423] [505]

The designation usina has several meanings which are quite similar to the meanings of the older term, engenho. In its larger context, usina means the entire land-factory combination, including the mill and all the plantations belonging to the corporation. More specifically, usina means the factory building itself. In another context, usina simply indicates the population nucleus, including the factory, the owner's house, and the other buildings. 249* 192

The usina or factory nucleus roughly follows the same settlement pattern of the old plantations. The point of orientation is the factory building, near which stand the chalet and other homes of the owning family, which are grouped together in a park of royal palms and mango trees. Usually a small chapel or oratory is included in one wing of the chalet, where 249* 361 [178]

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5. The shoreline bordering salt water is controlled to the depth of 33 meters by the Brazilian Navy. [311]

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

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plaint about African deities is the amount of work involved and 787
the great expense entailed by making the proper clothes and 177
buying the beads and bracelets. All leaders say that no one can afford traditional spirits these days. Those who had formerly had them, of course, still do, but have also been visited by Indian spirits which they much prefer. So they carry out the more fundamental obligations toward the African 794
spirits, such as providing food and drink, but they dress and 178
dance for their Indian spirits. The result has been a confusion of rituals--the use of African music and incantations and 177
the addition of new dances, costumes, and foods appropriate [782]
for the simpler tastes of the Indian spirits.

The cult houses (terreiros) are built like other houses in 794
the community. The active one in town is located on a street
in line with all the other houses, while that on the plantation 346
is set slightly apart from the others, because of the scattered 353
configuration of the village. The front room, which is the
largest, is usually bare except for a few long wooden benches and a small altar with pictures of the patron saints of the [361]
cult leader and of several of the cult members. This room is [352]
decorated with crepe paper streamers and paper flowers; the dances are held here. The other rooms of the house consist of a bedroom, a dining room, a kitchen, and another room known as the pegi, which houses the African altar with its plants and leaves, dishes, bottles, cups, and glasses of food and drink for the spirits, as well as the symbol of each one of them, such as a spade, a sword, or a hatchet. In this room there is also usually a trunk containing the ceremonial paraphernalia used during the festivities, such as the dress and
headdress of each spirit. This is the room in which sacri- [782]
ficial killings (matanças) are made of the goats and chickens used during the ceremonies. In the rural house there are also pictures of Catholic saints in the pegi, another departure from the older traditional houses where such a thing would never occur.

The cult leader lives in the cult house. In the literature on 793
candomblé the cult leader is usually referred to as the mae, 794
or pai, de santo, which means literally "mother (or father) 192
of the saints." None of the cult leaders in Vila Recôncavo likes [346]
this term; they say they could not possibly be the mother or father of the divine beings. They consider themselves rather
zeladores, that is, caretakers of the saints on earth. There is 794
much the same complaint about the term filha, or filho, de 192

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192 santo, which means literally "daughter (or son) of the saint." They prefer to refer to a person as "having a saint" (tem santo) which indicates that he has an obligation toward one of the saints and becomes possessed by him. In ordinary speech the word "saint" is used, but once the person has "made his saint" --that is, has gone through the preparatory rites and has learned the cries and dances of the divinity and how to care for him properly--it is said that the person has Ômolú, or Sete Estrelas (Seven Stars).

[787]

794 Because most of the women, and the few men in the cults, cannot spend a year segregated in the cult house in order to "make their saint," they continue for many years in the half-
787 way condition of someone who "has a saint but has not yet
776 made the saint." This means that the person has experienced possession, and that it has been determined by the zelador that he is under obligation to a certain saint and is in the process of "making the saint." During this period of simply "having the saint," the person has to carry out certain duties such as feeding the saint, making the proper clothes, and buying the beads and other outer symbols of the deity which are to be used during the ceremonies. This involves considerable expenditure. The clothes are always made of silk, since nothing is too good for the saint. Today, lipstick, perfume, and cheap jewelry are competing for the few extra cents the girls have, so that it takes longer and longer to get the necessary items together. During this period, the obligations of dancing and possession are less strenuous. In the case of the Indian spirits, the deity often speaks through the person after one or two possessions, and this is taken to mean that the spirit is firmly upon the person and may be considered "made." In this fashion much arduous work is avoided, as well as considerable expense. This is a major reason for the growing popularity of the Indian saints, in addition to the fact that they are gayer.

[511]

794 The drummers also like Indian saints, for, after they have danced, the Indian spirits usually take up a collection which
533 is presented to the drummers for having played so well for
[465] them. The drummers are drawn from men whose wives parti-
[776] cipate in the activities, or else they are men who are interested in the proceedings and who like to drum. They learn the drumming early in their lives, listening to it as children when they go to watch the ceremonies. On nights when the drums are playing it is impossible for anyone not to hear the impos-

3: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1963
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Vila Recôncavo

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In the Recôncavo three race stocks are recognized: the white, the Negro and the Indian. A white is called a *branco*. The term *negro* is rarely used to denote a person of African descent. Rather such a person is called *homem de côr* (man of colour). *Negro* is used abstractly to denote the Negro race, but is almost never used to single out an individual. *Nego* (a softened variation of the word *negro*) may frequently be used as a term of endearment, even among whites, and sometimes as a nickname. When the *bahiano* of the Recôncavo speaks of *índio*, he usually thinks of the Indian of the interior of Mato Grosso or of the Amazon. When he wishes to indicate people of American Indian physical type in the Recôncavo, he generally says *caboclo*.

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Yet even the whites are sub-classified, being divided into two categories, the *louro* (blond) and the *moreno* (brunet). There is still a third term for people with Caucasoid physical characteristics, but one which is used only by those who are considered 'pure' white—namely, *branco da terra*. A *branco da terra* is someone who is phenotypically white—that is, who has the physical characteristics of a Caucasoid: fair skin, fine features and 'good' (meaning *straight*) hair—but whose ancestry had Negro blood. He or she is generally *moreno*, and is frequently characterized by a slightly yellowish tinge to the skin. The *branco da terra* sometimes also shows traces of *caboclo* blood as well as of Negro and white blood. In Vila Recôncavo, the 'pure' white man may refer to such a person as a *branco da terra*, but ordinarily will call him or her a *branco*. To the majority of the population, the *branco da terra* is always called white, and no one would ever call anyone a *branco da terra* to his face. He is accorded the same treatment as a white by both whites and non-whites, and there is no constraint on anyone's part.

In classifying people, if skin colour is an important factor, hair form is equally important. If there is any question as to what to call a person, the hair is generally the deciding criterion. After skin and hair, facial features (prognathism, nose shape and thickness of lips) are considered. The many designations used in Vila Recôncavo for the people of Negroid or mixed ancestry can be broken down roughly into the following types in terms of these various criteria:

1. The *preto* or *preto retinto* (black) has black shiny skin, kinky, woolly hair, thick lips and a flat, broad nose. The *pretos* distinguish among themselves, and will rank themselves according to minute differences in 'quality' of skin colour, nose form, etc. The *preto* with the most '*qualidade*' is the farthest from the usual concept of a Negro, and yet still a black. He is a 'prettier' black.
2. The *cabra* (male) and *cabrocha* (female) are generally slightly lighter than the *preto*, with hair growing somewhat longer, but still kinky and unmanageable, facial features somewhat less Negroid, although often with fairly thick lips and flat nose.

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The *cabra* and *cabrocha* generally lack the definite features and shine of the *preto*.

3. The *cabo verde* is slightly lighter than the *preto*, but still very dark. The *cabo verde*, however, has long straight hair, and his facial features are apt to be very fine, with thin lips and a narrow straight nose. He is almost a 'black white man'.
4. The *escuro*, or simply 'dark man', is darker than the usual run of *mestiços*, but the term is generally applied to a person who does not fit into one of the three types mentioned above. The *escuro* is almost a Negro with Caucasoid features. He generally has *qualidade*. *Escuro* is a very useful term for the outsider in the Recôncavo.
5. The *mulato* is a category always divided into two types, the *mulato escuro* and *mulato claro* (dark and light mulattoes). The *mulato* has hair which grows perhaps to shoulder length, but which has a decided curl and even kink. It can, however, be straightened. The *mulato's* facial features vary widely; thick lips with a narrow nose, or vice-versa. As a rule, the features are thicker than the *branco's* and thinner than the *preto's*. The *mulato* is generally distinguishable by a yellowish tinge to his skin colour, which is more accentuated than that of the *branco da terra*. His skin colour varies from very light to very dark. A *mulato claro*, with straightened hair, thin lips and a 'good' nose is very much like the *branco da terra*.
6. *Pardo* is a term not often used in speech. It is one of the official classifications used in the census and on identification papers. However, it is used occasionally to describe an individual who is closer to the white than a *mulato claro*. Occasionally *mestiço* children are described as *pardo*, before their features become distinctive enough to fit them definitely into one of the other groups. In one case, a little girl of three was called *parda* by her mother. The girl lives with her godfather, who is a *branco da terra*. He lists the girl as white, since her skin is very light and her hair is growing long and only slightly wavy. But her mother says she is a *parda*, because she knows that 'her hair may curl up any day, which would make her a *mulata clara*'.
7. The *sarará* is not difficult to distinguish. He has very light skin, and hair which is reddish or blondish but kinky or curled. His hair is described as *duro*, or hard. His facial features are extremely varied, even more so than the *mulato's*. There are *sararás* who would 'pass' for white in the United States, but more often the *sarará* has a curious appearance; skin which is neither dark nor light, frequently freckled, eyes with a greenish-blue cast and hair which bleaches easily in the sun. In Vila Recôncavo, the *sarará* is usually found among fishermen and those living on the islands. It is difficult to see a person of this physical type without a good sun-tan and bleached hair.

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8. The *moreno* has excellent skin, fine-textured and smooth. He is light-skinned but not white. He has dark hair, which is long and either wavy or curly. It is manageable and does not need straightening. His features are much more Caucasoid than Negroid. Here again we can distinguish between the dark and light *morenos*. Also we must distinguish between the *moreno mulato*, and the *moreno* of the white families—the *moreno branco*. *Moreno*, as used regarding the 'white', distinguishes the brunet from the blond of the same group.

Few people fit any of these 'racial' types 100 per cent. When someone comes very close to being a perfect *preto*—that is, has all the characteristics of the *preto*—people call him *bem preto* or *bem pretinho* (really black). The same is true of the *sarará*—*bem sarará*, or of the *moreno*, who will be called *bem moreninho* or *moreno fino*. It is just as difficult to find the perfect type for the other classifications, because there are so many variations. Often an individual is of one physical type, but has one or more characteristics of another type. For instance, one young man in Vila Recôncavo has the characteristics of an *escuro*, but since most people like him they prefer to think of him as *moreno*. He has fine skin and thin facial features, but tight kinky hair. People generally refer to him as *moreno*, adding '*mas êle tem cabelo ruim*' (but he has poor hair). One frequently hears 'he is *mulato*, but very light'. These verbal descriptions paint a vivid picture of the person in question. In Vila Recôncavo, it is not simply a matter of black and white, but of all the shades in between.

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A term of classification not listed above, *caboclo*, presents something of a special case. As mentioned earlier, most people with Amerindian physical traits have come into the Recôncavo from the *sertão* during the dry spells in the North. Considering the length of time that people of the North have been periodically coming into the Recôncavo, comparatively few have remained. Nevertheless, the population of Vila Recôncavo has a considerable *caboclo* element—that is, of people with a reddish or bronze tinge to their skin colour, more prominent cheek bones than the African or white elements, and a tendency toward almond-shaped eyes. However, few people in Vila Recôncavo bearing these marks are called *caboclos*. They are classified instead in the local terms listed above, ignoring Indian traits. In Vila Recôncavo, there is a certain dispraisal of the *caboclo*. He is considered less civilized than the resident of the Recôncavo, though often known as a better worker, more ambitious, trustworthy, more frugal; also less genial than the easy-going person of the Recôncavo. In the rural area of Vila Recôncavo, each year many *caboclo* men come to the plantations to work during harvest time. For the most part they stay together, away from the *morador*, or resident worker of the plantation. The plantations construct a type of barracks to accommodate these men, who do

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industrialized cities at least, these intermediate ranks have developed into a definite middle class.

The so-called "traditional" families, who for so long virtually constituted almost the entire upper class, still play an important role in industrial, commercial, intellectual, and political activities; but although they perhaps were never a completely closed unit, they now are having to accept into their ranks as never before an increasing number of persons who have risen from the intermediate tiers by reason of occupational or educational achievement, acquired wealth, or political influence.

Brazil is thus in process of transition from a predominantly rural, agricultural and pastoral society, with a rather rigid class system, to an urban and industrialized society, where class lines are somewhat less important, and other elements of the economic, political and sociological structures are changing. There is a considerable degree of fluidity, in the midst of which the high value formerly placed upon primary relations, particularly the intimate attachments of members of large kinship, godparent or friendship groups, upon exclusiveness toward groups outside those of immediate personal contact, upon class membership, and upon loyalty is giving away, and new values are emerging. These changes are so extensive that Charles Wagley (1960a) has referred to them as "the Brazilian revolution."

Owing also to the complex and rather subtle character of the Brazilian racial situation, its analysis is not an easy or simple procedure. Regarding the fact that this differs from that in the United States there is no disagreement. But there is disagreement regarding the character of this difference, its extent, and the circumstances which produced it.

A sizable obstacle to analyzing this situation, and also to making it intelligible to persons in the United States, is a

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confusion over terms, particularly those whose form is identical but whose meaning varies in the two situations. So powerful is the grip of habit over the mind that the connotation of a word in our own culture tends automatically to be carried over into our thinking about an apparent referent elsewhere, even though we may be aware of the difference in meaning. This is particularly true of the general public; but it is also true to some extent of specialists and occurs even in spite of their normal caution.

The simple use of the term "Negro," for instance, when describing the Bahian racial situation, automatically conveys to many persons United States meanings from which it is difficult to escape (cf. E. Franklin Frazier 1942:465). Moreover, the unwarranted assumption on the part of those who use the English language, or who are familiar with it, that the Brazilian term "prêto" can be translated by "Negro," and "branco" by "white," adds to the confusion.

These terms are not interchangeable. In the United States "white" means "of undiluted Caucasian descent"; but in Brazil "branco" can mean "a predominantly white person, no matter what his racial origin," including thousands of light mixed-bloods and, in the case of prestige-bearing individuals, darker mixed-bloods and even an occasional black; or it can mean, at times, merely "a person of prestige" or simply "my friend." On the other hand, "Negro" in the United States means "anyone descended in any degree from an African, *including all mixed-bloods*" (provided origin is known); while "prêto" in Brazil may mean "a person with noticeably Negroid traits" or, at times, merely "a person of low status"[4] or simply "a personal enemy."

[4] Particularly revealing in this respect is an incident witnessed in Sergipe by Felte Bezerra (1950:252). On the beach at a seaside town a

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"Branco" and "prêto" are, therefore, first of all, categories of *physical appearance* rather than of race, so that a child will not necessarily be identified with the same "race" as one, or even both, of his parents. These terms also are categories of *social position*, so that rising in rank can take a colored person out of the colored category, a fact observed long ago at Recife by "the careful Koster," as Sir Richard Burton called him (see p. 219 of this book). These and similar terms employed in Brazil are descriptive not only of racial descent but of other and more important (to local individuals) phenomena; and, even more significantly, as we (1955:434) and others have pointed out, the use of these terms *varies with individuals*, in keeping with varying personal relationships, and also with the *same* individual at different times, in keeping with different moods or other circumstances.

In the United States one ordinarily hears only two terms being employed regularly in this connection: "Negro" and "white." "Mulatto" also is used but less often, as are certain other terms in popular speech. Nevertheless, as far as the behavior of the superordinate group is concerned, the principal terms are two; and all persons will be classified with reference to these two categories and behavior will be oriented in keeping with that classification.

In Brazil, on the other hand, the situation is quite different; for one thing, there exists a whole series of what at

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group of persons from the lower class were engaged in a folk dance, accompanied by singing, known as *cururu*. Although composed largely (but not exclusively) of colored persons, this group was led by a lower-class white. Approaching several other persons nearby, who were spending their vacation at the seaside, and asking if they would like his group to sing and dance where they could be seen and heard more easily, the white leader referred to himself and to the other members of his group as "Nois prêtos" (We blacks).

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first sight appears to be racial terms. "It is not simply a matter of black and white," Harry W. Hutchinson (1957: 120) has observed, "but of all the shades in between." In 1935, without making any particular effort, we set down at Bahia twenty terms being used to describe the different "colors" (135–40 and elsewhere in this book); and, in 1951, Thales de Azevedo (1955a:25–32) recorded a considerable number being used at that time in Bahia. In 1951 also, Hutchinson (1963) noted, according to our calculation, twenty-one of these terms in the old plantation area near the city; Marvin Harris (1963) recorded nine at Minas Velhas, also in the Bahian interior; and Ben Zimmerman (1963), fifteen at Monte Serrat in another part of the State. More recently after setting out to track down all such terms, Harris and Kottak (203n) reported thirty-nine (according to our reckoning) in common use at the fishing village of Arembepe on the Bahian coast. Manuel Diégues Júnior (1956:74–76) mentions twenty-four terms employed for mixed-bloods, alone, in various parts of Brazil, only five of which are referred to by any of these investigators.

To refer, then, to persons of African descent in Brazil as "Negroes," as some investigators from the United States and also some writers in Brazil tend to do, distorts the "picture"; and to refer to the vast range of Negro-European mixed-bloods as "mulattoes," as some of these writers also do, is equally an erroneous procedure. At the same time, this series of terms is highly significant for an analysis of the Brazilian racial situation, particularly in indicating some of its differences from those in South Africa and the United States.

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What, then, is the meaning, as far as actual behavior is concerned, of this extensive series of what appears to be

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plex and need further study. If the discrimination turns out to be due only (or largely) to color, it will in most cases be because color is one of the criteria of rank. However, nowhere in Brazil is it supported by public opinion. On the contrary, it receives severe and widespread condemnation, in press and elsewhere, and legislators hasten to pass laws bringing it under repressive legal sanction. In other words, public opinion and public action invariably are *in favor of*—never against—the darker portion of the population.

7. Nevertheless, in any conflict situation, the lack of one of the determinants of status—namely, light color—*just as any other lack*, may be seized upon, to a person's disadvantage, by competitors.

8. Numerous common sayings regarding Africans and their descendants (cf. pp. 362–65 of this book) which originated during the slave epoch, and which long ago lost all, or most, of their function as stereotypes (cf. Florestan Fernandes 1959:328), occasionally are employed by brancos but ordinarily with a smile and in a humorous manner and when colored persons are not present. Moreover, actual behavior tends to belie these common sayings; and they are even used in jocular fashion by colored persons themselves. Nevertheless, they are remnants of a superordinate-subordinate relationship in a former caste order and, as such, constitute threats to status in possible conflict situations, and also potential aids to the development of group-consciousness.

To these hypotheses, there might be added the following one, suggested by Wagley (1963b:154):

9. "The ability of 'people of color' to improve their status . . . varies considerably from community to community according to the possibilities open to them."

Wagley's further statement that "rural Brazilian society

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563 grew up during slavery, and no circumstance has subsequently arisen to change it. In the United States, on the other hand, the spread of contraceptive practices[35] and the increasing race consciousness of the Negro have led to a decided decrease in miscegenation. Traditional behavior in Bahia is, in this respect as in many others, well defined. The sanction of custom has become, as it always does eventually in any case, moral sanction.

563 583 Race mixture is further favored in Bahia today by the widespread custom of *mancebia*,[36] or those conjugal unions outside marriage in which there is some degree of permanency. In many cases the women involved are mulattoes, rarely blacks. The man agrees to pay for rent and food; the woman, to care for the house and children. The man may have, at the same time, a legal family, although informal unions are often entered into by young men previous to marriage.

563 826 Miscegenation is also favored in Bahia today by the prestige which ordinarily attaches to the so-called "whiter" child. Dark mothers who bear "whiter" children consider themselves especially favored and are so looked upon by their immediate associates. A black mother proudly showed her light child and said, "Estou limpando a minha raça" ("I am cleansing [i.e., I am 'whitening'] my race"). One also

[164] [554] [882] [35] In Bahia there is not the fear of venereal disease common to this country. Its contraction is regarded by young men as an indication of sexual coming-of-age and perhaps enhances their prestige among their associates (cf. Freyre, *op. cit.*, pp. 49 ff.).

[193] [192] [36] This term is used only in more polite conversation. The woman involved is called *mancebo*, the verb is *mancebar*, and the participle *mancebado*. The popular expression, however, is *amasia*, or *amiga* (the feminine form of "friend"), or *amante*, or *comboso*, for the woman; the verb is *amasiar* or *amigar*, the participle *amasiado* or *amigado*.

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*563 tween the races, serving at once as a symbol and as a means of white-Negro union. When, as often happens, marriage occurs between a *branco* and a *morena* some of whose ancestors were Africans, the resulting offspring obviously make it more difficult for white fathers to consider African blood prejudicial—an attitude intensified in the new generation, which actually possesses some African blood.

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TABLE 7

PROBABLE ETHNIC ORIGIN OF THE FIRST FIVE HUNDRED WOMEN CLASSIFIED AS *Morenas* IN THE FILES OF THE GABINETE DE IDENTIFICAÇÃO, BAHIA, 1936

Probability	Number	Per Cent
Whites	131	26.2
Mulattoes	308	61.6
White-Indian mixed-bloods	28	5.6
Negro-Indian mixed-bloods	15	3.0
Negro-White-Indian mixed-bloods	18	3.6
Total	500	100.0

*563 The term "Negro" is seldom heard in Bahia. It is a *palavra pesada*, a harsh, even offensive, term. Its actual meaning is "African," i.e., "foreigner." In this respect it is a term somewhat similar to "Wop," "Dago," "Sheeny," "Greaser." It also implies slave status and hence calls up memories of the harsher aspects of slavery of which the blacks do not like to talk and the whites are ashamed. Its use is therefore "not good form," and one hears it ordinarily employed only in anger, as an epithet. If otherwise used, it must be "with a smile." *Mulato* is coming to have a somewhat similar connotation, and, as a white Bahian put it, "the better people are beginning to use *moreno* instead."

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At the same time, *meu negro* ("my Negro"), with its variation *meu nego*[16] and diminutive *meu negrinho*, all spoken in soft tones, are terms of endearment used even by whites in speaking to other whites, especially in cases of great intimacy as, for instance, between lovers. Their use constitutes, as a Bahian put it, "um modo de tratar bem" ("a way of being nice"). Occasionally one hears these expressions on the lips of a beggar asking alms of a white and, if he appears well to do, of a mulatto as well. Clerks sometimes employ them in addressing a customer. They appear to call up tender memories of intimate, personal relations like those existent, for example, between Mammy and Scarlett O'Hara in Margaret Mitchell's *Gone with the Wind*.

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The term *branco da Bahia* ("Bahian white") is also heard, although it is ordinarily employed *outside* Bahia. It has reference to the local custom of including many light mixed-bloods in the *branco* category. The phrase *branco por procuração* ("white by proxy") is occasionally used in Bahia but never when speaking to such an individual directly or in his presence. Light mixed-bloods are sometimes referred to as *bem areiadas* ("well sandpapered"); very dark young Negro boys as *pregos* ("nails"); very dark blacks as *pretos retintos* (literally "black blacks," or "black as coal"), and *reclames do pixe* (literally "shouts of tar," i.e., "black as pitch"). The phrase *ele tem genipapo* refers to the possession of *manchas*, as previously noted. Of a person who shows slight traces of Negro ancestry, it is said, "Ele tem dedo na cozinha" ("He has a finger in the kitchen"). Additional descriptive words or phrases include: *de côr escura* ("of dark color"), *de côr*

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[16] The feminine forms are *minha negra*, *minha nega*, and *minha negrinha*. [193]

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morena, de côr branca, de côr parda, de côr preta, mestiço ("mixed-blood"), and *moleque*.[57]

In the Bahian interior four categories are in common use: *branco, moreno, roxo* ("purple"),[58] and *preto*. *Pardo, mulato*, and *negro* are seldom employed. Occasionally, *curiboca* is used in referring to a cross between a *preto* and an Indian.

Indicative of the (as yet) somewhat indeterminate character of these categories are the variations in meaning which several of these terms seem to have for different individuals. For example, *moreno*, an upper-class lady of European descent said, "might for all practical purposes be considered as identical with *branco*," an opinion concurred in by numerous other individuals from the upper class. But a lower-class *preto* thought of *moreno* as "almost identical with *pardo*"; a lower-class *parda* considered a *moreno* more negroid than a *pardo;* while other individuals made a distinction between two classes of *morenos: morenos claros* ("light *morenos*"), and *morenos escuros* ("dark *morenos*").

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In classifying a given individual, hair texture is much more important than color of skin. One often hears in Bahia the expression, "Ele é um pouco escuro, mas o cabello é bom" ("He is a bit dark, but his hair is good").

[57] Also spelled *muleque*. The word is of African origin and was originally used to refer, as we have seen, to a small Negro boy. It is now occasionally employed in Bahia, without regard to color, in the sense of "street urchin."

[58] The purple tinge of the skin of black individuals under the bright rays of the tropical sun is probably responsible for this expression.

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been persistently characteristic of Brazilian society. Out of the traditional behavior which developed in response to the circumstances and conditions of colonial life emerged an informal racial policy, or racial ideology, which has served as a philosophy underlying and giving consistency to the mores, appearing only when they are challenged from without and individuals seek to rationalize and defend their customary conduct. A Bahian school girl of white parentage put this informal policy into words when she remarked: "Race mixture is an inevitable thing. We Brazilians are becoming one single people."

Thus in Bahia the black and the white do not stand over against each other as irreducible ethnic groups, differing not only in appearance, which is obvious, but also in kind, and fated ever to remain separate and distinct. Such inferiority as at present exists is not thought of as racial and permanent but rather as cultural and temporary, and already well on the way to extinction. Every citizen is considered first of all a Brazilian, and every Brazilian takes pride in all other nationals, irrespective of racial origin. Distinctions are secondary. In this connection one ought perhaps to point out that the widespread web of personal relationships in Bahia tends to make a man or woman not so much a member of a category (e.g., a Negro or a mulatto) as an individual (João or Maria).

Even for individuals beyond the range of intimate personal relationships racial terms are seldom used in Bahia. To call a colored man in his hearing a "Negro" or a "mulatto" is not "good form." These terms are used to a man's face only when one is enraged or otherwise desirous of giving offense. It is, as we have noted, like calling an Italian immigrant a "Wop" or a Mexican a "Greaser." These terms em-

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phasize the alien character of the individual's origin. Thus, if a Bahian wishes to be particularly insulting, he will aggravate the sting of "Negro" by adding to it *de Africa* ("from Africa"). In this way he doubly accentuates his reference to the foreign origin of a black.

Although it is true that dark color, as we have seen, is ordinarily identified with lower status and white color with upper-class position, rising in class tends to take a man out of even the color category. For instance, a white Bahian remarked of an upper-class mulatto, "I would hesitate to call him a *pardo*, although he plainly is one; some of his friends might overhear me." For use in such cases, *moreno* is the term "mais elegante."

As early as the imperial period the title of *capitão-mor*, we are told, "whitened even dark mulattoes."[41] Thus, in the second decade of the nineteenth century, the Englishman, Henry Koster, on referring, in a conversation with a citizen of Pernambuco, to the fact that a mulatto was occupying the local office of *capitão-mor*, was told the man in question was not a mulatto. Insisting that he undoubtedly appeared to the eyes to be a mulatto, Koster received the rather unexpected reply, "He used to be a mulatto, but he is not now. For how can a *capitão-mor* be a mulatto?"[42]

Under such circumstances racial consciousness tends to be reduced to a minimum. For if the individual can with rela-

[41] Gilberto Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos* (São Paulo, 1936), p. 318.

[42] "In conversing on one occasion with a man of color who was in my service, I asked if a certain Capitam-mor was not a mulatto man; he answered, 'he was, but is not now (era; porem já nam he).' I begged him to explain, when he added, 'Can a Capitam-mor be a mulatto man (pois Senhor Capitam-mor pode ser mulato)?'" (Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil, 1809 to 1815* [Philadelphia, 1817], II, 175–76). Note reference to this incident in Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro*, p. 153, and in Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 318.

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tive case escape identification with a group into which he has been born, not only so far as race is concerned but even to some extent color as well, and if there is little attempt on the part of other persons to treat him differently merely because some of his ancestors were of different ethnic origin, "we-group" and "others-group" will delay in arising as objects in his experience; or, having arisen, will tend to be vague and inchoate entities, not vivid, clear cut, and sharply defined.

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Few colored intellectuals in Bahia are at all interested in studying and writing about the Negro; and, of those who are, such as the *preto* João da Silva Campos and the *pardos* Edison Carneiro and João Varella, their interest lies rather in the *Africano*, in his customs and traditions, and especially in those survivals of African culture still extant among descendants of imported slaves.

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There is no tendency to dignify the term "Negro" as there is among race-conscious Negroes in the United States. In fact, as we have already seen, "Negro" is a term rarely used either by blacks or by whites. When on occasion it is employed, no Bahian colored man, unless by chance he has been in the United States or in communication with American Negroes, is at all concerned about spelling it with a capital *N*. Nor does he resent the word *ama* ("mammy").

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This is not to say, however, that the blacks and the mixed-bloods are completely satisfied with their lot and that they utter no protest against the fate which has made the white man largely superordinate both economically and socially. On the contrary, the lower-class Negro often conceives of himself as mistreated and misunderstood.

There are, in this respect, two classes of blacks in Bahia: (1) those who are aware of, and articulate about, the race

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191. Although it is exceedingly doubtful if there is in Bahia today anyone of African descent who does not speak Portuguese, a few individuals can and on occasion do converse in Nagô. One may also hear Gêge spoken, as well as those lan-
[794] guages known locally as "Angola" and "Congo." However,
[796] the use of these tongues is very largely confined to the ritual
[576] of the *candomblé*, although at times one hears in the homes of blacks the Nagô greeting, "Ô-kú á-sán!" and the parting salutation, "Ôdi-ôlá-ô!" and even conversations in Nagô.
• 192 Many African words are to be found in the predominantly Portuguese speech of the lower class, a limited number of which have become common to all Bahia and, to some extent, to all Brazil. Approximately three hundred of the latter were noted.

201 Certain gestures are to be observed among the lower-class
565 blacks which are not common to the general population; for example, the *legua de beiço*, or slight extension of the lower lip when indicating distance (the words accompanying may be "one league," but the sense is much farther); and the *muxóxó*, or pursing of the lips as the lower portion of the face is pushed forward and upward, signifying disdain. Approbation is indicated by touching the tips of the fingers to pursed lips and withdrawing them while making a kissing sound. Silence is compelled by grasping the upper lip with the tips of the fingers. The act of eating is indicated by closing and opening the right hand before the mouth, and the act of drinking by raising the right hand before the face, flexing the three middle digits, and, with thumb and little finger extended, raising and lowering the hand at the wrist. The height of a human being is demonstrated by extending the

[SALVADOR]

/9/ The Ethnic Types of Bahia

361 Bahia owes its reputation, not only to its privileged location
*563 on the shores of a magnificent bay and to its churches of an ornate
633 rococo style, but also, to a certain degree, to the excellent relations that exist in the heart of its motley population between people of different color. Stephan Zweig drew a very vivid picture
633 of Bahia and its ancient traditions. For him, Brazil began with
*563 this city, and not only Brazil, but also South America. "In this city was erected the first pier of the vast bridge thrown across the Atlantic; in it has originated, through the combination of European, African, and American material, the new mixture that is fermenting so actively at the present time (1)."

[113] 1. Stephan Zweig, Brazil, País do Futuro /Brazil, Land of the Future/, trans. by Gallotti, Rio de Janeiro, 1941, p. 275.

175 From its founding under the official name of Cidade do
633 Salvador, Bahia began to be known for its wealth, which it owed
[103] to the sugar produced by its fazendas (2)
[249]
•[192]

2. Plantations.

and its engenhos (3).

3. Sugar mills.

[796] It was also renowned for the magnificence of the worship in its
[363] numerous churches, for the religious processions that passed through its narrow, climbing streets, and for the traditions, so typically Portuguese, of its inhabitants. Center of importation
[567] of African slaves, Bahia was also famous for the large proportion
[167] of Blacks in its population, to the point that foreign travelers of
[162] the colonial period speak of this city as a "new Guinea" (4).

[113] 4. M. Frezier, Relation du voyage de la mer du Sud aux côtes du Chili et du Pérou fait pendant les années 1712, 1713 and 1714 /Account of the

[SALVADOR]

/10 cont./

*563 826 In order to understand the composition of the local population and to interpret correctly the demographic statistics of Bahia, ancient and modern, it is necessary to be well acquainted with the meaning of the terms that serve to designate the different physical types brought together in its vast melting pot. The most common expressions are branco, preto, mulato, pardo, moreno, and caboclo, which one may translate as: White, Black, mulatto (1). [192]

[192] [128] 1. There are no common French terms to designate the terms pardo, moreno, caboclo, the explanation of which is given farther on. We shall therefore leave them in their Brazilian form in these pages.

[829] These terms seemingly designate definite physical types; in reality, their meaning is inspired much more by the social context than by racial characteristics such as the color of the skin, the hair, and the shape of the face.

*563 827 829 565 In a general way Whites are individuals of white phenotype; very tall persons with light eyes and with hair likewise light and fine are often called brancos finos (fine Whites) because they do show any signs of mixture with colored types. Nevertheless individuals who are wealthy and of high rank, whatever their appearance, may very well be called Whites. When one hears a person of humble station, a servant or agricultural worker, call a superior "my White," one is sometimes surprised to discover that the person to whom the title is addressed has a very dark complexion. The stevedores and porters, who are almost all black, indiscriminately call Whites and mulattoes of prosperous appearance "my White." The common people never cease saying that "the one who has money is White."

A colored sociologist says that "a Brazilian Black can become white to the extent that he rises economically and acquires the attitude of the upper groups." Assignment to an upper social class in Brazil is based more on the culture or the economic position of an individual than on his racial characteristics. The

826 /10 cont./
829 The mulattoes of light complexion, socially "whitened" or "Whites
*563 in color" (brancos na côr), are commonly called "Whites of the
565 land" (brancos da terra) or "Whites of Bahia" (2).
•[192]

2. According to Donald Pierson, the Whites of Bahia are "very light métis /persons of mixed blood / who in Bahia are generally considered Whites"; cf. Brancos e pretos na Bahia /Whites and Blacks in Bahia/, São Paulo, 1945, p. 200. In commenting on this definition, a writer from Bahia explains that it does not rest upon an observation based on physical anthropology. Factors of a sociological order enter into this specification and make defining it difficult. J. Valadares, "Brancos da Bahia," Estado da Bahia, 2, VI, Bahia, 1943 (this comment refers to an article published by Pierson in 1943).

[114]

[113]

when they occupy an important position and when one /11/ does not wish to offend them by calling them mulattoes. In the characterization of these "presumed Whites," fortune or social rank always plays a large part. In speaking of a light métis /a person with mixed blood/ with slightly Negroid features, one may say with a certain irony: "So-and-So is White, socially speaking, since he has already occupied one of the highest positions in the State." It is for these reasons that a physician from Bahia who had taken up the study of anthropology wrote as early as 1898 that "anatomically the Whites of Bahia are placed between the pardos and the direct descendants of Portuguese not of mixed blood (1)."

[113]

1. J. B. Sá Oliveira, Evoluçao psiquica dos bahianos /Psychic evolution of the Bahians/, Bahia, 1898, p. 51.

[SALVADOR]

826 /11 cont./
829 Pretos, or Blacks, are all the individuals who show the physi-
x 563 cal characteristics of the Black, particularly the very dark skin,
576 "the color of charcoal," the frizzy hair, the flat nose, and the
• [192] very thick lips. But to use the expression "Negro" /Fr. nègre/ is
considered less courteous and sometimes even offensive. A
physician who worked in a dermatology clinic registered as
"Negro" a patient who had come to be treated; but the father of
the latter came to the physician to protest that he should substi-
tute for this term that of preto (Black) or escuro (dark /Fr. foncé/).

A person who is speaking to a Black of a lower class may say
[192] to him, in speaking of another Black, "Someone black like you";
but if it is a matter of a person belonging to a higher class, good
form requires that one use the term escuro (dark) or even moreno.
Several informants reported that the students of certain black
professors with crude manners say of them that they have the
"manners of Negroes." In the same way, a dark mulatto intel-
lectual knows that if one wishes to offend him one calls him
"this Negro," and a Black practicing a liberal profession is not
unaware either that his political adversaries, in speaking of him,
say "the Negro Léonard." It is not rare to hear Whites and
morenos protest in a low voice against the bad manners, the bursts
of laughter, the gossip of these "Negroes," when Blacks and
mulattoes give free vent to their noisy gaiety in public convey-
ances, in cinemas, or in the streets. Nevertheless the expression
"my Negro" is a term of friendship, even among Whites. Some-
times the term "Negro" is used as a diminutive, "a sympathetic
[196] little Negro" /Fr. négrillon/, without containing any unkind im-
plication. On the other hand, the word nigrinha, the feminine
form of the same diminutive, has a pejorative and insulting
meaning; it is applied to young colored people of questionable
reputation. To act like a nigrinha is equivalent to behaving badly.

175 In the first years of colonization, Indians were often desig-
x 563 nated by the name of Negro. The use of this /12/ word, the true
829 meaning of which has been established only recently, caused much
embarrassment to historians who sought to unravel the respective
role of Indians and Blacks in the formation of Brazilian civiliza-
tion. A Portuguese law of 1755 stipulates that Indians must not be

[SALVADOR]

/12 cont./

175 called Negroes because of the ignominious and base implications
* 563 of a term that puts them on the same footing as the people of the
829 coast of Africa destined to become slaves of the Whites. The true African Negroes were at that time called Negroes of Guinea, Negroes of the coast, or Negroes of nation, that is to say, of such
175 and such an African tribe. In a general way the term Negro was
829 applied to every slave, to the point that in 1773 a Portuguese
* 563 monarch complained that in Brazil there were still "persons so
561 wanting in feelings of humanity and religion as to keep among
• 192 them slaves, some of whom are whiter than they themselves, under the names of Blacks and Negresses, or even métisses /plural
829 feminine form of métis, a person of mixed blood/." The sons of
* 563 African Negroes born in Brazil were called creoles, a term ap-
192 plied even today, in the feminine, to black women and mulattresses
291 who dress like the Bahian women, with the troquette, the very full
794 skirt, the white, embroidered, and very décolleté blouse, and the colored shawl around the bust, a costume worn by the Africans of Nigeria and even in our day, with certain local modifications, by the women belonging to the religious cults of African origin, the
* 563 candomblés. The creoles of Bahia constitute a typical spectacle
794 in the streets of the city; one can see them there, making their
443 way to a fetishist-cult center or sitting beside stalls in which they
262 display, especially during the popular festivals, the foods of the famous local cuisine, which is also of African origin to a great extent.

* 563 The words pardo and mestiço, both having, as we have seen,
829 the meaning of mulatto, serve to designate the descendants of a
192 cross between Europeans and Blacks. Every variation of these
826 types, depending on the intensity of the color or the nature of the hair, was formerly designated by a particular name fallen into disuse today. One speaks of light mulatto or dark mulatto, according to the predominance of one or the other of the characteristics; the light mulattoes, when their hair is very similar to that of Whites, are also called cabo verdes or róxos. A young girl showing
[196] few traces of crossbreeding is a roxinha or even a cabrocha; in this case the inhabitants of Bahia use a diminutive in order to remove from the word any pejorative meaning.

[SALVADOR]

/12 cont./

*563 829 •192 826 from the word any pejorative meaning. In fact, to say a "mulattress" in speaking of a young girl of a certain social class is in a way less courteous than to say "a little mulattress" (una mulatinha). Very often, in speaking of a person of distinction, one does not use any of these terms: one then says "a person of color" or "a /13/ dark person." A swarthy métis with slightly frizzy hair, whose features link him with the Whites, is a moreno, especially if he belongs to an upper social class. A journalist, recently describing a part of the city where a large number of colored people are found together, wrote that "one meets beautiful mulattresses there." If the latter belong to the lower classes and if they are poor, they are simply mulattresses; if they are granfinas (1),

1. Granfino, granfina may be translated by "very refined."

they become light morenas; and one could even add morenas the color of jambo (2).

[824] 2. Jambo, fruit of the jambevio, a Myrtaceae (Eugenia sp.).

[533] [541] [204] One finds numerous references to women of this type in the popular songs launched on the occasion of the famous Brazilian carnival. In the journals reporting accidents, crimes, or other facts in which mulattoes happen to be involved, even from the poorest classes, it is rare to come across the word mulatto, for which pardo or *563 morena is preferred. The feminine form, moreover, has a sentimental value: it suggests a slightly pigmented skin and features 582 829 of a beauty peculiar to these "women so sought after and preferred 192 in greater number," as one of our informants told us. Because of 826 this preference, the morena type has been celebrated in prose and in verse by our writers. And this morena, it goes without saying,

[SALVADOR]

826 /13 cont./
*563 may not be of African blood (3).
562
829
•192
[113]

3. Arthur Ramos, Introduçao a Antropologia Brasileira, II, Rio de Janeiro, 1947.

829 The Indians and the descendants of the cross between Indians
*563 and Whites are generally called cabôclos, but this expression is
192 no longer very common in Bahia and rarely serves to characterize
[178] the corresponding type. The term cabôclo has become, like that
[196] of "my Negro," rather a formula of tenderness between individuals
175 of any color whatsoever. It must be noted, moreover, thanks to
829 old statistics, that toward the middle of the eighteenth century, in
648 response to complaints about Brazilian "nativism," the Portuguese
641 government prohibited the use of the term cabôclo, to which was
576 then attached an insulting meaning, and granted at the same time the
192 civil status of Whites to Indians and to their descendants of mixed blood, so that they could contract marriage with the Whites and fulfill official duties in the colony; it is in that manner that the contingents of mamelucos or cabôclos were assimilated with the
192 Whites in the military roles of the time. The word meanwhile
178 lost its insulting import and in our day is even considered a com-
829 pliment when it refers to a cabôclo bom, that is to say, a man of
576 good manners.

The Negroid albinos and the mulattoes with red, blond, or
144 light auburn hair are known by the name of sararás.
192

The exact designation of these different types has always /14/
144 represented a difficulty, as much for anthropologists as for the
*563 persons charged with identifying school children, the military,
829 the criminals (1).

144
*563
829
815
[113]

1. According to the Bahian anthropologist Nina Rodriguez (in her book As raças humanas e a responsabilidade penal no Brasil /The Human Races and Penal Responsibility in Brazil/, 3rd edition, written at the beginning of the century), the métis include: 1st, the mulattoes produced from the cross between the White and the Negro:

[SALVADOR]

/14 cont./

829 Many persons identified in this office under the word White
*563 are probably métis of different types; the same confusion occurs
659 with persons designated as mulattoes, pardos, or morenos, ac-
•192 cording to examinations made by Pierson (2)

2. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 189.

and now repeated by the author. A black lawyer relates that his wife, a relatively light mulattress, was registered in this office as Black, while the latter's sister, almost the same type as she, was classed as a mulattress. It is, moreover, interesting to note that generally in the dossier of identity referring to the persons registered the designation "mulatto" never appears, so to speak, but almost always that of moreno or pardo, the first having a pejorative character. A social worker relates that the women of the most humble milieu who are registered in her office, even when they are Blacks, do not want to be mulattoes, but morenas, sometimes saying that their children are moreninhos (little morenos) "like me," or that their husbands are a little more morenos or "darker." In any case, the terms officially employed
829 in the offices are branco, pardo, and preto. A dark mulatto
*563 physician whom most people would have described as black re-
565 lates that, when he was young /15/ and traveling on a train one day, he was recognized by a friend of his father, and this friend, knowing his father was white, introduced him to the other travelers by saying that, in spite of his appearance, he was really White in origin. "My brother, although darker than I," a morena informant told us, "was once classed as White, perhaps because he had a doctor's diploma."

829 The difficulties of identification and the differences of opinion
*563 among Bahians on the subject of local ethnic types can be easily explained. On account of the lack of unity of the criteria intended for distinguishing Blacks and mulattoes, an anthropologist of Rio de Janeiro divided the colored people of Bahia into two categories: the darker and the less dark (1).

[113]

1. M. Julia Pourchet, Contribuçao ao estudo antropofisico da criança de côr /Contribution

[SALVADOR]

/15 cont./

829 whom practiced a liberal profession and were graduates of the
*563 University of Bahia, to classify according to their type the per-
125 sons carried on the list of physicians and pharmacists registered at
565 the Ministry of Public Health, representatives of the State and
/16/ federal representatives, university professors, members of the local academy of letters, and other associations of the city, there too the term moreno was most often used to designate the métis. Those who used the expression "mulatto" were rare. As
[177] a result of the influence exerted by North American films, one
[192] sometimes hears mention of "colored" /quoted in English/; a local journal described a politician of Bahia with this term, and a woman questioned by us acknowledged being "colored" /quoted in English/.

829 In a recent book a writer of the city sums up the semantic
*563 problems in relation to the characterization of local types in
192 this way: "A light Black is called mulatto, the light mulatto is a moreno, a blond becomes a sarará. As for pardo, no one knows what that is. White fino is said of those persons whose origin and appearance do not show this "margin" thanks to which one infallibly recognizes crossbreeding. And those who are whites of mixed blood do not like to show the portraits of their ancestors" (1).

[113] 1. J. Valadares, Beabá da Bahia /ABC's of Bahia/ 1951, p. 91.

829 The foreigners, who are relatively limited in number in the
*563 city, are easily distinguished by the majority of people. A European with strange manners, speaking Portuguese with great difficulty, or expressing himself in another language, is simply considered a "foreigner," particularly if he has a light and pink skin, blue eyes, and fine, blond hair. A Brazilian showing these characteristics is accused of being a "foreigner type" or a "German
829 type." Foreigners may also be called gringos, whatever their
*563 physical characteristics may be. The Spaniards, who are very
[192] numerous in the grocery business, are sometimes called the "gringos of the grocery business." The Russian, Polish, and

[SALVADOR]

/27 cont./

829 white countries (1).
*563
[113]

1. Romulo Almeida, interview for the Diario Trabelhista, 28, 11, Rio de Janeiro, 1946.

829 The mulattoes, according to others, are supposed to be affected
*563 in their manner of speaking, wishing to display their erudition.
537 The comment of a journalist about a politician is characteristic
157 of this way of thinking: "Without complexes or repressions... he reasons dispassionately, which is astonishing on the part of a red curiboca (2)

• [192]
[826]

2. Curiboca, métis of Indian and Black; roxo, bluish red, a warm and dark shade of the pigmentation of the skin of certain métis.

like him. Not having the tropical verbosity of mulatto good speakers..., he is mentally a Nordic who sets forth his ideas without the cerebral complications such as are esteemed among the bachelor /referring to the academic degree/ morenos of our country" (3).

[154]

3. "This tendency to use an elaborate language seems to be a sort of compensation for a feeling of inferiority," says V. L. Bicudo in "Attitudes raciales des Noirs et des mulâtres de São Paulo /Racial attitudes of the Blacks and mulattoes of São Paulo/," Sociologia, Vol. IX, No. 3, São Paulo, 1947, p. 211.

829 Opinions about the mulattoes, especially about those who try to
*563 advance themselves by means of intellectual activities, always
157 throw into relief the weak points of their personality and almost always give an unfavorable interpretation of their character. A literary critic of Bahia, commenting on the works of the greatest Brazilian novelist, the mulatto Machado de Assis, expresses this

/27 cont./

829 opinion in this way: "What marks our métis even more, as a
*563 result of the residues accumulated in his soul by social evolution,
157 is the lack of temperament, of psychology, and of character, with the consequences that this inevitably brings on the plane of the mental life. If a Brazilian mulatto is intellectually capable and sometimes superior, he is, on the other hand, never well-bred, stable, balanced, or energetic. It is from the moral and psychological point of view that he reveals a great inferiority, which cannot fail to influence the social harmony, given the part that he takes in Brazilian life" (4).

[113] 4. Afrânio Coutinho, A filosofia de Machado de Assis /The philosophy of Machado de Assis/, Rio de Janeiro, 1940, p. 80.

For all these reasons the words "mulatto" and "métis" can be used to throw into relief the bad moral qualities of a colored person, as though his pigmentation or his ethnic traits aggravated his shortcomings. In the course of a press dispute someone wrote: "these kinds of mulattoes who surround you," "this métis who gives you his support"; but the discussion had nothing to do with the racial problem. An anonymous epigram that circulated through the city a few years ago about a certain intellectual began with the words mulato pachola (5).

• [192] 5. Pachola = lazy, vain, braggart, qualifications that are very often attributed to cultured mulattoes, to such a point that the insulting adjective pachola is at present attributed almost solely to persons of this type.

829 /28/ There is, however, in spite of this, no active hostility against
*563 the mulattoes as a group. Judgments such as those we have related are stereotypes applied especially to individuals who, by virtue of their superior education or aspirations more ambitious than those of their group, tend to detach themselves from it. Let us remember,

[SALVADOR]

/34 cont./

*563 565 their degree of education, in the hotels and even more in the boarding houses of various categories. They may freely visit restaurants, cafés, teashops, cabarets; they frequently participate in dinner parties where they meet white friends. The news-
*563 565 204 papers and magazines report anniversaries, marriages, the conferring of diplomas, births, returns from travel, celebrations and tributes received, or the death of any person whomsoever, without any mention of type or color, printing portraits of either of them indiscriminately. And when an individual is not well enough known so that the newspapers spontaneously publish an article about him, /35/ it is not rare to see his name or even his portrait reproduced, after payment of the price of the announcement, in
*563 565 the column devoted to this kind of news. "Few persons," says a White, "could have more prestige in Bahia society, thanks to their exquisite manners and their elegance, than a university professor and his wife, both mulattoes, had ten years ago."

Among the most highly placed families of the present-day society of Bahia, says a morena informant, there are many who "belong to the caste," who, in other words, are métisses, although it would not be discreet to draw attention to the origin of these
[564] families. Since there are no castes, properly speaking, but merely classes, colored people find their way into the world of the Whites, even if they have pronounced black features; it is merely necessary for them to approximate the "superior" dominant group by their behavior. In order to show that she was born already assimilated with the Whites, a woman practicing a liberal profession explains that she is the daughter of a Black who was a domestic "in a milieu other than that of the senzala" (1).

• [192] [567] [342]

1. Senzala = all the communicating houses of poor quality where the slaves lived in the fazendas.

She considers herself a privileged creature of God, since she has
*563 565 all that she desires. "I am on good terms with people of the best society. I choose my friends in all classes. I visit the clubs and
571 the government palace frequently. A short time ago the newspapers
[204] even published my picture beside the governor of the State in the course of a luncheon that one of my friends gave in his honor."

[SALVADOR]

/55 cont./

178 Thirty or forty years ago, among the insults hurled at po-
*563 litical adversaries in the newspapers and even in the speeches of
666 the legislative assemblies, the epithet "mulatto" or "Negro" was frequent. Today this takes place less often, because the style of political contests has lost much of its character of personal reprisals. Nevertheless one of the last governors of the State of Bahia, a statesman of national fame and once even a deputy minister to one of the presidents of the Republic, was a moreno of great moral and intellectual prestige. While he was in power, none of his political adversaries publicly alluded to his "caste." But, after he had left his office, a newspaper of another city, criticizing his activity, published a comment entitled "Administrative profile of a pardavasco" (1),

• [192]

1. Pardavasco = diminutive sometimes used as a synonym of pardo.

an article in which the qualification mulato pachola was repeated in a contemptuous sense; another politician, in turn condemning his work in the government, delivered a speech against what he called "the creole democracy of the creole M.," the expression "creole" being used here in the sense of a Black or the descendant of a Black born in Brazil. Recently in the national parliament a politician from another State, feeling offended /56/ by the newspaper of an industrialist of Bahia, a whitened mulatto, gave a violent speech in which he called the latter "métis of low extraction." Attacks of this kind, however, do not always come from finos Whites; more than once they are the doing of "Whites in color."

*563 In short, although it is rare that a Black or a dark mulatto
555 reaches a high political position, it is nonetheless true that for many colored people politics is a means of elevating oneself in the social hierarchy. Attacks of the kind that we have alluded to show a certain antagonism toward the colored men who elevate
[646] themselves thanks to politics. At the present time the leader of the governmental party in the legislative assembly of the State of Bahia is the red curiboca (métis of Indian and White blood) of whom we have already had occasion to speak. It is for this reason

[SALVADOR]

/70 cont./

*563 872 intolerant toward very black little girls, pardoning their mistakes only with difficulty and punishing them more severely than the Whites. An informant relates that in his school he heard the schoolmistress say: "This moleque (2)

•[192] [567]

2. Moleque = term by which one designates the little children of black slaves; it also means an ill-bred, undisciplined young man; may be heard as a synonym for young colored man.

has no sensibility. Not only is he black, but he is not studious."

*563 873 The students of the secondary schools often admire their colored professors and treat them with the same respect as the white professors; their attitude may vary, however, according to the social rank of the schoolmasters of dark color. Some of them are particularly esteemed for their competence and for the gentleness of their manners. Others are accused of treating their students differently by appearing more exacting and sometimes harsh with the Whites; in such cases the students complain among themselves about the rudeness "of this Negro" and secretly circulate names and epigrams that allude to his Negroid features. There are, on the other hand, dark professors who have the reputation of mistreating the students of their own type, information that is challenged by some people; if this happens, says an informant, it is not because of hostility, but because of the desire to urge these students to work more and thus to distinguish themselves from the others. In the past, however, there have been white professors who openly humiliated the black students and treated them with hostility, which sometimes gave rise to violently aggressive reactions on the part of the latter. Some of these professors were still teaching 20 or 25 years ago. All this could scarcely happen today, and if anything

*563 873 178 might cause an attitude of /71/ this kind to be suspected, the milieu reacts sharply in disapproving the "racist" behavior. That is what happened this year when in one public school a professor used words that were interpreted as a contemptuous allusion to

[SALVADOR]

/80 cont./

*563 873 571 regard to this, one mulatto asserts that the black students are mistreated by their white comrades on the occasion of the trote inflicted on the calouros by the veterans (1);

• [192]

1. Trote = jokes and humorous ceremonies with which the older students, the veterans, receive into the schools of the university those newly admitted, or calouros.

two persons practicing a liberal profession and with very pronounced Negroid features asserted exactly the opposite. The esteem of black and mulatto students for their comrades, and the attentions of which they are the object when they show themselves gifted and industrious, are also proof of the harmony of which we have spoken. At the time of the distribution of diplomas, students of all types are mixed together without distinction and embrace one another as a sign of rejoicing; likewise, in the large pictures showing the portraits of the recipients with the insignia of each discipline, the latter are grouped according to the State from which they come (the University of Bahia includes students from different regions of Brazil), but never according to their physical type. The relations between students and professors are likewise good, the "quality" of one or the other influences their relations only in an altogether exceptional way. There were formerly, in the years that followed the abolition of slavery, university professors who were opposed to the entrance of black students in their faculties and who would have liked to prevent them from attending their courses. Such an attitude was sometimes manifest and it did happen that it obtained the tacit support of certain persons; but it was disapproved of /Figs. 9 and 10 appear here/ /81/ on the whole. Only one informant asserted that in the faculty he attended the colored students did not enjoy the same facilities as the Whites. Nevertheless the prize that one of the faculties offers annually to the student who has completed the courses with a total of the highest marks has often been won by young colored people. Black and mulatto

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 107]

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

563 grew up during slavery, and no circumstance has subsequently arisen to change it. In the United States, on the other hand, the spread of contraceptive practices[35] and the increasing race consciousness of the Negro have led to a decided decrease in miscegenation. Traditional behavior in Bahia is, in this respect as in many others, well defined. The sanction of custom has become, as it always does eventually in any case, moral sanction.

563 583 Race mixture is further favored in Bahia today by the widespread custom of *mancebia*,[36] or those conjugal unions outside marriage in which there is some degree of permanency. In many cases the women involved are mulattoes, rarely blacks. The man agrees to pay for rent and food; the woman, to care for the house and children. The man may have, at the same time, a legal family, although informal unions are often entered into by young men previous to marriage.

563 826 Miscegenation is also favored in Bahia today by the prestige which ordinarily attaches to the so-called "whiter" child. Dark mothers who bear "whiter" children consider themselves especially favored and are so looked upon by their immediate associates. A black mother proudly showed her light child and said, "Estou limpando a minha raça" ("I am cleansing [i.e., I am 'whitening'] my race"). One also

[164] [554] [882] [35] In Bahia there is not the fear of venereal disease common to this country. Its contraction is regarded by young men as an indication of sexual coming-of-age and perhaps enhances their prestige among their associates (cf. Freyre, *op. cit.*, pp. 49 ff.).

[193] [192] [36] This term is used only in more polite conversation. The woman involved is called *mancebo*, the verb is *mancebar*, and the participle *mancebado*. The popular expression, however, is *amasia*, or *amiga* (the feminine form of "friend"), or *amante*, or *comboio*, for the woman; the verb is *amasiar* or *amigar*, the participle *amasiado* or *amigado*.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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At the same time, *meu negro* ("my Negro"), with its variation *meu nego*[26] and diminutive *meu negrinho*, all spoken in soft tones, are terms of endearment used even by whites in speaking to other whites, especially in cases of great intimacy as, for instance, between lovers. Their use constitutes, as a Bahian put it, "um modo de tratar bem" ("a way of being nice"). Occasionally one hears these expressions on the lips of a beggar asking alms of a white and, if he appears well to do, of a mulatto as well. Clerks sometimes employ them in addressing a customer. They appear to call up tender memories of intimate, personal relations like those existent, for example, between Mammy and Scarlett O'Hara in Margaret Mitchell's *Gone with the Wind*.

563* 192 [832] [576] [591]

The term *branco da Bahia* ("Bahian white") is also heard, although it is ordinarily employed *outside* Bahia. It has reference to the local custom of including many light mixed-bloods in the *branco* category. The phrase *branco por procuração* ("white by proxy") is occasionally used in Bahia but never when speaking to such an individual directly or in his presence. Light mixed-bloods are sometimes referred to as *bem areiadas* ("well sandpapered"); very dark young Negro boys as *pregos* ("nails"); very dark blacks as *pretos retintos* (literally "black blacks," or "black as coal"), and *reclames do pixe* (literally "shouts of tar," i.e., "black as pitch"). The phrase *ele tem genipapo* refers to the possession of *manchas*, as previously noted. Of a person who shows slight traces of Negro ancestry, it is said, "Ele tem dedo na cozinha" ("He has a finger in the kitchen"). Additional descriptive words or phrases include: *de côr escura* ("of dark color"), *de côr*

563* 192 826

[26] The feminine forms are *minha negra*, *minha nega*, and *minha negrinha*. [193]

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to her,[53] romances written.[53] Of 146 male students responding to the query, "All things being equal, whom would you prefer to marry, a *branca*, a *morena*, a *parda*, a *preta*," 117, or 80.1 per cent, replied "a *morena*." Similarly, of 93 white female students responding to a like question, 80, or 86 per cent, preferred a *moreno* for a mate.

The *morena* may, or may not, have African blood.[54] But at least in Bahia this category includes many individuals of partial African descent. For instance, a study of five hundred women classified as *morenas* in the Gabinete de Identificação indicated the probable distribution given in Table 7.

It is the opinion of Arthur Ramos[55] that, although "the charms of the *morena* exert a profound sexual attraction" and the regard in which she is held "has a sexual base in the Freudian sense," the present attitude toward the *morena* "grew out of the enthusiasm and the sentimentalism of the abolition campaign. The *morena* expresses in a symbolic way the union of the two races—the black and the white—and the absence of [caste] prejudice."

The *morena* probably constitutes a decided bond be-

[53] As, for example, the following:

Beautiful morena,
Morena,
Morena who makes me suffer!
The full moon, so bright,
Is not as luminous as your eyes.
You are a *morena*,
A wonderful girl.
There's not a *branca* who hasn't
fallen for you.

Often,
When you pass by,
Men quarrel over you;
Everyone eagerly anticipates
Your smile.

Your heart is a boarding-house,
A family hotel
Along the seashore.
Oh, *moreninha*, do not rent all!
Leave at least a corner
For me to live in!

[53] A rock on the island of Paquetá in Guanabara Bay at Rio de Janeiro very popular with young lovers, has been dedicated to the *moreninha*.

[54] Pronouncing the word *morena* (or *moreno*) with a certain emphasis or changed inflection indicates darker color.

[55] Stated in personal correspondence with the author.

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[41]Prado, op. cit., p. 255.

[42]At this point the terminology of the sugar industry becomes even more complex. Engenho, engenho central, and usina all refer either to the industrial and the agricultural segments of the industry or to the mill alone. Indication will be made, where necessary, when the term refers to the mill only. Fornecedores (furnishers) are usually called fazendas (a type of plantation, although elsewhere the term might apply to a cattle ranch). Some fazendas were former engenhos and have sometimes retained that name. An additional complication is the fact that "engenho" occasionally is used as part of a name where there is not necessarily a functioning mill or plantation. In addition, fazendas may be owned and operated as part of a large usina.

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[43]This period was characterized by a bitter struggle, chiefly on the political level, between the fornecedores and the large mill owners. In the end superior economic resources, coupled with political influence, enabled the large mill owners to defeat but not completely dispossess the fornecedores in the Recôncavo.

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[44]By 1940, over one-half of the people of Brazil lived in the central southern region. Because of the higher standard of living, the people in this area accounted for much more than one-half of the internal market for sugar.

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[45]Conselho Nacional de Estatística, Anuário Estatística do Brasil--1953, Ano XIV (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço Gráfico do Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, 1953), p. 189.

[46]Amaral, op. cit., II, 369.

[47]Ibid., p. 370.

[48]The problems will be discussed in the chapters on population (Chapter IV) and on marketing, transportation, and processing of agricultural products (Chapter X).

[SALVADOR]

826 /11 cont./
829 Pretos, or Blacks, are all the individuals who show the physi-
x 563 cal characteristics of the Black, particularly the very dark skin,
576 "the color of charcoal," the frizzy hair, the flat nose, and the
[192] very thick lips. But to use the expression "Negro" /Fr. nègre/ is
considered less courteous and sometimes even offensive. A
physician who worked in a dermatology clinic registered as
"Negro" a patient who had come to be treated; but the father of
the latter came to the physician to protest that he should substi-
tute for this term that of preto (Black) or escuro (dark /Fr. foncé/).

A person who is speaking to a Black of a lower class may say
[192] to him, in speaking of another Black, "Someone black like you";
but if it is a matter of a person belonging to a higher class, good
form requires that one use the term escuro (dark) or even moreno.
Several informants reported that the students of certain black
professors with crude manners say of them that they have the
"manners of Negroes." In the same way, a dark mulatto intel-
lectual knows that if one wishes to offend him one calls him
"this Negro," and a Black practicing a liberal profession is not
unaware either that his political adversaries, in speaking of him,
say "the Negro Léonard." It is not rare to hear Whites and
morenos protest in a low voice against the bad manners, the bursts
of laughter, the gossip of these "Negroes," when Blacks and
mulattoes give free vent to their noisy gaiety in public convey-
ances, in cinemas, or in the streets. Nevertheless the expression
"my Negro" is a term of friendship, even among Whites. Some-
times the term "Negro" is used as a diminutive, "a sympathetic
• [196] little Negro" /Fr. négrillon/, without containing any unkind im-
plication. On the other hand, the word nigrinha, the feminine
form of the same diminutive, has a pejorative and insulting
meaning; it is applied to young colored people of questionable
reputation. To act like a nigrinha is equivalent to behaving badly.

175 In the first years of colonization, Indians were often desig-
x 563 nated by the name of Negro. The use of this /12/ word, the true
829 meaning of which has been established only recently, caused much
embarrassment to historians who sought to unravel the respective
role of Indians and Blacks in the formation of Brazilian civiliza-
tion. A Portuguese law of 1755 stipulates that Indians must not be

[SALVADOR]

/12 cont./

175 called Negroes because of the ignominious and base implications
*563 of a term that puts them on the same footing as the people of the
829 coast of Africa destined to become slaves of the Whites. The true African Negroes were at that time called Negroes of Guinea, Negroes of the coast, or Negroes of nation, that is to say, of such
175 and such an African tribe. In a general way the term Negro was
829 applied to every slave, to the point that in 1773 a Portuguese
*563 monarch complained that in Brazil there were still "persons so
561 wanting in feelings of humanity and religion as to keep among
192 them slaves, some of whom are whiter than they themselves, under the names of Blacks and Negresses, or even métisses /plural
829 feminine form of métis, a person of mixed blood/." The sons of
*563 African Negroes born in Brazil were called creoles, a term ap-
192 plied even today, in the feminine, to black women and mulattresses
291 who dress like the Bahian women, with the troquette, the very full
794 skirt, the white, embroidered, and very décolleté blouse, and the colored shawl around the bust, a costume worn by the Africans of Nigeria and even in our day, with certain local modifications, by the women belonging to the religious cults of African origin, the
*563 candomblés. The creoles of Bahia constitute a typical spectacle
794 in the streets of the city; one can see them there, making their
413 way to a fetishist-cult center or sitting beside stalls in which they
262 display, especially during the popular festivals, the foods of the famous local cuisine, which is also of African origin to a great extent.

*563 The words pardo and mestiço, both having, as we have seen,
829 the meaning of mulatto, serve to designate the descendants of a
192 cross between Europeans and Blacks. Every variation of these
826 types, depending on the intensity of the color or the nature of the hair, was formerly designated by a particular name fallen into disuse today. One speaks of light mulatto or dark mulatto, according to the predominance of one or the other of the characteristics; the light mulattoes, when their hair is very similar to that of Whites, are also called cabo verdes or rôxos. A young girl showing
• [196] few traces of crossbreeding is a roxinha or even a cabrocha; in this case the inhabitants of Bahia use a diminutive in order to remove from the word any pejorative meaning.

[SALVADOR]

826 /13 cont./
*563 may not be of African blood (3).
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3. Arthur Ramos, Introduçao a Antropologia Brasileira, II, Rio de Janeiro, 1947.

829 The Indians and the descendants of the cross between Indians
*563 and Whites are generally called cabôclos, but this expression is
192 no longer very common in Bahia and rarely serves to characterize
[178] the corresponding type. The term cabôclo has become, like that
• [196] of "my Negro," rather a formula of tenderness between individuals
175 of any color whatsoever. It must be noted, moreover, thanks to
829 old statistics, that toward the middle of the eighteenth century, in
648 response to complaints about Brazilian "nativism," the Portuguese
641 government prohibited the use of the term cabôclo, to which was
576 then attached an insulting meaning, and granted at the same time the
192 civil status of Whites to Indians and to their descendants of mixed blood, so that they could contract marriage with the Whites and fulfill official duties in the colony; it is in that manner that the contingents of mamelucos or cabôclos were assimilated with the
192 Whites in the military roles of the time. The word meanwhile
178 lost its insulting import and in our day is even considered a com-
829 pliment when it refers to a cabôclo bom, that is to say, a man of
576 good manners.

The Negroid albinos and the mulattoes with red, blond, or
144 light auburn hair are known by the name of sararás.
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The exact designation of these different types has always /14/
144 represented a difficulty, as much for anthropologists as for the
*563 persons charged with identifying school children, the military,
829 the criminals (1).

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1. According to the Bahian anthropologist Nina Rodriguez (in her book As raças humanas e a responsabilidade penal no Brasil /The Human Races and Penal Responsibility in Brazil/, 3rd edition, written at the beginning of the century), the métis include: 1st, the mulattoes produced from the cross between the White and the Negro:

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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[City of Salvador]

At Bahia in 1807, 1809, 1813, 1816, 1826, 1827, 1828, and 1830, slave revolts broke out, terminating in the serious Malê uprising of 1835. There existed here, particularly in the nineteenth century, a well-established group of Negro disciples of the prophet Mohammed. Here Nagô was for a long time a Negro lingua franca (or, to use the corresponding Portuguese expression, a *lingua geral*), and Nagô is still occasionally to be heard among some of the older blacks. Here one might have encountered in the years just preceding abolition in 1888 an interesting paradox: while at home Bahia clung tenaciously to slavery, she was known abroad for the eloquence of her abolition orators.[3] Here, also, one might have observed the gradual fusion of Catholic belief and ritual with African mythology and religious practice, evidences of which may be seen today in *candomblés*, or fetish-cult centers, like that of Gantois, for example, whose ceremonies have been carried on in the same sacred place for many decades.

In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries Bahia became one of the world's great sugar centers where a small aristocracy, as is attested today by the pretentious edifices still standing, achieved great wealth. As early as 1587 there were forty-seven sugar *engenhos*[4] in and about Bahia, and

[3] See Luiz Anselmo da Fonseca, *A escravidão, o clero e o abolicionismo* (Bahia, 1887), *passim*. This book, although obviously written as abolition propaganda, cites names, places, and dates to support its contentions and does not overlook negative cases.

[4] Each *engenho* consisted of a sugar plantation and a mill for processing the cane. Those at Bahia often had a capacity of a thousand tons or more yearly. Each was largely a self-sustaining economic unit, dependent upon the labor of numbers of Negro slaves. H. Morse Stephens says (*Portugal* [New York, 1903], p. 228) that sugar cane was imported into Brazil from the Madeira Islands in 1548.

4; Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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565 Conversation is carried on in the Portuguese
[197] vernacular, with a limited vocabulary and numerous errors
[489] in grammar. Many words of African or native Indian origin
[771] are commonly heard. Transport is primitive. Here the fe-
[794] tish cult, and the attitudes, sentiments, and beliefs associated with it, gains its most zealous and faithful devotees. Here, cut off quite sharply from participation in the upper levels of European culture, live that portion of the population which the upper classes refer to as *o povo*, and who think of themselves as *os pobres* ("the poor").

The social gulf between the *pobres* of the valleys and the *ricos* of the ridges is wide and not easy to bridge. This is, of course, to be anticipated in a society with an aristocratic tradition whose upper circles still look somewhat askance upon manual labor and have always regarded education, family connection, and "good breeding" as indices of class.
[1068] Attitudes in this respect have changed little since the time
[567] when the abolitionist Anselmo da Fonseca felt it necessary to apologize for including the name of "a man of the people," a humble Negro shoemaker, among the prominent upper-class abolitionists of Bahia, arguing that "intelligence, patriotism, and truth are not the privilege of any one class" and explaining that this particular individual had been more useful to the abolition cause than many "more noble."

565 The upper classes habitually refer to members of the lower
186 classes as *trabalhadores* ("laborers"), *operarios* ("workers"), or *o povo baixo* ("common people") and humorously caricature them by a cartoon character known as Zé Povinho, an
[867] illiterate, stupid, and unprepossessing lout. To their children they often direct such phrases as "não seja gentinha" ("don't be like common people"), "não tenha modos de gentinha" ("don't take up the manners of common people"), "não ligue a (or *para*) povo miudo" ("don't attach yourself

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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some slave,[36] and many Negroes repeatedly refused to participate in the uprisings.[37] The disturbances were ordinarily led, as we have seen, by Mohammedan Haussás, said to be exceedingly spirited and resolute individuals,[38] who were either free blacks or semi-independent *negros de ganho*. Moreover, they lived for the most part in the city where life was less arduous than on the plantations and where there was, at the same time, more leisure for brooding over grievances and perfecting schemes of revolt. Since all insurrectionists spoke the same or quite similar languages and shared

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[36] Dantas Junior, in commenting on the revolt of 1807, repeats (*A Illustração* [Bahia], June, 1936) that on the night of the twenty-second of May (the revolt was set for 7:00 P.M. of the twenty-eighth) a "person of integrity" urgently sought out the governor at his palace and secretly informed him that "a Negro of mine told me that the slaves of the Ussá nation are plotting to revolt." Following the serious uprising of 1835, the provincial assembly rewarded (*Laws*, No. 344, August 5, 1848, and No. 405, August 2, 1850) the "free Africans," Duarte Mendes and his wife, Sabina da Cruz, with the cancellation of their taxes for having "informed on and thus prevented the success of the planned insurrection."

[37] "The Negroes of the warehouses belonging to Manoel Ignacio da Cunha and Francisco Lourenço Herculano did not wish to join the band" (Silva, *op. cit.*, p. 347). Wied Neuwied, who visited Bahia during the period of these uprisings, says that colored troops were used in suppressing them. See Prince Maximilian Wied Neuwied, *Viagem ao Brasil*, trans. from the German of *Reise nach Brasilien in den Jahren 1815 bis 1817* (2 vols.; Frankfurt, 1820), by Edgar Sussekind de Mendonça and Flavio Poppe de Figueiredo (São Paulo, 1940), pp. 450–51.

[38] Koster, noting that "Pernambuco has never experienced any serious revolt among the slaves; but at Bahia there have been several commotions," and convinced that "Bahia contains fewer free people than Pernambuco in proportion to the number of slaves," wrote, "I cannot avoid attributing the quietude of the latter in some measure to the circumstances of a few of the Gold Coast Negroes being imported into it, whilst at Bahia the principal stock of slaves is from that part of Africa. . . . . They are represented as possessing great firmness of mind and body, and ferociousness of disposition" (*op. cit.*, I, 214).

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the same or similar religious beliefs and practices, they were able to act effectively together.

In 1806, following a raid upon a "conspirator's house," the imprisonment of a number of suspected plotters, and the confiscation of "four hundred arrows, a bundle of sticks, and quantities of cord for the making of bows, a large number of knives and pistols, a gun and a drum," orders were issued to arrest every slave found in the streets after nine o'clock at night "without a letter from his master or in his company."[39] The following year correspondence between African conspirators in Bahia and Santo Amaro (a sugar center in the Reconcavo) was intercepted, and the leaders thus exposed were subsequently tried, sentenced to death, and executed.[40] About the same time the governor of Bahia ordered destroyed two troublesome *quilombos*, or settlements of fugitive slaves, on the outskirts of the city near Cabula and Nossa Senhora dos Mares, and the *capitãomor* with eighty soldiers surrounded their huts and took prisoner seventy-eight blacks, some of whom were free Negroes.[41]

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In 1809 a revolt about twelve miles from Bahia was put down after the Haussás had "committed all sorts of outrages."[42] In 1813 about five hundred Haussás revolted and fled into the surrounding country but were speedily pursued and disarmed and their leaders publicly hung on gallows erected in Praça Piedade, one of the principal squares of the city. Several others were deported to Africa.[43] In 1826 soldiers had to be sent to various points in the Reconcavo,

[39] Silva, *op. cit.*, p. 346.

[40] Alvares do Amaral, *Resumo chronologico da Bahia* (Bahia, n.d.), p. 111.

[41] Eduardo A. de Caldas Britto, "Levantes de pretos na Bahia," *Revista do Instituto Geographico e Historico da Bahia*, XXIX, 72.

[42] Alvares do Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 39. See also Ramos, *As culturas negras*, p. 337.

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seat of the iman, or head in Brazil of all African disciples of the prophet Mohammed. Those who were resident in Rio, Ceará, and Pernambuco owed allegiance to him. Incidentally, it was a time of general social unrest not only among certain of the slaves but among the whites as well.[46] The aim of the conspiracy was "to set up a queen after exterminating all the Europeans." Extensive plans were laid, including the proposed participation of slaves from "every part of the Reconcavo," many of whom, immediately preceding the night set for the uprising, fled from their owners and came to Bahia. A banner was adopted and the robes worn at Mohammedan ceremonies selected as costumes of war. The time chosen for the uprising was during the popular festival of Nossa Senhora da Guia, when most of the European population would be gathered at Bomfim, outside the main area of the city, houses would consequently be deserted by white owners, and slaves might go in and out without arousing suspicion.[47]

[186] [714] [527]

The governor, forewarned by a faithful slave a few hours before the uprising actually occurred, doubled all police

[46] From 1831 to 1837 revolts against the Brazilian imperial government broke out in Pará, Sergipe, Pernambuco, and Rio Grande do Sul. In Maranhão three thousand slaves, led by an African named Cosme, had recently revolted.

[47] The report of the chief of police to the governor of the province of Bahia (republished from the *Diario da Bahia* in the *Jornal do Commercio* of Rio, February 10, 1835) said that the evidence indicated "the insurrection had been plotted for a considerable period of time with absolute secrecy. . . . . Almost all the leaders know how to read and to write in some unknown language, which appears to be Arabic. This is the same language which is used by the Ussás, who seem to be united today with the Nagôs. These Ussás are from the same tribe which has revolted on several occasions in this Province. . . . . Their leaders, among whom are many free and even wealthy Africans, stir up and organize revolts."

[212] [197]

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CHAPTER III

CASA GRANDE AND *SENZALA*[1]

EVEN as late as the second quarter of the nineteenth century a visitor to Brazil wrote: "Again and again, while travelling in the interior, I have seen troops of new slaves of both sexes, who could not speak a single word of Portuguese, varying from twenty to one hundred individuals, marched inland for sale, or already belonging to proprietors of plantations."[2] These newly imported Africans were known as *negros novos*, or "new Negroes."[3]

Since the major portion of African importations into Bahia came from contiguous territory in Africa, the Negroes ordinarily brought with them closely related dialects and, consequently, could more easily communicate among themselves in African tongues. Gradually there came into general use, especially among the influential semi-independent *negros de ganho*, an African language known as Nagô,[4] which by facilitating intercommunication intensified the Negroes' moral isolation from the white world and retarded the whole acculturation process. Nagô continued for a long time to

[1] The "Big House" and the "slave quarters."

[2] George Gardner, *Travels in the Interior of Brazil, 1836–1841* (London, 1849), p. 12.

[3] Nina Rodrigues, *Os africanos no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1932), p. 187.

[4] "Like the French, we in Bahia call Nagôs all Negroes from the Slave Coast who speak the Yoruba language. Of this group we have received slaves from all the smaller subdivisions, from Oyó the capital of Yoruba, from Ilorin, Ige-sha, Ibadan, Ifé, Iebú, Egba, Lagos, etc." (*ibid.*, p. 157).

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be the *lingua geral*, or general Negro language.[5] The ritual of the more important fetish-cult centers was, and still is, carried on in this language. Inscriptions in Nagô were occasionally to be seen not only on cult buildings but also in small commercial establishments owned and operated by Negroes, like the meat stall on the Baixa dos Sapateiros over whose entrance Nina Rodrigues in 1895 noted the inscription "Kosi oba Kan afi Olorun."[6] So important did Nagô become, and so widespread its use that, although Nina Rodrigues early in the twentieth century estimated that there were only approximately five hundred Africans still living in the city and they were at that time dying at the rate of a hundred and fifty to two hundred a year,[7] one still today, more than three decades later, finds

[5] Nina Rodrigues, intimately acquainted for many years with Bahian Negroes, commends the accuracy of the Visconde de Porto Seguro when he says, "The best known Negroes in Brazil were those coming from the *Costa da Mina*, whence arrived the greater portion of those imported into Bahia; so that in this city many slaves learned little Portuguese but instead communicated among themselves in Nagô." About 1900 he himself wrote: "The Nagô dialect is commonly spoken in Bahia by almost all the old Africans from the various tribes and by a great number of creoles and mulattoes" (*op. cit.*, p. 197).

[6] Rodrigues translates the phrase: "There is no God but Olorun" (principal deity of the Nagô cult). A photograph of the entrance to the shop showing this inscription may be found in *ibid.*, opp. p. 202.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 154. In the seven years from 1896 to 1902, 1,282 Africans died at Bahia. The distribution was as follows:

Year	Total	Male	Female
1896	110	55	55
1897	258	156	102
1898	200	96	104
1899	209	110	99
1900	151	87	64
1901	152	74	78
1902	202	136	66
Total	1,282	714	568

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Nagô at times spoken in Bahia and an occasional individual whose command of this language is comparable to his command of Portuguese.

The nature of Negro settlement at Bahia favored to a considerable extent the preservation of African cultural forms. Tribal units were not deliberately broken up, as in Jamaica and the United States, and the Negro was thereby able to preserve and to transmit to his children a considerable portion of his African heritage. Even on the plantations the distribution of newly imported Africans among the old-established Negroes seems not to have occurred.[8] The concentration in the city of Bahia over a long period of time of large numbers of semi-independent *negros de ganho*, around whom there gradually accumulated a considerable number of relatively unassimilated free Negroes, also favored the persistence of African cultural elements.

It is likely that Nagô was not maintained in a pure form but came to be a patois containing numerous elements from other African dialects as well as from Portuguese. A Catholic missionary, Padre Coquard, visiting Bahia in 1899 to solicit funds, spoke to the colored population in Nagô. But the sermon, preached in the ancient church of Sé, was wholly ineffective.[9]

Other African languages were spoken in Bahia.[10] Rodrigues believed that Gêge (or Ewe) was used throughout the eighteenth century and until at least the middle of the nine-

[8] Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil, 1809 to 1815* (2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1817), I, 229 n.

[9] Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 200–201. Perhaps another reason for this ineffectiveness was that the Negroes who were most able to understand Nagô were unassimilated Africans who, out of loyalty to the religion of their fathers, deliberately absented themselves from this ceremony of the Catholic church.

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 197–230.

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teenth. Tapa and Haussá were spoken during the entire nineteenth century, and the latter perhaps long before 1800. Although the Haussás were relatively few in number, their influence was considerable. The slave revolts of the early nineteenth century were, as we have seen, led by this reputedly "most intellectual element" among the imported Africans, many of whom could read and write Arabic characters. Kanúri, spoken in Bahia by the Bornús, and Grúnce, the tongue used by the slaves known as Gallinhas, are included, along with Haussá, Gêge, and Tapa, in the limited vocabularies which Rodrigues collected from Bahian Negroes near the beginning of the twentieth century.[12] Tshi (or Odji), Gá (or Acrá),[13] and Mandê (or Mandinga) were also employed to a limited extent.

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As late as 1900, Negro laborers in Bahia continued to wear "white vestments of coarse cotton cloth," which reminded Rodrigues of "the Nagô *camisús*."[13] The *Bahiana* costume,[14] of partial African origin, was extensively used by the Negro women. It was also customary for them to carry their babies bound to the back with a large cloth. African dishes, in the preparation of which *azeite de dendê* (oil of the *dendê* palm) and *pimenta da costa* (pepper from the West Coast) prominently figured, formed a considerable portion of the Negro diet.

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At that time, also, African music might be frequently heard, particularly in the ceremonies of the *candomblé*. African musical instruments, like the *atabaque*, the *agê*, the *canzá*, the *marimba*, the *agôgô*, the *xaxixi*, and the *xáque-xáque*[15] were commonly employed. The fetish cult drew allegiance from numerous and zealous devotees.

[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 217–21.

[13] Spoken in Bahia by the Ashantis. [13] *Op. cit.*, p. 181.

[14] The *Bahiana* costume is described in detail in chap. ix.

[15] These instruments are described in chap. ix.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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[City of Salvador]

The valleys, on the other hand, afford less comfortable, less healthful, less convenient, and, consequently, less expensive residential locations. Here the regularly laid out streets and paving disappear. The inhabitants get about by way of footpaths, the red clay of which becomes slippery after a tropical downpour and quite treacherous on the steeper slopes. Here live the lower classes. Dwellings are simple mud huts constructed of a sapling framework over which puddled clay has been spread and allowed to dry. If the owner's income has permitted, the rough exterior of the dwellings has been smoothed off and a lime wash in pale tints of pink, blue, green, or yellow added. The floor is commonly of earth, neatly sanded at regular intervals with fresh *areia* from the seashore. The roof of such dwellings is usually of palm fronds and may be slightly raised at the gable to permit the more ready exit of smoke from the housewife's fire. The furniture ordinarily consists of rude benches or stools, perhaps a cheap chair, a rough table, and cots, or, more commonly, straw mats for sleeping. A Standard Oil Company can whose top and bottom have been removed is used for a stove. Furnishings include an unpretentious niche with a small image of the family's patron saint, a candle, perhaps an almanac, and a rude iron support for washbasin and pitcher of water. Utensils are usually of baked clay and quite simple in design.

In respect to economic level, education, and, to some extent, religion, the inhabitants of these lower-class areas diverge widely from those of the ridges. They are usually illiterate, although some of the children are now being enrolled in government-sponsored schools. Communication is ordinarily by word of mouth, seldom by newspaper, book, or telephone. Conversation is carried on in the Portuguese

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191. Although it is exceedingly doubtful if there is in Bahia today anyone of African descent who does not speak Portuguese, a few individuals can and on occasion do converse in Nagô. One may also hear Gêge spoken, as well as those lan-
[794] guages known locally as "Angola" and "Congo." However,
[796] the use of these tongues is very largely confined to the ritual
[576] of the *candomblé*, although at times one hears in the homes of blacks the Nagô greeting, "Ô-kú á-sán!" and the parting salutation, "Ôdî-ôlá-ô!" and even conversations in Nagô.
192 Many African words are to be found in the predominantly Portuguese speech of the lower class, a limited number of which have become common to all Bahia and, to some extent, to all Brazil. Approximately three hundred of the latter were noted.

•201 565 Certain gestures are to be observed among the lower-class blacks which are not common to the general population; for example, the *legua de beiço*, or slight extension of the lower lip when indicating distance (the words accompanying may be "one league," but the sense is much farther); and the *muxóxó*, or pursing of the lips as the lower portion of the face is pushed forward and upward, signifying disdain. Approbation is indicated by touching the tips of the fingers to pursed lips and withdrawing them while making a kissing sound. Silence is compelled by grasping the upper lip with the tips of the fingers. The act of eating is indicated by closing and opening the right hand before the mouth, and the act of drinking by raising the right hand before the face, flexing the three middle digits, and, with thumb and little finger extended, raising and lowering the hand at the wrist. The height of a human being is demonstrated by extending the

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palm flat in horizontal position in contrast to a vertical 565
placement for indicating the height of a lower animal.[10]

Although one is not likely to find any Bahian black who 551
has not been given at baptism a "Christian name," nicknames are very common, and many individuals are much better known by them than by their given names. Among such *apelidos* one will occasionally discover terms of probable African derivation; for instance, Okê, Bábá Cumdê, Cobê, Oum, Tau-édê, and Au-weh, all nicknames of members of a local labor union; or, among personages in the fetish world, such names as: Manoelzinho de Oxóssi, Lourenço Lemba, Maria de Tempo, Senhora de Yemanjá, João de Zázé, and Flaviano Cavungo, each of which recalls the African *orixá* to which the individual in question is dedicated.

Exercising considerable prestige among a portion of the 791
Bahian population is the *babalaô*, or *olhador*, whose primary 793
function, it seems, is to foretell the future; the *curandeiro*, 756
who by means of herbs, prayers and other magical manipu- [754]
lations seeks both to treat and to prevent disease; and the
feiticeiro, or "witch doctor," who, for a price, works black
magic. The office of the *babalaô* is occasionally exercised by [794]
the *pae de santo*, or priest of the fetish cult, although his function is more particularly that of supervising the rituals and public ceremonies of the cult and overseeing the sacred properties. To some extent he also exercises the function of a *curandeiro*.

[10] A form of greeting recalled by older blacks but rarely used today is as follows: If the individuals are social equals, each lifts his hands, palms outward, and grasps the hands of the other in such a way that the fingers of the one are interlaced with the fingers of the other, after which the "*ogan* grip" is exchanged; if not social equals, the individual of greater prestige places his right hand over the closed hands of the other. [576] [178]

[Town Life]

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The majority of people in Group 1 live in the older part of Vila Recôncavo, often in the old colonial sobrados, and they rarely descend the hill to the part of town inhabited by the fishermen. Indeed, they mix little with people of the town, and there is almost no social life within the group itself. Parties are expensive, and visiting from house to house in the evening is not common. Vila Recôncavo has no such pastime as the evening walk in the square. This group is seldom united on anything, especially local politics; however, the more distant the question the more apt the group is to be of one mind.

Most families in this group send their children to school in Salvador, go there on holidays whenever possible, receive the city newspaper and the Diario Oficial,[2] and shop in the city as often as they can.

Vila Recôncavo differs in one respect from most other rural Brazilian communities: it has no parish priest. The mother church of the parish (matriz) has long been unable to support its own priest, and the duties which would normally fall to such a person are performed by the Franciscans, whose convent is in Vila Recôncavo. The priests remain within the convent, taking little or no part in the social life of the town.

It will be noted that there was no mention of a drug store in Vila Recôncavo. There was none until 1945, when a nonprofit organization, the Institute of Vila Recôncavo, was opened. This is a medical post supported by federal, state, municipal, and private funds; its director is Friar Innocence, a Franciscan lay brother. The institute is housed in the spacious old buildings of the extinct Third Order of Franciscans, and consists of a pharmacy, an infants' milk and soup distributing center, a maternity post, a dental post, and other medical facilities. The dentist, who has modern equipment, is competent in his work. For several years a doctor was in daily attendance, dividing his time between the institute and the petroleum workers' camp. As a result of a complicated local political conflict, he left the institute, however, and Friar Innocence arranged for a visiting doctor to come from Centro and spend two days a week in Vila Recôncavo. Three town girls were sent to Salvador to study nursing and midwifery, so there is competent medical assistance.

2. The Diario Oficial is the newspaper in which government laws and regulations are published. As a rule, it is the publication of a regulation which makes it become a law.

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361 565 permitting as it does a full and unobstructed sweep of the cooling sea breeze, makes these heights more comfortable, more healthful, and, consequently, more desirable places of [362] residence. One usually finds here the more modern and [463] substantial buildings, the homes of the upper classes. Here ordinarily live the scions of the old aristocracy, the large landholders, the city's intellectuals, and the leaders of its "society"; the lawyers, physicians, engineers, and politicians; the officials of the army, the poets and journalists, the professors in the Faculdades, the few industrialists which Bahia has so far produced—in fact, nearly all those prominent in the intellectual, political, "social," and economic life of the city. These families possess considerable property [873] and employ numerous servants. Their members are usually [463] literate, and at least the males are *formados* (i.e., graduated from one of the Faculdades, either in law, medicine, or engineering), a distinction which in the Bahian society marks them off quite sharply from the rest of the population.

[204] [291] It is in these areas that the five newspapers published in the city circulate almost exclusively and the latest fashions from Paris or Hollywood are known and generally adopted. [341] [422] In recent years an occasional example of modernistic architecture and interior design has appeared. Here are to be [206] found the owners of virtually all the city's 3,855 telephones, [217] its 1,028 automobiles, its radios, and private libraries. Here live most of the 20,524 voters who cast ballots in the munici- [207] pal election of 1936. Here attachment to the *candomblé*, or [794] Afro-Brazilian fetish cult, is minimal and Catholic belief is [177] least modified by elements from the more primitive religions. Here live that portion of the population which *o povo* ("the people") call the *ricos*, or the "rich."

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Branca while sojourning in France "freed the womb" of the slave women on their *engenhos*, São Pedro and São João, in Santo Amaro, and continued gradually to manumit all their slaves. In the same year the friars of the Order of São Bento "freed the womb" of their slave women and announced that all their slaves would be free within three years, or by September, 1871.[74]

The first Bahian abolitionist to raise his voice to "a shout loud enough to be heard throughout the entire country" was Conselheiro Jeronymo Sodré Pereira, a state deputy and professor in the local Faculty of Medicine. In an address to the Bahian *camara* on March 5, 1879, he declared: "We who represent the democratic ideal, we who earnestly desire the liberation of the citizen through the vote and through instruction, ought to proclaim to our fellow-countrymen throughout the land that all Brazilians are citizens, all are free." This speech was favorably reported by several Bahian newspapers, including the *Gazeta de Noticias* and the *Gazeta da Tarde*, which at this time were becoming organs of the abolition movement. Although the ideas they were advancing had been at first considered "antipatriotic, subversive of the social order, and incendiary," they gradually spread.[75]

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The clergy as a group did not support abolition, and many padres who possessed slaves were accused by the abolitionists of "the same cruelty toward the victims, the same outspoken hostility, the same fury toward abolition, the same hypocritical and ridiculous insistence upon the rights of property, the same lack of respect for justice and the true interests of Brazil." Occasionally a priest, like João Manoel,

[74] *Ibid.*, pp. 227–28. [75] *Ibid.*, pp. 18–21.

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"slavery is extinct in all other countries of America to the shame of Brazil."

Beginning about 1862 a Bahian professor of mathematics, the mixed-blood, Dr. Francisco Alvares dos Santos, whose classes were said to be attended by two-thirds of the students of mathematics in the city, began carrying on abolition propaganda, and during the subsequent quarter of a century he each year gave a banquet to former students and invited as a special guest a slave whose liberty had been purchased on that day with funds supplied by a "patriotic battalion" composed of his students and organized in honor of the independence of Brazil. Out of his teaching arose the Sociedade Libertadora Dois de Julho, which freed several slaves.

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By 1875 the Sociedade Libertadora Sete de Setembro, organized in 1869, had freed approximately five hundred slaves, and twenty-four numbers of a periodical, *O Abolicionista*, had been published. At a bazaar held by the Society in that year, Castro Alves, Bahia's "glorious poet of liberty," addressed a letter to Bahian women in behalf of the slaves, and Barão de Macahubas, resident at the imperial court, sent several gifts. The Society at that time numbered five hundred and twelve members, of whom fifteen were women.[82]

The Sociedade Humanitaria Abolicionista was organized in 1869, and the Sociedade Libertadora Bahiana in 1883.

[82] Among the more prominent members were: Frederico Marinho de Araujo, Victor Isaac de Araujo, Lourenço Gomes de Araujo e Silva, Abilio Cezar Borges, Conselheiro José Luiz de Almeida Couto, Dr. Francisco José da Rocha, Conselheiro Manoel Pinto de Souza Dantas, Conselheiro Salustiano Ferreira Santo, Dr. Augusto Guimarães, Dr. Antonio Ferreira Garcez, Bellarmino Barretto, Julio Alves Guimarães, Constancio José dos Santos, Major Antonio de Souza Vieira, Dr. Frederico Augusto da Silva Lisboa, Conselheiro Carneiro da Rocha, and Major Antonio Ferreira de Barros.

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Four years later the latter changed its name to Sociedade Abolicionista Bahiana. In that time it had purchased the freedom of about fifty slaves, "including those whose liberty was demanded by reason of illegal servitude." The treasurer of the Society was a Negro shoemaker, Manoel Roque, "a man of the people," who carried on abolition propaganda among the free Negroes and "made several converts to the cause."

Abolitionists in other parts of the province of Bahia were similarly active. In 1884 an emancipation society was organized at Cachoeira, where two "out-spoken abolition newspapers," the *Jornal da Tarde* and *Planeta Venus*, were keeping the slave issue before the public. Another emancipation society, under the leadership of Pedro Alves de São Boaventura, operated at Camisão. Abolition sentiment and activity were also reported from Ilheos, Cannavieiras, Santo Antonio da Barra, and Feira de Sant'Anna, said to be "a strong pro-slave center."

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In 1862 a Bahian student published an antislavery article in a local publication, *O Estudante*. In 1869, after the Liberal party had adopted emancipation as a party policy, the *Diario da Bahia* began to support the antislavery cause. On March 20, 1872, five of the six newspapers then printed in the Bahian capital agreed "not to give publicity from this day forth to advertisements of any kind relative to the flight, purchase, sale, or placement of any slave."[83]

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[83] Signed by Francisco José da Rocha for the *Jornal da Bahia*, Innocencio Marques de Araujo Goes Junior for the *Correio da Bahia*, Manoel Pinto de Souza Dantas for the *Diario da Bahia*, Carvalho Gama for the *Diario de Noticias*, and José Marques de Souza and Aristides Ricardo de Sant'Anna for the *Alabama*. This agreement was renewed nine years later (in 1881), and the resolution was then taken "to urge the adhesion to it of all the press of the Empire." Only the *Gazeta da Bahia* refused to sign (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 276–79).

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In 1872 Dr. Frederico Lisboa advocated in *O Horizonte* "the right of all men to natural liberty" and, in keeping with this sentiment, liberated several slaves which had been presented to him on the occasion of his marriage. Subsequently he bought and freed some thirty Negroes belonging to others. In nine months Bahian abolitionists secured the release of approximately two hundred slaves illegally imported after passage of the law of 1831.[84] To make less difficult the transition from a slave to a free status, the courts appointed lawyers as *curadores* ("guardians") of the freedmen.[85]

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In 1880 Pamphilo da Santa Cruz founded a newspaper called *Gazeta da Tarde*, in whose first issue he stated a frankly abolitionist program. He was assisted in its publication by the journalist, Raymundo Bizarria, and by Conselheiro Luiz Alvares dos Santos, a professor at the Faculty of Medicine. In 1881, on the anniversary of the death of Castro Alves, "the immortal poet," author of the antislavery *Gonzaga* and *Poema dos escravos*, the public was invited through the columns of the *Diario da Bahia* "eloquently to affirm our irrevocable adhesion to the cause of abolition."

[84] For instance, Eduardo Carige demanded the liberation of an African woman whose owner, Antonio Alves Fernandes, had registered her in 1872 as forty years of age. Dr. Amphilophio Botelho Freire de Carvalho, "the first Bahian judge to comply with this law," whose decisions "were widely publicized and attracted the attention of the whole province," freed her on February 10, 1887. One irate master appealed from a decision of Botelho, charging that the judge was incompetent. The Superior Tribunal denied the appeal (see *Diario da Bahia* for March 15, 1887; Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 319–23).

[85] Among Bahian lawyers accepting this charge were: Dr. Affonso do Castro Rebello, Dr. Elpidio de Mesquita, Dr. Arthur de Mello e Mattos, Dr. Mauricio Francisco Ferreira da Silva, Dr. José Heraclides Ferreira, Dr. Francisco Moncorvo de Lima, Dr. Adolpho Carlos Sanches, Dr. Alexandre Galvão, Dr. Severino dos Santos Vieira, and Dr. Izaias Guedes de Mello. Dr. Raymundo Mendes Martins "rendered important services to the cause of the captives" as *curador geral* of orphans (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 324–26).

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At the ceremony Bahia's most famous citizen, the statesman, jurist, and orator, Ruy Barbosa, read from *Gonzaga:* "No more slaves! No more masters! Liberty to all hands, liberty to all heads," and himself added, "Abolition is an expression of the most inflexible of social necessities." Antonio Augusto de Mendonça, one of several Bahian poets then active in the antislavery cause, wrote and recited a poem dedicated to the Sociedade Libertadora Sete de Setembro. In the following year the *Gazeta da Tarde* inaugurated a series of abolition lectures to be given in the Lyceu de Artes e Officios and invited as the first speaker the well-known abolition orator, José do Patrocinio.[86] In 1885 a pamphlet entitled *A incoherencia da escravidão n'um paiz christão* was published in Bahia by Antonio Pereira de Araujo. When the news arrived (June 30, 1887) that the cabinet had secured the dissolution of "the pro-slave" *camara* a celebration was held at the offices of the *Diario da Bahia*, on the initiative of the *Libertadora Bahiana* and the *Gazeta da Tarde.*

In 1872 the province of Bahia freed the twenty-two slaves which it owned and had employed as gardeners, laundry women, and grave-diggers, either at the Hospital dos Lazaros or the cemetery of Quintas. In 1880 Joaquim Nabuco presented a project to the Pernambuco legislature calling for the extinction of slavery within ten years, and three years later he published a stirring abolition treatise entitled *O Abolicionismo.*[86a] In 1885, and again in 1887, he was elected federal deputy on an abolition platform. In 1881 the Bahian

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[86] Other lectures were given by Dr. Aristides Spinola, Dr. José de Oliveira Campos, Paula Ney, Conselheiro Luiz Alvares dos Santos, Ennes de Souza, Salles Barbosa, Elpidio de Mesquita, and Dr. Arthur Ferreira Vianna.

[86a] London, 1883.

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and the doctrines of Christianity. The normal development of the emancipation process was never checked or seriously hampered by a wave of fear like that which swept over slave areas in the United States following the Haitian revolution and the consequent annihilation of Haitian whites and the slaughter of thousands of mulattoes and blacks.

Resistance to abolition was apparently never strong or well organized. It was not confined to any one section of the country but even in slaveholding centers like Bahia was, as we have seen, constantly being undermined by local criticism. An occasional newspaper "persisted in being a slave organ" or appeared "timid and acquiescent with reference to slavery,"[93] but the overwhelming majority of the press increasingly supported the antislavery cause.

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It is, however, true that commercial leaders like Ramalho Ortigão, president of the Bahian *Centro* of Commerce and Agriculture, "tenaciously opposed" the abolition movement. Anselmo da Fonseca says that Portuguese immigrants, many of whom engaged in trade and commerce, were, with rare exceptions, "decided partisans of slavery" and not only became "the greatest and most audacious slave traders of Bahia" who offered most of the opposition to the cessation of the slave traffic but also energetically opposed the abolition of slavery itself.[94] However, the prestige of this group,

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[93] Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

[94] "The Portuguese cannot comprehend a Brazil without slaves. We hear daily from them, 'The Negro is peculiarly created by nature for the cultivation of sugar' " (*ibid.*, pp. 155–56). The Portuguese are said to have been the principal violators of the law of 1831, several of the more powerful of whom Euzebio de Queiroz felt impelled to deport when, some twenty years after the passage of this law legally abolishing the slave trade, he sought effectively to suppress the traffic. However, immigrant laborers, since they were in competition with slave laborers, ordinarily opposed slavery. See Henry K. Norton, *The Coming of South America* (New York, 1932), pp. 103–4.

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*563 very light. Her mother is a *sarará*, her grandmother is a
874 dark mulatto with kinky hair, and her husband is also a dark
[555] mixed-blood. Her family, it is said, has gradually risen from
[565] the lower class by reason of constantly taking advantage of every educational opportunity, by increasing their economic competence, and by deliberately cultivating "good manners."

*563 At a "night club," where there were gambling, liquid re-
547 freshments, and partners for dancing, of 128 guests,[27] 62
535 were whites, 40 were *brancos da Bahia*, 21 were mulattoes (several quite dark), 1 was a *cafuso*, and 4 were blacks. Of the 26 female entertainers (dancers and singers), 19 were whites,[28] 4 were *brancos da Bahia*, and 3 were mulattoes (all very light). None of the darker patrons danced during the evening.

*563 In the main gambling-room the group about the table
547 were principally whites, with a few light mulattoes and an
525 occasional dark mixed-blood. In the hallway near the entrance, however, was another gaming-table where stakes were lower. It was patronized principally by dark mulattoes, together with an occasional black, a few *brancos da Bahia*, and very few whites.

796 Carnival at Bahia lasts three days and is perhaps the most
204 popular festival of the year. At the close of one celebration plans are immediately set on foot for the next. From time to time throughout the ensuing twelve months, newspapers carry reports of the development of these plans, and, beginning about a hundred and fifty days before Carnival, a regular daily feature appears, the time before the big event being checked off, day by day, much as United States newspapers sometimes check off the days preceding Christmas; except

[27] On September 26, 1936. [28] Including a very swarthy Syrian girl.

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that the period of time involved is much greater in the case of Carnival.

In 1936, as for some years previously, three clubs competed in presenting floats on the opening and closing evenings of Carnival. The rivalries, especially between Cruz Vermelha and the Fantoshes, are intense, the Innocentes em Progresso appearing to be rather generally admired. 796 575 [578]

Preceding, during, and following the parade, Negro *batucadas* and *cordões* pass through the milling crowds. The *batucadas* are usually composed of fifteen to twenty young men, invariably blacks or dark mulattoes, who carry small drums, *cuicas*, and *xaque-xaques*,[29] and parade in single file. The music is one toned and monotonous, reminiscent of the *candomblé* ritual. A *cordão* consists of fifty or sixty people of both sexes and all ages, invariably blacks and dark mulattoes, inclosed within a roped quadrangle, some marching, rather informally, some constantly whirling and dancing, all singing African songs and beating their palms. A banner, usually of silk and velvet, bears the group's name. It may be Outum Obá de Africa, Ideal Africano, Onça,[30] or some similar designation. The group also includes from ten to fifteen musicians with brass instruments, a few blacks in African costume, and a dancer bearing an animal's head (tiger, lion, *onça*, etc.). The women and the small children are usually dressed in the *Bahiana* costume, to be described in detail in a subsequent chapter. [533]

In a spirit of levity common to the Carnival season, one will occasionally see a group of whites and light mulattoes burlesquing the *cordão*. Encompassed by a rope, they pass through the crowd, singing, dancing, and beating their palms. In one of these *blocos*, as they are called, 16 of the 563* 796

[29] See chap. ix. [30] The *onça* is the Brazilian jaguar.

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no great amount of race consciousness. The study of intermarriage made in São Paulo by Dr. Lowrie[17] would appear merely to confirm the fact that in Brazil still today the Negro in most cases lacks class. At least it is true that several individuals with some colored blood occupy important positions in the Paulista community or have married into white families.

The race problem in Brazil, in so far as there is a race problem, tends rather to be a consequence of the resistance which an ethnic group offers, or is thought to offer, to absorption. Recent opposition to Japanese immigration into São Paulo apparently has been largely motivated by apprehension that the Japanese would constitute a group difficult to assimilate.[18] In an attempt to refute this imputation, the Japanese embassy in Rio published a pamphlet entitled *Intermixture among the Japanese: The Myth That They Do Not Interbreed with Other Races*,[19] to which were appended several photographs of mixed Japanese-Brazilian families.

Of the Negroes, Brazilians ordinarily say there is no Negro problem, because the Negroes are in process of absorption and eventually will be completely incorporated. To individuals from all classes of the population this eventual amalgamation and assimilation of diverse ethnic units is a matter of pride and self-commendation.

In summary, one might set down in the form of hypothe-

[17] Samuel H. Lowrie, "Racial and National Intermarriage in a Brazilian City," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV, No. 5 (March, 1939), 684–707.

[18] See, e.g., "O cruzamento de japonezes com brasileiros," *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio), September 17, 1935; "A infiltração japoneza," *ibid.*, October 16 and 22, 1935; "Oliveira Vianna e a immigração japoneza," *ibid.*, September 13, 1935; "Contra a imigração amarela," *ibid.*, August 11, 1935.

[19] *Cruzamento da ethnia japoneza: hypothese de que o japonez não se cruza com outra ethnia* (São Paulo, 1934).

[SALVADOR]

/12 cont./

*563 829 192 826 from the word any pejorative meaning. In fact, to say a "mulattress" in speaking of a young girl of a certain social class is in a way less courteous than to say "a little mulattress" (una mulatinha). Very often, in speaking of a person of distinction, one does not use any of these terms; one then says "a person of color" or "a /13/ dark person." A swarthy métis with slightly frizzy hair, whose features link him with the Whites, is a moreno, especially if he belongs to an upper social class. A journalist, recently describing a part of the city where a large number of colored people are found together, wrote that "one meets beautiful mulattresses there." If the latter belong to the lower classes and if they are poor, they are simply mulattresses; if they are granfinas (1),

1. Granfino, granfina may be translated by "very refined."

they become light morenas; and one could even add morenas the color of jambo (2).

[824] 2. Jambo, fruit of the jambevio, a Myrtaceae (Eugenia sp.).

[533] [541] One finds numerous references to women of this type in the popular songs launched on the occasion of the famous Brazilian carnival. In the journals reporting accidents, crimes, or other facts in which [204] mulattoes happen to be involved, even from the poorest classes, it is rare to come across the word mulatto, for which pardo or *563 562 829 192 826 morena is preferred. The feminine form, moreover, has a sentimental value: it suggests a slightly pigmented skin and features of a beauty peculiar to these "women so sought after and preferred in greater number," as one of our informants told us. Because of this preference, the morena type has been celebrated in prose and in verse by our writers. And this morena, it goes without saying,

[SALVADOR]

/25/ Opinions about Colored People

829 The presence of so many colored people in their region has
*563 never constituted a preoccupation or a mark of inferiority for the
538 people of Bahia. The authors of school manuals for primary and secondary education, the political men in their election campaigns, the preachers in their sermons, the journalists in the writing of editorials and news refer to the important contribution of the African slaves to the Brazilian economy and praise certain traits of theirs, natural kindness, good nature, resignation, with which they have enriched the psychology of the nation. In the folklore, in tourist propaganda, in the caricatures that accompany political criticisms, Bahia is generally represented as the Bahian mulattress wearing the characteristic costume of women affiliated with the candomblé. Even in the publications intended for the foreigner, the authorities never intentially reduce the high percentage of the descendants of Africans in the local population (1).

[113] 1. Cf. Impressoes do Brasil no século vinte /Impressions of Brazil in the Twentieth Century/, Lloyd's Greater Britain Publishing Co. Ltd., London, 1913, p. 873.

*563 Condemning the attitude of a professor accused of making
[204] humiliating remarks to a colored student, a newspaper of Bahia wrote that even if there were no other reasons for condemning racial discrimination in Bahia, "there will always remain the great contribution that the black race has made to its civilization, to its development." The professor, in his reply, claimed that he too recognized the merit of "many colored people who have elevated themselves so much in society by their personal worth, the fruit of study and of work."

*563 Some authors, however, in the past and under the influence
829 of a simplistic evolutionism, have expressed the conviction that the colored people represented a misfortune for Bahia, because of the "psychic inferiority" of the Negro. One of them regarded the black element as a "refractory element in civilization" and

[SALVADOR]

/34 cont./

*563 565 their degree of education, in the hotels and even more in the boarding houses of various categories. They may freely visit restaurants, cafés, teashops, cabarets; they frequently participate in dinner parties where they meet white friends. The news-
*563 565 papers and magazines report anniversaries, marriages, the conferring of diplomas, births, returns from travel, celebrations and tributes
• 204 received, or the death of any person whomsoever, without any mention of type or color, printing portraits of either of them indiscriminately. And when an individual is not well enough known so that the newspapers spontaneously publish an article about him, /35/ it is not rare to see his name or even his portrait reproduced, after payment of the price of the announcement, in
*563 565 the column devoted to this kind of news. "Few persons," says a White, "could have more prestige in Bahia society, thanks to their exquisite manners and their elegance, than a university professor and his wife, both mulattoes, had ten years ago."

Among the most highly placed families of the present-day society of Bahia, says a morena informant, there are many who "belong to the caste," who, in other words, are métisses, although it would not be discreet to draw attention to the origin of these
[564] families. Since there are no castes, properly speaking, but merely classes, colored people find their way into the world of the Whites, even if they have pronounced black features; it is merely necessary for them to approximate the "superior" dominant group by their behavior. In order to show that she was born already assimilated with the Whites, a woman practicing a liberal profession explains that she is the daughter of a Black who was a domestic "in a milieu other than that of the senzala" (1).

[192] [567] [342]

1. Senzala = all the communicating houses of poor quality where the slaves lived in the fazendas.

She considers herself a privileged creature of God, since she has
*563 565 all that she desires. "I am on good terms with people of the best society. I choose my friends in all classes. I visit the clubs and
571 the government palace frequently. A short time ago the newspapers
[204] even published my picture beside the governor of the State in the course of a luncheon that one of my friends gave in his honor."

[SALVADOR]

/54 cont./

*563 665 perform very important duties in the government of the State. A merchant of mixed blood, wealthy and refined, and moreover one of the directors of a strong centrist party, was elected federal deputy in the last elections. These two men exert great influence on their respective parties; this influence is also due to the financial support and to the devotion that they do not cease to lavish on them. The Communist Party does not have a legal ex- [204] istence, but, according to some informants, it exploits the difficulties of the poor and stimulates racial antagonism; the newspaper that it publishes in Bahia and the candidates that it presents under the cover of other parties receive some support from poor colored people; one of /55/ the most important of its leaders is a mulatto of liberal profession.

*563 666 646 [162] At the last elections numerous persons of dark color were candidates for political offices, but the registers of the electoral tribunal bear no indication of the candidates' type. It is known, however, that among the 103 present representatives of the people of Bahia in the federal, municipal, and State legislative assemblies there are approximately 30 o/o morenos and pardos, some of whom are quite dark. Several of them enjoy great prestige, and it should be noted that in the assemblies they are by no means grouped according to their type or their racial origin. The politicians of [665] one and the same party conduct their tours and their election campaigns together, and their prestige by no means depends on their color, but on their personality and the parties or political leaders with whom they are affiliated. One can currently read in the newspapers appeals signed by persons of different "quality" with a view to paying tribute to politicians likewise of different "quality." A deputy from Bahia is regarded as the one member of the national parliament who shows the most Negroid features, but this does not create any difficulty for him in his political work. It is said that a white deputy speaking from the rostrum of parliament has presented himself more than once as a "mulatto from Bahia" in order to become better identified with the representatives from the State of Bahia.

[SALVADOR]

/59 cont./

* 563 706 874 [204] of not admitting Blacks came to run this school; this occurred more than 20 years ago, under vehement protests. It is significant that among the articles that the papers published about this event those of a lawyer and professor of English, a black leader originally from a British colony of Africa, stand out in particular (1).

[641]

1. In one of these articles this same Black wrote: "The Black is a preponderant ethnic factor in the formation of the crossbreeding so common in its various nuances in Brazil and, as a Brazilian in fact and by law, he is, before the Constitution, the equal of the White as a citizen of this same Republic. The School of naval apprentices having the right to choose its candidates, this right can be based only on moral precedents, on the aptitudes or the physical stamina of the candidates, and not on physical accidents of color.

* 563 641 Such episodes reveal one of the peculiar aspects of race relations in Bahia, as in all of Brazil, the freedom that has been given colored people to defend their rights themselves, by expressing themselves, sometimes with violence, against prejudice. Now not only is this freedom guaranteed them, but numerous finos Whites of high position, particularly university professors and intellectuals, support them by their writings. At present the naval apprentices are recruited among the poor classes, and numerous Blacks are found among them, as one may verify in the civic and military parades in which they take part. Blacks, métis, and Whites may advance in aviation and the navy up to the grades of sergeant and non-commissioned officer. That of officer, apart from the fact that it cannot be obtained except after specialized courses, presents other difficulties. The land army, of all the national military organizations, is the one that is considered the most /60/ accessible to colored people, even with regard to the officers. Among 12 superior officers who took part in a military

* 563 70 [565]

[SALVADOR]

/62 cont./

*563 545 533 [204] society, has brought to Bahia the most famous musicians of our time. The newspapers and journals report the concerts that the white and colored artists give in the theaters and halls of the most important organizations of the city, and publish their /63/ pictures as well as the comments that the art critics make on the subject.

*563 814 538 [532] [346] In the plastic arts, colored persons have not played an important role, although in the past they have produced some painters and sculptors of some renown whose works can be viewed in the most beautiful baroque churches of the city. These works are mentioned in the books on the art of Bahia, especially in those of a black or dark mulatto writer, Manoel Querino, son of slaves, whose studies on art, folklore, and Afro-Brazilian ethnography have made him famous. The first centenary of the birth of this intellectual, who in his biographies of numerous artists of Bahia only very rarely indicated their type, was solemnly commemorated in Bahia, as well as in Rio de Janeiro, at the same time that two other folklorists, who were white, one of whom was from Bahia, were honored.

*563 873 [875] In the school of fine arts of the local university, students of all types have acquired university degrees in architecture, painting, drawing, and sculpture; its teaching staff at present includes at least three mulattoes, two of whom are quite dark. Some informants say, however, that one painter, because of his color, was not counted for a prize offered by the school, consisting of a journey outside the State. This incident, which happened some tens of years ago, is interpreted in different ways by our informants.

*563 545 [873] In the theater, colored persons (at least those who are very dark) do not have great possibilities, and one often hears this complaint expressed. The Blacks, says one young informant, never get beyond the stage of laborer or carpenter in our theaters; even for the roles of Blacks, disguised Whites are preferred. On the other hand, a morena amateur actress states that white women refuse to play the parts of Bahians and that they entrust these parts to colored girls. It is also somewhat difficult to present white and colored actors together on the same stage, even in the theatrical

[SALVADOR]

/89 cont./

* 563 575 at that time to receive colored people. The informant adds, however, that he does not know of any other incident of this kind, and that he attributes it to the passing influence of some member of the management of the club in question. According to another informant, a mulatto of modest circumstances was recently unable to renew his registration at a club of which he was already a member: he attributed this refusal to his color, for he fulfilled the necessary conditions for his readmission. Thus there are clubs of intermediate category that are mentioned by the informants as being sometimes accessible to Blacks, sometimes inclined to exclude them.

Even in the most modest organizations, cases of discrimination may occur. About ten years ago an association of minor employees in commerce refused entrance to colored people during a festival it held at its headquarters. A few days later a similar association, announcing by way of the newspapers an excursion that it proposed to organize in order to celebrate a national date, added that there would be no "color distinction" and explained that the excursion would be "democratic." More recently one of the weekly newspapers of the city published the [204] following note on the subject of a club of intermediate class:

"The news that reaches us is grave; club X is taking a dangerous road: racism. In the course of the festival of the day before yesterday, at the moment when the ball was at its height, an 'Aryan' director expelled from the festival all persons of very dark color, which was very mortifying, particularly for the young people who were obliged to withdraw humiliated from the festival. If club X is against Blacks, its directors should notify their members in advance for all practical purposes. Never, in short, should they make them leave the premises, which is inelegant and could provoke reprisals."

Toward situations of this kind the attitude of the persons affected varies also. In certain cases they protest by way of the newspapers, [204] but one most frequently encounters an attitude of remoteness, of disaffection, toward the meetings and entertainments of similar

[SALVADOR]

/89 cont./

*563 575 [204] organizations, even among the little pigmented métis of relatively high rank, who, by their features and their social qualifications, could be accepted, but who, /90/ probably out of timidity, prefer to adopt a negative reaction of defense. Almost all claim to be of an eccentric nature, to have always lived very much apart, to have never learned to dance. Some go so far as to pretend that, even if they were accepted, they would very rarely go to a club celebration. One Black explains that "often Negroes do not encounter barriers because, knowing the racial prejudice, they do not go to certain places, particularly to the social clubs, for it is in connection with dancing that this prejudice manifests itself most." There are those who, agreeing with this opinion, console themselves by saying that "a Negro never goes to clubs, but he is admitted to scientific congresses and in intellectual milieus. Still others react like a black student for whom these refusals "ought to stimulate the reaction of colored persons so that those who have education finally endeavor to rise to the point of being amused. But it is the opposite that happens, they withdraw." In truth, there are few who are disposed to cope with the oppositions and those who are determined to do so may be accused, even by those of their type, of being "indiscreet" and of exposing themselves to useless conflicts by going where they have not been invited. Moreover, these attitudes are very typical of persons belonging to groups subject to discrimination and who think it is useless to react against the differential treatment that is applied to them. "I know a club to which some dark colored people were able to be admitted, but by provoking reactions," relates a rather pigmented man of liberal profession. "I do not want to subject myself to such an eventuality. I should be happy to be admitted, however, if I had a sufficiently powerful friend to introduce me and to overcome the resistance of the management committees. This, however, does not interest me, but it would be a favorable precedent for others; I also know that if this happened I would encounter the hostility of the white girls who would be very embarrassed to dance with a Black. On the part of the men there would be no opposition. A colored girl in similar circumstances

5: Azevedo--122 D, Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[SALVADOR]

/93/ Color Prejudice in Bahia

+ 563 829

Color prejudice may be analyzed either through the interpretation that the members of different ethnic groups give of it or by examining their behavior in its symbolic significance. Since the verbal expression of a specific social relationship does not always correspond to the reality of the fact itself, the investigator, in order to approximate objectivity, must attack the problem by the two methods indicated. It is not sufficient to listen to what the one or the other group says, but rather it is necessary to weigh the point of view of each one and compare it to the behavior observed.

In general, in the case of interracial relations, the opposing groups have different concepts about their respective situation. This is the case in Bahia, as the different ideologies that prompt and govern the relations prove.

For the Whites, whether they are truly white or socially white, there is no color or race prejudice in Bahia. One could make an anthology of opinions which vary slightly in terms, but which all express the same fundamental opinion, namely, that Whites and colored people represent "from this point of view an exemplary situation of harmony," as a local paper wrote a few months ago. It will suffice to cite the opinion of a very renowned writer, expressed in articles written at different times and somewhat far apart, that is to say, in the years 1932, 1949 and 1950, respectively, and published by an important newspaper of the city: "That is to say, it seems to us that the problem does not exist. It did not exist in São Paulo, certainly; it does not exist in Bahia. It is new, it is imaginary, it is not real."

[204]

"An isolated Negro problem does not exist in Brazil... There are even provinces in which one is not able to perceive, in the intimacy of person-to-person relationships, the presence of an obstacle that alienates them."

It must be remembered that these figures include the capital city, the population of which is about 450,000. If this is subtracted from the total population of the Recôncavo, the average density of the Recôncavo is approximately 27 persons per square kilometer. 161 [162]

Vila Recôncavo, the community of this study, is part of a county located 41 kilometers across the bay from Salvador. The community includes the town of Vila Recôncavo, which is the county seat, and the surrounding rural zone. Throughout the study we will be dealing with these two components of the sugar-cane plantation community, sometimes separately and sometimes together. 101 634 [121]

The only public transportation to the town is by boat from the capital, a three-hour trip across the bay, threading through numerous islands. The major part of the trip is made on remarkably blue water, usually serenely calm but occasionally violently agitated, especially during the winter. One-, two-, and three-masted sailing vessels and an occasional large sailing canoe, the centuries-old methods of transportation in Bahia, are passed on their way into the city, carrying fruit, vegetables, pottery, firewood, fish, tobacco, manioc flour, and sugar to the more than four hundred thousand people of the city, as they have done since the early colonization of the Recôncavo. The only new element in the scene is the small diesel boat which makes the trip back and forth across the bay, outward bound one day and returning the next with the outgoing tide. 505 501

As the boat nears the luxuriantly green, palm-crested islands, stopping at several to discharge the mail, passengers, and "city goods," one becomes aware of the feeling of stepping back into the past. Barefoot children are selling oranges, peanuts, and fish; and parrots and parakeets, sometimes doped with rum to make them appear tame. The mailman on the dock receives the sack of mail and gives it to his helper to carry to the post office; the island priest may receive a message or package entrusted to the captain of the boat or may even go aboard to travel to the church on another island. The others on the dock call to friends on the boat and exchange news or else simply watch the activity of docking the boat and the casting off. The people of the islands are light-skinned, although well sunburned. Many of them are vacationers from the city, dressed in brightly colored clothes, for the islands are well-known resorts. The others, barefoot, wearing shorts 505 [857] [443] [205] [793] [142] [528]

To the west, on the third hill, along the "beach," and in the small valleys, there is a different atmosphere. Here, in the Caquende, Boqueirão, Cortume, and Rua Nova (see map of town), there are no sobrados, no signs of former grandeur. The houses are of another style--small, one-story buildings with no air of antiquity about them. Some are made of brick, but most are of mud on a bamboo or mangue frame. Many have been coated with whitewash, some recently and some a long time ago. On the summit of this third hill, the Oiteiro, are the poorest houses of all, one- and two-room mud houses with thatched roofs. Recently in this section there have been some new-style houses built, tipo bangalo (bungalow-type), and there are signs of a growing prosperity among a few enterprising people. These areas of fishermen, of small storekeepers, and of those with crafts such as carpentry, bricklaying, and shoemaking, are the most heavily populated parts of the town of Vila Recôncavo today. According to the old inhabitants of the town, this section was undeveloped sixty years ago, and, to the old people, Vila Recôncavo is still up there on the hill, in the area of the sobrados. Nevertheless, the majority of the stores are in the lower part of town, which even has its own chapel. It is here that the children play although they must go up the hill to school. It is here that there are groups of men gossiping and having a drink of rum. It is here that an attitude of open friendliness prevails, and there are friendly faces at the windows. It is here that the drums beat when the African gods are feted.

361 342 [178] 361 [463] [366] [368]

The post office, located in the upper part of town, also has a telegraph. Messages go by special telephone to the nearby town of Centro, from where they are sent by wire. There is also a public telephone in the town which has two extensions, one in the house of the mayor and one in the house of the doctor. Other people must go to the telephone office to make or receive calls. The telephone is very uncertain; not only is it frequently impossible to get a call through but often nothing can be heard once the connection is made. From the town it is possible to speak through Centro to Salvador. It is also possible to speak to the sugar factory, and through its switchboard to several of the sugar plantations.

206 [205] [362]

In recent years electricity has been brought to the town, and, in addition to lights on the streets, 78 of the 408 buildings in town have electricity. Of these, twenty-one have radios, and three have electric irons. Only the doctor, the health post, and the bar have refrigerators.

365 [207] [251]

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VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Usina]

The private plantation presents a far better appearance than any plantation belonging to the factory, for it is usually "home" to the owner, who is interested in keeping it as pleasant as possible, while the factory plantation in charge of an overseer is simply a business project existing only to produce sugar cane. 249* 466 184

At the Usina São Pedro, as stated earlier for the Recôncavo generally, the consolidation of land by the corporations has not turned the entire property into one large plantation. Instead, each plantation has retained its old boundaries, indeed complete autonomy, following only the general policies of the factory directory. The Usina São Pedro happens to be situated in a central position in relation to its six plantations. This is not always the case, for frequently the lands of a factory are scattered far from the plant itself, creating difficulties of administration and transportation. 249* 423

Each of the plantations has its own nucleus, the street of workers' houses oriented toward the house of the overseer. Each of these little villages has its own small store, usually a private enterprise of the overseer. The largest plantation, Pedras, has a chapel and a school. None of the plantations has an electric power line, but each has a telephone in the overseer's house. The feeling of isolation and abandonment is strong, as indeed it is on almost all overseer-directed plantations belonging to a factory. There is a general feeling of pity for the residents who are situated so far from their patrão and whose first recourse must be the overseer, a man like themselves, with little or no education and little interest in the people other than to keep them working. In other words, the factory plantation lacks the paternal hand of the owner. In other respects it is similar to the private plantation in that it has an overseer, a foreman, a cowboy, and resident workmen. 249* 36 [206]• 249* 571 [184]

The bulk of the agricultural direction of the São Pedro plantations is in the hands of the general overseer, Seu Pipiu. It is his duty to direct and supervise the activities of all six plantations. He is a man of no small status. He is practically independent in his actions, for the directors of the factory tell him how much cane they feel they need in the forthcoming harvest, and it is up to him to produce it. The methods and problems in doing this are left up to him. Seu Pipiu gives orders to each of the regional overseers, whose duties are the same as those of the overseer on a private plantation. The only difference is that they are dealing with a superior employee, instead of with the owner in person. The general over- 249* 463 466

[Class A Families]

to have fewer offspring. Four or five generations ago a couple 565* 594
might have as many as twenty children. It was common among 163
these large families for at least one child to enter the priest- 178
hood or a convent. This is no longer the case, not only be- [463]
cause of the smaller size of the families, but also because
the colonial pattern of a priest for each plantation is now gone.

The marriage age for girls is also changing, for several 582
reasons: it takes longer for a boy now to be educated and set- 178
tled in business; the families can no longer support married
children; and girls are being better educated. Instead of be- 562
ing married at sixteen, seventeen, and eighteen, they now go 565*
to school much longer, sometimes taking advanced degrees
as do their brothers. This delays marriage till the twenties
and gives the girls a certain amount of independence, rather
than simply a position of wife and mother. As yet few of them [463]
have entered the professions, but recently it has become styl-
ish to study nursing or social work at least for a while before
marriage. The old pattern was for widows to be supported by [736]
their families, but now girls want to feel self-sufficient, with-
out the dreary prospect of living as dependents in the case of
their husbands' death. In this century, also, marriage has
assumed an aspect of companionship, which was formerly
lacking, for women have achieved a much greater equality with
their husbands and are now partners rather than household
fixtures.

There has been a reaction to the family aspect of Bahian 565*
society, and frequently people are heard complaining of the 596
narrowness of life in such surroundings and expressing a de- 178
sire to live in Rio de Janeiro, or some place where they would
not be always in the same restricted group of relatives. Many 574
of the former obligations of formal visits to close and distant [206]
relatives are now relaxed, although telephone calls at least
are expected with some sort of regularity and members of the
extended family, as well as their attendants, are still expect-
ed at all weddings, birthdays, and deaths. The arrival of fam-
ily members from Rio calls for many dinners and celebrations
in their honor. But the conjugal families seek outside ac- 571
quaintances more and more, and as they enter new groups they 565*
become less able to cope with the numerous family affairs. 596
Nevertheless, it is still membership in these extensive, pa- 178
triarchal families which gives people their status in the com-
munity as a whole and their right to enter new groups which [594]
form along class lines. Everyone is well aware of this, and [554]

593
369 the fathers, who insisted that the children go. In the case of a woman who moves in with a new husband and brings her own children, she always makes it clear that the children are hers and not his. She will allow no interference from her husband in the matter of disciplining her children. Often the best possible relations exist between stepfather and children, but he never gives orders to them. The rural mother in all cases seems to be more exacting with her offspring than the town
[861] mother. It is not uncommon for a rural mother to beat her children, even those who are grown men, with the cipó de caboclo (a switch), whereas this would never happen in the town. She also extends her control over them even after they are married, counseling them and helping when she can, and criticizing them severely if she does not like something they do.

883 By the time they are in their late teens, boys become in-
584 terested in courting (namoro), though girls often start ear-
212 lier. If a boy sees a girl who interests him, he manages to
832 meet her as often as possible on the street or at the dock, and by looks and slight remarks makes it clear that he is interest-
[206] ed. Or, if he can write, he may send the girl a note through a common friend. In Vila Recôncavo the telephone office is a popular place for making one's interests known, for the telephone operator is a young woman who is highly respected by most people in town and well liked by young people. A note typical of those which may pass through her hands is as follows:

Vila Recôncavo
January 7, 1951

Dona Therezinha, Salutations:

I am absolutely convinced that you do not doubt the sincerity of my love, which is always manifested so clearly in my letters and in my face when I see you.

So, I equally have the conviction of having the strange happiness of possessing your love, but in the meantime there is something lacking to complete my felicity. That is to speak to you, to hear from your lips the sincere confession of your love, to feel you near me for a few minutes.

I ask you to give me permission to speak to you, indicating the day, hour, and place in which we can meet.

You will surely not repent giving me this pleasure, for you will see that I know how to retribute your confidence

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[City of Salvador]

361 565 permitting as it does a full and unobstructed sweep of the cooling sea breeze, makes these heights more comfortable, more healthful, and, consequently, more desirable places of [362] residence. One usually finds here the more modern and [463] substantial buildings, the homes of the upper classes. Here ordinarily live the scions of the old aristocracy, the large landholders, the city's intellectuals, and the leaders of its "society"; the lawyers, physicians, engineers, and politicians; the officials of the army, the poets and journalists, the professors in the Faculdades, the few industrialists which Bahia has so far produced—in fact, nearly all those prominent in the intellectual, political, "social," and economic life of the city. These families possess considerable property [873] and employ numerous servants. Their members are usually [463] literate, and at least the males are *formados* (i.e., graduated from one of the Faculdades, either in law, medicine, or engineering), a distinction which in the Bahian society marks them off quite sharply from the rest of the population.

[204] [291] It is in these areas that the five newspapers published in the city circulate almost exclusively and the latest fashions from Paris or Hollywood are known and generally adopted. [341] In recent years an occasional example of modernistic architecture and interior design has appeared. Here are to be [422] found the owners of virtually all the city's 3,855 telephones, [206] its 1,028 automobiles, its radios, and private libraries. Here [217] live most of the 20,524 voters who cast ballots in the municipal election of 1936. Here attachment to the *candomblé*, or [207] Afro-Brazilian fetish cult, is minimal and Catholic belief is [794] least modified by elements from the more primitive religions. Here live that portion of the population which *o povo* [177] ("the people") call the *ricos*, or the "rich."

5: Azevedo--19 D. Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[Salvador]

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1. A colored business-man.

To the west, on the third hill, along the "beach," and in the small valleys, there is a different atmosphere. Here, in the Caquende, Boqueirão, Cortume, and Rua Nova (see map of town), there are no sobrados, no signs of former grandeur. The houses are of another style--small, one-story buildings with no air of antiquity about them. Some are made of brick, but most are of mud on a bamboo or mangue frame. Many have been coated with whitewash, some recently and some a long time ago. On the summit of this third hill, the Oiteiro, are the poorest houses of all, one- and two-room mud houses with thatched roofs. Recently in this section there have been some new-style houses built, tipo bangalo (bungalow-type), and there are signs of a growing prosperity among a few enterprising people. These areas of fishermen, of small storekeepers, and of those with crafts such as carpentry, bricklaying, and shoemaking, are the most heavily populated parts of the town of Vila Recôncavo today. According to the old inhabitants of the town, this section was undeveloped sixty years ago, and, to the old people, Vila Recôncavo is still up there on the hill, in the area of the sobrados. Nevertheless, the majority of the stores are in the lower part of town, which even has its own chapel. It is here that the children play although they must go up the hill to school. It is here that there are groups of men gossiping and having a drink of rum. It is here that an attitude of open friendliness prevails, and there are friendly faces at the windows. It is here that the drums beat when the African gods are feted.

361 342 [178] 361 [463] [366] [368]

The post office, located in the upper part of town, also has a telegraph. Messages go by special telephone to the nearby town of Centro, from where they are sent by wire. There is also a public telephone in the town which has two extensions, one in the house of the mayor and one in the house of the doctor. Other people must go to the telephone office to make or receive calls. The telephone is very uncertain; not only is it frequently impossible to get a call through but often nothing can be heard once the connection is made. From the town it is possible to speak through Centro to Salvador. It is also possible to speak to the sugar factory, and through its switchboard to several of the sugar plantations.

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In recent years electricity has been brought to the town, and, in addition to lights on the streets, 78 of the 408 buildings in town have electricity. Of these, twenty-one have radios, and three have electric irons. Only the doctor, the health post, and the bar have refrigerators.

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*565 tation administration are over. In general, however, neither the children nor the parents mix with the permanent residents of Vila Recôncavo. Although as small children they may have a worker's son as a constant playmate, by the time they are teenagers this relationship has usually faded into a fond memory.

*565 458 The standard of living of this class is far above that of any of the other local groups. It is important to realize that because of the fluctuations of the sugar market, members of this class have not always had fluid wealth at their command, while at other periods they have been undeniably wealthy. But even during a slump they have been able to raise money when necessary. One of the major reasons that planters turned to the professions was the need to assure themselves of a continued income when the sugar market falls. At such times their main activities are directed toward earning a living in the city. But at those times when sugar producing is profitable the practicing of the activities becomes a strain, and one or the other must suffer. Nevertheless, at any time these people have earned enough to maintain a standard of living which compares favorably with that of the upper class in any large city. Households are complete with refrigerators, radios, and other electrical appliances which must be imported. Many have automobiles, receive magazines from abroad, follow Parisian dress styles, take interest in international affairs, and in general lead a life of wide interests. In the rural zone their houses are much better than those of any others, often having running water, electricity, and a full range of service provided by servants. Usually the household servants move from country to city with the family.

*565 511 [416] [207] [184] [357] [166]

*565 571 Class B in the rural zone of the community is made up of plantation overseers, factory technicians, and white-collar workers of the factory offices. It is almost as small as Class A, comprising about twenty adult members. As in the case of the planters, who associate with other planters outside the community, the overseers of various plantations have reunions. There is much more social contact between the overseers and the mass of workers, however, than between the planters and the workers. The planters usually know all the workers on their plantations, as well as their families; but although there is frequent visiting and chatting between the women of the two groups and between the males of the two groups, there is little basis for conversation. The planta-

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4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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[City of Salvador]

361 565 permitting as it does a full and unobstructed sweep of the cooling sea breeze, makes these heights more comfortable, more healthful, and, consequently, more desirable places of [362] residence. One usually finds here the more modern and [463] substantial buildings, the homes of the upper classes. Here ordinarily live the scions of the old aristocracy, the large landholders, the city's intellectuals, and the leaders of its "society"; the lawyers, physicians, engineers, and politicians; the officials of the army, the poets and journalists, the professors in the Faculdades, the few industrialists which Bahia has so far produced—in fact, nearly all those prominent in the intellectual, political, "social," and economic life of the city. These families possess considerable property [893] and employ numerous servants. Their members are usually [463] literate, and at least the males are *formados* (i.e., graduated from one of the Faculdades, either in law, medicine, or engineering), a distinction which in the Bahian society marks them off quite sharply from the rest of the population.

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4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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The first recorded protest in Brazil against slavery as an institution was that of the Jesuit Manoel de Nobrega, who, shortly after Bahia was founded, sent a letter to the superior of his order in Lisbon protesting against the importation of Africans into the new settlement.

In 1758 Manoel Ribeiro da Rocha, who had been educated at Coimbra, published in Lisbon a book entitled *Ethiope resgatado, empenhado, sustentado, corrigido, instruido e libertado*, in which the abolition of the slave trade was advocated. Sixty-five years later, in 1823, José Bonifacio de Andrade e Silva unsuccessfully proposed in parliament a measure designed to end importation by 1828. But on November 7, 1831, the regent, Padre Diogo Antonio Feijó, signed a resolution drawn up by Costa Carvalho, Lima e Sousa, and Basilio Muniz, which declared free all Africans subsequently brought into Brazil.

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Manumission existed from the first. Apparently early in the colonial period it became customary for masters to accept remuneration for original cost.[64] Public opinion demanded that an owner set at liberty any slave requesting his freedom and offering the price of his purchase.[65] The requirement was later made legally binding and enforced by law.[65a] Other slaves were given their freedom either during their master's lifetime or upon his death. The fathers of illegitimate offspring often freed their children at the baptismal font. From 1864 to 1870 large numbers of slaves were granted their freedom on agreeing to serve in the Para-

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[64] The wearing of shoes or slippers became a symbol of freedom.

[65] R. Walsh, *Notices of Brazil* (2 vols.; London, 1830), II, 391.

[65a] National Law No. 2040, September 28, 1871. See Manoel Joaquim do Nascimento e Silva, *Synopsis da legislação brasileira* (Rio, 1874), p. 460.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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ery.[78] As early as Independence Day, 1851, the Benedictine friar, Francisco da Natividade Carneiro da Cunha, preached a sermon in the Bahian Cathedral in which he urged Bahians "to complete Brazilian independence by gradually emancipating the slaves."[79] Monsenhor Joaquim Pinto de Campos attacked slavery in sermons as early as 1856, in one of which, preached before the Sociedade Ypiranga, he said: "Humanity is one, and all of its parts have equal rights. The public conscience, which is the voice of God re-echoing in the souls of the people, is always repelled by favoritism in the distribution of liberty."

Canon Rodrigo de Souza Menezes, in the columns of *O Horizonte* as early as 1872, and in a sermon preached in the Cathedral on July 2, 1883, vigorously attacked slavery and advocated its abolition throughout Brazil. Another Bahian canon, Dr. Romualdo Maria de Seixas Barroso, wrote many abolition articles for the newspapers, among them one addressed especially to Bahian women; and in his will, probated in 1886, he declared: "I have always considered it a crime to draw up a contract for the buying and selling of any human being—he who is my own brother and who may be redeemed, as I, by the blood of the Savior of mankind."[80]

The bishop of Olinda, on March 25, 1887, wrote a pastoral letter urging his clergy to free immediately their

[78] *Ibid.*, p. 35. The archbishop said: "I have always been persuaded that the word 'slavery' calls up images of all vices and all crimes; and that the word 'liberty' calls out the ideas and the sentiments attendent upon all virtue and all good. Always I have maintained that slavery is a harmful condition which destroys the spirit, weakens the faculties of understanding, and perverts the heart."

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[79] "Public opinion was aroused against the words of Friar Carneiro. Upon his descending from the pulpit, one of his relatives asked him if he had lost his reason" (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 382–83).

[80] *Ibid.*, pp. 384–88.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

565 369 To the extent that the economic and social position of the aristocratic group is usurped by the new upper class elements in Salvador, the pre-eminent role of the aristocrats in the sugar cane zone is threatened.

565 249 In Bahia the strong aristocratic class derived from the sugar cane system. Outside the sugar areas a well-defined aristocratic class is lacking--the upper level in these areas is occupied by groups similar to the local upper class of the sugar zone. In the tobacco and manioc zones, around the sugar cane area, the members of the local upper class, including those with urban residences, are very intimately involved in agriculture. In this agricultural zone the upper class has few personal or family connections with the Salvador upper class.

565 The lower class outside the sugar areas is composed of cultivators and urban workers and probably has more gradations and a less heirarchical structure than is characteristic of the sugar area. The cultivators are semi-independent small farmers, renters, and share croppers of varying dependence and social position. Social mobility appears to be about equal to that in the corresponding stratum of the sugar zone.

565 871 Compared with the United States, the opportunity for educational and cultural development in the lower class is much more severely restricted by the prevailing poverty. Effective literacy is low among the manual laborers of city or countryside. The middle groups and local upper classes are usually, but not universally, literate, but for the most part their cultural horizons are limited. In contrast, the cultural opportunities and outlook of the aristocratic and big-business class is both cosmopolitan and sophisticated. Education in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Europe, or the United States is not uncommon. Nevertheless, large segments of this class remain distinctly provincial in their cultural orientation--this is particularly true of the decadent aristocratic families.

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 [464] The skills of the 196,000 workers are an important agricultural resource in the Recôncavo. This resource can best be evaluated in terms of the prevailing agricultural systems: hoe and rudimentary plow agriculture. Hoe agriculture is universal in the Recôncavo, and in a society so thoroughly permeated with agricultural activity it is fair to assume that, except for some completely urbanized laborers in Salvador, all workers are familiar with the simple tools of this form of cultivation. Plow cultivation is more specialized; it is used [249] throughout the sugar cane zone but only in preparing the fields for planting. The seedstalks are covered with a hoe, and knives are used [407] for weeding and harvesting. Outside the sugar zone plows are rarely encountered.

[231] The domesticated animals which play a prominent role in cultivation in the Recôncavo are oxen, horses, mules, and donkeys, and the rudiments of their management are almost universally understood. The prominent crops of the Recôncavo are ubiquitous—manioc, corn, beans, sweet potatoes, peanuts, tobacco, sugar cane, bananas, and oranges are grown in all areas, and their cultivation under the prevailing agricultural system is common knowledge. There is little present need for agricultural labor specialized beyond this level.

241 178 It is clear that the introduction into the Recôncavo of new, radically different crops or techniques of cultivation would alter this [181] relatively favorable situation. The agricultural worker of the Recôncavo, like his counterpart in many other parts of the world, is inherently conservative. As in the past, he will continue to resist even minor changes, such as improved methods of seed selection in corn or improved curing of tobacco. More radical changes would probably be resisted more strongly. The problem of "selling" new ways of pro- [212] ducing agricultural products is difficult not only because of the

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 178 212 satisfaction with traditional ways but also because the low level of literacy makes difficult even the presentation of new methods. The low level of literacy directly limits the media available for propagation of new ideas, and there is little consciousness of the existence of other methods in other areas. These factors restrict the intellectual horizon and reduce the tolerance for change.

241 407 [242] [254] As yet, mechanized agriculture is almost unknown--there are probably less than fifty tractors in the entire Recôncavo. Agricultural machinery is confined almost exclusively to government agricultural experiment stations and extension services or to the largest sugar fazendas--in 1952-53 the tractors of the fazendas were largely unused because of the lack of new parts or general unsuitability for the tasks at hand. A very small number of agricultural workers have had any experience with agricultural machinery. The introduction of large quantities of farm equipment would raise many problems related to skill and receptivity. However, the truck, bus, and jeep are omnipresent in [493] the Recôncavo, and the number of competent drivers and mechanics is surprisingly large. Most of these mechanically skilled workers live in the cities and towns, but some are available everywhere, especially in the sugar area. In this area, too, many workers have had experience with such massive equipment as the ox-plow. Thus the introduction of tractors and their accessories into the sugar zone, the area most adapted to mechanization at the present moment, would find at least a small cadre of experienced workers available.

241 461 In addition to skills, the mode of labor and the attitude toward work are important factors in evaluating the agricultural labor force. Agricultural work in the Recôncavo tends to be a joint enterprise--it is joint effort which makes it possible to perform many heavy or arduous tasks with little mechanical assistance. On the cane plantations

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they are generally conceded to be so by the field hands and the members of classes A and B, because their occupations are more specialized and they work in the mill. There are actually several factors which distinguish them from the field laborers, for in addition to receiving protection by national legislation, including minimum salaries and rights to vacations and medical services, they receive from the factory electric light for their houses and firewood. In addition, factory workers do not plant gardens to supply their farina, and they consider themselves far superior to the agricultural laborers in that their own wives "do not use the hoe" (nao pegam na enxada).

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At the factory nucleus where both millworkers and the agricultural laborers of one plantation live in the same place, the houses of the former are grouped in the middle of the village, clustered about the owner's chalet, while those of the latter are on the fringes, farther from the usineiro's house, the mill, and the large store. The factory workers' houses are better constructed than those of the field laborers. They are mostly of brick with tile roofs, while the field workers' homes are often of wattle-work covered with plaster and painted over. The houses of the factory nucleus follow the old slavequarter pattern. The buildings are long and narrow and divided into apartments under one roof. The factory owns all the houses, which the workers receive rent-free. The factory worker is better paid than the field worker, and consequently has more and better material possessions. His house is better furnished, and he dresses better.

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Illiteracy is widespread in the rural area. The factory nucleus has had a state primary school for thirty years, and Pedras, the largest of the factory plantations, has had one for about twenty. As a result the factory workers, as well as the people of Pedras, have had the opportunity to attend four years of primary school. The rural laborers on other plantations, however, have lacked this opportunity in most cases. An exception is the Fazenda das Moças, which has had a school in recent years, for children in the daytime and for adults at night.

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The social life of the workers is almost entirely confined to the place in which they live. Their lives are spent on the plantation except for the days when they walk to the fair in Centro, usually on the Monday following payday. During the summer, when the roads are good for travel, they are busy with the

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593 369 the fathers, who insisted that the children go. In the case of a woman who moves in with a new husband and brings her own children, she always makes it clear that the children are hers and not his. She will allow no interference from her husband in the matter of disciplining her children. Often the best possible relations exist between stepfather and children, but he never gives orders to them. The rural mother in all cases seems to be more exacting with her offspring than the town [861] mother. It is not uncommon for a rural mother to beat her children, even those who are grown men, with the cipó de caboclo (a switch), whereas this would never happen in the town. She also extends her control over them even after they are married, counseling them and helping when she can, and criticizing them severely if she does not like something they do.

883 By the time they are in their late teens, boys become in-584 terested in courting (namoro), though girls often start ear-217 lier. If a boy sees a girl who interests him, he manages to meet her as often as possible on the street or at the dock, and 832 by looks and slight remarks makes it clear that he is interest-[206] ed. Or, if he can write, he may send the girl a note through a common friend. In Vila Recôncavo the telephone office is a popular place for making one's interests known, for the telephone operator is a young woman who is highly respected by most people in town and well liked by young people. A note typical of those which may pass through her hands is as follows:

Vila Recôncavo
January 7, 1951

Dona Therezinha, Salutations:

I am absolutely convinced that you do not doubt the sincerity of my love, which is always manifested so clearly in my letters and in my face when I see you.

So, I equally have the conviction of having the strange happiness of possessing your love, but in the meantime there is something lacking to complete my felicity. That is to speak to you, to hear from your lips the sincere confession of your love, to feel you near me for a few minutes.

I ask you to give me permission to speak to you, indicating the day, hour, and place in which we can meet.

You will surely not repent giving me this pleasure, for you will see that I know how to retribute your confidence

with respect and honesty. Anxiously awaiting your answer, I am your sincere admirer.
Excuse the mistakes. End.

Themistocles Filho

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In this case it was the girl's first experience with this sort of thing, so she asked an older friend to write the answer for her. It took over a week before the answer was ready and was given to the boy. During this time the girls who know about the affair discussed the possibilities: the boy's looks, his note, his friends, and so on, until nothing was left uncovered. Generally the details of such an affair are shared by the girl with her female friends. The answer, when ready, ran as follows:

Vila Recôncavo
January 10, 1951

Dear Citizen:

Initially I send my wishes for happiness so that they may become part of all that is stored in your imagination, loyal and sincere friend.

And now I want to acknowledge receipt of your letter, which in its first moment was the source of indescribable joy in my heart. Afterwards, in the surprised reality of all young girls, I asked myself about the content of all that which you wrote to me so nicely. And, although bewildered by the disillusions of many of my girl friends, I think that my authorized answer may be a meeting between the two of us, so that we may know each other better, and if we understand each other well our destinies will belong to God.

And thus I present myself.

Therezinha

This affair went on for several more letters before the girl made a definite date. In the meantime the two passed each other in the street, in the movies, and on the dock without speaking. In the end the girl, who was only fourteen, lost her nerve, and the affair ended before any meeting took place. When such a correspondence culminates in an actual meeting, the meetings are facilitated or made difficult by the degree of vigilance exercised by the girl's parents. Often such an affair is hidden from them completely, only the girl's best friends having any

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Politically, this influx of new workers has had little influence. Local politics, at least, remain in the hands of the traditional landowners. However, national political parties other than that of the landowners are gaining force, especially the labor party, and within the near future there will undoubtedly be considerable modification in the voting patterns. The bulk of the rural population do not have the franchise because of their illiteracy. On the other hand, the petroleum workers, whose level of living is considerably higher than that of the rural population, have the franchise and according to law must exercise it.

A major area of change in the community is the class structure. In its main outlines the class structure remains the same, but there are some differences in emphasis. Class A, the rural upper class, which also is part of the upper class in the capital city where it resides part of the year, has been somewhat depleted. The Coronel and his son and son-in-law and their families, who constituted the family owner-directors of Usina São Pedro, are no longer part of the scene. As a result of the shift in ownership and direction the former usineiro has been replaced by paid employees.[1] Although these employees are related to the principal members of the new owning firm by marriage, they are treated as employees rather than as family members. They do not have the "social standing," meaning tradition, background, extended family relations, and the scholarly training, which distinguish the former owners. Class A therefore is now represented only by the private plantation owners.

On the other hand, Class B is slowly becoming larger in both the rural and the urban areas of the community, as a result of the addition of two new groups: the members of the new factory organization, and the petroleum workers with their much higher standard of living, considerably higher education, and their steady employment as members of a new bureaucracy, Petrobrás. Unmarried workers belonging to Petrobrás are to some extent seeking marital alliances with girls of the area, especially from the factory nucleus and from the town of Vila Recôncavo. In some cases legal and religious marriages have taken place. In other cases the couple has simply

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1. The term usineiro is usually limited to the owner-director who is the founder of the factory, or is the son of the founder. When the director is a paid employee, he is just "the boss."

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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The valleys, on the other hand, afford less comfortable, less healthful, less convenient, and, consequently, less expensive residential locations. Here the regularly laid out streets and paving disappear. The inhabitants get about by way of footpaths, the red clay of which becomes slippery after a tropical downpour and quite treacherous on the steeper slopes. Here live the lower classes. Dwellings are simple mud huts constructed of a sapling framework over which puddled clay has been spread and allowed to dry. If the owner's income has permitted, the rough exterior of the dwellings has been smoothed off and a lime wash in pale tints of pink, blue, green, or yellow added. The floor is commonly of earth, neatly sanded at regular intervals with fresh *areia* from the seashore. The roof of such dwellings is usually of palm fronds and may be slightly raised at the gable to permit the more ready exit of smoke from the housewife's fire. The furniture ordinarily consists of rude benches or stools, perhaps a cheap chair, a rough table, and cots, or, more commonly, straw mats for sleeping. A Standard Oil Company can whose top and bottom have been removed is used for a stove. Furnishings include an unpretentious niche with a small image of the family's patron saint, a candle, perhaps an almanac, and a rude iron support for washbasin and pitcher of water. Utensils are usually of baked clay and quite simple in design.

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In respect to economic level, education, and, to some extent, religion, the inhabitants of these lower-class areas diverge widely from those of the ridges. They are usually illiterate, although some of the children are now being enrolled in government-sponsored schools. Communication is ordinarily by word of mouth, seldom by newspaper, book, or telephone. Conversation is carried on in the Portuguese

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4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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pendent, lived apart from their masters, and arranged their own employment. They were usually required to pay a stated sum weekly to their owners, after which they might retain for their own use any balance remaining. In Bahia they are reported to have been principally Yorubas, Gêges, and Haussás.

These Negroes were reputedly strong, capable workers. Almost all the Haussás were ardent Mohammedans, who in Bahia seem to have converted to their faith many Yorubas, Gêges, and other Africans. Shrewd and intelligent, they were at times superior in cultural equipment to their masters. Many were literate, and some are said to have written Arabic fluently. Often they banded together to mature schemes of revolt, to buy the freedom of a favorite friend, or to work under a leader for the liberation of all. The order in which they secured their freedom was ordinarily determined by lot, the earliest liberated remaining with the group until the last was purchased, after which they sometimes returned to Africa, paying their passage with what they had earned.[32]

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It was principally the Haussás who led the numerous slave revolts[33] at Bahia during the early nineteenth century. Although these uprisings were all unsuccessful and ordi-

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[32] Daniel P. Kidder and James C. Fletcher, *Brazil and the Brazilians* (Philadelphia, 1857), p. 135. Between 1850 and 1878 from four to six thousand free Negroes from Brazil settled at Lagos and Whydah and a few in Angola (Sir Harry H. Johnston, *The Negro in the New World* [New York, 1910], p. 98 n.). Repatriated Gêges are said to have founded on the African West Coast a city with the name of a Bahian port, Porto Seguro.

[33] In the Archivo Publico at Bahia are four volumes of police documents covering the revolts of this period. Each volume contains from a thousand to twelve hundred sheets in long hand which, for their age, are fairly well preserved.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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seat of the iman, or head in Brazil of all African disciples of the prophet Mohammed. Those who were resident in Rio, Ceará, and Pernambuco owed allegiance to him. Incidentally, it was a time of general social unrest not only among certain of the slaves but among the whites as well.[46] The aim of the conspiracy was "to set up a queen after exterminating all the Europeans." Extensive plans were laid, including the proposed participation of slaves from "every part of the Reconcavo," many of whom, immediately preceding the night set for the uprising, fled from their owners and came to Bahia. A banner was adopted and the robes worn at Mohammedan ceremonies selected as costumes of war. The time chosen for the uprising was during the popular festival of Nossa Senhora da Guia, when most of the European population would be gathered at Bomfim, outside the main area of the city, houses would consequently be deserted by white owners, and slaves might go in and out without arousing suspicion.[47]

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The governor, forewarned by a faithful slave a few hours before the uprising actually occurred, doubled all police

[46] From 1831 to 1837 revolts against the Brazilian imperial government broke out in Pará, Sergipe, Pernambuco, and Rio Grande do Sul. In Maranhão three thousand slaves, led by an African named Cosme, had recently revolted.

[47] The report of the chief of police to the governor of the province of Bahia (republished from the *Diario da Bahia* in the *Jornal do Commercio* of Rio, February 10, 1835) said that the evidence indicated "the insurrection had been plotted for a considerable period of time with absolute secrecy. . . . . Almost all the leaders know how to read and to write in some unknown language, which appears to be Arabic. This is the same language which is used by the Ussás, who seem to be united today with the Nagôs. These Ussás are from the same tribe which has revolted on several occasions in this Province. . . . . Their leaders, among whom are many free and even wealthy Africans, stir up and organize revolts."

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4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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be the *lingua geral*, or general Negro language.[5] The ritual of the more important fetish-cult centers was, and still is, carried on in this language. Inscriptions in Nagô were occasionally to be seen not only on cult buildings but also in small commercial establishments owned and operated by Negroes, like the meat stall on the Baixa dos Sapateiros over whose entrance Nina Rodrigues in 1895 noted the inscription "Kosi oba Kan afi Olorun."[6] So important did Nagô become, and so widespread its use that, although Nina Rodrigues early in the twentieth century estimated that there were only approximately five hundred Africans still living in the city and they were at that time dying at the rate of a hundred and fifty to two hundred a year,[7] one still today, more than three decades later, finds

[5] Nina Rodrigues, intimately acquainted for many years with Bahian Negroes, commends the accuracy of the Visconde de Porto Seguro when he says, "The best known Negroes in Brazil were those coming from the *Costa da Mina*, whence arrived the greater portion of those imported into Bahia; so that in this city many slaves learned little Portuguese but instead communicated among themselves in Nagô." About 1900 he himself wrote: "The Nagô dialect is commonly spoken in Bahia by almost all the old Africans from the various tribes and by a great number of creoles and mulattoes" (*op. cit.*, p. 197).

[6] Rodrigues translates the phrase: "There is no God but Olorun" (principal deity of the Nagô cult). A photograph of the entrance to the shop showing this inscription may be found in *ibid.*, opp. p. 202.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 154. In the seven years from 1896 to 1902, 1,282 Africans died at Bahia. The distribution was as follows:

Year	Total	Male	Female
1896	110	55	55
1897	238	136	102
1898	200	96	104
1899	209	119	90
1900	151	87	64
1901	152	74	78
1902	202	136	66
Total	1,282	714	568

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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*175 563 seventeenth century largely disappeared, Zacharias Wagner at that time observed that unions of Portuguese men with Indian or mixed-blood women were still of frequent occurrence.[7] Capistrano de Abreu records the desire of native women to have children "belonging to the superior race, since, according to the ideas current among them, parentage was important only on the paternal side."[8] Freyre, following Varnhagen, thinks "a decided sexual preference" was involved.[9]

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*563 593 Intermarriage assures to the family relationships of the mixed-blood a relative permanence and continuity not always characteristic of informal unions. Although human beings are responsive to the natural claims of paternity, illegitimate offspring are often denied the regular presence of a father in the family and the relative security in other respects of legitimate children.

[848]

175 *212 563 Among the Africans imported into Bahia were numerous individuals possessed, as we have seen, of a cultural equipment superior not only to that of the native Indian but also "to that of the majority of the white colonists . . . . many of whom were illiterate and the greater portion only semiliterate."[10] In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries there was so little literacy among the Europeans that "not rarely rich *fazendeiros* in the interior requested their friends on the coast to arrange a son-in-law who, although he had no

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[7] Alfredo de Carvalho, "O Zoobillion de Zacharias Wagner," *Revista do Instituto Archeologico, Historico e Geographico de Pernambuco*, Vol. XI (1904), quoted by Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

[8] Capistrano de Abreu, *Capitulos de historia colonial* (3d. ed.; Rio, 1934), quoted by Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

[9] *Op. cit.*, p. 59.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 212.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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other possessions, did know how to read and write."[11] Incidentally, some of these men were light mulattoes.

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The Negro women known in Bahia as "Minas" were famed for their fine physiques, their proud, dignified bearing, and their culinary skill.[12] They were probably Fulahs and Ashantis who were called "Minas" after the name of the Portuguese slave factory on the West Coast known as Forte de el Mina,[13] whence they were imported into Brazil. They approximated the whites in color and features perhaps more closely than any other imported Africans. Araripe Junior writes that they made "excellent companions." "Healthy, ingenuous, and affectionate, it was inevitable," he concludes, "under the precarious conditions of the first and second centuries, that they should dominate the situation."[14] It is probably among these women that the first legal marriages of Europeans with Negro women occurred. In 1730 the governor of Rio de Janeiro, Luis Vahia Monteiro, stated that "there is no Mineiro [gold miner] who can live without a Mina Negro woman. They say that only with them are they lucky."[15] The Minas became not only *amigas* and *mancebas* of the Europeans but eventually *donas de casa* ("housewives").

[11] Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil, 1809 to 1815* (2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1817), II, 178–79.

[12] Braz do Amaral, "Os grandes mercados de escravos africanos," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, tomo especial, *Congresso Internacional de Historia de America* (1927), V, 481.

[13] Arthur Ramos, *As culturas negras no novo mundo* (Rio, 1937), pp. 324–25.

[14] Araripe Junior, *Gregorio de Mattos* (Rio, 1894), quoted by Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

[15] F. J. Oliveira Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro* (2d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 149.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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CHAPTER IX

OS AFRICANOS

THE connection between Africa and Bahia is perhaps more intimate and has been maintained over a longer period of time than any similar connection elsewhere in the New World. Although assimilation of the Africans and their descendants has been proceeding at a gradually accelerating rate and has now reached an advanced stage, identification with Africa and with African cultural forms still marks off rather noticeably a portion of the darker population. Differences in dress, in food and food habits, in forms of religious expression, in sacred specialists, in attempts to exercise control over personal destiny and over other human beings, in credulity in folklore, and, to a limited extent, in language describe different worlds which still coexist at Bahia: one largely African in derivation, the other European.

The mental world of the Bahian upper class, which, as we have seen, includes a considerable number of the lighter mixed-bloods, is not greatly dissimilar to that of the same stratum in predominantly Catholic areas of Europe, especially in Portugal, Spain, and France, the latter of which has for a long time been the "intellectual motherland" of Brazil.

But the superior, educated class is relatively small. Most of the people in the city, as well as in the state of Bahia, are illiterate and would be included in what is ordinarily conceived of as the folk. Of this group, the Africans and their descendants obviously constituted in the past, and still constitute today, a large element.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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The *Africanos* ordinarily look upon the Europeans as presumptuous and quite naturally resent all evidences of a feeling of cultural superiority. Particularly do they resent what they consider to be unfair comparisons with the Europeans, on the one hand, and with the native Indians (who are ordinarily romanticized in Brazil), on the other. Said an *Africano:*

> These people think the Indian is worth so much! Look here! Brazil has been discovered for more than four hundred years, and there isn't a single book in Tupi like this [showing the English Prayer-book printed in Nagô], or a single magazine like this [pointing to a periodical published in English in Lagos and containing several articles by Africans]. These people here call us fetish worshipers and say, "Aw, that's African nonsense!" It just goes to show that they don't know anything about what we have in Africa.

This sentiment was echoed by another *Africano*, who complained:

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> These people here in Bahia think Africans are all barbarous and uncivilized. They won't believe we write our language and that books are printed in it. They say, "Why, these *Africanos*, they're just pagan fetish worshipers, ignorant, and without culture." They don't know that in Lagos there are good schools, better than they've got in Bahia. Look at this [showing a photograph of a school in Lagos]! Is there anything in Bahia as fine as that?

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It is perhaps obvious that these complaints reflect a sense of inferiority and an unconscious acceptance of European cultural standards. The case of the *Africanos* in Bahia confirms the hypothesis that the transformation of inner experience characteristic of all cases of assimilation is, to a large extent, an unwitting process which may at times go on even in direct opposition to the individual's intention and resolution. The ordinarily patient and tolerant attitude of the Ba-

5: Azevedo--19 D. Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[Salvador]

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1. A colored business-man.

/104 cont./

000 in these groups is an old Brazilian tradition. In order to account
*563 for the amount of improvement that has occurred in the situation
175 of colored groups, it should be mentioned that on the occasion of
212 the national census of 1872 the totality of the slaves of the city
178 was illiterate. Since the abolition of slavery in 1888, although
[567] it did not do much on behalf of the recently freed men, they
[659] progressed to such an extent that today more than 50 o/o of the Blacks and more than 60 o/o of the pardos over the age of five know how to read and write, and their number is increasing every year in the secondary and higher courses, thus opening the way to the liberal professions, in which one may count them in variable proportions.

*563 It should also be remembered that among those who are
571 called "Whites" there are many light métis who are considered socially white, and that colored persons, even those who are the darkest and show the most obvious Negroid features, are treated like anyone else of the same social situation. Interracial relations are then governed by some "fair play"; in other words, Bahian customs disapprove of openly avowed discrimination motivated by racial intolerance or color prejudice. Another aspect of the Bahian dynamics and social psychology is that both the antagonisms of class and those of color are attenuated by the process of reciprocal accommodation between /105/ the groups and by the development, as much among Whites as among dark individuals, of the type of "cordial" and "gentle" personality that some authors consider to be characteristic of the Brazilian people and the prototype of which is supposed to be the inhabitant of Bahia.

*563 The facilities for the social ascent of colored individuals are
555 in the process of multiplying in Bahia; according to the opinion
178 of numerous informants, they will not cease to be augmented unless cultural change, under the influence of new social conditions created by the industrialization anticipated in the region by the exploitation of oil-bearing lands and with the development of the electrical energy of the waterworks under construction, produces a perceptible modification of the ethos of Bahia; it is

[Class C Families]

165 The civil register for the community of Vila Recôncavo
[217] listed 111 deaths for 1950, fifty-one male and sixty female. The age breakdown was as follows:

TABLE 9
NUMBER OF DEATHS BY AGE GROUPS, 1950

under 1 year	36
1- 4	20
5- 9	1
10-14	4
15-19	4
20-29	10
30-39	10
40-49	6
50-59	9
60-69	4
70-79	3
80-89	1
90-99	2
over 99	1
	111

165 It is apparent that the first five years are those in which the
164 death rate is highest. According to the local doctor's records, the most frequent causes of these deaths are diarrhea and enteritis (seven deaths), whooping cough (seven deaths), chronic nephritis (five deaths), and acute bronchitis (four deaths). The mal de sete dias (literally, "illness of seven days," an umbilical infection in newly born infants) was the cause of only two deaths, and only one natural abortion was registered, as well as one stillbirth. According to the same doctor, many more adults die of heart trouble and kidney ailments than of anything else.

553 The most popular method of naming children is by choosing from an almanac a name which strikes the fancy of the
[214] parents. In Brazil many commercial concerns publish yearly almanacs which are widely distributed. In addition to giving national holidays, saints' days, and various other kinds of
551 calendars, they include lists of names, often of saints. While
553 in the upper classes children are named after their parents and grandparents, lower-class families give their offspring all sorts of exotic names chosen from the almanacs, such as Estanislaus, Enoch, or Ignace. Sometimes the name is cho-

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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Ohum Eniadúdú[19]
Recipes for Afro-Brazilian *Quitutes*[20]
The *Calunga*[21] of the Maracatús
The "People's Library" and the "Modern Collectanea"[22]

Obviously, there is implied in these titles no interest other than in history and ethnology. But in the following ten papers, although there again appears to be no concern with problems of racial accommodation, one does note an awareness of physical differences and an interest in their measurement.

Some Anthropological Measurements of the Population of Recife
Some Data on the Physical Characteristics of the Population of Recife
Some Physical Measurements of Brazilian Negroes and Mulattoes
A Study of Cephalic Indices and Color Variation among Mulattoes in Pernambuco
A Contribution to the Study of Lapicque's Index
Physical Measurements of Negro Students
Comparative Heights and Weights of Newborn *Branco*, *Pardo*, and *Preto* Babies
A Statistical Study of Longevity in *Brancos*, *Pardos*, and *Pretos*
The Comparative Incidence of Tuberculosis in *Pretos* and *Brancos*
Mental Disease among the Negroes of Pernambuco

[776]

[19] Under this title two topics were considered: (1) legends from Dahomey and (2) Anamburucú (an Afro-Brazilian deity [see chap. x]).

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[20] *Quitutes* are food delicacies.

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[21] The *calunga* referred to here was a richly adorned female image representing a water deity. It was carried by the "Dama do Passo," a female dancer of the Maracatú.

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[22] The "Modern Collectanea" and the "People's Library" are two sets of inexpensive leaflets containing ballads and other folklore, historical sketches, anecdotes, prayers, recipes, etc. See, in this connection, Jorge Amado, "Literatura dos negros e mulatos da Bahia," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal de São Paulo*, XLVIII (June, 1938), 179–82.

[214]

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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Coast products much prized by Africans and their descendants in Brazil.[1] An elderly Bahian Negro recently brought out from among his treasured possessions a faded photograph of blacks aboard a ship on their way to Africa and pointed out an *atabáque*, or sacred drum, and a woman in *saia grande*.[2] He recalls having been many times with his father at the docks in Bahia when vessels came in from Africa and sailors brought news of Lagos.

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Trade with the West Coast, however, gradually decreased until, by 1905, it had almost entirely disappeared. Today, only a few important articles employed in the fetish ritual, such as cowries, *obis* and *orobôs* (sacred fruits), *pimenta* (pepper) *da costa*, *palha* (straw) *da costa*, *sabão* (soap) *da costa*, and strips of *pano* (cloth) *da costa*, are occasionally imported from Africa.

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[423]

Numerous Africans, their interest in Brazil stirred by Brazilian Negroes returning to the West Coast, are said to have emigrated to Bahia as recently as thirty years ago. Considerable areas in and about the city—for example, Caminho do São Gonçalo, Caminho do Cruz, and a portion of the Terreiro—were once owned, it is said, by *Africanos*.

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Today, native-born Africans as a population element are

[1] Pedro Calmon, *História social do Brasil* (3 vols.; São Paulo, 1937-39), I, 182. It is also reported that on at least two occasions representatives of African chiefs arrived in Bahia from Ajudá, with which port Bahian officials were maintaining direct commercial relations. One arrived during the administration of the Vice-rei Conde de Athouguia; two others "and an interpreter," on May 26, 1795. See João Varella, *Da Bahia que eu vi* (Bahia, 1935), pp. 153-57; J. B. de Sá e Oliveira, "Dois embaixadores africanos mandados a Bahia pelo Rei do Dahomé," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, LVI, Part I (1895), 413.

[2] The large skirt still worn *boufant* by many Bahian black women. The date was approximately 1895.

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814 phrase one hears often but without further elucidation. Although there are many ruins of old town houses and plantations dotting the area and even the town streets, few people can tell anything about them or about their former illustrious owners. • 217 Almost no historical documents can be found in the town, as most of the old records have either been destroyed by insects and dampness or burned at intervals when there was no longer room for their storage, or else have come into private hands in small quantities. Most clerical records of the convent and mother church of the parish have disappeared, although undoubtedly some are stored in church archives in Salvador and [127] Olinda (Pernambuco). Some information was obtained from the office of the justice of the peace, where records go back to 1800 and consist mostly of testaments and inventories and records of a few lawsuits involving property, including slaves.

621 The community of Vila Recôncavo gives the impression of 609 being a large private preserve. The town serves as contact point with the outside. Although the inhabitants of the community frequently leave it for business or visits, it is seldom that a stranger enters the area. There are no facilities in the town or in the rural area to care for one who has no family ties in the community. Going along the roads of the community one can identify practically everyone encountered, if not by name then at least as to where he is from. The higher a person's position on the social scale, the more likely he is to be known by name to a great part of the community. Strangers are probably someone's guests. But the appearance of an unidentified person alone gives cause for speculation.

[Class C Families]

her services ranges anywhere from fifty cruzeiros to nothing but thanks, but with the understanding that when she is ill the family will help her, since she lives alone. 759

If a baptized child dies before it is seven years old, it is called an angel and goes straight to heaven, while if it dies before this age and is unbaptized, it is called a pagan and goes to limbo. The angel is carried through the streets in an open coffin, for everyone to see. The lid is put on the coffin after it is in the ground, whereupon all those in attendance scoop in some earth. The attitude toward the death of a child is one of mixed joy and sadness, and sometimes of joy only. If the mother and father wanted the child very badly, they feel sad; but otherwise the general attitude is that the child is better off dead, especially since he becomes an angel. The difference in the ringing of the church bells also shows this, for the ringing for a dead child is a short, almost joyous sound, while that for an adult is a long, sad tolling. 761 851 775 [533]

If it appears that a child is going to die after it has been born, an effort is made to have it baptized as soon as possible. But if it is healthy, it is baptized whenever the family can do so. The baptism includes a small party for the family and godparents. Formerly if a child died before it was baptized, its grave was sometimes baptized on the eve of São João by the woman who had been chosen to be its godmother. The family and godparents would go to the cemetery at midnight and gather around the grave, which the godmother sprinkled with water and baptized. This, however, is no longer done. 763 851 769 851 178

According to the parish records, 705 children were baptized in the county during 1950; 320 of those belonged to the community of Vila Recôncavo. The civil register, however, showed only 276 persons of all ages registered in the county for the same year. A child is seldom registered right after birth, or even at the time of baptism, but whenever the parents think of it. Sometimes a person must do it himself when, as an adult, he needs a registration certificate. The situation is changing gradually as life becomes more entangled in official red tape, and people are registering their children more frequently than they used to. Members of classes A and B are much more careful about this matter than are the lower classes. 851 217 162 [178] [565]*

According to law, the medical doctor must sign a death certificate before a permit to bury someone can be obtained, so the figures for deaths are more accurate than those for births. The civil register for the community of Vila Recôncavo 217 [763] [759] 800

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Class C Families]

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4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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[City of Salvador]

361 565 permitting as it does a full and unobstructed sweep of the cooling sea breeze, makes these heights more comfortable, more healthful, and, consequently, more desirable places of [362] residence. One usually finds here the more modern and [463] substantial buildings, the homes of the upper classes. Here ordinarily live the scions of the old aristocracy, the large landholders, the city's intellectuals, and the leaders of its "society"; the lawyers, physicians, engineers, and politicians; the officials of the army, the poets and journalists, the professors in the Faculdades, the few industrialists which Bahia has so far produced—in fact, nearly all those prominent in the intellectual, political, "social," and economic life of the city. These families possess considerable property [873] and employ numerous servants. Their members are usually [463] literate, and at least the males are *formados* (i.e., graduated from one of the Faculdades, either in law, medicine, or engineering), a distinction which in the Bahian society marks them off quite sharply from the rest of the population.

[204] [291] It is in these areas that the five newspapers published in the city circulate almost exclusively and the latest fashions from Paris or Hollywood are known and generally adopted. [341] In recent years an occasional example of modernistic architecture and interior design has appeared. Here are to be [422] found the owners of virtually all the city's 3,855 telephones, [206] its 1,028 automobiles, its radios, and private libraries. Here [217] live most of the 20,524 voters who cast ballots in the municipal election of 1936. Here attachment to the *candomblé*, or [207] Afro-Brazilian fetish cult, is minimal and Catholic belief is [794] least modified by elements from the more primitive religions. Here live that portion of the population which *o povo* [177] ("the people") call the *ricos*, or the "rich."

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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BRAZIL SL1

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By 1710 Bahian tobacco[15] was being shipped in quantity to "the Mina coast," which for more than a century thereafter absorbed a full third of Bahia's production.[16] A visitor early in the eighteenth century referred to Bahia as "New Guinea";[17] while the natives of Guinea were said at that time to have called the outer world "Bahia."[18]

In 1781 fifty vessels were engaged in the Brazilian traffic, "eight or ten with Angola and the rest with the Sudanese coast."[19] In 1800 twenty vessels were plying the trade from Bahia alone. According to custom-house records, 29,172 Negroes from "the Mina coast" and the islands of São Thomé and Principe entered Bahia during the decade from

[15] *Aguardente*, or *cachaça* (cheap rum), sugar, and manioc meal were also extensively used for trading purposes, as similarly were cowries (*buzios*) from the coast south of Bahia.

[16] Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

[17] Amadeu Francisco Frézier, *Relation d'un voyage à la mer du sud* (Paris, 1716); cf. Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 185. The demand for slave labor in the gold fields of Minas Geraes so stimulated importations that La Barbinais, visiting Bahia in 1717, estimated that in that year 25,000 Africans were landed at Bahia. See Affonso de E. Taunay, *Na Bahia colonial* (Rio, 1925), p. 364.

[18] "It was principally to Bahia . . . . that the unfortunate sons of Lybia were brought, and it is for this reason that the natives of Guinea give the name of Bahia to Brazil, to America, and even to Europe" (Onesime Reclus, quoted by Manoel Querino, "A raça africana e os seus costumes na Bahia," *Annaes do quinto congresso brazileiro de geographia* [Rio, 1916], p. 626).

[19] Calmon, *op. cit.*, pp. 180–81. See letter of Silva Lisboa, *Annaes da Bibliotecа Nacional*, XXXII, 504. From September 29, 1771, to September 22, 1772, nine slave ships with 2,307 Negroes entered the port of Bahia. One ship, "Nossa Senhora do Rosario," carrying 371 Africans "and two babies at the breast" had not had a single death on the voyage. Another vessel, "Nossa Senhora da Conceição da Ponte," sailing from the Mina coast with a call at São Thomé, landed 13 without casualty, July 11, 1772. But other ships lost, respectively, 111 out of 374, 17 out of 468, 17 out of 158, 29 out of 233, 11 out of 308, 44 out of 327, 20 out of 302—a total loss of 249 out of 2,554 leaving the African coast (from custom-house records; see Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 458).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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BRAZIL SL1

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patrols which later, aided by foot soldiers and cavalry and favored by considerable confusion among the widely separated bands of blacks as to the actual hour of attack, scattered and broke up the Negro mobs, but only after a serious struggle.[48] The leaders of the revolt were tried,[49] given two hundred, five hundred, even one thousand lashes, or shot by a firing squad, or deported to Africa. Further importation of the *batá*, or African war drum, was forbidden.

B BB 175 567 669

The number and persistence of these slave insurrections may suggest that slavery in Brazil was unusually severe. The reverse seems to be the fact. Insurrectionists were unassimilated free Negroes and semi-independent slaves, morally isolated from the Europeans. Although the hardships incidental to a plantation system obviously existed, and atrocities occurred here as elsewhere, the slavery involved, as we shall see in detail in chapter iii, was ordinarily a mild form of servitude. In general, slavery in Brazil was characterized by the gradual and continuous growth of intimate, personal relations between master and slave which tended to humanize the institution and undermine its formal character.

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[48] A letter from Bahia published in the *Jornal do Commercio* of Rio on February 10, 1835, and dated January 31, reads: "Business and commerce is completely at a standstill by reason of a Negro uprising which last Sunday suddenly upset public tranquillity in this city. The revolt, which had been planned for a long time, was very serious, but the armed forces managed to put it down."

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[49] The police records deposited in the Archivo Publico at Bahia list 234 Negroes who, subsequent to the uprising, were brought to trial by the authorities. Among these, 165 are listed as Nagôs, 21 as Haussás, 6 as Gêges, and 6 as Tapas. Documents found in their possession, facsimiles of which may be seen in the above depository, were written in Arabic characters. See also the novel by Pedro Calmon, *Os Malês, a insurreição das senzalas* (Rio, 1933).

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4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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* 563 826

sidered white, casually commented: "I learned the other day that she has a Negro grandmother. Someone who knew her family twenty years before she was born showed me a picture of the woman. The grandmother was as black as coal."

That such discovery led, and will lead in all similar cases, to no alteration in the social standing of the individual involved, to no modification in the social esteem in which he or she is held, is a significant indication of the character of the Brazilian racial situation as compared with that in the United States, for example, where a similar revelation would create a scandal.-"We never go very far into a person's past," explained another Bahian. "That would be impolite."

The meaning of the term *branco* (white) in Bahia is, as we have indicated, a significant index of the racial situation. [217] A recent comparison of the classification of the first five hundred individuals listed as *brancos* in the files of the Gabinete de Identificação with the photographs (one, sometimes two, occasionally three) attached to the individual's identification record,[45] indicated that the racial probabilities were as given in Table 2.[46]

* 563 826

It is clear that many individuals are considered white at Bahia who not only have Negro ancestors but whose physical characteristics definitely attest this fact. The old saying, "Quem escapa de branco, negro é" ("Who can't be a white

[45] An identification card is required of all students, travelers, applicants for licenses, etc.

[46] Considering the means employed, one must allow perhaps for some error in the result. But the photographs had received no "retouching." And even if color distinctions were still somewhat subject to misinterpretation, hair texture and facial characteristics were rather readily distinguishable. It is quite probable that what error did occur was in the form of an understatement rather than of an exaggeration.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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man is a Negro"), has now been largely replaced by, as Freyre says, the "more Brazilian saying": "Quem escapa de negro, branco é" ("Who isn't a Negro is a white man").

With due regard, then, to such qualifications regarding the precise meaning of *branco* as these facts suggest, we may note that the classification of births in Bahia in 1932 indicated the color distribution to be as given in Table 3. 563* 826 162

TABLE 2

PROBABLE ETHNIC ORIGIN OF THE FIRST FIVE HUNDRED INDIVIDUALS LISTED AS *Brancos* IN THE FILES OF THE GABINETE DE IDENTIFICAÇÃO, BAHIA, 1937 [217]

Probability	Number	Per Cent
Whites	340	68.0
Mulattoes*	95	19.0
Indian-white mixed-bloods†	39	7.8
Indian-white-Negro mixed-bloods†	26	5.2
Total	500	100.0

* Individuals with the following physical characteristics were noted: (1) nose very broad, lips very full; (2) dark skin, hair almost kinky, lips thick; (3) skin *café com leite* ("coffee with milk"), hair exceedingly curly; (4) hair almost kinky; (5) lips full, nose broad, considerable prognathism.

† Ordinarily only slight traces of Indian ancestry evident in each case.

Since the total registration of births for each of these years averages slightly in excess of five hundred in a city of an estimated 360,000, the records are obviously incomplete. Many midwife deliveries go unrecorded; and, since these births occur usually among the lower classes, which are largely black and dark mulatto, the relative color percentages are probably skewed toward the white pole. 563* 163 114 [565] [162]

Deaths are less likely to go unrecorded. But since deaths 165 563*

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

occur to a considerable extent among the older generation, they throw no light on the extent of miscegenation in recent times. Consequently, their relative frequencies do not ac-

*563
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TABLE 3*

BIRTHS ACCORDING TO COLOR, BAHIA, 1932

Color	City Proper		Outlying Villages		Total	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Branco	1,482	33.3	65	11.0	1,547	30.7
Preto	659	14.8	114	19.3	773	15.3
Pardo	2,314	51.9	411	69.7	2,725	54.0
Total	4,455	100.0	590	100.0	5,045	100.0

*Source: City records deposited in the Secretaria de Saude e Assistencia Publica da Bahia.

[217]
[127]

TABLE 4*

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DEATHS ACCORDING TO COLOR, BAHIA, 1932

Color	City Proper		Outlying Villages		Total	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Branco	1,375	25.4	79	9.8	1,454	23.4
Preto	1,310	24.2	191	23.7	1,501	24.2
Pardo	2,722	50.4	536	66.5	3,258	52.4
Total	5,407	100.0	806	100.0	6,213	100.0

*Source: City records deposited in the Secretaria de Saude e Assistencia Publica da Bahia.

[217]
[127]

curately reflect the present racial distribution in the *total* population.

Bearing in mind these qualifications, we may note the color distribution among deceased at Bahia in 1932 (Table 4).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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563* 872 875

Bahia, one mulatto, and three blacks. Several substantial white citizens had received their early training under this man.

563* 217 •

The public library is patronized indiscriminately by members of all ethnic groups. Blacks, however, appear among its frequenters only in rather limited numbers. For instance, of 560 individuals using the library facilities on different days and at different hours during the day,[11] only 9.6 per cent were blacks, while 35.9 per cent were mulattoes and 52.7 per cent were whites.[12]

563* 467 [565]

In labor unions organization definitely follows class lines, and ethnic differences are largely lost sight of in the pursuit of common ends. Leadership, however, tends to be white or near-white, even in those unions composed predominantly of blacks and dark mixed-bloods. For instance, at a "solemn assembly" for the installation of new officers in a local labor union whose membership, limited to 550, is overwhelmingly Negro (as indicated by a detailed check of the members with the aid of the union secretary), the retiring president was a *branco da Bahia* and the incoming president a light mulatto. Only eleven *brancos* (probably all, or nearly all, of whom are *brancos da Bahia*) and relatively few mulattoes are to be found among the membership.[13]

[11] Samples were taken for each hour from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M., with the exception of 12:00 noon to 2:00 P.M., when the institution was closed.

[12] Also 7 (1.2 per cent) *cafusos*, 3 (0.5 per cent) *mamelucos*.

[13] Of the speakers, 6 were blacks, 5 were mulattoes (2 quite light), 1 was a *branco da Bahia*, and 1 was a white. Among the themes presented were: "Solidarity! All Workers Are Brothers!" "Since the Revolution of 1930 Workers Are No Longer Slaves"; "Viva Getulio Vargas, the God, the Jesus, and the Senhor do Bomfim [patron saint of Bahia's poorer classes] of the Workers!" "Remember the Chicago Workers Who Died for Liberty!" "Save Brazil's Wealth from Exploitation by *Norte-Americanos* Who Hope To Seize Her Mines and Her Waterfalls and Make Slaves of Her People!" "Look to the World's Greatest Socialist and Sociologist, Jesus Christ." [544]

[SALVADOR]

/68 cont./

*563 872 572 565 In the public elementary schools the students, in general little conscious of their rank, have a tendency to mix indiscriminately. The informants in general do not recall discriminatory attitudes on the part of their white fellow-students and state /69/ that from these contacts result -- it is not uncommon to ascertain this -- close and lasting friendships. A woman of liberal profession established good relations with white colleagues of the upper classes during her school years, amicable relations that have lasted to this day. In working in the public schools of Bahia, a psychologist confirmed, however, that the children group themselves according to their physical type, but that they have a tendency to seek out in class children lighter than they as seatmates. It is understandable that in this phase of development and socialization of the child the latter has greater facility in identifying those of his group according to physical appearance, especially if he finds himself away from his family and is not influenced by the criteria of social classification current there. Even in the secondary schools, numerous informants say, the students group themselves according to their physical type, but especially in terms of social and economic rank; friendships between young people belonging to two extremes of the color scale are confirmed on each level; more rarely between different social strata. "The daughters of doctors, even if they are dark," a woman informant declared, "are treated with more attention by the professors and their companions than the Whites and the colored children who are poor." The relations between colored students and their Jewish comrades seem to be good, if one is to believe certain information.

*563 [217] In the libraries one can see students of very different types gathered around the same tables and working together. The colored students not only take part in groups on excursions, but sometimes are at the head of them; they happen to command their comrades of all types in the civic parades. A literary association founded by a black professor in a college-preparatory secondary school has white and colored members. [814] [873]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 311 Southwest of the estuary of the Rio Paraguaçu, in Maragogipe and São Filipe, the crop pattern becomes very complex, as is shown by the relative distribution of cropland in São Filipe:

Manioc	33	per cent
Sugar cane	28	" "
Coffee	25	" "
Tobacco	11	" "
Peanuts	1	" "
Corn	1	" "

Plus small areas of beans, oranges, bananas, sweet potatoes, and coconut.

174 245 249 311 It is very likely that there has been a historical connection between the coffee culture of São Filipe and the main coffee zone far to the southwest. Apparently the development of tobacco cultivation in Santo Antônio has severed this connection.

249 244 221 Cultivation Systems—Tobacco and Manioc. The "ideal" system of cultivation of tobacco and manioc[1] in the tobacco-manioc region has the following general patterns:

(1) In mid-February a small tract, very commonly with an area of one tarefa[2] but sometimes larger, is cleared in the capoéira de caatinga (second-growth scrub-forest) or the capoéira de mata (second-growth [412] littoral forest). Generally the capoéira is low brush, two to five feet tall, which is easily cut with a facão--a long heavy knife which is a universal agricultural tool. Any heavy waste material that can be moved is dragged away from the plot; if there are tree stumps, they will not be grubbed out.[3] Sometimes the waste material on the surface of the field is burned, but this is by no means universal.

(2) A favored spot, either within the cleared field or in the adjoining capoéira, is prepared for a seed bed. Usually a site on the edge of a wood or near a steep slope is selected. Any available waste materials--corn stalks, old tobacco plants, weeds, brush, pieces of wood, and the like--are piled on the small plot, allowed to dry, and the burned.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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221 (3) When the first rains come, the soil of both the seed bed and the fields are worked up with a hoe so that all vegetable matter is buried and all weeds turned under.

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[417] (4) If possible the land is fertilized. Under "ideal" circumstances cattle are penned nightly over the area by means of a small temporary corral. The corral may be maintained for a long period over the seed bed, but on the field it is moved frequently so that the whole area is fertilized. Generally the resulting manure is left exposed to the sun and rain until planting time. However, this "ideal" method of fertilization is rare. A very large number of tobacco cultivators have no cattle—they are too poor and their operations are too small for livestock. Most cattle are held by fazendéiros (ranchers) who do not themselves grow tobacco. Moreover, the intensiveness of cultivation keeps the cattle population too small to provide enough manure for all local needs. Usually it is necessary to buy fertilizer. Cattle manure is sometimes purchased from a local fazendéiro. More and more, however, the tobacco cultivators are dependent upon cattle, or better still, goat manure which is trucked into the Recôncavo from the sertão. The manure is spread over the seed bed to a depth of about one inch and over the field in such depth as the quantity allows.

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221 (5) From mid-April to the end of May, depending upon the weather and the condition of the tobacco field, the seeds are planted. Almost without exception the seeds are taken from completely exhausted tobacco plants of the previous year, plants no longer able to produce salable leaf. The soil is broken open and loosened, and the seeds are sown directly into the fertilizer. Since the fertility of the seeds is very low, they are sown very thickly. The seed bed is fenced but is rarely covered. In sixty to seventy days the seedlings are ready for transplanting.

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221 (6) In June, as the rains increase and as the seedlings are ready, the soil in the field is again broken, and small ridges about 18 inches apart are made with a hoe. Occasionally manure is put into the hills at this stage in place of earlier fertilization. Then the young seedlings are planted in the ridges and a small quantity of water added. Ten days or two weeks later there is a replanting where the original seedings have failed.

(7) A few days later the ridges are further hilled up. Thereafter the field is kept clean with a hoe.

(8) When tips begin to form, about two months after planting--late July or early August--the plant is topped so that six to ten leaves remain.

(9) About three weeks later the whole upper stalk is harvested. Two or three shoots near the ground are then allowed to develop. These shoots are topped, and eventually their leaves are harvested. As many as eight separate harvests are made from the shoots, and often this form of harvest continues into December.

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276 (10) The harvested tobacco is tied to a long pole or rack and hung under the roof of the dwelling, beneath the eaves, or occasionally in separate thatch and adobe "barns." If the weather is damp, a fire is used to hasten drying. After they are thoroughly dried, perhaps three or four weeks, the leaves are cut down and stripped from the stalks. They are then graded, tied into bundles, and laid aside until they are sold, or if the farmer is a large producer, until a fermenta-
[442] tion bulk is assembled. The entire season's harvest is piled on the stack, and it is sold to the buyer at the end of the year.

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244 The sequence of cultivation following the harvesting of tobacco is as follows:

(1) The field is turned with a hoe--if some tobacco plants are

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

243 either separately or in conjunction with tobacco and manioc. They are
244 frequently grown on land thought to be not suitable for tobacco culti-
[134] vation yet too good for manioc alone, such as the steeper slopes of the crystalline area where the heavier soils do not produce good quality tobacco.

Since the area in corn and beans is small and the amount of slope land large, the capoéira is extensive and frequently quite tall. After the slopes are cleared, the land is very often planted to mixed corn and beans, more rarely to one or the other. The crops are planted
[221] in March or April, perhaps in May, and even in June for beans alone. The planting season for these crops is extended both because they are tolerant of changes in season and because as crops secondary to tobacco they have a lesser priority. Some corn is usually planted early enough
[527] so that it will ripen in time for São João (mid-summer day) festival
[262] for which fresh corn-on-the-cob is the traditional food. This festival is usually the beginning of the corn harvest, but the bean harvest
[251] begins a month later. Both crops are harvested by hand and, after drying, are shelled by hand, sacked, and either stored or sold. When the fertility of the soil is higher than normal or when there is labor to spare, the field may be planted to manioc after the corn and bean harvest.

243 As a result of the interpenetration of the corn-bean and the
244 tobacco-manioc systems, in many regions and on many individual proper-
249 ties the two co-exist. Usually the upland fields are in tobacco and
311 manioc, with an occasional plot of corn and/or beans. Usually the slope-land plots are in corn or beans.

249 The Cultivation of Sugar Cane. In distinction to the crops discussed above, sugar cane is grown under a system of permanent

[The Private Plantation]

*249 517 535 534 273 *249 463 •[221] *249 463 159

Then everyone dons his best and the women dance while the men play the drums, tambourines, and cavaquinhos (a ukelelelike instrument) or simply stand around watching, gossiping and "passing the branquinha" (the local white rum).

There is a hierarchy of personnel on the plantation, which starts with the owner, Dona Sinhá, and her family. On other plantations the owner is also sometimes a lawyer, doctor, or engineer whose main interests, both economic and social, are in the city of Salvador. This is not always the case, however, for many owners are only rural proprietors, as is Dona Sinhá. But it is always considered a sacrifice to be obliged to spend the winter on one's plantation. It has been a traditional prerogative of the plantation master to spend the winter in the city, and it is one of the traditions kept up today by the planters. However, as soon as the rains show signs of abating in August or September, Dona Sinhá appears on the scene, generally grateful for her release from the city and from the round of anniversaries, parties, and official functions she feels called upon to attend while there.

This aspect of partial absenteeism has given rise to the next rung in the hierarchical ladder: the overseer. As such he is a relatively new phenomenon, but he has actually been part of the scene for a long time. At the time of the engenho, the feitor-mor, or head foreman, frequently occupied the place of today's overseer. Seu Paulo is the focal point for most activities on Fazenda das Moças. It is he who puts into action Dona Sinhá's plans, for he has the greatest contact with the workers in the fields and at home, on the arruado (the street on which the houses are located). During the time Dona Sinhá is away he is ruler of the plantation (dono da terra).

Seu Paulo rose from the workers' ranks; he is familiar with all aspects of sugar-cane cultivation, and is able to handle men and to deal with the owner as well as with the workers. He is a dark mulatto, about forty-six years old, with a large family. He is sought after by the workers as godfather to their children. He rents a small piece of land on which he raises his own sugar cane. He has his own burros, oxen, and carts, which he rents to Dona Sinhá during the harvest season. Although unable to read or write, he can do figures in his head in an astounding fashion. He dresses well, in what is sometimes thought to be an attempt to imitate the plantation master of bygone days, while Dona Sinhá and her family have adopted a more comfortable garb for the country--"modo ameri-

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1987 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Usina]

Financially the two units--factory and plantation--are run separately. One set of books is kept for the agricultural part, and one set for the factory. The six plantations combined produced eighteen thousand tons of cane in 1950, although they had planned on twenty-three thousand. The fall in the expected harvest was due to several things. First, less new cane was planted, because of the activities of the petroleum workers who were invading the cane fields of the factory and drilling oil wells. (The first time a field is cut, the percentage of cane is higher than that obtained by cuts during the next four or five years. The same amount of land, therefore, will produce more cane if it is replanted regularly. The factory, however, deemed it wiser to be content with the older plantings for one year because of the oil workers' invasion, for newly planted cane is more subject to damage than an established field.) Second, during that year there was a serious drought which affected adversely the growth of sugar cane. There is no irrigation in the Recôncavo, and during the drought seasons which come periodically a partial crop loss nearly always occurs. In addition one entire taboleiro caught fire and burned to the ground, causing the loss of many tons of cane. 249* 451 184 249* 433 [731]

The agricultural cycle and the work on a plantation may be divided into two broad epochs, summer and winter. Summer is the busiest season, for it is harvest time and all hands are occupied, including the migrant workers. The cutters with their machetes cut an average of three to four tons a day apiece, which must be quickly loaded and carried to the factory and milled, for the longer the lapse of time between the two operations, the greater the loss of sugar content. After a field has been cut, one of two things occurs. If it is to be turned into pasture, it is fenced, and the draft animals are turned loose in it. Otherwise the leaves which were cut from the top of the plant and left lying on the ground are burned, and within a short time the roots start sending up new shoots. This old planting (soca) each year gives a decreased yield. As a rule a field is cut and burned three to four years before being turned into pasture. In the days of the old plantations, when the soil was more vigorous, cane of twelve years was considered "new cane." Now, however, the yield is so decreased by the increasing poverty of the soil that three to four years is the best, depending upon the amount of rain. During the summer, if land is prepared and there are prospects of heavy showers, "summer plantings" may be made. They are never as good as those done in the winter, for the sun frequently 249* 221 [461] [134]

In Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Usina]

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•221 kills the new shoots. Toward the end of summer, the pastures or garden plots which are to be made into new plantations (rêgo novo) are prepared, for such work is usually done in accordance with conditions of the land rather than only at the [433] time of planting. New plantings yield an average of thirty to forty tons per acre. Cutting, transporting, burning, and planting are done by the resident workers, while the weeding and general cultivating are carried out by the migrant laborers.

Work in the winter period can usually be handled by the resident workers alone. The planting of cane goes on throughout the year, but the most favorable time is during July and August, when the rains begin to diminish in constancy and the sun shines longer. Cane planted at this time gives the greatest yield. The seed used is the top part of the cane itself, the "eye" which appears just below the leaves. As a rule each plantation furnishes most of its own seed. That for the summer planting comes from the cane which is cut to go to the factory, and that for the winter from small plantings made [654] previously for the purpose. The state government also maintains an agricultural station in the area, from which the planters can get seed. During the winter all repairs are made on houses, fences, and equipment, and of course the necessary drainage ditches must be built or repaired and seasonal cultivation and clearing work must be done.

*249 The usineiros maintain that the agricultural operations pay
435 more than does the factory. The factory plantations sell their cane at the same price as the private suppliers, a price fixed by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol. This price has gradually gone up as have all the factory costs. But the ceiling price of sugar, which is Cr$166,00 a sack, has not increased. In 1951 the cost per sack of sugar at Usina São Pedro was [434] Cr$132,00. Each year the costs rise, creeping nearer and nearer to the selling price. So while the books show that each plantation is making more money for its cane, the factory's books show a slackening of profits. At the moment, most of the factories in the Recôncavo are engaged in refining their processes in order to get a higher percentage of sugar out of [433] each ton of cane. The Usina São Pedro is only able to get an average of eighty kilograms of sugar per ton of cane, while the largest factory gets one hundred kilograms per ton. The factory also loses money because it pays for the cane by the ton of dead weight, and not by the percentage of sucrose the cane contains. As a result the planters are interested in rais-

[Town Life]

227

is very rough, though strong. Most of the men complain about it, for it cuts their hands when they are fishing and the action of salt water on the cuts inflames their hands badly.

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There are between seventy-five and one hundred canoes in Vila Recôncavo, of all sizes, from 16 to about 50 feet long. They come from the southern part of the state, and cost between Cr$1.000,00 and Cr$6.000,00 apiece, depending on their size. They are made of vinhatico preto, a large tree [313] from which an entire canoe can be hollowed out. As the canoes grow older, they are strengthened inside by the addition of ribs. The center support (pé do banco) has a hole in it through which a mast can be stepped for sailing. The fishermen use a variety of sails, but usually a simple square sail called traquête. Four flour sacks sewn together make a passable [428] square sail. The canoes last a long time and are handed down from generation to generation. A hundred years is not an uncommon age for such a craft.

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The majority of fishermen cannot swim well and have a great respect for the water on two counts: the water is deep, 226 which to them implies danger, and it is said to hide large, [481] man-eating fish. There are stories of three men who have disappeared in the last few years, snatched away by fish. One [825] was a baixador, and the other two fell overboard. Falling is not uncommon, for often a man steps on a small fish on the bottom of the canoe or simply slips on the wet wood, loses his balance, and goes overboard, as the canoes are narrow-beamed and unstable. In their canoes they are fearless, and will go anywhere in any weather. Severe storms which arise suddenly are ridden out in the canoe, which generally lies at anchor while the men lie under cover of the sail, peering out occasionally to see if the weather is clearing. Many of them, [164] however, become violently ill on a larger boat during a storm.

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Winter is the most productive season for fishing, although the most uncomfortable. There are many storms, and the [221] rains are more or less constant. But the fishermen say that the mixture of salt water with the fresh water from small rivers emptying into the bay seems to produce many more fish [132] than in the summer months. The fishermen dress only in a [291] pair of shorts and a straw hat when fishing, and remain in the cold rain for hours on end. Colds are common among them, [164] as is rheumatism among the older men.

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There is always a market for fish. There is a discussion currently going on in Vila Recôncavo, for some of the older

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Town Life]

462
464 were included in Group 4 because they worked for a nonprofit charitable institution.

Occupationally, the town dwellers differ sharply from the
464 people of the rural area of the community. Their work rare-
184 ly requires them to go out of town to the rural area. Of the entire working force of the town, only twelve men are em-
463 ployed in the sugar industry. Even during the harvest season,
632 the town does not supply men to work in the cane fields or the
[427] factory. However, the few people in town who have mules oc-
[492] casionally rent them to planters during the harvest season to help carry the cane. The twenty-five petroleum workers have to leave town each day for work, but their work is also very different from that of any of the rural dwellers.

463 In the town, as on the plantations, there is specialization
184 and division of labor. Among the fishermen, each man fishes constantly with one or two types of net. Change from one type of net to another is unusual and disliked. A fisherman seldom supplements his fishing by planting a garden. Instead, he depends upon his catch of fish to give him enough money to buy garden produce, as well as meat and manufactured articles. In his turn, the gardener never fishes, depending upon the returns from his garden to buy what he does not produce.

[512] Daily routine for the fisherman varies considerably because it depends closely upon the tides, while the daily routine of merchants, teachers, and bureaucrats, as well as household servants and craftsmen, follows a more citylike pattern, beginning at about seven in the morning and ending
• [221] late in the evening. There is also less seasonal variance in the work of the town dwellers, for it does not depend upon the planting and harvesting of crops as does that of the rural workers.

369 The town and plantation ways of life also vary considerably
557 with respect to paternalism, which plays a much smaller part
184 in the life of the town dweller. Most of the municipal bureaucrats have patrons among the rural landowners who have placed them in their bureaucratic positions. Bureaucrats, in turn, are to a smaller extent the patrons of people living in the town, particularly of their household servants. Although they have neither the financial resources nor the prestige to provide the security which a rural landowner can offer his people, they do what they can to help whenever asked. This help often takes the form of asking their own patrons for help

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

505 abuse by the sea and by man. While some of these boats are used for
[226] fishing in the Bay and in the ocean, their most important function
undoubtedly is bringing food from the areas around the Bay to the city
of Salvador. On the return trip, they carry building materials,
[249] manufactured articles, and passengers. The usinas of the coastal
[257] sections of the sugar cane area use these vessels to transport cane
to the mill and to deliver the products of the mill to Salvador. Several of the cities on the Bay are very much dependent upon this means of transport, especially São Francisco and Maragogipe, which for all practical purposes have no road connections.

Motor boats serve to connect Salvador and the island of Itaparica. All of the tidewater cidades of the Bay and, in addition, São Roque do Paraguaçu and Nazaré are connected with the city of Salvador by scheduled motor vessels which carry many passengers and small quantities of freight. These vessels ascend and descend the estuaries with the tide. The head of navigation on the Rio Paraguaçu is Cachoeira, and on the Rio Sergi is at a landing on the outskirts of Santo Amaro.

489 These various transport media provide for the movement of people
241 and goods across the Recôncavo. They are generally able to meet the
433 immediate demands of the agricultural economy without excessive delays. The available media of transport are used to the fullest extent; busses, trains, and motor vessels are always crowded, and the trucks are always busy. However, the poor roads, the archaic railroads, the taxes on the movement of goods, and the high cost of vehicles clearly set a limit to the expansion or the intensification of the agricultural system. The rationalization of agriculture in the Recôncavo would require considerable expansion and improvement of the system of transportation.

505 The others, barefoot, wearing shorts
[291] and large-brimmed straw hats, are the permanent dwellers of the islands: fishermen, stevedores, and storekeepers.

When the islands are left behind, the scene begins to change.
505 The color of the water changes from a clear, deep blue to a
133 muddy gray. Groups of canoes are seen, their occupants busy
[581] with their fish nets, for this shallow part of the bay is a good fishing ground. Once again the mainland is close, rolling hills
[226] covered with a thousand shades of green--sugar cane, the crop which nearly four hundred years ago replaced the virgin forests. The deltalike shores of this part of the bay are cov-
[361] ered with mangue, muddy areas with low-growing trees which at high tide are standing in the water. On a hill at the water's
[162] edge is the town of Vila Recôncavo, a town of 1,462 persons. The first thing one sees is the huge Franciscan convent[5] with
[368] its two tall towers and its royal palms. Approaching the long dock which juts out into the water, one can see almost the
[504] whole town, which is built on three hills and in the valleys between them.

[361] The arrival of the boat from Salvador every other day is an event in an otherwise dull day. Nearly all the men of the town
505 go down to the dock to meet the boat, to see who is traveling,
512 to see what is arriving for someone in the town, to receive messages or parcels, to greet friends, and to gossip. The postmistress is there, and with her the man whose duty it is to carry the mail sack, but who has a helper to do it for him. After a few minutes the boat continues its journey, and the townsfolk walk back along the dock, breaking up into small groups on reaching the main square and then each going his own way.

361 On the square at the end of the dock, at the foot of the
344 main street which leads up the middle hill and out into the

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[128] 5. It should be explained that "convent" in this case is a direct translation from Portuguese. In Portuguese, convent does not have the connotation of being a religious establishment only for women. The word convento is applied to the Franciscans' establishment because the Franciscans are not monks; if they were, their establishment would be called a mosteiro (monastery). In English, Franciscans are known as "friars," and their houses are called "friaries." However, throughout this monograph the direct translation, convent, is used.

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

VILA RECÔNCAVO

226

Pulling in
the deep net

504

Waiting for the
arrival of the boat

[P. 72]

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

VILA RECÔNCAVO

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[492]
[482]

two miles west of the town to another well which did not have to serve so many people. Many women also made this trip, with five-gallon cans of water on their heads, and with their children carrying smaller cans.

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In the past many women of this group possessed heirlooms: jewelry handed down to them by their female ancestors who had been favorite slaves of their white masters and who had received valuable brooches, necklaces, rings, and earrings from them, in accordance with the old pattern of luxury which extended even to certain slaves. In most cases this jewelry has now been sold at some time of emergency to antique dealers who scour the rural areas looking for such treasures, which are now highly valuable and sought by collectors.

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Group 3 is made up of independent artisans, that is, people who are self-employed. It differs from Group 1 in that its members rarely employ the services of other people in personal or household activities, although gardeners, carpenters, tailors, fishermen, bricklayers, and barbers do employ people in their business. The large number of men employed by the bricklayers should be explained, as it is not a permanent category. The census from which these data were taken was made in June, 1950, at the height of the work of paving the town streets with cobblestones. A number of bricklayers had come to town for this work, and they as well as the resident bricklayers had to employ workmen to do the work with them for the municipal government. When the paving was finished there was no longer a need for so many bricklayers, and they either left or went into fishing or some other occupation. Since the data were collected, the tailors have also moved to another town as a result of the lack of business in Vila Recôncavo.

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The majority of men in this group are the fishermen, who number 132, plus 5 who are employed rather than self-employed. They fish from canoes, with several types of nets, for a large variety of fish. The federal statistics agent lists seventeen types of fish, including shrimp, giving the following weight and price for the year's activities: 129,070 kilograms and Cr$921.540,00 (slightly under $50,000.00). Shrimp earns slightly more than half this total, Cr$468.000,00, although the amount in kilograms is only 26,000. Xangô, already mentioned, is the second most profitable product, bringing in Cr$195.000,00 for 65,000 kilograms. The statistics agent admits that these figures are approximations

21 Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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226 based on what the fishermen claim to have caught, for the fish
43 is not weighed and the price is based on a low average price per kilogram for all types of fish. As a rule fish is sold by the can and not by weight. The one man in town who buys fish for his icehouse usually buys "by the eye," that is, by estimation of how many kilograms he is getting. If anything, however, the above figures err by underestimation.

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226 follows the incoming and outgoing tides. There are six types of nets most commonly used: the circular casting net (tarrafa)
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The favorite shrimp banks are directly in front of the town of Vila Recôncavo, at the mouth of the river which empties into the Bay of All Saints. The preferred time to use the circular casting net for shrimp is early on a windless morning, during the hours of full tide when the incoming surge has ended and the outgoing current has not yet started. The shrimp fleet seen from the heights of the town presents a scene of utmost tranquility, for there is little action involved other than the quick throwing out and the slow pulling in and folding of the net. Tarrafa fishing is a one-man job. The man paddles a canoe out to the area where the shrimp are usually to be found, which in this case is a large submerged rock on the edge of the river channel, around which shrimp are numerous. Arriving there the fisherman ships his paddle and begins to cast his net, standing in the stern of the canoe. As a rule there are between twenty and thirty fishermen casting in and about the same place. The net is cone-shaped, the apex being

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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attached to the canoe by a cord called the espia (literally, "it spies"), with which the fisherman can feel when the net has reached the bottom; he can also feel any activity within the net indicating that he has caught something. The net is about 18 feet high, and its round bottom has a circumference of approximately 120 feet. A series of lead weights are sewn into the bottom to carry it downward through the water. The whole net, with its lead, weighs between 5 and 6 kilograms. The sizes of nets vary with their age, for constant repair enlarges them or sometimes makes them smaller. While the man is fishing, the canoe remains drifting, undirected. As the tide begins to run out the fisherman must stop casting his net every so often to paddle the canoe back to the starting point and to keep it from being carried away from the fishing grounds. At other times, if the shrimp appear to be moving away, he picks up his paddle and follows them. The entire operation of casting the net, pulling it in, and emptying it into the bottom of the canoe takes from ten to twenty minutes. If the shrimp are present in great numbers the fisherman speeds up his activities; if not he moves more slowly. C. F. Ott calls the circular casting net "incontestably a Portuguese cultural element."[4]

The period of fishing rarely lasts more than three hours, for by then the tide is moving more strongly and a breeze has arisen. These two factors upset the fishing for they move the canoes away from the fishing grounds. During the month there are approximately fifteen days of fishing with the casting net. If his luck is good a man may catch 20 to 30 kilograms of shrimp a day, and occasionally more; or else he may catch next to nothing. It should be stated that the author never saw a good-sized catch taken with any net, in spite of the great number of times he accompanied the fishermen.

As a rule the fisherman owns his own casting net or borrows one. The canoe is usually rented, and the usual price is two cruzeiros for the morning's fishing. Shrimp bring from Cr$15,00 to Cr$25,00 a kilogram, so this type of fishing is relatively remunerative and involves little expense. A net

4. C. F. Ott, "Os elementos culturais da pescaria baiana," Boletim do Museu Nacional (Rio de Janeiro), No. 4 (October, 1944), p. 31.

costs about Cr$240,00 to make and lasts as long as ten years with good care.

The drag net, or deep net, as it is sometimes called, is a much larger net used to catch shrimp. It is 360 feet long, 168 feet wide, and has 420 feet of rope on one end and 480 feet on the other. The top is equipped with wooden floats, and the bottom with lead weights. Such a net costs about Cr$4.000,00 and is expensive to keep up, for it is easily torn on submerged objects because of its size and weight. There are only six of them in the town; most of them belong to the merchants, who are the only ones who can afford the upkeep.

Fishing with this net is very complicated and requires the services of at least ten men and two canoes, one large and one small. The owner seldom goes fishing. Instead, a master (mestre) is in charge of the operation, and the others in the crew are called "boys" (mocos). One of these is the baixador whose work is done standing in the water. His is an unpleasant job, and he runs the constant risk of being bitten by crabs, stung by large jellyfish, and cut by sharp shells on the bottom. The net is used only at the shrimp grounds already described, where the circular casting net is used, in front of the town. This net must also be used when the tide is at a standstill, because the current makes the heavy net unmanageable. The net is carried on the larger canoe which is paddled by six men, while four go in the smaller one. The canoes pause when they arrive at the customary point for launching the net, and almost everyone lights up a cigarette. There is usually some discussion among the fishermen in the various canoes as to who will launch his net first, but as a rule not more than four of the six nets are used on the same day. Since all four must be launched at exactly the same spot, there is an accepted order of first, second, third, and fourth. First yesterday is last today, each moving up one place each day. But if a crew is late in arriving the others will not wait very long, for the time for net work is short. Seldom do the four crews launch their nets more than twice in one morning. The last launching is called the "hard hard" (duradura), indicating the small returns obtained for such hard work. The first net to be launched usually catches the most shrimp.

On a good day it is not unusual for the first crew to take in Cr$1.000,00 to Cr$2.000,00 worth of shrimp, especially if it made two launchings. The method of paying the crew varies, but as a rule the owner takes between 40 and 50 per cent,

the remainder being divided among the crew, the master and baixador receiving slightly more than the moços. Most fishermen dislike fishing with the drag net for several reasons: although the catch is usually large, it must be divided among many men; there really should be thirteen men to handle the net, which limits the amount each receives, and when only ten participate, the work is much greater for each although the increase in pay is slight; also, the operation is a rather boring process involving long waiting periods. It is becoming more and more difficult to get a crew together. 226 465 226 461

The resse, used to catch xangó, and the abaladeira, used to catch other small fish such as sardines and tainha, present a different operation. The resse is a net of close weave, 660 feet long and 12 feet wide. Like the deep net, it has wooden floats on the top and lead weights on the bottom. A small canoe (18 to 20 feet) is used, and only two men are necessary. This net can be used with either the incoming or the outgoing tide, and at any place. The fishermen have certain favorite sand and shell banks where they like to fish, east of town. They launch the net when they see the schools of small fish breaking water. The resse is a recent innovation in Vila Recôncavo, where it was first used with great secrecy to prevent knowledge of its weave from falling into the hands of too many people. But now most fishermen in this part of the Bay of All Saints are acquainted with it, and the entire county lists twenty-five resse nets. 226 [178]

A second innovation with this net, and one which applies also to the abaladeira, is the cooperative launching of two nets at once in order to catch more fish. Two canoes participate, each with two men and a net. An exceptional catch for a six-hour period of fishing may run as high as Cr$600,00 and usually averages between Cr$300,00 and Cr$400,00. When two canoes fish together the total catch is divided equally between the two. The resse and abaladeira fishermen estimate that they can earn an average of Cr$15,00 every day of the year. This is considered relatively good, for they do not fish constantly. After a few profitable days they are inclined to give up for a period of time, resting and enjoying themselves. [178] [476] [435] [434] [461]

The calão is another large net requiring at least six men to manipulate it, working from the canoe and from the water as with the deep net. It is used to catch fish of all sizes except the very small xangó and shrimp. The net is 780 feet [461]

• 226 long and has ropes on each end 420 feet long. This net demands a large canoe. The usual size in use is 30 feet long.

226 Few of the fishermen own their own calão--most rent it
427 from a merchant who has one. It is rented by the master on a long-term basis rather than for just one trip. It is said that the master "toma conta da rede," meaning that he not only is fishing with the net, but also repairs it and dyes it when needed. The owner of the net, who usually also owns the canoe
226 and the paddles, receives 20 per cent of the profits of each trip. The remainder is divided among the six men, although the master and baixador each receive one-third more than the
[435] other four. Depending on how the fish are running, the calão may catch as much as Cr$1.000,00 to Cr$1.500,00 worth of fish per trip, or as little as Cr$120,00 worth. Two trips a day are made when the fishing is good. There are only eight of these nets in the town, and they are worth about Cr$1.500,00 apiece. The calãozinho is a smaller net of the same type, sometimes called the redinha, or little net. Although its op-
[178] eration is almost the same as that of the larger net, it re-
[461] quires only four men to maneuver it. However, it is becoming less and less popular as the resse increases in popularity.

On land, good care must be taken of the nets. After the
227 fishing, the nets are carried up along the beach to the drying racks, long lines of poles over which the nets are spread. As they dry the master checks them, looking for holes which he immediately sews with a wooden bobbin and cotton thread.
[824] The nets are hand-woven of cotton, and dyed in water in which the bark of the red mangue has soaked. This turns the white cotton a dark reddish brown and protects it from the action of the salt water and the sun. A new net must be soaked in this dye every two or three days, and later every eight days.
227 The resse, abaladeira, and tarrafa are frequently woven by
286 women, and, unless worked on steadily, these nets may take as long as eight months to make. With steady work a circular
[462] casting net can be made in about twelve days. The women are
(461) paid Cr$12,00 per box of cotton line which contains twenty-
[435] five spools of cotton thread, and it takes five boxes to make an average-size net. The other nets require heavier thread and take much longer to make. The calão and the deep net are made by men, and a year is not considered too long for the
[824] manufacture of one. Piassava, a plant fiber which grows in the Recôncavo, is used as line. The fishermen of Vila Recôn-
227 cavo go to the southwestern part of the bay to purchase it. It

is very rough, though strong. Most of the men complain about it, for it cuts their hands when they are fishing and the action of salt water on the cuts inflames their hands badly. 227

There are between seventy-five and one hundred canoes in Vila Recôncavo, of all sizes, from 16 to about 50 feet long. They come from the southern part of the state, and cost between Cr$1.000,00 and Cr$6.000,00 apiece, depending on their size. They are made of vinhatico preto, a large tree from which an entire canoe can be hollowed out. As the canoes grow older, they are strengthened inside by the addition of ribs. The center support (pé do banco) has a hole in it through which a mast can be stepped for sailing. The fishermen use a variety of sails, but usually a simple square sail called traquête. Four flour sacks sewn together make a passable square sail. The canoes last a long time and are handed down from generation to generation. A hundred years is not an uncommon age for such a craft. 501 [313] [428]

The majority of fishermen cannot swim well and have a great respect for the water on two counts: the water is deep, which to them implies danger, and it is said to hide large, man-eating fish. There are stories of three men who have disappeared in the last few years, snatched away by fish. One was a baixador, and the other two fell overboard. Falling is not uncommon, for often a man steps on a small fish on the bottom of the canoe or simply slips on the wet wood, loses his balance, and goes overboard, as the canoes are narrow-beamed and unstable. In their canoes they are fearless, and will go anywhere in any weather. Severe storms which arise suddenly are ridden out in the canoe, which generally lies at anchor while the men lie under cover of the sail, peering out occasionally to see if the weather is clearing. Many of them, however, become violently ill on a larger boat during a storm. 501 226 [481] [825] [164]

Winter is the most productive season for fishing, although the most uncomfortable. There are many storms, and the rains are more or less constant. But the fishermen say that the mixture of salt water with the fresh water from small rivers emptying into the bay seems to produce many more fish than in the summer months. The fishermen dress only in a pair of shorts and a straw hat when fishing, and remain in the cold rain for hours on end. Colds are common among them, as is rheumatism among the older men. 226 [221] [132] [291] [164]

There is always a market for fish. There is a discussion currently going on in Vila Recôncavo, for some of the older 226 43

226 43 men say that the fish are leaving, while others say there are just as many as ever. It is a difficult thing to prove one way or the other, for written records of the annual catches are only recent. However, there is no such thing as being unable to sell the fish they bring in. Many people in town have increased their consumption of fresh fish as a result of inflation, for it is less expensive than dried or fresh meat. The fishermen themselves eat a great deal of fish, always keeping enough out of a catch for their own family. The planters of the rural area complain that the fresh fish never arrive at the plantations any more as they did in the past. This is probably due to the icehouse in the town. The fishermen sell first to their "usual customers," the women who work with xangô and shrimp; what is left is sold to the icehouse to be packed and shipped to Bahia, rather than being sent out to the country.

226 The jereré, a small basketlike net built around an iron ring 1 1/2 feet in circumference, is used by women and children along the shore and is part of a subsistence activity. It catches only a small crab (siri), an occasional eel, and other small fish which are cooked for the table in the form of moqueca, a sort of stew highly seasoned with peppers and dendê oil. The tideswamps abound in a large crab called the caranguejo, which is also highly prized for the table. Children often catch these, but a man who does so is called a caranguejeiro, a derogatory term. The hunter seeks the crab by sticking his arm down into its hole, which is usually very deep, at least arm's length. As a result he is always covered with the thick black mud so typical of the tideswamps. Often a tropeiro de cima comes to the town and commissions someone to catch the crabs, which he wraps carefully in mud and leaves and carries to the northern hinterland to sell.

463 241 The second largest subgroup in Group 3 is composed of the twenty-four gardeners (roçeiros) who are engaged in small-scale commercial farming, rather than subsistence horticulture. They live in town and have their small fields on the outskirts of Vila Recôncavo. All of these fields are located on the plantation Engenho Da Vila ("P" on map of community), and they range from one, two, or three acres in size to as many as fifteen acres, rented from the plantation at Cr$100,00 241 an acre per year. The major crops are manioc, bananas, and to a lesser extent tobacco, sugar cane for chewing (cana de chupar), corn, beans, and squash. Because there are only 265

[Class C Families]

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(tamancos), or perhaps leather shoes. Women wear a dress 291
and a slip and are usually barefoot. Dress-up occasions also [292]
call for undergarments, stockings, and shoes. Great modesty
is always shown about exposing oneself in front of others.
Few of the men shave themselves, going to the barber for 565*
this as well as for haircuts. There are several women who 305
are experts at hair straightening, which they do with a flat- 302
iron, although most women and girls in this class who have
the problem of straightening their hair know how to do it them-
selves.

In Class C as well as in Class B the father is the dominant 517
person. He rules the household. He is the one who is served 565*
at meals, whose clothing is always clean and pressed, and 592
who goes out the most. He spends much of his leisure time [184]
in one of the several stores, talking and taking an occasional
drink of rum; or on one of the few shaded corners playing
dominoes with his friends; or else in the bar playing billiards
and gossiping. As a rule he goes to the movies alone, or at
least without his family, although in the higher echelons of the
class families often go to the movies and to church together.
There is one family which is musically inclined, and which [533]
often spends evenings at home together, making up a small 565*
orchestra. If there is a samba in someone's house, many men 535
from this class will be there watching, while the participants 517
are usually single women and girls from the same class. The
men will discuss a woman's physical attributes while she is
in the center of the ring dancing. This is one of the most com-
mon ways in which a girl gets "looked over" and is watched as
she develops. Sooner or later some man will fall in love with
her (apaixonar-se dela), and if she is not well guarded by her
family he will eventually have an affair with her. In the case 565*
of fishermen, most of the time is taken up either by fishing or 226
by caring for equipment, for the nets need a good deal of at- 517
tention. Since the fishermen's hours follow the tides, their [513]
working hours differ from day to day. They often go to bed
early, in anticipation of getting up at three or four in the
morning.

The women, on the other hand, follow a more regular daily 565*
routine of getting the morning coffee ready, getting the chil- 512
dren off to school, going for water and wood, doing the ever- 462
present laundry and ironing, and caring for the younger chil-
dren. In addition, if possible, they prepare xangô to help sup-
plement the family income and go to the fair in Centro on Mon-

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[425]

structed a series of barracks, a recreation hall, a restaurant, and a service center for the unmarried field workers.

In spite of this, the changes in the community structure brought about by the petroleum industry have been as yet relatively few. The industry exists in the community as an intruder, not affecting communal life to any great extent, and not contributing any substantial local benefits. This is perhaps in part due to the fact that it is a nationalized company, with headquarters located in the city of Salvador, rather than a product of local efforts. The petroleum workers for the most part have not been drawn from the local labor force but have come from outside the county. It is almost as if a military base had been established in Vila Recôncavo on a temporary basis. [464]

The effect on the town has been principally to increase the number of houses. The married workers of Petrobrás for the most part live in the town. Naturally there has occurred a broadening of point of view among the town dwellers as a result of social intercourse, as well as a certain new prosperity due to greater numbers. Nevertheless, there are still no private cars, buses, or public transportation in the county. The petroleum workers and their families go to Salvador whenever possible for shopping and amusements, rather than attempting to satisfy these needs in Vila Recôncavo, where public services, diversions, and so forth have continued to be almost nonexistent. [362] [571] [493] [494] [484]

To counterbalance the effect of prosperity brought to the town by increased population, the petroleum industry has had an adverse effect on the fishing activities of the townspeople. Many wells have been drilled in the shallow waters of the Bay of All Saints in front of the town. As a result of underwater explosions, the constant passage of rapid motor launches, and digging and dredging machines, the traditional fishing area of the town's fishermen has been rapidly depleted and its ecological balance destroyed. The fishermen are gradually turning away from fishing as an occupation and seeking other remunerative activity, either outside the community or in the petroleum industry and, to a slight extent, in the sugar industry. Others are turning to service occupations, such as bricklaying, as stopgap activities. 178 315 433 226

Petrobrás to date has affected rural life very little. The planters of the area have profited to some extent because of the roads constructed by the company. It is now possible to 178 315 433 49

Traditionally

565 the preto is linked with ignorance and superstition,
563 and a most common example of his 'ignorance', cited by the upper
794 strata of Vila Recôncavo society, is his belief in *candomblé*, the fetish
[171] cults of African origin so numerous in Salvador which have been described by various authors.[8] In the Caribbean, *candomblé* is
[177] known as voodoo and, as in Brazil, there is a mixture of Roman
[178] Catholic with African religious elements. In Vila Recôncavo there are highly complicated rituals of ceremony and healing, but owing to the pressures of modern life almost no one has the time necessary to spend in the full preparation for a *filha de santo* (servant of the god) or a *mãe de santo* (caretaker of the gods) and much of the old ritual is being forgotten and discarded, and newer and simpler
[776] innovations are in evidence. Another example given of the *preto's* 'superstition' in Vila Recôncavo is his participation in the cult of Janaina, the goddess of the water. This cult is really an offshoot of *candomblé*, Yemanja being the name of the African *orixa* or divinity, while Janaina is the name given to her by many of the cults in
[782] Brazil. It is Janaina 'who sends the fish to the fishermen', and they
[226] must thank her and give her gifts occasionally. Generally it is the *mãe de santo* who knows all the calls and prayers for Janaina and who presents the fishermen's gifts. Anyone who intends to climb the social ladder first disassociates himself from these rites, and then publicly condemns those who participate in them—although, in many cases, such an individual will continue secretly to give financial support to a local *mãe de santo* and to send gifts to Janaina. Often it is heard of a person: 'Oh yes, he is *gente* now, but last night he secretly sent his usual present to Janaina.' Individuals of all racial classifications belong to *candomblé*, although popular opinion has it that only the *pretos* engage in these activities. One can observe all racial types at a *candomblé festa* (ceremony), either as participants or as spectators. In one case in another area of the Recôncavo there is even a white *pae de santo* (male caretaker of the gods), a former lawyer!

563 Nevertheless, in Vila Recôncavo, there are examples of *pretos* and
555 *mestiços* who have shown themselves capable of progress, with and without education. Two examples are the plantation administrators, cited earlier, who have risen to that honoured and relatively
[463] well-paid occupation in spite of the fact that they cannot read or
[872] write. On another plantation, the *feitor* has taught himself to read
[873] and write and is known as an excellent story-teller. Primary schools were recently opened in the rural zone of Vila Recôncavo, and night schools for the adults. The response has been great, people often walking long distances at night to attend class, in spite of the fact that one of the most disliked and feared things is going out at night.

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565 many years, with an attendance of 354 of all racial types, children of
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VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Town Life]

226
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• 227 The drag net, or deep net, as it is sometimes called, is a much larger net used to catch shrimp. It is 360 feet long, 168 feet wide, and has 420 feet of rope on one end and 480 [435] feet on the other. The top is equipped with wooden floats, and the bottom with lead weights. Such a net costs about [422] Cr$4.000,00 and is expensive to keep up, for it is easily torn [441] on submerged objects because of its size and weight. There are only six of them in the town; most of them belong to the merchants, who are the only ones who can afford the upkeep.

226 Fishing with this net is very complicated and requires the [461] services of at least ten men and two canoes, one large and one small. The owner seldom goes fishing. Instead, a master (mestre) is in charge of the operation, and the others in the crew are called "boys" (mocos). One of these is the baixador whose work is done standing in the water. His is an unpleasant job, and he runs the constant risk of being bitten by crabs, stung by large jellyfish, and cut by sharp shells on the bottom. The net is used only at the shrimp grounds already described, where the circular casting net is used, in front of the town. This net must also be used when the tide is at a standstill, because the current makes the heavy net unmanageable. The net is carried on the larger canoe which is paddled by six men, while four go in the smaller one. The canoes pause when they arrive at the customary point for launching the net, and almost everyone lights up a cigarette. There is usually some discussion among the fishermen in the various canoes as to who will launch his net first, but as a rule not more than four of the six nets are used on the same day. Since all four must be launched at exactly the same spot, there is an accepted order of first, second, third, and fourth. First yesterday is last today, each moving up one place each day. But if a crew is late in arriving the others will not wait very long, for the time for net work is short. Seldom do the four crews launch their nets more than twice in one morning. The last launching is called the "hard hard" (duradura), indicating the small returns obtained for such hard work. The first net to be launched usually catches the most shrimp.

[435] On a good day it is not unusual for the first crew to take in Cr$1.000,00 to Cr$2.000,00 worth of shrimp, especially if it [465] made two launchings. The method of paying the crew varies, but as a rule the owner takes between 40 and 50 per cent,

226 long and has ropes on each end 420 feet long. This net de-
226 mands a large canoe. The usual size in use is 30 feet long.
427 Few of the fishermen own their own calão--most rent it from a merchant who has one. It is rented by the master on a long-term basis rather than for just one trip. It is said that the master "toma conta da rede," meaning that he not only is fishing with the net, but also repairs it and dyes it when needed. The owner of the net, who usually also owns the canoe
226 and the paddles, receives 20 per cent of the profits of each trip. The remainder is divided among the six men, although
[435] the master and baixador each receive one-third more than the other four. Depending on how the fish are running, the calão may catch as much as Cr$1.000,00 to Cr$1.500,00 worth of fish per trip, or as little as Cr$120,00 worth. Two trips a day are made when the fishing is good. There are only eight of these nets in the town, and they are worth about Cr$1.500,00 apiece. The calãozinho is a smaller net of the same type, sometimes called the redinha, or little net. Although its op-
[178] eration is almost the same as that of the larger net, it re-
[461] quires only four men to maneuver it. However, it is becoming less and less popular as the resse increases in popularity.

227 On land, good care must be taken of the nets. After the fishing, the nets are carried up along the beach to the drying racks, long lines of poles over which the nets are spread. As they dry the master checks them, looking for holes which he immediately sews with a wooden bobbin and cotton thread.
[824] The nets are hand-woven of cotton, and dyed in water in which the bark of the red mangue has soaked. This turns the white cotton a dark reddish brown and protects it from the action of the salt water and the sun. A new net must be soaked in this dye every two or three days, and later every eight days.
227 The resse, abaladeira, and tarrafa are frequently woven by
286 women, and, unless worked on steadily, these nets may take
[462] as long as eight months to make. With steady work a circular
[461] casting net can be made in about twelve days. The women are
[435] paid Cr$12,00 per box of cotton line which contains twenty-five spools of cotton thread, and it takes five boxes to make an average-size net. The other nets require heavier thread and take much longer to make. The calão and the deep net are made by men, and a year is not considered too long for the
[824] manufacture of one. Piassava, a plant fiber which grows in
227 the Recôncavo, is used as line. The fishermen of Vila Recôncavo go to the southwestern part of the bay to purchase it. It

is very rough, though strong. Most of the men complain about it, for it cuts their hands when they are fishing and the action of salt water on the cuts inflames their hands badly. 227

There are between seventy-five and one hundred canoes in Vila Recôncavo, of all sizes, from 16 to about 50 feet long. They come from the southern part of the state, and cost between Cr$1.000,00 and Cr$6.000,00 apiece, depending on their size. They are made of vinhatico preto, a large tree from which an entire canoe can be hollowed out. As the canoes grow older, they are strengthened inside by the addition of ribs. The center support (pé do banco) has a hole in it through which a mast can be stepped for sailing. The fishermen use a variety of sails, but usually a simple square sail called traquête. Four flour sacks sewn together make a passable square sail. The canoes last a long time and are handed down from generation to generation. A hundred years is not an uncommon age for such a craft. 501 [313] [428]

The majority of fishermen cannot swim well and have a great respect for the water on two counts: the water is deep, which to them implies danger, and it is said to hide large, man-eating fish. There are stories of three men who have disappeared in the last few years, snatched away by fish. One was a baixador, and the other two fell overboard. Falling is not uncommon, for often a man steps on a small fish on the bottom of the canoe or simply slips on the wet wood, loses his balance, and goes overboard, as the canoes are narrow-beamed and unstable. In their canoes they are fearless, and will go anywhere in any weather. Severe storms which arise suddenly are ridden out in the canoe, which generally lies at anchor while the men lie under cover of the sail, peering out occasionally to see if the weather is clearing. Many of them, however, become violently ill on a larger boat during a storm. 501 226 [481] [825] [164]

Winter is the most productive season for fishing, although the most uncomfortable. There are many storms, and the rains are more or less constant. But the fishermen say that the mixture of salt water with the fresh water from small rivers emptying into the bay seems to produce many more fish than in the summer months. The fishermen dress only in a pair of shorts and a straw hat when fishing, and remain in the cold rain for hours on end. Colds are common among them, as is rheumatism among the older men. 226 [221] [132] [291] [164]

There is always a market for fish. There is a discussion currently going on in Vila Recôncavo, for some of the older 226 43

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433 241 178 Recôncavo remains today a backward and traditional agricultural society.

However, not all elements in Recôncavo life are static. In the field one was incessantly conscious both of the gradual course of change in this region and of the latent instability of its economic organization. Particularly in the last 75 years the agricultural economy of the Recôncavo has begun to shift--it is apparently in the throes of a drastic economic reorganization. It remains to be seen whether the traditional values will survive this economic revolution. [128] The brief historical discussion to follow is not intended as a substitute for a full-scale historical reconstruction. Its purpose is to indicate the major patterns in the evolution of the Recôncavo.

175 <u>The Evolution of Colonial Agricultural Institutions</u>. By the end of the initial half century of settlement (1600) those ethnic groups, crops, animals, and agricultural institutions which were to [567] become characteristic of the Recôncavo were already in evidence. Negro [249] slaves were brought in on the heels of the first Portuguese settlers,[3] [231] and sugar cane and cattle were also introduced at this time.[4] Tobacco [244] and manioc, produced by the Indians indigenous to the northeast of [249] Brazil, were rapidly integrated into the colonial agriculture of the [177] Recôncavo.[5] The combined sugar mill and plantation (<u>engenho</u>), which [249] was the basic economic institution of the Recôncavo until the end of [471] the nineteenth century, already existed in rudimentary form before 1600.[6]

175 249 [244] From the beginning the new colony in the Recôncavo had three important crops--sugar cane, tobacco, and manioc. It was the cultivation of sugar which the Portuguese crown and the initial settlers had

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162 563 compose most of the population of the Recôncavo today. In 1940 the population of the Centro-Litoral of Bahia--the census area most closely corresponding to the Recôncavo--had the following composition: white, 22 per cent; black, 29 per cent; and others, predominately mulatto, 49 per cent.[12]

The purchase of large quantities of slaves required the production of a commodity which could be used as exchange in Africa. The indigenous tobacco proved eminently suitable for this purpose. Although rum apparently was used also in this trade, tobacco became the essential source of exchange for the slave traffic.[13] Bahia was the main area of tobacco production, and probably most of this production was localized in the Recôncavo.[14]

175 439 567 436 276 [273] [249]

The initial period of settlement saw also the incorporation of manioc[15] into the agricultural economy as a staple. Like tobacco, it was an indigenous crop. Thus one indigenous crop was adopted to purchase slaves in Africa and another to feed them in Brazil. By 1587 manioc apparently was being cultivated on a moderate scale in Bahia.[16] A recurring theme in the history of the Recôncavo is the shortage of this essential foodstuff.

175 244 433 [567]

In addition to the principal crops--sugar, tobacco, and manioc--a number of lesser agricultural products were important in the early history of the Recôncavo. Corn, beans, and bananas were grown on a small scale and used to supplement the manioc diet. Other diversifications of the diet were provided by meat and fish. Cattle were maintained to draw the ox carts and to power many of the cane mills. For lighter tasks asses and mules were used.

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Out of this complex of Portuguese settlers and Negro slaves, of old world and new world crops, there developed certain characteristic agricultural enterprises. The engenho--old world in the origin of its

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175 565 The landed, slave-owning aristocrat was the master of Recôncavo society. The extended aristocratic family was the basic social, economic, and political unit of colonial society. The upper class of the Recôncavo, composed of inter-related family units, continued without substantial alteration until the twentieth century.

175 241 433 565 563 Despite the predominance of sugar cane and the engenho in the colonial Recôncavo--and in the literature on the region--other products and other institutions were important. It is clear that tobacco and manioc were the chief secondary agricultural products, but the development of the associated institutions is not documented. Presumably a class of small semi-subsistence cultivators occupied the lands unsuitable for sugar cane. This class probably was composed of whites lacking the capital for plantation agriculture and freed mulattoes and slaves--manumission was very common in the Recôncavo. The chief commercial product of these small farmers was rolo or corda tobacco (similar to a "twist" of tobacco),[22] and probably to a lesser extent farinha de mandioca (manioc flour). In addition, corn, beans, rice, and bananas were produced.

175 43 The colonial economy of the Recôncavo was not self-sufficient, in spite of the production of food crops and meat animals on small farms and on plantations. Near the beginning of colonization the livestock ranching industry, originating in coastal areas like the Recôncavo, migrated into the interior of the Northeast. Thereafter [231] a strong current of trade in animals, especially cattle, flowed into the Recôncavo from the São Francisco valley, from Ceará, and probably from the sertão of Bahia between the coast and the mountains. These animals were exchanged at the cattle fairs--notably at Feira de Santana--for the products of the coast and for imports from abroad.

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175 231 After they had recuperated from the long drives, the cattle were used for both labor and food.

175 433 439 171 The colonial economy developed in the Recôncavo--in common with Pernambuco, Campinas (Rio de Janeiro), and lesser centers like Sergipe and Alagoas--was distinct from the economy of the south of Brazil. São Paulo, for example, was self-sufficient, buying little from abroad and having little to sell. Bahia and Pernambuco were almost completely dependent upon exchange with European markets, with Portugal acting as the middleman.

175 249 439 Economic Development from 1600 to 1850. By the middle of the seventeenth century most of the institutions discussed above existed in at least rudimentary form. They were nurtured by an expanding Brazilian commercial economy which enjoyed, for the moment, a virtual monopoly in sugar. Bahia was the leading province in Brazil in the export of both sugar and tobacco.[23] The production of these crops was centered almost entirely in the Recôncavo area of the state. The [567] tobacco was sent at first to Africa, in exchange for increasingly large numbers of slaves for the ever-greedy sugar industry. Slowly, however, a secondary market for Bahia tobacco developed in Europe. With few exceptions the sugar was marketed in Europe and at a high price. The engenhos of Bahia were the largest in Brazil, though still very small by modern standards.[24]

175 648 The development of the colony did not proceed smoothly. In the mid-seventeenth century Bahia was occupied for a brief period by the Dutch, but the development of the colony faltered only momentarily. On the other hand, the Dutch occupied Pernambuco and the north coast for a longer period. The subsequent transference of Dutch efforts to the West Indies was to have a profound effect upon the future of

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241 [464] The skills of the 196,000 workers are an important agricultural resource in the Recôncavo. This resource can best be evaluated in terms of the prevailing agricultural systems: hoe and rudimentary plow agriculture. Hoe agriculture is universal in the Recôncavo, and in a society so thoroughly permeated with agricultural activity it is fair to assume that, except for some completely urbanized laborers in Salvador, all workers are familiar with the simple tools of this form of cultivation. Plow cultivation is more specialized; it is used [249] throughout the sugar cane zone but only in preparing the fields for planting. The seedstalks are covered with a hoe, and knives are used [407] for weeding and harvesting. Outside the sugar zone plows are rarely encountered.

[231] The domesticated animals which play a prominent role in cultivation in the Recôncavo are oxen, horses, mules, and donkeys, and the rudiments of their management are almost universally understood. The prominent crops of the Recôncavo are ubiquitous--manioc, corn, beans, sweet potatoes, peanuts, tobacco, sugar cane, bananas, and oranges are grown in all areas, and their cultivation under the prevailing agricultural system is common knowledge. There is little present need for agricultural labor specialized beyond this level.

241 178 It is clear that the introduction into the Recôncavo of new, radically different crops or techniques of cultivation would alter this [181] relatively favorable situation. The agricultural worker of the Recôncavo, like his counterpart in many other parts of the world, is inherently conservative. As in the past, he will continue to resist even minor changes, such as improved methods of seed selection in corn or improved curing of tobacco. More radical changes would probably be resisted more strongly. The problem of "selling" new ways of pro- [212] ducing agricultural products is difficult not only because of the

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The other urban centers of the Recôncavo:

633 [162] [443]

	1950 Population
Maragogipe	9,744
Muritiba	7,452
Cruz das Almas	6,758
São Gonçalo	3,771

[277] are all local trade and cigar manufacturing centers. Maragogipe is a [504] port of minor importance.[37] The other urban centers have inland loca- [361] tions, near the inner edge of the Crystalline Uplands.[38]

Near the Recôncavo are four urban centers which have minor but appreciable effect upon its agricultural economy:

[162]

	1950 Population
Santo Antônio de Jesus	11,417
Nazaré	11,215
Castro Alves	6,479
Serrinha	4,602

Santo Antônio de Jesus and Nazaré are located along the southern periphery of the Recôncavo, and Castro Alves and Serrinha on the south-western and northwestern periphery, respectively. All these centers [496] are on one of Bahia's two main railroads, both of which terminate at the Bay—at Salvador or at São Roque do Paraguaçu.[39]

633 In 1950 the nine major urban centers of the Recôncavo had 464 100,000 to 120,000 workers in industry, transportation, and merchan- 433 dising.[40] In all cities of the Recôncavo, except Salvador, the [162] industrial workers almost exclusively were engaged in processing agricultural products--in sugar refining, cigar manufacturing, and [231] slaughtering. Except for some of the animals slaughtered in Feira de [241] Santana and the poorer grades of tobacco brought in from the sertão, these agricultural products originate in the Recôncavo.

The industrial structure of Salvador is more complex. It processes agricultural products from the Recôncavo, but also from other parts of the state, notably cacao. There is a small textile industry. It is probable that the majority of the industrial workers are employed in numerous small service industries which supply Salvador

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231 Livestock production, which offers
241 social prestige as well as economic gain, may occupy land within the
[311 cultivated area which more profitably could be devoted to crops. These
554] factors, together with the eccentricities of political boundaries and the vagaries of terrain features, help to produce many distinctive local variations of the general geographical pattern of cultivation and of specific crops.

241 As will be seen in the following discussion, both land rotation (field and fallow) and permanent systems of cultivation are practiced in the Recôncavo. Under the land rotation system, the field is planted for a single year or for several years and is then abandoned to wild vegetation for a fallow period which, in some areas of the Recôncavo, has been reduced to as little as five years. Under the system of permanent cultivation, cropping is either continuous or is interrupted only by brief, widely-spaced fallow periods--in the sugar cane area, four years of cultivation are followed by one year of fallow. The significance of the data on the per cent of the area in cropland depends in part upon the system of cultivation employed.

127 Sources of Data. The statistical data used in the analysis of
241 crops and animals in the following sections were drawn almost exclusively
231 from two sources. Produção Agrícola: 1948[2] was the only source available with relatively complete data, gathered on a consistent basis, for the area, production, and value of the principal crops of Brazil by município units. This basic source has been supplemented by data for livestock taken from "Pobulação Pecuária em 31/12/1948."[3] In general these two sources provide a reasonably accurate and detailed statistical basis for the analysis of crops and livestock.

127 However, a careful inspection of the crop data, and especially
241 the calculation of crop yields by combining area and production data, revealed obvious errors in the figures in a number of instances. Usually

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Supplementary Crops
(Subsistence and Commercial):

Pineapple (Abacaxi)	168	hectares
Rice (Arroz)	61	"
Tomatoes (Tomate)	46	"
White Potatoes (Batata inglêsa)	44	"
Cotton (Algodão)	40	"
Onions (Cebola)	14	"
Garlic (Alho)	5	"
Green or Snap Beans (Fava)	4	"

241 311 On the basis of the above figures, the total cultivated land in the Recôncavo in 1948 was about 80,000 hectares. In addition to the above, 245 there are a number of tree crops, not cultivated in the true sense, which are important in the agricultural complex. More often than not these "crops" are of spontaneous origin.

[192]

African Oil Palm (Dendê)
Mango (Manga)
Jack Fruit (Jaca)
Cashew (Caju)
Bread Fruit (Fruta de pão)

231 The following animals are important in the livestock economy of the Recôncavo:

[192]

Cattle (Bovinos)
Cows (Vacas)
Oxen (Bois de trabalho)
Sheep (Ovinos)
Goats (Caprinos)
Swine (Suinos)
Donkeys (Asininos or Burros)
Mules (Muares)
Horses (Equinos or Cavalos)

These animals will be discussed in the chapter on animal industry (Chapter VII).

244 Manioc. Manioc was one of the most important cultivated plants which the Portuguese colonists borrowed from the Indians of Brazil. [175] Flour made from the manioc root, farinha de mandioca, was the basic [262] subsistence food of the colonial sugar economy and remains today the [178] principal element of the diet of much of the Brazilian lower class. [565] Manioc production is most notable along the coast of Brazil, from the

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249 433 is apparent that the production of the Southwestern Recôncavo and of Santo Antônio, the pre-eminent concentrations, fell away as a result of a drop in prices which began in 1947 and continued through the end of the decade. As high quality and high-cost producers, these areas were particularly hard hit by the falling price. On the other hand, Irará grows a cheaper leaf, at a lower production cost, and apparently survived the worst effects of the cut in price. The production in this município declined more slowly and then, in 1950, fell sharply as a result of the sêca (drought) which began in that year.

A comparison of the data for a longer period indicates that although production of the state of Bahia in 1946-1950 was about equal to that of 1931-1936, the cultivated area rose by about 25 per cent. Yields fell steadily during this period; the 900 to 1,000 kilograms per hectare of the early 30's had declined to 750 to 850 kilograms per hectare in the late 40's. The decline in yield, if not centered in the Recôncavo, was at least characteristic of the development of the region. The basic factor in the falling yields almost certainly was the exhaustion of the soil. In addition, manure, always costly, became increasingly expensive and scarce. Tobacco, as has been indicated, is 249 244 433 grown in conjunction with manioc under a land rotation system. The increasing demand for subsistence crops, particularly manioc, for the expanding population has put a continuously greater strain on the soil. [231] At the same time, the expansion of the cultivated area has driven out most of the livestock enterprises, increasing the cost of manure and putting it beyond the reach of many cultivators. As yields began to fall it became necessary to increase the planted area in tobacco and in subsistence crops to compensate the loss. Year by year the fallow period has been progressively shortened as the tobacco-manioc system

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249 244 311 important had less intensive cultivation than the two principal centers mentioned above.

241 311 Most of the remaining crops of the Recôncavo were either minor subsistence crops of general distribution, not of themselves accounting for any strong concentration of cropland, or were major crops produced in small separated centers of intensive cultivation. The Northwestern Recôncavo corn and bean areas, the coconut plantations of the beach line, the Southwestern Recôncavo sugar cane and coffee areas, and the suburban rings of orange production were zones where the mean intensity of cropland was low or, at best, modest.

There were two zones of very low intensity of cropland which have not been discussed previously because they did not have significant concentrations of individual crops. The belt of Intermediate Hills around [137] [231] the Central Recôncavo sugar cane area is largely forested, the scene of very scattered cultivation, livestock enterprises, and extractive industries. This belt was used, as will be seen, to provide fuel and to maintain a livestock reserve for the adjoining sugar cane area. The forested belt between the beach line and the inland areas of sugar cane and tobacco cultivation were used primarily for extensive systems of cultivation and for the small scale production of livestock. Only around the perimeter of Salvador was this forested belt intensively used, for in this area there were orange groves, manioc gardens, and a few very small truck farms.

241 311 178 [161] [434] Expansion of Cropland. There can be little question but that the Recôncavo as a whole was an area of expanding cropland in the 1940's.[31] In no other way could the increased food necessary for the growing population be supplied, for there were not then nor are there now external sources for large quantities of staples, excepting only livestock. There

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221 (3) When the first rains come, the soil of both the seed bed and the fields are worked up with a hoe so that all vegetable matter is buried and all weeds turned under.

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[417] (4) If possible the land is fertilized. Under "ideal" circumstances cattle are penned nightly over the area by means of a small temporary corral. The corral may be maintained for a long period over the seed bed, but on the field it is moved frequently so that the whole area is fertilized. Generally the resulting manure is left exposed to the sun and rain until planting time. However, this "ideal" method of fertilization is rare. A very large number of tobacco cultivators have no cattle—they are too poor and their operations are too small for livestock. Most cattle are held by fazendêiros (ranchers) who do not themselves grow tobacco. Moreover, the intensiveness of cultivation keeps the cattle population too small to provide enough manure for all local needs. Usually it is necessary to buy fertilizer. Cattle manure is sometimes purchased from a local fazendêiro. More and more, however, the tobacco cultivators are dependent upon cattle, or better still, goat manure which is trucked into the Recôncavo from the sertão. The manure is spread over the seed bed to a depth of about one inch and over the field in such depth as the quantity allows.

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221 (5) From mid-April to the end of May, depending upon the weather and the condition of the tobacco field, the seeds are planted. Almost without exception the seeds are taken from completely exhausted tobacco plants of the previous year, plants no longer able to produce salable leaf. The soil is broken open and loosened, and the seeds are sown directly into the fertilizer. Since the fertility of the seeds is very low, they are sown very thickly. The seed bed is fenced but is rarely covered. In sixty to seventy days the seedlings are ready for transplanting.

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CHAPTER VII

ANIMAL INDUSTRY

BB 231 433 BB [435] Although the Recôncavo is primarily a subsistence and commercial crop region, livestock play a significant role in the agricultural economy as beasts of burden and as a source of animal products. In 1948 there were about 800,000 to 850,000 livestock—cattle, sheep, goats, horses, asses, and mules—in the region, and the value of animal production was about Cr.$60,000,000.[1] Thus animals accounted for about 17 per cent of the total value of all agricultural products of the Recôncavo. About one quarter of the livestock were work animals essential to the operation of the agricultural economy--oxen, horses, asses, and mules.[2]

BB NB 231 233 442 443 The livestock industry of the Recôncavo is closely associated with the extensive livestock ranching economy of the Brazilian northeastern interior. In Bahia, as in most parts of Brazil, the sertão of the interior is a source region of livestock. The animals are driven from the sertão to the coastal nuclei of dense settlement and sold in the cattle market—in the Recôncavo, at the market of Feira de Santana. A portion of the cattle are slaughtered immediately to provide food for the large agricultural population, but a substantial number of cattle and the horses, asses, and mules are retained as work animals. The working cattle—oxen--are eventually slaughtered.

BB 231 Certain outlying parts of the Recôncavo share with the sertão in the role of producing livestock for the coastal market zone. Other areas, especially around Feira de Santana, function as fattening zones in which the cattle recuperate after the long drives from the interior.

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231 Where there are large numbers of work animals the conditioning and maintenance of oxen and other beasts of burden are important agricultural activities. In all areas of the Recôncavo the livestock forage on grazing land rather than cultivated pasture, and there is no livestock feeding. Thus, animal husbandry in the Recôncavo is not part of a system in which crops are raised or pasture is planted to support or fatten livestock, as is the case in mixed farming areas.

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233 Pastured Land. According to the agricultural census, the total area used as pasture in the Recôncavo in 1940 was about 280,000 hectares—only two times the total cultivated area.[3] The total area of pastured land in 1948 must have been much greater, perhaps 400,000 hectares, for there was a strong increase in the number of animals, and it seems unlikely that there was much increase in the carrying capacity of the wild vegetation.

As was suggested in the physical setting discussion, the basic grazing resources of the Recôncavo are the caatinga and agreste. These vegetation formations, modified by cultivation, fire, and grazing into capoeira--second growth—are used extensively for livestock along the perimeter of the Recôncavo, where cultivation is scattered, but also in such intensively cultivated areas as the Southwestern Recôncavo. In essence, all the uncultivated rural land of the zone of the caatinga and the agreste is grazing land, since there are few fences to restrain the large numbers of livestock.

There are scattered areas of grassland in the caatinga, the agreste, and the mata zones of the Recôncavo. Very often the caatinga of the uplands of the crystalline zone is replaced by grasses along the poorly-drained valley floors. These grassy valleys are scattered throughout the western half of the Recôncavo and are used as pasture

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233 556 311 On the other hand, ranching is a prestige activity; the rancher almost invariably is an influential and relatively wealthy member of the local community. As such, he may command for grazing purposes land which would be more profitable to the owner and to the whole economy if it were under cultivation.

231 Livestock Production. The large livestock animals which are important to the Recôncavo—cattle, asses, mules, horses, sheep, and goats--are primarily the products of ranching enterprises, i.e., livestock fazendas. Many of these animals are bred in the Sertão west and northwest of the Recôncavo and brought into the region as young stock ready for use as labor animals, as milk producers, or as mature animals ready for fattening and slaughter. However, there is some basic livestock production within the Recôncavo, especially in the outer ring of municípios. Here livestock are raised under conditions basically similar to those of the Sertão.

233 The cattle fazenda is a grazing enterprise in which the reproduction of the herd is uncontrolled; there is no selective breeding. Vaqueiros (cowboys) are employed to hold and to move the herds over vast distances. From time to time the young bulls are emasculated, and [232] as they approach maturity, these oxen are usually driven to the Recôncavo. The remaining cattle are held until maturity and then driven across the Sertão to Feira de Santana. The characteristic cattle fazenda exists in a modified form in the Recôncavo. Since the land for grazing is more restricted, the herds are smaller, and sometimes the grazing area is fenced. Second growth is the basic forage, though, as has been seen, grass here plays a relatively more important [232] role than in the Sertão. There have been a few attempts to breed selectively in the Recôncavo.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

• 231 The production of asses, mules, and horses is concentrated outside the Recôncavo. Apparently most of the work animals used in the Recôncavo-oxen as well as asses, mules, and horses--were born on the Sertão and were the products of the same ranches which produce beef animals.

In distinction to these larger animals, swine are produced in large number within the Recôncavo. Moreover, they are almost exclusively the products of small enterprises--pigs are raised in ones and twos by small farmers. They eat the household waste and root in the abandoned
[443] fields and the second growth. When they are mature or when the need for cash is pressing, they are sold in the local market, either alive or slaughtered.

Most of the livestock of the Recôncavo are descendent from animals introduced into the Northeast during colonial times. In general
[232] there has been little deliberate selection of strains--those animals which have survived disease, insect pests, prolonged semi-starvation, and casual abuse have conferred their characteristics upon the present generation. Thus, most of the livestock are scrubby and inbred, inefficient producers of meat, milk, or energy.

Cattle. The total cattle population of the Recôncavo was 395,000 head in 1948, and the number was still growing. There were
[433] almost three times as many cattle in the region as swine, the next most numerous animal, and the value of cattle production far exceeded that of other livestock.

Almost all of the cattle of the Recôncavo are of the unspecialized and ubiquitous Indo-Brazilian strain--rangy animals with long horns and a moderate hump, hardy and strong but not producers of large quanti-
[234] ties of either meat or milk. Oxen of the same breed are important in the sugar zone and in Feira de Santana, and both beef and milk cattle

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

231 [234] are found in all parts of the Recôncavo, although dairying is not a highly developed enterprise. It should be noted, however, that both oxen and milk cows usually end their careers in the slaughter house.

No município in the Recôncavo had less than 2,500 cattle in 1948, but there were only two important concentrations (Map 78). The largest of these was in Feira de Santana, chiefly around the cidade. Forty per cent of all cattle in the Recôncavo were held in this area. The second, and much smaller, concentration was in the sugar cane region, with about 8 per cent of the cattle of the Recôncavo. In order effectively to differentiate these concentrations and between them and the basal distribution of the rest of the Recôncavo, it is necessary to discuss briefly the specialized forms of livestock enterprise.

[492] (1) In the sugar zone a very large percentage (probably 70 to 90 per cent) of the cattle are oxen used as labor in the cane fields (Map 79). Since these animals are grass-fed exclusively--no grain is used--and since there are many disease problems, it is necessary to maintain a large local reserve so that day to day rotation is possible. In addition, the larger enterprises maintain ranches on which oxen and other labor animals, purchased in the Sertão or at Feira de Santana, are conditioned and at which ailing or weak animals recuperate. When they are no longer useful as draft animals, the oxen are butchered and sold to the local agricultural laborers. Only small quantities of milk 234 443 are produced in this zone.

(2) Salvador, and to a lesser extent Feira de Santana, have milk sheds of importance (Map 80). In addition, a very small milk shed surrounds each cidade, although Cachoeira-São Félix is not well endowed in this respect.[4] The marketing of milk is local--the only exception discovered was the sale in Salvador of milk from the município of Camassari. The dairy industry around Salvador is relatively

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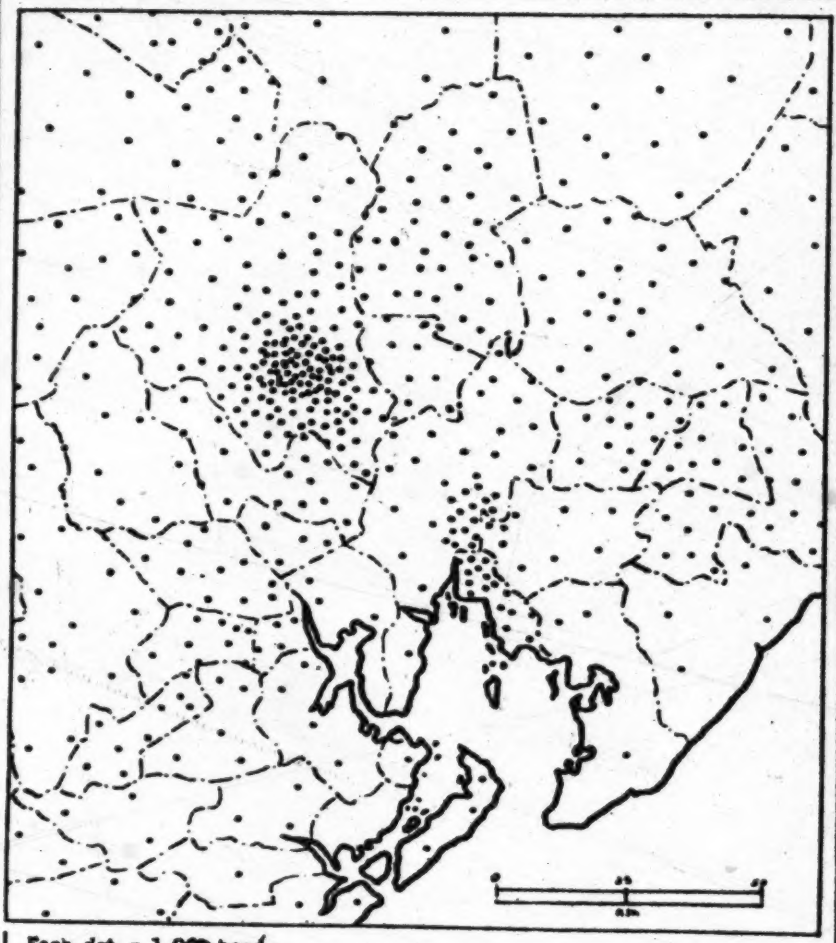

Each dot - 1,000 head

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Cattle--1948

Source of data: "População Pecuária, Em 31/12/1948."

MAP 78

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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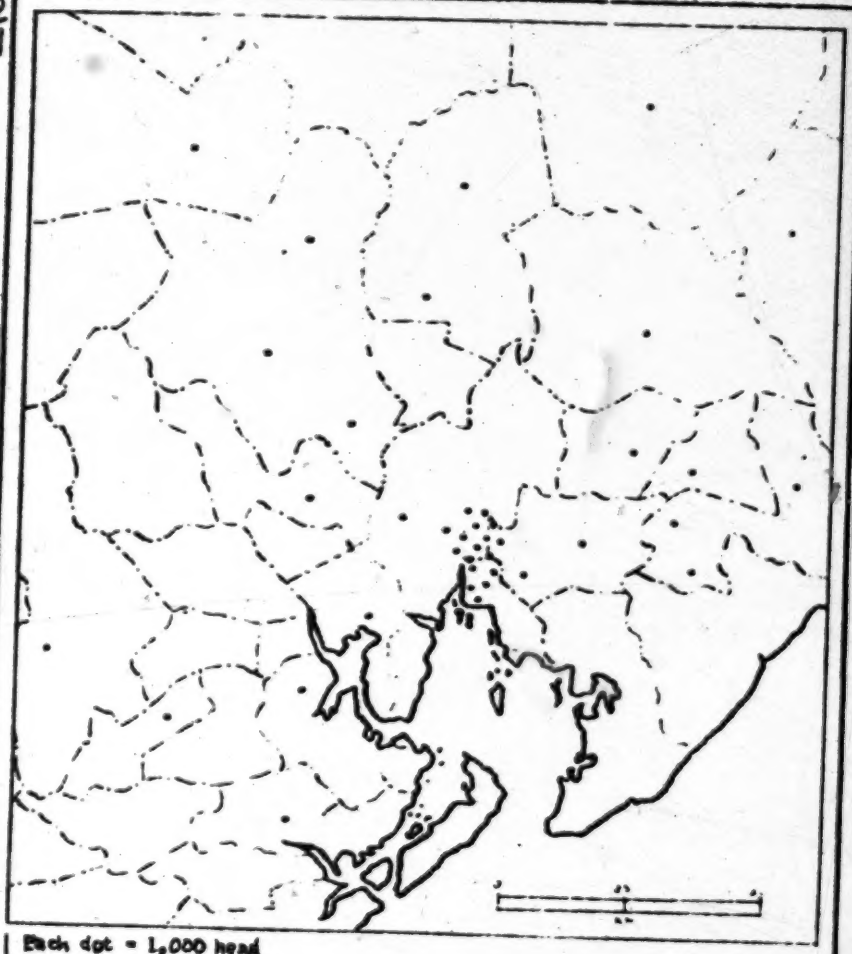

Each dot = 1,000 head

RECOVCAVO OF BAHIA

Circa—1948

(estimated)

Map 79

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

The dairy industry around Salvador is relatively
234 443 [493] large-scale, as is evident in the size and number of tank trucks which peddle milk through the streets of the city, and which bear the name of
[272] local fazendas. However, the milk has a low butter-fat content, is unpasteurized, and it is expensive, and many people use powdered milk which is imported from other parts of Brazil and abroad. The Salvador dairy industry is large-scale only in relation to the small-scale operations in other parts of the region, where the small quantities of available milk are carried to the cidades on mules or asses and sold from house to house.

233 443 (3) Feira de Santana is the principal cattle market not only of the Recôncavo but also of the state of Bahia. To its market (campo de gado) are driven the cattle of the northern sertão of Bahia and from as far west as the mountains. Before or after sale many of these cattle are rested and fattened on the pastures around the cidade so that the cattle population is large but fluid. Some of these cattle are butchered locally, but many are driven to Salvador before slaughter.

231 (4) In all other parts of the Recôncavo small-scale animal husbandry is very common. Many small farmers, sharecroppers, or renters
[272] have one or two cows and sometimes a calf. The milk, if any, is used
[234] [443] either by the family or sold in the cidade. In addition, there are a few large cattle ranches, usually producing both milk and beef cattle. Thus the unspecialized livestock economy of most of the Recôncavo is distinct from the labor animal concentration in the sugar zone, the Salvador milk shed, and the market animal concentration around Feira de Santana.

233 The pattern of distribution of cattle outside the Recôncavo is not markedly different from that of the adjacent areas within the region. In this respect Mata de São João is like Pojuca, Castro Alves like Santo Estêvão, and Nazaré like São Felix-Maragogipe. However, the

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

233 of Cachoeira as a regional center could account for some decline in
433 its cattle population. On the other hand, the almost four-fold increase in cattle in São Francisco, more than two-fold increase in Itaparica, and almost two-fold increase in Jaguaripe, indicated by the data, are not credible in view of the general agricultural situation. A moderate increase in the cattle population of these areas, to serve the growing Salvador market, is reasonable enough, but not such an astronomical expansion.

• 231
433 Swine. Although much less numerous than cattle--there were 135,000 swine in the Recôncavo in 1948--pigs are similary ubiquitous. These animals are particularly important in Feira de Santana and Irará, in the Southwestern Recôncavo, and on the island of Itaparica (Map 81). In the Feira de Santana-Irará area swine were much less numerous than cattle, but in the Southwestern Recôncavo and on Itaparica they were the most common livestock animal. Pigs were also the most numerous livestock in adjoining Nazaré, Aratuípe, and Jaguaripe.

The swine population of the Recôncavo is almost surely increasing. This increase is strongly indicated by the evident general agricultural development of the Southwestern Recôncavo, the main center of swine production. A comparison of the 1940 and the 1948 data shows an increase which is in excess of the probable errors of the data. The pattern of change within the Recôncavo shown by the 1940 and 1948 data is irrational for many municípios, although the strong increases shown for the Southwestern Recôncavo and for Feira de Santana are reasonable in view of the observable development of these areas.

231
[472] In the cattle industry, big enterprises are dominant, but swine are produced almost exclusively by small holders, renters, and sharecroppers, each with two or three pigs. The swine are tough, thick-hided

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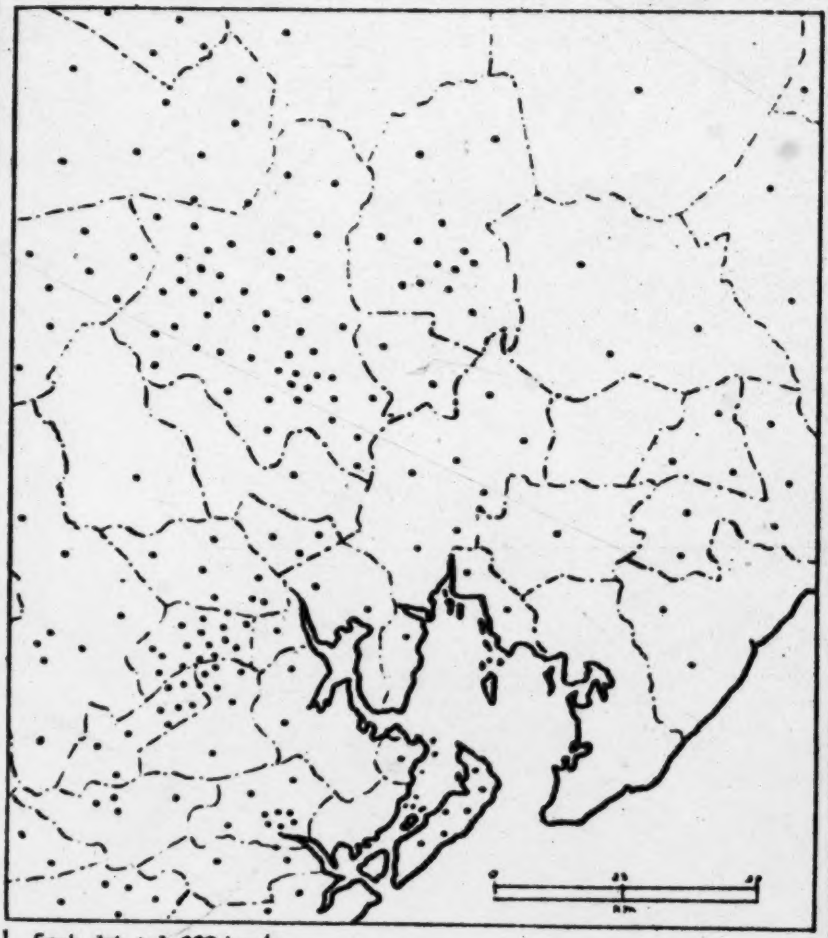

Each dot = 1,000 head

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Swine--1948

Source of data: "População Pecuária, Em 31/12/1948."

MAP 81

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

231 [442] animals, rangy and thin, which can and do exist on what they can forage in the second growth or whatever table waste is available. They are marketed one or two at a time in the local markets or are purchased by local buyers who transport a load of pigs into Salvador by truck or sailing boat (saveiro).

231 433 Sheep and Goats. Neither sheep nor goats are characteristic animals of the Recôncavo, but they are found in small numbers in several of its municípios. In 1948 there were about 80,000 sheep and 40,000 goats in the region. Almost all of these animals were low-grade but hardy local varieties. Goats are most numerous on the western sertão, but they are found in moderate numbers along the western edge of the Recôncavo (Map 82). The distribution of sheep is similar, but more uneven, and there is a conspicuous concentration around Feira de Santana (Map 83).

Neither animal ranks very high in the total livestock population of any Recôncavo município. Beyond the northern Recôncavo, from Conceição do Coite to Esplanada, sheep are the most numerous or second most numerous of all animals. In the west, goats are more important--these are the most numerous of all animals in Riachão do Jacuípe and are as numerous as cattle in Ipirá. Apparently the number of both animals is growing. Goats are increasing most rapidly, especially within the Recôncavo. The number of sheep is increasing slowly and very irregularly. In the dry marginal zone of the Recôncavo, sheep and goats are produced on large fazendas in much the same manner as cattle. This is also true for the sheep around Feira de Santana. In many areas, however, small holders occasionally run a few goats and, less frequently, sheep in the second-growth.

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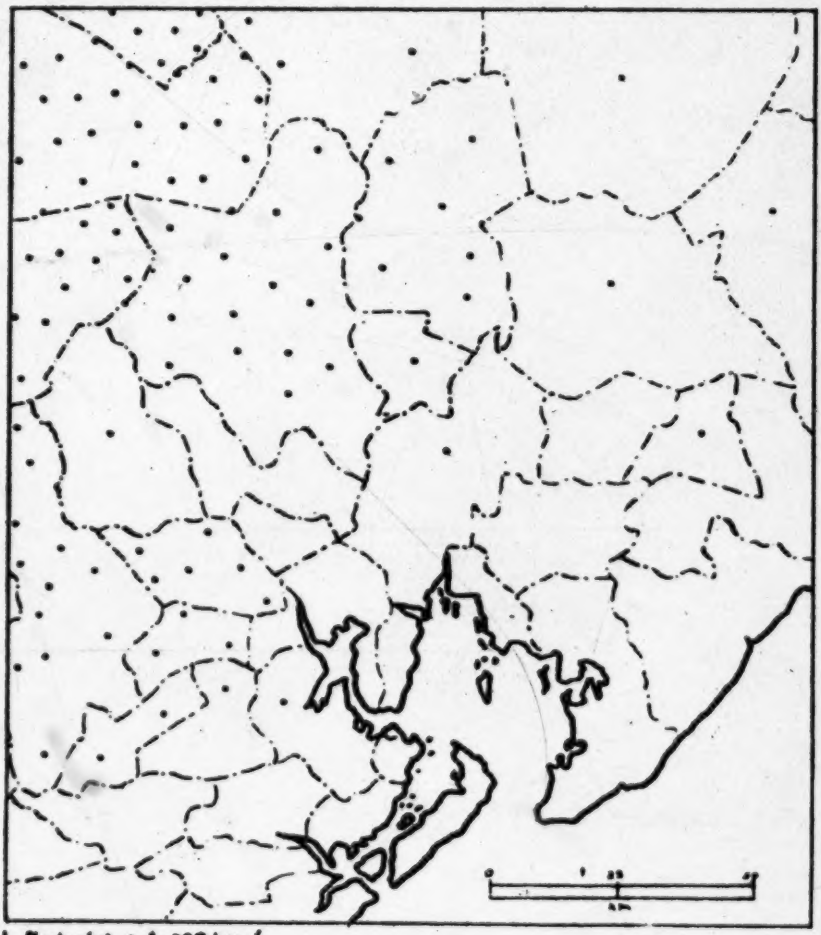

Each dot = 1,000 head

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Goats—1948

Source of data: "População Pecuária Em 31/12/1948."

MAP 82

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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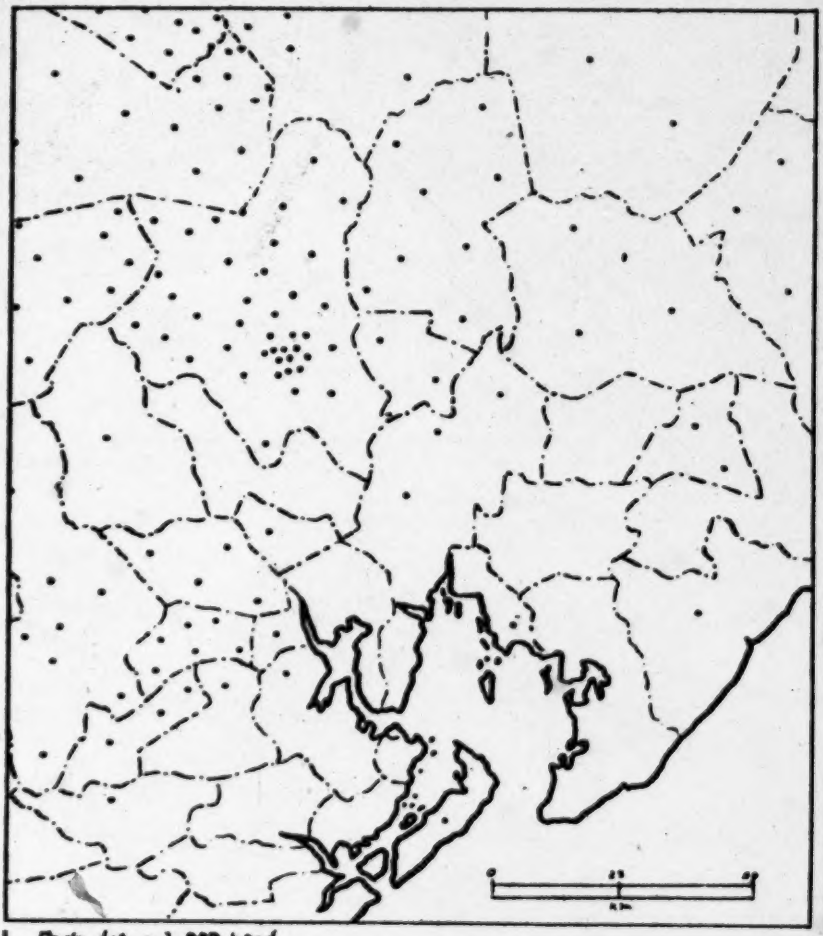

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RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Sheep--1948

Source of data: "População Pecuária, Em 31/12/1948."

MAP 83

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

231 Summary--Livestock Produced for Animal Products. Except for the oxen, all the animals discussed above are raised for meat or for other animal products rather than for use as beasts of burden. The distribution of these animals, without regard to kind, is summarized on the accompanying map of non-work animals (Map 84).

Feira de Santana has the outstanding concentration of these non-work animals in the Recôncavo and, undoubtedly, in Bahia. To a considerable degree this concentration signalizes the importance of the sertão as a producer of livestock and of the Recôncavo as a consumer, since many of the animals around Feira de Santana are transients moving from the former to the latter. The principal market served by [443] Feira de Santana is the city of Salvador, but the rural areas of all the Recôncavo north of the Bay and the estuary of the Rio Paraguaçu also secure much of their livestock through the campo de gado at "Feira."

The only other concentration of livestock raised for animal products is in the Southwestern Recôncavo. Most of these animals are [433] used to feed the large local population within the sub-region, which seems to be relatively self-sufficient as far as livestock production is concerned.

231 Asses and Mules. Asses and mules combined are the most numerous
492 and widely distributed work animals in the Recôncavo. There were in 1948 about 115,000 of these two animals in the region (Map 85). Over one-half were found in Feira de Santana, where they are raised locally in large numbers and where animals brought from the Sertão are conditioned for sale. The asses and mules of the Recôncavo are both very small animals and are generally used as burden carriers, although the larger mules--still very small by United States standards--are used as riding animals.

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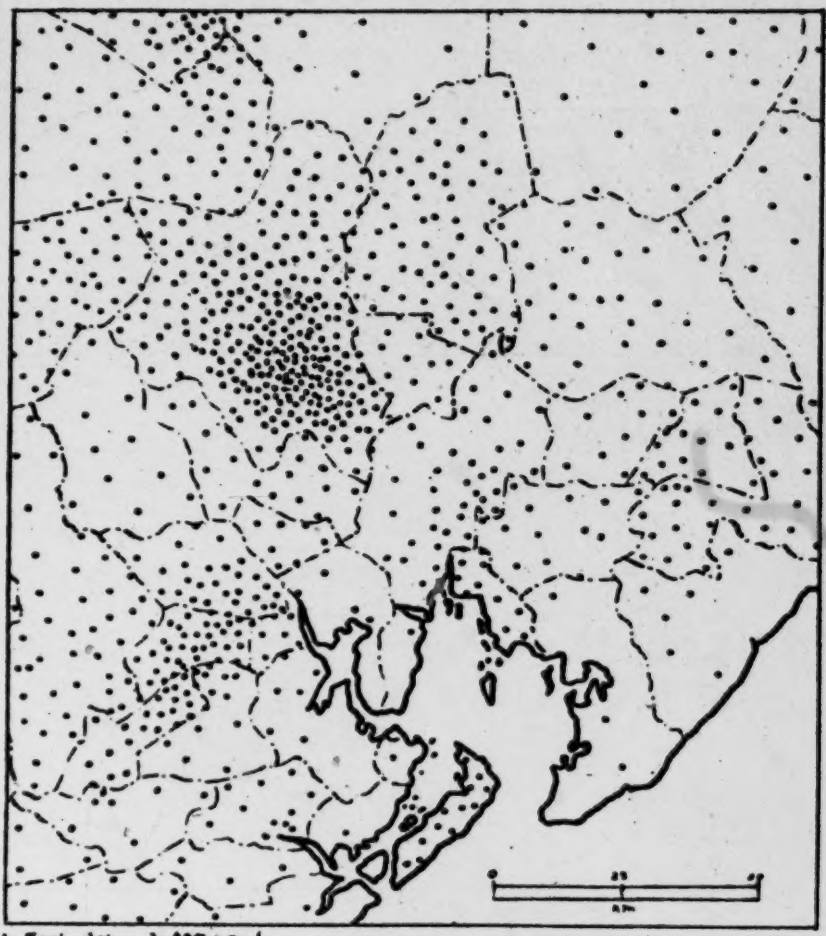

Each dot = 1,000 head

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Total Animals Produced for Animal Products--1948

(Non-work Animals)

MAP 84

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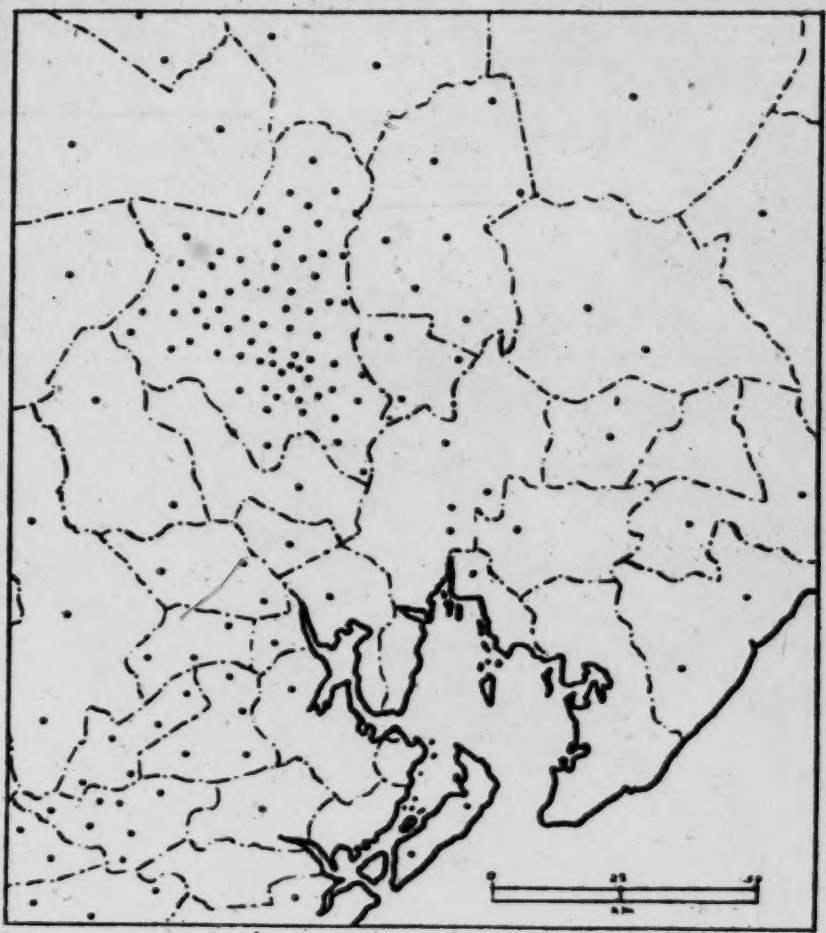

Each dot = 1,000 head

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Abreu and Mulles—1948

Source of data: "População Pecuária, Em 31/12/1948."

MAP 85

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

231 492 Asses and mules were the second most numerous animals in an area from São Gonçalo and Feira de Santana to Camassari--a zone which roughly corresponds to the northern part of the tobacco-manioc region. In this part of the crop region cultivation is more scattered and road transportation less well developed than in the Southwestern Recôncavo, and presumably the animals are needed to pack the tobacco crop to the markets.[6]

Work Animals. The work animals of the Recôncavo include oxen, horses, asses, and mules. As the accompanying map demonstrates (Map 86), the chief concentration of all work animals, without regard to type, was around Feira de Santana, the supply center for the region. Many of these animals were young or were being conditioned for market. On the other hand, most of the work animals of the smaller concentration in the sugar cane region were actually in use.

According to the official data, the total number of work animals in the Recôncavo increased from 85,000 to 215,000 between 1940 and 1948. Almost certainly there has been a strong increase, but such a tremendous rise in work animal population seems excessive; probably the 1940 total is too low, and perhaps the 1948 figure is excessive, though in view of the number of animals which are evident in the Recôncavo, not very much so.

231 Conclusion. Although the Recôncavo produces a moderate number of livestock of all types--except horses, asses, and mules--it has a great and continuing deficit. The livestock deficiencies of the region are supplied by the sertão in a movement of animals which had its inception in the initial century of colonization. 231 438 Associated with the exchange of animals from the sertão for products from the littoral is one of the historic institutions of the Northeast--the campo de gado of

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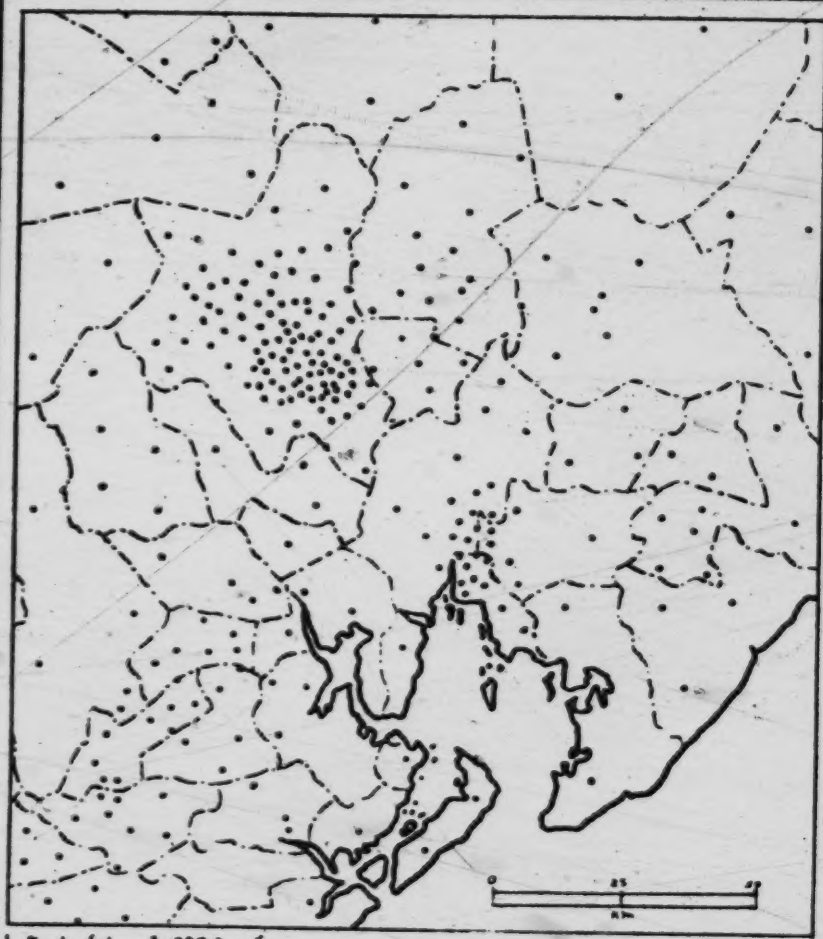

Each dot = 1,000 head

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Work Animals--1948

MAP 86

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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BB 231 438 Feira de Santana. From "Feira" the livestock are distributed to the Recôncavo to be used as beasts of burden, as food, or for both.

BB 231 The livestock population of the Recôncavo, as well as the livestock market, is centralized within the município of Feira de Santana. [433] In part this concentration reflects the relatively great demand for beef in Salvador, so that at any one time the number of livestock passing through Feira de Santana must be great. The same concentration is evident for work animals. This suggests that the mortality of work animals in the Recôncavo must be very high. There is no data to substantiate this hypothesis, but the emaciated appearance, poor diet, and calloused treatment of beasts of burden in the Recôncavo suggest that it is highly probable.

BB 231 241 433 The concentrations of livestock in the sugar cane and tobacco-manioc regions contribute significantly to the general agricultural importance of these areas. The differences in the character of the livestock populations reflect in a large measure the different requirements of the crop cultivation systems of the two regions.

B 231 241 The interdependence of the livestock-producing sertão and the areas of cultivation, signalized by the cattle fairs, is a characteristic feature of Brazilian agricultural life. The interior, from Ceará to Rio Grande do Sul, is a reservoir from which are drawn the cattle and the work animals for the main centers of crop cultivation and for the cities.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

CHAPTER VIII

AGRICULTURAL PROPERTIES

241 231 423 311 The agricultural properties of the Recôncavo are diverse in functional type, tenure, and size. In most municípios there are to be found three basic production types: crop cultivation units, mixed crop cultivation and livestock producing units, and ranches. The properties of any local area may be owner or administrator operated, rented, or, in some areas, occupied informally by "squatters." In distinction to most agricultural areas of the United States, the Recôncavo has a very large number of extremely small agricultural properties, frequently with less than 2 hectares. There are also a number of large properties with more than 10,000 hectares; and in many areas large and small properties are closely intermixed.

241 423 184 Despite the widespread diversity of agricultural properties, there are distinct regional patterns which are based upon the predominance of certain types and sizes of properties and upon characteristic modes of possession. The regional patterns of agricultural properties correspond in a general manner to the crop regions delineated in the previous discussion.

241 423 [129] The basic source of information about the agricultural properties of the Recôncavo is the 1940 economic census.[1] No more recent source is as yet available to replace or to verify or correct these fifteen year old data. However, generalizations based upon these data were substantiated in most cases by the field investigations undertaken for the present study. It is apparent that in so traditional a region as the [178] Recôncavo, the institutional characteristics of agriculture, property types included, change very slowly.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 423 127 311 Of the 12,500 square kilometers of the Recôncavo, only about 800,000 hectares were enumerated in the agricultural section of the 1940 economic census--71 per cent of the total land area. In the various municípios of the region, the enumerated area varied from 39 per cent of the land surface in Alagoinhas to 110 per cent in Itaparica (Map 87). In a few cases, such as Itaparica, the area given in the agricultural section of the census exceeded the official total area of the município.[2] Where the political boundaries were not delimited precisely, properties may have been credited to the wrong município. More probably, however, these situations result from the over-estimation of the areas of individual properties--precise surveys of agricultural properties are virtually unknown.

There was a general correspondence between the intensity of land use (Map 2) and the relative area included in the 1940 agricultural census. This latter area will be referred to as "enumerated area" in the following discussion. Those lands not included in the agricultural census were urban areas, public domain, or in a few cases, private land held for speculation. However, not all of the unenumerated land was unused from the agricultural point of view, for in some of the less densely settled areas "squatters" are quite common.

241 231 423 311 Production Types of Agricultural Enterprises. In the 1940 census the agricultural properties of Brazil were divided into six classes, based in part upon the type of production and in part upon the scale of operation, The three main functional types were agricultura (crop cultivation), agro-pecuária (crop cultivation with livestock production), and pecuária (livestock production). In this context it is important to note that while agro-pecuária may include mixed agriculture--in the sense of functionally interdependent crop and livestock production

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 within the individual agricultural unit--properties classifed within
231 the group may have merely co-existing crop and animal production. In
423
311 the Recôncavo, cultivation and animal husbandry are carried on separately within the individual properties, except (1) where labor animals are involved, or (2) where manure for tobacco cultivation is produced on a tobacco-growing farm. Each of the three main production types was classified as either a large-scale or a small-scale unit, on the basis of the amount of cropland, the number of animals, or both.[3] The distribution of the 27,513 agricultural properties and the 837,699 hectares of enumerated land of the Recôncavo among the various production and scale-of-operation classes is shown on the accompanying table (Table XIV).

Most of the agricultural properties of the Recôncavo were small-scale units which were engaged solely in crop cultivation or which produced both crops and livestock. Ninety-nine per cent of all properties, encompassing 58 per cent of the farmland, were small-scale units. The number of cultivation and of mixed cultivation-livestock units was approximately the same; the mixed units were, on the average, more than twice as large as the exclusively crop producing units. Although the number of purely livestock producing units--ranches--was small, the total area which they encompassed was relatively large, and the mean size of individual units was over 450 hectares. Even more notable is the fact that less than 250 large-scale livestock units, about 1 per cent of the total number of units, held 13 per cent of the land in agricultural properties.

231 <u>Livestock Units</u>. Agricultural enterprises whose activities were
233 confined exclusively to livestock production were found in every <u>município</u> of the Recôncavo and in every adjoining <u>município</u> in 1940. In most areas, however, the number of such livestock units was very

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

TABLE XIV

AGRICULTURAL PROPERTIES OF THE RECÔNCAVO--CLASSIFIED BY TYPE AND SCALE OF OPERATION--1940

	Crop Cultivation Only	Crop Cultivation and Livestock Production	Livestock Production Only	All Types
	Number and Area of Properties			
All Properties:				
Number	13,221	13,587	705	27,513
Area*	212,545 ha.	493,210 ha.	131,944 ha.	837,699 ha.
Mean Size	16 ha.	36 ha.	187 ha.	30 ha.
Small-Scale Properties:				
Number	13,144	13,558	458	27,160
Area	167,406 ha.	298,408 ha.	26,932 ha.	483,746 ha.
Mean Size	13 ha.	21 ha.	59 ha.	18 ha.
Large-Scale Properties:				
Number	77 ha.	29 ha.	247 ha.	353 ha.
Area	28,703 ha.	12,649 ha.	107,199 ha.	148,551 ha.
Mean Size	373 ha.	436 ha.	434 ha.	421 ha.
	As Per cent of the Number and Area of all Properties			
All Properties:				
Number	48	49	3	100
Area	25	59	16	100
Small-Scale Properties:				
Number	48	49	2	99
Area	20	35	3	58
Large-Scale Properties:				
Number	-	-	1	1
Area	3	1	13	18

*Because the census does not give data on the size of some units in order to preserve the anonymity of the information, the totals do not precisely equal the sums of the various components.

Source: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

231 233 small (Map 88). Within the Recôncavo, only the eastern part of the Central Recôncavo and the environs of Feira de Santana had even a moderate number of ranches. Livestock enterprises generally occupied less than one-fifth of the enumerated area (Map 89). These properties were relatively important in the Northwestern and Central Recôncavo, a reflection of the importance of ranching and cattle fattening in the northwest and of the need for work animals in the sugar cane region. In the Southwestern Recôncavo crop cultivation is too intensive and widespread to share the land with many ranches. Except in the southwest, 20 per cent of the total enumerated area was in livestock units along the limits of the Recôncavo. In relation to the total area, the extent [311] of livestock properties varied from place to place along the border zone (Map 90). Beyond the Recôncavo, ranching is more important in the crystalline areas, whether caatinga or agreste, than in the Tertiary taboleiros.

231 233 433 As has been pointed out, large-scale properties are especially important among the livestock production units. In most parts of the Recôncavo the ratio of the area in large-scale and in small-scale livestock units was about three to one. The analysis of the mean size of large-scale livestock units, plotted on Map 91, emphasizes the diversity within the region and discloses the tremendous size of the ranches in the coastal agreste northeast of the Recôncavo. Since the number of large-scale livestock units was small and the size of the units highly variable, the mean values for the areas of these properties may be deceiving. Nevertheless, it is significant that the mean size of livestock unit was large in the Central Recôncavo, where there are a number of fazendas in the forested hills around the sugar cane region. These [313] [249] properties are used primarily as sources of firewood for the usinas

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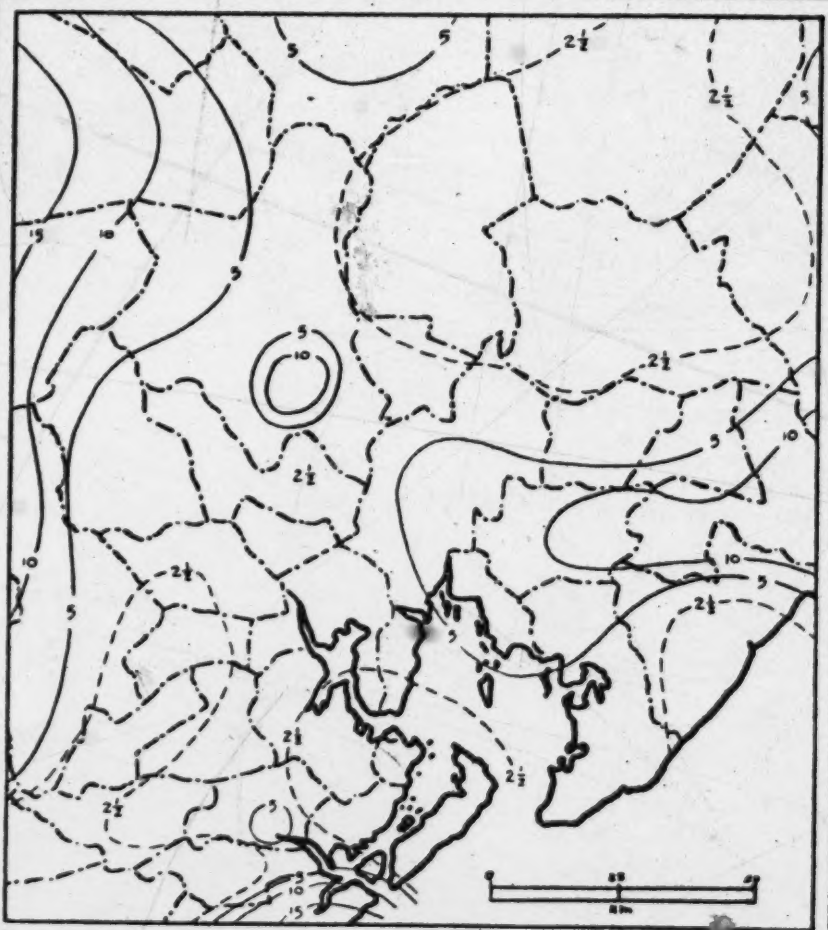

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of All Agricultural Enterprises Which Were

Livestock Enterprises--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 88

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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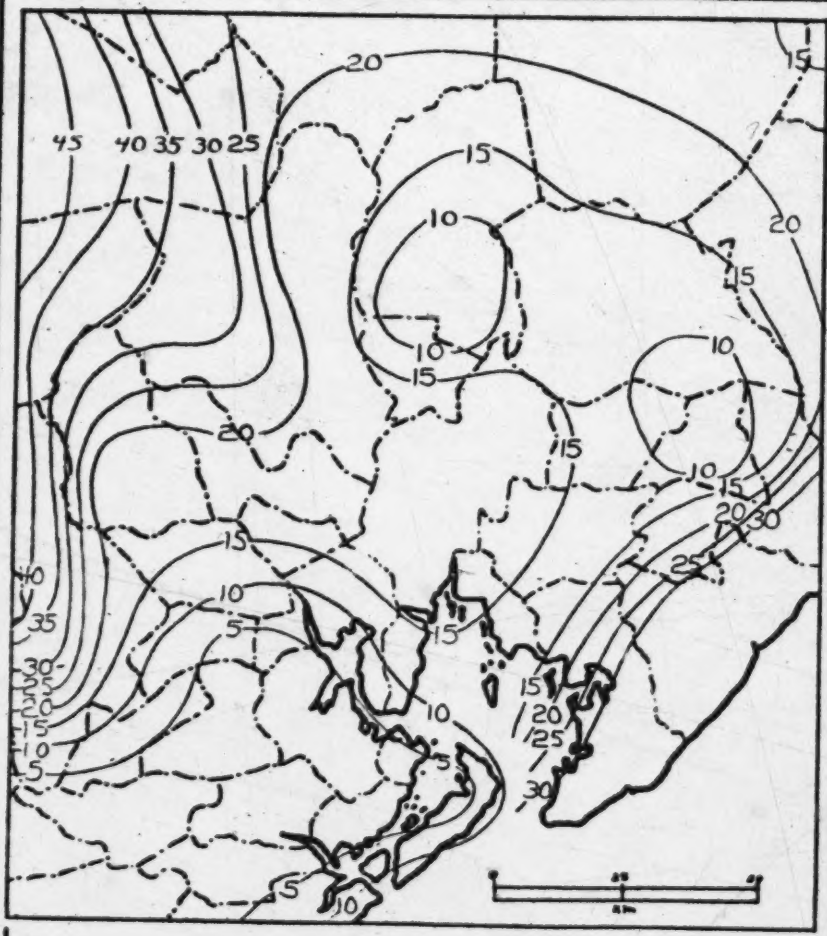

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumerated Area in

Livestock Enterprises—1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 89

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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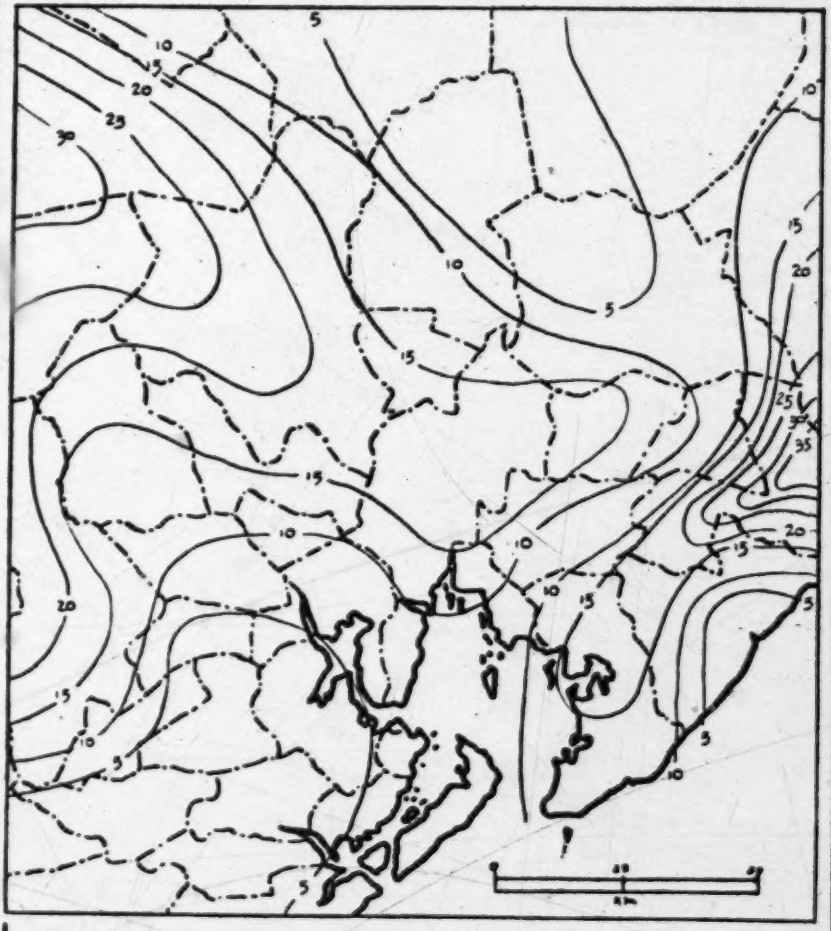

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Land Area in

Livestock Enterprises--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 90

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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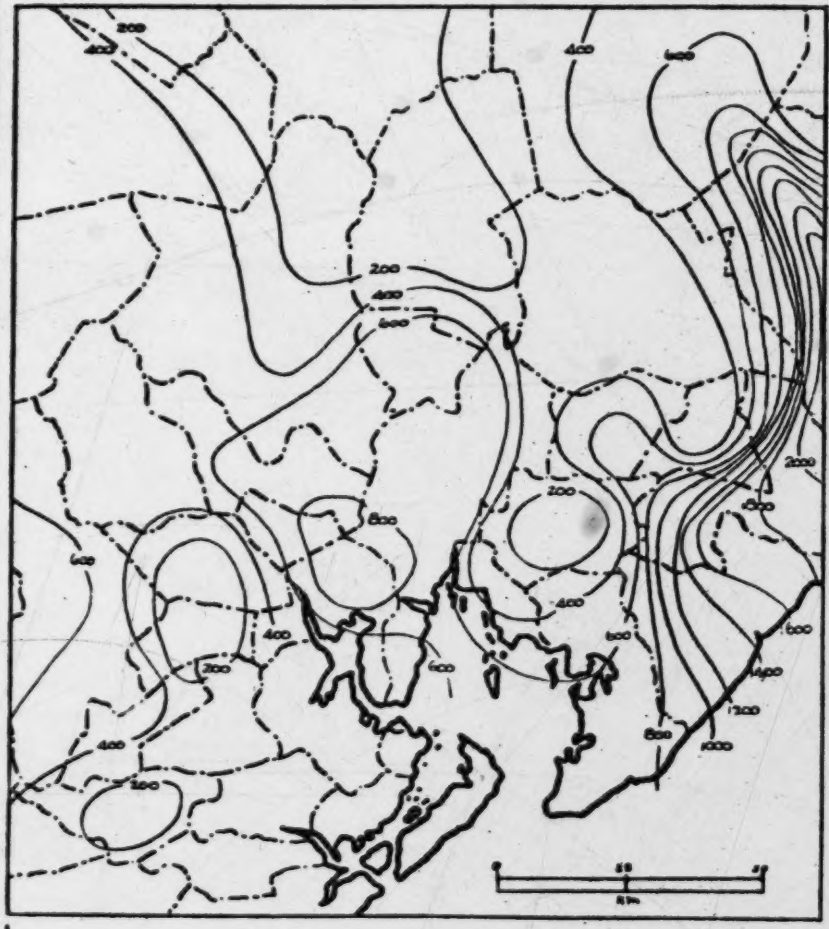

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Mean Size of Large-Scale Livestock Enterprises—1940

In Hectares

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 91

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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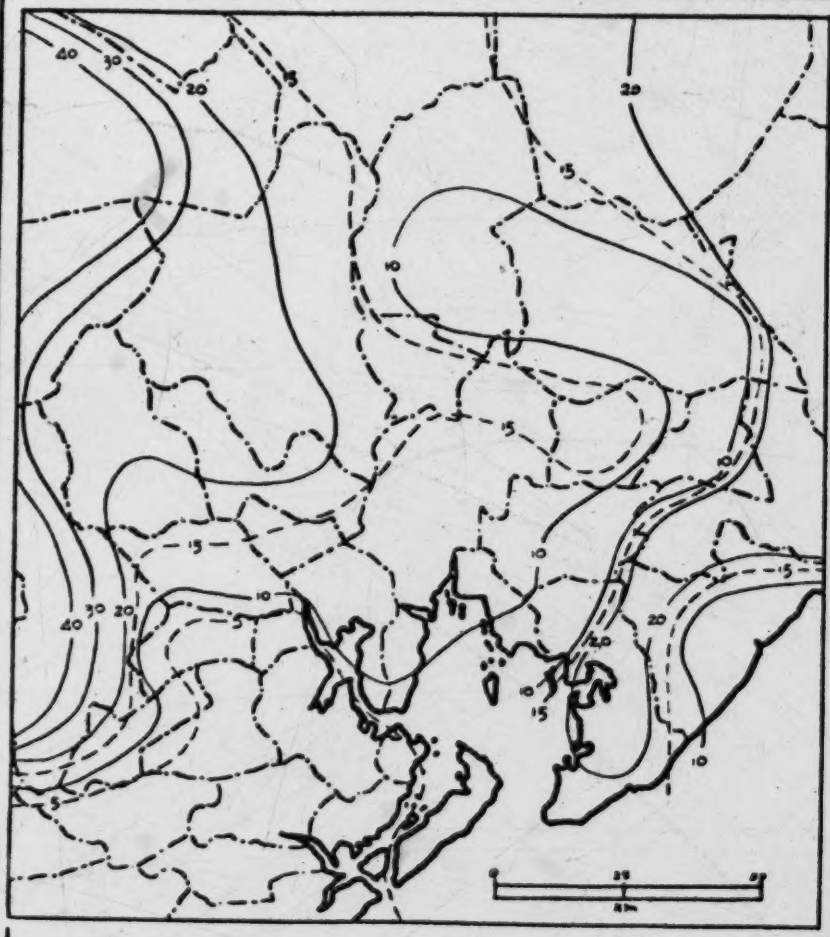

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumerated Area in

Large-Scale Livestock Enterprises—1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 92

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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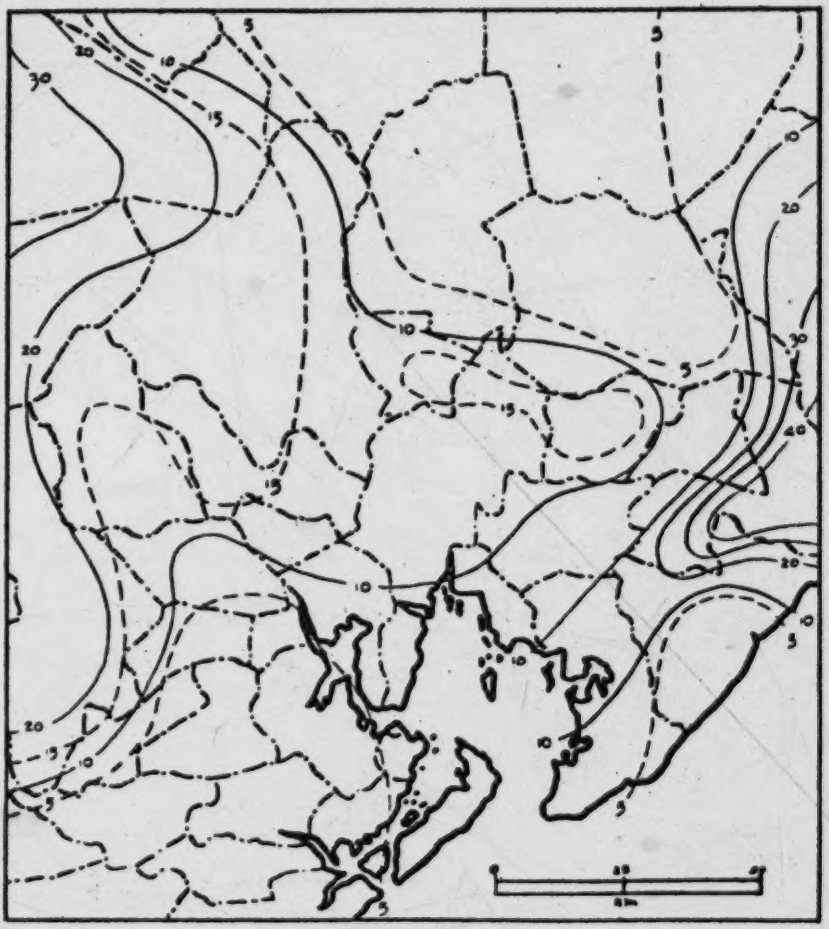

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Land Area in

Large-Scale Livestock Enterprises—1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 93

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

231 233 433 [313] [249] and locomotives of the cane area, but, as has been pointed out previously, they have supplementary livestock production.[4]

Of the 247 large-scale livestock units in the Reconcavo, 65, with 231 233 a total area of almost 30,000 hectares, were in the município of Feira de 311 Santana (Maps 92 and 93). Another 39, with about 16,000 hectares of 433 land, were in the Central Recôncavo. Each of these two areas has a distinctive character: the Central Recôncavo fazendas de gado--cattle ranches--supply oxen and horses, asses, and mules to the sugar economy; the large fazendas of Feira de Santana, with extensive grassy pastures, serve the campo de gado--cattle market--of the cidade and thereby the whole economy of the Recôncavo.

231 Crop Cultivation Units. Almost one-half of all farms in the 241 Recôncavo produced no animals in 1940. In the marginal areas of the 311 region, excepting always the southwest, less than one-third of the farms 184 were pure crop cultivation units (Map 94). On the other hand, crop farms were particularly numerous on the southern littoral, where the forests are not salutary to livestock--except swine and fighting cocks. The Northern Recôncavo, where ranching is not an important activity, had a relatively large number of crop cultivation units, as had Salvador and the adjoining coastal município, Camassari.

241 Relative to both the enumerated and the total area, the purely 311 crop cultivation units were very important in Itaparica and Santo Amaro and unimportant around the border zone of the Recôncavo (Maps 95 and 96). On Itaparica and in the sugar cane region, crop cultivation units occupied over one-half the total land area--over 85 per cent on the island of Itaparica. The size of crop cultivation properties in the Recôncavo was generally small, but there were very great local differences 000 (Map 97). The tobacco-manioc region, especially in the Southwestern

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 306]

The tobacco-manioc region, especially in the Southwestern
249 244 311 423 Recôncavo, was a zone of very small properties--in Cruz das Almas and Coração de Maria the mean size of crop cultivation units was 2 hectares, while in São Filipe it was only 5 hectares. This zone of small crop cultivation units is part of a belt, parallel to but well back from the coast, which originates in the serras of the coffee zone, crosses the Recôncavo along the caatinga-mata transition, and follows the caatinga-agreste boundary northward along the eastern edge of the Tertiary taboleiros. The small-property belt thus lies between the littoral, with its large plantations of sugar cane and its ranches, and the dry sertão, with its extensive livestock economy.

241 249 311 423 The Central Recôncavo was a zone of large crop cultivation properties, primarily sugar cane plantations. Although there are a large number of livestock in the sugar cane region, the plantations use, rather than produce, animals and were thus classified as crop cultivation units. The plantations of the sugar cane area are very diverse as regards size, and many of the individual properties are now operated collectively by large usinas. Nevertheless, there are still a number of small properties, producing cane which is sold to the large mills.

241 231 233 311 Mixed Crop Cultivation-Livestock Producing Units. A little over one-half of all the farms in the Recôncavo produced livestock as well as crops. These units occupied almost 60 per cent of the total area of all properties. However, the area in which over half the properties were mixed units was limited to a broad perimeter zone which included all the outer municípios of the Eastern, Northwestern, and Southwestern Recôncavo (Map 98). In Itaparica and Santo Amaro, where crop cultivation units were very important, there were relatively few mixed units.

244 249 231 233 The maps of the area in mixed units in relation to enumerated area (Map 99) and total area (Map 100) confirm the observation that.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 311]

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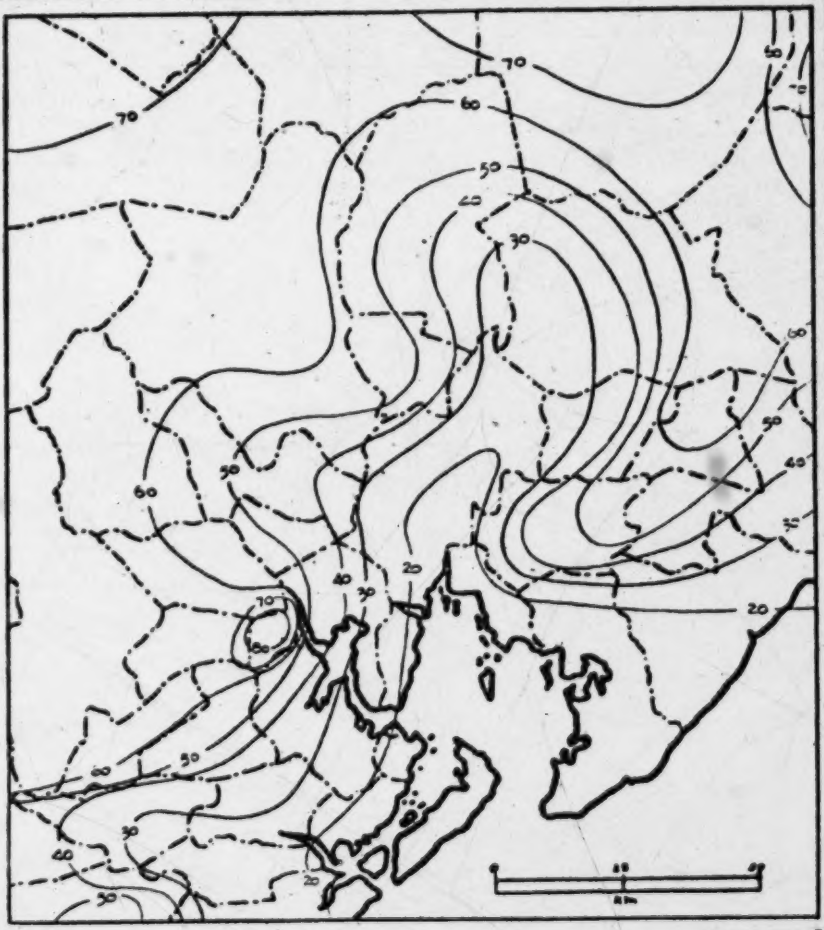

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of All Agricultural Enterprises Which Were

Crop-Livestock Enterprises--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 98

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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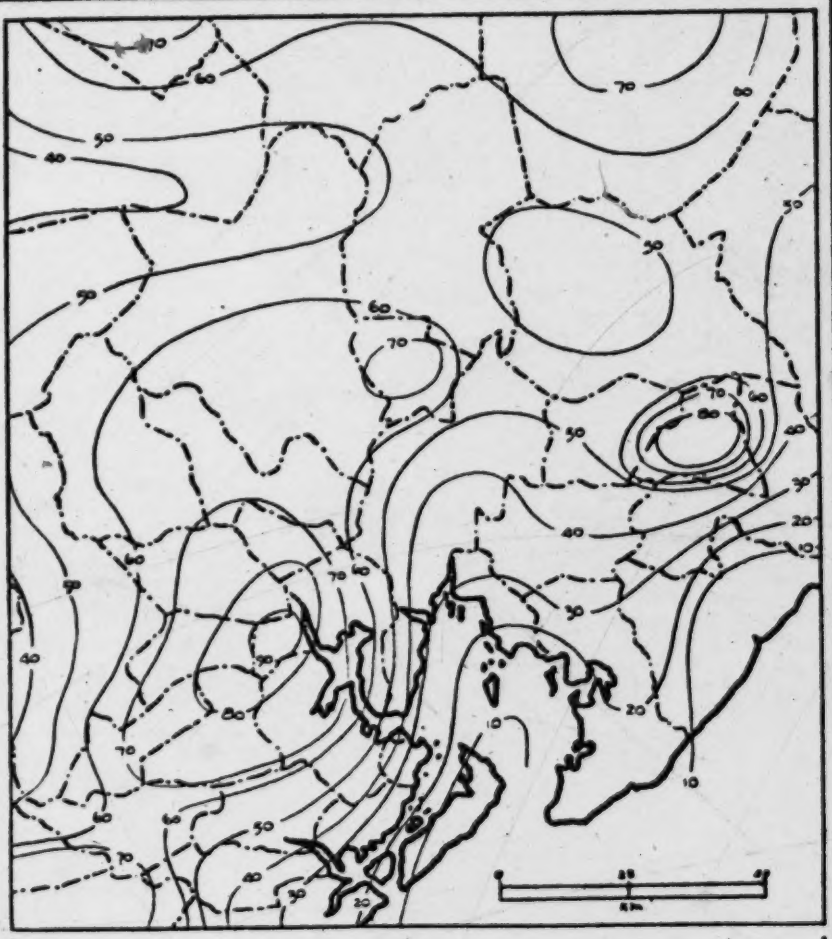

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumerated Area in

Crop-Livestock Enterprises--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 99

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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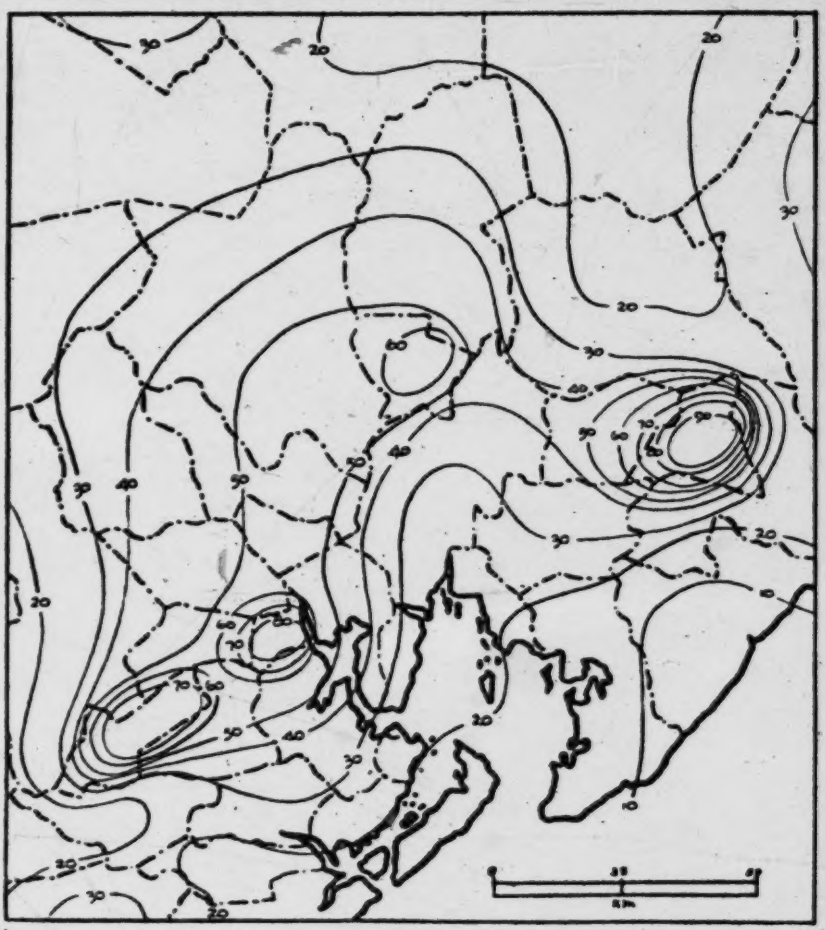

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Land Area in

Crop-Livestock Enterprises—1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 100

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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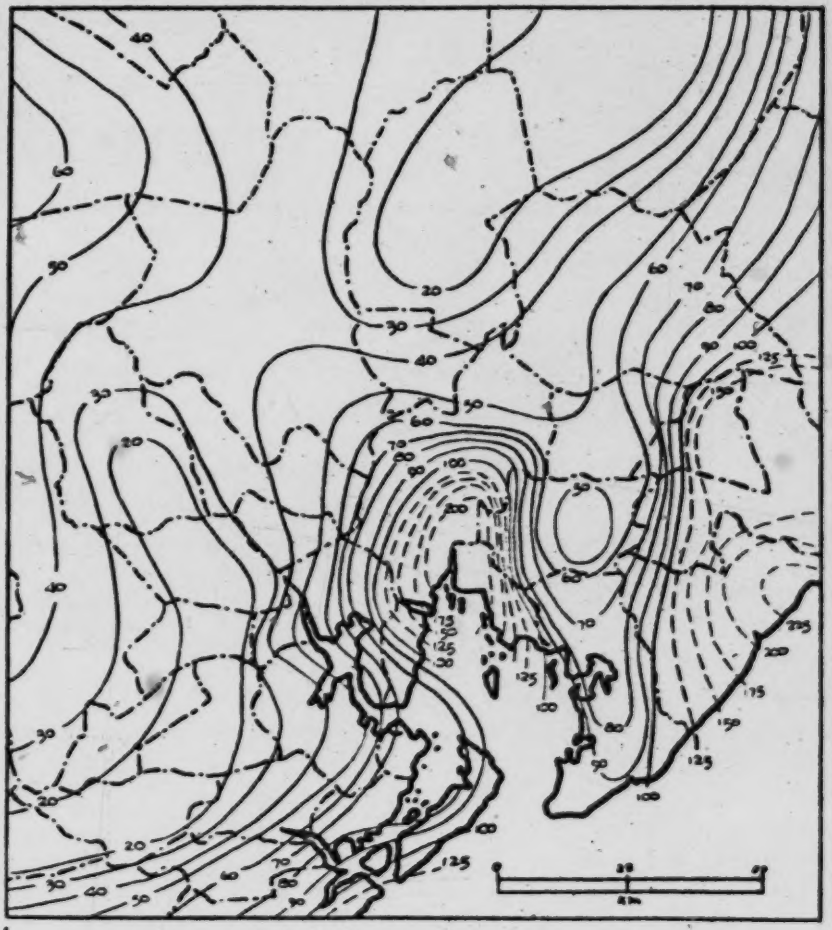

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Mean Size of Crop-Livestock Enterprises—1940

In Hectares

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 101

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

244 the tobacco-manioc region is an area of co-existing crop and livestock
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231 production. The mean size of mixed units of both the tobacco-manioc
233 region and the western and northern perimeter of the Recôncavo was
[423] small—20 to 40 hectares—but was significantly larger than the mean
[311] size of crop farms in the same areas (Map 101). Like the purely cane-producing plantations, the mixed units of the Central Recôncavo were relatively large.

241 Crop Cultivation and Mixed Crop Cultivation and Livestock Pro-
231 ducing Units Combined. The distribution of the area in crop and crop-
232 livestock units combined, as shown on Maps 102 and 103, reaffirms the
311 regional distinctiveness of the Recôncavo. In almost the entire region over one-half the total area was in these two types of crop-producing properties. None of the adjoining municípios had as much as 50 per cent of their total area in these two types of units, and in all but three, less than one-third the land was in crop or crop-livestock properties.

241 Regional Pattern of Agricultural Properties. The distribution
311 of the three major production units is summarized on Map 104. In each
184 of the two basic regions—crop and crop-livestock—one production
[231] type dominated, in number and in area, over the others. The Central
[233] Recôncavo with the island of Itaparica and, beyond the Recôncavo, the environs of Nazaré composed a region in which most of the agricultural land was in crop cultivation units. North of the Bay, most of these crop cultivation units were sugar cane plantations. On Itaparica there were several kinds of crop cultivation units—coconut plantations, diminutive manioc farms, and across from Salvador, small summer estates with a few cultivated fields. Around Nazaré most of the crop cultivation properties appeared to specialize in the production of manioc.

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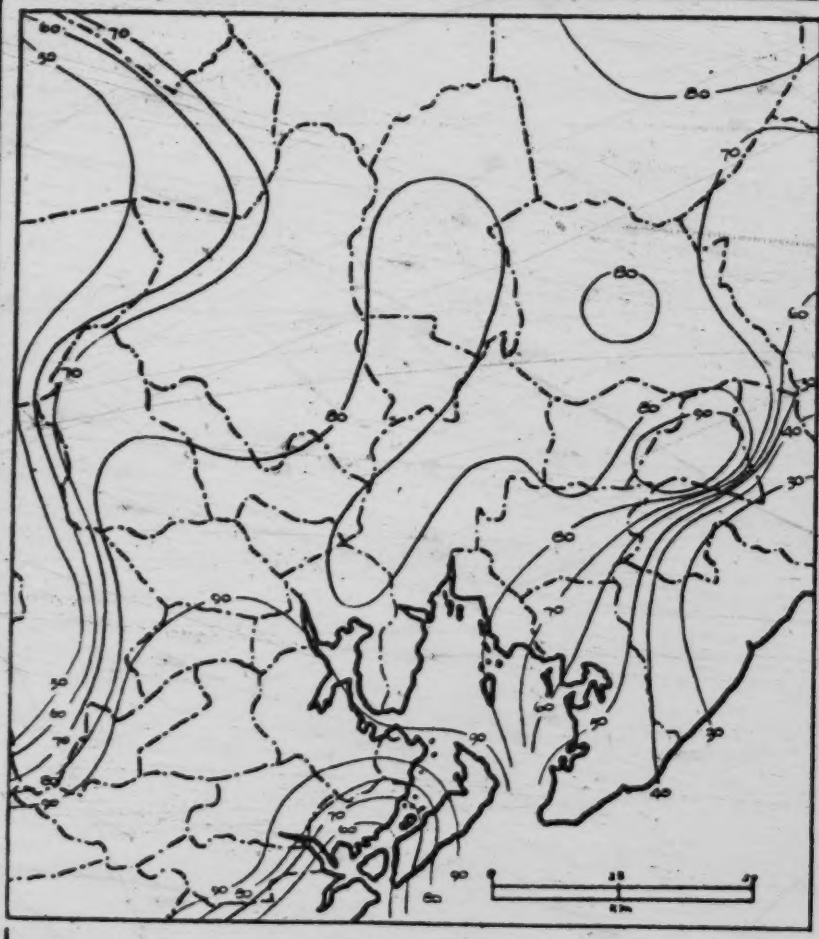

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumerated Area in

Crop Cultivation and Crop-Livestock Enterprises--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 102

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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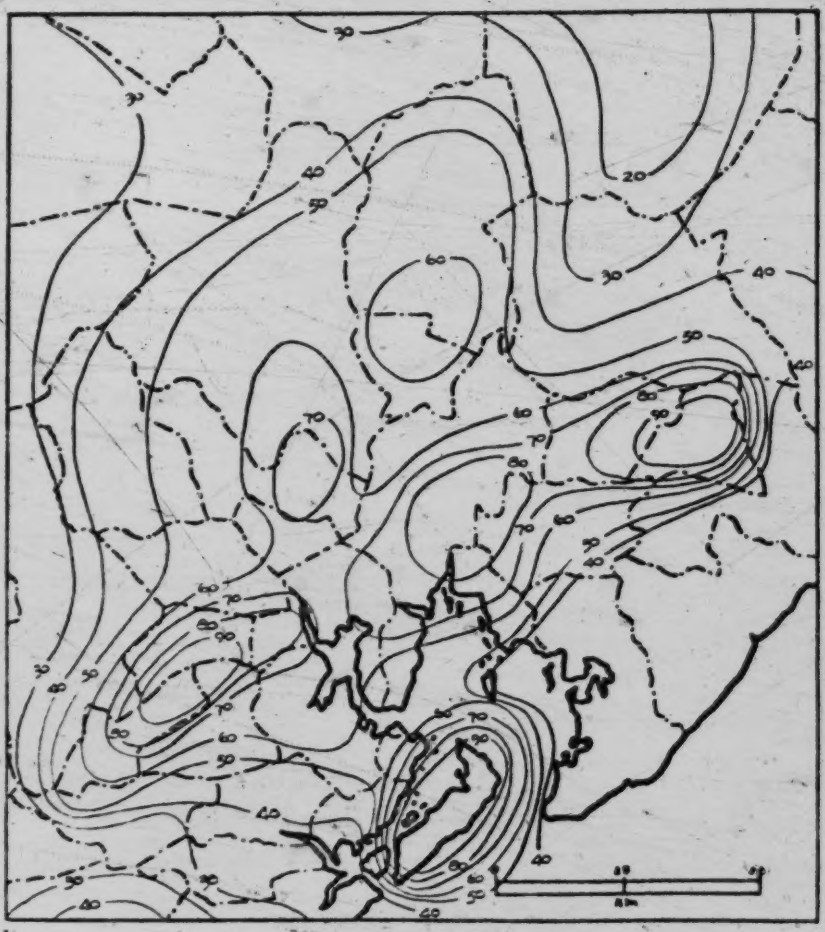

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Land Area in

Crop Cultivation and Crop-Livestock Enterprises--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 103

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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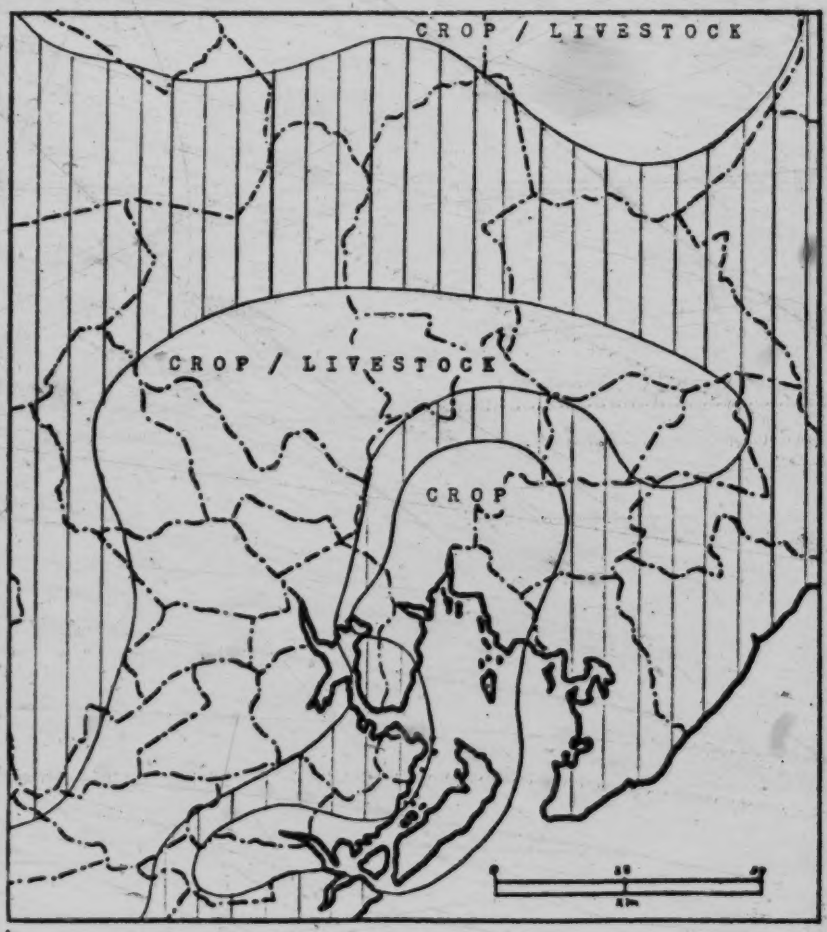

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Regional Pattern of Specialized Agricultural Enterprises

Crop/Livestock - Area in which crop-livestock enterprises predominate
Crop - Area in which crop enterprises predominate

MAP 104

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 231 233 311 Mixed crop and livestock units dominated the agricultural land of an inverted "L shaped" zone which began in the southwest and which, in the Recôncavo, coincided approximately with the tobacco-manioc region. Mixed crop and livestock units also dominated in the drier taboleiros north of the Recôncavo. The intermediate zone between the crop and crop-livestock regions within the Recôncavo was relatively narrow, conforming to the pattern of rapid transition from sugar cane to tobacco and manioc north of the Rio Paraguaçu. The outer transition zone, in which no single property type dominated, included the outer 231 233 margins of the Recôncavo except in the southwest. Purely livestock-producing units did not dominate the agricultural land of any extensive area within or adjoining the Recôncavo.

241 311 423 The regions delimited above on the basis of the relative area in the two types of crop-producing units had additional significance in terms of the distribution of large-scale and small-scale enterprises (Map 105). The mixed-unit region, in which manioc and tobacco are so important, had only limited areas in large properties—usually 5 per cent to 20 per cent of the enumerated area. There were few large properties in the southern part of the crop unit region also, but in the sugar cane area north of the Bay over 40 per cent of the enumerated area was in large properties. These regional patterns of property types conform to the distribution of mean property size (Map 106); the mixed-unit region had mean properties of 10 to 20 hectares in the Southwestern Recôncavo and 20 to 30 hectares north of the Rio Paraguaçu, while the mean property size in the sugar cane area exceeded 100 hectares.

241 423 Size of Agricultural Properties. As has been seen, the agricultural properties of the Recôncavo are highly diverse in size, as is to be expected in an economy dichotomized into the predominantly

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 318]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1

BB 249 471 472 [656] operation is determined by the company officers, who generally live in Salvador. The company, in its turn, is subject to some control from Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo investors. This structured system of control probably is one of the reasons for the continuation of the monoculture in the sugar cane area. The usual explanation offered for the cane monoculture is the unique suitability of the soil and climate and the innate conservatism of the Baiano. However, one of the features of the present sugar economy is the lack of capital for other enterprises. The absentee owners, who are the only likely source of capital, are hesitant to advance money for new and untried enterprises. Moreover, alternative agricultural enterprises, if successful, would reduce the supply of cane and thus eventually raise the cost of usina operation.

BB 249 244 442 In the tobacco-manioc region the control exercised by Salvador is indirect, but compelling, because the small tobacco producer is almost completely at the mercy of the buyer, who receives orders from the tobacco exporter and manufacturer through the agent.

BB 241 423 471 [184] [231] [233] The differences in production specialization, size, and tenure among the agricultural properties of the Recôncavo both accentuate the basic dichotomy of the region and re-emphasize its unity. The small-scale mixed crop cultivation and livestock producing unit of the tobacco-manioc region and the large-scale crop cultivation unit of the sugar region are both esentially engaged in the production of commercial crops. Both are distinct from the primary agricultural unit of the sertão, the livestock ranch. Both are subject to the over-all economic control of the center—Salvador.

B BB 241 423 184 [249] In most parts of Brazil, as in the Recôncavo, the agricultural properties are highly diverse in size, function, and ownership. Most areas of sugar cane cultivation have relatively large properties, primarily engaged in crop cultivation. In other areas, as in

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1

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In other areas, as in the Recôncavo, more and more of the cane plantations are passing into the hands of the central mills and are being operated by administrators. Small properties, owner or renter operated, are also a widespread feature of the Brazilian agricultural scene. Frequently, as in the Recôncavo, large and small properties are intermixed in zones where several crops and livestock are raised jointly. Throughout Brazil the class of small property holders is tied to the merchant and large landholder class by a network of economic and social relationships much like those of the Recôncavo. Apparently the number and total area of small properties is growing, especially in Central and South Brazil. If this be so, the development of small farms in the Recôncavo, such as those producing tobacco and manioc, is part of the nationwide trend.

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1
South Brazil SM1
East Brazil SN1
Northeast Brazil SO1
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TABLE XV

VALUE OF THE CHIEF COMMERCIAL PRODUCTS OF THE RECÔNCAVO COMPARED WITH OTHER AREAS—1948

	Value of Production in Cr.$000			
Agricultural Products	Recôncavo	Bahia	Other Centers*	Brazil
Crops:				
Leaf Tobacco	86,700	155,041	227,266 - Rio Grande do Sul	615,293
Manioc	70,600	292,373	351,427 - Minas Gerais	2,357,570
Sugar Cane	54,200	148,980	458,254 - Pernambuco	2,425,494
Beans	15,500	123,552	670,274 - Minas Gerais	2,719,235
Oranges	14,800	28,904	191,938 - Rio de Janeiro	567,790
Bananas	9,200	35,503	144,525 - São Paulo	754,380
Corn	8,200	71,623	1,423,153 - Minas Gerais	5,249,039
Coconuts	6,500	46,368	42,135 - Paraiba	225,870
Coffee	3,400	95,958	3,947,704 - São Paulo	6,450,919
Pineapples	1,700	4,130	24,020 - São Paulo	94,408
Peanuts	1,300	1,738	258,287 - São Paulo	292,271
Sweet Potatoes	1,200	19,837	100,732 - Rio Grande do Sul	435,54[illegible]
Total of 12 Crops	273,300	1,024,057		22,137,50[illegible]
Total of 21 Principal Crops**	275,000	1,731,164	11,213,444 - São Paulo***	33,082,87[illegible]
Livestock	60,000			

*In each case the figure which is used for comparison is that of the principal producer of the individual crop in Brazil, except in the case of coconuts, where Bahia is the chief producer and the second most important center has been used.

**These are the 21 principal crops of Brazil which are listed in Produção Agrícola: 1948.

***São Paulo was used in this comparison because the total value of its production of the principal crops exceeds that of any other state.

Source: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1

BB 245 433 439 come to be the area of the greatest value of agricultural production in the state--Cr.$1,007,824,000, in 1948, almost three times the value of B BB 231 233 433 crop and livestock production in the Recôncavo, Cr.$335,000,000. The total value of livestock production in the Recôncavo is estimated to be about Cr.$60,000,000 for 1948. Although no comparable figure is available for Brazil, probably the Recôncavo had less than 1 per cent of the livestock and thus produced less than 1 per cent of the value of livestock in the nation as a whole.[1]

B BB 433 The present inferior position of the Recôncavo is in part a reflection of the relative decline of the region in the nineteenth century discussed in the chapter on the evolution of the Recôncavo. However, the Recôncavo continues to lag behind in the contemporary development B BB 241 249 433 [458] [650] of Brazil. From 1944 to 1952 the total cruzeiro value of the principal crops of Brazil increased four-fold, while the value of Bahia's tobacco crop, a good indicator of the economic shifts of the Recôncavo, increased by only one-fifth despite the concurrent inflationary spiral. Even the government-stabilized sugar industry of the Recôncavo produced only three and one-half times its 1944 value. Although the above increases are more indicative of the steadily declining value of Brazilian currency than of true economic development, they are an index of the relative importance of agriculture in the Recôncavo to the national economy.

BB 249 244 433 371 Tobacco, sugar cane, and manioc, which occupied 70 per cent of the Recôncavo's cropland, accounted for 77 per cent of the total value of all principal crops in 1948 (Table XVI). Each of the three crops contributed at least 20 per cent of the value of all crops, while no other crop produced over 6 per cent of the total. The cruzeiro value of these principal crops, and of livestock, and their relative position within the nation has been given in Table XV, above.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

Except in the
241 southwest and around Salvador, commercial crops produced only 40 per
433 cent of the total value of all crops. It is apparent that agriculture in the Recôncavo is by no means universally commercial. Moreover, in all parts of the Recôncavo except the sugar cane area, there are small agriculturalists who produce few commercial crops and are thus virtually subsistence cultivators.

241 The estimated value of livestock production was less than that of
231 crops in all areas of the Recôncavo except Feira de Santana, and, except
233 in Feira de Santana and Alagoinhas, less than half the value of crops
433 (Map 128). In the chief commercial crop areas--Central and Southwestern Recôncavo--livestock production had about 10 per cent of the value of crops. These areas, on the evidence of value as well as land use and quantity of production, have highly commercial crop economies. Only Feira de Santana can be said to have a livestock economy, and in this area livestock production is concentrated around the cidade, and the rest of the município has a predominately crop-producing economy.

128 The table which follows (Table XVIII) summarizes the distribution
241 of the value of crops and animals in the principal regions and zones
231 of production. These areas accounted for 82 per cent of the total
233 value of agricultural production in the Recôncavo in 1948. The data
433 of this table give further evidence of the tremendous economic importance of the tobacco-manioc and sugar cane regions to the Recôncavo.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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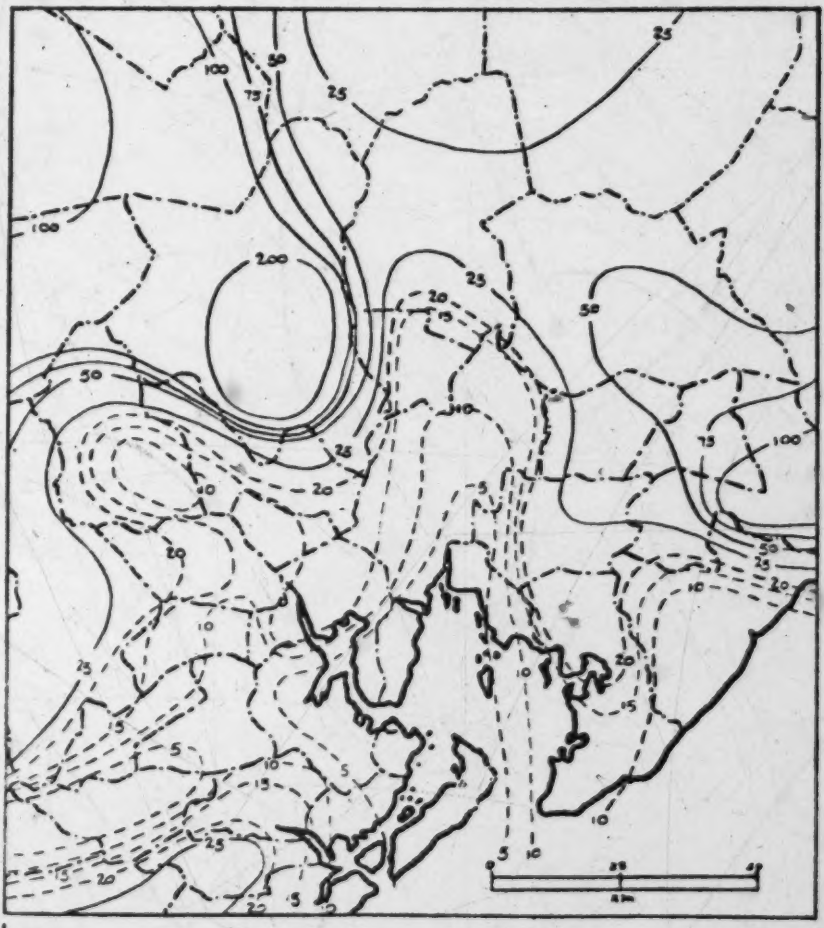

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Value of Livestock Production as a Per cent of

the Value of Crop Production—1948

MAP 128

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSION

128 In the preceding chapters the results of a statistical appraisal and a field investigation of agriculture in the Recôncavo have been presented. As a conclusion it seems appropriate to: (1) summarize the findings; and (2) discuss the potentialities of the Recôncavo for agricultural development

433 241 Like most of the densely-settled east coast of Brazil, the Recôncavo is engaged primarily in the production of crops. This is true not only of the region as a whole, but also of each of its individual parts excepting only the area around the cattle market town of Feira de Santana. 241 311 The total cultivated area of the region, about 6.4 per cent of the land surface, was almost evenly divided in 1948 between purely commercial crops--tobacco, sugar cane, coffee, oranges, and coconuts--and subsistence-commercial crops--manioc, corn, beans, bananas, peanuts, and sweet potatoes. About 70 per cent of the cropland was used for the three predominant crops--manioc, tobacco, and sugar cane. Livestock production is associated with crop cultivation in many parts of the 231 233 241 Recôncavo, but the region is also dependent upon the sertão of Bahia for livestock, which are driven into Feira de Santana and are used in several different areas within the region.

249 244 433 The three principal crops as determined by cultivated area--tobacco, manioc, and sugar cane--accounted for 77 per cent of the total value of crops in 1948, and no other crop accounted for more than [231] [233] 6 per cent of the total value. Thus agriculture in the Recôncavo is primarily concerned with these three crops and with the production

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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of livestock, which had a value greater than sugar cane but less than manioc.

Agricultural activities within the Recôncavo are localized in several distinct sub-regions, each with a specialized system of cultivation and each with either one or two principal crops. The primary agricultural subdivisions of the region are: (1) the sugar cane monocultural sub-region; and (2) the tobacco-manioc sub-region.

249 Sugar cane is grown as the exclusive crop in its major area of production--the pocket of coastal plain north of the Baía de Todos os Santos. Cane is generally cultivated under a four-year monoculture and one-year fallow system on large properties employing large quantities of hand labor and using oxen to draw plows and carts. Neither fertilizer [407] nor agricultural machinery is used to any appreciable extent. Most of [492] the animals used as labor in the production of sugar cane are brought [231] [233] into the area from the sertão, and little livestock breeding is found in this area. The processing of sugar cane is in the hands of a small [471] number of medium-sized usinas. The companies which own these usinas [178] are gradually buying up the plantations so that to an increasing extent the mills directly control the production of sugar cane. Most of the [497] cane is brought to the usinas by railroad, although sailing boats are [489] used for this purpose along tidewater. Most of the sugar produced in [505] the Recôncavo is consumed within the state of Bahia, but small quantities [438] [439] are shipped to other parts of Brazil. Both the aristocratic upper class [565] and the rising non-aristocratic business interests of the Recôncavo are [471] [472] involved in the ownership and administration of the sugar industry. The [464] permanent labor force is supplied from the settlements of the sugar cane [178] plantations and the mills, but the rural population and the labor force of the sugar area are declining. Seasonal labor for the harvest comes from the interior sertão of Bahia.

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249 31 [134] Commercial sugar cane cultivation is confined to the humid Coastal Plain areas with Cretaceous clay soils, except for a small area in São Filipe. Since the areas of Cretaceous clay soils are limited and compact, sugar cane production is highly localized in two areas: (1) the main sugar cane area in the municípios of Santo Amaro, São Francisco, and São Sebastião; and (2) a smaller area north of the Bacia do Iguape in the município of Cachoeira. There is a third area of less intensive production in southern São Filipe.

249 244 [433] The sole purpose of cultivation in the sugar cane area is the production of a commercial product, but the areas of tobacco-manioc cultivation produce both a staple food and a commodity for sale outside the region. Most of the tobacco and manioc of the Recôncavo are produced under a land rotation system in which the sequence is: (1) tobacco; (2) manioc; and (3) fallow in wild vegetation. The tobacco is planted in small fields, usually after an application of manure. The entire plant is harvested repeatedly until it will no longer produce a salable leaf. Manioc is planted following tobacco, sometimes several times, until the field is exhausted and abandoned to the second growth. The fallow period is frequently short, sometimes as little as one year. Cultivation is entirely by hand--no plows are used. There is very little selection of seed, and only one variety of tobacco--Bahia Brasil--is [423] [427] produced. Tobacco and manioc are produced almost exclusively by small cultivators who are either owners or renters. Frequently livestock [231] [233] are raised upon the properties of the cultivators, but except for the use of manure in the cultivation of tobacco, there is little integration of crop and livestock production. 276 The leaf is harvested, dried, and partially fermented by the cultivator. 276 438 The marketing of tobacco is inseparable from the credit arrangement between the cultivator and [452] [488] the tobacco buyer or agent. The leaf is delivered by the producer to the storekeeper-buyer or the local tobacco warehouse.

BB 241 231 233 In the surrounding sertão livestock production is the areally and, in many cases, economically dominant activity; the Recôncavo is primarily a region of crop cultivation.

BB 43 443 The Recôncavo is a functional unit in the economic organization of commercial agriculture and marketing. Salvador, with one-third of BB the people of the region, is the primary market center. The credit [249] [452] essential to the production of tobacco passes from the city to the countryside, while the leaf is either shipped to the city for export or is sent BB [249] to local cigar factories controlled by Salvador companies. Similarly, the headquarters of the sugar industry and the chief market for its products is Salvador. Feira de Santana is also a functional center for the region, since in its markets the agricultural and industrial products which either originate in the Recôncavo or are imported through Salvador are exchanged for the livestock, crops, and extractive products of the sertão.

B BB 241 Many of the features of the agricultural system of the Recôncavo are also characteristic of Brazil. Both the land rotation system and the permanent monoculture are basic Brazilian agricultural systems. Agricultural technology, in the Recôncavo and in most parts of Brazil, B BB [464] is relatively backward. Brazilian agriculture is labor extravagant, and there is a constant falta de braços, but with few attempts at mechanization. Agriculture is highly speculative, whether tobacco in B BB the Recôncavo or coffee in São Paulo. The large property—latifundia-- [423] [565] and the class organization with which it is associated are important in the region and in the country as a whole. There are large numbers of semi-dependent small cultivators in the Recôncavo as in other parts of Brazil. Both the region and the nation are very dependent upon the sale of agricultural products to distant markets.

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APPENDIX G

Procedure Used in Estimating Value of Animals Produced in the Recôncavo in 1948

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The 1948 data on livestock[1] gave the total number of animals for each município but did not show the number slaughtered nor the value of animal production. An estimate of the latter figure was made for 1948 in order to compare the value of crop and livestock production for that year. The method of estimation was as follows.

It was assumed that the change in the cattle population between these years was the best available index of the change in the value of animal production, since cattle are the most common and most valuable major animal. The index of change thus derived was used to raise or lower the 1940 value of animal production of each município, as given in the Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II, to a 1948 level, but still in terms of 1940 currency. This latter figure was increased by 350 per cent to conform to the declining value of the cruzeiro. For example:

$$\text{Alagoinhas: } \frac{\text{1948 cattle}}{\text{1940 cattle}} = \frac{26{,}060}{13{,}090} = 2 \text{ (approx.)}$$

1940 value of production = Cr.$825,000

Cr.$ 825,000 x 2 = Cr.$1,650,000

Cr.$1,650,000 x 3.5 = Cr.$5,775.000.

[1]Ministério da Agricultura, Serviço de Estatística da Produção, "Population Pecuária, Em 31/12/1948."

mers. However, on almost every plantation there are brick- 312
lined springs from which the inhabitants get their drinking water. Women or children carrying five-gallon cans of water on [482]
their heads, and donkeys carrying four wooden kegs of water, [492]
are common sights along the roads of the Recôncavo. For the
cattle and other livestock of the plantations, drinking places 231
are excavated wherever there promises to be enough water. 312
Frequently, however, these go dry in the summer, especially [132]
during the drought years which occur cyclically in rhythm with the droughts of the sertão. At such times loss of cattle is prevalent, except on plantations situated near one of the small rivers.

A high-voltage electric line passes through this section 377
leading from the generating station further inland to the capital city. Recently most of the plantations have been able to connect with this line, so that at least the owners' houses have electric light. The houses of the workers are without it except at the factory, where the mill supplies its own electric power which is carried to almost all the workers' houses.

There are four state schools and one county school distrib- 871
uted among the plantations. The central school in the town of Vila Recôncavo is not attended by children from the plantations. Two plantations have their own chapels, which are vis- 347
ited at irregular intervals by the priests of Vila Recôncavo. 796
On the other plantations a small altar is set up in the owner's 793
house for special occasions such as Christmas, when the town priest is invited to celebrate the Mass.

There is in the town a medical post with a visiting doctor, 743
a dentist, and several nurses in training, which is administered by a Franciscan lay brother and supported by federal, state, and county funds and by private donations. This post is fairly recent, and its influences are spreading only slowly to the rural area. Also in the town is a small county medical
post run by a resident physician. The sugar factory has a [249]*
dispensary with a nurse and is visited by the town doctor. Al- [752]
most every plantation has its own first-aid equipment, generally in the owner's house.

There are no fairs in the community. There are stores in 543
the town and a large supply store at the factory, run by the 443*
corporation, and nearly every plantation has its own small [249]*
store. Major purchases are made at the weekly market in Centro, in the neighboring county. There are also traveling ped-

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249 gave sugar growing a great impetus by organizing expeditions of soldiers which he led into the farthest reaches of the Bay of All Saints, killing, driving out or enslaving the hostile Indian inhabitants, so as to make the area safe for settlers to move out of the city
175 into the surrounding area and plant sugar. Mem de Sá himself built
249 one of the largest and most productive of the sugar plantations in the Recôncavo.[2] His lands comprised three and a half leagues along
423 the coastline of the Bay, extending four leagues inland, and two islands.[3] This *sesmaria*—as the early land grants were called—of Mem de Sá was broken down into smaller pieces by his daughter who inherited it, and by the end of the sixteenth century, most of the *sesmarias* of the Recôncavo had similarly, been divided into plantations averaging approximately 600 to 1,000 acres. In the past 250 years, many of these have kept the same boundaries and names, but their ownership has changed hands many times and they have passed through many cycles of prosperity and depression.

249 The essential form of a plantation in the Recôncavo has changed
[178] little since the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the past, the entire plantation was known as an *engenho*, taking its name from
[376] the sugar-mill building which was the heart of the plantation. There were two chief types of sugar mills, one operated by water power
[492] and the other driven by traction power supplied by oxen. Before the end of slavery, steam-driven machinery had also come into use.
[375] A typical *engenho* had four main items of wealth—its lands, its
[471] buildings, the livestock and the slaves. Most of the land was, of course, planted in sugar cane, but there were also wood forests to supply firewood, pastures for the livestock, and small areas devoted
249 to the raising of food stuffs for the personnel of the *engenho*. The buildings of an *engenho* included the sugar mill, the *sobrado*, or home
342 of the owner, and the slave quarters. The owner's house was frequently a very large and pretentious building with one and a half or two storeys. In the Recôncavo the landowners sought to build their houses *a meia encosta*, or against the side of a hill, giving the appearance of a two-storey house in front, but only one in the rear. Such homes were frequently constructed of stone, wood and mortar, with tile roofs. The slave quarters, which were known as *senzalas*, were generally long narrow buildings with sides of mud or *taipa* and
249 and roofs of palm fronds. The livestock of a typical *engenho* con-
231 sisted of oxen, burros, horses, sheep and cows. The oxen supplied
[492] the power to turn the grinding mills when there was no water power, and they pulled the large two-wheeled carts which were used to transport the cane from the fields to the mill. Horses and burros provided transportation for the plantation owner in supervising the work in the fields, and for him and his family for visits to nearby *engenhos* and to town. Cattle and sheep grazing on the portions of the land which were fallow supplied milk and meat to the plantation community.

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233 556 311 On the other hand, ranching is a prestige activity; the rancher almost invariably is an influential and relatively wealthy member of the local community. As such, he may command for grazing purposes land which would be more profitable to the owner and to the whole economy if it were under cultivation.

231 Livestock Production. The large livestock animals which are important to the Recôncavo—cattle, asses, mules, horses, sheep, and goats--are primarily the products of ranching enterprises, i.e., livestock fazendas. Many of these animals are bred in the Sertão west and northwest of the Recôncavo and brought into the region as young stock ready for use as labor animals, as milk producers, or as mature animals ready for fattening and slaughter. However, there is some basic livestock production within the Recôncavo, especially in the outer ring of municípios. Here livestock are raised under conditions basically similar to those of the Sertão.

233 The cattle fazenda is a grazing enterprise in which the reproduction of the herd is uncontrolled; there is no selective breeding. Vaqueiros (cowboys) are employed to hold and to move the herds over vast distances. From time to time the young bulls are emasculated, and [232] as they approach maturity, these oxen are usually driven to the Recôncavo. The remaining cattle are held until maturity and then driven across the Sertão to Feira de Santana. The characteristic cattle fazenda exists in a modified form in the Recôncavo. Since the land for grazing is more restricted, the herds are smaller, and sometimes the grazing area is fenced. Second growth is the basic forage, though, as has been seen, grass here plays a relatively more important [232] role than in the Sertão. There have been a few attempts to breed selectively in the Recôncavo.

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231 The production of asses, mules, and horses is concentrated outside the Recôncavo. Apparently most of the work animals used in the Recôncavo-oxen as well as asses, mules, and horses--were born on the Sertão and were the products of the same ranches which produce beef animals.

In distinction to these larger animals, swine are produced in large number within the Recôncavo. Moreover, they are almost exclusively the products of small enterprises--pigs are raised in ones and twos by small farmers. They eat the household waste and root in the abandoned [443] fields and the second growth. When they are mature or when the need for cash is pressing, they are sold in the local market, either alive or slaughtered.

Most of the livestock of the Recôncavo are descendent from animals introduced into the Northeast during colonial times. In general [232] there has been little deliberate selection of strains--those animals which have survived disease, insect pests, prolonged semi-starvation, and casual abuse have conferred their characteristics upon the present generation. Thus, most of the livestock are scrubby and inbred, inefficient producers of meat, milk, or energy.

Cattle. The total cattle population of the Recôncavo was 395,000 head in 1948, and the number was still growing. There were [433] almost three times as many cattle in the region as swine, the next most numerous animal, and the value of cattle production far exceeded that of other livestock.

Almost all of the cattle of the Recôncavo are of the unspecialized and ubiquitous Indo-Brazilian strain--rangy animals with long horns and a moderate hump, hardy and strong but not producers of large quantities of either meat or milk. Oxen of the same breed are important in [234] the sugar zone and in Feira de Santana, and both beef and milk cattle

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244 the tobacco-manioc region is an area of co-existing crop and livestock
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231 production. The mean size of mixed units of both the tobacco-manioc
233 region and the western and northern perimeter of the Recôncavo was
[423] small—20 to 40 hectares—but was significantly larger than the mean
[311] size of crop farms in the same areas (Map 101). Like the purely cane-producing plantations, the mixed units of the Central Recôncavo were relatively large.

241 Crop Cultivation and Mixed Crop Cultivation and Livestock Pro-
231 ducing Units Combined. The distribution of the area in crop and crop-
232 311 livestock units combined, as shown on Maps 102 and 103, reaffirms the regional distinctiveness of the Recôncavo. In almost the entire region over one-half the total area was in these two types of crop-producing properties. None of the adjoining municípios had as much as 50 per cent of their total area in these two types of units, and in all but three, less than one-third the land was in crop or crop-livestock properties.

241 Regional Pattern of Agricultural Properties. The distribution
311 of the three major production units is summarized on Map 104. In each
184 of the two basic regions—crop and crop-livestock—one production
[231] type dominated, in number and in area, over the others. The Central
[233] Recôncavo with the island of Itaparica and, beyond the Recôncavo, the environs of Nazaré composed a region in which most of the agricultural land was in crop cultivation units. North of the Bay, most of these crop cultivation units were sugar cane plantations. On Itaparica there were several kinds of crop cultivation units—coconut plantations, diminutive manioc farms, and across from Salvador, small summer estates with a few cultivated fields. Around Nazaré most of the crop cultivation properties appeared to specialize in the production of manioc.

137 not unique to the coast of northern Bahia--it extends northward along the littoral almost to Cape São Roque, with the Recôncavo forming its [233] southern limit. In Bahia the grazing value of the agreste is not great, since the grassland areas consist of small and scattered patches and since there are relatively few herbaceous plants which are palatable to grazing animals.

The characteristic vegetation of the dry interior of the Northeast is the scrub forest, called caatinga or, sometimes, sertão.[34] Compared with the agreste, the grassy patches are more extensive, and the trees are lower. The tall vegetation of the scrub forest consists of thorny, xerophytic, deciduous brush and low trees and of low palms, especially the licurí (Syagrus Coronata). Cacti are very common in the caatinga of Bahia; the tall branched cactus is a very conspicuous element in the landscape, and there are several low, thorny cacti on [233] the scrub-forest floor. The cover also contains many herbaceous plants which are valuable forage.

137 132 Both the agreste and the caatinga show a phenomenal seasonal rhythm in response to the rainfall cycle. During the dry season in the caatinga the landscape is brown, bare of leaves, and hostile with thorns; the only green plants are the cacti. Much of the earth is bare, and its brown is indistinguishable from the bare trunks and twisted branches of the scrub trees. With the first rains a tremendous exuberance of green leaves, coarse grass, and succulent herbs [233] spring up, and the entire landscape is transformed. During this season the caatinga provides good forage for herds of cattle, sheep, and goats. But this lush season is brief, and soon the caatinga is again brown. In some years there is no rain, and although the stubborn vegetation manages to survive in a dormant state, men and animals must leave for the more humid coastal forests.

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Northeast Brazil SO1

CHAPTER VII

ANIMAL INDUSTRY

BB 231 433 Although the Recôncavo is primarily a subsistence and commercial crop region, livestock play a significant role in the agricultural BB economy as beasts of burden and as a source of animal products. In [435] 1948 there were about 800,000 to 850,000 livestock—cattle, sheep, goats, horses, asses, and mules—in the region, and the value of animal production was about Cr.$60,000,000.[1] Thus animals accounted for about 17 per cent of the total value of all agricultural products of the Recôncavo. About one quarter of the livestock were work animals essential to the operation of the agricultural economy—oxen, horses, asses, and mules.[2]

BB NB 231 233 442 443 The livestock industry of the Recôncavo is closely associated with the extensive livestock ranching economy of the Brazilian northeastern interior. In Bahia, as in most parts of Brazil, the sertão of the interior is a source region of livestock. The animals are driven from the sertão to the coastal nuclei of dense settlement and sold in the cattle market—in the Recôncavo, at the market of Feira de Santana. A portion of the cattle are slaughtered immediately to provide food for the large agricultural population, but a substantial number of cattle and the horses, asses, and mules are retained as work animals. The working cattle—oxen—are eventually slaughtered.

BB 231 Certain outlying parts of the Recôncavo share with the sertão in the role of producing livestock for the coastal market zone. Other areas, especially around Feira de Santana, function as fattening zones in which the cattle recuperate after the long drives from the interior.

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231 Where there are large numbers of work animals the conditioning and maintenance of oxen and other beasts of burden are important agricultural activities. In all areas of the Recôncavo the livestock forage on grazing land rather than cultivated pasture, and there is no livestock feeding. Thus, animal husbandry in the Recôncavo is not part of a system in which crops are raised or pasture is planted to support or fatten livestock, as is the case in mixed farming areas.

311 233 Pastured Land. According to the agricultural census, the total area used as pasture in the Recôncavo in 1940 was about 280,000 hectares--only two times the total cultivated area.[3] The total area of pastured land in 1948 must have been much greater, perhaps 400,000 hectares, for there was a strong increase in the number of animals, and it seems unlikely that there was much increase in the carrying capacity of the wild vegetation.

As was suggested in the physical setting discussion, the basic grazing resources of the Recôncavo are the caatinga and agreste. These vegetation formations, modified by cultivation, fire, and grazing into capoeira--second growth--are used extensively for livestock along the perimeter of the Recôncavo, where cultivation is scattered, but also in such intensively cultivated areas as the Southwestern Recôncavo. In essence, all the uncultivated rural land of the zone of the caatinga and the agreste is grazing land, since there are few fences to restrain the large numbers of livestock.

There are scattered areas of grassland in the caatinga, the agreste, and the mata zones of the Recôncavo. Very often the caatinga of the uplands of the crystalline zone is replaced by grasses along the poorly-drained valley floors. These grassy valleys are scattered throughout the western half of the Recôncavo and are used as pasture

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311 for small herds of dairy cattle and for the maintenance of a relatively
233 small number of higher grade beef cattle and horses. Around Feira de Santana, however, there is a prominent concentration of grassland, and it is here that the cattle from the sertão are fattened before they are dispersed over the Recôncavo.

In the sugar cane zone coarse, rank grasses cover the lowest valley bottoms, which are frequently too wet and muddy to permit the transport of harvested cane. These grasslands are the pastures on which are grazed the work oxen and incidental animals used in sugar production. The limited areas of permanent pasture are supplemented by the fallow fields and by leaves from the harvested cane. Scattered patches of grass are found elsewhere in the humid lowland. Along the eastern side of the sugar cane zone there are grassy openings in the forest. In this area there are several cattle ranches on which the weak or sick animals of the large sugar usinas are rested and the reserves of oxen maintained. The forest, which is developed on mixed, sandy soils and is more like agreste than true littoral forest, apparently is held back by heavy grazing and by burning, so that the grassy openings are preserved.

In effect all the littoral forest is used for grazing to some extent. Even in very remote areas donkeys and pigs are to be found foraging on the scanty grasses and herbaceous vegetation of the forest floor.

In addition to the quality of the wild vegetation, two contradictory economic and social forces are important in determining the location and extent of grazing land within some local areas. In the Recôncavo, crop cultivation is generally more profitable than livestock industry. Where economic forces operate freely, grazing is likely to be relegated to the less desirable areas--infertile soils, poorly drained valleys, or zones remote from the local market. On the other

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The dairy industry around Salvador is relatively
234 large-scale, as is evident in the size and number of tank trucks which
443 [493] peddle milk through the streets of the city, and which bear the name of
[272] local fazendas. However, the milk has a low butter-fat content, is unpasteurized, and it is expensive, and many people use powdered milk which is imported from other parts of Brazil and abroad. The Salvador dairy industry is large-scale only in relation to the small-scale operations in other parts of the region, where the small quantities of available milk are carried to the cidades on mules or asses and sold from house to house.

233 (3) Feira de Santana is the principal cattle market not only of
443 the Recôncavo but also of the state of Bahia. To its market (campo de gado) are driven the cattle of the northern sertão of Bahia and from as far west as the mountains. Before or after sale many of these cattle are rested and fattened on the pastures around the cidade so that the cattle population is large but fluid. Some of these cattle are butchered locally, but many are driven to Salvador before slaughter.

231 (4) In all other parts of the Recôncavo small-scale animal husbandry is very common. Many small farmers, sharecroppers, or renters
[272] have one or two cows and sometimes a calf. The milk, if any, is used
[234] either by the family or sold in the cidade. In addition, there are a
[443] few large cattle ranches, usually producing both milk and beef cattle. Thus the unspecialized livestock economy of most of the Recôncavo is distinct from the labor animal concentration in the sugar zone, the Salvador milk shed, and the market animal concentration around Feira de Santana.

233 The pattern of distribution of cattle outside the Recôncavo is not markedly different from that of the adjacent areas within the region. In this respect Mata de São João is like Pojuca, Castro Alves like Santo Estêvão, and Nazaré like São Felix-Maragogipe. However, the

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233 lower intensity of crop cultivation beyond the Recôncavo gives livestock greater relative importance around the periphery.

Cattle were the most numerous of the major livestock in the Recôncavo in 1948, except in four municípios--Cruz das Almas, Conceição do Almeida, São Filipe, and Itaparica, where there were more swine. Cattle were also the most numerous livestock in all municípios bordering the Recôncavo on the east and north and in Castro Alves on the west.

233 433 Apparently the total cattle population in the Recôncavo is increasing rapidly. In 1940 there were only 250,000 cattle in the Recôncavo; in 1948, 394,990. It is inferred from both the state livestock data for 1952[5] and from field observation that this growth continued through 1953, though probably at a more moderate rate. Unfortunately, a comparison of the total cattle population of most of the municípios in 1940 with the number in 1948 does not provide a clear basis for generalizations which can be checked against the situation as [128] observed in the field. Either many of the data are in error, or the changes in cattle population were often unrelated to the general pattern of agricultural development in many municípios. Some of the changes indicated by the data can be accepted without too much question--the growth of the cattle population of Feira de Santana, 206 per cent, is a concomitant, it seems likely, of the general increase in cattle population in Bahia. It is possible that the contemporary growth of the city of Salvador and the improved transportation system have produced a precipitous decline in the cattle population in the sub-urban area and an increase in the tributary area beyond--Camassari, Mata de São João, and Pojuca. The population growth of the cidade of Alagoinhas apparently has resulted in a local displacement of cattle fazendas but in a peripheral expansion of livestock production. The decline

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233 433 of Cachoeira as a regional center could account for some decline in its cattle population. On the other hand, the almost four-fold increase in cattle in São Francisco, more than two-fold increase in Itaparica, and almost two-fold increase in Jaguaripe, indicated by the data, are not credible in view of the general agricultural situation. A moderate increase in the cattle population of these areas, to serve the growing Salvador market, is reasonable enough, but not such an astronomical expansion.

231 433 Swine. Although much less numerous than cattle—there were 135,000 swine in the Recôncavo in 1948—pigs are similary ubiquitous. These animals are particularly important in Feira de Santana and Irará, in the Southwestern Recôncavo, and on the island of Itaparica (Map 81). In the Feira de Santana-Irará area swine were much less numerous than cattle, but in the Southwestern Recôncavo and on Itaparica they were the most common livestock animal. Pigs were also the most numerous livestock in adjoining Nazaré, Aratuípe, and Jaguaripe.

The swine population of the Recôncavo is almost surely increasing. This increase is strongly indicated by the evident general agricultural development of the Southwestern Recôncavo, the main center of swine production. A comparison of the 1940 and the 1948 data shows an increase which is in excess of the probable errors of the data. The pattern of change within the Recôncavo shown by the 1940 and 1948 data is irrational for many municípios, although the strong increases shown for the Southwestern Recôncavo and for Feira de Santana are reasonable in view of the observable development of these areas.

231 472 In the cattle industry, big enterprises are dominant, but swine are produced almost exclusively by small holders, renters, and sharecroppers, each with two or three pigs. The swine are tough, thick-hided

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

231 [442] animals, rangy and thin, which can and do exist on what they can forage in the second growth or whatever table waste is available. They are marketed one or two at a time in the local markets or are purchased by local buyers who transport a load of pigs into Salvador by truck or sailing boat (saveiro).

231 433 Sheep and Goats. Neither sheep nor goats are characteristic animals of the Recôncavo, but they are found in small numbers in several of its municípios. In 1948 there were about 80,000 sheep and 40,000 goats in the region. Almost all of these animals were low-grade but hardy local varieties. Goats are most numerous on the western sertão, but they are found in moderate numbers along the western edge of the Recôncavo (Map 82). The distribution of sheep is similar, but more uneven, and there is a conspicuous concentration around Feira de Santana (Map 83).

Neither animal ranks very high in the total livestock population of any Recôncavo município. Beyond the northern Recôncavo, from Conceição do Coite to Esplanada, sheep are the most numerous or second most numerous of all animals. In the west, goats are more important—these are the most numerous of all animals in Riachão do Jacuípe and are as numerous as cattle in Ipirá. Apparently the number of both animals is growing. Goats are increasing most rapidly, especially within the Recôncavo. The number of sheep is increasing slowly and very irregularly. 231 In the dry marginal zone of the Recôncavo, sheep and 233 goats are produced on large fazendas in much the same manner as cattle. This is also true for the sheep around Feira de Santana. In many areas, however, small holders occasionally run a few goats and, less frequently, sheep in the second-growth.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 231 423 311 within the individual agricultural unit--properties classifed within the group may have merely co-existing crop and animal production. In the Recôncavo, cultivation and animal husbandry are carried on separately within the individual properties, except (1) where labor animals are involved, or (2) where manure for tobacco cultivation is produced on a tobacco-growing farm. Each of the three main production types was classified as either a large-scale or a small-scale unit, on the basis of the amount of cropland, the number of animals, or both.[3] The distribution of the 27,513 agricultural properties and the 837,699 hectares of enumerated land of the Recôncavo among the various production and scale-of-operation classes is shown on the accompanying table (Table XIV).

Most of the agricultural properties of the Recôncavo were small-scale units which were engaged solely in crop cultivation or which produced both crops and livestock. Ninety-nine per cent of all properties, encompassing 58 per cent of the farmland, were small-scale units. The number of cultivation and of mixed cultivation-livestock units was approximately the same; the mixed units were, on the average, more than twice as large as the exclusively crop producing units. Although the number of purely livestock producing units--ranches--was small, the total area which they encompassed was relatively large, and the mean size of individual units was over 450 hectares. Even more notable is the fact that less than 250 large-scale livestock units, about 1 per cent of the total number of units, held 13 per cent of the land in agricultural properties.

231 233 Livestock Units. Agricultural enterprises whose activities were confined exclusively to livestock production were found in every município of the Recôncavo and in every adjoining município in 1940. In most areas, however, the number of such livestock units was very

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 294]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

231 small (Map 88). Within the Recôncavo, only the eastern part of the
• 233 Central Recôncavo and the environs of Feira de Santana had even a moderate number of ranches. Livestock enterprises generally occupied less than one-fifth of the enumerated area (Map 89). These properties were relatively important in the Northwestern and Central Recôncavo, a reflection of the importance of ranching and cattle fattening in the northwest and of the need for work animals in the sugar cane region. In the Southwestern Recôncavo crop cultivation is too intensive and widespread to share the land with many ranches. Except in the southwest, 20 per cent of the total enumerated area was in livestock units along the limits of the Recôncavo. In relation to the total area, the extent
[311] of livestock properties varied from place to place along the border zone (Map 90). Beyond the Recôncavo, ranching is more important in the crystalline areas, whether caatinga or agreste, than in the Tertiary taboleiros.

As has been pointed out, large-scale properties are especially
231 important among the livestock production units. In most parts of the
233 Recôncavo the ratio of the area in large-scale and in small-scale live-
433 stock units was about three to one. The analysis of the mean size of large-scale livestock units, plotted on Map 91, emphasizes the diversity within the region and discloses the tremendous size of the ranches in the coastal agreste northeast of the Recôncavo. Since the number of large-scale livestock units was small and the size of the units highly variable, the mean values for the areas of these properties may be deceiving. Nevertheless, it is significant that the mean size of livestock unit was large in the Central Recôncavo, where there are a number of fazendas in the forested hills around the sugar cane region. These
[313] properties are used primarily as sources of firewood for the usinas
[249]

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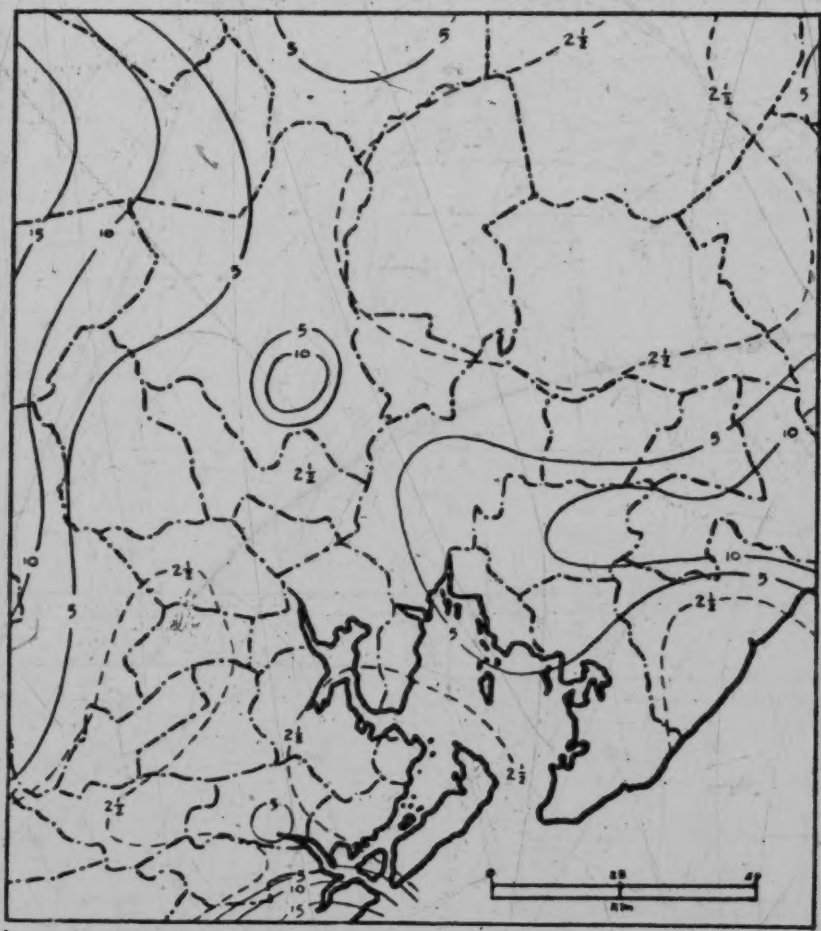

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of All Agricultural Enterprises Which Were

Livestock Enterprises--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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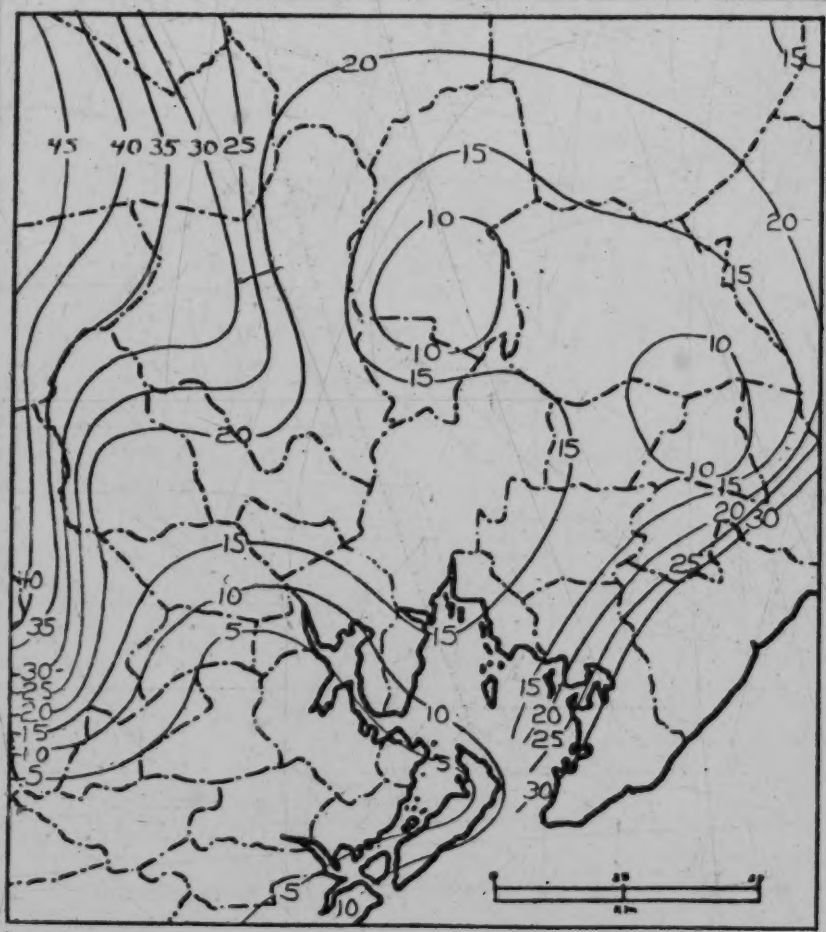

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumerated Area in

Livestock Enterprises--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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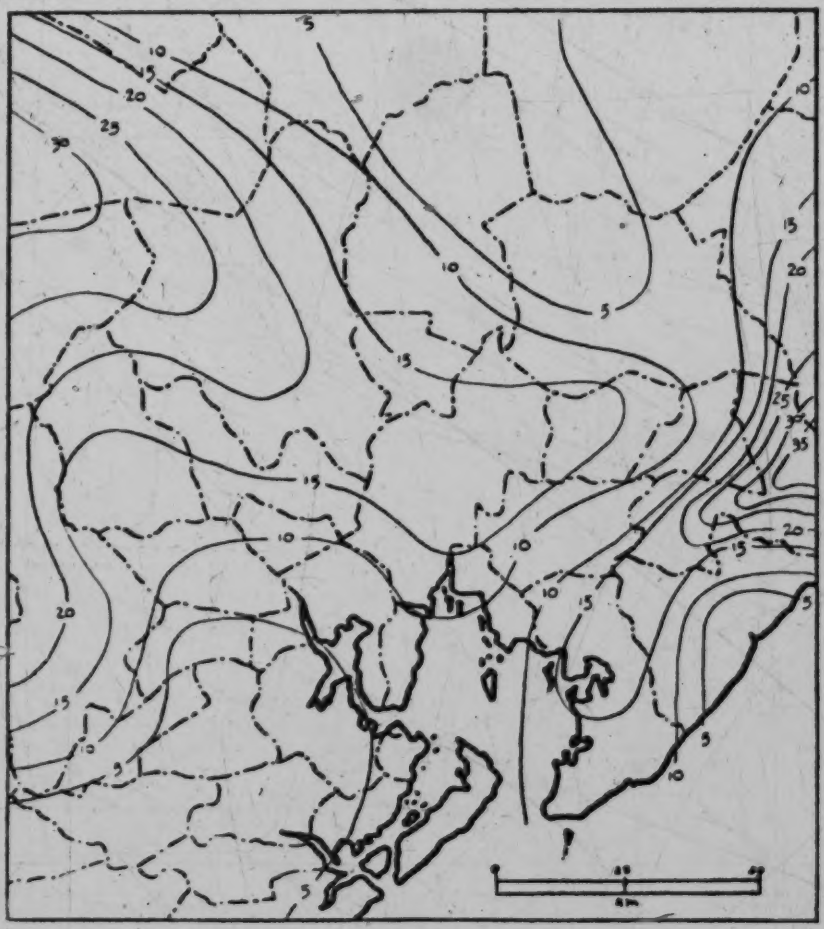

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Land Area in

Livestock Enterprises--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 90

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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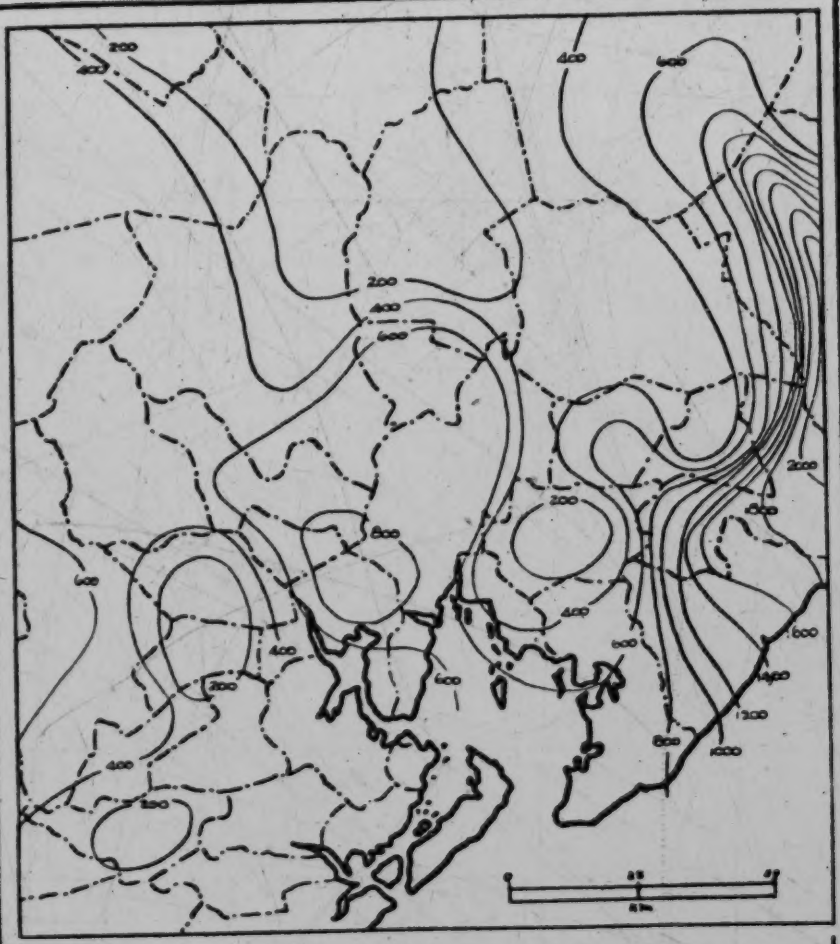

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Mean Size of Large-Scale Livestock Enterprises—1940

In Hectares

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 91

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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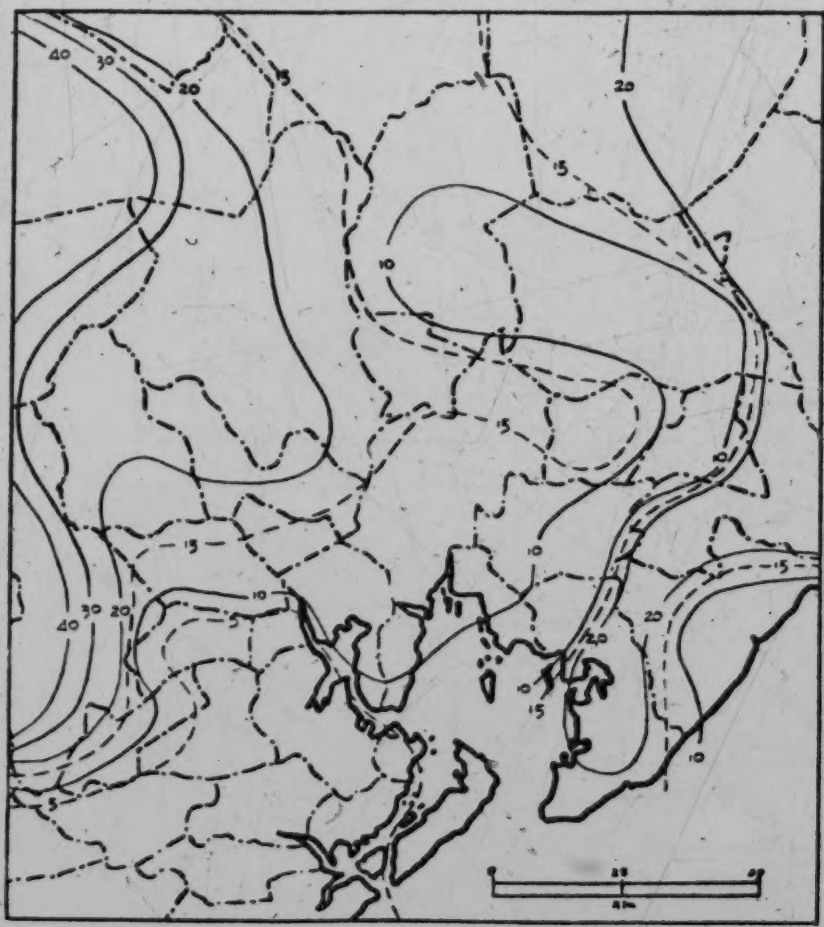

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumerated Area in

Large-Scale Livestock Enterprises—1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 92

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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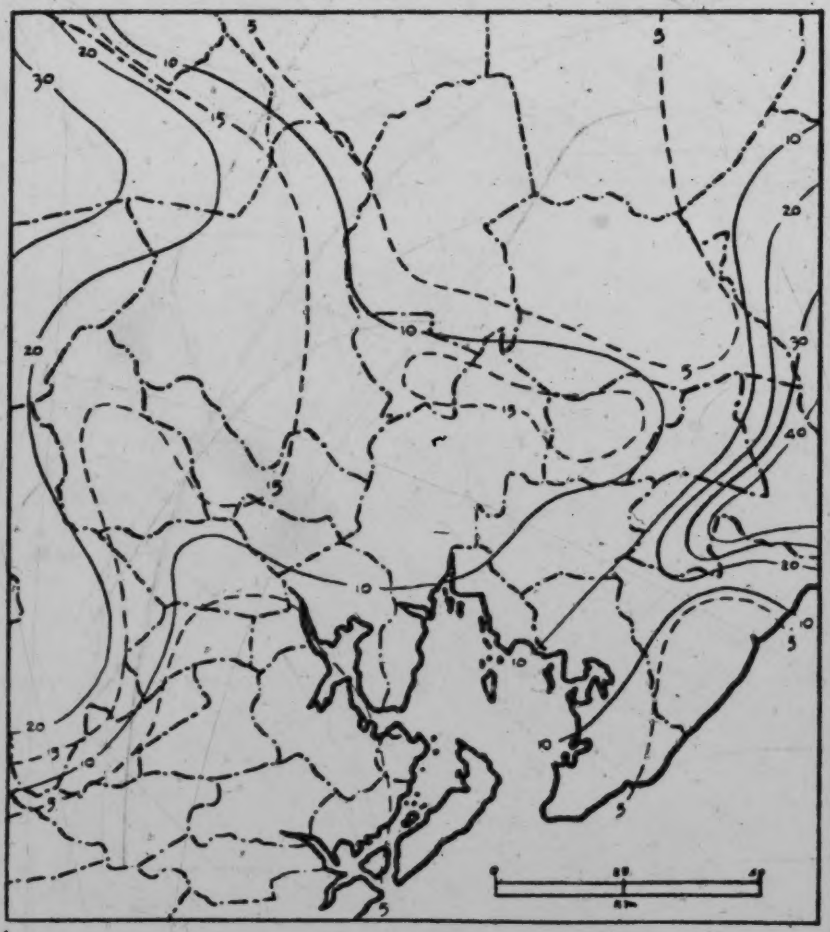

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Land Area in

Large-Scale Livestock Enterprises--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 93

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

231 233 433 [313] [249] and locomotives of the cane area, but, as has been pointed out previously, they have supplementary livestock production.[4]

Of the 247 large-scale livestock units in the Reconcavo, 65, with 231 233 311 433 a total area of almost 30,000 hectares, were in the município of Feira de Santana (Maps 92 and 93). Another 39, with about 16,000 hectares of land, were in the Central Recôncavo. Each of these two areas has a distinctive character: the Central Recôncavo fazendas de gado--cattle ranches--supply oxen and horses, asses, and mules to the sugar economy; the large fazendas of Feira de Santana, with extensive grassy pastures, serve the campo de gado--cattle market--of the cidade and thereby the whole economy of the Recôncavo.

231 241 311 184 Crop Cultivation Units. Almost one-half of all farms in the Recôncavo produced no animals in 1940. In the marginal areas of the region, excepting always the southwest, less than one-third of the farms were pure crop cultivation units (Map 94). On the other hand, crop farms were particularly numerous on the southern littoral, where the forests are not salutary to livestock--except swine and fighting cocks. The Northern Recôncavo, where ranching is not an important activity, had a relatively large number of crop cultivation units, as had Salvador and the adjoining coastal município, Camassari.

241 311 Relative to both the enumerated and the total area, the purely crop cultivation units were very important in Itaparica and Santo Amaro and unimportant around the border zone of the Recôncavo (Maps 95 and 96). On Itaparica and in the sugar cane region, crop cultivation units occupied over one-half the total land area--over 85 per cent on the island of Itaparica. The size of crop cultivation properties in the Recôncavo was generally small, but there were very great local differences 000 (Map 97). The tobacco-manioc region, especially in the Southwestern

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 306]

The tobacco-manioc region, especially in
249 the Southwestern
244 Recôncavo, was a zone of very small properties--in Cruz das Almas and
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423 Coração de Maria the mean size of crop cultivation units was 2 hectares, while in São Filipe it was only 5 hectares. This zone of small crop cultivation units is part of a belt, parallel to but well back from the coast, which originates in the serras of the coffee zone, crosses the Recôncavo along the caatinga-mata transition, and follows the caatinga-agreste boundary northward along the eastern edge of the Tertiary taboleiros. The small-property belt thus lies between the littoral, with its large plantations of sugar cane and its ranches, and the dry sertão, with its extensive livestock economy.

241 The Central Recôncavo was a zone of large crop cultivation proper-
249 ties, primarily sugar cane plantations. Although there are a large
311
423 number of livestock in the sugar cane region, the plantations use, rather than produce, animals and were thus classified as crop cultivation units. The plantations of the sugar cane area are very diverse as regards size, and many of the individual properties are now operated collectively by large usinas. Nevertheless, there are still a number of small properties, producing cane which is sold to the large mills.

241 Mixed Crop Cultivation-Livestock Producing Units. A little over
231
233 one-half of all the farms in the Recôncavo produced livestock as well
311 as crops. These units occupied almost 60 per cent of the total area of all properties. However, the area in which over half the properties were mixed units was limited to a broad perimeter zone which included all the outer municípios of the Eastern, Northwestern, and Southwestern Recôncavo (Map 98). In Itaparica and Santo Amaro, where crop cultivation units were very important, there were relatively few mixed units.

244 The maps of the area in mixed units in relation to enumerated
249
231 area (Map 99) and total area (Map 100) confirm the observation that.
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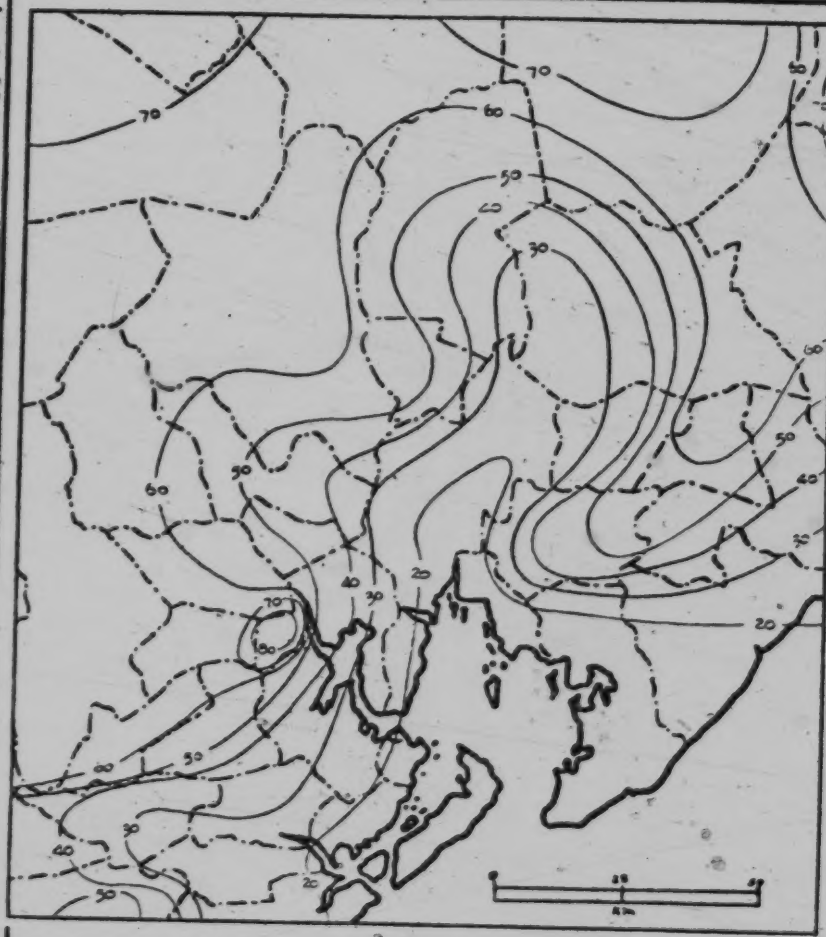

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of All Agricultural Enterprises Which Were

Crop-Livestock Enterprises--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 98

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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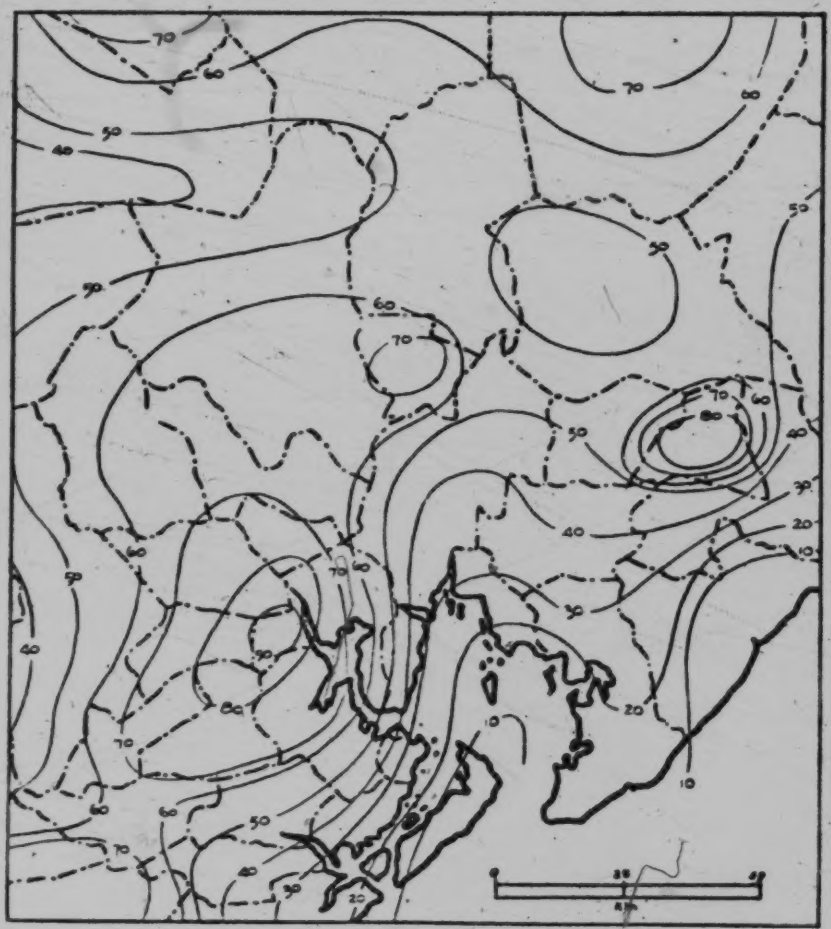

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumerated Area in

Crop-Livestock Enterprises--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 99

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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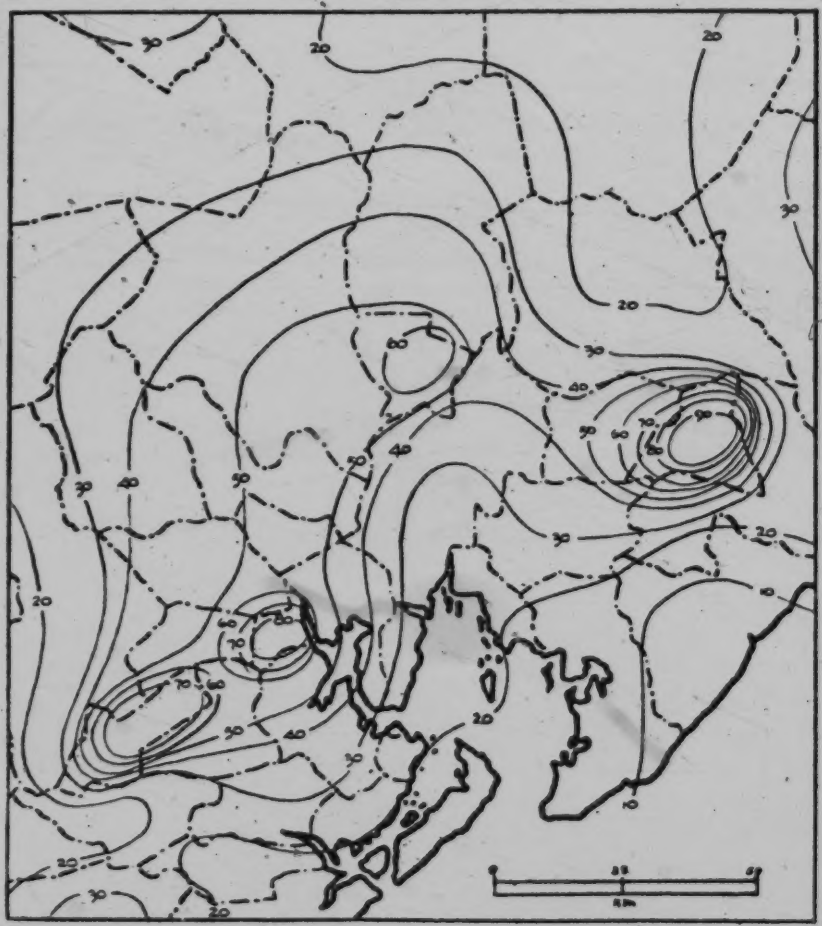

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Land Area in

Crop-Livestock Enterprises—1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 100

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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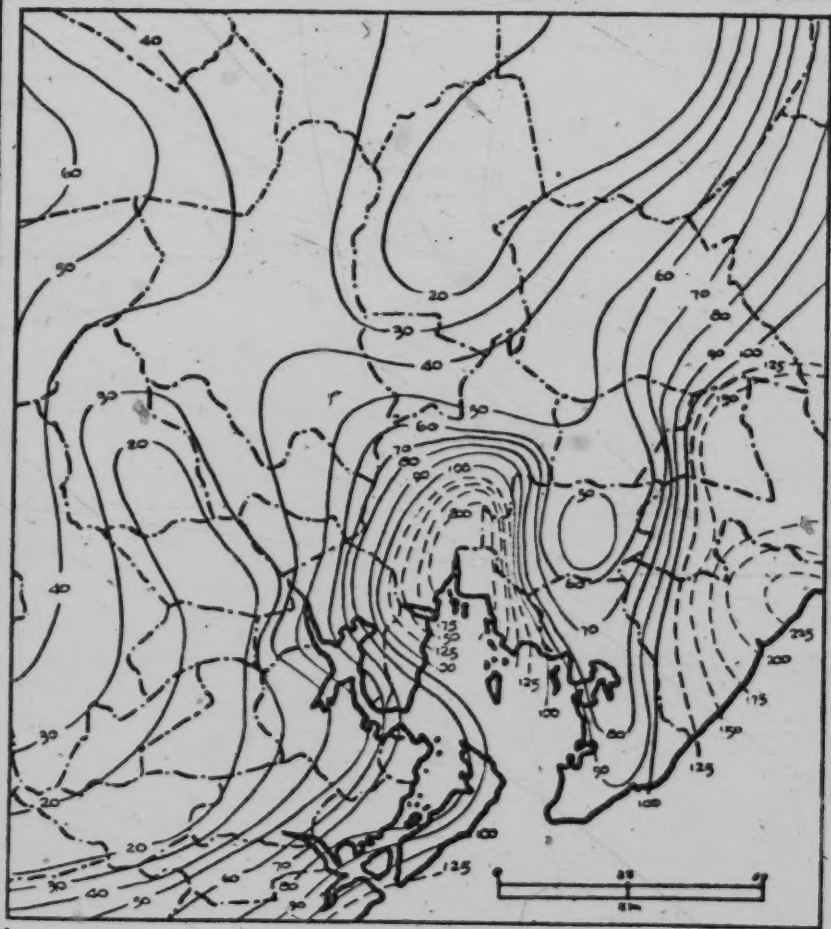

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Mean Size of Crop-Livestock Enterprises—1940

In Hectares

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 101

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

244 the tobacco-manioc region is an area of co-existing crop and livestock
249
231 production. The mean size of mixed units of both the tobacco-manioc
233 region and the western and northern perimeter of the Recôncavo was
[423] small—20 to 40 hectares—but was significantly larger than the mean
[311] size of crop farms in the same areas (Map 101). Like the purely cane-producing plantations, the mixed units of the Central Recôncavo were relatively large.

241 Crop Cultivation and Mixed Crop Cultivation and Livestock Pro-
231 ducing Units Combined. The distribution of the area in crop and crop-
232 livestock units combined, as shown on Maps 102 and 103, reaffirms the
311 regional distinctiveness of the Recôncavo. In almost the entire region over one-half the total area was in these two types of crop-producing properties. None of the adjoining municípios had as much as 50 per cent of their total area in these two types of units, and in all but three, less than one-third the land was in crop or crop-livestock properties.

241 Regional Pattern of Agricultural Properties. The distribution
311 of the three major production units is summarized on Map 104. In each
184 of the two basic regions—crop and crop-livestock—one production
[231] type dominated, in number and in area, over the others. The Central
[233] Recôncavo with the island of Itaparica and, beyond the Recôncavo, the environs of Nazaré composed a region in which most of the agricultural land was in crop cultivation units. North of the Bay, most of these crop cultivation units were sugar cane plantations. On Itaparica there were several kinds of crop cultivation units—coconut plantations, diminutive manioc farms, and across from Salvador, small summer estates with a few cultivated fields. Around Nazaré most of the crop cultivation properties appeared to specialize in the production of manioc.

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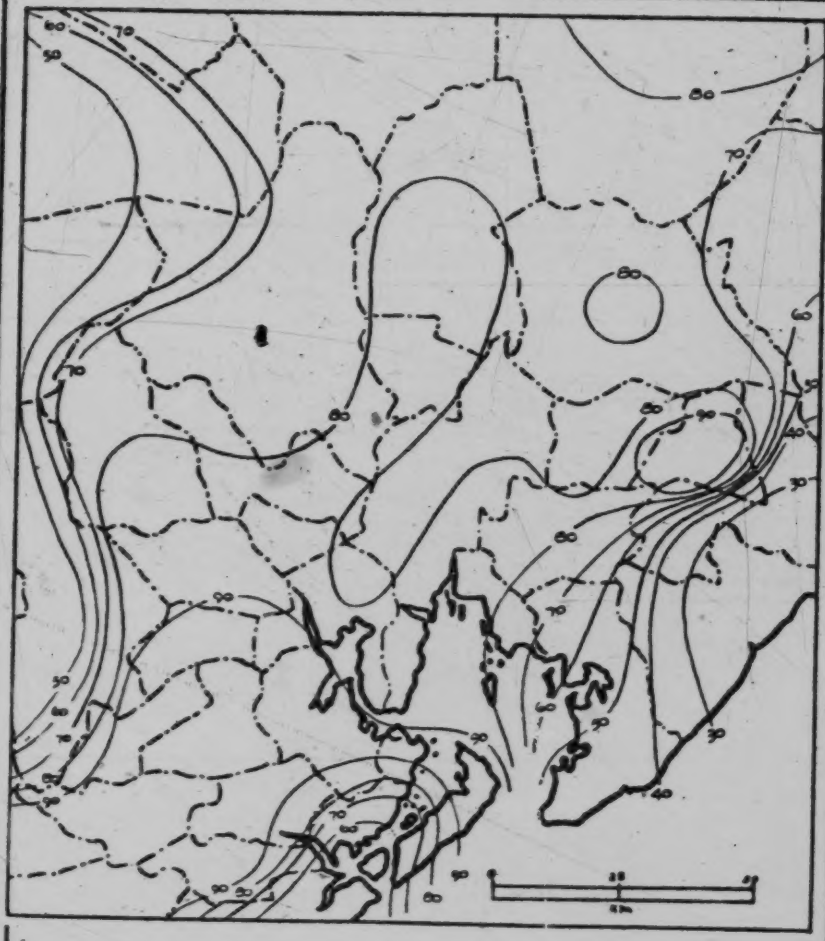

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumerated Area in

Crop Cultivation and Crop-Livestock Enterprises—1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 102

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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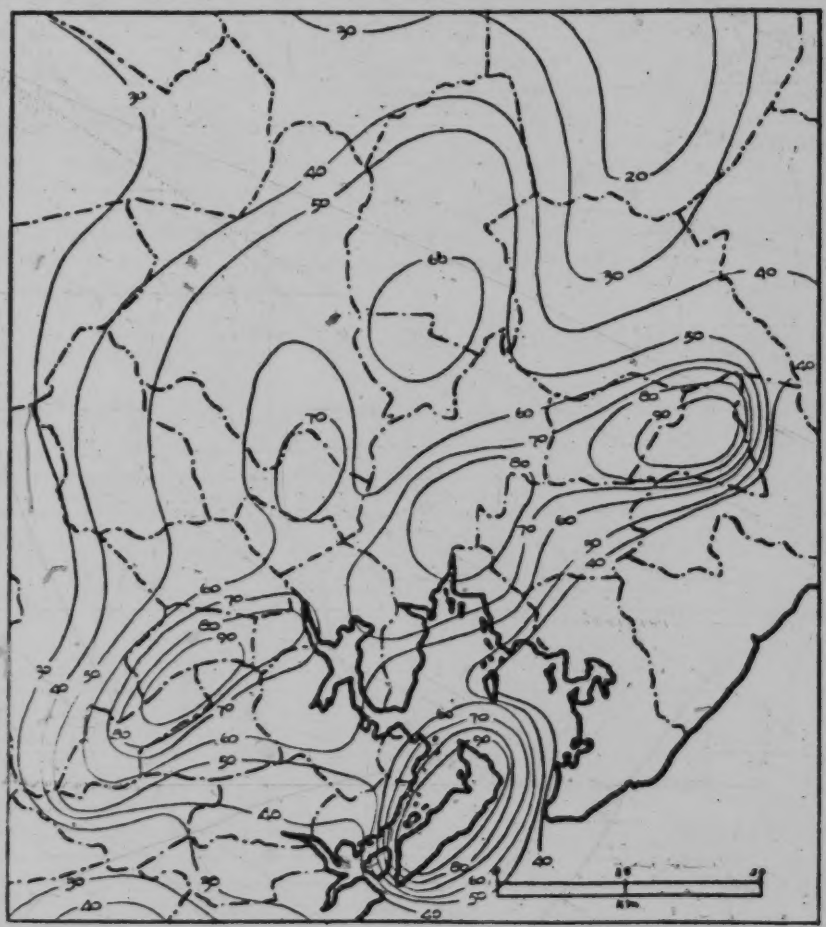

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Land Area in

Crop Cultivation and Crop-Livestock Enterprises--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

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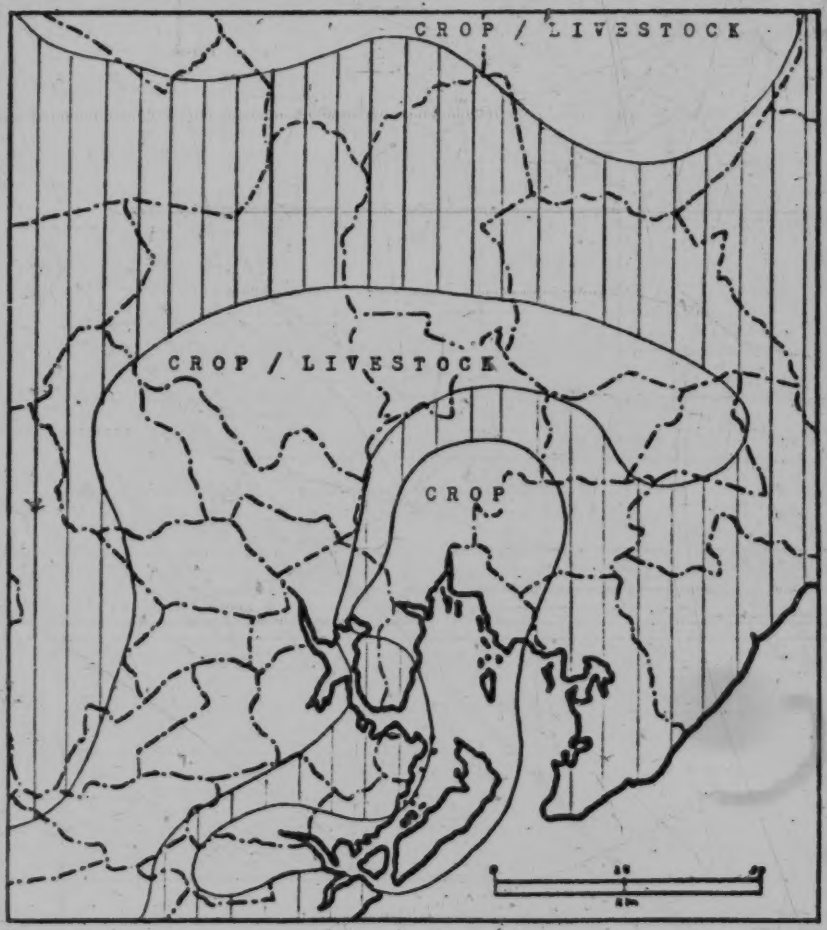

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Regional Pattern of Specialized Agricultural Enterprises

Crop/Livestock - Area in which crop-livestock enterprises predominate
Crop - Area in which crop enterprises predominate

MAP 104

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 231 233 311 Mixed crop and livestock units dominated the agricultural land of an inverted "L shaped" zone which began in the southwest and which, in the Recôncavo, coincided approximately with the tobacco-manioc region. Mixed crop and livestock units also dominated in the drier taboleiros north of the Recôncavo. The intermediate zone between the crop and crop-livestock regions within the Recôncavo was relatively narrow, conforming to the pattern of rapid transition from sugar cane to tobacco and manioc north of the Rio Paraguaçu. The outer transition zone, in which no single-property type dominated, included the outer 231 margins of the Recôncavo except in the southwest. Purely livestock-233 producing units did not dominate the agricultural land of any extensive area within or adjoining the Recôncavo.

241 311 423 The regions delimited above on the basis of the relative area in the two types of crop-producing units had additional significance in terms of the distribution of large-scale and small-scale enterprises (Map 105). The mixed-unit region, in which manioc and tobacco are so important, had only limited areas in large properties—usually 5 per cent to 20 per cent of the enumerated area. There were few large properties in the southern part of the crop unit region also, but in the sugar cane area north of the Bay over 40 per cent of the enumerated area was in large properties. These regional patterns of property types conform to the distribution of mean property size (Map 106); the mixed-unit region had mean properties of 10 to 20 hectares in the Southwestern Recôncavo and 20 to 30 hectares north of the Rio Paraguaçu, while the mean property size in the sugar cane area exceeded 100 hectares.

241 423 Size of Agricultural Properties. As has been seen, the agricultural properties of the Recôncavo are highly diverse in size, as is to be expected in an economy dichotomized into the predominantly

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 318]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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BB 249 471 472 [656] operation is determined by the company officers, who generally live in Salvador. The company, in its turn, is subject to some control from Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo investors. This structured system of control probably is one of the reasons for the continuation of the monoculture in the sugar cane area. The usual explanation offered for the cane monoculture is the unique suitability of the soil and climate and the innate conservatism of the Baiano. However, one of the features of the present sugar economy is the lack of capital for other enterpris The absentee owners, who are the only likely source of capital, are hesitant to advance money for new and untried enterprises. Moreover, alternative agricultural enterprises, if successful, would reduce the supply of cane and thus eventually raise the cost of usina operation.

BB 249 244 442 In the tobacco-manioc region the control exercised by Salvador is indirect, but compelling, because the small tobacco producer is almo completely at the mercy of the buyer, who receives orders from the tobacco exporter and manufacturer through the agent.

BB 241 423 471 [184] [231] [233] The differences in production specialization, size, and tenure among the agricultural properties of the Recôncavo both accentuate the basic dichotomy of the region and re-emphasize its unity. The small-scale mixed crop cultivation and livestock producing unit of the tobacco-manioc region and the large-scale crop cultivation unit of the sugar region are both esentially engaged in the production of commercial crops. Both are distinct from the primary agricultural unit of the sertão, the livestock ranch. Both are subject to the over-all economic control of the center—Salvador.

B BB 241 423 184 [249] In most parts of Brazil, as in the Recôncavo, the agricultural properties are highly diverse in size, function, and ownership. Most areas of sugar cane cultivation have relatively large properties, primarily engaged in crop cultivation. In other areas, as in

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In other areas, as in the Recôncavo, more and more of the cane plantations are passing into the hands of the central mills and are being operated by administrators. Small properties, owner or renter operated, are also a widespread feature of the Brazilian agricultural scene. Frequently, as in the Recôncavo, large and small properties are intermixed in zones where several crops and livestock are raised jointly. Throughout Brazil the class of small property holders is tied to the merchant and large landholder class by a network of economic and social relationships much like those of the Recôncavo. Apparently the number and total area of small properties is growing, especially in Central and South Brazil. If this be so, the development of small farms in the Recôncavo, such as those producing tobacco and manioc, is part of the nationwide trend.

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East Brazil SN1
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TABLE XV

VALUE OF THE CHIEF COMMERCIAL PRODUCTS OF THE RECÔNCAVO COMPARED WITH OTHER AREAS--1948

Agricultural Products	Value of Production in Cr.$000			
	Recôncavo	Bahia	Other Centers*	Brazil
Crops:				
Leaf Tobacco	86,700	155,041	227,266 - Rio Grande do Sul	615,293
Manioc	70,600	292,373	351,427 - Minas Gerais	2,357,570
Sugar Cane	54,200	148,980	458,254 - Pernambuco	2,425,494
Beans	15,500	123,552	670,274 - Minas Gerais	2,719,235
Oranges	14,800	28,904	191,938 - Rio de Janeiro	567,790
Bananas	9,200	35,503	144,525 - São Paulo	754,380
Corn	8,200	71,623	1,423,153 - Minas Gerais	5,249,030
Coconuts	6,500	46,368	42,135 - Paraiba	225,870
Coffee	3,400	95,958	3,947,704 - São Paulo	6,450,919
Pineapples	1,700	4,130	24,020 - São Paulo	94,404
Peanuts	1,300	1,788	258,287 - São Paulo	292,274
Sweet Potatoes	1,200	19,837	100,732 - Rio Grande do Sul	435,547
Total of 12 Crops	273,300	1,024,057		22,137,506
Total of 21 Principal Crops**	275,000	1,731,164	11,213,444 - São Paulo***	33,082,875
Livestock	60,000			

*In each case the figure which is used for comparison is that of the principal producer of the individual crop in Brazil, except in the case of coconuts, where Bahia is the chief producer and the second most important center has been used.

**These are the 21 principal crops of Brazil which are listed in Produção Agrícola: 1948.

***São Paulo was used in this comparison because the total value of its production of the principal crops exceeds that of any other state.

Source: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11 •
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come to be the area of the greatest value of agricultural production in the state--Cr.$1,007,824,000, in 1948, almost three times the value of crop and livestock production in the Recôncavo, Cr.$335,000,000. The total value of livestock production in the Recôncavo is estimated to be about Cr.$60,000,000 for 1948. Although no comparable figure is available for Brazil, probably the Recôncavo had less than 1 per cent of the livestock and thus produced less than 1 per cent of the value of livestock in the nation as a whole.[1]

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The present inferior position of the Recôncavo is in part a reflection of the relative decline of the region in the nineteenth century discussed in the chapter on the evolution of the Recôncavo. However, the Recôncavo continues to lag behind in the contemporary development of Brazil. From 1944 to 1952 the total cruzeiro value of the principal crops of Brazil increased four-fold, while the value of Bahia's tobacco crop, a good indicator of the economic shifts of the Recôncavo, increased by only one-fifth despite the concurrent inflationary spiral. Even the government-stabilized sugar industry of the Recôncavo produced only three and one-half times its 1944 value. Although the above increases are more indicative of the steadily declining value of Brazilian currency than of true economic development, they are an index of the relative importance of agriculture in the Recôncavo to the national economy.

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Tobacco, sugar cane, and manioc, which occupied 70 per cent of the Recôncavo's cropland, accounted for 77 per cent of the total value of all principal crops in 1948 (Table XVI). Each of the three crops contributed at least 20 per cent of the value of all crops, while no other crop produced over 6 per cent of the total. The cruzeiro value of these principal crops, and of livestock, and their relative position within the nation has been given in Table XV, above.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

Except in the
241 southwest and around Salvador, commercial crops produced only 40 per
433 cent of the total value of all crops. It is apparent that agriculture in the Recôncavo is by no means universally commercial. Moreover, in all parts of the Recôncavo except the sugar cane area, there are small agriculturalists who produce few commercial crops and are thus virtually subsistence cultivators.

241 The estimated value of livestock production was less than that of
231 crops in all areas of the Recôncavo except Feira de Santana, and, except
233 in Feira de Santana and Alagoinhas, less than half the value of crops
433 (Map 128). In the chief commercial crop areas--Central and Southwestern Recôncavo--livestock production had about 10 per cent of the value of crops. These areas, on the evidence of value as well as land use and quantity of production, have highly commercial crop economies. Only Feira de Santana can be said to have a livestock economy, and in this area livestock production is concentrated around the cidade, and the rest of the município has a predominately crop-producing economy.

128 The table which follows (Table XVIII) summarizes the distribution
241 of the value of crops and animals in the principal regions and zones
231 of production. These areas accounted for 82 per cent of the total
233 value of agricultural production in the Recôncavo in 1948. The data
433 of this table give further evidence of the tremendous economic importance of the tobacco-manioc and sugar cane regions to the Recôncavo.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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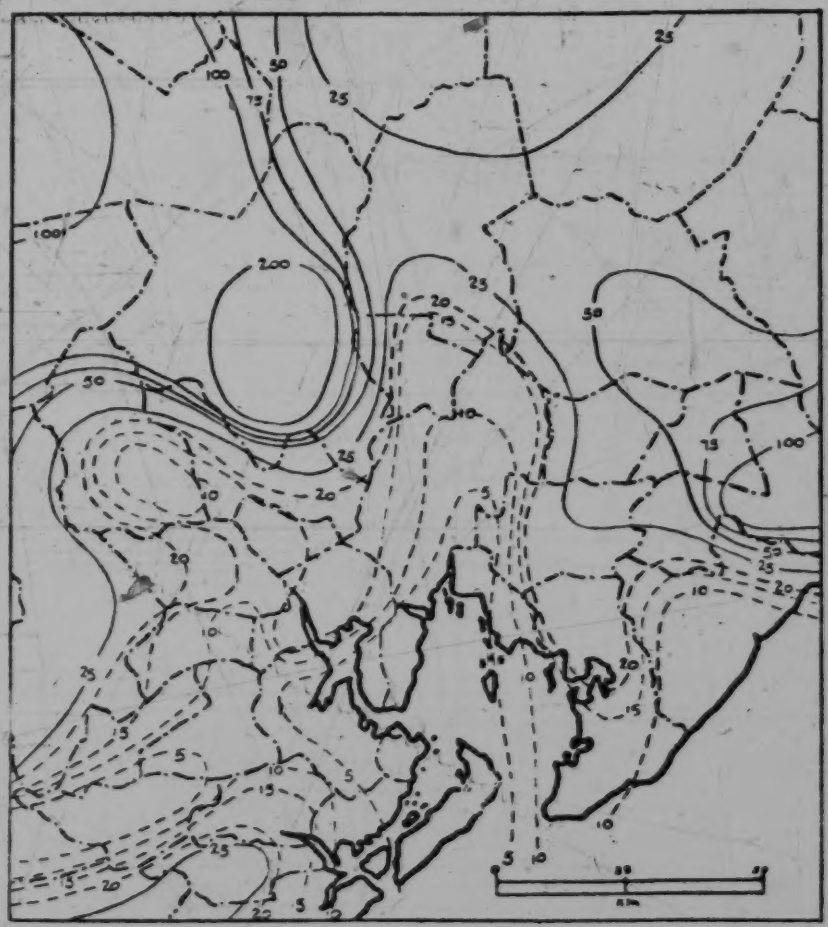

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Value of Livestock Production as a Per cent of

the Value of Crop Production--1948

MAP 128

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

443 Many shopkeepers are also land owners, and their tenants as a matter
[452] of course are also their customers and their debtors. The livestock
[427] raised by the agriculturalist may be sold on the hoof at the feira or taken to the matadouro municipal (municipal slaughter house). The meat is sold either at the slaughter house or at the feira.

In the larger centers the market tends to last throughout the week. In the medium-sized centers there are a few offerings each morning, and often there is a small feira in the middle of the week. Some major cities, such as Cachoeira, Feira de Santana, Santo Amaro, and Salvador, have source areas larger than their municípios. For
[489] example, the market at Feira de Santana invariably draws scores of
[494] trucks, each laden with people and produce, from places as distant as Cruz das Almas, Ipirá, Serrinha, and Santo Amaro. The most important general market in the Recôncavo is the Saturday feira at Agua de Meninos
[505] in Salvador. This market is located on the low-lying tidal flats beside the Bay, and many of the agricultural products which are sold
[489] here are brought by sailing boats. Trucks, carts, streetcars, trains,
[494] and pack animals are also used to transport produce to this market. It is here that a very large portion of Salvador's population purchases the agricultural products of the Recôncavo. This market is also the source of supply of the street vendors who hawk fruits and vegetables through the streets of the city. Salvador also has a smaller central market—the Mercado Modelo—and a number of minor neighborhood markets which usually are open for part of each day.

442 The campo de gado (cattle fair) at Feira de Santana is the only
443 important specialized public market in the Recôncavo; and, as has been
• 233 seen, it plays a very critical role in the agricultural economy of the region and of the state. On Monday mornings thousands of cattle change hands in the pens and weighing compounds at this fair.[1] Because the

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

442 campo de gado draws vaquéiros (cowboys) and ranchers from the sertão
443 as well as agriculturalists and buyers from the Recôncavo, the nearby
• 233 municipal market has a tributary area which is much larger than the município, indeed, much larger than the Recôncavo. The sertão and the Recôncavo exchange goods on a large scale in these markets. From the sertão come cattle and other animals, hides and skins, various extractive products, such as waxes, and the fumo em corda tobacco of the interior of northern Bahia. From the Recôncavo come food, especially bananas, coconuts, and sugar, and various manufactured articles which have been brought from South-Central Brazil via Salvador. Adjoining the campo de gado is an open lot where horses, mules, and all the accoutrements of the vaquéiro—bridles, saddles, and leather clothing--can be purchased.

249 A good deal of the sugar cane which is cultivated in the Recôncavo
471 is grown by the usinas on their own properties. In other cases the
438 cane plantations and processing plant are owned by different members of the same family, and the whole enterprise is operated on a profit-sharing basis. It cannot be said of either of these arrangements, which account for most of the cane harvested in the Recôncavo, that there is a genuine market situation. A truer market relationship exists for the few remaining fornecedores (suppliers) who grow cane and sell it to the usinas. Very commonly, however, these "independent" cane producers are indebted to the sugar company in both the economic and social sense. Moreover, the fornecedore is very much at the mercy of the company because of the lack of alternative markets and the difficulties of transportation. The cane which is purchased by the usinas on a contract basis must have a specified quality and must be delivered to the usina at its convenience by the supplier. It is likely that the mounting debts of many fornecedores will soon force them to sell

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSION

128 In the preceding chapters the results of a statistical appraisal and a field investigation of agriculture in the Recôncavo have been presented. As a conclusion it seems appropriate to: (1) summarize the findings; and (2) discuss the potentialities of the Recôncavo for agricultural development

433 241 Like most of the densely-settled east coast of Brasil, the Recôncavo is engaged primarily in the production of crops. This is true not only of the region as a whole, but also of each of its individual parts excepting only the area around the cattle market town of Feira de Santana. The total cultivated area of the region, about 6.4 per cent 241 311 of the land surface, was almost evenly divided in 1948 between purely commercial crops--tobacco, sugar cane, coffee, oranges, and coconuts--and subsistence-commercial crops--manioc, corn, beans, bananas, peanuts, and sweet potatoes. About 70 per cent of the cropland was used for the three predominant crops--manioc, tobacco, and sugar cane. Livestock production is associated with crop cultivation in many parts of the 231 233 241 Recôncavo, but the region is also dependent upon the sertão of Bahia for livestock, which are driven into Feira de Santana and are used in several different areas within the region.

249 244 433 The three principal crops as determined by cultivated area--tobacco, manioc, and sugar cane--accounted for 77 per cent of the total value of crops in 1948, and no other crop accounted for more than [231] [233] 6 per cent of the total value. Thus agriculture in the Recôncavo is primarily concerned with these three crops and with the production

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of livestock, which had a value greater than sugar cane but less than manioc.

Agricultural activities within the Recôncavo are localized in several distinct sub-regions, each with a specialized system of cultivation and each with either one or two principal crops. The primary agricultural subdivisions of the region are: (1) the sugar cane monocultural sub-region; and (2) the tobacco-manioc sub-region.

249 Sugar cane is grown as the exclusive crop in its major area of production--the pocket of coastal plain north of the Baía de Todos os Santos. Cane is generally cultivated under a four-year monoculture and one-year fallow system on large properties employing large quantities of hand labor and using oxen to draw plows and carts. Neither fertilizer [407] nor agricultural machinery is used to any appreciable extent. Most of [492] the animals used as labor in the production of sugar cane are brought [231] [233] into the area from the sertão, and little livestock breeding is found in this area. The processing of sugar cane is in the hands of a small [471] number of medium-sized usinas. The companies which own these usinas [178] are gradually buying up the plantations so that to an increasing extent the mills directly control the production of sugar cane. Most of the [497] cane is brought to the usinas by railroad, although sailing boats are [489] used for this purpose along tidewater. Most of the sugar produced in [505] [438] the Recôncavo is consumed within the state of Bahia, but small quantities [439] are shipped to other parts of Brazil. Both the aristocratic upper class [565] and the rising non-aristocratic business interests of the Recôncavo are [471] [472] involved in the ownership and administration of the sugar industry. The [464] permanent labor force is supplied from the settlements of the sugar cane [178] plantations and the mills, but the rural population and the labor force of the sugar area are declining. Seasonal labor for the harvest comes from the interior sertão of Bahia.

I:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 31 [134] Commercial sugar cane cultivation is confined to the humid Coastal Plain areas with Cretaceous clay soils, except for a small area in São Filipe. Since the areas of Cretaceous clay soils are limited and compact, sugar cane production is highly localized in two areas: (1) the main sugar cane area in the municípios of Santo Amaro, São Francisco, and São Sebastião; and (2) a smaller area north of the Bacia do Iguape in the município of Cachoeira. There is a third area of less intensive production in southern São Filipe.

249 244 [433] The sole purpose of cultivation in the sugar cane area is the production of a commercial product, but the areas of tobacco-manioc cultivation produce both a staple food and a commodity for sale outside the region. Most of the tobacco and manioc of the Recôncavo are produced under a land rotation system in which the sequence is: (1) tobacco; (2) manioc; and (3) fallow in wild vegetation. The tobacco is planted in small fields, usually after an application of manure. The entire plant is harvested repeatedly until it will no longer produce a salable leaf. Manioc is planted following tobacco, sometimes several times, until the field is exhausted and abandoned to the second growth. The fallow period is frequently short, sometimes as little as one year. Cultivation is entirely by hand--no plows are used. There is very little selection of seed, and only one variety of tobacco--Bahia Brasil--is [423] [427] produced. Tobacco and manioc are produced almost exclusively by small cultivators who are either owners or renters. Frequently livestock [231] [233] are raised upon the properties of the cultivators, but except for the use of manure in the cultivation of tobacco, there is little integration of crop and livestock production. The leaf is harvested, dried, 276 and partially fermented by the cultivator. The marketing of tobacco 276 438 is inseparable from the credit arrangement between the cultivator and [452] [488] the tobacco buyer or agent. The leaf is delivered by the producer to the storekeeper-buyer or the local tobacco warehouse.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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BB 241 231 233 In the surrounding sertão livestock production is the areally and, in many cases, economically dominant activity; the Recôncavo is primarily a region of crop cultivation.

BB 43 443 The Recôncavo is a functional unit in the economic organization of commercial agriculture and marketing. Salvador, with one-third of BB the people of the region, is the primary market center. The credit [249] [452] essential to the production of tobacco passes from the city to the countryside, while the leaf is either shipped to the city for export or is sent BB [249] to local cigar factories controlled by Salvador companies. Similarly, the headquarters of the sugar industry and the chief market for its products is Salvador. Feira de Santana is also a functional center for the region, since in its markets the agricultural and industrial products which either originate in the Recôncavo or are imported through Salvador are exchanged for the livestock, crops, and extractive products of the sertão.

B BB 241 Many of the features of the agricultural system of the Recôncavo are also characteristic of Brazil. Both the land rotation system and the permanent monoculture are basic Brazilian agricultural systems. Agricultural technology, in the Recôncavo and in most parts of Brazil, is relatively backward. Brazilian agriculture is labor extravagant, B BB [464] and there is a constant falta de braços, but with few attempts at mechanization. Agriculture is highly speculative, whether tobacco in the Recôncavo or coffee in São Paulo. The large property—latifundia-- B BB [423] [565] and the class organization with which it is associated are important in the region and in the country as a whole. There are large numbers of semi-dependent small cultivators in the Recôncavo as in other parts of Brazil. Both the region and the nation are very dependent upon the sale of agricultural products to distant markets.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

APPENDIX G

Procedure Used in Estimating Value of Animals Produced in the Recôncavo in 1948

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The 1948 data on livestock[1] gave the total number of animals for each município but did not show the number slaughtered nor the value of animal production. An estimate of the latter figure was made for 1948 in order to compare the value of crop and livestock production for that year. The method of estimation was as follows.

It was assumed that the change in the cattle population between these years was the best available index of the change in the value of animal production, since cattle are the most common and most valuable major animal. The index of change thus derived was used to raise or lower the 1940 value of animal production of each município, as given in the Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II, to a 1948 level, but still in terms of 1940 currency. This latter figure was increased by 350 per cent to conform to the declining value of the cruzeiro. For example:

Alagoinhas: $\frac{\text{1948 cattle}}{\text{1940 cattle}} = \frac{26,060}{13,090} = 2$ (approx.)

1940 value of production = Cr.$825,000

Cr.$ 825,000 x 2 = Cr.$1,650,000

Cr.$1,650,000 x 3.5 = Cr.$5,775.000.

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[1]Ministério da Agricultura, Serviço de Estatística da Produção, "Pobulação Pecuária, Em 31/12/1948."

[The Private Plantation]

cano." He spends most of his day in the saddle, riding from one point of operation to another; going to the sugar mill to straighten out this or that matter, such as the nonappearance of railroad cars at the plantation loading point; caring for the troubles of the workers; and looking to his own interests. 249* 463 159

Below these two figures of authority is a salaried man who stands only slightly apart from the bulk of the workers, the foreman (feitor), Asclepiades. It is his duty to keep track of how much work is done each day and by whom. He walks about the plantation, from field to field, measuring with the six-foot stick he carries and marking down in his notebook the amount of work done by each man. The plantation laborers are paid according to how much each of them weeded, or planted, or to how many tons of cane each cut or conducted to the factory. Asclepiades writes it down in his little black book, and it appears on the daily work sheet which in turn is transferred to the fortnightly payroll. During harvest time the records of who was the driver and who the guide, of how much sugar cane was cut and by whom, are kept at each end of the plantation where the carts must pass to be weighed before the cane is transferred to the factory. It is Seu Paulo's duty every morning to assign tasks to the workmen, while Asclepiades keeps track of how much is done but does not see that it gets done, for this is the duty of the overseer. The foreman is paid a monthly salary of one thousand cruzeiros, and although he does not occupy the position of prestige which the overseer has there is always the chance that he may become an overseer either on that plantation or on another. 249* 463 465

There is one other salaried person on the plantation--the cowboy (vaqueiro) João who receives four hundred cruzeiros a month, plus room and board. João takes care of the cattle, milk cows, and saddle horses. He must also inspect the fences constantly and report any breaks, and whenever possible retrieve animals which have broken out of the pasture and wandered into the cane fields, where they cause great damage. As a rule the pastures are fenced, as are new cane plantations, but the established cane fields are left unguarded. Fences do not last more than one season, for the posts rot because of the wet soil, and the barbed wire rusts quickly. João is also the constant companion of the plantation owner when she is present, accompanying her or her children or guests on pleasure rides, meeting the train or boat with horses for guests or business acquaintances, and getting the mail from the post office in 249* 463 233 249* 463

[The Private Plantation]

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indicates work done in these fields. The top of the stalk just below the leaves is used as seed.

"Cutting out cattle" refers to selecting cattle from the herd to be used for the day's transportation. The "trip to neighboring plantation" means that Malaquias was sent to another plantation on an errand either for Dona Sinhá or for Seu Paulo on some plantation business, such as to get the payroll sheets, which are made up by a resident of another plantation. "Planting" means the first planting of sugar cane, while "replanting" means planting cane in the spaces where the first seed did not grow, either because it was buried too deeply, or because after planting it received too much sunshine or too much rain. Such spaces are always filled in when the new cane reaches a height of several inches.

[463] "Carpentering," a craft, commands a higher salary than agricultural work. Sometimes a plantation keeps a carpenter on a regular salary; at other times he is hired from the factory, as is the case here. His work may be on the wooden carts used for transportation or on any of the many houses of the plantation.

[491] An estiva is a type of makeshift bridge crossing a drainage ditch or a low spot on the road where water collects during the rainy season. It is usually no more than four or five yards long and a yard or two wide. The lengthwise pieces are bamboo with other pieces of the same material laid across them close together. Then earth is placed on top and smoothed off. These bridges require constant repair work. During the height of the rainy season they often break up entirely and float away. They are often quite perilous for horses, burros, and oxen, whose legs sometimes go through the bamboo latticework.

• [233] "Catching escaped cattle" requires some agility on the part of the person who does it. It is usually done on foot, and if the ox or cow is in a cane field it must be worked out carefully in order not to destroy too much of the standing sugar cane. "Repairing fences" accompanies catching escaped cattle, for the animals often break through the fences enclosing their pastures. The fence posts are usually of bamboo, which rots quickly and must be constantly watched and replaced as it shows signs of weakening. "Cutting bamboo" is done for many

[824] different ends. Most plantation boundary lines are marked by rows of graceful bamboos whose wood is used for fence posts and estivas, as well as for the wicker framework of the mud-covered houses.

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Private Plantation]

Maria das Dores, whose name is listed as "gathering cane leaves for animal fodder," does the only type of work on the plantation done by women other than housework and gardening. When a field of cane is cut, the tops of the stalks and the long leaves are cut off and left on the ground. The very tip of the stalk is used as seed, while the heavier part is loaded on carts and sent to the factory. When natural pasturage gives out because of overgrazing or drought, the cattle's diet is supplemented with the freshly cut, green cane leaves; if the tender tips are not required for seed, they are also fed to the cattle. Gathering the leaves and stalk tips is relatively light work, and if a woman on the plantation wants to supplement her husband's income this is the task assigned her. Few women on this plantation do it, however, for it is a point of pride with any husband that he is capable of supporting his wife without her having to do gainful work. Only a small number of leaves are gathered up, and the remainder are burned as they lie in the field. Burning is done at night when there is little or no wind, and often during the summer fires which extend for acres dot the countryside. Burning is a traditional practice. Although professional agronomists insist that it is injurious to the cane roots and the new shoots, planters continue to burn the unwanted leaves, feeling that the ash provides some fertilization. 249* 461 465 [462] [233]

"Gardening" refers to work done in the vegetable garden which supplies Dona Sinhá's house. This garden stands in contrast to the roças, which are planted by the workers as well as by Dona Sinhá, and which are reserved for beans, manioc, corn, and some tobacco. Such plants as lettuce, tomatoes, cabbage, carrots, and other vegetables are disdained by the workers and are grown only for Dona Sinhá. [244]

"Carrying water" is usually work reserved for a small boy. Mounted on a donkey with four wooden kegs he rides to the neighboring plantation, Pedras, which belongs to the factory, fills the kegs at the spring, and returns to Fazenda das Moças where he puts the water into the various large clay containers in the kitchen and washrooms of the owner's house. "Oh, Pedro, there's no water" is a common cry heard in Dona Sinhá's house. [312] [857] [492]

There are few rules restricting the workers. Their services must be at the disposal of Dona Sinhá whenever required. Other than that, if during a slack season a man finds an opportunity to work somewhere else, he is free to do so. If he has a burro, or oxen, he has the right to pasture them on the 249* 466 [427] [492]

3: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1963 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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1. Mulatto cowboy of the interior of Bahia

[facing P. 18]

town, which is the centre of the municipal bureaucracy. The upper stratum of the lower classes is also found in both zones, since it contains town-dwelling artisans and fishermen as well as plantation workers. But the stratum of lowest prestige, the people who live marginally in Vila Recôncavo, is limited to the town itself. There is no place for them on the plantations or *usina* of the rural area. 565

As has already been indicated, the major economic factor in the community area of Vila Recôncavo is sugar-cane growing and the manufacture of sugar. There are approximately 2,500 people dependent upon this activity.[1] Each plantation has its small community, with a store, houses, repair shop and the owner's house. Plantation workers live on the plantation, in houses belonging to it. They are paid according to the amount of work they do—that is, how much cane they cut per ton, or how many feet of planting they cultivate, etc. As a rule, there are only three salaried persons employed on a typical sugar plantation—the administrator, the *feitor* (foreman), and the *vaqueiro* (cowboy). The administrator is the most important person on the plantation, directing the work, making estimates for the forthcoming harvest, co-ordinating the cutting, transport and planting of cane, etc. It is the administrator who runs the plantation, who remains in the saddle all day overseeing the work, who checks on everything. The administrator is responsible only to the owner of the plantation, who generally acts through him. In nearly all cases the administrator is either a mulatto or a Negro. In two cases, Negro administrators are unable to read or write, but they are experts at their job and enjoy the full confidence of the owner and the respect of the workers. The *feitor* acts as the assistant of the administrator; he walks about carrying a measuring rod and a notebook, making note of the amount of work done by each man in the field. Frequently this is the middle step up the ladder from worker to administrator. As a rule, the *feitor* in Vila Recôncavo plantations is a mulatto, a dark *mestiço* (mixed) or a Negro as is the administrator. The *vaqueiro* is preferably a *caboclo* from the north. He looks after the oxen used for hauling the sugar cane—of which there may be as many as 90 to 100 head—and the milk cows, inspects fences, for the horses and mules, carries messages, and generally rides with the owner when he travels about from plantation to plantation. The three racial elements are thus represented among the high-prestige men of a typical plantation—the owner is Caucasoid, the administrator and the *feitor* are Negro-Caucasoid mixtures, and the cowboy from the *sertão* is generally of partly American-Indian descent. 249 463 563 [233]

Under this hierarchy comes the main body of workers and their families, which totals about 200 on the average plantation. Such 249 464

[1] Of the total population of 2,500 people living on the sugar plantations and at the usina, approximately 600 men are the actual cane field and usina workers. Obviously this permanent labour force is inadequate; it is supplemented by groups of *cassiqueiros* at the harvest-planting season. [162] [464]

3: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1963 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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4. A black cowboy of the Sertão

[facing P. 43]

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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tics, as similarly were tales of the tortoise.[122] Boisterous children were quieted with stories of the Kibungo, a terrifying creature, half-man, half-animal, with an enormous hole in the middle of its back which opened ominously when the creature lowered its head.[123] The Kibungo was especially fond, it is said, of visiting the houses in which naughty boys lived, announcing his presence with:

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[539]

De quem é esta casa?
auê
como gérê, como gérê
como érá.[124]

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Max Schmidt observed in Matto Grosso that many of the local practices connected with cattle-raising were of African origin, as similarly were the iron instruments in use there. Eschwege contends that ironworking was learned in Brazil from imported Africans.[125]

[122] See Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 282–83.

[123] *Ibid.*, pp. 301–3.

[124] Whose is this house?
auê
I eat *gérê*, I eat *gérê*
I eat *érá*.

[125] Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, pp. 220–21. It is also probable that certain microbes were unwittingly brought to Brazil in the bodies of imported Africans. See Octavio de Freitas, *Doenças africanas no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1935).

[P. 108 is blank]

[SALVADOR]

/46/ Commerce

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The merchants and the fazendeiros enjoy a prestige in Bahia society proportional to the economic importance of their activities, the wealthiest families being made up by them, and their influence being well known in all the social life. It is by means of these two forms of activity that the Bahians acquire a certain social rank and exercise control over other sectors of the social structure (1).

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[162]

1. The economic activities that occupy the largest number of persons in the State of Bahia are agriculture and stock raising (67 o/o of individuals of the male sex); there follow in order of importance: small crafts industry and commerce, according to the census of 1940. In the city of Salvador (Bahia) the liberal professions and private instruction, which the statistics record in the aggregate, came in first place, and commerce and the industries are in second place.

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The national and racial groups that make up the population of Bahia participate in different fashion in the commerce and agriculture. While the Whites and the morenos predominate among the most important breeders of livestock, one finds among the owners of cacao plantations a large proportion of colored persons who began as small planters and have progressively enlarged their fazendas as cacoa gained in importance in the international markets. The plantations of cane and the sugar mills that belonged to the families of Portuguese origin, who were very conscious of their social rank during the colonial period, are today almost entirely in the hands of large capitalist enterprises in which Whites and a few métis predominate.

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As for commercial activities, they are not carried on exclusively by nationally and racially determined groups, but these groups portion them out among themselves up to a certain point --

[SALVADOR]

/46 cont./

*563 441 [186] although these lines of demarcation have a tendency to disappear. The Jews, who have immigrated since the first world war and whom people know under the name of "Russians," are the principal owners of furniture stores and are beginning to become interested in other kinds of commerce; strictly exclusive in their firms, they do not seem to have any Brazilian associates, so that the dark employees that they have among them never occupy any but subordinate positions and never reach the top positions that would permit them to take a place in the higher strata of society.

The characteristic endogamy of the Israelites has also contributed toward restricting the chances of colored people in this [233] [472] sector. Some Jews of French origin who established themselves in the city during the second half of the last century and who turned to commerce and stock raising were entirely assimilated. Their /47/ families today include some light métis and some *563 472 256 441 morenos. The Spaniards who dominate the grocery and bakery business are grouped into firms in which only they themselves and their immediate descendants participate. In order to maintain this commercial structure, the group is constantly renewed through the immigration of young men of the same nationality, who start to work in modest positions and end up by forming new firms or being integrated in the old ones. From the time the *563 472 441 Spanish emigrants came still unmarried or left their families in Spain, they had mulatto children or morenos here by their servants, children who were born illegitimate and who had no [175] [848] [428] [671] right of inheritance (Brazilian law did not insure it to persons in their position until some years later). But for about 20 years the Spaniards have started to send for, or bring with them, their families, so that they now form a very closed group, not only from the economic point of view, but especially from the social and, so to speak, the biological point of view. An informant [256] points out that in the old days numerous bakeries were the property of Blacks; since then the Spaniards have monopolized them almost completely, that they now control this type of business entirely. The antagonism of the inhabitants of Bahia against the

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

231 The production of asses, mules, and horses is concentrated outside the Recôncavo. Apparently most of the work animals used in the Recôncavo--oxen as well as asses, mules, and horses--were born on the Sertão and were the products of the same ranches which produce beef animals.

In distinction to these larger animals, swine are produced in large number within the Recôncavo. Moreover, they are almost exclusively the products of small enterprises--pigs are raised in ones and twos by small farmers. They eat the household waste and root in the abandoned [443] fields and the second growth. When they are mature or when the need for cash is pressing, they are sold in the local market, either alive or slaughtered.

Most of the livestock of the Recôncavo are descendent from animals introduced into the Northeast during colonial times. In general [232] there has been little deliberate selection of strains--those animals which have survived disease, insect pests, prolonged semi-starvation, and casual abuse have conferred their characteristics upon the present generation. Thus, most of the livestock are scrubby and inbred, inefficient producers of meat, milk, or energy.

Cattle. The total cattle population of the Recôncavo was 395,000 head in 1948, and the number was still growing. There were [433] almost three times as many cattle in the region as swine, the next most numerous animal, and the value of cattle production far exceeded that of other livestock.

Almost all of the cattle of the Recôncavo are of the unspecialized and ubiquitous Indo-Brazilian strain--rangy animals with long horns and a moderate hump, hardy and strong but not producers of large quanti- [234] ties of either meat or milk. Oxen of the same breed are important in the sugar zone and in Feira de Santana, and both beef and milk cattle

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231 [234] are found in all parts of the Recôncavo, although dairying is not a highly developed enterprise. It should be noted, however, that both oxen and milk cows usually end their careers in the slaughter house.

No município in the Recôncavo had less than 2,500 cattle in 1948, but there were only two important concentrations (Map 78). The largest of these was in Feira de Santana, chiefly around the cidade. Forty per cent of all cattle in the Recôncavo were held in this area. The second, and much smaller, concentration was in the sugar cane region, with about 8 per cent of the cattle of the Recôncavo. In order effectively to differentiate these concentrations and between them and the basal distribution of the rest of the Recôncavo, it is necessary to discuss briefly the specialized forms of livestock enterprise.

[492] (1) In the sugar zone a very large percentage (probably 70 to 90 per cent) of the cattle are oxen used as labor in the cane fields (Map 79). Since these animals are grass-fed exclusively--no grain is used--and since there are many disease problems, it is necessary to maintain a large local reserve so that day to day rotation is possible. In addition, the larger enterprises maintain ranches on which oxen and other labor animals, purchased in the Sertão or at Feira de Santana, are conditioned and at which ailing or weak animals recuperate. When they are no longer useful as draft animals, the oxen are butchered and sold to the local agricultural laborers. Only small quantities of milk 234 443 are produced in this zone.

(2) Salvador, and to a lesser extent Feira de Santana, have milk sheds of importance (Map 80). In addition, a very small milk shed surrounds each cidade, although Cachoeira-São Félix is not well endowed in this respect.[4] The marketing of milk is local--the only exception discovered was the sale in Salvador of milk from the município of Camassari. The dairy industry around Salvador is relatively

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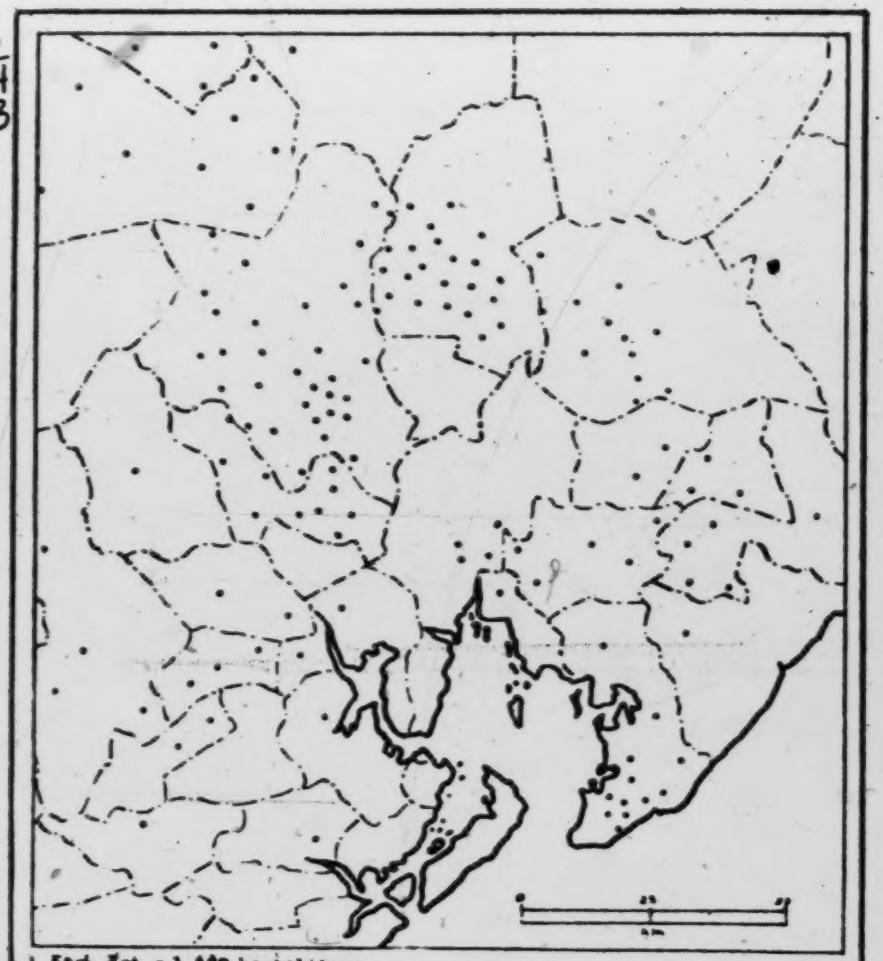

Each dot = 1,000 hectoliters

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Milk Production--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1950. Censos Economicos Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 80

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The dairy industry around Salvador is relatively
234 large-scale, as is evident in the size and number of tank trucks which
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[493] peddle milk through the streets of the city, and which bear the name of
local fazendas. However, the milk has a low butter-fat content, is
[272] unpasteurized, and it is expensive, and many people use powdered milk which is imported from other parts of Brazil and abroad. The Salvador dairy industry is large-scale only in relation to the small-scale operations in other parts of the region, where the small quantities of available milk are carried to the cidades on mules or asses and sold from house to house.

233 (3) Feira de Santana is the principal cattle market not only of
443 the Recôncavo but also of the state of Bahia. To its market (campo de gado) are driven the cattle of the northern sertão of Bahia and from as far west as the mountains. Before or after sale many of these cattle are rested and fattened on the pastures around the cidade so that the cattle population is large but fluid. Some of these cattle are butchered locally, but many are driven to Salvador before slaughter.

231 (4) In all other parts of the Recôncavo small-scale animal husbandry is very common. Many small farmers, sharecroppers, or renters
[272] have one or two cows and sometimes a calf. The milk, if any, is used
[234] either by the family or sold in the cidade. In addition, there are a
[443] few large cattle ranches, usually producing both milk and beef cattle. Thus the unspecialized livestock economy of most of the Recôncavo is distinct from the labor animal concentration in the sugar zone, the Salvador milk shed, and the market animal concentration around Feira de Santana.

233 The pattern of distribution of cattle outside the Recôncavo is not markedly different from that of the adjacent areas within the region. In this respect Mata de São João is like Pojuca, Castro Alves like Santo Estêvão, and Nazaré like São Felix-Maragogipe. However, the

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221 (3) When the first rains come, the soil of both the seed bed and the fields are worked up with a hoe so that all vegetable matter is buried and all weeds turned under.

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[417] (4) If possible the land is fertilized. Under "ideal" circumstances cattle are penned nightly over the area by means of a small temporary corral. The corral may be maintained for a long period over the seed bed, but on the field it is moved frequently so that the whole area is fertilized. Generally the resulting manure is left exposed to the sun and rain until planting time. However, this "ideal" method of fertilization is rare. A very large number of tobacco cultivators have no cattle—they are too poor and their operations are too small for livestock. Most cattle are held by fazendéiros (ranchers) who do not themselves grow tobacco. Moreover, the intensiveness of cultivation keeps the cattle population too small to provide enough manure for all local needs. Usually it is necessary to buy fertilizer. Cattle manure is sometimes purchased from a local fazendéiro. More and more, however, the tobacco cultivators are dependent upon cattle, or, better still, goat manure which is trucked into the Recôncavo from the sertão. The manure is spread over the seed bed to a depth of about one inch and over the field in such depth as the quantity allows.

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221 (5) From mid-April to the end of May, depending upon the weather and the condition of the tobacco field, the seeds are planted. Almost without exception the seeds are taken from completely exhausted tobacco plants of the previous year, plants no longer able to produce salable leaf. The soil is broken open and loosened, and the seeds are sown directly into the fertilizer. Since the fertility of the seeds is very low, they are sown very thickly. The seed bed is fenced but is rarely covered. In sixty to seventy days the seedlings are ready for transplanting.

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249 244 still producing, they are carefully left in place--and narrow, shallow trenches eighteen inches or two feet apart are dug across the field. Segments of manioc stalk, freshly cut and two to four inches long, are planted in the trenches and covered.

(2) When the manioc appears, the plants are slightly hilled, and the field is kept clean.

(3) Any time after six months, but if conditions are not too pressing after nine months, the roots are dug up with a hoe. The disposition of the manioc roots will be discussed in a later section on processing.

(4) The field is re-planted to manioc until it will no longer produce a reasonable yield--one to four years depending upon the fertility.[4]

(5) The field is abandoned to wild vegetation and used as a rough pasture, or, if land is in very short supply, it is fertilized and planted to tobacco.

There are a number of problems which lead to departures from the ideal system of cultivation discussed above:

(1) In many areas where the intensity of cultivation is extreme, no second growth is available, and it is necessary to take fields directly from the cultivation of manioc, or other crops, to the planting of tobacco. It is important to remember that by no means all the soils of the tobacco-manioc region are suitable for tobacco cultivation, even [134] in such favorable centers as Cruz das Almas or São Gonçalo. Only the lighter, sandier soils of the hill tops and upper slopes and occasionally the porous soils of the basins are used for tobacco. These tobacco soils are popularly considered to be "poor," because crops other than tobacco or manioc do not thrive upon them.[5]

[237] (2) A key problem in the main areas of tobacco-manioc cultivation

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249 is fertilizer. Most of the manure is purchased with money borrowed from
244 the tobacco buyers or local merchants. The rise and fall of the produc-
237 tion, yield, and quality of tobacco in the various municipios of the Recôncavo can be explained to a considerable degree by two factors: (1) the availability of loan capital, and (2) the variation in precipitation. Probably the local supply of capital is more variable than the rainfall. Moreover, the quality of the manure available is usually poor. The manure of grass-fed cattle is a mediocre fertilizing agent, and probably the manure produced from the capoéira de caatinga upon which most cattle feed is even more inferior. Goat manure is preferred, because it is believed that it produces both a larger crop and a higher quality leaf, but it is very expensive. Because those who can afford goat manure usually are also the more efficient and careful cultivators, it is difficult to be sure whether it is superior fertilizer or better care which produces the quality leaf.

The manure which is secured from sources within the tobacco-manioc zone has almost invariably deteriorated because it has been left for long periods in the sun and rain. The more expensive fertilizer imported from the sertão is of a better quality, both because it comes from a drier zone and has thus suffered from less leaching in the corral and because it is kept in piles so that only the surface material is open to the elements.

In general every possible cruzeiro that can be begged or borrowed is spent for manure, but if none can be bought, the cultivator will haul black soil (crystalline massapê) from the bottom lands and spread it over his field. Failing that, he will plant without fertilizer in a desperate attempt to produce a crop which will enable him to eke out the following year. Even if relatively fresh soil with a good growth of capoéira is available, the cultivator can produce only a very small

249 crop of poor tobacco without the application of manure. Commercial
244 fertilizers are beyond the means of all but a very small minority of
237 cultivators. Those large growers who have experimented with commercial fertilizers report unfavorable results, presumably because of excessive leaching in the porous soils.

249 (3) The system of seed selection is illustrative of the general crudity of cultivation. As indicated above, the seeds are taken from the old and repeatedly harvested plants of the preceding season. The only criterion for selection is survival--the seed plant continued to produce longer than the rest of the crop. This does not mean that it produced more leaf or better quality--indeed, the opposite is often
[654] the case. Occasionally better seeds are available from the federal or
[242] state government, but the cultivators take little interest.

(4) The practice of harvesting the entire stalk or shoot at one time increases the variation in quality, since there are appreciable differences in the stages of development of the leaves. Immature leaves do not cure properly, while overripe leaves will produce only inferior grades.

249 (5) The primitive methods of drying and fermenting further re-
276 duce the quality of the leaf. Where the leaves are dried indoors over the fire, they acquire a smoky character. Frequently the debts of the
[424] cultivator force him to sell part of his crop prematurely so that a bulk large enough for fermentation is not assembled. On the other hand, if a large bulk of leaf is accumulated for curing and fermentation, there is always the risk of scorching, since thermometers are never used to check the temperature. A common abuse, and a costly one to the cultivator, results from delay in stringing the leaf up to dry. If the freshly cut leaves are allowed to remain piled in the sun before hanging, the green color is fixed. This damage cannot be

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000 Footnotes - Chapter VI

[124] [122] [114] [1]The discussion of the cultivation of tobacco and manioc is based upon the following sources: (1) private conversations with Mr. G. G. Jay, a tobacco buyer and grower of long experience in Bahia and in other regions of South America; (2) Walter Alberto Egler, "Aspectos Gerais da Cultura do Fumo na Região do Recôncavo na Bahia," Boletim Geográfico, Vol. X, No. 111 (November-December, 1952), pp. 679-688; (3) general field observations throughout the zone, except in Coração de Maria and Catu, and, during 1953-1954, detailed observations in São Gonçalo and in Cruz das Almas.

[804] [2]Tarefa means "a task," "a day's work," or "a piece of work," but it is also an antique unit of area which is the folk-unit of area throughout much of Brazil. Its size varies from place to place, but the tarefa baiana equals 0.4356 hectares. In many areas one tarefa is considered to be the usual size of the tobacco planting of one man, but it is obvious from a comparison of the labor force and area in tobacco that in many areas the plantings per person must run much larger. In any case, the individual plots are very likely to be one tarefa each.

[3]In many areas the tree stumps have entirely disappeared as a result of the intensive cultivation, which severely restricts the size of the wild vegetation which can develop during the fallow period.

[114] [243] [4]This interpretation differs, at least in emphasis, from that of Walter Alberto Egler, op. cit., pp. 679-688. He suggests as the characteristic sequence, tobacco, corn and/or beans, and then manioc. Undoubtedly this sequence is important, but the field investigation for the present study revealed that the direct replacement of tobacco with manioc is more characteristic.

[237] [5]However, tobacco does not produce well on these poor soils unless manure is used, and even the yields of manioc are low unless it is planted in a field where there has been a relatively recent application of manure.

[244] [6]The seed for corn, which is edible, has value in itself. The stalk of manioc has no utility except to reproduce the crop. Thus when manioc is planted, the cultivator invests only his labor and the questionable value of the land.

[7]See section by George Wythe in Simon Kuznets, Wilbert E. Moore, and Joseph J. Spengler (eds.), Economic Growth: Brazil, India, Japan, p. 34.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

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For four centuries the agricultural development of Brazil has been characterized by a series of speculative phases, each focused on a single product, each centered upon a single region of Brazil. The first commercial product was sugar, the first region was the Recôncavo of Bahia. The agricultural society founded on the shore of the Baía de Todos os Santos in the mid-sixteenth century has persisted with an almost unbroken continuity for over four hundred years. It is with the geography of this agricultural society that the present study is concerned.

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After sugar had ceased to bring a quick profit, the Brazilian center of effort shifted to other areas where economies of cotton, oranges rice, cacao, and many lesser products opened the land and drew the ambitious and the desperate from the older settlements. Intermeshed with these phases of agricultural development were booms in the exploitative industries—in the mining of gold and diamonds and in the gathering of rubber. So characteristic have been these speculative convulsions, each followed by a shift to a new region, that they might almost seem to be the whole of Brazilian history and Brazilian reality--the nation might have been practicing a system of shifting cultivation on an immense scale with not only fields but whole regions abandoned as the yield declined. Yet this is not the case, for in each of these regions men remain and crops persist. The Recôncavo, long past its triumph, has a present day population of one million people, many of whom are still cultivating the original speculative crop, sugar cane. The Recôncavo is not unique in this respect, for coastal Pernambuco, eastern

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Rio de Janeiro, the Paraíba Valley, and the older coffee areas of eastern São Paulo still contain enduring settlements and cultivated fields. If the speculative development of the nation continues, more and more of the Brazilian landscape will be occupied by these "passive" regions. Such areas have considerable significance as individual sections of Brazilian land and society, and they also provide an opportunity to examine some of the stable and traditional institutions which are concealed in the frenzy of the agricultural booms. It is reasonable to suppose that in these regions the hard core of Brazilian agricultural life is preserved. Here are maintained the values and systems which will not be surrendered.

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As a consequence of the localization of the speculative developments, most of the settlements of Brazil are demographically detached and culturally and economically distinctive regions. Frequently these regions compose the effectively settled cores of individual states. Usually they have a single pre-eminent city in which are centralized not only political and social activities but also the organization of commercial agriculture--capital, marketing, processing, and foreign trade. Such central cities include São Paulo, Curitiba (in Paraná), Recife (in Pernambuco), and Salvador (in Bahia). Such is the regional diversity that one may wonder if it is possible to speak of a Brazilian national culture or of a characteristic Brazilian agricultural pattern. Yet, "throughout Brazil, the people share in one basic culture pattern . . . The different regions present specialized versions of the national culture," the anthropologists have decided.[1] The existence of common agricultural patterns is implicit in the generalizations made about "Brazilian agriculture" by the agricultural specialists, geographers, sociologists, and economists.

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249 178 of the Paulista,[4] the aggressive business man and agricultural capitalist of São Paulo state. (2) The departure of the more adventurous elements from the sugar economy and the transference of the center of economic development from the Recôncavo have allowed the region to maintain its traditional practices and values and to preserve the colonial background of Brazilian agriculture. Although no single area can typify the entire constellation of the Brazilian agricultural regions, the Recôncavo does seem to epitomize the characteristics which underlie their diversity. It is in a sense a microcosm in which many of the agricultural problems which beset Brazil are isolated in their acute phases.

241 171 The Recôncavo does not, of course, reflect every aspect of agricultural life which may be found in Brazil. Not all the various crops are cultivated in the Recôncavo, although most of the important Brazilian crops are grown to some extent. There is no mixed agriculture such as is found in Rio Grande do Sul, nor are there vast pastoral enterprises like those of Mato Grosso or the remote Northeastern interior. There are few peasant proprietors such as are found in São Paulo. Its pattern of regional organization is not a duplicate of that of any other Brazilian region. In all, however, most of the characteristics of Brazilian agriculture and especially the systems of cultivation and the pattern of agricultural institutions are present in the Recôncavo microcosm. This region has several special advantages as the subject of a regional investigation of agricultural phenomena. It is small enough so that it can be studied thoroughly and in a limited period of time. It is large enough to have a diverse internal organization and conflicts of interest which can be analyzed. It is relatively detached so that the gross regional pattern is undisturbed by overlapping and is easy to observe.

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121 separate them from the manifestly non-Recôncavo areas of the surrounding
131 zone. This limit of twenty per cent of the total area in agricultural
[311] land use corresponded rather closely to the outer boundary of a compact group of twenty-one municípios, and as a tentative regional concept, these twenty-one municípios were considered to be the Recôncavo.[5] The area of the region thus defined is 4,827 square miles (12,500 square kilometers), about equal to the size of the state of Connecticut.

121 Purpose and Procedure. The primary purpose of the research upon
241 which this monograph has been based was to analyze, from a geographical point of view, the structure and the functional organization of agriculture within the Recôncavo. It is not within the present scope to make a detailed comparison of the agricultural patterns of the Recôncavo with those of the rest of the nation. However, because of the general unity of the Brazilian agricultural system and the special relationship between the Recôncavo and the origins of the system, a study of the agriculture of the Recôncavo microcosm is a study of many of the basal aspects of Brazilian agriculture.

241 Very little literature is presently available on the agricultural
127 patterns of the Recôncavo. Certain general characteristics of the agriculture of the region may be deduced from the brief interpretations of maps of the 1948 production of sugar cane, tobacco, and manioc in the state of Bahia published by the Conselho Nacional de Geografía.[6] Indirect information may be gleaned from the general economic and agricultural histories of Brazil and from the sociological studies of the Brazilian northeast.[7] But comprehensive analysis based upon field or statistical study of the geographical patterns of agriculture of either the state of Bahia or of its nuclear region, the Recôncavo, are lacking.

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134 the Crystalline Uplands. Although in slope, these soils stand up remarkably well under abusive cultivation methods. The general distribution of these upland and slope-land soils is related to the pattern of landforms in the Recôncavo. In the Intermediate Hills the red-brown argillaceous soils predominate. In the Crystalline Uplands the arenaceous soils occupy the largest area, but the slope-land clays and clay-loams are also extensive.

On the less well-drained valley floors and in the shallow depressions on the uplands, a soil has developed which locally is called massapê or crystalline massape[15] because of its resemblance to the massapê of the Cretaceous zone. In the depressions a black or grey marl is common. It is very similar, at least in physical character, to the Cretaceous massapê In the valleys the soils are less argillaceous but have a greater humus content. Although heavy and sometimes acid, especially in the depressions, these soils are very useful when drained. However, draining the soil is usually an insuperable problem for the small cultivator. Nevertheless, he finds some use for the soil, for he laboriously transports it to the upland to use as a fertilizer. [24]

Soils derived from non-crystalline rocks are also found in the crystalline zone. In the Western Recôncavo the Tertiary deposits were laid down directly on the crystalline rocks. In some areas there are minor remnants of these rocks. Over more extensive areas, Tertiary-derive soils are the characteristic surface material, locally called aréia branca (white sand). These soils are almost pure sand, very light colored and very porous and infertile. Such soils are frequently encountered south of the Rio Paraguaçu. Similar soils are found along the crystalline-sedimentary boundary north of the river. These may not be residual--it is possible that they were transported westward from the main Tertiary zone by wind or stream action. Though aréia branca is a characteristic feature of much of the Western Recôncavo, this soil is not typical of the area farther west.

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134 The soils of the peninsula northeast of the city of Salvador are chiefly crystalline-derived. Near the sea and extending inland five or [245] ten kilometers is a belt of white sand dunes, which are not cultivated but are planted in coconut palms. Bondar reports some fertile diorite-derived soils in the peninsula above Salvador, but does not precisely locate the area.[16] Observations in Salvador and its environs suggest that at least two soils of the Western Recôncavo, the crystalline massapê and the slope-land clays and clay-loams, are characteristic also of the peninsular area.

134 Alluvial Soils. The areas of alluvium in the Recôncavo are so 133 limited that it might almost be said that there are no alluvial soils. There are no conspicuous deltas. Along the margin of the Bay and the estuaries which feed into it there is usually a precipitous decline from the plains or hills to the narrow beach. Narrow lowlands with alluvial soil were observed in three areas: (1) on the west coast of the island of Itaparica and on the mainland opposite; (2) on the north side of the Bay between the Rio Sergi and the island of Madre de Deus;[17] and (3) along the estuary of the Rio Paraguaçu between the cidade of Maragogipe and the head of the Bacia do Iguape. These marginal alluvial lowlands cover only a very limited area of the total Recôncavo. Most of the alluvial lands are mangrove swamps or very low-lying semi-swampy [24] plains. No cultivation was observed in any of these alluvial areas.

Most of the valleys of the Recôncavo are so narrow that except in the major valleys of the Tabular Uplands, river bottom alluvium is rare.

Soils - Conclusion. The soils pattern which has been developed above is closely related to the patterns of parent material and topography. These correlations are in part a reflection of strong functional relationships between material, terrain, and soil in the Recôncavo. These

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134 133 correlations are in part only apparent: they result from using geologic and topographic categories to map and classify soils.

13 Both climate and vegetation are also important factors in soil formation. Since the Recôncavo is a zone of sharp transitions in climate and vegetation, it is to be expected that these variations would be reflected in the soil pattern. In the Recôncavo, however, patterns of climate and vegetation generally re-enforce the patterns of material and terrain as they affect soils. The Cretaceous coastal lowlands are the most humid part of the Recôncavo. The inland Tabular and Crystalline Uplands, which is to say the Tertiary and crystalline soil zones, are markedly drier, as will be seen below. Thus the boundary between the Cretaceous and non-Cretaceous soils approximates a climatic transition, a transition which is also the forest and scrub-forest boundary.

134 24 The soils of the Recôncavo have been used for agricultural purposes for a long time--for about 400 years in the Cretaceous zone. They have been used with varying intensity: in the Cretaceous zone under an intensive monoculture, in the other soils zones under less intensive systems of field and fallow or as wild pasture. The affects of this prolonged use, with little soil conservation, can be only inferred. In the Cretaceous zone there is much complaint of low sugar cane yields, and a few cultivators are turning to commercial fertilizer. It is not clear whether these complaints and remedies result from a marked deterioration of the soil or from the declining competitive position of the sugar industry of the Recôncavo. In the crystalline zone it seems likely that only in the last few decades has cultivation become sufficiently intensive to cause--through shortening the fallow period--the deterioration of the soils. This affect is now beginning to be noticeable in the relatively intensively cultivated lands near the Rio Paraguaçu.

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• 241 The different cultivation practices of the agricultural systems associated with the soils zones seem likely to intensify the present soils pattern. If commercial fertilizer is used on an increasing scale in the Cretaceous zone and if intensification of cultivation continues in the crystalline--as seems possible--the differences between these soils will be accentuated. It is apparent in any case that significant regional differences in soils will be a continuing feature of the Recôncavo for some time to come.[18]

Climate

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Introduction. The northeast of Brazil is an area of tropical climates, without frost except in a few interior highlands, and without pronounced seasonality of temperature. The margins of the sea are generally humid; the interior is dry. Usually the humid maritime belt is narrow, and the transition to the drier Northeastern interior is very rapid.[19] The profound climatic differences between the coast (the *prâia* or beach) and the interior (the *sertão*) are reflected in the contrasting economies--coastal cultivation and interior livestock industry--and in the deep social gulf which separates the people of the coast and the interior. "The two Northeasts," Freyre calls these contrasting physical and cultural zones.[20]

Along the central coast of Bahia the transition from humid littoral to dry interior has an irregular character, due to the presence of the Serra do Mar (here called the *Serra da Papuã*) to the ocean south of the Recôncavo. The mountain-backed southern coast is more humid than the lower northern shore. The coastal humid zone is carried inland around the littoral of the Bay.

The temperature pattern of the Recôncavo is relatively simple.[21] The mean annual temperature at Salvador is 25° C. and at Cruz das Almas (the most interior weather station in the Recôncavo), 24° C. Neither

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132 The Major Wet Season—March through August. From 60 to 70 per cent of the total annual precipitation of the Recôncavo falls in the six-month period from March through August, which is the growing season for most annual crops. Although of different values, the isohyets of the map of the major wet season follow closely those of the annual rainfall map. The margins of the Bay have about 1300 mm., and the dry northwest less than 500 mm. of precipitation during these six months. The scanty data which are available suggest that the decline in precipitation across the narrow transition zone from the head of the Bay westward is greater for the wet season (54 per cent) than for the whole year (48 per cent). This fact, even more than the rapid decline in annual precipitation, may help to explain the sharp transition in agricultural phenomena which characterizes this zone. The [241] eastern edge of this transition zone is, as will be seen, in sugar cane monoculture, and the western edge is in tobacco and manioc under a field-fallow system.

Along the coast about 70 per cent of the annual precipitation falls in this six-month period, but in the interior only 60 per cent. Since this is the only season of regular and relatively dependable precipitation, the drier interior area receives less of its annual precipitation under conditions of high reliability than does the coast.

The precipitation of this season comes from either intermittent heavy showers or slow steady, day-long rains. A day may open with cloudless sky and hot sun. In late morning clouds gather, and there is a quick, sharp shower, followed by sunshine, and then a second shower. This sequence continues until evening. More characteristic, if the period of field investigation for this study was representative, is a slow continuous rain from a low-hanging blanket of clouds, lasting a

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 40]

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132 For the period 1949-1952, inclusive, Cruz das Almas had the following number of rainy days:

March	12 days	June	18 days
April	16 "	July	17 "
May	24 "	August	19 "

Of the 24 months of the wet seasons of these years, three had less than ten rainy days, and four others had from ten to fifteen. Moreover, in the periods March-April and July-August there were a number of cases in which one-third or more of the monthly precipitation fell in one 24-hour period. It is clear that the desirable 100 mm. of well-distributed monthly precipitation is frequently lacking.

In contrast with the major wet season, the trovoadas of October, November, and December show much greater variation—a mean deviation of 43 per cent at Salvador and 31 per cent at Cruz das Almas. These two mean seasonal figures, though mathematically correct, rarely correspond even approximately to the actual seasonal totals of any particular year.[26] Moreover, the totals of particular seasons mask very capricious monthly and daily rainfall patterns. Usually an important part of these minor wet season rains comes as heavy thunderstorms. In 1952, for example, Cruz das Almas had 429.5 mm. of rainfall in the October-December season, of which 344.7 mm. fell in December—120.1 mm. in one day, indeed in one continuous downpour. If the 1949-1952 period was representative, these heavy (over 100 mm.) 24-hour storms are a typical December occurrence. Such rains are a greater threat to agriculture than they are a resource.

132 • 241 Advance and Retreat of the Wet Season. In agriculture the cultivation calendar is likely to be fixed: the seasons of planting and harvest are often kept without regard to the variation in climate. This is especially so in the Recôncavo, where custom is so compelling an aspect of life. Under these circumstances the timely arrival and

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 48

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132 [241] departure of the wet season is of great significance. On the accompanying maps the advance, retreat, and duration of the wet season has been plotted in terms of 100 mm. of monthly rainfall.[27]

The wet season, defined as 100 mm. of rainfall monthly, comes in from the sea and crosses the Bay in January-February and moves across the Recôncavo through March and April. In May the retreat begins, and by September the wet season is over.

By combining the isopleths indicating advance and retreat it is possible to derive a map showing the duration of the wet season. On this basis the northwestern sector of the Recôncavo has no wet season or has only one month--May. The southern Crystalline Uplands have a wet season of three, four, or five months--April-June, April-July, or March-July, the shorter season occurring in the most interior section. The Tabular Uplands have two, three, or four months--April-May, April-June or March-June--of wet season. Most of the coastal lowlands have a seven-month--February-August--wet season.

The wet season outlined on the accompanying maps is the statistical mean of the wet seasons of six years--1947 to 1952. The accompanying table (Table II) shows the advance and retreat of the individual wet seasons at Salvador and Cruz das Almas. These data suggest that the advance and retreat of the wet season is highly irregular in the area around the Bay.[28] In the interior, if Cruz das Almas is representative, the advance and retreat of the wet season is more regular. However, in every year from 1947 to 1952 there was a dry month--with less than 100 mm. of rainfall--in the midst of the wet season of the interior.

[249] <u>September Precipitation</u>. September precipitation is a critical factor in the harvesting and processing of the two chief commercial

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 50]

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132 [249] will turn the cane fields into quagmires from which it is impossible to move the laden ox-carts.[29]

The table above (Table III) indicates that the September rainfall is highly variable both on the coast and in the interior, although Cruz das Almas has a slightly more consistent pattern for this month. The variability of September precipitation, as will be seen, raises serious agricultural problems in the Recôncavo. However, the greater [249] variability of the coastal zone is in some ways a less serious problem than the lesser variability of the interior, for cane harvests can be temporarily postponed, but the cutting and drying of tobacco has an extremely critical time factor.[30]

Climate - Summary. The climate of the Recôncavo is dichotomous. The temperature of the region is fairly constant from day to day and from season to season. In contrast, precipitation is unevenly distributed--in area and in season--and is relatively unreliable. The cultivator of the Recôncavo may take the temperature for granted, but rainfall is an almost incessant concern.

Along the margins of the ocean and the Bay the climate is humid and the precipitation relatively reliable--it is a rare season when the crops of this zone suffer from drought. Because of the heavy invest- [249] [257] ment in industrial equipment and labor, a long delay in harvest is costly to the sugar industry.

In general the uplands have marginal precipitation. Beyond the [241] Recôncavo, in the sertão (backland) crop cultivation is scattered and precarious, chiefly on account of the low and uncertain rainfall. Although the uplands of the Recôncavo have more total precipitation than [241] the sertão, they share in the pattern of uncertain rains. Several areas in these uplands are intensively cultivated, and the recurring severe

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132 droughts and unseasonable heavy rains fall upon valuable, and vulnerable,
241 field crops. Moreover, the cultivators of the Uplands are characteristically small farmers without large financial resources, so that the social repercussions of bad weather in this area may be marked.

311 137 [241] Wild Vegetation. Wild vegetation is a significant element in the landscape and an important resource for agricultural production in the Recôncavo. In 13 of the 21 municipios of the region, over 10 per cent of the total area, in 1940, was in mata, or forest, which was used as an agricultural resource.[31] In the southwestern third of the Recôncavo as the accompanying map indicates (Map 14), almost one-fifth of the total area was in this "exploited mata." It is inferred, through the addition of "unused and non-productive" land to the "exploited mata," that well over one-half of the total area of the Recôncavo was in wild vegetation.

137 192 In east-central Bahia three terms are used both colloqually and professionally to designate the wild vegetation: (1) Mata is used generally to refer to the littoral evergreen forest of the Brazilian east coast. (2) Caatinga refers to the semi-deciduous scrub-forest of the northeastern Brazilian interior. (3) Agreste designates the transitional forest, intermediate in structure and position between the mata and the caatinga.[32]

137 Vegetation Types. The narrow coastal plain of eastern Brazil, from the Rio Paraíba--in eastern Rio de Janeiro state--to central Bahia, bears a heavy evergreen forest or selva.[33] The northern end of this forest belt is the Baía de Todos os Santos. Although the trees are lower and the species somewhat less diverse than in northern Brazil, the littoral forests of the Recôncavo and the Bahian coast farther south are a characteristic variation of the "tropical rain forest."

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CHAPTER III

EVOLUTION OF THE RECÔNCAVO

175 Introduction. The first permanent colony on the Baía de Todos os Santos was established by the Portuguese in 1549.[1] This colony, at the city of Salvador, was the nucleus of settlement in the Recôncavo. The Recôncavo was thus one of the early European colonies in the New World.[2] The first Portuguese colonists came to seek their fortunes in the exploitation of the land. The ethos of the Recôncavo economy in the four centuries since its founding has remained fairly constant: the realization of the greatest agricultural profits with the least capital investment, the minimum conservation of land and labor, and the most grudging adjustments to changes in technology, markets, and the social and political order. Most of the million descendants of Portuguese colonists and Negro slaves who live in the Recôncavo today are imbued with the orthodox values of the exploitative agricultural society established here in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Shifts in markets and in the relative importance of commercial products have not been accompanied by equivalent changes in the speculative and exploitative orientation of the society. In the initial period a market for Recôncavo agricultural products was assured because it had a virtual monopoly. The development of alternative and competitive sources for these products broke this monopoly and caused a continuous increase in the speculative character of agriculture in the Recôncavo. This area did not respond to the increased risk by diversifying its agricultural base but persisted in the same crops and the same methods of cultivation. Such change as did take place was in the form of reluctant, tardy, and minimal adjustments so that in many ways the

175 178 181 433 241 433 241 178 [181]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

433 241 178 Recôncavo remains today a backward and traditional agricultural society.

However, not all elements in Recôncavo life are static. In the field one was incessantly conscious both of the gradual course of change in this region and of the latent instability of its economic organization. Particularly in the last 75 years the agricultural economy of the Recôncavo has begun to shift--it is apparently in the throes of a drastic economic reorganization. It remains to be seen whether the traditional values will survive this economic revolution. [128] The brief historical discussion to follow is not intended as a substitute for a full-scale historical reconstruction. Its purpose is to indicate the major patterns in the evolution of the Recôncavo.

175 The Evolution of Colonial Agricultural Institutions. By the end of the initial half century of settlement (1600) those ethnic groups, crops, animals, and agricultural institutions which were to [567] become characteristic of the Recôncavo were already in evidence. Negro [249] slaves were brought in on the heels of the first Portuguese settlers,[3] [231] and sugar cane and cattle were also introduced at this time.[4] Tobacco [244] and manioc, produced by the Indians indigenous to the northeast of [249] [179] Brazil, were rapidly integrated into the colonial agriculture of the [249] Recôncavo.[5] The combined sugar mill and plantation (engenho), which [491] was the basic economic institution of the Recôncavo until the end of the nineteenth century, already existed in rudimentary form before 1600.[6]

175 249 [244] From the beginning the new colony in the Recôncavo had three important crops--sugar cane, tobacco, and manioc. It was the cultivation of sugar which the Portuguese crown and the initial settlers had

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162 563 compose most of the population of the Recôncavo today. In 1940 the population of the Centro-Litoral of Bahia--the census area most closely corresponding to the Recôncavo--had the following composition: white, 22 per cent; black, 29 per cent; and others, predominately mulatto, 49 per cent.[12]

175 439 567 436 276 [273] [249] The purchase of large quantities of slaves required the production of a commodity which could be used as exchange in Africa. The indigenous tobacco proved eminently suitable for this purpose. Although rum apparently was used also in this trade, tobacco became the essential source of exchange for the slave traffic.[13] Bahia was the main area of tobacco production, and probably most of this production was localized in the Recôncavo.[14]

175 244 433 [567] The initial period of settlement saw also the incorporation of manioc[15] into the agricultural economy as a staple. Like tobacco, it was an indigenous crop. Thus one indigenous crop was adopted to purchase slaves in Africa and another to feed them in Brazil. By 1587 manioc apparently was being cultivated on a moderate scale in Bahia.[16] A recurring theme in the history of the Recôncavo is the shortage of this essential foodstuff.

241 262 175 433 In addition to the principal crops--sugar, tobacco, and manioc--a number of lesser agricultural products were important in the early history of the Recôncavo. Corn, beans, and bananas were grown on a small scale and used to supplement the manioc diet. Other diversi-
231 fications of the diet were provided by meat and fish. Cattle were maintained to draw the ox carts and to power many of the cane mills. For lighter tasks asses and mules were used.

178 249 433 Out of this complex of Portuguese settlers and Negro slaves, of old world and new world crops, there developed certain characteristic agricultural enterprises. The engenho--old world in the origin of its

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

178 crop, technology, and market--was the most important of these enter-
249 prises. The sugar industry flourished in its new world setting and
433 developed from the beginning an institutional character different from that of the old world, particularly in terms of land holding, labor, and the organization of production.

175 The regime of possession of the land was that of completely
423 alodial properties. Among the powers of the donatários of
249 the capitania was, as we have seen, that of disposing of
471 the land, which they distributed among the colonists. The grants were as a rule very large, the lots measuring many leagues. This is understandable: the lands were abundant, and the ambitions of these pioneers, recruited at such a cost, were evidently not contented with small properties; it was not the position of modest peasants to which they aspired in the new world but as great senhores [gentlemen] and latifundiários [landowners]. In addition to this and more important, there was a material factor which determined the type of property established. The culture of cane is practical, economically, only on a large scale. Merely conveniently to clear and prepare the lands (a costly task in this tropical and virgin setting so hostile to man) made necessary the united energy of many workers: it was not an enterprise for small and isolated proprietors. This done, the planting, the harvesting, and the transportation of the cane to the engenhos where it was made into sugar was only profitable when done in large volume. In these conditions the small producer could not exist.

It was above all these circumstances which determined the type of agricultural enterprise adopted in Brazil: the large property.[47]

175 The latifundia established by these colonists ideally were
241 self-sustaining units producing food and sometimes clothing for the
471 entire engenho community--free and slave. In fact, however, they often
433 seem to have neglected food production for the cultivation of the universal commercial product--sugar cane. From the beginning of colonization a succession of regulations and decrees were issued to compel the cultivation of manioc. Recurrent food shortages suggest that these measures were not effective in the face of the "monocultural mentality" of the senhores de engenho (sugar plantation owners). In

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241 433 178 In contemporary Bahia chronic shortages of staple foods, particularly manioc, are characteristic of the zones of commercial agriculture.

175 249 [492] The equipment and technology of the engenhos was primitive. The cane was transported on the backs of mules or on ox carts to the mill where it was crushed in a crude press sometimes turned by water power but usually by animal- or even man-power. The cane juice was evaporated in large iron caldrons which were heated by fire made from wood. This type of processing was in general use in the Recôncavo for several centuries and still persists in some areas of the extra-Recôncavo backlands. [464] [567] The engenhos were operated almost exclusively with slave labor. Most of the slaves of Bahia are thought to have come from the Guinea Coast of Africa. [177] These "Mina" Negroes[18] had a relatively sophisticated cultural inheritance from Africa and undoubtedly made substantial contributions to the cultural development of Bahia.[19]

175 249 464 567 The Negroes were introduced when Indian slaves failed to provide the necessary labor supply, but they were rarely available in sufficient numbers and at a low enough cost to prevent chronic labor shortages. Falta de braços (literally, lack of arms) has been a perennial concern in the Recôncavo no less than elsewhere in Brazil. [162] The importation of hundreds of thousands of Negroes into Brazil--of which certainly a considerable number were settled in the Recôncavo--did not solve the problem.[20] In the early period most engenhos had from about 80 to 100 slaves, but by the eighteenth century some had as many as 1,000.[21]

175 563 567 From the beginning of settlement there was extensive miscegenation. The Portuguese settlers were predominately male, and they bred on a large scale with both Indian and Negro slave women. Some of the mestizo and mulatto children--chiefly the latter in the Recôncavo--retained the slave status of their mothers. Others were freed and sometimes occupied favored positions in their fathers' households.

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175 565 The landed, slave-owning aristocrat was the master of Recôncavo society. The extended aristocratic family was the basic social, economic, and political unit of colonial society. The upper class of the Recôncavo, composed of inter-related family units, continued without substantial alteration until the twentieth century.

175 241 433 565 563 Despite the predominance of sugar cane and the engenho in the colonial Recôncavo--and in the literature on the region--other products and other institutions were important. It is clear that tobacco and manioc were the chief secondary agricultural products, but the development of the associated institutions is not documented. Presumably a class of small semi-subsistence cultivators occupied the lands unsuitable for sugar cane. This class probably was composed of whites lacking the capital for plantation agriculture and freed mulattoes and slaves--manumission was very common in the Recôncavo. The chief commercial product of these small farmers was rolo or corda tobacco (similar to a "twist" of tobacco),[22] and probably to a lesser extent farinha de mandioca (manioc flour). In addition, corn, beans, rice, and bananas were produced.

175 43 The colonial economy of the Recôncavo was not self-sufficient, in spite of the production of food crops and meat animals on small farms and on plantations. Near the beginning of colonization the livestock ranching industry, originating in coastal areas like the Recôncavo, migrated into the interior of the Northeast. Thereafter [231] a strong current of trade in animals, especially cattle, flowed into the Recôncavo from the São Francisco valley, from Ceará, and probably from the sertão of Bahia between the coast and the mountains. These animals were exchanged at the cattle fairs--notably at Feira de Santana--for the products of the coast and for imports from abroad.

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its vested interest in the traditional system is weaker. Thus on all social levels the old Recôncavo is being threatened.

For the present, however, tradition is a continuing and powerful force in agriculture and in the economic and social institutions which surround agriculture in the Recôncavo.

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128 orientation. This will be followed by a discussion of demography as a basis for the understanding of the agricultural economy.

181 The People of the Recôncavo - Introduction. The Recôncavo is the nucleus of a sub-culture which is a distinctive but integral part of the national culture of modern Brazil. Throughout Brazil the Baiano is characterized by a formality of behavior, an oratorical turn of speech, a sentimental attachment to the region of his birth, and a special accent which distinguishes him from the Mineiros, Paulistas, Gaúchos, or Pernambucanos of the other Brazilian regions.[4] These superficial distinctions seem to be a reflection of deep-seated differences in the culture and personality of the people who live in the Recôncavo and in the surrounding zone. On another level, the culture and personality of the people of the northeastern coast, including the inhabitants of the Recôncavo, is unlike that of the sertanejos (people of the arid northeastern interior--the Sertão).[5] Some of the culture and personality traits of the Recôncavo have a significant relationship to local agricultural phenomena.

178 181 241 567 The Baiano of today, as has been seen, is the product of several centuries of historical evolution along lines distinct from those of Central and Southern Brazil and to a lesser degree from those of the rest of the Northeast. A significant feature of the development of the Recôncavo was the social cohesiveness which derived in a large measure from the original strength and periodic re-enforcement of the slave labor latifundia system. Although this system was operative in other regions of Brazil, it was generally less highly organized, and its vestiges have had less impact on contemporary society. In the Recôncavo it remained the chief cohesive social force until the end of the nineteenth century, and cultural and economic survivals of the system remain in force today.

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241 433 463 [369] [162]

Economic Orientation of the Population. The Baianos of the Recôncavo are predominately an agricultural people. This is true not only of the actual cultivators and the associated economic classes of the countryside, villages, and towns, but also in a sense of the almost 350,000 urban peoples of Salvador. As a result of longstanding economic interdependence and continuous travel and migration back and forth, the associations of the people of Salvador with the soil are compelling and personal.[18] In their agricultural orientation the people of the Recôncavo are typical of the general Brazilian population. Even with the inclusion of Salvador, with its relatively [162] large number of domestic and industrial workers, 47 per cent of the male workers of the Recôncavo were classified as agricultural laborers, whereas for the nation as a whole the comparable figure was 57 per cent, and for the United States, 31 per cent.[19] In the Recôncavo, if Salvador is disregarded, agricultural workers (with hunters and fishers) composed 65 per cent of the total male working population.

241 433 441

Agriculture is even more important than the above figures indicate, for a large share of the remaining population of the Recôncavo is occupied with processing and marketing agricultural products, supplying the agriculturalists with goods and with credit, or serving indirectly the needs of agriculture. Thus it is evident that life and livelihood in the Recôncavo is essentially dependent upon agriculture. The agricultural orientation of the Recôncavo is reflected in the economic roles of individuals and classes, but also in the preoccupation of the people with matters of soil, climate, crops, and land value. In Salvador the price and market for agricultural products are commonplace subjects of discussion, and throughout the region merchants and businessmen observe the weather and conditions of the crops with interest and, on many occasions, with anxiety.

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128 Demography of the Recôncavo. The discussion of the composition and distribution of the population in the Recôncavo which follows is intended primarily as a basis for the study of agricultural phenomena. As such it is concerned with those population elements which are important in the production and distribution of agricultural products and in the servicing of the agricultural economy. The agricultural labor force is therefore the primary object of analysis, while the remaining population elements receive secondary consideration.

128 162 241 464 369 The population of the Recôncavo has been divided into two segments: (1) the rural population of the countryside and villages, which includes those engaged in direct agricultural production and those with a direct service or dependency relationship to agriculture; and (2) the urban population of the towns and cities, which has an indirect service or dependency relationship to agricultural production. (Table VI). The rural population has been subdivided in order to distinguish the agricultural labor force, consisting of those in direct agricultural production as workers or as administrators, from the service and dependent groups.[20] The accompanying table (Table VII) relates the area, total population, urban and rural population, and agricultural labor force of the 21 municipios of the Recôncavo.

241 464 [162] Agricultural Labor Force. Conceived in the narrowest sense, the basic human resource for agricultural production in the Recôncavo consists of the energy and skill of 196,000 agriculturalists--the agriculture labor force (Table VIII). In census terminology these are people ten years old or over who consider their principal occupation as that of employer, employee, or worker in crop cultivation (agricultura), animal husbandry (pecuária), or silviculture. In the Recôncavo these people are primarily cultivators and operators of farms

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TABLE VII

RELATIVE POPULATION OF THE MUNICÍPIOS OF THE RECÔNCAVO IN 1950

Município	% of Area of Recôncavo	% of Total Population of Recôncavo	% of Urban Population of Recôncavo	% of Rural Population of Recôncavo	% of Agricultural Labor Force of Recôncavo
Alagoinhas	12	5	4	5	6
Cachoeira	3	3	2	3	2
Catu	3	2		3	3
Conceição da Feira	1	1		2	2
Conceição do Almeida	2	2	1	4	5
Coração de Maria	2	2		4	
Cruz das Almas	2	3		4	5
Feira de Santana	17	10	5	14	15
Irará	11	4		8	10
Itaparica	2	2		4	1
Maragogipe	3	3	2	5	4
Muritiba	3	3	2	4	4
Pojuca	3	1		1	1
Salvador	6	39	79	5	6
Santo Amaro	9	8	2	13	10
Santo Estêvão	6	3		5	6
São Felix	1	1	1	2	2
São Filipe	3	2		4	5
São Francisco	2	1		2	1
São Gonçalo	4	3	1	5	4
São Sebastião	4	2		4	3

Calculated from Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, No. 8 and Anuário Estatística do Brasil-1953, Ano XIV.

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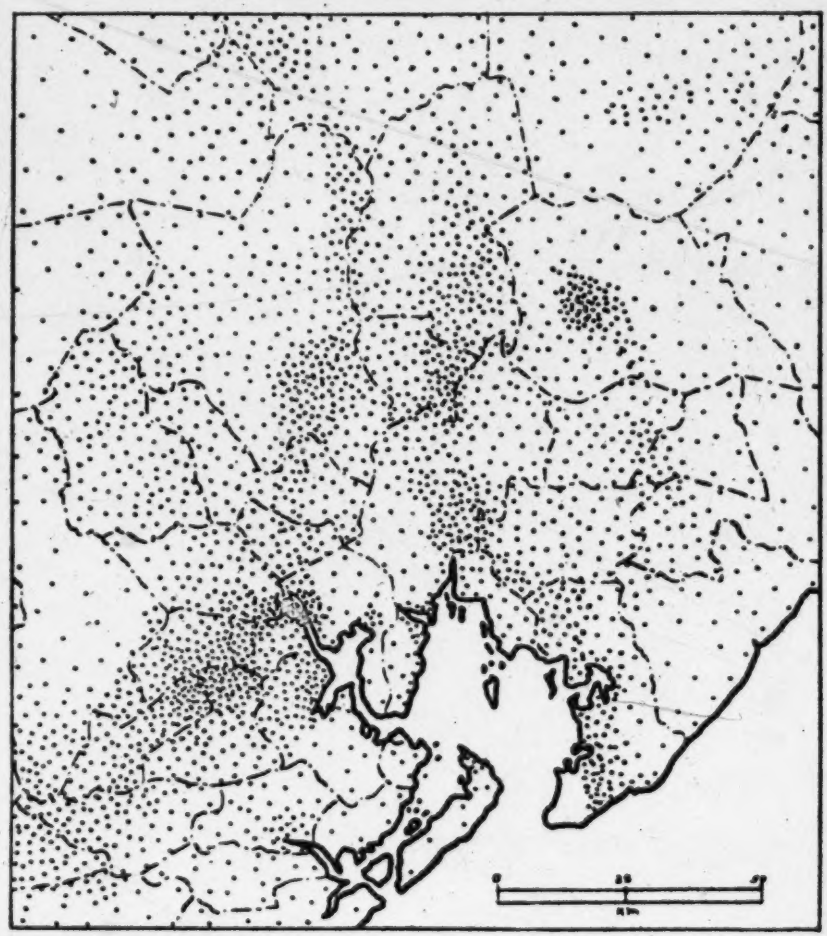

Each dot = 100 persons

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Agricultural Labor Force--1950

(Estimated)

Data estimated from Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censo Demográfico--Bahia, Vol. I, and (for 1950 data) Anuario Estatistico do Brasil-1953, Ano XIV.

MAP 17

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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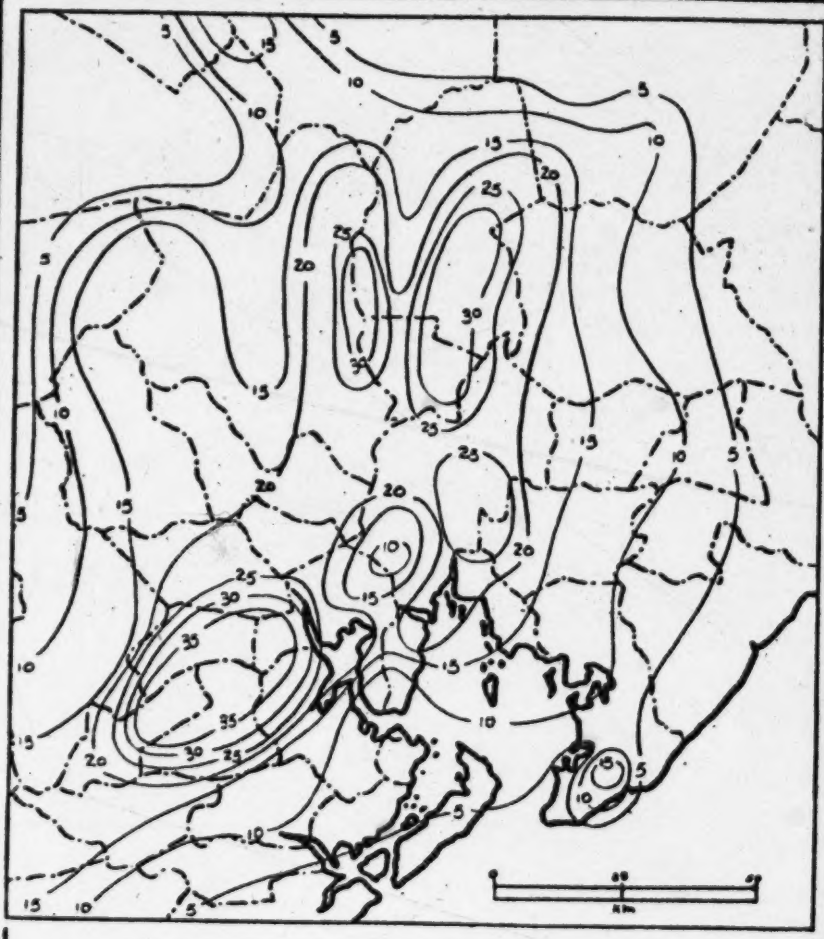

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Agricultural Labor Force per Square Kilometer of Total Area--1950
(estimated)

MAP 18

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 464 and plantations, and to a lesser extent, ranchers and vaqueiros (cowboys).[21] Silviculture is not an important occupation in the Recôncavo.

161 162 241 464 634 The mean density of the agricultural labor force for the Recôncavo was 15.7 per square kilometer. Since the distribution is very irregular, this mean density is far from representative of local situations—only six municípios had densities within 10 per cent of the mean. Because of the uneven distribution of cultivation, mean [128] figures for individual municípios, especially the larger ones, are likely to be equally misleading. In the discussion which follows [127] the gross distributions derived from census data have been modified on the basis of field observation and of inferences drawn from related demographic, cartographic, and agricultural information.[22]

161 162 241 464 The density of agricultural workers in the Central Recôncavo (Map 18) is appreciably higher than in the surrounding areas, except in the southwest. This central zone has densities in excess of 20 per square kilometer, and within it are four areas with densities in excess of 25 per square kilometer. Along the border of the Recôncavo, densities usually fall to 10 per square kilometer. However, this is not true of the more densely occupied "bridge" zone which connects the area of heavy concentration in the Recôncavo, south of the Rio Paraguaçu, with the "coffee area" to the southwest beyond the Recôncavo. The map of densities (Map 18) and the dot map (Map 17) of the agricultural labor force suggest that this population segment is clustered in areas which generally have an eccentric location in relation to such centers as Salvador and the Baía de Todos os Santos.

Over 20 per cent of the agricultural workers of the Recôncavo live along the southern, western, and northern extremes of the region,

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161 every section of which is more than 50 kilometers from Salvador, the
162
241 economic center of the Recôncavo, and also more than 50 kilometers from
464 the geometric center in Santo Amaro. If a line were drawn from the
161 cidade of Alagoinhas southwestward to the cidade of Nazaré, the
162 following municípios would fall entirely west of that line: Irará,
241
464 Coração de Maria, Feira de Santana, São Gonçalo, Conceição da Feira,
634 and Santo Estêvão--all north of the Rio Paraguaçu--and Muritiba,
Cruz das Almas, São Félix, São Filipe, and Conceição do Almeida--all south of the Rio Paraguaçu. These 11 of the 21 municípios of the Recôncavo are all more than 50 kilometers from Salvador--all are much farther in terms of land transport. In these eleven municípios live 125,000 of the 196,000 agricultural workers. In part, this eccentricity with respect to Salvador is a result of the shape of the land surface, with the city located at the end of a peninsula. Only one of these 11 municípios, São Félix, lies on tide water, and that at the extreme upper limit of navigation. The others are so arranged that they cannot make optimum use of the central position of the Bay, with its relatively cheap and direct route into the capital.

This eccentrically located belt is arcuate in form. It is the
161
162 demographic representation of the transition zone from forest to
241
464 scrub forest, which is often also the transition from the Coastal
[132] Plain to the Tabular or Crystalline Uplands. The concentration of
[133] agricultural labor in this belt is obviously significant from many points of view: social and political as well as economic.

Clustering is a characteristic pattern of Latin American population. The Recôncavo is the chief population cluster and the greatest single concentration of agricultural labor force within the state of

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Bahia. The broad cluster of the agricultural labor force is composed of several major zones of concentration and two minor agglomerations.

(1) The Southwestern Concentration: The most important of these concentrations, in terms of total number of agriculturalists, occupies the southwestern corner of the Recôncavo. This concentration is a major segment of the eccentric belt discussed above. It is located [131] in the Crystalline Uplands and the Intermediate Hills, along the drainage divide between the Rio Paraguaçu and the Rio Jaguaripe. This is an area of tobacco and manioc cultivation. There are some 35,000 agriculturalists in this concentration, which spreads over approximately 1,000 square kilometers in six municípios—São Félix, Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, Conceição do Almeida, São Filipe, and Maragogipe. The cidade of Cruz das Almas lies very near its center.

TABLE IX

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS—SOUTHWESTERN CONCENTRATION

[634]

Município	Distrito	Agricultural Workers 1950
São Felix	São Felix	2,568
	Outeiro Redondo	1,724
Muritiba	Muritiba	3,044
	Cabeças	1,699
Cruz das Almas	Cruz das Almas	6,038
	Sapé	1,845
	Baixa do Palmeira	1,476
Conceição do Almeida	Conceição do Almeida	3,878
	Comércio	2,038
São Filipe	São Filipe	4,931
	Cararipe	2,471
Maragogipe	Guapira	1,169
	Nagé	788
	Coqueiras	1,072
Approximately 1,000 square kilometers		34,741

With about 12 per cent of the Recôncavo's total area, the southwestern concentration includes 18 per cent of its agricultural labor force. In its core there are over forty agriculturalists per [634] square kilometer (the município of São Félix as a whole has 42.05 per square kilometer), and this compact core includes São Félix, northern

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161 São Filipe, northern Conceição do Almeida, southeastern Cruz das Almas,
162
241 and the southeastern tenth of Muritiba.
464
[634] The boundaries of this concentration are similar to the boundaries of labor concentrations in other parts of the western Recôncavo. To the southeast the density of the cluster declines sharply across the Intermediate Hills. There are very few fields and few farmers along the estuary of the Paraguaçu, which lies beyond the hills. Much of
[311] this land is in forest. To the west the decline in density is even more abrupt. In the dry caatinga beyond the western limits of Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, and Conceição do Almeida there are only a few scattered ranchers and small-scale farmers.

From the core of the concentration the distribution of agricultural workers continues to be relatively dense toward the north and toward the southwest, and this pattern extends across the "bridge" zone and into the coffee area beyond the Recôncavo. Just beyond the Recôncavo, in the middle of the "bridge," is the city and suburban zone of Santo Antônio de Jesus, which has a minor cluster of agricultural workers. The "bridge" follows the forest and scrub-forest transition.

161 (2) The Northern Concentration: Though the northern and
162 central clusters of the agricultural labor force of the Recôncavo
241 are less well defined and individually less important than the
464 southwestern cluster, they are major concentrations. In the northern
131 Recôncavo a series of clusters extending through eastern Feira de Santana, Irará, and Coração de Maria are grouped in a rough "u-shaped" pattern. This concentration is the second major element of the eccentric belt of dense agricultural labor. The verticals of the "u" follow agricultural belts along the valleys of two tributaries of the (eastern) Rio Pojuca. This is a zone of Tabular Upland and caatinga vegetation.

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161 Because it does not correspond to census divisions, it is diffi-
162 cult to determine the area and population of this "u" zone. Apparently
241 it has about 1,150 square kilometers and about 30,000 agricultural
464 workers (Table X). Maximum densities within this zone are 30 to 40
131 per square kilometer.

TABLE X

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS--NORTHERN CONCENTRATION

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Município	Distrito	Agricultural Workers 1950
Feira de Santana	Feira de Santana	9,840
	Tiquaruçu	1,725
Coração de Maria	Coração de Maria	4,176
	Itacava	4,332
Irará	Irará	4,130
	Bento Simões	1,675
	Pedrão	2,454
	Ouriçangas	2,683
Approximately 1,150 square kilometers		31,015

The "u-shaped" zone is linked with the southwestern cluster by a belt of moderate population density. This belt, running north to south along the caatinga-forest transition, is followed by the Feira de Santana-Cachoeira railroad.

161 (3) The Central Concentration: The central concentration of
162 agricultural labor, in east-central Santo Amaro, western São Sebastião,
241 and São Francisco--the sugar cane zone, is not a part of the eccentric
464 belt discussed above, but rather lies in the heart of the Recôncavo.
131 There are about 6,000 agriculturalists in the 300 square kilometers of this area. The maximum density is about 25 per square kilometer. In distinction to the concentrations discussed above, the central cluster is in the lowlands--the humid Coastal Plain. (see Table XI).

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TABLE XI

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS--CENTRAL CONCENTRATION

Município	Distrito	Agricultural Workers 1950
Santo Amaro	Rio Fundo	1,849
	Inhatá	1,542
	Mata de Aliança	920
São Sebastião	Jacuípe	1,036
São Francisco	São Francisco	804
	Santa Elisa	176
Approximately 300 square kilometers		6,327

(4) The Minor Agglomerations: Minor concentrations of agriculturalists surround two urban centers in the Recôncavo: Salvador and Alagoinhas. Most of the 12,000 agricultural workers in the município of Salvador are grouped either in the northeast--close to the central cluster of the sugar cane zone--or around the capital city. The latter either live in the city or in the sub-urban areas around and between the various urban segments. These sub-urban cultivators primarily work to supply the large urban market. Alagoinhas lies in the midst of relatively unproductive taboleiros. The agriculturalists who serve its urban market and produce its chief commercial crop--oranges--are gathered compactly in a symmetrical ring around the city.

The concentrations discussed above account for some 80,000 (41 per cent) of the agricultural workers and 3,150 square kilometers (25 per cent) of the area of the Recôncavo. In general, a straight line from the southwestern tip of Conceição do Almeida to the southern tip of Serrinha is the western limit of moderately dense distribution of the agricultural labor force. Beyond this line, in the caatinga of Feira de Santana and Castro Alves, there are few agricultural workers. However, in the caatinga of the município of Santo Estêvão and the adjacent part of Feira de Santana there is a zone with a population density of about 15 per square kilometer--higher than anywhere

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else along the western border. This modest concentration, scarcely a cluster, represents the sum of a number of small agricultural settlements scattered along the humid slopes of low serras. There are about 12,000 agricultural workers distributed over this area.

The distributional pattern of the rest of the Recôncavo can be visualized as a coarse net in which the clusters are linked by areas with population densities of 10 to 20 per square kilometer. There is one large hole in this connecting net: along the common border of Cachoeira, São Gonçalo, and Santo Amaro there is a zone with less than ten and sometimes less than five agricultural workers per square kilometer. This zone, very near to the center of the Recôncavo, for the most part is an area of rough sandy hills bordering the crystalline--here the hills are particularly rugged and the transition zone broad. On three sides--southwest, north, and northeast--this sparsely settled zone is bordered by important clusters of agriculturalists.

The agricultural labor force of the Recôncavo is, as has been seen, irregularly distributed. This distribution is highly fluid--movement and growth and decline are continuously altering the pattern. The whole region gained about 6,500 agriculturalists between 1940 and 1950, but these statistics do not reflect the extent of local relocation.

In the central Recôncavo one município, Santo Amaro, lost almost 6,000 agricultural workers between 1940 and 1950, and in three municípios of the central and eastern Recôncavo, Santo Amaro, São Francisco, and Pojuca, losses exceeded 20 per cent. On the other hand, in three municípios of the uplands of the northern and northwestern Recôncavo--Alagoinhas, Feira de Santana, and Santo Estêvão--there were gains of over 20 per cent. Over all, twelve municípios gained and nine lost agriculturalists; the mean change in the agricultural labor

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TABLE VIII

AGRICULTURAL LABOR FORCE OF THE MUNICÍPIOS OF THE RECÔNCAVO IN 1940 AND 1950

Município	1940 Agricultural Labor Force	Per cent of Change 1940-1950*	1950 Agricultural Labor Force—Estimated
Alagoinhas	8,922	25	11,152
Cachoeira	4,367	- 3	4,236
Catu	5,395	- 5	5,125
Conceição da Feira	3,132	7	3,351
Conceição do Almeida	10,066	- 7	9,361
Coração de Maria	8,205	3	8,451
Cruz das Almas	8,763	6	9,289
Feira de Santana	26,140	16	30,322
Irará	19,920	- 2	19,522
Itaparica	1,379	10	1,517
Maragogipe	7,513	2	7,663
Muritiba	8,959	15	10,303
Pojuca	2,575	-31	1,777
Salvador	7,697	57**	12,075**
Santo Amaro	25,566	-23	19,686
Santo Estêvão	9,315	20	11,178
São Félix	4,086	6	4,331
São Filipe	10,327	- 2	10,120
São Francisco	2,373	-22	1,851
São Gonçalo	8,872	- 4	8,517
São Sebastião	6,395	4	6,651
Recôncavo	189,967		196,468

*Calculated change in rural population from 1940 to 1950. It has been assumed that the agricultural labor changed at the same rate as the rural population.

**Because of a change in the method of totaling the non-urban population of Salvador, it was not possible to derive the 1940-1950 rural population change in the usual manner. The 1950 figure is the mean of three estimates of increase derived from total population change 1940-1950, rural quadrant change 1940-1950, and per cent of total population in agriculture 1940 projected to 1950. These estimates were, in order, 11,097, 12,517, and 12,700. The rural quadrant is a statistical subdivision of the município which does not necessarily include all the rural areas.

Source: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censo Demográfico—Bahia. Vol. I, and Anuário Estatístico do Brasil-1953, Ano XIV.

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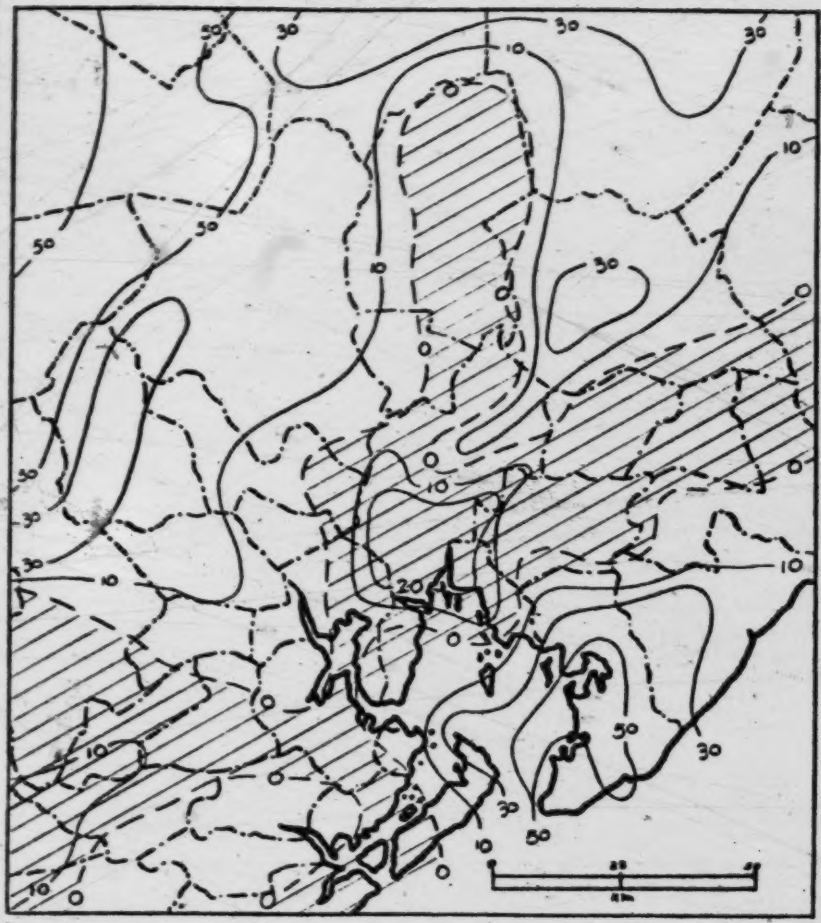

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of Change in the Agricultural Labor Force (Estimated)

and in the Rural Population from 1940 to 1950

Shaded area shows zone of loss of agricultural labor force.

MAP 19

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

161 162 241 464 [634] force of the 21 municípios--without regard to direction of change--was 13 per cent.

In general the area around Salvador and the northeastern and western margins of the Recôncavo gained in agricultural labor force (Map 19). The Central Recôncavo and areas in the north-central, eastern, and southwestern Recôncavo lost agriculturalists between 1940 and 1950. Some of the factors which produced these changes were local; others were identified with the Northeast or with Brazil as a whole.

The growth of cities in the Recôncavo is a manifestation of a nationwide phenomenon. The expanding urban centers create an increasing market for agricultural products which, because of the difficulty of transportation and the lack of food processing facilities, must be supplied primarily from local sources. These expanding markets attract discontented or displaced agriculturalists, who settle as close to the urban center as possible. There is a marked increase in the concentration of agricultural labor around Salvador, Feira de Santana, and Alagoinhas.

731 166 [369] [241] In 1950 and 1951 the urban trend and its agricultural concomitant was re-enforced by a specific Northeastern phenomenon--the flight from the drought (sêca) of the interior. Most of the refugees (flagelados) from the dry sertão settled along the periphery of the Recôncavo. Here, where they could remain close to their cherished sertão, much land was open for squatters. As indicated above, others settled around the urban centers of the Recôncavo caatinga zone--Feira de Santana and Alagoinhas.

241 464 178 166 731 Observations suggest that the greatest relative increases in agricultural labor force from the sertão were in the municípios bordering the Recôncavo on the west and north, where the "normal"

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agricultural population is small. However, refugees from the drought also found their way into most parts of the Recôncavo. Even in 1953 they were to be encountered as squatters in Muritiba, as cane field workers in Santo Amaro, and as porters in Salvador.

Refugees from secas usually have not become permanent additions to the labor force of the Recôncavo. The sertanejo of the Northeast is renowned in Brazil for his attachment to his terra (native soil), no matter how cruelly it treats him. Especially those migrants who settle as squatters on the margins of the Recôncavo seem only to wait for the renewal of the rains to return to the sertão. In 1953 migrants were still entering the Recôncavo along the Feira de Santana-Salvador highway, but others were boarding the train in Salvador and returning to the sertão. They had come from the sertão on foot or by begging rides on trucks, found jobs in the Recôncavo, saved a few cruzeiros, and were returning to their native terra. Some refugees remain in the Recôncavo, of course, but the number is proportionately very small.

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Several sections of the Recôncavo, notably the sugar cane zone, are losing rural population and agricultural labor at a serious rate. The municípios of Santo Amaro and São Francisco lost 6,400 agriculturalists between 1940 and 1950. The reduction in the number of agriculturalists in the sugar area is at least partially a symptom of the growing rationalization of labor under the big usinas, which increasingly dominate the sugar industry. The emigration from these areas is selective--the majority of the emigrants are young adults who leave to seek employment and broader opportunity elsewhere.

B BB 241 166 [181] [565]

Emigration within the Recôncavo is one current of the great tide of agricultural unrest ascribed to all of Brazil.

> The rural Brazilian of the lower classes is notorious for his nomadic or migratory habits, for his lack of permanent attachment to the soil, for his tendency to

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> shift about from place to place. In few nations are such large proportions of the rural people, who in turn are three fourths of all people, so constantly on the move.[23]

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In the Recôncavo this shifting is like a game of musical chairs, in which the odd participant, probably thinking himself lucky, goes to Salvador. The exchange of places occurs on many levels: there is movement from plantation to plantation within the sugar zone, even between plantations operated by the same usina.[24] Many agricultural workers shift from one to another of the various agricultural zones within the Recôncavo.[25] These shifts of population in the Recôncavo primarily involve the agricultural laborers, share croppers, and tenant farmers. The landowners move only under the strongest pressure, and the upper class landowners are as immobile as the lower classes are migratory. However, these landowners compose only a small part of the agricultural labor force.

Another fluid element in the agricultural labor force of the Recôncavo is seasonal labor.

> Itinerant seasonal agricultural labor has for a long time been an important element in the sugar zones of the Northeast where at harvest time many of the cane cutters come from the "agreste" or even from the "sertao" into the "mata" zone.[26]

The principal source of this seasonal labor for the Recôncavo is the small farmer class of the sertão of Bahia north of the Rio Paraguaçu and east of the Chapada Diamantina. These workers are males, exclusively; the number involved is not known, but it is probably on the order of 5,000. Some sertanejos return again and again to the same fazenda or usina; others change their place of employment from year to year. They all return to the sertão at the beginning of the wet season to plant gardens for their families and to harvest cotton and other crops.

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241 [464] The skills of the 196,000 workers are an important agricultural resource in the Recôncavo. This resource can best be evaluated in terms of the prevailing agricultural systems: hoe and rudimentary plow agriculture. Hoe agriculture is universal in the Recôncavo, and in a society so thoroughly permeated with agricultural activity it is fair to assume that, except for some completely urbanized laborers in Salvador, all workers are familiar with the simple tools of this form of cultivation. Plow cultivation is more specialized; it is used [249] throughout the sugar cane zone but only in preparing the fields for planting. The seedstalks are covered with a hoe, and knives are used [407] for weeding and harvesting. Outside the sugar zone plows are rarely encountered.

[231] The domesticated animals which play a prominent role in cultivation in the Recôncavo are oxen, horses, mules, and donkeys, and the rudiments of their management are almost universally understood. The prominent crops of the Recôncavo are ubiquitous--manioc, corn, beans, sweet potatoes, peanuts, tobacco, sugar cane, bananas, and oranges are grown in all areas, and their cultivation under the prevailing agricultural system is common knowledge. There is little present need for agricultural labor specialized beyond this level.

241 178 It is clear that the introduction into the Recôncavo of new, radically different crops or techniques of cultivation would alter this [181] relatively favorable situation. The agricultural worker of the Recôncavo, like his counterpart in many other parts of the world, is inherently conservative. As in the past, he will continue to resist even minor changes, such as improved methods of seed selection in corn or improved curing of tobacco. More radical changes would probably be [212] resisted more strongly. The problem of "selling" new ways of producing agricultural products is difficult not only because of the

241 satisfaction with traditional ways but also because the low level of
178 literacy makes difficult even the presentation of new methods. The
212 low level of literacy directly limits the media available for propagation of new ideas, and there is little consciousness of the existence of other methods in other areas. These factors restrict the intellectual horizon and reduce the tolerance for change.

241 As yet, mechanized agriculture is almost unknown--there are
407 probably less than fifty tractors in the entire Recôncavo. Agricultural
[242] machinery is confined almost exclusively to government agricultural
[354] experiment stations and extension services or to the largest sugar fazendas--in 1952-53 the tractors of the fazendas were largely unused because of the lack of new parts or general unsuitability for the tasks at hand. A very small number of agricultural workers have had any experience with agricultural machinery. The introduction of large quantities of farm equipment would raise many problems related to skill
[493] and receptivity. However, the truck, bus, and jeep are omnipresent in the Recôncavo, and the number of competent drivers and mechanics is surprisingly large. Most of these mechanically skilled workers live in the cities and towns, but some are available everywhere, especially in the sugar area. In this area, too, many workers have had experience with such massive equipment as the ox-plow. Thus the introduction of tractors and their accessories into the sugar zone, the area most adapted to mechanization at the present moment, would find at least a small cadre of experienced workers available.

241 In addition to skills, the mode of labor and the attitude toward
461 work are important factors in evaluating the agricultural labor force. Agricultural work in the Recôncavo tends to be a joint enterprise--it is joint effort which makes it possible to perform many heavy or
000 arduous tasks with little mechanical assistance. On the cane plantations

On the cane plantations
241 the field work of planting and harvesting is done by labor gangs com-
462 posed of men, women, and older children. There is some specialization:
857 men cut the cane, women gather and pile the cane stal and leaves, and the older children assist at these tasks and at managing the ox carts. The smaller children remain at home, where they are responsible from a very early age for some household tasks.

241 Outside the sugar zone the family is a basic labor unit. Men,
592 women, and children work in the fields as required and participate in
462
857 processing tobacco and manioc. To an even greater extent than is characteristic of the sugar zone the children participate in family tasks, and as soon as they can manage the hoe, they join in the field work.

461 The upper class Baiano seldom does physical labor—to do physical
[565] work is to lower one's status. In the lower class work would seem to be approached as a somewhat unpleasant necessity which is best tackled in a cheerful and convivial atmosphere. The agricultural laborer is given to spells of extremely hard work interrupted by banter and occasional "horseplay." While the lone worker often seems rather cheerless and plodding in the field, the shouted jokes, songs, and exclamations of groups of laborers frequently resound throughout the countryside. The intermittent vigorous labor seems to be an extension of play, for there is little social evaluation of hard work for its own sake.

Despite the enthusiasm and commotion which surrounds almost any effort, the per capita productivity of the worker in the Recôncavo
461 is relatively modest. In part this is a result of the intermittent
147 character of the work, but a more important factor is the limited energy of the worker. The lower class of the Recôncavo is weakened by perennial hunger, bad diet, and disease.[27]

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241 464 As has been shown, the 196,000 agricultural workers in the Recôncavo in 1950 formed a relatively distinct cluster within Bahia. [131] These workers were concentrated especially in an arcuate belt near the western and northern frontiers, in the sub-urban zone of the larger cities, and in the central sugar zone. They were in complex motion, the net result of which was to reduce, in the decade 1940 to 1950, the agricultural labor force in the Central Recôncavo and to increase the labor force near the cities and along the western frontier. The labor force generally is adequately skilled for the agricultural tasks of the present system, but its tolerance for new ideas is [461] limited. The agricultural workers can work cheerfully and hard, but usually do so only with frequent interruptions, and the individual level of energy is low.

162 241 464 463 Rural Population. The agricultural labor force of the Recôncavo is a functionally but not residentially distinct segment of a larger population assemblage, the rural population. Rural population, as used here, includes not only the people of the countryside but also the village and town dwellers of all settlements without industrial establishments.[28] Although this assemblage can be defined in approximate residential terms as a rural population, it is considered here primarily as a functional grouping which includes agricultural workers and elements of all other major occupational groups except industrial workers. In this overwhelmingly agricultural society the associations of the non-agricultural occupational groups of the rural area with agriculture are of primary economic importance and compelling personal interest. While most of the agricultural workers are rural in the strictest sense, living in the countryside and on the fringes of the villages, towns, and cities, many others live within the small and

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162 241 464 463 some in large urban centers. On the other hand, occupational groups sometimes considered to be urban--shopkeepers, for example--may have residences and places of business in the countryside. Thus it is not possible to differentiate occupational groups precisely on the basis of residence.[29]

162 241 464 In 1950 the rural population of the Recôncavo, as defined here, included 578,508 people. This assemblage represented about 54 per cent of the total population of the Recôncavo. Its distribution was broadly but not precisely comparable to that of the agricultural labor force, as will be seen.

162 241 464 463 The agricultural labor force, which has been discussed above, composes 34 per cent of the rural population. The remaining 66 per cent will be called the "service segment" of the rural population. This segment is composed primarily of the following elements: merchants, tradesmen, and speculators who buy agricultural products and supply the simple needs of the agriculturalists; indirect service groups such as financial agents, public administrators, and transport workers; and minors and dependent women.[30] All of these are directly or indirectly dependent upon the agricultural economy. This dependency is, of course, mutual: the farmer of the Recôncavo is, at least partially, a commercial agriculturalist who must market his products in order to purchase food and clothing. However, the agriculturalist is the primary producer; the service segment basically is auxiliary to the agricultural economy.

241 463 464 [162] The map (Map 20) of the service segment relative to the agricultural labor force reveals several significant contrasts. In the outer Recôncavo--from the southwest corner around the periphery to the northeast--the service segment is from 1.5 to 2.0 times the agricultural labor force. As will be seen, this is the zone of tobacco

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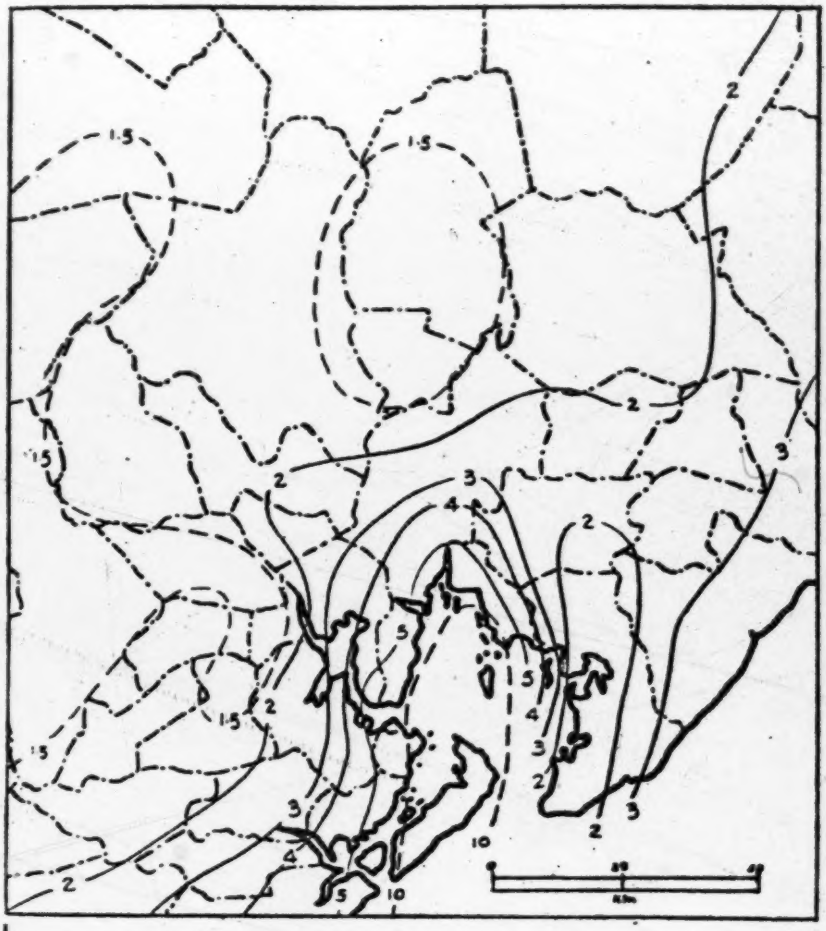

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Ratio of the "Service Segment" of the Rural Population

to the Agricultural Labor Force--1950

(estimated)

MAP 20

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 463 464 and manioc production. While there is some processing of agricultural products in this zone, the trade centers primarily are local, and there have been few historical reasons for urban development.

463 433 241 Around the Bay the relative size of the service segment increases to five, even to ten times the agricultural labor force. In this area there are some alternative productive pursuits, fishing and charcoal burning, for example. The definition given for the "service segment" is less appropriate in this zone: the fishermen, for example, render their service primarily to the major urban centers rather than to the agriculturalists. Moreover, there is a large parasitic group, especially in the sugar zone. The decline and rationalization of the sugar industry have left an unproductive class living in waning state but still supported by the agricultural economy. The sugar industry, which is more efficiently organized than other agricultural enterprises in the Recôncavo, probably is better able to support parasitic elements.

464 241 In addition to providing services, the service segment is the local labor reserve for agriculture. The extent of the reserve depends not only on the size of the service segment, but also on its composition. For example, in the western and northern areas of the Recôncavo, where two-fifths of the people are agricultural laborers, perhaps an additional one-fifth consists of small children and the aged and infirm. If those who perform essential services, basic to the economy, are deducted from the remaining two-fifths, few are left for a labor reserve. Fortunately the tobacco-manioc economy of the Recôncavo has little need for seasonal labor, and long-term labor needs, in theory at least, can be filled from the sertão.

464 In the sugar cane zone and on the Bay margins the general labor reserve is larger. However, this reserve is drawn upon by the labor

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464 extravagant urban centers, the oil field and refineries north of the Bay, and the fishing and shipping industries. Moreover, this area has [565] a larger upper-class element, which as has been seen, could be counted upon to perform manual labor only under dire circumstances.

464 241 Thus in all parts of the Recôncavo the local labor reserve readily available for agricultural production and expansion is small. In compensation the general high mobility of the lower class would make available non-local reserves,[31] providing the proper incentives were offered. The exploitative agricultural system of the Recôncavo is ill-equipped to offer these incentives.

162 369 433 <u>Urban Population</u>. The remaining 493,944 people of the Recôncavo, 46 per cent of the total 1950 population, lived in the nine major urban centers. These people have much the same relationship to agricultural production as the "service segment" discussed above, but the relationship is less direct. These urban centers are engaged almost exclusively in serving and in exploiting the agricultural population of the Recôncavo and other agricultural areas of Bahia.

633 162 Salvador is the dominant city of the Recôncavo and of Bahia. In 1950 it contained 389,422 people, 36 per cent of the total population of the Recôncavo and 8 per cent of the total population of Bahia, or 79 per cent of all urban people of the Recôncavo and 41 per cent of all urban people of the state. The next largest city in Bahia was Feira de Santana--less than one-fourteenth the size of Salvador.

633 Although Salvador is the fourth city in Brazil, it is much smaller than either Rio de Janeiro or São Paulo and somewhat smaller than Recife.[32] It ranked just above Pôrto Alegre in total population. Salvador, often called either Bahia or o capital, cannot be interpreted entirely or even predominately in terms of the Recôncavo. While its

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The other urban centers of the Recôncavo:

633 [162] [443]

	1950 Population
Maragogipe	9,744
Muritiba	7,452
Cruz das Almas	6,758
São Gonçalo	3,771

[277] are all local trade and cigar manufacturing centers. Maragogipe is a [504] port of minor importance.[37] The other urban centers have inland loca- [361] tions, near the inner edge of the Crystalline Uplands.[38]

Near the Recôncavo are four urban centers which have minor but appreciable effect upon its agricultural economy:

[162]

	1950 Population
Santo Antônio de Jesus	11,417
Nazaré	11,215
Castro Alves	6,479
Serrinha	4,602

Santo Antônio de Jesus and Nazaré are located along the southern periphery of the Recôncavo, and Castro Alves and Serrinha on the south- western and northwestern periphery, respectively. All these centers [496] are on one of Bahia's two main railroads, both of which terminate at the Bay--at Salvador or at São Roque do Paraguaçu.[39]

633 In 1950 the nine major urban centers of the Recôncavo had 464 100,000 to 120,000 workers in industry, transportation, and merchan- 433 dising.[40] In all cities of the Recôncavo, except Salvador, the [162] industrial workers almost exclusively were engaged in processing agricultural products--in sugar refining, cigar manufacturing, and [231] slaughtering. Except for some of the animals slaughtered in Feira de [241] Santana and the poorer grades of tobacco brought in from the sertão, these agricultural products originate in the Recôncavo.

The industrial structure of Salvador is more complex. It processes agricultural products from the Recôncavo, but also from other parts of the state, notably cacao. There is a small textile industry. It is probable that the majority of the industrial workers are employed in numerous small service industries which supply Salvador

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and, to a lesser extent, the rest of the Recôncavo and the state. The relatively large and affluent upper class of Salvador utilizes an extravagantly large number of domestics and of industrial workers--in food, clothing, and construction industries.

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Conclusion. The preservation of traditional values among the people of the Recôncavo is evidence of the survival value of their conservative culture, but the relatively slow growth of the population is indicative of a declining economic role in the nation. Although the population of both Brazil and the Recôncavo grew between 1940 and 1950, Brazil's population increased 26.5 per cent, the Reconcavo's only 16 per cent. In Brazil as a whole, urban populations increased 46 per cent, in the Recôncavo only 34 per cent. The rural population of Brazil increased by 17 per cent; the approximately comparable figure for the Recôncavo was 4 per cent.

Within the Recôncavo the net effect of population changes in the decade 1940 to 1950 was the reduction in rural population from 60 per cent to 54 per cent of the total population (see Table XII).

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Even more serious, from the agricultural point of view, was the decline in the relative number of agricultural workers. Despite the influx of agricultural people from the sertão, the percentage of the total population in the agricultural labor force fell from 21 per cent (1940) to 18 per cent (1950).

BB 633 [162]

The greatest single concentration of population in the Recôncavo is the city of Salvador. One-third of the people of the region live in this predominant city, occupying the tip of the peninsula which separates the Baía de Todos os Santos from the sea. In this eccentric peninsular location, Salvador is relatively distant from the main centers of agricultural production and has only circuitous land

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TABLE XII

COMPOSITION OF RECÔNCAVO POPULATION 1940-1950

Year	Total Population	Urban Centers	Rural Population	Agricultural Labor Force
		Absolute		
1940	924,032	368,932	555,100	189,967
1950	1,072,452	493,944	578,508	196,468
Change	+ 148,420	+125,012	+ 23,408	+ 6,501
		Relative		
1940	100 %	40 %	60 %	21 %
1950	100 %	46 %	54 %	18 %
Change		+ 6 %	- 6 %	- 3 %
		Growth of Recôncavo Population		
1940 to 1950	16 %	34 %	4 %	3 %
		Per cent of Total Growth		
1940 to 1950	100 %	84 %	16 %	4 %

connections with the western section of the Recôncavo. On the other hand, its location combines oceanic access with the rest of Brazil, Europe, and the Americas and a direct approach, via the Bay, to all of the central municípios of the Recôncavo.

The major concentrations of rural, agricultural population in the region are in the outer municípios of the Southwestern, Northwestern, and Northern Recôncavo. In the southwest, there is a notable concentration on the Crystalline Uplands. In the northern part of the Recôncavo, the concentrations lie along the dissected edges of the Tertiary taboleiros. Thus most of the agricultural people of the region live in upland areas of deep, porous soils and marginal rainfall. The only major lowland concentration of agricultural people is in the area of Cretaceous clay soils on the Coastal Plain of the Central Recôncavo. The relatively small size of the agricultural population in this area is reflective of the declining role of sugar cane cultivation in the Recôncavo.

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241 464 "Falta de braços"--lack of labor--is a problem much discussed in the Recôncavo. The landholders, merchants, and agronomists interviewed in the region almost invariably complained of the shortage of agricul-
[461] tural workers or renters. At the same time, the level of per capita productivity of most agricultural labor remains low, and, as will be seen, there have been few attempts at improvement of agricultural techniques. Neither is there any apparent trend toward higher wages or higher returns on rented properties, which might attract more people to the area. The complaints of labor shortages must be viewed in the context of the systems of production and the economic organization of agriculture, which will be discussed in the following chapters.

241 464 161 162 433 Several basic agricultural problems are prefigured in the analysis of the distribution of the population of the Recôncavo. The concentration of agricultural people in the western and northern municípios of the region corresponds, as will be shown, to a major area of agricultural production. Since this is also an area of marginal and irregular precipitation, it is almost inevitable that the level of production must be uneven and the lives of the agriculturalists unstable. The declining agricultural population of the Central Recôncavo is a symptom of the declining importance of the sugar economy, discussed previously, and of the centralization and rationalization currently under way. The alternating zones with high and low densities of population indicate the nuclear and separate character of the areas of agricultural production, detailed in the pattern of crop regions to be discussed in the chapters which follow.

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CHAPTER V

CROPS AND CROPLAND DISTRIBUTION

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Introduction. The Recôncavo is an enclave of cultivated land facing on the sea and more than half surrounded by the Sertão of Northeastern Brazil. It is one of a number of detached areas of dense settlement and intensive crop cultivation scattered along the northeastern coast--Pernambuco, Sergipe, Alagoas, and the states of the northern coast of the "bulge" of Brazil have similar coastal nuclei. Indeed, this littoral mode of settlement is characteristic of Brazil, although in the center and the south of the country the concentrations of settlement and cultivation are usually separated from the ocean by a belt of rough hills or mountains. A glance at a population map clearly reveals that Brazil is a coastal nation as far as the distribution of its people is concerned; indirectly such a map demonstrates the coastal distribution of crop cultivation. In this, Brazil somewhat resembles the United States at the opening of the nineteenth century when it, too, was altogether a nation of the Atlantic seaboard. The specific nuclear character of the Recôncavo dates from the beginning of its settlement--it was from the first a region of crop cultivation, and the settlement of the sertão of Bahia derived from the people and needs of the Recôncavo. During the four centuries since the Portuguese first came, the crops, animals, and systems of production of the Recôncavo have retained much of their original character.

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The present chapter deals with the principal activity of the Recôncavo, the production of crops. As a preliminary to the discussion of the individual crops and their distributions, it is appropriate to

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128 sketch the modes of cropland distribution which are characteristic of
• 241 the region. This introductory discussion will be extended in the conclusion of the chapter, when it will be possible to discuss the general patterns of cropland distribution and the changes in the intensity of land use in terms of the specific component crops. The details of the practices of cultivation will be discussed in Chapter VI.

241 The mean intensity of crop cultivation within the Recôncavo is
311 high only in terms of the surrounding sertão. Indeed, there are very
[171] few areas of Brazil of any great size in which the intensity of land use is comparable to that of such areas as Northwestern Europe, Japan, India, or even the Midwest of the United States. The landscape of the Recôncavo is composed of a series of small, intensively utilized areas separated and surrounded by zones in which the cultivation of crops is scattered. As a result, the mean intensity of cultivation is low—for the Recôncavo generally, mean figures for agricultural phenomena tend to mask great differences between specific areas. As will be seen, the chief concentrations of crop cultivation are in the Central Recôncavo and on the seaward edge of the Uplands. The principal zones of scattered cultivation are in the Intermediate Hills, in the littoral forest behind the beach line, and on the interior margins of the Uplands where the Recôncavo gradually gives way to the sertão.

241 Even within the areas of relatively intensive cultivation, there are many interruptions. These gaps are not very conspicuous within the restricted confines of the sugar-cane growing Central Recôncavo, but elsewhere the continuity of the fields is broken by patches of second growth and by the slopelands and wet valley bottoms. Most of the cultivated areas of the Recôncavo seem to reflect the grudging acquiescence of nature to the efforts of man and not the triumph of the cultivator

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241 over the forest or the caatinga. In most areas it is the second growth, not the cultivated fields, which dominates the landscape.

241 361 443 634 The scale of the maps accompanying the following sections does not allow the indication of one of the significant patterns of cropland distribution in the Recôncavo—the concentration of cultivation around the cidades, the political centers. Each cidade is the economic focus of its município and is usually the primary market for the products of its cultivators. The poorly developed system of transportation in the [489] rural areas puts a premium on proximity to the market center. Thus in most of the municípios there is a decrease in cultivation away from the cidade, and where the municípios are large, such as on the northern and western perimeter of the Recôncavo, cropland becomes very widely scattered 241 before the political boundary is reached. This centralized distribution 361 443 of cropland has been complicated by the development of roads and truck 491 traffic. Cultivators tend to cluster along the main highways with little regard for the absolute distance to the market of the cidade; accessibility as represented by time rather than distance seems to be the more important factor in choosing land for cultivation, providing that land is available. The pattern of concentration of cultivation along the highway is especially characteristic of the Upland sections of the Recôncavo.[1]

241 178 There are many exceptions to the modes of cropland distribution mentioned above. In the Recôncavo tradition and prestige often contravene direct economic self-interest. On a large scale the persistence of sugar cultivation is an example of the unwillingness to explore new sources of income. In other areas the traditional social advantages of land ownership may impede the subdivision of large properties into farms or rented plots, even where hired labor is not available to 000 cultivate the land efficiently. Livestock production, which offers

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231 Livestock production, which offers
241 social prestige as well as economic gain, may occupy land within the
[311] cultivated area which more profitably could be devoted to crops. These
[554] factors, together with the eccentricities of political boundaries and the vagaries of terrain features, help to produce many distinctive local variations of the general geographical pattern of cultivation and of specific crops.

241 As will be seen in the following discussion, both land rotation (field and fallow) and permanent systems of cultivation are practiced in the Recôncavo. Under the land rotation system, the field is planted for a single year or for several years and is then abandoned to wild vegetation for a fallow period which, in some areas of the Recôncavo, has been reduced to as little as five years. Under the system of permanent cultivation, cropping is either continuous or is interrupted only by brief, widely-spaced fallow periods--in the sugar cane area, four years of cultivation are followed by one year of fallow. The significance of the data on the per cent of the area in cropland depends in part upon the system of cultivation employed.

127 Sources of Data. The statistical data used in the analysis of
241 crops and animals in the following sections were drawn almost exclusively
231 from two sources. Produção Agrícola: 1948[2] was the only source available with relatively complete data, gathered on a consistent basis, for the area, production, and value of the principal crops of Brazil by município units. This basic source has been supplemented by data for livestock taken from "Pobulação Pecuária em 31/12/1948."[3] In general these two sources provide a reasonably accurate and detailed statistical basis for the analysis of crops and livestock.

127 However, a careful inspection of the crop data, and especially
241 the calculation of crop yields by combining area and production data, revealed obvious errors in the figures in a number of instances. Usually

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127 the errors concerned crops of trivial importance, but occasionally the
241 use of such erroneous data would have produced serious misinterpretations. Where this has been the case, it was necessary to estimate a more appropriate figure. Such estimates were developed by inferences from related statistical data supported by observations in the field. The procedures which were employed are illustrated in full in Appendix D through a detailed analysis of the data (for manioc) which were most thoroughly modified in this fashion. Wherever modified, rather than official data have been used in the text, the official data and the basis of modification have been indicated in a footnote or in the appendix.

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241 Crops and Animals of the Recôncavo. A very large number of crops
433 are known to the agriculturalists of the Recôncavo, but the number of important crops is small. It is convenient to divide these into three groups--basic subsistence crops, basic commercial crops, and supplementary (minor subsistence and commercial) crops. As will be seen, many subsistence crops have their commercial importance, but the present concern
241 is only with a broad grouping. The crops of the Recôncavo are listed
433 below, together with their local names and the area of their cultivation
192 in 1948:

Basic Subsistence Crops:		
Manioc or Cassava (Mandioca)	22,472	hectares
Corn (Milho)	9,679	"
Beans (Feijão)	7,034	"
Bananas (Banana)	1,069	"
Peanuts (Amendoim)	550	"
Sweet Potatoes (Batata doce)	344	"
Basic Commercial Crops:		
Tobacco (Fumo)	21,886	"
Sugar Cane (Cana de Açúcar)	11,695	"
Coffee (Café)	2,941	"
Orange (Laranja)	1,116	"
Coconut (Côco)	876	"

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Supplementary Crops
(Subsistence and Commercial):

Pineapple (Abacaxi)	168	hectares
Rice (Arroz)	61	"
Tomatoes (Tomate)	46	"
White Potatoes (Batata inglêsa)	44	"
Cotton (Algodão)	40	"
Onions (Cebola)	14	"
Garlic (Alho)	5	"
Green or Snap Beans (Fava)	4	"

241 311 On the basis of the above figures, the total cultivated land in the Recôncavo in 1948 was about 80,000 hectares. In addition to the above, 245 there are a number of tree crops, not cultivated in the true sense, which are important in the agricultural complex. More often than not these "crops" are of spontaneous origin.

[192]

African Oil Palm (Dendê)
Mango (Manga)
Jack Fruit (Jaca)
Cashew (Cajú)
Bread Fruit (Fruta de pão)

231 The following animals are important in the livestock economy of the Recôncavo:

[192]

Cattle (Bovinos)
  Cows (Vacas)
  Oxen (Bois de trabalho)
Sheep (Ovinos)
Goats (Caprinos)
Swine (Suinos)
Donkeys (Asininos or Burros)
Mules (Muares)
Horses (Equinos or Cavalos)

These animals will be discussed in the chapter on animal industry (Chapter VII).

244 Manioc. Manioc was one of the most important cultivated plants which the Portuguese colonists borrowed from the Indians of Brazil. [175] Flour made from the manioc root, farinha de mandioca, was the basic [262] subsistence food of the colonial sugar economy and remains today the [178] principal element of the diet of much of the Brazilian lower class. [565] 000 Manioc production is most notable along the coast of Brazil, from the

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311 represented by two adjacent municípios of the Eastern and Central Recôncavo--Pojuca, where manioc occupied 81 per cent of the total cropland in 1948, and São Sebastião, where it occupied only 2 per cent. However, the significance of this contrast is diminished when it is seen that the total cropland of all crops in these municípios was only .8 per cent and 4.7 per cent, respectively, of the total land area. In those municípios where over 5 per cent of the land area was cultivated, the range was from 8 per cent of the cropland in manioc--Irará--to 60 per cent--Conceição do Almeida.

244
241 There are two major zones in which manioc has pre-empted the cropland, both of which are marginal to a belt of commercial production
311 of tobacco, sugar cane, or coffee which follows the forest and scrub-forest transition from the coffee zone northward into the Southwester Recôncavo. This commercial crop belt is paralleled on the east by a zone of manioc cultivation in the forested areas back of the beach line--a zone which is a continuation of an extensive area of monocultural shifting cultivation of manioc centered farther south.[12] Around the city of Nazaré, which lies very near the southern limit of the Recôncavo, as much as 70 per cent of the cropland is in manioc. The cultivation of manioc is also important on the sandy forested zone west of the Bay as far north as the estuary of the Paraguaçu and on the opposite side of the Bay north of Salvador. On the west side of the commercial crop belt, in Laje, Santo Antônio, and the Southwestern Recôncavo, there is another zone in which manioc is the dominant crop. In the dry caatinga the areas of cultivation are concentrated around the low serras west of the Recôncavo. However, the manioc which occupied up to 60 per cent of the cultivated area along the western limit of Conceição do Almeida in 1948 was grown as a part of the tobacco-manioc system.

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249 134 132 Santo Estêvão. The third grade—"Feira"—is grown on the humid edge of the sandy Tertiary uplands. This suggests that it is soil which is the immediate control of quality, although precipitation is the over-all factor. Although the southern part of the zone of Tertiary soils is more humid than the crystalline zone peripheral to the Recôncavo, the tobacco of the former--"Feira"—is less valuable than the "Caatinga" grade of the latter. The drier Tertiary zone produces only fumo em corda but the even drier crystalline zone, stretching west to the Chapada Diamantina, manages to produce the cheap but salable "Sertão" leaf. Thus in every case the crystalline soils, with equal or even less precipitation than the Tertiary zone, produce a better grade of leaf tobacco.

249 433 In 1948 the yields of the main zones of tobacco cultivation were from 750 to 1,000 kilograms per hectare (Map 33). Yields were higher in the Central Recôncavo, where there is only trivial production of low quality leaf. Yields were also higher in isolated sections of the "Sertão" and "Caatinga" grade zones to the west.[17] The mean yield of the Recôncavo, 840 kilograms per hectare, was slightly above the 808 kilograms per hectare of the state of Bahia as a whole. This yield compares very favorably with the yield of Cuba, 640 kilograms per hectare, and Indonesia, 530 to 650 kilograms per hectare on Estates, but is lower than that of Mexico, 1,010, Canada, 1,360, or the United States, 1,400.[18]

[241] The production of most of the chief crops of the Recôncavo is somewhat stabilized by steady demand for food--in the case of manioc, corn, and beans—or by government control—in the case of sugar cane. In contrast, tobacco is a highly speculative and mobile crop. It is produced primarily by small cultivators in anticipation of a combination

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249 has made increasingly greater demands upon the land, at least during the
244 decades between 1930 and 1950. In some areas, such as Cruz das Almas,
433 the mean fallow period seems to have been reduced to a minimum of one or two years during the late 1940's. As the result of these developments, the município seems to be faced with the necessity of either a decrease in production or a radical reorganization of the system of cultivation.[21]

249 However, tobacco is to Cruz das Almas or São Gonçalo what sugar
24 cane is to the Central Recôncavo—a way of life. Agriculture without
433 tobacco is both economically and culturally distressing to the cultivator of the Southwestern Recôncavo. Unlike the sugar cane planter, the agri-
[178] culturalists of the tobacco zone cultivate crops other than the chief commercial product, but as a cash crop they are very reluctant to accept any substitute. Habit is a very great force in the agriculture of all parts of the Recôncavo.

249 A result of the traditional and speculative orientation of the
433 people of the tobacco zone is the extreme importance of tobacco—a commercial non-food crop—throughout the zone. In 1948, six municípios of the Recôncavo cultivated more tobacco than any other crop, and in five others it was second in importance. In only two municípios, Itaparica and Salvador, was it lower than fourth in area occupied.

243 Corn. Traditionally corn (milho) is a crop of the caatinga
433 (scrub forest), and its greatest relative dominance is found just northwest of the Recôncavo in the município of Serrinha. It is, however, grown on a small scale throughout the Recôncavo, and there are at least two areas of intensive production. Corn is overshadowed by other crops, particularly manioc, tobacco, and sugar cane, in all parts of the Recôncavo except the North and the Northwest.

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245 438 [471] Oranges, like coconuts, are usually grown on plantations. The capital investment in tree crops is usually too great for small cultivators. Moreover, as a highly perishable crop, oranges require more or less direct marketing, which is frequently beyond the capacity of the small grower. If oranges were marketed by trickling from the small grower through the hands of merchants, buyers, and the like, as is tobacco, they would be spoiled long before reaching the consumer. The small cultivator can market his handful of oranges only in the local market.

241 433 Supplementary Crops. Although the official data show only a very limited distribution of minor supplementary crops, their cultivation is not confined to those municípios where exceptionally conscientious [262] statistical agents have made detailed records. The common vegetables--green beans, onions, garlic, and tomatoes--are cultivated in small quantities in all parts of the Recôncavo and are a traditional part of Bahian dishes. Around the cities and towns there is some specialization [443] in vegetable farming, but there are no major concentrations. The Salvador market is supplied with produce from a broad rural zone which includes [489] most of the Recôncavo. The produce is brought to the city by donkey, truck, or by sailing boat.

The most important of the supplementary commercial crops is [134] pineapple, which is produced on the sandy soils of the Northern, and to a lesser extent, Southwestern Recôncavo. There is very scattered production of grapes, cotton, rice, and white potatoes, but there are no important centers of cultivation of these crops.

245 311 Minor Spontaneous Tree Crops. Mangoes are very common within the houseyards of Salvador and throughout the humid Coastal Plain. In

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245 311 the peripheral areas of the region they are less common, but a few trees can be seen in almost every settlement. The cashew is more strictly confined to the littoral and especially to the sandy coastal zones behind the palm-laden beach line. Jackfruit and breadfruit are especially common in the eastern Crystalline Uplands. Scattered along roads and around houses, they provide shade for the yard or for coffee and an occasional fruit for sale in the local market. The African oil palm is encountered occasionally in most municípios of the Recôncavo, generally growing out of the wet valley floors. There are many oil palms on the island of Itaparica, but the only major area of commercial production [258] [438] in Bahia is on the coast south of the Recôncavo. The oil is prepared by boiling the seed, and the surplus oil is sold in small quantities on the local market.

241 311 Annual and Perennial Crops. Six of the major crops of the Recôncavo are cultivated as annuals--manioc, corn, beans, peanuts, sweet potatoes, and tobacco.[29] The major perennials are bananas, sugar cane, coffee, oranges, and coconuts. Over three-fourths of the cropland of the Recôncavo was in annuals in 1948 and about 22 per cent in perennials--including both tree and field crops. In the Recôncavo there is a very close connection between crop periodicity and land systems. The annual crops are produced almost exclusively under a system of land rotation, while the perennials are grown under a system of permanent cultivation. The zones of animals are generally mixed-crop zones, while the perennials are usually monocultural.

The main concentrations of annuals are on the uplands of the Northern, Northwestern, and Southwestern Recôncavo--the domain of manioc, tobacco, corn, and beans (Map 63). Perennials dominate the Intermediate Hills and the coastal lowlands--coconut palms on the beaches, sugar

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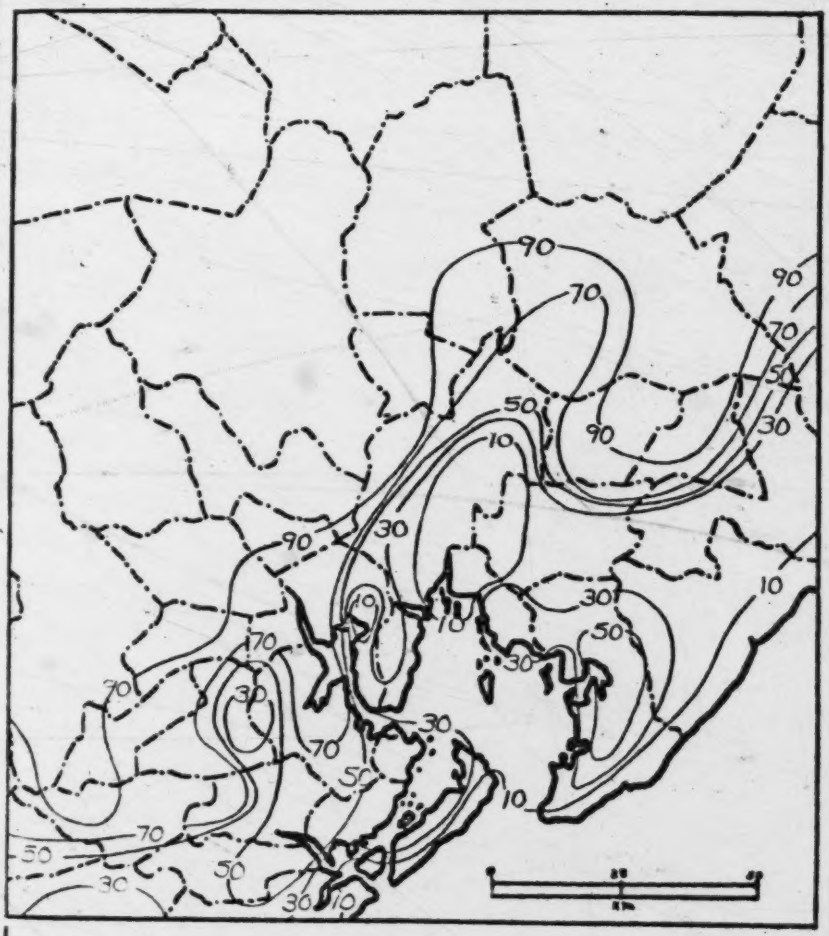

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of Cropland in Annual Cultivation—1948

MAP 63

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241 311 cane in the pockets of Coastal Plain, and coffee and sugar cane in eastern and southern São Filipe. Annuals, chiefly manioc, intrude into the lowlands and hills in two areas: west of the Bay, from Maragogipe to Nazaré; and east of the Bay, in the município of Salvador.

General Distribution of Cropland. The total cropland of the Recôncavo in 1948, based upon the sum of the areas of the individual crops, was about 80,000 hectares--6.4 per cent of the land surface of the region. This proportion compares favorably with the one per cent of the state of Bahia and the two per cent of Brazil which is cultivated. However, a comparison with areas of the same general character in the Northeast of Brazil is more appropriate and more unfavorable; in 1948 both Paraíba and Alagoas had ten per cent of their areas under cultivation in principal crops.[30]

249 311 The most intensive center of cultivation in the Recôncavo is the area of sugar cane production north of the Bay. If the land which is in fallow one year out of every five is added to the area of the cane fields, about 75 per cent of the total land surface of the area was included in the closed circle of cultivation and fallow in 1948. The smaller area of sugar cane cultivation at the head of the Bacia do Iguape had a similar, though less intensive, concentration of cultivated land.

249 244 311 In the Southwestern Recôncavo as much as one half of the total area was in crops in 1948. Most of this land, as has been seen, was in tobacco or manioc. A smaller nucleus of intensive cultivation north of the Rio Paraguaçu centered on the município of São Gonçalo, was also an area of the cultivation of tobacco and manioc. The rest of the northern part of the Recôncavo in which these two crops were

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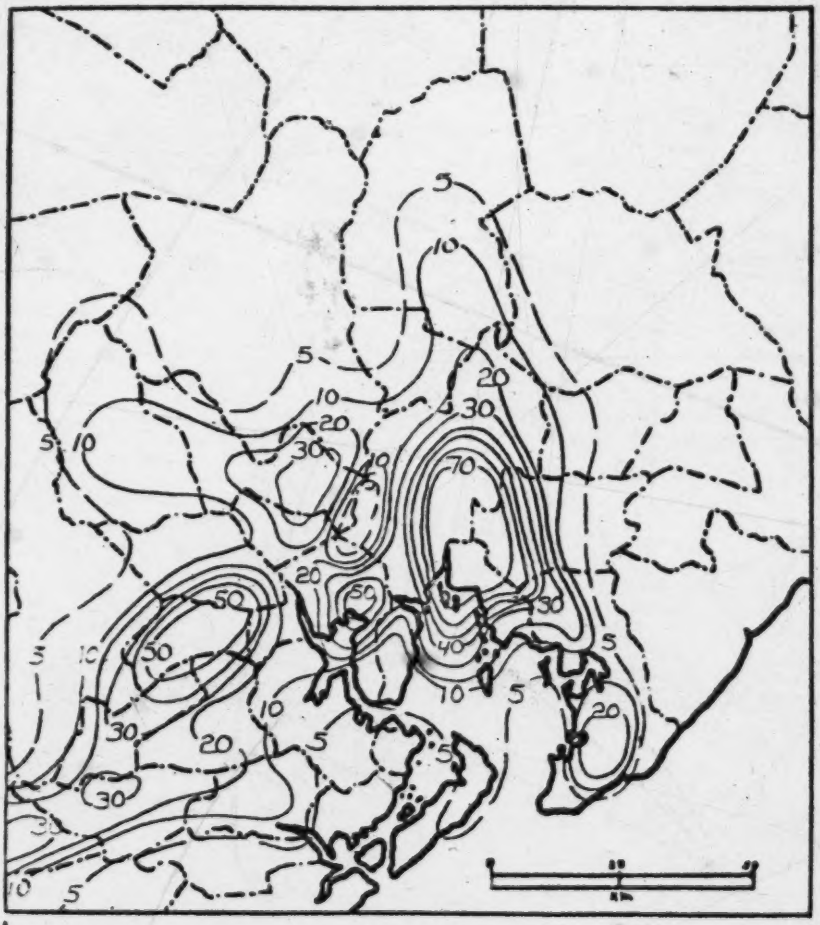

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Land Area in Cropland--1948

MAP 64

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249
244 important had less intensive cultivation than the two principal centers
311 mentioned above.

241 Most of the remaining crops of the Recôncavo were either minor
311 subsistence crops of general distribution, not of themselves accounting for any strong concentration of cropland, or were major crops produced in small separated centers of intensive cultivation. The Northwestern Recôncavo corn and bean areas, the coconut plantations of the beach line, the Southwestern Recôncavo sugar cane and coffee areas, and the suburban rings of orange production were zones where the mean intensity of cropland was low or, at best, modest.

There were two zones of very low intensity of cropland which have not been discussed previously because they did not have significant concentrations of individual crops. The belt of Intermediate Hills around
[137] the Central Recôncavo sugar cane area is largely forested, the scene of
[231] very scattered cultivation, livestock enterprises, and extractive industries. This belt was used, as will be seen, to provide fuel and to maintain a livestock reserve for the adjoining sugar cane area. The forested belt between the beach line and the inland areas of sugar cane and tobacco cultivation were used primarily for extensive systems of cultivation and for the small scale production of livestock. Only around the perimeter of Salvador was this forested belt intensively used, for in this area there were orange groves, manioc gardens, and a few very small truck farms.

241 Expansion of Cropland. There can be little question but that
311 the Recôncavo as a whole was an area of expanding cropland in the 1940's.[31]
178 In no other way could the increased food necessary for the growing popu-
[161] lation be supplied, for there were not then nor are there now external
[434] sources for large quantities of staples, excepting only livestock. There

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241 311 178 are many local signs of the increase in cultivation—expanding rural settlement, overcrowded market facilities, and stories of the "old days" [361] when life was more leisurely and the land problem less severe. Two areas of the Recôncavo are in great contrast as far as the trend of land use is concerned—the Central Recôncavo on the one hand and the 249 311 178 outer Recôncavo, especially the Southwest, on the other. As a result of the stabilization of the sugar industry by the Instituto do Açúcar e do [654] [656] Alcool and, undoubtedly, of the high fixed costs of the sugar industry, the area under cultivation in the Central Recôncavo has remained relatively constant. Indeed, since large-scale speculation in the cultivation of cane is no longer feasible, as a result of government control, it is possible that marginal lands have been withdrawn from cultivation or have been converted to other uses. However, the evidence of the present land use pattern, at least in the area north of the Bay, is against this hypothesis--there are no signs of abandoned cane fields and no extensive areas with any form of land use except those associated with the sugar industry. There are indications of the abandonment of cultivation near the lesser sugar cane area north of the Bacia do Iguape, but the state of the abandoned sugar mills suggest that the decline in cultivation took place before the last decade. In general, then, the area in cane probably was relatively stable during the 1940's and the 1950's, at least to 1953.

249 The situation in the areas of the cultivation of tobacco and 244 311 178 manioc is more complicated, in part because the economies of these crops are not stabilized. The area in tobacco undoubtedly has fluctuated over a wide range from year to year, although the area in manioc probably has tended to change more steadily, since it is a basic food crop. There seems to be no question but that during the 1940's the area in

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249 tobacco and manioc increased in the zones of intensive production of
244 both crops. Particularly in the Southwestern Recôncavo does the expan-
311 sion of settlement, the present critical intensity of land use, the
178 florescence of tobacco cultivation during the early 1940's, soil exhaustion as evidenced by the declining yields, and the testimony of the people of the people of the area attest to the increase during these years. Detailed field investigation in Cruz das Almas, in the heart of the Southwestern Recôncavo, indicated that if the intensity of cultivation shown by the 1948 figure is correct, then the cropland has declined in the years since. In 1948, according to the data, one-half of the total area of the município was cultivated; in 1953 the total land in crops can scarcely have been more than one quarter of the total area, and there were several signs of decline. Although there was no mature second growth, there was a good deal of capoéira de caatinga and capoéira de mata (second growth) which was about one to three meters high, that is, from about two to six years old. Cruz das Almas seems to be the extreme case of a município which went through a period of rapid growth and precipitous decline in these years, but the same processes undoubtedly have taken place in many of the other municípios where tobacco was important. Probably none of these areas have returned to the 1940 level, because of the concomitant increase in the population and the fall in the productivity of the land in the years since.

241 There have apparently been major expansions of the cropland of
311 two areas which border on the Recôncavo. Serrinha is known as a muni-
178 cípio of recent agricultural expansion.[32] The growth of the cidade of Serrinha in the last decade is a clear expression of greater agricultural production, although the new cropland is not in the vicinity of the city. Apparently the main expansion was around a group of low serras and

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shallow lakes west of the cidade, along the border of Conceição do Coite, where intensive production of corn and beans on newly settled land could be observed in 1953.

The agricultural expansion in Santo Antônio and in Nazaré was more notable. Both of these municípios lie in a zone of continuing agricultural development which is contiguous with the Recôncavo and which shows signs of becoming an integral part of the region. If the criterion originally used to delimit the Recôncavo and define the area of intensive field investigation--over 20 per cent of the total area in agricultural use--were to be applied to the 1948 distribution of cropland, then Santo Antônio, though not Nazaré, would lie within the region. The current agricultural development of Santo Antônio, and to a lesser extent of Nazaré, is making these municípios progressively more like the Recôncavo.[33] The pattern of the production of tobacco and manioc in Santo Antônio is essentially the same as in the Southwestern Recôncavo. However, these two areas are still primarily oriented toward a zone along the Nazaré railroad, in which coffee and sugar cane, as well as tobacco and manioc, are important crops. For the moment, Nazaré and Santo Antônio are excluded from the Recôncavo, but with the explicit recognition of the possibility of new orientation.

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[12]Centered in the município of Valença.

[127] [13]In the comparison of yields here and in the following discussion, the data for Brazil and for the other countries or regions have been taken from the 1948-1950 yields as given in: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Yearbook of Food and Agricultural Statistics 1953, Vol. VII, Part I (Rome, Italy: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, 1954), pp. 1-334.

[128] [14]For a more detailed discussion of tobacco grades and zones, see Appendix E.

[15]Because of the great variations in tobacco area from year to year, the data for a single season are a less reliable guide to characteristic distribution for tobacco than for most other crops of the Recôncavo. The modifications which have been made in the official data are given in Appendix D.

[16]See Appendix E.

[17]The great local variation in yield in these zones is probably due to the concentration of the small quantity of tobacco in areas of highly diverse soils and irregular precipitation.

[18]However, this comparison should be considered with regard for the harvesting practices mentioned above.

[19]In ten of the thirteen years from 1939 to 1951, the area planted in tobacco in the Recôncavo rose and fell in accordance with the price of the preceding year. Data from: Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, Contribuição
[127] do Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, A Report Prepared for the First National Tobacco Congress (Salvador, Bahia: Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, 1952), pp. 1-16.

[20]The sources used in the discussion of tobacco production for
[127] 1931 to 1951, in this and the following paragraphs, were: (1) Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, Contribuição do Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, pp. 1-16; and (2) Antonio Nonato Marques, Geografia do Fumo na Bahia (Salvador, Bahia: Centro de Estudos Ruralistas Nonato Marques [1952]), pp. 1-85.

[128] [21]For a more detailed discussion of this aspect of tobacco-manioc cultivation, see the discussion of the tobacco-manioc system in Chapter VI.

[127] [22]The common practice of corn-bean interculture raises a problem in the interpretation of the statistical data which is discussed in Appendix D, as are modifications in the official data for corn.

[241] [23]The typical American or European garden, a permanent area for
[35] the production of household vegetables, fruits, and herbs, is practically unknown in the Recôncavo. Garden crops are grown at odd places within the cultivated areas or scattered around the houses, except for a few small, fenced plots for food production within the sugar cane zone. In all these gardens there is a very limited variety of crops.

[128] [24]The system of sugar cane cultivation will be discussed in Chapter VI.

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CHAPTER VI

CROP REGIONS AND SYSTEMS

128 241 The discussion in the preceding sections has emphasized the analysis of the character and distribution of individual crops. As has been suggested, the Recôncavo has several specific crop associations, particularly manioc with tobacco and corn with beans, and several monocultural systems--sugar cane, coconuts, and coffee. The discussion which follows will deal with the crop associations and monocultures as areal and as functional groupings--a first step in the synthetic development of the sub-regional and regional patterns of agriculture in the Recôncavo. Since the município tends to be a highly integrated micro-region with a distinctive pattern of crops and cropland, the first level of generalization is this politically delimited local area. The summation of the crop pattern of the local area leads to the determination of the region in which crops are cultivated in isolation or in co-existence and in which co-existent crops are cultivated in interdependent crop systems.

128 241 311 Crop Ranks. In order to determine the areal importance of the principal crops in relation to each other, the crops of the several municípios of the Recôncavo and the adjoining regions were ranked in accordance with the amount of the cropland area which they occupied. The accompanying series of maps, based upon these rankings, reveal that more cropland was devoted to manioc (Map 65) than any other crop 241 311 in seven municípios. Tobacco occupied this position in six municípios, sugar cane in four municípios, corn in three, and coconuts in one. The relative area devoted to these five most cultivated crops varied from

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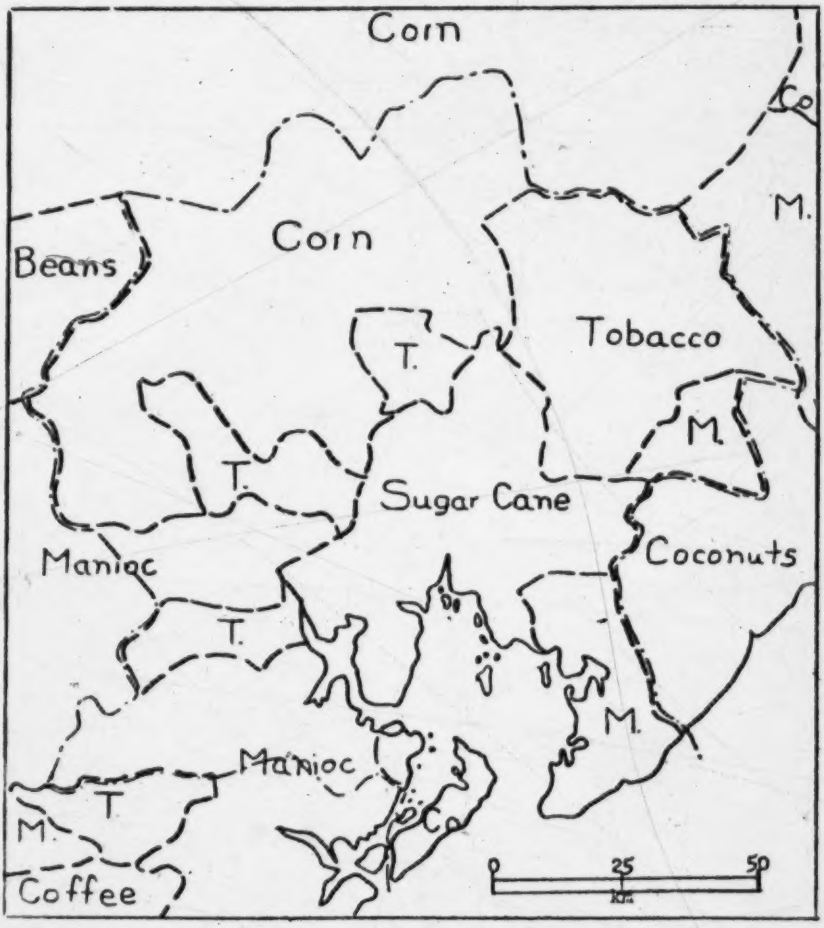

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Crops Ranking First in Area of Cultivation in 1948

M - Manioc
T - Tobacco
Co- Coconuts

MAP 65

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954) 1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 311 96 per cent of the total cropland planted to sugar cane in São Sebastião to 33 per cent of the total cropland occupied by manioc in São Filipe.

At least one-third of the cropland of every município of the Recôncavo and the adjoining areas was planted to a single crop, and in twelve municípios of the region, over half the total cropland was occupied by one crop. The leading crop of the Eastern, Northern, and Northwestern Recôncavo was either corn or tobacco, that of the Southwestern Recôncavo, either manioc or tobacco. Sugar cane ranked above other crops in the Central Recôncavo. In the Southern Recôncavo either manioc or coconuts occupied the greatest area of cropland.

The percentage of the cultivated land in the crop ranking second in area varied greatly from município to município (Map 66). In São Sebastião and Pojuca, in the Eastern Recôncavo, the crop which held second position occupied only 2 per cent and 4 per cent of the cropland, respectively. In Cruz das Almas the second crop in area occupied 42 per cent of the cultivated land. Manioc was the second crop in area in all municípios where tobacco was first except tiny São Félix. In the Northwestern Recôncavo, when corn was the first crop, beans or tobacco occupied the second position.

The pattern of the succeeding ranks shows the effect of specialization in cultivation: in five municípios of the Recôncavo and six municípios in the adjoining areas, the first two crops occupied 90 per cent or more of the cropland. Only nine Recôncavo and three adjoining municípios had a sixth ranking crop which occupied as much as 1 per cent of the total cultivated area, and in no município did the sixth crop occupy more than 4 per cent of the total cropland. The patterns of crops occupying third, fourth, fifth, and sixth ranks in area are shown on Maps 67, 68, 69, and 70.

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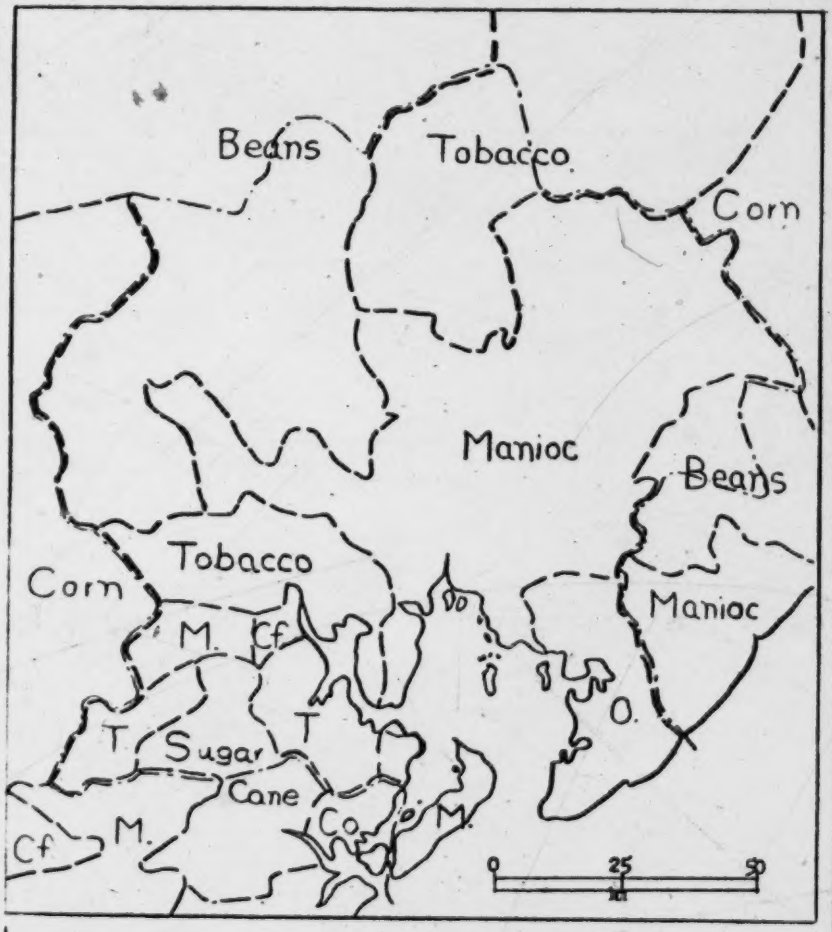

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Crops Ranking Second in Area of Cultivation in 1948

M - Manioc
T - Tobacco
Co- Coconuts
Cf- Coffee
O - Oranges

MAP 66

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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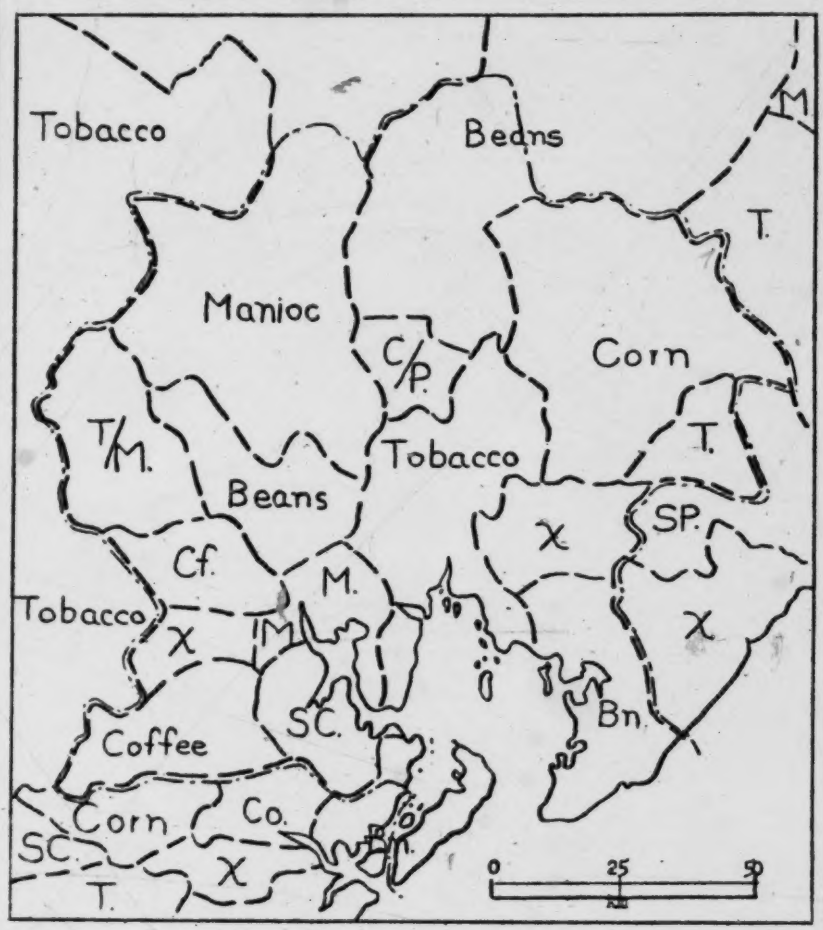

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Crops Ranking Third in Area of Cultivation in 1948

M - Manioc	SP- Sweet Potatoes
T - Tobacco	C - Corn
Co- Coconuts	A/B-Two crops with same rank
Cf- Coffee	x - No crop of this rank
SC- Sugar Cane	with over 1 % of cropland

MAP 67

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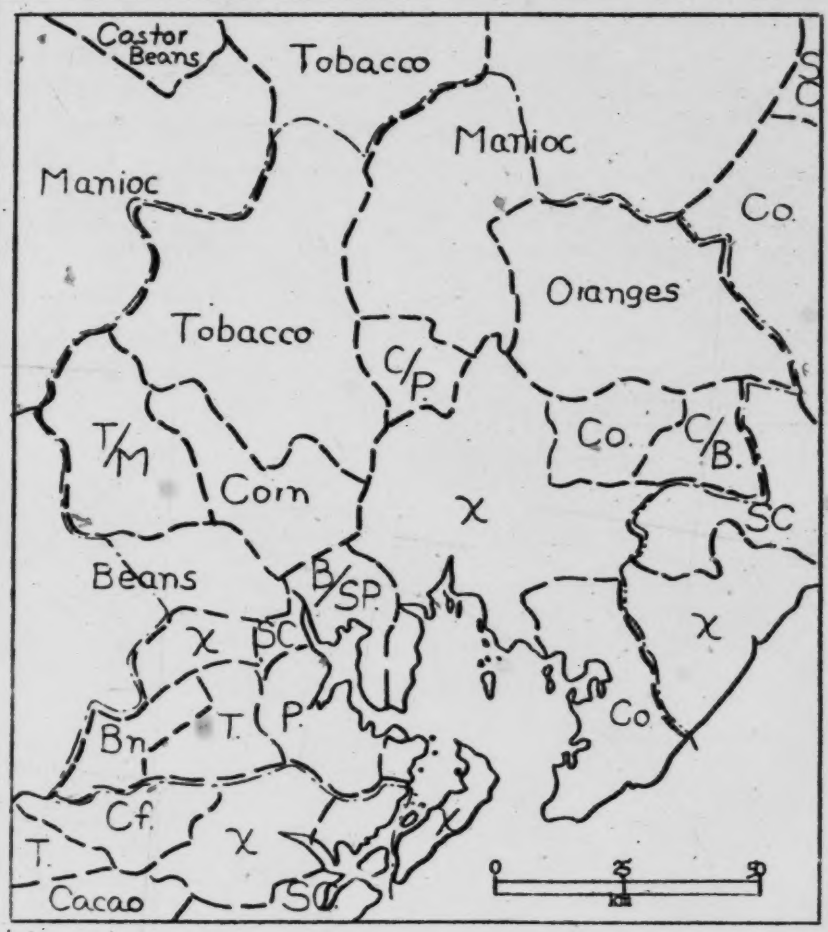

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Crops Ranking Fourth in Area of Cultivation in 1948

M - Manioc	SC- Sugar Cane	Bn- Bananas
T - Tobacco	C - Corn	SP- Sweet Potatoes
Co- Coconuts	B - Beans	A/B-Two crops with same rank
Cf- Coffee	P - Peanuts	x - No crop of this rank with over 1 o/o of cropland

MAP 68

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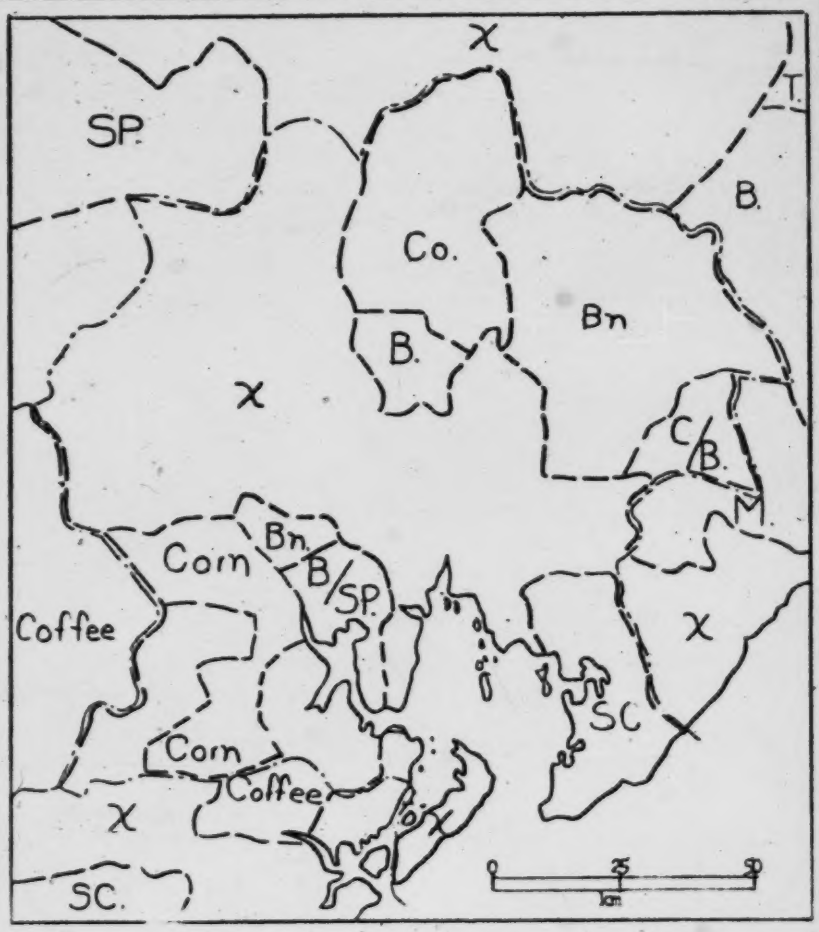

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Crops Ranking Fifth in Area of Cultivation in 1948

M - Manioc	C - Corn	A/B-Two crops with same area
T - Tobacco	B - Beans	x -No crop of this rank with over 1 % of cropland
Co- Cocoanuts	Bn- Bananas	
SC- Sugar Cane	SP- Sweet Potatoes	

MAP 69

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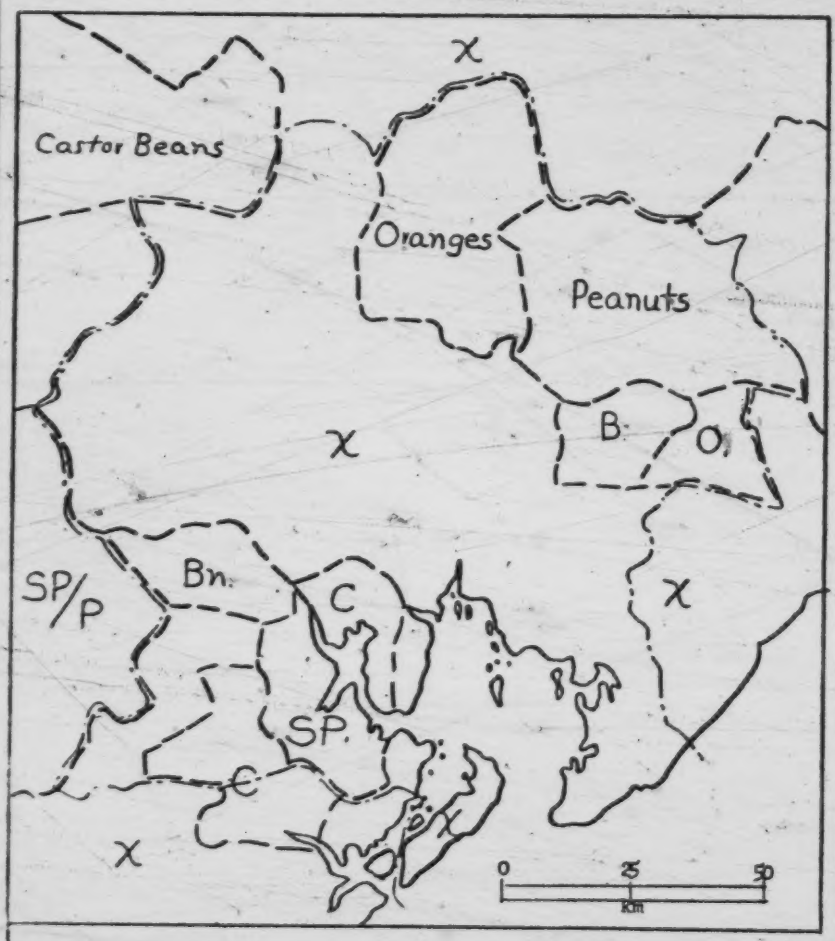

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Crops Ranking Sixth in Area of Cultivation in 1948

C - Corn
B - Beans
P - Peanuts
Bn- Bananas
SP- Sweet Potatoes
A/B-Two crops with same area
x - No crop of this rank with over 1 o/o of cropland

MAP 70

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 311 In many municípios on the north, west, and southwest of the Recôncavo, where corn and beans were the first and second crops, manioc and tobacco were third and fourth or vice versa. On the other hand, sugar cane was rarely a significant crop in any município where either corn, beans, tobacco, or manioc occupied a leading position.

128 241 311 Crop Combinations and Monocultures. The crop combinations shown on Map 71 and Map 72 exist on two levels, as statistical combinations of the crops of various municípios and as functional associations of crops grown in an interdependent system.

241 311 The statistical crop combinations of the Central Recôncavo do not correspond to functional systems of cultivation, for although sugar cane, manioc, and tobacco are produced within individual municípios, the cultivation of sugar cane is entirely separate. The manioc and sugar cane of São Filipe and the tobacco and coffee of São Félix are also cultivated separately. The statistical combinations, therefore, merely summarize the economic specialization and diversification of the município economies. The tobacco-manioc and the corn-bean combinations of most municípios of the perimeter of the Recôncavo, from Alagoinhas on the northeast to Conceição do Almeida on the southwest, signify functional as well as statistical relationships. On the other hand, monocultural systems dominate within the Central Recôncavo and in a few other places. The areas in which the individual functional combinations and monocultures predominate are delimited as nodal crop regions on Map 73. The arrows on the map (Map 73) indicate the intermeshing of crop regions in the transitional zones.

249 244 311 The most extensive of the crop regions belongs to tobacco and manioc. In this region, which extends from the Southwestern Recôncavo in a long arc to the Eastern Recôncavo, at least 70 per cent and usually

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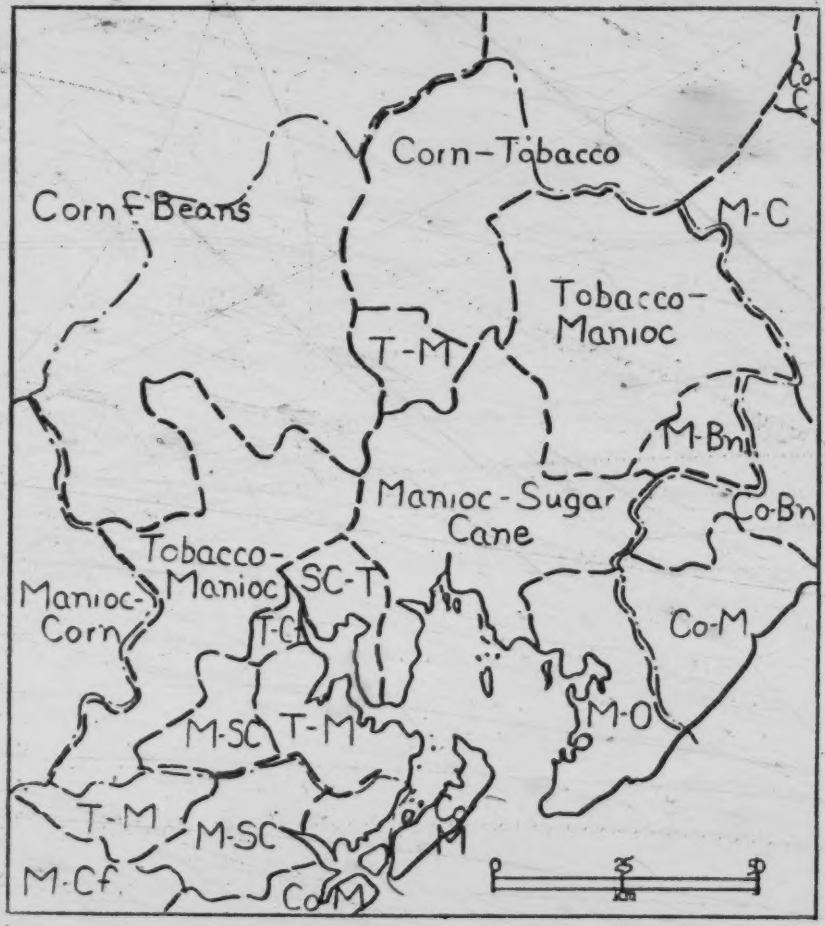

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Crops Ranking First and Second in Area of Cultivation in 1948

M - Manioc O - Oranges Bn- Bananas
T - Tobacco SC- Sugar Cane
Co- Cocoanuts C - Corn
Cf- Coffee P - Peanuts

MAP 71

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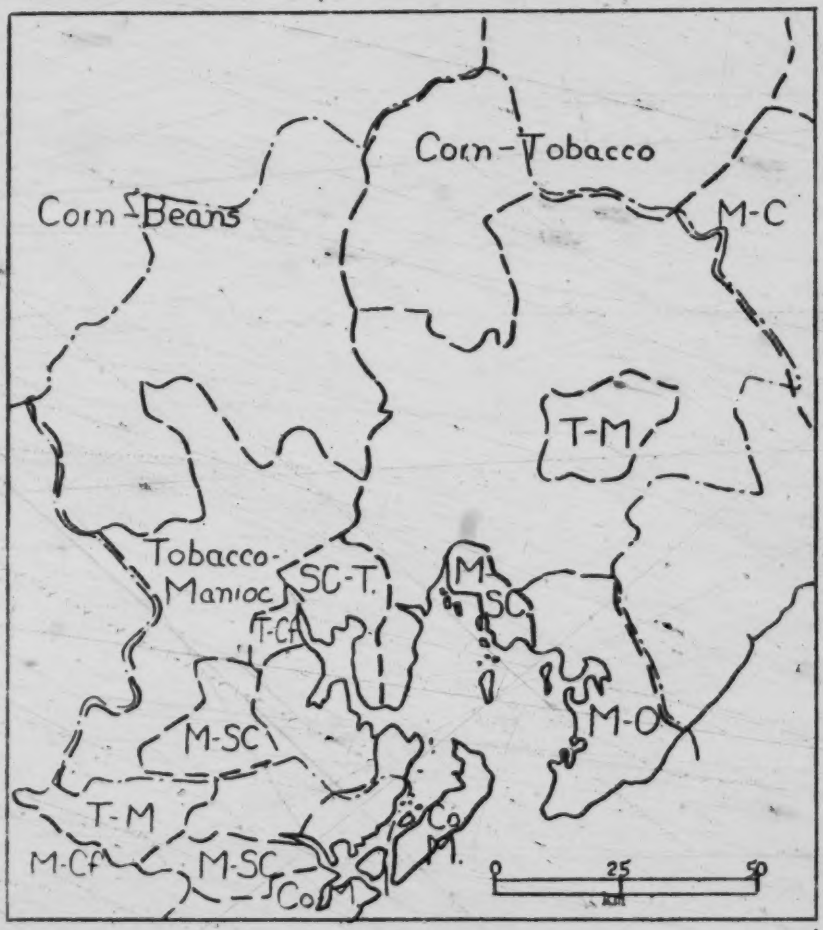

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Crops Ranking First and Second in Area of Cultivation in 1948 Where the Second Crop Occupied Over 20 per cent of the Total Cropland

M - Manioc Cf- Coffee O - Oranges
T - Tobacco SC- Sugar Cane
Co- Coconuts C - Corn

MAP 72

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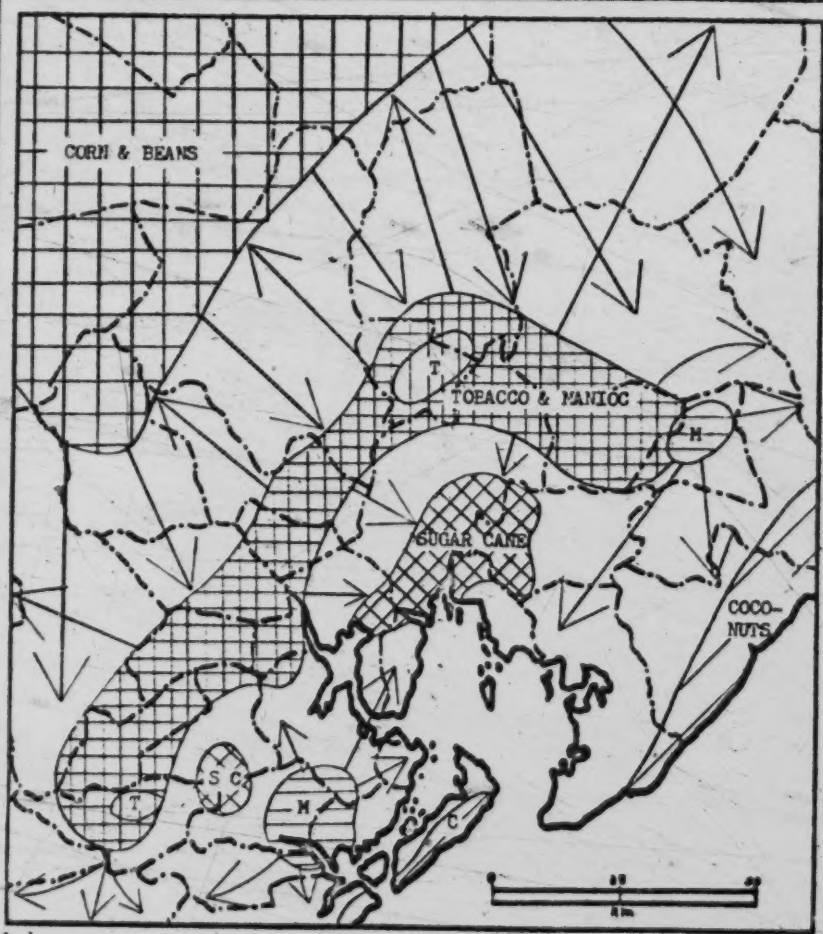

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Crop Regions Based upon Area of Cultivation

T - Tobacco SC - Sugar Cane
M - Manioc C - Coconuts

MAP 73

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 The portion of the sugar cane region north of the Bay is an area
161 of relatively dense rural population, with a large number of villages
361 and plantation settlements and one city--Santo Amaro. The remaining areas of the sugar cane region have only moderately dense rural populations and no major urban centers, although the cidade of Nazaré is very close to the southern border of São Filipe.

[128] The tremendous historical significance of the sugar cane region has been discussed at length in the section on the historical setting of the
249 Recôncavo. As far as the sugar cane zone of Santo Amaro, São Francisco,
178 and São Sebastião is concerned, the extent of the region does not appear to have changed very much since colonial times. Old engenhos are found throughout the zone, indicating past cultivation in all areas now in cane. The present usinas cultivate sugar cane intensively clear across the Cretaceous zone, so that it is not likely that the cane area has contracted. However, there are several abandoned engenhos and settlements on the north and east shores of the estuary of the Paraguaçu which seem to indicate that sugar cane cultivation was formerly more extensive around the Bacia do Iguape.

244 The two intensive crop regions of tobacco and manioc and sugar
249 cane, as outlined above, can be viewed as nodal areas which are basic
311 to the regional distinctiveness of the Recôncavo; they are for all practical purposes included totally within its limits; their crop patterns are not duplicated in any nearby area; and they include within their boundaries a very large part--and the most productive part--of its agricultural area.

241 In distinction to the above intra-Recôncavo regions there are
311 at least three crops which overlap the borders of the Recôncavo, forming crop regions which have their most characteristic development in adjoining areas. The Atlantic coast of Salvador and Itaparica supports

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Between these principal crop regions in which the basic functional groupings or monocultures dominate the cropland, there are transitional zones in which the systems intermingle. Between the corn-bean region and the tobacco-manioc region there is a broad zone in which neither crop system dominates—a zone extending from south-central Castro Alves in a vast arc around the Recôncavo to Entre Rios. Within this zone the distribution of corn and beans and tobacco and manioc is general—there may be local specializations based upon such factors as soils and precipitation, transport and market facilities, availability of fertilizer, etc., but any area of distrito size is likely to cultivate all of the four crops. In the northeastern part of this transition zone, in Alagoinhas and Inhambupe, corn and tobacco dominate in their respective combinations. In northern Castro Alves manioc and corn are very strong.

The inner transition zone between the tobacco-manioc region and sugar cane region is narrower and much less a zone of mutual interpenetration. The edges of the cane areas are almost invariably abrupt—scattered, but only widely scattered, cultivation of manioc and tobacco exists in the zone between São Gonçalo-Conceição da Feira and the cane areas in Cachoeira and Santo Amaro.

In the transition zone east of the cane monoculture—in São Francisco and São Sebastião—the crop situation is more confused. Here the relative amount of cultivation in the mata and the agreste is low, and the fields are concealed in the wild vegetation. Moreover, as the capital is approached, a number of diverse crops for the urban market, especially oranges, become important. There is a good deal of subsistence manioc cultivation in the remote areas—small plots cultivated by charcoal burners, fishermen, and marginal people of the urban fringes.

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241 311 Southwest of the estuary of the Rio Paraguaçu, in Maragogipe and São Filipe, the crop pattern becomes very complex, as is shown by the relative distribution of cropland in São Filipe:

Manioc	33	per cent
Sugar cane	28	" "
Coffee	25	" "
Tobacco	11	" "
Peanuts	1	" "
Corn	1	" "

Plus small areas of beans, oranges, bananas, sweet potatoes, and coconut.

174 245 249 311 It is very likely that there has been a historical connection between the coffee culture of São Filipe and the main coffee zone far to the southwest. Apparently the development of tobacco cultivation in Santo Antônio has severed this connection.

249 244 221 Cultivation Systems--Tobacco and Manioc. The "ideal" system of cultivation of tobacco and manioc[1] in the tobacco-manioc region has the following general pattern:

(1) In mid-February a small tract, very commonly with an area of one tarefa[2] but sometimes larger, is cleared in the capoéira de caatinga (second-growth scrub-forest) or the capoéira de mata (second-growth littoral forest). Generally the capoéira is low brush, two to five [412] feet tall, which is easily cut with a facão--a long heavy knife which is a universal agricultural tool. Any heavy waste material that can be moved is dragged away from the plot; if there are tree stumps, they will not be grubbed out.[3] Sometimes the waste material on the surface of the field is burned, but this is by no means universal.

(2) A favored spot, either within the cleared field or in the adjoining capoéira, is prepared for a seed bed. Usually a site on the edge of a wood or near a steep slope is selected. Any available waste materials--corn stalks, old tobacco plants, weeds, brush, pieces of wood, and the like--are piled on the small plot, allowed to dry, and then burned.

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249 [276] removed by drying or by fermentation, and the leaves are very bitter.

(6) There is a constant but generally ineffective struggle [136] against insects which damage the tobacco crop. The most serious pest is the ant, which not only cuts the leaves but which also covers whole plants with extensive mounds. A number of plant diseases are common in the Recôncavo--their general effect is to reduce quality rather than to destroy the crop. The effects of plant diseases generally are masked by the much greater damage which occurs in cultivation and processing.

241 (7) The practices of land clearing, soil preparation, planting, harvesting, and curing, discussed above, are more highly standardized than is the sequence of land use. The "ideal" land use sequence is more characteristic of the zone of tobacco and manioc south of the Rio Paraguaçu--the Southwestern Recôncavo--than north of it. This land use sequence has been used as a standard of comparison because it is practiced where the highest quality of tobacco is grown and because it was the most commonly observed practice in most other parts of the tobacco-manioc region. However, even in this southwestern area, departures from the "ideal" sequence are relatively common--the introduction of corn and/or beans between tobacco and manioc is especially important. The sequence which is followed after tobacco cultivation depends not only upon the relative price of farinha de mandioca, corn, and beans, but also on the amount of fertilizer applied to the tobacco plot the previous year. Moreover, the chosen sequence will depend upon the original quality of the soil. In Cruz das Almas, at least, corn and beans were not planted in the old tobacco field unless the cultivator felt assured that the fertility was reasonably certain. If substantial risks were involved, manioc was planted.[6]

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241 311 North of the Paraguaçu, modification of the "ideal" system is more frequent, especially in municípios where the area in cultivation is relatively small. In Coração de Maria, for example, only 4 per cent of the area was cultivated in 1948. Here it is possible to open more "new" land upon which tall capoéira has developed. Since this município is remote--but more in terms of road transport than in actual distance--there is greater need to produce a high-value, low-bulk crop, such as tobacco, and less possibility for the commercial production of manioc. Many fields of tobacco are allowed to revert directly into capoéira. Since the land is more thoroughly fallowed and since there are fewer cattle and thus less manure, fertilization is generally less extensive in this area. A similarly modified pattern of cultivation is found in Catu and in the more remote parts of São Gonçalo.

In Santo Antônio, where the intensity of agriculture is increasing, but where the cultivated area is still relatively small, much "new" land can be used. In this município the area in tobacco is [249] large in relation to manioc, and thus some tobacco fields obviously revert directly to brush.

249 244 There seems to be no definite land rotation period in the tobacco-manioc region. Rather the period is controlled by the availability of land. In 1948, the município of Cruz das Almas, one of the most intensively cultivated areas of the tobacco-manioc region, had one half of its total surface in cultivation according to the official data. Approximately one-quarter of the total area was in each of the two crops. Under these circumstances, no more than two years of fallow can have intervened between the harvesting of manioc and the planting of tobacco. However, not all of the município can be cultivated, and certainly no more than three-fourths of the total area can be used for tobacco. It follows that in many cases no more than

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

245 [311] Most coconuts are grown on moderate-sized plantations along the beaches, in sands, or occasionally in sandy loams. North of Salvador they are grown on dunes and beaches and, back from the sea, in sandy stream valleys where the supply of ground water is generous. There seems to be little selection in choosing coconuts for reproduction. Usually the nuts are planted eight meters or so apart, with a pile of organic trash over and around the nut to provide some additional fertility and to hold the moisture necessary for germination. The sprout must be protected from foraging animals, but once growth is well started, the tree receives little attention and no fertilization.

[433] Yields are moderate to low, from 15 to 40 per tree. Apparently the yields per tree are substantially higher (double) in the Bay area--Itaparica and Caraçari--than in the area farther north--Mata de São João and Esplanada. In the Bay area the nuts are usually sold in the markets [443] of Salvador without processing.

241 178 Conclusion. The basic determinant of cultivation practices in the Recôncavo is custom. This is probably less true of the cultivation of sugar than of other crops, but the weight of tradition is heavy upon all agricultural enterprises. It may be said that many relatively [454] primitive agricultural practices survive because of ignorance of newer techniques and because of a lack of capital for investment in new tools, in machinery, in better seed, and in permanent land improvement. The importance of these factors in limiting change in Recôncavo agriculture, particularly as general factors operating indirectly upon individual cultivators and individual farms is not to be denied.

However, when the individual cultivator--sugar planter or tobacco share-cropper--is given an opportunity, in the form of new techniques and the necessary capital, to change and improve his operations and

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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increase his production and he rejects these opportunities, it is clear that strong non-economic forces are operating directly upon the individual. These forces are the rigid agricultural and social traditions of the Recôncavo society, which are given particular rigidity by the explicit conservatism of the Recôncavo. These traditions are given particular force by the strongly personal character of social and economic relationships in the Recôncavo. The relationship of the share-cropper with the landlord, of the buyer of tobacco with the seller, of the cane field worker with the foreman or usina manager, of the cidade store keeper or agent with the banker or dealer in the capital, are all strongly personal and generally of long standing. Under these circumstances any adventurism by one individual will bring him, if he is in a subordinate position, under the pressure of the traditional bias of those above. If he is in a superior position, any adventurism on his part will bring him not only the criticism of all his colleagues but the personally expressed resistance of his dependents. To the present at least, the vested interest of Recôncavo culture in the fixity of its agricultural systems has successfully resisted major change.

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The system of monocultural agriculture, represented in the Recôncavo by sugar cane cultivation, is a traditional element in Brazilian agriculture. Not only sugar cane, but also cacao, coffee, and many other commercial crops are grown in Brazil as monocultures. Specifically, sugar cane monocultures are found in Pernambuco and the other states of the Northeast, in Rio de Janeiro, in Minas Gerais, and in São Paulo.

However, in Brazil as in the Recôncavo, monoculture is being superseded by diversified cultivation. "Too much has . . . been made of the misleading statement that Brazil is a 'one-crop' country," Wythe has said.[7] In the center and south of the country, growing

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11 •
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24) urban populations have led to diversification of agriculture. In the Recôncavo the trend toward diversification is still rudimentary; there are rarely more than two important crops cultivated in any one area. The specific extent to which the corn-bean and tobacco-manioc systems of the Recôncavo are found in other parts of Brazil is not clear. Corn and beans are grown in almost all parts of Brazil, but the extent of the system of joint cultivation is not apparent. During travels across the sertão of Bahia and across Alagoas, both separate and joint cultivation were frequently observed. In the northeastern interior, tobacco grown for fumo em corda is frequently succeeded in the field by manioc, but the tobacco and manioc system of the Recôncavo apparently is not duplicated in any other area of Brazil. In Rio Grande do Sul tobacco apparently is produced as a monoculture in a very restricted area. However, the practice of land rotation, involving crops other than the tobacco and manioc of the Recôncavo, is the most widespread of the Brazilian systems of cultivation.

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438 Feira de Santana. From "Feira" the livestock are distributed to the Recôncavo to be used as beasts of burden, as food, or for both.

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231 The livestock population of the Recôncavo, as well as the livestock market, is centralized within the município of Feira de Santana.
[433] In part this concentration reflects the relatively great demand for beef in Salvador, so that at any one time the number of livestock passing through Feira de Santana must be great. The same concentration is evident for work animals. This suggests that the mortality of work animals in the Recôncavo must be very high. There is no data to substantiate this hypothesis, but the emaciated appearance, poor diet, and calloused treatment of beasts of burden in the Recôncavo suggest that it is highly probable.

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433 The concentrations of livestock in the sugar cane and tobacco-manioc regions contribute significantly to the general agricultural importance of these areas. The differences in the character of the livestock populations reflect in a large measure the different requirements of the crop cultivation systems of the two regions.

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241 The interdependence of the livestock-producing sertão and the areas of cultivation, signalized by the cattle fairs, is a characteristic feature of Brazilian agricultural life. The interior, from Ceará to Rio Grande do Sul, is a reservoir from which are drawn the cattle and the work animals for the main centers of crop cultivation and for the cities.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

CHAPTER VIII

AGRICULTURAL PROPERTIES

241 231 423 311 The agricultural properties of the Recôncavo are diverse in functional type, tenure, and size. In most municípios there are to be found three basic production types: crop cultivation units, mixed crop cultivation and livestock producing units, and ranches. The properties of any local area may be owner or administrator operated, rented, or, in some areas, occupied informally by "squatters." In distinction to most agricultural areas of the United States, the Recôncavo has a very large number of extremely small agricultural properties, frequently with less than 2 hectares. There are also a number of large properties with more than 10,000 hectares; and in many areas large and small properties are closely intermixed.

241 423 184 Despite the widespread diversity of agricultural properties, there are distinct regional patterns which are based upon the predominance of certain types and sizes of properties and upon characteristic modes of possession. The regional patterns of agricultural properties correspond in a general manner to the crop regions delineated in the previous discussion.

241 423 [127] The basic source of information about the agricultural properties of the Recôncavo is the 1940 economic census.[1] No more recent source is as yet available to replace or to verify or correct these fifteen year old data. However, generalizations based upon these data were substantiated in most cases by the field investigations undertaken for the present study. It is apparent that in so traditional a region as the [178] Recôncavo, the institutional characteristics of agriculture, property types included, change very slowly.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 423 127 311 Of the 12,500 square kilometers of the Recôncavo, only about 800,000 hectares were enumerated in the agricultural section of the 1940 economic census--71 per cent of the total land area. In the various municípios of the region, the enumerated area varied from 39 per cent of the land surface in Alagoinhas to 110 per cent in Itaparica (Map 87). In a few cases, such as Itaparica, the area given in the agricultural section of the census exceeded the official total area of the município.[2] Where the political boundaries were not delimited precisely, properties may have been credited to the wrong município. More probably, however, these situations result from the over-estimation of the areas of individual properties--precise surveys of agricultural properties are virtually unknown.

There was a general correspondence between the intensity of land use (Map 2) and the relative area included in the 1940 agricultural census. This latter area will be referred to as "enumerated area" in the following discussion. Those lands not included in the agricultural census were urban areas, public domain, or in a few cases, private land held for speculation. However, not all of the unenumerated land was unused from the agricultural point of view, for in some of the less densely settled areas "squatters" are quite common.

241 231 423 311 Production Types of Agricultural Enterprises. In the 1940 census the agricultural properties of Brazil were divided into six classes, based in part upon the type of production and in part upon the scale of operation. The three main functional types were agricultura (crop cultivation), agro-pecuária (crop cultivation with livestock production), and pecuária (livestock production). In this context it is important to note that while agro-pecuária may include mixed agriculture--in the sense of functionally interdependent crop and livestock production

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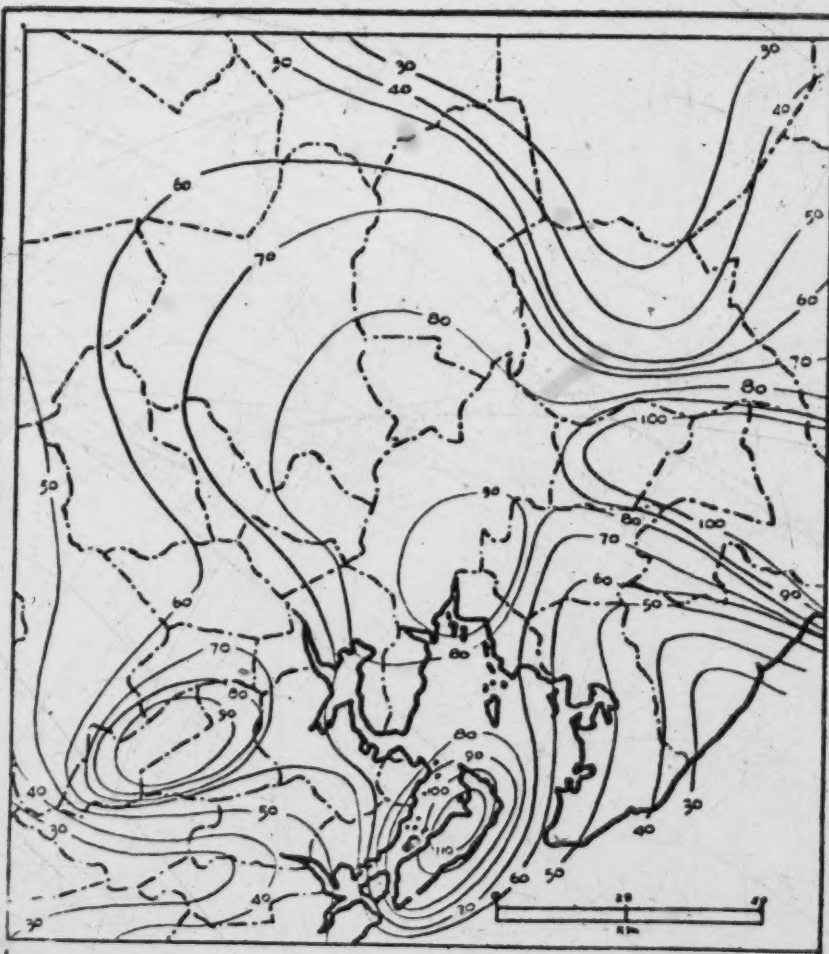

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Land Area Enumerated

in the 1940 Agricultural Census

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 87

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 231 423 311 within the individual agricultural unit--properties classifed within the group may have merely co-existing crop and animal production. In the Recôncavo, cultivation and animal husbandry are carried on separately within the individual properties, except (1) where labor animals are involved, or (2) where manure for tobacco cultivation is produced on a tobacco-growing farm. Each of the three main production types was classified as either a large-scale or a small-scale unit, on the basis of the amount of cropland, the number of animals, or both.[3] The distribution of the 27,513 agricultural properties and the 837,699 hectares of emmerated land of the Recôncavo among the various production and scale-of-operation classes is shown on the accompanying table (Table XIV).

Most of the agricultural properties of the Recôncavo were small-scale units which were engaged solely in crop cultivation or which produced both crops and livestock. Ninety-nine per cent of all properties, encompassing 58 per cent of the farmland, were small-scale units. The number of cultivation and of mixed cultivation-livestock units was approximately the same; the mixed units were, on the average, more than twice as large as the exclusively crop producing units. Although the number of purely livestock producing units--ranches--was small, the total area which they encompassed was relatively large, and the mean size of individual units was over 450 hectares. Even more notable is the fact that less than 250 large-scale livestock units, about 1 per cent of the total number of units, held 13 per cent of the land in agricultural properties.

231 233 Livestock Units. Agricultural enterprises whose activities were confined exclusively to livestock production were found in every município of the Recôncavo and in every adjoining município in 1940. In most areas, however, the number of such livestock units was very

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 294]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

TABLE XIV

AGRICULTURAL PROPERTIES OF THE RECÔNCAVO--CLASSIFIED BY TYPE AND SCALE OF OPERATION--1940

	Crop Cultivation Only	Crop Cultivation and Livestock Production	Livestock Production Only	All Types
	Number and Area of Properties			
All Properties:				
Number	13,221	13,587	705	27,513
Area*	212,545 ha.	493,210 ha.	131,944 ha.	837,699 ha.
Mean Size	16 ha.	36 ha.	187 ha.	30 ha.
Small-Scale Properties:				
Number	13,144	13,558	458	27,160
Area	167,406 ha.	298,408 ha.	26,932 ha.	483,746 ha.
Mean Size	13 ha.	21 ha.	59 ha.	18 ha.
Large-Scale Properties:				
Number	77 ha.	29 ha.	247 ha.	353 ha.
Area	28,703 ha.	12,649 ha.	107,199 ha.	148,551 ha.
Mean Size	373 ha.	436 ha.	434 ha.	421 ha.
	As Per cent of the Number and Area of all Properties			
All Properties:				
Number	48	49	3	100
Area	25	59	16	100
Small-Scale Properties:				
Number	48	49	2	99
Area	20	35	3	58
Large-Scale Properties:				
Number	-	-	1	1
Area	3	1	13	18

*Because the census does not give data on the size of some units in order to preserve the anonymity of the information, the totals do not precisely equal the sums of the various components.

Source: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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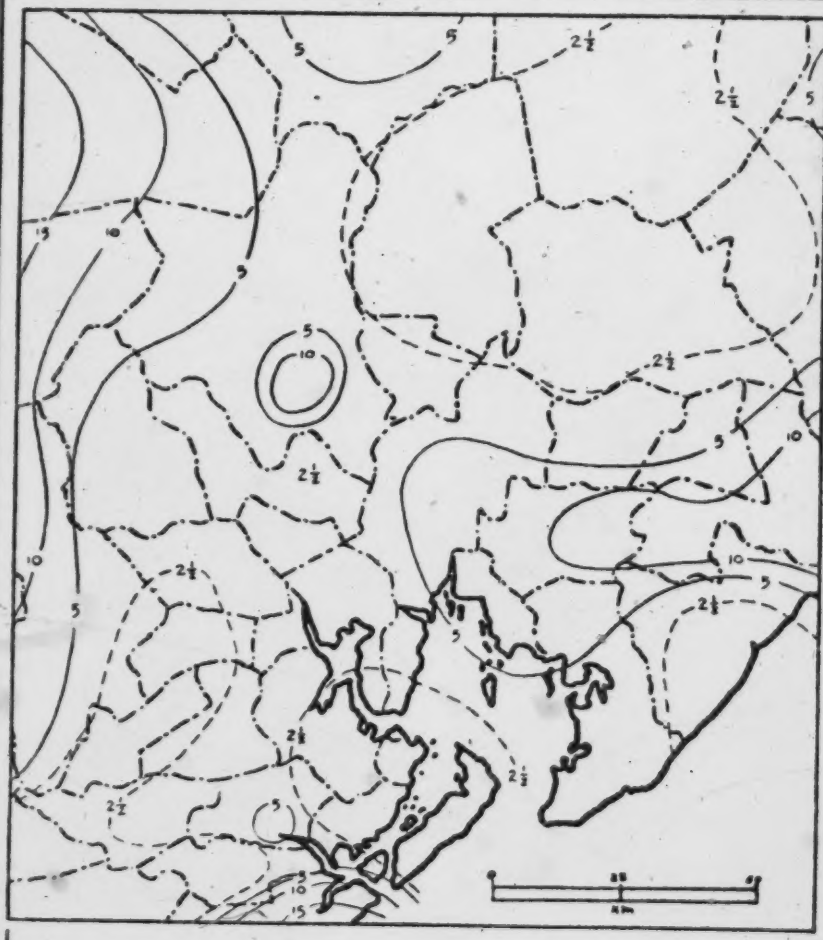

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of All Agricultural Enterprises Which Were

Livestock Enterprises--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 88

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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233 and locomotives of the cane area, but, as has been pointed out previously,
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[313] they have supplementary livestock production.[4]
[249]

Of the 247 large-scale livestock units in the Recôncavo, 65, with
231 a total area of almost 30,000 hectares, were in the *município* of Feira de
233
311 Santana (Maps 92 and 93). Another 39, with about 16,000 hectares of
433 land, were in the Central Recôncavo. Each of these two areas has a distinctive character: the Central Recôncavo *fazendas de gado*--cattle ranches--supply oxen and horses, asses, and mules to the sugar economy; the large *fazendas* of Feira de Santana, with extensive grassy pastures, serve the *campo de gado*--cattle market--of the *cidade* and thereby the whole economy of the Recôncavo.

231 *Crop Cultivation Units.* Almost one-half of all farms in the
241 Recôncavo produced no animals in 1940. In the marginal areas of the
311
184 region, excepting always the southwest, less than one-third of the farms were pure crop cultivation units (Map 94). On the other hand, crop farms were particularly numerous on the southern littoral, where the forests are not salutary to livestock--except swine and fighting cocks. The Northern Recôncavo, where ranching is not an important activity, had a relatively large number of crop cultivation units, as had Salvador and the adjoining coastal *município*, Camassari.

241 Relative to both the enumerated and the total area, the purely
311 crop cultivation units were very important in Itaparica and Santo Amaro and unimportant around the border zone of the Recôncavo (Maps 95 and 96). On Itaparica and in the sugar cane region, crop cultivation units occupied over one-half the total land area--over 85 per cent on the island of Itaparica. The size of crop cultivation properties in the Recôncavo was generally small, but there were very great local differences
000 (Map 97). The tobacco-manioc region, especially in the Southwestern

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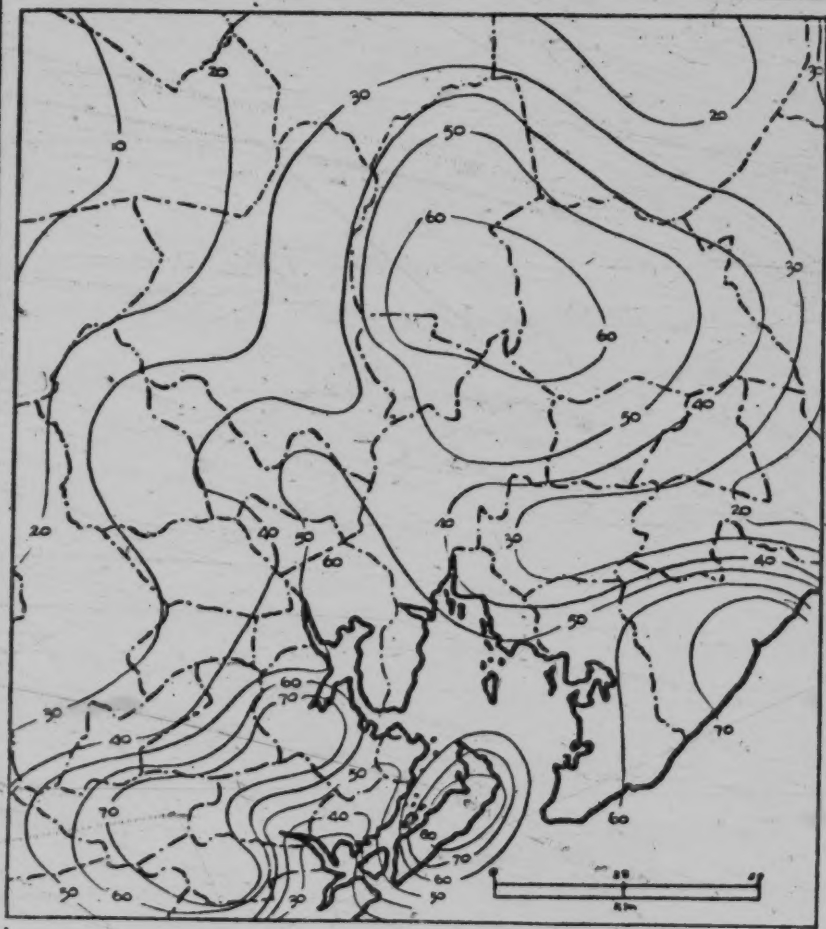

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of All Agricultural Enterprises Which Were

Crop Cultivation Enterprises--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 94

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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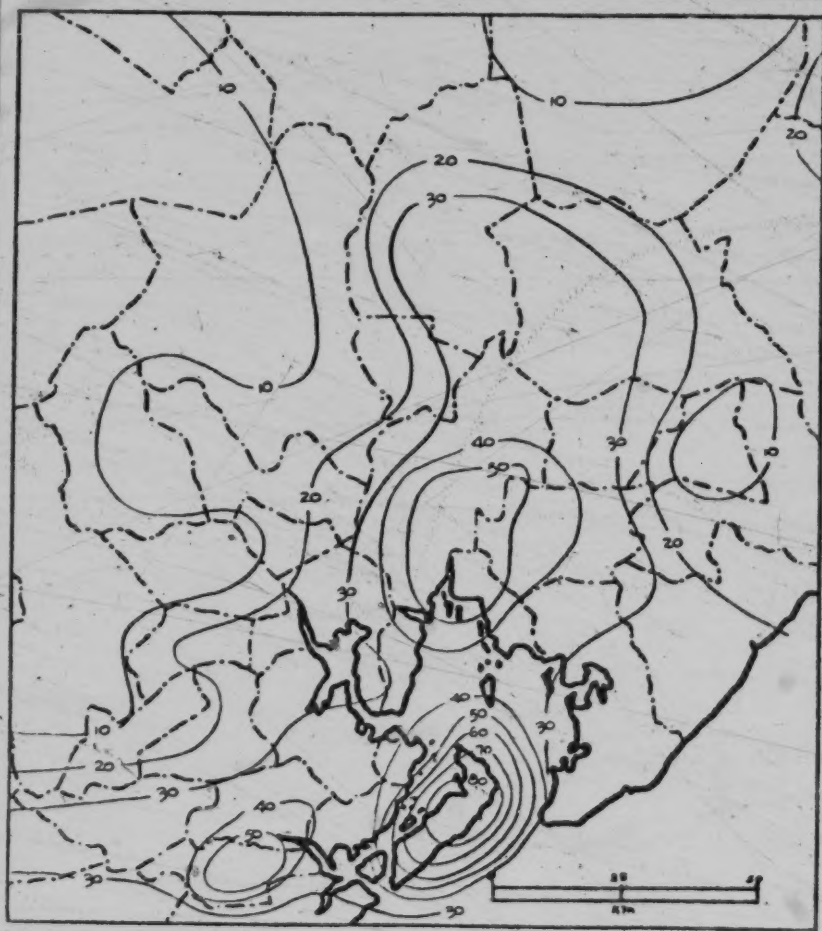

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumerated Area in

Crop Cultivation Enterprises--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 95

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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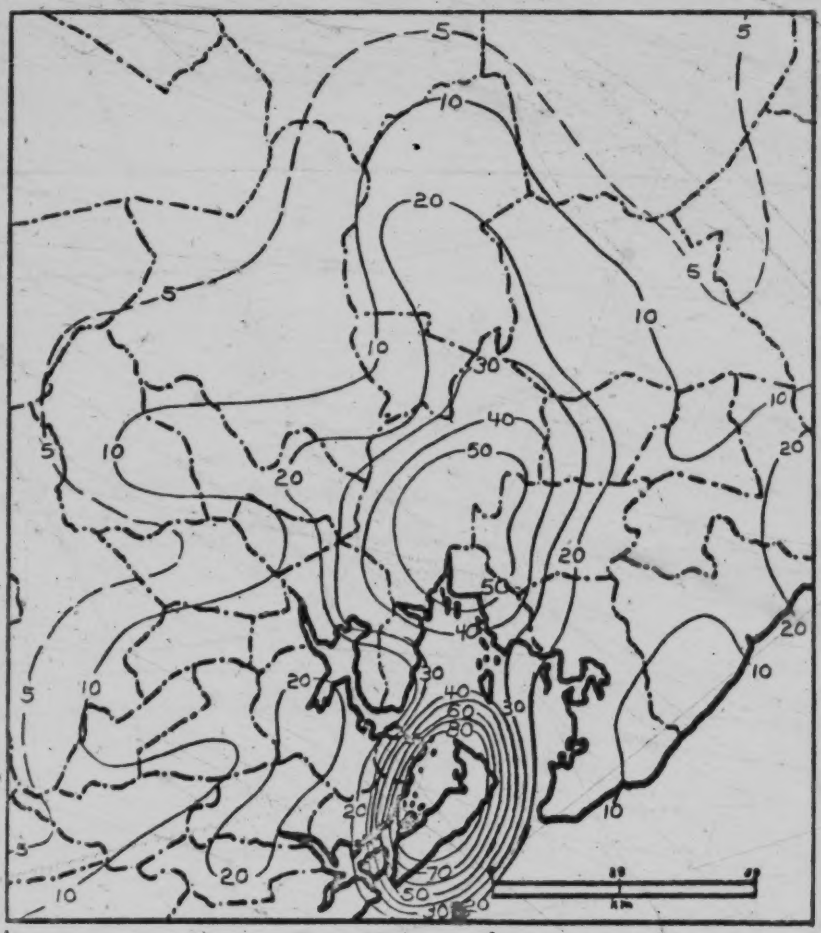

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Land Area in

Crop Cultivation Enterprises--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 96

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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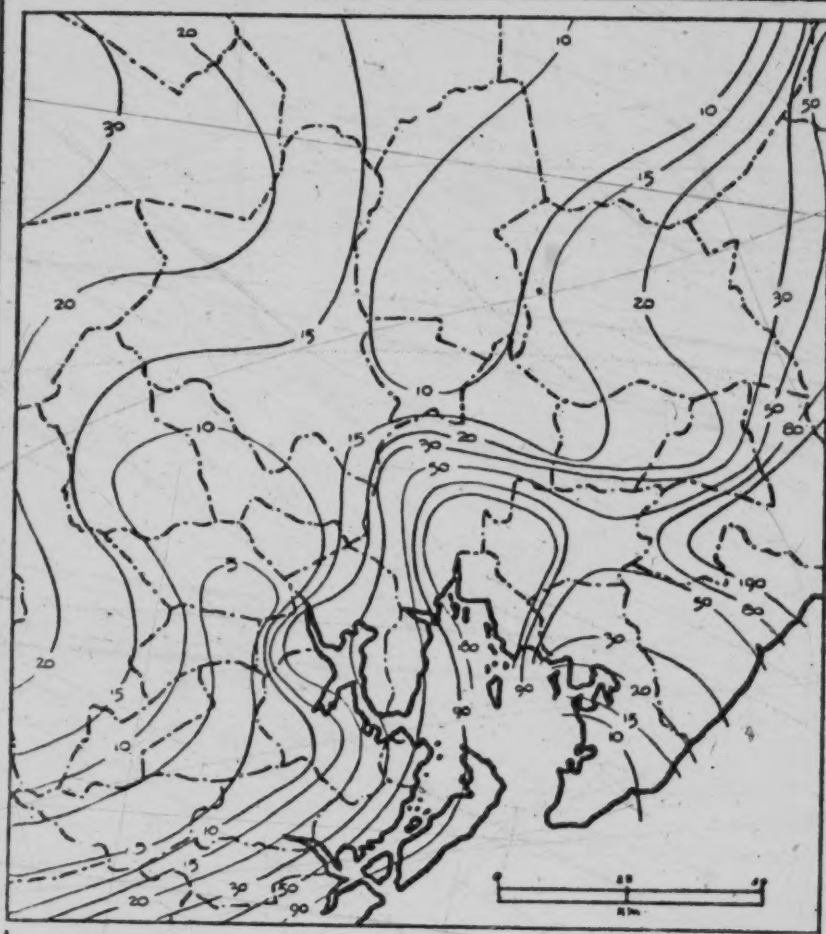

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Mean Size of Crop Cultivation Enterprises—1940

In Hectares

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 97

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 The tobacco-manioc region, especially in the Southwestern
244 Recôncavo, was a zone of very small properties--in Cruz das Almas and
311
423 Coração de Maria the mean size of crop cultivation units was 9 hectares, while in São Filipe it was only 5 hectares. This zone of small crop cultivation units is part of a belt, parallel to but well back from the coast, which originates in the serras of the coffee zone, crosses the Recôncavo along the caatinga-mata transition, and follows the caatinga-agreste boundary northward along the eastern edge of the Tertiary taboleiros. The small-property belt thus lies between the littoral, with its large plantations of sugar cane and its ranches, and the dry sertão, with its extensive livestock economy.

241 The Central Recôncavo was a zone of large crop cultivation proper-
249 ties, primarily sugar cane plantations. Although there are a large
311
423 number of livestock in the sugar cane region, the plantations use, rather than produce, animals and were thus classified as crop cultivation units. The plantations of the sugar cane area are very diverse as regards size, and many of the individual properties are now operated collectively by large usinas. Nevertheless, there are still a number of small properties, producing cane which is sold to the large mills.

241 Mixed Crop Cultivation-Livestock Producing Units. A little over
231
233 one-half of all the farms in the Recôncavo produced livestock as well
311 as crops. These units occupied almost 60 per cent of the total area of all properties. However, the area in which over half the properties were mixed units was limited to a broad perimeter zone which included all the outer municípios of the Eastern, Northwestern, and Southwestern Recôncavo (Map 98). In Itaparica and Santo Amaro, where crop cultivation units were very important, there were relatively few mixed units.

244 The maps of the area in mixed units in relation to enumerated
249
231 area (Map 99) and total area (Map 100) confirm the observation that
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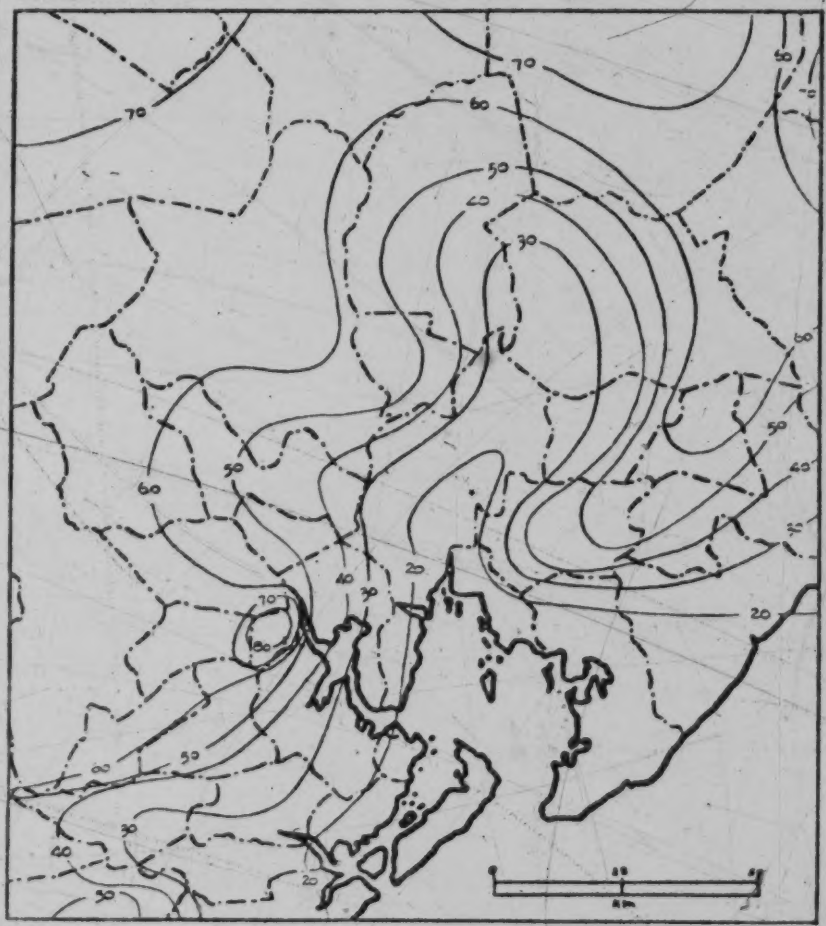

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of All Agricultural Enterprises Which Were

Crop-Livestock Enterprises--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 98

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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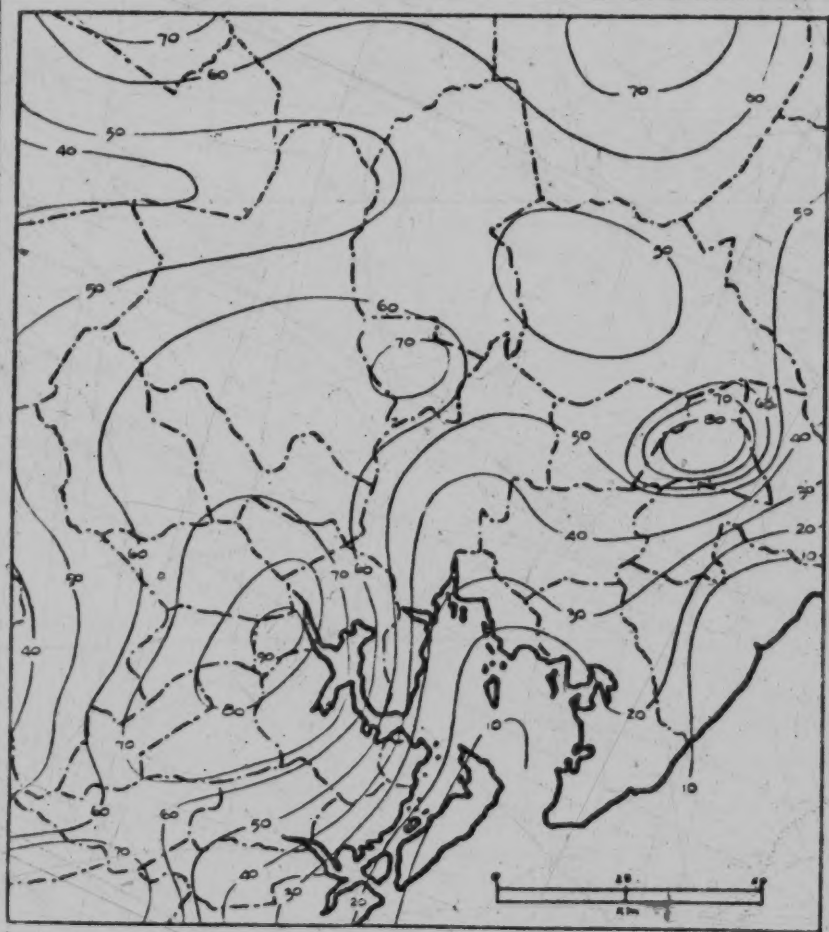

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumerated Area in

Crop-Livestock Enterprises--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 99

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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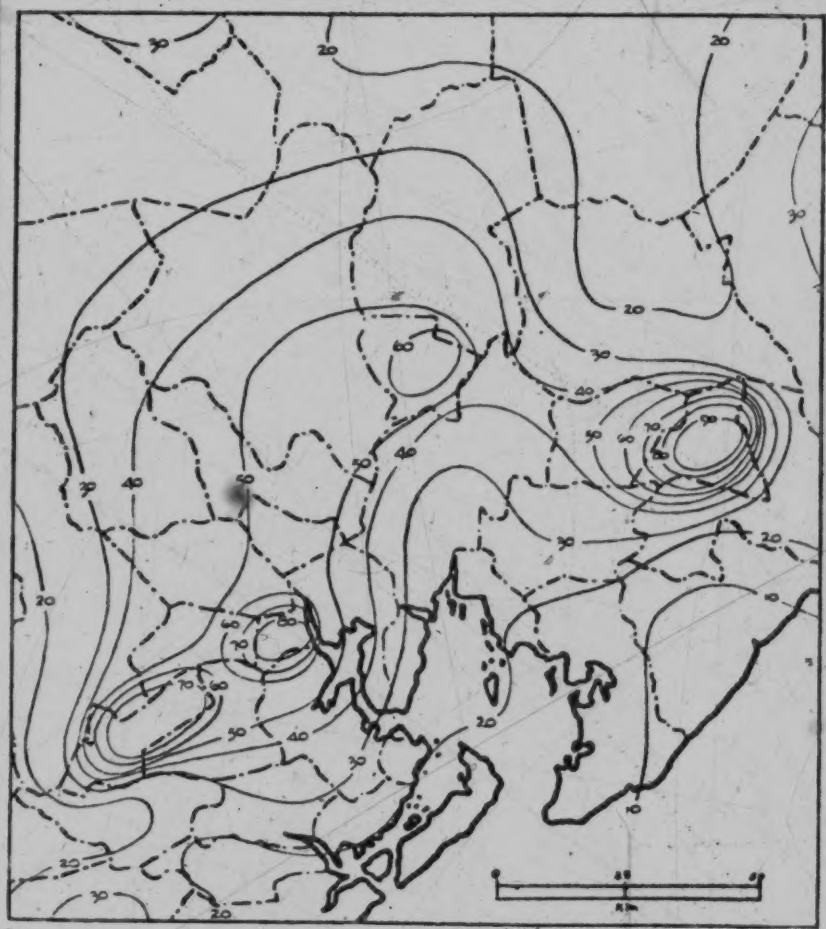

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Land Area in

Crop-Livestock Enterprises--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 100

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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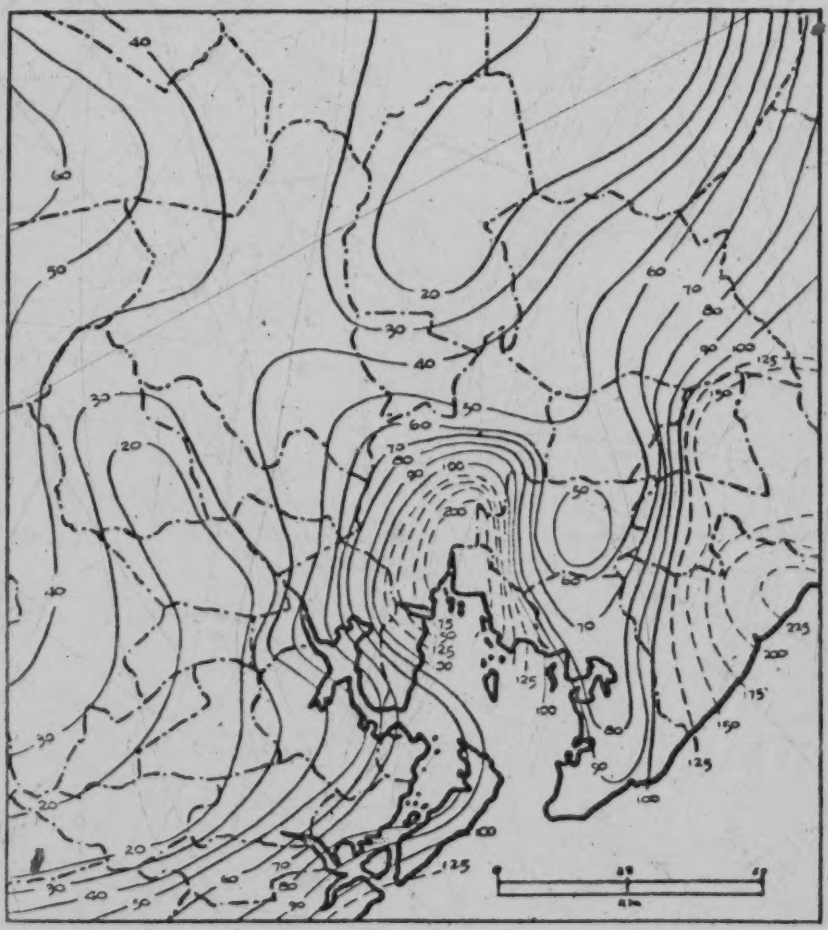

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Mean Size of Crop-Livestock Enterprises—1940

In Hectares

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 101

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

244 the tobacco-manioc region is an area of co-existing crop and livestock
249
231 production. The mean size of mixed units of both the tobacco-manioc
233 region and the western and northern perimeter of the Recôncavo was
[423] small--20 to 40 hectares--but was significantly larger than the mean
[311] size of crop farms in the same areas (Map 101). Like the purely cane-producing plantations, the mixed units of the Central Recôncavo were relatively large.

241 Crop Cultivation and Mixed Crop Cultivation and Livestock Pro-
231 ducing Units Combined. The distribution of the area in crop and crop-
232 livestock units combined, as shown on Maps 102 and 103, reaffirms the
311 regional distinctiveness of the Recôncavo. In almost the entire region over one-half the total area was in these two types of crop-producing properties. None of the adjoining municípios had as much as 50 per cent of their total area in these two types of units, and in all but three, less than one-third the land was in crop or crop-livestock properties.

241 Regional Pattern of Agricultural Properties. The distribution
311 of the three major production units is summarized on Map 104. In each
184 of the two basic regions--crop and crop-livestock--one production
[231] type dominated, in number and in area, over the others. The Central
[233] Recôncavo with the island of Itaparica and, beyond the Recôncavo, the environs of Nazaré composed a region in which most of the agricultural land was in crop cultivation units. North of the Bay, most of these crop cultivation units were sugar cane plantations. On Itaparica there were several kinds of crop cultivation units--coconut plantations, diminutive manioc farms, and across from Salvador, small summer estates with a few cultivated fields. Around Nazaré most of the crop cultivation properties appeared to specialize in the production of manioc.

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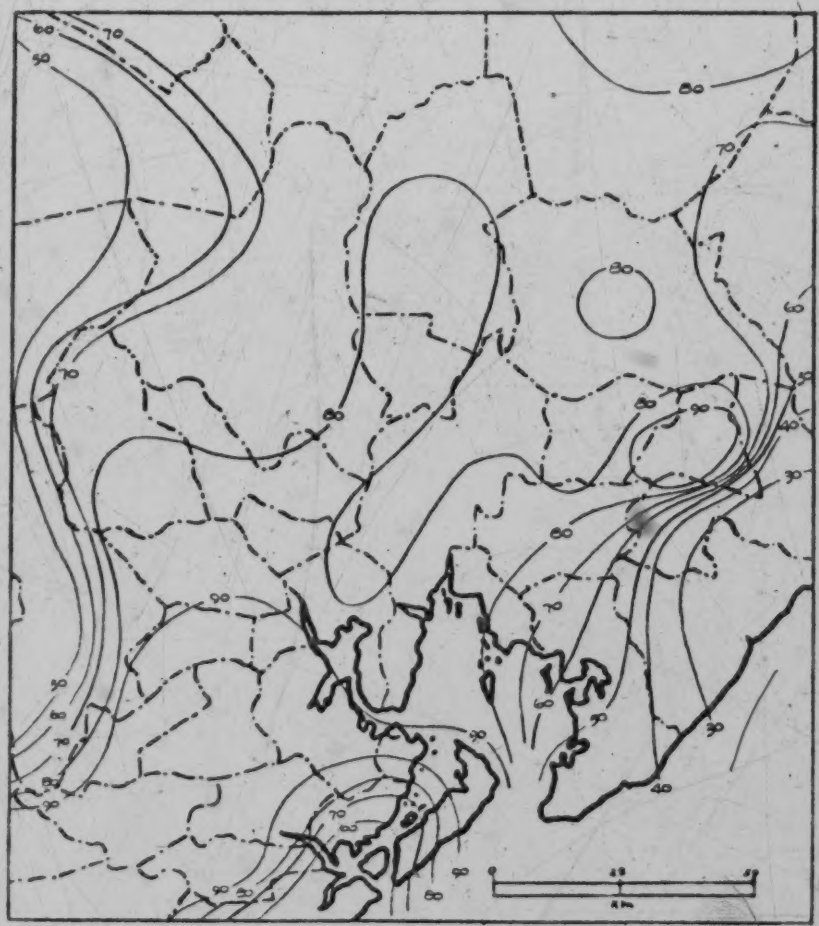

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumerated Area in

Crop Cultivation and Crop-Livestock Enterprises--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia. Vol. II.

MAP 102

:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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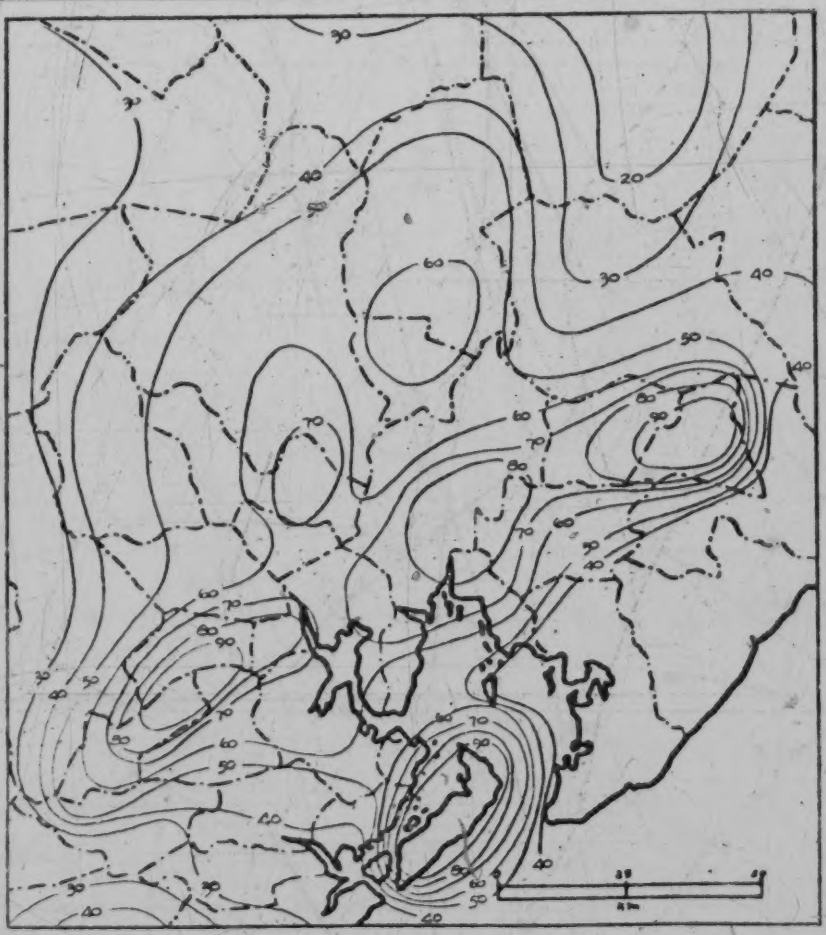

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Land Area in

Crop Cultivation and Crop-Livestock Enterprises--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 103

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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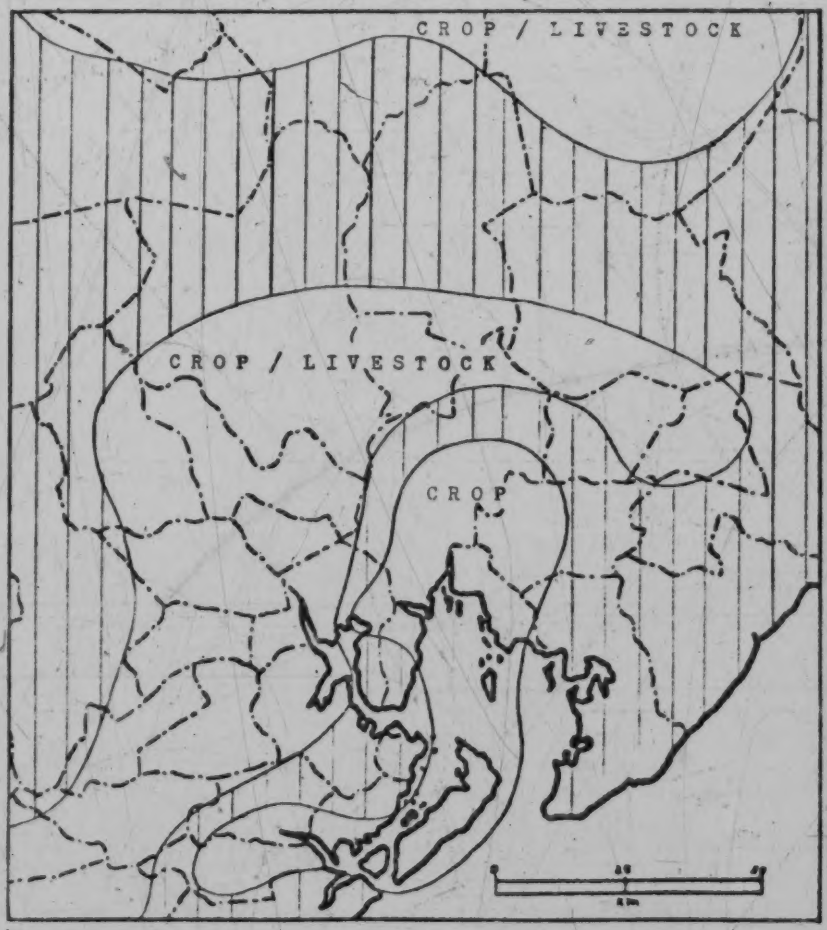

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Regional Pattern of Specialized Agricultural Enterprises

Crop/Livestock - Area in which crop-livestock enterprises predominate
Crop - Area in which crop enterprises predominate

MAP 104

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 231 233 311 Mixed crop and livestock units dominated the agricultural land of an inverted "L shaped" zone which began in the southwest and which, in the Recôncavo, coincided approximately with the tobacco-manioc region. Mixed crop and livestock units also dominated in the drier taboleiros north of the Recôncavo. The intermediate zone between the crop and crop-livestock regions within the Recôncavo was relatively narrow, conforming to the pattern of rapid transition from sugar cane to tobacco and manioc north of the Rio Paraguaçu. The outer transition zone, in which no single property type dominated, included the outer 231 233 margins of the Recôncavo except in the southwest. Purely livestock-producing units did not dominate the agricultural land of any extensive area within or adjoining the Recôncavo.

241 311 423 The regions delimited above on the basis of the relative area in the two types of crop-producing units had additional significance in terms of the distribution of large-scale and small-scale enterprises (Map 105). The mixed-unit region, in which manioc and tobacco are so important, had only limited areas in large properties—usually 5 per cent to 20 per cent of the enumerated area. There were few large properties in the southern part of the crop unit region also, but in the sugar cane area north of the Bay over 40 per cent of the enumerated area was in large properties. These regional patterns of property types conform to the distribution of mean property size (Map 106); the mixed-unit region had mean properties of 10 to 20 hectares in the Southwestern Recôncavo and 20 to 30 hectares north of the Rio Paraguaçu, while the mean property size in the sugar cane area exceeded 100 hectares.

241 423 Size of Agricultural Properties. As has been seen, the agricultural properties of the Recôncavo are highly diverse in size, as is to be expected in an economy dichotomized into the predominantly

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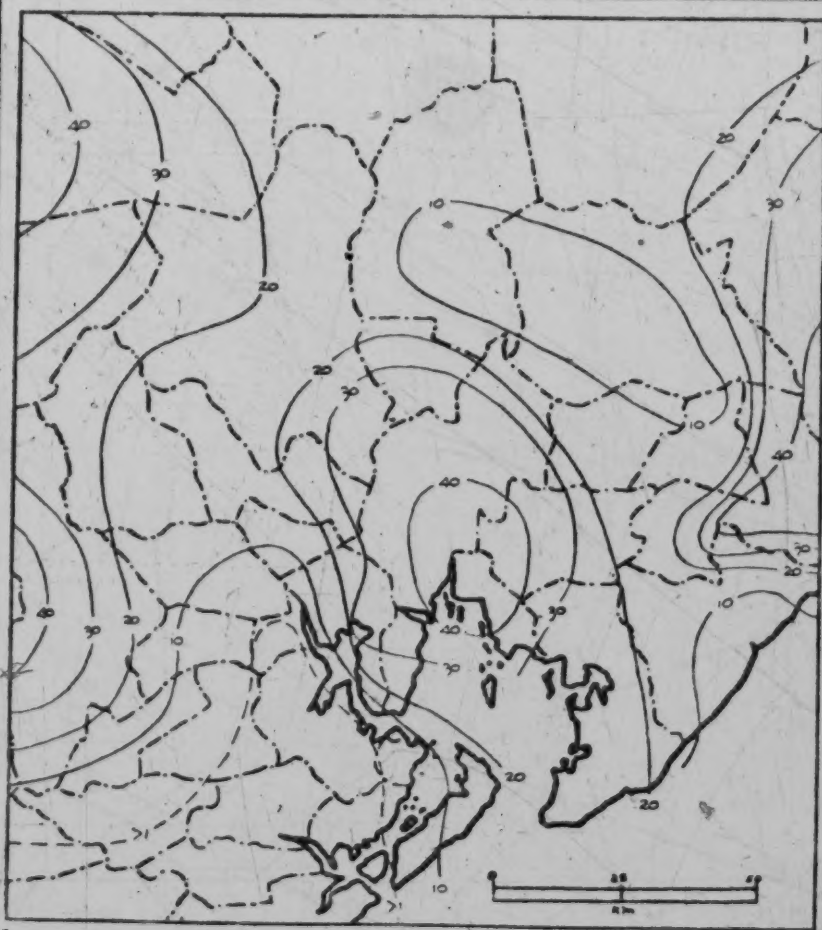

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumerated Area in

Large-Scale Enterprises--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 105

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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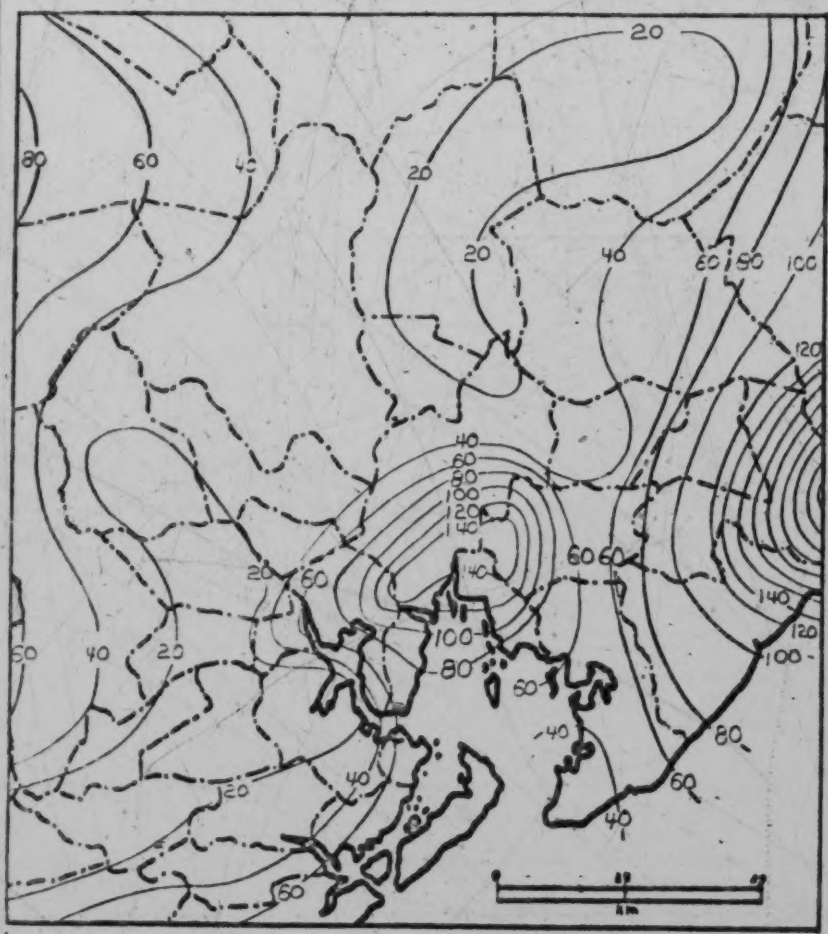

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Mean Size of All Agricultural Properties—1940

In Hectares

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos: Bahia. Vol. II.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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small-scale agriculture of the tobacco and manioc cultivators and the large-scale system of the sugar industry. In 1940 the properties of the Recôncavo ranged from less than 2 hectares to over 10,000 hectares. This diversity is characteristic of the region as a whole, and also of the individual municípios. In 14 municípios of the Recôncavo at least 5 per cent of the properties were under 2 hectares in area, while in 12 municípios at least 5 per cent of the enumerated area was in properties of over 1,000 hectares. Within the Recôncavo the mean size of properties varied from 13 hectares in São Filipe to 136 hectares in São Francisco, and in municípios adjacent to the region, from 8 hectares in Santo Antônio to 255 hectares in Mata de São João.

On the basis of the mean size of agricultural properties, as on the basis of many other agricultural phenomena, the Recôncavo can be divided into two parts. The sugar-cane region, as has been seen, is an area of large properties which had a mean size in excess of 100 hectares in 1940. The mean size of the agricultural properties of almost all other parts of the Recôncavo lay in the narrow range of 10 to 40 hectares. Although these figures are in a general way very significant, their meaning varies from place to place as the character of the agricultural components change.

In the 1940 census, agricultural properties were grouped into 15 classes on the basis of the total area in the various units:

Under 1	hectare	200-500	hectares
1-2	"	500-1,000	"
2-5	"	1,000-2,500	"
5-10	"	2,500-5,000	"
10-20	"	5,000-10,000	"
20-50	"	10,000-100,000	"
50-100	"	Over 100,000	"
100-200	"		

After an inspection of the array of property size data, it was apparent that the distribution of small, medium, and large properties could be

I:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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analyzed through the use of only part of the data, thus simplifying the calculations. Properties of 0 to 10 hectares were used to represent small units; properties of 50 to 200 hectares to represent medium-sized units, and properties of over 500 hectares to represent large units. Thus the analysis of small, medium, and large properties which follows deals with a large sample of the Recôncavo's agricultural properties but not the entire array.

Small Properties. In every município of the Recôncavo at least one-fifth of the agricultural properties had less than 10 hectares of total area--in ten municípios over half the properties were under 10 hectares (Map 107). These small properties were particularly numerous in the Southwestern and Northern Recôncavo and in a narrow connecting zone--a concentration which conforms to the area of small crop-cultivation units discussed previously. There were also many small properties in the vicinity of Salvador. The number of small units in the Central Recôncavo was very limited, and most of the small properties which were present were grouped around, rather than within, the zone of commercial production of sugar cane.

The total area in small properties was less than 10 per cent of the enumerated area in most municípios (Map 108). There were two conspicuous exceptions where small properties were very numerous--in São Filipe and Irará:

	Size of Properties	Per cent of Total Number of Properties	Per cent of the Enumerated Area
São Filipe:	under 1 ha.	5	under 1
	1 - 2 ha.	15	2
	2 - 5 ha.	25	9
	5 -10 ha.	32	19
Total		77	31
Irará:	under 1 ha.	3	1
	1 - 2 ha.	11	1
	2 - 5 ha.	41	9
	5 -10 ha.	18	9
Total		73	20

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 322]

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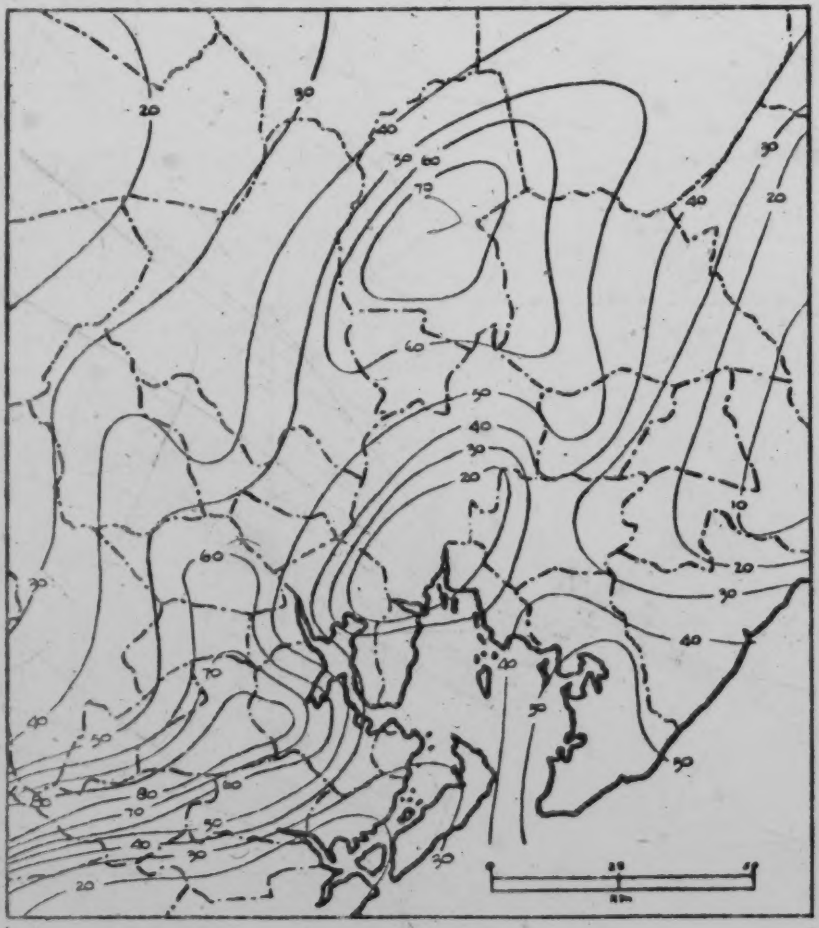

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of All Properties with an Area of

Less Than 10 Hectares--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil. 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 107

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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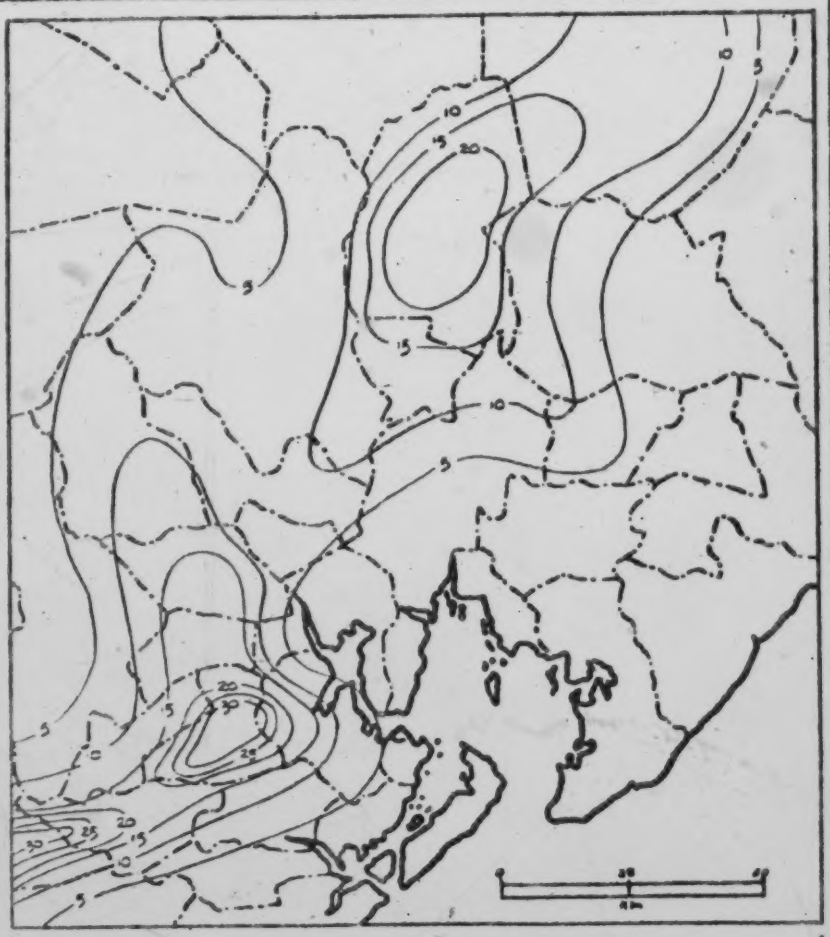

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumerated Area in Properties with an Area of Less Than 10 Hectares—1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 108

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954) 1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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Medium-Sized Properties. The general pattern of medium-sized properties in the Recôncavo was analyzed through a study of the distribution of the units composing the 50 to 200 hectare classes. These properties were by no means as common as the small properties, except in the município of Pojuca (Map 109). Over 25 per cent of the total enumerated area was in these medium-sized properties throughout most of the outer Recôncavo, from the southwest sector to the northern limits of the município of Salvador (Map 110). The area along the littoral of the Bay and in the sugar cane zone, as well as along the extreme western and southwestern limits of the Recôncavo, contained fewer medium-sized properties.

Large Properties. Although there were few large properties, i.e., properties with over 500 hectares, in the Recôncavo as a whole, the area which they occupied within some municípios in 1940 was both extensive and significant. Over 70 per cent of the enumerated area was in large properties along the littoral and in the Coastal Plain section north of the Bay, as well as along the eastern and western frontiers of the Recôncavo (Map 111). Elsewhere in the region and adjacent to the northern and southern limits, the area in large properties was relatively limited, but there were some large units in every município except Cruz das Almas.

The large properties of the Recôncavo are particularly significant, for they play a very important role in the socio-economic complex of agriculture--a role disproportionately large in relation to their number and their portion of the agricultural land. East and west of the region these units generally were either very large ranches or, along the coast, coconut plantations. These large extra-Recôncavo properties were often very extensive--west of Castro Alves there were

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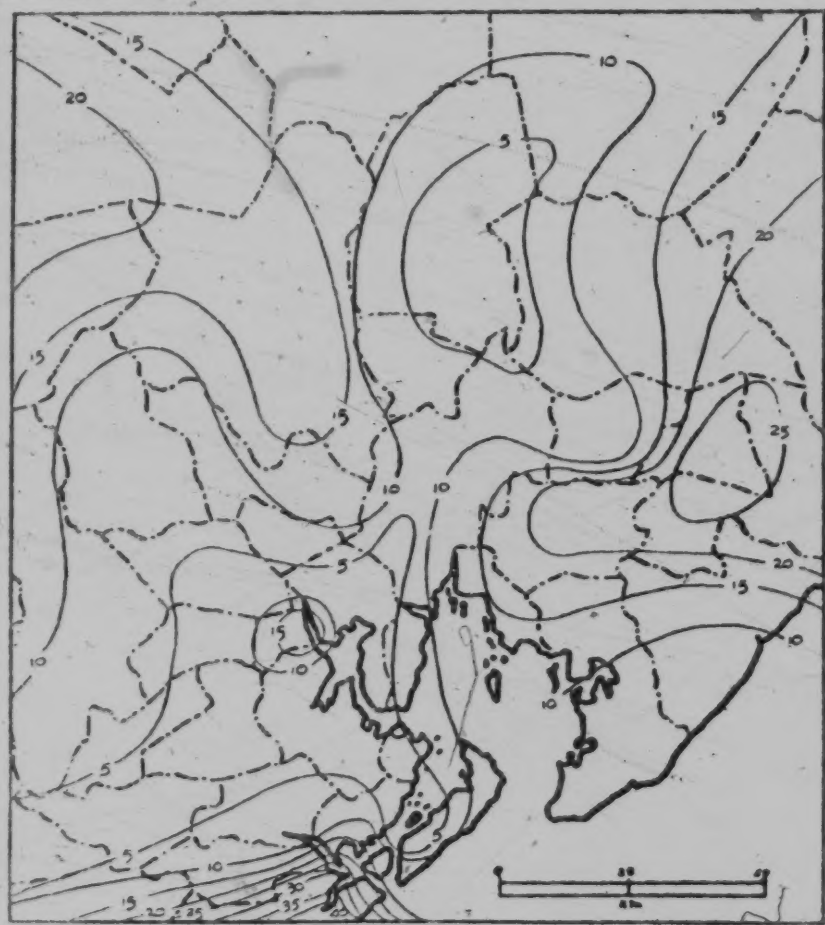

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of All Properties with an Area of

50 to 200 Hectares--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 109

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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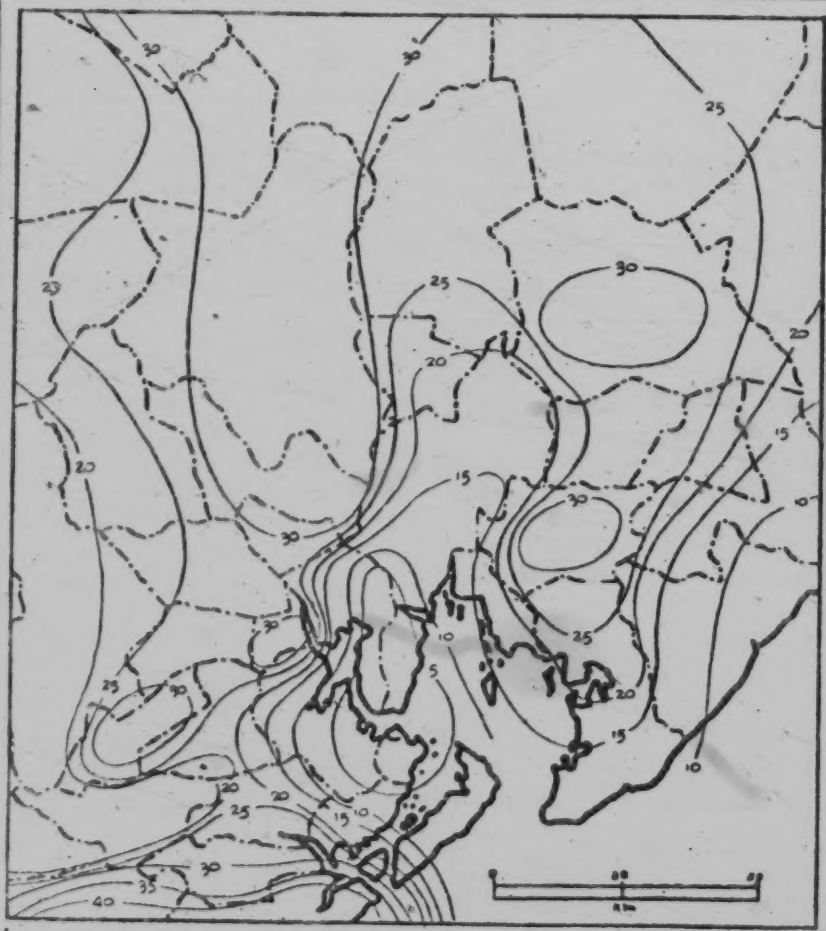

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumarated Area in Properties with an Area of

50 to 200 Hectares--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 110

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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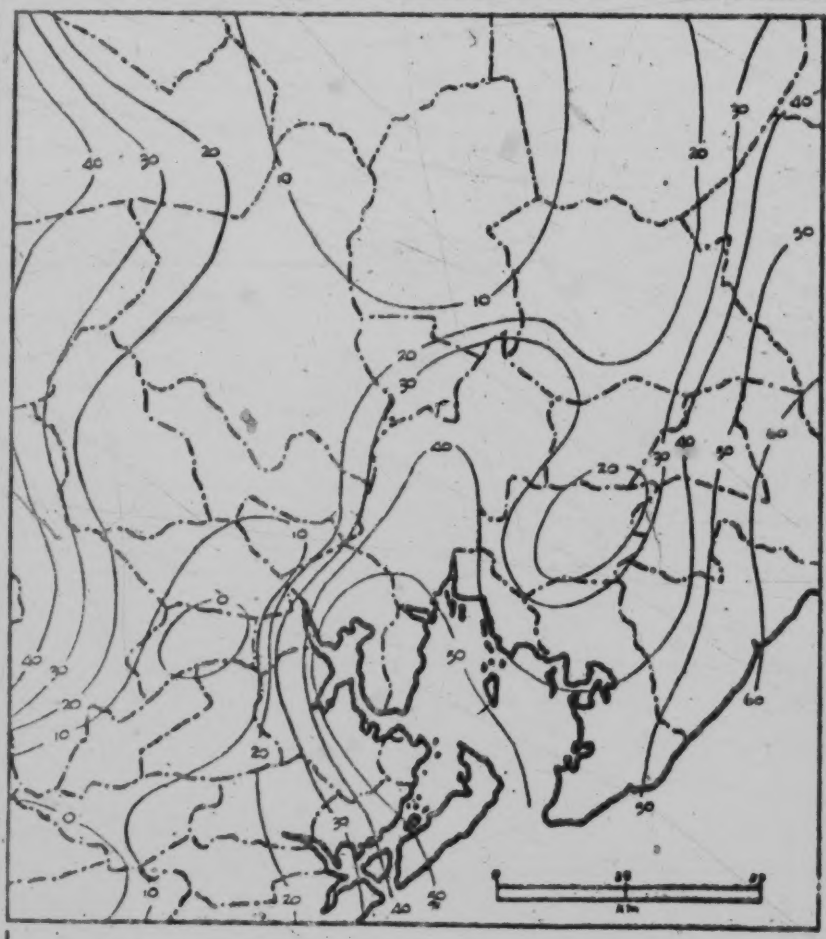

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumerated Area in Properties with an Area of More Than 500 Hectares—1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 111

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 423 some properties in excess of 100,000 hectares of land. Such overwhelmingly large properties signalize a tremendous concentration of power and, for the sertão, much wealth.

The large properties of the Recôncavo were less extensive than the vast fazendas of the sertão, but they probably represented an even greater assemblage of economic and social power. The sugar cane plantations [249 470] and the associated usinas, with their traditional prestige, large capital investment, and centralized production, are the preponderant social institutions of the Recôncavo.

Land Tenure. Most of the formal categories of farm tenure which are characteristic of the agriculture of the United States are present also in the Recôncavo: ownership by private individuals and corporations; operation by owners, administrators, renters, and "squatters."[5] However, the contrasts in property size and the centralized control of agricultural credit and capital in the Recôncavo give these these general types of agricultural tenure and operation a distinctive character.

241 423 472 Proprietor Operation. Most of the agricultural properties of the Recôncavo were operated by the owner in 1940. Only in the Southern Recôncavo--Maragogipe and Salvador--were less than half of the properties owner-operated. In most of the region and the adjoining area three-fourths of the units were operated by the owner (Map 112). The area occupied by owner-operated units was in excess of half the enumerated area in all parts of the region except the Southern Recôncavo (Map 113). However, the area in owner-operated properties was higher in the tobacco-manioc area of the Southwestern Recôncavo--70 to 80 per cent--than in either the tobacco-manioc or the sugar cane region north of the Bay. A greater contrast is reflected in the map of the mean size of owner-operated properties (Map 114). In Conceição do Almeida--

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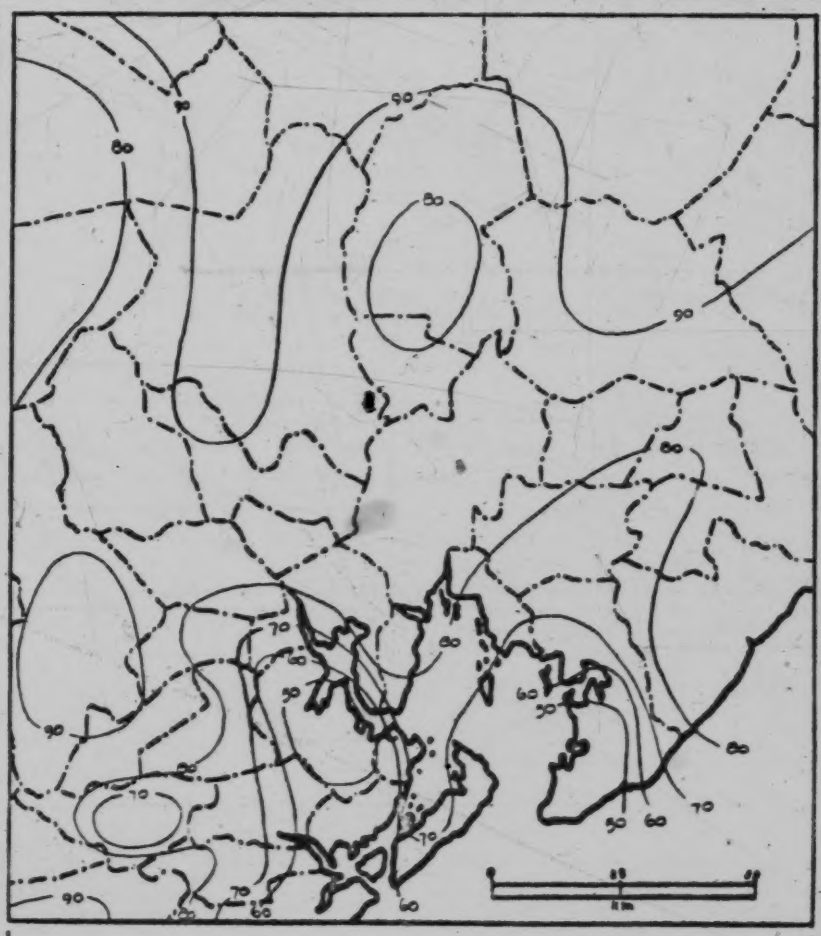

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of All Agricultural Properties Which Were

Owner-Operated--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

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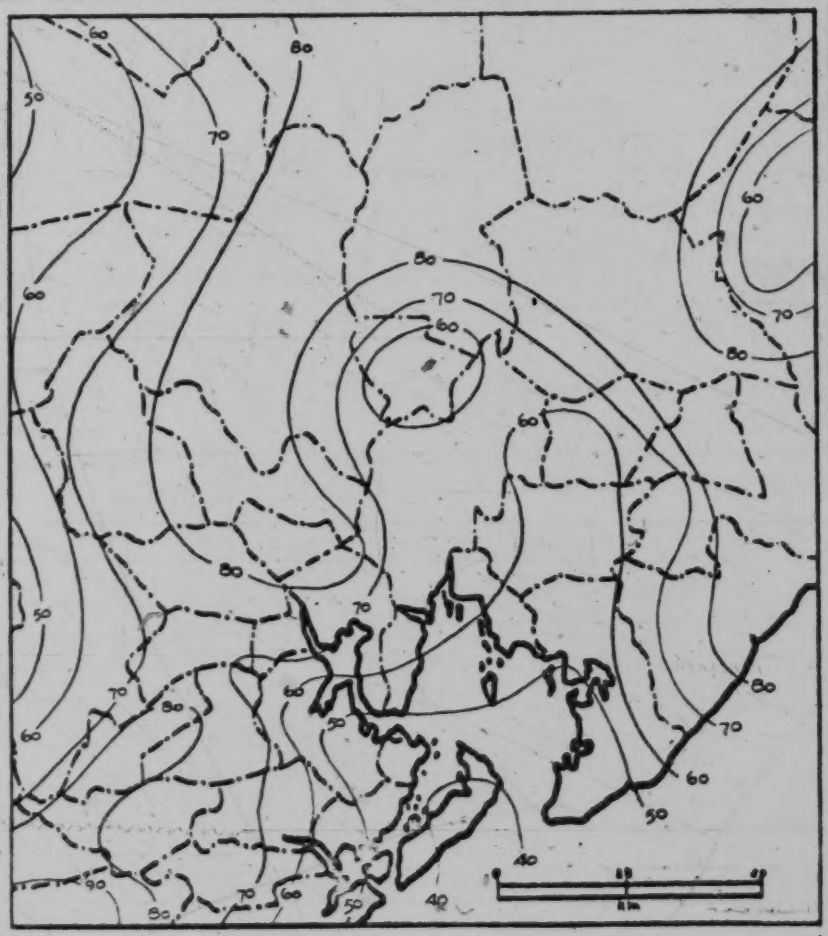

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumerated Area in

Owner-Operated Properties—1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 113

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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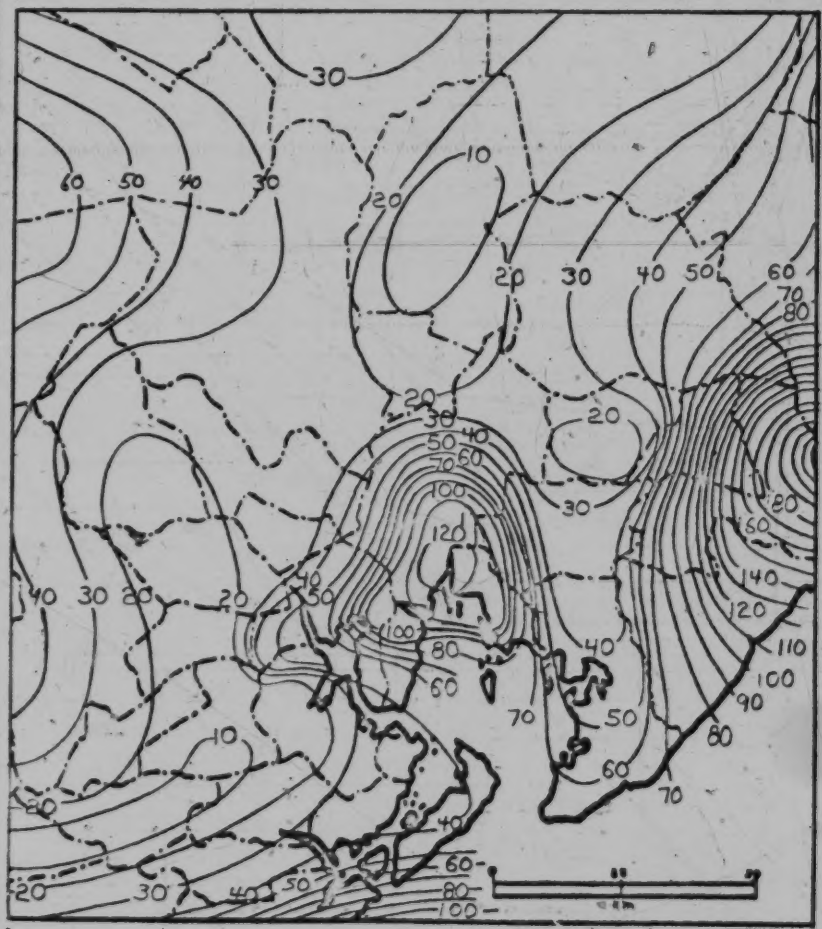

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Mean Size of Owner-Operated Properties—1940

In Hectares

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 114

241 Southwestern Recôncavo--the 80 per cent of all units which were owner-
423 operated had a mean size of 16 hectares in 1940. In São Francisco--
472 Central Recôncavo--the 75 per cent of all units which were owner-operated had a mean size of 113 hectares. In general the mean size of owner-operated units in the tobacco-manioc region was from 15 to 30 hectares, while the mean size in the sugar cane region exceeded 100 hectares.

241 Operation by Administrator. Absentee ownership in the Recôncavo
423 probably had its origin in the colonial period, when it was the practice
471 of many of the senhores de engenho (sugar cane planters) to spend part
178 of the year in Salvador. As the urban interests of the owner increased, the management of some properties passed into the hands of overseers, frequently drawn from the mixed-blood retinue of the plantation owner. To a lesser extent the same practice seems to have developed in other parts of the Recôncavo, as the property owner became involved in business, in the professions, or in politics in the cidades or in Salvador. The development of corporate landholding as a concomitant of the usina system has made agricultural administrators even more numerous.

241 Properties operated by administrators were found in every muni-
423 cípio of the Recôncavo in 1940 (Map 115). In 13 municípios over
471 one-tenth of the properties were so operated. The number of administrator-operated properties was relatively large in São Félix--25 per cent--in the sugar cane region, but also in the município of Salvador and on the island of Itaparica opposite.[6] The area in administrator-operated properties was relatively great in the sugar cane zone--30 to 40 per cent--and near Salvador, in general conforming to the pattern of the relative number of properties under administrators (Map 116). However, administrator-operated properties in the Central Recôncavo were relatively large--200 hectares in São Francisco

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 333]

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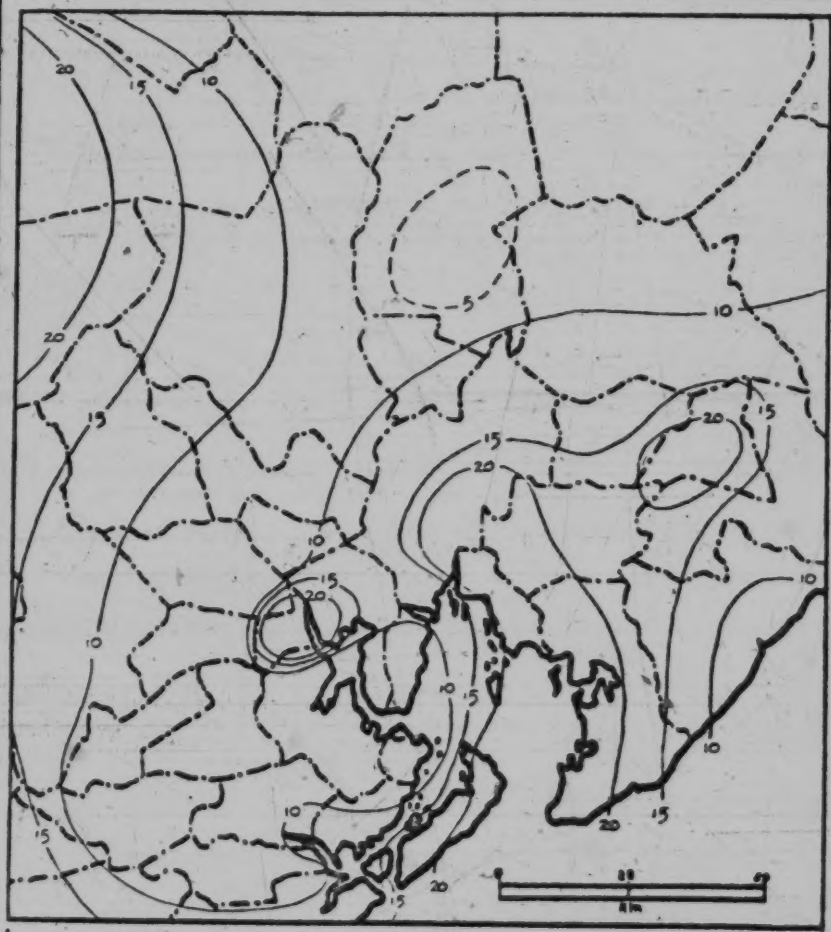

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of All Agricultural Properties Which Were

Operated by Administrators--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia. Vol. II.

MAP 115

.1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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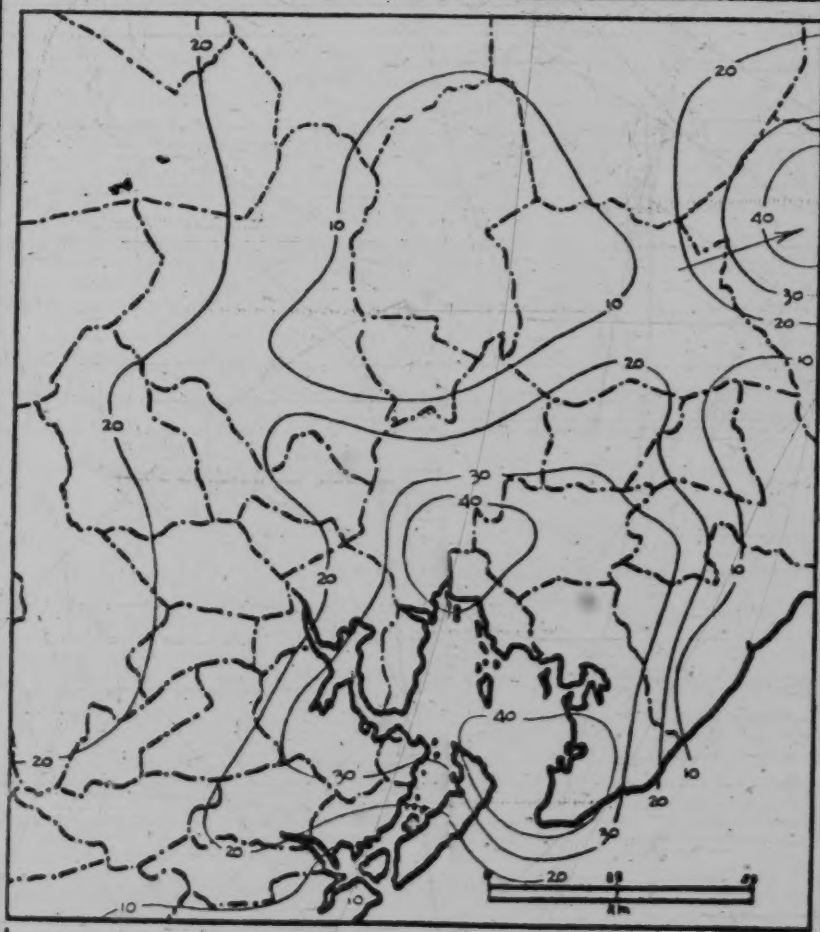

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumerated Area in

Administrator-Operated Properties—1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 116

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO'1 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 423 471 and 161 hectares in Santo Amaro--while those of the Salvador area were relatively modest--81 hectares in Salvador and 72 hectares in Itaparica.

241 427 Rented Properties. There were few rented properties in the Recôncavo as a whole in 1940 (Map 117), but in three areas over 10 per cent of the properties were rented: in the core of the tobacco-manioc area of the Southwestern Recôncavo; in Irará; and around Salvador. In Maragogipe, 52 per cent of the properties, occupying 15 per cent of the enumerated area, were rented (Map 118). In Santo Antônio, adjoining the Southwestern Recôncavo, over 30 per cent of the properties were rented, but along the western and norther border zones of the Recôncavo there were very few rented properties. Because of the small size of the units, rented properties in the Recôncavo generally occupied less than 10 per cent of the enumerated area.

[241] [249] The rented properties of the tobacco-manioc crop region were usually small, from 10 to 30 hectares, but in the sugar cane area they averaged over 200 hectares (Map 119). If the official data are correct, the mean size of rented properties in Coração de Maria was over 267 hectares, but this seems very unlikely and has not been shown on the map.

241 423 471 Corporate Lands. In 1940, one-hundred-ninety-eight of the 29,000 agricultural properties of the Recôncavo were owned by corporations or companies. The total area of these properties was 33,000 hectares, almost 4 per cent of the total enumerated area of the region. Moreover, the land which composed these properties was some of the most productive in the Recôncavo. The number of corporate properties and the concentration of land under corporate ownership almost certainly has increased since 1940.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 337]

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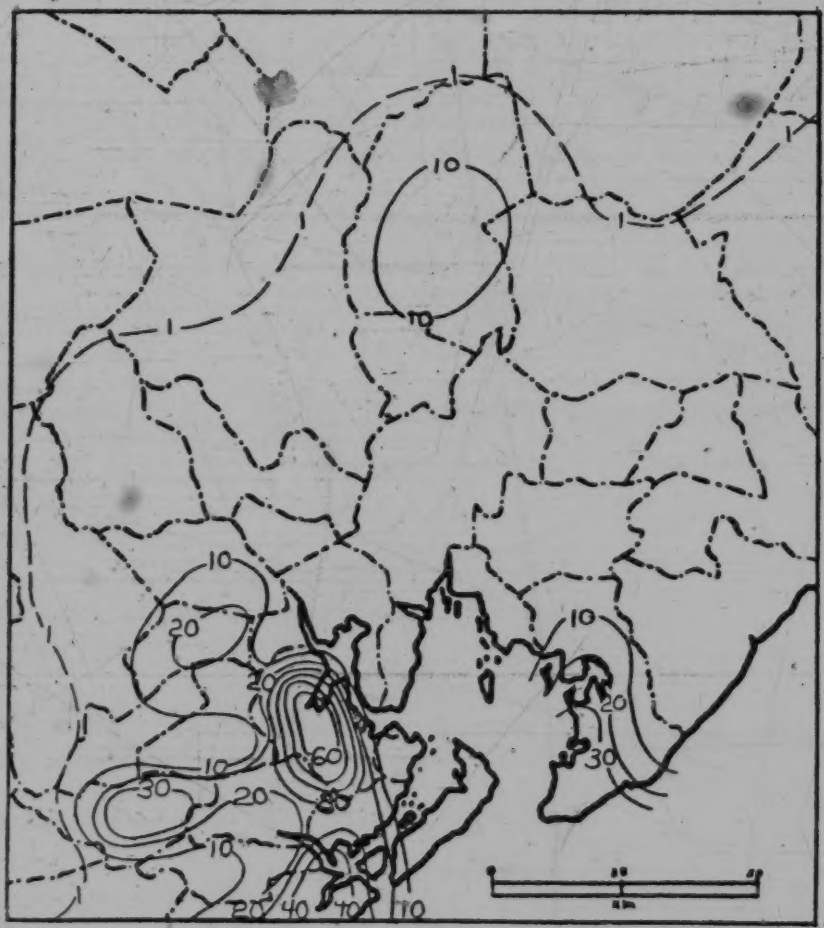

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of All Agricultural Properties Which Were

Operated by Renters—1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 117

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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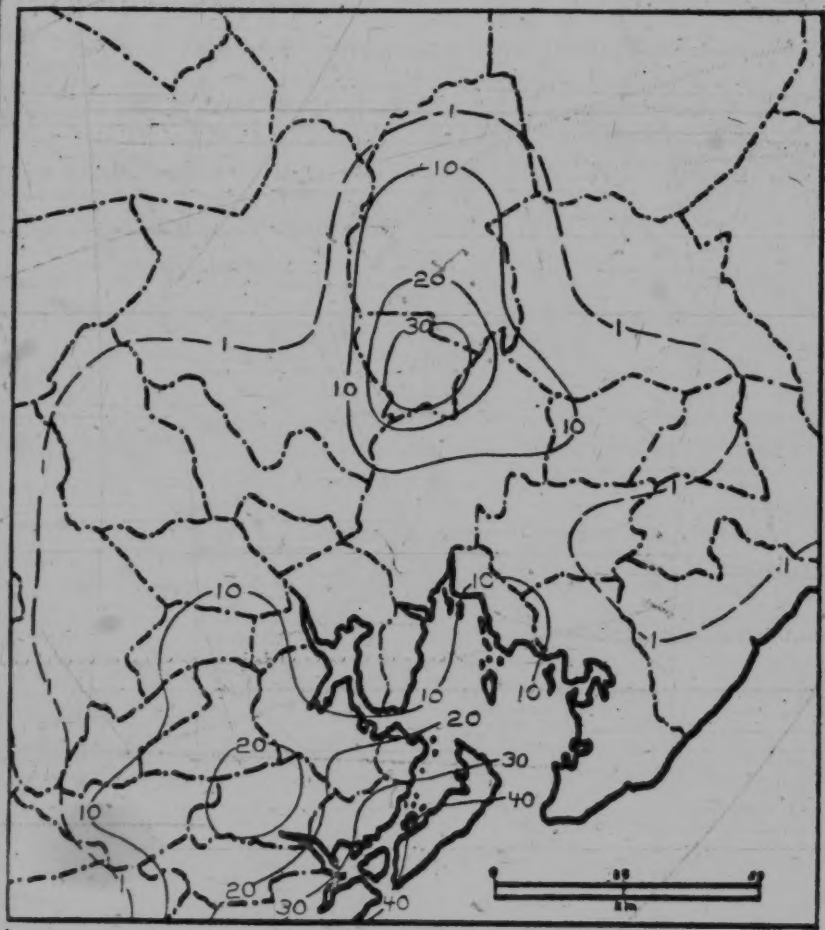

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumerated Area in

Renter-Operated Properties--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 118

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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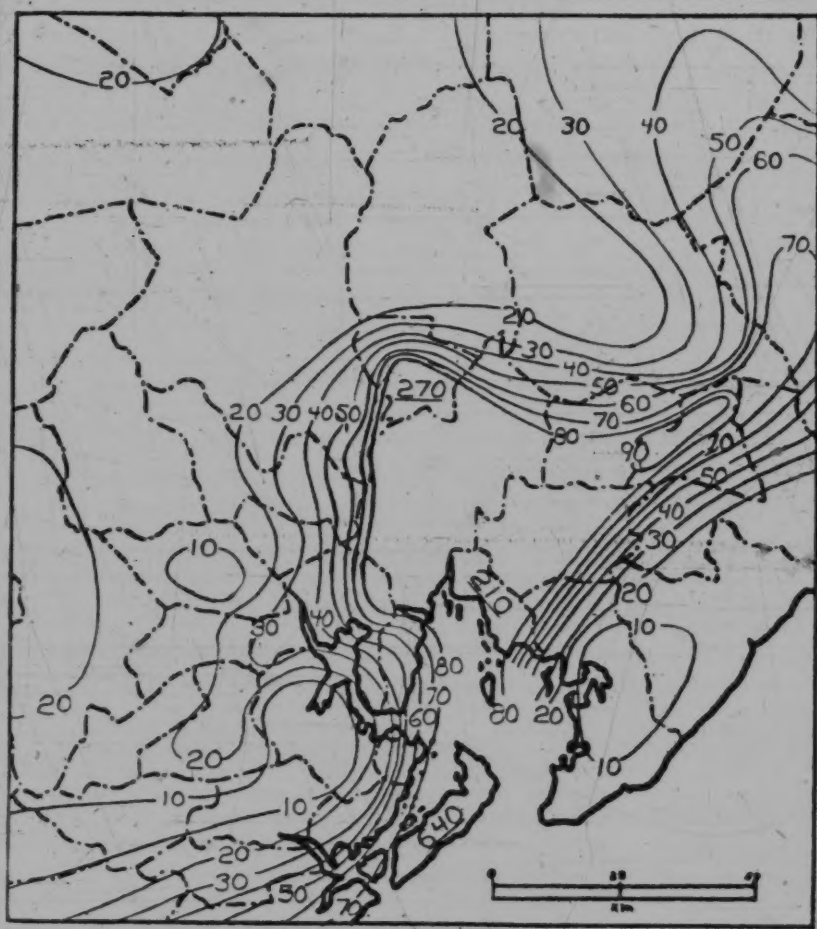

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Mean Size of Renter-Operated Properties—1940

In Hectares

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 119

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO.1 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 423 471 [249] Although there were a few corporate lands in the vicinity of the city of Salvador in 1940, the main concentration was in the sugar cane area north of the Bay. Here the large corporately-owned usinas controlled as much as 30 per cent of the agricultural land. Most of these corporate properties were sugar cane plantations, but some were cattle ranches and other accessory properties. The corporations tend to dominate the sugar cane areas which are most productive and most favorably located for the transportation of cane and of the refined sugar and other products.

Conclusion. The strong network of interpersonal relationships, discussed in connection with crop cultivation and systems, is often more important than the purely formal aspects of land ownership and operation in the Recôncavo. The agricultural society of the Recôncavo is closely knit, so that the effective freedom of operation of the farm operator [565] is very limited. Although the large and rich landowners have, on some levels, a greater latitude than the small operators, they too are enmeshed in a system of inherited economic and social obligations and are subject to the restrictions imposed by the urban upper class.

241 441 442 472 The two primary local supervisory groups in the agricultural society are the merchant-buyers of the tobacco-manioc region and the general administrators and plantation owners of the sugar cane region. [656] However, both these groups are under the more or less immediate control of the sugar and tobacco companies in Salvador and of the official Instituto do Açúcar e do Álcool and the Instituto Baiano do Fumo.[7]

249 471 472 656 The operations of the sugar cane plantations are dictated by the mills, which specify the type and quantity of cane and the schedule of delivery. In turn, the amount of sugar produced by the mill is determined by the Instituto do Açúcar e do Álcool, while the policy of

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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BB 249 407 472 [656] operation is determined by the company officers, who generally live in Salvador. The company, in its turn, is subject to some control from Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo investors. This structured system of control probably is one of the reasons for the continuation of the monoculture in the sugar cane area. The usual explanation offered for the cane monoculture is the unique suitability of the soil and climate and the innate conservatism of the Baiano. However, one of the features of the present sugar economy is the lack of capital for other enterprises. The absentee owners, who are the only likely source of capital, are hesitant to advance money for new and untried enterprises. Moreover, alternative agricultural enterprises, if successful, would reduce the supply of cane and thus eventually raise the cost of usina operation.

BB 249 244 442 In the tobacco-manioc region the control exercised by Salvador is indirect, but compelling, because the small tobacco producer is almost completely at the mercy of the buyer, who receives orders from the tobacco exporter and manufacturer through the agent.

BB 241 423 471 [184] [231] [233] The differences in production specialization, size, and tenure among the agricultural properties of the Recôncavo both accentuate the basic dichotomy of the region and re-emphasize its unity. The small-scale mixed crop cultivation and livestock producing unit of the tobacco-manioc region and the large-scale crop cultivation unit of the sugar region are both esentially engaged in the production of commercial crops. Both are distinct from the primary agricultural unit of the sertão, the livestock ranch. Both are subject to the over-all economic control of the center—Salvador.

B BB 241 423 184 [249] In most parts of Brazil, as in the Recôncavo, the agricultural properties are highly diverse in size, function, and ownership. Most areas of sugar cane cultivation have relatively large properties, primarily engaged in crop cultivation. In other areas, as in

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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In other areas, as in the Recôncavo, more and more of the cane plantations are passing into the hands of the central mills and are being operated by administrators. Small properties, owner or renter operated, are also a widespread feature of the Brazilian agricultural scene. Frequently, as in the Recôncavo, large and small properties are intermixed in zones where several crops and livestock are raised jointly. Throughout Brazil the class of small property holders is tied to the merchant and large landholder class by a network of economic and social relationships much like those of the Recôncavo. Apparently the number and total area of small properties is growing, especially in Central and South Brazil. If this be so, the development of small farms in the Recôncavo, such as those producing tobacco and manioc, is part of the nationwide trend.

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

000 Footnotes - Chapter VIII

[1]Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

[2]The data for the total area of the various municipios used in this analysis are taken from Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, No. 8. These data are the most recent and presumably most accurate available for the state of Bahia. In a number of cases they disagree markedly with area given in the 1940 census, which was based upon earlier and probably less accurate calculations from older maps.

[129] [3]The distinction between large- and small-scale units was made in the census as follows: (1) Agricultural units with over 50 hectares in major crops (pineapple, alfalfa, cotton, rice, oats, potatoes, sugar cane, rye, barley, beans, tobacco, castor beans, manioc, corn, wheat, coffee, cacao, cocoanuts, oranges, bananas, or grapes) were large-scale. All others were small-scale. Area in these crops was estimated from production figures and mean yields. (2) Livestock units with 200 head of cattle or sheep; 100 head of horses, goats, or pigs; or 50 asses or mules, or an appropriate combination of these, were large-scale. Alternatively, a smaller number of reproductive females--100 cows or ewes; 60 mares; or 20 sows--made the unit large-scale. All others were small-scale. (3) Crop-livestock units, in order to qualify as large-scale units, had to satisfy both criteria simultaneously.

[241] [13] [184] [361] [4]The size, shape, and physical and economic diversity of many of the municípios of the Recôncavo make it very difficult to evaluate and to map mean data. This is particularly true of Santo Amaro, of which part is in the sugar cane region, part in the tobacco-manioc region, and part in sparsely settled forest land. It is also true for São Gonçalo, which stretches from the humid Intermediate Hills to the dry western caatinga. Of all the municípios, only São Félix and Conceição da Feira, both very small, have a relatively homogeneous landscape. The details of the interpretations and, to an even greater extent, the maps were drawn with numerous inferences based upon correlative data and field observations.

[5]Agricultural properties are also held by religious orders, syndicates, cooperatives, and other legal persons, but such properties are not very common in the Recôncavo. "Squatters," as defined by the census, included both those who occupied public land legally but without title and those who illegally occupied private land. Renters included both cash and share renters.

[6]There were about 50 administrator-operated properties, with an average size of 30 hectares, in the município of São Félix, according to the census. The reasons for this concentration are not apparent, especially since this local phenomenon was not studied in the field. The concentrations around Salvador and on the island of Itaparica are suburban country houses--chácaras--a Brazilian institution. Many of these chácaras are on small properties which are operated by an overseer and which produce some agricultural products, especially vegetables and fruits. A large number of these properties line the eastern shore of the island of Itaparica; there are also a few in the forested area around Salvador.

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CHAPTER IX

VALUE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

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The analysis of the distribution of cropland and of the quantity of production has established the Recôncavo as a distinctive regional unit of Bahia and of Brazil without formulating clearly the importance of the region to the state or the nation. Similarly, the internal differentiation of the region has been discussed in terms of various municípios, sub-regions, and crop regions without establishing the basic importance of these to the Recôncavo except as components of the agricultural landscape or as producers of crops with an unspecified value. Although the value of agricultural production is not exclusively economic, monetary value is one of the most useful general standards for estimating the collective and individual importance of diverse agricultural products.

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The tables and discussion which follow have three purposes: (1) the estimation of the importance of the Recôncavo and its individual products to the Brazilian and the Bahian economy; (2) the determination of the importance of individual products within the economy of the region; and (3) the evaluation of the economic importance of the crop regions, previously delimited, to the Recôncavo.

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The total value of the crops of the Recôncavo was less than 1 per cent of the total value of crop production in Brazil in 1948, based upon a comparison of the value of 21 principal crops of Brazil and of the Recôncavo which are given in Table XV. Although for several centuries the region was an outstandingly productive center of the Brazilian economy, today it plays a secondary role even within Bahia. In recent decades the southern coast of the state, growing cacao for foreign markets, has

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Northeast Brazil SO1
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TABLE XV

VALUE OF THE CHIEF COMMERCIAL PRODUCTS OF THE RECÔNCAVO COMPARED WITH OTHER AREAS--1948

Agricultural Products	Value of Production in Cr.$000			
	Recôncavo	Bahia	Other Centers*	Brazil
Crops:				
Leaf Tobacco	86,700	155,041	227,266 - Rio Grande do Sul	615,293
Manioc	70,600	292,373	351,427 - Minas Gerais	2,357,570
Sugar Cane	54,200	148,980	458,254 - Pernambuco	2,425.494
Beans	15,500	123,552	670,274 - Minas Gerais	2,719,235
Oranges	14,800	28,904	191,938 - Rio de Janeiro	567,790
Bananas	9,200	35,503	144,525 - São Paulo	754,380
Corn	8,200	71,623	1,423,153 - Minas Gerais	5,249,030
Coconuts	6,500	46,368	42,135 - Paraiba	225,870
Coffee	3,400	95,958	3,947,704 - São Paulo	6,450,919
Pineapples	1,700	4,130	24,020 - São Paulo	94,404
Peanuts	1,300	1,738	258,287 - São Paulo	292,274
Sweet Potatoes	1,200	19,837	100,732 - Rio Grande do Sul	435,547
Total of 12 Crops	273,300	1,024,057		22,157,506
Total of 21 Principal Crops**	275,000	1,731,164	11,213,444 - São Paulo***	33,082,875
Livestock	60,000			

*In each case the figure which is used for comparison is that of the principal producer of the individual crop in Brazil, except in the case of coconuts, where Bahia is the chief producer and the second most important center has been used.

**These are the 21 principal crops of Brazil which are listed in Produção Agrícola: 1948.

***São Paulo was used in this comparison because the total value of its production of the principal crops exceeds that of any other state.

Source: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

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BB 245 433 439 come to be the area of the greatest value of agricultural production in the state--Cr.$1,007,824,000, in 1948, almost three times the value of B BB 231 233 433 crop and livestock production in the Recôncavo, Cr.$335,000,000. The total value of livestock production in the Recôncavo is estimated to be about Cr.$60,000,000 for 1948. Although no comparable figure is available for Brazil, probably the Recôncavo had less then 1 per cent of the livestock and thus produced less than 1 per cent of the value of livestock in the nation as a whole.[1]

B BB 433 The present inferior position of the Recôncavo is in part a reflection of the relative decline of the region in the nineteenth century discussed in the chapter on the evolution of the Recôncavo. However, the Recôncavo continues to lag behind in the contemporary development B BB 241 249 433 [458] [660] of Brazil. From 1944 to 1952 the total cruzeiro value of the principal crops of Brazil increased four-fold, while the value of Bahia's tobacco crop, a good indicator of the economic shifts of the Recôncavo, increased by only one-fifth despite the concurrent inflationary spiral. Even the government-stabilized sugar industry of the Recôncavo produced only three and one-half times its 1944 value. Although the above increases are more indicative of the steadily declining value of Brazilian currency than of true economic development, they are an index of the relative importance of agriculture in the Recôncavo to the national economy.

BB 249 244 433 311 Tobacco, sugar cane, and manioc, which occupied 70 per cent of the Recôncavo's cropland, accounted for 77 per cent of the total value of all principal crops in 1948 (Table XVI). Each of the three crops contributed at least 20 per cent of the value of all crops, while no other crop produced over 6 per cent of the total. The cruzeiro value of these principal crops, and of livestock, and their relative position within the nation has been given in Table IV, above.

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TABLE XVI

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RELATIVE CROPLAND AND VALUE OF ALL CROPS OF THE RECÔNCAVO WITH A VALUE OF MORE THAN Cr.$1.000,000 IN 1948

Crop	Per cent of the Cropland of the Recôncavo	Per cent of the Value of All Principal Crops of the Recôncavo
Tobacco	27	32
Manioc	28	25
Sugar Cane	15	20
Beans	9	6
Oranges	1	5
Bananas	1	3
Corn	12	3
Coconuts	1	2
Coffee	4	1
Pineapple	<1	<1
Peanuts	<1	<1
Sweet Potatoes	<1	<1

Source: Calculations and estimates based on data from Produção Agrícola: 1948.

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The leading position of tobacco results in part from its extensive cultivation, and in part from its relatively high unit value. While the mean value of production of all crops in the Recôncavo was Cr.$3,400 per hectare in 1948, tobacco produced Cr.$3,900 per hectare, as given in Table XVII, which also shows the value of production per hectare of the other principal crops. The leading position of tobacco is at variance with tradition which, as has been seen, assigns the first rank to sugar cane. Not only was tobacco the most valuable crop of the Recôncavo in 1948, but it was also the leading crop in seven municípios of the tobacco-manioc region, where it accounted for a minimum of 40 per cent of the value of all crops. Within four separate municípios of the crop region, it accounted for about 60 per cent of the total value of crops (Map 120). The Southwestern Recôncavo was the chief center of the production of tobacco, as indicated by value as well as by cropland and bulk, for it produced over 63 per cent of the total value of tobacco in the Recôncavo. Within this section, Cruz das Almas was the

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TABLE XVII

MEAN VALUE OF PRODUCTION PER HECTARE FOR THE CROPS OF THE RECÔNCAVO IN 1948

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Crops	Value of Production Cr.$1.000 per ha.
Principal Crops*	
Tobacco	3,900
Manioc	3,100
Sugar Cane	4,600
Beans	2,200
Oranges**	13,300
Bananas**	8,600
Corn	800
Coconuts**	7,400
Coffee**	1,400
Pineapple	1,000
Peanuts	2,400
Sweet Potatoes	3,500
All Crops	3,400

*Crops with a value in excess of Cr.$1,000,000.
**There is little consistent relationship between the area and production of these crops, so that local values for these crops often depart widely from the mean.
Source: Calculations and estimations based upon Produção Agrícola: 1948.

249 433 leading producer--40 per cent of the total value of the tobacco crop. Notwithstanding the dominant role of the Southwestern area, tobacco production north of the Rio Paraguaçu was also significant—contributing 24 per cent of the total value of the crop.

As has been indicated, several grades of tobacco are produced in the Recôncavo. The superiority of the tobacco production of the Southwestern Recôncavo is more than a matter of hectares of cultivation or kilograms of leaf. The area is the core of the "Mata Fina" zone, within which the leaf of Cruz das Almas is assigned the highest price. [439] The "Mata Fina" leaf is the basis of the export of cigar tobacco to European markets. In its concern with cacao, the most valuable export, [245] [439] Bahia tends to forget the important role which tobacco plays in its economy, and with this, so the people of the zone sometimes feel, to

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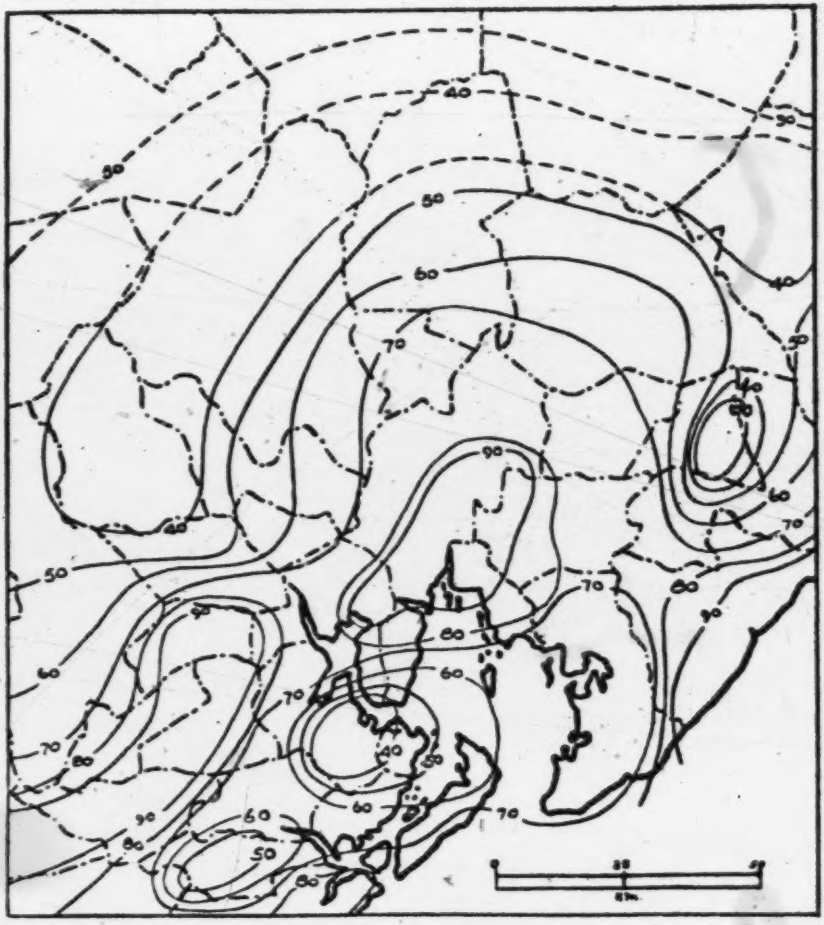

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Value of Crop Production

Contributed by Commercial Crops—1948

MAP 127

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241 433 Except in the southwest and around Salvador, commercial crops produced only 40 per cent of the total value of all crops. It is apparent that agriculture in the Recôncavo is by no means universally commercial. Moreover, in all parts of the Recôncavo except the sugar cane area, there are small agriculturalists who produce few commercial crops and are thus virtually subsistence cultivators.

241 231 233 433 The estimated value of livestock production was less than that of crops in all areas of the Recôncavo except Feira de Santana, and, except in Feira de Santana and Alagoinhas, less than half the value of crops (Map 1[illegible]). In the chief commercial crop areas--Central and Southwestern Recôncavo--livestock production had about 10 per cent of the value of crops. These areas, on the evidence of value as well as land use and quantity of production, have highly commercial crop economies. Only Feira de Santana can be said to have a livestock economy, and in this area livestock production is concentrated around the cidade, and the rest of the município has a predominately crop-producing economy.

128 241 231 233 433 The table which follows (Table XVIII) summarizes the distribution of the value of crops and animals in the principal regions and zones of production. These areas accounted for 82 per cent of the total value of agricultural production in the Recôncavo in 1948. The data of this table give further evidence of the tremendous economic importance of the tobacco-manioc and sugar cane regions to the Recôncavo.

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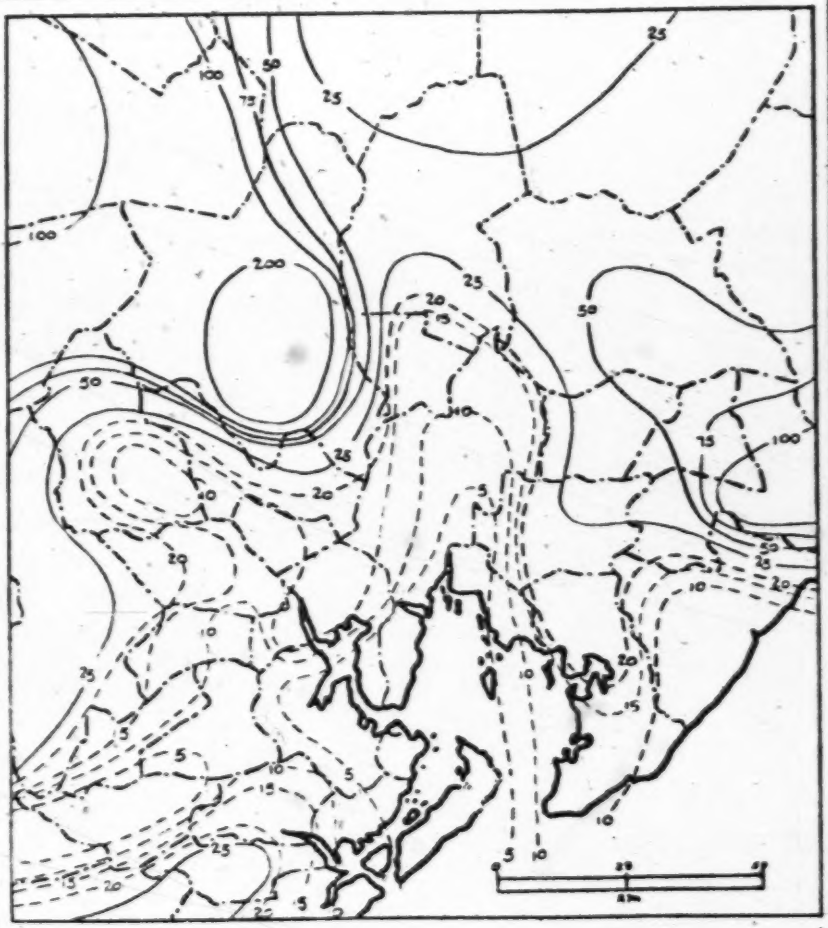

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Value of Livestock Production as a Per cent of

the Value of Crop Production--1948

MAP 128

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TABLE XVIII

VALUE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION OF THE PRINCIPAL CROP REGIONS AND OTHER AREAS OF THE RECÔNCAVO—1948

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	Value of Production	
Sugar Cane Region (Sugar Cane & Animals)		
Main Area North of Bay		
Santo Amaro	Cr.$35,200.00	
Western São Sebastião	12,700.00	
Western São Francisco	4,700.00	
Total	52,600.00	
Cachoeira	1,500.00	
Southern São Filipe (no animals)	3,600.00	
Total--Sugar Cane Region		Cr.$57,700.00
Tobacco-Manioc Region (All Crops & Animals)		
In Southwestern Recôncavo		
Conceição do Almeida	26,400.00	
Cruz das Almas	57,700.00	
Eastern Muritiba	14,900.00	
Northern São Filipe	11,000.00	
São Félix	5,700.00	
Northern Maragogipe	3,300.00	
Total	119,000.00	
In Other Sub-Regions of Recôncavo		
Conceição da Feira	4,900.00	
São Gonçalo	11,400.00	
Feira de Santana	6,100.00	
Irará	9,300.00	
Coração de Maria	4,900.00	
Santo Amaro	17,900.00	
Catu	3,600.00	
Total	58,100.00	
Total--Tobacco-Manioc Region		177,100.00
Feira de Santana Livestock Area		16,000.00
Bay Margin and Suburban Areas		
Itaparica	6,900.00	
Salvador	8,900.00	
Maragogipe	1,000.00	
Santo Amaro	2,000.00	
São Francisco	4,200.00	
Total		23,000.00
Total		Cr.$273,800.00

Source: Calculations and estimates based upon Produção Agricola: 1948.

505 [226] abuse by the sea and by man. While some of these boats are used for fishing in the Bay and in the ocean, their most important function undoubtedly is bringing food from the areas around the Bay to the city of Salvador. On the return trip, they carry building materials, [249] [257] manufactured articles, and passengers. The usinas of the coastal sections of the sugar cane area use these vessels to transport cane to the mill and to deliver the products of the mill to Salvador. Several of the cities on the Bay are very much dependent upon this means of transport, especially São Francisco and Maragogipe, which for all practical purposes have no road connections.

Motor boats serve to connect Salvador and the island of Itaparica. All of the tidewater cidades of the Bay and, in addition, São Roque do Paraguaçu and Nazaré are connected with the city of Salvador by scheduled motor vessels which carry many passengers and small quantities of freight. These vessels ascend and descend the estuaries with the tide. The head of navigation on the Rio Paraguaçu is Cachoeira, and on the Rio Sergi is at a landing on the outskirts of Santo Amaro.

489 241 433 These various transport media provide for the movement of people and goods across the Recôncavo. They are generally able to meet the immediate demands of the agricultural economy without excessive delays. The available media of transport are used to the fullest extent; busses, trains, and motor vessels are always crowded, and the trucks are always busy. However, the poor roads, the archaic railroads, the taxes on the movement of goods, and the high cost of vehicles clearly set a limit to the expansion or the intensification of the agricultural system. The rationalization of agriculture in the Recôncavo would require considerable expansion and improvement of the system of transportation.

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CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSION

128 In the preceding chapters the results of a statistical appraisal and a field investigation of agriculture in the Recôncavo have been presented. As a conclusion it seems appropriate to: (1) summarize the findings; and (2) discuss the potentialities of the Recôncavo for agricultural development

433 241 Like most of the densely-settled east coast of Brazil, the Recôncavo is engaged primarily in the production of crops. This is true not only of the region as a whole, but also of each of its individual parts excepting only the area around the cattle market town of Feira de Santana. The total cultivated area of the region, about 6.4 per cent 241 311 of the land surface, was almost evenly divided in 1948 between purely commercial crops--tobacco, sugar cane, coffee, oranges, and coconuts--and subsistence-commercial crops--manioc, corn, beans, bananas, peanuts, and sweet potatoes. About 70 per cent of the cropland was used for the three predominant crops--manioc, tobacco, and sugar cane. Livestock production is associated with crop cultivation in many parts of the 231 233 241 Recôncavo, but the region is also dependent upon the sertão of Bahia for livestock, which are driven into Feira de Santana and are used in several different areas within the region.

240 244 433 The three principal crops as determined by cultivated area--tobacco, manioc, and sugar cane--accounted for 77 per cent of the total value of crops in 1948, and no other crop accounted for more than [231] [233] 6 per cent of the total value. Thus agriculture in the Recôncavo is primarily concerned with these three crops and with the production

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000 the storekeeper-buyer or the local tobacco warehouse. The roots of the
258 manioc are processed locally, in casas de farinha, and the farinha de
438 mandioca is sold in the local market or to storekeepers in the nearby village or town.

249 The sub-region of tobacco and manioc production occupies the
244 humid eastern and southern edges of the Uplands. The chief center of
311 production, the Southwestern Recôncavo, occupies a zone of deep, sandy
134 and sandy loam soils lying in flat-surfaced uplands above crystalline rocks. The northern parts of the tobacco-manioc sub-region occupy the rough, dissected southern edge of the sandy Tertiary taboleiros--in this northern area the production of both crops is less intensive than in the Southwestern Recôncavo. The area of primary tobacco and manioc production generally conforms to the forest and scrub forest transition and is expanding southwestward beyond the traditional Recôncavo along this
[433] physical boundary zone. The intensity of production is also increasing,
[178] but with violent year to year fluctuations.

241 In addition to sugar cane, tobacco and manioc, other subsistence
433 and commercial products are grown in the Recôncavo. The most important of these are corn and beans, grown as commercial and subsistence crops in the north and west of the region, and coconuts, which are produced along the beach line. Bananas, sweet potatoes, and peanuts are grown in most parts of the Recôncavo, but on a small scale.

241 There are several areas in which there is little or no cultiva-
311 tion. The rougher Intermediate Hills, which are forested, separate the
137 sugar cane sub-region from the tobacco-manioc sub-region. The lowland areas of Tertiary and crystalline soils are also forested and are cultivated under a non-intensive land rotation system with some associated
241 livestock. The Recôncavo is distinguished from the surrounding areas by its relatively greater mean intensity of cultivation. In the

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BB 241 231 233 In the surrounding sertão livestock production is the areally and, in many cases, economically dominant activity; the Recôncavo is primarily a region of crop cultivation.

BB 43 443 The Recôncavo is a functional unit in the economic organization of commercial agriculture and marketing. Salvador, with one-third of BB the people of the region, is the primary market center. The credit [249] essential to the production of tobacco passes from the city to the country- [452] side, while the leaf is either shipped to the city for export or is sent BB [249] to local cigar factories controlled by Salvador companies. Similarly, the headquarters of the sugar industry and the chief market for its products is Salvador. Feira de Santana is also a functional center for the region, since in its markets the agricultural and industrial products which either originate in the Recôncavo or are imported through Salvador are exchanged for the livestock, crops, and extractive products of the sertão.

B BB 241 Many of the features of the agricultural system of the Recôncavo are also characteristic of Brazil. Both the land rotation system and the permanent monoculture are basic Brazilian agricultural systems. Agricultural technology, in the Recôncavo and in most parts of Brazil, B BB is relatively backward. Brazilian agriculture is labor extravagant, [464] and there is a constant falta de braços, but with few attempts at mechanization. Agriculture is highly speculative, whether tobacco in B BB the Recôncavo or coffee in São Paulo. The large property--latifundia-- [423] and the class organization with which it is associated are important [565] in the region and in the country as a whole. There are large numbers of semi-dependent small cultivators in the Recôncavo as in other parts of Brazil. Both the region and the nation are very dependent upon the sale of agricultural products to distant markets.

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241 The following assumptions underlie the discussion of the potentialities for agricultural development in the Recôncavo: (1) The Recôncavo, at least for the immediately foreseeable future, will remain a primarily agricultural region, i.e., agricultural production will remain the basic source of wealth. (2) Probably the region will continue to be dependent upon distant markets, either in central Brazil, Europe, or in the United States. (3) The population of the region apparently will continue to grow, as the result of the natural increase and probably as a result of continued migration from the sertão. If these assumptions are correct, two conclusions seem almost inescapable: (1) Commercial agriculture, at least partially oriented toward outside markets, will continue to be essential to the region, and, if imports are to keep pace with the growing population, will have to be expanded. (2) Greater food production will be necessary. It should be noted that these assumptions and conclusions are probably valid for Brazil as a whole as well as for the Recôncavo. Moreover, they are merely a restatement of the situation in which both the nation and region have found themselves for the last four centuries.

The two problems of food and export crop production are closely related--arable land is limited in the Recôncavo, and food production is necessary for the operation of the commercial agricultural economy. These two problems in their turn are inseparable from the physical and social context in which they exist. It is the particular advantage of agricultural geography that it provides the framework within which specific agricultural problems may be evaluated in relation to the
128 relevant human and physical environmental factors. The discussion
241 which follows will deal with the two basic problems of agricultural development under the following categories: (1) the sugar industry;

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128 241 (2) tobacco production; (3) manioc production; (4) the land rotation system; and (5) alternative agricultural products.

249 471 For three centuries the sugar industry was the basis of the commercial economy of the Recôncavo, and for the last century it has continued to play an important role. As a result of its long and profitable history, it has a number of advantages as a basis for agricultural development. Its capital assets are large--the best land in the region, a number of industrial plants, and a transportation network. Moreover, its [565] land is organized into large units, many of which are under the control of a single company, and all of which are under the control of a small group of the upper class. The industry has a large administrative staff, the most experienced in the region in large-scale enterprises--the organization of agricultural and industrial production, labor, transportation, and finance. It has the very great advantage of good political connections and government support. A part of the industry, [242] composed chiefly of the largest usinas, has had some experience with improved varieties of cane, and on a very limited scale with mechanization.

249 471 433 Against these advantages are a number of limiting factors. Most of the local capital of the sugar industry apparently is committed in the present plant. The sugar economy of the Recôncavo is large scale only in relation to the other agricultural enterprises of the region--the mean daily capacity of the mills can scarcely exceed 500 ton. Moreover, many of the mills are obsolescent--there is only one new usina, and only the larger mills have very much new equipment. Despite [464] the presumed administrative skill of the industry, labor has been one [178] of the continuing problems since the deterioration of the old feudalistic [466] employer-employee relationships of the late nineteenth century. However,

249 the crop region would decline and that manure, essential to the production of tobacco, would become even more expensive than at present. Any increase in the intensity of tobacco production would probably decrease the production of manioc, so that both the sub-region and the Recôncavo would have an even greater food deficit than at present.

241 The system of land rotation is clearly one of the basic problems of the Recôncavo. As the population of the region grows, the problem of the system of cultivation will almost certainly become progressively more acute. One solution which is being proposed by the rural missions of the Ministry of Education is the use of composting as a [178] substitute for manure. As yet the results of the mission program is not clear, but it is obvious that the resistance and the apathy toward new agricultural ideas in the region are very great. As far as could be ascertained, mixed agriculture has not been suggested as a solution to the problem. Indeed, in view of the lack of additional land for the production of forage crops or of grasses, it is difficult to see how such a proposal could be implemented.

242 It is apparent even to the casual observer that there are some alternative crops which might be produced in the Recôncavo. From time to time the agricultural experiment stations and a few enterprising [243] land owners point the way. One example is the production of corn as a commercial crop in the northern part of the município of Muritiba. At [312] the price of corn prevailing in 1953, it was believed possible to produce the crop profitably using irrigation water pumped from the Rio Paraguaçu, and a single landowner was making the attempt. Obviously there are no large areas in the narrow valley which can be irrigated, nor is the water supply great. It is, however, suggestive that it is possible to produce a staple food crop at as great a profit as tobacco. In the

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242 [245] In the sugar cane zone there has been one small scale experiment with white cacao, which can be sold at a higher price than the ordinary variety. It is believed that this crop would do well on the soils now under sugar cane and perhaps on some of the other soils of the lowlands. Since cacao in the Recôncavo presumably would be free of the diseases which cause so much difficulty in the main area of cultivation along the southern coast of the state, it might be possible to stabilize Bahia's cacao production and at the same time to improve agricultural conditions in the Recôncavo. [243] Another alternative use for the Cretaceous soils of the sugar cane region might be for the cultivation of rice, which is presently grown on a small scale in Santo Amaro. In view of the perennial shortages and high cost of food in both the Recôncavo and in Brazil, such a generally acceptable food should find a ready market. On the other hand, the development of cacao or rice cultivation in this area would mean the abandonment of the heavy investment in sugar mills and plantations.

241 178 Although the evaluation of specific suggestions is the province of the agricultural specialist, one fact is clearly shown in the results of the present research--any proposal for the future development of the Recôncavo will have to conquer the inherent traditional orientation of agriculture in the region.

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APPENDIX B

Changes in Crop Data

241 433 127 128 [659] The crop data in Produção Agrícola: 1948 were gathered by statistical agencies of the Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística established in each cidade of Bahia and of most other states in Brazil. The quality of statistical data assembled is highly variable, depending in part upon the efficiency of the agent but also upon the size of the município and upon whether the products are easily assessable, or are marketed locally, and a number of other factors. In a number of cases it has been necessary to modify obviously erroneous parts of the official data, which were sometimes contradictory and sometimes at variance with the agricultural pattern as determined by field investigation. This usually has been done by interpolating from other more creditable data from the same basic source or from other sources. In the following pages the important changes which have been made in the data for various crops will be discussed, and maps based upon the original data will be presented.

When the data for area, production, and value were combined to determine yield and price, and these relationships were mapped, certain obvious errors and a number of clues to the direction and extent of error were discernible because the general outline of price and yield pattern in the Recôncavo was clear. Generally one of the three base figures--area, production, or value--was accepted as valid and the others adjusted to bring yield and/or price into line. Because of an almost complete lack of property surveys, the crop area data are at best a gross estimate and liable to great error. On the other hand, [443] [659] the location of the statistical bureau in the cidades, usually the primary market, does give opportunity to make reasonably close estimates of value and production, at least of marketed crops.

241 of value and production, at least of marketed crops. The choice between
433 value or production as a base figure for correction was dependent upon
127 the individual case and the generally expected pattern of price and
128 yield.

244 Manioc. The basic shortcomings of the manioc data were clearly
433 revealed when area and production figures were combined to show yield.
127 While the mean calculated yield for the Recôncavo was 16.3 tons per
128 hectare, the mean calculated yield for individual municípios varied from 5.3 tons per hectare for Salvador to 39.0 tons per hectare for São Filipe (Map 130). Certain variations, related to precipitation, soil, and intensity and care of cultivation, are to be expected, but the yield maps revealed incredible contrasts. Especially noteworthy was the case of São Filipe, with its yield of 39 tons per hectare. Adjoining Cruz das Almas and Conceição do Almeida, with similar and if anything more efficient practices of cultivation and with similar soils and climate--especially since most manioc in São Filipe is grown in the area adjoining Cruz das Almas and Conceição do Almeida--produced only 14 and 10 tons per hectare, respectively. It was apparent that at least one element in the São Filipe data was in error. The other municípios with exceptionally high yields--São Francisco, with 34.5 tons per hectare, and Santo Amaro, with 25.3 tons per hectare--probably can be explained by high productivity when manioc is grown on a small and intensive scale on the more fertile clay soils.

In São Filipe the yield calculated from official data was three
[435] to four times that of the surrounding municípios. Moreover, the unit value per ton was Cr.$60, compared with Cr.$150 to Cr.$200 for adjacent areas. The conclusion that the production figure was an error was re-enforced through a comparison of the density of production in

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 409]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

APPENDIX F

Comparison of 1940 and 1948 Data for Cultivated Areas

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The figure for cropland in 1948, derived from the total area in principal crops, is less than half the total cultivated area which is given in the 1940 Censos Econômicos, as shown on the table which follows (Table XIX). The development of the individual crops, indicated by the statistical material available and by the situation which is to be observed in the area, indicates quite clearly that the catastrophic decline which these figures would seem to indicate has not in fact taken place. The growth of the population of the Recôncavo, without concurrent industrialization or radical reorganization of the agricultural system, has required the expansion, not the contraction, of the cultivated area. It is clear that the 1940 census data must have included much land that was not in crops--probably it included those areas which customarily were cultivated under the land rotation system but which were not, in 1940, in crops. Since the census was based upon the opinion of the agriculturalist as to the cultivated area and since it is the custom to regard fields recently abandoned as cultivated land, it is easy to see how the 1940 figure was so large. It is assumed, therefore, that the 165,235 hectares which the census called cultivated area in 1940 corresponds to the general area in which cultivation was customary and not to actual cropland.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

TABLE XIX

COMPARISON OF LAND CULTIVATED AS GIVEN IN THE 1940 CENSUS AND AS CALCULATED FROM 1948 CROPLAND DATA

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	Land Cultivated 1940	Land Cultivated 1948	Change
Central Recôncavo:			
Santo Amaro	19,252	8,417	-10,835
São Francisco	3,227	1,063	- 2,164
São Sebastião	4,798	2,516	- 2,282
Cachoeira	4,326	1,154	- 3,172
Northern Recôncavo:			
Coração de Maria	4,653	1,092	- 3,561
Irará	27,630	9,115	-18,515
Alagoinhas	3,868	2,464	- 1,404
Northwestern Recôncavo:			
Feira de Santana	20,457	3,994	-16,463
São Gonçalo	4,270	3,614	- 656
Conceição da Feira	2,363	1,343	- 1,020
Santo Estêvão	10,145	8,500	- 1,645
Southwestern Recôncavo:			
Muritiba	7,654	3,333	- 4,321
Cruz das Almas	8,585	12,796	+ 4,211
Conceição do Almeida	11,419	7,506	- 3,913
São Filipe	5,942	6,430	+ 488
São Félix	3,482	1,512	- 1,970
Eastern Recôncavo:			
Catu	5,484	741	- 4,743
Pojuca	1,037	259	- 778
Southern Recôncavo:			
Maragogipe	7,221	1,342	- 5,879
Itaparica	4,492	891	- 3,601
Salvador	4,930	1,921	- 3,009
Recôncavo Total	165,235	80,003	-85,232

Source: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II, and Produção Agrícola: 1948.

VILA RECÔNCAVO

tion plantation. At its highest level it is a form of unwritten social security which works well, supplementing the low wages which are paid throughout the area. Even on the factory plantations there is a mild form of paternalism, which is stronger in plantations nearer to the factory and to the home of the usineiro. 249* 466

The migrant workers, however, do not fit into the pattern of paternalism, mostly because they do not seek it. Indirectly they receive its benefits, for if one of them is ill he can go to the contractor who will then go to the plantation owner or usineiro for medicine or whatever is needed. But in general the migrant laborers stay by themselves and ask little or nothing of their employers. 249* 464 466

In addition to the protection provided by a paternalistic system, the workers have the right to at least half an acre of land on the plantation where they can plant and raise their subsistence crops. Often they also plant tobacco, both in these plots and in the small areas throughout the plantation where no sugar cane is planted, such as corners where the plow cannot penetrate. The tobacco is sold to traveling buyers who scour the area at the tobacco harvest season. The money thus gained belongs to the workers, and many of them say that cash earned in such a way provides the "extras" they like during the year, such as rum, cigarettes, a pair of earrings, or some perfume. 249* 466 [241] [443] [434]

226 men say that the fish are leaving, while others say there are
43 just as many as ever. It is a difficult thing to prove one way or the other, for written records of the annual catches are only recent. However, there is no such thing as being unable to sell the fish they bring in. Many people in town have increased their consumption of fresh fish as a result of inflation, for it is less expensive than dried or fresh meat. The fishermen themselves eat a great deal of fish, always keeping enough out of a catch for their own family. The planters of the rural area complain that the fresh fish never arrive at the plantations any more as they did in the past. This is probably due to the icehouse in the town. The fishermen sell first to their "usual customers," the women who work with xangô and shrimp; what is left is sold to the icehouse to be packed and shipped to Bahia, rather than being sent out to the country.

226 The jereré, a small basketlike net built around an iron ring 1 1/2 feet in circumference, is used by women and children along the shore and is part of a subsistence activity. It catches only a small crab (siri), an occasional eel, and other small fish which are cooked for the table in the form of moqueca, a sort of stew highly seasoned with peppers and dendê oil. The tideswamps abound in a large crab called the caranguejo, which is also highly prized for the table. Children often catch these, but a man who does so is called a caranguejeiro, a derogatory term. The hunter seeks the crab by sticking his arm down into its hole, which is usually very deep, at least arm's length. As a result he is always covered with the thick black mud so typical of the tideswamps. Often a tropeiro de cima comes to the town and commissions someone to catch the crabs, which he wraps carefully in mud and leaves and carries to the northern hinterland to sell.

463 The second largest subgroup in Group 3 is composed of the twenty-four gardeners (roçeiros) who are engaged in small-
241 scale commercial farming, rather than subsistence horticulture. They live in town and have their small fields on the outskirts of Vila Recôncavo. All of these fields are located on the plantation Engenho Da Vila ("P" on map of community), and they range from one, two, or three acres in size to as many as fifteen acres, rented from the plantation at Cr$100,00
241 an acre per year. The major crops are manioc, bananas, and to a lesser extent tobacco, sugar cane for chewing (cana de chupar), corn, beans, and squash. Because there are only 265

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[Town Life]

Because there are only 265 acres of manioc under cultivation in the entire county, production is far below the amount of farina consumed, and it is necessary to import the milled manioc tuber which constitutes the major dietary item of the people. In 1951 a municipal law was passed prohibiting the exportation of farina. Three times during the author's stay in the town there was a pronounced lack of farina, when there was almost none to be bought and its price per liter rose from one to three cruzeiros. That year's drought was also partly responsible for the shortage.

Bananas are the only commercial export crop of the gardeners. There are approximately 15,000 banana trees in the county, producing for the commercial market an annual production of 177,000 arms (cachos) of bananas, providing an income of Cr$500,000,00. The fruits are sold to a middleman from Bahia who knows most of the gardeners in the area. Once a week, or every two weeks, he arrives at the town in a large sailboat to receive the fresh bananas, which he then takes to Bahia and sells. Sometimes a gardener sells an arm of bananas to a woman in town who then resells them to townspeople. Few people in town have to buy them, however, for each household has at least one banana tree in the back yard. An acre of land supports about 144 banana trees, which when well cared for produce 1,500 arms a year. The fruits are sold in cargoes of fifty arms at Cr$160,00 a cargo, so that one acre earns about Cr$5,000,00 a year. This sum is almost entirely profit, for gardeners do most of their own work, except when they have too much land for one man to take care of properly. Hired help is paid in accordance with the service performed: ten cruzeiros for cutting fifty arms of bananas, twenty for transporting them to the dock if the gardener does not have his own animals, and a hundred cruzeiros an acre for "cleaning," i.e., cutting down and burning old stalks and leaves and keeping the weeds cut down.

Manioc presents a slightly different case, for the raw product must be processed before it is consumed. The manioc root from which farina is made is the poisonous variety and must be peeled and grated, pressed to remove the juice, and then toasted. The final product is a white powder, fine or coarse depending upon the type of grater used. Most of the local product is a coarse type (farinha de guerra). One of the gardeners has a flour house where the tubers are converted into flour. He mills his own manioc there and lets others use the machinery, charging them one liter of farina out of each ten they produce.

252 they produce. The juice which is squeezed out is saved, and starch is extracted from it to be used in pressing clothes. The nonpoisonous variety of manioc (aipim) is used to a much smaller extent. Usually the tuber is boiled in water and then eaten as though it were a potato, for it does not need any processing to render it edible.

241 463 Ten of the twenty-four gardeners concentrate on manioc, while the others raise bananas. Most of them also grow their own household subsistence crops, scattered among the manioc and bananas, such as corn, beans, squash, and often a few shoots of excellent tobacco. Many of them also produce a quarter or half acre of a heavy type of sugar cane (cana de chupar) which is stripped of its bark, cut into short pieces, and masticated, the pulp being spit out after the person has sucked out the juice. Almost everyone indulges in this, and the sugar which is absorbed is undoubtedly a great source of energy. The plots (roças) are fenced and protected by an ox skull stuck on one of the fence posts to keep out the evil eye. [146] [825] [789]

There are many gardeners to the west of the town who rent their small plots from either the Engenho da Vila or the federal school. This area has not produced sugar cane for many years, for it lacks the surface covering of massapê. These gardeners are often called matutos ("hicks"), real backwoodsmen who get along on subsistence agriculture and seldom leave their rural neighborhood. They are as far removed from contact with modern civilization as anyone could be while living in the Recôncavo. They live in well-hidden, small houses of mud and thatch, and one can ride through this section without seeing anyone. 241 463 554 [427]

443 463 The peddlers (ambulantes) listed in Group 3 have their houses in Vila Recôncavo but go from town to town selling their wares. While they do some trading at the fairs they also cover a regular route independent of the fairs. Compadresco, the system of godparentship, is important to them, for the houses of such relations give them a base of operations in every town they visit. One of the three is a man who buys and sells jewelry, and the other two are women; one sells cloth for dresses and the other sweets (doces), peanuts, and dried shrimp. The latter is one of the famous street merchants (bahianas) of Salvador; she sits on a street corner before a portable table selling favorite Bahian snacks such as acarajé and abará. She goes to Salvador on the boat on Saturdays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays, returning to Vila Recôncavo the [608]

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[464]
[241] sugar workers move rarely, remaining for generations on the same plantation. Each family has its garden where a little maize, beans
[465] and manioc are grown. Pay day comes every two weeks, when as a rule the worker goes to the owner's house to receive his money. The pay is small, 15 to 25 dollars a fortnight, depending on how
[461] much the man has worked during the period. Men do not like to work more than five to six hours a day, from six a.m. to twelve noon, and seldom work more than five days a week. They work easily, without hurry. In the afternoon they work in their garden, if their
249 wives have not already done so. On the plantation no one starves;
466 everyone has his *patrão* (protector) in the person of the owner, and in case of an emergency, accident or sickness, he expects help from him. This personal element is very important on most plantations in the vicinity of Vila Recôncavo; as a rule, the owner knows all the workers by name, knows their families and their family troubles and problems. He is aware of their love affairs and up-to-date on the
[164] health of new-born children and their mothers. Nearly all cases of sickness, from common colds and rheumatism to more serious ailments, are brought directly to the attention of the *patrão* or his wife. The owner, returning from a prolonged stay in the city, receives visits from the workers or from their wives, during which all the personal gossip is exchanged. The workers inquire about the owner's family and more extended family, for they generally know them all. Engagements, weddings, births, deaths and illnesses are reported on both sides. Complaints or requests are also made to the owner. The relationship is highly personal, intimate, gentle and frank.

466 On one rather small *usina*, which will be called São Pedro, in the
249 rural zone of Vila Recôncavo, the situation is somewhat different.
472 São Pedro is not one of the large *usinas* of the Recôncavo, owned by a corporation; it is relatively small and owned by one of the most
[473] important families of the Vila Recôncavo community, members of the regional aristocracy whose family has held plantations there for many generations. Because the owners of the *usina* actually administrate it, and since they are in residence in the locality at least part of the year, they are able to maintain many of the traditional personal relations with their employees, many of whom have worked on the plantations belonging to their family and in the *usina* for most
[162] of their lives. But there is a total of 1,183 workers and their families at the *usina* and on the plantations belonging to São Pedro, and the very size of the enterprise and the number of workers make for a more impersonal and more strictly economic relationship between employer and employee. Workers become more a name on a payroll, and the employer a person with whom one seldom has direct contact. In the larger *usinas* of the Recôncavo this trend is even more marked especially where the employer is a large corporation with offices in Salvador.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

and that the sudden liberation of large numbers of subjected blacks would subvert public order gradually melted away as the numbers of emancipated Negroes increased and these freedmen gave evidence of their ability and willingness to become an orderly part of the free population and to labor as effectively, if not more effectively, for wages as when impelled by physical force.

The free people of color (who by 1872 largely outnumbered the slaves)[97] were, Southey says, "an industrious and useful part of the population: most of the maize, manioc and pulse, with which the towns were supplied, was raised by them upon small pieces of ground, which they rented of the great proprietors at a low rate."[98] Freedmen were also employed as laborers on the large estates, where they lived as squatters on the land of their employers, erecting mud and palm-leaf huts for their families, and looking to the planter for protection from any who would do them harm.[99] In the towns they were employed principally as artisans, porters, messengers, barbers, street merchants and small shopkeep-

[97] Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

[98] Southey, *op. cit.*, III, 787. Cf. also: "The masters who freed slaves often gave them, with their liberty, a piece of land to insure their subsistence. The Negroes who have inherited these small holdings are to-day (1911) the best element of the black agricultural population" (Pierre Denis, *Brasil*, trans. from the French by Bernard Miall [New York, 1911], p. 322).

[99] Koster writes: "The Negroes in my possession could not perform what ought to be done in proper time; and therefore I collected free laborers for the purpose, and in a short period between thirty and forty men, some of whom brought their families, removed on to the lands of the plantation; and most of them erected hovels of palm-leaves, in which they dwelt; but a few of them were accommodated with huts of mud. . . . . Many of these fellows would have committed almost any crime under the impression that my protection would screen them" (*op. cit.*, I, 295, 297).

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 178 212 satisfaction with traditional ways but also because the low level of literacy makes difficult even the presentation of new methods. The low level of literacy directly limits the media available for propagation of new ideas, and there is little consciousness of the existence of other methods in other areas. These factors restrict the intellectual horizon and reduce the tolerance for change.

241 407 As yet, mechanized agriculture is almost unknown--there are probably less than fifty tractors in the entire Recôncavo. Agricultural [242] [254] machinery is confined almost exclusively to government agricultural experiment stations and extension services or to the largest sugar fazendas--in 1952-53 the tractors of the fazendas were largely unused because of the lack of new parts or general unsuitability for the tasks at hand. A very small number of agricultural workers have had any experience with agricultural machinery. The introduction of large quantities of farm equipment would raise many problems related to skill [493] and receptivity. However, the truck, bus, and jeep are omnipresent in the Recôncavo, and the number of competent drivers and mechanics is surprisingly large. Most of these mechanically skilled workers live in the cities and towns, but some are available everywhere, especially in the sugar area. In this area, too, many workers have had experience with such massive equipment as the ox-plow. Thus the introduction of tractors and their accessories into the sugar zone, the area most adapted to mechanization at the present moment, would find at least a small cadre of experienced workers available.

241 461 In addition to skills, the mode of labor and the attitude toward work are important factors in evaluating the agricultural labor force. Agricultural work in the Recôncavo tends to be a joint enterprise--it is joint effort which makes it possible to perform many heavy or arduous tasks with little mechanical assistance. On the cane plantations

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

244 manioc and produced 38 per cent of its 393,720 tons of harvested roots.
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311 Within this sub-region manioc occupied up to 20 per cent of the total land
area, i.e., 20 hectares per square kilometer (Map 23). Despite the
[249] intensity of cultivation and the concentration of production, the crop
is viewed by the people primarily as a means--subsistence--to an end--
[242] leaf tobacco production.[9] Manioc characteristically succeeds tobacco
in the field and fallow rotation system and is used to extract the maximum possible value from such nutrients as remain in the soil.[10]

244 A close areal and functional relationship between the two crops
249 is characteristic also of the linear zone of manioc cultivation which follows the belt of Intermediate Hills and the inner edge of the Uplands from the Rio Paraguaçu--at Cachoeira--to Irará. Much the same relationship exists in Santo Estêvão in the extreme west of the Recôncavo, where manioc, and tobacco, cultivation is concentrated in a zone of low serras. Apparently tobacco cultivation has been fixed by the greater precipitation around these serras, and manioc is grown in association.

The major southwestern concentration of manioc is continued beyond the Recôncavo along a belt extending through Santo Antônio and into the "coffee zone."[11] The cluster of manioc around the cidade of Santo Antônio is circum-urban, but the principal functional association is with tobacco cultivation, rather than with the small urban market.
[443] On the other hand, the concentration of manioc production around the city of Nazaré reflects a dependency on the local urban market and probably on the market of Salvador. Minor concentrations of cultivation in northern Itaparica and around Salvador also are related primarily to the market of the capital city.

244 The relative place of manioc within the agricultural system, as
311 measured by the per cent of the total cropland which it occupies, varies widely within the Recôncavo (Map 26). The statistical extremes are

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 156]

244 311 From the latitude of the head of the Bay northward, manioc appears as a dominant crop only in the <u>município</u> of Pojuca. In the Central Recôncavo, around the perimeter of the sugar cane area, manioc generally occupied, in 1948, less than 30 per cent of the cropland. In the north, [243] along the borders of the Recôncavo, the share of manioc in the cropland dropped to 10 per cent, and it was replaced by corn and beans as the basis of the subsistence economy.

244 311 433 The yield of manioc in the areas of heavy production was relatively low—10 to 15 tons of roots per hectare—compared to the Central Recôncavo, which produced small quantities at 30 tons per hectare (Map 27). These [134] differences in yield are related in part to the difference in soil fertility between the Cretaceous soils of the Central Recôncavo and the sandy loams of the Southwest. In addition, manioc is cultivated alone in the former zone, but follows the soil-taxing tobacco plant on the fields of the Southwest, thus further reducing the yield. The mean yield of manioc in the Recôncavo in 1948 was 14 tons per hectare, which is close to the 13 tons per hectare of Brazil and of the French Cameroons, but much higher than the 7 tons per hectare of Java and Madura.[13]

244 249 Manioc is, then, a crop characteristic of most parts of the Recôncavo and the surrounding zone, except in the sugar cane area and [242] the Tabular Uplands. The area of greatest concentration of cultivation and production is the Southwestern Recôncavo where manioc is integrated with tobacco production in a system of land rotation. In addition, as discussed above, manioc has the greatest relative importance of the crops of two zones in which the total area cultivated is small: the southwestern belt of forested lowland and the drier, scrub-forest Crystalline Uplands.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 crop of poor tobacco without the application of manure. Commercial
244 fertilizers are beyond the means of all but a very small minority of
237 cultivators. Those large growers who have experimented with commercial fertilizers report unfavorable results, presumably because of excessive leaching in the porous soils.

249 (3) The system of seed selection is illustrative of the general crudity of cultivation. As indicated above, the seeds are taken from the old and repeatedly harvested plants of the preceding season. The only criterion for selection is survival--the seed plant continued to produce longer than the rest of the crop. This does not mean that it produced more leaf or better quality--indeed, the opposite is often
[654] the case. Occasionally better seeds are available from the federal or
[242] state government, but the cultivators take little interest.

(4) The practice of harvesting the entire stalk or shoot at one time increases the variation in quality, since there are appreciable differences in the stages of development of the leaves. Immature leaves do not cure properly, while overripe leaves will produce only inferior grades.

249 (5) The primitive methods of drying and fermenting further re-
276 duce the quality of the leaf. Where the leaves are dried indoors over the fire, they acquire a smoky character. Frequently the debts of the
[424] cultivator force him to sell part of his crop prematurely so that a bulk large enough for fermentation is not assembled. On the other hand, if a large bulk of leaf is accumulated for curing and fermentation, there is always the risk of scorching, since thermometers are never used to check the temperature. A common abuse, and a costly one to the cultivator, results from delay in stringing the leaf up to dry. If the freshly cut leaves are allowed to remain piled in the sun before hanging, the green color is fixed. This damage cannot be

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

128 241 (2) tobacco production; (3) manioc production; (4) the land rotation system; and (5) alternative agricultural products.

249 471 For three centuries the sugar industry was the basis of the commercial economy of the Recôncavo, and for the last century it has continued to play an important role. As a result of its long and profitable history, it has a number of advantages as a basis for agricultural development. Its capital assets are large--the best land in the region, a number of industrial plants, and a transportation network. Moreover, its [565] land is organized into large units, many of which are under the control of a single company, and all of which are under the control of a small group of the upper class. The industry has a large administrative staff, the most experienced in the region in large-scale enterprises--the organization of agricultural and industrial production, labor, transportation, and finance. It has the very great advantage of good political connections and government support. A part of the industry, [242] composed chiefly of the largest usinas, has had some experience with improved varieties of cane, and on a very limited scale with mechanization.

249 471 433 Against these advantages are a number of limiting factors. Most of the local capital of the sugar industry apparently is committed in the present plant. The sugar economy of the Recôncavo is large scale only in relation to the other agricultural enterprises of the region--the mean daily capacity of the mills can scarcely exceed 500 ton. Moreover, many of the mills are obsolescent--there is only one new usina, and only the larger mills have very much new equipment. Despite [464] the presumed administrative skill of the industry, labor has been one [178] of the continuing problems since the deterioration of the old feudalistic [466] employer-employee relationships of the late nineteenth century. However,

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 471 433 these individual shortcomings of the industry are less important than, and to a certain extent derived from, three basic problems of the sugar economy: land, market, and leadership.

249 [311] Most of the area of Cretaceous soil in the lowlands of the Recôncavo presently is occupied by sugar cane or by the fallow fields. Only those lands which are too wet or which are needed for settlement, mills, or transportation are not used for cultivation. Thus there seems to be little opportunity to increase the area of good sugar cane land. It would presumably be possible to reduce the fallow period by lengthening the period of ratoon harvests or to abandon the fallow period altogether. If, as seems likely, these changes would reduce the yield of cane, then it would be necessary to begin to use expensive imported fertilizers in order not to lose the advantages gained by increasing the intensiveness of cultivation. [242] The introduction of high-yielding Javanese varieties of cane has already been attempted, but because of climatic conditions, soil deficiencies, poor cultivation practices, or a combination of these factors, yields remain below East Indian levels. [134] It is theoretically possible that sugar cane cultivation could be extended to the other soils of the lowland--the Tertiary sandy soils and the crystalline soils of the peninsula and of the Intermediate Hills west of the Bay. Both of these soils, however, are relatively infertile, and the sandy soils are particularly unsuited for cane because of their poor retention of water. Sugar cane cultivation is not practical on the Uplands on account of the low precipitation--cane can be grown in only a few damp valleys of the Uplands.

175 249 439 The second great disadvantage of the sugar cane industry of the Recôncavo is in its market relationship. The history of the sugar cane economy of the region may be summarized as follows. At the end of the sixteenth century the forty <u>engenhos</u> of the Recôncavo exported 1,800 tons

249 the crop region would decline and that manure, essential to the production of tobacco, would become even more expensive than at present. Any increase in the intensity of tobacco production would probably decrease the production of manioc, so that both the sub-region and the Recôncavo would have an even greater food deficit than at present.

241 The system of land rotation is clearly one of the basic problems of the Recôncavo. As the population of the region grows, the problem of the system of cultivation will almost certainly become progressively more acute. One solution which is being proposed by the rural missions of the Ministry of Education is the use of composting as a [178] substitute for manure. As yet the results of the mission program is not clear, but it is obvious that the resistance and the apathy toward new agricultural ideas in the region are very great. As far as could be ascertained, mixed agriculture has not been suggested as a solution to the problem. Indeed, in view of the lack of additional land for the production of forage crops or of grasses, it is difficult to see how such a proposal could be implemented.

242 It is apparent even to the casual observer that there are some alternative crops which might be produced in the Recôncavo. From time to time the agricultural experiment stations and a few enterprising [243] land owners point the way. One example is the production of corn as a commercial crop in the northern part of the município of Muritiba. At [312] the price of corn prevailing in 1953, it was believed possible to produce the crop profitably using irrigation water pumped from the Rio Paraguaçu, and a single landowner was making the attempt. Obviously there are no large areas in the narrow valley which can be irrigated, nor is the water supply great. It is, however, suggestive that it is possible to produce a staple food crop at as great a profit as tobacco. In the

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

242 [245] In the sugar cane zone there has been one small scale experiment with white cacao, which can be sold at a higher price than the ordinary variety. It is believed that this crop would do well on the soils now under sugar cane and perhaps on some of the other soils of the lowlands. Since cacao in the Recôncavo presumably would be free of the diseases which cause so much difficulty in the main area of cultivation along the southern coast of the state, it might be possible to stabilize Bahia's cacao production and at the same time to improve agricultural conditions in the Recôncavo. [243] Another alternative use for the Cretaceous soils of the sugar cane region might be for the cultivation of rice, which is presently grown on a small scale in Santo Amaro. In view of the perennial shortages and high cost of food in both the Recôncavo and in Brazil, such a generally acceptable food should find a ready market. On the other hand, the development of cacao or rice cultivation in this area would mean the abandonment of the heavy investment in sugar mills and plantations.

241 178 Although the evaluation of specific suggestions is the province of the agricultural specialist, one fact is clearly shown in the results of the present research--any proposal for the future development of the Recôncavo will have to conquer the inherent traditional orientation of agriculture in the region.

trative work; he comes into office with a mayor and frequently remains through the terms of several other mayors. He therefore knows the duties well and can aid the mayor considerably. In addition, the secretary has a small store in town, capitalized at Cr$10.000,00, where drinks (rum and soft drinks), dried meat (charque), cigars, cigarettes, grass mats, condensed milk, wooden sandals, and a few other small items are sold.

The top municipal office is that of the mayor, which in Brazil is a county-wide office. The mayor is not on the above list as an employee, because he occupies another place in the census from which these data were taken. In Vila Recôncavo the mayor has come traditionally from the top social level, the rural landowning group. The office is elective, with a four-year term, except in the 1930's and 1940's, when the mayor was chosen by the appointed governor of the state (interventor). In Vila Recôncavo, as a general rule, the mayor has little or no interest in the town or, except in a few cases, in the office, which is considered a more-or-less onerous duty. He traditionally does not accept his salary. At the time of the last election there was consternation on the part of the planters, for no one wanted the office but clearly someone had to take it. When the choice was made, the candidate--one of the usina directors--was elected, for he had no opponent. The majority of the duties are left in the hands of the secretary, the mayor doing only a minimum of supervision and contributing little that is constructive. Generally any important matters are discussed at the home of the mayor, and his orders are conveyed to the secretary by messenger or telephone.

The last mayor, Dr. Aliança, was an exception to the rule. He was interventor in 1947 and was elected mayor in 1948, serving until the general elections in the fall of 1950. He is a civil engineer and the owner of two large plantations, maintaining in perfect condition the old master's house of the former plantation in which he lives, as well as a large house in Salvador. While the roots of his family are in the Recôncavo, he himself came from the north and married into a plantation family of Vila Recôncavo. Although his family tradition has been that of sugar cane, he has not hesitated to break many of the traditional patterns of the area. One of his two plantations has been given over to experiments with other crops, such as bananas, rice, and manioc, on a relatively large scale, and also some production of milk and butter. A few

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632 years ago, after determining that these crops were not suf-
463 ficiently rewarding, he made a large-scale planting of white
cacao. It is still too early to speak of the outcome of this ven-
ture, for the trees have not yet started to give their first fruit,
• [242] but this instance illustrates his usual energetic spirit.

Dr. Aliança took the office of mayor seriously and gave a
159 great deal of energy to it. His accomplishments were many
in the space of a few years: the paving of most of the town's
632 streets, the installation of electric lights on the streets, the
463 formation of a company to sell electricity to those who wanted
it, the installation of telephone communications with the cap-
653 ital, and the construction of a new, modern primary school
building. As a result of his personal energy and direction
these works were completed, or at least nearly so, when he
left the office. (According to law, the mayor cannot be re-
elected). However, with the exception of building a bridge,
nothing was done in the rural areas of the county. Tradition-
ally any public works in the county are done in the county seat.

441 Many of the merchants in Group 1 are small operators.
The capitalization of the stores in Vila Recôncavo runs from
463 Cr$100.000,00 to as low as Cr$5.00,00. However, no matter
443 how small the store, it provides a living for someone, or as
they say in Vila Recôncavo, "Sempre da!" To the ordinary
[471] town citizen it is difficult to get enough capital together to open
a store, but once opened it rarely closes for lack of business.
Of the twelve stores in town, eight are owned and operated by
men, and the other four belong to women. The best store in
441 town and the poorest one both belong to women. The "best"
444 store, Dona Carmen's, is the oldest, located on the main
street leading from the boat dock. At present it is owned by
[428] Dona Carmen, who inherited it from her brother. It com-
bines a general store and a bakery, and its prices are often
slightly higher than those in other stores. It serves most of
the people living in the older section of town. In addition to
having the largest stock of ordinary foods, the store also car-
ries finer packaged products such as wines, jellies, and pre-
serves.

444 Bread is baked in the afternoon and delivered to the doors
of the customers' houses, still warm and with the delicious
256 odor always associated with bread fresh from the oven. The
bakery's customers for the most part have standing orders,
receiving bread or rolls each day in time for supper. What
is left over is hawked through the streets by the delivery boy,

change. New faces and basically different relationships prevail at Usina São Pedro. 178 249* [466]

Another change, but this time in tune with the past, was an increase of capital, applied to the improvement of the factory. The capacity of the mill has been greatly enlarged. However, the agricultural part of the combination continues as it did before, with no innovations. The result is that the factory is able to mill and produce sugar much more quickly than it can be supplied with sugar cane. The hierarchical aspect of the factory as earlier diagrammed remains the same, and each plantation is still run as a separate unit. 178 249* 433 [471] [466]

In contrast, the private plantation in the community of Vila Recôncavo has undergone relatively little change in these five years. Always the most conservative element in the Recôncavo, the private plantation continues to retain its distinguishing feature: the personal, face-to-face, paternalistic owner-worker relations. The hierarchical pattern remains the same. Operations are still basically hand- and animal-powered, but private planters are slowly introducing mechanization in certain aspects of the process, especially that of transportation; trucks and tractor-drawn wagons carry cane from the fields to the factory. Tractors and mechanical plows are used to an increasingly large extent in the preparation of the soil, and mechanical cultivators are already in use on some plantations. However, the bulk of the work is still done by hand, and traction is supplied by oxen and mules. As yet no mechanical loaders, ditch-diggers, or planters have appeared, and little use is made of fertilization or herbicides. Few scientific agricultural practices are in use. The planter is still first and foremost a "practical" man. 178 249* 461 [492] [493] [407] [492] [407] [242]

Relations between the factory and the private plantations have also undergone considerable change, in both business and social aspects. The new managers of the factory have succeeded in almost completely alienating the private planters who supply them with sugar cane. Not only the members of the extended Conde family, but also other cane suppliers resented the highhanded, brusque methods of the new managers. Wishing to break completely with the past, the new managers instituted several new policies in relations with the cane suppliers. Formerly the private suppliers bought sugar by the sack, bought their supplies at the company store, and had their machines repaired at the company workshops, paying for such services at the end of the harvest season. The sup- 178 249* 571 [443] [452] [407]

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*249 For the first time in the history of Vila Recôncavo the work-
468 ers' discontent has taken the form of a strike accompanied by violence. The strike, although a general one throughout the sugar industry, was the first one in which workers of Vila Recôncavo participated. It was specifically directed against the
178 agricultural part of the factory combination; however, it af-
*249 fected some private plantations as well, and was joined by
468 workers of private plantations. The strike was put down im-
467 mediately and effectively by the state police. On investigation the police found considerable Communist literature and prop-
668 aganda in the quarters of the labor union in Centro which had organized the strike. The labor union itself was illegal, since
[625] it was not registered with the proper authorities, and its leaders were well-known Communist agitators. What is important for our study is the appearance in the community of Vila Recôncavo of written and verbal Communist propaganda and the willingness of the local agricultural workers to participate in a general strike. This is a tremendous change for such a conservative area, where loyalty and paternalism have always been so strong.

178 Thus the sugar industry of Vila Recôncavo has entered a
*249 phase of many new difficulties: ties between factory and pri-
571 vate planters are strained, and labor relations are becoming a problem for the private, as well as the corporate, planters.
466 Inflation and the "dollar situation," which affect planters directly since all machinery must be imported, are also working toward the build-up of a new "crisis," continuing the pattern described in Chapter 3.

178 However, a new element is entering the community of Vila
245 Recôncavo in the form of a new crop, cacao. One of the plant-
• 242 ers began experimenting with cacao during the author's first period of research in Vila Reconcavo. However, at least five years must pass before it can be known if the cacao tree will give satisfactory fruit. At the end of 1955 the Institute of Cacao of Bahia presented the experiment to the public as a success and is now systematically stimulating interest in cacao as a possible and lucrative substitute for sugar cane.

245 Cacao is Bahia's major export crop and in general means
439 money to a Bahian. Still more attractive is the fact that the cacao introduced to the Recôncavo is a genetic mutation, giv-
178 ing a white-seeded fruit which brings a much higher price on the
*[249] world market than does the ordinary fruit. The financial attraction of cacao, plus the disagreeable and financially weak

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position of the sugar industry in Vila Recôncavo, is creating considerable interest on the part of the community's planters. Just as sugar cane is limited by soil and climatic conditions, so also is the cacao. There is little fear, therefore, of competition from many other areas. In addition, cacao is exportable, while the sugar of the area is for internal consumption only.

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In spite of the attraction of this new crop, there are a number of problems which must be dealt with. First, the details of a change from sugar cane to cacao must be worked out, especially as regards space and financing. The planter must juggle his sugar plantings, pastures, and rotation lands so that he can slowly take out land for preparation for cacao. If he wants to finance the changeover himself, he cannot lessen his sugar production; in fact, he needs more money than before. Banks in general lend on the forthcoming crop; if the crop is reduced, so is the amount which can be borrowed. However, to overcome this, the Institute of Cacao of Bahia is preparing a financing program on a long-term basis. Sugar cane is a perennial, planted one year, bearing for the next three or four years, then ploughed under and replanted. Cacao, on the other hand, is a permanent tree crop which gives its first fruit in five years, reaches maturity in fifteen or twenty years, and then continues to produce annually for sixty to one hundred years. Thus sugar cane is financed on a one-year basis, while initial plantings of cacao must be financed on a long-term basis of ten to fifteen years. The change from a perennial crop to a permanent crop also requires a totally different mental set on the part of the planter.

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Cacao is a "forest crop," which means that it requires shading. Under primitive conditions it is planted in dense tropical forest. In Vila Recôncavo, however, the former tropical forest has been entirely cleared away during the last four hundred years, since sugar cane tolerates no shade. Therefore, before the cacao can be planted, shade must be provided. This is done by planting banana trees and, at fixed intervals, single seedlings of a precocious, long-living, high-growing shade tree. To pay for the work involved it is common to plant manioc between the banana trees. The manioc is gathered the following year, and shortly thereafter the young cacao trees can be planted. The banana trees offer sufficient shade for the young plants. For a period of five or six years the planter

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242 can collect bananas, which should pay for the operating costs
[434] while waiting for the cacao to mature.

At the end of a five- or six-year period, the shade tree is usually large enough to provide sufficient shade, and the banana trees are gradually removed. At the same time the cacao begins to give its fruit, and one can then consider himself a cacauicultor.

178 Several planters in Vila Recôncavo are at the banana-manioc
245 planting stage, and have met with their first serious labor
461 problem. No one wants to work in banana and manioc fields,
464 as the work is arduous and slow. Machines are not available
[407] for the mechanical cultivation of manioc, so the work must be done by hand. The work is slowly being accomplished, but at costs which will make the manioc a considerable liability.

178 Nevertheless, in spite of these difficulties, there is con-
245 siderable interest in cacao in Vila Recôncavo, and cacao must
433 be considered as an element of change in the community which
*[247] will have far-reaching effects. The area of sugar production will be considerably reduced, requiring adjustments on the part of the factories, which represent large financial investments. Furthermore, cacao is a fairly simple product to process--its conversion into chocolate is usually done after export --and so it is quite likely that each plantation will return to the older aspect of the plantation, both growing and processing the crop, and become once again a highly self-sufficient unit.
[571] This would of course bring about a new alignment of socio-economic relations and would undoubtedly alter the community structure.

178 A third principal cause of change in Vila Recôncavo is the
315 growth of a new and potent industry within the community and
433 throughout the county. This new industry is the nascent Brazilian petroleum industry. Exploratory work was done in Vila Recôncavo in 1950 and 1951 under the guidance of the Conselho Nacional de Petroleo. Since that date a nationalized company, Petrobrás, has been formed to exploit the oil fields which lie under the topsoil of the county of Vila Recôncavo. Petrobrás has brought in several hundred oil wells and has built roads, pipelines, storage tanks, and machine shops. Just outside the limits of the community, but within the county, it has built its oil refinery and has created a small new, modern city to
[425] house the technical workers of the refinery and the field. On land expropriated from the Usina São Pedro it has also con-

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In the very large *usinas*, the mill hands and even the field hands are modern industrial workers. They are employees of a large industrial corporation and are protected at least theoretically by the labour laws of the nation. The highly personalized relationship between the plantation workers and the owner-administrator of his own plantation, which persisted from the slave era, has been replaced on the larger *usinas* by the impersonal employee-employer relationship of the modern industrial age. Today, modern plantations and small towns have electricity; there is modern housing for workmen; the State and even the sugar companies provide medical aid; there are primary schools both in the small towns and on many plantations; recreation facilities are found in the towns and provided by the *usinas*; and the sugar-cane experimental station situated in the area constantly urges fertilization of the land and modern techniques and methods of sugar-cane production. But the older and more traditional patterns exist side by side with the new, and each of them influences the relations among the racial groups of the zone.

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III. Vila Recôncavo is a small town on the Bay of All Saints. The rural area around it, which lies within the social and economic orbit of the town and which is the unit under consideration, comprises some 80 square kilometres, or slightly less than half the entire area of the county of which the town of Vila Recôncavo is the county seat.[1]

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It this area there are 14 plantations, three of which nowadays plant very little sugar cane. Parts of the town itself are built on the land of one of these plantations, and the rest of the town area is owned in small lots by private individuals or by the Church. Although Vila Recôncavo is the county seat, local government is the only important function which it fulfils for the surrounding area. It is not used as a shipping point, either for receiving supplies from the outside or for sending sugar to the outside. *Braços do mar*, or inlets of the bay, go to many of the plantations and are deep enough for the *saveiros* (shallow draft sailboats) used on the bay for transport. Many of the plantations have direct connexion with Salvador. Commerce in Vila Recôncavo is almost entirely limited to supplying the 1,462 inhabitants of the town and of some small islands and of one community near by which is not devoted to sugar production. It is not the major supply source even for these groups which live near enough to another and far larger commercial centre where they prefer to do their marketing. The *prefeito* or mayor of the county is rarely a resident of the town itself. Rather he is usually a planter of the surrounding area. He goes into town to do municipal business,

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[1] Both the town and the county bear the name of Vila Recôncavo.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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311 From the latitude of the head of the Bay northward, manioc appears as a dominant crop only in the município of Pojuca. In the Central Recôncavo, around the perimeter of the sugar cane area, manioc generally occupied, in 1948, less than 30 per cent of the cropland. In the north, [243] along the borders of the Recôncavo, the share of manioc in the cropland dropped to 10 per cent, and it was replaced by corn and beans as the basis of the subsistence economy.

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433 The yield of manioc in the areas of heavy production was relatively low--10 to 15 tons of roots per hectare--compared to the Central Recôncavo, which produced small quantities at 30 tons per hectare (Map 27). These [134] differences in yield are related in part to the difference in soil fertility between the Cretaceous soils of the Central Recôncavo and the sandy loams of the Southwest. In addition, manioc is cultivated alone in the former zone, but follows the soil-taxing tobacco plant on the fields of the Southwest, thus further reducing the yield. The mean yield of manioc in the Recôncavo in 1948 was 14 tons per hectare, which is close to the 13 tons per hectare of Brazil and of the French Cameroons, but much higher than the 7 tons per hectare of Java and Madura.[13]

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249 Manioc is, then, a crop characteristic of most parts of the Recôncavo and the surrounding zone, except in the sugar cane area and [242] the Tabular Uplands. The area of greatest concentration of cultivation and production is the Southwestern Recôncavo where manioc is integrated with tobacco production in a system of land rotation. In addition, as discussed above, manioc has the greatest relative importance of the crops of two zones in which the total area cultivated is small: the southwestern belt of forested lowland and the drier, scrub-forest Crystalline Uplands.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 244 433 has made increasingly greater demands upon the land, at least during the decades between 1930 and 1950. In some areas, such as Cruz das Almas, the mean fallow period seems to have been reduced to a minimum of one or two years during the late 1940's. As the result of these developments, the município seems to be faced with the necessity of either a decrease in production or a radical reorganization of the system of cultivation.[21]

249 241 433 However, tobacco is to Cruz das Almas or São Gonçalo what sugar cane is to the Central Recôncavo—a way of life. Agriculture without tobacco is both economically and culturally distressing to the cultivator of the Southwestern Recôncavo. Unlike the sugar cane planter, the agri- [178] culturalists of the tobacco zone cultivate crops other than the chief commercial product, but as a cash crop they are very reluctant to accept any substitute. Habit is a very great force in the agriculture of all parts of the Recôncavo.

249 433 A result of the traditional and speculative orientation of the people of the tobacco zone is the extreme importance of tobacco—a commercial non-food crop--throughout the zone. In 1948, six municípios of the Recôncavo cultivated more tobacco than any other crop, and in five others it was second in importance. In only two municípios, Itaparica and Salvador, was it lower than fourth in area occupied.

243 433 Corn. Traditionally corn (milho) is a crop of the caatinga (scrub forest), and its greatest relative dominance is found just northwest of the Recôncavo in the município of Serrinha. It is, however, grown on a small scale throughout the Recôncavo, and there are at least two areas of intensive production. Corn is overshadowed by other crops, particularly manioc, tobacco, and sugar cane, in all parts of the Recôncavo except the North and the Northwest.

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Like manioc and tobacco, corn is an indigenous crop which was borrowed from the Indians in the early phases of European settlement and which became a basic subsistence crop in Brazil. Its cultivation, like manioc, is a characteristic feature of the agricultural landscape over an extensive coastal belt from the Amazon to Rio Grande do Sul and, unlike manioc, beyond into northern Argentina. In Brazil, corn is cultivated on more land than any other crop, and in most states it is either the second or third crop in value. In the Recôncavo it is the fourth ranking crop in area of cultivation, but only the seventh in the total value of production. The cultivation of corn is very closely associated, areally and functionally, with beans--"succatosh" is a common crop combination in the Northwestern Recôncavo and the adjoining region.[22]

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Corn also resembles manioc in the purpose of cultivation; it is primarily a subsistence crop for local consumption, but there are surplus producing areas with a rudimentary commercial corn economy. In those areas of the Recôncavo where corn is produced in small quantities, it is almost exclusively a minor subsistence crop which is eaten by the cultivator and his family, though a few ears or a small sack of shelled corn may be sold in the market for local consumption. Such semi-subsistence producers are usually small-scale farmers, squatters, or share-croppers. In the Northern and Northwestern Recôncavo, where cultivation of corn is more intensive, there are occasional large-scale corn growers, but the bulk of the area and production in this zone belongs to small operators. Even these small producers usually sell their corn at the market—it is exchanged for the cheaper farinha de mandioca. In the Recôncavo corn is used exclusively as a human food, and there is no corn-livestock complex.

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Only three municípios of the Recôncavo, all very large, had over 500 hectares of corn in 1948 or produced over 500 tons of shelled corn.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

243 311 433 The Recôncavo as a whole had 9,679 hectares of corn, with a production of 10,283 tons. Of this, 87 per cent of the area and 84 per cent of the production was in Santo Estêvão, Feira de Santana, and Irará (Maps 34, 35, and 36). The area and production of the Recôncavo were about the same as for one adjacent município, Serrinha, which had 8,500 hectares and 11,590 tons of corn in 1948.

243 311 Most of the corn grown and produced in the Recôncavo comes from two compact concentrations, one around the cidade of Irará; the other around the cidade of Santo Estêvão. Elsewhere in the Recôncavo it is grown either on very widely scattered plots or as a "garden" crop.[23]

The concentration of corn production is the result of several physical and economic factors. It is cultivated on the dry margins of the Recôncavo, where only a few restricted areas can produce a crop. 243 [438] (489) Though a commercial product of moderate value, its weight- or bulk-price relationship is not highly favorable to long transportation to market--in contrast to tobacco, which tends to attach itself to even the smallest and most remote semi-subsistence plot, and in contrast to beef, [491] which in Bahia is moved to market on the hoof. The concentration around Santo Estêvão, which is on the main trunk highway to Feira de Santana, is favorable for the transportation of the crop, and the Irará concentration is linked to Feira by a generally passable road. [251] In the more humid parts of the Recôncavo, corn is restricted not only by its poor competitive position vis-à-vis sugar cane or tobacco, but also by its harvest requirements; it must be harvested and stored in the proper season, while manioc may be harvested as it is needed, a great advantage for a subsistence crop.

243 311 433 Corn, although the second most important subsistence crop of the Recôncavo, occupied in 1948 only 12 per cent of the total cropland.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 182]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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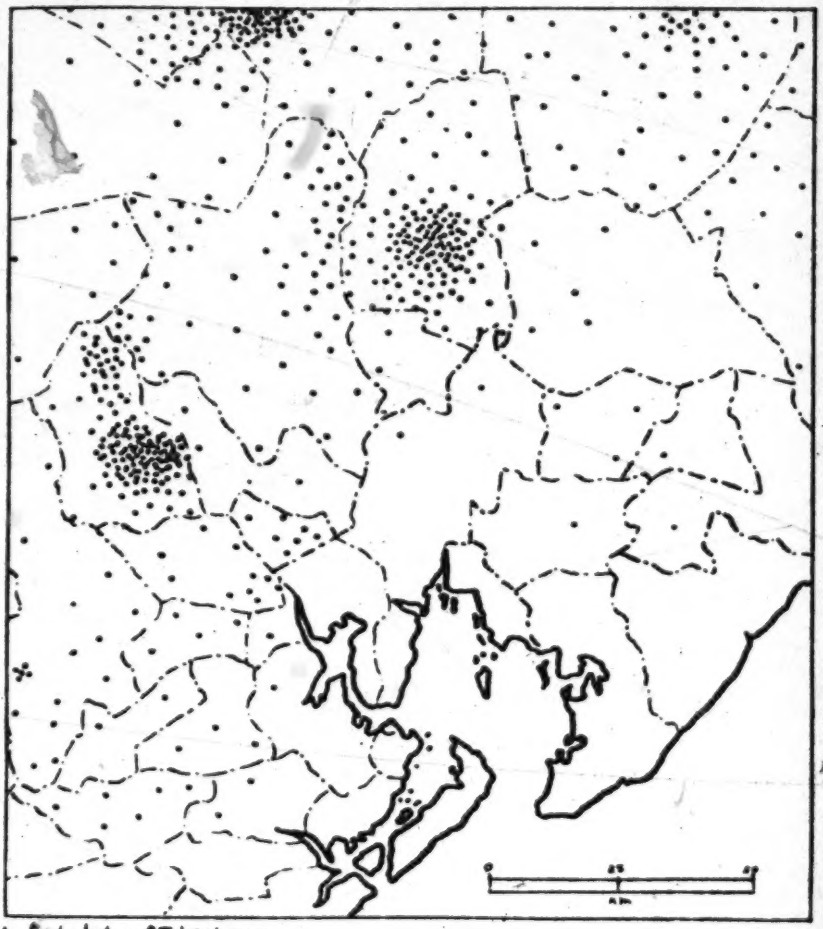

Each dot = 25 hectares

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Area in Corn--1948

Source of data: Produção Agricola; 1948.

MAP 34

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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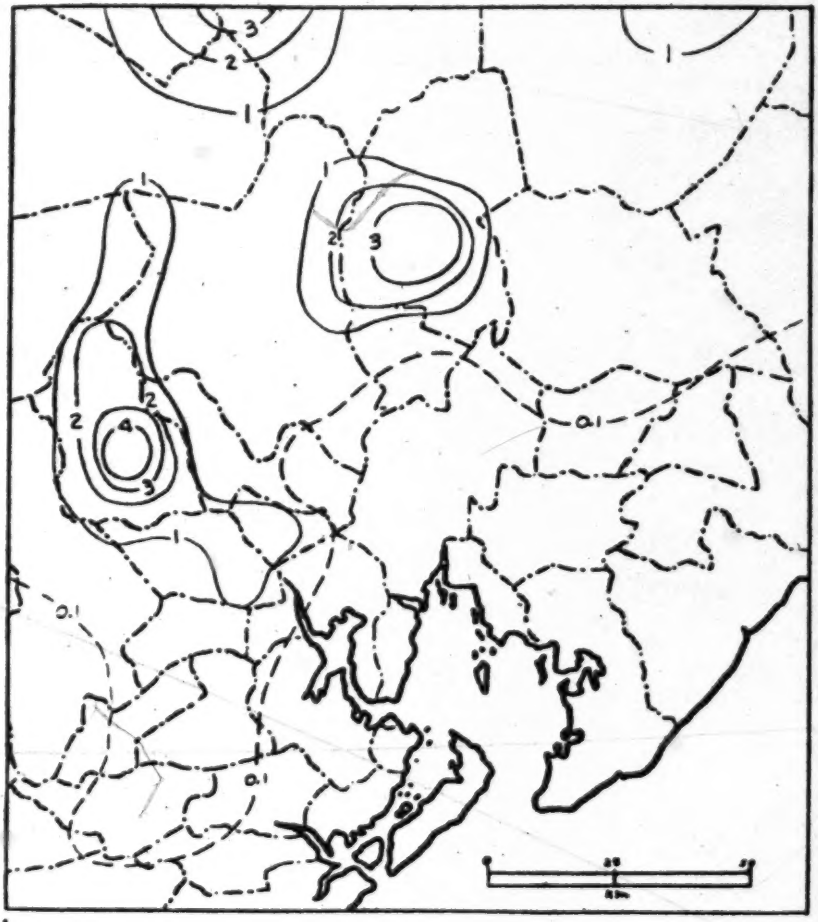

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Hectares of Corn per Square Kilometer of Total Area—1948

Source of data Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 35

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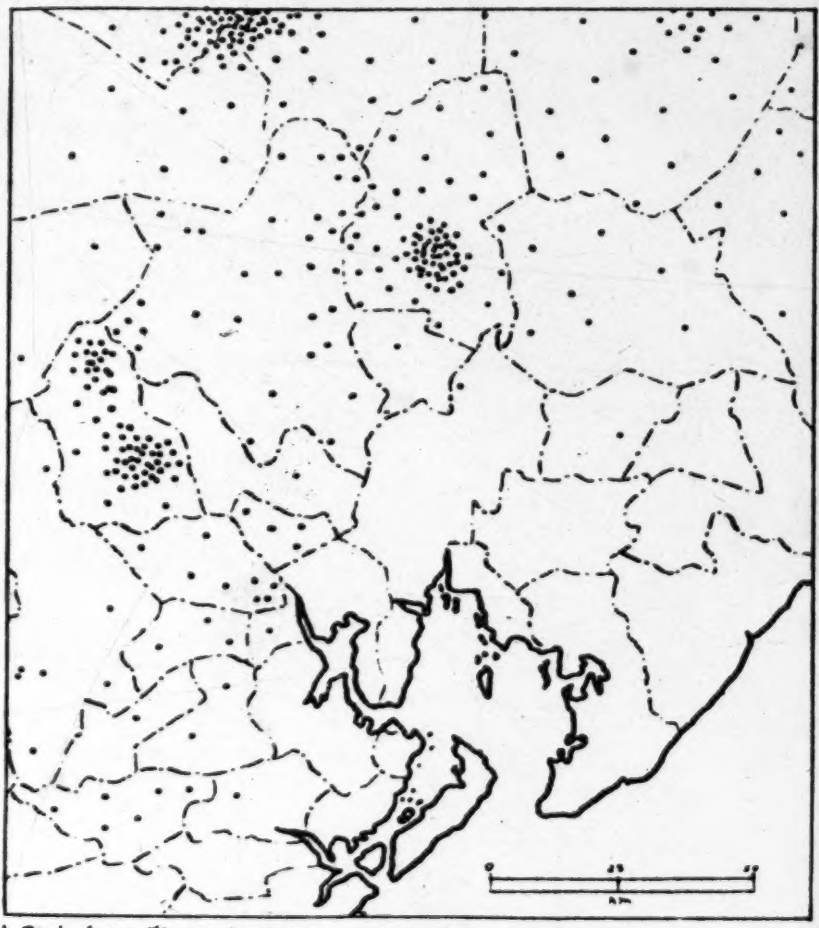

Each dot - 50 metric tons

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Corn--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 36

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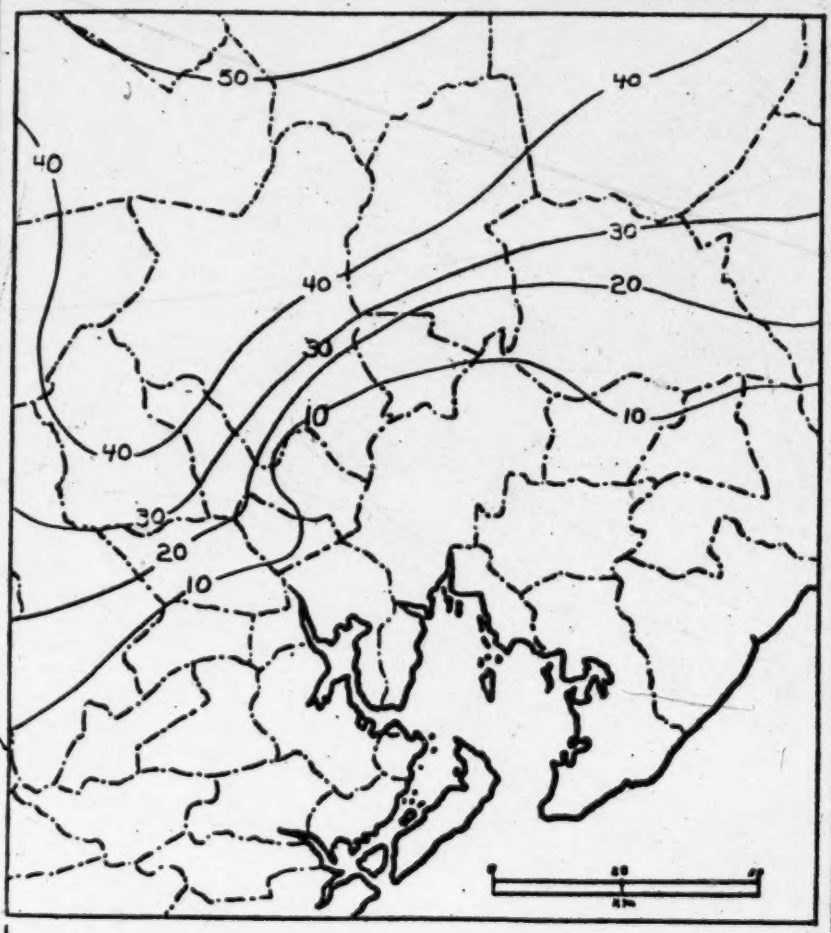

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of Cropland in Corn--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 37

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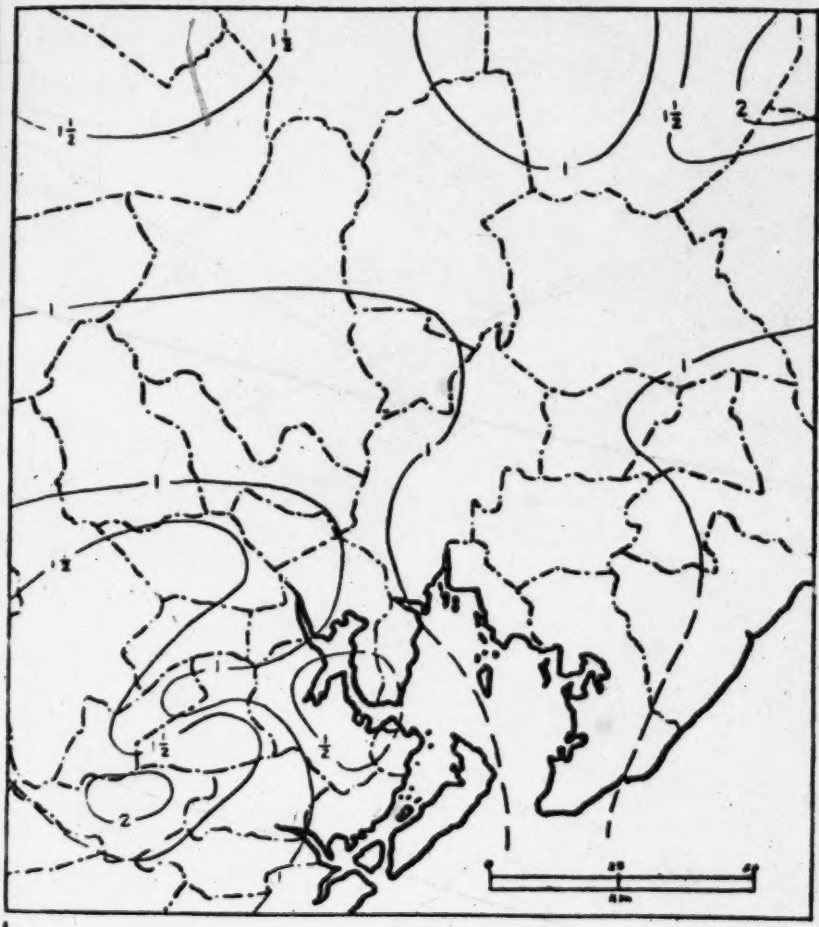
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243 311 It is primarily a crop of the sertão of northeastern Bahia, but it has intruded upon the northern and western perimeter of the Recôncavo (Map 37). In three municípios--Irará, Feira de Santana, and Santo Estêvão--corn is the most extensively cultivated crop. Conversely, it is rarely seen in the humid lowlands and in the Southwestern Recôncavo. In these areas it is found only in very small, widely scattered plantings.

243 433 The mean yield of corn in the Recôncavo was 1.09 tons per hectare, compared to 1.27 for Brazil, 2.46 for the United States, 1.0 for the Belgian Congo, and .81 for Java and Madura. The accompanying map of corn yields shows a somewhat random pattern within the Recôncavo, since the total area and production were very small and local circumstances of cultivation highly variable (Map 38). However, the area of main production northwest of the Recôncavo had a relatively high yield--over 243 244 1.5 tons per hectare. In this area, corn, with beans, pre-empts the areas with the most productive soils and the greatest precipitation.

244 Beans. Feijão, or the common field bean (Phaseolus vulgaris), like manioc, tobacco, and corn, is an indigenous domesticate which became an important subsistence crop during the colonial period. Like corn, beans are more specifically associated with the dry sertão than with the Recôncavo. Most of the beans grown in Bahia are the black [262] [252] variety, feijão preto; the beans are dried and used with charque (dried beef) in a soup which is one of the basic subsistence foods of the Northeast. Beans of this and other similar varieties of the same species are grown throughout Brazil.

244 433 In area and in quantity of production, beans are slightly less important than corn in the Recôncavo, but the value of the bean crop is almost double that of corn. The patterns of distribution of these two crops are almost identical, and the physical and cultural factors

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The Atlantic coast of Salvador and Itaparica supports
245 a coconut monoculture--a monoculture which is most strongly developed
311 north of the Recôncavo in Camassari and Mata de São João. The actual area of the coconut monoculture within the Recôncavo is slight, and beyond this monocultural zone, coconut cultivation is rarely significant within the region.

The coconut monoculture lies between the littoral forest and the beach in Itaparica and between the agreste and the beach in Salvador and in the municípios farther north. Except in the município of
[161] Salvador, the rural population of the coconut area is not dense. The
[162] [361] typical settlement of this zone is the fishing village, sprawled over the beach near the mouth of a small stream. Inland the population is scattered.

243 A much more important crop system intrudes upon the Northwestern
244 Recôncavo--the corn-bean system. The nuclear area for this system seems
311 to lie in northern Serrinha and in the municípios bordering upon the state of Sergipe. The area in which over 80 per cent of the cropland was in corn and beans in 1948 overlapped the borders of the Recôncavo into western Feira de Santana and Santo Estêvão--a zone of low serras (Map 76). In this zone the area in corn was from one to two times the area in beans (Map 77).

Most of the soils of this region are either crystalline or
[134] Tertiary sands, but the pockets of soil which are actually cultivated are almost invariably heavier and more water retentive than are the sandy upland soils of the taboleiros. The corn-bean region generally
[162] has a small but nucleated rural population and a few medium-sized cidades, which are the only towns of the very large municípios which are charac-
[361] teristic of the area. However, the part of the corn-bean region which overlaps the Recôncavo has a number of villages and hamlets in the valleys of the serras.

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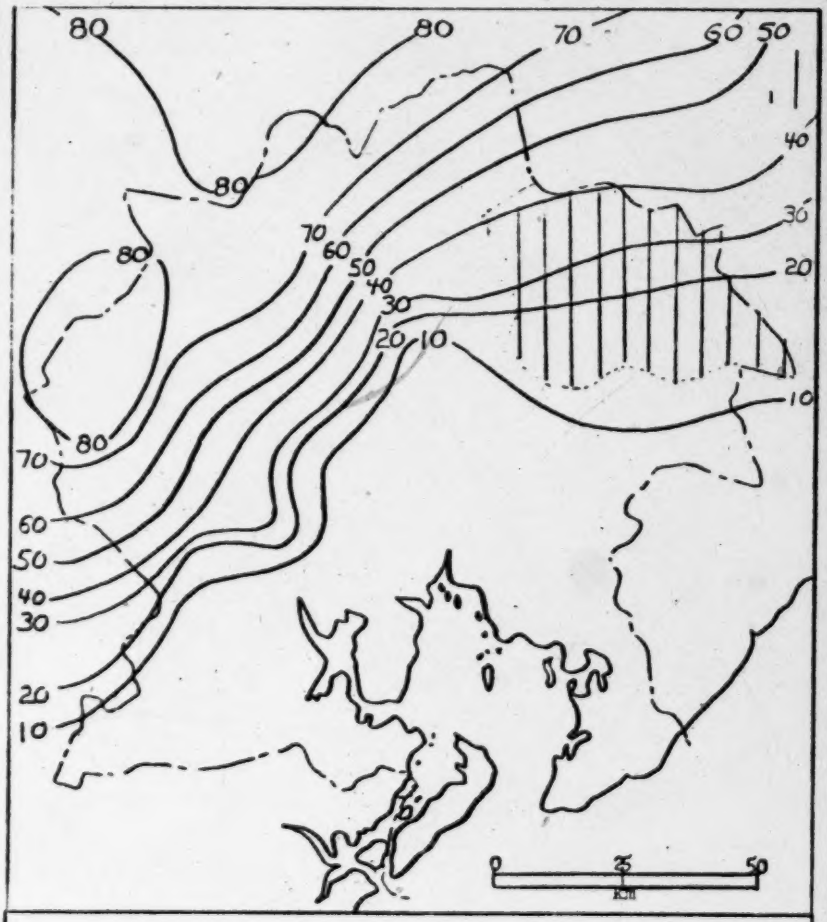

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Cropland in Corn and Beans--1948

Shaded area - Corn only

MAP 76

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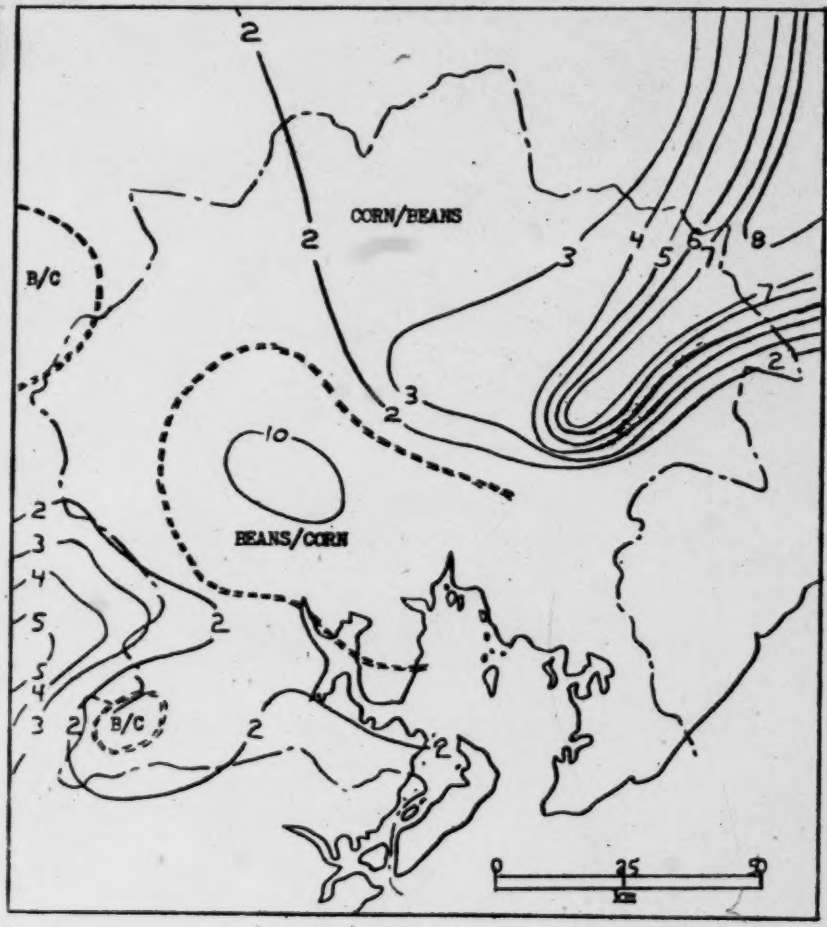

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Relationship of the Cultivated Area in Corn and Beans--1948

Corn/Beans - Area in corn exceeds area in beans
Beans/Corn (B/C) - Area in beans exceeds area in corn

MAP 77

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 244 one year could have intervened between manioc and tobacco. By 1953, the total cropland was obviously far below the 1948 level--probably no more than one-fourth of the land was under cultivation. Even so, the rotation period was extremely short, usually only one or two years. The cultivators are enclosed in a narrowing circle of exhausted soil, increasing cost of manure, and growing population. These are the fundamental problems of the tobacco and manioc region. All of these problems seem to be especially acute in the municipio of Cruz das Almas, but they are serious in every area where tobacco is grown.

243 244 The Cultivation of Corn and Beans. Corn and beans are usually cultivated in the Recôncavo under a land rotation system, much like the system of tobacco and manioc. The qualification "in the Recôncavo," is necessary because the modifications of the corn-bean system as it overlaps the Recôncavo from the north and west are very significant. In the sertão the areas suited to crop cultivation are more limited, primarily because of the lesser amount of precipitation. Where suitable areas are available, such as at the foot of the low mountains, cultivation tends to be permanent, particularly if the soils are relatively good and if the population is relatively dense for so droughty a zone--as in Serrinha and Inhanbupe. This permanent form of agriculture is called pé do monte (foot of the mountain) and is a relatively standardized agricultural system in the sertão, as well as in the crystalline zone near the western edge of the Recôncavo, in Feira de Santana and Santo Estêvão, where corn and beans are often cultivated around the low serras. In the Tertiary zone farther east, where there are no serras, a similar system of permanent cultivation is found in the valleys. Elsewhere within the Recôncavo, corn and beans are generally cultivated under the field and fallow system,

243 either separately or in conjunction with tobacco and manioc. They are
244 frequently grown on land thought to be not suitable for tobacco culti-
[134] vation yet too good for manioc alone, such as the steeper slopes of the crystalline area where the heavier soils do not produce good quality tobacco.

Since the area in corn and beans is small and the amount of slope land large, the capoéira is extensive and frequently quite tall. After the slopes are cleared, the land is very often planted to mixed corn and beans, more rarely to one or the other. The crops are planted
[221] in March or April, perhaps in May, and even in June for beans alone. The planting season for these crops is extended both because they are tolerant of changes in season and because as crops secondary to tobacco they have a lesser priority. Some corn is usually planted early enough
[527] so that it will ripen in time for São João (mid-summer day) festival
[862] for which fresh corn-on-the-cob is the traditional food. This festival is usually the beginning of the corn harvest, but the bean harvest
[251] begins a month later. Both crops are harvested by hand and, after drying, are shelled by hand, sacked, and either stored or sold. When the fertility of the soil is higher than normal or when there is labor to spare, the field may be planted to manioc after the corn and bean harvest.

243 As a result of the interpenetration of the corn-bean and the
244 tobacco-manioc systems, in many regions and on many individual proper-
249 ties the two co-exist. Usually the upland fields are in tobacco and
311 manioc, with an occasional plot of corn and/or beans. Usually the slope-land plots are in corn or beans.

249 The Cultivation of Sugar Cane. In distinction to the crops discussed above, sugar cane is grown under a system of permanent

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000 Footnotes - Chapter VI

[124] [129] [114] [1]The discussion of the cultivation of tobacco and manioc is based upon the following sources: (1) private conversations with Mr. G. G. Jay a tobacco buyer and grower of long experience in Bahia and in other regions of South America; (2) Walter Alberto Egler, "Aspectos Gerais da Cultura do Fumo na Região do Recôncavo na Bahia," Boletim Geográfico, Vol. X, No. 111 (November-December, 1952), pp. 679-688; (3) general field observations throughout the zone, except in Coração de Maria and Catu, and, during 1953-1954, detailed observations in São Gonçalo and in Cruz das Almas.

[804] [2]Tarefa means "a task," "a day's work," or "a piece of work," but it is also an antique unit of area which is the folk-unit of area throug out much of Brazil. Its size varies from place to place, but the tarefa baiana equals 0.4356 hectares. In many areas one tarefa is considered t be the usual size of the tobacco planting of one man, but it is obvious from a comparison of the labor force and area in tobacco that in many areas the plantings per person must run much larger. In any case, the individual plots are very likely to be one tarefa each.

[3]In many areas the tree stumps have entirely disappeared as a result of the intensive cultivation, which severely restricts the size of the wild vegetation which can develop during the fallow period.

[114] [243] [4]This interpretation differs, at least in emphasis, from that of Walter Alberto Egler, op. cit., pp. 679-688. He suggests as the characteristic sequence, tobacco, corn and/or beans, and then manioc. Undoubtedly this sequence is important, but the field investigation for the pre study revealed that the direct replacement of tobacco with manioc is mor characteristic.

[239] [5]However, tobacco does not produce well on these poor soils unles manure is used, and even the yields of manioc are low unless it is planted in a field where there has been a relatively recent application of manure.

[244] [6]The seed for corn, which is edible, has value in itself. The stalk of manioc has no utility except to reproduce the crop. Thus when manioc is planted, the cultivator invests only his labor and the questionable value of the land.

[7]See section by George Wythe in Simon Kuznets, Wilbert E. Moore, and Joseph J. Spengler (eds.), Economic Growth: Brazil, India, Japan, p. 34.

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249 257 433 the large landholders and agricultural capitalists of Brazil have a strong historical bias toward monocultural systems.

249 433 471 As would be expected, the Central Recôncavo accounted for almost 90 per cent of the total value of sugar cane in the region. Sugar production in this area is dominated by the big usinas, and most of the cane is produced on very large properties, as has been seen.

243 244 433 438 Although corn and beans primarily are subsistence crops, they have, like manioc, some commercial importance (Map 125). The corn and bean areas within the Recôncavo do not produce outstanding surpluses, although these two crops are important commercial products in nearby Serrinha and Conceição do Coite. Most of the corn and beans of the Recôncavo are exchanged for farinha de mandioca, which provides the cultivator with a cheaper food.

244 245 433 438 The remaining crops of the region are of minor commercial importance, or are more valuable commercial crops of highly localized production. Bananas, peanuts, and sweet potatoes are minor commercial crops of diffuse production, since most of their cultivation is for subsistence purposes. Oranges, coconut, coffee, and pineapple are important but secondary commercial products whose production is concentrated in a few restricted areas (see, for example, Map 126 of coconut production).

249 344 345 433 438 The importance of the principal commercial crops--tobacco, sugar cane, coffee, coconut, oranges, pineapple, a few minor crops, and commercial manioc--varies widely from município to município (Map 127). However, two areas--the Central Recôncavo and the Southwestern Recôncavo--had highly commercial economies in which over 90 per cent of the total value of production was in commercial crops. In the tobacco-manioc area north of the Rio Paraguaçu, only one-half to three-quarters of 000 the total value of production was in commercial crops. Except in the

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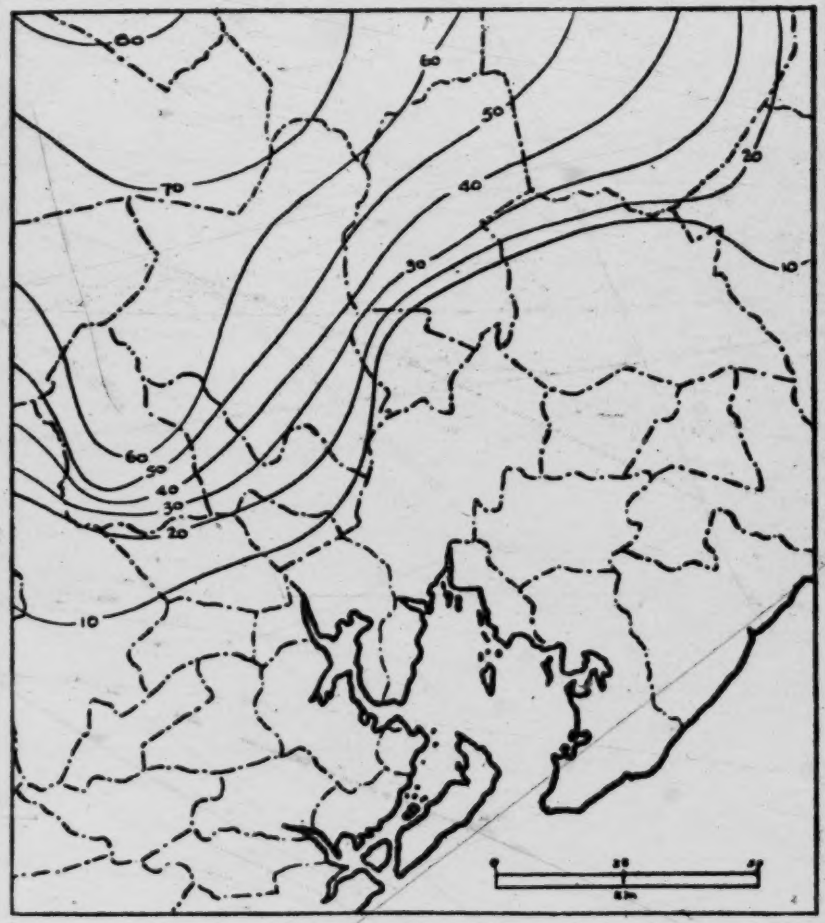

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Value of Crop Production

Contributed by Corn and Beans--1948

MAP 125

249 the crop region would decline and that manure, essential to the production of tobacco, would become even more expensive than at present. Any increase in the intensity of tobacco production would probably decrease the production of manioc, so that both the sub-region and the Recôncavo would have an even greater food deficit than at present.

241 The system of land rotation is clearly one of the basic problems of the Recôncavo. As the population of the region grows, the problem of the system of cultivation will almost certainly become progressively more acute. One solution which is being proposed by the rural missions of the Ministry of Education is the use of composting as a [178] substitute for manure. As yet the results of the mission program is not clear, but it is obvious that the resistance and the apathy toward new agricultural ideas in the region are very great. As far as could be ascertained, mixed agriculture has not been suggested as a solution to the problem. Indeed, in view of the lack of additional land for the production of forage crops or of grasses, it is difficult to see how such a proposal could be implemented.

242 It is apparent even to the casual observer that there are some alternative crops which might be produced in the Recôncavo. From time to time the agricultural experiment stations and a few enterprising [243] land owners point the way. One example is the production of corn as a commercial crop in the northern part of the <u>município</u> of Muritiba. At [312] the price of corn prevailing in 1953, it was believed possible to produce the crop profitably using irrigation water pumped from the Rio Paraguaçu, and a single landowner was making the attempt. Obviously there are no large areas in the narrow valley which can be irrigated, nor is the water supply great. It is, however, suggestive that it is possible to produce a staple food crop at as great a profit as tobacco. In the

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242 [245] In the sugar cane zone there has been one small scale experiment with white cacao, which can be sold at a higher price than the ordinary variety. It is believed that this crop would do well on the soils now under sugar cane and perhaps on some of the other soils of the lowlands. Since cacao in the Recôncavo presumably would be free of the diseases which cause so much difficulty in the main area of cultivation along the southern coast of the state, it might be possible to stabilize Bahia's cacao production and at the same time to improve agricultural conditions in the Recôncavo. [243] Another alternative use for the Cretaceous soils of the sugar cane region might be for the cultivation of rice, which is presently grown on a small scale in Santo Amaro. In view of the perennial shortages and high cost of food in both the Recôncavo and in Brazil, such a generally acceptable food should find a ready market. On the other hand, the development of cacao or rice cultivation in this area would mean the abandonment of the heavy investment in sugar mills and plantations.

241 178 Although the evaluation of specific suggestions is the province of the agricultural specialist, one fact is clearly shown in the results of the present research—any proposal for the future development of the Recôncavo will have to conquer the inherent traditional orientation of agriculture in the region.

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244 433 127 128 [435] gave 0.54 tons per square kilometer total area, which corresponded to 0.59 tons per square kilometer for Coração de Maria.

In São Sebastião, the low unit value of manioc--Cr.$80 per ton--indicated possible error. The reasonable intensity of production suggested that the total value data were in error. The mean unit value of the four surrounding municípios--Cr.$240 per ton--was accepted for São Sebastião and was used to calculate a revised total value of Cr.$168,000.

Minor errors were apparent in the data for certain other municípios. For example, the yields of Maragogipe, Cachoeira, and Salvador were extremely low. Adjustments could have been made, but the relatively small manioc area and production in these municípios indicated that the resulting alterations would not markedly change the general area or production pattern. Maps 130, 131, 132, 133 and 134 show the patterns of manioc cultivation, production, and yield as taken from unmodified official data in Produção Agrícola: 1948. The corresponding maps based upon modified data (Maps 22, 23, 24, 25, and 27) are presented in Chapter V.

243 433 127 128 Corn. Calculations from the original data gave Maragogipe a yield of .40 tons of corn per hectare, less than one-half the yield of neighboring municípios. This was excessively low, and it seemed preferable to use the figure of 1.24 tons per hectare, the mean of adjacent São Filipe and Cachoeira. These municípios, though not similar to the whole of Maragogipe, resemble very much the adjoining areas where cultivation is concentrated. The production figure for Maragogipe was accepted as reasonable, since when combined with value it produced a credible unit value. Thus the area was reduced from 15 hectares to 5 hectares, raising the yield to a more acceptable level. However, these changes do not modify the gross pattern extensively and therefore the maps in Chapter V were based upon the original data.

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243
127 Area data for corn should be used with reservation, especially
243 for the northern and western municípios. In the drier areas it is the
244 custom to plant corn and beans together in the same field, generally
127 in the same row, and the area could have been counted, in its entirety, twice (once for each crop). Yield calculations for corn and beans suggest that this has not been done; however, the vagaries of climate and cultivation in these dry zones produce such variations in mean yield from year to year and place to place that it was impossible to secure a clearcut verification. Conversations with personnel of the compiling agency failed to clarify the situation.

245 Bananas. The maps of banana area, based upon the official data,
433 reveal a definite gap in Cruz das Almas and northern São Filipe (Map 135).
127 However, this area lies in the middle of a belt of relatively dense production. Field experience in this immediate area indicated that bananas were at least as important in these two areas as in adjacent Conceição do Almeida. The official data show only 7 hectares and 3,000 bunches of bananas in Santo Antônio, but the large numbers of banana plants which were observed would tend to discredit these figures. Since in the Recôncavo the area planted in bananas does not usually have a consistent relationship to the number of plants and thus to production, yields are not a trustworthy guide to the estimation of
245 production. On the map of banana production in the text (Map 52) the
433 official data have been modified to allow Cruz das Almas 190,000
127 bunches in place of the 29,000 in the official data; São Filipe,
128 70,000 in place of the official 20,000; and Santo Antônio, 86,000 in place of the official 3,000. These changes were made by arbitrarily increasing the production data to give these areas the same density of production as similar areas in adjacent municípios. Since, as has

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132 agriculturalist responds to rainfall not as a statistical mean but as
132 rain falling from day to day and month to month. It is beyond the
128 scope of this study to analyze the day to day march of precipitation--indeed, the poor data available merit no more than a superficial analysis. By a study of deviations from the annual and seasonal averages, it is possible to draw general conclusions and to qualify the patterns on the climatic maps. The analysis below deals with the two meteorological stations of the Recôncavo with reasonably reliable data--Salvador and Cruz das Almas--and is for the years 1947 through 1952. This span includes both relatively wet and relatively dry years. The accompanying table (Table I) presents the complete summary of mean figures and deviations.

132 Though the movement of annual and seasonal totals for these two sections was similar, the deviations from the averages were significantly different, as the accompanying table (Table I) reveals. For the major wet season, Salvador had a mean deviation of 10 per cent, Cruz das Almas of 16 per cent. The greater mean deviation in the interior corresponds to the usual generalization of drier areas having a less reliable (more deviate) rainfall pattern. Thus the farmer of
[249] Cruz das Almas, cultivating tobacco and manioc with a minimum of
[244] seasonal rainfall, must cope with more serious deviations from the "expected" average than the sugar cane planter in his zone of relatively plentiful rainfall.

Of the 36 wet season months (March-August for 6 years), 14 months had less than 100 mm. at Cruz das Almas; and 100 mm. falling
[249] in "well-distributed" showers, is the minimum monthly growing season precipitation necessary for tobacco, the chief commercial crop.[25]

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433 241 178 Recôncavo remains today a backward and traditional agricultural society.

However, not all elements in Recôncavo life are static. In the field one was incessantly conscious both of the gradual course of change in this region and of the latent instability of its economic organization. Particularly in the last 75 years the agricultural economy of the Recôncavo has begun to shift--it is apparently in the throes of a drastic economic reorganization. It remains to be seen whether the traditional values will survive this economic revolution. [128] The brief historical discussion to follow is not intended as a substitute for a full-scale historical reconstruction. Its purpose is to indicate the major patterns in the evolution of the Recôncavo.

175 The Evolution of Colonial Agricultural Institutions. By the end of the initial half century of settlement (1600) those ethnic groups, crops, animals, and agricultural institutions which were to [567] become characteristic of the Recôncavo were already in evidence. Negro [249] slaves were brought in on the heels of the first Portuguese settlers,[3] [231] and sugar cane and cattle were also introduced at this time.[4] Tobacco [244] and manioc, produced by the Indians indigenous to the northeast of [249] [177] Brazil, were rapidly integrated into the colonial agriculture of the [249] Recôncavo.[5] The combined sugar mill and plantation (engenho), which [471] was the basic economic institution of the Recôncavo until the end of the nineteenth century, already existed in rudimentary form before 1600.[6]

175 249 [244] From the beginning the new colony in the Recôncavo had three important crops--sugar cane, tobacco, and manioc. It was the cultivation of sugar which the Portuguese crown and the initial settlers had

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162 563 compose most of the population of the Recôncavo today. In 1940 the population of the Centro-Litoral of Bahia--the census area most closely corresponding to the Recôncavo--had the following composition: white, 22 per cent; black, 29 per cent; and others, predominately mulatto, 49 per cent.[12]

175 439 567 436 276 [273] [249] The purchase of large quantities of slaves required the production of a commodity which could be used as exchange in Africa. The indigenous tobacco proved eminently suitable for this purpose. Although rum apparently was used also in this trade, tobacco became the essential source of exchange for the slave traffic.[13] Bahia was the main area of tobacco production, and probably most of this production was localized in the Recôncavo.[14]

175 244 433 [567] The initial period of settlement saw also the incorporation of manioc[15] into the agricultural economy as a staple. Like tobacco, it was an indigenous crop. Thus one indigenous crop was adopted to purchase slaves in Africa and another to feed them in Brazil. By 1587 manioc apparently was being cultivated on a moderate scale in Bahia.[16] A recurring theme in the history of the Recôncavo is the shortage of this essential foodstuff.

241 262 175 433 In addition to the principal crops--sugar, tobacco, and manioc--a number of lesser agricultural products were important in the early history of the Recôncavo. Corn, beans, and bananas were grown on a small scale and used to supplement the manioc diet. Other diversi-
231 fications of the diet were provided by meat and fish. Cattle were maintained to draw the ox carts and to power many of the cane mills. For lighter tasks asses and mules were used.

178 249 433 Out of this complex of Portuguese settlers and Negro slaves, of old world and new world crops, there developed certain characteristic agricultural enterprises. The engenho--old world in the origin of its

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Supplementary Crops
(Subsistence and Commercial):

Pineapple (Abacaxi)	168	hectares
Rice (Arroz)	61	"
Tomatoes (Tomate)	46	"
White Potatoes (Batata inglêsa)	44	"
Cotton (Algodão)	40	"
Onions (Cebola)	14	"
Garlic (Alho)	5	"
Green or Snap Beans (Fava)	4	"

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On the basis of the above figures, the total cultivated land in the Recôncavo in 1948 was about 80,000 hectares. In addition to the above, there are a number of tree crops, not cultivated in the true sense, which are important in the agricultural complex. More often than not these "crops" are of spontaneous origin.

[192]

African Oil Palm (Dendê)
Mango (Manga)
Jack Fruit (Jaca)
Cashew (Caju)
Bread Fruit (Fruta de pão)

231 The following animals are important in the livestock economy of the Recôncavo:

[192]

Cattle (Bovinos)
  Cows (Vacas)
  Oxen (Bois de trabalho)
Sheep (Ovinos)
Goats (Caprinos)
Swine (Suinos)
Donkeys (Asininos or Burros)
Mules (Muares)
Horses (Equinos or Cavalos)

These animals will be discussed in the chapter on animal industry (Chapter VII).

244 Manioc. Manioc was one of the most important cultivated plants which the Portuguese colonists borrowed from the Indians of Brazil.

[175] Flour made from the manioc root, farinha de mandioca, was the basic
[262] subsistence food of the colonial sugar economy and remains today the
[178]
[565] principal element of the diet of much of the Brazilian lower class.

000 Manioc production is most notable along the coast of Brazil, from the

1:Hawkins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1
Northeast Brazil SO1

B 244 433 Manioc production is most notable along the coast of Brazil, from the mouth of the Amazon to Rio Grande do Sul, but it has considerable importance in the interior of the eastern half of the country.[4] The tonnage of manioc production in Brazil is exceeded only by that of sugar cane--thus manioc is produced in greater quantity than corn, beans, or rice, the other basic subsistence crops. However, the total value of manioc production is less than that of coffee, cotton, corn, or rice. In the Recôncavo the cultivated area of manioc, over BB 244 311 433 262 22,000 hectares, exceeds that of any other crop, and the value of its production is second only to tobacco. It is usually grown as a subsistence crop for local consumption, but there are a few areas of surplus production.

NB BB 244 252 262 Mandioca--manioc, cassava, or yuca--is a stem-propagated perennial which is tolerant of a variety of edaphic, climatic, and cultural conditions. The rootstock of the bitter variety--Manihot utilissima, or m. esculenta--which is most common in Bahia, contains a poisonous substance--manihotoxine--which must be removed before it can be used as human food. In the Northeast the roots almost universally are converted in crude mills into farinha de mandioca, a coarse flour which is eaten in either a raw or cooked state.[5] Sweet manioc (manihot api, in Brazil called aipim) is cultivated on a small scale. The rootstock of this variety may be eaten without extensive processing and is prepared, like the white potato, by boiling.

BB 244 252 433 The cultivation of manioc is a widespread feature of the cultural landscape of east-central Bahia, overshadowed only by the low and scrubby second growth, capoéira, which follows the intensive cultivation of this plant under a system of land rotation. Manioc cultivation and the processing of its roots are the most characteristic pursuits of the rural people--and often the most primitive.

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Northeast Brazil SO1

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Manioc is generally cultivated by hand by small cultivators on land near the huts in which they live--[land] called the mandiocal, very common in the interior of the state. The immediate preoccupation of the sertanejo [countryman of the interior] after the construction of his house is the planting of manioc to secure cheap food--either sweet manioc or bitter manioc, which is transformed into flour. All the family are employed in this work. The industry of flour production is rudimentary and it uses simple processes.

BB
NB
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The cultivation of manioc in Bahia is to provide flour for the local market, since the state does not export this product. The development of this culture is, therefore, closely related to the distribution of population, the most productive zones which are noted on the map corresponding to regions where the population is most dense. It is perfectly reasonable that the most productive region corresponds to the Recôncavo, where there is concentrated the mass of the population of Bahia and a large number of towns and cities, the most important and populous in the state. . . . . it is the region of the most highly developed agriculture in the state; it united a relatively dense rural population with manioc, almost always cultivated on a large scale in the zones of the cultivation of tobacco.[6]

BB
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As is indicated in the foregoing quotation, the distributional pattern of manioc reveals a very close association with the cultivation of tobacco and with certain urban centers. But as might be expected in view of the broad environmental tolerance of manioc, its distribution within the Recôncavo is not directly determined by any particular physical factor. Manioc is grown in all parts of the Recôncavo, excepting only the compact pockets of sugar cane cultivation. Only one município, São Sebastião, grew less than 100 hectares or produced less than 1,000 tons of tubers in 1948. In eight municípios the area of manioc cultivation exceeded 1,000 hectares, and the production was more than 10,000 tons in each. About 28 per cent of the cropland of the Recôncavo was in mandioca.[7]

The major concentration of manioc cultivation (Maps 22 and 23) and production (Maps 24 and 25) is along the eastern edge of the Crystalline Uplands in the Southwestern Recôncavo, where in 1948 three municípios[8] grew 54 per cent of the Recôncavo's 22,472 hectares of

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 154]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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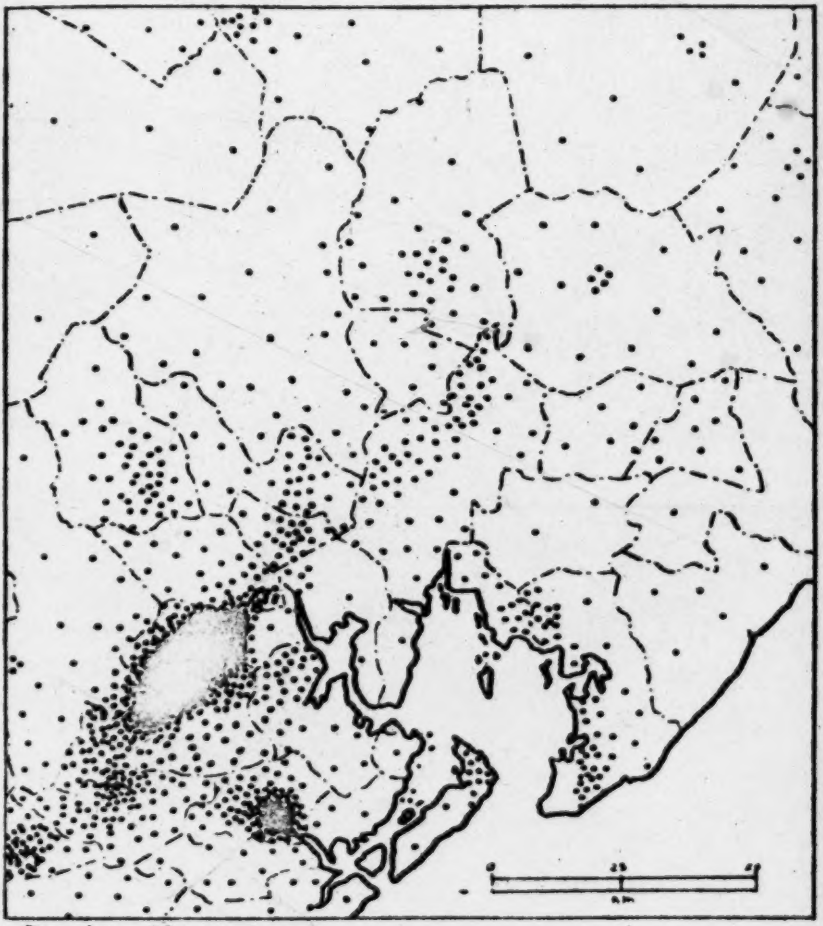

Each dot = 25 hectares

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Area in Manioc—1948

Source data modified from Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 22

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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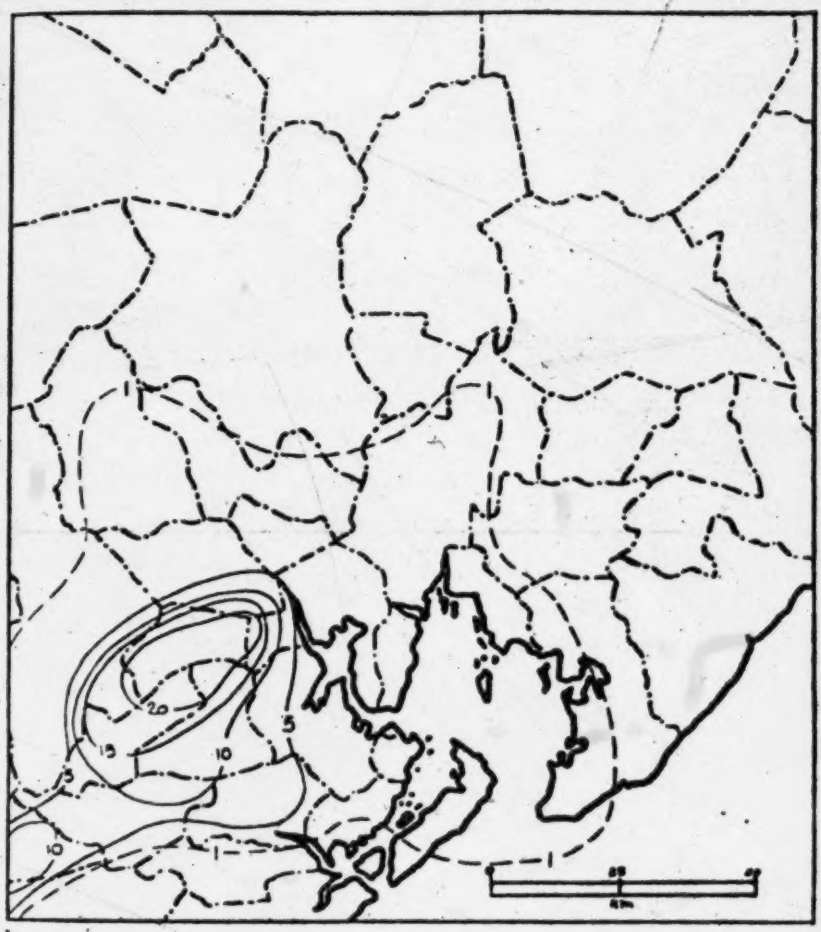

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Hectares of Manioc per Square Kilometer of Total Area—1948

Source data modified from Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 23

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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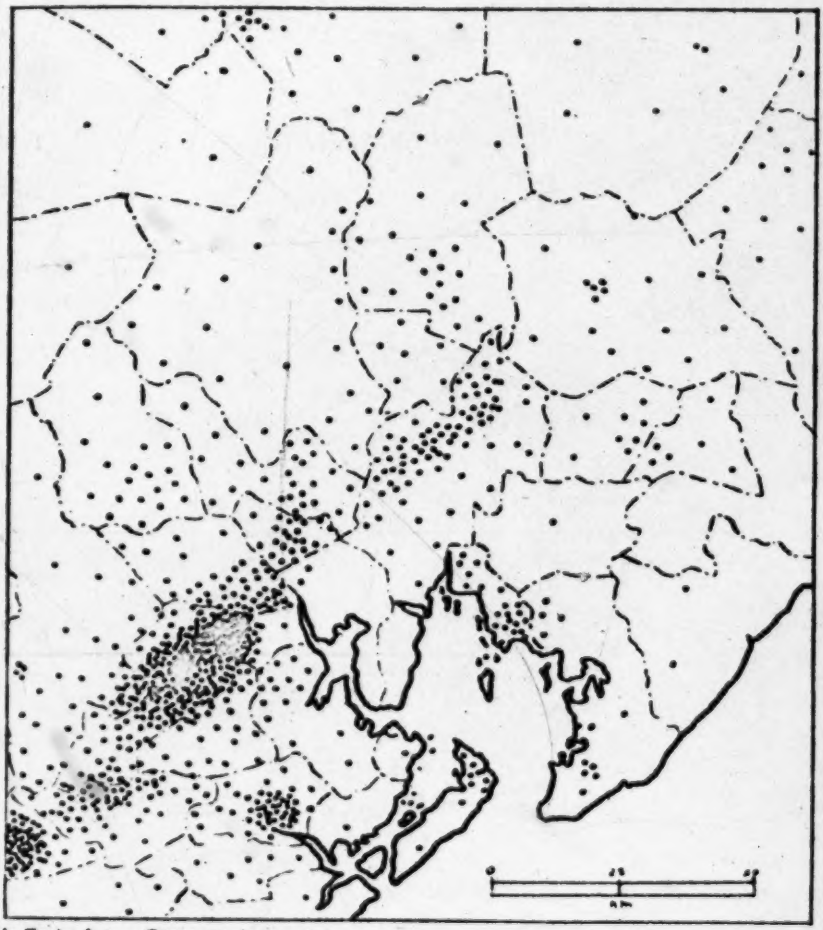

Each dot = 500 metric tons

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Manioc--1948

Source data modified from Produção Agricola: 1948.

MAP 24

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia BrazMians SO11

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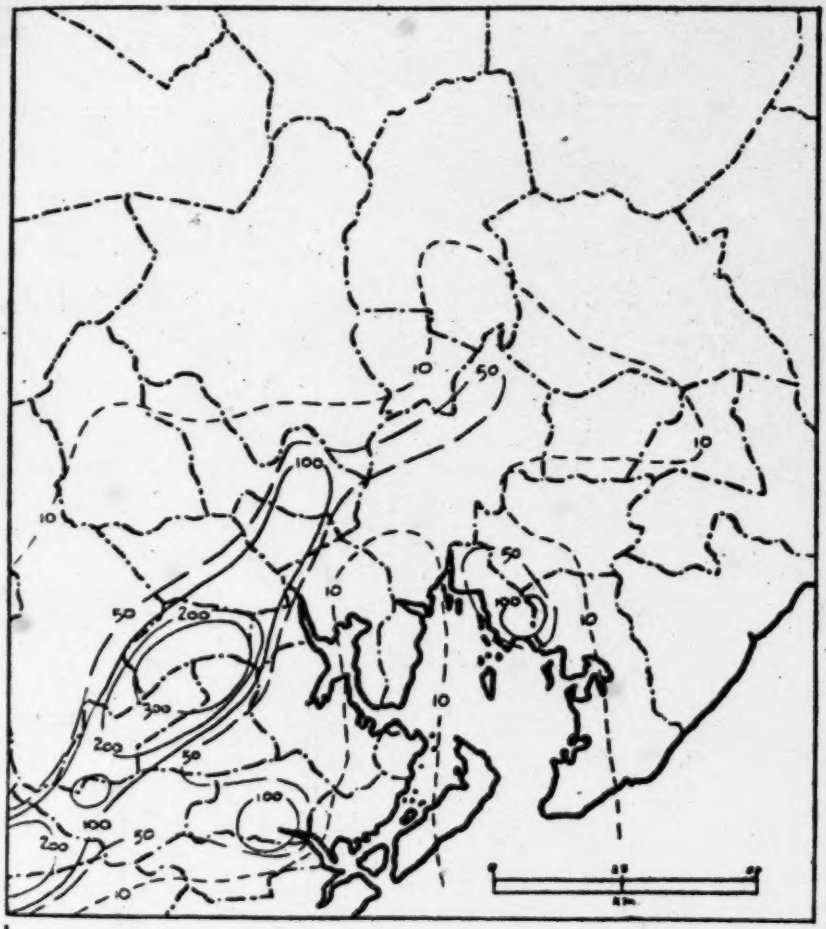

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Tons of Manioc per Square Kilometer of Total Area—1948

Source data modified from Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 25

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

244 manioc and produced 38 per cent of its 393,720 tons of harvested roots.
433
311 Within this sub-region manioc occupied up to 20 per cent of the total land area, i.e., 20 hectares per square kilometer (Map 23). Despite the
[249] intensity of cultivation and the concentration of production, the crop is viewed by the people primarily as a means--subsistence--to an end--
[242] leaf tobacco production.[9] Manioc characteristically succeeds tobacco in the field and fallow rotation system and is used to extract the maximum possible value from such nutrients as remain in the soil.[10]

244 A close areal and functional relationship between the two crops
249 is characteristic also of the linear zone of manioc cultivation which follows the belt of Intermediate Hills and the inner edge of the Uplands from the Rio Paraguaçu--at Cachoeira--to Irará. Much the same relationship exists in Santo Estêvão in the extreme west of the Recôncavo, where manioc, and tobacco, cultivation is concentrated in a zone of low serras. Apparently tobacco cultivation has been fixed by the greater precipitation around these serras, and manioc is grown in association.

The major southwestern concentration of manioc is continued beyond the Recôncavo along a belt extending through Santo Antônio and into the "coffee zone."[11] The cluster of manioc around the cidade of Santo Antônio is circum-urban, but the principal functional association is with tobacco cultivation, rather than with the small urban market.
[443] On the other hand, the concentration of manioc production around the city of Nazaré reflects a dependency on the local urban market and probably on the market of Salvador. Minor concentrations of cultivation in northern Itaparica and around Salvador also are related primarily to the market of the capital city.

244 The relative place of manioc within the agricultural system, as
311 measured by the per cent of the total cropland which it occupies, varies widely within the Recôncavo (Map 26). The statistical extremes are

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 156

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of Cropland in Manioc--1948

Source data modified from Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 26

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

244 311 represented by two adjacent municípios of the Eastern and Central Recôncavo--Pojuca, where manioc occupied 81 per cent of the total cropland in 1948, and São Sebastião, where it occupied only 2 per cent. However, the significance of this contrast is diminished when it is seen that the total cropland of all crops in these municípios was only .8 per cent and 4.7 per cent, respectively, of the total land area. In those municípios where over 5 per cent of the land area was cultivated, the range was from 8 per cent of the cropland in manioc--Irará--to 60 per cent--Conceição do Almeida.

244 241 311 There are two major zones in which manioc has pre-empted the cropland, both of which are marginal to a belt of commercial production of tobacco, sugar cane, or coffee which follows the forest and scrub-forest transition from the coffee zone northward into the Southwester Recôncavo. This commercial crop belt is paralleled on the east by a zone of manioc cultivation in the forested areas back of the beach line--a zone which is a continuation of an extensive area of monocultural shifting cultivation of manioc centered farther south.[12] Around the city of Nazaré, which lies very near the southern limit of the Recôncavo, as much as 70 per cent of the cropland is in manioc. The cultivation of manioc is also important on the sandy forested zone west of the Bay as far north as the estuary of the Paraguaçu and on the opposite side of the Bay north of Salvador. On the west side of the commercial crop belt, in Laje, Santo Antônio, and the Southwestern Recôncavo, there is another zone in which manioc is the dominant crop. In the dry caatinga the areas of cultivation are concentrated around the low serras west of the Recôncavo. However, the manioc which occupied up to 60 per cent of the cultivated area along the western limit of Conceição do Almeida in 1948 was grown as a part of the tobacco-manioc system.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

244 311 From the latitude of the head of the Bay northward, manioc appears as a dominant crop only in the município of Pojuca. In the Central Recôncavo, around the perimeter of the sugar cane area, manioc generally occupied, in 1948, less than 30 per cent of the cropland. In the north, [243] along the borders of the Recôncavo, the share of manioc in the cropland dropped to 10 per cent, and it was replaced by corn and beans as the basis of the subsistence economy.

244 311 433 The yield of manioc in the areas of heavy production was relatively low--10 to 15 tons of roots per hectare--compared to the Central Recôncavo, which produced small quantities at 30 tons per hectare (Map 27). These [134] differences in yield are related in part to the difference in soil fertility between the Cretaceous soils of the Central Recôncavo and the sandy loams of the Southwest. In addition, manioc is cultivated alone in the former zone, but follows the soil-taxing tobacco plant on the fields of the Southwest, thus further reducing the yield. The mean yield of manioc in the Recôncavo in 1948 was 14 tons per hectare, which is close to the 13 tons per hectare of Brazil and of the French Cameroons, but much higher than the 7 tons per hectare of Java and Madura.[13]

244 249 Manioc is, then, a crop characteristic of most parts of the Recôncavo and the surrounding zone, except in the sugar cane area and [242] the Tabular Uplands. The area of greatest concentration of cultivation and production is the Southwestern Recôncavo where manioc is integrated with tobacco production in a system of land rotation. In addition, as discussed above, manioc has the greatest relative importance of the crops of two zones in which the total area cultivated is small: the southwestern belt of forested lowland and the drier, scrub-forest Crystalline Uplands.

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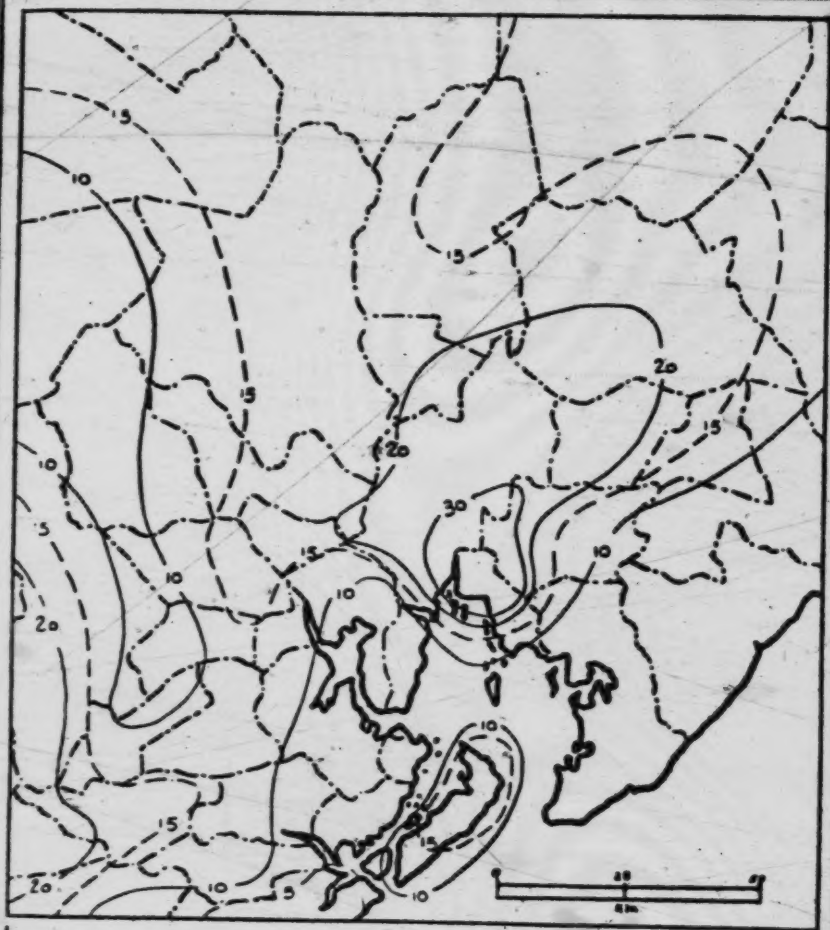

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Yield of Manioc—1948

Tons per Hectare

Source data modified from Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 27

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 433 is apparent that the production of the Southwestern Recôncavo and of Santo Antônio, the pre-eminent concentrations, fell away as a result of a drop in prices which began in 1947 and continued through the end of the decade. As high quality and high-cost producers, these areas were particularly hard hit by the falling price. On the other hand, Irará grows a cheaper leaf, at a lower production cost, and apparently survived the worst effects of the cut in price. The production in this município declined more slowly and then, in 1950, fell sharply as a result of the sêca (drought) which began in that year.

A comparison of the data for a longer period indicates that although production of the state of Bahia in 1946-1950 was about equal to that of 1931-1936, the cultivated area rose by about 25 per cent. Yields fell steadily during this period; the 900 to 1,000 kilograms per hectare of the early 30's had declined to 750 to 850 kilograms per hectare in the late 40's. The decline in yield, if not centered in the Recôncavo, was at least characteristic of the development of the region. The basic factor in the falling yields almost certainly was the exhaustion of the soil. In addition, manure, always costly, became increasingly expensive and scarce. Tobacco, as has been indicated, is 249 244 433 grown in conjunction with manioc under a land rotation system. The increasing demand for subsistence crops, particularly manioc, for the expanding population has put a continuously greater strain on the soil. [231] At the same time, the expansion of the cultivated area has driven out most of the livestock enterprises, increasing the cost of manure and putting it beyond the reach of many cultivators. As yields began to fall it became necessary to increase the planted area in tobacco and in subsistence crops to compensate the loss. Year by year the fallow period has been progressively shortened as the tobacco-manioc system

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 244 433 has made increasingly greater demands upon the land, at least during the decades between 1930 and 1950. In some areas, such as Cruz das Almas, the mean fallow period seems to have been reduced to a minimum of one or two years during the late 1940's. As the result of these developments, the município seems to be faced with the necessity of either a decrease in production or a radical reorganization of the system of cultivation.[21]

249 241 433 However, tobacco is to Cruz das Almas or São Gonçalo what sugar cane is to the Central Recôncavo—a way of life. Agriculture without tobacco is both economically and culturally distressing to the cultivator of the Southwestern Recôncavo. Unlike the sugar cane planter, the agri- [178] culturalists of the tobacco zone cultivate crops other than the chief commercial product, but as a cash crop they are very reluctant to accept any substitute. Habit is a very great force in the agriculture of all parts of the Recôncavo.

249 433 A result of the traditional and speculative orientation of the people of the tobacco zone is the extreme importance of tobacco—a commercial non-food crop—throughout the zone. In 1948, six municípios of the Recôncavo cultivated more tobacco than any other crop, and in five others it was second in importance. In only two municípios, Itaparica and Salvador, was it lower than fourth in area occupied.

243 433 Corn. Traditionally corn (milho) is a crop of the caatinga (scrub forest), and its greatest relative dominance is found just northwest of the Recôncavo in the município of Serrinha. It is, however, grown on a small scale throughout the Recôncavo, and there are at least two areas of intensive production. Corn is overshadowed by other crops, particularly manioc, tobacco, and sugar cane, in all parts of the Recôncavo except the North and the Northwest.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1

B BB 243 311 433 Like manioc and tobacco, corn is an indigenous crop which was borrowed from the Indians in the early phases of European settlement and which became a basic subsistence crop in Brazil. Its cultivation, like manioc, is a characteristic feature of the agricultural landscape over an extensive coastal belt from the Amazon to Rio Grande do Sul and, unlike manioc, beyond into northern Argentina. In Brazil, corn is cultivated on more land than any other crop, and in most states it is either the second or third crop in value. In the Recôncavo it is the fourth ranking crop in area of cultivation, but only the seventh in the total value of production. The cultivation of corn is very closely BB [244] associated, areally and functionally, with beans--"succatosh" is a common crop combination in the Northwestern Recôncavo and the adjoining region.[22]

BB 243 433 Corn also resembles manioc in the purpose of cultivation; it is primarily a subsistence crop for local consumption, but there are surplus producing areas with a rudimentary commercial corn economy. In those areas of the Recôncavo where corn is produced in small quantities, it is almost exclusively a minor subsistence crop which is eaten by the cultivator and his family, though a few ears or a small sack of shelled corn may be sold in the market for local consumption. Such semi-subsistence producers are usually small-scale farmers, squatters, or share-croppers. In the Northern and Northwestern Recôncavo, where cultivation of corn is more intensive, there are occasional large-scale corn growers, but the bulk of the area and production in this zone be- BB [438] longs to small operators. Even these small producers usually sell their corn at the market--it is exchanged for the cheaper farinha de BB [262] mandioca. In the Recôncavo corn is used exclusively as a human food, and there is no corn-livestock complex.

BB 243 311 433 Only three municípios of the Recôncavo, all very large, had over 500 hectares of corn in 1948 or produced over 500 tons of shelled corn.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954) 1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

243 311 It is primarily a crop of the sertão of northeastern Bahia, but it has intruded upon the northern and western perimeter of the Recôncavo (Map 37). In three municípios--Irará, Feira de Santana, and Santo Estêvão--corn is the most extensively cultivated crop. Conversely, it is rarely seen in the humid lowlands and in the Southwestern Recôncavo. In these areas it is found only in very small, widely scattered plantings.

243 433 The mean yield of corn in the Recôncavo was 1.09 tons per hectare, compared to 1.27 for Brazil, 2.46 for the United States, 1.0 for the Belgian Congo, and .81 for Java and Madura. The accompanying map of corn yields shows a somewhat random pattern within the Recôncavo, since the total area and production were very small and local circumstances of cultivation highly variable (Map 38). However, the area of main production northwest of the Recôncavo had a relatively high yield--over 243 1.5 tons per hectare. In this area, corn, with beans, pre-empts the • 244 areas with the most productive soils and the greatest precipitation.

244 Beans. Feijão, or the common field bean (Phaseolus vulgaris), like manioc, tobacco, and corn, is an indigenous domesticate which became an important subsistence crop during the colonial period. Like corn, beans are more specifically associated with the dry sertão than with the Recôncavo. Most of the beans grown in Bahia are the black [262] [252] variety, feijão preto; the beans are dried and used with charque (dried beef) in a soup which is one of the basic subsistence foods of the Northeast. Beans of this and other similar varieties of the same species are grown throughout Brazil.

244 433 In area and in quantity of production, beans are slightly less important than corn in the Recôncavo, but the value of the bean crop is almost double that of corn. The patterns of distribution of these two crops are almost identical, and the physical and cultural factors

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

244 433 [311] involved are very similar (Maps 39, 40, and 41). In 1948 beans occupied 9 per cent of the total cropland of the Recôncavo. While the area of the greatest dominance of corn lies north of the Recôncavo, beans had the greatest relative importance in the west, in the município of Ipirá (Map 42). The reason for this minor difference in concentration is not apparent.

244 311 433 The yield pattern as revealed by the 1948 data is very distinctive (Map 43). Relatively high yields were closely associated with the forest and scrub-forest transition from Santo Antônio in the south to Irará in the north, where, however, less than 10 per cent of the cropland was in beans. In Muritiba, Castro Alves, and Santo Antônio, where joint corn-bean cultivation is not always the rule, yields of both plants were high. In the Northern and Northwestern Recôncavo the yield patterns of the two crops, which are usually intercropped in this area, were very different. No explanation for these differences was found. The mean yield of beans in the Recôncavo in 1948 was 988 kilograms per hectare, higher than the 690 kilograms per hectare of Brazil, the 540 kilograms per hectare of French Equatorial Africa, or the 200 kilograms per hectare of India, but much lower than the 1,220 kilograms per hectare yield in the United States.

249 Sugar Cane. Much of the history and a good deal of the cultural geography of the Recôncavo could be written in terms of sugar cane [433] [198] cultivation. The colony of Bahia was organized around the cultivation of cane, and sugar was the mainstay of the colonial commercial economy until the last half of the nineteenth century. During the colonial period the cultivation of sugar cane acquired a prestige which it has never lost, despite the fact that it is no longer the most valuable nor, it seems likely, the most profitable crop of the Recôncavo.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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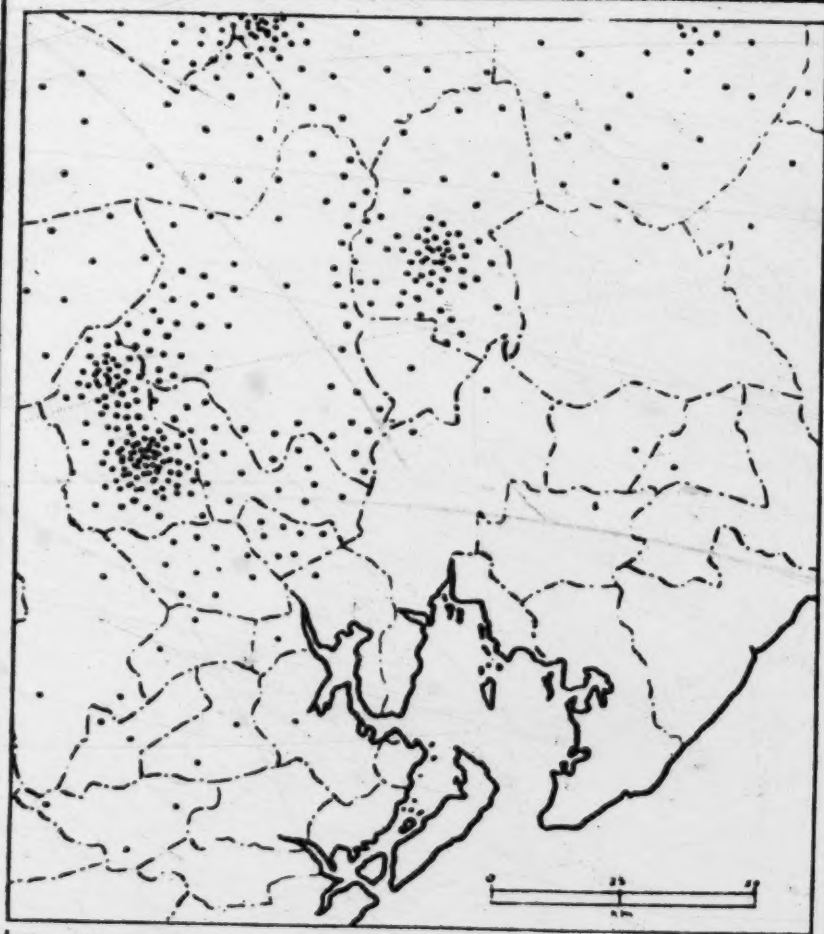

Each dot = 25 hectares

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Area in Beans--1948

Source of data: Producão Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 39

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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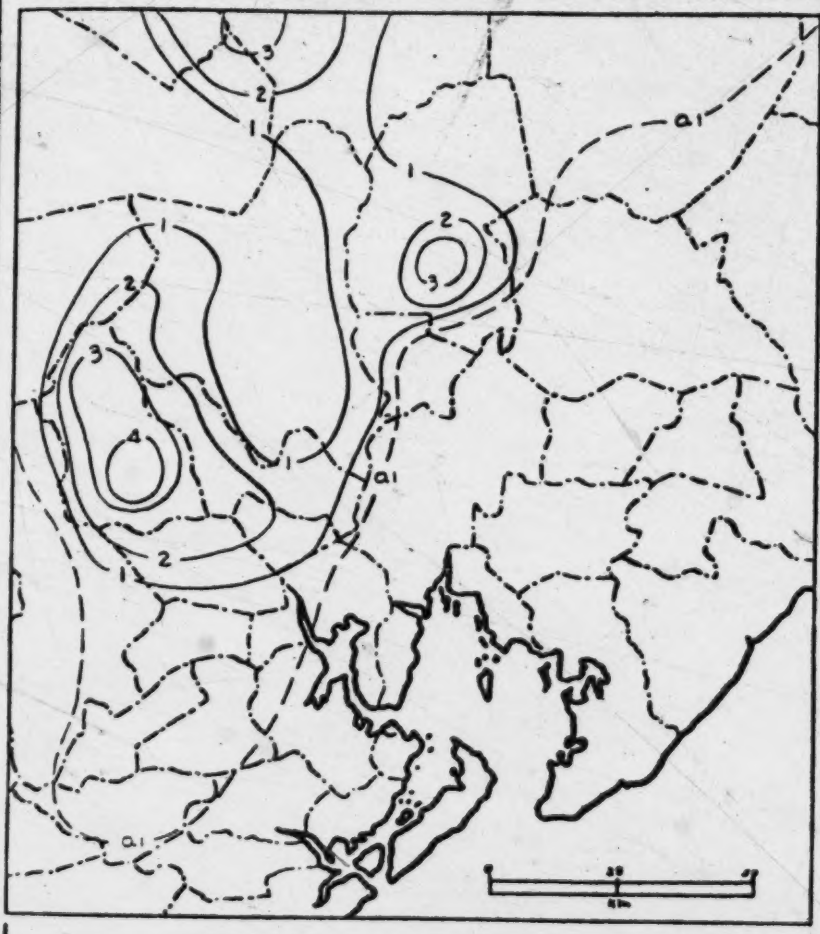

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Hectares of Beans per Square Kilometer of Total Area—1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 40

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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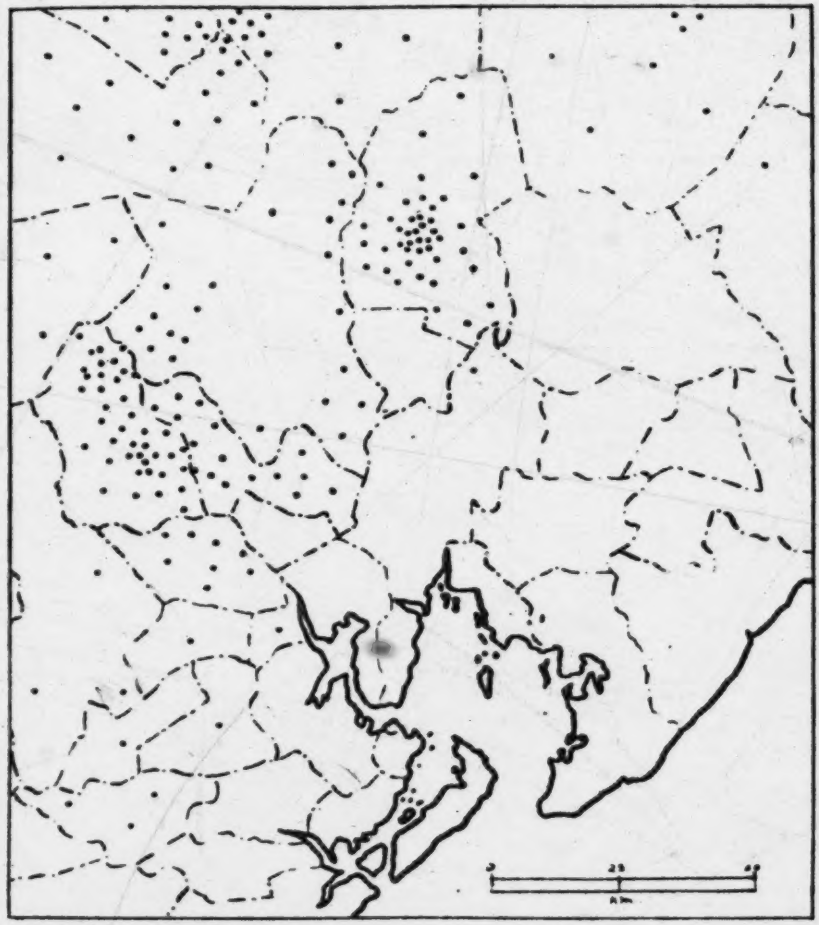

Each dot = 50,000 kilograms

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Beans--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 41

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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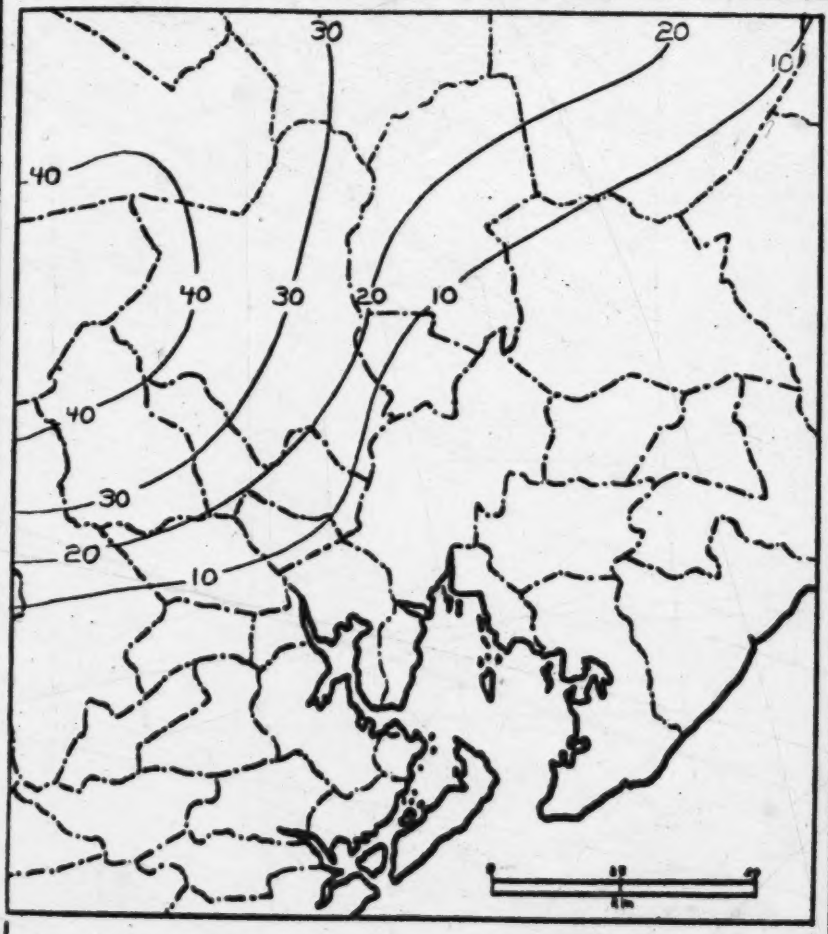

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of Cropland in Beans--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 42

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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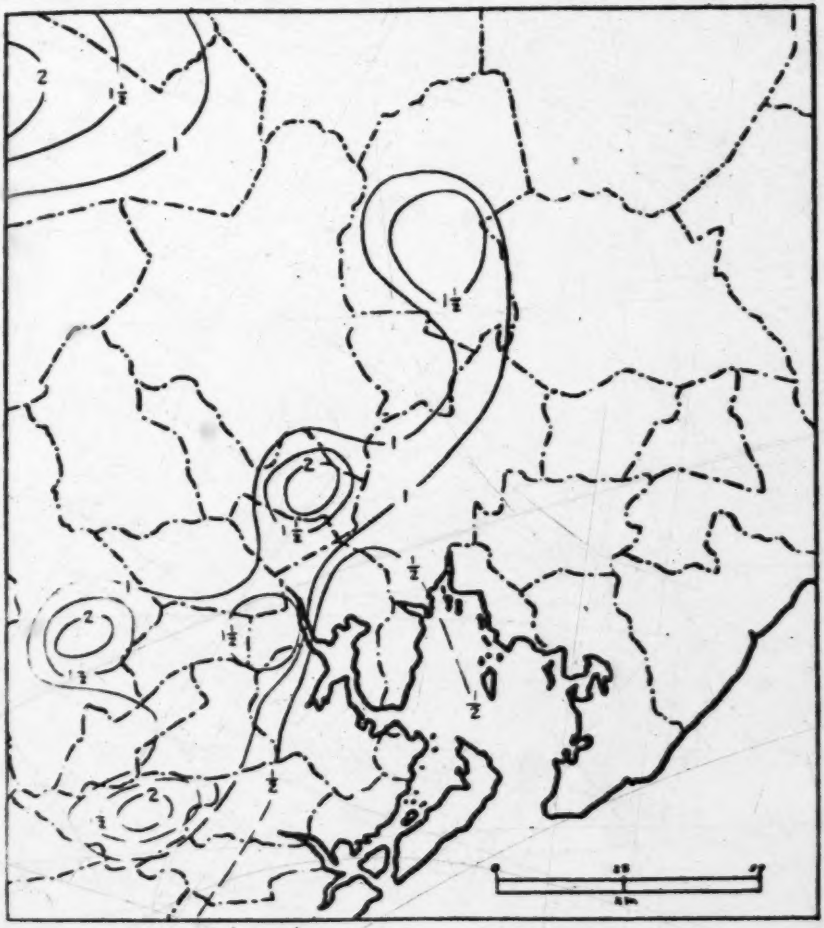

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Yield of Beans-1948

Tons per Hectare

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 43

249 and Intermediate Hills between and around these zones, but usually on
311 an exceedingly small scale.

249 The yields calculated for 1948 were as follows:
311
433

Santo Amaro	65.7	tons	per	hectare
São Francisco	80.0	"	"	"
São Sebastião	41.2	"	"	"
Cachoeira	37.0	"	"	"
São Filipe	50.0	"	"	"

These may be compared with 38.7 tons per hectare for Brazil as a whole, 35.0 tons per hectare for Cuba, and 89.3 tons per hectare for Java and
249 Madura for the same year. The relatively low yields of Cachoeira and
433 São Filipe are to be explained, at least in part, by the primitive
134 character of cultivation and processing in these more remote areas. São
257 Sebastião is a sort of frontier zone into which the big sugar mills are expanding their operations at the expense of smaller operators, but the methods of production are still less efficient than in the main production area, and the soils are sandier and less fertile. In Santo Amaro, yields are higher on account of generally better soils and techniques, but the demands of the large usinas require intensive and continuous cultivation on even the poorer soils. On the other hand, the less intensive cultivation in São Francisco, where the mills are smaller, allows a freer selection of soils, so that the yields of this area are the highest in the Recôncavo.

244 Sweet Potatoes and Peanuts. Two other American domesticates are
311 grown in the Recôncavo, though on a small scale--peanuts and sweet potatoes. Both are cultivated primarily along the forest and scrub forest transition as auxiliary subsistence crops, in conjunction with manioc and tobacco. There are also scattered plots of these crops in most other parts of the Recôncavo. Neither crop occupied over 1 per cent of the total crop land of the region.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1

BB 244 311 433 The total area in sweet potatoes in 1948 was 344 hectares, the total production, 2,565 tons. No single município grew more than 100 hectares nor produced over 1,000 tons (Maps 47 and 48). In Cachoeira and Maragogipe, 3 per cent of the total cropland was in sweet potatoes in 1948. The plants are grown on the slopes and in the sandier valley BB [438] bottoms of the Intermediate Hills and are sold through the local markets. On a smaller scale, sweet potatoes are grown as a minor supplementary crop in the Southwestern Recôncavo. The mean Recôncavo yield was 7.5 tons per hectare, close to the mean Brazilian 1948-1950 yield of 8 tons per hectare. Sweet potatoes are grown in the Recôncavo both as "garden" crops for home consumption and as minor commercial crops for local exchange.

The total area in peanuts in 1948 was 550 hectares; the total production was 876 tons (Maps 49 and 50). There is some small commercial production in Maragogipe and in the Northern Recôncavo; in the former, 6 per cent of the total cropland was in peanuts in 1948, and in the latter, from 2 to 5 per cent. Yields calculated for municípios varied from .3 to 3.5 tons per hectare without discernible pattern. The mean yield was 1.6 tons per hectare, higher than the .97 tons per hectare of Brazil and the .89 tons per hectare of the United States.

BB 245 433 Bananas. The banana is the sole important subsistence crop of the Recôncavo which is of old world origin. Brazil is the world's leading producer of bananas, and the main centers of production are B [245] [433] in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and Minas Gerais. In the Recôncavo, bananas are grown primarily for subsistence and local exchange, but there are a few small commercial growers. Under the existing system BB [489] of transportation, the long distance shipment of so bulky, heavy, perishable, and cheap a product is difficult.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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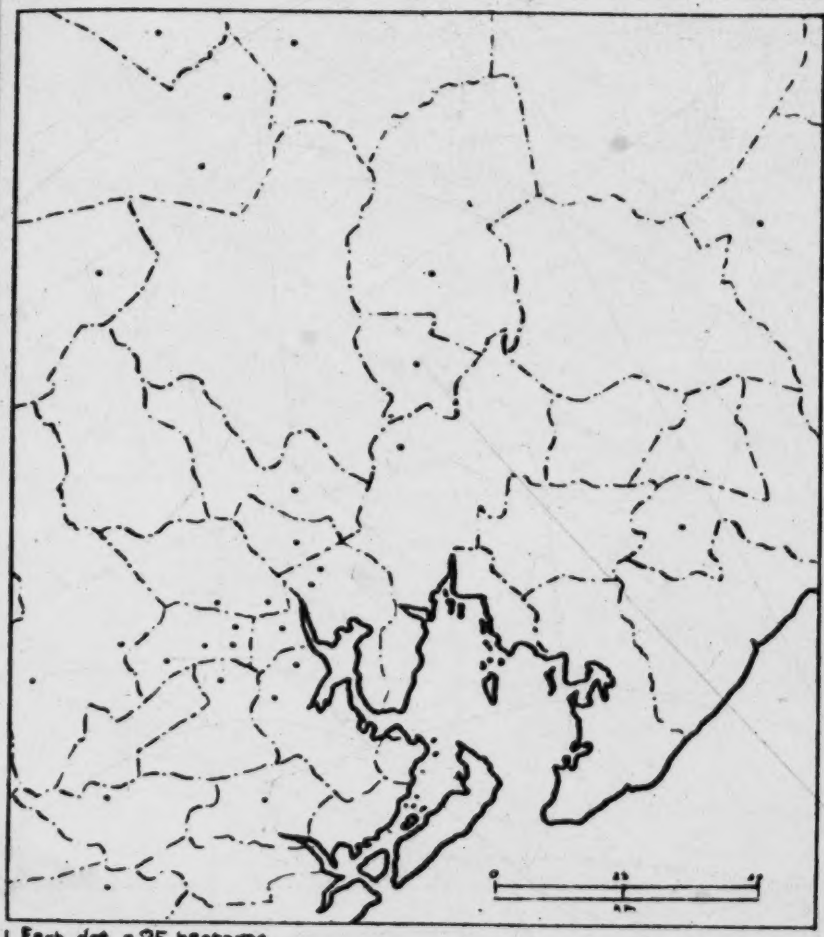

Each dot = 25 hectares

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Area in Sweet Potatoes--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 49

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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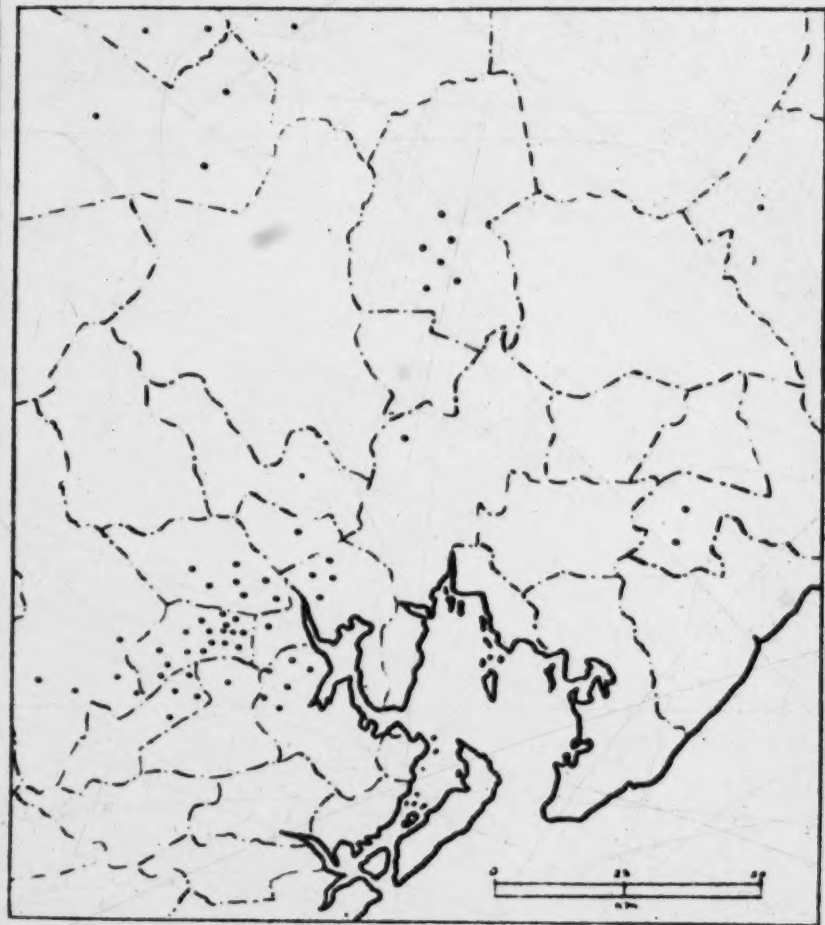

Each dot = 50 metric tons

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Sweet Potatoes—1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 148

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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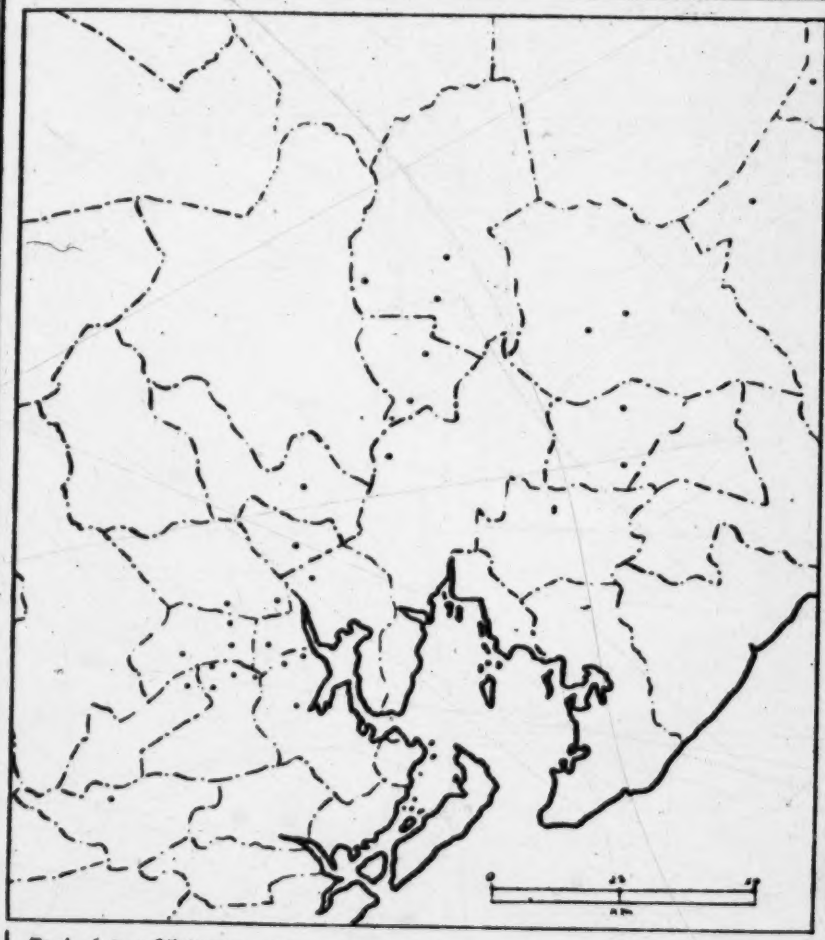

Each dot = 25 hectares

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Area in Peanuts--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

Map 49

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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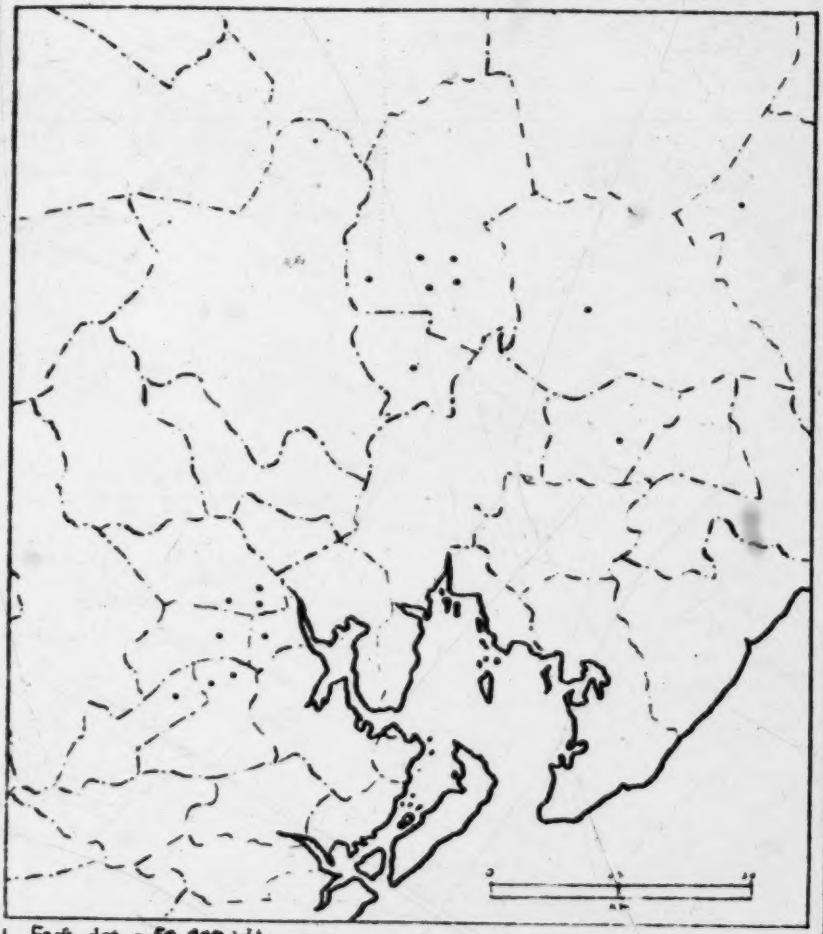

Each dot = 50,000 kilograms

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Peanuts--1948

Source of data: Producão Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 50

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241 311 cane in the pockets of Coastal Plain, and coffee and sugar cane in eastern and southern São Filipe. Annuals, chiefly manioc, intrude into the lowlands and hills in two areas: west of the Bay, from Maragogipe to Nazaré; and east of the Bay, in the município of Salvador.

General Distribution of Cropland. The total cropland of the Recôncavo in 1948, based upon the sum of the areas of the individual crops, was about 80,000 hectares--6.4 per cent of the land surface of the region. This proportion compares favorably with the one per cent of the state of Bahia and the two per cent of Brazil which is cultivated. However, a comparison with areas of the same general character in the Northeast of Brazil is more appropriate and more unfavorable; in 1948 both Paraíba and Alagoas had ten per cent of their areas under cultivation in principal crops.[30]

249 311 The most intensive center of cultivation in the Recôncavo is the area of sugar cane production north of the Bay. If the land which is in fallow one year out of every five is added to the area of the cane fields, about 75 per cent of the total land surface of the area was included in the closed circle of cultivation and fallow in 1948. The smaller area of sugar cane cultivation at the head of the Bacia do Iguape had a similar, though less intensive, concentration of cultivated land.

249 244 311 In the Southwestern Recôncavo as much as one half of the total area was in crops in 1948. Most of this land, as has been seen, was in tobacco or manioc. A smaller nucleus of intensive cultivation north of the Rio Paraguaçu centered on the município of São Gonçalo, was also an area of the cultivation of tobacco and manioc. The rest of the northern part of the Recôncavo in which these two crops were

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 221]

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249 244 311 important had less intensive cultivation than the two principal centers mentioned above.

241 311 Most of the remaining crops of the Recôncavo were either minor subsistence crops of general distribution, not of themselves accounting for any strong concentration of cropland, or were major crops produced in small separated centers of intensive cultivation. The Northwestern Recôncavo corn and bean areas, the coconut plantations of the beach line, the Southwestern Recôncavo sugar cane and coffee areas, and the suburban rings of orange production were zones where the mean intensity of cropland was low or, at best, modest.

There were two zones of very low intensity of cropland which have not been discussed previously because they did not have significant concentrations of individual crops. The belt of Intermediate Hills around [137] [231] the Central Recôncavo sugar cane area is largely forested, the scene of very scattered cultivation, livestock enterprises, and extractive industries. This belt was used, as will be seen, to provide fuel and to maintain a livestock reserve for the adjoining sugar cane area. The forested belt between the beach line and the inland areas of sugar cane and tobacco cultivation were used primarily for extensive systems of cultivation and for the small scale production of livestock. Only around the perimeter of Salvador was this forested belt intensively used, for in this area there were orange groves, manioc gardens, and a few very small truck farms.

241 311 178 [161] [434] <u>Expansion of Cropland</u>. There can be little question but that the Recôncavo as a whole was an area of expanding cropland in the 1940's.[31] In no other way could the increased food necessary for the growing population be supplied, for there were not then nor are there now external sources for large quantities of staples, excepting only livestock. There

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241 are many local signs of the increase in cultivation—expanding rural
311 settlement, overcrowded market facilities, and stories of the "old days"
178 [361] when life was more leisurely and the land problem less severe. Two areas of the Recôncavo are in great contrast as far as the trend of land use is concerned—the Central Recôncavo on the one hand and the
249 outer Recôncavo, especially the Southwest, on the other. As a result of
311 the stabilization of the sugar industry by the Instituto do Açúcar e do
178 [654] Álcool and, undoubtedly, of the high fixed costs of the sugar industry,
[656] the area under cultivation in the Central Recôncavo has remained relatively constant. Indeed, since large-scale speculation in the cultivation of cane is no longer feasible, as a result of government control, it is possible that marginal lands have been withdrawn from cultivation or have been converted to other uses. However, the evidence of the present land use pattern, at least in the area north of the Bay, is against this hypothesis--there are no signs of abandoned cane fields and no extensive areas with any form of land use except those associated with the sugar industry. There are indications of the abandonment of cultivation near the lesser sugar cane area north of the Bacia do Iguape, but the state of the abandoned sugar mills suggest that the decline in cultivation took place before the last decade. In general, then, the area in cane probably was relatively stable during the 1940's and the 1950's, at least to 1953.

249 The situation in the areas of the cultivation of tobacco and
244 manioc is more complicated, in part because the economies of these crops
311 are not stabilized. The area in tobacco undoubtedly has fluctuated over
178 a wide range from year to year, although the area in manioc probably has tended to change more steadily, since it is a basic food crop. There seems to be no question but that during the 1940's the area in

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249 tobacco and manioc increased in the zones of intensive production of
• 244 both crops. Particularly in the Southwestern Recôncavo does the expan-
311 sion of settlement, the present critical intensity of land use, the
178 florescence of tobacco cultivation during the early 1940's, soil exhaustion as evidenced by the declining yields, and the testimony of the people of the people of the area attest to the increase during these years. Detailed field investigation in Cruz das Almas, in the heart of the Southwestern Recôncavo, indicated that if the intensity of cultivation shown by the 1948 figure is correct, then the cropland has declined in the years since. In 1948, according to the data, one-half of the total area of the município was cultivated; in 1953 the total land in crops can scarcely have been more than one quarter of the total area, and there were several signs of decline. Although there was no mature second growth, there was a good deal of capoéira de caatinga and capoéira de mata (second growth) which was about one to three meters high, that is, from about two to six years old. Cruz das Almas seems to be the extreme case of a município which went through a period of rapid growth and precipitous decline in these years, but the same processes undoubtedly have taken place in many of the other municípios where tobacco was important. Probably none of these areas have returned to the 1940 level, because of the concomitant increase in the population and the fall in the productivity of the land in the years since.

241 There have apparently been major expansions of the cropland of
311 two areas which border on the Recôncavo. Serrinha is known as a muni-
178 cípio of recent agricultural expansion.[32] The growth of the cidade of Serrinha in the last decade is a clear expression of greater agricultural production, although the new cropland is not in the vicinity of the city. Apparently the main expansion was around a group of low serras and

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[127] [25]The official data for banana production have been adjusted, as is shown in Appendix D. According to: Immigration and Colonization Council Modern Brazil (Rio de Janeiro: Immigration and Colonization Council, 1949), p. 119, a bunch of Brazilian bananas contains an average of 60 fruits and weighs 8 kilograms.

[35] [565] [26]Indeed, bananas are common plants within the city. Each upper class house, perched on top of the ridge, has its banana grove on the declivity behind. In the valley bottoms, banana plants surround the adobe houses of the lower class.

[27]These yields are offered for the purpose of general comparison. The diversity of conversion figures used in estimating the weight of bananas does not allow for precise comparison.

[127] [28]The official data for area in coffee in São Filipe apparently is a three-fold exaggeration, unless the yields are incredibly low. The production data are more reasonable.

[244] [29]Although manioc is not an annual plant, it is usually harvested in the Recôncavo before it is a year old. It seems more useful to classify these plants as annuals or perennials by their respective systems of cultivation rather than by their botanical characteristics.

[30]This comparison is somewhat unfair to Paraíba and Alagoas, since these states both include extensive non-agricultural areas, while the Recôncavo is an area specifically selected on the basis of intensity of agricultural land use.

[128] [31]For a comparison of 1940 and 1948 cultivated and agricultural area, see Appendix F.

[127] [249] [32]The cropland figure for Serrinha, derived from the 1948 data, is 25 per cent larger than the cultivated area given in the 1940 census. A complicating and contradictory line of evidence is supplied by the data on tobacco production, which is usually a good index of crop cultivation changes in this area. The tobacco production of Serrinha showed a decided decline from 1940 to 1948. It can only be assumed, in the light of the obvious growth of the cidade, that there was some expansion, but in food crops rather than in tobacco.

[33]The region which includes these two municípios follows the railroad from Nazaré to Jequié—the Estrada de Ferro Nazaré—and includes all the municípios touched by the line. In general this is thought of as a "coffee zone," but in its eastern section other crops, notably sugar cane and tobacco, displace coffee as the chief commercial products. Where this region approaches the Recôncavo most closely, in northern Santo Antônio, it is difficult to draw the boundary between the two. However, in 1948, even in 1953, the basic economic associations of Santo Antônio were with the railroad zone.

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241 311 In many municípios on the north, west, and southwest of the Recôncavo, where corn and beans were the first and second crops, manioc and tobacco were third and fourth or vice versa. On the other hand, sugar cane was rarely a significant crop in any município where either corn, beans, tobacco, or manioc occupied a leading position.

128 241 311 Crop Combinations and Monocultures. The crop combinations shown on Map 71 and Map 72 exist on two levels, as statistical combinations of the crops of various municípios and as functional associations of crops grown in an interdependent system.

241 311 The statistical crop combinations of the Central Recôncavo do not correspond to functional systems of cultivation, for although sugar cane, manioc, and tobacco are produced within individual municípios, the cultivation of sugar cane is entirely separate. The manioc and sugar cane of São Filipe and the tobacco and coffee of São Félix are also cultivated separately. The statistical combinations, therefore, merely summarize the economic specialization and diversification of the município economies. The tobacco-manioc and the corn-bean combinations of most municípios of the perimeter of the Recôncavo, from Alagoinhas on the northeast to Conceição do Almeida on the southwest, signify functional as well as statistical relationships. On the other hand, monocultural systems dominate within the Central Recôncavo and in a few other places. The areas in which the individual functional combinations and monocultures predominate are delimited as nodal crop regions on Map 73. The arrows on the map (Map 73) indicate the intermeshing of crop regions in the transitional zones.

249 244 311 The most extensive of the crop regions belongs to tobacco and manioc. In this region, which extends from the Southwestern Recôncavo in a long arc to the Eastern Recôncavo, at least 70 per cent and usually

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80 per cent of the total cropland was in these two crops in 1948 (Map 74). A minimum of 20 per cent of the total cropland of all parts of the region was in tobacco, and except for a break in Coração de Maria and northern Santo Amaro, in manioc. Associated with this region were two small areas in which one of the components dominated the other--tobacco dominated in Santo Antônio and manioc in Pojuca.

The relationship of tobacco and manioc area varied widely within this region of their most intensive cultivation (Map 75). The mean for all the municípios of the region was 42 per cent of the total cropland in tobacco and 36 per cent in manioc. The theoretically ideal "duo-culture" was approached in Cruz das Almas, with 54 per cent of the total cropland in tobacco and 42 per cent in manioc. The ratios of the area in the two crops in individual municípios is indicated in the list below. Only in Muritiba and Cruz das Almas did the areas of the two crops have a relative balance. In the southwestern part of the region, tobacco was ascendant in Santo Antonio and manioc in Conceição do Almeida.

Ratio of Tobacco and Manioc Area

Santo Antônio	Tobacco	3.50 to 1
Conceição do Almeida	Manioc	2 to 1
Cruz das Almas	Tobacco	1.25 to 1
Muritiba	Manioc	1.50 to 1
Conceição da Feira	Manioc	2 to 1
São Gonçalo	Tobacco	3 to 1
Coração de Maria	Tobacco	4.50 to 1
Santo Amaro*	Manioc	2.50 to 1
Catu	Tobacco	3 to 1
Pojuca	Manioc	20 to 1

*These figures are for the whole of Santo Amaro. Probably the ratio in its tobacco-manioc zone would be about 3 to 1 in favor of tobacco.

North of the Rio Paraguaçu the position of tobacco vis-à-vis manioc became progressively stronger through Coração de Maria and continued strong into Catu, where cultivation of tobacco abruptly terminated. Pojuca had a manioc monoculture, with only 4 per cent of the cropland in tobacco and 81 per cent in manioc.

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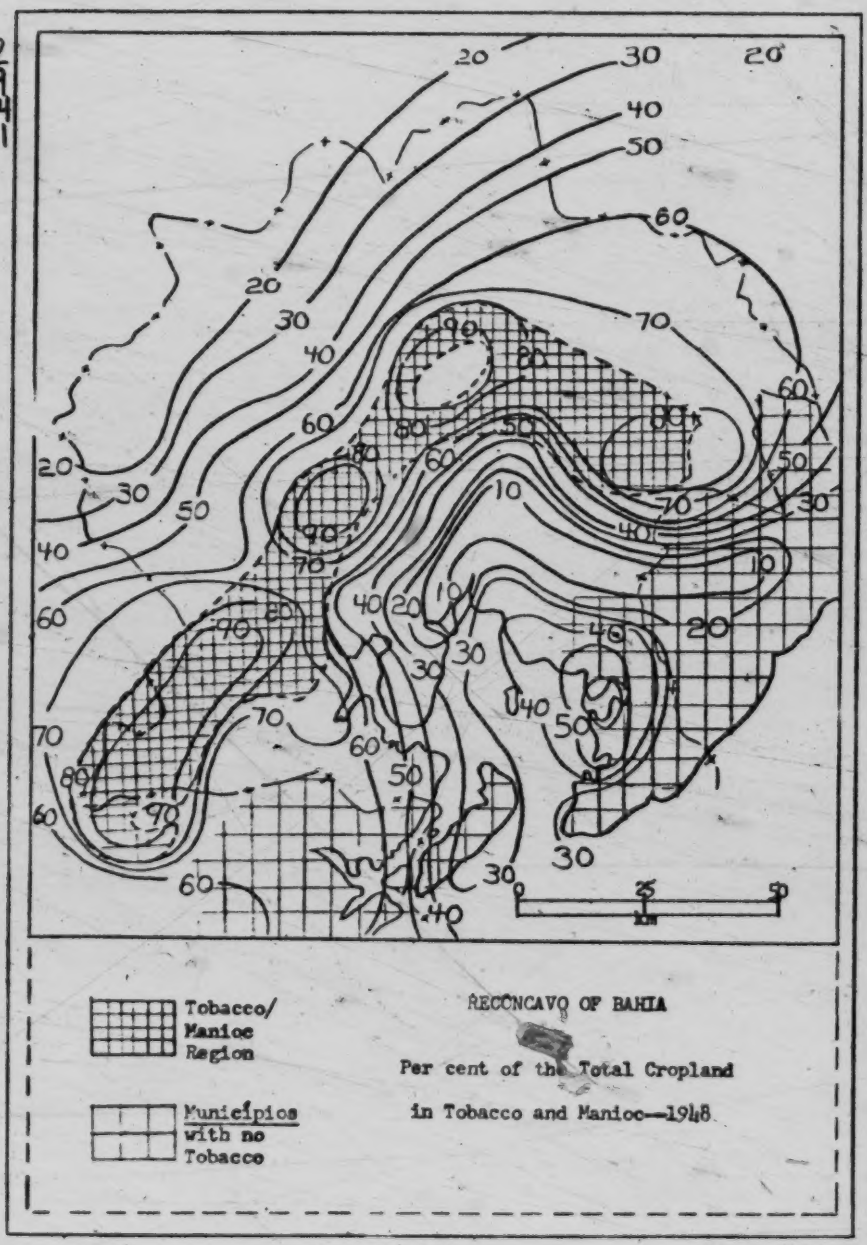

MAP 74

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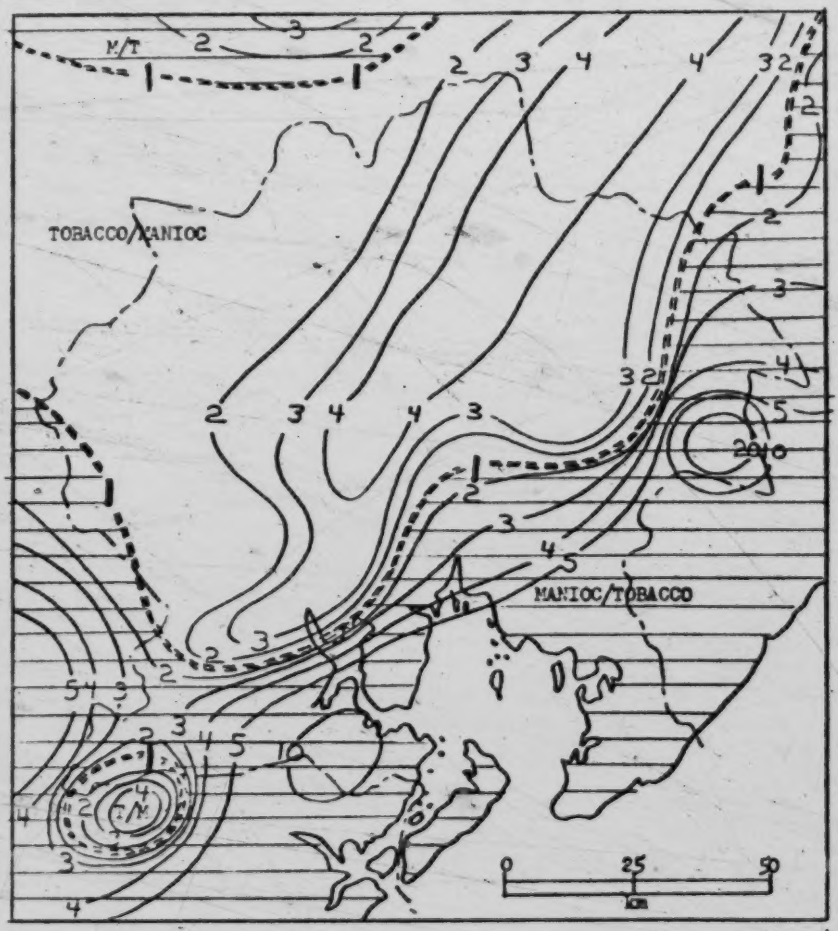

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Relationship of the Cultivated Area in Tobacco and Manioc—1948

Tobacco/Manioc (T/M) - Area in tobacco exceeds area in manioc
Manioc/Tobacco (M/T) - Area in manioc exceeds area in tobacco

MAP 75

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 The physical setting of the tobacco and manioc region is distinc-
244 tive in terms of the particular combination of topography, soils, climate,
311 and vegetation which are joined along its crescent axis. The region lies
13 along the semi-circular edge of the interior upland, overlooking the Bay and the Coastal Plain. In the south the fields of manioc and tobacco occupy the upper surfaces of the Crystalline Uplands and the adjacent Intermediate Hills. In the north, cultivation shifts to the summits and upper slopes of the Intermediate Hills, although there is some concentration on the extreme southern edge of the taboleiros. Thus the region occupies the deep flat-lying residual crystalline soils in the south but in the Tertiary soil zone to the north follows the slope lands where there is more rainfall and perhaps better local soils. The close correspondence of this region with the forest and scrub-forest transition has been repeatedly emphasized. A traverse across the tobacco-manioc region anywhere between Conceição do Almeida and Feira de Santana takes one from rough hills with at least scattered patches of broadleaf evergreen forest to flat uplands with cactus, thorny brush, and licuri palms.

249 A comparison of the map of population (Map 21) and of the rela-
244 tionship of tobacco and manioc cultivation (Map 75) points up the neces-
433 sity for local sources of basic subsistence products. In the Southwest,
161 where rural populations are relatively dense and where there are a
361 number of large villages and towns, manioc tends to be cultivated over a greater area than does tobacco. In the tobacco-manioc region north of the Rio Paraguaçu, where tobacco is usually the leading crop, the density of rural population is lower, and there are no towns and only
[438] a few large villages. Thus there is close relationship between the relative intensity of manioc and the size of the local market.

175 The recent historical pattern of agriculture in the tobacco-manioc
249 region can be reconstructed only on a general level. Cachoeira, which
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175 Cachoeira, which formerly included most of the western part of the region, was the center
178 of the production of tobacco for use in the slave trade. The growth of
249 the trade in leaf tobacco in the nineteenth century brought great changes
[567] to the region, for it made tobacco a major commercial product in its own
[439] right, no longer dependent upon the slave trade. Eventually this development gave the region of tobacco production a greater economic importance than the sugar cane region, although it remained subordinate in political and social influence. The development of the new tobacco economy also gave the region a greater superiority over the sertão, which could satisfactorily produce fumo em corda, but could grow only the poorest grades of fumo em fôlha.

174 Probably the tobacco-manioc region supplied manioc as the sub-
244 sistence food of the sugar economy, since it is the only nearby area
249 which was a center of manioc production. Perhaps manioc was produced
433 in the sugar cane zone, but in view of the intensity of sugar cane cultivation, this seems doubtful. In any case, the present relative level of manioc production in this crop region probably dates from the nineteenth century development of cigar tobacco production.

249 The second basic crop region of the Recôncavo is the sugar cane
311 monocultural area. It is sub-divided into a major zone, in Santo Amaro, São Sebastião, and São Francisco; a minor zone in Cachoeira; and an outlier in São Filipe. It is estimated that in the first two zones 90 per cent of the cropland was in cane in 1948. In the São Filipe outlier of the sugar cane region the proportion seems to have been lower--perhaps 50 per cent of the cultivated area.

The physical association of the sugar cane region north of the
[13] Rio Paraguaçu and the Bay is relatively simple--a humid and formerly forested undulating plain composed of mixed Cretaceous soils--massapê, salão, and areia. In São Filipe the land is rougher, but the sugar cane is grown upon heavy soils similar to the Cretaceous series.

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249 The portion of the sugar cane region north of the Bay is an area
161 of relatively dense rural population, with a large number of villages
361 and plantation settlements and one city--Santo Amaro. The remaining areas of the sugar cane region have only moderately dense rural populations and no major urban centers, although the cidade of Nazaré is very close to the southern border of São Filipe.

The tremendous historical significance of the sugar cane region has
[128] been discussed at length in the section on the historical setting of the
249 Recôncavo. As far as the sugar cane zone of Santo Amaro, São Francisco,
178 and São Sebastião is concerned, the extent of the region does not appear to have changed very much since colonial times. Old engenhos are found throughout the zone, indicating past cultivation in all areas now in cane. The present usinas cultivate sugar cane intensively clear across the Cretaceous zone, so that it is not likely that the cane area has contracted. However, there are several abandoned engenhos and settlements on the north and east shores of the estuary of the Paraguaçu which seem to indicate that sugar cane cultivation was formerly more extensive around the Bacia do Iguape.

The two intensive crop regions of tobacco and manioc and sugar
244 249 cane, as outlined above, can be viewed as nodal areas which are basic
311 to the regional distinctiveness of the Recôncavo; they are for all practical purposes included totally within its limits; their crop patterns are not duplicated in any nearby area; and they include within their boundaries a very large part--and the most productive part--of its agricultural area.

In distinction to the above intra-Recôncavo regions there are
241 311 at least three crops which overlap the borders of the Recôncavo, forming crop regions which have their most characteristic development in adjoining areas. The Atlantic coast of Salvador and Itaparica supports

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The Atlantic coast of Salvador and Itaparica supports
245 a coconut monoculture--a monoculture which is most strongly developed
311 north of the Recôncavo in Camassari and Mata de São João. The actual area of the coconut monoculture within the Recôncavo is slight, and beyond this monocultural zone, coconut cultivation is rarely significant within the region.

The coconut monoculture lies between the littoral forest and the beach in Itaparica and between the agreste and the beach in Salvador and in the municípios farther north. Except in the município of
[161] Salvador, the rural population of the coconut area is not dense. The
[162] typical settlement of this zone is the fishing village, sprawled over
[361] the beach near the mouth of a small stream. Inland the population is scattered.

243 A much more important crop system intrudes upon the Northwestern
244 Recôncavo--the corn-bean system. The nuclear area for this system seems
311 to lie in northern Serrinha and in the municípios bordering upon the state of Sergipe. The area in which over 80 per cent of the cropland was in corn and beans in 1948 overlapped the borders of the Recôncavo into western Feira de Santana and Santo Estêvão--a zone of low serras (Map 76). In this zone the area in corn was from one to two times the area in beans (Map 77).

Most of the soils of this region are either crystalline or
[134] Tertiary sands, but the pockets of soil which are actually cultivated are almost invariably heavier and more water retentive than are the sandy upland soils of the taboleiros. The corn-bean region generally
[162] has a small but nucleated rural population and a few medium-sized cidades, which are the only towns of the very large municípios which are charac-
[361] teristic of the area. However, the part of the corn-bean region which overlaps the Recôncavo has a number of villages and hamlets in the valleys of the serras.

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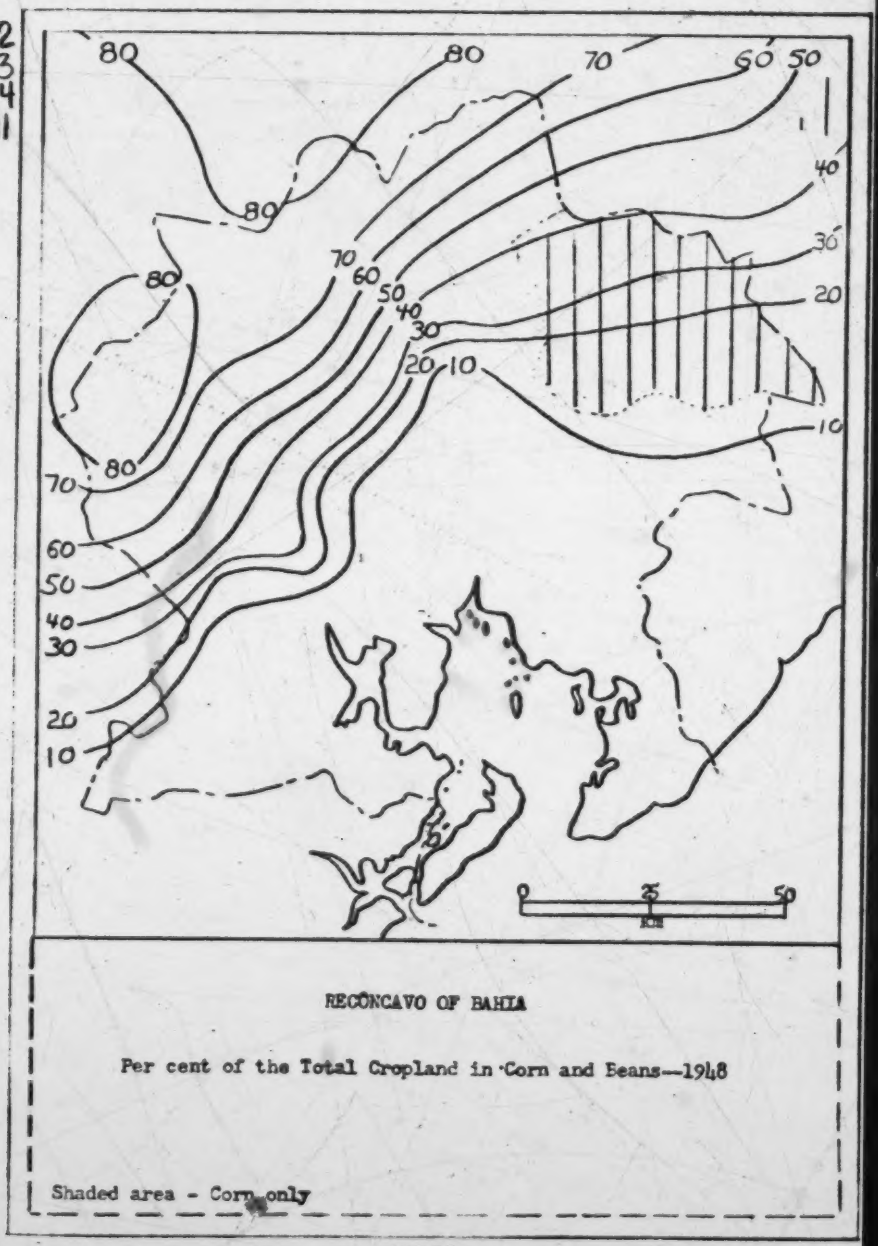

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Cropland in Corn and Beans—1948

Shaded area - Corn only

MAP 76

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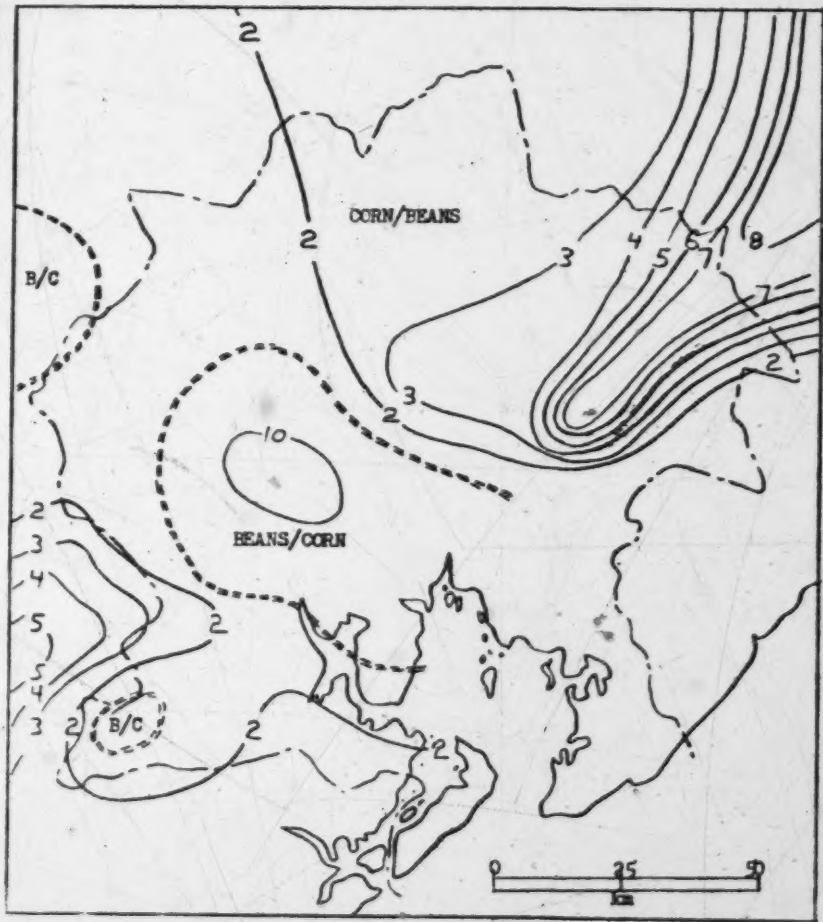

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Relationship of the Cultivated Area in Corn and Beans—1948

Corn/Beans - Area in corn exceeds area in beans
Beans/Corn (B/C) - Area in beans exceeds area in corn

MAP 77

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 311 Southwest of the estuary of the Rio Paraguaçu, in Maragogipe and São Filipe, the crop pattern becomes very complex, as is shown by the relative distribution of cropland in São Filipe:

Manioc	33	per cent
Sugar cane	28	" "
Coffee	25	" "
Tobacco	11	" "
Peanuts	1	" "
Corn	1	" "

Plus small areas of beans, oranges, bananas, sweet potatoes, and coconut.

174 245 249 311 It is very likely that there has been a historical connection between the coffee culture of São Filipe and the main coffee zone far to the southwest. Apparently the development of tobacco cultivation in Santo Antônio has severed this connection.

249 244 221 Cultivation Systems--Tobacco and Manioc. The "ideal" system of cultivation of tobacco and manioc[1] in the tobacco-manioc region has the following general pattern:

(1) In mid-February a small tract, very commonly with an area of one tarefa[2] but sometimes larger, is cleared in the capoéira de caatinga (second-growth scrub-forest) or the capoéira de mata (second-growth littoral forest). Generally the capoéira is low brush, two to five [412] feet tall, which is easily cut with a facão--a long heavy knife which is a universal agricultural tool. Any heavy waste material that can be moved is dragged away from the plot; if there are tree stumps, they will not be grubbed out.[3] Sometimes the waste material on the surface of the field is burned, but this is by no means universal.

(2) A favored spot, either within the cleared field or in the adjoining capoéira, is prepared for a seed bed. Usually a site on the edge of a wood or near a steep slope is selected. Any available waste materials--corn stalks, old tobacco plants, weeds, brush, pieces of wood, and the like--are piled on the small plot, allowed to dry, and then burned.

249 244 221 (3) When the first rains come, the soil of both the seed bed and the fields are worked up with a hoe so that all vegetable matter is buried and all weeds turned under.

249 231 239 [417] (4) If possible the land is fertilized. Under "ideal" circumstances cattle are penned nightly over the area by means of a small temporary corral. The corral may be maintained for a long period over the seed bed, but on the field it is moved frequently so that the whole area is fertilized. Generally the resulting manure is left exposed to the sun and rain until planting time. However, this "ideal" method of fertilization is rare. A very large number of tobacco cultivators have no cattle—they are too poor and their operations are too small for livestock. Most cattle are held by fazendéiros (ranchers) who do not themselves grow tobacco. Moreover, the intensiveness of cultivation keeps the cattle population too small to provide enough manure for all local needs. Usually it is necessary to buy fertilizer. Cattle manure is sometimes purchased from a local fazendéiro. More and more, however, the tobacco cultivators are dependent upon cattle, or better still, goat manure which is trucked into the Recôncavo from the sertão. The manure is spread over the seed bed to a depth of about one inch and over the field in such depth as the quantity allows.

249 221 (5) From mid-April to the end of May, depending upon the weather and the condition of the tobacco field, the seeds are planted. Almost without exception the seeds are taken from completely exhausted tobacco plants of the previous year, plants no longer able to produce salable leaf. The soil is broken open and loosened, and the seeds are sown directly into the fertilizer. Since the fertility of the seeds is very low, they are sown very thickly. The seed bed is fenced but is rarely covered. In sixty to seventy days the seedlings are ready for transplanting.

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(6) In June, as the rains increase and as the seedlings are ready, the soil in the field is again broken, and small ridges about 18 inches apart are made with a hoe. Occasionally manure is put into the hills at this stage in place of earlier fertilization. Then the young seedlings are planted in the ridges and a small quantity of water added. Ten days or two weeks later there is a replanting where the original seedings have failed.

(7) A few days later the ridges are further hilled up. Thereafter the field is kept clean with a hoe.

(8) When tips begin to form, about two months after planting--late July or early August--the plant is topped so that six to ten leaves remain.

(9) About three weeks later the whole upper stalk is harvested. Two or three shoots near the ground are then allowed to develop. These shoots are topped, and eventually their leaves are harvested. As many as eight separate harvests are made from the shoots, and often this form of harvest continues into December.

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(10) The harvested tobacco is tied to a long pole or rack and hung under the roof of the dwelling, beneath the eaves, or occasionally in separate thatch and adobe "barns." If the weather is damp, a fire is used to hasten drying. After they are thoroughly dried, perhaps three or four weeks, the leaves are cut down and stripped from the stalks. They are then graded, tied into bundles, and laid aside until they are sold, or if the farmer is a large producer, until a fermentation bulk is assembled. The entire season's harvest is piled on the stack, and it is sold to the buyer at the end of the year.

[442]

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The sequence of cultivation following the harvesting of tobacco is as follows:

(1) The field is turned with a hoe--if some tobacco plants are

249 244 still producing, they are carefully left in place--and narrow, shallow trenches eighteen inches or two feet apart are dug across the field. Segments of manioc stalk, freshly cut and two to four inches long, are planted in the trenches and covered.

(2) When the manioc appears, the plants are slightly hilled, and the field is kept clean.

(3) Any time after six months, but if conditions are not too pressing after nine months, the roots are dug up with a hoe. The disposition of the manioc roots will be discussed in a later section on processing.

(4) The field is re-planted to manioc until it will no longer produce a reasonable yield--one to four years depending upon the fertility.[4]

(5) The field is abandoned to wild vegetation and used as a rough pasture, or, if land is in very short supply, it is fertilized and planted to tobacco.

There are a number of problems which lead to departures from the ideal system of cultivation discussed above:

(1) In many areas where the intensity of cultivation is extreme, no second growth is available, and it is necessary to take fields directly from the cultivation of manioc, or other crops, to the planting of tobacco. It is important to remember that by no means all the soils of the tobacco-manioc region are suitable for tobacco cultivation, even [134] in such favorable centers as Cruz das Almas or São Gonçalo. Only the lighter, sandier soils of the hill tops and upper slopes and occasionally the porous soils of the basins are used for tobacco. These tobacco soils are popularly considered to be "poor," because crops other than tobacco or manioc do not thrive upon them.[5]

[237] (2) A key problem in the main areas of tobacco-manioc cultivation

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249 is fertilizer. Most of the manure is purchased with money borrowed from
244 the tobacco buyers or local merchants. The rise and fall of the produc-
237 tion, yield, and quality of tobacco in the various municipios of the Recôncavo can be explained to a considerable degree by two factors: (1) the availability of loan capital, and (2) the variation in precipitation. Probably the local supply of capital is more variable than the rainfall. Moreover, the quality of the manure available is usually poor. The manure of grass-fed cattle is a mediocre fertilizing agent, and probably the manure produced from the capoéira de caatinga upon which most cattle feed is even more inferior. Goat manure is preferred, because it is believed that it produces both a larger crop and a higher quality leaf, but it is very expensive. Because those who can afford goat manure usually are also the more efficient and careful cultivators, it is difficult to be sure whether it is superior fertilizer or better care which produces the quality leaf.

The manure which is secured from sources within the tobacco-manioc zone has almost invariably deteriorated because it has been left for long periods in the sun and rain. The more expensive fertilizer imported from the sertão is of a better quality, both because it comes from a drier zone and has thus suffered from less leaching in the corral and because it is kept in piles so that only the surface material is open to the elements.

In general every possible cruzeiro that can be begged or borrowed is spent for manure, but if none can be bought, the cultivator will haul black soil (crystalline massapê) from the bottom lands and spread it over his field. Failing that, he will plant without fertilizer in a desperate attempt to produce a crop which will enable him to eke out the following year. Even if relatively fresh soil with a good growth of capoéira is available, the cultivator can produce only a very small

249 crop of poor tobacco without the application of manure. Commercial
244 fertilizers are beyond the means of all but a very small minority of
237 cultivators. Those large growers who have experimented with commercial fertilizers report unfavorable results, presumably because of excessive leaching in the porous soils.

249 (3) The system of seed selection is illustrative of the general crudity of cultivation. As indicated above, the seeds are taken from the old and repeatedly harvested plants of the preceding season. The only criterion for selection is survival--the seed plant continued to produce longer than the rest of the crop. This does not mean that it produced more leaf or better quality--indeed, the opposite is often
[654] the case. Occasionally better seeds are available from the federal or
[242] state government, but the cultivators take little interest.

(4) The practice of harvesting the entire stalk or shoot at one time increases the variation in quality, since there are appreciable differences in the stages of development of the leaves. Immature leaves do not cure properly, while overripe leaves will produce only inferior grades.

249 (5) The primitive methods of drying and fermenting further re-
276 duce the quality of the leaf. Where the leaves are dried indoors over the fire, they acquire a smoky character. Frequently the debts of the
[424] cultivator force him to sell part of his crop prematurely so that a bulk large enough for fermentation is not assembled. On the other hand, if a large bulk of leaf is accumulated for curing and fermentation, there is always the risk of scorching, since thermometers are never used to check the temperature. A common abuse, and a costly one to the cultivator, results from delay in stringing the leaf up to dry. If the freshly cut leaves are allowed to remain piled in the sun before hanging, the green color is fixed. This damage cannot be

241 311 North of the Paraguaçu, modification of the "ideal" system is more frequent, especially in municípios where the area in cultivation is relatively small. In Coração de Maria, for example, only 4 per cent of the area was cultivated in 1948. Here it is possible to open more "new" land upon which tall capoéira has developed. Since this município is remote--but more in terms of road transport than in actual distance--there is greater need to produce a high-value, low-bulk crop, such as tobacco, and less possibility for the commercial production of manioc. Many fields of tobacco are allowed to revert directly into capoéira. Since the land is more thoroughly fallowed and since there are fewer cattle and thus less manure, fertilization is generally less extensive in this area. A similarly modified pattern of cultivation is found in Catu and in the more remote parts of São Gonçalo.

In Santo Antônio, where the intensity of agriculture is increasing, but where the cultivated area is still relatively small, much "new" land can be used. In this município the area in tobacco is [249] large in relation to manioc, and thus some tobacco fields obviously revert directly to brush.

249 244 There seems to be no definite land rotation period in the tobacco-manioc region. Rather the period is controlled by the availability of land. In 1948, the município of Cruz das Almas, one of the most intensively cultivated areas of the tobacco-manioc region, had one half of its total surface in cultivation according to the official data. Approximately one-quarter of the total area was in each of the two crops. Under these circumstances, no more than two years of fallow can have intervened between the harvesting of manioc and the planting of tobacco. However, not all of the município can be cultivated, and certainly no more than three-fourths of the total area can be used for tobacco. It follows that in many cases no more than

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249 244 one year could have intervened between manioc and tobacco. By 1953, the total cropland was obviously far below the 1948 level--probably no more than one-fourth of the land was under cultivation. Even so, the rotation period was extremely short, usually only one or two years. The cultivators are enclosed in a narrowing circle of exhausted soil, increasing cost of manure, and growing population. These are the fundamental problems of the tobacco and manioc region. All of these problems seem to be especially acute in the municipio of Cruz das Almas, but they are serious in every area where tobacco is grown.

243 244 The Cultivation of Corn and Beans. Corn and beans are usually cultivated in the Recôncavo under a land rotation system, much like the system of tobacco and manioc. The qualification "in the Recôncavo," is necessary because the modifications of the corn-bean system as it overlaps the Recôncavo from the north and west are very significant. In the sertão the areas suited to crop cultivation are more limited, primarily because of the lesser amount of precipitation. Where suitable areas are available, such as at the foot of the low mountains, cultivation tends to be permanent, particularly if the soils are relatively good and if the population is relatively dense for so droughty a zone--as in Serrinha and Inhambupe. This permanent form of agriculture is called pé do monte (foot of the mountain) and is a relatively standardized agricultural system in the sertão, as well as in the crystalline zone near the western edge of the Recôncavo, in Feira de Santana and Santo Estêvão, where corn and beans are often cultivated around the low serras. In the Tertiary zone farther east, where there are no serras, a similar system of permanent cultivation is found in the valleys. Elsewhere within the Recôncavo, corn and beans are generally cultivated under the field and fallow system,

243 either separately or in conjunction with tobacco and manioc. They are
244 frequently grown on land thought to be not suitable for tobacco culti-
[134] vation yet too good for manioc alone, such as the steeper slopes of the crystalline area where the heavier soils do not produce good quality tobacco.

Since the area in corn and beans is small and the amount of slope land large, the capoéira is extensive and frequently quite tall. After the slopes are cleared, the land is very often planted to mixed corn and beans, more rarely to one or the other. The crops are planted
[221] in March or April, perhaps in May, and even in June for beans alone. The planting season for these crops is extended both because they are tolerant of changes in season and because as crops secondary to tobacco they have a lesser priority. Some corn is usually planted early enough
[527] so that it will ripen in time for São João (mid-summer day) festival
[862] for which fresh corn-on-the-cob is the traditional food. This festival is usually the beginning of the corn harvest, but the bean harvest
[251] begins a month later. Both crops are harvested by hand and, after drying, are shelled by hand, sacked, and either stored or sold. When the fertility of the soil is higher than normal or when there is labor to spare, the field may be planted to manioc after the corn and bean harvest.

243 As a result of the interpenetration of the corn-bean and the
244 tobacco-manioc systems, in many regions and on many individual proper-
249 ties the two co-exist. Usually the upland fields are in tobacco and
311 manioc, with an occasional plot of corn and/or beans. Usually the slope-land plots are in corn or beans.

249 The Cultivation of Sugar Cane. In distinction to the crops discussed above, sugar cane is grown under a system of permanent

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000 Footnotes - Chapter VI

[124] [129] [114] [1]The discussion of the cultivation of tobacco and manioc is based upon the following sources: (1) private conversations with Mr. G. G. Jay, a tobacco buyer and grower of long experience in Bahia and in other regions of South America; (2) Walter Alberto Egler, "Aspectos Gerais da Cultura do Fumo na Região do Recôncavo na Bahia," Boletim Geográfico, Vol. X, No. 111 (November-December, 1952), pp. 679-688; (3) general field observations throughout the zone, except in Coração de Maria and Catu, and, during 1953-1954, detailed observations in São Gonçalo and in Cruz das Almas.

[804] [2]Tarefa means "a task," "a day's work," or "a piece of work," but it is also an antique unit of area which is the folk-unit of area throughout much of Brazil. Its size varies from place to place, but the tarefa baiana equals 0.4356 hectares. In many areas one tarefa is considered to be the usual size of the tobacco planting of one man, but it is obvious from a comparison of the labor force and area in tobacco that in many areas the plantings per person must run much larger. In any case, the individual plots are very likely to be one tarefa each.

[3]In many areas the tree stumps have entirely disappeared as a result of the intensive cultivation, which severely restricts the size of the wild vegetation which can develop during the fallow period.

[114] [243] [4]This interpretation differs, at least in emphasis, from that of Walter Alberto Egler, op. cit., pp. 679-688. He suggests as the characteristic sequence, tobacco, corn and/or beans, and then manioc. Undoubtedly this sequence is important, but the field investigation for the present study revealed that the direct replacement of tobacco with manioc is more characteristic.

[237] [5]However, tobacco does not produce well on these poor soils unless manure is used, and even the yields of manioc are low unless it is planted in a field where there has been a relatively recent application of manure.

[244] [6]The seed for corn, which is edible, has value in itself. The stalk of manioc has no utility except to reproduce the crop. Thus when manioc is planted, the cultivator invests only his labor and the questionable value of the land.

[7]See section by George Wythe in Simon Kuznets, Wilbert E. Moore, and Joseph J. Spengler (eds.), Economic Growth: Brazil, India, Japan, p. 34.

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249 The tobacco-manioc region, especially in the Southwestern
244 Recôncavo, was a zone of very small properties--in Cruz das Almas and
311
423 Coração de Maria the mean size of crop cultivation units was 9 hectares, while in São Filipe it was only 5 hectares. This zone of small crop cultivation units is part of a belt, parallel to but well back from the coast, which originates in the serras of the coffee zone, crosses the Recôncavo along the caatinga-mata transition, and follows the caatinga-agreste boundary northward along the eastern edge of the Tertiary taboleiros. The small-property belt thus lies between the littoral, with its large plantations of sugar cane and its ranches, and the dry sertão, with its extensive livestock economy.

241 The Central Recôncavo was a zone of large crop cultivation proper-
249 ties, primarily sugar cane plantations. Although there are a large
311
423 number of livestock in the sugar cane region, the plantations use, rather than produce, animals and were thus classified as crop cultivation units. The plantations of the sugar cane area are very diverse as regards size, and many of the individual properties are now operated collectively by large usinas. Nevertheless, there are still a number of small properties, producing cane which is sold to the large mills.

241 Mixed Crop Cultivation-Livestock Producing Units. A little over
231
233 one-half of all the farms in the Recôncavo produced livestock as well
311 as crops. These units occupied almost 60 per cent of the total area of all properties. However, the area in which over half the properties were mixed units was limited to a broad perimeter zone which included all the outer municípios of the Eastern, Northwestern, and Southwestern Recôncavo (Map 98). In Itaparica and Santo Amaro, where crop cultivation units were very important, there were relatively few mixed units.

244 The maps of the area in mixed units in relation to enumerated
249
231 area (Map 99) and total area (Map 100) confirm the observation that
233

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 311]

244 the tobacco-manioc region is an area of co-existing crop and livestock
249
231 production. The mean size of mixed units of both the tobacco-manioc
233 region and the western and northern perimeter of the Recôncavo was
[423] small—20 to 40 hectares—but was significantly larger than the mean
[311] size of crop farms in the same areas (Map 101). Like the purely cane-producing plantations, the mixed units of the Central Recôncavo were relatively large.

241 Crop Cultivation and Mixed Crop Cultivation and Livestock Pro-
231 ducing Units Combined. The distribution of the area in crop and crop-
232
311 livestock units combined, as shown on Maps 102 and 103, reaffirms the regional distinctiveness of the Recôncavo. In almost the entire region over one-half the total area was in these two types of crop-producing properties. None of the adjoining municípios had as much as 50 per cent of their total area in these two types of units, and in all but three, less than one-third the land was in crop or crop-livestock properties.

241 Regional Pattern of Agricultural Properties. The distribution
311 of the three major production units is summarized on Map 104. In each
184 of the two basic regions—crop and crop-livestock—one production
[231] type dominated, in number and in area, over the others. The Central
[233] Recôncavo with the island of Itaparica and, beyond the Recôncavo, the environs of Nazaré composed a region in which most of the agricultural land was in crop cultivation units. North of the Bay, most of these crop cultivation units were sugar cane plantations. On Itaparica there were several kinds of crop cultivation units—coconut plantations, diminutive manioc farms, and across from Salvador, small summer estates with a few cultivated fields. Around Nazaré most of the crop cultivation properties appeared to specialize in the production of manioc.

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241 423 471 and 161 hectares in Santo Amaro--while those of the Salvador area were relatively modest--81 hectares in Salvador and 72 hectares in Itaparica.

241 427 Rented Properties. There were few rented properties in the Recôncavo as a whole in 1940 (Map 117), but in three areas over 10 per cent of the properties were rented: in the core of the tobacco-manioc area of the Southwestern Recôncavo; in Irará; and around Salvador. In Maragogipe, 52 per cent of the properties, occupying 15 per cent of the enumerated area, were rented (Map 118). In Santo Antônio, adjoining the Southwestern Recôncavo, over 30 per cent of the properties were rented, but along the western and norther border zones of the Recôncavo there were very few rented properties. Because of the small size of the units, rented properties in the Recôncavo generally occupied less than 10 per cent of the enumerated area.

[241] [249] The rented properties of the tobacco-manioc crop region were usually small, from 10 to 30 hectares, but in the sugar cane area they averaged over 200 hectares (Map 119). If the official data are correct, the mean size of rented properties in Coração de Maria was over 267 hectares, but this seems very unlikely and has not been shown on the map.

241 423 471 Corporate Lands. In 1940, one-hundred ninety-eight of the 29,000 agricultural properties of the Recôncavo were owned by corporations or companies. The total area of these properties was 33,000 hectares, almost 4 per cent of the total enumerated area of the region. Moreover, the land which composed these properties was some of the most productive in the Recôncavo. The number of corporate properties and the concentration of land under corporate ownership almost certainly has increased since 1940.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 337]

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BB 249 407 472 [256] operation is determined by the company officers, who generally live in Salvador. The company, in its turn, is subject to some control from Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo investors. This structured system of control probably is one of the reasons for the continuation of the monoculture in the sugar cane area. The usual explanation offered for the cane monoculture is the unique suitability of the soil and climate and the innate conservatism of the Baiano. However, one of the features of the present sugar economy is the lack of capital for other enterprises. The absentee owners, who are the only likely source of capital, are hesitant to advance money for new and untried enterprises. Moreover, alternative agricultural enterprises, if successful, would reduce the supply of cane and thus eventually raise the cost of usina operation.

BB 249 244 442 In the tobacco-manioc region the control exercised by Salvador is indirect, but compelling, because the small tobacco producer is almost completely at the mercy of the buyer, who receives orders from the tobacco exporter and manufacturer through the agent.

BB 241 423 471 [184] [231] [233] The differences in production specialization, size, and tenure among the agricultural properties of the Recôncavo both accentuate the basic dichotomy of the region and re-emphasize its unity. The small-scale mixed crop cultivation and livestock producing unit of the tobacco-manioc region and the large-scale crop cultivation unit of the sugar region are both esentially engaged in the production of commercial crops. Both are distinct from the primary agricultural unit of the sertão, the livestock ranch. Both are subject to the over-all economic control of the center—Salvador.

B BB 241 423 184 [249] In most parts of Brazil, as in the Recôncavo, the agricultural properties are highly diverse in size, function, and ownership. Most areas of sugar cane cultivation have relatively large properties, primarily engaged in crop cultivation. In other areas, as in

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come to be the area of the greatest value of agricultural production in the state--Cr.$1,007,824,000, in 1948, almost three times the value of crop and livestock production in the Recôncavo, Cr.$335,000,000. The total value of livestock production in the Recôncavo is estimated to be about Cr.$60,000,000 for 1948. Although no comparable figure is available for Brazil, probably the Recôncavo had less then 1 per cent of the livestock and thus produced less than 1 per cent of the value of livestock in the nation as a whole.[1]

B BB 231 233 433

B BB 433

The present inferior position of the Recôncavo is in part a reflection of the relative decline of the region in the nineteenth century discussed in the chapter on the evolution of the Recôncavo. However, the Recôncavo continues to lag behind in the contemporary development of Brazil. From 1944 to 1952 the total cruzeiro value of the principal crops of Brazil increased four-fold, while the value of Bahia's tobacco crop, a good indicator of the economic shifts of the Recôncavo, increased by only one-fifth despite the concurrent inflationary spiral. Even the government-stabilized sugar industry of the Recôncavo produced only three and one-half times its 1944 value. Although the above increases are more indicative of the steadily declining value of Brazilian currency than of true economic development, they are an index of the relative importance of agriculture in the Recôncavo to the national economy.

B BB 241 249 433 [458] [654]

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Tobacco, sugar cane, and manioc, which occupied 70 per cent of the Recôncavo's cropland, accounted for 77 per cent of the total value of all principal crops in 1948 (Table XVI). Each of the three crops contributed at least 20 per cent of the value of all crops, while no other crop produced over 6 per cent of the total. The cruzeiro value of these principal crops, and of livestock, and their relative position within the nation has been given in Table XV, above.

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249 433 neglect the critical tobacco producing areas. It seems to be true that
245 439 the chief recipients of political and economic attention have been the
traditionally important sugar cane area, and more recently the cacao
491 zone. The people of the tobacco area complain particularly about the
lack of roads.

244 433 Not only is manioc the basic source of subsistence for the Recôncavo, it is also the second crop in value of production. Its cultivation, as has been seen, is closely associated with the production of tobacco, so that the Southwestern Recôncavo, which produced 63 per cent of the tobacco crop, also contributed a very large part--48 per cent--of the total value of manioc (Map 121). However, manioc is important in its own right, as well as in its relationship to tobacco. No data are available to indicate the importance of manioc as a surplus product which is sold beyond the borders of the município in which it is grown. A rough estimate can be made by assuming that the per capita consumption of manioc is 400 kilograms per year--this is the mean consumption for the state of Bahia. Using this figure in conjunction with the population data, it is possible to estimate that in 1948 about 30,000 tons of surplus manioc was produced in the Recôncavo. Ninety per cent of this surplus was produced in the municípios of the Southwestern Recôncavo.
489 494 It is significant that many of the trucks passing from the Southwestern Recôncavo to Feira de Santana and Salvador are piled high with bags of farinha de mandioca. The total value of commercial manioc would be about Cr.$6,500,000, so that on this basis manioc is the fourth or fifth most valuable commercial crop of the Recôncavo. Using the above method of determination, it was found that several municípios adjoining the region also produced surpluses of manioc. The most notable of these were the four municípios adjacent to the Southwestern Recôncavo—Nazaré, São Miguel, Santo Antônio, and Castro Alves—which produced a

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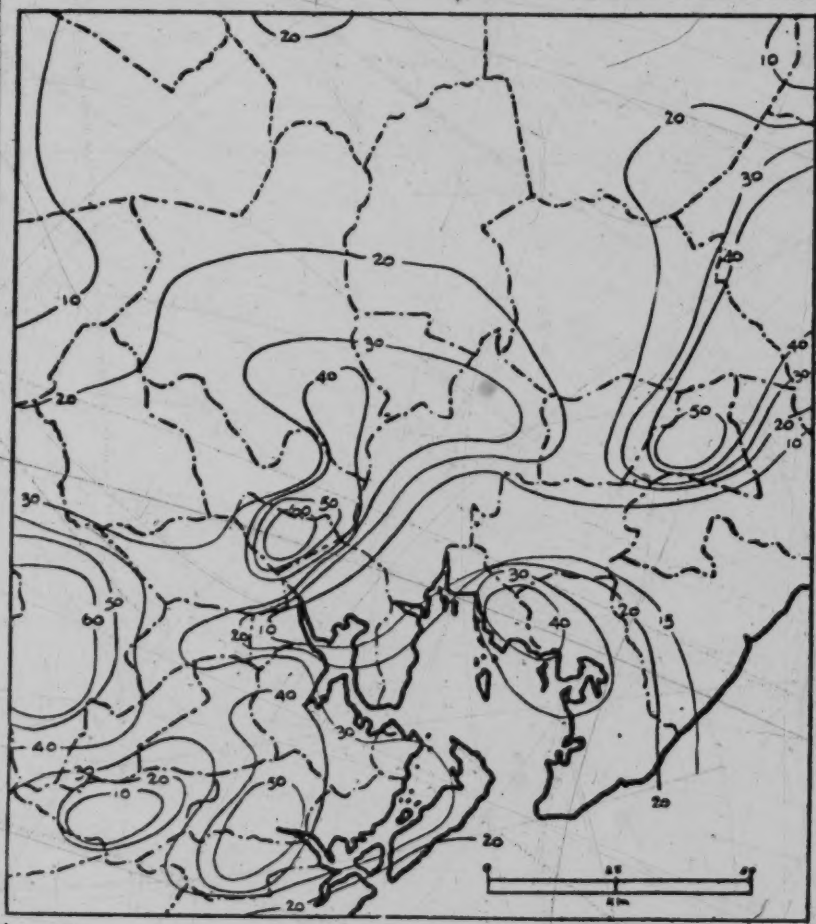

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Value of Crop Production

Contributed by Manioc--1948

MAP 121

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

244 433 [438] 10,000-ton surplus. The surplus manioc of these municípios would appear to be marketed to the manioc-deficit areas of the Recôncavo, particularly [249] the sugar cane area and Salvador. It is significant that those municípios which were the leading producers of tobacco were also the leading producers of commercial manioc (Map 123). Although the exchange and processing of tobacco in these areas is well organized and receives some attention from government bureaus, the growing and processing of manioc remains an unrecognized enterprise.

249 244 433 The importance of the production of tobacco and of commercial manioc to the various municípios of the Southwestern Recôncavo is shown in the following summary:

Município	Per cent of Total Value of Production	
	Tobacco	Manioc
Cruz das Almas	65	23
Conceição de Almeida	57	38
São Filipe	25	32
Muritiba	17	14
São Félix	54	-

One of the advantages of the relative balance of these two products is that in the event of a crop failure of one, the area would still have a salable commercial product. Moreover, since the production of manioc is relatively large, a moderate decrease in its yield would still leave this area with at least a minimum supply of food for its large agricultural population.

249 257 433 [654] Sugar cane is now the third crop in value in the Recôncavo, but it is maintained in that position only by government subsidy. It is a crop which either dominates the region in which it is produced or its cultivation is economically unimportant (Map 124). In part this is the result of the technological requirements of the sugar industry, which demand that large quantities of sugar cane be produced close to the mill so that the cane can be delivered quickly once it is cut. However,

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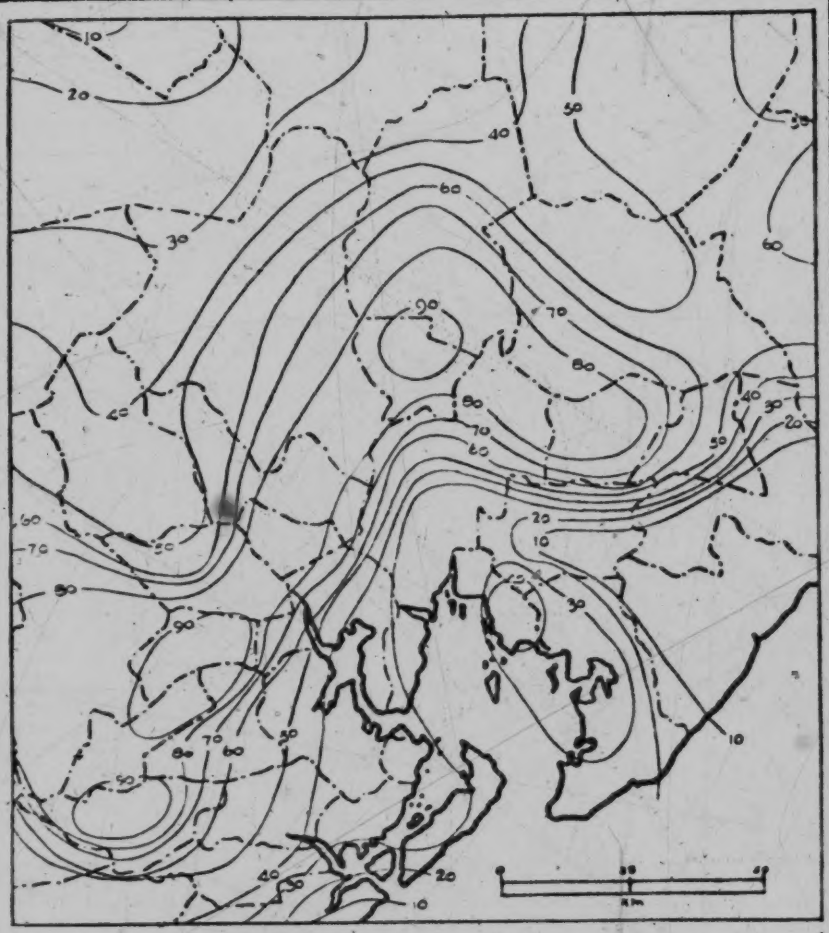

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Value of Crop Production

Contributed by Tobacco and Manioc—1948

MAP 122

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954) 1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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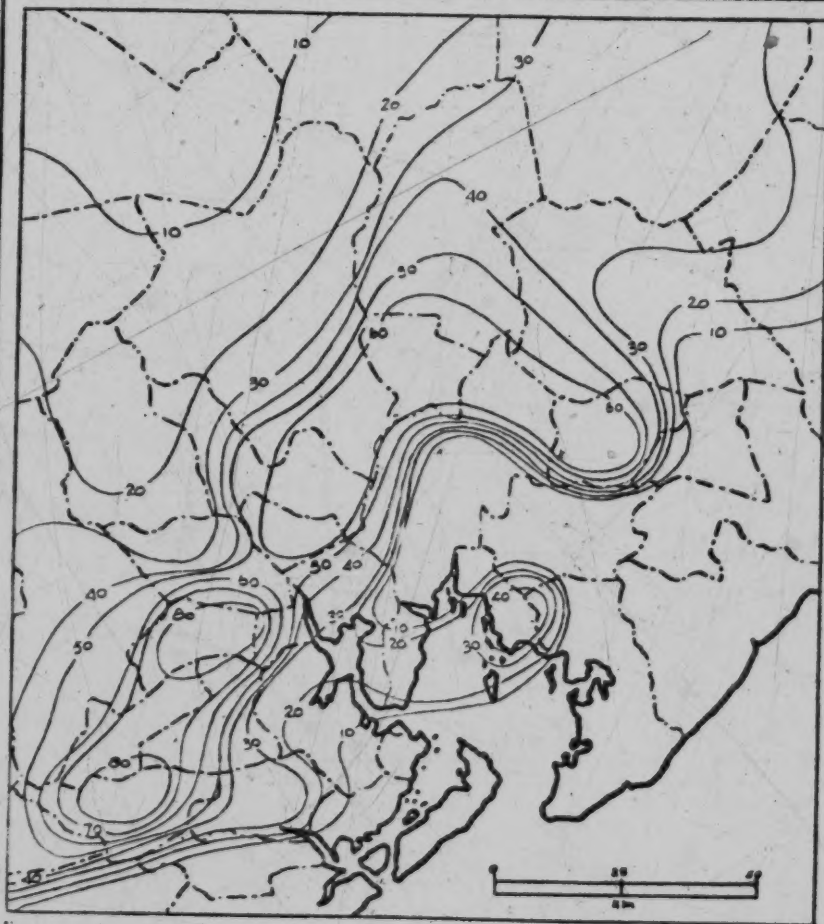

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Value of Crop Production

Contributed by Tobacco and Commercial Manioc—1948

(Estimated)

MAP 123

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249
257 the large landholders and agricultural capitalists of Brazil have a
433 strong historical bias toward monocultural systems.

249 As would be expected, the Central Recôncavo accounted for almost
433 90 per cent of the total value of sugar cane in the region. Sugar pro-
471 duction in this area is dominated by the big usinas, and most of the cane is produced on very large properties, as has been seen.

243 Although corn and beans primarily are subsistence crops, they
244 have, like manioc, some commercial importance (Map 125). The corn and bean
433 areas within the Recôncavo do not produce outstanding surpluses, although
438 these two crops are important commercial products in nearby Serrinha and Conceição do Coite. Most of the corn and beans of the Recôncavo are exchanged for farinha de mandioca, which provides the cultivator with a cheaper food.

244 The remaining crops of the region are of minor commercial impor-
245 tance, or are more valuable commercial crops of highly localized pro-
433 duction. Bananas, peanuts, and sweet potatoes are minor commercial
438 crops of diffuse production, since most of their cultivation is for subsistence purposes. Oranges, coconut, coffee, and pineapple are important but secondary commercial products whose production is concentrated in a few restricted areas (see, for example, Map 126 of coconut production).

249 The importance of the principal commercial crops--tobacco, sugar
244 cane, coffee, coconut, oranges, pineapple, a few minor crops, and
245 commercial manioc--varies widely from município to município (Map 127).
433 However, two areas--the Central Recôncavo and the Southwestern Recôncavo--
438 had highly commercial economies in which over 90 per cent of the total value of production was in commercial crops. In the tobacco-manioc area north of the Rio Paraguaçu, only one-half to three-quarters of
000 the total value of production was in commercial crops. Except in the

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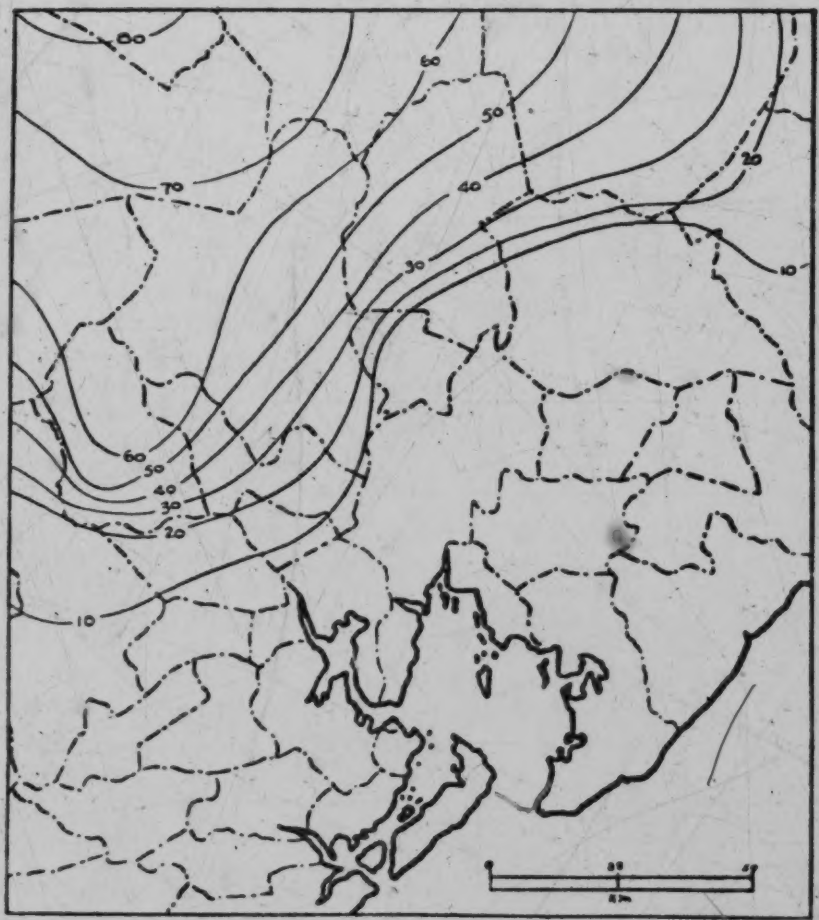

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Value of Crop Production

Contributed by Corn and Beans--1948

MAP 125

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSION

128 In the preceding chapters the results of a statistical appraisal and a field investigation of agriculture in the Recôncavo have been presented. As a conclusion it seems appropriate to: (1) summarize the findings; and (2) discuss the potentialities of the Recôncavo for agricultural development

433 241 Like most of the densely-settled east coast of Brasil, the Recôncavo is engaged primarily in the production of crops. This is true not only of the region as a whole, but also of each of its individual parts excepting only the area around the cattle market town of Feira de Santana. The total cultivated area of the region, about 6.4 per cent 241 311 of the land surface, was almost evenly divided in 1948 between purely commercial crops--tobacco, sugar cane, coffee, oranges, and coconuts--and subsistence-commercial crops--manioc, corn, beans, bananas, peanuts, and sweet potatoes. About 70 per cent of the cropland was used for the three predominant crops--manioc, tobacco, and sugar cane. Livestock production is associated with crop cultivation in many parts of the 231 233 241 Recôncavo, but the region is also dependent upon the sertão of Bahia for livestock, which are driven into Feira de Santana and are used in several different areas within the region.

249 244 433 The three principal crops as determined by cultivated area--tobacco, manioc, and sugar cane--accounted for 77 per cent of the total value of crops in 1948, and no other crop accounted for more than [231] [233] 6 per cent of the total value. Thus agriculture in the Recôncavo is primarily concerned with these three crops and with the production

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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of livestock, which had a value greater than sugar cane but less than manioc.

Agricultural activities within the Recôncavo are localized in several distinct sub-regions, each with a specialized system of cultivation and each with either one or two principal crops. The primary agricultural subdivisions of the region are: (1) the sugar cane monocultural sub-region; and (2) the tobacco-manioc sub-region.

249 Sugar cane is grown as the exclusive crop in its major area of production--the pocket of coastal plain north of the Baía de Todos os Santos. Cane is generally cultivated under a four-year monoculture and one-year fallow system on large properties employing large quantities of hand labor and using oxen to draw plows and carts. Neither fertilizer [407] nor agricultural machinery is used to any appreciable extent. Most of [492] the animals used as labor in the production of sugar cane are brought [231] [233] into the area from the sertão, and little livestock breeding is found in this area. The processing of sugar cane is in the hands of a small [471] number of medium-sized usinas. The companies which own these usinas [178] are gradually buying up the plantations so that to an increasing extent the mills directly control the production of sugar cane. Most of the [497] cane is brought to the usinas by railroad, although sailing boats are [489] used for this purpose along tidewater. Most of the sugar produced in [505] the Recôncavo is consumed within the state of Bahia, but small quantities [438] [439] are shipped to other parts of Brazil. Both the aristocratic upper class [565] and the rising non-aristocratic business interests of the Recôncavo are [471] [472] involved in the ownership and administration of the sugar industry. The [464] permanent labor force is supplied from the settlements of the sugar cane [178] plantations and the mills, but the rural population and the labor force of the sugar area are declining. Seasonal labor for the harvest comes from the interior sertão of Bahia.

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249 311 [134] Commercial sugar cane cultivation is confined to the humid Coastal Plain areas with Cretaceous clay soils, except for a small area in São Filipe. Since the areas of Cretaceous clay soils are limited and compact, sugar cane production is highly localized in two areas: (1) the main sugar cane area in the municípios of Santo Amaro, São Francisco, and São Sebastião; and (2) a smaller area north of the Bacia do Iguape in the município of Cachoeira. There is a third area of less intensive production in southern São Filipe.

249 244 [433] The sole purpose of cultivation in the sugar cane area is the production of a commercial product, but the areas of tobacco-manioc cultivation produce both a staple food and a commodity for sale outside the region. Most of the tobacco and manioc of the Recôncavo are produced under a land rotation system in which the sequence is: (1) tobacco; (2) manioc; and (3) fallow in wild vegetation. The tobacco is planted in small fields, usually after an application of manure. The entire plant is harvested repeatedly until it will no longer produce a salable leaf. Manioc is planted following tobacco, sometimes several times, until the field is exhausted and abandoned to the second growth. The fallow period is frequently short, sometimes as little as one year. Cultivation is entirely by hand--no plows are used. There is very little selection of seed, and only one variety of tobacco--Bahia Brasil--is [423] [427] produced. Tobacco and manioc are produced almost exclusively by small cultivators who are either owners or renters. Frequently livestock [231] [233] are raised upon the properties of the cultivators, but except for the use of manure in the cultivation of tobacco, there is little integration of crop and livestock production. The leaf is harvested, dried, 276 and partially fermented by the cultivator. The marketing of tobacco 276 438 is inseparable from the credit arrangement between the cultivator and [452] [488] the tobacco buyer or agent. The leaf is delivered by the producer to the storekeeper-buyer or the local tobacco warehouse.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

000 the storekeeper-buyer or the local tobacco warehouse. The roots of the
258 manioc are processed locally, in casas de farinha, and the farinha de
438 mandioca is sold in the local market or to storekeepers in the nearby village or town.

249 The sub-region of tobacco and manioc production occupies the
244 humid eastern and southern edges of the Uplands. The chief center of
311 production, the Southwestern Recôncavo, occupies a zone of deep, sandy
134 and sandy loam soils lying in flat-surfaced uplands above crystalline rocks. The northern parts of the tobacco-manioc sub-region occupy the rough, dissected southern edge of the sandy Tertiary taboleiros--in this northern area the production of both crops is less intensive than in the Southwestern Recôncavo. The area of primary tobacco and manioc production generally conforms to the forest and scrub forest transition and is expanding southwestward beyond the traditional Recôncavo along this
[433] physical boundary zone. The intensity of production is also increasing,
[178] but with violent year to year fluctuations.

241 In addition to sugar cane, tobacco and manioc, other subsistence
433 and commercial products are grown in the Recôncavo. The most important of these are corn and beans, grown as commercial and subsistence crops in the north and west of the region, and coconuts, which are produced along the beach line. Bananas, sweet potatoes, and peanuts are grown in most parts of the Recôncavo, but on a small scale.

241 There are several areas in which there is little or no cultiva-
311 tion. The rougher Intermediate Hills, which are forested, separate the
137 sugar cane sub-region from the tobacco-manioc sub-region. The lowland areas of Tertiary and crystalline soils are also forested and are cultivated under a non-intensive land rotation system with some associated
241 livestock. The Recôncavo is distinguished from the surrounding areas by its relatively greater mean intensity of cultivation. In the

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 of value and production, at least of marketed crops. The choice between
433 value or production as a base figure for correction was dependent upon
127 the individual case and the generally expected pattern of price and
128 yield.

244 Manioc. The basic shortcomings of the manioc data were clearly
433 revealed when area and production figures were combined to show yield.
127 While the mean calculated yield for the Recôncavo was 16.3 tons per
128 hectare, the mean calculated yield for individual municípios varied from 5.3 tons per hectare for Salvador to 39.0 tons per hectare for São Filipe (Map 130). Certain variations, related to precipitation, soil, and intensity and care of cultivation, are to be expected, but the yield maps revealed incredible contrasts. Especially noteworthy was the case of São Filipe, with its yield of 39 tons per hectare. Adjoining Cruz das Almas and Conceição do Almeida, with similar and if anything more efficient practices of cultivation and with similar soils and climate--especially since most manioc in São Filipe is grown in the area adjoining Cruz das Almas and Conceição do Almeida--produced only 14 and 10 tons per hectare, respectively. It was apparent that at least one element in the São Filipe data was in error. The other municípios with exceptionally high yields--São Francisco, with 34.5 tons per hectare, and Santo Amaro, with 25.3 tons per hectare--probably can be explained by high productivity when manioc is grown on a small and intensive scale on the more fertile clay soils.

In São Filipe the yield calculated from official data was three
[435] to four times that of the surrounding municípios. Moreover, the unit value per ton was Cr.$60, compared with Cr.$150 to Cr.$200 for adjacent areas. The conclusion that the production figure was an error was re-enforced through a comparison of the density of production in

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 409]

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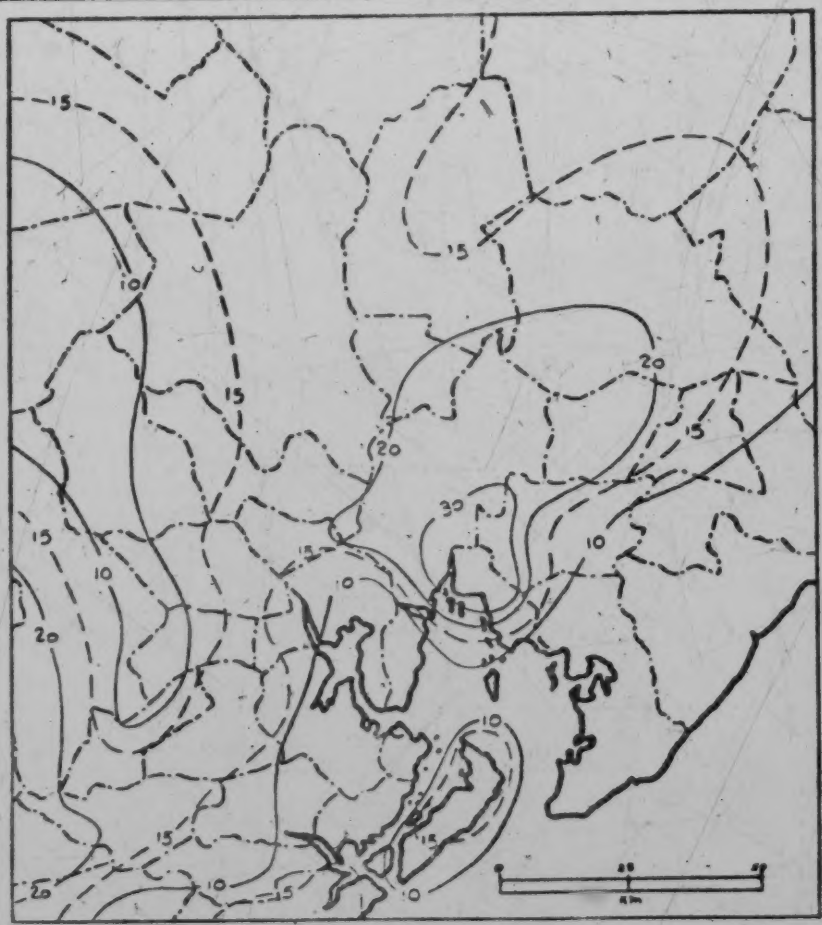

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Yield of Manioc--1948

(Based upon un-corrected official data)

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 130

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

244 São Filipe, 230 tons per square kilometer, with the 162 tons per square
433 kilometer of Conceição do Almeida, a more notable producer.
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128 It was assumed that the unit value in São Filipe was the mean of the prices of Maragogipe and Conceição do Almeida—São Filipe is midway between these municípios in terms of location, transport, and external market relationship—and that:

$$\text{Production} = \frac{\text{Value}}{\text{Unit Value}} = \frac{4{,}290{,}000}{\frac{170 + 190}{2}} = 27{,}333 \text{ tons}$$

This figure is close to 28,000 tons, and it was inferred that the original figure had been transposed to 82,000 tons. Yield was then derived:

$$\frac{28{,}000 \text{ tons}}{2{,}100 \text{ hectares}} = 13.3 \text{ tons per hectare}$$

compared with 13.9 tons per hectare for Cruz das Almas and 11.1 tons per hectare for São Félix, nearby areas with similar conditions. Perhaps this yield is slightly high, but it is in the possible range of variation, and is an acceptable approximation.

[435] There was a second problem in Irará. The unit value of manioc here was Cr.$90 per ton, compared to Cr.$300 in nearby Coração de Maria, Cr.$240 in Feira de Santana, and Cr.$320 in Santo Amaro. Moreover, the density of production was very high, 26.45 tons per square kilometer total area, compared to 10.72 tons per square kilometer for Coração de Maria, especially since so much of northern Irará is not densely settled. When Cr.$200 per ton was postulated as the unit value of manioc, the production derived was 10,500 tons. Yield calculated by using this figure and the original area data would be 4.38 tons per hectare, which is unreasonably small. The yield calculated from the original data--14.6 tons per hectare--seemed approximately correct, and using these yield figures, with the derived production value of 10,500 tons, area was calculated as 719 hectares. The new area figure

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244 433 127 128 [435] gave 0.54 tons per square kilometer total area, which corresponded to 0.59 tons per square kilometer for Coração de Maria.

In São Sebastião, the low unit value of manioc--Cr.$80 per ton--indicated possible error. The reasonable intensity of production suggested that the total value data were in error. The mean unit value of the four surrounding municípios--Cr.$240 per ton--was accepted for São Sebastião and was used to calculate a revised total value of Cr.$168,000.

Minor errors were apparent in the data for certain other municípios. For example, the yields of Maragogipe, Cachoeira, and Salvador were extremely low. Adjustments could have been made, but the relatively small manioc area and production in these municípios indicated that the resulting alterations would not markedly change the general area or production pattern. Maps 130, 131, 132, 133 and 134 show the patterns of manioc cultivation, production, and yield as taken from unmodified official data in Produção Agrícola: 1948. The corresponding maps based upon modified data (Maps 22, 23, 24, 25, and 27) are presented in Chapter V.

243 433 127 28 Corn. Calculations from the original data gave Maragogipe a yield of .40 tons of corn per hectare, less than one-half the yield of neighboring municípios. This was excessively low, and it seemed preferable to use the figure of 1.24 tons per hectare, the mean of adjacent São Filipe and Cachoeira. These municípios, though not similar to the whole of Maragogipe, resemble very much the adjoining areas where cultivation is concentrated. The production figure for Maragogipe was accepted as reasonable, since when combined with value it produced a credible unit value. Thus the area was reduced from 15 hectares to 5 hectares, raising the yield to a more acceptable level. However, these changes do not modify the gross pattern extensively, and therefore the maps in Chapter 7 were based upon the original data.

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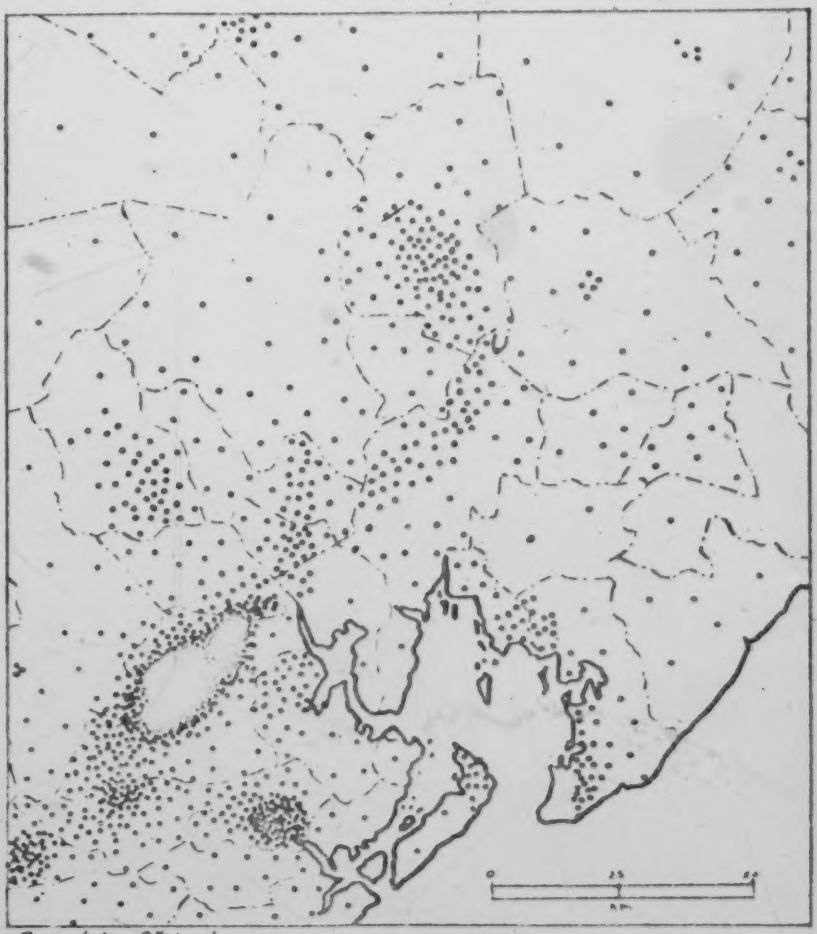

Each dot = 25 hectares

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Area in Manioc--1948

(Based upon un-corrected official data)

Source of data: Produção Agricola: 1948.

MAP 131

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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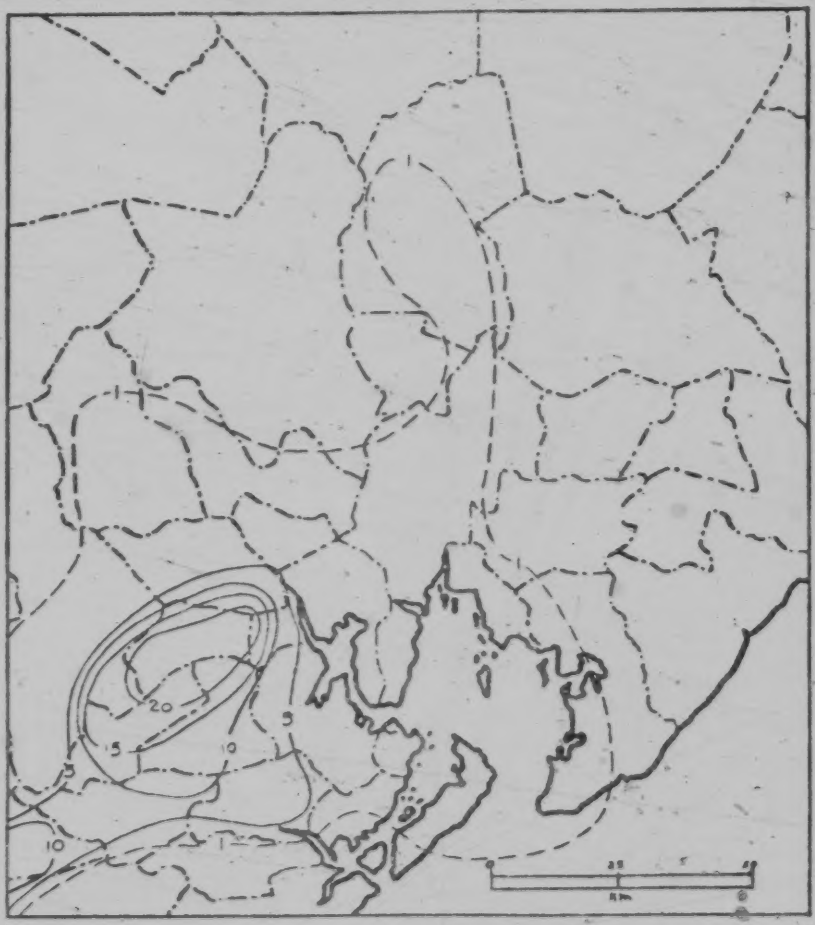

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Hectares of Manioc per Square Kilometer of Total Area—1948

(Based upon un-corrected official data)

Source of data: Produção Agricola: 1948.

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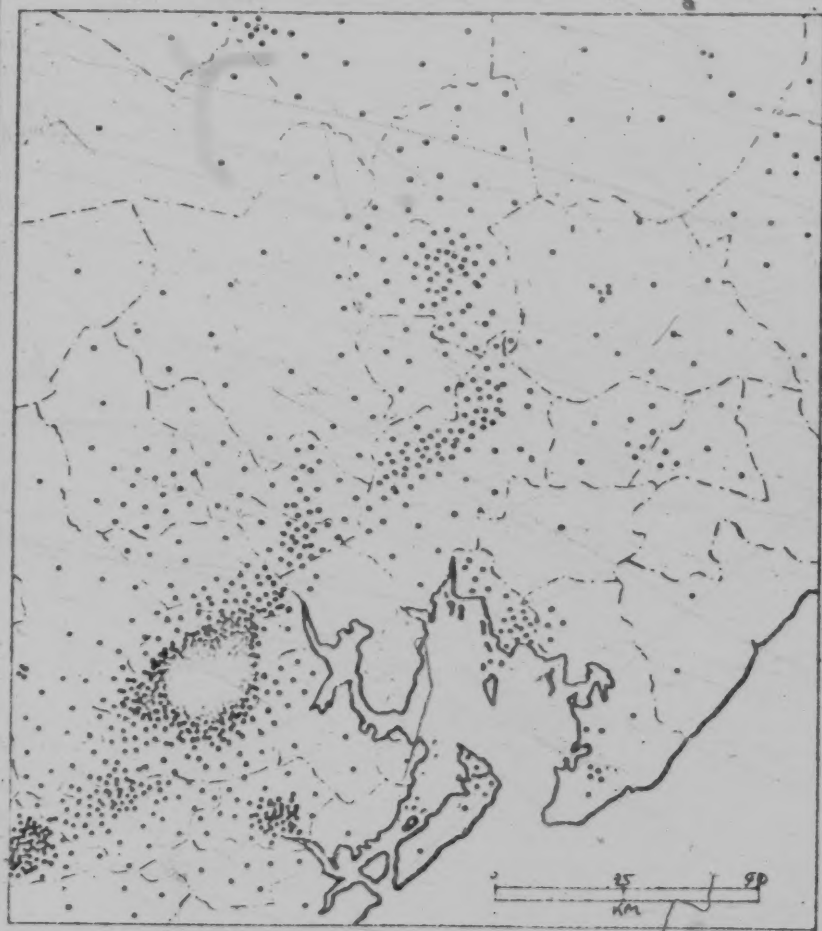

Each dot = 500 metric tons

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Manioc--1948

(Based upon un-corrected official data)

Source of data: Producão Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 133

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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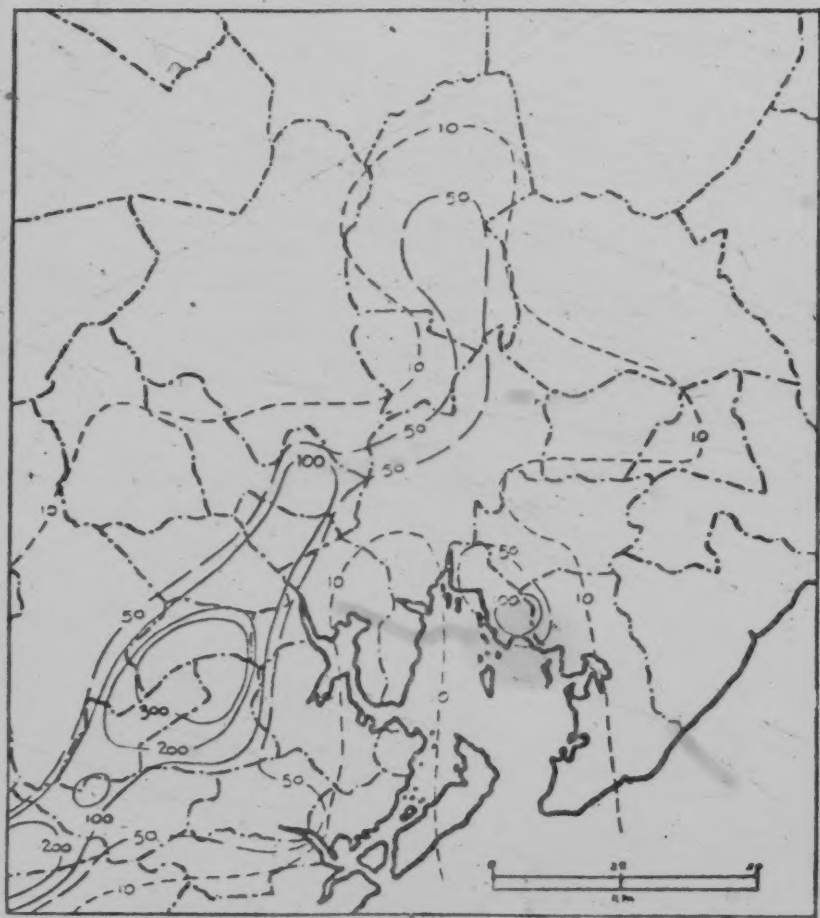

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Tons of Manioc per Square Kilometer of Total Area—1948

(Based upon un-corrected official data)

Source of data: Produção Agrícola 1948.

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Area data for corn should be used with reservation, especially
243 for the northern and western municípios. In the drier areas it is the
244 custom to plant corn and beans together in the same field, generally
127 in the same row, and the area could have been counted, in its entirety, twice (once for each crop). Yield calculations for corn and beans suggest that this has not been done; however, the vagaries of climate and cultivation in these dry zones produce such variations in mean yield from year to year and place to place that it was impossible to secure a clearcut verification. Conversations with personnel of the compiling agency failed to clarify the situation.

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Bananas. The maps of banana area, based upon the official data, reveal a definite gap in Cruz das Almas and northern São Filipe (Map 135). However, this area lies in the middle of a belt of relatively dense production. Field experience in this immediate area indicated that bananas were at least as important in these two areas as in adjacent Conceição do Almeida. The official data show only 7 hectares and 3,000 bunches of bananas in Santo Antônio, but the large numbers of banana plants which were observed would tend to discredit these figures. Since in the Recôncavo the area planted in bananas does not usually have a consistent relationship to the number of plants and thus to production, yields are not a trustworthy guide to the estimation of
245 production. On the map of banana production in the text (Map 52) the
433 official data have been modified to allow Cruz das Almas 190,000
127 bunches in place of the 29,000 in the official data; São Filipe,
128 70,000 in place of the official 20,000; and Santo Antônio, 80,000 in place of the official 3,000. These changes were made by arbitrarily increasing the production data to give these areas the same density of production as similar areas in adjacent municípios. Since, as has

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 417]

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Private Plantation]

Maria das Dores, whose name is listed as "gathering cane leaves for animal fodder," does the only type of work on the plantation done by women other than housework and gardening. When a field of cane is cut, the tops of the stalks and the long leaves are cut off and left on the ground. The very tip of the stalk is used as seed, while the heavier part is loaded on carts and sent to the factory. When natural pasturage gives out because of overgrazing or drought, the cattle's diet is supplemented with the freshly cut, green cane leaves; if the tender tips are not required for seed, they are also fed to the cattle. Gathering the leaves and stalk tips is relatively light work, and if a woman on the plantation wants to supplement her husband's income this is the task assigned her. Few women on this plantation do it, however, for it is a point of pride with any husband that he is capable of supporting his wife without her having to do gainful work. Only a small number of leaves are gathered up, and the remainder are burned as they lie in the field. Burning is done at night when there is little or no wind, and often during the summer fires which extend for acres dot the countryside. Burning is a traditional practice. Although professional agronomists insist that it is injurious to the cane roots and the new shoots, planters continue to burn the unwanted leaves, feeling that the ash provides some fertilization. 249* 461 465 [462] [233]

"Gardening" refers to work done in the vegetable garden which supplies Dona Sinhá's house. This garden stands in contrast to the roças, which are planted by the workers as well as by Dona Sinhá, and which are reserved for beans, manioc, corn, and some tobacco. Such plants as lettuce, tomatoes, cabbage, carrots, and other vegetables are disdained by the workers and are grown only for Dona Sinhá. [244]

"Carrying water" is usually work reserved for a small boy. Mounted on a donkey with four wooden kegs he rides to the neighboring plantation, Pedras, which belongs to the factory, fills the kegs at the spring, and returns to Fazenda das Moças where he puts the water into the various large clay containers in the kitchen and washrooms of the owner's house. "Oh, Pedro, there's no water" is a common cry heard in Dona Sinhá's house. [312] [851] [492]

There are few rules restricting the workers. Their services must be at the disposal of Dona Sinhá whenever required. Other than that, if during a slack season a man finds an opportunity to work somewhere else, he is free to do so. If he has a burro, or oxen, he has the right to pasture them on the 249* 466 [427] [492]

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134 The soils of the peninsula northeast of the city of Salvador are chiefly crystalline-derived. Near the sea and extending inland five or [245] ten kilometers is a belt of white sand dunes, which are not cultivated but are planted in coconut palms. Bondar reports some fertile diorite-derived soils in the peninsula above Salvador, but does not precisely locate the area.[16] Observations in Salvador and its environs suggest that at least two soils of the Western Recôncavo, the crystalline massapê and the slope-land clays and clay-loams, are characteristic also of the peninsular area.

Alluvial Soils. The areas of alluvium in the Recôncavo are so 134 133 limited that it might almost be said that there are no alluvial soils. There are no conspicuous deltas. Along the margin of the Bay and the estuaries which feed into it there is usually a precipitous decline from the plains or hills to the narrow beach. Narrow lowlands with alluvial soil were observed in three areas: (1) on the west coast of the island of Itaparica and on the mainland opposite; (2) on the north side of the Bay between the Rio Sergi and the island of Madre de Deus;[17] and (3) along the estuary of the Rio Paraguaçu between the cidade of Maragogipe and the head of the Bacia do Iguape. These marginal alluvial lowlands cover only a very limited area of the total Recôncavo. Most of the alluvial lands are mangrove swamps or very low-lying semi-swampy [241] plains. No cultivation was observed in any of these alluvial areas.

Most of the valleys of the Recôncavo are so narrow that except in the major valleys of the Tabular Uplands, river bottom alluvium is rare.

Soils - Conclusion. The soils pattern which has been developed above is closely related to the patterns of parent material and topography. These correlations are in part a reflection of strong functional relationships between material, terrain, and soil in the Recôncavo. These

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BB 175 177 247 472 of the twentieth century there were four cigarette factories and twelve cigar factories in the Recôncavo.[47]

BB 647 249 654 656 As was characteristic for other products in Brazil, a semi-autonomous government organization was set up to stabilize the tobacco industry in Bahia—the Instituto Bahiano do Fumo (Bahian Institute of Tobacco). Founded in 1935, the Instituto attempts to stimulate the production and improvement of techniques and quality, supervise marketing through a grading system, set minimum prices, and control export of leaf tobacco. Although the Instituto has not succeeded in changing significantly the techniques of the tobacco industry, it has been reasonably successful in maintaining production and price.

BB 175 178 249 245 Just as Bahia had been displaced from its leading position within Brazil, so in turn was the Recôncavo displaced from its exalted position within the state. Tobacco replaced sugar as Bahia's leading commercial product in the nineteenth century, but forfeited its position to cacao in the twentieth century. The replacement of sugar by tobacco was primarily a shift within the Recôncavo, but the rise of cacao brought to the fore Bahia's southern coast. In one sense, however, the Recôncavo retained its old centrality—Salvador remains today the leading political and economic focus of the state, even for the cacao trade.

BB 433 249 BB 161 162 The continued importance of the Recôncavo in Bahia has been partially the result of the vested interests of the sugar and tobacco systems. In addition, the Recôncavo remains today the leading center of population in Bahia, despite its relative decline. In 1872 the Recôncavo had at least 450,000 out of a total state population of 1,379,616. Thereafter the position of the Recôncavo declined, so that by 1940 only one-fourth of the almost four million people of the state lived in this region. However, the compact population

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TABLE XI

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS--CENTRAL CONCENTRATION

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Município	Distrito	Agricultural Workers 1950
Santo Amaro	Rio Fundo	1,849
	Inhatá	1,542
	Mata de Aliança	920
São Sebastião	Jacuípe	1,036
São Francisco	São Francisco	804
	Santa Elisa	176
Approximately 300 square kilometers		6,327

(4) The Minor Agglomerations: Minor concentrations of agriculturalists surround two urban centers in the Recôncavo: Salvador and Alagoinhas. Most of the 12,000 agricultural workers in the município of Salvador are grouped either in the northeast--close to the central cluster of the sugar cane zone--or around the capital city. The latter either live in the city or in the sub-urban areas around and between the various urban segments. These sub-urban cultivators primarily work to supply the large urban market. Alagoinhas lies in the midst of relatively unproductive taboleiros. The agri-
[245] culturalists who serve its urban market and produce its chief commercial crop--oranges--are gathered compactly in a symmetrical ring around the city.

The concentrations discussed above account for some 80,000
[131] (41 per cent) of the agricultural workers and 3,150 square kilometers (25 per cent) of the area of the Recôncavo. In general, a straight line from the southwestern tip of Conceição do Almeida to the southern tip of Serrinha is the western limit of moderately dense distribution of the agricultural labor force. Beyond this line, in the caatinga of Feira de Santana and Castro Alves, there are few agricultural workers. However, in the caatinga of the município of Santo Estêvão and the adjacent part of Feira de Santana there is a zone with a population density of about 15 per square kilometer--higher than anywhere

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Supplementary Crops
(Subsistence and Commercial):

Pineapple (Abacaxi)	168	hectares
Rice (Arroz)	61	"
Tomatoes (Tomate)	46	"
White Potatoes (Batata inglêsa)	44	"
Cotton (Algodão)	40	"
Onions (Cebola)	14	"
Garlic (Alho)	5	"
Green or Snap Beans (Fava)	4	"

241 311 On the basis of the above figures, the total cultivated land in the Recôncavo in 1948 was about 80,000 hectares. In addition to the above, 245 there are a number of tree crops, not cultivated in the true sense, which are important in the agricultural complex. More often than not these "crops" are of spontaneous origin.

[192]

African Oil Palm (Dendê)
Mango (Manga)
Jack Fruit (Jaca)
Cashew (Caju)
Bread Fruit (Fruta de pão)

231 The following animals are important in the livestock economy of the Recôncavo:

[192]

Cattle (Bovinos)
  Cows (Vacas)
  Oxen (Bois de trabalho)
Sheep (Ovinos)
Goats (Caprinos)
Swine (Suinos)
Donkeys (Asininos or Burros)
Mules (Muares)
Horses (Equinos or Cavalos)

These animals will be discussed in the chapter on animal industry (Chapter VII).

244 Manioc. Manioc was one of the most important cultivated plants which the Portuguese colonists borrowed from the Indians of Brazil. [175] Flour made from the manioc root, farinha de mandioca, was the basic [262] subsistence food of the colonial sugar economy and remains today the [178] principal element of the diet of much of the Brazilian lower class. [565] 000 Manioc production is most notable along the coast of Brazil, from the

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The total area in sweet potatoes in 1948 was 344 hectares, the total production, 2,565 tons. No single *município* grew more than 100 hectares nor produced over 1,000 tons (Maps 47 and 48). In Cachoeira and Maragogipe, 3 per cent of the total cropland was in sweet potatoes in 1948. The plants are grown on the slopes and in the sandier valley bottoms of the Intermediate Hills and are sold through the local markets. On a smaller scale, sweet potatoes are grown as a minor supplementary crop in the Southwestern Recôncavo. The mean Recôncavo yield was 7.5 tons per hectare, close to the mean Brazilian 1948-1950 yield of 8 tons per hectare. Sweet potatoes are grown in the Recôncavo both as "garden" crops for home consumption and as minor commercial crops for local exchange.

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[438]

The total area in peanuts in 1948 was 550 hectares; the total production was 876 tons (Maps 49 and 50). There is some small commercial production in Maragogipe and in the Northern Recôncavo; in the former, 6 per cent of the total cropland was in peanuts in 1948, and in the latter, from 2 to 5 per cent. Yields calculated for *municípios* varied from .3 to 3.5 tons per hectare without discernible pattern. The mean yield was 1.6 tons per hectare, higher than the .97 tons per hectare of Brazil and the .89 tons per hectare of the United States.

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Bananas. The banana is the sole important subsistence crop of the Recôncavo which is of old world origin. Brazil is the world's leading producer of bananas, and the main centers of production are in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and Minas Gerais. In the Recôncavo, bananas are grown primarily for subsistence and local exchange, but there are a few small commercial growers. Under the existing system of transportation, the long distance shipment of so bulky, heavy, perishable, and cheap a product is difficult.

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

245 The bananas of the Recôncavo include a number of types--large, medium and small eating varieties, and plantains--which are grown in most sections and which may be encountered in village and urban markets in all seasons. Cultivation is a haphazard enterprise in which the reproduction of bananas frequently is accidental rather than deliberate. Since there is so much semi-spontaneous cultivation concealed in gardens and second growth and thus probably not enumerated and since the spacing of the plants is so variable, area data for bananas in the Recôncavo have little meaning. The official data for 1948 indicated that [311] [433] there were 1,069 hectares planted in the region, producing an estimated 1,859 bunches.[25]

245 311 Banana plants are seen in all settlements of the Recôncavo, and except in the drier caatinga zone of the Northwestern Recôncavo, scattered over the countryside (Map 51). The chief area of production is in the Southwest, where they are grown almost exclusively for the local market (Map 52). However, there is a concentration of banana production [505] [438] around the fringes of Salvador[26] and along the margins of the Bay and the estuary of the Paraguaçu, where sailing craft (saveiros) can conveniently pick up shipments for the large urban market.

245 311 433 In 1948 bananas had their greatest relative importance, as determined by the per cent of the total cropland which they occupied, around and in the city of Salvador, on the island of Itaparica, and around the city of Alagoinhas. The mean yield of bananas in the Recôncavo was 1,730 bunches per hectare, or an estimated 13,840 kilograms per hectare (Map 53)--lower than the 28,900 kilograms per hectare of Brazil, but much higher than the 9,900 kilograms for French West Africa and the 4,400 kilograms for the Philippines.[27]

245 262 It should be emphasized that the banana in Bahia is a relatively cheap and common subsistence food, eaten raw or cooked. This is not to

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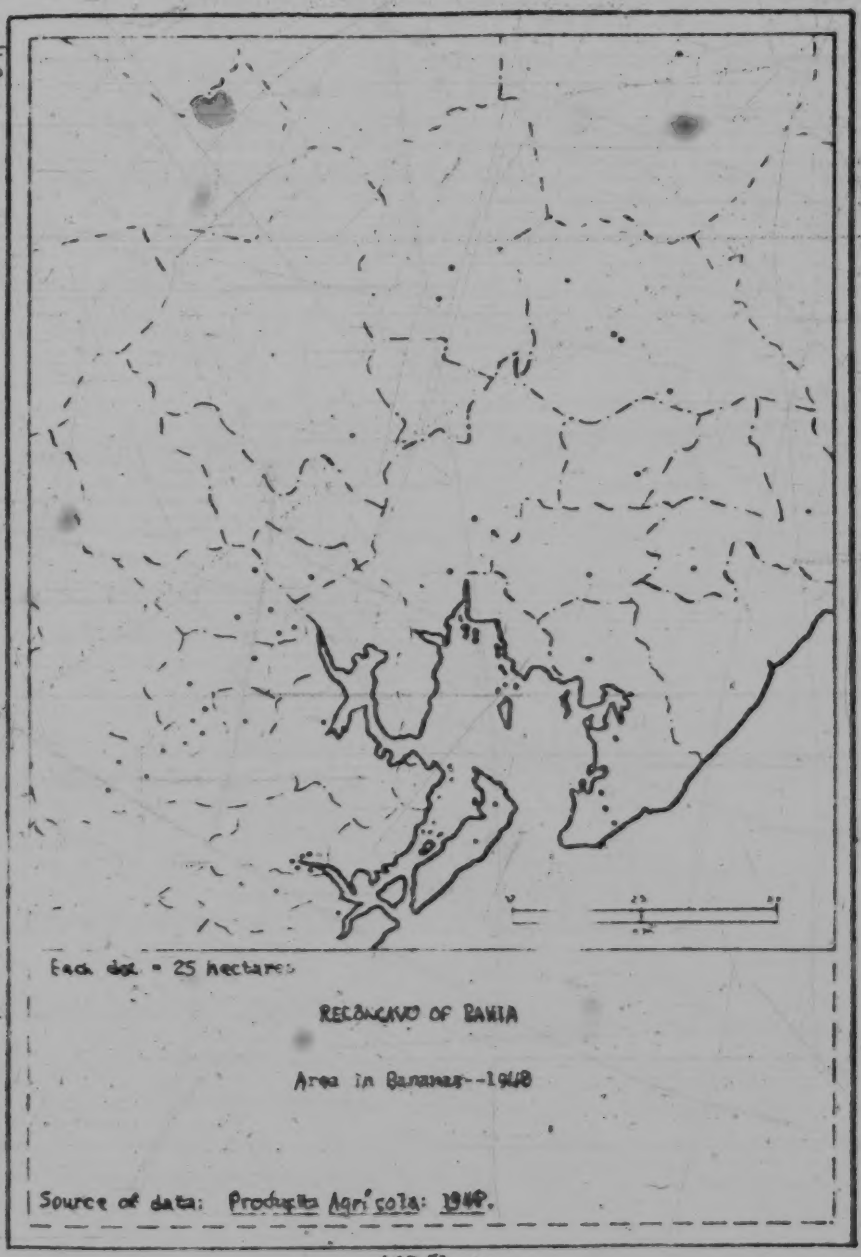

MAP 51

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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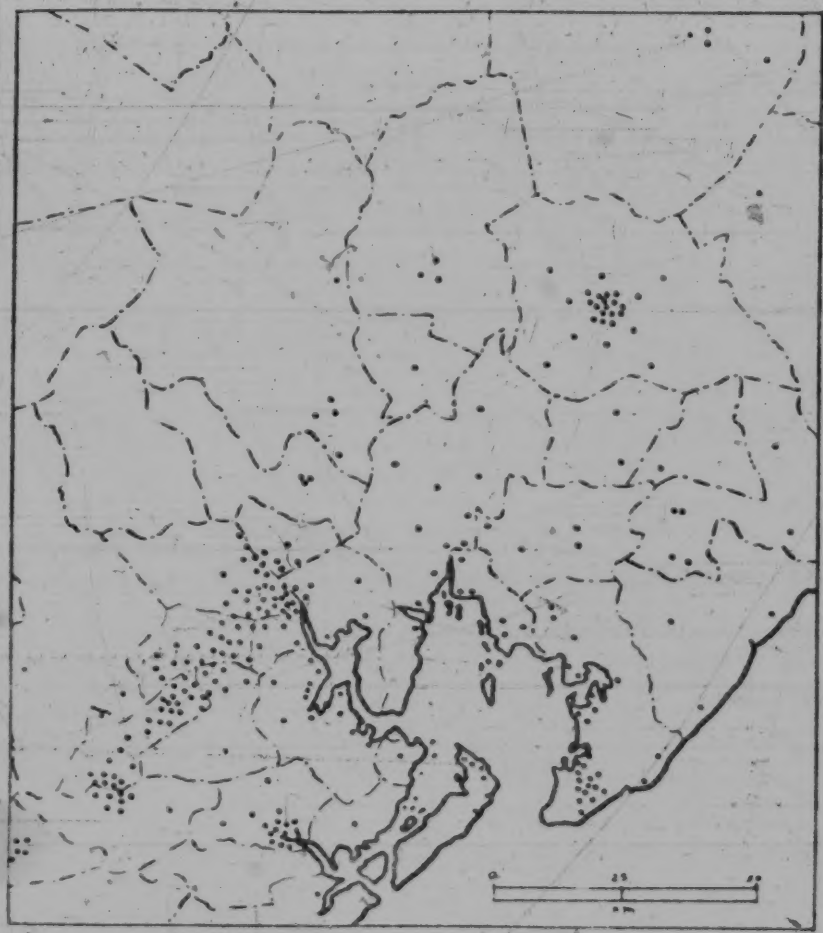

Each dot = 10,000 bunches

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Bananas--1948

Source data modified from Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 52

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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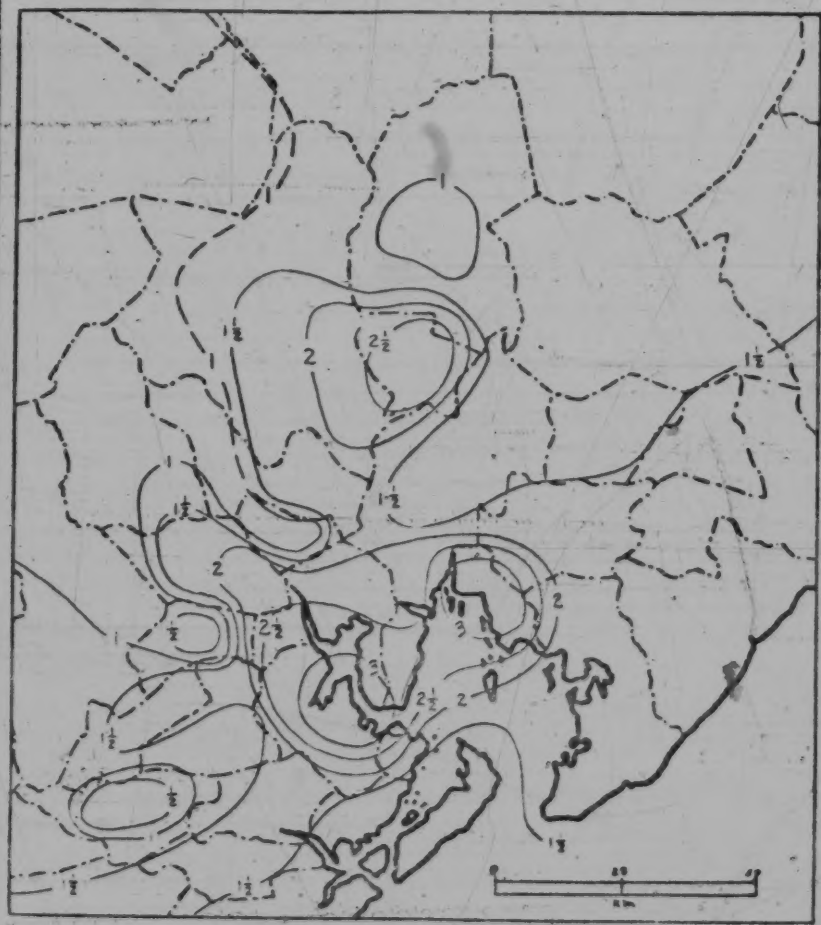

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Yield of Bananas--1948

Thousands per Hectare

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 53

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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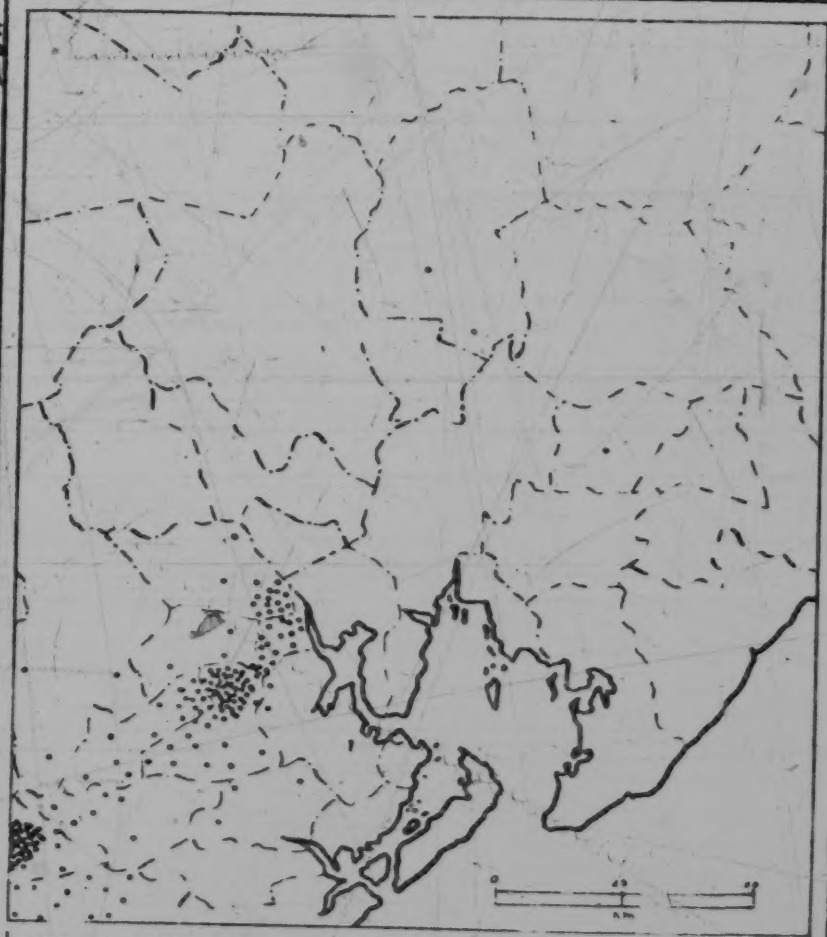

Each dot = 25 hectares

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Area in Coffee—1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 54

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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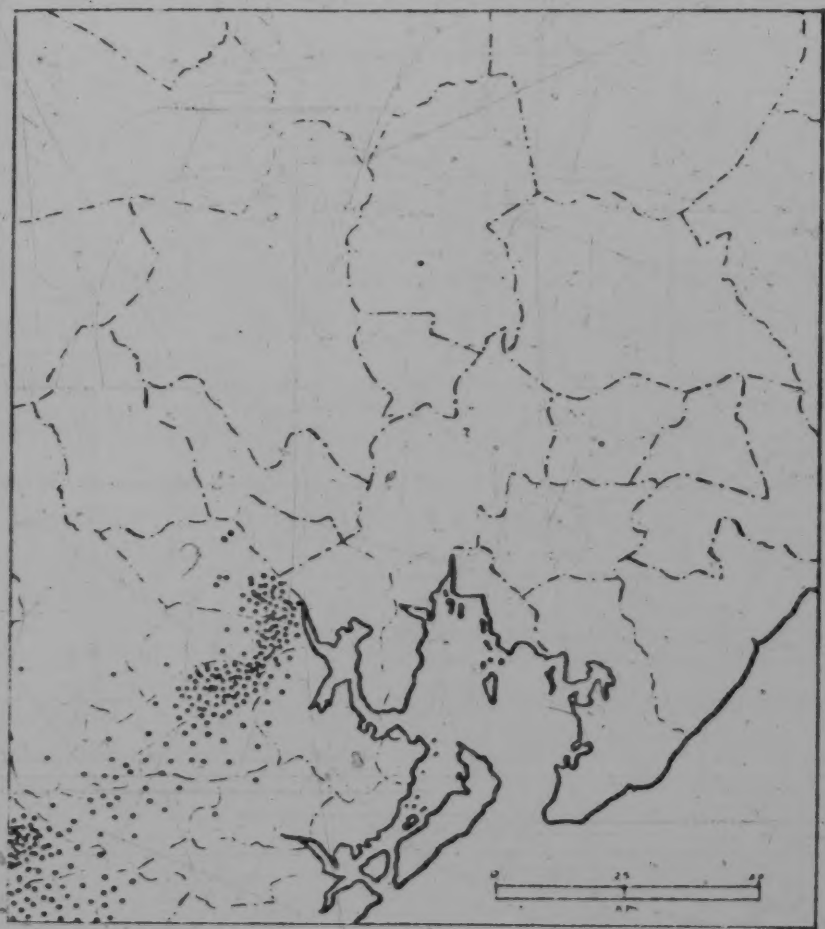

Each dot = 5,000 kilograms

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Coffee--1948

Source of data: Producão Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 55

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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say that it is within the reach of all, for there are many who subsist virtually on farinha de mandioca (manioc flour) and a few beans.

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Coffee. Coffee is not as venerable a crop in Bahia, or in Brazil, as either sugar cane or tobacco; nevertheless, it is one of the traditional major crops. Bahia is by no means an outstanding producer within Brazil, for the main centers of production are in the Central-South--Paraná, São Paulo, Minas Gerais, and Espírito Santo.

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Although Bahia as a whole has an exportable surplus of coffee, the Recôncavo crop is primarily, if not exclusively, for local consumption. Indeed, if the per capita coffee consumption of the Recôncavo is equal to that of the state, a reasonable assumption, the region as a whole produces only about one-sixth or one-seventh of its coffee needs. Under these circumstances, coffee is used, except in a few areas, in the same município in which it is grown.

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In 1948 only four municípios in the Recôncavo had 400 hectares or more in coffee or produced over 100,000 kilograms of coffee beans (Maps 54 and 55). The chief coffee município was São Filipe, which led in acreage and in production.[28] For all practical purposes, coffee production is limited to the south side of the Rio Paraguaçu.

Coffee production in Bahia is closely associated with the more humid section of the crystalline zone, and especially the area southwest of the Recôncavo where there are low, rugged mountains and consequently areas of greater elevation and precipitation. This "coffee zone" is extended into the Recôncavo along the rougher, more humid edge of the Crystalline Uplands and the adjacent Intermediate Hills, i.e., in São Filipe and São Felix.

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Only 4 per cent of the cropland of the Recôncavo as a whole was in coffee in 1948, but in São Félix and northern São Filipe the

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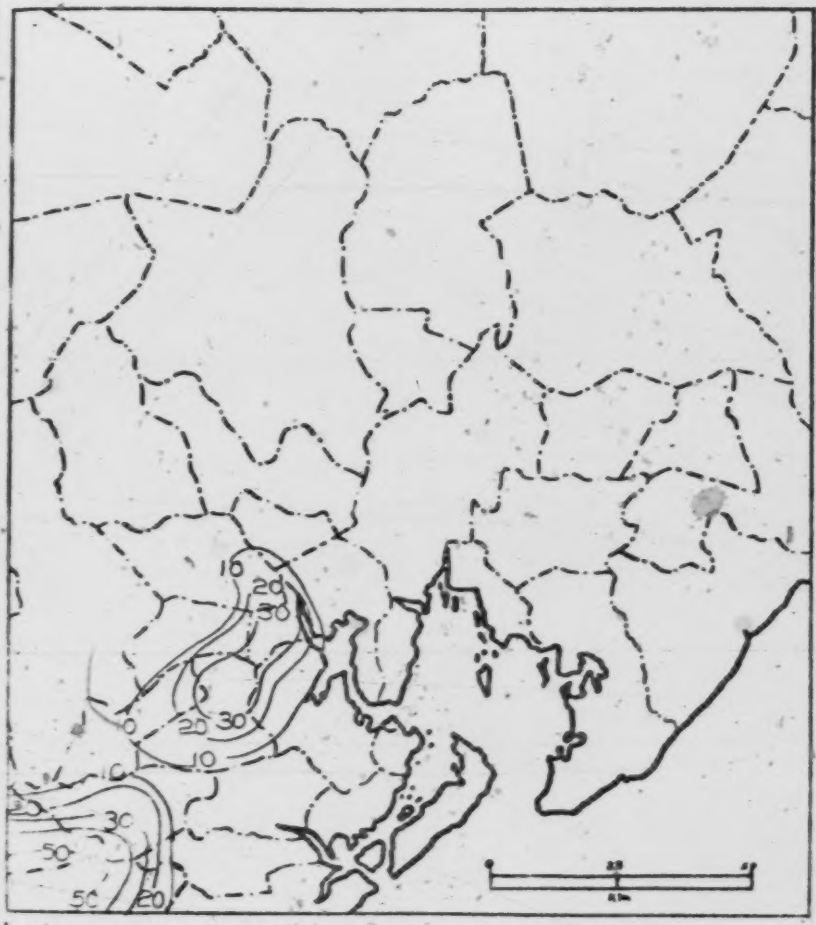

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of Cropland in Coffee--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 56

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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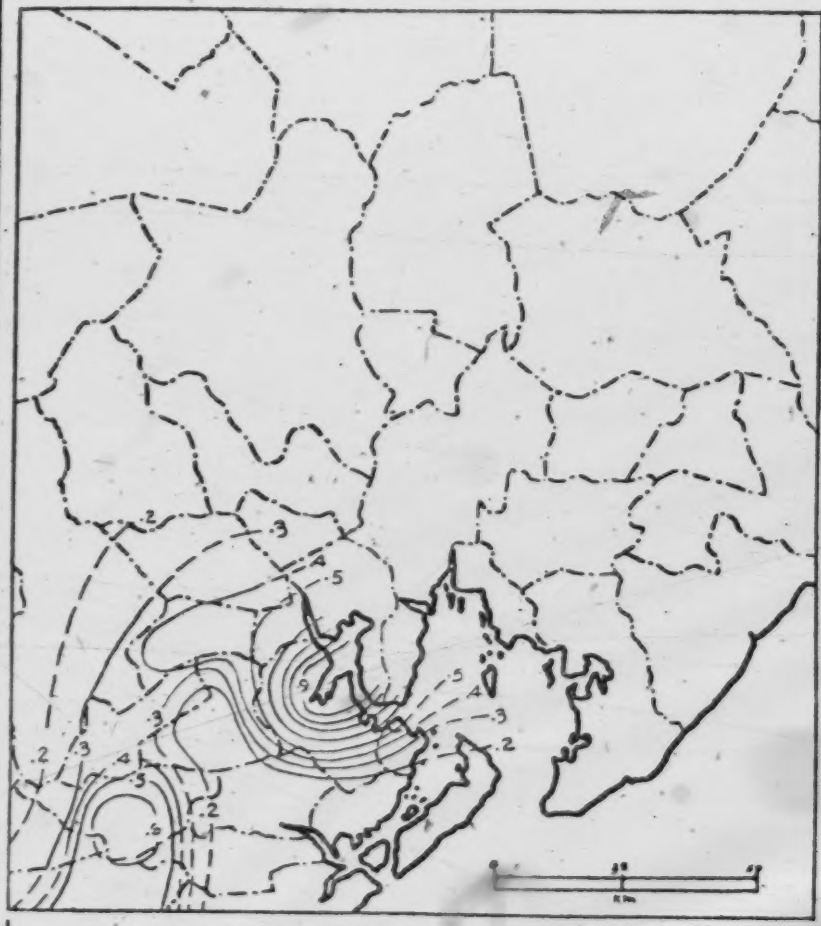

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Yield of Coffee--1948

Tons per Hectare

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 57

245 311 small coffee groves occupied as much as one-third of the total cultivated area (Map 56). In São Félix coffee was the second ranking crop in area of cultivation, in São Filipe, the third. The coffee cultivation in these municípios is concentrated along the eastern side of the tobacco-manioc area, on the rough Intermediate Hills. The slope-land [134] [132] soils are relatively fertile; yet there is not too much precipitation for the harvesting and drying of the beans.

Although coffee production in the "coffee zone" beyond the Recôncavo is on a moderately large scale, within the Southwestern Recôncavo coffee is planted in very small, irregular plots. The coffee is shade-grown, usually under a remnant of old-mata or under jackfruit and similar trees. Except in São Filipe and São Félix, it is generally cultivated as an auxiliary rather than as a principal crop. The harvest is non-selective, and the entire bush is stripped at one time. 245 311 433 The beans produced under this system are of low quality compared with the selected beans of the Spanish-American highlands, but the people of Bahia claim that their coffee has a special flavor. The mean yield of coffee in the Recôncavo in 1948 was about 300 kilograms per hectare, compared to over 400 kilograms per hectare for Brazil. The main centers of production had yields near the mean of 300 kilograms per hectare, except for São Filipe which produced less than 200 kilograms per hectare (Map 57). Yields, as derived from the official data, were highly variable among the minor producers.

245 Coconut. In a sense the coconut is, like coffee, an alien intrusion into the Recôncavo. Although Bahia is by far the leading producer of coconuts in Brazil—they are called côcos da Bahia—the main centers of production are on the coast north and, to a lesser extent, south of the Recôncavo.

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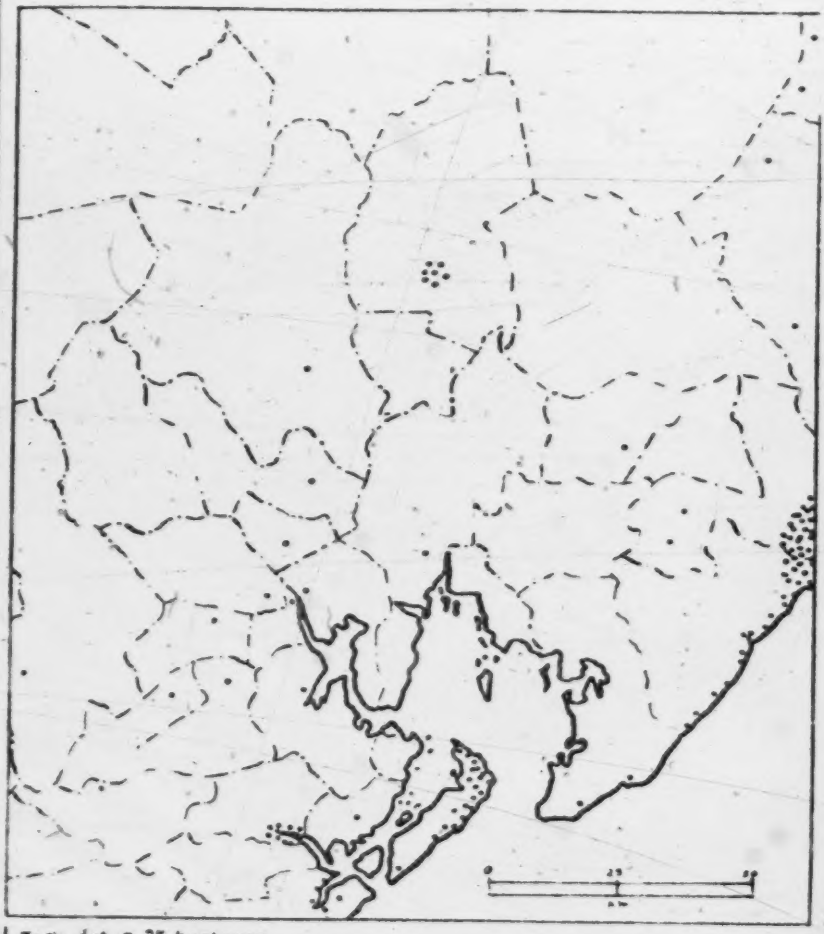

Each dot • 25 hectares

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Area in Coconuts—1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 58

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954) 1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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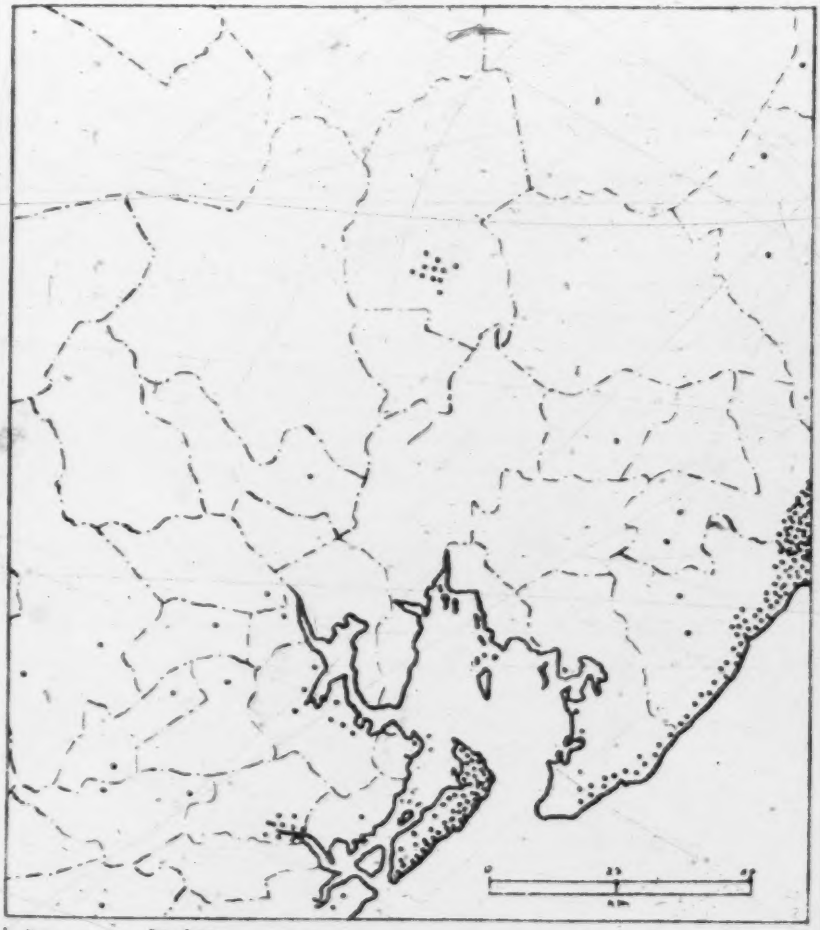

Each dot = 50,000 coconuts

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Coconuts--1948

Source of data: Producão Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 59

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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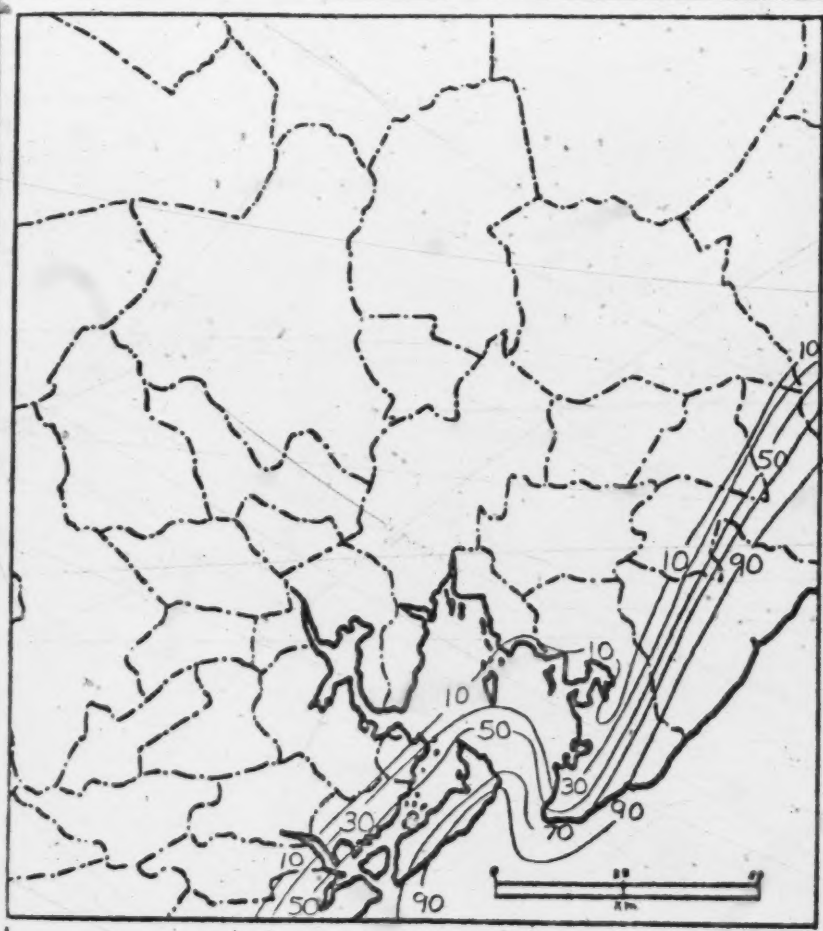

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of Cropland in Coconuts--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 60

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

245 311 Within the Recôncavo coconut production is important along the sandy beach line of the island of Itaparica and along the ocean coast of Salvador, where coconuts are virtually the only agricultural product [133] (Maps 58, 59, and 60). The inner shores of the Bay, which rise abruptly [134] with rocky clay slopes, bear very few coconuts, except in a low-lying sandy zone along the estuary of the Paraguaçu. Coconuts are produced 245 [423] chiefly on large properties which are frequently owned by urban families. [464] The plantations are operated with hired labor drawn from the coastal [438] population. When harvested, the coconuts are sold in the urban markets [258] of Salvador and other cities and towns. Very little of the Recôncavo [439] production is converted into oil, and little is exported.

Oranges. The navel orange is a Bahian development, a mutation [433] of the orange brought from Europe. The main centers of Brazilian production, however, are elsewhere in the country, and cultivation of orange within the Recôncavo is primarily for local consumption.

245 311 Scattered orange trees are a feature of the rural and urban landscape in many areas. In addition to this generalized cultivation, which frequently is not shown in the official data, there is commercial production in the environs of several urban centers—Alagoinhas, Santo Antônio, and to a lesser extent, Salvador (Maps 61 and 62). The [489] cidades of Alagoinhas and Santo Antônio are both markets for part of [443] the local crop; moreover, both are on the railroads leading to Salvador, which is the chief market for the entire region. In addition to these three main concentrations, there are numerous orange groves in the Southwestern Recôncavo which apparently serve both local and regional markets, though on a small scale. In general the relative area in orange groves is not great, yet in 1948 they occupied 10 per cent of the cropland of Alagoinhas.

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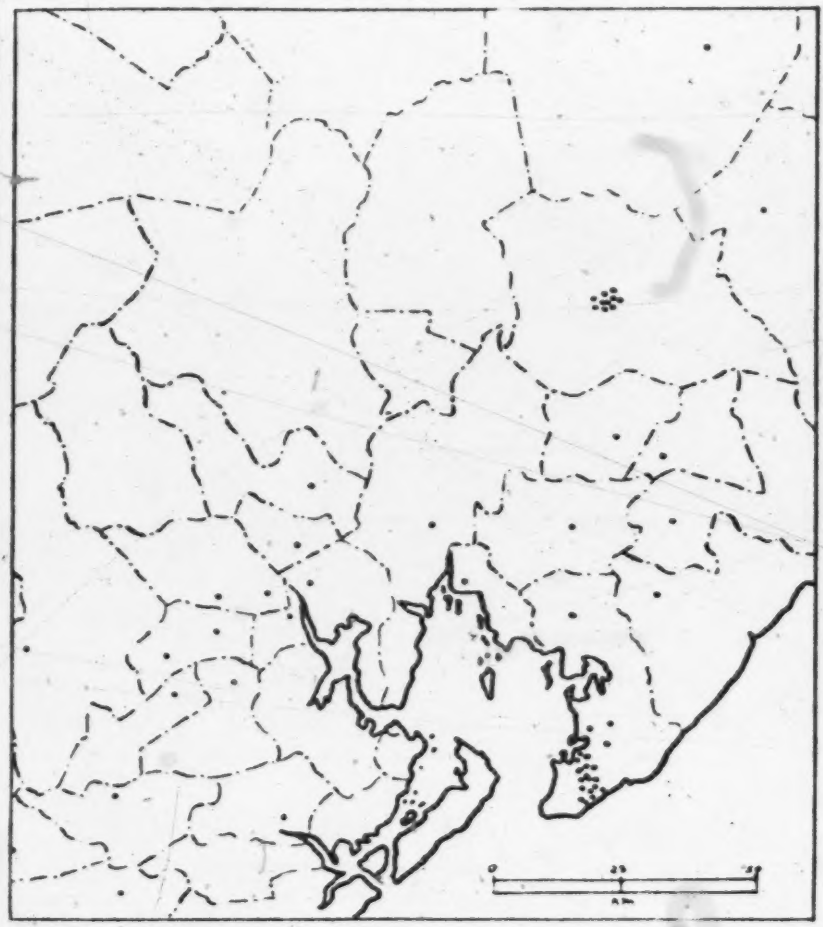

Each dot - 25 hectares

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Area in Oranges--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 61

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954) 1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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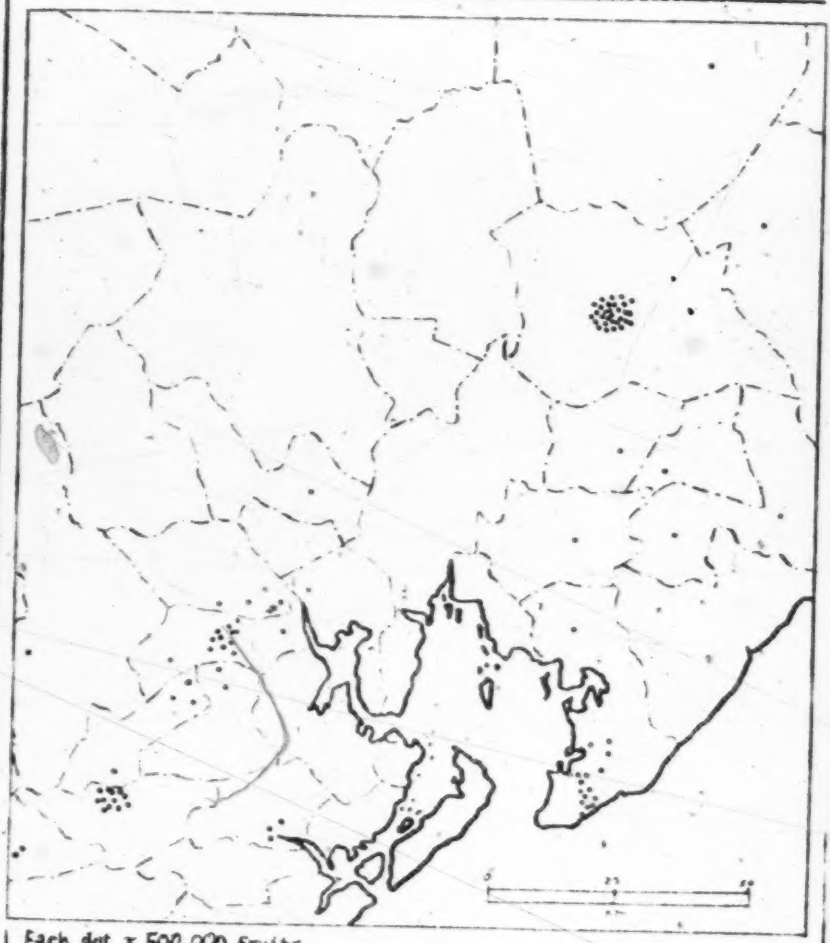

Each dot = 500,000 fruits

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Oranges--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 62

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

245 438 [471] Oranges, like coconuts, are usually grown on plantations. The capital investment in tree crops is usually too great for small cultivators. Moreover, as a highly perishable crop, oranges require more or less direct marketing, which is frequently beyond the capacity of the small grower. If oranges were marketed by trickling from the small grower through the hands of merchants, buyers, and the like, as is tobacco, they would be spoiled long before reaching the consumer. The small cultivator can market his handful of oranges only in the local market.

241 433 Supplementary Crops. Although the official data show only a very limited distribution of minor supplementary crops, their cultivation is not confined to those municípios where exceptionally conscientious [262] statistical agents have made detailed records. The common vegetables--green beans, onions, garlic, and tomatoes--are cultivated in small quantities in all parts of the Recôncavo and are a traditional part of Bahian dishes. Around the cities and towns there is some specialization [443] in vegetable farming, but there are no major concentrations. The Salvador market is supplied with produce from a broad rural zone which includes [489] most of the Recôncavo. The produce is brought to the city by donkey, truck, or by sailing boat.

The most important of the supplementary commercial crops is [134] pineapple, which is produced on the sandy soils of the Northern, and to a lesser extent, Southwestern Recôncavo. There is very scattered production of grapes, cotton, rice, and white potatoes, but there are no important centers of cultivation of these crops.

245 311 Minor Spontaneous Tree Crops. Mangoes are very common within the houseyards of Salvador and throughout the humid Coastal Plain. In

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

245 311 the peripheral areas of the region they are less common, but a few trees can be seen in almost every settlement. The cashew is more strictly confined to the littoral and especially to the sandy coastal zones behind the palm-laden beach line. Jackfruit and breadfruit are especially common in the eastern Crystalline Uplands. Scattered along roads and around houses, they provide shade for the yard or for coffee and an occasional fruit for sale in the local market. The African oil palm is encountered occasionally in most municípios of the Recôncavo, generally growing out of the wet valley floors. There are many oil palms on the island of Itaparica, but the only major area of commercial production in Bahia is on the coast south of the Recôncavo. The oil is prepared [258] [438] by boiling the seed, and the surplus oil is sold in small quantities on the local market.

241 311 Annual and Perennial Crops. Six of the major crops of the Recôncavo are cultivated as annuals--manioc, corn, beans, peanuts, sweet potatoes, and tobacco.[29] The major perennials are bananas, sugar cane, coffee, oranges, and coconuts. Over three-fourths of the cropland of the Recôncavo was in annuals in 1948 and about 22 per cent in perennials--including both tree and field crops. In the Recôncavo there is a very close connection between crop periodicity and land systems. The annual crops are produced almost exclusively under a system of land rotation, while the perennials are grown under a system of permanent cultivation. The zones of animals are generally mixed-crop zones, while the perennials are usually monocultural.

The main concentrations of annuals are on the uplands of the Northern, Northwestern, and Southwestern Recôncavo--the domain of manioc, tobacco, corn, and beans (Map 63). Perennials dominate the Intermediate Hills and the coastal lowlands--coconut palms on the beaches, sugar

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 219]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

Footnotes - Chapter V

000 [1]The outstanding example of the ribbon development of cropland is along the highway which traverses the Crystalline Uplands from Santo Antônio to Feira de Santana. Each of the cidades along this road--Conceição do Almeida, Cruz das Almas, Muritiba, São Félix, Cachoeira, Conceição da Feira, and São Gonçalo--is the center of an intensively cultivated zone and is connected with the others by a belt of cropland running along the highway. In part this ribbon development is the result [133] of restrictive factors; in Conceição da Feira and São Gonçalo the intensively cultivated strip runs between the rough Intermediate Hills on the [132] east and the dry caatinga on the west. The same negative relationships are characteristic of the Southwestern Recôncavo, but the intermediate zone of acceptable terrain and climate is here broader than in the north.

[2]Produção Agrícola: 1948.

[3]Ministério da Agricultura, Serviço de Estatística da Produção, "Pobulação Pecuária, Em 31/12/1948."

[4]For a map of manioc production in Latin America, see: Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, Map of "Manioc Estimated Production Latin America," Agriculture in the Americas, Vol. III, Nos. 8-9 (August-September, 1947), p. 120.

[128] [5]A more detailed discussion of processing of farinha de mandioca is given in Chapter X.

[6]Ruth Matos Almeida Simões, "Comentário do Mapa da Produção de Mandioca no Estado da Bahia," Boletim Geográfico, Vol. XI, No. 112. (January-February, 1953) pp. 84-86.

[7]It is likely that the official figures underestimate the area and production of manioc. A considerable part of the crop is grown on small plots remote from political centers and well-traveled routes and may thus have escaped the enumerator. Moreover, its cultivation is so commonplace and its exchange often so local and in such small quantities that even tax-conscious local government officials may easily be unaware of small and scattered plots which in sum may bulk fairly large. Some [129] of the official data which have been used in the analysis of manioc cultivation, production, and value have been modified. For a discussion of these modifications and for maps based upon the unmodified data, see Appendix D.

[8]Conceição do Almeida, Cruz das Almas, and São Filipe.

[9]This popular and official view underestimates the importance of manioc production in its own right. The commercial element in manioc [128] production is discussed in Chapter IX.

[128] [10]The system of manioc cultivation will be discussed in conjunction with the tobacco-manioc system in Chapter VI.

[245] [11]The "coffee zone" of Bahia includes a number of municípios, from Laje (adjoining Santo Antônio) to Jequié along the Estrada de Ferro Nazaré.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

The Atlantic coast of Salvador and Itaparica supports
245 a coconut monoculture--a monoculture which is most strongly developed
311 north of the Recôncavo in Camassari and Mata de São João. The actual area of the coconut monoculture within the Recôncavo is slight, and beyond this monocultural zone, coconut cultivation is rarely significant within the region.

The coconut monoculture lies between the littoral forest and the beach in Itaparica and between the agreste and the beach in Salvador and in the municípios farther north. Except in the município of
[161] Salvador, the rural population of the coconut area is not dense. The
[162] typical settlement of this zone is the fishing village, sprawled over
[361] the beach near the mouth of a small stream. Inland the population is scattered.

243 A much more important crop system intrudes upon the Northwestern
244 Recôncavo--the corn-bean system. The nuclear area for this system seems
311 to lie in northern Serrinha and in the municípios bordering upon the state of Sergipe. The area in which over 80 per cent of the cropland was in corn and beans in 1948 overlapped the borders of the Recôncavo into western Feira de Santana and Santo Estêvão--a zone of low serras (Map 76). In this zone the area in corn was from one to two times the area in beans (Map 77).

Most of the soils of this region are either crystalline or
[134] Tertiary sands, but the pockets of soil which are actually cultivated are almost invariably heavier and more water retentive than are the sandy upland soils of the taboleiros. The corn-bean region generally
[162] has a small but nucleated rural population and a few medium-sized cidades, which are the only towns of the very large municípios which are charac-
[361] teristic of the area. However, the part of the corn-bean region which overlaps the Recôncavo has a number of villages and hamlets in the valleys of the serras.

241 311 Southwest of the estuary of the Rio Paraguaçu, in Maragogipe and São Filipe, the crop pattern becomes very complex, as is shown by the relative distribution of cropland in São Filipe:

Manioc	33	per cent
Sugar cane	28	" "
Coffee	25	" "
Tobacco	11	" "
Peanuts	1	" "
Corn	1	" "

Plus small areas of beans, oranges, bananas, sweet potatoes, and coconut.

174 245 249 311 It is very likely that there has been a historical connection between the coffee culture of São Filipe and the main coffee zone far to the southwest. Apparently the development of tobacco cultivation in Santo Antônio has severed this connection.

249 244 221 Cultivation Systems--Tobacco and Manioc. The "ideal" system of cultivation of tobacco and manioc[1] in the tobacco-manioc region has the following general pattern:

(1) In mid-February a small tract, very commonly with an area of one tarefa[2] but sometimes larger, is cleared in the capoéira de caatinga (second-growth scrub-forest) or the capoéira de mata (second-growth littoral forest). Generally the capoéira is low brush, two to five feet tall, which is easily cut with a facão--a long heavy knife which is a universal agricultural tool. Any heavy waste material that can be moved is dragged away from the plot; if there are tree stumps, they will not be grubbed out.[3] Sometimes the waste material on the surface of the field is burned, but this is by no means universal.

[412]

(2) A favored spot, either within the cleared field or in the adjoining capoéira, is prepared for a seed bed. Usually a site on the edge of a wood or near a steep slope is selected. Any available waste materials--corn stalks, old tobacco plants, weeds, brush, pieces of wood, and the like--are piled on the small plot, allowed to dry, and then burned.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 (4) The field is burned for the last time, and as new cane or grass appears, it is used as pasture.

(5) After one year of pasture, sometimes more, the field is replanted to cane.

[527] The length of the harvest varies. It begins with a festa (festival) in the first week of September and continues as long as there is cane and as long as the heavy rains hold off--usually about six months.

249 311 Within the sugar cane area most of the land is in cane or in temporary fallow pasture except: (1) very wet bottom lands; (2) steep slopes; (3) villages; and (4) the lands and yards occupied by the mills. The general aspect of this area is that of an unbroken sea of cane. Single fields are often large--a square kilometer is not uncommon--but they are divided into separate plots. The cultivation of other crops within the sugar cane area is very limited. Small house gardens for the laborers are common, but other commercial agricultural forms of land use are rare.

249 423 257 184 Land holdings, as will be seen, generally are large under this system. The orientation of the sugar industry in São Filipe is somewhat different than in the zone discussed above. Properties are smaller, the monocultural aspect less dominant, and the whole sugar economy more primitive. There were eighty-two small sugar mills in this area in 1940, compared to the eight large usinas of Santo Amaro. [273] Many of these produced crude sugar (rapadura) rather than the refined sugar or cane brandy (cachaça) which are the main products of the zone north of the Bay.

245 The Cultivation of Coconuts. The final important agricultural system of the Recôncavo is the coconut monoculture, a less highly organized permanent culture than the sugar cane system.

245 [311] Most coconuts are grown on moderate-sized plantations along the beaches, in sands, or occasionally in sandy loams. North of Salvador they are grown on dunes and beaches and, back from the sea, in sandy stream valleys where the supply of ground water is generous. There seems to be little selection in choosing coconuts for reproduction. Usually the nuts are planted eight meters or so apart, with a pile of organic trash over and around the nut to provide some additional fertility and to hold the moisture necessary for germination. The sprout must be protected from foraging animals, but once growth is well started, the tree receives little attention and no fertilization.

[433] Yields are moderate to low, from 15 to 40 per tree. Apparently the yields per tree are substantially higher (double) in the Bay area--Itaparica and Caramassari--than in the area farther north--Nata de São João and Esplanada. In the Bay area the nuts are usually sold in the markets [443] of Salvador without processing.

241 178 Conclusion. The basic determinant of cultivation practices in the Recôncavo is custom. This is probably less true of the cultivation of sugar than of other crops, but the weight of tradition is heavy upon all agricultural enterprises. It may be said that many relatively [454] primitive agricultural practices survive because of ignorance of newer techniques and because of a lack of capital for investment in new tools, in machinery, in better seed, and in permanent land improvement. The importance of these factors in limiting change in Recôncavo agriculture, particularly as general factors operating indirectly upon individual cultivators and individual farms is not to be denied.

However, when the individual cultivator--sugar planter or tobacco share-cropper--is given an opportunity, in the form of new techniques and the necessary capital, to change and improve his operations and

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CHAPTER IX

VALUE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

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The analysis of the distribution of cropland and of the quantity of production has established the Recôncavo as a distinctive regional unit of Bahia and of Brazil without formulating clearly the importance of the region to the state or the nation. Similarly, the internal differentiation of the region has been discussed in terms of various municípios, sub-regions, and crop regions without establishing the basic importance of these to the Recôncavo except as components of the agricultural landscape or as producers of crops with an unspecified value. Although the value of agricultural production is not exclusively economic, monetary value is one of the most useful general standards for estimating the collective and individual importance of diverse agricultural products.

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The tables and discussion which follow have three purposes: (1) the estimation of the importance of the Recôncavo and its individual products to the Brazilian and the Bahian economy; (2) the determination of the importance of individual products within the economy of the region; and (3) the evaluation of the economic importance of the crop regions, previously delimited, to the Recôncavo.

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The total value of the crops of the Recôncavo was less than 1 per cent of the total value of crop production in Brazil in 1948, based upon a comparison of the value of 21 principal crops of Brazil and of the Recôncavo which are given in Table XV. Although for several centuries the region was an outstandingly productive center of the Brazilian economy, today it plays a secondary role even within Bahia. In recent decades the southern coast of the state, growing cacao for foreign markets, has

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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come to be the area of the greatest value of agricultural production in the state--Cr.$1,007,824,000, in 1948, almost three times the value of crop and livestock production in the Recôncavo, Cr.$335,000,000. The total value of livestock production in the Recôncavo is estimated to be about Cr.$60,000,000 for 1948. Although no comparable figure is available for Brazil, probably the Recôncavo had less then 1 per cent of the livestock and thus produced less than 1 per cent of the value of livestock in the nation as a whole.[1]

B BB 433

The present inferior position of the Recôncavo is in part a reflection of the relative decline of the region in the nineteenth century discussed in the chapter on the evolution of the Recôncavo. However, the Recôncavo continues to lag behind in the contemporary development of Brazil. From 1944 to 1952 the total cruzeiro value of the principal crops of Brazil increased four-fold, while the value of Bahia's tobacco crop, a good indicator of the economic shifts of the Recôncavo, increased by only one-fifth despite the concurrent inflationary spiral. Even the government-stabilized sugar industry of the Recôncavo produced only three and one-half times its 1944 value. Although the above increases are more indicative of the steadily declining value of Brazilian currency than of true economic development, they are an index of the relative importance of agriculture in the Recôncavo to the national economy.

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Tobacco, sugar cane, and manioc, which occupied 70 per cent of the Recôncavo's cropland, accounted for 77 per cent of the total value of all principal crops in 1948 (Table XVI). Each of the three crops contributed at least 20 per cent of the value of all crops, while no other crop produced over 6 per cent of the total. The cruzeiro value of these principal crops, and of livestock, and their relative position within the nation has been given in Table IV, above.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

TABLE XVII

MEAN VALUE OF PRODUCTION PER HECTARE FOR THE CROPS OF THE RECÔNCAVO IN 1948

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Crops	Value of Production Cr.$1.000 per ha.
Principal Crops*	
Tobacco	3,900
Manioc	3,100
Sugar Cane	4,600
Beans	2,200
Oranges**	13,300
Bananas**	8,600
Corn	800
Coconuts**	7,400
Coffee**	1,400
Pineapple	1,000
Peanuts	2,400
Sweet Potatoes	3,500
All Crops	3,400

*Crops with a value in excess of Cr.$1,000,000.
**There is little consistent relationship between the area and production of these crops, so that local values for these crops often depart widely from the mean.
Source: Calculations and estimations based upon Produção Agrícola: 1948.

249 leading producer--40 per cent of the total value of the tobacco crop.
433 Notwithstanding the dominant role of the Southwestern area, tobacco production north of the Rio Paraguaçu was also significant—contributing 24 per cent of the total value of the crop.

As has been indicated, several grades of tobacco are produced in the Recôncavo. The superiority of the tobacco production of the Southwestern Recôncavo is more than a matter of hectares of cultivation or kilograms of leaf. The area is the core of the "Mata Fina" zone, within which the leaf of Cruz das Almas is assigned the highest price.
[439] The "Mata Fina" leaf is the basis of the export of cigar tobacco to European markets. In its concern with cacao, the most valuable export
[245] [439] Bahia tends to forget the important role which tobacco plays in its economy, and with this, so the people of the zone sometimes feel, to

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 433 neglect the critical tobacco producing areas. It seems to be true that
[245] the chief recipients of political and economic attention have been the
[439] traditionally important sugar cane area, and more recently the cacao
[491] zone. The people of the tobacco area complain particularly about the lack of roads.

244 433 Not only is manioc the basic source of subsistence for the Recôncavo, it is also the second crop in value of production. Its cultivation, as has been seen, is closely associated with the production of tobacco, so that the Southwestern Recôncavo, which produced 63 per cent of the tobacco crop, also contributed a very large part--48 per cent--of the total value of manioc (Map 121). However, manioc is important in its own right, as well as in its relationship to tobacco. No data are available to indicate the importance of manioc as a surplus product which is sold beyond the borders of the município in which it is grown. A rough estimate can be made by assuming that the per capita consumption of manioc is 400 kilograms per year--this is the mean consumption for the state of Bahia. Using this figure in conjunction with the population data, it is possible to estimate that in 1948 about 30,000 tons of surplus manioc was produced in the Recôncavo. Ninety per cent of this surplus was produced in the municípios of the Southwestern Recôncavo.
[489] It is significant that many of the trucks passing from the Southwestern
[494] Recôncavo to Feira de Santana and Salvador are piled high with bags of farinha de mandioca. The total value of commercial manioc would be about Cr.$6,500,000, so that on this basis manioc is the fourth or fifth most valuable commercial crop of the Recôncavo. Using the above method of determination, it was found that several municípios adjoining the region also produced surpluses of manioc. The most notable of these were the four municípios adjacent to the Southwestern Recôncavo--Nazaré, São Miguel, Santo Antônio, and Castro Alves--which produced a

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 municípios. However, in this southwestern area the amount of flat land
311 is progressively reduced as the serras of the coffee zone are approached.
[245] Moreover, this region is already occupied by the other commercial systems--coffee, and in a few areas, sugar cane. Thus tobacco would not be moving into an area in which it could have either the land or the labor force without a struggle.

277 Leaf tobacco has a number of disadvantages as a primary commercial
439 product. The Brazilian market for Bahian tobacco is not yet large enough to stabilize the price during years when it is impossible to sell leaf abroad. In Europe the tobacco of Bahia must compete with leaf from other parts of the world, and because the Recôncavo has not yet succeeded in producing a suitable high quality wrapper leaf, it cannot hope to secure the whole market no matter how great its quantity of production. One of the possibilities which is being considered by the tobacco industry is the production of wrapper tobacco, but the experiments which have been completed so far have not been highly successful. Even if the quality of the tobacco were improved, one basic market problem would remain--tobacco is a luxury product, and many countries find it possible to do without it in times of war or economic distress.

249 The basic problem of tobacco production in the immediate future seems almost certain to be the system of cultivation and the land system with which it is connected. As has been seen, in the main centers of production the fallow period is already extremely short. It is not unlikely that the cumulative effect of too short a rotation period under a system of land rotation will reduce the fertility of the soil to a point where normal second growth will not develop and where land rotation, especially with so demanding a crop as tobacco, will be impossible. Moreover, if the intensity of tobacco cultivation should increase, then it seems inevitable that the density of livestock within

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 257 433 the large landholders and agricultural capitalists of Brazil have a strong historical bias toward monocultural systems.

249 433 471 As would be expected, the Central Recôncavo accounted for almost 90 per cent of the total value of sugar cane in the region. Sugar production in this area is dominated by the big usinas, and most of the cane is produced on very large properties, as has been seen.

243 244 433 438 Although corn and beans primarily are subsistence crops, they have, like manioc, some commercial importance (Map 125). The corn and bean areas within the Recôncavo do not produce outstanding surpluses, although these two crops are important commercial products in nearby Serrinha and Conceição do Coite. Most of the corn and beans of the Recôncavo are exchanged for farinha de mandioca, which provides the cultivator with a cheaper food.

244 245 433 438 The remaining crops of the region are of minor commercial importance, or are more valuable commercial crops of highly localized production. Bananas, peanuts, and sweet potatoes are minor commercial crops of diffuse production, since most of their cultivation is for subsistence purposes. Oranges, cocomut, coffee, and pineapple are important but secondary commercial products whose production is concentrated in a few restricted areas (see, for example, Map 126 of cocomut production).

249 244 245 433 438 [redacted] importance of the principal commercial crops--tobacco, sugar cane, coffee, cocomut, oranges, pineapple, a few minor crops, and commercial manioc--varies widely from município to município (Map 127). However, two areas--the Central Recôncavo and the Southwestern Recôncavo--had highly commercial economies in which over 90 per cent of the total value of production was in commercial crops. In the tobacco-manioc area north of the Rio Paraguaçu, only one-half to three-quarters of

000 the total value of production was in commercial crops. Except in the

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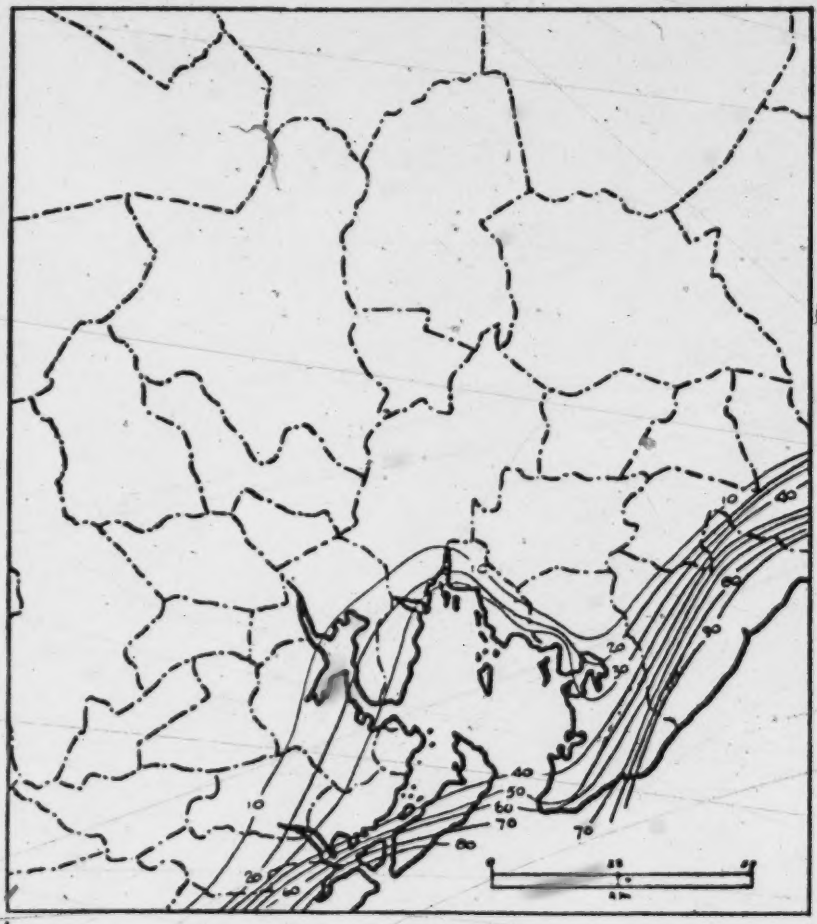

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Value of Crop Production

Contributed by Coconuts--1948

MAP 126

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

242 [245] In the sugar cane zone there has been one small scale experiment with white cacao, which can be sold at a higher price than the ordinary variety. It is believed that this crop would do well on the soils now under sugar cane and perhaps on some of the other soils of the lowlands. Since cacao in the Recôncavo presumably would be free of the diseases which cause so much difficulty in the main area of cultivation along the southern coast of the state, it might be possible to stabilize Bahia's cacao production and at the same time to improve agricultural conditions in the Recôncavo. [243] Another alternative use for the Cretaceous soils of the sugar cane region might be for the cultivation of rice, which is presently grown on a small scale in Santo Amaro. In view of the perennial shortages and high cost of food in both the Recôncavo and in Brazil, such a generally acceptable food should find a ready market. On the other hand, the development of cacao or rice cultivation in this area would mean the abandonment of the heavy investment in sugar mills and plantations.

241 178 Although the evaluation of specific suggestions is the province of the agricultural specialist, one fact is clearly shown in the results of the present research--any proposal for the future development of the Recôncavo will have to conquer the inherent traditional orientation of agriculture in the region.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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127 Area data for corn should be used with reservation, especially
243 for the northern and western municípios. In the drier areas it is the
244 custom to plant corn and beans together in the same field, generally
127 in the same row, and the area could have been counted, in its entirety, twice (once for each crop). Yield calculations for corn and beans suggest that this has not been done; however, the vagaries of climate and cultivation in these dry zones produce such variations in mean yield from year to year and place to place that it was impossible to secure a clearcut verification. Conversations with personnel of the compiling agency failed to clarify the situation.

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433 Bananas. The maps of banana area, based upon the official data,
127 reveal a definite gap in Cruz das Almas and northern São Filipe (Map 135). However, this area lies in the middle of a belt of relatively dense production. Field experience in this immediate area indicated that bananas were at least as important in these two areas as in adjacent Conceição do Almeida. The official data show only 7 hectares and 3,000 bunches of bananas in Santo Antônio, but the large numbers of banana plants which were observed would tend to discredit these figures. Since in the Recôncavo the area planted in bananas does not usually have a consistent relationship to the number of plants and thus to production, yields are not a trustworthy guide to the estimation of
245 production. On the map of banana production in the text (Map 52) the
433 official data have been modified to allow Cruz das Almas 190,000
127 bunches in place of the 29,000 in the official data; São Filipe,
128 70,000 in place of the official 20,000; and Santo Antônio, 86,000 in place of the official 3,000. These changes were made by arbitrarily increasing the production data to give these areas the same density of production as similar areas in adjacent municípios. Since, as has

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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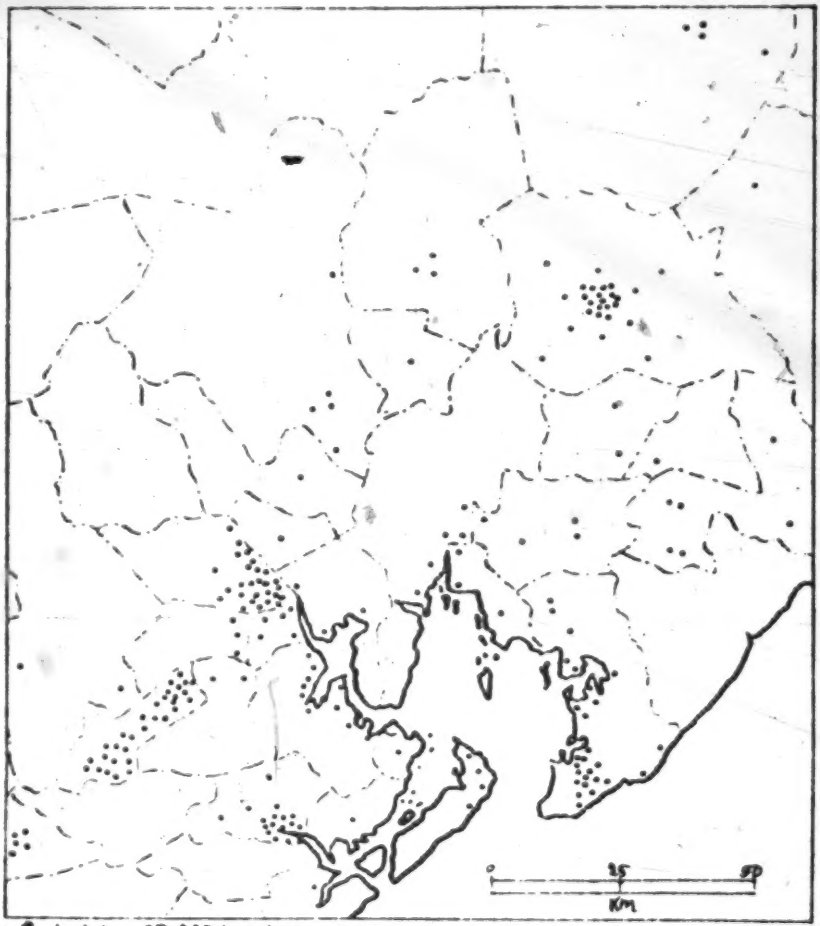

Each dot = 10,000 bunches

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Bananas--1948

(Based upon un-corrected official data)

Source of data: Producão Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 135

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

245 433 127 128 been indicated, banana area and production do not have a consistent relationship, no attempt has been made to alter the map of cultivated area for bananas.

249 433 127 Tobacco. Although there is a large range in tobacco yields within the Recôncavo as calculated from the official data, only those for São Filipe seem completely unacceptable. If the area of this município were at the high level—3,600 hectares--indicated and the given production data are correct, then its yield was an infinitesimal 190 kilograms per hectare. The official production data are, in approximate terms, confirmed by other sources.[1] However, the area indicated by the official data is much higher than either the data 249 of Marques or field experience would indicate. Estimates from the 433 mean of surrounding municípios, from the mean yield calculated from 127 Marques, and from the area given by Marques adjusted to the 1948 level of 128 production, give the following figures, respectively: 675 hectares, 692 hectares, and 700 hectares. The median of these figures—692 hectares--was selected and used in preparing Maps 28, 29, and 33 in Chapter V.

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[113] [1]Antonio Nonanto Marques, op. cit., pp. 1-85; and Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, Contribuição do Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, pp. 1-16.

[Town Life]

Because there are only 265 acres of manioc under cultivation in the entire county, production is far below the amount of farina consumed, and it is necessary to import the milled manioc tuber which constitutes the major dietary item of the people. In 1951 a municipal law was passed prohibiting the exportation of farina. Three times during the author's stay in the town there was a pronounced lack of farina, when there was almost none to be bought and its price per liter rose from one to three cruzeiros. That year's drought was also partly responsible for the shortage. 241 43 [262] [114] [731]

Bananas are the only commercial export crop of the gardeners. There are approximately 15,000 banana trees in the county, producing for the commercial market an annual production of 177,000 arms (cachos) of bananas, providing an income of Cr$500.000,00. The fruits are sold to a middleman from Bahia who knows most of the gardeners in the area. Once a week, or every two weeks, he arrives at the town in a large sailboat to receive the fresh bananas, which he then takes to Bahia and sells. Sometimes a gardener sells an arm of bananas to a woman in town who then resells them to townspeople. Few people in town have to buy them, however, for each household has at least one banana tree in the back yard. An acre of land supports about 144 banana trees, which when well cared for produce 1,500 arms a year. The fruits are sold in cargoes of fifty arms at Cr$160,00 a cargo, so that one acre earns about Cr$5.000,00 a year. This sum is almost entirely profit, for gardeners do most of their own work, except when they have too much land for one man to take care of properly. Hired help is paid in accordance with the service performed: ten cruzeiros for cutting fifty arms of bananas, twenty for transporting them to the dock if the gardener does not have his own animals, and a hundred cruzeiros an acre for "cleaning," i.e., cutting down and burning old stalks and leaves and keeping the weeds cut down. 245 43 [442] [311] 245 46

Manioc presents a slightly different case, for the raw product must be processed before it is consumed. The manioc root from which farina is made is the poisonous variety and must be peeled and grated, pressed to remove the juice, and then toasted. The final product is a white powder, fine or coarse depending upon the type of grater used. Most of the local product is a coarse type (farinha de guerra). One of the gardeners has a flour house where the tubers are converted into flour. He mills his own manioc there and lets others use the machinery, charging them one liter of farina out of each ten they produce. 252 [427]

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

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*249 For the first time in the history of Vila Recôncavo the work-
468 ers' discontent has taken the form of a strike accompanied by violence. The strike, although a general one throughout the sugar industry, was the first one in which workers of Vila Recôncavo participated. It was specifically directed against the
178 agricultural part of the factory combination; however, it af-
*249 fected some private plantations as well, and was joined by workers of private plantations. The strike was put down im-
468 mediately and effectively by the state police. On investigation the police found considerable Communist literature and prop-
467 aganda in the quarters of the labor union in Centro which had
668 organized the strike. The labor union itself was illegal, since it was not registered with the proper authorities, and its lead-
[625] ers were well-known Communist agitators. What is important for our study is the appearance in the community of Vila Recôncavo of written and verbal Communist propaganda and the willingness of the local agricultural workers to participate in a general strike. This is a tremendous change for such a conservative area, where loyalty and paternalism have always been so strong.

178 Thus the sugar industry of Vila Recôncavo has entered a
*249 phase of many new difficulties: ties between factory and private planters are strained, and labor relations are becoming
571 a problem for the private, as well as the corporate, planters.
466 Inflation and the "dollar situation," which affect planters directly since all machinery must be imported, are also working toward the build-up of a new "crisis," continuing the pattern described in Chapter 3.

178 However, a new element is entering the community of Vila
245 Recôncavo in the form of a new crop, cacao. One of the plant-
242 ers began experimenting with cacao during the author's first period of research in Vila Reconcavo. However, at least five years must pass before it can be known if the cacao tree will give satisfactory fruit. At the end of 1955 the Institute of Cacao of Bahia presented the experiment to the public as a success and is now systematically stimulating interest in cacao as a possible and lucrative substitute for sugar cane.

245 Cacao is Bahia's major export crop and in general means
439 money to a Bahian. Still more attractive is the fact that the cacao introduced to the Recôncavo is a genetic mutation, giv-
178 ing a white-seeded fruit which brings a much higher price on the
*[249] world market than does the ordinary fruit. The financial attraction of cacao, plus the disagreeable and financially weak

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position of the sugar industry in Vila Recôncavo, is creating considerable interest on the part of the community's planters. Just as sugar cane is limited by soil and climatic conditions, so also is the cacao. There is little fear, therefore, of competition from many other areas. In addition, cacao is exportable, while the sugar of the area is for internal consumption only.

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In spite of the attraction of this new crop, there are a number of problems which must be dealt with. First, the details of a change from sugar cane to cacao must be worked out, especially as regards space and financing. The planter must juggle his sugar plantings, pastures, and rotation lands so that he can slowly take out land for preparation for cacao. If he wants to finance the changeover himself, he cannot lessen his sugar production; in fact, he needs more money than before. Banks in general lend on the forthcoming crop; if the crop is reduced, so is the amount which can be borrowed. However, to overcome this, the Institute of Cacao of Bahia is preparing a financing program on a long-term basis. Sugar cane is a perennial, planted one year, bearing for the next three or four years, then ploughed under and replanted. Cacao, on the other hand, is a permanent tree crop which gives its first fruit in five years, reaches maturity in fifteen or twenty years, and then continues to produce annually for sixty to one hundred years. Thus sugar cane is financed on a one-year basis, while initial plantings of cacao must be financed on a long-term basis of ten to fifteen years. The change from a perennial crop to a permanent crop also requires a totally different mental set on the part of the planter.

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Cacao is a "forest crop," which means that it requires shading. Under primitive conditions it is planted in dense tropical forest. In Vila Recôncavo, however, the former tropical forest has been entirely cleared away during the last four hundred years, since sugar cane tolerates no shade. Therefore, before the cacao can be planted, shade must be provided. This is done by planting banana trees and, at fixed intervals, single seedlings of a precocious, long-living, high-growing shade tree. To pay for the work involved it is common to plant manioc between the banana trees. The manioc is gathered the following year, and shortly thereafter the young cacao trees can be planted. The banana trees offer sufficient shade for the young plants. For a period of five or six years the planter

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can collect bananas, which should pay for the operating costs while waiting for the cacao to mature.

At the end of a five- or six-year period, the shade tree is usually large enough to provide sufficient shade, and the banana trees are gradually removed. At the same time the cacao begins to give its fruit, and one can then consider himself a cacauicultor.

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Several planters in Vila Recôncavo are at the banana-manioc planting stage, and have met with their first serious labor problem. No one wants to work in banana and manioc fields, as the work is arduous and slow. Machines are not available for the mechanical cultivation of manioc, so the work must be done by hand. The work is slowly being accomplished, but at costs which will make the manioc a considerable liability.

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Nevertheless, in spite of these difficulties, there is considerable interest in cacao in Vila Recôncavo, and cacao must be considered as an element of change in the community which will have far-reaching effects. The area of sugar production will be considerably reduced, requiring adjustments on the part of the factories, which represent large financial investments. Furthermore, cacao is a fairly simple product to process--its conversion into chocolate is usually done after export --and so it is quite likely that each plantation will return to the older aspect of the plantation, both growing and processing the crop, and become once again a highly self-sufficient unit. This would of course bring about a new alignment of socio-economic relations and would undoubtedly alter the community structure.

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A third principal cause of change in Vila Recôncavo is the growth of a new and potent industry within the community and throughout the county. This new industry is the nascent Brazilian petroleum industry. Exploratory work was done in Vila Recôncavo in 1950 and 1951 under the guidance of the Conselho Nacional de Petroleo. Since that date a nationalized company, Petrobrás, has been formed to exploit the oil fields which lie under the topsoil of the county of Vila Recôncavo. Petrobrás has brought in several hundred oil wells and has built roads, pipelines, storage tanks, and machine shops. Just outside the limits of the community, but within the county, it has built its oil refinery and has created a small new, modern city to house the technical workers of the refinery and the field. On land expropriated from the Usina São Pedro it has also con-

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58 begun to live together. But it is a general policy of Petrobrás that its employees establish regularized households and register their children, as the benefits of social legislation and insurance must be paid to legal beneficiaries, such as wives and [745] children. Because of the many recent marriages, there are [362] no longer any houses available in Vila Recôncavo, nor in Milagres, and there has been a spurt of housebuilding.

There have also been some shifts in emphasis in the structure of the community. While the factory nucleus is no longer 178 621 the scene of social gathering for the upper class of the area, *249 the structure of the factory-private plantation system ensures that it continues to be the economic center as long as sugar [434] cane is being planted in the area. The system of quotas established for the private planter and the factory by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol requires that planter and factory [361] cooperate in supplying and receiving sugar cane. Also, the [496] physical structure of the area, in which the factory is the center of the network of a small railroad which reaches out to each of the private properties, strengthens the impression of the factory as the center of activities.

178 The possible future shift from sugar to cacao will of course 443 diminish the importance of the sugar factory. However, in the meantime there is a new factor which will give more im- [245] portance than ever to the factory: a feira, or market place. The county of Vila Recôncavo does not have a weekly market. *[249] For many years the county officials have wanted to establish one, not only for increased municipal income, but also to help attract more people to the area and to make life easier for the population. A market place is now under construction at the factory nucleus. When the market is completed, the factory town will become at least a weekly center of attraction for many people of the surrounding plantations.

178 The development of the petroleum industry is bringing new 315 life to the town of Vila Recôncavo, to the nearby town of Mi- [311] lagres, and to the new city of Conselho. Petrobrás cannot develop a nucleus on the land which belongs to the factory or to the private owners, and therefore it must concentrate any local community building efforts in the old public towns which 178 already exist. Petrobrás, indirectly, through the county court 315 of Vila Recôncavo, will soon contribute considerably to the 434 county income. The same sort of compensation which was worked out in regard to the planters is now being arranged 651 for the county, through taxes on the finished products from
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the refinery, namely gasoline, kerosene, diesel oil, bottled gas, and other petroleum derivatives. As a result of the increased income, the county government will be able to build up the county seat considerably. A hospital is already being built, as well as a new dock for the boat which comes from the city.

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In Milagres, located in the neighboring county, there is already a considerable movement for breaking away from the parent county and becoming a separate municipio, a common pattern in Brazil for districts which reach a certain population and degree of economic activity. Thus there are two possibilities for urban growth in the area and for the formation of urban centers which will attract the large rural population. The town of Vila Recôncavo is close to realizing other possibilities. The construction of a road from the town to Centro has already begun, filling a long-felt need. Its completion will make it possible for cars, buses, and trucks to come from Feira, on the edge of the sertão, to Centro, down through Vila Recôncavo to Milagres, and on into the city, shortening the long trip by the existing road which follows the edges of the Recôncavo. Such traffic would "put Vila Recôncavo on the map," and would greatly increase its contacts with the outside world. In addition, the possibilities of the introduction of a new crop to the community will bring increased commercial activity and a much greater tax income, enabling the county to build its own roads and bridges and to make other improvements for the development of the area.

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Thus the community structure of Vila Recôncavo, which five years ago was in the process of crystallizing around the factory town, is now ripe for further change. The factory town continues for the present to be the major center, but the old county seat has all the possibilities of a rebirth of its former importance. In fact, because of the petroleum industry and the forthcoming changeover from sugar cane to cacao, the factory town is threatened as a community center, the position which it has only recently been consolidating.

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Finally, one of the most important changes in Vila Recôncavo in these five years is a change in attitude on the part of the people. Vila Recôncavo was always known as a conservative community, maintaining its old traditions and ways, rejecting innovations. However, there is now an air of expectancy and a search for new ways and new things. Dissatisfaction with the sugar industry, combined with the appearance

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[SALVADOR]

/46/ Commerce

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The merchants and the fazendeiros enjoy a prestige in Bahia society proportional to the economic importance of their activities, the wealthiest families being made up by them, and their influence being well known in all the social life. It is by means of these two forms of activity that the Bahians acquire a certain social rank and exercise control over other sectors of the social structure (1).

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1. The economic activities that occupy the largest number of persons in the State of Bahia are agriculture and stock raising (67 o/o of individuals of the male sex); there follow in order of importance: small crafts industry and commerce, according to the census of 1940. In the city of Salvador (Bahia) the liberal professions and private instruction, which the statistics record in the aggregate, came in first place, and commerce and the industries are in second place.

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The national and racial groups that make up the population of Bahia participate in different fashion in the commerce and agriculture. While the Whites and the morenos predominate [233] among the most important breeders of livestock, one finds among [245] the owners of cacao plantations a large proportion of colored persons who began as small planters and have progressively enlarged their fazendas as cacoa gained in importance in the international markets. [249] The plantations of cane and the sugar mills that belonged to the families of Portuguese origin, who were very conscious of their social rank during the colonial period, are today almost entirely in the hands of large capitalist enterprises in which Whites and a few métis predominate.

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As for commercial activities, they are not carried on exclusively by nationally and racially determined groups, but these groups portion them out among themselves up to a certain point --

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

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For four centuries the agricultural development of Brazil has been characterized by a series of speculative phases, each focused on a single product, each centered upon a single region of Brazil. The first commercial product was sugar, the first region was the Recôncavo of Bahia. The agricultural society founded on the shore of the Baía de Todos os Santos in the mid-sixteenth century has persisted with an almost unbroken continuity for over four hundred years. It is with the geography of this agricultural society that the present study is concerned.

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After sugar had ceased to bring a quick profit, the Brazilian center of effort shifted to other areas where economies of cotton, oranges rice, cacao, and many lesser products opened the land and drew the ambitious and the desperate from the older settlements. Intermeshed with these phases of agricultural development were booms in the exploitative industries--in the mining of gold and diamonds and in the gathering of rubber. So characteristic have been these speculative convulsions, each followed by a shift to a new region, that they might almost seem to be the whole of Brazilian history and Brazilian reality--the nation might have been practicing a system of shifting cultivation on an immense scale with not only fields but whole regions abandoned as the yield declined. Yet this is not the case, for in each of these regions men remain and crops persist. The Recôncavo, long past its triumph, has a present day population of one million people, many of whom are still cultivating the original speculative crop, sugar cane. The Recôncavo is not unique in this respect, for coastal Pernambuco, eastern

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The pattern of national agricultural characteristics is given explicit form by Spiegel in The Brazilian Economy.[2] He speaks of the exploitive character of the land rotation system, the dominance of the latifundio system of land holding, of private, corporate, and absentee ownership with extensive tenancy. Rents are relatively high, the status of agricultural labor low. Technology is backward, and the system of marketing is speculative. Most of these same characterizations appear in the appraisal of Brazilian agricultural development which Preston James has made in Economic Growth: Brazil, India, Japan.[3]

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Brazil is a huge country, like India almost a sub-continent. The investigation of its agricultural economy on an intensive scale and in all its aspects is an overwhelming task. For the individual investigator working alone and with a limited time, it seems impossible. One approach is to study the economy in one of its variant regional expressions, a method which seems particularly appropriate on account of the pronounced regionalization of Brazilian agriculture. In particular, the investigation of a "passive" region in which the underlying national patterns are present in a relatively intensified and permanent form should give insight into the basal characteristics of Brazilian agricultural life. Such a region is the Recôncavo of Bahia.

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The special place of the Recôncavo in Brazilian agriculture is the result of two historical factors: (1) Many of the agricultural institutions and attributes which evolved in the Recôncavo and in the other sugar cane economies during the colonial period have spread to the rest of the nation, partly through migration and partly through cultural diffusion. The characteristic figure of the sugar cane economy was the fazendéiro (the planter). "With the change in the structure of the fazenda [plantation] the fazendeiro was regenerated in a series of new types," Normano has said, and points to the fazendéiro background

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249 178 of the Paulista,[4] the aggressive business man and agricultural capitalist of São Paulo state. (2) The departure of the more adventurous elements from the sugar economy and the transference of the center of economic development from the Recôncavo have allowed the region to maintain its traditional practices and values and to preserve the colonial background of Brazilian agriculture. Although no single area can typify the entire constellation of the Brazilian agricultural regions, the Recôncavo does seem to epitomize the characteristics which underlie their diversity. It is in a sense a microcosm in which many of the agricultural problems which beset Brazil are isolated in their acute phases.

241 171 The Recôncavo does not, of course, reflect every aspect of agricultural life which may be found in Brazil. Not all the various crops are cultivated in the Recôncavo, although most of the important Brazilian crops are grown to some extent. There is no mixed agriculture such as is found in Rio Grande do Sul, nor are there vast pastoral enterprises like those of Mato Grosso or the remote Northeastern interior. There are few peasant proprietors such as are found in São Paulo. Its pattern of regional organization is not a duplicate of that of any other Brazilian region. In all, however, most of the characteristics of Brazilian agriculture and especially the systems of cultivation and the pattern of agricultural institutions are present in the Recôncavo microcosm. This region has several special advantages as the subject of a regional investigation of agricultural phenomena. It is small enough so that it can be studied thoroughly and in a limited period of time. It is large enough to have a diverse internal organization and conflicts of interest which can be analyzed. It is relatively detached so that the gross regional pattern is undisturbed by overlapping and is easy to observe.

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134 Clay Soils of Cretaceous Origin. The Cretaceous soils occupy an extensive zone in the Recôncavo, chiefly on the northern perimeter of the Bay and in the adjacent coastal plain compartment. These soils are predominately colloids of clays derived from calcareous shales and sandstone through the decalcification and mixing of materials. The result of these processes has been an extremely adherent and coherent clay with good water holding capacity, moderate depth, and marked resistance to erosion. In dry seasons it develops deep cracks and is thus, to some extent, self-cultivating. This is a good soil for general agricultural purposes, but in the Recôncavo it is usually used for sugar cane.

The clay soils are by no means uniform, and the cultivators of the area distinguish by local names three types which correspond to different mixtures of sands and clays: massapê, salão, and areia.

"Areia" means sand, and the soils of this designation are the sandiest of the Cretaceous soils. As the term is commonly used in this area it seems not to refer to the relic deposits of Tertiary sands, in situ, but rather to soils derived from the mixing of these Tertiary sands with Cretaceous clays or to soils derived from the sandier Cretaceous materials. Whatever their origin, the areia soils range in composition from sands to sandy loams and in color from grey to dun. [249] From the point of view of yield, the areia soils are considered to be the least valuable by the sugar cane growers of this zone.[10] They are, however, the most easily worked soils of the Cretaceous series, especially when wet, and this is a significant virtue, because these soils are located in a zone of heavy precipitation.

The massapê is the soil par excellence in the tradition of the Recôncavo. Brazilian soil scientists classify this soil as an argila (clay). However, the following citation from an American geologist

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132 agriculturalist responds to rainfall not as a statistical mean but as
132 rain falling from day to day and month to month. It is beyond the
128 scope of this study to analyze the day to day march of precipitation--indeed, the poor data available merit no more than a superficial analysis. By a study of deviations from the annual and seasonal averages, it is possible to draw general conclusions and to qualify the patterns on the climatic maps. The analysis below deals with the two meteorological stations of the Recôncavo with reasonably reliable data--Salvador and Cruz das Almas--and is for the years 1947 through 1952. This span includes both relatively wet and relatively dry years. The accompanying table (Table I) presents the complete summary of mean figures and deviations.

132 Though the movement of annual and seasonal totals for these two sections was similar, the deviations from the averages were significantly different, as the accompanying table (Table I) reveals. For the major wet season, Salvador had a mean deviation of 10 per cent, Cruz das Almas of 16 per cent. The greater mean deviation in the interior corresponds to the usual generalization of drier areas having a less reliable (more deviate) rainfall pattern. Thus the farmer of
[249] Cruz das Almas, cultivating tobacco and manioc with a minimum of
[244] seasonal rainfall, must cope with more serious deviations from the "expected" average than the sugar cane planter in his zone of relatively plentiful rainfall.

Of the 36 wet season months (March-August for 6 years), 14 months had less than 100 mm. at Cruz das Almas, and 100 mm. falling
[249] in "well-distributed" showers, is the minimum monthly growing season precipitation necessary for tobacco, the chief commercial crop.[25]

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132 [241] departure of the wet season is of great significance. On the accompanying maps the advance, retreat, and duration of the wet season has been plotted in terms of 100 mm. of monthly rainfall.[27]

The wet season, defined as 100 mm. of rainfall monthly, comes in from the sea and crosses the Bay in January-February and moves across the Recôncavo through March and April. In May the retreat begins, and by September the wet season is over.

By combining the isopleths indicating advance and retreat it is possible to derive a map showing the duration of the wet season. On this basis the northwestern sector of the Recôncavo has no wet season or has only one month--May. The southern Crystalline Uplands have a wet season of three, four, or five months--April-June, April-July, or March-July, the shorter season occurring in the most interior section. The Tabular Uplands have two, three, or four months--April-May, April-June or March-June--of wet season. Most of the coastal lowlands have a seven-month--February-August--wet season.

The wet season outlined on the accompanying maps is the statistical mean of the wet seasons of six years--1947 to 1952. The accompanying table (Table II) shows the advance and retreat of the individual wet seasons at Salvador and Cruz das Almas. These data suggest that the advance and retreat of the wet season is highly irregular in the area around the Bay.[28] In the interior, if Cruz das Almas is representative, the advance and retreat of the wet season is more regular. However, in every year from 1947 to 1952 there was a dry month--with less than 100 mm. of rainfall--in the midst of the wet season of the interior.

[249] <u>September Precipitation</u>. September precipitation is a critical factor in the harvesting and processing of the two chief commercial

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TABLE II

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ADVANCE, DURATION, AND RETREAT OF THE WET SEASON
100 mm. MONTHLY TOTAL FOR SALVADOR AND CRUZ DAS ALMAS

	Salvador				Cruz das Almas			
Year	Month of Advance	Month with less than 100 mm.	Month of Retreat	Total	Month of Advance	Month with less than 100 mm.	Month of Retreat	Total
1947	March		July	5		June	July	
1948	March		Nov.	9	April	May	Aug.	4
1949	April		Nov.	8	April	May	July	3
1950	Feb.		July	6	April	June	July	3
1951	March		July	5	April	May	June	3
1952	March		Aug.	6	March	April	Aug.	4
Mean	March			6-1/2	April	June	July	4

Note: There are certain discrepancies between these figures and those on the map. This results from the necessity of using mean monthly data on the latter.

TABLE III

SEPTEMBER PRECIPITATION—SALVADOR AND CRUZ DAS ALMAS

Year	September Precipitation in mm. Salvador	Cruz das Almas
1947	37.7	44.2
1948	106.6	41.7
1949	168.1	60.2
1950	32.3	25.5
1951	76.9	62.7
1952	21.5	7.0

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products of the Recôncavo—tobacco and sugar cane. In the tobacco zone there must be enough rainfall so that the shoots will continue to develop but not enough to cause the already-harvested leaves to mold. In the sugar cane zone the moisture-retentive soil will nourish the cane through a relatively dry month. However, too much September precipitation

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132 [249] will turn the cane fields into quagmires from which it is impossible to move the laden ox-carts.[29]

The table above (Table III) indicates that the September rainfall is highly variable both on the coast and in the interior, although Cruz das Almas has a slightly more consistent pattern for this month. The variability of September precipitation, as will be seen, raises serious agricultural problems in the Recôncavo. However, the greater [249] variability of the coastal zone is in some ways a less serious problem than the lesser variability of the interior, for cane harvests can be temporarily postponed, but the cutting and drying of tobacco has an extremely critical time factor.[30]

Climate - Summary. The climate of the Recôncavo is dichotomous. The temperature of the region is fairly constant from day to day and from season to season. In contrast, precipitation is unevenly distributed--in area and in season--and is relatively unreliable. The cultivator of the Recôncavo may take the temperature for granted, but rainfall is an almost incessant concern.

Along the margins of the ocean and the Bay the climate is humid and the precipitation relatively reliable--it is a rare season when the crops of this zone suffer from drought. Because of the heavy invest- [249] [257] ment in industrial equipment and labor, a long delay in harvest is costly to the sugar industry.

In general the uplands have marginal precipitation. Beyond the [241] Recôncavo, in the sertão (backland) crop cultivation is scattered and precarious, chiefly on account of the low and uncertain rainfall. Although the uplands of the Recôncavo have more total precipitation than [241] the sertão, they share in the pattern of uncertain rains. Several areas in these uplands are intensively cultivated, and the recurring severe

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127 Hidrologia, 1948). (2) Ministério da Agricultura, Serviço de Meteorologia,
132 Normais Climatológicas (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço de Meteorologia, 1941).
(3) Data made available by the meteorological section of the Instituto Agronômico Léste at Cruz das Almas,

132 The risks involved in using these data are considerable. Of the
127 20 meteorological stations in eastern and central Bahia, only 2 or
114 perhaps 3 are reliable. For the others, gross errors and even deliberate falsification are notorious. Probably the data for Salvador is reasonably dependable, and during the field investigation for this study, there was opportunity to observe the conscientious attention to detail at Cruz das Almas.

The sheer lack of meteorological stations makes it necessary to infer most of the climatic pattern of the Recôncavo. It is fortunate that the two dependable stations occupy relatively representative sites in terms of the terrain and the land-sea relationship. Nevertheless, even the highly generalized climatic analysis of this section is offered with considerable hesitation. It is included in the study primarily as a base for agricultural research and, it is hoped, as a stimulant to a more adequate analysis of weather and climate for the Recôncavo.

000 [22]The municípios of Santo Estêvão, Feira de Santana, and Irará.

[137] [23]Often the slopes are more heavily forested than the surrounding tablelands, but it is not absolutely certain that this difference is unrelated to land use--the slopes are usually too steep for cultivation. In a number of municípios immediately to the east of this dry belt perennial or seasonal ponds were observed at the eastern or southern base of a number of monadnocks. Presumably these ponds are related to heavier precipitation on the slopes above.

[24]The mean annual precipitation of São Bento das Lajes (in the município of São Francisco) is 1947 mm. At São Gonçalo the mean annual precipitation is 1005 mm.

[25]According the advice of agronomists in the area. This approximation is based upon the general experience of the cultivators and not upon controlled experiments which could take into account varying temperatures, humidity, and soil moisture conditions.

[26]The mean of the deviations at Cruz das Almas was 33 per cent.

[249] [27]Except that 100 mm. is considered to be the minimum for tobacco cultivation, this exact figure has no particular significance. It is used here merely as a device to record the movement and duration of the season.

[249] [28]This seems to reflect accurately the climatic situation in the Coastal Plain, where sugar cane is grown, for the cane planters frequently complain of the irregularity of the end of the wet season.

[29]It is not possible to assign strict values for "too much" and "too little" precipitation in these agricultural zones of the Recôncavo. In the tobacco zone there is likely to be difficulty if the precipitation for September--or the following months--the cutting period, falls below

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433 241 178 Recôncavo remains today a backward and traditional agricultural society.

However, not all elements in Recôncavo life are static. In the field one was incessantly conscious both of the gradual course of change in this region and of the latent instability of its economic organization. Particularly in the last 75 years the agricultural economy of the Recôncavo has begun to shift--it is apparently in the throes of a drastic economic reorganization. It remains to be seen whether the traditional values will survive this economic revolution. [128] The brief historical discussion to follow is not intended as a substitute for a full-scale historical reconstruction. Its purpose is to indicate the major patterns in the evolution of the Recôncavo.

175 <u>The Evolution of Colonial Agricultural Institutions</u>. By the end of the initial half century of settlement (1600) those ethnic groups, crops, animals, and agricultural institutions which were to [567] become characteristic of the Recôncavo were already in evidence. Negro [249] slaves were brought in on the heels of the first Portuguese settlers,[3] [231] and sugar cane and cattle were also introduced at this time.[4] Tobacco [244] and manioc, produced by the Indians indigenous to the northeast of [249] [177] Brazil, were rapidly integrated into the colonial agriculture of the [249] Recôncavo.[5] The combined sugar mill and plantation (<u>engenho</u>), which [471] was the basic economic institution of the Recôncavo until the end of the nineteenth century, already existed in rudimentary form before 1600.[6]

175 249 [244] From the beginning the new colony in the Recôncavo had three important crops--sugar cane, tobacco, and manioc. It was the cultivation of sugar which the Portuguese crown and the initial settlers had

BB 175 249 in mind when they founded the colony of Bahia.

> Already enough was known of Brazil to hope that sugar cane would do well in it. The hot and humid climate of its coast would be highly favorable, and as for hands for work, they counted mainly on the indigenous people who, as we have seen, were relatively numerous and peaceful on the coast. These perspectives were completely confirmed; the one factor of which they were ignorant before the attempt--the quality of the soil--revealed itself as supremely propitious, at some points at least, on the extensive coast. This was particularly the case in the extreme northeast, on the coastal plain occupied by the state of Pernambuco and on the contours of the Baía de Todos os Santos (the Recôncavo Baiano, as it would be called). These were not the only ones: in a general way all the Brazilian coast paid homage to sugar cane.
>
> It was on this base that the effective occupation and colonization of Brazil was initiated.[7]

BB [134]

By the end of the sixteenth century sugar cane cultivation had spread at least as far as its present western and southern limits in the Recôncavo, on the Paraguaçu and Jaguaripe rivers. Forty engenhos were engaged in the production of sugar.[8] The engenhos were the nuclei of the economic organization of the colony. The cultivation of sugar cane and the milling of sugar demanded a labor force too large to be recruited from among the indigenous Indians.[9] This labor force was supplied from the slave pens of Africa--chiefly on the Guinea Coast and in Angola. The city of Salvador, which had the advantage of a commodious port and a central location among the slave markets of Brazil, was the chief point of debarkation for these Africans.[10]

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Estimates of the number of slaves imported and the number who remained in Bahia vary over a wide range. In 1583, when the population of Brazil was estimated at 57,000 people, 25,000 were listed as whites, 18,000 as civilized Indians, and 14,000 as Negro slaves. The Negroes were concentrated mainly in Bahia and Pernambuco.[11] It seems likely that in Bahia the number of Negroes was at least equal to the number of whites. These two racial groups and their mixed-blood derivatives

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162 compose most of the population of the Recôncavo today. In 1940 the
563 population of the Centro-Litoral of Bahia--the census area most closely corresponding to the Recôncavo--had the following composition: white, 22 per cent; black, 29 per cent; and others, predominately mulatto, 49 per cent.[12]

The purchase of large quantities of slaves required the produc-
175 439 tion of a commodity which could be used as exchange in Africa. The
567 436 indigenous tobacco proved eminently suitable for this purpose. Although
276 [273] rum apparently was used also in this trade, tobacco became the essential source of exchange for the slave traffic.[13] Bahia was the main area of
[249] tobacco production, and probably most of this production was localized in the Recôncavo.[14]

The initial period of settlement saw also the incorporation of
175 244 433 manioc[15] into the agricultural economy as a staple. Like tobacco, it
[567] was an indigenous crop. Thus one indigenous crop was adopted to purchase slaves in Africa and another to feed them in Brazil. By 1587 manioc apparently was being cultivated on a moderate scale in Bahia.[16] A recurring theme in the history of the Recôncavo is the shortage of this essential foodstuff.

In addition to the principal crops--sugar, tobacco, and
241 262 175 433 manioc--a number of lesser agricultural products were important in the early history of the Recôncavo. Corn, beans, and bananas were grown on a small scale and used to supplement the manioc diet. Other diversi-
231 fications of the diet were provided by meat and fish. Cattle were maintained to draw the ox carts and to power many of the cane mills. For lighter tasks asses and mules were used.

178 249 433 Out of this complex of Portuguese settlers and Negro slaves, of old world and new world crops, there developed certain characteristic agricultural enterprises. The engenho--old world in the origin of its

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178 crop, technology, and market—was the most important of these enter-
249 prises. The sugar industry flourished in its new world setting and
433 developed from the beginning an institutional character different from that of the old world, particularly in terms of land holding, labor, and the organization of production.

175 The regime of possession of the land was that of completely
423 alodial properties. Among the powers of the donatários of
249 the capitania was, as we have seen, that of disposing of
471 the land, which they distributed among the colonists. The grants were as a rule very large, the lots measuring many leagues. This is understandable: the lands were abundant, and the ambitions of these pioneers, recruited at such a cost, were evidently not contented with small properties; it was not the position of modest peasants to which they aspired in the new world but as great senhores [gentlemen] and latifundiários [landowners]. In addition to this and more important, there was a material factor which determined the type of property established. The culture of cane is practical, economically, only on a large scale. Merely conveniently to clear and prepare the lands (a costly task in this tropical and virgin setting so hostile to man) made necessary the united energy of many workers: it was not an enterprise for small and isolated proprietors. This done, the planting, the harvesting, and the transportation of the cane to the engenhos where it was made into sugar was only profitable when done in large volume. In these conditions the small producer could not exist.

It was above all these circumstances which determined the type of agricultural enterprise adopted in Brazil: the large property.[17]

175 The latifundia established by these colonists ideally were
241 self-sustaining units producing food and sometimes clothing for the
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433 entire engenho community—free and slave. In fact, however, they often seem to have neglected food production for the cultivation of the universal commercial product--sugar cane. From the beginning of colonization a succession of regulations and decrees were issued to compel the cultivation of manioc. Recurrent food shortages suggest that these measures were not effective in the face of the "monocultural mentality" of the senhores de engenho (sugar plantation owners). In

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241 In
433 contemporary Bahia chronic shortages of staple foods, particularly
178 manioc, are characteristic of the zones of commercial agriculture.

The equipment and technology of the engenhos was primitive.
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249 The cane was transported on the backs of mules or on ox carts to the
[492] mill where it was crushed in a crude press sometimes turned by water power but usually by animal- or even man-power. The cane juice was evaporated in large iron caldrons which were heated by fire made from wood. This type of processing was in general use in the Recôncavo for several centuries and still persists in some areas of the extra-Recôncavo
[464-567] backlands. The engenhos were operated almost exclusively with slave labor. Most of the slaves of Bahia are thought to have come from the
[177] Guinea Coast of Africa. These "Mina" Negroes[18] had a relatively sophisticated cultural inheritance from Africa and undoubtedly made substantial contributions to the cultural development of Bahia.[19]

175 The Negroes were introduced when Indian slaves failed to pro-
249 vide the necessary labor supply, but they were rarely available in
464 sufficient numbers and at a low enough cost to prevent chronic labor
567 shortages. Falta de braços (literally, lack of arms) has been a perennial concern in the Recôncavo no less than elsewhere in Brazil.
[162] The importation of hundreds of thousands of Negroes into Brazil--of which certainly a considerable number were settled in the Recôncavo--did not solve the problem.[20] In the early period most engenhos had from about 80 to 100 slaves, but by the eighteenth century some had as many as 1,000.[21]

175 From the beginning of settlement there was extensive miscegna-
563 tion. The Portuguese settlers were predominately male, and they bred
567 on a large scale with both Indian and Negro slave women. Some of the mestizo and mulatto children--chiefly the latter in the Recôncavo--retained the slave status of their mothers. Others were freed and sometimes occupied favored positions in their fathers' households.

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175 231 After they had recuperated from the long drives, the cattle were used for both labor and food.

175 433 439 171 The colonial economy developed in the Recôncavo--in common with Pernambuco, Campinas (Rio de Janeiro), and lesser centers like Sergipe and Alagoas--was distinct from the economy of the south of Brazil. São Paulo, for example, was self-sufficient, buying little from abroad and having little to sell. Bahia and Pernambuco were almost completely dependent upon exchange with European markets, with Portugal acting as the middleman.

175 249 439 Economic Development from 1600 to 1850. By the middle of the seventeenth century most of the institutions discussed above existed in at least rudimentary form. They were nurtured by an expanding Brazilian commercial economy which enjoyed, for the moment, a virtual monopoly in sugar. Bahia was the leading province in Brazil in the export of both sugar and tobacco.[23] The production of these crops was centered almost entirely in the Recôncavo area of the state. The [567] tobacco was sent at first to Africa, in exchange for increasingly large numbers of slaves for the ever-greedy sugar industry. Slowly, however, a secondary market for Bahia tobacco developed in Europe. With few exceptions the sugar was marketed in Europe and at a high price. The engenhos of Bahia were the largest in Brazil, though still very small by modern standards.[24]

175 648 The development of the colony did not proceed smoothly. In the mid-seventeenth century Bahia was occupied for a brief period by the Dutch, but the development of the colony faltered only momentarily. On the other hand, the Dutch occupied Pernambuco and the north coast for a longer period. The subsequent transference of Dutch efforts to the West Indies was to have a profound effect upon the future of

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175 648 the Recôncavo, for they took with them a newly acquired knowledge of sugar cane cultivation.

175 167 567 The eighteenth century opened with a series of disasters for the region. When word of gold discoveries in Minas Gerais (1704) reached Bahia, an exodus began.[25] Slaves were sold at exorbitant prices, and often masters and slaves together went off to the mines. The colonial authorities took drastic steps to halt the flight, but [731] to no avail. The first quarter of the century ended with floods in the Recôncavo and the discovery of diamonds in the interior. There was a second exodus.[26]

175 171 249 In the meantime there were momentous developments in the West Indies. Sugar cane cultivation spread rapidly in the Antilles as the Netherlands and other northwestern European states which had been lucrative markets for Brazilian sugar began their own production in their respective West Indian colonies. In addition to the protected markets which the mother countries afforded, these new centers enjoyed sound economic and geographical advantages. As newcomers to the field of sugar production, the Antilles were free of both the antiquated equipment and the backward techniques which burdened Brazil, and they were closer to the major European markets.[27]

175 178 185 249 The Recôncavo was unable to counter these West Indian developments. In a century and a half of commercial development there had been few improvements in agricultural or industrial methods. There was no conservation of the soil. Only one variety of cane was known, and there was no attempt to develop improved strains. The mills continued to burn expensive wood rather than to use bagasse. Antique, low-yielding crushing mills continued to be used for extraction.[28]

175 249 178 439 At the end of the eighteenth century, however, developments abroad restored to the Recôncavo and to Brazil many of the advantages which it had formerly held in the international market. This

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175 inaugurated a brief "golden age" in the evolution of the Recôncavo.
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249 The mythology which this age engendered is an integral part of the
439 social and economic patterns in the present day Recôncavo. The collapse of the sugar economy in the West Indies, particularly in Santo Domingo in 1792, and the expanding urban markets in Europe had given, for a moment, a great opportunity to the sugar industry of Northeast Brazil. Moreover, an important supplementary market had developed in the mining areas of Minas Gerais. In the subsequent economic expansion to supply these markets, the Recôncavo became an even more important center of sugar production in Brazil.

175 The landed proprietors of the Recôncavo apparently took this
249 resurgence as a vindication of their economic system.
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> They squandered money like the fidalgos [landed, slave-holding aristocrats] that they were. They installed sumptuous dwellings and lived the life of a nobility. Each sugar factory was a community where hundreds of slaves were dedicated to extraction of wealth from the soil. Each of these communities achieved a merited importance. A little Agricultural World gyrated around the Big House, and the Chapel, with its Holy Administrator, [was] dedicated to the dissemination of Catholicism in the community. In time many of these "Engenhos" developed into villas, and were succeeded by the cities of today.
>
> Each of these "Engenhos," as these agricultural communities were called, produced everything that they consumed except luxury, and this was imported from Portugal in exchange for sugar, high-grade tobacco, cotton, and rare cabinet woods. The "Senhor" of the
[466] Engenho was a veritable Feudal Baron, with the power of life and death over his black and mestizo slaves. He exercised the right of torture and flogging in proportion to the offenses committed. These sugar Engenhos,
175 because of their collective and independent existence,
249 produced a pride of origin, an attachment to the soil,
471 that flowered into a hatred of the monarchial exploiters
565 and became the dominating factor in the movement for
[668] independence.
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> The fidalgos were essentially a product of the land, and spent the major part of their luxurious existence on their estates, attended by innumerable slaves. Their homes were built upon a vast scale and equipped with every luxury known to so simple a people. They also

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 249 565 [471] maintained splendid establishments, called Solars, in the Capital, to which they repaired in the winter season, June, July and August, for social diversion.[29]

[178] The above citation is characteristic of the present-day views of many upper-class Baianos who identify themselves with this opulent era of the Recôncavo social evolution. The mythology engendered by the colonial sugar industry is outliving the engenho system. The wealth, pride, and ostentation of these fidalgos is undeniable. Within the limits of the provincial social environment, upper-class life was luxurious indeed. Compared with the upper-class society of the period in Europe or in the American South, however, social opportunities in the Recôncavo must have been rather limited. The casas [342] grandes--if the surviving specimens can be taken as typical--generally [489] were rather modest plantation houses. Transportation was difficult: few engenhos had carriage roads, and travel was by horseback or [671] palanquin. Social intercourse often was restricted to an ingrown [484] local circle. Apparently many of the social needs of the upper class could not be met within the rural Recôncavo so that trips were made frequently to Salvador, Rio de Janeiro, and sometimes Paris.[30]

Little has been recorded of the way of life of the slaves and 175 249 poor freemen in the Recôncavo. It is significant that both apologists 567 and critics of slavery usually have agreed that the masters were relatively clement in the treatment of their slave laborers. These slaves were very valuable possessions, particularly after the British began to suppress the slave trade. Because absentee ownership and delegation of administration to people outside the family was not usual, the masters and slaves were perforce in daily contact. Out of these daily contacts between landholder and laborer, a relatively personal relationship was developed. Within the household, relation- [563] ships were even more familiar. In addition, some of the slaves were

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 249 567 [563] the offspring of master and slave and sometimes were considered as members of the household.

A set of feudalistic inter-relations developed in the society, loosely defining the responsibilities and privileges of master and slave. Ideally the slave had the privilege, almost the right, to appeal to the master in person for assistance and advice. Manumission and the granting of the right to purchase freedom were common. At the [466] same time, the economic system was based upon involuntary labor. The slave was exploited, and the fruit of his toil went to maintain the luxurious existence of the small upper class.

175 565 [463] [554] The small freemen occupied a very inferior social and economic position in this society. In the cities they became tradesmen or craftsmen, occupations without status. In the country some were petty dependents of the engenho, others established themselves as small cultivators. Since the sugar cane plantations dominated the central Recôncavo, it seems reasonable to assume that the small holders were segregated mainly in the outer zone.

175 161 162 In 1819--during the florescence of the Recôncavo--the population of the comarca (district) of Bahia was 362,503. Most of this population was centered in the Recôncavo--200,000 in the lowlands north of the Bay--the sugar cane area--and 77,503 in the western uplands around Cachoeira--the tobacco area.[31] At this time the total population of Bahia was estimated at 592,908 and that of Brazil as between 175 633 162 4,000,000 to 4,500,000.[32] Salvador, with a population somewhere between 100,000 and 130,000, was the largest city in Brazil and remained so until 1830.[33] The class and ethnic composition of the 175 563 565 569 population of this period is not clearly indicated. By some estimates, over half of the population of Bahia was slave and over three-fifths

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was Negro. Other estimates state that less than one-third of the people were slaves.[34]

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Table IV, below, illustrates the economic organization of the sugar industry in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

TABLE IV

TOTAL CAPITAL INVESTMENT IN SUGAR ENGENHOS OF BAHIA IN 1833

	In U. S. Dollars*	
	Per Unit	Total Investment
603 mills	$2,500	$1,507,500
48,240 slaves	150	7,236,000
60,300 oxen	20	904,500
23,100 horses	20	464,500
78,800 ha. of agric. land	46 (approx)	3,618,000
38,528 ha. of forest	23 (approx)	884,000
47 steam engines	3,000	141,000
62 water canals	3,000	186,000
Improvements of each mill	2,000	1,206,000
Total in Bahia		$16,147,500

*Conversion at $500 per thousand of reis, after Calogeras, p. 47 in footnote.

Source: Amaral, II, 84 after the Marquez de Abrantes.

The usefulness of the above data is limited by the ambiguity of several of its categories. "Agricultural land" could be either land cultivated or cultivable. The most serious problem of interpretation is the meaning of "improvements," since the value of these improvements is relatively high. It is reasonably certain, from the nature of the engenho, that these improvements are not technological advances but only those simple measures necessary to maintain the traditional structure--warehouses, corrals, slave quarters, etc. If the value of the house of the senhor de engenho is included in this figure, this would help to account for the relatively high figure for improvements.

Nevertheless, the data do represent certain significant elements of the mid-nineteenth century sugar cane system of the Recôncavo. Almost

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 45 per cent of the total investment was in slaves--labor costs, always
249 high, had been driven up by the suppression of the slave trade. The
47 relatively small proportion of steam mills is at once a reflection of
454 the continuing primitive technology and a sign of the improvements which were to come later in the century. The value of production for
[433] this year was $1,213,000--a return of 6.6 per cent on the capital investment.[35]

175 While the attention of the Baiano was focused on the sugar
249 industry during this golden age, tobacco unobtrusively was becoming
178 a primary commercial product. The suppression of the slave trade
439 deprived tobacco of its African market, but at the same time the European market was expanding. The spread of cigar smoking in Europe created an increasing demand for Bahian leaf. Ultimately the European demand for quality leaf and the development of a Brazilian market for the poorer grades were to carry tobacco to the leading position among Bahia's commercial products.

175 To a very large degree, the mold of the colonial Recôncavo was
433 fixed in the sixteenth century. Its socio-economic system was nurtured
249 by the prosperous semi-monopoly of sugar production. While the south
[565] of Brazil was a raw frontier zone of migratory agricultural adventurers, the Paulistas (natives of São Paulo) of early colonial times,[36] a stable and wealthy aristocratic society was developing in the Recôncavo. In
[477] the early eighteenth century, when West Indies competition undermined the sugar monopoly, the Recôncavo might have responded creatively to the challenge, but failed to do so. The simultaneous mineral boom in Minas Gerais drained away the more experimental elements and left behind those who were less adventurous. Yet before the denial of markets had disrupted entirely the old economic and cultural pattern, the late eighteenth-early nineteenth century resurgence reaffirmed

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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BB 175 249 433 the traditional values. As has been seen, the re-opening of the markets at first particularly benefited the Recôncavo.

NB 175 433 The developments in the Recôncavo were shared only partially by the other areas of the Brazilian Northeast. The colonial economy of Pernambuco, the second major center in the Northeast, was not nurtured NB EB [316] by a prosperity equal to that of Bahia. The booms in the mineral areas, which had a disruptive effect on the Recôncavo, apparently were less strongly felt in more-distant Pernambuco. In the south of Brazil, EB 175 433 316 241 neither Rio de Janeiro nor São Paulo shared in Bahia's colonial opulence until the nineteenth century. Moreover, the mining developments, which were a disturbing influence on Recôncavo society, had a stimulating effect on agriculture and trade in the South, especially in São Paulo. Although Minas Gerais attracted some settlers from the South, in the main the mineral development acted as a stimulant to agriculture. Thus the forces of colonial evolution in the Recôncavo were distinctive variants of those characteristic of the whole of Brazil.

BB 175 The Last Hundred Years--1850 to the Present. The series of external forces which contributed to the revival of the Recôncavo in the early nineteenth century were destined to sweep it from the main current of Brazilian development. The pressure of these outside events were apparent in the Recôncavo as early as 1825, but it was in the last half of the century that the region was relegated to the subordinate position which it occupies today.

B BB 175 567 648 [439] There is a historical connection between the events which first bestowed and later took away Recôncavo prosperity. The collapse in the West Indies sugar industry re-opened markets to Brazil, but it also ended England's economic interests in slavery. With no vested

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interest to deter her, Great Britain became in the nineteenth century the great anti-slavery force of the world. The British government began to press Brazil for a treaty to halt the slave trade. In 1826 a treaty was signed in which Brazil agreed to end the slave trade within four years. However, Brazil had just achieved its independence (1824), and the new national government was too weak to enforce the provisions of the treaty. After 25 years of bitter diplomatic exchanges with Great Britain, the Brazilian government succeeded in fulfilling its treaty obligations, and after 1852 almost no slaves were landed in Brazil.

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The end of the slave trade foreshadowed the end of slave labor in Brazil. The Northeast fought to preserve the system, but it was doomed not only as a result of extra-Brazilian pressures but also because of internal economic development. Just as in the eighteenth century the political capital had shifted from the North (Salvador) to the Central-South (Rio de Janeiro), so in the nineteenth century the economic center of gravity moved to São Paulo and adjacent Rio de Janeiro and Minas Gerais.[37] At first the developments in São Paulo imitated those of the Northeast, and a sugar industry employing traditional techniques was established. Almost immediately, however, the Central-South began to demonstrate an initiative unknown in the old sugar regions.

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At the beginning of the nineteenth century Bahia was exporting 12,000 tons of sugar, Pernambuco 8,400 tons, Rio de Janeiro 5,400 tons, and São Paulo 600 tons.[38] By mid-century Rio de Janeiro--chiefly Campos, near the mouth of the Rio Paraíba--was producing more sugar than any other province. In 1875, Rio de Janeiro was still the largest producer, with São Paulo second, Pernambuco third, and Bahia fourth. By the end of the century, São Paulo was the largest sugar

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By the end of the century, São Paulo was the largest sugar producer, chiefly supplying its own internal market, but also exporting in small quantity. The Recôncavo struggled to maintain even a poor fourth position.[39]

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The growth of the sugar industry in the South was not an isolated development but was one part of a general agricultural and economic expansion. The south of Brazil, which had gained new political power as a result of its expansion, began to press for abolition of slaves. Slave labor had not played a significant role in the south after 1850.

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In 1871 a law was passed providing for the gradual emancipation of slaves and the compensation of slave holders. The Northeast resisted bitterly but in vain. A new law passed in 1888 gave complete and immediate freedom to the slaves; and this law did not provide for compensation of the slave owners.

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The end of slavery threatened the Recôncavo in two ways. The suppression of the slave traffic destroyed the African trade in tobacco. The loss was soon more than compensated by the rapid expansion of the market for Bahian tobacco in Europe. By the 1870's tobacco surpassed sugar and became the chief export of Bahia. The effect of the emancipation on the sugar industry was much more far-reaching. The freeing of the slaves destroyed the labor base of sugar cultivation and processing. The gradual character of emancipation cushioned the blow somewhat, but it was still disastrous to the industry. Slaves left the plantations by the thousands, and there was no alternative source of labor. Sugar exports fell to a fourth of the pre-emancipation level. After a time the emancipated Negroes and mulattoes returned to the plantations and mills under a system of free labor. But Bahian sugar could not regain even a substantial part of its former importance.

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The world-wide expansion of sugar cane production, the development of the sugar beet, and the improvement of sugar technology had changed sugar from an expensive luxury to a relatively cheap semi-necessity. The sugar industry of the Recôncavo always had been based upon the production of small quantities of a high-value product. Only with great reluctance and considerable difficulty could it convert itself to cheap mass production.

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The Brazilian industry as a whole was unable to compete effectively in the international mass market. Brazilian exports in the early twentieth century dropped to one-half, even one-third of the nineteenth century level. At the London Conference in 1937, Brazil could claim as her quota only 1.6 per cent of the total international sugar trade.

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The Brazilian industry maintained itself behind a tariff wall. The more efficient and strategically located sugar areas of Campos (Rio de Janeiro) and São Paulo had access to growing local markets in the expanding Central-South. But Bahia had no sizable local market, and distance limited its access to the main Brazilian markets. Moreover, it was an inefficient, high-cost producer. Under these circumstances it could not compete in a free-market situation.

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For the sugar industry as a whole the difficulties of adjustment to the almost complete loss of foreign markets were increased by the necessity for sweeping technological reorganization.[40] Until the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Brazil's entire sugar production was manufactured in small and primitive engenhos which used the open pan method and produced dark, low-quality sugar. The development of the steam engine, vacuum pans, centrifuges, and filters had made possible a mill both larger and more efficient. Under the name of engenho central (central mill), the new industrial complex

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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B 175 257 178 BB [178] was introduced in Brazil after 1870.[41] As might be expected, the more progressive Central-South led in the modernization of the industry. The Northeast, and especially Bahia, lagged behind--further evidence of Bahia's resistance to change.

BB 175 249 257 471 178 The technological revolution had two historical stages: (1) engenhos centrais, and (2) usinas,[42] both of which still are clearly identifyable in Bahia (as is their predecessor, the engenho stage). In the engenho central stage the mills purchased cane from fornecedores (suppliers). These suppliers were old engenho properties which no longer operated a mill. The resistance of the fornecedores to a strict scheduling of delivery and price soon caused dissatisfaction among the mill owners. They began to buy out the fornecedores and go into direct production of cane.[43] The source of cane is the basic distinction between the engenho central system and the usina system. Once the central mill grew most of its own cane, it became an usina and entered the second phase of the technological revolution. The sugar industry in the present-day Recôncavo is characterized by both systems. In practice the systems employed by the various sugar mills tend to include features characteristic of both types, and there is no stereotype. The existing systems in Bahia are distinct from EB [249] [257] those of the Central-South, where the usinas have largely replaced the engenhos centrais.

NB BB 175 178 249 257 471 In the twentieth century, as in the nineteenth, the Recôncavo persisted in its monoculture and was reluctant to accept technological innovations in agriculture and industry. This conservatism was typical of most of the Northeast, but in Pernambuco the industry began simultaneously to intensify its monoculture and to modernise its industrial plant, and this state ultimately became the largest sugar producing state of Brazil.

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In the first quarter of the twentieth century this competition of the more efficient and centrally located sugar industry of the Central-South threatened to bankrupt the Northeast.[44] Because the nation feared that a collapse of the sugar economy in the Northeast would destroy the social and economic base of these states, steps were taken to stabilize the industry. In 1933 the Instituto do Açúcar e do Álcool (Institute of Sugar and Alcohol) was created as a semi-autonomous branch of the federal government. Its purpose was to stabilize prices, maintain an equilibrium of production through quotas, and to control foreign sale of sugar. The effect of this program has been to subsidize the less efficient industry of the Northeast at the expense of the industry of the Central-South.

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During World War II temporary disruption of the national production quota system allowed the Central-South to expand, an advance which it continued to maintain after the war. This expansion limited the markets available to the sugar industry of the Northeast. In Bahia the relative decline in sugar production, begun in the 1860's, continued steadily except for a break during and following World War I. In 1952 the mills of Bahia produced only 60,279 tons of (white) sugar of a total Brazilian production of 1,785,017 tons.[45]

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While the sugar industry of the Recôncavo was losing markets in the initial half of the twentieth century, the tobacco industry was able to maintain and in some cases even to expand its markets. Although the maximum level of export of Brazilian tobacco was reached in 1902 (50,000 tons), the decline thereafter was only moderate, and the export was stabilized, except for World War II, at about 30,000 tons, 80 per cent of which was from Bahia. In 1865 the first cigarette factory in Bahia had been founded.[46] Small operators had produced cigars for some time, but by the beginning

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BB 175 277 472 of the twentieth century there were four cigarette factories and twelve cigar factories in the Recôncavo.[47]

BB 647 249 654 656 As was characteristic for other products in Brazil, a semi-autonomous government organization was set up to stabilize the tobacco industry in Bahia—the Instituto Bahiano do Fumo (Bahian Institute of Tobacco). Founded in 1935, the Instituto attempts to stimulate the production and improvement of techniques and quality, supervise marketing through a grading system, set minimum prices, and control export of leaf tobacco. Although the Instituto has not succeeded in changing significantly the techniques of the tobacco industry, it has been reasonably successful in maintaining production and price.

BB 175 178 249 245 Just as Bahia had been displaced from its leading position within Brazil, so in turn was the Recôncavo displaced from its exalted position within the state. Tobacco replaced sugar as Bahia's leading commercial product in the nineteenth century, but forfeited its position to cacao in the twentieth century. The replacement of sugar by tobacco was primarily a shift within the Recôncavo, but the rise of cacao brought to the fore Bahia's southern coast. In one sense, however, the Recôncavo retained its old centrality—Salvador remains today the leading political and economic focus of the state, even for the cacao trade.

BB 433 249 BB 161 162 The continued importance of the Recôncavo in Bahia has been partially the result of the vested interests of the sugar and tobacco systems. In addition, the Recôncavo remains today the leading center of population in Bahia, despite its relative decline. In 1872 the Recôncavo had at least 450,000 out of a total state population of 1,379,616. Thereafter the position of the Recôncavo declined, so that by 1940 only one-fourth of the almost four million people of the state lived in this region. However, the compact population

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

161 162 distribution and the vested political and economic interests of the Recôncavo allowed it to continue as the dominant region of the state.

177 178 433 249 565 181 The Recôncavo has remained a conservative area in Brazil, and within the state it seems to exert a strong traditional influence. On a national scale, however, the traditional values which are preserved in Bahian culture have been overridden by the aggressive dynamism of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. Moreover, the economic core of tradition in the Recôncavo--the sugar-producing upper class--is being progressively infiltrated and dominated by the new economic interests of the Central-South. The effects of these new economic interests are manifest in the administrative and labor problems of the sugar industry in the present decade.[48] New economic groups also are coming to the fore in the tobacco industry.

The technological revolution in the sugar industry and the emergence of a new "progressive" upper class have weakened but not destroyed the traditional orientation of the Recôncavo. The cultural patterns which have so successfully resisted basic change for almost four centuries will not easily give way. However, the issues have been joined, and already the old technology, the old upper class, and the old inter-class social fabric have been profoundly disturbed. In the long run it seems inevitable that the cultural patterns of the Recôncavo will have to accommodate many new values.

177 178 565 181 Not all the new social forces are restricted to the upper class. More and more new technology, such as the automobile, new political and social institutions, such as labor unions, and new ideas from the South, brought through newspapers, radios, and travelers, have affected the lives of the lower classes. While the access of this group to new ideas is more limited than that of the upper class,

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

565 369 To the extent that the economic and social position of the aristocratic group is usurped by the new upper class elements in Salvador, the pre-eminent role of the aristocrats in the sugar cane zone is threatened.

565 249 In Bahia the strong aristocratic class derived from the sugar cane system. Outside the sugar areas a well-defined aristocratic class is lacking--the upper level in these areas is occupied by groups similar to the local upper class of the sugar zone. In the tobacco and manioc zones, around the sugar cane area, the members of the local upper class, including those with urban residences, are very intimately involved in agriculture. In this agricultural zone the upper class has few personal or family connections with the Salvador upper class.

565 The lower class outside the sugar areas is composed of cultivators and urban workers and probably has more gradations and a less heirarchical structure than is characteristic of the sugar area. The cultivators are semi-independent small farmers, renters, and share croppers of varying dependence and social position. Social mobility appears to be about equal to that in the corresponding stratum of the sugar zone.

565 871 Compared with the United States, the opportunity for educational and cultural development in the lower class is much more severely restricted by the prevailing poverty. Effective literacy is low among [212] the manual laborers of city or countryside. The middle groups and local upper classes are usually, but not universally, literate, but for the most part their cultural horizons are limited. In contrast, the cultural opportunities and outlook of the aristocratic and big-business class is both cosmopolitan and sophisticated. Education in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Europe, or the United States is not uncommon. Nevertheless, large segments of this class remain distinctly provincial in their cultural orientation--this is particularly true of the decadent aristocratic families.

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agricultural population is small. However, refugees from the drought also found their way into most parts of the Recôncavo. Even in 1953 they were to be encountered as squatters in Muritiba, as cane field workers in Santo Amaro, and as porters in Salvador.

Refugees from secas usually have not become permanent additions to the labor force of the Recôncavo. The sertanejo of the Northeast is renowned in Brazil for his attachment to his terra (native soil), no matter how cruelly it treats him. Especially those migrants who settle as squatters on the margins of the Recôncavo seem only to wait for the renewal of the rains to return to the sertão. In 1953 migrants were still entering the Recôncavo along the Feira de Santana-Salvador highway, but others were boarding the train in Salvador and returning to the sertão. They had come from the sertão on foot or by begging rides on trucks, found jobs in the Recôncavo, saved a few cruzeiros, and were returning to their native terra. Some refugees remain in the Recôncavo, of course, but the number is proportionately very small.

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Several sections of the Recôncavo, notably the sugar cane zone, are losing rural population and agricultural labor at a serious rate. The municípios of Santo Amaro and São Francisco lost 6,400 agriculturalists between 1940 and 1950. The reduction in the number of agriculturalists in the sugar area is at least partially a symptom of the growing rationalization of labor under the big usinas, which increasingly dominate the sugar industry. The emigration from these areas is selective--the majority of the emigrants are young adults who leave to seek employment and broader opportunity elsewhere.

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Emigration within the Recôncavo is one current of the great tide of agricultural unrest ascribed to all of Brazil.

The rural Brazilian of the lower classes is notorious for his nomadic or migratory habits, for his lack of permanent attachment to the soil, for his tendency to

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 [464] The skills of the 196,000 workers are an important agricultural resource in the Recôncavo. This resource can best be evaluated in terms of the prevailing agricultural systems: hoe and rudimentary plow agriculture. Hoe agriculture is universal in the Recôncavo, and in a society so thoroughly permeated with agricultural activity it is fair to assume that, except for some completely urbanized laborers in Salvador, all workers are familiar with the simple tools of this form of cultivation. Plow cultivation is more specialized; it is used [249] throughout the sugar cane zone but only in preparing the fields for planting. The seedstalks are covered with a hoe, and knives are used [407] for weeding and harvesting. Outside the sugar zone plows are rarely encountered.

[231] The domesticated animals which play a prominent role in cultivation in the Recôncavo are oxen, horses, mules, and donkeys, and the rudiments of their management are almost universally understood. The prominent crops of the Recôncavo are ubiquitous--manioc, corn, beans, sweet potatoes, peanuts, tobacco, sugar cane, bananas, and oranges are grown in all areas, and their cultivation under the prevailing agricultural system is common knowledge. There is little present need for agricultural labor specialized beyond this level.

241 178 It is clear that the introduction into the Recôncavo of new, radically different crops or techniques of cultivation would alter this [181] relatively favorable situation. The agricultural worker of the Recôncavo, like his counterpart in many other parts of the world, is inherently conservative. As in the past, he will continue to resist even minor changes, such as improved methods of seed selection in corn or improved curing of tobacco. More radical changes would probably be resisted more strongly. The problem of "selling" new ways of pro- [212] ducing agricultural products is difficult not only because of the

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TABLE XII

COMPOSITION OF RECÔNCAVO POPULATION 1940-1950

Year	Total Population	Urban Centers	Rural Population	Agricultural Labor Force
		Absolute		
1940	924,032	368,932	555,100	189,967
1950	1,072,452	493,944	578,508	196,468
Change	+ 148,420	+125,012	+ 23,408	+ 6,501
		Relative		
1940	100 %	40 %	60 %	21 %
1950	100 %	46 %	54 %	18 %
Change		+ 6 %	- 6 %	- 3 %
		Growth of Recôncavo Population		
1940 to 1950	16 %	34 %	4 %	3 %
		Per cent of Total Growth		
1940 to 1950	100 %	84 %	16 %	4 %

connections with the western section of the Recôncavo. On the other hand, its location combines oceanic access with the rest of Brazil, Europe, and the Americas and a direct approach, via the Bay, to all of the central municípios of the Recôncavo.

The major concentrations of rural, agricultural population in the region are in the outer municípios of the Southwestern, Northwestern, and Northern Recôncavo. In the southwest, there is a notable concentration on the Crystalline Uplands. In the northern part of the Recôncavo, the concentrations lie along the dissected edges of the Tertiary taboleiros. Thus most of the agricultural people of the region live in upland areas of deep, porous soils and marginal rainfall. The only major lowland concentration of agricultural people is in the area of Cretaceous clay soils on the Coastal Plain of the Central Recôncavo. The relatively small size of the agricultural population in this area is reflective of the declining role of sugar cane cultivation in the Recôncavo.

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244 433 311 manioc and produced 38 per cent of its 393,720 tons of harvested roots. Within this sub-region manioc occupied up to 20 per cent of the total land area, i.e., 20 hectares per square kilometer (Map 23). Despite the [249] intensity of cultivation and the concentration of production, the crop is viewed by the people primarily as a means--subsistence--to an end--[242] leaf tobacco production.[9] Manioc characteristically succeeds tobacco in the field and fallow rotation system and is used to extract the maximum possible value from such nutrients as remain in the soil.[10]

244 249 A close areal and functional relationship between the two crops is characteristic also of the linear zone of manioc cultivation which follows the belt of Intermediate Hills and the inner edge of the Uplands from the Rio Paraguaçu--at Cachoeira--to Irará. Much the same relationship exists in Santo Estêvão in the extreme west of the Recôncavo, where manioc, and tobacco, cultivation is concentrated in a zone of low serras. Apparently tobacco cultivation has been fixed by the greater precipitation around these serras, and manioc is grown in association.

The major southwestern concentration of manioc is continued beyond the Recôncavo along a belt extending through Santo Antônio and into the "coffee zone."[11] The cluster of manioc around the cidade of Santo Antônio is circum-urban, but the principal functional association is with tobacco cultivation, rather than with the small urban market. [443] On the other hand, the concentration of manioc production around the city of Nazaré reflects a dependency on the local urban market and probably on the market of Salvador. Minor concentrations of cultivation in northern Itaparica and around Salvador also are related primarily to the market of the capital city.

244 311 The relative place of manioc within the agricultural system, as measured by the per cent of the total cropland which it occupies, varies widely within the Recôncavo (Map 26). The statistical extremes are

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244 311 From the latitude of the head of the Bay northward, manioc appears as a dominant crop only in the município of Pojuca. In the Central Recôncavo, around the perimeter of the sugar cane area, manioc generally occupied, in 1948, less than 30 per cent of the cropland. In the north, [243] along the borders of the Recôncavo, the share of manioc in the cropland dropped to 10 per cent, and it was replaced by corn and beans as the basis of the subsistence economy.

244 311 433 The yield of manioc in the areas of heavy production was relatively low--10 to 15 tons of roots per hectare--compared to the Central Recôncavo which produced small quantities at 30 tons per hectare (Map 27). These [134] differences in yield are related in part to the difference in soil fertility between the Cretaceous soils of the Central Recôncavo and the sandy loams of the Southwest. In addition, manioc is cultivated alone in the former zone, but follows the soil-taxing tobacco plant on the fields of the Southwest, thus further reducing the yield. The mean yield of manioc in the Recôncavo in 1948 was 14 tons per hectare, which is close to the 13 tons per hectare of Brazil and of the French Cameroons, but much higher than the 7 tons per hectare of Java and Madura.[13]

244 249 Manioc is, then, a crop characteristic of most parts of the Recôncavo and the surrounding zone, except in the sugar cane area and [242] the Tabular Uplands. The area of greatest concentration of cultivation and production is the Southwestern Recôncavo where manioc is integrated with tobacco production in a system of land rotation. In addition, as discussed above, manioc has the greatest relative importance of the crops of two zones in which the total area cultivated is small: the southwestern belt of forested lowland and the drier, scrub-forest Crystalline Uplands.

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249 Tobacco. Tobacco was originally cultivated in the Recôncavo as an adjunct to the sugar economy, but today it is the chief commercial product of the region. The state of Bahia, in which the Recôncavo plays so prominent a role, is the leading producer of tobacco in Brazil, though Minas Gerais and Rio Grande do Sul are almost as important in total quantity produced. However, the tobaccos of these states are not comparable, either in price or physical characteristics and ultimate utilization. Rio Grande do Sul specializes in cigarette tobacco, and Minas Gerais in rope tobacco, fumo em corda. In Bahia, and especially in the Recôncavo, the chief tobacco product is leaf, fumo em fôlha, which is used for cigars. In addition to the production in these centers, there is widespread small-scale cultivation of tobacco throughout the eastern half of Brazil, principally of fumo em corda for local consumption.

The tobacco of Bahia is a variety of Nicotiana tobacum, sold under the name of Bahia-Brasil. The original Bahia-Brasil apparently was borrowed from the local Indians or introduced from one of the other Brazilian settlements. From time to time other varieties, brought from Cuba, Sumatra, and the Connecticut Valley, have been introduced; but all have been submerged in the older native stock.

Both forms of tobacco--leaf and rope--are produced within the state of Bahia. The leaf tobacco, fumo em fôlha, is used for cigar filler and binder, and, in the cheaper grades of Brazilian cigars, for wrapper. The Bahia-Brasil leaf is reputed to have a distinctive aroma and is a preferred filler for certain types of European cigars. Its color is relatively dark, and because of the darkness and imperfections of the leaves, it is not used as wrapper in quality cigars. Havana, Sumatra, and Connecticut Valley leaf are imported in small quantities and used for wrapper in the more expensive grades of cigars produced in Brazil

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249 Rope tobacco, fumo em corda, is a twist of sweetened, fermented tobacco of rope-like appearance which is smoked in pipes or in hand-made cigarettes or may be used as a chewing tobacco—however, the habit of chewing tobacco is not common in the Recôncavo. This type of tobacco originally was produced for exchange in the slave trade, but at the present time it is consumed almost exclusively by the rural lower class. The urban lower class, formerly also consumers of rope tobacco, are turning increasingly to manufactured cigarettes, which for the most part are made from the tobacco grown in Rio Grande do Sul.

In general the production of leaf tobacco in Brazil is restricted to the Recôncavo and adjacent sections of Bahia, but rope tobacco is a product of the sertão of Bahia and the northeastern interior and of Minas Gerais. In Bahia the moderate rainfall and the sandy soils of the humid edge of the crystalline zone, in areas of caatinga or mata vegetation, produce a relatively mild leaf. The best—most valuable—leaf of Bahia is the Mata grade of the Southwestern Recôncavo and certain adjacent municípios.[14] Of the Mata grade, the highest quality comes from Cruz das Almas. Rope tobacco is made primarily from the harsh, strong leaves grown in the sertão, but it is made also from leaves of poorer plants or very strong end-of-season leaves of plants originally harvested for fumo em fôlha. Thus the Recôncavo may sometimes produce small quantities of rope tobacco, but the main Bahian production is north of the Recôncavo in the agreste, especially in Inhambupe and Entre Rios.

The cultivation of tobacco will be discussed in the chapter on agricultural systems (Chapter VI), but one singular characteristic of its harvesting should be borne in mind in evaluating production statistics. In distinction to cultivation of quality tobacco in most other parts of the world, Bahia-Brasil is harvested repeatedly until

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249 the plant will no longer produce marketable leaves. This is done by cutting the entire stalk just above the shoots and allowing the plant to re-grow. The cutting and harvesting are repeated several times, producing a large quantity of leaf, but the prolonged harvest has resulted in accelerated impoverishment of the soil.

249 311 433 In 1948 the Recôncavo planted almost 22,000 hectares of tobacco,[15] and harvested over 20,000 tons of leaf. Each of four Recôncavo municípios grew more than 2,000 hectares and harvested over 1,000 tons: Cruz das Almas, Conceição do Almeida, São Gonçalo, and Irará. Two outlying municípios—Alagoinhas and Santo Estêvão—cultivated 1,000 hectares or more. In addition, one município contiguous with the Recôncavo, Santo Antônio, had over 6,000 hectares of tobacco and harvested over 5,000 tons of leaf. In Bahia, this município was second only to Cruz das Almas in area and production of leaf tobacco.

The maps of area (Maps 28 and 29) and production (Maps 30 and 31) of tobacco indicate quite clearly the overwhelming importance of the Southwestern Recôncavo and the adjacent northern part of Santo Antônio. This area resolves itself into two clusters (Table XIII). The most important of these is centered in Cruz das Almas and includes the adjacent parts of Conceição do Almeida, São Filipe, and Muritiba. In 1948 this cluster had about 10,000 hectares of tobacco—46 per cent of the Recôncavo tobacco area—and produced about 9,500 tons—48 per cent of the total crop. Because of the high quality of the leaf, the crop of this area was valued at almost 58 per cent of the total value of tobacco production in the Recôncavo.

The second most important cluster of leaf tobacco production in east-central Bahia is centered on the cidade of Santo Antônio and lies almost entirely outside of the Recôncavo. In 1948 the total area of tobacco in this cluster was about 6,500 hectares, and the total

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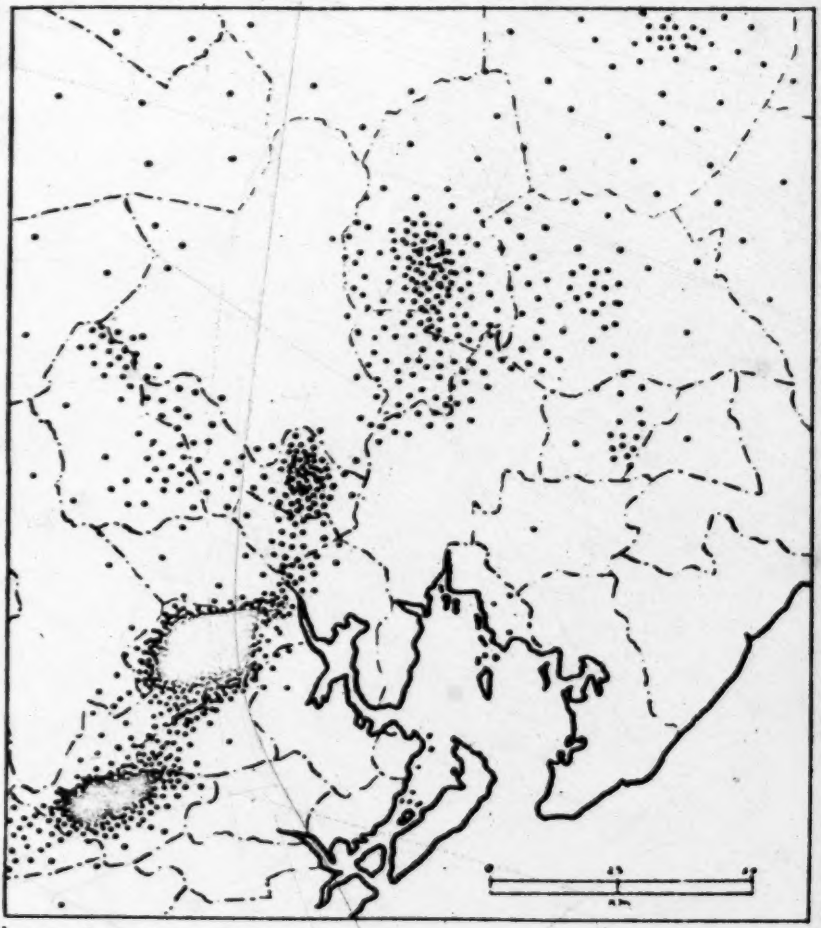

Each dot = 25 hectares

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Area in Tobacco—1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948

MAPS

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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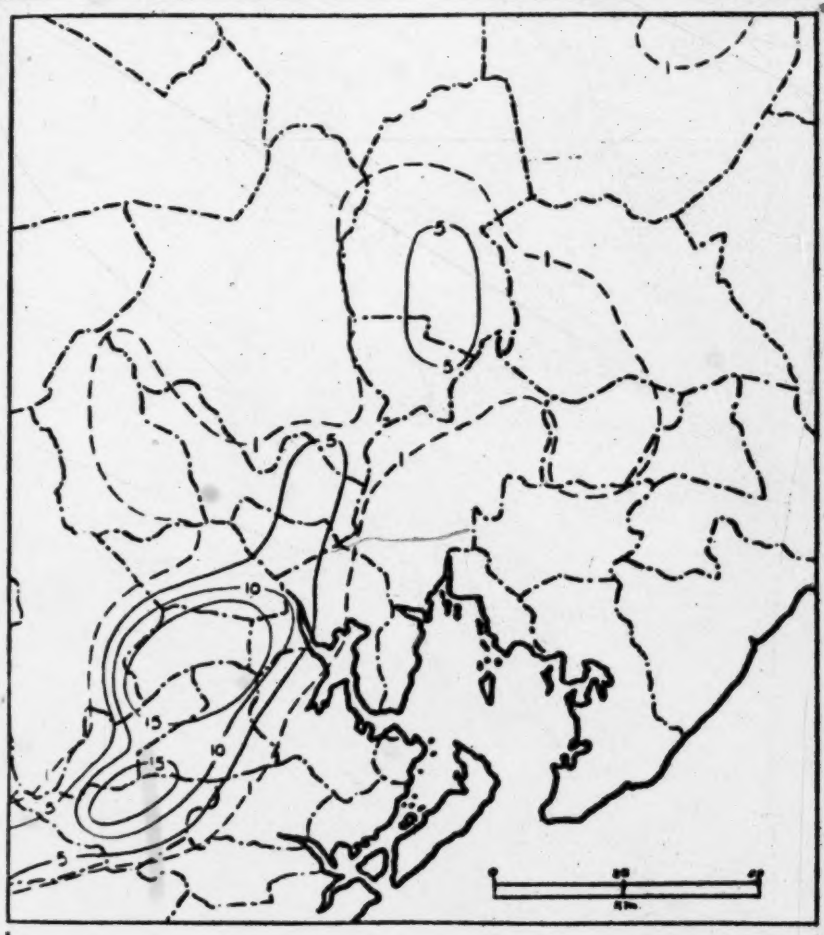

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Hectares of Tobacco per Square Kilometer of Total Area--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 29

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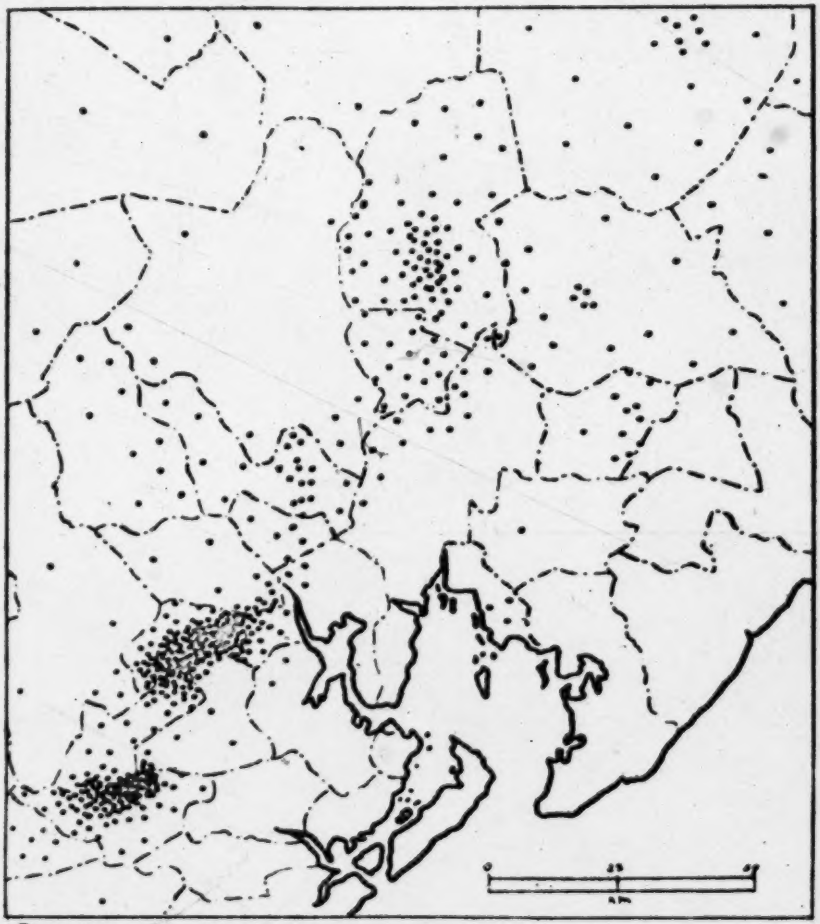

Each dot = 50,000 kilograms

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Tobacco--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 30

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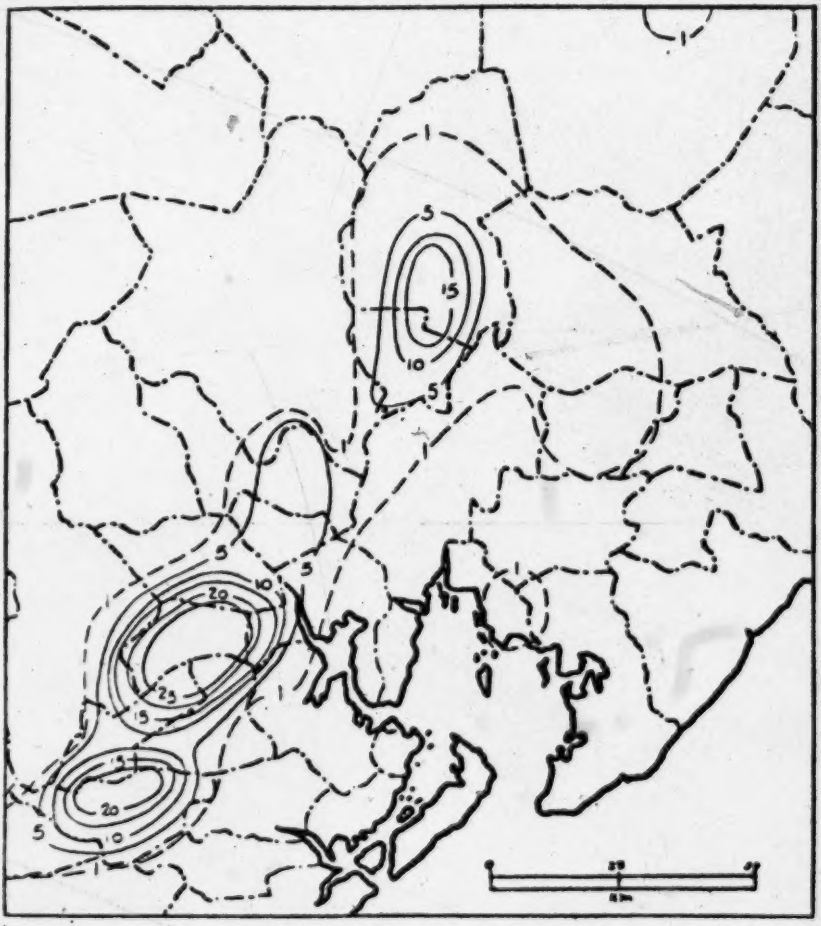

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Tons of Tobacco per Square Kilometer of Total Area—1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 31

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TABLE XIII

PRINCIPAL CENTERS OF TOBACCO PRODUCTION
IN THE RECÔNCAVO AND IN BRAZIL IN 1948

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	Area (ha.)	Production (tons)
Southwestern Recôncavo:		
Cruz das Almas (all)	6,850	6,680
Conceição do Almeida (part)	2,000	2,000
São Filipe (part)	500	480
Muritiba (part)	810	500
Total	10,160	9,660
Santo Antônio:		
Santo Antônio (all)	6,200	5,250
Conceição do Almeida (part)	200	400
São Filipe (part)	190	190
Total	6,590	5,840
São Gonçalo (part)	2,000	900
Irará (part)*	2,500	3,000
Total - Principal Centers	21,250	19,400
Total - Recôncavo	21,886	20,191
Total - State of Bahia**	44,248	35,758
Total - State of Minas Gerais**	23,452	13,340
Total - Rio Grande do Sul***	40,236	44,495

*Irará produced a relatively large amount of tobacco for its area, but this was of a stronger and less valuable type of leaf tobacco ("Feira").

**Including a large quantity of rope tobacco--fumo em corda.

***Principally cigarette tobacco.

Source: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

production about 5,800 tons, so that it was somewhat over one-half as important as the Southwestern Recôncavo cluster discussed above.

Two lesser clusters centralize tobacco cultivation north of the Rio Paraguaçu. One is around the cidade of São Gonçalo, with about 2,000 hectares and 900 tons of tobacco in 1948. In the Northern Recôncavo, Irará was the center of a less compact concentration, with about 2,500 hectares and 3,000 tons of tobacco in 1948.

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249 In addition to these major and minor concentrations of production, there was scattered cultivation in most of the outer ring of municípios of the Recôncavo, especially in Catu, in Alagoinhas, and in Santo Estêvão and adjacent western São Gonçalo. On the other hand, tobacco cultivation was conspicuously absent in the Central and Southern Recôncavo.

249 311 In 1948 tobacco was grown on 27 per cent of the total cropland of the region. The zone of intensive tobacco production, as shown by the proportion of the cultivated land which it occupies, is clearly revealed on the accompanying map (Map 32). In a continuous belt, which follows the humid edges of the Uplands and adjacent Intermediate Hills from Santo Antônio to Catu, tobacco was grown on over 30 per cent of all cropland in 1948. There were extensive areas in which over half the cultivated land was in tobacco—a remarkable showing for a non-food commercial crop grown on a small scale by semi-subsistence cultivators.

The gradients which separate the belt of intensive tobacco production from the Bay littoral and from the Central Recôncavo are very steep. On the other hand, the inland transition from intensive tobacco production to the scattered cultivation of the dry caatinga is very gradual. In the lowlands tobacco almost everywhere occupied less than 10 per cent of the cultivated area in 1948; in the caatinga to the west it was grown on 10 to 20 per cent of the total cropland.

249 134 132 There is a basic association between tobacco cultivation and the Crystalline and Tabular Upland; production is concentrated along the wetter, inner edge of these formations, in a zone which closely corresponds to the forest and scrub forest boundary. Tobacco is practically excluded from the humid Coastal Plain and littoral sections of the Intermediate Hills. It might be assumed that the location of tobacco is a result of the monopolization of the humid, clay-soil Coastal Plain

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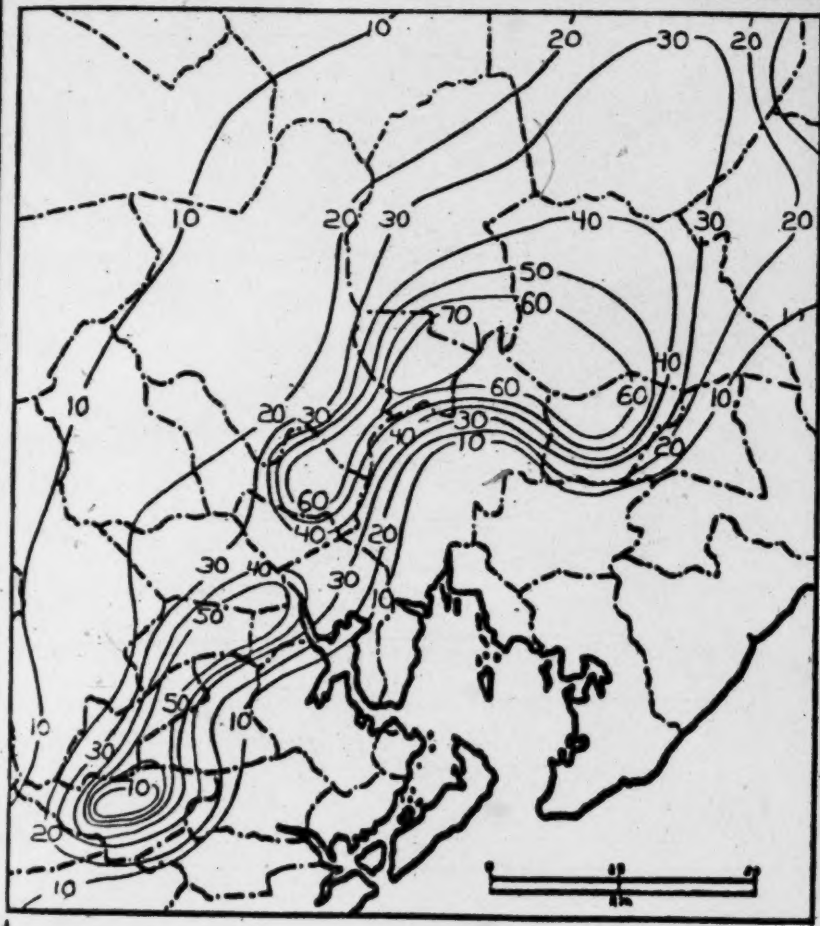

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of Cropland in Tobacco—1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 32

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 134 132 by sugar or other commercial crops, but this does not appear to be the case. There are a few patches of tobacco in the garden plots of sugar cane workers, but the small quantity of tobacco produced in the Central Recôncavo is rank and harsh, despite cultivation practices almost identical with the high-quality areas. Apparently high grade leaf production is excluded by the climate-soil complex of this zone.

Local agronomists and cultivators familiar with tobacco cultivation insist that such areas as Cruz das Almas and São Gonçalo are optimum for tobacco, and certainly the leaf of these areas brings the best price. It is said that the best tobacco in these areas is produced on the "poor" soils of the upland surfaces--leached sandy loams. In the Southwestern Recôncavo the "better" soils--that is, heavier soils found on the slopes and bottomlands--are not used for tobacco, although they produce good yields of corn, beans, or manioc. Precipitation is also a very important locational factor, both indirectly, as an agent in soil formation, and directly, as a source of moisture for the plants. Too little moisture will produce a gummy tobacco which is very difficult to cure. Too much moisture, a rarity in these areas, produces a washed-out, insipid leaf.

A comparison of the maps of tobacco types[16] (Map 138) and of soils (Map 6) and precipitation (Maps 7 and 8) indicates quite clearly that the best grade of tobacco--"Mata"--is grown on the most humid section of the zone of crystalline soils, i.e, the Southwestern Recôncavo and Santo Antônio. This is also, of course, the area of most intensive production. In general this same combination of physical elements is characteristic of the smaller "Mata" area around São Gonçalo.

The second most valuable grade of tobacco, "Caatinga," is grown west of the Southwestern Recôncavo and, within the Recôncavo, in

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249 134 132 Santo Estêvão. The third grade—"Feira"—is grown on the humid edge of the sandy Tertiary uplands. This suggests that it is soil which is the immediate control of quality, although precipitation is the over-all factor. Although the southern part of the zone of Tertiary soils is more humid than the crystalline zone peripheral to the Recôncavo, the tobacco of the former--"Feira"—is less valuable than the "Caatinga" grade of the latter. The drier Tertiary zone produces only fumo em corda but the even drier crystalline zone, stretching west to the Chapada Diamantina, manages to produce the cheap but salable "Sertão" leaf. Thus in every case the crystalline soils, with equal or even less precipitation than the Tertiary zone, produce a better grade of leaf tobacco.

249 433 In 1948 the yields of the main zones of tobacco cultivation were from 750 to 1,000 kilograms per hectare (Map 33). Yields were higher in the Central Recôncavo, where there is only trivial production of low quality leaf. Yields were also higher in isolated sections of the "Sertão" and "Caatinga" grade zones to the west.[17] The mean yield of the Recôncavo, 840 kilograms per hectare, was slightly above the 808 kilograms per hectare of the state of Bahia as a whole. This yield compares very favorably with the yield of Cuba, 640 kilograms per hectare, and Indonesia, 530 to 650 kilograms per hectare on Estates, but is lower than that of Mexico, 1,010, Canada, 1,360, or the United States, 1,400.[18]

[241] The production of most of the chief crops of the Recôncavo is somewhat stabilized by steady demand for food--in the case of manioc, corn, and beans—or by government control—in the case of sugar cane. In contrast, tobacco is a highly speculative and mobile crop. It is produced primarily by small cultivators in anticipation of a combination

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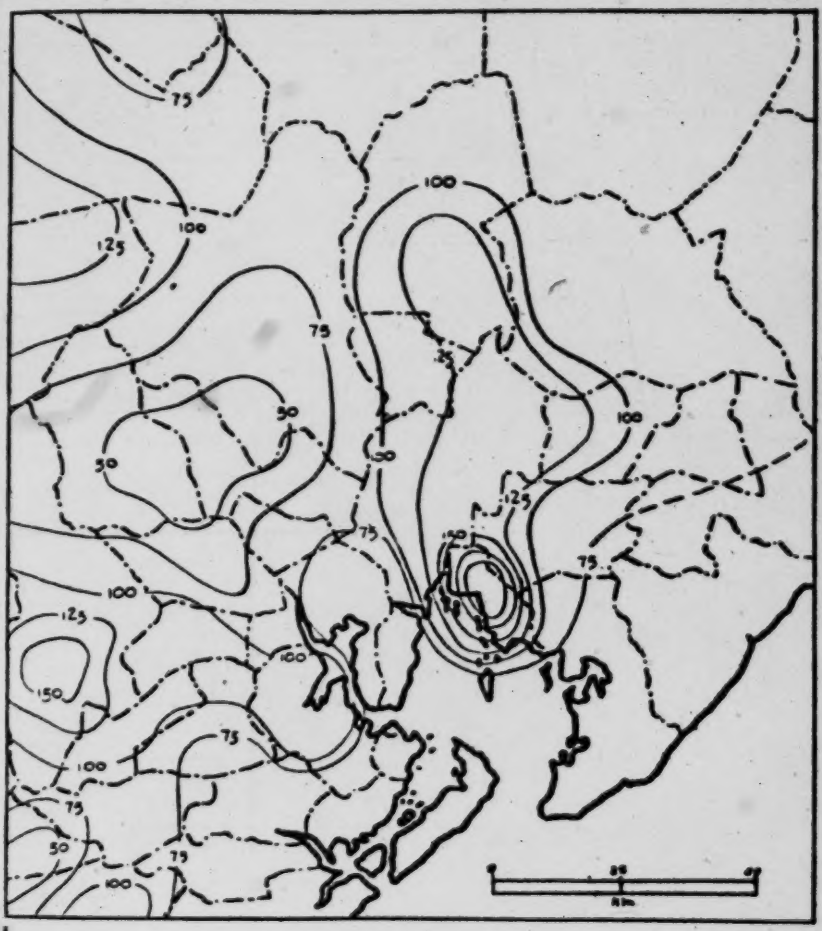

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Yield of Tobacco—1948

Tons of Kilograms per Hectare

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 33

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of high yield and high prices. Lack of capital or, as a result of a low price during the preceding year, lack of incentive may cause planted area to fall very low. Optimism generated by the high price of the preceding year or a relatively favorable source of credit may cause planted area to be increased very strongly. Thus the curve of planted area plunges up and down, usually lagging a year or so behind prices, as the small cultivator and his creditor, the merchant-tobacco buyer, vainly pursue a "killing."[19]

Planted area is not the only major variable involved in tobacco cultivation. Tobacco, in distinction to sugar cane, is grown along the drier margins of the Recôncavo on "poor" or porous soils. The variations of precipitation during both the growing and the curing season, in combination with the irregularities of cultivation, have resulted in an ever-changing level of production. In addition, tobacco production like many speculative enterprises—and this is very characteristic of Brazil—is highly mobile. During the decade 1942 to 1951 the production of some municípios waxed and waned, while others burst like novas into large scale cultivation and then rapidly faded away.[20]

In the decade 1942 to 1951 the production in Cruz das Almas rose steadily to a peak in 1946 and then fell away to one-quarter of the maximum. Santo Antônio grew more rapidly, reached its peak in the same year, and then slowly declined to 50 per cent of the peak. Conceição do Almeida entered the decade strong, slumped in 1946, and then stabilized at the old level of production. São Gonçalo was stabilized from 1941 to 1946, dropped 90 per cent in 1947, and then rose slowly throughout the rest of the decade. In Irará the peak was 1944, the slump 1950. During this period the production of the state as a whole rose slowly to a 1945 maximum and fell gradually until 1951. It

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249 433 is apparent that the production of the Southwestern Recôncavo and of Santo Antônio, the pre-eminent concentrations, fell away as a result of a drop in prices which began in 1947 and continued through the end of the decade. As high quality and high-cost producers, these areas were particularly hard hit by the falling price. On the other hand, Irará grows a cheaper leaf, at a lower production cost, and apparently survived the worst effects of the cut in price. The production in this município declined more slowly and then, in 1950, fell sharply as a result of the sêca (drought) which began in that year.

A comparison of the data for a longer period indicates that although production of the state of Bahia in 1946-1950 was about equal to that of 1931-1936, the cultivated area rose by about 25 per cent. Yields fell steadily during this period; the 900 to 1,000 kilograms per hectare of the early 30's had declined to 750 to 850 kilograms per hectare in the late 40's. The decline in yield, if not centered in the Recôncavo, was at least characteristic of the development of the region. The basic factor in the falling yields almost certainly was the exhaustion of the soil. In addition, manure, always costly, became increasingly expensive and scarce. Tobacco, as has been indicated, is 249 244 433 grown in conjunction with manioc under a land rotation system. The increasing demand for subsistence crops, particularly manioc, for the expanding population has put a continuously greater strain on the soil. [231] At the same time, the expansion of the cultivated area has driven out most of the livestock enterprises, increasing the cost of manure and putting it beyond the reach of many cultivators. As yields began to fall it became necessary to increase the planted area in tobacco and in subsistence crops to compensate the loss. Year by year the fallow period has been progressively shortened as the tobacco-manioc system

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249 244 433 has made increasingly greater demands upon the land, at least during the decades between 1930 and 1950. In some areas, such as Cruz das Almas, the mean fallow period seems to have been reduced to a minimum of one or two years during the late 1940's. As the result of these developments, the município seems to be faced with the necessity of either a decrease in production or a radical reorganization of the system of cultivation.[21]

249 241 433 However, tobacco is to Cruz das Almas or São Gonçalo what sugar cane is to the Central Recôncavo—a way of life. Agriculture without tobacco is both economically and culturally distressing to the cultivator of the Southwestern Recôncavo. Unlike the sugar cane planter, the agri- [178] culturalists of the tobacco zone cultivate crops other than the chief commercial product, but as a cash crop they are very reluctant to accept any substitute. Habit is a very great force in the agriculture of all parts of the Recôncavo.

249 433 A result of the traditional and speculative orientation of the people of the tobacco zone is the extreme importance of tobacco—a commercial non-food crop—throughout the zone. In 1948, six municípios of the Recôncavo cultivated more tobacco than any other crop, and in five others it was second in importance. In only two municípios, Itaparica and Salvador, was it lower than fourth in area occupied.

243 433 Corn. Traditionally corn (milho) is a crop of the caatinga (scrub forest), and its greatest relative dominance is found just northwest of the Recôncavo in the município of Serrinha. It is, however, grown on a small scale throughout the Recôncavo, and there are at least two areas of intensive production. Corn is overshadowed by other crops, particularly manioc, tobacco, and sugar cane, in all parts of the Recôncavo except the North and the Northwest.

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244 433 [311] involved are very similar (Maps 39, 40, and 41). In 1948 beans occupied 9 per cent of the total cropland of the Recôncavo. While the area of the greatest dominance of corn lies north of the Recôncavo, beans had the greatest relative importance in the west, in the <u>município</u> of Ipirá (Map 42). The reason for this minor difference in concentration is not apparent.

244 311 433 The yield pattern as revealed by the 1948 data is very distinctive (Map 43). Relatively high yields were closely associated with the forest and scrub-forest transition from Santo Antônio in the south to Irará in the north, where, however, less than 10 per cent of the cropland was in beans. In Muritiba, Castro Alves, and Santo Antônio, where joint corn-bean cultivation is not always the rule, yields of both plants were high. In the Northern and Northwestern Recôncavo the yield patterns of the two crops, which are usually intercropped in this area, were very different. No explanation for these differences was found. The mean yield of beans in the Recôncavo in 1948 was 988 kilograms per hectare, higher than the 690 kilograms per hectare of Brazil, the 540 kilograms per hectare of French Equatorial Africa, or the 200 kilograms per hectare of India, but much lower than the 1,220 kilograms per hectare yield in the United States.

• 249 <u>Sugar Cane</u>. Much of the history and a good deal of the cultural geography of the Recôncavo could be written in terms of sugar cane [433] [178] cultivation. The colony of Bahia was organized around the cultivation of cane, and sugar was the mainstay of the colonial commercial economy until the last half of the nineteenth century. During the colonial period the cultivation of sugar cane acquired a prestige which it has never lost, despite the fact that it is no longer the most valuable nor, it seems likely, the most profitable crop of the Recôncavo.

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Brazil SL1

B 249 433 Sugar cane is the fifth or sixth--depending upon the year--most valuable crop grown in Brazil, and it is cultivated, at least on a small scale, in all states of the country. Large scale commercial production, however, is confined to two areas--the Central-South (São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Minas Gerais) and the Northeast (Paraíba, Pernambuco, Alagoas, and Bahia). Each of these states produced over one million tons of cane in 1948.

B BB 249 175 177 In distinction to the principal subsistence crops of the Recôncavo, sugar cane is an old world domesticate. The variety acquired by the Portuguese from the Arabs in North Africa and brought to the colony via the Madeira Islands was the sole type cultivated during most of the colonial period, but today a number of varieties of East or West Indian origin are grown.

BB 249 Sugar cane is differentiated from other crops of the Recôncavo by the intensive monocultural character of its production. Tobacco and manioc and corn and beans are grown jointly, but sugar cane shares the land with no other crop. North of the cidade of Santo Amaro there is BB [134] [133] an extensive area of clay soils and undulating plain almost completely blanketed in bright green sugar cane. The monochrome is interrupted only by a few pastured valley bottoms or by the widely scattered usinas (sugar mills), plantation settlements, and villages. There are similar, though less extensive landscapes wherever sugar cane is important in other parts of the Recôncavo.

The system of cultivation of sugar cane is also very different from those employed in producing other crops in the Recôncavo. One planting is sufficient for several reasons, for the stalk re-develops from the root after the plant is harvested, though with progressively declining vigor. In Bahia, three, four, or five harvests from the

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249 same planting are common--then the field is rested for a year and replanted to cane.[24]

249 311 Sugar cane is encountered in all parts of the Recôncavo, but it is produced commercially only in three very restricted and closely defined areas. Of the 11,695 hectares of sugar cane in the Recôncavo in 1948, over 6,000 hectares were in Santo Amaro and 650 hectares and 2,400 hectares, respectively, in adjacent São Francisco and São Sebastião (Map 44). The remaining one-third of the total sugar cane area was largely in São Filipe, 650 hectares, and Cachoeira, 530 hectares. The association between sugar cane cultivation and the Cretaceous soils is [134] very close. Within the Central Recôncavo, cane is grown only on the Cretaceous massapê, salão, and areia soils; although there are occasional outliers of Tertiary sands, no cane was observed on these soils in the course of field investigation. Cane cultivation in São Filipe is associated with similar heavy soils--the so-called crystalline massapê. [433] In 1948 the Recôncavo produced 670,626 tons of cane, 39 per cent of the total of the state, but only 2 per cent of Brazil's production. Eighty-two per cent of the cane of the Recôncavo was produced in the Central Recôncavo sugar cane zone of Santo Amaro, São Francisco, and São Sebastião (Map 45).

Because sugar cane cultivation is so highly concentrated, the mean value of 15 per cent of the total cropland of the Recôncavo in sugar cane is somewhat misleading. What is significant is that an estimated 90 per cent of the cropland--excluding fallow land--on the Cretaceous coastal lowland at the head of the Bay was planted to cane in 1948 (Map 46). A similar, though smaller, monocultural zone lay at the head of the Bacia do Iguape in the município of Cachoeira. In the minor sugar cane area of São Filipe, cane production was less concentrated. There was also scattered cane cultivation on the lowlands

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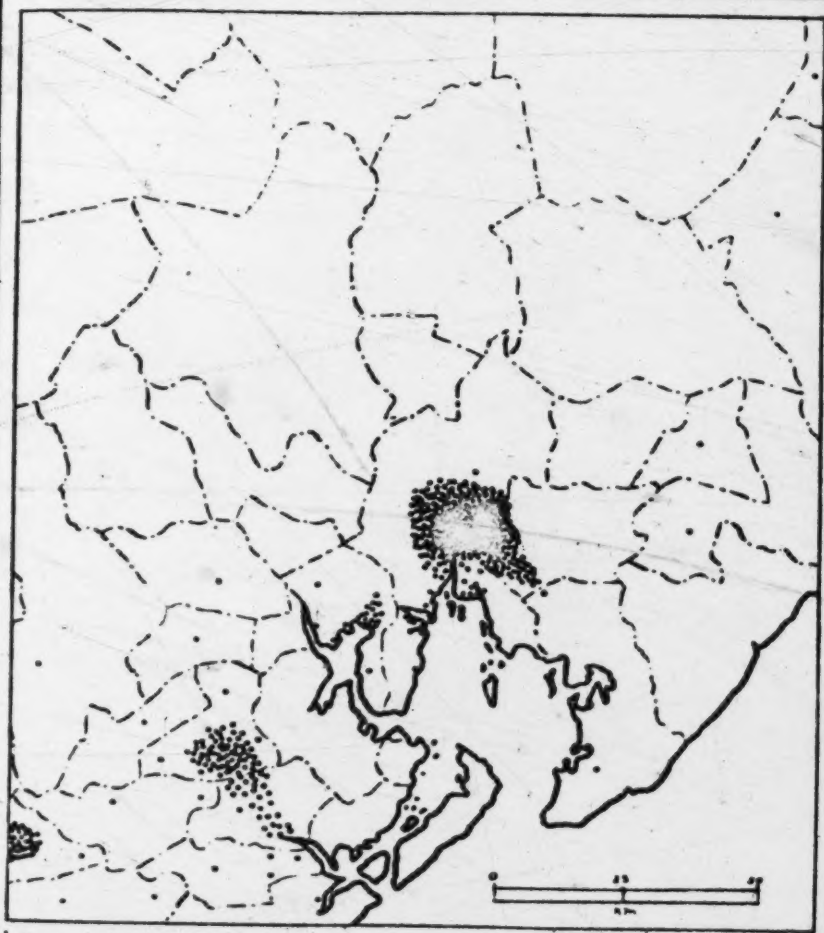

Each dot = 25 hectares

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Area in Sugar Cane--1948

Source of data: Producto Agricola: 1948.

MAP 444

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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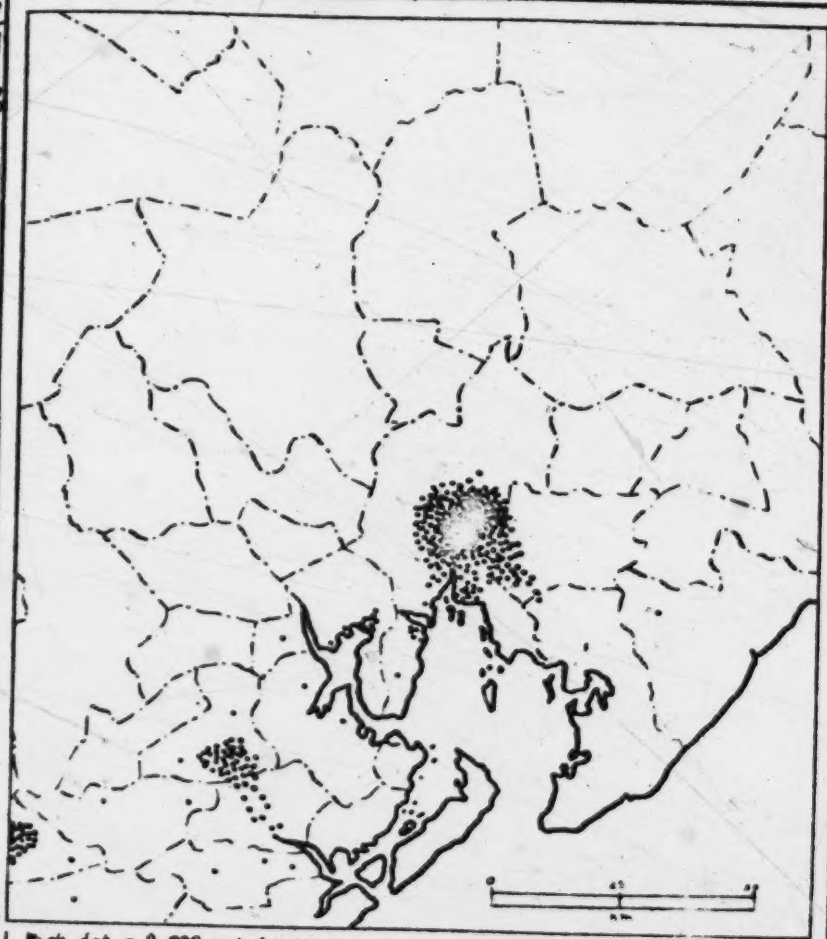

Each dot = 2,000 metric tons

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Sugar Cane--1948

Source of data: Producão Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 45

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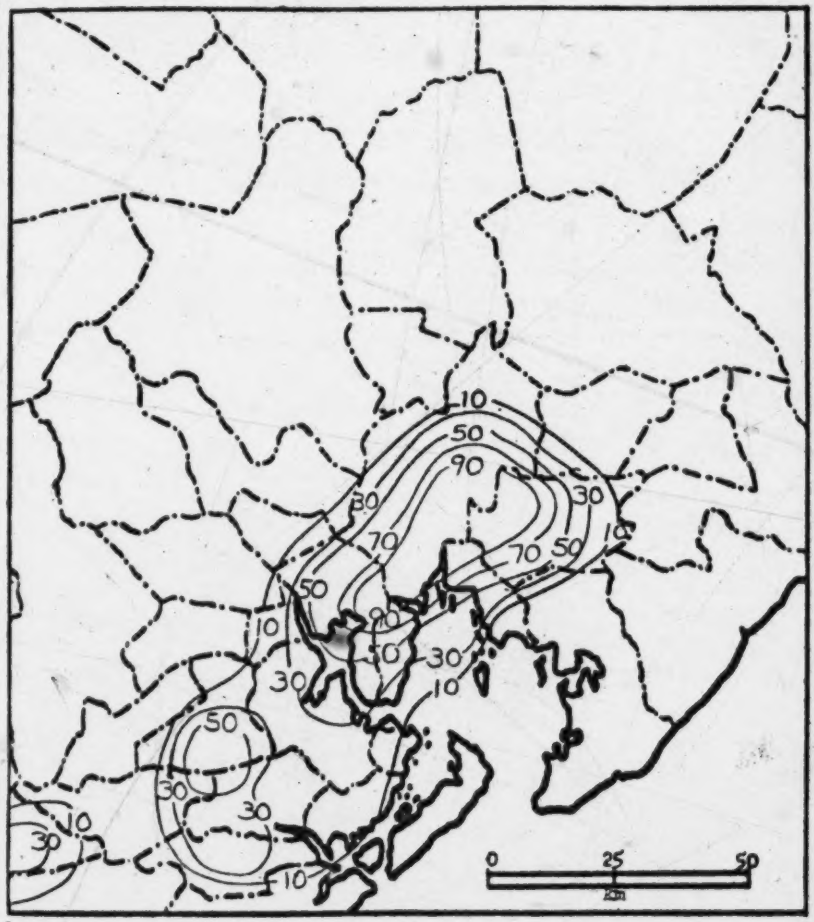

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of Cropland in Sugar Cane--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 46

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 311 and Intermediate Hills between and around these zones, but usually on an exceedingly small scale.

249 311 433 The yields calculated for 1948 were as follows:

Santo Amaro	65.7	tons per hectare
São Francisco	80.0	" " "
São Sebastião	41.2	" " "
Cachoeira	37.0	" " "
São Filipe	50.0	" " "

These may be compared with 38.7 tons per hectare for Brazil as a whole, 35.0 tons per hectare for Cuba, and 89.3 tons per hectare for Java and Madura for the same year. The relatively low yields of Cachoeira and São Filipe are to be explained, at least in part, by the primitive character of cultivation and processing in these more remote areas. São Sebastião is a sort of frontier zone into which the big sugar mills are expanding their operations at the expense of smaller operators, but the methods of production are still less efficient than in the main production area, and the soils are sandier and less fertile. In Santo Amaro, yields are higher on account of generally better soils and techniques, but the demands of the large usinas require intensive and continuous cultivation on even the poorer soils. On the other hand, the less intensive cultivation in São Francisco, where the mills are smaller, allows a freer selection of soils, so that the yields of this area are the highest in the Recôncavo.

249 433 134 257

244 311 Sweet Potatoes and Peanuts. Two other American domesticates are grown in the Recôncavo, though on a small scale--peanuts and sweet potatoes. Both are cultivated primarily along the forest and scrub forest transition as auxiliary subsistence crops, in conjunction with manioc and tobacco. There are also scattered plots of these crops in most other parts of the Recôncavo. Neither crop occupied over 1 per cent of the total crop land of the region.

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241 311 cane in the pockets of Coastal Plain, and coffee and sugar cane in eastern and southern São Filipe. Annuals, chiefly manioc, intrude into the lowlands and hills in two areas: west of the Bay, from Maragogipe to Nazaré; and east of the Bay, in the município of Salvador.

General Distribution of Cropland. The total cropland of the Recôncavo in 1948, based upon the sum of the areas of the individual crops, was about 80,000 hectares--6.4 per cent of the land surface of the region. This proportion compares favorably with the one per cent of the state of Bahia and the two per cent of Brazil which is cultivated. However, a comparison with areas of the same general character in the Northeast of Brazil is more appropriate and more unfavorable; in 1948 both Paraíba and Alagoas had ten per cent of their areas under cultivation in principal crops.[30]

249 311 The most intensive center of cultivation in the Recôncavo is the area of sugar cane production north of the Bay. If the land which is in fallow one year out of every five is added to the area of the cane fields, about 75 per cent of the total land surface of the area was included in the closed circle of cultivation and fallow in 1948. The smaller area of sugar cane cultivation at the head of the Bacia de Iguape had a similar, though less intensive, concentration of cultivated land.

249 244 311 In the Southwestern Recôncavo as much as one half of the total area was in crops in 1948. Most of this land, as has been seen, was in tobacco or manioc. A smaller nucleus of intensive cultivation north of the Rio Paraguaçu centered on the município of São Gonçalo, was also an area of the cultivation of tobacco and manioc. The rest of the northern part of the Recôncavo in which these two crops were

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 221]

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244 important had less intensive cultivation than the two principal centers
311 mentioned above.

241 Most of the remaining crops of the Recôncavo were either minor
311 subsistence crops of general distribution, not of themselves accounting for any strong concentration of cropland, or were major crops produced in small separated centers of intensive cultivation. The Northwestern Recôncavo corn and bean areas, the coconut plantations of the beach line, the Southwestern Recôncavo sugar cane and coffee areas, and the suburban rings of orange production were zones where the mean intensity of cropland was low or, at best, modest.

There were two zones of very low intensity of cropland which have not been discussed previously because they did not have significant concentrations of individual crops. The belt of Intermediate Hills around
[137] the Central Recôncavo sugar cane area is largely forested, the scene of
[231] very scattered cultivation, livestock enterprises, and extractive industries. This belt was used, as will be seen, to provide fuel and to maintain a livestock reserve for the adjoining sugar cane area. The forested belt between the beach line and the inland areas of sugar cane and tobacco cultivation were used primarily for extensive systems of cultivation and for the small scale production of livestock. Only around the perimeter of Salvador was this forested belt intensively used, for in this area there were orange groves, manioc gardens, and a few very small truck farms.

241 Expansion of Cropland. There can be little question but that
311 the Recôncavo as a whole was an area of expanding cropland in the 1940's.[31]
178 In no other way could the increased food necessary for the growing popu-
[161] lation be supplied, for there were not then nor are there now external
[434] sources for large quantities of staples, excepting only livestock. There

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241 311 178 are many local signs of the increase in cultivation—expanding rural settlement, overcrowded market facilities, and stories of the "old days" [361] when life was more leisurely and the land problem less severe. Two areas of the Recôncavo are in great contrast as far as the trend of land use is concerned—the Central Recôncavo on the one hand and the outer Recôncavo, especially the Southwest, on the other. As a result of 249 311 178 the stabilization of the sugar industry by the Instituto do Açúcar e do [654] [656] Álcool and, undoubtedly, of the high fixed costs of the sugar industry, the area under cultivation in the Central Recôncavo has remained relatively constant. Indeed, since large-scale speculation in the cultivation of cane is no longer feasible, as a result of government control, it is possible that marginal lands have been withdrawn from cultivation or have been converted to other uses. However, the evidence of the present land use pattern, at least in the area north of the Bay, is against this hypothesis--there are no signs of abandoned cane fields and no extensive areas with any form of land use except those associated with the sugar industry. There are indications of the abandonment of cultivation near the lesser sugar cane area north of the Bacia do Iguape, but the state of the abandoned sugar mills suggest that the decline in cultivation took place before the last decade. In general, then, the area in cane probably was relatively stable during the 1940's and the 1950's, at least to 1953.

249 244 311 178 The situation in the areas of the cultivation of tobacco and manioc is more complicated, in part because the economies of these crops are not stabilized. The area in tobacco undoubtedly has fluctuated over a wide range from year to year, although the area in manioc probably has tended to change more steadily, since it is a basic food crop. There seems to be no question but that during the 1940's the area in

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249 tobacco and manioc increased in the zones of intensive production of
244 both crops. Particularly in the Southwestern Recôncavo does the expan-
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178 sion of settlement, the present critical intensity of land use, the florescence of tobacco cultivation during the early 1940's, soil exhaustion as evidenced by the declining yields, and the testimony of the people of the people of the area attest to the increase during these years. Detailed field investigation in Cruz das Almas, in the heart of the Southwestern Recôncavo, indicated that if the intensity of cultivation shown by the 1948 figure is correct, then the cropland has declined in the years since. In 1948, according to the data, one-half of the total area of the município was cultivated; in 1953 the total land in crops can scarcely have been more than one quarter of the total area, and there were several signs of decline. Although there was no mature second growth, there was a good deal of capoéira de caatinga and capoéira de mata (second growth) which was about one to three meters high, that is, from about two to six years old. Cruz das Almas seems to be the extreme case of a município which went through a period of rapid growth and precipitous decline in these years, but the same processes undoubtedly have taken place in many of the other municípios where tobacco was important. Probably none of these areas have returned to the 1940 level, because of the concomitant increase in the population and the fall in the productivity of the land in the years since.

241 There have apparently been major expansions of the cropland of
311
178 two areas which border on the Recôncavo. Serrinha is known as a município of recent agricultural expansion.[32] The growth of the cidade of Serrinha in the last decade is a clear expression of greater agricultural production, although the new cropland is not in the vicinity of the city. Apparently the main expansion was around a group of low serras and

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[127] [25]The official data for banana production have been adjusted, as is shown in Appendix D. According to: Immigration and Colonization Council, Modern Brazil (Rio de Janeiro: Immigration and Colonization Council, 1949), p. 119, a bunch of Brazilian bananas contains an average of 60 fruits and weighs 8 kilograms.

[35] [565] [26]Indeed, bananas are common plants within the city. Each upper class house, perched on top of the ridge, has its banana grove on the declivity behind. In the valley bottoms, banana plants surround the adobe houses of the lower class.

[27]These yields are offered for the purpose of general comparison. The diversity of conversion figures used in estimating the weight of bananas does not allow for precise comparison.

[127] [28]The official data for area in coffee in São Filipe apparently is a three-fold exaggeration, unless the yields are incredibly low. The production data are more reasonable.

[244] [29]Although manioc is not an annual plant, it is usually harvested in the Recôncavo before it is a year old. It seems more useful to classify these plants as annuals or perennials by their respective systems of cultivation rather than by their botanical characteristics.

[30]This comparison is somewhat unfair to Paraíba and Alagoas, since these states both include extensive non-agricultural areas, while the Recôncavo is an area specifically selected on the basis of intensity of agricultural land use.

[128] [31]For a comparison of 1940 and 1948 cultivated and agricultural area, see Appendix F.

[127] [249] [32]The cropland figure for Serrinha, derived from the 1948 data, is 25 per cent larger than the cultivated area given in the 1940 census. A complicating and contradictory line of evidence is supplied by the data on tobacco production, which is usually a good index of crop cultivation changes in this area. The tobacco production of Serrinha showed a decided decline from 1940 to 1948. It can only be assumed, in the light of the obvious growth of the cidade, that there was some expansion, but in food crops rather than in tobacco.

[33]The region which includes these two municípios follows the railroad from Nazaré to Jequié--the Estrada de Ferro Nazaré--and includes all the municípios touched by the line. In general this is thought of as a "coffee zone," but in its eastern section other crops, notably sugar cane and tobacco, displace coffee as the chief commercial products. Where this region approaches the Recôncavo most closely, in northern Santo Antônio, it is difficult to draw the boundary between the two. However, in 1948, even in 1953, the basic economic associations of Santo Antônio were with the railroad zone.

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241 311 In many municípios on the north, west, and southwest of the Recôncavo, where corn and beans were the first and second crops, manioc and tobacco were third and fourth or vice versa. On the other hand, sugar cane was rarely a significant crop in any município where either corn, beans, tobacco, or manioc occupied a leading position.

128 241 311 Crop Combinations and Monocultures. The crop combinations shown on Map 71 and Map 72 exist on two levels, as statistical combinations of the crops of various municípios and as functional associations of crops grown in an interdependent system.

241 311 The statistical crop combinations of the Central Recôncavo do not correspond to functional systems of cultivation, for although sugar cane, manioc, and tobacco are produced within individual municípios, the cultivation of sugar cane is entirely separate. The manioc and sugar cane of São Filipe and the tobacco and coffee of São Félix are also cultivated separately. The statistical combinations, therefore, merely summarize the economic specialization and diversification of the município economies. The tobacco-manioc and the corn-bean combinations of most municípios of the perimeter of the Recôncavo, from Alagoinhas on the northeast to Conceição do Almeida on the southwest, signify functional as well as statistical relationships. On the other hand, monocultural systems dominate within the Central Recôncavo and in a few other places. The areas in which the individual functional combinations and monocultures predominate are delimited as nodal crop regions on Map 73. The arrows on the map (Map 73) indicate the intermeshing of crop regions in the transitional zones.

249 244 311 The most extensive of the crop regions belongs to tobacco and manioc. In this region, which extends from the Southwestern Recôncavo in a long arc to the Eastern Recôncavo, at least 70 per cent and usually

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 240]

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249 244 311 80 per cent of the total cropland was in these two crops in 1948 (Map 74). A minimum of 20 per cent of the total cropland of all parts of the region was in tobacco, and except for a break in Coração de Maria and northern Santo Amaro, in manioc. Associated with this region were two small areas in which one of the components dominated the other--tobacco dominated in Santo Antônio and manioc in Pojuca.

The relationship of tobacco and manioc area varied widely within this region of their most intensive cultivation (Map 75). The mean for all the municípios of the region was 42 per cent of the total cropland in tobacco and 36 per cent in manioc. The theoretically ideal "duo-culture" was approached in Cruz das Almas, with 54 per cent of the total cropland in tobacco and 42 per cent in manioc. The ratios of the area in the two crops in individual municípios is indicated in the list below. Only in Muritiba and Cruz das Almas did the areas of the two crops have a relative balance. In the southwestern part of the region, tobacco was ascendant in Santo Antonio and manioc in Conceição do Almeida.

Ratio of Tobacco and Manioc Area

Santo Antônio	Tobacco	3.50 to 1
Conceição do Almeida	Manioc	2 to 1
Cruz das Almas	Tobacco	1.25 to 1
Muritiba	Manioc	1.50 to 1
Conceição da Feira	Manioc	2 to 1
São Gonçalo	Tobacco	3 to 1
Coração de Maria	Tobacco	4.50 to 1
Santo Amaro*	Manioc	2.50 to 1
Catu	Tobacco	3 to 1
Pojuca	Manioc	20 to 1

*These figures are for the whole of Santo Amaro. Probably the ratio in its tobacco-manioc zone would be about 3 to 1 in favor of tobacco.

North of the Rio Paraguaçu the position of tobacco vis-à-vis manioc became progressively stronger through Coração de Maria and continued strong into Catu, where cultivation of tobacco abruptly terminated. Pojuca had a manioc monoculture, with only 4 per cent of the cropland in tobacco and 81 per cent in manioc.

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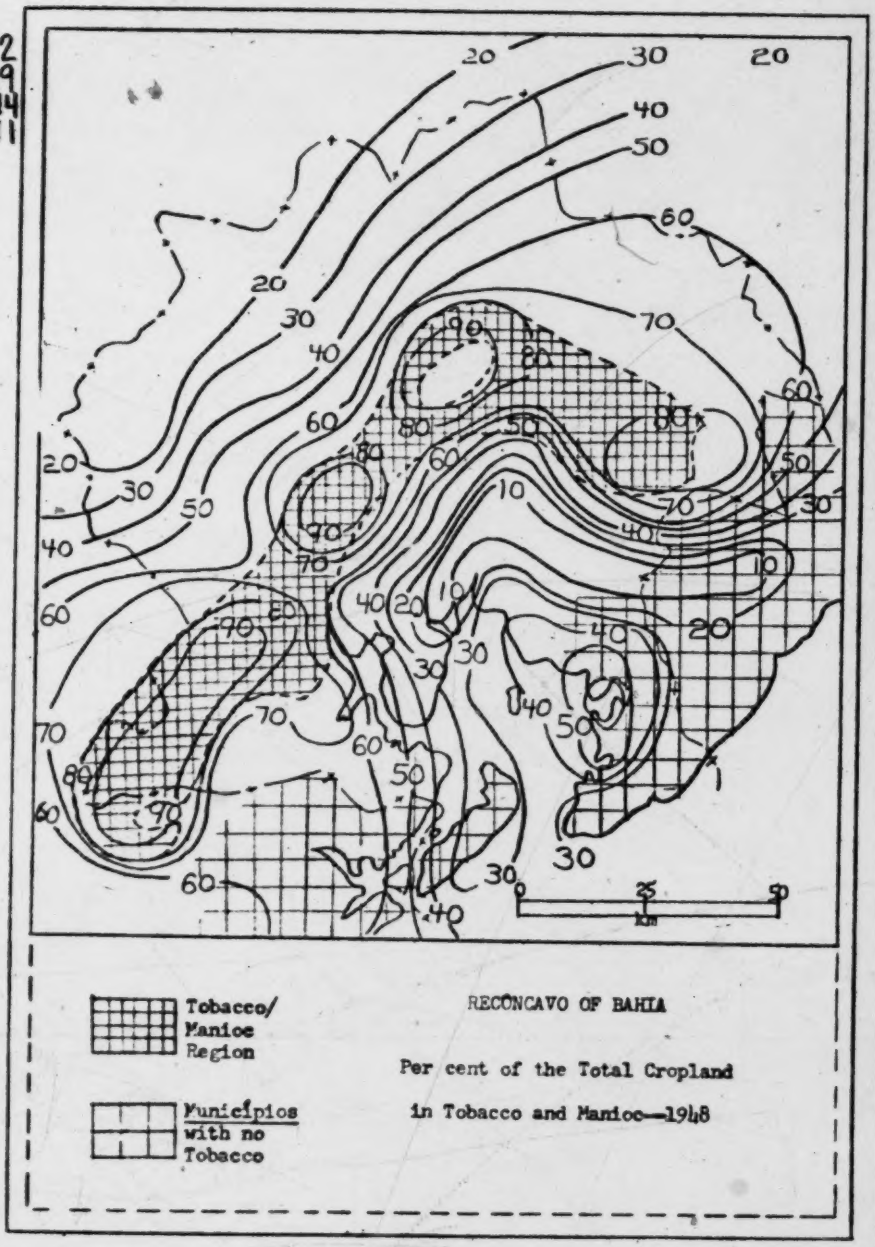

MAP 74

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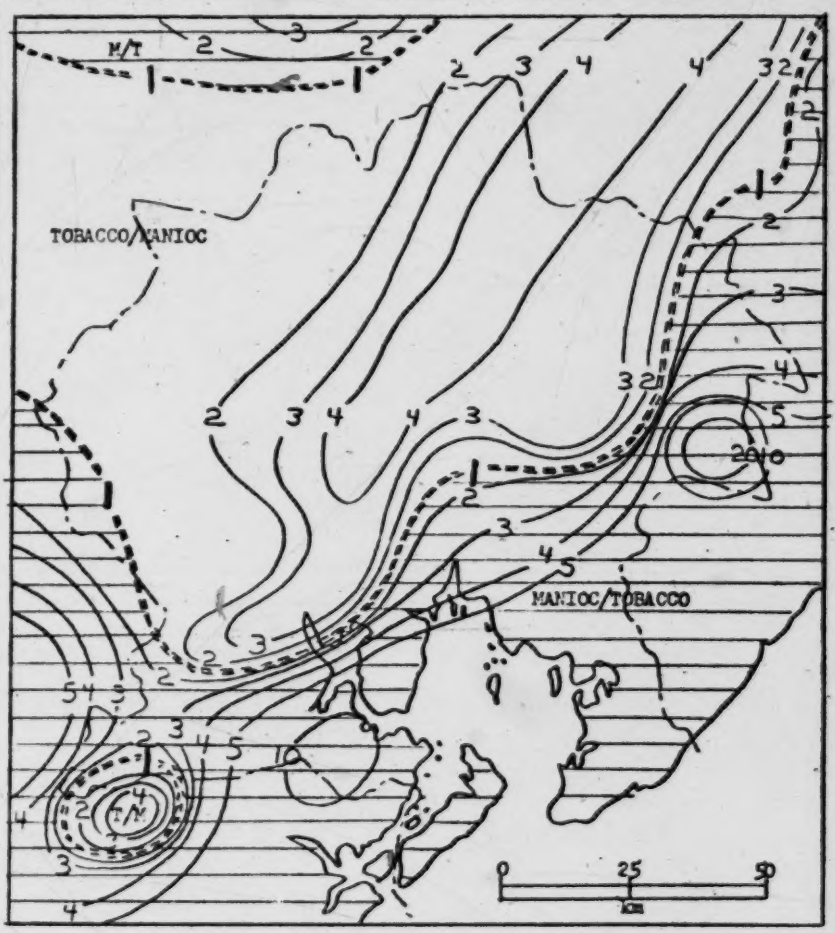

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Relationship of the Cultivated Area in Tobacco and Manioc—1948

Tobacco/Manioc (T/M) - Area in tobacco exceeds area in manioc
Manioc/Tobacco (M/T) - Area in manioc exceeds area in tobacco

MAP 75

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 244 311 13 The physical setting of the tobacco and manioc region is distinctive in terms of the particular combination of topography, soils, climate, and vegetation which are joined along its crescent axis. The region lies along the semi-circular edge of the interior upland, overlooking the Bay and the Coastal Plain. In the south the fields of manioc and tobacco occupy the upper surfaces of the Crystalline Uplands and the adjacent Intermediate Hills. In the north, cultivation shifts to the summits and upper slopes of the Intermediate Hills, although there is some concentration on the extreme southern edge of the taboleiros. Thus the region occupies the deep flat-lying residual crystalline soils in the south but in the Tertiary soil zone to the north follows the slope lands where there is more rainfall and perhaps better local soils. The close correspondence of this region with the forest and scrub-forest transition has been repeatedly emphasized. A traverse across the tobacco-manioc region anywhere between Conceição do Almeida and Feira de Santana takes one from rough hills with at least scattered patches of broadleaf evergreen forest to flat uplands with cactus, thorny brush, and licuri palms.

249 244 433 161 361 A comparison of the map of population (Map 21) and of the relationship of tobacco and manioc cultivation (Map 75) points up the necessity for local sources of basic subsistence products. In the Southwest, where rural populations are relatively dense and where there are a number of large villages and towns, manioc tends to be cultivated over a greater area than does tobacco. In the tobacco-manioc region north of the Rio Paraguaçu, where tobacco is usually the leading crop, the density of rural population is lower, and there are no towns and only [438] a few large villages. Thus there is close relationship between the relative intensity of manioc and the size of the local market.

175 249 244 The recent historical pattern of agriculture in the tobacco-manioc region can be reconstructed only on a general level. Cachoeira, which

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Cachoeira, which
175 formerly included most of the western part of the region, was the center
178 of the production of tobacco for use in the slave trade. The growth of
249 the trade in leaf tobacco in the nineteenth century brought great changes
[567] to the region, for it made tobacco a major commercial product in its own
[439] right, no longer dependent upon the slave trade. Eventually this development gave the region of tobacco production a greater economic importance than the sugar cane region, although it remained subordinate in political and social influence. The development of the new tobacco economy also gave the region a greater superiority over the sertão, which could satisfactorily produce fumo em corda, but could grow only the poorest grades of fumo em fôlha.

174 Probably the tobacco-manioc region supplied manioc as the sub-
244 sistence food of the sugar economy, since it is the only nearby area
249 which was a center of manioc production. Perhaps manioc was produced
433 in the sugar cane zone, but in view of the intensity of sugar cane cultivation, this seems doubtful. In any case, the present relative level of manioc production in this crop region probably dates from the nineteenth century development of cigar tobacco production.

249 The second basic crop region of the Recôncavo is the sugar cane
311 monocultural area. It is sub-divided into a major zone, in Santo Amaro, São Sebastião, and São Francisco; a minor zone in Cachoeira; and an outlier in São Filipe. It is estimated that in the first two zones 90 per cent of the cropland was in cane in 1948. In the São Filipe outlier of the sugar cane region the proportion seems to have been lower--perhaps 50 per cent of the cultivated area.

The physical association of the sugar cane region north of the
[13] Rio Paraguaçu and the Bay is relatively simple--a humid and formerly forested undulating plain composed of mixed Cretaceous soils--massapê, salão, and areia. In São Filipe the land is rougher, but the sugar cane is grown upon heavy soils similar to the Cretaceous series.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 The portion of the sugar cane region north of the Bay is an area
161 of relatively dense rural population, with a large number of villages
361 and plantation settlements and one city--Santo Amaro. The remaining areas of the sugar cane region have only moderately dense rural populations and no major urban centers, although the cidade of Nazaré is very close to the southern border of São Filipe.

[128] The tremendous historical significance of the sugar cane region has been discussed at length in the section on the historical setting of the
249 Recôncavo. As far as the sugar cane zone of Santo Amaro, São Francisco,
198 and São Sebastião is concerned, the extent of the region does not appear to have changed very much since colonial times. Old engenhos are found throughout the zone, indicating past cultivation in all areas now in cane. The present usinas cultivate sugar cane intensively clear across the Cretaceous zone, so that it is not likely that the cane area has contracted. However, there are several abandoned engenhos and settlements on the north and east shores of the estuary of the Paraguaçu which seem to indicate that sugar cane cultivation was formerly more extensive around the Bacia do Iguape.

244 The two intensive crop regions of tobacco and manioc and sugar
249 cane, as outlined above, can be viewed as nodal areas which are basic
311 to the regional distinctiveness of the Recôncavo; they are for all practical purposes included totally within its limits; their crop patterns are not duplicated in any nearby area; and they include within their boundaries a very large part--and the most productive part--of its agricultural area.

241 In distinction to the above intra-Recôncavo regions there are
311 at least three crops which overlap the borders of the Recôncavo, forming crop regions which have their most characteristic development in adjoining areas. The Atlantic coast of Salvador and Itaparica supports

241 311 Southwest of the estuary of the Rio Paraguaçu, in Maragogipe and São Filipe, the crop pattern becomes very complex, as is shown by the relative distribution of cropland in São Filipe:

Manioc	33	per cent
Sugar cane	28	" "
Coffee	25	" "
Tobacco	11	" "
Peanuts	1	" "
Corn	1	" "

Plus small areas of beans, oranges, bananas, sweet potatoes, and coconut.

174 245 249 311 It is very likely that there has been a historical connection between the coffee culture of São Filipe and the main coffee zone far to the southwest. Apparently the development of tobacco cultivation in Santo Antônio has severed this connection.

249 244 221 Cultivation Systems—Tobacco and Manioc. The "ideal" system of cultivation of tobacco and manioc[1] in the tobacco-manioc region has the following general patterns:

(1) In mid-February a small tract, very commonly with an area of one tarefa[2] but sometimes larger, is cleared in the capoéira de caatinga (second-growth scrub-forest) or the capoéira de mata (second-growth littoral forest). Generally the capoéira is low brush, two to five [412] feet tall, which is easily cut with a facão--a long heavy knife which is a universal agricultural tool. Any heavy waste material that can be moved is dragged away from the plot; if there are tree stumps, they will not be grubbed out.[3] Sometimes the waste material on the surface of the field is burned, but this is by no means universal.

(2) A favored spot, either within the cleared field or in the adjoining capoéira, is prepared for a seed bed. Usually a site on the edge of a wood or near a steep slope is selected. Any available waste materials--corn stalks, old tobacco plants, weeds, brush, pieces of wood, and the like--are piled on the small plot, allowed to dry, and then burned.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 244 221 (3) When the first rains come, the soil of both the seed bed and the fields are worked up with a hoe so that all vegetable matter is buried and all weeds turned under.

249 231 239 [417] (4) If possible the land is fertilized. Under "ideal" circumstances cattle are penned nightly over the area by means of a small temporary corral. The corral may be maintained for a long period over the seed bed, but on the field it is moved frequently so that the whole area is fertilized. Generally the resulting manure is left exposed to the sun and rain until planting time. However, this "ideal" method of fertilization is rare. A very large number of tobacco cultivators have no cattle--they are too poor and their operations are too small for livestock. Most cattle are held by fazendêiros (ranchers) who do not themselves grow tobacco. Moreover, the intensiveness of cultivation keeps the cattle population too small to provide enough manure for all local needs. Usually it is necessary to buy fertilizer. Cattle manure is sometimes purchased from a local fazendêiro. More and more, however, the tobacco cultivators are dependent upon cattle, or better still, goat manure which is trucked into the Recôncavo from the sertão. The manure is spread over the seed bed to a depth of about one inch and over the field in such depth as the quantity allows.

249 221 (5) From mid-April to the end of May, depending upon the weather and the condition of the tobacco field, the seeds are planted. Almost without exception the seeds are taken from completely exhausted tobacco plants of the previous year, plants no longer able to produce salable leaf. The soil is broken open and loosened, and the seeds are sown directly into the fertilizer. Since the fertility of the seeds is very low, they are sown very thickly. The seed bed is fenced but is rarely covered. In sixty to seventy days the seedlings are ready for transplanting.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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(6) In June, as the rains increase and as the seedlings are ready, the soil in the field is again broken, and small ridges about 18 inches apart are made with a hoe. Occasionally manure is put into the hills at this stage in place of earlier fertilization. Then the young seedlings are planted in the ridges and a small quantity of water added. Ten days or two weeks later there is a replanting where the original seedings have failed.

(7) A few days later the ridges are further hilled up. Thereafter the field is kept clean with a hoe.

(8) When tips begin to form, about two months after planting--late July or early August--the plant is topped so that six to ten leaves remain.

(9) About three weeks later the whole upper stalk is harvested. Two or three shoots near the ground are then allowed to develop. These shoots are topped, and eventually their leaves are harvested. As many as eight separate harvests are made from the shoots, and often this form of harvest continues into December.

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(10) The harvested tobacco is tied to a long pole or rack and hung under the roof of the dwelling, beneath the eaves, or occasionally in separate thatch and adobe "barns." If the weather is damp, a fire is used to hasten drying. After they are thoroughly dried, perhaps three or four weeks, the leaves are cut down and stripped from the stalks. They are then graded, tied into bundles, and laid aside until they are sold, or if the farmer is a large producer, until a fermentation bulk is assembled. The entire season's harvest is piled on the stack, and it is sold to the buyer at the end of the year.

[442]

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The sequence of cultivation following the harvesting of tobacco is as follows:

(1) The field is turned with a hoe--if some tobacco plants are

249 244 still producing, they are carefully left in place--and narrow, shallow trenches eighteen inches or two feet apart are dug across the field. Segments of manioc stalk, freshly cut and two to four inches long, are planted in the trenches and covered.

(2) When the manioc appears, the plants are slightly hilled, and the field is kept clean.

(3) Any time after six months, but if conditions are not too pressing after nine months, the roots are dug up with a hoe. The disposition of the manioc roots will be discussed in a later section on processing.

(4) The field is re-planted to manioc until it will no longer produce a reasonable yield--one to four years depending upon the fertility.[4]

(5) The field is abandoned to wild vegetation and used as a rough pasture, or, if land is in very short supply, it is fertilized and planted to tobacco.

There are a number of problems which lead to departures from the ideal system of cultivation discussed above:

(1) In many areas where the intensity of cultivation is extreme, no second growth is available, and it is necessary to take fields directly from the cultivation of manioc, or other crops, to the planting of tobacco. It is important to remember that by no means all the soils of the tobacco-manioc region are suitable for tobacco cultivation, even [134] in such favorable centers as Cruz das Almas or São Gonçalo. Only the lighter, sandier soils of the hill tops and upper slopes and occasionally the porous soils of the basins are used for tobacco. These tobacco soils are popularly considered to be "poor," because crops other than tobacco or manioc do not thrive upon them.[5]

[237] (2) A key problem in the main areas of tobacco-manioc cultivation

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249 is fertilizer. Most of the manure is purchased with money borrowed from
244 the tobacco buyers or local merchants. The rise and fall of the produc-
237 tion, yield, and quality of tobacco in the various municipios of the Recôncavo can be explained to a considerable degree by two factors: (1) the availability of loan capital, and (2) the variation in precipitation. Probably the local supply of capital is more variable than the rainfall. Moreover, the quality of the manure available is usually poor. The manure of grass-fed cattle is a mediocre fertilizing agent, and probably the manure produced from the capoéira de caatinga upon which most cattle feed is even more inferior. Goat manure is preferred, because it is believed that it produces both a larger crop and a higher quality leaf, but it is very expensive. Because those who can afford goat manure usually are also the more efficient and careful cultivators, it is difficult to be sure whether it is superior fertilizer or better care which produces the quality leaf.

The manure which is secured from sources within the tobacco-manioc zone has almost invariably deteriorated because it has been left for long periods in the sun and rain. The more expensive fertilizer imported from the sertão is of a better quality, both because it comes from a drier zone and has thus suffered from less leaching in the corral and because it is kept in piles so that only the surface material is open to the elements.

In general every possible cruzeiro that can be begged or borrowed is spent for manure, but if none can be bought, the cultivator will haul black soil (crystalline massapê) from the bottom lands and spread it over his field. Failing that, he will plant without fertilizer in a desperate attempt to produce a crop which will enable him to eke out the following year. Even if relatively fresh soil with a good growth of capoéira is available, the cultivator can produce only a very small

249 crop of poor tobacco without the application of manure. Commercial
244 fertilizers are beyond the means of all but a very small minority of
237 cultivators. Those large growers who have experimented with commercial fertilizers report unfavorable results, presumably because of excessive leaching in the porous soils.

249 (3) The system of seed selection is illustrative of the general crudity of cultivation. As indicated above, the seeds are taken from the old and repeatedly harvested plants of the preceding season. The only criterion for selection is survival--the seed plant continued to produce longer than the rest of the crop. This does not mean that it produced more leaf or better quality--indeed, the opposite is often
[654] the case. Occasionally better seeds are available from the federal or
[242] state government, but the cultivators take little interest.

(4) The practice of harvesting the entire stalk or shoot at one time increases the variation in quality, since there are appreciable differences in the stages of development of the leaves. Immature leaves do not cure properly, while overripe leaves will produce only inferior grades.

249 (5) The primitive methods of drying and fermenting further re-
276 duce the quality of the leaf. Where the leaves are dried indoors over the fire, they acquire a smoky character. Frequently the debts of the
[424] cultivator force him to sell part of his crop prematurely so that a bulk large enough for fermentation is not assembled. On the other hand, if a large bulk of leaf is accumulated for curing and fermentation, there is always the risk of scorching, since thermometers are never used to check the temperature. A common abuse, and a costly one to the cultivator, results from delay in stringing the leaf up to dry. If the freshly cut leaves are allowed to remain piled in the sun before hanging, the green color is fixed. This damage cannot be

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249 [276] removed by drying or by fermentation, and the leaves are very bitter.

(6) There is a constant but generally ineffective struggle [136] against insects which damage the tobacco crop. The most serious pest is the ant, which not only cuts the leaves but which also covers whole plants with extensive mounds. A number of plant diseases are common in the Recôncavo--their general effect is to reduce quality rather than to destroy the crop. The effects of plant diseases generally are masked by the much greater damage which occurs in cultivation and processing.

241 (7) The practices of land clearing, soil preparation, planting, harvesting, and curing, discussed above, are more highly standardized than is the sequence of land use. The "ideal" land use sequence is more characteristic of the zone of tobacco and manioc south of the Rio Paraguaçu--the Southwestern Recôncavo--than north of it. This land use sequence has been used as a standard of comparison because it is practiced where the highest quality of tobacco is grown and because it was the most commonly observed practice in most other parts of the tobacco-manioc region. However, even in this southwestern area, departures from the "ideal" sequence are relatively common--the introduction of corn and/or beans between tobacco and manioc is especially important. The sequence which is followed after tobacco cultivation depends not only upon the relative price of farinha de mandioca, corn, and beans, but also on the amount of fertilizer applied to the tobacco plot the previous year. Moreover, the chosen sequence will depend upon the original quality of the soil. In Cruz das Almas, at least, corn and beans were not planted in the old tobacco field unless the cultivator felt assured that the fertility was reasonably certain. If substantial risks were involved, manioc was planted.[6]

241 311 North of the Paraguaçu, modification of the "ideal" system is more frequent, especially in municípios where the area in cultivation is relatively small. In Coração de Maria, for example, only 4 per cent of the area was cultivated in 1948. Here it is possible to open more "new" land upon which tall capoéira has developed. Since this município is remote--but more in terms of road transport than in actual distance--there is greater need to produce a high-value, low-bulk crop, such as tobacco, and less possibility for the commercial production of manioc. Many fields of tobacco are allowed to revert directly into capoéira. Since the land is more thoroughly fallowed and since there are fewer cattle and thus less manure, fertilization is generally less extensive in this area. A similarly modified pattern of cultivation is found in Catu and in the more remote parts of São Gonçalo.

In Santo Antônio, where the intensity of agriculture is increasing, but where the cultivated area is still relatively small, much "new" land can be used. In this município the area in tobacco is [249] large in relation to manioc, and thus some tobacco fields obviously revert directly to brush.

249 244 There seems to be no definite land rotation period in the tobacco-manioc region. Rather the period is controlled by the availability of land. In 1948, the município of Cruz das Almas, one of the most intensively cultivated areas of the tobacco-manioc region, had one half of its total surface in cultivation according to the official data. Approximately one-quarter of the total area was in each of the two crops. Under these circumstances, no more than two years of fallow can have intervened between the harvesting of manioc and the planting of tobacco. However, not all of the município can be cultivated, and certainly no more than three-fourths of the total area can be used for tobacco. It follows that in many cases no more than

249 244 one year could have intervened between manioc and tobacco. By 1953, the total cropland was obviously far below the 1948 level--probably no more than one-fourth of the land was under cultivation. Even so, the rotation period was extremely short, usually only one or two years. The cultivators are enclosed in a narrowing circle of exhausted soil, increasing cost of manure, and growing population. These are the fundamental problems of the tobacco and manioc region. All of these problems seem to be especially acute in the municipio of Cruz das Almas, but they are serious in every area where tobacco is grown.

243 244 The Cultivation of Corn and Beans. Corn and beans are usually cultivated in the Recôncavo under a land rotation system, much like the system of tobacco and manioc. The qualification "in the Recôncavo," is necessary because the modifications of the corn-bean system as it overlaps the Recôncavo from the north and west are very significant. In the sertão the areas suited to crop cultivation are more limited, primarily because of the lesser amount of precipitation. Where suitable areas are available, such as at the foot of the low mountains, cultivation tends to be permanent, particularly if the soils are relatively good and if the population is relatively dense for so droughty a zone--as in Serrinha and Inhambupe. This permanent form of agriculture is called pé do monte (foot of the mountain) and is a relatively standardized agricultural system in the sertão, as well as in the crystalline zone near the western edge of the Recôncavo, in Feira de Santana and Santo Estêvão, where corn and beans are often cultivated around the low serras. In the Tertiary zone farther east, where there are no serras, a similar system of permanent cultivation is found in the valleys. Elsewhere within the Recôncavo, corn and beans are generally cultivated under the field and fallow system,

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243 either separately or in conjunction with tobacco and manioc. They are
244 frequently grown on land thought to be not suitable for tobacco culti-
[134] vation yet too good for manioc alone, such as the steeper slopes of the crystalline area where the heavier soils do not produce good quality tobacco.

Since the area in corn and beans is small and the amount of slope land large, the capoeira is extensive and frequently quite tall. After the slopes are cleared, the land is very often planted to mixed corn and beans, more rarely to one or the other. The crops are planted
[221] in March or April, perhaps in May, and even in June for beans alone. The planting season for these crops is extended both because they are tolerant of changes in season and because as crops secondary to tobacco they have a lesser priority. Some corn is usually planted early enough
[527] so that it will ripen in time for São João (mid-summer day) festival
[862] for which fresh corn-on-the-cob is the traditional food. This festival is usually the beginning of the corn harvest, but the bean harvest
[251] begins a month later. Both crops are harvested by hand and, after drying, are shelled by hand, sacked, and either stored or sold. When the fertility of the soil is higher than normal or when there is labor to spare, the field may be planted to manioc after the corn and bean harvest.

243 As a result of the interpenetration of the corn-bean and the
244 tobacco-manioc systems, in many regions and on many individual proper-
249 ties the two co-exist. Usually the upland fields are in tobacco and
311 manioc, with an occasional plot of corn and/or beans. Usually the slope-land plots are in corn or beans.

249 The Cultivation of Sugar Cane. In distinction to the crops discussed above, sugar cane is grown under a system of permanent

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249 cultivation which is monocultural and highly standardized. As has been indicated, small scale sugar cane cultivation--in house gardens--is omnipresent in the Recôncavo. The area in such garden cane, however, can scarcely be as much as one per cent of the total cropland.

249 471 Within the Central Recôncavo sugar cane is grown principally to supply a relatively small number of sugar usinas. The usinas either own and operate or rent and operate the cane plantations or have a stable relationship with those plantations from which they buy cane. Under these circumstances it is both necessary and relatively easy to standardize the methods of production and cultivation. The industrial aspects of sugar production will be discussed in the section on processing.

249 The general system of sugar cane cultivation involves a five-year sequence:

[407] [492] (1) The land is broken with a large ox-drawn, wooden plow. The same plow opens parallel furrows, two to three feet apart, into which are laid pieces of cane stalk, cut from specially grown seed cane. The seed cane is then covered with hoes and packed with bare feet. Planting usually takes place during the last of the wet season--August and early September--to a lesser extent during the cane harvest--mid-September to mid-March--and at the end of the harvest in the autumn, if possible. Usually, however, the ground is too wet for planting during the months of May to August.

[412] (2) The cane is weeded frequently with a knife or a hoe. After a year of growth it is cut and carted away to the railroad. The leaves and upper stalk are left on the field and after drying are burned, except for some small part which is used as fodder.

(3) When the roots sprout again, the field is weeded and kept clean as the second-year cane develops; and after a year, the cane is harvested again. Generally this re-growth is repeated three times, so that there are four harvests for each planting.

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249 (4) The field is burned for the last time, and as new cane or grass appears, it is used as pasture.

(5) After one year of pasture, sometimes more, the field is replanted to cane.

[527] The length of the harvest varies. It begins with a festa (festival) in the first week of September and continues as long as there is cane and as long as the heavy rains hold off--usually about six months.

249 311 Within the sugar cane area most of the land is in cane or in temporary fallow pasture except: (1) very wet bottom lands; (2) steep slopes; (3) villages; and (4) the lands and yards occupied by the mills. The general aspect of this area is that of an unbroken sea of cane. Single fields are often large--a square kilometer is not uncommon--but they are divided into separate plots. The cultivation of other crops within the sugar cane area is very limited. Small house gardens for the laborers are common, but other commercial agricultural forms of land use are rare.

249 423 257 184 Land holdings, as will be seen, generally are large under this system. The orientation of the sugar industry in São Filipe is somewhat different than in the zone discussed above. Properties are smaller, the monocultural aspect less dominant, and the whole sugar economy more primitive. There were eighty-two small sugar mills in this area in 1940, compared to the eight large usinas of Santo Amaro. [273] Many of these produced crude sugar (rapadura) rather than the refined sugar or cane brandy (cachaça) which are the main products of the zone north of the Bay.

245 The Cultivation of Coconuts. The final important agricultural system of the Recôncavo is the coconut monoculture, a less highly organized permanent culture than the sugar cane system.

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231 small (Map 88). Within the Recôncavo, only the eastern part of the
233 Central Recôncavo and the environs of Feira de Santana had even a moderate number of ranches. Livestock enterprises generally occupied less than one-fifth of the enumerated area (Map 89). These properties were relatively important in the Northwestern and Central Recôncavo, a reflection of the importance of ranching and cattle fattening in the northwest and of the need for work animals in the sugar cane region. In the Southwestern Recôncavo crop cultivation is too intensive and widespread to share the land with many ranches. Except in the southwest, 20 per cent of the total enumerated area was in livestock units along the limits of the Recôncavo. In relation to the total area, the extent
[311] of livestock properties varied from place to place along the border zone (Map 90). Beyond the Recôncavo, ranching is more important in the crystalline areas, whether caatinga or agreste, than in the Tertiary taboleiros.

231 As has been pointed out, large-scale properties are especially
233 important among the livestock production units. In most parts of the
433 Recôncavo the ratio of the area in large-scale and in small-scale livestock units was about three to one. The analysis of the mean size of large-scale livestock units, plotted on Map 91, emphasizes the diversity within the region and discloses the tremendous size of the ranches in the coastal agreste northeast of the Recôncavo. Since the number of large-scale livestock units was small and the size of the units highly variable, the mean values for the areas of these properties may be deceiving. Nevertheless, it is significant that the mean size of livestock unit was large in the Central Recôncavo, where there are a number of fazendas in the forested hills around the sugar cane region. These
[313] [249] properties are used primarily as sources of firewood for the usinas

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233 and locomotives of the cane area, but, as has been pointed out previously,
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[313] they have supplementary livestock production.[4]
[249]

Of the 247 large-scale livestock units in the Recôncavo, 65, with
231 a total area of almost 30,000 hectares, were in the *município* of Feira de
233
311 Santana (Maps 92 and 93). Another 39, with about 16,000 hectares of
433 land, were in the Central Recôncavo. Each of these two areas has a distinctive character: the Central Recôncavo *fazendas de gado*--cattle ranches--supply oxen and horses, asses, and mules to the sugar economy; the large *fazendas* of Feira de Santana, with extensive grassy pastures, serve the *campo de gado*--cattle market--of the *cidade* and thereby the whole economy of the Recôncavo.

231 *Crop Cultivation Units.* Almost one-half of all farms in the
241 Recôncavo produced no animals in 1940. In the marginal areas of the
311
184 region, excepting always the southwest, less than one-third of the farms were pure crop cultivation units (Map 94). On the other hand, crop farms were particularly numerous on the southern littoral, where the forests are not salutary to livestock--except swine and fighting cocks. The Northern Recôncavo, where ranching is not an important activity, had a relatively large number of crop cultivation units, as had Salvador and the adjoining coastal *município*, Camassari.

241 Relative to both the enumerated and the total area, the purely
311 crop cultivation units were very important in Itaparica and Santo Amaro and unimportant around the border zone of the Recôncavo (Maps 95 and 96). On Itaparica and in the sugar cane region, crop cultivation units occupied over one-half the total land area--over 85 per cent on the island of Itaparica. The size of crop cultivation properties in the Recôncavo was generally small, but there were very great local differences
000 (Map 97). The tobacco-manioc region, especially in the Southwestern

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The tobacco-manioc region, especially in the Southwestern
249 244 311 423 Recôncavo, was a zone of very small properties--in Cruz das Almas and Coração de Maria the mean size of crop cultivation units was 9 hectares, while in São Filipe it was only 5 hectares. This zone of small crop cultivation units is part of a belt, parallel to but well back from the coast, which originates in the serras of the coffee zone, crosses the Recôncavo along the caatinga-mata transition, and follows the caatinga-agreste boundary northward along the eastern edge of the Tertiary taboleiros. The small-property belt thus lies between the littoral, with its large plantations of sugar cane and its ranches, and the dry sertão, with its extensive livestock economy.

241 249 31 423 The Central Recôncavo was a zone of large crop cultivation properties, primarily sugar cane plantations. Although there are a large number of livestock in the sugar cane region, the plantations use, rather than produce, animals and were thus classified as crop cultivation units. The plantations of the sugar cane area are very diverse as regards size, and many of the individual properties are now operated collectively by large usinas. Nevertheless, there are still a number of small properties, producing cane which is sold to the large mills.

241 231 233 311 Mixed Crop Cultivation-Livestock Producing Units. A little over one-half of all the farms in the Recôncavo produced livestock as well as crops. These units occupied almost 60 per cent of the total area of all properties. However, the area in which over half the properties were mixed units was limited to a broad perimeter zone which included all the outer municípios of the Eastern, Northwestern, and Southwestern Recôncavo (Map 98). In Itaparica and Santo Amaro, where crop cultivation units were very important, there were relatively few mixed units.

244 249 231 233 The maps of the area in mixed units in relation to enumerated area (Map 99) and total area (Map 100) confirm the observation that

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244 the tobacco-manioc region is an area of co-existing crop and livestock
249 production. The mean size of mixed units of both the tobacco-manioc
231 region and the western and northern perimeter of the Recôncavo was
233 small—20 to 40 hectares—but was significantly larger than the mean
[423] [311] size of crop farms in the same areas (Map 101). Like the purely cane-producing plantations, the mixed units of the Central Recôncavo were relatively large.

241 Crop Cultivation and Mixed Crop Cultivation and Livestock Pro-
231 ducing Units Combined. The distribution of the area in crop and crop-
232 livestock units combined, as shown on Maps 102 and 103, reaffirms the
311 regional distinctiveness of the Recôncavo. In almost the entire region over one-half the total area was in these two types of crop-producing properties. None of the adjoining municípios had as much as 50 per cent of their total area in these two types of units, and in all but three, less than one-third the land was in crop or crop-livestock properties.

241 Regional Pattern of Agricultural Properties. The distribution
311 of the three major production units is summarized on Map 104. In each
184 of the two basic regions—crop and crop-livestock—one production
[231] [233] type dominated, in number and in area, over the others. The Central Recôncavo with the island of Itaparica and, beyond the Recôncavo, the environs of Nazaré composed a region in which most of the agricultural land was in crop cultivation units. North of the Bay, most of these crop cultivation units were sugar cane plantations. On Itaparica there were several kinds of crop cultivation units—coconut plantations, diminutive manioc farms, and across from Salvador, small summer estates with a few cultivated fields. Around Nazaré most of the crop cultivation properties appeared to specialize in the production of manioc.

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241 423 some properties in excess of 100,000 hectares of land. Such overwhelmingly large properties signalize a tremendous concentration of power and, for the sertão, much wealth.

The large properties of the Recôncavo were less extensive than the vast fazendas of the sertão, but they probably represented an even greater assemblage of economic and social power. The sugar cane plantations and the associated usinas, with their traditional prestige, large capital investment, and centralized production, are the preponderant social institutions of the Recôncavo.

[249 471]

Land Tenure. Most of the formal categories of farm tenure which are characteristic of the agriculture of the United States are present also in the Recôncavo: ownership by private individuals and corporations; operation by owners, administrators, renters, and "squatters."[5] However, the contrasts in property size and the centralized control of agricultural credit and capital in the Recôncavo give these these general types of agricultural tenure and operation a distinctive character.

241 423 472 Proprietor Operation. Most of the agricultural properties of the Recôncavo were operated by the owner in 1940. Only in the Southern Recôncavo--Maragogipe and Salvador--were less than half of the properties owner-operated. In most of the region and the adjoining area three-fourths of the units were operated by the owner (Map 112). The area occupied by owner-operated units was in excess of half the enumerated area in all parts of the region except the Southern Recôncavo (Map 113). However, the area in owner-operated properties was higher in the tobacco-manioc area of the Southwestern Recôncavo—70 to 80 per cent—than in either the tobacco-manioc or the sugar cane region north of the Bay. A greater contrast is reflected in the map of the mean size of owner-operated properties (Map 114). In Conceição do Almeida—

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241 423 471 and 161 hectares in Santo Amaro--while those of the Salvador area were relatively modest--81 hectares in Salvador and 72 hectares in Itaparica.

241 427 Rented Properties. There were few rented properties in the Recôncavo as a whole in 1940 (Map 117), but in three areas over 10 per cent of the properties were rented: in the core of the tobacco-manioc area of the Southwestern Recôncavo; in Irará; and around Salvador. In Maragogipe, 52 per cent of the properties, occupying 15 per cent of the enumerated area, were rented (Map 118). In Santo Antônio, adjoining the Southwestern Recôncavo, over 30 per cent of the properties were rented, but along the western and norther border zones of the Recôncavo there were very few rented properties. Because of the small size of the units, rented properties in the Recôncavo generally occupied less than 10 per cent of the enumerated area.

[241] [249] The rented properties of the tobacco-manioc crop region were usually small, from 10 to 30 hectares, but in the sugar cane area they averaged over 200 hectares (Map 119). If the official data are correct, the mean size of rented properties in Coração de Maria was over 267 hectares, but this seems very unlikely and has not been shown on the map.

241 423 471 Corporate Lands. In 1940, one-hundred ninety-eight of the 29,000 agricultural properties of the Recôncavo were owned by corporations or companies. The total area of these properties was 33,000 hectares, almost 4 per cent of the total enumerated area of the region. Moreover, the land which composed these properties was some of the most productive in the Recôncavo. The number of corporate properties and the concentration of land under corporate ownership almost certainly has increased since 1940.

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241 423 471 [249] Although there were a few corporate lands in the vicinity of the city of Salvador in 1940, the main concentration was in the sugar cane area north of the Bay. Here the large corporately-owned usinas controlled as much as 30 per cent of the agricultural land. Most of these corporate properties were sugar cane plantations, but some were cattle ranches and other accessory properties. The corporations tend to dominate the sugar cane areas which are most productive and most favorably located for the transportation of cane and of the refined sugar and other products.

Conclusion. The strong network of interpersonal relationships, discussed in connection with crop cultivation and systems, is often more important than the purely formal aspects of land ownership and operation in the Recôncavo. The agricultural society of the Recôncavo is closely knit, so that the effective freedom of operation of the farm operator [565] is very limited. Although the large and rich landowners have, on some levels, a greater latitude than the small operators, they too are enmeshed in a system of inherited economic and social obligations and are subject to the restrictions imposed by the urban upper class.

241 441 442 472 The two primary local supervisory groups in the agricultural society are the merchant-buyers of the tobacco-manioc region and the general administrators and plantation owners of the sugar cane region. [656] However, both these groups are under the more or less immediate control of the sugar and tobacco companies in Salvador and of the official Instituto do Açúcar e do Álcool and the Instituto Baiano do Fumo.[7]

249 471 472 656 The operations of the sugar cane plantations are dictated by the mills, which specify the type and quantity of cane and the schedule of delivery. In turn, the amount of sugar produced by the mill is determined by the Instituto do Açúcar e do Álcool, while the policy of

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BB 249 471 472 [656] operation is determined by the company officers, who generally live in Salvador. The company, in its turn, is subject to some control from Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo investors. This structured system of control probably is one of the reasons for the continuation of the monoculture in the sugar cane area. The usual explanation offered for the cane monoculture is the unique suitability of the soil and climate and the innate conservatism of the Baiano. However, one of the features of the present sugar economy is the lack of capital for other enterprises. The absentee owners, who are the only likely source of capital, are hesitant to advance money for new and untried enterprises. Moreover, alternative agricultural enterprises, if successful, would reduce the supply of cane and thus eventually raise the cost of usina operation.

BB 249 244 442 In the tobacco-manioc region the control exercised by Salvador is indirect, but compelling, because the small tobacco producer is almost completely at the mercy of the buyer, who receives orders from the tobacco exporter and manufacturer through the agent.

BB 241 423 471 [184] [231] [233] The differences in production specialization, size, and tenure among the agricultural properties of the Recôncavo both accentuate the basic dichotomy of the region and re-emphasize its unity. The small-scale mixed crop cultivation and livestock producing unit of the tobacco-manioc region and the large-scale crop cultivation unit of the sugar region are both esentially engaged in the production of commercial crops. Both are distinct from the primary agricultural unit of the sertão, the livestock ranch. Both are subject to the over-all economic control of the center—Salvador.

B BB 241 423 184 [249] In most parts of Brazil, as in the Recôncavo, the agricultural properties are highly diverse in size, function, and ownership. Most areas of sugar cane cultivation have relatively large properties, primarily engaged in crop cultivation. In other areas, as in

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In other areas, as in the Recôncavo, more and more of the cane plantations are passing into the hands of the central mills and are being operated by administrators. Small properties, owner or renter operated, are also a widespread feature of the Brazilian agricultural scene. Frequently, as in the Recôncavo, large and small properties are intermixed in zones where several crops and livestock are raised jointly. Throughout Brazil the class of small property holders is tied to the merchant and large landholder class by a network of economic and social relationships much like those of the Recôncavo. Apparently the number and total area of small properties is growing, especially in Central and South Brazil. If this be so, the development of small farms in the Recôncavo, such as those producing tobacco and manioc, is part of the nationwide trend.

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come to be the area of the greatest value of agricultural production in the state—Cr.$1,007,824,000, in 1948, almost three times the value of crop and livestock production in the Recôncavo, Cr.$335,000,000. The total value of livestock production in the Recôncavo is estimated to be about Cr.$60,000,000 for 1948. Although no comparable figure is available for Brazil, probably the Recôncavo had less then 1 per cent of the livestock and thus produced less than 1 per cent of the value of livestock in the nation as a whole.[1]

B BB 433

The present inferior position of the Recôncavo is in part a reflection of the relative decline of the region in the nineteenth century discussed in the chapter on the evolution of the Recôncavo. However, the Recôncavo continues to lag behind in the contemporary development of Brazil. From 1944 to 1952 the total cruzeiro value of the principal crops of Brazil increased four-fold, while the value of Bahia's tobacco crop, a good indicator of the economic shifts of the Recôncavo, increased by only one-fifth despite the concurrent inflationary spiral. Even the government-stabilized sugar industry of the Recôncavo produced only three and one-half times its 1944 value. Although the above increases are more indicative of the steadily declining value of Brazilian currency than of true economic development, they are an index of the relative importance of agriculture in the Recôncavo to the national economy.

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Tobacco, sugar cane, and manioc, which occupied 70 per cent of the Recôncavo's cropland, accounted for 77 per cent of the total value of all principal crops in 1948 (Table XVI). Each of the three crops contributed at least 20 per cent of the value of all crops, while no other crop produced over 6 per cent of the total. The cruzeiro value of these principal crops, and of livestock, and their relative position within the nation has been given in Table XV, above.

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TABLE XVI

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RELATIVE CROPLAND AND VALUE OF ALL CROPS OF THE RECÔNCAVO WITH A VALUE OF MORE THAN Cr.$1,000,000 IN 1948

Crop	Per cent of the Cropland of the Recôncavo	Per cent of the Value of All Principal Crops of the Recôncavo
Tobacco	27	32
Manioc	28	25
Sugar Cane	15	20
Beans	9	6
Oranges	1	5
Bananas	1	3
Corn	12	3
Coconuts	1	2
Coffee	4	1
Pineapple	<1	<1
Peanuts	<1	<1
Sweet Potatoes	<1	<1

Source: Calculations and estimates based on data from Produção Agrícola: 1948.

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The leading position of tobacco results in part from its extensive cultivation, and in part from its relatively high unit value. While the mean value of production of all crops in the Recôncavo was Cr.$3,400 per hectare in 1948, tobacco produced Cr.$3,900 per hectare, as given in Table XVII, which also shows the value of production per hectare of the other principal crops. The leading position of tobacco is at variance with tradition which, as has been seen, assigns the first rank to sugar cane. Not only was tobacco the most valuable crop of the Recôncavo in 1948, but it was also the leading crop in seven municípios of the tobacco-manioc region, where it accounted for a minimum of 40 per cent of the value of all crops. Within four separate municípios of the crop region, it accounted for about 60 per cent of the total value of crops (Map 120). The Southwestern Recôncavo was the chief center of the production of tobacco, as indicated by value as well as by cropland and bulk, for it produced over 63 per cent of the total value of tobacco in the Recôncavo. Within this section, Cruz das Almas was the

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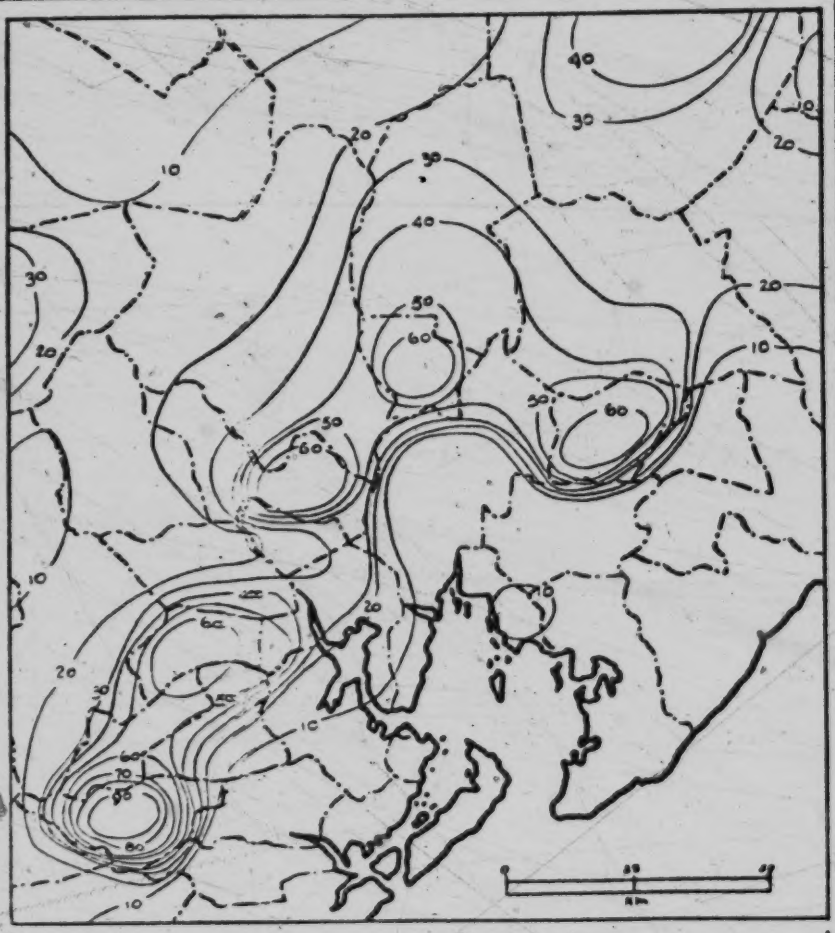

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Value of Crop Production

Contributed by Tobacco--1948

MAP 120

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TABLE XVII

MEAN VALUE OF PRODUCTION PER HECTARE FOR THE CROPS OF THE RECÔNCAVO IN 1948

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Crops	Value of Production Cr.$1,000 per ha.
Principal Crops*	
Tobacco	3,900
Manioc	3,100
Sugar Cane	4,600
Beans	2,200
Oranges**	13,300
Bananas**	8,600
Corn	800
Coconuts**	7,400
Coffee**	1,400
Pineapple	1,000
Peanuts	2,400
Sweet Potatoes	3,500
All Crops	3,400

*Crops with a value in excess of Cr.$1,000,000.
**There is little consistent relationship between the area and production of these crops, so that local values for these crops often depart widely from the mean.
Source: Calculations and estimations based upon Produção Agrícola: 1948.

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leading producer--40 per cent of the total value of the tobacco crop. Notwithstanding the dominant role of the Southwestern area, tobacco production north of the Rio Paraguaçu was also significant—contributing 24 per cent of the total value of the crop.

As has been indicated, several grades of tobacco are produced in the Recôncavo. The superiority of the tobacco production of the Southwestern Recôncavo is more than a matter of hectares of cultivation or kilograms of leaf. The area is the core of the "Mata Fina" zone, within which the leaf of Cruz das Almas is assigned the highest price. [439] The "Mata Fina" leaf is the basis of the export of cigar tobacco to European markets. In its concern with cacao, the most valuable export, [245] [439] Bahia tends to forget the important role which tobacco plays in its economy, and with this, so the people of the zone sometimes feel, to

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249 433 neglect the critical tobacco producing areas. It seems to be true that
[245] the chief recipients of political and economic attention have been the
[439] traditionally important sugar cane area, and more recently the cacao
[491] zone. The people of the tobacco area complain particularly about the lack of roads.

244 433 Not only is manioc the basic source of subsistence for the Recôncavo, it is also the second crop in value of production. Its cultivation, as has been seen, is closely associated with the production of tobacco, so that the Southwestern Recôncavo, which produced 63 per cent of the tobacco crop, also contributed a very large part--48 per cent--of the total value of manioc (Map 121). However, manioc is important in its own right, as well as in its relationship to tobacco. No data are available to indicate the importance of manioc as a surplus product which is sold beyond the borders of the município in which it is grown. A rough estimate can be made by assuming that the per capita consumption of manioc is 400 kilograms per year--this is the mean consumption for the state of Bahia. Using this figure in conjunction with the population data, it is possible to estimate that in 1948 about 30,000 tons of surplus manioc was produced in the Recôncavo. Ninety per cent of this surplus was produced in the municípios of the Southwestern Recôncavo.
[489] It is significant that many of the trucks passing from the Southwestern
[494] Recôncavo to Feira de Santana and Salvador are piled high with bags of farinha de mandioca. The total value of commercial manioc would be about Cr.$6,500,000, so that on this basis manioc is the fourth or fifth most valuable commercial crop of the Recôncavo. Using the above method of determination, it was found that several municípios adjoining the region also produced surpluses of manioc. The most notable of these were the four municípios adjacent to the Southwestern Recôncavo—Nazaré, São Miguel, Santo Antônio, and Castro Alves—which produced a

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244 433 [438] 10,000-ton surplus. The surplus manioc of these municípios would appear to be marketed to the manioc-deficit areas of the Recôncavo, particularly [249] the sugar cane area and Salvador. It is significant that those municípios which were the leading producers of tobacco were also the leading producers of commercial manioc (Map 123). Although the exchange and processing of tobacco in these areas is well organized and receives some attention from government bureaus, the growing and processing of manioc remains an unrecognized enterprise.

249 244 433 The importance of the production of tobacco and of commercial manioc to the various municípios of the Southwestern Recôncavo is shown in the following summary:

Município	Per cent of Total Value of Production	
	Tobacco	Manioc
Cruz das Almas	65	23
Conceição de Almeida	57	38
São Filipe	25	32
Muritiba	17	14
São Félix	54	-

One of the advantages of the relative balance of these two products is that in the event of a crop failure of one, the area would still have a salable commercial product. Moreover, since the production of manioc is relatively large, a moderate decrease in its yield would still leave this area with at least a minimum supply of food for its large agricultural population.

249 257 433 [654] Sugar cane is now the third crop in value in the Recôncavo, but it is maintained in that position only by government subsidy. It is a crop which either dominates the region in which it is produced or its cultivation is economically unimportant (Map 124). In part this is the result of the technological requirements of the sugar industry, which demand that large quantities of sugar cane be produced close to the mill so that the cane can be delivered quickly once it is cut. However,

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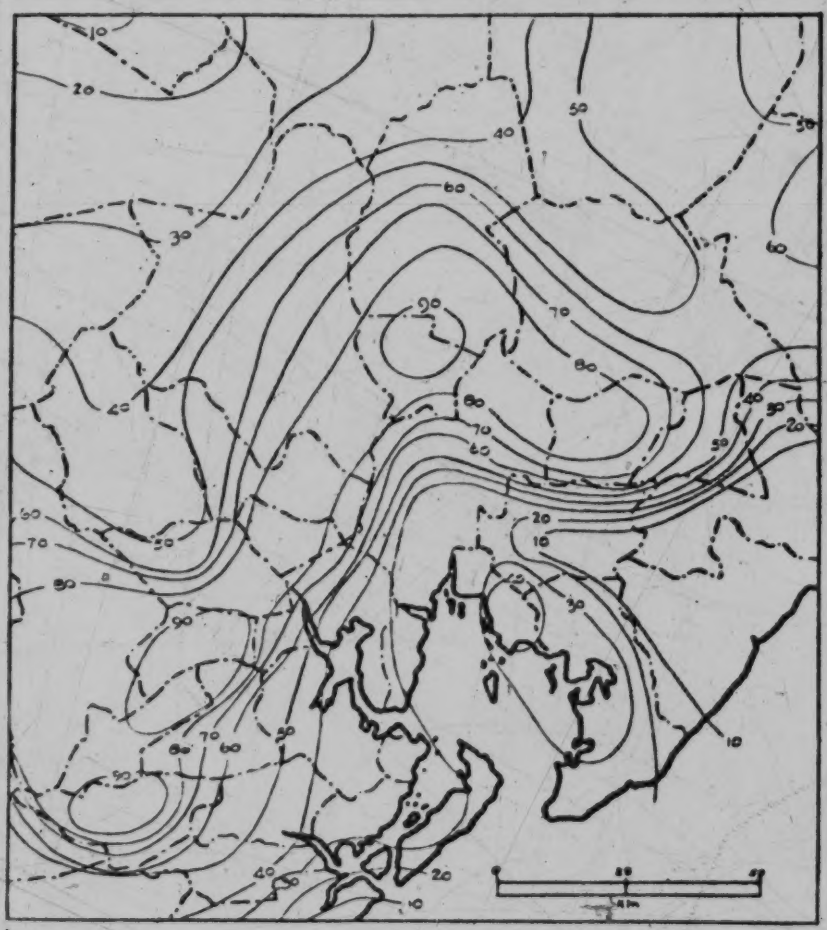

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Value of Crop Production

Contributed by Tobacco and Manioc—1948

MAP 122

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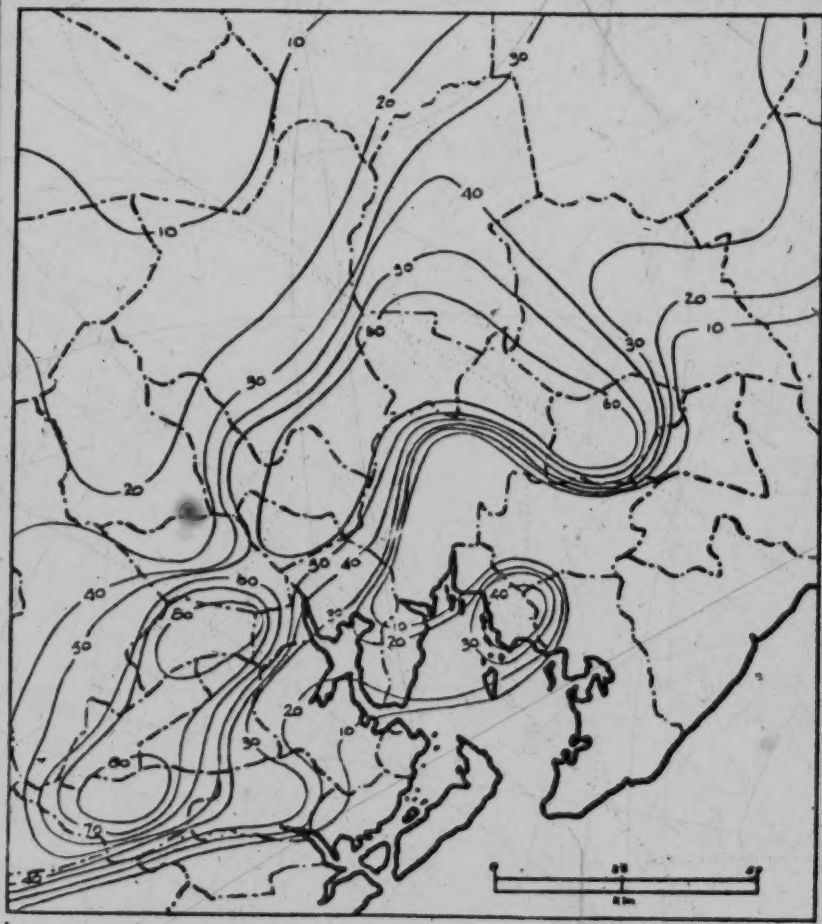

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Value of Crop Production

Contributed by Tobacco and Commercial Manioc—1948

(Estimated)

MAP 123

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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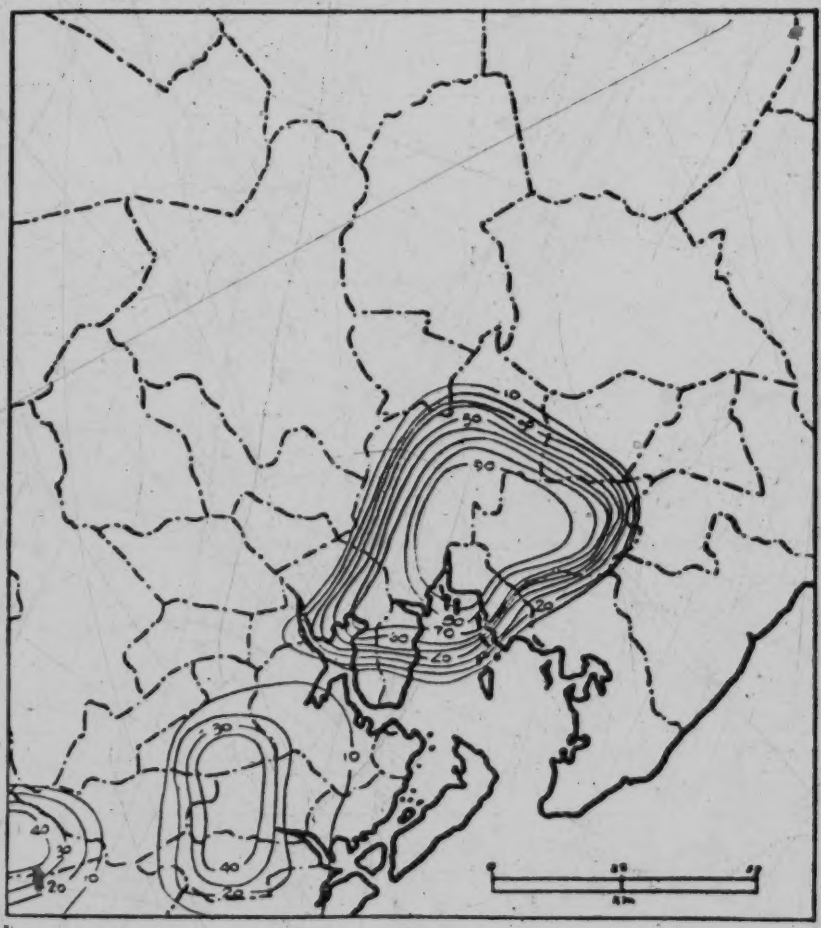

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Value of Crop Production

Contributed by Sugar Cane--1948

MAP 124

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249
257 the large landholders and agricultural capitalists of Brazil have a
433 strong historical bias toward monocultural systems.

249 As would be expected, the Central Recôncavo accounted for almost
433 90 per cent of the total value of sugar cane in the region. Sugar pro-
471 duction in this area is dominated by the big usinas, and most of the cane is produced on very large properties, as has been seen.

243 Although corn and beans primarily are subsistence crops, they
244 have, like manioc, some commercial importance (Map 125). The corn and bean
433 areas within the Recôncavo do not produce outstanding surpluses, although
438 these two crops are important commercial products in nearby Serrinha and Conceição do Coite. Most of the corn and beans of the Recôncavo are exchanged for farinha de mandioca, which provides the cultivator with a cheaper food.

244 The remaining crops of the region are of minor commercial impor-
245 tance, or are more valuable commercial crops of highly localized pro-
433 duction. Bananas, peanuts, and sweet potatoes are minor commercial
438 crops of diffuse production, since most of their cultivation is for subsistence purposes. Oranges, coconut, coffee, and pineapple are important but secondary commercial products whose production is concentrated in a few restricted areas (see, for example, Map 126 of coconut production).

249 The importance of the principal commercial crops--tobacco, sugar
244 cane, coffee, coconut, oranges, pineapple, a few minor crops, and
245 commercial manioc--varies widely from município to município (Map 127).
433 However, two areas--the Central Recôncavo and the Southwestern Recôncavo--
438 had highly commercial economies in which over 90 per cent of the total value of production was in commercial crops. In the tobacco-manioc area north of the Rio Paraguaçu, only one-half to three-quarters of
000 the total value of production was in commercial crops. Except in the

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442 443 233 campo de gado draws vaquéiros (cowboys) and ranchers from the sertão as well as agriculturalists and buyers from the Recôncavo, the nearby municipal market has a tributary area which is much larger than the município, indeed, much larger than the Recôncavo. The sertão and the Recôncavo exchange goods on a large scale in these markets. From the sertão come cattle and other animals, hides and skins, various extractive products, such as waxes, and the fumo em corda tobacco of the interior of northern Bahia. From the Recôncavo come food, especially bananas, coconuts, and sugar, and various manufactured articles which have been brought from South-Central Brazil via Salvador. Adjoining the campo de gado is an open lot where horses, mules, and all the accoutrements of the vaquéiro--bridles, saddles, and leather clothing--can be purchased.

249 471 438 A good deal of the sugar cane which is cultivated in the Recôncavo is grown by the usinas on their own properties. In other cases the cane plantations and processing plant are owned by different members of the same family, and the whole enterprise is operated on a profit-sharing basis. It cannot be said of either of these arrangements, which account for most of the cane harvested in the Recôncavo, that there is a genuine market situation. A truer market relationship exists for the few remaining fornecedores (suppliers) who grow cane and sell it to the usinas. Very commonly, however, these "independent" cane producers are indebted to the sugar company in both the economic and social sense. Moreover, the fornecedore is very much at the mercy of the company because of the lack of alternative markets and the difficulties of transportation. The cane which is purchased by the usinas on a contract basis must have a specified quality and must be delivered to the usina at its convenience by the supplier. It is likely that the mounting debts of many fornecedores will soon force them to sell

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their properties to the expanding usinas. This same process is taking place in most sugar areas of Brazil.

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The marketing of tobacco centers on one key figure--the agent. With the resources of the tobacco company he extends direct credit to the larger tobacco producers and indirect credit to the small producers via his buyer, who is generally a local shopkeeper. The company grants a specified sum of money to each agent at the beginning of the season, and he disburses this at his own discretion. Bad debts are charged against the company rather than the agent. Most of the tobacco crop is pledged to the buyers in advance, by means of a formal contract or an informal agreement which specifies the price, quantity, and quality of the leaf to be delivered. Most of these contracts are entered into in order to secure credit; there are few agriculturalists who could produce tobacco without first receiving credit. There is much opportunity for speculation within the framework of this marketing system. Those buyers who are shopkeepers have in stock the supplies which the cultivator needs. The shopkeeper delivers the goods needed by the cultivator and retains the money which has been advanced by the agent. Since most of the stock of the buyer--storekeeper--has been purchased on credit, he may accumulate a considerable sum in cash or bills of exchange. Speculation is an acknowledged feature of the marketing of tobacco in Bahia, and in many cases the buyer uses the credit advanced by the agent for speculation in the tobacco crop. He does this by extending credit against the tobacco crop of cultivators who are not included in the normal relationships with the agent. Sometimes these debtors are unable to liquidate their debt, and the buyer is caught short. In this event he can use his position as the agent's representative and as a local economic power to recoup, at least partially, by forcing the price upward or through the substitution of cheaper leaf

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249 in meeting his contract with the agent. The result of this and other
442 speculative practices is that the price of tobacco tends to spiral upwards
438 throughout the season.
452
455 The crop is delivered to the buyer in small lots--10 to 15 kilo-
249 grams--which are assembled, graded, and baled. The bales are taken to
276 the warehouse of the agent where they are added to other bales to form
438 a large pile in which fermentation can take place. After fermentation
442 the bales are broken, and the leaf is re-sorted. With the better grades the sorting is done very carefully, and a large number of size and texture grades are separated. Intermediate grades are sorted less carefully, often by bundles rather than by individual leaves. The poorest grades are stripped without grading. After sorting or stripping, the leaf is again placed in bales and kept in the warehouse until transport can be arranged to deliver the tobacco to Salvador or to the cigar factories.

249 Most of the tobacco produced in the Recôncavo is exported. In the
433 years 1946 to 1950, inclusive, 166,676 tons of leaf tobacco were produced
439 in Bahia and 128,567 tons were exported, so that about 75 per cent of the total crop of the state was exported.[2] However, the exported leaf is made up of the choice tobaccos, that is "Mata Fina," which are largely grown in the Recôncavo. It may be concluded from this that at least four-fifths of the tobacco crop of the Recôncavo was exported during this years. Tobacco exported from the Recôncavo normally composes 70 per cent of all the tobacco exported from Brazil. In value, the tobacco exported from the Recôncavo was less than 1 per cent of the total exports of all products from Brazil.[3]

482 Transportation. The backs of men and of animals are the basic
492 transportation media in the Recôncavo: almost all goods begin and end
489

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493 Salvador and Feira de Santana, via Santo Amaro and São Gonçalo. The
497 Leste also has a special train of relatively modern type which runs from Salvador to Aracaju in Sergipe. As soon as electric power from the newly constructed dam at Paulo Alfonso on the Rio São Francisco is available, the Leste expects to electrify the line from Salvador through Alagoinhas. One of the most critical shortcomings of both lines is the very poor condition of the roadbed, so that derailments are relatively frequent.

497 Railroad fares are extremely cheap by the standards of the United States, so that for one or two dollars it is possible to travel all the way across the Recôncavo. Although there are many agriculturalists who cannot afford even these fares, rail transportation is within the means of merchants and buyers of the "service segment" of the agricultural population. Freight rates are higher but generally not excessive. However, there are many irregularties in the assessment of freight charges, and service is very slow.

The passenger operations of the Leste give relatively good service to the Central and Northwestern Recôncavo. In other parts of the Recôncavo the desultory passenger service of the Leste is little used. It is difficult to estimate the exact relative importance of railroads
[494] vis à vis trucks as freight carriers, but there is every indication that trucks carry most of the agricultural goods which are transported for long distances over the land. However, the railroads, which are
• 249 government owned, operate without regard to profit or loss. The main
499 and branch lines of the Leste play an important role in the sugar industry of Santo Amaro and western São Sebastião. The government tracks and the tracks of a number of private lines joined to them are used to haul cane from the plantations to the large usinas. The cane, which is delivered to the railroad line in ox carts, is hauled to the usina

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249 on trains owned by the sugar company. In addition, much of the sugar, rum,
497 and alcohol which is manufactured by the big usinas is transported to Salvador over the lines of the Leste.

493 As has been suggested, automotive transport has come to have great
491 importance in the Recôncavo, despite the lack of good roads, the high cost of vehicles and fuel, and the competition of both boats and trains. No
491 município in the region can be said to have a road network, and usually only the cidades and in a few cases large villas are connected with other parts of the region. The principal road of the region is a dirt highway which connects Salvador with Feira de Santana. Feira is an important transportation center for the Northeast of Brazil, for it is the southern terminus of the Nordestina, the trunk highway which crosses the Sertão. The Nordestina joins the main road to Rio de Janeiro and the road to Salvador at Feira de Santana. A branch from the Salvador-Feira road turns southward and, passing through Cachoeira, São Félix, and Cruz das Almas, connects westward to Castro Alves and southward to the cacao zone. There is also a road from Salvador to Alagoinhas and other cities of the Tertiary zone farther north. A few lesser roads feed into these three main highways--the most important of these is the connection between Santo Amaro and the Feira to Salvador road.

All of the main highways are two-lane dirt roads which are almost always passable but which are extremely rough and are dusty in dry
491 weather and slippery when wet. The quality of the roads is probably
484 best illustrated by the time required to journey across the Recôncavo. The road distance from Salvador to Cruz das Almas is about 125 miles; the time required for a non-stop trip is 6 to 7 hours. It should be added that despite the poor road conditions, traffic moves very fast, and there are many accidents. To a very limited extent it is possible

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491 484 for vehicles to pass from the main highways over the broader trails to the nearby villages in good weather. However, this is rarely attempted except by jeep, and by these only infrequently.

249 499 Until the last few years a number of the large usinas in the main sugar cane area have not been connected with the highways. Since jeeps and trucks have become more numerous in the Recôncavo, a number of the big usinas in Santo Amaro are constructing their own outlets to the highway. In recent years the government-owned oil company has been drilling exploratory wells in the cane fields of São Francisco. In conjunction with this enterprise, new roads have been built, and for the first time many plantations of this area have road connections to the highway system.

315 255 491 499

494 493 Most of the traffic on the roads of the Recôncavo consists of trucks and busses--private automobiles generally are found only in the urban areas, since cars are very expensive in Brazil, and the highways are very destructive. A large number of busses connect the outer Recôncavo with Salvador. The best passenger service, and the most expensive, is provided by a major bus line which has a daily run from Salvador to Feira de Santana and back. While this bus line employs large busses, most of the other busses used in the Recôncavo are small. These latter provide connections between the Southwestern Recôncavo and Salvador, and supplement the major Feira de Santana-Salvador service. The runs of many of these smaller busses originate outside the Recôncavo, but they collect and discharge passengers at each cidade. Fares are cheap, considering the cost of vehicles and fuel, but still somewhat more expensive than train travel.

Truck traffic is very heavy on the main highways, especially from Feira de Santana to Salvador. Probably most of the agricultural

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505 abuse by the sea and by man. While some of these boats are used for
[226] fishing in the Bay and in the ocean, their most important function
unloubtedly is bringing food from the areas around the Bay to the city
of Salvador. On the return trip, they carry building materials,
[249] manufactured articles, and passengers. The usinas of the coastal
[257] sections of the sugar cane area use these vessels to transport cane
to the mill and to deliver the products of the mill to Salvador. Several of the cities on the Bay are very much dependent upon this means of transport, especially São Francisco and Maragogipe, which for all practical purposes have no road connections.

Motor boats serve to connect Salvador and the island of Itaparica. All of the tidewater cidades of the Bay and, in addition, São Roque do Paraguaçu and Nazaré are connected with the city of Salvador by scheduled motor vessels which carry many passengers and small quantities of freight. These vessels ascend and descend the estuaries with the tide. The head of navigation on the Rio Paraguaçu is Cachoeira, and on the Rio Sergi is at a landing on the outskirts of Santo Amaro.

489 These various transport media provide for the movement of people
241 and goods across the Recôncavo. They are generally able to meet the
433 immediate demands of the agricultural economy without excessive delays. The available media of transport are used to the fullest extent; busses, trains, and motor vessels are always crowded, and the trucks are always busy. However, the poor roads, the archaic railroads, the taxes on the movement of goods, and the high cost of vehicles clearly set a limit to the expansion or the intensification of the agricultural system. The rationalization of agriculture in the Recôncavo would require considerable expansion and improvement of the system of transportation.

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249 252 276 Processing of Agricultural Products. Each of the three principal crops of the Recôncavo require processing before it can be consumed. Sugar cane and manioc are highly perishable, and both are processed in their entirety within the region. Tobacco, once it is fermented, can be stored for longer periods, so that there is no necessity for immediate processing within the Recôncavo. Sugar cane is processed in large usinas and to a lesser extent in engenhos (primitive sugar mills). Tobacco [277] products are fabricated in small-scale home industries and in factories. Manioc is converted into farinha de mandioca in very small mills.

249 489 471 The cultivation, transportation, and processing of sugar cane require an integrated system in which there is some form of centralized administration. The larger usinas own and operate most of the surrounding cane plantations and the associated transportation system, and administration is direct. Where cane is purchased from furnishers--privately-owned plantations--the mill specifies the type of cane which it will buy and the schedule of delivery. Most of the sugar cane in the Recôncavo is processed by usinas, which produce sugar, rum, and alcohol. However, there are a number of engenhos and a few smaller usinas which specialize in the production of rum or crude sugar. The engenhos are most important around the margins of the main sugar cane area north of the Bay and in Cachoeira and São Félix, but the usinas dominate the core area of cane production in Santo Amaro, São Francisco, and São Sebastião. Within the core area the big usinas generally are located near but not on the main railroads, although a few are situated near the shore of the Bay.

249 492 The harvested sugar cane generally is delivered to smaller mills by the grower, usually on ox carts. The larger mills receive their 249 499 505 cane via the railroad or the Bay. In these cases the cane is transported by ox cart from the cane fields to a weighing station, from

249 which it is hauled by railroad or boat to the mill, although sometimes
497 the cane which is carried by boat is weighed at the mill. The rail-
505 roads which handle the cane, as has been indicated, are owned and
496 operated by the usinas, except that the government right-of-way is
471 used whenever these tracks pass close to the plantations. One of the
249 usinas is new and a few of the older mills have some new equipment, but the general level of technology is considerably below that of Pernambuco or São Paulo, and the mills are somewhat smaller. The usinas grind the cane, extract the juices, and refine the sugar by means of vacuum pans and centrifuges. The more modern usinas produce a high quality sugar, but in general the product is coarse and not a pure white.
274 The by-products of the large usinas and part or all of the cane juice
385 of some of the usinas and engenhos is converted into rum or commercial
262 alcohol. The sugar, rum, and alcohol from the sugar industry of the
273 Recôncavo are consumed primarily within the Recôncavo and the adjoining
438 regions of Bahia. About one-tenth of the production of sugar is
439 exported, chiefly to Rio de Janeiro. The commercial alcohol usually
382 is mixed with gasoline in the bulk plants in Salvador to provide fuel
385 for automotive transport. By law a specified amount of commercial
654 alcohol must be mixed with gasoline--this is designed to subsidize the sugar industry.

249 There are twenty usinas in the Recôncavo, and these produced
471 an estimated 80 per cent of the total sugar of the state of Bahia in
433 1948. The three largest of these are owned by a single sugar company, which also owns the associated plantations, transportation equipment, and cattle fazendas. This company plays an important role in the
249 marketing of sugar from its own usinas and from other companies. The
471 concentration of the cultivation of sugar cane and of the production
178 of sugar in the hands of this single enterprise is a symptom of the

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249 decline of the old system of independent plantations and small usinas and
471 the rise of agricultural capitalism in the Recôncavo as in Brazil's other
178 sugar areas. With greater capital resources, drawn from Salvador, Rio de Janeiro, and São Paulo, the large companies are slowly buying up the fazendas of the core area of sugar cane production and are closing out the small mills.

249 The typical usina involves a large-scale organization of land,
471 transportation, processing, and labor by means of an administrative hier-
489 archy. Timing is one of the critical aspects in converting cane to a finished product, for the harvesting of the cane and the operation of the mill must be closely coordinated. A basic factor in this coordination is the weather, which governs the quality of the cane, the transportation of the harvest, and thus the operation of the mill. In dry weather the
[492] sugar content of the cane is high, and the ox carts move easily through
[493] the fields. In wet weather the harvesting bogs down, and the operation of the mill comes to a standstill. Since the fixed costs of the mill and the plantations are very great, delays in harvest are costly to the in-
249 dustry. Another important administrative problem for the industry is
464 labor. The sugar economy depends upon itinerant seasonal labor and upon the declining local agricultural population. Occasionally the operation of the mill is delayed because of labor shortages. It is sometimes necessary to shift labor from the fields to the mill or vice versa or from one plantation to another and to balance the cost of maintaining a labor reserve, if available, against the losses incurred when the op-
249 eration of the mill is curtailed. The scope of operation of the usina
471 may be illustrated by a list of the major physical equipment of one of the large usinas in Santo Amaro:

• 249 471

Land:
9,000 hectares in 19 plantations and ranches; each of the 15 cane plantations has a small settlement, livestock, and a weighing station.

Transportation Equipment:
25 kilometers of railway, 9 locomotives, over 100 railway cars, 4 trucks, 2 jeeps, and for each cane plantation an average of 10 ox carts.

Agricultural Machinery:
9 tracked tractors with accessory plows and grading equipment, 1 wheeled tractor, and on each cane plantation 4 or 5 ox-drawn plows.

Housing:
About 50 houses and miscellaneous service buildings for each cane plantation.

Processing Plant:
Grinding and extracting plant, distillery, power house, 2 warehouses, garage, railroad shop, and medical dispensary.

Miscellaneous:
Office building, houses for company manager and administrator, school for the mill settlement, and church.

249 The operation of such a large enterprise as this requires a large administrative staff. The administrative staff of the particular usina described above includes the following: a general manager for all properties; an administrator over all the plantations; an administrator in charge of the mill; a sub-administrator over each group of four or five plantations; and an overseer and several foremen for each plantation. There are also a number of supervisors in the mill and on the
249 466 railroad. In addition, the usina pays the salary of the teachers in the local school, engages the priest for the irregular services which are held in the church of the usina establishment, and in conjunction
[178] with several other nearby usinas, employs a doctor. These activities reflect the desire of the sugar company to stabilize labor relations through social services, but on a more impersonal basis than was characteristic of the feudalistic sugar system of the nineteenth century.

258 Manioc can be converted into a staple food which is easy to transport and store by simple processes and small-scale enterprises.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSION

128 In the preceding chapters the results of a statistical appraisal and a field investigation of agriculture in the Recôncavo have been presented. As a conclusion it seems appropriate to: (1) summarize the findings; and (2) discuss the potentialities of the Recôncavo for agricultural development

433 241 Like most of the densely-settled east coast of Brazil, the Recôncavo is engaged primarily in the production of crops. This is true not only of the region as a whole, but also of each of its individual parts excepting only the area around the cattle market town of Feira de Santana. The total cultivated area of the region, about 6.4 per cent 241 311 of the land surface, was almost evenly divided in 1948 between purely commercial crops--tobacco, sugar cane, coffee, oranges, and coconuts--and subsistence-commercial crops--manioc, corn, beans, bananas, peanuts, and sweet potatoes. About 70 per cent of the cropland was used for the three predominant crops--manioc, tobacco, and sugar cane. Livestock production is associated with crop cultivation in many parts of the 231 233 241 Recôncavo, but the region is also dependent upon the sertão of Bahia for livestock, which are driven into Feira de Santana and are used in several different areas within the region.

249 244 433 The three principal crops as determined by cultivated area--tobacco, manioc, and sugar cane--accounted for 77 per cent of the total value of crops in 1948, and no other crop accounted for more than [231] [233] 6 per cent of the total value. Thus agriculture in the Recôncavo is primarily concerned with these three crops and with the production

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[231]
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of livestock, which had a value greater than sugar cane but less than manioc.

Agricultural activities within the Recôncavo are localized in several distinct sub-regions, each with a specialized system of cultivation and each with either one or two principal crops. The primary agricultural subdivisions of the region are: (1) the sugar cane monocultural sub-region; and (2) the tobacco-manioc sub-region.

249 Sugar cane is grown as the exclusive crop in its major area of production--the pocket of coastal plain north of the Baía de Todos os Santos. Cane is generally cultivated under a four-year monoculture and one-year fallow system on large properties employing large quantities of hand labor and using oxen to draw plows and carts. Neither fertilizer [407] nor agricultural machinery is used to any appreciable extent. Most of [492] the animals used as labor in the production of sugar cane are brought [231] [233] into the area from the sertão, and little livestock breeding is found in this area. The processing of sugar cane is in the hands of a small [471] number of medium-sized usinas. The companies which own these usinas [178] are gradually buying up the plantations so that to an increasing extent the mills directly control the production of sugar cane. Most of the [497] cane is brought to the usinas by railroad, although sailing boats are [489] used for this purpose along tidewater. Most of the sugar produced in [505] the Recôncavo is consumed within the state of Bahia, but small quantities [438] [439] are shipped to other parts of Brazil. Both the aristocratic upper class [565] and the rising non-aristocratic business interests of the Recôncavo are [471] [472] involved in the ownership and administration of the sugar industry. The [464] permanent labor force is supplied from the settlements of the sugar cane [178] plantations and the mills, but the rural population and the labor force of the sugar area are declining. Seasonal labor for the harvest comes from the interior sertão of Bahia.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 311 [134] Commercial sugar cane cultivation is confined to the humid Coastal Plain areas with Cretaceous clay soils, except for a small area in São Filipe. Since the areas of Cretaceous clay soils are limited and compact, sugar cane production is highly localized in two areas: (1) the main sugar cane area in the municípios of Santo Amaro, São Francisco, and São Sebastião; and (2) a smaller area north of the Bacia do Iguape in the município of Cachoeira. There is a third area of less intensive production in southern São Filipe.

249 244 [433] The sole purpose of cultivation in the sugar cane area is the production of a commercial product, but the areas of tobacco-manioc cultivation produce both a staple food and a commodity for sale outside the region. Most of the tobacco and manioc of the Recôncavo are produced under a land rotation system in which the sequence is: (1) tobacco; (2) manioc; and (3) fallow in wild vegetation. The tobacco is planted in small fields, usually after an application of manure. The entire plant is harvested repeatedly until it will no longer produce a salable leaf. Manioc is planted following tobacco, sometimes several times, until the field is exhausted and abandoned to the second growth. The fallow period is frequently short, sometimes as little as one year. Cultivation is entirely by hand--no plows are used. There is very little selection of seed, and only one variety of tobacco--Bahia Brasil--is [423] [427] produced. Tobacco and manioc are produced almost exclusively by small cultivators who are either owners or renters. Frequently livestock [231] [233] are raised upon the properties of the cultivators, but except for the use of manure in the cultivation of tobacco, there is little integration of crop and livestock production. The leaf is harvested, dried, 276 and partially fermented by the cultivator. The marketing of tobacco 276 438 is inseparable from the credit arrangement between the cultivator and [452] [488] the tobacco buyer or agent. The leaf is delivered by the producer to the storekeeper-buyer or the local tobacco warehouse.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

000 the storekeeper-buyer or the local tobacco warehouse. The roots of the
258 manioc are processed locally, in casas de farinha, and the farinha de
438 mandioca is sold in the local market or to storekeepers in the nearby village or town.

249 The sub-region of tobacco and manioc production occupies the
244 humid eastern and southern edges of the Uplands. The chief center of
311 production, the Southwestern Recôncavo, occupies a zone of deep, sandy
134 and sandy loam soils lying in flat-surfaced uplands above crystalline rocks. The northern parts of the tobacco-manioc sub-region occupy the rough, dissected southern edge of the sandy Tertiary taboleiros--in this northern area the production of both crops is less intensive than in the Southwestern Recôncavo. The area of primary tobacco and manioc production generally conforms to the forest and scrub forest transition and is expanding southwestward beyond the traditional Recôncavo along this
[433] physical boundary zone. The intensity of production is also increasing,
[178] but with violent year to year fluctuations.

241 In addition to sugar cane, tobacco and manioc, other subsistence
433 and commercial products are grown in the Recôncavo. The most important of these are corn and beans, grown as commercial and subsistence crops in the north and west of the region, and cocomuts, which are produced along the beach line. Bananas, sweet potatoes, and peanuts are grown in most parts of the Recôncavo, but on a small scale.

241 There are several areas in which there is little or no cultiva-
311 tion. The rougher Intermediate Hills, which are forested, separate the
137 sugar cane sub-region from the tobacco-manioc sub-region. The lowland areas of Tertiary and crystalline soils are also forested and are cultivated under a non-intensive land rotation system with some associated
241 livestock. The Recôncavo is distinguished from the surrounding areas by its relatively greater mean intensity of cultivation. In the

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BB 241 231 233 In the surrounding sertão livestock production is the areally and, in many cases, economically dominant activity; the Recôncavo is primarily a region of crop cultivation.

BB 43 443 The Recôncavo is a functional unit in the economic organization of commercial agriculture and marketing. Salvador, with one-third of BB [249] [452] the people of the region, is the primary market center. The credit essential to the production of tobacco passes from the city to the countryside, while the leaf is either shipped to the city for export or is sent BB [249] to local cigar factories controlled by Salvador companies. Similarly, the headquarters of the sugar industry and the chief market for its products is Salvador. Feira de Santana is also a functional center for the region, since in its markets the agricultural and industrial products which either originate in the Recôncavo or are imported through Salvador are exchanged for the livestock, crops, and extractive products of the sertão.

B BB 241 Many of the features of the agricultural system of the Recôncavo are also characteristic of Brazil. Both the land rotation system and the permanent monoculture are basic Brazilian agricultural systems. Agricultural technology, in the Recôncavo and in most parts of Brazil, B BB [464] is relatively backward. Brazilian agriculture is labor extravagant, and there is a constant falta de braços, but with few attempts at mechanization. Agriculture is highly speculative, whether tobacco in B BB [423] [565] the Recôncavo or coffee in São Paulo. The large property—latifundia—and the class organization with which it is associated are important in the region and in the country as a whole. There are large numbers of semi-dependent small cultivators in the Recôncavo as in other parts of Brazil. Both the region and the nation are very dependant upon the sale of agricultural products to distant markets.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

128 241 (2) tobacco production; (3) manioc production; (4) the land rotation system; and (5) alternative agricultural products.

249 471 For three centuries the sugar industry was the basis of the commercial economy of the Recôncavo, and for the last century it has continued to play an important role. As a result of its long and profitable history, it has a number of advantages as a basis for agricultural development. Its capital assets are large--the best land in the region, a number of industrial plants, and a transportation network. Moreover, its [565] land is organized into large units, many of which are under the control of a single company, and all of which are under the control of a small group of the upper class. The industry has a large administrative staff, the most experienced in the region in large-scale enterprises--the organization of agricultural and industrial production, labor, transportation, and finance. It has the very great advantage of good political connections and government support. A part of the industry, [242] composed chiefly of the largest usinas, has had some experience with improved varieties of cane, and on a very limited scale with mechanization.

249 471 433 Against these advantages are a number of limiting factors. Most of the local capital of the sugar industry apparently is committed in the present plant. The sugar economy of the Recôncavo is large scale only in relation to the other agricultural enterprises of the region--the mean daily capacity of the mills can scarcely exceed 500 tons. Moreover, many of the mills are obsolescent--there is only one new usina, and only the larger mills have very much new equipment. Despite [464] the presumed administrative skill of the industry, labor has been one [178] of the continuing problems since the deterioration of the old feudalistic [466] employer-employee relationships of the late nineteenth century. However,

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 471 433 these individual shortcomings of the industry are less important than, and to a certain extent derived from, three basic problems of the sugar economy: land, market, and leadership.

249 [311] Most of the area of Cretaceous soil in the lowlands of the Recôncavo presently is occupied by sugar cane or by the fallow fields. Only those lands which are too wet or which are needed for settlement, mills, or transportation are not used for cultivation. Thus there seems to be little opportunity to increase the area of good sugar cane land. It would presumably be possible to reduce the fallow period by lengthening the period of ratoon harvests or to abandon the fallow period altogether. If, as seems likely, these changes would reduce the yield of cane, then it would be necessary to begin to use expensive imported fertilizers in order not to lose the advantages gained by increasing the intensiveness of cultivation. [242] The introduction of high-yielding Javanese varieties of cane has already been attempted, but because of climatic conditions, soil deficiencies, poor cultivation practices, or a combination of these factors, yields remain below East Indian levels. [134] It is theoretically possible that sugar cane cultivation could be extended to the other soils of the lowland--the Tertiary sandy soils and the crystalline soils of the peninsula and of the Intermediate Hills west of the Bay. Both of these soils, however, are relatively infertile, and the sandy soils are particularly unsuited for cane because of their poor retention of water. Sugar cane cultivation is not practical on the Uplands on account of the low precipitation--cane can be grown in only a few damp valleys of the Uplands.

175 249 439 The second great disadvantage of the sugar cane industry of the Recôncavo is in its market relationship. The history of the sugar cane economy of the region may be summarized as follows. At the end of the sixteenth century the forty engenhos of the Recôncavo exported 1,800 to

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 439 [175] of sugar to Europe. This 1,800 tons of sugar was probably a very large part of the total world trade in sugar at that time. In 1948 the twenty usinas of the region exported 8,497 tons of sugar to the rest of Brazil, primarily to Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. In this year the total international trade in sugar was about twelve million tons. Moreover, the Recôncavo was able to sell in the Brazilian market only by virtue of the support which has been given to the sugar industry of the Northeast by the Brazilian government. The European market has long been lost to the Recôncavo, and the chances of regaining any substantial part of it are not good--not only on account of the low level of efficiency of the Bahian sugar industry but also because of the local and foreign sources of sugar against which it would have to compete in the European market.

249 565 178 571 The third problem of the sugar industry is leadership, which is to say the problem of the Bahian upper class. The development of the sugar economy and of the aristocratic upper class of the Reconcavo are practically inseparable, and the decline of the former is in part a reflection of the inability of the latter to provide intelligent and progressive leadership. The institutions which were developed in the opening century of colonization for the production of sugar succeeded altogether too well as far as the region is concerned, for since then the industry has not succeeded in establishing a new pattern in conformity with the changing systems of technology and the new competitive situation. A century of failure either to develop an efficient sugar industry or to find new sources of income for the sugar area is a sign of the continuing failure of the upper class. More and more the leadership of the sugar industry is passing from the artistocrats to the new segment of the upper class, the agricultural capitalists. In most cases these men seem to have a broader view of the problems of the

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 industry than the aristocrats, as the partial rationalization of the
565 sugar system since 1900 testifies. However, the entry of even these
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571 relatively progressive and forward-looking business men into an industry whose only future is that guaranteed by the protection of the government does not reveal a willingness either to accept short-term risks or to make an investment in the long-term future of the Recôncavo.

175 Tobacco, as has been seen, began its history as an auxiliary of
277 the sugar cane economy. The development of the commercial tobacco
433
439 economy since 1800 indicates a greater flexibility than is characteristic
[567] of the sugar industry. When the decline of the slave trade brought an end to the African market for fumo em corda, the tobacco economy turned
277 to a new product, fumo em fôlha, and to a new market, Europe. Unlike
439 the sugar of the Recôncavo, Bahian tobacco has been able to compete successfully in the European market against leaf imported from Cuba and from Sumatra. Moreover, the leaf tobacco of Bahia dominates the internal market of Brazil to a degree not equaled by the local sugar industry for several centuries.

277 There are several possible explanations for the relatively
472 greater flexibility of the tobacco economy. Several of the more promi-
249
178 nent firms in the manufacturing of cigars and in the export of tobacco have foreign origins or are owned by people of European background. Indirectly these firms may have affected the operation of the tobacco economy, but it is difficult to find any signs of significant changes in the methods of cultivation. On the other hand, the tobacco industry and trade seem to have been spared the unimaginative and inflexible leadership which the aristocratic upper class of the Recôncavo has given to the sugar industry.

249 Tobacco cultivation by its very nature is more flexible than
[457] the system of sugar production. Instead of the usina, which must be

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 [457] purchased in Europe at the expense of precious foreign exchange, tobacco can be processed for the trade with only a shed and a few crude presses. [489] Rather than a relatively expensive rail net to assemble the crop, tobacco can be carried by truck, small boat, or even by pack animal. More- [433] over, since the cultivation of tobacco is integrated with the production of food and is primarily an activity of small farmers, it is possible to adjust the size of the crop from year to year with a minimum sacrifice of capital investment.

277 The tobacco industry of the Recôncavo has a number of disadvantages as a base for commercial development which may be summarized as problems of: (1) land; (2) markets; and (3) system of production. 249 311 Leaf tobacco production in the Recôncavo and in the adjoining areas of Bahia is confined to a narrow belt between the humid edges of the Up- [134] lands and the dry interior of the state. An expansion toward the coast would bring tobacco first into the Intermediate Hills where the upland soils which are preferred for tobacco cultivation are of limited area and then into the humid lowlands in which the Cretaceous soils are unsuitable, apparently, for the cultivation of quality leaf tobacco. [132] and in which the Tertiary soils are extremely infertile. An expansion westward would bring tobacco into an area where the precipitation in [134] most years is inadequate. The interior north of the tobacco area is dry and has very poor soils, the Tertiary upland soils. There is an [137] opportunity for the further expansion of the cultivation of tobacco toward the southwest along the forest and scrub forest boundary into a region which produces the same general type of tobacco as the Southwestern Recôncavo--the "Mata" grade. This apparently is the meaning of the increased tobacco production in Santo Antônio. It should be possible, at least as far as the soils and climate are concerned, to continue the expansion toward the southwest into the adjoining

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 municípios. However, in this southwestern area the amount of flat land
311 is progressively reduced as the serras of the coffee zone are approached.
[245] Moreover, this region is already occupied by the other commercial systems--coffee, and in a few areas, sugar cane. Thus tobacco would not be moving into an area in which it could have either the land or the labor force without a struggle.

277 Leaf tobacco has a number of disadvantages as a primary commercial
439 product. The Brazilian market for Bahian tobacco is not yet large enough to stabilize the price during years when it is impossible to sell leaf abroad. In Europe the tobacco of Bahia must compete with leaf from other parts of the world, and because the Recôncavo has not yet succeeded in producing a suitable high quality wrapper leaf, it cannot hope to secure the whole market no matter how great its quantity of production. One of the possibilities which is being considered by the tobacco industry is the production of wrapper tobacco, but the experiments which have been completed so far have not been highly successful. Even if the quality of the tobacco were improved, one basic market problem would remain--tobacco is a luxury product, and many countries find it possible to do without it in times of war or economic distress.

249 The basic problem of tobacco production in the immediate future seems almost certain to be the system of cultivation and the land system with which it is connected. As has been seen, in the main centers of production the fallow period is already extremely short. It is not unlikely that the cumulative effect of too short a rotation period under a system of land rotation will reduce the fertility of the soil to a point where normal second growth will not develop and where land rotation, especially with so demanding a crop as tobacco, will be impossible. Moreover, if the intensity of tobacco cultivation should increase, then it seems inevitable that the density of livestock within

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 the crop region would decline and that manure, essential to the production of tobacco, would become even more expensive than at present. Any increase in the intensity of tobacco production would probably decrease the production of manioc, so that both the sub-region and the Recôncavo would have an even greater food deficit than at present.

241 The system of land rotation is clearly one of the basic problems of the Recôncavo. As the population of the region grows, the problem of the system of cultivation will almost certainly become progressively more acute. One solution which is being proposed by the rural missions of the Ministry of Education is the use of composting as a [178] substitute for manure. As yet the results of the mission program is not clear, but it is obvious that the resistance and the apathy toward new agricultural ideas in the region are very great. As far as could be ascertained, mixed agriculture has not been suggested as a solution to the problem. Indeed, in view of the lack of additional land for the production of forage crops or of grasses, it is difficult to see how such a proposal could be implemented.

242 It is apparent even to the casual observer that there are some alternative crops which might be produced in the Recôncavo. From time to time the agricultural experiment stations and a few enterprising [243] land owners point the way. One example is the production of corn as a commercial crop in the northern part of the município of Muritiba. At [312] the price of corn prevailing in 1953, it was believed possible to produce the crop profit ly using irrigation water pumped from the Rio Paraguaçu, and a single landowner was making the attempt. Obviously there are no large areas in the narrow valley which can be irrigated, nor is the water supply great. It is, however, suggestive that it is possible to produce a staple food crop at as great a profit as tobacco. In the

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

245 been indicated, banana area and production do not have a consistent re-
433 lationship, no attempt has been made to alter the map of cultivated
127 area for bananas.
128

249 Tobacco. Although there is a large range in tobacco yields
433 within the Recôncavo as calculated from the official data, only those
127 for São Filipe seem completely unacceptable. If the area of this município were at the high level—3,600 hectares--indicated and the given production data are correct, then its yield was an infinitesimal 190 kilograms per hectare. The official production data are, in approximate terms, confirmed by other sources.[1] However, the area indicated by the official data is much higher than either the data
249 of Marques or field experience would indicate. Estimates from the
433 mean of surrounding municípios, from the mean yield calculated from
127 Marques, and from the area given by Marques adjusted to the 1948 level of
128 production, give the following figures, respectively: 675 hectares, 692 hectares, and 700 hectares. The median of these figures—692 hectares--was selected and used in preparing Maps 28, 29, and 33 in Chapter V.

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[113] [1]Antonio Monanto Marques, op. cit., pp. 1-85; and Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, Contribuição do Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, pp. 1-16.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

APPENDIX E

Tobacco Zones of Bahia

249 659 311 The tobacco industry, the exporting houses, and the official tobacco organizations of the government have divided the entire leaf tobacco producing area of Bahia into four zones on the basis of the kind of tobacco produced. None of these zones even approximately coincides with the Recôncavo, but three of the four include Recôncavo municípios, while the edge of the fourth touches upon the region. These four zones, in order of approximate relative value of their leaf, are "Mata," "Feira," "Caatinga," and "Sertão." Many different types and grades are included in "Sertão." The accompanying map (Map 136) shows the relationship of these zones to the Recôncavo.

249 311 "Mata," the most valuable, is a good burning, light to medium tobacco which can be used after twelve months of curing. Very often it is worth twice as much as the next grade. The "Mata" zone stretches from northern Santo Amaro to the southwestern extreme of the coffee zone. It is divided into three parts—norte, which includes northeast Santo Amaro, southeast Feira de Santana, and Cachoeira; sul, which includes southern Castro Alves, southern Santo Antônio, São Miguel, and the municípios to the southwest; and fina, which includes São Gonçalo, Conceição da Feira, Muritiba, Conceição do Almeida, Cruz das Almas, São Filipe, São Félix, Maragogipe, and northern Santo Antônio. The greatest premium within the Mata Fina grade is given for Cruz das Almas leaf, although São Gonçalo leaf also is highly valued. In addition to the intrinsic value of the leaf, "Mata" tobacco is valuable because of its uniformity, both from area to area and from year to year. In part this uniformity results from the fact that it is grown upon similar

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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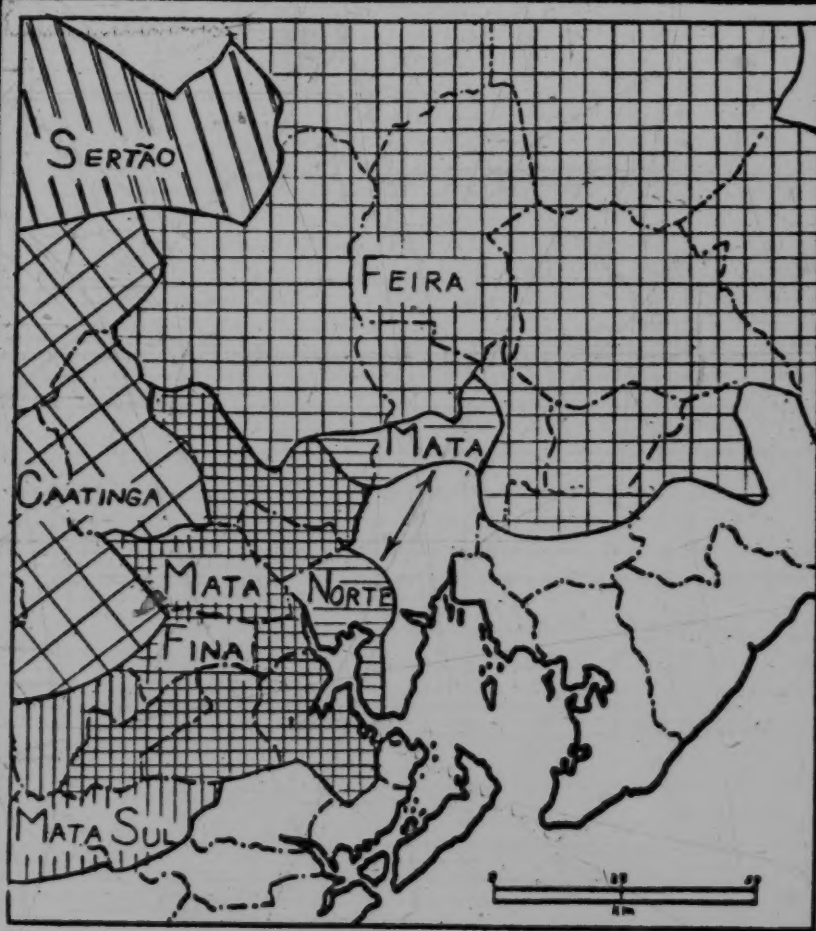

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Official Zones of Tobacco Production

Grades of Bahia-Brasil Leaf

MAP 136

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 311 soils under more dependable rainfall conditions than are characteristic of the other zones.

The "Caatinga" zone includes Santo Estêvão, Castro Alves, Ipirá, and Santa Teresinha--the município west of Castro Alves. When the rains [132] of the growing season--June, July, and August--are plentiful, these [134] tobaccos are much like those of the "Mata" zone, though somewhat harsher--probably because of the more saline soils. If precipitation is scarce, the tobacco is gummy and requires long curing--two years or so--before use. If the rains fail entirely, a second attempt may be made to plant during the summer rains of November, December, and January.

The "Feira" zone includes Feira de Santana, Coração de Maria, Irará, Alagoinhas, Catu, Pojuca, northeastern Santo Amaro, and northern São Sebastião, as well as Inhambupe, Entre Rios, and Serrinha. "Feira" leaf is often large, rather dark, and moderately strong, and requires at least two years for curing. Like the "Caatinga," its quality varies [132] in response to changes in precipitation, but in general it is more uniform.

"Sertão" tobacco is highly diverse in type and quality. Its zone of production is large in size, extending west to the Chapada Diamantina and southward beyond the Rio de Contas. Generally this leaf is large and coarse, but as a result of the diverse physical conditions in the scattered areas in which the crop is produced, the quality of the leaf is variable over a wide range.

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/For information on sugar-cane cultivation and processing and the sugar-cane plantation system as a whole, see category 116, pp. 3-11, 19-21, 29, 33-71, 179-186 and 189-190./

*565 517 [461] *[249] [546] [562] harvesting and milling. The factory operates twenty-four hours a day during this season. In the winter, when they have more leisure, travel is too difficult, for the roads disappear in mud. Few of the rural people go to the town of Vila Recôncavo, for it has nothing to attract them except the boat to Salvador and the priest, whom they sometimes visit to have a Mass said or for a burial. The free movies recently innovated by the Petroleum Council and located a mile from the factory have been a boon to the rural people, but as a rule only the men attend. In fact, almost any kind of off-plantation gathering is attended predominantly by men.

*249 *565 461 [521] [512] On most plantations the casa de farinha is a social gathering place, and both males and females congregate there to talk about the latest news while they work. The women also gossip at the local well as they fetch water or remain there washing their clothes. Their everyday lives are busy, and there is little time for purely social activities. The day begins and ends early. Soon after dark the lights go out, the houses close, and silence reigns except for the noise coming from the casa de farinha, which may operate all night, or the lonesome singing of the caatingueiros housed in the barracks, or the strong rhythmic sound of the drums coming from a distant candomblé ceremony. Because there is little work for women on a plantation, the "extra" girls, those for whom there are no potential husbands, ask the planter to get them work as domestics in the city; this is usually easy, for there is nearly always someone in Salvador looking for a "good, strong country girl" to work in the home. Occasionally, if a worker's son is especially intelligent and industrious, he too may be placed in some position in the city.

*249 *565 461 357

*565 Class C comprises the majority of the population in the town of Vila Recôncavo and includes most of the occupations listed in Group 3 of the preceding chapter--that is, fishermen, gardeners, and artisans. There are no "pure whites" in this class, but, as in the rural area, a few "whites of the land" and the full range of mestiços, whose various color and social characteristics will be discussed later. The people of Class C live for the most part in the lower section of town, in the areas called Cortume, Largo de Santa Cruz, Rua Nova, Boqueirão, Cumbamba, and Caquende. The great majority of them own their homes, although the land belongs to the Fazenda Engenho da Vila, to the church, or to the prefeitura, and is rented for a small yearly sum. The houses are small, usually

[361] [423] [427]

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

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8. Religion

•[249] DURING COLONIAL and empire times, religion occupied a large part of the lives of the landed aristocracy. The town of Vila Recôncavo had a Franciscan convent, a large mother church of the parish of São Gonçalo, and the chapel of the [793] Third Order of Franciscans. In the rural area of the community nearly every plantation had its own chapel, which formed part of the owner's house, and its own chaplain to care for the spiritual needs of the landowning families and their [794] slaves. Much of the wealth of landowners was used to build magnificent churches, to sponsor religious processions, and to maintain religious brotherhoods for laymen.

178 In this century, however, Catholicism is no longer the of-
79 ficial state religion, the landowners no longer support the town church as they used to, and the Third Order of Francis-
*[565] cans has died out in Vila Recôncavo. Today members of the upper class (Class A) confine their support to the churches they attend in Salvador, leaving the local church to the mercy of God and to the gente pequena of the town. Visits from the Franciscans to celebrate Mass and give instruction for first communion have taken the place of the plantation chaplain and chapel. The priests today say that the people of the community have no intellectual basis for understanding religious teachings or beliefs. Consequently, they say that they now seek only to have as many as possible conform to the outer forms and rituals of the church and refrain from attending the African cults.

175 In addition to the formal structure of the Catholic Church
794 there arose, especially in the nineteenth century, many houses of African cultism, called in this region candomblé. The ad-

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RACE RELATIONS IN A RURAL COMMUNITY OF THE BAHIAN RECÔNCAVO[1]

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by
HARRY W. HUTCHINSON

I. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, a narrow strip along the north-eastern coast of Brazil in what are now the States of Pernambuco, Alagoas, Sergipe and Bahia, was the most important region of economic, political and social life in the whole colony. The rainfall along this portion of the coast is dependable and the extremely fertile soil, which was originally covered with thick forests, was ideally suited for sugar cane. By the seventeenth century, this region produced a large part of the world's sugar supply. Sugar, which was then a luxury in Europe, brought fabulous profits, and the north-eastern coast of Brazil became an exceedingly prosperous colony. Large cities grew up along the coast; Salvador in Bahia and Recife in Pernambuco became the most important centres of colonial life, and Salvador was the capital of the colony from 1549 to 1763. Both were cities of great wealth based on the booming sugar industry. The numerous churches built in Salvador during the period of opulence, with their elaborate gold-leafed wood carving and polychrome tile work, are witnesses to the tremendous wealth of the era.

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It was the plantation system, the basis of this lucrative sugar industry, which gave this region many of its characteristic traditions and formed patterns of race relations which have persisted in a modified form into the present. Gilberto Freyre in his monumental *Casa Grande e Senzala*, and other Brazilian writers [1],[2] have described life on these sugar plantations. African slaves provided the manpower. More than three million Negroes were imported from Africa during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and a large proportion came to the sugar plantations of north-eastern Brazil. The Portuguese plantation owners became rich, and came to form a regional aristocracy with a luxurious and ostentatious way of life. The slaves and their masters, on these plantations, formed two distinct social groups, but it is distinctive of the region that their relations were intimate and warm; Freyre describes the intimacy between the *moleque* (Negro lad) and the master's son as playmates, between the master's wife and her domestic servants, between the Negro nurse and her white charges, and other close

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[1]In addition to thanking those persons listed in the introduction to this series of articles for their aid and co-operation in making this study possible, I wish to thank the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Charitable Foundation Inc. and the Department of Anthropology of Columbia University, whose grants of funds contributed largely to the possibility of this study. Also, to acknowledge with thanks the aid of Carmelita Junqueira Ayres and Elza Amelia Ferreira for their assistance in the collection of the data.

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[2]The figures in brackets refer to the bibliography on page 46.

ties between Negroes and whites on these colonial plantations. All writers have mentioned the frequency of sexual relations between the white plantation owners and their female slaves. Slavery was not a humane institution in Brazil or elsewhere, but in Brazil relations between the slave and the master were of a more personal nature than in other regions where slavery existed in the New World.

By the middle of the last century, the West Indies and other regions of the world were competing with the Brazilian north-east for the world sugar market; and the abolition of slavery in 1888 caused difficulties of labour supply on these plantations. The sugar industry no longer provided the great wealth that it had in the past, and many of the old plantations were abandoned or sold to large commercial companies who installed modern equipment for large-scale sugar production. Plantation slaves became wage labourers, and the old traditional patterns of behaviour between the Negro slave and the white plantation-owning aristocrat began to disappear, to be replaced by an impersonal employee-employer relationship in keeping with the new way of life. Yet many patterns persist from the days of the old plantation system. Many of the descendants of the aristocratic plantation owners try to preserve the old traditions. They are proud of their family names, and large aristocratic families are still important in the economic and social life of the region. In many rural localities, there are still plantations where the relations between the workers and the owners are highly personalized, as they were in the past, and where customs and traditions formed during the period of opulence and slavery continue, if modified, by modern conditions. Throughout this part of Brazil, the relations between people of different racial groups have been influenced by the large proportion of Negroes in the population, by the importance of slavery in the relatively recent past, and by the particular form which the relations between the Negro slave and the European master took on the plantations.

11. The community with which the present article is concerned is called Vila Recôncavo; it is a real town situated in the zone known as the Recôncavo which surrounds Salvador, the capital of the State of Bahia, and which borders on the Bay of All Saints, extending inland from the shores of the bay some 30 miles on the northern side, and considerably less on the southern side. The Recôncavo was characteristic of the whole north-eastern plantation region. The Portuguese who settled in Salvador in 1549 recognized the value of these lands around the new city and the Bay of All Saints for sugar production. The third governor of Bahia, Mem de Sá (1557–74),

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249 gave sugar growing a great impetus by organizing expeditions of soldiers which he led into the farthest reaches of the Bay of All Saints, killing, driving out or enslaving the hostile Indian inhabitants, so as to make the area safe for settlers to move out of the city
175 into the surrounding area and plant sugar. Mem de Sá himself built
249 one of the largest and most productive of the sugar plantations in the Recôncavo.[2] His lands comprised three and a half leagues along
423 the coastline of the Bay, extending four leagues inland, and two islands.[3] This *sesmaria*—as the early land grants were called—of Mem de Sá was broken down into smaller pieces by his daughter who inherited it, and by the end of the sixteenth century, most of the *sesmarias* of the Recôncavo had similarly, been divided into plantations averaging approximately 600 to 1,000 acres. In the past 250 years, many of these have kept the same boundaries and names, but their ownership has changed hands many times and they have passed through many cycles of prosperity and depression.

249 The essential form of a plantation in the Recôncavo has changed
[178] little since the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the past, the entire plantation was known as an *engenho*, taking its name from
[376] the sugar-mill building which was the heart of the plantation. There were two chief types of sugar mills, one operated by water power
[492] and the other driven by traction power supplied by oxen. Before the end of slavery, steam-driven machinery had also come into use.
[375] A typical *engenho* had four main items of wealth—its lands, its
[471] buildings, the livestock and the slaves. Most of the land was, of course, planted in sugar cane, but there were also wood forests to supply firewood, pastures for the livestock, and small areas devoted
249 to the raising of food stuffs for the personnel of the *engenho*. The buildings of an *engenho* included the sugar mill, the *sobrado*, or home
342 of the owner, and the slave quarters. The owner's house was frequently a very large and pretentious building with one and a half or two storeys. In the Recôncavo the landowners sought to build their houses *a meia encosta*, or against the side of a hill, giving the appearance of a two-storey house in front, but only one in the rear. Such homes were frequently constructed of stone, wood and mortar, with tile roofs. The slave quarters, which were known as *senzalas*, were generally long narrow buildings with sides of mud or *taipa* and
249 and roofs of palm fronds. The livestock of a typical *engenho* con-
231 sisted of oxen, burros, horses, sheep and cows. The oxen supplied the power to turn the grinding mills when there was no water power,
[492] and they pulled the large two-wheeled carts which were used to transport the cane from the fields to the mill. Horses and burros provided transportation for the plantation owner in supervising the work in the fields, and for him and his family for visits to nearby *engenhos* and to town. Cattle and sheep grazing on the portions of the land which were fallow supplied milk and meat to the plantation community.

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The most valuable property of a colonial *engenho*, however, was the slaves. Comparatively few Portuguese came to the Recôncavo, and even those among them who had been labourers in Portugal did not come to Brazil to do manual work. African slaves had already been used on sugar plantations in the Madeira Islands, and a slave system was imported into Brazil along with sugar cane. Although it was expressly prohibited by the Portuguese Government,[4] the early settlers in Bahia enslaved the Indians who did not flee or who were not killed in the early fighting with the colonists. Governor Mem de Sá's Testament lists 95 Indian men slaves, 84 Indian women slaves and only 20 African slaves.[5] From the start, however, Indians were considered inferior to Africans as slaves; they seemed unable to adapt themselves to continuous labour in the fields and mills. Yet in many cases they were kept as fishermen, hunters and boatmen for the *engenho*, being in these activities superior to the newly-arrived Negroes. By 1700, the Negro slaves greatly outnumbered the Europeans in the region, and there were but few Indian slaves. Slave was almost synonymous with Negro.

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An inventory of an *engenho* of about 650 acres, made in 1866 shortly before the end of slavery, gives a total value of 200 contos[1] for the *engenho*. The land, houses, slaves and livestock were valued at 125 contos; the value of the slaves alone was placed at 65 contos. The inventory divides the slaves into two categories: house slaves *(escravos de casa)* and work slaves *(escravos de lavoura)*. There were 18 house slaves and 103 work slaves. Among the house slaves were 1 barber-tailor-painter, 6 servants, 1 cook, 2 seamstresses and 1 apprentice seamstress, 2 sweet-makers, 2 laundresses, and 3 children without specific 'profession', as their occupation was called. Of the work slaves, 59 were listed as field workers (26 men and 33 women of all ages above the age of 12), 18 as small children, and 26 as specialists—including 4 ox-cart drivers, 5 sailors, 2 ironsmiths, 3 bricklayers, 1 field manager, 1 ship captain, 1 gardener, 1 barrel-maker, 1 specialist in the boiling of sugar, and 1 nurse. The prices of the slaves ran from 'without value' or as low as 20 milreis to as high as 1 conto 400 milreis, depending upon the age, physical condition and degree of skill of the slave.[2] The slaves were always listed in such inventories as foreign- or native-born and generally, if it were known, the place or tribe of origin was given. Many are listed simply as *Africano*. For those born in Brazil, the terms used are *Pardo*, *Cabra* or *Crioulo*; the diminutive form of these terms is used for all

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[1] The conto is a unit of Brazilian currency, composed of 1,000 milreis. The milreis, or cruzeiro as it is also called today, is the standard unit of currency. In 1951 the milreis was officially valued at 5.27 cents in U.S. currency, making the conto worth $52.70. However, it must be kept in mind that in 1866 the value of the milreis was considerably higher.

[2] In 1855 this same *engenho* had 48 house slaves and 153 work slaves. The highest valued slave was 900 milreis.

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567 those under 12 years of age.[1] Of the 121 slaves listed in the particular inventory mentioned above, 40 were African. Most of these came from West Africa. Of those whose African origin is indicated, *Nago* (Yoruba) is most often listed, and *Gege* (Ewe) is second.

249 On these sugar plantations of the Recôncavo in the colonial period, the overseer of all operations involved in the growth of sugar cane
565 and production of sugar was the owner himself. Generally, only the
463 oldest son was trained to take over his duties on the plantation; the younger sons were sent to Salvador, to Recife, or even to Europe to be educated as lawyers, physicians, engineers or Catholic priests. Daughters were married early and given their dowry, or they were
[582] sent to convents to become nuns or live as lay sisters. Marriages with first cousins were frequent. Every effort was made to keep the plantation undivided and in the family. The Recôncavo sugar plantation, until about the middle of the nineteenth century, was a remarkably stable community changing little in size and organization from generation to generation.

249 After the abolition of slavery, there was a partial exodus of ex-
567 slaves from the plantations to nearby towns and to the capital of Bahia. The ex-slaves who moved to small towns became manual
463 labourers or fishermen, or engaged in the profession they had learned on the plantations, such as barbering, bricklaying, etc. In other
464 cases, ex-slaves rented small plots of land on neighbouring plantations to raise manioc, corn, tobacco and other crops which required little
[427] outlay of capital. Others became sugar planters on a small scale; known as *rendeiros*, they rented a few acres from a plantation and cultivated sugar cane, sending the product to the nearby *engenhos* for milling. In other cases, the ex-slaves simply moved from one plantation to another, or they often remained as free men on the same plantation, still engaged in raising sugar cane, living under the same
249 conditions as before, but legally free. Contrary to popular opinion,
433 the *engenhos* of the Recôncavo did not all cease operations after
567 abolition. Many of them kept on producing as before. In other cases the *engenho* or mill closed down while the plantation continued to plant sugar cane, sending it to a nearby *engenho* which was still functioning for milling. Some *engenhos*, however, did close down altogether and were abandoned, or went into the hands of receivers.
249 At this time many plantations changed owners—wealthy people in
471 the city were able to buy lands at a low cost and did so. But the failure of many of the *engenhos* in the Recôncavo was not a direct
567 result of abolition, it was rather the continuation of an economic
[425] trend which had been going on for a long time. For many years previous to abolition, the plantations of the Recôncavo had suffered
[826] from lack of capital, poor administration, occasional crop failure, and
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[1] In the inventories, *pardo* indicated light skin; *cabra*, dark skin; and *crioulo*, black. These same terms nowadays are used differently in the Recôncavo. See page 38 ff.

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from the competition of other sugar-producing areas. Abolition was the factor which, in many cases, simply ended a struggle several decades old. [471] [567]

The overall production of sugar in the Recôncavo was already dropping noticeably at the time of abolition, and it continued to decrease afterwards. At the end of the last century, state-supported *usinas*, or large mechanical factories for milling sugar cane, were opened in an effort to stimulate sugar production. At the same time, various other *usinas* were opened by private capital. These central mills received and processed the sugar cane of many plantations. The *usina* had the advantage of freeing the planter from the worries of milling and marketing the sugar, allowing him to concentrate on higher production of sugar cane, while the mechanized *usina* was able to produce more sugar out of the cane, thus increasing production. This system of sugar production proved relatively lucrative, and the government *usinas* passed into private hands. The owners of *usinas* bought as many neighbouring plantations as possible, and in this way the *usineiros*, as they were called, became at the same time the mill owners and sugar-cane planters—employers of factory workers and of agricultural workers. The plantations which did not pass into the hands of an *usina* became *fornecedores*, supplying cane to one or another large sugar mill. [433] [567] [654] [471] [433] [471] [473]

The *usina* system, however, in many respects did little to change the traditional plantation system. The plantations belonging to *usineiros* continue as separate units; each generally had an administrator, a man responsible to the *usineiro*, who is in charge of the plantation. As a rule the administrator, who is an employee of the *usina*, lives in the old *sobrado*, the former residence of the *senhor do engenho*, as the old plantation owners were known. The workers on the plantations and their families frequently still live in *senzala*-like houses, usually a long narrow building under one roof divided into separate apartments of two or three rooms. Despite many changes of technology, many examples of the old and the new exist side by side on these Recôncavo plantations. On the same plantation both mechanical tractor and ox traction may be used to pull plows. There are workers' houses side by side, one with electricity and a radio, and another using candles and kerosene lamps. Furthermore, the hierarchy of workers and specialists in sugar-cane raising persists little modified from the early nineteenth century. There are the field hands, the ox-cart drivers, the artisans and other specialists. The plantation is also approximately the same size as it was in the early nineteenth century (although several may be the property of one company nowadays) and it has about the same number of hired workers as it had slaves before. 249 178 [407] [492] [365] [463]

But the *usina* system and other outside influences have made for many fundamental changes in the Recôncavo. In the very large 600

In the very large *usinas*, the mill hands and even the field hands are modern industrial workers. They are employees of a large industrial corporation and are protected at least theoretically by the labour laws of the nation. The highly personalized relationship between the plantation workers and the owner-administrator of his own plantation, which persisted from the slave era, has been replaced on the larger *usinas* by the impersonal employee-employer relationship of the modern industrial age. Today, modern plantations and small towns have electricity; there is modern housing for workmen; the State and even the sugar companies provide medical aid; there are primary schools both in the small towns and on many plantations; recreation facilities are found in the towns and provided by the *usinas*; and the sugar-cane experimental station situated in the area constantly urges fertilization of the land and modern techniques and methods of sugar-cane production. But the older and more traditional patterns exist side by side with the new, and each of them influences the relations among the racial groups of the zone.

III. Vila Recôncavo is a small town on the Bay of All Saints. The rural area around it, which lies within the social and economic orbit of the town and which is the unit under consideration, comprises some 80 square kilometres, or slightly less than half the entire area of the county of which the town of Vila Recôncavo is the county seat.[1]

It this area there are 14 plantations, three of which nowadays plant very little sugar cane. Parts of the town itself are built on the land of one of these plantations, and the rest of the town area is owned in small lots by private individuals or by the Church. Although Vila Recôncavo is the county seat, local government is the only important function which it fulfils for the surrounding area. It is not used as a shipping point, either for receiving supplies from the outside or for sending sugar to the outside. *Braços do mar*, or inlets of the bay, go to many of the plantations and are deep enough for the *saveiros* (shallow draft sailboats) used on the bay for transport. Many of the plantations have direct connexion with Salvador. Commerce in Vila Recôncavo is almost entirely limited to supplying the 1,462 inhabitants of the town and of some small islands and of one community near by which is not devoted to sugar production. It is not the major supply source even for these groups which live near enough to another and far larger commercial centre where they prefer to do their marketing. The *prefeito* or mayor of the county is rarely a resident of the town itself. Rather he is usually a planter of the surrounding area. He goes into town to do municipal business,

[1] Both the town and the county bear the name of Vila Recôncavo.

town, which is the centre of the municipal bureaucracy. The upper stratum of the lower classes is also found in both zones, since it contains town-dwelling artisans and fishermen as well as plantation workers. But the stratum of lowest prestige, the people who live marginally in Vila Recôncavo, is limited to the town itself. There is no place for them on the plantations or *usina* of the rural area. 565

As has already been indicated, the major economic factor in the community area of Vila Recôncavo is sugar-cane growing and the manufacture of sugar. There are approximately 2,500 people dependent upon this activity.[1] Each plantation has its small community, with a store, houses, repair shop and the owner's house. Plantation workers live on the plantation, in houses belonging to it. They are paid according to the amount of work they do—that is, how much cane they cut per ton, or how many feet of planting they cultivate, etc. As a rule, there are only three salaried persons employed on a typical sugar plantation—the administrator, the *feitor* (foreman), and the *vaqueiro* (cowboy). The administrator is the most important person on the plantation, directing the work, making estimates for the forthcoming harvest, co-ordinating the cutting, transport and planting of cane, etc. It is the administrator who runs the plantation, who remains in the saddle all day overseeing the work, who checks on everything. The administrator is responsible only to the owner of the plantation, who generally acts through him. In nearly all cases the administrator is either a mulatto or a Negro. In two cases, Negro administrators are unable to read or write, but they are experts at their job and enjoy the full confidence of the owner and the respect of the workers. The *feitor* acts as the assistant of the administrator; he walks about carrying a measuring rod and a notebook, making note of the amount of work done by each man in the field. Frequently this is the middle step up the ladder from worker to administrator. As a rule, the *feitor* in Vila Recôncavo plantations is a mulatto, a dark *mestiço* (mixed) or a Negro as is the administrator. The *vaqueiro* is preferably a *caboclo* from the north. He looks after the oxen used for hauling the sugar cane—of which there may be as many as 90 to 100 head—and the milk-cows, inspects fences, for the horses and mules, carries messages, and generally rides with the owner when he travels about from plantation to plantation. The three racial elements are thus represented among the high-prestige men of a typical plantation—the owner is Caucasoid, the administrator and the *feitor* are Negro-Caucasoid mixtures, and the cowboy from the *sertão* is generally of partly American-Indian descent. 249 463 563 [233]

Under this hierarchy comes the main body of workers and their families, which totals about 200 on the average plantation. Such 249 464

[1] Of the total population of 2,500 people living on the sugar plantations and at the usina, approximately 600 men are the actual cane field and usina workers. Obviously this permanent labour force is inadequate; it is supplemented by groups of *cortadores* at the harvest-planting season. [162] [464]

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[241] sugar workers move rarely, remaining for generations on the same plantation. Each family has its garden where a little maize, beans
[465] and manioc are grown. Pay day comes every two weeks, when as a rule the worker goes to the owner's house to receive his money. The pay is small, 15 to 25 dollars a fortnight, depending on how
[461] much the man has worked during the period. Men do not like to work more than five to six hours a day, from six a.m. to twelve noon, and seldom work more than five days a week. They work easily, without hurry. In the afternoon they work in their garden, if their
249 wives have not already done so. On the plantation no one starves;
466 everyone has his *patrão* (protector) in the person of the owner, and in case of an emergency, accident or sickness, he expects help from him. This personal element is very important on most plantations in the vicinity of Vila Recôncavo; as a rule, the owner knows all the workers by name, knows their families and their family troubles and
[164] problems. He is aware of their love affairs and up-to-date on the health of new-born children and their mothers. Nearly all cases of sickness, from common colds and rheumatism to more serious ailments, are brought directly to the attention of the *patrão* or his wife. The owner, returning from a prolonged stay in the city, receives visits from the workers or from their wives, during which all the personal gossip is exchanged. The workers inquire about the owner's family and more extended family, for they generally know them all. Engagements, weddings, births, deaths and illnesses are reported on both sides. Complaints or requests are also made to the owner. The relationship is highly personal, intimate, gentle and frank.

466 On one rather small *usina*, which will be called São Pedro, in the
249 rural zone of Vila Recôncavo, the situation is somewhat different.
472 São Pedro is not one of the large *usinas* of the Recôncavo, owned by a corporation; it is relatively small and owned by one of the most
[473] important families of the Vila Recôncavo community, members of the regional aristocracy whose family has held plantations there for many generations. Because the owners of the *usina* actually administrate it, and since they are in residence in the locality at least part of the year, they are able to maintain many of the traditional personal relations with their employees, many of whom have worked on the plantations belonging to their family and in the *usina* for most
[162] of their lives. But there is a total of 1,183 workers and their families at the *usina* and on the plantations belonging to São Pedro, and the very size of the enterprise and the number of workers make for a more impersonal and more strictly economic relationship between employer and employee. Workers become more a name on a payroll, and the employer a person with whom one seldom has direct contact. In the larger *usinas* of the Recôncavo this trend is even more marked especially where the employer is a large corporation with offices in Salvador.

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8. The *moreno* has excellent skin, fine-textured and smooth. He is light-skinned but not white. He has dark hair, which is long and either wavy or curly. It is manageable and does not need straightening. His features are much more Caucasoid than Negroid. Here again we can distinguish between the dark and light *morenos*. Also we must distinguish between the *moreno mulato*, and the *moreno* of the white families—the *moreno branco*. *Moreno*, as used regarding the 'white', distinguishes the brunet from the blond of the same group.

Few people fit any of these 'racial' types 100 per cent. When someone comes very close to being a perfect *preto*—that is, has all the characteristics of the *preto*—people call him *bem preto* or *bem pretinho* (really black). The same is true of the *sarará*—*bem sarará*, or of the *moreno*, who will be called *bem moreninho* or *moreno fino*. It is just as difficult to find the perfect type for the other classifications, because there are so many variations. Often an individual is of one physical type, but has one or more characteristics of another type. For instance, one young man in Vila Recôncavo has the characteristics of an *escuro*, but since most people like him they prefer to think of him as *moreno*. He has fine skin and thin facial features, but tight kinky hair. People generally refer to him as *moreno*, adding '*mas êle tem cabelo ruim*' (but he has poor hair). One frequently hears 'he is *mulato*, but very light'. These verbal descriptions paint a vivid picture of the person in question. In Vila Recôncavo, it is not simply a matter of black and white, but of all the shades in between.

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A term of classification not listed above, *caboclo*, presents something of a special case. As mentioned earlier, most people with Amerindian physical traits have come into the Recôncavo from the *sertão* during the dry spells in the North. Considering the length of time that people of the North have been periodically coming into the Recôncavo, comparatively few have remained. Nevertheless, the population of Vila Recôncavo has a considerable *caboclo* element—that is, of people with a reddish or bronze tinge to their skin colour, more prominent cheek bones than the African or white elements, and a tendency toward almond-shaped eyes. However, few people in Vila Recôncavo bearing these marks are called *caboclos*. They are classified instead in the local terms listed above, ignoring Indian traits. In Vila Recôncavo, there is a certain disprsisal of the *caboclo*. He is considered less civilized than the resident of the Recôncavo, though often known as a better worker, more ambitious, trustworthy, more frugal; also less genial than the easy-going person of the Recôncavo. In the rural area of Vila Recôncavo, each year many *caboclo* men come to the plantations to work during harvest time. For the most part they stay together, away from the *morador*, or resident worker of the plantation. The plantations construct a type of barracks to accommodate these men, who do

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their own cooking, care for their own clothes, and spend their evenings gathered around a fire, singing songs of the *sertão*, apart from the permanent workers.

There is a mutual desire to keep apart, for while the *morador* looks down on the *caboclo*, the *caboclo* feels very much the same about the local people. He feels that they are lazy, ignorant, and above all superstitious. The *caboclo vaqueiro* (north-eastern cowboy) of one plantation says that the workers of the plantation are always talking about black magic, that they are lazy and spendthrifts, and at the same time deride his frugality. He says he is not afraid of their black magic, since he knows there is nothing to it, but he distrusts those who speak of it. People in Vila Recôncavo will not admit they have *caboclo* or Indian ancestors. One young girl who is almost a perfect American Indian type says she is a *mulatinha*.[1] She vehemently denied there was any Indian blood in her family, but finally reluctantly admitted that a great-grandparent of hers had been partly Indian. This girl's niece would make a perfect double for the popular conception of Pocahontas, given a feather in her hair and a sarong, but she is considered a '*mulata*, almost *morena*'.

However, among the 'pure' whites there is a different feeling about the *caboclo*. White families say that they would feel proud to know that they have 'Indian blood', for it would show the length of time their family had been in Brazil. Frequently a white child is extremely 'Indian looking', that is, a *moreno* with jet-black, straight hair. The nickname of *tapuya* is often given to this type, which is generally admired by the whites. All plantation owners agree that, for work, no one can top the *caboclo*. The north-eastern worker of American Indian physical type will go into the fields at six in the morning and not return until six at night. He takes his lunch with him and eats it there. On the other hand, the *morador* will go to the fields at six and return at noon. However, as permanent resident workers, plantation owners prefer the Negroes of the Recôncavo. Little if any effort is made to 'fix' the *caboclo* on the plantations. When the harvest is finished, he takes his money and departs. Next year he may come again to the same plantation, or he may not. It seems to make little difference to either party.

There have been no serious tensions between the two groups. They work together during part of the year, but spend their free time separately. This does not mean that an occasional *caboclo* will not stay, take a wife from among the *moradores* and start a family.

The following percentages of racial types were taken from a sample of 162 heads of families, using the four major types: *preto*, 50 or 40 per cent; *mulato*, 59 or 49 per cent; *caboclo*, 3 or 2 per cent; *branco*, 11 or 9 per cent.

[1] Little mulata. Using the diminutive form seems to be a softer and more agreeable way of saying 'mulatto'.

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tion of the Negro woman in relation to the other women. She was chosen in first place in only one instance, namely as best worker, and only by the Negroes. In spite of the fact that in Table I the mulatto woman was considered the most attractive, she was chosen so only by the mulattoes. The other three racial types selected the *caboclo*

TABLE II.

Question	Chosen in first place by			
	Negroes	*Mulattoes*	*Whites*	*Caboclos*
Most attractive man	P	B	B	B
Most attractive woman	C & B	M	B	B
Most wealthy man	P	C	C	C
Most wealthy woman	B	B	B	B
Best worker, man	P	C	P	P
Best worker, woman	P	C	M	C
Most honest man	C	C	C	C
Most honest woman	C	C	C	C
Most religious man	C & M	C	C	C & B
Most religious woman	C	C	B	C

(P—*preto*; B—*branco*; C—*caboclo*; M—*mulato*. Where two racial types are in first place, they received an equal number of 'votes'.)

and the white woman. In summing up the total number of 'votes', the mulatto woman won by a narrow margin (four votes). It is interesting to note that the Negroes chose the *preto* man as the most wealthy, putting the caboclo in second place, while the other three racial types put the *caboclo* first.

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VI. There is a saying in the Recôncavo that where there was sugar, there were Negroes. This rule of thumb seems to hold remarkably well even today. On the islands in the bay where there never were *engenhos*, there are few *pretos*. In the town of Vila Recôncavo, and in a small settlement to the west of Vila Recôncavo where there never was an *engenho*, there are relatively few *pretos*, in comparison with the area of *engenhos* and plantations. The region as a whole can be shaded off in dark and light, to distinguish roughly the spatial arrangement according to colour. In the areas where there was and is sugar, there are many more *gente branqueada* (whitened people) than in the non-plantation areas.

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These lightened areas seem to continue to lighten, while the darker areas retain their dark characteristics. In Vila Recôncavo, which is a *mestiço* community, there is much more opportunity for

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the lighter-skinned people for intermarriage with the mass of light-skinned people of the capital. Most of the townspeople have connexions of some sort in Salvador and travel back and forth a great deal. Some, mostly girls, take employment in the city as maids, and there either get married, or '*aparecem grávidas*' (show up pregnant), afterwards returning home to stay or for visits.

On the plantations the people have little opportunity for such mixing, owing to their isolation. Mixing occurs either on the same plantation or between neighbouring plantations, and since most of the plantation workers are dark, the offspring tends to remain dark. There is comparatively little marriage between people of the urban and rural zones.

The people of the town consider themselves far superior culturally to the *taberéu* or 'hick'[1] of the rural zone. Not only are they lighter in colour, but they are more 'citified', having more contact with the outside world, and this contact increases daily. Only in the town did the lower-class people express interest in the racial situation in the United States and particularly question segregation, a practice they could not understand. In the rural zone, the United States meant only some place other than Bahia. This is given as an example of the difference in degree of sophistication between the two parts of a comparatively small area. The sophistication of the townspeople tends to increase, as does their lightness of colour, while on the *fazendas* the colour has remained almost static, as has the degree of instruction.

565 Class is one of the most important factors in the everyday lives of the people of Vila Recôncavo. *Who's Who* is well known to all the residents of the community. Almost any resident will say that there are two classes, the rich and the poor. But definitions vary greatly as to what is rich, while practically all agree as to what is poor. Rich means, primarily, having money, a good house, more than one suit of clothing, a horse or mule, a servant to do the housework, and not having to do manual work. It also includes power of some description over other people. Poor is the reverse of all these things; working hard for someone else, a mud house with a dirt floor, one suit of clothes and one pair of shoes. For everyday ranking, this division into only two classes may serve.

A closer analysis shows that four distinct classes can be recognized, as stated earlier. There are many elements which go toward defining the classes—wealth, education and family. Race is also important. People say that wealth is the most important, education the second, and race the third in importance. Thus race is but one of a number of elements ranking people in a social scale, rather than a separating factor which divides them into distinct groups.

[1] Other terms used to convey the same meaning are *gente do mato* (people of the forest) and *gente do roça* (backwoodsmen).

planters. People in the upper class of the town, when they can, send their children to the capital to continue their education, and there are several *mestiço* students from Vila Recôncavo studying law, medicine and engineering in Salvador. The intelligence of the mulatto is traditional, and it has been equally traditional that the darker-skinned person is unintelligent. Today these traditions are not as strong as before, but still it is felt that the mulatto has somewhat more aptitude than the Negro. The old idea of the Negro, meant for work and to be servile, still exists, now tempered with the knowledge that education can change the situation. There is only one club in Vila Recôncavo—a football club—and the players are all shades, from white to black, and so are the spectators. They all sit or stand together under the shade of the one big tree which gives shade to the playing field. The field is on the property of a white man who, while he has nothing to do with the team, allows them to play there, put up goal posts and markers. The bar and recreation centre are open to all so long as they wear shoes—a ruling made to keep out the muddy feet of children who came straight from the beach to have a 'coke'. All the racial types and classes get together here to play pool and gossip, this being the one and only point of public social activity in the town. At the movies, the admission price is extremely low, the same for everyone, and all four classes attend. Negroes and whites of all classes sit next to each other. At church there are no special pews, the faithful usually gathering in the front and the less faithful hanging about near the back. The choir and the acolytes are from all classes and colours. At parties, which are few, colour lines are disregarded, *brancos* and *morenos* dance with *mulatos* and *pretos* just as long as both partners can *pular* (jump).

The social situation is gradually changing, and the extremely personal element is being lost. It is strongest on the private plantation, where the owner spends the greater part of the year, but at the *usina* much of the personal element is weakened because of the numbers of workers. Even at the *usina*, there is visiting and gossiping between the owners' families and the workers. But at the *usina* not all the workers accept their subservient position as do those of the plantations. This is specially true of the higher echelon of specialists and technicians of the mill, who will frequently not go to a party given by the owner, even though invited. It seems to be a way of saying that the company of the white owners is neither needed nor wanted. They prefer to keep their relations on a strictly business basis. At the *usina*, when a worker is sick, he goes to the medical post where he is treated by a paid nurse, rather than to the owner's house. On pay day, the *usina* worker is paid at the mill by a paymaster, not in the living room of the owner's house. Nevertheless, in spite of the industrialized aspect of the mill, the number of workers is not too large to exclude all personal contact with the owners, who adminis-

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trate and oversee most of the operations. This type of relationship has proved so satisfactory that up to date there have been no strikes, and no labour movements, or unions formed among the workmen of São Pedro. The length of time the technicians and other workmen of the *usina* have remained in their employ, refusing employment in other *usinas* and other occupations, has been a matter of pride to the owners of São Pedro.

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It is on the plantations belonging to the *usina* that the white owner-*mestiço* worker personal relations are least close. The *usina* owners are able to make only occasional tours of inspection of the plantations, and therefore have little personal contact with the workers. However, the administrator has in many respects taken the place of the owner. He is the only man on the plantation with authority, and all complaints and requests for favours or help must be presented to him. In one case, an administrator has been on the same plantation for 26 years, and is well-known for the 'court' he holds. Once a year he gives an immense party for the entire community, and people from all four classes attend. He is wanted as godfather for the children of the workmen, and as *compadre* in their marriages. Nevertheless, the administrator is as much an employee of the *usina* as is the worker, and while the administrator can and does assume some of the attitudes and responsibilities of the owner, he cannot assume them all. However, it is a frequent saying among the white-owner class that the real owners are the administrators, for they are the group closest to the workers and to the land. A plantation with a poor administrator is not only a poor producer, but also means hardship for the *moradores*; a poor administrator will take no interest in them, and take little care of them.

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In other areas of the Recôncavo, where the *usinas* are larger and more industrialized and where no owner resides either at the *usina* or on one of the plantations, but lives always in Salvador, there is only a paid representative of the corporation at the *usina*. In such large industrial units the personal element is almost entirely lacking both at the *usina* and on the company-owned plantations. There have been cases of labour difficulties, strikes, violence and the intrusion of political groups. In several instances, there are efforts today, on the owner's part to re-establish personal contact with mill and field workers, even on the largest of the corporation *usinas* and plantations.

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VII. The relations between people of different physical types in Vila Recôncavo and on the surrounding sugar plantations have grown out of the plantation-slave system which flourished in the region about a century ago. Many patterns and attitudes formed in that epoch persist even today in the town and on the privately-owned plantations in the vicinity.

plantations in the vicinity. There is the aristocratic group of whites descendants of the *senhores de engenho*—who form almost a caste, marrying among themselves and living out their own social life apart from the Negro and racially mixed population of the community. Just as the slave owners in the past, however, they depend upon the Negro and *mestiço* for labour; the Negro is pictured as the faithful servant and attendant of the white aristocrat. Again, as in the past, the mulatto who was the offspring of the European master and a slave mother is pictured as a social upstart and an intelligent trouble-maker. Yet it is the man of mixed ancestry who holds the intermediate economic and social positions; he is the minor bureaucrat, the technician in the *usina*, and the administrator and *feitor* on the plantations. The essential hierarchy has changed little since colonial times; and the relationship between these aristocratic whites and their Negro and mixed workmen is still a highly personal one lacking in social tensions, since each knows his proper position and each knows his rights, duties and obligations toward the other.

There is no race problem in Vila Recôncavo, nor does prejudice or discrimination work out as it does in other parts of the Western world. A Negro cannot become a member of the aristocracy, but a well-educated and economically successful Negro can have easy social relations with this stratum. Negro ancestry is without doubt a grave disadvantage in economic and social mobility, but there are no political and economic positions closed to a man of Negro or mixed descent. As yet, however, only a few Negroes have moved into high political or economic positions. There is only one plantation owner who is a Negro, and Negroes and *mestiços* hold only minor bureaucratic and political positions in the community. The *prefeito* or mayor has nearly always been drawn from the aristocratic white group, and has never been challenged from the Negro and mixed population. Yet in the town and among the mill workers, 'people of colour'' are beginning to show independence, and unwillingness always to occupy a subservient and lowly position. The administrators like to ride better horses than the aristocrats, to have fancier saddles, to dress better, and to be more ostentatious than their employers. Many townspeople know the big city, and the essential class and racial democracy which exists there. There is competition to join the local upper class, and derogatory racial criteria are used to deride competitors who would like to rise out of the lower class groups into this growing upper class. African culture traits such as *candomblé* and the cult of Janaina are associated with low status, and people who would rise in the local social hierarchy are anxious to disassociate themselves from these groups.

As modern attitudes and ideology penetrate Vila Recôncavo, there are more and more problems of class relationships; the population is becoming extremely class-conscious, and there is an in-

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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[City of Salvador]

At Bahia in 1807, 1809, 1813, 1816, 1826, 1827, 1828, and 1830, slave revolts broke out, terminating in the serious Malê uprising of 1835. There existed here, particularly in the nineteenth century, a well-established group of Negro disciples of the prophet Mohammed. Here Nagô was for a long time a Negro lingua franca (or, to use the corresponding Portuguese expression, a *lingua geral*), and Nagô is still occasionally to be heard among some of the older blacks. Here one might have encountered in the years just preceding abolition in 1888 an interesting paradox: while at home Bahia clung tenaciously to slavery, she was known abroad for the eloquence of her abolition orators.[3] Here, also, one might have observed the gradual fusion of Catholic belief and ritual with African mythology and religious practice, evidences of which may be seen today in *candomblés*, or fetish-cult centers, like that of Gantois, for example, whose ceremonies have been carried on in the same sacred place for many decades.

175 567 [669] [792] [197] [183] [771] [177]

In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries Bahia became one of the world's great sugar centers where a small aristocracy, as is attested today by the pretentious edifices still standing, achieved great wealth. As early as 1587 there were forty-seven sugar *engenhos*[4] in and about Bahia, and

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[3] See Luiz Anselmo da Fonseca, *A escravidão, o clero e o abolicionismo* (Bahia, 1887), *passim*. This book, although obviously written as abolition propaganda, cites names, places, and dates to support its contentions and does not overlook negative cases.

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[4] Each *engenho* consisted of a sugar plantation and a mill for processing the cane. Those at Bahia often had a capacity of a thousand tons or more yearly. Each was largely a self-sustaining economic unit, dependent upon the labor of numbers of Negro slaves. H. Morse Stephens says (*Portugal* [New York, 1903], p. 228) that sugar cane was imported into Brazil from the Madeira Islands in 1548.

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4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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these, together with the plantations of Pernambuco, supplied a large part of the sugar for the tables of Europe.

By 1670 Bahia was a wealthy capital boasting that her flag was known upon the seven seas. Ships from the Portuguese empire in the East called regularly on their way back to Portugal. By the early eighteenth century Bahia had grown into a city of 70,000, her commerce protected by the cross-fire of fourteen forts. Six- and seven-story buildings were common; the possession of carved ebony furniture had become a symbol of social standing; silks, palanquins, and the finest porcelain were imported from China. In the surrounding cane fields toiled, it is estimated, ten times as many slaves as in Virginia. A century later, Lindley, an English smuggler, after admiring the abundance of gold jewelry worn by the women of Bahia, looked out over the shipping in the harbor and wrote of "a degree of wealth unknown in Europe."

Bahia continued to be the first commercial city of Brazil until about 1830,[5] when she finally yielded front rank to São Paulo, the rising young metropolis to the south. But during the entire colonial period (1549–1822), Bahia possessed the principal Brazilian firms and the largest Brazilian fortunes.

During the first two centuries of the colonial era, Bahia was the seat of Portuguese control in Brazil, the official residence of high functionaries representing the Portuguese crown. Even after the government was transferred to Rio (1763), Bahia continued to play a prominent role in the politics of the colony and, subsequent to independence

[5] In 1868, although the decline in sugar production was by that time well advanced, Bahia had 511 *engenhos* producing nearly 19,000 tons of sugar a year.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Outside the city of Bahia and skirting the rim of All Saints Bay lies the Reconcavo,[7] some sixty miles long and varying from a few to thirty miles wide. Its soil is a cretaceous marl of great thickness, similar to the black gumbo of southern Arkansas and northern Texas, known locally as *massapé* or, in literal translation, "that which sticks to the feet." It is quite fertile and well watered and today appears only slightly impaired after nearly four centuries of cultivation. This is the cane and tobacco area upon which formerly both Bahia's commercial greatness and her need for reliable agricultural (hence slave) labor was based.

The Reconcavo was formerly a center of large landholdings, of a rural aristocracy, of a patriarchal system, and of slavery. Today, cane and tobacco are still cultivated, although the former, and to some extent the latter, languish by reason of the condition of the world-market and the persistence of primitive techniques of production. Although large landholdings are still common, the rural aristocracy is decadent, its prestige having suffered a gradual but persistent decline throughout the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries with the loss of the sugar monopoly, the growth of the coastal towns, and the accompanying increase in prestige of the urban professional classes. The abolition of slavery in the late nineteenth century was the final blow, and absentee ownership is now the predominating pattern. However, the present population is more dense in the Reconcavo than elsewhere in the state outside the city of Bahia and remains to this day markedly negroid in character.

[7] The literal meanings of the Portuguese word *reconcavo* are (1) a bay of semicircular shape and (2) the environs of a city. These two meanings appear to have fused in the Bahian use of the term.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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de Oliveira estimated that there were then in Bahia province 147,263 unfree Negroes.[5]

The blacks were practically all introduced as slaves, Brazil being, until 1888, a slaveholding state.[6] Under the favorable conditions of a rich soil, intense tropical sunlight, and plentiful rainfall common to the Reconcavo, sugar cane thrived. Its cultivation and processing in a land of "open resources" demanded a constant and inexpensive labor supply which the Portuguese, by reason of insufficient numbers and imperfect acclimitization, were themselves unable to furnish. At first, as in the West Indies and the United States, the indigenous Indians were enslaved; and, after the limited supply on the littoral was exhausted, raiding expeditions penetrated deep into the interior. But the Indians, familiar with only the crudest forms of agriculture, seminomadic, and as unaccustomed to settled and ordered plan-

Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro [tomo especial; Rio, 1927], p. 294).

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 293 and 330.

[6] For detailed information on the slave trade and slavery see, especially Perdigão Malheiro, *A escravidão no Brasil* (3 vols.; Rio, 1867); Percy A. Martin, "Slavery and Abolition in Brazil," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. XIII, No. 2 (1933); Louis Couty, *L'esclavage au Brésil* (Paris, 1881); Lawrence F. Hill, "The Abolition of the African Slave Trade to Brazil," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. XI, No. 2 (1931); Braz do Amaral, "Os grandes mercados de escravos africanos; as tribus importadas; sua distribuição regional," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro* (special vol; Rio, 1927), pp. 437–96; Affonso Claudio, "As tribus negras importadas," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro* (special vol., Part II; Rio, 1914), pp. 597–655; Mary W. Williams, "The Treatment of Brazilian Slaves in the Brazilian Empire," *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. XV (July, 1930); Evaristo de Moraes, *A escravidão africana no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1933); João Dornas Filho, *A escrividão no Brasil* (Rio, 1939); Roberto Simonsen, "As consequencias economicas da abolição," *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio), May 8, 1938; Affonso de E. Taunay, "Notas sobre as ultimas decadas do trafico," *ibid.*, July 24, July 31, August 7, 1938.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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from early colonial times on, seems not to have been very great, and the upheaval which in 1822 culminated in Brazilian independence seems to have buried most of the vestiges of Portuguese prestige. Even today the Portuguese are the constant butt of vaudeville jokes.

175 567 668 • 249 464 [635] [664] [665] [646] *[563]

Many of the free *homens de côr* (men of color), especially those who possessed slaves, either were indifferent to the slave question or openly opposed abolition.[95] Most of the large plantation owners and their spokesmen in the provincial legislature and national parliament opposed the abolition campaign, and their forces at one time dominated the Liberal party.[96] However, many of the slaveholders appear to have increasingly accepted abolition as inevitable and merely to have asked remuneration for the financial loss involved. Apprehension that the plantation system would utterly collapse if free labor were substituted for slave

[95] The abolitionist, Anselmo da Fonseca (*ibid.*, pp. 137, 142–43), complains of the persistent opposition to abolition on the part of *homens de côr*. In 1884, out of thirty candidates for the Bahian *camara*, "the only one who in a published document had the audacity to ask election in the name of slavery" was the *homem de côr*, Conselheiro Domingos Carlos e Silva. In 1887 an *homem de côr* canceled his subscription to the *Diario da Bahia* for its refusal to publish an advertisement regarding a fugitive slave. Fonseca regarded this man as "one of the most intolerant slaveholders in Bahia."

[96] On hearing of the program presented by the imperial cabinet on June 6, 1884, "almost all the leaders of the liberal party in Bahia, the owners of large business and commercial houses, and the sugar aristocracy" lodged a protest in which they declared: "The slave is more than a portion of a private fortune; he is a social institution, a labor supply, a necessity to production, an asset of the national life. Above the immediate interests of planter and merchant . . . . are the permanent . . . . interests of society, the benefits which accrue to thousands of human beings living or yet unborn—the necessities of public order, and the development of national wealth" (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 283).

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and that the sudden liberation of large numbers of subjected blacks would subvert public order gradually melted away as the numbers of emancipated Negroes increased and these freedmen gave evidence of their ability and willingness to become an orderly part of the free population and to labor as effectively, if not more effectively, for wages as when impelled by physical force.

The free people of color (who by 1872 largely outnumbered the slaves)[97] were, Southey says, "an industrious and useful part of the population: most of the maize, manioc and pulse, with which the towns were supplied, was raised by them upon small pieces of ground, which they rented of the great proprietors at a low rate."[98] Freedmen were also employed as laborers on the large estates, where they lived as squatters on the land of their employers, erecting mud and palm-leaf huts for their families, and looking to the planter for protection from any who would do them harm.[99] In the towns they were employed principally as artisans, porters, messengers, barbers, street merchants and small shopkeep-

[97] Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

[98] Southey, *op. cit.*, III, 787. Cf. also: "The masters who freed slaves often gave them, with their liberty, a piece of land to insure their subsistence. The Negroes who have inherited these small holdings are to-day (1911) the best element of the black agricultural population" (Pierre Denis, *Brazil*, trans. from the French by Bernard Miall [New York, 1911], p. 322).

[99] Koster writes: "The Negroes in my possession could not perform what ought to be done in proper time; and therefore I collected free laborers for the purpose, and in a short period between thirty and forty men, some of whom brought their families, removed on to the lands of the plantation; and most of them erected hovels of palm-leaves, in which they dwelt; but a few of them were accommodated with huts of mud. . . . . Many of these fellows would have committed almost any crime under the impression that my protection would screen them" (*op. cit.*, I, 295, 297).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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who at last had seriously taken up "these Negro things" and had found them to be something more than merely picturesque, ... to be, in fact, a great living part of the genuine Brazilian culture.[14]

Before this democratic gathering were read such papers in history and ethnology as the following:[15]

England and the Slave Traffic
Three Centuries of Slavery in Parahyba
The Negro in the History of Alagôas
The Negro during the Dutch Occupation
Unusual Slaves
Physical Deformities of Negro Slaves
The Republic of the Palmares
The Negro Laborer in the Time of the *Banguê*[16] Compared with the Negro Laborer in the Time of the Sugar Factories
The Diet of Brazilian Slaves
Abolition and Its Causes
African Diseases in Brazil
Negro Music in Africa and Brazil
The Negro in the Folklore and Literature of Brazil
The Drama among Early Brazilian Negroes
The Contribution of the Negro to Brazilian Culture
A List of Nagô Words
Xangô
The Legend of Xangô and Its Corruption in Brazil
Invocations to Xangô Heard in Recife
African *Seitas*[17] in Recife
Notes on the *Catimbó*[18]

[14] *Op. cit.*, pp. 348–52.

[15] In several cases titles have not been translated literally; instead, an effort has been made to indicate more definitely the actual subject matter discussed.

[16] The primitive sugar mill used in colonial Brazil, often called the *engenho*, was also known as the *banguê*. [249]

[17] A fetish-cult center is often referred to as a *seita*.

[18] *Catimbó* is a word commonly used in northeast Brazil to designate the fetish cult, which is also known as the *candomblé* (in Bahia) and the *xangô* (in Recife). [794]

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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her, even in her dreams, and she dreaded worse terrors to come. Depressed by the helplessness of herself and her friends, of the whole South, it was not strange that she often remembered during these days the words which Tony Fontaine had spoken so passionately:

"By God, Scarlett, it isn't to be borne! And it won't be borne!"[11]

Brazilian society nowhere passed through a comparable period of social upheaval in which a threatened reversal of the status structure elicited such deep-seated fear and apprehension that generations later it is so vividly recalled by the descendants of those who lived through it. The rape of white women by colored men, either real or fancied, has been unknown in Brazil. There has not been anything remotely comparable to the conquest of our South by northern armies, the imposition, for years, of onerous political control from without, and the consequent development of feelings of resentment and bitterness which, lacking normal expression (by reason of the North's formidable power), in the form of effective aggression toward the actual offending object, became displaced upon the more or less helpless Negro when northern force was withdrawn. On the contrary, the relations between the races in Brazil have always been, to a considerable extent, intimate and cordial. The moral order of the Bahian *engenhos*, which, as we have seen, was organized largely on a familial and personal basis, has persisted relatively undisturbed down to the present day, and the members of the different races have, by way of personal feelings and sentiments, long identified themselves with each other, entered into each other's personal experiences, and come to appreciate their common human character. Instead of conceiving the Negro as an abstract object, the Bahian white tends to think of him as João or Maria and as being wholly human like himself.

[11] Margaret Mitchell, *Gone with the Wind* (New York, 1938), pp. 652–57.

[SALVADOR]

/9/ The Ethnic Types of Bahia

361 Bahia owes its reputation, not only to its privileged location
*563 on the shores of a magnificent bay and to its churches of an ornate
633 rococo style, but also, to a certain degree, to the excellent relations that exist in the heart of its motley population between people of different color. Stephan Zweig drew a very vivid picture
633 of Bahia and its ancient traditions. For him, Brazil began with
*563 this city, and not only Brazil, but also South America. "In this city was erected the first pier of the vast bridge thrown across the Atlantic; in it has originated, through the combination of European, African, and American material, the new mixture that is fermenting so actively at the present time (1)."

[113] 1. Stephan Zweig, Brazil, Pais do Futuro /Brazil, Land of the Future/, trans. by Gallotti, Rio de Janeiro, 1941, p. 275.

175 From its founding under the official name of Cidade do
633 Salvador, Bahia began to be known for its wealth, which it owed
[103] to the sugar produced by its fazendas (2)
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2. Plantations.

and its engenhos (3).

3. Sugar mills.

[796] It was also renowned for the magnificence of the worship in its
[363] numerous churches, for the religious processions that passed through its narrow, climbing streets, and for the traditions, so typically Portuguese, of its inhabitants. Center of importation
[567] of African slaves, Bahia was also famous for the large proportion
[167] of Blacks in its population, to the point that foreign travelers of
[162] the colonial period speak of this city as a "new Guinea" (4).

[113] 4. M. Frezier, Relation du voyage de la mer du Sud aux côtes du Chili et du Pérou fait pendant les années 1712, 1713 and 1714 /Account of the

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/46/ Commerce

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The merchants and the fazendeiros enjoy a prestige in Bahia society proportional to the economic importance of their activities, the wealthiest families being made up by them, and their influence being well known in all the social life. It is by means of these two forms of activity that the Bahians acquire a certain social rank and exercise control over other sectors of the social structure (1).

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1. The economic activities that occupy the largest number of persons in the State of Bahia are agriculture and stock raising (67 o/o of individuals of the male sex); there follow in order of importance: small crafts industry and commerce, according to the census of 1940. In the city of Salvador (Bahia) the liberal professions and private instruction, which the statistics record in the aggregate, came in first place, and commerce and the industries are in second place.

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The national and racial groups that make up the population of Bahia participate in different fashion in the commerce and agriculture. While the Whites and the morenos predominate among the most important breeders of livestock, one finds among the owners of cacao plantations a large proportion of colored persons who began as small planters and have progressively enlarged their fazendas as cacoa gained in importance in the international markets. The plantations of cane and the sugar mills that belonged to the families of Portuguese origin, who were very conscious of their social rank during the colonial period, are today almost entirely in the hands of large capitalist enterprises in which Whites and a few métis predominate.

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As for commercial activities, they are not carried on exclusively by nationally and racially determined groups, but these groups portion them out among themselves up to a certain point --

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

243 311 433 The Recôncavo as a whole had 9,679 hectares of corn, with a production of 10,283 tons. Of this, 87 per cent of the area and 84 per cent of the production was in Santo Estêvão, Feira de Santana, and Irará (Maps 34, 35, and 36). The area and production of the Recôncavo were about the same as for one adjacent município, Serrinha, which had 8,500 hectares and 11,590 tons of corn in 1948.

243 311 Most of the corn grown and produced in the Recôncavo comes from two compact concentrations, one around the cidade of Irará; the other around the cidade of Santo Estêvão. Elsewhere in the Recôncavo it is grown either on very widely scattered plots or as a "garden" crop.[23]

The concentration of corn production is the result of several physical and economic factors. It is cultivated on the dry margins of the Recôncavo, where only a few restricted areas can produce a crop. 243 [438] [489] Though a commercial product of moderate value, its weight- or bulk-price relationship is not highly favorable to long transportation to market—in contrast to tobacco, which tends to attach itself to even the smallest and most remote semi-subsistence plot, and in contrast to beef, [491] which in Bahia is moved to market on the hoof. The concentration around Santo Estêvão, which is on the main trunk highway to Feira de Santana, is favorable for the transportation of the crop, and the Irará concentration is linked to Feira by a generally passable road. [251] In the more humid parts of the Recôncavo, corn is restricted not only by its poor competitive position vis-à-vis sugar cane or tobacco, but also by its harvest requirements; it must be harvested and stored in the proper season, while manioc may be harvested as it is needed, a great advantage for a subsistence crop.

243 311 433 Corn, although the second most important subsistence crop of the Recôncavo, occupied in 1948 only 12 per cent of the total cropland.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 182]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

243 either separately or in conjunction with tobacco and manioc. They are
244 frequently grown on land thought to be not suitable for tobacco culti-
[134] vation yet too good for manioc alone, such as the steeper slopes of the crystalline area where the heavier soils do not produce good quality tobacco.

Since the area in corn and beans is small and the amount of slope land large, the capoéira is extensive and frequently quite tall. After the slopes are cleared, the land is very often planted to mixed corn and beans, more rarely to one or the other. The crops are planted
[221] in March or April, perhaps in May, and even in June for beans alone. The planting season for these crops is extended both because they are tolerant of changes in season and because as crops secondary to tobacco they have a lesser priority. Some corn is usually planted early enough
[527] so that it will ripen in time for São João (mid-summer day) festival
[862] for which fresh corn-on-the-cob is the traditional food. This festival is usually the beginning of the corn harvest, but the bean harvest
[251] begins a month later. Both crops are harvested by hand and, after drying, are shelled by hand, sacked, and either stored or sold. When the fertility of the soil is higher than normal or when there is labor to spare, the field may be planted to manioc after the corn and bean harvest.

243 As a result of the interpenetration of the corn-bean and the
244 tobacco-manioc systems, in many regions and on many individual proper-
249 ties the two co-exist. Usually the upland fields are in tobacco and
311 manioc, with an occasional plot of corn and/or beans. Usually the slope-land plots are in corn or beans.

249 The Cultivation of Sugar Cane. In distinction to the crops discussed above, sugar cane is grown under a system of permanent

To the west, on the third hill, along the "beach," and in 361
the small valleys, there is a different atmosphere. Here, in 342
the Caquende, Boqueirão, Cortume, and Rua Nova (see map of town), there are no sobrados, no signs of former grandeur. The houses are of another style--small, one-story buildings with no air of antiquity about them. Some are made of brick, but most are of mud on a bamboo or mangue frame. Many have been coated with whitewash, some recently and some a long time ago. On the summit of this third hill, the Oiteiro, are [178] the poorest houses of all, one- and two-room mud houses with thatched roofs. Recently in this section there have been some 361
new-style houses built, tipo bangalo (bungalow-type), and [463] there are signs of a growing prosperity among a few enterprising people. These areas of fishermen, of small storekeepers, and of those with crafts such as carpentry, bricklaying, and shoemaking, are the most heavily populated parts of the town of Vila Recôncavo today. According to the old inhabitants of the town, this section was undeveloped sixty years ago, and, to the old people, Vila Recôncavo is still up there on the hill, in the area of the sobrados. Nevertheless, the majority of the [366] stores are in the lower part of town, which even has its own [368] chapel. It is here that the children play although they must go up the hill to school. It is here that there are groups of men gossiping and having a drink of rum. It is here that an attitude of open friendliness prevails, and there are friendly faces at the windows. It is here that the drums beat when the African gods are feted.

The post office, located in the upper part of town, also has 206
a telegraph. Messages go by special telephone to the nearby [205] town of Centro, from where they are sent by wire. There is [368] also a public telephone in the town which has two extensions, one in the house of the mayor and one in the house of the doctor. Other people must go to the telephone office to make or receive calls. The telephone is very uncertain; not only is it frequently impossible to get a call through but often nothing can be heard once the connection is made. From the town it is possible to speak through Centro to Salvador. It is also possible to speak to the sugar factory, and through its switchboard to several of the sugar plantations.

In recent years electricity has been brought to the town, 365
and, in addition to lights on the streets, 78 of the 408 build- [207] ings in town have electricity. Of these, twenty-one have radios, and three have electric irons. Only the doctor, the [251] health post, and the bar have refrigerators.

443 upper part of town also sells cloth. Most stores also have small supplies of chocolate (considered a great treat at a party), tea, honey, canned desserts such as guava, and canned butter and cheese. As a rule fresh vegetables are not sold in the stores but peddled through the streets, since few people eat them. It is more practical to order them specially from someone going to the fair in Centro. Nearly everyone has a banana tree or an orange tree in the back yard, so that few fruits are sold in the stores. The other seasonal crops, such as cashew nuts, corn, and pineapples, are peddled from house
443 to house. As a rule people in Vila Recôncavo buy their food
432 in small quantities, since they have no methods of food pres-
•[251] ervation. A liter bottle is carried to the store to be filled with oil or kerosene; a small can is carried there to be filled with rice, beans, or farina. The smoked meat called charque is bought by the kilo and left hanging in the kitchen, and strips are cut from it at meal times. Although the price of charque is as high as that of fresh meat, and at times higher, people say it is more satisfying. As a rule the butcher in Vila Recôncavo kills two steers a week, on Wednesday and Saturday. The meat is carried through the streets unwrapped, hanging from a cord. It is not unusual to see a string of dogs following such a person. The meat is eaten the same day to prevent spoilage, and as a result it is usually tough and flavorless.

463 Most of the people included in Group 1 lead an upper-class
*565 kind of life; indeed to a great extent these people are the town's highest class, as will be shown in the next chapter. These are the people who do little or no labor themselves other than the white-collar work with which they earn their living. The men
[291] dress in city clothes most of the time--white shirt, tie, and suit coat--and the women are always neatly dressed with shoes and silk stockings. (The oil workers are an exception, for they do not hold white-collar jobs but wear overalls and helmets). There is always help to do the housework and the marketing.
463 Sometimes a cook is employed; otherwise the lady of the house
*565 does her own cooking, assisted by her daughters. The laundry is sent out, or else the laundress comes to the house to do it,
357 and water for drinking purposes and for washing is brought to
[296] the house by a man or woman employed for the purpose; members of the household never fetch water at the wells. Often
[312] the house has a cement tank and drains on the roof to catch
[313] rainwater. Nor does any member of the house fetch firewood, which is supplied by a hired person.

[Town Life]

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vo. There are about twenty women in the town who are thus 252
employed constantly, and others who work part-time with the 463
fish. They go down to the beach, carrying five-gallon gaso-
line cans, when they see the fishermen coming in, and buy the 463
fish by the canful at about Cr$25,00 a can, sometimes buying 462
as many as ten canfuls. An exceptional catch for a day will 252
run well over fifty cans, especially during the winter months. 43
The women then take the fish home, clean them and pack them
in salt for twenty-four hours, after which they put them on
spits, two narrow slivers of wood cut from the dendê palm.
Five fish go on each two spits. They are then hung out to dry [251]
in the sun for about two days. If it rains, the drying takes
longer, and frequently many are lost. Few of the women ever
become accustomed to the odor of the salted, drying fish, and
they complain bitterly about it. But they know that there is
always a market for the dried product, and this compensates
to some extent for the unpleasantness involved. A can of
fish usually provides 150 to 200 spits, and they are sold for
Cr$25,00 to Cr$30,00 a hundred spits. The price is generally [443]
slightly higher if they are sold at the weekly Monday market
in Centro, to which the women as a rule go themselves, or to
which they send the fish with a friend. Otherwise, they are
sold to the occasional tropeiros de cima[3] who come to town
to buy them at a slightly lower price. It is said that the small
dried fish are considered a fine dish by the people of the ser-
tão.

Other women prepare shrimp in much the same manner, al- 463
though the prices are higher. A can of shrimp costs between 462
Cr$100,00 and Cr$150,00 depending upon the size of the catch 435
and the season of the year, for during Lent and especially [252]
during Holy Week, when the demand is greater, all prices of
fish and seafood rise. A can of shrimp gives two hands (duas
mãos), or forty spits, of shrimp, which are sold at the av- 462
erage of Cr$100,00 a hand; the price of the finished product 463
varies with the price of the fresh shrimp. However, a man in 438
Vila Recôncavo recently built an icehouse, and the women have 251
worked less with shrimp, for the fishermen sell directly to

3. Tropeiros de cima (troopers from up north) are men from the sertão who descend to the Recôncavo with mules loaded with farina to sell, and return north with fish and fruit from the Recôncavo.

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462 the icehouse where the shrimp are kept cool; they can then be
438 sent to Salvador every other day on the boat to be sold as fresh
• 251 shrimp at the market and on the streets. "Camarão da Vila,"
[443] (shrimp from Vila) the cry of the Salvador street peddlers, is well known throughout the capital city.

463 The majority of people in Group 2 live down the hill from
[361] the older part of town, near the beach or out along the road
[571] which leads to the factory. They are more or less dependent
[476] upon Group 1, not only for the money they receive in return for services, but also for many kinds of favors which fall under the heading of patronship. They are seldom able to employ the services of Group 3 for such jobs as house building or repairing; they must rely on an old form of cooperative labor, called the batalhão (work group), to make or repair a house wall or to put on a new thatch roof. Frequently a patron will arrange for another of his "dependents" to transport the mud necessary for the palm thatch (taipa), and there is no cost involved for the recipient; but she must arrange the labor.

463 The people of Group 2 fetch their own water from the wells,
312 and usually their own firewood from the tideswamps. There
[313] are several men and women in town who make a business of carrying these two commodities. Such work is contractual. A household contracts for so many cans or barrels of water a day and so many loads of firewood a week. If they do not have enough money for these services they must carry them out themselves. During the dry summer months fetching water is a tedious business, for the majority of the wells dry up early in the summer. In the very dry summer of 1950-51, all the wells in town but one went dry. The one which continued to supply water did so at a much diminished rate. This well is completely encased in cement, for it provides the only drinking water in town. There is a small pipe serving as a spigot. During the dry season it takes from ten to twenty minutes to fill a five-gallon tin can from this pipe. As a result, there were always long lines of women waiting for water, and a sojourn of three or four hours at the well was common. Many of the more ambitious women used to get up at two or three in the morning and go to the well, making several
[821] trips so they would be free of this onerous duty during the day.
[492] This, however, took a great deal of courage, for most people in Vila Recôncavo are afraid of the dark, and no timid woman would make the trip out to the well at night. By general agreement, the men who carry water in barrels on donkeys walked

226 men say that the fish are leaving, while others say there are
43 just as many as ever. It is a difficult thing to prove one way or the other, for written records of the annual catches are only recent. However, there is no such thing as being unable to sell the fish they bring in. Many people in town have increased their consumption of fresh fish as a result of inflation, for it is less expensive than dried or fresh meat. The fishermen themselves eat a great deal of fish, always keeping enough out of a catch for their own family. The planters of the rural area complain that the fresh fish never arrive at the plantations any more as they did in the past. This is probably due to the icehouse in the town. The fishermen sell first to their "usual customers," the women who work with xangô and shrimp; what is left is sold to the icehouse to be packed and shipped to Bahia, rather than being sent out to the country.

[226] [458] [251]

226 The jereré, a small basketlike net built around an iron ring 1 1/2 feet in circumference, is used by women and children along the shore and is part of a subsistence activity. It catches only a small crab (siri), an occasional eel, and other small fish which are cooked for the table in the form of moqueca, a sort of stew highly seasoned with peppers and dendê oil. The tideswamps abound in a large crab called the caranguejo, which is also highly prized for the table. Children often catch these, but a man who does so is called a caranguejeiro, a derogatory term. The hunter seeks the crab by sticking his arm down into its hole, which is usually very deep, at least arm's length. As a result he is always covered with the thick black mud so typical of the tideswamps. Often a tropeiro de cima comes to the town and commissions someone to catch the crabs, which he wraps carefully in mud and leaves and carries to the northern hinterland to sell.

[252] [262] [857] [134] [443]

463 The second largest subgroup in Group 3 is composed of the
241 twenty-four gardeners (roceiros) who are engaged in small-scale commercial farming, rather than subsistence horticulture. They live in town and have their small fields on the outskirts of Vila Recôncavo. All of these fields are located on the plantation Engenho Da Vila ("P" on map of community), and they range from one, two, or three acres in size to as many as fifteen acres, rented from the plantation at Cr$100,00 an acre per year. The major crops are manioc, bananas, and to a lesser extent tobacco, sugar cane for chewing (cana de chupar), corn, beans, and squash. Because there are only 265

[427] 241 000

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584 intimation of its course. The meeting may finally be arranged at the house of an older female friend. If the two are genuinely interested in each other they may allow the fact to become public, and if the parents are pleased they will in due course [836] be married. Otherwise the girl may keep the whole affair a secret, and after a period of flirtation have an affair with the [263] boy and become pregnant. Any girl who refuses to eat pepper [843] is immediately suspected of pregnancy, and inquiries are made.

*565 When a Class C family wishes to celebrate some occasion 574 such as a birthday, anniversary, or the time in which the twin 252 saints Cosme and Damião are feasted, the woman's friends 262 and any nearby female relatives come in to help her cook. [476] Guests are invited by the husband. The preparation of all [273] food must be done by hand, the chickens killed, cleaned, and plucked, the beans shelled, the shrimp and fish cleaned, the farina cakes made, and the popular liqueurs (licores) prepared by soaking various kinds of fruit in bottles of rum and syrup. At such parties the traditional, favorite Bahian dishes of vatapá, acarajé, carurú, abará, cuscus, and the many moquecas, are served. All these are appetizing, but take much time [251] to prepare and cannot be made too far in advance, for there *565 is no way of preserving food. Unless the household is particularly wealthy, the family seldom gives parties; many never 574 manage to give one. Dancing forms an important part of the 535 festivities. The men bring their drums, tambourines, and guitars, while the women sing and dance the samba. In the rural [369] area, social dancing in mixed couples is rare, but in town it is a common form.

*565 A family may take care of an aged mother, father, or even 888 godparent, or of some other relative on either side. Such a 736 person is well cared for within the family means. Most people in Vila Recôncavo are generous toward others who are in some way unfortunate, and help them if they can. There is little or no complaint if the household has to take in an infirm or aged relative; most people say that the same may happen to them one day and they will have to be taken care of. Perhaps the old person helped them in some way in the past when they needed aid and is now being repaid. Or if some older person wants to live alone, a group of neighbors and relatives all help in preparing meals and supplying food and other wants over an extended period of time. There is no case in Vila Recôncavo of an elderly person being sent to a public institution.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1
Northeast Brazil SO1

B 244 433 Manioc production is most notable along the coast of Brazil, from the mouth of the Amazon to Rio Grande do Sul, but it has considerable importance in the interior of the eastern half of the country.[4] The tonnage of manioc production in Brasil is exceeded only by that of sugar cane--thus manioc is produced in greater quantity than corn, beans, or rice, the other basic subsistence crops. However, the total value of manioc production is less than that of coffee, cotton, corn, or rice. In the Recôncavo the cultivated area of manioc, over BB 244 311 433 262 22,000 hectares, exceeds that of any other crop, and the value of its production is second only to tobacco. It is usually grown as a subsistence crop for local consumption, but there are a few areas of surplus production.

NB BB 244 252 262 Mandioca--manioc, cassava, or yuca--is a stem-propagated perennial which is tolerant of a variety of edaphic, climatic, and cultural conditions. The rootstock of the bitter variety--Manihot utilissima, or M. esculenta--which is most common in Bahia, contains a poisonous substance--manihotoxine--which must be removed before it can be used as human food. In the Northeast the roots almost universally are converted in crude mills into farinha de mandioca, a coarse flour which is eaten in either a raw or cooked state.[5] Sweet manioc (manihot api, in Brazil called aipim) is cultivated on a small scale. The rootstock of this variety may be eaten without extensive processing and is prepared, like the white potato, by boiling.

BB 244 252 433 The cultivation of manioc is a widespread feature of the cultural landscape of east-central Bahia, overshadowed only by the low and scrubby second growth, capoéira, which follows the intensive cultivation of this plant under a system of land rotation. Manioc cultivation and the processing of its roots are the most characteristic pursuits of the rural people--and often the most primitive.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

243 311 It is primarily a crop of the sertão of northeastern Bahia, but it has intruded upon the northern and western perimeter of the Recôncavo (Map 37). In three municípios--Irará, Feira de Santana, and Santo Estêvão--corn is the most extensively cultivated crop. Conversely, it is rarely seen in the humid lowlands and in the Southwestern Recôncavo. In these areas it is found only in very small, widely scattered plantings.

243 433 The mean yield of corn in the Recôncavo was 1.09 tons per hectare, compared to 1.27 for Brazil, 2.46 for the United States, 1.0 for the Belgian Congo, and .81 for Java and Madura. The accompanying map of corn yields shows a somewhat random pattern within the Recôncavo, since the total area and production were very small and local circumstances of cultivation highly variable (Map 38). However, the area of main production northwest of the Recôncavo had a relatively high yield--over 243 244 1.5 tons per hectare. In this area, corn, with beans, pre-empts the areas with the most productive soils and the greatest precipitation.

244 Beans. Feijão, or the common field bean (Phaseolus vulgaris), like manioc, tobacco, and corn, is an indigenous domesticate which became an important subsistence crop during the colonial period. Like corn, beans are more specifically associated with the dry sertão than with the Recôncavo. Most of the beans grown in Bahia are the black [262 252] variety, feijão preto; the beans are dried and used with charque (dried beef) in a soup which is one of the basic subsistence foods of the Northeast. Beans of this and other similar varieties of the same species are grown throughout Brazil.

244 433 In area and in quantity of production, beans are slightly less important than corn in the Recôncavo, but the value of the bean crop is almost double that of corn. The patterns of distribution of these two crops are almost identical, and the physical and cultural factors

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 252 276 Processing of Agricultural Products. Each of the three principal crops of the Recôncavo require processing before it can be consumed. Sugar cane and manioc are highly perishable, and both are processed in their entirety within the region. Tobacco, once it is fermented, can be stored for longer periods, so that there is no necessity for immediate processing within the Recôncavo. Sugar cane is processed in large usinas and to a lesser extent in engenhos (primitive sugar mills). Tobacco [277] products are fabricated in small-scale home industries and in factories. Manioc is converted into farinha de mandioca in very small mills.

249 489 471 The cultivation, transportation, and processing of sugar cane require an integrated system in which there is some form of centralized administration. The larger usinas own and operate most of the surrounding cane plantations and the associated transportation system, and administration is direct. Where cane is purchased from furnishers--privately-owned plantations--the mill specifies the type of cane which it will buy and the schedule of delivery. Most of the sugar cane in the Recôncavo is processed by usinas, which produce sugar, rum, and alcohol. However, there are a number of engenhos and a few smaller usinas which specialize in the production of rum or crude sugar. The engenhos are most important around the margins of the main sugar cane area north of the Bay and in Cachoeira and São Félix, but the usinas dominate the core area of cane production in Santo Amaro, São Francisco, and São Sebastião. Within the core area the big usinas generally are located near but not on the main railroads, although a few are situated near the shore of the Bay.

249 492 The harvested sugar cane generally is delivered to smaller mills by the grower, usually on ox carts. The larger mills receive their 249 499 505 cane via the railroad or the Bay. In these cases the cane is transported by ox cart from the cane fields to a weighing station, from

[The Private Plantation]

côncavo. So far only the pai adão has been able to fulfill the plowing requirements. Lately, however, tractors with caterpillar tread have been introduced and, when used carefully with disk plows, have given excellent results. But the old standby is still commonly in use, hitched to eight, ten, twelve, or as many as twenty oxen. 249*1 407 [492]

The owner's house with its park stands on a small hilltop and is visible from afar because of its imperial palms. Nearby, on another hilltop, is the settlement of workers, a long street with houses on either side, the barracks, a small store, and the ever-present casa de farinha, the house where manioc is always being ground, pressed, and roasted to make the farina which is the staple food of the area. Also on this street is the overseer's house, which stands out from the others because of its large size and its veranda. The houses of the workmen are small and built for the most part under one long, common roof. Each house is really an apartment consisting of a front living room and a long corridor going back to the kitchen, with one or two bedrooms leading off the corridor. Other houses, under separate roofs, have similar interior arrangements. The roofs are of red tiles, the rest of the house of clay mud (taipa) slapped on both sides of a bamboo framework. After the mud has dried a coat of whitewash is applied. The houses are built and kept in repair by the plantation owner and do not belong to the workers. The floors are of beaten earth, difficult to keep clean. At night, when only a tiny oil lamp is burning, the houses look dark and gloomy. 249* 361 [252] [262] 249* 342 [356] [423] [416]

After dark one has the impression of hearing much more than one can see. Kerosene is expensive to burn, no one reads, and most of life is geared to doing in the daytime those tasks which require light. At night the workmen and their families sit in the dark talking, or perhaps go to the casa de farinha where a fellow workman and his family may be grinding their manioc. This building is softly lit with kerosene lamps and there is a cheerful glow from the roasting fire. More recently the overseer's house has been equipped with electricity, and now it is always well lighted at night. His new radio has become a center of attraction and small groups form about his veranda, listening. At the other end of the street, during harvest time, there is always a bonfire in front of the barracks where the migrant workers are sheltered. On special occasions there may be a samba (dance), perhaps in the plantation owner's house. Then everyone dons his best and the 249* 517 [535]

743 so there is competent medical assistance. Those who are too poor to pay receive free aid and medications, milk, and soup; those who can pay do so, paying only the wholesale prices of the articles. The institute is well equipped, with an x-ray machine, diathermy, and other heat appliances, which are popular because of the prevalence of colds and rheumatism.

743 The institute also operates the weekly motion picture which
529 has been a great boon to the town, a recreation room, central-
ly located in the town, which has a radio, billiard tables, and
[546] a bar selling milk shakes, sandwiches, beer, and soft drinks.
743 This place has become the major meeting place for the men
873 and boys of the town. In addition to this, the institute also runs a night school for adults.

463 Group 2, as listed at the beginning of this chapter, con-
[571] sists mainly of the people who work for those in Group 1 and who are attached to them by the bonds of the patronship to
[462] some extent, as well as by salary. The majority of persons in this category are women, engaged in the traditional female pursuits of washing, ironing, sewing, embroidering, and general housework.

296 As a rule the laundry is washed at one of the town wells,
462 which are encased in cement. The women carry the dirty
463 clothes, a bucket, and wooden basin, all piled on top of their heads, to the well. They pull up enough water in their buck-
[482] ets to fill the basins in which the clothes are washed. After a soaking and scrubbing with soap the wet, soapy clothes are spread out on the ground in the sun, and from time to time water is sprinkled on them to aid the sun in bleaching. Then the clothes are rewashed and spread out to dry. Depending upon the weather, the washing and drying process may take from a whole day to three or four days before the clothes are considered clean enough. Then they are taken home to be
[463] ironed. The older pattern demanded that a different person do the ironing, but today this pattern is breaking down and fre-
[178] quently the same person washes and irons. The irons used are the old-fashioned kind heated by charcoal, which is placed inside and ignited. The irons are made with drafts to keep the fire going, and the women must stop frequently to fan the fire or renew the charcoal. Often a busy woman has two irons going and sets one aside to heat while she irons with the other.

462 Many women also prepare xangô, a small sardinelike fish
• 252 caught in great quantities by the fishermen of Vila Recôn-
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VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Town Life]

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vo. There are about twenty women in the town who are thus employed constantly, and others who work part-time with the fish. They go down to the beach, carrying five-gallon gasoline cans, when they see the fishermen coming in, and buy the fish by the canful at about Cr$25,00 a can, sometimes buying as many as ten canfuls. An exceptional catch for a day will run well over fifty cans, especially during the winter months. The women then take the fish home, clean them and pack them in salt for twenty-four hours, after which they put them on spits, two narrow slivers of wood cut from the dendê palm. Five fish go on each two spits. They are then hung out to dry in the sun for about two days. If it rains, the drying takes longer, and frequently many are lost. Few of the women ever become accustomed to the odor of the salted, drying fish, and they complain bitterly about it. But they know that there is always a market for the dried product, and this compensates to some extent for the unpleasantness involved. A can of fish usually provides 150 to 200 spits, and they are sold for Cr$25,00 to Cr$30,00 a hundred spits. The price is generally slightly higher if they are sold at the weekly Monday market in Centro, to which the women as a rule go themselves, or to which they send the fish with a friend. Otherwise, they are sold to the occasional tropeiros de cima[3] who come to town to buy them at a slightly lower price. It is said that the small dried fish are considered a fine dish by the people of the sertão.

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[443]

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Other women prepare shrimp in much the same manner, although the prices are higher. A can of shrimp costs between Cr$100,00 and Cr$150,00 depending upon the size of the catch and the season of the year, for during Lent and especially during Holy Week, when the demand is greater, all prices of fish and seafood rise. A can of shrimp gives two hands (duas mãos), or forty spits, of shrimp, which are sold at the average of Cr$100,00 a hand; the price of the finished product varies with the price of the fresh shrimp. However, a man in Vila Recôncavo recently built an icehouse, and the women have worked less with shrimp, for the fishermen sell directly to

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3. Tropeiros de cima (troopers from up north) are men from the sertão who descend to the Recôncavo with mules loaded with farina to sell, and return north with fish and fruit from the Recôncavo.

226 men say that the fish are leaving, while others say there are
43 just as many as ever. It is a difficult thing to prove one way or the other, for written records of the annual catches are only recent. However, there is no such thing as being unable to sell the fish they bring in. Many people in town have in-
[226] creased their consumption of fresh fish as a result of infla-
tion, for it is less expensive than dried or fresh meat. The
[458] fishermen themselves eat a great deal of fish, always keep-
ing enough out of a catch for their own family. The planters of the rural area complain that the fresh fish never arrive at the plantations any more as they did in the past. This is prob-
[251] ably due to the icehouse in the town. The fishermen sell first to their "usual customers," the women who work with xangó and shrimp; what is left is sold to the icehouse to be packed and shipped to Bahia, rather than being sent out to the country.

226 The jererê, a small basketlike net built around an iron ring 1 1/2 feet in circumference, is used by women and children along the shore and is part of a subsistence activity. It catches
[252] only a small crab (siri), an occasional eel, and other small
[262] fish which are cooked for the table in the form of moqueca, a sort of stew highly seasoned with peppers and dendê oil. The tideswamps abound in a large crab called the caranguejo,
[857] which is also highly prized for the table. Children often catch these, but a man who does so is called a caranguejeiro, a derogatory term. The hunter seeks the crab by sticking his arm down into its hole, which is usually very deep, at least
[134] arm's length. As a result he is always covered with the thick black mud so typical of the tideswamps. Often a tropeiro de
[443] cima comes to the town and commissions someone to catch the crabs, which he wraps carefully in mud and leaves and carries to the northern hinterland to sell.

463 The second largest subgroup in Group 3 is composed of the
241 twenty-four gardeners (roçeiros) who are engaged in small-scale commercial farming, rather than subsistence horti-
culture. They live in town and have their small fields on the
[427] outskirts of Vila Recôncavo. All of these fields are located on the plantation Engenho Da Vila ("P" on map of community), and they range from one, two, or three acres in size to as
241 many as fifteen acres, rented from the plantation at Cr$100,00 an acre per year. The major crops are manioc, bananas, and to a lesser extent tobacco, sugar cane for chewing (cana de chupar), corn, beans, and squash. Because there are only 265

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Town Life]

Because there are only 265 acres of manioc under cultivation in the entire county, production is far below the amount of farina consumed, and it is necessary to import the milled manioc tuber which constitutes the major dietary item of the people. In 1951 a municipal law was passed prohibiting the exportation of farina. Three times during the author's stay in the town there was a pronounced lack of farina, when there was almost none to be bought and its price per liter rose from one to three cruzeiros. That year's drought was also partly responsible for the shortage. 241 43 [262] [114] [731]

Bananas are the only commercial export crop of the gardeners. There are approximately 15,000 banana trees in the county, producing for the commercial market an annual production of 177,000 arms (cachos) of bananas, providing an income of Cr$500.000,00. The fruits are sold to a middleman from Bahia who knows most of the gardeners in the area. Once a week, or every two weeks, he arrives at the town in a large sailboat to receive the fresh bananas, which he then takes to Bahia and sells. Sometimes a gardener sells an arm of bananas to a woman in town who then resells them to townspeople. Few people in town have to buy them, however, for each household has at least one banana tree in the back yard. An acre of land supports about 144 banana trees, which when well cared for produce 1,500 arms a year. The fruits are sold in cargoes of fifty arms at Cr$160,00 a cargo, so that one acre earns about Cr$5.000,00 a year. This sum is almost entirely profit, for gardeners do most of their own work, except when they have too much land for one man to take care of properly. Hired help is paid in accordance with the service performed: ten cruzeiros for cutting fifty arms of bananas, twenty for transporting them to the dock if the gardener does not have his own animals, and a hundred cruzeiros an acre for "cleaning," i.e., cutting down and burning old stalks and leaves and keeping the weeds cut down. 245 43 [442] [311] 245 46

Manioc presents a slightly different case, for the raw product must be processed before it is consumed. The manioc root from which farina is made is the poisonous variety and must be peeled and grated, pressed to remove the juice, and then toasted. The final product is a white powder, fine or coarse depending upon the type of grater used. Most of the local product is a coarse type (farinha de guerra). One of the gardeners has a flour house where the tubers are converted into flour. He mills his own manioc there and lets others use the machinery, charging them one liter of farina out of each ten they produce. 252 [427]

252 they produce. The juice which is squeezed out is saved, and starch is extracted from it to be used in pressing clothes. The nonpoisonous variety of manioc (aipim) is used to a much smaller extent. Usually the tuber is boiled in water and then eaten as though it were a potato, for it does not need any processing to render it edible.

241 463 Ten of the twenty-four gardeners concentrate on manioc, while the others raise bananas. Most of them also grow their own household subsistence crops, scattered among the manioc and bananas, such as corn, beans, squash, and often a few shoots of excellent tobacco. Many of them also produce a quarter or half acre of a heavy type of sugar cane (cana de chupar) which is stripped of its bark, cut into short pieces, and masticated, the pulp being spit out after the person has [146] sucked out the juice. Almost everyone indulges in this, and [825] the sugar which is absorbed is undoubtedly a great source of energy. The plots (roças) are fenced and protected by an ox [789] skull stuck on one of the fence posts to keep out the evil eye.

241 463 554 [427] There are many gardeners to the west of the town who rent their small plots from either the Engenho da Vila or the federal school. This area has not produced sugar cane for many years, for it lacks the surface covering of massapê. These gardeners are often called matutos ("hicks"), real backwoodsmen who get along on subsistence agriculture and seldom leave their rural neighborhood. They are as far removed from contact with modern civilization as anyone could be while living in the Recôncavo. They live in well-hidden, small houses of mud and thatch, and one can ride through this section without seeing anyone.

443 463 [608] The peddlers (ambulantes) listed in Group 3 have their houses in Vila Recôncavo but go from town to town selling their wares. While they do some trading at the fairs they also cover a regular route independent of the fairs. Compadresco, the system of godparentship, is important to them, for the houses of such relations give them a base of operations in every town they visit. One of the three is a man who buys and sells jewelry, and the other two are women; one sells cloth for dresses and the other sweets (doces), peanuts, and dried shrimp. The latter is one of the famous street merchants (bahianas) of Salvador; she sits on a street corner before a portable table selling favorite Bahian snacks such as acarajé and abará. She goes to Salvador on the boat on Saturdays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays, returning to Vila Recôncavo the

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

883
584 intimation of its course. The meeting may finally be arranged at the house of an older female friend. If the two are genuinely interested in each other they may allow the fact to become public, and if the parents are pleased they will in due course [836] be married. Otherwise the girl may keep the whole affair a secret, and after a period of flirtation have an affair with the [263] boy and become pregnant. Any girl who refuses to eat pepper [843] is immediately suspected of pregnancy, and inquiries are made.

*565 When a Class C family wishes to celebrate some occasion 574 such as a birthday, anniversary, or the time in which the twin saints Cosme and Damião are feasted, the woman's friends and any nearby female relatives come in to help her cook. • 252 Guests are invited by the husband. The preparation of all 262 food must be done by hand, the chickens killed, cleaned, and [476] plucked, the beans shelled, the shrimp and fish cleaned, the farina cakes made, and the popular liqueurs (licores) prepared [273] by soaking various kinds of fruit in bottles of rum and syrup. At such parties the traditional, favorite Bahian dishes of vatapá, acarejé, carurú, abará, cuscus, and the many moquecas, are served. All these are appetizing, but take much time [251] to prepare and cannot be made too far in advance, for there *565 is no way of preserving food. Unless the household is particularly wealthy, the family seldom gives parties; many never 574 manage to give one. Dancing forms an important part of the festivities. The men bring their drums, tambourines, and 535 guitars, while the women sing and dance the samba. In the rural [369] area, social dancing in mixed couples is rare, but in town it is a common form.

*565 A family may take care of an aged mother, father, or even godparent, or of some other relative on either side. Such a 888 person is well cared for within the family means. Most people in Vila Recôncavo are generous toward others who are in some 736 way unfortunate, and help them if they can. There is little or no complaint if the household has to take in an infirm or aged relative; most people say that the same may happen to them one day and they will have to be taken care of. Perhaps the old person helped them in some way in the past when they needed aid and is now being repaid. Or if some older person wants to live alone, a group of neighbors and relatives all help in preparing meals and supplying food and other wants over an extended period of time. There is no case in Vila Recôncavo of an elderly person being sent to a public institution.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

Celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Carlos Gomes, famed Brazilian composer of the operas *Guaraný* and *Fosca*, 389 Bahians gathered in the Instituto Geographico e Historico. Of these, 316 were whites, 61 were mulattoes (predominately light), 11 were blacks, and 1 was a *cafuso*. With the governor of Bahia (white) on the platform were 12 citizens in formal dress, all whites[26] except the governor's bodyguard, a light mulatto in army uniform. Two young ladies in formal dress, both white, sang and declaimed. Of the 3 subsequent speakers, 2 were whites and 1 was a *branco da Bahia*. The military police band, which furnished instrumental music for the occasion, was composed of 9 blacks, 26 mulattoes, 2 whites, 3 *cafusos*, and 1 *mameluco*, under the direction of a mulatto bandmaster. Fifty students from the Instituto de Musica da Bahia sang one of Gomes' compositions. All were whites, except 2 light mulattoes.

563* 527. [635] [544] [701] [533]

Twenty-one women, aged eighteen to forty, were present at a cooking school sponsored by a foreign resident. A novel experience in Bahia, where for generations Negro servants have prepared the food, this school had assumed somewhat the character of a fad. The group included several ladies from upper-class families, well to do, educated and traveled. The wife of the governor occasionally attended. Present were 18 whites and 3 light mulattoes, among the latter a *morena*, perhaps the best-dressed lady of the group. Her father is deceased, and her mother is a dressmaker in moderate circumstances. The girl's beauty, pleasant manner, and constant well-tailored appearance have secured for her admittance into the upper circles. She is often invited into the "best" homes. Another of the mixed-bloods present was

563* 874 [252] [357]

[26] Including one *branco da Bahia*.

159 years ago, after determining that these crops were not suf-
632 ficiently rewarding, he made a large-scale planting of white
463 cacao. It is still too early to speak of the outcome of this ven-
ture, for the trees have not yet started to give their first fruit,
[242] but this instance illustrates his usual energetic spirit.

Dr. Aliança took the office of mayor seriously and gave a
159 great deal of energy to it. His accomplishments were many
in the space of a few years: the paving of most of the town's
632 streets, the installation of electric lights on the streets, the
463 formation of a company to sell electricity to those who wanted
it, the installation of telephone communications with the cap-
653 ital, and the construction of a new, modern primary school
building. As a result of his personal energy and direction
these works were completed, or at least nearly so, when he
left the office. (According to law, the mayor cannot be re-
elected). However, with the exception of building a bridge,
nothing was done in the rural areas of the county. Tradition-
ally any public works in the county are done in the county seat.

441 Many of the merchants in Group 1 are small operators.
The capitalization of the stores in Vila Recôncavo runs from
463 Cr$100.000,00 to as low as Cr$5.00,00. However, no matter
443 how small the store, it provides a living for someone, or as
they say in Vila Recôncavo, "Sempre da!" To the ordinary
[471] town citizen it is difficult to get enough capital together to open
a store, but once opened it rarely closes for lack of business.
Of the twelve stores in town, eight are owned and operated by
men, and the other four belong to women. The best store in
441 town and the poorest one both belong to women. The "best"
444 store, Dona Carmen's, is the oldest, located on the main
street leading from the boat dock. At present it is owned by
[428] Dona Carmen, who inherited it from her brother. It com-
bines a general store and a bakery, and its prices are often
slightly higher than those in other stores. It serves most of
the people living in the older section of town. In addition to
having the largest stock of ordinary foods, the store also car-
ries finer packaged products such as wines, jellies, and pre-
serves.

444 Bread is baked in the afternoon and delivered to the doors
of the customers' houses, still warm and with the delicious
• 256 odor always associated with bread fresh from the oven. The
bakery's customers for the most part have standing orders,
receiving bread or rolls each day in time for supper. What
is left over is hawked through the streets by the delivery boy,

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

who walks about with a huge round basket on his head crying, "Pão, pão." 444 256

Dona Carmen's husband, Damião, is also a storekeeper. His store is in the downhill part of town, near the fishermen. The two stores are run separately, and the couple are doing well financially. In addition to his store, Damião also owns several canoes and fish nets which he rents to fishermen. He is the only storekeeper in town who gives credit to people who cannot pay immediately, allowing bills to run many months and even more than a year. He also allows his customers to borrow money in order to buy things outside his store--for instance fish, which he does not handle. He does not charge interest on these loans, nor seemingly make any demands on those who borrow. On the other hand the borrowers feel a sort of loyalty toward him and do not forget their debts, which they eventually manage to pay. 441 463 [444] [427] [452] [426]

Three of the smallest stores are owned and operated by women, whose husbands have set them up in business in a small way in order, as one put it, to "give my wife something to do." It is considered desirable for a woman to operate a store and it is usually the beginning of something larger, for later, whenever possible, the husband will stop his own work and help operate the store. In the case of the smaller stores the owner generally lives in the same building, either alongside the store or behind it. The larger storekeepers, however, usually have separate houses. At night they lock up the stores, which are sometimes guarded by dogs or even by the cashiers who sleep there. The storekeepers are usually asked for donations to the church at the time of any special festivals, and generally become politically active after they become established in business. 441 444 463 [562] [431] [66]

The stock in most of the stores is pretty much the same, varying in amount rather than diversity: drinks (rum and soft drinks), dried meat (the staple meat of the population), cereals, cigars, cigarettes, estivas (which include beans, rice, and farina, the three great staples of the local diet), as well as coffee, palm oil (azeite de dendê), vinegar, olive oil, garlic, onions, wooden sandals, condensed and powdered milk, salt, sugar, miudezas (small items such as matches and ribbons), toilet articles and laundry soaps, blueing agents and starch, grass mats, kerosene, and in one store aluminum kitchenware which is not sold very often, as well as nails, wire, screws, and wrapping paper and cord. One store in the 443

[SALVADOR]

/46 cont./

*563 441 [186] although these lines of demarcation have a tendency to disappear. The Jews, who have immigrated since the first world war and whom people know under the name of "Russians," are the principal owners of furniture stores and are beginning to become interested in other kinds of commerce; strictly exclusive in their firms, they do not seem to have any Brazilian associates, so that the dark employees that they have among them never occupy any but subordinate positions and never reach the top positions that would permit them to take a place in the higher strata of society.

The characteristic endogamy of the Israelites has also contributed toward restricting the chances of colored people in this [233] [472] sector. Some Jews of French origin who established themselves in the city during the second half of the last century and who turned to commerce and stock raising were entirely assimilated. Their /47/ families today include some light métis and some *563 472 256 441 morenos. The Spaniards who dominate the grocery and bakery business are grouped into firms in which only they themselves and their immediate descendants participate. In order to maintain this commercial structure, the group is constantly renewed through the immigration of young men of the same nationality, who start to work in modest positions and end up by forming new firms or being integrated in the old ones. From the time the *563 472 441 [175] [848] [428] [671] Spanish emigrants came still unmarried or left their families in Spain, they had mulatto children or morenos here by their servants, children who were born illegitimate and who had no right of inheritance (Brazilian law did not insure it to persons in their position until some years later). But for about 20 years the Spaniards have started to send for, or bring with them, their families, so that they now form a very closed group, not only from the economic point of view, but especially from the social and, so to speak, the biological point of view. An informant [256] points out that in the old days numerous bakeries were the property of Blacks; since then the Spaniards have monopolized them almost completely, that they now control this type of business entirely. The antagonism of the inhabitants of Bahia against the

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

132 [249] will turn the cane fields into quagmires from which it is impossible to move the laden ox-carts.[29]

The table above (Table III) indicates that the September rainfall is highly variable both on the coast and in the interior, although Cruz das Almas has a slightly more consistent pattern for this month. The variability of September precipitation, as will be seen, raises serious agricultural problems in the Recôncavo. However, the greater [249] variability of the coastal zone is in some ways a less serious problem than the lesser variability of the interior, for cane harvests can be temporarily postponed, but the cutting and drying of tobacco has an extremely critical time factor.[30]

Climate - Summary. The climate of the Recôncavo is dichotomous. The temperature of the region is fairly constant from day to day and from season to season. In contrast, precipitation is unevenly distributed--in area and in season--and is relatively unreliable. The cultivator of the Recôncavo may take the temperature for granted, but rainfall is an almost incessant concern.

Along the margins of the ocean and the Bay the climate is humid and the precipitation relatively reliable--it is a rare season when the crops of this zone suffer from drought. Because of the heavy invest- [249] [257] ment in industrial equipment and labor, a long delay in harvest is costly to the sugar industry.

In general the uplands have marginal precipitation. Beyond the [241] Recôncavo, in the sertão (backland) crop cultivation is scattered and precarious, chiefly on account of the low and uncertain rainfall. Although the uplands of the Recôncavo have more total precipitation than the sertão, they share in the pattern of uncertain rains. [241] Several areas in these uplands are intensively cultivated, and the recurring severe

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1

BB 175 178 249 257 433

The world-wide expansion of sugar cane production, the development of the sugar beet, and the improvement of sugar technology had changed sugar from an expensive luxury to a relatively cheap semi-necessity. The sugar industry of the Recôncavo always had been based upon the production of small quantities of a high-value product. Only with great reluctance and considerable difficulty could it convert itself to cheap mass production.

B 175 178 433 439

The Brazilian industry as a whole was unable to compete effectively in the international mass market. Brazilian exports in the early twentieth century dropped to one-half, even one-third of the nineteenth century level. At the London Conference in 1937, Brazil could claim as her quota only 1.6 per cent of the total international sugar trade.

B BB 175 43 249 257

The Brazilian industry maintained itself behind a tariff wall. The more efficient and strategically located sugar areas of Campos (Rio de Janeiro) and São Paulo had access to growing local markets in the expanding Central-South. But Bahia had no sizable local market, and distance limited its access to the main Brazilian markets. Moreover, it was an inefficient, high-cost producer. Under these circumstances it could not compete in a free-market situation.

B 175 257 178

For the sugar industry as a whole the difficulties of adjustment to the almost complete loss of foreign markets were increased by the necessity for sweeping technological reorganization.[40] Until

B [249]

the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Brazil's entire sugar production was manufactured in small and primitive engenhos which used the open pan method and produced dark, low-quality sugar. The development of the steam engine, vacuum pans, centrifuges, and filters had made possible a mill both larger and more efficient. Under the name of engenho central (central mill), the new industrial complex

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
East Brazil SN1
Northeast Brazil SO1
Brazil SL1

B 175 257 178 BB [178] was introduced in Brazil after 1870.[41] As might be expected, the more progressive Central-South led in the modernization of the industry. The Northeast, and especially Bahia, lagged behind--further evidence of Bahia's resistance to change.

BB 175 249 257 471 178 The technological revolution had two historical stages: (1) engenhos centrais, and (2) usinas,[42] both of which still are clearly identifyable in Bahia (as is their predecessor, the engenho stage). In the engenho central stage the mills purchased cane from fornecedores (suppliers). These suppliers were old engenho properties which no longer operated a mill. The resistance of the fornecedores to a strict scheduling of delivery and price soon caused dissatisfaction among the mill owners. They began to buy out the fornecedores and go into direct production of cane.[43] The source of cane is the basic distinction between the engenho central system and the usina system. Once the central mill grew most of its own cane, it became an usina and entered the second phase of the technological revolution. The sugar industry in the present-day Recôncavo is characterized by both systems. In practice the systems employed by the various sugar mills tend to include features characteristic of both types, and there is no stereotype. The existing systems in Bahia are distinct from EB [249] [257] those of the Central-South, where the usinas have largely replaced the engenhos centrais.

NB BB 175 178 249 257 471 In the twentieth century, as in the nineteenth, the Recôncavo persisted in its monoculture and was reluctant to accept technological innovations in agriculture and industry. This conservatism was typical of most of the Northeast, but in Pernambuco the industry began simultaneously to intensify its monoculture and to modernize its industrial plant, and this state ultimately became the largest sugar producing state of Brazil.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
East Brazil SN1
Northeast Brazil SO1
Brazil SL1

EB NB 175 249 257 B 175 654 249 257 B [647]

In the first quarter of the twentieth century this competition of the more efficient and centrally located sugar industry of the Central-South threatened to bankrupt the Northeast.[44] Because the nation feared that a collapse of the sugar economy in the Northeast would destroy the social and economic base of these states, steps were taken to stabilize the industry. In 1933 the Instituto do Açúcar e do Álcool (Institute of Sugar and Alcohol) was created as a semi-autonomous branch of the federal government. Its purpose was to stabilize prices, maintain an equilibrium of production through quotas, and to control foreign sale of sugar. The effect of this program has been to subsidize the less efficient industry of the Northeast at the expense of the industry of the Central-South.

NB EB 178 249 257 43

During World War II temporary disruption of the national production quota system allowed the Central-South to expand, an advance which it continued to maintain after the war. This expansion limited the markets available to the sugar industry of the Northeast.

BB 178 249 257 433 B [433]

In Bahia the relative decline in sugar production, begun in the 1860's, continued steadily except for a break during and following World War I. In 1952 the mills of Bahia produced only 60,279 tons of (white) sugar of a total Brazilian production of 1,785,017 tons.[45]

BB 175 178 249 43

While the sugar industry of the Recôncavo was losing markets in the initial half of the twentieth century, the tobacco industry was able to maintain and in some cases even to expand its markets. Although the maximum level of export of Brazilian tobacco was reached in 1902 (50,000 tons), the decline thereafter was only moderate, and the export was stabilized, except for World War II, at about 30,000 tons, 80 per cent of which was from Bahia. In 1865 the first cigarette factory in Bahia had been founded.[46] Small

BB 175 277

249 and Intermediate Hills between and around these zones, but usually on
311 an exceedingly small scale.

249 The yields calculated for 1948 were as follows:
311
433

Santo Amaro	65.7	tons	per	hectare
São Francisco	80.0	"	"	"
São Sebastião	41.2	"	"	"
Cachoeira	37.0	"	"	"
São Filipe	50.0	"	"	"

These may be compared with 38.7 tons per hectare for Brazil as a whole, 35.0 tons per hectare for Cuba, and 89.3 tons per hectare for Java and
249 Madura for the same year. The relatively low yields of Cachoeira and
433 São Filipe are to be explained, at least in part, by the primitive
134
257 character of cultivation and processing in these more remote areas. São Sebastião is a sort of frontier zone into which the big sugar mills are expanding their operations at the expense of smaller operators, but the methods of production are still less efficient than in the main production area, and the soils are sandier and less fertile. In Santo Amaro, yields are higher on account of generally better soils and techniques, but the demands of the large usinas require intensive and continuous cultivation on even the poorer soils. On the other hand, the less intensive cultivation in São Francisco, where the mills are smaller, allows a freer selection of soils, so that the yields of this area are the highest in the Recôncavo.

244 Sweet Potatoes and Peanuts. Two other American domesticates are
311 grown in the Recôncavo, though on a small scale--peanuts and sweet potatoes. Both are cultivated primarily along the forest and scrub forest transition as auxiliary subsistence crops, in conjunction with manioc and tobacco. There are also scattered plots of these crops in most other parts of the Recôncavo. Neither crop occupied over 1 per cent of the total crop land of the region.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 (4) The field is burned for the last time, and as new cane or grass appears, it is used as pasture.

(5) After one year of pasture, sometimes more, the field is replanted to cane.

[527] The length of the harvest varies. It begins with a festa (festival) in the first week of September and continues as long as there is cane and as long as the heavy rains hold off--usually about six months.

249 311 Within the sugar cane area most of the land is in cane or in temporary fallow pasture except: (1) very wet bottom lands; (2) steep slopes; (3) villages; and (4) the lands and yards occupied by the mills. The general aspect of this area is that of an unbroken sea of cane. Single fields are often large--a square kilometer is not uncommon--but they are divided into separate plots. The cultivation of other crops within the sugar cane area is very limited. Small house gardens for the laborers are common, but other commercial agricultural forms of land use are rare.

249 423 257 184 Land holdings, as will be seen, generally are large under this system. The orientation of the sugar industry in São Filipe is somewhat different than in the zone discussed above. Properties are smaller, the monocultural aspect less dominant, and the whole sugar economy more primitive. There were eighty-two small sugar mills in this area in 1940, compared to the eight large usinas of Santo Amaro. [273] Many of these produced crude sugar (rapadura) rather than the refined sugar or cane brandy (cachaça) which are the main products of the zone north of the Bay.

245 The Cultivation of Coconuts. The final important agricultural system of the Recôncavo is the coconut monoculture, a less highly organized permanent culture than the sugar cane system.

244 433 [438] 10,000-ton surplus. The surplus manioc of these municípios would appear to be marketed to the manioc-deficit areas of the Recôncavo, particularly [249] the sugar cane area and Salvador. It is significant that those municípios which were the leading producers of tobacco were also the leading producers of commercial manioc (Map 123). Although the exchange and processing of tobacco in these areas is well organized and receives some attention from government bureaus, the growing and processing of manioc remains an unrecognized enterprise.

249 244 433 The importance of the production of tobacco and of commercial manioc to the various municípios of the Southwestern Recôncavo is shown in the following summary:

Município	Per cent of Total Value of Production	
	Tobacco	Manioc
Cruz das Almas	65	23
Conceição de Almeida	57	38
São Filipe	25	32
Muritiba	17	14
São Félix	54	-

One of the advantages of the relative balance of these two products is that in the event of a crop failure of one, the area would still have a salable commercial product. Moreover, since the production of manioc is relatively large, a moderate decrease in its yield would still leave this area with at least a minimum supply of food for its large agricultural population.

249 257 433 [654] Sugar cane is now the third crop in value in the Recôncavo, but it is maintained in that position only by government subsidy. It is a crop which either dominates the region in which it is produced or its cultivation is economically unimportant (Map 124). In part this is the result of the technological requirements of the sugar industry, which demand that large quantities of sugar cane be produced close to the mill so that the cane can be delivered quickly once it is cut. However,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 354]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 257 433 the large landholders and agricultural capitalists of Brazil have a strong historical bias toward monocultural systems.

249 433 471 As would be expected, the Central Recôncavo accounted for almost 90 per cent of the total value of sugar cane in the region. Sugar production in this area is dominated by the big usinas, and most of the cane is produced on very large properties, as has been seen.

243 244 433 438 Although corn and beans primarily are subsistence crops, they have, like manioc, some commercial importance (Map 125). The corn and bean areas within the Recôncavo do not produce outstanding surpluses, although these two crops are important commercial products in nearby Serrinha and Conceição do Coite. Most of the corn and beans of the Recôncavo are exchanged for farinha de mandioca, which provides the cultivator with a cheaper food.

244 245 433 438 The remaining crops of the region are of minor commercial importance, or are more valuable commercial crops of highly localized production. Bananas, peanuts, and sweet potatoes are minor commercial crops of diffuse production, since most of their cultivation is for subsistence purposes. Oranges, coconut, coffee, and pineapple are important but secondary commercial products whose production is concentrated in a few restricted areas (see, for example, Map 126 of coconut production).

249 244 245 433 438 The importance of the principal commercial crops—tobacco, sugar cane, coffee, coconut, oranges, pineapple, a few minor crops, and commercial manioc--varies widely from município to município (Map 127). However, two areas—the Central Recôncavo and the Southwestern Recôncavo—had highly commercial economies in which over 90 per cent of the total value of production was in commercial crops. In the tobacco-manioc area north of the Rio Paraguaçu, only one-half to three-quarters of 000 the total value of production was in commercial crops. Except in the

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

505 abuse by the sea and by man. While some of these boats are used for
[226] fishing in the Bay and in the ocean, their most important function undoubtedly is bringing food from the areas around the Bay to the city of Salvador. On the return trip, they carry building materials, manufactured articles, and passengers. The usinas of the coastal
[249] [257] sections of the sugar cane area use these vessels to transport cane to the mill and to deliver the products of the mill to Salvador. Several of the cities on the Bay are very much dependent upon this means of transport, especially São Francisco and Maragogipe, which for all practical purposes have no road connections.

Motor boats serve to connect Salvador and the island of Itaparica. All of the tidewater cidades of the Bay and, in addition, São Roque do Paraguaçu and Nazaré are connected with the city of Salvador by scheduled motor vessels which carry many passengers and small quantities of freight. These vessels ascend and descend the estuaries with the tide. The head of navigation on the Rio Paraguaçu is Cachoeira, and on the Rio Sergi is at a landing on the outskirts of Santo Amaro.

489 These various transport media provide for the movement of people
241 and goods across the Recôncavo. They are generally able to meet the
433 immediate demands of the agricultural economy without excessive delays. The available media of transport are used to the fullest extent; busses, trains, and motor vessels are always crowded, and the trucks are always busy. However, the poor roads, the archaic railroads, the taxes on the movement of goods, and the high cost of vehicles clearly set a limit to the expansion or the intensification of the agricultural system. The rationalization of agriculture in the Recôncavo would require considerable expansion and improvement of the system of transportation.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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APPENDIX C

THE BOMFIM FESTIVAL

796 Certain popular festivals, like the Sabado and Segunda
565 Feira do Bomfim, are largely taken over and even dominated
by the lower classes. Individuals from the upper circles,
[439] both white and colored, attend only in their automobiles,
driving slowly back and forth along the principal streets and
through the crowds, or watch the festivities from the windows and doorways of near-by houses. In the words of a local citizen, the festival of Bomfim "springs from the people themselves, who regard O Senhor do Bomfim as their patron saint. It belongs to them more than Carnival does; Carnival is more refined (*mais elevado*), more under the control of the educated, 'cultured' Bahians."

796 Preceded by exclusively religious ceremonies, the celebration begins on the third Saturday in January and continues through the following Sunday and Monday. A large part of the population attends. Formerly, it is said, all business houses closed for the festival, and a few still do, while others take only a half-holiday on Monday. The celebration opens
[368] at the Church of Bomfim, which crowns a gently sloping hill
[443] on the peninsula of Itapagipe which juts out into Todos
[265] os Santos Bay to the north of the port. Black women in
bahiana costume sit around the edges of the crowd selling
[257] such wares as *cocada*,[1] cakes, and other confections, mangoes,
peanuts, *umbús*, and *cajús*.[2] In the *adro*, or open space, in

[1] *Cocada* is a confection made of coconut and sugar.

[2] *Cajús* are the fruit of the cashew tree. *Umbús* are a green, smooth-skinned fruit, about the size of a small lime.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

245 311 Within the Recôncavo coconut production is important along the sandy beach line of the island of Itaparica and along the ocean coast of Salvador, where coconuts are virtually the only agricultural product [133] (Maps 58, 59, and 60). The inner shores of the Bay, which rise abruptly [134] with rocky clay slopes, bear very few coconuts, except in a low-lying sandy zone along the estuary of the Paraguaçu. Coconuts are produced 245 [423] chiefly on large properties which are frequently owned by urban families. [464] The plantations are operated with hired labor drawn from the coastal [438] population. When harvested, the coconuts are sold in the urban markets [258] of Salvador and other cities and towns. Very little of the Recôncavo [439] production is converted into oil, and little is exported.

Oranges. The navel orange is a Bahian development, a mutation [433] of the orange brought from Europe. The main centers of Brazilian production, however, are elsewhere in the country, and cultivation of oranges within the Recôncavo is primarily for local consumption.

245 311 Scattered orange trees are a feature of the rural and urban landscape in many areas. In addition to this generalized cultivation, which frequently is not shown in the official data, there is commercial production in the environs of several urban centers—Alagoinhas, Santo Antônio, and to a lesser extent, Salvador (Maps 61 and 62). The [489] cidades of Alagoinhas and Santo Antônio are both markets for part of [443] the local crop; moreover, both are on the railroads leading to Salvador, which is the chief market for the entire region. In addition to these three main concentrations, there are numerous orange groves in the Southwestern Recôncavo which apparently serve both local and regional markets, though on a small scale. In general the relative area in orange groves is not great, yet in 1948 they occupied 10 per cent of the cropland of Alagoinhas.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

245 311 the peripheral areas of the region they are less common, but a few trees can be seen in almost every settlement. The cashew is more strictly confined to the littoral and especially to the sandy coastal zones behind the palm-laden beach line. Jackfruit and breadfruit are especially common in the eastern Crystalline Uplands. Scattered along roads and around houses, they provide shade for the yard or for coffee and an occasional fruit for sale in the local market. The African oil palm is encountered occasionally in most municípios of the Recôncavo, generally growing out of the wet valley floors. There are many oil palms on the island of Itaparica, but the only major area of commercial production in Bahia is on the coast south of the Recôncavo. The oil is prepared [258] [438] by boiling the seed, and the surplus oil is sold in small quantities on the local market.

241 311 Annual and Perennial Crops. Six of the major crops of the Recôncavo are cultivated as annuals--manioc, corn, beans, peanuts, sweet potatoes, and tobacco.[29] The major perennials are bananas, sugar cane, coffee, oranges, and coconuts. Over three-fourths of the cropland of the Recôncavo was in annuals in 1948 and about 22 per cent in perennials--including both tree and field crops. In the Recôncavo there is a very close connection between crop periodicity and land systems. The annual crops are produced almost exclusively under a system of land rotation, while the perennials are grown under a system of permanent cultivation. The zones of animals are generally mixed-crop zones, while the perennials are usually monocultural.

The main concentrations of annuals are on the uplands of the Northern, Northwestern, and Southwestern Recôncavo--the domain of manioc, tobacco, corn, and beans (Map 63). Perennials dominate the Intermediate Hills and the coastal lowlands--coconut palms on the beaches, sugar

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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Land:
9,000 hectares in 19 plantations and ranches; each of the 15 cane plantations has a small settlement, livestock, and a weighing station.

Transportation Equipment:
25 kilometers of railway, 9 locomotives, over 100 railway cars, 4 trucks, 2 jeeps, and for each cane plantation an average of 10 ox carts.

Agricultural Machinery:
9 tracked tractors with accessory plows and grading equipment, 1 wheeled tractor, and on each cane plantation 4 or 5 ox-drawn plows.

Housing:
About 50 houses and miscellaneous service buildings for each cane plantation.

Processing Plant:
Grinding and extracting plant, distillery, power house, 2 warehouses, garage, railroad shop, and medical dispensary.

Miscellaneous:
Office building, houses for company manager and administrator, school for the mill settlement, and church.

249 The operation of such a large enterprise as this requires a large administrative staff. The administrative staff of the particular usina described above includes the following: a general manager for all properties; an administrator over all the plantations; an administrator in charge of the mill; a sub-administrator over each group of four or five plantations; and an overseer and several foremen for each plantation. There are also a number of supervisors in the mill and on the
249 railroad. In addition, the usina pays the salary of the teachers in
466 the local school, engages the priest for the irregular services which are held in the church of the usina establishment, and in conjunction
[178] with several other nearby usinas, employs a doctor. These activities reflect the desire of the sugar company to stabilize labor relations through social services, but on a more impersonal basis than was characteristic of the feudalistic sugar system of the nineteenth century.

• 258 Manioc can be converted into a staple food which is easy to transport and store by simple processes and small-scale enterprises.

258 407 The manioc mill, called a casa de farinha, is found in most parts of the Recôncavo except the sugar cane zone. At the mill the root of the manioc is scraped with a knife in order to remove the rough skin. It is then shredded by being held against a roughened rotating cylinder which is turned by a belt attached to a large wheel and crank. The crank is rotated by one or two workers, except in the few mills where small electric motors are attached. The shredded manioc, which has the appearance of moist sawdust, is shoveled into a press made of a hollowed log, and a lid is forced into the press in such a way that the juices [401] are expelled through the holes in the sides and bottom. The necessary force is applied by means of a long lever drawn down with a large wooden screw jack. After the lid is forced downward as far as possible, the pressure is maintained until there is no perceptible leakage of 258 poisonous juices. In none of the mills observed in the area or described [171] in the literature of the Recôncavo was the leaching process used, as is the practice in some other areas of Brazil. From the press the manioc is thrown upon the top of an earthenware stove where it is agitated until the remaining manihotoxine is volatilized and the flour is dry. The juices which have been expelled from the press usually are caught in flat pans which are then placed in the sun. Settling and evaporation produce a pasty residue of starch--tapioca--which is dried into thin sheets.

These mills are small, one-press operations carried on in enclosed adobe and thatch sheds. They are scattered over the countryside wherever manioc is grown. The 1940 census enumerated 200 casas de farinha in the Recôncavo, but the number must now be a good deal greater. In 1940 Cruz das Almas, according to the census, had no farinha mills, but in 1953 more than a dozen were observed. The number of mills is large not only because the capacity of each is limited

258 but also because the manioc roots are too heavy and bulky to be trans-
[438] ported over long distances. Moreover, the market for farinha de mandioca is generally local, except in the Southwestern Recôncavo.

258 The capital investment in a casa de farinha is small, usually
471 less than one hundred dollars, but this sum is far beyond the reach of
[454] most cultivators. The mills are built by owners of medium-sized land holdings or local merchants, and are operated on a share basis. The mill owner usually receives one-tenth of the finished product in exchange
[427] for the use of the mill equipment. The customer rents the equipment
[464] rather than the service and must therefore provide the labor, although
[592] the owner usually furnishes one or two workers. Generally the processing
[463] of manioc is a family operation in which the women and girls scrape the roots and the men and boys perform the more arduous tasks.

277 Most of the tobacco which is grown in the Recôncavo is exported
[439] in the form of leaf. Therefore, the processing of tobacco is less important in relation to the cultivation of tobacco than is the processing of manioc and sugar in relation to their respective cultivation. The leaf tobacco which is retained in the area is made into cigars in home industries and in a number of cigar factories. The home-produced cigars are made by tobacco cultivators and small-scale processors in the villages, towns, and cities of the region. These cigars are generally
[443] very cheap and are sold in the local mercado (market) or in small vendas (shops). It is difficult to assess the total importance of this form of processing, but it seems likely that the number of cigars so made is extremely large.

277 The cigar factories of the Recôncavo are located in the cidades of São Gonçalo, Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, and Maragogipe. Each of the
[464] factories employs from 100 to 200 workers, usually women from the surrounding area. Machines are used to produce the cheaper grades;

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

000 the storekeeper-buyer or the local tobacco warehouse. The roots of the
258 manioc are processed locally, in casas de farinha, and the farinha de
438 mandioca is sold in the local market or to storekeepers in the nearby village or town.

249 The sub-region of tobacco and manioc production occupies the
244 humid eastern and southern edges of the Uplands. The chief center of
311 production, the Southwestern Recôncavo, occupies a zone of deep, sandy
134 and sandy loam soils lying in flat-surfaced uplands above crystalline rocks. The northern parts of the tobacco-manioc sub-region occupy the rough, dissected southern edge of the sandy Tertiary taboleiros--in this northern area the production of both crops is less intensive than in the Southwestern Recôncavo. The area of primary tobacco and manioc production generally conforms to the forest and scrub forest transition and is expanding southwestward beyond the traditional Recôncavo along this
[433] physical boundary zone. The intensity of production is also increasing,
[178] but with violent year to year fluctuations.

241 In addition to sugar cane, tobacco and manioc, other subsistence
433 and commercial products are grown in the Recôncavo. The most important of these are corn and beans, grown as commercial and subsistence crops in the north and west of the region, and coconuts, which are produced along the beach line. Bananas, sweet potatoes, and peanuts are grown in most parts of the Recôncavo, but on a small scale.

241 There are several areas in which there is little or no cultiva-
311 tion. The rougher Intermediate Hills, which are forested, separate the
137 sugar cane sub-region from the tobacco-manioc sub-region. The lowland areas of Tertiary and crystalline soils are also forested and are cultivated under a non-intensive land rotation system with some associated
241 livestock. The Recôncavo is distinguished from the surrounding areas by its relatively greater mean intensity of cultivation. In the

[SALVADOR]

/18 cont./

829 The irregularities and inadequacies of electric service in
365 the city are attributed by many inhabitants of Bahia to what they call the "contempt of the Americans for the well-being of the people," as if the Americans were the only ones responsible for the operation of the American-Brazilian enterprise that produces electricity for the region. Everything that is or is supposed to be American otherwise enjoys great prestige. There is, how-
829 ever, a foreign group against which (or, more precisely, against
*563 the hidden "trust" that it represents) there exists a very strong
578 hostility, although it manifests itself only on certain occasions.
[443] It is a matter of emigrants from Spanish Galicia, accused of exploiting the populace owing to the monopoly that they have acquired in the grocery and bakery business. At certain times when ten-
[152] sion is particularly strong, as in 1930, and following the rapid
[458] rise of the price of commodities of prime necessity at the be-
[579] ginning of the last world war, the populace gave free vent to its discontent by plundering certain Spanish business establishments. But the attitude of the Bahians toward the person of these immigrants is free of lasting animosity, and marriages between the two
[261] groups are frequent. The fact remains, however, that the population attributes to the Spaniards the shortage of certain food commodities, especially bread, and it accuses these emigrants of "enriching themselves off of the misery of the people."

529 The recreational associations of the English, Spaniards,
*563 Syrians, and Lebanese are frequented by Brazilians. Likewise
575 the hospitals maintained by the Portuguese and Spanish colonies
743 are managed by Brazilian doctors and receive numerous patients from Bahia, white or colored.

795 The religion of the Catholic majority is traditionally much
771 more external and ritualistic than dogmatic, the religiosity of a large number of those who call themselves "strict Catholics" being chiefly theoretical. This must have constituted a serious difficulty for the clergy; it is also a subject of astonishment for the visitor who imagines that he will come in contact with "the most
798 Catholic of Brazilian cities." The antagonisms between religious
621 groups are also moderate in this domain and /19/ never affect the

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

162 compose most of the population of the Recôncavo today. In 1940 the
563 population of the Centro-Litoral of Bahia--the census area most closely corresponding to the Recôncavo--had the following composition: white, 22 per cent; black, 29 per cent; and others, predominately mulatto, 49 per cent.[12]

The purchase of large quantities of slaves required the produc-
175 439 tion of a commodity which could be used as exchange in Africa. The
567 436 indigenous tobacco proved eminently suitable for this purpose. Although
276 [273] rum apparently was used also in this trade, tobacco became the essential
[249] source of exchange for the slave traffic.[13] Bahia was the main area of tobacco production, and probably most of this production was localized in the Recôncavo.[14]

175 The initial period of settlement saw also the incorporation of
244 433 manioc[15] into the agricultural economy as a staple. Like tobacco, it
[567] was an indigenous crop. Thus one indigenous crop was adopted to purchase slaves in Africa and another to feed them in Brazil. By 1587 manioc apparently was being cultivated on a moderate scale in Bahia.[16] A recurring theme in the history of the Recôncavo is the shortage of this essential foodstuff.

In addition to the principal crops--sugar, tobacco, and
241 262 manioc--a number of lesser agricultural products were important in the
175 433 early history of the Recôncavo. Corn, beans, and bananas were grown on a small scale and used to supplement the manioc diet. Other diversi-
231 fications of the diet were provided by meat and fish. Cattle were maintained to draw the ox carts and to power many of the cane mills. For lighter tasks asses and mules were used.

178 Out of this complex of Portuguese settlers and Negro slaves, of
249 433 old world and new world crops, there developed certain characteristic agricultural enterprises. The engenho--old world in the origin of its

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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Supplementary Crops
(Subsistence and Commercial):

Pineapple (Abacaxi)	168	hectares
Rice (Arroz)	61	"
Tomatoes (Tomate)	46	"
White Potatoes (Batata inglêsa)	44	"
Cotton (Algodão)	40	"
Onions (Cebola)	14	"
Garlic (Alho)	5	"
Green or Snap Beans (Fava)	4	"

241 311 On the basis of the above figures, the total cultivated land in the Recôncavo in 1948 was about 80,000 hectares. In addition to the above, 245 there are a number of tree crops, not cultivated in the true sense, which are important in the agricultural complex. More often than not these "crops" are of spontaneous origin.

[192]

African Oil Palm (Dendê)
Mango (Manga)
Jack Fruit (Jaca)
Cashew (Caju)
Bread Fruit (Fruta de pão)

231 The following animals are important in the livestock economy of the Recôncavo:

[192]

Cattle (Bovinos)
  Cows (Vacas)
  Oxen (Bois de trabalho)
Sheep (Ovinos)
Goats (Caprinos)
Swine (Suinos)
Donkeys (Asininos or Burros)
Mules (Muares)
Horses (Equinos or Cavalos)

These animals will be discussed in the chapter on animal industry (Chapter VII).

244 Manioc. Manioc was one of the most important cultivated plants which the Portuguese colonists borrowed from the Indians of Brazil. [175] Flour made from the manioc root, farinha de mandioca, was the basic [262] subsistence food of the colonial sugar economy and remains today the [178] principal element of the diet of much of the Brazilian lower class. [565] Manioc production is most notable along the coast of Brazil, from the

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433 Manioc production is most notable along the coast of Brazil, from the mouth of the Amazon to Rio Grande do Sul, but it has considerable importance in the interior of the eastern half of the country.[4] The tonnage of manioc production in Brasil is exceeded only by that of sugar cane--thus manioc is produced in greater quantity than corn, beans, or rice, the other basic subsistence crops. However, the total value of manioc production is less than that of coffee, cotton, corn, or rice. In the Recôncavo the cultivated area of manioc, over
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262 22,000 hectares, exceeds that of any other crop, and the value of its production is second only to tobacco. It is usually grown as a subsistence crop for local consumption, but there are a few areas of surplus production.

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262 Mandioca--manioc, cassava, or yuca--is a stem-propagated perennial which is tolerant of a variety of edaphic, climatic, and cultural conditions. The rootstock of the bitter variety--Manihot utilissima, or M. esculenta--which is most common in Bahia, contains a poisonous substance--manihotoxine--which must be removed before it can be used as human food. In the Northeast the roots almost universally are converted in crude mills into farinha de mandioca, a coarse flour which is eaten in either a raw or cooked state.[5] Sweet manioc (manihot api, in Brazil called aipim) is cultivated on a small scale. The rootstock of this variety may be eaten without extensive processing and is prepared, like the white potato, by boiling.

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433 The cultivation of manioc is a widespread feature of the cultural landscape of east-central Bahia, overshadowed only by the low and scrubby second growth, capoéira, which follows the intensive cultivation of this plant under a system of land rotation. Manioc cultivation and the processing of its roots are the most characteristic pursuits of the rural people--and often the most primitive.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1

B BB 243 311 433 Like manioc and tobacco, corn is an indigenous crop which was borrowed from the Indians in the early phases of European settlement and which became a basic subsistence crop in Brazil. Its cultivation, like manioc, is a characteristic feature of the agricultural landscape over an extensive coastal belt from the Amazon to Rio Grande do Sul and, unlike manioc, beyond into northern Argentina. In Brazil, corn is cultivated on more land than any other crop, and in most states it is either the second or third crop in value. In the Recôncavo it is the fourth ranking crop in area of cultivation, but only the seventh in the total value of production. The cultivation of corn is very closely BB [244] associated, areally and functionally, with beans--"succatosh" is a common crop combination in the Northwestern Recôncavo and the adjoining region.[22]

BB 243 433 Corn also resembles manioc in the purpose of cultivation; it is primarily a subsistence crop for local consumption, but there are surplus producing areas with a rudimentary commercial corn economy. In those areas of the Recôncavo where corn is produced in small quantities, it is almost exclusively a minor subsistence crop which is eaten by the cultivator and his family, though a few ears or a small sack of shelled corn may be sold in the market for local consumption. Such semi-subsistence producers are usually small-scale farmers, squatters, or share-croppers. In the Northern and Northwestern Recôncavo, where cultivation of corn is more intensive, there are occasional large-scale corn growers, but the bulk of the area and production in this zone be- BB [438] longs to small operators. Even these small producers usually sell their corn at the market—it is exchanged for the cheaper farinha de BB [262] mandioca. In the Recôncavo corn is used exclusively as a human food, and there is no corn-livestock complex.

BB 243 311 433 Only three municípios of the Recôncavo, all very large, had over 500 hectares of corn in 1948 or produced over 500 tons of shelled corn.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

243 311 It is primarily a crop of the sertão of northeastern Bahia, but it has intruded upon the northern and western perimeter of the Recôncavo (Map 37). In three municípios--Irará, Feira de Santana, and Santo Estêvão--corn is the most extensively cultivated crop. Conversely, it is rarely seen in the humid lowlands and in the Southwestern Recôncavo. In these areas it is found only in very small, widely scattered plantings.

243 433 The mean yield of corn in the Recôncavo was 1.09 tons per hectare, compared to 1.27 for Brazil, 2.46 for the United States, 1.0 for the Belgian Congo, and .81 for Java and Madura. The accompanying map of corn yields shows a somewhat random pattern within the Recôncavo, since the total area and production were very small and local circumstances of cultivation highly variable (Map 38). However, the area of main production northwest of the Recôncavo had a relatively high yield--over 243 244 1.5 tons per hectare. In this area, corn, with beans, pre-empts the areas with the most productive soils and the greatest precipitation.

244 Beans. Feijão, or the common field bean (Phaseolus vulgaris), like manioc, tobacco, and corn, is an indigenous domesticate which became an important subsistence crop during the colonial period. Like corn, beans are more specifically associated with the dry sertão than with the Recôncavo. Most of the beans grown in Bahia are the black [262] [252] variety, feijão preto; the beans are dried and used with charque (dried beef) in a soup which is one of the basic subsistence foods of the Northeast. Beans of this and other similar varieties of the same species are grown throughout Brazil.

244 433 In area and in quantity of production, beans are slightly less important than corn in the Recôncavo, but the value of the bean crop is almost double that of corn. The patterns of distribution of these two crops are almost identical, and the physical and cultural factors

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

245 The bananas of the Recôncavo include a number of types--large, medium and small eating varieties, and plantains--which are grown in most sections and which may be encountered in village and urban markets in all seasons. Cultivation is a haphazard enterprise in which the reproduction of bananas frequently is accidental rather than deliberate. Since there is so much semi-spontaneous cultivation concealed in gardens and second growth and thus probably not enumerated and since the spacing of the plants is so variable, area data for bananas in the [311] Recôncavo have little meaning. The official data for 1948 indicated that [433] there were 1,069 hectares planted in the region, producing an estimated 1,859 bunches.[25]

245 Banana plants are seen in all settlements of the Recôncavo, and 311 except in the drier caatinga zone of the Northwestern Recôncavo, scattered over the countryside (Map 51). The chief area of production is in the Southwest, where they are grown almost exclusively for the local market (Map 52). However, there is a concentration of banana production [505] around the fringes of Salvador[26] and along the margins of the Bay and [438] the estuary of the Paraguaçu, where sailing craft (saveiros) can conveniently pick up shipments for the large urban market.

245 In 1948 bananas had their greatest relative importance, as deter- 311 mined by the per cent of the total cropland which they occupied, 433 around and in the city of Salvador, on the island of Itaparica, and around the city of Alagoinhas. The mean yield of bananas in the Recôncavo was 1,730 bunches per hectare, or an estimated 13,840 kilograms per hectare (Map 53)--lower than the 28,900 kilograms per hectare of Brazil, but much higher than the 9,900 kilograms for French West Africa and the 4,400 kilograms for the Philippines.[27]

245 It should be emphasized that the banana in Bahia is a relatively 262 cheap and common subsistence food, eaten raw or cooked. This is not to

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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BB 245 262 say that it is within the reach of all, for there are many who subsist virtually on farinha de mandioca (manioc flour) and a few beans.

B BB 245 433 Coffee. Coffee is not as venerable a crop in Bahia, or in Brazil, as either sugar cane or tobacco; nevertheless, it is one of the traditional major crops. Bahia is by no means an outstanding producer within Brazil, for the main centers of production are in the Central-South--Paraná, São Paulo, Minas Gerais, and Espírito Santo.

BB 245 433 Although Bahia as a whole has an exportable surplus of coffee, the Recôncavo crop is primarily, if not exclusively, for local consumption. Indeed, if the per capita coffee consumption of the Recôncavo is equal to that of the state, a reasonable assumption, the region as a whole produces only about one-sixth or one-seventh of its coffee needs. Under these circumstances, coffee is used, except in a few areas, in the same município in which it is grown.

BB 245 311 433 In 1948 only four municípios in the Recôncavo had 400 hectares or more in coffee or produced over 100,000 kilograms of coffee beans (Maps 54 and 55). The chief coffee município was São Filipe, which led in acreage and in production.[28] For all practical purposes, coffee production is limited to the south side of the Rio Paraguaçu.

Coffee production in Bahia is closely associated with the more humid section of the crystalline zone, and especially the area southwest of the Recôncavo where there are low, rugged mountains and consequently areas of greater elevation and precipitation. This "coffee zone" is extended into the Recôncavo along the rougher, more humid edge of the Crystalline Uplands and the adjacent Intermediate Hills, i.e., in São Filipe and São Felix.

BB 245 311 Only 4 per cent of the cropland of the Recôncavo as a whole was in coffee in 1948, but in São Félix and northern São Filipe the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 209]

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245 438 [471] Oranges, like coconuts, are usually grown on plantations. The capital investment in tree crops is usually too great for small cultivators. Moreover, as a highly perishable crop, oranges require more or less direct marketing, which is frequently beyond the capacity of the small grower. If oranges were marketed by trickling from the small grower through the hands of merchants, buyers, and the like, as is tobacco, they would be spoiled long before reaching the consumer. The small cultivator can market his handful of oranges only in the local market.

241 433 Supplementary Crops. Although the official data show only a very limited distribution of minor supplementary crops, their cultivation is not confined to those municípios where exceptionally conscientious statistical agents have made detailed records. The common vegetables--[262] green beans, onions, garlic, and tomatoes--are cultivated in small quantities in all parts of the Recôncavo and are a traditional part of Bahian dishes. Around the cities and towns there is some specialization in vegetable farming, but there are no major concentrations. The Salvador [443] market is supplied with produce from a broad rural zone which includes [489] most of the Recôncavo. The produce is brought to the city by donkey, truck, or by sailing boat.

The most important of the supplementary commercial crops is [134] pineapple, which is produced on the sandy soils of the Northern, and to a lesser extent, Southwestern Recôncavo. There is very scattered production of grapes, cotton, rice, and white potatoes, but there are no important centers of cultivation of these crops.

245 311 Minor Spontaneous Tree Crops. Mangoes are very common within the houseyards of Salvador and throughout the humid Coastal Plain. In

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

243 either separately or in conjunction with tobacco and manioc. They are
244 frequently grown on land thought to be not suitable for tobacco culti-
[134] vation yet too good for manioc alone, such as the steeper slopes of the crystalline area where the heavier soils do not produce good quality tobacco.

Since the area in corn and beans is small and the amount of slope land large, the capoeira is extensive and frequently quite tall. After the slopes are cleared, the land is very often planted to mixed corn and beans, more rarely to one or the other. The crops are planted
[221] in March or April, perhaps in May, and even in June for beans alone. The planting season for these crops is extended both because they are tolerant of changes in season and because as crops secondary to tobacco they have a lesser priority. Some corn is usually planted early enough
[527] so that it will ripen in time for São João (mid-summer day) festival
[862] for which fresh corn-on-the-cob is the traditional food. This festival is usually the beginning of the corn harvest, but the bean harvest
[251] begins a month later. Both crops are harvested by hand and, after drying, are shelled by hand, sacked, and either stored or sold. When the fertility of the soil is higher than normal or when there is labor to spare, the field may be planted to manioc after the corn and bean harvest.

243 As a result of the interpenetration of the corn-bean and the
244 tobacco-manioc systems, in many regions and on many individual proper-
249 ties the two co-exist. Usually the upland fields are in tobacco and
311 manioc, with an occasional plot of corn and/or beans. Usually the slope-land plots are in corn or beans.

249 The Cultivation of Sugar Cane. In distinction to the crops discussed above, sugar cane is grown under a system of permanent

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249 which it is hauled by railroad or boat to the mill, although sometimes
497 the cane which is carried by boat is weighed at the mill. The rail-
505 roads which handle the cane, as has been indicated, are owned and
496 operated by the usinas, except that the government right-of-way is
471 used whenever these tracks pass close to the plantations. One of the
249 usinas is new and a few of the older mills have some new equipment, but the general level of technology is considerably below that of Pernambuco or São Paulo and the mills are somewhat smaller. The usinas grind the cane, extract the juices, and refine the sugar by means of vacuum pans and centrifuges. The more modern usinas produce a high quality sugar, but in general the product is coarse and not a pure white.
274 The by-products of the large usinas and part or all of the cane juice
385 of some of the usinas and engenhos is converted into rum or commercial
262 alcohol. The sugar, rum, and alcohol from the sugar industry of the
273 Recôncavo are consumed primarily within the Recôncavo and the adjoining
438 regions of Bahia. About one-tenth of the production of sugar is
439 exported, chiefly to Rio de Janeiro. The commercial alcohol usually
382 is mixed with gasoline in the bulk plants in Salvador to provide fuel
385 for automotive transport. By law a specified amount of commercial
654 alcohol must be mixed with gasoline--this is designed to subsidize the sugar industry.

249 There are twenty usinas in the Recôncavo, and these produced
471 an estimated 80 per cent of the total sugar of the state of Bahia in
433 1948. The three largest of these are owned by a single sugar company, which also owns the associated plantations, transportation equipment, and cattle fazendas. This company plays an important role in the
249 marketing of sugar from its own usinas and from other companies. The
471 concentration of the cultivation of sugar cane and of the production
178 of sugar in the hands of this single enterprise is a symptom of the

[The Private Plantation]

côncavo. So far only the pai adão has been able to fulfill the plowing requirements. Lately, however, tractors with caterpillar tread have been introduced and, when used carefully with disk plows, have given excellent results. But the old standby is still commonly in use, hitched to eight, ten, twelve, or as many as twenty oxen.

The owner's house with its park stands on a small hilltop and is visible from afar because of its imperial palms. Nearby, on another hilltop, is the settlement of workers, a long street with houses on either side, the barracks, a small store, and the ever-present casa de farinha, the house where manioc is always being ground, pressed, and roasted to make the farina which is the staple food of the area. Also on this street is the overseer's house, which stands out from the others because of its large size and its veranda. The houses of the workmen are small and built for the most part under one long, common roof. Each house is really an apartment consisting of a front living room and a long corridor going back to the kitchen, with one or two bedrooms leading off the corridor. Other houses, under separate roofs, have similar interior arrangements. The roofs are of red tiles, the rest of the house of clay mud (taipa) slapped on both sides of a bamboo framework. After the mud has dried a coat of whitewash is applied. The houses are built and kept in repair by the plantation owner and do not belong to the workers. The floors are of beaten earth, difficult to keep clean. At night, when only a tiny oil lamp is burning, the houses look dark and gloomy.

After dark one has the impression of hearing much more than one can see. Kerosene is expensive to burn, no one reads, and most of life is geared to doing in the daytime those tasks which require light. At night the workmen and their families sit in the dark talking, or perhaps go to the casa de farinha where a fellow workman and his family may be grinding their manioc. This building is softly lit with kerosene lamps and there is a cheerful glow from the roasting fire. More recently the overseer's house has been equipped with electricity, and now it is always well lighted at night. His new radio has become a center of attraction and small groups form about his veranda, listening. At the other end of the street, during harvest time, there is always a bonfire in front of the barracks where the migrant workers are sheltered. On special occasions there may be a samba (dance), perhaps in the plantation owner's house. Then everyone dons his best and the

226 men say that the fish are leaving, while others say there are
43 just as many as ever. It is a difficult thing to prove one way or the other, for written records of the annual catches are only recent. However, there is no such thing as being unable to sell the fish they bring in. Many people in town have increased their consumption of fresh fish as a result of inflation, for it is less expensive than dried or fresh meat. The fishermen themselves eat a great deal of fish, always keeping enough out of a catch for their own family. The planters of the rural area complain that the fresh fish never arrive at the plantations any more as they did in the past. This is probably due to the icehouse in the town. The fishermen sell first to their "usual customers," the women who work with xangô and shrimp; what is left is sold to the icehouse to be packed and shipped to Bahia, rather than being sent out to the country.

[226] [458] [251]

226 The jereré, a small basketlike net built afound an iron ring 1 1/2 feet in circumference, is used by women and children along the shore and is part of a subsistence activity. It catches only a small crab (siri), an occasional eel, and other small fish which are cooked for the table in the form of moqueca, a sort of stew highly seasoned with peppers and dendê oil. The tideswamps abound in a large crab called the caranguejo, which is also highly prized for the table. Children often catch these, but a man who does so is called a caranguejeiro, a derogatory term. The hunter seeks the crab by sticking his arm down into its hole, which is usually very deep, at least arm's length. As a result he is always covered with the thick black mud so typical of the tideswamps. Often a tropeiro de cima comes to the town and commissions someone to catch the crabs, which he wraps carefully in mud and leaves and carries to the northern hinterland to sell.

[252] [262] [857] [134] [443]

463 The second largest subgroup in Group 3 is composed of the
241 twenty-four gardeners (roçeiros) who are engaged in small-scale commercial farming, rather than subsistence horticulture. They live in town and have their small fields on the outskirts of Vila Recôncavo. All of these fields are located on the plantation Engenho Da Vila ("P" on map of community), and they range from one, two, or three acres in size to as many as fifteen acres, rented from the plantation at Cr$100,00 an acre per year. The major crops are manioc, bananas, and to a lesser extent tobacco, sugar cane for chewing (cana de chupar), corn, beans, and squash. Because there are only 265

[427] 241

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Town Life]

Because there are only 265 acres of manioc under cultivation in the entire county, production is far below the amount of farina consumed, and it is necessary to import the milled manioc tuber which constitutes the major dietary item of the people. In 1951 a municipal law was passed prohibiting the exportation of farina. Three times during the author's stay in the town there was a pronounced lack of farina, when there was almost none to be bought and its price per liter rose from one to three cruzeiros. That year's drought was also partly responsible for the shortage. 241 43 [262] [114] [731]

Bananas are the only commercial export crop of the gardeners. There are approximately 15,000 banana trees in the county, producing for the commercial market an annual production of 177,000 arms (cachos) of bananas, providing an income of Cr$500.000,00. The fruits are sold to a middleman from Bahia who knows most of the gardeners in the area. Once a week, or every two weeks, he arrives at the town in a large sailboat to receive the fresh bananas, which he then takes to Bahia and sells. Sometimes a gardener sells an arm of bananas to a woman in town who then resells them to townspeople. Few people in town have to buy them, however, for each household has at least one banana tree in the back yard. An acre of land supports about 144 banana trees, which when well cared for produce 1,500 arms a year. The fruits are sold in cargoes of fifty arms at Cr$160,00 a cargo, so that one acre earns about Cr$5.000,00 a year. This sum is almost entirely profit, for gardeners do most of their own work, except when they have too much land for one man to take care of properly. Hired help is paid in accordance with the service performed: ten cruzeiros for cutting fifty arms of bananas, twenty for transporting them to the dock if the gardener does not have his own animals, and a hundred cruzeiros an acre for "cleaning," i.e., cutting down and burning old stalks and leaves and keeping the weeds cut down. 245 43 [442] [311] 245 46

Manioc presents a slightly different case, for the raw product must be processed before it is consumed. The manioc root from which farina is made is the poisonous variety and must be peeled and grated, pressed to remove the juice, and then toasted. The final product is a white powder, fine or coarse depending upon the type of grater used. Most of the local product is a coarse type (farinha de guerra). One of the gardeners has a flour house where the tubers are converted into flour. He mills his own manioc there and lets others use the machinery, charging them one liter of farina out of each ten they produce. 252 [427]

[Class A Families]

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quently one girl in the family does not marry but remains 596
home with her parents, taking care of them until they have 589
passed away. Unless the father has made specific arrange- 73
ments for her before his death, the family usually sees to it that she is cared for properly, since she has relieved them of the responsibility of taking care of their parents for many years. Or, if any member of the family lingers beyond what might be considered to be a normal life span, the other members help in some way so that person will be cared for. Thus no one is left out because of misfortune of any kind. Nevertheless, any individual member always tries not to become a burden on the family.

Of the former patriarchalism of Class A families only ves- 565*
tiges remain, which however are still important: the contin- 596
ued close relationship of family members, even though sep- 178
arated by distance and interests; the intermarriage of cous-
ins, and the strong pattern of life em familia; the fact that the family as a unit still provides care and protection for those members who are incapable of doing so themselves; and finally the acknowledgment of an extended-family head, a man accorded deference and respect by members of his own family as well as by other families. The upper-class family of today differs in significant ways from that of former centuries, especially in the increasing emphasis placed upon the conjugal family and the decrease in family size. A major de- [562]
parture from the old family traditions is the increasing equality of women, their increased participation both in home activities and in activities outside the home.

Birthdays are the most important occasions in these fami- 565*
lies aside from weddings. Whether in the city or on the planta- 596
tion, birthdays are commemorated on a large scale by an al- 527
moço (luncheon). During the summer in the country the plant-
ers sometimes also have a series of luncheons, each Sunday on a different plantation. In such cases the house in which the luncheon is to be held provides the bulk of the food, but as a rule all the women make desserts which they bring with them.
The menu, in accordance with old Bahian tradition, is huge, 565*
usually beginning with a feijoada (a deep dish of beans and 596
meat, usually eaten with rice or farina), sarapatel (a highly 527
seasoned dish of which the basis is pork blood), moqueca de 262
camarão (a type of shrimp ragout made with dendê palm oil),
and ensopado de porco (pork stew). These are followed by roasts of beef, pork, lamb, and turkey, and filet mignon.

[Class A Families]

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All these dishes are served with rice, potatoes, farina, and cooked vegetable salads. Then fruits are served, followed by a series of desserts including puddings, ice cream, and cakes. The meal is concluded with a demitasse (cafèzinho). Lunch is usually served at midday, and afterwards the guests generally break into small groups, talk, sleep, play cards, or stroll about the garden. In midafternoon a small merenda (snack) is served for those who want it, consisting of cake and demitasse, and in the evening ceia (supper) is served, including cold cuts, salads, and dessert. After this the group may go en masse to the movies, either at the Petroleum Camp or in the town of Vila Recôncavo. Or, if in gay spirits, they may spend the evening dancing in the living room to popular records. People go to these almoços by horseback, jeep, truck, or sometimes, in a spirit of fun, by oxcart. Hospitality has for hundreds of years been the tradition of the rural landowners, who envelop guests with an overabundance of everything. One planter always has the dining-room table set for at least ten people, although only he and his wife live in the house. Others have the reputation of always providing a good meal for anyone who passes at mealtime.

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The decreasing size of families, the shift in individual employment from agriculture to the professions, and this century's change to large-scale industrial holdings for the production of sugar have caused some differences in land tenure and, hence, inheritance. The Recôncavo is not an area in which land title was ever vague or lost as was often the case in the sertão. Land was always scarce here, for the desirable massapê soils are limited in extent. The plantations of today for the most part fall into one of two categories: those which have been in the hands of one family for a century or more, and those which were bought after the abolition of slavery by newcomers to the Recôncavo or by those who already had plantations and at a time of falling value bought new ones from the creditors who had taken them over from their former owners for debt. In both cases title passed free and clear. The common form of inheritance is for one half of the estate to go to the widow and the other half to be divided among other heirs.

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A century ago, it was common for plantation masters to have extensive holdings, not only in the Recôncavo, but also in other parts of the state, as well as houses and even commercial buildings in the city of Salvador. In addition to this,

[Class B Families]

[Class C Families]

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plantation during the author's stay in the community, and her father gave her a large wedding. The wedding party left the plantation early in the morning in an oxcart decorated with white crepe paper, and proceeded to the town of Vila Recôncavo. The wedding was held in the Franciscan chapel. The townspeople did not attend the wedding or show any interest in it. Immediately after the ceremony the wedding party started back to the plantation, a five-mile trip. As each plantation nucleus was passed the cart stopped in front of the overseer's house, and small glasses of rum were passed to the guests, and the happiness of bride and groom was toasted.

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On arrival at the new brick house which the groom's father had presented to the couple, the bride went into the kitchen to help her mother and the other women who were preparing the luncheon. Then she passed small glasses of wine to the guests. With the exception of Dona Sinhá and the author, the guests were all overseers from the neighboring plantations. The female guests were relatives of the bride. The meal consisted of everything the region had to offer: fish, shrimp, salads; roasts of beef, pork, lamb, and turkey; potatoes and farina; followed by fruits, desserts, and coffee. After all the men had eaten and moved into the living room to chat, the bride and the other women sat down in the dining room to eat.

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In a sample of eighteen Class B households (eleven urban and seven rural), fifteen couples were married by both civil and religious ceremonies. The remaining three couples were simply living together, a state known in northern Brazil as amasiado. In Class C a sample of ninety-five households (forty-one urban and fifty-four rural) showed twenty-three couples in the amasiado state, twenty-two married by civil and religious ceremonies, thirty-four married in church only, and eight by civil marriage alone. Eight of the couples sampled did not answer the question. In Class B, one partner in each of the three couples living in the amasiado state was married to someone else whom he or she had left.

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Nineteen civil marriages were performed in the entire county (population over 11,000) during the year of 1950. They are shown below by age group. Fifty religious marriages were performed during the same year throughout the five parishes attended by the Franciscans. Because of differences in the manner of recording the two types of marriages, however, no correlation could be worked out as to how many marriages were both civil and religious. There are no statistics avail-

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584 intimation of its course. The meeting may finally be arranged at the house of an older female friend. If the two are genuinely interested in each other they may allow the fact to become public, and if the parents are pleased they will in due course [836] be married. Otherwise the girl may keep the whole affair a secret, and after a period of flirtation have an affair with the [263] boy and become pregnant. Any girl who refuses to eat pepper [843] is immediately suspected of pregnancy, and inquiries are made.

*565 When a Class C family wishes to celebrate some occasion such as a birthday, anniversary, or the time in which the twin 574 saints Cosme and Damião are feasted, the woman's friends and any nearby female relatives come in to help her cook. 252 Guests are invited by the husband. The preparation of all ● 262 food must be done by hand, the chickens killed, cleaned, and [476] plucked, the beans shelled, the shrimp and fish cleaned, the farina cakes made, and the popular liqueurs (licores) prepared [273] by soaking various kinds of fruit in bottles of rum and syrup. At such parties the traditional, favorite Bahian dishes of vatapá, acarejé, carurú, abará, cuscus, and the many moquecas, are served. All these are appetizing, but take much time [251] to prepare and cannot be made too far in advance, for there *565 is no way of preserving food. Unless the household is particularly wealthy, the family seldom gives parties; many never 574 manage to give one. Dancing forms an important part of the 535 festivities. The men bring their drums, tambourines, and guitars, while the women sing and dance the samba. In the rural [369] area, social dancing in mixed couples is rare, but in town it is a common form.

*565 A family may take care of an aged mother, father, or even godparent, or of some other relative on either side. Such a 888 person is well cared for within the family means. Most people 736 in Vila Recôncavo are generous toward others who are in some way unfortunate, and help them if they can. There is little or no complaint if the household has to take in an infirm or aged relative; most people say that the same may happen to them one day and they will have to be taken care of. Perhaps the old person helped them in some way in the past when they needed aid and is now being repaid. Or if some older person wants to live alone, a group of neighbors and relatives all help in preparing meals and supplying food and other wants over an extended period of time. There is no case in Vila Recôncavo of an elderly person being sent to a public institution.

among members of Class A. In the cult houses it is said that the African gods go back to Africa for Lent and that the Indian spirits go back to the forests, not coming back again to Vila Recôncavo until Easter Eve. Good Friday is usually marked by the eating of foods with much palm and olive oil, mostly the favorite Bahian dishes of acarajé and vatapá. On Saturday some people in the town "burn Judas." They make a figure stuffed with straw or grass and in the evening parade it through the whole town on a donkey until they arrive at the fishermen's chapel, where the dummy is strung up and burned. While it burns the man who made it reads a long poem which he has composed during the year and which tells about his friends and their individual peculiarities. 796 [794] [776] [262] [538]

During the month of May a service is held each night in the mother church in honor of the Virgin Mary. A priest officiates, and the women of the upper class sing in the choir. This ceremony is attended almost entirely by townspeople, mostly women. St. John's Day, which comes at the end of June and is a popular holiday throughout most of Brazil, goes unnoticed in the town, although at dawn on that day there may be a reveille for St. John (alvorada de São João), which consists of shouting, "Wake up, St. John!" The sixteenth of August is celebrated, mostly by the rural people, as the day of St. Roch, who is considered a foe of pestilence. There is usually a Mass in the mother church on this day, after which the priest conducts Mass in as many of the rural chapels as he can. St. Roch is also celebrated by the African cults. [793] [794] [565] [369] [794] [184]

On September 27, the twin saints Cosme and Damião are celebrated, often with a Mass, but especially with a party called the carurú, the dish distinctive of this day and the days which follow it; for, as with the Day of Kings, Cosme and Damião may be feted any day within a month or so following the proper date. Before a carurú, it is customary for small images of the two saints to be carried about the streets from house to house asking for alms for a party in their honor. Usually the party is for the children, who dance and eat as much as they can, while the older people at first look on, and then finish up the food that was left and also dance. Anyone who is a twin or who likes twins may give a carurú in his house. [794]

St. Francis is also feted, since there is a Franciscan convent in the town, by a devotion on three nights and a Mass on the morning of St. Francis' day. The last Sunday in October,

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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197 teenth. Tapa and Haussá were spoken during the entire nineteenth century, and the latter perhaps long before 1800. Although the Haussás were relatively few in number, their influence was considerable. The slave revolts of the early nineteenth century were, as we have seen, led by this reputedly "most intellectual element" among the imported Africans, many of whom could read and write Arabic characters. Kanúri, spoken in Bahia by the Bornús, and Grúnce, the tongue used by the slaves known as Gallinhas, are included, along with Haussá, Gêge, and Tapa, in the limited vocabularies which Rodrigues collected from Bahian Negroes near the beginning of the twentieth century.[11] Tshi (or Odji), Gá (or Acrá),[12] and Mandê (or Mandinga) were also employed to a limited extent.

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[291] As late as 1900, Negro laborers in Bahia continued to wear "white vestments of coarse cotton cloth," which reminded Rodrigues of "the Nagô *camisús*."[13] The *Bahiana* costume,[14] of partial African origin, was extensively used by
[854] the Negro women. It was also customary for them to carry
[262] their babies bound to the back with a large cloth. African dishes, in the preparation of which *azeite de dendê* (oil of the *dendê* palm) and *pimenta da costa* (pepper from the West Coast) prominently figured, formed a considerable portion of the Negro diet.

[533] At that time, also, African music might be frequently
[534] heard, particularly in the ceremonies of the *candomblé*. African musical instruments, like the *atabaque*, the *agê*, the
[794] *canzá*, the *marimba*, the *agôgô*, the *caxixi*, and the *xáque-xáque*[15] were commonly employed. The fetish cult drew allegiance from numerous and zealous devotees.

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 217–21.

[12] Spoken in Bahia by the Ashantis.

[13] *Op. cit.*, p. 181.

[14] The *Bahiana* costume is described in detail in chap. ix.

[15] These instruments are described in chap. ix.

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molho de ferrugem."[107] From her and from the *mucama* (maid), as much as, if not more than, from his father and mother, the white child learned to speak. And almost without exception, he was given a *muleque companheiro de brinquedo*, a little Negro slave of his own age and sex, to be his playmate and his almost constant companion.[108] José Verissimo says that during slavery there was "no house which did not have one or more *muleques*, one or more *corumins*, little victims consecrated to the caprices of *nhônhô:*[109] his horse, his *leva-pancada*, his servant, his companion, his friend."[110] In 1821 Mathison saw on an estate near Rio "a number of fine Negro children playing in front of the house, and in the midst of them a younger brother of the proprietor, a lad about fourteen years of age, who had been brought up in this manner . . . . like the Negroes."[111] Freyre has suggested that "very likely many a Brazilian child took for his first hero, not a white physician, nor a navy official or a lawyer, but a slave acrobat who knew how to execute the difficult pirouettes of the impromptu circuses and of the *bumbas meu bois*[112] of the *engenhos;* or a Negro player of the trombone or the flute."[113] Under these conditions it is not surprising that

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[107] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 247. *Pirão* is made of manioc meal and meat broth; *molho de ferrugem* is oil of the *dendê* palm.

[108] Lacerda, *op. cit.*, p. 379.

[109] Slave rendering of *menino* (male child).

[110] *A educação nacional* (Rio, 1906), quoted in Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 248. A *leva-pancada* is one who "takes the beatings."

[111] *Op. cit.*, p. 93.

[112] The *bumba meu boi* is still to be seen in the Bahian interior. It is a folk drama in which a man dressed to represent an ox plays a prominent role (see Arthur Ramos, *O negro brasileiro* [Rio, 1934], pp. 259–68; see also his *O folk-lore negro do Brasil* [Rio, 1935], pp. 103–14).

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[113] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Ohum Eniadúdú[19]
Recipes for Afro-Brazilian *Quitutes*[20]
The *Calunga*[21] of the Maracatús
The "People's Library" and the "Modern Collectanea"[22]

Obviously, there is implied in these titles no interest other than in history and ethnology. But in the following ten papers, although there again appears to be no concern with problems of racial accommodation, one does note an awareness of physical differences and an interest in their measurement.

Some Anthropological Measurements of the Population of Recife
Some Data on the Physical Characteristics of the Population of Recife
Some Physical Measurements of Brazilian Negroes and Mulattoes
A Study of Cephalic Indices and Color Variation among Mulattoes in Pernambuco
A Contribution to the Study of Lapicque's Index
Physical Measurements of Negro Students
Comparative Heights and Weights of Newborn *Branco*, *Pardo*, and *Preto* Babies
A Statistical Study of Longevity in *Brancos*, *Pardos*, and *Pretos*
The Comparative Incidence of Tuberculosis in *Pretos* and *Brancos*
Mental Disease among the Negroes of Pernambuco

[776]

[19] Under this title two topics were considered: (1) legenda from Dahomey and (2) Anamburucú (an Afro-Brazilian deity [see chap. x]).

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[20] *Quitutes* are food delicacies.

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[21] The *calunga* referred to here was a richly adorned female image representing a water deity. It was carried by the "Dama do Passo," a female dancer of the Maracatú.

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[22] The "Modern Collectanea" and the "People's Library" are two sets of inexpensive leaflets containing ballads and other folklore, historical sketches, anecdotes, prayers, recipes, etc. See, in this connection, Jorge Amado, "Literatura dos negros e mulatos da Bahia," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal de São Paulo*, XLVIII (June, 1938), 179-82.

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4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Although the Bahian upper classes, owing to their Negro cooks, are not unacquainted with those dishes of African origin so commonly eaten in the homes of lower-class blacks, one does not ordinarily find on their tables African delicacies like *abará*, *aberém*, *acassá*, *acaragé*, *arroz de Aussá*, *bôbó de inhame*, *carurú*, *efó*, *xin-xin*, etc., each of which is seasoned according to recipes handed down from African forebears who also extensively made use of African seasonings like *azeite de dendê*, *ataré*, *irú*, *pejerecum*, *iêrê*, and *egussi*.[18] The eating habits of the upper classes are, in general, European in origin. But the poorer inhabitants extensively utilize banana leaves for plates and for packaging foods and replace forks with fingers as eating accessories.

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The music and dances enjoyed by large numbers of the darker population further distinguish this portion of the Bahian community. For instance, the *samba*, or *samba batida*, a regional form of the old *batuque*, although it has now been taken over by the upper classes and in a modified form become not only one of the most characteristic musical forms but also one of the favorite dances of Brazil, is still enjoyed in its primitive simplicity by the Bahian lower classes. With them it is a dance in which first one and then another of the participants enters a circle, dances a shuffling step while singing, cantor-fashion, the first line of a stanza, the others responding as a chorus. A song very popular at Mar Grande on the island of Itaparica in the bay at Bahia recalls the

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794 787 [789] neys, etc.[37] Oracles are invoked by way of such magical intermediaries as the *obí* and the *orobó*, or the *opélé-ifá* (a chain of thin disks), or they may be obtained directly from an *orixá* who speaks during the "possession" of a *filha* or a *pae de santo* by way of the mouth of the one "possessed."[38]

787 Contact between the living and the dead is believed not only to be possible but to occur regularly. Hence, the prac-

[37] The serious character of a transaction of this sort puts it in a different category from certain other magical acts, common to all classes, which have the character of a game, being similar, for example, to practices attaching to our festival of Halloween. Thus, one may take a glass, "bless" it three times, put in it the white of an egg, and, holding it over a fire, again thrice "bless" it; or partially fill a basin with water and permit the tallow from a lighted candle to drip into it; or stick a knife up to the hilt in a banana tree and leave it until morning. The patterns formed on the glass, the water, and the knife, respectively, are presumed to indicate the initials of one's future spouse. A similar image is presumed to appear in the dreams of one under whose pillow has been left a freshly husked ear of corn.

[825] [38] Other magical practices of this sort are: the placing of crushed char-
[777] coal under a rock to expedite the recovery of a lost article, the burying of the third of a rosary to stop rain; also, it is commonly believed that a hum-
[821] mingbird inside the house, or the singing of an *adivem-quevem*, announces the coming of guests; that the appearance of an owl, or of an *ouriço cacheiro*, foretells death; that a black butterfly is a sign of misfortune; that a katydid with dark eyes brings unpleasant news, while one with light eyes brings favorable news; that seeing the new moon for the first time between the branches of a tree or anywhere partially obscured is a sign of misfortune throughout the coming month; that the showing of money to the new moon when seen for the first time will assure no want of income for the next thirty days; that ill fortune will attend one who dwells in a house on the corner of a street, enters a house with the right foot, or opens an umbrella inside a house. Still other "signs" of misfortune are: the toad; the black cat (or the "ghost" of a cat); the *anum* perched in a tree near the house; the *jacumim;* the hummingbird, if black; the katydid, if it has a black mouth (if the katydid has a red mouth, happiness is in store for the observer). In the opinion
• [262] of numerous people, mutton must not be eaten, since it is "the *lamb of God* who taketh away the sins of the world." Sheep are animals which Christians must not eat.

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159 794 778 [515]

I stayed only seven days in the *casa*,[15] because my head was washed. Others spend three months there, lying down all the time. They lie awhile on one side, then on the other, and then face down. One takes a bath in water perfumed with sacred leaves. Every day. The bath is cold, very cold. You must change your clothes and the bed linen every day. It isn't in a real bed that one lies down. They put a mat on the floor, and you have only a pillow and a sheet. You can move, but only from one side to the other, never over on your back. During the time you are in the *camarinha*, you cannot see your relatives. You may see them only on the day you leave. But then you must go at four in the morning and return at four in the evening so that the dew will not fall on your head.

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There may be others in the *camarinha*. Sometimes many others. All of them stay in the same room. They sleep with their heads together. If there are ten, there will be space for all ten. While they are in the *camarinha*, they do not attend ceremonies.

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I did not go through all this because my head did not have to be shaved. I had my *orixá* from birth. When I came into this world, he already knew everything.[16] My *pae de santo* has "worked" with many people. Last week he was here in Fazenda Grande.

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When my *orixá* took possession of me, I quit eating he-goat. Because of the taboo of the *orixá* one cannot eat certain things. During all my life I cannot eat he-goat, because of the taboo. Neither can I eat turtle. For he who is of Xangô does not eat either he-goat or turtle. He who is of Ogum must not eat sheep's meat. Some *filhas* must not eat fruit; others must not eat fish *de couro*, only those fish which have scales. Crabs cannot be eaten by some, nor the leaf of Ogum. Water may be drunk, but only that which is drawn at 4:00 A.M., before the sun rises.

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White maize must be eaten by some, depending on the *orixá*. For every *orixá* of every nation[17] has his own food. There is the food of Odé. There is that of Xangô, which is mutton.

[15] The period during which the candidate is initiated into her new function is spent within the sacred room, or *camarinha*, of the *candomblé* center.

[16] That is, he "knew" that she would be consecrated to him.

[17] That is, of each type of *candomblé:* Gêge-Nagô, Congo, Angolo, *de caboclo*.

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while the *orixás* "partake" of a special sacrifice offered to them. Her hair is cut off, her head shaved,[8] and dots and circles are painted in white upon the crown, forehead, and cheeks. The initiate then takes on *obí* in her hand, the *atabaques* begin to beat an invocation to her *orixá*, and she dances the special dance sacred to him until he "arrives in her head" and she experiences once more the *estado de santo*. The *yauô* is then escorted from the *pegi* to the *camarinha*, where she remains for sixteen days before participating in her first public ceremony, whence she returns to the *camarinha* for a period of six months to a year, to be taught the various rituals of the cult, the songs, and, to some extent at least, an African language. Meanwhile, she is subject to certain food and other taboos.

To verify her acceptance by the *orixá*, a *filha* may be required to undergo without evidence of bodily harm an ordeal, such as swallowing lighted candlewicks soaked in *azeite de dendê*, thrusting her hands into boiling palm oil, chewing the leaves of the *urtiga* (Brazilian thistle), or submitting, on bended knee, to being beaten about the neck and arms with a sprig of the thorny *cansanção*.

Throughout her life the new *filha de santo*, in addition to submitting to the "manifestations" of her *orixá*, must perform on occasion certain ritualistic acts, rigorously observe certain food, drink, and sex taboos, and wear a special costume on ceremonial occasions and "days of obligation" (Fridays especially). On her death this costume, together with the other objects of cult worship belonging to her, are taken and dropped into the sea, "to be carried by the waves back to Africa."

Upon being "made," the *filha de santo* acquires a *guia*

[8] Formerly, all hairy parts of the body were shaved.

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front of the Church of Bomfim, booths are erected, each of which has been named for the patron saint of the proprietor or bears an inscription like *Fé em Deus* ("Faith in God"), *Salve a Nova Aurora* ("Hail to the Dawn"), or *A Bahianinha* ("Dear Little *Bahiana*"). At these booths one may purchase such famous Bahian dishes of African origin as *aberém*, *carurú*, *vatapá*, *efó*, and *acarajé*, as well as drinks and other refreshments. *Kermesses*, or small booths given over to games of chance similar to those of traveling "carnivals" in the United States, bear such names as *Lua Cheia* ("Full Moon") or *Abrigo dos Filhos do Povo* ("Shelter for the Children of the People"). A brass band, composed of blacks from the fire department in uniform, plays intermittently from a raised platform in the center of the square.

443 265 [262] 796 [525] [533] [368]

At night the entire front of the church is ablaze with electric lights. Fireworks almost constantly sputter and bang in the air. An immense crowd mills about the *adro*, while other people sit at tables, eating, drinking, talking, and watching the festivities. About two hours after midnight, the *terno* of *Os Ciganos* ("the Gypsies") appears. It is a band of approximately thirty people, marching two abreast, ten musicians with brass instruments in the lead, followed by a dozen young men each of whom holds aloft a wooden staff branched at the top and lavishly decorated with paper flowers and Japanese lanterns, and an equal number of girls twelve to fourteen years old, dressed in gypsy costumes and shaking castanets and tambourines. After parading around the square, the *terno* halts in front of the church, greets the patron saint, then turns and ascends the platform vacated for this purpose by the band. The girls dance, sing, and play their instruments while one of the men performs a frenzied dance, twirling round and round a standard bearing the name and insignia of the terno.

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175 called Negroes because of the ignominious and base implications
* 563 of a term that puts them on the same footing as the people of the
829 coast of Africa destined to become slaves of the Whites. The true African Negroes were at that time called Negroes of Guinea, Negroes of the coast, or Negroes of nation, that is to say, of such
175 and such an African tribe. In a general way the term Negro was
829 applied to every slave, to the point that in 1773 a Portuguese
* 563 monarch complained that in Brazil there were still "persons so
567 wanting in feelings of humanity and religion as to keep among
192 them slaves, some of whom are whiter than they themselves, under the names of Blacks and Negresses, or even métisses /plural
829 feminine form of métis, a person of mixed blood/." The sons of
* 563 African Negroes born in Brazil were called creoles, a term ap-
192 plied even today, in the feminine, to black women and mulattresses
291 who dress like the Bahian women, with the troquette, the very full
794 skirt, the white, embroidered, and very décolleté blouse, and the colored shawl around the bust, a costume worn by the Africans of Nigeria and even in our day, with certain local modifications, by the women belonging to the religious cults of African origin, the
* 563 candomblés. The creoles of Bahia constitute a typical spectacle
794 in the streets of the city; one can see them there, making their
443 way to a fetishist-cult center or sitting beside stalls in which they
• 262 display, especially during the popular festivals, the foods of the famous local cuisine, which is also of African origin to a great extent.

* 563 The words pardo and mestiço, both having, as we have seen,
829 the meaning of mulatto, serve to designate the descendants of a
192 cross between Europeans and Blacks. Every variation of these
826 types, depending on the intensity of the color or the nature of the hair, was formerly designated by a particular name fallen into disuse today. One speaks of light mulatto or dark mulatto, according to the predominance of one or the other of the characteristics; the light mulattoes, when their hair is very similar to that of Whites, are also called cabo verdes or rôxos. A young girl showing
[196] few traces of crossbreeding is a roxinha or even a cabrocha; in this case the inhabitants of Bahia use a diminutive in order to remove from the word any pejorative meaning.

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584 intimation of its course. The meeting may finally be arranged at the house of an older female friend. If the two are genuinely interested in each other they may allow the fact to become public, and if the parents are pleased they will in due course [836] be married. Otherwise the girl may keep the whole affair a secret, and after a period of flirtation have an affair with the [263] boy and become pregnant. Any girl who refuses to eat pepper [843] is immediately suspected of pregnancy, and inquiries are made.

*565 When a Class C family wishes to celebrate some occasion such as a birthday, anniversary, or the time in which the twin 574 saints Cosme and Damião are feasted, the woman's friends and any nearby female relatives come in to help her cook. 252 Guests are invited by the husband. The preparation of all 262 food must be done by hand, the chickens killed, cleaned, and [476] plucked, the beans shelled, the shrimp and fish cleaned, the farina cakes made, and the popular liqueurs (licores) prepared [273] by soaking various kinds of fruit in bottles of rum and syrup. At such parties the traditional, favorite Bahian dishes of vatapá, acarejé, carurú, abará, cuscus, and the many moquecas, are served. All these are appetizing, but take much time [251] to prepare and cannot be made too far in advance, for there *565 is no way of preserving food. Unless the household is particularly wealthy, the family seldom gives parties; many never 574 manage to give one. Dancing forms an important part of the 535 festivities. The men bring their drums, tambourines, and guitars, while the women sing and dance the samba. In the rural [369] area, social dancing in mixed couples is rare, but in town it is a common form.

*565 A family may take care of an aged mother, father, or even godparent, or of some other relative on either side. Such a 888 person is well cared for within the family means. Most people in Vila Recôncavo are generous toward others who are in some 736 way unfortunate, and help them if they can. There is little or no complaint if the household has to take in an infirm or aged relative; most people say that the same may happen to them one day and they will have to be taken care of. Perhaps the old person helped them in some way in the past when they needed aid and is now being repaid. Or if some older person wants to live alone, a group of neighbors and relatives all help in preparing meals and supplying food and other wants over an extended period of time. There is no case in Vila Recôncavo of an elderly person being sent to a public institution.

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ing, exciting sounds, which continue for hours on end. Little boys pick up the rhythms quickly and soon associate each rhythm with the particular spirit who dances to it. As they grow older and show interest in it, they may be allowed to relieve one of the drummers during an interval and in this way join the others in some less important part of the ceremony, until finally the zelador feels they know enough to drum for the entire evening.

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The entire proceedings are considered too strenuous for children, as much for the boy drummers as for the girl dancers. If a small girl shows signs of possession during the ceremony she is taken away, for until she is over fourteen dancing is considered too strenuous for her. But unless her family refuses, she may be coached in all the rituals by the other dancers and the zelador. The ceremonies always draw more onlookers than performers, and outside the rural cult house a man has set up a small stand to sell refreshments. As many as can, enter the room and line the walls, while the others stand outside, looking in through the open doors and windows. Most people know the procedure in a vague way and know whom the drums are calling and who "has" which saint.

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The ceremonies are rather long, the first step in the actual performance being the calling of the saints. The evening's participants dance in a circle while the drums call the various spirits. It sometimes takes quite a while for the saint to come, and there are times when he does not come at all. One young man danced unsuccessfully for over an hour and was finally removed, exhausted, by the zelador. When someone in the circle "falls," he is quickly led out of the room and into the pegi where the zelador changes his clothing, putting on him the costume of the spirit. In the meantime the others rest or may keep on dancing, becoming possessed one after the other, depending upon the type of ceremony. After the possessed person has been dressed and has completed the necessary ritual, he is led back into the main room where he now, as the saint, dances in earnest until tired or angered by something which occurs in the room. Often the zelador gives the signal for the drums to change their rhythm, indicating the end of the dance, by which time the person is physically very tired although emotionally highly keyed up. He is led back into the pegi to complete the detailed rituals, and is then given a place to rest and to come back to normal. As a rule he soon joins the others in the front room as a spectator. By

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APPENDIX C

THE BOMFIM FESTIVAL

796 Certain popular festivals, like the Sabado and Segunda
565 Feira do Bomfim, are largely taken over and even dominated
by the lower classes. Individuals from the upper circles,
[439] both white and colored, attend only in their automobiles,
driving slowly back and forth along the principal streets and
through the crowds, or watch the festivities from the windows and doorways of near-by houses. In the words of a local citizen, the festival of Bomfim "springs from the people themselves, who regard O Senhor do Bomfim as their patron saint. It belongs to them more than Carnival does; Carnival is more refined (*mais elevado*), more under the control of the educated, 'cultured' Bahians."

796 Preceded by exclusively religious ceremonies, the celebration begins on the third Saturday in January and continues through the following Sunday and Monday. A large part of the population attends. Formerly, it is said, all business houses closed for the festival, and a few still do, while others take only a half-holiday on Monday. The celebration opens
[368] at the Church of Bomfim, which crowns a gently sloping hill
[443] on the peninsula of Itapagipe which juts out into Todos
os Santos Bay to the north of the port. Black women in
[265] *bahiana* costume sit around the edges of the crowd selling
[257] such wares as *cocada*,[1] cakes, and other confections, mangoes, peanuts, *umbús*, and *cajús*.[2] In the *adro*, or open space, in

[1] *Cocada* is a confection made of coconut and sugar.

[2] *Cajús* are the fruit of the cashew tree. *Umbús* are a green, smooth-skinned fruit, about the size of a small lime.

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front of the Church of Bomfim, booths are erected, each of which has been named for the patron saint of the proprietor or bears an inscription like *Fé em Deus* ("Faith in God"), *Salve a Nova Aurora* ("Hail to the Dawn"), or *A Bahianinha* ("Dear Little *Bahiana*"). At these booths one may purchase such famous Bahian dishes of African origin as *aberém*, *caruru*, *vatapá*, *efó*, and *acarajé*, as well as drinks and other refreshments. *Kermesses*, or small booths given over to games of chance similar to those of traveling "carnivals" in the United States, bear such names as *Lua Cheia* ("Full Moon") or *Abrigo dos Filhos do Povo* ("Shelter for the Children of the People"). A brass band, composed of blacks from the fire department in uniform, plays intermittently from a raised platform in the center of the square.

At night the entire front of the church is ablaze with electric lights. Fireworks almost constantly sputter and bang in the air. An immense crowd mills about the *adro*, while other people sit at tables, eating, drinking, talking, and watching the festivities. About two hours after midnight, the *terno* of *Os Ciganos* ("the Gypsies") appears. It is a band of approximately thirty people, marching two abreast, ten musicians with brass instruments in the lead, followed by a dozen young men each of whom holds aloft a wooden staff branched at the top and lavishly decorated with paper flowers and Japanese lanterns, and an equal number of girls twelve to fourteen years old, dressed in gypsy costumes and shaking castanets and tambourines. After parading around the square, the *terno* halts in front of the church, greets the patron saint, then turns and ascends the platform vacated for this purpose by the band. The girls dance, sing, and play their instruments while one of the men performs a frenzied dance, twirling round and round a standard bearing the name and insignia of the terno.

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and the next day she died. But before she died, he "arrived" and said it was he who had set fire to the *saveiro*. It was Oxóssi. Her husband also died. When one doesn't carry out his obligations [*cumpre com os seus deveres*], the *orixá* takes his life.

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Once I had a party at my house for some friends. But Xangô sent me a message that I should go to the *candomblé*. I said that I was not going because I was having a party. A little while later, while I was dancing with my friends, I suddenly got a stiffness in my legs. But I didn't pay much attention to it. Then I suddenly felt an "opening of the body" [*aperto no corpo*],[13] and I didn't know anything more. When I came to, I was dancing in the *candomblé*. When the *candomblé* was over, I went running clear to the top of Boeiros do Inferno ["Funnels of Hell"] without knowing anything about what I was doing. These are two hills called by that name because they are so high. I didn't feel anything. Afterward, Xangô beat me on the hands, and my hands swelled. When he "arrived" again, he said that I should pay more attention to him, or he would beat me some more. Once he struck me. On that day I was very tired, but I went to the *candomblé* and danced anyway.

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I dance when there is a big ceremony; I dance for hours at a time without getting tired. The spell seizes me, and sometimes I dance more than three days without feeling the least bit tired. When the *orixá* "arrives in my head," I spend a week or more "sleeping."[14] I don't feel anything. I don't see anything. People talk to me, but I don't know anything about what is going on.

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If one drinks water, the *orixá* doesn't "arrive." For instance, one feels cold. That cold is in the body. The *orixá* wants "to arrive." Then one drinks water. He who is of the *preceito* does not drink water. And whoever drinks, breaks the *preceito*. It is prayed ten times.[14]

[13] A "trembling of the body," signifying that the *orixá* wished to enter and to "manifest himself" in human form. See chap. x.

[14] That is, moving about, but unconscious of what is happening.

[14] That is, by taking a drink of water, one can presumably prevent the deity from entering the body. One must at the same time pray ten words and tap the ground ten times. In this way, the *preceito* (i.e., the control of the deity over one) is broken.

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I stayed only seven days in the *casa*,[15] because my head was washed. Others spend three months there, lying down all the time. They lie awhile on one side, then on the other, and then face down. One takes a bath in water perfumed with sacred leaves. Every day. The bath is cold, very cold. You must change your clothes and the bed linen every day. It isn't in a real bed that one lies down. They put a mat on the floor, and you have only a pillow and a sheet. You can move, but only from one side to the other, never over on your back. During the time you are in the *camarinha*, you cannot see your relatives. You may see them only on the day you leave. But then you must go at four in the morning and return at four in the evening so that the dew will not fall on your head.

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There may be others in the *camarinha*. Sometimes many others. All of them stay in the same room. They sleep with their heads together. If there are ten, there will be space for all ten. While they are in the *camarinha*, they do not attend ceremonies.

[302] [776] [793]

I did not go through all this because my head did not have to be shaved. I had my *orixá* from birth. When I came into this world, he already knew everything.[16] My *pae de santo* has "worked" with many people. Last week he was here in Fazenda Grande.

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When my *orixá* took possession of me, I quit eating he-goat. Because of the taboo of the *orixá* one cannot eat certain things. During all my life I cannot eat he-goat, because of the taboo. Neither can I eat turtle. For he who is of Xangô does not eat either he-goat or turtle. He who is of Ogum must not eat sheep's meat. Some *filhas* must not eat fruit; others must not eat fish *de couro*, only those fish which have scales. Crabs cannot be eaten by some, nor the leaf of Ogum. Water may be drunk, but only that which is drawn at 4:00 A.M., before the sun rises.

• [271]

White maize must be eaten by some, depending on the *orixá*. For every *orixá* of every nation[17] has his own food. There is the food of Odé. There is that of Xangô, which is mutton.

[15] The period during which the candidate is initiated into her new function is spent within the sacred room, or *camarinha*, of the *candomblé* center.

[16] That is, he "knew" that she would be consecrated to him.

[17] That is, of each type of *candomblé*: Gêge-Nagô, Congo, Angolo, *de caboclo*.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

The dairy industry around Salvador is relatively
234 large-scale, as is evident in the size and number of tank trucks which
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[493] peddle milk through the streets of the city, and which bear the name of
[272] local fazendas. However, the milk has a low butter-fat content, is
unpasteurized, and it is expensive, and many people use powdered milk which is imported from other parts of Brazil and abroad. The Salvador dairy industry is large-scale only in relation to the small-scale operations in other parts of the region, where the small quantities of available milk are carried to the cidades on mules or asses and sold from house to house.

233 (3) Feira de Santana is the principal cattle market not only of
443 the Recôncavo but also of the state of Bahia. To its market (campo de gado) are driven the cattle of the northern sertão of Bahia and from as far west as the mountains. Before or after sale many of these cattle are rested and fattened on the pastures around the cidade so that the cattle population is large but fluid. Some of these cattle are butchered locally, but many are driven to Salvador before slaughter.

231 (4) In all other parts of the Recôncavo small-scale animal husbandry is very common. Many small farmers, sharecroppers, or renters
[272] have one or two cows and sometimes a calf. The milk, if any, is used
[234] either by the family or sold in the cidade. In addition, there are a
[443] few large cattle ranches, usually producing both milk and beef cattle. Thus the unspecialized livestock economy of most of the Recôncavo is distinct from the labor animal concentration in the sugar zone, the Salvador milk shed, and the market animal concentration around Feira de Santana.

233 The pattern of distribution of cattle outside the Recôncavo is not markedly different from that of the adjacent areas within the region. In this respect Mata de São João is like Pojuca, Castro Alves like Santo Estêvão, and Nazaré like São Felix-Maragogipe. However, the

[Class A Families]

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All these dishes are served with rice, potatoes, farina, and cooked vegetable salads. Then fruits are served, followed by a series of desserts including puddings, ice cream, and cakes. The meal is concluded with a demitasse (cafèzinho). Lunch is usually served at midday, and afterwards the guests generally break into small groups, talk, sleep, play cards, or stroll about the garden. In midafternoon a small merenda (snack) is served for those who want it, consisting of cake and demitasse, and in the evening ceia (supper) is served, including cold cuts, salads, and dessert. After this the group may go en masse to the movies, either at the Petroleum Camp or in the town of Vila Recôncavo. Or, if in gay spirits, they may spend the evening dancing in the living room to popular records. People go to these almoços by horseback, jeep, truck, or sometimes, in a spirit of fun, by oxcart. Hospitality has for hundreds of years been the tradition of the rural landowners, who envelop guests with an overabundance of everything. One planter always has the dining-room table set for at least ten people, although only he and his wife live in the house. Others have the reputation of always providing a good meal for anyone who passes at mealtime.

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The decreasing size of families, the shift in individual employment from agriculture to the professions, and this century's change to large-scale industrial holdings for the production of sugar have caused some differences in land tenure and, hence, inheritance. The Recôncavo is not an area in which land title was ever vague or lost as was often the case in the sertão. Land was always scarce here, for the desirable massapê soils are limited in extent. The plantations of today for the most part fall into one of two categories: those which have been in the hands of one family for a century or more, and those which were bought after the abolition of slavery by newcomers to the Recôncavo or by those who already had plantations and at a time of falling value bought new ones from the creditors who had taken them over from their former owners for debt. In both cases title passed free and clear. The common form of inheritance is for one half of the estate to go to the widow and the other half to be divided among other heirs.

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A century ago, it was common for plantation masters to have extensive holdings, not only in the Recôncavo, but also in other parts of the state, as well as houses and even commercial buildings in the city of Salvador. In addition to this,

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

162 563 compose most of the population of the Recôncavo today. In 1940 the population of the Centro-Litoral of Bahia--the census area most closely corresponding to the Recôncavo--had the following composition: white, 22 per cent; black, 29 per cent; and others, predominately mulatto, 49 per cent.[12]

175 439 567 436 276 [203] [249] The purchase of large quantities of slaves required the production of a commodity which could be used as exchange in Africa. The indigenous tobacco proved eminently suitable for this purpose. Although rum apparently was used also in this trade, tobacco became the essential source of exchange for the slave traffic.[13] Bahia was the main area of tobacco production, and probably most of this production was localized in the Recôncavo.[14]

175 244 433 [567] The initial period of settlement saw also the incorporation of manioc[15] into the agricultural economy as a staple. Like tobacco, it was an indigenous crop. Thus one indigenous crop was adopted to purchase slaves in Africa and another to feed them in Brazil. By 1587 manioc apparently was being cultivated on a moderate scale in Bahia.[16] A recurring theme in the history of the Recôncavo is the shortage of this essential foodstuff.

241 262 175 433 In addition to the principal crops--sugar, tobacco, and manioc--a number of lesser agricultural products were important in the early history of the Recôncavo. Corn, beans, and bananas were grown on a small scale and used to supplement the manioc diet. Other diversifications of the diet were provided by meat and fish. Cattle were maintained to draw the ox carts and to power many of the cane mills. For lighter tasks asses and mules were used.

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178 249 433 Out of this complex of Portuguese settlers and Negro slaves, of old world and new world crops, there developed certain characteristic agricultural enterprises. The engenho--old world in the origin of its

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 (4) The field is burned for the last time, and as new cane or grass appears, it is used as pasture.

(5) After one year of pasture, sometimes more, the field is replanted to cane.

[527] The length of the harvest varies. It begins with a festa (festival in the first week of September and continues as long as there is cane and as long as the heavy rains hold off--usually about six months.

249 311 Within the sugar cane area most of the land is in cane or in temporary fallow pasture except: (1) very wet bottom lands; (2) steep slopes; (3) villages; and (4) the lands and yards occupied by the mills. The general aspect of this area is that of an unbroken sea of cane. Single fields are often large--a square kilometer is not uncommon--but they are divided into separate plots. The cultivation of other crops within the sugar cane area is very limited. Small house gardens for the laborers are common, but other commercial agricultural forms of land use are rare.

249 423 257 184 Land holdings, as will be seen, generally are large under this system. The orientation of the sugar industry in São Filipe is somewhat different than in the zone discussed above. Properties are smaller, the monocultural aspect less dominant, and the whole sugar economy more primitive. There were eighty-two small sugar mills in this area in 1940, compared to the eight large usinas of Santo Amaro. [273] Many of these produced crude sugar (rapadura) rather than the refined sugar or cane brandy (cachaça) which are the main products of the zone north of the Bay.

245 The Cultivation of Coconuts. The final important agricultural system of the Recôncavo is the coconut monoculture, a less highly organized permanent culture than the sugar cane system.

249 which it is hauled by railroad or boat to the mill, although sometimes
497 the cane which is carried by boat is weighed at the mill. The rail-
505 roads which handle the cane, as has been indicated, are owned and
496 operated by the usinas, except that the government right-of-way is
471 used whenever these tracks pass close to the plantations. One of the
249 usinas is new and a few of the older mills have some new equipment, but the general level of technology is considerably below that of Pernarbuco or São Paulo, and the mills are somewhat smaller. The usinas grind the cane, extract the juices, and refine the sugar by means of vacuum pans and centrifuges. The more modern usinas produce a high quality sugar, but in general the product is coarse and not a pure white.
274 The by-products of the large usinas and part or all of the cane juice
385 of some of the usinas and engenhos is converted into rum or commercial
262 alcohol. The sugar, rum, and alcohol from the sugar industry of the
273 Recôncavo are consumed primarily within the Recôncavo and the adjoining
438 regions of Bahia. About one-tenth of the production of sugar is
439 exported, chiefly to Rio de Janeiro. The commercial alcohol usually
382 is mixed with gasoline in the bulk plants in Salvador to provide fuel
385 for automotive transport. By law a specified amount of commercial
654 alcohol must be mixed with gasoline--this is designed to subsidize the sugar industry.

249 There are twenty usinas in the Recôncavo, and these produced
471 an estimated 80 per cent of the total sugar of the state of Bahia in
433 1948. The three largest of these are owned by a single sugar company, which also owns the associated plantations, transportation equipment, and cattle fazendas. This company plays an important role in the
249 marketing of sugar from its own usinas and from other companies. The
471 concentration of the cultivation of sugar cane and of the production
178 of sugar in the hands of this single enterprise is a symptom of the

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Private Plantation]

*249 Then everyone dons his best and the
517 women dance while the men play the drums, tambourines, and
535 cavaquinhos (a ukelelelike instrument) or simply stand around
534 watching, gossiping and "passing the branquinha" (the local white rum).

• 273 There is a hierarchy of personnel on the plantation, which starts with the owner, Dona Sinhá, and her family. On other plantations the owner is also sometimes a lawyer, doctor, or
*249 engineer whose main interests, both economic and social, are
463 in the city of Salvador. This is not always the case, however, for many owners are only rural proprietors, as is Dona Sinhá. But it is always considered a sacrifice to be obliged to
[227] spend the winter on one's plantation. It has been a traditional prerogative of the plantation master to spend the winter in the city, and it is one of the traditions kept up today by the planters. However, as soon as the rains show signs of abating in August or September, Dona Sinhá appears on the scene, generally grateful for her release from the city and from the round of anniversaries, parties, and official functions she feels called upon to attend while there.

This aspect of partial absenteeism has given rise to the next rung in the hierarchical ladder: the overseer. As such he is a relatively new phenomenon, but he has actually been part of the scene for a long time. At the time of the engenho, the feitor-mor, or head foreman, frequently occupied the place of today's overseer. Seu Paulo is the focal point for most activities on Fazenda das Moças. It is he who puts into action Dona Sinhá's plans, for he has the greatest contact with the workers in the fields and at home, on the arruado (the street on which the houses are located). During the time Dona Sinhá is away
* he is ruler of the plantation (dono da terra).

249 Seu Paulo rose from the workers' ranks; he is familiar with all aspects of sugar-cane cultivation, and is able to handle
463 men and to deal with the owner as well as with the workers.
159 He is a dark mulatto, about forty-six years old, with a large family. He is sought after by the workers as godfather to their children. He rents a small piece of land on which he raises his own sugar cane. He has his own burros, oxen, and carts, which he rents to Dona Sinhá during the harvest season. Although unable to read or write, he can do figures in his head in an astounding fashion. He dresses well, in what is sometimes thought to be an attempt to imitate the plantation master of bygone days, while Dona Sinhá and her family have adopted a more comfortable garb for the country--"modo ameri-

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584 intimation of its course. The meeting may finally be arranged at the house of an older female friend. If the two are genuinely interested in each other they may allow the fact to become public, and if the parents are pleased they will in due course [836] be married. Otherwise the girl may keep the whole affair a secret, and after a period of flirtation have an affair with the [263] boy and become pregnant. Any girl who refuses to eat pepper is immediately suspected of pregnancy, and inquiries are [843] made.

*565 When a Class C family wishes to celebrate some occasion such as a birthday, anniversary, or the time in which the twin 574 saints Cosme and Damião are feasted, the woman's friends and any nearby female relatives come in to help her cook. 252 Guests are invited by the husband. The preparation of all 262 food must be done by hand, the chickens killed, cleaned, and [476] plucked, the beans shelled, the shrimp and fish cleaned, the farina cakes made, and the popular liqueurs (licores) prepared [273] by soaking various kinds of fruit in bottles of rum and syrup. At such parties the traditional, favorite Bahian dishes of vatapá, acarejé, carurú, abará, cuscus, and the many moquecas, are served. All these are appetizing, but take much time [251] to prepare and cannot be made too far in advance, for there *565 is no way of preserving food. Unless the household is particularly wealthy, the family seldom gives parties; many never 574 manage to give one. Dancing forms an important part of the 535 festivities. The men bring their drums, tambourines, and guitars, while the women sing and dance the samba. In the rural [369] area, social dancing in mixed couples is rare, but in town it is a common form.

*565 A family may take care of an aged mother, father, or even godparent, or of some other relative on either side. Such a 888 person is well cared for within the family means. Most people 736 in Vila Recôncavo are generous toward others who are in some way unfortunate, and help them if they can. There is little or no complaint if the household has to take in an infirm or aged relative; most people say that the same may happen to them one day and they will have to be taken care of. Perhaps the old person helped them in some way in the past when they needed aid and is now being repaid. Or if some older person wants to live alone, a group of neighbors and relatives all help in preparing meals and supplying food and other wants over an extended period of time. There is no case in Vila Recôncavo of an elderly person being sent to a public institution.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

794 ("guide") and a protector who, if she obeys the prescribed rituals and taboos, may bring her, it is thought, much fortune and happiness. "Look at me!" exclaimed a newly "made" *filha*. "My *orixá* is the greatest of all the *orixás*. He's powerful. I'm a black woman and can't read or write. But I'm living with a man *formado* in the Faculdade de Medicina. See what Oxalá did for me!"

794 As has already been noted, the rituals and ceremonies of
796 the cult are serious and dignified and carried on in accord-
[562] ance with fixed traditional forms. Among the essential elements of the Gêge-Nagô ceremonies is the rigid separation of spectators according to sex. The males always occupy the seats to the left of the drums, the females those to the right.
[273] No drunkenness or obscenity is permitted. Said a member of a Nagô *seita*, "If they drink *cachaça* in a *candomblé*, you may know it is not well organized." Once at a ceremony at Gantois an intoxicated man forced his way through the crowd into the *barracão*. Immediately, the *mãe de santo* who was presiding signaled to two *ogans* who, calling out of the crowd a police official, promptly ejected the intruder.[9]

794 The *filhas de santo* before beginning a ceremonial dance
576 make obeisance to the *pae* or *mãe de santo* by dropping to their knees and bowing their heads to the ground before the leader of their cult. Similar obeisance is also made to visiting *paes* or *mães de santo* or other honored personages of the fetish world and, occasionally, to the *ogans*.

794 When, during the ceremonial dance an *orixá* "arrives in
796 the head" of a *filha*, she must, after the first violent seizure
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[9] Such romanticized accounts of fetish cult ceremonies as that given by
[114] Graça Aranha and uncritically quoted by Vera Kelsey (*Seven Keys to Brazil* [New York, 1940], pp. 27–28), if they have any basis in fact at all, owe it to the disintegration of formerly wholesome cultural forms now characteristic of certain *macumba* centers of Rio de Janeiro.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 which it is hauled by railroad or boat to the mill, although sometimes
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471 concentration of the cultivation of sugar cane and of the production
178 of sugar in the hands of this single enterprise is a symptom of the

796
*794 supposedly there is competition among them as to which night
[565] will be the loveliest. This becomes more expensive each year, however, and the patrons are becoming less willing to donate money. This festival is most enjoyed by the lower classes. It is avoided by members of Class B, who in many instances are nevertheless called upon to be patrons.

796 The festival takes on a carnival aspect each night, with
[525] booths set up in the streets by professional people from Salvador and Centro. The booths have wheels of fortune and
•[275] guessing games, and sell sweets and drinks. After the religious celebration in the chapel, everyone goes out into the square to talk, play games, and dance.

796 The day before the first Mass of the festival is celebrated,
794 the chapel is thoroughly washed by the women participants of the African cult house, who dress up in their many starched
358 skirts and bandanas and go to the well as a group for water,
[291] which they take to the chapel to throw on the floor. A few little barefoot girls wash down the floor with brooms. After the
[535] washing the women go out dancing in the streets. They dance
*[565] on every street in town and ask for alms. This entire procedure, known as the lavagem (washing), is much frowned upon by members of Class B.

796 Most of the ordinary town life ceases during these nine days, for everyone is tired after staying up so late at night. The day of the patron saint of the town falls during this festival, and is passed over with nothing more than a simple Mass celebrated in the mother church in his honor. The people of the rural area of this parish do not observe the day of the patron saint
[794] at all. The day after the nine-day festival, a group of young men go out dancing and singing in the streets, asking for alms to make a large feijoada (feast of beans) at night. This is called mazorra (the clowns). After this the men settle down again to their fishing, for by now their money is all used up.

The next festival on the calendar is the second of February, when the nearby towns of Centro, Conselho, and Morro celebrate the day of their patron saint. People from Vila Recôncavo go to one or another of these three towns, although not
[778] in great numbers. The majority go to Conselho, which has the reputation of being a holy place, and to which pilgrimages are frequently made.

*[565] All festivities end during Lent, which is quietly observed. It is interesting to note that Carnaval, which takes place the
[184] three days before Lent, is observed in Vila Recôncavo only among members of Class A.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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The purchase of large quantities of slaves required the produc-
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In addition to the principal crops--sugar, tobacco, and
241 262 manioc--a number of lesser agricultural products were important in the
175 433 early history of the Recôncavo. Corn, beans, and bananas were grown on a small scale and used to supplement the manioc diet. Other diversi-
231 fications of the diet were provided by meat and fish. Cattle were maintained to draw the ox carts and to power many of the cane mills. For lighter tasks asses and mules were used.

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[113] [12]Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, No. 8 (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço Gráfico do Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatistica, 1949), pp. 59-80.
[114] The Zona Fisiográfica Centro-Litoral (Central-Littoral Physiographic zone) is one of a series of nine so-called physiographic zones used as major subdivisions in Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, No. 8. It includes all 21 of the Recôncavo municípios, and 17 others.

[13]Amaral, op. cit., II, 367.

[14]Amaral, op. cit., II, 366, and Calogeras, op. cit., p. 31.

[137] [15]Manihot utilissima, called cassava, manioc, or, sometimes, tapioca in English and mandioca in Portuguese.

[16]Amaral, op. cit., II, 11-12.

[17]Prado, op. cit., pp. 40-41.

[18]Minas, Yorbes, Geges, Hausa, and other Guinea Coast peoples.
[113] See T. Lynn Smith, Brazil: People and Institutions (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1946), pp. 168-169.

[794] [19]African religions, for example, survive in a modified form in
[791] the candomblé (fetish) cults and in the supernatural conceptions prevalent in the Recôncavo.

[20]Neither the total number of slaves imported into Brazil nor the number brought to the Recôncavo is known. Calogeras, op. cit., pp. 27-28, estimates the number as 40,000 per year in the seventeenth century, 50,000 per year in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, or 14,000,000 for the 300 years of the slave trade. Another source has estimated that 1,200,000 slaves were imported between 1550 and 1850, a more reasonable figure. See section by Pedro Calmon in Curious and Interesting Facts Concerning the First European Settlement Made in the New World, p. 9. It is also asserted in this latter source that "more than half remained in Bahia;" this is less reasonable.

[21]Prado, op. cit., p. 46.

[276] [22]A rope-like twist of dark, often sweetened, tobacco wound in a large coil of 50 to 100 lbs.

[23]At the end of the seventeenth century Bahia was exporting 7,500 tons of sugar per year; Pernambuco 5,400 tons, and Rio de Janeiro 5,350 tons. At this same period Bahia exported 25,000 rolls of tobacco (perhaps 1,125 tons at 45 kg. per roll) compared with 2,500 rolls from Pernambuco and Alagoas. Calogeras, op. cit., p. 31.

[433] [24]Calogeras, op. cit., pp. 30-31, cites João Antonil, Cultura e Opulencia do Brasil, por sus Drogas e Minas (1711), who says that in 1711 the mean sugar export--which must have been virtually the entire production--per engenho in Bahia was 52 tons, in Rio de Janeiro 41 tons, and in Pernambuco 22 tons. The weight is given in arrobas by Calogeras.

[25]Amaral, op. cit., II, 84.

[26]Calogeras, op. cit., pp. 38-39.

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221 (6) In June, as the rains increase and as the seedlings are ready, the soil in the field is again broken, and small ridges about 18 inches apart are made with a hoe. Occasionally manure is put into the hills at this stage in place of earlier fertilization. Then the young seedlings are planted in the ridges and a small quantity of water added. Ten days or two weeks later there is a replanting where the original seedings have failed.

(7) A few days later the ridges are further hilled up. Thereafter the field is kept clean with a hoe.

(8) When tips begin to form, about two months after planting--late July or early August--the plant is topped so that six to ten leaves remain.

(9) About three weeks later the whole upper stalk is harvested. Two or three shoots near the ground are then allowed to develop. These shoots are topped, and eventually their leaves are harvested. As many as eight separate harvests are made from the shoots, and often this form of harvest continues into December.

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276 (10) The harvested tobacco is tied to a long pole or rack and hung under the roof of the dwelling, beneath the eaves, or occasionally in separate thatch and adobe "barns." If the weather is damp, a fire is used to hasten drying. After they are thoroughly dried, perhaps three or four weeks, the leaves are cut down and stripped from the stalks. They are then graded, tied into bundles, and laid aside until they are sold, or if the farmer is a large producer, until a fermenta-
[442] tion bulk is assembled. The entire season's harvest is piled on the stack, and it is sold to the buyer at the end of the year.

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244 The sequence of cultivation following the harvesting of tobacco is as follows:

(1) The field is turned with a hoe--if some tobacco plants are

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 crop of poor tobacco without the application of manure. Commercial
244 fertilizers are beyond the means of all but a very small minority of
237 cultivators. Those large growers who have experimented with commercial fertilizers report unfavorable results, presumably because of excessive leaching in the porous soils.

249 (3) The system of seed selection is illustrative of the general crudity of cultivation. As indicated above, the seeds are taken from the old and repeatedly harvested plants of the preceding season. The only criterion for selection is survival--the seed plant continued to produce longer than the rest of the crop. This does not mean that it produced more leaf or better quality--indeed, the opposite is often
[654] the case. Occasionally better seeds are available from the federal or
[242] state government, but the cultivators take little interest.

(4) The practice of harvesting the entire stalk or shoot at one time increases the variation in quality, since there are appreciable differences in the stages of development of the leaves. Immature leaves do not cure properly, while overripe leaves will produce only inferior grades.

249 (5) The primitive methods of drying and fermenting further re-
276 duce the quality of the leaf. Where the leaves are dried indoors over the fire, they acquire a smoky character. Frequently the debts of the
[424] cultivator force him to sell part of his crop prematurely so that a bulk large enough for fermentation is not assembled. On the other hand, if a large bulk of leaf is accumulated for curing and fermentation, there is always the risk of scorching, since thermometers are never used to check the temperature. A common abuse, and a costly one to the cultivator, results from delay in stringing the leaf up to dry. If the freshly cut leaves are allowed to remain piled in the sun before hanging, the green color is fixed. This damage cannot be

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 [276] removed by drying or by fermentation, and the leaves are very bitter.

(6) There is a constant but generally ineffective struggle [136] against insects which damage the tobacco crop. The most serious pest is the ant, which not only cuts the leaves but which also covers whole plants with extensive mounds. A number of plant diseases are common in the Recôncavo--their general effect is to reduce quality rather than to destroy the crop. The effects of plant diseases generally are masked by the much greater damage which occurs in cultivation and processing.

241 (7) The practices of land clearing, soil preparation, planting, harvesting, and curing, discussed above, are more highly standardized than is the sequence of land use. The "ideal" land use sequence is more characteristic of the zone of tobacco and manioc south of the Rio Paraguaçu--the Southwestern Recôncavo--than north of it. This land use sequence has been used as a standard of comparison because it is practiced where the highest quality of tobacco is grown and because it was the most commonly observed practice in most other parts of the tobacco-manioc region. However, even in this southwestern area, departures from the "ideal" sequence are relatively common--the introduction of corn and/or beans between tobacco and manioc is especially important. The sequence which is followed after tobacco cultivation depends not only upon the relative price of farinha de mandioca, corn, and beans, but also on the amount of fertilizer applied to the tobacco plot the previous year. Moreover, the chosen sequence will depend upon the original quality of the soil. In Cruz das Almas, at least, corn and beans were not planted in the old tobacco field unless the cultivator felt assured that the fertility was reasonably certain. If substantial risks were involved, manioc was planted.[6]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 in meeting his contract with the agent. The result of this and other
442 speculative practices is that the price of tobacco tends to spiral upwards
438 throughout the season.
452
455 The crop is delivered to the buyer in small lots--10 to 15 kilo-
249 grams--which are assembled, graded, and baled. The bales are taken to
276 the warehouse of the agent where they are added to other bales to form
438
442 a large pile in which fermentation can take place. After fermentation the bales are broken, and the leaf is re-sorted. With the better grades the sorting is done very carefully, and a large number of size and texture grades are separated. Intermediate grades are sorted less carefully, often by bundles rather than by individual leaves. The poorest grades are stripped without grading. After sorting or stripping, the leaf is again placed in bales and kept in the warehouse until transport can be arranged to deliver the tobacco to Salvador or to the cigar factories.

249 Most of the tobacco produced in the Recôncavo is exported. In the
433 years 1946 to 1950, inclusive, 166,676 tons of leaf tobacco were produced
439 in Bahia and 128,567 tons were exported, so that about 75 per cent of the total crop of the state was exported.[2] However, the exported leaf is made up of the choice tobaccos, that is "Mata Fina," which are largely grown in the Recôncavo. It may be concluded from this that at least four-fifths of the tobacco crop of the Recôncavo was exported during this years. Tobacco exported from the Recôncavo normally composes 70 per cent of all the tobacco exported from Brazil. In value, the tobacco exported from the Recôncavo was less than 1 per cent of the total exports of all products from Brazil.[3]

482 Transportation. The backs of men and of animals are the basic
492 transportation media in the Recôncavo: almost all goods begin and end
489

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 Processing of Agricultural Products. Each of the three principal
252 crops of the Recôncavo require processing before it can be consumed.
• 276 Sugar cane and manioc are highly perishable, and both are processed in their entirety within the region. Tobacco, once it is fermented, can be stored for longer periods, so that there is no necessity for immediate processing within the Recôncavo. Sugar cane is processed in large usinas and to a lesser extent in engenhos (primitive sugar mills). Tobacco
[277] products are fabricated in small-scale home industries and in factories. Manioc is converted into farinha de mandioca in very small mills.

249 The cultivation, transportation, and processing of sugar cane
489 require an integrated system in which there is some form of centralized
471 administration. The larger usinas own and operate most of the surrounding cane plantations and the associated transportation system, and administration is direct. Where cane is purchased from furnishers--privately-owned plantations--the mill specifies the type of cane which it will buy and the schedule of delivery. Most of the sugar cane in the Recôncavo is processed by usinas, which produce sugar, rum, and alcohol. However, there are a number of engenhos and a few smaller usinas which specialize in the production of rum or crude sugar. The engenhos are most important around the margins of the main sugar cane area north of the Bay and in Cachoeira and São Félix, but the usinas dominate the core area of cane production in Santo Amaro, São Francisco, and São Sebastião. Within the core area the big usinas generally are located near but not on the main railroads, although a few are situated near the shore of the Bay.

[249 The harvested sugar cane generally is delivered to smaller mills
492 by the grower, usually on ox carts. The larger mills receive their
249 cane via the railroad or the Bay. In these cases the cane is trans-
499 ported by ox cart from the cane fields to a weighing station, from
505

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 311 [134] Commercial sugar cane cultivation is confined to the humid Coastal Plain areas with Cretaceous clay soils, except for a small area in São Filipe. Since the areas of Cretaceous clay soils are limited and compact, sugar cane production is highly localized in two areas: (1) the main sugar cane area in the municípios of Santo Amaro, São Francisco, and São Sebastião; and (2) a smaller area north of the Bacia do Iguape in the município of Cachoeira. There is a third area of less intensive production in southern São Filipe.

249 244 [433] The sole purpose of cultivation in the sugar cane area is the production of a commercial product, but the areas of tobacco-manioc cultivation produce both a staple food and a commodity for sale outside the region. Most of the tobacco and manioc of the Recôncavo are produced under a land rotation system in which the sequence is: (1) tobacco; (2) manioc; and (3) fallow in wild vegetation. The tobacco is planted in small fields, usually after an application of manure. The entire plant is harvested repeatedly until it will no longer produce a salable leaf. Manioc is planted following tobacco, sometimes several times, until the field is exhausted and abandoned to the second growth. The fallow period is frequently short, sometimes as little as one year. Cultivation is entirely by hand--no plows are used. There is very little selection of seed, and only one variety of tobacco--Bahia Brasil--is [423] [427] produced. Tobacco and manioc are produced almost exclusively by small cultivators who are either owners or renters. Frequently livestock [231] [233] are raised upon the properties of the cultivators, but except for the use of manure in the cultivation of tobacco, there is little integration of crop and livestock production. The leaf is harvested, dried, • 276 and partially fermented by the cultivator. The marketing of tobacco 276 438 is inseparable from the credit arrangement between the cultivator and [452] [488] the tobacco buyer or agent. The leaf is delivered by the producer to the storekeeper-buyer or the local tobacco warehouse.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Some masters preferred to have their slaves, on the payment of a small sum, punished by the civil authorities.[51] Gardner remarked that "many of the crimes for which only a few lashes are awarded, are of such a nature that in England would bring upon the perpetrator either death or transportation."[52]

It was customary each week to grant slaves, in addition to their regular food, an allowance of tobacco.[53] On the large estates certain hospital facilities,[54] and nurseries for Negro children were maintained.[55] Accounts of white mistresses who themselves attended to the sick among their slaves are numerous.[56] The *amas* (nurses) were often "emancipated as soon as their work was over, and nearly always continued to live in freedom under the same roof with their masters and to have various privileges."[57] "The aged Negroes were only employed in light occupations; during the remainder of their time they chatted with the master's young children, telling

[51] Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[52] *Ibid.*

[53] Prince Adalbert, *Travels of Prince Adalbert of Prussia*, trans. from *Aus meinem Tagebuche, 1842–1843* (Berlin, 1847), by Robert H. Schomburgk and John Edward Taylor (2 vols.; London, 1849), II, 37. Prince Adalbert noted on the coffee plantation Aldea, near Novo Friburgo, that "every evening, when their work is done, the slaves light fires in the rooms set apart for them, around which they sit for hours, even after the severest day's work, all talking and smoking, women as well as men."

[54] *Ibid.*, p. 36. "In the hospital, the hall and rooms for the two sexes were separated. A Negro woman was lying on a mat, with her little 'negrinho' at her breast, to which she had given birth only the night before. 'In a few days she will be able to resume work,' said the Doctor to Count Bismarck. In the men's room, there were four or five patients, suffering from accidents of various kinds" (coffee plantation Aldea, near Novo Friburgo).

[55] C. C. Andrews, *Brazil, Its Condition and Prospects* (2d ed.; New York, 1889), p. 164.

[56] Note, e.g., Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[57] Lacerda, *op. cit.*, p. 379.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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A Negro dressed in black is a black vulture with a cape.

A Negro is a *pau de fumo*.[2]

The Negro if he doesn't soil things on entering, soils them before he leaves.

Negro, *onça*'s food.

The following verses of a similar character also are recalled:

The Negro has hair
Which lard will not flatten;
The more he combs it,
The more it kinks.

A Nagô Negro when he dies
Is carried off in a banguê;[3]
His relatives say,
"The vultures have to eat."

An old Negro when he dies
Smells like a skunk;
Our Lady, don't let
That Negro into Heaven!

A Negro when he dies
Is laid out in a shirttail;
His relatives say,
"A poor man has no need of luxury."

The odor of a Negro woman
Comes from two places:
The armpit
And the heel.

If the priest is white, he says Mass;
But if he is a Negro, he only pretends to be saying it.[4]

[2] A piece of wood around which raw tobacco is wrapped for transport. It subsequently turns very black. [276]

[3] A crude litter used in colonial Brazil to carry the bodies of dead slaves, to transport building materials, etc. [493]

[4] An informant explained this line thus: "If he acted as if he was saying Mass, he was merely pretending, for he had not learned how to say it."

5: Azevedo--105 D. Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[Salvador]

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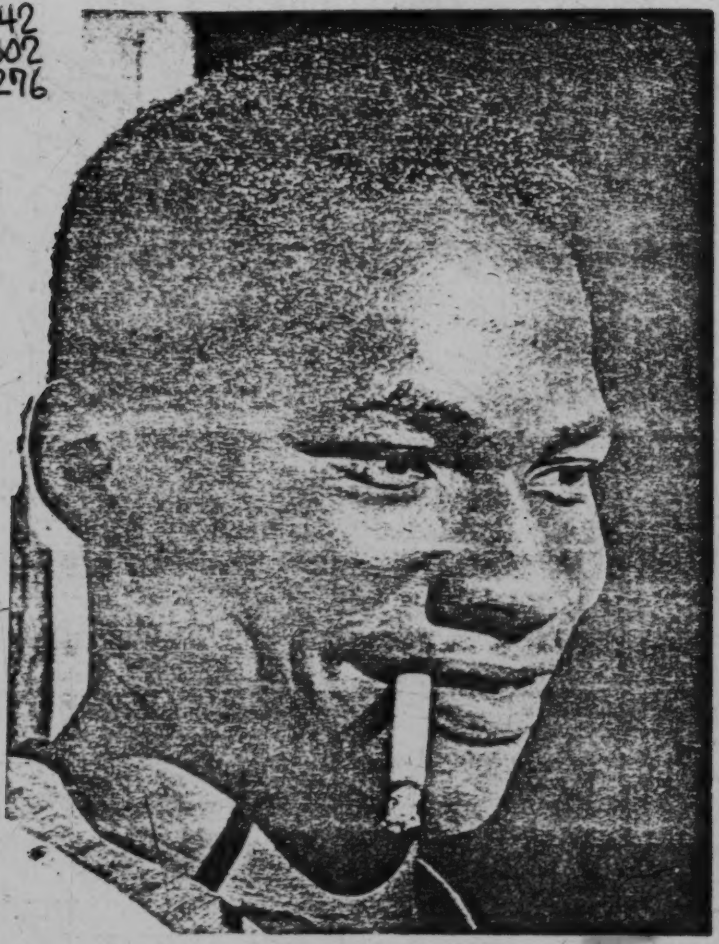

9. Black artist.

277

277 TOBACCO INDUSTRY--industrialized production of tobacco; specialized techniques and equipment; organization of labor and production; regulation; etc.

See also:

Growing of tobacco 145
Industrial structures 341
Manufacture of tobacco manufacturing machines . 782
Description of tobacco processing machines . . 402
Government tobacco monopolies 655

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
East Brazil SN1
Northeast Brazil SO1
Brazil SL1

EB NB 175 249 257 B 175 654 249 257 B [647]

In the first quarter of the twentieth century this competition of the more efficient and centrally located sugar industry of the Central-South threatened to bankrupt the Northeast.[44] Because the nation feared that a collapse of the sugar economy in the Northeast would destroy the social and economic base of these states, steps were taken to stabilize the industry. In 1933 the Instituto do Açúcar e do Álcool (Institute of Sugar and Alcohol) was created as a semi-autonomous branch of the federal government. Its purpose was to stabilize prices, maintain an equilibrium of production through quotas, and to control foreign sale of sugar. The effect of this program has been to subsidize the less efficient industry of the Northeast at the expense of the industry of the Central-South.

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During World War II temporary disruption of the national production quota system allowed the Central-South to expand, an advance which it continued to maintain after the war. This expansion limited the markets available to the sugar industry of the Northeast.

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In Bahia the relative decline in sugar production, begun in the 1860's, continued steadily except for a break during and following World War I. In 1952 the mills of Bahia produced only 60,279 tons of (white) sugar of a total Brazilian production of 1,785,017 tons.[45]

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While the sugar industry of the Recôncavo was losing markets in the initial half of the twentieth century, the tobacco industry was able to maintain and in some cases even to expand its markets. Although the maximum level of export of Brazilian tobacco was reached in 1902 (50,000 tons), the decline thereafter was only moderate, and the export was stabilized, except for World War II, at about 30,000 tons, 80 per cent of which was from Bahia. In 1865 the first cigarette factory in Bahia had been founded.[46] Small operators had produced cigars for some time, but by the beginning

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1

BB 175 277 472 of the twentieth century there were four cigarette factories and twelve cigar factories in the Recôncavo.[47]

BB 647 249 654 656 As was characteristic for other products in Brazil, a semi-autonomous government organization was set up to stabilize the tobacco industry in Bahia--the Instituto Bahiano do Fumo (Bahian Institute of Tobacco). Founded in 1935, the Instituto attempts to stimulate the production and improvement of techniques and quality, supervise marketing through a grading system, set minimum prices, and control export of leaf tobacco. Although the Instituto has not succeeded in changing significantly the techniques of the tobacco industry, it has been reasonably successful in maintaining production and price.

BB 175 178 249 245 Just as Bahia had been displaced from its leading position within Brazil, so in turn was the Recôncavo displaced from its exalted position within the state. Tobacco replaced sugar as Bahia's leading commercial product in the nineteenth century, but forfeited its position to cacao in the twentieth century. The replacement of sugar by tobacco was primarily a shift within the Recôncavo, but the rise of cacao brought to the fore Bahia's southern coast. In one sense, however, the Recôncavo retained its old centrality—Salvador remains today the leading political and economic focus of the state, even for the cacao trade.

BB 433 249 BB 161 162 The continued importance of the Recôncavo in Bahia has been partially the result of the vested interests of the sugar and tobacco systems. In addition, the Recôncavo remains today the leading center of population in Bahia, despite its relative decline. In 1872 the Recôncavo had at least 450,000 out of a total state population of 1,379,616. Thereafter the position of the Recôncavo declined, so that by 1940 only one-fourth of the almost four million people of the state lived in this region. However, the compact population

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The other urban centers of the Recôncavo:

633 [162] [443]

	1950 Population
Maragogipe	9,744
Muritiba	7,452
Cruz das Almas	6,758
São Gonçalo	3,771

[277] are all local trade and cigar manufacturing centers. Maragogipe is a [504] port of minor importance.[37] The other urban centers have inland loca- [361] tions, near the inner edge of the Crystalline Uplands.[38]

Near the Recôncavo are four urban centers which have minor but appreciable effect upon its agricultural economy:

[162]

	1950 Population
Santo Antônio de Jesus	11,417
Nazaré	11,215
Castro Alves	6,479
Serrinha	4,602

Santo Antônio de Jesus and Nazaré are located along the southern periphery of the Recôncavo, and Castro Alves and Serrinha on the southwestern and northwestern periphery, respectively. All these centers [496] are on one of Bahia's two main railroads, both of which terminate at the Bay—at Salvador or at São Roque do Paraguaçu.[39]

633 In 1950 the nine major urban centers of the Recôncavo had 464 100,000 to 120,000 workers in industry, transportation, and merchan- 433 dising.[40] In all cities of the Recôncavo, except Salvador, the [162] industrial workers almost exclusively were engaged in processing agricultural products--in sugar refining, cigar manufacturing, and [231] slaughtering. Except for some of the animals slaughtered in Feira de [241] Santana and the poorer grades of tobacco brought in from the sertão, these agricultural products originate in the Recôncavo.

The industrial structure of Salvador is more complex. It processes agricultural products from the Recôncavo, but also from other parts of the state, notably cacao. There is a small textile industry. It is probable that the majority of the industrial workers are employed in numerous small service industries which supply Salvador

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

258 but also because the manioc roots are too heavy and bulky to be trans-
[438] ported over long distances. Moreover, the market for farinha de mandioca is generally local, except in the Southwestern Recôncavo.

258 The capital investment in a casa de farinha is small, usually
471 less than one hundred dollars, but this sum is far beyond the reach of
[454] most cultivators. The mills are built by owners of medium-sized land holdings or local merchants, and are operated on a share basis. The mill owner usually receives one-tenth of the finished product in exchange
[427] for the use of the mill equipment. The customer rents the equipment
[464] rather than the service and must therefore provide the labor, although
[592] the owner usually furnishes one or two workers. Generally the processing
[462] of manioc is a family operation in which the women and girls scrape the roots and the men and boys perform the more arduous tasks.

• 277 Most of the tobacco which is grown in the Recôncavo is exported
[439] in the form of leaf. Therefore, the processing of tobacco is less important in relation to the cultivation of tobacco than is the processing of manioc and sugar in relation to their respective cultivation. The leaf tobacco which is retained in the area is made into cigars in home industries and in a number of cigar factories. The home-produced cigars are made by tobacco cultivators and small-scale processors in the villages, towns, and cities of the region. These cigars are generally
[443] very cheap and are sold in the local mercado (market) or in small vendas (shops). It is difficult to assess the total importance of this form of processing, but it seems likely that the number of cigars so made is extremely large.

277 The cigar factories of the Recôncavo are located in the cidades of São Gonçalo, Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, and Maragogipe. Each of the
[464] factories employs from 100 to 200 workers, usually women from the surrounding area. Machines are used to produce the cheaper grades;

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

277 the more expensive varieties are hand made. The fillers and inner wrappers of the cigars are made from local tobaccos. Local leaf also [439] is used to a very limited extent for the outer wrappers, but almost all of the high quality cigars are made from wrapper leaf imported [471] from Havana, Sumatra, or the Connecticut Valley. The ownership of all the cigar factories is concentrated in three companies, all of which [439] have their headquarters in Salvador. The cigars produced in the Recôncavo are sold throughout Brazil.

182 43 44 184 Conclusion. Many of the features of the systems of marketing, transportation, and processing which are characteristic of the Recôncavo are effective in unifying the region. In particular, the centralized marketing and economic control of the production and processing of tobacco and sugar draw both the tobacco and manioc region and the sugar cane region closer to Salvador. At the same time, the differences in marketing techniques and the separate channels of control which are associated with these two products accentuate the sub-regional pattern 182 of the two crop regions. The system of general marketing exemplified 438 443 by the municipal markets might at first glance seem to be a focus 184 for local rather than regional interests. However, as has been seen, there are itinerant merchants who pass from market to market throughout the Recôncavo. Moreover, the major public markets, such as Feira de Santana and Salvador, draw large numbers of people from most of the rural sections. Even the local marketing institutions contribute to the identification of the people of this area with the region.

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249 industry than the aristocrats, as the partial rationalization of the
565 sugar system since 1900 testifies. However, the entry of even these
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571 relatively progressive and forward-looking business men into an industry whose only future is that guaranteed by the protection of the government does not reveal a willingness either to accept short-term risks or to make an investment in the long-term future of the Recôncavo.

175 Tobacco, as has been seen, began its history as an auxiliary of
277 the sugar cane economy. The development of the commercial tobacco
433
439 economy since 1800 indicates a greater flexibility than is characteristic
[567] of the sugar industry. When the decline of the slave trade brought an end to the African market for fumo em corda, the tobacco economy turned
277 to a new product, fumo em fôlha, and to a new market, Europe. Unlike
439 the sugar of the Recôncavo, Bahian tobacco has been able to compete successfully in the European market against leaf imported from Cuba and from Sumatra. Moreover, the leaf tobacco of Bahia dominates the internal market of Brazil to a degree not equaled by the local sugar industry for several centuries.

277 There are several possible explanations for the relatively
472 greater flexibility of the tobacco economy. Several of the more promi-
249
178 nent firms in the manufacturing of cigars and in the export of tobacco have foreign origins or are owned by people of European background. Indirectly these firms may have affected the operation of the tobacco economy, but it is difficult to find any signs of significant changes in the methods of cultivation. On the other hand, the tobacco industry and trade seem to have been spared the unimaginative and inflexible leadership which the aristocratic upper class of the Recôncavo has given to the sugar industry.

249 Tobacco cultivation by its very nature is more flexible than
[457] the system of sugar production. Instead of the usina, which must be

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249 [457] purchased in Europe at the expense of precious foreign exchange, tobacco can be processed for the trade with only a shed and a few crude presses. [489] Rather than a relatively expensive rail net to assemble the crop, tobacco can be carried by truck, small boat, or even by pack animal. More- [433] over, since the cultivation of tobacco is integrated with the production of food and is primarily an activity of small farmers, it is possible to adjust the size of the crop from year to year with a minimum sacrifice of capital investment.

277 The tobacco industry of the Recôncavo has a number of disadvantages as a base for commercial development which may be summarized as problems of: (1) land; (2) markets; and (3) system of production. 249 311 Leaf tobacco production in the Recôncavo and in the adjoining areas of Bahia is confined to a narrow belt between the humid edges of the Up- [134] lands and the dry interior of the state. An expansion toward the coast would bring tobacco first into the Intermediate Hills where the upland soils which are preferred for tobacco cultivation are of limited area and then into the humid lowlands in which the Cretaceous soils are unsuitable, apparently, for the cultivation of quality leaf tobacco. [132] and in which the Tertiary soils are extremely infertile. An expansion westward would bring tobacco into an area where the precipitation in [134] most years is inadequate. The interior north of the tobacco area is dry and has very poor soils, the Tertiary upland soils. There is an [137] opportunity for the further expansion of the cultivation of tobacco toward the southwest along the forest and scrub forest boundary into a region which produces the same general type of tobacco as the Southwestern Recôncavo--the "Mata" grade. This apparently is the meaning of the increased tobacco production in Santo Antônio. It should be possible, at least as far as the soils and climate are concerned, to continue the expansion toward the southwest into the adjoining

249 municípios. However, in this southwestern area the amount of flat land
311 is progressively reduced as the serras of the coffee zone are approached.
[245] Moreover, this region is already occupied by the other commercial systems--coffee, and in a few areas, sugar cane. Thus tobacco would not be moving into an area in which it could have either the land or the labor force without a struggle.

277 Leaf tobacco has a number of disadvantages as a primary commercial
439 product. The Brazilian market for Bahian tobacco is not yet large enough to stabilize the price during years when it is impossible to sell leaf abroad. In Europe the tobacco of Bahia must compete with leaf from other parts of the world, and because the Recôncavo has not yet succeeded in producing a suitable high quality wrapper leaf, it cannot hope to secure the whole market no matter how great its quantity of production. One of the possibilities which is being considered by the tobacco industry is the production of wrapper tobacco, but the experiments which have been completed so far have not been highly successful. Even if the quality of the tobacco were improved, one basic market problem would remain--tobacco is a luxury product, and many countries find it possible to do without it in times of war or economic distress.

249 The basic problem of tobacco production in the immediate future seems almost certain to be the system of cultivation and the land system with which it is connected. As has been seen, in the main centers of production the fallow period is already extremely short. It is not unlikely that the cumulative effect of too short a rotation period under a system of land rotation will reduce the fertility of the soil to a point where normal second growth will not develop and where land rotation, especially with so demanding a crop as tobacco, will be impossible. Moreover, if the intensity of tobacco cultivation should increase, then it seems inevitable that the density of livestock within

[Class C Families]

842 are known to the majority. It was pointed out by the men with a laugh that such things were unprocurable in town because the institute drugstore is run by a friar. They are obtainable in Centro and Salvador, but they are expensive, and the men say they are embarrassed to ask for them. One young couple sent to São Paulo for some injections to be given to the wife to prevent conception, but they did no good. The couple had found an announcement of the injections in a magazine, and since they wanted to limit their family to the one child they already had, they tried other means. They now have three children in spite of their efforts at prevention.

847 There also are local remedies which are supposed to produce abortions. They consist of herbal teas and for the most [278] part are supposed to be effective only up to the third month of pregnancy. Aluman, coqueiro root, orelha de pau, pitanga, mil homem root, and melão de São Caetano are all supposed to be effective. Few women will admit to having used them, although they all know about them. Figures on the number of natural abortions are almost impossible to obtain, for most often there is no record at all. The mother does not go to the doctor; she simply buries tal bobagem (such nonsense) in the 843 back yard. Those who admit having had miscarriages say they came about because of a fall, or frequently because of a great fright such as seeing a snake on the road. Most women do not 841 keep track of their menstrual periods, and according to the 515 town doctor their personal hygiene leaves much to be desired. 864 Little or no information is directly passed between father and sons or mother and daughters concerning sexual matters. Each generation is left to find out for itself.

838 There are a few male sexual aberrants in town, known as "veados" (literally, "deer," but slang for homosexuals), and they are well known. A middle-aged fisherman, Patão, is the center of such activities. He is married and has several children. When his wife found out about his extramarital activities she took the children and left him, terribly shamed. This happened several years ago, and since then this man has worked up quite a trade, mostly among unmarried men, though there are at least three married men who go to him also. [548] Their excuse is that there are not enough women in the town, and since there are no prostitutes they go to him, although they do not like it. The married men say it is because their wives are ill or away, and they do not want complications with some girl. Patão, however, regales the daily gossip groups

4; Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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help me get better, they took me up off the ground.[42] Then my mother called in Mamêdê [the local *pae de santo*], to see what was the matter with me. He came, *abriu a mesa*[43] and said that this had been with me from my birth. My mother then asked him if he could cure it. He said he could. He made her buy plates, *moringues*,[43] beads, cups, coconuts, etc. Then he prepared all that.[44] They washed my head with water from the sacred leaves. My mother asked if he could take that thing away so that it would not come back again. He said he would not dare to do that, or I would die. He said it always came back.

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When it returned, they washed my head again. I did not know what was going on. It was as if I had slept. When I awakened, I was all "prepared": dressed *de creola* with a *saia grande* and a *torso* on my head. Everything red. *Sandalias* too. Everything the same color.

When this happened I was still small. The *pae de santo* said that I was under a spell [*era encanto*]. He "did the work" once more, and I was all right again. But when I was seven years old, it took hold of me once more. My mother was afraid and begged the *pae de santo* to do something about it. She pleaded so earnestly that finally he said he would speak with the enchantment [*encanto*] so that it would not come down any more.

It didn't come back until I was fifteen years old. Then they arranged another dress *de creola*, and also handkerchiefs, strings of beads, bracelets, and *sandalias*. They ordered plates, small glasses, and *quartinhas* bought. When all this was ready, the *pae de santo* washed my head in sacred water. He said it was the "owner of my head" [*dono da minha cabeça*] who had done that to me. There in Cachoeira, across the river from São Felix,[46] is the *casa de Gêge*.[47] The *pae de santo* is the grandson of an African.

[513] [42] That is, she was removed from the reed mat which, placed directly upon the floor of a hut, is extensively used among the poorer families for sleeping purposes.

[285] [43] That is, he set up certain means of divination.

[415] [43] Water pots made of red clay.

[44] That is, he submitted it to the proper ritual.

[361] [46] Cachoeira and São Felix are twin cities, separated by the Paraguassú River, located across the Bay to the north of the city of Bahia.

[794] [47] The *candomblé* of the Gêge cult in which she had now been inducted.

226 long and has ropes on each end 420 feet long. This net demands a large canoe. The usual size in use is 30 feet long.

226 427 Few of the fishermen own their own calão--most rent it from a merchant who has one. It is rented by the master on a long-term basis rather than for just one trip. It is said that the master "toma conta da rede," meaning that he not only is fishing with the net, but also repairs it and dyes it when needed. The owner of the net, who usually also owns the canoe and the paddles, receives 20 per cent of the profits of each 226 trip. The remainder is divided among the six men, although the master and baixador each receive one-third more than the [435] other four. Depending on how the fish are running, the calão may catch as much as Cr$1.000,00 to Cr$1.500,00 worth of fish per trip, or as little as Cr$120,00 worth. Two trips a day are made when the fishing is good. There are only eight of these nets in the town, and they are worth about Cr$1.500,00 apiece. The calãozinho is a smaller net of the same type, sometimes called the redinha, or little net. Although its operation is [178] almost the same as that of the larger net, it requires only four men to maneuver it. However, it is becoming [461] less and less popular as the resse increases in popularity.

On land, good care must be taken of the nets. After the 227 fishing, the nets are carried up along the beach to the drying racks, long lines of poles over which the nets are spread. As they dry the master checks them, looking for holes which he immediately sews with a wooden bobbin and cotton thread. [824] The nets are hand-woven of cotton, and dyed in water in which the bark of the red mangue has soaked. This turns the white cotton a dark reddish brown and protects it from the action of the salt water and the sun. A new net must be soaked in this dye every two or three days, and later every eight days. 227 The resse, abaladeira, and tarrafa are frequently woven by • 286 women, and, unless worked on steadily, these nets may take [462] as long as eight months to make. With steady work a circular (461) casting net can be made in about twelve days. The women are paid Cr$12,00 per box of cotton line which contains twenty-[435] five spools of cotton thread, and it takes five boxes to make an average-size net. The other nets require heavier thread and take much longer to make. The calão and the deep net are made by men, and a year is not considered too long for the [824] manufacture of one. Piassava, a plant fiber which grows in the Recôncavo, is used as line. The fishermen of Vila Recôncavo go to the southwestern part of the bay to purchase it. It 227

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

633 tributary area does not extend beyond the state, it does include the coffee and cacao areas, parts of the São Francisco basin, and the sertão of Bahia. It is the focus of transportation and communication, of finance and administration, and of foreign trade for the entire state. Despite the economic, political, and social pre-eminence of Salvador, a few cities operate quasi-independently in a particular function, notably Ilhéus and Itabuna, in the cacao area.

The next largest cities in the Recôncavo--Feira de Santana and Alagoinhas--are much alike in size, location, and function. Feira de [162] Santana--often called merely Feira--with 26,559 people in 1950, was the second largest city of the Recôncavo and of the state. It is the [543] cite of one of the most famous cattle fairs in Brazil.[33] Alagoinhas is smaller--21,289 people in 1950--and less notable historically. It is the third largest city of the Recôncavo and the fifth largest of the state. One of the common functions of both these cities is trans-
633 494 496 portation. Feira is the railhead of railroads from Salvador and from Cachoeira and is the junction of the Transnordestina trunk highway which crosses the northeast interior of Brazil, with a highway to Salvador and with the only highway from Bahia to Rio de Janeiro. Alagoinhas is the junction where the railraod (Leste) to Senhor do Bonfim and Juàzeiro--on the Rio São Francisco--branches from the main line from Salvador to Maceió, the capital of the state of Alagoas. Just outside Alagoinhas are the main railroad shops of the Leste line
633 369 291 142 (Viação Férrea Federal Leste Brasileiro). The position of these cities, intermediate between the Recôncavo and the sertão, is reflected in the appearance of the people who are met on their streets--dark Recôncavo agriculturalists in straw hats, patched khaki trousers, and wooden clogs and mestiço vaquéiros (cowboys) from the sertão in
633 495 161 their leather hats and vests. Each has a number of postos (garages)

505 The others, barefoot, wearing shorts
[291] and large-brimmed straw hats, are the permanent dwellers of the islands: fishermen, stevedores, and storekeepers.

When the islands are left behind, the scene begins to change.
505 The color of the water changes from a clear, deep blue to a
133 muddy gray. Groups of canoes are seen, their occupants busy
[501] with their fish nets, for this shallow part of the bay is a good
[226] fishing ground. Once again the mainland is close, rolling hills covered with a thousand shades of green--sugar cane, the crop which nearly four hundred years ago replaced the virgin forests. The deltalike shores of this part of the bay are cov-
[361] ered with mangue, muddy areas with low-growing trees which at high tide are standing in the water. On a hill at the water's
[162] edge is the town of Vila Recôncavo, a town of 1,462 persons. The first thing one sees is the huge Franciscan convent[5] with
[365] its two tall towers and its royal palms. Approaching the long dock which juts out into the water, one can see almost the
[504] whole town, which is built on three hills and in the valleys between them.

[361] The arrival of the boat from Salvador every other day is an event in an otherwise dull day. Nearly all the men of the town
505 go down to the dock to meet the boat, to see who is traveling,
512 to see what is arriving for someone in the town, to receive messages or parcels, to greet friends, and to gossip. The postmistress is there, and with her the man whose duty it is to carry the mail sack, but who has a helper to do it for him. After a few minutes the boat continues its journey, and the townsfolk walk back along the dock, breaking up into small groups on reaching the main square and then each going his own way.

361 On the square at the end of the dock, at the foot of the
344 main street which leads up the middle hill and out into the

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[128] 5. It should be explained that "convent" in this case is a direct translation from Portuguese. In Portuguese, convent does not have the connotation of being a religious establishment only for women. The word convento is applied to the Franciscans' establishment because the Franciscans are not monks; if they were, their establishment would be called a mosteiro (monastery). In English, Franciscans are known as "friars," and their houses are called "friaries." However, throughout this monograph the direct translation, convent, is used.

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These houses (solares, or sobrados) were enormous, constructed of stone and mortar, with wooden floors and ceilings. Stone and wood were themselves a sign of wealth, since it was necessary to bring them from a great distance. The furniture was often of handworked rosewood. Affluence was especially shown in table service of silver, porcelain, and crystal, most of which was imported from Europe. Members of the families frequently dressed in fine damask silks and were adorned with fine jewelry of gold and precious stones. It was not unusual for the plantation master to dress a few of his favorite slaves almost as well as his family and to parade them to church as an indication of his wealth. Another method of demonstrating wealth was the support of churches, especially that of the Tertiary Order of Franciscans.

[291] [301] [567] [794]

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The plantation master eventually lost his prominence. When the capital of the colony was moved from Bahia to Rio de Janeiro in 1763 he was no longer so politically powerful, except locally, for there was too much distance between him and the new capital. Transportation was poor and communication still poorer. Also, other crops--namely coffee, cotton, rubber, and finally cacao--became more valuable than sugar. The abolition of slavery in 1888 was the final blow to the power of the plantation master.

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It was usually admitted that the greatest wealth or source of wealth of the plantation master was his slaves. At first the Portuguese colonists tried to enslave the Indians and put them to work on the sugar plantations, but the Indians sickened and died off easily. There was also great opposition, on the part of the Jesuits, to the enslavement of Indians. The importation of African slaves seemed to be the solution. From the middle of the sixteenth century until about the middle of the nineteenth century ships plied back and forth from Bahia to the west coast of Africa, carrying tobacco, leather, and rum to be traded for slaves. The African slave always brought a higher price in the market in Bahia than did the Indian slave. It was considered that a normal plantation or mill of a thousand acres needed approximately two hundred slaves, divided among the fields, the mill, the various skills, and the house of the owner. In the nineteenth century the procurement of slaves became increasingly difficult as a result of European, North American, and even Brazilian opposition to slavery. In the mid-nineteenth century the slave trade was officially prohibited and the traffic became clandestine. The prices of slaves soared at this

[435] [464] [435]

2: Hutchinson E-4.5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

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Migrant sugar-cane workers, late afternoon

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[P 45]

Big House and chapel, symbol of the past

443 upper part of town also sells cloth. Most stores also have small supplies of chocolate (considered a great treat at a party), tea, honey, canned desserts such as guava, and canned butter and cheese. As a rule fresh vegetables are not sold in the stores but peddled through the streets, since few people eat them. It is more practical to order them specially from someone going to the fair in Centro. Nearly everyone has a banana tree or an orange tree in the back yard, so that few fruits are sold in the stores. The other seasonal crops, such as cashew nuts, corn, and pineapples, are peddled from house
443 to house. As a rule people in Vila Recôncavo buy their food
432 in small quantities, since they have no methods of food pres-
[251] ervation. A liter bottle is carried to the store to be filled with oil or kerosene; a small can is carried there to be filled with rice, beans, or farina. The smoked meat called charque is bought by the kilo and left hanging in the kitchen, and strips are cut from it at meal times. Although the price of charque is as high as that of fresh meat, and at times higher, people say it is more satisfying. As a rule the butcher in Vila Recôncavo kills two steers a week, on Wednesday and Saturday. The meat is carried through the streets unwrapped, hanging from a cord. It is not unusual to see a string of dogs following such a person. The meat is eaten the same day to prevent spoilage, and as a result it is usually tough and flavorless.

463 Most of the people included in Group 1 lead an upper-class
*565 kind of life; indeed to a great extent these people are the town's highest class, as will be shown in the next chapter. These are the people who do little or no labor themselves other than the white-collar work with which they earn their living. The men
[291] dress in city clothes most of the time--white shirt, tie, and suit coat--and the women are always neatly dressed with shoes and silk stockings. (The oil workers are an exception, for they do not hold white-collar jobs but wear overalls and helmets). There is always help to do the housework and the marketing.
463 Sometimes a cook is employed; otherwise the lady of the house
*565 does her own cooking, assisted by her daughters. The laundry
357 is sent out, or else the laundress comes to the house to do it,
[296] and water for drinking purposes and for washing is brought to the house by a man or woman employed for the purpose; mem-
[312] bers of the household never fetch water at the wells. Often the house has a cement tank and drains on the roof to catch
[313] rainwater. Nor does any member of the house fetch firewood, which is supplied by a hired person.

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is very rough, though strong. Most of the men complain about it, for it cuts their hands when they are fishing and the action of salt water on the cuts inflames their hands badly.

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There are between seventy-five and one hundred canoes in Vila Recôncavo, of all sizes, from 16 to about 50 feet long. They come from the southern part of the state, and cost between Cr$1.000,00 and Cr$6.000,00 apiece, depending on their size. They are made of vinhatico preto, a large tree [313] from which an entire canoe can be hollowed out. As the canoes grow older, they are strengthened inside by the addition of ribs. The center support (pé do banco) has a hole in it through which a mast can be stepped for sailing. The fishermen use a variety of sails, but usually a simple square sail called traquête. [428] Four flour sacks sewn together make a passable square sail. The canoes last a long time and are handed down from generation to generation. A hundred years is not an uncommon age for such a craft.

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The majority of fishermen cannot swim well and have a great respect for the water on two counts: the water is deep, 226 which to them implies danger, and it is said to hide large, [481] man-eating fish. There are stories of three men who have disappeared in the last few years, snatched away by fish. One [825] was a baixador, and the other two fell overboard. Falling is not uncommon, for often a man steps on a small fish on the bottom of the canoe or simply slips on the wet wood, loses his balance, and goes overboard, as the canoes are narrow-beamed and unstable. In their canoes they are fearless, and will go anywhere in any weather. Severe storms which arise suddenly are ridden out in the canoe, which generally lies at anchor while the men lie under cover of the sail, peering out occasionally to see if the weather is clearing. Many of them, [164] however, become violently ill on a larger boat during a storm.

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Winter is the most productive season for fishing, although the most uncomfortable. There are many storms, and the [221] rains are more or less constant. But the fishermen say that the mixture of salt water with the fresh water from small rivers emptying into the bay seems to produce many more fish [132] than in the summer months. The fishermen dress only in a [291] pair of shorts and a straw hat when fishing, and remain in the cold rain for hours on end. Colds are common among them, [164] as is rheumatism among the older men.

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There is always a market for fish. There is a discussion currently going on in Vila Recôncavo, for some of the older

lending money or even giving some to the overseer. Some of
* 565 the members of Class B even acquire property in Salvador
423 or in Centro, such as a house or houses which they may rent.
It is the possession of this material wealth, plus the position
* 565 of responsibility and authority, the greater proximity to the
owner, and the invariably legalized status of the man's fam-
183 ily which distinguish him from those below, placing him in a
class by himself. In the case of the higher-placed white-col-
lar workers of the factory, education is also important.

* 565 In material possessions other than those already listed,
Class B differs considerably from the other two classes, hav-
422 ing much less than Class A but much more than Class C.
[342] Their houses are always better and larger than those of the
[365] workers, and they usually have electricity supplied by the
plantation. They generally have complete sets of manufac-
[352] tured dining and living room furniture, better bedroom fur-
niture than the scanty belongings of the workers, china, rath-
[412] er than the clay dishes (nagé) of the workers, and table serv-
[415] ice for as many as a dozen persons. Usually their clothes are
better and more numerous. Overseers are well known for
• [291] their use of khaki coats, shirts, ties, and riding breeches,
their well-polished leather boots and their felt hats, in con-
trast with the more informal sports clothes of the landowners
and with the ragged, tight trousers and shirt and the straw hat
of the shoeless rural worker.

* 565 Class B in the town of Vila Recôncavo is represented by
Group 1 as described in the preceding chapter, with a few ex-
ceptions such as the minor municipal employees and a few of
the smaller-scale merchants and lower-rated petroleum work-
ers. Because there are no representatives of Class A in the
town, Class B represents the top of the urban social scale.
It is a class which has long existed in the town and which has
always been composed of more or less the same occupation
groups. For the most part, members of this stratum live on
the hill which constitutes the old part of Vila Recôncavo, and
[162] seldom go down to the newer section. There are fourteen per-
sons residing in town, plus their eight children, who are con-
sidered pure Caucasoid; they are all members of this local
[792] upper class. Three of them are foreign-born Franciscans who
do not participate in much of public life once their official
duties are completed. The others are brancos da terra ("whites
of the land," a term which will be explained later in this chap-

[Class C Families]

*565 291 *565 515 854 [853] *565 143 [826] *565 515 *565 514 [124] *565 291 [515] [513]

During the day young boys go about with only shorts on, or with both shirt and shorts, depending upon the weather. Girls always wear a dress. Children who are in the crawling stage become extremely dirty because of the amount of dirt tracked into the house from the streets, although this is now changing as a result of paving. Babies, however, seem to have a propensity for getting into the charcoal sack, usually kept near the kitchen stove, and emerging well blackened. They are bathed twice daily, morning and afternoon, at first in cold water to accustom them to the cold water they will be using for the rest of their lives. Bathing the child is usually considered a pleasure for the mother as well as the baby, as is breast feeding. If the child of light-skinned parents exhibits the genipapo (a bluish spot near the base of the spine, sometimes known as the "Mongolian blue spot") the mothers will take care not to let visitors see it, as the spot is thought to be a strong indication of the nearness of Negro ancestry. It disappears after the child is seven or eight months old.

The men and older boys of Class C take their daily baths in the afternoon, either at one of the two wells which are behind the convent and therefore out of sight of the town, or at wooden structures which have been built across the wells in the Cortume. They stand on a wooden floor and drop a small bucket on a string down into the water, which is hoisted up and poured over them, running back into the well with the soap suds and whatever grime has come off their skin. Frequently a woman when getting water will undress her son on the spot and pour buckets of water over him. This is not done after a boy has reached five years or six, however, and is never done to a girl of any age. The women and girls take a daily sponge bath in their kitchens late in the afternoon, before starting to fix the evening meal. None of the houses has toilet facilities other than a secluded place in the back yard. During a survey of housing facilities in the town, when the question was asked, "Do you have a toilet?" the answer was usually laughingly given, "What for?" (But practically everyone knows what a toilet is, and there are several different types in the town, belonging to upper-class houses. The construction of a flush type, with an adequate cesspool, has been known for many years.) After the daily bath most people put on clean clothes in which they often sleep, although sleeping garments range from daytime clothing to long nightgowns, shorts, or nothing at all. Daytime clothing for the men consists of little more than trousers, shirt, and wooden shoes

[Class C Families]

(tamancos), or perhaps leather shoes. Women wear a dress and a slip and are usually barefoot. Dress-up occasions also call for undergarments, stockings, and shoes. Great modesty is always shown about exposing oneself in front of others. Few of the men shave themselves, going to the barber for this as well as for haircuts. There are several women who are experts at hair straightening, which they do with a flat-iron, although most women and girls in this class who have the problem of straightening their hair know how to do it themselves.

In Class C as well as in Class B the father is the dominant person. He rules the household. He is the one who is served at meals, whose clothing is always clean and pressed, and who goes out the most. He spends much of his leisure time in one of the several stores, talking and taking an occasional drink of rum; or on one of the few shaded corners playing dominoes with his friends; or else in the bar playing billiards and gossiping. As a rule he goes to the movies alone, or at least without his family, although in the higher echelons of the class families often go to the movies and to church together. There is one family which is musically inclined, and which often spends evenings at home together, making up a small orchestra. If there is a samba in someone's house, many men from this class will be there watching, while the participants are usually single women and girls from the same class. The men will discuss a woman's physical attributes while she is in the center of the ring dancing. This is one of the most common ways in which a girl gets "looked over" and is watched as she develops. Sooner or later some man will fall in love with her (apaixonar-se dela), and if she is not well guarded by her family he will eventually have an affair with her. In the case of fishermen, most of the time is taken up either by fishing or by caring for equipment, for the nets need a good deal of attention. Since the fishermen's hours follow the tides, their working hours differ from day to day. They often go to bed early, in anticipation of getting up at three or four in the morning.

The women, on the other hand, follow a more regular daily routine of getting the morning coffee ready, getting the children off to school, going for water and wood, doing the ever-present laundry and ironing, and caring for the younger children. In addition, if possible, they prepare xangô to help supplement the family income and go to the fair in Centro on Mon-

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[P 155]

VILA RECÔNCAVO

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An old cult priestess

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The "beauty parlor," Vila Recôncavo

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*794 supposedly there is competition among them as to which night
*[565] will be the loveliest. This becomes more expensive each year, however, and the patrons are becoming less willing to donate money. This festival is most enjoyed by the lower classes. It is avoided by members of Class B, who in many instances are nevertheless called upon to be patrons.

796 The festival takes on a carnival aspect each night, with
[525] booths set up in the streets by professional people from Sal-
[275] vador and Centro. The booths have wheels of fortune and guessing games, and sell sweets and drinks. After the religious celebration in the chapel, everyone goes out into the square to talk, play games, and dance.

796 The day before the first Mass of the festival is celebrated,
794 the chapel is thoroughly washed by the women participants of
358 the African cult house, who dress up in their many starched skirts and bandanas and go to the well as a group for water,
•[291] which they take to the chapel to throw on the floor. A few little barefoot girls wash down the floor with brooms. After the
[535] washing the women go out dancing in the streets. They dance on every street in town and ask for alms. This entire proce-
*[565] dure, known as the lavagem (washing), is much frowned upon by members of Class B.

796 Most of the ordinary town life ceases during these nine days, for everyone is tired after staying up so late at night. The day of the patron saint of the town falls during this festival, and is passed over with nothing more than a simple Mass celebrated in the mother church in his honor. The people of the rural area of this parish do not observe the day of the patron saint
[794] at all. The day after the nine-day festival, a group of young men go out dancing and singing in the streets, asking for alms to make a large feijoada (feast of beans) at night. This is called mazorra (the clowns). After this the men settle down again to their fishing, for by now their money is all used up.

The next festival on the calendar is the second of February, when the nearby towns of Centro, Conselho, and Morro celebrate the day of their patron saint. People from Vila Recôncavo go to one or another of these three towns, although not
[778] in great numbers. The majority go to Conselho, which has the reputation of being a holy place, and to which pilgrimages are frequently made.

*[565] All festivities end during Lent, which is quietly observed. It is interesting to note that Carnaval, which takes place the
[184] three days before Lent, is observed in Vila Recôncavo only among members of Class A.

3: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1963 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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1. Mulatto cowboy of the interior of Bahia

[facing P. 18]

3: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1963 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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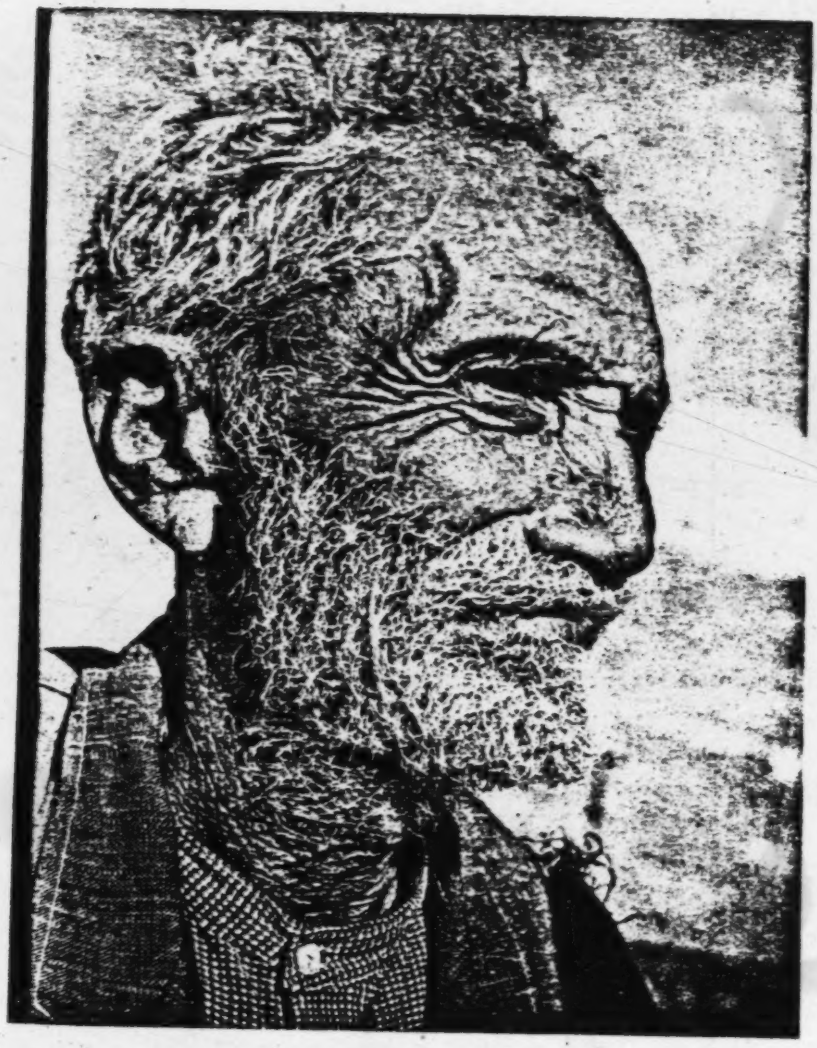
[facing p. 19]

2. Cabocla of the interior of Bahia

3: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1963 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11



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3. Caboclo of the interior of Bahia

[facing P. 42]

3: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1963 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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4. A black cowboy of the Sertão

[facing P. 43]

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[City of Salvador]

in response to the needs of colonial life still persist and direct 633
life pretty much in the old familiar channels. Bahia has long 571
been a relatively isolated city; and isolation has intensified personal intimacies and, by so doing, has promoted the growth of peculiarly local customs in response to peculiarly local conditions.

The character of Bahia's population, as might be ex- 167
pected, is also relatively stable. Virtually no immigration has come in from foreign lands in recent years, and little from other parts of Brazil. What population movement 166
there is into the city comes largely from the interior of the state or from contiguous areas like Alagoas and Sergipe. Similarly there is little emigration.

Bahia is thus a "culturally passive" area[9] with a stability 571
and an order reminiscent of Europe in the Middle Ages. In 178
fact, Bahia is, in some respects at least, a medieval town. 795
Every eminence of the city is dominated by a church or a [368]
cathedral. Until very recently there were no modern office buildings or industrial edifices to overshadow or to crowd out these symbols of a sacred order, and such as have in the past few years been erected only accentuate the dominance of the ecclesiastical structures. Over the habits of the female portion of the population in particular,[10] and to a con-

[9] Dr. Robert E. Park has used this phrase to describe an area "in which life continues, on the whole, to revolve in the same unbroken and traditional routine," where "population, natural resources, and the standard of living have achieved some sort of equilibrium and where custom and tradition provide for most of the exigencies of life." In such an area, "changes still take place, to be sure, but take place silently, continuously, and at an almost imperceptible pace" (see Robert E. Park, "Race Relations and Certain Frontiers," in *Race and Culture Contacts*, ed. E. B. Reuter [New York, 1934], p. 57).

[10] The ecclesiastical authorities have rigorously censured women's bathing suits which do not have sleeves to the elbow and knee-length skirts. Rarely is a woman other than a foreign resident or an occasional individ- [291]

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[City of Salvador]

571 178 795 [554] siderable extent over those of the male portion, the church exercises a substantial measure of control. Prestige of the military is high.

596 621 The large family, with its wide ramifications and its patriarchal organization, also bespeaks a preindustrial era. Social cohesion in the community is maintained by the close association of members of these large family groups, together with the intimate ties common to friends of long standing, the degree of whose intimacy is much greater than that ordinarily to be found in the cities of comparable size in industrial societies. One notes in Bahia a warmth of manner uncommon to the United States. Bahians, like most Brazilians, tend to be very affectionate in the family and warmhearted toward their friends. Characteristic of such primary relationships is a high order of courtesy and politeness and an almost limitless consideration for the convenience and comfort of relatives and friends. Religious affiliation and guild association weave further strands of solidarity, binding the urban community together as if it were merely an overgrown village.

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578 [477] [433] [466] In this stable society there is a comparative absence of most forms of conflict. In commerce and finance competition is comparatively slight and limited in considerable measure to foreigners. The economy is almost entirely extractive and industry is minimal. The few differences which arise between labor and capital often take the form of a

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571 178 795 291 ual educated in Rio, to be seen on the beaches. Snug-fitting street dresses or those made of sheer or transparent material, and skirts which do not fall at least several inches below the knee, are subject to general criticism. At the exit of the principal churches and cathedrals is posted an official proclamation of the archbishop of Bahia specifying permissible dress. Failure to observe these regulations automatically bars the offender from the sacraments of the church.

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361 565 permitting as it does a full and unobstructed sweep of the cooling sea breeze, makes these heights more comfortable, more healthful, and, consequently, more desirable places of [362] residence. One usually finds here the more modern and [463] substantial buildings, the homes of the upper classes. Here ordinarily live the scions of the old aristocracy, the large landholders, the city's intellectuals, and the leaders of its "society"; the lawyers, physicians, engineers, and politicians; the officials of the army, the poets and journalists, the professors in the Faculdades, the few industrialists which Bahia has so far produced—in fact, nearly all those prominent in the intellectual, political, "social," and economic life of the city. These families possess considerable property [873] and employ numerous servants. Their members are usually [463] literate, and at least the males are *formados* (i.e., graduated from one of the Faculdades, either in law, medicine, or engineering), a distinction which in the Bahian society marks them off quite sharply from the rest of the population.

[204] It is in these areas that the five newspapers published in [291] the city circulate almost exclusively and the latest fashions from Paris or Hollywood are known and generally adopted. [341] In recent years an occasional example of modernistic archi- [422] tecture and interior design has appeared. Here are to be found the owners of virtually all the city's 3,855 telephones, [206] its 1,028 automobiles, its radios, and private libraries. Here [217] live most of the 20,524 voters who cast ballots in the munici- [207] pal election of 1936. Here attachment to the *candomblé*, or Afro-Brazilian fetish cult, is minimal and Catholic belief is [794] least modified by elements from the more primitive reli- [177] gions. Here live that portion of the population which *o povo* ("the people") call the *ricos*, or the "rich."

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The first recorded protest in Brazil against slavery as an institution was that of the Jesuit Manoel de Nobrega, who, shortly after Bahia was founded, sent a letter to the superior of his order in Lisbon protesting against the importation of Africans into the new settlement.

In 1758 Manoel Ribeiro da Rocha, who had been educated at Coimbra, published in Lisbon a book entitled *Ethiope resgatado, empenhado, sustentado, corrigido, instruido e libertado*, in which the abolition of the slave trade was advocated. Sixty-five years later, in 1823, José Bonifacio de Andrade e Silva unsuccessfully proposed in parliament a measure designed to end importation by 1828. But on November 7, 1831, the regent, Padre Diogo Antonio Feijó, signed a resolution drawn up by Costa Carvalho, Lima e Sousa, and Basilio Muniz, which declared free all Africans subsequently brought into Brazil.

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Manumission existed from the first. Apparently early in the colonial period it became customary for masters to accept remuneration for original cost.[64] Public opinion demanded that an owner set at liberty any slave requesting his freedom and offering the price of his purchase.[65] The requirement was later made legally binding and enforced by law.[65a] Other slaves were given their freedom either during their master's lifetime or upon his death. The fathers of illegitimate offspring often freed their children at the baptismal font. From 1864 to 1870 large numbers of slaves were granted their freedom on agreeing to serve in the Para-

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[64] The wearing of shoes or slippers became a symbol of freedom.

[65] R. Walsh, *Notices of Brazil* (2 vols.; London, 1830), II, 391.

[65a] National Law No. 2040, September 28, 1871. See Manoel Joaquim do Nascimento e Silva, *Synopsis da legislação brasileira* (Rio, 1874), p. 460.

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teenth. Tapa and Haussá were spoken during the entire nineteenth century, and the latter perhaps long before 1800. Although the Haussás were relatively few in number, their influence was considerable. The slave revolts of the early nineteenth century were, as we have seen, led by this reputedly "most intellectual element" among the imported Africans, many of whom could read and write Arabic characters. Kanúri, spoken in Bahia by the Bornús, and Grúnce, the tongue used by the slaves known as Gallinhas, are included, along with Haussá, Gêge, and Tapa, in the limited vocabularies which Rodrigues collected from Bahian Negroes near the beginning of the twentieth century.[11] Tshi (or Odji), Gá (or Acrá),[12] and Mandê (or Mandinga) were also employed to a limited extent.

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As late as 1900, Negro laborers in Bahia continued to wear "white vestments of coarse cotton cloth," which reminded Rodrigues of "the Nagô *camisús*."[13] The *Bahiana* costume,[14] of partial African origin, was extensively used by the Negro women. It was also customary for them to carry their babies bound to the back with a large cloth. African dishes, in the preparation of which *azeite de dendê* (oil of the *dendê* palm) and *pimenta da costa* (pepper from the West Coast) prominently figured, formed a considerable portion of the Negro diet.

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At that time, also, African music might be frequently heard, particularly in the ceremonies of the *candomblé*. African musical instruments, like the *atabaque*, the *agê*, the *canzá*, the *marimba*, the *agôgô*, the *caxixi*, and the *xáque-xáque*[15] were commonly employed. The fetish cult drew allegiance from numerous and zealous devotees.

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 217–21.

[12] Spoken in Bahia by the Ashantis.

[13] *Op. cit.*, p. 181.

[14] The *Bahiana* costume is described in detail in chap. ix.

[15] These instruments are described in chap. ix.

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daughters immediately behind the father, then the mother, followed by her mulatto *femme de chambre*, next the family *ama*, or Negro nurse, and the latter's female assistant, then the father's Negro body servant, and last a young slave in training for domestic service.[20] On such occasions it was a matter of considerable pride to dress the slaves as well as the family's station would permit. As late as 1852 a visitor to Rio recorded:

> Though less generally the custom than formerly, it is still the habit of some of the *bourgeosie* . . . . at least on Sundays and great holidays, to promenade to and from church, by whole families, parents and children, from adults to infants, with a retinue of servants in their best dresses . . . . bringing up the rear, and, whether male or female, ... usually as elaborately, if not as expensively, dressed as the rest of the family; and often, in the case of the women, with an equal display of laces, muslins, and showy jewelry.[21]

In the cities domestic slaves ordinarily lived in the same houses as their masters, occupying the lower floor; or, where the buildings were only of one story, "a sort of cellar" underneath.[22] Since the mistress of the household and her daughters lived a very secluded life in the interior of the home,[23] they were in almost constant contact with domestic slaves and the slave's children. Debret has sketched[24] one such intimate scene in which two Negro women are at work,

[20] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Pl. 5 ("Un Employé du gouvernement sortant de chez lui avec sa famille").

[21] C. S. Stewart, *Brazil and La Plata* (New York, 1856), p. 295.

[22] Maria Graham, *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil, 1821–1823* (London, 1824), p. 145.

[23] Until recent years, women from the upper classes in Bahia were rarely seen on the public thoroughfares and then only in the company of a male escort.

[24] Debret, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Pl. 6 ("Une dame brésilienne dans son intérieur") and p. 33.

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Wells, visiting in Minas Geraes in the latter part of the nineteenth century, witnessed the *batuque* and records that

> it is usually danced by two couples, sometimes more, who face each other. Two tinkling . . . . guitars on this occasion commenced a thrum-thrum, thrum-thrum, and the head man of the estate . . . . advanced and marshaled the dancers, two women and two men; thrum-thrum, thrum—three or four voices suddenly commenced a loud, high-pitched, wild, rapidly delivered, impromptu refrain, containing allusions to the *patrão*[163] and his merits, the incidents of the daily work mingled with the loveliness of ideal Marias; the other men present joined in the chorus, each taking a second or third, a falsetto, or a bass. With rhythmic songs accompanied by clapping of hands and shuffling of feet, the dance commences, at first a slow measure that is maintained for some time, then gradually it increases in rapidity, the dancers advance and retreat, the women swaying their bodies and waving their arms, the men clapping time with their hands at every chorus. The measured tones rise and fall, then again increase in time, the songs and shuffling steps become fast and furious, hands and feet and voices all keep time; and there is much pantomimic action between the couples. . . . . The surroundings were a bright fire that burned and flickered on the earth floor. A single-wick castor-oil lamp was hung on a post. The forms of men and women, lightened by the upward glow of the fire, figured prominently against the dark obscurity of the interior of the shelter.[164]

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Certain customs of the whites were taken over completely by the Negroes. Especially was this true (with a few exceptions which we shall see later) of dress. Stewart recounts of

[163] Employer.

[164] *Op. cit.*, pp. 198–99. The *samba*, a form of the *batuque*, is today in a modified form the favorite popular music of Brazil. For information on the African contribution to Brazilian music see especially Mario de Andrade, "O samba rural paulista," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal de São Paulo*, XLI, 37–114; Flausino Rodrigues Valle, *Elementos de folk-lore musical brasileiro* (São Paulo, 1936), particularly chap. iii; Luciano Gallet, *Estudos de folklore* (Rio, 1934).

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color categories, three being officially recognized: *branco*, *preto*, and *pardo*. These classifications are based upon physical appearance, the principal criteria being pigmentation and hair texture. Racial intermixture has now proceeded to the point where public officials say no attempt is made to indicate ethnic distinctions. Thus the *branco* category includes many light mulattoes and the *preto* category many dark mixed-bloods.

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These official color divisions directly reflect popular distinctions. It is therefore important to note that their usage indicates a shift in criterion from racial descent (as in the United States) to physical appearance; and physical appearance is a characteristic which miscegenation tends continually to modify. Whereas in the United States one drop of Negro blood, if it be known, makes a man a Negro, in Bahia many individuals are listed in the census as white (and, one might add, are so considered by their friends and associates) whose grandmothers were Negroes of pure African descent.

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For instance, the grandmother of a *branco* politician who holds a responsible position in the Rio government, and who himself shows no noticeable traces of Negro ancestry, is said to have been a black woman who wore on Bahia's streets "a *saia grande* and a *panno da Costa*."[44] The *branco* wife of a prominent physician, fair and blue eyed, similarly had an African grandmother. A former governor, to all appearances white and so considered throughout the community, is only two generations removed from an African forebear. Cases might be cited indefinitely similar to that of a Bahian who, referring to a prominent local woman invariably con-

[44] Elements of the distinctive costume, partially African in origin, which is worn in Bahia by Negro women (see chap. ix.).

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senhores de engenho, fazendeiros, etc.[10] Often they were runaway slaves.[11] In the cities they became masons, cobblers, tinsmiths, soldiers, actors, and at times reached even the small bourgeosie.[12]

The mulatto, owing to his closer approximation in physical characteristics to the European, was better able than the Negro to appropriate certain symbols of status—the small shoe and the little boot, for instance, the wearing of which was an important index of social standing in colonial and imperial Brazil.[13] Small feet, particularly among women, were for a long time, and still are, fashionable.

As the mulatto rose in class, he came to occupy something

[10] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, pp. 190-91, 205, 238.

[11] "I heard of a mulatto slave who ran away from his master; and in the course of years had become a wealthy man, by the purchase of lands which were overrun with cattle. He had, on one occasion, collected in pens great numbers of oxen which he was arranging with his herdsmen to dispatch to different parts for sale, when a stranger who came quite alone, made his appearance, and rode up and spoke to him, saying that he wished to have some private conversation with him. After a little time they retired together; and when they were alone the owner of the estate said, "I thank you for not mentioning the connection between us, whilst my people were present." It was his master, who had fallen into distressed circumstances, and had now made this visit in hopes of obtaining some trifle from him. He said that he would be grateful for anything his slave chose to give him. To reclaim him, he well knew, was out of the question—he was in the man's power, who might order him to be assassinated immediately. The slave gave his master several hundred oxen, and directed some of his men to accompany him with them to a market, giving out among his herdsmen, that he had thus paid a debt of old standing, for which he had only now been called upon" (Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil, 1809 to 1815* [2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1817], I, 144-45).

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[12] Vianna, *op. cit.*, p. 143. In 1774 a law opened to *homens pardos* access "to all offices, honors and dignities, without discrimination on account of difference in color" (*Annaes da Biblioteca Nacional*, XXXVII [1913], 85). See also Pedro Calmon, *História social do Brasil* (3 vols.; São Paulo, 1937-39), I, 168.

[13] "The use of shoes and little boots, which was at first almost entirely limited to persons recently arrived from Portugal, spread among those men

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As the mulatto rose in class, he came to occupy something analogous to a middle position distinct from either that of the dominant European or that of the subject African. In the colonial period, "to appease the repugnance felt by whites at being put on the same level with mulattoes,"[14] the latter were segregated for military duty. Thus separate battalions were organized at Bahia and elsewhere for whites, for *pardos*,[15] and for *pretos*.[16] Similarly, separate church organizations arose for *pardos* (Palma, Guadaloupe, Boqueirão) as well as for *pretos*.[17]

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In the Brazilian rural society of the colonial period Oliveira Vianna identifies three distinct social strata: the predominantly white *senhores* of the upper rank, the predominantly mixed-blood free artisans, *rendeiros*, and petty

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and women of the Brazilian aristocracy who were blessed with small feet. The difficulties of the blacks, even when serving as pages, to adjust themselves to this new European and aristocratic style so ill adapted to their large and flat feet, can be easily understood. The mulattoes, on the other hand, who possessed smaller feet, well formed according to the European standard, could adapt themselves more readily to a practice which Handelmann observed constituted in nineteenth-century Brazil one of the marks of class distinction" (Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, pp. 329–30).

[14] Vianna, *op. cit.*, p. 164; see also his *Populações meridionaes do Brasil* (3d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 140.

[15] In Bahia, the Regimento dos Pardos. See Luiz dos Santos Vilhena, *Cartas*, edited and annotated by Braz do Amaral (2 vols.; Bahia, 1922), pp. 253–54.

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[16] In Bahia, as elsewhere, Os Henriques.

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[17] In Bahia, Rosario de João Pereira, Barroquinha, Corpo Santo, Rosario "at the foot of the Pelourinho." Cf. also: "The cemetery for Africans was located next to the Misericordia Cemetery, as one can see from the map made of the city of Salvador and its suburbs by Carlos Augusto Weyll" (J. B. von Spix and C. F. P. von Martius, *Através da Bahia* [excerpts from the larger work, *Reise in Brasilien* (3 vols.; München, 1823–31)], trans. Pirajá da Silva and Paulo Wolf [3d ed.; São Paulo, 1938], pp. 141–42 [translators' note]).

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Coast products much prized by Africans and their descendants in Brazil.[1] An elderly Bahian Negro recently brought out from among his treasured possessions a faded photograph of blacks aboard a ship on their way to Africa and pointed out an *atabaque*, or sacred drum, and a woman in *saia grande*.[2] He recalls having been many times with his father at the docks in Bahia when vessels came in from Africa and sailors brought news of Lagos.

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Trade with the West Coast, however, gradually decreased until, by 1905, it had almost entirely disappeared. Today, only a few important articles employed in the fetish ritual, such as cowries, *obis* and *orobôs* (sacred fruits), *pimenta* (pepper) *da costa*, *palha* (straw) *da costa*, *sabão* (soap) *da costa*, and strips of *pano* (cloth) *da costa*, are occasionally imported from Africa.

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Numerous Africans, their interest in Brazil stirred by Brazilian Negroes returning to the West Coast, are said to have emigrated to Bahia as recently as thirty years ago. Considerable areas in and about the city—for example, Caminho do São Gonçalo, Caminho do Cruz, and a portion of the Terreiro—were once owned, it is said, by *Africanos*.

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Today, native-born Africans as a population element are

[1] Pedro Calmon, *Historia social do Brasil* (3 vols.; São Paulo, 1937-39), I, 182. It is also reported that on at least two occasions representatives of African chiefs arrived in Bahia from Ajudá, with which port Bahian officials were maintaining direct commercial relations. One arrived during the administration of the Vice-rei Conde de Athouguia; two others "and an interpreter," on May 26, 1795. See João Varella, *Da Bahia que eu vi* (Bahia, 1935), pp. 153-57; J. B. de Sá e Oliveira, "Dois embaixadores africanos mandados a Bahia pelo Rei do Dahomé," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, LVI, Part I (1895), 413.

[2] The large skirt still worn *boufani* by many Bahian black women. The date was approximately 1895.

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• 291 [565] Paris fashions largely dictate the nature of female attire among the upper classes at Bahia, but many black (177] women still wear the *vestimenta bahiana*. This costume is [301] composed of a *saia*, or very full skirt, of varying combinations of colors, which ordinarily measures some twelve to fifteen feet in circumference at the hem and is worn *bouffant*, spread by a heavily starched underskirt; a *bátá*, or long, loose-flowing white blouse which is ordinarily of cotton cloth but occasionally of silk, trimmed, in most cases, with wide lace, sometimes worn very loose at the neck and allowed to slip off one shoulder; a *pano da costa*, or long, heavy, striped cotton cloth, at times worn slung over the shoulder and pinned under the opposite arm, at times wrapped once or twice in a wide fold about the waist and tied rather tightly; a *torso*, or turban, of cotton or silk, bound about the head; *chinelas*, or strapless leather sandals with low heels; numerous necklaces of coral, cowries, or glass beads, with an occasional metal chain, often of silver; earrings of turquoise, coral, silver, or gold; and numerous [301] bracelets of cowries or of iron, copper, or other metal. The *balangandan*, formerly an important ornament, has disappeared."

As an alternate to the *bátá* a white blouse is sometimes worn tucked inside the *saia*, and in place of the *pano da costa* a woolen or silken shawl is occasionally substituted. For

[532] [789] "The *balangandan* (also known as *berenguenden*, *balançançan*, *cambalo*, or *penca*) consisted of a gold or silver frame on which were hung gold or silver images of animals, birds, fowls, fish, flowers, parts of the human body, houses, household utensils, amulets (including gold or silver balls inclosing soil from a cemetery), bells, medallions with religious significance, angels, suns, moons, etc. It was worn on festive occasions, tied at the waist (see F. Marques dos Santos, "As balangandans," *Espelho*, April, 1936). Many impoverished families, attracted by recent high prices of gold and silver, have disposed of these [422] relics of a former splendor. A limited number may still be seen among the heirlooms of wealthy Bahians.

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festive occasions *sandalias*, or leather "mules," are regularly preferred to *chinelas*, and one often sees the common footwear of the lower class, the *tamancos*, simple sandals with wooden soles and leather toe straps; or, occasionally, cloth slippers. Some women go barefoot.

The *torso*, commonly said to be of Arabic origin, was probably brought to Brazil by the Haussás and other Negro followers of Mohammed who were imported from the areas immediately south of the Sahara. In *Globus* for April 28, 1910,[12] there is a photograph taken in Togoland which shows Negroes wearing *torsos*, *panos da costa*, and *saias* similar to those seen today in Bahia, except that the heavily starched petticoat usually worn with the latter is lacking.[13] [177]

The typical wearer of this costume, or *vestimenta bahiana*, as it is called, is a tall, graceful black woman of remarkable physique, self-confident bearing, and intelligent, cheerful countenance. She is known as a *Bahiana*, the first of whom to emigrate from Bahia to Rio, during the disorders attendant on the struggle for independence, impressed the French visitor Debret as notably different from the black women of Rio, not only in dress, but also in general bearing.[14] "The *Bahiana* came to symbolize, by extension, a gracious (*graciosa*) and spirited creole woman."[15] 291 554 [167]

> The *Bahianas* were worth seeing at our festivals, with their resplendent costumes; their arms half-covered with gold or silver bracelets; their diamond earrings; their gold necklaces from which hung . . . . crosses, *figas*, and medallions of the order of *Carmo*, all of gold. . . . . They completely dominated our religious festivals. . . . . They [301]

[12] XCVII, No. 16, 245.

[13] The *saia* is commonly worn in Bahia, on days other than those of festival, without starching the underskirt.

[14] J. B. Debret, *Voyage pittoresque et historique au Brésil, 1816–1831* (3 vols.; Paris, 1835), II, 105.

[15] Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

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filled the churches at Mass, at prayers, and at sermons, accompanied by little black urchins carrying small stools of *jacaranda*[16] with carved feet. They were women who tended small stalls in the markets, or who sold in the streets, proprietors of small eating-places, elderly slaves, and young *mulatas* who came to turn the heads of the "old conquerors."[17]

[16] A very heavy wood of rich coloring much prized for furniture.

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[17] "Onde estão as *Bahianas?*" *A Tarde*, June 23, 1936. It was of these *Bahianas* that Carmen Miranda sang when she recently captivated Broadway with the staccato notes of the rollicking *samba* by Dorival Caymmi, "Que é que a Bahiana tem?"

O que é que a bahiana tem?	What is it that a *Bahiana* has?
O que é que a bahiana tem?	What is it that a *Bahiana* has?
Tem torço de seda, tem	She has a *torço* of silk, she has
Tem brinço de ouro, tem	She has ornaments of gold, she has
Corrente de ouro, tem	She has a golden necklace, she has
Tem pano da Costa, tem	She has a *pano da Costa*, she has
Tem bátá rendada, tem, ah!	She has a *bátá*, embroidered, she has—ah!
Pulseira de ouro, tem	Bracelets of gold, she has
Tem saia engomada, tem	She has a *saia*, starched, she has
Sandalia enfeitada, tem.	Decorated *sandalias*, she has.
Tem graça como ninguem	She has "oomph" like nobody else
Como ela requebra bem	How well she swings those hips!
Quando você se requebrar	When you swing those hips
Caia por cima de mim	Fall on top of me
Caia por cima de mim	Fall on top of me
Caia por cima de mim.	Fall on top of me.
O que é que a bahiana tem?	What is it that a *Bahiana* has?
O que é que a bahiana tem?	What is it that a *Bahiana* has?
Tem torço de seda, tem . . . . etc.	She has a *torço* of silk, she has . . . . etc.
Só vae no Bomfim quem tem	Only those go to Bomfim who have
Só vae no Bomfim quem tem	Only those go to Bomfim who have
Um rosario de ouro	A rosary of gold,
Uma bolota* assim	A little ball, thus,
Quem não tem balangandans	She who has no *balangandans*
Não vae no Bomfim	Can't go to Bomfim
Quem não tem balangandans	She who has no *balangandans*
Não vae no Bomfim	Can't go to Bomfim
Oi, não vae no Bomfim	Oi, can't go to Bomfim
Oi, não vae no Bomfim	Oi, can't go to Bomfim
Oi, não vae no Bomfim	Oi, can't go to Bomfim,
Oi, não vae no Bomfim.	Oi, can't go to Bomfim.

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* Instead of a cross the Malês, or Mohammedan Negroes in Bahia, used a ball on the rosary.

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They represent, to this element of the Bahian population, another world.

The general disposition, however, is to tolerate these African practices so long as they are not too obviously indulged in, particularly in public places, and they in no way interfere with the European habits of the major portion of the population. The Europeans act in this respect with somewhat the same leniency which an adult exercises toward the immature conduct of a child, in the confident expectation that "time and education" will do away with these evidences of what one upper-class individual referred to as "cultural backwardness and barbarism." Thus, the behavior of the numerically small group of *Africanos*, although under continuous disapproval and disparagement, is ordinarily treated more as a matter for levity than as a cultural threat; it meets with little deliberate effort at eradication, and even such attempts as are made in this direction are sporadic and halfhearted. Partially for these very reasons, African cultural forms are rapidly disappearing at Bahia.

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The *vestimenta bahiana*, for instance, although ordinarily regarded by representatives of the European culture as picturesque, rather romantic wearing apparel, tends today to be largely discarded, especially by the mixed-bloods, and to be withdrawn more and more into the relative privacy of the *candomblé*. Of 500 mulatto women noted on the streets, only 5 were wearing the full costume, and 14 others had on certain portions of it, while 481, or 96.2 per cent, appeared in modern European dress. Of 500 black women noted, 91, or 18.2 per cent, were wearing the full costume, 82 others, or 16.4 per cent, were wearing parts of the costume, while 327, or 65.4 per cent, had on modern European clothing.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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794 girl carries in her hand the insignia of Oxun, a *leque* (fan) of brass decorated with a star.

794 All the other dancers, except one, are dressed in the
796 *bahiana* costume, with wide-flowing skirts of bright-colored cotton prints, blouses trimmed in handmade lace, and a *pano*
• [291] *da Costa* two feet in width tied tightly around the small of the back and over the breasts. One woman about thirty-five years of age is dressed in an ordinary street costume of
[301] tailored blouse and skirt. Many of the dancers wear bracelets of copper, brass, bronze, lead, or glass beads, often on both wrists and occasionally three to four to the arm. One dancer has five strands of cowries about her neck.

794 The priestess of the *seita*, Mãe Menninha, is a large
793 black woman, forty-one years of age, who has officiated in this *seita* for twenty-four years. She proudly speaks of herself as "uma neta d'um Africano" ("the granddaughter of an African").

786 Every dance begins with the salutation of the *mãe de san-*
535 *to*, which is accomplished by striking decisively the *agôgô*.
794 Immediately the drums take up the rhythm. The *filhas* be-
796 gin to dance, the circle turning like the rim of a wheel,
[576] counterclockwise. The women have their hands clasped be-
[533] hind their backs, their shoulders are hunching backward and forward, their bodies bending at the waist from side to side. One of the Oxun initiates moves with a halting, jerking movement, then suddenly pivots a complete turn. All the dancers are singing a refrain which sounds like, "Ô-mí-á, bá-
794 tû-lê." After some twenty minutes of continuous dancing,
796 one of the *filhas* suddenly becomes "possessed," her eyes
787 close, her expression becomes listless, while her neck and shoulder muscles work convulsively back and forth "in
786 time to the music." Voluntary control is apparently gone,

[SALVADOR]

/12 cont./

175 called Negroes because of the ignominious and base implications
*563 of a term that puts them on the same footing as the people of the
829 coast of Africa destined to become slaves of the Whites. The true African Negroes were at that time called Negroes of Guinea, Negroes of the coast, or Negroes of nation, that is to say, of such
175 and such an African tribe. In a general way the term Negro was
829 applied to every slave, to the point that in 1773 a Portuguese
*563 monarch complained that in Brazil there were still "persons so
567 wanting in feelings of humanity and religion as to keep among
192 them slaves, some of whom are whiter than they themselves, under the names of Blacks and Negresses, or even métisses /plural
829 feminine form of métis, a person of mixed blood/." The sons of
*563 African Negroes born in Brazil were called creoles, a term ap-
192 plied even today, in the feminine, to black women and mulattresses
•291 who dress like the Bahian women, with the troquette, the very full
794 skirt, the white, embroidered, and very décolleté blouse, and the colored shawl around the bust, a costume worn by the Africans of Nigeria and even in our day, with certain local modifications, by the women belonging to the religious cults of African origin, the
*563 candomblés. The creoles of Bahia constitute a typical spectacle
794 in the streets of the city; one can see them there, making their
443 way to a fetishist-cult center or sitting beside stalls in which they
262 display, especially during the popular festivals, the foods of the famous local cuisine, which is also of African origin to a great extent.

*563 The words pardo and mestiço, both having, as we have seen,
829 the meaning of mulatto, serve to designate the descendants of a
192 cross between Europeans and Blacks. Every variation of these
826 types, depending on the intensity of the color or the nature of the hair, was formerly designated by a particular name fallen into disuse today. One speaks of light mulatto or dark mulatto, according to the predominance of one or the other of the characteristics; the light mulattoes, when their hair is very similar to that of Whites, are also called cabo verdes or rôxos. A young girl showing
[196] few traces of crossbreeding is a roxinha or even a cabrocha; in this case the inhabitants of Bahia use a diminutive in order to remove from the word any pejorative meaning.

5: Azevedo--19 D. Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
[Salvador]

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1. A colored business-man.

5: Azevedo--84 D. Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
[Salvador]

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7. Black painter.

5: Azevedo--20 D. Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[Salvador]

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At the University

5: Azevedo--64 D. Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
[Salvador]

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5. Mixture of races in Bahia.

5: Azevedo--65 D, Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
[Salvador]

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6. The Black at work.

5: Azevedo--85 D. Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[Salvador]

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8. Composers of music.

5: Azevedo--106 D, Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[Salvador]

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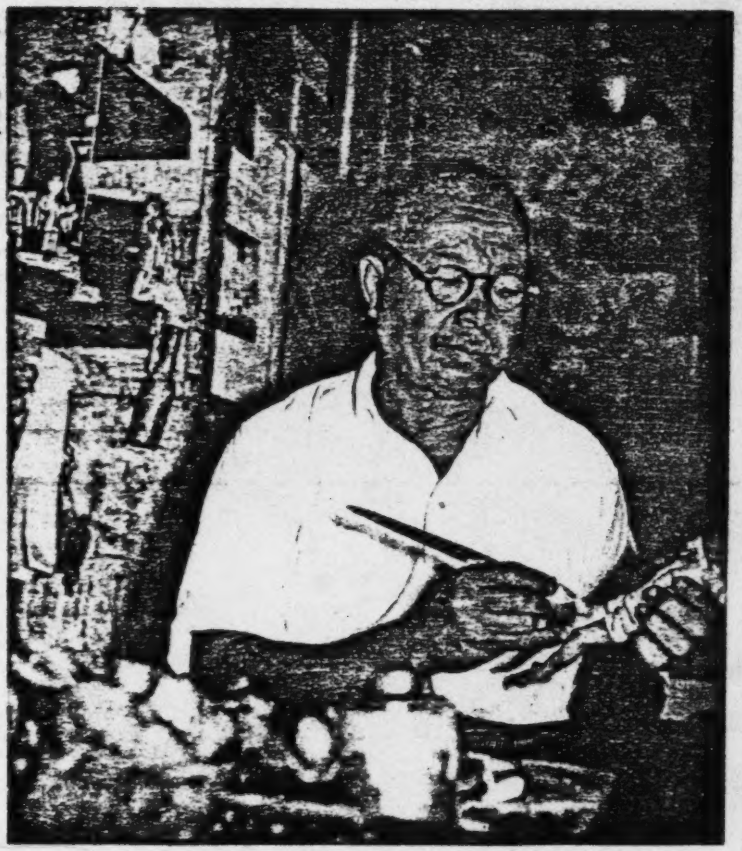

10. A colored artisan.

5: Azevedo--128 D, Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
[Salvador]

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11. A "mae de santo."

[Class C Families]

565*
(tamancos), or perhaps leather shoes. Women wear a dress 291
and a slip and are usually barefoot. Dress-up occasions also [292]
call for undergarments, stockings, and shoes. Great modesty
is always shown about exposing oneself in front of others. 565*
Few of the men shave themselves, going to the barber for 305
this as well as for haircuts. There are several women who 302
are experts at hair straightening, which they do with a flat-
iron, although most women and girls in this class who have
the problem of straightening their hair know how to do it them-
selves.

In Class C as well as in Class B the father is the dominant 517
person. He rules the household. He is the one who is served 565*
at meals, whose clothing is always clean and pressed, and 592
who goes out the most. He spends much of his leisure time [184]
in one of the several stores, talking and taking an occasional
drink of rum; or on one of the few shaded corners playing
dominoes with his friends; or else in the bar playing billiards
and gossiping. As a rule he goes to the movies alone, or at
least without his family, although in the higher echelons of the
class families often go to the movies and to church together.
There is one family which is musically inclined, and which [533]
often spends evenings at home together, making up a small
orchestra. If there is a samba in someone's house, many men 565*
from this class will be there watching, while the participants 535
are usually single women and girls from the same class. The 517
men will discuss a woman's physical attributes while she is
in the center of the ring dancing. This is one of the most com-
mon ways in which a girl gets "looked over" and is watched as
she develops. Sooner or later some man will fall in love with
her (apaixonar-se dela), and if she is not well guarded by her
family he will eventually have an affair with her. In the case 565*
of fishermen, most of the time is taken up either by fishing or 226
by caring for equipment, for the nets need a good deal of at- 517
tention. Since the fishermen's hours follow the tides, their
working hours differ from day to day. They often go to bed [513]
early, in anticipation of getting up at three or four in the
morning.

The women, on the other hand, follow a more regular daily 565*
routine of getting the morning coffee ready, getting the chil- 512
dren off to school, going for water and wood, doing the ever- 462
present laundry and ironing, and caring for the younger chil-
dren. In addition, if possible, they prepare xangô to help sup-
plement the family income and go to the fair in Centro on Mon-

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Not listed among the members is a dark mixed-blood of distinguished bearing, probably Bahia's leading colored citizen, son of a white planter and a black slave, able engineer, once federal senator, president of an important intellectual and social organization, and "authority" on the Tupi language. However, an officer of the club, a white banker from one of the leading families whose aristocratic lineage, general competence, and recent contribution of a governor to the state and a federal senator to the national *camara* unquestionably admits its members to the most exclusive circles, once remarked that "if this distinguished colored citizen should sometime apply for membership, there would be no doubt that a man of his intelligence, refinement, and professional competence would be accepted without serious question."

In the schools there is no segregation in any form. Students, however, are predominantly white and light mulatto. The participation of blacks is somewhat limited, and there is a progressive elimination of the darker shades as one climbs the educational ladder. Illiteracy is high, especially in the lower class, in which, as we have seen, blacks and dark mulattoes predominate.

Table 13 indicates more equable participation of the blacks in the elementary schools, especially in those which are state supported, attendance at which is free and hence more accessible to Negro children, concentrated as their parents are in the lower economic levels.

In a parade of school children celebrating Emancipation Day (the thirteenth of May) twelve elementary schools participated, each group being dressed in its distinctive uniform. For example, the boys of one school wore light gray suits with a blue stripe down the trousers, blue belts, and

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

gray caps with blue bands; while the girls wore light gray dresses with blue belts, blue collars, and blue cuffs. Of approximately 325 pupils in the parade, about two-sevenths were black, two-sevenths white, and three-sevenths mulatto, indiscriminately mingled. In eight schools, the proportions were not greatly dissimilar. Two schools, however, were

TABLE 13

COMPARATIVE SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OF THE ETHNIC UNITS AT BAHIA, 1936

School	No. of Schools Sampled	Black	Mulatto	White	Others	Total
Elementary:						
Public	22	438	496	385	16*	1,335
Private	8	40	97	175	3†	315
Parochial	6	31	88	318	13‡	450
Secondary	5§	34	99	300	2‖	525
Superior (Faculties of Law, Medicine, Engineering)	3	12	88	424	6¶	530
Trade	3	88	122	123	2**	335
Normal	1	45	83	157	0	285

* *Cafuso*, 0; *mameluco*, 7.
† *Cafuso*, 2; *mameluco*, 1.
‡ *Cafuso*, 5; *mameluco*, 8.
§ One public, 2 private, 2 ecclesiastical.
‖ *Cafuso*, 2.
¶ *Cafuso*, 2; *mameluco*, 4.
** *Cafuso*, 1; *mameluco*, 1.

principally black and mixed-blood (in one of which there were 16 blacks, 34 mulattoes, 8 whites); and two schools were largely white (in one of which there were 25 whites, 8 mulattoes, and 5 blacks).

During the 1936 Peruada, which is an annual *festa* held by students at the Faculdades, of 168 individuals participating in a parade, 3 per cent were black, 10 per cent were mulatto, and 87 per cent were white.

At the graduating exercises of one of the Faculdades, no

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937)+1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

For 291 [292]

festive occasions *sandalias*, or leather "mules," are regularly preferred to *chinelas*, and one often sees the common footwear of the lower class, the *tamancos*, simple sandals with wooden soles and leather toe straps; or, occasionally, cloth slippers. Some women go barefoot.

The *torso*, commonly said to be of Arabic origin, was probably brought to Brazil by the Haussás and other Negro followers of Mohammed who were imported from the areas immediately south of the Sahara. In *Globus* for April 28, 1910,[12] there is a photograph taken in Togoland which shows Negroes wearing *torsos*, *panos da costa*, and *saias* similar to those seen today in Bahia, except that the heavily starched petticoat usually worn with the latter is lacking.[13] [177]

The typical wearer of this costume, or *vestimenta bahiana*, as it is called, is a tall, graceful black woman of remarkable physique, self-confident bearing, and intelligent, cheerful countenance. She is known as a *Bahiana*, the first of whom to emigrate from Bahia to Rio, during the disorders attendant on the struggle for independence, impressed the French visitor Debret as notably different from the black women of Rio, not only in dress, but also in general bearing.[14] "The *Bahiana* came to symbolize, by extension, a gracious (*graciosa*) and spirited creole woman."[15] 291 554 [167]

> The *Bahianas* were worth seeing at our festivals, with their resplendent costumes; their arms half-covered with gold or silver bracelets; their diamond earrings; their gold necklaces from which hung . . . . crosses, *figas*, and medallions of the order of *Carmo*, all of gold. . . . . They completely dominated our religious festivals. . . . . They [301]

[12] XCVII, No. 16, 245.

[13] The *saia* is commonly worn in Bahia, on days other than those of festival, without starching the underskirt.

[14] J. B. Debret, *Voyage pittoresque et historique au Brésil, 1816–1831* (3 vols.; Paris, 1835), II, 105.

[15] Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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while the *orixás* "partake" of a special sacrifice offered to them. Her hair is cut off, her head shaved,[8] and dots and circles are painted in white upon the crown, forehead, and cheeks. The initiate then takes on *obí* in her hand, the *atabaques* begin to beat an invocation to her *orixá*, and she dances the special dance sacred to him until he "arrives in her head" and she experiences once more the *estado de santo*. The *yaubá* is then escorted from the *pegi* to the *camarinha*, where she remains for sixteen days before participating in her first public ceremony, whence she returns to the *camarinha* for a period of six months to a year, to be taught the various rituals of the cult, the songs, and, to some extent at least, an African language. Meanwhile, she is subject to certain food and other taboos.

To verify her acceptance by the *orixá*, a *filha* may be required to undergo without evidence of bodily harm an ordeal, such as swallowing lighted candlewicks soaked in *azeite de dendê*, thrusting her hands into boiling palm oil, chewing the leaves of the *urtiga* (Brazilian thistle), or submitting, on bended knee, to being beaten about the neck and arms with a sprig of the thorny *cansanção*.

Throughout her life the new *filha de santo*, in addition to submitting to the "manifestations" of her *orixá*, must perform on occasion certain ritualistic acts, rigorously observe certain food, drink, and sex taboos, and wear a special costume on ceremonial occasions and "days of obligation" (Fridays especially). On her death this costume, together with the other objects of cult worship belonging to her, are taken and dropped into the sea, "to be carried by the waves back to Africa."

Upon being "made," the *filha de santo* acquires a *guia*

[8] Formerly, all hairy parts of the body were shaved.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

office of priest) to him. He is dedicated to the same *orixá*, Ogun, as was she, and speaks, he claims, "a little of six different African languages: Nagô, Gêge, Ige-chá, Queito, Egba, and Musurumi." He owns "a roomful" of ceremonial costumes, one of which is said to have cost six contos (approximately $360). He considers his task to be that of "doing good" and refuses to deal in black magic, an attitude which has cost him, it is said, "much money."[11] He is godfather to approximately a hundred and fifteen children and is soon to be godfather to nine others who are on the point of receiving the baptismal ceremony. He visits about the Reconcavo, particularly in Cachoeira, exercising his office of *pae de santo*, and is said to have paid similar visits to Rio de Janeiro, Pernambuco, Maranhão, and Pará, in each of which he has "made" several *filhas* and "confirmed" *ogans*.

The *achôgun*, or sacrificer, is an elderly black with a kindly face and snow-white hair. The leader of the drummers, or the *alabê*, a jolly black whose mother (now deceased) was a *mãe de santo* in Cidade de Palha, is very expert with the drums, speaks Nagô, and sings in a high-pitched but rather pleasant voice the African *cantigas*, or ritualistic songs. An *ogan* says of him, proudly, "He knows almost as much about African things as a *pae de santo*."

An elderly Negro woman, who walks haltingly with a cane, attends every ceremony. Younger friends carefully help her to a seat where she can see everything that goes on. Leaning forward on her cane, her intelligent eyes wide open, her face continually breaking into beaming smiles, she joins

[11] An *ogan* of this *seita* says that a *pae de santo* in Itapoan named Gregorio (now deceased) once declined twelve contos (approximately $720) "to make a man mad." This *ogan* knows, however, a *mãe de santo* who, as he says, became angered at the remarks of a young skeptic and "made a *negocio*" (literally a "business"; i.e., black magic) which "drove him mad in two days."

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Xangou" ("Praises to Xangô") or "Louvores á Ogun" ("Praises to Ogun"). A small niche built in above the doorway which leads to the *pegi* is neatly decorated with red and white paper bows, and in it stands a crucifix about ten inches high, together with images of the Virgin Mary with the child Jesus in her arms, of Santo Antonio (St. Anthony), and of São Jorge (St. George).

In a circle in front of the drums are twenty-two women, the oldest of whom is about sixty years of age and the youngest eight. Fourteen are blacks, eight are mulattoes, none of whom is very light. All have serious expressions on their faces, especially the little girl, although none appear in the least bit self-conscious. Six are *yaubs*, or initiates, in the process of being "made," and range in age from fourteen to seventeen years. Two are dedicated to Omanlú (Omolú), and four to Oxun. The Omanlú initiates are dressed principally in shades of red. Strands of hemp died reddish-brown drop from the head to below the knee, completely obscuring the face. Above the head the strands rise vertically and are tied together in a cluster at the end. Below the hem of a dark-red skirt appear white pantalettes which fit tightly over the legs and extend to the ankle. Each girl wears four strands of cowries around each bare arm at the biceps and a long string of cowries over the right shoulder and under the left arm.

The Oxun initiates have their heads shaved, and three concentric circles have been painted in white around the crown. Smaller circles intercept the outer of these three. Large white spots have also been painted on the face, the neck, and the back of the head. Four feathers, one of which is red, one white, one black, and one brown, are held firmly upright at the forehead by a ribbon tied very tightly. Each

[SALVADOR]

/72 cont./

*563 794 [565] social classes, the proportion of colored people varies from one to another. This is particularly striking in the brotherhoods and third orders, associations that have centuries of existence, founded for purposes of spiritual perfection, almost all long since transformed into organizations of charity and mutual aid. These organizations have always been very important in all of Latin America for marking or confirming the social classification of their members. When a biographical sketch of a distinguished person is published in a newspaper of Bahia, it always mentions the brotherhoods to which he belongs or in which he occupies a management position. During certain large religious festivals one can see men who are not "practicing" Catholics personally appear with their brotherhoods or third orders, dressed in costumes characteristic of these same societies, a torch in their hand, carrying the canopy and marching in a group. It is greatly desired to be able to become part of these institutions that give evidence of the high position and the prestige that one has acquired. The elections for the management of one of these brotherhoods, upon which hospitals, orphanages, and old people's homes depend and which administer a rich endowment, arouse extraordinary interest among the great merchants and the people of liberal professions who are members of them. The office of headmaster, that is to say, of president, an office to which no remuneration is attached and which demands great devotion, is very eagerly contended for, because it offers its holder the possibility of augmenting his social and political prestige and of showing his administrative abilities. These organizations were created in the colonial period in order to gather together, under the aegis of /73/ the Church, as happened in Portugal, persons of different social and economic groups for the purpose of spiritual improvement, but also in order to permit them to show their rank. Thus it is understood that even today they are arranged in hierarchies according to class lines, although the distinctions that separate them are in the process of becoming less clear and less rigid every day, with new conditions of urban life and with the appearance of other institutions having similar social aims. There are, for example, although

*563 554 794 [796] [292] [175] [178] [565]

5: Azevedo--129 D. Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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12. Brotherhood of Blacks.

443 upper part of town also sells cloth. Most stores also have small supplies of chocolate (considered a great treat at a party), tea, honey, canned desserts such as guava, and canned butter and cheese. As a rule fresh vegetables are not sold in the stores but peddled through the streets, since few people eat them. It is more practical to order them specially from someone going to the fair in Centro. Nearly everyone has a banana tree or an orange tree in the back yard, so that few fruits are sold in the stores. The other seasonal crops, such as cashew nuts, corn, and pineapples, are peddled from house to house. As a rule people in Vila Recôncavo buy their food in small quantities, since they have no methods of food preservation. A liter bottle is carried to the store to be filled with oil or kerosene; a small can is carried there to be filled with rice, beans, or farina. The smoked meat called charque is bought by the kilo and left hanging in the kitchen, and strips are cut from it at meal times. Although the price of charque is as high as that of fresh meat, and at times higher, people say it is more satisfying. As a rule the butcher in Vila Recôncavo kills two steers a week, on Wednesday and Saturday. The meat is carried through the streets unwrapped, hanging from a cord. It is not unusual to see a string of dogs following such a person. The meat is eaten the same day to prevent spoilage, and as a result it is usually tough and flavorless.

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463 Most of the people included in Group 1 lead an upper-class kind of life; indeed to a great extent these people are the town's highest class, as will be shown in the next chapter. These are the people who do little or no labor themselves other than the white-collar work with which they earn their living. The men dress in city clothes most of the time--white shirt, tie, and suit coat--and the women are always neatly dressed with shoes and silk stockings. (The oil workers are an exception, for they do not hold white-collar jobs but wear overalls and helmets). There is always help to do the housework and the marketing. Sometimes a cook is employed; otherwise the lady of the house does her own cooking, assisted by her daughters. The laundry is sent out, or else the laundress comes to the house to do it, and water for drinking purposes and for washing is brought to the house by a man or woman employed for the purpose; members of the household never fetch water at the wells. Often the house has a cement tank and drains on the roof to catch rainwater. Nor does any member of the house fetch firewood, which is supplied by a hired person.

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743 so there is competent medical assistance. Those who are too poor to pay receive free aid and medications, milk, and soup; those who can pay do so, paying only the wholesale prices of the articles. The institute is well equipped, with an x-ray machine, diathermy, and other heat appliances, which are popular because of the prevalence of colds and rheumatism.

743 529 [546] 743 873 The institute also operates the weekly motion picture which has been a great boon to the town, a recreation room, centrally located in the town, which has a radio, billiard tables, and a bar selling milk shakes, sandwiches, beer, and soft drinks. This place has become the major meeting place for the men and boys of the town. In addition to this, the institute also runs a night school for adults.

463 [571] [462] Group 2, as listed at the beginning of this chapter, consists mainly of the people who work for those in Group 1 and who are attached to them by the bonds of the patronship to some extent, as well as by salary. The majority of persons in this category are women, engaged in the traditional female pursuits of washing, ironing, sewing, embroidering, and general housework.

296 462 463 [482] As a rule the laundry is washed at one of the town wells, which are encased in cement. The women carry the dirty clothes, a bucket, and wooden basin, all piled on top of their heads, to the well. They pull up enough water in their buckets to fill the basins in which the clothes are washed. After a soaking and scrubbing with soap the wet, soapy clothes are spread out on the ground in the sun, and from time to time water is sprinkled on them to aid the sun in bleaching. Then the clothes are rewashed and spread out to dry. Depending upon the weather, the washing and drying process may take from a whole day to three or four days before the clothes are considered clean enough. Then they are taken home to be [463] ironed. The older pattern demanded that a different person do the ironing, but today this pattern is breaking down and frequently the same person washes and irons. [178] The irons used are the old-fashioned kind heated by charcoal, which is placed inside and ignited. The irons are made with drafts to keep the fire going, and the women must stop frequently to fan the fire or renew the charcoal. Often a busy woman has two irons going and sets one aside to heat while she irons with the other.

462 252 463 Many women also prepare xangó, a small sardinelike fish caught in great quantities by the fishermen of Vila Recônca-

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SC11 Bahia Brazilians SC11

VILA RECÔNCAVO

These houses (solares, or sobrados) were enormous, constructed of stone and mortar, with wooden floors and ceilings. Stone and wood were themselves a sign of wealth, since it was necessary to bring them from a great distance. The furniture was often of handworked rosewood. Affluence was especially shown in table service of silver, porcelain, and crystal, most of which was imported from Europe. Members of the families frequently dressed in fine damask silks and were adorned with fine jewelry of gold and precious stones. It was not unusual for the plantation master to dress a few of his favorite slaves almost as well as his family and to parade them to church as an indication of his wealth. Another method of demonstrating wealth was the support of churches, especially that of the Tertiary Order of Franciscans.

175 249* 565* [342] [291] [301] [567] [794]

The plantation master eventually lost his prominence. When the capital of the colony was moved from Bahia to Rio de Janeiro in 1763 he was no longer so politically powerful, except locally, for there was too much distance between him and the new capital. Transportation was poor and communication still poorer. Also, other crops--namely coffee, cotton, rubber, and finally cacao--became more valuable than sugar. The abolition of slavery in 1888 was the final blow to the power of the plantation master.

175 178 249* 565* [567]

It was usually admitted that the greatest wealth or source of wealth of the plantation master was his slaves. At first the Portuguese colonists tried to enslave the Indians and put them to work on the sugar plantations, but the Indians sickened and died off easily. There was also great opposition, on the part of the Jesuits, to the enslavement of Indians. The importation of African slaves seemed to be the solution. From the middle of the sixteenth century until about the middle of the nineteenth century ships plied back and forth from Bahia to the west coast of Africa, carrying tobacco, leather, and rum to be traded for slaves. The African slave always brought a higher price in the market in Bahia than did the Indian slave. It was considered that a normal plantation or mill of a thousand acres needed approximately two hundred slaves, divided among the fields, the mill, the various skills, and the house of the owner. In the nineteenth century the procurement of slaves became increasingly difficult as a result of European, North American, and even Brazilian opposition to slavery. In the mid-nineteenth century the slave trade was officially prohibited and the traffic became clandestine. The prices of slaves soared at this

175 567 249* [435] [464] [435]

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[P. 155]

VILA RECÔNCAVO

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An old cult priestess

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The "beauty parlor," Vila Recôncavo

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

Paris fashions largely dictate the nature of female attire among the upper classes at Bahia, but many black women still wear the *vestimenta bahiana*. This costume is composed of a *saia*, or very full skirt, of varying combinations of colors, which ordinarily measures some twelve to fifteen feet in circumference at the hem and is worn *bouffant*, spread by a heavily starched underskirt; a *bátá*, or long, loose-flowing white blouse which is ordinarily of cotton cloth but occasionally of silk, trimmed, in most cases, with wide lace, sometimes worn very loose at the neck and allowed to slip off one shoulder; a *pano da costa*, or long, heavy, striped cotton cloth, at times worn slung over the shoulder and pinned under the opposite arm, at times wrapped once or twice in a wide fold about the waist and tied rather tightly; a *torso*, or turban, of cotton or silk, bound about the head; *chinelas*, or strapless leather sandals with low heels; numerous necklaces of coral, cowries, or glass beads, with an occasional metal chain, often of silver; earrings of turquoise, coral, silver, or gold; and numerous bracelets of cowries or of iron, copper, or other metal. The *balangandan*, formerly an important ornament, has disappeared.[1]

As an alternate to the *bátá* a white blouse is sometimes worn tucked inside the *saia*, and in place of the *pano da costa* a woolen or silken shawl is occasionally substituted. For

[1] The *balangandan* (also known as *berenguenden*, *balançançan*, *cambaio*, or *penca*) consisted of a gold or silver frame on which were hung gold or silver images of animals, birds, fowls, fish, flowers, parts of the human body, houses, household utensils, amulets (including gold or silver balls inclosing soil from a cemetery), bells, medallions with religious significance, angels, suns, moons, etc. It was worn on festive occasions, tied at the waist (see F. Marques dos Santos, "As balangandans," *Espelho*, April, 1936). Many impoverished families, attracted by recent high prices of gold and silver, have disposed of these relics of a former splendor. A limited number may still be seen among the heirlooms of wealthy Bahians.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

For festive occasions *sandalias*, or leather "mules," are regularly preferred to *chinelas*, and one often sees the common footwear of the lower class, the *tamancos*, simple sandals with wooden soles and leather toe straps; or, occasionally, cloth slippers. Some women go barefoot.

The *torso*, commonly said to be of Arabic origin, was probably brought to Brazil by the Haussás and other Negro followers of Mohammed who were imported from the areas immediately south of the Sahara. In *Globus* for April 28, 1910,[12] there is a photograph taken in Togoland which shows Negroes wearing *torsos*, *panos da costa*, and *saias* similar to those seen today in Bahia, except that the heavily starched petticoat usually worn with the latter is lacking.[13]

The typical wearer of this costume, or *vestimenta bahiana*, as it is called, is a tall, graceful black woman of remarkable physique, self-confident bearing, and intelligent, cheerful countenance. She is known as a *Bahiana*, the first of whom to emigrate from Bahia to Rio, during the disorders attendant on the struggle for independence, impressed the French visitor Debret as notably different from the black women of Rio, not only in dress, but also in general bearing.[14] "The *Bahiana* came to symbolize, by extension, a gracious (*graciosa*) and spirited creole woman."[15]

> The *Bahianas* were worth seeing at our festivals, with their resplendent costumes; their arms half-covered with gold or silver bracelets; their diamond earrings; their gold necklaces from which hung . . . . crosses, *figas*, and medallions of the order of *Carmo*, all of gold. . . . . They completely dominated our religious festivals. . . . . They

[12] XCVII, No. 16, 245.

[13] The *saia* is commonly worn in Bahia, on days other than those of festival, without starching the underskirt.

[14] J. B. Debret, *Voyage pittoresque et historique au Brésil, 1816–1831* (3 vols.; Paris, 1835), II, 105.

[15] Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

794 [302] Three of the dancers are *yauôs*, in process of being "made." Their heads have been shaved clean, and white spots and [301] blue lines have been painted upon them. On their cheeks are white spots and white lines. Around the neck, or over the right shoulder and under the left arm, are long chains of large cowries imported from the West Coast.

794 346 353 177 776 In a special building with a cement floor is "the throne room of Xangô." At one side is an altar to him, which is lavishly decorated with candles and flowers, both fresh and artificial. Indicating the fusion of Catholic and fetish elements, one notes on the lower step an image of Santo Antonio, on the second, one of Nossa Senhora das Candeias, on the third, an image of the twins, Cosme and Damião, and, on the top level, one of São Jeronimo. The *mãe de santo* says that Santo Antonio is "just another name" for Ogun; as similarly is Nossa Senhora das Candeias, for the water deity, Oxun; Cosme and Damião, for Beji; and São Jeronimo, for Xangô.

794 346 [352] On the other side of the room is "the throne of Xangô," a wooden chair, intricately carved, with a pillow for a headrest. Suspended on the walls are pictures of several Catholic saints.

[353] In the center of an adjoining room is "the spring of the *mãe d'agua*," a huge basin built of cement and containing ten to twelve inches of water. On the wall is the Nagô inscription, "Ilé Awon Afonjá" ("House of Xangô").

794 793 159 The leader of another *seita* is a male black, known as Pae Procopio, sixty-six years of age, of Gêge descent, whose father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, he proudly boasts, were all Africans and *paes de santo*. His mother's sister was also "an *Africano*," but his mother was a Brazilian-born black, a *mãe de santo* who "deixou o cargo" (i.e., left the

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Xangou" ("Praises to Xangô") or "Louvores á Ogun" ("Praises to Ogun"). A small niche built in above the doorway which leads to the *pegi* is neatly decorated with red and white paper bows, and in it stands a crucifix about ten inches high, together with images of the Virgin Mary with the child Jesus in her arms, of Santo Antonio (St. Anthony), and of São Jorge (St. George).

In a circle in front of the drums are twenty-two women, the oldest of whom is about sixty years of age and the youngest eight. Fourteen are blacks, eight are mulattoes, none of whom is very light. All have serious expressions on their faces, especially the little girl, although none appear in the least bit self-conscious. Six are *yaubôs*, or initiates, in the process of being "made," and range in age from fourteen to seventeen years. Two are dedicated to Omanlú (Omolú), and four to Oxun. The Omanlú initiates are dressed principally in shades of red. Strands of hemp died reddish-brown drop from the head to below the knee, completely obscuring the face. Above the head the strands rise vertically and are tied together in a cluster at the end. Below the hem of a dark-red skirt appear white pantalettes which fit tightly over the legs and extend to the ankle. Each girl wears four strands of cowries around each bare arm at the biceps and a long string of cowries over the right shoulder and under the left arm.

The Oxun initiates have their heads shaved, and three concentric circles have been painted in white around the crown. Smaller circles intercept the outer of these three. Large white spots have also been painted on the face, the neck, and the back of the head. Four feathers, one of which is red, one white, one black, and one brown, are held firmly upright at the forehead by a ribbon tied very tightly. Each

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

794 girl carries in her hand the insignia of Oxun, a *leque* (fan) of brass decorated with a star.

794 All the other dancers, except one, are dressed in the
796 *bahiana* costume, with wide-flowing skirts of bright-colored
[291] cotton prints, blouses trimmed in handmade lace, and a *pano da Costa* two feet in width tied tightly around the small of the back and over the breasts. One woman about thirty-five years of age is dressed in an ordinary street costume of
[301] tailored blouse and skirt. Many of the dancers wear bracelets of copper, brass, bronze, lead, or glass beads, often on both wrists and occasionally three to four to the arm. One dancer has five strands of cowries about her neck.

794 The priestess of the *seita*, Mãe Menininha, is a large
793 black woman, forty-one years of age, who has officiated in this *seita* for twenty-four years. She proudly speaks of herself as "uma neta d'um Africano" ("the granddaughter of an African").

786 Every dance begins with the salutation of the *mãe de san-*
535 *to*, which is accomplished by striking decisively the *agôgô*.
794 Immediately the drums take up the rhythm. The *filhas* be-
796 gin to dance, the circle turning like the rim of a wheel,
[576] counterclockwise. The women have their hands clasped be-
[533] hind their backs, their shoulders are hunching backward and forward, their bodies bending at the waist from side to side. One of the Oxun initiates moves with a halting, jerking movement, then suddenly pivots a complete turn. All the dancers are singing a refrain which sounds like, "Ô-mi-á, bá-
794 tû-lê." After some twenty minutes of continuous dancing,
796 one of the *filhas* suddenly becomes "possessed," her eyes
787 close, her expression becomes listless, while her neck and shoulder muscles work convulsively back and forth "in
786 time to the music." Voluntary control is apparently gone,

[SALVADOR]

/83 cont./

*563 463 The proportion of colored persons in each liberal profession depends on various factors. In those that have the least prestige (agricultural engineers as compared to civil engineers, non-graduate lawyers as compared to graduate ones) this proportion is *563 759 larger. A very black student of medicine calls attention to the fact that the Blacks in general do not devote themselves to surgery: "Some take up this specialization, but end up by remaining in the general clinic. Odontology is not a good career for them either: what well-dressed white girl would wish to open her mouth *563 758 759 743 565 in front of a Black?" In the hospitals, physicians and attendants of all types care for the sick, who are all gathered together according to their maladies and according to their rank, and not according to their color; in the private clinics that take patients of the higher classes, everyone is admitted, provided that he can pay the price demanded.

*563 554 463 The title of "doctor" and the marks of deference due a graduate are given without distinction to black or white persons who practice a liberal profession, which is why some of them have retained the habit of wearing on one of the fingers of the hand a "symbolic • [301] ring" of their profession, in order to be able to be identified and treated with the requisite consideration. Moreover, a Black may manifest the desire to practice a liberal profession without encountering hostility or scorn on the part of the Whites. In spite of this, some tens of years ago there were professors who humiliated a black student showing little intelligence or little industry, by saying "while so many people need a cook or laundress, there are Blacks who have presumed to become doctors." The author asked [124] the professors of a primary school of the State for permission to question its 93 most advanced students, of both sexes, about the careers that they wished to take up later. The percentage of replies received, according to sex and type, were:

5: Azevedo--128 D, Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
[Salvador]

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11. A "mae de santo."

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Class C Families]

565*
(tamancos), or perhaps leather shoes. Women wear a dress 291
and a slip and are usually barefoot. Dress-up occasions also [292]
call for undergarments, stockings, and shoes. Great modesty
is always shown about exposing oneself in front of others. 565*
Few of the men shave themselves, going to the barber for 305
this as well as for haircuts. There are several women who 302
are experts at hair straightening, which they do with a flat-
iron, although most women and girls in this class who have
the problem of straightening their hair know how to do it them-
selves.

In Class C as well as in Class B the father is the dominant 517
person. He rules the household. He is the one who is served 565*
at meals, whose clothing is always clean and pressed, and 592
who goes out the most. He spends much of his leisure time [184]
in one of the several stores, talking and taking an occasional
drink of rum; or on one of the few shaded corners playing
dominoes with his friends; or else in the bar playing billiards
and gossiping. As a rule he goes to the movies alone, or at
least without his family, although in the higher echelons of the
class families often go to the movies and to church together.
There is one family which is musically inclined, and which [533]
often spends evenings at home together, making up a small 565*
orchestra. If there is a samba in someone's house, many men 535
from this class will be there watching, while the participants 517
are usually single women and girls from the same class. The
men will discuss a woman's physical attributes while she is
in the center of the ring dancing. This is one of the most com-
mon ways in which a girl gets "looked over" and is watched as
she develops. Sooner or later some man will fall in love with
her (apaixonar-se dela), and if she is not well guarded by her
family he will eventually have an affair with her. In the case 565*
of fishermen, most of the time is taken up either by fishing or 226
by caring for equipment, for the nets need a good deal of at- 517
tention. Since the fishermen's hours follow the tides, their [513]
working hours differ from day to day. They often go to bed
early, in anticipation of getting up at three or four in the
morning.

The women, on the other hand, follow a more regular daily 565*
routine of getting the morning coffee ready, getting the chil- 512
dren off to school, going for water and wood, doing the ever- 462
present laundry and ironing, and caring for the younger chil-
dren. In addition, if possible, they prepare xangô to help sup-
plement the family income and go to the fair in Centro on Mon-

3: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1963 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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1. Mulatto cowboy of the interior of Bahia

[facing P. 18]

3t Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1963 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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3. Caboclo of the interior of Bahia

[facing P. 42]

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
BRAZIL SL1
East Brazil SN1

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Stewart recounts of Rio in 1852 that "two black African women, richly and fashionably attired, came sauntering along with the most conscious air of high-bred self-possession. They were followed by a black female slave, also in full dress, carrying a black baby three or four months old, and decked out in all the finery of an aristocratic heir—an elaborately wrought, lace-frilled and rosetted cap, and long flowing robe of thin muslin beautifully embroidered, and ornamented with lace."[105]

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[794]

A fashion which in the early part of the nineteenth century served "to mark the high rank of those (of either sex) who adopted it" was that of "permitting the nails of the fore-finger and thumb to grow to a great length . . . . [and be] cut to a sharp point."[106] Today, while the whites in Bahia no longer follow this fashion, one occasionally sees individuals of prominence in the Negro group—for instance, Mãe Anninha of the *candomblé* of São Gonçalo—with long fingernails.

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However, assimilation is not a process in which the individuals of only one of the races in contact are modified thereby while members of the other race remain unchanged. Circumstances in Brazil were such as to favor the taking-over by the whites of certain African elements. One rarely found a white child, especially during the slave period, who had not been reared by a Negro *ama*. She "gave him of her own milk, rocked him in his cradle or hammock, taught him his first words of halting Portuguese, his first Padre Nosso, his first Ave Maria, his first 'vôtel' or 'oxente'; she put into his mouth the first *pirão* with meat and

[105] *Op. cit.*, p. 295.

[106] Andrew Grant, *History of Brazil* (London, 1809), p. 234.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
BRAZIL SLI

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lives participation in two different, and to some extent antagonistic, worlds which met and fused, so to speak, in their own personalities. They were perhaps, to some extent at least, "marginal men."[40]

The Brazilian mixed-blood was marginal, however, in the cultural rather than in the racial sense. Often he had moved during his lifetime from the lower rungs of the class ladder to the middle or even upper tiers. He had achieved some measure of recognition and was enjoying certain of the advantages of the upper classes. At the same time he was deeply sensitive to his servile origin and to the fact that he inescapably carried with him in his physical characteristics a mark of low status. Thus, Goncalves Dias was, we are told, throughout his life a melancholy soul. "A wound always bleeding, although hidden under the cloak of a *doutor*. Sensitive to his inferior origin, to the stigma of his color, to his negroid features always shouting at him from his mirror, 'Remember you are a mulatto!' "[41] The mixed-blood became noted for an extravagant use of perfume which seems to have been an overcompensation for the body odor, the so-called *catinga*, or *budum*, reputedly characteristic of the African. At home the mulatto sought to keep out of sight the "*tira-teima* of the family," the relative whose dark color or negroid features too clearly betrayed his "less noble" origin. In an attempt to convince himself and others of his identity with the upper strata, he often developed an "emphatic Aryanism" and became, like Machado de Assis or Olavo Bilac, "a champion of the white against the black."[42]

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[302]
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[40] See Robert E. Park, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIII (May, 1928), 881; Everett Stonequist, *The Marginal Man* (New York, 1937).

[41] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 320.

[42] *Ibid.*, pp. 335, 355, 363; Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 324.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

159 794 778 [515]

I stayed only seven days in the *casa*,[15] because my head was washed. Others spend three months there, lying down all the time. They lie awhile on one side, then on the other, and then face down. One takes a bath in water perfumed with sacred leaves. Every day. The bath is cold, very cold. You must change your clothes and the bed linen every day. It isn't in a real bed that one lies down. They put a mat on the floor, and you have only a pillow and a sheet. You can move, but only from one side to the other, never over on your back. During the time you are in the *camarinha*, you cannot see your relatives. You may see them only on the day you leave. But then you must go at four in the morning and return at four in the evening so that the dew will not fall on your head.

[513]

There may be others in the *camarinha*. Sometimes many others. All of them stay in the same room. They sleep with their heads together. If there are ten, there will be space for all ten. While they are in the *camarinha*, they do not attend ceremonies.

[302] [776] [793]

I did not go through all this because my head did not have to be shaved. I had my *orixá* from birth. When I came into this world, he already knew everything.[16] My *pae de santo* has "worked" with many people. Last week he was here in Fazenda Grande.

159 262 776

When my *orixá* took possession of me, I quit eating he-goat. Because of the taboo of the *orixá* one cannot eat certain things. During all my life I cannot eat he-goat, because of the taboo. Neither can I eat turtle. For he who is of Xangô does not eat either he-goat or turtle. He who is of Ogum must not eat sheep's meat. Some *filhas* must not eat fruit; others must not eat fish *de couro*, only those fish which have scales. Crabs cannot be eaten by some, nor the leaf of Ogum. Water may be drunk, but only that which is drawn at 4:00 A.M., before the sun rises.

[271]

White maize must be eaten by some, depending on the *orixá*. For every *orixá* of every nation[17] has his own food. There is the food of Odé. There is that of Xangô, which is mutton.

[15] The period during which the candidate is initiated into her new function is spent within the sacred room, or *camarinha*, of the *candomblé* center.

[16] That is, he "knew" that she would be consecrated to him.

[17] That is, of each type of *candomblé*: Gêge-Nagô, Congo, Angolo, *de caboclo*.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

while the *orixás* "partake" of a special sacrifice offered to them. Her hair is cut off, her head shaved,[8] and dots and circles are painted in white upon the crown, forehead, and cheeks. The initiate then takes on *obí* in her hand, the *atabaques* begin to beat an invocation to her *orixá*, and she dances the special dance sacred to him until he "arrives in her head" and she experiences once more the *estado de santo*. The *yaubô* is then escorted from the *pegi* to the *camarinha*, where she remains for sixteen days before participating in her first public ceremony, whence she returns to the *camarinha* for a period of six months to a year, to be taught the various rituals of the cult, the songs, and, to some extent at least, an African language. Meanwhile, she is subject to certain food and other taboos.

To verify her acceptance by the *orixá*, a *filha* may be required to undergo without evidence of bodily harm an ordeal, such as swallowing lighted candlewicks soaked in *azeite de dendê*, thrusting her hands into boiling palm oil, chewing the leaves of the *urtiga* (Brazilian thistle), or submitting, on bended knee, to being beaten about the neck and arms with a sprig of the thorny *cansanção*.

Throughout her life the new *filha de santo*, in addition to submitting to the "manifestations" of her *orixá*, must perform on occasion certain ritualistic acts, rigorously observe certain food, drink, and sex taboos, and wear a special costume on ceremonial occasions and "days of obligation" (Fridays especially). On her death this costume, together with the other objects of cult worship belonging to her, are taken and dropped into the sea, "to be carried by the waves back to Africa."

Upon being "made," the *filha de santo* acquires a *guia*

[8] Formerly, all hairy parts of the body were shaved.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

794 [302] Three of the dancers are *yauôs*, in process of being "made." Their heads have been shaved clean, and white spots and [301] blue lines have been painted upon them. On their cheeks are white spots and white lines. Around the neck, or over the right shoulder and under the left arm, are long chains of large cowries imported from the West Coast.

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SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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5: Azevedo--19 D. Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[Salvador]

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1. A colored business-man.

5: Azevedo--20 D, Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[Salvador]

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At the University

5: Azevedo--84 D, Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
[Salvador]

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7. Black painter.

5: Azevedo--85 D, Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
[Salvador]

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8. Composers of music.

5: Azevedo--105 D, Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[Salvador]

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9. Black artist.

2: Hutchinson E-4, 8 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

(tamancos), or perhaps leather shoes. Women wear a dress and a slip and are usually barefoot. Dress-up occasions also call for undergarments, stockings, and shoes. Great modesty is always shown about exposing oneself in front of others. Few of the men shave themselves, going to the barber for this as well as for haircuts. There are several women who are experts at hair straightening, which they do with a flat-iron, although most women and girls in this class who have the problem of straightening their hair know how to do it themselves.

In Class C as well as in Class B the father is the dominant person. He rules the household. He is the one who is served at meals, whose clothing is always clean and pressed, and who goes out the most. He spends much of his leisure time in one of the several stores, talking and taking an occasional drink of rum; or on one of the few shaded corners playing dominoes with his friends; or else in the bar playing billiards and gossiping. As a rule he goes to the movies alone, or at least without his family, although in the higher echelons of the class families often go to the movies and to church together. There is one family which is musically inclined, and which often spends evenings at home together, making up a small orchestra. If there is a samba in someone's house, many men from this class will be there watching, while the participants are usually single women and girls from the same class. The men will discuss a woman's physical attributes while she is in the center of the ring dancing. This is one of the most common ways in which a girl gets "looked over" and is watched as she develops. Sooner or later some man will fall in love with her (apaixonar-se dela), and if she is not well guarded by her family he will eventually have an affair with her. In the case of fishermen, most of the time is taken up either by fishing or by caring for equipment, for the nets need a good deal of attention. Since the fishermen's hours follow the tides, their working hours differ from day to day. They often go to bed early, in anticipation of getting up at three or four in the morning.

The women, on the other hand, follow a more regular daily routine of getting the morning coffee ready, getting the children off to school, going for water and wood, doing the ever-present laundry and ironing, and caring for the younger children. In addition, if possible, they prepare xangô to help supplement the family income and go to the fair in Centro on Mon-

2: Hutchinson E-4.5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[P-155]

VILA RECÔNCAVO

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An old cult priestess

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The "beauty parlor," Vila Recôncavo

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[3] [101] Regional Terminology. The term "o recôncavo" can be applied to any crescentic littoral. In Brazil, however, "the Recôncavo" is almost universally understood to refer to a semicircle of land bordering the Baía de Todos os Santos in the state of Bahia. It is no more necessary to ask which Recôncavo in Brazil than to ask which South in the United States.

The Recôncavo has a less consistently defined content and bounda than the United States South. The extent of the area intended is individually determined in both common and scholarly usage--usually the lim of the region is implied rather than delineated. In traditional usage the Recôncavo generally is equated with the sugar cane area, but at least as often the area designated includes all the relatively densely settled and intensively utilized zone around the Baía de Todos os Santo

[2] [3] In delimiting the Recôncavo as a preliminary to field and statis cal investigation it seemed desirable to enclose all areas which may customarily be included in the region. In addition, since the Recôncav is conceived here primarily as an agricultural region, it seemed most consistent to include all other contiguous areas of equivalent agricultural utilization. Thus a search was made for a criterion for a tentative boundary which would circumscribe: (1) the traditional Recôncavo areas; and (2) the contiguous areas of equal agricultural intensity; and which in addition would (3) define the limit on a consistent statistical basis. These three requirements would be met with a boundary determined by the per cent of the land in agricultural use--a criterion which would summarize the intensity of land-use for [127] cultivation, fallow, and pasture. Appropriate data were available from the 1940 census. By inspection it was determined that twenty per cent [311] of the total area in agricultural use was the value of an isopleth which would enclose the traditional and equivalent areas and would

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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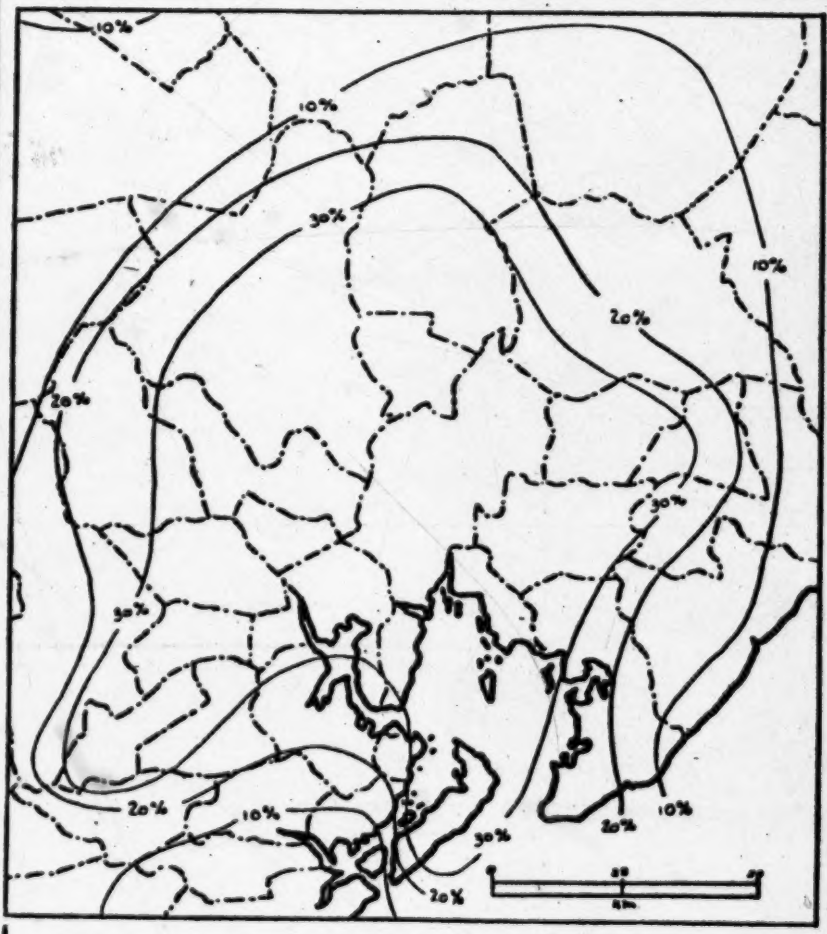

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Area in Agricultural Use—1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia. Vol. II.

MAP 2

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

121 separate them from the manifestly non-Recôncavo areas of the surrounding
131 zone. This limit of twenty per cent of the total area in agricultural
[311] land use corresponded rather closely to the outer boundary of a compact group of twenty-one municípios, and as a tentative regional concept, these twenty-one municípios were considered to be the Recôncavo.[5] The area of the region thus defined is 4,827 square miles (12,500 square kilometers), about equal to the size of the state of Connecticut.

121 Purpose and Procedure. The primary purpose of the research upon
241 which this monograph has been based was to analyze, from a geographical point of view, the structure and the functional organization of agriculture within the Recôncavo. It is not within the present scope to make a detailed comparison of the agricultural patterns of the Recôncavo with those of the rest of the nation. However, because of the general unity of the Brazilian agricultural system and the special relationship between the Recôncavo and the origins of the system, a study of the agriculture of the Recôncavo microcosm is a study of many of the basal aspects of Brazilian agriculture.

241 Very little literature is presently available on the agricultural
127 patterns of the Recôncavo. Certain general characteristics of the agriculture of the region may be deduced from the brief interpretations of maps of the 1948 production of sugar cane, tobacco, and manioc in the state of Bahia published by the Conselho Nacional de Geografía.[6] Indirect information may be gleaned from the general economic and agricultural histories of Brazil and from the sociological studies of the Brazilian northeast.[7] But comprehensive analysis based upon field or statistical study of the geographical patterns of agriculture of either the state of Bahia or of its nuclear region, the Recôncavo, are lacking.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

132 droughts and unseasonable heavy rains fall upon valuable, and vulnerable,
241 field crops. Moreover, the cultivators of the Uplands are characteristically small farmers without large financial resources, so that the social repercussions of bad weather in this area may be marked.

311 137 [241] Wild Vegetation. Wild vegetation is a significant element in the landscape and an important resource for agricultural production in the Recôncavo. In 13 of the 21 municipios of the region, over 10 per cent of the total area, in 1940, was in mata, or forest, which was used as an agricultural resource.[31] In the southwestern third of the Recôncavo as the accompanying map indicates (Map 14), almost one-fifth of the total area was in this "exploited mata." It is inferred, through the addition of "unused and non-productive" land to the "exploited mata," that well over one-half of the total area of the Recôncavo was in wild vegetation.

137 192 In east-central Bahia three terms are used both colloqually and professionally to designate the wild vegetation: (1) Mata is used generally to refer to the littoral evergreen forest of the Brazilian east coast. (2) Caatinga refers to the semi-deciduous scrub-forest of the northeastern Brazilian interior. (3) Agreste designates the transitional forest, intermediate in structure and position between the mata and the caatinga.[32]

137 Vegetation Types. The narrow coastal plain of eastern Brazil, from the Rio Paraíba—in eastern Rio de Janeiro state—to central Bahia, bears a heavy evergreen forest or selva.[33] The northern end of this forest belt is the Baía de Todos os Santos. Although the trees are lower and the species somewhat less diverse than in northern Brazil, the littoral forests of the Recôncavo and the Bahian coast farther south are a characteristic variation of the "tropical rain forest."

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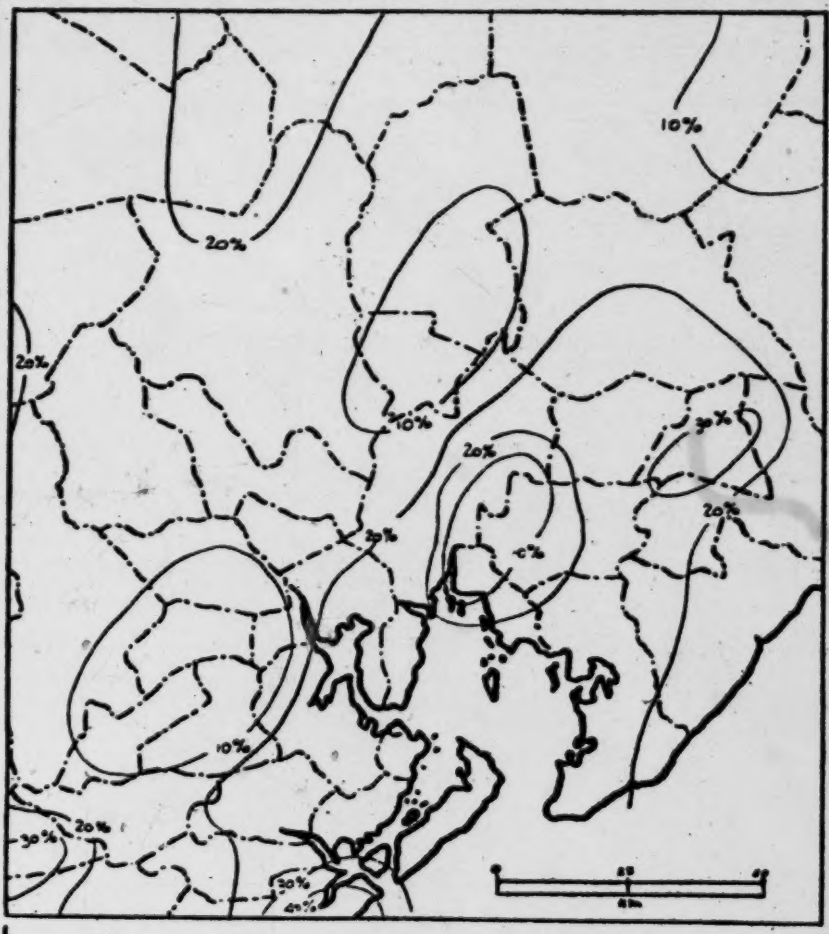

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Area in "Exploited Mata"—1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia. Vol. II.

MAP 14

137 Either because of some ecological limit or because almost all of the forest, even the tallest part, is second-growth, there usually are only two tiers of forest trees. Below the trees there is usually a mass of lianas and dense impassable brush. Often, however, the forest is too young to be fully developed, and there are vast areas of low second-growth trees protruding out of a jungle of climbers, creepers, low brush, and herbaceous plants. This low second-growth, called capoeira de mata, is especially common within the Recôncavo and is the dominant forest type in a zone bounded on the south by an arc from Salvador to Cachoeira and on the north by the limit of the littoral forest. The second-growth forest is characteristic also of the island of Itaparica. The forest of the mainland coast south of the estuary of the Rio Paraguaçu, both within and beyond the Recôncavo, is usually older and thus taller--this southern Bay coast is a zone of widely-scattered cultivation. The forest is interrupted in some places by open areas
137 of grass or low deciduous trees. These openings seem to occur in
• 311 areas of particularly sandy soils. The littoral forest is used primarily as a land reserve for a system of shifting cultivation and secondarily as a source of fuel (charcoal) and lumber. It is not used to any appreciable extent as pasture, even where the grassy openings are extensive.

137 North of the Bay the evergreen littoral forest gives way to the agreste--the semi-deciduous transition forest. The agreste is differentiated from the mata by its deciduous trees and shrubs and by the frequency of the breaks in the forest where open patches of grass are found. The dominant cover is, however, a very dense growth of gnarled brush and low deciduous trees. Above these rise scattered taller deciduous trees and occasional palms, especially the wax palms (such as carnauba). All the vegetation is sub-xerophytic. The agreste is

137 The seasonal variation of the agreste is much like that of the caatinga, but the extremes of vegetative luxuriance are less marked. The scattered evergreen trees and shrubs make the agreste, in the dry season, less of a monochrome than the caatinga.

In addition to the general contrasts between the three basic vegetation types, there are lesser variations within each which are the result of differences in exposure, soil, and land use. These differences are clearly to be seen in the contrasting varieties of scrub forest. In the caatinga sêca (dry scrub forest) the trees are low, usually less than 4 to 5 meters, and the forest is open, with extensive patches of grass and of bare sand. It is most characteristic of sandy uplands in the Crystalline or Tabular Upland zones. In areas where soils, moisture conditions, land-use patterns, etc., are more favorable to forest growth, the characteristic vegetation is caatinga grande. The trees and tall cacti reach 7 to 10 meters, and underneath there is a continuous cover of tall herbaceous plants with little grass and no bare spots. In the agreste, formations similar to caatinga grande and sêca are found. Within the littoral forest, soil and exposure differences sometimes produce marked contrasts. However, the intensive land use in the [311] littoral forest has produced so much second-growth that it is not certain which variations result from environmental and which from human factors. In the littoral forest and to a lesser extent in the caatinga and agreste, there are poorly drained areas with open glades of coarse grass and rank herbaceous plants.

137 311 In the littoral forest, crop cultivation is leaving its mark upon the wild vegetation, producing a formation of low trees and dense ground cover. In those parts of the caatinga and agreste within the Recôncavo, both cultivation and grazing are constantly altering the "natural" development of the vegetation. Extensive areas of a growth

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

137 31 similar to caatinga sêca appear where soil and moisture conditions woul seem to indicate caatinga grande. These areas are especially common where cultivation and grazing are intensive.

The wild vegetation of the Recôncavo is used for forage, timber [313] and fuel. Only the mata is used for timber, and it is exploited only on a small scale. All three of the main vegetation types contribute toward supplying the local market with fuel--firewood and charcoal. Th [314] mata is the principal charcoal source, especially in the forest zone northwest of the city of Salvador and along the Salvador-Feira de Santa highway. In the interior sections of the Recôncavo the caatinga and th agreste provide firewood for cooking and other household purposes. For grazing, the caatinga is far superior to the agreste and the mata, except when the latter is in the first stages of regrowth. Burning is employed extensively in an effort to increase the grazing value of the caatinga and agreste. At first this provides more grass and herbaceou growth, but after repeated burning and continuous over-grazing, there develops an impenetrable cover of thorny, tough brush, three to five feet tall, and quite valueless.[35]

13 Conclusion - Physical Setting. The analysis of the physical setting which is to serve as background for the discussion of agricult in the Recôncavo does not reveal a homogeneous region. Rather it woul seem that the Recôncavo is best visualized as a nodal region, with a relatively homogeneous but areally restricted core and a broad transitional perimeter. The perimeter is composed of several sub-regions, each with a distinctive transitional character. As a summation of [108] the physical setting, each of the sub-regions of the perimeter and cor of the Recôncavo will be assigned a name, as a matter of convenience, with the physical elements briefly indicated for each:[36]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954) 1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

161 São Filipe, northern Conceição do Almeida, southeastern Cruz das Almas,
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241 and the southeastern tenth of Muritiba.
464
[634] The boundaries of this concentration are similar to the boundaries of labor concentrations in other parts of the western Recôncavo. To the southeast the density of the cluster declines sharply across the Intermediate Hills. There are very few fields and few farmers along the estuary of the Paraguaçu, which lies beyond the hills. Much of
[311] this land is in forest. To the west the decline in density is even more abrupt. In the dry caatinga beyond the western limits of Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, and Conceição do Almeida there are only a few scattered ranchers and small-scale farmers.

From the core of the concentration the distribution of agricultural workers continues to be relatively dense toward the north and toward the southwest, and this pattern extends across the "bridge" zone and into the coffee area beyond the Recôncavo. Just beyond the Recôncavo, in the middle of the "bridge," is the city and suburban zone of Santo Antônio de Jesus, which has a minor cluster of agricultural workers. The "bridge" follows the forest and scrub-forest transition.

161 (2) The Northern Concentration: Though the northern and
162 central clusters of the agricultural labor force of the Recôncavo
241 are less well defined and individually less important than the
464 southwestern cluster, they are major concentrations. In the northern
131 Recôncavo a series of clusters extending through eastern Feira de Santana, Irará, and Coração de Maria are grouped in a rough "u-shaped" pattern. This concentration is the second major element of the eccentric belt of dense agricultural labor. The verticals of the "u" follow agricultural belts along the valleys of two tributaries of the (eastern) Rio Pojuca. This is a zone of Tabular Upland and caatinga vegetation.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

128 sketch the modes of cropland distribution which are characteristic of
241 the region. This introductory discussion will be extended in the conclusion of the chapter, when it will be possible to discuss the general patterns of cropland distribution and the changes in the intensity of land use in terms of the specific component crops. The details of the practices of cultivation will be discussed in Chapter VI.

241 The mean intensity of crop cultivation within the Recôncavo is
311 high only in terms of the surrounding sertão. Indeed, there are very
[171] few areas of Brazil of any great size in which the intensity of land use is comparable to that of such areas as Northwestern Europe, Japan, India or even the Midwest of the United States. The landscape of the Recôncavo is composed of a series of small, intensively utilized areas separated and surrounded by zones in which the cultivation of crops is scattered. As a result, the mean intensity of cultivation is low—for the Recôncavo generally, mean figures for agricultural phenomena tend to mask great differences between specific areas. As will be seen, the chief concentrations of crop cultivation are in the Central Recôncavo and on the seaward edge of the Uplands. The principal zones of scattered cultivation are in the Intermediate Hills, in the littoral forest behind the beach line, and on the interior margins of the Uplands where the Recôncavo gradually gives way to the sertão.

241 Even within the areas of relatively intensive cultivation, there are many interruptions. These gaps are not very conspicuous within the restricted confines of the sugar-cane growing Central Recôncavo, but elsewhere the continuity of the fields is broken by patches of second growth and by the slopelands and wet valley bottoms. Most of the cultivated areas of the Recôncavo seem to reflect the grudging acquiescence of nature to the efforts of man and not the triumph of the cultivator

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

231 Livestock production, which offers
241 social prestige as well as economic gain, may occupy land within the
311 cultivated area which more profitably could be devoted to crops. These
554 factors, together with the eccentricities of political boundaries and the vagaries of terrain features, help to produce many distinctive local variations of the general geographical pattern of cultivation and of specific crops.

241 As will be seen in the following discussion, both land rotation (field and fallow) and permanent systems of cultivation are practiced in the Recôncavo. Under the land rotation system, the field is planted for a single year or for several years and is then abandoned to wild vegetation for a fallow period which, in some areas of the Recôncavo, has been reduced to as little as five years. Under the system of permanent cultivation, cropping is either continuous or is interrupted only by brief, widely-spaced fallow periods--in the sugar cane area, four years of cultivation are followed by one year of fallow. The significance of the data on the per cent of the area in cropland depends in part upon the system of cultivation employed.

127 Sources of Data. The statistical data used in the analysis of
241 crops and animals in the following sections were drawn almost exclusively
231 from two sources. Produção Agrícola: 1948[2] was the only source available with relatively complete data, gathered on a consistent basis, for the area, production, and value of the principal crops of Brazil by município units. This basic source has been supplemented by data for livestock taken from "Pobulação Pecuária em 31/12/1948."[3] In general these two sources provide a reasonably accurate and detailed statistical basis for the analysis of crops and livestock.

127 However, a careful inspection of the crop data, and especially
241 the calculation of crop yields by combining area and production data, revealed obvious errors in the figures in a number of instances. Usually

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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Supplementary Crops
(Subsistence and Commercial):

Pineapple (Abacaxi)	168	hectares
Rice (Arroz)	61	"
Tomatoes (Tomate)	46	"
White Potatoes (Batata inglêsa)	44	"
Cotton (Algodão)	40	"
Onions (Cebola)	14	"
Garlic (Alho)	5	"
Green or Snap Beans (Fava)	4	"

241 311 On the basis of the above figures, the total cultivated land in the Recôncavo in 1948 was about 80,000 hectares. In addition to the above, 245 there are a number of tree crops, not cultivated in the true sense, which are important in the agricultural complex. More often than not these "crops" are of spontaneous origin.

[192]

African Oil Palm (Dendê)
Mango (Manga)
Jack Fruit (Jaca)
Cashew (Cajú)
Bread Fruit (Fruta de pão)

231 The following animals are important in the livestock economy of the Recôncavo:

[192]

Cattle (Bovinos)
  Cows (Vacas)
  Oxen (Bois de trabalho)
Sheep (Ovinos)
Goats (Caprinos)
Swine (Suinos)
Donkeys (Asininos or Burros)
Mules (Muares)
Horses (Equinos or Cavalos)

These animals will be discussed in the chapter on animal industry (Chapter VII).

244 Manioc. Manioc was one of the most important cultivated plants which the Portuguese colonists borrowed from the Indians of Brazil. [175] Flour made from the manioc root, farinha de mandioca, was the basic [262] subsistence food of the colonial sugar economy and remains today the [178] [565] principal element of the diet of much of the Brazilian lower class. 000 Manioc production is most notable along the coast of Brazil, from the

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1
Northeast Brazil SO1

B 244 433 Manioc production is most notable along the coast of Brazil, from the mouth of the Amazon to Rio Grande do Sul, but it has considerable importance in the interior of the eastern half of the country.[4] The tonnage of manioc production in Brazil is exceeded only by that of sugar cane--thus manioc is produced in greater quantity than corn, beans, or rice, the other basic subsistence crops. However, the total value of manioc production is less than that of coffee, cotton, corn, or rice. In the Recôncavo the cultivated area of manioc, over BB 244 311 433 262 22,000 hectares, exceeds that of any other crop, and the value of its production is second only to tobacco. It is usually grown as a subsistence crop for local consumption, but there are a few areas of surplus production.

NB BB 244 252 262 Mandioca--manioc, cassava, or yuca--is a stem-propagated perennial which is tolerant of a variety of edaphic, climatic, and cultural conditions. The rootstock of the bitter variety--Manihot utilissima, or M. esculenta--which is most common in Bahia, contains a poisonous substance--manihotoxine--which must be removed before it can be used as human food. In the Northeast the roots almost universally are converted in crude mills into farinha de mandioca, a coarse flour which is eaten in either a raw or cooked state.[5] Sweet manioc (manihot api, in Brazil called aipim) is cultivated on a small scale. The rootstock of this variety may be eaten without extensive processing and is prepared, like the white potato, by boiling.

BB 244 252 433 The cultivation of manioc is a widespread feature of the cultural landscape of east-central Bahia, overshadowed only by the low and scrubby second growth, capoeira, which follows the intensive cultivation of this plant under a system of land rotation. Manioc cultivation and the processing of its roots are the most characteristic pursuits of the rural people--and often the most primitive.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Northeast Brazil SO1

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Manioc is generally cultivated by hand by small cultivators on land near the huts in which they live--[land] called the mandiocal, very common in the interior of the state. The immediate preoccupation of the sertanejo [countryman of the interior] after the construction of his house is the planting of manioc to secure cheap food--either sweet manioc or bitter manioc, which is transformed into flour. All the family are employed in this work. The industry of flour production is rudimentary and it uses simple processes.

BB
NB
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43
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The cultivation of manioc in Bahia is to provide flour for the local market, since the state does not export this product. The development of this culture is, therefore, closely related to the distribution of population, the most productive zones which are noted on the map corresponding to regions where the population is most dense. It is perfectly reasonable that the most productive region corresponds to the Recôncavo, where there is concentrated the mass of the population of Bahia and a large number of towns and cities, the most important and populous in the state. . . . . it is the region of the most highly developed agriculture in the state; it united a relatively dense rural population with manioc, almost always cultivated on a large scale in the zones of the cultivation of tobacco.[6]

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As is indicated in the foregoing quotation, the distributional pattern of manioc reveals a very close association with the cultivation of tobacco and with certain urban centers. But as might be expected in view of the broad environmental tolerance of manioc, its distribution within the Recôncavo is not directly determined by any particular physical factor. Manioc is grown in all parts of the Recôncavo, excepting only the compact pockets of sugar cane cultivation. Only one município, São Sebastião, grew less than 100 hectares or produced less than 1,000 tons of tubers in 1948. In eight municípios the area of manioc cultivation exceeded 1,000 hectares, and the production was more than 10,000 tons in each. About 28 per cent of the cropland of the Recôncavo was in mandioca.[7]

The major concentration of manioc cultivation (Maps 22 and 23) and production (Maps 24 and 25) is along the eastern edge of the Crystalline Uplands in the Southwestern Recôncavo, where in 1948 three municípios[8] grew 54 per cent of the Recôncavo's 22,472 hectares of

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 154]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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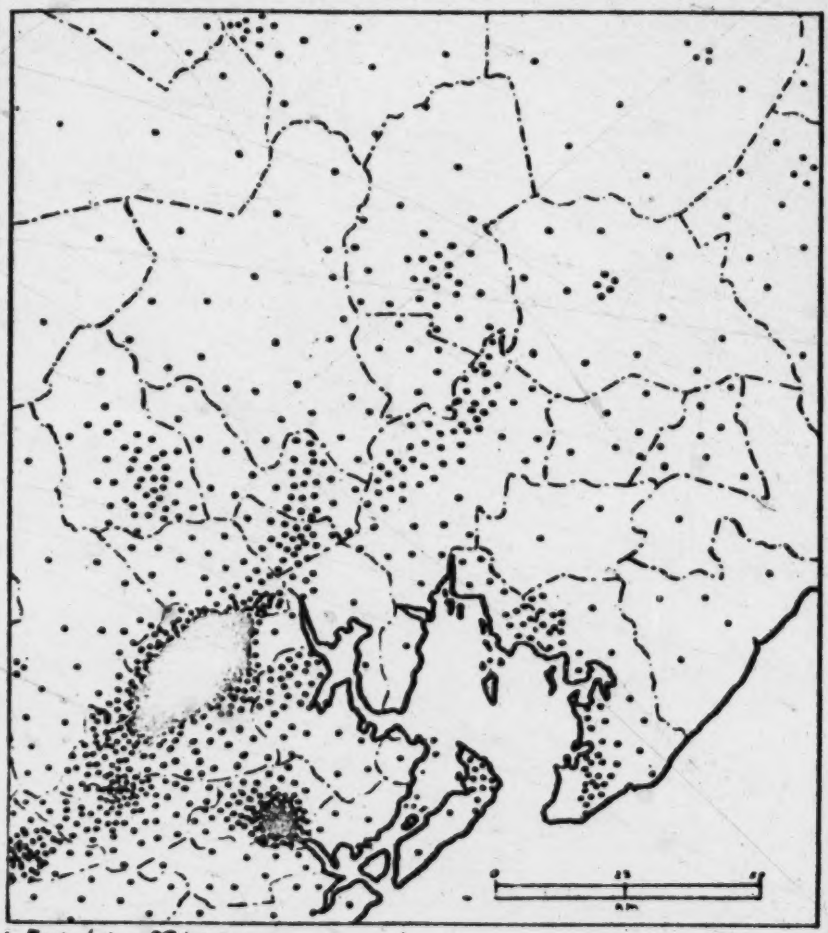

Each dot = 25 hectares

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Area in Manioc—1948

Source data modified from Producão Agricola: 1948.

MAP 22

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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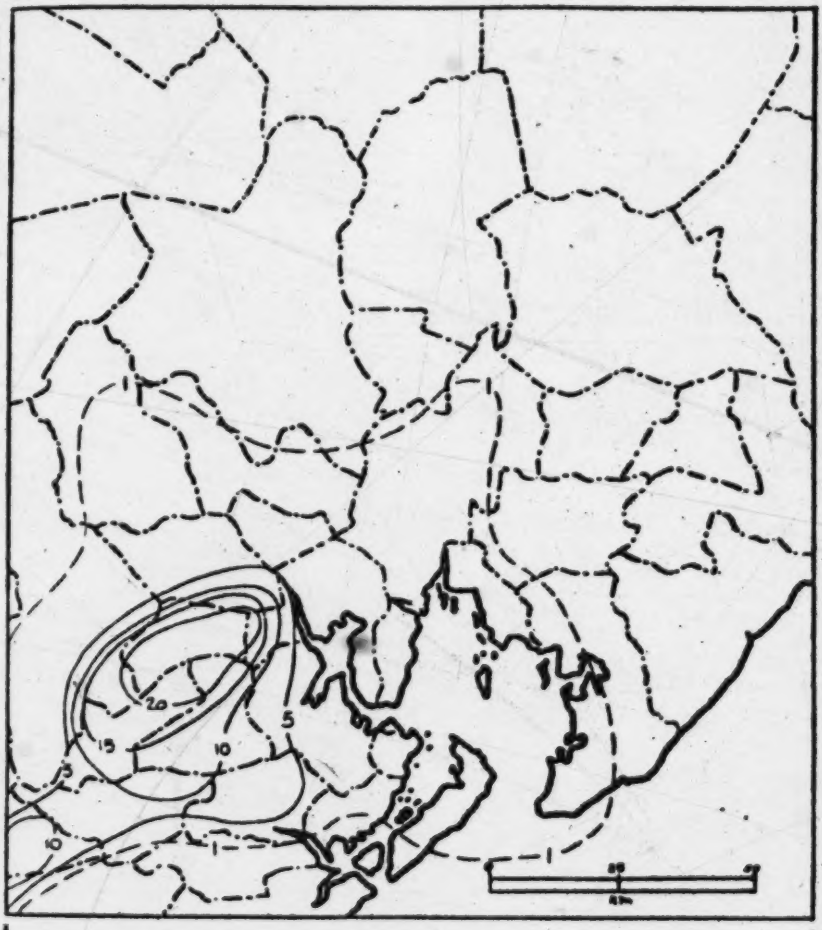

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Hectares of Manioc per Square Kilometer of Total Area—1948

Source data modified from Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 23

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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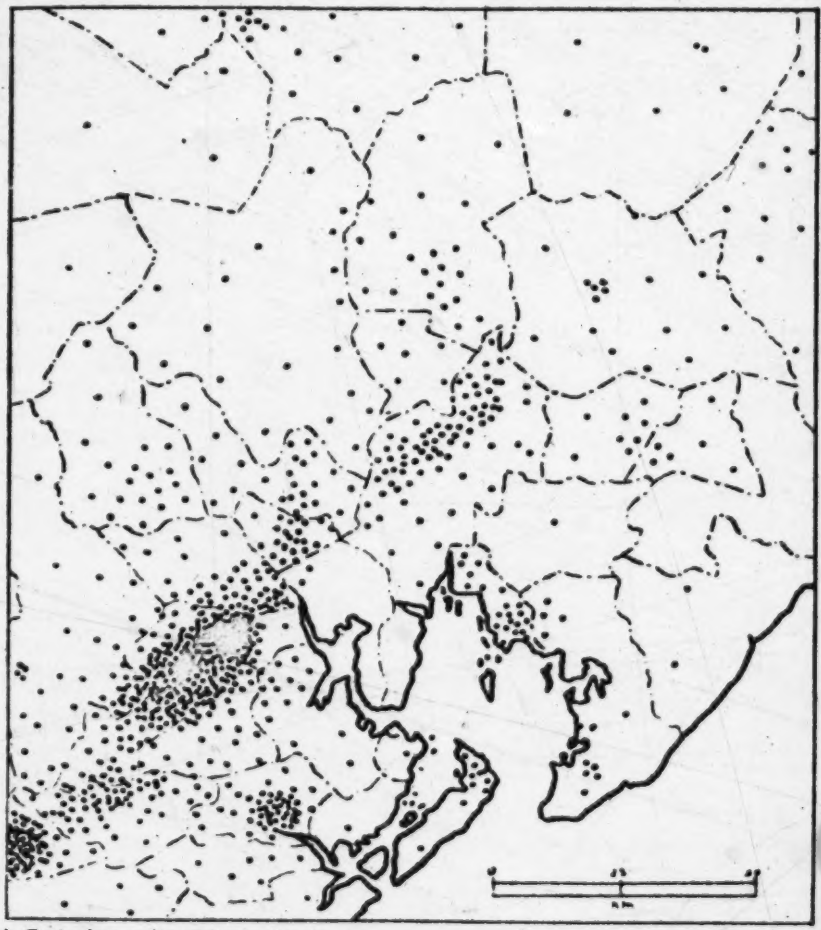

Each dot = 500 metric tons

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Manioc--1948

Source data modified from Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 24

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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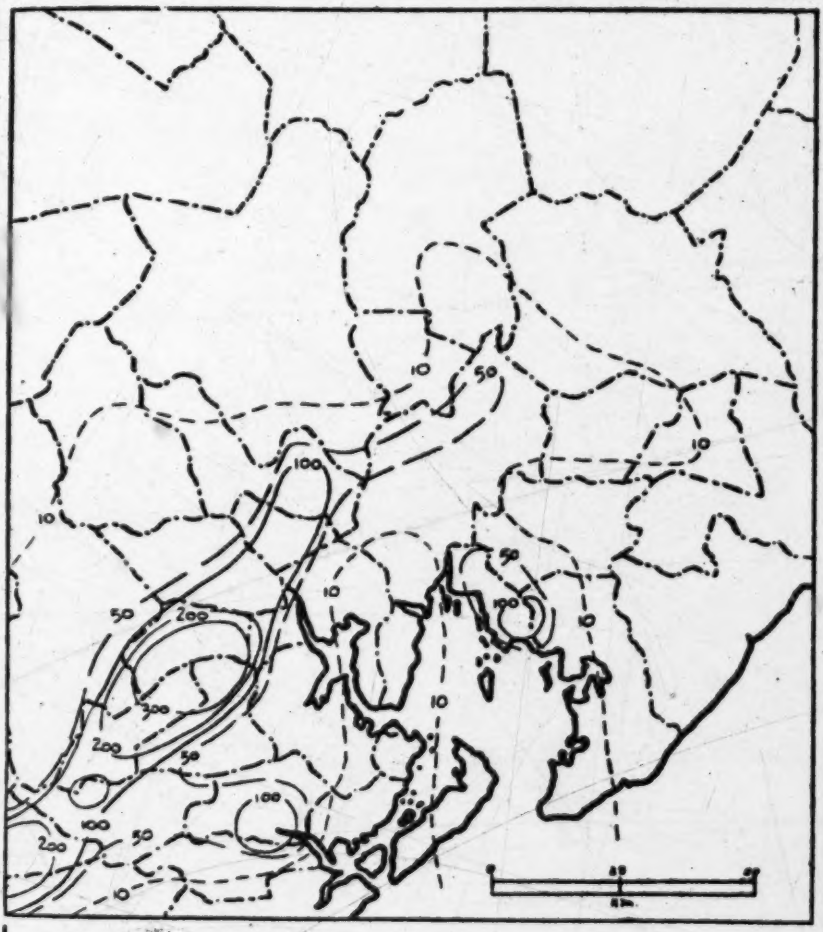

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Tons of Manioc per Square Kilometer of Total Area—1948

Source data modified from Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 25

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

244 manioc and produced 38 per cent of its 393,720 tons of harvested roots.
433
311 Within this sub-region manioc occupied up to 20 per cent of the total land area, i.e., 20 hectares per square kilometer (Map 23). Despite the
[249] intensity of cultivation and the concentration of production, the crop is viewed by the people primarily as a means--subsistence--to an end--
[242] leaf tobacco production.[9] Manioc characteristically succeeds tobacco in the field and fallow rotation system and is used to extract the maximum possible value from such nutrients as remain in the soil.[10]

244 A close areal and functional relationship between the two crops
249 is characteristic also of the linear zone of manioc cultivation which follows the belt of Intermediate Hills and the inner edge of the Uplands from the Rio Paraguaçu--at Cachoeira--to Irará. Much the same relationship exists in Santo Estêvão in the extreme west of the Recôncavo, where manioc, and tobacco, cultivation is concentrated in a zone of low serras. Apparently tobacco cultivation has been fixed by the greater precipitation around these serras, and manioc is grown in association.

The major southwestern concentration of manioc is continued beyond the Recôncavo along a belt extending through Santo Antônio and into the "coffee zone."[11] The cluster of manioc around the cidade of Santo Antônio is circum-urban, but the principal functional association is with tobacco cultivation, rather than with the small urban market.
[443] On the other hand, the concentration of manioc production around the city of Nazaré reflects a dependency on the local urban market and probably on the market of Salvador. Minor concentrations of cultivation in northern Itaparica and around Salvador also are related primarily to the market of the capital city.

244 The relative place of manioc within the agricultural system, as
311 measured by the per cent of the total cropland which it occupies, varies widely within the Recôncavo (Map 26). The statistical extremes are

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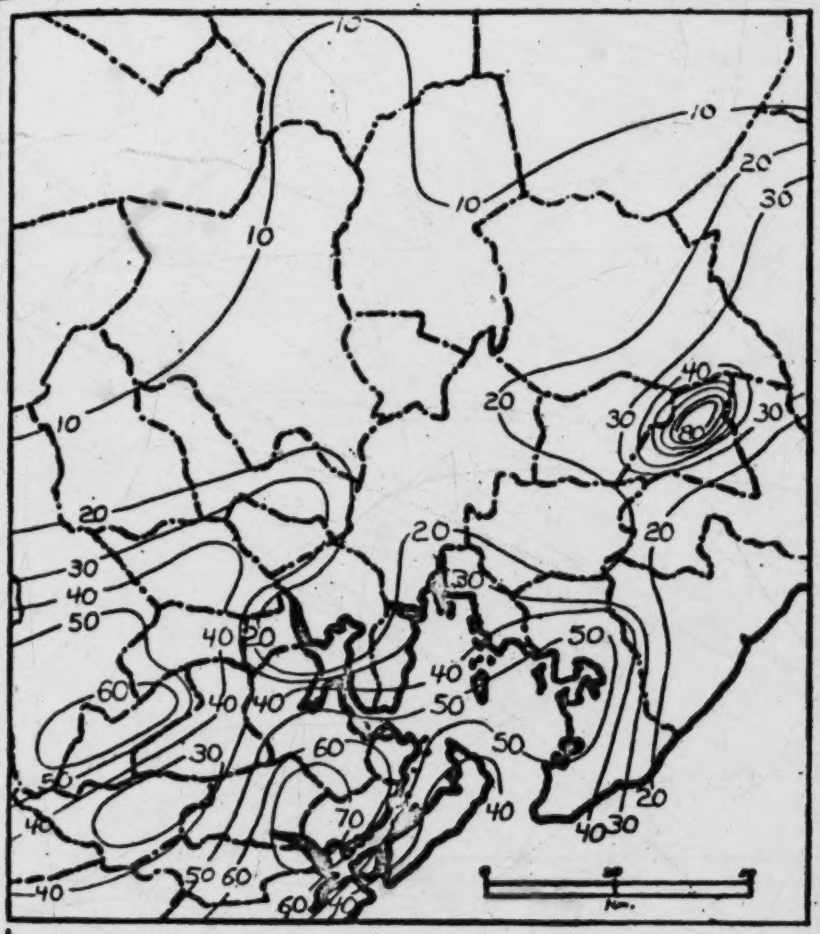

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of Cropland in Manioc--1948

Source data modified from Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 26

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

244 311 represented by two adjacent municípios of the Eastern and Central Recôncavo--Pojuca, where manioc occupied 81 per cent of the total cropland in 1948, and São Sebastião, where it occupied only 2 per cent. However, the significance of this contrast is diminished when it is seen that the total cropland of all crops in these municípios was only .8 per cent and 4.7 per cent, respectively, of the total land area. In those municípios where over 5 per cent of the land area was cultivated, the range was from 8 per cent of the cropland in manioc--Irará--to 60 per cent--Conceição do Almeida.

244 241 311 There are two major zones in which manioc has pre-empted the cropland, both of which are marginal to a belt of commercial production of tobacco, sugar cane, or coffee which follows the forest and scrub-forest transition from the coffee zone northward into the Southwester Recôncavo. This commercial crop belt is paralleled on the east by a zone of manioc cultivation in the forested areas back of the beach line--a zone which is a continuation of an extensive area of monoculturel shifting cultivation of manioc centered farther south.[12] Around the city of Nazaré, which lies very near the southern limit of the Recôncavo, as much as 70 per cent of the cropland is in manioc. The cultivation of manioc is also important on the sandy forested zone west of the Bay as far north as the estuary of the Paraguaçu and on the opposite side of the Bay north of Salvador. On the west side of the commercial crop belt, in Laje, Santo Antônio, and the Southwestern Recôncavo, there is another zone in which manioc is the dominant crop. In the dry caatinga the areas of cultivation are concentrated around the low serras west of the Recôncavo. However, the manioc which occupied up to 60 per cent of the cultivated area along the western limit of Conceição do Almeida in 1948 was grown as a part of the tobacco-manioc system.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

244 311 From the latitude of the head of the Bay northward, manioc appears as a dominant crop only in the município of Pojuca. In the Central Recôncavo, around the perimeter of the sugar cane area, manioc generally occupied, in 1948, less than 30 per cent of the cropland. In the north, [243] along the borders of the Recôncavo, the share of manioc in the cropland dropped to 10 per cent, and it was replaced by corn and beans as the basis of the subsistence economy.

244 311 433 The yield of manioc in the areas of heavy production was relatively low--10 to 15 tons of roots per hectare--compared to the Central Recôncavo, which produced small quantities at 30 tons per hectare (Map 27). These [134] differences in yield are related in part to the difference in soil fertility between the Cretaceous soils of the Central Recôncavo and the sandy loams of the Southwest. In addition, manioc is cultivated alone in the former zone, but follows the soil-taxing tobacco plant on the fields of the Southwest, thus further reducing the yield. The mean yield of manioc in the Recôncavo in 1948 was 14 tons per hectare, which is close to the 13 tons per hectare of Brazil and of the French Cameroons, but much higher than the 7 tons per hectare of Java and Madura.[13]

244 249 Manioc is, then, a crop characteristic of most parts of the Recôncavo and the surrounding zone, except in the sugar cane area and [242] the Tabular Uplands. The area of greatest concentration of cultivation and production is the Southwestern Recôncavo where manioc is integrated with tobacco production in a system of land rotation. In addition, as discussed above, manioc has the greatest relative importance of the crops of two zones in which the total area cultivated is small: the southwestern belt of forested lowland and the drier, scrub-forest Crystalline Uplands.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 the plant will no longer produce marketable leaves. This is done by cutting the entire stalk just above the shoots and allowing the plant to re-grow. The cutting and harvesting are repeated several times, producing a large quantity of leaf, but the prolonged harvest has resulted in accelerated impoverishment of the soil.

249 311 433 In 1948 the Recôncavo planted almost 22,000 hectares of tobacco,[15] and harvested over 20,000 tons of leaf. Each of four Recôncavo municípios grew more than 2,000 hectares and harvested over 1,000 tons: Cruz das Almas, Conceição do Almeida, São Gonçalo, and Irará. Two outlying municípios--Alagoinhas and Santo Estêvão--cultivated 1,000 hectares or more. In addition, one município contiguous with the Recôncavo, Santo Antônio, had over 6,000 hectares of tobacco and harvested over 5,000 tons of leaf. In Bahia, this município was second only to Cruz das Almas in area and production of leaf tobacco.

The maps of area (Maps 28 and 29) and production (Maps 30 and 31) of tobacco indicate quite clearly the overwhelming importance of the Southwestern Recôncavo and the adjacent northern part of Santo Antônio. This area resolves itself into two clusters (Table XIII). The most important of these is centered in Cruz das Almas and includes the adjacent parts of Conceição do Almeida, São Filipe, and Muritiba. In 1948 this cluster had about 10,000 hectares of tobacco--46 per cent of the Recôncavo tobacco area--and produced about 9,500 tons--48 per cent of the total crop. Because of the high quality of the leaf, the crop of this area was valued at almost 58 per cent of the total value of tobacco production in the Recôncavo.

The second most important cluster of leaf tobacco production in east-central Bahia is centered on the cidade of Santo Antônio and lies almost entirely outside of the Recôncavo. In 1948 the total area of tobacco in this cluster was about 6,500 hectares, and the total

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 166]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[P. 162]

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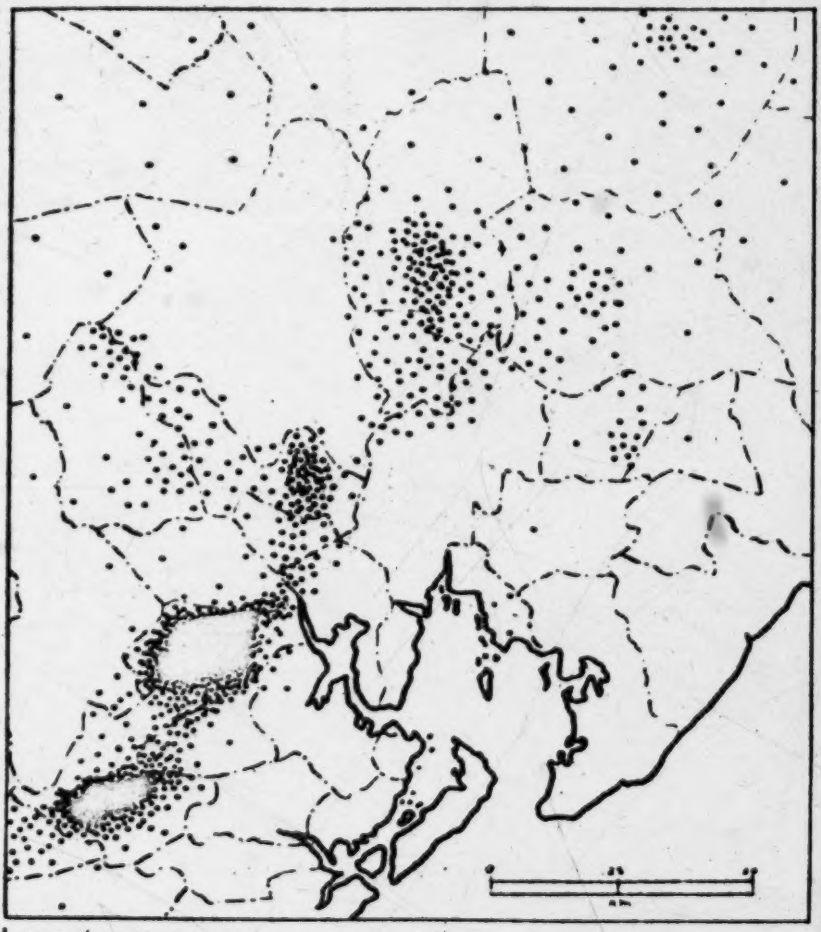

Each dot = 25 hectares

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Area in Tobacco—1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948

MAP 28

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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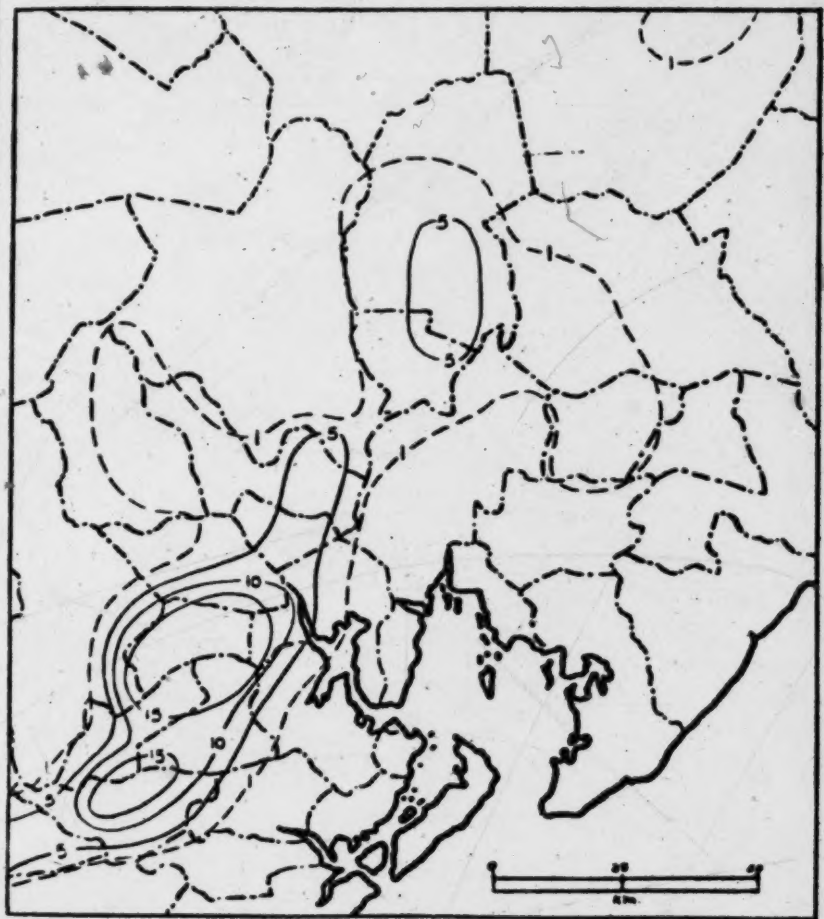

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Hectares of Tobacco per Square Kilometer of Total Area--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 29

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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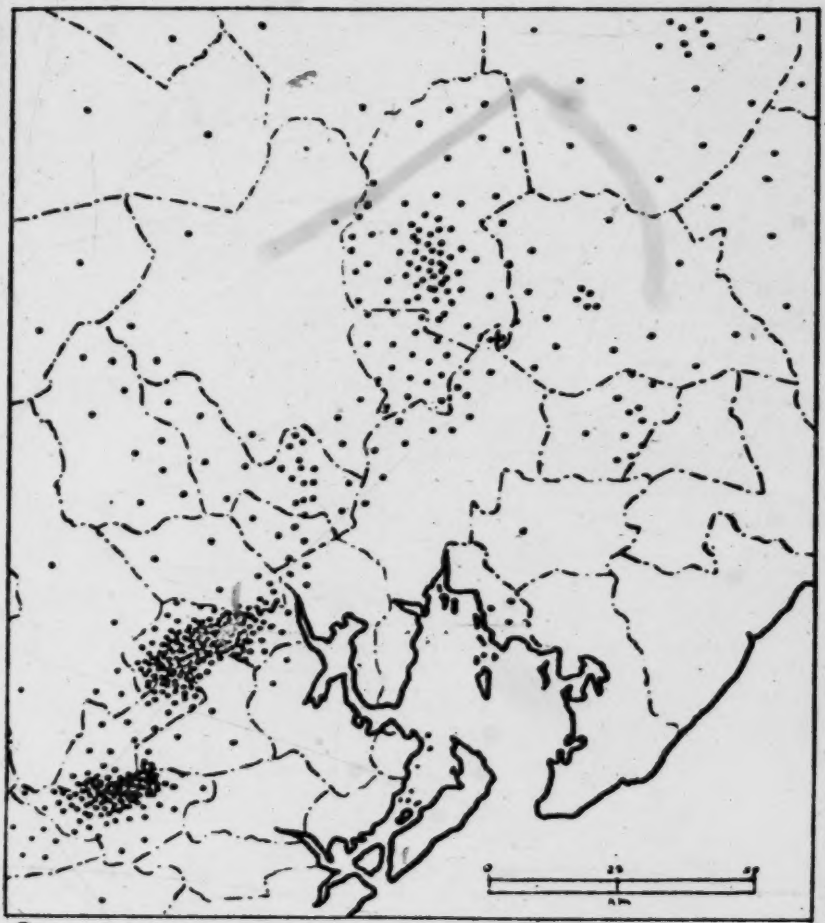

Each dot = 50,000 kilograms

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA -

Production of Tobacco--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1949.

MAP 30

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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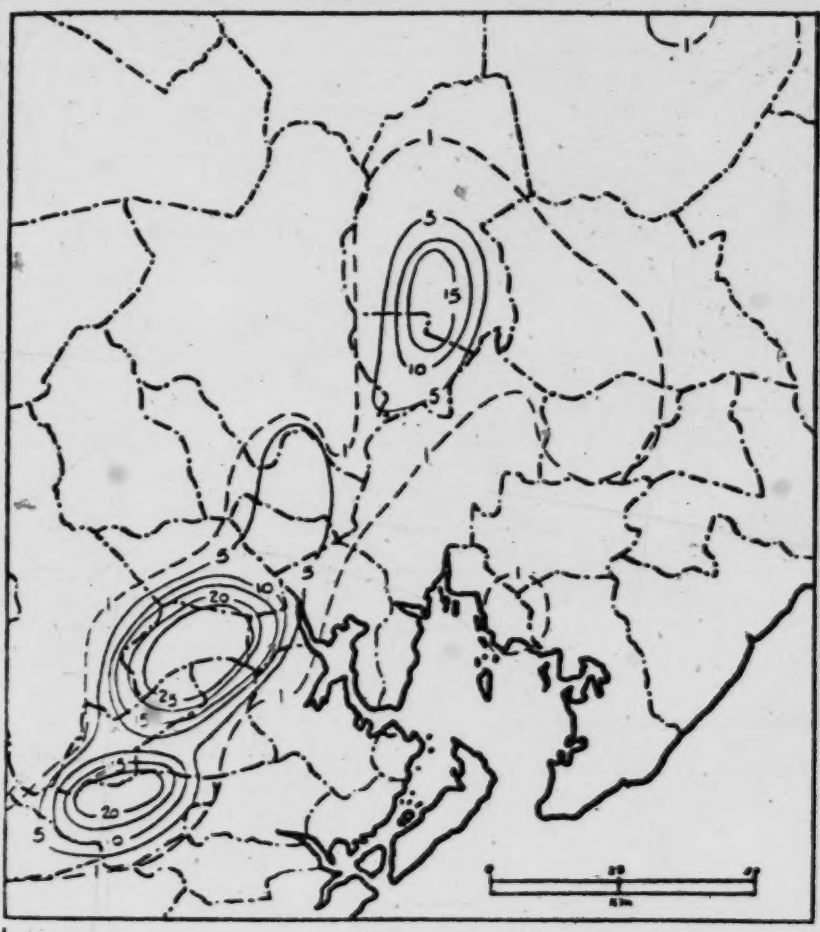

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Tons of Tobacco per Square Kilometer of Total Area—1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 31

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

TABLE XIII

PRINCIPAL CENTERS OF TOBACCO PRODUCTION
IN THE RECÔNCAVO AND IN BRAZIL IN 1948

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	Area (ha.)	Production (tons)
Southwestern Recôncavo:		
Cruz das Almas (all)	6,850	6,680
Conceição do Almeida (part)	2,000	2,000
São Filipe (part)	500	480
Muritiba (part)	810	500
Total	10,160	9,660
Santo Antônio:		
Santo Antônio (all)	6,200	5,250
Conceição do Almeida (part)	200	400
São Filipe (part)	190	190
Total	6,590	5,840
São Gonçalo (part)	2,000	900
Irará (part)*	2,500	3,000
Total - Principal Centers	21,250	19,400
Total - Recôncavo	21,886	20,191
Total - State of Bahia**	44,248	35,758
Total - State of Minas Gerais**	23,452	13,340
Total - Rio Grande do Sul***	40,236	44,495

*Irará produced a relatively large amount of tobacco for its area, but this was of a stronger and less valuable type of leaf tobacco ("Feira").

**Including a large quantity of rope tobacco--fumo em corda.

***Principally cigarette tobacco.

Source: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

production about 5,800 tons, so that it was somewhat over one-half as important as the Southwestern Recôncavo cluster discussed above.

Two lesser clusters centralize tobacco cultivation north of the Rio Paraguaçu. One is around the cidade of São Gonçalo, with about 2,000 hectares and 900 tons of tobacco in 1948. In the Northern Recôncavo, Irará was the center of a less compact concentration, with about 2,500 hectares and 3,000 tons of tobacco in 1948.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 In addition to these major and minor concentrations of production, there was scattered cultivation in most of the outer ring of municípios of the Recôncavo, especially in Catu, in Alagoinhas, and in Santo Estêvão and adjacent western São Gonçalo. On the other hand, tobacco cultivation was conspicuously absent in the Central and Southern Recôncavo.

249 311 In 1948 tobacco was grown on 27 per cent of the total cropland of the region. The zone of intensive tobacco production, as shown by the proportion of the cultivated land which it occupies, is clearly revealed on the accompanying map (Map 32). In a continuous belt, which follows the humid edges of the Uplands and adjacent Intermediate Hills from Santo Antônio to Catu, tobacco was grown on over 30 per cent of all cropland in 1948. There were extensive areas in which over half the cultivated land was in tobacco—a remarkable showing for a non-food commercial crop grown on a small scale by semi-subsistence cultivators.

The gradients which separate the belt of intensive tobacco production from the Bay littoral and from the Central Recôncavo are very steep. On the other hand, the inland transition from intensive tobacco production to the scattered cultivation of the dry caatinga is very gradual. In the lowlands tobacco almost everywhere occupied less than 10 per cent of the cultivated area in 1948; in the caatinga to the west it was grown on 10 to 20 per cent of the total cropland.

249 134 132 There is a basic association between tobacco cultivation and the Crystalline and Tabular Upland; production is concentrated along the wetter, inner edge of these formations, in a zone which closely corresponds to the forest and scrub forest boundary. Tobacco is practically excluded from the humid Coastal Plain and littoral sections of the Intermediate Hills. It might be assumed that the location of tobacco is a result of the monopolization of the humid, clay-soil Coastal Plain

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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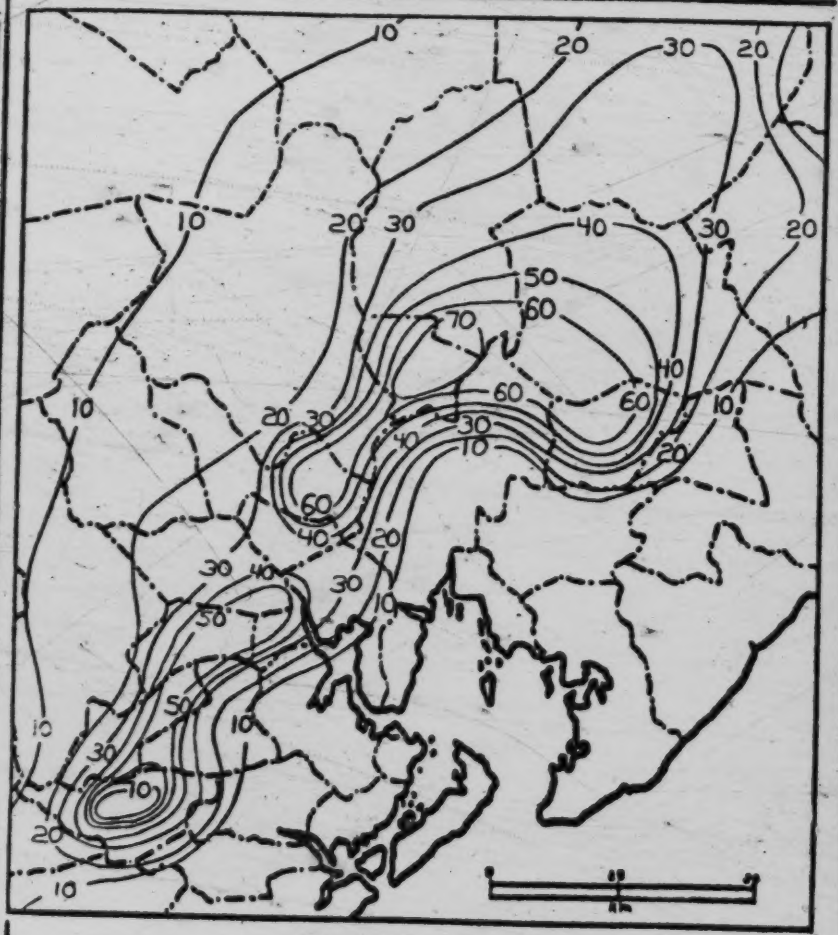

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of Cropland in Tobacco—1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 32

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11 •
Brazil SL1

B BB 243 311 433 Like manioc and tobacco, corn is an indigenous crop which was borrowed from the Indians in the early phases of European settlement and which became a basic subsistence crop in Brazil. Its cultivation, like manioc, is a characteristic feature of the agricultural landscape over an extensive coastal belt from the Amazon to Rio Grande do Sul and, unlike manioc, beyond into northern Argentina. In Brazil, corn is cultivated on more land than any other crop, and in most states it is either the second or third crop in value. In the Recôncavo it is the fourth ranking crop in area of cultivation, but only the seventh in the total value of production. The cultivation of corn is very closely BB [244] associated, areally and functionally, with beans--"succatosh" is a common crop combination in the Northwestern Recôncavo and the adjoining region.[22]

BB 243 433 Corn also resembles manioc in the purpose of cultivation; it is primarily a subsistence crop for local consumption, but there are surplus producing areas with a rudimentary commercial corn economy. In those areas of the Recôncavo where corn is produced in small quantities, it is almost exclusively a minor subsistence crop which is eaten by the cultivator and his family, though a few ears or a small sack of shelled corn may be sold in the market for local consumption. Such semi-subsistence producers are usually small-scale farmers, squatters, or share-croppers. In the Northern and Northwestern Recôncavo, where cultivation of corn is more intensive, there are occasional large-scale corn growers, but the bulk of the area and production in this zone be- BB [438] longs to small operators. Even these small producers usually sell their corn at the market--it is exchanged for the cheaper farinha de BB [262] mandioca. In the Recôncavo corn is used exclusively as a human food, and there is no corn-livestock complex.

BB 243 311 433 Only three municípios of the Recôncavo, all very large, had over 500 hectares of corn in 1948 or produced over 500 tons of shelled corn.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

243 311 433 The Recôncavo as a whole had 9,679 hectares of corn, with a production of 10,283 tons. Of this, 87 per cent of the area and 84 per cent of the production was in Santo Estêvão, Feira de Santana, and Irará (Maps 34, 35, and 36). The area and production of the Recôncavo were about the same as for one adjacent município, Serrinha, which had 8,500 hectares and 11,590 tons of corn in 1948.

243 311 Most of the corn grown and produced in the Recôncavo comes from two compact concentrations, one around the cidade of Irará; the other around the cidade of Santo Estêvão. Elsewhere in the Recôncavo it is grown either on very widely scattered plots or as a "garden" crop.[23]

The concentration of corn production is the result of several physical and economic factors. It is cultivated on the dry margins of the Recôncavo, where only a few restricted areas can produce a crop. 243 Though a commercial product of moderate value, its weight- or bulk-price [438] relationship is not highly favorable to long transportation to market-- [489] in contrast to tobacco, which tends to attach itself to even the smallest and most remote semi-subsistence plot, and in contrast to beef, [491] which in Bahia is moved to market on the hoof. The concentration around Santo Estêvão, which is on the main trunk highway to Feira de Santana, is favorable for the transportation of the crop, and the Irará concentration is linked to Feira by a generally passable road. [251] In the more humid parts of the Recôncavo, corn is restricted not only by its poor competitive position vis-à-vis sugar cane or tobacco, but also by its harvest requirements; it must be harvested and stored in the proper season, while manioc may be harvested as it is needed, a great advantage for a subsistence crop.

243 311 433 Corn, although the second most important subsistence crop of the Recôncavo, occupied in 1948 only 12 per cent of the total cropland.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 182]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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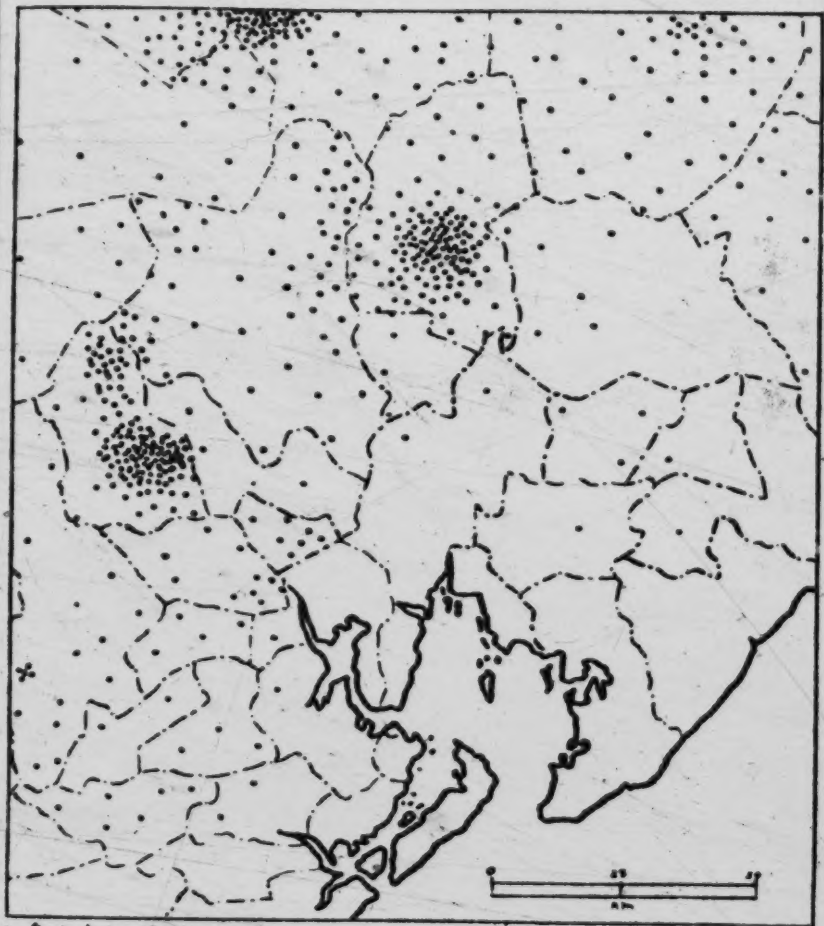

Each dot = 25 hectares

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Area in Corn--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola; 1949.

MAP 34

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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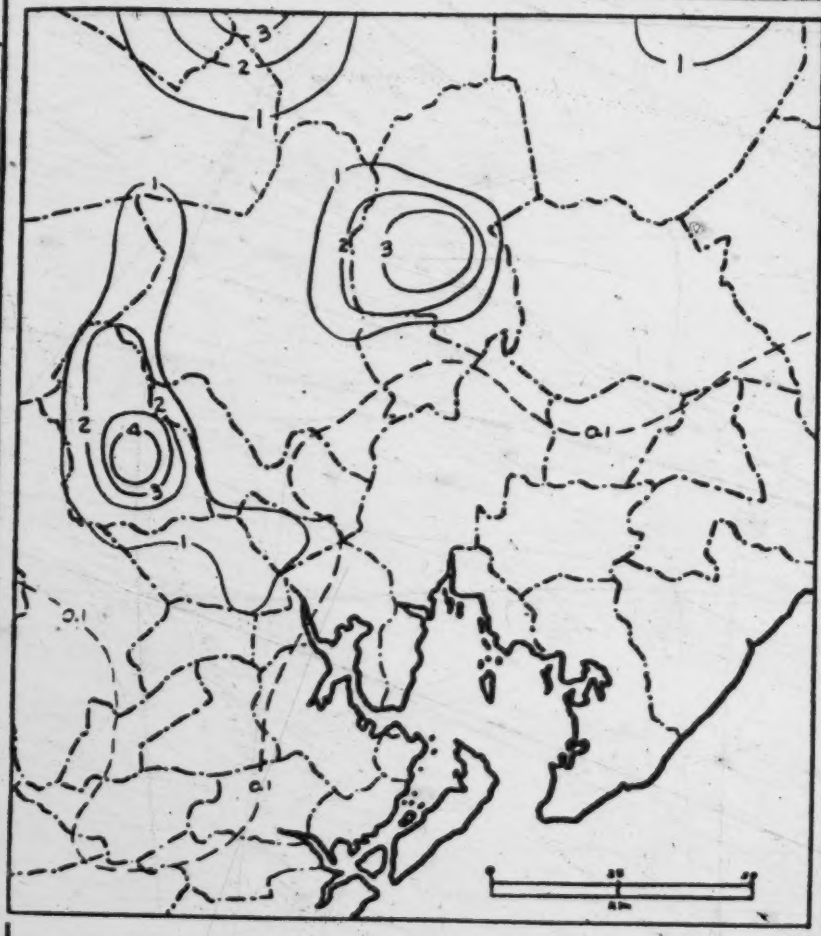

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Hectares of Corn per Square Kilometer of Total Area—1948

Source of data Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 35

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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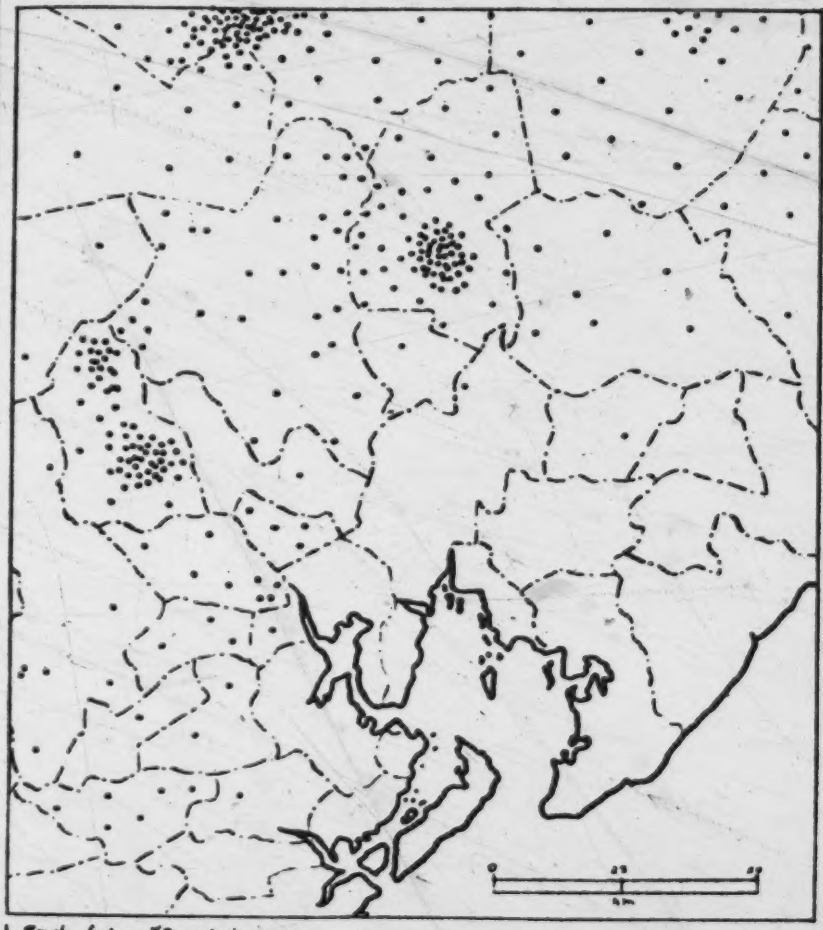

Each dot = 50 metric tons

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Corn--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 26

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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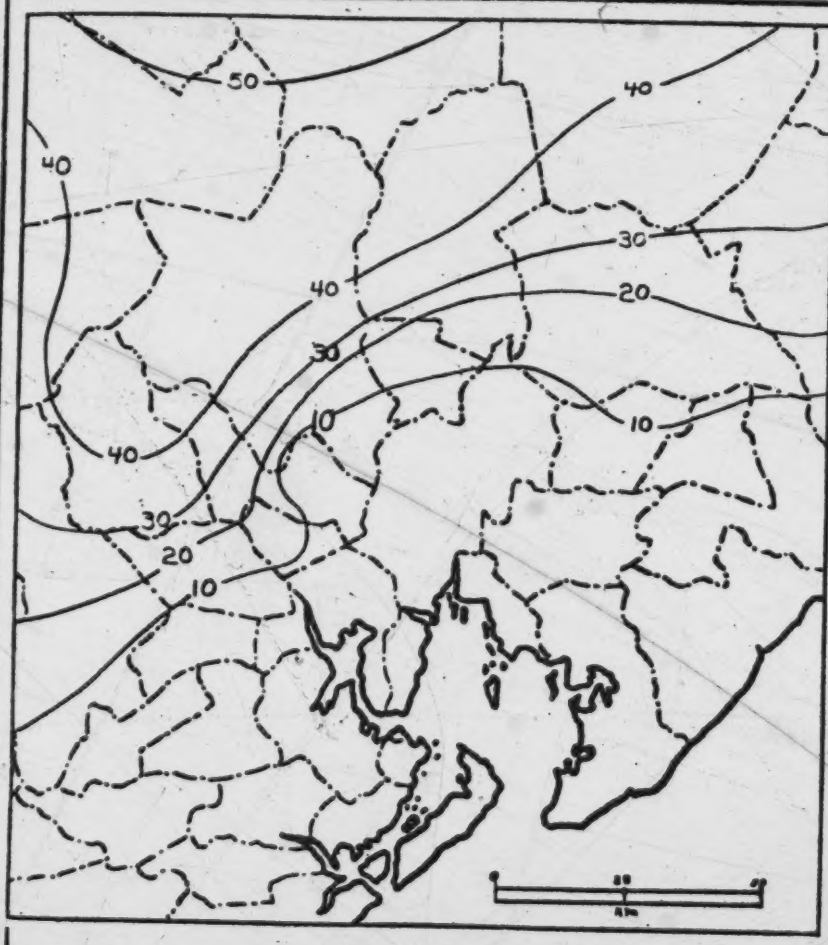

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of Cropland in Corn--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 37

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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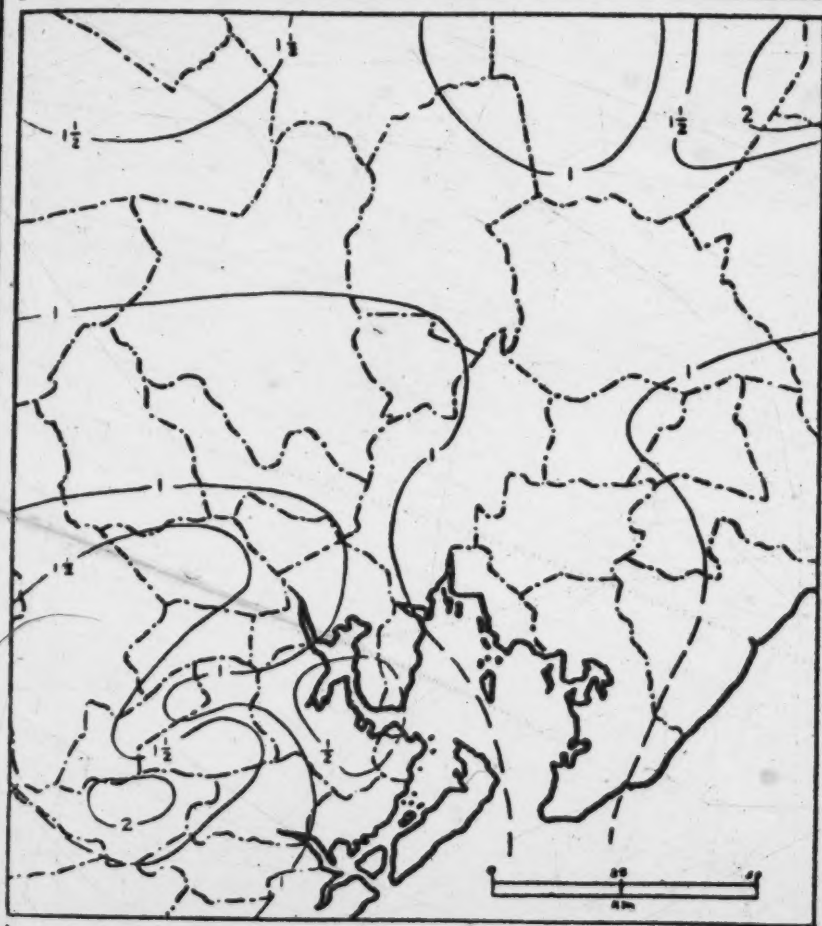

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Yield of Corn--1948

Tons per Hectare

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 38

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

243 311 It is primarily a crop of the sertão of northeastern Bahia, but it has intruded upon the northern and western perimeter of the Recôncavo (Map 37). In three municípios--Irará, Feira de Santana, and Santo Estêvão--corn is the most extensively cultivated crop. Conversely, it is rarely seen in the humid lowlands and in the Southwestern Recôncavo. In these areas it is found only in very small, widely scattered plantings.

243 433 The mean yield of corn in the Recôncavo was 1.09 tons per hectare, compared to 1.27 for Brazil, 2.46 for the United States, 1.0 for the Belgian Congo, and .81 for Java and Madura. The accompanying map of corn yields shows a somewhat random pattern within the Recôncavo, since the total area and production were very small and local circumstances of cultivation highly variable (Map 38). However, the area of main production northwest of the Recôncavo had a relatively high yield--over 243 244 1.5 tons per hectare. In this area, corn, with beans, pre-empts the areas with the most productive soils and the greatest precipitation.

244 Beans. Feijão, or the common field bean (Phaseolus vulgaris), like manioc, tobacco, and corn, is an indigenous domesticate which became an important subsistence crop during the colonial period. Like corn, beans are more specifically associated with the dry sertão than with the Recôncavo. Most of the beans grown in Bahia are the black [262] [252] variety, feijão preto; the beans are dried and used with charque (dried beef) in a soup which is one of the basic subsistence foods of the Northeast. Beans of this and other similar varieties of the same species are grown throughout Brazil.

244 433 In area and in quantity of production, beans are slightly less important than corn in the Recôncavo, but the value of the bean crop is almost double that of corn. The patterns of distribution of these two crops are almost identical, and the physical and cultural factors

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

244 433 [311] involved are very similar (Maps 39, 40, and 41). In 1948 beans occupied 9 per cent of the total cropland of the Recôncavo. While the area of the greatest dominance of corn lies north of the Recôncavo, beans had the greatest relative importance in the west, in the município of Ipirá (Map 42). The reason for this minor difference in concentration is not apparent.

244 311 433 The yield pattern as revealed by the 1948 data is very distinctive (Map 43). Relatively high yields were closely associated with the forest and scrub-forest transition from Santo Antônio in the south to Irará in the north, where, however, less than 10 per cent of the cropland was in beans. In Muritiba, Castro Alves, and Santo Antônio, where joint corn-bean cultivation is not always the rule, yields of both plants were high. In the Northern and Northwestern Recôncavo the yield patterns of the two crops, which are usually intercropped in this area, were very different. No explanation for these differences was found. The mean yield of beans in the Recôncavo in 1948 was 988 kilograms per hectare, higher than the 690 kilograms per hectare of Brazil, the 540 kilograms per hectare of French Equatorial Africa, or the 200 kilograms per hectare of India, but much lower than the 1,220 kilograms per hectare yield in the United States.

249 Sugar Cane. Much of the history and a good deal of the cultural geography of the Recôncavo could be written in terms of sugar cane [433] [198] cultivation. The colony of Bahia was organized around the cultivation of cane, and sugar was the mainstay of the colonial commercial economy until the last half of the nineteenth century. During the colonial period the cultivation of sugar cane acquired a prestige which it has never lost, despite the fact that it is no longer the most valuable nor, it seems likely, the most profitable crop of the Recôncavo.

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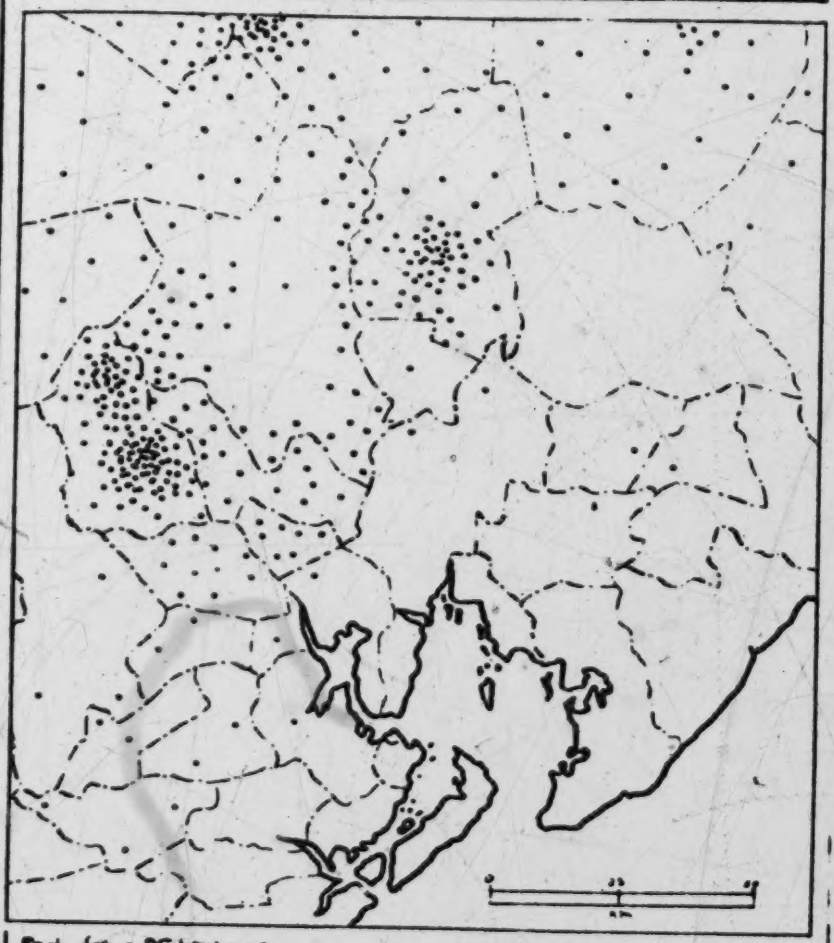

Each dot = 25 hectares

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Area in Beans--1948

Source of data: Producão Agricola: 1948.

MAP 39

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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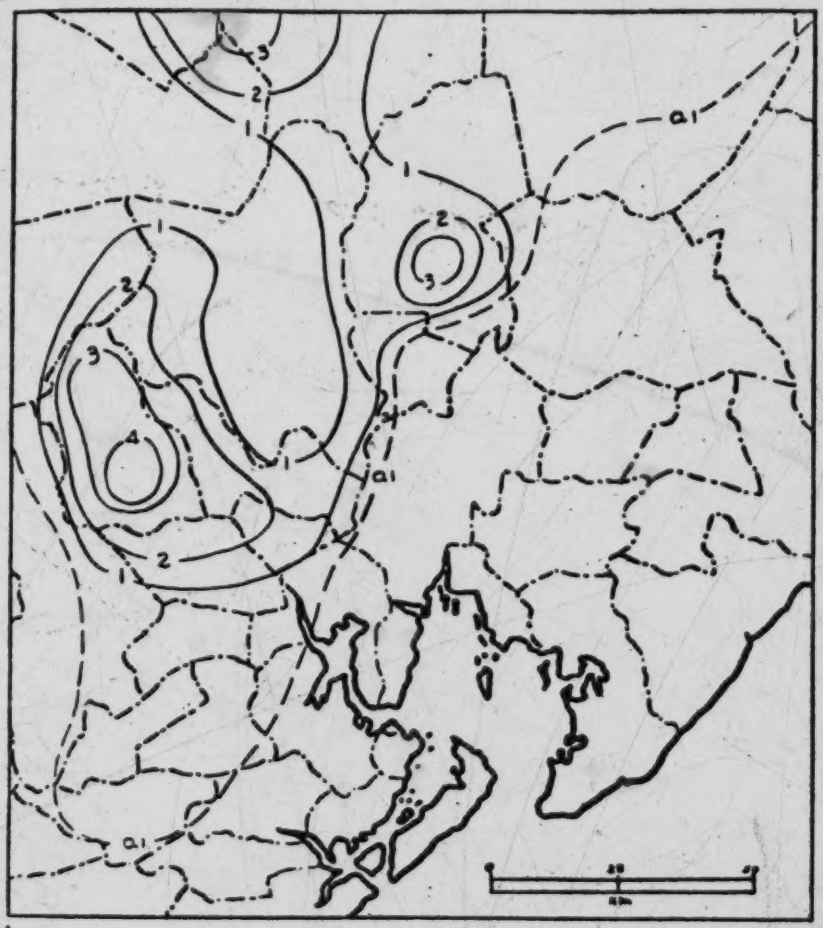

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Hectares of Beans per Square Kilometer of Total Area—1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 40

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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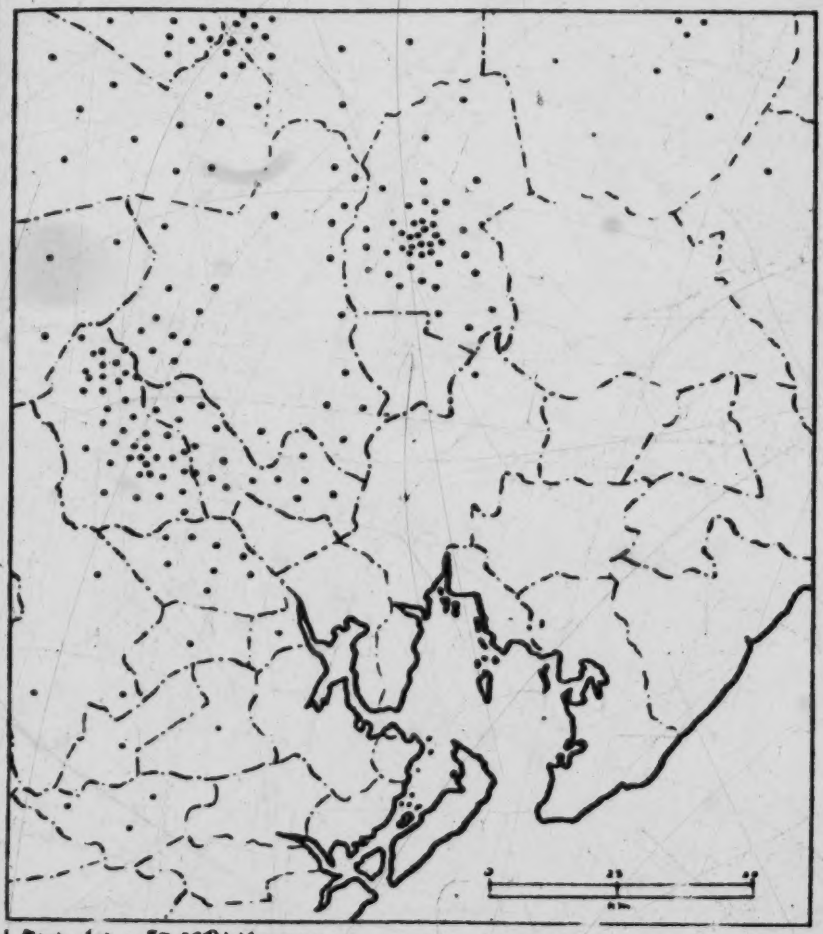

Each dot - 50,000 kilograms

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Beans--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 41

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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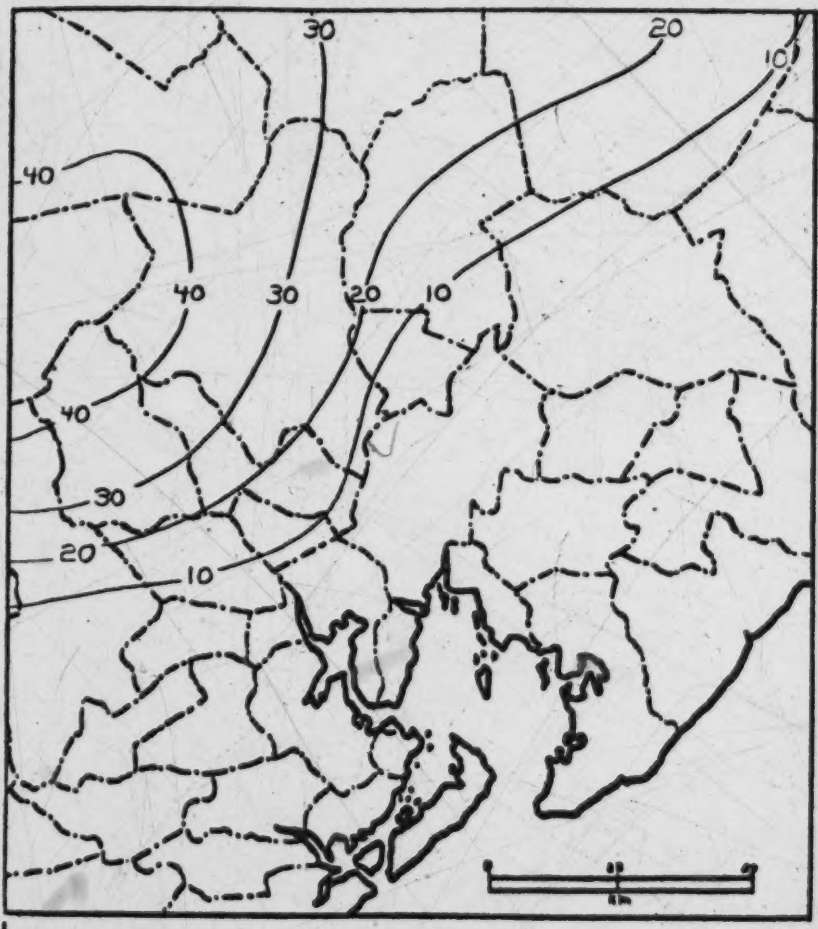

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of Cropland in Beans--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 42

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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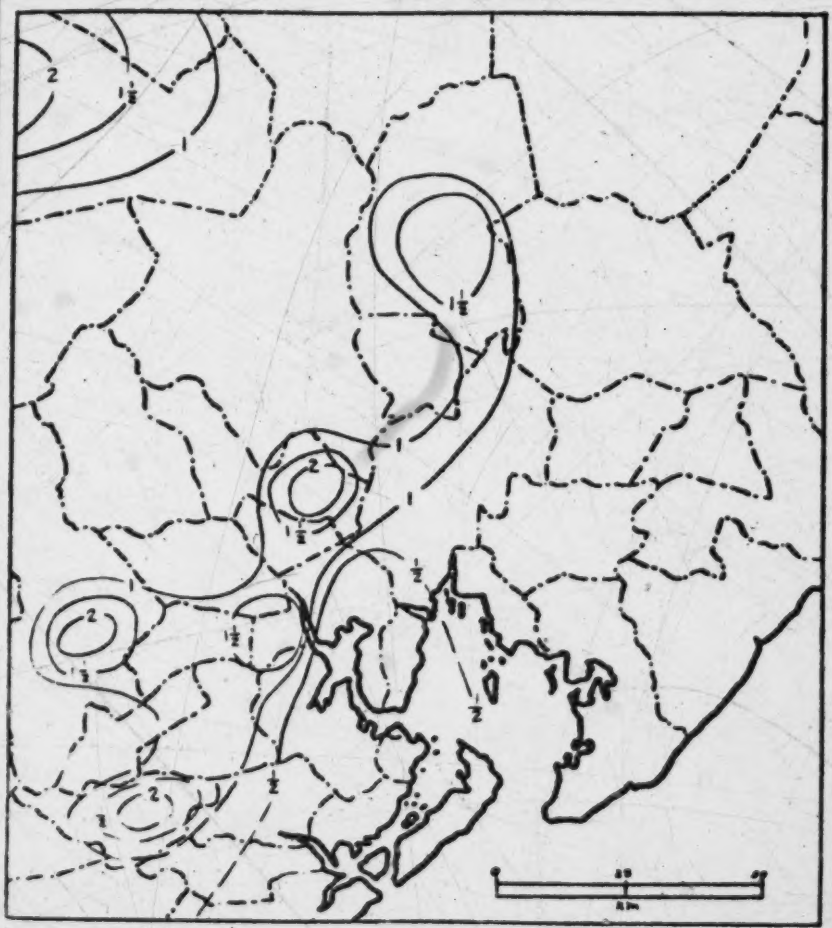

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Yield of Beans--1948

Tons per Hectare

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 43

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 same planting are common--then the field is rested for a year and replanted to cane.[24]

249 311 Sugar cane is encountered in all parts of the Recôncavo, but it is produced commercially only in three very restricted and closely defined areas. Of the 11,695 hectares of sugar cane in the Recôncavo in 1948, over 6,000 hectares were in Santo Amaro and 650 hectares and 2,400 hectares, respectively, in adjacent São Francisco and São Sebastião (Map 44). The remaining one-third of the total sugar cane area was largely in São Filipe, 650 hectares, and Cachoeira, 530 hectares. The association between sugar cane cultivation and the Cretaceous soils is [134] very close. Within the Central Recôncavo, cane is grown only on the Cretaceous massapê, salão, and areia soils; although there are occasional outliers of Tertiary sands, no cane was observed on these soils in the course of field investigation. Cane cultivation in São Filipe is associated with similar heavy soils--the so-called crystalline massapê. [433] In 1948 the Recôncavo produced 670,626 tons of cane, 39 per cent of the total of the state, but only 2 per cent of Brazil's production. Eighty-two per cent of the cane of the Recôncavo was produced in the Central Recôncavo sugar cane zone of Santo Amaro, São Francisco, and São Sebastião (Map 45).

Because sugar cane cultivation is so highly concentrated, the mean value of 15 per cent of the total cropland of the Recôncavo in sugar cane is somewhat misleading. What is significant is that an estimated 90 per cent of the cropland--excluding fallow land--on the Cretaceous coastal lowland at the head of the Bay was planted to cane in 1948 (Map 46). A similar, though smaller, monocultural zone lay at the head of the Bacia do Iguape in the município of Cachoeira. In the minor sugar cane area of São Filipe, cane production was less concentrated. There was also scattered cane cultivation on the lowlands

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 194]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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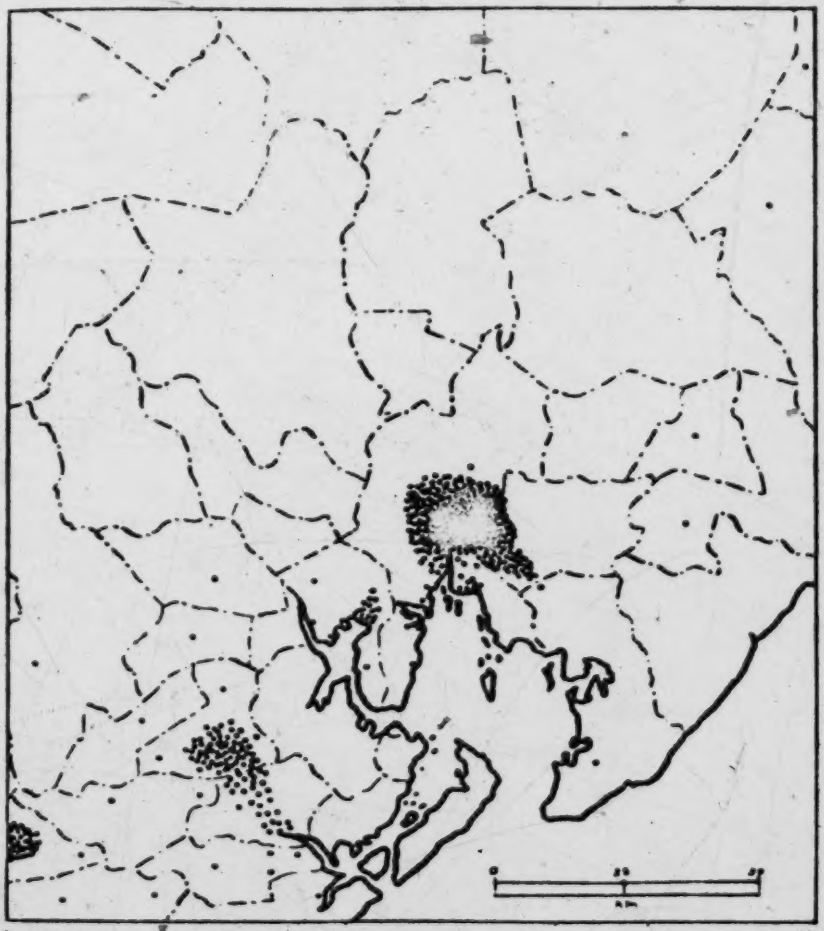

Each dot = 25 hectares

RECENCEAMENTO OF BAHIA

Area in Sugar Cane--1948

Source of data: Produção Agricola: 1948.

MAP 444

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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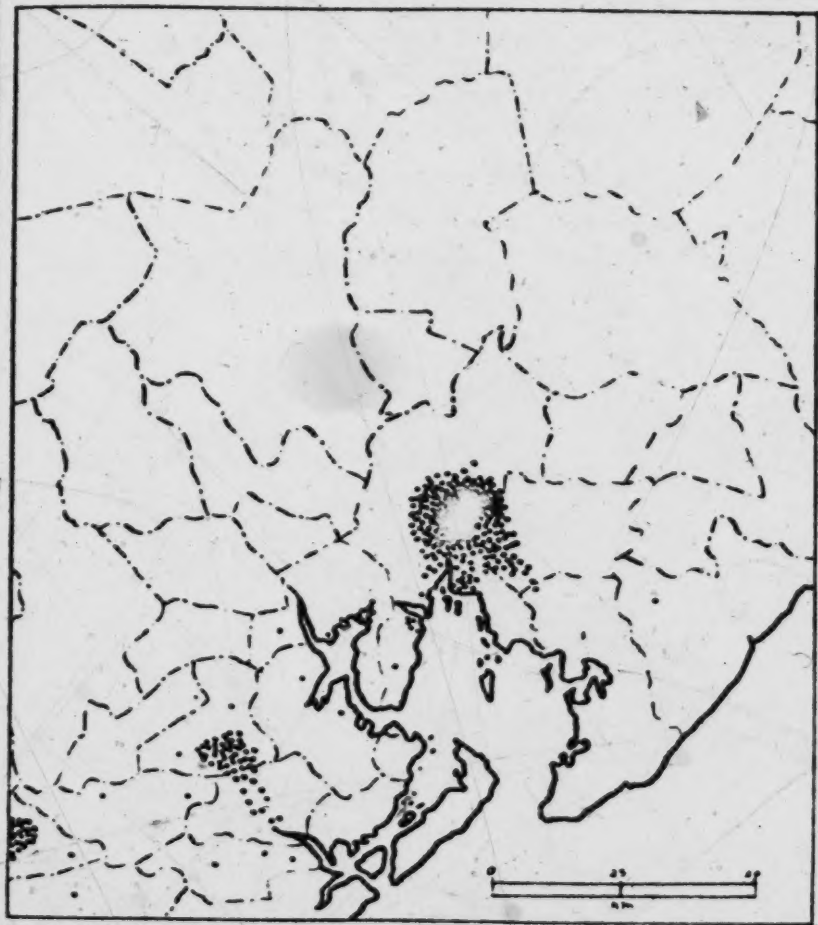

Each dot = 2,000 metric tons

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Sugar Cane--1948

Source of data: Produção Agricola: 1948.

MAP 45

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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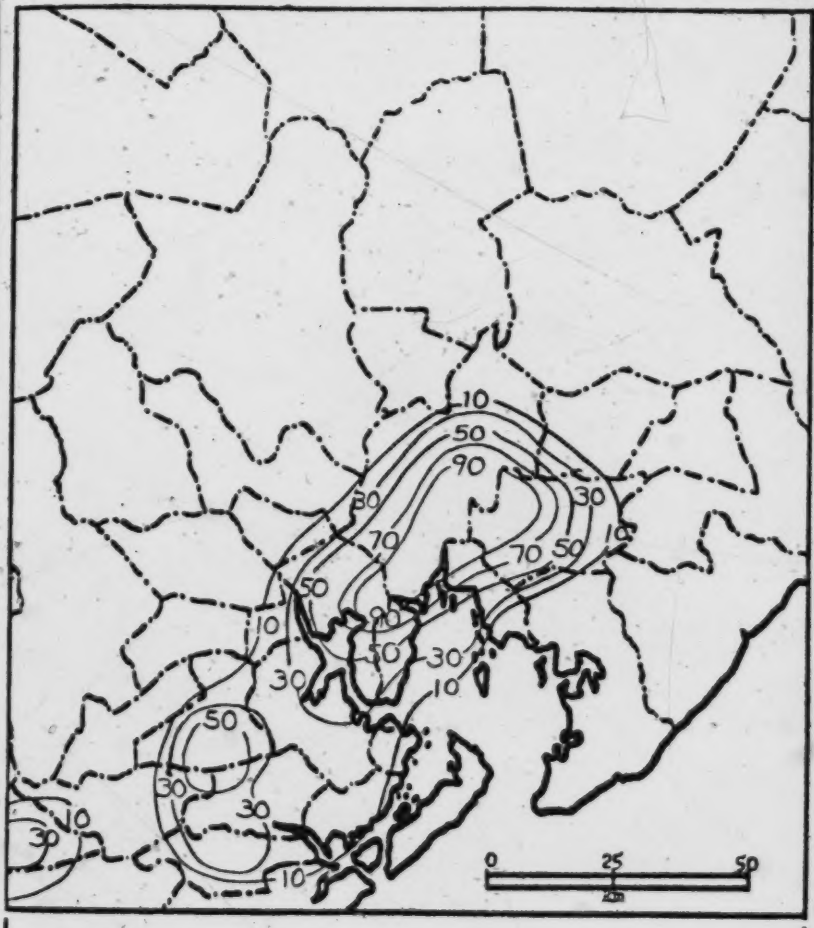

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of Cropland in Sugar Cane--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 46

249 and Intermediate Hills between and around these zones, but usually on
• 311 an exceedingly small scale.

249 The yields calculated for 1948 were as follows:
311
433

Santo Amaro	65.7	tons	per	hectare
São Francisco	80.0	"	"	"
São Sebastião	41.2	"	"	"
Cachoeira	37.0	"	"	"
São Filipe	50.0	"	"	"

These may be compared with 38.7 tons per hectare for Brazil as a whole, 35.0 tons per hectare for Cuba, and 89.3 tons per hectare for Java and
249 Madura for the same year. The relatively low yields of Cachoeira and
433 São Filipe are to be explained, at least in part, by the primitive
134 character of cultivation and processing in these more remote areas. São
257 Sebastião is a sort of frontier zone into which the big sugar mills are expanding their operations at the expense of smaller operators, but the methods of production are still less efficient than in the main production area, and the soils are sandier and less fertile. In Santo Amaro, yields are higher on account of generally better soils and techniques, but the demands of the large usinas require intensive and continuous cultivation on even the poorer soils. On the other hand, the less intensive cultivation in São Francisco, where the mills are smaller, allows a freer selection of soils, so that the yields of this area are the highest in the Recôncavo.

244 Sweet Potatoes and Peanuts. Two other American domesticates are
311 grown in the Recôncavo, though on a small scale--peanuts and sweet potatoes. Both are cultivated primarily along the forest and scrub forest transition as auxiliary subsistence crops, in conjunction with manioc and tobacco. There are also scattered plots of these crops in most other parts of the Recôncavo. Neither crop occupied over 1 per cent of the total crop land of the region.

BB 244 311 433 The total area in sweet potatoes in 1948 was 344 hectares, the total production, 2,565 tons. No single município grew more than 100 hectares nor produced over 1,000 tons (Maps 47 and 48). In Cachoeira and Maragogipe, 3 per cent of the total cropland was in sweet potatoes in 1948. The plants are grown on the slopes and in the sandier valley bottoms of the Intermediate Hills and are sold through the local markets. On a smaller scale, sweet potatoes are grown as a minor supplementary crop in the Southwestern Recôncavo. The mean Recôncavo yield was 7.5 tons per hectare, close to the mean Brazilian 1948-1950 yield of 8 tons per hectare. Sweet potatoes are grown in the Recôncavo both as "garden" crops for home consumption and as minor commercial crops for local exchange.

BB [438]

The total area in peanuts in 1948 was 550 hectares; the total production was 876 tons (Maps 49 and 50). There is some small commercial production in Maragogipe and in the Northern Recôncavo; in the former, 6 per cent of the total cropland was in peanuts in 1948, and in the latter, from 2 to 5 per cent. Yields calculated for municípios varied from .3 to 3.5 tons per hectare without discernible pattern. The mean yield was 1.6 tons per hectare, higher than the .97 tons per hectare of Brazil and the .89 tons per hectare of the United States.

BB 245 433 B [245] [433] Bananas. The banana is the sole important subsistence crop of the Recôncavo which is of old world origin. Brazil is the world's leading producer of bananas, and the main centers of production are in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and Minas Gerais. In the Recôncavo, bananas are grown primarily for subsistence and local exchange, but there are a few small commercial growers. Under the existing system of transportation, the long distance shipment of so bulky, heavy, perishable, and cheap a product is difficult.

BB [487]

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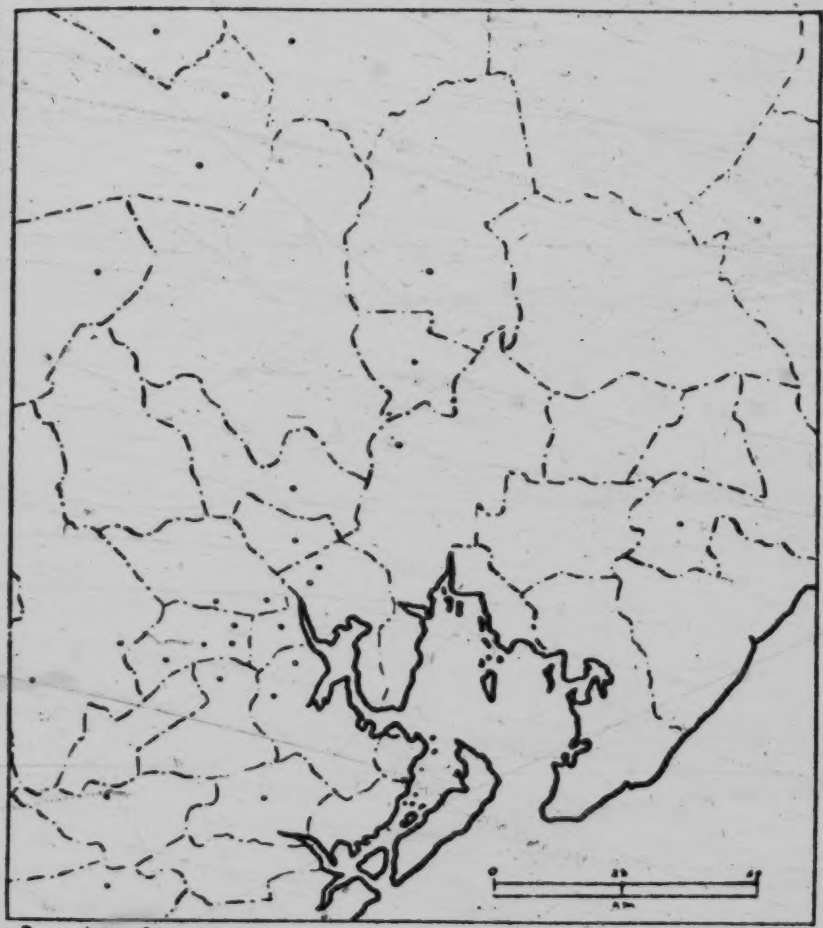

Each dot = 25 hectares

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Area in Sweet Potatoes--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 49

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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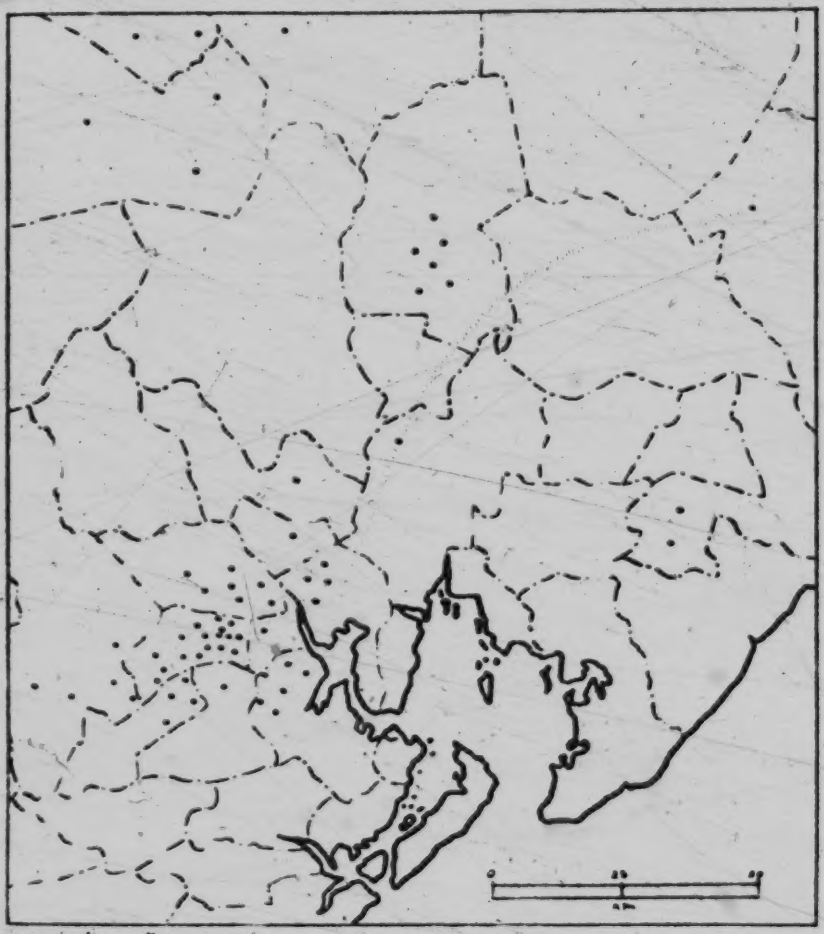

Each dot = 50 metric tons

RECONCAVO DE BAHIA

Production of Sweet Potatoes—1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 18

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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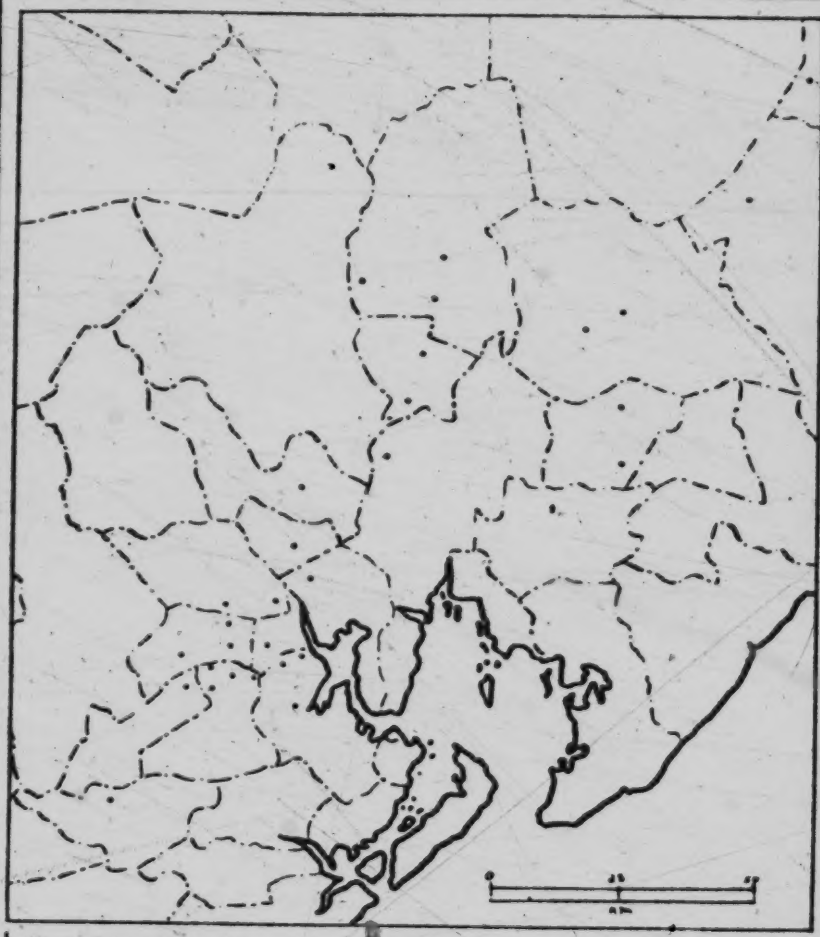

Each dot = 25 hectares

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Area in Peanuts--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

Map 49

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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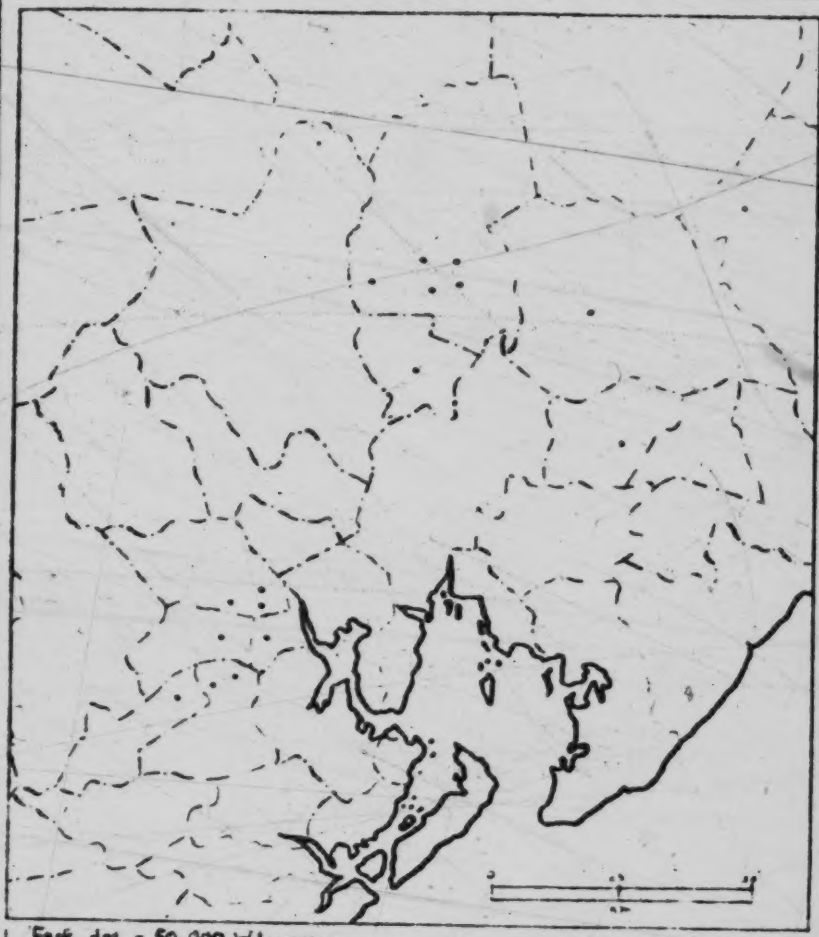

Each dot = 50,000 kilograms

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Peanuts--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 50

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

245 The bananas of the Recôncavo include a number of types--large, medium and small eating varieties, and plantains--which are grown in most sections and which may be encountered in village and urban markets in all seasons. Cultivation is a haphazard enterprise in which the reproduction of bananas frequently is accidental rather than deliberate. Since there is so much semi-spontaneous cultivation concealed in gardens and second growth and thus probably not enumerated and since the spacing of the plants is so variable, area data for bananas in the Recôncavo have little meaning. The official data for 1948 indicated that [311] [433] there were 1,069 hectares planted in the region, producing an estimated 1,859 bunches.[25]

245 311 Banana plants are seen in all settlements of the Recôncavo, and except in the drier caatinga zone of the Northwestern Recôncavo, scattered over the countryside (Map 51). The chief area of production is in the Southwest, where they are grown almost exclusively for the local market (Map 52). However, there is a concentration of banana production [505] [438] around the fringes of Salvador[26] and along the margins of the Bay and the estuary of the Paraguaçu, where sailing craft (saveiros) can conveniently pick up shipments for the large urban market.

245 311 433 In 1948 bananas had their greatest relative importance as determined by the per cent of the total cropland which they occupied, around and in the city of Salvador, on the island of Itaparica, and around the city of Alagoinhas. The mean yield of bananas in the Recôncavo was 1,730 bunches per hectare, or an estimated 13,840 kilograms per hectare (Map 53)--lower than the 28,900 kilograms per hectare of Brazil, but much higher than the 9,900 kilograms for French West Africa and the 4,400 kilograms for the Philippines.[27]

245 262 It should be emphasized that the banana in Bahia is a relatively cheap and common subsistence food, eaten raw or cooked. This is not to

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 206]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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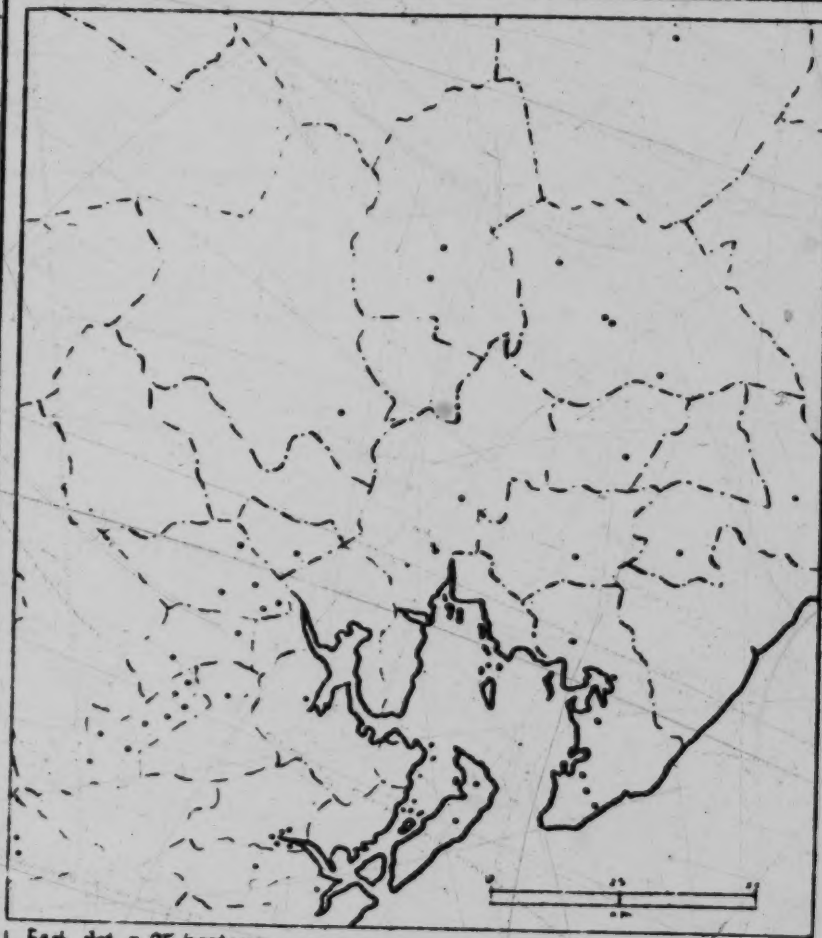

Each dot = 25 hectares

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Area in Bananas--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 51

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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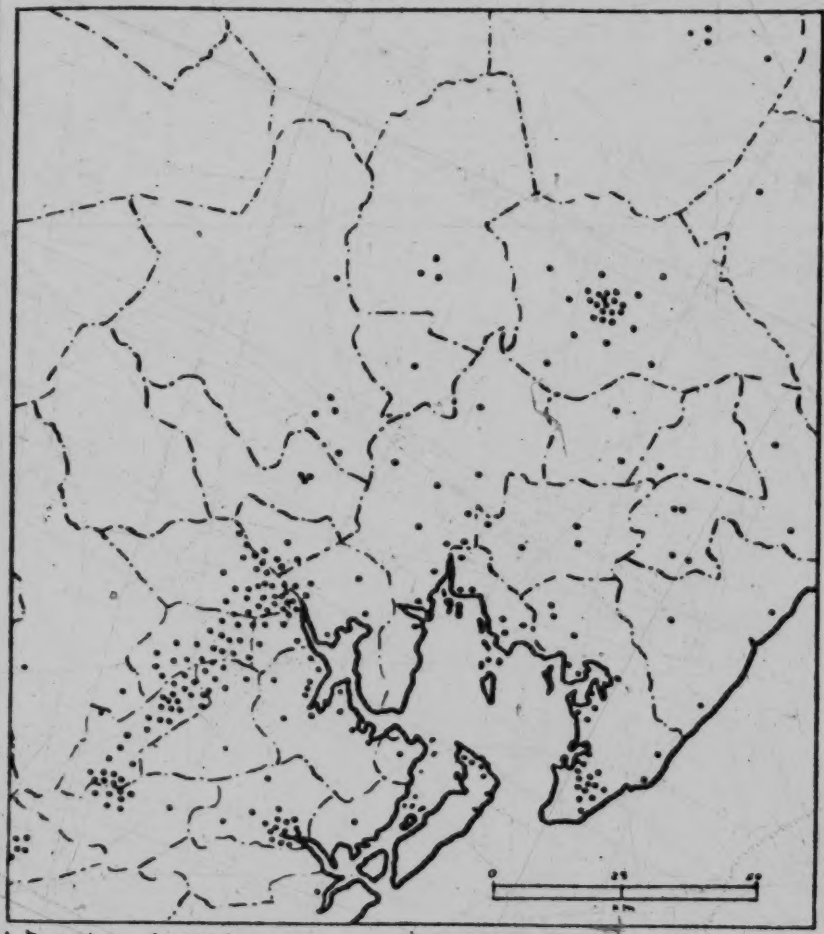

Each dot = 10,000 bunches

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Bananas--1948

Source data modified from Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 52

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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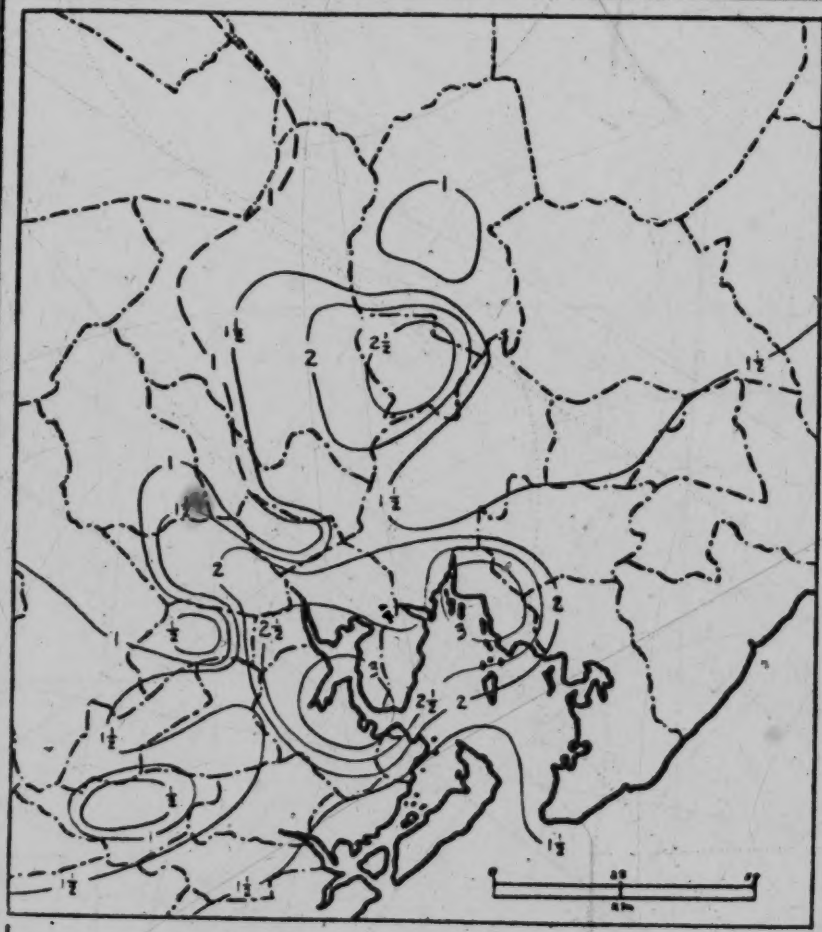

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Yield of Bananas--1948

Thousands per Hectare

Source of data: Producção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 53

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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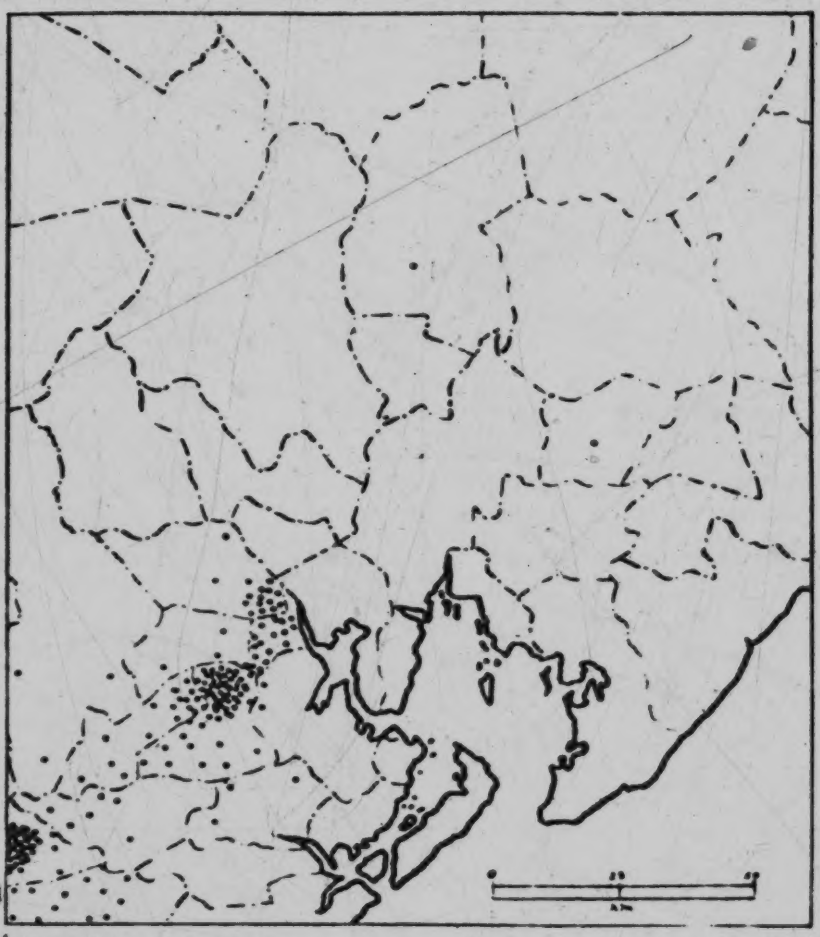

Each dot = 25 hectares

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Area in Coffee—1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 54

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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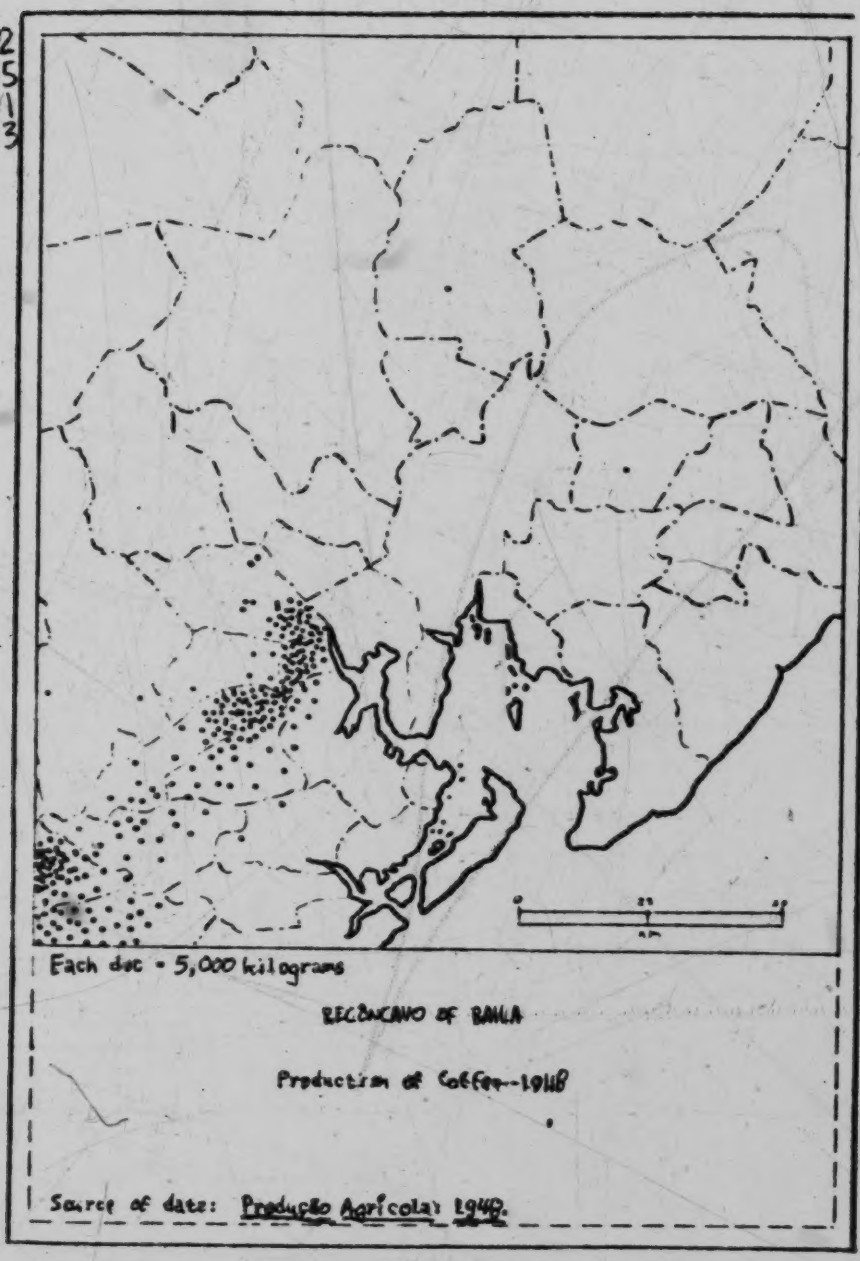

MAP 55

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1

BB 245 262 say that it is within the reach of all, for there are many who subsist virtually on farinha de mandioca (manioc flour) and a few beans.

B BB 245 433 Coffee. Coffee is not as venerable a crop in Bahia, or in Brazil, as either sugar cane or tobacco; nevertheless, it is one of the traditional major crops. Bahia is by no means an outstanding producer within Brazil, for the main centers of production are in the Central-South--Paraná, São Paulo, Minas Gerais, and Espírito Santo.

BB 245 433 Although Bahia as a whole has an exportable surplus of coffee, the Recôncavo crop is primarily, if not exclusively, for local consumption. Indeed, if the per capita coffee consumption of the Recôncavo is equal to that of the state, a reasonable assumption, the region as a whole produces only about one-sixth or one-seventh of its coffee needs. Under these circumstances, coffee is used, except in a few areas, in the same município in which it is grown.

BB 245 311 433 In 1948 only four municípios in the Recôncavo had 400 hectares or more in coffee or produced over 100,000 kilograms of coffee beans (Maps 54 and 55). The chief coffee município was São Filipe, which led in acreage and in production.[28] For all practical purposes, coffee production is limited to the south side of the Rio Paraguaçu.

Coffee production in Bahia is closely associated with the more humid section of the crystalline zone, and especially the area southwest of the Recôncavo where there are low, rugged mountains and consequently areas of greater elevation and precipitation. This "coffee zone" is extended into the Recôncavo along the rougher, more humid edge of the Crystalline Uplands and the adjacent Intermediate Hills, i.e., in São Filipe and São Felix.

BB 245 311 Only 4 per cent of the cropland of the Recôncavo as a whole was in coffee in 1948, but in São Félix and northern São Filipe the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 209]

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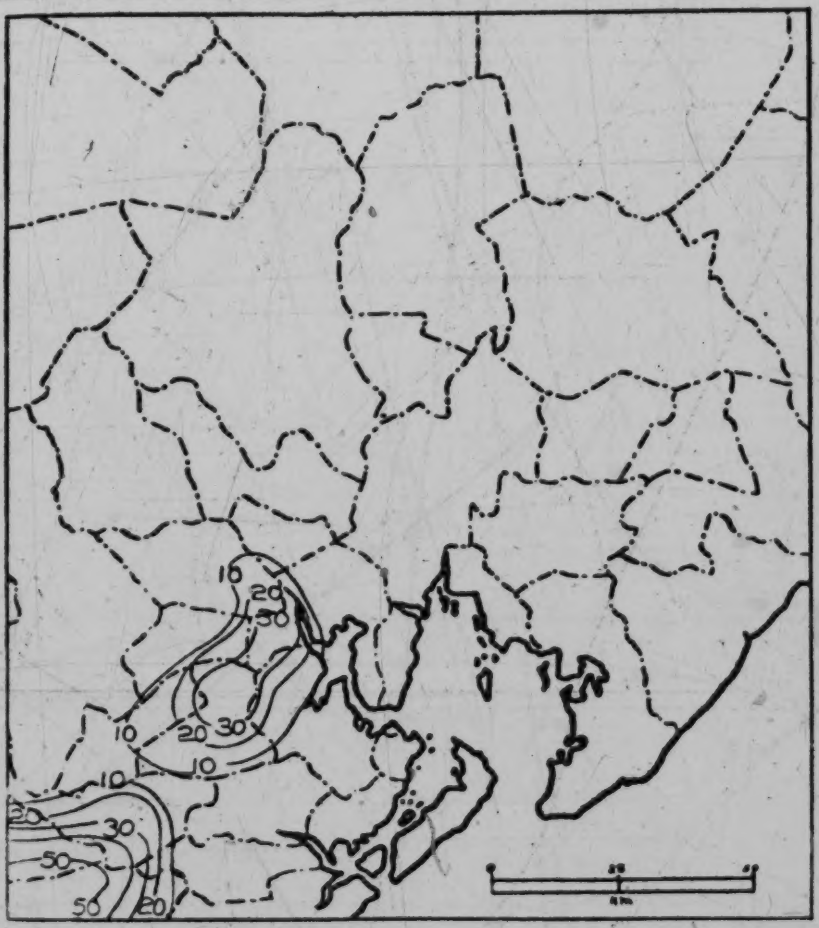

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of Cropland in Coffee--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 56

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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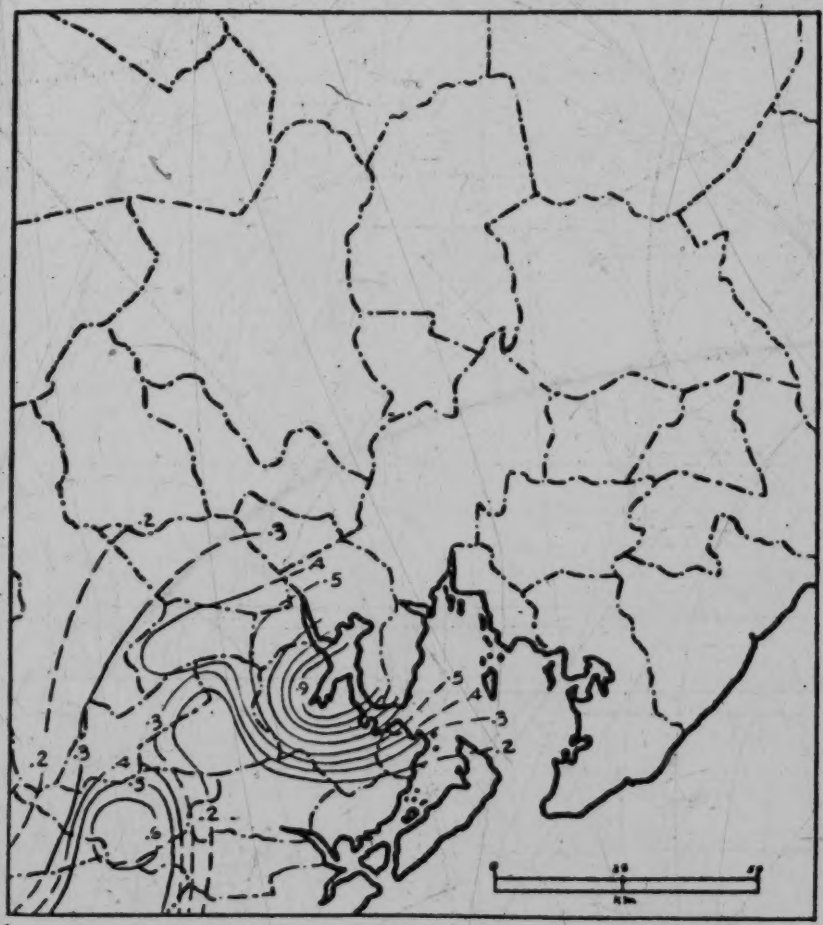

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Yield of Coffee--1948

Tons per Hectare

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 57

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

245 311 small coffee groves occupied as much as one-third of the total cultivated area (Map 56). In São Félix coffee was the second ranking crop in area of cultivation, in São Filipe, the third. The coffee cultivation in these municípios is concentrated along the eastern side of the tobacco-manioc area, on the rough Intermediate Hills. The slope-land [134] [132] soils are relatively fertile; yet there is not too much precipitation for the harvesting and drying of the beans.

Although coffee production in the "coffee zone" beyond the Recôncavo is on a moderately large scale, within the Southwestern Recôncavo coffee is planted in very small, irregular plots. The coffee is shade-grown, usually under a remnant of old mata or under jackfruit and similar trees. Except in São Filipe and São Félix, it is generally cultivated as an auxiliary rather than as a principal crop. The harvest is non-selective, and the entire bush is stripped at one time. 245 311 433 The beans produced under this system are of low quality compared with the selected beans of the Spanish-American highlands, but the people of Bahia claim that their coffee has a special flavor. The mean yield of coffee in the Recôncavo in 1948 was about 300 kilograms per hectare, compared to over 400 kilograms per hectare for Brazil. The main centers of production had yields near the mean of 300 kilograms per hectare, except for São Filipe which produced less than 200 kilograms per hectare (Map 57). Yields, as derived from the official data, were highly variable among the minor producers.

245 Coconut. In a sense the coconut is, like coffee, an alien intrusion into the Recôncavo. Although Bahia is by far the leading producer of coconuts in Brazil—they are called côcos da Bahia—the main centers of production are on the coast north and, to a lesser extent, south of the Recôncavo.

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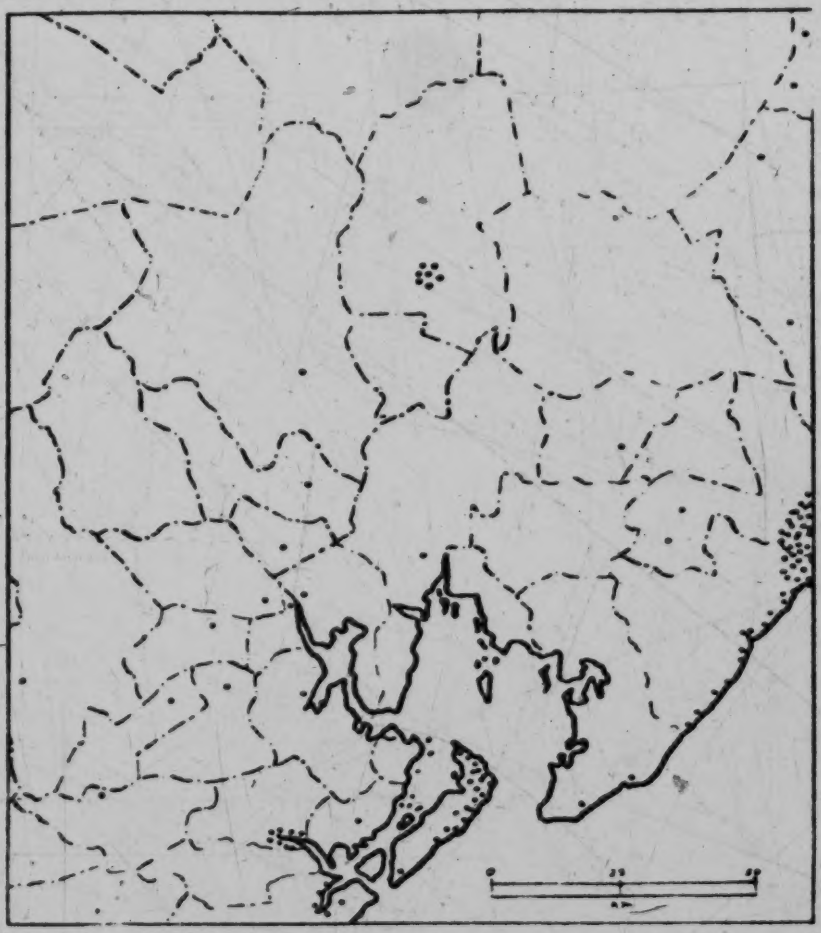

Each dot • 25 hectares

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Area in Coconuts—1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 58

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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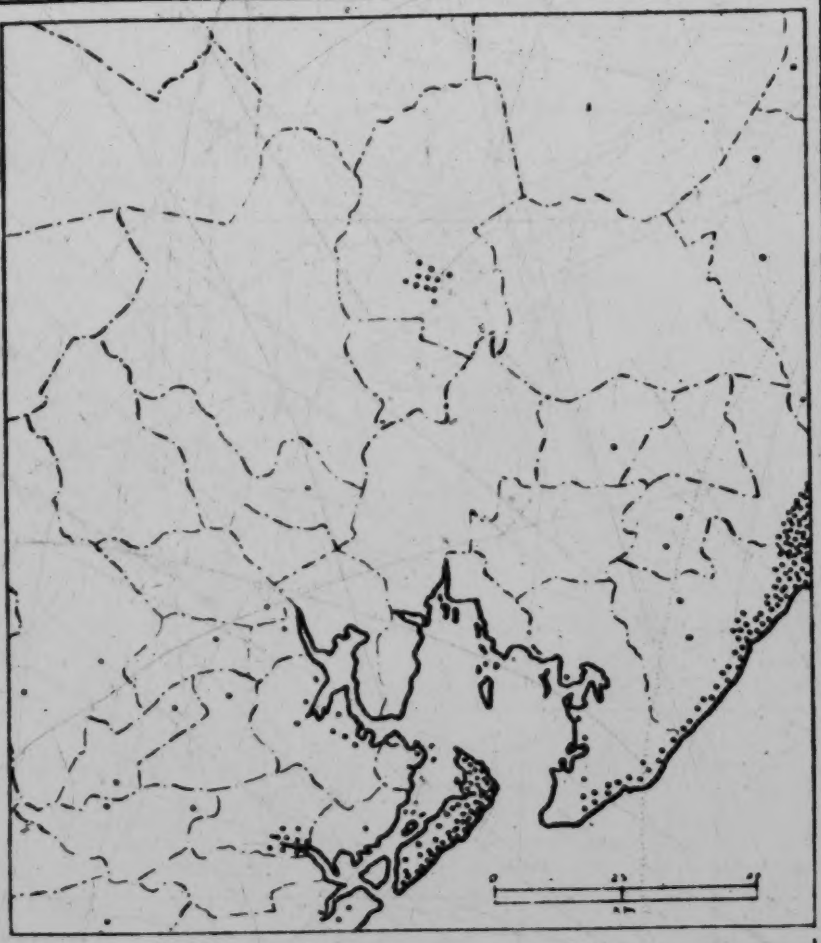

Each dot = 50,000 coconuts

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Coconuts--1948

Source of data: Producão Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 59

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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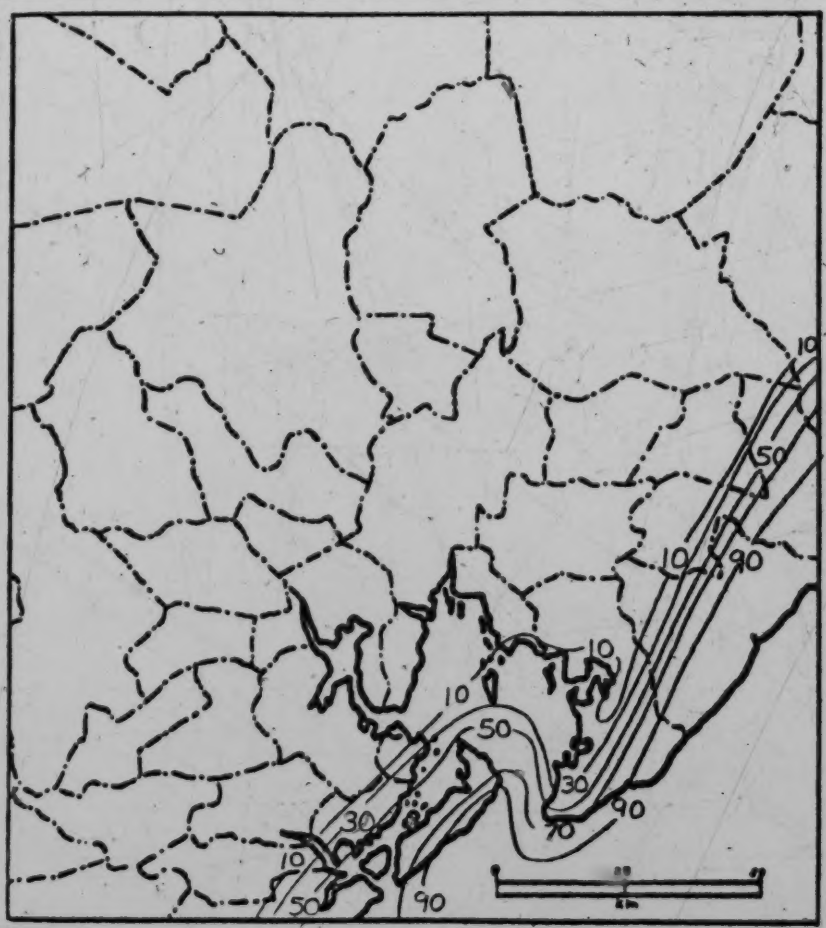

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of Cropland in Coconuts—1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 60

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

245 311 Within the Recôncavo coconut production is important along the sandy beach line of the island of Itaparica and along the ocean coast of Salvador, where coconuts are virtually the only agricultural product [133] (Maps 58, 59, and 60). The inner shores of the Bay, which rise abruptly [134] with rocky clay slopes, bear very few coconuts, except in a low-lying sandy zone along the estuary of the Paraguaçu. Coconuts are produced 245 [423] chiefly on large properties which are frequently owned by urban families. [464] The plantations are operated with hired labor drawn from the coastal [438] population. When harvested, the coconuts are sold in the urban markets [258] of Salvador and other cities and towns. Very little of the Recôncavo [439] production is converted into oil, and little is exported.

Oranges. The navel orange is a Bahian development, a mutation [433] of the orange brought from Europe. The main centers of Brazilian production, however, are elsewhere in the country, and cultivation of oranges within the Recôncavo is primarily for local consumption.

245 311 Scattered orange trees are a feature of the rural and urban landscape in many areas. In addition to this generalized cultivation, which frequently is not shown in the official data, there is commercial production in the environs of several urban centers—Alagoinhas, Santo Antônio, and to a lesser extent, Salvador (Maps 61 and 62). The [489] cidades of Alagoinhas and Santo Antônio are both markets for part of [443] the local crop; moreover, both are on the railroads leading to Salvador, which is the chief market for the entire region. In addition to these three main concentrations, there are numerous orange groves in the Southwestern Recôncavo which apparently serve both local and regional markets, though on a small scale. In general the relative area in orange groves is not great, yet in 1948 they occupied 10 per cent of the cropland of Alagoinhas.

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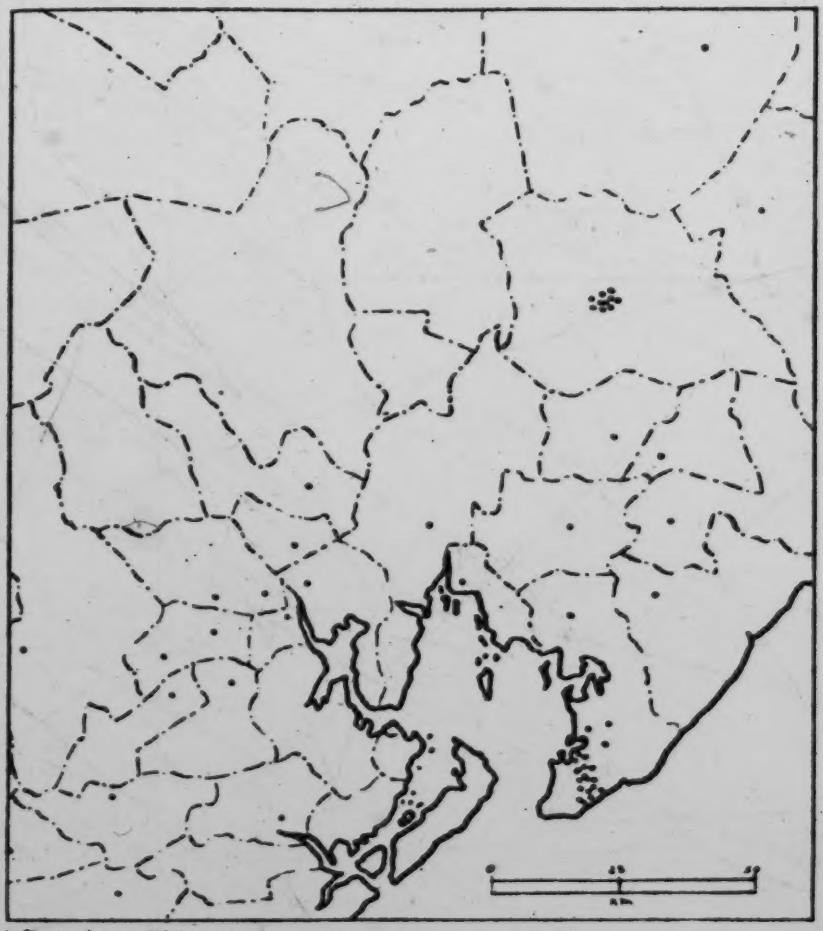

Each dot = 25 hectares

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Area in Oranges--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 62

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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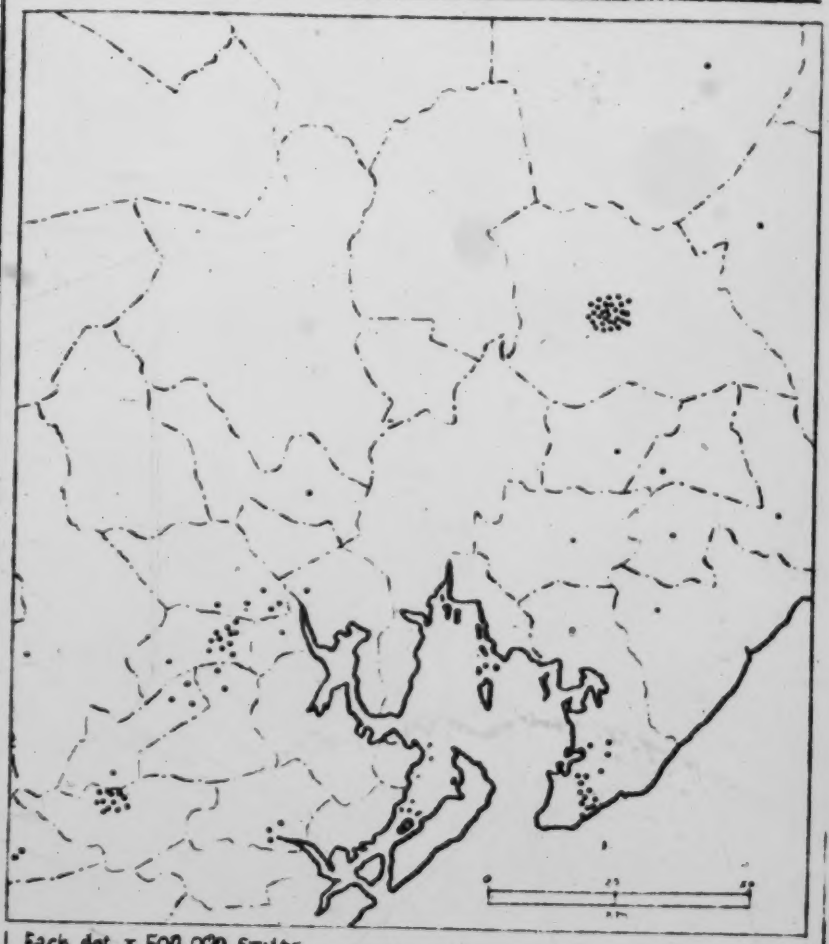

Each dot = 500,000 fruits

RECENCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Oranges--1948

Source of data: Producão Agricola: 1948.

MAP 62

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

245 438 [471] Oranges, like coconuts, are usually grown on plantations. The capital investment in tree crops is usually too great for small cultivators. Moreover, as a highly perishable crop, oranges require more or less direct marketing, which is frequently beyond the capacity of the small grower. If oranges were marketed by trickling from the small grower through the hands of merchants, buyers, and the like, as is tobacco, they would be spoiled long before reaching the consumer. The small cultivator can market his handful of oranges only in the local market.

241 433 Supplementary Crops. Although the official data show only a very limited distribution of minor supplementary crops, their cultivation is not confined to those municípios where exceptionally conscientious [262] statistical agents have made detailed records. The common vegetables--green beans, onions, garlic, and tomatoes--are cultivated in small quantities in all parts of the Recôncavo and are a traditional part of Bahian dishes. Around the cities and towns there is some specialization [443] in vegetable farming, but there are no major concentrations. The Salvador market is supplied with produce from a broad rural zone which includes [489] most of the Recôncavo. The produce is brought to the city by donkey, truck, or by sailing boat.

The most important of the supplementary commercial crops is [134] pineapple, which is produced on the sandy soils of the Northern, and to a lesser extent, Southwestern Recôncavo. There is very scattered production of grapes, cotton, rice, and white potatoes, but there are no important centers of cultivation of these crops.

245 311 Minor Spontaneous Tree Crops. Mangoes are very common within the houseyards of Salvador and throughout the humid Coastal Plain. In

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

245 311 the peripheral areas of the region they are less common, but a few trees can be seen in almost every settlement. The cashew is more strictly confined to the littoral and especially to the sandy coastal zones behind the palm-laden beach line. Jackfruit and breadfruit are especially common in the eastern Crystalline Uplands. Scattered along roads and around houses, they provide shade for the yard or for coffee and an occasional fruit for sale in the local market. The African oil palm is encountered occasionally in most municípios of the Recôncavo, generally growing out of the wet valley floors. There are many oil palms on the island of Itaparica, but the only major area of commercial production in Bahia is on the coast south of the Recôncavo. The oil is prepared [258] [438] by boiling the seed, and the surplus oil is sold in small quantities on the local market.

241 311 Annual and Perennial Crops. Six of the major crops of the Recôncavo are cultivated as annuals--manioc, corn, beans, peanuts, sweet potatoes, and tobacco.[29] The major perennials are bananas, sugar cane, coffee, oranges, and coconuts. Over three-fourths of the cropland of the Recôncavo was in annuals in 1948 and about 22 per cent in perennials--including both tree and field crops. In the Recôncavo there is a very close connection between crop periodicity and land systems. The annual crops are produced almost exclusively under a system of land rotation, while the perennials are grown under a system of permanent cultivation. The zones of annuals are generally mixed-crop zones, while the perennials are usually monocultural.

The main concentrations of annuals are on the uplands of the Northern, Northwestern, and Southwestern Recôncavo--the domain of manioc, tobacco, corn, and beans (Map 63). Perennials dominate the Intermediate Hills and the coastal lowlands--coconut palms on the beaches, sugar

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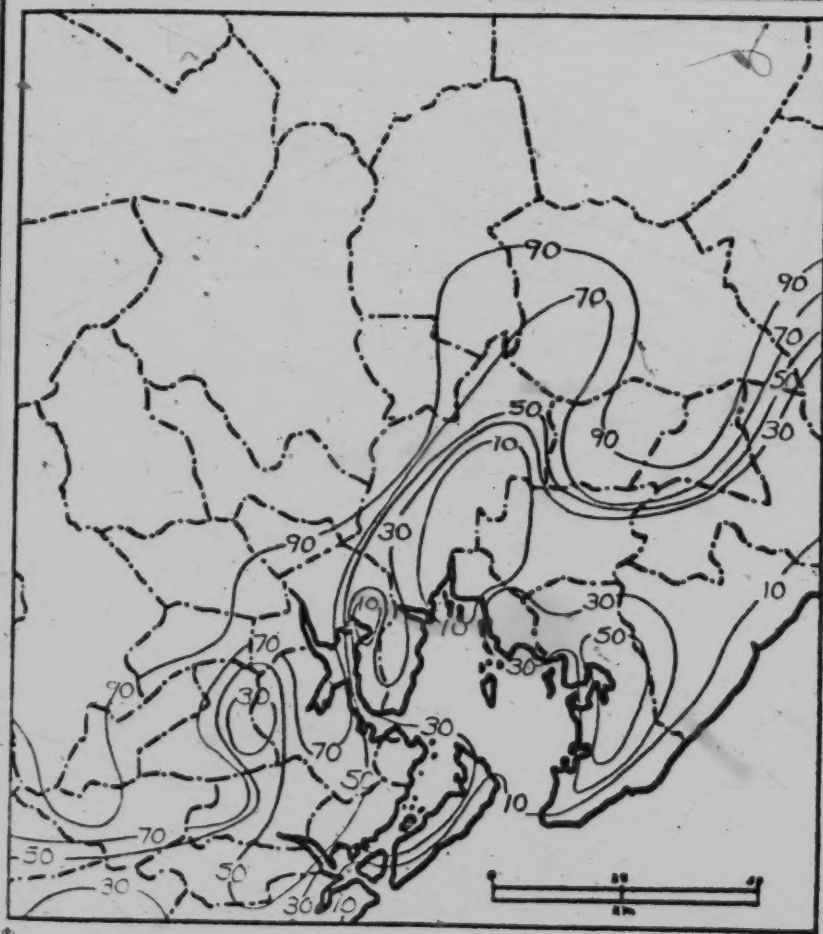

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of Cropland in Annual Cultivation—1948

MAP 63

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 311 cane in the pockets of Coastal Plain, and coffee and sugar cane in eastern and southern São Filipe. Annuals, chiefly manioc, intrude into the lowlands and hills in two areas: west of the Bay, from Maragogipe to Nazaré; and east of the Bay, in the município of Salvador.

General Distribution of Cropland. The total cropland of the Recôncavo in 1948, based upon the sum of the areas of the individual crops, was about 80,000 hectares--6.4 per cent of the land surface of the region. This proportion compares favorably with the one per cent of the state of Bahia and the two per cent of Brazil which is cultivated. However, a comparison with areas of the same general character in the Northeast of Brazil is more appropriate and more unfavorable; in 1948 both Paraíba and Alagoas had ten per cent of their areas under cultivation in principal crops.[30]

249 311 The most intensive center of cultivation in the Recôncavo is the area of sugar cane production north of the Bay. If the land which is in fallow one year out of every five is added to the area of the cane fields, about 75 per cent of the total land surface of the area was included in the closed circle of cultivation and fallow in 1948. The smaller area of sugar cane cultivation at the head of the Bacia do Iguape had a similar, though less intensive, concentration of cultivated land.

249 249 311 In the Southwestern Recôncavo as much as one half of the total area was in crops in 1948. Most of this land, as has been seen, was in tobacco or manioc. A smaller nucleus of intensive cultivation north of the Rio Paraguaçu centered on the município of São Gonçalo, was also an area of the cultivation of tobacco and manioc. The rest of the northern part of the Recôncavo in which these two crops were

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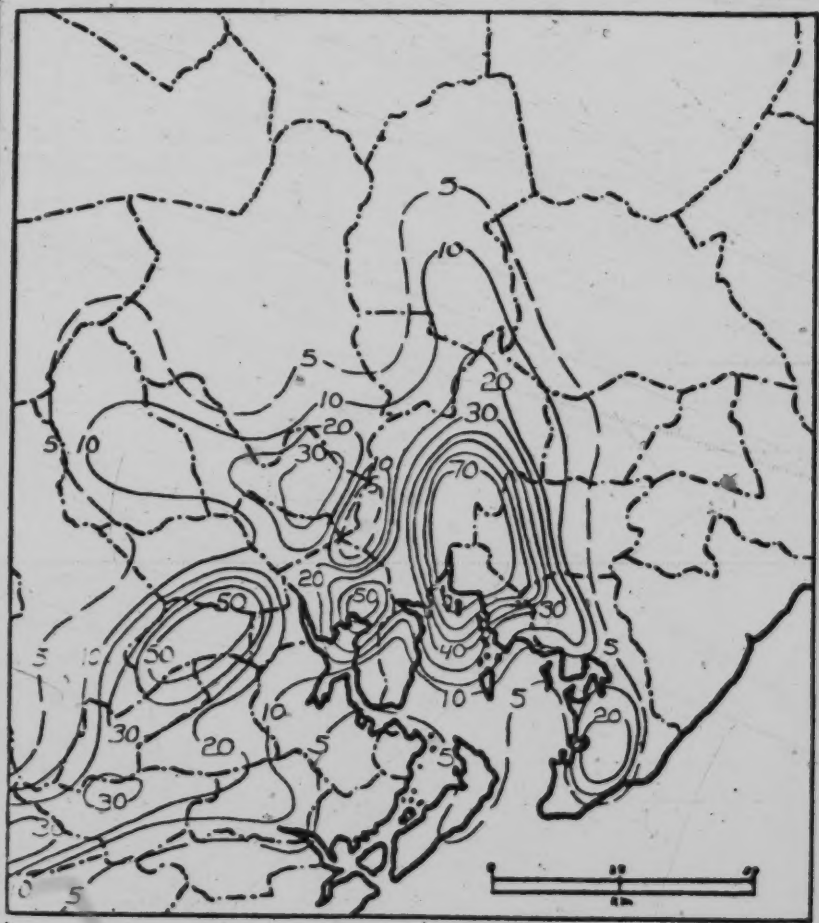

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Land Area in Cropland--1948

MAP 64

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 244 311 important had less intensive cultivation than the two principal centers mentioned above.

241 311 Most of the remaining crops of the Recôncavo were either minor subsistence crops of general distribution, not of themselves accounting for any strong concentration of cropland, or were major crops produced in small separated centers of intensive cultivation. The Northwestern Recôncavo corn and bean areas, the coconut plantations of the beach line, the Southwestern Recôncavo sugar cane and coffee areas, and the suburban rings of orange production were zones where the mean intensity of cropland was low or, at best, modest.

There were two zones of very low intensity of cropland which have not been discussed previously because they did not have significant concentrations of individual crops. The belt of Intermediate Hills around [137] [231] the Central Recôncavo sugar cane area is largely forested, the scene of very scattered cultivation, livestock enterprises, and extractive industries. This belt was used, as will be seen, to provide fuel and to maintain a livestock reserve for the adjoining sugar cane area. The forested belt between the beach line and the inland areas of sugar cane and tobacco cultivation were used primarily for extensive systems of cultivation and for the small scale production of livestock. Only around the perimeter of Salvador was this forested belt intensively used, for in this area there were orange groves, manioc gardens, and a few very small truck farms.

241 311 178 (161) [434] Expansion of Cropland. There can be little question but that the Recôncavo as a whole was an area of expanding cropland in the 1940's.[31] In no other way could the increased food necessary for the growing population be supplied, for there were not then nor are there now external sources for large quantities of staples, excepting only livestock. There

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 311 178 [361] are many local signs of the increase in cultivation—expanding rural settlement, overcrowded market facilities, and stories of the "old days" when life was more leisurely and the land problem less severe. Two areas of the Recôncavo are in great contrast as far as the trend of land use is concerned—the Central Recôncavo on the one hand and the 249 311 178 [654] [656] outer Recôncavo, especially the Southwest, on the other. As a result of the stabilization of the sugar industry by the Instituto do Açúcar e do Álcool and, undoubtedly, of the high fixed costs of the sugar industry, the area under cultivation in the Central Recôncavo has remained relatively constant. Indeed, since large-scale speculation in the cultivation of cane is no longer feasible, as a result of government control, it is possible that marginal lands have been withdrawn from cultivation or have been converted to other uses. However, the evidence of the present land use pattern, at least in the area north of the Bay, is against this hypothesis--there are no signs of abandoned cane fields and no extensive areas with any form of land use except those associated with the sugar industry. There are indications of the abandonment of cultivation near the lesser sugar cane area north of the Bacia do Iguape, but the state of the abandoned sugar mills suggest that the decline in cultivation took place before the last decade. In general, then, the area in cane probably was relatively stable during the 1940's and the 1950's, at least to 1953.

249 244 311 178 The situation in the areas of the cultivation of tobacco and manioc is more complicated, in part because the economies of these crops are not stabilized. The area in tobacco undoubtedly has fluctuated over a wide range from year to year, although the area in manioc probably has tended to change more steadily, since it is a basic food crop. There seems to be no question but that during the 1940's the area in

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 tobacco and manioc increased in the zones of intensive production of
244 both crops. Particularly in the Southwestern Recôncavo does the expan-
311 sion of settlement, the present critical intensity of land use, the
178 florescence of tobacco cultivation during the early 1940's, soil exhaustion as evidenced by the declining yields, and the testimony of the people of the people of the area attest to the increase during these years. Detailed field investigation in Cruz das Almas, in the heart of the Southwestern Recôncavo, indicated that if the intensity of cultivation shown by the 1948 figure is correct, then the cropland has declined in the years since. In 1948, according to the data, one-half of the total area of the *município* was cultivated; in 1953 the total land in crops can scarcely have been more than one quarter of the total area, and there were several signs of decline. Although there was no mature second growth, there was a good deal of *capoéira de caatinga* and *capoéira de mata* (second growth) which was about one to three meters high, that is, from about two to six years old. Cruz das Almas seems to be the extreme case of a *município* which went through a period of rapid growth and precipitous decline in these years, but the same processes undoubtedly have taken place in many of the other *municípios* where tobacco was important. Probably none of these areas have returned to the 1940 level, because of the concomitant increase in the population and the fall in the productivity of the land in the years since.

241 There have apparently been major expansions of the cropland of
311 two areas which border on the Recôncavo. Serrinha is known as a *muni-*
178 *cípio* of recent agricultural expansion.[32] The growth of the *cidade* of Serrinha in the last decade is a clear expression of greater agricultural production, although the new cropland is not in the vicinity of the city. Apparently the main expansion was around a group of low *serras* and

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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shallow lakes west of the cidade, along the border of Conceição do Coite, where intensive production of corn and beans on newly settled land could be observed in 1953.

The agricultural expansion in Santo Antônio and in Nazaré was more notable. Both of these municípios lie in a zone of continuing agricultural development which is contiguous with the Recôncavo and which shows signs of becoming an integral part of the region. If the criterion originally used to delimit the Recôncavo and define the area of intensive field investigation--over 20 per cent of the total area in agricultural use--were to be applied to the 1948 distribution of cropland, then Santo Antônio, though not Nazaré, would lie within the region. The current agricultural development of Santo Antônio, and to a lesser extent of Nazaré, is making these municípios progressively more like the Recôncavo.[33] The pattern of the production of tobacco and manioc in Santo Antônio is essentially the same as in the Southwestern Recôncavo. However, these two areas are still primarily oriented toward a zone along the Nazaré railroad, in which coffee and sugar cane, as well as tobacco and manioc, are important crops. For the moment, Nazaré and Santo Antônio are excluded from the Recôncavo, but with the explicit recognition of the possibility of new orientation.

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CHAPTER VI

CROP REGIONS AND SYSTEMS

128 241 The discussion in the preceding sections has emphasized the analysis of the character and distribution of individual crops. As has been suggested, the Recôncavo has several specific crop associations, particularly manioc with tobacco and corn with beans, and several monocultural systems--sugar cane, coconuts, and coffee. The discussion which follows will deal with the crop associations and monocultures as areal and as functional groupings--a first step in the synthetic development of the sub-regional and regional patterns of agriculture in the Recôncavo. Since the município tends to be a highly integrated micro-region with a distinctive pattern of crops and cropland, the first level of generalization is this politically delimited local area. The summation of the crop pattern of the local area leads to the determination of the region in which crops are cultivated in isolation or in co-existence and in which co-existent crops are cultivated in interdependent crop systems.

128 241 311 Crop Ranks. In order to determine the areal importance of the principal crops in relation to each other, the crops of the several municípios of the Recôncavo and the adjoining regions were ranked in accordance with the amount of the cropland area which they occupied. The accompanying series of maps, based upon these rankings, reveal that more cropland was devoted to manioc (Map 65) than any other crop 241 311 in seven municípios. Tobacco occupied this position in six municípios, sugar cane in four municípios, corn in three, and cocomuts in one. The relative area devoted to these five most cultivated crops varied from

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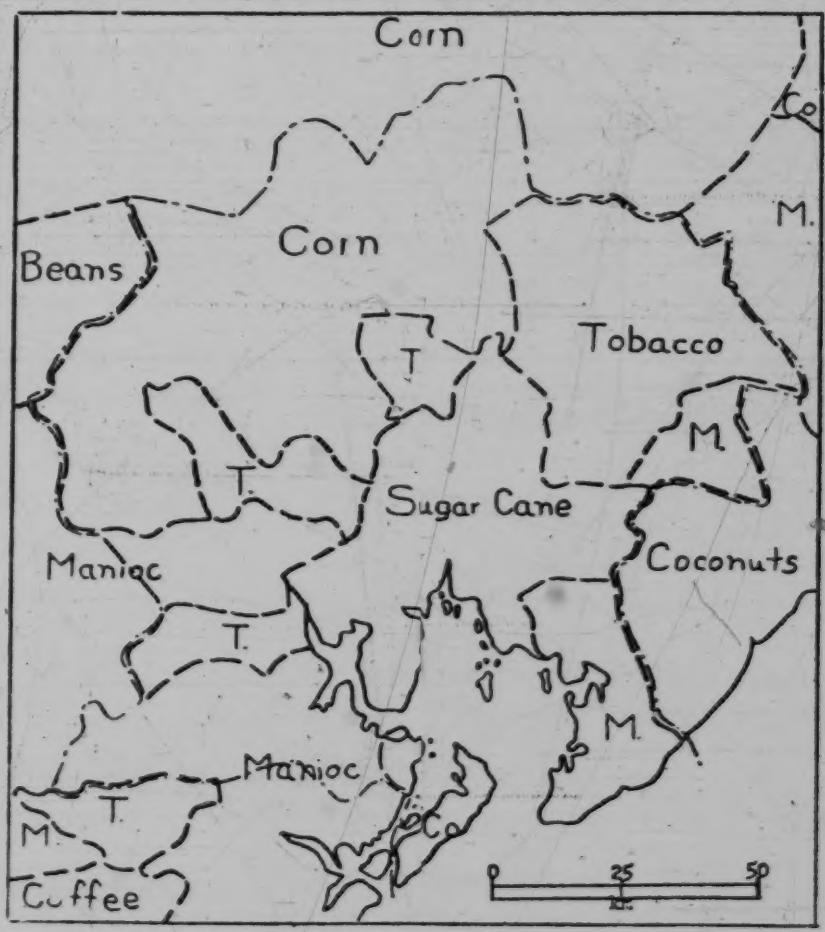

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Crops Ranking First in Area of Cultivation in 1948

M - Manioc
T - Tobacco
Co- Coconuts

MAP 65

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 311 96 per cent of the total cropland planted to sugar cane in São Sebastião to 33 per cent of the total cropland occupied by manioc in São Filipe.

At least one-third of the cropland of every município of the Recôncavo and the adjoining areas was planted to a single crop, and in twelve municípios of the region, over half the total cropland was occupied by one crop. The leading crop of the Eastern, Northern, and Northwestern Recôncavo was either corn or tobacco, that of the Southwestern Recôncavo, either manioc or tobacco. Sugar cane ranked above other crops in the Central Recôncavo. In the Southern Recôncavo either manioc or cocoanuts occupied the greatest area of cropland.

The percentage of the cultivated land in the crop ranking second in area varied greatly from município to município (Map 66). In São Sebastião and Pojuca, in the Eastern Recôncavo, the crop which held second position occupied only 2 per cent and 4 per cent of the cropland, respectively. In Cruz das Almas the second crop in area occupied 42 per cent of the cultivated land. Manioc was the second crop in area in all municípios where tobacco was first except tiny São Félix. In the Northwestern Recôncavo, when corn was the first crop, beans or tobacco occupied the second position.

The pattern of the succeeding ranks shows the effect of specialization in cultivation: in five municípios of the Recôncavo and six municípios in the adjoining areas, the first two crops occupied 90 per cent or more of the cropland. Only nine Recôncavo and three adjoining municípios had a sixth ranking crop which occupied as much as 1 per cent of the total cultivated area, and in no município did the sixth crop occupy more than 4 per cent of the total cropland. The patterns of crops occupying third, fourth, fifth, and sixth ranks in area are shown on Maps 67, 68, 69, and 70.

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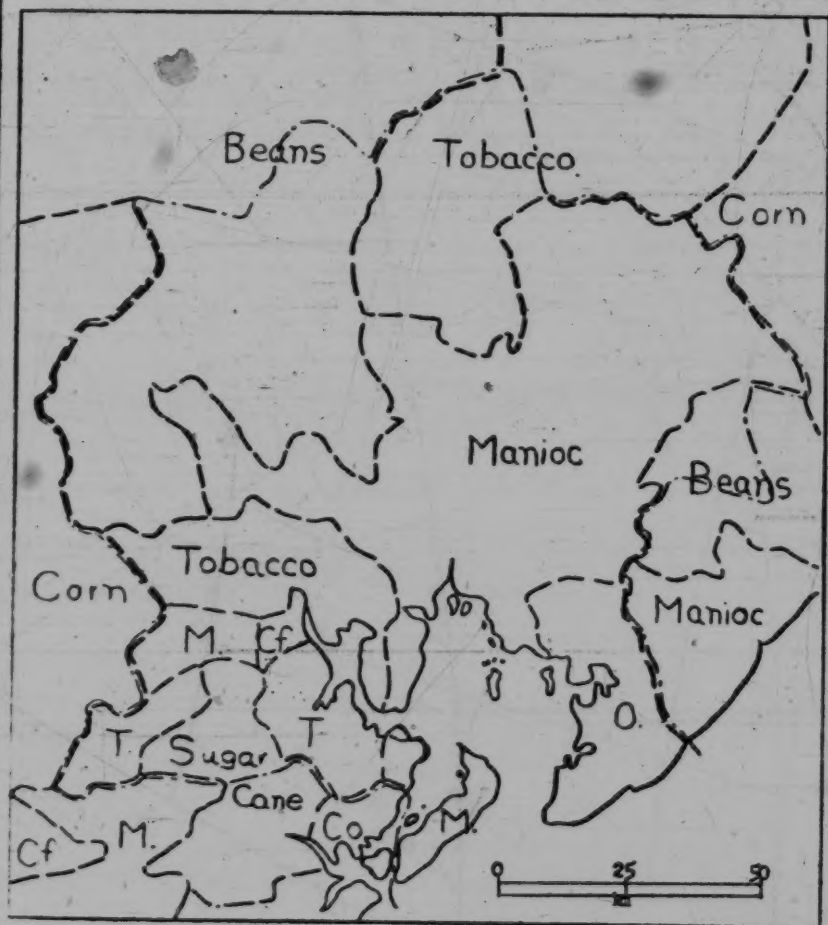

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Crops Ranking Second in Area of Cultivation in 1948

M - Manioc
T - Tobacco
Co- Coconuts
Cf- Coffee
O - Oranges

MAP 66

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilian SO11

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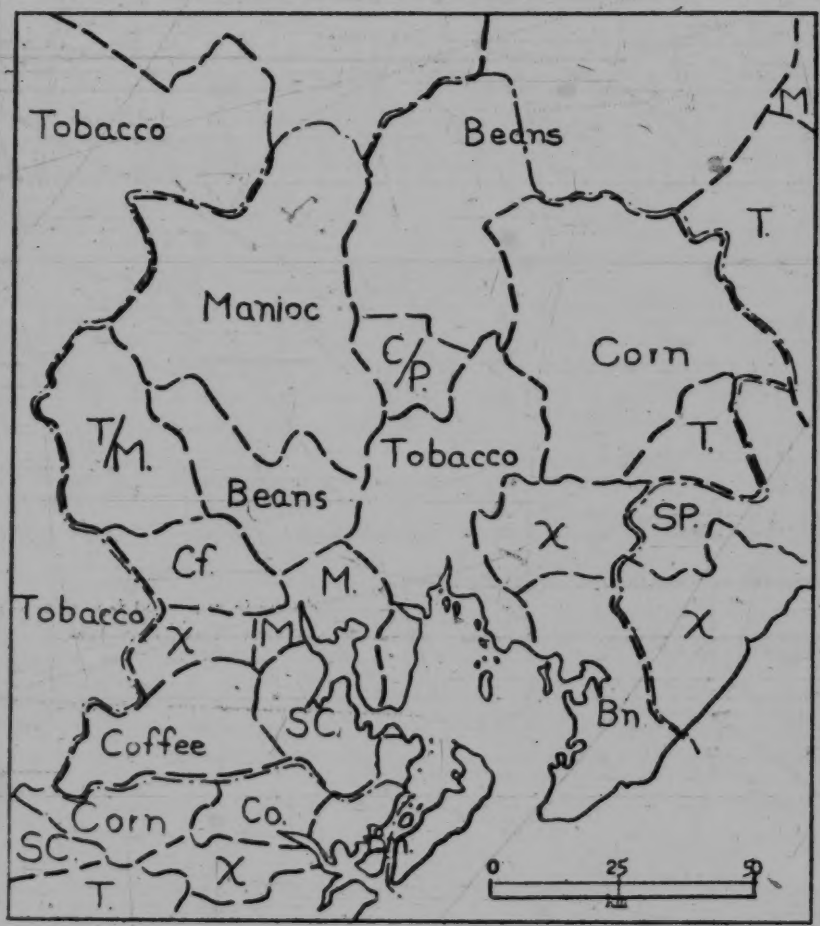

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Crops Ranking Third in Area of Cultivation in 1948

M - Manioc	SP- Sweet Potatoes
T - Tobacco	C - Corn
Co- Coconuts	A/B-Two crops with same rank
Cf- Coffee	x - No crop of this rank
SC- Sugar Cane	with over 1 o/o of cropland

MAP 67

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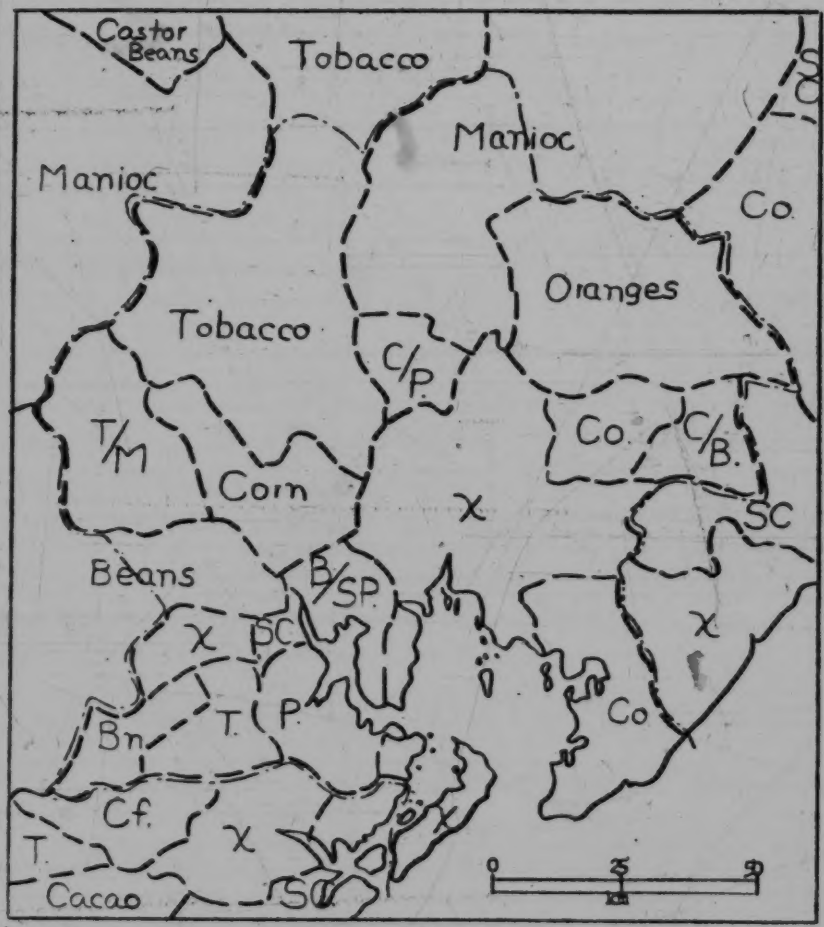

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Crops Ranking Fourth in Area of Cultivation in 1948

M - Manioc	SC- Sugar Cane	Bn- Bananas
T - Tobacco	C - Corn	SP- Sweet Potatoes
Co- Coconuts	B - Beans	A/B-Two crops with same rank
Cf- Coffee	P - Peanuts	x - No crop of this rank with over 1 o/o of cropland

MAP 68

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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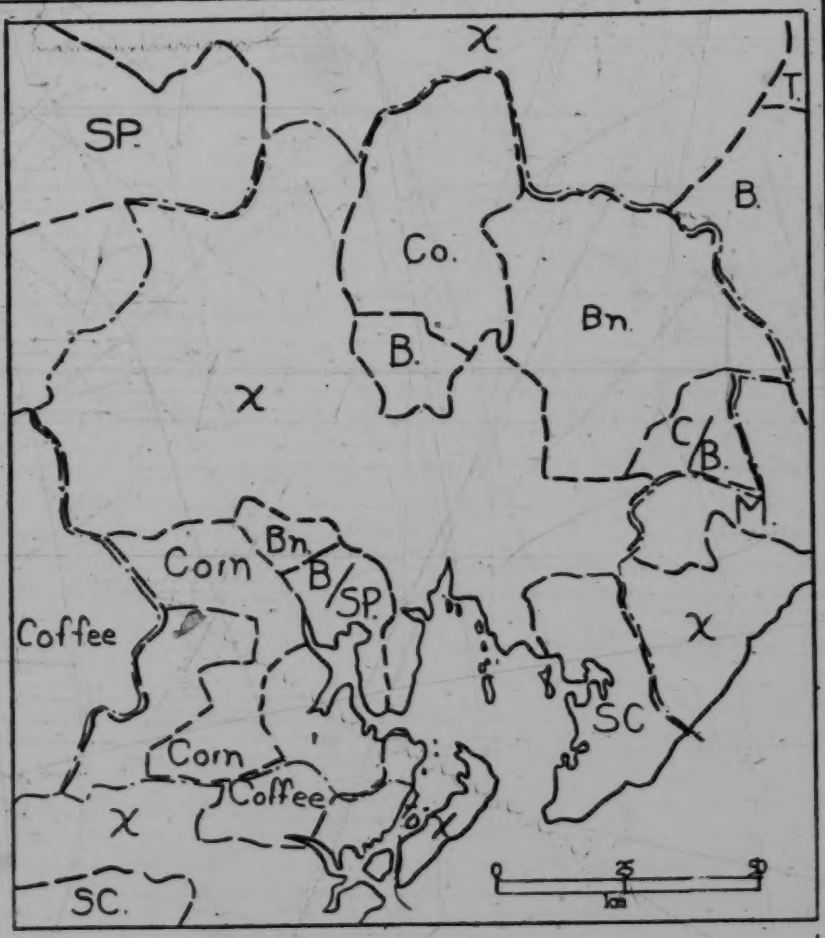

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Crops Ranking Fifth in Area of Cultivation in 1948

M - Manioc	C - Corn	A/B-Two crops with same area
T - Tobacco	B - Beans	x -No crop of this rank with over 1 o/o of cropland
Co- Cocoauts	Bn- Bananas	
SC- Sugar Cane	SP- Sweet Potatoes	

MAP 69

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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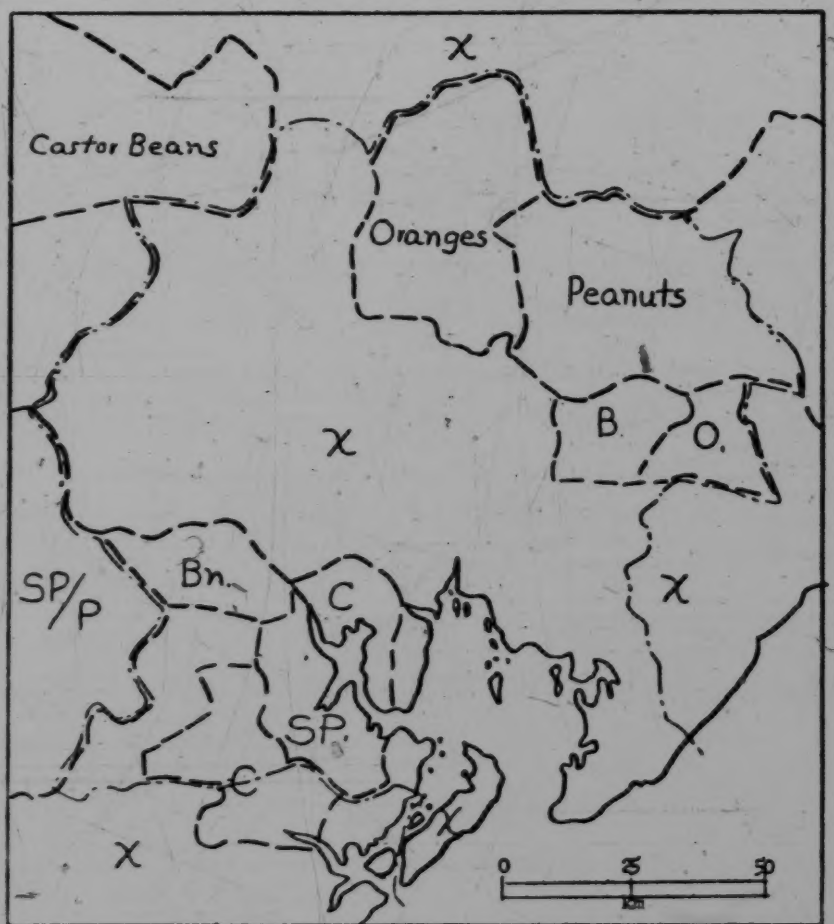

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Crops Ranking Sixth in Area of Cultivation in 1948

C - Corn
B - Beans
P - Peanuts
Bn- Bananas
SP- Sweet Potatoes
A/B-Two crops with same area
x - No crop of this rank with over 1 o/o of cropland

MAP 70

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 311 In many municípios on the north, west, and southwest of the Recôncavo, where corn and beans were the first and second crops, manioc and tobacco were third and fourth or vice versa. On the other hand, sugar cane was rarely a significant crop in any município where either corn, beans, tobacco, or manioc occupied a leading position.

128 241 311 Crop Combinations and Monocultures. The crop combinations shown on Map 71 and Map 72 exist on two levels, as statistical combinations of the crops of various municípios and as functional associations of crops grown in an interdependent system.

241 311 The statistical crop combinations of the Central Recôncavo do not correspond to functional systems of cultivation, for although sugar cane, manioc, and tobacco are produced within individual municípios, the cultivation of sugar cane is entirely separate. The manioc and sugar cane of São Filipe and the tobacco and coffee of São Félix are also cultivated separately. The statistical combinations, therefore, merely summarize the economic specialization and diversification of the município economies. The tobacco-manioc and the corn-bean combinations of most municípios of the perimeter of the Recôncavo, from Alagoinhas on the northeast to Conceição do Almeida on the southwest, signify functional as well as statistical relationships. On the other hand, monocultural systems dominate within the Central Recôncavo and in a few other places. The areas in which the individual functional combinations and monocultures predominate are delimited as nodal crop regions on Map 73. The arrows on the map (Map 73) indicate the intermeshing of crop regions in the transitional zones.

249 244 311 The most extensive of the crop regions belongs to tobacco and manioc. In this region, which extends from the Southwestern Recôncavo in a long arc to the Eastern Recôncavo, at least 70 per cent and usually

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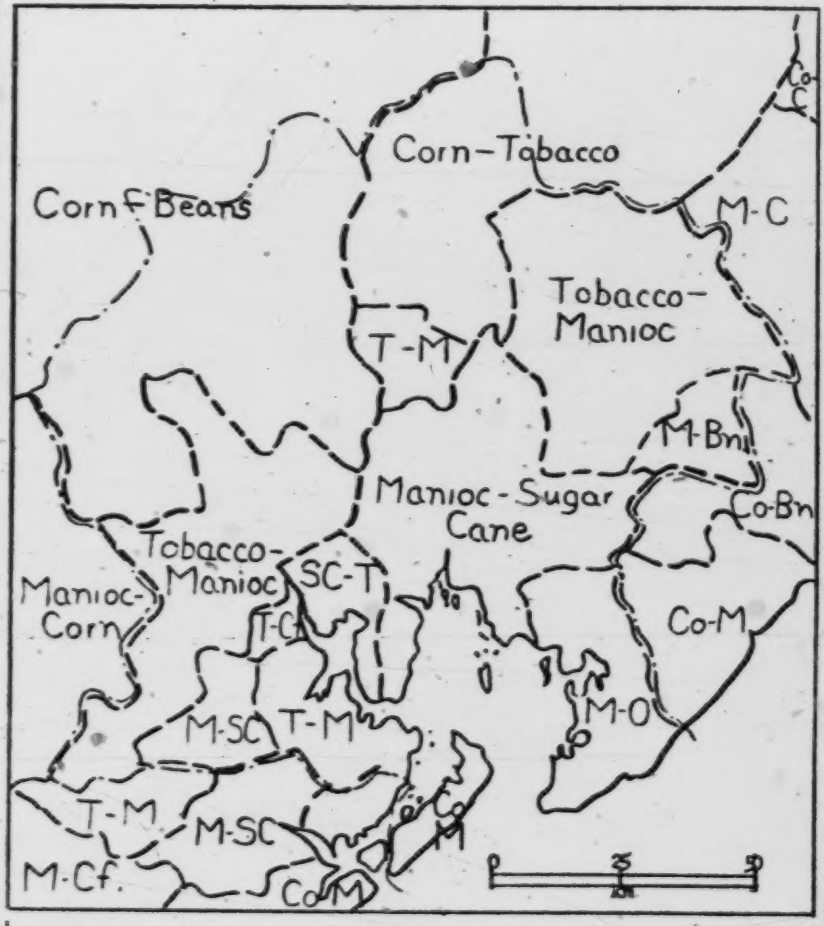

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Crops Ranking First and Second in Area of Cultivation in 1948

M - Manioc O - Oranges Bn- Bananas
T - Tobacco SC- Sugar Cane
Co- Coconuts C - Corn
Cf- Coffee P - Peanuts

MAP 71

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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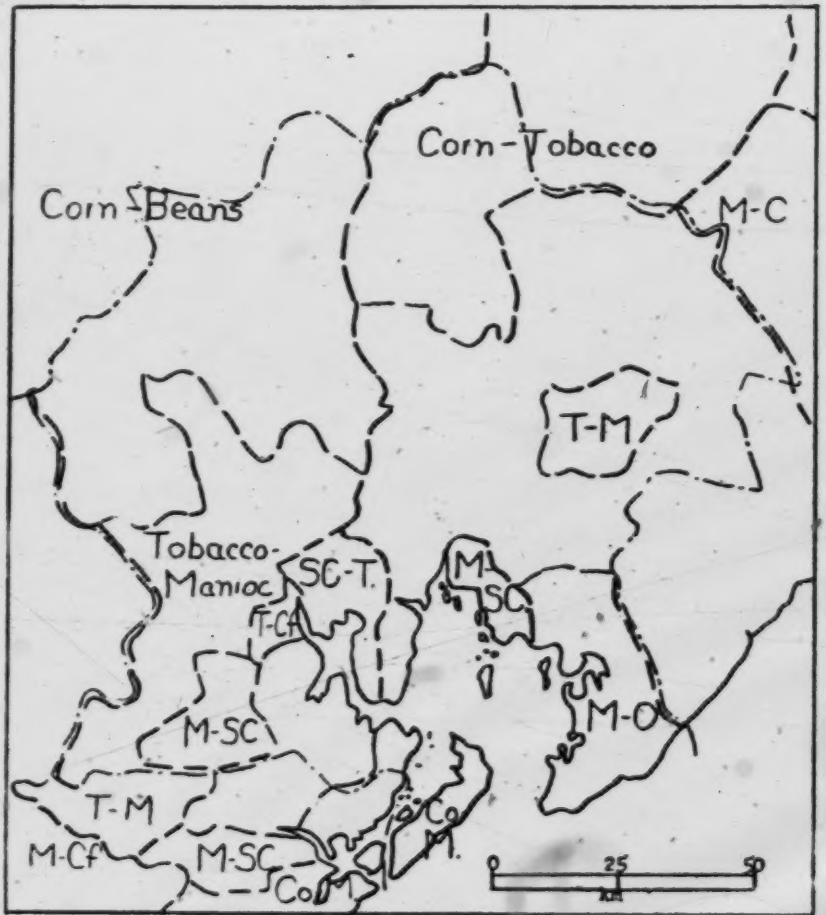

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Crops Ranking First and Second in Area of Cultivation in 1948 Where the Second Crop Occupied Over 20 per cent of the Total Cropland

M - Manioc Cf- Coffee O - Oranges
T - Tobacco SC- Sugar Cane
Co- Coconuts C - Corn

MAP 72

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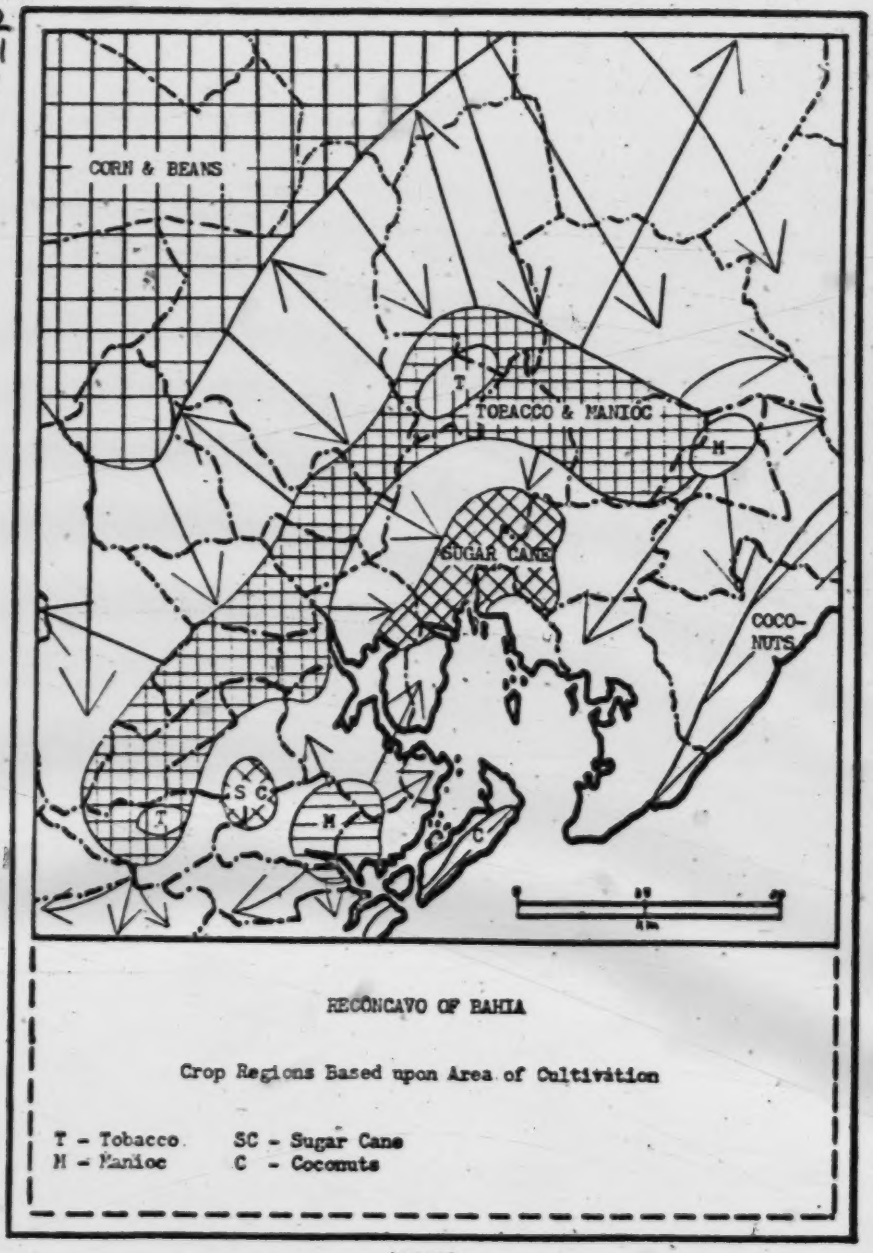

MAP 73

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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80 per cent of the total cropland was in these two crops in 1948 (Map 74). A minimum of 20 per cent of the total cropland of all parts of the region was in tobacco, and except for a break in Coração de Maria and northern Santo Amaro, in manioc. Associated with this region were two small areas in which one of the components dominated the other--tobacco dominated in Santo Antônio and manioc in Pojuca.

The relationship of tobacco and manioc area varied widely within this region of their most intensive cultivation (Map 75). The mean for all the municípios of the region was 42 per cent of the total cropland in tobacco and 36 per cent in manioc. The theoretically ideal "duo-culture" was approached in Cruz das Almas, with 54 per cent of the total cropland in tobacco and 42 per cent in manioc. The ratios of the area in the two crops in individual municípios is indicated in the list below. Only in Muritiba and Cruz das Almas did the areas of the two crops have a relative balance. In the southwestern part of the region, tobacco was ascendant in Santo Antonio and manioc in Conceição do Almeida.

Ratio of Tobacco and Manioc Area

Santo Antônio	Tobacco	3.50	to 1
Conceição do Almeida	Manioc	2	to 1
Cruz das Almas	Tobacco	1.25	to 1
Muritiba	Manioc	1.50	to 1
Conceição da Feira	Manioc	2	to 1
São Gonçalo	Tobacco	3	to 1
Coração de Maria	Tobacco	4.50	to 1
Santo Amaro*	Manioc	2.50	to 1
Catu	Tobacco	3	to 1
Pojuca	Manioc	20	to 1

*These figures are for the whole of Santo Amaro. Probably the ratio in its tobacco-manioc zone would be about 3 to 1 in favor of tobacco.

North of the Rio Paraguaçu the position of tobacco vis-à-vis manioc became progressively stronger through Coração de Maria and continued strong into Catu, where cultivation of tobacco abruptly terminated. Pojuca had a manioc monoculture, with only 4 per cent of the cropland in tobacco and 81 per cent in manioc.

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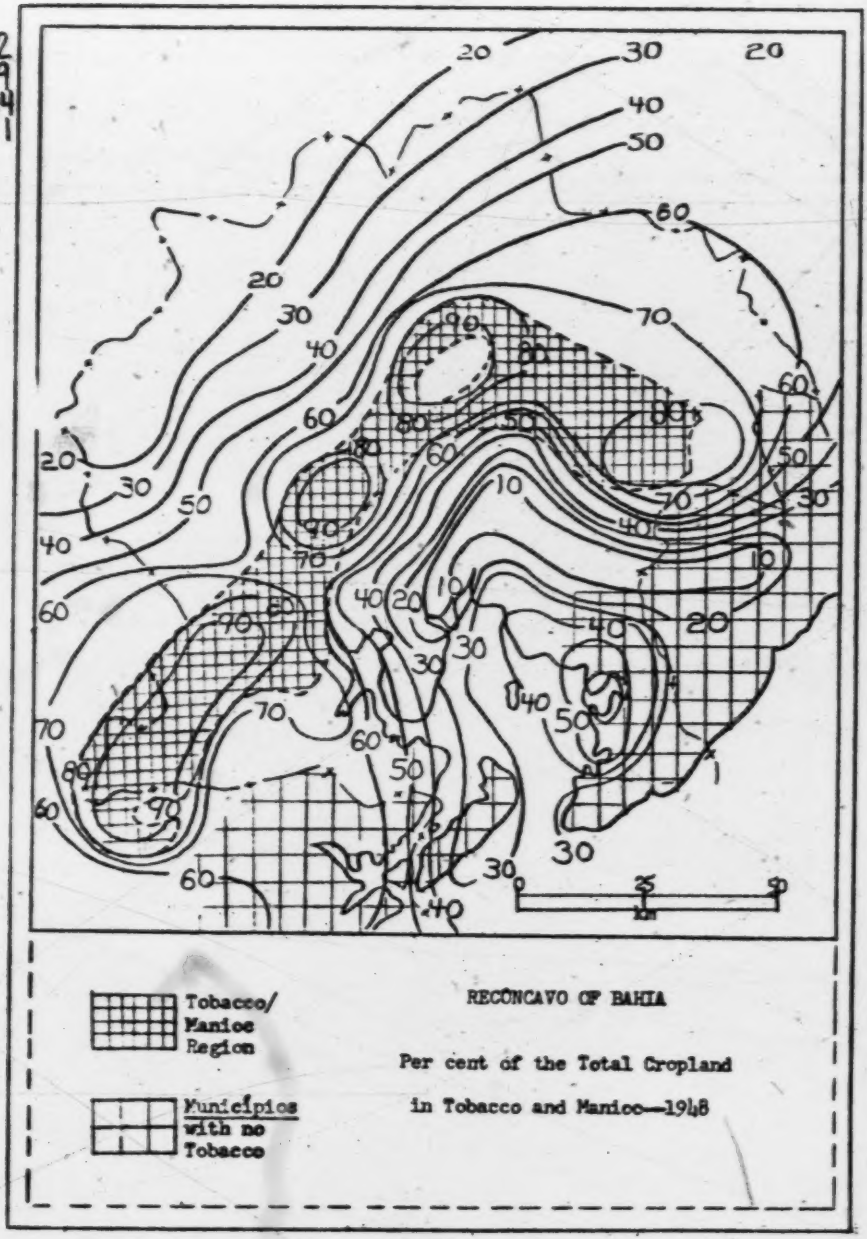

MAP 74

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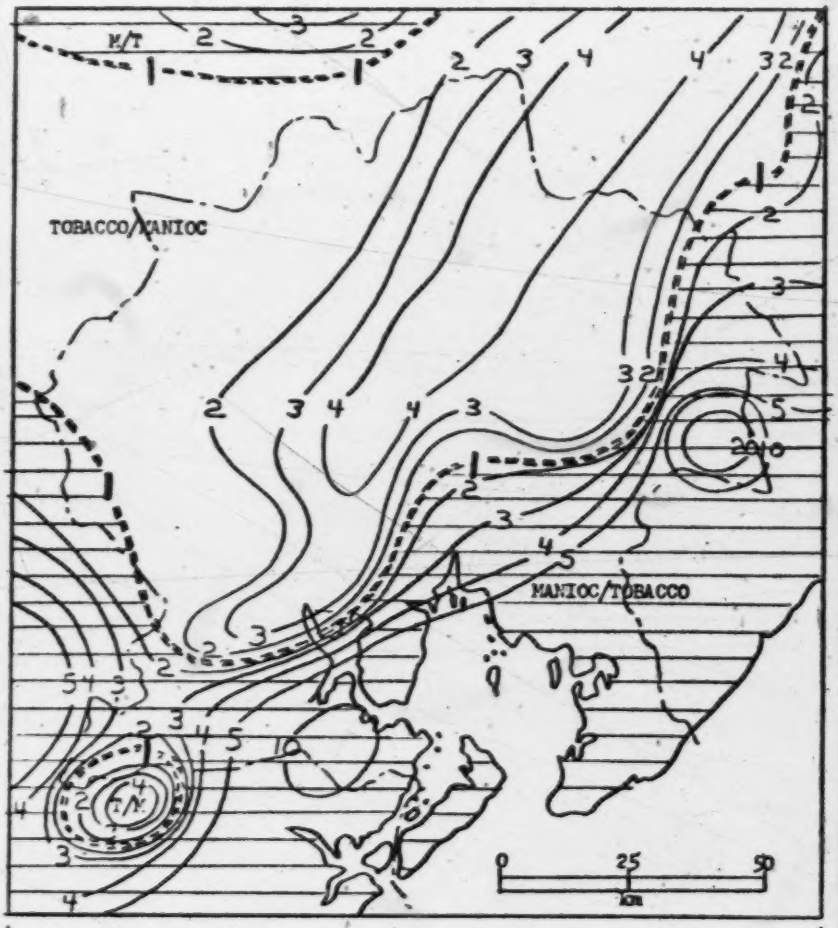

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Relationship of the Cultivated Area in Tobacco and Manioc—1968

Tobacco/Manioc (T/M) - Area in tobacco exceeds area in manioc
Manioc/Tobacco (M/T) - Area in manioc exceeds area in tobacco

MAP 75

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 244 311 13 The physical setting of the tobacco and manioc region is distinctive in terms of the particular combination of topography, soils, climate, and vegetation which are joined along its crescent axis. The region lies along the semi-circular edge of the interior upland, overlooking the Bay and the Coastal Plain. In the south the fields of manioc and tobacco occupy the upper surfaces of the Crystalline Uplands and the adjacent Intermediate Hills. In the north, cultivation shifts to the summits and upper slopes of the Intermediate Hills, although there is some concentration on the extreme southern edge of the taboleiros. Thus the region occupies the deep flat-lying residual crystalline soils in the south but in the Tertiary soil zone to the north follows the slope lands where there is more rainfall and perhaps better local soils. The close correspondence of this region with the forest and scrub-forest transition has been repeatedly emphasized. A traverse across the tobacco-manioc region anywhere between Conceição do Almeida and Feira de Santana takes one from rough hills with at least scattered patches of broadleaf evergreen forest to flat uplands with cactus, thorny brush, and licuri palms.

249 244 433 161 361 A comparison of the map of population (Map 21) and of the relationship of tobacco and manioc cultivation (Map 75) points up the necessity for local sources of basic subsistence products. In the Southwest, where rural populations are relatively dense and where there are a number of large villages and towns, manioc tends to be cultivated over a greater area than does tobacco. In the tobacco-manioc region north of the Rio Paraguaçu, where tobacco is usually the leading crop, the density of rural population is lower, and there are no towns and only [438] a few large villages. Thus there is close relationship between the relative intensity of manioc and the size of the local market.

175 249 244 The recent historical pattern of agriculture in the tobacco-manioc region can be reconstructed only on a general level. Cachoeira, which

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175 Cachoeira, which formerly included most of the western part of the region, was the center
178 of the production of tobacco for use in the slave trade. The growth of
249 the trade in leaf tobacco in the nineteenth century brought great changes
[567] to the region, for it made tobacco a major commercial product in its own
[439] right, no longer dependent upon the slave trade. Eventually this development gave the region of tobacco production a greater economic importance than the sugar cane region, although it remained subordinate in political and social influence. The development of the new tobacco economy also gave the region a greater superiority over the sertão, which could satisfactorily produce fumo en corda, but could grow only the poorest grades of fumo em fôlha.

174 Probably the tobacco-manioc region supplied manioc as the sub-
244 sistence food of the sugar economy, since it is the only nearby area
249 which was a center of manioc production. Perhaps manioc was produced
433 in the sugar cane zone, but in view of the intensity of sugar cane cultivation, this seems doubtful. In any case, the present relative level of manioc production in this crop region probably dates from the nineteenth century development of cigar tobacco production.

249 The second basic crop region of the Recôncavo is the sugar cane
311 monocultural area. It is sub-divided into a major zone, in Santo Amaro, São Sebastião, and São Francisco; a minor zone in Cachoeira; and an outlier in São Filipe. It is estimated that in the first two zones 90 per cent of the cropland was in cane in 1948. In the São Filipe outlier of the sugar cane region the proportion seems to have been lower--perhaps 50 per cent of the cultivated area.

The physical association of the sugar cane region north of the
[13] Rio Paraguaçu and the Bay is relatively simple--a humid and formerly forested undulating plain composed of mixed Cretaceous soils--massapê, salão, and areia. In São Filipe the land is rougher, but the sugar cane is grown upon heavy soils similar to the Cretaceous series.

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249 The portion of the sugar cane region north of the Bay is an area
161 of relatively dense rural population, with a large number of villages
361 and plantation settlements and one city--Santo Amaro. The remaining areas of the sugar cane region have only moderately dense rural populations and no major urban centers, although the cidade of Nazaré is very close to the southern border of São Filipe.

[128] The tremendous historical significance of the sugar cane region has been discussed at length in the section on the historical setting of the
249 Recôncavo. As far as the sugar cane zone of Santo Amaro, São Francisco,
198 and São Sebastião is concerned, the extent of the region does not appear to have changed very much since colonial times. Old engenhos are found throughout the zone, indicating past cultivation in all areas now in cane. The present usinas cultivate sugar cane intensively clear across the Cretaceous zone, so that it is not likely that the cane area has contracted. However, there are several abandoned engenhos and settlements on the north and east shores of the estuary of the Paraguaçu which seem to indicate that sugar cane cultivation was formerly more extensive around the Bacia do Iguape.

244 The two intensive crop regions of tobacco and manioc and sugar
249 cane, as outlined above, can be viewed as nodal areas which are basic
311 to the regional distinctiveness of the Recôncavo; they are for all practical purposes included totally within its limits; their crop patterns are not duplicated in any nearby area; and they include within their boundaries a very large part--and the most productive part--of its agricultural area.

241 In distinction to the above intra-Recôncavo regions there are
311 at least three crops which overlap the borders of the Recôncavo, forming crop regions which have their most characteristic development in adjoining areas. The Atlantic coast of Salvador and Itaparica supports

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The Atlantic coast of Salvador and Itaparica supports
245 a coconut monoculture--a monoculture which is most strongly developed
• 311 north of the Recôncavo in Camassari and Mata de São João. The actual area of the coconut monoculture within the Recôncavo is slight, and beyond this monocultural zone, coconut cultivation is rarely significant within the region.

The coconut monoculture lies between the littoral forest and the beach in Itaparica and between the agreste and the beach in Salvador and in the municípios farther north. Except in the município of
[161] [162] Salvador, the rural population of the coconut area is not dense. The
[361] typical settlement of this zone is the fishing village, sprawled over the beach near the mouth of a small stream. Inland the population is scattered.

243 A much more important crop system intrudes upon the Northwestern
244 Recôncavo--the corn-bean system. The nuclear area for this system seems
311 to lie in northern Serrinha and in the municípios bordering upon the state of Sergipe. The area in which over 80 per cent of the cropland was in corn and beans in 1948 overlapped the borders of the Recôncavo into western Feira de Santana and Santo Estêvão--a zone of low serras (Map 76). In this zone the area in corn was from one to two times the area in beans (Map 77).

Most of the soils of this region are either crystalline or
[134] Tertiary sands, but the pockets of soil which are actually cultivated are almost invariably heavier and more water retentive than are the sandy upland soils of the taboleiros. The corn-bean region generally
[162] has a small but nucleated rural population and a few medium-sized cidades, which are the only towns of the very large municípios which are charac-
[361] teristic of the area. However, the part of the corn-bean region which overlaps the Recôncavo has a number of villages and hamlets in the valleys of the serras.

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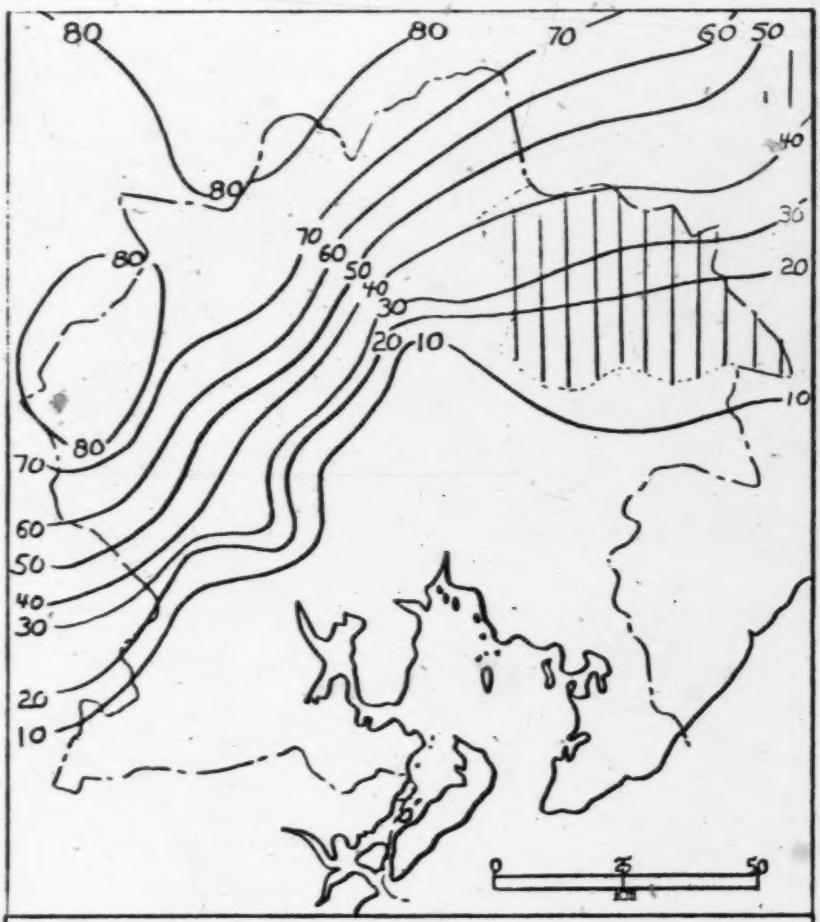

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Cropland in Corn and Beans--1948

Shaded area - Corn only

MAP 76

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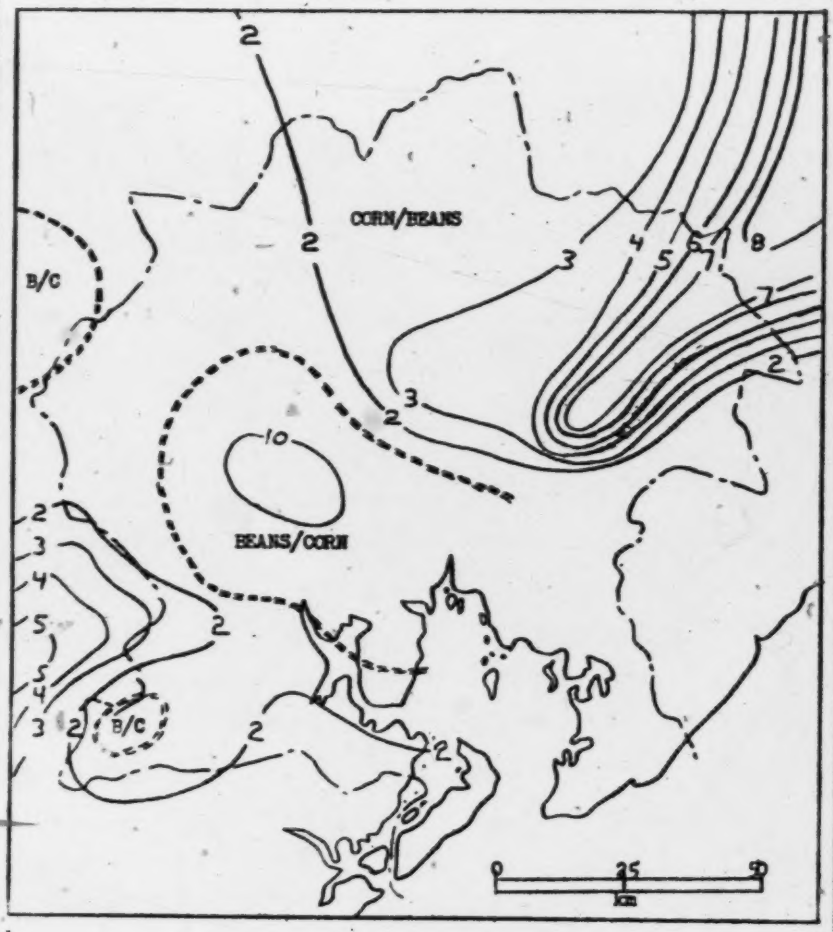

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Relationship of the Cultivated Area in Corn and Beans—1948

Corn/Beans - Area in corn exceeds area in beans
Beans/Corn (B/C) - Area in beans exceeds area in corn

MAP 77

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Between these principal crop regions in which the basic functional groupings or monocultures dominate the cropland, there are transitional zones in which the systems intermingle. Between the corn-bean region and the tobacco-manioc region there is a broad zone in which neither crop system dominates—a zone extending from south-central Castro Alves in a vast arc around the Recôncavo to Entre Rios. Within this zone the distribution of corn and beans and tobacco and manioc is general—there may be local specializations based upon such factors as soils and precipitation, transport and market facilities, availability of fertilizer, etc., but any area of distrito size is likely to cultivate all of the four crops. In the northeastern part of this transition zone, in Alagoinhas and Inhambupe, corn and tobacco dominate in their respective combinations. In northern Castro Alves manioc and corn are very strong.

The inner transition zone between the tobacco-manioc region and sugar cane region is narrower and much less a zone of mutual interpenetration. The edges of the cane areas are almost invariably abrupt—scattered, but only widely scattered, cultivation of manioc and tobacco exists in the zone between São Gonçalo-Conceição da Feira and the cane areas in Cachoeira and Santo Amaro.

In the transition zone east of the cane monoculture—in São Francisco and São Sebastião—the crop situation is more confused. Here the relative amount of cultivation in the mata and the agreste is low, and the fields are concealed in the wild vegetation. Moreover, as the capital is approached, a number of diverse crops for the urban market, especially oranges, become important. There is a good deal of subsistence manioc cultivation in the remote areas—small plots cultivated by charcoal burners, fishermen, and marginal people of the urban fringes.

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241 311 Southwest of the estuary of the Rio Paraguaçu, in Maragogipe and São Filipe, the crop pattern becomes very complex, as is shown by the relative distribution of cropland in São Filipe:

Manioc	33	per cent
Sugar cane	28	" "
Coffee	25	" "
Tobacco	11	" "
Peanuts	1	" "
Corn	1	" "

Plus small areas of beans, oranges, bananas, sweet potatoes, and coconut.

174 245 249 311 It is very likely that there has been a historical connection between the coffee culture of São Filipe and the main coffee zone far to the southwest. Apparently the development of tobacco cultivation in Santo Antônio has severed this connection.

249 244 221 Cultivation Systems--Tobacco and Manioc. The "ideal" system of cultivation of tobacco and manioc[1] in the tobacco-manioc region has the following general patterns:

(1) In mid-February a small tract, very commonly with an area of one tarefa[2] but sometimes larger, is cleared in the capoéira de caatinga (second-growth scrub-forest) or the capoéira de mata (second-growth littoral forest). Generally the capoéira is low brush, two to five [412] feet tall, which is easily cut with a facão--a long heavy knife which is a universal agricultural tool. Any heavy waste material that can be moved is dragged away from the plot; if there are tree stumps, they will not be grubbed out.[3] Sometimes the waste material on the surface of the field is burned, but this is by no means universal.

(2) A favored spot, either within the cleared field or in the adjoining capoéira, is prepared for a seed bed. Usually a site on the edge of a wood or near a steep slope is selected. Any available waste materials--corn stalks, old tobacco plants, weeds, brush, pieces of wood, and the like--are piled on the small plot, allowed to dry, and then burned.

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241 311 North of the Paraguaçu, modification of the "ideal" system is more frequent, especially in municípios where the area in cultivation is relatively small. In Coração de Maria, for example, only 4 per cent of the area was cultivated in 1948. Here it is possible to open more "new" land upon which tall capoéira has developed. Since this município is remote--but more in terms of road transport than in actual distance--there is greater need to produce a high-value, low-bulk crop, such as tobacco, and less possibility for the commercial production of manioc. Many fields of tobacco are allowed to revert directly into capoéira. Since the land is more thoroughly fallowed and since there are fewer cattle and thus less manure, fertilization is generally less extensive in this area. A similarly modified pattern of cultivation is found in Catu and in the more remote parts of São Gonçalo.

In Santo Antônio, where the intensity of agriculture is increasing, but where the cultivated area is still relatively small, much "new" land can be used. In this município the area in tobacco is [249] large in relation to manioc, and thus some tobacco fields obviously revert directly to brush.

249 244 There seems to be no definite land rotation period in the tobacco-manioc region. Rather the period is controlled by the availability of land. In 1948, the município of Cruz das Almas, one of the most intensively cultivated areas of the tobacco-manioc region, had one half of its total surface in cultivation according to the official data. Approximately one-quarter of the total area was in each of the two crops. Under these circumstances, no more than two years of fallow can have intervened between the harvesting of manioc and the planting of tobacco. However, not all of the município can be cultivated, and certainly no more than three-fourths of the total area can be used for tobacco. It follows that in many cases no more than

243 either separately or in conjunction with tobacco and manioc. They are
244 frequently grown on land thought to be not suitable for tobacco culti-
[134] vation yet too good for manioc alone, such as the steeper slopes of the crystalline area where the heavier soils do not produce good quality tobacco.

Since the area in corn and beans is small and the amount of slope land large, the capoéira is extensive and frequently quite tall. After the slopes are cleared, the land is very often planted to mixed corn and beans, more rarely to one or the other. The crops are planted
[221] in March or April, perhaps in May, and even in June for beans alone. The planting season for these crops is extended both because they are tolerant of changes in season and because as crops secondary to tobacco they have a lesser priority. Some corn is usually planted early enough
[527] so that it will ripen in time for São João (mid-summer day) festival
[862] for which fresh corn-on-the-cob is the traditional food. This festival is usually the beginning of the corn harvest, but the bean harvest
[251] begins a month later. Both crops are harvested by hand and, after drying, are shelled by hand, sacked, and either stored or sold. When the fertility of the soil is higher than normal or when there is labor to spare, the field may be planted to manioc after the corn and bean harvest.

243 As a result of the interpenetration of the corn-bean and the
244 tobacco-manioc systems, in many regions and on many individual proper-
249
311 ties the two co-exist. Usually the upland fields are in tobacco and manioc, with an occasional plot of corn and/or beans. Usually the slope-land plots are in corn or beans.

249 The Cultivation of Sugar Cane. In distinction to the crops discussed above, sugar cane is grown under a system of permanent

249 (4) The field is burned for the last time, and as new cane or grass appears, it is used as pasture.

(5) After one year of pasture, sometimes more, the field is replanted to cane.

[527] The length of the harvest varies. It begins with a festa (festival) in the first week of September and continues as long as there is cane and as long as the heavy rains hold off--usually about six months.

249 311 Within the sugar cane area most of the land is in cane or in temporary fallow pasture except: (1) very wet bottom lands; (2) steep slopes; (3) villages; and (4) the lands and yards occupied by the mills. The general aspect of this area is that of an unbroken sea of cane. Single fields are often large--a square kilometer is not uncommon--but they are divided into separate plots. The cultivation of other crops within the sugar cane area is very limited. Small house gardens for the laborers are common, but other commercial agricultural forms of land use are rare.

249 423 257 184 Land holdings, as will be seen, generally are large under this system. The orientation of the sugar industry in São Filipe is somewhat different than in the zone discussed above. Properties are smaller, the monocultural aspect less dominant, and the whole sugar economy more primitive. There were eighty-two small sugar mills in this area in 1940, compared to the eight large usinas of Santo Amaro. [273] Many of these produced crude sugar (rapadura) rather than the refined sugar or cane brandy (cachaça) which are the main products of the zone north of the Bay.

245 The Cultivation of Coconuts. The final important agricultural system of the Recôncavo is the coconut monoculture, a less highly organized permanent culture than the sugar cane system.

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245 [311] Most coconuts are grown on moderate-sized plantations along the beaches, in sands, or occasionally in sandy loams. North of Salvador they are grown on dunes and beaches and, back from the sea, in sandy stream valleys where the supply of ground water is generous. There seems to be little selection in choosing coconuts for reproduction. Usually the nuts are planted eight meters or so apart, with a pile of organic trash over and around the nut to provide some additional fertility and to hold the moisture necessary for germination. The sprout must be protected from foraging animals, but once growth is well started, the tree receives little attention and no fertilization.

[433] Yields are moderate to low, from 15 to 40 per tree. Apparently the yields per tree are substantially higher (double) in the Bay area--Itaparica and Caraassari--than in the area farther north--Nata de São João [443] and Esplanada. In the Bay area the nuts are usually sold in the markets of Salvador without processing.

241 178 Conclusion. The basic determinant of cultivation practices in the Recôncavo is custom. This is probably less true of the cultivation of sugar than of other crops, but the weight of tradition is heavy upon all agricultural enterprises. It may be said that many relatively [454] primitive agricultural practices survive because of ignorance of newer techniques and because of a lack of capital for investment in new tools, in machinery, in better seed, and in permanent land improvement. The importance of these factors in limiting change in Recôncavo agriculture, particularly as general factors operating indirectly upon individual cultivators and individual farms is not to be denied.

However, when the individual cultivator--sugar planter or tobacco share-cropper--is given an opportunity, in the form of new techniques and the necessary capital, to change and improve his operations and

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231 Where there are large numbers of work animals the conditioning and maintenance of oxen and other beasts of burden are important agricultural activities. In all areas of the Recôncavo the livestock forage on grazing land rather than cultivated pasture, and there is no livestock feeding. Thus, animal husbandry in the Recôncavo is not part of a system in which crops are raised or pasture is planted to support or fatten livestock, as is the case in mixed farming areas.

311 233 Pastured Land. According to the agricultural census, the total area used as pasture in the Recôncavo in 1940 was about 280,000 hectares--only two times the total cultivated area.[3] The total area of pastured land in 1948 must have been much greater, perhaps 400,000 hectares, for there was a strong increase in the number of animals, and it seems unlikely that there was much increase in the carrying capacity of the wild vegetation.

As was suggested in the physical setting discussion, the basic grazing resources of the Recôncavo are the caatinga and agreste. These vegetation formations, modified by cultivation, fire, and grazing into capoéira--second growth--are used extensively for livestock along the perimeter of the Recôncavo, where cultivation is scattered, but also in such intensively cultivated areas as the Southwestern Recôncavo. In essence, all the uncultivated rural land of the zone of the caatinga and the agreste is grazing land, since there are few fences to restrain the large numbers of livestock.

There are scattered areas of grassland in the caatinga, the agreste, and the mata zones of the Recôncavo. Very often the caatinga of the uplands of the crystalline zone is replaced by grasses along the poorly-drained valley floors. These grassy valleys are scattered throughout the western half of the Recôncavo and are used as pasture

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for small herds of dairy cattle and for the maintenance of a relatively small number of higher grade beef cattle and horses. Around Feira de Santana, however, there is a prominent concentration of grassland, and it is here that the cattle from the sertão are fattened before they are dispersed over the Recôncavo.

In the sugar cane zone coarse, rank grasses cover the lowest valley bottoms, which are frequently too wet and muddy to permit the transport of harvested cane. These grasslands are the pastures on which are grazed the work oxen and incidental animals used in sugar production. The limited areas of permanent pasture are supplemented by the fallow fields and by leaves from the harvested cane. Scattered patches of grass are found elsewhere in the humid lowland. Along the eastern side of the sugar cane zone there are grassy openings in the forest. In this area there are several cattle ranches on which the weak or sick animals of the large sugar usinas are rested and the reserves of oxen maintained. The forest, which is developed on mixed, sandy soils and is more like agreste than true littoral forest, apparently is held back by heavy grazing and by burning, so that the grassy openings are preserved.

In effect all the littoral forest is used for grazing to some extent. Even in very remote areas donkeys and pigs are to be found foraging on the scanty grasses and herbaceous vegetation of the forest floor.

In addition to the quality of the wild vegetation, two contradictory economic and social forces are important in determining the location and extent of grazing land within some local areas. In the Recôncavo, crop cultivation is generally more profitable than livestock industry. Where economic forces operate freely, grazing is likely to be relegated to the less desirable areas--infertile soils, poorly drained valleys, or zones remote from the local market. On the other

233 556 311 On the other hand, ranching is a prestige activity; the rancher almost invariably is an influential and relatively wealthy member of the local community. As such, he may command for grazing purposes land which would be more profitable to the owner and to the whole economy if it were under cultivation.

231 Livestock Production. The large livestock animals which are important to the Recôncavo—cattle, asses, mules, horses, sheep, and goats--are primarily the products of ranching enterprises, i.e., livestock fazendas. Many of these animals are bred in the Sertão west and northwest of the Recôncavo and brought into the region as young stock ready for use as labor animals, as milk producers, or as mature animals ready for fattening and slaughter. However, there is some basic livestock production within the Recôncavo, especially in the outer ring of municípios. Here livestock are raised under conditions basically similar to those of the Sertão.

233 The cattle fazenda is a grazing enterprise in which the reproduction of the herd is uncontrolled; there is no selective breeding. Vaqueiros (cowboys) are employed to hold and to move the herds over vast distances. From time to time the young bulls are emasculated, and [232] as they approach maturity, these oxen are usually driven to the Recôncavo. The remaining cattle are held until maturity and then driven across the Sertão to Feira de Santana. The characteristic cattle fazenda exists in a modified form in the Recôncavo. Since the land for grazing is more restricted, the herds are smaller, and sometimes the grazing area is fenced. Second growth is the basic forage, though, as has been seen, grass here plays a relatively more important [232] role than in the Sertão. There have been a few attempts to breed selectively in the Recôncavo.

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CHAPTER VIII

AGRICULTURAL PROPERTIES

241 231 423 311 The agricultural properties of the Recôncavo are diverse in functional type, tenure, and size. In most municípios there are to be found three basic production types: crop cultivation units, mixed crop cultivation and livestock producing units, and ranches. The properties of any local area may be owner or administrator operated, rented, or, in some areas, occupied informally by "squatters." In distinction to most agricultural areas of the United States, the Recôncavo has a very large number of extremely small agricultural properties, frequently with less than 2 hectares. There are also a number of large properties with more than 10,000 hectares, and in many areas large and small properties are closely intermixed.

241 423 184 Despite the widespread diversity of agricultural properties, there are distinct regional patterns which are based upon the predominance of certain types and sizes of properties and upon characteristic modes of possession. The regional patterns of agricultural properties correspond in a general manner to the crop regions delineated in the previous discussion.

241 423 [129] The basic source of information about the agricultural properties of the Recôncavo is the 1940 economic census.[1] No more recent source is as yet available to replace or to verify or correct these fifteen year old data. However, generalizations based upon these data were substantiated in most cases by the field investigations undertaken for the present study. It is apparent that in so traditional a region as the [178] Recôncavo, the institutional characteristics of agriculture, property types included, change very slowly.

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241 423 127 311 Of the 12,500 square kilometers of the Recôncavo, only about 800,000 hectares were enumerated in the agricultural section of the 1940 economic census--71 per cent of the total land area. In the various municípios of the region, the enumerated area varied from 39 per cent of the land surface in Alagoinhas to 110 per cent in Itaparica (Map 87). In a few cases, such as Itaparica, the area given in the agricultural section of the census exceeded the official total area of the município.[2] Where the political boundaries were not delimited precisely, properties may have been credited to the wrong município. More probably, however, these situations result from the over-estimation of the areas of individual properties--precise surveys of agricultural properties are virtually unknown.

There was a general correspondence between the intensity of land use (Map 2) and the relative area included in the 1940 agricultural census. This latter area will be referred to as "enumerated area" in the following discussion. Those lands not included in the agricultural census were urban areas, public domain, or in a few cases, private land held for speculation. However, not all of the unenumerated land was unused from the agricultural point of view, for in some of the less densely settled areas "squatters" are quite common.

241 231 423 311 Production Types of Agricultural Enterprises. In the 1940 census the agricultural properties of Brazil were divided into six classes, based in part upon the type of production and in part upon the scale of operation. The three main functional types were agricultura (crop cultivation), agro-pecuária (crop cultivation with livestock production), and pecuária (livestock production). In this context it is important to note that while agro-pecuária may include mixed agriculture--in the sense of functionally interdependent crop and livestock production

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241 231 423 311 within the individual agricultural unit--properties classifed within the group may have merely co-existing crop and animal production. In the Recôncavo, cultivation and animal husbandry are carried on separately within the individual properties, except (1) where labor animals are involved, or (2) where manure for tobacco cultivation is produced on a tobacco-growing farm. Each of the three main production types was classified as either a large-scale or a small-scale unit, on the basis of the amount of cropland, the number of animals, or both.[3] The distribution of the 27,513 agricultural properties and the 837,699 hectares of enumerated land of the Recôncavo among the various production and scale-of-operation classes is shown on the accompanying table (Table XIV).

Most of the agricultural properties of the Recôncavo were small-scale units which were engaged solely in crop cultivation or which produced both crops and livestock. Ninety-nine per cent of all properties, encompassing 58 per cent of the farmland, were small-scale units. The number of cultivation and of mixed cultivation-livestock units was approximately the same; the mixed units were, on the average, more than twice as large as the exclusively crop producing units. Although the number of purely livestock producing units--ranches--was small, the total area which they encompassed was relatively large, and the mean size of individual units was over 450 hectares. Even more notable is the fact that less than 250 large-scale livestock units, about 1 per cent of the total number of units, held 13 per cent of the land in agricultural properties.

231 233 Livestock Units. Agricultural enterprises whose activities were confined exclusively to livestock production were found in every município of the Recôncavo and in every adjoining município in 1940. In most areas, however, the number of such livestock units was very

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TABLE XIV

AGRICULTURAL PROPERTIES OF THE RECÔNCAVO—CLASSIFIED BY TYPE AND SCALE OF OPERATION—1940

	Crop Cultivation Only	Crop Cultivation and Livestock Production	Livestock Production Only	All Types
	Number and Area of Properties			
All Properties:				
Number	13,221	13,587	705	27,513
Area*	212,545 ha.	493,210 ha.	131,944 ha.	837,699 ha.
Mean Size	16 ha.	36 ha.	187 ha.	30 ha.
Small-Scale Properties:				
Number	13,144	13,558	458	27,160
Area	167,406 ha.	298,408 ha.	26,932 ha.	483,746 ha.
Mean Size	13 ha.	21 ha.	59 ha.	18 ha.
Large-Scale Properties:				
Number	77 ha.	29 ha.	247 ha.	353 ha.
Area	28,703 ha.	12,649 ha.	107,199 ha.	148,551 ha.
Mean Size	373 ha.	436 ha.	434 ha.	421 ha.
	As Per cent of the Number and Area of all Properties			
All Properties:				
Number	48	49	3	100
Area	25	59	16	100
Small-Scale Properties:				
Number	48	49	2	99
Area	20	35	3	58
Large-Scale Properties:				
Number	-	-	1	1
Area	3	1	13	18

*Because the census does not give data on the size of some units in order to preserve the anonymity of the information, the totals do not precisely equal the sums of the various components.

Source: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

231 small (Map 88). Within the Recôncavo, only the eastern part of the
233 Central Recôncavo and the environs of Feira de Santana had even a moderate number of ranches. Livestock enterprises generally occupied less than one-fifth of the enumerated area (Map 89). These properties were relatively important in the Northwestern and Central Recôncavo, a reflection of the importance of ranching and cattle fattening in the northwest and of the need for work animals in the sugar cane region. In the Southwestern Recôncavo crop cultivation is too intensive and widespread to share the land with many ranches. Except in the southwest, 20 per cent of the total enumerated area was in livestock units along the limits of the Recôncavo. In relation to the total area, the extent [311] of livestock properties varied from place to place along the border zone (Map 90). Beyond the Recôncavo, ranching is more important in the crystalline areas, whether caatinga or agreste, than in the Tertiary taboleiros.

231 As has been pointed out, large-scale properties are especially
233 important among the livestock production units. In most parts of the
433 Recôncavo the ratio of the area in large-scale and in small-scale livestock units was about three to one. The analysis of the mean size of large-scale livestock units, plotted on Map 91, emphasizes the diversity within the region and discloses the tremendous size of the ranches in the coastal agreste northeast of the Recôncavo. Since the number of large-scale livestock units was small and the size of the units highly variable, the mean values for the areas of these properties may be deceiving. Nevertheless, it is significant that the mean size of livestock unit was large in the Central Recôncavo, where there are a number of fazendas in the forested hills around the sugar cane region. These [313] [249] properties are used primarily as sources of firewood for the usinas

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 301]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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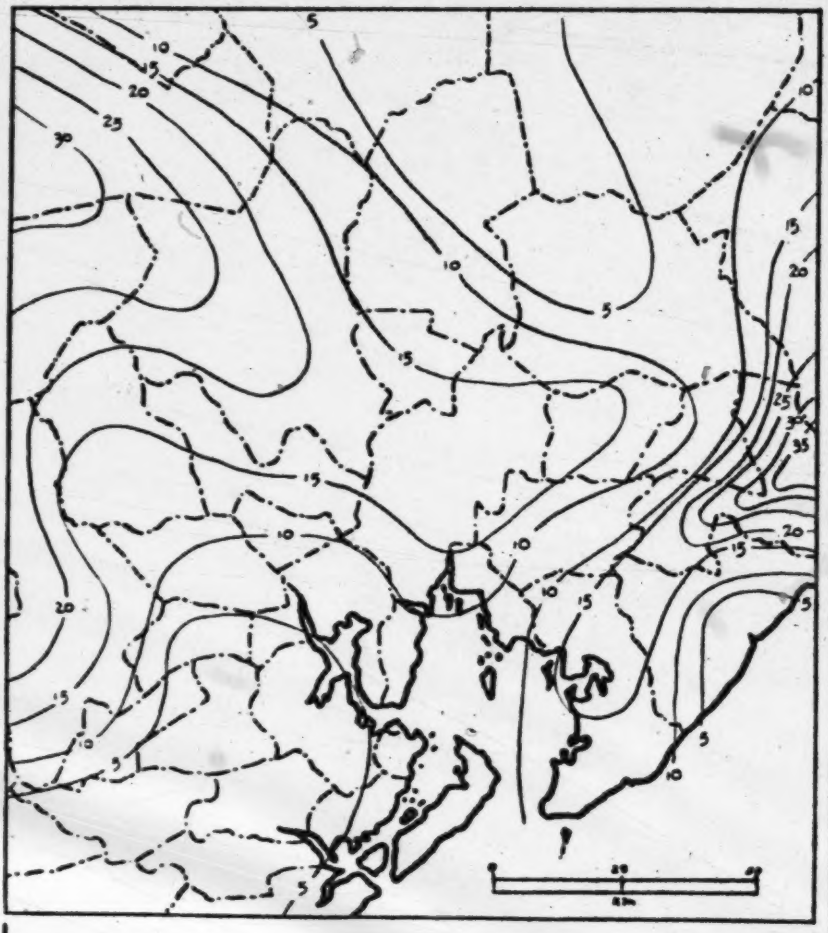

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Land Area in

Livestock Enterprises--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 90

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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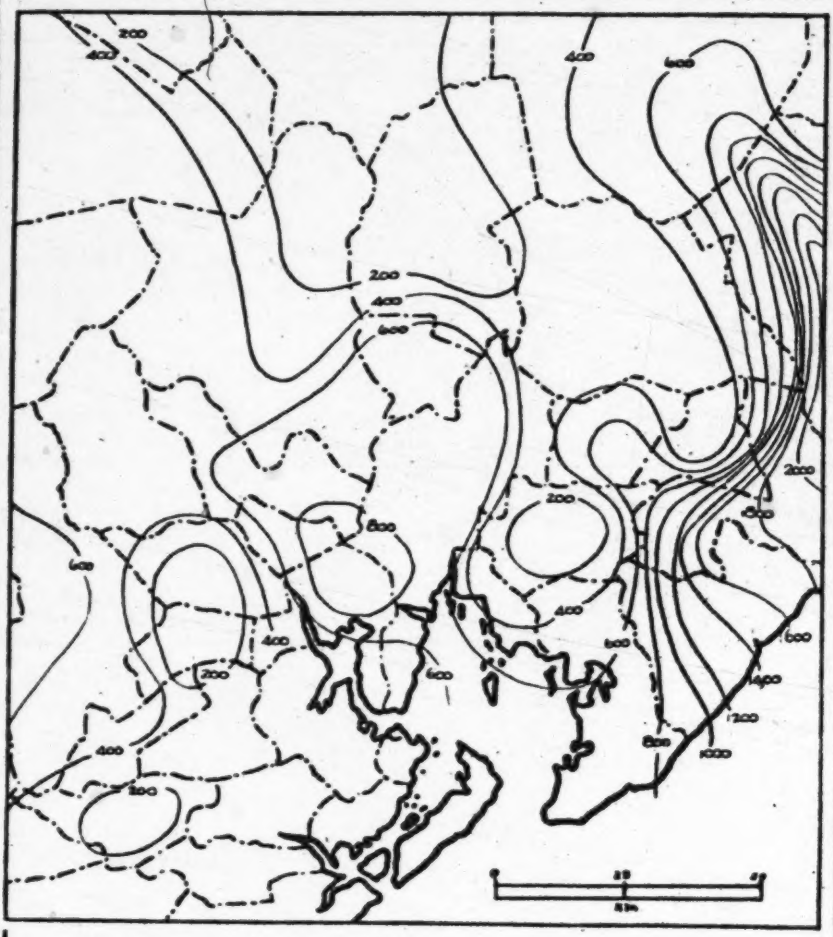

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Mean Size of Large-Scale Livestock Enterprises—1940

In Hectares

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 91

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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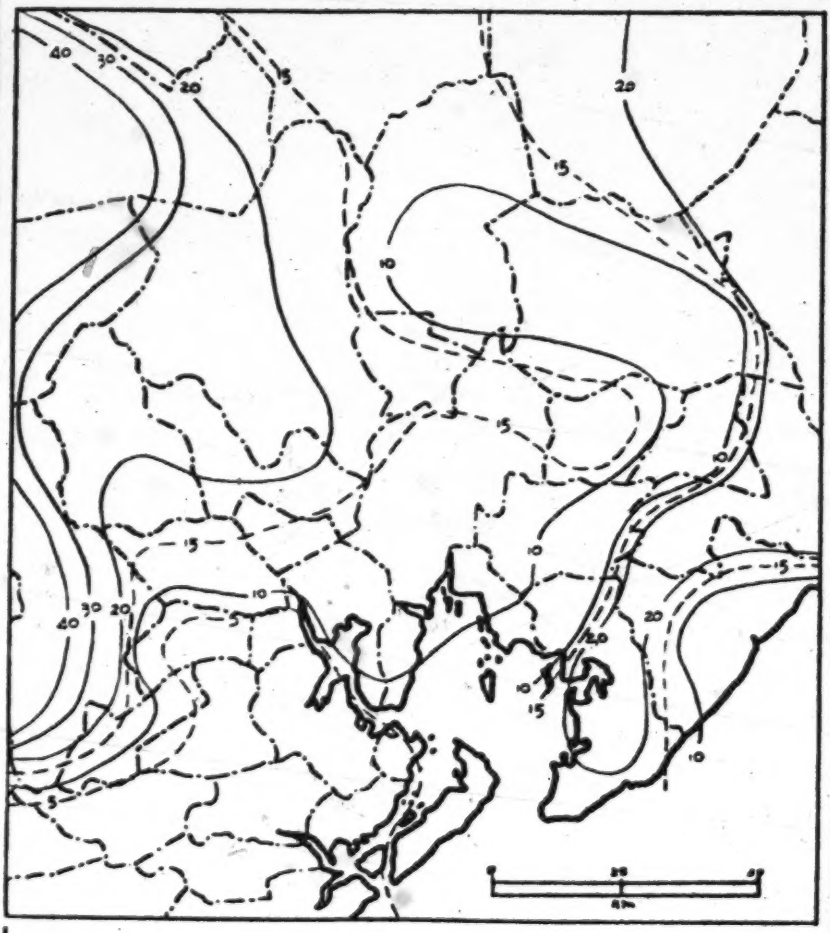

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumerated Area in

Large-Scale Livestock Enterprises—1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 92

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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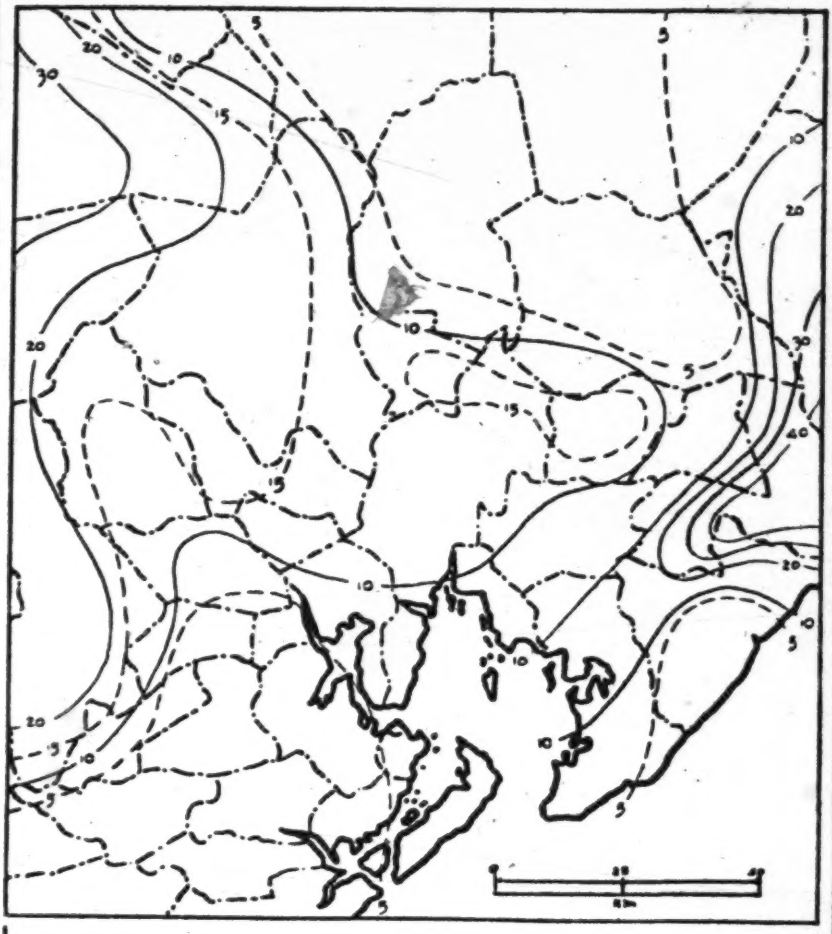

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Land Area in

Large-Scale Livestock Enterprises—1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 93

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233 and locomotives of the cane area, but, as has been pointed out previously,
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313 they have supplementary livestock production.[4]
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Of the 247 large-scale livestock units in the Recôncavo, 65, with
231 a total area of almost 30,000 hectares, were in the *município* of Feira de
233
311 Santana (Maps 92 and 93). Another 39, with about 16,000 hectares of
433 land, were in the Central Recôncavo. Each of these two areas has a distinctive character: the Central Recôncavo *fazendas de gado*--cattle ranches--supply oxen and horses, asses, and mules to the sugar economy; the large *fazendas* of Feira de Santana, with extensive grassy pastures, serve the *campo de gado*--cattle market--of the *cidade* and thereby the whole economy of the Recôncavo.

231 *Crop Cultivation Units.* Almost one-half of all farms in the
241 Recôncavo produced no animals in 1940. In the marginal areas of the
311 region, excepting always the southwest, less than one-third of the farms
184 were pure crop cultivation units (Map 94). On the other hand, crop farms were particularly numerous on the southern littoral, where the forests are not salutary to livestock--except swine and fighting cocks. The Northern Recôncavo, where ranching is not an important activity, had a relatively large number of crop cultivation units, as had Salvador and the adjoining coastal *município*, Camassari.

241 Relative to both the enumerated and the total area, the purely
311 crop cultivation units were very important in Itaparica and Santo Amaro and unimportant around the border zone of the Recôncavo (Maps 95 and 96). On Itaparica and in the sugar cane region, crop cultivation units occupied over one-half the total land area--over 85 per cent on the island of Itaparica. The size of crop cultivation properties in the Recôncavo was generally small, but there were very great local differences
000 (Map 97). The tobacco-manioc region, especially in the Southwestern

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 306]

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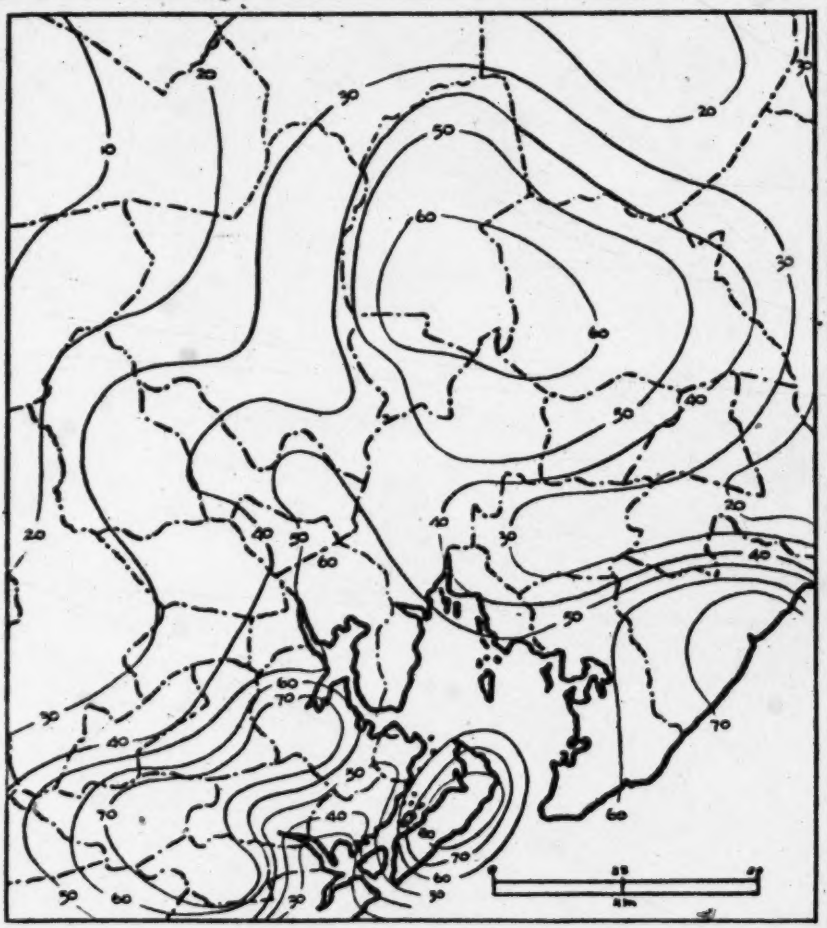

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of All Agricultural Enterprises Which Were

Crop Cultivation Enterprises—1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 94

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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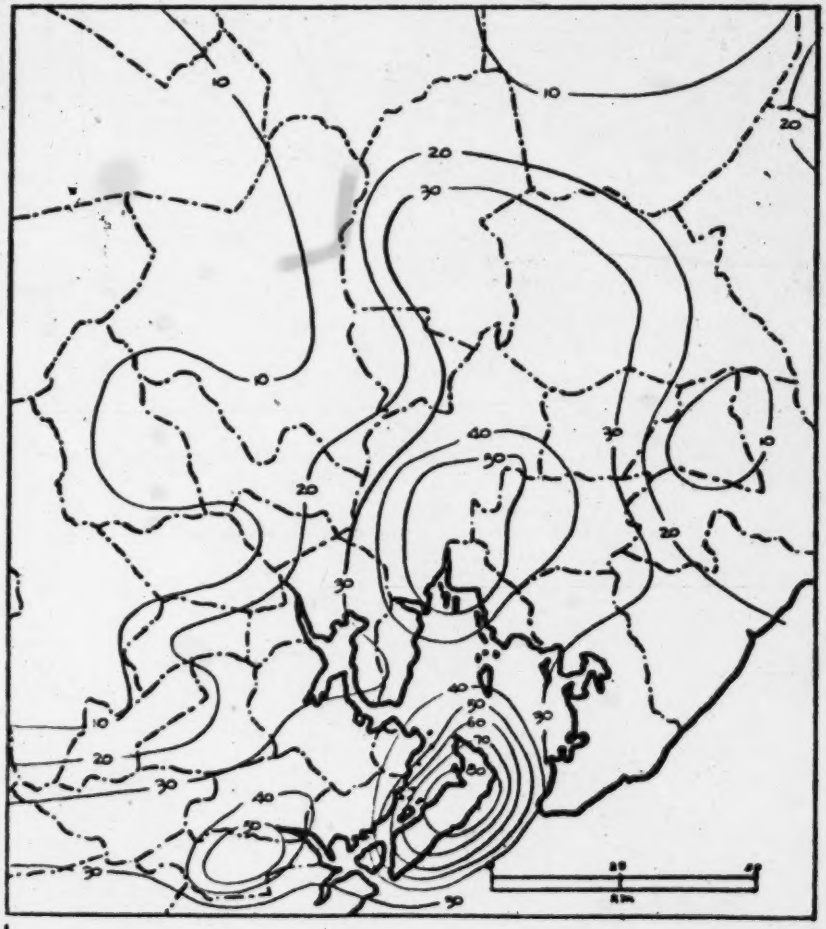

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumerated Area in

Crop Cultivation Enterprises—1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 95

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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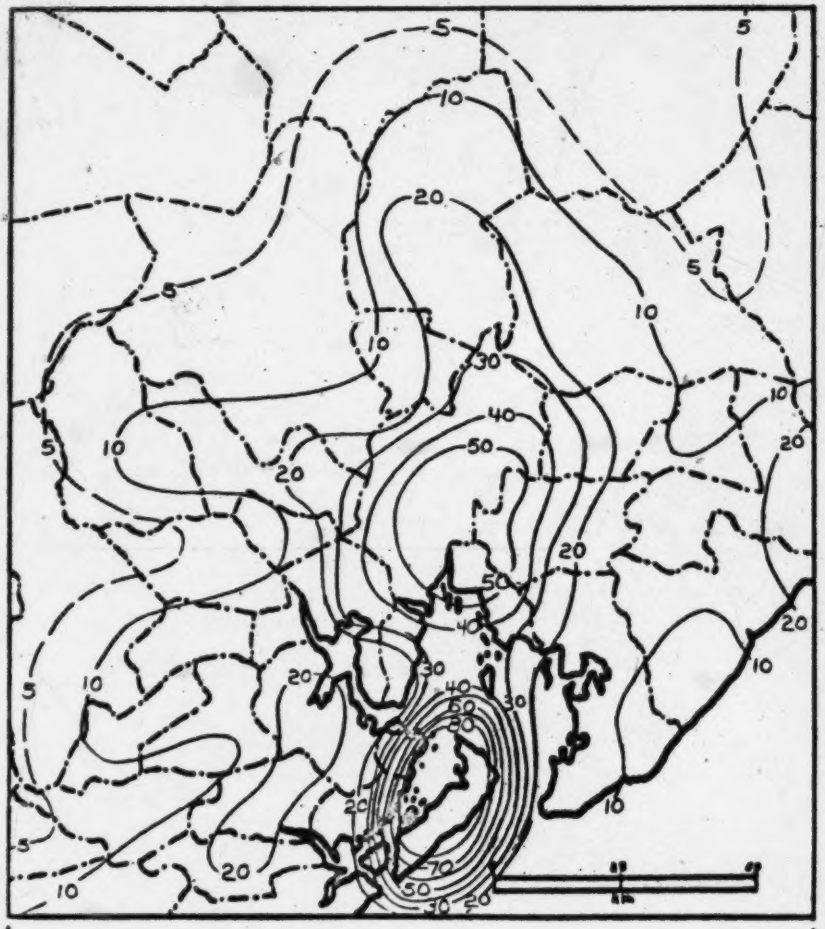

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Land Area in

Crop Cultivation Enterprises—1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 96

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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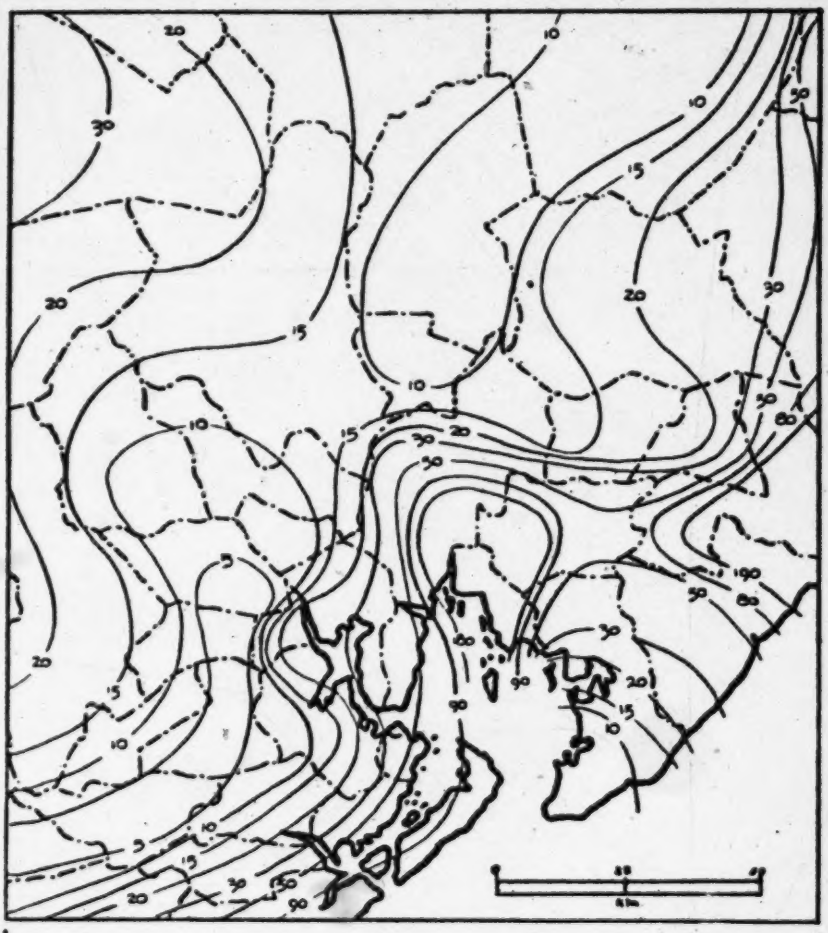

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Mean Size of Crop Cultivation Enterprises—1940

In Hectares

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 97

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

The tobacco-manioc region, especially in the Southwestern
249 244 311 423 Recôncavo, was a zone of very small properties--in Cruz das Almas and Coração de Maria the mean size of crop cultivation units was 9 hectares, while in São Filipe it was only 5 hectares. This zone of small crop cultivation units is part of a belt, parallel to but well back from the coast, which originates in the serras of the coffee zone, crosses the Recôncavo along the caatinga-mata transition, and follows the caatinga-agreste boundary northward along the eastern edge of the Tertiary taboleiros. The small-property belt thus lies between the littoral, with its large plantations of sugar cane and its ranches, and the dry sertão, with its extensive livestock economy.

241 249 31 423 The Central Recôncavo was a zone of large crop cultivation properties, primarily sugar cane plantations. Although there are a large number of livestock in the sugar cane region, the plantations use, rather than produce, animals and were thus classified as crop cultivation units. The plantations of the sugar cane area are very diverse as regards size, and many of the individual properties are now operated collectively by large usinas. Nevertheless, there are still a number of small properties, producing cane which is sold to the large mills.

241 231 233 311 Mixed Crop Cultivation-Livestock Producing Units. A little over one-half of all the farms in the Recôncavo produced livestock as well as crops. These units occupied almost 60 per cent of the total area of all properties. However, the area in which over half the properties were mixed units was limited to a broad perimeter zone which included all the outer municípios of the Eastern, Northwestern, and Southwestern Recôncavo (Map 98). In Itaparica and Santo Amaro, where crop cultivation units were very important, there were relatively few mixed units.

244 249 231 233 The maps of the area in mixed units in relation to enumerated area (Map 99) and total area (Map 100) confirm the observation that

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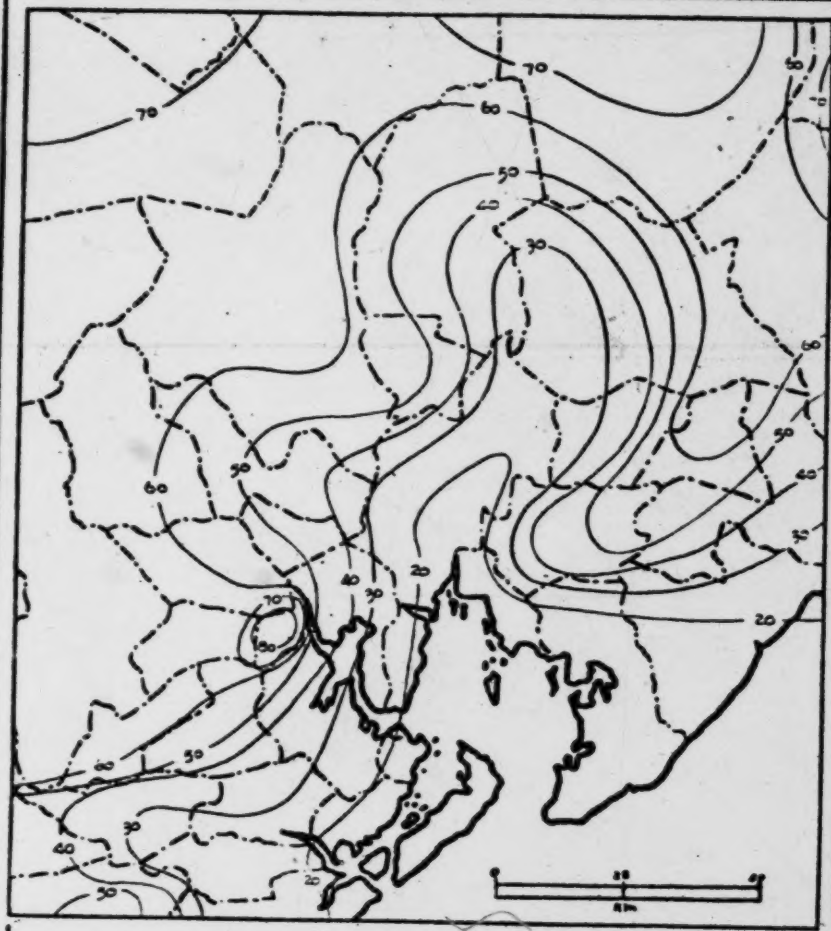

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of All Agricultural Enterprises Which Were

Crop-Livestock Enterprises--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 98

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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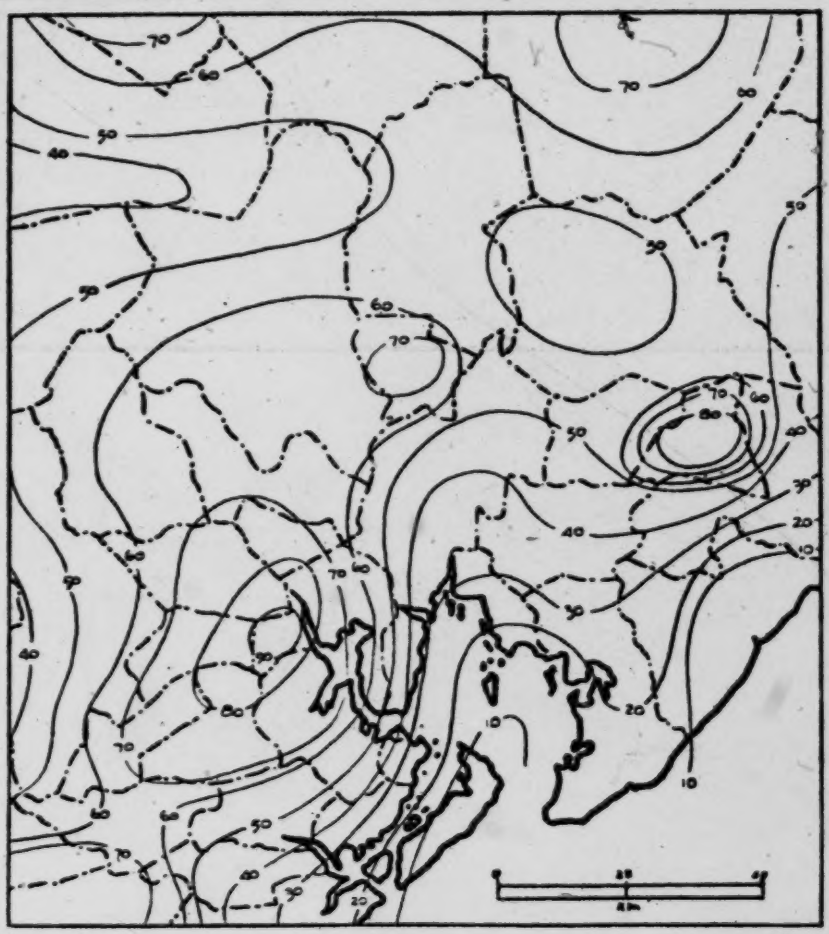

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumerated Area in

Crop-Livestock Enterprises--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 99

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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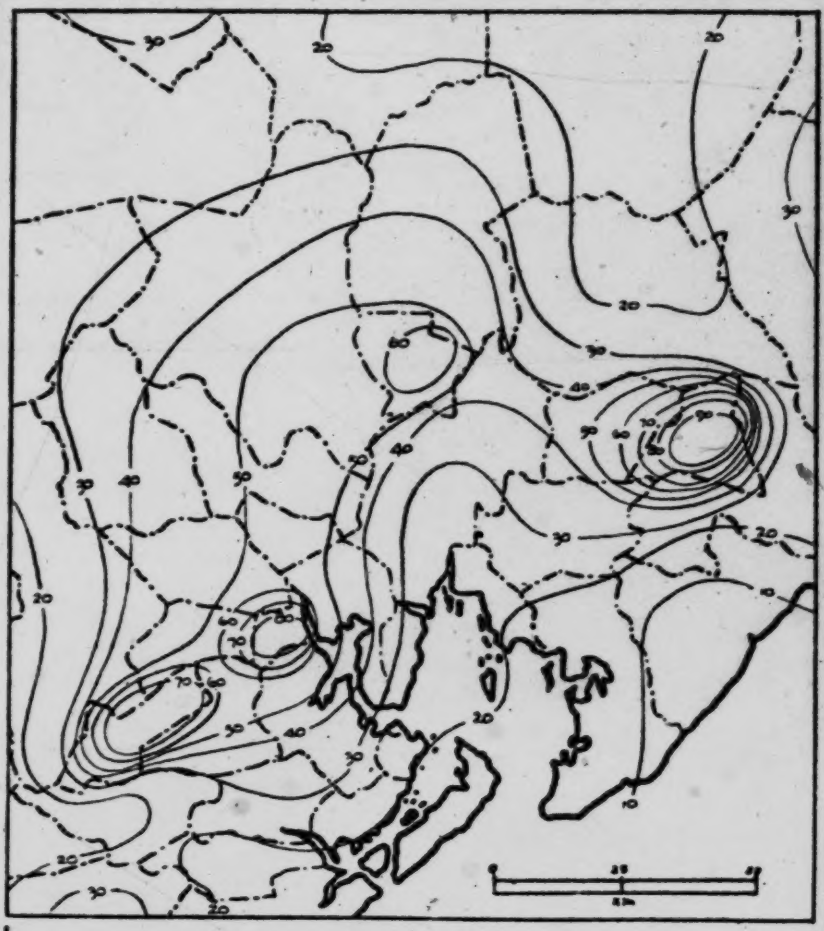

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Land Area in

Crop-Livestock Enterprises--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 100

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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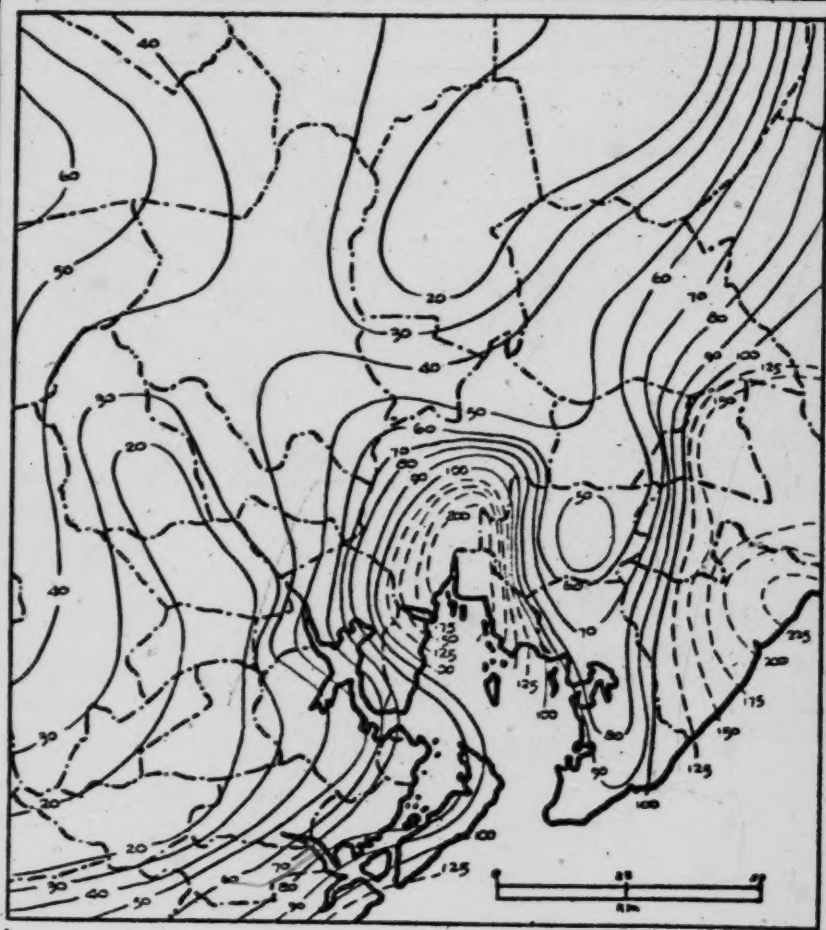

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Mean Size of Crop-Livestock Enterprises—1940

In Hectares

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia. Vol. II.

MAP 101

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

244 the tobacco-manioc region is an area of co-existing crop and livestock
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231 production. The mean size of mixed units of both the tobacco-manioc
233 region and the western and northern perimeter of the Recôncavo was
[423] small—20 to 40 hectares—but was significantly larger than the mean
[311] size of crop farms in the same areas (Map 101). Like the purely cane-producing plantations, the mixed units of the Central Recôncavo were relatively large.

241 Crop Cultivation and Mixed Crop Cultivation and Livestock Pro-
231 ducing Units Combined. The distribution of the area in crop and crop-
232 livestock units combined, as shown on Maps 102 and 103, reaffirms the
311 regional distinctiveness of the Recôncavo. In almost the entire region over one-half the total area was in these two types of crop-producing properties. None of the adjoining municípios had as much as 50 per cent of their total area in these two types of units, and in all but three, less than one-third the land was in crop or crop-livestock properties.

241 Regional Pattern of Agricultural Properties. The distribution
311 of the three major production units is summarized on Map 104. In each
184 of the two basic regions—crop and crop-livestock—one production
[231] type dominated, in number and in area, over the others. The Central
[233] Recôncavo with the island of Itaparica and, beyond the Recôncavo, the environs of Nazaré composed a region in which most of the agricultural land was in crop cultivation units. North of the Bay, most of these crop cultivation units were sugar cane plantations. On Itaparica there were several kinds of crop cultivation units—coconut plantations, diminutive manioc farms, and across from Salvador, small summer estates with a few cultivated fields. Around Nazaré most of the crop cultivation properties appeared to specialize in the production of manioc.

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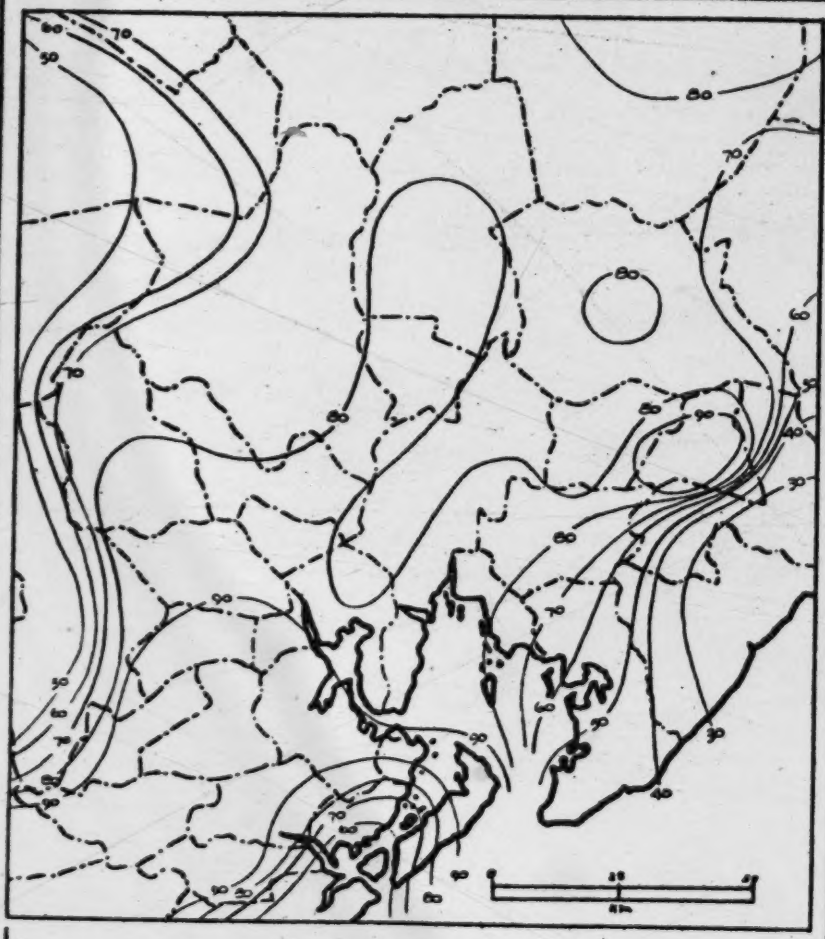

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumerated Area in

Crop Cultivation and Crop-Livestock Enterprises--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 102

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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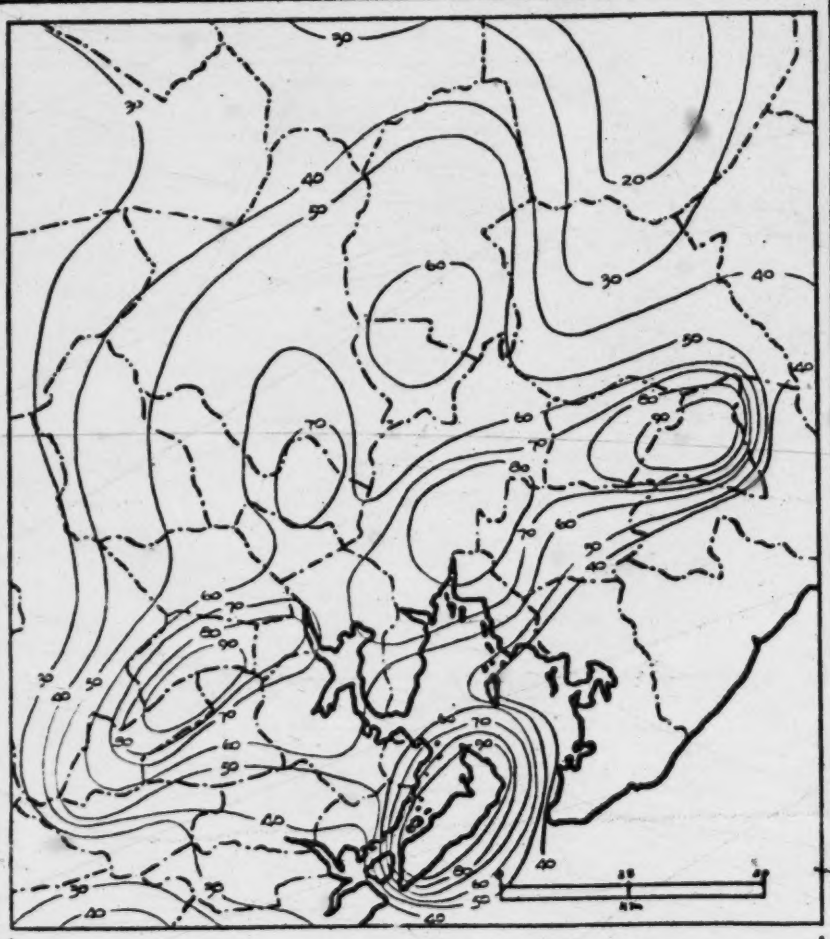

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Land Area in

Crop Cultivation and Crop-Livestock Enterprises--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 103

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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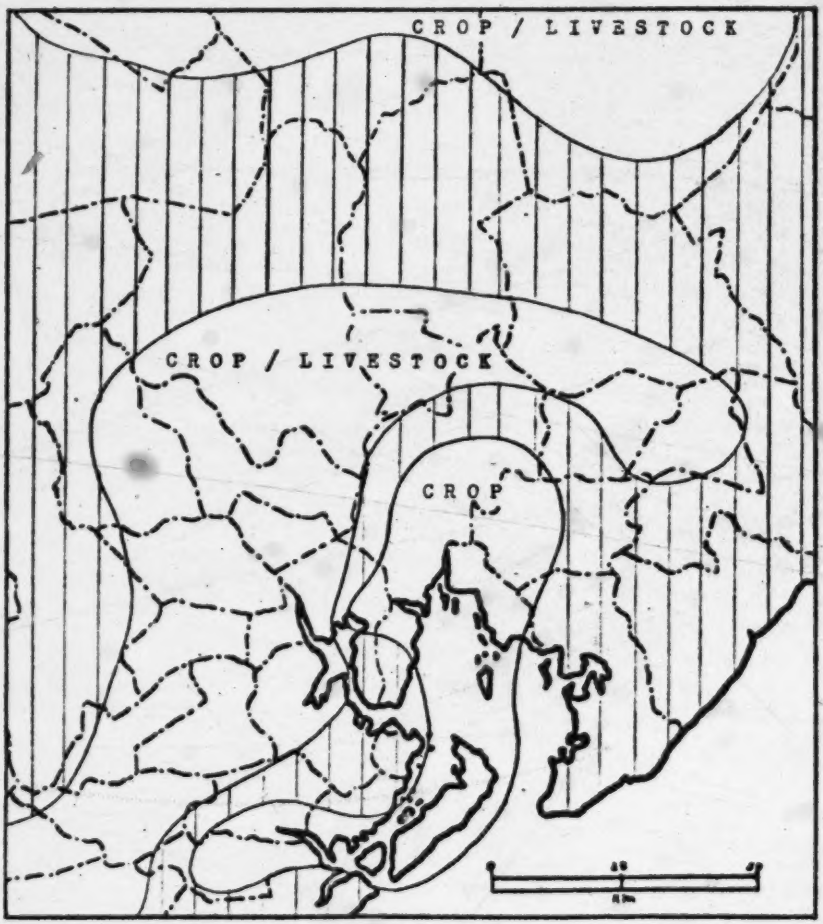

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Regional Pattern of Specialized Agricultural Enterprises

Crop/Livestock - Area in which crop-livestock enterprises predominate
Crop - Area in which crop enterprises predominate

MAP 104

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 231 233 311 Mixed crop and livestock units dominated the agricultural land of an inverted "L shaped" zone which began in the southwest and which, in the Recôncavo, coincided approximately with the tobacco-manioc region. Mixed crop and livestock units also dominated in the drier taboleiros north of the Recôncavo. The intermediate zone between the crop and crop-livestock regions within the Recôncavo was relatively narrow, conforming to the pattern of rapid transition from sugar cane to tobacco and manioc north of the Rio Paraguaçu. The outer transition zone, in which no single property type dominated, included the outer 231 233 margins of the Recôncavo except in the southwest. Purely livestock-producing units did not dominate the agricultural land of any extensive area within or adjoining the Recôncavo.

241 311 423 The regions delimited above on the basis of the relative area in the two types of crop-producing units had additional significance in terms of the distribution of large-scale and small-scale enterprises (Map 105). The mixed-unit region, in which manioc and tobacco are so important, had only limited areas in large properties—usually 5 per cent to 20 per cent of the enumerated area. There were few large properties in the southern part of the crop unit region also, but in the sugar cane area north of the Bay over 40 per cent of the enumerated area was in large properties. These regional patterns of property types conform to the distribution of mean property size (Map 106); the mixed-unit region had mean properties of 10 to 20 hectares in the Southwestern Recôncavo and 20 to 30 hectares north of the Rio Paraguaçu, while the mean property size in the sugar cane area exceeded 100 hectares.

241 423 Size of Agricultural Properties. As has been seen, the agricultural properties of the Recôncavo are highly diverse in size, as is to be expected in an economy dichotomized into the predominantly

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 318]

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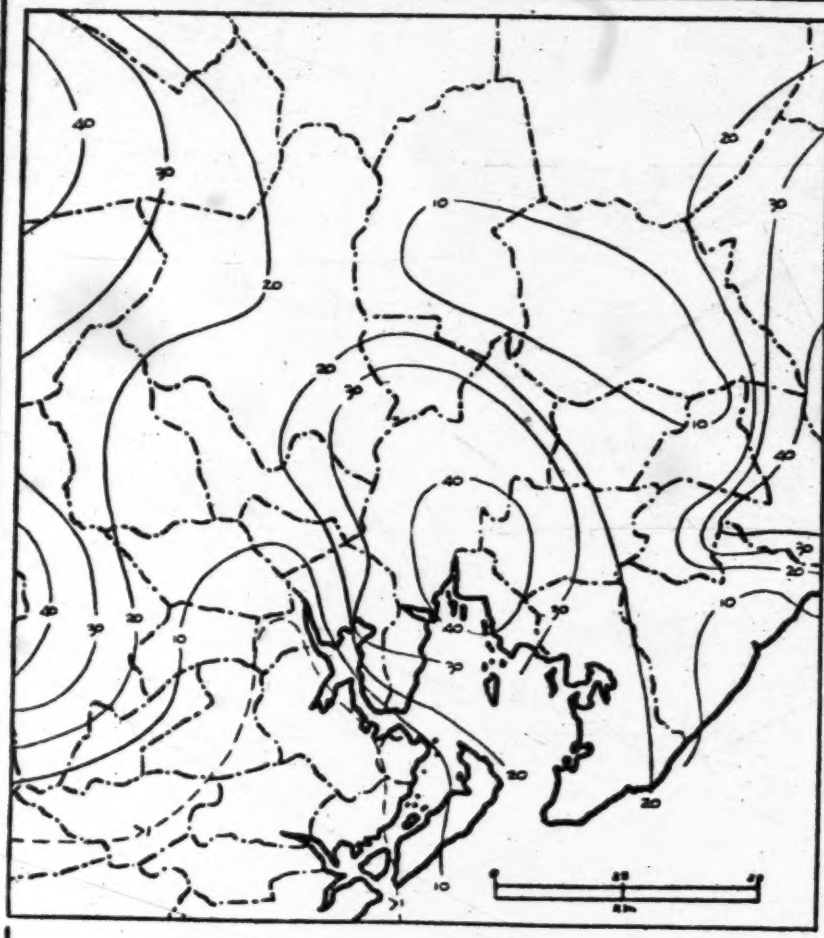

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumerated Area in

Large-Scale Enterprises--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 105

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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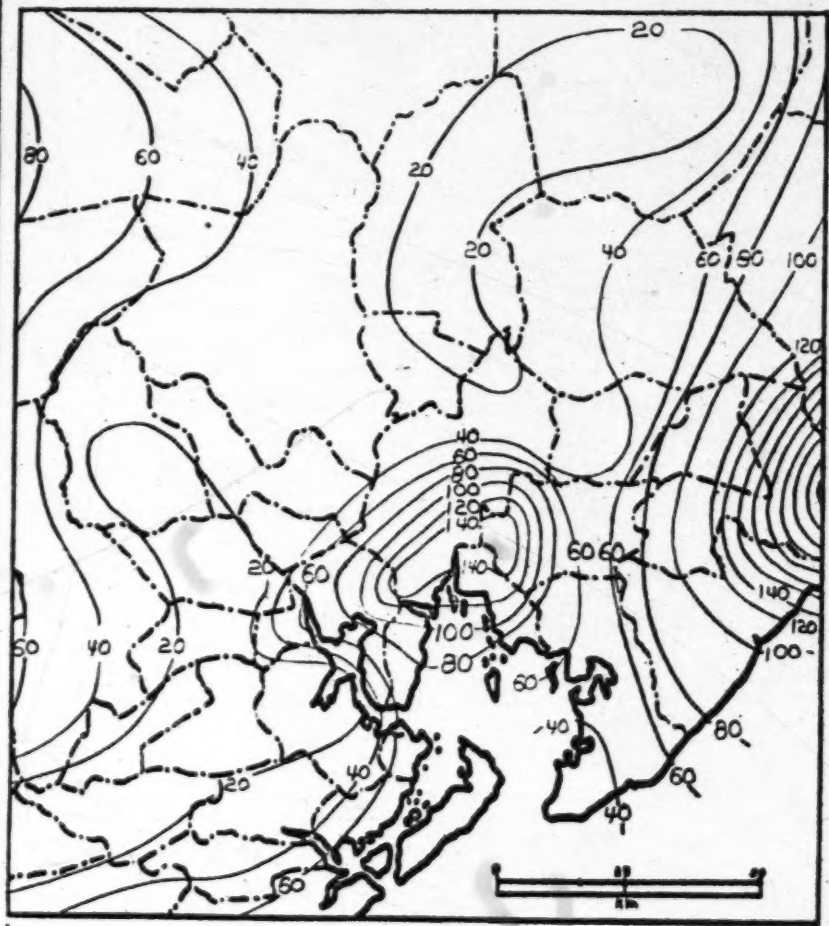

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Mean Size of All Agricultural Properties—1940

In Hectares

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil, 1940. Censos Econômicos. Bahia. Vol. II.

MAP 106

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1

BB 245 433 439

come to be the area of the greatest value of agricultural production in the state--Cr.$1,007,824,000, in 1948, almost three times the value of crop and livestock production in the Recôncavo, Cr.$335,000,000. The total value of livestock production in the Recôncavo is estimated to be about Cr.$60,000,000 for 1948. Although no comparable figure is available for Brazil, probably the Recôncavo had less then 1 per cent of the livestock and thus produced less than 1 per cent of the value of livestock in the nation as a whole.[1]

B BB 433

The present inferior position of the Recôncavo is in part a reflection of the relative decline of the region in the nineteenth century discussed in the chapter on the evolution of the Recôncavo. However, the Recôncavo continues to lag behind in the contemporary development of Brazil. From 1944 to 1952 the total cruzeiro value of the principal crops of Brazil increased four-fold, while the value of Bahia's tobacco crop, a good indicator of the economic shifts of the Recôncavo, increased by only one-fifth despite the concurrent inflationary spiral. Even the government-stabilized sugar industry of the Recôncavo produced only three and one-half times its 1944 value. Although the above increases are more indicative of the steadily declining value of Brazilian currency than of true economic development, they are an index of the relative importance of agriculture in the Recôncavo to the national economy.

B BB 241 249 433 [458] [650]

BB 249 244 433 311

Tobacco, sugar cane, and manioc, which occupied 70 per cent of the Recôncavo's cropland, accounted for 77 per cent of the total value of all principal crops in 1948 (Table XVI). Each of the three crops contributed at least 20 per cent of the value of all crops, while no other crop produced over 6 per cent of the total. The cruzeiro value of these principal crops, and of livestock, and their relative position within the nation has been given in Table XV, above.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

TABLE XVI

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RELATIVE CROPLAND AND VALUE OF ALL CROPS OF THE RECÔNCAVO WITH A VALUE OF MORE THAN Cr.$1,000,000 IN 1948

Crop	Per cent of the Cropland of the Recôncavo	Per cent of the Value of All Principal Crops of the Recôncavo
Tobacco	27	32
Manioc	28	25
Sugar Cane	15	20
Beans	9	6
Oranges	1	5
Bananas	1	3
Corn	12	3
Coconuts	1	2
Coffee	4	1
Pineapple	<1	<1
Peanuts	<1	<1
Sweet Potatoes	<1	<1

Source: Calculations and estimates based on data from Produção Agrícola: 1948.

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[311]
[435]

The leading position of tobacco results in part from its extensive cultivation, and in part from its relatively high unit value. While the mean value of production of all crops in the Recôncavo was Cr.$3,400 per hectare in 1948, tobacco produced Cr.$3,900 per hectare, as given in Table XVII, which also shows the value of production per hectare of the other principal crops. The leading position of tobacco is at variance with tradition which, as has been seen, assigns the first rank to sugar cane. Not only was tobacco the most valuable crop of the Recôncavo in 1948, but it was also the leading crop in seven municípios of the tobacco-manioc region, where it accounted for a minimum of 40 per cent of the value of all crops. Within four separate municípios of the crop region, it accounted for about 60 per cent of the total value of crops (Map 120). The Southwestern Recôncavo was the chief center of the production of tobacco, as indicated by value as well as by cropland and bulk, for it produced over 63 per cent of the total value of tobacco in the Recôncavo. Within this section, Cruz das Almas was the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 347]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSION

128 In the preceding chapters the results of a statistical appraisal and a field investigation of agriculture in the Recôncavo have been presented. As a conclusion it seems appropriate to: (1) summarize the findings; and (2) discuss the potentialities of the Recôncavo for agricultural development

433 241 Like most of the densely-settled east coast of Brazil, the Recôncavo is engaged primarily in the production of crops. This is true not only of the region as a whole, but also of each of its individual parts excepting only the area around the cattle market town of Feira de Santana. The total cultivated area of the region, about 6.4 per cent 241 311 of the land surface, was almost evenly divided in 1948 between purely commercial crops--tobacco, sugar cane, coffee, oranges, and coconuts--and subsistence-commercial crops--manioc, corn, beans, bananas, peanuts, and sweet potatoes. About 70 per cent of the cropland was used for the three predominant crops--manioc, tobacco, and sugar cane. Livestock production is associated with crop cultivation in many parts of the 231 233 241 Recôncavo, but the region is also dependent upon the sertão of Bahia for livestock, which are driven into Feira de Santana and are used in several different areas within the region.

249 244 433 The three principal crops as determined by cultivated area--tobacco, manioc, and sugar cane--accounted for 77 per cent of the total value of crops in 1948, and no other crop accounted for more than 231 233 6 per cent of the total value. Thus agriculture in the Recôncavo is primarily concerned with these three crops and with the production

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 311 [134] Commercial sugar cane cultivation is confined to the humid Coastal Plain areas with Cretaceous clay soils, except for a small area in São Filipe. Since the areas of Cretaceous clay soils are limited and compact, sugar cane production is highly localized in two areas: (1) the main sugar cane area in the municípios of Santo Amaro, São Francisco, and São Sebastião; and (2) a smaller area north of the Bacia do Iguape in the município of Cachoeira. There is a third area of less intensive production in southern São Filipe.

249 244 [433] The sole purpose of cultivation in the sugar cane area is the production of a commercial product, but the areas of tobacco-manioc cultivation produce both a staple food and a commodity for sale outside the region. Most of the tobacco and manioc of the Recôncavo are produced under a land rotation system in which the sequence is: (1) tobacco; (2) manioc; and (3) fallow in wild vegetation. The tobacco is planted in small fields, usually after an application of manure. The entire plant is harvested repeatedly until it will no longer produce a salable leaf. Manioc is planted following tobacco, sometimes several times, until the field is exhausted and abandoned to the second growth. The fallow period is frequently short, sometimes as little as one year. Cultivation is entirely by hand--no plows are used. There is very little selection of seed, and only one variety of tobacco--Bahia Brasil--is [423] [427] produced. Tobacco and manioc are produced almost exclusively by small cultivators who are either owners or renters. Frequently livestock [231] [233] are raised upon the properties of the cultivators, but except for the use of manure in the cultivation of tobacco, there is little integration of crop and livestock production. The leaf is harvested, dried, 276 and partially fermented by the cultivator. The marketing of tobacco 276 438 is inseparable from the credit arrangement between the cultivator and [452] [488] the tobacco buyer or agent. The leaf is delivered by the producer to the storekeeper-buyer or the local tobacco warehouse.

000 the storekeeper-buyer or the local tobacco warehouse. The roots of the
258 manioc are processed locally, in casas de farinha, and the farinha de
438 mandioca is sold in the local market or to storekeepers in the nearby village or town.

249 The sub-region of tobacco and manioc production occupies the
244 humid eastern and southern edges of the Uplands. The chief center of
311 production, the Southwestern Recôncavo, occupies a zone of deep, sandy
134 and sandy loam soils lying in flat-surfaced uplands above crystalline rocks. The northern parts of the tobacco-manioc sub-region occupy the rough, dissected southern edge of the sandy Tertiary taboleiros--in this northern area the production of both crops is less intensive than in the Southwestern Recôncavo. The area of primary tobacco and manioc production generally conforms to the forest and scrub forest transition and is expanding southwestward beyond the traditional Recôncavo along this
[433] physical boundary zone. The intensity of production is also increasing,
[178] but with violent year to year fluctuations.

241 In addition to sugar cane, tobacco and manioc, other subsistence
433 and commercial products are grown in the Recôncavo. The most important of these are corn and beans, grown as commercial and subsistence crops in the north and west of the region, and coconuts, which are produced along the beach line. Bananas, sweet potatoes, and peanuts are grown in most parts of the Recôncavo, but on a small scale.

241 There are several areas in which there is little or no cultiva-
311 tion. The rougher Intermediate Hills, which are forested, separate the
137 sugar cane sub-region from the tobacco-manioc sub-region. The lowland areas of Tertiary and crystalline soils are also forested and are cultivated under a non-intensive land rotation system with some associated
241 livestock. The Recôncavo is distinguished from the surrounding areas by its relatively greater mean intensity of cultivation. In the

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 471 433 these individual shortcomings of the industry are less important than, and to a certain extent derived from, three basic problems of the sugar economy: land, market, and leadership.

249 [311] Most of the area of Cretaceous soil in the lowlands of the Recôncavo presently is occupied by sugar cane or by the fallow fields. Only those lands which are too wet or which are needed for settlement, mills, or transportation are not used for cultivation. Thus there seems to be little opportunity to increase the area of good sugar cane land. It would presumably be possible to reduce the fallow period by lengthening the period of ratoon harvests or to abandon the fallow period altogether. If, as seems likely, these changes would reduce the yield of cane, then it would be necessary to begin to use expensive imported fertilizers in order not to lose the advantages gained by increasing [242] the intensiveness of cultivation. The introduction of high-yielding Javanese varieties of cane has already been attempted, but because of climatic conditions, soil deficiencies, poor cultivation practices, or a combination of these factors, yields remain below East Indian levels. [134] It is theoretically possible that sugar cane cultivation could be extended to the other soils of the lowland--the Tertiary sandy soils and the crystalline soils of the peninsula and of the Intermediate Hills west of the Bay. Both of these soils, however, are relatively infertile, and the sandy soils are particularly unsuited for cane because of their poor retention of water. Sugar cane cultivation is not practical on the Uplands on account of the low precipitation—cane can be grown in only a few damp valleys of the Uplands.

175 249 439 The second great disadvantage of the sugar cane industry of the Recôncavo is in its market relationship. The history of the sugar cane economy of the region may be summarized as follows. At the end of the sixteenth century the forty <u>engenhos</u> of the Recôncavo exported 1,800 tons

249 [457] purchased in Europe at the expense of precious foreign exchange, tobacco can be processed for the trade with only a shed and a few crude presses. [489] Rather than a relatively expensive rail net to assemble the crop, tobacco can be carried by truck, small boat, or even by pack animal. More- [433] over, since the cultivation of tobacco is integrated with the production of food and is primarily an activity of small farmers, it is possible to adjust the size of the crop from year to year with a minimum sacrifice of capital investment.

277 The tobacco industry of the Recôncavo has a number of disadvantages as a base for commercial development which may be summarized as problems of: (1) land; (2) markets; and (3) system of production. 249 311 Leaf tobacco production in the Recôncavo and in the adjoining areas of Bahia is confined to a narrow belt between the humid edges of the Up- [134] lands and the dry interior of the state. An expansion toward the coast would bring tobacco first into the Intermediate Hills where the upland soils which are preferred for tobacco cultivation are of limited area and then into the humid lowlands in which the Cretaceous soils are unsuitable, apparently, for the cultivation of quality leaf tobacco. [132] and in which the Tertiary soils are extremely infertile. An expansion westward would bring tobacco into an area where the precipitation in [134] most years is inadequate. The interior north of the tobacco area is dry and has very poor soils, the Tertiary upland soils. There is an [137] opportunity for the further expansion of the cultivation of tobacco toward the southwest along the forest and scrub forest boundary into a region which produces the same general type of tobacco as the Southwestern Recôncavo--the "Mata" grade. This apparently is the meaning of the increased tobacco production in Santo Antônio. It should be possible, at least as far as the soils and climate are concerned, to continue the expansion toward the southwest into the adjoining

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 municípios. However, in this southwestern area the amount of flat land
• 311 is progressively reduced as the serras of the coffee zone are approached.
[245] Moreover, this region is already occupied by the other commercial systems--coffee, and in a few areas, sugar cane. Thus tobacco would not be moving into an area in which it could have either the land or the labor force without a struggle.

277 Leaf tobacco has a number of disadvantages as a primary commercial
439 product. The Brazilian market for Bahian tobacco is not yet large enough to stabilize the price during years when it is impossible to sell leaf abroad. In Europe the tobacco of Bahia must compete with leaf from other parts of the world, and because the Recôncavo has not yet succeeded in producing a suitable high quality wrapper leaf, it cannot hope to secure the whole market no matter how great its quantity of production. One of the possibilities which is being considered by the tobacco industry is the production of wrapper tobacco, but the experiments which have been completed so far have not been highly successful. Even if the quality of the tobacco were improved, one basic market problem would remain--tobacco is a luxury product, and many countries find it possible to do without it in times of war or economic distress.

249 The basic problem of tobacco production in the immediate future seems almost certain to be the system of cultivation and the land system with which it is connected. As has been seen, in the main centers of production the fallow period is already extremely short. It is not unlikely that the cumulative effect of too short a rotation period under a system of land rotation will reduce the fertility of the soil to a point where normal second growth will not develop and where land rotation, especially with so demanding a crop as tobacco, will be impossible. Moreover, if the intensity of tobacco cultivation should increase, then it seems inevitable that the density of livestock within

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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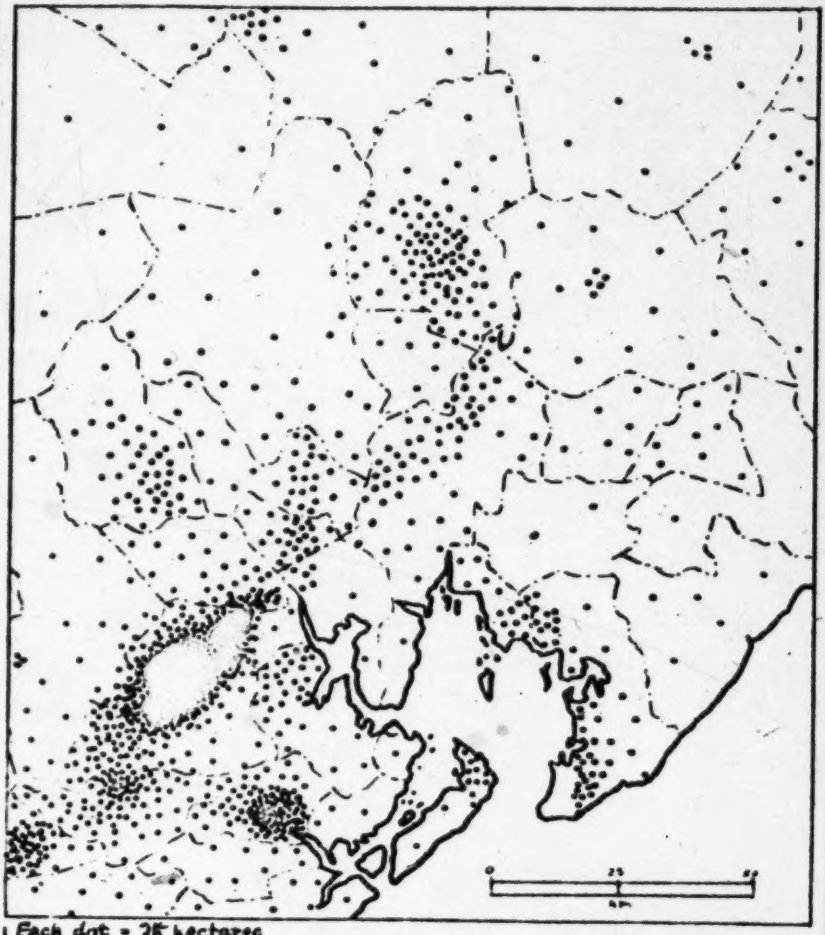

Each dot = 25 hectares

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Area in Manioc--1948

(Based upon un-corrected official data)

Source of data: Producção Agricola: 1948.

MAP 131

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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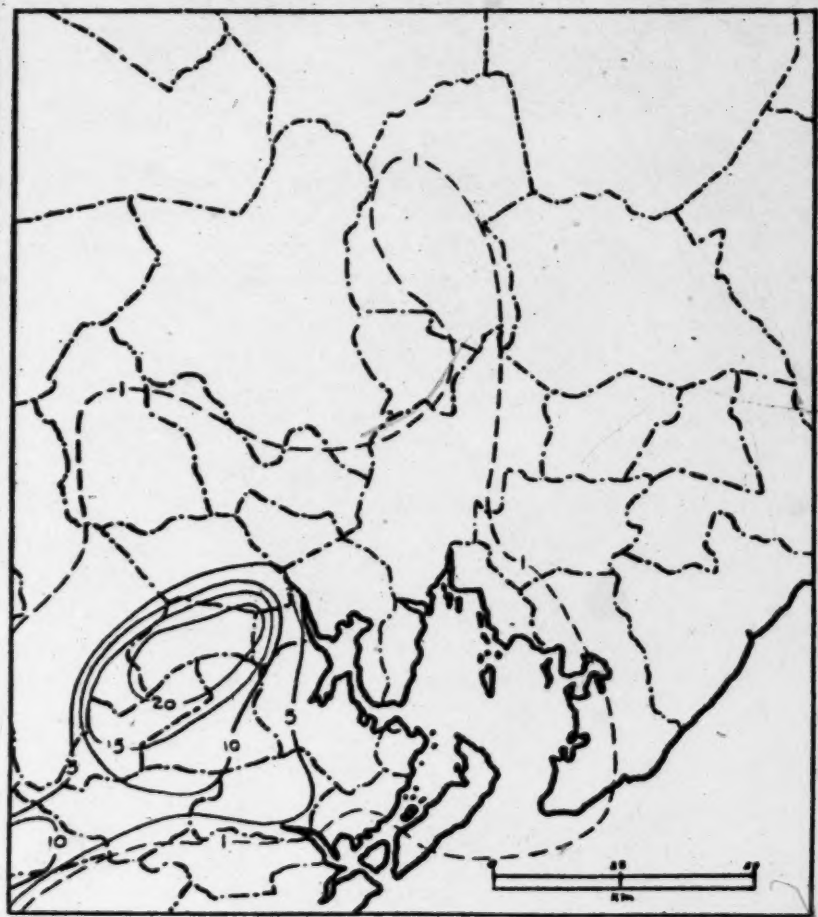

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Hectares of Manioc per Square Kilometer of Total Area—1948

(Based upon un-corrected official data)

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 132

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

APPENDIX E

Tobacco Zones of Bahia

249 659 311 The tobacco industry, the exporting houses, and the official tobacco organizations of the government have divided the entire leaf tobacco producing area of Bahia into four zones on the basis of the kind of tobacco produced. None of these zones even approximately coincides with the Recôncavo, but three of the four include Recôncavo municípios, while the edge of the fourth touches upon the region. These four zones, in order of approximate relative value of their leaf, are "Mata," "Feira," "Caatinga," and "Sertão." Many different types and grades are included in "Sertão." The accompanying map (Map 136) shows the relationship of these zones to the Recôncavo.

249 311 "Mata," the most valuable, is a good burning, light to medium tobacco which can be used after twelve months of curing. Very often it is worth twice as much as the next grade. The "Mata" zone stretches from northern Santo Amaro to the southwestern extreme of the coffee zone. It is divided into three parts—norte, which includes northeast Santo Amaro, southeast Feira de Santana, and Cachoeira; sul, which includes southern Castro Alves, southern Santo Antônio, São Miguel, and the municípios to the southwest; and fina, which includes São Gonçalo, Conceição da Feira, Muritiba, Conceição do Almeida, Cruz das Almas, São Filipe, São Félix, Maragogipe, and northern Santo Antônio. The greatest premium within the Mata Fina grade is given for Cruz das Almas leaf, although São Gonçalo leaf also is highly valued. In addition to the intrinsic value of the leaf, "Mata" tobacco is valuable because of its uniformity, both from area to area and from year to year. In part this uniformity results from the fact that it is grown upon similar

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 420]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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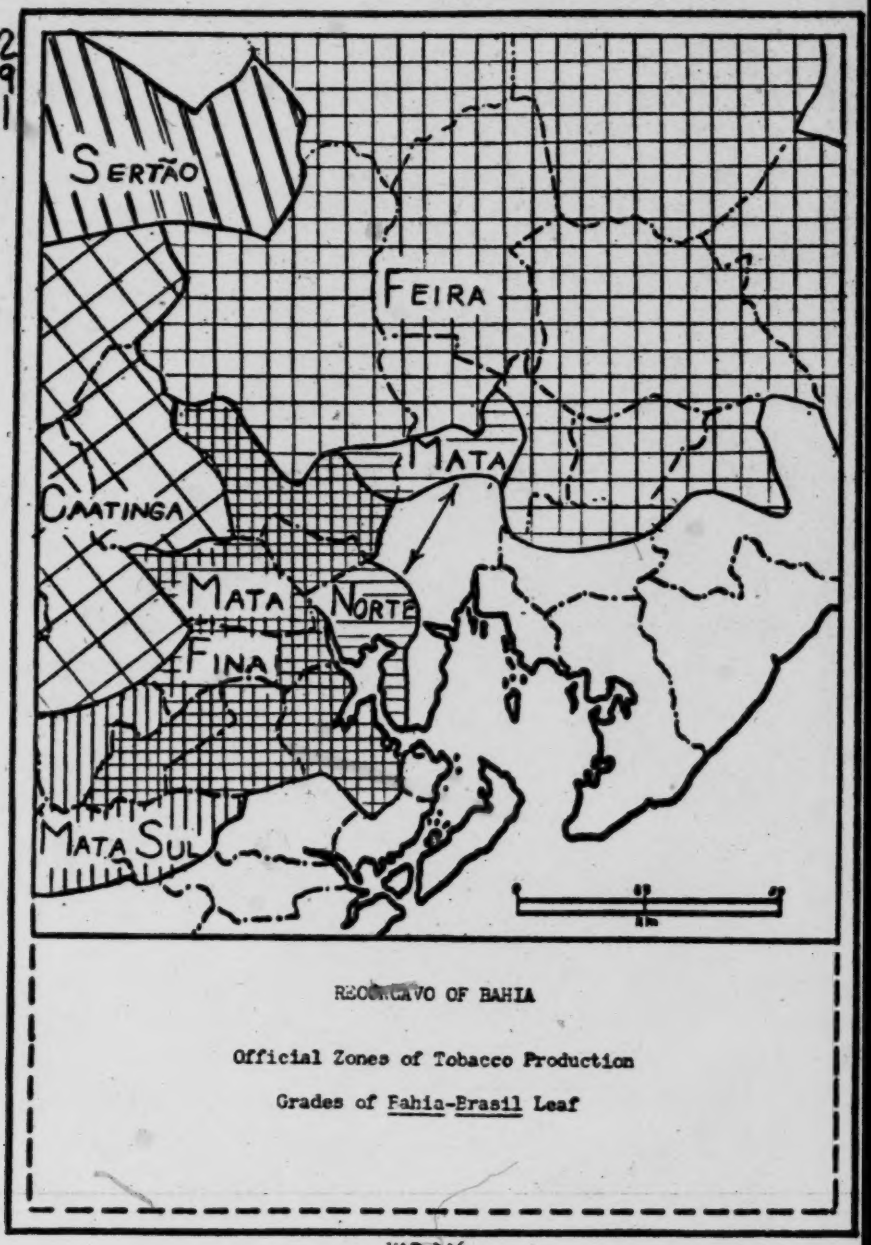

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Official Zones of Tobacco Production

Grades of Bahia-Brasil Leaf

MAP 136

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 311 soils under more dependable rainfall conditions than are characteristic of the other zones.

The "Caatinga" zone includes Santo Estêvão, Castro Alves, Ipirá, and Santa Teresinha--the município west of Castro Alves. When the rains [132] [134] of the growing season--June, July, and August--are plentiful, these tobaccos are much like those of the "Mata" zone, though somewhat harsher--probably because of the more saline soils. If precipitation is scarce, the tobacco is gummy and requires long curing--two years or so--before use. If the rains fail entirely, a second attempt may be made to plant during the summer rains of November, December, and January.

The "Feira" zone includes Feira de Santana, Coração de Maria, Irará, Alagoinhas, Catu, Pojuca, northeastern Santo Amaro, and northern São Sebastião, as well as Inhambupe, Entre Rios, and Serrinha. "Feira" leaf is often large, rather dark, and moderately strong, and requires [132] at least two years for curing. Like the "Caatinga," its quality varies in response to changes in precipitation, but in general it is more uniform.

"Sertão" tobacco is highly diverse in type and quality. Its zone of production is large in size, extending west to the Chapada Diamantina and southward beyond the Rio de Contas. Generally this leaf is large and coarse, but as a result of the diverse physical conditions in the scattered areas in which the crop is produced, the quality of the leaf is variable over a wide range.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

APPENDIX F

Comparison of 1940 and 1948 Data for Cultivated Areas

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The figure for cropland in 1948, derived from the total area in principal crops, is less than half the total cultivated area which is given in the 1940 Censos Econômicos, as shown on the table which follows (Table XIX). The development of the individual crops, indicated by the statistical material available and by the situation which is to be observed in the area, indicates quite clearly that the catastrophic decline which these figures would seem to indicate has not in fact taken place. The growth of the population of the Recôncavo, without concurrent industrialization or radical reorganization of the agricultural system, has required the expansion, not the contraction, of the cultivated area. It is clear that the 1940 census data must have included much land that was not in crops--probably it included those areas which customarily were cultivated under the land rotation system but which were not, in 1940, in crops. Since the census was based upon the opinion of the agriculturalist as to the cultivated area and since it is the custom to regard fields recently abandoned as cultivated land, it is easy to see how the 1940 figure was so large. It is assumed, therefore, that the 165,235 hectares which the census called cultivated area in 1940 corresponds to the general area in which cultivation was customary and not to actual cropland.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

TABLE XIX

COMPARISON OF LAND CULTIVATED AS GIVEN IN THE 1940 CENSUS AND AS CALCULATED FROM 1948 CROPLAND DATA

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	Land Cultivated 1940	Land Cultivated 1948	Change
Central Recôncavo:			
Santo Amaro	19,252	8,417	-10,835
São Francisco	3,227	1,063	- 2,164
São Sebastião	4,798	2,516	- 2,282
Cachoeira	4,326	1,154	- 3,172
Northern Recôncavo:			
Coração de Maria	4,653	1,092	- 3,561
Irará	27,630	9,115	-18,515
Alagoinhas	3,868	2,464	- 1,404
Northwestern Recôncavo:			
Feira de Santana	20,457	3,994	-16,463
São Gonçalo	4,270	3,614	- 656
Conceição da Feira	2,363	1,343	- 1,020
Santo Estêvão	10,145	8,500	- 1,645
Southwestern Recôncavo:			
Muritiba	7,654	3,333	- 4,321
Cruz das Almas	8,585	12,796	+ 4,211
Conceição do Almeida	11,419	7,506	- 3,913
São Filipe	5,942	6,430	+ 488
São Félix	3,482	1,512	- 1,970
Eastern Recôncavo:			
Catu	5,484	741	- 4,743
Pojuca	1,037	259	- 778
Southern Recôncavo:			
Maragogipe	7,221	1,342	- 5,879
Itaparica	4,492	891	- 3,601
Salvador	4,930	1,921	- 3,009
Recôncavo Total	165,235	80,003	-85,232

Source: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II, and Produção Agrícola: 1948.

2: Hutchinson 2-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SC11 Bahia Brazilians SC11

1. Sugar Country

THE REGION of Brazil in which this study was made is a small area in the state of Bahia called the Recôncavo. This is the land surrounding the Bay of All Saints, a fertile basin extending inland no more than 40 kilometers at the most. Situated on a high bluff overlooking the entrance to the Bay of All Saints is Salvador, the capital of the state of Bahia, generally referred to as Bahia, or "the capital," or simply "the city." After Salvador was settled in 1549, the colonization of the Recôncavo proceeded at a rapid rate. Since early in the colonial period, the Recôncavo has been divided into three distinct areas: a southern area devoted mainly to the raising of manioc, the food staple of much of Brazil; a western section devoted to the cultivation of tobacco; and a northern and eastern area, given almost exclusively to large-scale sugar-cane monoculture. This study was made in the third zone, the one producing sugar cane.

101 [133] [361]

The region, which can be called the "sugar-Recôncavo," partakes of the long tradition of sugar-cane growing which formed the basis for the early colonization of Brazil. A narrow strip of land along the northeast coast of Brazil in what are now the states of Pernambuco, Sergipe, Alagoas, and Bahia was the focus of the economic, political, and social life of the entire colony. This region, under the colonization of the Portuguese, produced a large part of the world's sugar supply at a time when sugar was a great luxury in Europe. The northeast coast of Brazil became an exceedingly prosperous part of the colony early in its history. Salvador, in Bahia, and Recife, in Pernambuco, became the most impor-

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tant centers of colonial life, and until 1763 Salvador was the capital of the Portuguese colony.

The Recôncavo helped to make Brazil a unique part of the Portuguese empire in the sixteenth century. Brazil was different from any of the other Portuguese colonies, for its wealth proved to lie in agriculture rather than in trade, as was the case in India and Africa. The Bay of All Saints, with a circumference of 200 kilometers, is in effect an inland sea, the entrance to which can be guarded from the heights on which the city of Salvador is situated. There are a number of picturesque islands throughout the bay, with good beaches and landing facilities. Many small rivers empty into the bay, and numerous creeks navigable at high tide extend further inland along its shores. The presence of such a large network of navigable waters was an important factor in the rapid development of the Recôncavo, providing easy and inexpensive transportation of sugar to the point of shipment to Europe.

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[487]

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The climate is semitropical, with two seasons. Summer, from September to sometime in March, is relatively dry, dotted by showers and thunderstorms and cooled by fresh breezes blowing in from the Atlantic. Winter begins in April, lasting until August or September, the exact time of change differing from year to year. This season is marked by continued rain, usually a soft, constantly falling drizzle or light rain, interspersed with heavy showers, as front after front moves in from the Atlantic, dropping its moisture before being pushed upward by the abruptly rising land which surrounds the Recôncavo. According to statistics for the years 1914 to 1938, the months of minimum rainfall are October, November, and December; during this time the average rainfall was 11.81 inches. The period of maximum rainfall is April, May, and June, with an average of 35.83 inches for the three-month period. The yearly average from 1914 to 1938 was 65.93 inches.[1] The temperature range is from 70 to 90 degrees Fahrenheit.

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The soil of the Recôncavo, especially that of the sugar-Recôncavo, is extraordinarily fertile. It is a heavy black soil, known as massapé, approximately 6 inches to 2 feet thick, covering a clayey subsoil, known locally as tauá. Here and there are outcroppings of sand and mixtures of sand with clay.

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1. Atlas pluviometrico do Brasil (Rio de Janeiro, 1914-1938).

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*249 is located at the water's edge on one of the six plantations; three belong to different members of another family related to the sugar factory owners through marriage; one belongs individually to a member of the family owning the factory; and the last one belongs to a nonrelative, a mestiço (person of mixed racial descent), who is socially reticent but considered
[871] an astute businessman. Within the area there is also a federal school which has a large expanse of noncultivated land.

361 The pattern of settlement on the plantations is that of a village. The homes of the cultivators are grouped in a cluster apart from the land they work, the point of orientation being the owner's home. "Although the village settlement as represented by the homes of the small-farming classes is hardly to be found in Brazil, the village manner of arranging the population on the land is widely used on the large estates that are prominent throughout the Brazilian countryside. For the most part the fazendas and usinas of Brazil utilized this nucleated form of settlement in their 'quarters' or 'colonies' for the workers who till the crops."[6]

162 The population of the rural zone of the community of Vila Recôncavo is 2,800, of whom 500 live at the sugar factory nucleus; on each of the sugar-cane plantations there are between
*249 150 and 200 persons. Traveling about from one plantation nu-
• 311 cleus to another, one sees no sign of habitation, for the country is devoted to intensified sugar-cane cultivation. Fields of sugar cane, 10 to 20 acres in size, alternate with pastures--fields which are being rested for three or four years. Each private plantation has a section of forest to produce firewood and lumber. The factory plantations, however, for the most part are entirely cleared, as the corporation owns another plantation on the other side of the Recôncavo which is used ex-
*249 clusively for raising and pasturing cattle and for supplying firewood for the large fires of the factory. Land divisions or
[423] boundaries are generally long lines of graceful bamboo trees which also supply fence posts. On each plantation can be seen the remains either of the old sobrado or of the antique mill (engenho) or chapel (capela), and in some cases the sobrado is still in good repair and inhabited by the owner.

312 The Recôncavo is not blessed with abundant fresh water. The rivers are few and small, prone to dry up in the hot sum-

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6. T. Lynn Smith, Brazil (Baton Rouge, 1947), p. 396.

VILA RECÔNCAVO

the factory is undergoing a reformation which will raise its capacity to over one hundred thousand sacks, and the legal capacity will be readjusted. 249* 433

Usina São Pedro, although the smallest, is representative of the others and experiences the same problems and difficulties. It differs from some in that it is a family enterprise. The stockholders are nearly all members of the Conde family, and the operations are directed by two members of the family. The factory itself was one of the three built by the state government in 1900 on land controlled by the Navy,[5] on the edge of the Bay, which provides excellent year-round transportation facilities. The mill was acquired in 1909 by the Conde family with two plantations, to which the family has since added four other contiguous plantations. The corporation has a total area of slightly over four thousand acres, mostly of rich massapê soil. The factory receives cane from the plantation of Dona Sinhá, who is also a member of the Conde family by birth and by marriage. It also gets cane from four other plantations within the community and four outside the community, which send their cane by the traditional sailboat. In addition, the factory owns a 2,324-acre plantation in the county of Purificação which is used for grazing and raising cattle and for supplying wood for the factory fires. There is direct water transportation between the factory and the plantation in Purificação. 249* 473 [653] [423] 249* [602] [423] [505]

The designation usina has several meanings which are quite similar to the meanings of the older term, engenho. In its larger context, usina means the entire land-factory combination, including the mill and all the plantations belonging to the corporation. More specifically, usina means the factory building itself. In another context, usina simply indicates the population nucleus, including the factory, the owner's house, and the other buildings. 249* 192

The usina or factory nucleus roughly follows the same settlement pattern of the old plantations. The point of orientation is the factory building, near which stand the chalet and other homes of the owning family, which are grouped together in a park of royal palms and mango trees. Usually a small chapel or oratory is included in one wing of the chalet, where 249* 361 [178]

5. The shoreline bordering salt water is controlled to the depth of 33 meters by the Brazilian Navy. [311]

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Usina]

* 249 463 466 [492] [465] * 249 463 159 [427]

seer is entitled to the same rights and privileges as any other worker: a house, land on which to grow subsistence crops, and the use of the owner's pastures for his oxen, burros, and horses. The horses used in his work are supplied by the corporation, as are those of the other overseers. His salary is high: Cr$2.000,00 a month, plus a bonus of one cruzeiro for each ton of cane produced on all six plantations. The regional overseers receive Cr$800,00 a month, plus a bonus of half a cruzeiro per ton of cane produced on their plantation. Seu Pipiu has been general overseer of Usina São Pedro for twenty-five years, during which time he has accumulated a good deal of property. He is a mulatto, somewhat lighter skinned than the six administrators who are under him. Two of his sons work in the factory office, and a third runs the store on one of the plantations. In addition he is a small farmer, renting some forty acres from the factory, on which he plants sugar cane. He pays 25 per cent of the harvest to the factory for the use of the land.

* 249 466

The usineiros have the same complaints against their general overseers that private plantation owners have against theirs. At the same time, after many years of service such an official becomes indispensable, or is thought to be, and is allowed to go his way--quiet, well dressed, well mounted, ruler of all he surveys--while the usineiro watches and mutters to himself.

* 249 [184]

So far the rural properties of the factories have led the private plantations in the field of mechanization, as they have greater funds for purchasing equipment and can get more use out of each piece. Mechanization, however, is used as yet only in preparing the soil for planting. The ground is plowed and replowed, and grooves are made to receive the cane shoots. Also, planting in unplowed land is still common--grooves are opened for the seed with the simple plow, and no soil preparation is done at all. Here mechanization ends, and all further cultivation, as well as the cutting and harvesting of the cane, is done by hand. Narrow-gauge railway tracks reach out from the mill to loading points on the six plantations, where the cane is transferred from the oxcarts to the railroad wagons to be drawn to the mill. Approximately two thousand acres are under cultivation; the remaining land is used as pasture or as garden plots by the workers, in accordance with a rotation system.

[496] [493] [311]

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Financially the two units--factory and plantation--are run

[Town Life]

Because there are only 265 acres of manioc under cultivation in the entire county, production is far below the amount of farina consumed, and it is necessary to import the milled manioc tuber which constitutes the major dietary item of the people. In 1951 a municipal law was passed prohibiting the exportation of farina. Three times during the author's stay in the town there was a pronounced lack of farina, when there was almost none to be bought and its price per liter rose from one to three cruzeiros. That year's drought was also partly responsible for the shortage. 241 43 [262] [114] [731]

Bananas are the only commercial export crop of the gardeners. There are approximately 15,000 banana trees in the county, producing for the commercial market an annual production of 177,000 arms (cachos) of bananas, providing an income of Cr$500,000,00. The fruits are sold to a middleman from Bahia who knows most of the gardeners in the area. Once a week, or every two weeks, he arrives at the town in a large sailboat to receive the fresh bananas, which he then takes to Bahia and sells. Sometimes a gardener sells an arm of bananas to a woman in town who then resells them to townspeople. Few people in town have to buy them, however, for each household has at least one banana tree in the back yard. An acre of land supports about 144 banana trees, which when well cared for produce 1,500 arms a year. The fruits are sold in cargoes of fifty arms at Cr$160,00 a cargo, so that one acre earns about Cr$5,000,00 a year. This sum is almost entirely profit, for gardeners do most of their own work, except when they have too much land for one man to take care of properly. Hired help is paid in accordance with the service performed: ten cruzeiros for cutting fifty arms of bananas, twenty for transporting them to the dock if the gardener does not have his own animals, and a hundred cruzeiros an acre for "cleaning," i.e., cutting down and burning old stalks and leaves and keeping the weeds cut down. 245 43 [442] [311] 245 46

Manioc presents a slightly different case, for the raw product must be processed before it is consumed. The manioc root from which farina is made is the poisonous variety and must be peeled and grated, pressed to remove the juice, and then toasted. The final product is a white powder, fine or coarse depending upon the type of grater used. Most of the local product is a coarse type (farinha de guerra). One of the gardeners has a flour house where the tubers are converted into flour. He mills his own manioc there and lets others use the machinery, charging them one liter of farina out of each ten they produce. 252 [427]

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tory and its fields, and who are slowly drifting away from 249*
visiting the factory nucleus. 571

An overall result of the new conditions between private planters and the factory is a desire on the part of the suppliers of São Pedro to become independent of this outlet. Several of the suppliers are shifting their cane to other neighboring factories, when this is convenient. Most of them are seriously [311] considering shifting to another crop, as will be described below; in fact a goodly proportion of land has already been taken out of sugar-cane production, thus diminishing future cane harvests and endangering the cane supply of Usina São Pedro.

What was formerly a peaceful, "all in the family," almost preservelike area has become an area of tensions and of poor business, and social, relations. The situation has all the possibilities of a traditional sugar-cane kind of land capture. The factory needs land in order to produce more cane so that the mill can operate at capacity. No one is willing to sell to the factory, nor even to supply as much cane as he might under other conditions. But the private planters are dependent upon the factory, economically and for services. Therefore it is an [452] easy matter for the factory to make difficulties for the individual planter, even gradually forcing him into failure, since the planter operates on credit and has little latitude for even a single crop failure. Such a failure gives the factory an opportunity to acquire badly needed lands at a bargain. [425]

The sugar industry in the community of Vila Recôncavo has 178
also undergone changes in the labor aspects, in line with the 249*
entire industry. As was pointed out in Chapter 4, the price 43
of the sugar cane and the sugar is artificially regulated, and [656]
has been rising slowly over a period of years. However, nationwide social legislation in the past three years has raised the wages of the workers annually, before the price increases [458] were granted by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol. Spiraling inflation has also helped raise all the costs, of labor, of materials, and of machinery. Whereas prices for the task done [466] have always been fairly well regulated, they have recently become a very strong issue, and there is much worker discontent. The planter, whether private or corporate, is more than ever interested in holding down the costs of his labor supply, since other costs, particularly of machinery and repairs, are soaring, always narrowing the margin between the total cost of production and the established selling price.

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position of the sugar industry in Vila Recôncavo, is creating considerable interest on the part of the community's planters. Just as sugar cane is limited by soil and climatic conditions, so also is the cacao. There is little fear, therefore, of competition from many other areas. In addition, cacao is exportable, while the sugar of the area is for internal consumption only.

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In spite of the attraction of this new crop, there are a number of problems which must be dealt with. First, the details of a change from sugar cane to cacao must be worked out, especially as regards space and financing. The planter must juggle his sugar plantings, pastures, and rotation lands so that he can slowly take out land for preparation for cacao. If he wants to finance the changeover himself, he cannot lessen his sugar production; in fact, he needs more money than before. Banks in general lend on the forthcoming crop; if the crop is reduced, so is the amount which can be borrowed. However, to overcome this, the Institute of Cacao of Bahia is preparing a financing program on a long-term basis. Sugar cane is a perennial, planted one year, bearing for the next three or four years, then ploughed under and replanted. Cacao, on the other hand, is a permanent tree crop which gives its first fruit in five years, reaches maturity in fifteen or twenty years, and then continues to produce annually for sixty to one hundred years. Thus sugar cane is financed on a one-year basis, while initial plantings of cacao must be financed on a long-term basis of ten to fifteen years. The change from a perennial crop to a permanent crop also requires a totally different mental set on the part of the planter.

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Cacao is a "forest crop," which means that it requires shading. Under primitive conditions it is planted in dense tropical forest. In Vila Recôncavo, however, the former tropical forest has been entirely cleared away during the last four hundred years, since sugar cane tolerates no shade. Therefore, before the cacao can be planted, shade must be provided. This is done by planting banana trees and, at fixed intervals, single seedlings of a precocious, long-living, high-growing shade tree. To pay for the work involved it is common to plant manioc between the banana trees. The manioc is gathered the following year, and shortly thereafter the young cacao trees can be planted. The banana trees offer sufficient shade for the young plants. For a period of five or six years the planter

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433 travel from the city to the plantations by car at almost any
49 season of the year. It is a two-hour trip, considerably more comfortable than the old system of travel by boat and on horseback. In addition, the roads have made it possible for the planters to transport their cane more efficiently, using trucks and tractor-drawn wagons. Along with this, the refinery has led to greater supplies of diesel oil, gasoline, and kerosene, so that it is no longer necessary to transport these items from the city at great cost and delay.

178 The planters have also profited in another manner. Petro-
315 brás invaded the cane fields in its search of oil. It fenced small areas where it drilled and constructed storage tanks,
311 and it took out of cane production a good deal of land for roads
433 and installations. Recently a basis has been reached for paying the planters in a satisfactory manner for the use of the lands.
427 As a result each planter whose land is partially occupied now receives an annual cash payment based on what the occupied
[421] land could produce. As yet no arrangements have been made for the landowners to participate in the profits of Petrobrás, since all subsoil riches belong to the nation, and therefore in this case to Petrobrás.

178 There has been little social intercourse between the planters
315 and the personnel of Petrobrás, either in the rural area or in the city of Salvador. From time to time the higher echelon
571 employees of Petrobras are invited to larger parties given by the planters, and in return the planters are sometimes invited to parties at the refinery. But the plantation society is so closed and so firmly based on family relationships that it is difficult to maintain steady social relations with newcomers. In addition, the engineers and other specialists of the oil industry are principally oriented toward the capital city, and there is no serious attempt made to establish social relationships with the planters.

The sugar-cane workers for their part are so definitely plantation-oriented that they seek little diversion among the new oil workers. The unmarried field workers of Petrobrás who might be expected to establish relationships with the rural population seldom do so. They live in a fenced barracks area which immediately gives the impression of a group cut off from the rest of society. When they do seek entertainment they go as a rule to the factory nucleus, or to the town of Vila Recôncavo, or to the nearby town of Milagres.

Politically, this influx of new workers has had little in-

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58 begun to live together. But it is a general policy of Petrobrás that its employees establish regularized households and register their children, as the benefits of social legislation and insurance must be paid to legal beneficiaries, such as wives and [745] children. Because of the many recent marriages, there are [362] no longer any houses available in Vila Recôncavo, nor in Milagres, and there has been a spurt of housebuilding.

There have also been some shifts in emphasis in the structure of the community. While the factory nucleus is no longer 178 621 the scene of social gathering for the upper class of the area, *249 the structure of the factory-private plantation system ensures that it continues to be the economic center as long as sugar [434] cane is being planted in the area. The system of quotas established for the private planter and the factory by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol requires that planter and factory [361] cooperate in supplying and receiving sugar cane. Also, the [496] physical structure of the area, in which the factory is the center of the network of a small railroad which reaches out to each of the private properties, strengthens the impression of the factory as the center of activities.

178 The possible future shift from sugar to cacao will of course 443 diminish the importance of the sugar factory. However, in the meantime there is a new factor which will give more im- [245] portance than ever to the factory: a feira, or market place. The county of Vila Recôncavo does not have a weekly market. *[249] For many years the county officials have wanted to establish one, not only for increased municipal income, but also to help attract more people to the area and to make life easier for the population. A market place is now under construction at the factory nucleus. When the market is completed, the factory town will become at least a weekly center of attraction for many people of the surrounding plantations.

178 The development of the petroleum industry is bringing new 315 life to the town of Vila Recôncavo, to the nearby town of Mi- [311] lagres, and to the new city of Conselho. Petrobrás cannot develop a nucleus on the land which belongs to the factory or to the private owners, and therefore it must concentrate any local community building efforts in the old public towns which 178 already exist. Petrobrás, indirectly, through the county court 315 of Vila Recôncavo, will soon contribute considerably to the 434 county income. The same sort of compensation which was worked out in regard to the planters is now being arranged 651 for the county, through taxes on the finished products from 652 632

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311 RACE RELATIONS IN A RURAL COMMUNITY OF THE BAHIAN RECÔNCAVO[1]

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by
HARRY W. HUTCHINSON

I. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, a narrow strip along the north-eastern coast of Brazil in what are now the States of Pernambuco, Alagoas, Sergipe and Bahia, was the most important region of economic, political and social life in the whole colony. The rainfall along this portion of the coast is dependable and the extremely fertile soil, which was originally covered with thick forests, was ideally suited for sugar cane. By
[439] the seventeenth century, this region produced a large part of the world's sugar supply. Sugar, which was then a luxury in Europe, brought fabulous profits, and the north-eastern coast of Brazil
[633] became an exceedingly prosperous colony. Large cities grew up along the coast; Salvador in Bahia and Recife in Pernambuco became the most important centres of colonial life, and Salvador was the capital
[346] of the colony from 1549 to 1763. Both were cities of great wealth based on the booming sugar industry. The numerous churches built in Salvador during the period of opulence, with their elaborate gold-leafed wood carving and polychrome tile work, are witnesses to the tremendous wealth of the era.

175 It was the plantation system, the basis of this lucrative sugar industry, which gave this region many of its characteristic traditions
249 and formed patterns of race relations which have persisted in a
567 modified form into the present. Gilberto Freyre in his monumental
565 *Casa Grande e Senzala*, and other Brazilian writers [1],[2] have described life on these sugar plantations. African slaves provided the manpower. More than three million Negroes were imported from Africa during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and a large proportion came to the sugar plantations of north-
[571] eastern Brazil. The Portuguese plantation owners became rich, and came to form a regional aristocracy with a luxurious and ostentatious way of life. The slaves and their masters, on these plantations, formed two distinct social groups, but it is distinctive of the region that their relations were intimate and warm; Freyre describes the intimacy between the *moleque* (Negro lad) and the master's son as playmates, between the master's wife and her domestic servants, between the Negro nurse and her white charges, and other close

[122] [1]In addition to thanking those persons listed in the introduction to this series of articles for their aid and co-operation in making this study possible, I wish to thank the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Charitable Foundation Inc. and the Department of Anthropology of Columbia University, whose grants of funds contributed largely to the possibility of this study. Also, to acknowledge with thanks the aid of Carmelina Junqueira Ayres and Elias Amaiza Furtado for their assistance in the collection of the data.

[2] The figures in brackets refer to the bibliography on page 42.

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ties between Negroes and whites on these colonial plantations. All writers have mentioned the frequency of sexual relations between the white plantation owners and their female slaves. Slavery was not a humane institution in Brazil or elsewhere, but in Brazil relations between the slave and the master were of a more personal nature than in other regions where slavery existed in the New World.

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By the middle of the last century, the West Indies and other regions of the world were competing with the Brazilian north-east for the world sugar market; and the abolition of slavery in 1888 caused difficulties of labour supply on these plantations. The sugar industry no longer provided the great wealth that it had in the past, and many of the old plantations were abandoned or sold to large commercial companies who installed modern equipment for large-scale sugar production. Plantation slaves became wage labourers, and the old traditional patterns of behaviour between the Negro slave and the white plantation-owning aristocrat began to disappear, to be replaced by an impersonal employee-employer relationship in keeping with the new way of life. Yet many patterns persist from the days of the old plantation system. Many of the descendants of the aristocratic plantation owners try to preserve the old traditions. They are proud of their family names, and large aristocratic families are still important in the economic and social life of the region. In many rural localities, there are still plantations where the relations between the workers and the owners are highly personalized, as they were in the past, and where customs and traditions formed during the period of opulence and slavery continue, if modified, by modern conditions. Throughout this part of Brazil, the relations between people of different racial groups have been influenced by the large proportion of Negroes in the population, by the importance of slavery in the relatively recent past, and by the particular form which the relations between the Negro slave and the European master took on the plantations.

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11. The community with which the present article is concerned is called Vila Recôncavo; it is a real town situated in the zone known as the Recôncavo which surrounds Salvador, the capital of the State of Bahia, and which borders on the Bay of All Saints, extending inland from the shores of the bay some 30 miles on the northern side, and considerably less on the southern side. The Recôncavo was characteristic of the whole north-eastern plantation region. The Portuguese who settled in Salvador in 1549 recognized the value of these lands around the new city and the Bay of All Saints for sugar production. The third governor of Bahia, Mem de Sá (1557–74),

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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[City of Salvador]

361 162 As one moves interior from the Reconcavo into the *sertão*, the Negro contribution to the population tends to decrease and the Indian contribution, much mixed with [311] both white and Negro, to increase. Both on the moderately [177] watered plateaus and river basins, chiefly devoted to cattle-raising and light farming and occasionally covered with virgin or second-growth timber, as well as in the sandy, dry, and hot *caatinga* country of the semiarid zones, one finds a frontier society which is relatively isolated and has been only slightly modified during recent decades by contact with the outside world.[8]

Thus, in this particular area of intimate racial and cultural contact where the Negro and his descendants have been fated to work out a rather picturesque career, one will find three distinct types of settlement and population. In the *sertão*, or interior, is a highly mixed stock to whose composition the Indian has contributed in greater proportion probably than either the Negro or the European. In the Reconcavo, with its tradition of a departed rural aristocracy, a disintegrated plantation system, and a long history of slavery, the population is still principally negroid. While in the city of Bahia itself the people are largely of mixed European-African origin, individuals of either pure European or pure African descent being clearly in the minority.

633 571 In the city also, the social order is still relatively stable. There has been in recent times little change. Bahia is, as we have seen, a comparatively old city, conscious of its traditions and proud of them. Conventions originally developed

[114] [8] Euclydes da Cunha's *Os Sertões* (12th ed.; Rio, 1933) gives a vivid and dramatic account of life on the *sertão*. Although written in 1902, it is still timely. R. B. Cunningham-Graham's *A Brazilian Mystic* (New York, 1925) is based upon this more detailed account.

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The two days in seven which according to custom the master allotted the slave for the cultivation of a plot of land[44] was as early as 1700 sanctioned in law.[45] His right in property could be transferred to his children.[46] He could

"a great deal depends upon the inclinations of the master, he will, however, be very careful in refusing to manumit, owing to the well-known opinion of every priest in favor of this regulation, to the feelings of the individuals of his own class in society, and to those of the lower orders of people; and likewise he will be afraid of losing his slave. He may escape with his money; and the master will then run much risk of never seeing him again, particularly if the individual is a creole slave. . . . . The master might indeed deprive the slave of the fruits of his labor, but this is never thought of; because the slave preserves his money in a secret place, or he has entrusted it to some person upon whom he can depend, and would suffer any punishment rather than disclose the spot in which his wealth lies concealed."

[44] "This day [Sunday] . . . . is the Negroes' own; after morning mass they are free to do their own will; and then most of them run to the hill to gather their coffee or maize, or prepare the ground for these or vegetables. They were just beginning to return from the wood, each with his . . . . basket laden with something of his own, something in which the master had no share; and again and again as they passed me, and displayed with glistening eye the little treasure, I blessed the Sabbath, the day of freedom to the slave" (Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 288).

[45] João Ribeiro, *Historia do Brasil* (3d rev. ed.; Rio, 1909), p. 255.

[46] However, if the slave died childless, his property reverted to the master. Note the following account given by Maria Graham regarding a slave on an estate in the province of Rio: "He was a mulatto boatman, the most trusty servant on the estate, and rich, because he is industrious enough to have earned a good deal of private property, besides doing his duty to his master. In his youth, and he is not now old, he had become attached to a creole woman, born, like him on the estate; but he did not marry her until he had earned money enough to purchase her, in order that their children, if they had any, might be born free. Since that time, he has become rich enough to purchase himself, even at the high price which such a slave might fetch; but his master will not sell him his freedom, his services being too valuable to lose, notwithstanding his promise to remain on the estate and work. Unfortunately, these people have no children; therefore on their death their property, now considerable, will revert to the master" (*op. cit.*, pp. 197–98).

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*249 is located at the water's edge on one of the six plantations; three belong to different members of another family related to the sugar factory owners through marriage; one belongs individually to a member of the family owning the factory; and the last one belongs to a nonrelative, a mestiço (person of mixed racial descent), who is socially reticent but considered
[871] an astute businessman. Within the area there is also a federal school which has a large expanse of noncultivated land.

361 The pattern of settlement on the plantations is that of a village. The homes of the cultivators are grouped in a cluster apart from the land they work, the point of orientation being the owner's home. "Although the village settlement as represented by the homes of the small-farming classes is hardly to be found in Brazil, the village manner of arranging the population on the land is widely used on the large estates that are prominent throughout the Brazilian countryside. For the most part the fazendas and usinas of Brazil utilized this nucleated form of settlement in their 'quarters' or 'colonies' for the workers who till the crops."[6]

162 The population of the rural zone of the community of Vila Recôncavo is 2,800, of whom 500 live at the sugar factory nucleus; on each of the sugar-cane plantations there are between
*249 150 and 200 persons. Traveling about from one plantation nucleus to another, one sees no sign of habitation, for the coun-
311 try is devoted to intensified sugar-cane cultivation. Fields of sugar cane, 10 to 20 acres in size, alternate with pastures--fields which are being rested for three or four years. Each private plantation has a section of forest to produce firewood and lumber. The factory plantations, however, for the most part are entirely cleared, as the corporation owns another plantation on the other side of the Recôncavo which is used ex-
*249 clusively for raising and pasturing cattle and for supplying firewood for the large fires of the factory. Land divisions or
[423] boundaries are generally long lines of graceful bamboo trees which also supply fence posts. On each plantation can be seen the remains either of the old sobrado or of the antique mill (engenho) or chapel (capela), and in some cases the sobrado is still in good repair and inhabited by the owner.

• 312 The Recôncavo is not blessed with abundant fresh water. The rivers are few and small, prone to dry up in the hot sum-

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6. T. Lynn Smith, Brazil (Baton Rouge, 1947), p. 396.

mers. However, on almost every plantation there are brick- 312
lined springs from which the inhabitants get their drinking water. Women or children carrying five-gallon cans of water on [482]
their heads, and donkeys carrying four wooden kegs of water, [492]
are common sights along the roads of the Recôncavo. For the
cattle and other livestock of the plantations, drinking places 231
are excavated wherever there promises to be enough water. 312
Frequently, however, these go dry in the summer, especial- [132]
ly during the drought years which occur cyclically in rhythm with the droughts of the sertão. At such times loss of cattle is prevalent, except on plantations situated near one of the small rivers.

A high-voltage electric line passes through this section 377
leading from the generating station further inland to the capital city. Recently most of the plantations have been able to connect with this line, so that at least the owners' houses have electric light. The houses of the workers are without it except at the factory, where the mill supplies its own electric power which is carried to almost all the workers' houses.

There are four state schools and one county school distrib- 871
uted among the plantations. The central school in the town of Vila Recôncavo is not attended by children from the plantations. Two plantations have their own chapels, which are vis- 347
ited at irregular intervals by the priests of Vila Recôncavo. 796
On the other plantations a small altar is set up in the owner's 793
house for special occasions such as Christmas, when the town priest is invited to celebrate the Mass.

There is in the town a medical post with a visiting doctor, 743
a dentist, and several nurses in training, which is administered by a Franciscan lay brother and supported by federal, state, and county funds and by private donations. This post is fairly recent, and its influences are spreading only slowly to the rural area. Also in the town is a small county medical
post run by a resident physician. The sugar factory has a [249]*
dispensary with a nurse and is visited by the town doctor. Al- [752]
most every plantation has its own first-aid equipment, generally in the owner's house.

There are no fairs in the community. There are stores in 543
the town and a large supply store at the factory, run by the 443
corporation, and nearly every plantation has its own small [249]*
store. Major purchases are made at the weekly market in Centro, in the neighboring county. There are also traveling ped-

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Private Plantation]

The following discussion will examine one of the five private plantations in the community of Vila Recôncavo and will then describe the network of factory plantations in the same community. 128

The Private Plantation: Fazenda das Moças

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The Fazenda das Moças ("G" on map of community) is typical of a privately owned plantation in all respects but one. Its owner is a lady who assumed active direction of the plantation after her husband's death. At first there was some difficulty in persuading the overseer of the plantation to take orders from a woman, for he felt his prestige was lowered in the eyes of the workmen as well as the overseers of neighboring plantations. However, after three or four years, Dona Sinhá, in cooperation with "Seu"[1] Paulo, the overseer, has made an outstanding success of her plantation, and the original friction between the two has greatly diminished. Below is an inventory of the Fazenda das Moças:

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Extent: 930 tarefas,[2] mostly of massapê, 450 of which are under sugar-cane cultivation, the rest consisting of pasture and small gardens

Water: 4 drinking tanks for livestock
2 small freshwater streams
(Drinking water must be brought from a neighboring plantation, which has a spring well known in the area for the salubrious qualities of its water.) [372]

Houses: 45 workers' houses [342]
Owner's house, with living room, dining room, 4 bedrooms, kitchen, bathroom, 2 maids' rooms, 2 other dependencies, veranda; surrounded by orchard
1 overseer's house
1 house formerly used as a school

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1. "Seu" is a corruption of Senhor and is a title often given to persons of some prestige.

2. The tarefa is the unit of land measurement used in Bahia. It equals 900 square braças. The braça equals 6 feet, which gives the tarefa 32,400 square feet. This is 11,160 square feet less than one acre.

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Private Plantation]

Maria das Dores, whose name is listed as "gathering cane leaves for animal fodder," does the only type of work on the plantation done by women other than housework and gardening. When a field of cane is cut, the tops of the stalks and the long leaves are cut off and left on the ground. The very tip of the stalk is used as seed, while the heavier part is loaded on carts and sent to the factory. When natural pasturage gives out because of overgrazing or drought, the cattle's diet is supplemented with the freshly cut, green cane leaves; if the tender tips are not required for seed, they are also fed to the cattle. Gathering the leaves and stalk tips is relatively light work, and if a woman on the plantation wants to supplement her husband's income this is the task assigned her. Few women on this plantation do it, however, for it is a point of pride with any husband that he is capable of supporting his wife without her having to do gainful work. Only a small number of leaves are gathered up, and the remainder are burned as they lie in the field. Burning is done at night when there is little or no wind, and often during the summer fires which extend for acres dot the countryside. Burning is a traditional practice. Although professional agronomists insist that it is injurious to the cane roots and the new shoots, planters continue to burn the unwanted leaves, feeling that the ash provides some fertilization. 249* 461 465 [462] [233]

"Gardening" refers to work done in the vegetable garden which supplies Dona Sinhá's house. This garden stands in contrast to the roças, which are planted by the workers as well as by Dona Sinhá, and which are reserved for beans, manioc, corn, and some tobacco. Such plants as lettuce, tomatoes, cabbage, carrots, and other vegetables are disdained by the workers and are grown only for Dona Sinhá. [244]

"Carrying water" is usually work reserved for a small boy. Mounted on a donkey with four wooden kegs he rides to the neighboring plantation, Pedras, which belongs to the factory, fills the kegs at the spring, and returns to Fazenda das Moças where he puts the water into the various large clay containers in the kitchen and washrooms of the owner's house. "Oh, Pedro, there's no water" is a common cry heard in Dona Sinhá's house. [312] [857] [492]

There are few rules restricting the workers. Their services must be at the disposal of Dona Sinhá whenever required. Other than that, if during a slack season a man finds an opportunity to work somewhere else, he is free to do so. If he has a burro, or oxen, he has the right to pasture them on the 249* 466 [427] [492]

443 upper part of town also sells cloth. Most stores also have small supplies of chocolate (considered a great treat at a party), tea, honey, canned desserts such as guava, and canned butter and cheese. As a rule fresh vegetables are not sold in the stores but peddled through the streets, since few people eat them. It is more practical to order them specially from someone going to the fair in Centro. Nearly everyone has a banana tree or an orange tree in the back yard, so that few fruits are sold in the stores. The other seasonal crops, such as cashew nuts, corn, and pineapples, are peddled from house to house. As a rule people in Vila Recôncavo buy their food in small quantities, since they have no methods of food preservation. A liter bottle is carried to the store to be filled with oil or kerosene; a small can is carried there to be filled with rice, beans, or farina. The smoked meat called charque is bought by the kilo and left hanging in the kitchen, and strips are cut from it at meal times. Although the price of charque is as high as that of fresh meat, and at times higher, people say it is more satisfying. As a rule the butcher in Vila Recôncavo kills two steers a week, on Wednesday and Saturday. The meat is carried through the streets unwrapped, hanging from a cord. It is not unusual to see a string of dogs following such a person. The meat is eaten the same day to prevent spoilage, and as a result it is usually tough and flavorless.

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463 Most of the people included in Group 1 lead an upper-class kind of life; indeed to a great extent these people are the town's highest class, as will be shown in the next chapter. These are the people who do little or no labor themselves other than the white-collar work with which they earn their living. The men dress in city clothes most of the time--white shirt, tie, and suit coat--and the women are always neatly dressed with shoes and silk stockings. (The oil workers are an exception, for they do not hold white-collar jobs but wear overalls and helmets). There is always help to do the housework and the marketing. Sometimes a cook is employed; otherwise the lady of the house does her own cooking, assisted by her daughters. The laundry is sent out, or else the laundress comes to the house to do it, and water for drinking purposes and for washing is brought to the house by a man or woman employed for the purpose; members of the household never fetch water at the wells. Often the house has a cement tank and drains on the roof to catch rainwater. Nor does any member of the house fetch firewood, which is supplied by a hired person.

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VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Town Life]

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two miles west of the town to another well which did not have to serve so many people. Many women also made this trip, with five-gallon cans of water on their heads, and with their children carrying smaller cans.

In the past many women of this group possessed heirlooms: jewelry handed down to them by their female ancestors who had been favorite slaves of their white masters and who had received valuable brooches, necklaces, rings, and earrings from them, in accordance with the old pattern of luxury which extended even to certain slaves. In most cases this jewelry has now been sold at some time of emergency to antique dealers who scour the rural areas looking for such treasures, which are now highly valuable and sought by collectors.

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Group 3 is made up of independent artisans, that is, people who are self-employed. It differs from Group 1 in that its members rarely employ the services of other people in personal or household activities, although gardeners, carpenters, tailors, fishermen, bricklayers, and barbers do employ people in their business. The large number of men employed by the bricklayers should be explained, as it is not a permanent category. The census from which these data were taken was made in June, 1950, at the height of the work of paving the town streets with cobblestones. A number of bricklayers had come to town for this work, and they as well as the resident bricklayers had to employ workmen to do the work with them for the municipal government. When the paving was finished there was no longer a need for so many bricklayers, and they either left or went into fishing or some other occupation. Since the data were collected, the tailors have also moved to another town as a result of the lack of business in Vila Recôncavo.

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The majority of men in this group are the fishermen, who number 132, plus 5 who are employed rather than self-employed. They fish from canoes, with several types of nets, for a large variety of fish. The federal statistics agent lists seventeen types of fish, including shrimp, giving the following weight and price for the year's activities: 129,070 kilograms and Cr$921.540,00 (slightly under $50,000.00). Shrimp earns slightly more than half this total, Cr$468.000,00, although the amount in kilograms is only 26,000. Xangô, already mentioned, is the second most profitable product, bringing in Cr$195.000,00 for 65,000 kilograms. The statistics agent admits that these figures are approximations

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249 the crop region would decline and that manure, essential to the production of tobacco, would become even more expensive than at present. Any increase in the intensity of tobacco production would probably decrease the production of manioc, so that both the sub-region and the Recôncavo would have an even greater food deficit than at present.

241 The system of land rotation is clearly one of the basic problems of the Recôncavo. As the population of the region grows, the problem of the system of cultivation will almost certainly become progressively more acute. One solution which is being proposed by the rural missions of the Ministry of Education is the use of composting as a [178] substitute for manure. As yet the results of the mission program is not clear, but it is obvious that the resistance and the apathy toward new agricultural ideas in the region are very great. As far as could be ascertained, mixed agriculture has not been suggested as a solution to the problem. Indeed, in view of the lack of additional land for the production of forage crops or of grasses, it is difficult to see how such a proposal could be implemented.

242 It is apparent even to the casual observer that there are some alternative crops which might be produced in the Recôncavo. From time to time the agricultural experiment stations and a few enterprising [243] land owners point the way. One example is the production of corn as a commercial crop in the northern part of the município of Muritiba. At [312] the price of corn prevailing in 1953, it was believed possible to produce the crop profitably using irrigation water pumped from the Rio Paraguaçu, and a single landowner was making the attempt. Obviously there are no large areas in the narrow valley which can be irrigated, nor is the water supply great. It is, however, suggestive that it is possible to produce a staple food crop at as great a profit as tobacco. In the

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

137 31 similar to caatinga sêca appear where soil and moisture conditions would seem to indicate caatinga grande. These areas are especially common where cultivation and grazing are intensive.

The wild vegetation of the Recôncavo is used for forage, timber, [313] and fuel. Only the mata is used for timber, and it is exploited only on a small scale. All three of the main vegetation types contribute toward supplying the local market with fuel--firewood and charcoal. The [314] mata is the principal charcoal source, especially in the forest zone northwest of the city of Salvador and along the Salvador-Feira de Santana highway. In the interior sections of the Recôncavo the caatinga and the agreste provide firewood for cooking and other household purposes. For grazing, the caatinga is far superior to the agreste and the mata, except when the latter is in the first stages of regrowth. Burning is employed extensively in an effort to increase the grazing value of the caatinga and agreste. At first this provides more grass and herbaceous growth, but after repeated burning and continuous over-grazing, there develops an impenetrable cover of thorny, tough brush, three to five feet tall, and quite valueless.[35]

13 Conclusion - Physical Setting. The analysis of the physical setting which is to serve as background for the discussion of agriculture in the Recôncavo does not reveal a homogeneous region. Rather it would seem that the Recôncavo is best visualized as a nodal region, with a relatively homogeneous but areally restricted core and a broad transitional perimeter. The perimeter is composed of several sub-regions, each with a distinctive transitional character. As a summation of [108] the physical setting, each of the sub-regions of the perimeter and core of the Recôncavo will be assigned a name, as a matter of convenience, with the physical elements briefly indicated for each:[36]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

231 233 small (Map 88). Within the Recôncavo, only the eastern part of the Central Recôncavo and the environs of Feira de Santana had even a moderate number of ranches. Livestock enterprises generally occupied less than one-fifth of the enumerated area (Map 89). These properties were relatively important in the Northwestern and Central Recôncavo, a reflection of the importance of ranching and cattle fattening in the northwest and of the need for work animals in the sugar cane region. In the Southwestern Recôncavo crop cultivation is too intensive and widespread to share the land with many ranches. Except in the southwest, 20 per cent of the total enumerated area was in livestock units along the limits of the Recôncavo. In relation to the total area, the extent [311] of livestock properties varied from place to place along the border zone (Map 90). Beyond the Recôncavo, ranching is more important in the crystalline areas, whether caatinga or agreste, than in the Tertiary taboleiros.

231 233 433 As has been pointed out, large-scale properties are especially important among the livestock production units. In most parts of the Recôncavo the ratio of the area in large-scale and in small-scale livestock units was about three to one. The analysis of the mean size of large-scale livestock units, plotted on Map 91, emphasizes the diversity within the region and discloses the tremendous size of the ranches in the coastal agreste northeast of the Recôncavo. Since the number of large-scale livestock units was small and the size of the units highly variable, the mean values for the areas of these properties may be deceiving. Nevertheless, it is significant that the mean size of livestock unit was large in the Central Recôncavo, where there are a number of fazendas in the forested hills around the sugar cane region. These [313] [249] properties are used primarily as sources of firewood for the usinas

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233 and locomotives of the cane area, but, as has been pointed out previously,
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313 they have supplementary livestock production.[4]
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Of the 247 large-scale livestock units in the Recôncavo, 65, with
231 a total area of almost 30,000 hectares, were in the *município* of Feira de
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311 Santana (Maps 92 and 93). Another 39, with about 16,000 hectares of
433 land, were in the Central Recôncavo. Each of these two areas has a distinctive character: the Central Recôncavo *fazendas de gado*—cattle ranches—supply oxen and horses, asses, and mules to the sugar economy; the large *fazendas* of Feira de Santana, with extensive grassy pastures, serve the *campo de gado*—cattle market—of the *cidade* and thereby the whole economy of the Recôncavo.

231 *Crop Cultivation Units.* Almost one-half of all farms in the
241 Recôncavo produced no animals in 1940. In the marginal areas of the
311 region, excepting always the southwest, less than one-third of the farms
184 were pure crop cultivation units (Map 94). On the other hand, crop farms were particularly numerous on the southern littoral, where the forests are not salutary to livestock—except swine and fighting cocks. The Northern Recôncavo, where ranching is not an important activity, had a relatively large number of crop cultivation units, as had Salvador and the adjoining coastal *município*, Camassari.

241 Relative to both the enumerated and the total area, the purely
311 crop cultivation units were very important in Itaparica and Santo Amaro and unimportant around the border zone of the Recôncavo (Maps 95 and 96). On Itaparica and in the sugar cane region, crop cultivation units occupied over one-half the total land area—over 85 per cent on the island of Itaparica. The size of crop cultivation properties in the Recôncavo was generally small, but there were very great local differences
000 (Map 97). The tobacco-manioc region, especially in the Southwestern

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175 423 * 249 the responsibility of holders to colonize and develop their areas. The grants were as a rule very large, consisting of leagues of land rather than of acres. Only one grant could be made to a family. As a result the son of a man who was a holder of a grant either had to remain on his father's land or had to leave the province and go elsewhere to acquire land. [425] The only remaining alternative was to forget about land and go into commerce or a profession. However, since the grants were so very large, the original holders were able to break them up, selling or renting parts, giving some to their married sons or daughters and yet retaining and cultivating enough to support themselves. Thus the original land grants were broken up, and several plantations were made of each.

175 * 249 • 313 Engenho was the name given to the total plantation, as well as being the specific designation for the mill itself. Every plantation, regardless of whether it was inland or on the coast, needed two things: the soil known as massapê, and woods as close as possible to the mill to supply firewood for boiling the [185] sugar-cane juice. Firewood soon became a crucial problem, one which has haunted the sugar industry for centuries. Conservation never was a Brazilian practice, and the tropical forests of the Recôncavo were soon stripped to feed the hun- [435] gry mouths of the furnaces. As time went on it became necessary to import firewood by boat from wherever it could be [376] found, which added greatly to the costs of producing sugar. The steam mill came much later and added further to the problem.

175 * 249 342 361 At first the owner's house was a veritable fort, surrounded by bulwarks and stockades to resist Indian attacks, but by the end of the seventeenth century the need for this precaution had passed away and the plantation houses were assuming noble proportions. Many were imposing two-story buildings built of stone and mortar, the ground level generally being used as a storehouse and the master (senhor de engenho) and his family living on the upper floor. As a rule the Big House of the Recôncavo was situated so that there would be an excellent view from the windows, not only of the mill and slave quarters nearby but of the surrounding countryside. There was no sight so dear to the heart of a plantation master as that of fields of sugar cane, the leaves of many shades of green waving gently in the breeze.

175 * 249 36 [346] Frequently a chapel was connected with the house or built near it. Not very far away would be the mill, and nearby the

443 upper part of town also sells cloth. Most stores also have small supplies of chocolate (considered a great treat at a party), tea, honey, canned desserts such as guava, and canned butter and cheese. As a rule fresh vegetables are not sold in the stores but peddled through the streets, since few people eat them. It is more practical to order them specially from someone going to the fair in Centro. Nearly everyone has a banana tree or an orange tree in the back yard, so that few fruits are sold in the stores. The other seasonal crops, such as cashew nuts, corn, and pineapples, are peddled from house
443 to house. As a rule people in Vila Recôncavo buy their food
432 in small quantities, since they have no methods of food pres-
[251] ervation. A liter bottle is carried to the store to be filled with oil or kerosene; a small can is carried there to be filled with rice, beans, or farina. The smoked meat called charque is bought by the kilo and left hanging in the kitchen, and strips are cut from it at meal times. Although the price of charque is as high as that of fresh meat, and at times higher, people say it is more satisfying. As a rule the butcher in Vila Recôncavo kills two steers a week, on Wednesday and Saturday. The meat is carried through the streets unwrapped, hanging from a cord. It is not unusual to see a string of dogs following such a person. The meat is eaten the same day to prevent spoilage, and as a result it is usually tough and flavorless.

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is very rough, though strong. Most of the men complain about it, for it cuts their hands when they are fishing and the action of salt water on the cuts inflames their hands badly.' 227

There are between seventy-five and one hundred canoes in Vila Recôncavo, of all sizes, from 16 to about 50 feet long. They come from the southern part of the state, and cost between Cr$1.000,00 and Cr$6.000,00 apiece, depending on their size. They are made of vinhatico preto, a large tree from which an entire canoe can be hollowed out. As the canoes grow older, they are strengthened inside by the addition of ribs. The center support (pé do banco) has a hole in it through which a mast can be stepped for sailing. The fishermen use a variety of sails, but usually a simple square sail called traquête. Four flour sacks sewn together make a passable square sail. The canoes last a long time and are handed down from generation to generation. A hundred years is not an uncommon age for such a craft. 501 [313] [428]

The majority of fishermen cannot swim well and have a great respect for the water on two counts: the water is deep, which to them implies danger, and it is said to hide large, man-eating fish. There are stories of three men who have disappeared in the last few years, snatched away by fish. One was a baixador, and the other two fell overboard. Falling is not uncommon, for often a man steps on a small fish on the bottom of the canoe or simply slips on the wet wood, loses his balance, and goes overboard, as the canoes are narrow-beamed and unstable. In their canoes they are fearless, and will go anywhere in any weather. Severe storms which arise suddenly are ridden out in the canoe, which generally lies at anchor while the men lie under cover of the sail, peering out occasionally to see if the weather is clearing. Many of them, however, become violently ill on a larger boat during a storm. 501 226 [481] [825] [164]

Winter is the most productive season for fishing, although the most uncomfortable. There are many storms, and the rains are more or less constant. But the fishermen say that the mixture of salt water with the fresh water from small rivers emptying into the bay seems to produce many more fish than in the summer months. The fishermen dress only in a pair of shorts and a straw hat when fishing, and remain in the cold rain for hours on end. Colds are common among them, as is rheumatism among the older men. 226 [221] [132] [291] [164]

There is always a market for fish. There is a discussion currently going on in Vila Recôncavo, for some of the older 226 43

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491 for vehicles to pass from the main highways over the broader trails
484 to the nearby villages in good weather. However, this is rarely attempted except by jeep, and by these only infrequently.

249 Until the last few years a number of the large usinas in the main
499 sugar cane area have not been connected with the highways. Since jeeps and trucks have become more numerous in the Recôncavo, a number of the big usinas in Santo Amaro are constructing their own outlets to the
315 highway. In recent years the government-owned oil company has been
655 drilling exploratory wells in the cane fields of São Francisco. In
491 conjunction with this enterprise, new roads have been built, and for the
499 first time many plantations of this area have road connections to the highway system.

494 Most of the traffic on the roads of the Recôncavo consists of
493 trucks and busses--private automobiles generally are found only in the urban areas, since cars are very expensive in Brazil, and the highways are very destructive. A large number of busses connect the outer Recôncavo with Salvador. The best passenger service, and the most expensive, is provided by a major bus line which has a daily run from Salvador to Feira de Santana and back. While this bus line employs large busses, most of the other busses used in the Recôncavo are small. These latter provide connections between the Southwestern Recôncavo and Salvador, and supplement the major Feira de Santana-Salvador service. The runs of many of these smaller busses originate outside the Recôncavo, but they collect and discharge passengers at each cidade. Fares are cheap, considering the cost of vehicles and fuel, but still somewhat more expensive than train travel.

Truck traffic is very heavy on the main highways, especially from Feira de Santana to Salvador. Probably most of the agricultural

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Sugar cane has proved to grow especially well with the combination of warmth, rain, and massapê, and the soil has been producing the same crop for almost four hundred years. The area of massapê is sharply defined, for at its farthest edges the land rises to the regions of sandy scrub forest and desert which characterize what has been called the "other northeast"[2] or the sertão.

The surface of the sugar-Recôncavo is characterized by rolling fields cut by shallow valleys. Although the massapê is not subject to erosion, the other soils, where exposed, are. During the rainy winter season much damage is done, especially to the roads, which for the most part follow the non-massapê soils. Underneath the soil of the sugar-Recôncavo there are recently discovered oil deposits. The quantity of oil has not yet been determined, for the explorations are still going on. However, the national government has already begun to exploit the oil, which is close to the surface. Under Brazilian law, subsoil resources belong to the national government and not to the owner of the lands. As a result there has been a small-scale invasion of petroleum workers on the privately owned lands of the sugar-cane planters. To date, this has not interrupted the agricultural routine to any great extent, at least not in Vila Recôncavo. In Conselho (see map of community), where the drilling was first started, the government bought the land from the individuals and the sugar mill corporation owning it and has turned once green fields of sugar cane into bare fields, spotted here and there with oil wells. The former agriculturalists have had to leave the area or become laborers in the oil camps and refinery.

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The Recôncavo is one of the most densely populated regions in Brazil. It is an area of 6,500 square kilometers, with a population of 683,000 in 1940, distributed in 14 counties including the capital. It has an average density of 106 inhabitants per square kilometer,[3] in comparison with the average density of the state of Bahia, which is 7 persons per square kilometer, and with the national average of 5 persons per square kilometer.[4] It must be remembered that these figures include

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2. Preston James, Latin America (New York, 1942), p. 411.
3. Aroldo de Azevedo, "Recôncavo da Bahia," Revista da Universidade de São Paulo, I (1950), 14.
4. T. Lynn Smith, Brazil (Baton Rouge, 1947), p. 131.

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can collect bananas, which should pay for the operating costs while waiting for the cacao to mature.

At the end of a five- or six-year period, the shade tree is usually large enough to provide sufficient shade, and the banana trees are gradually removed. At the same time the cacao begins to give its fruit, and one can then consider himself a cacauicultor.

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Several planters in Vila Recôncavo are at the banana-manioc planting stage, and have met with their first serious labor problem. No one wants to work in banana and manioc fields, as the work is arduous and slow. Machines are not available for the mechanical cultivation of manioc, so the work must be done by hand. The work is slowly being accomplished, but at costs which will make the manioc a considerable liability.

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Nevertheless, in spite of these difficulties, there is considerable interest in cacao in Vila Recôncavo, and cacao must be considered as an element of change in the community which will have far-reaching effects. The area of sugar production will be considerably reduced, requiring adjustments on the part of the factories, which represent large financial investments. Furthermore, cacao is a fairly simple product to process--its conversion into chocolate is usually done after export --and so it is quite likely that each plantation will return to the older aspect of the plantation, both growing and processing the crop, and become once again a highly self-sufficient unit. This would of course bring about a new alignment of socio-economic relations and would undoubtedly alter the community structure.

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A third principal cause of change in Vila Recôncavo is the growth of a new and potent industry within the community and throughout the county. This new industry is the nascent Brazilian petroleum industry. Exploratory work was done in Vila Recôncavo in 1950 and 1951 under the guidance of the Conselho Nacional de Petroleo. Since that date a nationalized company, Petrobrás, has been formed to exploit the oil fields which lie under the topsoil of the county of Vila Recôncavo. Petrobrás has brought in several hundred oil wells and has built roads, pipelines, storage tanks, and machine shops. Just outside the limits of the community, but within the county, it has built its oil refinery and has created a small new, modern city to house the technical workers of the refinery and the field. On land expropriated from the Usina São Pedro it has also con-

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structed a series of barracks, a recreation hall, a restaurant, and a service center for the unmarried field workers.

In spite of this, the changes in the community structure brought about by the petroleum industry have been as yet relatively few. The industry exists in the community as an intruder, not affecting communal life to any great extent, and not contributing any substantial local benefits. This is perhaps in part due to the fact that it is a nationalized company, with headquarters located in the city of Salvador, rather than a product of local efforts. The petroleum workers for the most part have not been drawn from the local labor force but have come from outside the county. It is almost as if a military base had been established in Vila Recôncavo on a temporary basis. [464]

The effect on the town has been principally to increase the number of houses. The married workers of Petrobrás for the most part live in the town. Naturally there has occurred a broadening of point of view among the town dwellers as a result of social intercourse, as well as a certain new prosperity due to greater numbers. Nevertheless, there are still no private cars, buses, or public transportation in the county. The petroleum workers and their families go to Salvador whenever possible for shopping and amusements, rather than attempting to satisfy these needs in Vila Recôncavo, where public services, diversions, and so forth have continued to be almost nonexistent. [362] [571] [493] [494] [484]

To counterbalance the effect of prosperity brought to the town by increased population, the petroleum industry has had an adverse effect on the fishing activities of the townspeople. Many wells have been drilled in the shallow waters of the Bay of All Saints in front of the town. As a result of underwater explosions, the constant passage of rapid motor launches, and digging and dredging machines, the traditional fishing area of the town's fishermen has been rapidly depleted and its ecological balance destroyed. The fishermen are gradually turning away from fishing as an occupation and seeking other remunerative activity, either outside the community or in the petroleum industry and, to a slight extent, in the sugar industry. Others are turning to service occupations, such as bricklaying, as stopgap activities. 178 315 433 226

Petrobrás to date has affected rural life very little. The planters of the area have profited to some extent because of the roads constructed by the company. It is now possible to 178 315 433 49

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433 travel from the city to the plantations by car at almost any
49 season of the year. It is a two-hour trip, considerably more comfortable than the old system of travel by boat and on horseback. In addition, the roads have made it possible for the planters to transport their cane more efficiently, using trucks and tractor-drawn wagons. Along with this, the refinery has led to greater supplies of diesel oil, gasoline, and kerosene, so that it is no longer necessary to transport these items from the city at great cost and delay.

178 The planters have also profited in another manner. Petro-
315 brás invaded the cane fields in its search of oil. It fenced
311 small areas where it drilled and constructed storage tanks,
433 and it took out of cane production a good deal of land for roads and installations. Recently a basis has been reached for paying the planters in a satisfactory manner for the use of the lands.
427 As a result each planter whose land is partially occupied now receives an annual cash payment based on what the occupied
[421] land could produce. As yet no arrangements have been made for the landowners to participate in the profits of Petrobrás, since all subsoil riches belong to the nation, and therefore in this case to Petrobrás.

178 There has been little social intercourse between the planters
315 and the personnel of Petrobrás, either in the rural area or in the city of Salvador. From time to time the higher echelon
571 employees of Petrobras are invited to larger parties given by the planters, and in return the planters are sometimes invited to parties at the refinery. But the plantation society is so closed and so firmly based on family relationships that it is difficult to maintain steady social relations with newcomers. In addition, the engineers and other specialists of the oil industry are principally oriented toward the capital city, and there is no serious attempt made to establish social relationships with the planters.

The sugar-cane workers for their part are so definitely plantation-oriented that they seek little diversion among the new oil workers. The unmarried field workers of Petrobrás who might be expected to establish relationships with the rural population seldom do so. They live in a fenced barracks area which immediately gives the impression of a group cut off from the rest of society. When they do seek entertainment they go as a rule to the factory nucleus, or to the town of Vila Recôncavo, or to the nearby town of Milagres.

Politically, this influx of new workers has had little in-

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Politically, this influx of new workers has had little influence. Local politics, at least, remain in the hands of the traditional landowners. However, national political parties other than that of the landowners are gaining force, especially the labor party, and within the near future there will undoubtedly be considerable modification in the voting patterns. The bulk of the rural population do not have the franchise because of their illiteracy. On the other hand, the petroleum workers, whose level of living is considerably higher than that of the rural population, have the franchise and according to law must exercise it.

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A major area of change in the community is the class structure. In its main outlines the class structure remains the same, but there are some differences in emphasis. Class A, the rural upper class, which also is part of the upper class in the capital city where it resides part of the year, has been somewhat depleted. The Coronel and his son and son-in-law and their families, who constituted the family owner-directors of Usina São Pedro, are no longer part of the scene. As a result of the shift in ownership and direction the former usineiro has been replaced by paid employees.[1] Although these employees are related to the principal members of the new owning firm by marriage, they are treated as employees rather than as family members. They do not have the "social standing," meaning tradition, background, extended family relations, and the scholarly training, which distinguish the former owners. Class A therefore is now represented only by the private plantation owners.

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On the other hand, Class B is slowly becoming larger in both the rural and the urban areas of the community, as a result of the addition of two new groups: the members of the new factory organization, and the petroleum workers with their much higher standard of living, considerably higher education, and their steady employment as members of a new bureaucracy, Petrobrás. Unmarried workers belonging to Petrobrás are to some extent seeking marital alliances with girls of the area, especially from the factory nucleus and from the town of Vila Recôncavo. In some cases legal and religious marriages have taken place. In other cases the couple has simply

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1. The term usineiro is usually limited to the owner-director who is the founder of the factory, or is the son of the founder. When the director is a paid employee, he is just "the boss."

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58 begun to live together. But it is a general policy of Petrobrás that its employees establish regularized households and register their children, as the benefits of social legislation and insurance must be paid to legal beneficiaries, such as wives and children. Because of the many recent marriages, there are no longer any houses available in Vila Recôncavo, nor in Milagres, and there has been a spurt of housebuilding.
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178 There have also been some shifts in emphasis in the structure of the community. While the factory nucleus is no longer the scene of social gathering for the upper class of the area, the structure of the factory-private plantation system ensures that it continues to be the economic center as long as sugar cane is being planted in the area. The system of quotas established for the private planter and the factory by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol requires that planter and factory cooperate in supplying and receiving sugar cane. Also, the physical structure of the area, in which the factory is the center of the network of a small railroad which reaches out to each of the private properties, strengthens the impression of the factory as the center of activities.
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178 The possible future shift from sugar to cacao will of course diminish the importance of the sugar factory. However, in the meantime there is a new factor which will give more importance than ever to the factory: a feira, or market place. The county of Vila Recôncavo does not have a weekly market. For many years the county officials have wanted to establish one, not only for increased municipal income, but also to help attract more people to the area and to make life easier for the population. A market place is now under construction at the factory nucleus. When the market is completed, the factory town will become at least a weekly center of attraction for many people of the surrounding plantations.
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178 The development of the petroleum industry is bringing new life to the town of Vila Recôncavo, to the nearby town of Milagres, and to the new city of Conselho. Petrobrás cannot develop a nucleus on the land which belongs to the factory or to the private owners, and therefore it must concentrate any local community building efforts in the old public towns which already exist. Petrobrás, indirectly, through the county court of Vila Recôncavo, will soon contribute considerably to the county income. The same sort of compensation which was worked out in regard to the planters is now being arranged for the county, through taxes on the finished products from
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the refinery, namely gasoline, kerosene, diesel oil, bottled gas, and other petroleum derivatives. As a result of the increased income, the county government will be able to build up the county seat considerably. A hospital is already being built, as well as a new dock for the boat which comes from the city.

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In Milagres, located in the neighboring county, there is already a considerable movement for breaking away from the parent county and becoming a separate municipio, a common pattern in Brazil for districts which reach a certain population and degree of economic activity. Thus there are two possibilities for urban growth in the area and for the formation of urban centers which will attract the large rural population.

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The town of Vila Recôncavo is close to realizing other possibilities. The construction of a road from the town to Centro has already begun, filling a long-felt need. Its completion will make it possible for cars, buses, and trucks to come from Feira, on the edge of the sertão, to Centro, down through Vila Recôncavo to Milagres, and on into the city, shortening the long trip by the existing road which follows the edges of the Recôncavo. Such traffic would "put Vila Recôncavo on the map," and would greatly increase its contacts with the outside world. In addition, the possibilities of the introduction of a new crop to the community will bring increased commercial activity and a much greater tax income, enabling the county to build its own roads and bridges and to make other improvements for the development of the area.

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Thus the community structure of Vila Recôncavo, which five years ago was in the process of crystallizing around the factory town, is now ripe for further change. The factory town continues for the present to be the major center, but the old county seat has all the possibilities of a rebirth of its former importance. In fact, because of the petroleum industry and the forthcoming changeover from sugar cane to cacao, the factory town is threatened as a community center, the position which it has only recently been consolidating.

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Finally, one of the most important changes in Vila Recôncavo in these five years is a change in attitude on the part of the people. Vila Recôncavo was always known as a conservative community, maintaining its old traditions and ways, rejecting innovations. However, there is now an air of expectancy and a search for new ways and new things. Dissatisfaction with the sugar industry, combined with the appearance

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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as the old patriarchal order continues to decline and industrialization increases; a shift which is intensified by the secularization deriving from the increasingly metropolitan character of the area and by the gradual emergence of new social groups. Have these and the other changes sketched above been sufficient to alter the character of the "racial" situation at Bahia since our original study was made? After a careful survey of the studies in the area in recent years, it seems to us that the evidence would lead one to agree with Wagley:[25] "Change has occurred, but *not* that much."

As Thales de Azevedo has pointed out (1955a:197), however, the possibilities of colored persons rising in class are increasing at Bahia; and many observers believe that this rise will continue to increase in the future. As this alteration in rank extends to continually larger and larger numbers of previously underprivileged individuals, greater strains and pressures probably will be exerted throughout the social order. For one thing, as Bahia continues to grow into a larger and larger metropolitan center, relations will be more difficult to maintain on a primary and face-to-face basis; and, for another, the anticipated industrialization, deriving from the extraction of petroleum resources in the area and the utilization of the recently-developed electric power on the São Francisco river, will in all likelihood augment the presently increasing anonymity and make relations more contractual and categoric. Moreover, as educational opportunities increase and extend downward further into the masses of previously unlettered individuals, thus adding to the effects of these other processes, the social order of Bahia may alter, perhaps markedly.

Wagley (1955:12) writes that "many" of the hypotheses

[25] In a letter to the author.

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

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346 by a large and sumptuous church, in which the first Mass was celebrated in 1722. The magnificence of the church is still present, although the original altars have been replaced by
[532] new ones. Exquisite tiles depicting the life of St. Anthony, to whom the church is dedicated, line the sides of the church. The floors are of marble, and the wooden ceilings are painted in oils. It is said that the marble and the painted ceilings were
[322] brought from Portugal. The woodwork in the choir loft and sacristy is beautiful hand-worked rosewood. The clock in the
[805] bell tower which rings the hour and half-hour is still the town timepiece, its sound reaching far out over the Bay. Under the marble floor, between the altar and the communion rail, are
[764] the tombs of the early families of Vila Recôncavo. The names inscribed on the tombs constitute a roster of families now scattered throughout the nation.

It is not known exactly when the Tertiary Order of Franciscans was first formed in Vila Recôncavo, but it too has left
175 its mark on the face of the town, for it constructed another
792 large church and two-story building at the side of the convent.
346 The chronicler of the convent in the early 1900's wrote:

> Of the epoch of the formation of the Tertiary Order and the construction of the church and buildings nothing remains, not a document exists, with the exception of one book, consisting of the elections, offices, and resolutions of the Order. This book was begun in 1853 and ended in 1866. On the ceiling of the church appears the date 1751, in white paint, which seems to be of the original workmanship, and at the side of it can be seen in black paint "repaired in 1844." The lands of the Order are known only through the tradition of the people, since no document exists.[6]

If the date 1751 can be taken as the date of the construction of the church of the Tertiary Order, it can be assumed that the Order existed in Vila Recôncavo some time before this date, at least early in the 1700's. These additions to the convent were the last of the noble constructions in the town of Vila Recôncavo and took place at the end of the town's flourishing period. They were the last public expression of grandeur in the

6. Author's translation.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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tics, as similarly were tales of the tortoise.[122] Boisterous children were quieted with stories of the Kibungo, a terrifying creature, half-man, half-animal, with an enormous hole in the middle of its back which opened ominously when the creature lowered its head.[123] The Kibungo was especially fond, it is said, of visiting the houses in which naughty boys lived, announcing his presence with:

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> De quem é esta casa?
> auê
> como gérê, como gérê
> como érá.[124]

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Max Schmidt observed in Matto Grosso that many of the local practices connected with cattle-raising were of African origin, as similarly were the iron instruments in use there. Eschwege contends that ironworking was learned in Brazil from imported Africans.[125]

[122] See Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 282–83.

[123] *Ibid.*, pp. 301–3.

[124] Whose is this house?
auê
I eat *gérê*, I eat *gérê*
I eat *érá*.

[125] Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, pp. 220–21. It is also probable that certain microbes were unwittingly brought to Brazil in the bodies of imported Africans. See Octavio de Freitas, *Doenças africanas no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1935).

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4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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[City of Salvador]

these, together with the plantations of Pernambuco, supplied a large part of the sugar for the tables of Europe.

By 1670 Bahia was a wealthy capital boasting that her flag was known upon the seven seas. Ships from the Portuguese empire in the East called regularly on their way back to Portugal. By the early eighteenth century Bahia had grown into a city of 70,000, her commerce protected by the cross-fire of fourteen forts. Six- and seven-story buildings were common; the possession of carved ebony furniture had become a symbol of social standing; silks, palanquins, and the finest porcelain were imported from China. In the surrounding cane fields toiled, it is estimated, ten times as many slaves as in Virginia. A century later, Lindley, an English smuggler, after admiring the abundance of gold jewelry worn by the women of Bahia, looked out over the shipping in the harbor and wrote of "a degree of wealth unknown in Europe."

Bahia continued to be the first commercial city of Brazil until about 1830,[1] when she finally yielded front rank to São Paulo, the rising young metropolis to the south. But during the entire colonial period (1549–1822), Bahia possessed the principal Brazilian firms and the largest Brazilian fortunes.

During the first two centuries of the colonial era, Bahia was the seat of Portuguese control in Brazil, the official residence of high functionaries representing the Portuguese crown. Even after the government was transferred to Rio (1763), Bahia continued to play a prominent role in the politics of the colony and, subsequent to independence

[1] In 1868, although the decline in sugar production was by that time well advanced, Bahia had 511 *engenhos* producing nearly 19,000 tons of sugar a year.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[City of Salvador]

361 565 permitting as it does a full and unobstructed sweep of the cooling sea breeze, makes these heights more comfortable, more healthful, and, consequently, more desirable places of [362] residence. One usually finds here the more modern and [463] substantial buildings, the homes of the upper classes. Here ordinarily live the scions of the old aristocracy, the large landholders, the city's intellectuals, and the leaders of its "society"; the lawyers, physicians, engineers, and politicians; the officials of the army, the poets and journalists, the professors in the Faculdades, the few industrialists which Bahia has so far produced—in fact, nearly all those prominent in the intellectual, political, "social," and economic life of the city. These families possess considerable property [873] and employ numerous servants. Their members are usually [463] literate, and at least the males are *formados* (i.e., graduated from one of the Faculdades, either in law, medicine, or engineering), a distinction which in the Bahian society marks them off quite sharply from the rest of the population.

[204] It is in these areas that the five newspapers published in [291] the city circulate almost exclusively and the latest fashions from Paris or Hollywood are known and generally adopted. [341] In recent years an occasional example of modernistic archi- [422] tecture and interior design has appeared. Here are to be [206] found the owners of virtually all the city's 3,855 telephones, [217] its 1,028 automobiles, its radios, and private libraries. Here live most of the 20,524 voters who cast ballots in the munici- [207] pal election of 1936. Here attachment to the *candomblé*, or [794] Afro-Brazilian fetish cult, is minimal and Catholic belief is [177] least modified by elements from the more primitive religions. Here live that portion of the population which *o povo* ("the people") call the *ricos*, or the "rich."

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 249 565 [471] maintained splendid establishments, called Solars, in the Capital, to which they repaired in the winter season, June, July and August, for social diversion.[29]

[178] The above citation is characteristic of the present-day views of many upper-class Baianos who identify themselves with this opulent era of the Recôncavo social evolution. The mythology engendered by the colonial sugar industry is outliving the engenho system. The wealth, pride, and ostentation of these fidalgos is undeniable. Within the limits of the provincial social environment, upper-class life was luxurious indeed. Compared with the upper-class society of the period in Europe or in the American South, however, social opportunities in the Recôncavo must have been rather limited. The casas [342] grandes—if the surviving specimens can be taken as typical--generally [489] were rather modest plantation houses. Transportation was difficult: few engenhos had carriage roads, and travel was by horseback or [671] palanquin. Social intercourse often was restricted to an ingrown [484] local circle. Apparently many of the social needs of the upper class could not be met within the rural Recôncavo so that trips were made frequently to Salvador, Rio de Janeiro, and sometimes Paris.[30]

Little has been recorded of the way of life of the slaves and 175 249 poor freemen in the Recôncavo. It is significant that both apologists 567 and critics of slavery usually have agreed that the masters were relatively clement in the treatment of their slave laborers. These slaves were very valuable possessions, particularly after the British began to suppress the slave trade. Because absentee ownership and delegation of administration to people outside the family was not usual, the masters and slaves were perforce in daily contact. Out of these daily contacts between landholder and laborer, a relatively personal relationship was developed. Within the household, relation- [563] ships were even more familiar. In addition, some of the slaves were

country beyond, is a large, colonial, two-story building--the county courthouse (prefeitura), the official center of local county administration. With heavily barred windows on the ground level, it also serves as the county jail. At the top of the hill is a large church, the mother church of the parish of São Roque. On the right, on top of another hill, is the imposing Franciscan convent. The main street of the town is narrow, paved with cobblestones and lined by old colonial houses in various stages of repair. To the left one sees the "beach," which at low tide is an expanse of ugly black mud, typical of the shores of this back part of the bay. The long dugout canoes of the fishermen are anchored there and rest on the bottom when the tide is out.

As the boat sails away and the townspeople go about their business, the streets empty, and a peculiar hush, which is characteristic of Vila Recôncavo, falls over the town. There is an atmosphere not so much of sleepiness and inertia as of decadence, as though life had already passed by. The few people who remain somehow seem to be left over from something in the past. The houses which face the main street are somber, their façades going straight up two stories from the street, their windows shuttered. Some of them are crumbling, the mortar falling away, exposing the stone of which they are built; others are in complete ruin. All of them are turning black from the constant exposure to humid salt air, and moss is growing on the walls where the sun never strikes.

From the top of the hill, in front of the mother church, there is a magnificent view of the Bay of All Saints, and it is easily understood why this place was chosen 332 years ago as the site for a new town. This part of town is the old Vila Recôncavo (see map of town), dating back to a time when the settlement was the only administrative center of inland colonial Bahia. Upon this hill and the one on which the convent stands, the elite of the sugar lands built their town houses called sobrados. Once upon a time these streets with their stepping-stones were the scene of colonial opulence, of sedan chairs carried by liveried slaves, of soldiers in uniform, of ladies wearing gloves and carrying parasols. Today this old part of Vila Recôncavo is inhabited by simpler people, the town's upper class, who eke out a living in the local bureaucracy, or as merchants, or as representatives of the state and federal governments. They are quiet, gentlemanly people trying to keep up a semblance of dignity, a feat which becomes more difficult all the time.

To the west, on the third hill, along the "beach," and in the small valleys, there is a different atmosphere. Here, in the Caquende, Boqueirão, Cortume, and Rua Nova (see map of town), there are no sobrados, no signs of former grandeur. The houses are of another style--small, one-story buildings with no air of antiquity about them. Some are made of brick, but most are of mud on a bamboo or mangue frame. Many have been coated with whitewash, some recently and some a long time ago. On the summit of this third hill, the Oiteiro, are the poorest houses of all, one- and two-room mud houses with thatched roofs. Recently in this section there have been some new-style houses built, tipo bangalo (bungalow-type), and there are signs of a growing prosperity among a few enterprising people. These areas of fishermen, of small storekeepers, and of those with crafts such as carpentry, bricklaying, and shoemaking, are the most heavily populated parts of the town of Vila Recôncavo today. According to the old inhabitants of the town, this section was undeveloped sixty years ago, and, to the old people, Vila Recôncavo is still up there on the hill, in the area of the sobrados. Nevertheless, the majority of the stores are in the lower part of town, which even has its own chapel. It is here that the children play although they must go up the hill to school. It is here that there are groups of men gossiping and having a drink of rum. It is here that an attitude of open friendliness prevails, and there are friendly faces at the windows. It is here that the drums beat when the African gods are feted.

The post office, located in the upper part of town, also has a telegraph. Messages go by special telephone to the nearby town of Centro, from where they are sent by wire. There is also a public telephone in the town which has two extensions, one in the house of the mayor and one in the house of the doctor. Other people must go to the telephone office to make or receive calls. The telephone is very uncertain; not only is it frequently impossible to get a call through but often nothing can be heard once the connection is made. From the town it is possible to speak through Centro to Salvador. It is also possible to speak to the sugar factory, and through its switchboard to several of the sugar plantations.

In recent years electricity has been brought to the town, and, in addition to lights on the streets, 78 of the 408 buildings in town have electricity. Of these, twenty-one have radios, and three have electric irons. Only the doctor, the health post, and the bar have refrigerators.

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* 249 the responsibility of holders to colonize and develop their areas. The grants were as a rule very large, consisting of leagues of land rather than of acres. Only one grant could be made to a family. As a result the son of a man who was a holder of a grant either had to remain on his father's land or had to leave the province and go elsewhere to acquire land. The only remaining alternative was to forget about land and go
[425] into commerce or a profession. However, since the grants were so very large, the original holders were able to break them up, selling or renting parts, giving some to their married sons or daughters and yet retaining and cultivating enough to support themselves. Thus the original land grants were broken up, and several plantations were made of each.

175 Engenho was the name given to the total plantation, as well
* 249 as being the specific designation for the mill itself. Every
313 plantation, regardless of whether it was inland or on the coast, needed two things: the soil known as massapê, and woods as close as possible to the mill to supply firewood for boiling the
[185] sugar-cane juice. Firewood soon became a crucial problem, one which has haunted the sugar industry for centuries. Conservation never was a Brazilian practice, and the tropical forests of the Recôncavo were soon stripped to feed the hun-
[435] gry mouths of the furnaces. As time went on it became necessary to import firewood by boat from wherever it could be
[376] found, which added greatly to the costs of producing sugar. The steam mill came much later and added further to the problem.

175 At first the owner's house was a veritable fort, surrounded
* 249 by bulwarks and stockades to resist Indian attacks, but by the end of the seventeenth century the need for this precaution had
● 342 passed away and the plantation houses were assuming noble
361 proportions. Many were imposing two-story buildings built of stone and mortar, the ground level generally being used as a storehouse and the master (senhor de engenho) and his family living on the upper floor. As a rule the Big House of the Recôncavo was situated so that there would be an excellent view from the windows, not only of the mill and slave quarters nearby but of the surrounding countryside. There was no sight so dear to the heart of a plantation master as that of fields of sugar cane, the leaves of many shades of green waving gently in the breeze.

175
* 249 Frequently a chapel was connected with the house or built
36 near it. Not very far away would be the mill, and nearby the
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These houses (solares, or sobrados) were enormous, constructed of stone and mortar, with wooden floors and ceilings. Stone and wood were themselves a sign of wealth, since it was necessary to bring them from a great distance. The furniture was often of handworked rosewood. Affluence was especially shown in table service of silver, porcelain, and crystal, most of which was imported from Europe. Members of the families frequently dressed in fine damask silks and were adorned with fine jewelry of gold and precious stones. It was not unusual for the plantation master to dress a few of his favorite slaves almost as well as his family and to parade them to church as an indication of his wealth. Another method of demonstrating wealth was the support of churches, especially that of the Tertiary Order of Franciscans.

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The plantation master eventually lost his prominence. When the capital of the colony was moved from Bahia to Rio de Janeiro in 1763 he was no longer so politically powerful, except locally, for there was too much distance between him and the new capital. Transportation was poor and communication still poorer. Also, other crops--namely coffee, cotton, rubber, and finally cacao--became more valuable than sugar. The abolition of slavery in 1888 was the final blow to the power of the plantation master.

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It was usually admitted that the greatest wealth or source of wealth of the plantation master was his slaves. At first the Portuguese colonists tried to enslave the Indians and put them to work on the sugar plantations, but the Indians sickened and died off easily. There was also great opposition, on the part of the Jesuits, to the enslavement of Indians. The importation of African slaves seemed to be the solution. From the middle of the sixteenth century until about the middle of the nineteenth century ships plied back and forth from Bahia to the west coast of Africa, carrying tobacco, leather, and rum to be traded for slaves. The African slave always brought a higher price in the market in Bahia than did the Indian slave. It was considered that a normal plantation or mill of a thousand acres needed approximately two hundred slaves, divided among the fields, the mill, the various skills, and the house of the owner. In the nineteenth century the procurement of slaves became increasingly difficult as a result of European, North American, and even Brazilian opposition to slavery. In the mid-nineteenth century the slave trade was officially prohibited and the traffic became clandestine. The prices of slaves soared at this

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2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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Migrant sugar-cane workers, late afternoon

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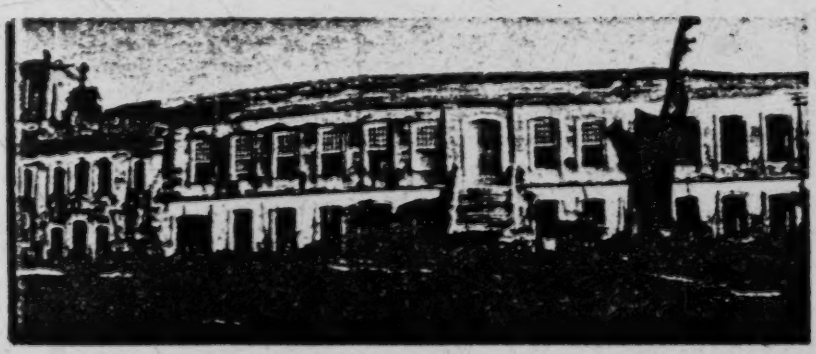

[P. 45]

Big House and chapel, symbol of the past

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Private Plantation]

The following discussion will examine one of the five private plantations in the community of Vila Recôncavo and will then describe the network of factory plantations in the same community. 128

The Private Plantation: Fazenda das Moças

472 249* 562 466 [558]

The Fazenda das Moças ("G" on map of community) is typical of a privately owned plantation in all respects but one. Its owner is a lady who assumed active direction of the plantation after her husband's death. At first there was some difficulty in persuading the overseer of the plantation to take orders from a woman, for he felt his prestige was lowered in the eyes of the workmen as well as the overseers of neighboring plantations. However, after three or four years, Dona Sinhá, in cooperation with "Seu"[1] Paulo, the overseer, has made an outstanding success of her plantation, and the original friction between the two has greatly diminished. Below is an inventory of the Fazenda das Moças:

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Extent: 930 tarefas,[2] mostly of massapê, 450 of which are under sugar-cane cultivation, the rest consisting of pasture and small gardens

Water: 4 drinking tanks for livestock
2 small freshwater streams
(Drinking water must be brought from a neighboring plantation, which has a spring well known in the area for the salubrious qualities of its water.) [312]

Houses: 45 workers' houses [342]
Owner's house, with living room, dining room, 4 bedrooms, kitchen, bathroom, 2 maids' rooms, 2 other dependencies, veranda; surrounded by orchard
1 overseer's house
1 house formerly used as a school

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[576] [554] [804]

1. "Seu" is a corruption of Senhor and is a title often given to persons of some prestige.

2. The tarefa is the unit of land measurement used in Bahia. It equals 900 square braças. The braça equals 6 feet, which gives the tarefa 32,400 square feet. This is 11,160 square feet less than one acre.

[The Private Plantation]

côncavo. So far only the pai adão has been able to fulfill the plowing requirements. Lately, however, tractors with caterpillar tread have been introduced and, when used carefully with disk plows, have given excellent results. But the old standby is still commonly in use, hitched to eight, ten, twelve, or as many as twenty oxen.

The owner's house with its park stands on a small hilltop and is visible from afar because of its imperial palms. Nearby, on another hilltop, is the settlement of workers, a long street with houses on either side, the barracks, a small store, and the ever-present casa de farinha, the house where manioc is always being ground, pressed, and roasted to make the farina which is the staple food of the area. Also on this street is the overseer's house, which stands out from the others because of its large size and its veranda. The houses of the workmen are small and built for the most part under one long, common roof. Each house is really an apartment consisting of a front living room and a long corridor going back to the kitchen, with one or two bedrooms leading off the corridor. Other houses, under separate roofs, have similar interior arrangements. The roofs are of red tiles, the rest of the house of clay mud (taipa) slapped on both sides of a bamboo framework. After the mud has dried a coat of whitewash is applied. The houses are built and kept in repair by the plantation owner and do not belong to the workers. The floors are of beaten earth, difficult to keep clean. At night, when only a tiny oil lamp is burning, the houses look dark and gloomy.

After dark one has the impression of hearing much more than one can see. Kerosene is expensive to burn, no one reads, and most of life is geared to doing in the daytime those tasks which require light. At night the workmen and their families sit in the dark talking, or perhaps go to the casa de farinha where a fellow workman and his family may be grinding their manioc. This building is softly lit with kerosene lamps and there is a cheerful glow from the roasting fire. More recently the overseer's house has been equipped with electricity, and now it is always well lighted at night. His new radio has become a center of attraction and small groups form about his veranda, listening. At the other end of the street, during harvest time, there is always a bonfire in front of the barracks where the migrant workers are sheltered. On special occasions there may be a samba (dance), perhaps in the plantation owner's house. Then everyone dons his best and the

2: Hutchinson E-4,6 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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* 249 361 a Mass can be celebrated for the family when a priest is available.

Situated nearest the chalet are the houses of the general overseer, the chief mechanic of the factory, the major office employees, and the director of the factory store. Next in order are the houses of the technical personnel of the factory. Behind them and farthest from the center are the homes of the agricultural workers who work on the plantation nearest the factory nucleus. The regional overseer of this plantation also lives among his plantation workers. The school and the store are located just outside the small park of the chalet.

• [342] [177] The chalet has replaced the former solar (mansion) of the plantation masters. Its style differs from the earlier type and its name is derived from the fact that it is a modified copy of a Swiss chalet. In a different way it is as ornate as the old solar, but more up-to-date, with running water and electricity.

* 249 466 The personal, paternal aspect of the private plantation obviously cannot function on the usina, which has 1,350 people living on its lands. There is, nevertheless, an attempt at just such relations. The owning family spends vacations in the chalet. They also spend Christmas, Carnaval, and Botada[6] there, and at those times there are parties for the workers, Christmas presents for them and for their wives and children, dances, and ball games. The Coronel (Colonel, an honorary title now going out of use), the patriarch of the family, now incapacitated, still receives visits from the older workmen who used to have daily contact with him. His son and son-in-law, present directors of the enterprise, make their presence felt throughout the factory and the six plantations as best they can. As on the private plantation, the final arbitration of any difficulty lies with the usineiro, and no worker considers himself too far removed to go to him if he cannot get satisfaction from his overseer. However, the strongest relationships, both business and personal, lie between overseer and worker--employee and employee--rather than between employee and employer.

The private plantation presents a far better appearance than

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[788] 6. Botada is the annual blessing of the factory machinery, performed on the first day of the grinding season. It is a traditional ceremony formerly carried out on the plantations.

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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following days to make new supplies. On the return trip she brings wheat flour, peanuts, potatoes, and whatever is not available in Vila Recôncavo, as special orders (encomendas) for people in the town, who pay the price of the article plus a small percentage for her trouble in doing the shopping. 443 463

The people of Group 3 do most of their own labor; the men follow their trade while their womenfolk do the housework, care for the children, fetch water and firewood, and do their own laundry. This group also uses the batalhão for house building and repairing, although many employ the services of a carpenter to do the woodwork or a bricklayer to make a foundation, in contrast to the people of the preceding group, whose houses are usually built with a minimum of crude woodwork and without masonry foundations. The majority of men in this group, the fishermen, live in the lower part of town, in the areas known as Boqueirão, Caquende, and Cortume (see map of town). The others are scattered throughout the town, up the hill in back of the area of sobrados, and on the side of the hill sloping down to the beach. The fishermen have their own chapel built near the beach, which they support with the tithe (dizimo), a tenth of their earnings. The people in the fishing group seldom go up the hill to the older part of town, feeling that they do not belong there. 463 [462] [342] [361] [346] [764]

A few words need to be said about Group 4, which consists of thirty-one people who do not fit into the other three groups. Eleven of them, who listed themselves as unemployed, are unskilled persons, without a trade, and without a patron or service employment skill. For the most part they are women, and although an examination of the census data shows that they have no visible means of support, they do engage in subsistence activities such as carrying water, cutting spits for xangô, making dendê palm oil, or making fish nets, but not on a regular contract basis. Since they engage in a variety of small independent activities and work for different people at different times, they listed themselves as unemployed in the sense of being without a regular occupation. 463 464

Nine people in Group 4 lived in the town at the time of the census but worked at the Usina São Pedro. Three men worked on the sugar plantation nearest town, preferring to live in town rather than on the plantation, since the trip back and forth is so short. And, finally, the group includes eight people who were employed by the Institute of Vila Recôncavo as nurses, pharmacists, bookkeeper, and bartender. These people

lending money or even giving some to the overseer. Some of the members of Class B even acquire property in Salvador or in Centro, such as a house or houses which they may rent. It is the possession of this material wealth, plus the position of responsibility and authority, the greater proximity to the owner, and the invariably legalized status of the man's family which distinguish him from those below, placing him in a class by himself. In the case of the higher-placed white-collar workers of the factory, education is also important.

In material possessions other than those already listed, Class B differs considerably from the other two classes, having much less than Class A but much more than Class C. Their houses are always better and larger than those of the workers, and they usually have electricity supplied by the plantation. They generally have complete sets of manufactured dining and living room furniture, better bedroom furniture than the scanty belongings of the workers, china, rather than the clay dishes (nagé) of the workers, and table service for as many as a dozen persons. Usually their clothes are better and more numerous. Overseers are well known for their use of khaki coats, shirts, ties, and riding breeches, their well-polished leather boots and their felt hats, in contrast with the more informal sports clothes of the landowners and with the ragged, tight trousers and shirt and the straw hat of the shoeless rural worker.

Class B in the town of Vila Recôncavo is represented by Group 1 as described in the preceding chapter, with a few exceptions such as the minor municipal employees and a few of the smaller-scale merchants and lower-rated petroleum workers. Because there are no representatives of Class A in the town, Class B represents the top of the urban social scale. It is a class which has long existed in the town and which has always been composed of more or less the same occupation groups. For the most part, members of this stratum live on the hill which constitutes the old part of Vila Recôncavo, and seldom go down to the newer section. There are fourteen persons residing in town, plus their eight children, who are considered pure Caucasoid; they are all members of this local upper class. Three of them are foreign-born Franciscans who do not participate in much of public life once their official duties are completed. The others are brancos da terra ("whites of the land," a term which will be explained later in this chap-

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they are generally conceded to be so by the field hands and the members of classes A and B, because their occupations are more specialized and they work in the mill. There are actually several factors which distinguish them from the field laborers, for in addition to receiving protection by national legislation, including minimum salaries and rights to vacations and medical services, they receive from the factory electric light for their houses and firewood. In addition, factory workers do not plant gardens to supply their farina, and they consider themselves far superior to the agricultural laborers in that their own wives "do not use the hoe" (nao pegam na enxada). 565* 184 [656] [466]

At the factory nucleus where both millworkers and the agricultural laborers of one plantation live in the same place, the houses of the former are grouped in the middle of the village, clustered about the owner's chalet, while those of the latter are on the fringes, farther from the usineiro's house, the mill, and the large store. The factory workers' houses are better constructed than those of the field laborers. They are mostly of brick with tile roofs, while the field workers' homes are often of wattle-work covered with plaster and painted over. The houses of the factory nucleus follow the old slavequarter pattern. The buildings are long and narrow and divided into apartments under one roof. The factory owns all the houses, which the workers receive rent-free. The factory worker is better paid than the field worker, and consequently has more and better material possessions. His house is better furnished, and he dresses better. [361] 565* 342 184 [423]

Illiteracy is widespread in the rural area. The factory nucleus has had a state primary school for thirty years, and Pedras, the largest of the factory plantations, has had one for about twenty. As a result the factory workers, as well as the people of Pedras, have had the opportunity to attend four years of primary school. The rural laborers on other plantations, however, have lacked this opportunity in most cases. An exception is the Fazenda das Moças, which has had a school in recent years, for children in the daytime and for adults at night. 565* 184 871 [212]

The social life of the workers is almost entirely confined to the place in which they live. Their lives are spent on the plantation except for the days when they walk to the fair in Centro, usually on the Monday following payday. During the summer, when the roads are good for travel, they are busy with the 565* 517

The houses are small, usually consisting of a front living room, a corridor with one or two bedrooms, a small dining room, and a kitchen. The furniture is scanty--a miscellany of chairs, benches, and tables, an occasional dish closet, the ever-present pictures of saints, one or two beds, and clay dishes. 565* 342 [352] [353]

As noted earlier, the fisherman could earn more if he wanted to. There is a certain dispraisal of those who attempt to better themselves, though once they have raised their status they are admired. One fisherman in town worked harder than the others, earning slightly more; his house was always in better condition than the others, and his wife took better care of it. She was very neat, and her house and children were always remarkably clean. This family was always ridiculed by its neighbors for trying to be like gente (literally, people, but in Vila Recôncavo carrying the special connotation of upper-class people). Life became so unpleasant for them that they finally moved away. 565* 558

Class C is aware of the difference between it and the town's uppermost class and the planters. The latter constitute a very distant group to most town members of Class C, for there are almost no occasions when the two groups meet. When not pushed to a finer distinction, lower-class people usually recognize two strata--their own and a small but powerful one above them, consisting of the local upper class and planters. Color plays an important role in Class C, for it is generally acknowledged that the whiter one is, the higher in the social scale, in spite of the instances in town where dark mestiços have climbed to the top of the ladder, that is, to the top of Class B. Color is the one classifying criterion which applies to all members of Class C, since many of the other criteria, such as education and family tradition, are inapplicable. These negative considerations, plus the fact that their occupations are all manual, tend to make the group quite homogeneous except for skin color. Nevertheless, the town members of Class C consider themselves definitely superior to the field workers, regarding them as country bumpkins. There is little or no tendency for rural people to move into town, and no one remembers having heard of the marriage of a country person with a town dweller. 565* 829

What has been called Class D in Vila Recôncavo is composed largely of women who have children but no acknowledged husbands. There is no such group in the rural area, because of the pressure brought to bear by the plantation own- 565*

2: Hutchinson E-4, 6 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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in the three houses for nearly all members of the two extended families, for the factory has become the major gathering point for all of them during the summer. Each married couple maintains its own home in the city. In the Conde and Jacuipe families the tendency has been to enlarge the two families by the addition of in-laws rather than to lose sons and daughters, because of the exceptionally strong family loyalties held by the members. As a result, many more people are drawn into the social circles of the two groups, which at times appear as one family and at other times as two separate but close units. 565* 596

The social life of these people is carried out almost entirely within this group of ninety-seven persons, and their in-laws, plus the in-law families. Such intrafamilial social life is known as vida em familia. During the winter season in Salvador, their social activities are confined to visiting one another, playing cards with one another, having birthday parties for one another, attending the weddings of one another's children, and so forth. Trips to the beach and to social clubs and graduations are made jointly. During the summer, parts of families visit others, and at certain times, such as the botada da usina (first day of the sugar mill's activities each year), Carnaval, and the birthday of the Colonel, his wife, or Dona Yaya, nearly all the members of the family get together. This may mean a gathering of sixty to seventy persons. A "small" luncheon may be attended by a mere twenty or thirty persons. 565* 596 517

It is still the custom for young married couples to dine with the parents of each at least once a week. It is also not unusual to find an entire apartment house in the city occupied by members of one family, each conjugal group occupying its own apartment. Members of the same generation usually play or visit together, although all generations are present at most family gatherings. Through lifelong companionship, members of families in this class come to know each other extremely well and are often the best of friends as well as relatives. Because of the size of these families, and because of the constancy of their devotion to one another, there is little time or energy left for entertaining outsiders. This, however, does not mean that acquaintances are limited to family members. Friends are made, who are drawn into the various conjugal groups and into the activities of the larger extended family. 565* 596 [593] [342] [561] [574] [572]

Courtship in Class A families is a formal affair. At first it is considered that the young couple are gostando (liking each other) or namorando (in love). It is expected that the boy 565* 596 584

[Class B Families]

[Class C Families]

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plantation during the author's stay in the community, and her father gave her a large wedding. The wedding party left the plantation early in the morning in an oxcart decorated with white crepe paper, and proceeded to the town of Vila Recôncavo. The wedding was held in the Franciscan chapel. The townspeople did not attend the wedding or show any interest in it. Immediately after the ceremony the wedding party started back to the plantation, a five-mile trip. As each plantation nucleus was passed the cart stopped in front of the overseer's house, and small glasses of rum were passed to the guests, and the happiness of bride and groom was toasted.

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On arrival at the new brick house which the groom's father had presented to the couple, the bride went into the kitchen to help her mother and the other women who were preparing the luncheon. Then she passed small glasses of wine to the guests. With the exception of Dona Sinhá and the author, the guests were all overseers from the neighboring plantations. The female guests were relatives of the bride. The meal consisted of everything the region had to offer: fish, shrimp, salads; roasts of beef, pork, lamb, and turkey; potatoes and farina; followed by fruits, desserts, and coffee. After all the men had eaten and moved into the living room to chat, the bride and the other women sat down in the dining room to eat.

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In a sample of eighteen Class B households (eleven urban and seven rural), fifteen couples were married by both civil and religious ceremonies. The remaining three couples were simply living together, a state known in northern Brazil as amasiado. In Class C a sample of ninety-five households (forty-one urban and fifty-four rural) showed twenty-three couples in the amasiado state, twenty-two married by civil and religious ceremonies, thirty-four married in church only, and eight by civil marriage alone. Eight of the couples sampled did not answer the question. In Class B, one partner in each of the three couples living in the amasiado state was married to someone else whom he or she had left.

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Nineteen civil marriages were performed in the entire county (population over 11,000) during the year of 1950. They are shown below by age group. Fifty religious marriages were performed during the same year throughout the five parishes attended by the Franciscans. Because of differences in the manner of recording the two types of marriages, however, no correlation could be worked out as to how many marriages were both civil and religious. There are no statistics avail-

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gave sugar growing a great impetus by organizing expeditions of soldiers which he led into the farthest reaches of the Bay of All Saints, killing, driving out or enslaving the hostile Indian inhabitants, so as to make the area safe for settlers to move out of the city
175 into the surrounding area and plant sugar. Mem de Sá himself built
249 one of the largest and most productive of the sugar plantations in the Recôncavo.[2] His lands comprised three and a half leagues along
423 the coastline of the Bay, extending four leagues inland, and two islands.[3] This *sesmaria*—as the early land grants were called—of Mem de Sá was broken down into smaller pieces by his daughter who inherited it, and by the end of the sixteenth century, most of the *sesmarias* of the Recôncavo had similarly, been divided into plantations averaging approximately 600 to 1,000 acres. In the past 250 years, many of these have kept the same boundaries and names, but their ownership has changed hands many times and they have passed through many cycles of prosperity and depression.

249 The essential form of a plantation in the Recôncavo has changed
[178] little since the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the past, the entire plantation was known as an *engenho*, taking its name from
[376] the sugar-mill building which was the heart of the plantation. There were two chief types of sugar mills, one operated by water power
[492] and the other driven by traction power supplied by oxen. Before the end of slavery, steam-driven machinery had also come into use.
[375] A typical *engenho* had four main items of wealth—its lands, its
[471] buildings, the livestock and the slaves. Most of the land was, of course, planted in sugar cane, but there were also wood forests to supply firewood, pastures for the livestock, and small areas devoted
249 to the raising of food stuffs for the personnel of the *engenho*. The buildings of an *engenho* included the sugar mill, the *sobrado*, or home
342 of the owner, and the slave quarters. The owner's house was frequently a very large and pretentious building with one and a half or two storeys. In the Recôncavo the landowners sought to build their houses *a meia encosta*, or against the side of a hill, giving the appearance of a two-storey house in front, but only one in the rear. Such homes were frequently constructed of stone, wood and mortar, with tile roofs. The slave quarters, which were known as *senzalas*, were generally long narrow buildings with sides of mud or *taipa* and
249 and roofs of palm fronds. The livestock of a typical *engenho* con-
231 sisted of oxen, burros, horses, sheep and cows. The oxen supplied the power to turn the grinding mills when there was no water power,
[492] and they pulled the large two-wheeled carts which were used to transport the cane from the fields to the mill. Horses and burros provided transportation for the plantation owner in supervising the work in the fields, and for him and his family for visits to nearby *engenhos* and to town. Cattle and sheep grazing on the portions of the land which were fallow supplied milk and meat to the plantation community.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

[City of Salvador]

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The valleys, on the other hand, afford less comfortable, less healthful, less convenient, and, consequently, less expensive residential locations. Here the regularly laid out streets and paving disappear. The inhabitants get about by way of footpaths, the red clay of which becomes slippery after a tropical downpour and quite treacherous on the steeper slopes. Here live the lower classes. Dwellings are simple mud huts constructed of a sapling framework over which puddled clay has been spread and allowed to dry. If the owner's income has permitted, the rough exterior of the dwellings has been smoothed off and a lime wash in pale tints of pink, blue, green, or yellow added. The floor is commonly of earth, neatly sanded at regular intervals with fresh *areia* from the seashore. The roof of such dwellings is usually of palm fronds and may be slightly raised at the gable to permit the more ready exit of smoke from the housewife's fire. The furniture ordinarily consists of rude benches or stools, perhaps a cheap chair, a rough table, and cots, or, more commonly, straw mats for sleeping. A Standard Oil Company can whose top and bottom have been removed is used for a stove. Furnishings include an unpretentious niche with a small image of the family's patron saint, a candle, perhaps an almanac, and a rude iron support for washbasin and pitcher of water. Utensils are usually of baked clay and quite simple in design.

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In respect to economic level, education, and, to some extent, religion, the inhabitants of these lower-class areas diverge widely from those of the ridges. They are usually illiterate, although some of the children are now being enrolled in government-sponsored schools. Communication is ordinarily by word of mouth, seldom by newspaper, book, or telephone. Conversation is carried on in the Portuguese

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4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[City of Salvador]

363 [562]

sirable as a seat of residence for one weary of the noises of an industrial city, but for the Bahian wife and daughters, whose world is still largely inside the doors of the home, these characteristics seem to give it a peculiar charm. Hence, one will see along this avenue, almost from Praça Castro Alves out, the residences of many substantial families and, in Vitoria, just beyond the governor's palace, the more pretentious dwellings of the upper class.

[362] [565]

TABLE 1

FAMILIES DWELLING ALONG THE AVENIDA SETE DE SETEMBRO CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO ETHNIC COMPOSITION, BAHIA, 1936

361 563 * 162

	Number	Per Cent
Black	19	7.6
Mixed-blood	97	38.6
White	128	51.0
Mixed-blood and white	5	2.0
Black and mixed-blood	2	0.8
Total	251	100.0

125 563 * 796

No Bahian house which boasts any pretension fails to have a balcony, while nearly all possess large casement windows opening out on the street. From this vantage point the family can while away many pleasant hours leaning on elbows and "watching the *gente* (people) go by." Consequently, one can readily gain, especially during the passage of processions when the balconies and windows are fully occupied, rather accurate information on the physical character of the population. It is possible at Carnival, for example, particularly just preceding the passage of the floats, to take a census with respect to racial composition, as far

[342] • [517]

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

and that the sudden liberation of large numbers of subjected blacks would subvert public order gradually melted away as the numbers of emancipated Negroes increased and these freedmen gave evidence of their ability and willingness to become an orderly part of the free population and to labor as effectively, if not more effectively, for wages as when impelled by physical force.

The free people of color (who by 1872 largely outnumbered the slaves)[97] were, Southey says, "an industrious and useful part of the population: most of the maize, manioc and pulse, with which the towns were supplied, was raised by them upon small pieces of ground, which they rented of the great proprietors at a low rate."[98] Freedmen were also employed as laborers on the large estates, where they lived as squatters on the land of their employers, erecting mud and palm-leaf huts for their families, and looking to the planter for protection from any who would do them harm.[99] In the towns they were employed principally as artisans, porters, messengers, barbers, street merchants and small shopkeep-

[97] Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

[98] Southey, *op. cit.*, III, 787. Cf. also: "The masters who freed slaves often gave them, with their liberty, a piece of land to insure their subsistence. The Negroes who have inherited these small holdings are to-day (1911) the best element of the black agricultural population" (Pierre Denis, *Brasil*, trans. from the French by Bernard Miall [New York, 1911], p. 322).

[99] Koster writes: "The Negroes in my possession could not perform what ought to be done in proper time; and therefore I collected free laborers for the purpose, and in a short period between thirty and forty men, some of whom brought their families, removed on to the lands of the plantation; and most of them erected hovels of palm-leaves, in which they dwelt; but a few of them were accommodated with huts of mud. . . . . Many of these fellows would have committed almost any crime under the impression that my protection would screen them" (*op. cit.*, I, 295, 297).

[SALVADOR]

/34 cont./

*563 565 their degree of education, in the hotels and even more in the boarding houses of various categories. They may freely visit restaurants, cafés, teashops, cabarets; they frequently participate in dinner parties where they meet white friends. The news-
*563 565 204 papers and magazines report anniversaries, marriages, the conferring of diplomas, births, returns from travel, celebrations and tributes received, or the death of any person whomsoever, without any mention of type or color, printing portraits of either of them indiscriminately. And when an individual is not well enough known so that the newspapers spontaneously publish an article about him, /35/ it is not rare to see his name or even his portrait reproduced, after payment of the price of the announcement, in
*563 565 the column devoted to this kind of news. "Few persons," says a White, "could have more prestige in Bahia society, thanks to their exquisite manners and their elegance, than a university professor and his wife, both mulattoes, had ten years ago."

Among the most highly placed families of the present-day society of Bahia, says a morena informant, there are many who "belong to the caste," who, in other words, are métisses, although it would not be discreet to draw attention to the origin of these
[564] families. Since there are no castes, properly speaking, but merely classes, colored people find their way into the world of the Whites, even if they have pronounced black features; it is merely necessary for them to approximate the "superior" dominant group by their behavior. In order to show that she was born already assimilated with the Whites, a woman practicing a liberal profession explains that she is the daughter of a Black who was a domestic "in a milieu other than that of the senzala" (1).

[192] [567] [342]

1. Senzala = all the communicating houses of poor quality where the slaves lived in the fazendas.

She considers herself a privileged creature of God, since she has
*563 565 all that she desires. "I am on good terms with people of the best society. I choose my friends in all classes. I visit the clubs and
571 the government palace frequently. A short time ago the newspapers
[204] even published my picture beside the governor of the State in the course of a luncheon that one of my friends gave in his honor."

The others, barefoot, wearing shorts and large-brimmed straw hats, are the permanent dwellers of the islands: fishermen, stevedores, and storekeepers.

When the islands are left behind, the scene begins to change. The color of the water changes from a clear, deep blue to a muddy gray. Groups of canoes are seen, their occupants busy with their fish nets, for this shallow part of the bay is a good fishing ground. Once again the mainland is close, rolling hills covered with a thousand shades of green--sugar cane, the crop which nearly four hundred years ago replaced the virgin forests. The deltalike shores of this part of the bay are covered with mangue, muddy areas with low-growing trees which at high tide are standing in the water. On a hill at the water's edge is the town of Vila Recôncavo, a town of 1,462 persons. The first thing one sees is the huge Franciscan convent[5] with its two tall towers and its royal palms. Approaching the long dock which juts out into the water, one can see almost the whole town, which is built on three hills and in the valleys between them.

The arrival of the boat from Salvador every other day is an event in an otherwise dull day. Nearly all the men of the town go down to the dock to meet the boat, to see who is traveling, to see what is arriving for someone in the town, to receive messages or parcels, to greet friends, and to gossip. The postmistress is there, and with her the man whose duty it is to carry the mail sack, but who has a helper to do it for him. After a few minutes the boat continues its journey, and the townsfolk walk back along the dock, breaking up into small groups on reaching the main square and then each going his own way.

On the square at the end of the dock, at the foot of the main street which leads up the middle hill and out into the

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5. It should be explained that "convent" in this case is a direct translation from Portuguese. In Portuguese, convent does not have the connotation of being a religious establishment only for women. The word convento is applied to the Franciscans' establishment because the Franciscans are not monks; if they were, their establishment would be called a mosteiro (monastery). In English, Franciscans are known as "friars," and their houses are called "friaries." However, throughout this monograph the direct translation, convent, is used.

country beyond, is a large, colonial, two-story building--the county courthouse (prefeitura), the official center of local county administration. With heavily barred windows on the ground level, it also serves as the county jail. At the top of the hill is a large church, the mother church of the parish of São Roque. On the right, on top of another hill, is the imposing Franciscan convent. The main street of the town is narrow, paved with cobblestones and lined by old colonial houses in various stages of repair. To the left one sees the "beach," which at low tide is an expanse of ugly black mud, typical of the shores of this back part of the bay. The long dugout canoes of the fishermen are anchored there and rest on the bottom when the tide is out.

As the boat sails away and the townspeople go about their business, the streets empty, and a peculiar hush, which is characteristic of Vila Recôncavo, falls over the town. There is an atmosphere not so much of sleepiness and inertia as of decadence, as though life had already passed by. The few people who remain somehow seem to be left over from something in the past. The houses which face the main street are somber, their façades going straight up two stories from the street, their windows shuttered. Some of them are crumbling, the mortar falling away, exposing the stone of which they are built; others are in complete ruin. All of them are turning black from the constant exposure to humid salt air, and moss is growing on the walls where the sun never strikes.

From the top of the hill, in front of the mother church, there is a magnificent view of the Bay of All Saints, and it is easily understood why this place was chosen 332 years ago as the site for a new town. This part of town is the old Vila Recôncavo (see map of town), dating back to a time when the settlement was the only administrative center of inland colonial Bahia. Upon this hill and the one on which the convent stands, the elite of the sugar lands built their town houses called sobrados. Once upon a time these streets with their stepping-stones were the scene of colonial opulence, of sedan chairs carried by liveried slaves, of soldiers in uniform, of ladies wearing gloves and carrying parasols. Today this old part of Vila Recôncavo is inhabited by simpler people, the town's upper class, who eke out a living in the local bureaucracy, or as merchants, or as representatives of the state and federal governments. They are quiet, gentlemanly people trying to keep up a semblance of dignity, a feat which becomes more difficult all the time.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

Two of the six speakers at the dedicatory exercises for the newly constructed Instituto de Cacau on the following day were *brancos da Bahia* (each with only slight indications of Negro ancestry), and four were whites.

During the visit of a neighboring governor, a procession formed in the Avenida Sete de Setembro to escort the distinguished visitor, together with the Bahian governor, Juracy Magalhães, to the latter's palace. Riding in the procession, alighting in front of the palace, and following the two chief executives into the spacious rooms of the governor's mansion, were presumably the city's political élite, all in formal attire. Of a total of 99 persons, 70 were whites, 22 were very light mulattoes with only slightly noticeable traces of Negro lineage, 7 were dark mulattoes, and none was black. Of the escort of 23 army officials dressed in appropriate uniform, 9 were whites, 12 were very light mulattoes, 2 were dark mixed-bloods.

Of 46 members of the state legislature, 69.4 per cent were whites, 15.2 per cent were *brancos da Bahia*, and 11.0 per cent were mulattoes.[23] Of 14 aldermen, 8 were whites, 4 were *brancos da Bahia*, and 2 were mulattoes (both very light).

In legal proceedings no discrimination is at all evident. Colored individuals appear not only among the defendants but also among those engaged in the defense or the prosecution, as well as among the jury itself. Whites, however, predominate.

Of the officers of the medical association, 6 were whites, 3 were *brancos da Bahia*, and 3 were mulattoes. Of 18 members of an elective supervisory body for the legal profession, 14 were whites, 3 were *brancos da Bahia*, and only 1 had noticeable evidence of mixed ancestry and that principally

[23] One deputy was a black, and there was also 1 *mameluco*.

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tying into the Bay, to protect the plantations situated on river banks, a location in all other respects ideal for sugar mills. Vila Recôncavo was chosen as the site for a battery in 1668 and was given guns and men. It was also necessary to maintain a small fleet of armed ships to help repel pirates. One side of the hill on which the convent is situated, which overlooks the Bay and lies directly at the mouth of the river coming from Centro, is still called the Battery in remembrance of the days when it was part of the old fortifications.

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The second formal administrative unit to be formed was that of the county of Vila Recôncavo. Until 1693 Salvador was the only judicial and legislative center in Bahia. Because of development in the Recôncavo it was thought necessary at this time to create three vilas in the area, this being the term then applied to the administrative centers of counties. Thus in February of 1698 Vila Recôncavo became one of the first organized counties (municipios) in the Recôncavo, a transformation which made it the center of much activity as it was now the seat of local rural government, tax collecting, and justice. Since its creation the county of Vila Recôncavo has shrunk in size as new counties have been established in the Recôncavo. Vila Recôncavo lost part of its land, until in 1945 it retained only 189 square kilometers, less than half its original area.

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Prior to either military or civil divisions, there had already existed religious divisions, or parishes. The parish of São Gonçalo included the town of Vila Recôncavo and much of the hinterland. The mother church (matriz) of the parish was constructed in the town in 1678. It was reconstructed in 1887 by the third Baron of Vila Recôncavo, at which time it had fallen into such disrepair that the reconstruction was a complete renovation. This was done in great simplicity, blotting out most of the former ornateness. Today it is again in need of repair as the plaster is falling off, exposing the still solid stone and cement construction of three-foot-thick walls. Most of the wood in the altars, floors, and inner partitions is rotting away. The outside has turned black from the action of the salt air on the whitewash. For more than forty years the parish has been unable to support a priest, and the duties of caring for the spiritual needs of the parishioners has fallen upon the Franciscans. The church is opened now only for Mass on Sundays, and for occasional missions and weddings throughout the year.

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In 1718 the chapel of the Franciscan convent was replaced

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346 by a large and sumptuous church, in which the first Mass was celebrated in 1722. The magnificence of the church is still present, although the original altars have been replaced by
[532] new ones. Exquisite tiles depicting the life of St. Anthony, to whom the church is dedicated, line the sides of the church. The floors are of marble, and the wooden ceilings are painted
[322] in oils. It is said that the marble and the painted ceilings were brought from Portugal. The woodwork in the choir loft and sacristy is beautiful hand-worked rosewood. The clock in the
[805] bell tower which rings the hour and half-hour is still the town timepiece, its sound reaching far out over the Bay. Under the marble floor, between the altar and the communion rail, are
[764] the tombs of the early families of Vila Recôncavo. The names inscribed on the tombs constitute a roster of families now scattered throughout the nation.

175 It is not known exactly when the Tertiary Order of Franciscans was first formed in Vila Recôncavo, but it too has left
792 its mark on the face of the town, for it constructed another large church and two-story building at the side of the convent.
346 The chronicler of the convent in the early 1900's wrote:

> Of the epoch of the formation of the Tertiary Order and the construction of the church and buildings nothing remains, not a document exists, with the exception of one book, consisting of the elections, offices, and resolutions of the Order. This book was begun in 1853 and ended in 1866. On the ceiling of the church appears the date 1751, in white paint, which seems to be of the original workmanship, and at the side of it can be seen in black paint "repaired in 1844." The lands of the Order are known only through the tradition of the people, since no document exists.[6]

If the date 1751 can be taken as the date of the construction of the church of the Tertiary Order, it can be assumed that the Order existed in Vila Recôncavo some time before this date, at least early in the 1700's. These additions to the convent were the last of the noble constructions in the town of Vila Recôncavo and took place at the end of the town's flourishing period. They were the last public expression of grandeur in the

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6. Author's translation.

county and among the first to fall into decline and extinction in the days following the sugar boom. The remaining buildings of the Order are now used for quite a different purpose, which will be discussed later.

The first half of the eighteenth century saw the final flourishing of Vila Recôncavo and the beginning of its fall into obscurity. By 1700 the town was a thriving urban center--the newly created seat of local government, a military post, a highly active religious center, and the scene of the local courts of justice. In addition to large public buildings, imposing private residences dotted the streets, for many of the plantation owners constructed large houses in the town, which they used as stopping places in their journeys to and from their plantations and Salvador. Then as now, however, Vila Recôncavo was not the main center of attraction for the planters and their families, most of whom had houses in the capital where they spent the rainy seasons. Nevertheless, the presence of their large and ornate town houses gave a certain air of distinction and prosperity to the town.

The story of the decline of the town of Vila Recôncavo is symptomatic of what happened to many other towns in the region at a later date. Vilhena connects the decadence of Vila Recôncavo with the creation of the administrative center of Centro in 1727.[7] Until that time Centro had been a sítio (terminal designation for a small town), created in 1608. Toward the end of the seventeenth century the best lands of the Recôncavo, situated in what is now the county of Purificação, came into use as a result of the cessation of Indian attacks and of improvement in the machinery used in the plantations. Sugar mills powered by water no longer held as great an advantage as they had previously; over a hundred years of sugar-cane operation had pretty well stripped the littoral of the firewood necessary for continued high production; and by this time the coastal regions no longer held room for expansion. As the colonists pushed farther inland from Centro they found an abundance of the rich massapê lands and sufficient firewood for the needs of many plantations, and soon the number of inland sugar mills surpassed that of the coast.

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7. Luís dos Santos Vilhena, Notícias soteropolitanas e brasílicas, 1802, ed. Braz do Amaral (Salvador, 1922), p. 502.

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423 the responsibility of holders to colonize and develop their
* 249 areas. The grants were as a rule very large, consisting of leagues of land rather than of acres. Only one grant could be made to a family. As a result the son of a man who was a holder of a grant either had to remain on his father's land or had to leave the province and go elsewhere to acquire land.
[425] The only remaining alternative was to forget about land and go into commerce or a profession. However, since the grants were so very large, the original holders were able to break them up, selling or renting parts, giving some to their married sons or daughters and yet retaining and cultivating enough to support themselves. Thus the original land grants were broken up, and several plantations were made of each.

175 Engenho was the name given to the total plantation, as well
* 249 as being the specific designation for the mill itself. Every
313 plantation, regardless of whether it was inland or on the coast, needed two things: the soil known as massapê, and woods as close as possible to the mill to supply firewood for boiling the
[185] sugar-cane juice. Firewood soon became a crucial problem, one which has haunted the sugar industry for centuries. Conservation never was a Brazilian practice, and the tropical forests of the Recôncavo were soon stripped to feed the hun-
[435] gry mouths of the furnaces. As time went on it became necessary to import firewood by boat from wherever it could be
[376] found, which added greatly to the costs of producing sugar. The steam mill came much later and added further to the problem.

175 At first the owner's house was a veritable fort, surrounded
* 249 by bulwarks and stockades to resist Indian attacks, but by the end of the seventeenth century the need for this precaution had
342 passed away and the plantation houses were assuming noble
361 proportions. Many were imposing two-story buildings built of stone and mortar, the ground level generally being used as a storehouse and the master (senhor de engenho) and his family living on the upper floor. As a rule the Big House of the Recôncavo was situated so that there would be an excellent view from the windows, not only of the mill and slave quarters nearby but of the surrounding countryside. There was no sight so dear to the heart of a plantation master as that of fields of sugar cane, the leaves of many shades of green waving gently in the breeze.

175 Frequently a chapel was connected with the house or built
* 249 near it. Not very far away would be the mill, and nearby the
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2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SQ11 Bahia Brazilians SQ11

VILA RECÔNCAVO

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Migrant sugar-cane workers, late afternoon

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[P. 45]

Big House and chapel, symbol of the past

following days to make new supplies. On the return trip she brings wheat flour, peanuts, potatoes, and whatever is not available in Vila Recôncavo, as special orders (encomendas) for people in the town, who pay the price of the article plus a small percentage for her trouble in doing the shopping. 443 463

The people of Group 3 do most of their own labor; the men follow their trade while their womenfolk do the housework, care for the children, fetch water and firewood, and do their own laundry. This group also uses the batalhão for house building and repairing, although many employ the services of a carpenter to do the woodwork or a bricklayer to make a foundation, in contrast to the people of the preceding group, whose houses are usually built with a minimum of crude woodwork and without masonry foundations. The majority of men in this group, the fishermen, live in the lower part of town, in the areas known as Boqueirão, Caquende, and Cortume (see map of town). The others are scattered throughout the town, up the hill in back of the area of sobrados, and on the side of the hill sloping down to the beach. The fishermen have their own chapel built near the beach, which they support with the tithe (dizimo), a tenth of their earnings. The people in the fishing group seldom go up the hill to the older part of town, feeling that they do not belong there. 463 [462] [342] [361] [346] [764]

A few words need to be said about Group 4, which consists of thirty-one people who do not fit into the other three groups. Eleven of them, who listed themselves as unemployed, are unskilled persons, without a trade, and without a patron or service employment skill. For the most part they are women, and although an examination of the census data shows that they have no visible means of support, they do engage in subsistence activities such as carrying water, cutting spits for xangô, making dendê palm oil, or making fish nets, but not on a regular contract basis. Since they engage in a variety of small independent activities and work for different people at different times, they listed themselves as unemployed in the sense of being without a regular occupation. 463 464

Nine people in Group 4 lived in the town at the time of the census but worked at the Usina São Pedro. Three men worked on the sugar plantation nearest town, preferring to live in town rather than on the plantation, since the trip back and forth is so short. And, finally, the group includes eight people who were employed by the Institute of Vila Recôncavo as nurses, pharmacists, bookkeeper, and bartender. These people

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

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8. Religion

[249] DURING COLONIAL and empire times, religion occupied a large part of the lives of the landed aristocracy. The town of Vila Recôncavo had a Franciscan convent, a large mother church of the parish of São Gonçalo, and the chapel of the [193] Third Order of Franciscans. In the rural area of the community nearly every plantation had its own chapel, which formed part of the owner's house, and its own chaplain to care for the spiritual needs of the landowning families and their [794] slaves. Much of the wealth of landowners was used to build magnificent churches, to sponsor religious processions, and to maintain religious brotherhoods for laymen.

178 In this century, however, Catholicism is no longer the of-
79 ficial state religion, the landowners no longer support the town church as they used to, and the Third Order of Francis-
*[565] cans has died out in Vila Recôncavo. Today members of the upper class (Class A) confine their support to the churches they attend in Salvador, leaving the local church to the mercy of God and to the gente pequena of the town. Visits from the Franciscans to celebrate Mass and give instruction for first communion have taken the place of the plantation chaplain and chapel. The priests today say that the people of the community have no intellectual basis for understanding religious teachings or beliefs. Consequently, they say that they now seek only to have as many as possible conform to the outer forms and rituals of the church and refrain from attending the African cults.

175 In addition to the formal structure of the Catholic Church
794 there arose, especially in the nineteenth century, many houses of African cultism, called in this region candomblé. The ad-

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plaint about African deities is the amount of work involved and 787
the great expense entailed by making the proper clothes and 177
buying the beads and bracelets. All leaders say that no one can afford traditional spirits these days. Those who had formerly had them, of course, still do, but have also been visited by Indian spirits which they much prefer. So they carry out the more fundamental obligations toward the African 794
spirits, such as providing food and drink, but they dress and 178
dance for their Indian spirits. The result has been a confusion of rituals--the use of African music and incantations and 177
the addition of new dances, costumes, and foods appropriate [782]
for the simpler tastes of the Indian spirits.

The cult houses (terreiros) are built like other houses in 794
the community. The active one in town is located on a street
in line with all the other houses, while that on the plantation 346
is set slightly apart from the others, because of the scattered 353
configuration of the village. The front room, which is the
largest, is usually bare except for a few long wooden bench- [361]
es and a small altar with pictures of the patron saints of the
cult leader and of several of the cult members. This room is [352]
decorated with crepe paper streamers and paper flowers; the dances are held here. The other rooms of the house consist of a bedroom, a dining room, a kitchen, and another room known as the pegi, which houses the African altar with its plants and leaves, dishes, bottles, cups, and glasses of food and drink for the spirits, as well as the symbol of each one of them, such as a spade, a sword, or a hatchet. In this room there is also usually a trunk containing the ceremonial paraphernalia used during the festivities, such as the dress and headdress of each spirit. This is the room in which sacri- [782]
ficial killings (matanças) are made of the goats and chickens used during the ceremonies. In the rural house there are also pictures of Catholic saints in the pegi, another departure from the older traditional houses where such a thing would never occur.

The cult leader lives in the cult house. In the literature on 793
candomblé the cult leader is usually referred to as the mae, 794
or pai, de santo, which means literally "mother (or father) 192
of the saints." None of the cult leaders in Vila Recôncavo likes [346]
this term; they say they could not possibly be the mother or father of the divine beings. They consider themselves rather zeladores, that is, caretakers of the saints on earth. There is 794
much the same complaint about the term filha, or filho, de 192

3: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1963 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Vila Recôncavo

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RACE RELATIONS IN A RURAL COMMUNITY OF THE BAHIAN RECÔNCAVO[1]

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by
HARRY W. HUTCHINSON

I. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, a narrow strip along the north-eastern coast of Brazil in what are now the States of Pernambuco, Alagoas, Sergipe and Bahia, was the most important region of economic, political and social life in the whole colony. The rainfall along this portion of the coast is dependable and the extremely fertile soil, which was originally covered with thick forests, was ideally suited for sugar cane. By the seventeenth century, this region produced a large part of the world's sugar supply. Sugar, which was then a luxury in Europe, brought fabulous profits, and the north-eastern coast of Brazil became an exceedingly prosperous colony. Large cities grew up along the coast; Salvador in Bahia and Recife in Pernambuco became the most important centres of colonial life, and Salvador was the capital of the colony from 1549 to 1763. Both were cities of great wealth based on the booming sugar industry. The numerous churches built in Salvador during the period of opulence, with their elaborate gold-leafed wood carving and polychrome tile work, are witnesses to the tremendous wealth of the era.

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It was the plantation system, the basis of this lucrative sugar industry, which gave this region many of its characteristic traditions and formed patterns of race relations which have persisted in a modified form into the present. Gilberto Freyre in his monumental *Casa Grande e Senzala*, and other Brazilian writers [1],[2] have described life on these sugar plantations. African slaves provided the manpower. More than three million Negroes were imported from Africa during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and a large proportion came to the sugar plantations of north-eastern Brazil. The Portuguese plantation owners became rich, and came to form a regional aristocracy with a luxurious and ostentatious way of life. The slaves and their masters, on these plantations, formed two distinct social groups, but it is distinctive of the region that their relations were intimate and warm; Freyre describes the intimacy between the *moleque* (Negro lad) and the master's son as playmates, between the master's wife and her domestic servants, between the Negro nurse and her white charges, and other close

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[1]In addition to thanking those persons listed in the introduction to this series of articles for their aid and co-operation in making this study possible, I wish to thank the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Charitable Foundation Inc. and the Department of Anthropology of Columbia University, whose grants of funds contributed largely to the possibility of this study. Also, to acknowledge with thanks the aid of Carmelita Junqueira Ayres and Elza Amélia Ferreira for their assistance in the collection of the data.

[2] The figures in brackets refer to the bibliography on page 46.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

CHAPTER X

THE *CANDOMBLE*

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AMONG the last elements of African culture to disappear at Bahia are the customs and traditions associated with the expression of religious sentiment. The *candomblé*, or Afro-Brazilian fetish cult, is still a vigorous institution and numbers among its adherents some of the most widely known and respected members of the Bahian lower classes. Its leaders, in several conspicuous instances, are able and intelligent individuals, whose prestige extends even into the upper circles. Some *seitas*, or cult centers, have maintained the same temple of worship for generations. Their rituals and ceremonies are serious, dignified, and carried on according to definite, fixed, traditional forms.

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This highly complex organization of ritual and belief is built around an order of *orixás*, or deities, each of whom apparently personifies some natural phenomenon. Thus, of the more important and more widely honored deities, Xangô is worshiped as the *orixá* of lightning and thunder; Ogun, of war and iron; Oxossi, of the hunt; Omolú, of pestilence; Nanan, of rain; Yemanjá, of salt water; Oxun, of fresh water; Yansan, of wind and storm; Oxun-manrê, of the rainbow; and Beji, of twin births.

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The older and more respected *seitas* are commonly considered to be of Nagô (Yoruba) or Gêge (Ewe) origin or represent a fusion in Brazil of these two apparently closely related bodies of African ritual and belief.[1] In details of lan-

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[1] Nina Rodrigues, *Os africanos no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1932), p. 320.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

things African" that he is occasionally called to Pernambuco, four hundred miles up the Brazilian coast, to carry out special rituals which cult members in that city are unable to perform. Of the *candomblé*, he says, "The Nagô worships nature because he is realistic and wants to see what he worships. He can't see the Catholics' God." 794

The *barracão* here is about fifty feet by thirty, with roof and one end thatched with palm fronds, and floor freshly sanded. By nightfall it is gaily decorated with paper streamers, most of which are white; some, however, are red, blue, green, or yellow. A large and neat placard, which one of the *ogans* proudly says was painted by his daughter, a first-year student at the Escola Normal, bears the inscription: "Centro Cruz Santa do Aché de Okô Afonjá," a combination of Portuguese and Nagô which means "Sacred Cross Center of the Brothers and Sisters of the Temple of Xangô." Chairs to accommodate the priestess, the elderly Negro woman, and the old Negro man have been placed on a dais to the left of the musicians. The spectators are carefully excluded from the dancing space in front of the drums by railings patrolled by *ogans*. On the end wall hang three white pennants bearing respectively, the inscriptions, "Viva Oxalá," "Viva Oxun," and "Viva Aryra," and one red pennant with the words, "Viva Xangô." 794 346 352 353

The *filhas*, all of whom are escorted into the *barracão* under a white sheet held by *ogans* who also light the procession with flaming torches, number seventeen, all of whom are blacks, with the exception of two dark mulattoes. Of the *ogans*, fourteen are blacks, eleven are mulattoes, six of whom are dark mixed-bloods, and one is a Portuguese immigrant who came to Brazil some thirty years ago and now owns a small retail establishment in the Lower City. 794 [416]

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

794 [302] Three of the dancers are *yauôs*, in process of being "made." Their heads have been shaved clean, and white spots and [301] blue lines have been painted upon them. On their cheeks are white spots and white lines. Around the neck, or over the right shoulder and under the left arm, are long chains of large cowries imported from the West Coast.

794 In a special building with a cement floor is "the throne •346 room of Xangô." At one side is an altar to him, which is lav- 353 ishly decorated with candles and flowers, both fresh and 177 artificial. Indicating the fusion of Catholic and fetish ele- 776 ments, one notes on the lower step an image of Santo Antonio, on the second, one of Nossa Senhora das Candeias, on the third, an image of the twins, Cosme and Damião, and, on the top level, one of São Jeronimo. The *mãe de santo* says that Santo Antonio is "just another name" for Ogun; as similarly is Nossa Senhora das Candeias, for the water deity, Oxun; Cosme and Damião, for Beji; and São Jeronimo, for Xangô.

794 On the other side of the room is "the throne of Xangô," a 346 wooden chair, intricately carved, with a pillow for a head- [352] rest. Suspended on the walls are pictures of several Catholic saints.

[353] In the center of an adjoining room is "the spring of the *mãe d'agua*," a huge basin built of cement and containing ten to twelve inches of water. On the wall is the Nagô inscription, "Ilé Awon Afonjá" ("House of Xangô").

794 The leader of another *seita* is a male black, known as Pae 793 Procopio, sixty-six years of age, of Gêge descent, whose 159 father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, he proudly boasts, were all Africans and *paes de santo*. His mother's sister was also "an *Africano*," but his mother was a Brazilian-born black, a *mãe de santo* who "deixou o cargo" (i.e., left the

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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The dances continue unabated for hours, until the air of the *barracão* becomes very warm and permeated with the odor of perspiring bodies. Seriously, with rapt attention, the closely packed crowd looks on, eager to see and hear the numerous *orixás* as they "arrive." During a period of the most intense excitement, when tensions have been built up almost to the breaking-point, a rocket suddenly bursts with a loud report outside the *barracão*. A woman seated among the spectators who is not a *filha de santo* is immediately thrown into violent, convulsive muscular movements and bounces up and down with great force on the board seat, her head snapping back and forth in time to the now almost frenzied beat of the drums. The *pae de santo* rushes to support her in order to prevent imminent injury. Several visiting *filhas de santo* who do not want to dance in this strange place and are consequently "resisting" the imminent "arrival" of their *orixás*, call out with imploring voices, one after the other, "Dê-me agua, por amor de Deus" ("Give me water, for the love of God!"). The face of a servant girl named Joanna, a *filha* from a neighboring *seita*, is drawn, and she appears to be in pain. Afterward, she says that her *orixá*, Xangô, was beating and striking her to make her dance and that she felt more tired than if she had danced all night long. But other spectators remark, "How beautiful! I never saw Ogun dance like that before. And Oxóssi, and Yemanjá, they are wonderful, simply wonderful!"

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The ceiling of another *barracão* (at the *terreiro* called Gantois) is trimmed with paper streamers—red, white, blue, and yellow—each alternating with rows of white paper roses. The electric-light bulb suspended from the ceiling is shaded by red and white pieces of cellophane. On the walls are red and white paper shields, each bearing the words, "Louvores á

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Xangou" ("Praises to Xangô") or "Louvores á Ogun" ("Praises to Ogun"). A small niche built in above the doorway which leads to the *pegi* is neatly decorated with red and white paper bows, and in it stands a crucifix about ten inches high, together with images of the Virgin Mary with the child Jesus in her arms, of Santo Antonio (St. Anthony), and of São Jorge (St. George).

In a circle in front of the drums are twenty-two women, the oldest of whom is about sixty years of age and the youngest eight. Fourteen are blacks, eight are mulattoes, none of whom is very light. All have serious expressions on their faces, especially the little girl, although none appear in the least bit self-conscious. Six are *yaubs*, or initiates, in the process of being "made," and range in age from fourteen to seventeen years. Two are dedicated to Omanlú (Omolú), and four to Oxun. The Omanlú initiates are dressed principally in shades of red. Strands of hemp died reddish-brown drop from the head to below the knee, completely obscuring the face. Above the head the strands rise vertically and are tied together in a cluster at the end. Below the hem of a dark-red skirt appear white pantalettes which fit tightly over the legs and extend to the ankle. Each girl wears four strands of cowries around each bare arm at the biceps and a long string of cowries over the right shoulder and under the left arm.

The Oxun initiates have their heads shaved, and three concentric circles have been painted in white around the crown. Smaller circles intercept the outer of these three. Large white spots have also been painted on the face, the neck, and the back of the head. Four feathers, one of which is red, one white, one black, and one brown, are held firmly upright at the forehead by a ribbon tied very tightly. Each

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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178 there is little distinction between them. The *pae de santo* of a prominent Congo *seita* recently remarked, "I do everything (i.e., I carry on all cult rituals and ceremonies) in the name of the church."[16]

On the fiftieth anniversary of the death of the father of a well-known and widely respected *babalaô*, a special commemorative Mass was arranged in one of the city's principal churches. During the ceremony, a circle of friars who were standing with lighted candles about the bier was joined by an outer circle of Negro men, each bearing a funeral torch. Although the friars were probably unaware of the fact, the blacks were all *ogans* from the *candomblé* of *mãe de santo* Anninha. In the audience were more than a hundred important personages from the fetish world, including *babalaôs*, *paes* and *mães de santo*, *ogans*, and *filhas*. Said the *babalaô* whose father was being thus honored, "Last night at the *terreiro* we danced all night the African funeral dances for my father."

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177 In the minds of cult members several of the more impor-
776 tant African *orixás*, as we have seen, have come to be identified with certain Catholic saints. Thus, Ogun, the *orixá* of war, is now identified with Santo Antonio; Oxóssi, the *orixá* of the hunt, with São Jorge; Oxalá, who to most members of the *candomblé* is "the greatest of the *orixás*," with O Senhor do Bomfim, who is, among the lower classes at least, the most important Catholic saint at Bahia;[17]

[16] This point of view obviously is not that of the Catholic church itself.

[346] [17] In Bomfim Church, which, with two rows of royal palms dominating its approach, occupies majestically the crown of a hill in Itapagipe, is a special room whose walls and ceiling are completely covered with photographs or plaster casts of crippled or diseased limbs or other parts of the body which have been, it is thought, miraculously cured of disease or other infirmary by the direct intervention of the saint. So great is his reputation for healing that thousands of people from miles around visit this shrine every year.

[SALVADOR]

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*563 545 533 [204] society, has brought to Bahia the most famous musicians of our time. The newspapers and journals report the concerts that the white and colored artists give in the theaters and halls of the most important organizations of the city, and publish their /63/ pictures as well as the comments that the art critics make on the subject.

*563 814 538 [532] [346] In the plastic arts, colored persons have not played an important role, although in the past they have produced some painters and sculptors of some renown whose works can be viewed in the most beautiful baroque churches of the city. These works are mentioned in the books on the art of Bahia, especially in those of a black or dark mulatto writer, Manoel Querino, son of slaves, whose studies on art, folklore, and Afro-Brazilian ethnography have made him famous. The first centenary of the birth of this intellectual, who in his biographies of numerous artists of Bahia only very rarely indicated their type, was solemnly commemorated in Bahia, as well as in Rio de Janeiro, at the same time that two other folklorists, who were white, one of whom was from Bahia, were honored.

*563 873 [875] In the school of fine arts of the local university, students of all types have acquired university degrees in architecture, painting, drawing, and sculpture; its teaching staff at present includes at least three mulattoes, two of whom are quite dark. Some informants say, however, that one painter, because of his color, was not counted for a prize offered by the school, consisting of a journey outside the State. This incident, which happened some tens of years ago, is interpreted in different ways by our informants.

*563 545 [873] In the theater, colored persons (at least those who are very dark) do not have great possibilities, and one often hears this complaint expressed. The Blacks, says one young informant, never get beyond the stage of laborer or carpenter in our theaters; even for the roles of Blacks, disguised Whites are preferred. On the other hand, a morena amateur actress states that white women refuse to play the parts of Bahians and that they entrust these parts to colored girls. It is also somewhat difficult to present white and colored actors together on the same stage, even in the theatrical

443 house). The municipal markets of the Recôncavo have a highly institutionalized character supported by long tradition. There have been
[178] very few modifications in the local marketing system either to accept new products or to incorporate new techniques. Despite their highly institutionalized character, markets serve to accommodate and to re-enforce and stabilize the basic personal relationships between buyer and seller. Thus it is both difficult and misleading to approach marketing from a purely economic point of view.

Weekly markets (feiras) are held in every villa and cidade of the Recôncavo. Each of these feiras has a specified day and location. Usually the market of the cidade will be held on a different day than those of the villas of the locality, and usually adjacent cidades have their markets on different days. This arrangement facilitates the marketing of surplus products and makes it possible for itinerant buyers and sellers to travel from feira to feira. The market place
[366] of most cidades and of the larger villas includes a public building
[347] and the adjacent streets, and in some cases, a corral. Usually the market building itself is a large shed with open windows and doors, earthen or concrete floor, and no internal divisions except those provided by the pillars which support the roof. Stalls are sometimes provided in the newer or more pretentious buildings, but this is exceptional. Generally the market is located on a main square or a principal street. On the day of the feira, market activities expand beyond the main buildings and onto the streets, covering an area of about one city block in a typical center.

Participation in the feira is practically universal--the rural areas of the município, or the distrito if it is a villa market, are half emptied on market day. At sunrise or even earlier the farm families, or sometimes only the farmer, his wife, or child, begin

mers. However, on almost every plantation there are brick- 312
lined springs from which the inhabitants get their drinking water. Women or children carrying five-gallon cans of water on [482]
their heads, and donkeys carrying four wooden kegs of water, [492]
are common sights along the roads of the Recôncavo. For the
cattle and other livestock of the plantations, drinking places 231
are excavated wherever there promises to be enough water. 312
Frequently, however, these go dry in the summer, especially [132]
during the drought years which occur cyclically in rhythm
with the droughts of the sertão. At such times loss of cattle
is prevalent, except on plantations situated near one of the
small rivers.

A high-voltage electric line passes through this section 377
leading from the generating station further inland to the capital city. Recently most of the plantations have been able to
connect with this line, so that at least the owners' houses have
electric light. The houses of the workers are without it except
at the factory, where the mill supplies its own electric power
which is carried to almost all the workers' houses.

There are four state schools and one county school distrib- 871
uted among the plantations. The central school in the town of
Vila Recôncavo is not attended by children from the planta-
tions. Two plantations have their own chapels, which are vis- 347
ited at irregular intervals by the priests of Vila Recôncavo. 796
On the other plantations a small altar is set up in the owner's 793
house for special occasions such as Christmas, when the town
priest is invited to celebrate the Mass.

There is in the town a medical post with a visiting doctor, 743
a dentist, and several nurses in training, which is administered by a Franciscan lay brother and supported by federal,
state, and county funds and by private donations. This post
is fairly recent, and its influences are spreading only slowly
to the rural area. Also in the town is a small county medical
post run by a resident physician. The sugar factory has a [249]*
dispensary with a nurse and is visited by the town doctor. Al- [752]
most every plantation has its own first-aid equipment, generally in the owner's house.

There are no fairs in the community. There are stores in 543
the town and a large supply store at the factory, run by the 44
corporation, and nearly every plantation has its own small *
store. Major purchases are made at the weekly market in Cen- [249]
tro, in the neighboring county. There are also traveling ped-

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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The valleys, on the other hand, afford less comfortable, less healthful, less convenient, and, consequently, less expensive residential locations. Here the regularly laid out streets and paving disappear. The inhabitants get about by way of footpaths, the red clay of which becomes slippery after a tropical downpour and quite treacherous on the steeper slopes. Here live the lower classes. Dwellings are simple mud huts constructed of a sapling framework over which puddled clay has been spread and allowed to dry. If the owner's income has permitted, the rough exterior of the dwellings has been smoothed off and a lime wash in pale tints of pink, blue, green, or yellow added. The floor is commonly of earth, neatly sanded at regular intervals with fresh *areia* from the seashore. The roof of such dwellings is usually of palm fronds and may be slightly raised at the gable to permit the more ready exit of smoke from the housewife's fire. The furniture ordinarily consists of rude benches or stools, perhaps a cheap chair, a rough table, and cots, or, more commonly, straw mats for sleeping. A Standard Oil Company can whose top and bottom have been removed is used for a stove. Furnishings include an unpretentious niche with a small image of the family's patron saint, a candle, perhaps an almanac, and a rude iron support for washbasin and pitcher of water. Utensils are usually of baked clay and quite simple in design.

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In respect to economic level, education, and, to some extent, religion, the inhabitants of these lower-class areas diverge widely from those of the ridges. They are usually illiterate, although some of the children are now being enrolled in government-sponsored schools. Communication is ordinarily by word of mouth, seldom by newspaper, book, or telephone. Conversation is carried on in the Portuguese

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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[12]Centered in the município of Valença.

[127] [13]In the comparison of yields here and in the following discussion, the data for Brazil and for the other countries or regions have been taken from the 1948-1950 yields as given in: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Yearbook of Food and Agricultural Statistics 1953, Vol. VII, Part I (Rome, Italy: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, 1954), pp. 1-334.

[128] [14]For a more detailed discussion of tobacco grades and zones, see Appendix E.

[15]Because of the great variations in tobacco area from year to year, the data for a single season are a less reliable guide to characteristic distribution for tobacco than for most other crops of the Recôncavo. The modifications which have been made in the official data are given in Appendix D.

[16]See Appendix E.

[17]The great local variation in yield in these zones is probably due to the concentration of the small quantity of tobacco in areas of highly diverse soils and irregular precipitation.

[18]However, this comparison should be considered with regard for the harvesting practices mentioned above.

[19]In ten of the thirteen years from 1939 to 1951, the area planted in tobacco in the Recôncavo rose and fell in accordance with the price of the preceding year. Data from: Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, Contribuição
[127] do Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, A Report Prepared for the First National Tobacco Congress (Salvador, Bahia: Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, 1952), pp. 1-16.

[20]The sources used in the discussion of tobacco production for
[127] 1931 to 1951, in this and the following paragraphs, were: (1) Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, Contribuição do Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, pp. 1-16; and (2) Antonio Nonato Marques, Geografia do Fumo na Bahia (Salvador, Bahia: Centro de Estudos Ruralistas Nonato Marques [1952]), pp. 1-85.

[128] [21]For a more detailed discussion of this aspect of tobacco-manioc cultivation, see the discussion of the tobacco-manioc system in Chapter VI.

[127] [22]The common practice of corn-bean interculture raises a problem in the interpretation of the statistical data which is discussed in Appendix D, as are modifications in the official data for corn.

[241] [23]The typical American or European garden, a permanent area for
[35] the production of household vegetables, fruits, and herbs, is practically unknown in the Recôncavo. Garden crops are grown at odd places within the cultivated areas or scattered around the houses, except for a few small, fenced plots for food production within the sugar cane zone. In all these gardens there is a very limited variety of crops.

[128] [24]The system of sugar cane cultivation will be discussed in Chapter VI.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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[127] [25]The official data for banana production have been adjusted, as is shown in Appendix D. According to: Immigration and Colonization Council, Modern Brazil (Rio de Janeiro: Immigration and Colonization Council, 1949), p. 119, a bunch of Brazilian bananas contains an average of 60 fruits and weighs 8 kilograms.

[35] [565] [26]Indeed, bananas are common plants within the city. Each upper class house, perched on top of the ridge, has its banana grove on the declivity behind. In the valley bottoms, banana plants surround the adobe houses of the lower class.

[27]These yields are offered for the purpose of general comparison. The diversity of conversion figures used in estimating the weight of bananas does not allow for precise comparison.

[127] [28]The official data for area in coffee in São Filipe apparently is a three-fold exaggeration, unless the yields are incredibly low. The production data are more reasonable.

[244] [29]Although manioc is not an annual plant, it is usually harvested in the Recôncavo before it is a year old. It seems more useful to classify these plants as annuals or perennials by their respective systems of cultivation rather than by their botanical characteristics.

[30]This comparison is somewhat unfair to Paraíba and Alagoas, since these states both include extensive non-agricultural areas, while the Recôncavo is an area specifically selected on the basis of intensity of agricultural land use.

[128] [31]For a comparison of 1940 and 1948 cultivated and agricultural area, see Appendix F.

[127] [249] [32]The cropland figure for Serrinha, derived from the 1948 data, is 25 per cent larger than the cultivated area given in the 1940 census. A complicating and contradictory line of evidence is supplied by the data on tobacco production, which is usually a good index of crop cultivation changes in this area. The tobacco production of Serrinha showed a decided decline from 1940 to 1948. It can only be assumed, in the light of the obvious growth of the cidade, that there was some expansion, but in food crops rather than in tobacco.

[33]The region which includes these two municípios follows the railroad from Nazaré to Jequié--the Estrada de Ferro Nazaré--and includes all the municípios touched by the line. In general this is thought of as a "coffee zone," but in its eastern section other crops, notably sugar cane and tobacco, displace coffee as the chief commercial products. Where this region approaches the Recôncavo most closely, in northern Santo Antônio, it is difficult to draw the boundary between the two. However, in 1948, even in 1953, the basic economic associations of Santo Antônio were with the railroad zone.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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The white man eats out of a plate, the mulatto where he likes, the *cabra* from a *cuia*,[6] the Negro out of an *aribe*.[7]

The white man sleeps in a bed,
The mulatto in the hall,
The *caboclo* in the parlor,
The Negro in the "privy."

Whites sleep in beds,
Mulattoes in the kitchen,
Caboclos on the *terreiro*,[8]
Negroes under the henroost.

The white man drinks champagne,
The mulatto Port wine,
The *caboclo* beer,
The Negro pig's urine.

The *chique-chique* is a thorny wood,
The *umburana* a bee's tree,
The oxen's necktie is a yoke,
The Negro's coat a beating.

The mulatto, the *cabrinha*,[9] and the Negro
Used to be able to drink;
But today only whites and mulattoes
Can swill it down all day.

You call me ugly;
I am ugly, but I am also affectionate.
The seasoning is ugly too,
But it makes a dish taste good.

[6] A *cuia* is a bowl made from half a gourd.

[7] An *aribe* is a crude clay dish.

[8] The space between the house and the servant quarters is called the *terreiro*. It may be paved with brick, or cement, but more often it is only of bare ground. [351]

[9] Diminutive of *cabra*.

lending money or even giving some to the overseer. Some of
* 565 the members of Class B even acquire property in Salvador
423 or in Centro, such as a house or houses which they may rent.
It is the possession of this material wealth, plus the position
* 565 of responsibility and authority, the greater proximity to the
owner, and the invariably legalized status of the man's fam-
183 ily which distinguish him from those below, placing him in a
class by himself. In the case of the higher-placed white-col-
lar workers of the factory, education is also important.

* 565 In material possessions other than those already listed,
Class B differs considerably from the other two classes, hav-
422 ing much less than Class A but much more than Class C.
[342] Their houses are always better and larger than those of the
[365] workers, and they usually have electricity supplied by the
plantation. They generally have complete sets of manufac-
[352] tured dining and living room furniture, better bedroom fur-
niture than the scanty belongings of the workers, china, rath-
[412] er than the clay dishes (nagé) of the workers, and table serv-
[415] ice for as many as a dozen persons. Usually their clothes are
better and more numerous. Overseers are well known for
[291] their use of khaki coats, shirts, ties, and riding breeches,
their well-polished leather boots and their felt hats, in con-
trast with the more informal sports clothes of the landowners
and with the ragged, tight trousers and shirt and the straw hat
of the shoeless rural worker.

* 565 Class B in the town of Vila Recôncavo is represented by
Group 1 as described in the preceding chapter, with a few ex-
ceptions such as the minor municipal employees and a few of
the smaller-scale merchants and lower-rated petroleum work-
ers. Because there are no representatives of Class A in the
town, Class B represents the top of the urban social scale.
It is a class which has long existed in the town and which has
always been composed of more or less the same occupation
groups. For the most part, members of this stratum live on
the hill which constitutes the old part of Vila Recôncavo, and
[162] seldom go down to the newer section. There are fourteen per-
sons residing in town, plus their eight children, who are con-
[792] sidered pure Caucasoid; they are all members of this local
upper class. Three of them are foreign-born Franciscans who
do not participate in much of public life once their official
duties are completed. The others are brancos da terra ("whites
of the land," a term which will be explained later in this chap-

The houses are small, usually consisting of a front living room, a corridor with one or two bedrooms, a small dining room, and a kitchen. The furniture is scanty--a miscellany of chairs, benches, and tables, an occasional dish closet, the ever-present pictures of saints, one or two beds, and clay dishes. 565* 342 [352] [353]

As noted earlier, the fisherman could earn more if he wanted to. There is a certain dispraisal of those who attempt to better themselves, though once they have raised their status they are admired. One fisherman in town worked harder than the others, earning slightly more; his house was always in better condition than the others, and his wife took better care of it. She was very neat, and her house and children were always remarkably clean. This family was always ridiculed by its neighbors for trying to be like gente (literally, people, but in Vila Recôncavo carrying the special connotation of upper-class people). Life became so unpleasant for them that they finally moved away. 565* 558

Class C is aware of the difference between it and the town's uppermost class and the planters. The latter constitute a very distant group to most town members of Class C, for there are almost no occasions when the two groups meet. When not pushed to a finer distinction, lower-class people usually recognize two strata--their own and a small but powerful one above them, consisting of the local upper class and planters. Color plays an important role in Class C, for it is generally acknowledged that the whiter one is, the higher in the social scale, in spite of the instances in town where dark mestiços have climbed to the top of the ladder, that is, to the top of Class B. Color is the one classifying criterion which applies to all members of Class C, since many of the other criteria, such as education and family tradition, are inapplicable. These negative considerations, plus the fact that their occupations are all manual, tend to make the group quite homogeneous except for skin color. Nevertheless, the town members of Class C consider themselves definitely superior to the field workers, regarding them as country bumpkins. There is little or no tendency for rural people to move into town, and no one remembers having heard of the marriage of a country person with a town dweller. 565* 829

What has been called Class D in Vila Recôncavo is composed largely of women who have children but no acknowledged husbands. There is no such group in the rural area, because of the pressure brought to bear by the plantation own- 565*

[Class C Families]

Patão, however, regales the daily gossip groups with his exploits, detail by detail, so it is always known who has visited him. These men are in no way ostracized, and continue a normal life alongside the others. There are also two cases of men connected with candomblé who are suspected of homosexual tendencies, but there are no definite data about them. Public opinion, nevertheless, is generally against homosexuality, and there was one case in which action was taken. A married man "pegou um menino" (caught a little boy) in the men's bath at one of the wells. Ordinarily the men enter the bath alone, the others waiting outside until the one inside has finished. On this occasion the man found the boy already there and entered with him. Later the boy told what had happened and the neighborhood was incensed and compelled the man to leave town at least temporarily. The boy's only remark was that he had not been paid! 626 838 [521]

Boys in their late teens sometimes jokingly refer to the clube de veados (homosexuals' club), intimating their exploratory experiences with one another, and what they have tried when they went together to Salvador or Centro, where, according to them, the streets are full of veados. No such reports were found for the rural people, but the complaint that young men were viciados nas mulas (corrupted by the use of mules) was common. Another case at a distant factory concerned two women who were living together, one very strong, large and bearded, and very jealous of anyone who even looked at the other. This case was well known, and considered hilarious by the neighbors. 838 [839] [522]

Family life in Class C is characterized by a lack of privacy. The house of a family in this class has at the most two bedrooms, frequently only one, in which all members must sleep. It is common for a young couple to have only one bed when their marriage begins, in which they, as well as their first and second children, sleep. The use of a cradle for infants is rare. The baby usually sleeps with the parents, and as it grows older, or as new babies are born, it is relegated to the foot of the bed. Loud and bitter are the complaints about children who wet the bed, which many of them do for many years. Most mothers say they try to wake up several times during the night in order to hold the infant over the side of the bed to allow it to perform its natural functions, which makes life more pleasant for the others in the bed. In the morning the floor is thoroughly washed. 565* [362] [352] [513] 565* 863 [356]

During the day young boys go about with only shorts on, or 600

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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plaint about African deities is the amount of work involved and the great expense entailed by making the proper clothes and buying the beads and bracelets. All leaders say that no one can afford traditional spirits these days. Those who had formerly had them, of course, still do, but have also been visited by Indian spirits which they much prefer. So they carry out the more fundamental obligations toward the African spirits, such as providing food and drink, but they dress and dance for their Indian spirits. The result has been a confusion of rituals--the use of African music and incantations and the addition of new dances, costumes, and foods appropriate for the simpler tastes of the Indian spirits.

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The cult houses (terreiros) are built like other houses in the community. The active one in town is located on a street in line with all the other houses, while that on the plantation is set slightly apart from the others, because of the scattered configuration of the village. The front room, which is the largest, is usually bare except for a few long wooden benches and a small altar with pictures of the patron saints of the cult leader and of several of the cult members. This room is decorated with crepe paper streamers and paper flowers; the dances are held here. The other rooms of the house consist of a bedroom, a dining room, a kitchen, and another room known as the pegi, which houses the African altar with its plants and leaves, dishes, bottles, cups, and glasses of food and drink for the spirits, as well as the symbol of each one of them, such as a spade, a sword, or a hatchet. In this room there is also usually a trunk containing the ceremonial paraphernalia used during the festivities, such as the dress and headdress of each spirit. This is the room in which sacrificial killings (matanças) are made of the goats and chickens used during the ceremonies. In the rural house there are also pictures of Catholic saints in the pegi, another departure from the older traditional houses where such a thing would never occur.

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The cult leader lives in the cult house. In the literature on candomblé the cult leader is usually referred to as the mae, or pai, de santo, which means literally "mother (or father) of the saints." None of the cult leaders in Vila Recôncavo likes this term; they say they could not possibly be the mother or father of the divine beings. They consider themselves rather zeladores, that is, caretakers of the saints on earth. There is much the same complaint about the term filha, or filho, de

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[City of Salvador]

175 249 these, together with the plantations of Pernambuco, supplied a large part of the sugar for the tables of Europe.

175 439 433 [162] [34] [352] [554] [567] By 1670 Bahia was a wealthy capital boasting that her flag was known upon the seven seas. Ships from the Portuguese empire in the East called regularly on their way back to Portugal. By the early eighteenth century Bahia had grown into a city of 70,000, her commerce protected by the cross-fire of fourteen forts. Six- and seven-story buildings were common; the possession of carved ebony furniture had become a symbol of social standing; silks, palanquins, and the finest porcelain were imported from China. In the surrounding cane fields toiled, it is estimated, ten times as many slaves as in Virginia. A century later, Lindley, an English smuggler, after admiring the abundance of gold jewelry worn by the women of Bahia, looked out over the shipping in the harbor and wrote of "a degree of wealth unknown in Europe."

Bahia continued to be the first commercial city of Brazil until about 1830,[1] when she finally yielded front rank to São Paulo, the rising young metropolis to the south. But during the entire colonial period (1549–1822), Bahia possessed the principal Brazilian firms and the largest Brazilian fortunes.

175 633 During the first two centuries of the colonial era, Bahia was the seat of Portuguese control in Brazil, the official residence of high functionaries representing the Portuguese crown. Even after the government was transferred to Rio (1763), Bahia continued to play a prominent role in the politics of the colony and, subsequent to independence

[249] [1] In 1868, although the decline in sugar production was by that time well advanced, Bahia had 511 *engenhos* producing nearly 19,000 tons of sugar a year.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

things African" that he is occasionally called to Pernambuco, four hundred miles up the Brazilian coast, to carry out special rituals which cult members in that city are unable to perform. Of the *candomblé*, he says, "The Nagô worships nature because he is realistic and wants to see what he worships. He can't see the Catholics' God." 794

The *barracão* here is about fifty feet by thirty, with roof and one end thatched with palm fronds, and floor freshly sanded. By nightfall it is gaily decorated with paper streamers, most of which are white; some, however, are red, blue, green, or yellow. A large and neat placard, which one of the *ogans* proudly says was painted by his daughter, a first-year student at the Escola Normal, bears the inscription: "Centro Cruz Santa do Aché de Okô Afonjá," a combination of Portuguese and Nagô which means "Sacred Cross Center of the Brothers and Sisters of the Temple of Xangô." Chairs to accommodate the priestess, the elderly Negro woman, and the old Negro man have been placed on a dais to the left of the musicians. The spectators are carefully excluded from the dancing space in front of the drums by railings patrolled by *ogans*. On the end wall hang three white pennants bearing respectively, the inscriptions, "Viva Oxalá," "Viva Oxun," and "Viva Aryra," and one red pennant with the words, "Viva Xangô." 794 346 352 353

The *filhas*, all of whom are escorted into the *barracão* under a white sheet held by *ogans* who also light the procession with flaming torches, number seventeen, all of whom are blacks, with the exception of two dark mulattoes. Of the *ogans*, fourteen are blacks, eleven are mulattoes, six of whom are dark mixed-bloods, and one is a Portuguese immigrant who came to Brazil some thirty years ago and now owns a small retail establishment in the Lower City. 794 [416]

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

794 [302] Three of the dancers are *yauôs*, in process of being "made." Their heads have been shaved clean, and white spots and [301] blue lines have been painted upon them. On their cheeks are white spots and white lines. Around the neck, or over the right shoulder and under the left arm, are long chains of large cowries imported from the West Coast.

794 346 353 177 776 In a special building with a cement floor is "the throne room of Xangô." At one side is an altar to him, which is lavishly decorated with candles and flowers, both fresh and artificial. Indicating the fusion of Catholic and fetish elements, one notes on the lower step an image of Santo Antonio, on the second, one of Nossa Senhora das Candeias, on the third, an image of the twins, Cosme and Damião, and, on the top level, one of São Jeronimo. The *mãe de santo* says that Santo Antonio is "just another name" for Ogun; as similarly is Nossa Senhora das Candeias, for the water deity, Oxun; Cosme and Damião, for Beji; and São Jeronimo, for Xangô.

794 346 [352] On the other side of the room is "the throne of Xangô," a wooden chair, intricately carved, with a pillow for a headrest. Suspended on the walls are pictures of several Catholic saints.

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794 793 159 The leader of another *seita* is a male black, known as Pae Procopio, sixty-six years of age, of Gêge descent, whose father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, he proudly boasts, were all Africans and *paes de santo*. His mother's sister was also "an *Africano*," but his mother was a Brazilian-born black, a *mãe de santo* who "deixou o cargo" (i.e., left the

5: Azevedo--19 D, Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[Salvador]

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1. A colored business-man.

5: Azevedo--20 D, Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
[Salvador]

142
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302
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At the University

VILA RECÔNCAVO

The houses are small, usually consisting of a front living room, a corridor with one or two bedrooms, a small dining room, and a kitchen. The furniture is scanty--a miscellany of chairs, benches, and tables, an occasional dish closet, the ever-present pictures of saints, one or two beds, and clay dishes. 565* 342 [352] [353]

As noted earlier, the fisherman could earn more if he wanted to. There is a certain dispraisal of those who attempt to better themselves, though once they have raised their status they are admired. One fisherman in town worked harder than the others, earning slightly more; his house was always in better condition than the others, and his wife took better care of it. She was very neat, and her house and children were always remarkably clean. This family was always ridiculed by its neighbors for trying to be like gente (literally, people, but in Vila Recôncavo carrying the special connotation of upper-class people). Life became so unpleasant for them that they finally moved away. 565* 558

Class C is aware of the difference between it and the town's uppermost class and the planters. The latter constitute a very distant group to most town members of Class C, for there are almost no occasions when the two groups meet. When not pushed to a finer distinction, lower-class people usually recognize two strata--their own and a small but powerful one above them, consisting of the local upper class and planters. Color plays an important role in Class C, for it is generally acknowledged that the whiter one is, the higher in the social scale, in spite of the instances in town where dark mestiços have climbed to the top of the ladder, that is, to the top of Class B. Color is the one classifying criterion which applies to all members of Class C, since many of the other criteria, such as education and family tradition, are inapplicable. These negative considerations, plus the fact that their occupations are all manual, tend to make the group quite homogeneous except for skin color. Nevertheless, the town members of Class C consider themselves definitely superior to the field workers, regarding them as country bumpkins. There is little or no tendency for rural people to move into town, and no one remembers having heard of the marriage of a country person with a town dweller. 565* 829

What has been called Class D in Vila Recôncavo is composed largely of women who have children but no acknowledged husbands. There is no such group in the rural area, because of the pressure brought to bear by the plantation own- 565*

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

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plaint about African deities is the amount of work involved and 787
the great expense entailed by making the proper clothes and 177
buying the beads and bracelets. All leaders say that no one can afford traditional spirits these days. Those who had formerly had them, of course, still do, but have also been visited by Indian spirits which they much prefer. So they carry out the more fundamental obligations toward the African 794
spirits, such as providing food and drink, but they dress and 178
dance for their Indian spirits. The result has been a confusion of rituals--the use of African music and incantations and 177
the addition of new dances, costumes, and foods appropriate [782]
for the simpler tastes of the Indian spirits.

The cult houses (terreiros) are built like other houses in 794
the community. The active one in town is located on a street
in line with all the other houses, while that on the plantation 346
is set slightly apart from the others, because of the scattered
configuration of the village. The front room, which is the 353
largest, is usually bare except for a few long wooden benches and a small altar with pictures of the patron saints of the [361]
cult leader and of several of the cult members. This room is [352]
decorated with crepe paper streamers and paper flowers; the dances are held here. The other rooms of the house consist of a bedroom, a dining room, a kitchen, and another room known as the pegi, which houses the African altar with its plants and leaves, dishes, bottles, cups, and glasses of food and drink for the spirits, as well as the symbol of each one of them, such as a spade, a sword, or a hatchet. In this room there is also usually a trunk containing the ceremonial paraphernalia used during the festivities, such as the dress and headdress of each spirit. This is the room in which sacrificial killings (matanças) are made of the goats and chickens [782]
used during the ceremonies. In the rural house there are also pictures of Catholic saints in the pegi, another departure from the older traditional houses where such a thing would never occur.

The cult leader lives in the cult house. In the literature on 793
candomblé the cult leader is usually referred to as the mae, 794
or pai, de santo, which means literally "mother (or father) 192
of the saints." None of the cult leaders in Vila Recôncavo likes [346]
this term; they say they could not possibly be the mother or father of the divine beings. They consider themselves rather zeladores, that is, caretakers of the saints on earth. There is 794
much the same complaint about the term filha, or filho, de 192

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

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4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

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The dances continue unabated for hours, until the air of the *barracão* becomes very warm and permeated with the odor of perspiring bodies. Seriously, with rapt attention, the closely packed crowd looks on, eager to see and hear the numerous *orixás* as they "arrive." During a period of the most intense excitement, when tensions have been built up almost to the breaking-point, a rocket suddenly bursts with a loud report outside the *barracão*. A woman seated among the spectators who is not a *filha de santo* is immediately thrown into violent, convulsive muscular movements and bounces up and down with great force on the board seat, her head snapping back and forth in time to the now almost frenzied beat of the drums. The *pae de santo* rushes to support her in order to prevent imminent injury. Several visiting *filhas de santo* who do not want to dance in this strange place and are consequently "resisting" the imminent "arrival" of their *orixás*, call out with imploring voices, one after the other, "Dê-me agua, por amor de Deus" ("Give me water, for the love of God!"). The face of a servant girl named Joanna, a *filha* from a neighboring *seita*, is drawn, and she appears to be in pain. Afterward, she says that her *orixá*, Xangô, was beating and striking her to make her dance and that she felt more tired than if she had danced all night long. But other spectators remark, "How beautiful! I never saw Ogun dance like that before. And Oxóssi, and Yemanjá, they are wonderful, simply wonderful!"

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The ceiling of another *barracão* (at the *terreiro* called Gantois) is trimmed with paper streamers—red, white, blue, and yellow—each alternating with rows of white paper roses. The electric-light bulb suspended from the ceiling is shaded by red and white pieces of cellophane. On the walls are red and white paper shields, each bearing the words, "Louvores á

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

Xangou" ("Praises to Xangô") or "Louvores á Ogun" ("Praises to Ogun"). A small niche built in above the doorway which leads to the *pegi* is neatly decorated with red and white paper bows, and in it stands a crucifix about ten inches high, together with images of the Virgin Mary with the child Jesus in her arms, of Santo Antonio (St. Anthony), and of São Jorge (St. George).

In a circle in front of the drums are twenty-two women, the oldest of whom is about sixty years of age and the youngest eight. Fourteen are blacks, eight are mulattoes, none of whom is very light. All have serious expressions on their faces, especially the little girl, although none appear in the least bit self-conscious. Six are *yaubs*, or initiates, in the process of being "made," and range in age from fourteen to seventeen years. Two are dedicated to Omanlú (Omolú), and four to Oxun. The Omanlú initiates are dressed principally in shades of red. Strands of hemp died reddish-brown drop from the head to below the knee, completely obscuring the face. Above the head the strands rise vertically and are tied together in a cluster at the end. Below the hem of a dark-red skirt appear white pantalettes which fit tightly over the legs and extend to the ankle. Each girl wears four strands of cowries around each bare arm at the biceps and a long string of cowries over the right shoulder and under the left arm.

The Oxun initiates have their heads shaved, and three concentric circles have been painted in white around the crown. Smaller circles intercept the outer of these three. Large white spots have also been painted on the face, the neck, and the back of the head. Four feathers, one of which is red, one white, one black, and one brown, are held firmly upright at the forehead by a ribbon tied very tightly. Each

[The Private Plantation]

côncavo. So far only the pai adão has been able to fulfill the plowing requirements. Lately, however, tractors with caterpillar tread have been introduced and, when used carefully with disk plows, have given excellent results. But the old standby is still commonly in use, hitched to eight, ten, twelve, or as many as twenty oxen. 249*1 407 [492]

The owner's house with its park stands on a small hilltop and is visible from afar because of its imperial palms. Nearby, on another hilltop, is the settlement of workers, a long street with houses on either side, the barracks, a small store, and the ever-present casa de farinha, the house where manioc is always being ground, pressed, and roasted to make the farina which is the staple food of the area. Also on this street is the overseer's house, which stands out from the others because of its large size and its veranda. The houses of the workmen are small and built for the most part under one long, common roof. Each house is really an apartment consisting of a front living room and a long corridor going back to the kitchen, with one or two bedrooms leading off the corridor. Other houses, under separate roofs, have similar interior arrangements. The roofs are of red tiles, the rest of the house of clay mud (taipa) slapped on both sides of a bamboo framework. After the mud has dried a coat of whitewash is applied. The houses are built and kept in repair by the plantation owner and do not belong to the workers. The floors are of beaten earth, difficult to keep clean. At night, when only a tiny oil lamp is burning, the houses look dark and gloomy. 249* 361 [252] [262] 249* 342 [356] [423] [416]

After dark one has the impression of hearing much more than one can see. Kerosene is expensive to burn, no one reads, and most of life is geared to doing in the daytime those tasks which require light. At night the workmen and their families sit in the dark talking, or perhaps go to the casa de farinha where a fellow workman and his family may be grinding their manioc. This building is softly lit with kerosene lamps and there is a cheerful glow from the roasting fire. More recently the overseer's house has been equipped with electricity, and now it is always well lighted at night. His new radio has become a center of attraction and small groups form about his veranda, listening. At the other end of the street, during harvest time, there is always a bonfire in front of the barracks where the migrant workers are sheltered. On special occasions there may be a samba (dance), perhaps in the plantation owner's house. Then everyone dons his best and the 249* 517 [535]

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Class C Families]

Patão, however, regales the daily gossip groups 626
with his exploits, detail by detail, so it is always known who 838
has visited him. These men are in no way ostracized, and [521]
continue a normal life alongside the others. There are also two cases of men connected with candomblé who are suspected of homosexual tendencies, but there are no definite data about them. Public opinion, nevertheless, is generally against homosexuality, and there was one case in which action was taken. A married man "pegou um menino" (caught a little boy) in the men's bath at one of the wells. Ordinarily the men enter the bath alone, the others waiting outside until the one inside has finished. On this occasion the man found the boy already there and entered with him. Later the boy told what had happened and the neighborhood was incensed and compelled the man to leave town at least temporarily. The boy's only remark was that he had not been paid!

Boys in their late teens sometimes jokingly refer to the 838
clube de veados (homosexuals' club), intimating their exploratory experiences with one another, and what they have tried when they went together to Salvador or Centro, where, [839]
according to them, the streets are full of veados. No such reports were found for the rural people, but the complaint that young men were viciados nas mulas (corrupted by the use of mules) was common. Another case at a distant factory con- [522]
cerned two women who were living together, one very strong, large and bearded, and very jealous of anyone who even looked at the other. This case was well known, and considered hilarious by the neighbors.

Family life in Class C is characterized by a lack of pri- 565 *
vacy. The house of a family in this class has at the most two [362]
bedrooms, frequently only one, in which all members must sleep. It is common for a young couple to have only one bed [352]
when their marriage begins, in which they, as well as their [513]
first and second children, sleep. The use of a cradle for infants is rare. The baby usually sleeps with the parents, and as it grows older, or as new babies are born, it is relegated to the foot of the bed. Loud and bitter are the complaints about 565 *
children who wet the bed, which many of them do for many 863
years. Most mothers say they try to wake up several times during the night in order to hold the infant over the side of the bed to allow it to perform its natural functions, which makes life more pleasant for the others in the bed. In the [356]
morning the floor is thoroughly washed.

During the day young boys go about with only shorts on, or 600

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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> was in sharp contrast to the colonization of Spanish America where the conquistador and the priest were largely responsible for establishing the Spaniards as a ruling caste, and to the founding of the English colonies in North America where the community and the smaller, more equalitarian family were basic elements. As has been shown so well by Freyre's monumental work, the patriarchal form of social organization early obtained almost unlimited sway in Brazil. For centuries Portuguese America continued to be dominated by a few thousand casas grandes, seats of sugar engenhos and cattle fazendas, each of which was the fortress headquarters of a numerous clan. Even today there remains much of this feudal type of social organization, and this great family is the institution through which the white or near-white upper class maintains its control. Of course this patriarchal family has little in common with the equalitarian family of the United States and western Europe.[13]

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596 The colonial family is the idealized family of both the aristocratic upper class in Salvador and the sugar cane zone and of the local upper classes in the smaller cities. It also corresponds rather closely to the actual family structure of much of the upper class of the Recôncavo. The lower class families of the Recôncavo seem to have quite a different functional character and social significance.

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582 The Upper Class Family. Marriage, contracted almost exclusively from within the class group, has the important function of uniting the relatively small number of large extended families which compose the
594 upper class. The unit families, parents and children, of the Recôncavo
596 are relatively large, in conformation to the Brazilian stereotype of five children. This unit family is tightly enclosed in a net of relationships with the extended families of both husband and wife, and many social functions are centered within these larger groups.

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596 The upper class child is reared within a well-defined circle which includes the immediate family, the servants--who frequently have
861 a quasi-parental relationship to the children, like the legendary
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591 "mammy" of the United States South--and the more immediate members of the extended family.

443 upper part of town also sells cloth. Most stores also have small supplies of chocolate (considered a great treat at a party), tea, honey, canned desserts such as guava, and canned butter and cheese. As a rule fresh vegetables are not sold in the stores but peddled through the streets, since few people eat them. It is more practical to order them specially from someone going to the fair in Centro. Nearly everyone has a banana tree or an orange tree in the back yard, so that few fruits are sold in the stores. The other seasonal crops, such as cashew nuts, corn, and pineapples, are peddled from house
443 to house. As a rule people in Vila Recôncavo buy their food
432 in small quantities, since they have no methods of food pres-
[251] ervation. A liter bottle is carried to the store to be filled with oil or kerosene; a small can is carried there to be filled with rice, beans, or farina. The smoked meat called charque is bought by the kilo and left hanging in the kitchen, and strips are cut from it at meal times. Although the price of charque is as high as that of fresh meat, and at times higher, people say it is more satisfying. As a rule the butcher in Vila Recôncavo kills two steers a week, on Wednesday and Saturday. The meat is carried through the streets unwrapped, hanging from a cord. It is not unusual to see a string of dogs following such a person. The meat is eaten the same day to prevent spoilage, and as a result it is usually tough and flavorless.

463 Most of the people included in Group 1 lead an upper-class
*565 kind of life; indeed to a great extent these people are the town's highest class, as will be shown in the next chapter. These are the people who do little or no labor themselves other than the white-collar work with which they earn their living. The men
[291] dress in city clothes most of the time--white shirt, tie, and suit coat--and the women are always neatly dressed with shoes and silk stockings. (The oil workers are an exception, for they do not hold white-collar jobs but wear overalls and helmets). There is always help to do the housework and the marketing.
463 Sometimes a cook is employed; otherwise the lady of the house
*565 does her own cooking, assisted by her daughters. The laundry is sent out, or else the laundress comes to the house to do it,
• 357 and water for drinking purposes and for washing is brought to the house by a man or woman employed for the purpose; mem-
[296] bers of the household never fetch water at the wells. Often the house has a cement tank and drains on the roof to catch
[312] rainwater. Nor does any member of the house fetch firewood,
[313] which is supplied by a hired person.

*565 tation administration are over. In general, however, neither the children nor the parents mix with the permanent residents of Vila Recôncavo. Although as small children they may have a worker's son as a constant playmate, by the time they are teenagers this relationship has usually faded into a fond memory.

*565 458 The standard of living of this class is far above that of any of the other local groups. It is important to realize that because of the fluctuations of the sugar market, members of this class have not always had fluid wealth at their command, while at other periods they have been undeniably wealthy. But even during a slump they have been able to raise money when necessary. One of the major reasons that planters turned to the professions was the need to assure themselves of a continued income when the sugar market falls. At such times their main activities are directed toward earning a living in the city. But at those times when sugar producing is profitable the practicing of the activities becomes a strain, and one or the other must suffer. Nevertheless, at any time these people have earned enough to maintain a standard of living which compares favorably with that of the upper class in any large city. Households are complete with refrigerators, radios, and other electrical appliances which must be imported. Many have automobiles, receive magazines from abroad, follow Parisian dress styles, take interest in international affairs, and in general lead a life of wide interests. In the rural zone their houses are much better than those of any others, often having running water, electricity, and a full range of service provided by servants. Usually the household servants move from country to city with the family.

*565 511 [416] [207] [184] [357] [166]

*565 571 Class B in the rural zone of the community is made up of plantation overseers, factory technicians, and white-collar workers of the factory offices. It is almost as small as Class A, comprising about twenty adult members. As in the case of the planters, who associate with other planters outside the community, the overseers of various plantations have reunions. There is much more social contact between the overseers and the mass of workers, however, than between the planters and the workers. The planters usually know all the workers on their plantations, as well as their families; but although there is frequent visiting and chatting between the women of the two groups and between the males of the two groups, there is little basis for conversation. The planta-

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517 harvesting and milling. The factory operates twenty-four hours
a day during this season. In the winter, when they have more
[461] leisure, travel is too difficult, for the roads disappear in
mud. Few of the rural people go to the town of Vila Recôn-
*[249] cavo, for it has nothing to attract them except the boat to Sal-
vador and the priest, whom they sometimes visit to have a
[546] Mass said or for a burial. The free movies recently inno-
vated by the Petroleum Council and located a mile from the
[562] factory have been a boon to the rural people, but as a rule
only the men attend. In fact, almost any kind of off-planta-
tion gathering is attended predominantly by men.

*249 On most plantations the casa de farinha is a social gath-
*565 ering place, and both males and females congregate there to
461 talk about the latest news while they work. The women also
gossip at the local well as they fetch water or remain there
[521] washing their clothes. Their everyday lives are busy, and
there is little time for purely social activities. The day be-
[512] gins and ends early. Soon after dark the lights go out, the
houses close, and silence reigns except for the noise coming
from the casa de farinha, which may operate all night, or the
lonesome singing of the caatingueiros housed in the barracks,
*249 or the strong rhythmic sound of the drums coming from a dis-
tant candomblé ceremony. Because there is little work for
*565 women on a plantation, the "extra" girls, those for whom
461 there are no potential husbands, ask the planter to get them
work as domestics in the city; this is usually easy, for there
• 357 is nearly always someone in Salvador looking for a "good,
strong country girl" to work in the home. Occasionally, if a
worker's son is especially intelligent and industrious, he too
may be placed in some position in the city.

*565 Class C comprises the majority of the population in the town
of Vila Recôncavo and includes most of the occupations listed
in Group 3 of the preceding chapter--that is, fishermen, gar-
deners, and artisans. There are no "pure whites" in this
class, but, as in the rural area, a few "whites of the land"
and the full range of mestiços, whose various color and social
[361] characteristics will be discussed later. The people of Class
C live for the most part in the lower section of town, in the
areas called Cortume, Largo de Santa Cruz, Rua Nova, Bo-
[423] queirão, Cumbamba, and Caquende. The great majority of them
own their homes, although the land belongs to the Fazenda En-
[427] genho da Vila, to the church, or to the prefeitura, and is rent-
ed for a small yearly sum. The houses are small, usually

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the lighter-skinned people for intermarriage with the mass of light-skinned people of the capital. Most of the townspeople have connexions of some sort in Salvador and travel back and forth a great deal. Some, mostly girls, take employment in the city as maids, and there either get married, or '*aparecem grávidas*' (show up pregnant), afterwards returning home to stay or for visits.

On the plantations the people have little opportunity for such mixing, owing to their isolation. Mixing occurs either on the same plantation or between neighbouring plantations, and since most of the plantation workers are dark, the offspring tends to remain dark. There is comparatively little marriage between people of the urban and rural zones.

The people of the town consider themselves far superior culturally to the *taberéu* or 'hick'[1] of the rural zone. Not only are they lighter in colour, but they are more 'citified', having more contact with the outside world, and this contact increases daily. Only in the town did the lower-class people express interest in the racial situation in the United States and particularly question segregation, a practice they could not understand. In the rural zone, the United States meant only some place other than Bahia. This is given as an example of the difference in degree of sophistication between the two parts of a comparatively small area. The sophistication of the townspeople tends to increase, as does their lightness of colour, while on the *fazendas* the colour has remained almost static, as has the degree of instruction.

565 Class is one of the most important factors in the everyday lives of the people of Vila Recôncavo. *Who's Who* is well known to all the residents of the community. Almost any resident will say that there are two classes, the rich and the poor. But definitions vary greatly as to what is rich, while practically all agree as to what is poor. Rich means, primarily, having money, a good house, more than one suit of clothing, a horse or mule, a servant to do the housework, and not having to do manual work. It also includes power of some description over other people. Poor is the reverse of all these things; working hard for someone else, a mud house with a dirt floor, one suit of clothes and one pair of shoes. For everyday ranking, this division into only two classes may serve.

A closer analysis shows that four distinct classes can be recognized, as stated earlier. There are many elements which go toward defining the classes—wealth, education and family. Race is also important. People say that wealth is the most important, education the second, and race the third in importance. Thus race is but one of a number of elements ranking people in a social scale, rather than a separating factor which divides them into distinct groups.

[1] Other terms used to convey the same meaning are *gente do mato* (people of the forest) and *gente de roça* (backwoodsmen).

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll
BRAZIL SLI

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to live together because they mutually support one another. Similarly, different racial stocks often occupy to mutual advantage the same habitat because each fits into a different niche in an interdependent symbiotic order. The fundamental problem is that of survival. The Portuguese at Bahia to a considerable extent resolved this problem by the development of an economy based upon plantation agriculture and slave labor.

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A considerable number of Negroes died while being transported from Africa. Others subsequently perished from the ravages of cholera, yellow fever, and other epidemics. A few committed suicide or led religiously motivated uprisings against their masters. But the major portion were readily incorporated into the plantation system. Centuries of familiarity with the slave tradition of their African cultures and, in many cases, familiarity with the slave status itself probably made their adjustment to a slave system in the new land less difficult.

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Most of the Negroes entering and remaining in the vicinity of Bahia were employed in the planting, cultivation, harvesting, processing, and marketing of sugar cane and tobacco. A limited number were engaged in cattle-raising. They also supplied the necessary artisan and domestic labor on the plantations.

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Within the city of Bahia itself, as in other Brazilian ports, most of the slaves were engaged in domestic service. However, in addition, a modified form of slavery existed. Many blacks, known as *negros de ganho*, were employed as porters, stevedores, ironworkers, masons, carpenters, carriage- and cabinet-makers, printers, sign and ornamental painters, silversmiths, lithographers, sculptors in wood and stone, small shopkeepers, street merchants, etc. They were semi-inde-

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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BRAZIL SL1

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The opportunities in Brazil for these relations to develop, particularly in the case of domestic servants, were extensive. Cooper states a fact long characteristic of the upper classes in Brazil when he says: "As in the East, the houses are . . . . filled with . . . . servants, and these servants partake of the character of their Eastern prototypes in their . . . . willingness to perform the many small and menial acts of personal service which the Brazilian requires, but which would hardly be expected of servants in the United States."[32]

Symbolic of the intimate nature of these relations was the common form of etiquette which grew up and became customary between Brazilian master and slave. It is said to have been a practice observed in all well-regulated families that slaves, "of both sexes and of every age," requested each morning and evening a blessing from their master. According to Stewart, the words used in the middle of the nineteenth century were, "I beseech your blessing [or "Grant me a blessing"], in the name of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ!" To which the master replied, "Jesus Christ bless you forever!"[33] As João Ribeiro has aptly said, "Agrupavam-se em familias, senão no sentido da lei, ao menos da religião."[34]

Debret, who spent several months at Rio in the early part of the same century, says[35] that it was there customary for

[32] Clayton S. Cooper, *The Brazilians and Their Country* (New York, 1917), pp. 61–62. Cf. also Gilberto Freyre, "Social Life in Brazil in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, V, No. 4 (November, 1922), 607.

[33] *Op. cit.*, p. 408.

[34] "They were united into families, if not by law, at least by religion."

[35] *Op. cit.*, III, 130. Cf. also the account of Maria Graham regarding a *fasenda* in the province of Rio de Janeiro: "I attended the weekly muster of all the Negroes of the *fasenda;* clean shirts and trousers were given to the

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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BRAZIL SL1
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is said, did not usually exist in Brazil much longer than the third generation.[32] In Minas Geraes, in 1835, while importations from Africa were still large, there were 170,000 mulattoes to 305,000 blacks.[33]

Thus miscegenation has gone on in Brazil in an unobtrusive way over a long period of time. In few places in the world, perhaps, has the interpenetration of peoples of divergent racial stocks proceeded so continuously and on so extensive a scale.[34]

One circumstance in Bahia still favorable to miscegenation is the system of household service universal in upper-class, principally white, families. Whereas no inconsiderable portion of the domestic labor in the United States, at least in northern areas, is white, consisting largely of peasant immigrant women from Europe, household labor in Bahia is almost invariably black or dark mulatto. For example, of 250 servant women noted, 197 were black, 47 were mulatto (predominantly dark), 4 were *cafuso*,[34a] and only 2 were white. In other words, only 0.8 per cent appeared to be of unmixed white descent. For this reason, interbreeding between males in white upper-class families and servant girls leads almost always to black-white, or at least mulatto-white, crosses.

The disposition to tolerate intermixture with the African

[32] Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 163. [33] *Ibid.*

[34] Calmon writes (*ibid.*, p. 158): "Nenhum outro povo tão ligeiro marchou para a estabilização de um tipo procedente dos mais opostos fatores; principalmente em nenhum outro as propriedades unitivas do idioma, da religião, do meio físico, se conjugaram tão intimamente para uniformizar, num imenso territorio (Luc Durtain disse que o Brasil é um dos cinco países verdadeiramente cosmicos) a descendencia de inumeros troncos, celtico, negroide, aborigene."

[34a] Indian-Negro mixed-blood.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

CHAPTER VI

THE RISE OF THE MIXED-BLOOD

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EARLY in the colonial period race mixture resulted in an intermediate population group in more favorable position for social advancement. Mulatto slaves, because they were ordinarily chosen by their masters and mistresses for the more delicate and exacting household tasks, to be *mucamas* (maids), *amas de crear* ("mammies"), and other *pessoal de casa* (house servants), early developed into a distinct group apart from the field hands.[1] They were baptized, received the master's name, and often were married in accordance with the prescribed legal and religious practices, thus establishing legitimate families and adding to the social security of their offspring by building up a family tradition.

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Many *mulatinhos*, illegitimate children of the *senhor*, learned to read and to write even more quickly than white, legitimate children, outstripping them in preparatory and even advanced studies. The Reconcavo of Bahia yields a number of such cases.[2] Particularly fortunate, we are told, were the children of priests. Their fathers, being ordinarily from upper-class families and possessing money and prestige, transmitted to their offspring, colored as well as white, ad-

[1] F. J. Oliveira Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro* (2d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 157; Jean Baptiste de Lacerda, "The *Métis*, or Half-breeds of Brazil," in *Papers on Inter-racial Problems*, ed. G. Spiller (London, 1911), p. 379.

[2] Gilberto Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* (2d ed.; Rio, 1936), pp. 324–25. The author throughout this chapter is greatly indebted to Freyre's *Sobrados e mucambos* (São Paulo, 1936), esp. chap. vii.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

in pigmentation. An able lawyer, with an extended period of practice in Bahia, he was well regarded by his associates.

At a formal dinner given by *A Tarde*, probably the most influential Bahian daily, in honor of a noted journalist and poet, 15 whites, 4 *brancos da Bahia*, 3 light mulattoes, and 6 medium or dark mixed-bloods sat down together at the banquet table. Among the guests, according to the account on the subsequent day, were "all the editorial writers and collaborators of this newspaper, together with a few specially invited friends and admirers of the honored guest [a white]."

Among the members attending a session of the Bahian Academy of Letters were 5 whites, 1 *branco da Bahia*, and 3 mulattoes. One of the latter is an able poet, quite dark, with kinky hair.

Present at a tea dance given by Bahia's Girl Guides at the exclusive club previously mentioned were the city's social élite, including the governor. *A Tarde*, in reporting the event, said, "As was to be expected, there was present our best society—all of it, almost—making the occasion one of elegance and distinction." Of the 414 guests, 346 were whites, 64 were very light mulattoes (exhibiting only slight traces of Negro ancestry), and 3 were dark mixed-bloods. One of the latter, with kinky hair but Caucasian features, was accompanied by a light mulatto wife, almost white, and two light mulatto daughters. One of the latter danced once during the afternoon—with a white youth. Of 30 Girl Guides serving the guests, 3 showed slight traces of Negro origin. The only blacks present were the members of the jazz orchestra (composed of 3 blacks and 6 dark mulattoes) and 2 maids who had accompanied white families.

The president of a literary, semiscientific, and social or-

4: Pierson Z, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Carlos Gomes, famed Brazilian composer of the operas *Guaranÿ* and *Fosca*, 389 Bahians gathered in the Instituto Geographico e Historico. Of these, 316 were whites, 61 were mulattoes (predominately light), 11 were blacks, and 1 was a *cafuso*. With the governor of Bahia (white) on the platform were 12 citizens in formal dress, all whites[26] except the governor's bodyguard, a light mulatto in army uniform. Two young ladies in formal dress, both white, sang and declaimed. Of the 3 subsequent speakers, 2 were whites and 1 was a *branco da Bahia*. The military police band, which furnished instrumental music for the occasion, was composed of 9 blacks, 26 mulattoes, 2 whites, 3 *cafusos*, and 1 *mameluco*, under the direction of a mulatto bandmaster. Fifty students from the Instituto de Musica da Bahia sang one of Gomes' compositions. All were whites, except 2 light mulattoes.

Twenty-one women, aged eighteen to forty, were present at a cooking school sponsored by a foreign resident. A novel experience in Bahia, where for generations Negro servants have prepared the food, this school had assumed somewhat the character of a fad. The group included several ladies from upper-class families, well to do, educated and traveled. The wife of the governor occasionally attended. Present were 18 whites and 3 light mulattoes, among the latter a *morena*, perhaps the best-dressed lady of the group. Her father is deceased, and her mother is a dressmaker in moderate circumstances. The girl's beauty, pleasant manner, and constant well-tailored appearance have secured for her admittance into the upper circles. She is often invited into the "best" homes. Another of the mixed-bloods present was

[26] Including one *branco da Bahia*.

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*794 supposedly there is competition among them as to which night
[565] will be the loveliest. This becomes more expensive each year, however, and the patrons are becoming less willing to donate money. This festival is most enjoyed by the lower classes. It is avoided by members of Class B, who in many instances are nevertheless called upon to be patrons.

796 The festival takes on a carnival aspect each night, with
[525] booths set up in the streets by professional people from Sal-
[275] vador and Centro. The booths have wheels of fortune and guessing games, and sell sweets and drinks. After the religious celebration in the chapel, everyone goes out into the square to talk, play games, and dance.

796 The day before the first Mass of the festival is celebrated,
794 the chapel is thoroughly washed by the women participants of
• 358 the African cult house, who dress up in their many starched
[291] skirts and bandanas and go to the well as a group for water, which they take to the chapel to throw on the floor. A few little barefoot girls wash down the floor with brooms. After the
[535] washing the women go out dancing in the streets. They dance
*[565] on every street in town and ask for alms. This entire procedure, known as the lavagem (washing), is much frowned upon by members of Class B.

796 Most of the ordinary town life ceases during these nine days, for everyone is tired after staying up so late at night. The day of the patron saint of the town falls during this festival, and is passed over with nothing more than a simple Mass celebrated in the mother church in his honor. The people of the rural area of this parish do not observe the day of the patron saint
[794] at all. The day after the nine-day festival, a group of young men go out dancing and singing in the streets, asking for alms to make a large feijoada (feast of beans) at night. This is called mazorra (the clowns). After this the men settle down again to their fishing, for by now their money is all used up.

The next festival on the calendar is the second of February, when the nearby towns of Centro, Conselho, and Morro celebrate the day of their patron saint. People from Vila Recôncavo go to one or another of these three towns, although not
[778] in great numbers. The majority go to Conselho, which has the reputation of being a holy place, and to which pilgrimages are
* frequently made.

[565] All festivities end during Lent, which is quietly observed. It is interesting to note that Carnaval, which takes place the
[184] three days before Lent, is observed in Vila Recôncavo only among members of Class A.

2: Hutchinson E-4,6 (1980-1981) 1987 SC11 Bahia Brazilians SC11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

2. *History of the Town*

A STRANGER newly arrived in the town of Vila Recôncavo might justifiably question the reasons for its existence, since it almost seems to be an island in a vast sea of sugar cane. The daily life of the town dwellers, who are fishermen, artisans, and county officials, apparently has little to do with the rural area. In order to understand the separateness of the town and the rural area, it is necessary to investigate the history of both. For, although Vila Recôncavo now appears to be sharply cut off from the life of the plantations and the sugar mill, it has been in the past closely bound up with the fortunes of the rural landowners and is still directly affected by the rural area. 36 121 [178]

The history of this area began during the governorship of Mem de Sá, which lasted from 1557 to 1574. Mem de Sá was the third governor general of the new Portuguese colony of Brazil. The capital of the colony was the city of Salvador, which was settled successfully in 1549 in the second of two attempts. By the time of Mem de Sá, the back part of the Bay of All Saints remained to be wrested from the Indians to complete the colonization of the Recôncavo, a task to which he dedicated himself and which he accomplished in a few years. As new areas were conquered, the land was divided among the favored few in the form of land grants (sesmarias). Mem de Sá took as his own land grant three and a half leagues of coastline extending four leagues inland, plus two islands. The eastern tip of this land grant is now Vila Recôncavo, and the remainder falls into the county of Purificação. Mem de Sá erected one of the largest and best plantations of the colony here, which "he esteemed as much for its value and income 175

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Usina]

The private plantation presents a far better appearance than any plantation belonging to the factory, for it is usually "home" to the owner, who is interested in keeping it as pleasant as possible, while the factory plantation in charge of an overseer is simply a business project existing only to produce sugar cane. 249* 466 184

At the Usina São Pedro, as stated earlier for the Recôncavo generally, the consolidation of land by the corporations has not turned the entire property into one large plantation. Instead, each plantation has retained its old boundaries, indeed complete autonomy, following only the general policies of the factory directory. The Usina São Pedro happens to be situated in a central position in relation to its six plantations. This is not always the case, for frequently the lands of a factory are scattered far from the plant itself, creating difficulties of administration and transportation. 249* 423

Each of the plantations has its own nucleus, the street of workers' houses oriented toward the house of the overseer. Each of these little villages has its own small store, usually a private enterprise of the overseer. The largest plantation, Pedras, has a chapel and a school. None of the plantations has an electric power line, but each has a telephone in the overseer's house. The feeling of isolation and abandonment is strong, as indeed it is on almost all overseer-directed plantations belonging to a factory. There is a general feeling of pity for the residents who are situated so far from their patrão and whose first recourse must be the overseer, a man like themselves, with little or no education and little interest in the people other than to keep them working. In other words, the factory plantation lacks the paternal hand of the owner. In other respects it is similar to the private plantation in that it has an overseer, a foreman, a cowboy, and resident workmen. 249* 36 [206] 249* 571 [184]

The bulk of the agricultural direction of the São Pedro plantations is in the hands of the general overseer, Seu Pipiu. It is his duty to direct and supervise the activities of all six plantations. He is a man of no small status. He is practically independent in his actions, for the directors of the factory tell him how much cane they feel they need in the forthcoming harvest, and it is up to him to produce it. The methods and problems in doing this are left up to him. Seu Pipiu gives orders to each of the regional overseers, whose duties are the same as those of the overseer on a private plantation. The only difference is that they are dealing with a superior employee, instead of with the owner in person. The general over- 249* 463 466

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[City of Salvador]

In the lower city lies, of course, the port, with its customs, warehouses, shipping and consular offices, banks, the marine arsenal, the post office, the Association of Commerce, the principal public market, jewelry shops, hardware and cigar stores, and most of the men's shops of the city. Up on the promontory and extending out toward the suburbs are the public buildings and most of the churches, the convents and monasteries, hotels and movie theaters, the public library, museums, professional schools, primary and secondary institutions, hospitals, women's shops, photographic galleries, furniture and drygoods stores, confectionary stalls, the "five and tens," physicians' and dentists' offices, clubs, the principal parks and *praças*, and the residential areas of the city.

Bahia the city is the economic and political capital of Bahia the state, whose area of 342,000 square miles makes it considerably larger than Texas. The region is composed in large part of a vast plain of gneiss formation which rises abruptly from the comparatively narrow coastal belt to heights varying from 600 to 1,200 feet in the interior. Upon this plateau and running north and south across the central portion of the state lie a series of low mountains composed principally of sedimentary rock, sandstone, or conglomerates and containing such minerals as iron, manganese, copper, lead, gold, and diamonds (including the black *carbonado* so essential for tool-cutting). This mountain barrier acts as a valuable condenser, gathering moisture for a land which otherwise might be virtually desert. In the extreme western part of the state the plateau is composed of sandstone overlying limestone, and thus it provides a natural sponge which assures perennial rivers in a region where light rains and near drought alternate in six-month periods.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

CHAPTER IV

POPULATION

162 [161] Introduction. In 1950 there were about one million people living in the 12,500 square kilometers of the Recôncavo--0.15 per cent of Brazil's area and about 2 per cent of its total population.[1] A more meaningful comparison is one with the effectively occupied coastal belt extending from Maranhão to Rio Grande do Sul, including the interior state of Minas Gerais.[2] The Recôncavo occupies 0.4 per cent of the area of these states and has a little over 2 per cent of the people.

[361] The relatively modest size of this population does not reflect adequately the great historical importance of the Recôncavo. The compact distribution and cohesion of this settlement make it a significant concentration of the people of modern Brazil.

161 162 The Recôncavo is the foremost nucleus of settlement in the state of Bahia in both the historical and purely demographic sense. With its one million people, it had in 1950 almost 86 people per square kilometer. There were 3,800,000 people in the rest of the state, but there was no concentration which had a size and density equal to that of the Recôncavo. The only other areas with even approximately equal density--Santo Antônio de Jesus and Nazaré--were contiguous with the 633 162 Recôncavo. The chief city of the Recôncavo, Salvador, was fourteen times the size of any other urban center in Bahia, and of the five next most populous cities--with a population range of 20,000 to 30,000--two were in the Recôncavo.[3]

128 The discussion which follows is divided into two parts. First the general character of the population will be analyzed in terms of general cultural development, race, class, family, and economic

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

161 else along the western border. This modest concentration, scarcely a
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241 cluster, represents the sum of a number of small agricultural settle-
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[361] ments scattered along the humid slopes of low serras. There are about
12,000 agricultural workers distributed over this area.

The distributional pattern of the rest of the Recôncavo can be
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162 visualized as a coarse net in which the clusters are linked by areas
131 with population densities of 10 to 20 per square kilometer. There is
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464 one large hole in this connecting net: along the common border of
Cachoeira, São Gonçalo, and Santo Amaro there is a zone with less than
ten and sometimes less than five agricultural workers per square
kilometer. This zone, very near to the center of the Recôncavo, for
[133] the most part is an area of rough sandy hills bordering the crystalline--
here the hills are particularly rugged and the transition zone broad.
On three sides--southwest, north, and northeast--this sparsely settled
zone is bordered by important clusters of agriculturalists.

The agricultural labor force of the Recôncavo is, as has been
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162 seen, irregularly distributed. This distribution is highly fluid--
241 movement and growth and decline are continuously altering the pattern.
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The whole region gained about 6,500 agriculturalists between 1940 and
1950, but these statistics do not reflect the extent of local reloca-
tion.

In the central Recôncavo one município, Santo Amaro, lost
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162 almost 6,000 agricultural workers between 1940 and 1950, and in three
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464 municípios of the central and eastern Recôncavo, Santo Amaro,
634 São Francisco, and Pojuca, losses exceeded 20 per cent. On the other
hand, in three municípios of the uplands of the northern and northwestern
Recôncavo--Alagoinhas, Feira de Santana, and Santo Estêvão--there were
gains of over 20 per cent. Over all, twelve municípios gained and nine
lost agriculturalists; the mean change in the agricultural labor

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 120]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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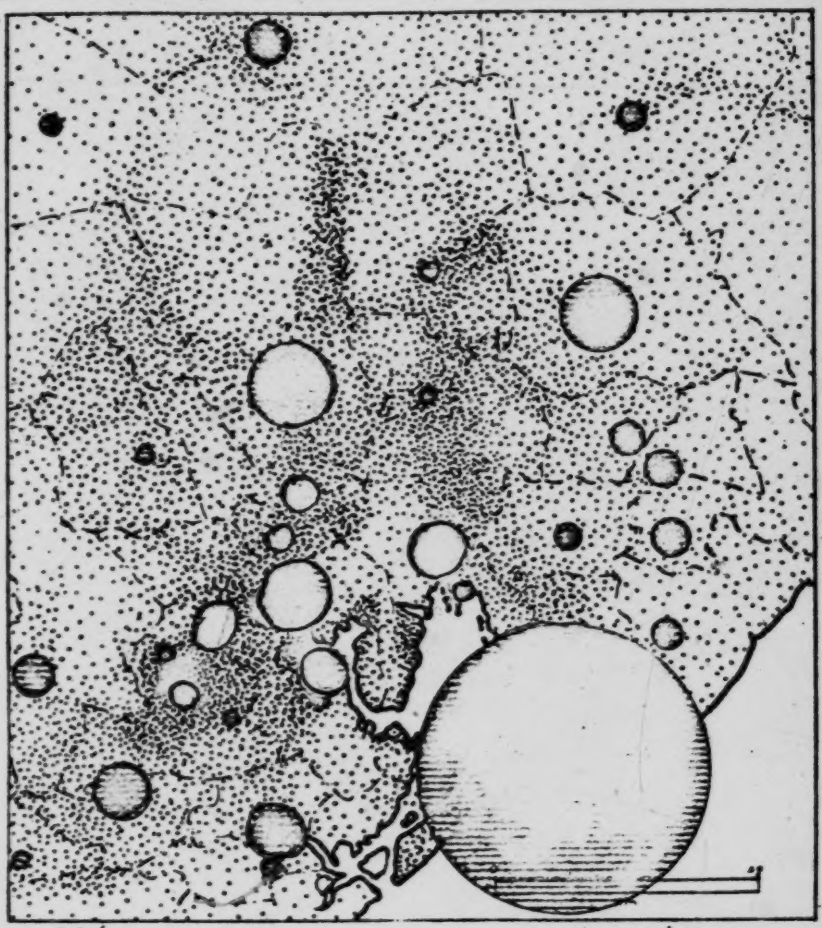

Cidades

1,000

5,000

25,000

Rural and Village
Each dot = 100 persons

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Total Population--1950

Source of data: Anuário Estatístico do Brasil-1953, Ano XIV.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

The other urban centers of the Recôncavo:

633 [162] [443]

	1950 Population
Maragogipe	9,744
Muritiba	7,452
Cruz das Almas	6,758
São Gonçalo	3,771

[277] are all local trade and cigar manufacturing centers. Maragogipe is a [504] port of minor importance.[37] The other urban centers have inland loca- [361] tions, near the inner edge of the Crystalline Uplands.[38]

Near the Recôncavo are four urban centers which have minor but appreciable effect upon its agricultural economy:

[162]

	1950 Population
Santo Antônio de Jesus	11,417
Nazaré	11,215
Castro Alves	6,479
Serrinha	4,602

Santo Antônio de Jesus and Nazaré are located along the southern periphery of the Recôncavo, and Castro Alves and Serrinha on the southwestern and northwestern periphery, respectively. All these centers [496] are on one of Bahia's two main railroads, both of which terminate at the Bay—at Salvador or at São Roque do Paraguaçu.[39]

633 In 1950 the nine major urban centers of the Recôncavo had 464 100,000 to 120,000 workers in industry, transportation, and merchan- 433 dising.[40] In all cities of the Recôncavo, except Salvador, the [162] industrial workers almost exclusively were engaged in processing agricultural products--in sugar refining, cigar manufacturing, and [231] slaughtering. Except for some of the animals slaughtered in Feira de [241] Santana and the poorer grades of tobacco brought in from the sertão, these agricultural products originate in the Recôncavo.

The industrial structure of Salvador is more complex. It processes agricultural products from the Recôncavo, but also from other parts of the state, notably cacao. There is a small textile industry. It is probable that the majority of the industrial workers are employed in numerous small service industries which supply Salvador

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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CHAPTER V

CROPS AND CROPLAND DISTRIBUTION

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Introduction. The Recôncavo is an enclave of cultivated land facing on the sea and more than half surrounded by the Sertão of Northeastern Brazil. It is one of a number of detached areas of dense settlement and intensive crop cultivation scattered along the northeastern coast—Pernambuco, Sergipe, Alagoas, and the states of the northern coast of the "bulge" of Brazil have similar coastal nuclei. Indeed, this littoral mode of settlement is characteristic of Brazil, although in the center and the south of the country the concentrations of settlement and cultivation are usually separated from the ocean by a belt of rough hills or mountains. A glance at a population map clearly reveals that Brazil is a coastal nation as far as the distribution of its people is concerned; indirectly such a map demonstrates the coastal distribution of crop cultivation. In this, Brazil somewhat resembles the United States at the opening of the nineteenth century when it, too, was altogether a nation of the Atlantic seaboard. The specific nuclear character of the Recôncavo dates from the beginning of its settlement—it was from the first a region of crop cultivation, and the settlement of the sertão of Bahia derived from the people and needs of the Recôncavo. During the four centuries since the Portuguese first came, the crops, animals, and systems of production of the Recôncavo have retained much of their original character.

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The present chapter deals with the principal activity of the Recôncavo, the production of crops. As a preliminary to the discussion of the individual crops and their distributions, it is appropriate to

BB 128 241

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 over the forest or the caatinga. In most areas it is the second growth, not the cultivated fields, which dominates the landscape.

241 361 443 634 The scale of the maps accompanying the following sections does not allow the indication of one of the significant patterns of cropland distribution in the Recôncavo—the concentration of cultivation around the cidades, the political centers. Each cidade is the economic focus of its município and is usually the primary market for the products of [489] its cultivators. The poorly developed system of transportation in the rural areas puts a premium on proximity to the market center. Thus in most of the municípios there is a decrease in cultivation away from the cidade, and where the municípios are large, such as on the northern and western perimeter of the Recôncavo, cropland becomes very widely scattered 241 before the political boundary is reached. This centralized distribution 361 443 of cropland has been complicated by the development of roads and truck 491 traffic. Cultivators tend to cluster along the main highways with little regard for the absolute distance to the market of the cidade; accessibility as represented by time rather than distance seems to be the more important factor in choosing land for cultivation, providing that land is available. The pattern of concentration of cultivation along the highway is especially characteristic of the Upland sections of the Recôncavo.[1]

241 178 There are many exceptions to the modes of cropland distribution mentioned above. In the Recôncavo tradition and prestige often contravene direct economic self-interest. On a large scale the persistence of sugar cultivation is an example of the unwillingness to explore new sources of income. In other areas the traditional social advantages of land ownership may impede the subdivision of large properties into farms or rented plots, even where hired labor is not available to 000 cultivate the land efficiently. Livestock production, which offers

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 are many local signs of the increase in cultivation—expanding rural
311
178 settlement, overcrowded market facilities, and stories of the "old days"
[361] when life was more leisurely and the land problem less severe. Two areas of the Recôncavo are in great contrast as far as the trend of land use is concerned—the Central Recôncavo on the one hand and the
249 outer Recôncavo, especially the Southwest, on the other. As a result of
311
178 the stabilization of the sugar industry by the Instituto do Açúcar e do
[654] Álcool and, undoubtedly, of the high fixed costs of the sugar industry,
[656] the area under cultivation in the Central Recôncavo has remained relatively constant. Indeed, since large-scale speculation in the cultivation of cane is no longer feasible, as a result of government control, it is possible that marginal lands have been withdrawn from cultivation or have been converted to other uses. However, the evidence of the present land use pattern, at least in the area north of the Bay, is against this hypothesis--there are no signs of abandoned cane fields and no extensive areas with any form of land use except those associated with the sugar industry. There are indications of the abandonment of cultivation near the lesser sugar cane area north of the Bacia do Iguape, but the state of the abandoned sugar mills suggest that the decline in cultivation took place before the last decade. In general, then, the area in cane probably was relatively stable during the 1940's and the 1950's, at least to 1953.

249 The situation in the areas of the cultivation of tobacco and
244 manioc is more complicated, in part because the economies of these crops
311
178 are not stabilized. The area in tobacco undoubtedly has fluctuated over a wide range from year to year, although the area in manioc probably has tended to change more steadily, since it is a basic food crop. There seems to be no question but that during the 1940's the area in

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 244 311 13 The physical setting of the tobacco and manioc region is distinctive in terms of the particular combination of topography, soils, climate, and vegetation which are joined along its crescent axis. The region lies along the semi-circular edge of the interior upland, overlooking the Bay and the Coastal Plain. In the south the fields of manioc and tobacco occupy the upper surfaces of the Crystalline Uplands and the adjacent Intermediate Hills. In the north, cultivation shifts to the summits and upper slopes of the Intermediate Hills, although there is some concentration on the extreme southern edge of the taboleiros. Thus the region occupies the deep flat-lying residual crystalline soils in the south but in the Tertiary soil zone to the north follows the slope lands where there is more rainfall and perhaps better local soils. The close correspondence of this region with the forest and scrub-forest transition has been repeatedly emphasized. A traverse across the tobacco-manioc region anywhere between Conceição do Almeida and Feira de Santana takes one from rough hills with at least scattered patches of broadleaf evergreen forest to flat uplands with cactus, thorny brush, and licuri palms.

249 244 433 161 361 A comparison of the map of population (Map 21) and of the relationship of tobacco and manioc cultivation (Map 75) points up the necessity for local sources of basic subsistence products. In the Southwest, where rural populations are relatively dense and where there are a number of large villages and towns, manioc tends to be cultivated over a greater area than does tobacco. In the tobacco-manioc region north of the Rio Paraguaçu, where tobacco is usually the leading crop, the density of rural population is lower, and there are no towns and only [438] a few large villages. Thus there is close relationship between the relative intensity of manioc and the size of the local market.

175 249 244 The recent historical pattern of agriculture in the tobacco-manioc region can be reconstructed only on a general level. Cachoeira, which

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 The portion of the sugar cane region north of the Bay is an area
161 of relatively dense rural population, with a large number of villages
• 361 and plantation settlements and one city--Santo Amaro. The remaining areas of the sugar cane region have only moderately dense rural populations and no major urban centers, although the cidade of Nazaré is very close to the southern border of São Filipe.

[128] The tremendous historical significance of the sugar cane region has been discussed at length in the section on the historical setting of the
249 Recôncavo. As far as the sugar cane zone of Santo Amaro, São Francisco,
178 and São Sebastião is concerned, the extent of the region does not appear to have changed very much since colonial times. Old engenhos are found throughout the zone, indicating past cultivation in all areas now in cane. The present usinas cultivate sugar cane intensively clear across the Cretaceous zone, so that it is not likely that the cane area has contracted. However, there are several abandoned engenhos and settlements on the north and east shores of the estuary of the Paraguaçu which seem to indicate that sugar cane cultivation was formerly more extensive around the Bacia do Iguape.

244 The two intensive crop regions of tobacco and manioc and sugar
249 cane, as outlined above, can be viewed as nodal areas which are basic
311 to the regional distinctiveness of the Recôncavo; they are for all practical purposes included totally within its limits; their crop patterns are not duplicated in any nearby area; and they include within their boundaries a very large part--and the most productive part--of its agricultural area.

241 In distinction to the above intra-Recôncavo regions there are
311 at least three crops which overlap the borders of the Recôncavo, forming crop regions which have their most characteristic development in adjoining areas. The Atlantic coast of Salvador and Itaparica supports

The Atlantic coast of Salvador and Itaparica supports
245 a coconut monoculture--a monoculture which is most strongly developed
311 north of the Recôncavo in Camassari and Mata de São João. The actual area of the coconut monoculture within the Recôncavo is slight, and beyond this monocultural zone, coconut cultivation is rarely significant within the region.

The coconut monoculture lies between the littoral forest and the beach in Itaparica and between the agreste and the beach in Salvador and in the municípios farther north. Except in the município of
[161] Salvador, the rural population of the coconut area is not dense. The
[162] typical settlement of this zone is the fishing village, sprawled over
[361] the beach near the mouth of a small stream. Inland the population is scattered.

243 A much more important crop system intrudes upon the Northwestern
244 Recôncavo--the corn-bean system. The nuclear area for this system seems
311 to lie in northern Serrinha and in the municípios bordering upon the state of Sergipe. The area in which over 80 per cent of the cropland was in corn and beans in 1948 overlapped the borders of the Recôncavo into western Feira de Santana and Santo Estêvão--a zone of low serras (Map 76). In this zone the area in corn was from one to two times the area in beans (Map 77).

Most of the soils of this region are either crystalline or
[134] Tertiary sands, but the pockets of soil which are actually cultivated are almost invariably heavier and more water retentive than are the sandy upland soils of the taboleiros. The corn-bean region generally
[162] has a small but nucleated rural population and a few medium-sized cidades, which are the only towns of the very large municípios which are charac-
[361] teristic of the area. However, the part of the corn-bean region which overlaps the Recôncavo has a number of villages and hamlets in the valleys of the serras.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

000 Footnotes - Chapter VIII

[1]Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

[2]The data for the total area of the various municipios used in this analysis are taken from Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, No. 8. These data are the most recent and presumably most accurate available for the state of Bahia. In a number of cases they disagree markedly with area given in the 1940 census, which was based upon earlier and probably less accurate calculations from older maps.

[129] [3]The distinction between large- and small-scale units was made in the census as follows: (1) Agricultural units with over 50 hectares in "major crops (pineapple, alfalfa, cotton, rice, oats, potatoes, sugar cane, rye, barley, beans, tobacco, castor beans, manioc, corn, wheat, coffee, cacao, cocoanuts, oranges, bananas, or grapes) were large-scale. All others were small-scale. Area in these crops was estimated from production figures and mean yields. (2) Livestock units with 200 head of cattle or sheep; 100 head of horses, goats, or pigs; or 50 asses or mules, or an appropriate combination of these, were large-scale. Alternatively, a smaller number of reproductive females--100 cows or ewes; 60 mares; or 20 sows--made the unit large-scale. All others were small-scale. (3) Crop-livestock units, in order to qualify as large-scale units, had to satisfy both criteria simultaneously.

[241] [13] [84] [361] [4]The size, shape, and physical and economic diversity of many of the municípios of the Recôncavo make it very difficult to evaluate and to map mean data. This is particularly true of Santo Amaro, of which part is in the sugar cane region, part in the tobacco-manioc region, and part in sparsely settled forest land. It is also true for São Gonçalo, which stretches from the humid Intermediate Hills to the dry western caatinga. Of all the municípios, only São Félix and Conceição da Feira, both very small, have a relatively homogeneous landscape. The details of the interpretations and, to an even greater extent, the maps were drawn with numerous inferences based upon correlative data and field observations.

[5]Agricultural properties are also held by religious orders, syndicates, cooperatives, and other legal persons, but such properties are not very common in the Recôncavo. "Squatters," as defined by the census, included both those who occupied public land legally but without title and those who illegally occupied private land. Renters included both cash and share renters.

[6]There were about 50 administrator-operated properties, with an average size of 30 hectares, in the município of São Félix, according to the census. The reasons for this concentration are not apparent, especially since this local phenomenon was not studied in the field. The concentrations around Salvador and on the island of Itaparica are suburban country houses--chácaras--a Brazilian institution. Many of these chácaras are on small properties which are operated by an overseer and which produce some agricultural products, especially vegetables and fruits. A large number of these properties line the eastern shore of the island of Itaparica; there are also a few in the forested area around Salvador.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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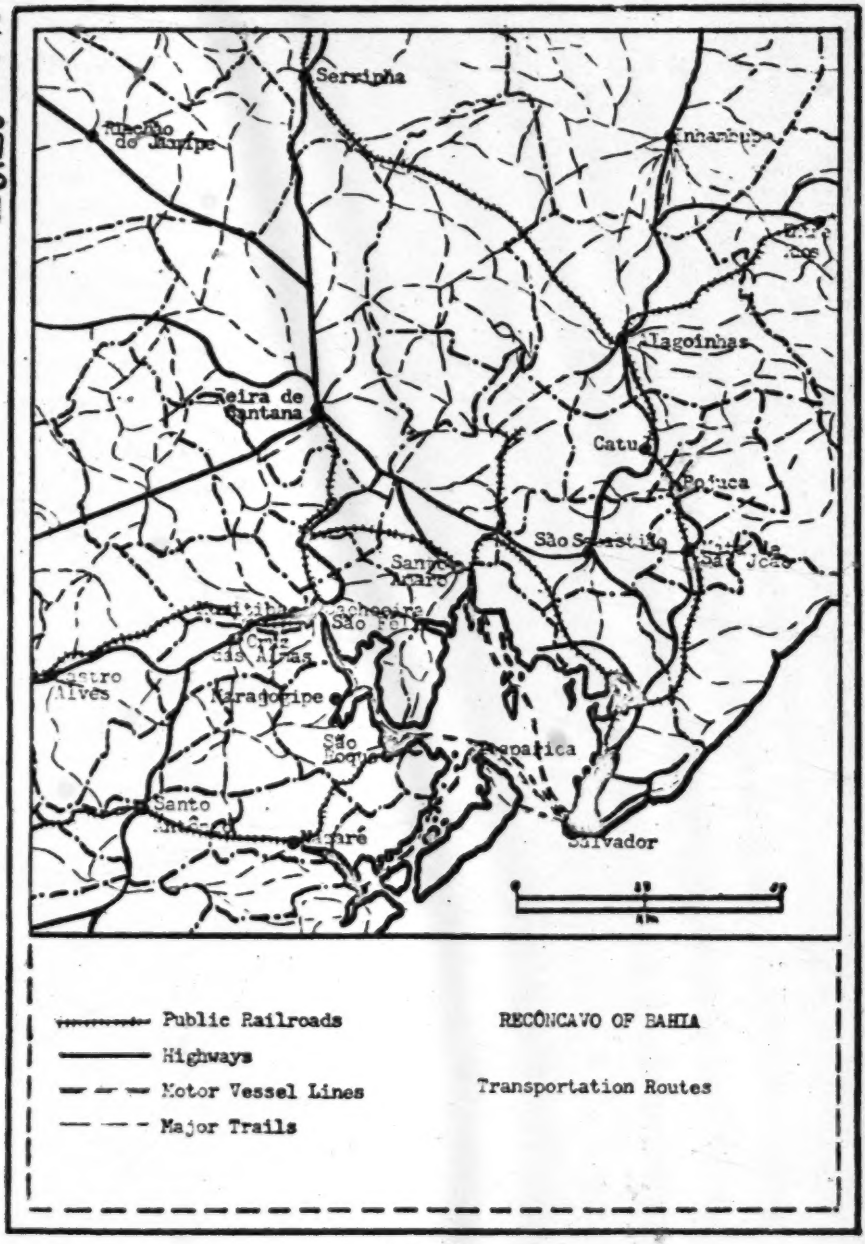

MAP 129

2t Hutchinson ·E-4,5 (1950-1961) 1967 SC11 Bahia Brazilians SC11

1. Sugar Country

THE REGION of Brazil in which this study was made is a small area in the state of Bahia called the Recôncavo. This is the land surrounding the Bay of All Saints, a fertile basin extending inland no more than 40 kilometers at the most. Situated on a high bluff overlooking the entrance to the Bay of All Saints is Salvador, the capital of the state of Bahia, generally referred to as Bahia, or "the capital," or simply "the city." After Salvador was settled in 1549, the colonization of the Recôncavo proceeded at a rapid rate. Since early in the colonial period, the Recôncavo has been divided into three distinct areas: a southern area devoted mainly to the raising of manioc, the food staple of much of Brazil; a western section devoted to the cultivation of tobacco; and a northern and eastern area, given almost exclusively to large-scale sugar-cane monoculture. This study was made in the third zone, the one producing sugar cane.

The region, which can be called the "sugar-Recôncavo," partakes of the long tradition of sugar-cane growing which formed the basis for the early colonization of Brazil. A narrow strip of land along the northeast coast of Brazil in what are now the states of Pernambuco, Sergipe, Alagoas, and Bahia was the focus of the economic, political, and social life of the entire colony. This region, under the colonization of the Portuguese, produced a large part of the world's sugar supply at a time when sugar was a great luxury in Europe. The northeast coast of Brazil became an exceedingly prosperous part of the colony early in its history. Salvador, in Bahia, and Recife, in Pernambuco, became the most impor-

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[249] tant centers of colonial life, and until 1763 Salvador was the capital of the Portuguese colony.

The Recôncavo helped to make Brazil a unique part of the Portuguese empire in the sixteenth century. Brazil was different from any of the other Portuguese colonies, for its wealth proved to lie in agriculture rather than in trade, as
133 was the case in India and Africa. The Bay of All Saints, with a circumference of 200 kilometers, is in effect an inland sea,
[361] the entrance to which can be guarded from the heights on which the city of Salvador is situated. There are a number of picturesque islands throughout the bay, with good beaches and landing facilities. Many small rivers empty into the bay, and numerous creeks navigable at high tide extend further inland
[487] along its shores. The presence of such a large network of navigable waters was an important factor in the rapid development of the Recôncavo, providing easy and inexpensive transportation of sugar to the point of shipment to Europe.

132 The climate is semitropical, with two seasons. Summer, from September to sometime in March, is relatively dry, dotted by showers and thunderstorms and cooled by fresh breezes blowing in from the Atlantic. Winter begins in April, lasting until August or September, the exact time of change differing from year to year. This season is marked by continued rain, usually a soft, constantly falling drizzle or light rain, interspersed with heavy showers, as front after front moves in from the Atlantic, dropping its moisture before being pushed upward by the abruptly rising land which surrounds the Recôncavo. According to statistics for the years 1914 to 1938, the months of minimum rainfall are October, November, and December; during this time the average rainfall was 11.81 inches. The period of maximum rainfall is April, May, and June, with an average of 35.83 inches for the three-month period. The yearly average from 1914 to 1938 was 65.93 inches.[1] The temperature range is from 70 to 90 degrees Fahrenheit.

134 The soil of the Recôncavo, especially that of the sugar-Recôncavo, is extraordinarily fertile. It is a heavy black soil, known as massapé, approximately 6 inches to 2 feet thick, covering a clayey subsoil, known locally as tauá. Here and there are outcroppings of sand and mixtures of sand with clay.

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1. Atlas pluviometrico do Brasil (Rio de Janeiro, 1914-1938).

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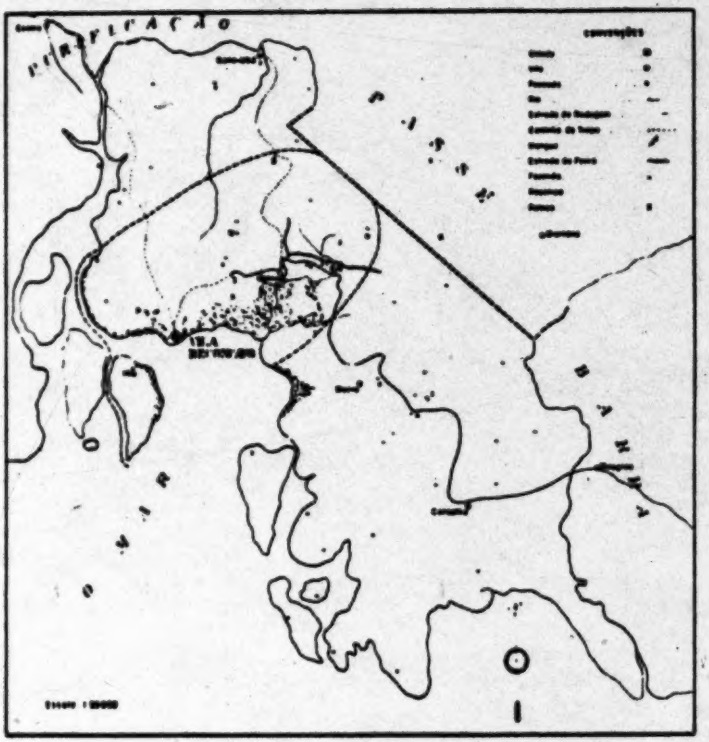

[P.12]

Map of the community of Vila Recôncavo

505 The others, barefoot, wearing shorts
[291] and large-brimmed straw hats, are the permanent dwellers of the islands: fishermen, stevedores, and storekeepers.

When the islands are left behind, the scene begins to change.
505 The color of the water changes from a clear, deep blue to a
133 muddy gray. Groups of canoes are seen, their occupants busy
[581] with their fish nets, for this shallow part of the bay is a good
[226] fishing ground. Once again the mainland is close, rolling hills covered with a thousand shades of green--sugar cane, the crop which nearly four hundred years ago replaced the virgin forests. The deltalike shores of this part of the bay are cov-
[361] ered with mangue, muddy areas with low-growing trees which
[162] at high tide are standing in the water. On a hill at the water's edge is the town of Vila Recôncavo, a town of 1,462 persons.
[368] The first thing one sees is the huge Franciscan convent[5] with its two tall towers and its royal palms. Approaching the long
[504] dock which juts out into the water, one can see almost the whole town, which is built on three hills and in the valleys between them.

[361] The arrival of the boat from Salvador every other day is an event in an otherwise dull day. Nearly all the men of the town
505 go down to the dock to meet the boat, to see who is traveling,
512 to see what is arriving for someone in the town, to receive messages or parcels, to greet friends, and to gossip. The postmistress is there, and with her the man whose duty it is to carry the mail sack, but who has a helper to do it for him. After a few minutes the boat continues its journey, and the townsfolk walk back along the dock, breaking up into small groups on reaching the main square and then each going his own way.

361 On the square at the end of the dock, at the foot of the
344 main street which leads up the middle hill and out into the

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[128] 5. It should be explained that "convent" in this case is a direct translation from Portuguese. In Portuguese, convent does not have the connotation of being a religious establishment only for women. The word convento is applied to the Franciscans' establishment because the Franciscans are not monks; if they were, their establishment would be called a mosteiro (monastery). In English, Franciscans are known as "friars," and their houses are called "friaries." However, throughout this monograph the direct translation, convent, is used.

country beyond, is a large, colonial, two-story building--the county courthouse (prefeitura), the official center of local county administration. With heavily barred windows on the ground level, it also serves as the county jail. At the top of the hill is a large church, the mother church of the parish of São Roque. On the right, on top of another hill, is the imposing Franciscan convent. The main street of the town is narrow, paved with cobblestones and lined by old colonial houses in various stages of repair. To the left one sees the "beach," which at low tide is an expanse of ugly black mud, typical of the shores of this back part of the bay. The long dugout canoes of the fishermen are anchored there and rest on the bottom when the tide is out.

As the boat sails away and the townspeople go about their business, the streets empty, and a peculiar hush, which is characteristic of Vila Recôncavo, falls over the town. There is an atmosphere not so much of sleepiness and inertia as of decadence, as though life had already passed by. The few people who remain somehow seem to be left over from something in the past. The houses which face the main street are somber, their façades going straight up two stories from the street, their windows shuttered. Some of them are crumbling, the mortar falling away, exposing the stone of which they are built; others are in complete ruin. All of them are turning black from the constant exposure to humid salt air, and moss is growing on the walls where the sun never strikes.

From the top of the hill, in front of the mother church, there is a magnificent view of the Bay of All Saints, and it is easily understood why this place was chosen 332 years ago as the site for a new town. This part of town is the old Vila Recôncavo (see map of town), dating back to a time when the settlement was the only administrative center of inland colonial Bahia. Upon this hill and the one on which the convent stands, the elite of the sugar lands built their town houses called sobrados. Once upon a time these streets with their stepping-stones were the scene of colonial opulence, of sedan chairs carried by liveried slaves, of soldiers in uniform, of ladies wearing gloves and carrying parasols. Today this old part of Vila Recôncavo is inhabited by simpler people, the town's upper class, who eke out a living in the local bureaucracy, or as merchants, or as representatives of the state and federal governments. They are quiet, gentlemanly people trying to keep up a semblance of dignity, a feat which becomes more difficult all the time.

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1967 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

Vila Recôncavo

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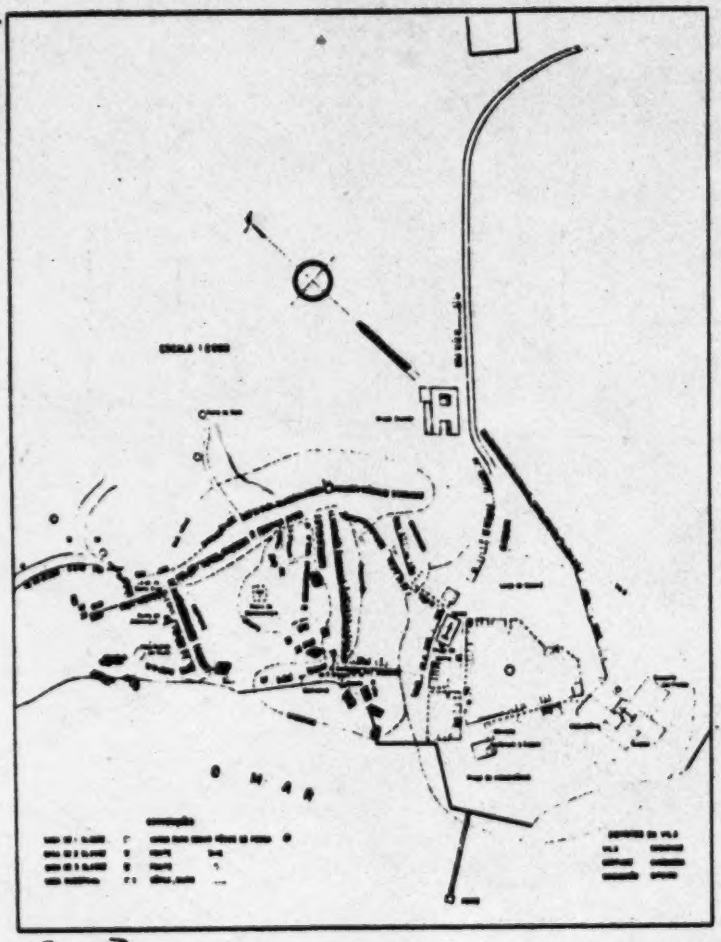

[P.16]

Map of the town of Vila Recôncavo

To the west, on the third hill, along the "beach," and in the small valleys, there is a different atmosphere. Here, in the Caquende, Boqueirão, Cortume, and Rua Nova (see map of town), there are no sobrados, no signs of former grandeur. The houses are of another style--small, one-story buildings with no air of antiquity about them. Some are made of brick, but most are of mud on a bamboo or mangue frame. Many have been coated with whitewash, some recently and some a long time ago. On the summit of this third hill, the Oiteiro, are the poorest houses of all, one- and two-room mud houses with thatched roofs. Recently in this section there have been some new-style houses built, tipo bangalo (bungalow-type), and there are signs of a growing prosperity among a few enterprising people. These areas of fishermen, of small storekeepers, and of those with crafts such as carpentry, bricklaying, and shoemaking, are the most heavily populated parts of the town of Vila Recôncavo today. According to the old inhabitants of the town, this section was undeveloped sixty years ago, and, to the old people, Vila Recôncavo is still up there on the hill, in the area of the sobrados. Nevertheless, the majority of the stores are in the lower part of town, which even has its own chapel. It is here that the children play although they must go up the hill to school. It is here that there are groups of men gossiping and having a drink of rum. It is here that an attitude of open friendliness prevails, and there are friendly faces at the windows. It is here that the drums beat when the African gods are feted.

361 342 [178] 361 [463] [366] [368]

The post office, located in the upper part of town, also has a telegraph. Messages go by special telephone to the nearby town of Centro, from where they are sent by wire. There is also a public telephone in the town which has two extensions, one in the house of the mayor and one in the house of the doctor. Other people must go to the telephone office to make or receive calls. The telephone is very uncertain; not only is it frequently impossible to get a call through but often nothing can be heard once the connection is made. From the town it is possible to speak through Centro to Salvador. It is also possible to speak to the sugar factory, and through its switchboard to several of the sugar plantations.

206 [205] [368]

In recent years electricity has been brought to the town, and, in addition to lights on the streets, 78 of the 408 buildings in town have electricity. Of these, twenty-one have radios, and three have electric irons. Only the doctor, the health post, and the bar have refrigerators.

365 [207] [251]

The railroad from Salvador to the interior passes about 15 kilometers east of Vila Recôncavo, and the planters situated near it experience the same difficulties of horseback travel when getting the train to go to the city. 496 492

There is no public transportation within the county. The train is so far from the town of Vila Recôncavo that it is not used by the town dwellers. Most of the population walks to wherever it is going, except to Salvador. Few people in town have horses or mules, for there is insufficient pasture nearby. As a result of the poor roads, the townspeople are dependent upon water navigation, a factor which helps to orient them to other towns by the water's edge and discourages communication between the town and the plantations of the interior of the county. At any season, there is little happening in the plantation area to attract the townspeople. On the other hand, people from the plantation come to the town, especially to see the doctor, for a special Mass, or to take the boat to Salvador. They rarely come for the movie, except those few subsistence gardeners (roçeiros) who live nearby, for travel is too difficult. During the dry season almost all transportation of goods is accomplished by an ox-drawn cart (carro de boi) with two large, solid wooden wheels drawn by eight oxen (junta de boi). The cart is driven by a man, and the oxen follow a small boy who walks in front of them. 484 [489] 49 484

The community of Vila Recôncavo comprises an area of some 80 square kilometers in the shape of a semicircle, bounded on one side by water and on the other by a high ridge. This area, which includes the town of Vila Recôncavo, forms a natural as well as a cultural unit. The remaining 100 square kilometers of the county fall into two subregions, one very small area which is oriented toward Centro and Cana-Uba (see map), and another which is strongly oriented toward Salvador. The three areas are drawn together by local administration: police, school system, tax collecting, and the collection of statistics--in other words, by the formal structure of county administration. 131 361 [634]

The 80 square kilometers of the community of Vila Recôncavo are composed almost entirely of thirteen large plantations, eleven of which are devoted to the cultivation of sugar cane. Of the other two, one plants cane on a small scale and rents most of its land to subsistence gardeners, while the second is a summer home, producing nothing. Of the eleven which plant sugar cane, six belong to the sugar factory which 361 249*

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*249 is located at the water's edge on one of the six plantations; three belong to different members of another family related to the sugar factory owners through marriage; one belongs individually to a member of the family owning the factory; and the last one belongs to a nonrelative, a mestiço (person of mixed racial descent), who is socially reticent but considered
[871] an astute businessman. Within the area there is also a federal school which has a large expanse of noncultivated land.

361 The pattern of settlement on the plantations is that of a village. The homes of the cultivators are grouped in a cluster apart from the land they work, the point of orientation being the owner's home. "Although the village settlement as represented by the homes of the small-farming classes is hardly to be found in Brazil, the village manner of arranging the population on the land is widely used on the large estates that are prominent throughout the Brazilian countryside. For the most part the fazendas and usinas of Brazil utilized this nucleated form of settlement in their 'quarters' or 'colonies' for the workers who till the crops."[6]

162 The population of the rural zone of the community of Vila Recôncavo is 2,800, of whom 500 live at the sugar factory nucleus; on each of the sugar-cane plantations there are between
*249 150 and 200 persons. Traveling about from one plantation nucleus to another, one sees no sign of habitation, for the coun-
311 try is devoted to intensified sugar-cane cultivation. Fields of sugar cane, 10 to 20 acres in size, alternate with pastures--fields which are being rested for three or four years. Each private plantation has a section of forest to produce firewood and lumber. The factory plantations, however, for the most part are entirely cleared, as the corporation owns another plantation on the other side of the Recôncavo which is used ex-
*249 clusively for raising and pasturing cattle and for supplying firewood for the large fires of the factory. Land divisions or
[423] boundaries are generally long lines of graceful bamboo trees which also supply fence posts. On each plantation can be seen the remains either of the old sobrado or of the antique mill (engenho) or chapel (capela), and in some cases the sobrado is still in good repair and inhabited by the owner.

312 The Recôncavo is not blessed with abundant fresh water. The rivers are few and small, prone to dry up in the hot sum-

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6. T. Lynn Smith, Brazil (Baton Rouge, 1947), p. 396.

county and among the first to fall into decline and extinction in the days following the sugar boom. The remaining buildings of the Order are now used for quite a different purpose, which will be discussed later.

The first half of the eighteenth century saw the final flourishing of Vila Recôncavo and the beginning of its fall into obscurity. By 1700 the town was a thriving urban center--the newly created seat of local government, a military post, a highly active religious center, and the scene of the local courts of justice. In addition to large public buildings, imposing private residences dotted the streets, for many of the plantation owners constructed large houses in the town, which they used as stopping places in their journeys to and from their plantations and Salvador. Then as now, however, Vila Recôncavo was not the main center of attraction for the planters and their families, most of whom had houses in the capital where they spent the rainy seasons. Nevertheless, the presence of their large and ornate town houses gave a certain air of distinction and prosperity to the town.

The story of the decline of the town of Vila Recôncavo is symptomatic of what happened to many other towns in the region at a later date. Vilhena connects the decadence of Vila Recôncavo with the creation of the administrative center of Centro in 1727.[7] Until that time Centro had been a sítio (terminal designation for a small town), created in 1608. Toward the end of the seventeenth century the best lands of the Recôncavo, situated in what is now the county of Purificação, came into use as a result of the cessation of Indian attacks and of improvement in the machinery used in the plantations. Sugar mills powered by water no longer held as great an advantage as they had previously; over a hundred years of sugar-cane operation had pretty well stripped the littoral of the firewood necessary for continued high production; and by this time the coastal regions no longer held room for expansion. As the colonists pushed farther inland from Centro they found an abundance of the rich massapê lands and sufficient firewood for the needs of many plantations, and soon the number of inland sugar mills surpassed that of the coast.

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7. Luís dos Santos Vilhena, Notícias soteropolitanas e brasílicas, 1802, ed. Braz do Amaral (Salvador, 1922), p. 502.

3: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

438 Centro, situated on the banks of a navigable river which
175 empties into the Bay in front of the town of Vila Recôncavo,
was in a good position to serve the entire back region of the
361 Recôncavo. As a county it now comprises 1,180 square kilo-
(634) meters. As a port, Centro served two purposes in the early
(131) eighteenth century. A great deal of produce and many persons
passed through it, including the families of sugar-cane grow-
(504) ers from other regions of the Recôncavo; and it also served
as a "gateway to the West" at a time when western Bahia and
Minas Gerais were being opened and the gold and diamond
rushes were in progress. Centro was the end of navigable
(487) waters and the beginning of one of the overland routes lead-
ing to the uplands of the sertão and the mining areas of the
(634) west. As Centro grew, Vila Recôncavo stagnated. In 1833
Centro was made judicial center (cabeça de comarca) of the
district and Vila Recôncavo became part of this judicial dis-
trict, thereby losing its prominence as the center of juris-
diction for the interior zone of the Recôncavo. Commercially,
Vila Recôncavo was soon overshadowed by Centro. In 1802,
Vilhena wrote:

> . . . In Centro there is a great deal of commerce, because of the amount of sugar, tobacco, and the number of distilleries and of Mineiros [miners and people from the state of Minas Gerais] who arrive there. Continuing along the bank of the river one finds Vila Recôncavo, which in spite of enough sugar passing through it, always had a weak commerce, and the town is known among all the others as the town of the least traffic.[8]

He says later:

175 In spite of its antiquity, Vila Recôncavo has few in-
361 habitants, and most of them poor, although through-
438 out the termo there are many good families of noble
433 people, rich through the products of their large engen-
hos, from which they take much and excellent sugar,
the only commerce of that town; in it also there is fish-
ing for a little sardinelike fish called xangó and a large
quantity of good and large shrimp, which is the main

8. Ibid., Letter 1, p. 32 (author's translation).

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SC11 Bahia Brazilian SC11
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occupation of the poor people, who sell them after drying in the city of Salvador. . . .[9]

In 1837 Centro officially became a city, and for another hundred years it was the major commercial point of the sugar-Recôncavo. Gradually, however, it fell into the same pattern of decline which continues today in so much of the Recôncavo. In the 1900's a railroad was constructed from Salvador to Feira de Santana; it passed well back of Vila Recôncavo, missing it so far as to be of no aid whatsoever. Although it passed through Centro, the terminal point, Feira, became more important commercially to the state and became the new gateway to the north, west, and south of the state and of the nation. Although Centro is now a large town with a population of some ten thousand people and a weekly market which attracts people from the countryside and the neighboring towns, this is not enough to sustain it. Its port is now comparatively little used for the export of sugar, which in most cases goes directly to Salvador by train from the factories.

The immediate cause for the decay of the town of Vila Recôncavo, and to a great extent that of Centro and of so many other older towns, was the loss of functions after the period of frontier growth. Those towns which had been religious centers lost this function. Military posts were no longer needed, and administrative activities became more restricted as the counties were cut down in size and as the state and federal governments took over more functions, such as schools and health programs. Railroads and trucks have lately reduced the importance of the port towns. The rural towns no longer interest the wealthy rural aristocracy who always dominated and supported them. More rapid transportation has made it possible for this class to move about from plantation or factory to the town or the city and back in one day instead of three, thus removing the need for a town house in which to spend the night. Better transportation has also made it possible for the other classes to go to Salvador easily for shopping, medical purposes, festivals, and visiting. Thus Salvador, because of its nearness and the relative ease of transportation, has taken on many of the functions of the rural

9. Ibid., Letter XIII, p. 501 (author's translation).

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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county seats, functions which they would still fulfill if they were farther removed from the state capital.

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Finally, and perhaps most important of all, there has been a population shift in the last half century. New centers of population and industry have appeared in the Recôncavo, and there has been a refocusing of commercial activity but no accompanying administrative reform. The old towns, such as Vila Recôncavo, have remained as county seats to carry on administrative duties and the pretense of being the center of municipal activity. Official statistics indicate a great predominance of rural inhabitants in the Recôncavo. Actually, however, much of the population lives in towns. Although these centers are not officially called towns, their pattern of living is urban and not rural. For example, the district of Richão in the county of Purificação reported in the 1940 census 442 urban and suburban inhabitants, and 9,369 rural inhabitants. This gives no indication of the existence of a large factory town which contains almost nine thousand people.

The older towns may in the long run prove to be more permanent than the newer centers, which for the most part are factory towns, for it is possible that some day in the future the factories may close, causing a complete dislocation. In the meantime towns such as Vila Recôncavo are left out of the new developments, without industry or commerce except what can be done on a small scale, such as fishing or the weekly market. Still known as the formal centers of their counties or districts, they retain their local bureaucratic functions.

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Until the second half of the nineteenth century, the county was the principal community organization, and the town of Vila Recôncavo was the major center of attraction for its county. However, because of developments in the sugar industry, this older community structure began to change. These developments, which will be described in the next chapter, had the effect of further isolating the town of Vila Recôncavo from the main streams of life revolving about the sugar industry, which has always been the major feature of life in the Recôncavo. New developments in the industry caused new community alignments, the end results of which have been to leave the formal administrative centers, such as the town of Vila Recôncavo, out of rural community life to a very great degree. In the next chapter the history of the rural area will be discussed, linking together the town and the rural area.

175
423 the responsibility of holders to colonize and develop their
* 249 areas. The grants were as a rule very large, consisting of leagues of land rather than of acres. Only one grant could be made to a family. As a result the son of a man who was a holder of a grant either had to remain on his father's land or had to leave the province and go elsewhere to acquire land.
[425] The only remaining alternative was to forget about land and go into commerce or a profession. However, since the grants were so very large, the original holders were able to break them up, selling or renting parts, giving some to their married sons or daughters and yet retaining and cultivating enough to support themselves. Thus the original land grants were broken up, and several plantations were made of each.

175 Engenho was the name given to the total plantation, as well
* 249 as being the specific designation for the mill itself. Every
313 plantation, regardless of whether it was inland or on the coast, needed two things: the soil known as massapê, and woods as close as possible to the mill to supply firewood for boiling the
[185] sugar-cane juice. Firewood soon became a crucial problem, one which has haunted the sugar industry for centuries. Conservation never was a Brazilian practice, and the tropical forests of the Recôncavo were soon stripped to feed the hun-
[435] gry mouths of the furnaces. As time went on it became necessary to import firewood by boat from wherever it could be
[376] found, which added greatly to the costs of producing sugar. The steam mill came much later and added further to the problem.

175 At first the owner's house was a veritable fort, surrounded
* 249 by bulwarks and stockades to resist Indian attacks, but by the
342 end of the seventeenth century the need for this precaution had
● 361 passed away and the plantation houses were assuming noble proportions. Many were imposing two-story buildings built of stone and mortar, the ground level generally being used as a storehouse and the master (senhor de engenho) and his family living on the upper floor. As a rule the Big House of the Recôncavo was situated so that there would be an excellent view from the windows, not only of the mill and slave quarters nearby but of the surrounding countryside. There was no sight so dear to the heart of a plantation master as that of fields of sugar cane, the leaves of many shades of green waving gently in the breeze.

175
* 249 Frequently a chapel was connected with the house or built
36 near it. Not very far away would be the mill, and nearby the
[346]

slave quarters. The entire unit formed a small village, for each plantation needed many specialists--carpenters, ironsmiths, bricklayers, coopers, sailors, fishermen, a barber, tailor, cowboy, chaplain--in addition to those whose trade was that of making sugar. In the morning the agricultural workers, cutters, and drivers went out to work in the fields, returning later in the day. Because of the size of the plantation and the number of its slaves--which frequently reached two or three hundred--the casa grande, settled among its royal palms and overlooking the mill, the slave quarters, the chapel, and other buildings, took on a distinct village appearance.

The owner and absolute ruler of these domains was the senhor de engenho, a title which became a symbol of wealth and later of nobility. The senhor de engenho dominated Bahia, and indeed all of the sugar-producing area of Alagoas and Pernambuco, for many years, socially and politically, until sugar was surpassed in importance by other crops and industries. Even much later, however, when sugar was less profitable and other activities surpassed it in economic importance to the nation, the plantation master was still a prominent figure, at least in northeastern Brazil.

Each unit was a complete entity in itself, with its sobrado, chapel, mill, slave quarters, slaves, cane fields, pastures, oxen, and forest land. The pattern for the Recôncavo plantation was set in the early years. Today many of the original boundary lines still exist, and the plantations have often kept their original names. In addition to cultivating several units of 700 to 1,000 acres within the land grant, the owner also often rented smaller parcels of land to lavradores--free individuals who with a few slaves cultivated a small amount of sugar cane which they sent to the plantation to be milled and made into sugar. These people were the nearest approach to small-scale farmers in the Recôncavo; however, they did not own their own land and were completely dependent upon the plantation master. There are many sad tales of small farmers who were cheated by the master and virtually became his slaves. They had to send their cane to his mill and often were told the cane was dry, or sour, or that less had been sent than they recorded. In all this it was necessary to take the word of the plantation's bookkeeper. There was no court of appeals--only the master, who represented law, order, and justice in the Recôncavo.

As time went on the aspect of the sesmaria was lost, and the plantation complex became the principal characteristic.

2; Hutchinson E-4, 8 (1950-1951) 1957 8011 Bahia Brazilians 8011
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4. Plantation Life

*249 178 THE GOLDEN AGE of the sugar industry was typified by the plantation complex, which was accompanied by a definite way of life. The final breakdown of this complex came at the end of the nineteenth century with the creation of the large central mill. Changes in the agricultural practices, however, have only begun to take place. Almost all the emphasis of change in the past was placed on the development of the technical aspects of processing the cane, and very little attention was given to the agricultural side of the industry.

*249 • 361 178 [464] Modern plantations continue to be relatively self-sufficient units, just as the engenhos were. The factories brought almost no change in the land settlement patterns of the area. Since they were established on the site of former plantations, they did not create new nuclei; rather, they simply enlarged the old centers. Some of the former slave population moved to those factories which needed more workmen. But in subsequent years there was a gradual resettlement of the former slaves on the old plantations, in the same locations and even at times in the same buildings.

The disappearance of the small smokestacks of many plantation mills and the appearance of the more widely scattered but far larger ones of the factories, together with the appearance of networks of narrow gauge railways radiating out from the factories, mark the major changes in the landscape of the Recôncavo. The outlines of the new plantations and their boundaries remain much the same as they were a hundred or more years ago. The former small mills are frequently still used as workshops and sheds for the oxcarts.

(400) The following discussion will examine one of the five pri-

[The Private Plantation]

côncavo. So far only the pai adão has been able to fulfill the plowing requirements. Lately, however, tractors with caterpillar tread have been introduced and, when used carefully with disk plows, have given excellent results. But the old standby is still commonly in use, hitched to eight, ten, twelve, or as many as twenty oxen.

The owner's house with its park stands on a small hilltop and is visible from afar because of its imperial palms. Nearby, on another hilltop, is the settlement of workers, a long street with houses on either side, the barracks, a small store, and the ever-present casa de farinha, the house where manioc is always being ground, pressed, and roasted to make the farina which is the staple food of the area. Also on this street is the overseer's house, which stands out from the others because of its large size and its veranda. The houses of the workmen are small and built for the most part under one long, common roof. Each house is really an apartment consisting of a front living room and a long corridor going back to the kitchen, with one or two bedrooms leading off the corridor. Other houses, under separate roofs, have similar interior arrangements. The roofs are of red tiles, the rest of the house of clay mud (taipa) slapped on both sides of a bamboo framework. After the mud has dried a coat of whitewash is applied. The houses are built and kept in repair by the plantation owner and do not belong to the workers. The floors are of beaten earth, difficult to keep clean. At night, when only a tiny oil lamp is burning, the houses look dark and gloomy.

After dark one has the impression of hearing much more than one can see. Kerosene is expensive to burn, no one reads, and most of life is geared to doing in the daytime those tasks which require light. At night the workmen and their families sit in the dark talking, or perhaps go to the casa de farinha where a fellow workman and his family may be grinding their manioc. This building is softly lit with kerosene lamps and there is a cheerful glow from the roasting fire. More recently the overseer's house has been equipped with electricity, and now it is always well lighted at night. His new radio has become a center of attraction and small groups form about his veranda, listening. At the other end of the street, during harvest time, there is always a bonfire in front of the barracks where the migrant workers are sheltered. On special occasions there may be a samba (dance), perhaps in the plantation owner's house. Then everyone dons his best and the

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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the factory is undergoing a reformation which will raise its capacity to over one hundred thousand sacks, and the legal capacity will be readjusted. 249* 433

Usina São Pedro, although the smallest, is representative of the others and experiences the same problems and difficulties. It differs from some in that it is a family enterprise. The stockholders are nearly all members of the Conde family, and the operations are directed by two members of the family. The factory itself was one of the three built by the state government in 1900 on land controlled by the Navy,[5] on the edge of the Bay, which provides excellent year-round transportation facilities. The mill was acquired in 1909 by the Conde family with two plantations, to which the family has since added four other contiguous plantations. The corporation has a total area of slightly over four thousand acres, mostly of rich massapê soil. The factory receives cane from the plantation of Dona Sinhá, who is also a member of the Conde family by birth and by marriage. It also gets cane from four other plantations within the community and four outside the community, which send their cane by the traditional sailboat. In addition, the factory owns a 2,324-acre plantation in the county of Purificação which is used for grazing and raising cattle and for supplying wood for the factory fires. There is direct water transportation between the factory and the plantation in Purificação. 249* 473 [653] [423] 249* [602] [423] [505]

The designation usina has several meanings which are quite similar to the meanings of the older term, engenho. In its larger context, usina means the entire land-factory combination, including the mill and all the plantations belonging to the corporation. More specifically, usina means the factory building itself. In another context, usina simply indicates the population nucleus, including the factory, the owner's house, and the other buildings. 249* 192

The usina or factory nucleus roughly follows the same settlement pattern of the old plantations. The point of orientation is the factory building, near which stand the chalet and other homes of the owning family, which are grouped together in a park of royal palms and mango trees. Usually a small chapel or oratory is included in one wing of the chalet, where 249* 361 [178]

5. The shoreline bordering salt water is controlled to the depth of 33 meters by the Brazilian Navy. [311]

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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*249 a Mass can be celebrated for the family when a priest is available.
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Situated nearest the chalet are the houses of the general overseer, the chief mechanic of the factory, the major office employees, and the director of the factory store. Next in order are the houses of the technical personnel of the factory. Behind them and farthest from the center are the homes of the agricultural workers who work on the plantation nearest the factory nucleus. The regional overseer of this plantation also lives among his plantation workers. The school and the store are located just outside the small park of the chalet.

[342] The chalet has replaced the former solar (mansion) of the
[177] plantation masters. Its style differs from the earlier type and its name is derived from the fact that it is a modified copy of a Swiss chalet. In a different way it is as ornate as the old solar, but more up-to-date, with running water and electricity.

*249 The personal, paternal aspect of the private plantation ob-
466 viously cannot function on the usina, which has 1,350 people living on its lands. There is, nevertheless, an attempt at just such relations. The owning family spends vacations in the chalet. They also spend Christmas, Carnaval, and Botada[6] there, and at those times there are parties for the workers, Christmas presents for them and for their wives and children, dances, and ball games. The Coronel (Colonel, an honorary title now going out of use), the patriarch of the family, now incapacitated, still receives visits from the older workmen who used to have daily contact with him. His son and son-in-law, present directors of the enterprise, make their presence felt throughout the factory and the six plantations as best they can. As on the private plantation, the final arbitration of any difficulty lies with the usineiro, and no worker considers himself too far removed to go to him if he cannot get satisfaction from his overseer. However, the strongest relationships, both business and personal, lie between overseer and worker--employee and employee--rather than between employee and employer.

The private plantation presents a far better appearance than

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[788] 6. Botada is the annual blessing of the factory machinery, performed on the first day of the grinding season. It is a traditional ceremony formerly carried out on the plantations.

[Town Life]

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The majority of people in Group 1 live in the older part of Vila Recôncavo, often in the old colonial sobrados, and they rarely descend the hill to the part of town inhabited by the fishermen. Indeed, they mix little with people of the town, and there is almost no social life within the group itself. Parties are expensive, and visiting from house to house in the evening is not common. Vila Recôncavo has no such pastime as the evening walk in the square. This group is seldom united on anything, especially local politics; however, the more distant the question the more apt the group is to be of one mind. [361] [574]

Most families in this group send their children to school in Salvador, go there on holidays whenever possible, receive the city newspaper and the Diario Oficial,[2] and shop in the city as often as they can. [871] [204] [443]

Vila Recôncavo differs in one respect from most other rural Brazilian communities: it has no parish priest. The mother church of the parish (matriz) has long been unable to support its own priest, and the duties which would normally fall to such a person are performed by the Franciscans, whose convent is in Vila Recôncavo. The priests remain within the convent, taking little or no part in the social life of the town. 793 [792]

It will be noted that there was no mention of a drug store in Vila Recôncavo. There was none until 1945, when a nonprofit organization, the Institute of Vila Recôncavo, was opened. This is a medical post supported by federal, state, municipal, and private funds; its director is Friar Innocence, a Franciscan lay brother. The institute is housed in the spacious old buildings of the extinct Third Order of Franciscans, and consists of a pharmacy, an infants' milk and soup distributing center, a maternity post, a dental post, and other medical facilities. The dentist, who has modern equipment, is competent in his work. For several years a doctor was in daily attendance, dividing his time between the institute and the petroleum workers' camp. As a result of a complicated local political conflict, he left the institute, however, and Friar Innocence arranged for a visiting doctor to come from Centro and spend two days a week in Vila Recôncavo. Three town girls were sent to Salvador to study nursing and midwifery, so there is competent medical assistance. 743 [444] [792] 743 759

2. The Diario Oficial is the newspaper in which government laws and regulations are published. As a rule, it is the publication of a regulation which makes it become a law.

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462 the icehouse where the shrimp are kept cool; they can then be
438 sent to Salvador every other day on the boat to be sold as fresh
251 shrimp at the market and on the streets. "Camarão da Vila,"
[443] (shrimp from Vila) the cry of the Salvador street peddlers, is well known throughout the capital city.

463 The majority of people in Group 2 live down the hill from the older part of town, near the beach or out along the road
[361] which leads to the factory. They are more or less dependent
[571] upon Group 1, not only for the money they receive in return for services, but also for many kinds of favors which fall un-
[476] der the heading of patronship. They are seldom able to employ the services of Group 3 for such jobs as house building or repairing; they must rely on an old form of cooperative labor, called the batalhão (work group), to make or repair a house wall or to put on a new thatch roof. Frequently a patron will arrange for another of his "dependents" to transport the mud necessary for the palm thatch (taipa), and there is no cost involved for the recipient; but she must arrange the labor.

463 The people of Group 2 fetch their own water from the wells,
312 and usually their own firewood from the tideswamps. There
[313] are several men and women in town who make a business of carrying these two commodities. Such work is contractual. A household contracts for so many cans or barrels of water a day and so many loads of firewood a week. If they do not have enough money for these services they must carry them out themselves. During the dry summer months fetching water is a tedious business, for the majority of the wells dry up early in the summer. In the very dry summer of 1950-51, all the wells in town but one went dry. The one which continued to supply water did so at a much diminished rate. This well is completely encased in cement, for it provides the only drinking water in town. There is a small pipe serving as a spigot. During the dry season it takes from ten to twenty minutes to fill a five-gallon tin can from this pipe. As a result, there were always long lines of women waiting for water, and a sojourn of three or four hours at the well was common. Many of the more ambitious women used to get up at two or three in the morning and go to the well, making several
[821] trips so they would be free of this onerous duty during the day. This, however, took a great deal of courage, for most people
[492] in Vila Recôncavo are afraid of the dark, and no timid woman would make the trip out to the well at night. By general agreement, the men who carry water in barrels on donkeys walked

following days to make new supplies. On the return trip she brings wheat flour, peanuts, potatoes, and whatever is not available in Vila Recôncavo, as special orders (encomendas) for people in the town, who pay the price of the article plus a small percentage for her trouble in doing the shopping. 443 463

The people of Group 3 do most of their own labor; the men follow their trade while their womenfolk do the housework, care for the children, fetch water and firewood, and do their own laundry. This group also uses the batalhão for house building and repairing, although many employ the services of a carpenter to do the woodwork or a bricklayer to make a foundation, in contrast to the people of the preceding group, whose houses are usually built with a minimum of crude woodwork and without masonry foundations. The majority of men in this group, the fishermen, live in the lower part of town, in the areas known as Boqueirão, Caquende, and Cortume (see map of town). The others are scattered throughout the town, up the hill in back of the area of sobrados, and on the side of the hill sloping down to the beach. The fishermen have their own chapel built near the beach, which they support with the tithe (dizimo), a tenth of their earnings. The people in the fishing group seldom go up the hill to the older part of town, feeling that they do not belong there. 463 [462] [342] [361] [346] [764]

A few words need to be said about Group 4, which consists of thirty-one people who do not fit into the other three groups. Eleven of them, who listed themselves as unemployed, are unskilled persons, without a trade, and without a patron or service employment skill. For the most part they are women, and although an examination of the census data shows that they have no visible means of support, they do engage in subsistence activities such as carrying water, cutting spits for xangô, making dendê palm oil, or making fish nets, but not on a regular contract basis. Since they engage in a variety of small independent activities and work for different people at different times, they listed themselves as unemployed in the sense of being without a regular occupation. 463 464

Nine people in Group 4 lived in the town at the time of the census but worked at the Usina São Pedro. Three men worked on the sugar plantation nearest town, preferring to live in town rather than on the plantation, since the trip back and forth is so short. And, finally, the group includes eight people who were employed by the Institute of Vila Recôncavo as nurses, pharmacists, bookkeeper, and bartender. These people

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they are generally conceded to be so by the field hands and the members of classes A and B, because their occupations are more specialized and they work in the mill. There are actually several factors which distinguish them from the field laborers, for in addition to receiving protection by national legislation, including minimum salaries and rights to vacations and medical services, they receive from the factory electric light for their houses and firewood. In addition, factory workers do not plant gardens to supply their farina, and they consider themselves far superior to the agricultural laborers in that their own wives "do not use the hoe" (nao pegam na enxada).

565* 184 [656] [466]

At the factory nucleus where both millworkers and the agricultural laborers of one plantation live in the same place, the houses of the former are grouped in the middle of the village, clustered about the owner's chalet, while those of the latter are on the fringes, farther from the usineiro's house, the mill, and the large store. The factory workers' houses are better constructed than those of the field laborers. They are mostly of brick with tile roofs, while the field workers' homes are often of wattle-work covered with plaster and painted over. The houses of the factory nucleus follow the old slavequarter pattern. The buildings are long and narrow and divided into apartments under one roof. The factory owns all the houses, which the workers receive rent-free. The factory worker is better paid than the field worker, and consequently has more and better material possessions. His house is better furnished, and he dresses better.

[361] 565* 342 184 [423]

Illiteracy is widespread in the rural area. The factory nucleus has had a state primary school for thirty years, and Pedras, the largest of the factory plantations, has had one for about twenty. As a result the factory workers, as well as the people of Pedras, have had the opportunity to attend four years of primary school. The rural laborers on other plantations, however, have lacked this opportunity in most cases. An exception is the Fazenda das Moças, which has had a school in recent years, for children in the daytime and for adults at night.

565* 184 871 [212]

The social life of the workers is almost entirely confined to the place in which they live. Their lives are spent on the plantation except for the days when they walk to the fair in Centro, usually on the Monday following payday. During the summer, when the roads are good for travel, they are busy with the

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517 harvesting and milling. The factory operates twenty-four hours
a day during this season. In the winter, when they have more
(461) leisure, travel is too difficult, for the roads disappear in
mud. Few of the rural people go to the town of Vila Recôn-
*[249] cavo, for it has nothing to attract them except the boat to Sal-
vador and the priest, whom they sometimes visit to have a
[546] Mass said or for a burial. The free movies recently inno-
[562] vated by the Petroleum Council and located a mile from the
factory have been a boon to the rural people, but as a rule
only the men attend. In fact, almost any kind of off-planta-
tion gathering is attended predominantly by men.

*249 On most plantations the casa de farinha is a social gath-
*565 ering place, and both males and females congregate there to
461 talk about the latest news while they work. The women also
gossip at the local well as they fetch water or remain there
[521] washing their clothes. Their everyday lives are busy, and
there is little time for purely social activities. The day be-
[512] gins and ends early. Soon after dark the lights go out, the
houses close, and silence reigns except for the noise coming
from the casa de farinha, which may operate all night, or the
lonesome singing of the caatingueiros housed in the barracks,
*249 or the strong rhythmic sound of the drums coming from a dis-
tant candomblé ceremony. Because there is little work for
*565 women on a plantation, the "extra" girls, those for whom
461 there are no potential husbands, ask the planter to get them
357 work as domestics in the city; this is usually easy, for there
is nearly always someone in Salvador looking for a "good,
strong country girl" to work in the home. Occasionally, if a
worker's son is especially intelligent and industrious, he too
may be placed in some position in the city.

*565 Class C comprises the majority of the population in the town
of Vila Recôncavo and includes most of the occupations listed
in Group 3 of the preceding chapter--that is, fishermen, gar-
deners, and artisans. There are no "pure whites" in this
class, but, as in the rural area, a few "whites of the land"
and the full range of mestiços, whose various color and social
[361] characteristics will be discussed later. The people of Class
C live for the most part in the lower section of town, in the
areas called Cortume, Largo de Santa Cruz, Rua Nova, Bo-
[423] queirão, Cumbamba, and Caquende. The great majority of them
[427] own their homes, although the land belongs to the Fazenda En-
genho da Vila, to the church, or to the prefeitura, and is rent-
ed for a small yearly sum. The houses are small, usually

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plaint about African deities is the amount of work involved and the great expense entailed by making the proper clothes and buying the beads and bracelets. All leaders say that no one can afford traditional spirits these days. Those who had formerly had them, of course, still do, but have also been visited by Indian spirits which they much prefer. So they carry out the more fundamental obligations toward the African spirits, such as providing food and drink, but they dress and dance for their Indian spirits. The result has been a confusion of rituals--the use of African music and incantations and the addition of new dances, costumes, and foods appropriate for the simpler tastes of the Indian spirits.

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The cult houses (terreiros) are built like other houses in the community. The active one in town is located on a street in line with all the other houses, while that on the plantation is set slightly apart from the others, because of the scattered configuration of the village. The front room, which is the largest, is usually bare except for a few long wooden benches and a small altar with pictures of the patron saints of the cult leader and of several of the cult members. This room is decorated with crepe paper streamers and paper flowers; the dances are held here. The other rooms of the house consist of a bedroom, a dining room, a kitchen, and another room known as the pegi, which houses the African altar with its plants and leaves, dishes, bottles, cups, and glasses of food and drink for the spirits, as well as the symbol of each one of them, such as a spade, a sword, or a hatchet. In this room there is also usually a trunk containing the ceremonial paraphernalia used during the festivities, such as the dress and headdress of each spirit. This is the room in which sacrificial killings (matanças) are made of the goats and chickens used during the ceremonies. In the rural house there are also pictures of Catholic saints in the pegi, another departure from the older traditional houses where such a thing would never occur.

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The cult leader lives in the cult house. In the literature on candomblé the cult leader is usually referred to as the mae, or pai, de santo, which means literally "mother (or father) of the saints." None of the cult leaders in Vila Recôncavo likes this term; they say they could not possibly be the mother or father of the divine beings. They consider themselves rather zeladores, that is, caretakers of the saints on earth. There is much the same complaint about the term filha, or filho, de

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58 begun to live together. But it is a general policy of Petrobrás that its employees establish regularized households and register their children, as the benefits of social legislation and insurance must be paid to legal beneficiaries, such as wives and [745] children. Because of the many recent marriages, there are no longer any houses available in Vila Recôncavo, nor in Mi- [362] lagres, and there has been a spurt of housebuilding.

178 There have also been some shifts in emphasis in the struc- 621 ture of the community. While the factory nucleus is no longer the scene of social gathering for the upper class of the area, *249 the structure of the factory-private plantation system ensures that it continues to be the economic center as long as sugar [434] cane is being planted in the area. The system of quotas established for the private planter and the factory by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol requires that planter and factory [361] cooperate in supplying and receiving sugar cane. Also, the [496] physical structure of the area, in which the factory is the center of the network of a small railroad which reaches out to each of the private properties, strengthens the impression of the factory as the center of activities.

178 The possible future shift from sugar to cacao will of course 443 diminish the importance of the sugar factory. However, in the meantime there is a new factor which will give more im- [245] portance than ever to the factory: a feira, or market place. The county of Vila Recôncavo does not have a weekly market. *[249] For many years the county officials have wanted to establish one, not only for increased municipal income, but also to help attract more people to the area and to make life easier for the population. A market place is now under construction at the factory nucleus. When the market is completed, the factory town will become at least a weekly center of attraction for many people of the surrounding plantations.

178 The development of the petroleum industry is bringing new 315 life to the town of Vila Recôncavo, to the nearby town of Mi- [311] lagres, and to the new city of Conselho. Petrobrás cannot develop a nucleus on the land which belongs to the factory or to the private owners, and therefore it must concentrate any local community building efforts in the old public towns which 178 already exist. Petrobrás, indirectly, through the county court 315 of Vila Recôncavo, will soon contribute considerably to the 434 county income. The same sort of compensation which was 651 worked out in regard to the planters is now being arranged 652 for the county, through taxes on the finished products from 632

ties between Negroes and whites on these colonial plantations. All writers have mentioned the frequency of sexual relations between the white plantation owners and their female slaves. Slavery was not a humane institution in Brazil or elsewhere, but in Brazil relations between the slave and the master were of a more personal nature than in other regions where slavery existed in the New World.

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By the middle of the last century, the West Indies and other regions of the world were competing with the Brazilian north-east for the world sugar market; and the abolition of slavery in 1888 caused difficulties of labour supply on these plantations. The sugar industry no longer provided the great wealth that it had in the past, and many of the old plantations were abandoned or sold to large commercial companies who installed modern equipment for large-scale sugar production. Plantation slaves became wage labourers, and the old traditional patterns of behaviour between the Negro slave and the white plantation-owning aristocrat began to disappear, to be replaced by an impersonal employee-employer relationship in keeping with the new way of life. Yet many patterns persist from the days of the old plantation system. Many of the descendants of the aristocratic plantation owners try to preserve the old traditions. They are proud of their family names, and large aristocratic families are still important in the economic and social life of the region. In many rural localities, there are still plantations where the relations between the workers and the owners are highly personalized, as they were in the past, and where customs and traditions formed during the period of opulence and slavery continue, if modified, by modern conditions. Throughout this part of Brazil, the relations between people of different racial groups have been influenced by the large proportion of Negroes in the population, by the importance of slavery in the relatively recent past, and by the particular form which the relations between the Negro slave and the European master took on the plantations.

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11. The community with which the present article is concerned is called Vila Recôncavo; it is a real town situated in the zone known as the Recôncavo which surrounds Salvador, the capital of the State of Bahia, and which borders on the Bay of All Saints, extending inland from the shores of the bay some 30 miles on the northern side, and considerably less on the southern side. The Recôncavo was characteristic of the whole north-eastern plantation region. The Portuguese who settled in Salvador in 1549 recognized the value of these lands around the new city and the Bay of All Saints for sugar production. The third governor of Bahia, Mem de Sá (1557–74),

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In the very large *usinas*, the mill hands and even the field hands are modern industrial workers. They are employees of a large industrial corporation and are protected at least theoretically by the labour laws of the nation. The highly personalized relationship between the plantation workers and the owner-administrator of his own plantation, which persisted from the slave era, has been replaced on the larger *usinas* by the impersonal employee-employer relationship of the modern industrial age. Today, modern plantations and small towns have electricity; there is modern housing for workmen; the State and even the sugar companies provide medical aid; there are primary schools both in the small towns and on many plantations; recreation facilities are found in the towns and provided by the *usinas*; and the sugar-cane experimental station situated in the area constantly urges fertilization of the land and modern techniques and methods of sugar-cane production. But the older and more traditional patterns exist side by side with the new, and each of them influences the relations among the racial groups of the zone.

[365] [362] [743] [872] [529] [242]

● 361 **III.** Vila Recôncavo is a small town on the Bay of All Saints. The rural area around it, which lies within the social and economic orbit of the town and which is the unit under consideration, comprises some 80 square kilometres, or slightly less than half the entire area of the county of which the town of Vila Recôncavo is the county seat.[1]

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It this area there are 14 plantations, three of which nowadays plant very little sugar cane. Parts of the town itself are built on the land of one of these plantations, and the rest of the town area is owned in small lots by private individuals or by the Church. Although Vila Recôncavo is the county seat, local government is the only important function which it fulfils for the surrounding area. It is not used as a shipping point, either for receiving supplies from the outside or for sending sugar to the outside. *Braços do mar*, or inlets of the bay, go to many of the plantations and are deep enough for the *saveiros* (shallow draft sailboats) used on the bay for transport. Many of the plantations have direct connexion with Salvador. Commerce in Vila Recôncavo is almost entirely limited to supplying the 1,462 inhabitants of the town and of some small islands and of one community near by which is not devoted to sugar production. It is not the major supply source even for these groups which live near enough to another and far larger commercial centre where they prefer to do their marketing. The *prefeito* or mayor of the county is rarely a resident of the town itself. Rather he is usually a planter of the surrounding area. He goes into town to do municipal business,

[423] [634] [504] [487] [438] [162]

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[1] Both the town and the county bear the name of Vila Recôncavo.

The other important occupation is fishing and there is the new petroleum industry. In Vila Recôncavo, bureaucracy plays a large part in the economics of the urban upper-class. The municipal secretary, the statistics agent, the federal and state tax collectors and their clerks, the postmaster and various other 'white collar' positions belong to this small group. Often members of the municipal government divide their attention between commerce (owning small stores) and their government jobs. Despite its long history and rather easy communication with the large city of Salvador, Vila Recôncavo is still an isolated community. After landing in the town from the regular steamer coming from Salvador, one must proceed inland either by foot or by animal. The only motor vehicles in the community area (except for those of the petroleum industry) are a truck and a delivery-type pick-up truck owned by the São Pedro *usina*. One hears from all classes that the town is backward, abandoned and dead. It has had a glorious past: wealth, the large and beautiful *sobrados* of the barons who were *donos dos engenhos* (owners of the *engenhos*), two beautiful churches, a national guard post with almost 1,000 soldiers stationed in it, a record of bravery and leadership in the war for Independence in 1822, and a place worthy of a visit from the emperor, Don Pedro II. Today the *sobrados* are in ruins, or have disappeared completely, as today's *donos dos engenhos* remain on their plantations or in the city, forsaking the town. The military have gone, the splendours of the religious feast-days are no more. Vila Recôncavo is representative of the decadence which has overtaken the entire area. Today it is known only for its *xangô* and shrimps.

463 [565] 361 489 [493] 361 178 829

IV. In the United States an absolute 'line' is drawn between white and Negro. A person who is not white is a Negro, however small the percentage of Negro blood may be. In Vila Recôncavo, this 'line' is recognized rather than drawn. A distinction between Negro and white is always kept in mind when classifying an individual. Everyone knows who is 'pure' white and who is not. Classification by race is one of the most important aspects of local culture, and one of the most difficult aspects for the outsider to grasp. *Bahianos* of the Recôncavo feel that one may instantly recognize the difference between a 'pure' white and a mixed white-Indian, white-Negro or Negro-Indian, but they do not let it go at that. They classify or minutely describe each person; they classify according to skin colour, according to hair form and according to facial features, and their classifications or racial types are used in everyday conversation. Just as it would be said in the United States that someone is short and fat, the people of Vila Recôncavo will describe a person's colour and hair.

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tion of the Negro woman in relation to the other women. She was chosen in first place in only one instance, namely as best worker, and only by the Negroes. In spite of the fact that in Table I the mulatto woman was considered the most attractive, she was chosen so only by the mulattoes. The other three racial types selected the *caboclo*

TABLE II.

Question	Chosen in first place by			
	Negroes	*Mulattoes*	*Whites*	*Caboclos*
Most attractive man	P	B	B	B
Most attractive woman	C & B	M	B	B
Most wealthy man	P	C	C	C
Most wealthy woman	B	B	B	B
Best worker, man	P	C	P	P
Best worker, woman	P	C	M	C
Most honest man	C	C	C	C
Most honest woman	C	C	C	C
Most religious man	C & M	C	C	C & B
Most religious woman	C	C	B	C

(P—*preto*; B—*branco*; C—*caboclo*; M—*mulato*. Where two racial types are in first place, they received an equal number of 'votes'.)

and the white woman. In summing up the total number of 'votes', the mulatto woman won by a narrow margin (four votes). It is interesting to note that the Negroes chose the *preto* man as the most wealthy, putting the caboclo in second place, while the other three racial types put the *caboclo* first.

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VI. There is a saying in the Recôncavo that where there was sugar, there were Negroes. This rule of thumb seems to hold remarkably well even today. On the islands in the bay where there never were *engenhos*, there are few *pretos*. In the town of Vila Recôncavo, and in a small settlement to the west of Vila Recôncavo where there never was an *engenho*, there are relatively few *pretos*, in comparison with the area of *engenhos* and plantations. The region as a whole can be shaded off in dark and light, to distinguish roughly the spatial arrangement according to colour. In the areas where there was and is sugar, there are many more *gente branqueada* (whitened people) than in the non-plantation areas.

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These lightened areas seem to continue to lighten, while the darker areas retain their dark characteristics. In Vila Recôncavo, which is a *mestiço* community, there is much more opportunity for

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*121 563 races, and the ensuing termination is perhaps most clearly discernible.

131 361 [132] Bahia lies in the tropics of the Southern Hemisphere, approximately thirteen degrees south of the Equator, her naturally warm and humid climate almost constantly tempered by the refreshing Southeast Trades. Located seven hundred miles above Rio de Janeiro, the Brazilian capital, and four hundred miles below the old sugar center of Pernambuco, Bahia marks approximately the mid-point of Brazil's four thousand miles of coast line which stretches from temperate [167] Uruguay to the torrid Guianas. Some twenty-five hundred miles to the northeast lie the Gold and Slave coasts of Africa, once the home of the parents or grandparents of many present-day Bahians; directly to the east is Angola, another important source of the city's population.

175 361 In 1949 Bahia will celebrate her four hundredth anniversary. As cities go in the New World, she is an old city; in fact, one of the very oldest. Permanently founded fifty- [504] eight years before Jamestown and thirty-five years earlier than St. Augustine, this outpost of Portuguese civilization was one of the world's richest ports long before New York had outgrown her swaddling clothes.

175 162 *563 Here, shortly after 1500, set in the Portuguese transplantation, at first composed of adventurers, shipwrecked and deserting sailors; *degredados* banished from Portugal for criminal, political, or religious offenses; ambitious young men chosen for physical fitness and freedom from marital ties to serve in the colonial garrison; impoverished nobles seeking to recuperate fortunes squandered at the Portuguese court; a few officials, Jesuits, and secular clergy; Jews expelled by the Inquisition (who incidentally were to furnish a considerable portion of the much-needed capital for the

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in 1822, in the politics of the Empire, a role similar to that assumed by Minas Geraes, São Paulo, and Rio Grande do Sul in the Republic following 1889. In fact, she has been called "the Brazilian Virginia." Until 1907 Bahia was also the religious center of the Brazilian nation. Her archbishop was the head of the Roman Catholic church in Brazil, and the religious orders maintained here their principal representatives. Thus in the economic, political, and religious life of Brazil, Bahia boasts a long tradition of distinction and prestige.

The present city is about the size of Indianapolis or Seattle.[6] It nestles along the eastern rim of a huge bay, Bahia de Todos os Santos. The bay is formed by the projection out into the ocean of Cape Santo Antonio, which, on its western side, breaks rather sharply almost at the water's edge, exposing a bold promontory approximately three hundred feet in height which parallels for some two to three miles the rim of the bay. The city clings to the narrow shelf between the bay and the cliff and then sprawls up over this sizable barrier and spreads out along the ridges and into the valleys to the east and north, where centuries of erosion have carved a one-time flat plain into alternating crests and steep-sloping depressions.

Bahia is thus divided by a natural barrier into a lower and an upper city, into a Cidade Baixa and a Cidade Alta, as the two parts are locally called; the one connected with the other by steep, winding streets paved with cobblestones, by inclined planes and modern hydraulic elevators, or by numerous well-worn footpaths. In the lower city lies, of course,

[6] An estimate by the state government gave for the city of Bahia on December 31, 1934, a population of 352,244 (*Annuario estatistico da Bahia, 1934*, p. 131). The federal census of 1920 gave for Bahia City 283,422 (*Recenseamento do Brasil, 1920*, Vol. IV: *População*, Book I, p. xxiv).

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As one moves interior from the Reconcavo into the *sertão*, the Negro contribution to the population tends to decrease and the Indian contribution, much mixed with both white and Negro, to increase. Both on the moderately watered plateaus and river basins, chiefly devoted to cattle-raising and light farming and occasionally covered with virgin or second-growth timber, as well as in the sandy, dry, and hot *caatinga* country of the semiarid zones, one finds a frontier society which is relatively isolated and has been only slightly modified during recent decades by contact with the outside world.[8]

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Thus, in this particular area of intimate racial and cultural contact where the Negro and his descendants have been fated to work out a rather picturesque career, one will find three distinct types of settlement and population. In the *sertão*, or interior, is a highly mixed stock to whose composition the Indian has contributed in greater proportion probably than either the Negro or the European. In the Reconcavo, with its tradition of a departed rural aristocracy, a disintegrated plantation system, and a long history of slavery, the population is still principally negroid. While in the city of Bahia itself the people are largely of mixed European-African origin, individuals of either pure European or pure African descent being clearly in the minority.

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In the city also, the social order is still relatively stable. There has been in recent times little change. Bahia is, as we have seen, a comparatively old city, conscious of its traditions and proud of them. Conventions originally developed

[8] Euclydes da Cunha's *Os Sertões* (12th ed.; Rio, 1933) gives a vivid and dramatic account of life on the *sertão*. Although written in 1902, it is still timely. R. B. Cunningham-Graham's *A Brazilian Mystic* (New York, 1925) is based upon this more detailed account.

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struggle of native labor versus foreign capital and thus tend to unify rather than to divide the local group. Religious competition has not become severe enough to intensify self-consciousness on the part of rival adherents and thus evoke serious animosities. As far as national affairs are concerned, intense local loyalties had not, at least at the time this study was made, been seriously exacerbated by onerous control from without. A minimum of racial conflict will be evident throughout this account.

THE *ricos* OF THE RIDGES AND THE *pobres* OF THE VALLEYS

One of the things Darwin noted, when he visited Bahia in 1832, was that the city rested upon "a level plain of about three hundred feet in elevation, which in all parts has been worn into flat-bottomed valleys."[11] Today the scene is still much as Darwin saw it. Continuing erosion has merely emphasized the general characteristics of the landscape, transforming the once level plain somewhat more decidedly into alternating ridges, relatively steep declivities, and comparatively narrow valleys.

This physiography of the country has not been without significance in the cultural life of Bahia; for, in general, the distribution of the population by classes, and even to some extent by ethnic divisions, follows quite closely the lay of the land. Along the ridges, which wind with the changing terrain, ordinarily run the principal streets, bearing the chief lines of transportation, whether by streetcar, bus, or automobile. So far as accessibility to the center and other principal parts of the city is concerned, here are the more convenient residential locations. The elevation of the ridges,

[11] Charles Darwin, *The Voyage of the Beagle* ("Harvard Classics," Vol. XXIX [New York, 1909]), p. 521.

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565 permitting as it does a full and unobstructed sweep of the cooling sea breeze, makes these heights more comfortable, more healthful, and, consequently, more desirable places of [362] residence. One usually finds here the more modern and [463] substantial buildings, the homes of the upper classes. Here ordinarily live the scions of the old aristocracy, the large landholders, the city's intellectuals, and the leaders of its "society"; the lawyers, physicians, engineers, and politicians; the officials of the army, the poets and journalists, the professors in the Faculdades, the few industrialists which Bahia has so far produced—in fact, nearly all those prominent in the intellectual, political, "social," and economic life of the city. These families possess considerable property [873] and employ numerous servants. Their members are usually [463] literate, and at least the males are *formados* (i.e., graduated from one of the Faculdades, either in law, medicine, or engineering), a distinction which in the Bahian society marks them off quite sharply from the rest of the population.

[204] It is in these areas that the five newspapers published in [291] the city circulate almost exclusively and the latest fashions from Paris or Hollywood are known and generally adopted. [341] In recent years an occasional example of modernistic archi- [422] tecture and interior design has appeared. Here are to be found the owners of virtually all the city's 3,855 telephones, [206] its 1,028 automobiles, its radios, and private libraries. Here [217] live most of the 20,524 voters who cast ballots in the munici- [207] pal election of 1936. Here attachment to the *candomblé*, or Afro-Brazilian fetish cult, is minimal and Catholic belief is [794] least modified by elements from the more primitive reli- [177] gions. Here live that portion of the population which *o povo* ("the people") call the *ricos*, or the "rich."

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The valleys, on the other hand, afford less comfortable, less healthful, less convenient, and, consequently, less expensive residential locations. Here the regularly laid out streets and paving disappear. The inhabitants get about by way of footpaths, the red clay of which becomes slippery after a tropical downpour and quite treacherous on the steeper slopes. Here live the lower classes. Dwellings are simple mud huts constructed of a sapling framework over which puddled clay has been spread and allowed to dry. If the owner's income has permitted, the rough exterior of the dwellings has been smoothed off and a lime wash in pale tints of pink, blue, green, or yellow added. The floor is commonly of earth, neatly sanded at regular intervals with fresh *areia* from the seashore. The roof of such dwellings is usually of palm fronds and may be slightly raised at the gable to permit the more ready exit of smoke from the housewife's fire. The furniture ordinarily consists of rude benches or stools, perhaps a cheap chair, a rough table, and cots, or, more commonly, straw mats for sleeping. A Standard Oil Company can whose top and bottom have been removed is used for a stove. Furnishings include an unpretentious niche with a small image of the family's patron saint, a candle, perhaps an almanac, and a rude iron support for washbasin and pitcher of water. Utensils are usually of baked clay and quite simple in design.

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In respect to economic level, education, and, to some extent, religion, the inhabitants of these lower-class areas diverge widely from those of the ridges. They are usually illiterate, although some of the children are now being enrolled in government-sponsored schools. Communication is ordinarily by word of mouth, seldom by newspaper, book, or telephone. Conversation is carried on in the Portuguese

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to vulgar persons"), "não faça caso de gente baixa" ("don't 186
mind low people"), "não dê attenção á gentinha" ("don't [867]
pay any attention to common people"), and "não se incommode com a gente baixa" ("don't trouble yourself about common people"). Of themselves, the upper classes use the rather general expressions *as altas rodas* ("the upper circles"), *grand monde*, and the "élite."

The lower classes refer to the upper classes as *os "chefões"* ("the big shots"), *os donos da gente* ("the owners of the people"), *os grandes graudos* ("the illustrious great"), *os manda-chuvas da cidade* ("the rainmakers of the city"; i.e., those who can do anything), *ricaços* ("the plutocrats"), or merely *os brancos* ("the whites").

Although this rather simple pattern in which ridges and 361
valleys appear as contrasted residential areas is, in general, 565
characteristic of the entire city, it is modified in a few minor instances. The upper-class suburb of Barra, for example, lies low on the seacoast, albeit well swept by the refreshing sea breeze; while the ridges (as well as the valleys) in the [362]
less accessible areas outside the main portion of the city are covered with the huts of the lower class. In the old outmoded four-to-seven-story buildings (relics of Bahia's former splendor), which hedge about the central portion of the city and lie either on top, or well up toward the top, of the central ridges, are crowded together in something approaching slum conditions hundreds of the city's poor.[11] But in general the pattern of the city conforms quite closely to that which has been described.

As one moves about the different residential areas, he [563]*

[11] For an intimate glimpse into the life of this latter area see Jorge Amado, *Suor* (2d ed.; Rio, 1936). The locale of these interesting sketches is an old building at No. 68 on the Pelourinho which fronts on the triangular *praça* where the old slave whipping-post used to stand.

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notes that this segregation by economic and educational classes conforms in a general way, although with certain important exceptions, to the differences in color in the population. In fact, Bahia on initial acquaintance seems not unlike a medieval city surrounded by African villages.[13]

Thus, in general, one may say that the whites and the lighter mixed-bloods ordinarily occupy the more comfortable, more healthful, more convenient, and hence more expensive ridges of the city; while the blacks and darker mixed-bloods usually reside in the less convenient, less healthful, hence cheaper, low-lying areas, and the outlying, less accessible regions called locally *suburbios*. In other words, the ridges of the *ricos* correspond in the main to the residential areas of the whites and of the lighter *mestiços*, while the valleys and the outlying sections of the *pobres* correspond in large measure to the residential areas of the darker portion of the population. On the outskirts of the city, such sections as Matta Escura, Engenho Velho, Federação, Garcia, Quintas da Barra, Retiro, Alto do Abacaxi, Alto das Pombas, Estrada da Liberdade, Estrada do Rodagem, Cabrito, Cruz do Cosme, Matatú Pequeno, etc., are all predominantly inhabited by blacks and darker mixed-bloods. The lighter *mestiços* are clearly in the minority and whites quite rare. On the other hand, the ridges of Vitoria, Canella, and Graça and the seaside *bairro* of Barra are almost entirely inhabited by whites, with only a limited number of the lighter mixed-bloods scattered among them. It is, however,

[13] An American resident who had spent five years at Lagos on the African West Coast once remarked, "When I go out into the suburbs of Bahia, I feel like I am back in Africa, the Negro huts and their surroundings are so similar."

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true that one finds, on the slopes to the rear of the more pretentious houses of these areas and spreading into the valleys beyond, a considerable number of simple huts whose occupants are blacks and darker mixed-bloods.

Nazaré is less predominantly an area of white residence, there being in this *bairro* numbers of very light *mestiços* but, except on the slopes toward the Baixa dos Sapateiros, on the one hand, and the Dique, on the other, relatively few blacks. The transitional sections of Santo Antonio, Barbalho, Barris, Tororó, and the peninsula of Itapagipe (which extends more than a mile out into Todos os Santos Bay) are predominantly inhabited by mixed-bloods. Nevertheless, here also a few whites and a considerable number of blacks, particularly in such subsections as Massaranduba in Itapagipe, also live side by side with *mestiços*.

One soon discovers, however, that this ethnic segregation is largely due to the circumstance that color and class, as we shall soon see in detail, tend to coincide. This is, of course, a situation to be anticipated, given the circumstances and conditions of Negro importation and settlement and the comparatively recent emergence of the darker race from a servile status. The important consideration is that there is in Bahia, it seems, no deliberate attempt to segregate the races as a means of maintaining caste or class distinctions.

In fact, the spatial distribution of the races would appear even on first sight to be an index of the racial situation, and longer acquaintance with the city tends to confirm this hypothesis. The residential pattern suggests a gradually evolving, freely competitive society in which the Europeans settled on the ridges, and the Africans and their descendants, as propertyless slaves, or impoverished freedmen, were rele-

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gated to the less desirable territory. Although the Europeans have still today, to a considerable extent, maintained their original advantage, the blacks and darker mixed-bloods have gradually pushed themselves up the slopes from their less favored locations until now they have come, in some cases, to share a portion of the Europeans' favored position. One occasionally finds them living next to the homes of the whites, symbolizing the fact that they now occupy those positions, social as well as spatial, which personal ability, occupational proficiency, and favorable circumstance have enabled them to achieve and to maintain. Thus the racial distinctions which one from the United States is so likely on first acquaintance to note turn out to be, as we shall soon see in more detail, not the things which are either so genuine or so important as at first sight might appear.

It is significant, in this connection, that in what might be called the intermediate residential areas of the city, where the dwellings of those who are rising out of the lower classes meet the dwellings of the upper classes, one finds the darker and the lighter portions of the population meeting and mingling in close residential proximity. This is true, for example, along the Avenida Sete de Setembro.

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The Avenida Sete de Setembro, from Jardim Suspenso on, is the only artery into the "downtown area" from South Bahia. It thus becomes the route of passage for processions like those of Carnival, the "Micarêta,"[14] the Peruada,[15] and the numerous religious *festas*, and the avenue of march for the military during visits of political celebrities. Its streetcar line and constant flow of busses would make it less de-

[14] The "Micarêta" is the so-called "second Carnival" held the Sunday following Easter.

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[15] The Peruada is an annual students' parade with floats.

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sirable as a seat of residence for one weary of the noises of an industrial city, but for the Bahian wife and daughters, whose world is still largely inside the doors of the home, these characteristics seem to give it a peculiar charm. Hence, one will see along this avenue, almost from Praça Castro Alves out, the residences of many substantial families and, in Vitoria, just beyond the governor's palace, the more pretentious dwellings of the upper class.

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TABLE 1

FAMILIES DWELLING ALONG THE AVENIDA SETE DE SETEMBRO CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO ETHNIC COMPOSITION, BAHIA, 1936

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	Number	Per Cent
Black	19	7.6
Mixed-blood	97	38.6
White	128	51.0
Mixed-blood and white	5	2.0
Black and mixed-blood	2	0.8
Total	251	100.0

No Bahian house which boasts any pretension fails to have a balcony, while nearly all possess large casement windows opening out on the street. From this vantage point the family can while away many pleasant hours leaning on elbows and "watching the *gente* (people) go by." Consequently, one can readily gain, especially during the passage of processions when the balconies and windows are fully occupied, rather accurate information on the physical character of the population. It is possible at Carnival, for example, particularly just preceding the passage of the floats, to take a census with respect to racial composition, as far

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at least as color is an index of race.[16] On the first evening of Carnival in 1936 an analysis into color categories of families dwelling along this avenue from Jardim Suspenso to the Church of São Bento gave the distribution shown in Table 1.

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That families of whites, of mixed-bloods, and of relatively unmixed blacks dwell indiscriminately side by side on this important street is even more clearly evident if one notes the house-by-house distribution as he proceeds along the Avenida:

White	Mixed-blood	Mixed-blood
White	White	White
Mixed-blood	Mixed-blood (dark)	White
Mixed-blood	Mixed-blood (dark)	White
Mixed-blood	White	Mixed-blood
White	Mixed-blood	Mixed-blood
Mixed-blood	Mixed-blood	Black
White	White	Black
White	Mixed-blood	Mixed-blood
Mixed-blood (dark)	Mixed-blood	Mixed-blood
Mixed-blood	White	Mixed-blood
White	White	White

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Of 142 white students to whom the question, "Do you dislike black neighbors?" was put, 120 responded "No." And of 143 who responded to the question, "Do you dislike *pardo* (brown) neighbors?" 129 replied in the negative. Among the small minority who in each case appeared to be somewhat troubled by the immediate proximity of darker neighbors, subsequent inquiry developed that ordinarily the objection arose out of apprehension that residence among black neighbors might imply residence in a lower-class (and hence less

[16] It is obviously likely that the actual residents were joined on this occasion by other persons, either relatives or friends. But since the object was not to count faces but to test the ethnic composition of families dwelling side by side, this possibility did not materially affect the enumeration. Only seven cases were found of mixed ethnic composition, and it is reasonable to assume in the light of the Bahian culture that some of these were so by reason of ethnic mixture in the family itself.

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desirable) neighborhood. The objection appeared to be not so much to the blacks *as such* but rather to those areas in which the darker portion of the population, being less secure financially (as we shall presently see in more detail), ordinarily dwell.

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In this connection it is also significant to note that an occasional black resides in such upper-class sections as Canella or Vitoria without any question being made of the fact. He will ordinarily be a person of wealth, education, professional competence, and "good breeding"; in other words, a member of the upper classes. Similarly significant is the complementary fact that a considerable number of lower-class whites may be found living in the valleys or the outlying regions, scattered among the darker portion of the population, imbedded quite unconsciously in what might be called, if they were in the United States, the "Negro bottoms."[17] Sharing a common life with the other illiterate poor, these occasional white families visit about among their darker neighbors, eat, drink, work, play, and intermarry with them, and participate in a common body of ideas and sentiments, just as at the other end of the class scale an occasional black participates in the predominately white world of the élite.

Thus, although Bahia is divided quite definitely into upper- and lower-class residents who occupy rather distinct areas of the city, and these class and geographical divisions also tend to correspond rather closely to the color divisions in the population, one notes certain significant exceptions whose occurrence points rather clearly toward class rather than caste as the basis of social organization.

[17] An occasional well-to-do white upper-class family will reside in a lower-class area, the house and grounds ordinarily taking on the appearance of a spacious country seat surrounded by more humble dwellings.

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the same or similar religious beliefs and practices, they were able to act effectively together.

In 1806, following a raid upon a "conspirator's house," the imprisonment of a number of suspected plotters, and the confiscation of "four hundred arrows, a bundle of sticks, and quantities of cord for the making of bows, a large number of knives and pistols, a gun and a drum," orders were issued to arrest every slave found in the streets after nine o'clock at night "without a letter from his master or in his company."[39] The following year correspondence between African conspirators in Bahia and Santo Amaro (a sugar center in the Reconcavo) was intercepted, and the leaders thus exposed were subsequently tried, sentenced to death, and executed.[40] About the same time the governor of Bahia ordered destroyed two troublesome *quilombos*, or settlements of fugitive slaves, on the outskirts of the city near Cabula and Nossa Senhora dos Mares, and the *capitãomor* with eighty soldiers surrounded their huts and took prisoner seventy-eight blacks, some of whom were free Negroes.[41]

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In 1809 a revolt about twelve miles from Bahia was put down after the Haussás had "committed all sorts of outrages."[42] In 1813 about five hundred Haussás revolted and fled into the surrounding country but were speedily pursued and disarmed and their leaders publicly hung on gallows erected in Praça Piedade, one of the principal squares of the city. Several others were deported to Africa.[43] In 1826 soldiers had to be sent to various points in the Reconcavo,

[39] Silva, *op. cit.*, p. 346.

[40] Alvares do Amaral, *Resumo chronologico da Bahia* (Bahia, n.d.), p. 111.

[41] Eduardo A. de Caldas Britto, "Levantes de pretos na Bahia," *Revista do Instituto Geographico e Historico da Bahia*, XXIX, 72.

[42] Alvares do Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 39. See also Ramos, *As culturas negras*, p. 337.

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The present town of Orobó,[60] approximately a hundred and fifty miles interior from the port of Bahia, is said to have had its origin in such a settlement.[61] Even outlying areas of the city of Bahia like Matta Escura and Estrada da Liberdade, and the neighboring villages of Cabula, Armação, Pirajá, and Itapoan, are said to have had their origin in *quilombos*, dating from the colonial period. From these settlements there were frequent sallies of Negroes into the city to rob and to pillage. However, no *quilombo* in the state of Bahia

[60] The name has recently been changed to Ruy Barbosa.

[61] On September 23, 1796, an investigation was ordered of complaints regarding the *quilombo* of Orobó. On April 6 of the following year this report was made (Silva, *op. cit.*, III, 227):

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ILLUSTRIOUS AND ESTEEMED SIR:

There having been repeated requests on the part of certain *senhores de engenho* and owners of *fazendas* living in the vicinity of Orobó, district of the villa of Cachoeira, that there be destroyed a very old *quilombo* of fugitive slaves who have been wasting and destroying neighboring plantations and committing other excesses of great damage to the settlers, I ordered the *desembargador*, Juiz de Fora, of the same villa to find out if these reports were true, and if they were, to seek by all means possible to destroy this *quilombo*, using all prudence and care to avoid any fatal occurrence in the execution of the order, in view of the great distance between Cachoeira and that district, as well as our ignorance of the size of the *quilombo* which, according to some accounts, was not small. The necessity of collecting provisions, of enrolling and arming men . . . . delayed for some time the execution of this order until, the complaints continuing and the people themselves offering to lend some aid and assistance, I ordered the *capitão-mor* of Entrados e Assaltos of the District of São José das Itapororocas, Severino Pereira, to organize an armed force and to destory the *mocambo*. This order was carried out in December of last year, the two *quilombos*, or *mocambos*, known as Orobó and Andrah being destroyed. At these places were found fields of manioc, *inhame*, rice, fruit, and a little sugar cane, with all of which the inhabitants had easily been able to sustain themselves. Thirteen slaves were apprehended, among them men, women, and children, all of whom were delivered up to their respective masters. Previous to the arrival of the armed force, it is reported, a great number of slaves living there fled, for apparently they suspected, or perhaps were even aware of, the impending attack. As it appeared that they had fled to another *quilombo* called Tupim, farther off, I ordered that it similarly be destroyed, but I have not yet had notice whether such has been done. This is what I have to offer Your Excellency in reply to a letter directed to me and received on the 23rd of September of last year, urging me to undertake the most effective means of destroying the indicated *quilombos* and of relieving the settlers.

God guard Your Excellency.

Bahia, 6th of April, 1797. Most Illustrious and Excellent Sir, D. Rodrigo de Souza Coutinho.

D. FERNANDO JOSÉ DE PORTUGAL

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Nagô at times spoken in Bahia and an occasional individual whose command of this language is comparable to his command of Portuguese.

The nature of Negro settlement at Bahia favored to a considerable extent the preservation of African cultural forms. Tribal units were not deliberately broken up, as in Jamaica and the United States, and the Negro was thereby able to preserve and to transmit to his children a considerable portion of his African heritage. Even on the plantations the distribution of newly imported Africans among the old-established Negroes seems not to have occurred.[8] The concentration in the city of Bahia over a long period of time of large numbers of semi-independent *negros de ganho*, around whom there gradually accumulated a considerable number of relatively unassimilated free Negroes, also favored the persistence of African cultural elements.

It is likely that Nagô was not maintained in a pure form but came to be a patois containing numerous elements from other African dialects as well as from Portuguese. A Catholic missionary, Padre Coquard, visiting Bahia in 1899 to solicit funds, spoke to the colored population in Nagô. But the sermon, preached in the ancient church of Sé, was wholly ineffective.[9]

Other African languages were spoken in Bahia.[10] Rodrigues believed that Gêge (or Ewe) was used throughout the eighteenth century and until at least the middle of the nine-

[8] Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil, 1809 to 1815* (2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1817), I, 229 n.

[9] Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 200–201. Perhaps another reason for this ineffectiveness was that the Negroes who were most able to understand Nagô were unassimilated Africans who, out of loyalty to the religion of their fathers, deliberately absented themselves from this ceremony of the Catholic church.

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 197–230.

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help me get better, they took me up off the ground.[42] Then my mother called in Mamêdê [the local *pae de santo*], to see what was the matter with me. He came, *abriu a mesa*[43] and said that this had been with me from my birth. My mother then asked him if he could cure it. He said he could. He made her buy plates, *moringues*,[44] beads, cups, coconuts, etc. Then he prepared all that.[45] They washed my head with water from the sacred leaves. My mother asked if he could take that thing away so that it would not come back again. He said he would not dare to do that, or I would die. He said it always came back.

When it returned, they washed my head again. I did not know what was going on. It was as if I had slept. When I awakened, I was all "prepared": dressed *de creola* with a *saia grande* and a *torso* on my head. Everything red. *Sandalias* too. Everything the same color.

When this happened I was still small. The *pae de santo* said that I was under a spell [*era encanto*]. He "did the work" once more, and I was all right again. But when I was seven years old, it took hold of me once more. My mother was afraid and begged the *pae de santo* to do something about it. She pleaded so earnestly that finally he said he would speak with the enchantment [*encanto*] so that it would not come down any more.

It didn't come back until I was fifteen years old. Then they arranged another dress *de creola*, and also handkerchiefs, strings of beads, bracelets, and *sandalias*. They ordered plates, small glasses, and *quartinhas* bought. When all this was ready, the *pae de santo* washed my head in sacred water. He said it was the "owner of my head" [*dono da minha cabeça*] who had done that to me. There in Cachoeira, across the river from São Felix,[46] is the *casa de Gêge*.[47] The *pae de santo* is the grandson of an African.

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[42] That is, she was removed from the reed mat which, placed directly upon the floor of a hut, is extensively used among the poorer families for sleeping purposes.

[43] That is, he set up certain means of divination.

[44] Water pots made of red clay.

[45] That is, he submitted it to the proper ritual.

[46] Cachoeira and São Felix are twin cities, separated by the Paraguassú River, located across the Bay to the north of the city of Bahia.

[47] The *candomblé* of the Gêge cult in which she had now been inducted.

/9/ The Ethnic Types of Bahia

361 Bahia owes its reputation, not only to its privileged location
*563 on the shores of a magnificent bay and to its churches of an ornate
633 rococo style, but also, to a certain degree, to the excellent relations that exist in the heart of its motley population between people of different color. Stephan Zweig drew a very vivid picture
633 of Bahia and its ancient traditions. For him, Brazil began with
*563 this city, and not only Brazil, but also South America. "In this city was erected the first pier of the vast bridge thrown across the Atlantic; in it has originated, through the combination of European, African, and American material, the new mixture that is fermenting so actively at the present time (1)."

[113] 1. Stephan Zweig, Brazil, País do Futuro /Brazil, Land of the Future/, trans. by Gallotti, Rio de Janeiro, 1941, p. 275.

175 From its founding under the official name of Cidade do
633 Salvador, Bahia began to be known for its wealth, which it owed
[103] to the sugar produced by its fazendas (2)
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2. Plantations.

and its engenhos (3).

3. Sugar mills.

[796] It was also renowned for the magnificence of the worship in its
[363] numerous churches, for the religious processions that passed through its narrow, climbing streets, and for the traditions, so typically Portuguese, of its inhabitants. Center of importation
[567] of African slaves, Bahia was also famous for the large proportion
[167] of Blacks in its population, to the point that foreign travelers of
[162] the colonial period speak of this city as a "new Guinea" (4).

[113] 4. M. Frezier, Relation du voyage de la mer du Sud aux côtes du Chili et du Pérou fait pendant les années 1712, 1713 and 1714 /Account of the

[SALVADOR]

/34/ A Multiracial Society with Classes

565 [114] The structure of the classes of Bahia has never been described and analyzed from the sociological point of view, except very summarily by Donald Pierson (1).

1. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 64.

As this scholar shows, one may say schematically that the population of Bahia consists of an "upper" class, to which belong the descendants of the old aristocracy, the great landowners and the merchants, the intellectuals and those who practice a liberal profession, such as lawyers, doctors, engineers, politicians, officers of the armed forces, poets and journalists, university professors, the few industrialists that Bahia has produced, and a lower class made up of very poor people engaged in simple occupations, unskilled workmen and manual laborers. There is, furthermore, a stratum that one cannot exactly call a middle class, but rather an intermediate group, containing minor employees, petty officials, and tradesmen.

*563 555 565 As for their place in society, one may say that, although in general terms the status of the Bahians depends on their birth, there is no doubt that social ascent proceeds by way of free competition. Blacks and métis, as individuals, may, "by their personal merit or as the result of favorable circumstances, improve their social situation and even obtain a position in the upper strata of society; this position will be in keeping, not only with their color group, but with the whole of the community" (2).

2. Ibid., p. 419, 422; cf. also Frazier, art. cit., p. 477.

565 *563 [361] [362] The majority of colored persons, like all the lower class, lives in poor quarters, in the outskirts of the city or in small clusters of modest houses interspersed in the residential quarters of the higher classes; moreover, numerous colored families of intermediate or upper status live in these same quarters. Colored persons are admitted, according to their economic resources and

[Class C Families]

Patão, however, regales the daily gossip groups 626
with his exploits, detail by detail, so it is always known who 838
has visited him. These men are in no way ostracized, and [521]
continue a normal life alongside the others. There are also two cases of men connected with candomblé who are suspected of homosexual tendencies, but there are no definite data about them. Public opinion, nevertheless, is generally against homosexuality, and there was one case in which action was taken. A married man "pegou um menino" (caught a little boy) in the men's bath at one of the wells. Ordinarily the men enter the bath alone, the others waiting outside until the one inside has finished. On this occasion the man found the boy already there and entered with him. Later the boy told what had happened and the neighborhood was incensed and compelled the man to leave town at least temporarily. The boy's only remark was that he had not been paid!

Boys in their late teens sometimes jokingly refer to the 838
clube de veados (homosexuals' club), intimating their exploratory experiences with one another, and what they have tried when they went together to Salvador or Centro, where, [839]
according to them, the streets are full of veados. No such reports were found for the rural people, but the complaint that young men were viciados nas mulas (corrupted by the use of mules) was common. Another case at a distant factory con- [522]
cerned two women who were living together, one very strong, large and bearded, and very jealous of anyone who even looked at the other. This case was well known, and considered hilarious by the neighbors.

Family life in Class C is characterized by a lack of pri- 565 *
vacy. The house of a family in this class has at the most two [362] •
bedrooms, frequently only one, in which all members must sleep. It is common for a young couple to have only one bed [352]
when their marriage begins, in which they, as well as their [513]
first and second children, sleep. The use of a cradle for infants is rare. The baby usually sleeps with the parents, and as it grows older, or as new babies are born, it is relegated to the foot of the bed. Loud and bitter are the complaints about 565 *
children who wet the bed, which many of them do for many 863
years. Most mothers say they try to wake up several times during the night in order to hold the infant over the side of the bed to allow it to perform its natural functions, which makes life more pleasant for the others in the bed. In the [356]
morning the floor is thoroughly washed.

During the day young boys go about with only shorts on, or 600

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structed a series of barracks, a recreation hall, a restaurant, and a service center for the unmarried field workers.

In spite of this, the changes in the community structure brought about by the petroleum industry have been as yet relatively few. The industry exists in the community as an intruder, not affecting communal life to any great extent, and not contributing any substantial local benefits. This is perhaps in part due to the fact that it is a nationalized company, with headquarters located in the city of Salvador, rather than a product of local efforts. The petroleum workers for the most part have not been drawn from the local labor force but have come from outside the county. It is almost as if a military base had been established in Vila Recôncavo on a temporary basis. [464]

The effect on the town has been principally to increase the number of houses. The married workers of Petrobrás for the most part live in the town. Naturally there has occurred a broadening of point of view among the town dwellers as a result of social intercourse, as well as a certain new prosperity due to greater numbers. Nevertheless, there are still no private cars, buses, or public transportation in the county. The petroleum workers and their families go to Salvador whenever possible for shopping and amusements, rather than attempting to satisfy these needs in Vila Recôncavo, where public services, diversions, and so forth have continued to be almost nonexistent. [362] [571] [493] [494] [484]

To counterbalance the effect of prosperity brought to the town by increased population, the petroleum industry has had an adverse effect on the fishing activities of the townspeople. Many wells have been drilled in the shallow waters of the Bay of All Saints in front of the town. As a result of underwater explosions, the constant passage of rapid motor launches, and digging and dredging machines, the traditional fishing area of the town's fishermen has been rapidly depleted and its ecological balance destroyed. The fishermen are gradually turning away from fishing as an occupation and seeking other remunerative activity, either outside the community or in the petroleum industry and, to a slight extent, in the sugar industry. Others are turning to service occupations, such as bricklaying, as stopgap activities. 178 315 433 226

Petrobrás to date has affected rural life very little. The planters of the area have profited to some extent because of the roads constructed by the company. It is now possible to 178 315 433 49

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58 begun to live together. But it is a general policy of Petrobrás that its employees establish regularized households and register their children, as the benefits of social legislation and insurance must be paid to legal beneficiaries, such as wives and [745] children. Because of the many recent marriages, there are no longer any houses available in Vila Recôncavo, nor in Mi- [362] lagres, and there has been a spurt of housebuilding.

178 There have also been some shifts in emphasis in the structure of the community. While the factory nucleus is no longer 621 the scene of social gathering for the upper class of the area, *249 the structure of the factory-private plantation system ensures that it continues to be the economic center as long as sugar [434] cane is being planted in the area. The system of quotas established for the private planter and the factory by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol requires that planter and factory [361] cooperate in supplying and receiving sugar cane. Also, the [496] physical structure of the area, in which the factory is the center of the network of a small railroad which reaches out to each of the private properties, strengthens the impression of the factory as the center of activities.

178 The possible future shift from sugar to cacao will of course 443 diminish the importance of the sugar factory. However, in the meantime there is a new factor which will give more im- [245] portance than ever to the factory: a feira, or market place. The county of Vila Recôncavo does not have a weekly market. *[249] For many years the county officials have wanted to establish one, not only for increased municipal income, but also to help attract more people to the area and to make life easier for the population. A market place is now under construction at the factory nucleus. When the market is completed, the factory town will become at least a weekly center of attraction for many people of the surrounding plantations.

178 The development of the petroleum industry is bringing new 315 life to the town of Vila Recôncavo, to the nearby town of Mi- [311] lagres, and to the new city of Conselho. Petrobrás cannot develop a nucleus on the land which belongs to the factory or to the private owners, and therefore it must concentrate any local community building efforts in the old public towns which 178 already exist. Petrobrás, indirectly, through the county court 315 of Vila Recôncavo, will soon contribute considerably to the 434 county income. The same sort of compensation which was worked out in regard to the planters is now being arranged 651 for the county, through taxes on the finished products from
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In the very large *usinas*, the mill hands and even the field hands are modern industrial workers. They are employees of a large industrial corporation and are protected at least theoretically by the labour laws of the nation. The highly personalized relationship between the plantation workers and the owner-administrator of his own plantation, which persisted from the slave era, has been replaced on the larger *usinas* by the impersonal employee-employer relationship of the modern industrial age. Today, modern plantations and small towns have electricity; there is modern housing for workmen; the State and even the sugar companies provide medical aid; there are primary schools both in the small towns and on many plantations; recreation facilities are found in the towns and provided by the *usinas*; and the sugar-cane experimental station situated in the area constantly urges fertilization of the land and modern techniques and methods of sugar-cane production. But the older and more traditional patterns exist side by side with the new, and each of them influences the relations among the racial groups of the zone.

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III. Vila Recôncavo is a small town on the Bay of All Saints. The rural area around it, which lies within the social and economic orbit of the town and which is the unit under consideration, comprises some 80 square kilometres, or slightly less than half the entire area of the county of which the town of Vila Recôncavo is the county seat.[1]

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It this area there are 14 plantations, three of which nowadays plant very little sugar cane. Parts of the town itself are built on the land of one of these plantations, and the rest of the town area is owned in small lots by private individuals or by the Church. Although Vila Recôncavo is the county seat, local government is the only important function which it fulfils for the surrounding area. It is not used as a shipping point, either for receiving supplies from the outside or for sending sugar to the outside. *Braços do mar*, or inlets of the bay, go to many of the plantations and are deep enough for the *saveiros* (shallow draft sailboats) used on the bay for transport. Many of the plantations have direct connexion with Salvador. Commerce in Vila Recôncavo is almost entirely limited to supplying the 1,462 inhabitants of the town and of some small islands and of one community near by which is not devoted to sugar production. It is not the major supply source even for these groups which live near enough to another and far larger commercial centre where they prefer to do their marketing. The *prefeito* or mayor of the county is rarely a resident of the town itself. Rather he is usually a planter of the surrounding area. He goes into town to do municipal business,

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[1] Both the town and the county bear the name of Vila Recôncavo.

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361 565 permitting as it does a full and unobstructed sweep of the cooling sea breeze, makes these heights more comfortable, more healthful, and, consequently, more desirable places of [362] residence. One usually finds here the more modern and [463] substantial buildings, the homes of the upper classes. Here ordinarily live the scions of the old aristocracy, the large landholders, the city's intellectuals, and the leaders of its "society"; the lawyers, physicians, engineers, and politicians; the officials of the army, the poets and journalists, the professors in the Faculdades, the few industrialists which Bahia has so far produced—in fact, nearly all those prominent in the intellectual, political, "social," and economic life of the city. These families possess considerable property [873] and employ numerous servants. Their members are usually [463] literate, and at least the males are *formados* (i.e., graduated from one of the Faculdades, either in law, medicine, or engineering), a distinction which in the Bahian society marks them off quite sharply from the rest of the population.

[204] It is in these areas that the five newspapers published in [291] the city circulate almost exclusively and the latest fashions from Paris or Hollywood are known and generally adopted. [341] In recent years an occasional example of modernistic archi- [422] tecture and interior design has appeared. Here are to be found the owners of virtually all the city's 3,855 telephones, [206] its 1,028 automobiles, its radios, and private libraries. Here [217] live most of the 20,524 voters who cast ballots in the munici- [207] pal election of 1936. Here attachment to the *candomblé*, or Afro-Brazilian fetish cult, is minimal and Catholic belief is [794] least modified by elements from the more primitive reli- [177] gions. Here live that portion of the population which *o povo* ("the people") call the *ricos*, or the "rich."

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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[City of Salvador]

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The valleys, on the other hand, afford less comfortable, less healthful, less convenient, and, consequently, less expensive residential locations. Here the regularly laid out streets and paving disappear. The inhabitants get about by way of footpaths, the red clay of which becomes slippery after a tropical downpour and quite treacherous on the steeper slopes. Here live the lower classes. Dwellings are simple mud huts constructed of a sapling framework over which puddled clay has been spread and allowed to dry. If the owner's income has permitted, the rough exterior of the dwellings has been smoothed off and a lime wash in pale tints of pink, blue, green, or yellow added. The floor is commonly of earth, neatly sanded at regular intervals with fresh *areia* from the seashore. The roof of such dwellings is usually of palm fronds and may be slightly raised at the gable to permit the more ready exit of smoke from the housewife's fire. The furniture ordinarily consists of rude benches or stools, perhaps a cheap chair, a rough table, and cots, or, more commonly, straw mats for sleeping. A Standard Oil Company can whose top and bottom have been removed is used for a stove. Furnishings include an unpretentious niche with a small image of the family's patron saint, a candle, perhaps an almanac, and a rude iron support for washbasin and pitcher of water. Utensils are usually of baked clay and quite simple in design.

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In respect to economic level, education, and, to some extent, religion, the inhabitants of these lower-class areas diverge widely from those of the ridges. They are usually illiterate, although some of the children are now being enrolled in government-sponsored schools. Communication is ordinarily by word of mouth, seldom by newspaper, book, or telephone. Conversation is carried on in the Portuguese

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to vulgar persons"), "não faça caso de gente baixa" ("don't mind low people"), "não dê attenção á gentinha" ("don't pay any attention to common people"), and "não se incommode com a gente baixa" ("don't trouble yourself about common people"). Of themselves, the upper classes use the rather general expressions *as altas rodas* ("the upper circles"), *grand monde*, and the "élite."

186 [867]

The lower classes refer to the upper classes as *os "chefões"* ("the big shots"), *os donos da gente* ("the owners of the people"), *os grandes graudos* ("the illustrious great"), *os manda-chuvas da cidade* ("the rainmakers of the city"; i.e., those who can do anything), *ricaços* ("the plutocrats"), or merely *os brancos* ("the whites").

Although this rather simple pattern in which ridges and valleys appear as contrasted residential areas is, in general, characteristic of the entire city, it is modified in a few minor instances. The upper-class suburb of Barra, for example, lies low on the seacoast, albeit well swept by the refreshing sea breeze; while the ridges (as well as the valleys) in the less accessible areas outside the main portion of the city are covered with the huts of the lower class. In the old outmoded four-to-seven-story buildings (relics of Bahia's former splendor), which hedge about the central portion of the city and lie either on top, or well up toward the top, of the central ridges, are crowded together in something approaching slum conditions hundreds of the city's poor.[18] But in general the pattern of the city conforms quite closely to that which has been described.

361 565 [362]

As one moves about the different residential areas, he

[563]*

[18] For an intimate glimpse into the life of this latter area see Jorge Amado, *Suor* (2d ed.; Rio, 1936). The locale of these interesting sketches is an old building at No. 68 on the Pelourinho which fronts on the triangular *praça* where the old slave whipping-post used to stand.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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363 [562]

sirable as a seat of residence for one weary of the noises of an industrial city, but for the Bahian wife and daughters, whose world is still largely inside the doors of the home, these characteristics seem to give it a peculiar charm. Hence, one will see along this avenue, almost from Praça Castro Alves out, the residences of many substantial families and, in Vitoria, just beyond the governor's palace, the more pretentious dwellings of the upper class.

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TABLE 1

FAMILIES DWELLING ALONG THE AVENIDA SETE DE SETEMBRO CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO ETHNIC COMPOSITION, BAHIA, 1936

361 563 * 162

	Number	Per Cent
Black	19	7.6
Mixed-blood	97	38.6
White	128	51.0
Mixed-blood and white	5	2.0
Black and mixed-blood	2	0.8
Total	251	100.0

No Bahian house which boasts any pretension fails to have a balcony, while nearly all possess large casement windows opening out on the street. From this vantage point the family can while away many pleasant hours leaning on elbows and "watching the *gente* (people) go by." Consequently, one can readily gain, especially during the passage of processions when the balconies and windows are [illegible] occupied, rather accurate information on the physical character of the population. It is possible at Carnival, for example, particularly just preceding the passage of the floats, to take a census with respect to racial composition, as far

125 563 * 796 [342] [517]

[SALVADOR]

/34/ A Multiracial Society with Classes

565 [114] The structure of the classes of Bahia has never been described and analyzed from the sociological point of view, except very summarily by Donald Pierson (1).

1. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 64.

As this scholar shows, one may say schematically that the population of Bahia consists of an "upper" class, to which belong the descendants of the old aristocracy, the great landowners and the merchants, the intellectuals and those who practice a liberal profession, such as lawyers, doctors, engineers, politicians, officers of the armed forces, poets and journalists, university professors, the few industrialists that Bahia has produced, and a lower class made up of very poor people engaged in simple occupations, unskilled workmen and manual laborers. There is, furthermore, a stratum that one cannot exactly call a middle class, but rather an intermediate group, containing minor employees, petty officials, and tradesmen.

*563 555 565 As for their place in society, one may say that, although in general terms the status of the Bahians depends on their birth, there is no doubt that social ascent proceeds by way of free competition. Blacks and métis, as individuals, may, "by their personal merit or as the result of favorable circumstances, improve their social situation and even obtain a position in the upper strata of society; this position will be in keeping, not only with their color group, but with the whole of the community" (2).

2. Ibid., p. 419, 422; cf. also Frazier, art. cit., p. 477.

565 *563 [361] [362] The majority of colored persons, like all the lower class, lives in poor quarters, in the outskirts of the city or in small clusters of modest houses interspersed in the residential quarters of the higher classes; moreover, numerous colored families of intermediate or upper status live in these same quarters. Colored persons are admitted, according to their economic resources and

country beyond, is a large, colonial, two-story building--the county courthouse (prefeitura), the official center of local county administration. With heavily barred windows on the ground level, it also serves as the county jail. At the top of the hill is a large church, the mother church of the parish of São Roque. On the right, on top of another hill, is the imposing Franciscan convent. The main street of the town is narrow, paved with cobblestones and lined by old colonial houses in various stages of repair. To the left one sees the "beach," which at low tide is an expanse of ugly black mud, typical of the shores of this back part of the bay. The long dugout canoes of the fishermen are anchored there and rest on the bottom when the tide is out.

As the boat sails away and the townspeople go about their business, the streets empty, and a peculiar hush, which is characteristic of Vila Recôncavo, falls over the town. There is an atmosphere not so much of sleepiness and inertia as of decadence, as though life had already passed by. The few people who remain somehow seem to be left over from something in the past. The houses which face the main street are somber, their façades going straight up two stories from the street, their windows shuttered. Some of them are crumbling, the mortar falling away, exposing the stone of which they are built; others are in complete ruin. All of them are turning black from the constant exposure to humid salt air, and moss is growing on the walls where the sun never strikes.

From the top of the hill, in front of the mother church, there is a magnificent view of the Bay of All Saints, and it is easily understood why this place was chosen 332 years ago as the site for a new town. This part of town is the old Vila Recôncavo (see map of town), dating back to a time when the settlement was the only administrative center of inland colonial Bahia. Upon this hill and the one on which the convent stands, the elite of the sugar lands built their town houses called sobrados. Once upon a time these streets with their steppingstones were the scene of colonial opulence, of sedan chairs carried by liveried slaves, of soldiers in uniform, of ladies wearing gloves and carrying parasols. Today this old part of Vila Recôncavo is inhabited by simpler people, the town's upper class, who eke out a living in the local bureaucracy, or as merchants, or as representatives of the state and federal governments. They are quiet, gentlemanly people trying to keep up a semblance of dignity, a feat which becomes more difficult all the time.

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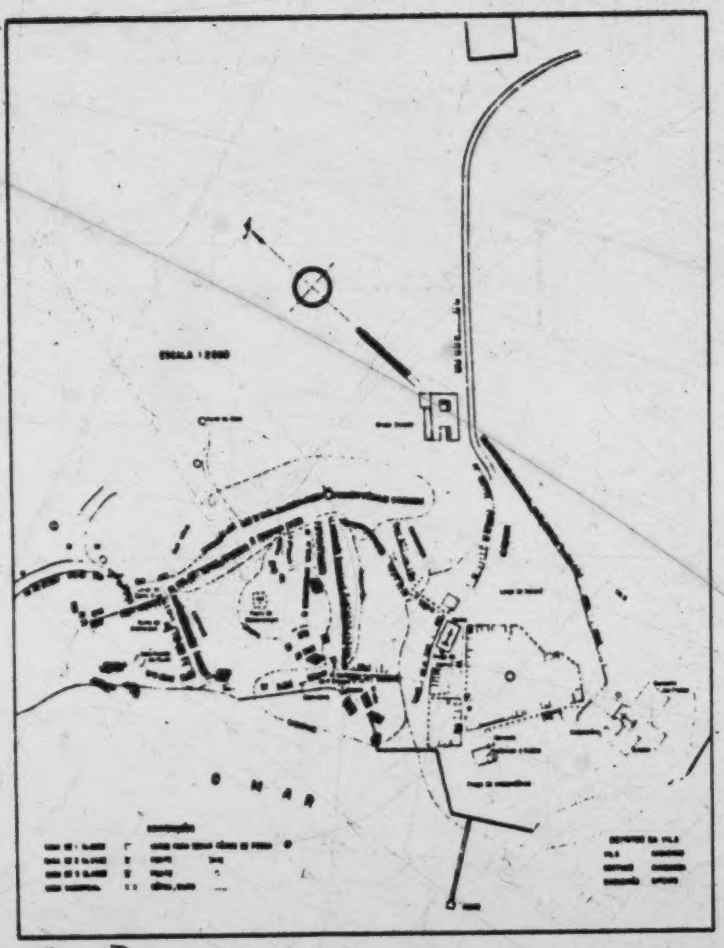

[P. 16]

Map of the town of Vila Recôncavo

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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in 1822, in the politics of the Empire, a role similar to that assumed by Minas Geraes, São Paulo, and Rio Grande do Sul in the Republic following 1889. In fact, she has been called "the Brazilian Virginia." Until 1907 Bahia was also the religious center of the Brazilian nation. Her archbishop was the head of the Roman Catholic church in Brazil, and the religious orders maintained here their principal representatives. Thus in the economic, political, and religious life of Brazil, Bahia boasts a long tradition of distinction and prestige.

The present city is about the size of Indianapolis or Seattle.[6] It nestles along the eastern rim of a huge bay, Bahia de Todos os Santos. The bay is formed by the projection out into the ocean of Cape Santo Antonio, which, on its western side, breaks rather sharply almost at the water's edge, exposing a bold promontory approximately three hundred feet in height which parallels for some two to three miles the rim of the bay. The city clings to the narrow shelf between the bay and the cliff and then sprawls up over this sizable barrier and spreads out along the ridges and into the valleys to the east and north, where centuries of erosion have carved a one-time flat plain into alternating crests and steep-sloping depressions.

Bahia is thus divided by a natural barrier into a lower and an upper city, into a Cidade Baixa and a Cidade Alta, as the two parts are locally called; the one connected with the other by steep, winding streets paved with cobblestones, by inclined planes and modern hydraulic elevators, or by numerous well-worn footpaths. In the lower city lies, of course,

[6] An estimate by the state government gave for the city of Bahia on December 31, 1934, a population of 352,244 (*Annuario estatistico da Bahia, 1934*, p. 131). The federal census of 1920 gave for Bahia City 283,422 (*Recenseamento do Brasil, 1920*, Vol. IV: *População*, Book I, p. xxiv).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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struggle of native labor versus foreign capital and thus tend [466] to unify rather than to divide the local group. Religious [798] competition has not become severe enough to intensify self-consciousness on the part of rival adherents and thus evoke serious animosities. As far as national affairs are concerned, [621] intense local loyalties had not, at least at the time this study was made, been seriously exacerbated by onerous control from without. A minimum of racial conflict will be evident throughout this account.

THE *ricos* OF THE RIDGES AND THE *pobres* OF THE VALLEYS

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One of the things Darwin noted, when he visited Bahia in 1832, was that the city rested upon "a level plain of about three hundred feet in elevation, which in all parts has been worn into flat-bottomed valleys."[11] Today the scene is still much as Darwin saw it. Continuing erosion has merely emphasized the general characteristics of the landscape, transforming the once level plain somewhat more decidedly into alternating ridges, relatively steep declivities, and comparatively narrow valleys.

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This physiography of the country has not been without significance in the cultural life of Bahia; for, in general, the distribution of the population by classes, and even to some extent by ethnic divisions, follows quite closely the lay of the land. Along the ridges, which wind with the changing [363] terrain, ordinarily run the principal streets, bearing the chief [133] lines of transportation, whether by streetcar, bus, or automobile. So far as accessibility to the center and other principal parts of the city is concerned, here are the more convenient residential locations. The elevation of the ridges, [494]

[11] Charles Darwin, *The Voyage of the Beagle* ("Harvard Classics," Vol. XXIX [New York, 1909]), p. 521.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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The valleys, on the other hand, afford less comfortable, less healthful, less convenient, and, consequently, less expensive residential locations. Here the regularly laid out streets and paving disappear. The inhabitants get about by way of footpaths, the red clay of which becomes slippery after a tropical downpour and quite treacherous on the steeper slopes. Here live the lower classes. Dwellings are simple mud huts constructed of a sapling framework over which puddled clay has been spread and allowed to dry. If the owner's income has permitted, the rough exterior of the dwellings has been smoothed off and a lime wash in pale tints of pink, blue, green, or yellow added. The floor is commonly of earth, neatly sanded at regular intervals with fresh *areia* from the seashore. The roof of such dwellings is usually of palm fronds and may be slightly raised at the gable to permit the more ready exit of smoke from the housewife's fire. The furniture ordinarily consists of rude benches or stools, perhaps a cheap chair, a rough table, and cots, or, more commonly, straw mats for sleeping. A Standard Oil Company can whose top and bottom have been removed is used for a stove. Furnishings include an unpretentious niche with a small image of the family's patron saint, a candle, perhaps an almanac, and a rude iron support for washbasin and pitcher of water. Utensils are usually of baked clay and quite simple in design.

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361 565 * 563 gated to the less desirable territory. Although the Europeans have still today, to a considerable extent, maintained their original advantage, the blacks and darker mixed-bloods have gradually pushed themselves up the slopes from their less favored locations until now they have come, in some cases, to share a portion of the Europeans' favored position. One occasionally finds them living next to the homes of the whites, symbolizing the fact that they now occupy those positions, social as well as spatial, which personal ability, occupational proficiency, and favorable circumstance have enabled them to achieve and to maintain. Thus the racial distinctions which one from the United States is so likely on first acquaintance to note turn out to be, as we shall soon see in more detail, not the things which are either so genuine or so important as at first sight might appear.

It is significant, in this connection, that in what might be called the intermediate residential areas of the city, where the dwellings of those who are rising out of the lower classes meet the dwellings of the upper classes, one finds the darker and the lighter portions of the population meeting and mingling in close residential proximity. This is true, for example, along the Avenida Sete de Setembro.

363 [788] [541] [562] The Avenida Sete de Setembro, from Jardim Suspenso on, is the only artery into the "downtown area" from South Bahia. It thus becomes the route of passage for processions like those of Carnival, the "Micarêta,"[14] the Peruada,[15] and the numerous religious *festas*, and the avenue of march for the military during visits of political celebrities. Its streetcar line and constant flow of busses would make it less de-

[14] The "Micarêta" is the so-called "second Carnival" held the Sunday following Easter.

[527] [15] The Peruada is an annual students' parade with floats.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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sirable as a seat of residence for one weary of the noises of an industrial city, but for the Bahian wife and daughters, whose world is still largely inside the doors of the home, these characteristics seem to give it a peculiar charm. Hence, one will see along this avenue, almost from Praça Castro Alves out, the residences of many substantial families and, in Vitoria, just beyond the governor's palace, the more pretentious dwellings of the upper class.

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[SALVADOR]

/9/ The Ethnic Types of Bahia

361 Bahia owes its reputation, not only to its privileged location
*563 on the shores of a magnificent bay and to its churches of an ornate
633 rococo style, but also, to a certain degree, to the excellent relations that exist in the heart of its motley population between people of different color. Stephan Zweig drew a very vivid picture
633 of Bahia and its ancient traditions. For him, Brazil began with
*563 this city, and not only Brazil, but also South America. "In this city was erected the first pier of the vast bridge thrown across the Atlantic; in it has originated, through the combination of European, African, and American material, the new mixture that is fermenting so actively at the present time (1)."

[113] 1. Stephan Zweig, Brazil, País do Futuro /Brazil, Land of the Future/, trans. by Gallotti, Rio de Janeiro, 1941, p. 275.

175 From its founding under the official name of Cidade do
633 Salvador, Bahia began to be known for its wealth, which it owed
[103] to the sugar produced by its fazendas (2)
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2. Plantations.

and its engenhos (3).

3. Sugar mills.

[796] It was also renowned for the magnificence of the worship in its
[363] numerous churches, for the religious processions that passed through its narrow, climbing streets, and for the traditions, so typically Portuguese, of its inhabitants. Center of importation
[567] of African slaves, Bahia was also famous for the large proportion
[167] of Blacks in its population, to the point that foreign travelers of
[162] the colonial period speak of this city as a "new Guinea" (4).

[113] 4. M. Frezier, Relation du voyage de la mer du Sud aux côtes du Chili et du Pérou fait pendant les années 1712, 1713 and 1714 /Account of the

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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State Treasury building, a spot very much frequented. A *bozó* had been left there and still remained exposed to the curiosity of all who passed.

A black hen, three copper coins, yellow *farofa*, a cloth doll stuck full of pins, a piece of a man's shirt, and other *bugigangas* [trinkets].

The thing was there until midday. This is no uncommon occurrence, but one which is frankly deplorable. That in the heart of our city, so close to the Rua Chile, *despachos* are made to Exú is, to say the least, disgusting.

[364] In the same newspaper sometime later (June 10, 1937), under the title, "A Specialist in Sport *Bozós*, *Pae de santo* Manoelzinho Is the Worst Enemy of the Limpeza Publica [Street Cleaning Department]," this complaint appeared:

A short time ago the *macumbeiro* known as Manoelzinho took up his residence in a *roça* at No. 256 Cruz do Cosme, and since that time his *bozós* have led to continuous complaints from dwellers along that road and from those who chance to pass that way.

At the side of the road just below the *roça* is a *loco* tree, that species so much preferred for fetishistic practices. Here *bozós* accumulate from day to day until they constitute a veritable mountain of refuse in which may be found an increasing number of dead fowls.

We are informed that this Manoelzinho, who is a *pae de santo* with considerable prestige, is a specialist in sport *bozós*. For it is said that among those who consult him are certain members of the different soccer clubs. Recently a policeman, on the eve of a great game at Graça, noted in one of these *bozós* the initials "T. V." which are the same as those of a well-known athlete.

Since the Street Cleaners never pass along Cruz do Cosme, the *bozós* keep polluting the atmosphere and obliging those who pass by to cover their noses with handkerchiefs.

To whom shall we appeal? Who will do something about this?

798 794 829

However, more characteristically, the Bahian identified with European customs and traditions adopts toward the *candomblé* a tolerant attitude. While he looks upon it as "ignorant fetishism," he ordinarily accepts it as "an African institution," which, in the words of a student at the Faculty

To the west, on the third hill, along the "beach," and in the small valleys, there is a different atmosphere. Here, in the Caquende, Boqueirão, Cortume, and Rua Nova (see map of town), there are no sobrados, no signs of former grandeur. The houses are of another style--small, one-story buildings with no air of antiquity about them. Some are made of brick, but most are of mud on a bamboo or mangue frame. Many have been coated with whitewash, some recently and some a long time ago. On the summit of this third hill, the Oiteiro, are the poorest houses of all, one- and two-room mud houses with thatched roofs. Recently in this section there have been some new-style houses built, tipo bangalo (bungalow-type), and there are signs of a growing prosperity among a few enterprising people. These areas of fishermen, of small storekeepers, and of those with crafts such as carpentry, bricklaying, and shoemaking, are the most heavily populated parts of the town of Vila Recôncavo today. According to the old inhabitants of the town, this section was undeveloped sixty years ago, and, to the old people, Vila Recôncavo is still up there on the hill, in the area of the sobrados. Nevertheless, the majority of the stores are in the lower part of town, which even has its own chapel. It is here that the children play although they must go up the hill to school. It is here that there are groups of men gossiping and having a drink of rum. It is here that an attitude of open friendliness prevails, and there are friendly faces at the windows. It is here that the drums beat when the African gods are feted.

The post office, located in the upper part of town, also has a telegraph. Messages go by special telephone to the nearby town of Centro, from where they are sent by wire. There is also a public telephone in the town which has two extensions, one in the house of the mayor and one in the house of the doctor. Other people must go to the telephone office to make or receive calls. The telephone is very uncertain; not only is it frequently impossible to get a call through but often nothing can be heard once the connection is made. From the town it is possible to speak through Centro to Salvador. It is also possible to speak to the sugar factory, and through its switchboard to several of the sugar plantations.

In recent years electricity has been brought to the town, and, in addition to lights on the streets, 78 of the 408 buildings in town have electricity. Of these, twenty-one have radios, and three have electric irons. Only the doctor, the health post, and the bar have refrigerators.

443 diers (ambulantes) who walk through the area in the summer selling combs, ribbons, jewelry, and perfumes.

561 One of the most important factors influencing the fortunes of
565 the town of Vila Recôncavo is the diversity of attitudes toward it held by different segments of the local population. The most
369 powerful group, although small in number, is that of the plantation and sugar-mill owners. The orientation of this group is polarized between the capital city, Salvador, and the plantations. There is no one living in the town who is included in the same social stratum as these people, and therefore the town is not a social drawing point for them as it might be in the plantation area of the southern United States. Vila does not represent a shopping center for them, and it is not an outlet for their sugar. Since they are so near the capital, business is transacted there rather than in the small rural town with its poor communications. This group as a whole looks upon the town as a decadent and backward place. There is little or no feeling among these people that they should "do something" to improve the town, to which they feel little or no allegiance. Rather, their allegiance is first to Bahia and to their own social class in the state, and second to the Recôncavo, the original seat of that class.

The plantation and sugar-mill workers also disregard Vila to a large extent, generally not considering it worth the effort involved in getting there. For these people the market in Centro and the sugar mill store are the major attractions of the area. Their social life is centered almost entirely within the plantation or at the sugar mill.

The town dwellers themselves have an ambivalent attitude toward their town, for, while they also feel that Vila is backward and without opportunity for personal advancement, they nevertheless consider themselves an urban group in contrast
369 to the plantation workers. Recent improvements in the town,
• 365 such as the installation of electricity and the introduction of radios, movies, and other electrical appliances, as well as the pavement of the mud streets with cobblestones, have been a great help in alleviating the former forlorn air of the town, once known as the "abandoned" town. The local population still speaks of this earlier state a great deal, almost with the haunt-
[652] ing fear that such conditions might return. The funds for these
[653] public works came from sources outside the county, that is, from grants of money by the state government during the epoch of the interventores, the governors appointed during the dic-

tatorial regime of Getulio Vargas. One of the last of these was a son of the county who wished to leave a permanent remembrance of his family in the town. Most of the work was done by local labor, which brought a certain measure of prosperity to the town. Certainly the appearance of the town changed. New façades were added to many houses; others were freshly painted in gay colors; and some people constructed cement sidewalks in front of their homes. At night the streets are brighter because of the electric street lights (which are turned off at midnight) and because of the rays of bright electric light passing through the cracks of the closed window shutters and doors.

Almost every evening at dusk, however, the electric power of the countryside is shut off for at least an hour because of inadequate generating facilities at the main plant, leaving the countryside and small towns in darkness. At this hour the town returns to its past, and one seems to be in an era one, two, or three hundred years ago. Tiny oil lamps (fifós) are lighted, or an occasional kerosene lamp, the soft and short-reaching rays of which barely penetrate the heavy darkness of the house and do not reach the street. A hush falls over the town during the spell of darkness. All the old fears of shadows, malevolence, and lobishomens (werewolves) return. The family congregates in one room, for no one wants to be alone, speaking softly as though not to break the spell. The streets are suddenly emptied, and the silence is broken only by the occasional forlorn braying of a donkey left wandering outside.

Without light there is no life in Vila Recôncavo. The evening religious service is delayed; the movie is delayed; the bar closes. One thinks of the impermanence of the new prosperity, remembering how quickly the moist salt air can blacken the gayest colored building, how the heavy rains can wash away the foundation of a mud house, how fast the weeds can grow in the cracks of the pavement, and how by the flick of a switch in some faraway place the magical lights are removed. A heavy gloom settles over the town and remains until, as suddenly as they went off, the lights return. Life picks up again, radios blare forth at fullest volume, and Vila Recôncavo once again is grateful for light and life, however impermanent.

Although this is a traditional area, few local people know its history. Only a few can provide historical data going back further than one generation, and even fewer know anything of what lies behind the "glorious past" of Vila Recôncavo, a

lending money or even giving some to the overseer. Some of the members of Class B even acquire property in Salvador or in Centro, such as a house or houses which they may rent. It is the possession of this material wealth, plus the position of responsibility and authority, the greater proximity to the owner, and the invariably legalized status of the man's family which distinguish him from those below, placing him in a class by himself. In the case of the higher-placed white-collar workers of the factory, education is also important.

In material possessions other than those already listed, Class B differs considerably from the other two classes, having much less than Class A but much more than Class C. Their houses are always better and larger than those of the workers, and they usually have electricity supplied by the plantation. They generally have complete sets of manufactured dining and living room furniture, better bedroom furniture than the scanty belongings of the workers, china, rather than the clay dishes (nagé) of the workers, and table service for as many as a dozen persons. Usually their clothes are better and more numerous. Overseers are well known for their use of khaki coats, shirts, ties, and riding breeches, their well-polished leather boots and their felt hats, in contrast with the more informal sports clothes of the landowners and with the ragged, tight trousers and shirt and the straw hat of the shoeless rural worker.

Class B in the town of Vila Recôncavo is represented by Group 1 as described in the preceding chapter, with a few exceptions such as the minor municipal employees and a few of the smaller-scale merchants and lower-rated petroleum workers. Because there are no representatives of Class A in the town, Class B represents the top of the urban social scale. It is a class which has long existed in the town and which has always been composed of more or less the same occupation groups. For the most part, members of this stratum live on the hill which constitutes the old part of Vila Recôncavo, and seldom go down to the newer section. There are fourteen persons residing in town, plus their eight children, who are considered pure Caucasoid; they are all members of this local upper class. Three of them are foreign-born Franciscans who do not participate in much of public life once their official duties are completed. The others are brancos da terra ("whites of the land," a term which will be explained later in this chap-

from the competition of other sugar-producing areas. Abolition was the factor which, in many cases, simply ended a struggle several decades old.

The overall production of sugar in the Recôncavo was already dropping noticeably at the time of abolition, and it continued to decrease afterwards. At the end of the last century, state-supported *usinas*, or large mechanical factories for milling sugar cane, were opened in an effort to stimulate sugar production. At the same time, various other *usinas* were opened by private capital. These central mills received and processed the sugar cane of many plantations. The *usina* had the advantage of freeing the planter from the worries of milling and marketing the sugar, allowing him to concentrate on higher production of sugar cane, while the mechanized *usina* was able to produce more sugar out of the cane, thus increasing production. This system of sugar production proved relatively lucrative, and the government *usinas* passed into private hands. The owners of *usinas* bought as many neighbouring plantations as possible, and in this way the *usineiros*, as they were called, became at the same time the mill owners and sugar-cane planters—employers of factory workers and of agricultural workers. The plantations which did not pass into the hands of an *usina* became *fornecedores*, supplying cane to one or another large sugar mill.

The *usina* system, however, in many respects did little to change the traditional plantation system. The plantations belonging to *usineiros* continue as separate units; each generally had an administrator, a man responsible to the *usineiro*, who is in charge of the plantation. As a rule the administrator, who is an employee of the *usina*, lives in the old *sobrado*, the former residence of the *senhor do engenho*, as the old plantation owners were known. The workers on the plantations and their families frequently still live in *senzala*-like houses, usually a long narrow building under one roof divided into separate apartments of two or three rooms. Despite many changes of technology, many examples of the old and the new exist side by side on these Recôncavo plantations. On the same plantation both mechanical tractor and ox traction may be used to pull plows. There are workers' houses side by side, one with electricity and a radio, and another using candles and kerosene lamps. Furthermore, the hierarchy of workers and specialists in sugar-cane raising persists little modified from the early nineteenth century. There are the field hands, the ox-cart drivers, the artisans and other specialists. The plantation is also approximately the same size as it was in the early nineteenth century (although several may be the property of one company nowadays) and it has about the same number of hired workers as it had slaves before.

But the *usina* system and other outside influences have made for many fundamental changes in the Recôncavo. In the very large

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In the very large *usinas*, the mill hands and even the field hands are modern industrial workers. They are employees of a large industrial corporation and are protected at least theoretically by the labour laws of the nation. The highly personalized relationship between the plantation workers and the owner-administrator of his own plantation, which persisted from the slave era, has been replaced on the larger *usinas* by the impersonal employee-employer relationship of the modern industrial age. Today, modern plantations and small towns have electricity; there is modern housing for workmen; the State and even the sugar companies provide medical aid; there are primary schools both in the small towns and on many plantations; recreation facilities are found in the towns and provided by the *usinas*; and the sugar-cane experimental station situated in the area constantly urges fertilization of the land and modern techniques and methods of sugar-cane production. But the older and more traditional patterns exist side by side with the new, and each of them influences the relations among the racial groups of the zone.

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III. Vila Recôncavo is a small town on the Bay of All Saints. The rural area around it, which lies within the social and economic orbit of the town and which is the unit under consideration, comprises some 80 square kilometres, or slightly less than half the entire area of the county of which the town of Vila Recôncavo is the county seat.[1]

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It this area there are 14 plantations, three of which nowadays plant very little sugar cane. Parts of the town itself are built on the land of one of these plantations, and the rest of the town area is owned in small lots by private individuals or by the Church. Although Vila Recôncavo is the county seat, local government is the only important function which it fulfils for the surrounding area. It is not used as a shipping point, either for receiving supplies from the outside or for sending sugar to the outside. *Braços do mar*, or inlets of the bay, go to many of the plantations and are deep enough for the *saveiros* (shallow draft sailboats) used on the bay for transport. Many of the plantations have direct connexion with Salvador. Commerce in Vila Recôncavo is almost entirely limited to supplying the 1,462 inhabitants of the town and of some small islands and of one community near by which is not devoted to sugar production. It is not the major supply source even for these groups which live near enough to another and far larger commercial centre where they prefer to do their marketing. The *prefeito* or mayor of the county is rarely a resident of the town itself. Rather he is usually a planter of the surrounding area. He goes into town to do municipal business,

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[1] Both the town and the county bear the name of Vila Recôncavo.

[SALVADOR]

/18 cont./

829 The irregularities and inadequacies of electric service in
• 365 the city are attributed by many inhabitants of Bahia to what they call the "contempt of the Americans for the well-being of the people," as if the Americans were the only ones responsible for the operation of the American-Brazilian enterprise that produces electricity for the region. Everything that is or is supposed to be American otherwise enjoys great prestige. There is, how-
829 ever, a foreign group against which (or, more precisely, against
*563 the hidden "trust" that it represents) there exists a very strong
578 hostility, although it manifests itself only on certain occasions.
[443] It is a matter of emigrants from Spanish Galicia, accused of exploiting the populace owing to the monopoly that they have acquired in the grocery and bakery business. At certain times when ten-
[152] sion is particularly strong, as in 1930, and following the rapid
[458] rise of the price of commodities of prime necessity at the be-
[579] ginning of the last world war, the populace gave free vent to its discontent by plundering certain Spanish business establishments. But the attitude of the Bahians toward the person of these immigrants is free of lasting animosity, and marriages between the two
[261] groups are frequent. The fact remains, however, that the population attributes to the Spaniards the shortage of certain food commodities, especially bread, and it accuses these emigrants of "enriching themselves off of the misery of the people."

529 The recreational associations of the English, Spaniards,
*563 Syrians, and Lebanese are frequented by Brazilians. Likewise
575 the hospitals maintained by the Portuguese and Spanish colonies
743 are managed by Brazilian doctors and receive numerous patients from Bahia, white or colored.

795 The religion of the Catholic majority is traditionally much
771 more external and ritualistic than dogmatic, the religiosity of a large number of those who call themselves "strict Catholics" being chiefly theoretical. This must have constituted a serious difficulty for the clergy; it is also a subject of astonishment for the visitor who imagines that he will come in contact with "the most
798 Catholic of Brazilian cities." The antagonisms between religious
621 groups are also moderate in this domain and /19/ never affect the

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

CHAPTER X

MARKETING, TRANSPORTATION, AND PROCESSING OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS

44 Introduction. The institutions of marketing, processing, and transportation in the Recôncavo are of two basic types, local and regional. Those which serve the local economies, that is, the municípios, are traditional. These are the municipal market and the casa de farinha [178] (manioc mill). The institutions which serve the regional economy--sugar and tobacco processing plants and marketing systems--have their traditional element but have been extensively modified in the last half 489 century. Much the same division is reflected in the transportation systems of the Recôncavo, for although the chief media within the local economies are essentially traditional and primitive, the transportation 128 net of the region as a whole has a number of modern features. The discussion which follows will deal with the various institutions which have developed in the Recôncavo to accommodate the marketing, transportation, and processing of the more important agricultural products.

443 Marketing of Agricultural Products. Municipal markets play an important role in the exchange of the agricultural products in the Recôncavo as in most of Brazil. Large quantities of agricultural goods are sold within the local area in which they are produced, and much of this exchange takes place within the municipal market. The feira is the regular open market which usually is held once a week in the smaller centers but somewhat more frequently in the larger cities. It [366] is usually housed in a public building, the municipal mercado. The other type of municipal market is the matadôuro municipál (slaughter

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

443 house). The municipal markets of the Recôncavo have a highly institutionalized character supported by long tradition. There have been
[178] very few modifications in the local marketing system either to accept new products or to incorporate new techniques. Despite their highly institutionalized character, markets serve to accommodate and to re-enforce and stabilize the basic personal relationships between buyer and seller. Thus it is both difficult and misleading to approach marketing from a purely economic point of view.

Weekly markets (feiras) are held in every villa and cidade of the Recôncavo. Each of these feiras has a specified day and location. Usually the market of the cidade will be held on a different day than those of the villas of the locality, and usually adjacent cidades have their markets on different days. This arrangement facilitates the marketing of surplus products and makes it possible for itinerant buyers and sellers to travel from feira to feira. The market place
[366] of most cidades and of the larger villas includes a public building
[347] and the adjacent streets, and in some cases, a corral. Usually the market building itself is a large shed with open windows and doors, earthen or concrete floor, and no internal divisions except those provided by the pillars which support the roof. Stalls are sometimes provided in the newer or more pretentious buildings, but this is exceptional. Generally the market is located on a main square or a principal street. On the day of the feira, market activities expand beyond the main buildings and onto the streets, covering an area of about one city block in a typical center.

Participation in the feira is practically universal--the rural areas of the município, or the distrito if it is a villa market, are half emptied on market day. At sunrise or even earlier the farm families, or sometimes only the farmer, his wife, or child, begin

To the west, on the third hill, along the "beach," and in the small valleys, there is a different atmosphere. Here, in the Caquende, Boqueirão, Cortume, and Rua Nova (see map of town), there are no sobrados, no signs of former grandeur. The houses are of another style--small, one-story buildings with no air of antiquity about them. Some are made of brick, but most are of mud on a bamboo or mangue frame. Many have been coated with whitewash, some recently and some a long time ago. On the summit of this third hill, the Oiteiro, are the poorest houses of all, one- and two-room mud houses with thatched roofs. Recently in this section there have been some new-style houses built, tipo bangalo (bungalow-type), and there are signs of a growing prosperity among a few enterprising people. These areas of fishermen, of small storekeepers, and of those with crafts such as carpentry, bricklaying, and shoemaking, are the most heavily populated parts of the town of Vila Recôncavo today. According to the old inhabitants of the town, this section was undeveloped sixty years ago, and, to the old people, Vila Recôncavo is still up there on the hill, in the area of the sobrados. Nevertheless, the majority of the stores are in the lower part of town, which even has its own chapel. It is here that the children play although they must go up the hill to school. It is here that there are groups of men gossiping and having a drink of rum. It is here that an attitude of open friendliness prevails, and there are friendly faces at the windows. It is here that the drums beat when the African gods are feted.

The post office, located in the upper part of town, also has a telegraph. Messages go by special telephone to the nearby town of Centro, from where they are sent by wire. There is also a public telephone in the town which has two extensions, one in the house of the mayor and one in the house of the doctor. Other people must go to the telephone office to make or receive calls. The telephone is very uncertain; not only is it frequently impossible to get a call through but often nothing can be heard once the connection is made. From the town it is possible to speak through Centro to Salvador. It is also possible to speak to the sugar factory, and through its switchboard to several of the sugar plantations.

In recent years electricity has been brought to the town, and, in addition to lights on the streets, 78 of the 408 buildings in town have electricity. Of these, twenty-one have radios, and three have electric irons. Only the doctor, the health post, and the bar have refrigerators.

505 The others, barefoot, wearing shorts
[291] and large-brimmed straw hats, are the permanent dwellers of the islands: fishermen, stevedores, and storekeepers.

When the islands are left behind, the scene begins to change.
505 The color of the water changes from a clear, deep blue to a
133 muddy gray. Groups of canoes are seen, their occupants busy
[501] with their fish nets, for this shallow part of the bay is a good fishing ground. Once again the mainland is close, rolling hills
[226] covered with a thousand shades of green--sugar cane, the crop which nearly four hundred years ago replaced the virgin forests. The deltalike shores of this part of the bay are cov-
[361] ered with mangue, muddy areas with low-growing trees which at high tide are standing in the water. On a hill at the water's
[162] edge is the town of Vila Recôncavo, a town of 1,462 persons. The first thing one sees is the huge Franciscan convent[5] with
[365] its two tall towers and its royal palms. Approaching the long dock which juts out into the water, one can see almost the
[504] whole town, which is built on three hills and in the valleys between them.

[361] The arrival of the boat from Salvador every other day is an event in an otherwise dull day. Nearly all the men of the town
505 go down to the dock to meet the boat, to see who is traveling,
512 to see what is arriving for someone in the town, to receive messages or parcels, to greet friends, and to gossip. The postmistress is there, and with her the man whose duty it is to carry the mail sack, but who has a helper to do it for him. After a few minutes the boat continues its journey, and the townsfolk walk back along the dock, breaking up into small groups on reaching the main square and then each going his own way.

361 On the square at the end of the dock, at the foot of the
344 main street which leads up the middle hill and out into the

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[128] 5. It should be explained that "convent" in this case is a direct translation from Portuguese. In Portuguese, convent does not have the connotation of being a religious establishment only for women. The word convento is applied to the Franciscans' establishment because the Franciscans are not monks; if they were, their establishment would be called a mosteiro (monastery). In English, Franciscans are known as "friars," and their houses are called "friaries." However, throughout this monograph the direct translation, convent, is used.

country beyond, is a large, colonial, two-story building--the county courthouse (prefeitura), the official center of local county administration. With heavily barred windows on the ground level, it also serves as the county jail. At the top of the hill is a large church, the mother church of the parish of São Roque. On the right, on top of another hill, is the imposing Franciscan convent. The main street of the town is narrow, paved with cobblestones and lined by old colonial houses in various stages of repair. To the left one sees the "beach," which at low tide is an expanse of ugly black mud, typical of the shores of this back part of the bay. The long dugout canoes of the fishermen are anchored there and rest on the bottom when the tide is out.

As the boat sails away and the townspeople go about their business, the streets empty, and a peculiar hush, which is characteristic of Vila Recôncavo, falls over the town. There is an atmosphere not so much of sleepiness and inertia as of decadence, as though life had already passed by. The few people who remain somehow seem to be left over from something in the past. The houses which face the main street are somber, their façades going straight up two stories from the street, their windows shuttered. Some of them are crumbling, the mortar falling away, exposing the stone of which they are built; others are in complete ruin. All of them are turning black from the constant exposure to humid salt air, and moss is growing on the walls where the sun never strikes.

From the top of the hill, in front of the mother church, there is a magnificent view of the Bay of All Saints, and it is easily understood why this place was chosen 332 years ago as the site for a new town. This part of town is the old Vila Recôncavo (see map of town), dating back to a time when the settlement was the only administrative center of inland colonial Bahia. Upon this hill and the one on which the convent stands, the elite of the sugar lands built their town houses called sobrados. Once upon a time these streets with their stepping-stones were the scene of colonial opulence, of sedan chairs carried by liveried slaves, of soldiers in uniform, of ladies wearing gloves and carrying parasols. Today this old part of Vila Recôncavo is inhabited by simpler people, the town's upper class, who eke out a living in the local bureaucracy, or as merchants, or as representatives of the state and federal governments. They are quiet, gentlemanly people trying to keep up a semblance of dignity, a feat which becomes more difficult all the time.

To the west, on the third hill, along the "beach," and in the small valleys, there is a different atmosphere. Here, in the Caquende, Boqueirão, Cortume, and Rua Nova (see map of town), there are no sobrados, no signs of former grandeur. The houses are of another style--small, one-story buildings with no air of antiquity about them. Some are made of brick, but most are of mud on a bamboo or mangue frame. Many have been coated with whitewash, some recently and some a long time ago. On the summit of this third hill, the Oiteiro, are the poorest houses of all, one- and two-room mud houses with thatched roofs. Recently in this section there have been some new-style houses built, tipo bangalo (bungalow-type), and there are signs of a growing prosperity among a few enterprising people. These areas of fishermen, of small storekeepers, and of those with crafts such as carpentry, bricklaying, and shoemaking, are the most heavily populated parts of the town of Vila Recôncavo today. According to the old inhabitants of the town, this section was undeveloped sixty years ago, and, to the old people, Vila Recôncavo is still up there on the hill, in the area of the sobrados. Nevertheless, the majority of the stores are in the lower part of town, which even has its own chapel. It is here that the children play although they must go up the hill to school. It is here that there are groups of men gossiping and having a drink of rum. It is here that an attitude of open friendliness prevails, and there are friendly faces at the windows. It is here that the drums beat when the African gods are feted.

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4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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[City of Salvador]

in response to the needs of colonial life still persist and direct 633
life pretty much in the old familiar channels. Bahia has long 571
been a relatively isolated city; and isolation has intensified personal intimacies and, by so doing, has promoted the growth of peculiarly local customs in response to peculiarly local conditions.

The character of Bahia's population, as might be ex- 167
pected, is also relatively stable. Virtually no immigration has come in from foreign lands in recent years, and little from other parts of Brazil. What population movement 166
there is into the city comes largely from the interior of the state or from contiguous areas like Alagoas and Sergipe. Similarly there is little emigration.

Bahia is thus a "culturally passive" area[9] with a stability 571
and an order reminiscent of Europe in the Middle Ages. In 178
fact, Bahia is, in some respects at least, a medieval town. 795
Every eminence of the city is dominated by a church or a
cathedral. Until very recently there were no modern office [368]
buildings or industrial edifices to overshadow or to crowd out these symbols of a sacred order, and such as have in the past few years been erected only accentuate the dominance of the ecclesiastical structures. Over the habits of the female portion of the population in particular,[10] and to a con-

[9] Dr. Robert E. Park has used this phrase to describe an area "in which life continues, on the whole, to revolve in the same unbroken and traditional routine," where "population, natural resources, and the standard of living have achieved some sort of equilibrium and where custom and tradition provide for most of the exigencies of life." In such an area, "changes still take place, to be sure, but take place silently, continuously, and at an almost imperceptible pace" (see Robert E. Park, "Race Relations and Certain Frontiers," in *Race and Culture Contacts*, ed. E. B. Reuter [New York, 1934], p. 57).

[10] The ecclesiastical authorities have rigorously censured women's bathing suits which do not have sleeves to the elbow and knee-length skirts. [291]
Rarely is a woman other than a foreign resident or an occasional individ-

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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of a *seita* in the city of Cachoeira across the bay, the most purely Gêge in the region. Of the Congo-Angola centers, the one reputed to be most influenced by Congo tradition is Bata Folha; that most influenced by Angola tradition, the *seita* of Maria Nenen. Of the *caboclo* centers, the more noted are perhaps those of the wealthy and widely feared *pae de santo* Jubiabá in Cruz do Cosme, of *mãe de santo* Sabina in Quintas da Barra, and of "Pae Joazinha," or João da Pedra Preta (John-of-the Black-Rock), in Gomea.

Out of the Afro-Brazilian Congress which met at Bahia in January, 1937, came a memorial addressed to the governor of the state asking for official recognition of the *candomblé* as a religious sect with rights and privileges equal, under the Brazilian constitution, to those of all other forms of religious expression. In order to act more effectively in demanding and securing these rights and in combating the sorcery and quackery which are perhaps the principal obstacles in the way of their attainment, an attempt was made, sponsored by the young mulatto journalist, Edison Carneiro, to organize all Bahian *seitas* into one body. The result was an organization known as the União das Seitas Afro-brasileiras da Bahia with a governing body, consisting of one representative from each *seita*, charged with the special responsibility of eliminating unorthodox practices.[4]

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The *seitas* are located in sections of the city where the residents are almost exclusively blacks and dark mulattoes or in the outlying regions where dwellings are few. They number perhaps between a hundred and a hundred and fifty. Some say there are two to three hundred, but this estimate

[4] At the first session animosity between the more orthodox centers and the *caboclo seitas* was so great that any substantial agreement appeared to be quite difficult.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

appears to be an overstatement. In the area surrounding the sacred lake, or the Dique, and lying between the streetcar lines known as Rio Vermelho de Cima and Rio Vermelho de Baixo are more than a score. A black who regularly attends the *seita* known as Engenho Velho is personally acquainted with eighteen *seitas*, can give the location of their sacred grounds, indicate their line of African descent, and repeat the names of their leaders. Of these eighteen *seitas*, he says that eleven are of Nagô origin, six of Angola, and one of Gêge. All are located in the outlying areas of the city in sections principally inhabited by the darker portion of the population or in the more or less open country. Of their leaders, nine are males and nine are females.[5]

Sacred places include the *terreiro*, or temple grounds; the *franquia*, or sacred groves; sacred springs like that called Milagre do São Bartholomeu ("Miracle of St. Bartholomew"), located in an isolated spot near Pirajá, bathing in whose waters on the part of a *filha de santo* dedicated to Oxun-manrê "immediately causes the *orixá* to arrive";[6] sacred lakes, like the Dique; and the sacred arms of the sea, such as Cabecciras da Ponte, Mont'serrat, and Baiutê. In the *terreiro* are the *barracão*, or sacred dance pavilion; the *pegi*, or fetish sanctuary; the *camarinha*, or sacred room in which initiates are interned during the period of their preparation; special huts for those *orixás*, like Exú, who "prefer to dwell outside the *pegi*"; and the living-quarters for the priest and his retinue.

In one *seita* of Gêge-Nagô origin whose *pae de santo* is dedi-

[5] Of the eleven Nagô centers, four of the heads are males, seven are women; of the Angola centers, five are males, one a female. The leader of the Gêge *seita* is a woman.

[6] See below, p. 286.

4; Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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forcefully to her head, one in front and one in back, as if in great pain. Knees then gave way and shoulders and back muscles began to vibrate violently. In one case, the spine stiffened and, with the exception of the shoulder muscles which continued a rapid quivering, the entire body became rigid, with arms and legs stretched out at full length. Meanwhile, the *filha* whimpered, cried, or shrieked aloud.

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To reach the *seita* of a well-known *mãe de santo*, one takes a Calçada car out of the city, past orange groves and fields of tall forage grass, to the Matadouro, where he alights and begins to climb a steep winding road lined with the *nativo* plant (said to be native to Africa) and *uricuri* and coconut palms, until, after more than a mile of trudging, he comes out onto a high ridge overlooking a green valley, where he can see, far in the distance, the houses of the city. A cool breeze blows in from the sea and tempers the heat of the tropical sun. In a grove of scattered palm trees nestle several houses, some of which are neatly whitewashed and others tinted pink, yellow, or blue.

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The *mãe de santo* is called Anninha. She is a tall regal-appearing black, whose slightest gesture is immediately obeyed by members of her *seita*. She owns considerable property and is said to be otherwise quite well to do. She boasts, proudly, "Sou filha de dois Africanos, graças a Deus" ("I am the daughter of two Africans, thank God"). Queito she learned to speak, she says, from her parents; Nagô she acquired "in the *seita*." She is illiterate, but of her learning in the ritual and belief of the African cult an *ogan* says, with pride, "She knows African things better than anyone I know in Bahia." Intelligent, quick-witted, agile in debate, she is one of the most widely respected and revered leaders of the Afro-Brazilian world.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

APPENDIX C

THE BOMFIM FESTIVAL

796 Certain popular festivals, like the Sabado and Segunda
565 Feira do Bomfim, are largely taken over and even dominated
by the lower classes. Individuals from the upper circles,
[439] both white and colored, attend only in their automobiles,
driving slowly back and forth along the principal streets and
through the crowds, or watch the festivities from the windows and doorways of near-by houses. In the words of a local citizen, the festival of Bomfim "springs from the people themselves, who regard O Senhor do Bomfim as their patron saint. It belongs to them more than Carnival does; Carnival is more refined (*mais elevado*), more under the control of the educated, 'cultured' Bahians."

796 Preceded by exclusively religious ceremonies, the celebration begins on the third Saturday in January and continues through the following Sunday and Monday. A large part of the population attends. Formerly, it is said, all business houses closed for the festival, and a few still do, while others take only a half-holiday on Monday. The celebration opens
[368] at the Church of Bomfim, which crowns a gently sloping hill
[443] on the peninsula of Itapagipe which juts out into Todos
[265] os Santos Bay to the north of the port. Black women in *bahiana* costume sit around the edges of the crowd selling
[257] such wares as *cocada*,[1] cakes, and other confections, mangoes, peanuts, *umbús*, and *cajús*.[2] In the *adro*, or open space, in

[1] *Cocada* is a confection made of coconut and sugar.

[2] *Cajús* are the fruit of the cashew tree. *Umbús* are a green, smooth-skinned fruit, about the size of a small lime.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

front of the Church of Bomfim, booths are erected, each of which has been named for the patron saint of the proprietor or bears an inscription like *Fé em Deus* ("Faith in God"), *Salve a Nova Aurora* ("Hail to the Dawn"), or *A Bahianinha* ("Dear Little *Bahiana*"). At these booths one may purchase such famous Bahian dishes of African origin as *aberém*, *caruru*, *vatapá*, *efó*, and *acarajé*, as well as drinks and other refreshments. *Kermesses*, or small booths given over to games of chance similar to those of traveling "carnivals" in the United States, bear such names as *Lua Cheia* ("Full Moon") or *Abrigo dos Filhos do Povo* ("Shelter for the Children of the People"). A brass band, composed of blacks from the fire department in uniform, plays intermittently from a raised platform in the center of the square.

At night the entire front of the church is ablaze with electric lights. Fireworks almost constantly sputter and bang in the air. An immense crowd mills about the *adro*, while other people sit at tables, eating, drinking, talking, and watching the festivities. About two hours after midnight, the *terno* of *Os Ciganos* ("the Gypsies") appears. It is a band of approximately thirty people, marching two abreast, ten musicians with brass instruments in the lead, followed by a dozen young men each of whom holds aloft a wooden staff branched at the top and lavishly decorated with paper flowers and Japanese lanterns, and an equal number of girls twelve to fourteen years old, dressed in gypsy costumes and shaking castanets and tambourines. After parading around the square, the *terno* halts in front of the church, greets the patron saint, then turns and ascends the platform vacated for this purpose by the band. The girls dance, sing, and play their instruments while one of the men performs a frenzied dance, twirling round and round a standard bearing the name and insignia of the terno.

/60 cont./

*563 708 701 [874] police force and in politics. A school for the training of officers destined for this corps was recently created, in order to improve its capacity as a reserve for the army. Among the present students there are a few with dark skin. One may find two explanations for this: either a preliminary selection at the time of the examinations for admission, when it may happen that the young candidates with /61/ dark skin do not, for various reasons, satisfy the required conditions, or because the career of officer now has more prestige and consequently attracts a larger number of Whites. Up [555] to the present time the career of military-police officer represented one of the ways of social ascent for young colored men. Recently, under indictments of various kinds, a heavily pigmented Black who had reached the rank of captain was expelled from the corps. Not long ago, in a group of 27 young officers whose photographs were displayed in a commercial establishment, eight morenos and light mulattoes and one dark mulatto could be seen. But it is also certain that the officers corps at present, though mixed, is composed of Whites in the majority. Moreover, in the course of recent years the officers chosen by the general command to be integrated in the military department of the government of the State have almost without exception been Whites or "whitened": an aide-de-camp of this high authority must be a representative person, in order to make a "good impression" on individuals who come to the government Palace or on those who are passing through Bahia and on whom this officer must pay courtesy visits. A justification that everyone concedes.

*563 701 • 368 Among the officers of two local corps of civil character, but having a military organization and insignia, the civil guard and corps of firemen, the majority is dark. The Whites or "whitened" are in the minority in the second of these groups. This proportion corresponds to the lesser prestige that these two organizations enjoy, both, however, greatly appreciated for the services that they render to the community.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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563 sub-stratum. Most of the rural and urban workers who fell within the third class were Negroes, mulatos, or dark-skinned mestiços.

At the bottom of the social heirarchy was a small group of cidade dwellers of menial position. These were porters, water carriers, washerwomen, domestic servants, and odd-jobbers. This class was chiefly Negro or mulatto, but there were some brancos da terra.

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369 The homes of the aristocratic upper class were all located on fazendas outside the cidade. The lowermost class was entirely urban. The other classes were both rural and urban in distribution. The aristocratic upper class did not intermarry with, nor receive new members directly from, the local upper class. There was some social mobility between the various levels in the lower class.

The above analysis of class corresponds quite closely to the general class structure throughout the sugar-cane zone and with modification to Salvador. The composition of the upper class of Salvador is more complex. Here the upper stratum is composed not only of landed aristocrats and their dispossessed descendants but also of urban capitalists and speculators. These latter often have agricultural landholdings, but usually as an investment rather than as a way of life. These people are generally newcomers to the upper class. The professions also have their place in the upper class, since members of the families of aristocrats, dispossessed aristocrats, and capitalists are often prominent doctors, lawyers, and, in recent years, engineers.

The more complex composition of the upper class in Salvador is a product of the economic decline of the aristocratic family and the concurrent rise of powerful business interests. This development reflects the growth of a greater degree of social mobility among the upper class of Salvador than is characteristic of the sugar cane area.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

565 369 To the extent that the economic and social position of the aristocratic group is usurped by the new upper class elements in Salvador, the pre-eminent role of the aristocrats in the sugar cane zone is threatened.

565 249 In Bahia the strong aristocratic class derived from the sugar cane system. Outside the sugar areas a well-defined aristocratic class is lacking--the upper level in these areas is occupied by groups similar to the local upper class of the sugar zone. In the tobacco and manioc zones, around the sugar cane area, the members of the local upper class, including those with urban residences, are very intimately involved in agriculture. In this agricultural zone the upper class has few personal or family connections with the Salvador upper class.

565 The lower class outside the sugar areas is composed of cultivators and urban workers and probably has more gradations and a less heirarchical structure than is characteristic of the sugar area. The cultivators are semi-independent small farmers, renters, and share croppers of varying dependence and social position. Social mobility appears to be about equal to that in the corresponding stratum of the sugar zone.

565 871 Compared with the United States, the opportunity for educational and cultural development in the lower class is much more severely restricted by the prevailing poverty. Effective literacy is low among [212] the manual laborers of city or countryside. The middle groups and local upper classes are usually, but not universally, literate, but for the most part their cultural horizons are limited. In contrast, the cultural opportunities and outlook of the aristocratic and big-business class is both cosmopolitan and sophisticated. Education in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Europe, or the United States is not uncommon. Nevertheless, large segments of this class remain distinctly provincial in their cultural orientation--this is particularly true of the decadent aristocratic families.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

565 796 [184] (festas) and informal social activities. The uninhibited enjoyment of a samba (dance), a candomblé (fetish cult observance), a religious procession, or a Saint's day by the lower class is very different from the self-conscious upper class behavior under comparable conditions.[16]

565 562 369 The discussion above is largely in terms of stereotypes, and in fact there are many exceptions. In the upper class, strong-willed women may on occasion enter a profession--such as nursing or teaching--or operate a business or plantation, but usually with the aid and the advice of male relatives. In Salvador the upper class women are relatively more emancipated than are those of the villages and towns. Many lower class people, especially the less poverty ridden groups of the villages and towns, tend to imitate the idealized upper class family pattern, within the limits of their economic, educational, and social resources.

565 571 621 59 In general it may be said that the interests of upper class families in the Recôncavo are regional, the interests of lower class families are local. The areally and biologically extended families of the upper class, interconnected through marriage and intermeshed in over-all economic, political, and social interests, are a basic element in the regional unity of the Recôncavo and in its integration into the Brazilian nation. In contrast the extra-local interests of lower class families are weak and unstable. The lower class community or neighborhood identification is the more effective unifying factor and seems to provide, in the Recôncavo, a focus for local interests generally lacking in at least the aristocratic and urban strata of the upper class.[17] However, the institutions of the community for the most part are maintained and directed by the aristocratic and the local upper class.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 433 463 [369] [162]

Economic Orientation of the Population. The Baianos of the Recôncavo are predominately an agricultural people. This is true not only of the actual cultivators and the associated economic classes of the countryside, villages, and towns, but also in a sense of the almost 350,000 urban peoples of Salvador. As a result of longstanding economic interdependence and continuous travel and migration back and forth, the associations of the people of Salvador with the soil are compelling and personal.[18] In their agricultural orientation the people of the Recôncavo are typical of the general Brazilian population. Even with the inclusion of Salvador, with its relatively [162] large number of domestic and industrial workers, 47 per cent of the male workers of the Recôncavo were classified as agricultural laborers, whereas for the nation as a whole the comparable figure was 57 per cent, and for the United States, 31 per cent.[19] In the Recôncavo, if Salvador is disregarded, agricultural workers (with hunters and fishers) composed 65 per cent of the total male working population.

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Agriculture is even more important than the above figures indicate, for a large share of the remaining population of the Recôncavo is occupied with processing and marketing agricultural products, supplying the agriculturalists with goods and with credit, or serving indirectly the needs of agriculture. Thus it is evident that life and livelihood in the Recôncavo is essentially dependent upon agriculture. The agricultural orientation of the Recôncavo is reflected in the economic roles of individuals and classes, but also in the preoccupation of the people with matters of soil, climate, crops, and land value. In Salvador the price and market for agricultural products are commonplace subjects of discussion, and throughout the region merchants and businessmen observe the weather and conditions of the crops with interest and, on many occasions, with anxiety.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

128 Demography of the Recôncavo. The discussion of the composition and distribution of the population in the Recôncavo which follows is intended primarily as a basis for the study of agricultural phenomena. As such it is concerned with those population elements which are important in the production and distribution of agricultural products and in the servicing of the agricultural economy. The agricultural labor force is therefore the primary object of analysis, while the remaining population elements receive secondary consideration.

128 162 241 464 369 The population of the Recôncavo has been divided into two segments: (1) the rural population of the countryside and villages, which includes those engaged in direct agricultural production and those with a direct service or dependency relationship to agriculture; and (2) the urban population of the towns and cities, which has an indirect service or dependency relationship to agricultural production. (Table VI). The rural population has been subdivided in order to distinguish the agricultural labor force, consisting of those in direct agricultural production as workers or as administrators, from the service and dependent groups.[20] The accompanying table (Table VII) relates the area, total population, urban and rural population, and agricultural labor force of the 21 municipios of the Recôncavo.

241 464 [162] Agricultural Labor Force. Conceived in the narrowest sense, the basic human resource for agricultural production in the Recôncavo consists of the energy and skill of 196,000 agriculturalists--the agriculture labor force (Table VIII). In census terminology these are people ten years old or over who consider their principal occupation as that of employer, employee, or worker in crop cultivation (agricultura), animal husbandry (pecuária), or silviculture. In the Recôncavo these people are primarily cultivators and operators of farms

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 112]

I:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

TABLE VI

TOTAL, URBAN, AND RURAL POPULATION OF THE MUNICÍPIOS OF THE RECÔNCAVO IN 1950

Município	Total Population	Urban Population (Urban Centers with Manufacturing)	Rural Population (Total minus Urban Population)
Alagoinhas	52,007	21,283	30,724
Cachoeira	26,979	10,825	16,154
Catu	16,437		16,437
Conceição da Feira	10,532		10,532
Conceição do Almeida	25,407		25,407
Coração de Maria	20,256		20,256
Cruz das Almas	32,276	6,758	25,518
Feira de Santana	107,205	26,559	80,646
Irará	46,711		46,711
Itaparica	21,433		21,433
Maragogipe	36,868	9,744	27,124
Muritiba	31,605	7,452	24,153
Pojuca	6,911		6,911
Salvador	417,235	389,422	27,813
Santo Amaro	85,739	12,258	73,481
Santo Estêvão	31,665		31,665
São Félix	14,801	5,872	8,929
São Filipe	25,343		25,343
São Francisco	11,077		11,077
São Gonçalo	30,830	3,771	27,059
São Sebastião	21,135		21,135
Recôncavo	1,072,452	493,944	578,508

Source: Anuário Estatística do Brasil-1953, Ano. XIV.

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

161 force of the 21 municípios--without regard to direction of change--was
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241 13 per cent.
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[634]

In general the area around Salvador and the northeastern and western margins of the Recôncavo gained in agricultural labor force (Map 19). The Central Recôncavo and areas in the north-central, eastern, and southwestern Recôncavo lost agriculturalists between 1940 and 1950. Some of the factors which produced these changes were local; others were identified with the Northeast or with Brazil as a whole.

The growth of cities in the Recôncavo is a manifestation of a nationwide phenomenon. The expanding urban centers create an increasing market for agricultural products which, because of the difficulty of transportation and the lack of food processing facilities, must be supplied primarily from local sources. These expanding markets attract discontented or displaced agriculturalists, who settle as close to the urban center as possible. There is a marked increase in the concentration of agricultural labor around Salvador, Feira de Santana, and Alagoinhas.

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166 In 1950 and 1951 the urban trend and its agricultural con-
[369] comitant was re-enforced by a specific Northeastern phenomenon—the
[241] flight from the drought (sêca) of the interior. Most of the refugees (flagelados) from the dry sertão settled along the periphery of the Recôncavo. Here, where they could remain close to their cherished sertão, much land was open for squatters. As indicated above, others settled around the urban centers of the Recôncavo caatinga zone—Feira de Santana and Alagoinhas.

241 Observations suggest that the greatest relative increases in
464 agricultural labor force from the sertão were in the municípios
198 bordering the Recôncavo on the west and north, where the "normal"
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464 extravagant urban centers, the oil field and refineries north of the Bay, and the fishing and shipping industries. Moreover, this area has [565] a larger upper-class element, which as has been seen, could be counted upon to perform manual labor only under dire circumstances.

464 241 Thus in all parts of the Recôncavo the local labor reserve readily available for agricultural production and expansion is small. In compensation the general high mobility of the lower class would make available non-local reserves,[31] providing the proper incentives were offered. The exploitative agricultural system of the Recôncavo is ill-equipped to offer these incentives.

162 369 433 Urban Population. The remaining 493,944 people of the Recôncavo, 46 per cent of the total 1950 population, lived in the nine major urban centers. These people have much the same relationship to agricultural production as the "service segment" discussed above, but the relationship is less direct. These urban centers are engaged almost exclusively in serving and in exploiting the agricultural population of the Recôncavo and other agricultural areas of Bahia.

633 162 Salvador is the dominant city of the Recôncavo and of Bahia. In 1950 it contained 389,422 people, 36 per cent of the total population of the Recôncavo and 8 per cent of the total population of Bahia, or 79 per cent of all urban people of the Recôncavo and 41 per cent of all urban people of the state. The next largest city in Bahia was Feira de Santana--less than one-fourteenth the size of Salvador.

633 Although Salvador is the fourth city in Brazil, it is much smaller than either Rio de Janeiro or São Paulo and somewhat smaller than Recife.[32] It ranked just above Pôrto Alegre in total population. Salvador, often called either Bahia or o capital, cannot be interpreted entirely or even predominately in terms of the Recôncavo. While its

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 132]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

633 tributary area does not extend beyond the state, it does include the coffee and cacao areas, parts of the São Francisco basin, and the sertão of Bahia. It is the focus of transportation and communication, of finance and administration, and of foreign trade for the entire state. Despite the economic, political, and social pre-eminence of Salvador, a few cities operate quasi-independently in a particular function, notably Ilhéus and Itabuna, in the cacao area.

The next largest cities in the Recôncavo--Feira de Santana and Alagoinhas--are much alike in size, location, and function. Feira de [162] Santana--often called merely Feira--with 26,559 people in 1950, was the second largest city of the Recôncavo and of the state. It is the [543] cite of one of the most famous cattle fairs in Brazil.[33] Alagoinhas is smaller--21,289 people in 1950--and less notable historically. It is the third largest city of the Recôncavo and the fifth largest of the state. One of the common functions of both these cities is trans-
633 portation. Feira is the railhead of railroads from Salvador and from
494 Cachoeira and is the junction of the Transnordestina trunk highway
496 which crosses the northeast interior of Brazil, with a highway to Salvador and with the only highway from Bahia to Rio de Janeiro. Alagoinhas is the junction where the railraod (Leste) to Senhor do Bonfim and Juàzeiro--on the Rio São Francisco--branches from the main line from Salvador to Maceió, the capital of the state of Alagoas. Just outside Alagoinhas are the main railroad shops of the Leste line
633 (Viação Férrea Federal Leste Brasileiro). The position of these cities,
369 intermediate between the Recôncavo and the sertão, is reflected in
291 the appearance of the people who are met on their streets--dark
142 Recôncavo agriculturalists in straw hats, patched khaki trousers, and wooden clogs and mestiço vaquéiros (cowboys) from the sertão in
633 their leather hats and vests. Each has a number of postos (garàges)
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443 dlers (ambulantes) who walk through the area in the summer selling combs, ribbons, jewelry, and perfumes.

561 One of the most important factors influencing the fortunes of
565 the town of Vila Recôncavo is the diversity of attitudes toward it held by different segments of the local population. The most
369 powerful group, although small in number, is that of the plantation and sugar-mill owners. The orientation of this group is polarized between the capital city, Salvador, and the plantations. There is no one living in the town who is included in the same social stratum as these people, and therefore the town is not a social drawing point for them as it might be in the plantation area of the southern United States. Vila does not represent a shopping center for them, and it is not an outlet for their sugar. Since they are so near the capital, business is transacted there rather than in the small rural town with its poor communications. This group as a whole looks upon the town as a decadent and backward place. There is little or no feeling among these people that they should "do something" to improve the town, to which they feel little or no allegiance. Rather, their allegiance is first to Bahia and to their own social class in the state, and second to the Recôncavo, the original seat of that class.

The plantation and sugar-mill workers also disregard Vila to a large extent, generally not considering it worth the effort involved in getting there. For these people the market in Centro and the sugar mill store are the major attractions of the area. Their social life is centered almost entirely within the plantation or at the sugar mill.

The town dwellers themselves have an ambivalent attitude toward their town, for, while they also feel that Vila is backward and without opportunity for personal advancement, they nevertheless consider themselves an urban group in contrast
369 to the plantation workers. Recent improvements in the town,
365 such as the installation of electricity and the introduction of radios, movies, and other electrical appliances, as well as the pavement of the mud streets with cobblestones, have been a great help in alleviating the former forlorn air of the town, once known as the "abandoned" town. The local population still speaks of this earlier state a great deal, almost with the haunt-
[652] ing fear that such conditions might return. The funds for these
[653] public works came from sources outside the county, that is, from grants of money by the state government during the epoch of the interventores, the governors appointed during the dic-

tatorial regime of Getulio Vargas. One of the last of these was a son of the county who wished to leave a permanent remembrance of his family in the town. Most of the work was done by local labor, which brought a certain measure of prosperity to the town. Certainly the appearance of the town changed. New façades were added to many houses; others were freshly painted in gay colors; and some people constructed cement sidewalks in front of their homes. At night the streets are brighter because of the electric street lights (which are turned off at midnight) and because of the rays of bright electric light passing through the cracks of the closed window shutters and doors.

Almost every evening at dusk, however, the electric power of the countryside is shut off for at least an hour because of inadequate generating facilities at the main plant, leaving the countryside and small towns in darkness. At this hour the town returns to its past, and one seems to be in an era one, two, or three hundred years ago. Tiny oil lamps (fifós) are lighted, or an occasional kerosene lamp, the soft and short-reaching rays of which barely penetrate the heavy darkness of the house and do not reach the street. A hush falls over the town during the spell of darkness. All the old fears of shadows, malevolence, and lobishomens (werewolves) return. The family congregates in one room, for no one wants to be alone, speaking softly as though not to break the spell. The streets are suddenly emptied, and the silence is broken only by the occasional forlorn braying of a donkey left wandering outside.

Without light there is no life in Vila Recôncavo. The evening religious service is delayed; the movie is delayed; the bar closes. One thinks of the impermanence of the new prosperity, remembering how quickly the moist salt air can blacken the gayest-colored building, how the heavy rains can wash away the foundation of a mud house, how fast the weeds can grow in the cracks of the pavement, and how by the flick of a switch in some faraway place the magical lights are removed. A heavy gloom settles over the town and remains until, as suddenly as they went off, the lights return. Life picks up again, radios blare forth at fullest volume, and Vila Recôncavo once again is grateful for light and life, however impermanent.

Although this is a traditional area, few local people know its history. Only a few can provide historical data going back further than one generation, and even fewer know anything of what lies behind the "glorious past" of Vila Recôncavo, a

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1981) 1967 8011 Bahia Brazilians 8011
VILA RECÔNCAVO

5. Town Life

THE OCCUPATIONS of the townspeople in Vila Recôncavo differ considerably from the pursuits of the people in the rural zone. The town residents are engaged in gaining a living from a number of small enterprises; the economy is a money economy, and not one dominated by mutual obligations and rights, as it is to a certain degree on the plantations. Vila Recôncavo is the county seat and lacks any organized commerce or industry. It can be called an administrative town, inasmuch as government employment is the life of many of the people, especially the town's upper class.

The economic occupations of the townspeople can be divided into four groups: (1) the bureaucrats and merchants; (2) the group which serves them, such as cooks and laundresses; (3) a middle group of artisans whose greatest asset, as well as liability, is their independence; (4) a small group of people who do not fit into any of the three groups above.

According to the census which was taken in June, 1950, the labor force of the town numbered 459 persons, including men and women. Of the 459, eleven listed themselves as unemployed. The remainder of the population were listed as housewives, students, small children, and old people who were retired or incapacitated. In this category, which numbers about one thousand people, there are individuals who engage in part-time work, such as carrying water or firewood or doing piecework sewing--in other words, small occupations which in their eyes are not worthy of being classed as employment.

The occupations which were listed can be broken down into the four groups mentioned above as follows:

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECONCAVO

[Town Life]

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464 were included in Group 4 because they worked for a nonprofit charitable institution.

464 Occupationally, the town dwellers differ sharply from the people of the rural area of the community. Their work rarely requires them to go out of town to the rural area. Of the entire working force of the town, only twelve men are employed in the sugar industry. Even during the harvest season, the town does not supply men to work in the cane fields or the factory. However, the few people in town who have mules occasionally rent them to planters during the harvest season to help carry the cane. The twenty-five petroleum workers have to leave town each day for work, but their work is also very different from that of any of the rural dwellers.

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463 In the town, as on the plantations, there is specialization and division of labor. Among the fishermen, each man fishes constantly with one or two types of net. Change from one type of net to another is unusual and disliked. A fisherman seldom supplements his fishing by planting a garden. Instead, he depends upon his catch of fish to give him enough money to buy garden produce, as well as meat and manufactured articles. In his turn, the gardener never fishes, depending upon the returns from his garden to buy what he does not produce.

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[512] Daily routine for the fisherman varies considerably because it depends closely upon the tides, while the daily routine of merchants, teachers, and bureaucrats, as well as household servants and craftsmen, follows a more citylike pattern, beginning at about seven in the morning and ending late in the evening. There is also less seasonal variance in the work of the town dwellers, for it does not depend upon the planting and harvesting of crops as does that of the rural workers.

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369 The town and plantation ways of life also vary considerably with respect to paternalism, which plays a much smaller part in the life of the town dweller. Most of the municipal bureaucrats have patrons among the rural landowners who have placed them in their bureaucratic positions. Bureaucrats, in turn, are to a smaller extent the patrons of people living in the town, particularly of their household servants. Although they have neither the financial resources nor the prestige to provide the security which a rural landowner can offer his people, they do what they can to help whenever asked. This help often takes the form of asking their own patrons for help

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VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Town Life]

for another person. In this way paternalism helps to link the two subcultures together. Nevertheless, the town subculture is much more of a money culture, and in general the people of the town are more independent than those of the rural area.

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2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

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has already been accepted by other members of the upper class as their equal or nearly so.

Race or color prejudice finds its strongest expression at just this point--marriage into the upper class--but even here, if the mestiço is sufficiently light-skinned, educated, and well mannered, he or she can and does marry into the best families. The importance of the "bleaching process" in this society cannot be overestimated, for apparently the trend is toward lighter skins and straighter hair on a national scale. In the case of a marriage between one known to be of mixed descent and a member of an upper-class family, no point is ever made of the fact that one partner is "less white" than the other. Aside from the question of marriage into the small top group, color merges in importance with the other criteria, such as economic situation and education, in the contention for class position.

The three-class system which has been implied in the foregoing passages has recently been thoroughly described.[2] Although finer local distinctions have called for the addition of a fourth class here, Vila Recôncavo provides an excellent example of the various national classes. As in all discussions about this community, the urban-rural distinctions must be kept in mind. The local class system may be portrayed as follows:

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TABLE 2
SOCIAL CLASSES IN VILA RECÔNCAVO

	Urban	Rural
Class A	none	landowners
Class B	local bureaucrats, merchants, professional people	plantation administrators, mill technicians, specialists, office help
Class C	fishermen, gardeners, craftsmen	millworkers, field hands
Class D	laundresses, servants, persons without steady employment or craft	none

2. Charles Wagley, ed., Race and Class in Rural Brazil (Paris, 1952), pp. 144 ff.

[Class B Families]

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and the social forces compelling them to conform to this ideal are strong enough to keep them at home.

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To some extent the Class B families take as their pattern the older traditions of the upper-class families. The father is the most important person in the home and has the final word in all decisions. His wife is not his equal in a social sense and plays a much more passive role than the women of classes A, C, and D. This, however, is slowly changing, for married couples of the younger generation are beginning to share more activities, such as going to the movies, visiting friends, or going on short trips to Salvador. But this is a recent development and applies only to four couples in the town. The others still maintain the old pattern whereby the man attends social functions while his wife remains home. On occasion of a farewell party, invitations were carefully extended to the married couples in Class B at the author's instigation. Of the thirteen couples invited, only four came together. In the other cases only the husbands came. Among the others, one of the husbands was away, and his wife would not come to the party even though her mother, father, and two sisters did. It is still common for the wife either to remain discreetly silent or to disappear altogether when her husband has visitors at home, and among the older families the father and his guests are served separately at meals, the women of the household eating afterwards alone.

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Family life in rural Class B follows to some extent that of the town family of the same class. The father is the central figure in the family and makes all decisions. He travels about the community while his wife remains at home. The sons of overseers, however, are seldom sent to Salvador to school, although the sons of Class B families living at the factory usually are, at least for a short time. So far, however, none of them has entered a profession.

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As has already been stated, the women of rural Class B lead much the same kind of life as the women in Class C, with whom they associate. Daughters are guarded carefully, while sons are placed in some advantageous position whenever possible, frequently through the aid of the plantation owner or usineiro. They may enter the factory office, and in several cases they have been set up in business on the plantations, running small stores which belong to their fathers.

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A daughter of Seu Paulo, the overseer of the Fazenda das Moças, married the son of the overseer on a neighboring

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[Class C Families]

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sen because it is the name of the saint on whose day the child is born. There is also a good sprinkling of the more common names such as Antonio, João, Lourdes, and Maria. But if a child develops any peculiar characteristics, either physical or personal, he or she will be called by some descriptive term based on the peculiarity. Most people have nicknames such as Patão (Big Duck), Barco Velho (Old Boat), Cuspe Grosso (Thick Spit) or Gatinho (Little Cat), and in time their own proper name is forgotten almost entirely and used only for formal occasions such as signing records. The diminutive form of the given name is also popular, and is applied even to upper-class people, for example, Dr. Zeca (diminutive for Dr. José). In some cases a man is even known by his mother's or wife's name, for example, José de Ingracia.

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In choosing godparents, there is great freedom. If possible, at least one of the godparents will be a member of the upper class, a patron who will help the child if necessary, especially if the godson when he grows up wants to go to school in the city or enter the army or navy. The other godparent may be a member of the child's family, or in some cases the midwife. In many cases the wife chooses the female godparent, especially if she suspects that her husband is paying too much attention to some other woman. In such a case she asks that woman to become the godmother; the latter can hardly refuse, as it is always considered a compliment. By becoming the godmother the woman is put effectively out of reach of the husband, as there can be no sexual relations between parents and godparents. This is a common device of women who have an unmarried sister living in the home, and it usually calls a halt to any amorous intentions on the part of either the husband or the sister. There have been cases, however, where this rule was broken. Usually the couple who break this taboo are highly censured by the rest of the community, for the wife, if she finds out, tells her friends about it. In one case which occurred in Vila Recôncavo during the author's stay, the woman was so ashamed and frightened by the sin she had committed that she killed herself by drinking rat poison.

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In the rural area, while the man is usually acknowledged to be the dominant person in the family, it is the woman who dictates most of the daily actions. The children are with her most of the time, helping in the house and working with her in the garden, both girls and boys. When schools opened recently on several of the plantations, it was the mothers, not

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

TABLE VII

RELATIVE POPULATION OF THE MUNICÍPIOS OF THE RECÔNCAVO IN 1950

Município	% of Area of Recôncavo	% of Total Population of Recôncavo	% of Urban Population of Recôncavo	% of Rural Population of Recôncavo	% of Agricultural Labor Force of Recôncavo
Alagoinhas	12	5	4	5	6
Cachoeira	3	3	2	3	2
Catu	3	2		3	3
Conceição da Feira	1	1		2	2
Conceição do Almeida	2	2	1	4	5
Coração de Maria	2	2		4	4
Cruz das Almas	2	3		4	5
Feira de Santana	17	10	5	14	15
Irará	11	4		8	10
Itaparica	2	2		4	1
Maragogipe	3	3	2	5	4
Muritiba	3	3	2	4	4
Pojuca	3	1		1	1
Salvador	6	39	79	5	6
Santo Amaro	9	8	2	13	10
Santo Estêvão	6	3		5	6
São Felix	1	1	1	2	2
São Filipe	3	2		4	5
São Francisco	2	1		2	1
São Gonçalo	4	3	1	5	4
São Sebastião	4	2		4	3

Calculated from Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, No. 8 and Anuário Estatística do Brasil-1953, Ano XIV.

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369 the fathers, who insisted that the children go. In the case of a woman who moves in with a new husband and brings her own children, she always makes it clear that the children are hers and not his. She will allow no interference from her husband in the matter of disciplining her children. Often the best possible relations exist between stepfather and children, but he never gives orders to them. The rural mother in all cases seems to be more exacting with her offspring than the town
[861] mother. It is not uncommon for a rural mother to beat her children, even those who are grown men, with the cipó de caboclo (a switch), whereas this would never happen in the town. She also extends her control over them even after they are married, counseling them and helping when she can, and criticizing them severely if she does not like something they do.

883 By the time they are in their late teens, boys become in-
584 terested in courting (namoro), though girls often start ear-
212 lier. If a boy sees a girl who interests him, he manages to
832 meet her as often as possible on the street or at the dock, and by looks and slight remarks makes it clear that he is interest-
[206] ed. Or, if he can write, he may send the girl a note through a common friend. In Vila Recôncavo the telephone office is a popular place for making one's interests known, for the telephone operator is a young woman who is highly respected by most people in town and well liked by young people. A note typical of those which may pass through her hands is as follows:

Vila Recôncavo
January 7, 1951

Dona Therezinha, Salutations:

I am absolutely convinced that you do not doubt the sincerity of my love, which is always manifested so clearly in my letters and in my face when I see you.

So, I equally have the conviction of having the strange happiness of possessing your love, but in the meantime there is something lacking to complete my felicity. That is to speak to you, to hear from your lips the sincere confession of your love, to feel you near me for a few minutes.

I ask you to give me permission to speak to you, indicating the day, hour, and place in which we can meet.

You will surely not repent giving me this pleasure, for you will see that I know how to retribute your confidence

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584 intimation of its course. The meeting may finally be arranged at the house of an older female friend. If the two are genuinely interested in each other they may allow the fact to become public, and if the parents are pleased they will in due course [836] be married. Otherwise the girl may keep the whole affair a secret, and after a period of flirtation have an affair with the [263] boy and become pregnant. Any girl who refuses to eat pepper [843] is immediately suspected of pregnancy, and inquiries are made.

*565 When a Class C family wishes to celebrate some occasion such as a birthday, anniversary, or the time in which the twin 574 saints Cosme and Damião are feasted, the woman's friends and any nearby female relatives come in to help her cook. 252 Guests are invited by the husband. The preparation of all 262 food must be done by hand, the chickens killed, cleaned, and [476] plucked, the beans shelled, the shrimp and fish cleaned, the farina cakes made, and the popular liqueurs (licores) prepared [273] by soaking various kinds of fruit in bottles of rum and syrup. At such parties the traditional, favorite Bahian dishes of vatapá, acarajé, carurú, abará, cuscus, and the many moquecas, [251] are served. All these are appetizing, but take much time to prepare and cannot be made too far in advance, for there *565 is no way of preserving food. Unless the household is particularly wealthy, the family seldom gives parties; many never 574 manage to give one. Dancing forms an important part of the 535 festivities. The men bring their drums, tambourines, and guitars, while the women sing and dance the samba. In the rural [369] area, social dancing in mixed couples is rare, but in town it is a common form.

*565 A family may take care of an aged mother, father, or even godparent, or of some other relative on either side. Such a 888 person is well cared for within the family means. Most people in Vila Recôncavo are generous toward others who are in some 736 way unfortunate, and help them if they can. There is little or no complaint if the household has to take in an infirm or aged relative; most people say that the same may happen to them one day and they will have to be taken care of. Perhaps the old person helped them in some way in the past when they needed aid and is now being repaid. Or if some older person wants to live alone, a group of neighbors and relatives all help in preparing meals and supplying food and other wants over an extended period of time. There is no case in Vila Recôncavo of an elderly person being sent to a public institution.

*565 592 848 remarkable fact about these female households is that mother and children manage to remain together as long as they do. Usually the husbandless woman finds work as a laundress or at ironing, or drfes fish (xangô), three tasks which permit her to keep her children near her. When she becomes a cook or servant in someone's home, it is common for her to take the children to work and let them play nearby in the back yard. In such a case her children may eventually receive aid from her employer, who because of the children's continued presence in the house becomes fond of them and wants to do something for them. If this does not happen, the mother herself [464] must take care of their future. As a rule, boys from such families leave town as soon as they are old enough, finding employment in Salvador. Girls, on the other hand, remain with their mothers more often than leaving. If they do leave, they often return, like María José, with children of their own.

*565 592 735 888 Because of the poverty of these households, there is little or no provision for the care of older people, and it is from this class that come the very few, poor, old women who beg for food, medicine, and other aid. The people of the town are in general extremely generous in view of their own financial circumstances, and they do what they can to help. In Vila Recôncavo there are no "professional" beggars; there is no one [157] seated on a street corner asking for alms. There is, instead, a very proud spirit of independence, and having to go from door to door (or, rather, from kitchen to kitchen) asking for food or money is highly repugnant. Families will often send food to an old person regularly in order to avoid face-to-face contact with begging. Begging is also sometimes done through a third person, often a child, again to avoid face-to-face relationships in asking for aid.

*565 369 Class D does not exist in the rural area, for reasons already noted, particularly the pressure brought to bear by plantation owners and administrators. In addition, however, it also seems that women can only support themselves and their children in the more crowded urban areas, where they can find work which allows them to be near their children.

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8. Religion

[249] DURING COLONIAL and empire times, religion occupied a large part of the lives of the landed aristocracy. The town of Vila Recôncavo had a Franciscan convent, a large mother church of the parish of São Gonçalo, and the chapel of the [193] Third Order of Franciscans. In the rural area of the community nearly every plantation had its own chapel, which formed part of the owner's house, and its own chaplain to care for the spiritual needs of the landowning families and their [794] slaves. Much of the wealth of landowners was used to build magnificent churches, to sponsor religious processions, and to maintain religious brotherhoods for laymen.

178 In this century, however, Catholicism is no longer the official state religion, the landowners no longer support the 79 town church as they used to, and the Third Order of Franciscans has died out in Vila Recôncavo. Today members of the [565] upper class (Class A) confine their support to the churches they attend in Salvador, leaving the local church to the mercy of God and to the gente pequena of the town. Visits from the Franciscans to celebrate Mass and give instruction for first communion have taken the place of the plantation chaplain and chapel. The priests today say that the people of the community have no intellectual basis for understanding religious teachings or beliefs. Consequently, they say that they now seek only to have as many as possible conform to the outer forms and rituals of the church and refrain from attending the African cults.

175 In addition to the formal structure of the Catholic Church there arose, especially in the nineteenth century, many houses 794 of African cultism, called in this region candomblé. The ad-

among members of Class A. In the cult houses it is said that the African gods go back to Africa for Lent and that the Indian spirits go back to the forests, not coming back again to Vila Recôncavo until Easter Eve. Good Friday is usually marked by the eating of foods with much palm and olive oil, mostly the favorite Bahian dishes of acarajé and vatapá. On Saturday some people in the town "burn Judas." They make a figure stuffed with straw or grass and in the evening parade it through the whole town on a donkey until they arrive at the fishermen's chapel, where the dummy is strung up and burned. While it burns the man who made it reads a long poem which he has composed during the year and which tells about his friends and their individual peculiarities. 796 [794] [776] [262] [538]

During the month of May a service is held each night in the mother church in honor of the Virgin Mary. A priest officiates, and the women of the upper class sing in the choir. This ceremony is attended almost entirely by townspeople, mostly women. St. John's Day, which comes at the end of June and is a popular holiday throughout most of Brazil, goes unnoticed in the town, although at dawn on that day there may be a reveille for St. John (alvorada de São João), which consists of shouting, "Wake up, St. John!" The sixteenth of August is celebrated, mostly by the rural people, as the day of St. Roch, who is considered a foe of pestilence. There is usually a Mass in the mother church on this day, after which the priest conducts Mass in as many of the rural chapels as he can. St. Roch is also celebrated by the African cults. [793] [794] [565]* [369] • [794] [184]

On September 27, the twin saints Cosme and Damião are celebrated, often with a Mass, but especially with a party called the carurú, the dish distinctive of this day and the days which follow it; for, as with the Day of Kings, Cosme and Damião may be feted any day within a month or so following the proper date. Before a carurú, it is customary for small images of the two saints to be carried about the streets from house to house asking for alms for a party in their honor. Usually the party is for the children, who dance and eat as much as they can, while the older people at first look on, and then finish up the food that was left and also dance. Anyone who is a twin or who likes twins may give a carurú in his house. [794]

St. Francis is also feted, since there is a Franciscan convent in the town, by a devotion on three nights and a Mass on the morning of St. Francis' day. The last Sunday in October,

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who never miss a Mass, benediction, or prayer. By means of a questionnaire in the town and the rural area, the following data were obtained concerning the average frequency of church attendance per year for men and women over fourteen years of age:

TABLE 11
FREQUENCY OF CHURCH ATTENDANCE

Urban Number of times per year Males	Urban Number of times per year Females	Class	Rural Number of times per year Males	Rural Number of times per year Females
		A	19	23
40	96	B	4	3
17	25	C	3	3
4	41	D		

Several things are shown by this table. First, the higher a man's social position, the more often he goes to church, at least in classes B, C, and D. Second, the frequency of attendance by the women of all classes is considerably greater than that of the men. Third, the women of Class A attend church fewer times per year than do the women of classes B, C, and D of the urban area. Fourth, there are great differences in the rural and urban attendance: people from the plantations seldom go to town for Mass, preferring to wait for some special plantation occasion when the priest will go to the plantation. The difference between the attendance frequencies of Class A and Classes B and C of the rural zone is due to the time that Class A spends in Salvador, where members often attend Sunday Mass, as well as family Masses.

African Cults

Brazilian candomblé is usually thought of as a syncretism between African cultism and Catholicism. There has been a partial identification of the African deities with Catholic saints. For example, Ôgũn, the African god of war, has been identified with St. Anthony; Ôxóssi, deity of the hunt, with St. George; Ômolú, the god of pestilence, with St. Roch; Êxu, the trickster, with Satan; Yansan, with St. Barbara; and Xangô, with either St. Jerome or St. Barbara. There has been

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some confusion in the minds of the cultists themselves as to exactly which saint an African spirit represents, and there often are slight differences in interpretation which do not, however, upset the cult practices to any great extent. Cultism in Brazil has been described in detail by Nina Rodrigues,[3] Arthur Ramos,[4] and Edison Carneiro,[5] and by the Americans Donald Pierson[6] and Ruth Landes,[7] all of whom concentrated on cultism in the city of Salvador; Eduardo Octavio da Costa[8] has good material on urban-rural cultism in Maranhão (northern Brazil). In Vila Recôncavo the syncretisms are being forgotten as the content of cults changes from African spirits to the Indian spirits, for which no identification is made with the Catholic saints.

Cultism apparently got its start in Bahia in the early nineteenth century. Carneiro[9] sets the date for the establishment of the first cult house in the city as 1838. Old people in Vila Recôncavo do not remember cultism beyond two generations ago. There is one woman in town who is in her late nineties and who only remembers hearing of her mother and her mother's generation as active in cults. Apparently the force of cultism increased with the decrease in Catholic proselytization, as the number of priests in the rural areas diminished. It also increased in tempo with the manumission of slaves, and apparently was one of the institutions through which former slaves bought the freedom of other slaves.

Today the cults of the rural area are far less elaborate than those in the city of Salvador, although it seems that even in the city, cultism is showing the same general trend toward disintegration which is so strongly apparent in the rural area. In both places there is a shift away from African ritual to practices connected with the Indian spirits, whose demands

3. Raymundo Nina Rodrigues, O animismo fetichista dos negros bahianos (Rio de Janeiro, 1935).

4. Arthur Ramos, O negro brasileiro (2nd ed.; São Paulo, 1940).

5. Edison Carneiro, Candomblés da Bahia, (Publicações do Museu do Estado, No. 8 [Bahia, 1948]).

6. Donald Pierson, Negroes in Brazil (Chicago, 1942).

7. Ruth Landes, The City of Women (New York, 1947).

8. Octavio da Costa Eduardo, The Negro in Northern Brazil (New York, 1948).

9. Carneiro, Candomblés da Bahia, p. 31.

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are easier to understand and to comply with. In the town of Vila Recôncavo there are two houses of cult activities with female leaders, and in the rural area there is one such house with a male leader. These are the three houses which were studied by the author. There are six more in the area, but they are much smaller and poorer than these three.

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One of the three is led by a woman almost a hundred years old. She is now completely blind and can barely walk about the house. She has not been outside of it for several years. She has an assistant, a young man in his twenties, who as a child brought her firewood and water and who now has been taught by her much of the cult ritual. The house is now inactive, for the old woman has outlived her former followers, or else they have moved away. The room which contains the insignia of the African spirits is still kept up, and the proper foods and drinks are always placed there by the young man, in accordance with the instructions of the old lady. She herself does little, although she still consults the spirits by throwing cowrie shells. Her fame as a cult leader is widespread, and people still come to her for help, but she is too feeble to do much. In her day she was a "purist" and went through the long training period necessary to become a devotee and later a cult leader. She still knows a few words of Nagô, the Yoruban language, and laments the passing of her generation, with whom she says she conversed only in this language. Several of her initiates broke away and started their own houses in other places, although according to her they were not ready to assume leadership since they did not know enough of the mysteries.

The other two houses studied are led by disciples of one of the old woman's devotees who broke away. There is no contact among the three, although the two younger leaders are in awe of the old woman, aware that she knows much more than they do and that in her eyes they are only upstarts, manipulating something mystical which they are not sufficiently prepared to control. She does not intimidate them, however, and now ignores their activities, since they both have recently accepted the Indian spirits which the old woman feels are bogus. She is more interested in passing on her knowledge to the young man who cares for her house, though she complains that he is too indifferent to her teachings. He is learning a great deal, however, though he has not yet "made" his saint, that is, he is not yet a full-fledged devotee. Preparations for

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then the drums are calling the other saints, the circle has been formed again, and the process is repeated. This goes on frequently all night long, ending only with the dawn. The rural cult house has a general ceremony for all the saints of the house during the New Year holiday, and it often takes three or four days and nights of continuous dancing and drumming for all the participants to "fulfill their obligations." Activities cease for a while during the day while everyone rests, and then pick up again late in the afternoon.

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The general rule is that the person who "has a saint" must fulfill his obligations to that spirit at least once a year, if possible on the saint's day. Of course, the proper foods must be supplied constantly throughout the year, but at least once a year the saint must be feted, that is, called to possess the person and dance. The general term used for the ceremony is <u>bater</u> (to beat, referring to the drums), although several other euphemisms are used, such as, "We are going to have a party," or, "We are going to play." If the person is unable to fete the saint on the specified day, however, he must do it at the general ceremony at the end of the year. Not to comply with the rituals would be disastrous. The <u>zelador</u> of the house always fetes his saint on the proper day as well as at the end of the year. In both active cult houses the <u>zeladores</u> have more than one saint and try to fete each on the specified date. All participants keep the symbolic paraphernalia of their saints in the cult house and look after them personally if possible, but for many of them who live far from the house the <u>zelador</u> does this. In many cases a person who "has a saint" has a miniature <u>pegi</u> in his own house and also keeps there the proper foods and drinks. In some cases an older woman may even have a ceremony in her home if she can afford the requisite sacrificial animals and foods.

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Membership in the cults is not always passed down from parents to children. Many of the younger participants have come into the cults on their own and may be children of families which are unsympathetic to cult activities. When a mother belongs to a cult, her children may be indoctrinated in the rituals because of their continued attendance at the ceremonies. But unless the children feel the call themselves, no pressure is applied upon them to enter the activities, though they may always participate vicariously in the ceremonies. The majority of the population say they have nothing to do with the cults and are ignorant of the ritual. But few members of

the lower classes fail to have at least some knowledge of the ceremonial. In a region where there is little entertainment, such as in the town of Vila Recôncavo and especially in the rural area, the cults provide a major spectator activity, and those who have been exposed to it through their lives appreciate it as such. The number of active participants, however, is small. The house which is functioning in the town has about two dozen initiates, while the rural house is somewhat larger, having about forty-five devotees, only seven of whom are drawn from the plantation on which the house is situated. The rural house is more active for several reasons, according to local informants: the costumes are prettier, and therefore people prefer to dance there; the cult leader is a stronger personality and a better healer than the leader of the town house. The rural house is also more conveniently located for people from the surrounding plantations. Nevertheless, the small number of participants is indicative of the weakness of the institution in this area as a whole.

Healing, however, does play an important part in the cult activities, for the zelador who has "made his saint" has usually learned a large number of ritual and herbal cures. In fact, it is the healing aspect which brings most people to the cult activities. Sick persons, however, generally prefer to entrust themselves first to the ministrations of the plantation owner, plantation nurse, or town doctor. But if they feel they are not being helped, they turn to the cult house. If the sickness is diagnosed by the cult leader as a clear sign that the person is in contact with a spirit, the patient must enter the rites as an initiate or suffer the consequences. But for the ordinary run of headaches, stomach troubles, and skin eruptions, the cult leader draws upon his knowledge of herbal remedies. This knowledge is supposed to come from his deity, who often is St. Roch in this area, and who knows the cure. In fact, the leader of the rural house once compared his establishment with a pharmacy. He is paid for these medical services. Often one hears a person wishing that he could "have" such-and-such a saint so he would know how to cure and be able to make money, as do the cult leaders.

It is a general opinion that cult leaders are financially well off, although they themselves staunchly declare that they are not and that they must live from alms. As a rule all the participants in a house are obliged to contribute to the ceremonial honoring the leader's deity, which is usually the most extravagant ceremonial of the house.

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the lighter-skinned people for intermarriage with the mass of light-skinned people of the capital. Most of the townspeople have connexions of some sort in Salvador and travel back and forth a great deal. Some, mostly girls, take employment in the city as maids, and there either get married, or '*aparecem grávidas*' (show up pregnant), afterwards returning home to stay or for visits.

On the plantations the people have little opportunity for such mixing, owing to their isolation. Mixing occurs either on the same plantation or between neighbouring plantations, and since most of the plantation workers are dark, the offspring tends to remain dark. There is comparatively little marriage between people of the urban and rural zones.

The people of the town consider themselves far superior culturally to the *taberéu* or 'hick'[1] of the rural zone. Not only are they lighter in colour, but they are more 'citified', having more contact with the outside world, and this contact increases daily. Only in the town did the lower-class people express interest in the racial situation in the United States and particularly question segregation, a practice they could not understand. In the rural zone, the United States meant only some place other than Bahia. This is given as an example of the difference in degree of sophistication between the two parts of a comparatively small area. The sophistication of the townspeople tends to increase, as does their lightness of colour, while on the *fazendas* the colour has remained almost static, as has the degree of instruction.

565 Class is one of the most important factors in the everyday lives of the people of Vila Recôncavo. *Who's Who* is well known to all the residents of the community. Almost any resident will say that there are two classes, the rich and the poor. But definitions vary greatly as to what is rich, while practically all agree as to what is poor. Rich means, primarily, having money, a good house, more than one suit of clothing, a horse or mule, a servant to do the housework, and not having to do manual work. It also includes power of some description over other people. Poor is the reverse of all these things; working hard for someone else, a mud house with a dirt floor, one suit of clothes and one pair of shoes. For everyday ranking, this division into only two classes may serve.

A closer analysis shows that four distinct classes can be recognized, as stated earlier. There are many elements which go toward defining the classes—wealth, education and family. Race is also important. People say that wealth is the most important, education the second, and race the third in importance. Thus race is but one of a number of elements ranking people in a social scale, rather than a separating factor which divides them into distinct groups.

[1] Other terms used to convey the same meaning are *gente do mato* (people of the forest) and *gente do roça* (backwoodsmen).

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creasing desire to rise in the social hierarchy. In the rural districts physical type is less important than in the town, since there is less chance for one to rise socially, the positions of prestige being highly limited. But in the town and at the *usina*, the opportunities are greater, and therefore more emphasis is put upon racial type; although, even in the town, racial type is not the most important criterion for ascending the social scale, the most important being the possession of wealth and education. However, in the town, people who have wealth and education also show a tendency to 'lighten', generation after generation, as well as to ascend socially. There is no such thing as 'passing' in Vila Recôncavo, and there is no need for it, for many individuals who clearly show traces of Negro ancestry are called white and treated as white, with no constraint or embarrassment. Also there are no social activities closed to the *homem de côr*, provided he has the money and the education to take advantage of them. Physical attraction is also extremely important in the social acceptance of rejection of people, as is shown in the complicated fashion of classifying and stereotyping individuals, and the idealization of the *morena*.

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In other areas of the Recôncavo, the personal element has been lost to a great extent, and has been replaced with a rigid class system, based upon wealth, personal initiative, education, racial type and 'luck'. For the most part, the tradition of the *patrão* is disappearing and people are more dependent upon their own resources in a more strictly monetary economy. Vila Recôncavo still however remains sufficiently isolated to preserve much of the tradition of the past, of easy-going personal relations between people of all classes and racial types.

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2. Wanderley de Araújo Pinho (1941), p. 28.
3. Ibid., p. 29.
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5. Araújo Pinho, op. cit., p. 49.
6. Pierson (1942), p. 139.
7. Ibid., p. 230.
8. Rodrigues (1935), Chapter 7. Pierson (1942), Chapter 10. Landis (1947). Carneiro (1948).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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ticularly São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro but also Belo Horizonte, Recife, Porto Alegre, and others, including Bahia.[3] For, stimulated by needs which could not be satisfied by importation from Europe or the United States under the conditions existing during two World Wars—and more particularly during the last one—and also by growing internal demand, industrialization has been assuming a continually larger role in what has previously been a predominantly agricultural and pastoral country. Concomitant with this increased industrialization—but not to be confused with it, since, for one thing, it began long before—there also has occurred a rapid and extensive growth of the cities. A high rate of natural increase of the population has meanwhile continued in all parts of the country, so that it is now estimated that approximately two and a half million persons are being added annually to the Brazilian people. New primary, secondary, technological and professional schools have been set up, in an urgent, but not yet adequate attempt—since it began with a huge deficit—to keep up with expanding educational needs.

The emergence of new employment opportunities, espe-

[3] Since the matter may have puzzled some readers, it perhaps should be pointed out that, in keeping with the traditional patterns in such cases during colonization and later, the term "Bahia" was long used to indicate, on the one hand, the Capitania, Province or State of Bahia and, on the other, its capital city, even though the latter had another (and less used) name—Salvador. At the time of our research, the capital city of the State of Bahia—where most of our research was carried on—was widely and commonly known also as "Bahia"; and this name is still being employed. Since this name was used in the original study, it will be retained in this Introduction, in order to avoid possible confusion when consulting different parts of this edition. Incidentally, the spelling of "Bahia" is correctly given here and throughout this book, although, for a time during the "spelling reform" in Brazil (but only temporarily), an effort was made in some quarters to write the name differently.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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The emergence of new employment opportunities, especially in the centers of industry but also elsewhere, not only has stimulated internal migration but—more importantly for our interest here—has also facilitated social mobility. This has brought significant change, particularly to persons in the lower ranks, who are extensively (but far from exclusively) of dark color, and whose economic position has long been, on the whole, stagnant. There is clearly evident in Brazil what perhaps is the principal long-range trend in the modern world, namely, the rise of the underprivileged classes into increasingly greater economic and political power; while the growing anonymity of the developing cities is making human relations more impersonal and categoric, and this has led to a heightened sense of insecurity while also aiding the escape of individuals of color from the controls of the old superordinate and subordinate relationships developed during slavery and giving these individuals new conceptions of themselves and of others.

Until comparatively recent years, a middle class like that known in Europe or the United States scarcely existed. At the time of our research at Bahia, for instance, there were only two clearly-defined classes in the city, as attested (see pp. 15 ff.) by the popular division of the inhabitants into *ricos* (literally, "the rich") and *pobres* ("the poor"). There were many families, however, whose occupation, skills, education, or level of living placed them above the lower class but who were not attached by kinship or achievement to the upper ranks. They thus occupied an intermediate position between the two extremes of the social pyramid, although they tended to identify themselves with the interests and values of the upper class. In recent decades, however, the changes mentioned above have produced occupational and educational opportunities never before known, and also greatly stimulated those previously existent, so that, in the large and more

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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industrialized cities at least, these intermediate ranks have developed into a definite middle class.

The so-called "traditional" families, who for so long virtually constituted almost the entire upper class, still play an important role in industrial, commercial, intellectual, and political activities; but although they perhaps were never a completely closed unit, they now are having to accept into their ranks as never before an increasing number of persons who have risen from the intermediate tiers by reason of occupational or educational achievement, acquired wealth, or political influence.

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Brazil is thus in process of transition from a predominantly rural, agricultural and pastoral society, with a rather rigid class system, to an urban and industrialized society, where class lines are somewhat less important, and other elements of the economic, political and sociological structures are changing. There is a considerable degree of fluidity, in the midst of which the high value formerly placed upon primary relations, particularly the intimate attachments of members of large kinship, godparent or friendship groups, upon exclusiveness toward groups outside those of immediate personal contact, upon class membership, and upon loyalty is giving away, and new values are emerging. These changes are so extensive that Charles Wagley (1960a) has referred to them as "the Brazilian revolution."

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Owing also to the complex and rather subtle character of the Brazilian racial situation, its analysis is not an easy or simple procedure. Regarding the fact that this differs from that in the United States there is no disagreement. But there is disagreement regarding the character of this difference, its extent, and the circumstances which produced it.

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A sizable obstacle to analyzing this situation, and also to making it intelligible to persons in the United States, is a

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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daughters immediately behind the father, then the mother, followed by her mulatto *femme de chambre*, next the family *ama*, or Negro nurse, and the latter's female assistant, then the father's Negro body servant, and last a young slave in training for domestic service.[30] On such occasions it was a matter of considerable pride to dress the slaves as well as the family's station would permit. As late as 1852 a visitor to Rio recorded:

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> Though less generally the custom than formerly, it is still the habit of some of the *bourgeoisie* . . . . at least on Sundays and great holidays, to promenade to and from church, by whole families, parents and children, from adults to infants, with a retinue of servants in their best dresses . . . . bringing up the rear, and, whether male or female, ... usually as elaborately, if not as expensively, dressed as the rest of the family; and often, in the case of the women, with an equal display of laces, muslins, and showy jewelry.[31]

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In the cities domestic slaves ordinarily lived in the same houses as their masters, occupying the lower floor; or, where the buildings were only of one story, "a sort of cellar" underneath.[32] Since the mistress of the household and her daughters lived a very secluded life in the interior of the home,[33] they were in almost constant contact with domestic slaves and the slave's children. Debret has sketched[34] one such intimate scene in which two Negro women are at work,

[30] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Pl. 5 ("Un Employé du gouvernement sortant de chez lui avec sa famille").

[31] C. S. Stewart, *Brazil and La Plata* (New York, 1856), p. 295.

[32] Maria Graham, *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil, 1821–1823* (London, 1824), p. 145.

[33] Until recent years, women from the upper classes in Bahia were rarely seen on the public thoroughfares and then only in the company of a male escort.

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[34] Debret, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Pl. 6 ("Une dame brésilienne dans son intérieur") and p. 33.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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seated on the floor at the feet of their mistress and her daughter, while two little Negro babies play near by.[25] Koster wrote of an estate near Recife that the "Great House" was full of young Negro children. "They were quite naked, and played with each other, and with some large dogs which were lying at full length upon the floor. These ebon cupids were plainly great favorites, and seemed to employ the greater part of the thoughts of the good ladies, the youngest of whom was on the other side of fifty; and even the priest laughed at their gambols."[26] Visiting in the interior of Rio de Janeiro province in 1823, Maria Graham noted that "the female in-door slaves . . . . have been mostly . . . . brought up in their mistress' house." She saw "children of all ages and colors running about, who seemed to be as tenderly treated as if they had been of the family," and commented that, under these conditions, slavery was "more like that of the patriarchal times, where the purchased servant became to all intents one of the family."[27] "How many times," writes Lacerda, "have we not seen masters who did not hesitate to bring their little mulatto slaves to the family table?"[28] Relations within these households became so intimate that, as sometimes also occurred in our South, white women took to their breasts colored babies whose mothers had died in childbirth.[29]

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In the home, on the plantation, along the roads of the

[25] Debret writes (*ibid.*, p. 39): "A Rio de Janeiro et dans toutes les autres villes du Brésil, il est d'usage, pendant le tête-à-tête d'un *diner marital*, que le mari s'occupe silencieusement de ses affaires, et que la *femme* s'amuse de ses *petits* négrillons, qui remplacent la famille presque éteinte des petits chiens carlins en Europe."

[26] *Op. cit.*, pp. 258–59. [27] *Op. cit.*, pp. 279–80.

[28] Jean Baptiste de Lacerda, "The *Metis*, or Half-breeds, of Brazil," *Papers on Inter-racial Problems*, ed. G. Spiller (London, 1911), p. 379.

[29] Gilberto Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* (2d ed.; Rio, 1936), p. 327.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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The dances continue unabated for hours, until the air of the *barracão* becomes very warm and permeated with the odor of perspiring bodies. Seriously, with rapt attention, the closely packed crowd looks on, eager to see and hear the numerous *orixás* as they "arrive." During a period of the most intense excitement, when tensions have been built up almost to the breaking-point, a rocket suddenly bursts with a loud report outside the *barracão*. A woman seated among the spectators who is not a *filha de santo* is immediately thrown into violent, convulsive muscular movements and bounces up and down with great force on the board seat, her head snapping back and forth in time to the now almost frenzied beat of the drums. The *pae de santo* rushes to support her in order to prevent imminent injury. Several visiting *filhas de santo* who do not want to dance in this strange place and are consequently "resisting" the imminent "arrival" of their *orixás*, call out with imploring voices, one after the other, "Dê-me agua, por amor de Deus" ("Give me water, for the love of God!"). The face of a servant girl named Joanna, a *filha* from a neighboring *seita*, is drawn, and she appears to be in pain. Afterward, she says that her *orixá*, Xangô, was beating and striking her to make her dance and that she felt more tired than if she had danced all night long. But other spectators remark, "How beautiful! I never saw Ogun dance like that before. And Oxóssi, and Yemanjá, they are wonderful, simply wonderful!"

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The ceiling of another *barracão* (at the *terreiro* called Gantois) is trimmed with paper streamers—red, white, blue, and yellow—each alternating with rows of white paper roses. The electric-light bulb suspended from the ceiling is shaded by red and white pieces of cellophane. On the walls are red and white paper shields, each bearing the words, "Louvores á

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249 gave sugar growing a great impetus by organizing expeditions of soldiers which he led into the farthest reaches of the Bay of All Saints, killing, driving out or enslaving the hostile Indian inhabitants, so as to make the area safe for settlers to move out of the city
175 into the surrounding area and plant sugar. Mem de Sá himself built
249 one of the largest and most productive of the sugar plantations in the Recôncavo.[2] His lands comprised three and a half leagues along
423 the coastline of the Bay, extending four leagues inland, and two islands.[3] This *sesmaria*—as the early land grants were called—of Mem de Sá was broken down into smaller pieces by his daughter who inherited it, and by the end of the sixteenth century, most of the *sesmarias* of the Recôncavo had similarly, been divided into plantations averaging approximately 600 to 1,000 acres. In the past 250 years, many of these have kept the same boundaries and names, but their ownership has changed hands many times and they have passed through many cycles of prosperity and depression.

249 The essential form of a plantation in the Recôncavo has changed
[178] little since the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the past, the entire plantation was known as an *engenho*, taking its name from
[376] the sugar-mill building which was the heart of the plantation. There were two chief types of sugar mills, one operated by water power
(492) and the other driven by traction power supplied by oxen. Before the end of slavery, steam-driven machinery had also come into use.
[375] A typical *engenho* had four main items of wealth—its lands, its
(471) buildings, the livestock and the slaves. Most of the land was, of course, planted in sugar cane, but there were also wood forests to supply firewood, pastures for the livestock, and small areas devoted
249 to the raising of food stuffs for the personnel of the *engenho*. The buildings of an *engenho* included the sugar mill, the *sobrado*, or home
342 of the owner, and the slave quarters. The owner's house was frequently a very large and pretentious building with one and a half or two storeys. In the Recôncavo the landowners sought to build their houses *a meia encosta*, or against the side of a hill, giving the appearance of a two-storey house in front, but only one in the rear. Such homes were frequently constructed of stone, wood and mortar, with tile roofs. The slave quarters, which were known as *senzalas*, were generally long narrow buildings with sides of mud or *taipa* and
249 and roofs of palm fronds. The livestock of a typical *engenho* con-
231 sisted of oxen, burros, horses, sheep and cows. The oxen supplied the power to turn the grinding mills when there was no water power,
[492] and they pulled the large two-wheeled carts which were used to transport the cane from the fields to the mill. Horses and burros provided transportation for the plantation owner in supervising the work in the fields, and for him and his family for visits to nearby *engenhos* and to town. Cattle and sheep grazing on the portions of the land which were fallow supplied milk and meat to the plantation community.

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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county and among the first to fall into decline and extinction in the days following the sugar boom. The remaining buildings of the Order are now used for quite a different purpose, which will be discussed later.

The first half of the eighteenth century saw the final flourishing of Vila Recôncavo and the beginning of its fall into obscurity. By 1700 the town was a thriving urban center--the newly created seat of local government, a military post, a highly active religious center, and the scene of the local courts of justice. In addition to large public buildings, imposing private residences dotted the streets, for many of the plantation owners constructed large houses in the town, which they used as stopping places in their journeys to and from their plantations and Salvador. Then as now, however, Vila Recôncavo was not the main center of attraction for the planters and their families, most of whom had houses in the capital where they spent the rainy seasons. Nevertheless, the presence of their large and ornate town houses gave a certain air of distinction and prosperity to the town.

The story of the decline of the town of Vila Recôncavo is symptomatic of what happened to many other towns in the region at a later date. Vilhena connects the decadence of Vila Recôncavo with the creation of the administrative center of Centro in 1727.[7] Until that time Centro had been a sítio (terminal designation for a small town), created in 1608. Toward the end of the seventeenth century the best lands of the Recôncavo, situated in what is now the county of Purificação, came into use as a result of the cessation of Indian attacks and of improvement in the machinery used in the plantations. Sugar mills powered by water no longer held as great an advantage as they had previously; over a hundred years of sugar-cane operation had pretty well stripped the littoral of the firewood necessary for continued high production; and by this time the coastal regions no longer held room for expansion. As the colonists pushed farther inland from Centro they found an abundance of the rich massapê lands and sufficient firewood for the needs of many plantations, and soon the number of inland sugar mills surpassed that of the coast.

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7. Luís dos Santos Vilhena, Notícias soteropolitanas e brasílicas, 1802, ed. Braz do Amaral (Salvador, 1922), p. 502.

175 423 * 249 the responsibility of holders to colonize and develop their areas. The grants were as a rule very large, consisting of leagues of land rather than of acres. Only one grant could be made to a family. As a result the son of a man who was a holder of a grant either had to remain on his father's land or had to leave the province and go elsewhere to acquire land. [425] The only remaining alternative was to forget about land and go into commerce or a profession. However, since the grants were so very large, the original holders were able to break them up, selling or renting parts, giving some to their married sons or daughters and yet retaining and cultivating enough to support themselves. Thus the original land grants were broken up, and several plantations were made of each.

175 * 249 313 Engenho was the name given to the total plantation, as well as being the specific designation for the mill itself. Every plantation, regardless of whether it was inland or on the coast, needed two things: the soil known as massapê, and woods as close as possible to the mill to supply firewood for boiling the [185] sugar-cane juice. Firewood soon became a crucial problem, one which has haunted the sugar industry for centuries. Conservation never was a Brazilian practice, and the tropical forests of the Recôncavo were soon stripped to feed the hun- [435] gry mouths of the furnaces. As time went on it became necessary to import firewood by boat from wherever it could be found, which added greatly to the costs of producing sugar. [376] The steam mill came much later and added further to the problem.

175 * 249 342 361 At first the owner's house was a veritable fort, surrounded by bulwarks and stockades to resist Indian attacks, but by the end of the seventeenth century the need for this precaution had passed away and the plantation houses were assuming noble proportions. Many were imposing two-story buildings built of stone and mortar, the ground level generally being used as a storehouse and the master (senhor de engenho) and his family living on the upper floor. As a rule the Big House of the Recôncavo was situated so that there would be an excellent view from the windows, not only of the mill and slave quarters nearby but of the surrounding countryside. There was no sight so dear to the heart of a plantation master as that of fields of sugar cane, the leaves of many shades of green waving gently in the breeze.

175 * 249 36 [346] Frequently a chapel was connected with the house or built near it. Not very far away would be the mill, and nearby the

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gave sugar growing a great impetus by organizing expeditions of soldiers which he led into the farthest reaches of the Bay of All Saints, killing, driving out or enslaving the hostile Indian inhabitants, so as to make the area safe for settlers to move out of the city into the surrounding area and plant sugar. Mem de Sá himself built one of the largest and most productive of the sugar plantations in the Recôncavo.[2] His lands comprised three and a half leagues along the coastline of the Bay, extending four leagues inland, and two islands.[3] This *sesmaria*—as the early land grants were called—of Mem de Sá was broken down into smaller pieces by his daughter who inherited it, and by the end of the sixteenth century, most of the *sesmarias* of the Recôncavo had similarly, been divided into plantations averaging approximately 600 to 1,000 acres. In the past 250 years, many of these have kept the same boundaries and names, but their ownership has changed hands many times and they have passed through many cycles of prosperity and depression.

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mers. However, on almost every plantation there are brick- 312
lined springs from which the inhabitants get their drinking water. Women or children carrying five-gallon cans of water on [482]
their heads, and donkeys carrying four wooden kegs of water, [492]
are common sights along the roads of the Recôncavo. For the
cattle and other livestock of the plantations, drinking places 231
are excavated wherever there promises to be enough water. 312
Frequently, however, these go dry in the summer, especial- [132]
ly during the drought years which occur cyclically in rhythm
with the droughts of the sertão. At such times loss of cattle
is prevalent, except on plantations situated near one of the
small rivers.

A high-voltage electric line passes through this section 377
leading from the generating station further inland to the capital city. Recently most of the plantations have been able to
connect with this line, so that at least the owners' houses have
electric light. The houses of the workers are without it except
at the factory, where the mill supplies its own electric power
which is carried to almost all the workers' houses.

There are four state schools and one county school distrib- 871
uted among the plantations. The central school in the town of
Vila Recôncavo is not attended by children from the planta-
tions. Two plantations have their own chapels, which are vis- 347
ited at irregular intervals by the priests of Vila Recôncavo. 796
On the other plantations a small altar is set up in the owner's 793
house for special occasions such as Christmas, when the town
priest is invited to celebrate the Mass.

There is in the town a medical post with a visiting doctor, 743
a dentist, and several nurses in training, which is adminis-
tered by a Franciscan lay brother and supported by federal,
state, and county funds and by private donations. This post
is fairly recent, and its influences are spreading only slowly
to the rural area. Also in the town is a small county medical
post run by a resident physician. The sugar factory has a [249]*
dispensary with a nurse and is visited by the town doctor. Al- [752]
most every plantation has its own first-aid equipment, gen-
erally in the owner's house.

There are no fairs in the community. There are stores in 543
the town and a large supply store at the factory, run by the 443
corporation, and nearly every plantation has its own small [249]*
store. Major purchases are made at the weekly market in Centro, in the neighboring county. There are also traveling ped-

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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as the old patriarchal order continues to decline and industrialization increases; a shift which is intensified by the secularization deriving from the increasingly metropolitan character of the area and by the gradual emergence of new social groups. Have these and the other changes sketched above been sufficient to alter the character of the "racial" situation at Bahia since our original study was made? After a careful survey of the studies in the area in recent years, it seems to us that the evidence would lead one to agree with Wagley:[26] "Change has occurred, but *not* that much."

As Thales de Azevedo has pointed out (1955a:197), however, the possibilities of colored persons rising in class are increasing at Bahia; and many observers believe that this rise will continue to increase in the future. As this alteration in rank extends to continually larger and larger numbers of previously underprivileged individuals, greater strains and pressures probably will be exerted throughout the social order. For one thing, as Bahia continues to grow into a larger and larger metropolitan center, relations will be more difficult to maintain on a primary and face-to-face basis; and, for another, the anticipated industrialization, deriving from the extraction of petroleum resources in the area and the utilization of the recently-developed electric power on the São Francisco river, will in all likelihood augment the presently increasing anonymity and make relations more contractual and categoric. Moreover, as educational opportunities increase and extend downward further into the masses of previously unlettered individuals, thus adding to the effects of these other processes, the social order of Bahia may alter, perhaps markedly.

Wagley (1955:12) writes that "many" of the hypotheses

[26] In a letter to the author.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 which it is hauled by railroad or boat to the mill, although sometimes
497 the cane which is carried by boat is weighed at the mill. The rail-
505 roads which handle the cane, as has been indicated, are owned and
496 operated by the usinas, except that the government right-of-way is
471 used whenever these tracks pass close to the plantations. One of the
249 usinas is new and a few of the older mills have some new equipment, but the general level of technology is considerably below that of Pernambuco or São Paulo, and the mills are somewhat smaller. The usinas grind the cane, extract the juices, and refine the sugar by means of vacuum pans and centrifuges. The more modern usinas produce a high quality sugar, but in general the product is coarse and not a pure white.
274 The by-products of the large usinas and part or all of the cane juice
385 of some of the usinas and engenhos is converted into rum or commercial
262 alcohol. The sugar, rum, and alcohol from the sugar industry of the
273 Recôncavo are consumed primarily within the Recôncavo and the adjoining
438 regions of Bahia. About one-tenth of the production of sugar is
439 exported, chiefly to Rio de Janeiro. The commercial alcohol usually
• 382 is mixed with gasoline in the bulk plants in Salvador to provide fuel
385 for automotive transport. By law a specified amount of commercial
654 alcohol must be mixed with gasoline--this is designed to subsidize the sugar industry.

249 There are twenty usinas in the Recôncavo, and these produced
471 an estimated 80 per cent of the total sugar of the state of Bahia in
433 1948. The three largest of these are owned by a single sugar company, which also owns the associated plantations, transportation equipment, and cattle fazendas. This company plays an important role in the
249 marketing of sugar from its own usinas and from other companies. The
471 concentration of the cultivation of sugar cane and of the production
178 of sugar in the hands of this single enterprise is a symptom of the

249 which it is hauled by railroad or boat to the mill, although sometimes
497 the cane which is carried by boat is weighed at the mill. The rail-
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385 for automotive transport. By law a specified amount of commercial
654 alcohol must be mixed with gasoline--this is designed to subsidize the sugar industry.

249 There are twenty usinas in the Recôncavo, and these produced
471 an estimated 80 per cent of the total sugar of the state of Bahia in
433 1948. The three largest of these are owned by a single sugar company, which also owns the associated plantations, transportation equipment, and cattle fazendas. This company plays an important role in the
249 marketing of sugar from its own usinas and from other companies. The
471 concentration of the cultivation of sugar cane and of the production
178 of sugar in the hands of this single enterprise is a symptom of the

be held in the canoe by the others, for she tries to jump into the water. At the same time, all those present in the canoe scoop up the water and pour it over themselves, for it is at this moment quite holy. The possessed person is gradually calmed and brought back to a normal state as the canoes move up the river. 796 794 782 776 [787]

During this time, groups of fishermen often go out in their newly blessed canoes (canoas de bordejo) to play. Because their canoes have been blessed by the priest, and because of the holy aspect of the water resulting from the presence of the Mother of the Waters, the men may enter the water without fear, so they jump in and out of the water and swim around their canoes until they are tired. This cannot be done at any other time of the year for it is not considered safe to enter deep water. [788] [823] [526]

After the second gift has been offered and accepted, the party lands and goes back to town on foot in a spirit of great joy and gaiety. The rest of the day is given over to horse racing, visiting, gaming, and dancing on the fishermen's square. People from classes A and B do not participate in these proceedings, which they consider barbarous. But most lower-class people at least watch, although only participants enter the canoes. Observers walk along the banks and watch. Cults from the rural areas make their own presentations separately, frequently on Christmas Day and in another locale. 796 794 565* [527] [389]

The next festival in the year comes after January 6, the Day of Kings, which has already been mentioned. Parties take place from this day until the beginning of Lent. Other than a Mass, there is no longer much sanctity connected to this day. 796

The most important festival of the year is that of Nossa Senhora da Conceição da Praia, the patron saint of most of the fishermen, to whom their chapel is dedicated. This festival begins on January 13 and starts off each evening with a novena held in the fishermen's chapel. The priest goes each evening for the novena, and, on the three last days of the festival, each morning, to celebrate Mass in honor of Nossa Senhora da Conceição, St. Peter, and St. John. A committee is organized in the chapel to ask patrons for contributions to the festival, for candles, oils, electric light, and to pay the priest each night. Flowers are a very important part of the festival, although at this time of the year they are very expensive. Each night of the novena there is a different group of patrons, and [776] 796 794

258 407 The manioc mill, called a casa de farinha, is found in most parts of the Recôncavo except the sugar cane zone. At the mill the root of the manioc is scraped with a knife in order to remove the rough skin. It is then shredded by being held against a roughened rotating cylinder which is turned by a belt attached to a large wheel and crank. The crank is rotated by one or two workers, except in the few mills where small electric motors are attached. The shredded manioc, which has the appearance of moist sawdust, is shoveled into a press made of a hollowed log, and a lid is forced into the press in such a way that the juices [401] are expelled through the holes in the sides and bottom. The necessary force is applied by means of a long lever drawn down with a large wooden screw jack. After the lid is forced downward as far as possible, the pressure is maintained until there is no perceptible leakage of 258 poisonous juices. In none of the mills observed in the area or described [171] in the literature of the Recôncavo was the leaching process used, as is the practice in some other areas of Brazil. From the press the manioc is thrown upon the top of an earthenware stove where it is agitated until the remaining manihotoxine is volatilized and the flour is dry. The juices which have been expelled from the press usually are caught in flat pans which are then placed in the sun. Settling and evaporation produce a pasty residue of starch--tapioca--which is dried into thin sheets.

These mills are small, one-press operations carried on in enclosed adobe and thatch sheds. They are scattered over the countryside wherever manioc is grown. The 1940 census enumerated 200 casas de farinha in the Recôncavo, but the number must now be a good deal greater. In 1940 Cruz das Almas, according to the census, had no farinha mills, but in 1953 more than a dozen were observed. The number of mills is large not only because the capacity of each is limited

5: Azevedo--19 D, Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
[Salvador]

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1. A colored business-man.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[City of Salvador]

in 1822, in the politics of the Empire, a role similar to that assumed by Minas Geraes, São Paulo, and Rio Grande do Sul in the Republic following 1889. In fact, she has been called "the Brazilian Virginia." Until 1907 Bahia was also the religious center of the Brazilian nation. Her archbishop was the head of the Roman Catholic church in Brazil, and the religious orders maintained here their principal representatives. Thus in the economic, political, and religious life of Brazil, Bahia boasts a long tradition of distinction and prestige.

The present city is about the size of Indianapolis or Seattle.[6] It nestles along the eastern rim of a huge bay, Bahia de Todos os Santos. The bay is formed by the projection out into the ocean of Cape Santo Antonio, which, on its western side, breaks rather sharply almost at the water's edge, exposing a bold promontory approximately three hundred feet in height which parallels for some two to three miles the rim of the bay. The city clings to the narrow shelf between the bay and the cliff and then sprawls up over this sizable barrier and spreads out along the ridges and into the valleys to the east and north, where centuries of erosion have carved a one-time flat plain into alternating crests and steep-sloping depressions.

Bahia is thus divided by a natural barrier into a lower and an upper city, into a Cidade Baixa and a Cidade Alta, as the two parts are locally called; the one connected with the other by steep, winding streets paved with cobblestones, by inclined planes and modern hydraulic elevators, or by numerous well-worn footpaths. In the lower city lies, of course,

[6] An estimate by the state government gave for the city of Bahia on December 31, 1934, a population of 352,244 (*Annuario estatistico da Bahia, 1934*, p. 131). The federal census of 1920 gave for Bahia City 283,422 (*Recenseamento do Brazil, 1920*, Vol. IV: *População*, Book I, p. xxiv).

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 [464] The skills of the 196,000 workers are an important agricultural resource in the Recôncavo. This resource can best be evaluated in terms of the prevailing agricultural systems: hoe and rudimentary plow agriculture. Hoe agriculture is universal in the Recôncavo, and in a society so thoroughly permeated with agricultural activity it is fair to assume that, except for some completely urbanized laborers in Salvador, all workers are familiar with the simple tools of this form of cultivation. Plow cultivation is more specialized; it is used [249] throughout the sugar cane zone but only in preparing the fields for planting. The seedstalks are covered with a hoe, and knives are used [407] for weeding and harvesting. Outside the sugar zone plows are rarely encountered.

[231] The domesticated animals which play a prominent role in cultivation in the Recôncavo are oxen, horses, mules, and donkeys, and the rudiments of their management are almost universally understood. The prominent crops of the Recôncavo are ubiquitous—manioc, corn, beans, sweet potatoes, peanuts, tobacco, sugar cane, bananas, and oranges are grown in all areas, and their cultivation under the prevailing agricultural system is common knowledge. There is little present need for agricultural labor specialized beyond this level.

241 178 It is clear that the introduction into the Recôncavo of new, radically different crops or techniques of cultivation would alter this [181] relatively favorable situation. The agricultural worker of the Recôncavo, like his counterpart in many other parts of the world, is inherently conservative. As in the past, he will continue to resist even minor changes, such as improved methods of seed selection in corn or improved curing of tobacco. More radical changes would probably be resisted more strongly. The problem of "selling" new ways of pro- [212] ducing agricultural products is difficult not only because of the

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 178 212 satisfaction with traditional ways but also because the low level of literacy makes difficult even the presentation of new methods. The low level of literacy directly limits the media available for propagation of new ideas, and there is little consciousness of the existence of other methods in other areas. These factors restrict the intellectual horizon and reduce the tolerance for change.

241 407 [242] [254] As yet, mechanized agriculture is almost unknown--there are probably less than fifty tractors in the entire Recôncavo. Agricultural machinery is confined almost exclusively to government agricultural experiment stations and extension services or to the largest sugar fazendas--in 1952-53 the tractors of the fazendas were largely unused because of the lack of new parts or general unsuitability for the tasks at hand. A very small number of agricultural workers have had any experience with agricultural machinery. The introduction of large quantities of farm equipment would raise many problems related to skill and receptivity. [493] However, the truck, bus, and jeep are omnipresent in the Recôncavo, and the number of competent drivers and mechanics is surprisingly large. Most of these mechanically skilled workers live in the cities and towns, but some are available everywhere, especially in the sugar area. In this area, too, many workers have had experience with such massive equipment as the ox-plow. Thus the introduction of tractors and their accessories into the sugar zone, the area most adapted to mechanization at the present moment, would find at least a small cadre of experienced workers available.

241 461 In addition to skills, the mode of labor and the attitude toward work are important factors in evaluating the agricultural labor force. Agricultural work in the Recôncavo tends to be a joint enterprise--it is joint effort which makes it possible to perform many heavy or arduous tasks with little mechanical assistance. On the cane plantations

249 cultivation which is monocultural and highly standardized. As has been indicated, small scale sugar cane cultivation--in house gardens--is omnipresent in the Recôncavo. The area in such garden cane, however, can scarcely be as much as one per cent of the total cropland.

249 471 Within the Central Recôncavo sugar cane is grown principally to supply a relatively small number of sugar usinas. The usinas either own and operate or rent and operate the cane plantations or have a stable relationship with those plantations from which they buy cane. Under these circumstances it is both necessary and relatively easy to standardize the methods of production and cultivation. The industrial aspects of sugar production will be discussed in the section on processing.

249 The general system of sugar cane cultivation involves a five-year sequence:

[407] [492] (1) The land is broken with a large ox-drawn, wooden plow. The same plow opens parallel furrows, two to three feet apart, into which are laid pieces of cane stalk, cut from specially grown seed cane. The seed cane is then covered with hoes and packed with bare feet. Planting usually takes place during the last of the wet season--August and early September--to a lesser extent during the cane harvest--mid-September to mid-March--and at the end of the harvest in the autumn, if possible. Usually, however, the ground is too wet for planting during the months of May to August.

[412] (2) The cane is weeded frequently with a knife or a hoe. After a year of growth it is cut and carted away to the railroad. The leaves and upper stalk are left on the field and after drying are burned, except for some small part which is used as fodder.

(3) When the roots sprout again, the field is weeded and kept clean as the second-year cane develops; and after a year, the cane is harvested again. Generally this re-growth is repeated three times, so that there are four harvests for each planting.

258 The manioc mill, called a casa de farinha, is found in most parts of
• 407 the Recôncavo except the sugar cane zone. At the mill the root of the manioc is scraped with a knife in order to remove the rough skin. It is then shredded by being held against a roughened rotating cylinder which is turned by a belt attached to a large wheel and crank. The crank is rotated by one or two workers, except in the few mills where small electric motors are attached. The shredded manioc, which has the appearance of moist sawdust, is shoveled into a press made of a hollowed log, and a lid is forced into the press in such a way that the juices
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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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of livestock, which had a value greater than sugar cane but less than manioc.

Agricultural activities within the Recôncavo are localized in several distinct sub-regions, each with a specialized system of cultivation and each with either one or two principal crops. The primary agricultural subdivisions of the region are: (1) the sugar cane monocultural sub-region; and (2) the tobacco-manioc sub-region.

249 Sugar cane is grown as the exclusive crop in its major area of production--the pocket of coastal plain north of the Baía de Todos os Santos. Cane is generally cultivated under a four-year monoculture and one-year fallow system on large properties employing large quantities of hand labor and using oxen to draw plows and carts. Neither fertilizer [407] nor agricultural machinery is used to any appreciable extent. Most of [492] the animals used as labor in the production of sugar cane are brought [231] [233] into the area from the sertão, and little livestock breeding is found in this area. The processing of sugar cane is in the hands of a small [471] number of medium-sized usinas. The companies which own these usinas [178] are gradually buying up the plantations so that to an increasing extent the mills directly control the production of sugar cane. Most of the [497] cane is brought to the usinas by railroad, although sailing boats are [489] used for this purpose along tidewater. Most of the sugar produced in [505] the Recôncavo is consumed within the state of Bahia, but small quantities [438] [439] are shipped to other parts of Brazil. Both the aristocratic upper class [565] and the rising non-aristocratic business interests of the Recôncavo are [471] [472] involved in the ownership and administration of the sugar industry. The [464] permanent labor force is supplied from the settlements of the sugar cane [178] plantations and the mills, but the rural population and the labor force of the sugar area are declining. Seasonal labor for the harvest comes from the interior sertão of Bahia.

[The Private Plantation]

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1 new, rural school, with rooms for classes and living quarters for teacher, constructed by the state on land donated by Dona Sinhá

Value of the plantation: Cr$1,500,000,00.[3]

Equipment: 1 Caterpillar tractor, model D2
1 John Deere plow
1 jeep
2 four-wheeled, rubber-tired wagons
9 juntas of oxen (the junta equals ten oxen, eight in use and two resting)
9 two-wheeled carts drawn by oxen--the antique and most used transportation in the Recôncavo
30 burros for carrying cane
12 saddle horses
35 milk cows and breeding mares
78 cattle for breeding purposes

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The Fazenda das Moças is unusual in its possession of a tractor, a mechanical plow, and a jeep. (Even more recently a second tractor and a mechanical cultivator have been added.) More commonly the pai adão (Father Adam) plow is used, drawn by eight oxen. According to Pinho the plow was introduced into Brazil in the late eighteenth century. Before this all cultivation was done with the hoe.[4] For the past 150 years the pai adão has been used primarily to open the rows in which the sugar cane is planted. All the rest of the cultivation is done by hand, with the hoe and billhook. The pai adão is a simple plow with a single plowshare. When it is drawn by oxen, a driver is needed, plus a small boy helper and another man to manage the plow. When it is drawn by tractor, only two men are needed, the driver and the plowman. Various properties of the soil, such as its hardness in the summer when it dries, its swamplike character during the rainy season, and the danger of turning up the infertile tauá which underlies the shallow layer of massapê, have made plowing difficult in the Re-

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3. The cruzeiro (Cr$) is the Brasilian monetary unit and equals roughly five cents in United States currency. Thus the value of the plantation is approximately $75,000.00.

4. de Araujo Pinho, Historia de um engenho do Recôncavo, 1522-1944 (Rio de Janeiro, 1946), p. 243.

côncavo. So far only the pai adão has been able to fulfill the plowing requirements. Lately, however, tractors with caterpillar tread have been introduced and, when used carefully with disk plows, have given excellent results. But the old standby is still commonly in use, hitched to eight, ten, twelve, or as many as twenty oxen.

The owner's house with its park stands on a small hilltop and is visible from afar because of its imperial palms. Nearby, on another hilltop, is the settlement of workers, a long street with houses on either side, the barracks, a small store, and the ever-present casa de farinha, the house where manioc is always being ground, pressed, and roasted to make the farina which is the staple food of the area. Also on this street is the overseer's house, which stands out from the others because of its large size and its veranda. The houses of the workmen are small and built for the most part under one long, common roof. Each house is really an apartment consisting of a front living room and a long corridor going back to the kitchen, with one or two bedrooms leading off the corridor. Other houses, under separate roofs, have similar interior arrangements. The roofs are of red tiles, the rest of the house of clay mud (taipa) slapped on both sides of a bamboo framework. After the mud has dried a coat of whitewash is applied. The houses are built and kept in repair by the plantation owner and do not belong to the workers. The floors are of beaten earth, difficult to keep clean. At night, when only a tiny oil lamp is burning, the houses look dark and gloomy.

After dark one has the impression of hearing much more than one can see. Kerosene is expensive to burn, no one reads, and most of life is geared to doing in the daytime those tasks which require light. At night the workmen and their families sit in the dark talking, or perhaps go to the casa de farinha where a fellow workman and his family may be grinding their manioc. This building is softly lit with kerosene lamps and there is a cheerful glow from the roasting fire. More recently the overseer's house has been equipped with electricity, and now it is always well lighted at night. His new radio has become a center of attraction and small groups form about his veranda, listening. At the other end of the street, during harvest time, there is always a bonfire in front of the barracks where the migrant workers are sheltered. On special occasions there may be a samba (dance), perhaps in the plantation owner's house. Then everyone dons his best and the

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

As a result, owners have to be satisfied with higher costs than they feel necessary and less profit than they think possible, the difference going to the overseer, rather than accept the complete failure of the plantation Overseers, foremen, and owners are all aware of the situation, but politeness, the traditional respect patterns, and the unwillingness to compete openly keep the situation covert. 249* 463 466 571

Nevertheless, on Fazenda das Moças, in spite of these difficulties there is considerable cooperation between Dona Sinhá and Seu Paulo. The duties of the overseer are confined generally to the plantation itself--seeing that the work is done, the cane planted, cultivated, harvested, and delivered to the factory as expediently as possible. The duties of Dona Sinhá are mainly concerned with finance, with arranging ready funds to meet the current expenses of the plantation. The practice of mortgaging crops did not end with the abolition of slavery, and it is the owner's task to juggle funds, loans, and interest so she will have enough money to improve and increase the yield of her plantation. In general the owners of single plantations rarely have enough funds to carry them through the year. Payrolls are met throughout the year with advances on the estimated harvest made by the factory, by the banks, or by the Cooperative of Sugar-Cane Growers and Suppliers. Thus when the season ends the owner is already in debt, part of which he must pay off in order to finance the coming year. There are two problems constantly present in the struggle to increase the size of the harvest: cost of production, and the antiquated methods used on the private plantations, where practically all work is done by hand. 249* 463 426 [433]

Table 1 shows production, costs, and profits for the harvests of the years 1947-48, 1948-49, and 1949-50 at Fazenda das Moças. The drop in production and the rise in costs in the years 1948-49 were attributed to a slackening of the vigilance of Dona Sinhá and to a poor overseer. It was at the end of this year that Seu Paulo assumed the position of overseer of the plantation. The following year showed a great improvement which has continued, for the 1950-51 harvest produced 6,000 tons, the highest output of any private plantation in the Recôncavo. Future harvests are expected to go well above this. In addition to changing the overseer, and in the following year the foreman, Dona Sinhá was able to borrow enough money to purchase the tractor mentioned earlier. The next year, as a result of the evident success of the new combination, two four- 249* 43 [426] [407] [493]

3: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Private Plantation]

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TABLE 1
PRODUCTION, COSTS, PROFITS: FAZENDA DAS MOÇAS

1947-1948	
4,000 tons of cane at the selling price of Cr$81,40 a ton	Cr$325.600,00
Cost of production	206.244,00
Profit	119.356,00
1948-1949	
2,500 tons of cane at Cr$88,90	222.250,00
Cost of production	225.198,00
Loss	32.948,00
1949-1950	
5,000 tons of cane at Cr$107,40	537.000,00
Cost of production	319.248,00
Profit	217.751,00

[407] wheeled carts were added which could be drawn by the tractor,
[493] thus cutting down transportation costs. Recently a jeep was acquired to pull the carts, and a second tractor equipped with the mechanism to cultivate cane fields was purchased.

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Still, the plantation is heavily in debt, and any profits are immediately used for improvements or for paying off debts. Moreover, the cost of tractors, jeeps, and fertilizer is very high since they are imported products. Because of the dollar exchange rate their cost is extravagantly high in Brazil, compared with the United States. In addition, the plantation is still burdened with the old equipment and the necessity of pasture for the oxen, which cuts down the acreage available for plant-
[492] ing. Animal traction cannot yet be entirely dispensed with, because of the condition of the soil in winter. The problem of

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maintaining the old system of work as well as introducing the new, which can only slowly pay for itself, is considerable. Dona Sinhá is faced with the dilemma of difficult natural conditions which, while good in many ways for sugar cane, impede

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the application of modern techniques. She is also faced with personnel problems in relation to the overseer. One solution is clearly apparent and has been adopted by Dona Sinhá: to spend more and more time on the plantation, sharing more and more work with Seu Paulo. This of course is a complete break with the past traditions of the plantation master. It is a difficult break for both parties concerned. Dona Sinhá misses her city

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chang. New faces and basically different relationships prevail a Usina São Pedro.

Ar r change, but this time in tune with the past, was an increase of capital, applied to the improvement of the factory. The capacity of the mill has been greatly enlarged. However, the agricultural part of the combination continues as it did before, with no innovations. The result is that the factory is able to mill and produce sugar much more quickly than it can be supplied with sugar cane. The hierarchical aspect of the factory as earlier diagrammed remains the same, and each plantation is still run as a separate unit.

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In contrast, the private plantation in the community of Vila Recôncavo has undergone relatively little change in these five years. Always the most conservative element in the Recôncavo, the private plantation continues to retain its distinguishing feature: the personal, face-to-face, paternalistic owner-worker relations. The hierarchical pattern remains the same. Operations are still basically hand- and animal-powered, but private planters are slowly introducing mechanization in certain aspects of the process, especially that of transportation; trucks and tractor-drawn wagons carry cane from the fields to the factory. Tractors and mechanical plows are used to an increasingly large extent in the preparation of the soil, and mechanical cultivators are already in use on some plantations. However, the bulk of the work is still done by hand, and traction is supplied by oxen and mules. As yet no mechanical loaders, ditch-diggers, or planters have appeared, and little use is made of fertilization or herbicides. Few scientific agricultural practices are in use. The planter is still first and foremost a "practical" man.

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Relations between the factory and the private plantations have also undergone considerable change, in both business and social aspects. The new managers of the factory have succeeded in almost completely alienating the private planters who supply them with sugar cane. Not only the members of the extended Conde family, but also other cane suppliers resented the highhanded, brusque methods of the new managers. Wishing to break completely with the past, the new managers instituted several new policies in relations with the cane suppliers. Formerly the private suppliers bought sugar by the sack, bought their supplies at the company store, and had their machines repaired at the company workshops, paying for such services at the end of the harvest season. The sup-

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2t Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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*249 pliers were presented with accounts showing how much cane
571 had been sent to the mill, the price, how much the factory had
452 paid the bank on the supplier's loans, how much had been ad-
● 407 vanced the supplier for his cane, and how much was still owed
178 the supplier, discounting the costs of services received from
*249 the factory facilities. This has been traditional practice, not
571 only at Usina São Pedro, but also at the other factories of the
407 area. Now, however, Usina São Pedro expects to receive
437 cash at the moment of the transaction for each such service
the supplier receives. In addition, the factory has gradually
cut down on the number of services it offers the suppliers.
This has been particularly serious regarding services of the
mechanics, as the private suppliers have no other source of
repair for their machines except in the city; taking them into
the city costs a great deal of time and is more expensive than
were the services performed by the factory mechanics.

178 The new managers at first charged an automatic discount
*249 upon the cane tonnage supplied by each private plantation. This
571 resulted in a considerable loss of money at the end of the year
432 for each private supplier, thereby straining even more the
[656] relations which daily were becoming more and more disagree-
able. Any question of scale and tonnage is a touchy one for
private planters, who sell their cane by the weight. The dis-
count charged on general principles by the factory was so
serious a matter that several of the private suppliers united
and called the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol to their defense
and succeeded in correcting the situation. This was a "first"
for Usina São Pedro, where such a thing had never before
happened, and where such a recourse is considered an ex-
treme.

178 Social relationships between the private planters and the
*249 managers of the factory are almost nonexistent. Whereas a
571 few years ago the factory was the central gathering point for
the social life of the planters of the area, it is now a place to
be avoided. In addition to making working conditions difficult,
the new managers and their families are "outsiders" in this
small, closed plantation society, with different backgrounds
and manners. As a result of the new conditions, the private
planters are spending more time on their plantations than be-
fore, but their social life rotates from one plantation to an-
other, skipping the factory nucleus. This pattern is also re-
flected in the activities of the resident workers, who are up-
set at the treatment shown to the older employees of the fac-

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242 can collect bananas, which should pay for the operating costs
[434] while waiting for the cacao to mature.

At the end of a five- or six-year period, the shade tree is usually large enough to provide sufficient shade, and the banana trees are gradually removed. At the same time the cacao begins to give its fruit, and one can then consider himself a cacauicultor.

178 Several planters in Vila Recôncavo are at the banana-manioc
245 planting stage, and have met with their first serious labor
461 problem. No one wants to work in banana and manioc fields,
464 as the work is arduous and slow. Machines are not available
[407] for the mechanical cultivation of manioc, so the work must be done by hand. The work is slowly being accomplished, but at costs which will make the manioc a considerable liability.

178 Nevertheless, in spite of these difficulties, there is con-
245 siderable interest in cacao in Vila Recôncavo, and cacao must
433 be considered as an element of change in the community which
*[249] will have far-reaching effects. The area of sugar production will be considerably reduced, requiring adjustments on the part of the factories, which represent large financial investments. Furthermore, cacao is a fairly simple product to process--its conversion into chocolate is usually done after export --and so it is quite likely that each plantation will return to the older aspect of the plantation, both growing and processing the crop, and become once again a highly self-sufficient unit.
[571] This would of course bring about a new alignment of socio-economic relations and would undoubtedly alter the community structure.

178 A third principal cause of change in Vila Recôncavo is the
315 growth of a new and potent industry within the community and
433 throughout the county. This new industry is the nascent Brazilian petroleum industry. Exploratory work was done in Vila Recôncavo in 1950 and 1951 under the guidance of the Conselho Nacional de Petroleo. Since that date a nationalized company, Petrobrás, has been formed to exploit the oil fields which lie under the topsoil of the county of Vila Recôncavo. Petrobrás has brought in several hundred oil wells and has built roads, pipelines, storage tanks, and machine shops. Just outside the limits of the community, but within the county, it has built its oil refinery and has created a small new, modern city to
[425] house the technical workers of the refinery and the field. On land expropriated from the Usina São Pedro it has also con-

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from the competition of other sugar-producing areas. Abolition was [471]
the factor which, in many cases, simply ended a struggle several [567]
decades old.

The overall production of sugar in the Recôncavo was already [433]
dropping noticeably at the time of abolition, and it continued to
decrease afterwards. At the end of the last century, state-supported [567]
usinas, or large mechanical factories for milling sugar cane, were [654]
opened in an effort to stimulate sugar production. At the same time,
various other *usinas* were opened by private capital. These central [471]
mills received and processed the sugar cane of many plantations.
The *usina* had the advantage of freeing the planter from the worries [433]
of milling and marketing the sugar, allowing him to concentrate on
higher production of sugar cane, while the mechanized *usina* was
able to produce more sugar out of the cane, thus increasing pro-
duction. This system of sugar production proved relatively lucrative, [471]
and the government *usinas* passed into private hands. The owners of
usinas bought as many neighbouring plantations as possible, and in [473]
this way the *usineiros*, as they were called, became at the same time
the mill owners and sugar-cane planters—employers of factory
workers and of agricultural workers. The plantations which did not
pass into the hands of an *usina* became *fornecedores*, supplying cane
to one or another large sugar mill.

The *usina* system, however, in many respects did little to change 249
the traditional plantation system. The plantations belonging to 178
usineiros continue as separate units; each generally had an adminis-
trator, a man responsible to the *usineiro*, who is in charge of the
plantation. As a rule the administrator, who is an employee of the
usina, lives in the old *sobrado*, the former residence of the *senhor do
engenho*, as the old plantation owners were known. The workers on
the plantations and their families frequently still live in *senzala*-like
houses, usually a long narrow building under one roof divided into
separate apartments of two or three rooms. Despite many changes of
technology, many examples of the old and the new exist side by side
on these Recôncavo plantations. On the same plantation both me- [407]
chanical tractor and ox traction may be used to pull plows. There [492]
are workers' houses side by side, one with electricity and a radio, and
another using candles and kerosene lamps. Furthermore, the hier- [365]
archy of workers and specialists in sugar-cane raising persists little
modified from the early nineteenth century. There are the field
hands, the ox-cart drivers, the artisans and other specialists. The [463]
plantation is also approximately the same size as it was in the early
nineteenth century (although several may be the property of one
company nowadays) and it has about the same number of hired
workers as it had slaves before.

But the *usina* system and other outside influences have made for
many fundamental changes in the Recôncavo. In the very large 000

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 311 Southwest of the estuary of the Rio Paraguaçu, in Maragogipe and São Filipe, the crop pattern becomes very complex, as is shown by the relative distribution of cropland in São Filipe:

Manioc	33	per cent
Sugar cane	28	" "
Coffee	25	" "
Tobacco	11	" "
Peanuts	1	" "
Corn	1	" "

Plus small areas of beans, oranges, bananas, sweet potatoes, and coconut.

174 245 249 311 It is very likely that there has been a historical connection between the coffee culture of São Filipe and the main coffee zone far to the southwest. Apparently the development of tobacco cultivation in Santo Antônio has severed this connection.

249 244 221 Cultivation Systems--Tobacco and Manioc. The "ideal" system of cultivation of tobacco and manioc[1] in the tobacco-manioc region has the following general patterns:

(1) In mid-February a small tract, very commonly with an area of one tarefa[2] but sometimes larger, is cleared in the capoéira de caatinga (second-growth scrub-forest) or the capoéira de mata (second-growth littoral forest). Generally the capoéira is low brush, two to five [412] feet tall, which is easily cut with a facão--a long heavy knife which is a universal agricultural tool. Any heavy waste material that can be moved is dragged away from the plot; if there are tree stumps, they will not be grubbed out.[3] Sometimes the waste material on the surface of the field is burned, but this is by no means universal.

(2) A favored spot, either within the cleared field or in the adjoining capoéira, is prepared for a seed bed. Usually a site on the edge of a wood or near a steep slope is selected. Any available waste materials--corn stalks, old tobacco plants, weeds, brush, pieces of wood, and the like--are piled on the small plot, allowed to dry, and then burned.

249 cultivation which is monocultural and highly standardized. As has been indicated, small scale sugar cane cultivation--in house gardens--is omnipresent in the Recôncavo. The area in such garden cane, however, can scarcely be as much as one per cent of the total cropland.

249 471 Within the Central Recôncavo sugar cane is grown principally to supply a relatively small number of sugar usinas. The usinas either own and operate or rent and operate the cane plantations or have a stable relationship with those plantations from which they buy cane. Under these circumstances it is both necessary and relatively easy to standardize the methods of production and cultivation. The industrial aspects of sugar production will be discussed in the section on processing.

249 The general system of sugar cane cultivation involves a five-year sequence:

[407] [492] (1) The land is broken with a large ox-drawn, wooden plow. The same plow opens parallel furrows, two to three feet apart, into which are laid pieces of cane stalk, cut from specially grown seed cane. The seed cane is then covered with hoes and packed with bare feet. Planting usually takes place during the last of the wet season--August and early September--to a lesser extent during the cane harvest--mid-September to mid-March--and at the end of the harvest in the autumn, if possible. Usually, however, the ground is too wet for planting during the months of May to August.

• [412] (2) The cane is weeded frequently with a knife or a hoe. After a year of growth it is cut and carted away to the railroad. The leaves and upper stalk are left on the field and after drying are burned, except for some small part which is used as fodder.

(3) When the roots sprout again, the field is weeded and kept clean as the second-year cane develops; and after a year, the cane is harvested again. Generally this re-growth is repeated three times, so that there are four harvests for each planting.

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Private Plantation]

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1 new, rural school, with rooms for classes and living quarters for teacher, constructed by the state on land donated by Dona Sinhá

Value of the plantation: Cr$1,500,000,00.[3]

Equipment: 1 Caterpillar tractor, model D2
1 John Deere plow
1 jeep
2 four-wheeled, rubber-tired wagons
9 juntas of oxen (the junta equals ten oxen, eight in use and two resting)
9 two-wheeled carts drawn by oxen--the antique and most used transportation in the Recôncavo
30 burros for carrying cane
12 saddle horses
35 milk cows and breeding mares
78 cattle for breeding purposes

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The Fazenda das Moças is unusual in its possession of a tractor, a mechanical plow, and a jeep. (Even more recently a second tractor and a mechanical cultivator have been added.) More commonly the pai adão (Father Adam) plow is used, drawn by eight oxen. According to Pinho the plow was introduced into Brazil in the late eighteenth century. Before this all cultivation was done with the hoe.[4] For the past 150 years the pai adão has been used primarily to open the rows in which the sugar cane is planted. All the rest of the cultivation is done by hand, with the hoe and billhook. The pai adão is a simple plow with a single plowshare. When it is drawn by oxen, a driver is needed, plus a small boy helper and another man to manage the plow. When it is drawn by tractor, only two men are needed, the driver and the plowman. Various properties of the soil, such as its hardness in the summer when it dries, its swamplike character during the rainy season, and the danger of turning up the infertile tauá which underlies the shallow layer of massapê, have made plowing difficult in the Re-

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3. The cruzeiro (Cr$) is the Brazilian monetary unit and equals roughly five cents in United States currency. Thus the value of the plantation is approximately $75,000.00.

4. de Araujo Pinho, Historia de um engenho do Recôncavo, 1522-1944 (Rio de Janeiro, 1946), p. 243.

lending money or even giving some to the overseer. Some of the members of Class B even acquire property in Salvador or in Centro, such as a house or houses which they may rent. It is the possession of this material wealth, plus the position of responsibility and authority, the greater proximity to the owner, and the invariably legalized status of the man's family which distinguish him from those below, placing him in a class by himself. In the case of the higher-placed white-collar workers of the factory, education is also important.

In material possessions other than those already listed, Class B differs considerably from the other two classes, having much less than Class A but much more than Class C. Their houses are always better and larger than those of the workers, and they usually have electricity supplied by the plantation. They generally have complete sets of manufactured dining and living room furniture, better bedroom furniture than the scanty belongings of the workers, china, rather than the clay dishes (nagé) of the workers, and table service for as many as a dozen persons. Usually their clothes are better and more numerous. Overseers are well known for their use of khaki coats, shirts, ties, and riding breeches, their well-polished leather boots and their felt hats, in contrast with the more informal sports clothes of the landowners and with the ragged, tight trousers and shirt and the straw hat of the shoeless rural worker.

Class B in the town of Vila Recôncavo is represented by Group 1 as described in the preceding chapter, with a few exceptions such as the minor municipal employees and a few of the smaller-scale merchants and lower-rated petroleum workers. Because there are no representatives of Class A in the town, Class B represents the top of the urban social scale. It is a class which has long existed in the town and which has always been composed of more or less the same occupation groups. For the most part, members of this stratum live on the hill which constitutes the old part of Vila Recôncavo, and seldom go down to the newer section. There are fourteen persons residing in town, plus their eight children, who are considered pure Caucasoid; they are all members of this local upper class. Three of them are foreign-born Franciscans who do not participate in much of public life once their official duties are completed. The others are brancos da terra ("whites of the land," a term which will be explained later in this chap-

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4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOil Bahia Brazilians SOil

[City of Salvador]

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The valleys, on the other hand, afford less comfortable, less healthful, less convenient, and, consequently, less expensive residential locations. Here the regularly laid out streets and paving disappear. The inhabitants get about by way of footpaths, the red clay of which becomes slippery after a tropical downpour and quite treacherous on the steeper slopes. Here live the lower classes. Dwellings are simple mud huts constructed of a sapling framework over which puddled clay has been spread and allowed to dry. If the owner's income has permitted, the rough exterior of the dwellings has been smoothed off and a lime wash in pale tints of pink, blue, green, or yellow added. The floor is commonly of earth, neatly sanded at regular intervals with fresh *areia* from the seashore. The roof of such dwellings is usually of palm fronds and may be slightly raised at the gable to permit the more ready exit of smoke from the housewife's fire. The furniture ordinarily consists of rude benches or stools, perhaps a cheap chair, a rough table, and cots, or, more commonly, straw mats for sleeping. A Standard Oil Company can whose top and bottom have been removed is used for a stove. Furnishings include an unpretentious niche with a small image of the family's patron saint, a candle, perhaps an almanac, and a rude iron support for washbasin and pitcher of water. Utensils are usually of baked clay and quite simple in design.

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In respect to economic level, education, and, to some extent, religion, the inhabitants of these lower-class areas diverge widely from those of the ridges. They are usually illiterate, although some of the children are now being enrolled in government-sponsored schools. Communication is ordinarily by word of mouth, seldom by newspaper, book, or telephone. Conversation is carried on in the Portuguese

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4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

565 Although the Bahian upper classes, owing to their Negro 262 cooks, are not unacquainted with those dishes of African 177 origin so commonly eaten in the homes of lower-class blacks, 263 one does not ordinarily find on their tables African delicacies like *abará*, *aberém*, *acassá*, *acaragé*, *arroz de Aussá*, *bóbó de inhame*, *carurú*, *efó*, *xin-xin*, etc., each of which is seasoned according to recipes handed down from African forebears who also extensively made use of African seasonings like *azeite de dendê*, *atarê*, *irú*, *pejerecum*, *iêrê*, and *egussi*.[18] The eating habits of the upper classes are, in general, European in origin. But the poorer inhabitants extensively utilize banana leaves for plates and for packaging foods and replace forks with fingers as eating accessories.

565 264 [177] [824]

The music and dances enjoyed by large numbers of the darker population further distinguish this portion of the Bahian community. For instance, the *samba*, or *samba batida*, a regional form of the old *batuque*, although it has now been taken over by the upper classes and in a modified form become not only one of the most characteristic musical forms but also one of the favorite dances of Brazil, is still enjoyed in its primitive simplicity by the Bahian lower classes. With them it is a dance in which first one and then another of the participants enters a circle, dances a shuffling step while singing, cantor-fashion, the first line of a stanza, the others responding as a chorus. A song very popular at Mar Grande on the island of Itaparica in the bay at Bahia recalls the

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[18] *Azeite de dendê* is oil from the *dendê* palm; *atarê*, said to have been imported from Africa by Bahian Negroes, is a variety of pepper; *egussi* are gourd or melon pips; *iêrê* are seeds similar to those of the coriander; *irú* and *pejerecum* (or *bejerecum*) are varieties of small beans. For recipes of a number of these dishes see Manoel Raymundo Querino, *A arte culinaria na Bahia* (Bahia, 1928).

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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help me get better, they took me up off the ground.[42] Then my mother called in Mamêdê [the local *pae de santo*], to see what was the matter with me. He came, *abriu a mesa*[43] and said that this had been with me from my birth. My mother then asked him if he could cure it. He said he could. He made her buy plates, *moringues*,[44] beads, cups, coconuts, etc. Then he prepared all that.[45] They washed my head with water from the sacred leaves. My mother asked if he could take that thing away so that it would not come back again. He said he would not dare to do that, or I would die. He said it always came back.

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When it returned, they washed my head again. I did not know what was going on. It was as if I had slept. When I awakened, I was all "prepared": dressed *de creola* with a *saia grande* and a *torso* on my head. Everything red. *Sandalias* too. Everything the same color.

When this happened I was still small. The *pae de santo* said that I was under a spell [*era encanto*]. He "did the work" once more, and I was all right again. But when I was seven years old, it took hold of me once more. My mother was afraid and begged the *pae de santo* to do something about it. She pleaded so earnestly that finally he said he would speak with the enchantment [*encanto*] so that it would not come down any more.

It didn't come back until I was fifteen years old. Then they arranged another dress *de creola*, and also handkerchiefs, strings of beads, bracelets, and *sandalias*. They ordered plates, small glasses, and *quartinhas* bought. When all this was ready, the *pae de santo* washed my head in sacred water. He said it was the "owner of my head" [*dono da minha cabeça*] who had done that to me. There in Cachoeira, across the river from São Felix,[46] is the *casa de Gêge*.[47] The *pae de santo* is the grandson of an African.

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[42] That is, she was removed from the reed mat which, placed directly upon the floor of a hut, is extensively used among the poorer families for sleeping purposes.

[43] That is, he set up certain means of divination.

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[44] Water pots made of red clay.

[45] That is, he submitted it to the proper ritual.

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[46] Cachoeira and São Felix are twin cities, separated by the Paraguassú River, located across the Bay to the north of the city of Bahia.

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[47] The *candomblé* of the Gêge cult in which she had now been inducted.

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tatorial regime of Getulio Vargas. One of the last of these was a son of the county who wished to leave a permanent remembrance of his family in the town. Most of the work was done by local labor, which brought a certain measure of prosperity to the town. Certainly the appearance of the town changed. New façades were added to many houses; others were freshly painted in gay colors; and some people constructed cement sidewalks in front of their homes. At night the streets are brighter because of the electric street lights (which are turned off at midnight) and because of the rays of bright electric light passing through the cracks of the closed window shutters and doors.

Almost every evening at dusk, however, the electric power of the countryside is shut off for at least an hour because of inadequate generating facilities at the main plant, leaving the countryside and small towns in darkness. At this hour the town returns to its past, and one seems to be in an era one, two, or three hundred years ago. Tiny oil lamps (fifós) are lighted, or an occasional kerosene lamp, the soft and short-reaching rays of which barely penetrate the heavy darkness of the house and do not reach the street. A hush falls over the town during the spell of darkness. All the old fears of shadows, malevolence, and lobishomens (werewolves) return. The family congregates in one room, for no one wants to be alone, speaking softly as though not to break the spell. The streets are suddenly emptied, and the silence is broken only by the occasional forlorn braying of a donkey left wandering outside.

Without light there is no life in Vila Recôncavo. The evening religious service is delayed; the movie is delayed; the bar closes. One thinks of the impermanence of the new prosperity, remembering how quickly the moist salt air can blacken the gayest colored building, how the heavy rains can wash away the foundation of a mud house, how fast the weeds can grow in the cracks of the pavement, and how by the flick of a switch in some faraway place the magical lights are removed. A heavy gloom settles over the town and remains until, as suddenly as they went off, the lights return. Life picks up again, radios blare forth at fullest volume, and Vila Recôncavo once again is grateful for light and life, however impermanent.

Although this is a traditional area, few local people know its history. Only a few can provide historical data going back further than one generation, and even fewer know anything of what lies behind the "glorious past" of Vila Recôncavo, a

[The Private Plantation]

côncavo. So far only the pai adão has been able to fulfill the plowing requirements. Lately, however, tractors with caterpillar tread have been introduced and, when used carefully with disk plows, have given excellent results. But the old standby is still commonly in use, hitched to eight, ten, twelve, or as many as twenty oxen. 249*1 407 [492]

The owner's house with its park stands on a small hilltop and is visible from afar because of its imperial palms. Nearby, on another hilltop, is the settlement of workers, a long street with houses on either side, the barracks, a small store, and the ever-present casa de farinha, the house where manioc is always being ground, pressed, and roasted to make the farina which is the staple food of the area. Also on this street is the overseer's house, which stands out from the others because of its large size and its veranda. The houses of the workmen are small and built for the most part under one long, common roof. Each house is really an apartment consisting of a front living room and a long corridor going back to the kitchen, with one or two bedrooms leading off the corridor. Other houses, under separate roofs, have similar interior arrangements. The roofs are of red tiles, the rest of the house of clay mud (taipa) slapped on both sides of a bamboo framework. After the mud has dried a coat of whitewash is applied. The houses are built and kept in repair by the plantation owner and do not belong to the workers. The floors are of beaten earth, difficult to keep clean. At night, when only a tiny oil lamp is burning, the houses look dark and gloomy. 249* 361 [252] [262] 249* 342 [356] [423] [416]

After dark one has the impression of hearing much more than one can see. Kerosene is expensive to burn, no one reads, and most of life is geared to doing in the daytime those tasks which require light. At night the workmen and their families sit in the dark talking, or perhaps go to the casa de farinha where a fellow workman and his family may be grinding their manioc. This building is softly lit with kerosene lamps and there is a cheerful glow from the roasting fire. More recently the overseer's house has been equipped with electricity, and now it is always well lighted at night. His new radio has become a center of attraction and small groups form about his veranda, listening. At the other end of the street, during harvest time, there is always a bonfire in front of the barracks where the migrant workers are sheltered. On special occasions there may be a samba (dance), perhaps in the plantation owner's house. Then everyone dons his best and the 249* 517 [535]

*565 tation administration are over. In general, however, neither the children nor the parents mix with the permanent residents of Vila Recôncavo. Although as small children they may have a worker's son as a constant playmate, by the time they are teenagers this relationship has usually faded into a fond memory.

*565 458 The standard of living of this class is far above that of any of the other local groups. It is important to realize that because of the fluctuations of the sugar market, members of this class have not always had fluid wealth at their command, while at other periods they have been undeniably wealthy. But even during a slump they have been able to raise money when necessary. One of the major reasons that planters turned to the professions was the need to assure themselves of a continued income when the sugar market falls. At such times their main activities are directed toward earning a living in the city. But at those times when sugar producing is profitable the practicing of the activities becomes a strain, and one or the other *565 511 must suffer. Nevertheless, at any time these people have earned enough to maintain a standard of living which compares favorably with that of the upper class in any large city. Households are complete with refrigerators, radios, and other electrical appliances which must be imported. Many have automobiles, receive magazines from abroad, follow Parisian dress styles, take interest in international affairs, and in general lead a life of wide interests. In the rural zone their houses are much better than those of any others, often having running water, electricity, and a full range of service provided by servants. Usually the household servants move from country to city with the family.

[416] [207] [184] [357] [166]

*565 571 Class B in the rural zone of the community is made up of plantation overseers, factory technicians, and white-collar workers of the factory offices. It is almost as small as Class A, comprising about twenty adult members. As in the case of the planters, who associate with other planters outside the community, the overseers of various plantations have reunions. There is much more social contact between the overseers and the mass of workers, however, than between the planters and the workers. The planters usually know all the workers on their plantations, as well as their families; but although there is frequent visiting and chatting between the women of the two groups and between the males of the two groups, there is little basis for conversation. The planta-

[574]

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

things African" that he is occasionally called to Pernambuco, four hundred miles up the Brazilian coast, to carry out special rituals which cult members in that city are unable to perform. Of the *candomblé*, he says, "The Nagô worships nature because he is realistic and wants to see what he worships. He can't see the Catholics' God." 794

The *barracão* here is about fifty feet by thirty, with roof and one end thatched with palm fronds, and floor freshly sanded. By nightfall it is gaily decorated with paper streamers, most of which are white; some, however, are red, blue, green, or yellow. A large and neat placard, which one of the *ogans* proudly says was painted by his daughter, a first-year student at the Escola Normal, bears the inscription: "Centro Cruz Santa do Aché de Okô Afonjá," a combination of Portuguese and Nagô which means "Sacred Cross Center of the Brothers and Sisters of the Temple of Xangô." Chairs to accommodate the priestess, the elderly Negro woman, and the old Negro man have been placed on a dais to the left of the musicians. The spectators are carefully excluded from the dancing space in front of the drums by railings patrolled by *ogans*. On the end wall hang three white pennants bearing respectively, the inscriptions, "Viva Oxalá," "Viva Oxun," and "Viva Aryra," and one red pennant with the words, "Viva Xangô." 794 346 352 353

The *filhas*, all of whom are escorted into the *barracão* under a white sheet held by *ogans* who also light the procession with flaming torches, number seventeen, all of whom are blacks, with the exception of two dark mulattoes. Of the *ogans*, fourteen are blacks, eleven are mulattoes, six of whom are dark mixed-bloods, and one is a Portuguese immigrant who came to Brazil some thirty years ago and now owns a small retail establishment in the Lower City. 794 [416]

5: Azevedo--106 D. Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[Salvador]

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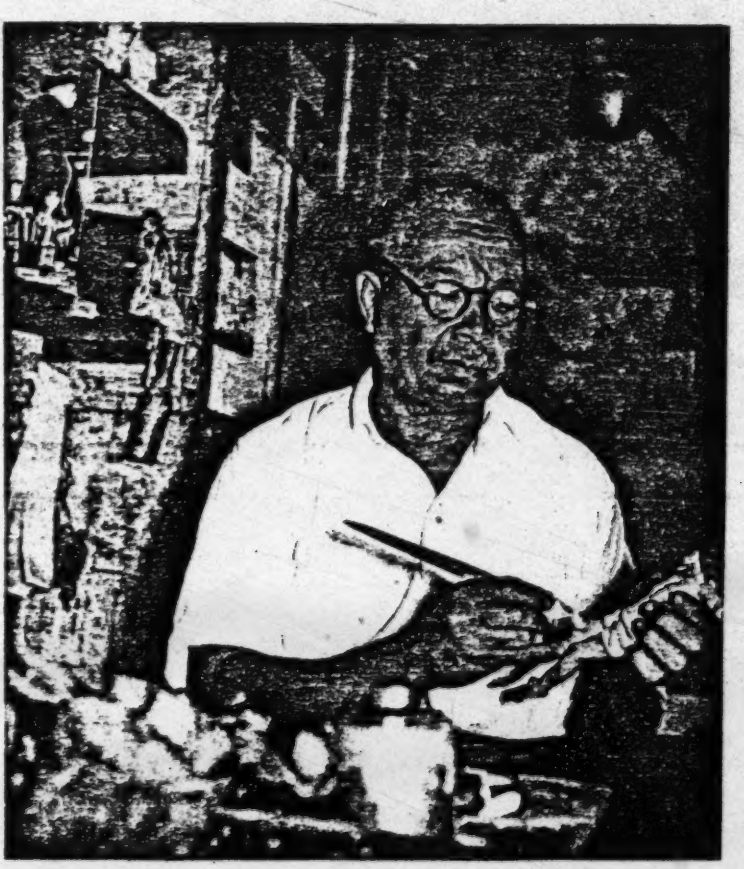

10. A colored artisan.

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221 (3) When the first rains come, the soil of both the seed bed and the fields are worked up with a hoe so that all vegetable matter is buried and all weeds turned under.

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[417] (4) If possible the land is fertilized. Under "ideal" circumstances cattle are penned nightly over the area by means of a small temporary corral. The corral may be maintained for a long period over the seed bed, but on the field it is moved frequently so that the whole area is fertilized. Generally the resulting manure is left exposed to the sun and rain until planting time. However, this "ideal" method of fertilization is rare. A very large number of tobacco cultivators have no cattle—they are too poor and their operations are too small for livestock. Most cattle are held by fazendéiros (ranchers) who do not themselves grow tobacco. Moreover, the intensiveness of cultivation keeps the cattle population too small to provide enough manure for all local needs. Usually it is necessary to buy fertilizer. Cattle manure is sometimes purchased from a local fazendéiro. More and more, however, the tobacco cultivators are dependent upon cattle, or better still, goat manure which is trucked into the Recôncavo from the sertão. The manure is spread over the seed bed to a depth of about one inch and over the field in such depth as the quantity allows.

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221 (5) From mid-April to the end of May, depending upon the weather and the condition of the tobacco field, the seeds are planted. Almost without exception the seeds are taken from completely exhausted tobacco plants of the previous year, plants no longer able to produce salable leaf. The soil is broken open and loosened, and the seeds are sown directly into the fertilizer. Since the fertility of the seeds is very low, they are sown very thickly. The seed bed is fenced but is rarely covered. In sixty to seventy days the seedlings are ready for transplanting.

[Class A Families]

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596 All these dishes are served with rice, potatoes, farina, and
527 cooked vegetable salads. Then fruits are served, followed by
262 a series of desserts including puddings, ice cream, and cakes.
[272] The meal is concluded with a demitasse (cafèzinho). Lunch is usually served at midday, and afterwards the guests generally break into small groups, talk, sleep, play cards, or stroll about the garden. In midafternoon a small merenda (snack) is served for those who want it, consisting of cake and
*565 demitasse, and in the evening ceia (supper) is served, in-
596 cluding cold cuts, salads, and dessert. After this the group
527 may go en masse to the movies, either at the Petroleum Camp
[546] or in the town of Vila Recôncavo. Or, if in gay spirits, they may spend the evening dancing in the living room to popular
[535] records. People go to these almoços by horseback, jeep, truck, or sometimes, in a spirit of fun, by oxcart. Hospital-
[492] ity has for hundreds of years been the tradition of the rural landowners, who envelop guests with an overabundance of
[493] everything. One planter always has the dining-room table set for at least ten people, although only he and his wife live
*565 in the house. Others have the reputation of always providing
574 a good meal for anyone who passes at mealtime.

The decreasing size of families, the shift in individual employment from agriculture to the professions, and this cen-
423 tury's change to large-scale industrial holdings for the pro-
178 duction of sugar have caused some differences in land ten-
428 ure and, hence, inheritance. The Recôncavo is not an area in which land title was ever vague or lost as was often the case in the sertão. Land was always scarce here, for the desirable massapê soils are limited in extent. The plantations of today for the most part fall into one of two categories: those which have been in the hands of one family for a century or more, and those which were bought after the abolition of slavery by newcomers to the Recôncavo or by those who already had plantations and at a time of falling value bought new ones from the creditors who had taken them over from their former owners for debt. In both cases title passed free and clear. The common form of inheritance is for one half of the estate to go to the widow and the other half to be divided among other heirs.

178 A century ago, it was common for plantation masters to
• 42 have extensive holdings, not only in the Recôncavo, but also in other parts of the state, as well as houses and even commercial buildings in the city of Salvador. In addition to this,

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Class A Families]

[Class B Families]

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such families also usually had fairly extensive accumulations of silver service, china and crystal, and linens. It was the custom for such possessions to be distributed among the heirs as separate items. One son would receive a plantation in the Recôncavo, another a ranch in the sertão; a daughter might receive a full and valuable set of table service, or perhaps a whole house and its furnishings in Salvador. Single plantations were almost never divided, unless they were large enough to make such a division practicable. Property divisions were often made rather arbitrarily by the family patriarch, and were often bitterly disputed by the heirs after his death. Slaves were also part of the property divided, although it was not infrequent that certain favorite slaves were freed at such a time. In other cases, the favorite slave of a son or daughter would be willed to him by the father. Through inheritances and constant divisions, the former large holdings of these aristocratic families came to be well broken up.

Today in the event of a death in a family, there is often only one plantation in which the heirs may share. However, the plantation is rarely divided. In some cases where there is no strong emotional tie to the plantation, the heirs may sell it outright and share the proceeds. Another solution has been to rent the plantation to a factory and thereby delay the final solution. Still another has been for one of the heirs to take over the management of the plantation, paying a rental fee to the other heirs. A final solution is often reached by allowing one of the heirs to purchase the plantation from his coinheritors, and in this way the plantation and its traditions remain in the family, and are to some extent shared by all members of the extended family.

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The problem of land disposal exists only for the private plantation. In the case of factory lands, ownership is corporate. Death of the holder of shares in the corporation does not affect the land tenure, which goes on as before. His shares in the corporation are simply distributed among his heirs.

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The family pattern in Class B is quite different from that which has just been described. Although the conjugal family is equally small and shows the same trend toward diminution, there is never the extent or strength of the extended family which exists in Class A. In Vila Recôncavo, with only one exception, Class B families are only conjugal units without local tradition of generations in the area, for either they are couples who have recently come to the town in governmental

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Sugar cane has proved to grow especially well with the combination of warmth, rain, and massapê, and the soil has been producing the same crop for almost four hundred years. The area of massapê is sharply defined, for at its farthest edges the land rises to the regions of sandy scrub forest and desert which characterize what has been called the "other northeast"[2] or the sertão.

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The surface of the sugar-Recôncavo is characterized by rolling fields cut by shallow valleys. Although the massapê is not subject to erosion, the other soils, where exposed, are. During the rainy winter season much damage is done, especially to the roads, which for the most part follow the non-massapê soils.

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Underneath the soil of the sugar-Recôncavo there are recently discovered oil deposits. The quantity of oil has not yet been determined, for the explorations are still going on. However, the national government has already begun to exploit the oil, which is close to the surface. Under Brazilian law, subsoil resources belong to the national government and not to the owner of the lands. As a result there has been a small-scale invasion of petroleum workers on the privately owned lands of the sugar-cane planters. To date, this has not interrupted the agricultural routine to any great extent, at least not in Vila Recôncavo. In Conselho (see map of community), where the drilling was first started, the government bought the land from the individuals and the sugar mill corporation owning it and has turned once green fields of sugar cane into bare fields, spotted here and there with oil wells. The former agriculturalists have had to leave the area or become laborers in the oil camps and refinery.

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The Recôncavo is one of the most densely populated regions in Brazil. It is an area of 6,500 square kilometers, with a population of 683,000 in 1940, distributed in 14 counties including the capital. It has an average density of 106 inhabitants per square kilometer,[3] in comparison with the average density of the state of Bahia, which is 7 persons per square kilometer, and with the national average of 5 persons per square kilometer.[4] It must be remembered that these figures include

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 13]

2. Preston James, Latin America (New York, 1942), p. 411.
3. Aroldo de Azevedo, "Recôncavo da Bahia," Revista da Universidade de São Paulo, I (1950), 14.
4. T. Lynn Smith, Brazil (Baton Rouge, 1947), p. 131.

000 health post, and the bar have refrigerators. On Saturday and
546 Sunday nights there is a movie, the same film being shown both nights.

491 There are only two roads leading out of the town. One goes
492 northwest to Centro, following a ridge which leads along the river through a section of poor soil devoted to gardens of man-
484 ioc and bananas. On horseback it is a trip of approximately two hours to Centro. The other road leads northeast into the sugar-cane fields and to the sugar factory and then continues east, eventually leading to the oil fields of Conselho and out onto the major Bahian artery from Salvador to the interior city of Feira de Santana. The journey from Vila Recôncavo to the main highway takes about four hours on horseback. Although the local road, made during the empire and part of the public domain, is called the "royal road," it is really only one-track dirt. In the summer it affords a hard surface because the hot sun bakes the earth, but during the winter it turns into a river of mud. During the rainy season the layer of clay underneath the topsoil holds the water, turning the roads into practically impassable quagmires. The situation becomes even worse just after the rains end and the surface dries, for when a man or animal breaks through the dried surface and sinks down into the clay the suction created is difficult to overcome. A trip which during the summer takes half an hour on horseback may take from three to four hours in the winter. The horse must pick and choose each step with the utmost care. During these months travel is extremely fatiguing for horses and mules, and frequent changes of mount are necessary. During this part of the year one avoids making an inland journey if possible, and keeps to the waterways.

491 From Usina to Conselho (see map of community), the road
•[421] has been recently coated with oil, sand, and broken stone by the Conselho Nacional de Petroleo in an attempt to make an all-weather route. The surfacing has proved fairly satisfactory but very expensive. Although this highway follows the old "royal road," it is owned by the conselho. When a plantation owner of the area wishes to pass over it in his car or
[493] jeep, he must secure permission from the conselho office in Salvador. Nevertheless, in the past year this road has proved a boon to the plantation owners, who can now go back and forth
[484] to their homes in the city in about two hours at almost any time of the year, eliminating the long journey by horseback or canoe to the town of Vila Recôncavo to take the boat. The

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433 travel from the city to the plantations by car at almost any
49 season of the year. It is a two-hour trip, considerably more comfortable than the old system of travel by boat and on horseback. In addition, the roads have made it possible for the planters to transport their cane more efficiently, using trucks and tractor-drawn wagons. Along with this, the refinery has led to greater supplies of diesel oil, gasoline, and kerosene, so that it is no longer necessary to transport these items from the city at great cost and delay.

178 The planters have also profited in another manner. Petro-
315 brás invaded the cane fields in its search of oil. It fenced small areas where it drilled and constructed storage tanks,
311 and it took out of cane production a good deal of land for roads
433 and installations. Recently a basis has been reached for paying the planters in a satisfactory manner for the use of the lands.
427 As a result each planter whose land is partially occupied now receives an annual cash payment based on what the occupied
• [421] land could produce. As yet no arrangements have been made for the landowners to participate in the profits of Petrobrás, since all subsoil riches belong to the nation, and therefore in this case to Petrobrás.

178 There has been little social intercourse between the planters
315 and the personnel of Petrobrás, either in the rural area or in the city of Salvador. From time to time the higher echelon
571 employees of Petrobras are invited to larger parties given by the planters, and in return the planters are sometimes invited to parties at the refinery. But the plantation society is so closed and so firmly based on family relationships that it is difficult to maintain steady social relations with newcomers. In addition, the engineers and other specialists of the oil industry are principally oriented toward the capital city, and there is no serious attempt made to establish social relationships with the planters.

The sugar-cane workers for their part are so definitely plantation-oriented that they seek little diversion among the new oil workers. The unmarried field workers of Petrobrás who might be expected to establish relationships with the rural population seldom do so. They live in a fenced barracks area which immediately gives the impression of a group cut off from the rest of society. When they do seek entertainment they go as a rule to the factory nucleus, or to the town of Vila Recôncavo, or to the nearby town of Milagres.

Politically, this influx of new workers has had little in-

[The Private Plantation]

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1 new, rural school, with rooms for classes and living quarters for teacher, constructed by the state on land donated by Dona Sinhá

Value of the plantation: Cr$1,500,000,00.[3]

Equipment: 1 Caterpillar tractor, model D2
1 John Deere plow
1 jeep
2 four-wheeled, rubber-tired wagons
9 juntas of oxen (the junta equals ten oxen, eight in use and two resting)
9 two-wheeled carts drawn by oxen--the antique and most used transportation in the Recôncavo
30 burros for carrying cane
12 saddle horses
35 milk cows and breeding mares
78 cattle for breeding purposes

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The Fazenda das Moças is unusual in its possession of a tractor, a mechanical plow, and a jeep. (Even more recently a second tractor and a mechanical cultivator have been added.) More commonly the pai adão (Father Adam) plow is used, drawn by eight oxen. According to Pinho the plow was introduced into Brazil in the late eighteenth century. Before this all cultivation was done with the hoe.[4] For the past 150 years the pai adão has been used primarily to open the rows in which the sugar cane is planted. All the rest of the cultivation is done by hand, with the hoe and billhook. The pai adão is a simple plow with a single plowshare. When it is drawn by oxen, a driver is needed, plus a small boy helper and another man to manage the plow. When it is drawn by tractor, only two men are needed, the driver and the plowman. Various properties of the soil, such as its hardness in the summer when it dries, its swamplike character during the rainy season, and the danger of turning up the infertile tauá which underlies the shallow layer of massapê, have made plowing difficult in the Re-

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3. The cruzeiro (Cr$) is the Brazilian monetary unit and equals roughly five cents in United States currency. Thus the value of the plantation is approximately $75,000.00.

4. de Araujo Pinho, Historia de um engenho do Recôncavo, 1522-1944 (Rio de Janeiro, 1946), p. 243.

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Town Life]

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two miles west of the town to another well which did not have to serve so many people. Many women also made this trip, with five-gallon cans of water on their heads, and with their children carrying smaller cans.

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In the past many women of this group possessed heirlooms: jewelry handed down to them by their female ancestors who had been favorite slaves of their white masters and who had received valuable brooches, necklaces, rings, and earrings from them, in accordance with the old pattern of luxury which extended even to certain slaves. In most cases this jewelry has now been sold at some time of emergency to antique dealers who scour the rural areas looking for such treasures, which are now highly valuable and sought by collectors.

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Group 3 is made up of independent artisans, that is, people who are self-employed. It differs from Group 1 in that its members rarely employ the services of other people in personal or household activities, although gardeners, carpenters, tailors, fishermen, bricklayers, and barbers do employ people in their business. The large number of men employed by the bricklayers should be explained, as it is not a permanent category. The census from which these data were taken was made in June, 1950, at the height of the work of paving the town streets with cobblestones. A number of bricklayers had come to town for this work, and they as well as the resident bricklayers had to employ workmen to do the work with them for the municipal government. When the paving was finished there was no longer a need for so many bricklayers, and they either left or went into fishing or some other occupation. Since the data were collected, the tailors have also moved to another town as a result of the lack of business in Vila Recôncavo.

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The majority of men in this group are the fishermen, who number 132, plus 5 who are employed rather than self-employed. They fish from canoes, with several types of nets, for a large variety of fish. The federal statistics agent lists seventeen types of fish, including shrimp, giving the following weight and price for the year's activities: 129,070 kilograms and Cr$921.540,00 (slightly under $50,000.00). Shrimp earns slightly more than half this total, Cr$468.000,00, although the amount in kilograms is only 26,000. Xangô, already mentioned, is the second most profitable product, bringing in Cr$195.000,00 for 65,000 kilograms. The statistics agent admits that these figures are approximations

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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attached to the canoe by a cord called the espia (literally, "it spies"), with which the fisherman can feel when the net has reached the bottom; he can also feel any activity within the net indicating that he has caught something. The net is about 18 feet high, and its round bottom has a circumference of approximately 120 feet. A series of lead weights are sewn into the bottom to carry it downward through the water. The whole net, with its lead, weighs between 5 and 6 kilograms. The sizes of nets vary with their age, for constant repair enlarges them or sometimes makes them smaller. While the man is fishing, the canoe remains drifting, undirected. As the tide begins to run out the fisherman must stop casting his net every so often to paddle the canoe back to the starting point and to keep it from being carried away from the fishing grounds. At other times, if the shrimp appear to be moving away, he picks up his paddle and follows them. The entire operation of casting the net, pulling it in, and emptying it into the bottom of the canoe takes from ten to twenty minutes. When shrimp are present in great numbers the fisherman speeds up his activities; if not he moves more slowly. C. F. Ott calls the circular casting net "incontestably a Portuguese cultural element."[4]

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The period of fishing rarely lasts more than three hours, for by then the tide is moving more strongly and a breeze has arisen. These two factors upset the fishing for they move the canoes away from the fishing grounds. During the month there are approximately fifteen days of fishing with the casting net. If his luck is good a man may catch 20 to 30 kilograms of shrimp a day, and occasionally more; or else he may catch next to nothing. It should be stated that the author never saw a good-sized catch taken with any net, in spite of the great number of times he accompanied the fishermen.

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As a rule the fisherman owns his own casting net or borrows one. The canoe is usually rented, and the usual price is two cruzeiros for the morning's fishing. Shrimp bring from Cr$15,00 to Cr$25,00 a kilogram, so this type of fishing is relatively remunerative and involves little expense. A net

[422] [427] [435]

4. C. F. Ott, "Os elementos culturais da pescaria baiana," Boletim do Museu Nacional (Rio de Janeiro), No. 4 (October, 1944), p. 31.

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[435] costs about Cr$240,00 to make and lasts as long as ten years with good care.

227 The drag net, or deep net, as it is sometimes called, is a much larger net used to catch shrimp. It is 360 feet long, 168 feet wide, and has 420 feet of rope on one end and 480 [435] feet on the other. The top is equipped with wooden floats, and the bottom with lead weights. Such a net costs about [422] Cr$4.000,00 and is expensive to keep up, for it is easily torn [441] on submerged objects because of its size and weight. There are only six of them in the town; most of them belong to the merchants, who are the only ones who can afford the upkeep.

226 Fishing with this net is very complicated and requires the [461] services of at least ten men and two canoes, one large and one small. The owner seldom goes fishing. Instead, a master (mestre) is in charge of the operation, and the others in the crew are called "boys" (mocos). One of these is the baixador whose work is done standing in the water. His is an unpleasant job, and he runs the constant risk of being bitten by crabs, stung by large jellyfish, and cut by sharp shells on the bottom. The net is used only at the shrimp grounds already described, where the circular casting net is used, in front of the town. This net must also be used when the tide is at a standstill, because the current makes the heavy net unmanageable. The net is carried on the larger canoe which is paddled by six men, while four go in the smaller one. The canoes pause when they arrive at the customary point for launching the net, and almost everyone lights up a cigarette. There is usually some discussion among the fishermen in the various canoes as to who will launch his net first, but as a rule not more than four of the six nets are used on the same day. Since all four must be launched at exactly the same spot, there is an accepted order of first, second, third, and fourth. First yesterday is last today, each moving up one place each day. But if a crew is late in arriving the others will not wait very long, for the time for net work is short. Seldom do the four crews launch their nets more than twice in one morning. The last launching is called the "hard hard" (duradura), indicating the small returns obtained for such hard work. The first net to be launched usually catches the most shrimp.

[435] On a good day it is not unusual for the first crew to take in Cr$1.000,00 to Cr$2.000,00 worth of shrimp, especially if it [465] made two launchings. The method of paying the crew varies, but as a rule the owner takes between 40 and 50 per cent,

The planta- 565 *
tion worker's world is small, and conversational topics are 571
limited to family matters such as births, deaths, marriages, [521]
sickness, and other intimate details of personal life, the
problems of work, and difficulties of any sort. The planter can
know the daily life and thoughts of the workers only through
observation, for he himself lives quite differently. However,
his knowledge of the workers is apt to be profound in spite
of the differences, and he knows much more of their lives
than they know of his. On the other hand, visiting between [574]
the workers and the members of Class B is on a much more
equal basis, for the differences between their modes of living
and thinking are small.

When the workers are invited to a party by the planters, 565 *
it is usually an affair given for them, such as a Christmas 571
celebration. At such a time the planter is host and spectator, 574
rather than host and participant. At other times the workers
may get together a song and dance group, a samba, and go to
the owner's house for the evening. This is frequently ex-
plained as "keeping the patron from being lonely." Again the [535]
owner is spectator, for the samba, performed exclusively by
women, is a type of folk dance seldom engaged in by the more
sophisticated upper class.

Class B in the rural area is only beginning to feel any sort 565 *
of group consciousness, for the occupational institutions it
represents are relatively new and it is not yet aligned in any
way with the corresponding class in town. There are two over-
seers who lack any formal education--indeed, who cannot read
or write. In all cases the male members of this class have
set up and maintained a family, educating their children and
seeing to it that they marry as well as possible. As a rule
such men are "self-made"--they have risen from the ranks
of workers as a result of their own ability, sagacity, sense
of responsibility, and desire to improve themselves. They are
distinguished from the workmen by these traits, which seem
to develop even further as they have the opportunity to use
their initiative.

Members of this group usually acquire numerous posses- 565 *
sions of their own, such as horses, oxen and carts, mules, 423
and donkeys which can be put to gainful use. They also op- [422] •
erate small stores on their plantations--in one case even a [443]
chain of stores, one on each of three plantations. They also
try to buy a small farm somewhere nearby. Frequently the [466]
employer facilitates such acquisitions as a sort of bonus,
lending money or even giving some to the overseer.

lending money or even giving some to the overseer. Some of
* 565 the members of Class B even acquire property in Salvador
423 or in Centro, such as a house or houses which they may rent.
It is the possession of this material wealth, plus the position
* 565 of responsibility and authority, the greater proximity to the
183 owner, and the invariably legalized status of the man's family which distinguish him from those below, placing him in a class by himself. In the case of the higher-placed white-collar workers of the factory, education is also important.

* 565 In material possessions other than those already listed,
• 422 Class B differs considerably from the other two classes, having much less than Class A but much more than Class C.
[342] Their houses are always better and larger than those of the
[365] workers, and they usually have electricity supplied by the plantation. They generally have complete sets of manufac-
[352] tured dining and living room furniture, better bedroom furniture than the scanty belongings of the workers, china, rath-
[412] er than the clay dishes (nagé) of the workers, and table serv-
[415] ice for as many as a dozen persons. Usually their clothes are better and more numerous. Overseers are well known for their use of khaki coats, shirts, ties, and riding breeches,
[291] their well-polished leather boots and their felt hats, in contrast with the more informal sports clothes of the landowners and with the ragged, tight trousers and shirt and the straw hat of the shoeless rural worker.

* 565 Class B in the town of Vila Recôncavo is represented by Group I as described in the preceding chapter, with a few exceptions such as the minor municipal employees and a few of the smaller-scale merchants and lower-rated petroleum workers. Because there are no representatives of Class A in the town, Class B represents the top of the urban social scale. It is a class which has long existed in the town and which has always been composed of more or less the same occupation groups. For the most part, members of this stratum live on the hill which constitutes the old part of Vila Recôncavo, and
[162] seldom go down to the newer section. There are fourteen persons residing in town, plus their eight children, who are con-
[792] sidered pure Caucasoid; they are all members of this local upper class. Three of them are foreign-born Franciscans who do not participate in much of public life once their official duties are completed. The others are brancos da terra ("whites of the land," a term which will be explained later in this chap-

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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TABLE 4
TOTAL PROPERTY VALUE

Urban (Cr$)	Class		Rural (Cr$)
	A		5.751.080,00
36.834,54	B		88.652,85
6.954,75	C	field workers	1.251,20
		factory workers	1.633,00
3.991,00	D		

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Total property value again demonstrates the enormous gap between the rural upper class and the classes below. It also shows the members of rural Class B far ahead of urban class B in possession of property. Most of this property consists of small farms and animals. Urban classes C and D have more property than does rural Class C, principally because the town dwellers own their own houses. In addition to this, members of Class C often own their own means of production, such as canoes and fish nets. Both houses and working equipment are supplied to the rural workers by the land owners.

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TABLE 5
HOUSEHOLD EXPENDITURES

Class		Total expenditure	Expenditure for food
A		10.129,50	3.327,00
B	rural	1.955,91	1.199,28
	urban	1.771,40	1.342,21
C	field workers	522,00	413,00
	factory workers	755,54	522,00
	urban	728,00	571,00
D		440,90	434,00

Approximately one-third of the total expenditures of Class A are for food, while Class B spends about two-thirds of its

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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[City of Salvador]

361 565 permitting as it does a full and unobstructed sweep of the cooling sea breeze, makes these heights more comfortable, more healthful, and, consequently, more desirable places of [362] residence. One usually finds here the more modern and [463] substantial buildings, the homes of the upper classes. Here ordinarily live the scions of the old aristocracy, the large landholders, the city's intellectuals, and the leaders of its "society"; the lawyers, physicians, engineers, and politicians; the officials of the army, the poets and journalists, the professors in the Faculdades, the few industrialists which Bahia has so far produced—in fact, nearly all those prominent in the intellectual, political, "social," and economic life of the city. These families possess considerable property [873] and employ numerous servants. Their members are usually [463] literate, and at least the males are *formados* (i.e., graduated from one of the Faculdades, either in law, medicine, or engineering), a distinction which in the Bahian society marks them off quite sharply from the rest of the population.

[204] [291] It is in these areas that the five newspapers published in the city circulate almost exclusively and the latest fashions from Paris or Hollywood are known and generally adopted. [341] In recent years an occasional example of modernistic archi- [422] tecture and interior design has appeared. Here are to be [206] found the owners of virtually all the city's 3,855 telephones, [217] its 1,028 automobiles, its radios, and private libraries. Here live most of the 20,524 voters who cast ballots in the munici- [207] pal election of 1936. Here attachment to the *candomblé*, or [794] Afro-Brazilian fetish cult, is minimal and Catholic belief is least modified by elements from the more primitive reli- [177] gions. Here live that portion of the population which *o povo* ("the people") call the *ricos*, or the "rich."

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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Coast products much prized by Africans and their descendants in Brazil.[1] An elderly Bahian Negro recently brought out from among his treasured possessions a faded photograph of blacks aboard a ship on their way to Africa and pointed out an *alabaque*, or sacred drum, and a woman in *saia grande*.[2] He recalls having been many times with his father at the docks in Bahia when vessels came in from Africa and sailors brought news of Lagos.

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[796]

Trade with the West Coast, however, gradually decreased until, by 1905, it had almost entirely disappeared. Today, only a few important articles employed in the fetish ritual, such as cowries, *obis* and *orobós* (sacred fruits), *pimenta* (pepper) *da costa*, *palha* (straw) *da costa*, *sabão* (soap) *da costa*, and strips of *pano* (cloth) *da costa*, are occasionally imported from Africa.

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[423]

Numerous Africans, their interest in Brazil stirred by Brazilian Negroes returning to the West Coast, are said to have emigrated to Bahia as recently as thirty years ago. Considerable areas in and about the city—for example, Caminho do São Gonçalo, Caminho do Cruz, and a portion of the Terreiro—were once owned, it is said, by *Africanos*.

563*

Today, native-born Africans as a population element are

[1] Pedro Calmon, *Historia social do Brasil* (3 vols.; São Paulo, 1937-39), I, 182. It is also reported that on at least two occasions representatives of African chiefs arrived in Bahia from Ajudá, with which port Bahian officials were maintaining direct commercial relations. One arrived during the administration of the Vice-rei Conde de Athouguia; two others "and an interpreter," on May 26, 1795. See João Varella, *Da Bahia que eu vi* (Bahia, 1935), pp. 153-57; J. B. de Sá e Oliveira, "Dois embaixadores africanos mandados a Bahia pelo Rei do Dahomé," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, LVI, Part I (1893), 413.

[291]

[2] The large skirt still worn *boufant* by many Bahian black women. The date was approximately 1895.

[178]

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

291 [565] Paris fashions largely dictate the nature of female at-
(177) tire among the upper classes at Bahia, but many black
women still wear the *vestimenta bahiana*. This costume is
[301] composed of a *saia*, or very full skirt, of varying combinations of colors, which ordinarily measures some twelve to fifteen feet in circumference at the hem and is worn *bouffant*, spread by a heavily starched underskirt; a *bátá*, or long, loose-flowing white blouse which is ordinarily of cotton cloth but occasionally of silk, trimmed, in most cases, with wide lace, sometimes worn very loose at the neck and allowed to slip off one shoulder; a *pano da costa*, or long, heavy, striped cotton cloth, at times worn slung over the shoulder and pinned under the opposite arm, at times wrapped once or twice in a wide fold about the waist and tied rather tightly; a *torso*, or turban, of cotton or silk, bound about the head; *chinelas*, or strapless leather sandals with low heels; numerous necklaces of coral, cowries, or glass beads, with an occasional metal chain, often of silver; earrings of turquoise, coral, silver, or gold; and numerous
[301] bracelets of cowries or of iron, copper, or other metal. The *balangandan*, formerly an important ornament, has disappeared.[1]

As an alternate to the *bátá* a white blouse is sometimes worn tucked inside the *saia*, and in place of the *pano da costa* a woolen or silken shawl is occasionally substituted. For

[532] [1] The *balangandan* (also known as *berenguenden*, *balançançan*, *cambaio*, or
[789] *penca*) consisted of a gold or silver frame on which were hung gold or silver images of animals, birds, fowls, fish, flowers, parts of the human body, houses, household utensils, amulets (including gold or silver balls inclosing soil from a cemetery), bells, medallions with religious significance, angels, suns, moons, etc. It was worn on festive occasions, tied at the waist (see F. Marques dos Santos, "As balangandans," *Espelho*, April, 1936). Many impoverished fam-
[422] ilies, attracted by recent high prices of gold and silver, have disposed of these relics of a former splendor. A limited number may still be seen among the heirlooms of wealthy Bahians.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

178 crop, technology, and market--was the most important of these enter-
249 prises. The sugar industry flourished in its new world setting and
433 developed from the beginning an institutional character different from that of the old world, particularly in terms of land holding, labor, and the organization of production.

175 The regime of possession of the land was that of completely
423 alodial properties. Among the powers of the donatários of
249 the capitania was, as we have seen, that of disposing of
471 the land, which they distributed among the colonists. The grants were as a rule very large, the lots measuring many leagues. This is understandable: the lands were abundant, and the ambitions of these pioneers, recruited at such a cost, were evidently not contented with small properties; it was not the position of modest peasants to which they aspired in the new world but as great senhores [gentlemen] and latifundiários [landowners]. In addition to this and more important, there was a material factor which determined the type of property established. The culture of cane is practical, economically, only on a large scale. Merely conveniently to clear and prepare the lands (a costly task in this tropical and virgin setting so hostile to man) made necessary the united energy of many workers: it was not an enterprise for small and isolated proprietors. This done, the planting, the harvesting, and the transportation of the cane to the engenhos where it was made into sugar was only profitable when done in large volume. In these conditions the small producer could not exist.

It was above all these circumstances which determined the type of agricultural enterprise adopted in Brazil: the large property.[17]

175 The latifundia established by these colonists ideally were
241 self-sustaining units producing food and sometimes clothing for the
471
433 entire engenho community--free and slave. In fact, however, they often seem to have neglected food production for the cultivation of the universal commercial product--sugar cane. From the beginning of colonization a succession of regulations and decrees were issued to compel the cultivation of manioc. Recurrent food shortages suggest that these measures were not effective in the face of the "monocultural mentality" of the senhores de engenho (sugar plantation owners). In

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

245 311 Within the Recôncavo coconut production is important along the sandy beach line of the island of Itaparica and along the ocean coast of Salvador, where coconuts are virtually the only agricultural product [133] (Maps 58, 59, and 60). The inner shores of the Bay, which rise abruptly [134] with rocky clay slopes, bear very few coconuts, except in a low-lying sandy zone along the estuary of the Paraguaçu. Coconuts are produced 245 [423] chiefly on large properties which are frequently owned by urban families. [464] The plantations are operated with hired labor drawn from the coastal [438] population. When harvested, the coconuts are sold in the urban markets [258] of Salvador and other cities and towns. Very little of the Recôncavo [439] production is converted into oil, and little is exported.

Oranges. The navel orange is a Bahian development, a mutation [433] of the orange brought from Europe. The main centers of Brazilian production, however, are elsewhere in the country, and cultivation of oranges within the Recôncavo is primarily for local consumption.

245 311 Scattered orange trees are a feature of the rural and urban landscape in many areas. In addition to this generalized cultivation, which frequently is not shown in the official data, there is commercial production in the environs of several urban centers—Alagoinhas, Santo Antônio, and to a lesser extent, Salvador (Maps 61 and 62). The [489] cidades of Alagoinhas and Santo Antônio are both markets for part of [443] the local crop; moreover, both are on the railroads leading to Salvador, which is the chief market for the entire region. In addition to these three main concentrations, there are numerous orange groves in the Southwestern Recôncavo which apparently serve both local and regional markets, though on a small scale. In general the relative area in orange groves is not great, yet in 1948 they occupied 10 per cent of the cropland of Alagoinhas.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 (4) The field is burned for the last time, and as new cane or grass appears, it is used as pasture.

(5) After one year of pasture, sometimes more, the field is replanted to cane.

[527] The length of the harvest varies. It begins with a festa (festival) in the first week of September and continues as long as there is cane and as long as the heavy rains hold off--usually about six months.

249 311 Within the sugar cane area most of the land is in cane or in temporary fallow pasture except: (1) very wet bottom lands; (2) steep slopes; (3) villages; and (4) the lands and yards occupied by the mills. The general aspect of this area is that of an unbroken sea of cane. Single fields are often large--a square kilometer is not uncommon--but they are divided into separate plots. The cultivation of other crops within the sugar cane area is very limited. Small house gardens for the laborers are common, but other commercial agricultural forms of land use are rare.

249 423 257 184 Land holdings, as will be seen, generally are large under this system. The orientation of the sugar industry in São Filipe is somewhat different than in the zone discussed above. Properties are smaller, the monocultural aspect less dominant, and the whole sugar economy more primitive. There were eighty-two small sugar mills in this area in 1940, compared to the eight large usinas of Santo Amaro. [273] Many of these produced crude sugar (rapadura) rather than the refined sugar or cane brandy (cachaça) which are the main products of the zone north of the Bay.

245 The Cultivation of Coconuts. The final important agricultural system of the Recôncavo is the coconut monoculture, a less highly organized permanent culture than the sugar cane system.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

CHAPTER VIII

AGRICULTURAL PROPERTIES

241 231 423 311 The agricultural properties of the Recôncavo are diverse in functional type, tenure, and size. In most municípios there are to be found three basic production types: crop cultivation units, mixed crop cultivation and livestock producing units, and ranches. The properties of any local area may be owner or administrator operated, rented, or, in some areas, occupied informally by "squatters." In distinction to most agricultural areas of the United States, the Recôncavo has a very large number of extremely small agricultural properties, frequently with less than 2 hectares. There are also a number of large properties with more than 10,000 hectares, and in many areas large and small properties are closely intermixed.

241 423 184 Despite the widespread diversity of agricultural properties, there are distinct regional patterns which are based upon the predominance of certain types and sizes of properties and upon characteristic modes of possession. The regional patterns of agricultural properties correspond in a general manner to the crop regions delineated in the previous discussion.

241 423 [127] The basic source of information about the agricultural properties of the Recôncavo is the 1940 economic census.[1] No more recent source is as yet available to replace or to verify or correct these fifteen year old data. However, generalizations based upon these data were substantiated in most cases by the field investigations undertaken for the present study. It is apparent that in so traditional a region as the [178] Recôncavo, the institutional characteristics of agriculture, property types included, change very slowly.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 423 127 311 Of the 12,500 square kilometers of the Recôncavo, only about 800,000 hectares were enumerated in the agricultural section of the 1940 economic census--71 per cent of the total land area. In the various municípios of the region, the enumerated area varied from 39 per cent of the land surface in Alagoinhas to 110 per cent in Itaparica (Map 87). In a few cases, such as Itaparica, the area given in the agricultural section of the census exceeded the official total area of the município.[2] Where the political boundaries were not delimited precisely, properties may have been credited to the wrong município. More probably, however, these situations result from the over-estimation of the areas of individual properties--precise surveys of agricultural properties are virtually unknown.

There was a general correspondence between the intensity of land use (Map 2) and the relative area included in the 1940 agricultural census. This latter area will be referred to as "enumerated area" in the following discussion. Those lands not included in the agricultural census were urban areas, public domain, or in a few cases, private land held for speculation. However, not all of the unenumerated land was unused from the agricultural point of view, for in some of the less densely settled areas "squatters" are quite common.

241 231 423 311 Production Types of Agricultural Enterprises. In the 1940 census the agricultural properties of Brazil were divided into six classes, based in part upon the type of production and in part upon the scale of operation, The three main functional types were agricultura (crop cultivation), agro-pecuária (crop cultivation with livestock production), and pecuária (livestock production). In this context it is important to note that while agro-pecuária may include mixed agriculture--in the sense of functionally interdependent crop and livestock production

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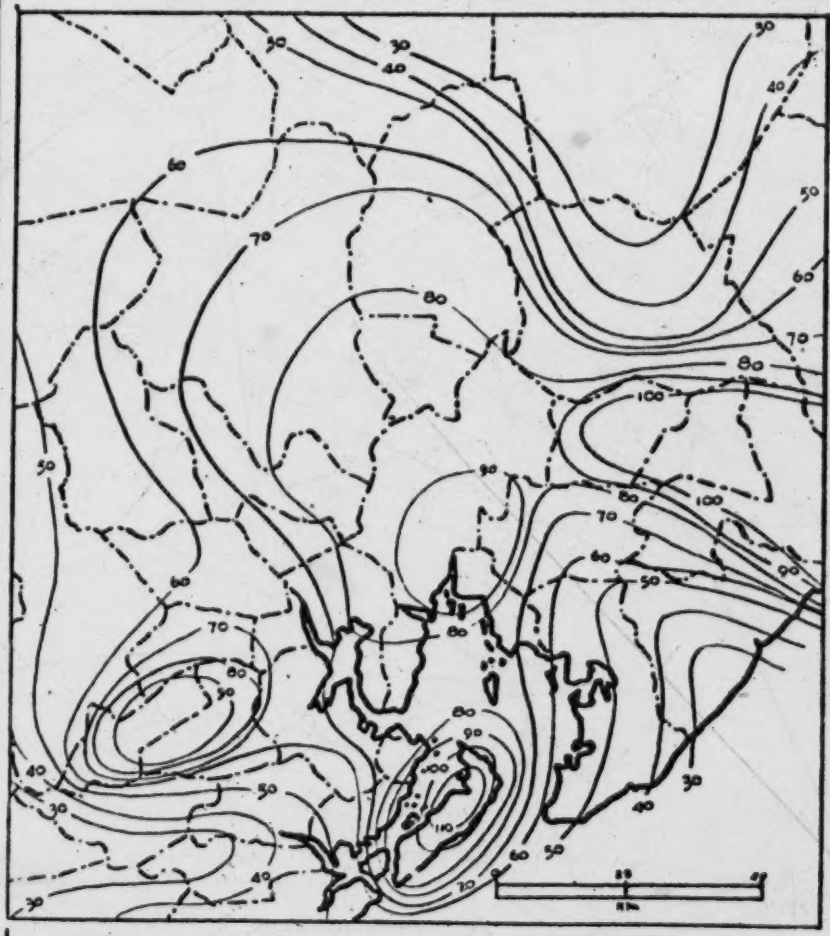

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Land Area Enumerated

in the 1940 Agricultural Census

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 67

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 231 423 311 within the individual agricultural unit--properties classifed within the group may have merely co-existing crop and animal production. In the Recôncavo, cultivation and animal husbandry are carried on separately within the individual properties, except (1) where labor animals are involved, or (2) where manure for tobacco cultivation is produced on a tobacco-growing farm. Each of the three main production types was classified as either a large-scale or a small-scale unit, on the basis of the amount of cropland, the number of animals, or both.[3] The distribution of the 27,513 agricultural properties and the 837,699 hectares of enumerated land of the Recôncavo among the various production and scale-of-operation classes is shown on the accompanying table (Table XIV).

Most of the agricultural properties of the Recôncavo were small-scale units which were engaged solely in crop cultivation or which produced both crops and livestock. Ninety-nine per cent of all properties, encompassing 58 per cent of the farmland, were small-scale units. The number of cultivation and of mixed cultivation-livestock units was approximately the same; the mixed units were, on the average, more than twice as large as the exclusively crop producing units. Although the number of purely livestock producing units--ranches--was small, the total area which they encompassed was relatively large, and the mean size of individual units was over 450 hectares. Even more notable is the fact that less than 250 large-scale livestock units, about 1 per cent of the total number of units, held 13 per cent of the land in agricultural properties.

231 233 Livestock Units. Agricultural enterprises whose activities were confined exclusively to livestock production were found in every município of the Recôncavo and in every adjoining município in 1940. In most areas, however, the number of such livestock units was very

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 294]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954) 1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

TABLE XIV

AGRICULTURAL PROPERTIES OF THE RECÔNCAVO--CLASSIFIED BY TYPE AND SCALE OF OPERATION--1940

	Crop Cultivation Only	Crop Cultivation and Livestock Production	Livestock Production Only	All Types
	Number and Area of Properties			
All Properties:				
Number	13,221	13,587	705	27,513
Area*	212,545 ha.	493,210 ha.	131,944 ha.	837,699 ha.
Mean Size	16 ha.	36 ha.	187 ha.	30 ha.
Small-Scale Properties:				
Number	13,144	13,558	458	27,160
Area	167,406 ha.	298,408 ha.	26,932 ha.	483,746 ha.
Mean Size	13 ha.	21 ha.	59 ha.	18 ha.
Large-Scale Properties:				
Number	77 ha.	29 ha.	247 ha.	353 ha.
Area	28,703 ha.	12,649 ha.	107,199 ha.	148,551 ha.
Mean Size	373 ha.	436 ha.	434 ha.	421 ha.
	As Per cent of the Number and Area of all Properties			
All Properties:				
Number	48	49	3	100
Area	25	59	16	100
Small-Scale Properties:				
Number	48	49	2	99
Area	20	35	3	58
Large-Scale Properties:				
Number	-	-	1	1
Area	3	1	13	18

*Because the census does not give data on the size of some units in order to preserve the anonymity of the information, the totals do not precisely equal the sums of the various components.

Source: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

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249 The tobacco-manioc region, especially in the Southwestern
244 Recôncavo, was a zone of very small properties--in Cruz das Almas and
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423 Coração de Maria the mean size of crop cultivation units was 9 hectares, while in São Filipe it was only 5 hectares. This zone of small crop cultivation units is part of a belt, parallel to but well back from the coast, which originates in the serras of the coffee zone, crosses the Recôncavo along the caatinga-mata transition, and follows the caatinga-agreste boundary northward along the eastern edge of the Tertiary taboleiros. The small-property belt thus lies between the littoral, with its large plantations of sugar cane and its ranches, and the dry sertão, with its extensive livestock economy.

241 The Central Recôncavo was a zone of large crop cultivation proper-
249 ties, primarily sugar cane plantations. Although there are a large
311
423 number of livestock in the sugar cane region, the plantations use, rather than produce, animals and were thus classified as crop cultivation units. The plantations of the sugar cane area are very diverse as regards size, and many of the individual properties are now operated collectively by large usinas. Nevertheless, there are still a number of small properties, producing cane which is sold to the large mills.

241 Mixed Crop Cultivation-Livestock Producing Units. A little over
231
233 one-half of all the farms in the Recôncavo produced livestock as well
311 as crops. These units occupied almost 60 per cent of the total area of all properties. However, the area in which over half the properties were mixed units was limited to a broad perimeter zone which included all the outer municípios of the Eastern, Northwestern, and Southwestern Recôncavo (Map 98). In Itaparica and Santo Amaro, where crop cultivation units were very important, there were relatively few mixed units.

244 The maps of the area in mixed units in relation to enumerated
249
231 area (Map 99) and total area (Map 100) confirm the observation that.
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[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 311]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

244 the tobacco-manioc region is an area of co-existing crop and livestock
249 production. The mean size of mixed units of both the tobacco-manioc
231 region and the western and northern perimeter of the Recôncavo was
233 small—20 to 40 hectares—but was significantly larger than the mean
[423] [311] size of crop farms in the same areas (Map 101). Like the purely cane-producing plantations, the mixed units of the Central Recôncavo were relatively large.

241 <u>Crop Cultivation and Mixed Crop Cultivation and Livestock Pro-</u>
231 <u>ducing Units Combined</u>. The distribution of the area in crop and crop-
232 livestock units combined, as shown on Maps 102 and 103, reaffirms the
311 regional distinctiveness of the Recôncavo. In almost the entire region over one-half the total area was in these two types of crop-producing properties. None of the adjoining <u>municípios</u> had as much as 50 per cent of their total area in these two types of units, and in all but three, less than one-third the land was in crop or crop-livestock properties.

241 <u>Regional Pattern of Agricultural Properties</u>. The distribution
311 of the three major production units is summarized on Map 104. In each
184 of the two basic regions—crop and crop-livestock—one production
[231] type dominated, in number and in area, over the others. The Central
[233] Recôncavo with the island of Itaparica and, beyond the Recôncavo, the environs of Nazaré composed a region in which most of the agricultural land was in crop cultivation units. North of the Bay, most of these crop cultivation units were sugar cane plantations. On Itaparica there were several kinds of crop cultivation units—coconut plantations, diminutive manioc farms, and across from Salvador, small summer estates with a few cultivated fields. Around Nazaré most of the crop cultivation properties appeared to specialize in the production of manioc.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 231 233 311 Mixed crop and livestock units dominated the agricultural land of an inverted "L shaped" zone which began in the southwest and which, in the Recôncavo, coincided approximately with the tobacco-manioc region. Mixed crop and livestock units also dominated in the drier taboleiros north of the Recôncavo, The intermediate zone between the crop and crop-livestock regions within the Recôncavo was relatively narrow, conforming to the pattern of rapid transition from sugar cane to tobacco and manioc north of the Rio Paraguaçu. The outer transition zone, in which no single property type dominated, included the outer 231 margins of the Recôncavo except in the southwest. Purely livestock-233 producing units did not dominate the agricultural land of any extensive area within or adjoining the Recôncavo.

241 311 423 The regions delimited above on the basis of the relative area in the two types of crop-producing units had additional significance in terms of the distribution of large-scale and small-scale enterprises (Map 105). The mixed-unit region, in which manioc and tobacco are so important, had only limited areas in large properties—usually 5 per cent to 20 per cent of the enumerated area. There were few large properties in the southern part of the crop unit region also, but in the sugar cane area north of the Bay over 40 per cent of the enumerated area was in large properties. These regional patterns of property types conform to the distribution of mean property size (Map 106); the mixed-unit region had mean properties of 10 to 20 hectares in the Southwestern Recôncavo and 20 to 30 hectares north of the Rio Paraguaçu, while the mean property size in the sugar cane area exceeded 100 hectares.

241 423 Size of Agricultural Properties. As has been seen, the agricultural properties of the Recôncavo are highly diverse in size, as is to be expected in an economy dichotomized into the predominantly

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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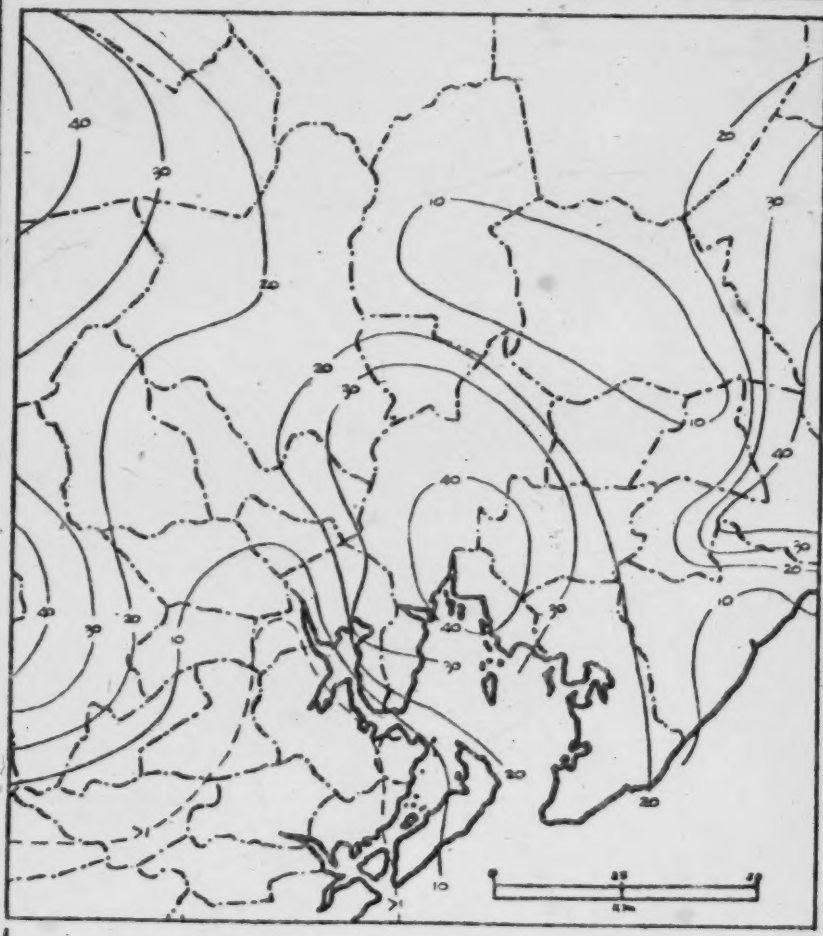

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumerated Area in

Large-Scale Enterprises--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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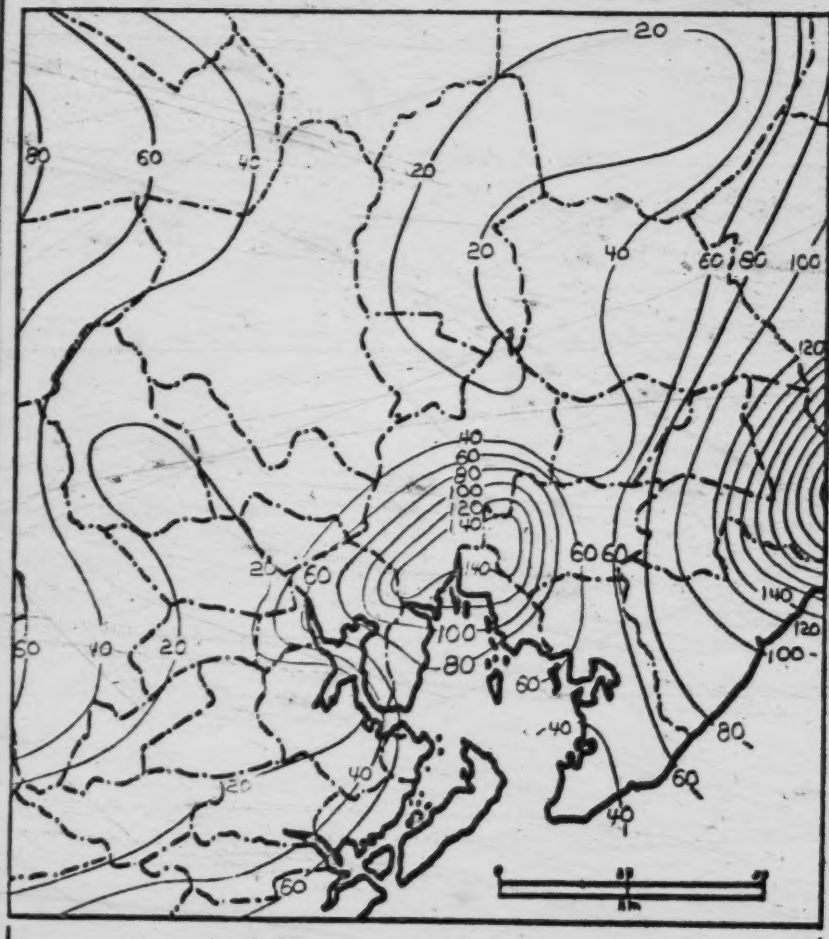

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Mean Size of All Agricultural Properties—1940

In Hectares

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil, 1940. Censos Econômicos. Bahia. Vol. II.

MAP 106

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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small-scale agriculture of the tobacco and manioc cultivators and the large-scale system of the sugar industry. In 1940 the properties of the Recôncavo ranged from less than 2 hectares to over 10,000 hectares. This diversity is characteristic of the region as a whole, and also of the individual municípios. In 14 municípios of the Recôncavo at least 5 per cent of the properties were under 2 hectares in area, while in 12 municípios at least 5 per cent of the enumerated area was in properties of over 1,000 hectares. Within the Recôncavo the mean size of properties varied from 13 hectares in São Filipe to 136 hectares in São Francisco, and in municípios adjacent to the region, from 8 hectares in Santo Antônio to 255 hectares in Mata de São João.

On the basis of the mean size of agricultural properties, as on the basis of many other agricultural phenomena, the Recôncavo can be divided into two parts. The sugar-cane region, as has been seen, is an area of large properties which had a mean size in excess of 100 hectares in 1940. The mean size of the agricultural properties of almost all other parts of the Recôncavo lay in the narrow range of 10 to 40 hectares. Although these figures are in a general way very significant, their meaning varies from place to place as the character of the agricultural components change.

In the 1940 census, agricultural properties were grouped into 15 classes on the basis of the total area in the various units:

Under 1	hectare	200-500	hectares
1-2	"	500-1,000	"
2-5	"	1,000-2,500	"
5-10	"	2,500-5,000	"
10-20	"	5,000-10,000	"
20-50	"	10,000-100,000	"
50-100	"	Over 100,000	"
100-200	"		

After an inspection of the array of property size data, it was apparent that the distribution of small, medium, and large properties could be

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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analyzed through the use of only part of the data, thus simplifying the calculations. Properties of 0 to 10 hectares were used to represent small units; properties of 50 to 200 hectares to represent medium-sized units, and properties of over 500 hectares to represent large units. Thus the analysis of small, medium, and large properties which follows deals with a large sample of the Recôncavo's agricultural properties but not the entire array.

Small Properties. In every município of the Recôncavo at least one-fifth of the agricultural properties had less than 10 hectares of total area--in ten municípios over half the properties were under 10 hectares (Map 107). These small properties were particularly numerous in the Southwestern and Northern Recôncavo and in a narrow connecting zone--a concentration which conforms to the area of small crop-cultivation units discussed previously. There were also many small properties in the vicinity of Salvador. The number of small units in the Central Recôncavo was very limited, and most of the small properties which were present were grouped around, rather than within, the zone of commercial production of sugar cane.

The total area in small properties was less than 10 per cent of the enumerated area in most municípios (Map 108). There were two conspicuous exceptions where small properties were very numerous--in São Filipe and Irará:

	Size of Properties	Per cent of Total Number of Properties	Per cent of the Enumerated Area
São Filipe:	under 1 ha.	5	under 1
	1 - 2 ha.	15	2
	2 - 5 ha.	25	9
	5 -10 ha.	32	19
Total		77	31
Irará:	under 1 ha.	3	1
	1 - 2 ha.	11	1
	2 - 5 ha.	41	9
	5 -10 ha.	18	9
Total		73	20

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 322]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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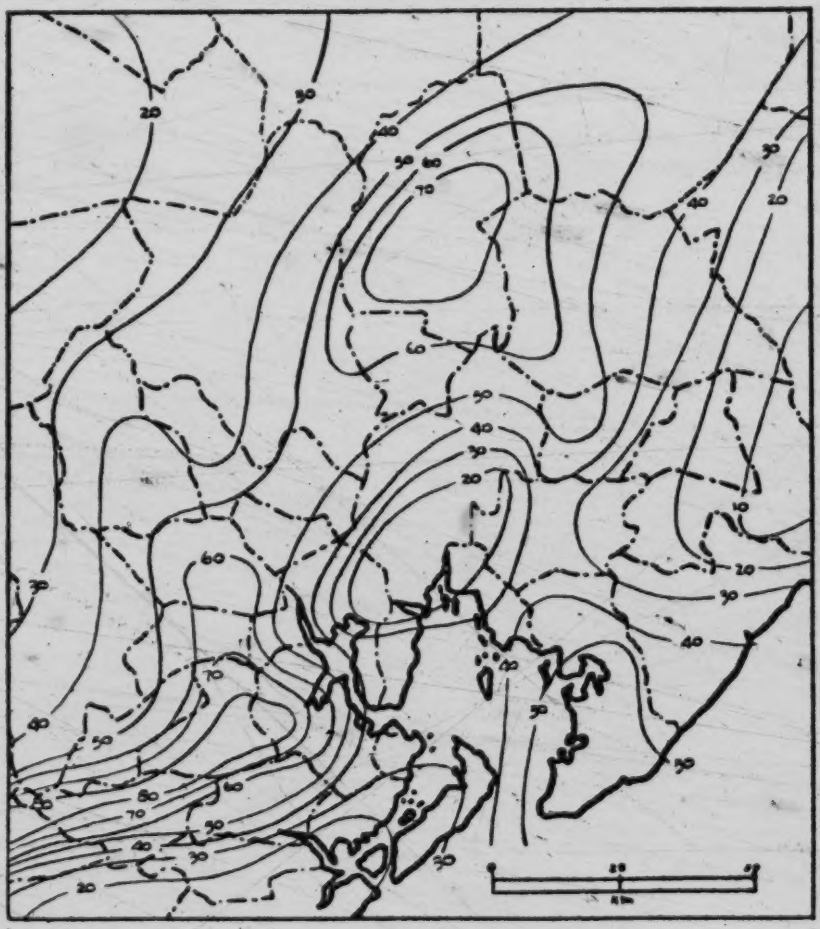

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of All Properties with an Area of

Less Than 10 Hectares--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil. 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 107

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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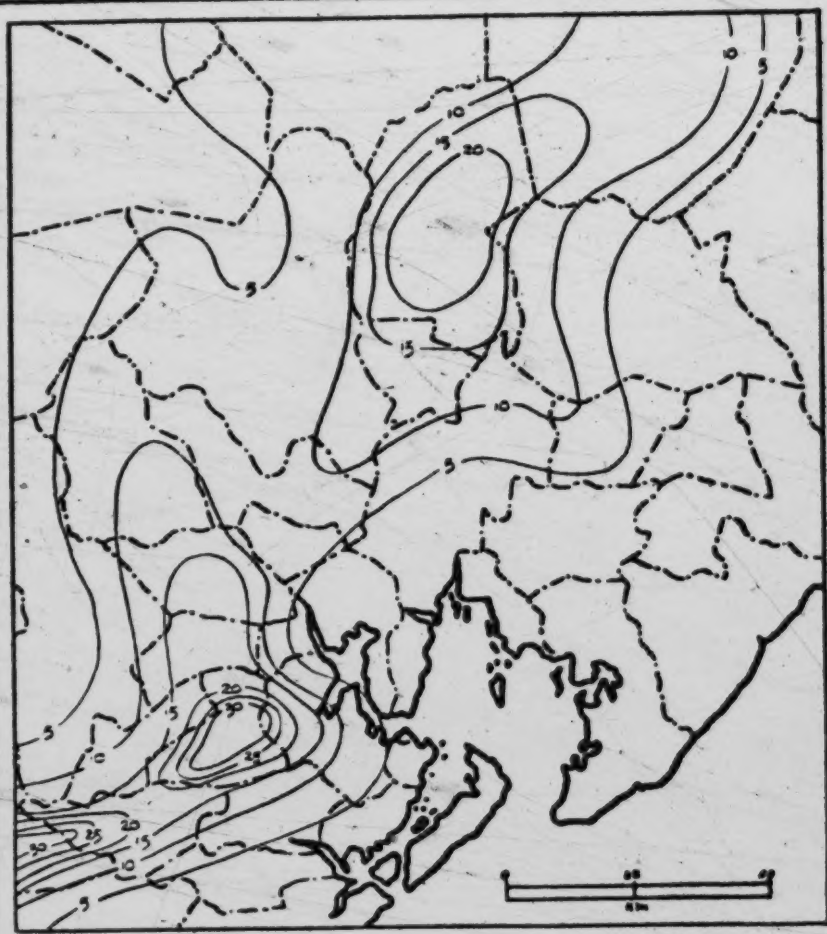

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumerated Area in Properties with an Area of Less Than 10 Hectares--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 108

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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Medium-Sized Properties. The general pattern of medium-sized properties in the Recôncavo was analyzed through a study of the distribution of the units composing the 50 to 200 hectare classes. These properties were by no means as common as the small properties, except in the município of Pojuca (Map 109). Over 25 per cent of the total enumerated area was in these medium-sized properties throughout most of the outer Recôncavo, from the southwest sector to the northern limits of the município of Salvador (Map 110). The area along the littoral of the Bay and in the sugar cane zone, as well as along the extreme western and southwestern limits of the Recôncavo, contained fewer medium-sized properties.

Large Properties. Although there were few large properties, i.e., properties with over 500 hectares, in the Recôncavo as a whole, the area which they occupied within some municípios in 1940 was both extensive and significant. Over 70 per cent of the enumerated area was in large properties along the littoral and in the Coastal Plain section north of the Bay, as well as along the eastern and western frontiers of the Recôncavo (Map 111). Elsewhere in the region and adjacent to the northern and southern limits, the area in large properties was relatively limited, but there were some large units in every município except Cruz das Almas.

The large properties of the Recôncavo are particularly significant, for they play a very important role in the socio-economic complex of agriculture--a role disproportionately large in relation to their number and their portion of the agricultural land. East and west of the region these units generally were either very large ranches or, along the coast, coconut plantations. These large extra-Recôncavo properties were often very extensive--west of Castro Alves there were

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 326

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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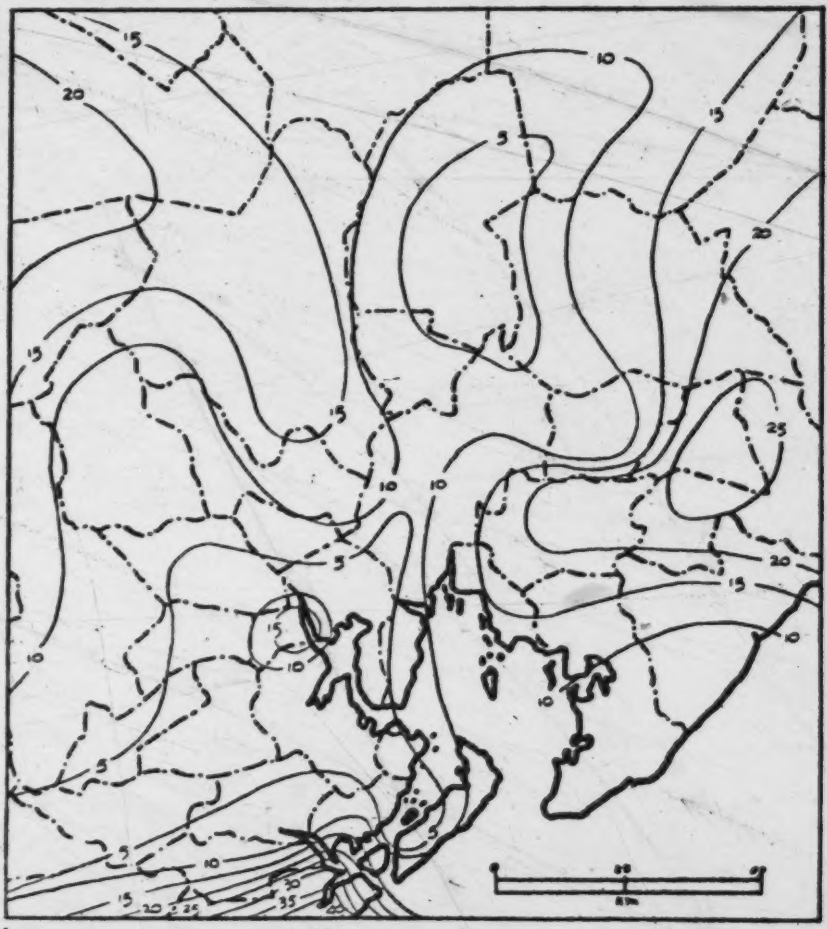

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of All Properties with an Area of

50 to 200 Hectares--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 109

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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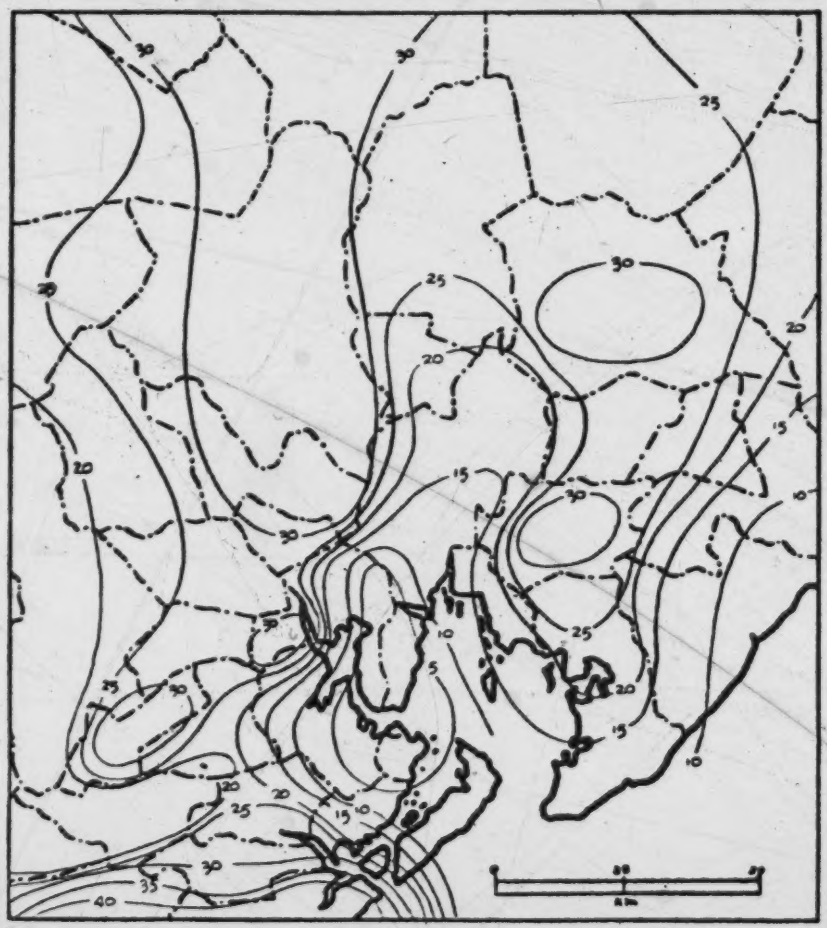

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumerated Area in Properties with an Area of

50 to 200 Hectares--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 110

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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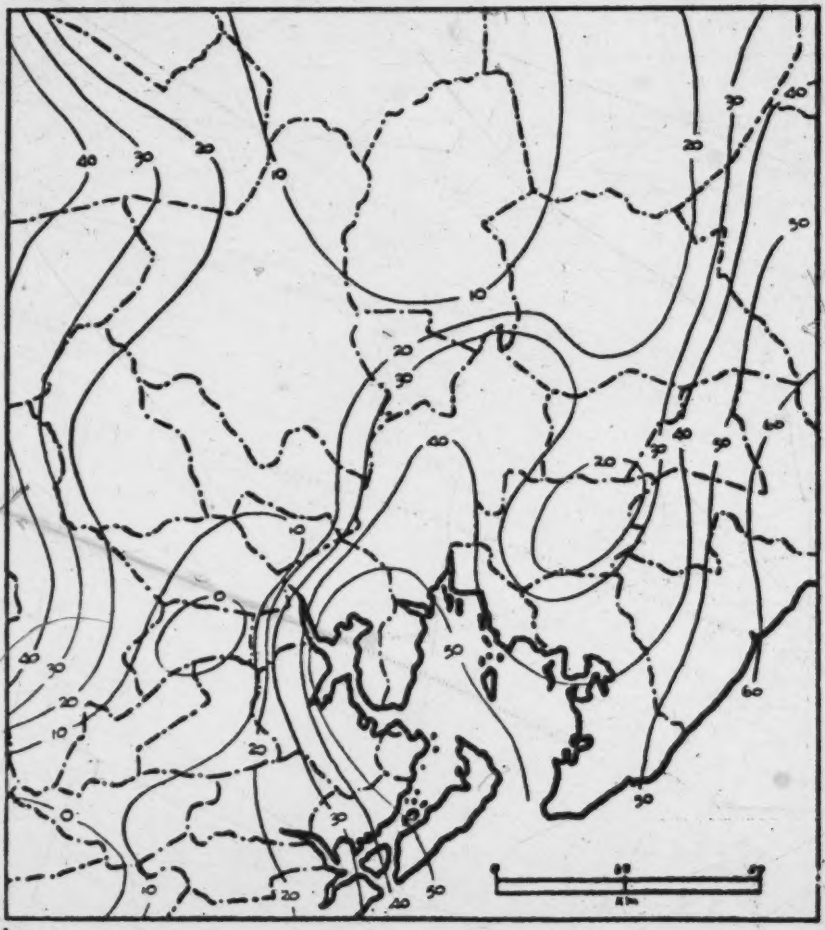

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumerated Area in Properties with an Area of More Than 500 Hectares—1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 111

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 423 some properties in excess of 100,000 hectares of land. Such overwhelmingly large properties signalize a tremendous concentration of power and, for the sertão, much wealth.

The large properties of the Recôncavo were less extensive than the vast fazendas of the sertão, but they probably represented an even greater assemblage of economic and social power. The sugar cane plantations [249 477] and the associated usinas, with their traditional prestige, large capital investment, and centralized production, are the preponderant social institutions of the Recôncavo.

Land Tenure. Most of the formal categories of farm tenure which are characteristic of the agriculture of the United States are present also in the Recôncavo: ownership by private individuals and corporations; operation by owners, administrators, renters, and "squatters,"[5] However, the contrasts in property size and the centralized control of agricultural credit and capital in the Recôncavo give these these general types of agricultural tenure and operation a distinctive character.

241 423 472 Proprietor Operation. Most of the agricultural properties of the Recôncavo were operated by the owner in 1940. Only in the Southern Recôncavo--Maragogipe and Salvador--were less than half of the properties owner-operated. In most of the region and the adjoining area three-fourths of the units were operated by the owner (Map 112). The area occupied by owner-operated units was in excess of half the enumerated area in all parts of the region except the Southern Recôncavo (Map 113). However, the area in owner-operated properties was higher in the tobacco-manioc area of the Southwestern Recôncavo--70 to 80 per cent--than in either the tobacco-manioc or the sugar cane region north of the Bay. A greater contrast is reflected in the map of the mean size of owner-operated properties (Map 114). In Conceição do Almeida--

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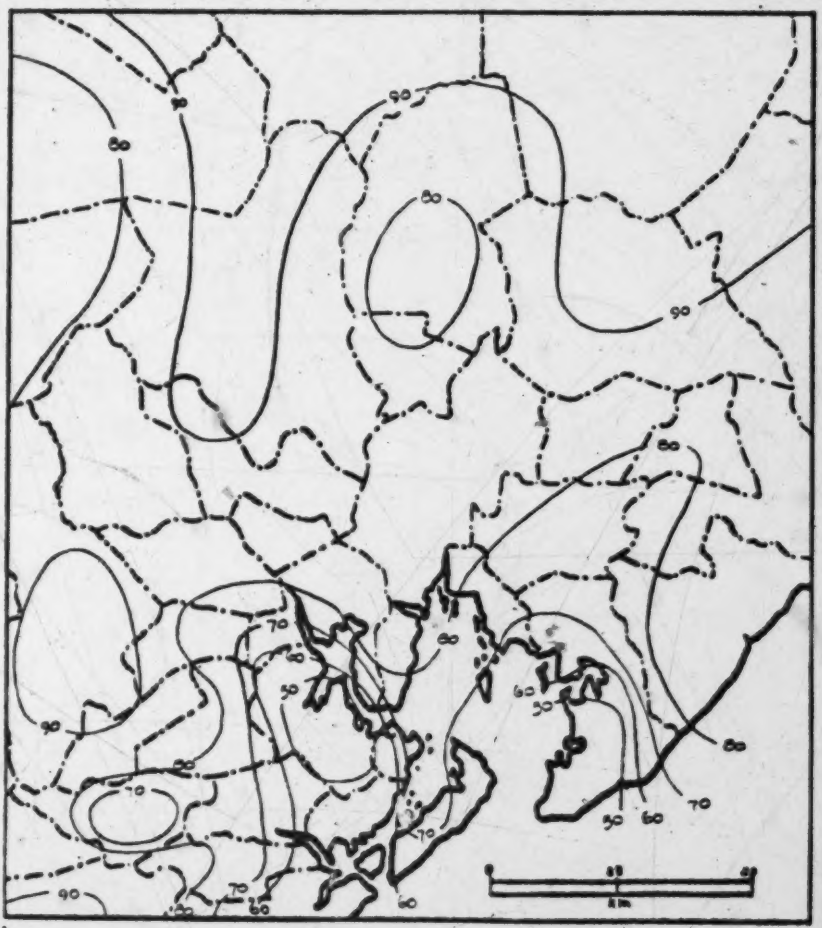

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of All Agricultural Properties Which Were Owner-Operated--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 112

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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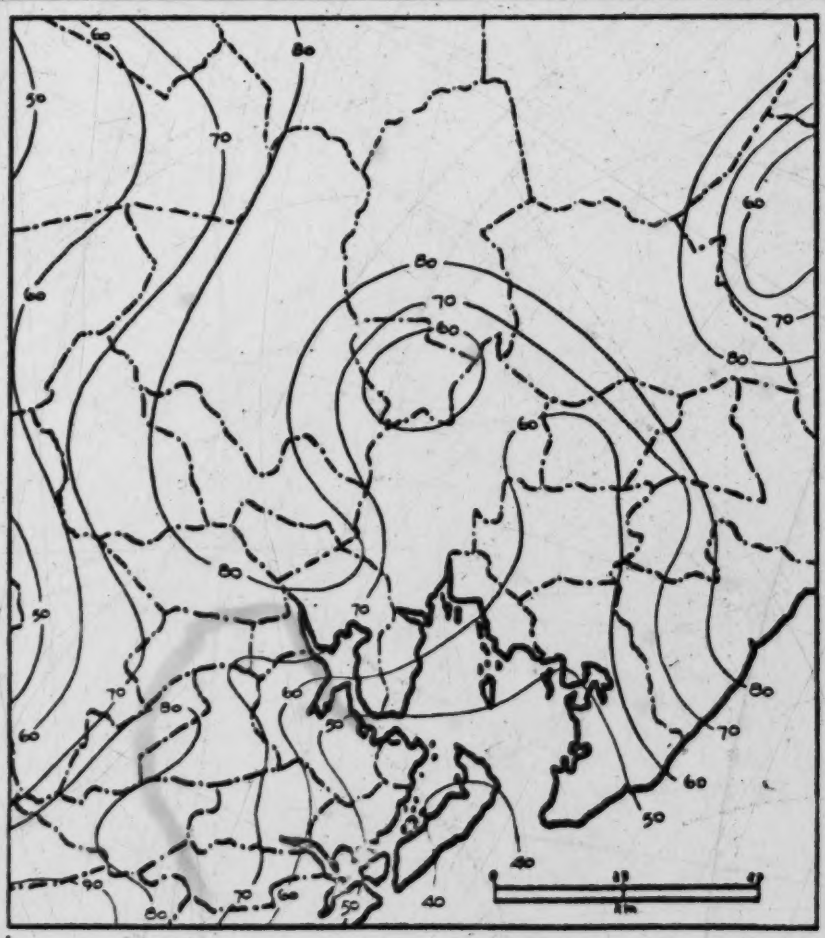

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumerated Area in

Owner-Operated Properties--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 113

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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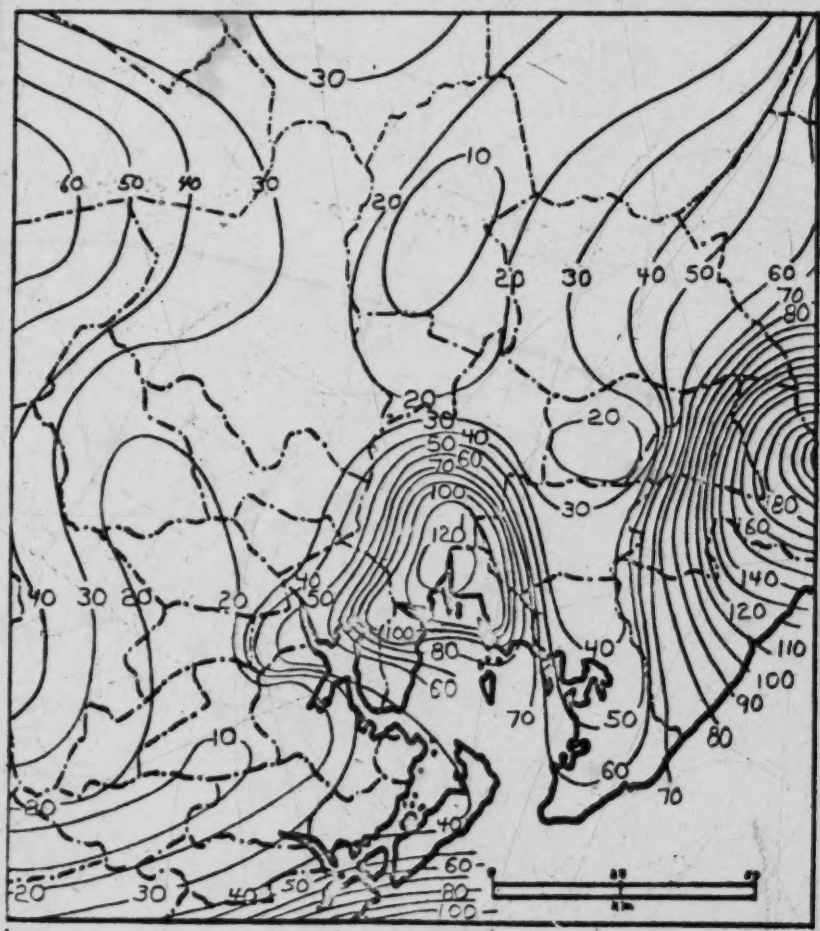

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Mean Size of Owner-Operated Properties—1940

In Hectares

Source of data: Recensearnento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 114

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 Southwestern Recôncavo--the 80 per cent of all units which were owner-
423 operated had a mean size of 16 hectares in 1940. In São Francisco--
472 Central Recôncavo--the 75 per cent of all units which were owner-operated had a mean size of 113 hectares. In general the mean size of owner-operated units in the tobacco-manioc region was from 15 to 30 hectares, while the mean size in the sugar cane region exceeded 100 hectares.

241 Operation by Administrator. Absentee ownership in the Recôncavo
423 probably had its origin in the colonial period, when it was the practice
471 of many of the senhores de engenho (sugar cane planters) to spend part
178 of the year in Salvador. As the urban interests of the owner increased, the management of some properties passed into the hands of overseers, frequently drawn from the mixed-blood retinue of the plantation owner. To a lesser extent the same practice seems to have developed in other parts of the Recôncavo, as the property owner became involved in business, in the professions, or in politics in the cidades or in Salvador. The development of corporate landholding as a concomitant of the usina system has made agricultural administrators even more numerous.

241 Properties operated by administrators were found in every muni-
423 cípio of the Recôncavo in 1940 (Map 115). In 13 municípios over
471 one-tenth of the properties were so operated. The number of administrator-operated properties was relatively large in São Félix--25 per cent--in the sugar cane region, but also in the município of Salvador and on the island of Itaparica opposite.[6] The area in administrator-operated properties was relatively great in the sugar cane zone--30 to 40 per cent--and near Salvador, in general conforming to the pattern of the relative number of properties under administrators (Map 116). However, administrator-operated properties in the Central Recôncavo were relatively large--200 hectares in São Francisco

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 333]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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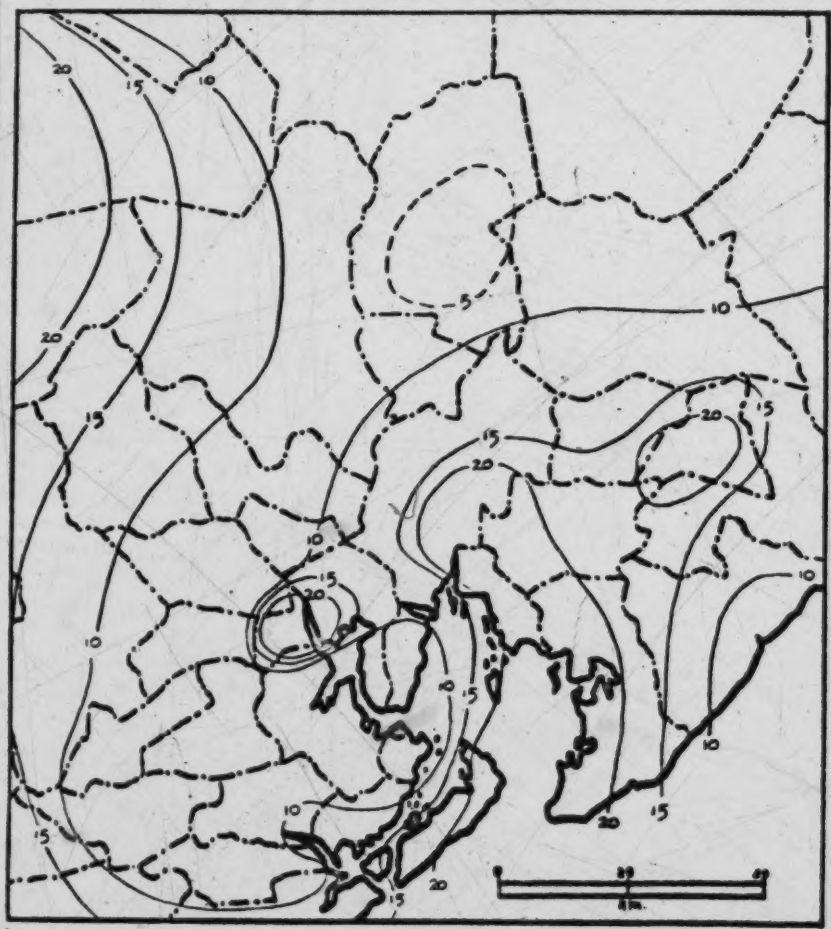

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of All Agricultural Properties Which Were Operated by Administrators—1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia. Vol. II.

MAP 115

·1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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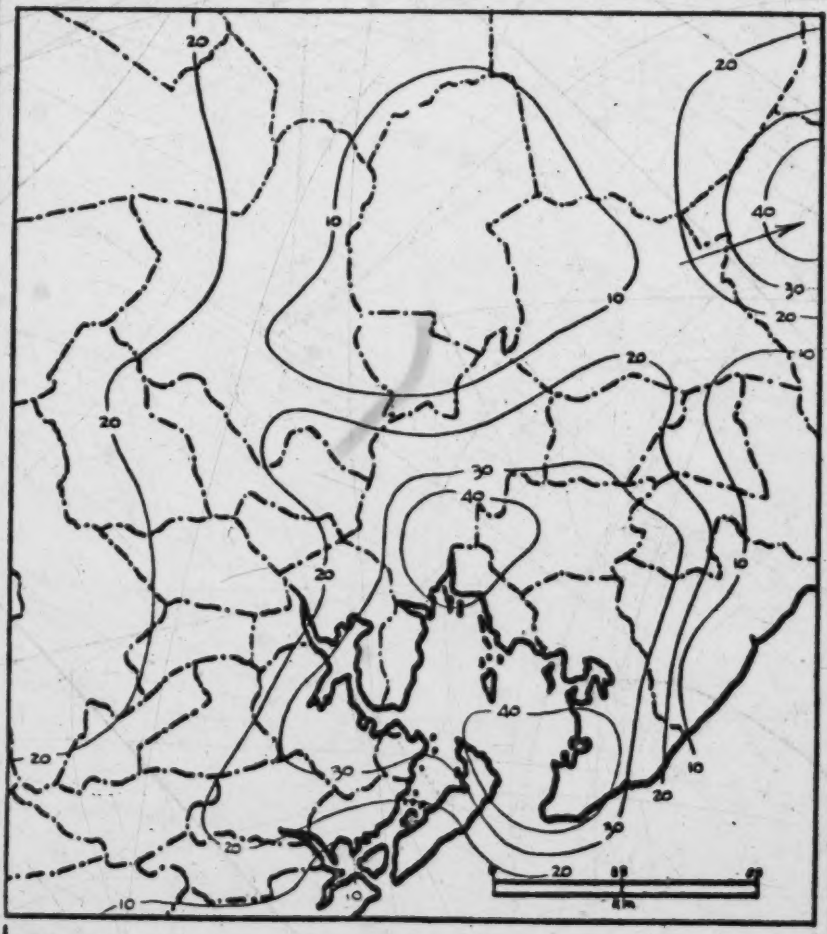

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumerated Area in

Administrator-Operated Properties--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 116

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954) 1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 423 471 and 161 hectares in Santo Amaro--while those of the Salvador area were relatively modest--81 hectares in Salvador and 72 hectares in Itaparica.

241 427 Rented Properties. There were few rented properties in the Recôncavo as a whole in 1940 (Map 117), but in three areas over 10 per cent of the properties were rented: in the core of the tobacco-manioc area of the Southwestern Recôncavo; in Irará; and around Salvador. In Maragogipe, 52 per cent of the properties, occupying 15 per cent of the enumerated area, were rented (Map 118). In Santo Antônio, adjoining the Southwestern Recôncavo, over 30 per cent of the properties were rented, but along the western and norther border zones of the Recôncavo there were very few rented properties. Because of the small size of the units, rented properties in the Recôncavo generally occupied less than 10 per cent of the enumerated area.

[241] [249] The rented properties of the tobacco-manioc crop region were usually small, from 10 to 30 hectares, but in the sugar cane area they averaged over 200 hectares (Map 119). If the official data are correct, the mean size of rented properties in Coração de Maria was over 267 hectares, but this seems very unlikely and has not been shown on the map.

241 423 471 Corporate Lands. In 1940, one-hundred ninety-eight of the 29,000 agricultural properties of the Recôncavo were owned by corporations or companies. The total area of these properties was 33,000 hectares, almost 4 per cent of the total emmerated area of the region. Moreover, the land which composed these properties was some of the most productive in the Recôncavo. The number of corporate properties and the concentration of land under corporate ownership almost certainly has increased since 1940.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 337]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 423 471 [249] Although there were a few corporate lands in the vicinity of the city of Salvador in 1940, the main concentration was in the sugar cane area north of the Bay. Here the large corporately-owned usinas controlled as much as 30 per cent of the agricultural land. Most of these corporate properties were sugar cane plantations, but some were cattle ranches and other accessory properties. The corporations tend to dominate the sugar cane areas which are most productive and most favorably located for the transportation of cane and of the refined sugar and other products.

Conclusion. The strong network of interpersonal relationships, discussed in connection with crop cultivation and systems, is often more important than the purely formal aspects of land ownership and operation in the Recôncavo. The agricultural society of the Recôncavo is closely knit, so that the effective freedom of operation of the farm operator [565] is very limited. Although the large and rich landowners have, on some levels, a greater latitude than the small operators, they too are enmeshed in a system of inherited economic and social obligations and are subject to the restrictions imposed by the urban upper class.

241 441 442 472 [656] The two primary local supervisory groups in the agricultural society are the merchant-buyers of the tobacco-manioc region and the general administrators and plantation owners of the sugar cane region. However, both these groups are under the more or less immediate control of the sugar and tobacco companies in Salvador and of the official Instituto do Açúcar e do Álcool and the Instituto Baiano do Fumo.[7]

249 471 472 656 The operations of the sugar cane plantations are dictated by the mills, which specify the type and quantity of cane and the schedule of delivery. In turn, the amount of sugar produced by the mill is determined by the Instituto do Açúcar e do Álcool, while the policy of

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1

BB 249 471 472 [656] operation is determined by the company officers, who generally live in Salvador. The company, in its turn, is subject to some control from Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo investors. This structured system of control probably is one of the reasons for the continuation of the monoculture in the sugar cane area. The usual explanation offered for the cane monoculture is the unique suitability of the soil and climate and the innate conservatism of the Baiano. However, one of the features of the present sugar economy is the lack of capital for other enterprises. The absentee owners, who are the only likely source of capital, are hesitant to advance money for new and untried enterprises. Moreover, alternative agricultural enterprises, if successful, would reduce the supply of cane and thus eventually raise the cost of usina operation.

BB 249 244 442 In the tobacco-manioc region the control exercised by Salvador is indirect, but compelling, because the small tobacco producer is almost completely at the mercy of the buyer, who receives orders from the tobacco exporter and manufacturer through the agent.

BB 241 423 471 [184] [231] [233] The differences in production specialization, size, and tenure among the agricultural properties of the Recôncavo both accentuate the basic dichotomy of the region and re-emphasize its unity. The small-scale mixed crop cultivation and livestock producing unit of the tobacco-manioc region and the large-scale crop cultivation unit of the sugar region are both esentially engaged in the production of commercial crops. Both are distinct from the primary agricultural unit of the sertão, the livestock ranch. Both are subject to the over-all economic control of the center—Salvador.

B BB 241 423 184 [249] In most parts of Brazil, as in the Recôncavo, the agricultural properties are highly diverse in size, function, and ownership. Most areas of sugar cane cultivation have relatively large properties, primarily engaged in crop cultivation. In other areas, as in

B BB 249 471 423 178 In other areas, as in the Recôncavo, more and more of the cane plantations are passing into the hands of the central mills and are being operated by administrators. Small properties, owner or renter operated, are also a widespread feature of the Brazilian agricultural scene. Frequently, as in the B BB 241 231 233 423 Recôncavo, large and small properties are intermixed in zones where several crops and livestock are raised jointly. Throughout Brazil the class of small property holders is tied to the merchant and large land- B 241 423 471 178 holder class by a network of economic and social relationships much like those of the Recôncavo. Apparently the number and total area of small properties is growing, especially in Central and South Brazil. If this be so, the development of small farms in the Recôncavo, such as those producing tobacco and manioc, is part of the nationwide trend.

249 311 [134] Commercial sugar cane cultivation is confined to the humid Coastal Plain areas with Cretaceous clay soils, except for a small area in São Filipe. Since the areas of Cretaceous clay soils are limited and compact, sugar cane production is highly localized in two areas: (1) the main sugar cane area in the municípios of Santo Amaro, São Francisco, and São Sebastião; and (2) a smaller area north of the Bacia do Iguape in the município of Cachoeira. There is a third area of less intensive production in southern São Filipe.

249 244 [433] The sole purpose of cultivation in the sugar cane area is the production of a commercial product, but the areas of tobacco-manioc cultivation produce both a staple food and a commodity for sale outside the region. Most of the tobacco and manioc of the Recôncavo are produced under a land rotation system in which the sequence is: (1) tobacco; (2) manioc; and (3) fallow in wild vegetation. The tobacco is planted in small fields, usually after an application of manure. The entire plant is harvested repeatedly until it will no longer produce a salable leaf. Manioc is planted following tobacco, sometimes several times, until the field is exhausted and abandoned to the second growth. The fallow period is frequently short, sometimes as little as one year. Cultivation is entirely by hand--no plows are used. There is very little selection of seed, and only one variety of tobacco--Bahia Brasil--is [423] [427] produced. Tobacco and manioc are produced almost exclusively by small cultivators who are either owners or renters. Frequently livestock [231] [233] are raised upon the properties of the cultivators, but except for the use of manure in the cultivation of tobacco, there is little integration of crop and livestock production. The leaf is harvested, dried, 276 and partially fermented by the cultivator. The marketing of tobacco 276 438 is inseparable from the credit arrangement between the cultivator and [452] [488] the tobacco buyer or agent. The leaf is delivered by the producer to the storekeeper-buyer or the local tobacco warehouse.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1

BB 241 231 233 In the surrounding sertão livestock production is the areally and, in many cases, economically dominant activity; the Recôncavo is primarily a region of crop cultivation.

BB 43 443 The Recôncavo is a functional unit in the economic organization of commercial agriculture and marketing. Salvador, with one-third of BB [249] [452] the people of the region, is the primary market center. The credit essential to the production of tobacco passes from the city to the countryside, while the leaf is either shipped to the city for export or is sent BB [249] to local cigar factories controlled by Salvador companies. Similarly, the headquarters of the sugar industry and the chief market for its products is Salvador. Feira de Santana is also a functional center for the region, since in its markets the agricultural and industrial products which either originate in the Recôncavo or are imported through Salvador are exchanged for the livestock, crops, and extractive products of the sertão.

B BB 241 Many of the features of the agricultural system of the Recôncavo are also characteristic of Brazil. Both the land rotation system and the permanent monoculture are basic Brazilian agricultural systems. Agricultural technology, in the Recôncavo and in most parts of Brazil, B BB [464] is relatively backward. Brazilian agriculture is labor extravagant, and there is a constant falta de braços, but with few attempts at mechanization. Agriculture is highly speculative, whether tobacco in B BB the Recôncavo or coffee in São Paulo. The large property—latifundia-- [423] [565] and the class organization with which it is associated are important in the region and in the country as a whole. There are large numbers of semi-dependent small cultivators in the Recôncavo as in other parts of Brazil. Both the region and the nation are very dependent upon the sale of agricultural products to distant markets.

121
*249 ditions and of paternalism. Here, the privately owned plantation is also still an important element.

In the community on which the present study focuses, there is a modern sugar factory or usina, but control by the fac-
[473] tory of the entire process, from cane planting and harvest-
ing to milling, is far from complete. Although the factory,
in this case a family corporation, has bought up six neigh-
• [423] boring plantations, at least half its supply of sugar cane comes from individual, family-owned plantations. Owners of these plantations, which have conserved their original boundaries, are often descendants of the aristocratic landholders of the past, and many of their workers are descendants of slaves who lived on the same plantations.

121 In this community, changes in sugar-producing technology
178 have not reached down into the actual cane cultivation on the
*249 plantations. Emphasis has been on the improvement of milling techniques, the further refinement of sugar-cane juice, and the perfection of the finished product by the central mill. But the agricultural methods--planting, cultivation, harvesting, and transportation--have remained relatively unchanged.

121 Most important of all, with the retention of these older tech-
178 niques has gone the retention to a very great degree of the old
*249 accompanying social system. The present social system tends
571 to follow the old, traditional, family-oriented, slaveholding complex. The pattern of face-to-face interpersonal relations, developed during centuries of sugar-cane monoculture based on slavery, persists in a modified form. Although the relations between workers and owner on these family plantations are now those of employee and employer, and not slave and owner, there is still the highly personal, intimate relationship based upon mutual rights and obligations and a sense of the obligations of nobility. Even the usina system perpetuates this paternalism to a high degree.

121 The present work is a "community study" in the full sense of the term as it is understood today in social anthropology. It is primarily a descriptive analysis of one community in the sugar-producing region of northeastern Brazil, but it is conceived within the framework of the historical sequence outlined above.

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*249 is located at the water's edge on one of the six plantations; three belong to different members of another family related to the sugar factory owners through marriage; one belongs individually to a member of the family owning the factory; and the last one belongs to a nonrelative, a mestiço (person of mixed racial descent), who is socially reticent but considered
[871] an astute businessman. Within the area there is also a federal school which has a large expanse of noncultivated land.

361 The pattern of settlement on the plantations is that of a village. The homes of the cultivators are grouped in a cluster apart from the land they work, the point of orientation being the owner's home. "Although the village settlement as represented by the homes of the small-farming classes is hardly to be found in Brazil, the village manner of arranging the population on the land is widely used on the large estates that are prominent throughout the Brazilian countryside. For the most part the fazendas and usinas of Brazil utilized this nucleated form of settlement in their 'quarters' or 'colonies' for the workers who till the crops."[6]

162 The population of the rural zone of the community of Vila Recôncavo is 2,800, of whom 500 live at the sugar factory nucleus; on each of the sugar-cane plantations there are between
*249 150 and 200 persons. Traveling about from one plantation nu-
311 cleus to another, one sees no sign of habitation, for the country is devoted to intensified sugar-cane cultivation. Fields of sugar cane, 10 to 20 acres in size, alternate with pastures--fields which are being rested for three or four years. Each private plantation has a section of forest to produce firewood and lumber. The factory plantations, however, for the most part are entirely cleared, as the corporation owns another plantation on the other side of the Recôncavo which is used exclusively for raising and pasturing cattle and for supplying
*249 firewood for the large fires of the factory. Land divisions or
•[423] boundaries are generally long lines of graceful bamboo trees which also supply fence posts. On each plantation can be seen the remains either of the old sobrado or of the antique mill (engenho) or chapel (capela), and in some cases the sobrado is still in good repair and inhabited by the owner.

312 The Recôncavo is not blessed with abundant fresh water. The rivers are few and small, prone to dry up in the hot sum-

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6. T. Lynn Smith, Brazil (Baton Rouge, 1947), p. 396.

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SC11 Bahia Brazilians SC11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

3: History of the Rural Area

THE HISTORY of the development of the rural area of Vila Recôncavo is more or less representative of that of most of the sugar area in the states of Bahia, Alagoas, and Pernambuco, and consists of two major aspects. It is first of all the history of the sugar-cane industry in Brazil, and secondly the social, economic, and political record of the people who grew the cane.

The Bahian Recôncavo occupies a unique position in Brazil, for its history is as long as that of what is today the nation. From 1549 until 1763 Salvador was the capital of the new and prosperous Portuguese colony. The Recôncavo, because of its proximity to Salvador, and because of the excellent transportation facilities provided by the Bay of All Saints, was the only part of Brazil in easy communication with the capital city. Although the governors general were occupied with the settlement of other far-flung places in the colony and with the raiding and pirating of the French, English, and Dutch, their first or at least closest worries were those of settling and exploiting Bahia and its immediate environs. By the end of the first fifty years of activity, most of the Recôncavo had been wrested from the wilderness; and, although not free from molestation by the Indians for many more years, it was rapidly planted in sugar cane. As noted earlier, sugar at this time was a luxury item in Europe and brought a very high price. In the first century of its cultivation sugar cane made the fortunes of many people: the growers, the middlemen, the slavers, and the colonial governors.

At the start of the colonial period land was given out in the form of grants which originally carried with them the idea of

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 5011 Bahia Brazilians 5011
VILA RECÔNCAVO

175 the responsibility of holders to colonize and develop their
*423 areas. The grants were as a rule very large, consisting of
*249 leagues of land rather than of acres. Only one grant could be made to a family. As a result the son of a man who was a holder of a grant either had to remain on his father's land or had to leave the province and go elsewhere to acquire land. The only remaining alternative was to forget about land and go
[425] into commerce or a profession. However, since the grants were so very large, the original holders were able to break them up, selling or renting parts, giving some to their married sons or daughters and yet retaining and cultivating enough to support themselves. Thus the original land grants were broken up, and several plantations were made of each.

175 Engenho was the name given to the total plantation, as well
*249 as being the specific designation for the mill itself. Every
313 plantation, regardless of whether it was inland or on the coast, needed two things: the soil known as massapé, and woods as close as possible to the mill to supply firewood for boiling the
[185] sugar-cane juice. Firewood soon became a crucial problem, one which has haunted the sugar industry for centuries. Conservation never was a Brazilian practice, and the tropical forests of the Recôncavo were soon stripped to feed the hun-
[435] gry mouths of the furnaces. As time went on it became necessary to import firewood by boat from wherever it could be
[376] found, which added greatly to the costs of producing sugar. The steam mill came much later and added further to the problem.

175 At first the owner's house was a veritable fort, surrounded
*249 by bulwarks and stockades to resist Indian attacks, but by the
342 end of the seventeenth century the need for this precaution had
361 passed away and the plantation houses were assuming noble proportions. Many were imposing two-story buildings built of stone and mortar, the ground level generally being used as a storehouse and the master (senhor de engenho) and his family living on the upper floor. As a rule the Big House of the Recôncavo was situated so that there would be an excellent view from the windows, not only of the mill and slave quarters nearby but of the surrounding countryside. There was no sight so dear to the heart of a plantation master as that of fields of sugar cane, the leaves of many shades of green waving gently in the breeze.

175 Frequently a chapel was connected with the house or built
*249 near it. Not very far away would be the mill, and nearby the
36
[346]

21 Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

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the plantation complex became the principal characteristic. Marriages between the families of plantation owners brought new alignments of property, some families acquiring more land and others losing it through the natural processes of the marriage and growth of parts of families and the dying out of others. Family became increasingly important. As a rule the conjugal family was large and the extended family enormous; marriages between cousins, uncles, nieces, and other relatives were common. Social life was carried on between neighboring plantations, and of course many marriages took place as a result of these contacts, so that it was not infrequent to find many plantations, both contiguous and scattered, owned

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by the same family. As a rule each extended family had its traditional plantation as a sort of home base, and the head of the family frequently resided there, although not always. The patriarch was generally granted great respect and prestige by the members of his family, both far and near.

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[423]

Many who received land grants were the noblemen of the province, and many of them were representatives of the government. In this way the plantation master was securely establishing himself and his family not only in the Recôncavo but also in the governmental hierarchy, and was often in a position to see that the government action did not adversely affect the interests of the sugar-cane growers. At any rate, for several centuries social and political domination was in the hands of a small group which gradually intermarried, always strengthening itself. Its members were, first and foremost, the landowning gentry; next in importance were professional people such as lawyers, doctors, clerics, educators,

[669]

and politicians. Members of this group were also soldiers, and in the War of Independence in 1822 the plantation masters of Vila Recôncavo took a foremost part both personally and financially, for which many were later honored by having royal titles bestowed upon them.

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As the small rural towns, and later the counties, grew, they also fell under the domination of one or several plantation masters. Not infrequently a feud would arise between two families to determine which was to be the dominant one. As the plantation master prospered, he showed his wealth and power with a degree of ostentation which was commented upon by travelers and chroniclers of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. The ruins of houses built at this time can be seen today scattered throughout the coastal northeast.

small empires, disappeared. But in his place an even more powerful figure appeared, the usineiro, the land-factory combination director and representative of corporate power. 175 249* 473

However, not all private plantations succumbed to pressure from the factories or to economic collapse. There are many which still continue to plant and cultivate sugar cane and send it to the factory for milling. After 1933 the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol prescribed the amount of sugar cane each plantation, whether private or corporate, could produce, and indicated the total amount of sugar each factory could produce and how much cane it had to accept from each plantation. As a result of this protection, many private plantations continue to function in equilibrium with the factory to which they send their sugar cane. The private plantation owners also have a separate association which looks after their interests. [178] 175 249* 433 [656]

Thus the twentieth century has seen the introduction and development of the factory system and in its wake a series of fundamental changes. The growth of factory towns (the usina nuclei) has created further competition for the older county seats, such as the town of Vila Recôncavo, and further disintegration of the former community structure. 175 249* 178

Since its discovery and settlement, the rural area of Vila Recôncavo has been the scene of sugar-cane planting and sugar making. The rural area was settled before the town of Vila Recôncavo, and the plantation nuclei were actually self-sufficient small towns in themselves. The landowning pattern in this rural area has gone full cycle. First were the large land grants which were then split up into separate engenhos (after 1889 known as fazendas) through division due to inheritance, sale, or donation. For about three hundred years the pattern of the area was that of the engenho. However, at the end of the nineteenth century, this way of life came to an end as a result of financial crises and the abolition of slavery. The twentieth century has seen the introduction of the factory, which has led to a concentration of lands again under single ownership, although this time corporate and not that of a single individual or family. 175 178 249* 423 •

During the epoch of the plantations there was a necessity for the existence of the town to serve the needs of the landowning class. The community during this time was focused to a large extent toward the county seat. But with the abolition of slavery, the disappearance of the plantation master and his large family, and the coming of the factory, the former com- 175 178 249* 621

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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[The Private Plantation]

The following discussion will examine one of the five private plantations in the community of Vila Recôncavo and will then describe the network of factory plantations in the same community.

The Private Plantation: Fazenda das Moças

The Fazenda das Moças ("G" on map of community) is typical of a privately owned plantation in all respects but one. Its owner is a lady who assumed active direction of the plantation after her husband's death. At first there was some difficulty in persuading the overseer of the plantation to take orders from a woman, for he felt his prestige was lowered in the eyes of the workmen as well as the overseers of neighboring plantations. However, after three or four years, Dona Sinhá, in cooperation with "Seu"[1] Paulo, the overseer, has made an outstanding success of her plantation, and the original friction between the two has greatly diminished. Below is an inventory of the Fazenda das Moças:

Extent: 930 tarefas,[2] mostly of massapê, 450 of which are under sugar-cane cultivation, the rest consisting of pasture and small gardens

Water: 4 drinking tanks for livestock
2 small freshwater streams
(Drinking water must be brought from a neighboring plantation, which has a spring well known in the area for the salubrious qualities of its water.)

Houses: 45 workers' houses
Owner's house, with living room, dining room, 4 bedrooms, kitchen, bathroom, 2 maids' rooms, 2 other dependencies, veranda; surrounded by orchard
1 overseer's house
1 house formerly used as a school

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1. "Seu" is a corruption of Senhor and is a title often given to persons of some prestige.

2. The tarefa is the unit of land measurement used in Bahia. It equals 900 square braças. The braça equals 6 feet, which gives the tarefa 32,400 square feet. This is 11,160 square feet less than one acre.

2: Hutchinson E-4,6 (1950-1951) 1987 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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[The Private Plantation]

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1 new, rural school, with rooms for classes and living quarters for teacher, constructed by the state on land donated by Dona Sinhá

Value of the plantation: Cr$1,500,000,00.[3]

Equipment: 1 Caterpillar tractor, model D2
1 John Deere plow
1 jeep
2 four-wheeled, rubber-tired wagons
9 juntas of oxen (the junta equals ten oxen, eight in use and two resting)
9 two-wheeled carts drawn by oxen--the antique and most used transportation in the Recôncavo
30 burros for carrying cane
12 saddle horses
35 milk cows and breeding mares
78 cattle for breeding purposes

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[412]
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The Fazenda das Moças is unusual in its possession of a tractor, a mechanical plow, and a jeep. (Even more recently a second tractor and a mechanical cultivator have been added.) More commonly the pai adão (Father Adam) plow is used, drawn by eight oxen. According to Pinho the plow was introduced into Brazil in the late eighteenth century. Before this all cultivation was done with the hoe.[4] For the past 150 years the pai adão has been used primarily to open the rows in which the sugar cane is planted. All the rest of the cultivation is done by hand, with the hoe and billhook. The pai adão is a simple plow with a single plowshare. When it is drawn by oxen, a driver is needed, plus a small boy helper and another man to manage the plow. When it is drawn by tractor, only two men are needed, the driver and the plowman. Various properties of the soil, such as its hardness in the summer when it dries, its swamplike character during the rainy season, and the danger of turning up the infertile tauá which underlies the shallow layer of massapê, have made plowing difficult in the Re-

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3. The cruzeiro (Cr$) is the Brazilian monetary unit and equals roughly five cents in United States currency. Thus the value of the plantation is approximately $75,000.00.

4. de Araujo Pinho, Historia de um engenho do Recôncavo, 1522-1944 (Rio de Janeiro, 1946), p. 243.

[The Private Plantation]

côncavo. So far only the pai adão has been able to fulfill the plowing requirements. Lately, however, tractors with caterpillar tread have been introduced and, when used carefully with disk plows, have given excellent results. But the old standby is still commonly in use, hitched to eight, ten, twelve, or as many as twenty oxen. 249*i 407 [492]

The owner's house with its park stands on a small hilltop and is visible from afar because of its imperial palms. Nearby, on another hilltop, is the settlement of workers, a long street with houses on either side, the barracks, a small store, and the ever-present casa de farinha, the house where manioc is always being ground, pressed, and roasted to make the farina which is the staple food of the area. Also on this street is the overseer's house, which stands out from the others because of its large size and its veranda. The houses of the workmen are small and built for the most part under one long, common roof. Each house is really an apartment consisting of a front living room and a long corridor going back to the kitchen, with one or two bedrooms leading off the corridor. Other houses, under separate roofs, have similar interior arrangements. The roofs are of red tiles, the rest of the house of clay mud (taipa) slapped on both sides of a bamboo framework. After the mud has dried a coat of whitewash is applied. The houses are built and kept in repair by the plantation owner and do not belong to the workers. The floors are of beaten earth, difficult to keep clean. At night, when only a tiny oil lamp is burning, the houses look dark and gloomy. 249* 361 [252] [262] 249* 342 [356] [423] [416]

After dark one has the impression of hearing much more than one can see. Kerosene is expensive to burn, no one reads, and most of life is geared to doing in the daytime those tasks which require light. At night the workmen and their families sit in the dark talking, or perhaps go to the casa de farinha where a fellow workman and his family may be grinding their manioc. This building is softly lit with kerosene lamps and there is a cheerful glow from the roasting fire. More recently the overseer's house has been equipped with electricity, and now it is always well lighted at night. His new radio has become a center of attraction and small groups form about his veranda, listening. At the other end of the street, during harvest time, there is always a bonfire in front of the barracks where the migrant workers are sheltered. On special occasions there may be a samba (dance), perhaps in the plantation owner's house. Then everyone dons his best and the 249* 517 [535]

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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the factory is undergoing a reformation which will raise its capacity to over one hundred thousand sacks, and the legal capacity will be readjusted.

Usina São Pedro, although the smallest, is representative of the others and experiences the same problems and difficulties. It differs from some in that it is a family enterprise. The stockholders are nearly all members of the Conde family, and the operations are directed by two members of the family. The factory itself was one of the three built by the state government in 1900 on land controlled by the Navy,[5] on the edge of the Bay, which provides excellent year-round transportation facilities. The mill was acquired in 1909 by the Conde family with two plantations, to which the family has since added four other contiguous plantations. The corporation has a total area of slightly over four thousand acres, mostly of rich massapê soil. The factory receives cane from the plantation of Dona Sinhá, who is also a member of the Conde family by birth and by marriage. It also gets cane from four other plantations within the community and four outside the community, which send their cane by the traditional sailboat. In addition, the factory owns a 2,324-acre plantation in the county of Purificação which is used for grazing and raising cattle and for supplying wood for the factory fires. There is direct water transportation between the factory and the plantation in Purificação.

The designation usina has several meanings which are quite similar to the meanings of the older term, engenho. In its larger context, usina means the entire land-factory combination, including the mill and all the plantations belonging to the corporation. More specifically, usina means the factory building itself. In another context, usina simply indicates the population nucleus, including the factory, the owner's house, and the other buildings.

The usina or factory nucleus roughly follows the same settlement pattern of the old plantations. The point of orientation is the factory building, near which stand the chalet and other homes of the owning family, which are grouped together in a park of royal palms and mango trees. Usually a small chapel or oratory is included in one wing of the chalet, where

5. The shoreline bordering salt water is controlled to the depth of 33 meters by the Brazilian Navy.

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Usina]

The private plantation presents a far better appearance than any plantation belonging to the factory, for it is usually "home" to the owner, who is interested in keeping it as pleasant as possible, while the factory plantation in charge of an overseer is simply a business project existing only to produce sugar cane. 249* 466 184

At the Usina São Pedro, as stated earlier for the Recôncavo generally, the consolidation of land by the corporations has not turned the entire property into one large plantation. Instead, each plantation has retained its old boundaries, indeed complete autonomy, following only the general policies of the factory directory. The Usina São Pedro happens to be situated in a central position in relation to its six plantations. This is not always the case, for frequently the lands of a factory are scattered far from the plant itself, creating difficulties of administration and transportation. 249* 423

Each of the plantations has its own nucleus, the street of workers' houses oriented toward the house of the overseer. Each of these little villages has its own small store, usually a private enterprise of the overseer. The largest plantation, Pedras, has a chapel and a school. None of the plantations has an electric power line, but each has a telephone in the overseer's house. The feeling of isolation and abandonment is strong, as indeed it is on almost all overseer-directed plantations belonging to a factory. There is a general feeling of pity for the residents who are situated so far from their patrão and whose first recourse must be the overseer, a man like themselves, with little or no education and little interest in the people other than to keep them working. In other words, the factory plantation lacks the paternal hand of the owner. In other respects it is similar to the private plantation in that it has an overseer, a foreman, a cowboy, and resident workmen. 249* 36 [206] 249* 571 [184]

The bulk of the agricultural direction of the São Pedro plantations is in the hands of the general overseer, Seu Pipiu. It is his duty to direct and supervise the activities of all six plantations. He is a man of no small status. He is practically independent in his actions, for the directors of the factory tell him how much cane they feel they need in the forthcoming harvest, and it is up to him to produce it. The methods and problems in doing this are left up to him. Seu Pipiu gives orders to each of the regional overseers, whose duties are the same as those of the overseer on a private plantation. The only difference is that they are dealing with a superior employee, instead of with the owner in person. The general over- 249* 463 466

The planta- 565 *
tion worker's world is small, and conversational topics are
limited to family matters such as births, deaths, marriages, 571
sickness, and other intimate details of personal life, the [521]
problems of work, and difficulties of any sort. The planter can
know the daily life and thoughts of the workers only through
observation, for he himself lives quite differently. However,
his knowledge of the workers is apt to be profound in spite
of the differences, and he knows much more of their lives
than they know of his. On the other hand, visiting between [574]
the workers and the members of Class B is on a much more
equal basis, for the differences between their modes of living
and thinking are small.

When the workers are invited to a party by the planters, 565 *
it is usually an affair given for them, such as a Christmas
celebration. At such a time the planter is host and spectator, 571
rather than host and participant. At other times the workers 574
may get together a song and dance group, a samba, and go to
the owner's house for the evening. This is frequently ex-
plained as "keeping the patron from being lonely." Again the [535]
owner is spectator, for the samba, performed exclusively by
women, is a type of folk dance seldom engaged in by the more
sophisticated upper class.

Class B in the rural area is only beginning to feel any sort 565 *
of group consciousness, for the occupational institutions it
represents are relatively new and it is not yet aligned in any
way with the corresponding class in town. There are two over-
seers who lack any formal education--indeed, who cannot read
or write. In all cases the male members of this class have
set up and maintained a family, educating their children and
seeing to it that they marry as well as possible. As a rule
such men are "self-made"--they have risen from the ranks
of workers as a result of their own ability, sagacity, sense
of responsibility, and desire to improve themselves. They are
distinguished from the workmen by these traits, which seem
to develop even further as they have the opportunity to use
their initiative.

Members of this group usually acquire numerous posses- 565 *
sions of their own, such as horses, oxen and carts, mules, 423 •
and donkeys which can be put to gainful use. They also op-
erate small stores on their plantations--in one case even a [422]
chain of stores, one on each of three plantations. They also [443]
try to buy a small farm somewhere nearby. Frequently the [466]
employer facilitates such acquisitions as a sort of bonus,
lending money or even giving some to the overseer.

lending money or even giving some to the overseer. Some of the members of Class B even acquire property in Salvador or in Centro, such as a house or houses which they may rent. It is the possession of this material wealth, plus the position of responsibility and authority, the greater proximity to the owner, and the invariably legalized status of the man's family which distinguish him from those below, placing him in a class by himself. In the case of the higher-placed white-collar workers of the factory, education is also important.

In material possessions other than those already listed, Class B differs considerably from the other two classes, having much less than Class A but much more than Class C. Their houses are always better and larger than those of the workers, and they usually have electricity supplied by the plantation. They generally have complete sets of manufactured dining and living room furniture, better bedroom furniture than the scanty belongings of the workers, china, rather than the clay dishes (nagé) of the workers, and table service for as many as a dozen persons. Usually their clothes are better and more numerous. Overseers are well known for their use of khaki coats, shirts, ties, and riding breeches, their well-polished leather boots and their felt hats, in contrast with the more informal sports clothes of the landowners and with the ragged, tight trousers and shirt and the straw hat of the shoeless rural worker.

Class B in the town of Vila Recôncavo is represented by Group 1 as described in the preceding chapter, with a few exceptions such as the minor municipal employees and a few of the smaller-scale merchants and lower-rated petroleum workers. Because there are no representatives of Class A in the town, Class B represents the top of the urban social scale. It is a class which has long existed in the town and which has always been composed of more or less the same occupation groups. For the most part, members of this stratum live on the hill which constitutes the old part of Vila Recôncavo, and seldom go down to the newer section. There are fourteen persons residing in town, plus their eight children, who are considered pure Caucasoid; they are all members of this local upper class. Three of them are foreign-born Franciscans who do not participate in much of public life once their official duties are completed. The others are brancos da terra ("whites of the land," a term which will be explained later in this chap-

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they are generally conceded to be so by the field hands and the members of classes A and B, because their occupations are more specialized and they work in the mill. There are actually several factors which distinguish them from the field laborers, for in addition to receiving protection by national legislation, including minimum salaries and rights to vacations and medical services, they receive from the factory electric light for their houses and firewood. In addition, factory workers do not plant gardens to supply their farina, and they consider themselves far superior to the agricultural laborers in that their own wives "do not use the hoe" (nao pegam na enxada). 565* 184 [656] [466]

At the factory nucleus where both millworkers and the agricultural laborers of one plantation live in the same place, the houses of the former are grouped in the middle of the village, clustered about the owner's chalet, while those of the latter are on the fringes, farther from the usineiro's house, the mill, and the large store. The factory workers' houses are better constructed than those of the field laborers. They are mostly of brick with tile roofs, while the field workers' homes are often of wattle-work covered with plaster and painted over. The houses of the factory nucleus follow the old slavequarter pattern. The buildings are long and narrow and divided into apartments under one roof. The factory owns all the houses, which the workers receive rent-free. The factory worker is better paid than the field worker, and consequently has more and better material possessions. His house is better furnished, and he dresses better. [361] 565* 342 184 [423]

Illiteracy is widespread in the rural area. The factory nucleus has had a state primary school for thirty years, and Pedras, the largest of the factory plantations, has had one for about twenty. As a result the factory workers, as well as the people of Pedras, have had the opportunity to attend four years of primary school. The rural laborers on other plantations, however, have lacked this opportunity in most cases. An exception is the Fazenda das Moças, which has had a school in recent years, for children in the daytime and for adults at night. 565* 184 871 [212]

The social life of the workers is almost entirely confined to the place in which they live. Their lives are spent on the plantation except for the days when they walk to the fair in Centro, usually on the Monday following payday. During the summer, when the roads are good for travel, they are busy with the 565* 517

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harvesting and milling. The factory operates twenty-four hours a day during this season. In the winter, when they have more leisure, travel is too difficult, for the roads disappear in mud. Few of the rural people go to the town of Vila Recôncavo, for it has nothing to attract them except the boat to Salvador and the priest, whom they sometimes visit to have a Mass said or for a burial. The free movies recently innovated by the Petroleum Council and located a mile from the factory have been a boon to the rural people, but as a rule only the men attend. In fact, almost any kind of off-plantation gathering is attended predominantly by men.

On most plantations the casa de farinha is a social gathering place, and both males and females congregate there to talk about the latest news while they work. The women also gossip at the local well as they fetch water or remain there washing their clothes. Their everyday lives are busy, and there is little time for purely social activities. The day begins and ends early. Soon after dark the lights go out, the houses close, and silence reigns except for the noise coming from the casa de farinha, which may operate all night, or the lonesome singing of the caatingueiros housed in the barracks, or the strong rhythmic sound of the drums coming from a distant candomblé ceremony. Because there is little work for women on a plantation, the "extra" girls, those for whom there are no potential husbands, ask the planter to get them work as domestics in the city; this is usually easy, for there is nearly always someone in Salvador looking for a "good, strong country girl" to work in the home. Occasionally, if a worker's son is especially intelligent and industrious, he too may be placed in some position in the city.

Class C comprises the majority of the population in the town of Vila Recôncavo and includes most of the occupations listed in Group 3 of the preceding chapter--that is, fishermen, gardeners, and artisans. There are no "pure whites" in this class, but, as in the rural area, a few "whites of the land" and the full range of mestiços, whose various color and social characteristics will be discussed later. The people of Class C live for the most part in the lower section of town, in the areas called Cortume, Largo de Santa Cruz, Rua Nova, Boqueirão, Cumbamba, and Caquende. The great majority of them own their homes, although the land belongs to the Fazenda Engenho da Vila, to the church, or to the prefeitura, and is rented for a small yearly sum. The houses are small, usually

2; Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1980-1981) 1987 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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TABLE 4
TOTAL PROPERTY VALUE

Urban (Cr$)	Class		Rural (Cr$)
	A		5.751.080,00
36.834,54	B		88.652,85
6.954,75	C	field workers	1.251,20
		factory workers	1.633,00
3.991,00	D		

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Total property value again demonstrates the enormous gap between the rural upper class and the classes below. It also shows the members of rural Class B far ahead of urban class B in possession of property. Most of this property consists of small farms and animals. Urban classes C and D have more property than does rural Class C, principally because the town dwellers own their own houses. In addition to this, members of Class C often own their own means of production, such as canoes and fish nets. Both houses and working equipment are supplied to the rural workers by the land owners.

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TABLE 5
HOUSEHOLD EXPENDITURES

Class		Total expenditure	Expenditure for food
A		10.129,50	3.327,00
B	rural	1.955,91	1.199,28
	urban	1.771,40	1.342,21
C	field workers	522,00	413,00
	factory workers	755,54	522,00
	urban	728,00	571,00
D		440,90	434,00

Approximately one-third of the total expenditures of Class A are for food, while Class B spends about two-thirds of its

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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[Class A Families]

7. The Family

THE FAMILIES of Vila Recôncavo carry out the usual functions of this kinship unit to a greater or lesser degree, depending mainly upon their class and their internal structure. There are extremes of family structure in the area: Class A families represent a tightly built and extensive, extended, "patriarchal" organization, constantly giving evidence of its strong solidarity, while Class D is characterized by a loose and weak organization of small, immediate families and part families of women with their children. 565* 596

Class A in the community of Vila Recôncavo is represented by five family lines which own practically all the sugar lands in the area. Two of these families, the Condes and the Jacuipes, are closely interwoven by first-cousin marriages; a third, the Aliança family, is related to these two by marriage. The remaining two families are not related to those just mentioned nor to each other. There is little or no contact between them and the other families, for they spend little time in the rural area, and in Salvador they belong to circles composed of their own extended families. The Conde, Jacuipe, and Aliança families come into occasional contact with the other two at public functions in Salvador, but hardly ever at smaller social gatherings. They spend more time in the rural area, where they are more active politically than the other two. If the roots of these three families were traced back a century or so, it would be seen that they are also related to many other families of local planters and usineiros. Because of the tremendous growth of the numbers in each of the families, they have grown apart, each branch preserving its own nuclear group. Each generation brings new intermar- [423]

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596 riages and realignments between branches of these old families.

The Conde and Jacuipe families are good examples of family structure and cohesiveness in Class A. The Conde family is the principal owner of the factory, while several members of the Jacuipe family have stock in the corporation. The ancestral plantation of the Jacuipe family lies outside, although near, the community of Vila Recôncavo and is rented to a neighboring factory. Dona Sinhá, a member of the Jacuipe family and widow of a Conde, owns Fazenda das Moças within the community, a property adjoining the lands of Usina São Pedro. The Conde and Aliança families are joined by a marriage which has brought them into close contact. The Aliança family has three plantations in the community. Thus ten of the eleven functioning plantations in the area belong to the members of three interrelated extended families. [423]

The senior member of the Conde family, the "Colonel," is one of the two men who founded the factory and the brother of the senior member of the Jacuipe family, Dona Yayá, now a widow. A son and a daughter of the Colonel married a daughter and a son of Dona Yayá, thus strengthening the ties between the two families. The Condes are represented by three generations: the mother and father, their eleven children, ten of whom are married, and their twenty-three grandchildren. The Jacuipe family is represented by four generations: Dona Yayá, her eight children, seven of whom are married, twenty-six grandchildren, and three great-grandchildren. Through marriages in the second descending generation of both families, seventeen more persons have been brought into the family group, and through marriages of the third descendent Jacuipe generation six more people have been added. The total number of persons in the two immediate families is ninety-seven. Nineteen members of the Jacuipe family now live in Rio de Janeiro, reducing the number constantly present in Bahia to seventy-eight. Those in Rio, however, maintain constant communication with Bahia and often spend their vacations "home" in Salvador. [162] [528]

The Colonel and his wife, and the Colonel's sister Dona Yayá, form the nucleus around which the two extended kindred groups are organized. At the factory there are three residences: the large chalet, where the Colonel and his wife live, and a house apiece for his son and son-in-law, who are the two active directors of the factory. There are accommodations [474]

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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[Class A Families]

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596 All these dishes are served with rice, potatoes, farina, and
527 cooked vegetable salads. Then fruits are served, followed by
262 a series of desserts including puddings, ice cream, and cakes.
[272] The meal is concluded with a demitasse (cafèzinho). Lunch is usually served at midday, and afterwards the guests generally break into small groups, talk, sleep, play cards, or stroll about the garden. In midafternoon a small merenda
* (snack) is served for those who want it, consisting of cake and
565 demitasse, and in the evening ceia (supper) is served, in-
596 cluding cold cuts, salads, and dessert. After this the group
527 may go en masse to the movies, either at the Petroleum Camp or in the town of Vila Recôncavo. Or, if in gay spirits, they
[546] may spend the evening dancing in the living room to popular records. People go to these almoços by horseback, jeep,
[535] truck, or sometimes, in a spirit of fun, by oxcart. Hospital-
[492] ity has for hundreds of years been the tradition of the rural landowners, who envelop guests with an overabundance of
[493] everything. One planter always has the dining-room table set for at least ten people, although only he and his wife live
*565 in the house. Others have the reputation of always providing a good meal for anyone who passes at mealtime.
574 The decreasing size of families, the shift in individual em-
423 ployment from agriculture to the professions, and this cen-
178 tury's change to large-scale industrial holdings for the pro-
428 duction of sugar have caused some differences in land tenure and, hence, inheritance. The Recôncavo is not an area in which land title was ever vague or lost as was often the case in the sertão. Land was always scarce here, for the desirable massapê soils are limited in extent. The plantations of today for the most part fall into one of two categories: those which have been in the hands of one family for a century or more, and those which were bought after the abolition of slavery by newcomers to the Recôncavo or by those who already had plantations and at a time of falling value bought new ones from the creditors who had taken them over from their former owners for debt. In both cases title passed free and clear. The common form of inheritance is for one half of the estate to go to the widow and the other half to be divided among other heirs.

178 A century ago, it was common for plantation masters to
42 have extensive holdings, not only in the Recôncavo, but also in other parts of the state, as well as houses and even commercial buildings in the city of Salvador. In addition to this,

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gave sugar growing a great impetus by organizing expeditions of soldiers which he led into the farthest reaches of the Bay of All Saints, killing, driving out or enslaving the hostile Indian inhabitants, so as to make the area safe for settlers to move out of the city into the surrounding area and plant sugar. Mem de Sá himself built one of the largest and most productive of the sugar plantations in the Recôncavo.[2] His lands comprised three and a half leagues along the coastline of the Bay, extending four leagues inland, and two islands.[3] This *sesmaria*—as the early land grants were called—of Mem de Sá was broken down into smaller pieces by his daughter who inherited it, and by the end of the sixteenth century, most of the *sesmarias* of the Recôncavo had similarly, been divided into plantations averaging approximately 600 to 1,000 acres. In the past 250 years, many of these have kept the same boundaries and names, but their ownership has changed hands many times and they have passed through many cycles of prosperity and depression.

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The essential form of a plantation in the Recôncavo has changed little since the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the past, the entire plantation was known as an *engenho*, taking its name from the sugar-mill building which was the heart of the plantation. There were two chief types of sugar mills, one operated by water power and the other driven by traction power supplied by oxen. Before the end of slavery, steam-driven machinery had also come into use. A typical *engenho* had four main items of wealth—its lands, its buildings, the livestock and the slaves. Most of the land was, of course, planted in sugar cane, but there were also wood forests to supply firewood, pastures for the livestock, and small areas devoted to the raising of food stuffs for the personnel of the *engenho*. The buildings of an *engenho* included the sugar mill, the *sobrado*, or home of the owner, and the slave quarters. The owner's house was frequently a very large and pretentious building with one and a half or two storeys. In the Recôncavo the landowners sought to build their houses *a meia encosta*, or against the side of a hill, giving the appearance of a two-storey house in front, but only one in the rear. Such homes were frequently constructed of stone, wood and mortar, with tile roofs. The slave quarters, which were known as *senzalas*, were generally long narrow buildings with sides of mud or *taipa* and and roofs of palm fronds. The livestock of a typical *engenho* consisted of oxen, burros, horses, sheep and cows. The oxen supplied the power to turn the grinding mills when there was no water power, and they pulled the large two-wheeled carts which were used to transport the cane from the fields to the mill. Horses and burros provided transportation for the plantation owner in supervising the work in the fields, and for him and his family for visits to nearby *engenhos* and to town. Cattle and sheep grazing on the portions of the land which were fallow supplied milk and meat to the plantation community.

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In the very large *usinas*, the mill hands and even the field hands are modern industrial workers. They are employees of a large industrial corporation and are protected at least theoretically by the labour laws of the nation. The highly personalized relationship between the plantation workers and the owner-administrator of his own plantation, which persisted from the slave era, has been replaced on the larger *usinas* by the impersonal employee-employer relationship of the modern industrial age. Today, modern plantations and small towns have electricity; there is modern housing for workmen; the State and even the sugar companies provide medical aid; there are primary schools both in the small towns and on many plantations; recreation facilities are found in the towns and provided by the *usinas*; and the sugar-cane experimental station situated in the area constantly urges fertilization of the land and modern techniques and methods of sugar-cane production. But the older and more traditional patterns exist side by side with the new, and each of them influences the relations among the racial groups of the zone.

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III. Vila Recôncavo is a small town on the Bay of All Saints. The rural area around it, which lies within the social and economic orbit of the town and which is the unit under consideration, comprises some 80 square kilometres, or slightly less than half the entire area of the county of which the town of Vila Recôncavo is the county seat.[1]

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It this area there are 14 plantations, three of which nowadays plant very little sugar cane. Parts of the town itself are built on the land of one of these plantations, and the rest of the town area is owned in small lots by private individuals or by the Church. Although Vila Recôncavo is the county seat, local government is the only important function which it fulfils for the surrounding area. It is not used as a shipping point, either for receiving supplies from the outside or for sending sugar to the outside. *Braços do mar*, or inlets of the bay, go to many of the plantations and are deep enough for the *saveiros* (shallow draft sailboats) used on the bay for transport. Many of the plantations have direct connexion with Salvador. Commerce in Vila Recôncavo is almost entirely limited to supplying the 1,462 inhabitants of the town and of some small islands and of one community near by which is not devoted to sugar production. It is not the major supply source even for these groups which live near enough to another and far larger commercial centre where they prefer to do their marketing. The *prefeito* or mayor of the county is rarely a resident of the town itself. Rather he is usually a planter of the surrounding area. He goes into town to do municipal business,

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[1] Both the town and the county bear the name of Vila Recôncavo.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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and that the sudden liberation of large numbers of subjected blacks would subvert public order gradually melted away as the numbers of emancipated Negroes increased and these freedmen gave evidence of their ability and willingness to become an orderly part of the free population and to labor as effectively, if not more effectively, for wages as when impelled by physical force.

The free people of color (who by 1872 largely outnumbered the slaves)[97] were, Southey says, "an industrious and useful part of the population: most of the maize, manioc and pulse, with which the towns were supplied, was raised by them upon small pieces of ground, which they rented of the great proprietors at a low rate."[98] Freedmen were also employed as laborers on the large estates, where they lived as squatters on the land of their employers, erecting mud and palm-leaf huts for their families, and looking to the planter for protection from any who would do them harm.[99] In the towns they were employed principally as artisans, porters, messengers, barbers, street merchants and small shopkeep-

[97] Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

[98] Southey, *op. cit.*, III, 787. Cf. also: "The masters who freed slaves often gave them, with their liberty, a piece of land to insure their subsistence. The Negroes who have inherited these small holdings are to-day (1911) the best element of the black agricultural population" (Pierre Denis, *Brazil*, trans. from the French by Bernard Miall [New York, 1911], p. 322).

[99] Koster writes: "The Negroes in my possession could not perform what ought to be done in proper time; and therefore I collected free laborers for the purpose, and in a short period between thirty and forty men, some of whom brought their families, removed on to the lands of the plantation; and most of them erected hovels of palm-leaves, in which they dwelt; but a few of them were accommodated with huts of mud..... Many of these fellows would have committed almost any crime under the impression that my protection would screen them" (*op. cit.*, I, 295, 297).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Coast products much prized by Africans and their descendants in Brazil.[1] An elderly Bahian Negro recently brought out from among his treasured possessions a faded photograph of blacks aboard a ship on their way to Africa and pointed out an *atabaque*, or sacred drum, and a woman in *saia grande*.[2] He recalls having been many times with his father at the docks in Bahia when vessels came in from Africa and sailors brought news of Lagos.

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Trade with the West Coast, however, gradually decreased until, by 1905, it had almost entirely disappeared. Today, only a few important articles employed in the fetish ritual, such as cowries, *obis* and *orobôs* (sacred fruits), *pimenta* (pepper) *da costa*, *palha* (straw) *da costa*, *sabão* (soap) *da costa*, and strips of *pano* (cloth) *da costa*, are occasionally imported from Africa.

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Numerous Africans, their interest in Brazil stirred by Brazilian Negroes returning to the West Coast, are said to have emigrated to Bahia as recently as thirty years ago. Considerable areas in and about the city—for example, Caminho do São Gonçalo, Caminho do Cruz, and a portion of the Terreiro—were once owned, it is said, by *Africanos*.

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Today, native-born Africans as a population element are

[1] Pedro Calmon, *História social do Brasil* (3 vols.; São Paulo, 1937-39), I, 182. It is also reported that on at least two occasions representatives of African chiefs arrived in Bahia from Ajudá, with which port Bahian officials were maintaining direct commercial relations. One arrived during the administration of the Vice-rei Conde de Athouguia; two others "and an interpreter," on May 26, 1795. See João Varella, *Da Bahia que eu vi* (Bahia, 1935), pp. 153-57; J. B. de Sá e Oliveira, "Dois embaixadores africanos mandados a Bahia pelo Rei do Dahomé," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, LVI, Part I (1895), 413.

[2] The large skirt still worn *boufant* by many Bahian black women. The date was approximately 1895.

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423 the responsibility of holders to colonize and develop their
* 249 areas. The grants were as a rule very large, consisting of leagues of land rather than of acres. Only one grant could be made to a family. As a result the son of a man who was a holder of a grant either had to remain on his father's land or had to leave the province and go elsewhere to acquire land. The only remaining alternative was to forget about land and go
• [425] into commerce or a profession. However, since the grants were so very large, the original holders were able to break them up, selling or renting parts, giving some to their married sons or daughters and yet retaining and cultivating enough to support themselves. Thus the original land grants were broken up, and several plantations were made of each.

175 Engenho was the name given to the total plantation, as well
* 249 as being the specific designation for the mill itself. Every plantation, regardless of whether it was inland or on the coast,
313 needed two things: the soil known as massapê, and woods as close as possible to the mill to supply firewood for boiling the
(185] sugar-cane juice. Firewood soon became a crucial problem, one which has haunted the sugar industry for centuries. Conservation never was a Brazilian practice, and the tropical forests of the Recôncavo were soon stripped to feed the hun-
[435] gry mouths of the furnaces. As time went on it became necessary to import firewood by boat from wherever it could be
[376] found, which added greatly to the costs of producing sugar. The steam mill came much later and added further to the problem.

175 At first the owner's house was a veritable fort, surrounded
* 249 by bulwarks and stockades to resist Indian attacks, but by the end of the seventeenth century the need for this precaution had
342 passed away and the plantation houses were assuming noble
361 proportions. Many were imposing two-story buildings built of stone and mortar, the ground level generally being used as a storehouse and the master (senhor de engenho) and his family living on the upper floor. As a rule the Big House of the Recôncavo was situated so that there would be an excellent view from the windows, not only of the mill and slave quarters nearby but of the surrounding countryside. There was no sight so dear to the heart of a plantation master as that of fields of sugar cane, the leaves of many shades of green waving gently in the breeze.

175 Frequently a chapel was connected with the house or built
* 249 near it. Not very far away would be the mill, and nearby the
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the plantation complex became the principal characteristic. Marriages between the families of plantation owners brought new alignments of property, some families acquiring more land and others losing it through the natural processes of the marriage and growth of parts of families and the dying out of others. Family became increasingly important. As a rule the conjugal family was large and the extended family enormous; marriages between cousins, uncles, nieces, and other relatives were common. Social life was carried on between neighboring plantations, and of course many marriages took place as a result of these contacts, so that it was not infrequent to find many plantations, both contiguous and scattered, owned by the same family. As a rule each extended family had its traditional plantation as a sort of home base, and the head of the family frequently resided there, although not always. The patriarch was generally granted great respect and prestige by the members of his family, both far and near.

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Many who received land grants were the noblemen of the province, and many of them were representatives of the government. In this way the plantation master was securely establishing himself and his family not only in the Recôncavo but also in the governmental hierarchy, and was often in a position to see that the government action did not adversely affect the interests of the sugar-cane growers. At any rate, for several centuries social and political domination was in the hands of a small group which gradually intermarried, always strengthening itself. Its members were, first and foremost, the landowning gentry; next in importance were professional people such as lawyers, doctors, clerics, educators, and politicians. Members of this group were also soldiers, and in the War of Independence in 1822 the plantation masters of Vila Recôncavo took a foremost part both personally and financially, for which many were later honored by having royal titles bestowed upon them.

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As the small rural towns, and later the counties, grew, they also fell under the domination of one or several plantation masters. Not infrequently a feud would arise between two families to determine which was to be the dominant one. As the plantation master prospered, he showed his wealth and power with a degree of ostentation which was commented upon by travelers and chroniclers of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. The ruins of houses built at this time can be seen today scattered throughout the coastal northeast.

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175 located in a position where it could grind the cane of many
178 plantations. The two aspects of the sugar industry, the agri-
*249 cultural and the industrial, were to be separated. The cane was to be planted, cultivated, and harvested by one group of people; these were the former plantation masters, who under the new system became simply suppliers of sugar cane (fornecedores de cana) to the mill. The cane was then milled,
[473] processed, and marketed by another group of people, a corporate body which became personified as the usineiro.

175 However, this division did not last long, for the modern up-
*249 to-date machinery of the new factories proved capable of grinding more cane than the planters were supplying. Because
473 of their poor financial conditions and loss of laborers due to the abolition of slavery and the consequent resettlement of
433 the former slaves, the planters were not able to expand their sugar-cane production enough to meet the demands of the factories. In other cases the planters resented the new factories and simply refused to cooperate, continuing to operate their outmoded mills in spite of adverse conditions. As a result, the corporations began buying plantations of their own, situated as near their mills as possible, in order to assure themselves of a larger supply of cane, and to lessen their dependence upon the individual planters.

175 There was an epoch when the hunger for land seemed insa-
*249 tiable. The usineiros not only had funds at their disposal which could be used for the purchase of land, but also had the means
• 425 of forcing individual planters to sell their land to the corpora-
473 tion. By refusing to mill the cane of the planter, or by taking his cane and then letting it sour, and by various other methods, the usineiros were able to force many planters into bankruptcy, after which the corporation bought the land. Also, many planters who continued to depend upon their own efforts, producing sugar in their old-style mills, gradually went into bankruptcy, since they could not compete with the improved product of the new factories.

175 In effect the factory system in Vila Recôncavo is an enlarged
*249 agricultural-industrial combination, an engenho enlarged many times over. The ownership pattern has changed; whereas the
473 engenho was owned by a family, and therefore subject to transfer on the death of the owner, the usina is a corporation, which continues despite the death of stockholders. As will be shown
[178] later, however, the corporation may even be a family. The plantation master, owner of lands and of slaves and ruler of

2: Hutchinson E-4.5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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tory and its fields, and who are slowly drifting away from visiting the factory nucleus. 178 249* 571

An overall result of the new conditions between private planters and the factory is a desire on the part of the suppliers of São Pedro to become independent of this outlet. Several of the suppliers are shifting their cane to other neighboring factories, when this is convenient. Most of them are seriously considering shifting to another crop, as will be described below; in fact a goodly proportion of land has already been taken out of sugar-cane production, thus diminishing future cane harvests and endangering the cane supply of Usina São Pedro. [311]

What was formerly a peaceful, "all in the family," almost preservelike area has become an area of tensions and of poor business, and social, relations. The situation has all the possibilities of a traditional sugar-cane kind of land capture. The factory needs land in order to produce more cane so that the mill can operate at capacity. No one is willing to sell to the factory, nor even to supply as much cane as he might under other conditions. But the private planters are dependent upon the factory, economically and for services. Therefore it is an easy matter for the factory to make difficulties for the individual planter, even gradually forcing him into failure, since the planter operates on credit and has little latitude for even a single crop failure. Such a failure gives the factory an opportunity to acquire badly needed lands at a bargain. [452] [425]

The sugar industry in the community of Vila Recôncavo has also undergone changes in the labor aspects, in line with the entire industry. As was pointed out in Chapter 4, the price of the sugar cane and the sugar is artificially regulated, and has been rising slowly over a period of years. However, nationwide social legislation in the past three years has raised the wages of the workers annually, before the price increases were granted by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol. Spiraling inflation has also helped raise all the costs, of labor, of materials, and of machinery. Whereas prices for the task done have always been fairly well regulated, they have recently become a very strong issue, and there is much worker discontent. The planter, whether private or corporate, is more than ever interested in holding down the costs of his labor supply, since other costs, particularly of machinery and repairs, are soaring, always narrowing the margin between the total cost of production and the established selling price. 178 249* 43 [656] [458] [466]

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilian: SO11
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can collect bananas, which should pay for the operating costs while waiting for the cacao to mature.

At the end of a five- or six-year period, the shade tree is usually large enough to provide sufficient shade, and the banana trees are gradually removed. At the same time the cacao begins to give its fruit, and one can then consider himself a cacauicultor.

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Several planters in Vila Recôncavo are at the banana-manioc planting stage, and have met with their first serious labor problem. No one wants to work in banana and manioc fields, as the work is arduous and slow. Machines are not available for the mechanical cultivation of manioc, so the work must be done by hand. The work is slowly being accomplished, but at costs which will make the manioc a considerable liability.

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Nevertheless, in spite of these difficulties, there is considerable interest in cacao in Vila Recôncavo, and cacao must be considered as an element of change in the community which will have far-reaching effects. The area of sugar production will be considerably reduced, requiring adjustments on the part of the factories, which represent large financial investments. Furthermore, cacao is a fairly simple product to process--its conversion into chocolate is usually done after export --and so it is quite likely that each plantation will return to the older aspect of the plantation, both growing and processing the crop, and become once again a highly self-sufficient unit.

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This would of course bring about a new alignment of socio-economic relations and would undoubtedly alter the community structure.

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A third principal cause of change in Vila Recôncavo is the growth of a new and potent industry within the community and throughout the county. This new industry is the nascent Brazilian petroleum industry. Exploratory work was done in Vila Recôncavo in 1950 and 1951 under the guidance of the Conselho Nacional de Petroleo. Since that date a nationalized company, Petrobrás, has been formed to exploit the oil fields which lie under the topsoil of the county of Vila Recôncavo. Petrobrás has brought in several hundred oil wells and has built roads, pipelines, storage tanks, and machine shops. Just outside the limits of the community, but within the county, it has built its oil refinery and has created a small new, modern city to house the technical workers of the refinery and the field. On land expropriated from the Usina São Pedro it has also con-

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structed a series of barracks, a recreation hall, a restaurant, and a service center for the unmarried field workers.

In spite of this, the changes in the community structure brought about by the petroleum industry have been as yet relatively few. The industry exists in the community as an intruder, not affecting communal life to any great extent, and not contributing any substantial local benefits. This is perhaps in part due to the fact that it is a nationalized company, with headquarters located in the city of Salvador, rather than a product of local efforts. The petroleum workers for the most part have not been drawn from the local labor force but have come from outside the county. It is almost as if a military base had been established in Vila Recôncavo on a temporary basis. [464]

The effect on the town has been principally to increase the number of houses. The married workers of Petrobrás for the most part live in the town. Naturally there has occurred a broadening of point of view among the town dwellers as a result of social intercourse, as well as a certain new prosperity due to greater numbers. Nevertheless, there are still no private cars, buses, or public transportation in the county. The petroleum workers and their families go to Salvador whenever possible for shopping and amusements, rather than attempting to satisfy these needs in Vila Recôncavo, where public services, diversions, and so forth have continued to be almost nonexistent. [362] [571] [493] [494] [484]

To counterbalance the effect of prosperity brought to the town by increased population, the petroleum industry has had an adverse effect on the fishing activities of the townspeople. Many wells have been drilled in the shallow waters of the Bay of All Saints in front of the town. As a result of underwater explosions, the constant passage of rapid motor launches, and digging and dredging machines, the traditional fishing area of the town's fishermen has been rapidly depleted and its ecological balance destroyed. The fishermen are gradually turning away from fishing as an occupation and seeking other remunerative activity, either outside the community or in the petroleum industry and, to a slight extent, in the sugar industry. Others are turning to service occupations, such as bricklaying, as stopgap activities. 178 315 433 226

Petrobrás to date has affected rural life very little. The planters of the area have profited to some extent because of the roads constructed by the company. It is now possible to 178 315 433 49

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567 those under 12 years of age.[1] Of the 121 slaves listed in the particular inventory mentioned above, 40 were African. Most of these came from West Africa. Of those whose African origin is indicated, *Nago* (Yoruba) is most often listed, and *Gege* (Ewe) is second.

249 On these sugar plantations of the Recôncavo in the colonial period,
565 the overseer of all operations involved in the growth of sugar cane and production of sugar was the owner himself. Generally, only the
463 oldest son was trained to take over his duties on the plantation; the younger sons were sent to Salvador, to Recife, or even to Europe to be educated as lawyers, physicians, engineers or Catholic priests.
[582] Daughters were married early and given their dowry, or they were sent to convents to become nuns or live as lay sisters. Marriages with first cousins were frequent. Every effort was made to keep the plantation undivided and in the family. The Recôncavo sugar plantation, until about the middle of the nineteenth century, was a remarkably stable community changing little in size and organization from generation to generation.

249 After the abolition of slavery, there was a partial exodus of ex-
567 slaves from the plantations to nearby towns and to the capital of Bahia. The ex-slaves who moved to small towns became manual
463 labourers or fishermen, or engaged in the profession they had learned
464 on the plantations, such as barbering, bricklaying, etc. In other cases, ex-slaves rented small plots of land on neighbouring plantations
[427] to raise manioc, corn, tobacco and other crops which required little outlay of capital. Others became sugar planters on a small scale; known as *rendeiros*, they rented a few acres from a plantation and cultivated sugar cane, sending the product to the nearby *engenhos* for milling. In other cases, the ex-slaves simply moved from one plantation to another, or they often remained as free men on the same plantation, still engaged in raising sugar cane, living under the same
249 conditions as before, but legally free. Contrary to popular opinion,
433 the *engenhos* of the Recôncavo did not all cease operations after
567 abolition. Many of them kept on producing as before. In other cases the *engenho* or mill closed down while the plantation continued to plant sugar cane, sending it to a nearby *engenho* which was still functioning for milling. Some *engenhos*, however, did close down altogether and were abandoned, or went into the hands of receivers.
249 At this time many plantations changed owners—wealthy people in
471 the city were able to buy lands at a low cost and did so. But the
567 failure of many of the *engenhos* in the Recôncavo was not a direct result of abolition, it was rather the continuation of an economic
[425] trend which had been going on for a long time. For many years previous to abolition, the plantations of the Recôncavo had suffered from lack of capital, poor administration, occasional crop failure, and

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[1] In the hinterlands, *pardo* indicated light skin; *caboclo*, dark skin; and *crioulo*, black. These same terms nowadays are used differently in the Recôncavo. See page 30 ff.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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take his master's name.[47] Slaves who desired to change masters had the right to request transfer, and the master was expected to acquiesce.[48] Intercession in behalf of a fugitive slave, or even of one about to be punished for some other offense, is said seldom to have been in vain.[49] The master guilty of inhuman treatment toward his slave was liable to the police or tribunals.[50] Some masters preferred to have

[47] Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 256; cf. also Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 327: "Hence, the many Cavalcantis, Albuquerques, Mellos, Mouras, Wanderleys, Lins, Carneiro Leãos, etc., who possess none of the illustrious blood which their names imply."

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[48] Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 256. Koster (*op. cit.*, I, 194) records that "for this purpose a note is given, declaring that the bearer has leave to enter into the service of any one, upon the price which the master demands being paid by the purchaser. With this the slave applies to any individual or property whom he may wish to serve; owing to having heard a good report of his character toward his slaves, or from any other cause. This is a frequent practice." The following interesting case was observed: "A Negro woman applied to a planter to be purchased; for which purpose she had brought a note from her master. She was accepted; and a bargain was concluded between the two persons. However, the day after she had taken up her abode upon the estate of her new master, she came to him, and falling down upon her knees, said that she had a fellow-slave who wished likewise to serve him; and she begged him to purchase her companion. The new master spoke to the owner of the slave in question of the subject; but he refused to sell him, and the matter rested in this manner. But on the third day, he received a visit from the owner, offering the slave for sale, adding, that the man had refused to work, and had threatened to hang himself; and as he was a Gabão Negro (noted for the resolute manner which, on occasion, they committed suicide), he much feared that he might put his threat into execution. The price was soon fixed, and on the following morning the man made his appearance. He proved to be a most excellent slave" (*ibid.*, p. 203 n.).

[49] Codman, *op. cit.*, p. 201. Cf. also: "Costumes belissimos instituem-se entre os senhores; como o de *apadrinhar* os remissos ou fugitivos, o que impede o castigo, e nunhum senhor viola" (Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 255).

[50] J. B. von Spix and C. F. von Martius, *Travels in Brazil, 1817–1820*, trans. H. E. Lloyd (2 vols.; London, 1824), I, 179.

249 crop of poor tobacco without the application of manure. Commercial
244 fertilizers are beyond the means of all but a very small minority of
237 cultivators. Those large growers who have experimented with commercial fertilizers report unfavorable results, presumably because of excessive leaching in the porous soils.

249 (3) The system of seed selection is illustrative of the general crudity of cultivation. As indicated above, the seeds are taken from the old and repeatedly harvested plants of the preceding season. The only criterion for selection is survival--the seed plant continued to produce longer than the rest of the crop. This does not mean that it produced more leaf or better quality--indeed, the opposite is often
[654] the case. Occasionally better seeds are available from the federal or
[242] state government, but the cultivators take little interest.

(4) The practice of harvesting the entire stalk or shoot at one time increases the variation in quality, since there are appreciable differences in the stages of development of the leaves. Immature leaves do not cure properly, while overripe leaves will produce only inferior grades.

249 (5) The primitive methods of drying and fermenting further re-
276 duce the quality of the leaf. Where the leaves are dried indoors over the fire, they acquire a smoky character. Frequently the debts of the
[424] cultivator force him to sell part of his crop prematurely so that a bulk large enough for fermentation is not assembled. On the other hand, if a large bulk of leaf is accumulated for curing and fermentation, there is always the risk of scorching, since thermometers are never used to check the temperature. A common abuse, and a costly one to the cultivator, results from delay in stringing the leaf up to dry. If the freshly cut leaves are allowed to remain piled in the sun before hanging, the green color is fixed. This damage cannot be

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*249 time and remained high until the 1888 decree which ended slavery completely. Before this time there had already been a great deal of manumission.

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571 In fact, it is distinctive of the entire region that the relations between the whites and the slaves were relatively warm and intimate. Gilberto Freyre describes the intimacy between the moleque (little Negro boy) and the master's son as playmates, between the master's wife and her domestics, between the Negro nursemaid and her white charges, between Negroes and whites in other close relationships on these plantations. A good deal of race mixture occurred. It is still a joke in this region to say that a particular plantation owner "populated the area."

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[654] The crises through which the sugar industry passed during its four-hundred-year history are interesting and worthy of consideration. During the first fifty years of production (until early in the seventeenth century), the sugar industry prospered and expanded. It was a "period of formation, official protection, and government stimulation, during which the liberties of production, transportation, prices and commerce suffered little or no restrictions."[1] The seventeenth

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648 century, however, was full of crises, one of the greatest being the war with Holland. In 1624 the Dutch attempted to capture Bahia but were repulsed. However, they sailed along the shores of the Bay of All Saints, burning and sacking plantations and setting fire to the cane fields. In the north the Dutch succeeded in capturing Pernambuco, which they retained for twenty-four years, also engaging in the production of sugar. In 1644 the Dutch governor, Maurice of Nassau, was recalled to Holland, and the colony was left undirected. The Brazilians revolted and recaptured Pernambuco.

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[731] In 1666 there was an epidemic of smallpox in the Recôncavo which reduced the slave population and left many plantation owners without laborers. There followed a period of near-famine for some years, due to the lack of food-plant cultivation. While this situation continued, plantation masters
[426] frequently mortgaged their plantations in order to buy new
[458]

1. J. Wanderley de Araujo Pinho, Historia de um engenho do Recôncavo, 1552-1944 (Rio de Janeiro, 1946), p. 193. The following three paragraphs are a condensation of the material contained in pp. 193-220 (author's translation).

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slaves and equipment. Thus began a long series of mortgages which continued for several centuries. The commercial agents in the city, for the most part representatives of Portuguese companies, loaned money to the plantation owners, using the next crop as collateral. They also charged high interest rates. When the next crop did not materialize, nor the next, the plantation owners found themselves inextricably in debt. At the same time the sugar market in Portugal was lost because the sugar was arriving there in a spoiled condition due to poor transportation, a cargo at times taking two years to arrive at its destination. Furthermore, the prices of most necessities were rising, and, in addition, Portugal began to tax the colonists heavily. 175 249* 426 458

In the early 1700's there was a more prosperous phase, due to higher prices for sugar in Europe. Many plantations were reconstructed, enlarged, and modified, and new ones were built. As a result many people went into debt again. During the eighteenth century two major factors turned against the prosperity of the sugar-cane growers: competition in the European market with the French, Spanish, and British, who were now producing sugar on their Caribbean islands; and the discovery of gold in the western part of Brazil. Sugar could be shipped to Europe more rapidly from the Caribbean than from Brazil. It was subject to less spoilage, and there was also probably less governmental interference. As soon as the European market was flooded with sugar, the price fell. 175 249* 458 [426]

The discovery of gold in Minas Gerais further dislocated the sugar industry of the Recôncavo at the time when it could least afford it. The prices of slaves, metals, cloth, cattle, horses, and all the necessities of life increased. Many of the freemen who worked in the plantations in administrative capacities were enticed away to the mines by the promise of great wealth. The need for slaves at the mines was great, and traders who sold slaves preferred to sell them to the miners, who could pay cash, rather than to the plantation owners, who frequently paid in sugar. During this time there was also a serious shortage of foodstuffs, for many of the smaller farmers who normally raised food crops emigrated to Minas Gerais. 175 249* 433 458

The agriculturalists--those who planted tobacco as well as those who planted sugar--were still being pressed by high taxes. There are many letters and documents from the governing bodies of the colony, addressed to the Portuguese king, telling him of the deplorable situation in which sugar planters 175 249* 458 648 651

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 S011 Bahia Brazilians S011
VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Private Plantation]

As a result, owners have to be satisfied with higher costs than they feel necessary and less profit than they think possible, the difference going to the overseer, rather than accept the complete failure of the plantation Overseers, foremen, and owners are all aware of the situation, but politeness, the traditional respect patterns, and the unwillingness to compete openly keep the situation covert. 249* 463 466 571

Nevertheless, on Fazenda das Moças, in spite of these difficulties there is considerable cooperation between Dona Sinhá and Seu Paulo. The duties of the overseer are confined generally to the plantation itself--seeing that the work is done, the cane planted, cultivated, harvested, and delivered to the factory as expediently as possible. The duties of Dona Sinhá are mainly concerned with finance, with arranging ready funds to meet the current expenses of the plantation. The practice of mortgaging crops did not end with the abolition of slavery, and it is the owner's task to juggle funds, loans, and interest so she will have enough money to improve and increase the yield of her plantation. In general the owners of single plantations rarely have enough funds to carry them through the year. Payrolls are met throughout the year with advances on the estimated harvest made by the factory, by the banks, or by the Cooperative of Sugar-Cane Growers and Suppliers. Thus when the season ends the owner is already in debt, part of which he must pay off in order to finance the coming year. There are two problems constantly present in the struggle to increase the size of the harvest: cost of production, and the antiquated methods used on the private plantations, where practically all work is done by hand. 249* 463 426 [433]

Table 1 shows production, costs, and profits for the harvests of the years 1947-48, 1948-49, and 1949-50 at Fazenda das Moças. The drop in production and the rise in costs in the years 1948-49 were attributed to a slackening of the vigilance of Dona Sinhá and to a poor overseer. It was at the end of this year that Seu Paulo assumed the position of overseer of the plantation. The following year showed a great improvement which has continued, for the 1950-51 harvest produced 6,000 tons, the highest output of any private plantation in the Recôncavo. Future harvests are expected to go well above this. In addition to changing the overseer, and in the following year the foreman, Dona Sinhá was able to borrow enough money to purchase the tractor mentioned earlier. The next year, as a result of the evident success of the new combination, two four- 249* 43 [426] [407] [493]

2: Hutchinton E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNÇAVO

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TABLE 1
PRODUCTION, COSTS, PROFITS: FAZENDA DAS MOÇAS

1947-1948	
4,000 tons of cane at the selling price of Cr$81,40 a ton	Cr$325.600,00
Cost of production	206.244,00
Profit	119.356,00
1948-1949	
2,500 tons of cane at Cr$88,90	222.250,00
Cost of production	225.198,00
Loss	32.948,00
1949-1950	
5,000 tons of cane at Cr$107,40	537.000,00
Cost of production	319.248,00
Profit	217.751,00

[407] wheeled carts were added which could be drawn by the tractor,
[493] thus cutting down transportation costs. Recently a jeep was acquired to pull the carts, and a second tractor equipped with the mechanism to cultivate cane fields was purchased.

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[426]

Still, the plantation is heavily in debt, and any profits are immediately used for improvements or for paying off debts. Moreover, the cost of tractors, jeeps, and fertilizer is very high since they are imported products. Because of the dollar exchange rate their cost is extravagantly high in Brazil, compared with the United States. In addition, the plantation is still burdened with the old equipment and the necessity of pasture for the oxen, which cuts down the acreage available for planting.

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Animal traction cannot yet be entirely dispensed with, because of the condition of the soil in winter. The problem of maintaining the old system of work as well as introducing the new, which can only slowly pay for itself, is considerable. Dona Sinhá is faced with the dilemma of difficult natural conditions which, while good in many ways for sugar cane, impede the application of modern techniques. She is also faced with personnel problems in relation to the overseer. One solution is clearly apparent and has been adopted by Dona Sinhá: to spend more and more time on the plantation, sharing more and more work with Seu Paulo. This of course is a complete break with the past traditions of the plantation master. It is a difficult break for both parties concerned. Dona Sinhá misses her city

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2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 S011 Bahia Brazilians S011
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who walks about with a huge round basket on his head crying, "Pão, pão." 444 256

Dona Carmen's husband, Damião, is also a storekeeper. His store is in the downhill part of town, near the fishermen. The two stores are run separately, and the couple are doing well financially. In addition to his store, Damião also owns several canoes and fish nets which he rents to fishermen. He is the only storekeeper in town who gives credit to people who cannot pay immediately, allowing bills to run many months and even more than a year. He also allows his customers to borrow money in order to buy things outside his store--for instance fish, which he does not handle. He does not charge interest on these loans, nor seemingly make any demands on those who borrow. On the other hand the borrowers feel a sort of loyalty toward him and do not forget their debts, which they eventually manage to pay. 441 463 [444] [427] [452] [426]

Three of the smallest stores are owned and operated by women, whose husbands have set them up in business in a small way in order, as one put it, to "give my wife something to do." It is considered desirable for a woman to operate a store and it is usually the beginning of something larger, for later, whenever possible, the husband will stop his own work and help operate the store. In the case of the smaller stores the owner generally lives in the same building, either alongside the store or behind it. The larger storekeepers, however, usually have separate houses. At night they lock up the stores, which are sometimes guarded by dogs or even by the cashiers who sleep there. The storekeepers are usually asked for donations to the church at the time of any special festivals, and generally become politically active after they become established in business. 441 444 463 [562] [431] [66]

The stock in most of the stores is pretty much the same, varying in amount rather than diversity: drinks (rum and soft drinks), dried meat (the staple meat of the population), cereals, cigars, cigarettes, estivas (which include beans, rice, and farina, the three great staples of the local diet), as well as coffee, palm oil (azeite de dendê), vinegar, olive oil, garlic, onions, wooden sandals, condensed and powdered milk, salt, sugar, miudezas (small items such as matches and ribbons), toilet articles and laundry soaps, blueing agents and starch, grass mats, kerosene, and in one store aluminum kitchenware which is not sold very often, as well as nails, wire, screws, and wrapping paper and cord. One store in the 443

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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them odd stories which were calculated to strike their imagination."[58]

Public opinion expected of masters the acceptance of an offer made to manumit an infant on the occasion of his baptism.[59] It also became customary, when marriages were being solemnized in the master's family, to free one or two favorite slaves.[60] Masters frequently declined the money proffered by a Negro for his purchase and granted his freedom without payment.[61] Slaves of the religious orders, it is said, considered themselves to belong to the saints themselves and were never sold.[62] The law adopted in 1809 to protect the property of sugar planters against attachment for debt also provided that slaves need not be sold separately from an estate to satisfy a creditor's claims. Thus the master could not be forced to dispose of his slaves, unless the debt amounted to the value of the entire estate; and, as Koster has pointed out,[63] the slave in this way was advanced, in some degree at least, toward the condition of a serf.

[58] *Ibid.*

[59] "Another custom which was advantageous to the slave was that of *alforrias na pia*, which was accomplished with the insignificant amount of 5 to 50 milreis and never was refused; this custom became very common, especially when the child had a light skin" (Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 255). Koster gives the price in Pernambuco early in the nineteenth century as £5 and says that "in this manner, a considerable number of persons are set at liberty; for the smallness of the price enables many freemen who have had connections with female slaves to manumit their offspring; and instances occur of the sponsors performing this .... act. Not infrequently female slaves apply to persons of consideration to become sponsors to their children, in the hope that the pride of these will be too great to allow of their godchildren remaining in slavery" (*op. cit.*, I, 195–96).

[60] Frank Bennett, *Forty Years in Brazil* (London, 1914), p. 111.

[61] Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 256. [62] *Ibid.* [63] *Op. cit.*, I, 229 n.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 423 471 and 161 hectares in Santo Amaro--while those of the Salvador area were relatively modest--81 hectares in Salvador and 72 hectares in Itaparica.

241 427 Rented Properties. There were few rented properties in the Recôncavo as a whole in 1940 (Map 117), but in three areas over 10 per cent of the properties were rented: in the core of the tobacco-manioc area of the Southwestern Recôncavo; in Irará; and around Salvador. In Maragogipe, 52 per cent of the properties, occupying 15 per cent of the enumerated area, were rented (Map 118). In Santo Antônio, adjoining the Southwestern Recôncavo, over 30 per cent of the properties were rented, but along the western and norther border zones of the Recôncavo there were very few rented properties. Because of the small size of the units, rented properties in the Recôncavo generally occupied less than 10 per cent of the enumerated area.

[241] [249] The rented properties of the tobacco-manioc crop region were usually small, from 10 to 30 hectares, but in the sugar cane area they averaged over 200 hectares (Map 119). If the official data are correct, the mean size of rented properties in Coração de Maria was over 267 hectares, but this seems very unlikely and has not been shown on the map.

241 423 471 Corporate Lands. In 1940, one-hundred ninety-eight of the 29,000 agricultural properties of the Recôncavo were owned by corporations or companies. The total area of these properties was 33,000 hectares, almost 4 per cent of the total enumerated area of the region. Moreover, the land which composed these properties was some of the most productive in the Recôncavo. The number of corporate properties and the concentration of land under corporate ownership almost certainly has increased since 1940.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 337]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

102+
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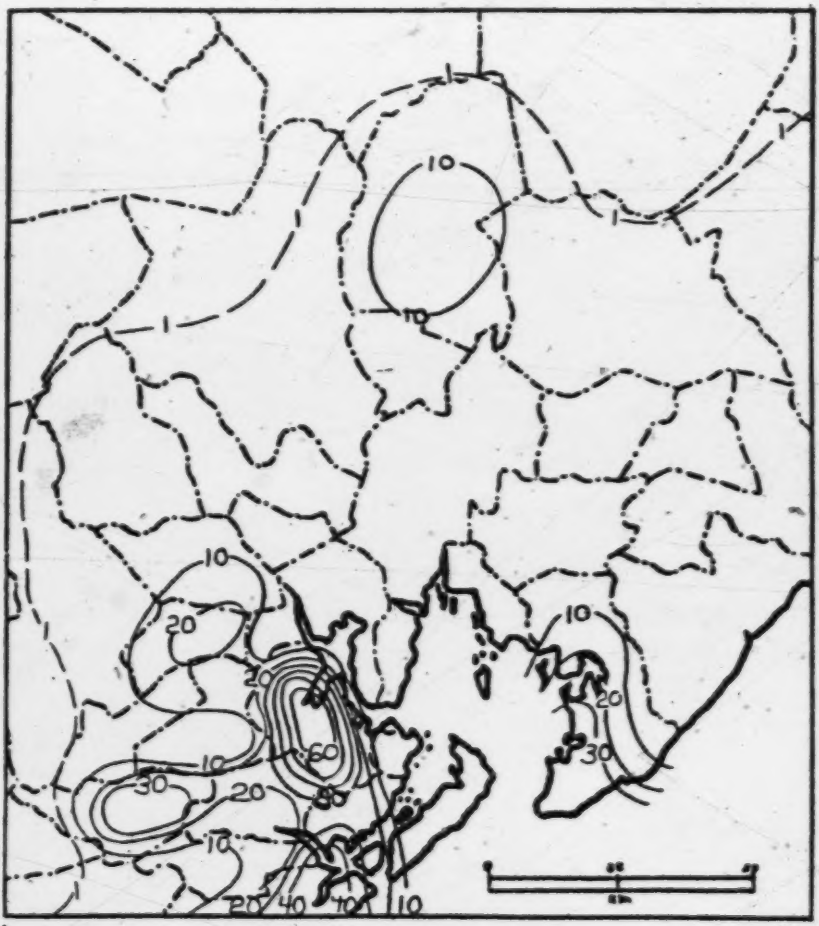

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of All Agricultural Properties Which Were

Operated by Renters—1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 117

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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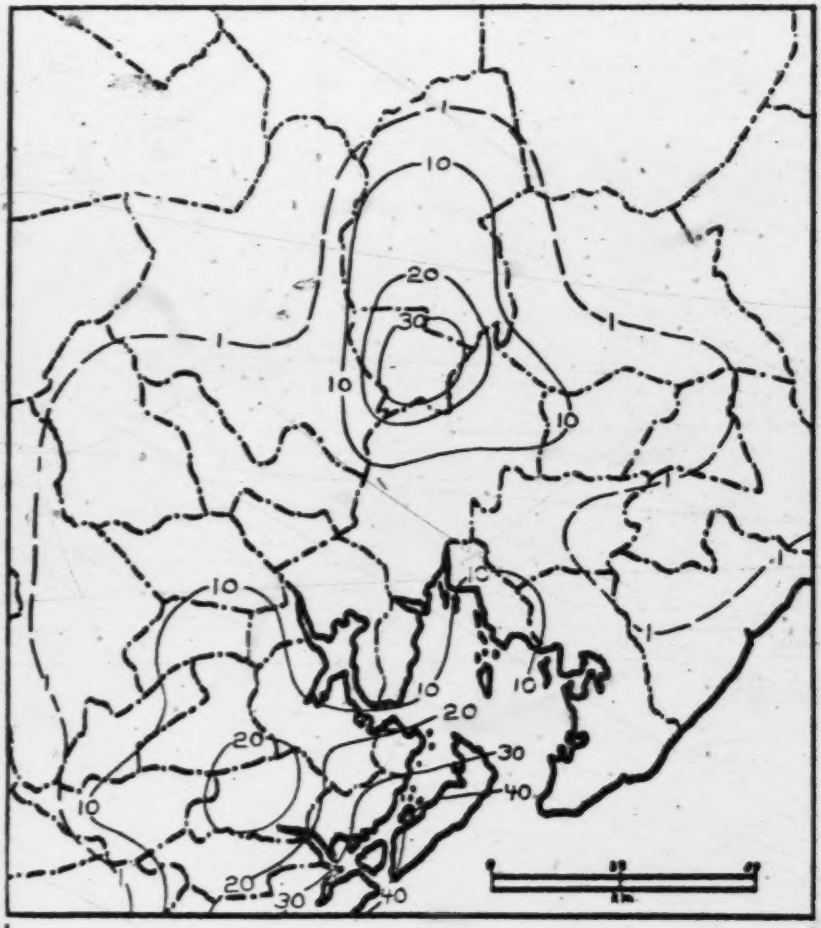

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumerated Area in

Renter-Operated Properties--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 118

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

102+
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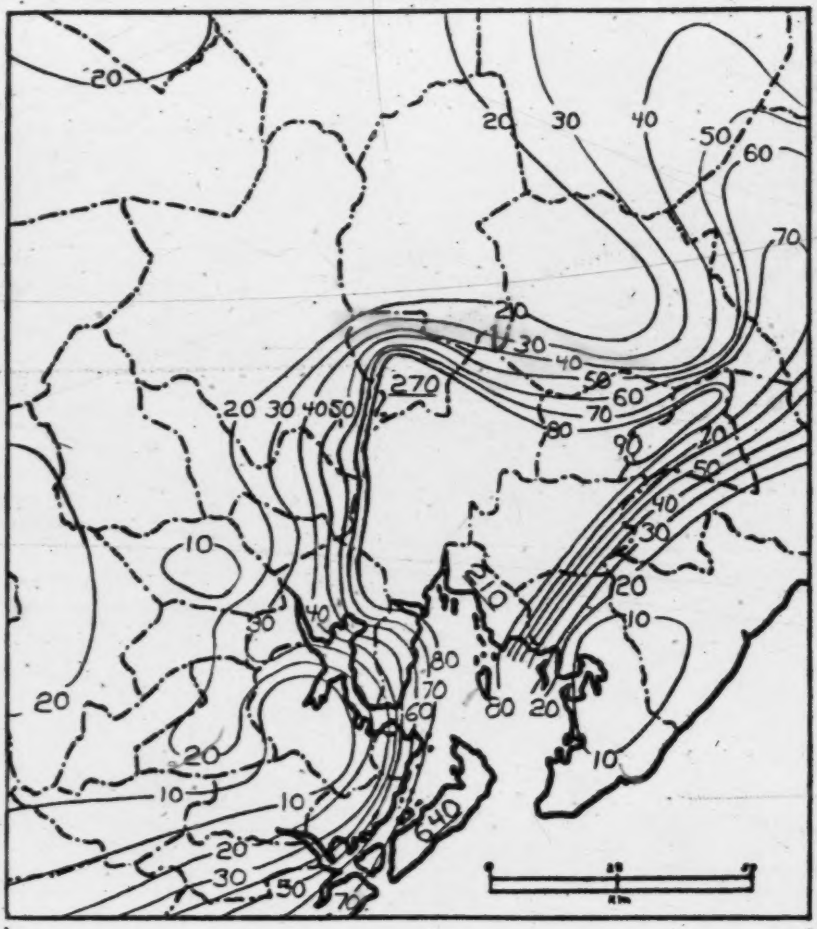

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Mean Size of Renter-Operated Properties—1940

In Hectares

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 119

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

443 Many shopkeepers are also land owners, and their tenants as a matter
[452] of course are also their customers and their debtors. The livestock
[427] raised by the agriculturalist may be sold on the hoof at the feira or taken to the matadouro municipal (municipal slaughter house). The meat is sold either at the slaughter house or at the feira.

In the larger centers the market tends to last throughout the week. In the medium-sized centers there are a few offerings each morning, and often there is a small feira in the middle of the week. Some major cities, such as Cachoeira, Feira de Santana, Santo Amaro, and Salvador, have source areas larger than their municípios. For
[489] example, the market at Feira de Santana invariably draws scores of
[494] trucks, each laden with people and produce, from places as distant as Cruz das Almas, Ipirá, Serrinha, and Santo Amaro. The most important general market in the Recôncavo is the Saturday feira at Agua de Meninos
[505] in Salvador. This market is located on the low-lying tidal flats beside the Bay, and many of the agricultural products which are sold
[489] here are brought by sailing boats. Trucks, carts, streetcars, trains,
[494] and pack animals are also used to transport produce to this market. It is here that a very large portion of Salvador's population purchases the agricultural products of the Recôncavo. This market is also the source of supply of the street vendors who hawk fruits and vegetables through the streets of the city. Salvador also has a smaller central market--the Mercado Modelo--and a number of minor neighborhood markets which usually are open for part of each day.

442 The campo de gado (cattle fair) at Feira de Santana is the only
443 important specialized public market in the Recôncavo; and, as has been
233 seen, it plays a very critical role in the agricultural economy of the region and of the state. On Monday mornings thousands of cattle change hands in the pens and weighing compounds at this fair.[1] Because the

258 but also because the manioc roots are too heavy and bulky to be trans-
[438] ported over long distances. Moreover, the market for farinha de mandioca is generally local, except in the Southwestern Recôncavo.

258 The capital investment in a casa de farinha is small, usually
471 less than one hundred dollars, but this sum is far beyond the reach of
[454] most cultivators. The mills are built by owners of medium-sized land holdings or local merchants, and are operated on a share basis. The mill owner usually receives one-tenth of the finished product in exchange
[427] for the use of the mill equipment. The customer rents the equipment
[464] rather than the service and must therefore provide the labor, although
[592] the owner usually furnishes one or two workers. Generally the processing
[462] of manioc is a family operation in which the women and girls scrape the roots and the men and boys perform the more arduous tasks.

277 Most of the tobacco which is grown in the Recôncavo is exported
[439] in the form of leaf. Therefore, the processing of tobacco is less important in relation to the cultivation of tobacco than is the processing of manioc and sugar in relation to their respective cultivation. The leaf tobacco which is retained in the area is made into cigars in home industries and in a number of cigar factories. The home-produced cigars are made by tobacco cultivators and small-scale processors in the villages, towns, and cities of the region. These cigars are generally
[443] very cheap and are sold in the local mercado (market) or in small vendas (shops). It is difficult to assess the total importance of this form of processing, but it seems likely that the number of cigars so made is extremely large.

277 The cigar factories of the Recôncavo are located in the cidades
[464] of São Gonçalo, Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, and Maragogipe. Each of the factories employs from 100 to 200 workers, usually women from the surrounding area. Machines are used to produce the cheaper grades;

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 311 [134] Commercial sugar cane cultivation is confined to the humid Coastal Plain areas with Cretaceous clay soils, except for a small area in São Filipe. Since the areas of Cretaceous clay soils are limited and compact, sugar cane production is highly localized in two areas: (1) the main sugar cane area in the municípios of Santo Amaro, São Francisco, and São Sebastião; and (2) a smaller area north of the Bacia do Iguape in the município of Cachoeira. There is a third area of less intensive production in southern São Filipe.

249 244 [433] The sole purpose of cultivation in the sugar cane area is the production of a commercial product, but the areas of tobacco-manioc cultivation produce both a staple food and a commodity for sale outside the region. Most of the tobacco and manioc of the Recôncavo are produced under a land rotation system in which the sequence is: (1) tobacco; (2) manioc; and (3) fallow in wild vegetation. The tobacco is planted in small fields, usually after an application of manure. The entire plant is harvested repeatedly until it will no longer produce a salable leaf. Manioc is planted following tobacco, sometimes several times, until the field is exhausted and abandoned to the second growth. The fallow period is frequently short, sometimes as little as one year. Cultivation is entirely by hand--no plows are used. There is very little selection of seed, and only one variety of tobacco--Bahia Brasil--is [423] [427] produced. Tobacco and manioc are produced almost exclusively by small cultivators who are either owners or renters. Frequently livestock [231] [233] are raised upon the properties of the cultivators, but except for the use of manure in the cultivation of tobacco, there is little integration of crop and livestock production. The leaf is harvested, dried, 276 and partially fermented by the cultivator. The marketing of tobacco 276 438 is inseparable from the credit arrangement between the cultivator and [452] [488] the tobacco buyer or agent. The leaf is delivered by the producer to the storekeeper-buyer or the local tobacco warehouse.

slave quarters. The entire unit formed a small village, for each plantation needed many specialists--carpenters, ironsmiths, bricklayers, coopers, sailors, fishermen, a barber, tailor, cowboy, chaplain--in addition to those whose trade was that of making sugar. In the morning the agricultural workers, cutters, and drivers went out to work in the fields, returning later in the day. Because of the size of the plantation and the number of its slaves--which frequently reached two or three hundred--the casa grande, settled among its royal palms and overlooking the mill, the slave quarters, the chapel, and other buildings, took on a distinct village appearance. 175 249* 361 [463] [567]

The owner and absolute ruler of these domains was the senhor de engenho, a title which became a symbol of wealth and later of nobility. The senhor de engenho dominated Bahia, and indeed all of the sugar-producing area of Alagoas and Pernambuco, for many years, socially and politically, until sugar was surpassed in importance by other crops and industries. Even much later, however, when sugar was less profitable and other activities surpassed it in economic importance to the nation, the plantation master was still a prominent figure, at least in northeastern Brazil. 175 249* 554 565*

Each unit was a complete entity in itself, with its sobrado, chapel, mill, slave quarters, slaves, cane fields, pastures, oxen, and forest land. The pattern for the Recôncavo plantation was set in the early years. Today many of the original boundary lines still exist, and the plantations have often kept their original names. In addition to cultivating several units of 700 to 1,000 acres within the land grant, the owner also often rented smaller parcels of land to lavradores--free individuals who with a few slaves cultivated a small amount of sugar cane which they sent to the plantation to be milled and made into sugar. These people were the nearest approach to small-scale farmers in the Recôncavo; however, they did not own their own land and were completely dependent upon the plantation master. There are many sad tales of small farmers who were cheated by the master and virtually became his slaves. They had to send their cane to his mill and often were told the cane was dry, or sour, or that less had been sent than they recorded. In all this it was necessary to take the word of the plantation's bookkeeper. There was no court of appeals--only the master, who represented law, order, and justice in the Recôncavo. 175 249* 361 [178] 175 249* 427 565*

As time went on the aspect of the sesmaria was lost, and the plantation complex became the principal characteristic. [178]

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Private Plantation]

Maria das Dores, whose name is listed as "gathering cane leaves for animal fodder," does the only type of work on the plantation done by women other than housework and gardening. When a field of cane is cut, the tops of the stalks and the long leaves are cut off and left on the ground. The very tip of the stalk is used as seed, while the heavier part is loaded on carts and sent to the factory. When natural pasturage gives out because of overgrazing or drought, the cattle's diet is supplemented with the freshly cut, green cane leaves; if the tender tips are not required for seed, they are also fed to the cattle. Gathering the leaves and stalk tips is relatively light work, and if a woman on the plantation wants to supplement her husband's income this is the task assigned her. Few women on this plantation do it, however, for it is a point of pride with any husband that he is capable of supporting his wife without her having to do gainful work. Only a small number of leaves are gathered up, and the remainder are burned as they lie in the field. Burning is done at night when there is little or no wind, and often during the summer fires which extend for acres dot the countryside. Burning is a traditional practice. Although professional agronomists insist that it is injurious to the cane roots and the new shoots, planters continue to burn the unwanted leaves, feeling that the ash provides some fertilization. 249* 461 465 [462] [233]

"Gardening" refers to work done in the vegetable garden which supplies Dona Sinhá's house. This garden stands in contrast to the roças, which are planted by the workers as well as by Dona Sinhá, and which are reserved for beans, manioc, corn, and some tobacco. Such plants as lettuce, tomatoes, cabbage, carrots, and other vegetables are disdained by the workers and are grown only for Dona Sinhá. [244]

"Carrying water" is usually work reserved for a small boy. Mounted on a donkey with four wooden kegs he rides to the neighboring plantation, Pedras, which belongs to the factory, fills the kegs at the spring, and returns to Fazenda das Moças where he puts the water into the various large clay containers in the kitchen and washrooms of the owner's house. "Oh, Pedro, there's no water" is a common cry heard in Dona Sinhá's house. [312] [859] [492]

There are few rules restricting the workers. Their services must be at the disposal of Dona Sinhá whenever required. Other than that, if during a slack season a man finds an opportunity to work somewhere else, he is free to do so. If he has a burro, or oxen, he has the right to pasture them on the 249* 466 [427] [492]

*249 466 lands of the plantation, renting them to Dona Sinhá at harvest time for transport. Often a family has one or two pack horses or burros which can be used to transport cane or, at other times of the year, water or firewood. A worker also has the right to a plot to raise food crops. If the man in the household dies or deserts his family, the woman who is left can do one of several things: go to work in the field herself, the least popular alternative; send her children out to work if they are old enough; find another husband, which is not too difficult, for there is a scarcity of women in this rural zone; or return to her father's house.

[427] [492]

*249 464 A group of workers who are essential to the well-being of the plantation, but who are not residents, are the caatinguejros (migrant workers from the scrubby forest area which borders on the Recôncavo and extends into the desert to the north). Hundreds of these men are available during the harvest season, a time when not only the plantations but the factories as well need more men than the resident population provides. The town of Vila Recôncavo, the other small rural towns, and the capital city do not supply agricultural workers to the rural areas. The plantations use instead the migrants from the north. A system has grown up whereby each plantation and factory has a man who can contact these migrant laborers. This man is called the empreiteiro, a contractor who has a system of contacts in the north usually through family and godparent relationships. The migrant workers are housed in the barracks, and generally keep themselves well apart from the residents. Only men come, leaving their families at home to care for their small farms and livestock while they earn money in the Recôncavo. None of these men appears on the plantation payroll. It is the empreiteiro who contracts with the overseer to have the required work done by the migrant laborers. Usually this work consists only of weeding, which must be done constantly but which at harvest time the resident workers cannot do. On the list of jobs and wages, above, there appears the name of Mario Adriano, who received 921,30 cruzeiros for weeding 249 braças. This man is the empreiteiro, who is paid for work done by fifteen, twenty, or more men. He in turn pays the migrant laborers, giving them less than the price for which he agreed with the overseer to do the work. In this way the contractor earns a living. Throughout the harvest season he gets work for about seventy-five to one hundred migrants, who camp in and about the barracks and

[571] [466] [465]

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Usina]

* 249 463 466 seer is entitled to the same rights and privileges as any other worker: a house, land on which to grow subsistence crops, and the use of the owner's pastures for his oxen, burros, and horses. The horses used in his work are supplied by the cor- [492] poration, as are those of the other overseers. His salary is high: Cr$2.000,00 a month, plus a bonus of one cruzeiro for [465] each ton of cane produced on all six plantations. The regional overseers receive Cr$800,00 a month, plus a bonus of half a * 249 463 cruzeiro per ton of cane produced on their plantation. Seu Pipiu has been general overseer of Usina São Pedro for twenty-five years, during which time he has accumulated a good 159 deal of property. He is a mulatto, somewhat lighter skinned than the six administrators who are under him. Two of his sons work in the factory office, and a third runs the store on • [427] one of the plantations. In addition he is a small farmer, renting some forty acres from the factory, on which he plants sugar cane. He pays 25 per cent of the harvest to the factory for the use of the land.

* 249 466 The usineiros have the same complaints against their general overseers that private plantation owners have against theirs. At the same time, after many years of service such an official becomes indispensable, or is thought to be, and is allowed to go his way--quiet, well dressed, well mounted, ruler of all he surveys--while the usineiro watches and mutters to himself.

* 249 So far the rural properties of the factories have led the pri- [184] vate plantations in the field of mechanization, as they have greater funds for purchasing equipment and can get more use out of each piece. Mechanization, however, is used as yet only in preparing the soil for planting. The ground is plowed and replowed, and grooves are made to receive the cane shoots. Also, planting in unplowed land is still common--grooves are opened for the seed with the simple plow, and no soil preparation is done at all. Here mechanization ends, and all further cultivation, as well as the cutting and harvesting [496] of the cane, is done by hand. Narrow-gauge railway tracks [493] reach out from the mill to loading points on the six planta- tions, where the cane is transferred from the oxcarts to the [311] railroad wagons to be drawn to the mill. Approximately two thousand acres are under cultivation; the remaining land is used as pasture or as garden plots by the workers, in accordance with a rotation system.

000 Financially the two units--factory and plantation--are run

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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who walks about with a huge round basket on his head crying, "Pão, pão." 444 256

Dona Carmen's husband, Damião, is also a storekeeper. His store is in the downhill part of town, near the fishermen. The two stores are run separately, and the couple are doing well financially. In addition to his store, Damião also owns several canoes and fish nets which he rents to fishermen. He is the only storekeeper in town who gives credit to people who cannot pay immediately, allowing bills to run many months and even more than a year. He also allows his customers to borrow money in order to buy things outside his store--for instance fish, which he does not handle. He does not charge interest on these loans, nor seemingly make any demands on those who borrow. On the other hand the borrowers feel a sort of loyalty toward him and do not forget their debts, which they eventually manage to pay. 441 463 [444] [427] [452] [426]

Three of the smallest stores are owned and operated by women, whose husbands have set them up in business in a small way in order, as one put it, to "give my wife something to do." It is considered desirable for a woman to operate a store and it is usually the beginning of something larger, for later, whenever possible, the husband will stop his own work and help operate the store. In the case of the smaller stores the owner generally lives in the same building, either alongside the store or behind it. The larger storekeepers, however, usually have separate houses. At night they lock up the stores, which are sometimes guarded by dogs or even by the cashiers who sleep there. The storekeepers are usually asked for donations to the church at the time of any special festivals, and generally become politically active after they become established in business. 441 444 463 [562] [431] [66]

The stock in most of the stores is pretty much the same, varying in amount rather than diversity: drinks (rum and soft drinks), dried meat (the staple meat of the population), cereals, cigars, cigarettes, estivas (which include beans, rice, and farina, the three great staples of the local diet), as well as coffee, palm oil (azeite de dendê), vinegar, olive oil, garlic, onions, wooden sandals, condensed and powdered milk, salt, sugar, miudezas (small items such as matches and ribbons), toilet articles and laundry soaps, blueing agents and starch, grass mats, kerosene, and in one store aluminum kitchenware which is not sold very often, as well as nails, wire, screws, and wrapping paper and cord. One store in the 443

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[Town Life]

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attached to the canoe by a cord called the espia (literally, "it spies"), with which the fisherman can feel when the net has reached the bottom; he can also feel any activity within the net indicating that he has caught something. The net is about 18 feet high, and its round bottom has a circumference of approximately 120 feet. A series of lead weights are sewn into the bottom to carry it downward through the water. The whole net, with its lead, weighs between 5 and 6 kilograms. The sizes of nets vary with their age, for constant repair enlarges them or sometimes makes them smaller. While the man is fishing, the canoe remains drifting, undirected. As the tide begins to run out the fisherman must stop casting his net every so often to paddle the canoe back to the starting point and to keep it from being carried away from the fishing grounds. At other times, if the shrimp appear to be moving away, he picks up his paddle and follows them. The entire operation of casting the net, pulling it in, and emptying it into the bottom of the canoe takes from ten to twenty minutes. If the shrimp are present in great numbers the fisherman speeds up his activities; if not he moves more slowly. C. F. Ott calls the circular casting net "incontestably a Portuguese cultural element."4 [461] [177]

The period of fishing rarely lasts more than three hours, for by then the tide is moving more strongly and a breeze has arisen. These two factors upset the fishing for they move the canoes away from the fishing grounds. During the month there are approximately fifteen days of fishing with the casting net. If his luck is good a man may catch 20 to 30 kilograms of shrimp a day, and occasionally more; or else he may catch next to nothing. It should be stated that the author never saw a good-sized catch taken with any net, in spite of the great number of times he accompanied the fishermen. [114]

As a rule the fisherman owns his own casting net or borrows one. The canoe is usually rented, and the usual price is two cruzeiros for the morning's fishing. Shrimp bring from Cr$15,00 to Cr$25,00 a kilogram, so this type of fishing is relatively remunerative and involves little expense. A net [422] [427] [435]

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4. C. F. Ott, "Os elementos culturais da pescaria baiana," Boletim do Museu Nacional (Rio de Janeiro), No. 4 (October, 1944), p. 31.

226 long and has ropes on each end 420 feet long. This net demands a large canoe. The usual size in use is 30 feet long.

226 Few of the fishermen own their own calão--most rent it
427 from a merchant who has one. It is rented by the master on a long-term basis rather than for just one trip. It is said that the master "toma conta da rede," meaning that he not only is fishing with the net, but also repairs it and dyes it when needed. The owner of the net, who usually also owns the canoe and the paddles, receives 20 per cent of the profits of each
226 trip. The remainder is divided among the six men, although the master and baixador each receive one-third more than the
[435] other four. Depending on how the fish are running, the calão may catch as much as Cr$1.000,00 to Cr$1.500,00 worth of fish per trip, or as little as Cr$120,00 worth. Two trips a day are made when the fishing is good. There are only eight of these nets in the town, and they are worth about Cr$1.500,00 apiece. The calãozinho is a smaller net of the same type, sometimes called the redinha, or little net. Although its operation is almost the same as that of the larger net, it re-
[178] quires only four men to maneuver it. However, it is becoming
[461] less and less popular as the resse increases in popularity.

On land, good care must be taken of the nets. After the
227 fishing, the nets are carried up along the beach to the drying racks, long lines of poles over which the nets are spread. As they dry the master checks them, looking for holes which he immediately sews with a wooden bobbin and cotton thread.
[824] The nets are hand-woven of cotton, and dyed in water in which the bark of the red mangue has soaked. This turns the white cotton a dark reddish brown and protects it from the action of the salt water and the sun. A new net must be soaked in this dye every two or three days, and later every eight days.
227 The resse, abaladeira, and tarrafa are frequently woven by
286 women, and, unless worked on steadily, these nets may take as long as eight months to make. With steady work a circular
[462] casting net can be made in about twelve days. The women are
[461] paid Cr$12,00 per box of cotton line which contains twenty-
[435] five spools of cotton thread, and it takes five boxes to make an average-size net. The other nets require heavier thread and take much longer to make. The calão and the deep net are made by men, and a year is not considered too long for the
[824] manufacture of one. Piassava, a plant fiber which grows in the Recôncavo, is used as line. The fishermen of Vila Recôn-
227 cavo go to the southwestern part of the bay to purchase it. It

226 men say that the fish are leaving, while others say there are
43 just as many as ever. It is a difficult thing to prove one way or the other, for written records of the annual catches are only recent. However, there is no such thing as being unable to sell the fish they bring in. Many people in town have increased their consumption of fresh fish as a result of inflation, for it is less expensive than dried or fresh meat. The fishermen themselves eat a great deal of fish, always keeping enough out of a catch for their own family. The planters of the rural area complain that the fresh fish never arrive at the plantations any more as they did in the past. This is probably due to the icehouse in the town. The fishermen sell first to their "usual customers," the women who work with xangô and shrimp; what is left is sold to the icehouse to be packed and shipped to Bahia, rather than being sent out to the country.

226 The jereré, a small basketlike net built around an iron ring 1 1/2 feet in circumference, is used by women and children along the shore and is part of a subsistence activity. It catches only a small crab (siri), an occasional eel, and other small fish which are cooked for the table in the form of moqueca, a sort of stew highly seasoned with peppers and dendê oil. The tideswamps abound in a large crab called the caranguejo, which is also highly prized for the table. Children often catch these, but a man who does so is called a caranguejeiro, a derogatory term. The hunter seeks the crab by sticking his arm down into its hole, which is usually very deep, at least arm's length. As a result he is always covered with the thick black mud so typical of the tideswamps. Often a tropeiro de cima comes to the town and commissions someone to catch the crabs, which he wraps carefully in mud and leaves and carries to the northern hinterland to sell.

463 The second largest subgroup in Group 3 is composed of the
241 twenty-four gardeners (roçeiros) who are engaged in small-scale commercial farming, rather than subsistence horticulture. They live in town and have their small fields on the outskirts of Vila Recôncavo. All of these fields are located on the plantation Engenho Da Vila ("P" on map of community), and they range from one, two, or three acres in size to as many as fifteen acres, rented from the plantation at Cr$100,00
241 an acre per year. The major crops are manioc, bananas, and to a lesser extent tobacco, sugar cane for chewing (cana de chupar), corn, beans, and squash. Because there are only 265

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Because there are only 265 acres of manioc under cultivation in the entire county, production is far below the amount of farina consumed, and it is necessary to import the milled manioc tuber which constitutes the major dietary item of the people. In 1951 a municipal law was passed prohibiting the exportation of farina. Three times during the author's stay in the town there was a pronounced lack of farina, when there was almost none to be bought and its price per liter rose from one to three cruzeiros. That year's drought was also partly responsible for the shortage. 241 43 [262] [114] [731]

Bananas are the only commercial export crop of the gardeners. There are approximately 15,000 banana trees in the county, producing for the commercial market an annual production of 177,000 arms (cachos) of bananas, providing an income of Cr$500.000,00. The fruits are sold to a middleman from Bahia who knows most of the gardeners in the area. Once a week, or every two weeks, he arrives at the town in a large sailboat to receive the fresh bananas, which he then takes to Bahia and sells. Sometimes a gardener sells an arm of bananas to a woman in town who then resells them to townspeople. Few people in town have to buy them, however, for each household has at least one banana tree in the back yard. An acre of land supports about 144 banana trees, which when well cared for produce 1,500 arms a year. The fruits are sold in cargoes of fifty arms at Cr$160,00 a cargo, so that one acre earns about Cr$5.000,00 a year. This sum is almost entirely profit, for gardeners do most of their own work, except when they have too much land for one man to take care of properly. Hired help is paid in accordance with the service performed: ten cruzeiros for cutting fifty arms of bananas, twenty for transporting them to the dock if the gardener does not have his own animals, and a hundred cruzeiros an acre for "cleaning," i.e., cutting down and burning old stalks and leaves and keeping the weeds cut down. 245 43 [442] [311] 245 46

Manioc presents a slightly different case, for the raw product must be processed before it is consumed. The manioc root from which farina is made is the poisonous variety and must be peeled and grated, pressed to remove the juice, and then toasted. The final product is a white powder, fine or coarse depending upon the type of grater used. Most of the local product is a coarse type (farinha de guerra). One of the gardeners has a flour house where the tubers are converted into flour. He mills his own manioc there and lets others use the machinery, charging them one liter of farina out of each ten they produce. 252 [427]

252 they produce. The juice which is squeezed out is saved, and starch is extracted from it to be used in pressing clothes. The nonpoisonous variety of manioc (aipim) is used to a much smaller extent. Usually the tuber is boiled in water and then eaten as though it were a potato, for it does not need any processing to render it edible.

241 463 Ten of the twenty-four gardeners concentrate on manioc, while the others raise bananas. Most of them also grow their own household subsistence crops, scattered among the manioc and bananas, such as corn, beans, squash, and often a few shoots of excellent tobacco. Many of them also produce a quarter or half acre of a heavy type of sugar cane (cana de chupar) which is stripped of its bark, cut into short pieces, and masticated, the pulp being spit out after the person has sucked out the juice. Almost everyone indulges in this, and the sugar which is absorbed is undoubtedly a great source of energy. The plots (roças) are fenced and protected by an ox skull stuck on one of the fence posts to keep out the evil eye.

[146] [825] [789]

There are many gardeners to the west of the town who rent their small plots from either the Engenho da Vila or the federal school. This area has not produced sugar cane for many years, for it lacks the surface covering of massapê. These gardeners are often called matutos ("hicks"), real backwoodsmen who get along on subsistence agriculture and seldom leave their rural neighborhood. They are as far removed from contact with modern civilization as anyone could be while living in the Recôncavo. They live in well-hidden, small houses of mud and thatch, and one can ride through this section without seeing anyone.

241 463 554 [427]

443 463 The peddlers (ambulantes) listed in Group 3 have their houses in Vila Recôncavo but go from town to town selling their wares. While they do some trading at the fairs they also cover a regular route independent of the fairs. Compadresco, the system of godparentship, is important to them, for the houses of such relations give them a base of operations in every town they visit. One of the three is a man who buys and sells jewelry, and the other two are women; one sells cloth for dresses and the other sweets (doces), peanuts, and dried shrimp. The latter is one of the famous street merchants (bahianas) of Salvador; she sits on a street corner before a portable table selling favorite Bahian snacks such as acarajé and abará. She goes to Salvador on the boat on Saturdays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays, returning to Vila Recôncavo the

[608]

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were included in Group 4 because they worked for a nonprofit charitable institution.

Occupationally, the town dwellers differ sharply from the people of the rural area of the community. Their work rarely requires them to go out of town to the rural area. Of the entire working force of the town, only twelve men are employed in the sugar industry. Even during the harvest season, the town does not supply men to work in the cane fields or the factory. However, the few people in town who have mules occasionally rent them to planters during the harvest season to help carry the cane. The twenty-five petroleum workers have to leave town each day for work, but their work is also very different from that of any of the rural dwellers.

In the town, as on the plantations, there is specialization and division of labor. Among the fishermen, each man fishes constantly with one or two types of net. Change from one type of net to another is unusual and disliked. A fisherman seldom supplements his fishing by planting a garden. Instead, he depends upon his catch of fish to give him enough money to buy garden produce, as well as meat and manufactured articles. In his turn, the gardener never fishes, depending upon the returns from his garden to buy what he does not produce.

Daily routine for the fisherman varies considerably because it depends closely upon the tides, while the daily routine of merchants, teachers, and bureaucrats, as well as household servants and craftsmen, follows a more citylike pattern, beginning at about seven in the morning and ending late in the evening. There is also less seasonal variance in the work of the town dwellers, for it does not depend upon the planting and harvesting of crops as does that of the rural workers.

The town and plantation ways of life also vary considerably with respect to paternalism, which plays a much smaller part in the life of the town dweller. Most of the municipal bureaucrats have patrons among the rural landowners who have placed them in their bureaucratic positions. Bureaucrats, in turn, are to a smaller extent the patrons of people living in the town, particularly of their household servants. Although they have neither the financial resources nor the prestige to provide the security which a rural landowner can offer his people, they do what they can to help whenever asked. This help often takes the form of asking their own patrons for help

21 Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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harvesting and milling. The factory operates twenty-four hours a day during this season. In the winter, when they have more leisure, travel is too difficult, for the roads disappear in mud. Few of the rural people go to the town of Vila Recôncavo, for it has nothing to attract them except the boat to Salvador and the priest, whom they sometimes visit to have a Mass said or for a burial. The free movies recently innovated by the Petroleum Council and located a mile from the factory have been a boon to the rural people, but as a rule only the men attend. In fact, almost any kind of off-plantation gathering is attended predominantly by men.

On most plantations the casa de farinha is a social gathering place, and both males and females congregate there to talk about the latest news while they work. The women also gossip at the local well as they fetch water or remain there washing their clothes. Their everyday lives are busy, and there is little time for purely social activities. The day begins and ends early. Soon after dark the lights go out, the houses close, and silence reigns except for the noise coming from the casa de farinha, which may operate all night, or the lonesome singing of the caatingueiros housed in the barracks, or the strong rhythmic sound of the drums coming from a distant candomblé ceremony. Because there is little work for women on a plantation, the "extra" girls, those for whom there are no potential husbands, ask the planter to get them work as domestics in the city; this is usually easy, for there is nearly always someone in Salvador looking for a "good, strong country girl" to work in the home. Occasionally, if a worker's son is especially intelligent and industrious, he too may be placed in some position in the city.

Class C comprises the majority of the population in the town of Vila Recôncavo and includes most of the occupations listed in Group 3 of the preceding chapter--that is, fishermen, gardeners, and artisans. There are no "pure whites" in this class, but, as in the rural area, a few "whites of the land" and the full range of mestiços, whose various color and social characteristics will be discussed later. The people of Class C live for the most part in the lower section of town, in the areas called Cortume, Largo de Santa Cruz, Rua Nova, Boqueirão, Cumbamba, and Caquende. The great majority of them own their homes, although the land belongs to the Fazenda Engenho da Vila, to the church, or to the prefeitura, and is rented for a small yearly sum. The houses are small, usually

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433 travel from the city to the plantations by car at almost any
49 season of the year. It is a two-hour trip, considerably more comfortable than the old system of travel by boat and on horseback. In addition, the roads have made it possible for the planters to transport their cane more efficiently, using trucks and tractor-drawn wagons. Along with this, the refinery has led to greater supplies of diesel oil, gasoline, and kerosene, so that it is no longer necessary to transport these items from the city at great cost and delay.

178 The planters have also profited in another manner. Petro-
315 brás invaded the cane fields in its search of oil. It fenced small areas where it drilled and constructed storage tanks,
311 and it took out of cane production a good deal of land for roads
433 and installations. Recently a basis has been reached for paying the planters in a satisfactory manner for the use of the lands.
• 427 As a result each planter whose land is partially occupied now receives an annual cash payment based on what the occupied
[421] land could produce. As yet no arrangements have been made for the landowners to participate in the profits of Petrobrás, since all subsoil riches belong to the nation, and therefore in this case to Petrobrás.

178 There has been little social intercourse between the planters
315 and the personnel of Petrobrás, either in the rural area or in the city of Salvador. From time to time the higher echelon
571 employees of Petrobras are invited to larger parties given by the planters, and in return the planters are sometimes invited to parties at the refinery. But the plantation society is so closed and so firmly based on family relationships that it is difficult to maintain steady social relations with newcomers. In addition, the engineers and other specialists of the oil industry are principally oriented toward the capital city, and there is no serious attempt made to establish social relationships with the planters.

The sugar-cane workers for their part are so definitely plantation-oriented that they seek little diversion among the new oil workers. The unmarried field workers of Petrobrás who might be expected to establish relationships with the rural population seldom do so. They live in a fenced barracks area which immediately gives the impression of a group cut off from the rest of society. When they do seek entertainment they go as a rule to the factory nucleus, or to the town of Vila Recôncavo, or to the nearby town of Milagres.

Politically, this influx of new workers has had little in-

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567 those under 12 years of age.[1] Of the 121 slaves listed in the particular inventory mentioned above, 40 were African. Most of these came from West Africa. Of those whose African origin is indicated, *Nago* (Yoruba) is most often listed, and *Gegé* (Ewe) is second.

249 On these sugar plantations of the Recôncavo in the colonial period, 565 the overseer of all operations involved in the growth of sugar cane and production of sugar was the owner himself. Generally, only the 463 oldest son was trained to take over his duties on the plantation; the younger sons were sent to Salvador, to Recife, or even to Europe to be educated as lawyers, physicians, engineers or Catholic priests. Daughters were married early and given their dowry, or they were [582] sent to convents to become nuns or live as lay sisters. Marriages with first cousins were frequent. Every effort was made to keep the plantation undivided and in the family. The Recôncavo sugar plantation, until about the middle of the nineteenth century, was a remarkably stable community changing little in size and organization from generation to generation.

249 After the abolition of slavery, there was a partial exodus of ex-567 slaves from the plantations to nearby towns and to the capital of Bahia. The ex-slaves who moved to small towns became manual 463 labourers or fishermen, or engaged in the profession they had learned on the plantations, such as barbering, bricklaying, etc. In other 464 cases, ex-slaves rented small plots of land on neighbouring plantations to raise manioc, corn, tobacco and other crops which required little [427] outlay of capital. Others became sugar planters on a small scale; known as *rendeiros*, they rented a few acres from a plantation and cultivated sugar cane, sending the product to the nearby *engenhos* for milling. In other cases, the ex-slaves simply moved from one plantation to another, or they often remained as free men on the same plantation, still engaged in raising sugar cane, living under the same 249 conditions as before, but legally free. Contrary to popular opinion, 433 the *engenhos* of the Recôncavo did not all cease operations after abolition. Many of them kept on producing as before. In other cases 567 the *engenho* or mill closed down while the plantation continued to plant sugar cane, sending it to a nearby *engenho* which was still functioning for milling. Some *engenhos*, however, did close down altogether and were abandoned, or went into the hands of receivers. 249 At this time many plantations changed owners—wealthy people in 471 the city were able to buy lands at a low cost and did so. But the 567 failure of many of the *engenhos* in the Recôncavo was not a direct result of abolition, it was rather the continuation of an economic [425] trend which had been going on for a long time. For many years previous to abolition, the plantations of the Recôncavo had suffered [826] from lack of capital, poor administration, occasional crop failure, and

[178] [1] In the inventories, *pardo* indicated light skin; *cabra*, dark skin; and *preto*, black. These same terms nowadays are used differently in the Recôncavo. See page 39 ff.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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and that the sudden liberation of large numbers of subjected blacks would subvert public order gradually melted away as the numbers of emancipated Negroes increased and these freedmen gave evidence of their ability and willingness to become an orderly part of the free population and to labor as effectively, if not more effectively, for wages as when impelled by physical force.

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The free people of color (who by 1872 largely outnumbered the slaves)[97] were, Southey says, "an industrious and useful part of the population: most of the maize, manioc and pulse, with which the towns were supplied, was raised by them upon small pieces of ground, which they rented of the great proprietors at a low rate."[98] Freedmen were also employed as laborers on the large estates, where they lived as squatters on the land of their employers, erecting mud and palm-leaf huts for their families, and looking to the planter for protection from any who would do them harm.[99] In the towns they were employed principally as artisans, porters, messengers, barbers, street merchants and small shopkeep-

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[97] Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

[98] Southey, *op. cit.*, III, 787. Cf. also: "The masters who freed slaves often gave them, with their liberty, a piece of land to insure their subsistence. The Negroes who have inherited these small holdings are to-day (1911) the best element of the black agricultural population" (Pierre Denis, *Brasil*, trans. from the French by Bernard Miall [New York, 1911], p. 322).

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[99] Koster writes: "The Negroes in my possession could not perform what ought to be done in proper time; and therefore I collected free laborers for the purpose, and in a short period between thirty and forty men, some of whom brought their families, removed on to the lands of the plantation; and most of them erected hovels of palm-leaves, in which they dwelt; but a few of them were accommodated with huts of mud. . . . . Many of these fellows would have committed almost any crime under the impression that my protection would screen them" (*op. cit.*, I, 295, 297).

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159 632 463 [242] years ago, after determining that these crops were not sufficiently rewarding, he made a large-scale planting of white cacao. It is still too early to speak of the outcome of this venture, for the trees have not yet started to give their first fruit, but this instance illustrates his usual energetic spirit.

159 632 463 653 Dr. Aliança took the office of mayor seriously and gave a great deal of energy to it. His accomplishments were many in the space of a few years: the paving of most of the town's streets, the installation of electric lights on the streets, the formation of a company to sell electricity to those who wanted it, the installation of telephone communications with the capital, and the construction of a new, modern primary school building. As a result of his personal energy and direction these works were completed, or at least nearly so, when he left the office. (According to law, the mayor cannot be reelected). However, with the exception of building a bridge, nothing was done in the rural areas of the county. Traditionally any public works in the county are done in the county seat.

441 463 443 [471] Many of the merchants in Group I are small operators. The capitalization of the stores in Vila Recôncavo runs from Cr$100.000,00 to as low as Cr$5.00,00. However, no matter how small the store, it provides a living for someone, or as they say in Vila Recôncavo, "Sempre da!" To the ordinary town citizen it is difficult to get enough capital together to open a store, but once opened it rarely closes for lack of business. Of the twelve stores in town, eight are owned and operated by men, and the other four belong to women. The best store in town and the poorest one both belong to women. The "best" store, Dona Carmen's, is the oldest, located on the main street leading from the boat dock. At present it is owned by Dona Carmen, who inherited it from her brother. It combines a general store and a bakery, and its prices are often slightly higher than those in other stores. It serves most of the people living in the older section of town. In addition to having the largest stock of ordinary foods, the store also carries finer packaged products such as wines, jellies, and preserves.

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444 256 Bread is baked in the afternoon and delivered to the doors of the customers' houses, still warm and with the delicious odor always associated with bread fresh from the oven. The bakery's customers for the most part have standing orders, receiving bread or rolls each day in time for supper. What is left over is hawked through the streets by the delivery boy,

is very rough, though strong. Most of the men complain about it, for it cuts their hands when they are fishing and the action of salt water on the cuts inflames their hands badly. 227

There are between seventy-five and one hundred canoes in Vila Recôncavo, of all sizes, from 16 to about 50 feet long. They come from the southern part of the state, and cost between Cr$1.000,00 and Cr$6.000,00 apiece, depending on their size. They are made of vinhatico preto, a large tree from which an entire canoe can be hollowed out. As the canoes grow older, they are strengthened inside by the addition of ribs. The center support (pé do banco) has a hole in it through which a mast can be stepped for sailing. The fishermen use a variety of sails, but usually a simple square sail called traquête. Four flour sacks sewn together make a passable square sail. The canoes last a long time and are handed down from generation to generation. A hundred years is not an uncommon age for such a craft. 501 [313] [428]

The majority of fishermen cannot swim well and have a great respect for the water on two counts: the water is deep, which to them implies danger, and it is said to hide large, man-eating fish. There are stories of three men who have disappeared in the last few years, snatched away by fish. One was a baixador, and the other two fell overboard. Falling is not uncommon, for often a man steps on a small fish on the bottom of the canoe or simply slips on the wet wood, loses his balance, and goes overboard, as the canoes are narrow-beamed and unstable. In their canoes they are fearless, and will go anywhere in any weather. Severe storms which arise suddenly are ridden out in the canoe, which generally lies at anchor while the men lie under cover of the sail, peering out occasionally to see if the weather is clearing. Many of them, however, become violently ill on a larger boat during a storm. 501 226 [481] [825] [164]

Winter is the most productive season for fishing, although the most uncomfortable. There are many storms, and the rains are more or less constant. But the fishermen say that the mixture of salt water with the fresh water from small rivers emptying into the bay seems to produce many more fish than in the summer months. The fishermen dress only in a pair of shorts and a straw hat when fishing, and remain in the cold rain for hours on end. Colds are common among them, as is rheumatism among the older men. 226 [221] [132] [291] [164]

There is always a market for fish. There is a discussion currently going on in Vila Recôncavo, for some of the older 226 43

[Class A Families]

*565 596 527 262 [272] All these dishes are served with rice, potatoes, farina, and cooked vegetable salads. Then fruits are served, followed by a series of desserts including puddings, ice cream, and cakes. The meal is concluded with a demitasse (cafèzinho). Lunch is usually served at midday, and afterwards the guests generally break into small groups, talk, sleep, play cards, or stroll about the garden. In midafternoon a small merenda (snack) is served for those who want it, consisting of cake and demitasse, and in the evening ceia (supper) is served, including cold cuts, salads, and dessert. After this the group may go en masse to the movies, either at the Petroleum Camp or in the town of Vila Recôncavo. Or, if in gay spirits, they may spend the evening dancing in the living room to popular records. People go to these almoços by horseback, jeep, truck, or sometimes, in a spirit of fun, by oxcart. Hospitality has for hundreds of years been the tradition of the rural landowners, who envelop guests with an overabundance of everything. One planter always has the dining-room table set for at least ten people, although only he and his wife live in the house. Others have the reputation of always providing a good meal for anyone who passes at mealtime.

* 565 596 527 [546] [535] [492] [493] *565 574

The decreasing size of families, the shift in individual employment from agriculture to the professions, and this century's change to large-scale industrial holdings for the production of sugar have caused some differences in land tenure and, hence, inheritance. The Recôncavo is not an area in which land title was ever vague or lost as was often the case in the sertão. Land was always scarce here, for the desirable massapê soils are limited in extent. The plantations of today for the most part fall into one of two categories: those which have been in the hands of one family for a century or more, and those which were bought after the abolition of slavery by newcomers to the Recôncavo or by those who already had plantations and at a time of falling value bought new ones from the creditors who had taken them over from their former owners for debt. In both cases title passed free and clear. The common form of inheritance is for one half of the estate to go to the widow and the other half to be divided among other heirs.

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A century ago, it was common for plantation masters to have extensive holdings, not only in the Recôncavo, but also in other parts of the state, as well as houses and even commercial buildings in the city of Salvador. In addition to this,

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this are being made, however, and it is hoped he will be ready for it before her death. In the meantime she has legally willed the house and its material belongings to him, and is also passing along to him her spiritual heritage. He is learning the mystical part of the cult, but she cannot show him the outer forms, such as dancing and other physical motions of worship, because she is too infirm. Traditionally only women went through training for worship in the Brazilian cults, for the belief is that the gods descend and "ride" or "mount" the disciple. This could only be done with women disciples. However, one of the changes reaching the cults now is the entrance of men as devotees. Very often they are effeminate, as is the case with the young man who is helping the old woman. The old one is not pleased with having a man perform the duties of her cult house, but she feels she must be satisfied with him because there is no one else in her house. Although all her former disciples are gone, now at least she will have someone to dispatch her saints when she dies, a complicated ritual which must be properly carried out.

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One of the other two houses is in the town and is led by Roxa, who has "made her saint" but who by cult standards should still be a devotee in another house, for she is not considered well enough prepared to be leading a house of her own. Her house is extremely weak, with few followers, most of whom have not yet "made their saints." Roxa is the main figure, the one most often possessed and through whom the spirits speak. As a young girl she went through a fairly rigorous period of training, but broke away before it was completed. She says she fulfills the necessary obligations now only because if she did not she would become sick. She calls the whole thing a "complication" in her life which must be looked after. She has been married but is now widowed and childless.

The other house, located on one of the plantations run by an overseer, is led by a man in his forties. He also claims that he is in the cult because of his health. As a boy and young man he was always sick and his entire body ached. One day in the field he found a "lightning stone" (pedra de raio). Such stones are common in the cults and are thought to have been sent from the sky, although they really are American Indian artifacts, such as arrowheads and hatchets, and are constantly turned up in the soil. At first he did not know what the stone was and took it home, but on discovering that it had supernatural significance, he threw it away, for he wanted nothing

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2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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794 to do with cultism. His parents were strongly opposed to cult-
[778] ism and had told him that it was bad. But the next day the stone was back in his house, frightening him. He again threw it away, and again it reappeared in his house. Then he took it to the cult leader on the plantation, who told him that it was a sign that he had an obligation to fulfill toward the gods. To
[782] put an end to the matter, it was necessary to make certain appeasements in the form of food and drink. So he began to save money, and at the same time took instruction from the woman as to what to do. During this time he became gen-
uinely interested in cultism and became the "most curious"
[428] of the woman's disciples. He studied for many years with her
[765] and did as much as he could in the ceremonies. When she died she left the house to him, as he was the most active among her followers. After he had observed the honorary period of a year after her death and had properly dispatched her saints, he moved into the house where he has now been leader for
[578] thirteen years. Because of jealousies and fights over the inheritance, many of the devotees broke away and went to other houses, taking their saints with them.

793 Three years after he had taken over the house, he had his
794 first experience with the Indian spirit Seven Stars, who came to him in a dream and let it be known that he wanted to enter
787 the man and become part of the cult. For some time the man
177 resisted, for the cult was traditionally Nagô and the former leader would have had nothing to do with Indian spirits. Seven Stars, however, threatened him with extinction if he did not comply, so in the end he gave in, and one night during a ceremony was possessed by Seven Stars. Everyone liked Seven Stars, because he was a very happy and gay spirit and danced well. After this many other devotees in the house were also possessed by this as well as by one or two other Indian spirits, neither of which, however, was considered as nice as Seven Stars.

794 According to dogma, there are twenty-one Indian spirits,
787 although the informant could not name them all and neither
177 could anyone else. All twenty-one live in an aldeia (village) in the woods. There was nothing in the African tradition to tell
[776] what preparation was necessary for these spirits, so the entire ritual became one of inventiveness and propitiousness. Nowadays young people who enter the cults are nearly always taken by an Indian spirit and are much pleased, for these spirits involve less expense and much less work. The major com-

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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rapi, and São Francisco, a *Sociedade Libertadora* freed 122 slaves in one day. Scores of these societies operated throughout Brazil.[72]

Dr. João Garcez dos Santos was the first Bahian *fazendeiro* (planter) to exchange slave labor for free. After spending some years in Europe studying agriculture, he returned to Brazil and, in 1864, bought an *engenho* called Pimental, in the *termo* of São Francisco. He freed all the slaves except eight domestic servants and paid these freedmen wages, retaining a portion of their earnings until he had been recompensed for their original cost. During the subsequent year he produced with free labor two hundred boxes of sugar. Three years later, he "freed the womb" of his eight female domestic servants, and, on his death in 1874, he set at liberty all the slaves which he had inherited from his father (a total of about sixty persons) on condition that they continue working for wages on the *engenho* for five years.[73]

In 1868 the Senhoras Condessa de Barral and Pedra

liberated by will, and the Cantagallo plantation given them for a home; Barão de Dias, 163 slaves liberated, who remain established on his plantation as laborers." In 1887 Anselmo da Fonseca wrote: "As to the *cartas de alforria* granted by slaveholders themselves, it is well known that these have always appeared in greater or lesser number in the country, and that from 1880 on they have multiplied greatly and have now become quite numerous, thanks to the powerful influence of that propaganda which has contributed so much to the elevation of the moral sentiments of the Brazilian people."

[72] On September 7, 1869, an emancipation society was organized in Bahia "with the noble purpose of ending slavery in Bahia," and by March 1, 1874, it had conferred 267 "Letters of Liberty," 89 of which were "granted gratuitously in its name," and 178 by means of its own funds, the amount thus employed totaling 58,289 milreis (Alvares do Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 181). This organization was named A Sociedade Libertadora Sete de Setembro ("The Seventh of September Liberation Society") in honor of the day on which the independence of Brazil was declared.

[73] Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 220–22.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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The two days in seven which according to custom the master allotted the slave for the cultivation of a plot of land[44] was as early as 1700 sanctioned in law.[45] His right in property could be transferred to his children.[46] He could

"a great deal depends upon the inclinations of the master, he will, however, be very careful in refusing to manumit, owing to the well-known opinion of every priest in favor of this regulation, to the feelings of the individuals of his own class in society, and to those of the lower orders of people; and likewise he will be afraid of losing his slave. He may escape with his money; and the master will then run much risk of never seeing him again, particularly if the individual is a creole slave. . . . . The master might indeed deprive the slave of the fruits of his labor, but this is never thought of; because the slave preserves his money in a secret place, or he has entrusted it to some person upon whom he can depend, and would suffer any punishment rather than disclose the spot in which his wealth lies concealed."

[44] "This day [Sunday] . . . . is the Negroes' own; after morning mass they are free to do their own will; and then most of them run to the hill to gather their coffee or maize, or prepare the ground for these or vegetables. They were just beginning to return from the wood, each with his . . . . basket laden with something of his own, something in which the master had no share; and again and again as they passed me, and displayed with glistening eye the little treasure, I blessed the Sabbath, the day of freedom to the slave" (Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 288).

[45] João Ribeiro, *Historia do Brasil* (3d rev. ed.; Rio, 1909), p. 255.

[46] However, if the slave died childless, his property reverted to the master. Note the following account given by Maria Graham regarding a slave on an estate in the province of Rio: "He was a mulatto boatman, the most trusty servant on the estate, and rich, because he is industrious enough to have earned a good deal of private property, besides doing his duty to his master. In his youth, and he is not now old, he had become attached to a creole woman, born, like him on the estate; but he did not marry her until he had earned money enough to purchase her, in order that their children, if they had any, might be born free. Since that time, he has become rich enough to purchase himself, even at the high price which such a slave might fetch; but his master will not sell him his freedom, his services being too valuable to lose, notwithstanding his promise to remain on the estate and work. Unfortunately, these people have no children; therefore on their death their property, now considerable, will revert to the master" (*op. cit.*, pp. 197–98).

[SALVADOR]

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*563 441 [186] although these lines of demarcation have a tendency to disappear. The Jews, who have immigrated since the first world war and whom people know under the name of "Russians," are the principal owners of furniture stores and are beginning to become interested in other kinds of commerce; strictly exclusive in their firms, they do not seem to have any Brazilian associates, so that the dark employees that they have among them never occupy any but subordinate positions and never reach the top positions that would permit them to take a place in the higher strata of society.

The characteristic endogamy of the Israelites has also contributed toward restricting the chances of colored people in this [233] [472] sector. Some Jews of French origin who established themselves in the city during the second half of the last century and who turned to commerce and stock raising were entirely assimilated. Their /47/ families today include some light métis and some *563 472 478 256 441 morenos. The Spaniards who dominate the grocery and bakery business are grouped into firms in which only they themselves and their immediate descendants participate. In order to maintain this commercial structure, the group is constantly renewed through the immigration of young men of the same nationality, who start to work in modest positions and end up by forming new firms or being integrated in the old ones. From the time the *563 472 441 [175] [848] [428] [671] Spanish emigrants came still unmarried or left their families in Spain, they had mulatto children or morenos here by their servants, children who were born illegitimate and who had no right of inheritance (Brazilian law did not insure it to persons in their position until some years later). But for about 20 years the Spaniards have started to send for, or bring with them, their families, so that they now form a very closed group, not only from the economic point of view, but especially from the social and, so to speak, the biological point of view. An informant [256] points out that in the old days numerous bakeries were the property of Blacks; since then the Spaniards have monopolized them almost completely, that they now control this type of business entirely. The antagonism of the inhabitants of Bahia against the

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 565 The landed, slave-owning aristocrat was the master of Recôncavo society. The extended aristocratic family was the basic social, economic, and political unit of colonial society. The upper class of the Recôncavo, composed of inter-related family units, continued without substantial alteration until the twentieth century.

175 241 433 565 563 Despite the predominance of sugar cane and the engenho in the colonial Recôncavo--and in the literature on the region--other products and other institutions were important. It is clear that tobacco and manioc were the chief secondary agricultural products, but the development of the associated institutions is not documented. Presumably a class of small semi-subsistence cultivators occupied the lands unsuitable for sugar cane. This class probably was composed of whites lacking the capital for plantation agriculture and freed mulattoes and slaves--manumission was very common in the Recôncavo. The chief commercial product of these small farmers was rolo or corda tobacco (similar to a "twist" of tobacco),[22] and probably to a lesser extent farinha de mandioca (manioc flour). In addition, corn, beans, rice, and bananas were produced.

175 43 The colonial economy of the Recôncavo was not self-sufficient, in spite of the production of food crops and meat animals on small farms and on plantations. Near the beginning of colonization the livestock ranching industry, originating in coastal areas like the Recôncavo, migrated into the interior of the Northeast. Thereafter [231] a strong current of trade in animals, especially cattle, flowed into the Recôncavo from the São Francisco valley, from Ceará, and probably from the sertão of Bahia between the coast and the mountains. These animals were exchanged at the cattle fairs--notably at Feira de Santana--for the products of the coast and for imports from abroad.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11 •
Brazil SL1

BB 175 178 249 257 433

The world-wide expansion of sugar cane production, the development of the sugar beet, and the improvement of sugar technology had changed sugar from an expensive luxury to a relatively cheap semi-necessity. The sugar industry of the Recôncavo always had been based upon the production of small quantities of a high-value product. Only with great reluctance and considerable difficulty could it convert itself to cheap mass production.

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The Brazilian industry as a whole was unable to compete effectively in the international mass market. Brazilian exports in the early twentieth century dropped to one-half, even one-third of the nineteenth century level. At the London Conference in 1937, Brazil could claim as her quota only 1.6 per cent of the total international sugar trade.

B BB 175 43 249 257

The Brazilian industry maintained itself behind a tariff wall. The more efficient and strategically located sugar areas of Campos (Rio de Janeiro) and São Paulo had access to growing local markets in the expanding Central-South. But Bahia had no sizable local market, and distance limited its access to the main Brazilian markets. Moreover, it was an inafficient, high-cost producer. Under these circumstances it could not compete in a free-market situation.

B 175 257 178

For the sugar industry as a whole the difficulties of adjustment to the almost complete loss of foreign markets were increased by the necessity for sweeping technological reorganization.[40] Until the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Brazil's entire sugar

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production was manufactured in small and primitive engenhos which used the open pan method and produced dark, low-quality sugar. The development of the steam engine, vacuum pans, centrifuges, and filters had made possible a mill both larger and more efficient. Under the name of engenho central (central mill), the new industrial complex

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
East Brazil SN1
Northeast Brazil SO1
Brazil SL1

EB NB 175 249 257 B 175 654 249 257 B [647]

In the first quarter of the twentieth century this competition of the more efficient and centrally located sugar industry of the Central-South threatened to bankrupt the Northeast.[44] Because the nation feared that a collapse of the sugar economy in the Northeast would destroy the social and economic base of these states, steps were taken to stabilize the industry. In 1933 the Instituto do Açúcar e do Álcool (Institute of Sugar and Alcohol) was created as a semi-autonomous branch of the federal government. Its purpose was to stabilize prices, maintain an equilibrium of production through quotas, and to control foreign sale of sugar. The effect of this program has been to subsidize the less efficient industry of the Northeast at the expense of the industry of the Central-South.

NB EB 178 249 257 43 BB 178 249 257 433 B [433]

During World War II temporary disruption of the national production quota system allowed the Central-South to expand, an advance which it continued to maintain after the war. This expansion limited the markets available to the sugar industry of the Northeast. In Bahia the relative decline in sugar production, begun in the 1860's, continued steadily except for a break during and following World War I. In 1952 the mills of Bahia produced only 60,279 tons of (white) sugar of a total Brazilian production of 1,785,017 tons.[45]

BB 175 178 249 43

While the sugar industry of the Recôncavo was losing markets in the initial half of the twentieth century, the tobacco industry was able to maintain and in some cases even to expand its markets. Although the maximum level of export of Brazilian tobacco was reached in 1902 (50,000 tons), the decline thereafter was only moderate, and the export was stabilized, except for World War II, at about 30,000 tons, 80 per cent of which was from Bahia. In 1865 the first cigarette factory in Bahia had been founded.[46] Small operators had produced cigars for some time, but by the beginning

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Northeast Brazil SO1

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Manioc is generally cultivated by hand by small cultivators on land near the huts in which they live--[land] called the mandiocal, very common in the interior of the state. The immediate preoccupation of the sertanejo [countryman of the interior] after the construction of his house is the planting of manioc to secure cheap food--either sweet manioc or bitter manioc, which is transformed into flour. All the family are employed in this work. The industry of flour production is rudimentary and it uses simple processes.

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The cultivation of manioc in Bahia is to provide flour for the local market, since the state does not export this product. The development of this culture is, therefore, closely related to the distribution of population, the most productive zones which are noted on the map corresponding to regions where the population is most dense. It is perfectly reasonable that the most productive region corresponds to the Recôncavo, where there is concentrated the mass of the population of Bahia and a large number of towns and cities, the most important and populous in the state. . . . . it is the region of the most highly developed agriculture in the state; it united a relatively dense rural population with manioc, almost always cultivated on a large scale in the zones of the cultivation of tobacco.[6]

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As is indicated in the foregoing quotation, the distributional pattern of manioc reveals a very close association with the cultivation of tobacco and with certain urban centers. But as might be expected in view of the broad environmental tolerance of manioc, its distribution within the Recôncavo is not directly determined by any particular physical factor. Manioc is grown in all parts of the Recôncavo, excepting only the compact pockets of sugar cane cultivation. Only one município, São Sebastião, grew less than 100 hectares or produced less than 1,000 tons of tubers in 1948. In eight municípios the area of manioc cultivation exceeded 1,000 hectares, and the production was more than 10,000 tons in each. About 28 per cent of the cropland of the Recôncavo was in mandioca.[7]

The major concentration of manioc cultivation (Maps 22 and 23) and production (Maps 24 and 25) is along the eastern edge of the Crystalline Uplands in the Southwestern Recôncavo, where in 1948 three municípios[8] grew 54 per cent of the Recôncavo's 22,472 hectares of

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 154]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

277 the more expensive varieties are hand made. The fillers and inner wrappers of the cigars are made from local tobaccos. Local leaf also [439] is used to a very limited extent for the outer wrappers, but almost all of the high quality cigars are made from wrapper leaf imported [471] from Havana, Sumatra, or the Connecticut Valley. The ownership of all the cigar factories is concentrated in three companies, all of which [439] have their headquarters in Salvador. The cigars produced in the Recôncavo are sold throughout Brazil.

182 43 44 184 Conclusion. Many of the features of the systems of marketing, transportation, and processing which are characteristic of the Recôncavo are effective in unifying the region. In particular, the centralized marketing and economic control of the production and processing of tobacco and sugar draw both the tobacco and manioc region and the sugar cane region closer to Salvador. At the same time, the differences in marketing techniques and the separate channels of control which are associated with these two products accentuate the sub-regional pattern 182 438 443 184 of the two crop regions. The system of general marketing exemplified by the municipal markets might at first glance seem to be a focus for local rather than regional interests. However, as has been seen, there are itinerant merchants who pass from market to market throughout the Recôncavo. Moreover, the major public markets, such as Feira de Santana and Salvador, draw large numbers of people from most of the rural sections. Even the local marketing institutions contribute to the identification of the people of this area with the region.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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BB 241 231 233 In the surrounding sertão livestock production is the areally and, in many cases, economically dominant activity; the Recôncavo is primarily a region of crop cultivation.

BB 43 443 The Recôncavo is a functional unit in the economic organization of commercial agriculture and marketing. Salvador, with one-third of BB the people of the region, is the primary market center. The credit [249] [452] essential to the production of tobacco passes from the city to the countryside, while the leaf is either shipped to the city for export or is sent BB [249] to local cigar factories controlled by Salvador companies. Similarly, the headquarters of the sugar industry and the chief market for its products is Salvador. Feira de Santana is also a functional center for the region, since in its markets the agricultural and industrial products which either originate in the Recôncavo or are imported through Salvador are exchanged for the livestock, crops, and extractive products of the sertão.

B BB 241 Many of the features of the agricultural system of the Recôncavo are also characteristic of Brazil. Both the land rotation system and the permanent monoculture are basic Brazilian agricultural systems. Agricultural technology, in the Recôncavo and in most parts of Brazil, B BB [464] is relatively backward. Brazilian agriculture is labor extravagant, and there is a constant falta de braços, but with few attempts at mechanization. Agriculture is highly speculative, whether tobacco in B BB [423] [565] the Recôncavo or coffee in São Paulo. The large property—latifundia—and the class organization with which it is associated are important in the region and in the country as a whole. There are large numbers of semi-dependent small cultivators in the Recôncavo as in other parts of Brazil. Both the region and the nation are very dependent upon the sale of agricultural products to distant markets.

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Private Plantation]

As a result, owners have to be satisfied with higher costs than they feel necessary and less profit than they think possible, the difference going to the overseer, rather than accept the complete failure of the plantation Overseers, foremen, and owners are all aware of the situation, but politeness, the traditional respect patterns, and the unwillingness to compete openly keep the situation covert. 249* 463 466 571

Nevertheless, on Fazenda das Moças, in spite of these difficulties there is considerable cooperation between Dona Sinhá and Seu Paulo. The duties of the overseer are confined generally to the plantation itself--seeing that the work is done, the cane planted, cultivated, harvested, and delivered to the factory as expediently as possible. The duties of Dona Sinhá are mainly concerned with finance, with arranging ready funds to meet the current expenses of the plantation. The practice of mortgaging crops did not end with the abolition of slavery, and it is the owner's task to juggle funds, loans, and interest so she will have enough money to improve and increase the yield of her plantation. In general the owners of single plantations rarely have enough funds to carry them through the year. Payrolls are met throughout the year with advances on the estimated harvest made by the factory, by the banks, or by the Cooperative of Sugar-Cane Growers and Suppliers. Thus when the season ends the owner is already in debt, part of which he must pay off in order to finance the coming year. There are two problems constantly present in the struggle to increase the size of the harvest: cost of production, and the antiquated methods used on the private plantations, where practically all work is done by hand. 249* 463 426 [433]

Table 1 shows production, costs, and profits for the harvests of the years 1947-48, 1948-49, and 1949-50 at Fazenda das Moças. The drop in production and the rise in costs in the years 1948-49 were attributed to a slackening of the vigilance of Dona Sinhá and to a poor overseer. It was at the end of this year that Seu Paulo assumed the position of overseer of the plantation. The following year showed a great improvement which has continued. for the 1950-51 harvest produced 6,000 tons, the highest output of any private plantation in the Recôncavo. Future harvests are expected to go well above this. In addition to changing the overseer, and in the following year the foreman, Dona Sinhá was able to borrow enough money to purchase the tractor mentioned earlier. The next year, as a result of the evident success of the new combination, two four- 249* 43 [426] [407] [493]

[The Private Plantation]

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TABLE 1
PRODUCTION, COSTS, PROFITS: FAZENDA DAS MOÇAS

1947-1948	
4,000 tons of cane at the selling price of Cr$81,40 a ton	Cr$325.600,00
Cost of production	206.244,00
Profit	119.356,00
1948-1949	
2,500 tons of cane at Cr$88,90	222.250,00
Cost of production	225.198,00
Loss	32.948,00
1949-1950	
5,000 tons of cane at Cr$107,40	537.000,00
Cost of production	319.248,00
Profit	217.751,00

[407] wheeled carts were added which could be drawn by the tractor,
[493] thus cutting down transportation costs. Recently a jeep was acquired to pull the carts, and a second tractor equipped with the mechanism to cultivate cane fields was purchased.

*249 43 178 [426] Still, the plantation is heavily in debt, and any profits are immediately used for improvements or for paying off debts. Moreover, the cost of tractors, jeeps, and fertilizer is very high since they are imported products. Because of the dollar exchange rate their cost is extravagantly high in Brazil, compared with the United States. In addition, the plantation is still burdened with the old equipment and the necessity of pasture for the oxen, which cuts down the acreage available for plant-
[492] ing. Animal traction cannot yet be entirely dispensed with, because of the condition of the soil in winter. The problem of
*249 178 maintaining the old system of work as well as introducing the new, which can only slowly pay for itself, is considerable. Dona Sinhá is faced with the dilemma of difficult natural conditions which, while good in many ways for sugar cane, impede the application of modern techniques. She is also faced with
*249 178 466 personnel problems in relation to the overseer. One solution is clearly apparent and has been adopted by Dona Sinhá: to spend more and more time on the plantation, sharing more and more work with Seu Paulo. This of course is a complete break with the past traditions of the plantation master. It is a difficult break for both parties concerned. Dona Sinhá misses her city

[Town Life]

vo. There are about twenty women in the town who are thus employed constantly, and others who work part-time with the fish. They go down to the beach, carrying five-gallon gasoline cans, when they see the fishermen coming in, and buy the fish by the canful at about Cr$25,00 a can, sometimes buying as many as ten canfuls. An exceptional catch for a day will run well over fifty cans, especially during the winter months. The women then take the fish home, clean them and pack them in salt for twenty-four hours, after which they put them on spits, two narrow slivers of wood cut from the dendê palm. Five fish go on each two spits. They are then hung out to dry in the sun for about two days. If it rains, the drying takes longer, and frequently many are lost. Few of the women ever become accustomed to the odor of the salted, drying fish, and they complain bitterly about it. But they know that there is always a market for the dried product, and this compensates to some extent for the unpleasantness involved. A can of fish usually provides 150 to 200 spits, and they are sold for Cr$25,00 to Cr$30,00 a hundred spits. The price is generally slightly higher if they are sold at the weekly Monday market in Centro, to which the women as a rule go themselves, or to which they send the fish with a friend. Otherwise, they are sold to the occasional tropeiros de cima[3] who come to town to buy them at a slightly lower price. It is said that the small dried fish are considered a fine dish by the people of the sertão.

Other women prepare shrimp in much the same manner, although the prices are higher. A can of shrimp costs between Cr$100,00 and Cr$150,00 depending upon the size of the catch and the season of the year, for during Lent and especially during Holy Week, when the demand is greater, all prices of fish and seafood rise. A can of shrimp gives two hands (duas mãos), or forty spits, of shrimp, which are sold at the average of Cr$100,00 a hand; the price of the finished product varies with the price of the fresh shrimp. However, a man in Vila Recôncavo recently built an icehouse, and the women have worked less with shrimp, for the fishermen sell directly to

3. Tropeiros de cima (troopers from up north) are men from the sertão who descend to the Recôncavo with mules loaded with farina to sell, and return north with fish and fruit from the Recôncavo.

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two miles west of the town to another well which did not have to serve so many people. Many women also made this trip, with five-gallon cans of water on their heads, and with their children carrying smaller cans.

In the past many women of this group possessed heirlooms: jewelry handed down to them by their female ancestors who had been favorite slaves of their white masters and who had received valuable brooches, necklaces, rings, and earrings from them, in accordance with the old pattern of luxury which extended even to certain slaves. In most cases this jewelry has now been sold at some time of emergency to antique dealers who scour the rural areas looking for such treasures, which are now highly valuable and sought by collectors.

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Group 3 is made up of independent artisans, that is, people who are self-employed. It differs from Group 1 in that its members rarely employ the services of other people in personal or household activities, although gardeners, carpenters, tailors, fishermen, bricklayers, and barbers do employ people in their business. The large number of men employed by the bricklayers should be explained, as it is not a permanent category. The census from which these data were taken was made in June, 1950, at the height of the work of paving the town streets with cobblestones. A number of bricklayers had come to town for this work, and they as well as the resident bricklayers had to employ workmen to do the work with them for the municipal government. When the paving was finished there was no longer a need for so many bricklayers, and they either left or went into fishing or some other occupation. Since the data were collected, the tailors have also moved to another town as a result of the lack of business in Vila Recôncavo.

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The majority of men in this group are the fishermen, who number 132, plus 5 who are employed rather than self-employed. They fish from canoes, with several types of nets, for a large variety of fish. The federal statistics agent lists seventeen types of fish, including shrimp, giving the following weight and price for the year's activities: 129,070 kilograms and Cr$921.540,00 (slightly under $50,000.00). Shrimp earns slightly more than half this total, Cr$468.000,00, although the amount in kilograms is only 26,000. Xangô, already mentioned, is the second most profitable product, bringing in Cr$195.000,00 for 65,000 kilograms. The statistics agent admits that these figures are approximations

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226 based on what the fishermen claim to have caught, for the fish
43 is not weighed and the price is based on a low average price per kilogram for all types of fish. As a rule fish is sold by the can and not by weight. The one man in town who buys fish for his icehouse usually buys "by the eye," that is, by estimation of how many kilograms he is getting. If anything, however, the above figures err by underestimation.

463 The life of the fisherman is a rugged one, and his schedule
226 follows the incoming and outgoing tides. There are six types of nets most commonly used: the circular casting net (tarrafa)
227 and the deep net (rêde de fundo) or drag net (rêde de arrasto) to catch shrimp; the resac and abaladeira, the former for xangó and the latter for sardines and tainha (a small sardine-like fish); and the calão and calãozinho for the larger fish. These are the most popular nets, but there also exist several others used with less frequency, such as the arraieira, a net used only to catch the arraia, or skate fish; the pesqueiro, a pole-and-net trap to catch all kinds of large fish; the caçoeira, to catch the caçao and other very large fish; and the jererê, a small basketlike net used by women and children along the shore to catch small fish and crabs. In addition, a long line with many hooks on it (grosseira), baited to catch large fish,
226 is used. The hook and line is very seldom used. Fish poison is employed. Tingui, a toxic plant, is mashed and scattered on the water in the mangue at low tide, and it stupefies the caramurú and miroró, two inhabitants of the mangue.

The favorite shrimp banks are directly in front of the town of Vila Recôncavo, at the mouth of the river which empties into the Bay of All Saints. The preferred time to use the circular casting net for shrimp is early on a windless morning, during the hours of full tide when the incoming surge has ended and the outgoing current has not yet started. The shrimp fleet seen from the heights of the town presents a scene of utmost tranquility, for there is little action involved other than the quick throwing out and the slow pulling in and folding of the net. Tarrafa fishing is a one-man job. The man paddles a canoe out to the area where the shrimp are usually to be found, which in this case is a large submerged rock on the edge of the river channel, around which shrimp are numerous. Arriving there the fisherman ships his paddle and begins to cast his net, standing in the stern of the canoe. As a rule there are between twenty and thirty fishermen casting in and about the same place. The net is cone-shaped, the apex being

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is very rough, though strong. Most of the men complain about it, for it cuts their hands when they are fishing and the action of salt water on the cuts inflames their hands badly. 227

There are between seventy-five and one hundred canoes in Vila Recôncavo, of all sizes, from 16 to about 50 feet long. They come from the southern part of the state, and cost between Cr$1.000,00 and Cr$6.000,00 apiece, depending on their size. They are made of vinhatico preto, a large tree from which an entire canoe can be hollowed out. As the canoes grow older, they are strengthened inside by the addition of ribs. The center support (pé do banco) has a hole in it through which a mast can be stepped for sailing. The fishermen use a variety of sails, but usually a simple square sail called traquête. Four flour sacks sewn together make a passable square sail. The canoes last a long time and are handed down from generation to generation. A hundred years is not an uncommon age for such a craft. 501 [313] [428]

The majority of fishermen cannot swim well and have a great respect for the water on two counts: the water is deep, which to them implies danger, and it is said to hide large, man-eating fish. There are stories of three men who have disappeared in the last few years, snatched away by fish. One was a baixador, and the other two fell overboard. Falling is not uncommon, for often a man steps on a small fish on the bottom of the canoe or simply slips on the wet wood, loses his balance, and goes overboard, as the canoes are narrow-beamed and unstable. In their canoes they are fearless, and will go anywhere in any weather. Severe storms which arise suddenly are ridden out in the canoe, which generally lies at anchor while the men lie under cover of the sail, peering out occasionally to see if the weather is clearing. Many of them, however, become violently ill on a larger boat during a storm. 501 226 [481] [825] [164]

Winter is the most productive season for fishing, although the most uncomfortable. There are many storms, and the rains are more or less constant. But the fishermen say that the mixture of salt water with the fresh water from small rivers emptying into the bay seems to produce many more fish than in the summer months. The fishermen dress only in a pair of shorts and a straw hat when fishing, and remain in the cold rain for hours on end. Colds are common among them, as is rheumatism among the older men. 226 [221] [132] [291] [164]

There is always a market for fish. There is a discussion currently going on in Vila Recôncavo, for some of the older 226 43

226 men say that the fish are leaving, while others say there are
● 43 just as many as ever. It is a difficult thing to prove one way or the other, for written records of the annual catches are only recent. However, there is no such thing as being unable to sell the fish they bring in. Many people in town have increased their consumption of fresh fish as a result of inflation, for it is less expensive than dried or fresh meat. The fishermen themselves eat a great deal of fish, always keeping enough out of a catch for their own family. The planters of the rural area complain that the fresh fish never arrive at the plantations any more as they did in the past. This is probably due to the icehouse in the town. The fishermen sell first to their "usual customers," the women who work with xangô and shrimp; what is left is sold to the icehouse to be packed and shipped to Bahia, rather than being sent out to the country.

226 The jereré, a small basketlike net built around an iron ring 1 1/2 feet in circumference, is used by women and children along the shore and is part of a subsistence activity. It catches only a small crab (siri), an occasional eel, and other small fish which are cooked for the table in the form of moqueca, a sort of stew highly seasoned with peppers and dendê oil. The tideswamps abound in a large crab called the caranguejo, which is also highly prized for the table. Children often catch these, but a man who does so is called a caranguejeiro, a derogatory term. The hunter seeks the crab by sticking his arm down into its hole, which is usually very deep, at least arm's length. As a result he is always covered with the thick black mud so typical of the tideswamps. Often a tropeiro de cima comes to the town and commissions someone to catch the crabs, which he wraps carefully in mud and leaves and carries to the northern hinterland to sell.

463 The second largest subgroup in Group 3 is composed of the
241 twenty-four gardeners (roçeiros) who are engaged in small-scale commercial farming, rather than subsistence horticulture. They live in town and have their small fields on the outskirts of Vila Recôncavo. All of these fields are located on the plantation Engenho Da Vila ("P" on map of community), and they range from one, two, or three acres in size to as many as fifteen acres, rented from the plantation at Cr$100,00
241 an acre per year. The major crops are manioc, bananas, and to a lesser extent tobacco, sugar cane for chewing (cana de chupar), corn, beans, and squash. Because there are only 265

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Because there are only 265 acres of manioc under cultivation in the entire county, production is far below the amount of farina consumed, and it is necessary to import the milled manioc tuber which constitutes the major dietary item of the people. In 1951 a municipal law was passed prohibiting the exportation of farina. Three times during the author's stay in the town there was a pronounced lack of farina, when there was almost none to be bought and its price per liter rose from one to three cruzeiros. That year's drought was also partly responsible for the shortage. 241 43 [262] [114] [731]

Bananas are the only commercial export crop of the gardeners. There are approximately 15,000 banana trees in the county, producing for the commercial market an annual production of 177,000 arms (cachos) of bananas, providing an income of Cr$500.000,00. The fruits are sold to a middleman from Bahia who knows most of the gardeners in the area. Once a week, or every two weeks, he arrives at the town in a large sailboat to receive the fresh bananas, which he then takes to Bahia and sells. Sometimes a gardener sells an arm of bananas to a woman in town who then resells them to townspeople. Few people in town have to buy them, however, for each household has at least one banana tree in the back yard. An acre of land supports about 144 banana trees, which when well cared for produce 1,500 arms a year. The fruits are sold in cargoes of fifty arms at Cr$160,00 a cargo, so that one acre earns about Cr$5.000,00 a year. This sum is almost entirely profit, for gardeners do most of their own work, except when they have too much land for one man to take care of properly. Hired help is paid in accordance with the service performed: ten cruzeiros for cutting fifty arms of bananas, twenty for transporting them to the dock if the gardener does not have his own animals, and a hundred cruzeiros an acre for "cleaning," i.e., cutting down and burning old stalks and leaves and keeping the weeds cut down. 245 43 [442] [311] 245 46

Manioc presents a slightly different case, for the raw product must be processed before it is consumed. The manioc root from which farina is made is the poisonous variety and must be peeled and grated, pressed to remove the juice, and then toasted. The final product is a white powder, fine or coarse depending upon the type of grater used. Most of the local product is a coarse type (farinha de guerra). One of the gardeners has a flour house where the tubers are converted into flour. He mills his own manioc there and lets others use the machinery, charging them one liter of farina out of each ten they produce. 252 [427]

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tory and its fields, and who are slowly drifting away from 249*
visiting the factory nucleus. 571

An overall result of the new conditions between private planters and the factory is a desire on the part of the suppliers of São Pedro to become independent of this outlet. Several of the suppliers are shifting their cane to other neighboring factories, when this is convenient. Most of them are seriously [311] considering shifting to another crop, as will be described below; in fact a goodly proportion of land has already been taken out of sugar-cane production, thus diminishing future cane harvests and endangering the cane supply of Usina São Pedro.

What was formerly a peaceful, "all in the family," almost preservelike area has become an area of tensions and of poor business, and social, relations. The situation has all the possibilities of a traditional sugar-cane kind of land capture. The factory needs land in order to produce more cane so that the mill can operate at capacity. No one is willing to sell to the factory, nor even to supply as much cane as he might under other conditions. But the private planters are dependent upon the factory, economically and for services. Therefore it is an [452] easy matter for the factory to make difficulties for the individual planter, even gradually forcing him into failure, since the planter operates on credit and has little latitude for even a single crop failure. Such a failure gives the factory an opportunity to acquire badly needed lands at a bargain. [425]

The sugar industry in the community of Vila Recôncavo has 178
also undergone changes in the labor aspects, in line with the 249*
entire industry. As was pointed out in Chapter 4, the price 43
of the sugar cane and the sugar is artificially regulated, and [656]
has been rising slowly over a period of years. However, nationwide social legislation in the past three years has raised the wages of the workers annually, before the price increases [458] were granted by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol. Spiraling inflation has also helped raise all the costs, of labor, of materials, and of machinery. Whereas prices for the task done [466] have always been fairly well regulated, they have recently become a very strong issue, and there is much worker discontent. The planter, whether private or corporate, is more than ever interested in holding down the costs of his labor supply, since other costs, particularly of machinery and repairs, are soaring, always narrowing the margin between the total cost of production and the established selling price.

[Town Life]

who walks about with a huge round basket on his head crying, "Pão, pão." 444 256

Dona Carmen's husband, Damião, is also a storekeeper. His store is in the downhill part of town, near the fishermen. The two stores are run separately, and the couple are doing well financially. In addition to his store, Damião also owns several canoes and fish nets which he rents to fishermen. He is the only storekeeper in town who gives credit to people who cannot pay immediately, allowing bills to run many months and even more than a year. He also allows his customers to borrow money in order to buy things outside his store--for instance fish, which he does not handle. He does not charge interest on these loans, nor seemingly make any demands on those who borrow. On the other hand the borrowers feel a sort of loyalty toward him and do not forget their debts, which they eventually manage to pay. 441 463 [444] [427] [452] [426]

Three of the smallest stores are owned and operated by women, whose husbands have set them up in business in a small way in order, as one put it, to "give my wife something to do." It is considered desirable for a woman to operate a store and it is usually the beginning of something larger, for later, whenever possible, the husband will stop his own work and help operate the store. In the case of the smaller stores the owner generally lives in the same building, either alongside the store or behind it. The larger storekeepers, however, usually have separate houses. At night they lock up the stores, which are sometimes guarded by dogs or even by the cashiers who sleep there. The storekeepers are usually asked for donations to the church at the time of any special festivals, and generally become politically active after they become established in business. 441 444 463 [562] [431] [66]

The stock in most of the stores is pretty much the same, varying in amount rather than diversity: drinks (rum and soft drinks), dried meat (the staple meat of the population), cereals, cigars, cigarettes, estivas (which include beans, rice, and farina, the three great staples of the local diet), as well as coffee, palm oil (azeite de dendê), vinegar, olive oil, garlic, onions, wooden sandals, condensed and powdered milk, salt, sugar, miudezas (small items such as matches and ribbons), toilet articles and laundry soaps, blueing agents and starch, grass mats, kerosene, and in one store aluminum kitchenware which is not sold very often, as well as nails, wire, screws, and wrapping paper and cord. One store in the 443

[Class B Families]

[Class C Families]

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[114] plantation during the author's stay in the community, and her father gave her a large wedding. The wedding party left the plantation early in the morning in an oxcart decorated with white crepe paper, and proceeded to the town of Vila Recôncavo. The wedding was held in the Franciscan chapel. The townspeople did not attend the wedding or show any interest in it. Immediately after the ceremony the wedding party started back to the plantation, a five-mile trip. As each plantation nucleus was passed the cart stopped in front of the overseer's house, and small glasses of rum were passed to the guests, and the happiness of bride and groom was toasted.

[342] On arrival at the new brick house which the groom's father had presented to the couple, the bride went into the kitchen
[431] to help her mother and the other women who were preparing the luncheon. Then she passed small glasses of wine to the
[114] guests. With the exception of Dona Sinhá and the author, the guests were all overseers from the neighboring plantations. The female guests were relatives of the bride. The meal con-
[262] sisted of everything the region had to offer: fish, shrimp, salads; roasts of beef, pork, lamb, and turkey; potatoes and farina; followed by fruits, desserts, and coffee. After all the men had eaten and moved into the living room to chat, the bride and the other women sat down in the dining room to eat.

*565 In a sample of eighteen Class B households (eleven urban
585 and seven rural), fifteen couples were married by both civil
583 and religious ceremonies. The remaining three couples were simply living together, a state known in northern Brazil as
[125] amasiado. In Class C a sample of ninety-five households (forty-one urban and fifty-four rural) showed twenty-three couples in the amasiado state, twenty-two married by civil and religious ceremonies, thirty-four married in church only, and eight by civil marriage alone. Eight of the couples sampled did not answer the question. In Class B, one partner in each of the three couples living in the amasiado state was married to someone else whom he or she had left.

585 Nineteen civil marriages were performed in the entire coun-
583 ty (population over 11,000) during the year of 1950. They are shown below by age group. Fifty religious marriages were
[161] performed during the same year throughout the five parishes attended by the Franciscans. Because of differences in the
[127] manner of recording the two types of marriages, however, no correlation could be worked out as to how many marriages were both civil and religious. There are no statistics avail-

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the day of Christ the King, there is always a procession in town which starts from the mother church and goes to a small altar set up in front of the County Hall, then to the fishermen's chapel, to a cross which stands in one of the squares, and back to the convent and church. A few people set their small household oratories in the street in front of their houses to be blessed by the priest as he passes. This procession is accompanied mostly by women of all classes, although the canopy over the Host is carried by men from Class B. Christmas is observed quietly except for the exchange of gifts.

[778] [788] *[565] [184] [431]

Prayers

794 782 *[565] [184] Prayers are very popular throughout the year among the women of classes C and D. For a variety of reasons a group of women will get together in the house of one of them and pray aloud, standing before the little decorated niche which contains a picture or figure of the household saint. The one who knows the prayer best leads the others. A group may pray on the evening before the day of the patron saint of one of them, especially if they have been unable to have a Mass said because of the lack of money or a previous commitment of the priest. At times they pray because someone has promised his patron saint that he would do so if he were cured of an illness.

782 Strangely, perhaps, the fishermen never seem to feel a need for supernatural help to overcome bad weather or lack of fish. A few of them, however, give a present to the Mother of the Waters in thanks for an exceptionally fine catch. At other times, people simply pray to their patron saints if they cannot have a party in their honor. Personal patron saints, however, do not play a very important part in the lives of the people of Vila Recôncavo, although nearly everyone has one and has at least a picture of the saint on the wall. It is common to find women who belong to an African cult group praying at these nightly gatherings in honor of the various saints who may or may not be represented in their cult houses.

[776] [794]

755 782 [754] Exceptional fatigue, light illness, and pains may all be caused by the evil eye, and are removed by having a woman pray over the victim. There are several women in town who can make such prayers particularly well; however, they do not pray as a group. A woman goes to the house of the victim and, with a piece of thread in her hand which she passes over the body of the victim, says the Lord's Prayer and the

443 upper part of town also sells cloth. Most stores also have small supplies of chocolate (considered a great treat at a party), tea, honey, canned desserts such as guava, and canned butter and cheese. As a rule fresh vegetables are not sold in the stores but peddled through the streets, since few people eat them. It is more practical to order them specially from someone going to the fair in Centro. Nearly everyone has a banana tree or an orange tree in the back yard, so that few fruits are sold in the stores. The other seasonal crops, such as cashew nuts, corn, and pineapples, are peddled from house
443 to house. As a rule people in Vila Recôncavo buy their food
• 432 in small quantities, since they have no methods of food pres-
[251] ervation. A liter bottle is carried to the store to be filled with oil or kerosene; a small can is carried there to be filled with rice, beans, or farina. The smoked meat called charque is bought by the kilo and left hanging in the kitchen, and strips are cut from it at meal times. Although the price of charque is as high as that of fresh meat, and at times higher, people say it is more satisfying. As a rule the butcher in Vila Recôncavo kills two steers a week, on Wednesday and Saturday. The meat is carried through the streets unwrapped, hanging from a cord. It is not unusual to see a string of dogs following such a person. The meat is eaten the same day to prevent spoilage, and as a result it is usually tough and flavorless.

463 Most of the people included in Group 1 lead an upper-class
*565 kind of life; indeed to a great extent these people are the town's highest class, as will be shown in the next chapter. These are the people who do little or no labor themselves other than the white-collar work with which they earn their living. The men
[291] dress in city clothes most of the time--white shirt, tie, and suit coat--and the women are always neatly dressed with shoes and silk stockings. (The oil workers are an exception, for they do not hold white-collar jobs but wear overalls and helmets). There is always help to do the housework and the marketing.
463 Sometimes a cook is employed; otherwise the lady of the house
*565 does her own cooking, assisted by her daughters. The laundry is sent out, or else the laundress comes to the house to do it,
357 and water for drinking purposes and for washing is brought to
[296] the house by a man or woman employed for the purpose; members of the household never fetch water at the wells. Often
[312] the house has a cement tank and drains on the roof to catch
[313] rainwater. Nor does any member of the house fetch firewood, which is supplied by a hired person.

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*249 pliers were presented with accounts showing how much cane
571 had been sent to the mill, the price, how much the factory had
452 paid the bank on the supplier's loans, how much had been ad-
407 vanced the supplier for his cane, and how much was still owed
the supplier, discounting the costs of services received from
the factory facilities. This has been traditional practice, not
only at Usina São Pedro, but also at the other factories of the
178 area. Now, however, Usina São Pedro expects to receive
cash at the moment of the transaction for each such service
*249 the supplier receives. In addition, the factory has gradually
571 cut down on the number of services it offers the suppliers.
This has been particularly serious regarding services of the
407 mechanics, as the private suppliers have no other source of
437 repair for their machines except in the city; taking them into
the city costs a great deal of time and is more expensive than
were the services performed by the factory mechanics.

178 The new managers at first charged an automatic discount
*249 upon the cane tonnage supplied by each private plantation. This
571 resulted in a considerable loss of money at the end of the year
for each private supplier, thereby straining even more the
relations which daily were becoming more and more disagree-
•432 able. Any question of scale and tonnage is a touchy one for
private planters, who sell their cane by the weight. The dis-
[656] count charged on general principles by the factory was so
serious a matter that several of the private suppliers united
and called the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol to their defense
and succeeded in correcting the situation. This was a "first"
for Usina São Pedro, where such a thing had never before
happened, and where such a recourse is considered an ex-
treme.

178 Social relationships between the private planters and the
*249 managers of the factory are almost nonexistent. Whereas a
571 few years ago the factory was the central gathering point for
the social life of the planters of the area, it is now a place to
be avoided. In addition to making working conditions difficult,
the new managers and their families are "outsiders" in this
small, closed plantation society, with different backgrounds
and manners. As a result of the new conditions, the private
planters are spending more time on their plantations than be-
fore, but their social life rotates from one plantation to an-
other, skipping the factory nucleus. This pattern is also re-
flected in the activities of the resident workers, who are up-
set at the treatment shown to the older employees of the fac-

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11 •
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

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For four centuries the agricultural development of Brazil has been characterized by a series of speculative phases, each focused on a single product, each centered upon a single region of Brazil. The first commercial product was sugar, the first region was the Recôncavo of Bahia. The agricultural society founded on the shore of the Baía de Todos os Santos in the mid-sixteenth century has persisted with an almost unbroken continuity for over four hundred years. It is with the geography of this agricultural society that the present study is concerned.

B BB • 433

After sugar had ceased to bring a quick profit, the Brazilian center of effort shifted to other areas where economies of cotton, oranges rice, cacao, and many lesser products opened the land and drew the ambitious and the desperate from the older settlements. Intermeshed with these phases of agricultural development were booms in the exploitative industries--in the mining of gold and diamonds and in the gathering of rubber. So characteristic have been these speculative convulsions, each followed by a shift to a new region, that they might almost seem to be the whole of Brazilian history and Brazilian reality--the nation might have been practicing a system of shifting cultivation on an immense scale with not only fields but whole regions abandoned as the yield declined. Yet this is not the case, for in each of these regions men remain and crops persist. The Recôncavo, long past its triumph, has a present day population of one million people, many of whom are still cultivating the original speculative crop, sugar cane. The Recôncavo is not unique in this respect, for coastal Pernarbuco, eastern

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CHAPTER III

EVOLUTION OF THE RECÔNCAVO

175 Introduction. The first permanent colony on the Baía de Todos os Santos was established by the Portuguese in 1549.[1] This colony, at the city of Salvador, was the nucleus of settlement in the Recôncavo. The Recôncavo was thus one of the early European colonies in the New World.[2] The first Portuguese colonists came to seek their fortunes in the exploitation of the land. The ethos of the Recôncavo economy in the four centuries since its founding has remained fairly constant: the realization of the greatest agricultural profits with the least capital investment, the minimum conservation of land and labor, and the most grudging adjustments to changes in technology, markets, and the social and political order. Most of the million descendants of Portuguese colonists and Negro slaves who live in the Recôncavo today are imbued with the orthodox values of the exploitative agricultural society established here in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Shifts in markets and in the relative importance of commercial products have not been accompanied by equivalent changes in the speculative and exploitative orientation of the society. In the initial period a market for Recôncavo agricultural products was assured because it had a virtual monopoly. The development of alternative and competitive sources for these products broke this monopoly and caused a continuous increase in the speculative character of agriculture in the Recôncavo. This area did not respond to the increased risk by diversifying its agricultural base but persisted in the same crops and the same methods of cultivation. Such change as did take place was in the form of reluctant, tardy, and minimal adjustments so that in many ways the

175 178 181 433 241 433 241 178 [181]

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433 241 178 Recôncavo remains today a backward and traditional agricultural society.

However, not all elements in Recôncavo life are static. In the field one was incessantly conscious both of the gradual course of change in this region and of the latent instability of its economic organization. Particularly in the last 75 years the agricultural economy of the Recôncavo has begun to shift--it is apparently in the throes of a drastic economic reorganization. It remains to be seen whether the traditional values will survive this economic revolution. [128] The brief historical discussion to follow is not intended as a substitute for a full-scale historical reconstruction. Its purpose is to indicate the major patterns in the evolution of the Recôncavo.

175 The Evolution of Colonial Agricultural Institutions. By the end of the initial half century of settlement (1600) those ethnic groups, crops, animals, and agricultural institutions which were to [567] become characteristic of the Recôncavo were already in evidence. Negro [249] slaves were brought in on the heels of the first Portuguese settlers,[3] [231] and sugar cane and cattle were also introduced at this time.[4] Tobacco [244] and manioc, produced by the Indians indigenous to the northeast of [249] [177] Brazil, were rapidly integrated into the colonial agriculture of the [249] Recôncavo.[5] The combined sugar mill and plantation (engenho), which [471] was the basic economic institution of the Recôncavo until the end of the nineteenth century, already existed in rudimentary form before 1600.[6]

175 249 [244] From the beginning the new colony in the Recôncavo had three important crops--sugar cane, tobacco, and manioc. It was the cultivation of sugar which the Portuguese crown and the initial settlers had

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162 compose most of the population of the Recôncavo today. In 1940 the
563 population of the Centro-Litoral of Bahia--the census area most closely corresponding to the Recôncavo--had the following composition: white, 22 per cent; black, 29 per cent; and others, predominately mulatto, 49 per cent.[12]

The purchase of large quantities of slaves required the produc-
175 439 tion of a commodity which could be used as exchange in Africa. The
567 indigenous tobacco proved eminently suitable for this purpose. Although
436 276 rum apparently was used also in this trade, tobacco became the essential
[273] source of exchange for the slave traffic.[13] Bahia was the main area of
[249] tobacco production, and probably most of this production was localized in the Recôncavo.[14]

The initial period of settlement saw also the incorporation of
175 244 manioc[15] into the agricultural economy as a staple. Like tobacco, it
433 was an indigenous crop. Thus one indigenous crop was adopted to
[567] purchase slaves in Africa and another to feed them in Brazil. By 1587 manioc apparently was being cultivated on a moderate scale in Bahia.[16] A recurring theme in the history of the Recôncavo is the shortage of this essential foodstuff.

In addition to the principal crops--sugar, tobacco, and
241 262 manioc--a number of lesser agricultural products were important in the
175 early history of the Recôncavo. Corn, beans, and bananas were grown
433 on a small scale and used to supplement the manioc diet. Other diversi-
231 fications of the diet were provided by meat and fish. Cattle were maintained to draw the ox carts and to power many of the cane mills. For lighter tasks asses and mules were used.

178 Out of this complex of Portuguese settlers and Negro slaves, of
249 old world and new world crops, there developed certain characteristic
433 agricultural enterprises. The engenho--old world in the origin of its

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178 crop, technology, and market--was the most important of these enter-
249 prises. The sugar industry flourished in its new world setting and
433 developed from the beginning an institutional character different from that of the old world, particularly in terms of land holding, labor, and the organization of production.

175 The regime of possession of the land was that of completely
423 alodial properties. Among the powers of the donatários of
249 the capitania was, as we have seen, that of disposing of
471 the land, which they distributed among the colonists. The grants were as a rule very large, the lots measuring many leagues. This is understandable: the lands were abundant, and the ambitions of these pioneers, recruited at such a cost, were evidently not contented with small properties; it was not the position of modest peasants to which they aspired in the new world but as great senhores [gentlemen] and latifundiários [landowners]. In addition to this and more important, there was a material factor which determined the type of property established. The culture of cane is practical, economically, only on a large scale. Merely conveniently to clear and prepare the lands (a costly task in this tropical and virgin setting so hostile to man) made necessary the united energy of many workers: it was not an enterprise for small and isolated proprietors. This done, the planting, the harvesting, and the transportation of the cane to the engenhos where it was made into sugar was only profitable when done in large volume. In these conditions the small producer could not exist.

It was above all these circumstances which determined the type of agricultural enterprise adopted in Brazil: the large property.[17]

175 The latifundia established by these colonists ideally were
241 self-sustaining units producing food and sometimes clothing for the
471 entire engenho community--free and slave. In fact, however, they often
433 seem to have neglected food production for the cultivation of the universal commercial product--sugar cane. From the beginning of colonization a succession of regulations and decrees were issued to compel the cultivation of manioc. Recurrent food shortages suggest that these measures were not effective in the face of the "monocultural mentality" of the senhores de engenho (sugar plantation owners). In

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241 433 178 In contemporary Bahia chronic shortages of staple foods, particularly manioc, are characteristic of the zones of commercial agriculture.

175 249 [492] The equipment and technology of the engenhos was primitive. The cane was transported on the backs of mules or on ox carts to the mill where it was crushed in a crude press sometimes turned by water power but usually by animal- or even man-power. The cane juice was evaporated in large iron caldrons which were heated by fire made from wood. This type of processing was in general use in the Recôncavo for several centuries and still persists in some areas of the extra-Recôncavo backlands. [464] [567] The engenhos were operated almost exclusively with slave labor. Most of the slaves of Bahia are thought to have come from the Guinea Coast of Africa. These "Mina" Negroes[18] had a relatively [177] sophisticated cultural inheritance from Africa and undoubtedly made substantial contributions to the cultural development of Bahia.[19]

175 249 464 567 The Negroes were introduced when Indian slaves failed to provide the necessary labor supply, but they were rarely available in sufficient numbers and at a low enough cost to prevent chronic labor shortages. Falta de braços (literally, lack of arms) has been a perennial concern in the Recôncavo no less than elsewhere in Brasil. [162] The importation of hundreds of thousands of Negroes into Brazil--of which certainly a considerable number were settled in the Recôncavo--did not solve the problem.[20] In the early period most engenhos had from about 80 to 100 slaves, but by the eighteenth century some had as many as 1,000.[21]

175 563 567 From the beginning of settlement there was extensive miscegenation. The Portuguese settlers were predominately male, and they bred on a large scale with both Indian and Negro slave women. Some of the mestizo and mulatto children--chiefly the latter in the Recôncavo--retained the slave status of their mothers. Others were freed and sometimes occupied favored positions in their fathers' households.

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175 565 The landed, slave-owning aristocrat was the master of Recôncavo society. The extended aristocratic family was the basic social, economic, and political unit of colonial society. The upper class of the Recôncavo, composed of inter-related family units, continued without substantial alteration until the twentieth century.

175 241 433 565 563 Despite the predominance of sugar cane and the engenho in the colonial Recôncavo--and in the literature on the region--other products and other institutions were important. It is clear that tobacco and manioc were the chief secondary agricultural products, but the development of the associated institutions is not documented. Presumably a class of small semi-subsistence cultivators occupied the lands unsuitable for sugar cane. This class probably was composed of whites lacking the capital for plantation agriculture and freed mulattoes and slaves--manumission was very common in the Recôncavo. The chief commercial product of these small farmers was rolo or corda tobacco (similar to a "twist" of tobacco),[22] and probably to a lesser extent farinha de mandioca (manioc flour). In addition, corn, beans, rice, and bananas were produced.

175 43 The colonial economy of the Recôncavo was not self-sufficient, in spite of the production of food crops and meat animals on small farms and on plantations. Near the beginning of colonization the livestock ranching industry, originating in coastal areas like the Recôncavo, migrated into the interior of the Northeast. Thereafter [231] a strong current of trade in animals, especially cattle, flowed into the Recôncavo from the São Francisco valley, from Ceará, and probably from the sertão of Bahia between the coast and the mountains. These animals were exchanged at the cattle fairs--notably at Feira de Santana--for the products of the coast and for imports from abroad.

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175 231 After they had recuperated from the long drives, the cattle were used for both labor and food.

175 433 439 171 The colonial economy developed in the Recôncavo--in common with Pernambuco, Campinas (Rio de Janeiro), and lesser centers like Sergipe and Alagoas--was distinct from the economy of the south of Brazil. São Paulo, for example, was self-sufficient, buying little from abroad and having little to sell. Bahia and Pernambuco were almost completely dependent upon exchange with European markets, with Portugal acting as the middleman.

175 249 439 Economic Development from 1600 to 1850. By the middle of the seventeenth century most of the institutions discussed above existed in at least rudimentary form. They were nurtured by an expanding Brazilian commercial economy which enjoyed, for the moment, a virtual monopoly in sugar. Bahia was the leading province in Brazil in the export of both sugar and tobacco.[23] The production of these crops was centered almost entirely in the Recôncavo area of the state. The [567] tobacco was sent at first to Africa, in exchange for increasingly large numbers of slaves for the ever-greedy sugar industry. Slowly, however, a secondary market for Bahia tobacco developed in Europe. With few exceptions the sugar was marketed in Europe and at a high price. The engenhos of Bahia were the largest in Brazil, though still very small by modern standards.[24]

175 648 The development of the colony did not proceed smoothly. In the mid-seventeenth century Bahia was occupied for a brief period by the Dutch, but the development of the colony faltered only momentarily. On the other hand, the Dutch occupied Pernambuco and the north coast for a longer period. The subsequent transference of Dutch efforts to the West Indies was to have a profound effect upon the future of

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175 45 per cent of the total investment was in slaves--labor costs, always
249 high, had been driven up by the suppression of the slave trade. The
47 relatively small proportion of steam mills is at once a reflection of
454 the continuing primitive technology and a sign of the improvements which were to come later in the century. The value of production for
[433] this year was $1,213,000--a return of 6.6 per cent on the capital investment.[35]

175 While the attention of the Baiano was focused on the sugar
249 industry during this golden age, tobacco unobtrusively was becoming
178 a primary commercial product. The suppression of the slave trade
439 deprived tobacco of its African market, but at the same time the European market was expanding. The spread of cigar smoking in Europe created an increasing demand for Bahian leaf. Ultimately the European demand for quality leaf and the development of a Brazilian market for the poorer grades were to carry tobacco to the leading position among Bahia's commercial products.

175 To a very large degree, the mold of the colonial Recôncavo was
433 fixed in the sixteenth century. Its socio-economic system was nurtured
249 by the prosperous semi-monopoly of sugar production. While the south
[565] of Brazil was a raw frontier zone of migratory agricultural adventurers, the Paulistas (natives of São Paulo) of early colonial times,[36] a stable and wealthy aristocratic society was developing in the Recôncavo. In
[477] the early eighteenth century, when West Indies competition undermined the sugar monopoly, the Recôncavo might have responded creatively to the challenge, but failed to do so. The simultaneous mineral boom in Minas Gerais drained away the more experimental elements and left behind those who were less adventurous. Yet before the denial of markets had disrupted entirely the old economic and cultural pattern, the late eighteenth-early nineteenth century resurgence reaffirmed

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BB 175 249 433 the traditional values. As has been seen, the re-opening of the markets at first particularly benefited the Recôncavo.

NB 175 433 The developments in the Recôncavo were shared only partially by the other areas of the Brazilian Northeast. The colonial economy of Pernambuco, the second major center in the Northeast, was not nurtured NB EB [316] by a prosperity equal to that of Bahia. The booms in the mineral areas, which had a disruptive effect on the Recôncavo, apparently were less strongly felt in more-distant Pernambuco. In the south of Brazil, EB 175 433 316 241 neither Rio de Janeiro nor São Paulo shared in Bahia's colonial opulence until the nineteenth century. Moreover, the mining developments, which were a disturbing influence on Recôncavo society, had a stimulating effect on agriculture and trade in the South, especially in São Paulo. Although Minas Gerais attracted some settlers from the South, in the main the mineral development acted as a stimulant to agriculture. Thus the forces of colonial evolution in the Recôncavo were distinctive variants of those characteristic of the whole of Brazil.

BB 175 <u>The Last Hundred Years--1850 to the Present</u>. The series of external forces which contributed to the revival of the Recôncavo in the early nineteenth century were destined to sweep it from the main current of Brazilian development. The pressure of these outside events were apparent in the Recôncavo as early as 1825, but it was in the last half of the century that the region was relegated to the subordinate position which it occupies today.

B BB 175 567 648 [439] There is a historical connection between the events which first bestowed and later took away Recôncavo prosperity. The collapse in the West Indies sugar industry re-opened markets to Brazil, but it also ended England's economic interests in slavery. With no vested

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interest to deter her, Great Britain became in the nineteenth century the great anti-slavery force of the world. The British government began to press Brazil for a treaty to halt the slave trade. In 1826 a treaty was signed in which Brazil agreed to end the slave trade within four years. However, Brazil had just achieved its independence (1824), and the new national government was too weak to enforce the provisions of the treaty. After 25 years of bitter diplomatic exchanges with Great Britain, the Brazilian government succeeded in fulfilling its treaty obligations, and after 1852 almost no slaves were landed in Brazil.

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The end of the slave trade foreshadowed the end of slave labor in Brazil. The Northeast fought to preserve the system, but it was doomed not only as a result of extra-Brazilian pressures but also because of internal economic development. Just as in the eighteenth century the political capital had shifted from the North (Salvador) to the Central-South (Rio de Janeiro), so in the nineteenth century the economic center of gravity moved to São Paulo and adjacent Rio de Janeiro and Minas Gerais.[37] At first the developments in São Paulo imitated those of the Northeast, and a sugar industry employing traditional techniques was established. Almost immediately, however, the Central-South began to demonstrate an initiative unknown in the old sugar regions.

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At the beginning of the nineteenth century Bahia was exporting 12,000 tons of sugar, Pernambuco 8,400 tons, Rio de Janeiro 5,400 tons, and São Paulo 600 tons.[38] By mid-century Rio de Janeiro--chiefly Campos, near the mouth of the Rio Paraíba--was producing more sugar than any other province. In 1875, Rio de Janeiro was still the largest producer, with São Paulo second, Pernambuco third, and Bahia fourth. By the end of the century, São Paulo was the largest sugar

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By the end of the century, São Paulo was the largest sugar producer, chiefly supplying its own internal market, but also exporting in small quantity. The Recôncavo struggled to maintain even a poor fourth position.[39]

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The growth of the sugar industry in the South was not an isolated development but was one part of a general agricultural and economic expansion. The south of Brazil, which had gained new political power as a result of its expansion, began to press for abolition of slaves. Slave labor had not played a significant role in the south after 1850.

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In 1871 a law was passed providing for the gradual emancipation of slaves and the compensation of slave holders. The Northeast resisted bitterly but in vain. A new law passed in 1888 gave complete and immediate freedom to the slaves; and this law did not provide for compensation of the slave owners.

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The end of slavery threatened the Recôncavo in two ways. The suppression of the slave traffic destroyed the African trade in tobacco. The loss was soon more than compensated by the rapid expansion of the market for Bahian tobacco in Europe. By the 1870's tobacco surpassed sugar and became the chief export of Bahia. The effect of the emancipation on the sugar industry was much more far-reaching. The freeing of the slaves destroyed the labor base of sugar cultivation and processing. The gradual character of emancipation cushioned the blow somewhat, but it was still disastrous to the industry. Slaves left the plantations by the thousands, and there was no alternative source of labor. Sugar exports fell to a fourth of the pre-emancipation level. After a time the emancipated Negroes and mulattoes returned to the plantations and mills under a system of free labor. But Bahian sugar could not regain even a substantial part of its former importance.

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The world-wide expansion of sugar cane production, the development of the sugar beet, and the improvement of sugar technology had changed sugar from an expensive luxury to a relatively cheap semi-necessity. The sugar industry of the Recôncavo always had been based upon the production of small quantities of a high-value product. Only with great reluctance and considerable difficulty could it convert itself to cheap mass production.

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The Brazilian industry as a whole was unable to compete effectively in the international mass market. Brazilian exports in the early twentieth century dropped to one-half, even one-third of the nineteenth century level. At the London Conference in 1937, Brazil could claim as her quota only 1.6 per cent of the total international sugar trade.

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The Brazilian industry maintained itself behind a tariff wall. The more efficient and strategically located sugar areas of Campos (Rio de Janeiro) and São Paulo had access to growing local markets in the expanding Central-South. But Bahia had no sizable local market, and distance limited its access to the main Brazilian markets. Moreover, it was an inefficient, high-cost producer. Under these circumstances it could not compete in a free-market situation.

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For the sugar industry as a whole the difficulties of adjustment to the almost complete loss of foreign markets were increased by the necessity for sweeping technological reorganization.[40] Until

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the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Brazil's entire sugar production was manufactured in small and primitive engenhos which used the open pan method and produced dark, low-quality sugar. The development of the steam engine, vacuum pans, centrifuges, and filters had made possible a mill both larger and more efficient. Under the name of engenho central (central mill), the new industrial complex

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In the first quarter of the twentieth century this competition of the more efficient and centrally located sugar industry of the Central-South threatened to bankrupt the Northeast.[44] Because the nation feared that a collapse of the sugar economy in the Northeast would destroy the social and economic base of these states, steps were taken to stabilize the industry. In 1933 the Instituto do Açúcar e do Álcool (Institute of Sugar and Alcohol) was created as a semi-autonomous branch of the federal government. Its purpose was to stabilize prices, maintain an equilibrium of production through quotas, and to control foreign sale of sugar. The effect of this program has been to subsidize the less efficient industry of the Northeast at the expense of the industry of the Central-South.

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During World War II temporary disruption of the national production quota system allowed the Central-South to expand, an advance which it continued to maintain after the war. This expansion limited the markets available to the sugar industry of the Northeast. In Bahia the relative decline in sugar production, begun in the 1860's, continued steadily except for a break during and following World War I. In 1952 the mills of Bahia produced only 60,279 tons of (white) sugar of a total Brazilian production of 1,785,017 tons.[45]

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While the sugar industry of the Recôncavo was losing markets in the initial half of the twentieth century, the tobacco industry was able to maintain and in some cases even to expand its markets. Although the maximum level of export of Brazilian tobacco was reached in 1902 (50,000 tons), the decline thereafter was only moderate, and the export was stabilized, except for World War II, at about 30,000 tons, 80 per cent of which was from Bahia. In 1865 the first cigarette factory in Bahia had been founded.[46] Small operators had produced cigars for some time, but by the beginning

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BB 175 277 472 of the twentieth century there were four cigarette factories and twelve cigar factories in the Recôncavo.[47]

BB 647 249 651 656 As was characteristic for other products in Brazil, a semi-autonomous government organization was set up to stabilize the tobacco industry in Bahia--the Instituto Bahiano do Fumo (Bahian Institute of Tobacco). Founded in 1935, the Instituto attempts to stimulate the production and improvement of techniques and quality, supervise marketing through a grading system, set minimum prices, and control export of leaf tobacco. Although the Instituto has not succeeded in changing significantly the techniques of the tobacco industry, it has been reasonably successful in maintaining production and price.

BB 175 178 249 245 Just as Bahia had been displaced from its leading position within Brazil, so in turn was the Recôncavo displaced from its exalted position within the state. Tobacco replaced sugar as Bahia's leading commercial product in the nineteenth century, but forfeited its position to cacao in the twentieth century. The replacement of sugar by tobacco was primarily a shift within the Recôncavo, but the rise of cacao brought to the fore Bahia's southern coast. In one sense, however, the Recôncavo retained its old centrality--Salvador remains today the leading political and economic focus of the state, even for the cacao trade.

BB 433 249 BB 161 162 The continued importance of the Recôncavo in Bahia has been partially the result of the vested interests of the sugar and tobacco systems. In addition, the Recôncavo remains today the leading center of population in Bahia, despite its relative decline. In 1872 the Recôncavo had at least 450,000 out of a total state population of 1,379,616. Thereafter the position of the Recôncavo declined, so that by 1940 only one-fourth of the almost four million people of the state lived in this region. However, the compact population

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161 distribution and the vested political and economic interests of the
162 Recôncavo allowed it to continue as the dominant region of the state.

177 The Recôncavo has remained a conservative area in Brasil, and
178 within the state it seems to exert a strong traditional influence. On
433 a national scale, however, the traditional values which are preserved
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565 in Bahian culture have been overridden by the aggressive dynamism of
181 São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. Moreover, the economic core of tradition in the Recôncavo--the sugar-producing upper class--is being progressively infiltrated and dominated by the new economic interests of the Central-South. The effects of these new economic interests are manifest in the administrative and labor problems of the sugar industry in the present decade.[48] New economic groups also are coming to the fore in the tobacco industry.

The technological revolution in the sugar industry and the emergence of a new "progressive" upper class have weakened but not destroyed the traditional orientation of the Recôncavo. The cultural patterns which have so successfully resisted basic change for almost four centuries will not easily give way. However, the issues have been joined, and already the old technology, the old upper class, and the old inter-class social fabric have been profoundly disturbed. In the long run it seems inevitable that the cultural patterns of the Recôncavo will have to accommodate many new values.

177 Not all the new social forces are restricted to the upper
178 class. More and more new technology, such as the automobile, new
565 political and social institutions, such as labor unions, and new ideas
181 from the South, brought through newspapers, radios, and travelers, have affected the lives of the lower classes. While the access of this group to new ideas is more limited than that of the upper class,

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178 its vested interest in the traditional system is weaker. Thus on all
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181 social levels the old Recôncavo is being threatened.

For the present, however, tradition is a continuing and power-
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181 ful force in agriculture and in the economic and social institutions
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433 which surround agriculture in the Recôncavo.

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[113] [12]Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, No. 8 (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço Gráfico do Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatistica, 1949), pp. 59-80.

[114] The Zona Fisiográfica Centro-Litoral (Central-Littoral Physiographic zone) is one of a series of nine so-called physiographic zones used as major subdivisions in Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, No. 8. It includes all 21 of the Recôncavo municipios, and 17 others.

[13]Amaral, op. cit., II, 367.

[14]Amaral, op. cit., II, 366, and Calogeras, op. cit., p. 31.

[139] [15]Manihot utilissima, called cassava, manioc, or, sometimes, tapioca in English and mandioca in Portuguese.

[16]Amaral, op. cit., II, 11-12.

[17]Prado, op. cit., pp. 40-41.

[18]Minas, Yorbes, Geges, Hausa, and other Guinea Coast peoples.

[113] See T. Lynn Smith, Brazil: People and Institutions (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1946), pp. 168-169.

[794] [791] [19]African religions, for example, survive in a modified form in the candomblé (fetish) cults and in the supernatural conceptions prevalent in the Recôncavo.

[20]Neither the total number of slaves imported into Brazil nor the number brought to the Recôncavo is known. Calogeras, op. cit., pp. 27-28, estimates the number as 40,000 per year in the seventeenth century, 50,000 per year in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, or 14,000,000 for the 300 years of the slave trade. Another source has estimated that 1,200,000 slaves were imported between 1550 and 1850, a more reasonable figure. See section by Pedro Calmon in Curious and Interesting Facts Concerning the First European Settlement Made in the New World, p. 9. It is also asserted in this latter source that "more than half remained in Bahia;" this is less reasonable.

[21]Prado, op. cit., p. 46.

[206] [22]A rope-like twist of dark, often sweetened, tobacco wound in a large coil of 50 to 100 lbs.

[23]At the end of the seventeenth century Bahia was exporting 7,500 tons of sugar per year; Pernambuco 5,400 tons, and Rio de Janeiro 5,350 tons. At this same period Bahia exported 25,000 rolls of tobacco (perhaps 1,125 tons at 45 kg. per roll) compared with 2,500 rolls from Pernambuco and Alagoas. Calogeras, op. cit., p. 31.

[433] [24]Calogeras, op. cit., pp. 30-31, cites João Antonil, Cultura e Opulencia do Brasil, por sus Drogas e Minas (1711), who says that in 1711 the mean sugar export--which must have been virtually the entire production--per engenho in Bahia was 52 tons, in Rio de Janeiro 41 tons, and in Pernambuco 22 tons. The weight is given in arrobas by Calogeras.

[25]Amaral, op. cit., II, 84.

[26]Calogeras, op. cit., pp. 38-39.

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Economic and social changes in Brazil during the last century have had two important effects upon the relative position of the Recôncavo: (1) This historic region, in common with much of the Northeast, has lagged behind the new economic and social centers of the Central-South--the Recôncavo has become, vis-a-vis Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and the southern states, an under-developed area. (2) Many new, usually externally originated, cultural elements have been rapidly accepted in the Recôncavo, whereas much of the conservative ideology of the society has remained essentially unchanged.

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Racial Characteristics. The Recôncavo is a region of heterogenous racial characteristics--in every município each of the three basic racial groups (white, black, and mixed) comprises at least 10 per cent of the population. These racial categories generally do not correspond to social groups, nor is the Recôncavo in any sense a plural society. In linage, in social and cultural interaction, and in the daily business of earning a living the various people of the region are closely linked.

During three centuries of slavery hundreds of thousands of Africans were brought into Bahia, and the Negro element in the population is still large. As a result of this and the more or less continuous miscegenation "Baia [Bahia] and Negroid characteristics are very closely associated in Brasilian thinking."[6] On the basis of the 1940 census, over 70 per cent of the people of the state of Bahia were Negroes or mixed bloods. Only one other Brazilian state--Amazonas--had a higher proportion, and the national average was only 36 per cent.[7] Within Bahia the proportion of non-whites was highest in the Centro-Litoral (east-central Bahia), which includes the Recôncavo. In 1940, 78 per cent of the people of this census division were Negroes or mixed bloods.[8]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 433 463 [369] [162]

Economic Orientation of the Population. The Baianos of the Recôncavo are predominately an agricultural people. This is true not only of the actual cultivators and the associated economic classes of the countryside, villages, and towns, but also in a sense of the almost 350,000 urban peoples of Salvador. As a result of longstanding economic interdependence and continuous travel and migration back and forth, the associations of the people of Salvador with the soil are compelling and personal.[18] In their agricultural orientation the people of the Recôncavo are typical of the general Brazilian population. Even with the inclusion of Salvador, with its relatively [162] large number of domestic and industrial workers, 47 per cent of the male workers of the Recôncavo were classified as agricultural laborers, whereas for the nation as a whole the comparable figure was 57 per cent, and for the United States, 31 per cent.[19] In the Recôncavo, if Salvador is disregarded, agricultural workers (with hunters and fishers) composed 65 per cent of the total male working population.

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Agriculture is even more important than the above figures indicate, for a large share of the remaining population of the Recôncavo is occupied with processing and marketing agricultural products, supplying the agriculturalists with goods and with credit, or serving indirectly the needs of agriculture. Thus it is evident that life and livelihood in the Recôncavo is essentially dependent upon agriculture. The agricultural orientation of the Recôncavo is reflected in the economic roles of individuals and classes, but also in the preoccupation of the people with matters of soil, climate, crops, and land value. In Salvador the price and market for agricultural products are commonplace subjects of discussion, and throughout the region merchants and businessmen observe the weather and conditions of the crops with interest and, on many occasions, with anxiety.

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241 463 464 and manioc production. While there is some processing of agricultural products in this zone, the trade centers primarily are local, and there have been few historical reasons for urban development.

463 433 241 Around the Bay the relative size of the service segment increases to five, even to ten times the agricultural labor force. In this area there are some alternative productive pursuits, fishing and charcoal burning, for example. The definition given for the "service segment" is less appropriate in this zone: the fishermen, for example, render their service primarily to the major urban centers rather than to the agriculturalists. Moreover, there is a large parasitic group, especially in the sugar zone. The decline and rationalization of the sugar industry have left an unproductive class living in waning state but still supported by the agricultural economy. The sugar industry, which is more efficiently organized than other agricultural enterprises in the Recôncavo, probably is better able to support parasitic elements.

464 241 In addition to providing services, the service segment is the local labor reserve for agriculture. The extent of the reserve depends not only on the size of the service segment, but also on its composition. For example, in the western and northern areas of the Recôncavo, where two-fifths of the people are agricultural laborers, perhaps an additional one-fifth consists of small children and the aged and infirm. If those who perform essential services, basic to the economy, are deducted from the remaining two-fifths, few are left for a labor reserve. Fortunately the tobacco-manioc economy of the Recôncavo has little need for seasonal labor, and long-term labor needs, in theory at least, can be filled from the sertão.

464 In the sugar cane zone and on the Bay margins the general labor reserve is larger. However, this reserve is drawn upon by the labor

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

464 extravagant urban centers, the oil field and refineries north of the Bay, and the fishing and shipping industries. Moreover, this area has [565] a larger upper-class element, which as has been seen, could be counted upon to perform manual labor only under dire circumstances.

464 241 Thus in all parts of the Recôncavo the local labor reserve readily available for agricultural production and expansion is small. In compensation the general high mobility of the lower class would make available non-local reserves,[31] providing the proper incentives were offered. The exploitative agricultural system of the Recôncavo is ill-equipped to offer these incentives.

162 369 433 Urban Population. The remaining 493,944 people of the Recôncavo, 46 per cent of the total 1950 population, lived in the nine major urban centers. These people have much the same relationship to agricultural production as the "service segment" discussed above, but the relationship is less direct. These urban centers are engaged almost exclusively in serving and in exploiting the agricultural population of the Recôncavo and other agricultural areas of Bahia.

633 162 Salvador is the dominant city of the Recôncavo and of Bahia. In 1950 it contained 389,422 people, 36 per cent of the total population of the Recôncavo and 8 per cent of the total population of Bahia, or 79 per cent of all urban people of the Recôncavo and 41 per cent of all urban people of the state. The next largest city in Bahia was Feira de Santana--less than one-fourteenth the size of Salvador.

633 Although Salvador is the fourth city in Brazil, it is much smaller than either Rio de Janeiro or São Paulo and somewhat smaller than Recife.[32] It ranked just above Pôrto Alegre in total population. Salvador, often called either Bahia or o capital, cannot be interpreted entirely or even predominately in terms of the Recôncavo. While its

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 132]

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The other urban centers of the Recôncavo:

633
[162]
[443]

	1950 Population
Maragogipe	9,744
Muritiba	7,452
Cruz das Almas	6,758
São Gonçalo	3,771

[277] are all local trade and cigar manufacturing centers. Maragogipe is a
[504] port of minor importance.[37] The other urban centers have inland loca-
[361] tions, near the inner edge of the Crystalline Uplands.[38]

Near the Recôncavo are four urban centers which have minor but appreciable effect upon its agricultural economy:

[162]

	1950 Population
Santo Antônio de Jesus	11,417
Nazaré	11,215
Castro Alves	6,479
Serrinha	4,602

Santo Antônio de Jesus and Nazaré are located along the southern periphery of the Recôncavo, and Castro Alves and Serrinha on the south-
[496] western and northwestern periphery, respectively. All these centers are on one of Bahia's two main railroads, both of which terminate at the Bay—at Salvador or at São Roque do Paraguaçu.[39]

633 In 1950 the nine major urban centers of the Recôncavo had
464 100,000 to 120,000 workers in industry, transportation, and merchan-
433 dising.[40] In all cities of the Recôncavo, except Salvador, the
[162] industrial workers almost exclusively were engaged in processing agricultural products--in sugar refining, cigar manufacturing, and
[231] slaughtering. Except for some of the animals slaughtered in Feira de
[241] Santana and the poorer grades of tobacco brought in from the sertão, these agricultural products originate in the Recôncavo.

The industrial structure of Salvador is more complex. It processes agricultural products from the Recôncavo, but also from other parts of the state, notably cacao. There is a small textile industry. It is probable that the majority of the industrial workers are employed in numerous small service industries which supply Salvador

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and, to a lesser extent, the rest of the Recôncavo and the state. The relatively large and affluent upper class of Salvador utilizes an extravagantly large number of domestics and of industrial workers--in food, clothing, and construction industries.

BB 178 181 433 161 B BB 161 162

Conclusion. The preservation of traditional values among the people of the Recôncavo is evidence of the survival value of their conservative culture, but the relatively slow growth of the population is indicative of a declining economic role in the nation. Although the population of both Brazil and the Recôncavo grew between 1940 and 1950, Brazil's population increased 26.5 per cent, the Reconcavo's only 16 per cent. In Brazil as a whole, urban populations increased 46 per cent, in the Recôncavo only 34 per cent. The rural population of Brazil increased by 17 per cent; the approximately comparable figure for the Recôncavo was 4 per cent.

Within the Recôncavo the net effect of population changes in the decade 1940 to 1950 was the reduction in rural population from 60 per cent to 54 per cent of the total population (see Table XII). Even more serious, from the agricultural point of view, was the decline in the relative number of agricultural workers. Despite the influx of agricultural people from the sertão, the percentage of the total population in the agricultural labor force fell from 21 per cent (1940) to 18 per cent (1950).

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BB 633 [162]

The greatest single concentration of population in the Recôncavo is the city of Salvador. One-third of the people of the region live in this predominant city, occupying the tip of the peninsula which separates the Baía de Todos os Santos from the sea. In this eccentric peninsular location, Salvador is relatively distant from the main centers of agricultural production and has only circuitous land

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 464 "Falta de braços"--lack of labor--is a problem much discussed in the Recôncavo. The landholders, merchants, and agronomists interviewed in the region almost invariably complained of the shortage of agricul- [461] tural workers or renters. At the same time, the level of per capita productivity of most agricultural labor remains low, and, as will be seen, there have been few attempts at improvement of agricultural techniques. Neither is there any apparent trend toward higher wages or higher returns on rented properties, which might attract more people to the area. The complaints of labor shortages must be viewed in the context of the systems of production and the economic organization of agriculture, which will be discussed in the following chapters.

241 464 161 162 433 Several basic agricultural problems are prefigured in the analysis of the distribution of the population of the Recôncavo. The concentration of agricultural people in the western and northern municípios of the region corresponds, as will be shown, to a major area of agricultural production. Since this is also an area of marginal and irregular precipitation, it is almost inevitable that the level of production must be uneven and the lives of the agriculturalists unstable. The declining agricultural population of the Central Recôncavo is a symptom of the declining importance of the sugar economy, discussed previously, and of the centralization and rationalization currently under way. The alternating zones with high and low densities of population indicate the nuclear and separate character of the areas of agricultural production, detailed in the pattern of crop regions to be discussed in the chapters which follow.

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CHAPTER V

CROPS AND CROPLAND DISTRIBUTION

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Introduction. The Recôncavo is an enclave of cultivated land facing on the sea and more than half surrounded by the Sertão of Northeastern Brazil. It is one of a number of detached areas of dense settlement and intensive crop cultivation scattered along the northeastern coast--Pernambuco, Sergipe, Alagoas, and the states of the northern coast of the "bulge" of Brazil have similar coastal nuclei. Indeed, this littoral mode of settlement is characteristic of Brazil, although in the center and the south of the country the concentrations of settlement and cultivation are usually separated from the ocean by a belt of rough hills or mountains. A glance at a population map clearly reveals that Brazil is a coastal nation as far as the distribution of its people is concerned; indirectly such a map demonstrates the coastal distribution of crop cultivation. In this, Brazil somewhat resembles the United States at the opening of the nineteenth century when it, too, was altogether a nation of the Atlantic seaboard. The specific nuclear character of the Recôncavo dates from the beginning of its settlement--it was from the first a region of crop cultivation, and the settlement of the sertão of Bahia derived from the people and needs of the Recôncavo. During the four centuries since the Portuguese first came, the crops, animals, and systems of production of the Recôncavo have retained much of their original character.

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The present chapter deals with the principal activity of the Recôncavo, the production of crops. As a preliminary to the discussion of the individual crops and their distributions, it is appropriate to

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127 the errors concerned crops of trivial importance, but occasionally the
241 use of such erroneous data would have produced serious misinterpretations. Where this has been the case, it was necessary to estimate a more appropriate figure. Such estimates were developed by inferences from related statistical data supported by observations in the field. The procedures which were employed are illustrated in full in Appendix D through a detailed analysis of the data (for manioc) which were most thoroughly modified in this fashion. Wherever modified, rather than official data have been used in the text, the official data and the basis of modification have been indicated in a footnote or in the appendix.

241 433 Crops and Animals of the Recôncavo. A very large number of crops are known to the agriculturalists of the Recôncavo, but the number of important crops is small. It is convenient to divide these into three groups--basic subsistence crops, basic commercial crops, and supplementary (minor subsistence and commercial) crops. As will be seen, many subsistence crops have their commercial importance, but the present concern is only with a broad grouping. The crops of the Recôncavo are listed below, together with their local names and the area of their cultivation in 1948:

Basic Subsistence Crops:		
Manioc or Cassava (Mandioca)	22,472	hectares
Corn (Milho)	9,679	"
Beans (Feijão)	7,034	"
Bananas (Banana)	1,069	"
Peanuts (Amendoim)	550	"
Sweet Potatoes (Batata doce)	344	"
Basic Commercial Crops:		
Tobacco (Fumo)	21,886	"
Sugar Cane (Cana de Açúcar)	11,695	"
Coffee (Café)	2,941	"
Orange (Laranja)	1,116	"
Cocoanut (Côco)	876	"

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Supplementary Crops
(Subsistence and Commercial):

Pineapple (Abacaxi)	168	hectares
Rice (Arroz)	61	"
Tomatoes (Tomate)	46	"
White Potatoes (Batata inglêsa)	44	"
Cotton (Algodão)	40	"
Onions (Cebola)	14	"
Garlic (Alho)	5	"
Green or Snap Beans (Fava)	4	"

241 311 On the basis of the above figures, the total cultivated land in the Recôncavo in 1948 was about 80,000 hectares. In addition to the above, 245 there are a number of tree crops, not cultivated in the true sense, which are important in the agricultural complex. More often than not these "crops" are of spontaneous origin.

[192]

African Oil Palm (Dendê)
Mango (Manga)
Jack Fruit (Jaca)
Cashew (Caju)
Bread Fruit (Fruta de pão)

231 The following animals are important in the livestock economy of the Recôncavo:

[192]

Cattle (Bovinos)
  Cows (Vacas)
  Oxen (Bois de trabalho)
Sheep (Ovinos)
Goats (Caprinos)
Swine (Suinos)
Donkeys (Asininos or Burros)
Mules (Muares)
Horses (Equinos or Cavalos)

These animals will be discussed in the chapter on animal industry (Chapter VII).

244 Manioc. Manioc was one of the most important cultivated plants which the Portuguese colonists borrowed from the Indians of Brazil. [175] Flour made from the manioc root, farinha de mandioca, was the basic [262] subsistence food of the colonial sugar economy and remains today the [178] principal element of the diet of much of the Brazilian lower class. [565] Manioc production is most notable along the coast of Brazil, from the

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Manioc production is most notable along the coast of Brazil, from the mouth of the Amazon to Rio Grande do Sul, but it has considerable importance in the interior of the eastern half of the country.[4] The tonnage of manioc production in Brazil is exceeded only by that of sugar cane--thus manioc is produced in greater quantity than corn, beans, or rice, the other basic subsistence crops. However, the total value of manioc production is less than that of coffee, cotton, corn, or rice. In the Recôncavo the cultivated area of manioc, over 22,000 hectares, exceeds that of any other crop, and the value of its production is second only to tobacco. It is usually grown as a subsistence crop for local consumption, but there are a few areas of surplus production.

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Mandioca--manioc, cassava, or yuca--is a stem-propagated perennial which is tolerant of a variety of edaphic, climatic, and cultural conditions. The rootstock of the bitter variety--Manihot utilissima, or M. esculenta--which is most common in Bahia, contains a poisonous substance--manihotoxine--which must be removed before it can be used as human food. In the Northeast the roots almost universally are converted in crude mills into farinha de mandioca, a coarse flour which is eaten in either a raw or cooked state.[5] Sweet manioc (manihot api, in Brazil called aipim) is cultivated on a small scale. The rootstock of this variety may be eaten without extensive processing and is prepared, like the white potato, by boiling.

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The cultivation of manioc is a widespread feature of the cultural landscape of east-central Bahia, overshadowed only by the low and scrubby second growth, capoéira, which follows the intensive cultivation of this plant under a system of land rotation. Manioc cultivation and the processing of its roots are the most characteristic pursuits of the rural people--and often the most primitive.

NB
244 Manioc is generally cultivated by hand by small cultivators
252 on land near the huts in which they live--[land] called the mandiocal, very common in the interior of the state. The immediate preoccupation of the sertanejo [countryman of the interior] after the construction of his house is the planting of manioc to secure cheap food--either sweet manioc or bitter manioc, which is transformed into flour. All the family are employed in this work. The industry of flour production is rudimentary and it uses simple processes.

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NB The cultivation of manioc in Bahia is to provide flour for
244 the local market, since the state does not export this
43 product. The development of this culture is, therefore,
161 closely related to the distribution of population, the most productive zones which are noted on the map corresponding to regions where the population is most dense. It is perfectly reasonable that the most productive region corresponds to the Recôncavo, where there is concentrated the mass of the population of Bahia and a large number of towns and cities, the most important and populous in the state. . . . . it is the region of the most highly developed agriculture in the state; it united a relatively dense rural population with manioc, almost always cultivated on a large scale in the zones of the cultivation of tobacco.[6]

BB
244 As is indicated in the foregoing quotation, the distributional pattern
of manioc reveals a very close association with the cultivation of
433 tobacco and with certain urban centers. But as might be expected in view of the broad environmental tolerance of manioc, its distribution within the Recôncavo is not directly determined by any particular physical factor. Manioc is grown in all parts of the Recôncavo, excepting only the compact pockets of sugar cane cultivation. Only one município, São Sebastião, grew less than 100 hectares or produced less than 1,000 tons of tubers in 1948. In eight municípios the area of manioc cultivation exceeded 1,000 hectares, and the production was more than 10,000 tons in each. About 28 per cent of the cropland of the Recôncavo was in mandioca.[7]

The major concentration of manioc cultivation (Maps 22 and 23) and production (Maps 24 and 25) is along the eastern edge of the Crystalline Uplands in the Southwestern Recôncavo, where in 1948 three municípios[8] grew 54 per cent of the Recôncavo's 22,472 hectares of

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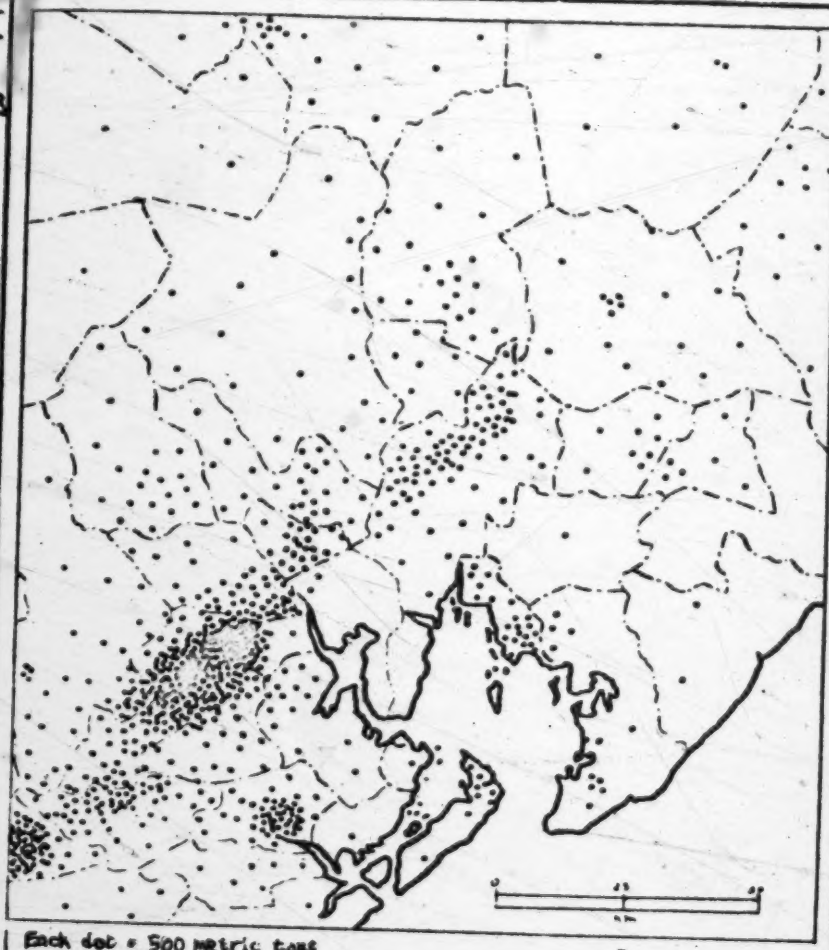

Each dot = 500 metric tons

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Manioc--1948

Source data modified from Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 24

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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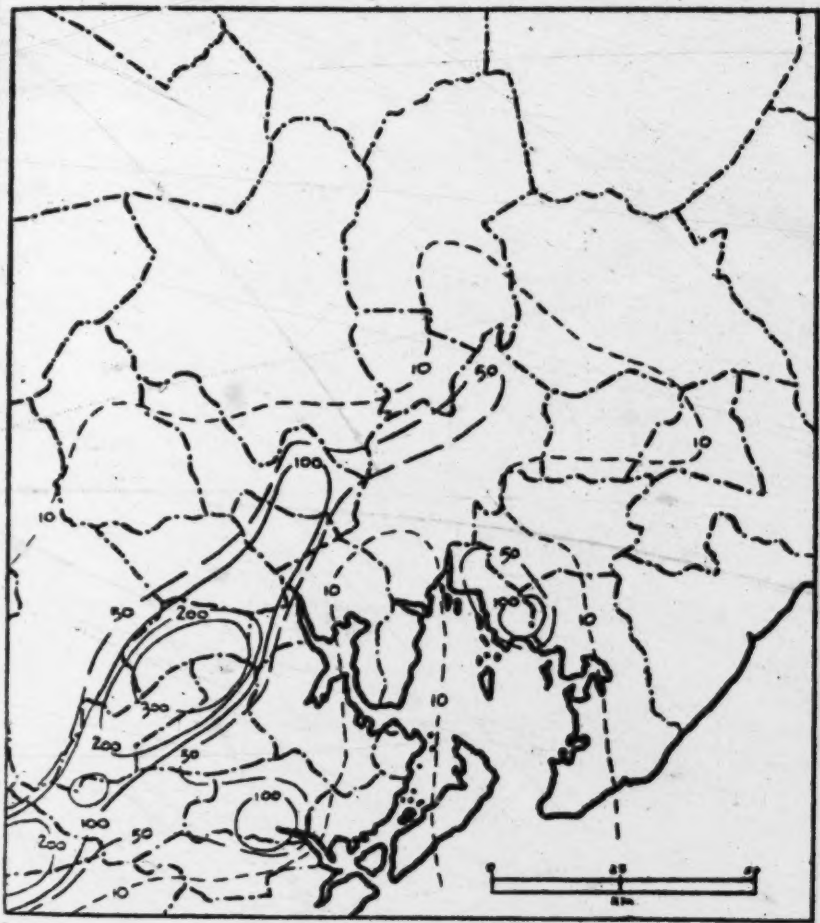

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Tons of Manioc per Square Kilometer of Total Area—1948

Source data modified from Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 25

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

244 433 311 manioc and produced 38 per cent of its 393,720 tons of harvested roots. Within this sub-region manioc occupied up to 20 per cent of the total land area, i.e., 20 hectares per square kilometer (Map 23). Despite the [249] intensity of cultivation and the concentration of production, the crop is viewed by the people primarily as a means--subsistence--to an end--[242] leaf tobacco production.[9] Manioc characteristically succeeds tobacco in the field and fallow rotation system and is used to extract the maximum possible value from such nutrients as remain in the soil.[10]

244 249 A close areal and functional relationship between the two crops is characteristic also of the linear zone of manioc cultivation which follows the belt of Intermediate Hills and the inner edge of the Uplands from the Rio Paraguaçu--at Cachoeira--to Irará. Much the same relationship exists in Santo Estêvão in the extreme west of the Recôncavo, where manioc, and tobacco, cultivation is concentrated in a zone of low serras. Apparently tobacco cultivation has been fixed by the greater precipitation around these serras, and manioc is grown in association.

The major southwestern concentration of manioc is continued beyond the Recôncavo along a belt extending through Santo Antônio and into the "coffee zone."[11] The cluster of manioc around the cidade of Santo Antônio is circum-urban, but the principal functional association is with tobacco cultivation, rather than with the small urban market. [443] On the other hand, the concentration of manioc production around the city of Nazaré reflects a dependency on the local urban market and probably on the market of Salvador. Minor concentrations of cultivation in northern Itaparica and around Salvador also are related primarily to the market of the capital city.

244 311 The relative place of manioc within the agricultural system, as measured by the per cent of the total cropland which it occupies, varies widely within the Recôncavo (Map 26). The statistical extremes are

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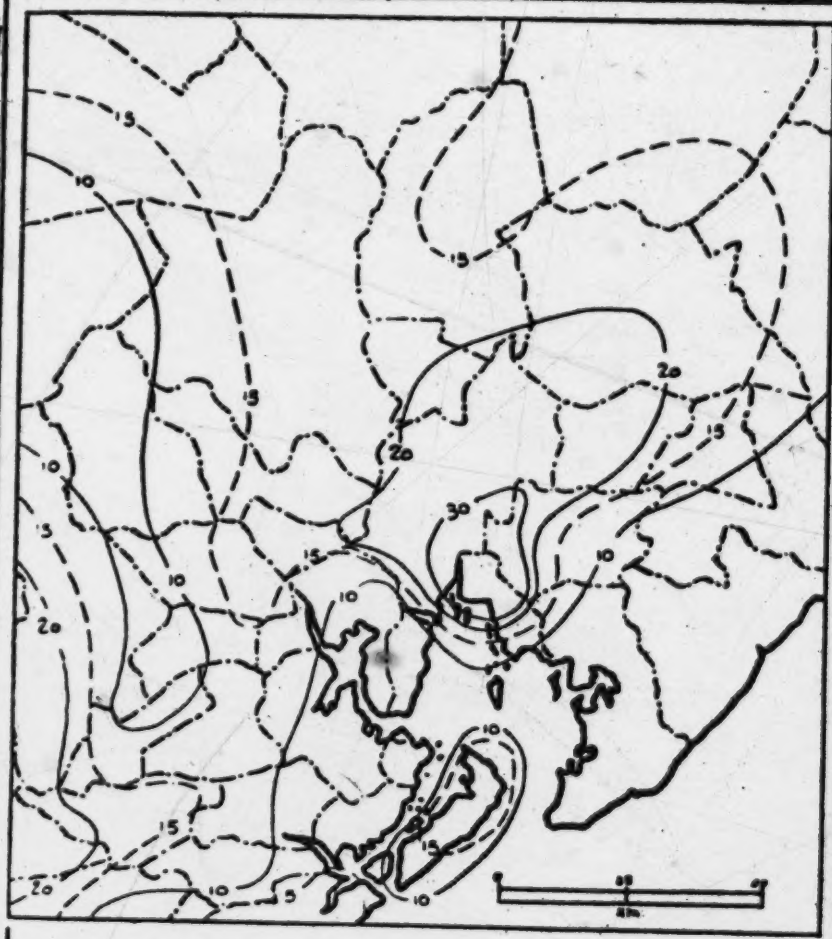

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Yield of Manioc--1948

Tons per Hectare

Source data modified from Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 27

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

244 311 From the latitude of the head of the Bay northward, manioc appears as a dominant crop only in the município of Pojuca. In the Central Recôncavo, around the perimeter of the sugar cane area, manioc generally occupied, in 1948, less than 30 per cent of the cropland. In the north, [243] along the borders of the Recôncavo, the share of manioc in the cropland dropped to 10 per cent, and it was replaced by corn and beans as the basis of the subsistence economy.

244 311 433 The yield of manioc in the areas of heavy production was relatively low--10 to 15 tons of roots per hectare--compared to the Central Recôncavo which produces small quantities at 30 tons per hectare (Map 27). These [134] differences in yield are related in part to the difference in soil fertility between the Cretaceous soils of the Central Recôncavo and the sandy loams of the Southwest. In addition, manioc is cultivated alone in the former zone, but follows the soil-taxing tobacco plant on the fields of the Southwest, thus further reducing the yield. The mean yield of manioc in the Recôncavo in 1948 was 14 tons per hectare, which is close to the 13 tons per hectare of Brazil and of the French Cameroons, but much higher than the 7 tons per hectare of Java and Madura.[13]

244 249 Manioc is, then, a crop characteristic of most parts of the Recôncavo and the surrounding zone, except in the sugar cane area and [242] the Tabular Uplands. The area of greatest concentration of cultivation and production is the Southwestern Recôncavo where manioc is integrated with tobacco production in a system of land rotation. In addition, as discussed above, manioc has the greatest relative importance of the crops of two zones in which the total area cultivated is small: the southwestern belt of forested lowland and the drier, scrub-forest Crystalline Uplands.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 the plant will no longer produce marketable leaves. This is done by cutting the entire stalk just above the shoots and allowing the plant to re-grow. The cutting and harvesting are repeated several times, producing a large quantity of leaf, but the prolonged harvest has resulted in accelerated impoverishment of the soil.

249 311 433 In 1948 the Recôncavo planted almost 22,000 hectares of tobacco,[15] and harvested over 20,000 tons of leaf. Each of four Recôncavo municípios grew more than 2,000 hectares and harvested over 1,000 tons: Cruz das Almas, Conceição do Almeida, São Gonçalo, and Irará. Two outlying municípios—Alagoinhas and Santo Estêvão—cultivated 1,000 hectares or more. In addition, one município contiguous with the Recôncavo, Santo Antônio, had over 6,000 hectares of tobacco and harvested over 5,000 tons of leaf. In Bahia, this município was second only to Cruz das Almas in area and production of leaf tobacco.

The maps of area (Maps 28 and 29) and production (Maps 30 and 31) of tobacco indicate quite clearly the overwhelming importance of the Southwestern Recôncavo and the adjacent northern part of Santo Antônio. This area resolves itself into two clusters (Table XIII). The most important of these is centered in Cruz das Almas and includes the adjacent parts of Conceição do Almeida, São Filipe, and Muritiba. In 1948 this cluster had about 10,000 hectares of tobacco—46 per cent of the Recôncavo tobacco area—and produced about 9,500 tons—48 per cent of the total crop. Because of the high quality of the leaf, the crop of this area was valued at almost 58 per cent of the total value of tobacco production in the Recôncavo.

The second most important cluster of leaf tobacco production in east-central Bahia is centered on the cidade of Santo Antônio and lies almost entirely outside of the Recôncavo. In 1948 the total area of tobacco in this cluster was about 6,500 hectares, and the total

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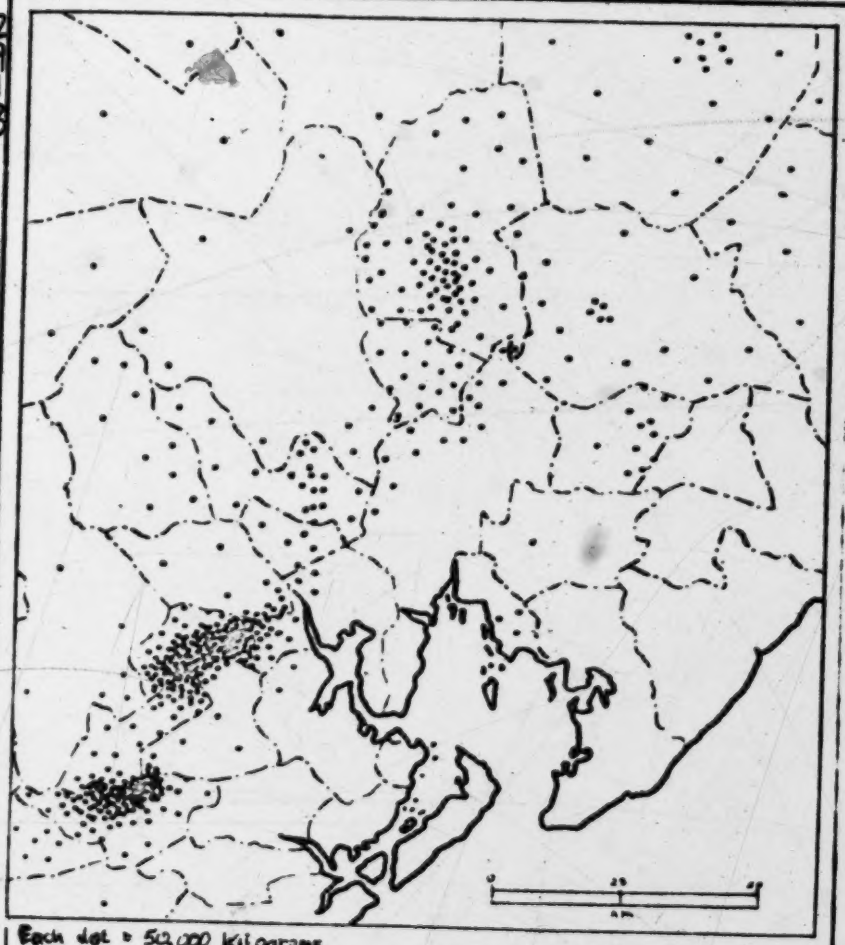

Each dot = 50,000 kilograms

RECOLCANO OF BAHIA.

Production of Tobacco--1968

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1969.

MAP 30

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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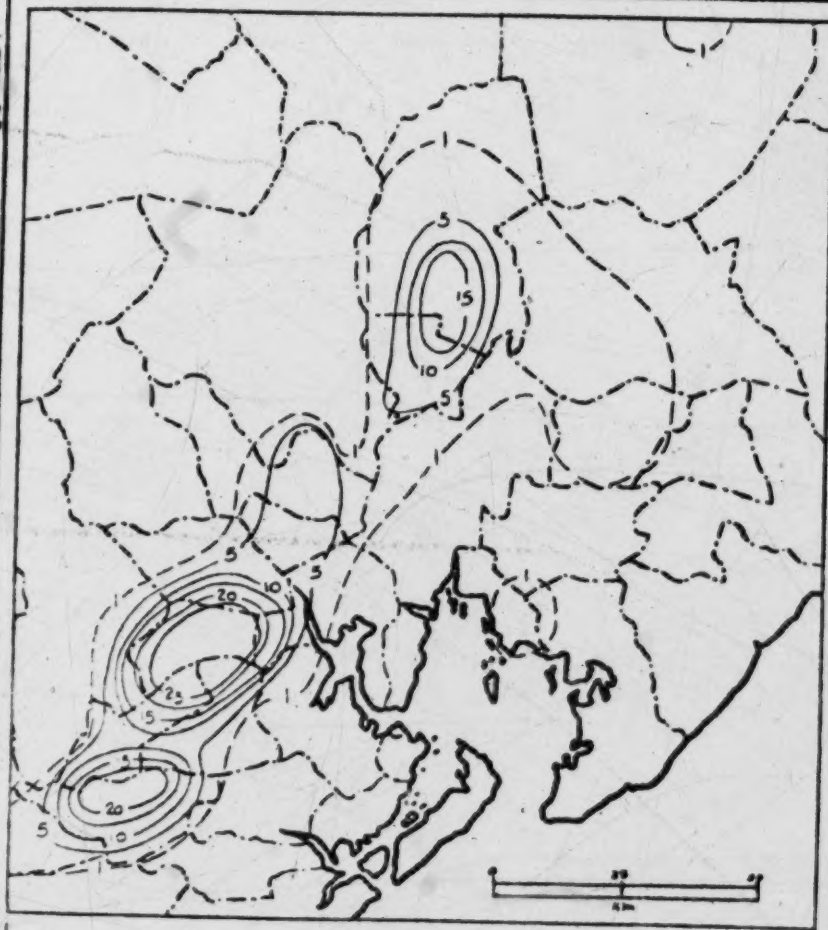

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Tons of Tobacco per Square Kilometer of Total Area—1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 31

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

TABLE XIII

PRINCIPAL CENTERS OF TOBACCO PRODUCTION
IN THE RECÔNCAVO AND IN BRAZIL IN 1948

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	Area (ha.)	Production (tons)
Southwestern Recôncavo:		
Cruz das Almas (all)	6,850	6,680
Conceição do Almeida (part)	2,000	2,000
São Filipe (part)	500	480
Muritiba (part)	810	500
Total	10,160	9,660
Santo Antônio:		
Santo Antônio (all)	6,200	5,250
Conceição do Almeida (part)	200	400
São Filipe (part)	190	190
Total	6,590	5,840
São Gonçalo (part)	2,000	900
Irará (part)*	2,500	3,000
Total - Principal Centers	21,250	19,400
Total - Recôncavo	21,886	20,191
Total - State of Bahia**	44,248	35,758
Total - State of Minas Gerais**	23,452	13,340
Total - Rio Grande do Sul***	40,236	44,495

*Irará produced a relatively large amount of tobacco for its area, but this was of a stronger and less valuable type of leaf tobacco ("Feira").

**Including a large quantity of rope tobacco--*fumo em corda*.

***Principally cigarette tobacco.

Source: *Produção Agrícola: 1948*.

production about 5,800 tons, so that it was somewhat over one-half as important as the Southwestern Recôncavo cluster discussed above.

Two lesser clusters centralize tobacco cultivation north of the Rio Paraguaçu. One is around the *cidade* of São Gonçalo, with about 2,000 hectares and 900 tons of tobacco in 1948. In the Northern Recôncavo, Irará was the center of a less compact concentration, with about 2,500 hectares and 3,000 tons of tobacco in 1948.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 Santo Estêvão. The third grade—"Feira"—is grown on the humid edge of
134 the sandy Tertiary uplands. This suggests that it is soil which is the
132 immediate control of quality, although precipitation is the over-all factor. Although the southern part of the zone of Tertiary soils is more humid than the crystalline zone peripheral to the Recôncavo, the tobacco of the former--"Feira"—is less valuable than the "Caatinga" grade of the latter. The drier Tertiary zone produces only fumo em corda but the even drier crystalline zone, stretching west to the Chapada Diamantina, manages to produce the cheap but salable "Sertão" leaf. Thus in every case the crystalline soils, with equal or even less precipitation than the Tertiary zone, produce a better grade of leaf tobacco.

249 In 1948 the yields of the main zones of tobacco cultivation were
• 433 from 750 to 1,000 kilograms per hectare (Map 33). Yields were higher in the Central Recôncavo, where there is only trivial production of low quality leaf. Yields were also higher in isolated sections of the "Sertão" and "Caatinga" grade zones to the west.[17] The mean yield of the Recôncavo, 840 kilograms per hectare, was slightly above the 808 kilograms per hectare of the state of Bahia as a whole. This yield compares very favorably with the yield of Cuba, 640 kilograms per hectare, and Indonesia, 530 to 650 kilograms per hectare on Estates, but is lower than that of Mexico, 1,010, Canada, 1,360, or the United States, 1,400.[18]

[241] The production of most of the chief crops of the Recôncavo is somewhat stabilized by steady demand for food--in the case of manioc, corn, and beans—or by government control—in the case of sugar cane. In contrast, tobacco is a highly speculative and mobile crop. It is produced primarily by small cultivators in anticipation of a combination

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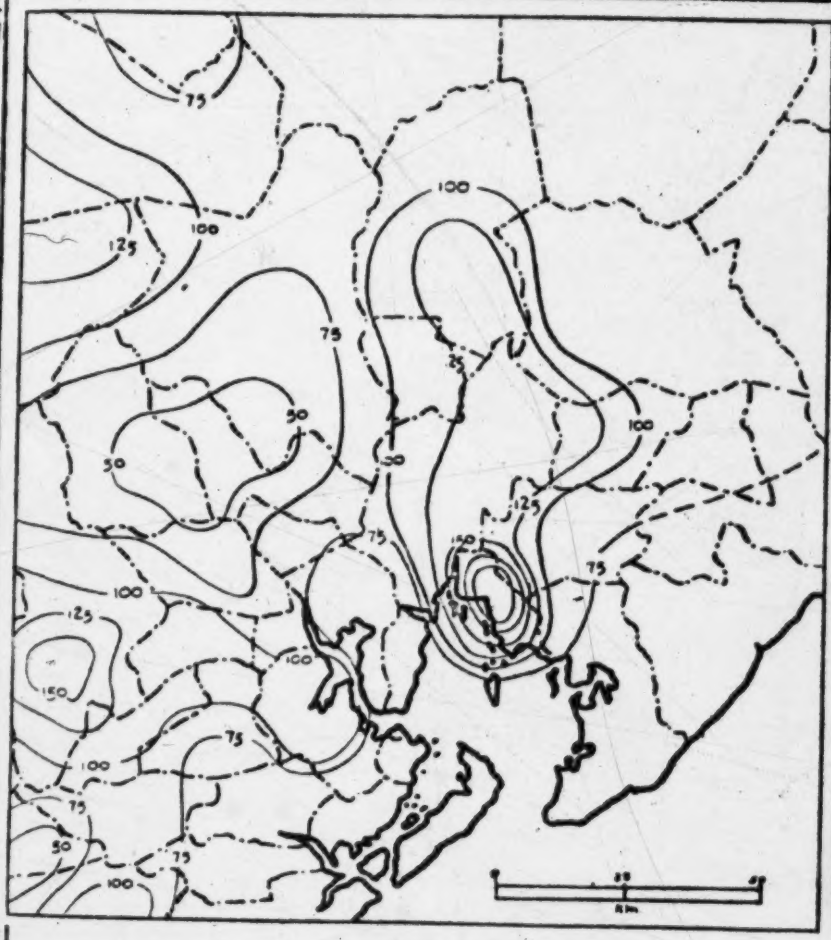

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Yield of Tobacco--1948

Tons of Kilograms per Hectare

Source of data: Producão Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 33

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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of high yield and high prices. Lack of capital or, as a result of a low price during the preceding year, lack of incentive may cause planted area to fall very low. Optimism generated by the high price of the preceding year or a relatively favorable source of credit may cause planted area to be increased very strongly. Thus the curve of planted area plunges up and down, usually lagging a year or so behind prices, as the small cultivator and his creditor, the merchant-tobacco buyer, vainly pursue a "killing."[19]

Planted area is not the only major variable involved in tobacco cultivation. Tobacco, in distinction to sugar cane, is grown along the drier margins of the Recôncavo on "poor" or porous soils. The variations of precipitation during both the growing and the curing season, in combination with the irregularities of cultivation, have resulted in an ever-changing level of production. In addition, tobacco production like many speculative enterprises--and this is very characteristic of Brazil--is highly mobile. During the decade 1942 to 1951 the production of some municípios waxed and waned, while others burst like novas into large scale cultivation and then rapidly faded away.[20]

In the decade 1942 to 1951 the production in Cruz das Almas rose steadily to a peak in 1946 and then fell away to one-quarter of the maximum. Santo Antônio grew more rapidly, reached its peak in the same year, and then slowly declined to 50 per cent of the peak. Conceição do Almeida entered the decade strong, slumped in 1946, and then stabilized at the old level of production. São Gonçalo was stabilized from 1941 to 1946, dropped 90 per cent in 1947, and then rose slowly throughout the rest of the decade. In Irará the peak was 1944, the slump 1950. During this period the production of the state as a whole rose slowly to a 1945 maximum and fell gradually until 1951. It

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 433 is apparent that the production of the Scuthwestern Recôncavo and of Santo Antônio, the pre-eminent concentrations, fell away as a result of a drop in prices which began in 1947 and continued through the end of the decade. As high quality and high-cost producers, these areas were particularly hard hit by the falling price. On the other hand, Irará grows a cheaper leaf, at a lower production cost, and apparently survived the worst effects of the cut in price. The production in this município declined more slowly and then, in 1950, fell sharply as a result of the sêca (drought) which began in that year.

A comparison of the data for a longer period indicates that although production of the state of Bahia in 1946-1950 was about equal to that of 1931-1936, the cultivated area rose by about 25 per cent. Yields fell steadily during this period; the 900 to 1,000 kilograms per hectare of the early 30's had declined to 750 to 850 kilograms per hectare in the late 40's. The decline in yield, if not centered in the Recôncavo, was at least characteristic of the development of the region. The basic factor in the falling yields almost certainly was the exhaustion of the soil. In addition, manure, always costly, became increasingly expensive and scarce. Tobacco, as has been indicated, is 249 244 433 grown in conjunction with manioc under a land rotation system. The increasing demand for subsistence crops, particularly manioc, for the expanding population has put a continuously greater strain on the soil. [231] At the same time, the expansion of the cultivated area has driven out most of the livestock enterprises, increasing the cost of manure and putting it beyond the reach of many cultivators. As yields began to fall it became necessary to increase the planted area in tobacco and in subsistence crops to compensate the loss. Year by year the fallow period has been progressively shortened as the tobacco-manioc system

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 has made increasingly greater demands upon the land, at least during the
244
433 decades between 1930 and 1950. In some areas, such as Cruz das Almas, the mean fallow period seems to have been reduced to a minimum of one or two years during the late 1940's. As the result of these developments, the município seems to be faced with the necessity of either a decrease in production or a radical reorganization of the system of cultivation.[21]

249 However, tobacco is to Cruz das Almas or São Gonçalo what sugar
241 cane is to the Central Recôncavo--a way of life. Agriculture without
433 tobacco is both economically and culturally distressing to the cultivator of the Southwestern Recôncavo. Unlike the sugar cane planter, the agri-
[178] culturalists of the tobacco zone cultivate crops other than the chief commercial product, but as a cash crop they are very reluctant to accept any substitute. Habit is a very great force in the agriculture of all parts of the Recôncavo.

249 A result of the traditional and speculative orientation of the
433 people of the tobacco zone is the extreme importance of tobacco--a commercial non-food crop--throughout the zone. In 1948, six municípios of the Recôncavo cultivated more tobacco than any other crop, and in five others it was second in importance. In only two municípios, Itaparica and Salvador, was it lower than fourth in area occupied.

43 Corn. Traditionally corn (milho) is a crop of the caatinga
433 (scrub forest), and its greatest relative dominance is found just northwest of the Recôncavo in the município of Serrinha. It is, however, grown on a small scale throughout the Recôncavo, and there are at least two areas of intensive production. Corn is overshadowed by other crops, particularly manioc, tobacco, and sugar cane, in all parts of the Recôncavo except the North and the Northwest.

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Like manioc and tobacco, corn is an indigenous crop which was borrowed from the Indians in the early phases of European settlement and which became a basic subsistence crop in Brazil. Its cultivation, like manioc, is a characteristic feature of the agricultural landscape over an extensive coastal belt from the Amazon to Rio Grande do Sul and, unlike manioc, beyond into northern Argentina. In Brazil, corn is cultivated on more land than any other crop, and in most states it is either the second or third crop in value. In the Recôncavo it is the fourth ranking crop in area of cultivation, but only the seventh in the total value of production. The cultivation of corn is very closely associated, areally and functionally, with beans--"succatosh" is a common crop combination in the Northwestern Recôncavo and the adjoining region.[21]

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Corn also resembles manioc in the purpose of cultivation; it is primarily a subsistence crop for local consumption, but there are surplus producing areas with a rudimentary commercial corn economy. In those areas of the Recôncavo where corn is produced in small quantities, it is almost exclusively a minor subsistence crop which is eaten by the cultivator and his family, though a few ears or a small sack of shelled corn may be sold in the market for local consumption. Such semi-subsistence producers are usually small-scale farmers, squatters, or share-croppers. In the Northern and Northwestern Recôncavo, where cultivation of corn is more intensive, there are occasional large-scale corn growers, but the bulk of the area and production in this zone belongs to small operators. Even these small producers usually sell their corn at the market--it is exchanged for the cheaper farinha de mandioca. In the Recôncavo corn is used exclusively as a human food, and there is no corn-livestock complex.

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Only three municípios of the Recôncavo, all very large, had over 500 hectares of corn in 1948 or produced over 500 tons of shelled corn.

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243 311 433 The Recôncavo as a whole had 9,679 hectares of corn, with a production of 10,283 tons. Of this, 87 per cent of the area and 84 per cent of the production was in Santo Estêvão, Feira de Santana, and Irará (Maps 34, 35, and 36). The area and production of the Recôncavo were about the same as for one adjacent município, Serrinha, which had 8,500 hectares and 11,590 tons of corn in 1948.

243 311 Most of the corn grown and produced in the Recôncavo comes from two compact concentrations, one around the cidade of Irará; the other around the cidade of Santo Estêvão. Elsewhere in the Recôncavo it is grown either on very widely scattered plots or as a "garden" crop.[23]

The concentration of corn production is the result of several physical and economic factors. It is cultivated on the dry margins of the Recôncavo, where only a few restricted areas can produce a crop. 243 Though a commercial product of moderate value, its weight- or bulk-price [438] relationship is not highly favorable to long transportation to market-- [489] in contrast to tobacco, which tends to attach itself to even the smallest and most remote semi-subsistence plot, and in contrast to beef, [491] which in Bahia is moved to market on the hoof. The concentration around Santo Estêvão, which is on the main trunk highway to Feira de Santana, is favorable for the transportation of the crop, and the Irará concentration is linked to Feira by a generally passable road. [251] In the more humid parts of the Recôncavo, corn is restricted not only by its poor competitive position vis-à-vis sugar cane or tobacco, but also by its harvest requirements; it must be harvested and stored in the proper season, while manioc may be harvested as it is needed, a great advantage for a subsistence crop.

243 311 433 Corn, although the second most important subsistence crop of the Recôncavo, occupied in 1948 only 12 per cent of the total cropland.

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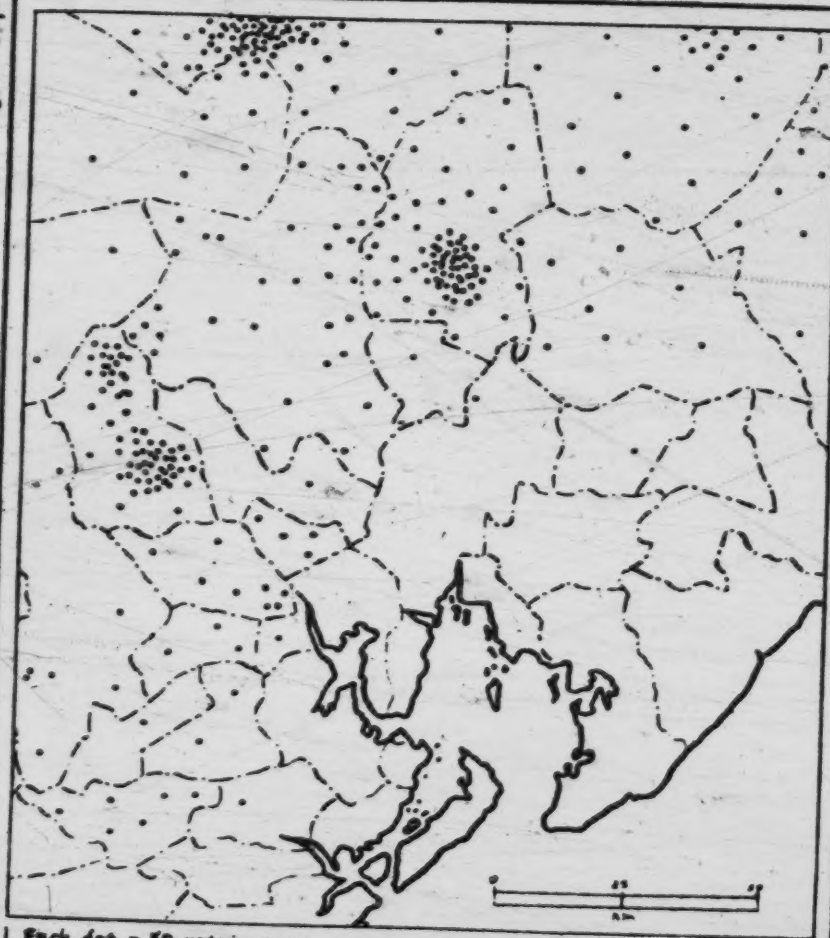

Each dot - 50 metric tons

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Corn--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 26

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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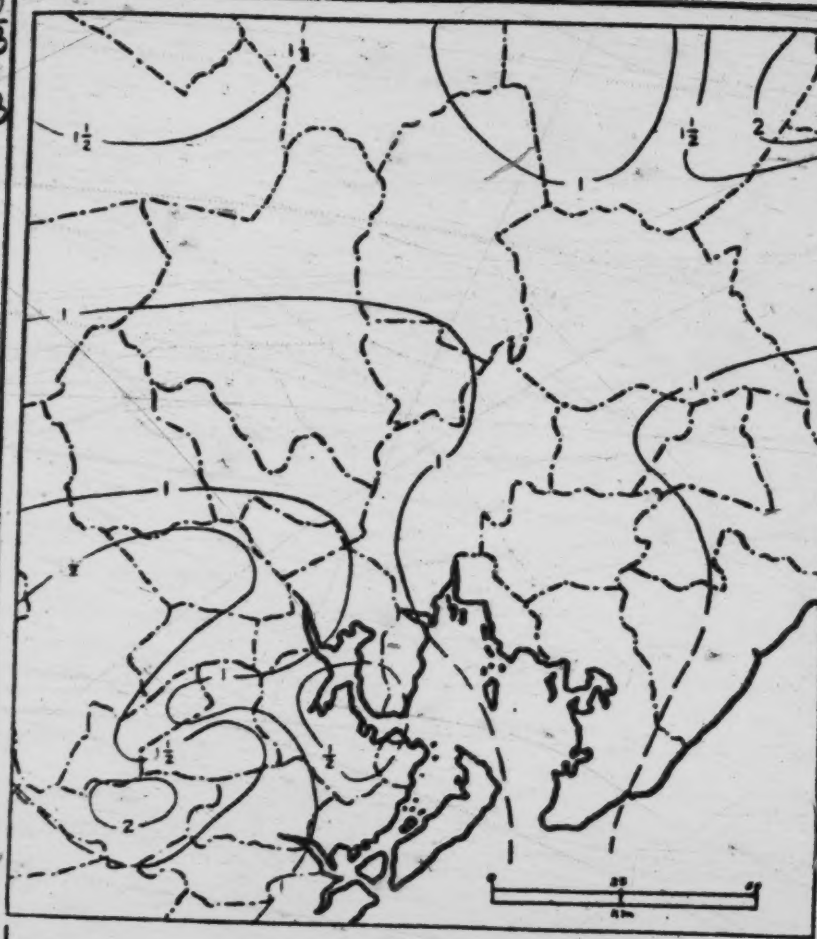

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Yield of Corn--1948

Tons per Hectare

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 38

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

243 311 It is primarily a crop of the sertão of northeastern Bahia, but it has intruded upon the northern and western perimeter of the Recôncavo (Map 37). In three municípios--Irará, Feira de Santana, and Santo Estêvão--corn is the most extensively cultivated crop. Conversely, it is rarely seen in the humid lowlands and in the Southwestern Recôncavo. In these areas it is found only in very small, widely scattered plantings.

243 433 The mean yield of corn in the Recôncavo was 1.09 tons per hectare, compared to 1.27 for Brazil, 2.46 for the United States, 1.0 for the Belgian Congo, and .81 for Java and Madura. The accompanying map of corn yields shows a somewhat random pattern within the Recôncavo, since the total area and production were very small and local circumstances of cultivation highly variable (Map 38). However, the area of main production northwest of the Recôncavo had a relatively high yield--over 243 244 1.5 tons per hectare. In this area, corn, with beans, pre-empts the areas with the most productive soils and the greatest precipitation.

244 Beans. Feijão, or the common field bean (Phaseolus vulgaris), like manioc, tobacco, and corn, is an indigenous domesticate which became an important subsistence crop during the colonial period. Like corn, beans are more specifically associated with the dry sertão than [262] [252] with the Recôncavo. Most of the beans grown in Bahia are the black variety, feijão preto; the beans are dried and used with charque (dried beef) in a soup which is one of the basic subsistence foods of the Northeast. Beans of this and other similar varieties of the same species are grown throughout Brazil.

244 433 In area and in quantity of production, beans are slightly less important than corn in the Recôncavo, but the value of the bean crop is almost double that of corn. The patterns of distribution of these two crops are almost identical, and the physical and cultural factors

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954) 1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

244 433 [311] involved are very similar (Maps 39, 40, and 41). In 1948 beans occupied 9 per cent of the total cropland of the Recôncavo. While the area of the greatest dominance of corn lies north of the Recôncavo, beans had the greatest relative importance in the west, in the município of Ipirá (Map 42). The reason for this minor difference in concentration is not apparent.

244 311 433 The yield pattern as revealed by the 1948 data is very distinctive (Map 43). Relatively high yields were closely associated with the forest and scrub-forest transition from Santo Antônio in the south to Irará in the north, where, however, less than 10 per cent of the cropland was in beans. In Muritiba, Castro Alves, and Santo Antônio, where joint corn-bean cultivation is not always the rule, yields of both plants were high. In the Northern and Northwestern Recôncavo the yield patterns of the two crops, which are usually intercropped in this area, were very different. No explanation for these differences was found. The mean yield of beans in the Recôncavo in 1948 was 988 kilograms per hectare, higher than the 690 kilograms per hectare of Brazil, the 540 kilograms per hectare of French Equatorial Africa, or the 200 kilograms per hectare of India, but much lower than the 1,220 kilograms per hectare yield in the United States.

249 Sugar Cane. Much of the history and a good deal of the cultural geography of the Recôncavo could be written in terms of sugar cane [433] [178] cultivation. The colony of Bahia was organized around the cultivation of cane, and sugar was the mainstay of the colonial commercial economy until the last half of the nineteenth century. During the colonial period the cultivation of sugar cane acquired a prestige which it has never lost, despite the fact that it is no longer the most valuable nor, it seems likely, the most profitable crop of the Recôncavo.

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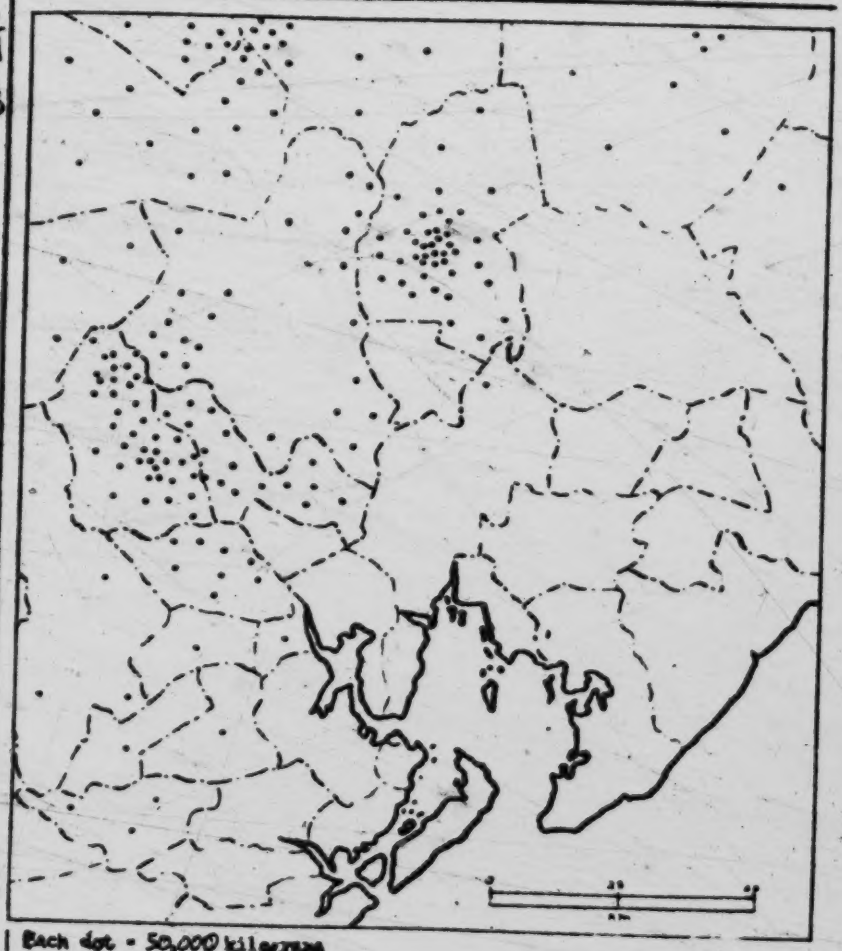

Each dot = 50,000 kilograms

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Beans--1948

Source of data: Producão Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 41

Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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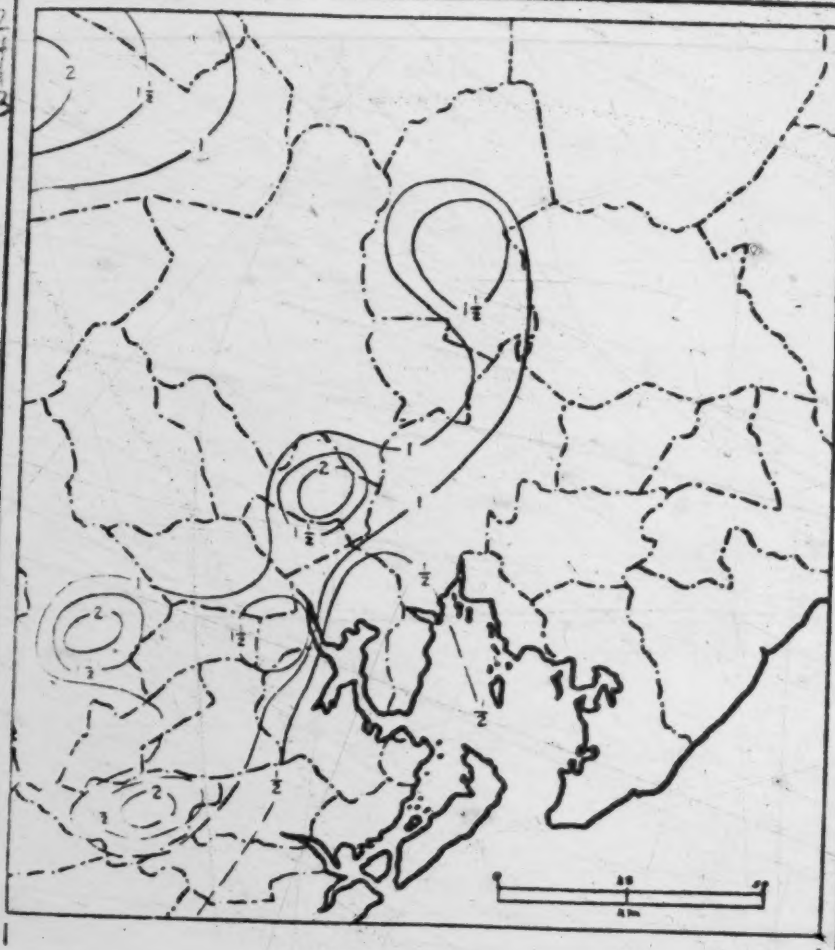

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Yield of Beans--1948

Tons per Hectare

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 43

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 same planting are common--then the field is rested for a year and replanted to cane.[24]

249 311 Sugar cane is encountered in all parts of the Recôncavo, but it is produced commercially only in three very restricted and closely defined areas. Of the 11,695 hectares of sugar cane in the Recôncavo in 1948, over 6,000 hectares were in Santo Amaro and 650 hectares and 2,400 hectares, respectively, in adjacent São Francisco and São Sebastião (Map 44). The remaining one-third of the total sugar cane area was largely in São Filipe, 650 hectares, and Cachoeira, 530 hectares. The association between sugar cane cultivation and the Cretaceous soils is [134] very close. Within the Central Recôncavo, cane is grown only on the Cretaceous massapê, salão, and areia soils; although there are occasional outliers of Tertiary sands, no cane was observed on these soils in the course of field investigation. Cane cultivation in São Filipe is associated with similar heavy soils--the so-called crystalline massapê. [433] In 1948 the Recôncavo produced 670,626 tons of cane, 39 per cent of the total of the state, but only 2 per cent of Brazil's production. Eighty-two per cent of the cane of the Recôncavo was produced in the Central Recôncavo sugar cane zone of Santo Amaro, São Francisco, and São Sebastião (Map 45).

Because sugar cane cultivation is so highly concentrated, the mean value of 15 per cent of the total cropland of the Recôncavo in sugar cane is somewhat misleading. What is significant is that an estimated 90 per cent of the cropland--excluding fallow land--on the Cretaceous coastal lowland at the head of the Bay was planted to cane in 1948 (Map 46). A similar, though smaller, monocultural zone lay at the head of the Bacia do Iguape in the município of Cachoeira. In the minor sugar cane area of São Filipe, cane production was less concentrated. There was also scattered cane cultivation on the lowlands

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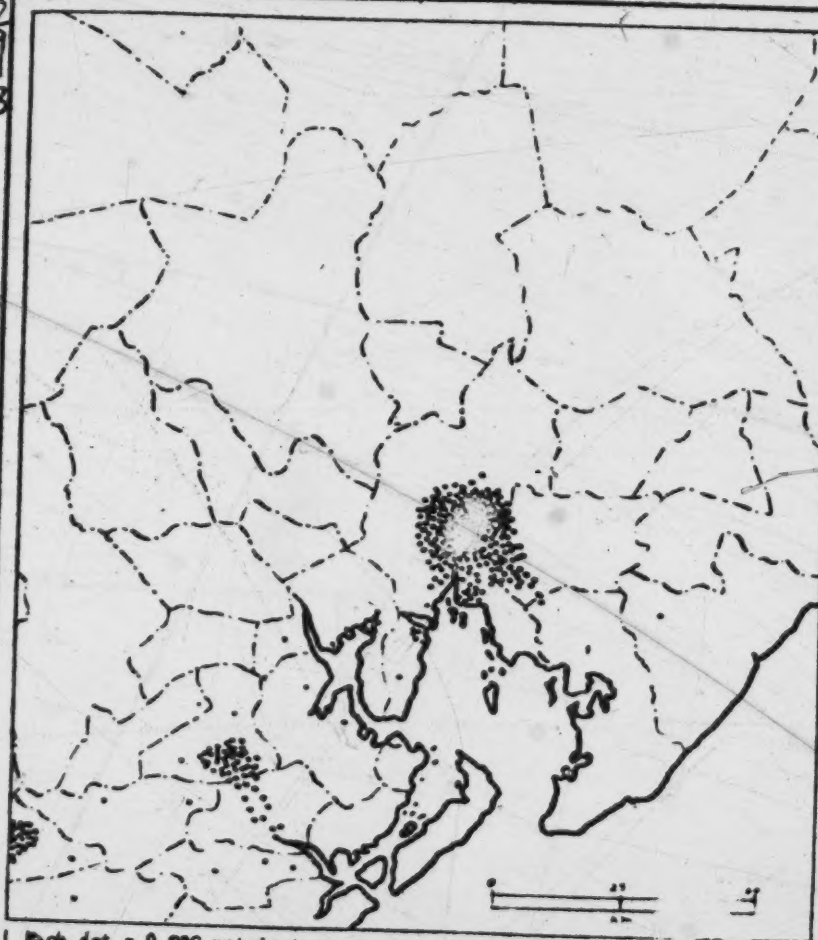

Each dot = 2,000 metric tons

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Sugar Cane--1948

Source of data: Producão Agricola: 1948.

MAP 45

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 and Intermediate Hills between and around these zones, but usually on
311 an exceedingly small scale.

249 The yields calculated for 1948 were as follows:
311
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Santo Amaro	65.7	tons	per	hectare
São Francisco	80.0	"	"	"
São Sebastião	41.2	"	"	"
Cachoeira	37.0	"	"	"
São Filipe	50.0	"	"	"

These may be compared with 38.7 tons per hectare for Brazil as a whole, 35.0 tons per hectare for Cuba, and 89.3 tons per hectare for Java and
249 Madura for the same year. The relatively low yields of Cachoeira and
433
134 São Filipe are to be explained, at least in part, by the primitive
257 character of cultivation and processing in these more remote areas. São Sebastião is a sort of frontier zone into which the big sugar mills are expanding their operations at the expense of smaller operators, but the methods of production are still less efficient than in the main production area, and the soils are sandier and less fertile. In Santo Amaro, yields are higher on account of generally better soils and techniques, but the demands of the large usinas require intensive and continuous cultivation on even the poorer soils. On the other hand, the less intensive cultivation in São Francisco, where the mills are smaller, allows a freer selection of soils, so that the yields of this area are the highest in the Recôncavo.

244 Sweet Potatoes and Peanuts. Two other American domesticates are
311 grown in the Recôncavo, though on a small scale--peanuts and sweet potatoes. Both are cultivated primarily along the forest and scrub forest transition as auxiliary subsistence crops, in conjunction with manioc and tobacco. There are also scattered plots of these crops in most other parts of the Recôncavo. Neither crop occupied over 1 per cent of the total crop land of the region.

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BB 244 311 433 The total area in sweet potatoes in 1948 was 344 hectares, the total production, 2,565 tons. No single *município* grew more than 100 hectares nor produced over 1,000 tons (Maps 47 and 48). In Cachoeira and Maragogipe, 3 per cent of the total cropland was in sweet potatoes BB [438] in 1948. The plants are grown on the slopes and in the sandier valley bottoms of the Intermediate Hills and are sold through the local markets. On a smaller scale, sweet potatoes are grown as a minor supplementary crop in the Southwestern Recôncavo. The mean Recôncavo yield was 7.5 tons per hectare, close to the mean Brazilian 1948-1950 yield of 8 tons per hectare. Sweet potatoes are grown in the Recôncavo both as "garden" crops for home consumption and as minor commercial crops for local exchange.

The total area in peanuts in 1948 was 550 hectares; the total production was 876 tons (Maps 49 and 50). There is some small commercial production in Maragogipe and in the Northern Recôncavo; in the former, 6 per cent of the total cropland was in peanuts in 1948, and in the latter, from 2 to 5 per cent. Yields calculated for *municípios* varied from .3 to 3.5 tons per hectare without discernible pattern. The mean yield was 1.6 tons per hectare, higher than the .97 tons per hectare of Brazil and the .89 tons per hectare of the United States.

BB 245 433 B [245] [433] *Bananas*. The banana is the sole important subsistence crop of the ecôncavo which is of old world origin. Brazil is the world's leading producer of bananas, and the main centers of production are in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and Minas Gerais. In the Recôncavo, bananas are grown primarily for subsistence and local exchange, but there are a few small commercial growers. Under the existing system BB [439] of transportation, the long distance shipment of so bulky, heavy, perishable, and cheap a product is difficult.

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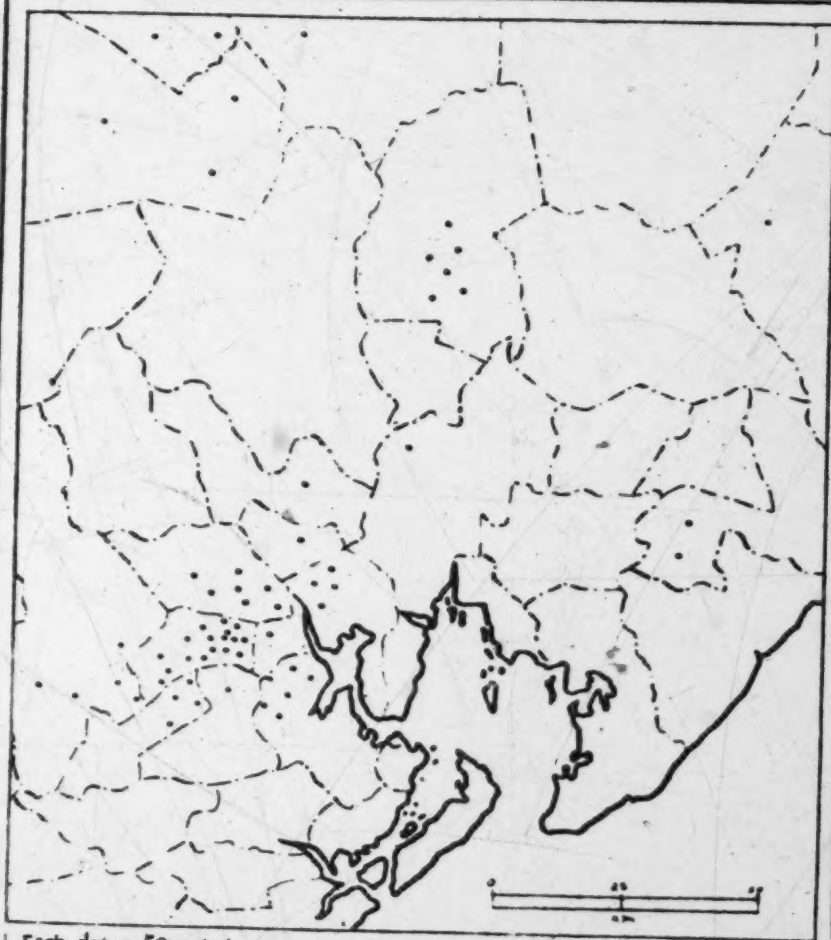

Each dot = 50 metric tons

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Sweet Potatoes—1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 18

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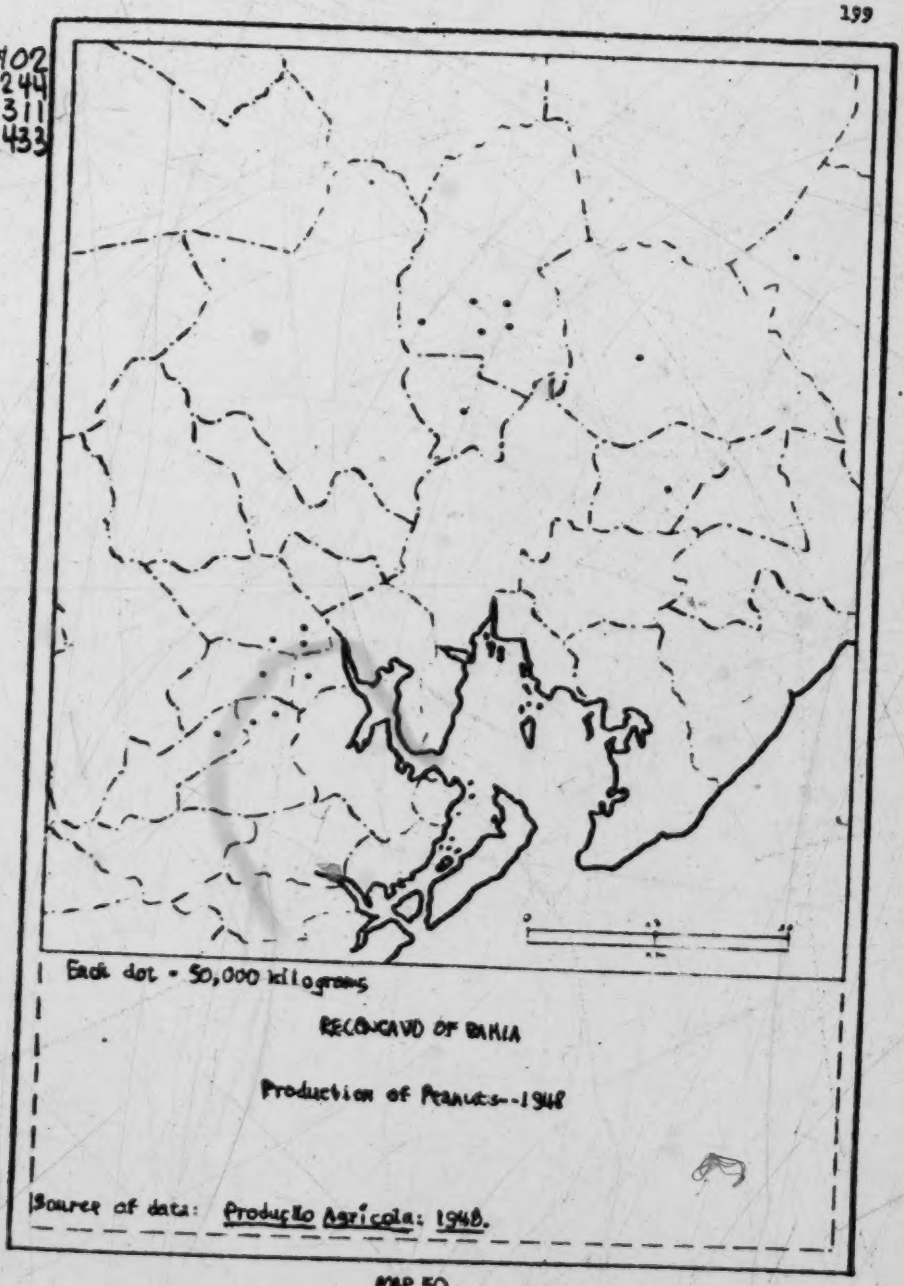

MAP 50

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

245 The bananas of the Recôncavo include a number of types--large, medium and small eating varieties, and plantains--which are grown in most sections and which may be encountered in village and urban markets in all seasons. Cultivation is a haphazard enterprise in which the reproduction of bananas frequently is accidental rather than deliberate. Since there is so much semi-spontaneous cultivation concealed in gardens and second growth and thus probably not enumerated and since the spacing of the plants is so variable, area data for bananas in the [311] Recôncavo have little meaning. The official data for 1948 indicated that [433] there were 1,069 hectares planted in the region, producing an estimated 1,859 bunches.[25]

245 311 Banana plants are seen in all settlements of the Recôncavo, and except in the drier caatinga zone of the Northwestern Recôncavo, scattered over the countryside (Map 51). The chief area of production is in the Southwest, where they are grown almost exclusively for the local market (Map 52). However, there is a concentration of banana production [505] [438] around the fringes of Salvador[26] and along the margins of the Bay and the estuary of the Paraguaçu, where sailing craft (saveiros) can conveniently pick up shipments for the large urban market.

245 311 433 In 1948 bananas had their greatest relative importance, as determined by the per cent of the total cropland which they occupied, around and in the city of Salvador, on the island of Itaparica, and around the city of Alagoinhas. The mean yield of bananas in the Recôncavo was 1,730 bunches per hectare, or an estimated 13,840 kilograms per hectare (Map 53)--lower than the 28,900 kilograms per hectare of Brazil, but much higher than the 9,900 kilograms for French West Africa and the 4,400 kilograms for the Philippines.[27]

245 262 It should be emphasized that the banana in Bahia is a relatively cheap and common subsistence food, eaten raw or cooked. This is not to

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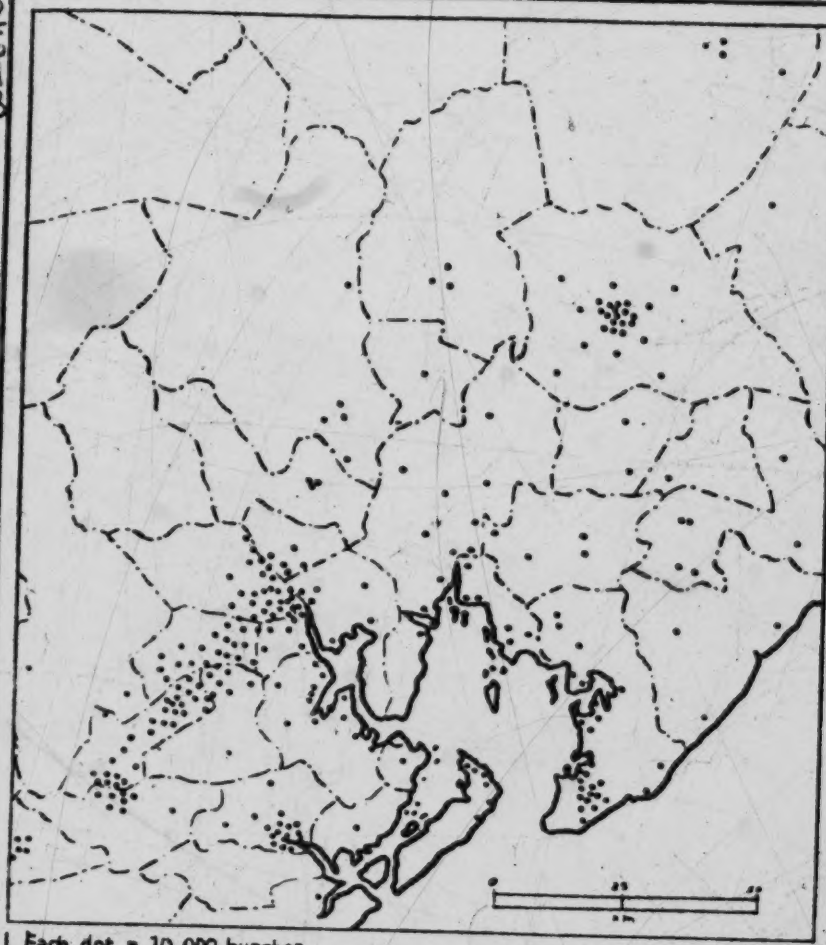

Each dot = 10,000 bunches

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Bananas--1948

Source data modified from Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 52

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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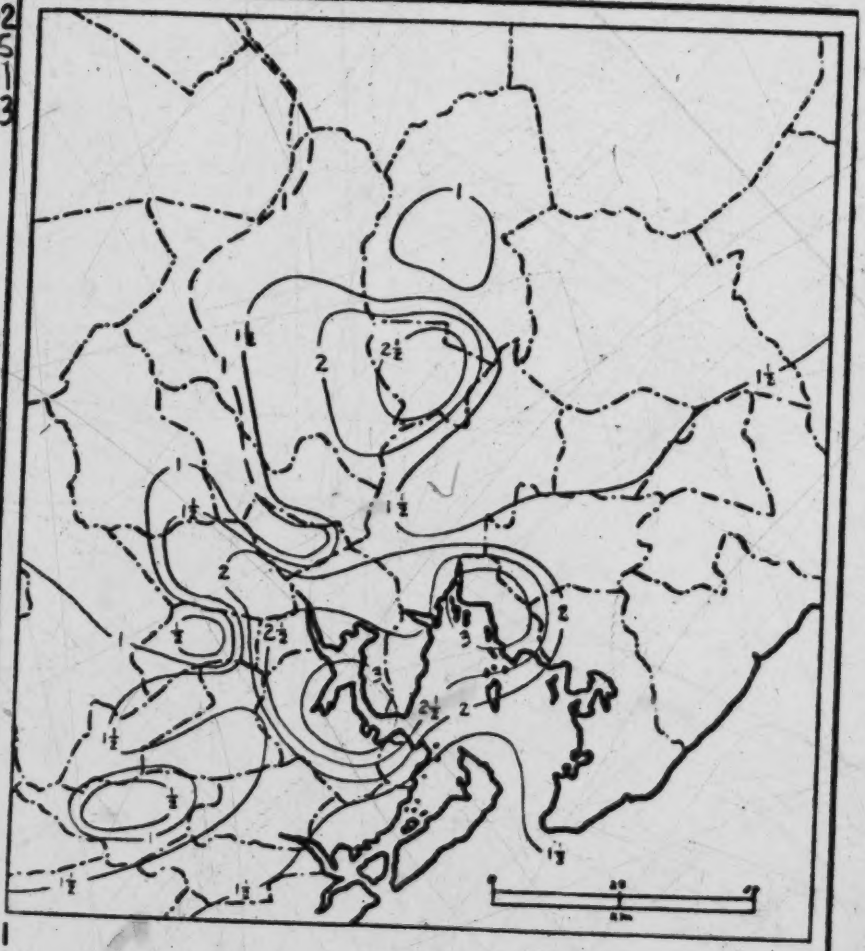

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Yield of Bananas--1948

Thousands per Hectare

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 53

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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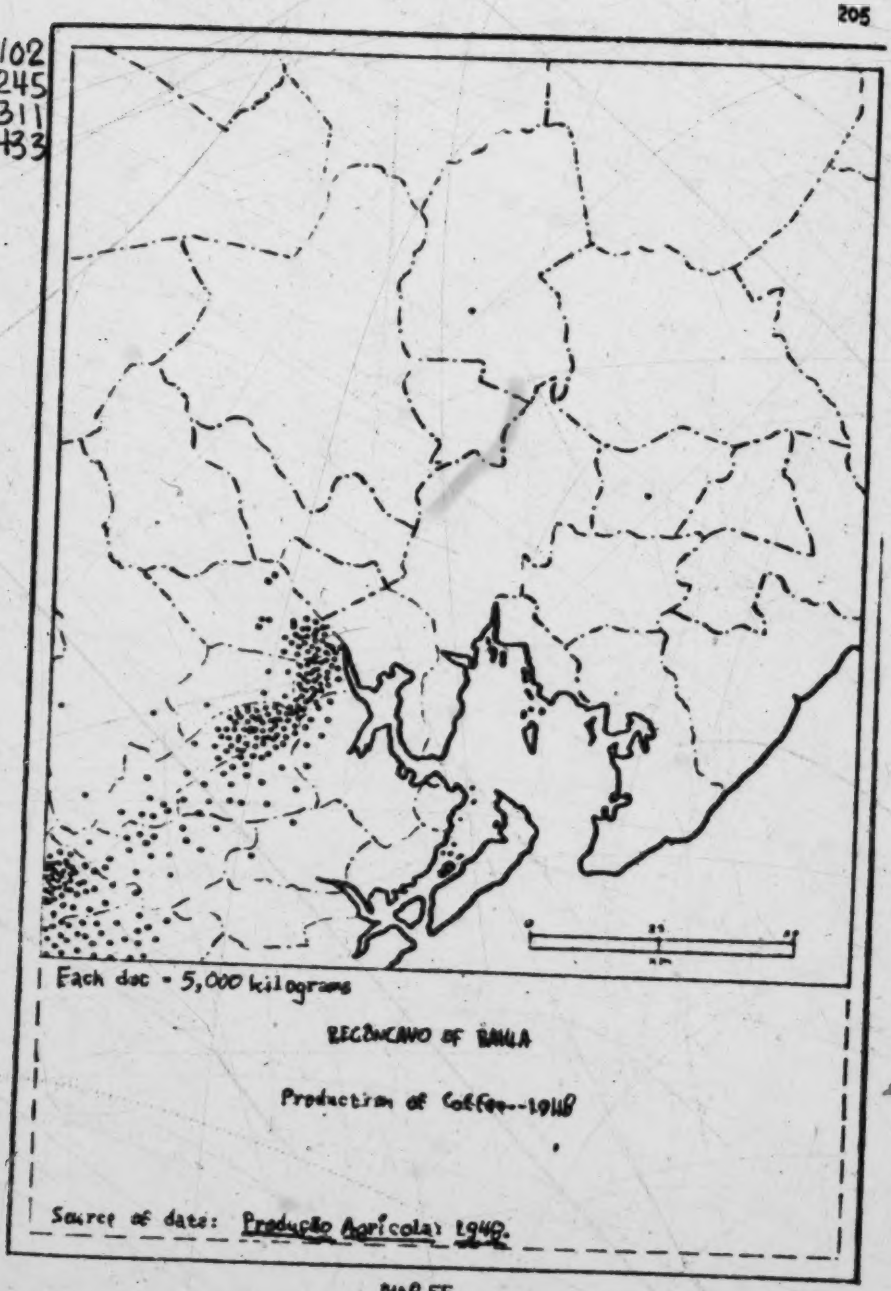

MAP 55

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1

BB 245 262 say that it is within the reach of all, for there are many who subsist virtually on farinha de mandioca (manioc flour) and a few beans.

B BB 245 433 Coffee. Coffee is not as venerable a crop in Bahia, or in Brazil, as either sugar cane or tobacco; nevertheless, it is one of the traditional major crops. Bahia is by no means an outstanding producer within Brazil, for the main centers of production are in the Central-South--Paraná, São Paulo, Minas Gerais, and Espírito Santo.

BB 245 433 Although Bahia as a whole has an exportable surplus of coffee, the Recôncavo crop is primarily, if not exclusively, for local consumption. Indeed, if the per capita coffee consumption of the Recôncavo is equal to that of the state, a reasonable assumption, the region as a whole produces only about one-sixth or one-seventh of its coffee needs. Under these circumstances, coffee is used, except in a few areas, in the same município in which it is grown.

BB 245 311 433 In 1948 only four municípios in the Recôncavo had 400 hectares or more in coffee or produced over 100,000 kilograms of coffee beans (Maps 54 and 55). The chief coffee município was São Filipe, which led in acreage and in production.[28] For all practical purposes, coffee production is limited to the south side of the Rio Paraguaçu.

Coffee production in Bahia is closely associated with the more humid section of the crystalline zone, and especially the area southwest of the Recôncavo where there are low, rugged mountains and consequently areas of greater elevation and precipitation. This "coffee zone" is extended into the Recôncavo along the rougher, more humid edge of the Crystalline Uplands and the adjacent Intermediate Hills, i.e., in São Filipe and São Felix.

BB 245 311 Only 4 per cent of the cropland of the Recôncavo as a whole was in coffee in 1948, but in São Felix and northern São Filipe the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 209]

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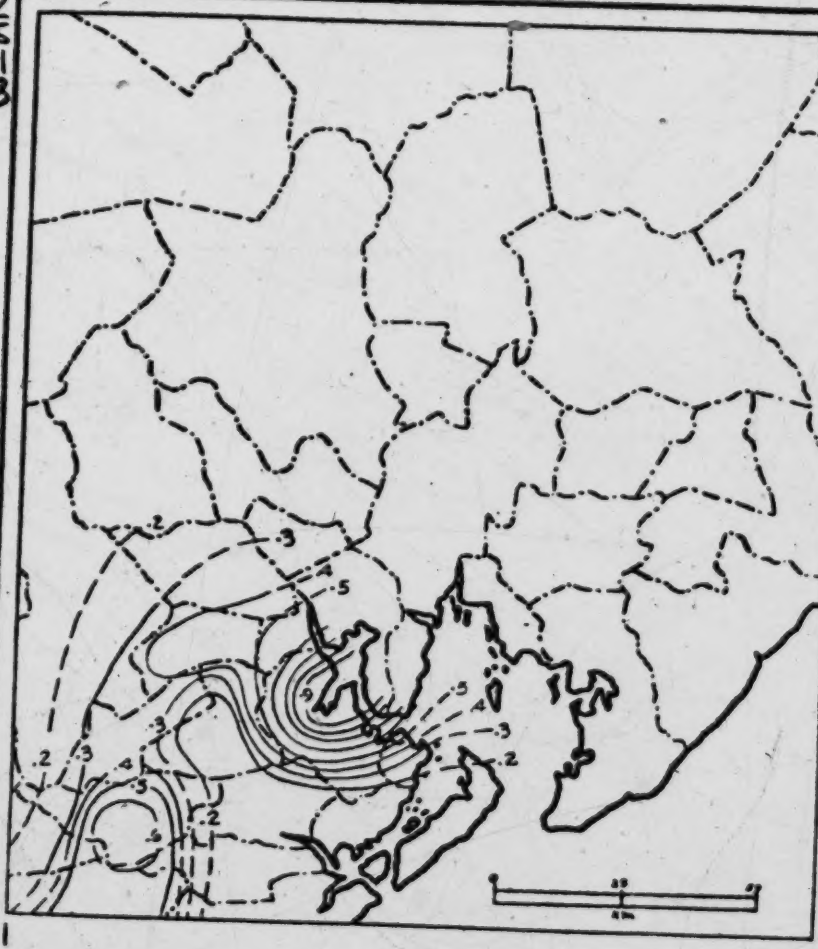

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Yield of Coffee--1948

Tons per Hectare

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 57

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

245 311 small coffee groves occupied as much as one-third of the total cultivated area (Map 56). In São Félix coffee was the second ranking crop in area of cultivation, in São Filipe, the third. The coffee cultivation in these municípios is concentrated along the eastern side of the tobacco-manioc area, on the rough Intermediate Hills. The slope-land [134] [132] soils are relatively fertile; yet there is not too much precipitation for the harvesting and drying of the beans.

Although coffee production in the "coffee zone" beyond the Recôncavo is on a moderately large scale, within the Southwestern Recôncavo coffee is planted in very small, irregular plots. The coffee is shade-grown, usually under a remnant of old mata or under jackfruit and similar trees. Except in São Filipe and São Félix, it is generally cultivated as an auxiliary rather than as a principal crop. The harvest is non-selective, and the entire bush is stripped at one time. 245 311 433 The beans produced under this system are of low quality compared with the selected beans of the Spanish-American highlands, but the people of Bahia claim that their coffee has a special flavor. The mean yield of coffee in the Recôncavo in 1948 was about 300 kilograms per hectare, compared to over 400 kilograms per hectare for Brazil. The main centers of production had yields near the mean of 300 kilograms per hectare, except for São Filipe which produced less than 200 kilograms per hectare (Map 57). Yields, as derived from the official data, were highly variable among the minor producers.

245 Coconut. In a sense the coconut is, like coffee, an alien intrusion into the Recôncavo. Although Bahia is by far the leading producer of coconuts in Brazil—they are called côcos da Bahia—the main centers of production are on the coast north and, to a lesser extent, south of the Recôncavo.

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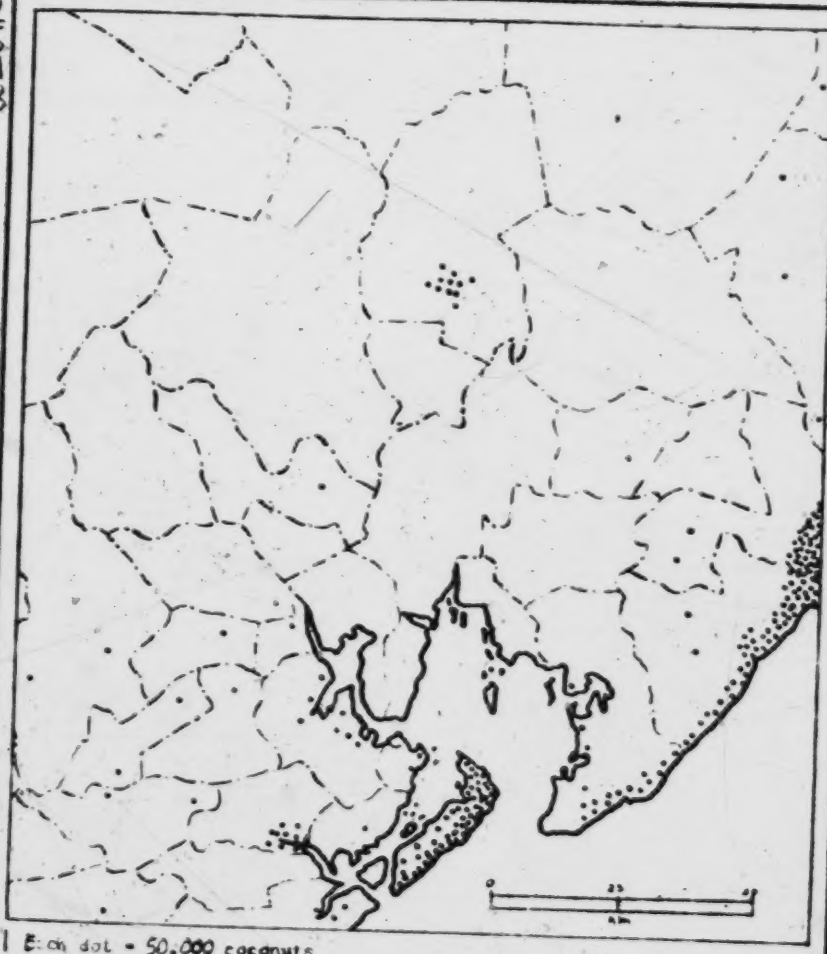

Each dot = 50,000 coconuts

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Coconuts--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 59

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

245 311 Within the Recôncavo coconut production is important along the sandy beach line of the island of Itaparica and along the ocean coast of Salvador, where coconuts are virtually the only agricultural product [133] (Maps 58, 59, and 60). The inner shores of the Bay, which rise abruptly [134] with rocky clay slopes, bear very few coconuts, except in a low-lying sandy zone along the estuary of the Paraguaçu. Coconuts are produced 245 [423] chiefly on large properties which are frequently owned by urban families. [464] The plantations are operated with hired labor drawn from the coastal [438] population. When harvested, the coconuts are sold in the urban markets [258] of Salvador and other cities and towns. Very little of the Recôncavo [439] production is converted into oil, and little is exported.

Oranges. The navel orange is a Bahian development, a mutation [433] of the orange brought from Europe. The main centers of Brazilian production, however, are elsewhere in the country, and cultivation of oranges within the Recôncavo is primarily for local consumption.

245 311 Scattered orange trees are a feature of the rural and urban landscape in many areas. In addition to this generalized cultivation, which frequently is not shown in the official data, there is commercial production in the environs of several urban centers—Alagoinhas, Santo Antônio, and to a lesser extent, Salvador (Maps 61 and 62). The [489] [443] cidades of Alagoinhas and Santo Antônio are both markets for part of the local crop; moreover, both are on the railroads leading to Salvador, which is the chief market for the entire region. In addition to these three main concentrations, there are numerous orange groves in the Southwestern Recôncavo which apparently serve both local and regional markets, though on a small scale. In general the relative area in orange groves is not great, yet in 1948 they occupied 10 per cent of the cropland of Alagoinhas.

*I:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954) 1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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Each dot = 500,000 fruits

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Oranges--1948

Source of data: Produção Agricola: 1948.

MAP 62

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

245 438 [471] Oranges, like coconuts, are usually grown on plantations. The capital investment in tree crops is usually too great for small cultivators. Moreover, as a highly perishable crop, oranges require more or less direct marketing, which is frequently beyond the capacity of the small grower. If oranges were marketed by trickling from the small grower through the hands of merchants, buyers, and the like, as is tobacco, they would be spoiled long before reaching the consumer. The small cultivator can market his handful of oranges only in the local market.

241 433 Supplementary Crops. Although the official data show only a very limited distribution of minor supplementary crops, their cultivation is not confined to those municípios where exceptionally conscientious [262] statistical agents have made detailed records. The common vegetables--green beans, onions, garlic, and tomatoes--are cultivated in small quantities in all parts of the Recôncavo and are a traditional part of Bahian dishes. Around the cities and towns there is some specialization [443] in vegetable farming, but there are no major concentrations. The Salvador market is supplied with produce from a broad rural zone which includes [489] most of the Recôncavo. The produce is brought to the city by donkey, truck, or by sailing boat.

The most important of the supplementary commercial crops is [134] pineapple, which is produced on the sandy soils of the Northern, and to a lesser extent, Southwestern Recôncavo. There is very scattered production of grapes, cotton, rice, and white potatoes, but there are no important centers of cultivation of these crops.

245 311 Minor Spontaneous Tree Crops. Mangoes are very common within the houseyards of Salvador and throughout the humid Coastal Plain. In

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 244 311 13 The physical setting of the tobacco and manioc region is distinctive in terms of the particular combination of topography, soils, climate, and vegetation which are joined along its crescent axis. The region lies along the semi-circular edge of the interior upland, overlooking the Bay and the Coastal Plain. In the south the fields of manioc and tobacco occupy the upper surfaces of the Crystalline Uplands and the adjacent Intermediate Hills. In the north, cultivation shifts to the summits and upper slopes of the Intermediate Hills, although there is some concentration on the extreme southern edge of the taboleiros. Thus the region occupies the deep flat-lying residual crystalline soils in the south but in the Tertiary soil zone to the north follows the slope lands where there is more rainfall and perhaps better local soils. The close correspondence of this region with the forest and scrub-forest transition has been repeatedly emphasized. A traverse across the tobacco-manioc region anywhere between Conceição do Almeida and Feira de Santana takes one from rough hills with at least scattered patches of broadleaf evergreen forest to flat uplands with cactus, thorny brush, and licuri palms.

249 244 433 161 361 A comparison of the map of population (Map 21) and of the relationship of tobacco and manioc cultivation (Map 75) points up the necessity for local sources of basic subsistence products. In the Southwest, where rural populations are relatively dense and where there are a number of large villages and towns, manioc tends to be cultivated over a greater area than does tobacco. In the tobacco-manioc region north of the Rio Paraguaçu, where tobacco is usually the leading crop, the density of rural population is lower, and there are no towns and only [438] a few large villages. Thus there is close relationship between the relative intensity of manioc and the size of the local market.

175 249 244 The recent historical pattern of agriculture in the tobacco-manioc region can be reconstructed only on a general level. Cachoeira, which

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 Cachoeira, which
178 formerly included most of the western part of the region, was the center
249 of the production of tobacco for use in the slave trade. The growth of
[567] the trade in leaf tobacco in the nineteenth century brought great changes
[439] to the region, for it made tobacco a major commercial product in its own right, no longer dependent upon the slave trade. Eventually this development gave the region of tobacco production a greater economic importance than the sugar cane region, although it remained subordinate in political and social influence. The development of the new tobacco economy also gave the region a greater superiority over the sertão, which could satisfactorily produce fumo em corda, but could grow only the poorest grades of fumo em fôlha.

174 Probably the tobacco-manioc region supplied manioc as the sub-
244 sistence food of the sugar economy, since it is the only nearby area
249 which was a center of manioc production. Perhaps manioc was produced
433 in the sugar cane zone, but in view of the intensity of sugar cane cultivation, this seems doubtful. In any case, the present relative level of manioc production in this crop region probably dates from the nineteenth century development of cigar tobacco production.

249 The second basic crop region of the Recôncavo is the sugar cane
311 monocultural area. It is sub-divided into a major zone, in Santo Amaro, São Sebastião, and São Francisco; a minor zone in Cachoeira; and an outlier in São Filipe. It is estimated that in the first two zones 90 per cent of the cropland was in cane in 1948. In the São Filipe outlier of the sugar cane region the proportion seems to have been lower--perhaps 50 per cent of the cultivated area.

The physical association of the sugar cane region north of the
[13] Rio Paraguaçu and the Bay is relatively simple--a humid and formerly forested undulating plain composed of mixed Cretaceous soils--massapê, salão, and areia. In São Filipe the land is rougher, but the sugar cane is grown upon heavy soils similar to the Cretaceous series.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

245 [311] Most coconuts are grown on moderate-sized plantations along the beaches, in sands, or occasionally in sandy loams. North of Salvador they are grown on dunes and beaches and, back from the sea, in sandy stream valleys where the supply of ground water is generous. There seems to be little selection in choosing coconuts for reproduction. Usually the nuts are planted eight meters or so apart, with a pile of organic trash over and around the nut to provide some additional fertility and to hold the moisture necessary for germination. The sprout must be protected from foraging animals, but once growth is well started, the tree receives little attention and no fertilization.

[433] Yields are moderate to low, from 15 to 40 per tree. Apparently the yields per tree are substantially higher (double) in the Bay area--Itaparica and Caramassari--than in the area farther north--Mata de São João and Esplanada. [443] In the Bay area the nuts are usually sold in the markets of Salvador without processing.

241 178 Conclusion. The basic determinant of cultivation practices in the Recôncavo is custom. This is probably less true of the cultivation of sugar than of other crops, but the weight of tradition is heavy upon all agricultural enterprises. [454] It may be said that many relatively primitive agricultural practices survive because of ignorance of newer techniques and because of a lack of capital for investment in new tools, in machinery, in better seed, and in permanent land improvement. The importance of these factors in limiting change in Recôncavo agriculture, particularly as general factors operating indirectly upon individual cultivators and individual farms is not to be denied.

However, when the individual cultivator--sugar planter or tobacco share-cropper--is given an opportunity, in the form of new techniques and the necessary capital, to change and improve his operations and

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CHAPTER VII

ANIMAL INDUSTRY

BB 231 433 BB [435] Although the Recôncavo is primarily a subsistence and commercial crop region, livestock play a significant role in the agricultural economy as beasts of burden and as a source of animal products. In 1948 there were about 800,000 to 850,000 livestock—cattle, sheep, goats, horses, asses, and mules—in the region, and the value of animal production was about Cr.$60,000,000.[1] Thus animals accounted for about 17 per cent of the total value of all agricultural products of the Recôncavo. About one quarter of the livestock were work animals essential to the operation of the agricultural economy--oxen, horses, asses, and mules.[2]

BB NB 231 233 442 443 The livestock industry of the Recôncavo is closely associated with the extensive livestock ranching economy of the Brazilian northeastern interior. In Bahia, as in most parts of Brazil, the sertão of the interior is a source region of livestock. The animals are driven from the sertão to the coastal nuclei of dense settlement and sold in the cattle market—in the Recôncavo, at the market of Feira de Santana. A portion of the cattle are slaughtered immediately to provide food for the large agricultural population, but a substantial number of cattle and the horses, asses, and mules are retained as work animals. The working cattle—oxen--are eventually slaughtered.

BB 231 Certain outlying parts of the Recôncavo share with the sertão in the role of producing livestock for the coastal market zone. Other areas, especially around Feira de Santana, function as fattening zones in which the cattle recuperate after the long drives from the interior.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

231 The production of asses, mules, and horses is concentrated outside the Recôncavo. Apparently most of the work animals used in the Recôncavo--oxen as well as asses, mules, and horses--were born on the Sertão and were the products of the same ranches which produce beef animals.

In distinction to these larger animals, swine are produced in large number within the Recôncavo. Moreover, they are almost exclusively the products of small enterprises--pigs are raised in ones and twos by small farmers. They eat the household waste and root in the abandoned [443] fields and the second growth. When they are mature or when the need for cash is pressing, they are sold in the local market, either alive or slaughtered.

Most of the livestock of the Recôncavo are descendent from animals introduced into the Northeast during colonial times. In general [232] there has been little deliberate selection of strains--those animals which have survived disease, insect pests, prolonged semi-starvation, and casual abuse have conferred their characteristics upon the present generation. Thus, most of the livestock are scrubby and inbred, inefficient producers of meat, milk, or energy.

Cattle. The total cattle population of the Recôncavo was 395,000 head in 1948, and the number was still growing. There were [433] almost three times as many cattle in the region as swine, the next most numerous animal, and the value of cattle production far exceeded that of other livestock.

Almost all of the cattle of the Recôncavo are of the unspecialized and ubiquitous Indo-Brazilian strain--rangy animals with long horns and a moderate hump, hardy and strong but not producers of large quanti- [234] ties of either meat or milk. Oxen of the same breed are important in the sugar zone and in Feira de Santana, and both beef and milk cattle

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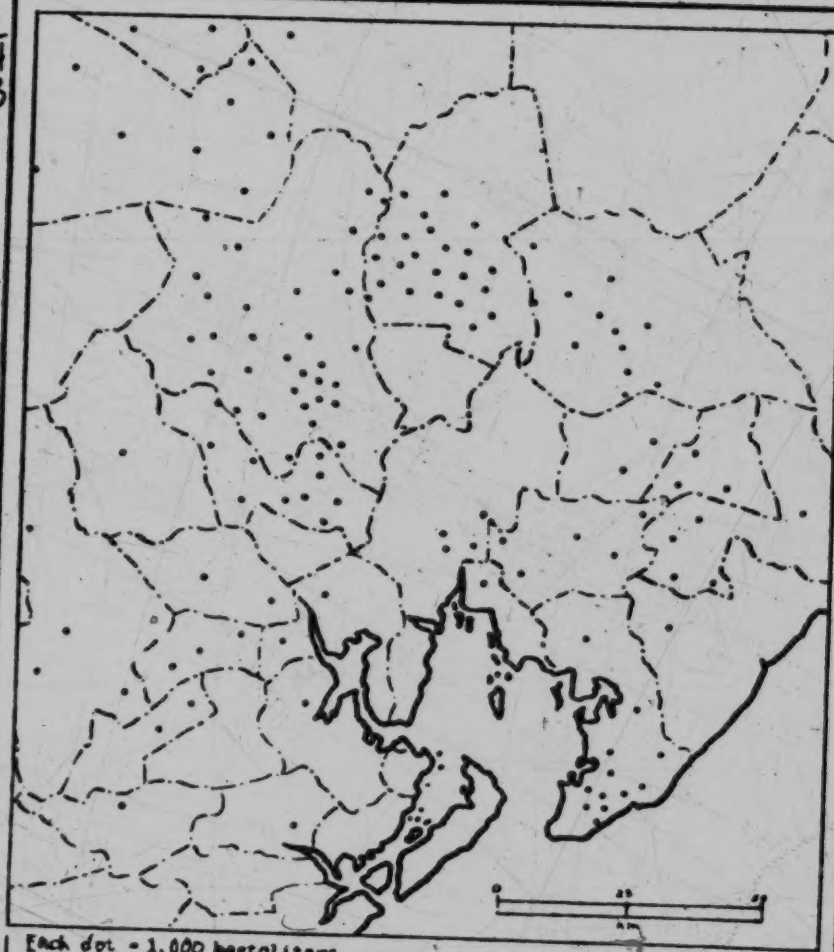

Each dot = 1,000 hectoliters

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Milk Production--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1950. Censos Economicos Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 80

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

233 lower intensity of crop cultivation beyond the Recôncavo gives livestock greater relative importance around the periphery.

Cattle were the most numerous of the major livestock in the Recôncavo in 1948, except in four municípios--Cruz das Almas, Conceição do Almeida, São Filipe, and Itaparica, where there were more swine. Cattle were also the most numerous livestock in all municípios bordering the Recôncavo on the east and north and in Castro Alves on the west.

233 Apparently the total cattle population in the Recôncavo is in-
• 433 creasing rapidly. In 1940 there were only 250,000 cattle in the Recôncavo; in 1948, 394,990. It is inferred from both the state livestock data for 1952[5] and from field observation that this growth continued through 1953, though probably at a more moderate rate. Unfortunately, a comparison of the total cattle population of most of the municípios in 1940 with the number in 1948 does not provide a clear basis for generalizations which can be checked against the situation as
[128] observed in the field. Either many of the data are in error, or the changes in cattle population were often unrelated to the general pattern of agricultural development in many municípios. Some of the changes indicated by the data can be accepted without too much question--the growth of the cattle population of Feira de Santana, 206 per cent, is a concomitant, it seems likely, of the general increase in cattle population in Bahia. It is possible that the contemporary growth of the city of Salvador and the improved transportation system have produced a precipitous decline in the cattle population in the sub-urban area and an increase in the tributary area beyond--Camassari, Mata de São João, and Pojuca. The population growth of the cidade of Alagoinhas apparently has resulted in a local displacement of cattle fazendas but in a peripheral expansion of livestock production. The decline

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

233 of Cachoeira as a regional center could account for some decline in
433 its cattle population. On the other hand, the almost four-fold increase in cattle in São Francisco, more than two-fold increase in Itaparica, and almost two-fold increase in Jaguaripe, indicated by the data, are not credible in view of the general agricultural situation. A moderate increase in the cattle population of these areas, to serve the growing Salvador market, is reasonable enough, but not such an astronomical expansion.

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433 Swine. Although much less numerous than cattle—there were 135,000 swine in the Recôncavo in 1948—pigs are similary ubiquitous. These animals are particularly important in Feira de Santana and Irará, in the Southwestern Recôncavo, and on the island of Itaparica (Map 81). In the Feira de Santana-Irará area swine were much less numerous than cattle, but in the Southwestern Recôncavo and on Itaparica they were the most common livestock animal. Pigs were also the most numerous livestock in adjoining Nazaré, Aratuípe, and Jaguaripe.

The swine population of the Recôncavo is almost surely increasing. This increase is strongly indicated by the evident general agricultural development of the Southwestern Recôncavo, the main center of swine production. A comparison of the 1940 and the 1948 data shows an increase which is in excess of the probable errors of the data. The pattern of change within the Recôncavo shown by the 1940 and 1948 data is irrational for many municípios, although the strong increases shown for the Southwestern Recôncavo and for Feira de Santana are reasonable in view of the observable development of these areas.

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[472] In the cattle industry, big enterprises are dominant, but swine are produced almost exclusively by small holders, renters, and sharecroppers, each with two or three pigs. The swine are tough, thick-hided

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 279

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

231 [442] animals, rangy and thin, which can and do exist on what they can forage in the second growth or whatever table waste is available. They are marketed one or two at a time in the local markets or are purchased by local buyers who transport a load of pigs into Salvador by truck or sailing boat (saveiro).

231 • 433 Sheep and Goats. Neither sheep nor goats are characteristic animals of the Recôncavo, but they are found in small numbers in several of its municípios. In 1948 there were about 80,000 sheep and 40,000 goats in the region. Almost all of these animals were low-grade but hardy local varieties. Goats are most numerous on the western sertão, but they are found in moderate numbers along the western edge of the Recôncavo (Map 82). The distribution of sheep is similar, but more uneven, and there is a conspicuous concentration around Feira de Santana (Map 83).

Neither animal ranks very high in the total livestock population of any Recôncavo município. Beyond the northern Recôncavo, from Conceição do Coite to Esplanada, sheep are the most numerous or second most numerous of all animals. In the west, goats are more important—these are the most numerous of all animals in Riachão do Jacuípe and are as numerous as cattle in Ipirá. Apparently the number of both animals is growing. Goats are increasing most rapidly, especially within the Recôncavo. The number of sheep is increasing slowly and very irregularly. In the dry marginal zone of the Recôncavo, sheep and goats are produced on large fazendas in much the same manner as cattle. This is also true for the sheep around Feira de Santana. In many areas, however, small holders occasionally run a few goats and, less frequently, sheep in the second-growth.

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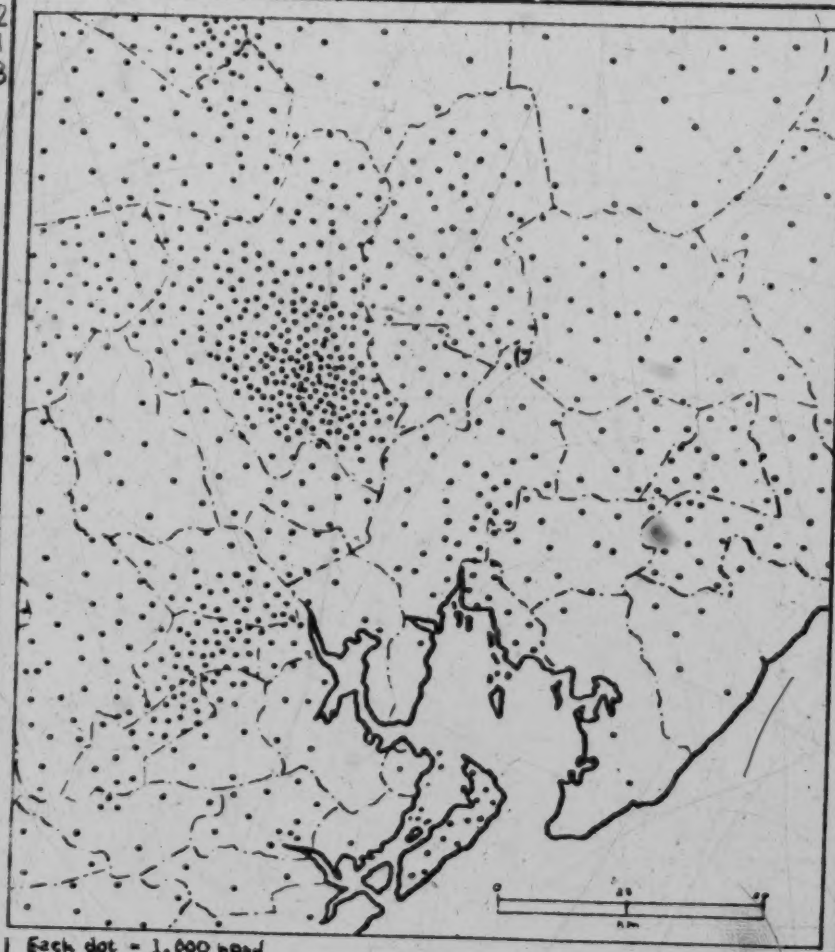

Each dot = 1,000 head

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Total Animals Produced for Animal Products--1948

(Non-work Animals)

MAP 84

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1

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438 Feira de Santana. From "Feira" the livestock are distributed to the Recôncavo to be used as beasts of burden, as food, or for both.

BB
231 The livestock population of the Recôncavo, as well as the livestock market, is centralized within the município of Feira de Santana. [433] In part this concentration reflects the relatively great demand for beef in Salvador, so that at any one time the number of livestock passing through Feira de Santana must be great. The same concentration is evident for work animals. This suggests that the mortality of work animals in the Recôncavo must be very high. There is no data to substantiate this hypothesis, but the emaciated appearance, poor diet, and calloused treatment of beasts of burden in the Recôncavo suggest that it is highly probable.

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433 The concentrations of livestock in the sugar cane and tobacco-manioc regions contribute significantly to the general agricultural importance of these areas. The differences in the character of the livestock populations reflect in a large measure the different requirements of the crop cultivation systems of the two regions.

B
231
241 The interdependence of the livestock-producing sertão and the areas of cultivation, signalized by the cattle fairs, is a characteristic feature of Brazilian agricultural life. The interior, from Ceará to Rio Grande do Sul, is a reservoir from which are drawn the cattle and the work animals for the main centers of crop cultivation and for the cities.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SOIl Bahia Brazilians SOIl

231 small (Map 88). Within the Recôncavo, only the eastern part of the
233 Central Recôncavo and the environs of Feira de Santana had even a moderate number of ranches. Livestock enterprises generally occupied less than one-fifth of the enumerated area (Map 89). These properties were relatively important in the Northwestern and Central Recôncavo, a reflection of the importance of ranching and cattle fattening in the northwest and of the need for work animals in the sugar cane region. In the Southwestern Recôncavo crop cultivation is too intensive and widespread to share the land with many ranches. Except in the southwest, 20 per cent of the total enumerated area was in livestock units along the limits of the Recôncavo. In relation to the total area, the extent
[311] of livestock properties varied from place to place along the border zone (Map 90). Beyond the Recôncavo, ranching is more important in the crystalline areas, whether caatinga or agreste, than in the Tertiary taboleiros.

231 As has been pointed out, large-scale properties are especially
233 important among the livestock production units. In most parts of the
443 Recôncavo the ratio of the area in large-scale and in small-scale livestock units was about three to one. The analysis of the mean size of large-scale livestock units, plotted on Map 91, emphasizes the diversity within the region and discloses the tremendous size of the ranches in the coastal agreste northeast of the Recôncavo. Since the number of large-scale livestock units was small and the size of the units highly variable, the mean values for the areas of these properties may be deceiving. Nevertheless, it is significant that the mean size of livestock unit was large in the Central Recôncavo, where there are a number
[313] of fazendas in the forested hills around the sugar cane region. These
[249] properties are used primarily as sources of firewood for the usinas

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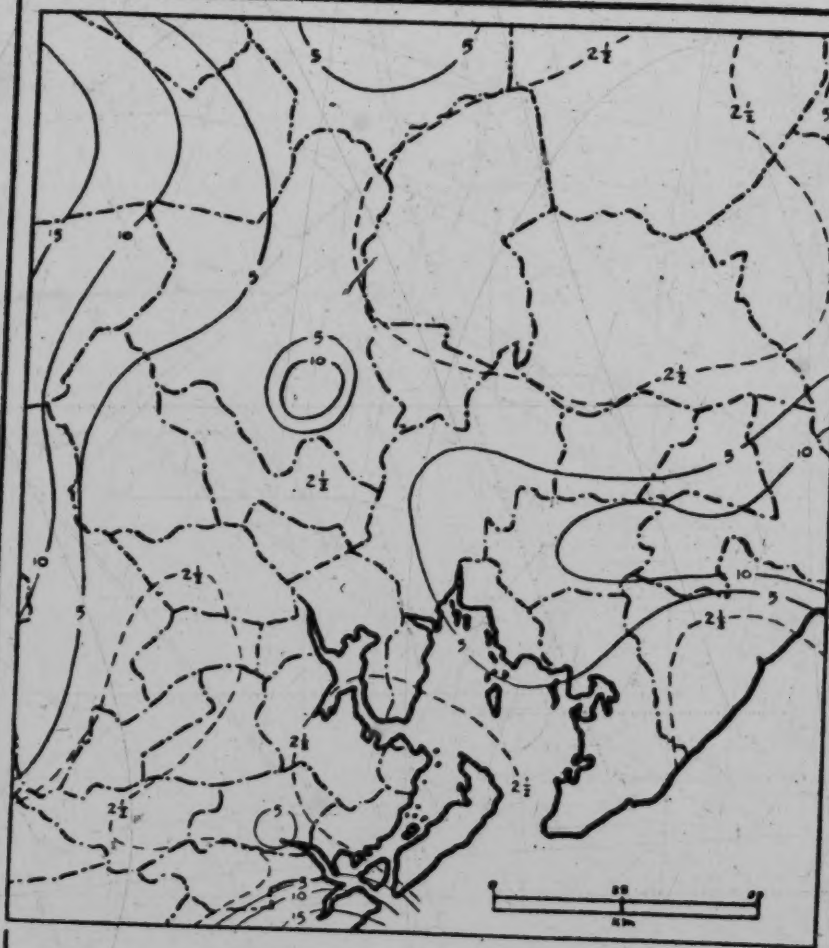

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of All Agricultural Enterprises Which Were

Livestock Enterprises--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 88

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954) 1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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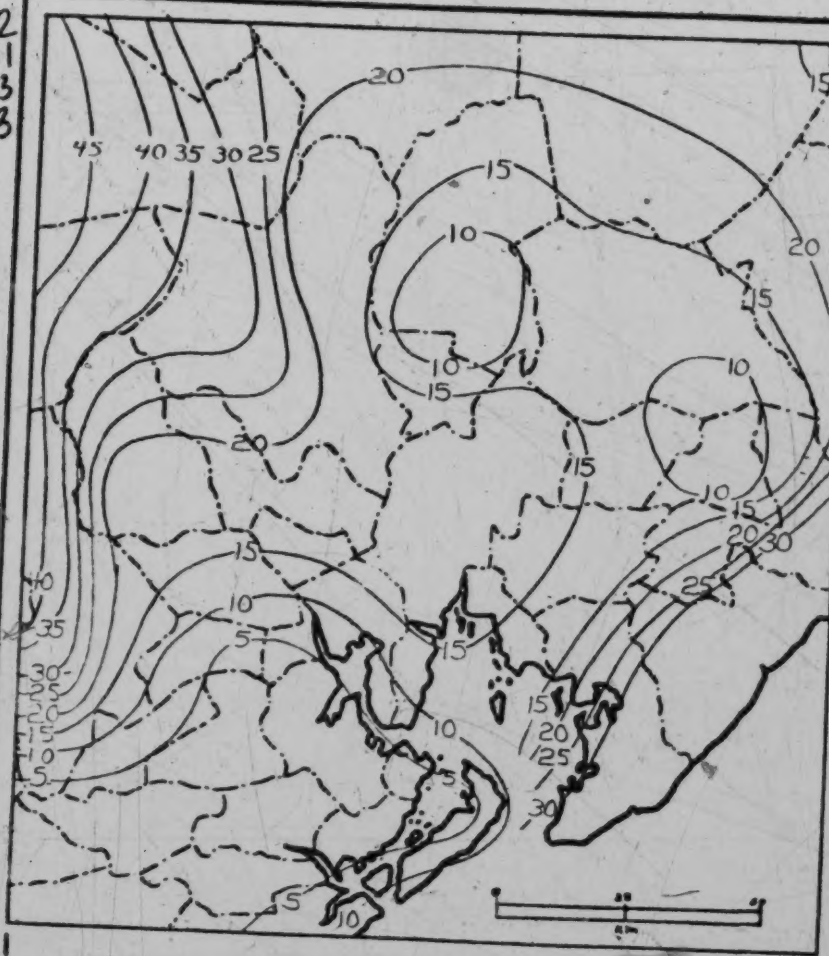

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumerated Area in

Livestock Enterprises—1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 89

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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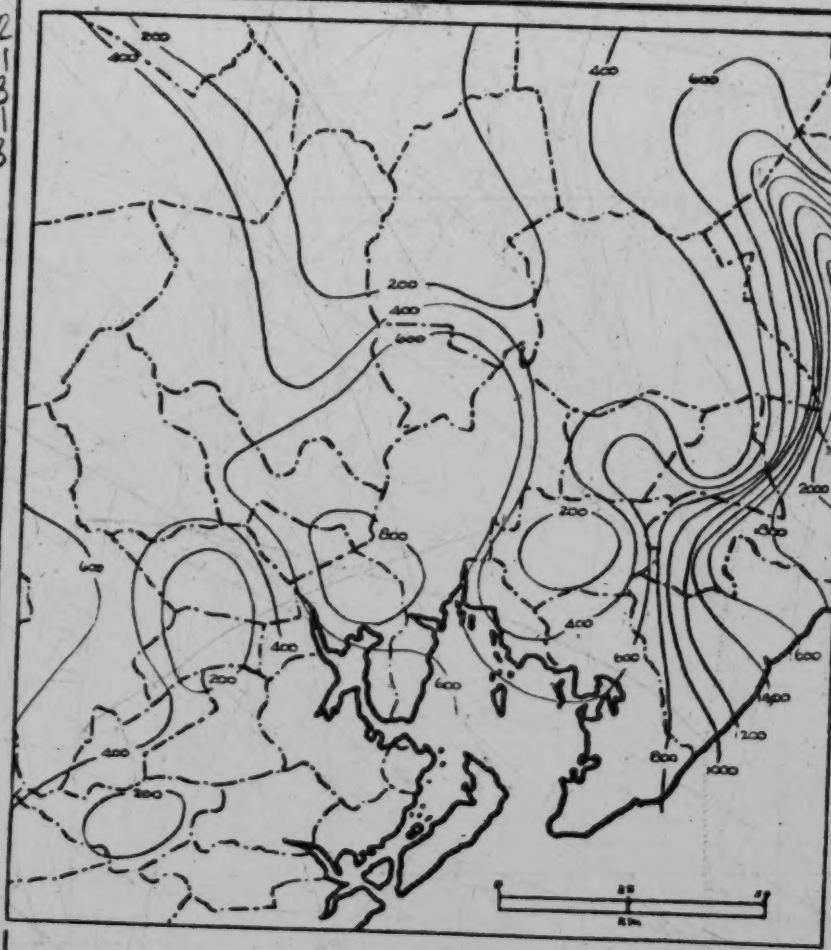

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Mean Size of Large-Scale Livestock Enterprises—1940

In Hectares

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 91

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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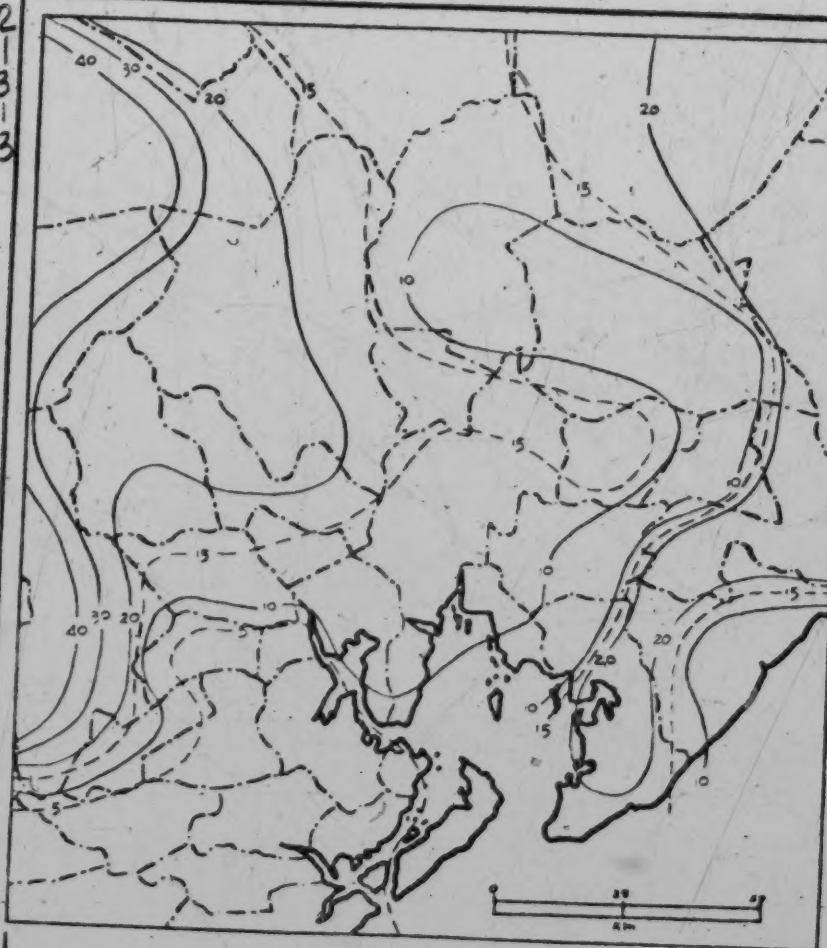

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumerated Area in

Large-Scale Livestock Enterprises—1940

Source of data: Recensamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

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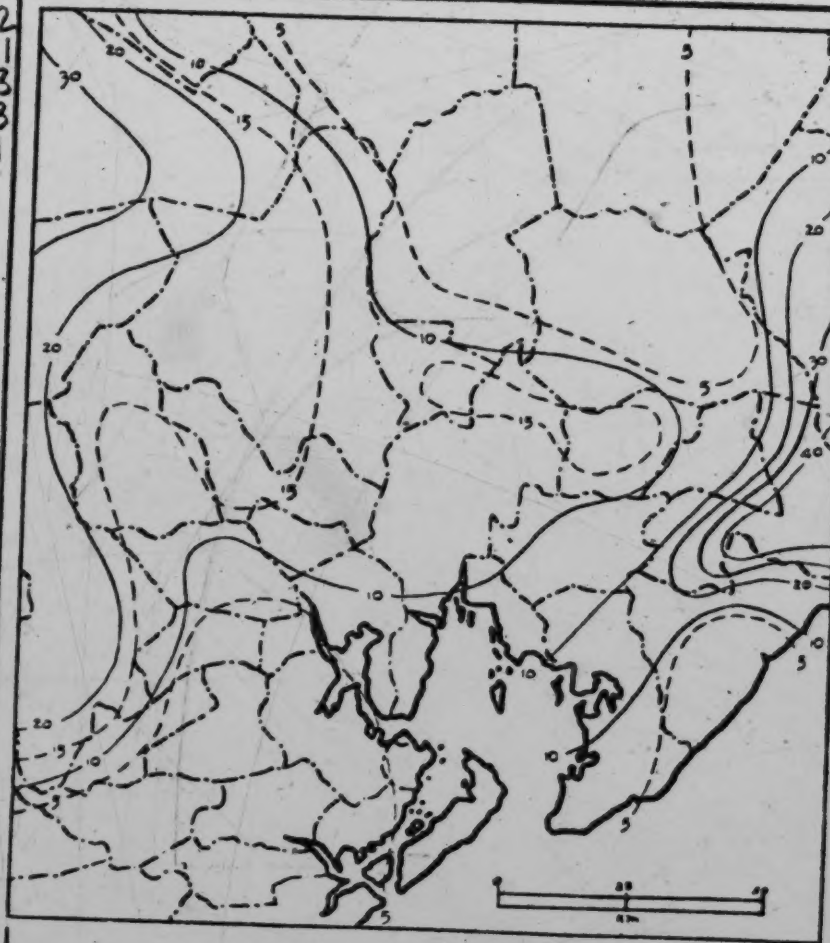

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Land Area in

Large-Scale Livestock Enterprises—1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 93

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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233 and locomotives of the cane area, but, as has been pointed out previously,
433
[313] they have supplementary livestock production.[4]
[249]

Of the 247 large-scale livestock units in the Recôncavo, 65, with
231 a total area of almost 30,000 hectares, were in the município of Feira de
233
311 Santana (Maps 92 and 93). Another 39, with about 16,000 hectares of
433 land, were in the Central Recôncavo. Each of these two areas has a distinctive character: the Central Recôncavo fazendas de gado--cattle ranches--supply oxen and horses, asses, and mules to the sugar economy; the large fazendas of Feira de Santana, with extensive grassy pastures, serve the campo de gado--cattle market--of the cidade and thereby the whole economy of the Recôncavo.

231 Crop Cultivation Units. Almost one-half of all farms in the
241 Recôncavo produced no animals in 1940. In the marginal areas of the
311
184 region, excepting always the southwest, less than one-third of the farms were pure crop cultivation units (Map 94). On the other hand, crop farms were particularly numerous on the southern littoral, where the forests are not salutary to livestock--except swine and fighting cocks. The Northern Recôncavo, where ranching is not an important activity, had a relatively large number of crop cultivation units, as had Salvador and the adjoining coastal município, Camassari.

241 Relative to both the enumerated and the total area, the purely
311 crop cultivation units were very important in Itaparica and Santo Amaro and unimportant around the border zone of the Recôncavo (Maps 95 and 96). On Itaparica and in the sugar cane region, crop cultivation units occupied over one-half the total land area--over 85 per cent on the island of Itaparica. The size of crop cultivation properties in the Recôncavo was generally small, but there were very great local differences
000 (Map 97). The tobacco-manioc region, especially in the Southwestern

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 306]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11 •
Brazil SL1

CHAPTER IX

VALUE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

B BB 241 128

The analysis of the distribution of cropland and of the quantity of production has established the Recôncavo as a distinctive regional unit of Bahia and of Brazil without formulating clearly the importance of the region to the state or the nation. Similarly, the internal differentiation of the region has been discussed in terms of various municípios, sub-regions, and crop regions without establishing the basic importance of these to the Recôncavo except as components of the agricultural landscape or as producers of crops with an unspecified value. Although the value of agricultural production is not exclusively economic, monetary value is one of the most useful general standards for estimating the collective and individual importance of diverse agricultural products.

B BB 128

The tables and discussion which follow have three purposes: (1) the estimation of the importance of the Recôncavo and its individual products to the Brazilian and the Bahian economy; (2) the determination of the importance of individual products within the economy of the region; and (3) the evaluation of the economic importance of the crop regions, previously delimited, to the Recôncavo.

B BB 241 • 433

The total value of the crops of the Recôncavo was less than 1 per cent of the total value of crop production in Brazil in 1948, based upon a comparison of the value of 21 principal crops of Brazil and of the Recôncavo which are given in Table XV. Although for several centuries the region was an outstandingly productive center of the Brazilian economy, today it plays a secondary role even within Bahia. In recent decades the southern coast of the state, growing cacao for foreign markets, has

BB 245 433 439

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 344]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1
South Brazil SM1
East Brazil SN1
Northeast Brazil SO1
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TABLE XV

VALUE OF THE CHIEF COMMERCIAL PRODUCTS OF THE RECÔNCAVO COMPARED WITH OTHER AREAS--1948

Agricultural Products	Value of Production in Cr.$000			
	Recôncavo	Bahia	Other Centers*	Brazil
Crops:				
Leaf Tobacco	86,700	155,041	227,266 - Rio Grande do Sul	615,293
Manioc	70,600	292,373	351,427 - Minas Gerais	2,357,570
Sugar Cane	54,200	148,980	458,254 - Pernambuco	2,425,494
Beans	15,500	123,552	670,274 - Minas Gerais	2,719,235
Oranges	14,800	28,904	191,938 - Rio de Janeiro	567,790
Bananas	9,200	35,503	144,525 - São Paulo	754,380
Corn	8,200	71,623	1,423,153 - Minas Gerais	5,249,030
Coconuts	6,500	46,368	42,135 - Paraiba	225,870
Coffee	3,400	95,958	3,947,704 - São Paulo	6,450,919
Pineapples	1,700	4,130	24,020 - São Paulo	94,404
Peanuts	1,300	1,788	268,287 - São Paulo	292,274
Sweet Potatoes	1,200	19,837	100,732 - Rio Grande do Sul	435,547
Total of 12 Crops	273,300	1,024,057		22,157,306
Total of 21 Principal Crops**	275,000	1,731,164	11,213,444 - São Paulo***	33,082,875
Livestock	60,000			

*In each case the figure which is used for comparison is that of the principal producer of the individual crop in Brazil, except in the case of coconuts, where Bahia is the chief producer and the second most important center has been used.

**These are the 21 principal crops of Brazil which are listed in Produção Agrícola: 1948.

***São Paulo was used in this comparison because the total value of its production of the principal crops exceeds that of any other state.

Source: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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come to be the area of the greatest value of agricultural production in the state--Cr.$1,007,824,000, in 1948, almost three times the value of crop and livestock production in the Recôncavo, Cr.$335,000,000. The total value of livestock production in the Recôncavo is estimated to be about Cr.$60,000,000 for 1948. Although no comparable figure is available for Brazil, probably the Recôncavo had less then 1 per cent of the livestock and thus produced less than 1 per cent of the value of livestock in the nation as a whole.[1]

B BB 231 233 433

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The present inferior position of the Recôncavo is in part a reflection of the relative decline of the region in the nineteenth century discussed in the chapter on the evolution of the Recôncavo. However, the Recôncavo continues to lag behind in the contemporary development of Brazil. From 1944 to 1952 the total cruzeiro value of the principal crops of Brazil increased four-fold, while the value of Bahia's tobacco crop, a good indicator of the economic shifts of the Recôncavo, increased by only one-fifth despite the concurrent inflationary spiral. Even the government-stabilized sugar industry of the Recôncavo produced only three and one-half times its 1944 value. Although the above increases are more indicative of the steadily declining value of Brazilian currency than of true economic development, they are an index of the relative importance of agriculture in the Recôncavo to the national economy.

B BB 241 249 433 458 [65]

BB 249 244 433 311

Tobacco, sugar cane, and manioc, which occupied 70 per cent of the Recôncavo's cropland, accounted for 77 per cent of the total value of all principal crops in 1948 (Table XVI). Each of the three crops contributed at least 20 per cent of the value of all crops, while no other crop produced over 6 per cent of the total. The cruzeiro value of these principal crops, and of livestock, and their relative position within the nation has been given in Table IV, above.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

TABLE XVI

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RELATIVE CROPLAND AND VALUE OF ALL CROPS OF THE RECÔNCAVO WITH A VALUE OF MORE THAN Cr.$1,000,000 IN 1948

Crop	Per cent of the Cropland of the Recôncavo	Per cent of the Value of All Principal Crops of the Recôncavo
Tobacco	27	32
Manioc	28	25
Sugar Cane	15	20
Beans	9	6
Oranges	1	5
Bananas	1	3
Corn	12	3
Coconuts	1	2
Coffee	4	1
Pineapple	<1	<1
Peanuts	<1	<1
Sweet Potatoes	<1	<1

Source: Calculations and estimates based on data from Produção Agrícola: 1948.

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[311]
[435]

The leading position of tobacco results in part from its extensive cultivation, and in part from its relatively high unit value. While the mean value of production of all crops in the Recôncavo was Cr.$3,400 per hectare in 1948, tobacco produced Cr.$3,900 per hectare, as given in Table XVII, which also shows the value of production per hectare of the other principal crops. The leading position of tobacco is at variance with tradition which, as has been seen, assigns the first rank to sugar cane. Not only was tobacco the most valuable crop of the Recôncavo in 1948, but it was also the leading crop in seven municípios of the tobacco-manioc region, where it accounted for a minimum of 40 per cent of the value of all crops. Within four separate municípios of the crop region, it accounted for about 60 per cent of the total value of crops (Map 120). The Southwestern Recôncavo was the chief center of the production of tobacco, as indicated by value as well as by cropland and bulk, for it produced over 63 per cent of the total value of tobacco in the Recôncavo. Within this section, Cruz das Almas was the

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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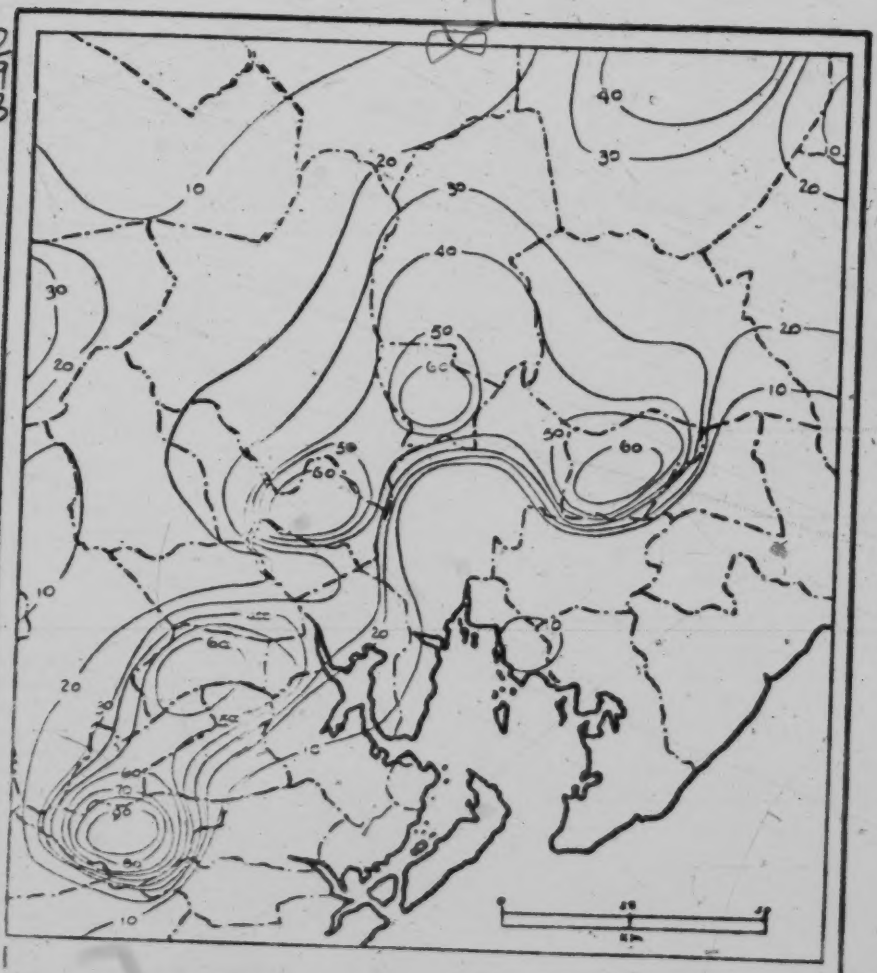

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Value of Crop Production

Contributed by Tobacco--1948

MAP 120

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

TABLE XVII

MEAN VALUE OF PRODUCTION PER HECTARE FOR THE CROPS OF THE RECÔNCAVO IN 1948

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Crops	Value of Production Cr.$1.000 per ha.
Principal Crops*	
Tobacco	3,900
Manioc	3,100
Sugar Cane	4,600
Beans	2,200
Oranges**	13,300
Bananas**	8,600
Corn	800
Coconuts**	7,400
Coffee**	1,400
Pineapple	1,000
Peanuts	2,400
Sweet Potatoes	3,500
All Crops	3,400

*Crops with a value in excess of Cr.$1,000,000.
**There is little consistent relationship between the area and production of these crops, so that local values for these crops often depart widely from the mean.
Source: Calculations and estimations based upon Produção Agrícola: 1948.

249 leading producer--40 per cent of the total value of the tobacco crop.
433 Notwithstanding the dominant role of the Southwestern area, tobacco production north of the Rio Paraguaçu was also significant—contributing 24 per cent of the total value of the crop.

As has been indicated, several grades of tobacco are produced in the Recôncavo. The superiority of the tobacco production of the Southwestern Recôncavo is more than a matter of hectares of cultivation or kilograms of leaf. The area is the core of the "Mata Fina" zone, within which the leaf of Cruz das Almas is assigned the highest price. [439] The "Mata Fina" leaf is the basis of the export of cigar tobacco to European markets. In its concern with cacao, the most valuable export, [245] [439] Bahia tends to forget the important role which tobacco plays in its economy, and with this, so the people of the zone sometimes feel, to

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 433 neglect the critical tobacco producing areas. It seems to be true that
245 439 the chief recipients of political and economic attention have been the
traditionally important sugar cane area, and more recently the cacao
491 zone. The people of the tobacco area complain particularly about the
lack of roads.

244 433 Not only is manioc the basic source of subsistence for the Recôncavo, it is also the second crop in value of production. Its cultivation as has been seen, is closely associated with the production of tobacco, so that the Southwestern Recôncavo, which produced 63 per cent of the tobacco crop, also contributed a very large part--48 per cent--of the total value of manioc (Map 121). However, manioc is important in its own right, as well as in its relationship to tobacco. No data are available to indicate the importance of manioc as a surplus product which is sold beyond the borders of the município in which it is grown. A rough estimate can be made by assuming that the per capita consumption of manioc is 400 kilograms per year--this is the mean consumption for the state of Bahia. Using this figure in conjunction with the population data, it is possible to estimate that in 1948 about 30,000 tons of surplus manioc was produced in the Recôncavo. Ninety per cent of this surplus was produced in the municípios of the Southwestern Recôncavo
489 494 It is significant that many of the trucks passing from the Southwestern Recôncavo to Feira de Santana and Salvador are piled high with bags of farinha de mandioca. The total value of commercial manioc would be about Cr.$6,500,000, so that on this basis manioc is the fourth or fifth most valuable commercial crop of the Recôncavo. Using the above method of determination, it was found that several municípios adjoining the region also produced surpluses of manioc. The most notable of these were the four municípios adjacent to the Southwestern Recôncavo--Nazaré, São Miguel, Santo Antônio, and Castro Alves--which produced a

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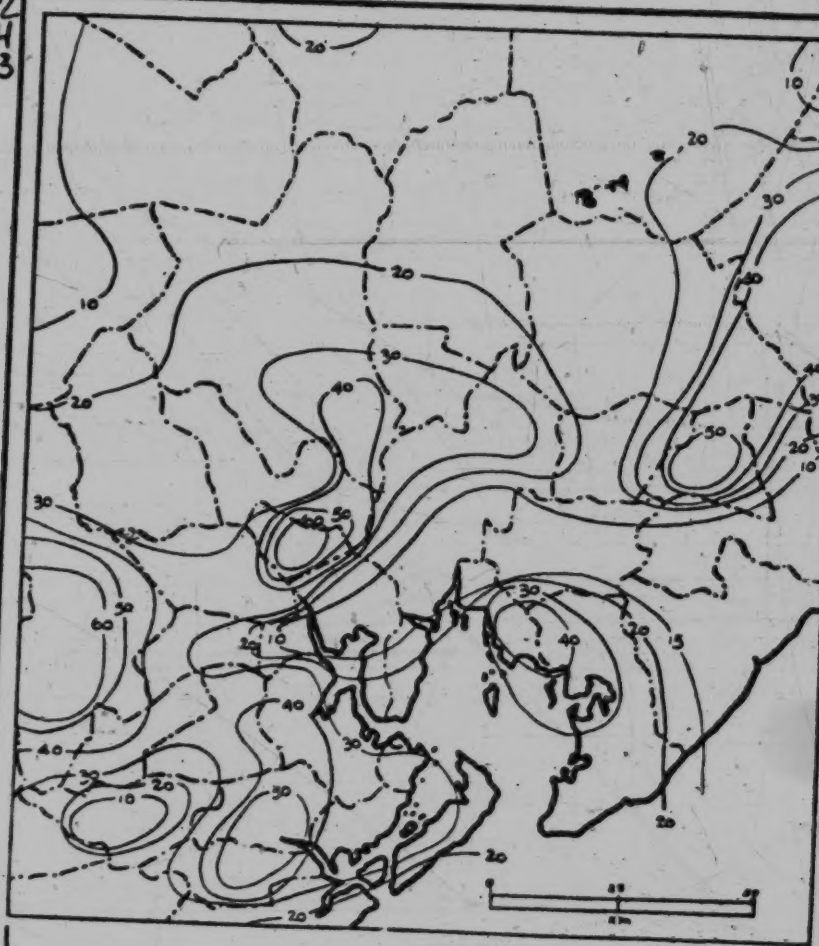

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Value of Crop Production

Contributed by Manioc--1948

MAP 121

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

244 433 [438] 10,000-ton surplus. The surplus manioc of these municípios would appear to be marketed to the manioc-deficit areas of the Recôncavo, particularly [249] the sugar cane area and Salvador. It is significant that those municípios which were the leading producers of tobacco were also the leading producers of commercial manioc (Map 123). Although the exchange and processing of tobacco in these areas is well organized and receives some attention from government bureaus, the growing and processing of manioc remains an unrecognized enterprise.

249 244 433 The importance of the production of tobacco and of commercial manioc to the various municípios of the Southwestern Recôncavo is shown in the following summary:

Município	Per cent of Total Value of Production	
	Tobacco	Manioc
Cruz das Almas	65	23
Conceição de Almeida	57	38
São Filipe	25	32
Muritiba	17	14
São Félix	54	-

One of the advantages of the relative balance of these two products is that in the event of a crop failure of one, the area would still have a salable commercial product. Moreover, since the production of manioc is relatively large, a moderate decrease in its yield would still leave this area with at least a minimum supply of food for its large agricultural population.

249 257 433 [654] Sugar cane is now the third crop in value in the Recôncavo, but it is maintained in that position only by government subsidy. It is a crop which either dominates the region in which it is produced or its cultivation is economically unimportant (Map 124). In part this is the result of the technological requirements of the sugar industry, which demand that large quantities of sugar cane be produced close to the mill so that the cane can be delivered quickly once it is cut. However,

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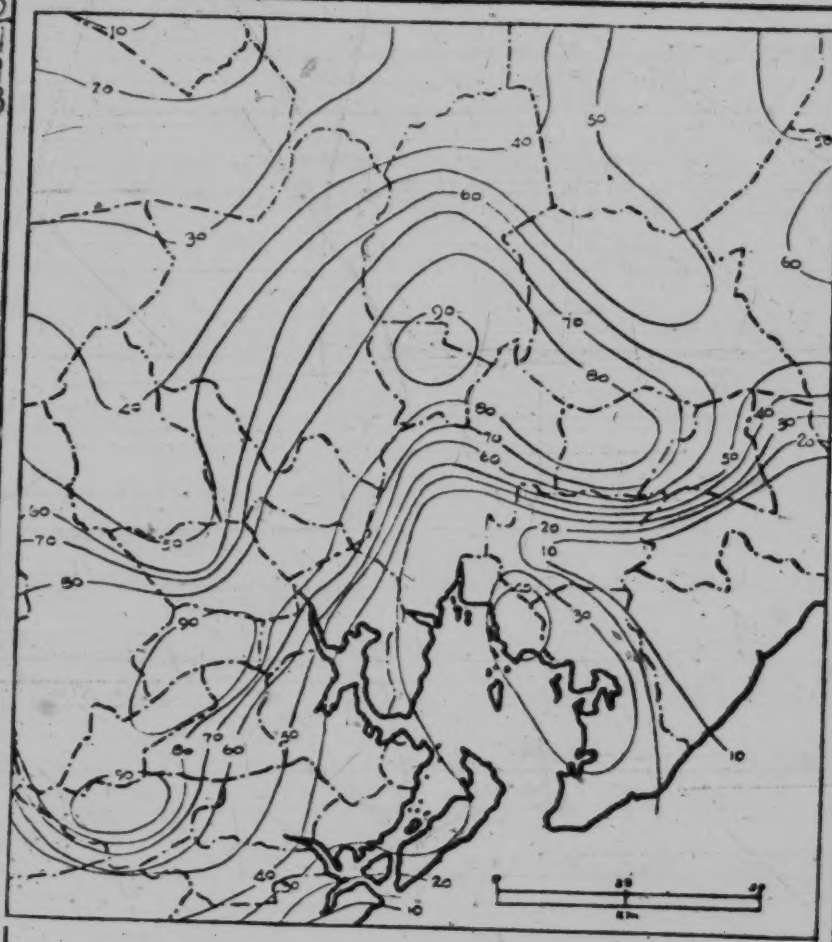

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Value of Crop Production

Contributed by Tobacco and Manioc—1948

MAP 222

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954) 1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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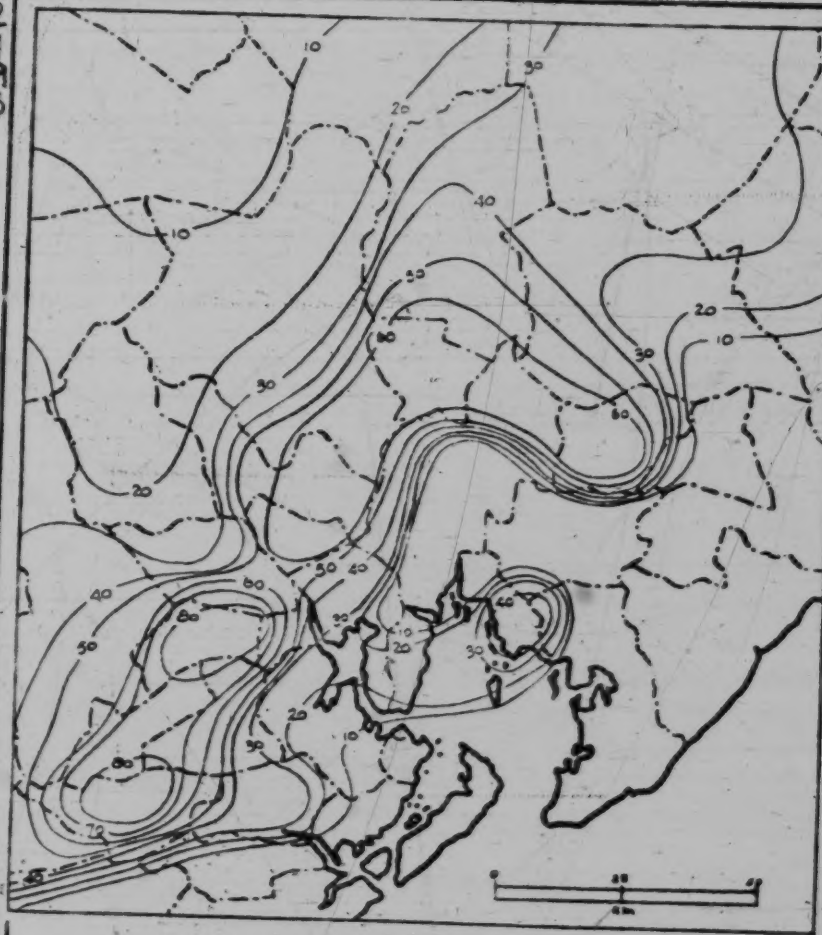

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Value of Crop Production

Contributed by Tobacco and Commercial Manioc—1948

(Estimated)

MAP 123

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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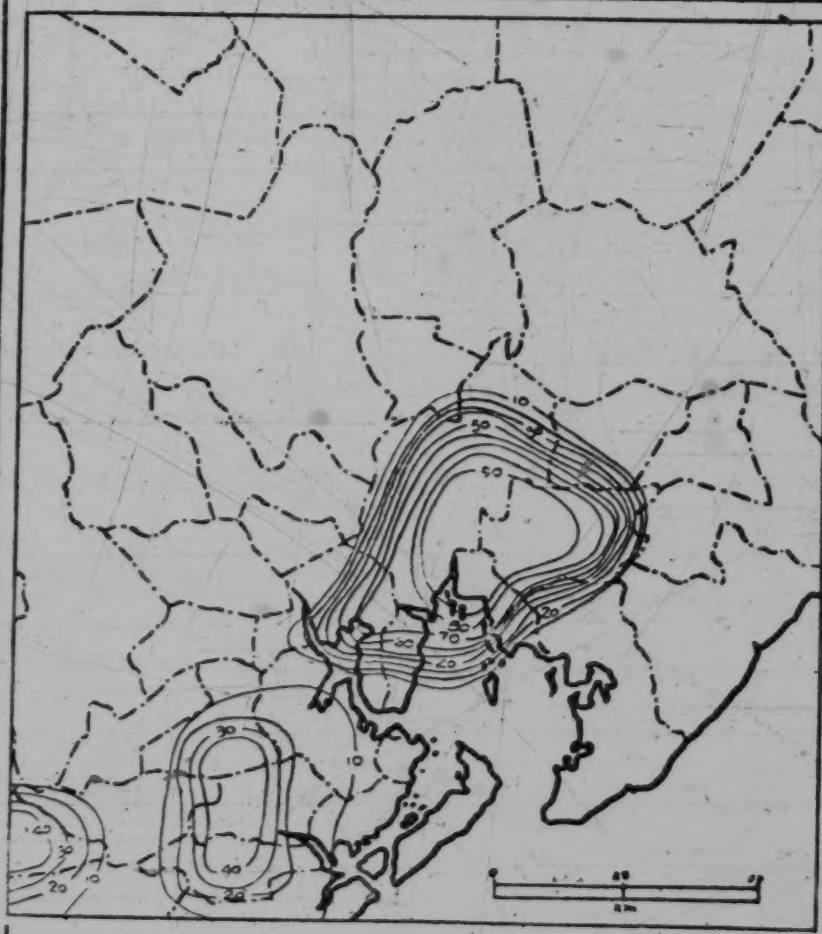

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Value of Crop Production

Contributed by Sugar Cane--1948

MAP 124

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 257 433 the large landholders and agricultural capitalists of Brazil have a strong historical bias toward monocultural systems.

249 433 471 As would be expected, the Central Recôncavo accounted for almost 90 per cent of the total value of sugar cane in the region. Sugar production in this area is dominated by the big usinas, and most of the cane is produced on very large properties, as has been seen.

243 244 433 438 Although corn and beans primarily are subsistence crops, they have, like manioc, some commercial importance (Map 125). The corn and bean areas within the Recôncavo do not produce outstanding surpluses, although these two crops are important commercial products in nearby Serrinha and Conceição do Coite. Most of the corn and beans of the Recôncavo are exchanged for farinha de mandioca, which provides the cultivator with a cheaper food.

244 245 433 438 The remaining crops of the region are of minor commercial importance, or are more valuable commercial crops of highly localized production. Bananas, peanuts, and sweet potatoes are minor commercial crops of diffuse production, since most of their cultivation is for subsistence purposes. Oranges, cocomut, coffee, and pineapple are important but secondary commercial products whose production is concentrated in a few restricted areas (see, for example, Map 126 of cocomut production).

249 344 245 433 438 The importance of the principal commercial crops--tobacco, sugar cane, coffee, cocomut, oranges, pineapple, a few minor crops, and commercial manioc--varies widely from município to município (Map 127). However, two areas--the Central Recôncavo and the Southwestern Recôncavo--had highly commercial economies in which over 90 per cent of the total value of production was in commercial crops. In the tobacco-manioc area north of the Rio Paraguaçu, only one-half to three-quarters of

000 the total value of production was in commercial crops. Except in the

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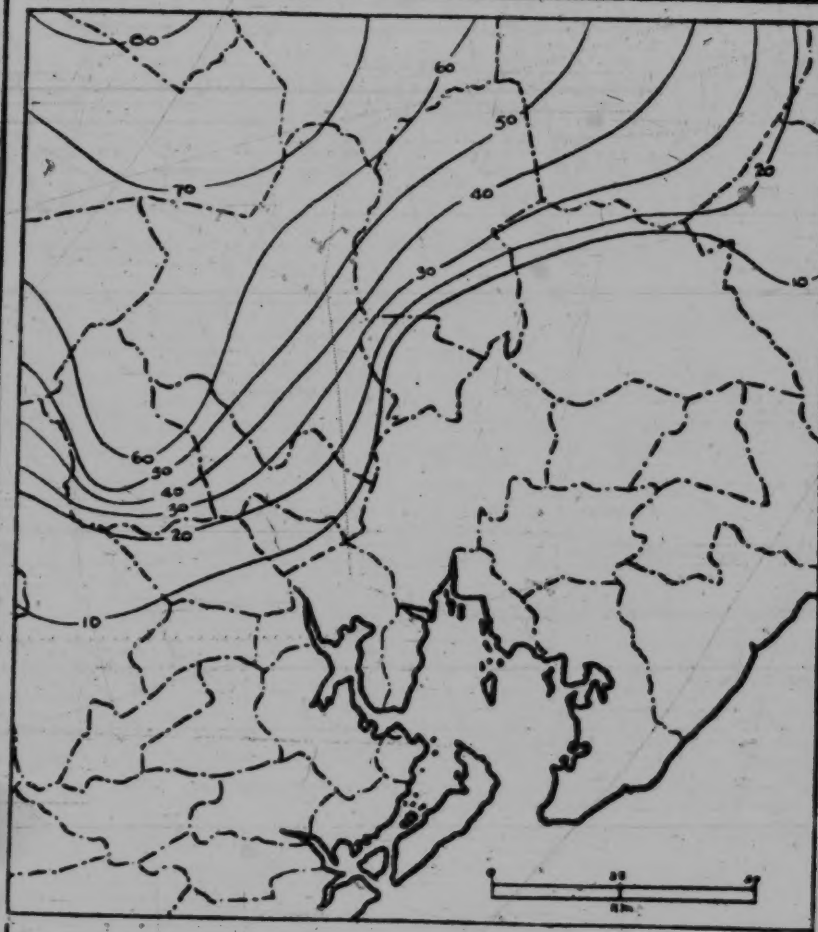

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Value of Crop Production

Contributed by Corn and Beans--1948

MAP 125

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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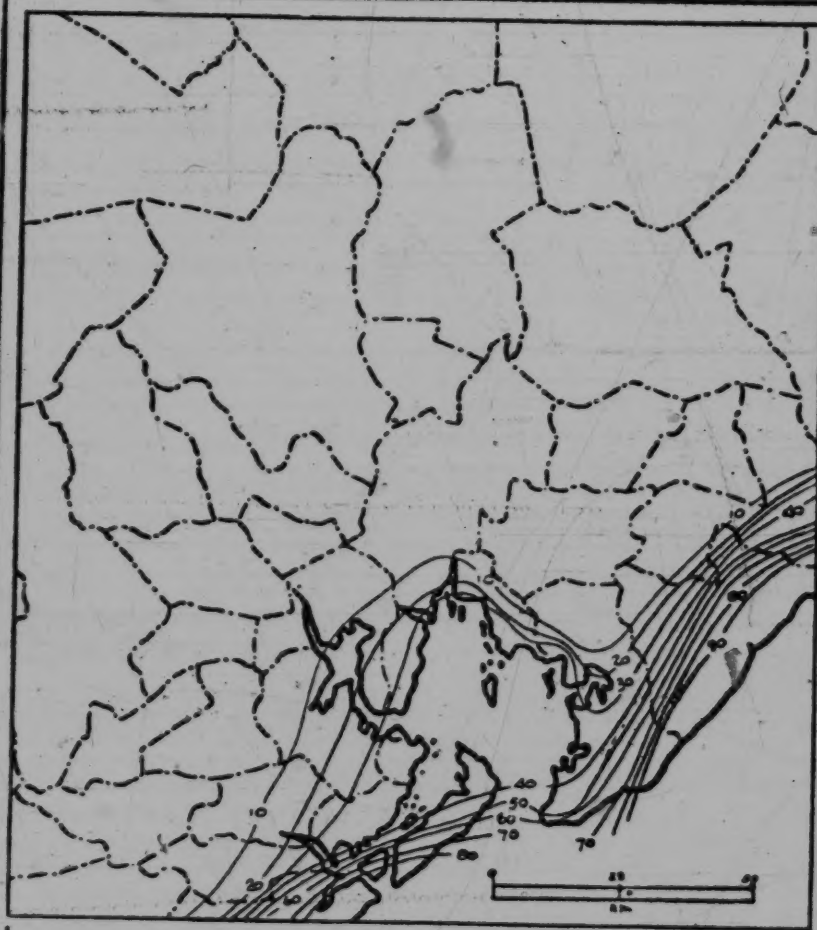

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Value of Crop Production

Contributed by Coconuts--1948

MAP.126

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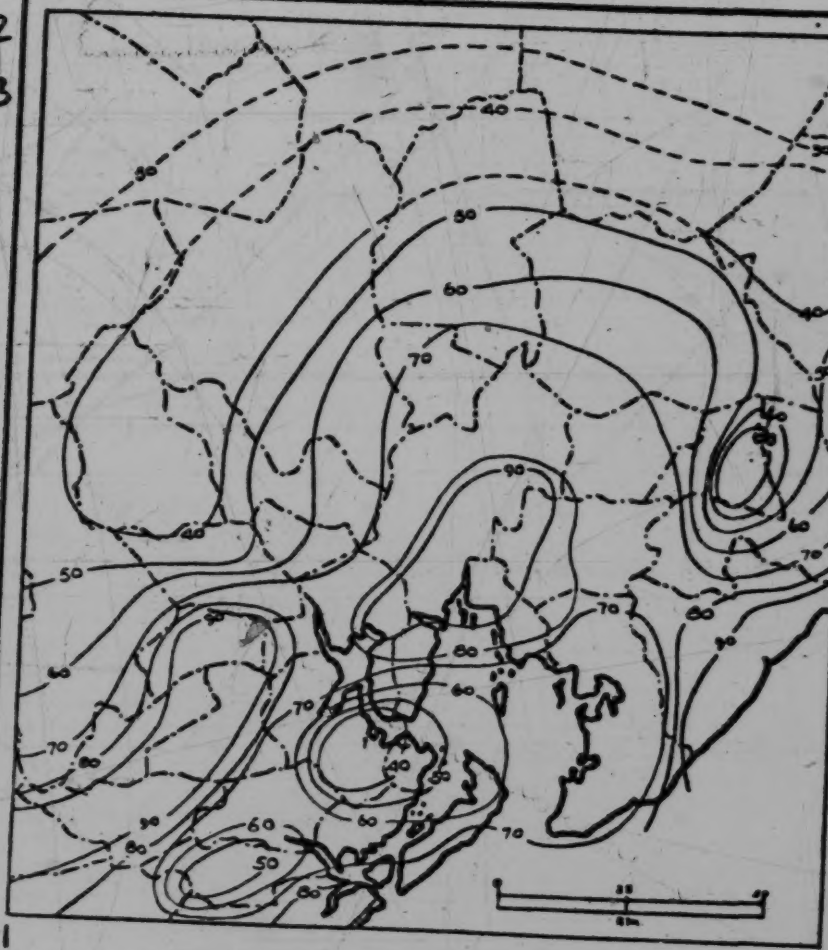
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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

Except in the
241 southwest and around Salvador, commercial crops produced only 40 per
433 cent of the total value of all crops. It is apparent that agriculture in the Recôncavo is by no means universally commercial. Moreover, in all parts of the Recôncavo except the sugar cane area, there are small agriculturalists who produce few commercial crops and are thus virtually subsistence cultivators.

241 The estimated value of livestock production was less than that of
231 crops in all areas of the Recôncavo except Feira de Santana, and except
233 in Feira de Santana and Alagoinhas, less than half the value of crops
433 (Map 128). In the chief commercial crop areas--Central and Southwestern Recôncavo--livestock production had about 10 per cent of the value of crops. These areas, on the evidence of value as well as land use and quantity of production, have highly commercial crop economies. Only Feira de Santana can be said to have a livestock economy, and in this area livestock production is concentrated around the cidade, and the rest of the município has a predominately crop-producing economy.

128 The table which follows (Table XVIII) summarizes the distribution
241 of the value of crops and animals in the principal regions and zones
231 of production. These areas accounted for 82 per cent of the total
233 value of agricultural production in the Recôncavo in 1948. The data
433 of this table give further evidence of the tremendous economic importance of the tobacco-manioc and sugar cane regions to the Recôncavo.

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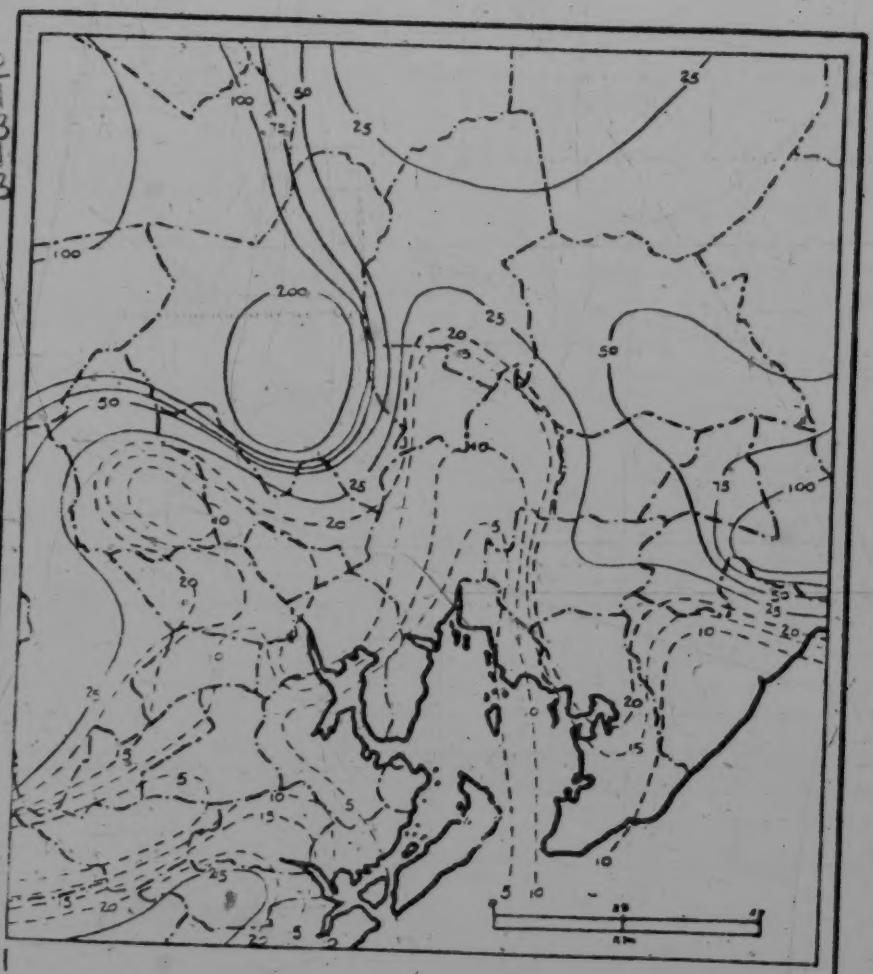

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Value of Livestock Production as a Per cent of

the Value of Crop Production--1948

MAP 128

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

TABLE XVIII

241

VALUE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION OF THE PRINCIPAL CROP REGIONS AND OTHER AREAS OF THE RECÔNCAVO—1948

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	Value of Production	
Sugar Cane Region (Sugar Cane & Animals)		
Main Area North of Bay		
Santo Amaro	Cr.$35,200.00	
Western São Sebastião	12,700.00	
Western São Francisco	4,700.00	
Total	52,600.00	
Cachoeira	1,500.00	
Southern São Filipe (no animals)	3,600.00	
Total—Sugar Cane Region		Cr.$57,700.00
Tobacco-Manioc Region (All Crops & Animals)		
In Southwestern Recôncavo		
Conceição do Almeida	26,400.00	
Cruz das Almas	57,700.00	
Eastern Muritiba	14,900.00	
Northern São Filipe	11,000.00	
São Félix	5,700.00	
Northern Maragogipe	3,300.00	
Total	119,000.00	
In Other Sub-Regions of Recôncavo		
Conceição da Feira	4,900.00	
São Gonçalo	11,400.00	
Feira de Santana	6,100.00	
Irará	9,300.00	
Coração de Maria	4,900.00	
Santo Amaro	17,900.00	
Catu	3,600.00	
Total	58,100.00	
Total—Tobacco-Manioc Region		177,100.00
Feira de Santana Livestock Area		16,000.00
Bay Margin and Suburban Areas		
Itaparica	6,900.00	
Salvador	8,900.00	
Maragogipe	1,000.00	
Santo Amaro	2,000.00	
São Francisco	4,200.00	
Total		23,000.00
Total		Cr.$273,800.00

Source: Calculations and estimates based upon Produção Agricola: 1948.

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249 in meeting his contract with the agent. The result of this and other
442
438 speculative practices is that the price of tobacco tends to spiral upwards
452 throughout the season.
455

The crop is delivered to the buyer in small lots--10 to 15 kilo-
249 grams--which are assembled, graded, and baled. The bales are taken to
276
438 the warehouse of the agent where they are added to other bales to form
442 a large pile in which fermentation can take place. After fermentation the bales are broken, and the leaf is re-sorted. With the better grades the sorting is done very carefully, and a large number of size and texture grades are separated. Intermediate grades are sorted less carefully, often by bundles rather than by individual leaves. The poorest grades are stripped without grading. After sorting or stripping, the leaf is again placed in bales and kept in the warehouse until transport can be arranged to deliver the tobacco to Salvador or to the cigar factories.

249
433 Most of the tobacco produced in the Recôncavo is exported. In the
439 years 1946 to 1950, inclusive, 166,676 tons of leaf tobacco were produced in Bahia and 128,567 tons were exported, so that about 75 per cent of the total crop of the state was exported.[2] However, the exported leaf is made up of the choice tobaccos, that is "Mata Fina," which are largely grown in the Recôncavo. It may be concluded from this that at least four-fifths of the tobacco crop of the Recôncavo was exported during this years. Tobacco exported from the Recôncavo normally composes 70 per cent of all the tobacco exported from Brazil. In value, the tobacco exported from the Recôncavo was less than 1 per cent of the total exports of all products from Brazil.[3]

482
492 Transportation. The backs of men and of animals are the basic
489 transportation media in the Recôncavo: almost all goods begin and end

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492 as a ton of cane through the rain-softened clay. It is pulled, depend-
493 ing upon the load and the condition of the route, by four, six, or eight oxen. It has no brakes, although occasionally a long pole is used as a drag. The cart and the team are managed by two people, a man who rides the cart, goads the wheel oxen, and shouts directions, and a boy who runs in front and turns the lead oxen with a long slender pole. As has been seen, a very large number of oxen are maintained on the sugar cane plantations and the accessory ranches of the area. Donkeys
492 are used in the cane area for lesser tasks, such as carrying seed cane, tools, and subsistence products; both horses and mules are used for riding--usually the plantation foremen ride the patient, slow-moving mules, while the owners and administrators ride the small, agile horses which come from the sertão. In most other parts of the Recôncavo, in the littoral forest and in the dry caatinga, the donkey and mule are the universal beasts of burden.

491 One município of the Recôncavo--Coração de Maria--has no motor
[492] roads, and is thus served only by pack animals. The cidades of all the other municípios are on highways of some sort, but usually only a single road passes directly across the município. The back-country
487 of the municípios, which in this sense includes about nine-tenths of the total area, is criss-crossed with a network of trails. Some of these are wide enough for an ox cart, or in very good weather, for a jeep to pass through. Many others are only narrow paths winding through the second growth and passing between cultivated fields.

489 Land transportation between the various parts of the Recôncavo
• 433
438 has less direct agricultural importance than in the United States, since so much of the agricultural produce is consumed within the município
439 in which it is grown. Those agricultural products, such as tobacco
497
494 or sugar, which are destined for non-local or external markets are

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 373]

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505 abuse by the sea and by man. While some of these boats are used for
[226] fishing in the Bay and in the ocean, their most important function
undoubtedly is bringing food from the areas around the Bay to the city
of Salvador. On the return trip, they carry building materials,
[249] manufactured articles, and passengers. The usinas of the coastal
[257] sections of the sugar cane area use these vessels to transport cane
to the mill and to deliver the products of the mill to Salvador. Several of the cities on the Bay are very much dependent upon this means of transport, especially São Francisco and Maragogipe, which for all practical purposes have no road connections.

Motor boats serve to connect Salvador and the island of Itaparica. All of the tidewater cidades of the Bay and, in addition, São Roque do Paraguaçu and Mazaré are connected with the city of Salvador by scheduled motor vessels which carry many passengers and small quantities of freight. These vessels ascend and descend the estuaries with the tide. The head of navigation on the Rio Paraguaçu is Cachoeira, and on the Rio Sergi is at a landing on the outskirts of Santo Amaro.

489 These various transport media provide for the movement of people
241 and goods across the Recôncavo. They are generally able to meet the
433 immediate demands of the agricultural economy without excessive delays. The available media of transport are used to the fullest extent; busses, trains, and motor vessels are always crowded, and the trucks are always busy. However, the poor roads, the archaic railroads, the taxes on the movement of goods, and the high cost of vehicles clearly set a limit to the expansion or the intensification of the agricultural system. The rationalization of agriculture in the Recôncavo would require considerable expansion and improvement of the system of transportation.

249 which it is hauled by railroad or boat to the mill, although sometimes
497 the cane which is carried by boat is weighed at the mill. The rail-
505 roads which handle the cane, as has been indicated, are owned and
496 operated by the usinas, except that the government right-of-way is
471 used whenever these tracks pass close to the plantations. One of the
249 usinas is new and a few of the older mills have some new equipment, but the general level of technology is considerably below that of Pernambuco or São Paulo and the mills are somewhat smaller. The usinas grind the cane, extract the juices, and refine the sugar by means of vacuum pans and centrifuges. The more modern usinas produce a high quality sugar, but in general the product is coarse and not a pure white.
274 The by-products of the large usinas and part or all of the cane juice
385 of some of the usinas and engenhos is converted into rum or commercial
262 alcohol. The sugar, rum, and alcohol from the sugar industry of the
273 Recôncavo are consumed primarily within the Recôncavo and the adjoining
438 regions of Bahia. About one-tenth of the production of sugar is
439 exported, chiefly to Rio de Janeiro. The commercial alcohol usually
382 is mixed with gasoline in the bulk plants in Salvador to provide fuel
385 for automotive transport. By law a specified amount of commercial
654 alcohol must be mixed with gasoline--this is designed to subsidize the sugar industry.

249 There are twenty usinas in the Recôncavo, and these produced
471 an estimated 80 per cent of the total sugar of the state of Bahia in
433 1948. The three largest of these are owned by a single sugar company, which also owns the associated plantations, transportation equipment, and cattle fazendas. This company plays an important role in the
249 marketing of sugar from its own usinas and from other companies. The
471 concentration of the cultivation of sugar cane and of the production
178 of sugar in the hands of this single enterprise is a symptom of the

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CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSION

128 In the preceding chapters the results of a statistical appraisal and a field investigation of agriculture in the Recôncavo have been presented. As a conclusion it seems appropriate to: (1) summarize the findings; and (2) discuss the potentialities of the Recôncavo for agricultural development

433 241 Like most of the densely-settled east coast of Brazil, the Recôncavo is engaged primarily in the production of crops. This is true not only of the region as a whole, but also of each of its individual parts excepting only the area around the cattle market town of Feira de Santana. The total cultivated area of the region, about 6.4 per cent 241 311 of the land surface, was almost evenly divided in 1948 between purely commercial crops--tobacco, sugar cane, coffee, oranges, and coconuts--and subsistence-commercial crops--manioc, corn, beans, bananas, peanuts, and sweet potatoes. About 70 per cent of the cropland was used for the three predominant crops--manioc, tobacco, and sugar cane. Livestock production is associated with crop cultivation in many parts of the 231 233 241 Recôncavo, but the region is also dependent upon the sertão of Bahia for livestock, which are driven into Feira de Santana and are used in several different areas within the region.

249 244 433 The three principal crops as determined by cultivated area--tobacco, manioc, and sugar cane--accounted for 77 per cent of the total value of crops in 1948, and no other crop accounted for more than [231] [233] 6 per cent of the total value. Thus agriculture in the Recôncavo is primarily concerned with these three crops and with the production

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of livestock, which had a value greater than sugar cane but less than manioc.

Agricultural activities within the Recôncavo are localized in several distinct sub-regions, each with a specialized system of cultivation and each with either one or two principal crops. The primary agricultural subdivisions of the region are: (1) the sugar cane monocultural sub-region; and (2) the tobacco-manioc sub-region.

249 Sugar cane is grown as the exclusive crop in its major area of production--the pocket of coastal plain north of the Baía de Todos os Santos. Cane is generally cultivated under a four-year monoculture and one-year fallow system on large properties employing large quantities of hand labor and using oxen to draw plows and carts. Neither fertilizer [407] nor agricultural machinery is used to any appreciable extent. Most of [492] the animals used as labor in the production of sugar cane are brought [231] [233] into the area from the sertão, and little livestock breeding is found in this area. The processing of sugar cane is in the hands of a small [471] [178] number of medium-sized usinas. The companies which own these usinas are gradually buying up the plantations so that to an increasing extent the mills directly control the production of sugar cane. Most of the [497] [489] [505] [438] [439] cane is brought to the usinas by railroad, although sailing boats are used for this purpose along tidewater. Most of the sugar produced in the Recôncavo is consumed within the state of Bahia, but small quantities are shipped to other parts of Brazil. Both the aristocratic upper class [565] [471] [472] and the rising non-aristocratic business interests of the Recôncavo are involved in the ownership and administration of the sugar industry. The [464] [178] permanent labor force is supplied from the settlements of the sugar cane plantations and the mills, but the rural population and the labor force of the sugar area are declining. Seasonal labor for the harvest comes from the interior sertão of Bahia.

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249 31 [134] Commercial sugar cane cultivation is confined to the humid Coastal Plain areas with Cretaceous clay soils, except for a small area in São Filipe. Since the areas of Cretaceous clay soils are limited and compact, sugar cane production is highly localized in two areas: (1) the main sugar cane area in the municípios of Santo Amaro, São Francisco, and São Sebastião; and (2) a smaller area north of the Bacia do Iguape in the município of Cachoeira. There is a third area of less intensive production in southern São Filipe.

249 244 [433] The sole purpose of cultivation in the sugar cane area is the production of a commercial product, but the areas of tobacco-manioc cultivation produce both a staple food and a commodity for sale outside the region. Most of the tobacco and manioc of the Recôncavo are produced under a land rotation system in which the sequence is: (1) tobacco; (2) manioc; and (3) fallow in wild vegetation. The tobacco is planted in small fields, usually after an application of manure. The entire plant is harvested repeatedly until it will no longer produce a salable leaf. Manioc is planted following tobacco, sometimes several times, until the field is exhausted and abandoned to the second growth. The fallow period is frequently short, sometimes as little as one year. Cultivation is entirely by hand--no plows are used. There is very little selection of seed, and only one variety of tobacco--Bahia Brasil--is [423] [427] produced. Tobacco and manioc are produced almost exclusively by small cultivators who are either owners or renters. Frequently livestock [231] [233] are raised upon the properties of the cultivators, but except for the use of manure in the cultivation of tobacco, there is little integration of crop and livestock production. The leaf is harvested, dried, 276 and partially fermented by the cultivator. The marketing of tobacco 276 438 is inseparable from the credit arrangement between the cultivator and [452] [488] the tobacco buyer or agent. The leaf is delivered by the producer to the storekeeper-buyer or the local tobacco warehouse.

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000 the storekeeper-buyer or the local tobacco warehouse. The roots of the
258 manioc are processed locally, in casas de farinha, and the farinha de
438 mandioca is sold in the local market or to storekeepers in the nearby village or town.

249 The sub-region of tobacco and manioc production occupies the
244 humid eastern and southern edges of the Uplands. The chief center of
311 production, the Southwestern Recôncavo, occupies a zone of deep, sandy
134 and sandy loam soils lying in flat-surfaced uplands above crystalline rocks. The northern parts of the tobacco-manioc sub-region occupy the rough, dissected southern edge of the sandy Tertiary taboleiros--in this northern area the production of both crops is less intensive than in the Southwestern Recôncavo. The area of primary tobacco and manioc production generally conforms to the forest and scrub forest transition and is expanding southwestward beyond the traditional Recôncavo along this
[433] physical boundary zone. The intensity of production is also increasing,
[178] but with violent year to year fluctuations.

241 In addition to sugar cane, tobacco and manioc, other subsistence
433 and commercial products are grown in the Recôncavo. The most important of these are corn and beans, grown as commercial and subsistence crops in the north and west of the region, and coconuts, which are produced along the beach line. Bananas, sweet potatoes, and peanuts are grown in most parts of the Recôncavo, but on a small scale.

241 There are several areas in which there is little or no cultiva-
311 tion. The rougher Intermediate Hills, which are forested, separate the
137 sugar cane sub-region from the tobacco-manioc sub-region. The lowland areas of Tertiary and crystalline soils are also forested and are cultivated under a non-intensive land rotation system with some associated
241 livestock. The Recôncavo is distinguished from the surrounding areas by its relatively greater mean intensity of cultivation. In the

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128 241 (2) tobacco production; (3) manioc production; (4) the land rotation system; and (5) alternative agricultural products.

249 471 For three centuries the sugar industry was the basis of the commercial economy of the Recôncavo, and for the last century it has continued to play an important role. As a result of its long and profitable history, it has a number of advantages as a basis for agricultural development. Its capital assets are large--the best land in the region, a number of industrial plants, and a transportation network. Moreover, its [565] land is organized into large units, many of which are under the control of a single company, and all of which are under the control of a small group of the upper class. The industry has a large administrative staff, the most experienced in the region in large-scale enterprises--the organization of agricultural and industrial production, labor, transportation, and finance. It has the very great advantage of good political connections and government support. A part of the industry, [242] composed chiefly of the largest usinas, has had some experience with improved varieties of cane, and on a very limited scale with mechanization.

249 471 433 Against these advantages are a number of limiting factors. Most of the local capital of the sugar industry apparently is committed in the present plant. The sugar economy of the Recôncavo is large scale only in relation to the other agricultural enterprises of the region--the mean daily capacity of the mills can scarcely exceed 500 ton. Moreover, many of the mills are obsolescent--there is only one new usina, and only the larger mills have very much new equipment. Despite [464] the presumed administrative skill of the industry, labor has been one [178] of the continuing problems since the deterioration of the old feudalistic [466] employer-employee relationships of the late nineteenth century. However,

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249 471 433 these individual shortcomings of the industry are less important than, and to a certain extent derived from, three basic problems of the sugar economy: land, market, and leadership.

249 [311] Most of the area of Cretaceous soil in the lowlands of the Recôncavo presently is occupied by sugar cane or by the fallow fields. Only those lands which are too wet or which are needed for settlement, mills, or transportation are not used for cultivation. Thus there seems to be little opportunity to increase the area of good sugar cane land. It would presumably be possible to reduce the fallow period by lengthening the period of ratoon harvests or to abandon the fallow period altogether. If, as seems likely, these changes would reduce the yield of cane, then it would be necessary to begin to use expensive imported fertilizers in order not to lose the advantages gained by increasing the intensiveness of cultivation. [242] The introduction of high-yielding Javanese varieties of cane has already been attempted, but because of climatic conditions, soil deficiencies, poor cultivation practices, or a combination of these factors, yields remain below East Indian levels. [134] It is theoretically possible that sugar cane cultivation could be extended to the other soils of the lowland--the Tertiary sandy soils and the crystalline soils of the peninsula and of the Intermediate Hills west of the Bay. Both of these soils, however, are relatively infertile, and the sandy soils are particularly unsuited for cane because of their poor retention of water. Sugar cane cultivation is not practical on the Uplands on account of the low precipitation--cane can be grown in only a few damp valleys of the Uplands.

175 249 439 The second great disadvantage of the sugar cane industry of the Recôncavo is in its market relationship. The history of the sugar cane economy of the region may be summarized as follows. At the end of the sixteenth century the forty <u>engenhos</u> of the Recôncavo exported 1,800 tons

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249 industry than the aristocrats, as the partial rationalization of the
565 sugar system since 1900 testifies. However, the entry of even these
178 relatively progressive and forward-looking business men into an indus-
571 try whose only future is that guaranteed by the protection of the government does not reveal a willingness either to accept short-term risks or to make an investment in the long-term future of the Recôncavo.

175 Tobacco, as has been seen, began its history as an auxiliary of
277 the sugar cane economy. The development of the commercial tobacco
433 economy since 1800 indicates a greater flexibility than is characteristic
439 [567] of the sugar industry. When the decline of the slave trade brought an end to the African market for fumo em corda, the tobacco economy turned
277 to a new product, fumo em fôlha, and to a new market, Europe. Unlike
439 the sugar of the Recôncavo, Bahian tobacco has been able to compete successfully in the European market against leaf imported from Cuba and from Sumatra. Moreover, the leaf tobacco of Bahia dominates the internal market of Brazil to a degree not equaled by the local sugar industry for several centuries.

277 There are several possible explanations for the relatively
472 greater flexibility of the tobacco economy. Several of the more promi-
249 nent firms in the manufacturing of cigars and in the export of tobacco
178 have foreign origins or are owned by people of European background. Indirectly these firms may have affected the operation of the tobacco economy, but it is difficult to find any signs of significant changes in the methods of cultivation. On the other hand, the tobacco industry and trade seem to have been spared the unimaginative and inflexible leadership which the aristocratic upper class of the Recôncavo has given to the sugar industry.

249 Tobacco cultivation by its very nature is more flexible than
[457] the system of sugar production. Instead of the usina, which must be

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249 purchased in Europe at the expense of precious foreign exchange, tobacco
[457] can be processed for the trade with only a shed and a few crude presses.
[489] Rather than a relatively expensive rail net to assemble the crop, tobacco can be carried by truck, small boat, or even by pack animal. More-
[433] over, since the cultivation of tobacco is integrated with the production of food and is primarily an activity of small farmers, it is possible to adjust the size of the crop from year to year with a minimum sacrifice of capital investment.

277 The tobacco industry of the Recôncavo has a number of disadvantages as a base for commercial development which may be summarized as problems of: (1) land; (2) markets; and (3) system of production.
249 Leaf tobacco production in the Recôncavo and in the adjoining areas of
311 Bahia is confined to a narrow belt between the humid edges of the Up-
[134] lands and the dry interior of the state. An expansion toward the coast would bring tobacco first into the Intermediate Hills where the upland soils which are preferred for tobacco cultivation are of limited area and then into the humid lowlands in which the Cretaceous soils are unsuitable, apparently, for the cultivation of quality leaf tobacco.
[132] and in which the Tertiary soils are extremely infertile. An expansion westward would bring tobacco into an area where the precipitation in
[134] most years is inadequate. The interior north of the tobacco area is dry and has very poor soils, the Tertiary upland soils. There is an
[137] opportunity for the further expansion of the cultivation of tobacco toward the southwest along the forest and scrub forest boundary into a region which produces the same general type of tobacco as the Southwestern Recôncavo--the "Mata" grade. This apparently is the meaning of the increased tobacco production in Santo Antônio. It should be possible, at least as far as the soils and climate are concerned, to continue the expansion toward the southwest into the adjoining

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APPENDIX D

Changes in Crop Data

241 433 127 128 [659] The crop data in Produção Agrícola: 1948 were gathered by statistical agencies of the Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística established in each cidade of Bahia and of most other states in Brazil. The quality of statistical data assembled is highly variable, depending in part upon the efficiency of the agent but also upon the size of the município and upon whether the products are easily assessable, or are marketed locally, and a number of other factors. In a number of cases it has been necessary to modify obviously erroneous parts of the official data, which were sometimes contradictory and sometimes at variance with the agricultural pattern as determined by field investigation. This usually has been done by interpolating from other more creditable data from the same basic source or from other sources. In the following pages the important changes which have been made in the data for various crops will be discussed, and maps based upon the original data will be presented.

When the data for area, production, and value were combined to determine yield and price, and these relationships were mapped, certain obvious errors and a number of clues to the direction and extent of error were discernible because the general outline of price and yield pattern in the Recôncavo was clear. Generally one of the three base figures--area, production, or value--was accepted as valid and the others adjusted to bring yield and/or price into line. Because of an almost complete lack of property surveys, the crop area data are at best a gross estimate and liable to great error. On the other hand, [443] [659] the location of the statistical bureau in the cidades, usually the primary market, does give opportunity to make reasonably close estimates of value and production, at least of marketed crops.

241 of value and production, at least of marketed crops. The choice between
433 value or production as a base figure for correction was dependent upon
127 the individual case and the generally expected pattern of price and
128 yield.

244 Manioc. The basic shortcomings of the manioc data were clearly
433 revealed when area and production figures were combined to show yield.
127 While the mean calculated yield for the Recôncavo was 16.3 tons per
128 hectare, the mean calculated yield for individual municípios varied from 5.3 tons per hectare for Salvador to 39.0 tons per hectare for São Filipe (Map 130). Certain variations, related to precipitation, soil, and intensity and care of cultivation, are to be expected, but the yield maps revealed incredible contrasts. Especially noteworthy was the case of São Filipe, with its yield of 39 tons per hectare. Adjoining Cruz das Almas and Conceição do Almeida, with similar and if anything more efficient practices of cultivation and with similar soils and climate—especially since most manioc in São Filipe is grown in the area adjoining Cruz das Almas and Conceição do Almeida—produced only 14 and 10 tons per hectare, respectively. It was apparent that at least one element in the São Filipe data was in error. The other municípios with exceptionally high yields--São Francisco, with 34.5 tons per hectare, and Santo Amaro, with 25.3 tons per hectare--probably can be explained by high productivity when manioc is grown on a small and intensive scale on the more fertile clay soils.

In São Filipe the yield calculated from official data was three
[435] to four times that of the surrounding municípios. Moreover, the unit value per ton was Cr.$60, compared with Cr.$150 to Cr.$200 for adjacent areas. The conclusion that the production figure was an error was re-enforced through a comparison of the density of production in

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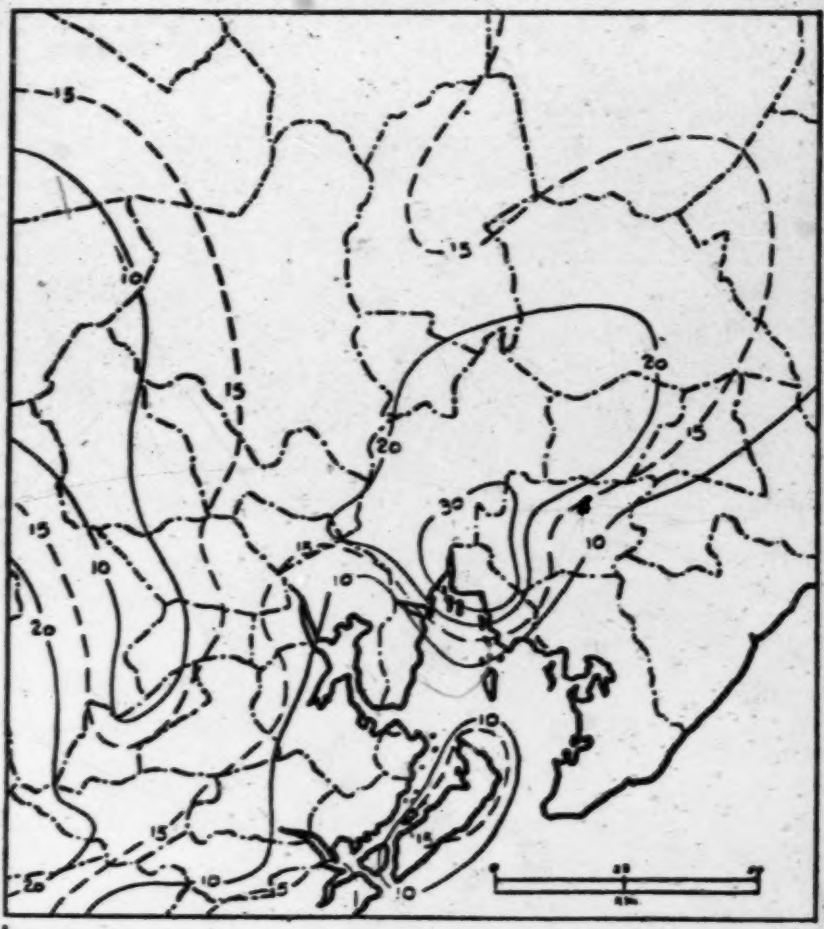

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Yield of Manioc--1948

(Based upon un-corrected official data)

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 130

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

244 São Filipe, 230 tons per square kilometer, with the 162 tons per square
• 433 kilometer of Conceição do Almeida, a more notable producer.
127
128 It was assumed that the unit value in São Filipe was the mean of the prices of Maragogipe and Conceição do Almeida—São Filipe is midway between these municípios in terms of location, transport, and external market relationship—and that:

$$\text{Production} = \frac{\text{Value}}{\text{Unit Value}} = \frac{4{,}290{,}000}{\frac{170 + 190}{2}} = 27{,}333 \text{ tons}$$

This figure is close to 28,000 tons, and it was inferred that the original figure had been transposed to 82,000 tons. Yield was then derived:

$$\frac{28{,}000 \text{ tons}}{2{,}100 \text{ hectares}} = 13.3 \text{ tons per hectare}$$

compared with 13.9 tons per hectare for Cruz das Almas and 11,1 tons per hectare for São Félix, nearby areas with similar conditions. Perhaps this yield is slightly high, but it is in the possible range of variation, and is an acceptable approximation.

[435] There was a second problem in Irará. The unit value of manioc here was Cr.$90 per ton, compared to Cr.$300 in nearby Coração de Maria, Cr.$240 in Feira de Santana, and Cr.$320 in Santo Amaro. Moreover, the density of production was very high, 26.45 tons per square kilometer total area, compared to 10.72 tons per square kilometer for Coração de Maria, especially since so much of northern Irará is not densely settled. When Cr.$200 per ton was postulated as the unit value of manioc, the production derived was 10,500 tons. Yield calculated by using this figure and the original area data would be 4.38 tons per hectare, which is unreasonably small. The yield calculated from the original data—14.6 tons per hectare--seemed approximately correct, and using these yield figures, with the derived production value of 10,500 tons, area was calculated as 719 hectares. The new area figure

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244 gave 0.54 tons per square kilometer total area, which corresponded to
433 0.59 tons per square kilometer for Coração de Maria.
127
128 In São Sebastião, the low unit value of manioc—Cr.$80 per ton—
[435] indicated possible error. The reasonable intensity of production suggested that the total value data were in error. The mean unit value of the four surrounding municípios--Cr.$240 per ton--was accepted for São Sebastião and was used to calculate a revised total value of Cr.$168,000.

Minor errors were apparent in the data for certain other municípios. For example, the yields of Maragogipe, Cachoeira, and Salvador were extremely low. Adjustments could have been made, but the relatively small manioc area and production in these municípios indicated that the resulting alterations would not markedly change the general area or production pattern. Maps 130, 131, 132, 133, and 134 show the patterns of manioc cultivation, production, and yield as taken from unmodified official data in Produção Agrícola: 1948. The corresponding maps based upon modified data (Maps 22, 23, 24, 25, and 27) are presented in Chapter V.

243 Corn. Calculations from the original data gave Maragogipe a
433 yield of .40 tons of corn per hectare, less than one-half the yield
127 of neighboring municípios. This was excessively low, and it seemed
128 preferable to use the figure of 1.24 tons per hectare, the mean of adjacent São Filipe and Cachoeira. These municípios, though not similar to the whole of Maragogipe, resemble very much the adjoining areas where cultivation is concentrated. The production figure for Maragogipe was accepted as reasonable, since when combined with value it produced a credible unit value. Thus the area was reduced from 15 hectares to 5 hectares, raising the yield to a more acceptable level. However, these changes do not modify the gross pattern extensively and therefore the maps in Chapter 7 were based upon the original data.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 415]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

*102
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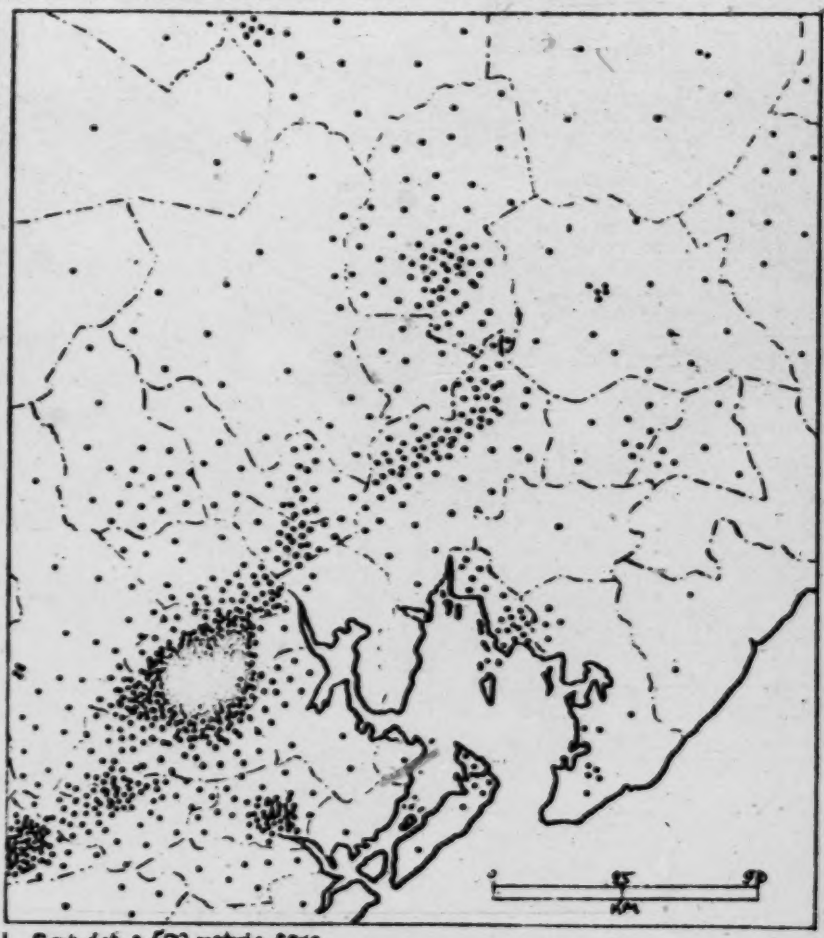

Each dot = 500 metric tons

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Manioc--1948

(Based upon un-corrected official data)

Source of data: Producão Agricola: 1948.

MAP 133

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

*102
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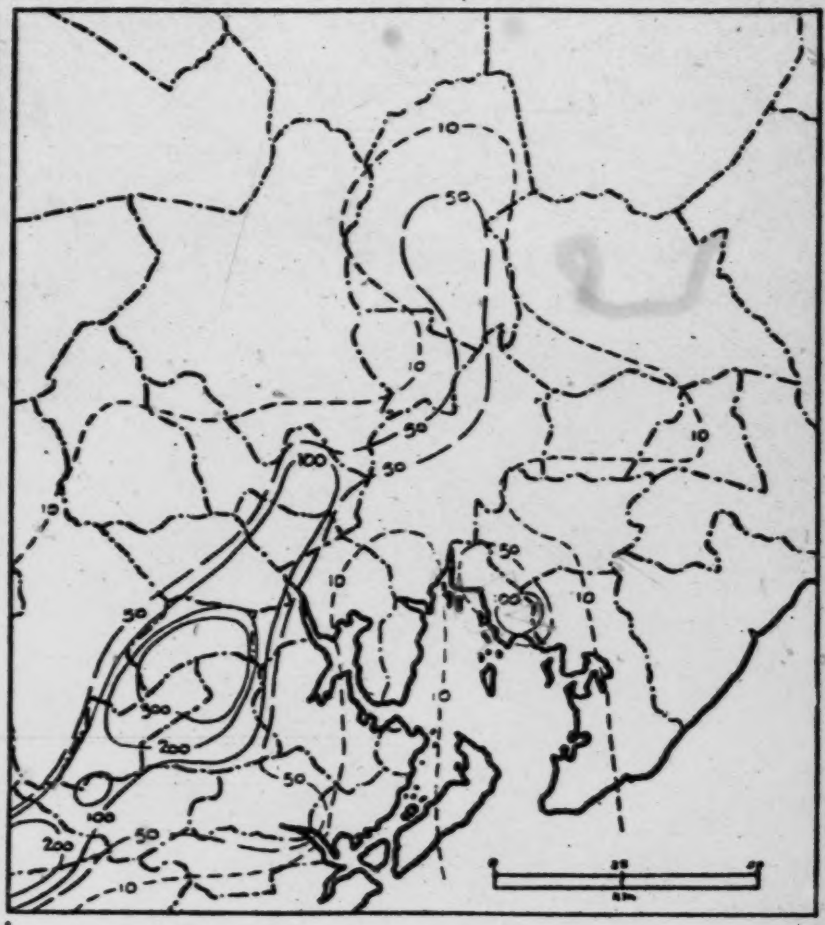

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Tons of Manioc per Square Kilometer of Total Area—1948

(Based upon un-corrected official data)

Source of data: Produção Agrícola 1948.

MAP 134

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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Area data for corn should be used with reservation, especially
243 for the northern and western municípios. In the drier areas it is the
244 custom to plant corn and beans together in the same field, generally
127 in the same row, and the area could have been counted, in its entirety, twice (once for each crop). Yield calculations for corn and beans suggest that this has not been done; however, the vagaries of climate and cultivation in these dry zones produce such variations in mean yield from year to year and place to place that it was impossible to secure a clearcut verification. Conversations with personnel of the compiling agency failed to clarify the situation.

245
433
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Bananas. The maps of banana area, based upon the official data, reveal a definite gap in Cruz das Almas and northern São Filipe (Map 135). However, this area lies in the middle of a belt of relatively dense production. Field experience in this immediate area indicated that bananas were at least as important in these two areas as in adjacent Conceição do Almeida. The official data show only 7 hectares and 3,000 bunches of bananas in Santo Antônio, but the large numbers of banana plants which were observed would tend to discredit these figures. Since in the Recôncavo the area planted in bananas does not usually have a consistent relationship to the number of plants and thus to production, yields are not a trustworthy guide to the estimation of
245 production. On the map of banana production in the text (Map 52) the
433 official data have been modified to allow Cruz das Almas 190,000
127 bunches in place of the 29,000 in the official data; São Filipe,
128 70,000 in place of the official 20,000; and Santo Antônio, 86,000 in place of the official 3,000. These changes were made by arbitrarily increasing the production data to give these areas the same density of production as similar areas in adjacent municípios. Since, as has

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 417]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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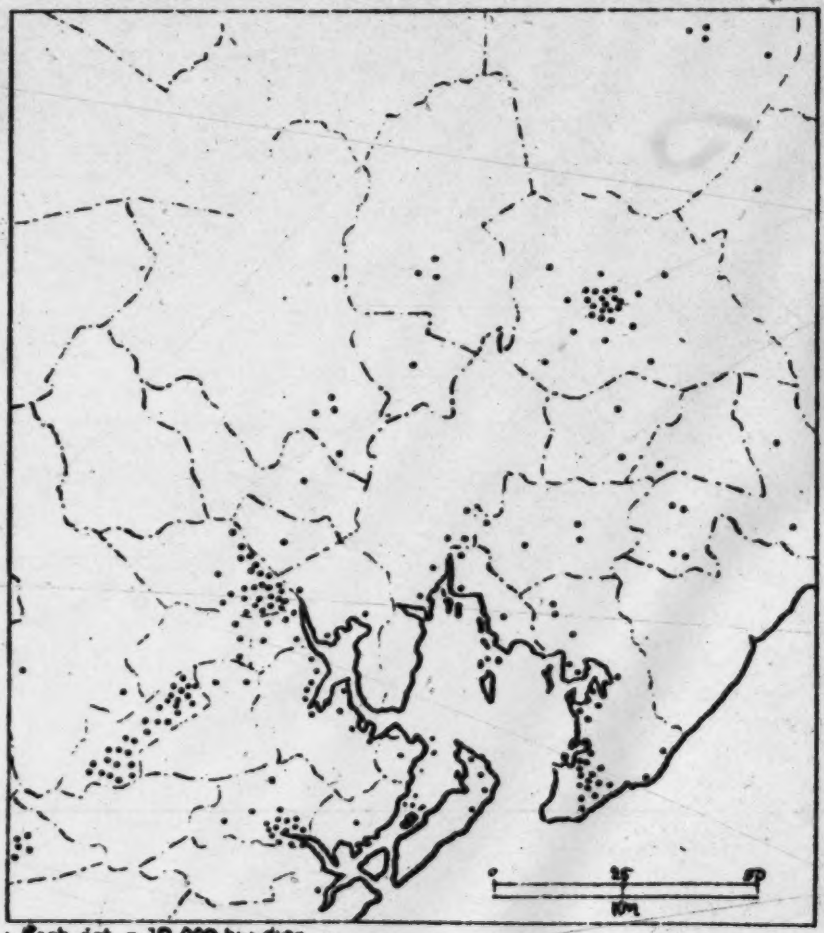

Each dot = 10,000 bunches

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Bananas--1948

(Based upon un-corrected official data)

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 135

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

245 433 127 128 been indicated, banana area and production do not have a consistent relationship, no attempt has been made to alter the map of cultivated area for bananas.

249 433 127 Tobacco. Although there is a large range in tobacco yields within the Recôncavo as calculated from the official data, only those for São Filipe seem completely unacceptable. If the area of this município were at the high level--3,600 hectares--indicated and the given production data are correct, then its yield was an infinitesimal 190 kilograms per hectare. The official production data are, in approximate terms, confirmed by other sources.[1] However, the area indicated by the official data is much higher than either the data 249 433 127 128 of Marques or field experience would indicate. Estimates from the mean of surrounding municípios, from the mean yield calculated from Marques, and from the area given by Marques adjusted to the 1948 level of production, give the following figures, respectively: 675 hectares, 692 hectares, and 700 hectares. The median of these figures--692 hectares--was selected and used in preparing Maps 28, 29, and 33 in Chapter V.

[113] [1]Antonio Monanto Marques, op. cit., pp. 1-85; and Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, Contribuição do Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, pp. 1-16.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

APPENDIX G

Procedure Used in Estimating Value of Animals Produced in the Recôncavo in 1948

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The 1948 data on livestock[1] gave the total number of animals for each município but did not show the number slaughtered nor the value of animal production. An estimate of the latter figure was made for 1948 in order to compare the value of crop and livestock production for that year. The method of estimation was as follows.

It was assumed that the change in the cattle population between these years was the best available index of the change in the value of animal production, since cattle are the most common and most valuable major animal. The index of change thus derived was used to raise or lower the 1940 value of animal production of each município, as given in the Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II, to a 1948 level, but still in terms of 1940 currency. This latter figure was increased by 350 per cent to conform to the declining value of the cruzeiro. For example:

Alagoinhas: $\frac{\text{1948 cattle}}{\text{1940 cattle}} = \frac{26,060}{13,090} = 2$ (approx.)

1940 value of production = Cr.$825,000

Cr.$ 825,000 x 2 = Cr.$1,650,000

Cr.$1,650,000 x 3.5 = Cr.$5,775.000.

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[1] Ministério da Agricultura, Serviço de Estatística da Produção, "Pobulação Pecuária, Em 31/12/1948."

438 Centro, situated on the banks of a navigable river which
175 empties into the Bay in front of the town of Vila Recôncavo,
was in a good position to serve the entire back region of the
361 Recôncavo. As a county it now comprises 1,180 square kilo-
(634) meters. As a port, Centro served two purposes in the early
[131] eighteenth century. A great deal of produce and many persons
passed through it, including the families of sugar-cane grow-
(504) ers from other regions of the Recôncavo; and it also served
as a "gateway to the West" at a time when western Bahia and
Minas Gerais were being opened and the gold and diamond
rushes were in progress. Centro was the end of navigable
(487) waters and the beginning of one of the overland routes lead-
ing to the uplands of the sertão and the mining areas of the
(634) west. As Centro grew, Vila Recôncavo stagnated. In 1833
Centro was made judicial center (cabeça de comarca) of the
district and Vila Recôncavo became part of this judicial dis-
trict, thereby losing its prominence as the center of juris-
diction for the interior zone of the Recôncavo. Commercially,
Vila Recôncavo was soon overshadowed by Centro. In 1802,
Vilhena wrote:

> . . . In Centro there is a great deal of commerce, because of the amount of sugar, tobacco, and the number of distilleries and of Mineiros [miners and people from the state of Minas Gerais] who arrive there. Continuing along the bank of the river one finds Vila Recôncavo, which in spite of enough sugar passing through it, always had a weak commerce, and the town is known among all the others as the town of the least traffic.[8]

He says later:

175 In spite of its antiquity, Vila Recôncavo has few in-
361 habitants, and most of them poor, although through-
438 out the termo there are many good families of noble
people, rich through the products of their large engen-
•433 hos, from which they take much and excellent sugar,
the only commerce of that town; in it also there is fish-
ing for a little sardinelike fish called xangó and a large
quantity of good and large shrimp, which is the main

8. Ibid., Letter I, p. 32 (author's translation).

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilian SO11
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occupation of the poor people, who sell them after drying in the city of Salvador. . . .[9]

In 1837 Centro officially became a city, and for another hundred years it was the major commercial point of the sugar-Recôncavo. Gradually, however, it fell into the same pattern of decline which continues today in so much of the Recôncavo. In the 1900's a railroad was constructed from Salvador to Feira de Santana; it passed well back of Vila Recôncavo, missing it so far as to be of no aid whatsoever. Although it passed through Centro, the terminal point, Feira, became more important commercially to the state and became the new gateway to the north, west, and south of the state and of the nation. Although Centro is now a large town with a population of some ten thousand people and a weekly market which attracts people from the countryside and the neighboring towns, this is not enough to sustain it. Its port is now comparatively little used for the export of sugar, which in most cases goes directly to Salvador by train from the factories.

The immediate cause for the decay of the town of Vila Recôncavo, and to a great extent that of Centro and of so many other older towns, was the loss of functions after the period of frontier growth. Those towns which had been religious centers lost this function. Military posts were no longer needed, and administrative activities became more restricted as the counties were cut down in size and as the state and federal governments took over more functions, such as schools and health programs. Railroads and trucks have lately reduced the importance of the port towns. The rural towns no longer interest the wealthy rural aristocracy who always dominated and supported them. More rapid transportation has made it possible for this class to move about from plantation or factory to the town or the city and back in one day instead of three, thus removing the need for a town house in which to spend the night. Better transportation has also made it possible for the other classes to go to Salvador easily for shopping, medical purposes, festivals, and visiting. Thus Salvador, because of its nearness and the relative ease of transportation, has taken on many of the functions of the rural

9. Ibid., Letter XIII, p. 501 (author's translation).

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slaves and equipment. Thus began a long series of mortgages which continued for several centuries. The commercial agents in the city, for the most part representatives of Portuguese companies, loaned money to the plantation owners, using the next crop as collateral. They also charged high interest rates. When the next crop did not materialize, nor the next, the plantation owners found themselves inextricably in debt. At the same time the sugar market in Portugal was lost because the sugar was arriving there in a spoiled condition due to poor transportation, a cargo at times taking two years to arrive at its destination. Furthermore, the prices of most necessities were rising, and, in addition, Portugal began to tax the colonists heavily. 175 249* 426 458

In the early 1700's there was a more prosperous phase, due to higher prices for sugar in Europe. Many plantations were reconstructed, enlarged, and modified, and new ones were built. As a result many people went into debt again. During the eighteenth century two major factors turned against the prosperity of the sugar-cane growers: competition in the European market with the French, Spanish, and British, who were now producing sugar on their Caribbean islands; and the discovery of gold in the western part of Brazil. Sugar could be shipped to Europe more rapidly from the Caribbean than from Brazil. It was subject to less spoilage, and there was also probably less governmental interference. As soon as the European market was flooded with sugar, the price fell. 175 249* 458 [426]

The discovery of gold in Minas Gerais further dislocated the sugar industry of the Recôncavo at the time when it could least afford it. The prices of slaves, metals, cloth, cattle, horses, and all the necessities of life increased. Many of the freemen who worked in the plantations in administrative capacities were enticed away to the mines by the promise of great wealth. The need for slaves at the mines was great, and traders who sold slaves preferred to sell them to the miners, who could pay cash, rather than to the plantation owners, who frequently paid in sugar. During this time there was also a serious shortage of foodstuffs, for many of the smaller farmers who normally raised food crops emigrated to Minas Gerais. 175 249* 433 458

The agriculturalists--those who planted tobacco as well as those who planted sugar--were still being pressed by high taxes. There are many letters and documents from the governing bodies of the colony, addressed to the Portuguese king, telling him of the deplorable situation in which sugar planters 175 249* 458 648 651

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175
*249 found themselves, with no food, their slaves dying, the price
458 of sugar falling, the markets lost, and, especially, overbur-
648 dening taxes. Most of the documents which remain are pessi-
651 mistic ones, for during the times of prosperity little was writ-
ten. At any rate, late in the eighteenth century some measures were taken to lighten the burden of taxation and to provide better means of transportation to Europe than the irregular system of fleets which were frequently spaced two and three years apart. As a result, many plantation owners took heart and applied themselves again to the raising of sugar cane. They were further aided by an increasing market in Europe, which finally became almost entirely theirs at the turn of the century, as a result of the European wars.

175
*249 By the end of the Napoleonic wars sugar production was at
458 its best, and Bahia was once again experiencing a pleasurable
669 prosperity. However, 1822 brought the War of Independence,
[731] much of it fought in the Recôncavo. The war was supported to a great extent by the plantation masters, both financially and physically. Although they gained a great deal of prestige, they lost two harvests, and their exports fell off greatly. It took them some time to recuperate, and in 1855 they suffered another violent blow, an epidemic of cholera.

175
*249 An indication of the difficulties caused by the epidemic is
458 given in the following passage, translated from a document in
731 the inventory of the Baron of Caju made upon the death of his wife, a victim of cholera:

> The family was in a good state of animation and prosperity in 1855, when the fatal epidemic of cholera morbus wasted this Province, invading the home of the Inventoried and causing him horrible damages and enormous losses! The Baroness fell victim to this voracious scourge! Eighty-two of the most valuable and useful slaves had the same fate; the best expediencies, treatment, and vigilant care were of no effect! Almost the entire harvest of this fatal year was lost in the complete absence of field hands, for the number not stricken was small, and the others, convalescents, were truly specters! The harvests of 1856 and 1857 also suffered.

• 433
175 Soon afterwards a new phase began when the Civil War
*249 started in the United States, sending up the price of sugar
[458] and increasing the market. Some years after this a disease
[731]

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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struck the sugar cane itself, and production again dropped greatly. At the same time, coffee began to attract attention in São Paulo and the few slaves for sale were sent there, where they commanded a higher price, thereby causing a shortage of workmen in the Recôncavo. In 1888 a final blow was the abolition of slavery. Production dropped to a new low, and the twentieth century was entered during what was called the gravest crisis the industry had ever experienced.

During the late nineteenth century there were several attempts to better the machinery used in the fabrication of sugar. New methods were introduced from abroad, and at the turn of the century the usina made its first appearance on the scene. The usina represents the large-scale central factory, designed to mill the cane of many plantations, thereby raising the total sugar production.[2] The state government took a hand and financed the construction of three factories which were given to various individuals as concessions. There was an effort to revive the industry on a different and stronger basis. At the same time, however, the Recôncavo, as well as other parts of Brazil, felt the pull of the rubber boom in the Amazon and lost some of its manpower. But once again a European war came to the rescue, and during the second and third decades of this century the sugar industry prospered. Many factories were erected, and there was a definite feeling of optimism, which ended abruptly in 1929 and 1930 as a result of prolonged overproduction. In 1933 the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol was established by the national government to regulate production. The new regulations caused dissatisfaction and disputes, and production fell off sharply, only to rise again after World War II when many of the restrictions imposed by the institute were lifted. At the present time the Recôncavo seems to be experiencing a mild phase of affluence.

It is the introduction of the large-scale central factory which holds the most interest for us in this recital of crises, for it was this innovation which brought the maximum amount of change to the town and the entire community structure.

The factory was conceived of as a large mechanized mill,

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2. Hereafter, the word "factory" will be used to designate the usina; wherever the word "factory" appears it should be understood to mean sugar-cane milling factory, unless otherwise qualified. (Editor's note.)

175 located in a position where it could grind the cane of many
178 plantations. The two aspects of the sugar industry, the agri-
*249 cultural and the industrial, were to be separated. The cane was to be planted, cultivated, and harvested by one group of people; these were the former plantation masters, who under the new system became simply suppliers of sugar cane (fornecedores de cana) to the mill. The cane was then milled,
[473] processed, and marketed by another group of people, a corporate body which became personified as the usineiro.

175 However, this division did not last long, for the modern up-
*249 to-date machinery of the new factories proved capable of grinding more cane than the planters were supplying. Because
473 of their poor financial conditions and loss of laborers due to the abolition of slavery and the consequent resettlement of
• 433 the former slaves, the planters were not able to expand their sugar-cane production enough to meet the demands of the factories. In other cases the planters resented the new factories and simply refused to cooperate, continuing to operate their outmoded mills in spite of adverse conditions. As a result, the corporations began buying plantations of their own, situated as near their mills as possible, in order to assure themselves of a larger supply of cane, and to lessen their dependence upon the individual planters.

175 There was an epoch when the hunger for land seemed insa-
*249 tiable. The usineiros not only had funds at their disposal which could be used for the purchase of land, but also had the means
425 of forcing individual planters to sell their land to the corpora-
473 tion. By refusing to mill the cane of the planter, or by taking his cane and then letting it sour, and by various other methods, the usineiros were able to force many planters into bankruptcy, after which the corporation bought the land. Also, many planters who continued to depend upon their own efforts, producing sugar in their old-style mills, gradually went into bankruptcy, since they could not compete with the improved product of the new factories.

175 In effect the factory system in Vila Recôncavo is an enlarged
* 249 agricultural-industrial combination, an engenho enlarged many
473 times over. The ownership pattern has changed; whereas the engenho was owned by a family, and therefore subject to transfer on the death of the owner, the usina is a corporation, which continues despite the death of stockholders. As will be shown
[178] later, however, the corporation may even be a family. The plantation master, owner of lands and of slaves and ruler of

small empires, disappeared. But in his place an even more powerful figure appeared, the usineiro, the land-factory combination director and representative of corporate power. 175 249* 473

However, not all private plantations succumbed to pressure from the factories or to economic collapse. There are many which still continue to plant and cultivate sugar cane and send it to the factory for milling. After 1933 the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol prescribed the amount of sugar cane each plantation, whether private or corporate, could produce, and indicated the total amount of sugar each factory could produce and how much cane it had to accept from each plantation. As a result of this protection, many private plantations continue to function in equilibrium with the factory to which they send their sugar cane. The private plantation owners also have a separate association which looks after their interests. [178] 175 249* 433 [656]

Thus the twentieth century has seen the introduction and development of the factory system and in its wake a series of fundamental changes. The growth of factory towns (the usina nuclei) has created further competition for the older county seats, such as the town of Vila Recôncavo, and further disintegration of the former community structure. 175 249* 178

Since its discovery and settlement, the rural area of Vila Recôncavo has been the scene of sugar-cane planting and sugar making. The rural area was settled before the town of Vila Recôncavo, and the plantation nuclei were actually self-sufficient small towns in themselves. The landowning pattern in this rural area has gone full cycle. First were the large land grants which were then split up into separate engenhos (after 1889 known as fazendas) through division due to inheritance, sale, or donation. For about three hundred years the pattern of the area was that of the engenho. However, at the end of the nineteenth century, this way of life came to an end as a result of financial crises and the abolition of slavery. The twentieth century has seen the introduction of the factory, which has led to a concentration of lands again under single ownership, although this time corporate and not that of a single individual or family. 175 178 249* 423

During the epoch of the plantations there was a necessity for the existence of the town to serve the needs of the landowning class. The community during this time was focused to a large extent toward the county seat. But with the abolition of slavery, the disappearance of the plantation master and his large family, and the coming of the factory, the former com- 175 178 249* 621

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Private Plantation]

*
249 Dona Sinhá and other plantation owners feel that a planta-
463 tion cannot be successful without a good overseer, and they
466 also feel that the white man does not make a good overseer.
571 They say he cannot stand the heat of the summer and the rain
829 and mud of the winter when spending entire days in the saddle overseeing the work. Only the indefatigable mestiço is supposed to be able to take such punishment. The owners also say that only he can deal properly with the mestiço workers--that, being one himself, he knows their "foibles and tricks." To a certain extent the mestiço population seems to agree with this, for orders from the overseer are much more promptly obeyed than orders from the owner, and most of the workmen prefer to have the overseer explain what is wanted. It is also believed that the mestiço is stronger. For example, if Dona Sinhá has made a hard trip in the winter to get to the plantation the workers will sympathize with her, saying, "You came through all that rain and mud, and at night!" when the same trip may be a daily one for the overseer, the cowboy, or any of the workers.

*
249 However, the creation of the position of overseer has also
463 created a series of new problems for the owners. All owners
466 now suspect their overseers of cheating them, and the control
571 of the overseer is a subject which comes up frequently at social gatherings. Since the owner is absent from the plantation about half the year, there are many things which the overseer must do without consulting his employer. The owners will interpret independent action on the overseer's part as good management, mismanagement, or cheating, depending upon the results of the action. When the results are doubtful and there is any suspicion that the overseer might have gained money by his action, it is considered cheating. Very often the owners claim that the overseer and the foreman are "partners" working together against him.

*
249 On one plantation in the community of Vila Recôncavo, the
463 owner decided he would be his own overseer. He was young
• 433 and had been born and brought up on the plantation. Within a
466 few years his harvest had dropped to almost nothing, and lately he has changed to raising milk cows, at which he has not
571 been particularly successful either. He himself, and all his friends, blame his lack of success on the lack of an overseer, saying that even though the old overseer had cheated and helped himself to what was not his, the plantation as a whole had not suffered as badly as it did without him.

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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[The Private Plantation]

As a result, owners have to be satisfied with higher costs than they feel necessary and less profit than they think possible, the difference going to the overseer, rather than accept the complete failure of the plantation Overseers, foremen, and owners are all aware of the situation, but politeness, the traditional respect patterns, and the unwillingness to compete openly keep the situation covert. 249* 463 466 571

Nevertheless, on Fazenda das Moças, in spite of these difficulties there is considerable cooperation between Dona Sinhá and Seu Paulo. The duties of the overseer are confined generally to the plantation itself--seeing that the work is done, the cane planted, cultivated, harvested, and delivered to the factory as expediently as possible. The duties of Dona Sinhá are mainly concerned with finance, with arranging ready funds to meet the current expenses of the plantation. The practice of mortgaging crops did not end with the abolition of slavery, and it is the owner's task to juggle funds, loans, and interest so she will have enough money to improve and increase the yield of her plantation. In general the owners of single plantations rarely have enough funds to carry them through the year. Payrolls are met throughout the year with advances on the estimated harvest made by the factory, by the banks, or by the Cooperative of Sugar-Cane Growers and Suppliers. Thus when the season ends the owner is already in debt, part of which he must pay off in order to finance the coming year. There are two problems constantly present in the struggle to increase the size of the harvest: cost of production, and the antiquated methods used on the private plantations, where practically all work is done by hand. 249* 463 426 [433]

Table 1 shows production, costs, and profits for the harvests of the years 1947-48, 1948-49, and 1949-50 at Fazenda das Moças. The drop in production and the rise in costs in the years 1948-49 were attributed to a slackening of the vigilance of Dona Sinhá and to a poor overseer. It was at the end of this year that Seu Paulo assumed the position of overseer of the plantation. The following year showed a great improvement which has continued, for the 1950-51 harvest produced 6,000 tons, the highest output of any private plantation in the Recôncavo. Future harvests are expected to go well above this. In addition to changing the overseer, and in the following year the foreman, Dona Sinhá was able to borrow enough money to purchase the tractor mentioned earlier. The next year, as a result of the evident success of the new combination, two four- 249* 43 [426] [407] [493]

21 Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Private Plantation]

*249 829 178 [434] The entire harvest is done with great sacrifice, my head wearied by accounts; 6,000 tons of cane, over Cr$600.000,00--a lot of money, enough for all the expenses, and still some left over. What a mistake! The general costs, the extraordinary costs, house repairs, etc., will take it all. So we start again--new plantings, larger fields, all for more money. But we lack the courage to stop planting sugar cane and plant corn or coffee, anything else. We were born hearing of senhores de engenho, of trays and trays of silver service, of Negro slaves, of everything which has disappeared into the past. But it still burns in our blood, and deep down we want to have lands, to order and be obeyed. We like the humble and servile vassalage of the Negro, which makes us feel important, the dispensers of favors.

*249 829

I think of this as old Saturno goes along, step by step. There is Paulos Santos coming along the road, with his little burro and two baskets, going to get manioc for the ever-present farinha. "Good morning, Patron!" What affection I feel for each one of them! Pedro Manuel with so many little children; Zé Julião with his sick wife, Conceição with his air of secular servility. But affection resolves nothing! Money and action do! I could knock down those miserable hovels and make good hygienic houses.

Once home I fall into the hammock, reading Proust and forgetting everything.

*249 473

The Usina: Usina São Pedro

The Sociedad Anonima, the corporation which operates this factory, represents the new pattern in the Recôncavo. There are now nine factories functioning in the Recôncavo, for the trend has been to close the small ones which could not function economically. Five of the nine belong to one corporation, which holds extensive lands and receives the cane of many suppliers. We will describe the smallest of the four independent factories, which has a rated capacity of seventy-two thousand sacks of sugar as compared with the two hundred thousand of one of the larger mills (a sack equaling 60 kilograms). The legal capacity of the Usina São Pedro--which it has never reached--is fifty-two thousand sacks, as determined by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol. At the present time, however,

*249 433 [128] [656]

VILA RECONCAVO

[The Usina]

the factory is undergoing a reformation which will raise its capacity to over one hundred thousand sacks, and the legal capacity will be readjusted. 249* 433

Usina São Pedro, although the smallest, is representative of the others and experiences the same problems and difficulties. It differs from some in that it is a family enterprise. The stockholders are nearly all members of the Conde family, and the operations are directed by two members of the family. The factory itself was one of the three built by the state government in 1900 on land controlled by the Navy,[5] on the edge of the Bay, which provides excellent year-round transportation facilities. The mill was acquired in 1909 by the Conde family with two plantations, to which the family has since added four other contiguous plantations. The corporation has a total area of slightly over four thousand acres, mostly of rich massapê soil. The factory receives cane from the plantation of Dona Sinhá, who is also a member of the Conde family by birth and by marriage. It also gets cane from four other plantations within the community and four outside the community, which send their cane by the traditional sailboat. In addition, the factory owns a 2,324-acre plantation in the county of Purificação which is used for grazing and raising cattle and for supplying wood for the factory fires. There is direct water transportation between the factory and the plantation in Purificação. 249* 473 [653] [423] 249* [602] [423] [505]

The designation usina has several meanings which are quite similar to the meanings of the older term, engenho. In its larger context, usina means the entire land-factory combination, including the mill and all the plantations belonging to the corporation. More specifically, usina means the factory building itself. In another context, usina simply indicates the population nucleus, including the factory, the owner's house, and the other buildings. 249* 192

The usina or factory nucleus roughly follows the same settlement pattern of the old plantations. The point of orientation is the factory building, near which stand the chalet and other homes of the owning family, which are grouped together in a park of royal palms and mango trees. Usually a small chapel or oratory is included in one wing of the chalet, where 249* 361 [178]

5. The shoreline bordering salt water is controlled to the depth of 33 meters by the Brazilian Navy. [311]

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Usina]

Financially the two units--factory and plantation--are run separately. One set of books is kept for the agricultural part, and one set for the factory. The six plantations combined produced eighteen thousand tons of cane in 1950, although they had planned on twenty-three thousand. The fall in the expected harvest was due to several things. First, less new cane was planted, because of the activities of the petroleum workers who were invading the cane fields of the factory and drilling oil wells. (The first time a field is cut, the percentage of cane is higher than that obtained by cuts during the next four or five years. The same amount of land, therefore, will produce more cane if it is replanted regularly. The factory, however, deemed it wiser to be content with the older plantings for one year because of the oil workers' invasion, for newly planted cane is more subject to damage than an established field.) Second, during that year there was a serious drought which affected adversely the growth of sugar cane. There is no irrigation in the Recôncavo, and during the drought seasons which come periodically a partial crop loss nearly always occurs. In addition one entire taboleiro caught fire and burned to the ground, causing the loss of many tons of cane.

249* 451 184 249* 433 [731]

The agricultural cycle and the work on a plantation may be divided into two broad epochs, summer and winter. Summer is the busiest season, for it is harvest time and all hands are occupied, including the migrant workers. The cutters with their machetes cut an average of three to four tons a day apiece, which must be quickly loaded and carried to the factory and milled, for the longer the lapse of time between the two operations, the greater the loss of sugar content. After a field has been cut, one of two things occurs. If it is to be turned into pasture, it is fenced, and the draft animals are turned loose in it. Otherwise the leaves which were cut from the top of the plant and left lying on the ground are burned, and within a short time the roots start sending up new shoots. This old planting (soca) each year gives a decreased yield. As a rule a field is cut and burned three to four years before being turned into pasture. In the days of the old plantations, when the soil was more vigorous, cane of twelve years was considered "new cane." Now, however, the yield is so decreased by the increasing poverty of the soil that three to four years is the best, depending upon the amount of rain. During the summer, if land is prepared and there are prospects of heavy showers, "summer plantings" may be made. They are never as good as those done in the winter, for the sun frequently

249* 221 [461] [134]

Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 8011 Bahia Brazilians 8011
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[The Usina]

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221 kills the new shoots. Toward the end of summer, the pastures or garden plots which are to be made into new plantations (rêgo novo) are prepared, for such work is usually done in accordance with conditions of the land rather than only at the
•[433] time of planting. New plantings yield an average of thirty to forty tons per acre. Cutting, transporting, burning, and planting are done by the resident workers, while the weeding and general cultivating are carried out by the migrant laborers.

Work in the winter period can usually be handled by the resident workers alone. The planting of cane goes on throughout the year, but the most favorable time is during July and August, when the rains begin to diminish in constancy and the sun shines longer. Cane planted at this time gives the greatest yield. The seed used is the top part of the cane itself, the "eye" which appears just below the leaves. As a rule each plantation furnishes most of its own seed. That for the summer planting comes from the cane which is cut to go to the
[654] factory, and that for the winter from small plantings made previously for the purpose. The state government also maintains an agricultural station in the area, from which the planters can get seed. During the winter all repairs are made on houses, fences, and equipment, and of course the necessary drainage ditches must be built or repaired and seasonal cultivation and clearing work must be done.

*249 The usineiros maintain that the agricultural operations pay
435 more than does the factory. The factory plantations sell their cane at the same price as the private suppliers, a price fixed by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol. This price has gradually gone up as have all the factory costs. But the ceiling price of sugar, which is Cr$166,00 a sack, has not increased. In 1951 the cost per sack of sugar at Usina São Pedro was
[434] Cr$132,00. Each year the costs rise, creeping nearer and nearer to the selling price. So while the books show that each plantation is making more money for its cane, the factory's books show a slackening of profits. At the moment, most of the factories in the Recôncavo are engaged in refining their processes in order to get a higher percentage of sugar out of
[433] each ton of cane. The Usina São Pedro is only able to get an average of eighty kilograms of sugar per ton of cane, while the largest factory gets one hundred kilograms per ton. The factory also loses money because it pays for the cane by the ton of dead weight, and not by the percentage of sucrose the cane contains. As a result the planters are interested in rais-

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SC11 Bahia Brazilians SC11

VILA RECÔNCAVO

5. Town Life

THE OCCUPATIONS of the townspeople in Vila Recôncavo differ considerably from the pursuits of the people in the rural zone. The town residents are engaged in gaining a living from a number of small enterprises; the economy is a money economy, and not one dominated by mutual obligations and rights, as it is to a certain degree on the plantations. Vila Recôncavo is the county seat and lacks any organized commerce or industry. It can be called an administrative town, inasmuch as government employment is the life of many of the people, especially the town's upper class. 369 463 632 [434] [433] [647]

The economic occupations of the townspeople can be divided into four groups: (1) the bureaucrats and merchants; (2) the group which serves them, such as cooks and laundresses; (3) a middle group of artisans whose greatest asset, as well as liability, is their independence; (4) a small group of people who do not fit into any of the three groups above. 463

According to the census which was taken in June, 1950, the labor force of the town numbered 459 persons, including men and women. Of the 459, eleven listed themselves as unemployed. The remainder of the population were listed as housewives, students, small children, and old people who were retired or incapacitated. In this category, which numbers about one thousand people, there are individuals who engage in part-time work, such as carrying water or firewood or doing piecework sewing--in other words, small occupations which in their eyes are not worthy of being classed as employment. [162]

The occupations which were listed can be broken down into the four groups mentioned above as follows:

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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herents of these cults, female slaves and former slaves for the most part, followed a lengthy routine to become practitioners in the various cult houses and spent large sums of money, according to legend, on the required bracelets, necklaces, and clothing.

Today, however, the cult priests and priestesses have the same complaint as the Catholic priests. They say that young people no longer have the understanding or the patience necessary to prepare for devotion in the cult houses. The older priestesses deplore the degeneration of some of these houses and the admission of Indian spirits, which are now displacing the African gods.

Spiritualism has recently entered the community. So far it has been limited to few people in the community, although it is very popular in Salvador.

The use of the supernatural as described in Willems' Cunha[1] does not take place in Vila Recôncavo. In Cunha the saints are asked to send rain whenever it appears that the crops are in danger. But in Vila Recôncavo, which lies in a semitropical rain area, there is no need for such invocations. Besides, these are large-scale economic crops, not subsistence produce on which the people depend directly for their living.

The Catholic Church in Vila Recôncavo

During the colonial period each religious parish was carefully delineated and conserved, but later political divisions cut across parish lines. This has made the use of colonial statistics very difficult. During colonial and empire times the church was the main census organ, but since parishes and counties do not coincide in their outlines the statistics are little help today in comparing the present with the past. Each parish built a mother church (matriz) in the parish town. Each of these churches had a patron saint, who was also the patron of the parish, and a resident priest or priests.

In the town of Vila Recôncavo, the county seat, a mother church was built, with São Gonçalo as its patron saint; also constructed was the Franciscan convent, connected with an opulent Third Order. As the Recôncavo entered its long per-

1. Emilio Willems, Cunha: Tradição e transição en uma cultura rural do Brasil (Sao Paulo, 1947), Chapter 7.

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change. New faces and basically different relationships prevail at Usina São Pedro. [466]

Another change, but this time in tune with the past, was an 178
increase of capital, applied to the improvement of the factory. 249*
The capacity of the mill has been greatly enlarged. However, 433
the agricultural part of the combination continues as it did before, with no innovations. The result is that the factory is [471]
able to mill and produce sugar much more quickly than it can
be supplied with sugar cane. The hierarchical aspect of the [466]
factory as earlier diagrammed remains the same, and each
plantation is still run as a separate unit.

In contrast, the private plantation in the community of Vila 178
Recôncavo has undergone relatively little change in these five 249*
years. Always the most conservative element in the Recôncavo, [466]
the private plantation continues to retain its distinguishing feature: the personal, face-to-face, paternalistic owner-worker
relations. The hierarchical pattern remains the same. Opera- 178
tions are still basically hand- and animal-powered, but pri- 249*
vate planters are slowly introducing mechanization in certain 461
aspects of the process, especially that of transportation; [492]
trucks and tractor-drawn wagons carry cane from the fields
to the factory. Tractors and mechanical plows are used to an [493]
increasingly large extent in the preparation of the soil, and [407]
mechanical cultivators are already in use on some planta- [492]
tions. However, the bulk of the work is still done by hand, [407]
and traction is supplied by oxen and mules. As yet no mechanical loaders, ditch-diggers, or planters have appeared, [242]
and little use is made of fertilization or herbicides. Few scientific agricultural practices are in use. The planter is still
first and foremost a "practical" man.

Relations between the factory and the private plantations 178
have also undergone considerable change, in both business 249*
and social aspects. The new managers of the factory have 571
succeeded in almost completely alienating the private planters
who supply them with sugar cane. Not only the members of
the extended Conde family, but also other cane suppliers resented the highhanded, brusque methods of the new managers.
Wishing to break completely with the past, the new managers
instituted several new policies in relations with the cane sup- [443]
pliers. Formerly the private suppliers bought sugar by the [452]
sack, bought their supplies at the company store, and had
their machines repaired at the company workshops, paying [407]
for such services at the end of the harvest season. The sup-

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position of the sugar industry in Vila Recôncavo, is creating considerable interest on the part of the community's planters. Just as sugar cane is limited by soil and climatic conditions, so also is the cacao. There is little fear, therefore, of competition from many other areas. In addition, cacao is exportable, while the sugar of the area is for internal consumption only.

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In spite of the attraction of this new crop, there are a number of problems which must be dealt with. First, the details of a change from sugar cane to cacao must be worked out, especially as regards space and financing. The planter must juggle his sugar plantings, pastures, and rotation lands so that he can slowly take out land for preparation for cacao. If he wants to finance the changeover himself, he cannot lessen his sugar production; in fact, he needs more money than before. Banks in general lend on the forthcoming crop; if the crop is reduced, so is the amount which can be borrowed. However, to overcome this, the Institute of Cacao of Bahia is preparing a financing program on a long-term basis. Sugar cane is a perennial, planted one year, bearing for the next three or four years, then ploughed under and replanted. Cacao, on the other hand, is a permanent tree crop which gives its first fruit in five years, reaches maturity in fifteen or twenty years, and then continues to produce annually for sixty to one hundred years. Thus sugar cane is financed on a one-year basis, while initial plantings of cacao must be financed on a long-term basis of ten to fifteen years. The change from a perennial crop to a permanent crop also requires a totally different mental set on the part of the planter.

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Cacao is a "forest crop," which means that it requires shading. Under primitive conditions it is planted in dense tropical forest. In Vila Recôncavo, however, the former tropical forest has been entirely cleared away during the last four hundred years, since sugar cane tolerates no shade. Therefore, before the cacao can be planted, shade must be provided. This is done by planting banana trees and, at fixed intervals, single seedlings of a precocious, long-living, high-growing shade tree. To pay for the work involved it is common to plant manioc between the banana trees. The manioc is gathered the following year, and shortly thereafter the young cacao trees can be planted. The banana trees offer sufficient shade for the young plants. For a period of five or six years the planter

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242 can collect bananas, which should pay for the operating costs
[434] while waiting for the cacao to mature.

At the end of a five- or six-year period, the shade tree is usually large enough to provide sufficient shade, and the banana trees are gradually removed. At the same time the cacao begins to give its fruit, and one can then consider himself a cacauicultor.

178 Several planters in Vila Recôncavo are at the banana-manioc
245 planting stage, and have met with their first serious labor
461 problem. No one wants to work in banana and manioc fields,
464 as the work is arduous and slow. Machines are not available
[407] for the mechanical cultivation of manioc, so the work must be done by hand. The work is slowly being accomplished, but at costs which will make the manioc a considerable liability.

178 Nevertheless, in spite of these difficulties, there is con-
245 siderable interest in cacao in Vila Recôncavo, and cacao must
• 433 be considered as an element of change in the community which
*[247] will have far-reaching effects. The area of sugar production will be considerably reduced, requiring adjustments on the part of the factories, which represent large financial investments. Furthermore, cacao is a fairly simple product to process--its conversion into chocolate is usually done after export --and so it is quite likely that each plantation will return to the older aspect of the plantation, both growing and processing the crop, and become once again a highly self-sufficient unit.
[571] This would of course bring about a new alignment of socio-economic relations and would undoubtedly alter the community structure.

178 A third principal cause of change in Vila Recôncavo is the
315 growth of a new and potent industry within the community and
433 throughout the county. This new industry is the nascent Brazilian petroleum industry. Exploratory work was done in Vila Recôncavo in 1950 and 1951 under the guidance of the Conselho Nacional de Petroleo. Since that date a nationalized company, Petrobrás, has been formed to exploit the oil fields which lie under the topsoil of the county of Vila Recôncavo. Petrobrás has brought in several hundred oil wells and has built roads, pipelines, storage tanks, and machine shops. Just outside the limits of the community, but within the county, it has built its oil refinery and has created a small new, modern city to
[425] house the technical workers of the refinery and the field. On land expropriated from the Usina São Pedro it has also con-

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structed a series of barracks, a recreation hall, a restaurant, and a service center for the unmarried field workers.

In spite of this, the changes in the community structure brought about by the petroleum industry have been as yet relatively few. The industry exists in the community as an intruder, not affecting communal life to any great extent, and not contributing any substantial local benefits. This is perhaps in part due to the fact that it is a nationalized company, with headquarters located in the city of Salvador, rather than a product of local efforts. The petroleum workers for the most part have not been drawn from the local labor force but have come from outside the county. It is almost as if a military base had been established in Vila Recôncavo on a temporary basis. [464]

The effect on the town has been principally to increase the number of houses. The married workers of Petrobrás for the most part live in the town. Naturally there has occurred a broadening of point of view among the town dwellers as a result of social intercourse, as well as a certain new prosperity due to greater numbers. Nevertheless, there are still no private cars, buses, or public transportation in the county. The petroleum workers and their families go to Salvador whenever possible for shopping and amusements, rather than attempting to satisfy these needs in Vila Recôncavo, where public services, diversions, and so forth have continued to be almost nonexistent. [362] [571] [493] [494] [484]

To counterbalance the effect of prosperity brought to the town by increased population, the petroleum industry has had an adverse effect on the fishing activities of the townspeople. Many wells have been drilled in the shallow waters of the Bay of All Saints in front of the town. As a result of underwater explosions, the constant passage of rapid motor launches, and digging and dredging machines, the traditional fishing area of the town's fishermen has been rapidly depleted and its ecological balance destroyed. The fishermen are gradually turning away from fishing as an occupation and seeking other remunerative activity, either outside the community or in the petroleum industry and, to a slight extent, in the sugar industry. Others are turning to service occupations, such as bricklaying, as stopgap activities. 178 315 433 226

Petrobrás to date has affected rural life very little. The planters of the area have profited to some extent because of the roads constructed by the company. It is now possible to 178 315 433 49

2; Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1987 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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433 travel from the city to the plantations by car at almost any
49 season of the year. It is a two-hour trip, considerably more comfortable than the old system of travel by boat and on horseback. In addition, the roads have made it possible for the planters to transport their cane more efficiently, using trucks and tractor-drawn wagons. Along with this, the refinery has led to greater supplies of diesel oil, gasoline, and kerosene, so that it is no longer necessary to transport these items from the city at great cost and delay.

178 The planters have also profited in another manner. Petro-
315 brás invaded the cane fields in its search of oil. It fenced
311 small areas where it drilled and constructed storage tanks,
433 and it took out of cane production a good deal of land for roads and installations. Recently a basis has been reached for paying
427 the planters in a satisfactory manner for the use of the lands. As a result each planter whose land is partially occupied now receives an annual cash payment based on what the occupied
[421] land could produce. As yet no arrangements have been made for the landowners to participate in the profits of Petrobrás, since all subsoil riches belong to the nation, and therefore in this case to Petrobrás.

178 There has been little social intercourse between the planters
315 and the personnel of Petrobrás, either in the rural area or in the city of Salvador. From time to time the higher echelon
571 employees of Petrobras are invited to larger parties given by the planters, and in return the planters are sometimes invited to parties at the refinery. But the plantation society is so closed and so firmly based on family relationships that it is difficult to maintain steady social relations with newcomers. In addition, the engineers and other specialists of the oil industry are principally oriented toward the capital city, and there is no serious attempt made to establish social relationships with the planters.

The sugar-cane workers for their part are so definitely plantation-oriented that they seek little diversion among the new oil workers. The unmarried field workers of Petrobrás who might be expected to establish relationships with the rural population seldom do so. They live in a fenced barracks area which immediately gives the impression of a group cut off from the rest of society. When they do seek entertainment they go as a rule to the factory nucleus, or to the town of Vila Recôncavo, or to the nearby town of Milagres.

Politically, this influx of new workers has had little in-

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567 those under 12 years of age.[1] Of the 121 slaves listed in the particular inventory mentioned above, 40 were African. Most of these came from West Africa. Of those whose African origin is indicated, *Nago* (Yoruba) is most often listed, and *Gege* (Ewe) is second.

249 On these sugar plantations of the Recôncavo in the colonial period, the overseer of all operations involved in the growth of sugar cane
565 and production of sugar was the owner himself. Generally, only the
463 oldest son was trained to take over his duties on the plantation; the younger sons were sent to Salvador, to Recife, or even to Europe to be educated as lawyers, physicians, engineers or Catholic priests. Daughters were married early and given their dowry, or they were
[582] sent to convents to become nuns or live as lay sisters. Marriages with first cousins were frequent. Every effort was made to keep the plantation undivided and in the family. The Recôncavo sugar plantation, until about the middle of the nineteenth century, was a remarkably stable community changing little in size and organization from generation to generation.

249 After the abolition of slavery, there was a partial exodus of ex-
567 slaves from the plantations to nearby towns and to the capital of Bahia. The ex-slaves who moved to small towns became manual
463 labourers or fishermen, or engaged in the profession they had learned on the plantations, such as barbering, bricklaying, etc. In other
464 cases, ex-slaves rented small plots of land on neighbouring plantations to raise manioc, corn, tobacco and other crops which required little
[427] outlay of capital. Others became sugar planters on a small scale; known as *rendeiros*, they rented a few acres from a plantation and cultivated sugar cane, sending the product to the nearby *engenhos* for milling. In other cases, the ex-slaves simply moved from one plantation to another, or they often remained as free men on the same plantation, still engaged in raising sugar cane, living under the same
249 conditions as before, but legally free. Contrary to popular opinion,
433 the *engenhos* of the Recôncavo did not all cease operations after
567 abolition. Many of them kept on producing as before. In other cases the *engenho* or mill closed down while the plantation continued to plant sugar cane, sending it to a nearby *engenho* which was still functioning for milling. Some *engenhos*, however, did close down altogether and were abandoned, or went into the hands of receivers.

249 At this time many plantations changed owners—wealthy people in
471 the city were able to buy lands at a low cost and did so. But the
567 failure of many of the *engenhos* in the Recôncavo was not a direct result of abolition, it was rather the continuation of an economic
[425] trend which had been going on for a long time. For many years previous to abolition, the plantations of the Recôncavo had suffered
[826] from lack of capital, poor administration, occasional crop failure, and
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[1] In the inventories, *pardo* indicated light skin; *cabra*, dark skin; and *crioulo*, black. These same terms nowadays are used differently in the Recôncavo. See page 28 ff.

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from the competition of other sugar-producing areas. Abolition was [471]
the factor which, in many cases, simply ended a struggle several [567]
decades old.

The overall production of sugar in the Recôncavo was already [433]
dropping noticeably at the time of abolition, and it continued to
decrease afterwards. At the end of the last century, state-supported [567]
usinas, or large mechanical factories for milling sugar cane, were [654]
opened in an effort to stimulate sugar production. At the same time,
various other *usinas* were opened by private capital. These central [471]
mills received and processed the sugar cane of many plantations.
The *usina* had the advantage of freeing the planter from the worries [433]
of milling and marketing the sugar, allowing him to concentrate on
higher production of sugar cane, while the mechanized *usina* was
able to produce more sugar out of the cane, thus increasing production. This system of sugar production proved relatively lucrative, [471]
and the government *usinas* passed into private hands. The owners of
usinas bought as many neighbouring plantations as possible, and in [473]
this way the *usineiros*, as they were called, became at the same time
the mill owners and sugar-cane planters—employers of factory
workers and of agricultural workers. The plantations which did not
pass into the hands of an *usina* became *fornecedores*, supplying cane
to one or another large sugar mill.

The *usina* system, however, in many respects did little to change 249
the traditional plantation system. The plantations belonging to 178
usineiros continue as separate units; each generally had an administrator, a man responsible to the *usineiro*, who is in charge of the plantation. As a rule the administrator, who is an employee of the *usina*, lives in the old *sobrado*, the former residence of the *senhor do engenho*, as the old plantation owners were known. The workers on the plantations and their families frequently still live in *senzala*-like houses, usually a long narrow building under one roof divided into separate apartments of two or three rooms. Despite many changes of technology, many examples of the old and the new exist side by side
on these Recôncavo plantations. On the same plantation both me- [407]
chanical tractor and ox traction may be used to pull plows. There [492]
are workers' houses side by side, one with electricity and a radio, and
another using candles and kerosene lamps. Furthermore, the hier- [365]
archy of workers and specialists in sugar-cane raising persists little
modified from the early nineteenth century. There are the field
hands, the ox-cart drivers, the artisans and other specialists. The [463]
plantation is also approximately the same size as it was in the early
nineteenth century (although several may be the property of one
company nowadays) and it has about the same number of hired
workers as it had slaves before.

But the *usina* system and other outside influences have made for
many fundamental changes in the Recôncavo. In the very large 000

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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ticularly São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro but also Belo Horizonte, Recife, Porto Alegre, and others, including Bahia.[3] For, stimulated by needs which could not be satisfied by importation from Europe or the United States under the conditions existing during two World Wars—and more particularly during the last one—and also by growing internal demand, industrialization has been assuming a continually larger role in what has previously been a predominantly agricultural and pastoral country. Concomitant with this increased industrialization—but not to be confused with it, since, for one thing, it began long before—there also has occurred a rapid and extensive growth of the cities. A high rate of natural increase of the population has meanwhile continued in all parts of the country, so that it is now estimated that approximately two and a half million persons are being added annually to the Brazilian people. New primary, secondary, technological and professional schools have been set up, in an urgent, but not yet adequate attempt—since it began with a huge deficit—to keep up with expanding educational needs.

The emergence of new employment opportunities, espe-

[3] Since the matter may have puzzled some readers, it perhaps should be pointed out that, in keeping with the traditional patterns in such cases during colonization and later, the term "Bahia" was long used to indicate, on the one hand, the Capitania, Province or State of Bahia and, on the other, its capital city, even though the latter had another (and less used) name—Salvador. At the time of our research, the capital city of the State of Bahia—where most of our research was carried on—was widely and commonly known also as "Bahia"; and this name is still being employed. Since this name was used in the original study, it will be retained in this Introduction, in order to avoid possible confusion when consulting different parts of this edition. Incidentally, the spelling of "Bahia" is correctly given here and throughout this book, although, for a time during the "spelling reform" in Brazil (but only temporarily), an effort was made in some quarters to write the name differently.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[City of Salvador]

At Bahia in 1807, 1809, 1813, 1816, 1826, 1827, 1828, and 1830, slave revolts broke out, terminating in the serious Malê uprising of 1835. There existed here, particularly in the nineteenth century, a well-established group of Negro disciples of the prophet Mohammed. Here Nagô was for a long time a Negro lingua franca (or, to use the corresponding Portuguese expression, a *lingua geral*), and Nagô is still occasionally to be heard among some of the older blacks. Here one might have encountered in the years just preceding abolition in 1888 an interesting paradox: while at home Bahia clung tenaciously to slavery, she was known abroad for the eloquence of her abolition orators.[1] Here, also, one might have observed the gradual fusion of Catholic belief and ritual with African mythology and religious practice, evidences of which may be seen today in *candomblés*, or fetish-cult centers, like that of Gantois, for example, whose ceremonies have been carried on in the same sacred place for many decades.

In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries Bahia became one of the world's great sugar centers where a small aristocracy, as is attested today by the pretentious edifices still standing, achieved great wealth. As early as 1587 there were forty-seven sugar *engenhos*[4] in and about Bahia, and

[1] See Luiz Anselmo da Fonseca, *A escravidão, o clero e o abolicionismo* (Bahia, 1887), *passim*. This book, although obviously written as abolition propaganda, cites names, places, and dates to support its contentions and does not overlook negative cases.

[4] Each *engenho* consisted of a sugar plantation and a mill for processing the cane. Those at Bahia often had a capacity of a thousand tons or more yearly. Each was largely a self-sustaining economic unit, dependent upon the labor of numbers of Negro slaves. H. Morse Stephens says (*Portugal* [New York, 1903], p. 228) that sugar cane was imported into Brazil from the Madeira Islands in 1548.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[City of Salvador]

175 249 these, together with the plantations of Pernambuco, supplied a large part of the sugar for the tables of Europe.

175 439 433 [162] [34] [352] [554] [567] By 1670 Bahia was a wealthy capital boasting that her flag was known upon the seven seas. Ships from the Portuguese empire in the East called regularly on their way back to Portugal. By the early eighteenth century Bahia had grown into a city of 70,000, her commerce protected by the cross-fire of fourteen forts. Six- and seven-story buildings were common; the possession of carved ebony furniture had become a symbol of social standing; silks, palanquins, and the finest porcelain were imported from China. In the surrounding cane fields toiled, it is estimated, ten times as many slaves as in Virginia. A century later, Lindley, an English smuggler, after admiring the abundance of gold jewelry worn by the women of Bahia, looked out over the shipping in the harbor and wrote of "a degree of wealth unknown in Europe."

Bahia continued to be the first commercial city of Brazil until about 1830,[1] when she finally yielded front rank to São Paulo, the rising young metropolis to the south. But during the entire colonial period (1549–1822), Bahia possessed the principal Brazilian firms and the largest Brazilian fortunes.

175 633 During the first two centuries of the colonial era, Bahia was the seat of Portuguese control in Brazil, the official residence of high functionaries representing the Portuguese crown. Even after the government was transferred to Rio (1763), Bahia continued to play a prominent role in the politics of the colony and, subsequent to independence

[249] [1] In 1868, although the decline in sugar production was by that time well advanced, Bahia had 511 *engenhos* producing nearly 19,000 tons of sugar a year.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[City of Salvador]

571 178 795 [554] siderable extent over those of the male portion, the church exercises a substantial measure of control. Prestige of the military is high.

596 621 The large family, with its wide ramifications and its patriarchal organization, also bespeaks a preindustrial era. Social cohesion in the community is maintained by the close association of members of these large family groups, together with the intimate ties common to friends of long standing, the degree of whose intimacy is much greater than that ordinarily to be found in the cities of comparable size in industrial societies. One notes in Bahia a warmth of manner uncommon to the United States. Bahians, like most Brazilians, tend to be very affectionate in the family and warmhearted toward their friends. Characteristic of such primary relationships is a high order of courtesy and politeness and an almost limitless consideration for the convenience and comfort of relatives and friends. Religious affiliation and guild association weave further strands of solidarity, binding the urban community together as if it were merely an overgrown village.

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578 [477] [433] [466] In this stable society there is a comparative absence of most forms of conflict. In commerce and finance competition is comparatively slight and limited in considerable measure to foreigners. The economy is almost entirely extractive and industry is minimal. The few differences which arise between labor and capital often take the form of a

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571 178 795 291 ual educated in Rio, to be seen on the beaches. Snug-fitting street dresses or those made of sheer or transparent material, and skirts which do not fall at least several inches below the knee, are subject to general criticism. At the exit of the principal churches and cathedrals is posted an official proclamation of the archbishop of Bahia specifying permissible dress. Failure to observe these regulations automatically bars the offender from the sacraments of the church.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Africans were brought into Brazil, many in United States ships, operated by English capital.[29] In 1846, 50,324 were imported; in 1847, 56,172; and, in the following year, 60,000.[30] This traffic was completely suppressed only by 1852,[30a] Bahia being one of the areas in which it died hardest.[31]

In plant and animal communities different species come

the federal senate, demanding its repeal. At one time a *delegado de policia* in Bahia was dismissed from office for having apprehended a shipment of Africans, although such shipment was obviously illegal under the provisions of this law.

[29] Daniel P. Kidder, *Sketches of Residence and Travels in Brazil* (2 vols.; London, 1845), II, 96–97; Hill, *op. cit.*, pp. 179 ff.; Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 319. The most notorious slave-trade case involving a vessel from the United States was that of the "Mary E. Smith" of New Orleans. The ship was brought into Bahia by the Brazilian brig "Olinda" on January 29, 1856, with 370 slaves from fifteen to twenty years of age aboard. The "Mary E. Smith," despite efforts to detain her, had left Boston on the preceding August 24 and sailed to the Gold Coast, where she had picked up a cargo of nearly five hundred Africans. When captured, she had been attempting unsuccessfully for weeks to land her cargo on the Bahian coast. One hundred and six slaves died before the vessel was finally taken and those still alive upon arrival in Bahia were so weakened by starvation and disease that only a few survived.

[30] Calmon, *op. cit.*, II, 171. According to figures given by the British Anti-slavery Society, 221,800 Africans entered Brazil between 1840 and 1847 (Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 495).

[30a] Percy A. Martin, *Argentina, Brazil and Chile since Independence* (Washington, 1935), p. 208. The last shipload into Bahia landed October 29, 1851. See Wanderley de A. Pinho, "O ultimo desembarque de escravos na Bahia," *Espelho* (September, 1936), pp. 13–16.

[31] Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 236. The *Argos Pernambucano* of January 30, 1850, says: "The way in which free Africans are imported into Bahia and reduced to slavery, with the obvious connivance of the government, is a notorious scandal." In the *Argos Sant'Amarense* appeared the following: "The Governor of the Province himself, at nightfall, on the twenty-first of October, 1849, unloaded in the city of Santo Amaro a large number of newly arrived Africans, which he had brought from the capital [Bahia] in a boat, and transported them to his *engenho*." See also Querino, *op. cit.*, p. 626.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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to live together because they mutually support one another. Similarly, different racial stocks often occupy to mutual advantage the same habitat because each fits into a different niche in an interdependent symbiotic order. The fundamental problem is that of survival. The Portuguese at Bahia to a considerable extent resolved this problem by the development of an economy based upon plantation agriculture and slave labor.

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A considerable number of Negroes died while being transported from Africa. Others subsequently perished from the ravages of cholera, yellow fever, and other epidemics. A few committed suicide or led religiously motivated uprisings against their masters. But the major portion were readily incorporated into the plantation system. Centuries of familiarity with the slave tradition of their African cultures and, in many cases, familiarity with the slave status itself probably made their adjustment to a slave system in the new land less difficult.

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Most of the Negroes entering and remaining in the vicinity of Bahia were employed in the planting, cultivation, harvesting, processing, and marketing of sugar cane and tobacco. A limited number were engaged in cattle-raising. They also supplied the necessary artisan and domestic labor on the plantations.

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Within the city of Bahia itself, as in other Brazilian ports, most of the slaves were engaged in domestic service. However, in addition, a modified form of slavery existed. Many blacks, known as *negros de ganho*, were employed as porters, stevedores, ironworkers, masons, carpenters, carriage- and cabinet-makers, printers, sign and ornamental painters, silversmiths, lithographers, sculptors in wood and stone, small shopkeepers, street merchants, etc. They were semi-inde-

[SALVADOR]

/46/

Commerce

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The merchants and the fazendeiros enjoy a prestige in Bahia society proportional to the economic importance of their activities, the wealthiest families being made up by them, and their influence being well known in all the social life. It is by means of these two forms of activity that the Bahians acquire a certain social rank and exercise control over other sectors of the social structure (1).

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1. The economic activities that occupy the largest number of persons in the State of Bahia are agriculture and stock raising (67 o/o of individuals of the male sex): there follow in order of importance: small crafts industry and commerce, according to the census of 1940. In the city of Salvador (Bahia) the liberal professions and private instruction, which the statistics record in the aggregate, came in first place, and commerce and the industries are in second place.

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The national and racial groups that make up the population of Bahia participate in different fashion in the commerce and agriculture. While the Whites and the morenos predominate [233] among the most important breeders of livestock, one finds among [245] the owners of cacao plantations a large proportion of colored persons who began as small planters and have progressively enlarged their fazendas as cacoa gained in importance in the international markets. [249] The plantations of cane and the sugar mills that belonged to the families of Portuguese origin, who were very conscious of their social rank during the colonial period, are today almost entirely in the hands of large capitalist enterprises in which Whites and a few métis predominate.

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As for commercial activities, they are not carried on exclusively by nationally and racially determined groups, but these groups portion them out among themselves up to a certain point --

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 244 311 important had less intensive cultivation than the two principal centers mentioned above.

241 311 Most of the remaining crops of the Recôncavo were either minor subsistence crops of general distribution, not of themselves accounting for any strong concentration of cropland, or were major crops produced in small separated centers of intensive cultivation. The Northwestern Recôncavo corn and bean areas, the coconut plantations of the beach line, the Southwestern Recôncavo sugar cane and coffee areas, and the suburban rings of orange production were zones where the mean intensity of cropland was low or, at best, modest.

There were two zones of very low intensity of cropland which have not been discussed previously because they did not have significant concentrations of individual crops. The belt of Intermediate Hills around [137] [231] the Central Recôncavo sugar cane area is largely forested, the scene of very scattered cultivation, livestock enterprises, and extractive industries. This belt was used, as will be seen, to provide fuel and to maintain a livestock reserve for the adjoining sugar cane area. The forested belt between the beach line and the inland areas of sugar cane and tobacco cultivation were used primarily for extensive systems of cultivation and for the small scale production of livestock. Only around the perimeter of Salvador was this forested belt intensively used, for in this area there were orange groves, manioc gardens, and a few very small truck farms.

241 311 178 [161] [434] <u>Expansion of Cropland</u>. There can be little question but that the Recôncavo as a whole was an area of expanding cropland in the 1940's.[3] In no other way could the increased food necessary for the growing population be supplied, for there were not than nor are there now external sources for large quantities of staples, excepting only livestock. There

*249 829 178 [434] The entire harvest is done with great sacrifice, my head wearied by accounts; 6,000 tons of cane, over Cr$600.000,00--a lot of money, enough for all the expenses, and still some left over. What a mistake! The general costs, the extraordinary costs, house repairs, etc., will take it all. So we start again--new plantings, larger fields, all for more money. But we lack the courage to stop planting sugar cane and plant corn or coffee, anything else. We were born hearing of senhores de engenho, of trays and trays of silver service, of Negro slaves, of everything which has disappeared into the past. But it still burns in our blood, and deep down we want to have lands, to order and be obeyed. We like the humble and servile vassalage of the Negro, which makes us feel important, the dispensers of favors.

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I think of this as old Saturno goes along, step by step. There is Paulos Santos coming along the road, with his little burro and two baskets, going to get manioc for the ever-present farinha. "Good morning, Patron!" What affection I feel for each one of them! Pedro Manuel with so many little children; Zé Julião with his sick wife, Conceição with his air of secular servility. But affection resolves nothing! Money and action do! I could knock down those miserable hovels and make good hygienic houses.

Once home I fall into the hammock, reading Proust and forgetting everything.

The Usina: Usina São Pedro

*249 473 The Sociedad Anonima, the corporation which operates this factory, represents the new pattern in the Recôncavo. There are now nine factories functioning in the Recôncavo, for the trend has been to close the small ones which could not function economically. Five of the nine belong to one corporation, which holds extensive lands and receives the cane of many suppliers. We will describe the smallest of the four independent factories, which has a rated capacity of seventy-two thousand sacks of sugar as compared with the two hundred thousand of one of the larger mills (a sack equaling 60 kilograms). The legal capacity of the Usina São Pedro--which it has never reached--is fifty-two thousand sacks, as determined by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol. At the present time, however,

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[The Usina]

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221 kills the new shoots. Toward the end of summer, the pastures or garden plots which are to be made into new plantations (rêgo novo) are prepared, for such work is usually done in accordance with conditions of the land rather than only at the [433] time of planting. New plantings yield an average of thirty to forty tons per acre. Cutting, transporting, burning, and planting are done by the resident workers, while the weeding and general cultivating are carried out by the migrant laborers.

Work in the winter period can usually be handled by the resident workers alone. The planting of cane goes on throughout the year, but the most favorable time is during July and August, when the rains begin to diminish in constancy and the sun shines longer. Cane planted at this time gives the greatest yield. The seed used is the top part of the cane itself, the "eye" which appears just below the leaves. As a rule each plantation furnishes most of its own seed. That for the summer planting comes from the cane which is cut to go to the [654] factory, and that for the winter from small plantings made previously for the purpose. The state government also maintains an agricultural station in the area, from which the planters can get seed. During the winter all repairs are made on houses, fences, and equipment, and of course the necessary drainage ditches must be built or repaired and seasonal cultivation and clearing work must be done.

*249 The usineiros maintain that the agricultural operations pay
435 more than does the factory. The factory plantations sell their cane at the same price as the private suppliers, a price fixed by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol. This price has gradually gone up as have all the factory costs. But the ceiling price of sugar, which is Cr$166,00 a sack, has not increased. In 1951 the cost per sack of sugar at Usina São Pedro was [434] Cr$132,00. Each year the costs rise, creeping nearer and nearer to the selling price. So while the books show that each plantation is making more money for its cane, the factory's books show a slackening of profits. At the moment, most of the factories in the Recôncavo are engaged in refining their processes in order to get a higher percentage of sugar out of [433] each ton of cane. The Usina São Pedro is only able to get an average of eighty kilograms of sugar per ton of cane, while the largest factory gets one hundred kilograms per ton. The factory also loses money because it pays for the cane by the ton of dead weight, and not by the percentage of sucrose the cane contains. As a result the planters are interested in rais-

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tion plantation. At its highest level it is a form of unwritten social security which works well, supplementing the low wages which are paid throughout the area. Even on the factory plantations there is a mild form of paternalism, which is stronger in plantations nearer to the factory and to the home of the usineiro. 249* 466

The migrant workers, however, do not fit into the pattern of paternalism, mostly because they do not seek it. Indirectly they receive its benefits, for if one of them is ill he can go to the contractor who will then go to the plantation owner or usineiro for medicine or whatever is needed. But in general the migrant laborers stay by themselves and ask little or nothing of their employers. 249* 464 466

In addition to the protection provided by a paternalistic system, the workers have the right to at least half an acre of land on the plantation where they can plant and raise their subsistence crops. Often they also plant tobacco, both in these plots and in the small areas throughout the plantation where no sugar cane is planted, such as corners where the plow cannot penetrate. The tobacco is sold to traveling buyers who scour the area at the tobacco harvest season. The money thus gained belongs to the workers, and many of them say that cash earned in such a way provides the "extras" they like during the year, such as rum, cigarettes, a pair of earrings, or some perfume. 249* 466 [241] [443] [434]

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1987 5011 Bahia Brazilians 5011
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5. Town Life

THE OCCUPATIONS of the townspeople in Vila Recôncavo differ considerably from the pursuits of the people in the rural zone. The town residents are engaged in gaining a living from a number of small enterprises; the economy is a money economy, and not one dominated by mutual obligations and rights, as it is to a certain degree on the plantations. Vila Recôncavo is the county seat and lacks any organized commerce or industry. It can be called an administrative town, inasmuch as government employment is the life of many of the people, especially the town's upper class. 369 463 632 [434] [433] [647]

The economic occupations of the townspeople can be divided into four groups: (1) the bureaucrats and merchants; (2) the group which serves them, such as cooks and laundresses; (3) a middle group of artisans whose greatest asset, as well as liability, is their independence; (4) a small group of people who do not fit into any of the three groups above. 463

According to the census which was taken in June, 1950, the labor force of the town numbered 459 persons, including men and women. Of the 459, eleven listed themselves as unemployed. The remainder of the population were listed as housewives, students, small children, and old people who were retired or incapacitated. In this category, which numbers about one thousand people, there are individuals who engage in part-time work, such as carrying water or firewood or doing piecework sewing--in other words, small occupations which in their eyes are not worthy of being classed as employment. [162]

The occupations which were listed can be broken down into the four groups mentioned above as follows:

the remainder being divided among the crew, the master and 226 465
baixador receiving slightly more than the moços. Most fishermen dislike fishing with the drag net for several reasons: 226
although the catch is usually large, it must be divided among 461
many men; there really should be thirteen men to handle the net, which limits the amount each receives, and when only ten participate, the work is much greater for each although the increase in pay is slight; also, the operation is a rather boring process involving long waiting periods. It is becoming more and more difficult to get a crew together.

The resse, used to catch xangó, and the abaladeira, used 226
to catch other small fish such as sardines and tainha, present a different operation. The resse is a net of close weave, 660 feet long and 12 feet wide. Like the deep net, it has wooden floats on the top and lead weights on the bottom. A small canoe (18 to 20 feet) is used, and only two men are necessary. This net can be used with either the incoming or the outgoing tide, and at any place. The fishermen have certain favorite sand and shell banks where they like to fish, east of town. They launch the net when they see the schools of small fish breaking water. The resse is a recent innovation in Vila Recôncavo, [178]
where it was first used with great secrecy to prevent knowledge of its weave from falling into the hands of too many people. But now most fishermen in this part of the Bay of All Saints are acquainted with it, and the entire county lists twenty-five resse nets.

A second innovation with this net, and one which applies also [178]
to the abaladeira, is the cooperative launching of two nets at once in order to catch more fish. Two canoes participate, [476]
each with two men and a net. An exceptional catch for a six-hour period of fishing may run as high as Cr$600,00 and usually averages between Cr$300,00 and Cr$400,00. When two canoes fish together the total catch is divided equally between [435]
the two. The resse and abaladeira fishermen estimate that they can earn an average of Cr$15,00 every day of the year. [434]
This is considered relatively good, for they do not fish constantly. After a few profitable days they are inclined to give up for a period of time, resting and enjoying themselves. [461]

The calão is another large net requiring at least six men [461]
to manipulate it, working from the canoe and from the water as with the deep net. It is used to catch fish of all sizes except the very small xangó and shrimp. The net is 780 feet

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 8011 Bahia Brazilians 8011
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three are rural samples from the factory and plantation nuclei. The total sample is divided by classes as follows:

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Urban	Class	Rural
	A	2
11	B	7
41	C	54 (field workers 25; factory workers 29)
10	D	

Class C in the rural zone is divided into two groups, field workers and factory workers, to point out the slight differences between the two groups.

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TABLE 3
MONTHLY INCOME

Urban Average Monthly Income of Head of Family (Cr$)	Class		Rural Average Monthly Income of Head of Family (Cr$)
	A		15.500,00
1.822,72	B		2.040,00
805,85	C	field workers	450,44
		factory workers	847,00
483,74	D		

The economic gap between Class A of the rural area and classes B, C, and D of both the rural and urban areas is quickly apparent. In United States currency the income is roughly $750 per month for Class A, $100 per month for Class B, and only $20 per month for Class D. The figures for Class B, both urban and rural, show how closely the segments of the class correspond in income. However, urban Class C and rural Class C differ in that the urban group's cash income is higher, although it does not approach that of Class B. Although the field workers' income appears to be close to that of urban Class D, the produce from the garden plots to which all field workers are entitled is not included in this figure. Class D, whose income is the lowest, must live on its wages, since members of this class do not have garden plots.

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794 travagant ceremonial of the house. The fulfillment of individ-
435 ual obligations is very expensive, too much so for one person to pay for it himself. The ceremony given at the end of the year in 1950 cost the members of the house almost two thousand cruzeiros in foods, sacrificial animals, candles, kerosene for the lamps, clothing, and ornaments. Individual members spent as much as four hundred cruzeiros on their clothes and beads, in addition to contributing to the common fund, not to mention their labor in cooking and in washing and ironing all the costumes and clothes used during the ceremonies.
[434] Such large sums of money are hard to get, so the number of
[458] ceremonies per year is decreasing. Not only are the salaries
[511] of the people low and inflation high, but more and more things which were not formerly available in the area--such as movies, wrist watches, jewelry other than the beads and bracelets symbolic of the deities, perfume, and lipstick--lay claim on the people's attention and purses.

565 Participation in the cults is generally considered to be an
794 activity of lower-class people, and in Vila Recôncavo only
184 such people are seen dancing and carrying out their other cult obligations. Individuals of other classes, however, do participate either indirectly or secretly. Class A displays a genuine lack of knowledge about the cult activities, in spite of being brought up within sound of the drums and within sight of the outward symbols of the African and Indian deities. These people, although they speak with disdain of cultism and of the paganism involved, have a certain respect for it and usually refrain from interfering with it in any way. They maintain a type of joking relationship in regard to it with the workers who they know participate in it, but seldom if ever attend a ceremony. Ceremonies are infrequently held on family-owned plantations when the owners are present. Most of them take place on plantations run by overseers.

Class B in the town has several members who help support the cult house and indirectly participate in its activities, especially in reference to the Mother of the Waters ritual. Since education, which implies freedom from belief in cultism, is a criterion of class position, members of Class B in public denounce cultism and those who participate in it. But many of them, coming from families which participated in it, retain some belief in the cults and fear them. They do not completely cut themselves off from cultism. They participate in it secretly, sending money to the cult leader and presents to the Moth-

2: Hurchinson E-4,5 (1950-1981) 1967 SO11 Bahia Brasiliana SO11
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position of the sugar industry in Vila Recôncavo, is creating considerable interest on the part of the community's planters. Just as sugar cane is limited by soil and climatic conditions, so also is the cacao. There is little fear, therefore, of competition from many other areas. In addition, cacao is exportable, while the sugar of the area is for internal consumption only.

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In spite of the attraction of this new crop, there are a number of problems which must be dealt with. First, the details of a change from sugar cane to cacao must be worked out, especially as regards space and financing. The planter must juggle his sugar plantings, pastures, and rotation lands so that he can slowly take out land for preparation for cacao. If he wants to finance the changeover himself, he cannot lessen his sugar production; in fact, he needs more money than before. Banks in general lend on the forthcoming crop; if the crop is reduced, so is the amount which can be borrowed. However, to overcome this, the Institute of Cacao of Bahia is preparing a financing program on a long-term basis. Sugar cane is a perennial, planted one year, bearing for the next three or four years, then ploughed under and replanted. Cacao, on the other hand, is a permanent tree crop which gives its first fruit in five years, reaches maturity in fifteen or twenty years, and then continues to produce annually for sixty to one hundred years. Thus sugar cane is financed on a one-year basis, while initial plantings of cacao must be financed on a long-term basis of ten to fifteen years. The change from a perennial crop to a permanent crop also requires a totally different mental set on the part of the planter.

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Cacao is a "forest crop," which means that it requires shading. Under primitive conditions it is planted in dense tropical forest. In Vila Recôncavo, however, the former tropical forest has been entirely cleared away during the last four hundred years, since sugar cane tolerates no shade. Therefore, before the cacao can be planted, shade must be provided. This is done by planting banana trees and, at fixed intervals, single seedlings of a precocious, long-living, high-growing shade tree. To pay for the work involved it is common to plant manioc between the banana trees. The manioc is gathered the following year, and shortly thereafter the young cacao trees can be planted. The banana trees offer sufficient shade for the young plants. For a period of five or six years the planter

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242 can collect bananas, which should pay for the operating costs while waiting for the cacao to mature.
[434] At the end of a five- or six-year period, the shade tree is usually large enough to provide sufficient shade, and the banana trees are gradually removed. At the same time the cacao begins to give its fruit, and one can then consider himself a cacauicultor.

178 Several planters in Vila Recôncavo are at the banana-manioc
245 planting stage, and have met with their first serious labor
461 problem. No one wants to work in banana and manioc fields,
464 as the work is arduous and slow. Machines are not available for the mechanical cultivation of manioc, so the work must be
[407] done by hand. The work is slowly being accomplished, but at costs which will make the manioc a considerable liability.

178 Nevertheless, in spite of these difficulties, there is con-
245 siderable interest in cacao in Vila Recôncavo, and cacao must be considered as an element of change in the community which
433 will have far-reaching effects. The area of sugar production will be considerably reduced, requiring adjustments on the
*[247] part of the factories, which represent large financial investments. Furthermore, cacao is a fairly simple product to process--its conversion into chocolate is usually done after export --and so it is quite likely that each plantation will return to the older aspect of the plantation, both growing and processing the crop, and become once again a highly self-sufficient unit.
[571] This would of course bring about a new alignment of socio-economic relations and would undoubtedly alter the community structure.

178 A third principal cause of change in Vila Recôncavo is the
315 growth of a new and potent industry within the community and throughout the county. This new industry is the nascent Bra-
433 zilian petroleum industry. Exploratory work was done in Vila Recôncavo in 1950 and 1951 under the guidance of the Conselho Nacional de Petroleo. Since that date a nationalized company, Petrobrás, has been formed to exploit the oil fields which lie under the topsoil of the county of Vila Recôncavo. Petrobrás has brought in several hundred oil wells and has built roads, pipelines, storage tanks, and machine shops. Just outside the limits of the community, but within the county, it has built its oil refinery and has created a small new, modern city to
[425] house the technical workers of the refinery and the field. On land expropriated from the Usina São Pedro it has also con-

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begun to live together. But it is a general policy of Petrobrás that its employees establish regularized households and register their children, as the benefits of social legislation and insurance must be paid to legal beneficiaries, such as wives and children. Because of the many recent marriages, there are no longer any houses available in Vila Recôncavo, nor in Milagres, and there has been a spurt of housebuilding.

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There have also been some shifts in emphasis in the structure of the community. While the factory nucleus is no longer the scene of social gathering for the upper class of the area, the structure of the factory-private plantation system ensures that it continues to be the economic center as long as sugar cane is being planted in the area. The system of quotas established for the private planter and the factory by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol requires that planter and factory cooperate in supplying and receiving sugar cane. Also, the physical structure of the area, in which the factory is the center of the network of a small railroad which reaches out to each of the private properties, strengthens the impression of the factory as the center of activities.

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The possible future shift from sugar to cacao will of course diminish the importance of the sugar factory. However, in the meantime there is a new factor which will give more importance than ever to the factory: a feira, or market place. The county of Vila Recôncavo does not have a weekly market. For many years the county officials have wanted to establish one, not only for increased municipal income, but also to help attract more people to the area and to make life easier for the population. A market place is now under construction at the factory nucleus. When the market is completed, the factory town will become at least a weekly center of attraction for many people of the surrounding plantations.

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The development of the petroleum industry is bringing new life to the town of Vila Recôncavo, to the nearby town of Milagres, and to the new city of Conselho. Petrobrás cannot develop a nucleus on the land which belongs to the factory or to the private owners, and therefore it must concentrate any local community building efforts in the old public towns which already exist. Petrobrás, indirectly, through the county court of Vila Recôncavo, will soon contribute considerably to the county income. The same sort of compensation which was worked out in regard to the planters is now being arranged for the county, through taxes on the finished products from

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the refinery, namely gasoline, kerosene, diesel oil, bottled gas, and other petroleum derivatives. As a result of the increased income, the county government will be able to build up the county seat considerably. A hospital is already being built, as well as a new dock for the boat which comes from the city.

In Milagres, located in the neighboring county, there is already a considerable movement for breaking away from the parent county and becoming a separate municipio, a common pattern in Brazil for districts which reach a certain population and degree of economic activity. Thus there are two possibilities for urban growth in the area and for the formation of urban centers which will attract the large rural population. The town of Vila Recôncavo is close to realizing other possibilities. The construction of a road from the town to Centro has already begun, filling a long-felt need. Its completion will make it possible for cars, buses, and trucks to come from Feira, on the edge of the sertão, to Centro, down through Vila Recôncavo to Milagres, and on into the city, shortening the long trip by the existing road which follows the edges of the Recôncavo. Such traffic would "put Vila Recôncavo on the map," and would greatly increase its contacts with the outside world. In addition, the possibilities of the introduction of a new crop to the community will bring increased commercial activity and a much greater tax income, enabling the county to build its own roads and bridges and to make other improvements for the development of the area.

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Thus the community structure of Vila Recôncavo, which five years ago was in the process of crystallizing around the factory town, is now ripe for further change. The factory town continues for the present to be the major center, but the old county seat has all the possibilities of a rebirth of its former importance. In fact, because of the petroleum industry and the forthcoming changeover from sugar cane to cacao, the factory town is threatened as a community center, the position which it has only recently been consolidating.

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Finally, one of the most important changes in Vila Recôncavo in these five years is a change in attitude on the part of the people. Vila Recôncavo was always known as a conservative community, maintaining its old traditions and ways, rejecting innovations. However, there is now an air of expectancy and a search for new ways and new things. Dissatisfaction with the sugar industry, combined with the appearance

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4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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No effective opposition appears to an individual with *um pouco da raça* ("a little color"), provided he also possesses the requisite characteristics of upper-class standing.

As we have indicated, marriages between individuals of different colors, like marriages between individuals from the same race, ordinarily take place within class lines. Thus, of twenty-four marriages at Bahia in which one partner was a *branco* or a *branca* and the other a *preto* or *preta*, all the individuals, with the possible exception of one couple, were from the same class. When such marriages occur outside class lines—that is, between individuals from different occupational or income levels—the economic and social advantage, as might be anticipated, will ordinarily be in favor of the white.[11] A *preto*, speaking of the marriage of a certain white woman on the Ilha de Mare to a black, explained, "She got more out of it than he did ['foi mais para ela']. He had money and she didn't."

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Of 72 cases of intermarriage upon which it was possible to secure accurate and relatively complete information, 61, or 85 per cent, were contracted by individuals from the same occupational level. Of the 11 remaining cases in which people married across class lines, in 8, or 73 per cent, the social and economic advantages accrued to the white partner. In the remaining 3 cases, in which white individuals married a spouse from a lower occupational level, the whites were all women, a circumstance probably to be expected, given a social order wherein women are ordinarily at a disadvantage socially and at the same time under pressure to avoid spinsterhood.

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Of 35 cases on which reliable information regarding financial condition was available, only 8 were from the same eco-

[11] To some extent this is also true of intermarriage *within* the same class.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

563 nomic level. Of the 27 others, in 21, or 80 per cent, of the
565 cases the financial condition of the white was less favorable than that of the colored partner. Of the 6 other cases, in which monetary advantage was in favor of the darker individual, 3 of the whites involved were males, and 3 were females.

One of the males had married the daughter of a respected and widely revered mixed-blood educator, an "authority" on Portuguese grammar, with whom many Bahians of the upper classes had studied and into whose family, by reason of the father's prestige, anyone in Bahia would deem it an honor to be accepted. Moreover, the difference in economic level between the two families was slight. A second had married a "beautiful *morena*" whose physical charm, it is said, readily compensated for the difference in economic status.

* 563 In 19 cases of intermarriage on which information was
565 obtained from a town in the interior (Itaquara), 15 were
[114] from the same occupational level. In the 4 cases in which
[463] one spouse came from a lower social stratum than the other,
[434] the social advantage was in each case in favor of the white. Thirteen of the 19 couples came from the same economic level.

One may say that the frequency of intermarriage at Bahia varies inversely with class level. In other words, intermarriage takes place readily in the lower circles, occasionally among whites who are climbing in the class scale, and rarely with whites in the upper class.[22]

When intermarriages involving upper-class individuals do occur, however, "society" does not completely close its doors

[22] This generalization does not hold for *brancas da Bahia*, or those mixed-bloods who have passed over into the white category.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

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servant, sailor, farmer, and shoe-shiner. Of the 30 females, 23 were classified as students, 2 as teachers, 2 as housewives, and 1 each as street peddler, domestic servant, and government clerk.

Inferences based upon this occupational distribution, together with certain other indices (such as tax returns, automobile ownership, the purchase of different-priced seats at cinemas and sport events), indicate that blacks and the darker mixed-bloods ordinarily occupy the lower economic levels, the medium and light mulattoes the middle position, and the whites (including the *brancos da Bahia*) the upper stratum. 563* 434

A Bahian official engaged in income-tax collections knew of no rich blacks in the city,[4] but he did know of several well-to-do mixed-bloods, among whom were a few dark mulattoes. Most incomes in the upper brackets, however, are those of whites. [556]

Of 116 cars being driven along the central thoroughfare, the Rua Chile, during a popular festival, in 90, or 77.6 per cent of the total, only whites were riding; in 26, or 22.4 per cent, mixed-bloods were among the occupants;[5] while no cars were occupied by blacks. However, on a similar occasion, of 50 cars noted, 2 were occupied exclusively by blacks. 563* 162 493

At a cinema performance, of 63 persons occupying *poltronas* at 2$200 a seat, 73 per cent were whites, 20.6 per cent 563* 162 546

[4] Although at Ilhéos in the rich cocoa area south of Bahia a few blacks and dark mulattoes are quite well to do. For a sketch of life in this region see Jorge Amado, *Cacau* (Rio, 1933).

[5] The 6 cars in which only mulattoes were riding constituted 5.2 per cent of the total (only 1 car was occupied by dark mulattoes); the 19 cars in which both whites and mulattoes were riding constituted 16.3 per cent of the total (3 cars were occupied principally by *brancos da Bahia*, 16 by whites, with only one or two light mulattoes in each case); 1 car (0.9 per cent of the total) contained one black and five dark mulattoes.

000 BB [128] should be misleading. District data are desirable, but occupational breakdowns for these smaller political units are available neither for 1940 nor 1950. Furthermore, the areas of these districts cannot be calculated with even minimal accuracy from existing sources. Thus the distribution of rural population and agricultural labor force within municípios is largely a matter of inference. For example, the 1950 agricultural labor force was estimated, as has been seen, from the 1940 data and changes in rural population. Densities for each município were calculated from these estimates, and these densities were used as guides, in conjunction with the total populations of the various districts, in determining the distributional patterns of the map of the density of the agricultural labor force and the dot map of agricultural labor force. These maps are thus inferential distributions of inferred data.

[23]Smith, op. cit., p. 297.

BB [435] [24]Labor turnover is one of the explanations proffered for the high cost of sugar production in Bahia.

[25]The explanations offered by these migrants are various: lack of opportunity, a hostile or unfriendly landlord or creditor, a quarrel within the family or neighborhood, crop failure, or a desire to be near relatives.

[26]Joint Brazil-United States Economic Development Commission, The Development of Brazil (Institute of Inter-American Affairs, Foreign Operations Division. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1953), p. 16.

BB [796] [27]However, these people muster tremendous energy for festas (holidays or feast days), especially Carnavál. At such a time, a middle-aged lady with a chronic heart condition was observed to dance, in a procession, for several miles down the road. During the novena of Nossa Senhora de Purificão in Santo Amaro, the troups of performers will journey many miles to attend the celebration, dance and sing throughout the nights of each of the nine days, and without rest return to their homes.

[28]The people of nine urban centers of the Recôncavo--Salvador, Feira de Santana, Alagoinhas, Cachoeira-São Félix, Santo Amaro, Maragogipe, Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, and São Gonçalo--are thus excluded BB [633] from the rural population. These are the nine ranking cities of the Recôncavo, and all except São Gonçalo have more than 5,000 people. In addition to industry, those transportation, financial, retail, trade, and administrative functions which are not strictly local are confined to these urban centers, as well as wholesale trade and international commerce.

B [631] [633] [29]It is significant that Brazil has no urban political unit per se--the município or the distrito has both urban (city, town, or village) and rural sections without administrative expression.

B BB [665] [823] [857] [30]In this society there are many women, especially in the lower class, who can scarcely be considered as dependent. Moreover, as has been seen, children are also frequently productive members of lower class families. In the upper class of the villages and towns, however, there are many children and housewives whose activities are either purely domestic or are only indirectly productive.

1:Hawkins K-4,5 (1952-1954) 1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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CHAPTER VII

ANIMAL INDUSTRY

BB 231 433 Although the Recôncavo is primarily a subsistence and commercial crop region, livestock play a significant role in the agricultural BB economy as beasts of burden and as a source of animal products. In [435] 1948 there were about 800,000 to 850,000 livestock—cattle, sheep, goats, horses, asses, and mules—in the region, and the value of animal production was about Cr.$60,000,000.[1] Thus animals accounted for about 17 per cent of the total value of all agricultural products of the Recôncavo. About one quarter of the livestock were work animals essential to the operation of the agricultural economy—oxen, horses, asses, and mules.[2]

BB NB 231 233 442 443 The livestock industry of the Recôncavo is closely associated with the extensive livestock ranching economy of the Brazilian northeastern interior. In Bahia, as in most parts of Brazil, the sertão of the interior is a source region of livestock. The animals are driven from the sertão to the coastal nuclei of dense settlement and sold in the cattle market—in the Recôncavo, at the market of Feira de Santana. A portion of the cattle are slaughtered immediately to provide food for the large agricultural population, but a substantial number of cattle and the horses, asses, and mules are retained as work animals. The working cattle—oxen—are eventually slaughtered.

BB 231 Certain outlying parts of the Recôncavo share with the sertão in the role of producing livestock for the coastal market zone. Other areas, especially around Feira de Santana, function as fattening zones in which the cattle recuperate after the long drives from the interior.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

TABLE XVI

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RELATIVE CROPLAND AND VALUE OF ALL CROPS OF THE RECÔNCAVO WITH A VALUE OF MORE THAN Cr.$1,000,000 IN 1948

Crop	Per cent of the Cropland of the Recôncavo	Per cent of the Value of All Principal Crops of the Recôncavo
Tobacco	27	32
Manioc	28	25
Sugar Cane	15	20
Beans	9	6
Oranges	1	5
Bananas	1	3
Corn	12	3
Cocoanuts	1	2
Coffee	4	1
Pineapple	<1	<1
Peanuts	<1	<1
Sweet Potatoes	<1	<1

Source: Calculations and estimates based on data from Produção Agrícola: 1948.

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The leading position of tobacco results in part from its extensive cultivation, and in part from its relatively high unit value. While the mean value of production of all crops in the Recôncavo was Cr.$3,400 per hectare in 1948, tobacco produced Cr.$3,900 per hectare, as given in Table XVII, which also shows the value of production per hectare of the other principal crops. The leading position of tobacco is at variance with tradition which, as has been seen, assigns the first rank to sugar cane. Not only was tobacco the most valuable crop of the Recôncavo in 1948, but it was also the leading crop in seven municípios of the tobacco-manioc region, where it accounted for a minimum of 40 per cent of the value of all crops. Within four separate municípios of the crop region, it accounted for about 60 per cent of the total value of crops (Map 120). The Southwestern Recôncavo was the chief center of the production of tobacco, as indicated by value as well as by cropland and bulk, for it produced over 63 per cent of the total value of tobacco in the Recôncavo. Within this section, Cruz das Almas was the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 347]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

TABLE XVII

MEAN VALUE OF PRODUCTION PER HECTARE FOR THE CROPS OF THE RECÔNCAVO IN 1948

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Crops	Value of Production Cr.$1.000 per ha.
Principal Crops*	
Tobacco	3,900
Manioc	3,100
Sugar Cane	4,600
Beans	2,200
Oranges**	13,300
Bananas**	8,600
Corn	800
Coconuts**	7,400
Coffee**	1,400
Pineapple	1,000
Peanuts	2,400
Sweet Potatoes	3,500
All Crops	3,400

*Crops with a value in excess of Cr.$1,000,000.
**There is little consistent relationship between the area and production of these crops, so that local values for these crops often depart widely from the mean.
Source: Calculations and estimations based upon Produção Agrícola: 1948.

249 leading producer--40 per cent of the total value of the tobacco crop.
433 Notwithstanding the dominant role of the Southwestern area, tobacco production north of the Rio Paraguaçu was also significant—contributing 24 per cent of the total value of the crop.

As has been indicated, several grades of tobacco are produced in the Recôncavo. The superiority of the tobacco production of the Southwestern Recôncavo is more than a matter of hectares of cultivation or kilograms of leaf. The area is the core of the "Mata Fina" zone, within which the leaf of Cruz das Almas is assigned the highest price.
[439] The "Mata Fina" leaf is the basis of the export of cigar tobacco to European markets. In its concern with cacao, the most valuable export,
[245] [439] Bahia tends to forget the important role which tobacco plays in its economy, and with this, so the people of the zone sometimes feel, to

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

TABLE XVIII

VALUE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION OF THE PRINCIPAL CROP REGIONS AND OTHER AREAS OF THE RECÔNCAVO—1948

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	Value of Production	
Sugar Cane Region (Sugar Cane & Animals)		
Main Area North of Bay		
Santo Amaro	Cr.$35,200.00	
Western São Sebastião	12,700.00	
Western São Francisco	4,700.00	
Total	52,600.00	
Cachoeira	1,500.00	
Southern São Filipe (no animals)	3,600.00	
Total--Sugar Cane Region		Cr.$57,700.00
Tobacco-Manioc Region (All Crops & Animals)		
In Southwestern Recôncavo		
Conceição do Almeida	26,400.00	
Cruz das Almas	57,700.00	
Eastern Muritiba	14,900.00	
Northern São Filipe	11,000.00	
São Félix	5,700.00	
Northern Maragogipe	3,300.00	
Total	119,000.00	
In Other Sub-Regions of Recôncavo		
Conceição da Feira	4,900.00	
São Gonçalo	11,400.00	
Feira de Santana	6,100.00	
Irará	9,300.00	
Coração de Maria	4,900.00	
Santo Amaro	17,900.00	
Catu	3,600.00	
Total	58,100.00	
Total--Tobacco-Manioc Region		177,100.00
Feira de Santana Livestock Area		16,000.00
Bay Margin and Suburban Areas		
Itaparica	6,900.00	
Salvador	8,900.00	
Maragogipe	1,000.00	
Santo Amaro	2,000.00	
São Francisco	4,200.00	
Total		23,000.00
Total		Cr.$273,800.00

Source: Calculations and estimates based upon Produção Agricola: 1948.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 of value and production, at least of marketed crops. The choice between
433 value or production as a base figure for correction was dependent upon
127 the individual case and the generally expected pattern of price and
128 yield.

244 Manioc. The basic shortcomings of the manioc data were clearly
433 revealed when area and production figures were combined to show yield.
127 While the mean calculated yield for the Recôncavo was 16.3 tons per
128 hectare, the mean calculated yield for individual municípios varied from 5.3 tons per hectare for Salvador to 39.0 tons per hectare for São Filipe (Map 130). Certain variations, related to precipitation, soil, and intensity and care of cultivation, are to be expected, but the yield maps revealed incredible contrasts. Especially noteworthy was the case of São Filipe, with its yield of 39 tons per hectare. Adjoining Cruz das Almas and Conceição do Almeida, with similar and if anything more efficient practices of cultivation and with similar soils and climate--especially since most manioc in São Filipe is grown in the area adjoining Cruz das Almas and Conceição do Almeida--produced only 14 and 10 tons per hectare, respectively. It was apparent that at least one element in the São Filipe data was in error. The other municípios with exceptionally high yields--São Francisco, with 34.5 tons per hectare, and Santo Amaro, with 25.3 tons per hectare--probably can be explained by high productivity when manioc is grown on a small and intensive scale on the more fertile clay soils.

In São Filipe the yield calculated from official data was three
[435] to four times that of the surrounding municípios. Moreover, the unit value per ton was Cr.$60, compared with Cr.$150 to Cr.$200 for adjacent areas. The conclusion that the production figure was an error was re-enforced through a comparison of the density of production in

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 409]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

244 São Filipe, 230 tons per square kilometer, with the 162 tons per square
433 kilometer of Conceição do Almeida, a more notable producer.
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128 It was assumed that the unit value in São Filipe was the mean of the prices of Maragogipe and Conceição do Almeida—São Filipe is midway between these municípios in terms of location, transport, and external market relationship—and that:

$$\text{Production} = \frac{\text{Value}}{\text{Unit Value}} = \frac{4,290,000}{\frac{170 + 190}{2}} = 27,333 \text{ tons}$$

This figure is close to 28,000 tons, and it was inferred that the original figure had been transposed to 82,000 tons. Yield was then derived:

$$\frac{28,000 \text{ tons}}{2,100 \text{ hectares}} = 13.3 \text{ tons per hectare}$$

compared with 13.9 tons per hectare for Cruz das Almas and 11.1 tons per hectare for São Félix, nearby areas with similar conditions. Perhaps this yield is slightly high, but it is in the possible range of variation, and is an acceptable approximation.

[435] There was a second problem in Irará. The unit value of manioc here was Cr.$90 per ton, compared to Cr.$300 in nearby Coração de Maria, Cr.$240 in Feira de Santana, and Cr.$320 in Santo Amaro. Moreover, the density of production was very high, 26.45 tons per square kilometer total area, compared to 10.72 tons per square kilometer for Coração de Maria, especially since so much of northern Irará is not densely settled. When Cr.$200 per ton was postulated as the unit value of manioc, the production derived was 10,500 tons. Yield calculated by using this figure and the original area data would be 4.38 tons per hectare, which is unreasonably small. The yield calculated from the original data—14.6 tons per hectare—seemed approximately correct, and using these yield figures, with the derived production value of 10,500 tons, area was calculated as 719 hectares. The new area figure

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

244 433 127 128 [435] gave 0.54 tons per square kilometer total area, which corresponded to 0.59 tons per square kilometer for Coração de Maria.

In São Sebastião, the low unit value of manioc—Cr.$80 per ton—indicated possible error. The reasonable intensity of production suggested that the total value data were in error. The mean unit value of the four surrounding municípios—Cr.$240 per ton--was accepted for São Sebastião and was used to calculate a revised total value of Cr.$168,000.

Minor errors were apparent in the data for certain other municípios. For example, the yields of Maragogipe, Cachoeira, and Salvador were extremely low. Adjustments could have been made, but the relatively small manioc area and production in these municípios indicated that the resulting alterations would not markedly change the general area or production pattern. Maps 130, 131, 132, 133 and 134 show the patterns of manioc cultivation, production, and yield as taken from unmodified official data in Produção Agrícola: 1948. The corresponding maps based upon modified data (Maps 22, 23, 24, 25, and 27) are presented in Chapter V.

243 433 127 128 Corn. Calculations from the original data gave Maragogipe a yield of .40 tons of corn per hectare, less than one-half the yield of neighboring municípios. This was excessively low, and it seemed preferable to use the figure of 1.24 tons per hectare, the mean of adjacent São Filipe and Cachoeira. These municípios, though not similar to the whole of Maragogipe, resemble very much the adjoining areas where cultivation is concentrated. The production figure for Maragogipe was accepted as reasonable, since when combined with value it produced a credible unit value. Thus the area was reduced from 15 hectares to 5 hectares, raising the yield to a more acceptable level. However, these changes do not modify the gross pattern extensively and therefore the maps in Chapter 7 were based upon the original data.

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423 the responsibility of holders to colonize and develop their
* 249 areas. The grants were as a rule very large, consisting of leagues of land rather than of acres. Only one grant could be made to a family. As a result the son of a man who was a holder of a grant either had to remain on his father's land or had to leave the province and go elsewhere to acquire land. The only remaining alternative was to forget about land and go
[425] into commerce or a profession. However, since the grants were so very large, the original holders were able to break them up, selling or renting parts, giving some to their married sons or daughters and yet retaining and cultivating enough to support themselves. Thus the original land grants were broken up, and several plantations were made of each.

175 Engenho was the name given to the total plantation, as well
* 249 as being the specific designation for the mill itself. Every plantation, regardless of whether it was inland or on the coast,
313 needed two things: the soil known as massapé, and woods as close as possible to the mill to supply firewood for boiling the sugar-cane juice. Firewood soon became a crucial problem,
[185] one which has haunted the sugar industry for centuries. Conservation never was a Brazilian practice, and the tropical forests of the Recôncavo were soon stripped to feed the hun-
• [435] gry mouths of the furnaces. As time went on it became necessary to import firewood by boat from wherever it could be
[376] found, which added greatly to the costs of producing sugar. The steam mill came much later and added further to the problem.

175 At first the owner's house was a veritable fort, surrounded
* 249 by bulwarks and stockades to resist Indian attacks, but by the end of the seventeenth century the need for this precaution had
342 passed away and the plantation houses were assuming noble
361 proportions. Many were imposing two-story buildings built of stone and mortar, the ground level generally being used as a storehouse and the master (senhor de engenho) and his family living on the upper floor. As a rule the Big House of the Recôncavo was situated so that there would be an excellent view from the windows, not only of the mill and slave quarters nearby but of the surrounding countryside. There was no sight so dear to the heart of a plantation master as that of fields of sugar cane, the leaves of many shades of green waving gently in the breeze.

175 Frequently a chapel was connected with the house or built
* 249 361 near it. Not very far away would be the mill, and nearby the
[346]

VILA RECÔNCAVO

These houses (solares, or sobrados) were enormous, constructed of stone and mortar, with wooden floors and ceilings. Stone and wood were themselves a sign of wealth, since it was necessary to bring them from a great distance. The furniture was often of handworked rosewood. Affluence was especially shown in table service of silver, porcelain, and crystal, most of which was imported from Europe. Members of the families frequently dressed in fine damask silks and were adorned with fine jewelry of gold and precious stones. It was not unusual for the plantation master to dress a few of his favorite slaves almost as well as his family and to parade them to church as an indication of his wealth. Another method of demonstrating wealth was the support of churches, especially that of the Tertiary Order of Franciscans.

175 249* 565* [342] [291] [301] [567] [794]

The plantation master eventually lost his prominence. When the capital of the colony was moved from Bahia to Rio de Janeiro in 1763 he was no longer so politically powerful, except locally, for there was too much distance between him and the new capital. Transportation was poor and communication still poorer. Also, other crops--namely coffee, cotton, rubber, and finally cacao--became more valuable than sugar. The abolition of slavery in 1888 was the final blow to the power of the plantation master.

175 178 249* 565* [567]

It was usually admitted that the greatest wealth or source of wealth of the plantation master was his slaves. At first the Portuguese colonists tried to enslave the Indians and put them to work on the sugar plantations, but the Indians sickened and died off easily. There was also great opposition, on the part of the Jesuits, to the enslavement of Indians. The importation of African slaves seemed to be the solution. From the middle of the sixteenth century until about the middle of the nineteenth century ships plied back and forth from Bahia to the west coast of Africa, carrying tobacco, leather, and rum to be traded for slaves. The African slave always brought a higher price in the market in Bahia than did the Indian slave. It was considered that a normal plantation or mill of a thousand acres needed approximately two hundred slaves, divided among the fields, the mill, the various skills, and the house of the owner. In the nineteenth century the procurement of slaves became increasingly difficult as a result of European, North American, and even Brazilian opposition to slavery. In the mid-nineteenth century the slave trade was officially prohibited and the traffic became clandestine. The prices of slaves soared at this

175 567 249* [435] [464] [435]

Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Private Plantation]

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1 new, rural school, with rooms for classes and living quarters for teacher, constructed by the state on land donated by Dona Sinhá

Value of the plantation: Cr$1,500,000,00.[3]

Equipment: 1 Caterpillar tractor, model D2
1 John Deere plow
1 jeep
2 four-wheeled, rubber-tired wagons
9 juntas of oxen (the junta equals ten oxen, eight in use and two resting)
9 two-wheeled carts drawn by oxen--the antique and most used transportation in the Recôncavo
30 burros for carrying cane
12 saddle horses
35 milk cows and breeding mares
78 cattle for breeding purposes

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The Fazenda das Moças is unusual in its possession of a tractor, a mechanical plow, and a jeep. (Even more recently a second tractor and a mechanical cultivator have been added.) More commonly the pai adão (Father Adam) plow is used, drawn by eight oxen. According to Pinho thé plow was introduced into Brazil in the late eighteenth century. Before this all cultivation was done with the hoe.[4] For the past 150 years the pai adão has been used primarily to open the rows in which the sugar cane is planted. All the rest of the cultivation is done by hand, with the hoe and billhook. The pai adão is a simple plow with a single plowshare. When it is drawn by oxen, a driver is needed, plus a small boy helper and another man to manage the plow. When it is drawn by tractor, only two men are needed, the driver and the plowman. Various properties of the soil, such as its hardness in the summer when it dries, its swamplike character during the rainy season, and the danger of turning up the infertile tauá which underlies the shallow layer of massapê, have made plowing difficult in the Re-

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3. The cruzeiro (Cr$) is the Brazilian monetary unit and equals roughly five cents in United States currency. Thus the value of the plantation is approximately $75,000.00.

4. de Araujo Pinho, Historia de um engenho do Recôncavo, 1522-1944 (Rio de Janeiro, 1946), p. 243.

[The Usina]

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221 kills the new shoots. Toward the end of summer, the pastures or garden plots which are to be made into new plantations (rêgo novo) are prepared, for such work is usually done in accordance with conditions of the land rather than only at the [433] time of planting. New plantings yield an average of thirty to forty tons per acre. Cutting, transporting, burning, and planting are done by the resident workers, while the weeding and general cultivating are carried out by the migrant laborers.

Work in the winter period can usually be handled by the resident workers alone. The planting of cane goes on throughout the year, but the most favorable time is during July and August, when the rains begin to diminish in constancy and the sun shines longer. Cane planted at this time gives the greatest yield. The seed used is the top part of the cane itself, the "eye" which appears just below the leaves. As a rule each plantation furnishes most of its own seed. That for the summer planting comes from the cane which is cut to go to the factory, and that for the winter from small plantings made [654] previously for the purpose. The state government also maintains an agricultural station in the area, from which the planters can get seed. During the winter all repairs are made on houses, fences, and equipment, and of course the necessary drainage ditches must be built or repaired and seasonal cultivation and clearing work must be done.

*249 The usineiros maintain that the agricultural operations pay more than does the factory. The factory plantations sell their •435 cane at the same price as the private suppliers, a price fixed by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol. This price has gradually gone up as have all the factory costs. But the ceiling price of sugar, which is Cr$166,00 a sack, has not increased. In 1951 the cost per sack of sugar at Usina São Pedro was [434] Cr$132,00. Each year the costs rise, creeping nearer and nearer to the selling price. So while the books show that each plantation is making more money for its cane, the factory's books show a slackening of profits. At the moment, most of the factories in the Recôncavo are engaged in refining their processes in order to get a higher percentage of sugar out of [433] each ton of cane. The Usina São Pedro is only able to get an average of eighty kilograms of sugar per ton of cane, while the largest factory gets one hundred kilograms per ton. The factory also loses money because it pays for the cane by the ton of dead weight, and not by the percentage of sucrose the cane contains. As a result the planters are interested in rais-

3: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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ing a heavy cane and increasing their tonnage rather than in raising the quality of the cane. There is a movement under way to change the payment method to payment by percentage of sucrose, but it seems to be gaining little headway.[7]

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The factory of the Usina São Pedro is directed personally by two members of the Conde family, while most other factories have a paid employee, a general manager, who is the industrial counterpart of the general overseer. There are approximately eighty salaried employees in this factory, who are paid by the day and who work all year long. The factory operates from September till February--the harvest season--in two shifts of twelve hours each. During the harvest season over a hundred migrant workers are added to the payroll under the direction of the contractor, and usually work on the endless belt and in the unloading operations.

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The resident factory worker, in addition to receiving a house, also has the right to electric light and to firewood. These workers are trained in the factory, and many of them have been there for a long time. The Usina São Pedro is especially proud of the loyalty of its men, many of whom remained there during the war when they were being enticed away with higher wages by the federal government to build military installations. The Usina São Pedro has experienced no labor difficulties as have some other larger factories, which have had riots and demonstrations caused by labor unions. This is due partly to the small size of the factory, and partly to the continued atmosphere of paternalism, to which many other factories are now making a determined effort to return.

Thus paternalism stands out as one of the major factors in the complicated organizational hierarchy of plantation life. The former master is now simply the patron, but in this role he carries out almost the same functions as did the master in relation to the well-being of his slaves. The patron of today has the same ethical responsibilities toward his workmen as did the former master. In general these responsibilities include care of the workmen beyond the mere payment of a salary, such as care of the sick and the old. Paternalism today is found at its highest degree on the private, family-run plantation and at its lowest degree on the overseer-run, corpora-

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7. Jayme V. B. Machado, Industria açucareira na Bahia (Bahia, 1950).

[Town Life]

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vo. There are about twenty women in the town who are thus employed constantly, and others who work part-time with the fish. They go down to the beach, carrying five-gallon gasoline cans, when they see the fishermen coming in, and buy the fish by the canful at about Cr$25,00 a can, sometimes buying as many as ten canfuls. An exceptional catch for a day will run well over fifty cans, especially during the winter months. The women then take the fish home, clean them and pack them in salt for twenty-four hours, after which they put them on spits, two narrow slivers of wood cut from the dendê palm. Five fish go on each two spits. They are then hung out to dry in the sun for about two days. If it rains, the drying takes longer, and frequently many are lost. Few of the women ever become accustomed to the odor of the salted, drying fish, and they complain bitterly about it. But they know that there is always a market for the dried product, and this compensates to some extent for the unpleasantness involved. A can of fish usually provides 150 to 200 spits, and they are sold for Cr$25,00 to Cr$30,00 a hundred spits. The price is generally slightly higher if they are sold at the weekly Monday market in Centro, to which the women as a rule go themselves, or to which they send the fish with a friend. Otherwise, they are sold to the occasional tropeiros de cima[3] who come to town to buy them at a slightly lower price. It is said that the small dried fish are considered a fine dish by the people of the sertão.

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Other women prepare shrimp in much the same manner, although the prices are higher. A can of shrimp costs between Cr$100,00 and Cr$150,00 depending upon the size of the catch and the season of the year, for during Lent and especially during Holy Week, when the demand is greater, all prices of fish and seafood rise. A can of shrimp gives two hands (duas mãos), or forty spits, of shrimp, which are sold at the average of Cr$100,00 a hand; the price of the finished product varies with the price of the fresh shrimp. However, a man in Vila Recôncavo recently built an icehouse, and the women have worked less with shrimp, for the fishermen sell directly to

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3. Tropeiros de cima (troopers from up north) are men from the sertão who descend to the Recôncavo with mules loaded with farina to sell, and return north with fish and fruit from the Recôncavo.

attached to the canoe by a cord called the espia (literally, "it spies"), with which the fisherman can feel when the net has reached the bottom; he can also feel any activity within the net indicating that he has caught something. The net is about 18 feet high, and its round bottom has a circumference of approximately 120 feet. A series of lead weights are sewn into the bottom to carry it downward through the water. The whole net, with its lead, weighs between 5 and 6 kilograms. The sizes of nets vary with their age, for constant repair enlarges them or sometimes makes them smaller. While the man is fishing, the canoe remains drifting, undirected. As the tide begins to run out the fisherman must stop casting his net every so often to paddle the canoe back to the starting point and to keep it from being carried away from the fishing grounds. At other times, if the shrimp appear to be moving away, he picks up his paddle and follows them. The entire operation of casting the net, pulling it in, and emptying it into the bottom of the canoe takes from ten to twenty minutes. If the shrimp are present in great numbers the fisherman speeds up his activities; if not he moves more slowly. C. F. Ott calls the circular casting net "incontestably a Portuguese cultural element."[4]

226 [461] [177]

The period of fishing rarely lasts more than three hours, for by then the tide is moving more strongly and a breeze has arisen. These two factors upset the fishing for they move the canoes away from the fishing grounds. During the month there are approximately fifteen days of fishing with the casting net. If his luck is good a man may catch 20 to 30 kilograms of shrimp a day, and occasionally more; or else he may catch next to nothing. It should be stated that the author never saw a good-sized catch taken with any net, in spite of the great number of times he accompanied the fishermen.

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As a rule the fisherman owns his own casting net or borrows one. The canoe is usually rented, and the usual price is two cruzeiros for the morning's fishing. Shrimp bring from Cr$15,00 to Cr$25,00 a kilogram, so this type of fishing is relatively remunerative and involves little expense. A net

[422] [427] [435]

4. C. F. Ott, "Os elementos culturais da pescaria baiana," Boletim do Museu Nacional (Rio de Janeiro), No. 4 (October, 1944), p. 31.

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1 226 [435] costs about Cr$240,00 to make and lasts as long as ten years with good care.

227 The drag net, or deep net, as it is sometimes called, is a much larger net used to catch shrimp. It is 360 feet long, 168 feet wide, and has 420 feet of rope on one end and 480 [435] feet on the other. The top is equipped with wooden floats, and the bottom with lead weights. Such a net costs about [422] Cr$4.000,00 and is expensive to keep up, for it is easily torn [441] on submerged objects because of its size and weight. There are only six of them in the town; most of them belong to the merchants, who are the only ones who can afford the upkeep.

226 Fishing with this net is very complicated and requires the [461] services of at least ten men and two canoes, one large and one small. The owner seldom goes fishing. Instead, a master (mestre) is in charge of the operation, and the others in the crew are called "boys" (moços). One of these is the baixador whose work is done standing in the water. His is an unpleasant job, and he runs the constant risk of being bitten by crabs, stung by large jellyfish, and cut by sharp shells on the bottom. The net is used only at the shrimp grounds already described, where the circular casting net is used, in front of the town. This net must also be used when the tide is at a standstill, because the current makes the heavy net unmanageable. The net is carried on the larger canoe which is paddled by six men, while four go in the smaller one. The canoes pause when they arrive at the customary point for launching the net, and almost everyone lights up a cigarette. There is usually some discussion among the fishermen in the various canoes as to who will launch his net first, but as a rule not more than four of the six nets are used on the same day. Since all four must be launched at exactly the same spot, there is an accepted order of first, second, third, and fourth. First yesterday is last today, each moving up one place each day. But if a crew is late in arriving the others will not wait very long, for the time for net work is short. Seldom do the four crews launch their nets more than twice in one morning. The last launching is called the "hard hard" (duradura), indicating the small returns obtained for such hard work. The first net to be launched usually catches the most shrimp.

[435] On a good day it is not unusual for the first crew to take in Cr$1.000,00 to Cr$2.000,00 worth of shrimp, especially if it [465] made two launchings. The method of paying the crew varies, but as a rule the owner takes between 40 and 50 per cent,

the remainder being divided among the crew, the master and 226 465
baixador receiving slightly more than the moços. Most fishermen dislike fishing with the drag net for several reasons: 226
although the catch is usually large, it must be divided among 461
many men; there really should be thirteen men to handle the net, which limits the amount each receives, and when only ten participate, the work is much greater for each although the increase in pay is slight; also, the operation is a rather boring process involving long waiting periods. It is becoming more and more difficult to get a crew together.

The resse, used to catch xangó, and the abaladeira, used 226
to catch other small fish such as sardines and tainha, present a different operation. The resse is a net of close weave, 660 feet long and 12 feet wide. Like the deep net, it has wooden floats on the top and lead weights on the bottom. A small canoe (18 to 20 feet) is used, and only two men are necessary. This net can be used with either the incoming or the outgoing tide, and at any place. The fishermen have certain favorite sand and shell banks where they like to fish, east of town. They launch the net when they see the schools of small fish breaking water. The resse is a recent innovation in Vila Recôncavo, [178]
where it was first used with great secrecy to prevent knowledge of its weave from falling into the hands of too many people. But now most fishermen in this part of the Bay of All Saints are acquainted with it, and the entire county lists twenty-five resse nets.

A second innovation with this net, and one which applies also [178]
to the abaladeira, is the cooperative launching of two nets at [476]
once in order to catch more fish. Two canoes participate, each with two men and a net. An exceptional catch for a six-hour period of fishing may run as high as Cr$600,00 and usually averages between Cr$300,00 and Cr$400,00. When two ca- [435]
noes fish together the total catch is divided equally between the two. The resse and abaladeira fishermen estimate that [434]
they can earn an average of Cr$15,00 every day of the year. This is considered relatively good, for they do not fish constantly. After a few profitable days they are inclined to give [461]
up for a period of time, resting and enjoying themselves.

The calão is another large net requiring at least six men [461]
to manipulate it, working from the canoe and from the water as with the deep net. It is used to catch fish of all sizes except the very small xangó and shrimp. The net is 780 feet

226 long and has ropes on each end 420 feet long. This net demands a large canoe. The usual size in use is 30 feet long.

226 Few of the fishermen own their own calão--most rent it
427 from a merchant who has one. It is rented by the master on a long-term basis rather than for just one trip. It is said that the master "toma conta da rede," meaning that he not only is fishing with the net, but also repairs it and dyes it when needed. The owner of the net, who usually also owns the canoe and the paddles, receives 20 per cent of the profits of each
226 trip. The remainder is divided among the six men, although the master and baixador each receive one-third more than the
[435] other four. Depending on how the fish are running, the calão may catch as much as Cr$1.000,00 to Cr$1.500,00 worth of fish per trip, or as little as Cr$120,00 worth. Two trips a day are made when the fishing is good. There are only eight of these nets in the town, and they are worth about Cr$1.500,00 apiece. The calãozinho is a smaller net of the same type, sometimes called the redinha, or little net. Although its operation is almost the same as that of the larger net, it re-
[178] quires only four men to maneuver it. However, it is becoming
[461] less and less popular as the resse increases in popularity.

On land, good care must be taken of the nets. After the
227 fishing, the nets are carried up along the beach to the drying racks, long lines of poles over which the nets are spread. As they dry the master checks them, looking for holes which he immediately sews with a wooden bobbin and cotton thread.
[824] The nets are hand-woven of cotton, and dyed in water in which the bark of the red mangue has soaked. This turns the white cotton a dark reddish brown and protects it from the action of the salt water and the sun. A new net must be soaked in this dye every two or three days, and later every eight days.
227 The resse, saladeira, and tarrafa are frequently woven by
286 women, and, unless worked on steadily, these nets may take as long as eight months to make. With steady work a circular
[462] casting net can be made in about twelve days. The women are
[461] paid Cr$12,00 per box of cotton line which contains twenty-
[435] five spools of cotton thread, and it takes five boxes to make an average-size net. The other nets require heavier thread and take much longer to make. The calão and the deep net are made by men, and a year is not considered too long for the
[824] manufacture of one. Piassava, a plant fiber which grows in the Recôncavo, is used as line. The fishermen of Vila Recôn-
227 cavo go to the southwestern part of the bay to purchase it. It

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TABLE 4
TOTAL PROPERTY VALUE

Urban (Cr$)	Class		Rural (Cr$)
	A		5.751.080,00
36.834,54	B		88.652,85
6.954,75	C	field workers	1.251,20
		factory workers	1.633,00
3.991,00	D		

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Total property value again demonstrates the enormous gap between the rural upper class and the classes below. It also shows the members of rural Class B far ahead of urban class B in possession of property. Most of this property consists of small farms and animals. Urban classes C and D have more property than does rural Class C, principally because the town dwellers own their own houses. In addition to this, members of Class C often own their own means of production, such as canoes and fish nets. Both houses and working equipment are supplied to the rural workers by the land owners.

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TABLE 5
HOUSEHOLD EXPENDITURES

Class		Total expenditure	Expenditure for food
A		10.129,50	3.327,00
B	rural	1.955,91	1.199,28
	urban	1.771,40	1.342,21
C	field workers	522,00	413,00
	factory workers	755,54	522,00
	urban	728,00	571,00
D		440,90	434,00

Approximately one-third of the total expenditures of Class A are for food, while Class B spends about two-thirds of its

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794 travagant ceremonial of the house. The fulfillment of individ-
435 ual obligations is very expensive, too much so for one person to pay for it himself. The ceremony given at the end of the year in 1950 cost the members of the house almost two thousand cruzeiros in foods, sacrificial animals, candles, kerosene for the lamps, clothing, and ornaments. Individual members spent as much as four hundred cruzeiros on their clothes and beads, in addition to contributing to the common fund, not to mention their labor in cooking and in washing and ironing all the costumes and clothes used during the ceremonies.
[434] Such large sums of money are hard to get, so the number of ceremonies per year is decreasing. Not only are the salaries
[458] of the people low and inflation high, but more and more things
[511] which were not formerly available in the area--such as movies, wrist watches, jewelry other than the beads and bracelets symbolic of the deities, perfume, and lipstick--lay claim on the people's attention and purses.

*565 Participation in the cults is generally considered to be an
794 activity of lower-class people, and in Vila Recôncavo only
184 such people are seen dancing and carrying out their other cult obligations. Individuals of other classes, however, do participate either indirectly or secretly. Class A displays a genuine lack of knowledge about the cult activities, in spite of being brought up within sound of the drums and within sight of the outward symbols of the African and Indian deities. These people, although they speak with disdain of cultism and of the paganism involved, have a certain respect for it and usually refrain from interfering with it in any way. They maintain a type of joking relationship in regard to it with the workers who they know participate in it, but seldom if ever attend a ceremony. Ceremonies are infrequently held on family-owned plantations when the owners are present. Most of them take place on plantations run by overseers.

Class B in the town has several members who help support the cult house and indirectly participate in its activities, especially in reference to the Mother of the Waters ritual. Since education, which implies freedom from belief in cultism, is a criterion of class position, members of Class B in public denounce cultism and those who participate in it. But many of them, coming from families which participated in it, retain some belief in the cults and fear them. They do not completely cut themselves off from cultism. They participate in it secretly, sending money to the cult leader and presents to the Moth-

3t Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1963 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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The most valuable property of a colonial *engenho*, however, was the slaves. Comparatively few Portuguese came to the Recôncavo, and even those among them who had been labourers in Portugal did not come to Brazil to do manual work. African slaves had already been used on sugar plantations in the Madeira Islands, and a slave system was imported into Brazil along with sugar cane. Although it was expressly prohibited by the Portuguese Government,[4] the early settlers in Bahia enslaved the Indians who did not flee or who were not killed in the early fighting with the colonists. Governor Mem de Sá's Testament lists 95 Indian men slaves, 84 Indian women slaves and only 20 African slaves.[5] From the start, however, Indians were considered inferior to Africans as slaves; they seemed unable to adapt themselves to continuous labour in the fields and mills. Yet in many cases they were kept as fishermen, hunters and boatmen for the *engenho*, being in these activities superior to the newly-arrived Negroes. By 1700, the Negro slaves greatly outnumbered the Europeans in the region, and there were but few Indian slaves. Slave was almost synonymous with Negro.

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An inventory of an *engenho* of about 650 acres, made in 1866 shortly before the end of slavery, gives a total value of 200 contos[1] for the *engenho*. The land, houses, slaves and livestock were valued at 125 contos; the value of the slaves alone was placed at 65 contos. The inventory divides the slaves into two categories: house slaves *(escravos de casa)* and work slaves *(escravos de lavoura)*. There were 18 house slaves and 103 work slaves. Among the house slaves were 1 barber-tailor-painter, 6 servants, 1 cook, 2 seamstresses and 1 apprentice seamstress, 2 sweet-makers, 2 laundresses, and 3 children without specific 'profession', as their occupation was called. Of the work slaves, 59 were listed as field workers (26 men and 33 women of all ages above the age of 12), 18 as small children, and 26 as specialists—including 4 ox-cart drivers, 5 sailors, 2 ironsmiths, 3 bricklayers, 1 field manager, 1 ship captain, 1 gardener, 1 barrel-maker, 1 specialist in the boiling of sugar, and 1 nurse. The prices of the slaves ran from 'without value' or as low as 20 milreis to as high as 1 conto 400 milreis, depending upon the age, physical condition and degree of skill of the slave.[2] The slaves were always listed in such inventories as foreign- or native-born and generally, if it were known, the place or tribe of origin was given. Many are listed simply as *Africano*. For those born in Brazil, the terms used are *Pardo*, *Cabra* or *Crioulo*; the diminutive form of these terms is used for all

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[1] The conto is a unit of Brazilian currency, composed of 1,000 milreis. The milreis, or cruzeiro as it is also called today, is the standard unit of currency. In 1951 the milreis was officially valued at 5.37 cents in U.S. currency, making the conto worth $52.70. However, it must be kept in mind that in 1866 the value of the milreis was considerably higher.

[2] In 1835 this same *engenho* had 60 house slaves and 155 work slaves. The highest valued slave was 900 milreis.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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In the sixteenth century a good slave is said to have been valued in Bahia at 40 milreis; in 1692, at 60 milreis; in 1703, at 100 milreis; and in 1800, at 140 milreis.[26] At Pernambuco, early in the nineteenth century, Negroes were valued at 32 pounds sterling; oxen at 31 pounds each, and horses the same; although "by management the two last may be obtained at lower prices," Koster informs us,[27] adding that "plantations of the first class ought to have eighty Negroes at least."

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In addition to Bahia and Recife, there were two other centers of African importation on the coast, at Rio de Janeiro to the south and Maranhão to the north, and one interior region of concentration, the province of Minas Geraes. These five areas received the major portion of all importations and remain today the principal centers of Negro population in Brazil.

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In 1831 a treaty with Great Britain sought to abolish the slave trade. But for a quarter of a century this agreement was so little enforced[28] that an estimated 500,000 additional

[26] Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 182. A slave worth 100 milreis in 1830 was valued at five times this figure ten years later, and still more as the pressure of the British blockade continued (Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 472).

[27] *Op. cit.*, II, 139.

[28] "At one time it appeared impossible to abolish the traffic. . . . . The planters declared that without Africans they would be absolutely unable to plant crops; that free labor was not to be had in sufficient numbers for the necessities of agriculture; that only by force could labor be obtained in this hot country; that the citizen, he who was a free man, possessed as his chief privilege 'não trabalhar' [the right not to labor], or at least to work only enough to enable him to eat and to live as 'Deus dará' [God will provide]; that since the 'gente rude' did not lack shelter, being content to live in palm-leaf huts, it was useless to attempt to obtain profitable labor from free men, who were always lazy and inclined to idleness; that the *fazendeiro* who used free labor was soon reduced to penury by the wages paid out and the poor quality of work so secured" (Amaral, *op. cit.*, pp. 472-73). On receiving news of the decree of 1831, the Bahian provincial assembly directed a petition to

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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The first recorded protest in Brazil against slavery as an institution was that of the Jesuit Manoel de Nobrega, who, shortly after Bahia was founded, sent a letter to the superior of his order in Lisbon protesting against the importation of Africans into the new settlement.

In 1758 Manoel Ribeiro da Rocha, who had been educated at Coimbra, published in Lisbon a book entitled *Ethiope resgatado, empenhado, sustentado, corrigido, instruido e libertado*, in which the abolition of the slave trade was advocated. Sixty-five years later, in 1823, José Bonifacio de Andrade e Silva unsuccessfully proposed in parliament a measure designed to end importation by 1828. But on November 7, 1831, the regent, Padre Diogo Antonio Feijó, signed a resolution drawn up by Costa Carvalho, Lima e Sousa, and Basilio Muniz, which declared free all Africans subsequently brought into Brazil.

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Manumission existed from the first. Apparently early in the colonial period it became customary for masters to accept remuneration for original cost.[64] Public opinion demanded that an owner set at liberty any slave requesting his freedom and offering the price of his purchase.[65] The requirement was later made legally binding and enforced by law.[65a] Other slaves were given their freedom either during their master's lifetime or upon his death. The fathers of illegitimate offspring often freed their children at the baptismal font. From 1864 to 1870 large numbers of slaves were granted their freedom on agreeing to serve in the Para-

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[64] The wearing of shoes or slippers became a symbol of freedom.

[65] R. Walsh, *Notices of Brazil* (2 vols.; London, 1830), II, 391.

[65a] National Law No. 2040, September 28, 1871. See Manoel Joaquim do Nascimento e Silva, *Synopsis da legislação brasileira* (Rio, 1874), p. 460.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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guayan war.[66] The law eventually provided that Negro women, after rearing ten children, should be automatically liberated.[67] In 1871 the so-called "law of Rio Branco" freed offspring of slaves born subsequent to its adoption[68] and set up a fund for the purchase and liberation of Negroes by the government. By 1880 a widespread emancipation movement was under way.[69] Thousands were freed by will, by payments from emancipation funds,[70] or by outright gift.[71] For instance, in 1883, in the towns of Baturite, Aca-

[66] On March 30, 1867, the monastery of São Bento in Bahia, which had already freed eleven slaves for service in the war with Paraguay, liberated six more Negroes and "presented them to the Governor for the same purpose."

[67] Koster, however, wrote from Pernambuco in the early nineteenth century: "A slave who has brought into the world, and has reared ten children, ought to be free, for so the law ordains. But this regulation is generally evaded" (*op. cit.*, I, 195).

[68] This law was, however, in some cases ineffective. Sixteen years after its passage the Bahian *Diario Official*, of June 4, 1887, reported the following auction of slave property at the *fazenda Concordia:* "Alberto, 10 years of age, one conto of reis; Vicente, 13 years, one conto of reis; Felix, 14 years, 800 milreis; Flauzinha, 13 years, 600 milreis, Simplicio, 14 years, one conto of reis" (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 387 n.)

[69] Among the prominent abolitionists mentioned by Anselmo da Fonseca were: José do Patrocinio, Joaquim Nabuco ("the great and illustrious head of the abolition movement"), Senator Dantas, Ferreira de Menezes, Andre Rebouças, Quintino Bocayuva, Joaquim Serra, Ennes de Souza, Getulio das Neves, Nicolau Moreira, José Mariano, Celso Junior, Senator Jaguaripe, Luiz de Andrade, João Clapp, Beaurepaire Rohan, Aristides Spinola, Ruy Barbosa, Escragnole Taunay, Franco de Sá, Antonio Pinto, Leopoldo Bulhões, and "a writer using the pseudonym of Clarkson" (*ibid.*, p. 23).

[70] These funds were sponsored by emancipation societies, private individuals, and municipal, state, and national treasuries.

[71] The *Provinciano*, a newspaper of Parahyba do Sul, listed in 1884, among others, the following emancipations: "Dona Anna S. José, 16 slaves liberated and a farm given them for their use; Condessa do Rio Novo, 200 slaves

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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them odd stories which were calculated to strike their imagination."[58]

Public opinion expected of masters the acceptance of an offer made to manumit an infant on the occasion of his baptism.[59] It also became customary, when marriages were being solemnized in the master's family, to free one or two favorite slaves.[60] Masters frequently declined the money proffered by a Negro for his purchase and granted his freedom without payment.[61] Slaves of the religious orders, it is said, considered themselves to belong to the saints themselves and were never sold.[62] The law adopted in 1809 to protect the property of sugar planters against attachment for debt also provided that slaves need not be sold separately from an estate to satisfy a creditor's claims. Thus the master could not be forced to dispose of his slaves, unless the debt amounted to the value of the entire estate; and, as Koster has pointed out,[63] the slave in this way was advanced, in some degree at least, toward the condition of a serf.

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[58] *Ibid.*

[59] "Another custom which was advantageous to the slave was that of *alforrias na pia*, which was accomplished with the insignificant amount of 5 to 30 milreis and never was refused; this custom became very common, especially when the child had a light skin" (Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 255). Koster gives the price in Pernambuco early in the nineteenth century as £5 and says that "in this manner, a considerable number of persons are set at liberty; for the smallness of the price enables many freemen who have had connections with female slaves to manumit their offspring; and instances occur of the sponsors performing this .... act. Not infrequently female slaves apply to persons of consideration to become sponsors to their children, in the hope that the pride of these will be too great to allow of their godchildren remaining in slavery" (*op. cit.*, I, 195–96).

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[60] Frank Bennett, *Forty Years in Brazil* (London, 1914), p. 111.

[61] Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 256. [62] *Ibid.* [63] *Op. cit.*, I, 229 n.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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My *pae de santo* made an *ebó* for me last week. It is a *limpeza do corpo* ["cleansing of the body"]. I had an unclean body and dragged myself around, listless. I went to the "master" of the *candomblé* and he "opened the table" and looked to see if my body was unclean. He then asked me to bring toasted maize, a black cloth, popcorn, honey, and a candle. He passed them all over me,[58] and when he had finished, he took them and left them in a crossroads. Friday is the day for this. 159 793 783

Now if a person puts a *bruxaria*[59] in your doorway, with a doll stuck through with pins, that is of the *feiticeiro* and it is different from a "cleansing of the body." My *pae de santo* does not make *feitiço*. He says that he does not care to do harm to people, because he has a soul for which he is responsible to God. But any *pae de santo* who wishes to bring harm upon someone can do so. For example, if I arrive in his *casa* and say that I want to do something to someone he asks me: "What do you want to do to her?" I say that when she comes to my door I want her to go blind. He will "make a business" and the next day she will come to my door and go blind. Or else I say that I want her to be wounded by a knife. He arranges it so that this happens.[60] 159 754 [793]

"Opening the table" is a thing done with *busios*. The *pae de santo* puts an *orixá* on top of the table, together with his little towel.[61] He takes up the *busios* and sees if "the way is open." My *pae de santo* "opens the table" with beads.[62] He takes the beads and puts them alongside *palha* from the *pindoba*.[63] These beads come from the Coast.[64] His set cost 1:000$000.[65] 159 787 793 778 [439] [435]

[58] That is, in front, to side, behind, above the head, etc.

[59] Any instrument of black magic.

[60] That is, she will be attacked in a lonely place by robbers, or accidentally stabbed. The action is always mediate.

[61] The table-covering which is placed over the *orixá* in the *pegi*, or sanctuary.

[62] Other means employed: a glass of water, a set of playing cards.

[63] Fronds from a variety of the coconut palm.

[64] That is, from the West Coast of Africa.

[65] One thousand milreis, or one conto, equivalent at that time to approximately $60.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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office of priest) to him. He is dedicated to the same *orixá*, Ogun, as was she, and speaks, he claims, "a little of six different African languages: Nagô, Gêge, Ige-chá, Queito, Egba, and Musurumi." He owns "a roomful" of ceremonial costumes, one of which is said to have cost six contos (approximately $360). He considers his task to be that of "doing good" and refuses to deal in black magic, an attitude which has cost him, it is said, "much money."[13] He is godfather to approximately a hundred and fifteen children and is soon to be godfather to nine others who are on the point of receiving the baptismal ceremony. He visits about the Reconcavo, particularly in Cachoeira, exercising his office of *pae de santo*, and is said to have paid similar visits to Rio de Janeiro, Pernambuco, Maranhão, and Pará, in each of which he has "made" several *filhas* and "confirmed" *ogans*.

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The *achôgun*, or sacrificer, is an elderly black with a kindly face and snow-white hair. The leader of the drummers, or the *alabê*, a jolly black whose mother (now deceased) was a *mãe de santo* in Cidade de Palha, is very expert with the drums, speaks Nagô, and sings in a high-pitched but rather pleasant voice the African *cantigas*, or ritualistic songs. An *ogan* says of him, proudly, "He knows almost as much about African things as a *pae de santo*."

An elderly Negro woman, who walks haltingly with a cane, attends every ceremony. Younger friends carefully help her to a seat where she can see everything that goes on. Leaning forward on her cane, her intelligent eyes wide open, her face continually breaking into beaming smiles, she joins

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[13] An *ogan* of this *seita* says that a *pae de santo* in Itapoan named Gregorio (now deceased) once declined twelve contos (approximately $750) "to make a man mad." This *ogan* knows, however, a *mãe de santo* who, as he says, became angered at the remarks of a young skeptic and "made a *negocio*" (literally a "business"; i.e., black magic) which "drove him mad in two days."

1 Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

162 563 compose most of the population of the Recôncavo today. In 1940 the population of the Centro-Litoral of Bahia--the census area most closely corresponding to the Recôncavo--had the following composition: white, 22 per cent; black, 29 per cent; and others, predominately mulatto, 49 per cent.[12]

175 439 567 436 276 [273] [249] The purchase of large quantities of slaves required the production of a commodity which could be used as exchange in Africa. The indigenous tobacco proved eminently suitable for this purpose. Although rum apparently was used also in this trade, tobacco became the essential source of exchange for the slave traffic.[13] Bahia was the main area of tobacco production, and probably most of this production was localized in the Recôncavo.[14]

175 244 433 [567] The initial period of settlement saw also the incorporation of manioc[15] into the agricultural economy as a staple. Like tobacco, it was an indigenous crop. Thus one indigenous crop was adopted to purchase slaves in Africa and another to feed them in Brazil. By 1587 manioc apparently was being cultivated on a moderate scale in Bahia.[16] A recurring theme in the history of the Recôncavo is the shortage of this essential foodstuff.

241 262 175 433 In addition to the principal crops--sugar, tobacco, and manioc--a number of lesser agricultural products were important in the early history of the Recôncavo. Corn, beans, and bananas were grown on a small scale and used to supplement the manioc diet. Other diversifications of the diet were provided by meat and fish. Cattle were maintained to draw the ox carts and to power many of the cane mills. For lighter tasks asses and mules were used.

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178 249 433 Out of this complex of Portuguese settlers and Negro slaves, of old world and new world crops, there developed certain characteristic agricultural enterprises. The engenho--old world in the origin of its

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

000 Footnotes - Chapter VII

[436] [1]The approximate value of the cruzeiro at the time these data were compiled by the government was five cents.

[127] [2]The basic sources for data on livestock populations used in the following discussion were: (1) Ministério da Agricultura, Serviço de Estatística da Produção, "Pobulação Pecuária, Em 31/12/1948," pp. 1-8; (2) Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

[3]Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

[4]The use of the term "milk shed," generally applied to the tremendous movement of milk into the highly urbanized centers of the United States and western Europe, is somewhat inappropriate for the small-scale operations in Bahia. However, the essential elements are the same: the movement from countryside to urban places of fluid milk for home consumption.

[127] [5]Anuario Estatística do Brasil--1953 is used as a source of 1952 data on the livestock population of the state of Bahia in this and the following discussion.

[491] [6]Although there are trunk highways through São Gonçalo and Feira de Santana, the back country of each is remote from the cidade and the highway.

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Private Plantation]

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1 new, rural school, with rooms for classes and living quarters for teacher, constructed by the state on land donated by Dona Sinhá

Value of the plantation: Cr$1,500,000,00.[3]

Equipment: 1 Caterpillar tractor, model D2
1 John Deere plow
1 jeep
2 four-wheeled, rubber-tired wagons
9 juntas of oxen (the junta equals ten oxen, eight in use and two resting)
9 two-wheeled carts drawn by oxen--the antique and most used transportation in the Recôncavo
30 burros for carrying cane
12 saddle horses
35 milk cows and breeding mares
78 cattle for breeding purposes

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The Fazenda das Moças is unusual in its possession of a tractor, a mechanical plow, and a jeep. (Even more recently a second tractor and a mechanical cultivator have been added.) More commonly the pai adão (Father Adam) plow is used, drawn by eight oxen. According to Pinho the plow was introduced into Brazil in the late eighteenth century. Before this all cultivation was done with the hoe.[4] For the past 150 years the pai adão has been used primarily to open the rows in which the sugar cane is planted. All the rest of the cultivation is done by hand, with the hoe and billhook. The pai adão is a simple plow with a single plowshare. When it is drawn by oxen, a driver is needed, plus a small boy helper and another man to manage the plow. When it is drawn by tractor, only two men are needed, the driver and the plowman. Various properties of the soil, such as its hardness in the summer when it dries, its swamplike character during the rainy season, and the danger of turning up the infertile tauá which underlies the shallow layer of massapê, have made plowing difficult in the Re-

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3. The cruzeiro (Cr$) is the Brazilian monetary unit and equals roughly five cents in United States currency. Thus the value of the plantation is approximately $75,000.00.

4. de Araujo Pinho, Historia de um engenho do Recôncavo, 1522-1944 (Rio de Janeiro, 1946), p. 243.

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The most valuable property of a colonial *engenho*, however, was the slaves. Comparatively few Portuguese came to the Recôncavo, and even those among them who had been labourers in Portugal did not come to Brazil to do manual work. African slaves had already been used on sugar plantations in the Madeira Islands, and a slave system was imported into Brazil along with sugar cane. Although it was expressly prohibited by the Portuguese Government,[4] the early settlers in Bahia enslaved the Indians who did not flee or who were not killed in the early fighting with the colonists. Governor Mem de Sá's Testament lists 95 Indian men slaves, 84 Indian women slaves and only 20 African slaves.[5] From the start, however, Indians were considered inferior to Africans as slaves; they seemed unable to adapt themselves to continuous labour in the fields and mills. Yet in many cases they were kept as fishermen, hunters and boatmen for the *engenho*, being in these activities superior to the newly-arrived Negroes. By 1700, the Negro slaves greatly outnumbered the Europeans in the region, and there were but few Indian slaves. Slave was almost synonymous with Negro.

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An inventory of an *engenho* of about 650 acres, made in 1866 shortly before the end of slavery, gives a total value of 200 contos[1] for the *engenho*. The land, houses, slaves and livestock were valued at 125 contos; the value of the slaves alone was placed at 65 contos. The inventory divides the slaves into two categories: house slaves *(escravos de casa)* and work slaves *(escravos de lavoura)*. There were 18 house slaves and 103 work slaves. Among the house slaves were 1 barber-tailor-painter, 6 servants, 1 cook, 2 seamstresses and 1 apprentice seamstress, 2 sweet-makers, 2 laundresses, and 3 children without specific 'profession', as their occupation was called. Of the work slaves, 59 were listed as field workers (26 men and 33 women of all ages above the age of 12), 18 as small children, and 26 as specialists—including 4 ox-cart drivers, 5 sailors, 2 ironsmiths, 3 bricklayers, 1 field manager, 1 ship captain, 1 gardener, 1 barrel-maker, 1 specialist in the boiling of sugar, and 1 nurse. The prices of the slaves ran from 'without value' or as low as 20 milreis to as high as 1 conto 400 milreis, depending upon the age, physical condition and degree of skill of the slave.[2] The slaves were always listed in such inventories as foreign- or native-born and generally, if it were known, the place or tribe of origin was given. Many are listed simply as *Africano*. For those born in Brazil, the terms used are *Pardo*, *Cabra* or *Crioulo*; the diminutive form of these terms is used for all

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[1] The conto is a unit of Brazilian currency, composed of 1,000 milreis. The milreis, or cruzeiro as it is also called today, is the standard unit of currency. In 1951 the milreis was officially valued at 5.27 cents in U.S. currency, making the conto worth $52.70. However, it must be kept in mind that in 1866 the value of the milreis was considerably higher. [436]

[2] In 1855 this same *engenho* had 49 house slaves and 133 work slaves. The highest valued slave was 900 milreis.

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*249 pliers were presented with accounts showing how much cane
571 had been sent to the mill, the price, how much the factory had
452 paid the bank on the supplier's loans, how much had been ad-
407 vanced the supplier for his cane, and how much was still owed
178 the supplier, discounting the costs of services received from
*249 the factory facilities. This has been traditional practice, not
571 only at Usina São Pedro, but also at the other factories of the
407 area. Now, however, Usina São Pedro expects to receive
● 437 cash at the moment of the transaction for each such service
the supplier receives. In addition, the factory has gradually
cut down on the number of services it offers the suppliers.
This has been particularly serious regarding services of the
mechanics, as the private suppliers have no other source of
repair for their machines except in the city; taking them into
the city costs a great deal of time and is more expensive than
were the services performed by the factory mechanics.

178 The new managers at first charged an automatic discount
*249 upon the cane tonnage supplied by each private plantation. This
571 resulted in a considerable loss of money at the end of the year
432 for each private supplier, thereby straining even more the
[656] relations which daily were becoming more and more disagree-
able. Any question of scale and tonnage is a touchy one for
private planters, who sell their cane by the weight. The dis-
count charged on general principles by the factory was so
serious a matter that several of the private suppliers united
and called the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol to their defense
and succeeded in correcting the situation. This was a "first"
for Usina São Pedro, where such a thing had never before
happened, and where such a recourse is considered an ex-
treme.

178 Social relationships between the private planters and the
*249 managers of the factory are almost nonexistent. Whereas a
571 few years ago the factory was the central gathering point for
the social life of the planters of the area, it is now a place to
be avoided. In addition to making working conditions difficult,
the new managers and their families are "outsiders" in this
small, closed plantation society, with different backgrounds
and manners. As a result of the new conditions, the private
planters are spending more time on their plantations than be-
fore, but their social life rotates from one plantation to an-
other, skipping the factory nucleus. This pattern is also re-
flected in the activities of the resident workers, who are up-
set at the treatment shown to the older employees of the fac-

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1

B BB 243 311 433 Like manioc and tobacco, corn is an indigenous crop which was borrowed from the Indians in the early phases of European settlement and which became a basic subsistence crop in Brazil. Its cultivation, like manioc, is a characteristic feature of the agricultural landscape over an extensive coastal belt from the Amazon to Rio Grande do Sul and, unlike manioc, beyond into northern Argentina. In Brazil, corn is cultivated on more land than any other crop, and in most states it is either the second or third crop in value. In the Recôncavo it is the fourth ranking crop in area of cultivation, but only the seventh in the total value of production. The cultivation of corn is very closely BB [244] associated, areally and functionally, with beans--"succotosh" is a common crop combination in the Northwestern Recôncavo and the adjoining region.[21]

BB 243 433 Corn also resembles manioc in the purpose of cultivation; it is primarily a subsistence crop for local consumption, but there are surplus producing areas with a rudimentary commercial corn economy. In those areas of the Recôncavo where corn is produced in small quantities, it is almost exclusively a minor subsistence crop which is eaten by the cultivator and his family, though a few ears or a small sack of shelled corn may be sold in the market for local consumption. Such semi-subsistence producers are usually small-scale farmers, squatters, or share-croppers. In the Northern and Northwestern Recôncavo, where cultivation of corn is more intensive, there are occasional large-scale corn growers, but the bulk of the area and production in this zone be- BB [438] longs to small operators. Even these small producers usually sell their corn at the market—it is exchanged for the cheaper farinha de BB [262] mandioca. In the Recôncavo corn is used exclusively as a human food, and there is no corn-livestock complex.

BB 243 311 433 Only three municípios of the Recôncavo, all very large, had over 500 hectares of corn in 1948 or produced over 500 tons of shelled corn.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

243 311 433 The Recôncavo as a whole had 9,679 hectares of corn, with a production of 10,283 tons. Of this, 87 per cent of the area and 84 per cent of the production was in Santo Estêvão, Feira de Santana, and Irará (Maps 34, 35, and 36). The area and production of the Recôncavo were about the same as for one adjacent município, Serrinha, which had 8,500 hectares and 11,590 tons of corn in 1948.

243 311 Most of the corn grown and produced in the Recôncavo comes from two compact concentrations, one around the cidade of Irará; the other around the cidade of Santo Estêvão. Elsewhere in the Recôncavo it is grown either on very widely scattered plots or as a "garden" crop.[23]

The concentration of corn production is the result of several physical and economic factors. It is cultivated on the dry margins of the Recôncavo, where only a few restricted areas can produce a crop. 243 Though a commercial product of moderate value, its weight- or bulk-price [438] relationship is not highly favorable to long transportation to market-- [489] in contrast to tobacco, which tends to attach itself to even the smallest and most remote semi-subsistence plot, and in contrast to beef, [491] which in Bahia is moved to market on the hoof. The concentration around Santo Estêvão, which is on the main trunk highway to Feira de Santana, is favorable for the transportation of the crop, and the Irará concentration is linked to Feira by a generally passable road. [251] In the more humid parts of the Recôncavo, corn is restricted not only by its poor competitive position vis-à-vis sugar cane or tobacco, but also by its harvest requirements; it must be harvested and stored in the proper season, while manioc may be harvested as it is needed, a great advantage for a subsistence crop.

243 311 433 Corn, although the second most important subsistence crop of the Recôncavo, occupied in 1948 only 12 per cent of the total cropland.

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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BB 244 311 433 The total area in sweet potatoes in 1948 was 344 hectares, the total production, 2,565 tons. No single município grew more than 100 hectares nor produced over 1,000 tons (Maps 47 and 48). In Cachoeira and Maragogipe, 3 per cent of the total cropland was in sweet potatoes in 1948. The plants are grown on the slopes and in the sandier valley BB [438] bottoms of the Intermediate Hills and are sold through the local markets. On a smaller scale, sweet potatoes are grown as a minor supplementary crop in the Southwestern Recôncavo. The mean Recôncavo yield was 7.5 tons per hectare, close to the mean Brazilian 1948-1950 yield of 8 tons per hectare. Sweet potatoes are grown in the Recôncavo both as "garden" crops for home consumption and as minor commercial crops for local exchange.

The total area in peanuts in 1948 was 550 hectares; the total production was 876 tons (Maps 49 and 50). There is some small commercial production in Maragogipe and in the Northern Recôncavo; in the former, 6 per cent of the total cropland was in peanuts in 1948, and in the latter, from 2 to 5 per cent. Yields calculated for municípios varied from .3 to 3.5 tons per hectare without discernible pattern. The mean yield was 1.6 tons per hectare, higher than the .97 tons per hectare of Brazil and the .89 tons per hectare of the United States.

BB 245 433 Bananas. The banana is the sole important subsistence crop of the Recôncavo which is of old world origin. Brazil is the world's leading producer of bananas, and the main centers of production are B [245] [433] in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and Minas Gerais. In the Recôncavo, bananas are grown primarily for subsistence and local exchange, but there are a few small commercial growers. Under the existing system BB [487] of transportation, the long distance shipment of so bulky, heavy, perishable, and cheap a product is difficult.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

245 The bananas of the Recôncavo include a number of types--large, medium and small eating varieties, and plantains--which are grown in most sections and which may be encountered in village and urban markets in all seasons. Cultivation is a haphazard enterprise in which the reproduction of bananas frequently is accidental rather than deliberate. Since there is so much semi-spontaneous cultivation concealed in gardens and second growth and thus probably not enumerated and since the spacing of the plants is so variable, area data for bananas in the [311] Recôncavo have little meaning. The official data for 1948 indicated that [433] there were 1,069 hectares planted in the region, producing an estimated 1,859 bunches.[25]

245 Banana plants are seen in all settlements of the Recôncavo, and 311 except in the drier caatinga zone of the Northwestern Recôncavo, scattered over the countryside (Map 51). The chief area of production is in the Southwest, where they are grown almost exclusively for the local market (Map 52). However, there is a concentration of banana production [505] around the fringes of Salvador[26] and along the margins of the Bay and [438] the estuary of the Paraguaçu, where sailing craft (saveiros) can conveniently pick up shipments for the large urban market.

245 In 1948 bananas had their greatest relative importance, as deter- 311 mined by the per cent of the total cropland which they occupied, 433 around and in the city of Salvador, on the island of Itaparica, and around the city of Alagoinhas. The mean yield of bananas in the Recôncavo was 1,730 bunches per hectare, or an estimated 13,840 kilograms per hectare (Map 53)--lower than the 28,900 kilograms per hectare of Brazil, but much higher than the 9,900 kilograms for French West Africa and the 4,400 kilograms for the Philippines.[27]

245 It should be emphasized that the banana in Bahia is a relatively 262 cheap and common subsistence food, eaten raw or cooked. This is not to

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 206]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

245 311 Within the Recôncavo coconut production is important along the sandy beach line of the island of Itaparica and along the ocean coast of Salvador, where coconuts are virtually the only agricultural product [133] (Maps 58, 59, and 60). The inner shores of the Bay, which rise abruptly [134] with rocky clay slopes, bear very few coconuts, except in a low-lying sandy zone along the estuary of the Paraguaçu. Coconuts are produced 245 [423] chiefly on large properties which are frequently owned by urban families. [464] The plantations are operated with hired labor drawn from the coastal [438] population. When harvested, the coconuts are sold in the urban markets [258] of Salvador and other cities and towns. Very little of the Recôncavo [439] production is converted into oil, and little is exported.

Oranges. The navel orange is a Bahian development, a mutation [433] of the orange brought from Europe. The main centers of Brazilian production, however, are elsewhere in the country, and cultivation of oranges within the Recôncavo is primarily for local consumption.

245 311 Scattered orange trees are a feature of the rural and urban landscape in many areas. In addition to this generalized cultivation, which frequently is not shown in the official data, there is commercial production in the environs of several urban centers—Alagoinhas, Santo Antônio, and to a lesser extent, Salvador (Maps 61 and 62). The [489] cidades of Alagoinhas and Santo Antônio are both markets for part of [443] the local crop; moreover, both are on the railroads leading to Salvador, which is the chief market for the entire region. In addition to these three main concentrations, there are numerous orange groves in the Southwestern Recôncavo which apparently serve both local and regional markets, though on a small scale. In general the relative area in orange groves is not great, yet in 1948 they occupied 10 per cent of the cropland of Alagoinhas.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

245 438 [471] Oranges, like coconuts, are usually grown on plantations. The capital investment in tree crops is usually too great for small cultivators. Moreover, as a highly perishable crop, oranges require more or less direct marketing, which is frequently beyond the capacity of the small grower. If oranges were marketed by trickling from the small grower through the hands of merchants, buyers, and the like, as is tobacco, they would be spoiled long before reaching the consumer. The small cultivator can market his handful of oranges only in the local market.

241 433 Supplementary Crops. Although the official data show only a very limited distribution of minor supplementary crops, their cultivation is not confined to those municípios where exceptionally conscientious [262] statistical agents have made detailed records. The common vegetables--green beans, onions, garlic, and tomatoes--are cultivated in small quantities in all parts of the Recôncavo and are a traditional part of Bahian dishes. Around the cities and towns there is some specialization [443] in vegetable farming, but there are no major concentrations. The Salvador market is supplied with produce from a broad rural zone which includes [489] most of the Recôncavo. The produce is brought to the city by donkey, truck, or by sailing boat.

The most important of the supplementary commercial crops is [134] pineapple, which is produced on the sandy soils of the Northern, and to a lesser extent, Southwestern Recôncavo. There is very scattered production of grapes, cotton, rice, and white potatoes, but there are no important centers of cultivation of these crops.

245 311 Minor Spontaneous Tree Crops. Mangoes are very common within the houseyards of Salvador and throughout the humid Coastal Plain. In

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

245 the peripheral areas of the region they are less common, but a few trees
311 can be seen in almost every settlement. The cashew is more strictly confined to the littoral and especially to the sandy coastal zones behind the palm-laden beach line. Jackfruit and breadfruit are especially common in the eastern Crystalline Uplands. Scattered along roads and around houses, they provide shade for the yard or for coffee and an occasional fruit for sale in the local market. The African oil palm is encountered occasionally in most municípios of the Recôncavo, generally growing out of the wet valley floors. There are many oil palms on the island of Itaparica, but the only major area of commercial production
[258] in Bahia is on the coast south of the Recôncavo. The oil is prepared
[438] by boiling the seed, and the surplus oil is sold in small quantities on the local market.

241 Annual and Perennial Crops. Six of the major crops of the
311 Recôncavo are cultivated as annuals--manioc, corn, beans, peanuts, sweet potatoes, and tobacco.[29] The major perennials are bananas, sugar cane, coffee, oranges, and coconuts. Over three-fourths of the cropland of the Recôncavo was in annuals in 1948 and about 22 per cent in perennials—including both tree and field crops. In the Recôncavo there is a very close connection between crop periodicity and land systems. The annual crops are produced almost exclusively under a system of land rotation, while the perennials are grown under a system of permanent cultivation. The zones of aninals are generally mixed-crop zones, while the perennials are usually monocultural.

The main concentrations of annuals are on the uplands of the Northern, Northwestern, and Southwestern Recôncavo—the domain of manioc, tobacco, corn, and beans (Map 63). Perennials dominate the Intermediate Hills and the coastal lowlands—coconut palms on the beaches, sugar

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249 The physical setting of the tobacco and manioc region is distinc-
244 tive in terms of the particular combination of topography, soils, climate,
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13 and vegetation which are joined along its crescent axis. The region lies along the semi-circular edge of the interior upland, overlooking the Bay and the Coastal Plain. In the south the fields of manioc and tobacco occupy the upper surfaces of the Crystalline Uplands and the adjacent Intermediate Hills. In the north, cultivation shifts to the summits and upper slopes of the Intermediate Hills, although there is some concentration on the extreme southern edge of the taboleiros. Thus the region occupies the deep flat-lying residual crystalline soils in the south but in the Tertiary soil zone to the north follows the slope lands where there is more rainfall and perhaps better local soils. The close correspondence of this region with the forest and scrub-forest transition has been repeatedly emphasized. A traverse across the tobacco-manioc region anywhere between Conceição do Almeida and Feira de Santana takes one from rough hills with at least scattered patches of broadleaf evergreen forest to flat uplands with cactus, thorny brush, and licuri palms.

249 A comparison of the map of population (Map 21) and of the rela-
244 tionship of tobacco and manioc cultivation (Map 75) points up the neces-
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161 sity for local sources of basic subsistence products. In the Southwest,
36 where rural populations are relatively dense and where there are a number of large villages and towns, manioc tends to be cultivated over a greater area than does tobacco. In the tobacco-manioc region north of the Rio Paraguaçu, where tobacco is usually the leading crop, the density of rural population is lower, and there are no towns and only
[438] a few large villages. Thus there is close relationship between the relative intensity of manioc and the size of the local market.

175 The recent historical pattern of agriculture in the tobacco-manioc
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244 region can be reconstructed only on a general level. Cachoeira, which

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231 492 Asses and mules were the second most numerous animals in an area from São Gonçalo and Feira de Santana to Camassari--a zone which roughly corresponds to the northern part of the tobacco-manioc region. In this part of the crop region cultivation is more scattered and road transportation less well developed than in the Southwestern Recôncavo, and presumably the animals are needed to pack the tobacco crop to the markets.[6]

Work Animals. The work animals of the Recôncavo include oxen, horses, asses, and mules. As the accompanying map demonstrates (Map 86), the chief concentration of all work animals, without regard to type, was around Feira de Santana, the supply center for the region. Many of these animals were young or were being conditioned for market. On the other hand, most of the work animals of the smaller concentration in the sugar cane region were actually in use.

According to the official data, the total number of work animals in the Recôncavo increased from 85,000 to 215,000 between 1940 and 1948. Almost certainly there has been a strong increase, but such a tremendous rise in work animal population seems excessive; probably the 1940 total is too low, and perhaps the 1948 figure is excessive, though in view of the number of animals which are evident in the Recôncavo, not very much so.

231 Conclusion. Although the Recôncavo produces a moderate number of livestock of all types--except horses, asses, and mules--it has a great and continuing deficit. The livestock deficiencies of the region are supplied by the sertão in a movement of animals which had its inception in the initial century of colonization. Associated with the exchange 231 438 of animals from the sertão for products from the littoral is one of the historic institutions of the Northeast--the campo de gado of

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Feira de Santana. From "Feira" the livestock are distributed to the Recôncavo to be used as beasts of burden, as food, or for both.

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The livestock population of the Recôncavo, as well as the livestock market, is centralized within the município of Feira de Santana. In part this concentration reflects the relatively great demand for beef in Salvador, so that at any one time the number of livestock passing through Feira de Santana must be great. The same concentration is evident for work animals. This suggests that the mortality of work animals in the Recôncavo must be very high. There is no data to substantiate this hypothesis, but the emaciated appearance, poor diet, and calloused treatment of beasts of burden in the Recôncavo suggest that it is highly probable.

[433]

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The concentrations of livestock in the sugar cane and tobacco-manioc regions contribute significantly to the general agricultural importance of these areas. The differences in the character of the livestock populations reflect in a large measure the different requirements of the crop cultivation systems of the two regions.

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The interdependence of the livestock-producing sertão and the areas of cultivation, signalized by the cattle fairs, is a characteristic feature of Brazilian agricultural life. The interior, from Ceará to Rio Grande do Sul, is a reservoir from which are drawn the cattle and the work animals for the main centers of crop cultivation and for the cities.

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244 433 10,000-ton surplus. The surplus manioc of these municípios would appear [438] to be marketed to the manioc-deficit areas of the Recôncavo, particularly [249] the sugar cane area and Salvador. It is significant that those municípios which were the leading producers of tobacco were also the leading producers of commercial manioc (Map 123). Although the exchange and processing of tobacco in these areas is well organized and receives some attention from government bureaus, the growing and processing of manioc remains an unrecognized enterprise.

249 244 433 The importance of the production of tobacco and of commercial manioc to the various municípios of the Southwestern Recôncavo is shown in the following summary:

Município	Per cent of Total Value of Production	
	Tobacco	Manioc
Cruz das Almas	65	23
Conceição do Almeida	57	38
São Filipe	25	32
Muritiba	17	14
São Félix	54	-

One of the advantages of the relative balance of these two products is that in the event of a crop failure of one, the area would still have a salable commercial product. Moreover, since the production of manioc is relatively large, a moderate decrease in its yield would still leave this area with at least a minimum supply of food for its large agricultural population.

249 257 433 [654] Sugar cane is now the third crop in value in the Recôncavo, but it is maintained in that position only by government subsidy. It is a crop which either dominates the region in which it is produced or its cultivation is economically unimportant (Map 124). In part this is the result of the technological requirements of the sugar industry, which demand that large quantities of sugar cane be produced close to the mill so that the cane can be delivered quickly once it is cut. However,

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249 257 433 the large landholders and agricultural capitalists of Brazil have a strong historical bias toward monocultural systems.

249 433 471 As would be expected, the Central Recôncavo accounted for almost 90 per cent of the total value of sugar cane in the region. Sugar production in this area is dominated by the big usinas, and most of the cane is produced on very large properties, as has been seen.

243 244 433 438 Although corn and beans primarily are subsistence crops, they have, like manioc, some commercial importance (Map 125). The corn and bean areas within the Recôncavo do not produce outstanding surpluses, although these two crops are important commercial products in nearby Serrinha and Conceição do Coite. Most of the corn and beans of the Recôncavo are exchanged for farinha de mandioca, which provides the cultivator with a cheaper food.

244 245 433 438 The remaining crops of the region are of minor commercial importance, or are more valuable commercial crops of highly localized production. Bananas, peanuts, and sweet potatoes are minor commercial crops of diffuse production, since most of their cultivation is for subsistence purposes. Oranges, coconut, coffee, and pineapple are important but secondary commercial products whose production is concentrated in a few restricted areas (see, for example, Map 126 of coconut production).

249 244 245 433 438 The importance of the principal commercial crops—tobacco, sugar cane, coffee, coconut, oranges, pineapple, a few minor crops, and commercial manioc--varies widely from município to município (Map 127). However, two areas—the Central Recôncavo and the Southwestern Recôncavo—had highly commercial economies in which over 90 per cent of the total value of production was in commercial crops. In the tobacco-manioc area north of the Rio Paraguaçu, only one-half to three-quarters of

000 the total value of production was in commercial crops. Except in the

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443 the journey to the market. The produce are carried by the individual
[492] or on the back of an ass or mule. By early morning all the roads are thronged with the people of the countryside and their animals moving toward the center. It is a gala social occasion in which the warm, lighthearted personal relationships of the lower class Baianos are evident. Upon arrival at the market, a cloth is spread on the floor or ground in a customary spot, and the offerings of the people are displayed. Very soon the townspeople--chiefly housewives and servants--enter the market area to inspect the offerings and haggle over their
[442] purchases of food and other agricultural products. Also moving through the market are the wholesale buyers, both local and itinerant. As their agricultural products are sold, the country people, too, begin to circulate through the area to purchase goods and talk with their friends and relatives. The market is a seething array of animals and people weaving their way between the displays of produce. In the smaller centers, most of the local products are sold by mid-day, and the rural people begin their journey home, a trip of as much as twenty kilometers.

443 The products which are generally sold in the markets of the
438 cidades and villas are shown below:

Local Agricultural Products - Unprocessed

Staples:
Corn, black beans, sweet potatoes, aipim (a sweet manioc used like white potatoes)

Meat:
Fresh beef and pork

Vegetables:
Such as onions, string beans, tomatoes, and local specialties

Fruits:
Especially oranges, bananas (including plantains), papaya, and mangoes

Coffee

Coconuts

Live Animals:
Especially chickens and pigs, but also draft animals.

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443 Local Agricultural Products - Processed
• 438 Farinha de mandioca (manioc flour)
Rapadura (crude sugar)
Requeijão (country cheese)
Hand-made cigars.

Non-Local Agricultural Products
Azete de dende (palm oil)
Rice
Charque (dried beef)
Spices
Fumo em corda (rope tobacco)
Animals:
Especially draft animals from the sertão
Leather.

Non-Agricultural Products
Food - dried fish
Extractive products:
Charcoal, honey, vegetable waxes
Farm equipment:
Bridles, saddles, agricultural implements--hoes, knives, etc.
Clothing:
Sandles, shoes, shirts, and trousers
Pottery and kitchen utensils
Miscellaneous cheap jewelry, plastic and wood products, patent medicines, cigarettes, straw mats, etc.

443 Those products of local agriculture which are not marketed through the feira or through specialized agencies are sold to the vendas (small general stores). In distinction to the feiras, which are confined to the villages and urban centers, vendas are found even in rural areas. These vendas are privately owned stores which sell staple foods, machetes and hoes, seed, household utensils, and a few simple luxury items, such as soap, candy, cigarettes, cigars, soft drinks, and alcoholic beverages. As would be expected, the vendas away from the urban centers carry but a limited stock of goods. There is usually a
443 452 continuing credit arrangement between the shopkeeper and the agriculturalist; most of the harvest of basic crops is pledged in advance against the debts of the cultivator and frequently the crop is pledged even before it is planted. In many cases the shopkeeper is the agent for the tobacco buyer, in whose name the necessary credit is advanced.

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442 *campo de gado* draws *vaquéiros* (cowboys) and ranchers from the *sertão*
443 as well as agriculturalists and buyers from the Recôncavo, the nearby
233 municipal market has a tributary area which is much larger than the *município*, indeed, much larger than the Recôncavo. The *sertão* and the Recôncavo exchange goods on a large scale in these markets. From the *sertão* come cattle and other animals, hides and skins, various extractive products, such as waxes, and the *fumo em corda* tobacco of the interior of northern Bahia. From the Recôncavo come food, especially bananas, coconuts, and sugar, and various manufactured articles which have been brought from South-Central Brazil via Salvador. Adjoining the *campo de gado* is an open lot where horses, mules, and all the accoutrements of the *vaquéiro*—bridles, saddles, and leather clothing--can be purchased.

249 A good deal of the sugar cane which is cultivated in the Recôncavo
471 is grown by the *usinas* on their own properties. In other cases the
438 cane plantations and processing plant are owned by different members of the same family, and the whole enterprise is operated on a profit-sharing basis. It cannot be said of either of these arrangements, which account for most of the cane harvested in the Recôncavo, that there is a genuine market situation. A truer market relationship exists for the few remaining *fornecedores* (suppliers) who grow cane and sell it to the *usinas*. Very commonly, however, these "independent" cane producers are indebted to the sugar company in both the economic and social sense. Moreover, the *fornecedore* is very much at the mercy of the company because of the lack of alternative markets and the difficulties of transportation. The cane which is purchased by the *usinas* on a contract basis must have a specified quality and must be delivered to the *usina* at its convenience by the supplier. It is likely that the mounting debts of many *fornecedores* will soon force them to sell

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their properties to the expanding usinas. This same process is taking place in most sugar areas of Brazil.

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The marketing of tobacco centers on one key figure--the agent. With the resources of the tobacco company he extends direct credit to the larger tobacco producers and indirect credit to the small producers via his buyer, who is generally a local shopkeeper. The company grants a specified sum of money to each agent at the beginning of the season, and he disburses this at his own discretion. Bad debts are charged against the company rather than the agent. Most of the tobacco crop is pledged to the buyers in advance, by meahs of a formal contract or an informal agreement which specifies the price, quantity, and quality of the leaf to be delivered. Most of these contracts are entered into in order to secure credit; there are few agriculturalists who could produce tobacco without first receiving credit. There is much opportunity for speculation within the framework of this marketing system. Those buyers who are shopkeepers have in stock the supplies which the cultivator needs. The shopkeeper delivers the goods needed by the cultivator and retains the money which has been advanced by the agent. Since most of the stock of the buyer--storekeeper--has been purchased on credit, he may accumulate a considerable sum in cash or bills of exchange. Speculation is an acknowledged feature of the marketing of tobacco in Bahia, and in many cases the buyer uses the credit advanced by the agent for speculation in the tobacco crop. He does this by extending credit against the tobacco crop of cultivators who are not included in the normal relationships with the agent. Sometimes these debtors are unable to liquidate their debt, and the buyer is caught short. In this event he can use his position as the agent's representative and as a local economic power to recoup, at least partially, by forcing the price upward or through the substitution of cheaper leaf

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249 in meeting his contract with the agent. The result of this and other
442 speculative practices is that the price of tobacco tends to spiral upwards
438 throughout the season.
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455 The crop is delivered to the buyer in small lots--10 to 15 kilo-
249 grams--which are assembled, graded, and baled. The bales are taken to
276 the warehouse of the agent where they are added to other bales to form
438 a large pile in which fermentation can take place. After fermentation
442 the bales are broken, and the leaf is re-sorted. With the better grades the sorting is done very carefully, and a large number of size and texture grades are separated. Intermediate grades are sorted less carefully, often by bundles rather than by individual leaves. The poorest grades are stripped without grading. After sorting or stripping, the leaf is again placed in bales and kept in the warehouse until transport can be arranged to deliver the tobacco to Salvador or to the cigar factories.

249 Most of the tobacco produced in the Recôncavo is exported. In the
433 years 1946 to 1950, inclusive, 166,676 tons of leaf tobacco were produced
439 in Bahia and 128,567 tons were exported, so that about 75 per cent of the total crop of the state was exported.[2] However, the exported leaf is made up of the choice tobaccos, that is "Mata Fina," which are largely grown in the Recôncavo. It may be concluded from this that at least four-fifths of the tobacco crop of the Recôncavo was exported during this years. Tobacco exported from the Recôncavo normally composes 70 per cent of all the tobacco exported from Brazil. In value, the tobacco exported from the Recôncavo was less than 1 per cent of the total exports of all products from Brazil.[3]

482 Transportation. The backs of men and of animals are the basic
492 transportation media in the Recôncavo: almost all goods begin and end
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492 as a ton of cane through the rain-softened clay. It is pulled, depend-
493 ing upon the load and the condition of the route, by four, six, or eight oxen. It has no brakes, although occasionally a long pole is used as a drag. The cart and the team are managed by two people, a man who rides the cart, goads the wheel oxen, and shouts directions, and a boy who runs in front and turns the lead oxen with a long slender pole. As has been seen, a very large number of oxen are maintained on the sugar cane plantations and the accessory ranches of the area. Donkeys
492 are used in the cane area for lesser tasks, such as carrying seed cane, tools, and subsistence products; both horses and mules are used for riding--usually the plantation foremen ride the patient, slow-moving mules, while the owners and administrators ride the small, agile horses which come from the sertão. In most other parts of the Recôncavo, in the littoral forest and in the dry caatinga, the donkey and mule are the universal beasts of burden.

One município of the Recôncavo--Coração de Maria--has no motor
491 [492] roads, and is thus served only by pack animals. The cidades of all the other municípios are on highways of some sort, but usually only a single road passes directly across the município. The back-country
487 of the municípios, which in this sense includes about nine-tenths of the total area, is criss-crossed with a network of trails. Some of these are wide enough for an ox cart, or in very good weather, for a jeep to pass through. Many others are only narrow paths winding through the second growth and passing between cultivated fields.

489 Land transportation between the various parts of the Recôncavo
433 has less direct agricultural importance than in the United States, since
• 438 so much of the agricultural produce is consumed within the município
439 in which it is grown. Those agricultural products, such as tobacco
497 or sugar, which are destined for non-local or external markets are
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493 products which are carried from the various inland municípios of the region to Salvador and Feira de Santana are transported on trucks. These trucks pick up their loads at the weekly markets or at warehouses in the various cidades. Frequently they carry passengers as well as cargo, and the cheapest passenger service in the Recôncavo is to be found high on top of a heavily laden truck. It is especially common to seem trucks loaded with bags of farinha de mandioca speeding over the rough roads with the cab packed and the less fortunate passengers enduring the dust or the rain outside. Most agricultural laborers seem to travel in this fashion on longer journeys within the region. Many trucks operate on an unscheduled basis from cidade to cidade, accumulating loads without pre-arrangement. However, there is some regularized service, for it is a general practice for trucks from all over the Recôncavo to travel to Feira de Santana on its market day, and the more important markets of other cidades are also served by trucks on a regular but informal basis. Each of these trucks has its destination marked on the window and collects a load of goods and people as it passes across the region. The cost of this means of transport to the individual depends upon the distance he travels and the amount of goods which he carries. Thus both truck and bus transportation play a major role in the marketing system of the Recôncavo, each carrying both goods and passengers.

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438 One of the basic handicaps of automotive transport in the Recôncavo is that each município taxes the passage of goods transported on its roads. The repeated taxation of goods as they are moved across the boundaries of municípios may make it unprofitable for the agriculturalist to sell many of his products in the other markets of the region. Moreover, the lengthy stops required at each município boundary effectively slow down the movement of trucks and, to a lesser extent, of goods-carrying busses.

249 which it is hauled by railroad or boat to the mill, although sometimes
497 the cane which is carried by boat is weighed at the mill. The rail-
505 roads which handle the cane, as has been indicated, are owned and
496 operated by the usinas, except that the government right-of-way is
471 used whenever these tracks pass close to the plantations. One of the
249 usinas is new and a few of the older mills have some new equipment, but the general level of technology is considerably below that of Pernambuco or São Paulo and the mills are somewhat smaller. The usinas grind the cane, extract the juices, and refine the sugar by means of vacuum pans and centrifuges. The more modern usinas produce a high quality sugar, but in general the product is coarse and not a pure white.
274 The by-products of the large usinas and part or all of the cane juice
385 of some of the usinas and engenhos is converted into rum or commercial
262 alcohol. The sugar, rum, and alcohol from the sugar industry of the
273 Recôncavo are consumed primarily within the Recôncavo and the adjoining
438 regions of Bahia. About one-tenth of the production of sugar is
439 exported, chiefly to Rio de Janeiro. The commercial alcohol usually
382 is mixed with gasoline in the bulk plants in Salvador to provide fuel
385 for automotive transport. By law a specified amount of commercial
654 alcohol must be mixed with gasoline--this is designed to subsidize the sugar industry.

249 There are twenty usinas in the Recôncavo, and these produced
471 an estimated 80 per cent of the total sugar of the state of Bahia in
433 1948. The three largest of these are owned by a single sugar company, which also owns the associated plantations, transportation equipment, and cattle fazendas. This company plays an important role in the
249 marketing of sugar from its own usinas and from other companies. The
471 concentration of the cultivation of sugar cane and of the production
178 of sugar in the hands of this single enterprise is a symptom of the

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258 but also because the manioc roots are too heavy and bulky to be trans-
[438] ported over long distances. Moreover, the market for farinha de mandioca is generally local, except in the Southwestern Recôncavo.

258 The capital investment in a casa de farinha is small, usually
471 less than one hundred dollars, but this sum is far beyond the reach of
[454] most cultivators. The mills are built by owners of medium-sized land holdings or local merchants, and are operated on a share basis. The mill owner usually receives one-tenth of the finished product in exchange
[427] for the use of the mill equipment. The customer rents the equipment
[464] rather than the service and must therefore provide the labor, although
[592] the owner usually furnishes one or two workers. Generally the processing
[462] of manioc is a family operation in which the women and girls scrape the roots and the men and boys perform the more arduous tasks.

277 Most of the tobacco which is grown in the Recôncavo is exported
[439] in the form of leaf. Therefore, the processing of tobacco is less important in relation to the cultivation of tobacco than is the processing of manioc and sugar in relation to their respective cultivation. The leaf tobacco which is retained in the area is made into cigars in home industries and in a number of cigar factories. The home-produced cigars are made by tobacco cultivators and small-scale processors in the villages, towns, and cities of the region. These cigars are generally
[443] very cheap and are sold in the local mercado (market) or in small vendas (shops). It is difficult to assess the total importance of this form of processing, but it seems likely that the number of cigars so made is extremely large.

277 The cigar factories of the Recôncavo are located in the cidades
of São Gonçalo, Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, and Maragogipe. Each of the
[464] factories employs from 100 to 200 workers, usually women from the surrounding area. Machines are used to produce the cheaper grades;

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277 the more expensive varieties are hand made. The fillers and inner wrappers of the cigars are made from local tobaccos. Local leaf also [439] is used to a very limited extent for the outer wrappers, but almost all of the high quality cigars are made from wrapper leaf imported [471] from Havana, Sumatra, or the Connecticut Valley. The ownership of all the cigar factories is concentrated in three companies, all of which [439] have their headquarters in Salvador. The cigars produced in the Recôncavo are sold throughout Brazil.

182 43 44 184 Conclusion. Many of the features of the systems of marketing, transportation, and processing which are characteristic of the Recôncavo are effective in unifying the region. In particular, the centralized marketing and economic control of the production and processing of tobacco and sugar draw both the tobacco and manioc region and the sugar cane region closer to Salvador. At the same time, the differences in marketing techniques and the separate channels of control which are associated with these two products accentuate the sub-regional pattern 182 of the two crop regions. The system of general marketing exemplified 438 443 184 by the municipal markets might at first glance seem to be a focus for local rather than regional interests. However, as has been seen, there are itinerant merchants who pass from market to market throughout the Recôncavo. Moreover, the major public markets, such as Feira de Santana and Salvador, draw large numbers of people from most of the rural sections. Even the local marketing institutions contribute to the identification of the people of this area with the region.

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of livestock, which had a value greater than sugar cane but less than manioc.

Agricultural activities within the Recôncavo are localized in several distinct sub-regions, each with a specialized system of cultivation and each with either one or two principal crops. The primary agricultural subdivisions of the region are: (1) the sugar cane monocultural sub-region; and (2) the tobacco-manioc sub-region.

249 Sugar cane is grown as the exclusive crop in its major area of production--the pocket of coastal plain north of the Baía de Todos os Santos. Cane is generally cultivated under a four-year monoculture and one-year fallow system on large properties employing large quantities of hand labor and using oxen to draw plows and carts. Neither fertilizer [407] nor agricultural machinery is used to any appreciable extent. Most of [492] the animals used as labor in the production of sugar cane are brought [231] [233] into the area from the sertão, and little livestock breeding is found in this area. The processing of sugar cane is in the hands of a small [471] number of medium-sized usinas. The companies which own these usinas [178] are gradually buying up the plantations so that to an increasing extent the mills directly control the production of sugar cane. Most of the [497] cane is brought to the usinas by railroad, although sailing boats are [489] used for this purpose along tidewater. Most of the sugar produced in [505] the Recôncavo is consumed within the state of Bahia, but small quantities [438] [439] are shipped to other parts of Brazil. Both the aristocratic upper class [565] and the rising non-aristocratic business interests of the Recôncavo are [471] [472] involved in the ownership and administration of the sugar industry. The [464] permanent labor force is supplied from the settlements of the sugar cane [178] plantations and the mills, but the rural population and the labor force of the sugar area are declining. Seasonal labor for the harvest comes from the interior sertão of Bahia.

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249 311 [134] Commercial sugar cane cultivation is confined to the humid Coastal Plain areas with Cretaceous clay soils, except for a small area in São Filipe. Since the areas of Cretaceous clay soils are limited and compact, sugar cane production is highly localized in two areas: (1) the main sugar cane area in the municípios of Santo Amaro, São Francisco, and São Sebastião; and (2) a smaller area north of the Bacia do Iguape in the município of Cachoeira. There is a third area of less intensive production in southern São Filipe.

249 249 [433] The sole purpose of cultivation in the sugar cane area is the production of a commercial product, but the areas of tobacco-manioc cultivation produce both a staple food and a commodity for sale outside the region. Most of the tobacco and manioc of the Recôncavo are produced under a land rotation system in which the sequence is: (1) tobacco; (2) manioc; and (3) fallow in wild vegetation. The tobacco is planted in small fields, usually after an application of manure. The entire plant is harvested repeatedly until it will no longer produce a salable leaf. Manioc is planted following tobacco, sometimes several times, until the field is exhausted and abandoned to the second growth. The fallow period is frequently short, sometimes as little as one year. Cultivation is entirely by hand--no plows are used. There is very little selection of seed, and only one variety of tobacco--Bahia Brasil--is [423] [427] produced. Tobacco and manioc are produced almost exclusively by small cultivators who are either owners or renters. [231] [233] Frequently livestock are raised upon the properties of the cultivators, but except for the use of manure in the cultivation of tobacco, there is little integration of crop and livestock production. 276 The leaf is harvested, dried, and partially fermented by the cultivator. 276 438 [452] [488] The marketing of tobacco is inseparable from the credit arrangement between the cultivator and the tobacco buyer or agent. The leaf is delivered by the producer to the storekeeper-buyer or the local tobacco warehouse.

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000 the storekeeper-buyer or the local tobacco warehouse. The roots of the
258 manioc are processed locally, in casas de farinha, and the farinha de
438 mandioca is sold in the local market or to storekeepers in the nearby village or town.

249 The sub-region of tobacco and manioc production occupies the
244 humid eastern and southern edges of the Uplands. The chief center of
311 production, the Southwestern Recôncavo, occupies a zone of deep, sandy
134 and sandy loam soils lying in flat-surfaced uplands above crystalline rocks. The northern parts of the tobacco-manioc sub-region occupy the rough, dissected southern edge of the sandy Tertiary taboleiros--in this northern area the production of both crops is less intensive than in the Southwestern Recôncavo. The area of primary tobacco and manioc production generally conforms to the forest and scrub forest transition and is expanding southwestward beyond the traditional Recôncavo along this
[433] physical boundary zone. The intensity of production is also increasing,
[178] but with violent year to year fluctuations.

241 In addition to sugar cane, tobacco and manioc, other subsistence
433 and commercial products are grown in the Recôncavo. The most important of these are corn and beans, grown as commercial and subsistence crops in the north and west of the region, and coconuts, which are produced along the beach line. Bananas, sweet potatoes, and peanuts are grown in most parts of the Recôncavo, but on a small scale.

241 There are several areas in which there is little or no cultiva-
311 tion. The rougher Intermediate Hills, which are forested, separate the
137 sugar cane sub-region from the tobacco-manioc sub-region. The lowland areas of Tertiary and crystalline soils are also forested and are cultivated under a non-intensive land rotation system with some associated
241 livestock. The Recôncavo is distinguished from the surrounding areas by its relatively greater mean intensity of cultivation. In the

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1961) 1967 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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438 Centro, situated on the banks of a navigable river which
175 empties into the Bay in front of the town of Vila Recôncavo,
was in a good position to serve the entire back region of the
361 Recôncavo. As a county it now comprises 1,180 square kilo-
meters. As a port, Centro served two purposes in the early
(634) eighteenth century. A great deal of produce and many persons
[131] passed through it, including the families of sugar-cane grow-
ers from other regions of the Recôncavo; and it also served
(504) as a "gateway to the West" at a time when western Bahia and
Minas Gerais were being opened and the gold and diamond
rushes were in progress. Centro was the end of navigable
(487) waters and the beginning of one of the overland routes lead-
ing to the uplands of the sertão and the mining areas of the
(634) west. As Centro grew, Vila Recôncavo stagnated. In 1833
Centro was made judicial center (cabeça de comarca) of the
district and Vila Recôncavo became part of this judicial dis-
trict, thereby losing its prominence as the center of juris-
diction for the interior zone of the Recôncavo. Commercially,
Vila Recôncavo was soon overshadowed by Centro. In 1802,
Vilhena wrote:

> . . . In Centro there is a great deal of commerce, because of the amount of sugar, tobacco, and the number of distilleries and of Mineiros [miners and people from the state of Minas Gerais] who arrive there. Continuing along the bank of the river one finds Vila Recôncavo, which in spite of enough sugar passing through it, always had a weak commerce, and the town is known among all the others as the town of the least traffic.[8]

He says later:

175 In spite of its antiquity, Vila Recôncavo has few in-
361 habitants, and most of them poor, although through-
438 out the termo there are many good families of noble
people, rich through the products of their large engen-
433 hos, from which they take much and excellent sugar,
the only commerce of that town; in it also there is fish-
ing for a little sardinelike fish called xangó and a large
quantity of good and large shrimp, which is the main

8. Ibid., Letter I, p. 32 (author's translation).

occupation of the poor people, who sell them after drying in the city of Salvador. . . .[9]

In 1837 Centro officially became a city, and for another hundred years it was the major commercial point of the sugar-Recôncavo. Gradually, however, it fell into the same pattern of decline which continues today in so much of the Recôncavo. In the 1900's a railroad was constructed from Salvador to Feira de Santana; it passed well back of Vila Recôncavo, missing it so far as to be of no aid whatsoever. Although it passed through Centro, the terminal point, Feira, became more important commercially to the state and became the new gateway to the north, west, and south of the state and of the nation. Although Centro is now a large town with a population of some ten thousand people and a weekly market which attracts people from the countryside and the neighboring towns, this is not enough to sustain it. Its port is now comparatively little used for the export of sugar, which in most cases goes directly to Salvador by train from the factories.

The immediate cause for the decay of the town of Vila Recôncavo, and to a great extent that of Centro and of so many other older towns, was the loss of functions after the period of frontier growth. Those towns which had been religious centers lost this function. Military posts were no longer needed, and administrative activities became more restricted as the counties were cut down in size and as the state and federal governments took over more functions, such as schools and health programs. Railroads and trucks have lately reduced the importance of the port towns. The rural towns no longer interest the wealthy rural aristocracy who always dominated and supported them. More rapid transportation has made it possible for this class to move about from plantation or factory to the town or the city and back in one day instead of three, thus removing the need for a town house in which to spend the night. Better transportation has also made it possible for the other classes to go to Salvador easily for shopping, medical purposes, festivals, and visiting. Thus Salvador, because of its nearness and the relative ease of transportation, has taken on many of the functions of the rural

9. Ibid., Letter XIII, p. 501 (author's translation).

21 Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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vo. There are about twenty women in the town who are thus employed constantly, and others who work part-time with the fish. They go down to the beach, carrying five-gallon gasoline cans, when they see the fishermen coming in, and buy the fish by the canful at about Cr$25,00 a can, sometimes buying as many as ten canfuls. An exceptional catch for a day will run well over fifty cans, especially during the winter months. The women then take the fish home, clean them and pack them in salt for twenty-four hours, after which they put them on spits, two narrow slivers of wood cut from the dendê palm. Five fish go on each two spits. They are then hung out to dry in the sun for about two days. If it rains, the drying takes longer, and frequently many are lost. Few of the women ever become accustomed to the odor of the salted, drying fish, and they complain bitterly about it. But they know that there is always a market for the dried product, and this compensates to some extent for the unpleasantness involved. A can of fish usually provides 150 to 200 spits, and they are sold for Cr$25,00 to Cr$30,00 a hundred spits. The price is generally slightly higher if they are sold at the weekly Monday market in Centro, to which the women as a rule go themselves, or to which they send the fish with a friend. Otherwise, they are sold to the occasional tropeiros de cima[3] who come to town to buy them at a slightly lower price. It is said that the small dried fish are considered a fine dish by the people of the sertão.

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Other women prepare shrimp in much the same manner, although the prices are higher. A can of shrimp costs between Cr$100,00 and Cr$150,00 depending upon the size of the catch and the season of the year, for during Lent and especially during Holy Week, when the demand is greater, all prices of fish and seafood rise. A can of shrimp gives two hands (duas mãos), or forty spits, of shrimp, which are sold at the average of Cr$100,00 a hand; the price of the finished product varies with the price of the fresh shrimp. However, a man in Vila Recôncavo recently built an icehouse, and the women have worked less with shrimp, for the fishermen sell directly to

3. Tropeiros de cima (troopers from up north) are men from the sertão who descend to the Recôncavo with mules loaded with farina to sell, and return north with fish and fruit from the Recôncavo.

[Town Life]

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462 the icehouse where the shrimp are kept cool; they can then be
438 sent to Salvador every other day on the boat to be sold as fresh
251 shrimp at the market and on the streets. "Camarão da Vila,"
[443] (shrimp from Vila) the cry of the Salvador street peddlers, is well known throughout the capital city.

463 The majority of people in Group 2 live down the hill from the older part of town, near the beach or out along the road
[361] which leads to the factory. They are more or less dependent
[571] upon Group 1, not only for the money they receive in return for services, but also for many kinds of favors which fall un-
[476] der the heading of patronship. They are seldom able to employ the services of Group 3 for such jobs as house building or repairing; they must rely on an old form of cooperative labor, called the batalhão (work group), to make or repair a house wall or to put on a new thatch roof. Frequently a patron will arrange for another of his "dependents" to transport the mud necessary for the palm thatch (taipa), and there is no cost involved for the recipient; but she must arrange the labor.

463 The people of Group 2 fetch their own water from the wells,
312 and usually their own firewood from the tideswamps. There
[313] are several men and women in town who make a business of carrying these two commodities. Such work is contractual. A household contracts for so many cans or barrels of water a day and so many loads of firewood a week. If they do not have enough money for these services they must carry them out themselves. During the dry summer months fetching water is a tedious business, for the majority of the wells dry up early in the summer. In the very dry summer of 1950-51, all the wells in town but one went dry. The one which continued to supply water did so at a much diminished rate. This well is completely encased in cement, for it provides the only drinking water in town. There is a small pipe serving as a spigot. During the dry season it takes from ten to twenty minutes to fill a five-gallon tin can from this pipe. As a result, there were always long lines of women waiting for water, and a sojourn of three or four hours at the well was common. Many of the more ambitious women used to get up at two or three in the morning and go to the well, making several
[821] trips so they would be free of this onerous duty during the day. This, however, took a great deal of courage, for most people
[492] in Vila Recôncavo are afraid of the dark, and no timid woman would make the trip out to the well at night. By general agreement, the men who carry water in barrels on donkeys walked

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1967 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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position of the sugar industry in Vila Recôncavo, is creating considerable interest on the part of the community's planters. Just as sugar cane is limited by soil and climatic conditions, so also is the cacao. There is little fear, therefore, of competition from many other areas. In addition, cacao is exportable, while the sugar of the area is for internal consumption only.

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In spite of the attraction of this new crop, there are a number of problems which must be dealt with. First, the details of a change from sugar cane to cacao must be worked out, especially as regards space and financing. The planter must juggle his sugar plantings, pastures, and rotation lands so that he can slowly take out land for preparation for cacao. If he wants to finance the changeover himself, he cannot lessen his sugar production; in fact, he needs more money than before. Banks in general lend on the forthcoming crop; if the crop is reduced, so is the amount which can be borrowed. However, to overcome this, the Institute of Cacao of Bahia is preparing a financing program on a long-term basis. Sugar cane is a perennial, planted one year, bearing for the next three or four years, then ploughed under and replanted. Cacao, on the other hand, is a permanent tree crop which gives its first fruit in five years, reaches maturity in fifteen or twenty years, and then continues to produce annually for sixty to one hundred years. Thus sugar cane is financed on a one-year basis, while initial plantings of cacao must be financed on a long-term basis of ten to fifteen years. The change from a perennial crop to a permanent crop also requires a totally different mental set on the part of the planter.

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Cacao is a "forest crop," which means that it requires shading. Under primitive conditions it is planted in dense tropical forest. In Vila Recôncavo, however, the former tropical forest has been entirely cleared away during the last four hundred years, since sugar cane tolerates no shade. Therefore, before the cacao can be planted, shade must be provided. This is done by planting banana trees and, at fixed intervals, single seedlings of a precocious, long-living, high-growing shade tree. To pay for the work involved it is common to plant manioc between the banana trees. The manioc is gathered the following year, and shortly thereafter the young cacao trees can be planted. The banana trees offer sufficient shade for the young plants. For a period of five or six years the planter

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In the very large *usinas*, the mill hands and even the field hands are modern industrial workers. They are employees of a large industrial corporation and are protected at least theoretically by the labour laws of the nation. The highly personalized relationship between the plantation workers and the owner-administrator of his own plantation, which persisted from the slave era, has been replaced on the larger *usinas* by the impersonal employee-employer relationship of the modern industrial age. Today, modern plantations and small towns have electricity; there is modern housing for workmen; the State and even the sugar companies provide medical aid; there are primary schools both in the small towns and on many plantations; recreation facilities are found in the towns and provided by the *usinas*; and the sugar-cane experimental station situated in the area constantly urges fertilization of the land and modern techniques and methods of sugar-cane production. But the older and more traditional patterns exist side by side with the new, and each of them influences the relations among the racial groups of the zone.

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361 III. Vila Recôncavo is a small town on the Bay of All Saints. The rural area around it, which lies within the social and economic orbit of the town and which is the unit under consideration, comprises some 80 square kilometres, or slightly less than half the entire area of the county of which the town of Vila Recôncavo is the county seat.[1]

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[423] It this area there are 14 plantations, three of which nowadays plant very little sugar cane. Parts of the town itself are built on the land of one of these plantations, and the rest of the town area is owned in small lots by private individuals or by the Church. Although Vila Recôncavo is the county seat, local government is the only important function which it fulfils for the surrounding area. It is not used as a shipping point, either for receiving supplies from the outside or for sending sugar to the outside. *Braços do mar*, or inlets of the bay, go to many of the plantations and are deep enough for the *saveiros* (shallow draft sailboats) used on the bay for transport. Many of the plantations have direct connexion with Salvador. Commerce in Vila Recôncavo is almost entirely limited to supplying the 4,462 inhabitants of the town and of some small islands and of one community near by which is not devoted to sugar production. It is not the major supply source even for these groups which live near enough to another and far larger commercial centre where they prefer to do their marketing. The *prefeito* or mayor of the county is rarely a resident of the town itself. Rather he is usually a planter of the surrounding area. He goes into town to do municipal business,

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[1] Both the town and the county bear the name of Vila Recôncavo.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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and that the sudden liberation of large numbers of subjected blacks would subvert public order gradually melted away as the numbers of emancipated Negroes increased and these freedmen gave evidence of their ability and willingness to become an orderly part of the free population and to labor as effectively, if not more effectively, for wages as when impelled by physical force.

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The free people of color (who by 1872 largely outnumbered the slaves)[97] were, Southey says, "an industrious and useful part of the population: most of the maize, manioc and pulse, with which the towns were supplied, was raised by them upon small pieces of ground, which they rented of the great proprietors at a low rate."[98] Freedmen were also employed as laborers on the large estates, where they lived as squatters on the land of their employers, erecting mud and palm-leaf huts for their families, and looking to the planter for protection from any who would do them harm.[99] In the towns they were employed principally as artisans, porters, messengers, barbers, street merchants and small shopkeep-

[97] Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

[98] Southey, *op. cit.*, III, 787. Cf. also: "The masters who freed slaves often gave them, with their liberty, a piece of land to insure their subsistence. The Negroes who have inherited these small holdings are to-day (1911) the best element of the black agricultural population" (Pierre Denis, *Brazil*, trans. from the French by Bernard Miall [New York, 1911], p. 322). [423]

[99] Koster writes: "The Negroes in my possession could not perform what ought to be done in proper time; and therefore I collected free laborers for the purpose, and in a short period between thirty and forty men, some of whom brought their families, removed on to the lands of the plantation; and most of them erected hovels of palm-leaves, in which they dwelt; but a few of them were accommodated with huts of mud. . . . . Many of these fellows would have committed almost any crime under the impression that my protection would screen them" (*op. cit.*, I, 295, 297). [342]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

162 563 compose most of the population of the Recôncavo today. In 1940 the population of the Centro-Litoral of Bahia--the census area most closely corresponding to the Recôncavo--had the following composition: white, 22 per cent; black, 29 per cent; and others, predominately mulatto, 49 per cent.[12]

The purchase of large quantities of slaves required the production of a commodity which could be used as exchange in Africa. The indigenous tobacco proved eminently suitable for this purpose. Although rum apparently was used also in this trade, tobacco became the essential source of exchange for the slave traffic.[13] Bahia was the main area of tobacco production, and probably most of this production was localized in the Recôncavo.[14]

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The initial period of settlement saw also the incorporation of manioc[15] into the agricultural economy as a staple. Like tobacco, it was an indigenous crop. Thus one indigenous crop was adopted to purchase slaves in Africa and another to feed them in Brazil. By 1587 manioc apparently was being cultivated on a moderate scale in Bahia.[16] A recurring theme in the history of the Recôncavo is the shortage of this essential foodstuff.

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In addition to the principal crops--sugar, tobacco, and manioc--a number of lesser agricultural products were important in the early history of the Recôncavo. Corn, beans, and bananas were grown on a small scale and used to supplement the manioc diet. Other diversifications of the diet were provided by meat and fish. Cattle were maintained to draw the ox carts and to power many of the cane mills. For lighter tasks asses and mules were used.

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Out of this complex of Portuguese settlers and Negro slaves, of old world and new world crops, there developed certain characteristic agricultural enterprises. The engenho--old world in the origin of its

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 231 After they had recuperated from the long drives, the cattle were used for both labor and food.

175 433 439 171 The colonial economy developed in the Recôncavo--in common with Pernambuco, Campinas (Rio de Janeiro), and lesser centers like Sergipe and Alagoas--was distinct from the economy of the south of Brazil. São Paulo, for example, was self-sufficient, buying little from abroad and having little to sell. Bahia and Pernambuco were almost completely dependent upon exchange with European markets, with Portugal acting as the middleman.

175 249 439 Economic Development from 1600 to 1850. By the middle of the seventeenth century most of the institutions discussed above existed in at least rudimentary form. They were nurtured by an expanding Brazilian commercial economy which enjoyed, for the moment, a virtual monopoly in sugar. Bahia was the leading province in Brazil in the export of both sugar and tobacco.[23] The production of these crops was centered almost entirely in the Recôncavo area of the state. The [567] tobacco was sent at first to Africa, in exchange for increasingly large numbers of slaves for the ever-greedy sugar industry. Slowly, however, a secondary market for Bahia tobacco developed in Europe. With few exceptions the sugar was marketed in Europe and at a high price. The engenhos of Bahia were the largest in Brazil, though still very small by modern standards.[24]

175 648 The development of the colony did not proceed smoothly. In the mid-seventeenth century Bahia was occupied for a brief period by the Dutch, but the development of the colony faltered only momentarily. On the other hand, the Dutch occupied Pernambuco and the north coast for a longer period. The subsequent transference of Dutch efforts to the West Indies was to have a profound effect upon the future of

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 648 the Recôncavo, for they took with them a newly acquired knowledge of sugar cane cultivation.

175 167 567 The eighteenth century opened with a series of disasters for the region. When word of gold discoveries in Minas Gerais (1704) reached Bahia, an exodus began.[25] Slaves were sold at exorbitant prices, and often masters and slaves together went off to the mines. The colonial authorities took drastic steps to halt the flight, but [731] to no avail. The first quarter of the century ended with floods in the Recôncavo and the discovery of diamonds in the interior. There was a second exodus.[26]

175 171 249 In the meantime there were momentous developments in the West Indies. Sugar cane cultivation spread rapidly in the Antilles as the Netherlands and other northwestern European states which had been lucrative markets for Brazilian sugar began their own production in their respective West Indian colonies. In addition to the protected markets which the mother countries afforded, these new centers enjoyed sound economic and geographical advantages. As newcomers to the field of sugar production, the Antilles were free of both the antiquated equipment and the backward techniques which burdened Brazil, and they were closer to the major European markets.[27]

175 178 185 249 The Recôncavo was unable to counter these West Indian developments. In a century and a half of commercial development there had been few improvements in agricultural or industrial methods. There was no conservation of the soil. Only one variety of cane was known, and there was no attempt to develop improved strains. The mills continued to burn expensive wood rather than to use bagasse. Antique, low-yielding crushing mills continued to be used for extraction.[28]

175 249 178 439 At the end of the eighteenth century, however, developments abroad restored to the Recôncavo and to Brazil many of the advantages which it had formerly held in the international market. This

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 inaugurated a brief "golden age" in the evolution of the Recôncavo.
178 The mythology which this age engendered is an integral part of the
249 439 social and economic patterns in the present day Recôncavo. The collapse of the sugar economy in the West Indies, particularly in Santo Domingo in 1792, and the expanding urban markets in Europe had given, for a moment, a great opportunity to the sugar industry of Northeast Brazil. Moreover, an important supplementary market had developed in the mining areas of Minas Geraiś. In the subsequent economic expansion to supply these markets, the Recôncavo became an even more important center of sugar production in Brazil.

175 249 565 565 567 471 The landed proprietors of the Recôncavo apparently took this resurgence as a vindication of their economic system.

> They squandered money like the fidalgos [landed, slave-holding aristocrats] that they were. They installed sumptuous dwellings and lived the life of a nobility. Each sugar factory was a community where hundreds of slaves were dedicated to extraction of wealth from the soil. Each of these communities achieved a merited importance. A little Agricultural World gyrated around the Big House, and the Chapel, with its Holy Administrator, [was] dedicated to the dissemination of Catholicism in the community. In time many of these "Engenhos" developed into villas, and were succeeded by the cities of today.
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> Each of these "Engenhos," as these agricultural communities were called, produced everything that they consumed except luxury, and this was imported from Portugal in exchange for sugar, high-grade tobacco, cotton, and rare cabinet woods. The "Senhor" of the Engenho was a veritable Feudal Baron, with the power of life and death over his black and mestizo slaves. He exercised the right of torture and flogging in proportion to the offenses committed. These sugar Engenhos, because of their collective and independent existence, produced a pride of origin, an attachment to the soil, that flowered into a hatred of the monarchial exploiters and became the dominating factor in the movement for independence.
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> The fidalgos were essentially a product of the land, and spent the major part of their luxurious existence on their estates, attended by innumerable slaves. Their homes were built upon a vast scale and equipped with every luxury known to so simple a people. They also

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 45 per cent of the total investment was in slaves--labor costs, always
249 high, had been driven up by the suppression of the slave trade. The
47 relatively small proportion of steam mills is at once a reflection of
454 the continuing primitive technology and a sign of the improvements which were to come later in the century. The value of production for
[433] this year was $1,213,000--a return of 6.6 per cent on the capital investment.[35]

While the attention of the Baiano was focused on the sugar
175 industry during this golden age, tobacco unobtrusively was becoming
249 a primary commercial product. The suppression of the slave trade
178 deprived tobacco of its African market, but at the same time the
439 European market was expanding. The spread of cigar smoking in Europe created an increasing demand for Bahian leaf. Ultimately the European demand for quality leaf and the development of a Brazilian market for the poorer grades were to carry tobacco to the leading position among Bahia's commercial products.

175 To a very large degree, the mold of the colonial Recôncavo was
433 fixed in the sixteenth century. Its socio-economic system was nurtured
249 by the prosperous semi-monopoly of sugar production. While the south
[565] of Brazil was a raw frontier zone of migratory agricultural adventurers, the Paulistas (natives of São Paulo) of early colonial times,[36] a stable and wealthy aristocratic society was developing in the Recôncavo. In
[477] the early eighteenth century, when West Indies competition undermined the sugar monopoly, the Recôncavo might have responded creatively to the challenge, but failed to do so. The simultaneous mineral boom in Minas Gerais drained away the more experimental elements and left behind those who were less adventurous. Yet before the denial of markets had disrupted entirely the old economic and cultural pattern, the late eighteenth-early nineteenth century resurgence reaffirmed

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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BB 175 249 433 the traditional values. As has been seen, the re-opening of the markets at first particularly benefited the Recôncavo.

NB 175 433 The developments in the Recôncavo were shared only partially by the other areas of the Brazilian Northeast. The colonial economy of Pernambuco, the second major center in the Northeast, was not nurtured NB EB [316] by a prosperity equal to that of Bahia. The booms in the mineral areas, which had a disruptive effect on the Recôncavo, apparently were less strongly felt in more-distant Pernambuco. In the south of Brasil, EB 175 433 316 241 neither Rio de Janeiro nor São Paulo shared in Bahia's colonial opulence until the nineteenth century. Moreover, the mining developments, which were a disturbing influence on Recôncavo society, had a stimulating effect on agriculture and trade in the South, especially in São Paulo. Although Minas Gerais attracted some settlers from the South, in the main the mineral development acted as a stimulant to agriculture. Thus the forces of colonial evolution in the Recôncavo were distinctive variants of those characteristic of the whole of Brazil.

BB 175 <u>The Last Hundred Years--1850 to the Present</u>. The series of external forces which contributed to the revival of the Recôncavo in the early nineteenth century were destined to sweep it from the main current of Brazilian development. The pressure of these outside events were apparent in the Recôncavo as early as 1825, but it was in the last half of the century that the region was relegated to the subordinate position which it occupies today.

B BB 175 567 648 [439] There is a historical connection between the events which first bestowed and later took away Recôncavo prosperity. The collapse in the West Indies sugar industry re-opened markets to Brazil, but it also ended England's economic interests in slavery. With no vested

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interest to deter her, Great Britain became in the nineteenth century the great anti-slavery force of the world. The British government began to press Brazil for a treaty to halt the slave trade. In 1826 a treaty was signed in which Brazil agreed to end the slave trade within four years. However, Brazil had just achieved its independence (1824), and the new national government was too weak to enforce the provisions of the treaty. After 25 years of bitter diplomatic exchanges with Great Britain, the Brazilian government succeeded in fulfilling its treaty obligations, and after 1852 almost no slaves were landed in Brazil.

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The end of the slave trade foreshadowed the end of slave labor in Brazil. The Northeast fought to preserve the system, but it was doomed not only as a result of extra-Brazilian pressures but also because of internal economic development. Just as in the eighteenth century the political capital had shifted from the North (Salvador) to the Central-South (Rio de Janeiro), so in the nineteenth century the economic center of gravity moved to São Paulo and adjacent Rio de Janeiro and Minas Gerais.[37] At first the developments in São Paulo imitated those of the Northeast, and a sugar industry employing traditional techniques was established. Almost immediately, however, the Central-South began to demonstrate an initiative unknown in the old sugar regions.

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At the beginning of the nineteenth century Bahia was exporting 12,000 tons of sugar, Pernambuco 8,400 tons, Rio de Janeiro 5,400 tons, and São Paulo 600 tons.[38] By mid-century Rio de Janeiro--chiefly Campos, near the mouth of the Rio Paraíba--was producing more sugar than any other province. In 1875, Rio de Janeiro was still the largest producer, with São Paulo second, Pernambuco third, and Bahia fourth. By the end of the century, São Paulo was the largest sugar

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By the end of the century, São Paulo was the largest sugar producer, chiefly supplying its own internal market, but also exporting in small quantity. The Recôncavo struggled to maintain even a poor fourth position.[39]

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The growth of the sugar industry in the South was not an isolated development but was one part of a general agricultural and economic expansion. The south of Brazil, which had gained new political power as a result of its expansion, began to press for abolition of slaves. Slave labor had not played a significant role in the south after 1850.

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In 1871 a law was passed providing for the gradual emancipation of slaves and the compensation of slave holders. The Northeast resisted bitterly but in vain. A new law passed in 1888 gave complete and immediate freedom to the slaves; and this law did not provide for compensation of the slave owners.

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The end of slavery threatened the Recôncavo in two ways. The suppression of the slave traffic destroyed the African trade in tobacco. The loss was soon more than compensated by the rapid expansion of the market for Bahian tobacco in Europe. By the 1870's tobacco surpassed sugar and became the chief export of Bahia. The effect of the emancipation on the sugar industry was much more far-reaching. The freeing of the slaves destroyed the labor base of sugar cultivation and processing. The gradual character of emancipation cushioned the blow somewhat, but it was still disastrous to the industry. Slaves left the plantations by the thousands, and there was no alternative source of labor. Sugar exports fell to a fourth of the pre-emancipation level. After a time the emancipated Negroes and mulattoes returned to the plantations and mills under a system of free labor. But Bahian sugar could not regain even a substantial part of its former importance.

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249 Rope tobacco, fumo em corda, is a twist of sweetened, fermented tobacco of rope-like appearance which is smoked in pipes or in hand-made cigarettes or may be used as a chewing tobacco—however, the habit of chewing tobacco is not common in the Recôncavo. This type of tobacco originally was produced for exchange in the slave trade, but at the present time it is consumed almost exclusively by the rural lower class. The urban lower class, formerly also consumers of rope tobacco, are turning increasingly to manufactured cigarettes, which for the most part are made from the tobacco grown in Rio Grande do Sul.

[MS 439 567 565]

In general the production of leaf tobacco in Brazil is restricted to the Recôncavo and adjacent sections of Bahia, but rope tobacco is a product of the sertão of Bahia and the northeastern interior and of Minas Gerais. In Bahia the moderate rainfall and the sandy soils of the humid edge of the crystalline zone, in areas of caatinga or mata vegetation, produce a relatively mild leaf. The best—most valuable—leaf of Bahia is the Mata grade of the Southwestern Recôncavo and certain adjacent municípios.[14] Of the Mata grade, the highest quality comes from Cruz das Almas. Rope tobacco is made primarily from the harsh, strong leaves grown in the sertão, but it is made also from leaves of poorer plants or very strong end-of-season leaves of plants originally harvested for fumo em fôlha. Thus the Recôncavo may sometimes produce small quantities of rope tobacco, but the main Bahian production is north of the Recôncavo in the agreste, especially in Inhambupe and Entre Rios.

The cultivation of tobacco will be discussed in the chapter on agricultural systems (Chapter VI), but one singular characteristic of its harvesting should be borne in mind in evaluating production statistics. In distinction to cultivation of quality tobacco in most other parts of the world, Bahia-Brasil is harvested repeatedly until

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245 311 Within the Recôncavo coconut production is important along the sandy beach line of the island of Itaparica and along the ocean coast of Salvador, where coconuts are virtually the only agricultural product [133] (Maps 58, 59, and 60). The inner shores of the Bay, which rise abruptly [134] with rocky clay slopes, bear very few coconuts, except in a low-lying sandy zone along the estuary of the Paraguaçu. Coconuts are produced 245 [423] chiefly on large properties which are frequently owned by urban families. [464] The plantations are operated with hired labor drawn from the coastal [438] population. When harvested, the coconuts are sold in the urban markets [258] of Salvador and other cities and towns. Very little of the Recôncavo [439] production is converted into oil, and little is exported.

Oranges. The navel orange is a Bahian development, a mutation of the orange brought from Europe. The main centers of Brazilian pro- [433] duction, however, are elsewhere in the country, and cultivation of oranges within the Recôncavo is primarily for local consumption.

245 311 Scattered orange trees are a feature of the rural and urban landscape in many areas. In addition to this generalized cultivation, which frequently is not shown in the official data, there is commercial production in the environs of several urban centers—Alagoinhas, Santo Antônio, and to a lesser extent, Salvador (Maps 61 and 62). The [489] cidades of Alagoinhas and Santo Antônio are both markets for part of [443] the local crop; moreover, both are on the railroads leading to Salvador, which is the chief market for the entire region. In addition to these three main concentrations, there are numerous orange groves in the Southwestern Recôncavo which apparently serve both local and regional markets, though on a small scale. In general the relative area in orange groves is not great, yet in 1948 they occupied 10 per cent of the cropland of Alagoinhas.

175 Cachoeira, which
178 formerly included most of the western part of the region, was the center
249 of the production of tobacco for use in the slave trade. The growth of
[567] the trade in leaf tobacco in the nineteenth century brought great changes
[439] to the region, for it made tobacco a major commercial product in its own right, no longer dependent upon the slave trade. Eventually this development gave the region of tobacco production a greater economic importance than the sugar cane region, although it remained subordinate in political and social influence. The development of the new tobacco economy also gave the region a greater superiority over the sertão, which could satisfactorily produce fumo em corda, but could grow only the poorest grades of fumo em fôlha.

174 Probably the tobacco-manioc region supplied manioc as the sub-
244 sistence food of the sugar economy, since it is the only nearby area
249 which was a center of manioc production. Perhaps manioc was produced
433 in the sugar cane zone, but in view of the intensity of sugar cane cultivation, this seems doubtful. In any case, the present relative level of manioc production in this crop region probably dates from the nineteenth century development of cigar tobacco production.

249 The second basic crop region of the Recôncavo is the sugar cane
311 monocultural area. It is sub-divided into a major zone, in Santo Amaro, São Sebastião, and São Francisco; a minor zone in Cachoeira; and an outlier in São Filipe. It is estimated that in the first two zones 90 per cent of the cropland was in cane in 1948. In the São Filipe outlier of the sugar cane region the proportion seems to have been lower--perhaps 50 per cent of the cultivated area.

The physical association of the sugar cane region north of the
[13] Rio Paraguaçu and the Bay is relatively simple--a humid and formerly forested undulating plain composed of mixed Cretaceous soils--massapê, salão, and areia. In São Filipe the land is rougher, but the sugar cane is grown upon heavy soils similar to the Cretaceous series.

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CHAPTER IX

VALUE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

B BB 241 128

The analysis of the distribution of cropland and of the quantity of production has established the Recôncavo as a distinctive regional unit of Bahia and of Brazil without formulating clearly the importance of the region to the state or the nation. Similarly, the internal differentiation of the region has been discussed in terms of various municípios, sub-regions, and crop regions without establishing the basic importance of these to the Recôncavo except as components of the agricultural landscape or as producers of crops with an unspecified value. Although the value of agricultural production is not exclusively economic, monetary value is one of the most useful general standards for estimating the collective and individual importance of diverse agricultural products.

B BB 128

The tables and discussion which follow have three purposes: (1) the estimation of the importance of the Recôncavo and its individual products to the Brazilian and the Bahian economy; (2) the determination of the importance of individual products within the economy of the region; and (3) the evaluation of the economic importance of the crop regions, previously delimited, to the Recôncavo.

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The total value of the crops of the Recôncavo was less than 1 per cent of the total value of crop production in Brazil in 1948, based upon a comparison of the value of 21 principal crops of Brazil and of the Recôncavo which are given in Table XV. Although for several centuries the region was an outstandingly productive center of the Brazilian economy, today it plays a secondary role even within Bahia. In recent decades the southern coast of the state, growing cacao for foreign markets, has

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come to be the area of the greatest value of agricultural production in the state--Cr.$1,007,824,000, in 1948, almost three times the value of crop and livestock production in the Recôncavo, Cr.$335,000,000. The total value of livestock production in the Recôncavo is estimated to be about Cr.$60,000,000 for 1948. Although no comparable figure is available for Brazil, probably the Recôncavo had less than 1 per cent of the livestock and thus produced less than 1 per cent of the value of livestock in the nation as a whole.[1]

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The present inferior position of the Recôncavo is in part a reflection of the relative decline of the region in the nineteenth century discussed in the chapter on the evolution of the Recôncavo. However, the Recôncavo continues to lag behind in the contemporary development of Brazil. From 1944 to 1952 the total cruzeiro value of the principal crops of Brazil increased four-fold, while the value of Bahia's tobacco crop, a good indicator of the economic shifts of the Recôncavo, increased by only one-fifth despite the concurrent inflationary spiral. Even the government-stabilized sugar industry of the Recôncavo produced only three and one-half times its 1944 value. Although the above increases are more indicative of the steadily declining value of Brazilian currency than of true economic development, they are an index of the relative importance of agriculture in the Recôncavo to the national economy.

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Tobacco, sugar cane, and manioc, which occupied 70 per cent of the Recôncavo's cropland, accounted for 77 per cent of the total value of all principal crops in 1948 (Table XVI). Each of the three crops contributed at least 20 per cent of the value of all crops, while no other crop produced over 6 per cent of the total. The cruzeiro value of these principal crops, and of livestock, and their relative position within the nation has been given in Table XV, above.

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TABLE XVII

MEAN VALUE OF PRODUCTION PER HECTARE FOR THE CROPS OF THE RECÔNCAVO IN 1948

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Crops	Value of Production Cr.$1.000 per ha.
Principal Crops*	
Tobacco	3,900
Manioc	3,100
Sugar Cane	4,600
Beans	2,200
Oranges**	13,300
Bananas**	8,600
Corn	800
Coconuts**	7,400
Coffee**	1,400
Pineapple	1,000
Peanuts	2,400
Sweet Potatoes	3,500
All Crops	3,400

*Crops with a value in excess of Cr.$1,000,000.
**There is little consistent relationship between the area and production of these crops, so that local values for these crops often depart widely from the mean.
Source: Calculations and estimations based upon Produção Agrícola: 1948.

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leading producer—40 per cent of the total value of the tobacco crop. Notwithstanding the dominant role of the Southwestern area, tobacco production north of the Rio Paraguaçu was also significant—contributing 24 per cent of the total value of the crop.

As has been indicated, several grades of tobacco are produced in the Recôncavo. The superiority of the tobacco production of the Southwestern Recôncavo is more than a matter of hectares of cultivation or kilograms of leaf. The area is the core of the "Mata Fina" zone, within which the leaf of Cruz das Almas is assigned the highest price. [439] The "Mata Fina" leaf is the basis of the export of cigar tobacco to European markets. In its concern with cacau, the most valuable export, [245] [439] Bahia tends to forget the important role which tobacco plays in its economy, and with this, so the people of the zone sometimes feel, to

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249 433 neglect the critical tobacco producing areas. It seems to be true that
245 the chief recipients of political and economic attention have been the
439 traditionally important sugar cane area, and more recently the cacao
491 zone. The people of the tobacco area complain particularly about the lack of roads.

244 433 Not only is manioc the basic source of subsistence for the Recôncavo, it is also the second crop in value of production. Its cultivation, as has been seen, is closely associated with the production of tobacco, so that the Southwestern Recôncavo, which produced 63 per cent of the tobacco crop, also contributed a very large part—48 per cent—of the total value of manioc (Map 121). However, manioc is important in its own right, as well as in its relationship to tobacco. No data are available to indicate the importance of manioc as a surplus product which is sold beyond the borders of the município in which it is grown. A rough estimate can be made by assuming that the per capita consumption of manioc is 400 kilograms per year—this is the mean consumption for the state of Bahia. Using this figure in conjunction with the population data, it is possible to estimate that in 1948 about 30,000 tons of surplus manioc was produced in the Recôncavo. Ninety per cent of this surplus was produced in the municípios of the Southwestern Recôncavo.
489 It is significant that many of the trucks passing from the Southwestern
494 Recôncavo to Feira de Santana and Salvador are piled high with bags of farinha de mandioca. The total value of commercial manioc would be about Cr.$6,500,000, so that on this basis manioc is the fourth or fifth most valuable commercial crop of the Recôncavo. Using the above method of determination, it was found that several municípios adjoining the region also produced surpluses of manioc. The most notable of these were the four municípios adjacent to the Southwestern Recôncavo—Nazaré, São Miguel, Santo Antônio, and Castro Alves—which produced a

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249 in meeting his contract with the agent. The result of this and other
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438 speculative practices is that the price of tobacco tends to spiral upwards
452 throughout the season.
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The crop is delivered to the buyer in small lots--10 to 15 kilo-
249 grams--which are assembled, graded, and baled. The bales are taken to
276
438 the warehouse of the agent where they are added to other bales to form
442 a large pile in which fermentation can take place. After fermentation the bales are broken, and the leaf is re-sorted. With the better grades the sorting is done very carefully, and a large number of size and texture grades are separated. Intermediate grades are sorted less carefully, often by bundles rather than by individual leaves. The poorest grades are stripped without grading. After sorting or stripping, the leaf is again placed in bales and kept in the warehouse until transport can be arranged to deliver the tobacco to Salvador or to the cigar factories.

249 Most of the tobacco produced in the Recôncavo is exported. In the
433
439 years 1946 to 1950, inclusive, 166,676 tons of leaf tobacco were produced in Bahia and 128,567 tons were exported, so that about 75 per cent of the total crop of the state was exported.[2] However, the exported leaf is made up of the choice tobaccos, that is "Mata Fina," which are largely grown in the Recôncavo. It may be concluded from this that at least four-fifths of the tobacco crop of the Recôncavo was exported during this years. Tobacco exported from the Recôncavo normally composes 70 per cent of all the tobacco exported from Brazil. In value, the tobacco exported from the Recôncavo was less than 1 per cent of the total exports of all products from Brazil.[3]

482 Transportation. The backs of men and of animals are the basic
492
499 transportation media in the Recôncavo: almost all goods begin and end
489

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492 as a ton of cane through the rain-softened clay. It is pulled, depend-
493 ing upon the load and the condition of the route, by four, six, or eight oxen. It has no brakes, although occasionally a long pole is used as a drag. The cart and the team are managed by two people, a man who rides the cart, goads the wheel oxen, and shouts directions, and a boy who runs in front and turns the lead oxen with a long slender pole. As has been seen, a very large number of oxen are maintained on the sugar cane plantations and the accessory ranches of the area. Donkeys
492 are used in the cane area for lesser tasks, such as carrying seed cane, tools, and subsistence products; both horses and mules are used for riding--usually the plantation foremen ride the patient, slow-moving mules, while the owners and administrators ride the small, agile horses which come from the sertão. In most other parts of the Recôncavo, in the littoral forest and in the dry caatinga, the donkey and mule are the universal beasts of burden.

One município of the Recôncavo--Coração de Maria--has no motor
491 [492] roads, and is thus served only by pack animals. The cidades of all the other municípios are on highways of some sort, but usually only a single road passes directly across the município. The back-country
487 of the municípios, which in this sense includes about nine-tenths of the total area, is criss-crossed with a network of trails. Some of these are wide enough for an ox cart, or in very good weather, for a jeep to pass through. Many others are only narrow paths winding through the second growth and passing between cultivated fields.

489 Land transportation between the various parts of the Recôncavo
433 has less direct agricultural importance than in the United States, since
438 so much of the agricultural produce is consumed within the município
439 in which it is grown. Those agricultural products, such as tobacco
497 or sugar, which are destined for non-local or external markets are
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439
497 usually carried by rail or by automotive transport. The operation of
494 the economy of the Recôncavo seems to require a constant movement of merchants, fazendeiros (landowners) and agents between the various cidades, and between the lesser urban centers and Salvador or Feira de Santana.

496 The two railroad systems which serve the Recôncavo and the adjoin-
497 ing areas are both narrow-gauge lines. The most extensive system belongs to the Viação Férrea Federal Leste Brasileiro, called the "Leste." It is part of a larger network which, in theory, connects Rio de Janeiro and the rest of the Central-South with the Northeast as far as Maceió in the state of Alagoas. Within the Recôncavo the main lines of the Leste stretch out from Salvador northward through Alagoinhas and westward through Cachoeira. A branch line of the latter runs to Feira de Santana.

The Estrada de Ferro Nazaré railroad crosses only the corner of the Recôncavo, but it runs for a long distance near the southwestern perimeter. The line begins at Jequié in the coffee zone and terminates at the cidade of Nazaré and at São Roque on the estuary of the Rio
[505] Paraguaçu below Maragogipe. These two terminals are connected to Salvador by motor vessels which attempt to coordinate their schedules with the trains. A rail link between the Nazaré line at Santo Antônio and the Leste at Cruz das Almas has been under construction for some years.

493 Most of the rolling stock of the Leste is archaic, but the
497 Nazaré line has relatively good equipment. The woodburning locomotives used by both railroads are small but are kept in good repair and operate with reasonable efficiency. They are cheap and flexible to operate and, in view of the limited fuel resource of Brazil, seem almost ideal. The Leste has a diesel engine for the passenger train which operates between

249 which it is hauled by railroad or boat to the mill, although sometimes
497 the cane which is carried by boat is weighed at the mill. The rail-
505 roads which handle the cane, as has been indicated, are owned and
496 operated by the usinas, except that the government right-of-way is
471 used whenever these tracks pass close to the plantations. One of the
249 usinas is new and a few of the older mills have some new equipment, but the general level of technology is considerably below that of Pernambuco or São Paulo and the mills are somewhat smaller. The usinas grind the cane, extract the juices, and refine the sugar by means of vacuum pans and centrifuges. The more modern usinas produce a high quality sugar, but in general the product is coarse and not a pure white.
274 The by-products of the large usinas and part or all of the cane juice
385 of some of the usinas and engenhos is converted into rum or commercial
262 alcohol. The sugar, rum, and alcohol from the sugar industry of the
273 Recôncavo are consumed primarily within the Recôncavo and the adjoining
438 regions of Bahia. About one-tenth of the production of sugar is
439 exported, chiefly to Rio de Janeiro. The commercial alcohol usually
382 is mixed with gasoline in the bulk plants in Salvador to provide fuel
385 for automotive transport. By law a specified amount of commercial
654 alcohol must be mixed with gasoline--this is designed to subsidize the sugar industry.

249 There are twenty usinas in the Recôncavo, and these produced
471 an estimated 80 per cent of the total sugar of the state of Bahia in
433 1948. The three largest of these are owned by a single sugar company, which also owns the associated plantations, transportation equipment, and cattle fazendas. This company plays an important role in the
249 marketing of sugar from its own usinas and from other companies. The
471 concentration of the cultivation of sugar cane and of the production
178 of sugar in the hands of this single enterprise is a symptom of the

258 but also because the manioc roots are too heavy and bulky to be trans-
[438] ported over long distances. Moreover, the market for farinha de mandioca is generally local, except in the Southwestern Recôncavo.

258 The capital investment in a casa de farinha is small, usually
471 less than one hundred dollars, but this sum is far beyond the reach of
[454] most cultivators. The mills are built by owners of medium-sized land holdings or local merchants, and are operated on a share basis. The mill owner usually receives one-tenth of the finished product in exchange
[427] for the use of the mill equipment. The customer rents the equipment
[464] rather than the service and must therefore provide the labor, although
[592] the owner usually furnishes one or two workers. Generally the processing
[462] of manioc is a family operation in which the women and girls scrape the roots and the men and boys perform the more arduous tasks.

277 Most of the tobacco which is grown in the Recôncavo is exported
[439] in the form of leaf. Therefore, the processing of tobacco is less important in relation to the cultivation of tobacco than is the processing of manioc and sugar in relation to their respective cultivation. The leaf tobacco which is retained in the area is made into cigars in home industries and in a number of cigar factories. The home-produced cigars are made by tobacco cultivators and small-scale processors in the villages, towns, and cities of the region. These cigars are generally
[443] very cheap and are sold in the local mercado (market) or in small vendas (shops). It is difficult to assess the total importance of this form of processing, but it seems likely that the number of cigars so made is extremely large.

207 The cigar factories of the Recôncavo are located in the cidades of São Gonçalo, Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, and Maragogipe. Each of the
[464] factories employs from 100 to 200 workers, usually women from the surrounding area. Machines are used to produce the cheaper grades;

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277 the more expensive varieties are hand made. The fillers and inner wrappers of the cigars are made from local tobaccos. Local leaf also [439] is used to a very limited extent for the outer wrappers, but almost all of the high quality cigars are made from wrapper leaf imported [471] from Havana, Sumatra, or the Connecticut Valley. The ownership of all the cigar factories is concentrated in three companies, all of which [439] have their headquarters in Salvador. The cigars produced in the Recôncavo are sold throughout Brazil.

182 43 44 184 Conclusion. Many of the features of the systems of marketing, transportation, and processing which are characteristic of the Recôncavo are effective in unifying the region. In particular, the centralized marketing and economic control of the production and processing of tobacco and sugar draw both the tobacco and manioc region and the sugar cane region closer to Salvador. At the same time, the differences in marketing techniques and the separate channels of control which are associated with these two products accentuate the sub-regional pattern 182 of the two crop regions. The system of general marketing exemplified 438 443 184 by the municipal markets might at first glance seem to be a focus for local rather than regional interests. However, as has been seen, there are itinerant merchants who pass from market to market throughout the Recôncavo. Moreover, the major public markets, such as Feira de Santana and Salvador, draw large numbers of people from most of the rural sections. Even the local marketing institutions contribute to the identification of the people of this area with the region.

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249 244 433 [231] [233] of livestock, which had a value greater than sugar cane but less than manioc.

Agricultural activities within the Recôncavo are localized in several distinct sub-regions, each with a specialized system of cultivation and each with either one or two principal crops. The primary agricultural subdivisions of the region are: (1) the sugar cane monocultural sub-region; and (2) the tobacco-manioc sub-region.

249 Sugar cane is grown as the exclusive crop in its major area of production--the pocket of coastal plain north of the Baía de Todos os Santos. Cane is generally cultivated under a four-year monoculture and one-year fallow system on large properties employing large quantities of hand labor and using oxen to draw plows and carts. Neither fertilizer [407] nor agricultural machinery is used to any appreciable extent. Most of [492] the animals used as labor in the production of sugar cane are brought [231] [233] into the area from the sertão, and little livestock breeding is found in this area. The processing of sugar cane is in the hands of a small [471] [178] number of medium-sized usinas. The companies which own these usinas are gradually buying up the plantations so that to an increasing extent the mills directly control the production of sugar cane. Most of the [497] [489] cane is brought to the usinas by railroad, although sailing boats are used for this purpose along tidewater. Most of the sugar produced in [505] [438] [439] the Recôncavo is consumed within the state of Bahia, but small quantities are shipped to other parts of Brazil. Both the aristocratic upper class [565] [471] [472] and the rising non-aristocratic business interests of the Recôncavo are involved in the ownership and administration of the sugar industry. The [464] [178] permanent labor force is supplied from the settlements of the sugar cane plantations and the mills, but the rural population and the labor force of the sugar area are declining. Seasonal labor for the harvest comes from the interior sertão of Bahia.

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249 471 433 these individual shortcomings of the industry are less important than, and to a certain extent derived from, three basic problems of the sugar economy: land, market, and leadership.

249 [311] Most of the area of Cretaceous soil in the lowlands of the Recôncavo presently is occupied by sugar cane or by the fallow fields. Only those lands which are too wet or which are needed for settlement, mills, or transportation are not used for cultivation. Thus there seems to be little opportunity to increase the area of good sugar cane land. It would presumably be possible to reduce the fallow period by lengthening the period of ratoon harvests or to abandon the fallow period altogether. If, as seems likely, these changes would reduce the yield of cane, then it would be necessary to begin to use expensive imported fertilizers in order not to lose the advantages gained by increasing the intensiveness of cultivation. [242] The introduction of high-yielding Javanese varieties of cane has already been attempted, but because of climatic conditions, soil deficiencies, poor cultivation practices, or a combination of these factors, yields remain below East Indian levels. [134] It is theoretically possible that sugar cane cultivation could be extended to the other soils of the lowland--the Tertiary sandy soils and the crystalline soils of the peninsula and of the Intermediate Hills west of the Bay. Both of these soils, however, are relatively infertile, and the sandy soils are particularly unsuited for cane because of their poor retention of water. Sugar cane cultivation is not practical on the Uplands on account of the low precipitation--cane can be grown in only a few damp valleys of the Uplands.

175 249 439 The second great disadvantage of the sugar cane industry of the Recôncavo is in its market relationship. The history of the sugar cane economy of the region may be summarized as follows. At the end of the sixteenth century the forty engenhos of the Recôncavo exported 1,800 to

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 439 [175] of sugar to Europe. This 1,800 tons of sugar was probably a very large part of the total world trade in sugar at that time. In 1948 the twenty usinas of the region exported 8,497 tons of sugar to the rest of Brazil, primarily to Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. In this year the total international trade in sugar was about twelve million tons. Moreover, the Recôncavo was able to sell in the Brazilian market only by virtue of the support which has been given to the sugar industry of the Northeast by the Brazilian government. The European market has long been lost to the Recôncavo, and the chances of regaining any substantial part of it are not good--not only on account of the low level of efficiency of the Bahian sugar industry but also because of the local and foreign sources of sugar against which it would have to compete in the European market.

249 565 178 571 The third problem of the sugar industry is leadership, which is to say the problem of the Bahian upper class. The development of the sugar economy and of the aristocratic upper class of the Recôncavo are practically inseparable, and the decline of the former is in part a reflection of the inability of the latter to provide intelligent and progressive leadership. The institutions which were developed in the opening century of colonization for the production of sugar succeeded altogether too well as far as the region is concerned, for since then the industry has not succeeded in establishing a new pattern in conformity with the changing systems of technology and the new competitive situation. A century of failure either to develop an efficient sugar industry or to find new sources of income for the sugar area is a sign of the continuing failure of the upper class. More and more the leadership of the sugar industry is passing from the artistocrats to the new segment of the upper class, the agricultural capitalists. In most cases these men seem to have a broader view of the problems of the

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 industry than the aristocrats, as the partial rationalization of the
565 sugar system since 1900 testifies. However, the entry of even these
178 relatively progressive and forward-looking business men into an indus-
571 try whose only future is that guaranteed by the protection of the gov-
ernment does not reveal a willingness either to accept short-term risks
or to make an investment in the long-term future of the Recôncavo.

175 Tobacco, as has been seen, began its history as an auxiliary of
277 the sugar cane economy. The development of the commercial tobacco
433 economy since 1800 indicates a greater flexibility than is characteristic
439 of the sugar industry. When the decline of the slave trade brought an
[567] end to the African market for fumo em corda, the tobacco economy turned
to a new product, fumo em folha, and to a new market, Europe. Unlike
277 the sugar of the Recôncavo, Bahian tobacco has been able to compete
439 successfully in the European market against leaf imported from Cuba and
from Sumatra. Moreover, the leaf tobacco of Bahia dominates the internal
market of Brazil to a degree not equaled by the local sugar industry
for several centuries.

There are several possible explanations for the relatively
277 greater flexibility of the tobacco economy. Several of the more promi-
472 nent firms in the manufacturing of cigars and in the export of tobacco
249 have foreign origins or are owned by people of European background.
198 Indirectly these firms may have affected the operation of the tobacco
economy, but it is difficult to find any signs of significant changes
in the methods of cultivation. On the other hand, the tobacco industry
and trade seem to have been spared the unimaginative and inflexible
leadership which the aristocratic upper class of the Recôncavo has
given to the sugar industry.

249 Tobacco cultivation by its very nature is more flexible than
[457] the system of sugar production. Instead of the usina, which must be

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 municípios. However, in this southwestern area the amount of flat land
311 is progressively reduced as the serras of the coffee zone are approached.
[245] Moreover, this region is already occupied by the other commercial systems--coffee, and in a few areas, sugar cane. Thus tobacco would not be moving into an area in which it could have either the land or the labor force without a struggle.

277 Leaf tobacco has a number of disadvantages as a primary commercial
439 product. The Brazilian market for Bahian tobacco is not yet large enough to stabilize the price during years when it is impossible to sell leaf abroad. In Europe the tobacco of Bahia must compete with leaf from other parts of the world, and because the Recôncavo has not yet succeeded in producing a suitable high quality wrapper leaf, it cannot hope to secure the whole market no matter how great its quantity of production. One of the possibilities which is being considered by the tobacco industry is the production of wrapper tobacco, but the experiments which have been completed so far have not been highly successful. Even if the quality of the tobacco were improved, one basic market problem would remain--tobacco is a luxury product, and many countries find it possible to do without it in times of war or economic distress.

249 The basic problem of tobacco production in the immediate future seems almost certain to be the system of cultivation and the land system with which it is connected. As has been seen, in the main centers of production the fallow period is already extremely short. It is not unlikely that the cumulative effect of too short a rotation period under a system of land rotation will reduce the fertility of the soil to a point where normal second growth will not develop and where land rotation, especially with so demanding a crop as tobacco, will be impossible. Moreover, if the intensity of tobacco cultivation should increase, then it seems inevitable that the density of livestock within

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*249 For the first time in the history of Vila Recôncavo the work-
468 ers' discontent has taken the form of a strike accompanied by violence. The strike, although a general one throughout the sugar industry, was the first one in which workers of Vila Recôncavo participated. It was specifically directed against the
178 agricultural part of the factory combination; however, it af-
*249 fected some private plantations as well, and was joined by
468 workers of private plantations. The strike was put down im-
467 mediately and effectively by the state police. On investigation the police found considerable Communist literature and prop-
668 aganda in the quarters of the labor union in Centro which had organized the strike. The labor union itself was illegal, since
[625] it was not registered with the proper authorities, and its leaders were well-known Communist agitators. What is important for our study is the appearance in the community of Vila Recôncavo of written and verbal Communist propaganda and the willingness of the local agricultural workers to participate in a general strike. This is a tremendous change for such a conservative area, where loyalty and paternalism have always been so strong.

178 Thus the sugar industry of Vila Recôncavo has entered a
*249 phase of many new difficulties: ties between factory and pri-
571 vate planters are strained, and labor relations are becoming a problem for the private, as well as the corporate, planters.
466 Inflation and the "dollar situation," which affect planters directly since all machinery must be imported, are also working toward the build-up of a new "crisis," continuing the pattern described in Chapter 3.

178 However, a new element is entering the community of Vila
245 Recôncavo in the form of a new crop, cacao. One of the plant-
242 ers began experimenting with cacao during the author's first period of research in Vila Reconcavo. However, at least five years must pass before it can be known if the cacao tree will give satisfactory fruit. At the end of 1955 the Institute of Cacao of Bahia presented the experiment to the public as a success and is now systematically stimulating interest in cacao as a possible and lucrative substitute for sugar cane.

245 Cacao is Bahia's major export crop and in general means
● 439 money to a Bahian. Still more attractive is the fact that the cacao introduced to the Recôncavo is a genetic mutation, giv-
178 ing a white-seeded fruit which brings a much higher price on the
*[249] world market than does the ordinary fruit. The financial attraction of cacao, plus the disagreeable and financially weak

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

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position of the sugar industry in Vila Recôncavo, is creating considerable interest on the part of the community's planters. Just as sugar cane is limited by soil and climatic conditions, so also is the cacao. There is little fear, therefore, of competition from many other areas. In addition, cacao is exportable, while the sugar of the area is for internal consumption only.

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In spite of the attraction of this new crop, there are a number of problems which must be dealt with. First, the details of a change from sugar cane to cacao must be worked out, especially as regards space and financing. The planter must juggle his sugar plantings, pastures, and rotation lands so that he can slowly take out land for preparation for cacao. If he wants to finance the changeover himself, he cannot lessen his sugar production; in fact, he needs more money than before. Banks in general lend on the forthcoming crop; if the crop is reduced, so is the amount which can be borrowed. However, to overcome this, the Institute of Cacao of Bahia is preparing a financing program on a long-term basis. Sugar cane is a perennial, planted one year, bearing for the next three or four years, then ploughed under and replanted. Cacao, on the other hand, is a permanent tree crop which gives its first fruit in five years, reaches maturity in fifteen or twenty years, and then continues to produce annually for sixty to one hundred years. Thus sugar cane is financed on a one-year basis, while initial plantings of cacao must be financed on a long-term basis of ten to fifteen years. The change from a perennial crop to a permanent crop also requires a totally different mental set on the part of the planter.

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Cacao is a "forest crop," which means that it requires shading. Under primitive conditions it is planted in dense tropical forest. In Vila Recôncavo, however, the former tropical forest has been entirely cleared away during the last four hundred years, since sugar cane tolerates no shade. Therefore, before the cacao can be planted, shade must be provided. This is done by planting banana trees and, at fixed intervals, single seedlings of a precocious, long-living, high-growing shade tree. To pay for the work involved it is common to plant manioc between the banana trees. The manioc is gathered the following year, and shortly thereafter the young cacao trees can be planted. The banana trees offer sufficient shade for the young plants. For a period of five or six years the planter

3t Hutchinson E-4, 8 (1960-1961) 1963 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Vila Recôncavo

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RACE RELATIONS IN A RURAL COMMUNITY OF THE BAHIAN RECÔNCAVO[1]

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by
HARRY W. HUTCHINSON

I. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, a narrow strip along the north-eastern coast of Brazil in what are now the States of Pernambuco, Alagoas, Sergipe and Bahia, was the most important region of economic, political and social life in the whole colony. The rainfall along this portion of the coast is dependable and the extremely fertile soil, which was originally covered with thick forests, was ideally suited for sugar cane. By the seventeenth century, this region produced a large part of the world's sugar supply. Sugar, which was then a luxury in Europe, brought fabulous profits, and the north-eastern coast of Brazil became an exceedingly prosperous colony. Large cities grew up along the coast; Salvador in Bahia and Recife in Pernambuco became the most important centres of colonial life, and Salvador was the capital of the colony from 1549 to 1763. Both were cities of great wealth based on the booming sugar industry. The numerous churches built in Salvador during the period of opulence, with their elaborate gold-leafed wood carving and polychrome tile work, are witnesses to the tremendous wealth of the era.

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It was the plantation system, the basis of this lucrative sugar industry, which gave this region many of its characteristic traditions and formed patterns of race relations which have persisted in a modified form into the present. Gilberto Freyre in his monumental *Casa Grande e Senzala*, and other Brazilian writers [1],[2] have described life on these sugar plantations. African slaves provided the manpower. More than three million Negroes were imported from Africa during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and a large proportion came to the sugar plantations of north-eastern Brazil. The Portuguese plantation owners became rich, and came to form a regional aristocracy with a luxurious and ostentatious way of life. The slaves and their masters, on these plantations, formed two distinct social groups, but it is distinctive of the region that their relations were intimate and warm; Freyre describes the intimacy between the *moleque* (Negro lad) and the master's son as playmates, between the master's wife and her domestic servants, between the Negro nurse and her white charges, and other close

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[1] In addition to thanking those persons listed in the introduction to this series of articles for their aid and co-operation in making this study possible, I wish to thank the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Charitable Foundation Inc. and the Department of Anthropology of Columbia University, whose grants of funds contributed largely to the possibility of this study. Also, to acknowledge with thanks the aid of Carmelita Junqueira Ayres and Elza Amelia Ferreira for their assistance in the collection of the data.

[2] The figures in brackets refer to the bibliography on page 42.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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ticularly São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro but also Belo Horizonte, Recife, Porto Alegre, and others, including Bahia.[8] For, stimulated by needs which could not be satisfied by importation from Europe or the United States under the conditions existing during two World Wars—and more particularly during the last one—and also by growing internal demand, industrialization has been assuming a continually larger role in what has previously been a predominantly agricultural and pastoral country. Concomitant with this increased industrialization—but not to be confused with it, since, for one thing, it began long before—there also has occurred a rapid and extensive growth of the cities. A high rate of natural increase of the population has meanwhile continued in all parts of the country, so that it is now estimated that approximately two and a half million persons are being added annually to the Brazilian people. New primary, secondary, technological and professional schools have been set up, in an urgent, but not yet adequate attempt—since it began with a huge deficit—to keep up with expanding educational needs.

The emergence of new employment opportunities, espe-

[8] Since the matter may have puzzled some readers, it perhaps should be pointed out that, in keeping with the traditional patterns in such cases during colonization and later, the term "Bahia" was long used to indicate, on the one hand, the Capitania, Province or State of Bahia and, on the other, its capital city, even though the latter had another (and less used) name—Salvador. At the time of our research, the capital city of the State of Bahia—where most of our research was carried on—was widely and commonly known also as "Bahia"; and this name is still being employed. Since this name was used in the original study, it will be retained in this Introduction, in order to avoid possible confusion when consulting different parts of this edition. Incidentally, the spelling of "Bahia" is correctly given here and throughout this book, although, for a time during the "spelling reform" in Brazil (but only temporarily), an effort was made in some quarters to write the name differently.

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[City of Salvador]

these, together with the plantations of Pernambuco, supplied a large part of the sugar for the tables of Europe.

175 By 1670 Bahia was a wealthy capital boasting that her
439 flag was known upon the seven seas. Ships from the Portu-
433 guese empire in the East called regularly on their way back
[162] to Portugal. By the early eighteenth century Bahia had
[34] grown into a city of 70,000, her commerce protected by the
[352] cross-fire of fourteen forts. Six- and seven-story buildings
[554] were common; the possession of carved ebony furniture had
[567] become a symbol of social standing; silks, palanquins, and the finest porcelain were imported from China. In the surrounding cane fields toiled, it is estimated, ten times as many slaves as in Virginia. A century later, Lindley, an English smuggler, after admiring the abundance of gold jewelry worn by the women of Bahia, looked out over the shipping in the harbor and wrote of "a degree of wealth unknown in Europe."

Bahia continued to be the first commercial city of Brazil until about 1830,[1] when she finally yielded front rank to São Paulo, the rising young metropolis to the south. But during the entire colonial period (1549–1822), Bahia possessed the principal Brazilian firms and the largest Brazilian fortunes.

175 During the first two centuries of the colonial era, Bahia
633 was the seat of Portuguese control in Brazil, the official residence of high functionaries representing the Portuguese crown. Even after the government was transferred to Rio (1763), Bahia continued to play a prominent role in the politics of the colony and, subsequent to independence

[249] [1] In 1868, although the decline in sugar production was by that time well advanced, Bahia had 511 *engenhos* producing nearly 19,000 tons of sugar a year.

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By 1710 Bahian tobacco[15] was being shipped in quantity to "the Mina coast," which for more than a century thereafter absorbed a full third of Bahia's production.[16] A visitor early in the eighteenth century referred to Bahia as "New Guinea";[17] while the natives of Guinea were said at that time to have called the outer world "Bahia."[18]

In 1781 fifty vessels were engaged in the Brazilian traffic, "eight or ten with Angola and the rest with the Sudanese coast."[19] In 1800 twenty vessels were plying the trade from Bahia alone. According to custom-house records, 29,172 Negroes from "the Mina coast" and the islands of São Thomé and Principe entered Bahia during the decade from

[15] *Aguardente*, or *cachaça* (cheap rum), sugar, and manioc meal were also extensively used for trading purposes, as similarly were cowries (*buzios*) from the coast south of Bahia.

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[16] Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

[17] Amadeu Francisco Frézier, *Relation d'un voyage à la mer du sud* (Paris, 1716); cf. Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 185. The demand for slave labor in the gold fields of Minas Geraes so stimulated importations that La Barbinais, visiting Bahia in 1717, estimated that in that year 25,000 Africans were landed at Bahia. See Affonso de E. Taunay, *Na Bahia colonial* (Rio, 1925), p. 364.

[18] "It was principally to Bahia . . . . that the unfortunate sons of Lybia were brought, and it is for this reason that the natives of Guinea give the name of Bahia to Brazil, to America, and even to Europe" (Onesime Reclus, quoted by Manoel Querino, "A raça africana e os seus costumes na Bahia," *Annaes do quinto congresso brasileiro de geographia* [Rio, 1916], p. 626).

[19] Calmon, *op. cit.*, pp. 180–81. See letter of Silva Lisboa, *Annaes da Bibliotecа Nacional*, XXXII, 504. From September 29, 1771, to September 22, 1772, nine slave ships with 2,307 Negroes entered the port of Bahia. One ship, "Nossa Senhora do Rosario," carrying 371 Africans "and two babies at the breast" had not had a single death on the voyage. Another vessel, "Nossa Senhora da Conceição da Ponte," sailing from the Mina coast with a call at São Thomé, landed 13 without casualty, July 11, 1772. But other ships lost, respectively, 111 out of 374, 17 out of 468, 17 out of 158, 29 out of 233, 11 out of 308, 44 out of 327, 20 out of 302—a total loss of 249 out of 2,554 leaving the African coast (from custom-house records; see Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 458).

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One must not overlook the fact, however, that during the first years of colonization the letters of the Jesuits contained numerous references to Indian slaves who were "tortured and branded in the face."[54] And later, the kings of Portugal, impressed by reports which had come to them concerning hardships inflicted on Negro slaves in Brazil, more than once wrote to their colonial representatives, exhorting them "to put a stop to such crying inhumanities."[55]

Most reports of cruelties, however, date from the abolition campaign and no doubt reflect the agitation and fervor of that movement. Thus, the able Bahian abolitionist, Anselmo da Fonseca, reports the case of a Negro in Rio Grande do Sul whose wrists were tied above his head and, after honey had been poured over his nude body, was left to the insects. Anselmo further reports the raping of small children, the use of stocks, the fracturing of teeth with a ham-

from the effects of their wounds (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 145). Fonseca estimates that two-thirds of all the *feitores* (overseers), *capitães de matto*, and *corretores* (slave dealers) in Bahia were either mulattoes or blacks (*ibid.*, p. 151).

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[54] Brazilian Indians, who before the coming of the Portuguese had killed their prisoners of war, changed this custom when it was discovered that they could sell their captives to the Europeans. Subsequently the latter organized raids into the interior in search of Indian slaves. The Jesuits fought this traffic, their struggles with the colonists lending a dramatic note to accounts of life in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Gradually their influence at the Portuguese court prevailed, certain restrictions were by royal decree put upon the enslavement of Indians, which, being disregarded by the colonists, led to further Jesuit protest and finally, in 1755, to a royal edict liberating all Indian slaves. Equal legal rights were subsequently granted the Indians, the University of Coimbra was opened to them, and they were even admitted, it is said, to the nobility.

[55] A writer cites three "royal letters" in support, dated, respectively, March 20, 1688, March 1, 1700, and April 27, 1719 (see the anonymous article entitled "Tradições bahianas," *Revista do Instituto Geographico e Historico da Bahia*, LVI [1930], 514).

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178 This division in cultural identification, however, is not
184 always sharply defined. Adherence to African cultural forms, for instance, the *candomblé*, often varies not only from family to family but also from individual to individual in the same family group; and, occasionally, in the same individual with reference to different cultural elements, to different periods in his life, and even to varying moods in his experience. In other words, African cultural forms at Bahia are disintegrating at a comparatively rapid rate.

565 Nor should one assume that the body of customs and tra-
178 ditions which marks off to some extent this lower-class
177 world is entirely of African origin. While it undoubtedly is composed in considerable part of elements originating in Africa, certain native Indian customs and traditions, together with ideas and practices common to the lower classes of Europe, as well as other customary behavior which has arisen in response to the circumstances of life in Brazil, contribute to it. The disentanglement of these diverse strands is, in some instances, a difficult and exceedingly laborious task.

It should be emphasized that these distinctions follow cultural and not necessarily racial lines. The lower class, as we have seen, includes a number of Europeans, and these have in numerous cases taken over sentiments and attitudes of African origin. Moreover, as the blacks and the mixed-bloods rise in class, they tend to slough off all identification with Africa and with African cultural forms.

439 Bahian Negroes long maintained direct contact with the
175 West Coast. Even after the extinction of the slave traffic, vessels regularly plied between Bahia and Lagos, repatriating nostalgic emancipated Negroes and returning with West

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Coast products much prized by Africans and their descendants in Brazil.[1] An elderly Bahian Negro recently brought out from among his treasured possessions a faded photograph of blacks aboard a ship on their way to Africa and pointed out an *atabaque*, or sacred drum, and a woman in *saia grande*.[2] He recalls having been many times with his father at the docks in Bahia when vessels came in from Africa and sailors brought news of Lagos.

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Trade with the West Coast, however, gradually decreased until, by 1905, it had almost entirely disappeared. Today, only a few important articles employed in the fetish ritual, such as cowries, *obis* and *orobôs* (sacred fruits), *pimenta* (pepper) *da costa*, *palha* (straw) *da costa*, *sabão* (soap) *da costa*, and strips of *pano* (cloth) *da costa*, are occasionally imported from Africa.

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Numerous Africans, their interest in Brazil stirred by Brazilian Negroes returning to the West Coast, are said to have emigrated to Bahia as recently as thirty years ago. Considerable areas in and about the city—for example, Caminho do São Gonçalo, Caminho do Cruz, and a portion of the Terreiro—were once owned, it is said, by *Africanos*.

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Today, native-born Africans as a population element are

[1] Pedro Calmon, *Historia social do Brasil* (3 vols.; São Paulo, 1937-39), I, 182. It is also reported that on at least two occasions representatives of African chiefs arrived in Bahia from Ajudá, with which port Bahian officials were maintaining direct commercial relations. One arrived during the administration of the Vice-rei Conde de Athouguia; two others "and an interpreter," on May 26, 1795. See João Varella, *Da Bahia que eu vi* (Bahia, 1935), pp. 153-57; J. B. de Sá e Oliveira, "Dois embaixadores africanos mandados a Bahia pelo Rei do Dahomé," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, LVI, Part I (1895), 413.

[2] The large skirt still worn *bouffant* by many Bahian black women. The date was approximately 1895.

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My *pae de santo* made an *ebó* for me last week. It is a *limpeza do corpo* ["cleansing of the body"]. I had an unclean body and dragged myself around, listless. I went to the "master" of the *candomblé* and he "opened the table" and looked to see if my body was unclean. He then asked me to bring toasted maize, a black cloth, popcorn, honey, and a candle. He passed them all over me,[58] and when he had finished, he took them and left them in a crossroads. Friday is the day for this.

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Now if a person puts a *bruxaria*[59] in your doorway, with a doll stuck through with pins, that is of the *feiticeiro* and it is different from a "cleansing of the body." My *pae de santo* does not make *feitiço*. He says that he does not care to do harm to people, because he has a soul for which he is responsible to God. But any *pae de santo* who wishes to bring harm upon someone can do so. For example, if I arrive in his *casa* and say that I want to do something to someone he asks me: "What do you want to do to her?" I say that when she comes to my door I want her to go blind. He will "make a business" and the next day she will come to my door and go blind. Or else I say that I want her to be wounded by a knife. He arranges it so that this happens.[60]

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"Opening the table" is a thing done with *buzios*. The *pae de santo* puts an *orixá* on top of the table, together with his little towel.[61] He takes up the *buzios* and sees if "the way is open." My *pae de santo* "opens the table" with beads.[62] He takes the beads and puts them alongside *palha* from the *pindoba*.[63] These beads come from the Coast.[64] His set cost 1:000$000.[65]

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[58] That is, in front, to side, behind, above the head, etc.

[59] Any instrument of black magic.

[60] That is, she will be attacked in a lonely place by robbers, or accidentally stabbed. The action is always mediate.

[61] The table-covering which is placed over the *orixá* in the *pegi*, or sanctuary.

[62] Other means employed: a glass of water, a set of playing cards.

[63] Fronds from a variety of the coconut palm.

[64] That is, from the West Coast of Africa.

[65] One thousand milreis, or one conto, equivalent at that time to approximately $60.

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APPENDIX C

THE BOMFIM FESTIVAL

796 Certain popular festivals, like the Sabado and Segunda
565 Feira do Bomfim, are largely taken over and even dominated
by the lower classes. Individuals from the upper circles,
[439] both white and colored, attend only in their automobiles,
driving slowly back and forth along the principal streets and
through the crowds, or watch the festivities from the windows and doorways of near-by houses. In the words of a local citizen, the festival of Bomfim "springs from the people themselves, who regard O Senhor do Bomfim as their patron saint. It belongs to them more than Carnival does; Carnival is more refined (*mais elevado*), more under the control of the educated, 'cultured' Bahians."

796 Preceded by exclusively religious ceremonies, the celebration begins on the third Saturday in January and continues through the following Sunday and Monday. A large part of the population attends. Formerly, it is said, all business houses closed for the festival, and a few still do, while others take only a half-holiday on Monday. The celebration opens
[368] at the Church of Bomfim, which crowns a gently sloping hill
[443] on the peninsula of Itapagipe which juts out into Todos
[265] os Santos Bay to the north of the port. Black women in
bahiana costume sit around the edges of the crowd selling
[257] such wares as *cocada*,[1] cakes, and other confections, mangoes, peanuts, *umbús*, and *cajús*.[2] In the *adro*, or open space, in

[1] *Cocada* is a confection made of coconut and sugar.

[2] *Cajús* are the fruit of the cashew tree. *Umbús* are a green, smooth-skinned fruit, about the size of a small lime.

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175 Given the isolation in which Brazil remained at least until
•439 1808, the moment when for the first time its ports were opened
167 to international commerce, given too the fact that Bahia was
829 never a center of massive European immigration, like certain
609 southern states, the foreigner is received by the people of Bahia
with a mixture of curiosity and distrust. At the same time,
*563 the emigrant is easily absorbed here by the milieu and likewise
adapts himself to the customs and norms of local life. The
829 Portuguese emigrants, for example, are put in a special category;
*563 one has the habit of saying that not one of them is ever, properly
speaking Brazilian, but that he is never, properly speaking, a
foreigner either. In spite of the two world wars, one nowhere
notes manifestations of antipathy with regard to German, Austrian,
or Italian emigrants. The nationals of these nations have, in
general, an excellent reputation because they are considered
good workers, because they marry Brazilians and remain in the
country when their businesses prosper. The vast majority of the
population and even the persons who are hostile to the "Russian"
merchants never have anti-Semitic sentiments. When, however,
a Jewish group publicly protested against the presentation of a
European musician accused of having had ties with Hitlerism in
the past, the association that organizes concerts of famous musicians
rejected "this attempt at outside interference dictated by /18/
racial prejudice," declaring that its activities ought to remain
"above all religious, philosophical, political, racial, or class
prejudice." And yet numerous Israelites are members of this
association.

The "Arabs," although living quite isolated in accordance
[443] with their customs, marry Brazilians, and no hostility is ever
[178] manifested with regard to them; at the time when some of them
were carrying on the trade of itinerant vendors of fabrics and
hardware, they were ridiculed somewhat, it is true, but that
stopped with the disappearance of the last peddlers.

[SALVADOR]

/26 cont./

829 458 439 175 This author here alludes to the disturbances that the economy of Bahia underwent from the time of the suppression of the slave traffic and Europe's adoption of beet sugar, which brought about the almost total stoppage of the importation of sugar cane, the basis of the wealth of our city.

829 *563 As for the mulattoes, while some declare that there is not "a chapter of our political or social history in which the remarkable personality of a métis does not glitter with particular brilliance," others, along with some praise, make strong reservations. A jurist and scholar of great repute (2)

[113]

2. Almachio Diniz, Historia racial do Brasil, São Paulo, 1934, p. 155.

considered the description of the mulatto given by an author of Bahia excellent: "The mulattoes are in general vain, intelligent, [157] and inclined toward the pleasures of life in society... They have good hearts" (3).

3. Sa Oliveira, op. cit., p. 21.

Although many people consider the Black an inferior being with regard to intelligence, almost no one questions the talent and the intellectual possibilities of the mulattoes. "If," says another economist from Bahia, "we turn toward the intellectual qualities and characteristic morals of the modern civilized man, the classic exponent of which is the European: universality of spiritual horizon, logical and systematic mind, technical gifts, tenacity and energy in the struggle for individual or social rights, and if we consider our most representative men, that is /27/ to say, our strongest personalities, we see among them many Blacks and mulattoes." And he concludes by asserting that the Afro-Brazilians are by no means inferior to the descendants of immigrants who came from more highly civilized and more purely

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954) 1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

CHAPTER X

MARKETING, TRANSPORTATION, AND PROCESSING OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS

44 Introduction. The institutions of marketing, processing, and transportation in the Recôncavo are of two basic types, local and regional. Those which serve the local economies, that is, the municípios, are traditional. These are the municipal market and the casa de farinha [178] (manioc mill). The institutions which serve the regional economy--sugar and tobacco processing plants and marketing systems--have their traditional element but have been extensively modified in the last half 489 century. Much the same division is reflected in the transportation systems of the Recôncavo, for although the chief media within the local economies are essentially traditional and primitive, the transportation 128 net of the region as a whole has a number of modern features. The discussion which follows will deal with the various institutions which have developed in the Recôncavo to accommodate the marketing, transportation, and processing of the more important agricultural products.

443 Marketing of Agricultural Products. Municipal markets play an important role in the exchange of the agricultural products in the Recôncavo as in most of Brazil. Large quantities of agricultural goods are sold within the local area in which they are produced, and much of this exchange takes place within the municipal market. The feira is the regular open market which usually is held once a week in the smaller centers but somewhat more frequently in the larger cities. It [366] is usually housed in a public building, the municipal mercado. The other type of municipal market is the matadouro municipal (slaughter

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

277 the more expensive varieties are hand made. The fillers and inner wrappers of the cigars are made from local tobaccos. Local leaf also [439] is used to a very limited extent for the outer wrappers, but almost all of the high quality cigars are made from wrapper leaf imported [471] from Havana, Sumatra, or the Connecticut Valley. The ownership of all the cigar factories is concentrated in three companies, all of which [439] have their headquarters in Salvador. The cigars produced in the Recôncavo are sold throughout Brazil.

182 43 44 184 Conclusion. Many of the features of the systems of marketing, transportation, and processing which are characteristic of the Recôncavo are effective in unifying the region. In particular, the centralized marketing and economic control of the production and processing of tobacco and sugar draw both the tobacco and manioc region and the sugar cane region closer to Salvador. At the same time, the differences in marketing techniques and the separate channels of control which are associated with these two products accentuate the sub-regional pattern 182 438 443 184 of the two crop regions. The system of general marketing exemplified by the municipal markets might at first glance seem to be a focus for local rather than regional interests. However, as has been seen, there are itinerant merchants who pass from market to market throughout the Recôncavo. Moreover, the major public markets, such as Feira de Santana and Salvador, draw large numbers of people from most of the rural sections. Even the local marketing institutions contribute to the identification of the people of this area with the region.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 433 463 [369] [162]

Economic Orientation of the Population. The Baianos of the Recôncavo are predominately an agricultural people. This is true not only of the actual cultivators and the associated economic classes of the countryside, villages, and towns, but also in a sense of the almost 350,000 urban peoples of Salvador. As a result of longstanding economic interdependence and continuous travel and migration back and forth, the associations of the people of Salvador with the soil are compelling and personal.[18] In their agricultural orientation the people of the Recôncavo are typical of the general Brazilian population. Even with the inclusion of Salvador, with its relatively [162] large number of domestic and industrial workers, 47 per cent of the male workers of the Recôncavo were classified as agricultural laborers, whereas for the nation as a whole the comparable figure was 57 per cent, and for the United States, 31 per cent.[19] In the Recôncavo, if Salvador is disregarded, agricultural workers (with hunters and fishers) composed 65 per cent of the total male working population.

241 433 441

Agriculture is even more important than the above figures indicate, for a large share of the remaining population of the Recôncavo is occupied with processing and marketing agricultural products, supplying the agriculturalists with goods and with credit, or serving indirectly the needs of agriculture. Thus it is evident that life and livelihood in the Recôncavo is essentially dependent upon agriculture. The agricultural orientation of the Recôncavo is reflected in the economic roles of individuals and classes, but also in the preoccupation of the people with matters of soil, climate, crops, and land value. In Salvador the price and market for agricultural products are commonplace subjects of discussion, and throughout the region merchants and businessmen observe the weather and conditions of the crops with interest and, on many occasions, with anxiety.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 423 471 [249] Although there were a few corporate lands in the vicinity of the city of Salvador in 1940, the main concentration was in the sugar cane area north of the Bay. Here the large corporately-owned usinas controlled as much as 30 per cent of the agricultural land. Most of these corporate properties were sugar cane plantations, but some were cattle ranches and other accessory properties. The corporations tend to dominate the sugar cane areas which are most productive and most favorably located for the transportation of cane and of the refined sugar and other products.

Conclusion. The strong network of interpersonal relationships, discussed in connection with crop cultivation and systems, is often more important than the purely formal aspects of land ownership and operation in the Recôncavo. The agricultural society of the Recôncavo is closely knit, so that the effective freedom of operation of the farm operator [565] is very limited. Although the large and rich landowners have, on some levels, a greater latitude than the small operators, they too are enmeshed in a system of inherited economic and social obligations and are subject to the restrictions imposed by the urban upper class.

241 441 442 472 The two primary local supervisory groups in the agricultural society are the merchant-buyers of the tobacco-manioc region and the general administrators and plantation owners of the sugar cane region. [656] However, both these groups are under the more or less immediate control of the sugar and tobacco companies in Salvador and of the official Instituto do Açúcar e do Álcool and the Instituto Baiano do Fumo.[7]

249 471 472 656 The operations of the sugar cane plantations are dictated by the mills, which specify the type and quantity of cane and the schedule of delivery. In turn, the amount of sugar produced by the mill is determined by the Instituto do Açúcar e do Álcool, while the policy of

9: Hutchinson E-4, 5 - (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

VILA RECÔNCAVO

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[632]
[441]

Group 1 (bureaucrats and merchants)	Federal and state employees	54
	Municipal employees	16
	Merchants	12
		82
Group 2 (service occupations)	Laundresses	46
	Ironers	17
	Electricians	1
	General servants	29
	Seamstresses	8
	Embroiderers	1
	Store cashiers	10
	Canoeists	2
	Bakery workers	4
		118
Group 3 (artisans)	Farmers	24
	Fishermen	132
	Bricklayers	6
	Barbers	6
	Carpenters	4
	Tailors	3
	Peddlers	3
	Woodworkers	2
	Coopers	1
	Butchers	1
	Shoemakers	1
	Quitandeiras[1]	1
		184

Group 3 workers employ the following number of people, either as employees or as apprentices:

Bricklayers	17
Workers in roças	13
Fishermen	5
Tailors	4
Woodworkers	1
Carpenters	1

[443]

1. Quitanda is an incipient store, usually run by a woman who sells vegetables and fruit from her windowsill.

159 632 463 [242] years ago, after determining that these crops were not sufficiently rewarding, he made a large-scale planting of white cacao. It is still too early to speak of the outcome of this venture, for the trees have not yet started to give their first fruit, but this instance illustrates his usual energetic spirit.

159 632 463 653 Dr. Aliança took the office of mayor seriously and gave a great deal of energy to it. His accomplishments were many in the space of a few years: the paving of most of the town's streets, the installation of electric lights on the streets, the formation of a company to sell electricity to those who wanted it, the installation of telephone communications with the capital, and the construction of a new, modern primary school building. As a result of his personal energy and direction these works were completed, or at least nearly so, when he left the office. (According to law, the mayor cannot be reelected). However, with the exception of building a bridge, nothing was done in the rural areas of the county. Traditionally any public works in the county are done in the county seat.

441 463 443 [471] Many of the merchants in Group 1 are small operators. The capitalization of the stores in Vila Recôncavo runs from Cr$100.000,00 to as low as Cr$5.00,00. However, no matter how small the store, it provides a living for someone, or as they say in Vila Recôncavo, "Sempre da!" To the ordinary town citizen it is difficult to get enough capital together to open a store, but once opened it rarely closes for lack of business. Of the twelve stores in town, eight are owned and operated by men, and the other four belong to women. The best store in town and the poorest one both belong to women. The "best" store, Dona Carmen's, is the oldest, located on the main street leading from the boat dock. At present it is owned by Dona Carmen, who inherited it from her brother. It combines a general store and a bakery, and its prices are often slightly higher than those in other stores. It serves most of the people living in the older section of town. In addition to having the largest stock of ordinary foods, the store also carries finer packaged products such as wines, jellies, and preserves.

441 444 [428]

444 256 Bread is baked in the afternoon and delivered to the doors of the customers' houses, still warm and with the delicious odor always associated with bread fresh from the oven. The bakery's customers for the most part have standing orders, receiving bread or rolls each day in time for supper. What is left over is hawked through the streets by the delivery boy,

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Town Life]

who walks about with a huge round basket on his head crying, "Pão, pão." 444 256

Dona Carmen's husband, Damião, is also a storekeeper. His store is in the downhill part of town, near the fishermen. The two stores are run separately, and the couple are doing well financially. In addition to his store, Damião also owns several canoes and fish nets which he rents to fishermen. He is the only storekeeper in town who gives credit to people who cannot pay immediately, allowing bills to run many months and even more than a year. He also allows his customers to borrow money in order to buy things outside his store--for instance fish, which he does not handle. He does not charge interest on these loans, nor seemingly make any demands on those who borrow. On the other hand the borrowers feel a sort of loyalty toward him and do not forget their debts, which they eventually manage to pay. 441 463 [444] [427] [452] [426]

Three of the smallest stores are owned and operated by women, whose husbands have set them up in business in a small way in order, as one put it, to "give my wife something to do." It is considered desirable for a woman to operate a store and it is usually the beginning of something larger, for later, whenever possible, the husband will stop his own work and help operate the store. In the case of the smaller stores the owner generally lives in the same building, either alongside the store or behind it. The larger storekeepers, however, usually have separate houses. At night they lock up the stores, which are sometimes guarded by dogs or even by the cashiers who sleep there. The storekeepers are usually asked for donations to the church at the time of any special festivals, and generally become politically active after they become established in business. 441 444 463 [562] [431] [66]

The stock in most of the stores is pretty much the same, varying in amount rather than diversity: drinks (rum and soft drinks), dried meat (the staple meat of the population), cereals, cigars, cigarettes, estivas (which include beans, rice, and farina, the three great staples of the local diet), as well as coffee, palm oil (azeite de dendê), vinegar, olive oil, garlic, onions, wooden sandals, condensed and powdered milk, salt, sugar, miudezas (small items such as matches and ribbons), toilet articles and laundry soaps, blueing agents and starch, grass mats, kerosene, and in one store aluminum kitchenware which is not sold very often, as well as nails, wire, screws, and wrapping paper and cord. One store in the 443

1 226 [435] costs about Cr$240,00 to make and lasts as long as ten years with good care.

227 The drag net, or deep net, as it is sometimes called, is a much larger net used to catch shrimp. It is 360 feet long, 168 feet wide, and has 420 feet of rope on one end and 480 [435] feet on the other. The top is equipped with wooden floats, and the bottom with lead weights. Such a net costs about [422] Cr$4.000,00 and is expensive to keep up, for it is easily torn [441] on submerged objects because of its size and weight. There are only six of them in the town; most of them belong to the merchants, who are the only ones who can afford the upkeep.

226 Fishing with this net is very complicated and requires the [461] services of at least ten men and two canoes, one large and one small. The owner seldom goes fishing. Instead, a master (mestre) is in charge of the operation, and the others in the crew are called "boys" (moços). One of these is the baixador whose work is done standing in the water. His is an unpleasant job, and he runs the constant risk of being bitten by crabs, stung by large jellyfish, and cut by sharp shells on the bottom. The net is used only at the shrimp grounds already described, where the circular casting net is used, in front of the town. This net must also be used when the tide is at a standstill, because the current makes the heavy net unmanageable. The net is carried on the larger canoe which is paddled by six men, while four go in the smaller one. The canoes pause when they arrive at the customary point for launching the net, and almost everyone lights up a cigarette. There is usually some discussion among the fishermen in the various canoes as to who will launch his net first, but as a rule not more than four of the six nets are used on the same day. Since all four must be launched at exactly the same spot, there is an accepted order of first, second, third, and fourth. First yesterday is last today, each moving up one place each day. But if a crew is late in arriving the others will not wait very long, for the time for net work is short. Seldom do the four crews launch their nets more than twice in one morning. The last launching is called the "hard hard" (duradura), indicating the small returns obtained for such hard work. The first net to be launched usually catches the most shrimp.

[435] On a good day it is not unusual for the first crew to take in Cr$1.000,00 to Cr$2.000,00 worth of shrimp, especially if it [465] made two launchings. The method of paying the crew varies, but as a rule the owner takes between 40 and 50 per cent,

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ter) and homens de côr (men of color) including a few pretos (blacks).

Most individuals in this class are conscious of their "superiority" over the bulk of the town population, because of their higher economic status, the kind of work they do (usually white-collar), their better educations, better family traditions, and whiter, or at least lighter, skins. They are conscious of the fact that they are at the top of the scale on the local scene, and that to go any higher is impossible in the town. To do this they would have to move to a city. If one had a special ability he might be able to improve his condition in a large city, but he might also remain unrecognized. In the town he is the "big frog in the little pond," and this seems to give a certain amount of satisfaction to many.

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People of Class B seek to maintain favorable relations with the rural landowners, who dispense the municipal patronage and have the contacts in Salvador necessary to influence federal and state appointments, since members of their families are frequently state and federal government representatives. Only the merchants of Class B are in a relatively independent position, for they can operate independently of politics. Their market is the town population and is in no way dependent upon trade or patronage from the planters or their workers. There are no traditional merchant families in Vila Recôncavo. All contemporary storekeepers are persons who have worked their way up from fishing or some other activity to storekeeping.

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This class is slowly growing, and there are certain standards to which all its members conform, such as living in the old part of town, dressing with more care than the lower classes, supporting the church and patronizing the few religious holiday celebrations, sending their children to Salvador for their secondary education, owning radios, good dishes and furniture, displaying family solidarity and good manners, and maintaining a good relationship with members of Class A. But there is little or no cohesion among members of the group. They seldom act as a unit or express a group opinion (except to condemn candomblé, the local variation of African cultism).

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The social life of these people is definitely limited and to some extent follows the same pattern as that of the rural members of the same class, in that the men go out more than do their wives. The women of this group remain at home most

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4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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and the doctrines of Christianity. The normal development of the emancipation process was never checked or seriously hampered by a wave of fear like that which swept over slave areas in the United States following the Haitian revolution and the consequent annihilation of Haitian whites and the slaughter of thousands of mulattoes and blacks.

Resistance to abolition was apparently never strong or well organized. It was not confined to any one section of the country but even in slaveholding centers like Bahia was, as we have seen, constantly being undermined by local criticism. An occasional newspaper "persisted in being a slave organ" or appeared "timid and acquiescent with reference to slavery,"[93] but the overwhelming majority of the press increasingly supported the antislavery cause.

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It is, however, true that commercial leaders like Ramalho Ortigão, president of the Bahian *Centro* of Commerce and Agriculture, "tenaciously opposed" the abolition movement. Anselmo da Fonseca says that Portuguese immigrants, many of whom engaged in trade and commerce, were, with rare exceptions, "decided partisans of slavery" and not only became "the greatest and most audacious slave traders of Bahia" who offered most of the opposition to the cessation of the slave traffic but also energetically opposed the abolition of slavery itself.[94] However, the prestige of this group,

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[93] Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

[94] "The Portuguese cannot comprehend a Brazil without slaves. We hear daily from them, 'The Negro is peculiarly created by nature for the cultivation of sugar' " (*ibid.*, pp. 155-56). The Portuguese are said to have been the principal violators of the law of 1831, several of the more powerful of whom Euzebio de Queiroz felt impelled to deport when, some twenty years after the passage of this law legally abolishing the slave trade, he sought effectively to suppress the traffic. However, immigrant laborers, since they were in competition with slave laborers, ordinarily opposed slavery. See Henry K. Norton, *The Coming of South America* (New York, 1932), pp. 103-4.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[826] colored women. A common expression heard in this connection is: "I don't want to go back to Africa."

Race mixture is further favored in Bahia today by the economic and social position of the occasional immigrant, usually from Portugal or Spain. Ordinarily from the lower class, he arrives unattached, poor, and with little or no education. He meets a rigid class line and, at least during the first years, before he gains some measure of economic competence, is ordinarily cut off from a better class marriage. Moreover, in many cases he conceives of his stay as temporary. Many immigrants, especially among the Spanish, have left families in Europe to whom they expect to return once they have accumulated a sizable competence.

*563 583 In his struggle to gain a footing, the immigrant soon discovers that the lower-class black or mixed-blood woman is a valuable assistant. She may become his cook and housekeeper, supplement his income by taking in washings or by preparing and peddling food delicacies, and ordinarily demands little in return. So frequently do such unions occur, especially among Portuguese immigrants, that the Portuguese have come to be popularly regarded, not only in Bahia but throughout Brazil, as peculiarly attached to Negro women.

• [441] However, as we have indicated, not all immigrant men living *amancebados* with Negro women are from Portugal. A number of the *vendas*, or small grocery stores, scattered about Bahia are owned by Spanish immigrants, many of whom live with Negro women, as similarly does occasionally an Italian, an Englishman, an American, or a German.[38]

[38] A German who had been manager of a nail factory in Bahia returned a few years ago to Germany. For sometime thereafter a Negro woman with whom he had lived and their son received 200 milreis regularly each month

[SALVADOR]

/46/ Commerce

441 472 554 The merchants and the fazendeiros enjoy a prestige in Bahia society proportional to the economic importance of their activities, the wealthiest families being made up by them, and their influence being well known in all the social life. It is by means of these two forms of activity that the Bahians acquire a certain social rank and exercise control over other sectors of the social structure (1).

433 463 [162]

1. The economic activities that occupy the largest number of persons in the State of Bahia are agriculture and stock raising (67 o/o of individuals of the male sex): there follow in order of importance: small crafts industry and commerce, according to the census of 1940. In the city of Salvador (Bahia) the liberal professions and private instruction, which the statistics record in the aggregate, came in first place, and commerce and the industries are in second place.

* 563 472 The national and racial groups that make up the population of Bahia participate in different fashion in the commerce and agriculture. While the Whites and the morenos predominate among the most important breeders of livestock, one finds among the owners of cacao plantations a large proportion of colored persons who began as small planters and have progressively enlarged their fazendas as cacoa gained in importance in the international markets. The plantations of cane and the sugar mills that belonged to the families of Portuguese origin, who were very conscious of their social rank during the colonial period, are today almost entirely in the hands of large capitalist enterprises in which Whites and a few métis predominate.

[233] [245] [249]

* 563 441 As for commercial activities, they are not carried on exclusively by nationally and racially determined groups, but these groups portion them out among themselves up to a certain point --

[SALVADOR]

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*563 •441 [186] although these lines of demarcation have a tendency to disappear. The Jews, who have immigrated since the first world war and whom people know under the name of "Russians," are the principal owners of furniture stores and are beginning to become interested in other kinds of commerce; strictly exclusive in their firms, they do not seem to have any Brazilian associates, so that the dark employees that they have among them never occupy any but subordinate positions and never reach the top positions that would permit them to take a place in the higher strata of society.

The characteristic endogamy of the Israelites has also contributed toward restricting the chances of colored people in this [233] [472] sector. Some Jews of French origin who established themselves in the city during the second half of the last century and who turned to commerce and stock raising were entirely assimilated. Their /47/ families today include some light métis and some *563 472 256 441 morenos. The Spaniards who dominate the grocery and bakery business are grouped into firms in which only they themselves and their immediate descendants participate. In order to maintain this commercial structure, the group is constantly renewed through the immigration of young men of the same nationality, who start to work in modest positions and end up by forming new firms or being integrated in the old ones. From the time the *563 472 441 Spanish emigrants came still unmarried or left their families in Spain, they had mulatto children or morenos here by their servants, children who were born illegitimate and who had no [175] [848] [428] [671] right of inheritance (Brazilian law did not insure it to persons in their position until some years later). But for about 20 years the Spaniards have started to send for, or bring with them, their families, so that they now form a very closed group, not only from the economic point of view, but especially from the social and, so to speak, the biological point of view. An informant [256] points out that in the old days numerous bakeries were the property of Blacks; since then the Spaniards have monopolized them almost completely, that they now control this type of business entirely. The antagonism of the inhabitants of Bahia against the

[SALVADOR]

The antagonism of the
/47 cont./ inhabitants of Bahia against the
*563 Spanish merchants is expressed, aside from the manifestations
•441 pointed out in another chapter, by the belief that they are re-
578 sponsible for the discrimination that is practiced against colored
829 people in certain recreational clubs. In the trade of textiles and
*563 petty retail objects, such as the Syrians, Lebanese, Arabs, and
441 Turks carry on in little shops, there are no longer many openings
464 possible for colored people. The Arab merchants accept colored employees to work at the counter in their establishments, but, since these are generally modest family enterprises, their few light descendants of mixed blood or morenos remain in the lower or intermediate strata of the population.

*563 In the offices of large export or import firms made up in
441 part of Europeans (Germans, English, Swiss), colored persons are
464 admitted and may obtain positions carrying some responsibility,
472 but they rarely reach the rank of owners. The European merchants,
829 numerous informants say, have the reputation of being liberal with their employees and other colored persons with whom they do business or who collaborate in their activities: harbor services, transport, transit, navigation. A wealthy, dark mulatto merchant states that his transport enterprise works a great deal for large /48/ foreign firms: "The English are particularly pleasant in that they help their colored employees and promote them to the secretariat of management." They often bring them gifts from Europe, invite them to their clubs, and are happy when some of
[191] them speak their language. "The German merchants who had very
[186] large firms in Bahia in the old days were very good to their colored assistants; they were very jealous of their language, however, and seemed not to like it at all when a Black spoke German. Some European firms honor their employees, even the Blacks, when they complete 20 or 30 years of service and give them bonuses on
[555] this occasion. But they do not promote them to important posts, sometimes because of their incompetence. The same thing does not happen with Brazilian firms, which are not accessible to colored people."

[SALVADOR]

/48 cont./

*563 A fact known in Bahia is that during one of the two world
•441 wars an important German firm transferred the responsibility for
472 its warehouses to one of its employees, a moreno, who had al-
829 ways been its confidential agent and who proved in this situa-
tion that he was really faithful by subsequently loyally returning
the goods that had been entrusted to him. A mulatto merchant,
[452] owner of a warehouse, recalls that German firms helped small
Brazilian merchants a great deal, no matter what their physical
characteristics were, by granting them credit facilities. "It was
[464] in this way that this firm developed, with the help of Germans," he
says, "at the time when the large Portuguese firms, formerly the
most important, did not offer any facilities to colored people and
did not even allow them to work in their offices." The owner-
[581] ship of firms was almost always transferred by the familial route
by means of marriages between the most capable employees and
the daughters of owners and associates, which explains why the
management of these firms always remained with the Portuguese
and their descendants. One and the same firm could, moreover,
in certain cases give birth to two or three other firms of the same
structure, thanks to the competence of the owners' sons, who,
with the aid of their parents, set themselves up on their own.

*563 A wealthy contractor thinks that it is owing to his black color
441 that he did not progress in the modest employment that he had in
472 an important commercial firm. In order to advance, he says,
871 he was obliged to give up commerce and devote himself to jobs
555 as a contractor. It is evident that the stagnation of some em-
ployees in occupations of little importance arises, in the majority
of cases, from their incompetence, it being a fact that in Bahia,
even today, but especially in the very recent past, the /Figs. 5
and 6 appear here/ /49/ young men who intended to go into com-
merce had not completed secondary studies, or showed themselves
[464] incapable of continuing them. This situation is tending to im-
prove, but the majority of minor employees is still made up of
young colored men coming from poor families and from a very
low level of education. These young people therefore have only
minimal possibilities for elevating themselves in careers where
success depends a great deal either on the importance of capital
invested or on administrative knowledge.

[SALVADOR]

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informant, "girls of light color are more readily accepted in these occupations, perhaps because they are content with salaries that are not as high as those the young men demand."

The statistics released by the Bureau of Identification of the police of the State of Bahia confirm these data. The physical characteristics of 273 persons registered during several months of 1950 as merchants or employees of commercial firms were the following:

Position in commerce	Whites	Blacks	"Morenos"	"Pardos"	Métis	Total
Merchants:						
Men . . .	28	-	12	6	-	46
Women .	1	-	-	-	-	1
Employees in commerce:						
Men	80	10	63	42	13	208
Women. . .	8	-	8	2	-	18
Total . . .	117	10	83	50	13	273

One sees that among the merchants the majority is white; among the employees in commerce the majority is colored. This is explained by the fact that the profession of merchant is one in which the Whites predominate (1)

1. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 243.

in part because social ascent in this sector depends on financial possibilities. The informants in general could with difficulty mention the name of more than three or four colored persons having a notable position in commerce. Nevertheless, the names of some dark merchants who have occupied important offices in the Trade Association and in other important social institutions are mentioned.

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221 (6) In June, as the rains increase and as the seedlings are ready, the soil in the field is again broken, and small ridges about 18 inches apart are made with a hoe. Occasionally manure is put into the hills at this stage in place of earlier fertilization. Then the young seedlings are planted in the ridges and a small quantity of water added. Ten days or two weeks later there is a replanting where the original seedings have failed.

(7) A few days later the ridges are further hilled up. Thereafter the field is kept clean with a hoe.

(8) When tips begin to form, about two months after planting--late July or early August--the plant is topped so that six to ten leaves remain.

(9) About three weeks later the whole upper stalk is harvested. Two or three shoots near the ground are then allowed to develop. These shoots are topped, and eventually their leaves are harvested. As many as eight separate harvests are made from the shoots, and often this form of harvest continues into December.

249
276 (10) The harvested tobacco is tied to a long pole or rack and hung under the roof of the dwelling, beneath the eaves, or occasionally in separate thatch and adobe "barns." If the weather is damp, a fire is used to hasten drying. After they are thoroughly dried, perhaps three or four weeks, the leaves are cut down and stripped from the stalks. They are then graded, tied into bundles, and laid aside until they are sold, or if the farmer is a large producer, until a fermentation bulk is assembled. The entire season's harvest is piled on the stack, and it is sold to the buyer at the end of the year.

[442]

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244 The sequence of cultivation following the harvesting of tobacco is as follows:

(1) The field is turned with a hoe--if some tobacco plants are

1:Hoskins K-4,5 (1952-1954) 1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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CHAPTER VII

ANIMAL INDUSTRY

BB 231 433 Although the Recôncavo is primarily a subsistence and commercial crop region, livestock play a significant role in the agricultural BB [435] economy as beasts of burden and as a source of animal products. In 1948 there were about 800,000 to 850,000 livestock—cattle, sheep, goats, horses, asses, and mules—in the region, and the value of animal production was about Cr.$60,000,000.[1] Thus animals accounted for about 17 per cent of the total value of all agricultural products of the Recôncavo. About one quarter of the livestock were work animals essential to the operation of the agricultural economy—oxen, horses, asses, and mules.[2]

BB NB 231 233 442 443 The livestock industry of the Recôncavo is closely associated with the extensive livestock ranching economy of the Brazilian northeastern interior. In Bahia, as in most parts of Brazil, the sertão of the interior is a source region of livestock. The animals are driven from the sertão to the coastal nuclei of dense settlement and sold in the cattle market—in the Recôncavo, at the market of Feira de Santana. A portion of the cattle are slaughtered immediately to provide food for the large agricultural population, but a substantial number of cattle and the horses, asses, and mules are retained as work animals. The working cattle—oxen—are eventually slaughtered.

BB 231 Certain outlying parts of the Recôncavo share with the sertão in the role of producing livestock for the coastal market zone. Other areas, especially around Feira de Santana, function as fattening zones in which the cattle recuperate after the long drives from the interior.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

231 [442] animals, rangy and thin, which can and do exist on what they can forage in the second growth or whatever table waste is available. They are marketed one or two at a time in the local markets or are purchased by local buyers who transport a load of pigs into Salvador by truck or sailing boat (saveiro).

231 433 Sheep and Goats. Neither sheep nor goats are characteristic animals of the Recôncavo, but they are found in small numbers in several of its municípios. In 1948 there were about 80,000 sheep and 40,000 goats in the region. Almost all of these animals were low-grade but hardy local varieties. Goats are most numerous on the western sertão, but they are found in moderate numbers along the western edge of the Recôncavo (Map 82). The distribution of sheep is similar, but more uneven, and there is a conspicuous concentration around Feira de Santana (Map 83).

Neither animal ranks very high in the total livestock population of any Recôncavo município. Beyond the northern Recôncavo, from Conceição do Coite to Esplanada, sheep are the most numerous or second most numerous of all animals. In the west, goats are more important--these are the most numerous of all animals in Riachão do Jacuípe and are as numerous as cattle in Ipirá. Apparently the number of both animals is growing. Goats are increasing most rapidly, especially within the Recôncavo. The number of sheep is increasing slowly and 231 233 very irregularly. In the dry marginal zone of the Recôncavo, sheep and goats are produced on large fazendas in much the same manner as cattle. This is also true for the sheep around Feira de Santana. In many areas, however, small holders occasionally run a few goats and, less frequently, sheep in the second-growth.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 423 471 [249] Although there were a few corporate lands in the vicinity of the city of Salvador in 1940, the main concentration was in the sugar cane area north of the Bay. Here the large corporately-owned usinas controlled as much as 30 per cent of the agricultural land. Most of these corporate properties were sugar cane plantations, but some were cattle ranches and other accessory properties. The corporations tend to dominate the sugar cane areas which are most productive and most favorably located for the transportation of cane and of the refined sugar and other products.

Conclusion. The strong network of interpersonal relationships, discussed in connection with crop cultivation and systems, is often more important than the purely formal aspects of land ownership and operation in the Recôncavo. The agricultural society of the Recôncavo is closely knit, so that the effective freedom of operation of the farm operator is very limited. Although the large and rich landowners have, on some levels, a greater latitude than the small operators, they too are enmeshed in a system of inherited economic and social obligations and are subject to the restrictions imposed by the urban upper class. [565]

241 441 442 472 The two primary local supervisory groups in the agricultural society are the merchant-buyers of the tobacco-manioc region and the general administrators and plantation owners of the sugar cane region. However, both these groups are under the more or less immediate control of the sugar and tobacco companies in Salvador and of the official Instituto do Açúcar e do Álcool and the Instituto Baiano do Fumo.[7] [656]

249 471 472 656 The operations of the sugar cane plantations are dictated by the mills, which specify the type and quantity of cane and the schedule of delivery. In turn, the amount of sugar produced by the mill is determined by the Instituto do Açúcar e do Álcool, while the policy of

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1

BB 249 471 472 [656] operation is determined by the company officers, who generally live in Salvador. The company, in its turn, is subject to some control from Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo investors. This structured system of control probably is one of the reasons for the continuation of the monoculture in the sugar cane area. The usual explanation offered for the cane monoculture is the unique suitability of the soil and climate and the innate conservatism of the Baiano. However, one of the features of the present sugar economy is the lack of capital for other enterprises. The absentee owners, who are the only likely source of capital, are hesitant to advance money for new and untried enterprises. Moreover, alternative agricultural enterprises, if successful, would reduce the supply of cane and thus eventually raise the cost of usina operation.

BB 249 244 442 In the tobacco-manioc region the control exercised by Salvador is indirect, but compelling, because the small tobacco producer is almost completely at the mercy of the buyer, who receives orders from the tobacco exporter and manufacturer through the agent.

BB 241 423 471 [184] [231] [233] The differences in production specialization, size, and tenure among the agricultural properties of the Recôncavo both accentuate the basic dichotomy of the region and re-emphasize its unity. The small-scale mixed crop cultivation and livestock producing unit of the tobacco-manioc region and the large-scale crop cultivation unit of the sugar region are both esentially engaged in the production of commercial crops. Both are distinct from the primary agricultural unit of the sertão, the livestock ranch. Both are subject to the over-all economic control of the center—Salvador.

B BB 241 423 184 [249] In most parts of Brazil, as in the Recôncavo, the agricultural properties are highly diverse in size, function, and ownership. Most areas of sugar cane cultivation have relatively large properties, primarily engaged in crop cultivation. In other areas, as in

443 the journey to the market. The produce are carried by the individual
[492] or on the back of an ass or mule. By early morning all the roads are thronged with the people of the countryside and their animals moving toward the center. It is a gala social occasion in which the warm, lighthearted personal relationships of the lower class Baianos are evident. Upon arrival at the market, a cloth is spread on the floor or ground in a customary spot, and the offerings of the people are displayed. Very soon the townspeople--chiefly housewives and servants--enter the market area to inspect the offerings and haggle over their
[442] purchases of food and other agricultural products. Also moving through the market are the wholesale buyers, both local and itinerant. As their agricultural products are sold, the country people, too, begin to circulate through the area to purchase goods and talk with their friends and relatives. The market is a seething array of animals and people weaving their way between the displays of produce. In the smaller centers, most of the local products are sold by mid-day, and the rural people begin their journey home, a trip of as much as twenty kilometers.

443 The products which are generally sold in the markets of the
438 cidades and villas are shown below:

Local Agricultural Products - Unprocessed

Staples:
Corn, black beans, sweet potatoes, aipim (a sweet manioc used like white potatoes)

Meat:
Fresh beef and pork

Vegetables:
Such as onions, string beans, tomatoes, and local specialties

Fruits:
Especially oranges, bananas (including plantains), papaya, and mangoes

Coffee

Coconuts

Live Animals:
Especially chickens and pigs, but also draft animals.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

443 Many shopkeepers are also land owners, and their tenants as a matter
[452] of course are also their customers and their debtors. The livestock
[427] raised by the agriculturalist may be sold on the hoof at the feira or taken to the matadouro municipal (municipal slaughter house). The meat is sold either at the slaughter house or at the feira.

In the larger centers the market tends to last throughout the week. In the medium-sized centers there are a few offerings each morning, and often there is a small feira in the middle of the week. Some major cities, such as Cachoeira, Feira de Santana, Santo Amaro, and Salvador, have source areas larger than their municípios. For
[489] example, the market at Feira de Santana invariably draws scores of
[494] trucks, each laden with people and produce, from places as distant as Cruz das Almas, Ipirá, Serrinha, and Santo Amaro. The most important general market in the Recôncavo is the Saturday feira at Agua de Meninos
[505] in Salvador. This market is located on the low-lying tidal flats beside the Bay, and many of the agricultural products which are sold
[489] here are brought by sailing boats. Trucks, carts, streetcars, trains,
[494] and pack animals are also used to transport produce to this market. It is here that a very large portion of Salvador's population purchases the agricultural products of the Recôncavo. This market is also the source of supply of the street vendors who hawk fruits and vegetables through the streets of the city. Salvador also has a smaller central market—the Mercado Modelo—and a number of minor neighborhood markets which usually are open for part of each day.

442 The campo de gado (cattle fair) at Feira de Santana is the only
443 important specialized public market in the Recôncavo; and, as has been
233 seen, it plays a very critical role in the agricultural economy of the region and of the state. On Monday mornings thousands of cattle change hands in the pens and weighing compounds at this fair.[1] Because the

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

442 443 233 campo de gado draws vaquéiros (cowboys) and ranchers from the sertão as well as agriculturalists and buyers from the Recôncavo, the nearby municipal market has a tributary area which is much larger than the município, indeed, much larger than the Recôncavo. The sertão and the Recôncavo exchange goods on a large scale in these markets. From the sertão come cattle and other animals, hides and skins, various extractive products, such as waxes, and the fumo em corda tobacco of the interior of northern Bahia. From the Recôncavo come food, especially bananas, coconuts, and sugar, and various manufactured articles which have been brought from South-Central Brazil via Salvador. Adjoining the campo de gado is an open lot where horses, mules, and all the accoutrements of the vaquéiro--bridles, saddles, and leather clothing--can be purchased.

249 471 438 A good deal of the sugar cane which is cultivated in the Recôncavo is grown by the usinas on their own properties. In other cases the cane plantations and processing plant are owned by different members of the same family, and the whole enterprise is operated on a profit-sharing basis. It cannot be said of either of these arrangements, which account for most of the cane harvested in the Recôncavo, that there is a genuine market situation. A truer market relationship exists for the few remaining fornecedores (suppliers) who grow cane and sell it to the usinas. Very commonly, however, these "independent" cane producers are indebted to the sugar company in both the economic and social sense. Moreover, the fornecedore is very much at the mercy of the company because of the lack of alternative markets and the difficulties of transportation. The cane which is purchased by the usinas on a contract basis must have a specified quality and must be delivered to the usina at its convenience by the supplier. It is likely that the mounting debts of many fornecedores will soon force them to sell

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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[171]

their properties to the expanding usinas. This same process is taking place in most sugar areas of Brazil.

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The marketing of tobacco centers on one key figure—the agent. With the resources of the tobacco company he extends direct credit to the larger tobacco producers and indirect credit to the small producers via his buyer, who is generally a local shopkeeper. The company grants a specified sum of money to each agent at the beginning of the season, and he disburses this at his own discretion. Bad debts are charged against the company rather than the agent. Most of the tobacco crop is pledged to the buyers in advance, by meahs of a formal contract or an informal agreement which specifies the price, quantity, and quality of the leaf to be delivered. Most of these contracts are entered into in order to secure credit; there are few agriculturalists who could produce tobacco without first receiving credit. There is much opportunity for speculation within the framework of this marketing system. Those buyers who are shopkeepers have in stock the supplies which the cultivator needs. The shopkeeper delivers the goods needed by the cultivator and retains the money which has been advanced by the agent. Since most of the stock of the buyer--storekeeper--has been purchased on credit, he may accumulate a considerable sum in cash or bills of exchange. Speculation is an acknowledged feature of the marketing of tobacco in Bahia, and in many cases the buyer uses the credit advanced by the agent for speculation in the tobacco crop. He does this by extending credit against the tobacco crop of cultivators who are not included in the normal relationships with the agent. Sometimes these debtors are unable to liquidate their debt, and the buyer is caught short. In this event he can use his position as the agent's representative and as a local economic power to recoup, at least partially, by forcing the price upward or through the substitution of cheaper leaf

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 in meeting his contract with the agent. The result of this and other
442 speculative practices is that the price of tobacco tends to spiral upwards
438
452 throughout the season.
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The crop is delivered to the buyer in small lots--10 to 15 kilo-
249 grams--which are assembled, graded, and baled. The bales are taken to
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438 the warehouse of the agent where they are added to other bales to form
442 a large pile in which fermentation can take place. After fermentation the bales are broken, and the leaf is re-sorted. With the better grades the sorting is done very carefully, and a large number of size and texture grades are separated. Intermediate grades are sorted less carefully, often by bundles rather than by individual leaves. The poorest grades are stripped without grading. After sorting or stripping, the leaf is again placed in bales and kept in the warehouse until transport can be arranged to deliver the tobacco to Salvador or to the cigar factories.

249 Most of the tobacco produced in the Recôncavo is exported. In the
433 years 1946 to 1950, inclusive, 166,676 tons of leaf tobacco were produced
439 in Bahia and 128,567 tons were exported, so that about 75 per cent of the total crop of the state was exported.[2] However, the exported leaf is made up of the choice tobaccos, that is "Mata Fina," which are largely grown in the Recôncavo. It may be concluded from this that at least four-fifths of the tobacco crop of the Recôncavo was exported during this years. Tobacco exported from the Recôncavo normally composes 70 per cent of all the tobacco exported from Brazil. In value, the tobacco exported from the Recôncavo was less than 1 per cent of the total exports of all products from Brazil.[3]

182 Transportation. The backs of men and of animals are the basic
492
489 transportation media in the Recôncavo: almost all goods begin and end

[Town Life]

Because there are only 265 acres of manioc under cultivation in the entire county, production is far below the amount of farina consumed, and it is necessary to import the milled manioc tuber which constitutes the major dietary item of the people. In 1951 a municipal law was passed prohibiting the exportation of farina. Three times during the author's stay in the town there was a pronounced lack of farina, when there was almost none to be bought and its price per liter rose from one to three cruzeiros. That year's drought was also partly responsible for the shortage. 241 43 [262] [114] [731]

Bananas are the only commercial export crop of the gardeners. There are approximately 15,000 banana trees in the county, producing for the commercial market an annual production of 177,000 arms (cachos) of bananas, providing an income of Cr$500.000,00. The fruits are sold to a middleman from Bahia who knows most of the gardeners in the area. Once a week, or every two weeks, he arrives at the town in a large sailboat to receive the fresh bananas, which he then takes to Bahia and sells. Sometimes a gardener sells an arm of bananas to a woman in town who then resells them to townspeople. Few people in town have to buy them, however, for each household has at least one banana tree in the back yard. An acre of land supports about 144 banana trees, which when well cared for produce 1,500 arms a year. The fruits are sold in cargoes of fifty arms at Cr$160,00 a cargo, so that one acre earns about Cr$5.000,00 a year. This sum is almost entirely profit, for gardeners do most of their own work, except when they have too much land for one man to take care of properly. Hired help is paid in accordance with the service performed: ten cruzeiros for cutting fifty arms of bananas, twenty for transporting them to the dock if the gardener does not have his own animals, and a hundred cruzeiros an acre for "cleaning," i.e., cutting down and burning old stalks and leaves and keeping the weeds cut down. 245 43 [442] [311] 245 46

Manioc presents a slightly different case, for the raw product must be processed before it is consumed. The manioc root from which farina is made is the poisonous variety and must be peeled and grated, pressed to remove the juice, and then toasted. The final product is a white powder, fine or coarse depending upon the type of grater used. Most of the local product is a coarse type (farinha de guerra). One of the gardeners has a flour house where the tubers are converted into flour. He mills his own manioc there and lets others use the machinery, charging them one liter of farina out of each ten they produce. 252 [427]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

633 495 161 to service the hundreds of trucks and busses which are transforming the transportation of the interior. Both cities reflected their growing function by a great increase in population between 1940 and 1950.

633 [162] Cachoeira-São Félix, 16,697 people in 1950,[34] and Santo Amaro, 12,258 people in 1950, are respectively the fourth and fifth largest cities in the Recôncavo and the eighth and tenth largest cities in Bahia. Both of these cities are important agricultural and marketing [443] centers within the Recôncavo, and both are notable historical centers. Santo Amaro was the great local social and economic focus of the slave-holding engenho sugar culture of the Central Recôncavo. Cachoeira was the major local center of the Western Recôncavo and of the tobacco economy throughout colonial times. While these cities maintain some of their former importance, they are mainly cities of the past, 633 growing at a much slower rate than most urban centers. Both cities 496 lie at or near the head of navigation,[35] and both are on the rail- 494 road which runs from Salvador to the western interior. The construction of the railroad and the development of automotive transport apparently have been important factors in the declining importance of these cities, for it is no longer necessary to trans-ship goods brought down from the interior into boats at these places. The 633 railroads and trucks move the goods directly to Salvador.[36] At present [565] these cities function as local trade centers, as minor industrial centers--Cachoeira-São Félix in tobacco; Santo Amaro in sugar--and as the residences of decadent upper class families whose fortunes declined with the disappearance of the slave-holding agricultural systems.

The other urban centers of the Recôncavo:

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

The other urban centers of the Recôncavo:

633 [162] [443]

	1950 Population
Maragogipe	9,744
Muritiba	7,452
Cruz das Almas	6,758
São Gonçalo	3,771

[277] are all local trade and cigar manufacturing centers. Maragogipe is a [504] port of minor importance.[37] The other urban centers have inland loca- [361] tions, near the inner edge of the Crystalline Uplands.[38]

Near the Recôncavo are four urban centers which have minor but appreciable effect upon its agricultural economy:

[162]

	1950 Population
Santo Antônio de Jesus	11,417
Nazaré	11,215
Castro Alves	6,479
Serrinha	4,602

Santo Antônio de Jesus and Nazaré are located along the southern periphery of the Recôncavo, and Castro Alves and Serrinha on the south- western and northwestern periphery, respectively. All these centers [496] are on one of Bahia's two main railroads, both of which terminate at the Bay—at Salvador or at São Roque do Paraguaçu.[39]

633 In 1950 the nine major urban centers of the Recôncavo had 464 100,000 to 120,000 workers in industry, transportation, and merchan- 433 dising.[40] In all cities of the Recôncavo, except Salvador, the [162] industrial workers almost exclusively were engaged in processing agricultural products--in sugar refining, cigar manufacturing, and [231] slaughtering. Except for some of the animals slaughtered in Feira de [241] Santana and the poorer grades of tobacco brought in from the sertão, these agricultural products originate in the Recôncavo.

The industrial structure of Salvador is more complex. It processes agricultural products from the Recôncavo, but also from other parts of the state, notably cacáo. There is a small textile industry. It is probable that the majority of the industrial workers are employed in numerous small service industries which supply Salvador

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 over the forest or the caatinga. In most areas it is the second growth, not the cultivated fields, which dominates the landscape.

241 361 443 634 The scale of the maps accompanying the following sections does not allow the indication of one of the significant patterns of cropland distribution in the Recôncavo—the concentration of cultivation around the cidades, the political centers. Each cidade is the economic focus of its município and is usually the primary market for the products of its cultivators. The poorly developed system of transportation in the [489] rural areas puts a premium on proximity to the market center. Thus in most of the municípios there is a decrease in cultivation away from the cidade, and where the municípios are large, such as on the northern and western perimeter of the Recôncavo, cropland becomes very widely scattered 241 before the political boundary is reached. This centralized distribution 361 443 of cropland has been complicated by the development of roads and truck 491 traffic. Cultivators tend to cluster along the main highways with little regard for the absolute distance to the market of the cidade; accessibility as represented by time rather than distance seems to be the more important factor in choosing land for cultivation, providing that land is available. The pattern of concentration of cultivation along the highway is especially characteristic of the Upland sections of the Recôncavo.[1]

241 178 There are many exceptions to the modes of cropland distribution mentioned above. In the Recôncavo tradition and prestige often contravene direct economic self-interest. On a large scale the persistence of sugar cultivation is an example of the unwillingness to explore new sources of income. In other areas the traditional social advantages of land ownership may impede the subdivision of large properties into farms or rented plots, even where hired labor is not available to 000 cultivate the land efficiently. Livestock production, which offers

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954) 1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

244 manioc and produced 38 per cent of its 393,720 tons of harvested roots.
433 Within this sub-region manioc occupied up to 20 per cent of the total land
311 area, i.e., 20 hectares per square kilometer (Map 23). Despite the
[249] intensity of cultivation and the concentration of production, the crop is viewed by the people primarily as a means--subsistence--to an end--
[242] leaf tobacco production.[9] Manioc characteristically succeeds tobacco in the field and fallow rotation system and is used to extract the maximum possible value from such nutrients as remain in the soil.[10]

244 A close areal and functional relationship between the two crops
249 is characteristic also of the linear zone of manioc cultivation which follows the belt of Intermediate Hills and the inner edge of the Uplands from the Rio Paraguaçu--at Cachoeira--to Irará. Much the same relationship exists in Santo Estêvão in the extreme west of the Recôncavo, where manioc, and tobacco, cultivation is concentrated in a zone of low serras. Apparently tobacco cultivation has been fixed by the greater precipitation around these serras, and manioc is grown in association.

The major southwestern concentration of manioc is continued beyond the Recôncavo along a belt extending through Santo Antônio and into the "coffee zone."[11] The cluster of manioc around the cidade of Santo Antônio is circum-urban, but the principal functional association is with tobacco cultivation, rather than with the small urban market.
[443] On the other hand, the concentration of manioc production around the city of Nazaré reflects a dependency on the local urban market and probably on the market of Salvador. Minor concentrations of cultivation in northern Itaparica and around Salvador also are related primarily to the market of the capital city.

244 The relative place of manioc within the agricultural system, as
311 measured by the per cent of the total cropland which it occupies, varies widely within the Recôncavo (Map 26). The statistical extremes are

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 156

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

245 311 Within the Recôncavo coconut production is important along the sandy beach line of the island of Itaparica and along the ocean coast of Salvador, where coconuts are virtually the only agricultural product [133] (Maps 58, 59, and 60). The inner shores of the Bay, which rise abruptly [134] with rocky clay slopes, bear very few coconuts, except in a low-lying sandy zone along the estuary of the Paraguaçu. Coconuts are produced 245 [423] chiefly on large properties which are frequently owned by urban families. [464] The plantations are operated with hired labor drawn from the coastal [438] population. When harvested, the coconuts are sold in the urban markets [258] of Salvador and other cities and towns. Very little of the Recôncavo [439] production is converted into oil, and little is exported.

Oranges. The navel orange is a Bahian development, a mutation [433] of the orange brought from Europe. The main centers of Brazilian production, however, are elsewhere in the country, and cultivation of oranges within the Recôncavo is primarily for local consumption.

245 311 Scattered orange trees are a feature of the rural and urban landscape in many areas. In addition to this generalized cultivation, which frequently is not shown in the official data, there is commercial production in the environs of several urban centers—Alagoinhas, Santo Antônio, and to a lesser extent, Salvador (Maps 61 and 62). The [489] cidades of Alagoinhas and Santo Antônio are both markets for part of [443] the local crop; moreover, both are on the railroads leading to Salvador, which is the chief market for the entire region. In addition to these three main concentrations, there are numerous orange groves in the Southwestern Recôncavo which apparently serve both local and regional markets, though on a small scale. In general the relative area in orange groves is not great, yet in 1948 they occupied 10 per cent of the cropland of Alagoinhas.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

245 438 [471] Oranges, like coconuts, are usually grown on plantations. The capital investment in tree crops is usually too great for small cultivators. Moreover, as a highly perishable crop, oranges require more or less direct marketing, which is frequently beyond the capacity of the small grower. If oranges were marketed by trickling from the small grower through the hands of merchants, buyers, and the like, as is tobacco, they would be spoiled long before reaching the consumer. The small cultivator can market his handful of oranges only in the local market.

241 433 Supplementary Crops. Although the official data show only a very limited distribution of minor supplementary crops, their cultivation is not confined to those municípios where exceptionally conscientious [262] statistical agents have made detailed records. The common vegetables--green beans, onions, garlic, and tomatoes--are cultivated in small quantities in all parts of the Recôncavo and are a traditional part of Bahian dishes. Around the cities and towns there is some specialization [443] in vegetable farming, but there are no major concentrations. The Salvador market is supplied with produce from a broad rural zone which includes [489] most of the Recôncavo. The produce is brought to the city by donkey, truck, or by sailing boat.

The most important of the supplementary commercial crops is [134] pineapple, which is produced on the sandy soils of the Northern, and to a lesser extent, Southwestern Recôncavo. There is very scattered production of grapes, cotton, rice, and white potatoes, but there are no important centers of cultivation of these crops.

245 311 Minor Spontaneous Tree Crops. Mangoes are very common within the houseyards of Salvador and throughout the humid Coastal Plain. In

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

245 [311] Most coconuts are grown on moderate-sized plantations along the beaches in sands, or occasionally in sandy loams. North of Salvador they are grown on dunes and beaches and, back from the sea, in sandy stream valleys where the supply of ground water is generous. There seems to be little selection in choosing coconuts for reproduction. Usually the nuts are planted eight meters or so apart, with a pile of organic trash over and around the nut to provide some additional fertility and to hold the moisture necessary for germination. The sprout must be protected from foraging animals, but once growth is well started, the tree receives little attention and no fertilization.

[433] Yields are moderate to low, from 15 to 40 per tree. Apparently the yields per tree are substantially higher (double) in the Bay area--Itaparica and Camassari--than in the area farther north--Nata de São João and Esplanada. In the Bay area the nuts are usually sold in the markets [443] of Salvador without processing.

241 178 Conclusion. The basic determinant of cultivation practices in the Recôncavo is custom. This is probably less true of the cultivation of sugar than of other crops, but the weight of tradition is heavy upon all agricultural enterprises. It may be said that many relatively [454] primitive agricultural practices survive because of ignorance of newer techniques and because of a lack of capital for investment in new tools, in machinery, in better seed, and in permanent land improvement. The importance of these factors in limiting change in Recôncavo agriculture, particularly as general factors operating indirectly upon individual cultivators and individual farms is not to be denied.

However, when the individual cultivator--sugar planter or tobacco share-cropper--is given an opportunity, in the form of new techniques and the necessary capital, to change and improve his operations and

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954) 1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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CHAPTER VII

ANIMAL INDUSTRY

BB 231 433 Although the Recôncavo is primarily a subsistence and commercial crop region, livestock play a significant role in the agricultural BB [435] economy as beasts of burden and as a source of animal products. In 1948 there were about 800,000 to 850,000 livestock—cattle, sheep, goats, horses, asses, and mules—in the region, and the value of animal production was about Cr.$60,000,000.[1] Thus animals accounted for about 17 per cent of the total value of all agricultural products of the Recôncavo. About one quarter of the livestock were work animals essential to the operation of the agricultural economy--oxen, horses, asses, and mules.[2]

BB NB 231 233 442 443 The livestock industry of the Recôncavo is closely associated with the extensive livestock ranching economy of the Brazilian northeastern interior. In Bahia, as in most parts of Brazil, the sertão of the interior is a source region of livestock. The animals are driven from the sertão to the coastal nuclei of dense settlement and sold in the cattle market—in the Recôncavo, at the market of Feira de Santana. A portion of the cattle are slaughtered immediately to provide food for the large agricultural population, but a substantial number of cattle and the horses, asses, and mules are retained as work animals. The working cattle—oxen--are eventually slaughtered.

BB 231 Certain outlying parts of the Recôncavo share with the sertão in the role of producing livestock for the coastal market zone. Other areas, especially around Feira de Santana, function as fattening zones in which the cattle recuperate after the long drives from the interior.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

231 The production of asses, mules, and horses is concentrated outside the Recôncavo. Apparently most of the work animals used in the Recôncavo-oxen as well as asses, mules, and horses--were born on the Sertão and were the products of the same ranches which produce beef animals.

In distinction to these larger animals, swine are produced in large number within the Recôncavo. Moreover, they are almost exclusively the products of small enterprises--pigs are raised in ones and twos by small farmers. They eat the household waste and root in the abandoned fields and the second growth. When they are mature or when the need for [443] cash is pressing, they are sold in the local market, either alive or slaughtered.

Most of the livestock of the Recôncavo are descendent from animals introduced into the Northeast during colonial times. In general [232] there has been little deliberate selection of strains--those animals which have survived disease, insect pests, prolonged semi-starvation, and casual abuse have conferred their characteristics upon the present generation. Thus, most of the livestock are scrubby and inbred, inefficient producers of meat, milk, or energy.

Cattle. The total cattle population of the Recôncavo was 395,000 head in 1948, and the number was still growing. There were [433] almost three times as many cattle in the region as swine, the next most numerous animal, and the value of cattle production far exceeded that of other livestock.

Almost all of the cattle of the Recôncavo are of the unspecialized and ubiquitous Indo-Brazilian strain--rangy animals with long horns and a moderate hump, hardy and strong but not producers of large quantities of either meat or milk. Oxen of the same breed are important in [234] the sugar zone and in Feira de Santana, and both beef and milk cattle

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231 [234] are found in all parts of the Recôncavo, although dairying is not a highly developed enterprise. It should be noted, however, that both oxen and milk cows usually end their careers in the slaughter house.

No município in the Recôncavo had less than 2,500 cattle in 1948, but there were only two important concentrations (Map 78). The largest of these was in Feira de Santana, chiefly around the cidade. Forty per cent of all cattle in the Recôncavo were held in this area. The second, and much smaller, concentration was in the sugar cane region, with about 8 per cent of the cattle of the Recôncavo. In order effectively to differentiate these concentrations and between them and the basal distribution of the rest of the Recôncavo, it is necessary to discuss briefly the specialized forms of livestock enterprise.

[492] (1) In the sugar zone a very large percentage (probably 70 to 90 per cent) of the cattle are oxen used as labor in the cane fields (Map 79). Since these animals are grass-fed exclusively--no grain is used--and since there are many disease problems, it is necessary to maintain a large local reserve so that day to day rotation is possible. In addition, the larger enterprises maintain ranches on which oxen and other labor animals, purchased in the Sertão or at Feira de Santana, are conditioned and at which ailing or weak animals recuperate. When they are no longer useful as draft animals, the oxen are butchered and sold to the local agricultural laborers. Only small quantities of milk 234 443 are produced in this zone.

(2) Salvador, and to a lesser extent Feira de Santana, have milk sheds of importance (Map 80). In addition, a very small milk shed surrounds each cidade, although Cachoeira-São Félix is not well endowed in this respect.[4] The marketing of milk is local--the only exception discovered was the sale in Salvador of milk from the município of Camassari. The dairy industry around Salvador is relatively

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The dairy industry around Salvador is relatively
234 large-scale, as is evident in the size and number of tank trucks which
443 peddle milk through the streets of the city, and which bear the name of
[493] local fazendas. However, the milk has a low butter-fat content, is
[272] unpasteurized, and it is expensive, and many people use powdered milk which is imported from other parts of Brazil and abroad. The Salvador dairy industry is large-scale only in relation to the small-scale operations in other parts of the region, where the small quantities of available milk are carried to the cidades on mules or asses and sold from house to house.

233 (3) Feira de Santana is the principal cattle market not only of
443 the Recôncavo but also of the state of Bahia. To its market (campo de gado) are driven the cattle of the northern sertão of Bahia and from as far west as the mountains. Before or after sale many of these cattle are rested and fattened on the pastures around the cidade so that the cattle population is large but fluid. Some of these cattle are butchered locally, but many are driven to Salvador before slaughter.

231 (4) In all other parts of the Recôncavo small-scale animal husbandry is very common. Many small farmers, sharecroppers, or renters
[272] have one or two cows and sometimes a calf. The milk, if any, is used
[234] either by the family or sold in the cidade. In addition, there are a
[443] few large cattle ranches, usually producing both milk and beef cattle. Thus the unspecialized livestock economy of most of the Recôncavo is distinct from the labor animal concentration in the sugar zone, the Salvador milk shed, and the market animal concentration around Feira de Santana.

233 The pattern of distribution of cattle outside the Recôncavo is not markedly different from that of the adjacent areas within the region. In this respect Mata de São João is like Pojuca, Castro Alves like Santo Estêvão, and Nazaré like São Felix-Maragogipe. However, the

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231 Summary—Livestock Produced for Animal Products. Except for the oxen, all the animals discussed above are raised for meat or for other animal products rather than for use as beasts of burden. The distribution of these animals, without regard to kind, is summarized on the accompanying map of non-work animals (Map 84).

Feira de Santana has the outstanding concentration of these non-work animals in the Recôncavo and, undoubtedly, in Bahia. To a considerable degree this concentration signalizes the importance of the sertão as a producer of livestock and of the Recôncavo as a consumer, since many of the animals around Feira de Santana are transients moving from the former to the latter. The principal market served by [443] Feira de Santana is the city of Salvador, but the rural areas of all the Recôncavo north of the Bay and the estuary of the Rio Paraguaçu also secure much of their livestock through the campo de gado at "Feira."

The only other concentration of livestock raised for animal products is in the Southwestern Recôncavo. Most of these animals are [433] used to feed the large local population within the sub-region, which seems to be relatively self-sufficient as far as livestock production is concerned.

231 Asses and Mules. Asses and mules combined are the most numerous 492 and widely distributed work animals in the Recôncavo. There were in 1948 about 115,000 of these two animals in the region (Map 85). Over one-half were found in Feira de Santana, where they are raised locally in large numbers and where animals brought from the Sertão are conditioned for sale. The asses and mules of the Recôncavo are both very small animals and are generally used as burden carriers, although the larger mules—still very small by United States standards—are used as riding animals.

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CHAPTER X

MARKETING, TRANSPORTATION, AND PROCESSING OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS

44 Introduction. The institutions of marketing, processing, and transportation in the Recôncavo are of two basic types, local and regional. Those which serve the local economies, that is, the municípios, are traditional. These are the municipal market and the casa de farinha (manioc mill). The institutions which serve the regional economy--sugar and tobacco processing plants and marketing systems--have their traditional element but have been extensively modified in the last half century. Much the same division is reflected in the transportation systems of the Recôncavo, for although the chief media within the local economies are essentially traditional and primitive, the transportation net of the region as a whole has a number of modern features. The discussion which follows will deal with the various institutions which have developed in the Recôncavo to accommodate the marketing, transportation, and processing of the more important agricultural products.

[178] 489 128

443 Marketing of Agricultural Products. Municipal markets play an important role in the exchange of the agricultural products in the Recôncavo as in most of Brazil. Large quantities of agricultural goods are sold within the local area in which they are produced, and much of this exchange takes place within the municipal market. The feira is the regular open market which usually is held once a week in the smaller centers but somewhat more frequently in the larger cities. It is usually housed in a public building, the municipal mercado. The other type of municipal market is the matadôuro municipál (slaughter

[366]

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443 house). The municipal markets of the Recôncavo have a highly institutionalized character supported by long tradition. There have been
[178] very few modifications in the local marketing system either to accept new products or to incorporate new techniques. Despite their highly institutionalized character, markets serve to accommodate and to re-enforce and stabilize the basic personal relationships between buyer and seller. Thus it is both difficult and misleading to approach marketing from a purely economic point of view.

Weekly markets (feiras) are held in every villa and cidade of the Recôncavo. Each of these feiras has a specified day and location. Usually the market of the cidade will be held on a different day than those of the villas of the locality, and usually adjacent cidades have their markets on different days. This arrangement facilitates the marketing of surplus products and makes it possible for itinerant buyers and sellers to travel from feira to feira. The market place
[366] of most cidades and of the larger villas includes a public building
[347] and the adjacent streets, and in some cases, a corral. Usually the market building itself is a large shed with open windows and doors, earthen or concrete floor, and no internal divisions except those provided by the pillars which support the roof. Stalls are sometimes provided in the newer or more pretentious buildings, but this is exceptional. Generally the market is located on a main square or a principal street. On the day of the feira, market activities expand beyond the main buildings and onto the streets, covering an area of about one city block in a typical center.

Participation in the feira is practically universal--the rural areas of the município, or the distrito if it is a villa market, are half emptied on market day. At sunrise or even earlier the farm families, or sometimes only the farmer, his wife, or child, begin

443 the journey to the market. The produce are carried by the individual
[492] or on the back of an ass or mule. By early morning all the roads are thronged with the people of the countryside and their animals moving toward the center. It is a gala social occasion in which the warm, lighthearted personal relationships of the lower class Baianos are evident. Upon arrival at the market, a cloth is spread on the floor or ground in a customary spot, and the offerings of the people are displayed. Very soon the townspeople--chiefly housewives and servants--enter the market area to inspect the offerings and haggle over their
[442] purchases of food and other agricultural products. Also moving through the market are the wholesale buyers, both local and itinerant. As their agricultural products are sold, the country people, too, begin to circulate through the area to purchase goods and talk with their friends and relatives. The market is a seething array of animals and people weaving their way between the displays of produce. In the smaller centers, most of the local products are sold by mid-day, and the rural people begin their journey home, a trip of as much as twenty kilometers.

443 The products which are generally sold in the markets of the
438 cidades and villas are shown below:

Local Agricultural Products - Unprocessed

Staples:
Corn, black beans, sweet potatoes, aipim (a sweet manioc used like white potatoes)

Meat:
Fresh beef and pork

Vegetables:
Such as onions, string beans, tomatoes, and local specialties

Fruits:
Especially oranges, bananas (including plantains), papayas, and mangoes

Coffee

Coconuts

Live Animals:
Especially chickens and pigs, but also draft animals.

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443 Local Agricultural Products - Processed
438 Farinha de mandioca (manioc flour)
Rapadura (crude sugar)
Requeijão (country cheese)
Hand-made cigars.

Non-Local Agricultural Products
Azete de dende (palm oil)
Rice
Charque (dried beef)
Spices
Fumo em corda (rope tobacco)
Animals:
Especially draft animals from the sertão
Leather.

Non-Agricultural Products
Food - dried fish
Extractive products:
Charcoal, honey, vegetable waxes
Farm equipment:
Bridles, saddles, agricultural implements--hoes, knives, etc.
Clothing:
Sandles, shoes, shirts, and trousers
Pottery and kitchen utensils
Miscellaneous cheap jewelry, plastic and wood products, patent medicines, cigarettes, straw mats, etc.

443 Those products of local agriculture which are not marketed through the feira or through specialized agencies are sold to the vendas (small general stores). In distinction to the feiras, which are confined to the villages and urban centers, vendas are found even in rural areas. These vendas are privately owned stores which sell staple foods, machetes and hoes, seed, household utensils, and a few simple luxury items, such as soap, candy, cigarettes, cigars, soft drinks, and alcoholic beverages. As would be expected, the vendas away from the urban centers carry but a limited stock of goods. There is usually a
443 452 continuing credit arrangement between the shopkeeper and the agriculturalist; most of the harvest of basic crops is pledged in advance against the debts of the cultivator and frequently the crop is pledged even before it is planted. In many cases the shopkeeper is the agent for the tobacco buyer, in whose name the necessary credit is advanced.

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443 Many shopkeepers are also land owners, and their tenants as a matter
[452 of course are also their customers and their debtors. The livestock
427] raised by the agriculturalist may be sold on the hoof at the feira or taken to the matadouro municipal (municipal slaughter house). The meat is sold either at the slaughter house or at the feira.

In the larger centers the market tends to last throughout the week. In the medium-sized centers there are a few offerings each morning, and often there is a small feira in the middle of the week. Some major cities, such as Cachoeira, Feira de Santana, Santo Amaro, and Salvador, have source areas larger than their municípios. For
[489 example, the market at Feira de Santana invariably draws scores of
494] trucks, each laden with people and produce, from places as distant as Cruz das Almas, Ipirá, Serrinha, and Santo Amaro. The most important general market in the Recôncavo is the Saturday feira at Agua de Meninos
[505] in Salvador. This market is located on the low-lying tidal flats beside the Bay, and many of the agricultural products which are sold
[489 here are brought by sailing boats. Trucks, carts, streetcars, trains,
494] and pack animals are also used to transport produce to this market. It is here that a very large portion of Salvador's population purchases the agricultural products of the Recôncavo. This market is also the source of supply of the street vendors who hawk fruits and vegetables through the streets of the city. Salvador also has a smaller central market—the Mercado Modelo—and a number of minor neighborhood markets which usually are open for part of each day.

442 The campo de gado (cattle fair) at Feira de Santana is the only
443 important specialized public market in the Recôncavo; and, as has been
233 seen, it plays a very critical role in the agricultural economy of the region and of the state. On Monday mornings thousands of cattle change hands in the pens and weighing compounds at this fair.[1] Because the

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442 443 233 campo de gado draws vaquéiros (cowboys) and ranchers from the sertão as well as agriculturalists and buyers from the Recôncavo, the nearby municipal market has a tributary area which is much larger than the município, indeed, much larger than the Recôncavo. The sertão and the Recôncavo exchange goods on a large scale in these markets. From the sertão come cattle and other animals, hides and skins, various extractive products, such as waxes, and the fumo em corda tobacco of the interior of northern Bahia. From the Recôncavo come food, especially bananas, coconuts, and sugar, and various manufactured articles which have been brought from South-Central Brazil via Salvador. Adjoining the campo de gado is an open lot where horses, mules, and all the accoutrements of the vaquéiro--bridles, saddles, and leather clothing--can be purchased.

249 471 438 A good deal of the sugar cane which is cultivated in the Recôncavo is grown by the usinas on their own properties. In other cases the cane plantations and processing plant are owned by different members of the same family, and the whole enterprise is operated on a profit-sharing basis. It cannot be said of either of these arrangements, which account for most of the cane harvested in the Recôncavo, that there is a genuine market situation. A truer market relationship exists for the few remaining fornecedores (suppliers) who grow cane and sell it to the usinas. Very commonly, however, these "independent" cane producers are indebted to the sugar company in both the economic and social sense. Moreover, the fornecedore is very much at the mercy of the company because of the lack of alternative markets and the difficulties of transportation. The cane which is purchased by the usinas on a contract basis must have a specified quality and must be delivered to the usina at its convenience by the supplier. It is likely that the mounting debts of many fornecedores will soon force them to sell

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258 but also because the manioc roots are too heavy and bulky to be trans-
[438] ported over long distances. Moreover, the market for farinha de mandioca is generally local, except in the Southwestern Recôncavo.

258 The capital investment in a casa de farinha is small, usually
471 less than one hundred dollars, but this sum is far beyond the reach of
[454] most cultivators. The mills are built by owners of medium-sized land holdings or local merchants, and are operated on a share basis. The mill owner usually receives one-tenth of the finished product in exchange
[427] for the use of the mill equipment. The customer rents the equipment
[464] rather than the service and must therefore provide the labor, although
[592] the owner usually furnishes one or two workers. Generally the processing
[462] of manioc is a family operation in which the women and girls scrape the roots and the men and boys perform the more arduous tasks.

277 Most of the tobacco which is grown in the Recôncavo is exported
[439] in the form of leaf. Therefore, the processing of tobacco is less important in relation to the cultivation of tobacco than is the processing of manioc and sugar in relation to their respective cultivation. The leaf tobacco which is retained in the area is made into cigars in home industries and in a number of cigar factories. The home-produced cigars are made by tobacco cultivators and small-scale processors in the villages, towns, and cities of the region. These cigars are generally
[443] very cheap and are sold in the local mercado (market) or in small vendas (shops). It is difficult to assess the total importance of this form of processing, but it seems likely that the number of cigars so made is extremely large.

277 The cigar factories of the Recôncavo are located in the cidades
[464] of São Gonçalo, Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, and Maragogipe. Each of the factories employs from 100 to 200 workers, usually women from the surrounding area. Machines are used to produce the cheaper grades;

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277 the more expensive varieties are hand made. The fillers and inner wrappers of the cigars are made from local tobaccos. Local leaf also [439] is used to a very limited extent for the outer wrappers, but almost all of the high quality cigars are made from wrapper leaf imported [471] from Havana, Sumatra, or the Connecticut Valley. The ownership of all the cigar factories is concentrated in three companies, all of which [439] have their headquarters in Salvador. The cigars produced in the Recôncavo are sold throughout Brazil.

182 43 44 184 Conclusion. Many of the features of the systems of marketing, transportation, and processing which are characteristic of the Recôncavo are effective in unifying the region. In particular, the centralized marketing and economic control of the production and processing of tobacco and sugar draw both the tobacco and manioc region and the sugar cane region closer to Salvador. At the same time, the differences in marketing techniques and the separate channels of control which are associated with these two products accentuate the sub-regional pattern 182 of the two crop regions. The system of general marketing exemplified 438 by the municipal markets might at first glance seem to be a focus 443 184 for local rather than regional interests. However, as has been seen, there are itinerant merchants who pass from market to market throughout the Recôncavo. Moreover, the major public markets, such as Feira de Santana and Salvador, draw large numbers of people from most of the rural sections. Even the local marketing institutions contribute to the identification of the people of this area with the region.

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BB 241 231 233 In the surrounding sertão livestock production is the areally and, in many cases, economically dominant activity; the Recôncavo is primarily a region of crop cultivation.

BB 43 443 The Recôncavo is a functional unit in the economic organization of commercial agriculture and marketing. Salvador, with one-third of BB the people of the region, is the primary market center. The credit [249] essential to the production of tobacco passes from the city to the country- [452] side, while the leaf is either shipped to the city for export or is sent BB [249] to local cigar factories controlled by Salvador companies. Similarly, the headquarters of the sugar industry and the chief market for its products is Salvador. Feira de Santana is also a functional center for the region, since in its markets the agricultural and industrial products which either originate in the Recôncavo or are imported through Salvador are exchanged for the livestock, crops, and extractive products of the sertão.

B BB 241 Many of the features of the agricultural system of the Recôncavo are also characteristic of Brazil. Both the land rotation system and the permanent monoculture are basic Brazilian agricultural systems. Agricultural technology, in the Recôncavo and in most parts of Brazil, B BB is relatively backward. Brazilian agriculture is labor extravagant, [464] and there is a constant falta de braços, but with few attempts at mechanization. Agriculture is highly speculative, whether tobacco in B BB the Recôncavo or coffee in São Paulo. The large property—latifundia-- [423] and the class organization with which it is associated are important [565] in the region and in the country as a whole. There are large numbers of semi-dependent small cultivators in the Recôncavo as in other parts of Brazil. Both the region and the nation are very dependent upon the sale of agricultural products to distant markets.

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APPENDIX D

Changes in Crop Data

241 433 127 128 [659] The crop data in Produção Agrícola: 1948 were gathered by statistical agencies of the Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística established in each cidade of Bahia and of most other states in Brazil. The quality of statistical data assembled is highly variable, depending in part upon the efficiency of the agent but also upon the size of the município and upon whether the products are easily assessable, or are marketed locally, and a number of other factors. In a number of cases it has been necessary to modify obviously erroneous parts of the official data, which were sometimes contradictory and sometimes at variance with the agricultural pattern as determined by field investigation. This usually has been done by interpolating from other more creditable data from the same basic source or from other sources. In the following pages the important changes which have been made in the data for various crops will be discussed, and maps based upon the original data will be presented.

When the data for area, production, and value were combined to determine yield and price, and these relationships were mapped, certain obvious errors and a number of clues to the direction and extent of error were discernible because the general outline of price and yield pattern in the Recôncavo was clear. Generally one of the three base figures--area, production, or value--was accepted as valid and the others adjusted to bring yield and/or price into line. Because of an almost complete lack of property surveys, the crop area data are at best a gross estimate and liable to great error. On the other hand, [443] [659] the location of the statistical bureau in the cidades, usually the primary market, does give opportunity to make reasonably close estimates of value and production, at least of marketed crops.

It must be remembered that these figures include the capital city, the population of which is about 450,000. If this is subtracted from the total population of the Recôncavo, the average density of the Recôncavo is approximately 27 persons per square kilometer. 161 [162]

Vila Recôncavo, the community of this study, is part of a county located 41 kilometers across the bay from Salvador. The community includes the town of Vila Recôncavo, which is the county seat, and the surrounding rural zone. Throughout the study we will be dealing with these two components of the sugar-cane plantation community, sometimes separately and sometimes together. 101 634 [121]

The only public transportation to the town is by boat from the capital, a three-hour trip across the bay, threading through numerous islands. The major part of the trip is made on remarkably blue water, usually serenely calm but occasionally violently agitated, especially during the winter. One-, two-, and three-masted sailing vessels and an occasional large sailing canoe, the centuries-old methods of transportation in Bahia, are passed on their way into the city, carrying fruit, vegetables, pottery, firewood, fish, tobacco, manioc flour, and sugar to the more than four hundred thousand people of the city, as they have done since the early colonization of the Recôncavo. The only new element in the scene is the small diesel boat which makes the trip back and forth across the bay, outward bound one day and returning the next with the outgoing tide. 505 501

As the boat nears the luxuriantly green, palm-crested islands, stopping at several to discharge the mail, passengers, and "city goods," one becomes aware of the feeling of stepping back into the past. Barefoot children are selling oranges, peanuts, and fish; and parrots and parakeets, sometimes doped with rum to make them appear tame. The mailman on the dock receives the sack of mail and gives it to his helper to carry to the post office; the island priest may receive a message or package entrusted to the captain of the boat or may even go aboard to travel to the church on another island. The others on the dock call to friends on the boat and exchange news or else simply watch the activity of docking the boat and the casting off. The people of the islands are light-skinned, although well sunburned. Many of them are vacationers from the city, dressed in brightly colored clothes, for the islands are well-known resorts. The others, barefoot, wearing shorts 505 [857] [443] [205] [793] [142] [528]

mers. However, on almost every plantation there are brick- 312
lined springs from which the inhabitants get their drinking wa-
ter. Women or children carrying five-gallon cans of water on [482]
their heads, and donkeys carrying four wooden kegs of water, [492]
are common sights along the roads of the Recôncavo. For the
cattle and other livestock of the plantations, drinking places 231
are excavated wherever there promises to be enough water. 312
Frequently, however, these go dry in the summer, especial- [132]
ly during the drought years which occur cyclically in rhythm
with the droughts of the sertão. At such times loss of cattle
is prevalent, except on plantations situated near one of the
small rivers.

A high-voltage electric line passes through this section 377
leading from the generating station further inland to the cap-
ital city. Recently most of the plantations have been able to
connect with this line, so that at least the owners' houses have
electric light. The houses of the workers are without it except
at the factory, where the mill supplies its own electric power
which is carried to almost all the workers' houses.

There are four state schools and one county school distrib- 871
uted among the plantations. The central school in the town of
Vila Recôncavo is not attended by children from the planta-
tions. Two plantations have their own chapels, which are vis- 347
ited at irregular intervals by the priests of Vila Recôncavo. 796
On the other plantations a small altar is set up in the owner's 793
house for special occasions such as Christmas, when the town
priest is invited to celebrate the Mass.

There is in the town a medical post with a visiting doctor, [743
a dentist, and several nurses in training, which is adminis-
tered by a Franciscan lay brother and supported by federal,
state, and county funds and by private donations. This post
is fairly recent, and its influences are spreading only slowly
to the rural area. Also in the town is a small county medical
post run by a resident physician. The sugar factory has a [249]*
dispensary with a nurse and is visited by the town doctor. Al- [752]
most every plantation has its own first-aid equipment, gen-
erally in the owner's house.

There are no fairs in the community. There are stores in 543
the town and a large supply store at the factory, run by the 443
corporation, and nearly every plantation has its own small [249]*
store. Major purchases are made at the weekly market in Cen-
tro, in the neighboring county. There are also traveling ped-

• 443 diers (ambulantes) who walk through the area in the summer selling combs, ribbons, jewelry, and perfumes.

561 One of the most important factors influencing the fortunes of the town of Vila Recôncavo is the diversity of attitudes toward
565 it held by different segments of the local population. The most
369 powerful group, although small in number, is that of the plantation and sugar-mill owners. The orientation of this group is polarized between the capital city, Salvador, and the plantations. There is no one living in the town who is included in the same social stratum as these people, and therefore the town is not a social drawing point for them as it might be in the plantation area of the southern United States. Vila does not represent a shopping center for them, and it is not an outlet for their sugar. Since they are so near the capital, business is transacted there rather than in the small rural town with its poor communications. This group as a whole looks upon the town as a decadent and backward place. There is little or no feeling among these people that they should "do something" to improve the town, to which they feel little or no allegiance. Rather, their allegiance is first to Bahia and to their own social class in the state, and second to the Recôncavo, the original seat of that class.

The plantation and sugar-mill workers also disregard Vila to a large extent, generally not considering it worth the effort involved in getting there. For these people the market in Centro and the sugar mill store are the major attractions of the area. Their social life is centered almost entirely within the plantation or at the sugar mill.

The town dwellers themselves have an ambivalent attitude toward their town, for, while they also feel that Vila is backward and without opportunity for personal advancement, they
369 nevertheless consider themselves an urban group in contrast
365 to the plantation workers. Recent improvements in the town, such as the installation of electricity and the introduction of radios, movies, and other electrical appliances, as well as the pavement of the mud streets with cobblestones, have been a great help in alleviating the former forlorn air of the town, once known as the "abandoned" town. The local population still speaks of this earlier state a great deal, almost with the haunt-
[652] ing fear that such conditions might return. The funds for these
[653] public works came from sources outside the county, that is, from grants of money by the state government during the epoch of the interventores, the governors appointed during the dic-

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilian SO11
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occupation of the poor people, who sell them after drying in the city of Salvador. . . .[9]

In 1837 Centro officially became a city, and for another hundred years it was the major commercial point of the sugar-Recôncavo. Gradually, however, it fell into the same pattern of decline which continues today in so much of the Recôncavo. In the 1900's a railroad was constructed from Salvador to Feira de Santana; it passed well back of Vila Recôncavo, missing it so far as to be of no aid whatsoever. Although it passed through Centro, the terminal point, Feira, became more important commercially to the state and became the new gateway to the north, west, and south of the state and of the nation. Although Centro is now a large town with a population of some ten thousand people and a weekly market which attracts people from the countryside and the neighboring towns, this is not enough to sustain it. Its port is now comparatively little used for the export of sugar, which in most cases goes directly to Salvador by train from the factories.

The immediate cause for the decay of the town of Vila Recôncavo, and to a great extent that of Centro and of so many other older towns, was the loss of functions after the period of frontier growth. Those towns which had been religious centers lost this function. Military posts were no longer needed, and administrative activities became more restricted as the counties were cut down in size and as the state and federal governments took over more functions, such as schools and health programs. Railroads and trucks have lately reduced the importance of the port towns. The rural towns no longer interest the wealthy rural aristocracy who always dominated and supported them. More rapid transportation has made it possible for this class to move about from plantation or factory to the town or the city and back in one day instead of three, thus removing the need for a town house in which to spend the night. Better transportation has also made it possible for the other classes to go to Salvador easily for shopping, medical purposes, festivals, and visiting. Thus Salvador, because of its nearness and the relative ease of transportation, has taken on many of the functions of the rural

9. Ibid., Letter XIII, p. 501 (author's translation).

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[The Usina]

tion plantation. At its highest level it is a form of unwritten social security which works well, supplementing the low wages which are paid throughout the area. Even on the factory plantations there is a mild form of paternalism, which is stronger in plantations nearer to the factory and to the home of the usineiro. 249* 466

The migrant workers, however, do not fit into the pattern of paternalism, mostly because they do not seek it. Indirectly they receive its benefits, for if one of them is ill he can go to the contractor who will then go to the plantation owner or usineiro for medicine or whatever is needed. But in general the migrant laborers stay by themselves and ask little or nothing of their employers. 249* 464 466

In addition to the protection provided by a paternalistic system, the workers have the right to at least half an acre of land on the plantation where they can plant and raise their subsistence crops. Often they also plant tobacco, both in these plots and in the small areas throughout the plantation where no sugar cane is planted, such as corners where the plow cannot penetrate. The tobacco is sold to traveling buyers who scour the area at the tobacco harvest season. The money thus gained belongs to the workers, and many of them say that cash earned in such a way provides the "extras" they like during the year, such as rum, cigarettes, a pair of earrings, or some perfume. 249* 466 [241] [443] [434]

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[Town Life]

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[632]
[441]

Group 1 (bureaucrats and merchants)	Federal and state employees	54
	Municipal employees	16
	Merchants	12
		82
Group 2 (service occupations)	Laundresses	46
	Ironers	17
	Electricians	1
	General servants	29
	Seamstresses	8
	Embroiderers	1
	Store cashiers	10
	Canoeists	2
	Bakery workers	4
		118
Group 3 (artisans)	Farmers	24
	Fishermen	132
	Bricklayers	6
	Barbers	6
	Carpenters	4
	Tailors	3
	Peddlers	3
	Woodworkers	2
	Coopers	1
	Butchers	1
	Shoemakers	1
	Quitandeiras[1]	1
		184

Group 3 workers employ the following number of people, either as employees or as apprentices:

Bricklayers	17
Workers in roças	13
Fishermen	5
Tailors	4
Woodworkers	1
Carpenters	1

[443]

1. Quitanda is an incipient store, usually run by a woman who sells vegetables and fruit from her windowsill.

trative work; he comes into office with a mayor and frequently remains through the terms of several other mayors. He therefore knows the duties well and can aid the mayor considerably. In addition, the secretary has a small store in town, capitalized at Cr$10.000,00, where drinks (rum and soft drinks), dried meat (charque), cigars, cigarettes, grass mats, condensed milk, wooden sandals, and a few other small items are sold. 463 632 [443] [471]

The top municipal office is that of the mayor, which in Brazil is a county-wide office. The mayor is not on the above list as an employee, because he occupies another place in the census from which these data were taken. In Vila Recôncavo the mayor has come traditionally from the top social level, the rural landowning group. The office is elective, with a four-year term, except in the 1930's and 1940's, when the mayor was chosen by the appointed governor of the state (interventor). In Vila Recôncavo, as a general rule, the mayor has little or no interest in the town or, except in a few cases, in the office, which is considered a more-or-less onerous duty. He traditionally does not accept his salary. At the time of the last election there was consternation on the part of the planters, for no one wanted the office but clearly someone had to take it. When the choice was made, the candidate--one of the usina directors--was elected, for he had no opponent. The majority of the duties are left in the hands of the secretary, the mayor doing only a minimum of supervision and contributing little that is constructive. Generally any important matters are discussed at the home of the mayor, and his orders are conveyed to the secretary by messenger or telephone.

The last mayor, Dr. Aliança, was an exception to the rule. He was interventor in 1947 and was elected mayor in 1948, serving until the general elections in the fall of 1950. He is a civil engineer and the owner of two large plantations, maintaining in perfect condition the old master's house of the former plantation in which he lives, as well as a large house in Salvador. While the roots of his family are in the Recôncavo, he himself came from the north and married into a plantation family of Vila Recôncavo. Although his family tradition has been that of sugar cane, he has not hesitated to break many of the traditional patterns of the area. One of his two plantations has been given over to experiments with other crops, such as bananas, rice, and manioc, on a relatively large scale, and also some production of milk and butter. A few 159 632 463 242

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632 years ago, after determining that these crops were not suf-
463 ficiently rewarding, he made a large-scale planting of white
cacao. It is still too early to speak of the outcome of this ven-
ture, for the trees have not yet started to give their first fruit,
[242] but this instance illustrates his usual energetic spirit.

Dr. Aliança took the office of mayor seriously and gave a
159 great deal of energy to it. His accomplishments were many
in the space of a few years: the paving of most of the town's
632 streets, the installation of electric lights on the streets, the
463 formation of a company to sell electricity to those who wanted
it, the installation of telephone communications with the cap-
653 ital, and the construction of a new, modern primary school
building. As a result of his personal energy and direction
these works were completed, or at least nearly so, when he
left the office. (According to law, the mayor cannot be re-
elected). However, with the exception of building a bridge,
nothing was done in the rural areas of the county. Tradition-
ally any public works in the county are done in the county seat.

441 Many of the merchants in Group 1 are small operators.
463 The capitalization of the stores in Vila Recôncavo runs from
Cr$100.000,00 to as low as Cr$5.00,00. However, no matter
443 how small the store, it provides a living for someone, or as
they say in Vila Recôncavo, "Sempre da!" To the ordinary
[471] town citizen it is difficult to get enough capital together to open
a store, but once opened it rarely closes for lack of business.
Of the twelve stores in town, eight are owned and operated by
men, and the other four belong to women. The best store in
441 town and the poorest one both belong to women. The "best"
444 store, Dona Carmen's, is the oldest, located on the main
street leading from the boat dock. At present it is owned by
[428] Dona Carmen, who inherited it from her brother. It com-
bines a general store and a bakery, and its prices are often
slightly higher than those in other stores. It serves most of
the people living in the older section of town. In addition to
having the largest stock of ordinary foods, the store also car-
ries finer packaged products such as wines, jellies, and pre-
serves.

444 Bread is baked in the afternoon and delivered to the doors
of the customers' houses, still warm and with the delicious
256 odor always associated with bread fresh from the oven. The
bakery's customers for the most part have standing orders,
receiving bread or rolls each day in time for supper. What
is left over is hawked through the streets by the delivery boy,

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who walks about with a huge round basket on his head crying, "Pão, pão." 444 256

Dona Carmen's husband, Damião, is also a storekeeper. His store is in the downhill part of town, near the fishermen. The two stores are run separately, and the couple are doing well financially. In addition to his store, Damião also owns several canoes and fish nets which he rents to fishermen. He is the only storekeeper in town who gives credit to people who cannot pay immediately, allowing bills to run many months and even more than a year. He also allows his customers to borrow money in order to buy things outside his store--for instance fish, which he does not handle. He does not charge interest on these loans, nor seemingly make any demands on those who borrow. On the other hand the borrowers feel a sort of loyalty toward him and do not forget their debts, which they eventually manage to pay. 441 463 [444] [427] [452] [426]

Three of the smallest stores are owned and operated by women, whose husbands have set them up in business in a small way in order, as one put it, to "give my wife something to do." It is considered desirable for a woman to operate a store and it is usually the beginning of something larger, for later, whenever possible, the husband will stop his own work and help operate the store. In the case of the smaller stores the owner generally lives in the same building, either alongside the store or behind it. The larger storekeepers, however, usually have separate houses. At night they lock up the stores, which are sometimes guarded by dogs or even by the cashiers who sleep there. The storekeepers are usually asked for donations to the church at the time of any special festivals, and generally become politically active after they become established in business. 441 444 463 [562] [431] [66]

The stock in most of the stores is pretty much the same, varying in amount rather than diversity: drinks (rum and soft drinks), dried meat (the staple meat of the population), cereals, cigars, cigarettes, estivas (which include beans, rice, and farina, the three great staples of the local diet), as well as coffee, palm oil (azeite de dendê), vinegar, olive oil, garlic, onions, wooden sandals, condensed and powdered milk, salt, sugar, miudezas (small items such as matches and ribbons), toilet articles and laundry soaps, blueing agents and starch, grass mats, kerosene, and in one store aluminum kitchenware which is not sold very often, as well as nails, wire, screws, and wrapping paper and cord. One store in the 443

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•443 upper part of town also sells cloth. Most stores also have small supplies of chocolate (considered a great treat at a party), tea, honey, canned desserts such as guava, and canned butter and cheese. As a rule fresh vegetables are not sold in the stores but peddled through the streets, since few people eat them. It is more practical to order them specially from someone going to the fair in Centro. Nearly everyone has a banana tree or an orange tree in the back yard, so that few fruits are sold in the stores. The other seasonal crops, such as cashew nuts, corn, and pineapples, are peddled from house
443 to house. As a rule people in Vila Recôncavo buy their food
432 in small quantities, since they have no methods of food pres-
[251] ervation. A liter bottle is carried to the store to be filled with oil or kerosene; a small can is carried there to be filled with rice, beans, or farina. The smoked meat called charque is bought by the kilo and left hanging in the kitchen, and strips are cut from it at meal times. Although the price of charque is as high as that of fresh meat, and at times higher, people say it is more satisfying. As a rule the butcher in Vila Recôncavo kills two steers a week, on Wednesday and Saturday. The meat is carried through the streets unwrapped, hanging from a cord. It is not unusual to see a string of dogs following such a person. The meat is eaten the same day to prevent spoilage, and as a result it is usually tough and flavorless.

463 Most of the people included in Group 1 lead an upper-class
*565 kind of life; indeed to a great extent these people are the town's highest class, as will be shown in the next chapter. These are the people who do little or no labor themselves other than the white-collar work with which they earn their living. The men
[291] dress in city clothes most of the time--white shirt, tie, and suit coat--and the women are always neatly dressed with shoes and silk stockings. (The oil workers are an exception, for they do not hold white-collar jobs but wear overalls and helmets). There is always help to do the housework and the marketing.
463 Sometimes a cook is employed; otherwise the lady of the house
*565 does her own cooking, assisted by her daughters. The laundry is sent out, or else the laundress comes to the house to do it,
357 and water for drinking purposes and for washing is brought to
[296] the house by a man or woman employed for the purpose; mem-
[312] bers of the household never fetch water at the wells. Often the house has a cement tank and drains on the roof to catch
[313] rainwater. Nor does any member of the house fetch firewood, which is supplied by a hired person.

[Town Life]

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The majority of people in Group 1 live in the older part of Vila Recôncavo, often in the old colonial sobrados, and they [361] rarely descend the hill to the part of town inhabited by the fishermen. Indeed, they mix little with people of the town, and there is almost no social life within the group itself. Parties are expensive, and visiting from house to house in the [574] evening is not common. Vila Recôncavo has no such pastime as the evening walk in the square. This group is seldom united on anything, especially local politics; however, the more distant the question the more apt the group is to be of one mind.

Most families in this group send their children to school in [871] Salvador, go there on holidays whenever possible, receive the [204] city newspaper and the Diario Oficial,[2] and shop in the city [443] as often as they can.

Vila Recôncavo differs in one respect from most other rural Brazilian communities: it has no parish priest. The mother church of the parish (matriz) has long been unable to support its own priest, and the duties which would normally fall [792] to such a person are performed by the Franciscans, whose convent is in Vila Recôncavo. The priests remain within the convent, taking little or no part in the social life of the town. 793

It will be noted that there was no mention of a drug store in Vila Recôncavo. There was none until 1945, when a nonprofit [444] organization, the Institute of Vila Recôncavo, was opened. This is a medical post supported by federal, state, municipal, [792] and private funds; its director is Friar Innocence, a Franciscan lay brother. The institute is housed in the spacious old buildings of the extinct Third Order of Franciscans, and consists of a pharmacy, an infants' milk and soup distributing center, a maternity post, a dental post, and other medical facilities. The dentist, who has modern equipment, is competent in his work. For several years a doctor was in daily attendance, dividing his time between the institute and the petroleum workers' camp. As a result of a complicated local political conflict, he left the institute, however, and Friar Innocence arranged for a visiting doctor to come from Centro and spend two days a week in Vila Recôncavo. Three town girls were sent to Salvador to study nursing and midwifery, so there is competent medical assistance. 743 743 759

2. The Diario Oficial is the newspaper in which government laws and regulations are published. As a rule, it is the publication of a regulation which makes it become a law.

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vo. There are about twenty women in the town who are thus employed constantly, and others who work part-time with the fish. They go down to the beach, carrying five-gallon gasoline cans, when they see the fishermen coming in, and buy the fish by the canful at about Cr$25,00 a can, sometimes buying as many as ten canfuls. An exceptional catch for a day will run well over fifty cans, especially during the winter months. The women then take the fish home, clean them and pack them in salt for twenty-four hours, after which they put them on spits, two narrow slivers of wood cut from the dendê palm. Five fish go on each two spits. They are then hung out to dry in the sun for about two days. If it rains, the drying takes longer, and frequently many are lost. Few of the women ever become accustomed to the odor of the salted, drying fish, and they complain bitterly about it. But they know that there is always a market for the dried product, and this compensates to some extent for the unpleasantness involved. A can of fish usually provides 150 to 200 spits, and they are sold for Cr$25,00 to Cr$30,00 a hundred spits. The price is generally slightly higher if they are sold at the weekly Monday market in Centro, to which the women as a rule go themselves, or to which they send the fish with a friend. Otherwise, they are sold to the occasional tropeiros de cima[3] who come to town to buy them at a slightly lower price. It is said that the small dried fish are considered a fine dish by the people of the sertão.

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Other women prepare shrimp in much the same manner, although the prices are higher. A can of shrimp costs between Cr$100,00 and Cr$150,00 depending upon the size of the catch and the season of the year, for during Lent and especially during Holy Week, when the demand is greater, all prices of fish and seafood rise. A can of shrimp gives two hands (duas mãos), or forty spits, of shrimp, which are sold at the average of Cr$100,00 a hand; the price of the finished product varies with the price of the fresh shrimp. However, a man in Vila Recôncavo recently built an icehouse, and the women have worked less with shrimp, for the fishermen sell directly to

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3. Tropeiros de cima (troopers from up north) are men from the sertão who descend to the Recôncavo with mules loaded with farina to sell, and return north with fish and fruit from the Recôncavo.

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462 the icehouse where the shrimp are kept cool; they can then be
438 sent to Salvador every other day on the boat to be sold as fresh
251 shrimp at the market and on the streets. "Camarão da Vila,"
[443] (shrimp from Vila) the cry of the Salvador street peddlers, is well known throughout the capital city.

463 The majority of people in Group 2 live down the hill from
[361] the older part of town, near the beach or out along the road
[571] which leads to the factory. They are more or less dependent
[476] upon Group 1, not only for the money they receive in return for services, but also for many kinds of favors which fall under the heading of patronship. They are seldom able to employ the services of Group 3 for such jobs as house building or repairing; they must rely on an old form of cooperative labor, called the batalhão (work group), to make or repair a house wall or to put on a new thatch roof. Frequently a patron will arrange for another of his "dependents" to transport the mud necessary for the palm thatch (taipa), and there is no cost involved for the recipient; but she must arrange the labor.

463 The people of Group 2 fetch their own water from the wells,
312 and usually their own firewood from the tideswamps. There
[313] are several men and women in town who make a business of carrying these two commodities. Such work is contractual. A household contracts for so many cans or barrels of water a day and so many loads of firewood a week. If they do not have enough money for these services they must carry them out themselves. During the dry summer months fetching water is a tedious business, for the majority of the wells dry up early in the summer. In the very dry summer of 1950-51, all the wells in town but one went dry. The one which continued to supply water did so at a much diminished rate. This well is completely encased in cement, for it provides the only drinking water in town. There is a small pipe serving as a spigot. During the dry season it takes from ten to twenty minutes to fill a five-gallon tin can from this pipe. As a result, there were always long lines of women waiting for water, and a sojourn of three or four hours at the well was common. Many of the more ambitious women used to get up at two or three in the morning and go to the well, making several trips so they would be free of this onerous duty during the day.
[821] This, however, took a great deal of courage, for most people
[492] in Vila Recôncavo are afraid of the dark, and no timid woman would make the trip out to the well at night. By general agreement, the men who carry water in barrels on donkeys walked

226 men say that the fish are leaving, while others say there are
43 just as many as ever. It is a difficult thing to prove one way or the other, for written records of the annual catches are only recent. However, there is no such thing as being unable to sell the fish they bring in. Many people in town have increased their consumption of fresh fish as a result of inflation, for it is less expensive than dried or fresh meat. The fishermen themselves eat a great deal of fish, always keeping enough out of a catch for their own family. The planters of the rural area complain that the fresh fish never arrive at the plantations any more as they did in the past. This is probably due to the icehouse in the town. The fishermen sell first to their "usual customers," the women who work with xangó and shrimp; what is left is sold to the icehouse to be packed and shipped to Bahia, rather than being sent out to the country.

226 The jereré, a small basketlike net built around an iron ring 1 1/2 feet in circumference, is used by women and children along the shore and is part of a subsistence activity. It catches only a small crab (siri), an occasional eel, and other small fish which are cooked for the table in the form of moqueca, a sort of stew highly seasoned with peppers and dendê oil. The tideswamps abound in a large crab called the caranguejo, which is also highly prized for the table. Children often catch these, but a man who does so is called a caranguejeiro, a derogatory term. The hunter seeks the crab by sticking his arm down into its hole, which is usually very deep, at least arm's length. As a result he is always covered with the thick black mud so typical of the tideswamps. Often a tropeiro de cima comes to the town and commissions someone to catch the crabs, which he wraps carefully in mud and leaves and carries to the northern hinterland to sell.

463 The second largest subgroup in Group 3 is composed of the twenty-four gardeners (roçeiros) who are engaged in small-
241 scale commercial farming, rather than subsistence horticulture. They live in town and have their small fields on the outskirts of Vila Recôncavo. All of these fields are located on the plantation Engenho Da Vila ("P" on map of community), and they range from one, two, or three acres in size to as many as fifteen acres, rented from the plantation at Cr$100,00
241 an acre per year. The major crops are manioc, bananas, and to a lesser extent tobacco, sugar cane for chewing (cana de chupar), corn, beans, and squash. Because there are only 265

252 they produce. The juice which is squeezed out is saved, and starch is extracted from it to be used in pressing clothes. The nonpoisonous variety of manioc (aipim) is used to a much smaller extent. Usually the tuber is boiled in water and then eaten as though it were a potato, for it does not need any processing to render it edible.

241 463 Ten of the twenty-four gardeners concentrate on manioc, while the others raise bananas. Most of them also grow their own household subsistence crops, scattered among the manioc and bananas, such as corn, beans, squash, and often a few shoots of excellent tobacco. Many of them also produce a quarter or half acre of a heavy type of sugar cane (cana de chupar) which is stripped of its bark, cut into short pieces, and masticated, the pulp being spit out after the person has [146] sucked out the juice. Almost everyone indulges in this, and [825] the sugar which is absorbed is undoubtedly a great source of energy. The plots (roças) are fenced and protected by an ox [789] skull stuck on one of the fence posts to keep out the evil eye.

241 463 554 [427] There are many gardeners to the west of the town who rent their small plots from either the Engenho da Vila or the federal school. This area has not produced sugar cane for many years, for it lacks the surface covering of massapê. These gardeners are often called matutos ("hicks"), real backwoodsmen who get along on subsistence agriculture and seldom leave their rural neighborhood. They are as far removed from contact with modern civilization as anyone could be while living in the Recôncavo. They live in well-hidden, small houses of mud and thatch, and one can ride through this section without seeing anyone.

443 463 [608] The peddlers (ambulantes) listed in Group 3 have their houses in Vila Recôncavo but go from town to town selling their wares. While they do some trading at the fairs they also cover a regular route independent of the fairs. Compadresco, the system of godparentship, is important to them, for the houses of such relations give them a base of operations in every town they visit. One of the three is a man who buys and sells jewelry, and the other two are women; one sells cloth for dresses and the other sweets (doces), peanuts, and dried shrimp. The latter is one of the famous street merchants (bahianas) of Salvador; she sits on a street corner before a portable table selling favorite Bahian snacks such as acarajé and abará. She goes to Salvador on the boat on Saturdays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays, returning to Vila Recôncavo the

following days to make new supplies. On the return trip she brings wheat flour, peanuts, potatoes, and whatever is not available in Vila Recôncavo, as special orders (encomendas) for people in the town, who pay the price of the article plus a small percentage for her trouble in doing the shopping. 443 463

The people of Group 3 do most of their own labor; the men follow their trade while their womenfolk do the housework, care for the children, fetch water and firewood, and do their own laundry. This group also uses the batalhão for house building and repairing, although many employ the services of a carpenter to do the woodwork or a bricklayer to make a foundation, in contrast to the people of the preceding group, whose houses are usually built with a minimum of crude woodwork and without masonry foundations. The majority of men in this group, the fishermen, live in the lower part of town, in the areas known as Boqueirão, Caquende, and Cortume (see map of town). The others are scattered throughout the town, up the hill in back of the area of sobrados, and on the side of the hill sloping down to the beach. The fishermen have their own chapel built near the beach, which they support with the tithe (dizimo), a tenth of their earnings. The people in the fishing group seldom go up the hill to the older part of town, feeling that they do not belong there. 463 [462] [342] [361] [346] [764]

A few words need to be said about Group 4, which consists of thirty-one people who do not fit into the other three groups. Eleven of them, who listed themselves as unemployed, are unskilled persons, without a trade, and without a patron or service employment skill. For the most part they are women, and although an examination of the census data shows that they have no visible means of support, they do engage in subsistence activities such as carrying water, cutting spits for xangó, making dendê palm oil, or making fish nets, but not on a regular contract basis. Since they engage in a variety of small independent activities and work for different people at different times, they listed themselves as unemployed in the sense of being without a regular occupation. 463 464

Nine people in Group 4 lived in the town at the time of the census but worked at the Usina São Pedro. Three men worked on the sugar plantation nearest town, preferring to live in town rather than on the plantation, since the trip back and forth is so short. And, finally, the group includes eight people who were employed by the Institute of Vila Recôncavo as nurses, pharmacists, bookkeeper, and bartender. These people

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The planta- 565 *
tion worker's world is small, and conversational topics are 571
limited to family matters such as births, deaths, marriages, [521]
sickness, and other intimate details of personal life, the
problems of work, and difficulties of any sort. The planter can
know the daily life and thoughts of the workers only through
observation, for he himself lives quite differently. However,
his knowledge of the workers is apt to be profound in spite
of the differences, and he knows much more of their lives
than they know of his. On the other hand, visiting between [574]
the workers and the members of Class B is on a much more
equal basis, for the differences between their modes of living
and thinking are small.

When the workers are invited to a party by the planters, 565 *
it is usually an affair given for them, such as a Christmas 571
celebration. At such a time the planter is host and spectator, 574
rather than host and participant. At other times the workers
may get together a song and dance group, a samba, and go to
the owner's house for the evening. This is frequently ex-
plained as "keeping the patron from being lonely." Again the [535]
owner is spectator, for the samba, performed exclusively by
women, is a type of folk dance seldom engaged in by the more
sophisticated upper class.

Class B in the rural area is only beginning to feel any sort 565 *
of group consciousness, for the occupational institutions it
represents are relatively new and it is not yet aligned in any
way with the corresponding class in town. There are two over-
seers who lack any formal education--indeed, who cannot read
or write. In all cases the male members of this class have
set up and maintained a family, educating their children and
seeing to it that they marry as well as possible. As a rule
such men are "self-made"--they have risen from the ranks
of workers as a result of their own ability, sagacity, sense
of responsibility, and desire to improve themselves. They are
distinguished from the workmen by these traits, which seem
to develop even further as they have the opportunity to use
their initiative.

Members of this group usually acquire numerous posses- 565 *
sions of their own, such as horses, oxen and carts, mules, 423
and donkeys which can be put to gainful use. They also op- [422]
erate small stores on their plantations--in one case even a
chain of stores, one on each of three plantations. They also [443]
try to buy a small farm somewhere nearby. Frequently the [466]
employer facilitates such acquisitions as a sort of bonus,
lending money or even giving some to the overseer.

change. New faces and basically different relationships prevail at Usina São Pedro.

Another change, but this time in tune with the past, was an increase of capital, applied to the improvement of the factory. The capacity of the mill has been greatly enlarged. However, the agricultural part of the combination continues as it did before, with no innovations. The result is that the factory is able to mill and produce sugar much more quickly than it can be supplied with sugar cane. The hierarchical aspect of the factory as earlier diagrammed remains the same, and each plantation is still run as a separate unit.

In contrast, the private plantation in the community of Vila Recôncavo has undergone relatively little change in these five years. Always the most conservative element in the Recôncavo, the private plantation continues to retain its distinguishing feature: the personal, face-to-face, paternalistic owner-worker relations. The hierarchical pattern remains the same. Operations are still basically hand- and animal-powered, but private planters are slowly introducing mechanization in certain aspects of the process, especially that of transportation; trucks and tractor-drawn wagons carry cane from the fields to the factory. Tractors and mechanical plows are used to an increasingly large extent in the preparation of the soil, and mechanical cultivators are already in use on some plantations. However, the bulk of the work is still done by hand, and traction is supplied by oxen and mules. As yet no mechanical loaders, ditch-diggers, or planters have appeared, and little use is made of fertilization or herbicides. Few scientific agricultural practices are in use. The planter is still first and foremost a "practical" man.

Relations between the factory and the private plantations have also undergone considerable change, in both business and social aspects. The new managers of the factory have succeeded in almost completely alienating the private planters who supply them with sugar cane. Not only the members of the extended Conde family, but also other cane suppliers resented the highhanded, brusque methods of the new managers. Wishing to break completely with the past, the new managers instituted several new policies in relations with the cane suppliers. Formerly the private suppliers bought sugar by the sack, bought their supplies at the company store, and had their machines repaired at the company workshops, paying for such services at the end of the harvest season. The sup-

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58 begun to live together. But it is a general policy of Petrobrás that its employees establish regularized households and register their children, as the benefits of social legislation and insurance must be paid to legal beneficiaries, such as wives and children. Because of the many recent marriages, there are no longer any houses available in Vila Recôncavo, nor in Milagres, and there has been a spurt of housebuilding.

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There have also been some shifts in emphasis in the structure of the community. While the factory nucleus is no longer the scene of social gathering for the upper class of the area, the structure of the factory-private plantation system ensures that it continues to be the economic center as long as sugar cane is being planted in the area. The system of quotas established for the private planter and the factory by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol requires that planter and factory cooperate in supplying and receiving sugar cane. Also, the physical structure of the area, in which the factory is the center of the network of a small railroad which reaches out to each of the private properties, strengthens the impression of the factory as the center of activities.

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The possible future shift from sugar to cacao will of course diminish the importance of the sugar factory. However, in the meantime there is a new factor which will give more importance than ever to the factory: a feira, or market place. The county of Vila Recôncavo does not have a weekly market. For many years the county officials have wanted to establish one, not only for increased municipal income, but also to help attract more people to the area and to make life easier for the population. A market place is now under construction at the factory nucleus. When the market is completed, the factory town will become at least a weekly center of attraction for many people of the surrounding plantations.

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The development of the petroleum industry is bringing new life to the town of Vila Recôncavo, to the nearby town of Milagres, and to the new city of Conselho. Petrobrás cannot develop a nucleus on the land which belongs to the factory or to the private owners, and therefore it must concentrate any local community building efforts in the old public towns which already exist. Petrobrás, indirectly, through the county court of Vila Recôncavo, will soon contribute considerably to the county income. The same sort of compensation which was worked out in regard to the planters is now being arranged for the county, through taxes on the finished products from

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4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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APPENDIX C

THE BOMFIM FESTIVAL

796 Certain popular festivals, like the Sabado and Segunda
565 Feira do Bomfim, are largely taken over and even dominated
by the lower classes. Individuals from the upper circles,
[439] both white and colored, attend only in their automobiles,
driving slowly back and forth along the principal streets and
through the crowds, or watch the festivities from the windows and doorways of near-by houses. In the words of a local citizen, the festival of Bomfim "springs from the people themselves, who regard O Senhor do Bomfim as their patron saint. It belongs to them more than Carnival does; Carnival is more refined (*mais elevado*), more under the control of the educated, 'cultured' Bahians."

796 Preceded by exclusively religious ceremonies, the celebration begins on the third Saturday in January and continues through the following Sunday and Monday. A large part of the population attends. Formerly, it is said, all business houses closed for the festival, and a few still do, while others take only a half-holiday on Monday. The celebration opens
[368] at the Church of Bomfim, which crowns a gently sloping hill
[443] on the peninsula of Itapagipe which juts out into Todos
os Santos Bay to the north of the port. Black women in
[265] *bahiana* costume sit around the edges of the crowd selling
such wares as *cocada*,[1] cakes, and other confections, mangoes,
[257] peanuts, *umbús*, and *cajús*.[2] In the *adro*, or open space, in

[1] *Cocada* is a confection made of coconut and sugar.

[2] *Cajús* are the fruit of the cashew tree. *Umbús* are a green, smooth-skinned fruit, about the size of a small lime.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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front of the Church of Bomfim, booths are erected, each of which has been named for the patron saint of the proprietor or bears an inscription like *Fé em Deus* ("Faith in God"), *Salve a Nova Aurora* ("Hail to the Dawn"), or *A Bahianinha* ("Dear Little *Bahiana*"). At these booths one may purchase such famous Bahian dishes of African origin as *aberém*, *caruru*, *vatapá*, *efó*, and *acarajé*, as well as drinks and other refreshments. *Kermesses*, or small booths given over to games of chance similar to those of traveling "carnivals" in the United States, bear such names as *Lua Cheia* ("Full Moon") or *Abrigo dos Filhos do Povo* ("Shelter for the Children of the People"). A brass band, composed of blacks from the fire department in uniform, plays intermittently from a raised platform in the center of the square.

443 265 [262] 796 [525] [533] [368]

At night the entire front of the church is ablaze with electric lights. Fireworks almost constantly sputter and bang in the air. An immense crowd mills about the *adro*, while other people sit at tables, eating, drinking, talking, and watching the festivities. About two hours after midnight, the *terno* of *Os Ciganos* ("the Gypsies") appears. It is a band of approximately thirty people, marching two abreast, ten musicians with brass instruments in the lead, followed by a dozen young men each of whom holds aloft a wooden staff branched at the top and lavishly decorated with paper flowers and Japanese lanterns, and an equal number of girls twelve to fourteen years old, dressed in gypsy costumes and shaking castanets and tambourines. After parading around the square, the *terno* halts in front of the church, greets the patron saint, then turns and ascends the platform vacated for this purpose by the band. The girls dance, sing, and play their instruments while one of the men performs a frenzied dance, twirling round and round a standard bearing the name and insignia of the terno.

[534] [535]

[SALVADOR]

/12 cont./

175 called Negroes because of the ignominious and base implications
* 563 of a term that puts them on the same footing as the people of the
829 coast of Africa destined to become slaves of the Whites. The true African Negroes were at that time called Negroes of Guinea, Negroes of the coast, or Negroes of nation, that is to say, of such
175 and such an African tribe. In a general way the term Negro was
829 applied to every slave, to the point that in 1773 a Portuguese
* 563 monarch complained that in Brazil there were still "persons so
567 wanting in feelings of humanity and religion as to keep among
192 them slaves, some of whom are whiter than they themselves, under the names of Blacks and Negresses, or even métisses /plural
829 feminine form of métis, a person of mixed blood/." The sons of
* 563 African Negroes born in Brazil were called creoles, a term ap-
192 plied even today, in the feminine, to black women and mulattresses
291 who dress like the Bahian women, with the troquette, the very full
794 skirt, the white, embroidered, and very décolleté blouse, and the colored shawl around the bust, a costume worn by the Africans of Nigeria and even in our day, with certain local modifications, by the women belonging to the religious cults of African origin, the
* 563 candomblés. The creoles of Bahia constitute a typical spectacle
794 in the streets of the city; one can see them there, making their
• 443 way to a fetishist-cult center or sitting beside stalls in which they
262 display, especially during the popular festivals, the foods of the famous local cuisine, which is also of African origin to a great extent.

* 563 The words pardo and mestiço, both having, as we have seen,
829 the meaning of mulatto, serve to designate the descendants of a
192 cross between Europeans and Blacks. Every variation of these
826 types, depending on the intensity of the color or the nature of the hair, was formerly designated by a particular name fallen into disuse today. One speaks of light mulatto or dark mulatto, according to the predominance of one or the other of the characteristics; the light mulattoes, when their hair is very similar to that of Whites, are also called cabo verdes or rôxos. A young girl showing
[196] few traces of crossbreeding is a roxinha or even a cabrocha; in this case the inhabitants of Bahia use a diminutive in order to remove from the word any pejorative meaning.

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Given the isolation in which Brazil remained at least until 1808, the moment when for the first time its ports were opened to international commerce, given too the fact that Bahia was never a center of massive European immigration, like certain southern states, the foreigner is received by the people of Bahia with a mixture of curiosity and distrust. At the same time, the emigrant is easily absorbed here by the milieu and likewise adapts himself to the customs and norms of local life. The Portuguese emigrants, for example, are pu. in a special category; one has the habit of saying that not one of them is ever, properly speaking Brazilian, but that he is never, properly speaking, a foreigner either. In spite of the two world wars, one nowhere notes manifestations of antipathy with regard to German, Austrian, or Italian emigrants. The nationals of these nations have, in general, an excellent reputation because they are considered good workers, because they marry Brazilians and remain in the country when their businesses prosper. The vast majority of the population and even the persons who are hostile to the "Russian" merchants never have anti-Semitic sentiments. When, however, a Jewish group publicly protested against the presentation of a European musician accused of having had ties with Hitlerism in the past, the association that organizes concerts of famous musicians rejected "this attempt at outside interference dictated by /18/ racial prejudice," declaring that its activities ought to remain "above all religious, philosophical, political, racial, or class prejudice." And yet numerous Israelites are members of this association.

[443] [178]

The "Arabs," although living quite isolated in accordance with their customs, marry Brazilians, and no hostility is ever manifested with regard to them; at the time when some of them were carrying on the trade of itinerant vendors of fabrics and hardware, they were ridiculed somewhat, it is true, but that stopped with the disappearance of the last peddlers.

[SALVADOR]

/18 cont./

829 The irregularities and inadequacies of electric service in
365 the city are attributed by many inhabitants of Bahia to what they call the "contempt of the Americans for the well-being of the people," as if the Americans were the only ones responsible for the operation of the American-Brazilian enterprise that produces electricity for the region. Everything that is or is supposed to be American otherwise enjoys great prestige. There is, how-
829 ever, a foreign group against which (or, more precisely, against
*563 the hidden "trust" that it represents) there exists a very strong
578 hostility, although it manifests itself only on certain occasions.
[443] It is a matter of emigrants from Spanish Galicia, accused of exploiting the populace owing to the monopoly that they have acquired in the grocery and bakery business. At certain times when ten-
[152] sion is particularly strong, as in 1930, and following the rapid
[458] rise of the price of commodities of prime necessity at the be-
[579] ginning of the last world war, the populace gave free vent to its discontent by plundering certain Spanish business establishments. But the attitude of the Bahians toward the person of these immigrants is free of lasting animosity, and marriages between the two
[261] groups are frequent. The fact remains, however, that the population attributes to the Spaniards the shortage of certain food commodities, especially bread, and it accuses these emigrants of "enriching themselves off of the misery of the people."

529 The recreational associations of the English, Spaniards,
*563 Syrians, and Lebanese are frequented by Brazilians. Likewise
575 the hospitals maintained by the Portuguese and Spanish colonies
743 are managed by Brazilian doctors and receive numerous patients from Bahia, white or colored.

795 The religion of the Catholic majority is traditionally much
771 more external and ritualistic than dogmatic, the religiosity of a large number of those who call themselves "strict Catholics" being chiefly theoretical. This must have constituted a serious difficulty for the clergy; it is also a subject of astonishment for the visitor who imagines that he will come in contact with "the most
798 Catholic of Brazilian cities." The antagonisms between religious
621 groups are also moderate in this domain and /19/ never affect the

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632 years ago, after determining that these crops were not suf-
463 ficiently rewarding, he made a large-scale planting of white
[242] cacao. It is still too early to speak of the outcome of this venture, for the trees have not yet started to give their first fruit, but this instance illustrates his usual energetic spirit.

159 Dr. Aliança took the office of mayor seriously and gave a
632 great deal of energy to it. His accomplishments were many
463 in the space of a few years: the paving of most of the town's
653 streets, the installation of electric lights on the streets, the formation of a company to sell electricity to those who wanted it, the installation of telephone communications with the capital, and the construction of a new, modern primary school building. As a result of his personal energy and direction these works were completed, or at least nearly so, when he left the office. (According to law, the mayor cannot be re-elected). However, with the exception of building a bridge, nothing was done in the rural areas of the county. Traditionally any public works in the county are done in the county seat.

441 Many of the merchants in Group 1 are small operators.
463 The capitalization of the stores in Vila Recôncavo runs from
443 Cr$100.000,00 to as low as Cr$5.00,00. However, no matter
[471] how small the store, it provides a living for someone, or as they say in Vila Recôncavo, "Sempre da!" To the ordinary town citizen it is difficult to get enough capital together to open a store, but once opened it rarely closes for lack of business. Of the twelve stores in town, eight are owned and operated by men, and the other four belong to women. The best store in
441 town and the poorest one both belong to women. The "best"
• 444 store, Dona Carmen's, is the oldest, located on the main
[428] street leading from the boat dock. At present it is owned by Dona Carmen, who inherited it from her brother. It combines a general store and a bakery, and its prices are often slightly higher than those in other stores. It serves most of the people living in the older section of town. In addition to having the largest stock of ordinary foods, the store also carries finer packaged products such as wines, jellies, and preserves.

444 Bread is baked in the afternoon and delivered to the doors
256 of the customers' houses, still warm and with the delicious odor always associated with bread fresh from the oven. The bakery's customers for the most part have standing orders, receiving bread or rolls each day in time for supper. What is left over is hawked through the streets by the delivery boy,

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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who walks about with a huge round basket on his head crying, "Pão, pão." 444 256

Dona Carmen's husband, Damião, is also a storekeeper. His store is in the downhill part of town, near the fishermen. The two stores are run separately, and the couple are doing well financially. In addition to his store, Damião also owns several canoes and fish nets which he rents to fishermen. He is the only storekeeper in town who gives credit to people who cannot pay immediately, allowing bills to run many months and even more than a year. He also allows his customers to borrow money in order to buy things outside his store--for instance fish, which he does not handle. He does not charge interest on these loans, nor seemingly make any demands on those who borrow. On the other hand the borrowers feel a sort of loyalty toward him and do not forget their debts, which they eventually manage to pay. 441 463 [444] [427] [452] [426]

Three of the smallest stores are owned and operated by women, whose husbands have set them up in business in a small way in order, as one put it, to "give my wife something to do." It is considered desirable for a woman to operate a store and it is usually the beginning of something larger, for later, whenever possible, the husband will stop his own work and help operate the store. In the case of the smaller stores the owner generally lives in the same building, either alongside the store or behind it. The larger storekeepers, however, usually have separate houses. At night they lock up the stores, which are sometimes guarded by dogs or even by the cashiers who sleep there. The storekeepers are usually asked for donations to the church at the time of any special festivals, and generally become politically active after they become established in business. 441 444 463 [562] [431] [66]

The stock in most of the stores is pretty much the same, varying in amount rather than diversity: drinks (rum and soft drinks), dried meat (the staple meat of the population), cereals, cigars, cigarettes, estivas (which include beans, rice, and farina, the three great staples of the local diet), as well as coffee, palm oil (azeite de dendê), vinegar, olive oil, garlic, onions, wooden sandals, condensed and powdered milk, salt, sugar, miudezas (small items such as matches and ribbons), toilet articles and laundry soaps, blueing agents and starch, grass mats, kerosene, and in one store aluminum kitchenware which is not sold very often, as well as nails, wire, screws, and wrapping paper and cord. One store in the 443

[Town Life]

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The majority of people in Group 1 live in the older part of Vila Recôncavo, often in the old colonial sobrados, and they rarely descend the hill to the part of town inhabited by the fishermen. Indeed, they mix little with people of the town, and there is almost no social life within the group itself. Parties are expensive, and visiting from house to house in the evening is not common. Vila Recôncavo has no such pastime as the evening walk in the square. This group is seldom united on anything, especially local politics; however, the more distant the question the more apt the group is to be of one mind. [361] [574]

Most families in this group send their children to school in Salvador, go there on holidays whenever possible, receive the city newspaper and the Diario Oficial,[2] and shop in the city as often as they can. [871] [204] [443]

Vila Recôncavo differs in one respect from most other rural Brazilian communities: it has no parish priest. The mother church of the parish (matriz) has long been unable to support its own priest, and the duties which would normally fall to such a person are performed by the Franciscans, whose convent is in Vila Recôncavo. The priests remain within the convent, taking little or no part in the social life of the town. 793 [792]

It will be noted that there was no mention of a drug store in Vila Recôncavo. There was none until 1945, when a nonprofit organization, the Institute of Vila Recôncavo, was opened. This is a medical post supported by federal, state, municipal, and private funds; its director is Friar Innocence, a Franciscan lay brother. The institute is housed in the spacious old buildings of the extinct Third Order of Franciscans, and consists of a pharmacy, an infants' milk and soup distributing center, a maternity post, a dental post, and other medical facilities. The dentist, who has modern equipment, is competent in his work. For several years a doctor was in daily attendance, dividing his time between the institute and the petroleum workers' camp. As a result of a complicated local political conflict, he left the institute, however, and Friar Innocence arranged for a visiting doctor to come from Centro and spend two days a week in Vila Recôncavo. Three town girls were sent to Salvador to study nursing and midwifery, so there is competent medical assistance. 743 [444] [792] 743 759

2. The Diario Oficial is the newspaper in which government laws and regulations are published. As a rule, it is the publication of a regulation which makes it become a law.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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be the *lingua geral*, or general Negro language.[5] The ritual of the more important fetish-cult centers was, and still is, carried on in this language. Inscriptions in Nagô were occasionally to be seen not only on cult buildings but also in small commercial establishments owned and operated by Negroes, like the meat stall on the Baixa dos Sapateiros over whose entrance Nina Rodrigues in 1895 noted the inscription "Kosi oba Kan afi Olorun."[6] So important did Nagô become, and so widespread its use that, although Nina Rodrigues early in the twentieth century estimated that there were only approximately five hundred Africans still living in the city and they were at that time dying at the rate of a hundred and fifty to two hundred a year,[7] one still today, more than three decades later, finds

[5] Nina Rodrigues, intimately acquainted for many years with Bahian Negroes, commends the accuracy of the Visconde de Porto Seguro when he says, "The best known Negroes in Brazil were those coming from the *Costa da Mina*, whence arrived the greater portion of those imported into Bahia; so that in this city many slaves learned little Portuguese but instead communicated among themselves in Nagô." About 1900 he himself wrote: "The Nagô dialect is commonly spoken in Bahia by almost all the old Africans from the various tribes and by a great number of creoles and mulattoes" (*op. cit.*, p. 197).

[6] Rodrigues translates the phrase: "There is no God but Olorun" (principal deity of the Nagô cult). A photograph of the entrance to the shop showing this inscription may be found in *ibid.*, opp. p. 202.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 154. In the seven years from 1896 to 1902, 1,282 Africans died at Bahia. The distribution was as follows:

Year	Total	Male	Female
1896	110	55	55
1897	258	156	102
1898	200	96	104
1899	209	110	99
1900	151	87	64
1901	152	74	78
1902	202	136	66
Total	1,282	714	568

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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revered leaders of the Afro-Brazilian world. When a priest argued with her that, since she had not been ordained by the pope, she had no "spiritual authority" to carry on religious rites, she quickly inquired if Moses, "that great prophet and leader of his people, was ordained by the pope?" The first man, she maintains, must not have been a white man but instead a colored man; "if not black, at least red. For do the scholars not say that man originated in Asia, and do white men ever come out of that continent?" Jesus also must have been an African, or at least a person quite dark. "For did not his parents once hide him in Egypt? And is not Egypt in Africa? If Jesus was not dark, how could they have hidden him among the people of Africa?"

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This *mãe de santo* was "made" over fifty years ago in the *candomblé* of Engenho Velho. "My *seita* is pure Nagô, like Engenho Velho," she boasts. "But I have revived much of the African tradition which even Engenho Velho has forgotten. Do they have a ceremony for the twelve ministers of Xangô?[11] No! But I have." She is planning to rebuild her *barracão*, or sacred dance pavilion, to be paid for by tithes levied on the incomes of members of her *seita*. She owns a small store in the Terreiro where she sells the various articles used in the cult ritual and, since the members of the fetish world know that these articles must be, if she sells [444]

[11] According to a well known Bahian *babalaô*, Xangô was a great African chief whose cruelties the people sought to do away with by setting fire one night to his dwelling. Everyone in it burned except Xangô, who walked unscathed through the flames. Astounded, the people prostrated themselves before him and begged his forgiveness. Xangô became a powerful king and subjected many neighboring tribes, twelve of whose chiefs subsequently became his royal advisers, or ministers. Even before his death, which occurred at an advanced age, Xangô was being worshiped. Cf. Martiniano do Bomfim, "Os ministros de Xangô," *Estado da Bahia*, May 5, 1937. [539]

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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them, legitimate, the store does a thriving business. She says:

> The *Africano* doesn't worship things made with human hands. He worships nature. What is the *pedra* [the fetish stone]? Is it not a mineral? No human hands have made it.
>
> We are just as Christian as the Catholics. Only we follow the law of Moses. He commanded that sacrifices be made of sheep, goats, oxen, chickens, pigeons, and so forth. Is it not so? We merely obey his commandments.
>
> There are two parts to the Bible, are there not? The Old Testament and the New. We follow the Old as well as the New. In the days before Christ, the people worshiped God with singing and dancing. Is it not so? David played his harp and sang psalms and danced before the Lord. We have our songs, too, and each has a special meaning. Just as the Catholics have something to remind them of their saints, so we have something to remind us of our *orixás*. But we do not worship images made with human hands like they do. We worship nature.

794 One of the assistants of the *mãe de santo*, an elderly Negro woman who "takes care of" the *terreiro*, is said to be over ninety years of age, is known by an African name, Bádá, and speaks Nagô as well as, or better than, she speaks Portuguese. No one in the fetish world at Bahia is said "to give her the blessing," because she is the "oldest" (that is, the longest "made" or "confirmed") in the city. She laments "the old days" before the Africans in Bahia all died.

794 576 A Negro man of seventy-seven years of age, Martiniano, one of two *babalaôs* in Bahia, known and thoroughly respected throughout the fetish world for his piety and sincerity and his knowledge of African customs and traditions, is, upon entering the connecting-room to the *pegi*, saluted by a rapid beat of muffled drums. He bows to the drummers, acknowledging their greeting, steps into the *pegi*, bows low before the altar, touches the ground with the tips of his 794 fingers, and repeats a prayer in Nagô. So learned is he "in

[SALVADOR]

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The large stores dealing in textiles, fashions, jewelry, and women's articles prefer, for the sale of the displays, employees who "look well," a euphemism for designating persons who are white or approaching it in appearance. Only a few years ago one of the largest stores in the city put an advertisement in the papers offering positions to saleswomen "of sound health, of white color, and at least 18 years of age." An informant relates that her sister, in spite of finos features, was not accepted in a very important store. In vain she made herself up attractively, arranged her hair, which is glossy and beautiful, and dressed with elegance; she was not accepted. The manageress told her that she preferred saleswomen with light hair. "The real reason," our informant explains, "is that the clientele does not like to be waited on by saleswomen of dark complexion. The colored girls, when they read announcements in the newspapers asking for employees of good appearance, do not even try to get the job, for they know very well that Whites are preferred; it is only due to great influence that they may be accepted." Another girl with moderately pigmented skin and slightly curly hair presented herself as a secretary in a large store, but the person in charge of personnel told her (and other candidates of the same type as she) that she was very sorry, but the firm preferred light girls. Someone who was present at the interview declared that it was a Portuguese employee associated with the firm who introduced this "racism" in that establishment. In a very famous firm dealing in women's articles, belonging to foreigners, only morenas finas or Whites are accepted. Almost all the employees of both sexes in the stores on the most central and the most important streets are white or morenos. Even in the more modest commercial spheres the situation is almost the same. In approximately 150 small or medium-sized stores dealing in textiles, haberdashery, women's articles, clothing and household articles, electrical goods and hardware, footwear, drugs, foodstuffs and baked goods, on a business street frequented by workers and the poorest population, /50/ not one black person or dark mulatto was seen as manageress, cashier, or saleswoman. "In any case," says a female

[SALVADOR]

/50 cont./

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informant, "girls of light color are more readily accepted in these occupations, perhaps because they are content with salaries that are not as high as those the young men demand."

The statistics released by the Bureau of Identification of the police of the State of Bahia confirm these data. The physical characteristics of 273 persons registered during several months of 1950 as merchants or employees of commercial firms were the following:

Position in commerce	Whites	Blacks	"Morenos"	"Pardos"	Métis	Total
Merchants:						
Men . . .	28	-	12	6	-	46
Women .	1	-	-	-	-	1
Employees in commerce:						
Men	80	10	63	42	13	208
Women. . .	8	-	8	2	-	18
Total . . .	117	10	83	50	13	273

One sees that among the merchants the majority is white; among the employees in commerce the majority is colored. This is explained by the fact that the profession of merchant is one in which the Whites predominate (1)

1. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 243.

in part because social ascent in this sector depends on financial possibilities. The informants in general could with difficulty mention the name of more than three or four colored persons having a notable position in commerce. Nevertheless, the names of some dark merchants who have occupied important offices in the Trade Association and in other important social institutions are mentioned.

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Usina]

Financially the two units--factory and plantation--are run separately. One set of books is kept for the agricultural part, and one set for the factory. The six plantations combined produced eighteen thousand tons of cane in 1950, although they had planned on twenty-three thousand. The fall in the expected harvest was due to several things. First, less new cane was planted, because of the activities of the petroleum workers who were invading the cane fields of the factory and drilling oil wells. (The first time a field is cut, the percentage of cane is higher than that obtained by cuts during the next four or five years. The same amount of land, therefore, will produce more cane if it is replanted regularly. The factory, however, deemed it wiser to be content with the older plantings for one year because of the oil workers' invasion, for newly planted cane is more subject to damage than an established field.) Second, during that year there was a serious drought which affected adversely the growth of sugar cane. There is no irrigation in the Recôncavo, and during the drought seasons which come periodically a partial crop loss nearly always occurs. In addition one entire taboleiro caught fire and burned to the ground, causing the loss of many tons of cane.

249* 451 184 249* 433 [731]

The agricultural cycle and the work on a plantation may be divided into two broad epochs, summer and winter. Summer is the busiest season, for it is harvest time and all hands are occupied, including the migrant workers. The cutters with their machetes cut an average of three to four tons a day apiece, which must be quickly loaded and carried to the factory and milled, for the longer the lapse of time between the two operations, the greater the loss of sugar content. After a field has been cut, one of two things occurs. If it is to be turned into pasture, it is fenced, and the draft animals are turned loose in it. Otherwise the leaves which were cut from the top of the plant and left lying on the ground are burned, and within a short time the roots start sending up new shoots. This old planting (soca) each year gives a decreased yield. As a rule a field is cut and burned three to four years before being turned into pasture. In the days of the old plantations, when the soil was more vigorous, cane of twelve years was considered "new cane." Now, however, the yield is so decreased by the increasing poverty of the soil that three to four years is the best, depending upon the amount of rain. During the summer, if land is prepared and there are prospects of heavy showers, "summer plantings" may be made. They are never as good as those done in the winter, for the sun frequently

249* 221 [461] [134]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

443 Local Agricultural Products - Processed
438 Farinha de mandioca (manioc flour)
Rapadura (crude sugar)
Requeijão (country cheese)
Hand-made cigars.

Non-Local Agricultural Products
Azete de dende (palm oil)
Rice
Charque (dried beef)
Spices
Fumo em corda (rope tobacco)
Animals:
Especially draft animals from the sertão
Leather.

Non-Agricultural Products
Food - dried fish
Extractive products:
Charcoal, honey, vegetable waxes
Farm equipment:
Bridles, saddles, agricultural implements--hoes, knives, etc.
Clothing:
Sandles, shoes, shirts, and trousers
Pottery and kitchen utensils
Miscellaneous cheap jewelry, plastic and wood products, patent medicines, cigarettes, straw mats, etc.

443 Those products of local agriculture which are not marketed through the feira or through specialized agencies are sold to the vendas (small general stores). In distinction to the feiras, which are confined to the villages and urban centers, vendas are found even in rural areas. These vendas are privately owned stores which sell staple foods, machetes and hoes, seed, household utensils, and a few simple luxury items, such as soap, candy, cigarettes, cigars, soft drinks, and alcoholic beverages. As would be expected, the vendas away from the urban centers carry but a limited stock of goods. There is usually a
443 452 continuing credit arrangement between the shopkeeper and the agriculturalist; most of the harvest of basic crops is pledged in advance against the debts of the cultivator, and frequently the crop is pledged even before it is planted. In many cases the shopkeeper is the agent for the tobacco buyer, in whose name the necessary credit is advanced.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

443 Many shopkeepers are also land owners, and their tenants as a matter
[452] of course are also their customers and their debtors. The livestock
[427] raised by the agriculturalist may be sold on the hoof at the feira or taken to the matadouro municipal (municipal slaughter house). The meat is sold either at the slaughter house or at the feira.

In the larger centers the market tends to last throughout the week. In the medium-sized centers there are a few offerings each morning, and often there is a small feira in the middle of the week. Some major cities, such as Cachoeira, Feira de Santana, Santo Amaro, and Salvador, have source areas larger than their municípios. For
[489] example, the market at Feira de Santana invariably draws scores of
[494] trucks, each laden with people and produce, from places as distant as Cruz das Almas, Ipirá, Serrinha, and Santo Amaro. The most important general market in the Recôncavo is the Saturday feira at Agua de Meninos
[505] in Salvador. This market is located on the low-lying tidal flats beside the Bay, and many of the agricultural products which are sold
[489] here are brought by sailing boats. Trucks, carts, streetcars, trains,
[494] and pack animals are also used to transport produce to this market. It is here that a very large portion of Salvador's population purchases the agricultural products of the Recôncavo. This market is also the source of supply of the street vendors who hawk fruits and vegetables through the streets of the city. Salvador also has a smaller central market--the Mercado Modelo--and a number of minor neighborhood markets which usually are open for part of each day.

442 The campo de gado (cattle fair) at Feira de Santana is the only
443 important specialized public market in the Recôncavo; and, as has been
233 seen, it plays a very critical role in the agricultural economy of the region and of the state. On Monday mornings thousands of cattle change hands in the pens and weighing compounds at this fair.[1] Because the

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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their properties to the expanding usinas. This same process is taking place in most sugar areas of Brazil.

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The marketing of tobacco centers on one key figure—the agent. With the resources of the tobacco company he extends direct credit to the larger tobacco producers and indirect credit to the small producers via his buyer, who is generally a local shopkeeper. The company grants a specified sum of money to each agent at the beginning of the season, and he disburses this at his own discretion. Bad debts are charged against the company rather than the agent. Most of the tobacco crop is pledged to the buyers in advance, by meahs of a formal contract or an informal agreement which specifies the price, quantity, and quality of the leaf to be delivered. Most of these contracts are entered into in order to secure credit; there are few agriculturalists who could produce tobacco without first receiving credit. There is much opportunity for speculation within the framework of this marketing system. Those buyers who are shopkeepers have in stock the supplies which the cultivator needs. The shopkeeper delivers the goods needed by the cultivator and retains the money which has been advanced by the agent. Since most of the stock of the buyer--storekeeper--has been purchased on credit, he may accumulate a considerable sum in cash or bills of exchange. Speculation is an acknowledged feature of the marketing of tobacco in Bahia, and in many cases the buyer uses the credit advanced by the agent for speculation in the tobacco crop. He does this by extending credit against the tobacco crop of cultivators who are not included in the normal relationships with the agent. Sometimes these debtors are unable to liquidate their debt, and the buyer is caught short. In this event he can use his position as the agent's representative and as a local economic power to recoup, at least partially, by forcing the price upward or through the substitution of cheaper leaf

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 in meeting his contract with the agent. The result of this and other
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438 speculative practices is that the price of tobacco tends to spiral upwards
452 throughout the season.
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The crop is delivered to the buyer in small lots--10 to 15 kilo-
249 grams--which are assembled, graded, and baled. The bales are taken to
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438 the warehouse of the agent where they are added to other bales to form
442 a large pile in which fermentation can take place. After fermentation the bales are broken, and the leaf is re-sorted. With the better grades the sorting is done very carefully, and a large number of size and texture grades are separated. Intermediate grades are sorted less carefully, often by bundles rather than by individual leaves. The poorest grades are stripped without grading. After sorting or stripping, the leaf is again placed in bales and kept in the warehouse until transport can be arranged to deliver the tobacco to Salvador or to the cigar factories.

249 Most of the tobacco produced in the Recôncavo is exported. In the
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439 years 1946 to 1950, inclusive, 166,676 tons of leaf tobacco were produced in Bahia and 128,567 tons were exported, so that about 75 per cent of the total crop of the state was exported.[2] However, the exported leaf is made up of the choice tobaccos, that is "Mata Fina," which are largely grown in the Recôncavo. It may be concluded from this that at least four-fifths of the tobacco crop of the Recôncavo was exported during this years. Tobacco exported from the Recôncavo normally composes 70 per cent of all the tobacco exported from Brazil. In value, the tobacco exported from the Recôncavo was less than 1 per cent of the total exports of all products from Brazil.[3]

482 Transportation. The backs of men and of animals are the basic
492
489 transportation media in the Recôncavo: almost all goods begin and end

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 31 [134] Commercial sugar cane cultivation is confined to the humid Coastal Plain areas with Cretaceous clay soils, except for a small area in São Filipe. Since the areas of Cretaceous clay soils are limited and compact, sugar cane production is highly localized in two areas: (1) the main sugar cane area in the municípios of Santo Amaro, São Francisco, and São Sebastião; and (2) a smaller area north of the Bacia do Iguape in the município of Cachoeira. There is a third area of less intensive production in southern São Filipe.

249 244 [433] The sole purpose of cultivation in the sugar cane area is the production of a commercial product, but the areas of tobacco-manioc cultivation produce both a staple food and a commodity for sale outside the region. Most of the tobacco and manioc of the Recôncavo are produced under a land rotation system in which the sequence is: (1) tobacco; (2) manioc; and (3) fallow in wild vegetation. The tobacco is planted in small fields, usually after an application of manure. The entire plant is harvested repeatedly until it will no longer produce a salable leaf. Manioc is planted following tobacco, sometimes several times, until the field is exhausted and abandoned to the second growth. The fallow period is frequently short, sometimes as little as one year. Cultivation is entirely by hand--no plows are used. There is very little selection of seed, and only one variety of tobacco--Bahia Brasil--is [423] [427] produced. Tobacco and manioc are produced almost exclusively by small cultivators who are either owners or renters. Frequently livestock [231] [233] are raised upon the properties of the cultivators, but except for the use of manure in the cultivation of tobacco, there is little integration of crop and livestock production. The leaf is harvested, dried, 276 and partially fermented by the cultivator. The marketing of tobacco 276 438 is inseparable from the credit arrangement between the cultivator and [452] [488] the tobacco buyer or agent. The leaf is delivered by the producer to the storekeeper-buyer or the local tobacco warehouse.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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BB 241 231 233 In the surrounding sertão livestock production is the areally and, in many cases, economically dominant activity; the Recôncavo is primarily a region of crop cultivation.

BB 43 443 The Recôncavo is a functional unit in the economic organization of commercial agriculture and marketing. Salvador, with one-third of BB the people of the region, is the primary market center. The credit [249] [452] essential to the production of tobacco passes from the city to the countryside, while the leaf is either shipped to the city for export or is sent BB [249] to local cigar factories controlled by Salvador companies. Similarly, the headquarters of the sugar industry and the chief market for its products is Salvador. Feira de Santana is also a functional center for the region, since in its markets the agricultural and industrial products which either originate in the Recôncavo or are imported through Salvador are exchanged for the livestock, crops, and extractive products of the sertão.

B BB 241 Many of the features of the agricultural system of the Recôncavo are also characteristic of Brazil. Both the land rotation system and the permanent monoculture are basic Brazilian agricultural systems. Agricultural technology, in the Recôncavo and in most parts of Brazil, B BB is relatively backward. Brazilian agriculture is labor extravagant, [464] and there is a constant falta de braços, but with few attempts at mechanization. Agriculture is highly speculative, whether tobacco in B BB the Recôncavo or coffee in São Paulo. The large property—latifundia-- [423] [565] and the class organization with which it is associated are important in the region and in the country as a whole. There are large numbers of semi-dependent small cultivators in the Recôncavo as in other parts of Brazil. Both the region and the nation are very dependent upon the sale of agricultural products to distant markets.

who walks about with a huge round basket on his head crying, "Pão, pão." 444 256

Dona Carmen's husband, Damião, is also a storekeeper. His store is in the downhill part of town, near the fishermen. The two stores are run separately, and the couple are doing well financially. In addition to his store, Damião also owns several canoes and fish nets which he rents to fishermen. He is the only storekeeper in town who gives credit to people who cannot pay immediately, allowing bills to run many months and even more than a year. He also allows his customers to borrow money in order to buy things outside his store--for instance fish, which he does not handle. He does not charge interest on these loans, nor seemingly make any demands on those who borrow. On the other hand the borrowers feel a sort of loyalty toward him and do not forget their debts, which they eventually manage to pay. 441 463 [444] [427] [452] [426]

Three of the smallest stores are owned and operated by women, whose husbands have set them up in business in a small way in order, as one put it, to "give my wife something to do." It is considered desirable for a woman to operate a store and it is usually the beginning of something larger, for later, whenever possible, the husband will stop his own work and help operate the store. In the case of the smaller stores the owner generally lives in the same building, either alongside the store or behind it. The larger storekeepers, however, usually have separate houses. At night they lock up the stores, which are sometimes guarded by dogs or even by the cashiers who sleep there. The storekeepers are usually asked for donations to the church at the time of any special festivals, and generally become politically active after they become established in business. 441 444 463 [562] [431] [66]

The stock in most of the stores is pretty much the same, varying in amount rather than diversity: drinks (rum and soft drinks), dried meat (the staple meat of the population), cereals, cigars, cigarettes, estivas (which include beans, rice, and farina, the three great staples of the local diet), as well as coffee, palm oil (azeite de dendê), vinegar, olive oil, garlic, onions, wooden sandals, condensed and powdered milk, salt, sugar, miudezas (small items such as matches and ribbons), toilet articles and laundry soaps, blueing agents and starch, grass mats, kerosene, and in one store aluminum kitchenware which is not sold very often, as well as nails, wire, screws, and wrapping paper and cord. One store in the 443

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change. New faces and basically different relationships prevail at Usina São Pedro. [466]

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Another change, but this time in tune with the past, was an increase of capital, applied to the improvement of the factory. 249*
The capacity of the mill has been greatly enlarged. However, 433
the agricultural part of the combination continues as it did before, with no innovations. The result is that the factory is [471]
able to mill and produce sugar much more quickly than it can be supplied with sugar cane. The hierarchical aspect of the [466]
factory as earlier diagrammed remains the same, and each plantation is still run as a separate unit.

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In contrast, the private plantation in the community of Vila Recôncavo has undergone relatively little change in these five 249*
years. Always the most conservative element in the Recôncavo, [466]
the private plantation continues to retain its distinguishing feature: the personal, face-to-face, paternalistic owner-worker relations. The hierarchical pattern remains the same. Operations are still basically hand- and animal-powered, but pri- 178
vate planters are slowly introducing mechanization in certain 249*
aspects of the process, especially that of transportation; 461
trucks and tractor-drawn wagons carry cane from the fields [492]
to the factory. Tractors and mechanical plows are used to an [493]
increasingly large extent in the preparation of the soil, and [407]
mechanical cultivators are already in use on some plantations. However, the bulk of the work is still done by hand, [492]
and traction is supplied by oxen and mules. As yet no me- [407]
chanical loaders, ditch-diggers, or planters have appeared, [242]
and little use is made of fertilization or herbicides. Few scientific agricultural practices are in use. The planter is still first and foremost a "practical" man.

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Relations between the factory and the private plantations have also undergone considerable change, in both business 249*
and social aspects. The new managers of the factory have 571
succeeded in almost completely alienating the private planters who supply them with sugar cane. Not only the members of the extended Conde family, but also other cane suppliers resented the highhanded, brusque methods of the new managers. Wishing to break completely with the past, the new managers instituted several new policies in relations with the cane sup- [443]
pliers. Formerly the private suppliers bought sugar by the [452]
sack, bought their supplies at the company store, and had their machines repaired at the company workshops, paying [407]
for such services at the end of the harvest season. The sup-

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*249 pliers were presented with accounts showing how much cane
571 had been sent to the mill, the price, how much the factory had
paid the bank on the supplier's loans, how much had been ad-
• 452 vanced the supplier for his cane, and how much was still owed
407 the supplier, discounting the costs of services received from
the factory facilities. This has been traditional practice, not
only at Usina São Pedro, but also at the other factories of the
178 area. Now, however, Usina São Pedro expects to receive
cash at the moment of the transaction for each such service
*249 the supplier receives. In addition, the factory has gradually
571 cut down on the number of services it offers the suppliers.
This has been particularly serious regarding services of the
407 mechanics, as the private suppliers have no other source of
437 repair for their machines except in the city; taking them into
the city costs a great deal of time and is more expensive than
were the services performed by the factory mechanics.

178 The new managers at first charged an automatic discount
*249 upon the cane tonnage supplied by each private plantation. This
571 resulted in a considerable loss of money at the end of the year
for each private supplier, thereby straining even more the
432 relations which daily were becoming more and more disagree-
able. Any question of scale and tonnage is a touchy one for
private planters, who sell their cane by the weight. The dis-
[656] count charged on general principles by the factory was so
serious a matter that several of the private suppliers united
and called the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol to their defense
and succeeded in correcting the situation. This was a "first"
for Usina São Pedro, where such a thing had never before
happened, and where such a recourse is considered an ex-
treme.

178 Social relationships between the private planters and the
*249 managers of the factory are almost nonexistent. Whereas a
571 few years ago the factory was the central gathering point for
the social life of the planters of the area, it is now a place to
be avoided. In addition to making working conditions difficult,
the new managers and their families are "outsiders" in this
small, closed plantation society, with different backgrounds
and manners. As a result of the new conditions, the private
planters are spending more time on their plantations than be-
fore, but their social life rotates from one plantation to an-
other, skipping the factory nucleus. This pattern is also re-
flected in the activities of the resident workers, who are up-
set at the treatment shown to the older employees of the fac-

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

tory and its fields, and who are slowly drifting away from visiting the factory nucleus. 178 249* 571

An overall result of the new conditions between private planters and the factory is a desire on the part of the suppliers of São Pedro to become independent of this outlet. Several of the suppliers are shifting their cane to other neighboring factories, when this is convenient. Most of them are seriously considering shifting to another crop, as will be described below; in fact a goodly proportion of land has already been taken out of sugar-cane production, thus diminishing future cane harvests and endangering the cane supply of Usina São Pedro. [311]

What was formerly a peaceful, "all in the family," almost preservelike area has become an area of tensions and of poor business, and social, relations. The situation has all the possibilities of a traditional sugar-cane kind of land capture. The factory needs land in order to produce more cane so that the mill can operate at capacity. No one is willing to sell to the factory, nor even to supply as much cane as he might under other conditions. But the private planters are dependent upon the factory, economically and for services. Therefore it is an easy matter for the factory to make difficulties for the individual planter, even gradually forcing him into failure, since the planter operates on credit and has little latitude for even a single crop failure. Such a failure gives the factory an opportunity to acquire badly needed lands at a bargain. [452] [425]

The sugar industry in the community of Vila Recôncavo has also undergone changes in the labor aspects, in line with the entire industry. As was pointed out in Chapter 4, the price of the sugar cane and the sugar is artificially regulated, and has been rising slowly over a period of years. However, nationwide social legislation in the past three years has raised the wages of the workers annually, before the price increases were granted by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol. Spiraling inflation has also helped raise all the costs, of labor, of materials, and of machinery. Whereas prices for the task done have always been fairly well regulated, they have recently become a very strong issue, and there is much worker discontent. The planter, whether private or corporate, is more than ever interested in holding down the costs of his labor supply, since other costs, particularly of machinery and repairs, are soaring, always narrowing the margin between the total cost of production and the established selling price. 178 249* 43 [656] [458] [466]

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position of the sugar industry in Vila Recôncavo, is creating considerable interest on the part of the community's planters. Just as sugar cane is limited by soil and climatic conditions, so also is the cacao. There is little fear, therefore, of competition from many other areas. In addition, cacao is exportable, while the sugar of the area is for internal consumption only.

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In spite of the attraction of this new crop, there are a number of problems which must be dealt with. First, the details of a change from sugar cane to cacao must be worked out, especially as regards space and financing. The planter must juggle his sugar plantings, pastures, and rotation lands so that he can slowly take out land for preparation for cacao. If he wants to finance the changeover himself, he cannot lessen his sugar production; in fact, he needs more money than before. Banks in general lend on the forthcoming crop; if the crop is reduced, so is the amount which can be borrowed. However, to overcome this, the Institute of Cacao of Bahia is preparing a financing program on a long-term basis. Sugar cane is a perennial, planted one year, bearing for the next three or four years, then ploughed under and replanted. Cacao, on the other hand, is a permanent tree crop which gives its first fruit in five years, reaches maturity in fifteen or twenty years, and then continues to produce annually for sixty to one hundred years. Thus sugar cane is financed on a one-year basis, while initial plantings of cacao must be financed on a long-term basis of ten to fifteen years. The change from a perennial crop to a permanent crop also requires a totally different mental set on the part of the planter.

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Cacao is a "forest crop," which means that it requires shading. Under primitive conditions it is planted in dense tropical forest. In Vila Recôncavo, however, the former tropical forest has been entirely cleared away during the last four hundred years, since sugar cane tolerates no shade. Therefore, before the cacao can be planted, shade must be provided. This is done by planting banana trees and, at fixed intervals, single seedlings of a precocious, long-living, high-growing shade tree. To pay for the work involved it is common to plant manioc between the banana trees. The manioc is gathered the following year, and shortly thereafter the young cacao trees can be planted. The banana trees offer sufficient shade for the young plants. For a period of five or six years the planter

[SALVADOR]

/48 cont./

*563 441 472 829 A fact known in Bahia is that during one of the two world wars an important German firm transferred the responsibility for its warehouses to one of its employees, a moreno, who had always been its confidential agent and who proved in this situation that he was really faithful by subsequently loyally returning the goods that had been entrusted to him. A mulatto merchant, [452] owner of a warehouse, recalls that German firms helped small Brazilian merchants a great deal, no matter what their physical characteristics were, by granting them credit facilities. "It was [464] in this way that this firm developed, with the help of Germans," he says, "at the time when the large Portuguese firms, formerly the most important, did not offer any facilities to colored people and did not even allow them to work in their offices." The ownership of firms was almost always transferred by the familial route [581] by means of marriages between the most capable employees and the daughters of owners and associates, which explains why the management of these firms always remained with the Portuguese and their descendants. One and the same firm could, moreover, in certain cases give birth to two or three other firms of the same structure, thanks to the competence of the owners' sons, who, with the aid of their parents, set themselves up on their own.

*563 441 472 871 555 A wealthy contractor thinks that it is owing to his black color that he did not progress in the modest employment that he had in an important commercial firm. In order to advance, he says, he was obliged to give up commerce and devote himself to jobs as a contractor. It is evident that the stagnation of some employees in occupations of little importance arises, in the majority of cases, from their incompetence, it being a fact that in Bahia, even today, but especially in the very recent past, the /Figs. 5 and 6 appear here/ /49/ young men who intended to go into commerce had not completed secondary studies, or showed themselves [464] incapable of continuing them. This situation is tending to improve, but the majority of minor employees is still made up of young colored men coming from poor families and from a very low level of education. These young people therefore have only minimal possibilities for elevating themselves in careers where success depends a great deal either on the importance of capital invested or on administrative knowledge.

[SALVADOR]

*563 /50 cont./
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464 "In the banks dark individuals can no longer have careers," say our informants. In an important national bank, according to some, Blacks or very pigmented mulattoes are not admitted; in the branches that this bank has in the city colored employees are few, and these in any case are very light. This selection occurs in the competition for admission, the candidates of dark color being examined with great strictness. In other banking establishments one notes a less marked discrimination. Although /51/ the directors and the managers of the local banks are all white, more or less finos, several employees of mixed blood are accepted there. In the offices of two of these banks one counts 13 light mulattoes and morenos, two dark mulattoes, and 21 Whites. But access to the offices of the directorship or management is very difficult, because these organizations, aside from the fact that they constitute in a certain sense traditional enterprises of some families, demand that one have at his disposal deposited capital, in the form of shares, in the companies managed by the banks, which is difficult for young colored men."

A public official therefore had valid reasons for saying that "the colored people occupy few positions in commerce."

/52/ Politics

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[884] Every Brazilian who has reached the age of 21 may be registered as a voter, provided that he can read and write and that he is engaged in a lawful occupation. His physical type is of no importance: the law does not make any distinction and the officials in charge of voting questions do not make any difficulties about registering colored persons of either sex. Everyone may thus enjoy the right to vote and to be elected.

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*563 The number of voters in the State of Bahia is 875,000, in the city itself 139,000, a large proportion of which is colored people. And the number of the latter is increasing rapidly, for the social ascent of the proletarian masses in Brazil comes about by the acquisition of economic advantages and guarantees, but also and above all by the prize of political awareness and by access
000 to civic rights. From this point of view politics is in the process

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 was Negro. Other estimates state that less than one-third of the
563 people were slaves.[34]
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175 Table IV, below, illustrates the economic organization of the
249 sugar industry in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.
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TABLE IV

TOTAL CAPITAL INVESTMENT IN SUGAR ENGENHOS OF BAHIA IN 1833

	In U. S. Dollars*	
	Per Unit	Total Investment
603 mills	$2,500	$1,507,500
48,240 slaves	150	7,236,000
60,300 oxen	20	904,500
23,100 horses	20	464,500
78,800 ha. of agric. land	46 (approx)	3,618,000
38,528 ha. of forest	23 (approx)	884,000
47 steam engines	3,000	141,000
62 water canals	3,000	186,000
Improvements of each mill	2,000	1,206,000
Total in Bahia		$16,147,500

*Conversion at $500 per thousand of reis, after Calogeras, p. 47 in footnote.
Source: Amaral, II, 84 after the Marquez de Abrantes.

The usefulness of the above data is limited by the ambiguity of several of its categories. "Agricultural land" could be either land cultivated or cultivable. The most serious problem of interpretation is the meaning of "improvements," since the value of these improvements is relatively high. It is reasonably certain, from the nature of the engenho, that these improvements are not technological advances but only those simple measures necessary to maintain the traditional structure--warehouses, corrals, slave quarters, etc. If the value of the house of the senhor de engenho is included in this figure, this would help to account for the relatively high figure for improvements.

Nevertheless, the data do represent certain significant elements of the mid-nineteenth century sugar cane system of the Recôncavo. Almost

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 45 per cent of the total investment was in slaves--labor costs, always
249 high, had been driven up by the suppression of the slave trade. The
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454 relatively small proportion of steam mills is at once a reflection of the continuing primitive technology and a sign of the improvements which were to come later in the century. The value of production for
[433] this year was $1,213,000--a return of 6.6 per cent on the capital investment.[35]

175 While the attention of the Baiano was focused on the sugar
249 industry during this golden age, tobacco unobtrusively was becoming
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439 a primary commercial product. The suppression of the slave trade deprived tobacco of its African market, but at the same time the European market was expanding. The spread of cigar smoking in Europe created an increasing demand for Bahian leaf. Ultimately the European demand for quality leaf and the development of a Brazilian market for the poorer grades were to carry tobacco to the leading position among Bahia's commercial products.

175 To a very large degree, the mold of the colonial Recôncavo was
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249 fixed in the sixteenth century. Its socio-economic system was nurtured by the prosperous semi-monopoly of sugar production. While the south
[565] of Brazil was a raw frontier zone of migratory agricultural adventurers, the Paulistas (natives of São Paulo) of early colonial times,[36] a stable and wealthy aristocratic society was developing in the Recôncavo. In
[477] the early eighteenth century, when West Indies competition undermined the sugar monopoly, the Recôncavo might have responded creatively to the challenge, but failed to do so. The simultaneous mineral boom in Minas Gerais drained away the more experimental elements and left behind those who were less adventurous. Yet before the denial of markets had disrupted entirely the old economic and cultural pattern, the late eighteenth-early nineteenth century resurgence reaffirmed

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

245 [311] Most coconuts are grown on moderate-sized plantations along the beaches, in sands, or occasionally in sandy loams. North of Salvador they are grown on dunes and beaches and, back from the sea, in sandy stream valleys where the supply of ground water is generous. There seems to be little selection in choosing coconuts for reproduction. Usually the nuts are planted eight meters or so apart, with a pile of organic trash over and around the nut to provide some additional fertility and to hold the moisture necessary for germination. The sprout must be protected from foraging animals, but once growth is well started, the tree receives little attention and no fertilization.

[433] Yields are moderate to low, from 15 to 40 per tree. Apparently the yields per tree are substantially higher (double) in the Bay area--Itaparica and Caramassari--than in the area farther north--Mata de São João and Esplanada. In the Bay area the nuts are usually sold in the markets [443] of Salvador without processing.

241 178 Conclusion. The basic determinant of cultivation practices in the Recôncavo is custom. This is probably less true of the cultivation of sugar than of other crops, but the weight of tradition is heavy upon all agricultural enterprises. It may be said that many relatively [454] primitive agricultural practices survive because of ignorance of newer techniques and because of a lack of capital for investment in new tools, in machinery, in better seed, and in permanent land improvement. The importance of these factors in limiting change in Recôncavo agriculture, particularly as general factors operating indirectly upon individual cultivators and individual farms is not to be denied.

However, when the individual cultivator--sugar planter or tobacco share-cropper--is given an opportunity, in the form of new techniques and the necessary capital, to change and improve his operations and

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

258 but also because the manioc roots are too heavy and bulky to be trans-
[438] ported over long distances. Moreover, the market for farinha de mandioca
is generally local, except in the Southwestern Recôncavo.

258 The capital investment in a casa de farinha is small, usually
471 less than one hundred dollars, but this sum is far beyond the reach of
[454] most cultivators. The mills are built by owners of medium-sized land
holdings or local merchants, and are operated on a share basis. The
mill owner usually receives one-tenth of the finished product in exchange
[427] for the use of the mill equipment. The customer rents the equipment
[464] rather than the service and must therefore provide the labor, although
[592] the owner usually furnishes one or two workers. Generally the processing
[462] of manioc is a family operation in which the women and girls scrape the
roots and the men and boys perform the more arduous tasks.

277 Most of the tobacco which is grown in the Recôncavo is exported
[439] in the form of leaf. Therefore, the processing of tobacco is less
important in relation to the cultivation of tobacco than is the processing
of manioc and sugar in relation to their respective cultivation. The
leaf tobacco which is retained in the area is made into cigars in home
industries and in a number of cigar factories. The home-produced cigars
are made by tobacco cultivators and small-scale processors in the
villages, towns, and cities of the region. These cigars are generally
[443] very cheap and are sold in the local mercado (market) or in small
vendas (shops). It is difficult to assess the total importance of
this form of processing, but it seems likely that the number of cigars
so made is extremely large.

277 The cigar factories of the Recôncavo are located in the cidades
of São Gonçalo, Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, and Maragogipe. Each of the
[464] factories employs from 100 to 200 workers, usually women from the
surrounding area. Machines are used to produce the cheaper grades;

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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and that the sudden liberation of large numbers of subjected blacks would subvert public order gradually melted away as the numbers of emancipated Negroes increased and these freedmen gave evidence of their ability and willingness to become an orderly part of the free population and to labor as effectively, if not more effectively, for wages as when impelled by physical force.

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The free people of color (who by 1872 largely outnumbered the slaves)[97] were, Southey says, "an industrious and useful part of the population: most of the maize, manioc and pulse, with which the towns were supplied, was raised by them upon small pieces of ground, which they rented of the great proprietors at a low rate."[98] Freedmen were also employed as laborers on the large estates, where they lived as squatters on the land of their employers, erecting mud and palm-leaf huts for their families, and looking to the planter for protection from any who would do them harm.[99] In the towns they were employed principally as artisans, porters, messengers, barbers, street merchants and small shopkeep-

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[97] Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

[98] Southey, *op. cit.*, III, 787. Cf. also: "The masters who freed slaves often gave them, with their liberty, a piece of land to insure their subsistence. The Negroes who have inherited these small holdings are to-day (1911) the best element of the black agricultural population" (Pierre Denis, *Brasil*, trans. from the French by Bernard Miall [New York, 1911], p. 322).

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[99] Koster writes: "The Negroes in my possession could not perform what ought to be done in proper time; and therefore I collected free laborers for the purpose, and in a short period between thirty and forty men, some of whom brought their families, removed on to the lands of the plantation; and most of them erected hovels of palm-leaves, in which they dwelt; but a few of them were accommodated with huts of mud. . . . . Many of these fellows would have committed almost any crime under the impression that my protection would screen them" (*op. cit.*, I, 295, 297).

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4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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ers; some of them accumulated considerable sums of money. Occasionally, as we have noted, they owned slaves[100] or invested their savings in the slave trade, sending money, arms, and trade goods to some convenient individual in Africa to "get up raids in their old homes or amongst neighboring tribes."[101] In Minas Geraes free black laborers came to own mines like Encardideira and Palacio Velho.[102] In Bahia they maintained their own regiment,[103] fraternal orders, and religious brotherhoods, each limited in membership exclusively to Negroes of pure African descent.[104] Many made sustained efforts to educate their children, and a few even had sons in the priesthood who, since the bishops of Brazil did not confer them, took their orders in São Thomé.[105]

But the free Negro, in competition with the European

[100] Walsh, a visitor to Brazil in the early nineteenth century, writes: "Next came an old free Negro woman, with a young slave of her own sex and color carrying her bundle. . . . . Her young slave was her only property, and she made a good livelihood by hiring her out as a beast of burden, to whoever wanted her, and for whatever purpose" (*op. cit.*, II, 18).

[101] Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

[102] Gilberto Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos* (São Paulo, 1936), p. 73.

[103] "There are two of these regiments for the province of Pernambuco . . . distinguished from each other by the names Old Henriques and New Henriques. . . . . I have seen some portion of one of these regiments, in Recife. . . . . They were dressed in white cloth uniforms, turned up with scarlet: and they looked very soldier-like. They were in tolerable discipline. . . . . They acted with an appearance of zeal and the desire of excelling. Those of which I speak formed a finer body of men than any other soldiers which I had an opportunity of seeing in that country. . . . . These men receive no pay, so that their neat appearance on such occasions bespeaks a certain degree of wealth among them" (Koster, *op. cit.*, II, 182-83).

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[104] See, in this connection, *Compromisso da Irmandade do Senhor Bom Jesus das Necessidades e Redempção* (Bahia, 1929); Joventino Silvino da Costa, *Relatorio da Sociedade Protectora dos Desvalidos, 1832-1932* (Bahia, 1934).

[105] Affonso de E. Taunay, *Na Bahia de João VI* (Bahia, 1928), p. 173.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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their properties to the expanding usinas. This same process is taking place in most sugar areas of Brazil.

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The marketing of tobacco centers on one key figure--the agent. With the resources of the tobacco company he extends direct credit to the larger tobacco producers and indirect credit to the small producers via his buyer, who is generally a local shopkeeper. The company grants a specified sum of money to each agent at the beginning of the season, and he disburses this at his own discretion. Bad debts are charged against the company rather than the agent. Most of the tobacco crop is pledged to the buyers in advance, by meahs of a formal contract or an informal agreement which specifies the price, quantity, and quality of the leaf to be delivered. Most of these contracts are entered into in order to secure credit; there are few agriculturalists who could produce tobacco without first receiving credit. There is much opportunity for speculation within the framework of this marketing system. Those buyers who are shopkeepers have in stock the supplies which the cultivator needs. The shopkeeper delivers the goods needed by the cultivator and retains the money which has been advanced by the agent. Since most of the stock of the buyer--storekeeper--has been purchased on credit, he may accumulate a considerable sum in cash or bills of exchange. Speculation is an acknowledged feature of the marketing of tobacco in Bahia, and in many cases the buyer uses the credit advanced by the agent for speculation in the tobacco crop. He does this by extending credit against the tobacco crop of cultivators who are not included in the normal relationships with the agent. Sometimes these debtors are unable to liquidate their debt, and the buyer is caught short. In this event he can use his position as the agent's representative and as a local economic power to recoup, at least partially, by forcing the price upward or through the substitution of cheaper leaf

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 in meeting his contract with the agent. The result of this and other
442 speculative practices is that the prices of tobacco tends to spiral upwards
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452 throughout the season.
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The crop is delivered to the buyer in small lots--10 to 15 kilo-
249 grams--which are assembled, graded, and baled. The bales are taken to
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438 the warehouse of the agent where they are added to other bales to form
442 a large pile in which fermentation can take place. After fermentation the bales are broken, and the leaf is re-sorted. With the better grades the sorting is done very carefully, and a large number of size and texture grades are separated. Intermediate grades are sorted less carefully, often by bundles rather than by individual leaves. The poorest grades are stripped without grading. After sorting or stripping, the leaf is again placed in bales and kept in the warehouse until transport can be arranged to deliver the tobacco to Salvador or to the cigar factories.

249 Most of the tobacco produced in the Recôncavo is exported. In the
433 years 1946 to 1950, inclusive, 166,676 tons of leaf tobacco were produced
439 in Bahia and 128,567 tons were exported, so that about 75 per cent of the total crop of the state was exported.[2] However, the exported leaf is made up of the choice tobaccos, that is "Mata Fina," which are largely grown in the Recôncavo. It may be concluded from this that at least four-fifths of the tobacco crop of the Recôncavo was exported during this years. Tobacco exported from the Recôncavo normally composes 70 per cent of all the tobacco exported from Brazil. In value, the tobacco exported from the Recôncavo was less than 1 per cent of the total exports of all products from Brazil.[3]

482 Transportation. The backs of men and of animals are the basic
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409 transportation media in the Recôncavo: almost all goods begin and end
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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 industry than the aristocrats, as the partial rationalization of the
565 sugar system since 1900 testifies. However, the entry of even these
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571 relatively progressive and forward-looking business men into an indus-
try whose only future is that guaranteed by the protection of the gov-
ernment does not reveal a willingness either to accept short-term risks
or to make an investment in the long-term future of the Recôncavo.

175 Tobacco, as has been seen, began its history as an auxiliary of
277 the sugar cane economy. The development of the commercial tobacco
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439 economy since 1800 indicates a greater flexibility than is characteristic
[567] of the sugar industry. When the decline of the slave trade brought an
end to the African market for fumo em corda, the tobacco economy turned
277 to a new product, fumo em fôlha, and to a new market, Europe. Unlike
439 the sugar of the Recôncavo, Bahian tobacco has been able to compete
successfully in the European market against leaf imported from Cuba and
from Sumatra. Moreover, the leaf tobacco of Bahia dominates the internal
market of Brazil to a degree not equaled by the local sugar industry
for several centuries.

There are several possible explanations for the relatively
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472 greater flexibility of the tobacco economy. Several of the more promi-
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178 nent firms in the manufacturing of cigars and in the export of tobacco
have foreign origins or are owned by people of European background.
Indirectly these firms may have affected the operation of the tobacco
economy, but it is difficult to find any signs of significant changes
in the methods of cultivation. On the other hand, the tobacco industry
and trade seem to have been spared the unimaginative and inflexible
leadership which the aristocratic upper class of the Recôncavo has
given to the sugar industry.

249 Tobacco cultivation by its very nature is more flexible than
[457] the system of sugar production. Instead of the usina, which must be

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 [457] purchased in Europe at the expense of precious foreign exchange, tobacco can be processed for the trade with only a shed and a few crude presses. [489] Rather than a relatively expensive rail net to assemble the crop, tobacco can be carried by truck, small boat, or even by pack animal. More- [433] over, since the cultivation of tobacco is integrated with the production of food and is primarily an activity of small farmers, it is possible to adjust the size of the crop from year to year with a minimum sacrifice of capital investment.

277 The tobacco industry of the Recôncavo has a number of disadvantages as a base for commercial development which may be summarized as problems of: (1) land; (2) markets; and (3) system of production. 249 311 Leaf tobacco production in the Recôncavo and in the adjoining areas of Bahia is confined to a narrow belt between the humid edges of the Up- [134] lands and the dry interior of the state. An expansion toward the coast would bring tobacco first into the Intermediate Hills where the upland soils which are preferred for tobacco cultivation are of limited area and then into the humid lowlands in which the Cretaceous soils are unsuitable, apparently, for the cultivation of quality leaf tobacco [132] and in which the Tertiary soils are extremely infertile. An expansion westward would bring tobacco into an area where the precipitation in [134] most years is inadequate. The interior north of the tobacco area is dry and has very poor soils, the Tertiary upland soils. There is an [137] opportunity for the further expansion of the cultivation of tobacco toward the southwest along the forest and scrub forest boundary into a region which produces the same general type of tobacco as the Southwestern Recôncavo--the "Mata" grade. This apparently is the meaning of the increased tobacco production in Santo Antônio. It should be possible, at least as far as the soils and climate are concerned, to continue the expansion toward the southwest into the adjoining

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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ers; some of them accumulated considerable sums of money. Occasionally, as we have noted, they owned slaves[100] or invested their savings in the slave trade, sending money, arms, and trade goods to some convenient individual in Africa to "get up raids in their old homes or amongst neighboring tribes."[101] In Minas Geraes free black laborers came to own mines like Encardideira and Palacio Velho.[102] In Bahia they maintained their own regiment,[103] fraternal orders, and religious brotherhoods, each limited in membership exclusively to Negroes of pure African descent.[104] Many made sustained efforts to educate their children, and a few even had sons in the priesthood who, since the bishops of Brazil did not confer them, took their orders in São Thomé.[105]

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[100] Walsh, a visitor to Brazil in the early nineteenth century, writes: "Next came an old free Negro woman, with a young slave of her own sex and color carrying her bundle. . . . . Her young slave was her only property, and she made a good livelihood by hiring her out as a beast of burden, to whoever wanted her, and for whatever purpose" (*op. cit.*, II, 18).

[101] Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

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[104] See, in this connection, *Compromisso da Irmandade do Senhor Bom Jesus das Necessidades e Redempção* (Bahia, 1929); Joventino Silvino da Costa, *Relatorio da Sociedade Protectora dos Desvalidos, 1832-1932* (Bahia, 1934).

[105] Affonso de E. Taunay, *Na Bahia de João VI* (Bahia, 1928), p. 173.

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come to be the area of the greatest value of agricultural production in the state—Cr.$1,007,824,000, in 1948, almost three times the value of crop and livestock production in the Recôncavo, Cr.$335,000,000. The total value of livestock production in the Recôncavo is estimated to be about Cr.$60,000,000 for 1948. Although no comparable figure is available for Brazil, probably the Recôncavo had less than 1 per cent of the livestock and thus produced less than 1 per cent of the value of livestock in the nation as a whole.[1]

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The present inferior position of the Recôncavo is in part a reflection of the relative decline of the region in the nineteenth century discussed in the chapter on the evolution of the Recôncavo. However, the Recôncavo continues to lag behind in the contemporary development of Brazil. From 1944 to 1952 the total cruzeiro value of the principal crops of Brazil increased four-fold, while the value of Bahia's tobacco crop, a good indicator of the economic shifts of the Recôncavo, increased by only one-fifth despite the concurrent inflationary spiral. Even the government-stabilized sugar industry of the Recôncavo produced only three and one-half times its 1944 value. Although the above increases are more indicative of the steadily declining value of Brazilian currency than of true economic development, they are an index of the relative importance of agriculture in the Recôncavo to the national economy.

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Tobacco, sugar cane, and manioc, which occupied 70 per cent of the Recôncavo's cropland, accounted for 77 per cent of the total value of all principal crops in 1948 (Table XVI). Each of the three crops contributed at least 20 per cent of the value of all crops, while no other crop produced over 6 per cent of the total. The cruzeiro value of these principal crops, and of livestock, and their relative position within the nation has been given in Table XV, above.

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*249 time and remained high until the 1888 decree which ended slavery completely. Before this time there had already been a great deal of manumission.

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571 In fact, it is distinctive of the entire region that the relations between the whites and the slaves were relatively warm and intimate. Gilberto Freyre describes the intimacy between the moleque (little Negro boy) and the master's son as playmates, between the master's wife and her domestics, between the Negro nursemaid and her white charges, between Negroes and whites in other close relationships on these plantations. A good deal of race mixture occurred. It is still a joke in this region to say that a particular plantation owner "populated the area."

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[654] The crises through which the sugar industry passed during its four-hundred-year history are interesting and worthy of consideration. During the first fifty years of production (until early in the seventeenth century), the sugar industry prospered and expanded. It was a "period of formation, official protection, and government stimulation, during which the liberties of production, transportation, prices and commerce suffered little or no restrictions."[1] The seventeenth

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648 century, however, was full of crises, one of the greatest being the war with Holland. In 1624 the Dutch attempted to capture Bahia but were repulsed. However, they sailed along the shores of the Bay of All Saints, burning and sacking plantations and setting fire to the cane fields. In the north the Dutch succeeded in capturing Pernambuco, which they retained for twenty-four years, also engaging in the production of sugar. In 1644 the Dutch governor, Maurice of Nassau, was recalled to Holland, and the colony was left undirected. The Brazilians revolted and recaptured Pernambuco.

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[458] In 1666 there was an epidemic of smallpox in the Recôncavo which reduced the slave population and left many plantation owners without laborers. There followed a period of near-famine for some years, due to the lack of food-plant cultivation. While this situation continued, plantation masters frequently mortgaged their plantations in order to buy new

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1. J. Wanderley de Araujo Pinho, Historia de um engenho do Recôncavo, 1552-1944 (Rio de Janeiro, 1946), p. 193. The following three paragraphs are a condensation of the material contained in pp. 193-220 (author's translation).

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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slaves and equipment. Thus began a long series of mortgages which continued for several centuries. The commercial agents in the city, for the most part representatives of Portuguese companies, loaned money to the plantation owners, using the next crop as collateral. They also charged high interest rates. When the next crop did not materialize, nor the next, the plantation owners found themselves inextricably in debt. At the same time the sugar market in Portugal was lost because the sugar was arriving there in a spoiled condition due to poor transportation, a cargo at times taking two years to arrive at its destination. Furthermore, the prices of most necessities were rising, and, in addition, Portugal began to tax the colonists heavily. 175 249* 426 458

In the early 1700's there was a more prosperous phase, due to higher prices for sugar in Europe. Many plantations were reconstructed, enlarged, and modified, and new ones were built. As a result many people went into debt again. During the eighteenth century two major factors turned against the prosperity of the sugar-cane growers: competition in the European market with the French, Spanish, and British, who were now producing sugar on their Caribbean islands; and the discovery of gold in the western part of Brazil. Sugar could be shipped to Europe more rapidly from the Caribbean than from Brazil. It was subject to less spoilage, and there was also probably less governmental interference. As soon as the European market was flooded with sugar, the price fell. 175 249* 458 [426]

The discovery of gold in Minas Gerais further dislocated the sugar industry of the Recôncavo at the time when it could least afford it. The prices of slaves, metals, cloth, cattle, horses, and all the necessities of life increased. Many of the freemen who worked in the plantations in administrative capacities were enticed away to the mines by the promise of great wealth. The need for slaves at the mines was great, and traders who sold slaves preferred to sell them to the miners, who could pay cash, rather than to the plantation owners, who frequently paid in sugar. During this time there was also a serious shortage of foodstuffs, for many of the smaller farmers who normally raised food crops emigrated to Minas Gerais. 175 249* 433 458

The agriculturalists--those who planted tobacco as well as those who planted sugar--were still being pressed by high taxes. There are many letters and documents from the governing bodies of the colony, addressed to the Portuguese king, telling him of the deplorable situation in which sugar planters 175 249* 458 648 651

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*249 found themselves, with no food, their slaves dying, the price
•458 of sugar falling, the markets lost, and, especially, overbur-
648 dening taxes. Most of the documents which remain are pessi-
651 mistic ones, for during the times of prosperity little was writ-
ten. At any rate, late in the eighteenth century some measures were taken to lighten the burden of taxation and to provide better means of transportation to Europe than the irregular system of fleets which were frequently spaced two and three years apart. As a result, many plantation owners took heart and applied themselves again to the raising of sugar cane. They were further aided by an increasing market in Europe, which finally became almost entirely theirs at the turn of the century, as a result of the European wars.

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*249 By the end of the Napoleonic wars sugar production was at
458 its best, and Bahia was once again experiencing a pleasurable
669 prosperity. However, 1822 brought the War of Independence,
[731] much of it fought in the Recôncavo. The war was supported to a great extent by the plantation masters, both financially and physically. Although they gained a great deal of prestige, they lost two harvests, and their exports fell off greatly. It took them some time to recuperate, and in 1855 they suffered another violent blow, an epidemic of cholera.

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*249 An indication of the difficulties caused by the epidemic is
458 given in the following passage, translated from a document in
731 the inventory of the Baron of Caju made upon the death of his wife, a victim of cholera:

> The family was in a good state of animation and prosperity in 1855, when the fatal epidemic of cholera morbus wasted this Province, invading the home of the Inventoried and causing him horrible damages and enormous losses! The Baroness fell victim to this voracious scourge! Eighty-two of the most valuable and useful slaves had the same fate; the best expediencies, treatment, and vigilant care were of no effect! Almost the entire harvest of this fatal year was lost in the complete absence of field hands, for the number not stricken was small, and the others, convalescents, were truly specters! The harvests of 1856 and 1857 also suffered.

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175 Soon afterwards a new phase began when the Civil War
*249 started in the United States, sending up the price of sugar
[458] and increasing the market. Some years after this a disease
[731]

226 men say that the fish are leaving, while others say there are
43 just as many as ever. It is a difficult thing to prove one way or the other, for written records of the annual catches are only recent. However, there is no such thing as being unable to sell the fish they bring in. Many people in town have increased their consumption of fresh fish as a result of inflation, for it is less expensive than dried or fresh meat. The fishermen themselves eat a great deal of fish, always keeping enough out of a catch for their own family. The planters of the rural area complain that the fresh fish never arrive at the plantations any more as they did in the past. This is probably due to the icehouse in the town. The fishermen sell first to their "usual customers," the women who work with xangô and shrimp; what is left is sold to the icehouse to be packed and shipped to Bahia, rather than being sent out to the country.

226 The jereré, a small basketlike net built around an iron ring 1 1/2 feet in circumference, is used by women and children along the shore and is part of a subsistence activity. It catches only a small crab (siri), an occasional eel, and other small fish which are cooked for the table in the form of moqueca, a sort of stew highly seasoned with peppers and dendê oil. The tideswamps abound in a large crab called the caranguejo, which is also highly prized for the table. Children often catch these, but a man who does so is called a caranguejeiro, a derogatory term. The hunter seeks the crab by sticking his arm down into its hole, which is usually very deep, at least arm's length. As a result he is always covered with the thick black mud so typical of the tideswamps. Often a tropeiro de cima comes to the town and commissions someone to catch the crabs, which he wraps carefully in mud and leaves and carries to the northern hinterland to sell.

463 The second largest subgroup in Group 3 is composed of the
241 twenty-four gardeners (roçeiros) who are engaged in small-scale commercial farming, rather than subsistence horticulture. They live in town and have their small fields on the outskirts of Vila Recôncavo. All of these fields are located on the plantation Engenho Da Vila ("P" on map of community), and they range from one, two, or three acres in size to as many as fifteen acres, rented from the plantation at Cr$100,00
241 an acre per year. The major crops are manioc, bananas, and to a lesser extent tobacco, sugar cane for chewing (cana de chupar), corn, beans, and squash. Because there are only 265

*565 tation administration are over. In general, however, neither the children nor the parents mix with the permanent residents of Vila Recôncavo. Although as small children they may have a worker's son as a constant playmate, by the time they are teenagers this relationship has usually faded into a fond memory.

*565 The standard of living of this class is far above that of any of the other local groups. It is important to realize that be-
•458 cause of the fluctuations of the sugar market, members of this class have not always had fluid wealth at their command, while at other periods they have been undeniably wealthy. But even during a slump they have been able to raise money when necessary. One of the major reasons that planters turned to the professions was the need to assure themselves of a continued income when the sugar market falls. At such times their main activities are directed toward earning a living in the city. But at those times when sugar producing is profitable the practicing of the activities becomes a strain, and one or the other
*565 must suffer. Nevertheless, at any time these people have
511 earned enough to maintain a standard of living which compares favorably with that of the upper class in any large city. Households are complete with refrigerators, radios, and other elec-
[416] trical appliances which must be imported. Many have auto-
[207] mobiles, receive magazines from abroad, follow Parisian dress styles, take interest in international affairs, and in
[184] general lead a life of wide interests. In the rural zone their houses are much better than those of any others, often having
[357] running water, electricity, and a full range of service pro-
[166] vided by servants. Usually the household servants move from country to city with the family.

*565 Class B in the rural zone of the community is made up of plantation overseers, factory technicians, and white-collar
571 workers of the factory offices. It is almost as small as Class A, comprising about twenty adult members. As in the case of the planters, who associate with other planters outside the community, the overseers of various plantations have reunions. There is much more social contact between the overseers and the mass of workers, however, than between the planters and the workers. The planters usually know all the
[574] workers on their plantations, as well as their families; but although there is frequent visiting and chatting between the women of the two groups and between the males of the two groups, there is little basis for conversation. The planta-

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794 travagant ceremonial of the house. The fulfillment of individ-
435 ual obligations is very expensive, too much so for one person to pay for it himself. The ceremony given at the end of the year in 1950 cost the members of the house almost two thousand cruzeiros in foods, sacrificial animals, candles, kerosene for the lamps, clothing, and ornaments. Individual members spent as much as four hundred cruzeiros on their clothes and beads, in addition to contributing to the common fund, not to mention their labor in cooking and in washing and ironing all the costumes and clothes used during the ceremonies.
[434] Such large sums of money are hard to get, so the number of ceremonies per year is decreasing. Not only are the salaries
[458] of the people low and inflation high, but more and more things
[511] which were not formerly available in the area--such as movies, wrist watches, jewelry other than the beads and bracelets symbolic of the deities, perfume, and lipstick--lay claim on the people's attention and purses.

* 565 Participation in the cults is generally considered to be an
794 activity of lower-class people, and in Vila Recôncavo only
184 such people are seen dancing and carrying out their other cult obligations. Individuals of other classes, however, do participate either indirectly or secretly. Class A displays a genuine lack of knowledge about the cult activities, in spite of being brought up within sound of the drums and within sight of the outward symbols of the African and Indian deities. These people, although they speak with disdain of cultism and of the paganism involved, have a certain respect for it and usually refrain from interfering with it in any way. They maintain a type of joking relationship in regard to it with the workers who they know participate in it, but seldom if ever attend a ceremony. Ceremonies are infrequently held on family-owned plantations when the owners are present. Most of them take place on plantations run by overseers.

Class B in the town has several members who help support the cult house and indirectly participate in its activities, especially in reference to the Mother of the Waters ritual. Since education, which implies freedom from belief in cultism, is a criterion of class position, members of Class B in public denounce cultism and those who participate in it. But many of them, coming from families which participated in it, retain some belief in the cults and fear them. They do not completely cut themselves off from cultism. They participate in it secretly, sending money to the cult leader and presents to the Moth-

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tory and its fields, and who are slowly drifting away from visiting the factory nucleus.

An overall result of the new conditions between private planters and the factory is a desire on the part of the suppliers of São Pedro to become independent of this outlet. Several of the suppliers are shifting their cane to other neighboring factories, when this is convenient. Most of them are seriously considering shifting to another crop, as will be described below; in fact a goodly proportion of land has already been taken out of sugar-cane production, thus diminishing future cane harvests and endangering the cane supply of Usina São Pedro. [311]

What was formerly a peaceful, "all in the family," almost preservelike area has become an area of tensions and of poor business, and social, relations. The situation has all the possibilities of a traditional sugar-cane kind of land capture. The factory needs land in order to produce more cane so that the mill can operate at capacity. No one is willing to sell to the factory, nor even to supply as much cane as he might under other conditions. But the private planters are dependent upon the factory, economically and for services. Therefore it is an easy matter for the factory to make difficulties for the individual planter, even gradually forcing him into failure, since the planter operates on credit and has little latitude for even a single crop failure. Such a failure gives the factory an opportunity to acquire badly needed lands at a bargain. [452] [425]

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The sugar industry in the community of Vila Recôncavo has also undergone changes in the labor aspects, in line with the entire industry. As was pointed out in Chapter 4, the price of the sugar cane and the sugar is artificially regulated, and has been rising slowly over a period of years. However, nationwide social legislation in the past three years has raised the wages of the workers annually, before the price increases were granted by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol. Spiraling inflation has also helped raise all the costs, of labor, of materials, and of machinery. Whereas prices for the task done have always been fairly well regulated, they have recently become a very strong issue, and there is much worker discontent. The planter, whether private or corporate, is more than ever interested in holding down the costs of his labor supply, since other costs, particularly of machinery and repairs, are soaring, always narrowing the margin between the total cost of production and the established selling price. [656] [458] [466]

[SALVADOR]

/18 cont./

829 365 The irregularities and inadequacies of electric service in the city are attributed by many inhabitants of Bahia to what they call the "contempt of the Americans for the well-being of the people," as if the Americans were the only ones responsible for the operation of the American-Brazilian enterprise that produces electricity for the region. Everything that is or is supposed to be American otherwise enjoys great prestige. There is, however, a foreign group against which (or, more precisely, against the hidden "trust" that it represents) there exists a very strong hostility, although it manifests itself only on certain occasions. It is a matter of emigrants from Spanish Galicia, accused of exploiting the populace owing to the monopoly that they have acquired in the grocery and bakery business. At certain times when tension is particularly strong, as in 1930, and following the rapid rise of the price of commodities of prime necessity at the beginning of the last world war, the populace gave free vent to its discontent by plundering certain Spanish business establishments. But the attitude of the Bahians toward the person of these immigrants is free of lasting animosity, and marriages between the two groups are frequent. The fact remains, however, that the population attributes to the Spaniards the shortage of certain food commodities, especially bread, and it accuses these emigrants of "enriching themselves off of the misery of the people."

829 *563 578 [443] [152] [458] [579] [261]

529 *563 575 743 The recreational associations of the English, Spaniards, Syrians, and Lebanese are frequented by Brazilians. Likewise the hospitals maintained by the Portuguese and Spanish colonies are managed by Brazilian doctors and receive numerous patients from Bahia, white or colored.

795 771 798 621 The religion of the Catholic majority is traditionally much more external and ritualistic than dogmatic, the religiosity of a large number of those who call themselves "strict Catholics" being chiefly theoretical. This must have constituted a serious difficulty for the clergy; it is also a subject of astonishment for the visitor who imagines that he will come in contact with "the most Catholic of Brazilian cities." The antagonisms between religious groups are also moderate in this domain and /19/ never affect the

[SALVADOR]

/26 cont./

829 This author here alludes to the disturbances that the economy of
• 458 Bahia underwent from the time of the suppression of the slave
439 traffic and Europe's adoption of beet sugar, which brought about
175 the almost total stoppage of the importation of sugar cane, the basis of the wealth of our city.

829 As for the mulattoes, while some declare that there is not
* 563 "a chapter of our political or social history in which the remarkable personality of a métis does not glitter with particular brilliance," others, along with some praise, make strong reservations. A jurist and scholar of great repute (2)

[113]

2. Almachio Diniz, Historia racial do Brasil, São Paulo, 1934, p. 155.

considered the description of the mulatto given by an author of Bahia excellent: "The mulattoes are in general vain, intelligent, [157] and inclined toward the pleasures of life in society... They have good hearts" (3).

3. Sa Oliveira, op. cit., p. 21.

Although many people consider the Black an inferior being with regard to intelligence, almost no one questions the talent and the intellectual possibilities of the mulattoes. "If," says another economist from Bahia, "we turn toward the intellectual qualities and characteristic morals of the modern civilized man, the classic exponent of which is the European: universality of spiritual horizon, logical and systematic mind, technical gifts, tenacity and energy in the struggle for individual or social rights, and if we consider our most representative men, that is /27/ to say, our strongest personalities, we see among them many Blacks and mulattoes." And he concludes by asserting that the Afro-Brazilians are by no means inferior to the descendants of immigrants who came from more highly civilized and more purely

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

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ing a heavy cane and increasing their tonnage rather than in raising the quality of the cane. There is a movement under way to change the payment method to payment by percentage of sucrose, but it seems to be gaining little headway.[7]

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The factory of the Usina São Pedro is directed personally by two members of the Conde family, while most other factories have a paid employee, a general manager, who is the industrial counterpart of the general overseer. There are approximately eighty salaried employees in this factory, who are paid by the day and who work all year long. The factory operates from September till February--the harvest season--in two shifts of twelve hours each. During the harvest season over a hundred migrant workers are added to the payroll under the direction of the contractor, and usually work on the endless belt and in the unloading operations.

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The resident factory worker, in addition to receiving a house, also has the right to electric light and to firewood. These workers are trained in the factory, and many of them have been there for a long time. The Usina São Pedro is especially proud of the loyalty of its men, many of whom remained there during the war when they were being enticed away with higher wages by the federal government to build military installations. The Usina São Pedro has experienced no labor difficulties as have some other larger factories, which have had riots and demonstrations caused by labor unions. This is due partly to the small size of the factory, and partly to the continued atmosphere of paternalism, to which many other factories are now making a determined effort to return.

Thus paternalism stands out as one of the major factors in the complicated organizational hierarchy of plantation life. The former master is now simply the patron, but in this role he carries out almost the same functions as did the master in relation to the well-being of his slaves. The patron of today has the same ethical responsibilities toward his workmen as did the former master. In general these responsibilities include care of the workmen beyond the mere payment of a salary, such as care of the sick and the old. Paternalism today is found at its highest degree on the private, family-run plantation and at its lowest degree on the overseer-run, corpora-

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7. Jayme V. B. Machado, Industria acucareira na Bahia (Bahia, 1950).

3: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 8011 Bahia Brazilians 8011
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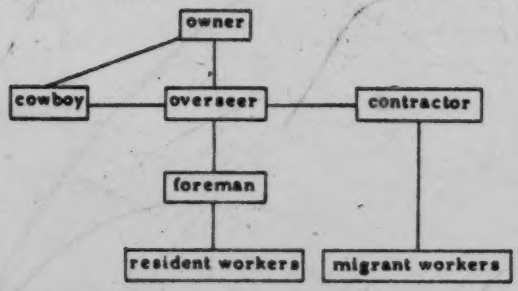

Fig. 1. Hierarchical diagram of the private plantation (Fazenda das Moças)

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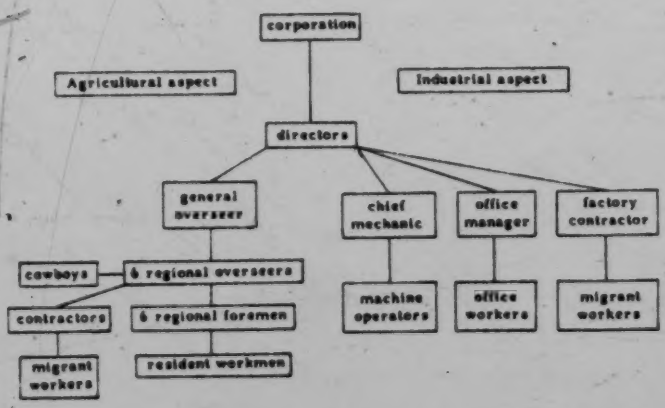

Fig. 2. Hierarchical diagram of the usina system (Usina São Pedro)

[Town Life]

Because there are only 265 acres of manioc under cultivation in the entire county, production is far below the amount of farina consumed, and it is necessary to import the milled manioc tuber which constitutes the major dietary item of the people. In 1951 a municipal law was passed prohibiting the exportation of farina. Three times during the author's stay in the town there was a pronounced lack of farina, when there was almost none to be bought and its price per liter rose from one to three cruzeiros. That year's drought was also partly responsible for the shortage. 241 43 [262] [114] [731]

Bananas are the only commercial export crop of the gardeners. There are approximately 15,000 banana trees in the county, producing for the commercial market an annual production of 177,000 arms (cachos) of bananas, providing an income of Cr$500.000,00. The fruits are sold to a middleman from Bahia who knows most of the gardeners in the area. Once a week, or every two weeks, he arrives at the town in a large sailboat to receive the fresh bananas, which he then takes to Bahia and sells. Sometimes a gardener sells an arm of bananas to a woman in town who then resells them to townspeople. Few people in town have to buy them, however, for each household has at least one banana tree in the back yard. An acre of land supports about 144 banana trees, which when well cared for produce 1,500 arms a year. The fruits are sold in cargoes of fifty arms at Cr$160,00 a cargo, so that one acre earns about Cr$5.000,00 a year. This sum is almost entirely profit, for gardeners do most of their own work, except when they have too much land for one man to take care of properly. Hired help is paid in accordance with the service performed: ten cruzeiros for cutting fifty arms of bananas, twenty for transporting them to the dock if the gardener does not have his own animals, and a hundred cruzeiros an acre for "cleaning," i.e., cutting down and burning old stalks and leaves and keeping the weeds cut down. 245 43 [442] [311] 245 46

Manioc presents a slightly different case, for the raw product must be processed before it is consumed. The manioc root from which farina is made is the poisonous variety and must be peeled and grated, pressed to remove the juice, and then toasted. The final product is a white powder, fine or coarse depending upon the type of grater used. Most of the local product is a coarse type (farinha de guerra). One of the gardeners has a flour house where the tubers are converted into flour. He mills his own manioc there and lets others use the machinery, charging them one liter of farina out of each ten they produce. 252 [427]

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571 trate and oversee most of the operations. This type of relationship
466 has proved so satisfactory that up to date there have been no strikes,
[468] and no labour movements, or unions formed among the workmen
[467] of São Pedro. The length of time the technicians and other workmen of the *usina* have remained in their employ, refusing employment in other *usinas* and other occupations, has been a matter of pride to the owners of São Pedro.

249 It is on the plantations belonging to the *usina* that the white
466 owner-*mestiço* worker personal relations are least close. The *usina*
463 owners are able to make only occasional tours of inspection of the
571 plantations, and therefore have little personal contact with the workers. However, the administrator has in many respects taken the place of the owner. He is the only man on the plantation with authority, and all complaints and requests for favours or help must be presented to him. In one case, an administrator has been on the same plantation for 26 years, and is well-known for the 'court' he holds. Once a year he gives an immense party for the entire community, and people from all four classes attend. He is wanted as godfather for the children of the workmen, and as *compadre* in their marriages. Nevertheless, the administrator is as much an employee of the *usina* as is the worker, and while the administrator can and does assume some of the attitudes and responsibilities of the owner, he cannot assume them all. However, it is a frequent saying among the white-owner class that the real owners are the administrators, for they are the group closest to the workers and to the land. A plantation with a poor administrator is not only a poor producer, but also means hardship for the *moradores*; a poor administrator will take no interest in them, and take little care of them.

249 In other areas of the Recôncavo, where the *usinas* are larger and
466 more industrialized and where no owner resides either at the *usina*
571 or on one of the plantations, but lives always in Salvador, there is only a paid representative of the corporation at the *usina*. In such large industrial units the personal element is almost entirely lacking both at the *usina* and on the company-owned plantations. There have been cases of labour difficulties, strikes, violence and the intrusion of political groups. In several instances, there are efforts today, on the owner's part to re-establish personal contact with mill and field workers, even on the largest of the corporation *usinas* and plantations.

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571 **VII.** The relations between people of different physical types in
466 Vila Recôncavo and on the surrounding sugar plantations have grown
249 out of the plantation-slave system which flourished in the region about a century ago. Many patterns and attitudes formed in that epoch persist even today in the town and on the privately-owned plantations in the vicinity.

241 178 212 satisfaction with traditional ways but also because the low level of literacy makes difficult even the presentation of new methods. The low level of literacy directly limits the media available for propagation of new ideas, and there is little consciousness of the existence of other methods in other areas. These factors restrict the intellectual horizon and reduce the tolerance for change.

241 407 As yet, mechanized agriculture is almost unknown--there are probably less than fifty tractors in the entire Recôncavo. Agricultural [242 254] machinery is confined almost exclusively to government agricultural experiment stations and extension services or to the largest sugar fazendas--in 1952-53 the tractors of the fazendas were largely unused because of the lack of new parts or general unsuitability for the tasks at hand. A very small number of agricultural workers have had any experience with agricultural machinery. The introduction of large quantities of farm equipment would raise many problems related to skill [493] and receptivity. However, the truck, bus, and jeep are omnipresent in the Recôncavo, and the number of competent drivers and mechanics is surprisingly large. Most of these mechanically skilled workers live in the cities and towns, but some are available everywhere, especially in the sugar area. In this area, too, many workers have had experience with such massive equipment as the ox-plow. Thus the introduction of tractors and their accessories into the sugar zone, the area most adapted to mechanization at the present moment, would find at least a small cadre of experienced workers available.

241 461 In addition to skills, the mode of labor and the attitude toward work are important factors in evaluating the agricultural labor force. Agricultural work in the Recôncavo tends to be a joint enterprise--it is joint effort which makes it possible to perform many heavy or arduous tasks with little mechanical assistance. On the cane plantati

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

On the cane plantations
241 462 857 the field work of planting and harvesting is done by labor gangs composed of men, women, and older children. There is some specialization: men cut the cane, women gather and pile the cane stalks and leaves, and the older children assist at these tasks and at managing the ox carts. The smaller children remain at home, where they are responsible from a very early age for some household tasks.

241 592 462 857 Outside the sugar zone the family is a basic labor unit. Men, women, and children work in the fields as required and participate in processing tobacco and manioc. To an even greater extent than is characteristic of the sugar zone the children participate in family tasks, and as soon as they can manage the hoe, they join in the field work.

• 461 [565] The upper class Baiano seldom does physical labor—to do physical work is to lower one's status. In the lower class work would seem to be approached as a somewhat unpleasant necessity which is best tackled in a cheerful and convivial atmosphere. The agricultural laborer is given to spells of extremely hard work interrupted by banter and occasional "horseplay." While the lone worker often seems rather cheerless and plodding in the field, the shouted jokes, songs, and exclamations of groups of laborers frequently resound throughout the countryside. The intermittent vigorous labor seems to be an extension of play, for there is little social evaluation of hard work for its own sake.

Despite the enthusiasm and commotion which surrounds almost any effort, the per capita productivity of the worker in the Recôncavo
461 147 is relatively modest. In part this is a result of the intermittent character of the work, but a more important factor is the limited energy of the worker. The lower class of the Recôncavo is weakened by perennial hunger, bad diet, and disease.[27]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 464 As has been shown, the 196,000 agricultural workers in the Recôncavo in 1950 formed a relatively distinct cluster within Bahia. [131] These workers were concentrated especially in an arcuate belt near the western and northern frontiers, in the sub-urban zone of the larger cities, and in the central sugar zone. They were in complex motion, the net result of which was to reduce, in the decade 1940 to 1950, the agricultural labor force in the Central Recôncavo and to increase the labor force near the cities and along the western frontier. The labor force generally is adequately skilled for the agricultural tasks of the present system, but its tolerance for new ideas is [461] limited. The agricultural workers can work cheerfully and hard, but usually do so only with frequent interruptions, and the individual level of energy is low.

162 241 464 463 Rural Population. The agricultural labor force of the Recôncavo is a functionally but not residentially distinct segment of a larger population assemblage, the rural population. Rural population, as used here, includes not only the people of the countryside but also the village and town dwellers of all settlements without industrial establishments.[28] Although this assemblage can be defined in approximate residential terms as a rural population, it is considered here primarily as a functional grouping which includes agricultural workers and elements of all other major occupational groups except industrial workers. In this overwhelmingly agricultural society the associations of the non-agricultural occupational groups of the rural area with agriculture are of primary economic importance and compelling personal interest. While most of the agricultural workers are rural in the strictest sense, living in the countryside and on the fringes of the villages, towns, and cities, many others live within the small and

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 464 "Falta de braços"--lack of labor--is a problem much discussed in the Recôncavo. The landholders, merchants, and agronomists interviewed in the region almost invariably complained of the shortage of agricul- [461] tural workers or renters. At the same time, the level of per capita productivity of most agricultural labor remains low, and, as will be seen, there have been few attempts at improvement of agricultural techniques. Neither is there any apparent trend toward higher wages or higher returns on rented properties, which might attract more people to the area. The complaints of labor shortages must be viewed in the context of the systems of production and the economic organization of agriculture, which will be discussed in the following chapters.

241 464 161 162 433 Several basic agricultural problems are prefigured in the analysis of the distribution of the population of the Recôncavo. The concentration of agricultural people in the western and northern municípios of the region corresponds, as will be shown, to a major area of agricultural production. Since this is also an area of marginal and irregular precipitation, it is almost inevitable that the level of production must be uneven and the lives of the agriculturalists unstable. The declining agricultural population of the Central Recôncavo is a symptom of the declining importance of the sugar economy, discussed previously, and of the centralization and rationalization currently under way. The alternating zones with high and low densities of population indicate the nuclear and separate character of the areas of agricultural production, detailed in the pattern of crop regions to be discussed in the chapters which follow.

3: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[The Private Plantation]

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1 new, rural school, with rooms for classes and living quarters for teacher, constructed by the state on land donated by Dona Sinhá

Value of the plantation: Cr$1,500,000,00.[3]

Equipment: 1 Caterpillar tractor, model D2
1 John Deere plow
1 jeep
2 four-wheeled, rubber-tired wagons
9 juntas of oxen (the junta equals ten oxen, eight in use and two resting)
9 two-wheeled carts drawn by oxen--the antique and most used transportation in the Recôncavo
30 burros for carrying cane
12 saddle horses
35 milk cows and breeding mares
78 cattle for breeding purposes

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The Fazenda das Moças is unusual in its possession of a tractor, a mechanical plow, and a jeep. (Even more recently a second tractor and a mechanical cultivator have been added.) More commonly the pai adão (Father Adam) plow is used, drawn by eight oxen. According to Pinho the plow was introduced into Brazil in the late eighteenth century. Before this all cultivation was done with the hoe.[4] For the past 150 years the pai adão has been used primarily to open the rows in which the sugar cane is planted. All the rest of the cultivation is done by hand, with the hoe and billhook. The pai adão is a simple plow with a single plowshare. When it is drawn by oxen, a driver is needed, plus a small boy helper and another man to manage the plow. When it is drawn by tractor, only two men are needed, the driver and the plowman. Various properties of the soil, such as its hardness in the summer when it dries, its swamplike character during the rainy season, and the danger of turning up the infertile tauá which underlies the shallow layer of massapê, have made plowing difficult in the Re-

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3. The cruzeiro (Cr$) is the Brazilian monetary unit and equals roughly five cents in United States currency. Thus the value of the plantation is approximately $75,000.00.

4. de Araujo Pinho, Historia de um engenho do Recôncavo, 1522-1944 (Rio de Janeiro, 1946), p. 243.

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

*249 463 [578] [466] the town of Vila Recôncavo. João lives in the owner's house, enjoying her confidence to a greater degree than anyone else except perhaps the overseer. This is frequently the cause of friction between the cowboy and overseer, and this fact is not helped by the fact that João is an inlander (sertanejo), a true cowboy, taciturn and independent, from the cattle country to the north of Recôncavo. When Dona Sinhá is away, he occupies a different position, subject to the orders of Seu Paulo unless Dona Sinhá has left definite instructions for him. When Dona Sinhá is present he receives orders directly from her, bypassing the overseer. João is in a position to check on much of the plantation activity, bringing to the owner's attention any necessary works forgotten by Seu Paulo.

*249 464 162 Below the owner, overseer, foreman, and cowboy are the bulk of the resident workmen (moradores). On the Fazenda das Moças, there is a population of slightly over two hundred men, women, and children, providing a working force of between sixty and seventy men and boys, plus a few women who occasionally do light work in the fields.

*249 • 46 465 Below is an extract from one of the fortnightly pay sheets of the plantation. A brief explanation of the list, beginning at the top, will give a good idea of at least a part of the work on a plantation in this community. The "second weeding of a cane field" indicates that the man worked in a field which had already been weeded once since planting. Depending upon the amount of sunshine and rain and the quality of the weeding done, a field may have to be weeded as many as seven times between harvests. A cane field (taboleiro) varies from ten to twenty tarefas, and each field is numbered. Seu Paulo can therefore assign a man to weed a certain field, and they will both know whether it is the first, second, third, or other weeding. The weedings become progressively more difficult so that the amount paid per unit increases with the number of weedings. Weeding constitutes one of the major expenditures on Fazenda das Moças, as it is done slowly with a hoe. As with all other tasks on the plantation, there is a set price for this work.

"Carrying seed" indicates the transference of bundles of tops of sugar-cane stalks from a field where they are cut to another where they are planted. The amount paid per trip increases with the distance the man must travel between fields. As a rule, several fields of cane are planted to be used exclusively for seed. The next item on the list, "cutting seed,"

Ricardo Teixeira	2nd weeding of cane field	13 1/2	braças*	at	Cr$ 3,50	Cr$ 47,25
Julio Bispo	digging drainage ditch	30	meters	at	1,50	45,00
Paulo Manoel	carrying seed	12	trips	at	0,80	9,60
José Santo	cutting seed	5	loads	at	0,80	4,00
S. Santo	cutting out cattle	1	day	at	15,00	15,00
Malaquias Ario	trip to neighboring plantation	1	trip	at	10,00	10,00
Mario Adriano	3rd weeding of cane field	249	braças	at	3,70	921,30
F. Cramosa	planting	3 1/2	braças	at	2,20	7,70
Cecilio Argolo	replanting	65	braças	at	1,50	97,50
Paulo Manoel	carpentering	3	days	at	23,00	69,00
Sancho Santiago	repairing estiva	1	day	at	12,00	12,00
Paulo Souza	1st weeding of cane field	35	braças	at	3,20	112,00
Agostinho Batista	catching escaped cattle	2		at	10,00	20,00
Mario Serra	repairing fences	250	braças	at	0,15	37,50
Maria das Dores	gathering cane leaves for animal fodder	4	cartloads	at	2,00	8,00
Francisco Julião	loading railway wagon with sugar cane	1/2	day	at	7,50	7,50
Pedro Julio	cutting bamboo	12	mãos†	at	5,00	60,00
Francisco Brito	conducting load of wood	1	load	at	15,00	15,00
Crispim Argolo	repairing barracks	2 1/2	days	at	12,00	30,00
Domingos Moura	gardening	12	days	at	10,00	120,00
Osorio Ancieto	burying a burro	1	day	at	12,00	12,00
Pedro Julio	carrying water	1	day	at	10,00	10,00

*The braça equals 6 feet and is the measurement always used locally in the cane fields.
†Mão is a bundle of fifty and is used locally in speaking of fence posts and ears of corn.

[80]

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilian SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO
[The Private Plantation]
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2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA - RECÔNCAVO

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indicates work done in these fields. The top of the stalk just below the leaves is used as seed.

"Cutting out cattle" refers to selecting cattle from the herd to be used for the day's transportation. The "trip to neighboring plantation" means that Malaquias was sent to another plantation on an errand either for Dona Sinhá or for Seu Paulo on some plantation business, such as to get the payroll sheets, which are made up by a resident of another plantation. "Planting" means the first planting of sugar cane, while "replanting" means planting cane in the spaces where the first seed did not grow, either because it was buried too deeply, or because after planting it received too much sunshine or too much rain. Such spaces are always filled in when the new cane reaches a height of several inches.

[463] "Carpentering," a craft, commands a higher salary than agricultural work. Sometimes a plantation keeps a carpenter on a regular salary; at other times he is hired from the factory, as is the case here. His work may be on the wooden carts used for transportation or on any of the many houses of the plantation.

[491] An estiva is a type of makeshift bridge crossing a drainage ditch or a low spot on the road where water collects during the rainy season. It is usually no more than four or five yards long and a yard or two wide. The lengthwise pieces are bamboo with other pieces of the same material laid across them close together. Then earth is placed on top and smoothed off. These bridges require constant repair work. During the height of the rainy season they often break up entirely and float away. They are often quite perilous for horses, burros, and oxen, whose legs sometimes go through the bamboo latticework.

[233] "Catching escaped cattle" requires some agility on the part of the person who does it. It is usually done on foot, and if the ox or cow is in a cane field it must be worked out carefully in order not to destroy too much of the standing sugar cane. "Repairing fences" accompanies catching escaped cattle, for the animals often break through the fences enclosing their pastures. The fence posts are usually of bamboo, which rots quickly and must be constantly watched and replaced as it shows signs of weakening. "Cutting bamboo" is done for many

[824] different ends. Most plantation boundary lines are marked by rows of graceful bamboos whose wood is used for fence posts and estivas, as well as for the wicker framework of the mud-covered houses.

[The Private Plantation]

Maria das Dores, whose name is listed as "gathering cane leaves for animal fodder," does the only type of work on the plantation done by women other than housework and gardening. When a field of cane is cut, the tops of the stalks and the long leaves are cut off and left on the ground. The very tip of the stalk is used as seed, while the heavier part is loaded on carts and sent to the factory. When natural pasturage gives out because of overgrazing or drought, the cattle's diet is supplemented with the freshly cut, green cane leaves; if the tender tips are not required for seed, they are also fed to the cattle. Gathering the leaves and stalk tips is relatively light work, and if a woman on the plantation wants to supplement her husband's income this is the task assigned her. Few women on this plantation do it, however, for it is a point of pride with any husband that he is capable of supporting his wife without her having to do gainful work. Only a small number of leaves are gathered up, and the remainder are burned as they lie in the field. Burning is done at night when there is little or no wind, and often during the summer fires which extend for acres dot the countryside. Burning is a traditional practice. Although professional agronomists insist that it is injurious to the cane roots and the new shoots, planters continue to burn the unwanted leaves, feeling that the ash provides some fertilization. 249* 461 465 [462] [233]

"Gardening" refers to work done in the vegetable garden which supplies Dona Sinhá's house. This garden stands in contrast to the roças, which are planted by the workers as well as by Dona Sinhá, and which are reserved for beans, manioc, corn, and some tobacco. Such plants as lettuce, tomatoes, cabbage, carrots, and other vegetables are disdained by the workers and are grown only for Dona Sinhá. [244]

"Carrying water" is usually work reserved for a small boy. Mounted on a donkey with four wooden kegs he rides to the neighboring plantation, Pedras, which belongs to the factory, fills the kegs at the spring, and returns to Fazenda das Moças where he puts the water into the various large clay containers in the kitchen and washrooms of the owner's house. "Oh, Pedro, there's no water" is a common cry heard in Dona Sinhá's house. [312] [857] [492]

There are few rules restricting the workers. Their services must be at the disposal of Dona Sinhá whenever required. Other than that, if during a slack season a man finds an opportunity to work somewhere else, he is free to do so. If he has a burro, or oxen, he has the right to pasture them on the 249* 466 [427] [492]

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Usina]

Financially the two units--factory and plantation--are run separately. One set of books is kept for the agricultural part, and one set for the factory. The six plantations combined produced eighteen thousand tons of cane in 1950, although they had planned on twenty-three thousand. The fall in the expected harvest was due to several things. First, less new cane was planted, because of the activities of the petroleum workers who were invading the cane fields of the factory and drilling oil wells. (The first time a field is cut, the percentage of cane is higher than that obtained by cuts during the next four or five years. The same amount of land, therefore, will produce more cane if it is replanted regularly. The factory, however, deemed it wiser to be content with the older plantings for one year because of the oil workers' invasion, for newly planted cane is more subject to damage than an established field.) Second, during that year there was a serious drought which affected adversely the growth of sugar cane. There is no irrigation in the Recôncavo, and during the drought seasons which come periodically a partial crop loss nearly always occurs. In addition one entire taboleiro caught fire and burned to the ground, causing the loss of many tons of cane. 249* 451 184 249* 433 [731]

The agricultural cycle and the work on a plantation may be divided into two broad epochs, summer and winter. Summer is the busiest season, for it is harvest time and all hands are occupied, including the migrant workers. The cutters with their machetes cut an average of three to four tons a day apiece, which must be quickly loaded and carried to the factory and milled, for the longer the lapse of time between the two operations, the greater the loss of sugar content. After a field has been cut, one of two things occurs. If it is to be turned into pasture, it is fenced, and the draft animals are turned loose in it. Otherwise the leaves which were cut from the top of the plant and left lying on the ground are burned, and within a short time the roots start sending up new shoots. This old planting (soca) each year gives a decreased yield. As a rule a field is cut and burned three to four years before being turned into pasture. In the days of the old plantations, when the soil was more vigorous, cane of twelve years was considered "new cane." Now, however, the yield is so decreased by the increasing poverty of the soil that three to four years is the best, depending upon the amount of rain. During the summer, if land is prepared and there are prospects of heavy showers, "summer plantings" may be made. They are never as good as those done in the winter, for the sun frequently 249* 221 [461] [134]

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attached to the canoe by a cord called the espia (literally, "it spies"), with which the fisherman can feel when the net has reached the bottom; he can also feel any activity within the net indicating that he has caught something. The net is about 18 feet high, and its round bottom has a circumference of approximately 120 feet. A series of lead weights are sewn into the bottom to carry it downward through the water. The whole net, with its lead, weighs between 5 and 6 kilograms. The sizes of nets vary with their age, for constant repair enlarges them or sometimes makes them smaller. While the man is fishing, the canoe remains drifting, undirected. As the tide begins to run out the fisherman must stop casting his net every so often to paddle the canoe back to the starting point and to keep it from being carried away from the fishing grounds. At other times, if the shrimp appear to be moving away, he picks up his paddle and follows them. The entire operation of casting the net, pulling it in, and emptying it into the bottom of the canoe takes from ten to twenty minutes. If the shrimp are present in great numbers the fisherman speeds up his activities; if not he moves more slowly. C. F. Ott calls the circular casting net "incontestably a Portuguese cultural element."[4]

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The period of fishing rarely lasts more than three hours, for by then the tide is moving more strongly and a breeze has arisen. These two factors upset the fishing for they move the canoes away from the fishing grounds. During the month there are approximately fifteen days of fishing with the casting net. If his luck is good a man may catch 20 to 30 kilograms of shrimp a day, and occasionally more; or else he may catch next to nothing. It should be stated that the author never saw a good-sized catch taken with any net, in spite of the great number of times he accompanied the fishermen.

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As a rule the fisherman owns his own casting net or borrows one. The canoe is usually rented, and the usual price is two cruzeiros for the morning's fishing. Shrimp bring from Cr$15,00 to Cr$25,00 a kilogram, so this type of fishing is relatively remunerative and involves little expense. A net

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4. C. F. Ott, "Os elementos culturais da pescaria baiana," Boletim do Museu Nacional (Rio de Janeiro), No. 4 (October, 1944), p. 31.

1 226 [435] costs about Cr$240,00 to make and lasts as long as ten years with good care.

227 The drag net, or deep net, as it is sometimes called, is a much larger net used to catch shrimp. It is 360 feet long, 168 feet wide, and has 420 feet of rope on one end and 480 [435] feet on the other. The top is equipped with wooden floats, and the bottom with lead weights. Such a net costs about [422] Cr$4.000,00 and is expensive to keep up, for it is easily torn [441] on submerged objects because of its size and weight. There are only six of them in the town; most of them belong to the merchants, who are the only ones who can afford the upkeep.

226 Fishing with this net is very complicated and requires the [461] services of at least ten men and two canoes, one large and one small. The owner seldom goes fishing. Instead, a master (mestre) is in charge of the operation, and the others in the crew are called "boys" (mocos). One of these is the baixador whose work is done standing in the water. His is an unpleasant job, and he runs the constant risk of being bitten by crabs, stung by large jellyfish, and cut by sharp shells on the bottom. The net is used only at the shrimp grounds already described, where the circular casting net is used, in front of the town. This net must also be used when the tide is at a standstill, because the current makes the heavy net unmanageable. The net is carried on the larger canoe which is paddled by six men, while four go in the smaller one. The canoes pause when they arrive at the customary point for launching the net, and almost everyone lights up a cigarette. There is usually some discussion among the fishermen in the various canoes as to who will launch his net first, but as a rule not more than four of the six nets are used on the same day. Since all four must be launched at exactly the same spot, there is an accepted order of first, second, third, and fourth. First yesterday is last today, each moving up one place each day. But if a crew is late in arriving the others will not wait very long, for the time for net work is short. Seldom do the four crews launch their nets more than twice in one morning. The last launching is called the "hard hard" (duradura), indicating the small returns obtained for such hard work. The first net to be launched usually catches the most shrimp.

[435] On a good day it is not unusual for the first crew to take in Cr$1.000,00 to Cr$2.000,00 worth of shrimp, especially if it [465] made two launchings. The method of paying the crew varies, but as a rule the owner takes between 40 and 50 per cent,

[Town Life]

the remainder being divided among the crew, the master and baixador receiving slightly more than the moços. Most fishermen dislike fishing with the drag net for several reasons: although the catch is usually large, it must be divided among many men; there really should be thirteen men to handle the net, which limits the amount each receives, and when only ten participate, the work is much greater for each although the increase in pay is slight; also, the operation is a rather boring process involving long waiting periods. It is becoming more and more difficult to get a crew together. 226 465 226 461

The resse, used to catch xangó, and the abaladeira, used to catch other small fish such as sardines and tainha, present a different operation. The resse is a net of close weave, 660 feet long and 12 feet wide. Like the deep net, it has wooden floats on the top and lead weights on the bottom. A small canoe (18 to 20 feet) is used, and only two men are necessary. This net can be used with either the incoming or the outgoing tide, and at any place. The fishermen have certain favorite sand and shell banks where they like to fish, east of town. They launch the net when they see the schools of small fish breaking water. The resse is a recent innovation in Vila Recôncavo, where it was first used with great secrecy to prevent knowledge of its weave from falling into the hands of too many people. But now most fishermen in this part of the Bay of All Saints are acquainted with it, and the entire county lists twenty-five resse nets. 226 [178]

A second innovation with this net, and one which applies also to the abaladeira, is the cooperative launching of two nets at once in order to catch more fish. Two canoes participate, each with two men and a net. An exceptional catch for a six-hour period of fishing may run as high as Cr$600,00 and usually averages between Cr$300,00 and Cr$400,00. When two canoes fish together the total catch is divided equally between the two. The resse and abaladeira fishermen estimate that they can earn an average of Cr$15,00 every day of the year. This is considered relatively good, for they do not fish constantly. After a few profitable days they are inclined to give up for a period of time, resting and enjoying themselves. [178] [476] [435] [434] [461]

The calão is another large net requiring at least six men to manipulate it, working from the canoe and from the water as with the deep net. It is used to catch fish of all sizes except the very small xangó and shrimp. The net is 780 feet [461]

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Town Life]

226 long and has ropes on each end 420 feet long. This net de-
226 mands a large canoe. The usual size in use is 30 feet long.
427 Few of the fishermen own their own calão--most rent it from a merchant who has one. It is rented by the master on a long-term basis rather than for just one trip. It is said that the master "toma conta da rede," meaning that he not only is fishing with the net, but also repairs it and dyes it when needed. The owner of the net, who usually also owns the canoe
226 and the paddles, receives 20 per cent of the profits of each trip. The remainder is divided among the six men, although
[435] the master and baixador each receive one-third more than the other four. Depending on how the fish are running, the calão may catch as much as Cr$1.000,00 to Cr$1.500,00 worth of fish per trip, or as little as Cr$120,00 worth. Two trips a day are made when the fishing is good. There are only eight of these nets in the town, and they are worth about Cr$1.500,00 apiece. The calãozinho is a smaller net of the same type, sometimes called the redinha, or little net. Although its op-
[178] eration is almost the same as that of the larger net, it re-
[461] quires only four men to maneuver it. However, it is becoming less and less popular as the resse increases in popularity.

227 On land, good care must be taken of the nets. After the fishing, the nets are carried up along the beach to the drying racks, long lines of poles over which the nets are spread. As they dry the master checks them, looking for holes which he immediately sews with a wooden bobbin and cotton thread.
[824] The nets are hand-woven of cotton, and dyed in water in which the bark of the red mangue has soaked. This turns the white cotton a dark reddish brown and protects it from the action of the salt water and the sun. A new net must be soaked in this dye every two or three days, and later every eight days.
227 The resse, abaladeira, and tarrafa are frequently woven by
286 women, and, unless worked on steadily, these nets may take as long as eight months to make. With steady work a circular
[462] casting net can be made in about twelve days. The women are
[461] paid Cr$12,00 per box of cotton line which contains twenty-
[435] five spools of cotton thread, and it takes five boxes to make an average-size net. The other nets require heavier thread and take much longer to make. The calão and the deep net are made by men, and a year is not considered too long for the
[824] manufacture of one. Piassava, a plant fiber which grows in
227 the Recôncavo, is used as line. The fishermen of Vila Recôncavo go to the southwestern part of the bay to purchase it. It

harvesting and milling. The factory operates twenty-four hours a day during this season. In the winter, when they have more leisure, travel is too difficult, for the roads disappear in mud. Few of the rural people go to the town of Vila Recôncavo, for it has nothing to attract them except the boat to Salvador and the priest, whom they sometimes visit to have a Mass said or for a burial. The free movies recently innovated by the Petroleum Council and located a mile from the factory have been a boon to the rural people, but as a rule only the men attend. In fact, almost any kind of off-plantation gathering is attended predominantly by men.

On most plantations the casa de farinha is a social gathering place, and both males and females congregate there to talk about the latest news while they work. The women also gossip at the local well as they fetch water or remain there washing their clothes. Their everyday lives are busy, and there is little time for purely social activities. The day begins and ends early. Soon after dark the lights go out, the houses close, and silence reigns except for the noise coming from the casa de farinha, which may operate all night, or the lonesome singing of the caatingueiros housed in the barracks, or the strong rhythmic sound of the drums coming from a distant candomblé ceremony. Because there is little work for women on a plantation, the "extra" girls, those for whom there are no potential husbands, ask the planter to get them work as domestics in the city; this is usually easy, for there is nearly always someone in Salvador looking for a "good, strong country girl" to work in the home. Occasionally, if a worker's son is especially intelligent and industrious, he too may be placed in some position in the city.

Class C comprises the majority of the population in the town of Vila Recôncavo and includes most of the occupations listed in Group 3 of the preceding chapter--that is, fishermen, gardeners, and artisans. There are no "pure whites" in this class, but, as in the rural area, a few "whites of the land" and the full range of mestiços, whose various color and social characteristics will be discussed later. The people of Class C live for the most part in the lower section of town, in the areas called Cortume, Largo de Santa Cruz, Rua Nova, Boqueirão, Cumbamba, and Caquende. The great majority of them own their homes, although the land belongs to the Fazenda Engenho da Vila, to the church, or to the prefeitura, and is rented for a small yearly sum. The houses are small, usually

change. New faces and basically different relationships prevail at Usina São Pedro. 178 249* [466]

Another change, but this time in tune with the past, was an increase of capital, applied to the improvement of the factory. The capacity of the mill has been greatly enlarged. However, the agricultural part of the combination continues as it did before, with no innovations. The result is that the factory is able to mill and produce sugar much more quickly than it can be supplied with sugar cane. The hierarchical aspect of the factory as earlier diagrammed remains the same, and each plantation is still run as a separate unit. 178 249* 433 [471] [466]

In contrast, the private plantation in the community of Vila Recôncavo has undergone relatively little change in these five years. Always the most conservative element in the Recôncavo, the private plantation continues to retain its distinguishing feature: the personal, face-to-face, paternalistic owner-worker relations. The hierarchical pattern remains the same. Operations are still basically hand- and animal-powered, but private planters are slowly introducing mechanization in certain aspects of the process, especially that of transportation; trucks and tractor-drawn wagons carry cane from the fields to the factory. Tractors and mechanical plows are used to an increasingly large extent in the preparation of the soil, and mechanical cultivators are already in use on some plantations. However, the bulk of the work is still done by hand, and traction is supplied by oxen and mules. As yet no mechanical loaders, ditch-diggers, or planters have appeared, and little use is made of fertilization or herbicides. Few scientific agricultural practices are in use. The planter is still first and foremost a "practical" man. 178 249* 461 [492] [493] [407] [492] [407] [242]

Relations between the factory and the private plantations have also undergone considerable change, in both business and social aspects. The new managers of the factory have succeeded in almost completely alienating the private planters who supply them with sugar cane. Not only the members of the extended Conde family, but also other cane suppliers resented the highhanded, brusque methods of the new managers. Wishing to break completely with the past, the new managers instituted several new policies in relations with the cane suppliers. Formerly the private suppliers bought sugar by the sack, bought their supplies at the company store, and had their machines repaired at the company workshops, paying for such services at the end of the harvest season. The sup- 178 249* 571 [443] [452] [407]

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can collect bananas, which should pay for the operating costs while waiting for the cacao to mature.

At the end of a five- or six-year period, the shade tree is usually large enough to provide sufficient shade, and the banana trees are gradually removed. At the same time the cacao begins to give its fruit, and one can then consider himself a cacauicultor.

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Several planters in Vila Recôncavo are at the banana-manioc planting stage, and have met with their first serious labor problem. No one wants to work in banana and manioc fields, as the work is arduous and slow. Machines are not available for the mechanical cultivation of manioc, so the work must be done by hand. The work is slowly being accomplished, but at costs which will make the manioc a considerable liability.

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Nevertheless, in spite of these difficulties, there is considerable interest in cacao in Vila Recôncavo, and cacao must be considered as an element of change in the community which will have far-reaching effects. The area of sugar production will be considerably reduced, requiring adjustments on the part of the factories, which represent large financial investments. Furthermore, cacao is a fairly simple product to process--its conversion into chocolate is usually done after export --and so it is quite likely that each plantation will return to the older aspect of the plantation, both growing and processing the crop, and become once again a highly self-sufficient unit. This would of course bring about a new alignment of socio-economic relations and would undoubtedly alter the community structure.

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A third principal cause of change in Vila Recôncavo is the growth of a new and potent industry within the community and throughout the county. This new industry is the nascent Brazilian petroleum industry. Exploratory work was done in Vila Recôncavo in 1950 and 1951 under the guidance of the Conselho Nacional de Petroleo. Since that date a nationalized company, Petrobrás, has been formed to exploit the oil fields which lie under the topsoil of the county of Vila Recôncavo. Petrobrás has brought in several hundred oil wells and has built roads, pipelines, storage tanks, and machine shops. Just outside the limits of the community, but within the county, it has built its oil refinery and has created a small new, modern city to house the technical workers of the refinery and the field. On land expropriated from the Usina São Pedro it has also con-

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sugar workers move rarely, remaining for generations on the same
[241] plantation. Each family has its garden where a little maize, beans
[465] and manioc are grown. Pay day comes every two weeks, when as a
rule the worker goes to the owner's house to receive his money.
The pay is small, 15 to 25 dollars a fortnight, depending on how
[461] much the man has worked during the period. Men do not like to
work more than five to six hours a day, from six a.m. to twelve noon,
and seldom work more than five days a week. They work easily,
without hurry. In the afternoon they work in their garden, if their
249 wives have not already done so. On the plantation no one starves;
466 everyone has his *patrão* (protector) in the person of the owner, and
in case of an emergency, accident or sickness, he expects help from
him. This personal element is very important on most plantations in
the vicinity of Vila Recôncavo; as a rule, the owner knows all the
workers by name, knows their families and their family troubles and
problems. He is aware of their love affairs and up-to-date on the
[164] health of new-born children and their mothers. Nearly all cases of
sickness, from common colds and rheumatism to more serious
ailments, are brought directly to the attention of the *patrão* or his
wife. The owner, returning from a prolonged stay in the city,
receives visits from the workers or from their wives, during which all
the personal gossip is exchanged. The workers inquire about the
owner's family and more extended family, for they generally know
them all. Engagements, weddings, births, deaths and illnesses are
reported on both sides. Complaints or requests are also made to the
466 owner. The relationship is highly personal, intimate, gentle and frank.

On one rather small *usina*, which will be called São Pedro, in the
249 rural zone of Vila Recôncavo, the situation is somewhat different.
São Pedro is not one of the large *usinas* of the Recôncavo, owned by
472 a corporation; it is relatively small and owned by one of the most
[473] important families of the Vila Recôncavo community, members of
the regional aristocracy whose family has held plantations there for
many generations. Because the owners of the *usina* actually administrate it, and since they are in residence in the locality at least part of the year, they are able to maintain many of the traditional personal relations with their employees, many of whom have worked on the plantations belonging to their family and in the *usina* for most
[162] of their lives. But there is a total of 1,183 workers and their families at the *usina* and on the plantations belonging to São Pedro, and the very size of the enterprise and the number of workers make for a more impersonal and more strictly economic relationship between employer and employee. Workers become more a name on a payroll, and the employer a person with whom one seldom has direct contact. In the larger *usinas* of the Recôncavo this trend is even more marked especially where the employer is a large corporation with offices in Salvador.

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their own cooking, care for their own clothes, and spend their evenings gathered around a fire, singing songs of the *sertão*, apart from the permanent workers. [464] [466]

There is a mutual desire to keep apart, for while the *morador* looks down on the *caboclo*, the *caboclo* feels very much the same about the local people. He feels that they are lazy, ignorant, and above all superstitious. The *caboclo vaqueiro* (north-eastern cowboy) of one plantation says that the workers of the plantation are always talking about black magic, that they are lazy and spendthrifts, and at the same time deride his frugality. He says he is not afraid of their black magic, since he knows there is nothing to it, but he distrusts those who speak of it. People in Vila Recôncavo will not admit they have *caboclo* or Indian ancestors. One young girl who is almost a perfect American Indian type says she is a *mulatinha*.[1] She vehemently denied there was any Indian blood in her family, but finally reluctantly admitted that a great-grandparent of hers had been partly Indian. This girl's niece would make a perfect double for the popular conception of Pocahontas, given a feather in her hair and a sarong, but she is considered a '*mulata*, almost *morena*'. [249]

However, among the 'pure' whites there is a different feeling about the *caboclo*. White families say that they would feel proud to know that they have 'Indian blood', for it would show the length of time their family had been in Brazil. Frequently a white child is extremely 'Indian looking', that is, a *moreno* with jet-black, straight hair. The nickname of *tapuya* is often given to this type, which is generally admired by the whites. All plantation owners agree that, for work, no one can top the *caboclo*. The north-eastern worker of American Indian physical type will go into the fields at six in the morning and not return until six at night. He takes his lunch with him and eats it there. On the other hand, the *morador* will go to the fields at six and return at noon. However, as permanent resident workers, plantation owners prefer the Negroes of the Recôncavo. Little if any effort is made to 'fix' the *caboclo* on the plantations. When the harvest is finished, he takes his money and departs. Next year he may come again to the same plantation, or he may not. It seems to make little difference to either party. [157] [461] [464]

There have been no serious tensions between the two groups. They work together during part of the year, but spend their free time separately. This does not mean that an occasional *caboclo* will not stay, take a wife from among the *moradores* and start a family. [466]

The following percentages of racial types were taken from a sample of 162 heads of families, using the four major types: *preto*, 50 or 40 per cent; *mulato*, 59 or 49 per cent; *caboclo*, 3 or 2 per cent; *branco*, 11 or 9 per cent. 162

[1] Little mulata. Using the diminutive form seems to be a softer and more agreeable way of saying 'mulata'. [829]

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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and mulatto slaves noticeable even before 1800, had by the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century become great. In 1822, for instance, the free blacks in Maranhão were reckoned at 9,308; the free mulattoes, at 25,111. Only 6,580 mulattoes were still in bondage as compared with 77,954 blacks. Thus, in this important center of Negro concentration, over three-fourths of the mixed-bloods had by 1822 been emancipated, whereas approximately only one-eighth of the blacks had been liberated. Walsh in 1828 reports that there were at that time in Brazil approximately 160,000 free blacks and 400,000 free mulattoes. In 1835, among a total of 170,000 mulattoes in Minas Geraes, only 40,000, or less than one-fourth, were reported to be slaves; while 250,000 out of an estimated 305,000 blacks, or approximately five-sixths, were still in bondage.[6] Although no figures are available for Bahia, it is likely that similar proportions held here also.

These numerically important liberated mulattoes began their rise in social rank by becoming small farmers (*lavradores, sitiantes*), or artisans (both rural and urban), street merchants, small shopkeepers, etc., taking their places beside those lower-class whites who either had not yet risen or did not possess the requisite ability to rise.

Free blacks, as well as free mulattoes, were able to establish themselves in manual occupations more readily than their brothers in the United States because the descendants of Europeans in Brazil have ordinarily looked down upon manual labor, as attested by the common saying: "Trabalho é para cachorro e negro" (work [that is, hard manual labor] is for Negroes and dogs). "Whatever may have been the en-

[6] Maurice Rugendas, *Voyage pittoresque dans le Brésil*, trans. from the German by de Colbery (3 vols.; Paris, 1835), p. 27.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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ergy exerted by their immigrant fathers, creoles [native Brazilians] ordinarily imbibed the colonial prejudice against labor, and assumed the airs of gentlemen." Free men of color entering agricultural or artisan employment "in no way aroused the jealousy of Europeans."[7]

The mobility of the Brazilian population in the colonial period, both vertically and horizontally, facilitated climbing. Changes in status during the lifetime of a given individual were common phenomena and at times even precipitous, a condition reflected in the common saying "Pae taberneiro, filho cavalheiro, neto mendicante" ("Father an innkeeper, son a squire, grandson a beggar"). Endogamy among the rural aristocracy, even in such *fidalgo* centers as Bahia and Pernambuco, was never absolute. Clerks and small merchants in the cities, immigrant peddlers in the interior, modest proprietors of small farms, owners of small herds of cattle—all aspired to, and some succeeded in attaining, the ranks of the rural aristocracy.[8]

Similarly significant was freedom to move in space. For in areas distant from those of their birth, light mulattoes of slave origin often managed to pass for individuals born of free parents. They were thus able readily to strip from themselves the social stigma of servile origin. One of the functions of the *bandeiras* and the *monções*[9] was to assist ambitious individuals to whom migration and the freedom of the frontier appeared to offer the most rapid and successful means of social advancement. Many mixed-bloods sought out new homes and became settlers, stock-raisers, small

[7] H. A. Wyndham, *The Atlantic and Slavery* (London: Oxford University Press, 1935), pp. 249–50.

[8] Vianna, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

[9] The *bandeiras* (also called *monções*) were groups of hardy explorers and frontier fighters who explored the interior of raided Indian villages for slaves.

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But the free Negro, in competition with the European and his descendants, was faced with a difficult struggle. Even though he might cease to speak Nagô and to scarify his face and body; even though his wife might discard her distinctive African costume, and both no longer identify themselves with African fetish beliefs and practices but give instead allegiance to Catholic forms; nevertheless, the free Negro could not escape the fact that he was sharply differentiated from the ruling class in color, hair texture, and facial characteristics. He could not readily discard a highly visible badge of his former slave status. Wherever he went he would be known, if not for a slave, at least for the descendant of slaves.

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The occupations of the free Negroes, or at least those of their immediate forebears, had been employments commensurate with servile status and had ordinarily consisted in hard, sordid, manual labor. The common saying, "Trabalho é para cachorro e negro" ("Work [i.e., hard manual labor] is for Negroes and dogs"), reflects this fact. To work with one's hands has been in Brazil long considered debasing for a white man. As Monteiro has said, "Even if in Portugal he had been a servant with a hoe in his hands, upon setting his foot upon Brazilian soil, he cared not to work."[106] That artisan labor was not a white man's job was long a tradition in Brazil.[107] To be a white was identical with being noble,[108] and "there was a common root of plebeian origin: it was African descent."[109] Government employ was for a long time

[106] Vahia Monteiro, quoted by F. J. Oliveira Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro* (3d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 153.

[107] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

[108] Vianna, *Populações meridionaes do Brasil* (3d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 139.

[109] "A côr significava nobreza; havia uma comum origem plebéia—o tronco africano" (Calmon, *op. cit.*, I, 24).

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Government employ was for a long time denied to the black.[110] In colonial Brazil marriage into upper-class white families was zealously restricted to individuals of pure European descent,[111] and at least one case is on record of an Indian being seriously rebuked for having married a Negro woman.[112]

[110] There was "a separate justice" in colonial Brazil for cases relating to "Indians, mulattoes, and Negroes" (Vianna, *Populações meridionaes do Brasil*, p. 140).

[111] "It was this preoccupation with purity of lineage and white blood in their prospective sons-in-law which, in those provinces whose development was more irregular, like that of Minas, made the problem of marriage so difficult. In Pernambuco and São Paulo the problem was resolved by marrying cousins with cousins: a custom which gradually made of the early families almost a single strain" (Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 152).

[112] The eighth vice-*rei*, Marques de Lavradio, in an order dated August 6, 1771, removed an Indian from the post of *capitão-mor* for having married a Negro woman and, as the order said, "thus tarnished your blood and shown yourself unworthy of office" (Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* [2d ed.; Rio, 1936], p. 290).

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 462 857 On the cane plantations the field work of planting and harvesting is done by labor gangs composed of men, women, and older children. There is some specialization: men cut the cane, women gather and pile the cane stalks and leaves, and the older children assist at these tasks and at managing the ox carts. The smaller children remain at home, where they are responsible from a very early age for some household tasks.

241 592 462 857 Outside the sugar zone the family is a basic labor unit. Men, women, and children work in the fields as required and participate in processing tobacco and manioc. To an even greater extent than is characteristic of the sugar zone the children participate in family tasks, and as soon as they can manage the hoe, they join in the field work.

461 [565] The upper class Baiano seldom does physical labor—to do physical work is to lower one's status. In the lower class work would seem to be approached as a somewhat unpleasant necessity which is best tackled in a cheerful and convivial atmosphere. The agricultural laborer is given to spells of extremely hard work interrupted by banter and occasional "horseplay." While the lone worker often seems rather cheerless and plodding in the field, the shouted jokes, songs, and exclamations of groups of laborers frequently resound throughout the countryside. The intermittent vigorous labor seems to be an extension of play, for there is little social evaluation of hard work for its own sake.

Despite the enthusiasm and commotion which surrounds almost any effort, the per capita productivity of the worker in the Recôncavo 461 147 is relatively modest. In part this is a result of the intermittent character of the work, but a more important factor is the limited energy of the worker. The lower class of the Recôncavo is weakened by perennial hunger, bad diet, and disease.[27]

258 but also because the manioc roots are too heavy and bulky to be trans-
[438] ported over long distances. Moreover, the market for farinha de mandioca is generally local, except in the Southwestern Recôncavo.

258 The capital investment in a casa de farinha is small, usually
471 less than one hundred dollars, but this sum is far beyond the reach of
[454] most cultivators. The mills are built by owners of medium-sized land holdings or local merchants, and are operated on a share basis. The mill owner usually receives one-tenth of the finished product in exchange
[427] for the use of the mill equipment. The customer rents the equipment
[464] rather than the service and must therefore provide the labor, although
[592] the owner usually furnishes one or two workers. Generally the processing
[462] of manioc is a family operation in which the women and girls scrape the roots and the men and boys perform the more arduous tasks.

277 Most of the tobacco which is grown in the Recôncavo is exported
[439] in the form of leaf. Therefore, the processing of tobacco is less important in relation to the cultivation of tobacco than is the processing of manioc and sugar in relation to their respective cultivation. The leaf tobacco which is retained in the area is made into cigars in home industries and in a number of cigar factories. The home-produced cigars are made by tobacco cultivators and small-scale processors in the villages, towns, and cities of the region. These cigars are generally
[443] very cheap and are sold in the local mercado (market) or in small vendas (shops). It is difficult to assess the total importance of this form of processing, but it seems likely that the number of cigars so made is extremely large.

277 The cigar factories of the Recôncavo are located in the cidades
[464] of São Gonçalo, Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, and Maragogipe. Each of the factories employs from 100 to 200 workers, usually women from the surrounding area. Machines are used to produce the cheaper grades;

[The Private Plantation]

Maria das Dores, whose name is listed as "gathering cane leaves for animal fodder," does the only type of work on the plantation done by women other than housework and gardening. When a field of cane is cut, the tops of the stalks and the long leaves are cut off and left on the ground. The very tip of the stalk is used as seed, while the heavier part is loaded on carts and sent to the factory. When natural pasturage gives out because of overgrazing or drought, the cattle's diet is supplemented with the freshly cut, green cane leaves; if the tender tips are not required for seed, they are also fed to the cattle. Gathering the leaves and stalk tips is relatively light work, and if a woman on the plantation wants to supplement her husband's income this is the task assigned her. Few women on this plantation do it, however, for it is a point of pride with any husband that he is capable of supporting his wife without her having to do gainful work. Only a small number of leaves are gathered up, and the remainder are burned as they lie in the field. Burning is done at night when there is little or no wind, and often during the summer fires which extend for acres dot the countryside. Burning is a traditional practice. Although professional agronomists insist that it is injurious to the cane roots and the new shoots, planters continue to burn the unwanted leaves, feeling that the ash provides some fertilization. 249* 461 465 [462] • [233]

"Gardening" refers to work done in the vegetable garden which supplies Dona Sinhá's house. This garden stands in contrast to the roças, which are planted by the workers as well as by Dona Sinhá, and which are reserved for beans, manioc, corn, and some tobacco. Such plants as lettuce, tomatoes, cabbage, carrots, and other vegetables are disdained by the workers and are grown only for Dona Sinhá. [247]

"Carrying water" is usually work reserved for a small boy. Mounted on a donkey with four wooden kegs he rides to the neighboring plantation, Pedras, which belongs to the factory, fills the kegs at the spring, and returns to Fazenda das Moças where he puts the water into the various large clay containers in the kitchen and washrooms of the owner's house. "Oh, Pedro, there's no water" is a common cry heard in Dona Sinhá's house. [312] [850] [492]

There are few rules restricting the workers. Their services must be at the disposal of Dona Sinhá whenever required. Other than that, if during a slack season a man finds an opportunity to work somewhere else, he is free to do so. If he has a burro, or oxen, he has the right to pasture them on the 249* 466 [427] [492]

743 so there is competent medical assistance. Those who are too poor to pay receive free aid and medications, milk, and soup; those who can pay do so, paying only the wholesale prices of the articles. The institute is well equipped, with an x-ray machine, diathermy, and other heat appliances, which are popular because of the prevalence of colds and rheumatism.

743 529 [546] The institute also operates the weekly motion picture which has been a great boon to the town, a recreation room, centrally located in the town, which has a radio, billiard tables, and a bar selling milk shakes, sandwiches, beer, and soft drinks. This place has become the major meeting place for the men and boys of the town. In addition to this, the institute also runs a night school for adults.

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463 [571] [462] Group 2, as listed at the beginning of this chapter, consists mainly of the people who work for those in Group 1 and who are attached to them by the bonds of the patronship to some extent, as well as by salary. The majority of persons in this category are women, engaged in the traditional female pursuits of washing, ironing, sewing, embroidering, and general housework.

296 462 463 [482] As a rule the laundry is washed at one of the town wells, which are encased in cement. The women carry the dirty clothes, a bucket, and wooden basin, all piled on top of their heads, to the well. They pull up enough water in their buckets to fill the basins in which the clothes are washed. After a soaking and scrubbing with soap the wet, soapy clothes are spread out on the ground in the sun, and from time to time water is sprinkled on them to aid the sun in bleaching. Then the clothes are rewashed and spread out to dry. Depending upon the weather, the washing and drying process may take from a whole day to three or four days before the clothes are considered clean enough. Then they are taken home to be ironed. The older pattern demanded that a different person do the ironing, but today this pattern is breaking down and frequently the same person washes and irons. The irons used are the old-fashioned kind heated by charcoal, which is placed inside and ignited. The irons are made with drafts to keep the fire going, and the women must stop frequently to fan the fire or renew the charcoal. Often a busy woman has two irons going and sets one aside to heat while she irons with the other.

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462 252 463 Many women also prepare xangô, a small sardinelike fish caught in great quantities by the fishermen of Vila Recôncа-

[Town Life]

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vo. There are about twenty women in the town who are thus employed constantly, and others who work part-time with the fish. They go down to the beach, carrying five-gallon gasoline cans, when they see the fishermen coming in, and buy the fish by the canful at about Cr$25,00 a can, sometimes buying as many as ten canfuls. An exceptional catch for a day will run well over fifty cans, especially during the winter months. The women then take the fish home, clean them and pack them in salt for twenty-four hours, after which they put them on spits, two narrow slivers of wood cut from the dendê palm. Five fish go on each two spits. They are then hung out to dry in the sun for about two days. If it rains, the drying takes longer, and frequently many are lost. Few of the women ever become accustomed to the odor of the salted, drying fish, and they complain bitterly about it. But they know that there is always a market for the dried product, and this compensates to some extent for the unpleasantness involved. A can of fish usually provides 150 to 200 spits, and they are sold for Cr$25,00 to Cr$30,00 a hundred spits. The price is generally slightly higher if they are sold at the weekly Monday market in Centro, to which the women as a rule go themselves, or to which they send the fish with a friend. Otherwise, they are sold to the occasional tropeiros de cima[3] who come to town to buy them at a slightly lower price. It is said that the small dried fish are considered a fine dish by the people of the sertão.

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Other women prepare shrimp in much the same manner, although the prices are higher. A can of shrimp costs between Cr$100,00 and Cr$150,00 depending upon the size of the catch and the season of the year, for during Lent and especially during Holy Week, when the demand is greater, all prices of fish and seafood rise. A can of shrimp gives two hands (duas mãos), or forty spits, of shrimp, which are sold at the average of Cr$100,00 a hand; the price of the finished product varies with the price of the fresh shrimp. However, a man in Vila Recôncavo recently built an icehouse, and the women have worked less with shrimp, for the fishermen sell directly to

3. Tropeiros de cima (troopers from up north) are men from the sertão who descend to the Recôncavo with mules loaded with farina to sell, and return north with fish and fruit from the Recôncavo.

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462 the icehouse where the shrimp are kept cool; they can then be
438 sent to Salvador every other day on the boat to be sold as fresh
251 shrimp at the market and on the streets. "Camarão da Vila,"
[443] (shrimp from Vila) the cry of the Salvador street peddlers, is well known throughout the capital city.

463 The majority of people in Group 2 live down the hill from the older part of town, near the beach or out along the road
[361] which leads to the factory. They are more or less dependent
[571] upon Group 1, not only for the money they receive in return for services, but also for many kinds of favors which fall un-
[476] der the heading of patronship. They are seldom able to employ the services of Group 3 for such jobs as house building or repairing; they must rely on an old form of cooperative labor, called the batalhão (work group), to make or repair a house wall or to put on a new thatch roof. Frequently a patron will arrange for another of his "dependents" to transport the mud necessary for the palm thatch (taipa), and there is no cost involved for the recipient; but she must arrange the labor.

463 The people of Group 2 fetch their own water from the wells,
312 and usually their own firewood from the tideswamps. There
[313] are several men and women in town who make a business of carrying these two commodities. Such work is contractual. A household contracts for so many cans or barrels of water a day and so many loads of firewood a week. If they do not have enough money for these services they must carry them out themselves. During the dry summer months fetching water is a tedious business, for the majority of the wells dry up early in the summer. In the very dry summer of 1950-51, all the wells in town but one went dry. The one which continued to supply water did so at a much diminished rate. This well is completely encased in cement, for it provides the only drinking water in town. There is a small pipe serving as a spigot. During the dry season it takes from ten to twenty minutes to fill a five-gallon tin can from this pipe. As a result, there were always long lines of women waiting for water, and a sojourn of three or four hours at the well was common. Many of the more ambitious women used to get up at two or three in the morning and go to the well, making several
[821] trips so they would be free of this onerous duty during the day. This, however, took a great deal of courage, for most people
[492] in Vila Recôncavo are afraid of the dark, and no timid woman would make the trip out to the well at night. By general agreement, the men who carry water in barrels on donkeys walked

226 long and has ropes on each end 420 feet long. This net demands a large canoe. The usual size in use is 30 feet long.

226 427 Few of the fishermen own their own calão--most rent it from a merchant who has one. It is rented by the master on a long-term basis rather than for just one trip. It is said that the master "toma conta da rede," meaning that he not only is fishing with the net, but also repairs it and dyes it when needed. The owner of the net, who usually also owns the canoe and the paddles, receives 20 per cent of the profits of each 226 trip. The remainder is divided among the six men, although the master and baixador each receive one-third more than the [435] other four. Depending on how the fish are running, the calão may catch as much as Cr$1.000,00 to Cr$1.500,00 worth of fish per trip, or as little as Cr$120,00 worth. Two trips a day are made when the fishing is good. There are only eight of these nets in the town, and they are worth about Cr$1.500,00 apiece. The calãozinho is a smaller net of the same type, sometimes called the redinha, or little net. Although its operation is almost the same as that of the larger net, it [178] requires only four men to maneuver it. However, it is becoming [461] less and less popular as the resse increases in popularity.

227 On land, good care must be taken of the nets. After the fishing, the nets are carried up along the beach to the drying racks, long lines of poles over which the nets are spread. As they dry the master checks them, looking for holes which he immediately sews with a wooden bobbin and cotton thread. [824] The nets are hand-woven of cotton, and dyed in water in which the bark of the red mangue has soaked. This turns the white cotton a dark reddish brown and protects it from the action of the salt water and the sun. A new net must be soaked in this dye every two or three days, and later every eight days.

227 The resse, abaladeira, and tarrafa are frequently woven by 286 women, and, unless worked on steadily, these nets may take as long as eight months to make. With steady work a circular [462] casting net can be made in about twelve days. The women are [461] paid Cr$12,00 per box of cotton line which contains twenty-[435] five spools of cotton thread, and it takes five boxes to make an average-size net. The other nets require heavier thread and take much longer to make. The calão and the deep net are made by men, and a year is not considered too long for the [824] manufacture of one. Piassava, a plant fiber which grows in 227 the Recôncavo, is used as line. The fishermen of Vila Recôncavo go to the southwestern part of the bay to purchase it. It

following days to make new supplies. On the return trip she brings wheat flour, peanuts, potatoes, and whatever is not available in Vila Recôncavo, as special orders (encomendas) for people in the town, who pay the price of the article plus a small percentage for her trouble in doing the shopping. 443 463

The people of Group 3 do most of their own labor; the men follow their trade while their womenfolk do the housework, care for the children, fetch water and firewood, and do their own laundry. This group also uses the batalhão for house building and repairing, although many employ the services of a carpenter to do the woodwork or a bricklayer to make a foundation, in contrast to the people of the preceding group, whose houses are usually built with a minimum of crude woodwork and without masonry foundations. The majority of men in this group, the fishermen, live in the lower part of town, in the areas known as Boqueirão, Caquende, and Cortume (see map of town). The others are scattered throughout the town, up the hill in back of the area of sobrados, and on the side of the hill sloping down to the beach. The fishermen have their own chapel built near the beach, which they support with the tithe (dizimo), a tenth of their earnings. The people in the fishing group seldom go up the hill to the older part of town, feeling that they do not belong there. 463 [462] [342] [361] [346] [764]

A few words need to be said about Group 4, which consists of thirty-one people who do not fit into the other three groups. Eleven of them, who listed themselves as unemployed, are unskilled persons, without a trade, and without a patron or service employment skill. For the most part they are women, and although an examination of the census data shows that they have no visible means of support, they do engage in subsistence activities such as carrying water, cutting spits for xangô, making dendê palm oil, or making fish nets, but not on a regular contract basis. Since they engage in a variety of small independent activities and work for different people at different times, they listed themselves as unemployed in the sense of being without a regular occupation. 463 464

Nine people in Group 4 lived in the town at the time of the census but worked at the Usina São Pedro. Three men worked on the sugar plantation nearest town, preferring to live in town rather than on the plantation, since the trip back and forth is so short. And, finally, the group includes eight people who were employed by the Institute of Vila Recôncavo as nurses, pharmacists, bookkeeper, and bartender. These people

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[Class C Families]

(tamancos), or perhaps leather shoes. Women wear a dress and a slip and are usually barefoot. Dress-up occasions also call for undergarments, stockings, and shoes. Great modesty is always shown about exposing oneself in front of others. Few of the men shave themselves, going to the barber for this as well as for haircuts. There are several women who are experts at hair straightening, which they do with a flat-iron, although most women and girls in this class who have the problem of straightening their hair know how to do it themselves.

In Class C as well as in Class B the father is the dominant person. He rules the household. He is the one who is served at meals, whose clothing is always clean and pressed, and who goes out the most. He spends much of his leisure time in one of the several stores, talking and taking an occasional drink of rum; or on one of the few shaded corners playing dominoes with his friends; or else in the bar playing billiards and gossiping. As a rule he goes to the movies alone, or at least without his family, although in the higher echelons of the class families often go to the movies and to church together. There is one family which is musically inclined, and which often spends evenings at home together, making up a small orchestra. If there is a samba in someone's house, many men from this class will be there watching, while the participants are usually single women and girls from the same class. The men will discuss a woman's physical attributes while she is in the center of the ring dancing. This is one of the most common ways in which a girl gets "looked over" and is watched as she develops. Sooner or later some man will fall in love with her (apaixonar-se dela), and if she is not well guarded by her family he will eventually have an affair with her. In the case of fishermen, most of the time is taken up either by fishing or by caring for equipment, for the nets need a good deal of attention. Since the fishermen's hours follow the tides, their working hours differ from day to day. They often go to bed early, in anticipation of getting up at three or four in the morning.

The women, on the other hand, follow a more regular daily routine of getting the morning coffee ready, getting the children off to school, going for water and wood, doing the ever-present laundry and ironing, and caring for the younger children. In addition, if possible, they prepare xangô to help supplement the family income and go to the fair in Centro on Mon-

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[Class C Families]

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days when their husbands cannot go. The wives of fishermen also have to cook meals at different times in the day for their husbands, who generally bring enough fish from the last catch for one or two meals. It is the woman who goes to the store for farina, coffee, beans, rice, and so on. Their evenings are usually spent at home sewing, making or mending a net either for their husbands or for someone else. If there is a samba they may go and watch but seldom stay long, but if there is a candomblé ceremony they may spend the whole night there, especially if they participate in it. In such a case they often take their children with them and put them to sleep in the house, or else put them on a bench to watch the proceedings.

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The institute has broken down the pattern of the practical midwife, known locally as parteira or curiosa, since one of the first things done when it opened in 1945 was to have several young girls trained in Salvador as midwives. Up to that time, however, there had only been older women, who through experience and sometimes through necessity had taken on the job of midwives. In the rural area the untrained midwife is still important, for the clinic has not yet made itself felt to the majority of people living there. When the time comes for the birth of a child, a neighbor or perhaps a relative comes into the house to cook and clean and look after the other children, and occasionally to assist with the birth. The father continues his usual round of occupations, as most women put it, "earning enough to feed another mouth." In some cases the man helps with the housework when he is home, and there are several men in the town who are good cooks and who can look after the children. In other cases the midwife may stay several days in the house, doing all these things. Recently, however, as a result of the death of one midwife and the resignation of two trained ones of the institute, the other two have been so busy that they cannot spend much time in any one house. A common complaint because of this is that the midwife tries to hurry the birth, massaging the woman's abdomen, and frequently attempting to induce birth before the normal time.

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The most popular midwife in town rarely has a chance to rest. She is in her seventies and is frequently in a state of exhaustion from caring for households where a birth has taken place. She sleeps there, usually on a grass mat since the mother occupies the only bed. She serves in the rural area also, as well as on the islands facing the town. Payment for

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

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this are being made, however, and it is hoped he will be ready for it before her death. In the meantime she has legally willed the house and its material belongings to him, and is also passing along to him her spiritual heritage. He is learning the mystical part of the cult, but she cannot show him the outer forms, such as dancing and other physical motions of worship, because she is too infirm. Traditionally only women went through training for worship in the Brazilian cults, for the belief is that the gods descend and "ride" or "mount" the disciple. This could only be done with women disciples. However, one of the changes reaching the cults now is the entrance of men as devotees. Very often they are effeminate, as is the case with the young man who is helping the old woman. The old one is not pleased with having a man perform the duties of her cult house, but she feels she must be satisfied with him because there is no one else in her house. Although all her former disciples are gone, now at least she will have someone to dispatch her saints when she dies, a complicated ritual which must be properly carried out.

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One of the other two houses is in the town and is led by Roxa, who has "made her saint" but who by cult standards should still be a devotee in another house, for she is not considered well enough prepared to be leading a house of her own. Her house is extremely weak, with few followers, most of whom have not yet "made their saints." Roxa is the main figure, the one most often possessed and through whom the spirits speak. As a young girl she went through a fairly rigorous period of training, but broke away before it was completed. She says she fulfills the necessary obligations now only because if she did not she would become sick. She calls the whole thing a "complication" in her life which must be looked after. She has been married but is now widowed and childless.

The other house, located on one of the plantations run by an overseer, is led by a man in his forties. He also claims that he is in the cult because of his health. As a boy and young man he was always sick and his entire body ached. One day in the field he found a "lightning stone" (pedra de raio). Such stones are common in the cults and are thought to have been sent from the sky, although they really are American Indian artifacts, such as arrowheads and hatchets, and are constantly turned up in the soil. At first he did not know what the stone was and took it home, but on discovering that it had supernatural significance, he threw it away, for he wanted nothing

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/62/ The Arts

*563 53 In Bahia the populace has its own art and its artists who interpret it according to their personal conception. And one may say that from this point of view there exists a form of art that is peculiar to poor and colored persons, especially in the [565] realm of music and dance. But in the artistic activities of the higher stratum of the population, the participation of colored *563 533 people is not important, except for music. Perhaps because of the belief that attributes to mulattoes a particular inclination for [555] music, colored musicians are relatively numerous, and some of them enjoy a great deal of prestige and are admitted into the social scheme. In all the bands and in all the orchestras there is a large proportion of Blacks and mulattoes, sometimes even as [875] soloists. Some of them engage in teaching and in this way reach [555] a higher social rank when, thanks to their competence, they succeed in having pupils who belong to the wealthiest families and when they become part of the teaching corps of the most important schools of music.

*563 875 533 Of three musicians, professors of piano and composition of Bahia, of great renown in the course of these last years, two are mulattoes. The most celebrated among them, after having very brilliantly concluded a course in Germany, taught for many years in Bahia; he then moved to another State; every time that he returns to his country he is the object of demonstrations of fellow-feeling; on these occasions numerous students or instrumentalists seek him out for short refresher courses. All Bahia is proud of the talents of this artist. Another mulatto, with the help of influential persons, organized a school of music which rapidly became very famous for the quality of its teaching and for the frequent concerts that it organized. After his death, the management of the school passed to his <u>moreno</u> son. The teaching of violin, which is at • [462] present done almost exclusively by men, includes numerous black or dark mulatto professionals; in the teaching of piano, an activity to a large extent engaged in by women, one finds <u>morenas</u> and *563 545 533 "whitened" of great fame. A very popular singer of mixed blood is both founder and directress of an organization which, with the contribution of some thousands of adherents of the highest classes of

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 249 567 [563] the offspring of master and slave and sometimes were considered as members of the household.

A set of feudalistic inter-relations developed in the society, loosely defining the responsibilities and privileges of master and slave. Ideally the slave had the privilege, almost the right, to appeal to the master in person for assistance and advice. Manumission and the granting of the right to purchase freedom were common. At the [466] same time, the economic system was based upon involuntary labor. The slave was exploited, and the fruit of his toil went to maintain the luxurious existence of the small upper class.

175 565 The small freemen occupied a very inferior social and economic position in this society. In the cities they became tradesmen or [463] [554] craftsmen, occupations without status. In the country some were petty dependents of the engenho, others established themselves as small cultivators. Since the sugar cane plantations dominated the central Recôncavo, it seems reasonable to assume that the small holders were segregated mainly in the outer zone.

175 161 162 In 1819--during the florescence of the Recôncavo--the population of the comarca (district) of Bahia was 362,503. Most of this population was centered in the Recôncavo--200,000 in the lowlands north of the Bay--the sugar cane area--and 77,503 in the western uplands around Cachoeira--the tobacco area.[31] At this time the total population of Bahia was estimated at 592,908 and that of Brazil as between 175 4,000,000 to 4,500,000.[32] Salvador, with a population somewhere 633 162 between 100,000 and 130,000, was the largest city in Brazil and remained so until 1830.[33] The class and ethnic composition of the 175 563 population of this period is not clearly indicated. By some estimates, 565 567 over half of the population of Bahia was slave and over three-fifths

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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Economic Orientation of the Population. The Baianos of the Recôncavo are predominately an agricultural people. This is true not only of the actual cultivators and the associated economic classes of the countryside, villages, and towns, but also in a sense of the almost 350,000 urban peoples of Salvador. As a result of longstanding economic interdependence and continuous travel and migration back and forth, the associations of the people of Salvador with the soil are compelling and personal.[18] In their agricultural orientation the people of the Recôncavo are typical of the general Brazilian population. Even with the inclusion of Salvador, with its relatively [162] large number of domestic and industrial workers, 47 per cent of the male workers of the Recôncavo were classified as agricultural laborers, whereas for the nation as a whole the comparable figure was 57 per cent, and for the United States, 31 per cent.[19] In the Recôncavo, if Salvador is disregarded, agricultural workers (with hunters and fishers) composed 65 per cent of the total male working population.

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Agriculture is even more important than the above figures indicate, for a large share of the remaining population of the Recôncavo is occupied with processing and marketing agricultural products, supplying the agriculturalists with goods and with credit, or serving indirectly the needs of agriculture. Thus it is evident that life and livelihood in the Recôncavo is essentially dependent upon agriculture. The agricultural orientation of the Recôncavo is reflected in the economic roles of individuals and classes, but also in the preoccupation of the people with matters of soil, climate, crops, and land value. In Salvador the price and market for agricultural products are commonplace subjects of discussion, and throughout the region merchants and businessmen observe the weather and conditions of the crops with interest and, on many occasions, with anxiety.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 464 As has been shown, the 196,000 agricultural workers in the Recôncavo in 1950 formed a relatively distinct cluster within Bahia. [131] These workers were concentrated especially in an arcuate belt near the western and northern frontiers, in the sub-urban zone of the larger cities, and in the central sugar zone. They were in complex motion, the net result of which was to reduce, in the decade 1940 to 1950, the agricultural labor force in the Central Recôncavo and to increase the labor force near the cities and along the western frontier. The labor force generally is adequately skilled for the agricultural tasks of the present system, but its tolerance for new ideas is [461] limited. The agricultural workers can work cheerfully and hard, but usually do so only with frequent interruptions, and the individual level of energy is low.

162 241 464 463 Rural Population. The agricultural labor force of the Recôncavo is a functionally but not residentially distinct segment of a larger population assemblage, the rural population. Rural population, as used here, includes not only the people of the countryside but also the village and town dwellers of all settlements without industrial establishments.[28] Although this assemblage can be defined in approximate residential terms as a rural population, it is considered here primarily as a functional grouping which includes agricultural workers and elements of all other major occupational groups except industrial workers. In this overwhelmingly agricultural society the associations of the non-agricultural occupational groups of the rural area with agriculture are of primary economic importance and compelling personal interest. While most of the agricultural workers are rural in the strictest sense, living in the countryside and on the fringes of the villages, towns, and cities, many others live within the small and

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

162 241 464 463 some in large urban centers. On the other hand, occupational groups sometimes considered to be urban--shopkeepers, for example--may have residences and places of business in the countryside. Thus it is not possible to differentiate occupational groups precisely on the basis of residence.[29]

162 241 464 In 1950 the rural population of the Recôncavo, as defined here, included 578,508 people. This assemblage represented about 54 per cent of the total population of the Recôncavo. Its distribution was broadly but not precisely comparable to that of the agricultural labor force, as will be seen.

162 241 464 463 The agricultural labor force, which has been discussed above, composes 34 per cent of the rural population. The remaining 66 per cent will be called the "service segment" of the rural population. This segment is composed primarily of the following elements: merchants, tradesmen, and speculators who buy agricultural products and supply the simple needs of the agriculturalists; indirect service groups such as financial agents, public administrators, and transport workers; and minors and dependent women.[30] All of these are directly or indirectly dependent upon the agricultural economy. This dependency is, of course, mutual: the farmer of the Recôncavo is, at least partially, a commercial agriculturalist who must market his products in order to purchase food and clothing. However, the agriculturalist is the primary producer; the service segment basically is auxiliary to the agricultural economy.

241 463 464 [162] The map (Map 20) of the service segment relative to the agricultural labor force reveals several significant contrasts. In the outer Recôncavo--from the southwest corner around the periphery to the northeast--the service segment is from 1.5 to 2.0 times the agricultural labor force. As will be seen, this is the zone of tobacco

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241 463 464 and manioc production. While there is some processing of agricultural products in this zone, the trade centers primarily are local, and there have been few historical reasons for urban development.

463 433 241 Around the Bay the relative size of the service segment increases to five, even to ten times the agricultural labor force. In this area there are some alternative productive pursuits, fishing and charcoal burning, for example. The definition given for the "service segment" is less appropriate in this zone: the fishermen, for example, render their service primarily to the major urban centers rather than to the agriculturalists. Moreover, there is a large parasitic group, especially in the sugar zone. The decline and rationalization of the sugar industry have left an unproductive class living in waning state but still supported by the agricultural economy. The sugar industry, which is more efficiently organized than other agricultural enterprises in the Recôncavo, probably is better able to support parasitic elements.

464 241 In addition to providing services, the service segment is the local labor reserve for agriculture. The extent of the reserve depends not only on the size of the service segment, but also on its composition. For example, in the western and northern areas of the Recôncavo, where two-fifths of the people are agricultural laborers, perhaps an additional one-fifth consists of small children and the aged and infirm. If those who perform essential services, basic to the economy, are deducted from the remaining two-fifths, few are left for a labor reserve. Fortunately the tobacco-manioc economy of the Recôncavo has little need for seasonal labor, and long-term labor needs, in theory at least, can be filled from the sertão.

464 In the sugar cane zone and on the Bay margins the general labor reserve is larger. However, this reserve is drawn upon by the labor

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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[14]See section by Charles Wagley in Wagley, op. cit., pp. 148-149.

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[15]Smith, op. cit., pp. 637-640, citing Anuário Estatístico do Brasil-1939/40, states that there were 687 church marriages for each civil marriage in Bahia. The number of common law marriages is, obviously, not precisely known. Brazilian statutes do not permit divorce from civil marriage.

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[16]The chief exception to this social pattern is during Carnaval, when people of all classes "let themselves go." However, it is mainly the adolescents of the upper class who, for the moment, escape from the rigid social code of their class.

[17]As a consequence of the high mobility of the lower class, many of these community or neighborhood identifications are transitory. However, because of the free social intercourse within the class, the local relationships are quickly established and easily maintained. The core of local identification and of the community or neighborhood seems to be maintained primarily by the more stable upper-stratum of the class.

[18]The industries, trading houses, and exporters of Salvador are concerned to a large degree with agricultural products.

[19]For the United States, see Smith, op. cit., p. 221. For Brazil, calculated from the 1940 census.

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[20]A special statement is required because the problems of deriving data for population in this region profoundly affect the reliability of the demographic analysis. At the time this analysis was made, only incomplete and preliminary population data from the 1950 census had been published. Total population data by political units--municípios and distritos--and by "urban" places were available. It was necessary to estimate the agricultural occupational data. The 1950 agricultural labor force was projected from the 1940 data on the basis of changes in the rural population. Because the agricultural labor force and the rural population of which it is a part are subject to approximately the same social and economic forces, it was assumed that the change in the latter could be used to project the 1950 size of the former. The tables showing the derivation of the agricultural labor force for 1950 are based upon this procedure.

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[21]In 1940 the composition of this occupational group--based upon a combination of population census and agricultural census data--for the state of Bahia was approximately as follows:

Independent operators	44 per cent
Members of family	27 per cent
Employees	24 per cent
Employers	2 per cent
Non-owner administrators	2.5 per cent

Thus less than 5 per cent of the agricultural labor force were administrators; the others were either cultivators, vaquéiros, or agricultural laborers. In the Recôncavo the administrative group probably was relatively smaller.

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[22]In a region of such large statistical areas and diverse physical resources, it is almost inevitable that mean figures for some municípios, such as Feira de Santana, Alagoinhas, Irará, or, most of all, Santo Amaro,

To the west, on the third hill, along the "beach," and in the small valleys, there is a different atmosphere. Here, in the Caquende, Boqueirão, Cortume, and Rua Nova (see map of town), there are no sobrados, no signs of former grandeur. The houses are of another style--small, one-story buildings with no air of antiquity about them. Some are made of brick, but most are of mud on a bamboo or mangue frame. Many have been coated with whitewash, some recently and some a long time ago. On the summit of this third hill, the Oiteiro, are the poorest houses of all, one- and two-room mud houses with thatched roofs. Recently in this section there have been some new-style houses built, tipo bangalo (bungalow-type), and there are signs of a growing prosperity among a few enterprising people. These areas of fishermen, of small storekeepers, and of those with crafts such as carpentry, bricklaying, and shoemaking, are the most heavily populated parts of the town of Vila Recôncavo today. According to the old inhabitants of the town, this section was undeveloped sixty years ago, and, to the old people, Vila Recôncavo is still up there on the hill, in the area of the sobrados. Nevertheless, the majority of the stores are in the lower part of town, which even has its own chapel. It is here that the children play although they must go up the hill to school. It is here that there are groups of men gossiping and having a drink of rum. It is here that an attitude of open friendliness prevails, and there are friendly faces at the windows. It is here that the drums beat when the African gods are feted.

The post office, located in the upper part of town, also has a telegraph. Messages go by special telephone to the nearby town of Centro, from where they are sent by wire. There is also a public telephone in the town which has two extensions, one in the house of the mayor and one in the house of the doctor. Other people must go to the telephone office to make or receive calls. The telephone is very uncertain; not only is it frequently impossible to get a call through but often nothing can be heard once the connection is made. From the town it is possible to speak through Centro to Salvador. It is also possible to speak to the sugar factory, and through its switchboard to several of the sugar plantations.

In recent years electricity has been brought to the town, and, in addition to lights on the streets, 78 of the 408 buildings in town have electricity. Of these, twenty-one have radios, and three have electric irons. Only the doctor, the health post, and the bar have refrigerators.

slave quarters. The entire unit formed a small village, for each plantation needed many specialists--carpenters, ironsmiths, bricklayers, coopers, sailors, fishermen, a barber, tailor, cowboy, chaplain--in addition to those whose trade was that of making sugar. In the morning the agricultural workers, cutters, and drivers went out to work in the fields, returning later in the day. Because of the size of the plantation and the number of its slaves--which frequently reached two or three hundred--the casa grande, settled among its royal palms and overlooking the mill, the slave quarters, the chapel, and other buildings, took on a distinct village appearance. 175 249* 361 [463] [567]

The owner and absolute ruler of these domains was the senhor de engenho, a title which became a symbol of wealth and later of nobility. The senhor de engenho dominated Bahia, and indeed all of the sugar-producing area of Alagoas and Pernambuco, for many years, socially and politically, until sugar was surpassed in importance by other crops and industries. Even much later, however, when sugar was less profitable and other activities surpassed it in economic importance to the nation, the plantation master was still a prominent figure, at least in northeastern Brazil. 175 249* 554 565*

Each unit was a complete entity in itself, with its sobrado, chapel, mill, slave quarters, slaves, cane fields, pastures, oxen, and forest land. The pattern for the Recôncavo plantation was set in the early years. Today many of the original boundary lines still exist, and the plantations have often kept their original names. In addition to cultivating several units of 700 to 1,000 acres within the land grant, the owner also often rented smaller parcels of land to lavradores--free individuals who with a few slaves cultivated a small amount of sugar cane which they sent to the plantation to be milled and made into sugar. These people were the nearest approach to small-scale farmers in the Recôncavo; however, they did not own their own land and were completely dependent upon the plantation master. There are many sad tales of small farmers who were cheated by the master and virtually became his slaves. They had to send their cane to his mill and often were told the cane was dry, or sour, or that less had been sent than they recorded. In all this it was necessary to take the word of the plantation's bookkeeper. There was no court of appeals--only the master, who represented law, order, and justice in the Recôncavo. 175 249* 361 [178] 175 249* 427 565*

As time went on the aspect of the sesmaria was lost, and the plantation complex became the principal characteristic. [178]

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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[The Private Plantation]

*249 Then everyone dons his best and the
517 women dance while the men play the drums, tambourines, and
535 cavaquinhos (a ukelelelike instrument) or simply stand around
534 watching, gossiping and "passing the branquinha" (the local white rum).

273 There is a hierarchy of personnel on the plantation, which starts with the owner, Dona Sinhá, and her family. On other
*249 plantations the owner is also sometimes a lawyer, doctor, or
463 engineer whose main interests, both economic and social, are in the city of Salvador. This is not always the case, however, for many owners are only rural proprietors, as is Dona Sinhá. But it is always considered a sacrifice to be obliged to
[221] spend the winter on one's plantation. It has been a traditional prerogative of the plantation master to spend the winter in the city, and it is one of the traditions kept up today by the planters. However, as soon as the rains show signs of abating in August or September, Dona Sinhá appears on the scene, generally grateful for her release from the city and from the round of anniversaries, parties, and official functions she feels called upon to attend while there.

This aspect of partial absenteeism has given rise to the next rung in the hierarchical ladder: the overseer. As such he is a relatively new phenomenon, but he has actually been part of the scene for a long time. At the time of the engenho, the feitor-mor, or head foreman, frequently occupied the place of today's overseer. Seu Paulo is the focal point for most activities on Fazenda das Moças. It is he who puts into action Dona Sinhá's plans, for he has the greatest contact with the workers in the fields and at home, on the arruado (the street on which the houses are located). During the time Dona Sinhá is away
*249 he is ruler of the plantation (dono da terra).

Seu Paulo rose from the workers' ranks; he is familiar with all aspects of sugar-cane cultivation, and is able to handle
463 men and to deal with the owner as well as with the workers.
159 He is a dark mulatto, about forty-six years old, with a large family. He is sought after by the workers as godfather to their children. He rents a small piece of land on which he raises his own sugar cane. He has his own burros, oxen, and carts, which he rents to Dona Sinhá during the harvest season. Although unable to read or write, he can do figures in his head in an astounding fashion. He dresses well, in what is sometimes thought to be an attempt to imitate the plantation master of bygone days, while Dona Sinhá and her family have adopted a more comfortable garb for the country--"modo ameri-

cano." He spends most of his day in the saddle, riding from one point of operation to another; going to the sugar mill to straighten out this or that matter, such as the nonappearance of railroad cars at the plantation loading point; caring for the troubles of the workers; and looking to his own interests. 249* 463 159

Below these two figures of authority is a salaried man who stands only slightly apart from the bulk of the workers, the foreman (feitor), Asclepiades. It is his duty to keep track of how much work is done each day and by whom. He walks about the plantation, from field to field, measuring with the six-foot stick he carries and making down in his notebook the amount of work done by each man. The plantation laborers are paid according to how much each of them weeded, or planted, or to how many tons of cane each cut or conducted to the factory. Asclepiades writes it down in his little black book, and it appears on the daily work sheet which in turn is transferred to the fortnightly payroll. During harvest time the records of who was the driver and who the guide, of how much sugar cane was cut and by whom, are kept at each end of the plantation where the carts must pass to be weighed before the cane is transferred to the factory. It is Seu Paulo's duty every morning to assign tasks to the workmen, while Asclepiades keeps track of how much is done but does not see that it gets done, for this is the duty of the overseer. The foreman is paid a monthly salary of one thousand cruzeiros, and although he does not occupy the position of prestige which the overseer has there is always the chance that he may become an overseer either on that plantation or on another. 249* 463 465

There is one other salaried person on the plantation--the cowboy (vaqueiro) João who receives four hundred cruzeiros a month, plus room and board. João takes care of the cattle, milk cows, and saddle horses. He must also inspect the fences constantly and report any breaks, and whenever possible retrieve animals which have broken out of the pasture and wandered into the cane fields, where they cause great damage. As a rule the pastures are fenced, as are new cane plantations, but the established cane fields are left unguarded. Fences do not last more than one season, for the posts rot because of the wet soil, and the barbed wire rusts quickly. João is also the constant companion of the plantation owner when she is present, accompanying her or her children or guests on pleasure rides, meeting the train or boat with horses for guests or business acquaintances, and getting the mail from the post office in 249* 463 233 249* 463

*249 463 [578] [466] the town of Vila Recôncavo. João lives in the owner's house, enjoying her confidence to a greater degree than anyone else except perhaps the overseer. This is frequently the cause of friction between the cowboy and overseer, and this fact is not helped by the fact that João is an inlander (sertanejo), a true cowboy, taciturn and independent, from the cattle country to the north of Recôncavo. When Dona Sinhá is away, he occupies a different position, subject to the orders of Seu Paulo unless Dona Sinhá has left definite instructions for him. When Dona Sinhá is present he receives orders directly from her, bypassing the overseer. João is in a position to check on much of the plantation activity, bringing to the owner's attention any necessary works forgotten by Seu Paulo.

*249 464 162 Below the owner, overseer, foreman, and cowboy are the bulk of the resident workmen (moradores). On the Fazenda das Moças, there is a population of slightly over two hundred men, women, and children, providing a working force of between sixty and seventy men and boys, plus a few women who occasionally do light work in the fields.

*249 46 465 Below is an extract from one of the fortnightly pay sheets of the plantation. A brief explanation of the list, beginning at the top, will give a good idea of at least a part of the work on a plantation in this community. The "second weeding of a cane field" indicates that the man worked in a field which had already been weeded once since planting. Depending upon the amount of sunshine and rain and the quality of the weeding done, a field may have to be weeded as many as seven times between harvests. A cane field (taboleiro) varies from ten to twenty tarefas, and each field is numbered. Seu Paulo can therefore assign a man to weed a certain field, and they will both know whether it is the first, second, third, or other weeding. The weedings become progressively more difficult so that the amount paid per unit increases with the number of weedings. Weeding constitutes one of the major expenditures on Fazenda das Mocas, as it is done slowly with a hoe. As with all other tasks on the plantation, there is a set price for this work.

"Carrying seed" indicates the transference of bundles of tops of sugar-cane stalks from a field where they are cut to another where they are planted. The amount paid per trip increases with the distance the man must travel between fields. As a rule, several fields of cane are planted to be used exclusively for seed. The next item on the list, "cutting seed,"

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*249
461 indicates work done in these fields. The top of the stalk just
465 below the leaves is used as seed.

"Cutting out cattle" refers to selecting cattle from the herd to be used for the day's transportation. The "trip to neighboring plantation" means that Malaquias was sent to another plantation on an errand either for Dona Sinhá or for Seu Paulo on some plantation business, such as to get the payroll sheets, which are made up by a resident of another plantation. "Planting" means the first planting of sugar cane, while "replanting" means planting cane in the spaces where the first seed did not grow, either because it was buried too deeply, or because after planting it received too much sunshine or too much rain. Such spaces are always filled in when the new cane reaches a height of several inches.

•[463] "Carpentering," a craft, commands a higher salary than agricultural work. Sometimes a plantation keeps a carpenter on a regular salary; at other times he is hired from the factory, as is the case here. His work may be on the wooden carts used for transportation or on any of the many houses of the plantation.

[491] An estiva is a type of makeshift bridge crossing a drainage ditch or a low spot on the road where water collects during the rainy season. It is usually no more than four or five yards long and a yard or two wide. The lengthwise pieces are bamboo with other pieces of the same material laid across them close together. Then earth is placed on top and smoothed off. These bridges require constant repair work. During the height of the rainy season they often break up entirely and float away. They are often quite perilous for horses, burros, and oxen, whose legs sometimes go through the bamboo latticework.

[233] "Catching escaped cattle" requires some agility on the part of the person who does it. It is usually done on foot, and if the ox or cow is in a cane field it must be worked out carefully in order not to destroy too much of the standing sugar cane. "Repairing fences" accompanies catching escaped cattle, for the animals often break through the fences enclosing their pastures. The fence posts are usually of bamboo, which rots quickly and must be constantly watched and replaced as it shows signs of weakening. "Cutting bamboo" is done for many
[824] different ends. Most plantation boundary lines are marked by rows of graceful bamboos whose wood is used for fence posts and estivas, as well as for the wicker framework of the mud-covered houses.

[The Private Plantation]

have little to do with the residents. At the end of the season they can be seen walking along the paths of the Recôncavo toward the north, each man carrying over his shoulder a stick from which is suspended a cloth bundle containing his few possessions. 249* 464

One prominent aspect of the relationships between people in this hierarchy is the intimacy and familiarity which has for so long characterized the Recôncavo. While slavery was not a benign institution anywhere, there was a softness in the relations between the Brazilian and his slaves which seems to have been absent in other slave areas. This quality persists today on private plantations such as Fazenda das Moças between the owner and the workers. Dona Sinhá knows the residents by name or nickname, knows their background and present condition; the worker knows Dona Sinhá's family background, her children, and her extended family. 249* 466 571 [567]

The former master is now the patron. It is she who arbitrates any differences between workers, or between a worker and Seu Paulo. It is her task to protect the worker against injustices, to provide medical care, to aid at weddings and baptisms, in short to do all the things the worker is unable to do through ignorance, fear, or poverty.

The relationship between Dona Sinhá and Seu Paulo is a curious one, for neither one of them can do without the other. The role of overseer came into being for several reasons, the primary one being the absenteeism of the owner. In order to keep the plantation running properly all year long it was necessary for someone with knowledge and authority to be present all the time; so the former feitor-mor became known as the overseer, with a house larger and better than that of anyone else on the plantation except the owner. As time went on, the overseer gathered more and more rights and privileges unto himself, until today he is the veritable owner of the plantation in all but the legal sense. He has the confidence and loyalty of the workmen, without which he would be a failure. He eventually becomes related to nearly all of them through the system of godparentship; in fact, he is more sought after than the owner for this purpose. On the Fazenda das Moças, the overseer is paid a higher salary than any other overseer in the area--as much as Cr$1.500,00 a month in comparison with Cr$1.000,00 or less for the others. In addition he receives a bonus at the end of the year, one cruzeiro for each ton of sugar cane the plantation produced during the year. 249* 463 466 571 [608] [465]

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Private Plantation]

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Dona Sinhá and other plantation owners feel that a plantation cannot be successful without a good overseer, and they also feel that the white man does not make a good overseer. They say he cannot stand the heat of the summer and the rain and mud of the winter when spending entire days in the saddle overseeing the work. Only the indefatigable mestiço is supposed to be able to take such punishment. The owners also say that only he can deal properly with the mestiço workers--that, being one himself, he knows their "foibles and tricks." To a certain extent the mestiço population seems to agree with this, for orders from the overseer are much more promptly obeyed than orders from the owner, and most of the workmen prefer to have the overseer explain what is wanted. It is also believed that the mestiço is stronger. For example, if Dona Sinhá has made a hard trip in the winter to get to the plantation the workers will sympathize with her, saying, "You came through all that rain and mud, and at night!" when the same trip may be a daily one for the overseer, the cowboy, or any of the workers.

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However, the creation of the position of overseer has also created a series of new problems for the owners. All owners now suspect their overseers of cheating them, and the control of the overseer is a subject which comes up frequently at social gatherings. Since the owner is absent from the plantation about half the year, there are many things which the overseer must do without consulting his employer. The owners will interpret independent action on the overseer's part as good management, mismanagement, or cheating, depending upon the results of the action. When the results are doubtful and there is any suspicion that the overseer might have gained money by his action, it is considered cheating. Very often the owners claim that the overseer and the foreman are "partners" working together against him.

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On one plantation in the community of Vila Recôncavo, the owner decided he would be his own overseer. He was young and had been born and brought up on the plantation. Within a few years his harvest had dropped to almost nothing, and lately he has changed to raising milk cows, at which he has not been particularly successful either. He himself, and all his friends, blame his lack of success on the lack of an overseer, saying that even though the old overseer had cheated and helped himself to what was not his, the plantation as a whole had not suffered as badly as it did without him.

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Private Plantation]

As a result, owners have to be satisfied with higher costs than they feel necessary and less profit than they think possible, the difference going to the overseer, rather than accept the complete failure of the plantation Overseers, foremen, and owners are all aware of the situation, but politeness, the traditional respect patterns, and the unwillingness to compete openly keep the situation covert. 249* 463 466 571

Nevertheless, on Fazenda das Moças, in spite of these difficulties there is considerable cooperation between Dona Sinhá and Seu Paulo. The duties of the overseer are confined generally to the plantation itself--seeing that the work is done, the cane planted, cultivated, harvested, and delivered to the factory as expediently as possible. The duties of Dona Sinhá are mainly concerned with finance, with arranging ready funds to meet the current expenses of the plantation. The practice of mortgaging crops did not end with the abolition of slavery, and it is the owner's task to juggle funds, loans, and interest so she will have enough money to improve and increase the yield of her plantation. In general the owners of single plantations rarely have enough funds to carry them through the year. Payrolls are met throughout the year with advances on the estimated harvest made by the factory, by the banks, or by the Cooperative of Sugar-Cane Growers and Suppliers. Thus when the season ends the owner is already in debt, part of which he must pay off in order to finance the coming year. There are two problems constantly present in the struggle to increase the size of the harvest: cost of production, and the antiquated methods used on the private plantations, where practically all work is done by hand. 249* 463 426 [433]

Table 1 shows production, costs, and profits for the harvests of the years 1947-48, 1948-49, and 1949-50 at Fazenda das Moças. The drop in production and the rise in costs in the years 1948-49 were attributed to a slackening of the vigilance of Dona Sinhá and to a poor overseer. It was at the end of this year that Seu Paulo assumed the position of overseer of the plantation. The following year showed a great improvement which has continued, for the 1950-51 harvest produced 6,000 tons, the highest output of any private plantation in the Recôncavo. Future harvests are expected to go well above this. In addition to changing the overseer, and in the following year the foreman, Dona Sinhá was able to borrow enough money to purchase the tractor mentioned earlier. The next year, as a result of the evident success of the new combination, two four- 249* 43 [426] [407] [493]

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Usina]

The private plantation presents a far better appearance than any plantation belonging to the factory, for it is usually "home" to the owner, who is interested in keeping it as pleasant as possible, while the factory plantation in charge of an overseer is simply a business project existing only to produce sugar cane. 249* 466 184

At the Usina São Pedro, as stated earlier for the Recôncavo generally, the consolidation of land by the corporations has not turned the entire property into one large plantation. Instead, each plantation has retained its old boundaries, indeed complete autonomy, following only the general policies of the factory directory. The Usina São Pedro happens to be situated in a central position in relation to its six plantations. This is not always the case, for frequently the lands of a factory are scattered far from the plant itself, creating difficulties of administration and transportation. 249* 423

Each of the plantations has its own nucleus, the street of workers' houses oriented toward the house of the overseer. Each of these little villages has its own small store, usually a private enterprise of the overseer. The largest plantation, Pedras, has a chapel and a school. None of the plantations has an electric power line, but each has a telephone in the overseer's house. The feeling of isolation and abandonment is strong, as indeed it is on almost all overseer-directed plantations belonging to a factory. There is a general feeling of pity for the residents who are situated so far from their patrão and whose first recourse must be the overseer, a man like themselves, with little or no education and little interest in the people other than to keep them working. In other words, the factory plantation lacks the paternal hand of the owner. In other respects it is similar to the private plantation in that it has an overseer, a foreman, a cowboy, and resident workmen. 249* 36 [206] 249* 571 [184]

The bulk of the agricultural direction of the São Pedro plantations is in the hands of the general overseer, Seu Pipiu. It is his duty to direct and supervise the activities of all six plantations. He is a man of no small status. He is practically independent in his actions, for the directors of the factory tell him how much cane they feel they need in the forthcoming harvest, and it is up to him to produce it. The methods and problems in doing this are left up to him. Seu Pipiu gives orders to each of the regional overseers, whose duties are the same as those of the overseer on a private plantation. The only difference is that they are dealing with a superior employee, instead of with the owner in person. The general over- 249* 463 466

[The Usina]

* 249 463 466 seer is entitled to the same rights and privileges as any other worker: a house, land on which to grow subsistence crops, and the use of the owner's pastures for his oxen, burros, and horses. The horses used in his work are supplied by the corporation, as are those of the other overseers. His salary is high: Cr$2.000,00 a month, plus a bonus of one cruzeiro for each ton of cane produced on all six plantations. The regional overseers receive Cr$800,00 a month, plus a bonus of half a cruzeiro per ton of cane produced on their plantation. Seu Pipiu has been general overseer of Usina São Pedro for twenty-five years, during which time he has accumulated a good deal of property. He is a mulatto, somewhat lighter skinned than the six administrators who are under him. Two of his sons work in the factory office, and a third runs the store on one of the plantations. In addition he is a small farmer, renting some forty acres from the factory, on which he plants sugar cane. He pays 25 per cent of the harvest to the factory for the use of the land.

[492] [465] * 249 463 159 [427]

* 249 466 The usineiros have the same complaints against their general overseers that private plantation owners have against theirs. At the same time, after many years of service such an official becomes indispensable, or is thought to be, and is allowed to go his way--quiet, well dressed, well mounted, ruler of all he surveys--while the usineiro watches and mutters to himself.

* 249 [184] So far the rural properties of the factories have led the private plantations in the field of mechanization, as they have greater funds for purchasing equipment and can get more use out of each piece. Mechanization, however, is used as yet only in preparing the soil for planting. The ground is plowed and replowed, and grooves are made to receive the cane shoots. Also, planting in unplowed land is still common--grooves are opened for the seed with the simple plow, and no soil preparation is done at all. Here mechanization ends, and all further cultivation, as well as the cutting and harvesting of the cane, is done by hand. Narrow-gauge railway tracks reach out from the mill to loading points on the six plantations, where the cane is transferred from the oxcarts to the railroad wagons to be drawn to the mill. Approximately two thousand acres are under cultivation; the remaining land is used as pasture or as garden plots by the workers, in accordance with a rotation system.

[496] [493] [311]

000 Financially the two units--factory and plantation--are run

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SC11 Bahia Brazilians SC11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

5. Town Life

THE OCCUPATIONS of the townspeople in Vila Recôncavo differ considerably from the pursuits of the people in the rural zone. The town residents are engaged in gaining a living from a number of small enterprises; the economy is a money economy, and not one dominated by mutual obligations and rights, as it is to a certain degree on the plantations. Vila Recôncavo is the county seat and lacks any organized commerce or industry. It can be called an administrative town, inasmuch as government employment is the life of many of the people, especially the town's upper class.

The economic occupations of the townspeople can be divided into four groups: (1) the bureaucrats and merchants; (2) the group which serves them, such as cooks and laundresses; (3) a middle group of artisans whose greatest asset, as well as liability, is their independence; (4) a small group of people who do not fit into any of the three groups above.

According to the census which was taken in June, 1950, the labor force of the town numbered 459 persons, including men and women. Of the 459, eleven listed themselves as unemployed. The remainder of the population were listed as housewives, students, small children, and old people who were retired or incapacitated. In this category, which numbers about one thousand people, there are individuals who engage in part-time work, such as carrying water or firewood or doing piecework sewing--in other words, small occupations which in their eyes are not worthy of being classed as employment.

The occupations which were listed can be broken down into the four groups mentioned above as follows:

2a Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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[632]
[441]

Group 1 (bureaucrats and merchants)	Federal and state employees	54
	Municipal employees	16
	Merchants	12
		82
Group 2 (service occupations)	Laundresses	46
	Ironers	17
	Electricians	1
	General servants	29
	Seamstresses	8
	Embroiderers	1
	Store cashiers	10
	Canoeists	2
	Bakery workers	4
		118
Group 3 (artisans)	Farmers	24
	Fishermen	132
	Bricklayers	6
	Barbers	6
	Carpenters	4
	Tailors	3
	Peddlers	3
	Woodworkers	2
	Coopers	1
	Butchers	1
	Shoemakers	1
	Quitandeiras[1]	1
		184

Group 3 workers employ the following number of people, either as employees or as apprentices:

Bricklayers	17
Workers in roças	13
Fishermen	5
Tailors	4
Woodworkers	1
Carpenters	1

[443]

1. Quitanda is an incipient store, usually run by a woman who sells vegetables and fruit from her windowsill.

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SC11 Bahia Brasiliana SC11

VILA RECÔNCAVO

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	Barbers	2
	Apprentice bricklayers	1
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Group 4 (miscellaneous)	Unemployed	11
	Factory workers	9
	Plantation workers	3
	Employees of Institute Vila Recôncavo (which will be described later)	8
		31

The federal and state employees in the town consist of the following people: 463 632

25 petroleum workers
9 teachers and maintenance workers from the nearby federal school
6 primary school teachers
3 tax collectors and secretary
1 federal statistics agent
1 postal and telegraph agent
1 mail carrier
2 secretaries of the Justice of the Peace
1 secretary of the civil register
1 police secretary
1 police lieutenant
2 policemen (this number changes occasionally)
1 malaria serviceman (called "José do DDT")

The Justice of the Peace, who is not listed above, does not live in the county but holds court in the courthouse once a week, or at other times if the occasion demands. His secretary, a local woman, does most of the work and has everything in readiness when he arrives. [693]

The twenty-five men listed as petroleum workers represent that industry's major contribution to the town. The oil workers receive relatively good wages, steady and sufficient for them to engage the services of at least one servant and a laundress. They may therefore be included in Group 1, even though they are not white-collar workers as are the others of the group. These men, rather than living in the petroleum workers' camp which is near the factory, have brought their fam- 463 [484]

•463 [484] [521] ilies to live in Vila Recôncavo and travel to their work and back daily. During the summer this trip is made by truck, but in the winter it is made by foot or if possible by canoe. The petroleum industry has attracted few local people as yet. Instead, strangers have come into the area as petroleum employees. A favorite conversation among fishermen is a discussion of whether they should give up fishing and go to work in the oil fields. The general feeling is that they are better off as fishermen. As they put it, if they fished for the same number of hours as the oil men work, they could earn more money than the petroleum workers. In their present occupation they can work as much or as little as they wish, the major determinant being whether there is enough in the house to eat and still a little left over for cigarettes, Coca-Colas, and occasional new clothes. They are an independent group, and are frequently criticized as being lazy because they will not take steady employment. This seems an unfair criticism in view of the rigors of fishing.

463 [875] [632] The others listed in the group of federal and state employees have permanent appointments to their jobs and in all but a few cases are local people. The federal tax collector and his wife, who is one of the schoolteachers, are strangers to the area, but are now well integrated in the town. Three other schoolteachers are from other parts of the state and spend only the school year in Vila Recôncavo. There is a difference between the teachers who make Vila Recôncavo their home and those who do not. Those who spend only the school year there have little or no contact with the local population, apparently feeling that they are superior to anyone there. They are young women, but do not look for husbands among local men and openly admit they do not like the town. They are prominent in the group which calls the fishermen lazy and uncultured, and in general are unsympathetic to the town dwellers.

463 632 There are sixteen municipal employees, all of them local people, consisting of the county secretary, the treasurer and his assistant, the contador who takes care of the county spending, the fiscal who is supposed to supervise the collecting of the county funds, three county tax collectors, and others who occupy minor posts such as courthouse porter. These positions are appointive, and as a result of the relative stability of the area's politics the appointees are seldom changed. The secretary is the man who does most of the county's adminis-

trative work; he comes into office with a mayor and frequently remains through the terms of several other mayors. He therefore knows the duties well and can aid the mayor considerably. In addition, the secretary has a small store in town, capitalized at Cr$10.000,00, where drinks (rum and soft drinks), dried meat (charque), cigars, cigarettes, grass mats, condensed milk, wooden sandals, and a few other small items are sold. 463 632 [443] [471]

The top municipal office is that of the mayor, which in Brazil is a county-wide office. The mayor is not on the above list as an employee, because he occupies another place in the census from which these data were taken. In Vila Recôncavo the mayor has come traditionally from the top social level, the rural landowning group. The office is elective, with a four-year term, except in the 1930's and 1940's, when the mayor was chosen by the appointed governor of the state (interventor). In Vila Recôncavo, as a general rule, the mayor has little or no interest in the town or, except in a few cases, in the office, which is considered a more-or-less onerous duty. He traditionally does not accept his salary. At the time of the last election there was consternation on the part of the planters, for no one wanted the office but clearly someone had to take it. When the choice was made, the candidate--one of the usina directors--was elected, for he had no opponent. The majority of the duties are left in the hands of the secretary, the mayor doing only a minimum of supervision and contributing little that is constructive. Generally any important matters are discussed at the home of the mayor, and his orders are conveyed to the secretary by messenger or telephone.

The last mayor, Dr. Aliança, was an exception to the rule. He was interventor in 1947 and was elected mayor in 1948, serving until the general elections in the fall of 1950. He is a civil engineer and the owner of two large plantations, maintaining in perfect condition the old master's house of the former plantation in which he lives, as well as a large house in Salvador. While the roots of his family are in the Recôncavo, he himself came from the north and married into a plantation family of Vila Recôncavo. Although his family tradition has been that of sugar cane, he has not hesitated to break many of the traditional patterns of the area. One of his two plantations has been given over to experiments with other crops, such as bananas, rice, and manioc, on a relatively large scale, and also some production of milk and butter. A few 159 632 463 242

[Town Life]

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632 years ago, after determining that these crops were not suf-
463 ficiently rewarding, he made a large-scale planting of white
[242] cacao. It is still too early to speak of the outcome of this venture, for the trees have not yet started to give their first fruit, but this instance illustrates his usual energetic spirit.

Dr. Aliança took the office of mayor seriously and gave a
159 great deal of energy to it. His accomplishments were many
632 in the space of a few years: the paving of most of the town's
463 streets, the installation of electric lights on the streets, the
653 formation of a company to sell electricity to those who wanted it, the installation of telephone communications with the capital, and the construction of a new, modern primary school building. As a result of his personal energy and direction these works were completed, or at least nearly so, when he left the office. (According to law, the mayor cannot be reelected). However, with the exception of building a bridge, nothing was done in the rural areas of the county. Traditionally any public works in the county are done in the county seat.

441 Many of the merchants in Group 1 are small operators.
463 The capitalization of the stores in Vila Recôncavo runs from
443 Cr$100.000,00 to as low as Cr$5.00,00. However, no matter
[471] how small the store, it provides a living for someone, or as they say in Vila Recôncavo, "Sempre da!" To the ordinary town citizen it is difficult to get enough capital together to open a store, but once opened it rarely closes for lack of business. Of the twelve stores in town, eight are owned and operated by men, and the other four belong to women. The best store in
441 town and the poorest one both belong to women. The "best"
444 store, Dona Carmen's, is the oldest, located on the main
[428] street leading from the boat dock. At present it is owned by Dona Carmen, who inherited it from her brother. It combines a general store and a bakery, and its prices are often slightly higher than those in other stores. It serves most of the people living in the older section of town. In addition to having the largest stock of ordinary foods, the store also carries finer packaged products such as wines, jellies, and preserves.

444 Bread is baked in the afternoon and delivered to the doors
256 of the customers' houses, still warm and with the delicious odor always associated with bread fresh from the oven. The bakery's customers for the most part have standing orders, receiving bread or rolls each day in time for supper. What is left over is hawked through the streets by the delivery boy,

who walks about with a huge round basket on his head crying, "Pão, pão." 444 256

Dona Carmen's husband, Damião, is also a storekeeper. His store is in the downhill part of town, near the fishermen. The two stores are run separately, and the couple are doing well financially. In addition to his store, Damião also owns several canoes and fish nets which he rents to fishermen. He is the only storekeeper in town who gives credit to people who cannot pay immediately, allowing bills to run many months and even more than a year. He also allows his customers to borrow money in order to buy things outside his store--for instance fish, which he does not handle. He does not charge interest on these loans, nor seemingly make any demands on those who borrow. On the other hand the borrowers feel a sort of loyalty toward him and do not forget their debts, which they eventually manage to pay. 441 463 [444] [427] [452] [426]

Three of the smallest stores are owned and operated by women, whose husbands have set them up in business in a small way in order, as one put it, to "give my wife something to do." It is considered desirable for a woman to operate a store and it is usually the beginning of something larger, for later, whenever possible, the husband will stop his own work and help operate the store. In the case of the smaller stores the owner generally lives in the same building, either alongside the store or behind it. The larger storekeepers, however, usually have separate houses. At night they lock up the stores, which are sometimes guarded by dogs or even by the cashiers who sleep there. The storekeepers are usually asked for donations to the church at the time of any special festivals, and generally become politically active after they become established in business. 441 444 463 [562] [431] [66]

The stock in most of the stores is pretty much the same, varying in amount rather than diversity: drinks (rum and soft drinks), dried meat (the staple meat of the population), cereals, cigars, cigarettes, estivas (which include beans, rice, and farina, the three great staples of the local diet), as well as coffee, palm oil (azeite de dendê), vinegar, olive oil, garlic, onions, wooden sandals, condensed and powdered milk, salt, sugar, miudezas (small items such as matches and ribbons), toilet articles and laundry soaps, blueing agents and starch, grass mats, kerosene, and in one store aluminum kitchenware which is not sold very often, as well as nails, wire, screws, and wrapping paper and cord. One store in the 443

443 upper part of town also sells cloth. Most stores also have small supplies of chocolate (considered a great treat at a party), tea, honey, canned desserts such as guava, and canned butter and cheese. As a rule fresh vegetables are not sold in the stores but peddled through the streets, since few people eat them. It is more practical to order them specially from someone going to the fair in Centro. Nearly everyone has a banana tree or an orange tree in the back yard, so that few fruits are sold in the stores. The other seasonal crops, such as cashew nuts, corn, and pineapples, are peddled from house
443 to house. As a rule people in Vila Recôncavo buy their food
432 in small quantities, since they have no methods of food pres-
[251] ervation. A liter bottle is carried to the store to be filled with oil or kerosene; a small can is carried there to be filled with rice, beans, or farina. The smoked meat called charque is bought by the kilo and left hanging in the kitchen, and strips are cut from it at meal times. Although the price of charque is as high as that of fresh meat, and at times higher, people say it is more satisfying. As a rule the butcher in Vila Recôncavo kills two steers a week, on Wednesday and Saturday. The meat is carried through the streets unwrapped, hanging from a cord. It is not unusual to see a string of dogs following such a person. The meat is eaten the same day to prevent spoilage, and as a result it is usually tough and flavorless.

463 Most of the people included in Group 1 lead an upper-class
*565 kind of life; indeed to a great extent these people are the town's highest class, as will be shown in the next chapter. These are the people who do little or no labor themselves other than the white-collar work with which they earn their living. The men
[291] dress in city clothes most of the time--white shirt, tie, and suit coat--and the women are always neatly dressed with shoes and silk stockings. (The oil workers are an exception, for they do not hold white-collar jobs but wear overalls and helmets). There is always help to do the housework and the marketing.
463 Sometimes a cook is employed; otherwise the lady of the house
*565 does her own cooking, assisted by her daughters. The laundry is sent out, or else the laundress comes to the house to do it,
357 and water for drinking purposes and for washing is brought to the house by a man or woman employed for the purpose; mem-
[296] bers of the household never fetch water at the wells. Often the house has a cement tank and drains on the roof to catch
[312] rainwater. Nor does any member of the house fetch firewood,
[313] which is supplied by a hired person.

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Town Life]

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The majority of people in Group 1 live in the older part of Vila Recôncavo, often in the old colonial sobrados, and they rarely descend the hill to the part of town inhabited by the fishermen. Indeed, they mix little with people of the town, and there is almost no social life within the group itself. Parties are expensive, and visiting from house to house in the evening is not common. Vila Recôncavo has no such pastime as the evening walk in the square. This group is seldom united on anything, especially local politics; however, the more distant the question the more apt the group is to be of one mind. [361] [574]

Most families in this group send their children to school in Salvador, go there on holidays whenever possible, receive the city newspaper and the Diario Oficial,[2] and shop in the city as often as they can. [871] [204] [443]

Vila Recôncavo differs in one respect from most other rural Brazilian communities: it has no parish priest. The mother church of the parish (matriz) has long been unable to support its own priest, and the duties which would normally fall to such a person are performed by the Franciscans, whose convent is in Vila Recôncavo. The priests remain within the convent, taking little or no part in the social life of the town. 793 [792]

It will be noted that there was no mention of a drug store in Vila Recôncavo. There was none until 1945, when a nonprofit organization, the Institute of Vila Recôncavo, was opened. This is a medical post supported by federal, state, municipal, and private funds; its director is Friar Innocence, a Franciscan lay brother. The institute is housed in the spacious old buildings of the extinct Third Order of Franciscans, and consists of a pharmacy, an infants' milk and soup distributing center, a maternity post, a dental post, and other medical facilities. The dentist, who has modern equipment, is competent in his work. For several years a doctor was in daily attendance, dividing his time between the institute and the petroleum workers' camp. As a result of a complicated local political conflict, he left the institute, however, and Friar Innocence arranged for a visiting doctor to come from Centro and spend two days a week in Vila Recôncavo. Three town girls were sent to Salvador to study nursing and midwifery, so there is competent medical assistance. 743 [444] [792] 743 759

2. The Diario Oficial is the newspaper in which government laws and regulations are published. As a rule, it is the publication of a regulation which makes it become a law.

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[Town Life]

743 so there is competent medical assistance. Those who are too poor to pay receive free aid and medications, milk, and soup; those who can pay do so, paying only the wholesale prices of the articles. The institute is well equipped, with an x-ray machine, diathermy, and other heat appliances, which are popular because of the prevalence of colds and rheumatism.

743 529 [546] 743 873 The institute also operates the weekly motion picture which has been a great boon to the town, a recreation room, centrally located in the town, which has a radio, billiard tables, and a bar selling milk shakes, sandwiches, beer, and soft drinks. This place has become the major meeting place for the men and boys of the town. In addition to this, the institute also runs a night school for adults.

463 [571] [462] Group 2, as listed at the beginning of this chapter, consists mainly of the people who work for those in Group 1 and who are attached to them by the bonds of the patronship to some extent, as well as by salary. The majority of persons in this category are women, engaged in the traditional female pursuits of washing, ironing, sewing, embroidering, and general housework.

296 462 463 [482] As a rule the laundry is washed at one of the town wells, which are encased in cement. The women carry the dirty clothes, a bucket, and wooden basin, all piled on top of their heads, to the well. They pull up enough water in their buckets to fill the basins in which the clothes are washed. After a soaking and scrubbing with soap the wet, soapy clothes are spread out on the ground in the sun, and from time to time water is sprinkled on them to aid the sun in bleaching. Then the clothes are rewashed and spread out to dry. Depending upon the weather, the washing and drying process may take from a whole day to three or four days before the clothes are considered clean enough. Then they are taken home to be ironed. The older pattern demanded that a different person do the ironing, but today this pattern is breaking down and frequently the same person washes and irons. The irons used are the old-fashioned kind heated by charcoal, which is placed inside and ignited. The irons are made with drafts to keep the fire going, and the women must stop frequently to fan the fire or renew the charcoal. Often a busy woman has two irons going and sets one aside to heat while she irons with the other.

[463] [178]

462 252 463 Many women also prepare xangó, a small sardinelike fish caught in great quantities by the fishermen of Vila Recônca-

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vo. There are about twenty women in the town who are thus employed constantly, and others who work part-time with the fish. They go down to the beach, carrying five-gallon gasoline cans, when they see the fishermen coming in, and buy the fish by the canful at about Cr$25,00 a can, sometimes buying as many as ten canfuls. An exceptional catch for a day will run well over fifty cans, especially during the winter months. The women then take the fish home, clean them and pack them in salt for twenty-four hours, after which they put them on spits, two narrow slivers of wood cut from the dendê palm. Five fish go on each two spits. They are then hung out to dry in the sun for about two days. If it rains, the drying takes longer, and frequently many are lost. Few of the women ever become accustomed to the odor of the salted, drying fish, and they complain bitterly about it. But they know that there is always a market for the dried product, and this compensates to some extent for the unpleasantness involved. A can of fish usually provides 150 to 200 spits, and they are sold for Cr$25,00 to Cr$30,00 a hundred spits. The price is generally slightly higher if they are sold at the weekly Monday market in Centro, to which the women as a rule go themselves, or to which they send the fish with a friend. Otherwise, they are sold to the occasional tropeiros de cima[3] who come to town to buy them at a slightly lower price. It is said that the small dried fish are considered a fine dish by the people of the sertão.

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Other women prepare shrimp in much the same manner, although the prices are higher. A can of shrimp costs between Cr$100,00 and Cr$150,00 depending upon the size of the catch and the season of the year, for during Lent and especially during Holy Week, when the demand is greater, all prices of fish and seafood rise. A can of shrimp gives two hands (duas mãos), or forty spits, of shrimp, which are sold at the average of Cr$100,00 a hand; the price of the finished product varies with the price of the fresh shrimp. However, a man in Vila Recôncavo recently built an icehouse, and the women have worked less with shrimp, for the fishermen sell directly to

3. Tropeiros de cima (troopers from up north) are men from the sertão who descend to the Recôncavo with mules loaded with farina to sell, and return north with fish and fruit from the Recôncavo.

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462 the icehouse where the shrimp are kept cool; they can then be
438 sent to Salvador every other day on the boat to be sold as fresh
251 shrimp at the market and on the streets. "Camarão da Vila,"
[443] (shrimp from Vila) the cry of the Salvador street peddlers, is well known throughout the capital city.

463 The majority of people in Group 2 live down the hill from
[361] the older part of town, near the beach or out along the road which leads to the factory. They are more or less dependent
[571] upon Group 1, not only for the money they receive in return
[476] for services, but also for many kinds of favors which fall under the heading of patronship. They are seldom able to employ the services of Group 3 for such jobs as house building or repairing; they must rely on an old form of cooperative labor, called the batalhão (work group), to make or repair a house wall or to put on a new thatch roof. Frequently a patron will arrange for another of his "dependents" to transport the mud necessary for the palm thatch (taipa), and there is no cost involved for the recipient; but she must arrange the labor.

463 The people of Group 2 fetch their own water from the wells,
312 and usually their own firewood from the tideswamps. There
[313] are several men and women in town who make a business of carrying these two commodities. Such work is contractual. A household contracts for so many cans or barrels of water a day and so many loads of firewood a week. If they do not have enough money for these services they must carry them out themselves. During the dry summer months fetching water is a tedious business, for the majority of the wells dry up early in the summer. In the very dry summer of 1950-51, all the wells in town but one went dry. The one which continued to supply water did so at a much diminished rate. This well is completely encased in cement, for it provides the only drinking water in town. There is a small pipe serving as a spigot. During the dry season it takes from ten to twenty minutes to fill a five-gallon tin can from this pipe. As a result, there were always long lines of women waiting for water, and a sojourn of three or four hours at the well was common. Many of the more ambitious women used to get up at two or three in the morning and go to the well, making several
[821] trips so they would be free of this onerous duty during the day. This, however, took a great deal of courage, for most people
[492] in Vila Recôncavo are afraid of the dark, and no timid woman would make the trip out to the well at night. By general agreement, the men who carry water in barrels on donkeys walked

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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two miles west of the town to another well which did not have to serve so many people. Many women also made this trip, with five-gallon cans of water on their heads, and with their children carrying smaller cans.

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In the past many women of this group possessed heirlooms: jewelry handed down to them by their female ancestors who had been favorite slaves of their white masters and who had received valuable brooches, necklaces, rings, and earrings from them, in accordance with the old pattern of luxury which extended even to certain slaves. In most cases this jewelry has now been sold at some time of emergency to antique dealers who scour the rural areas looking for such treasures, which are now highly valuable and sought by collectors.

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Group 3 is made up of independent artisans, that is, people who are self-employed. It differs from Group 1 in that its members rarely employ the services of other people in personal or household activities, although gardeners, carpenters, tailors, fishermen, bricklayers, and barbers do employ people in their business. The large number of men employed by the bricklayers should be explained, as it is not a permanent category. The census from which these data were taken was made in June, 1950, at the height of the work of paving the town streets with cobblestones. A number of bricklayers had come to town for this work, and they as well as the resident bricklayers had to employ workmen to do the work with them for the municipal government. When the paving was finished there was no longer a need for so many bricklayers, and they either left or went into fishing or some other occupation. Since the data were collected, the tailors have also moved to another town as a result of the lack of business in Vila Recôncavo.

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The majority of men in this group are the fishermen, who number 132, plus 5 who are employed rather than self-employed. They fish from canoes, with several types of nets, for a large variety of fish. The federal statistics agent lists seventeen types of fish, including shrimp, giving the following weight and price for the year's activities: 129,070 kilograms and Cr$921.540,00 (slightly under $50,000.00). Shrimp earns slightly more than half this total, Cr$468.000,00, although the amount in kilograms is only 26,000. Xangô, already mentioned, is the second most profitable product, bringing in Cr$195.000,00 for 65,000 kilograms. The statistics agent admits that these figures are approximations

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226 based on what the fishermen claim to have caught, for the fish
43 is not weighed and the price is based on a low average price per kilogram for all types of fish. As a rule fish is sold by the can and not by weight. The one man in town who buys fish for his icehouse usually buys "by the eye," that is, by estimation of how many kilograms he is getting. If anything, however, the above figures err by underestimation.

463 The life of the fisherman is a rugged one, and his schedule
226 follows the incoming and outgoing tides. There are six types of nets most commonly used: the circular casting net (tarrafa)
227 and the deep net (rêde de fundo) or drag net (rêde de arrasto) to catch shrimp; the resse and abaladeira, the former for xangó and the latter for sardines and tainha (a small sardine-like fish); and the calão and calãozinho for the larger fish. These are the most popular nets, but there also exist several others used with less frequency, such as the arraieira, a net used only to catch the arraia, or skate fish; the pesqueiro, a pole-and-net trap to catch all kinds of large fish; the caçoeira, to catch the caçao and other very large fish; and the jererê, a small basketlike net used by women and children along the shore to catch small fish and crabs. In addition, a long line with many hooks on it (grosseira), baited to catch large fish,
226 is used. The hook and line is very seldom used. Fish poison is employed. Tingui, a toxic plant, is mashed and scattered on the water in the mangue at low tide, and it stupefies the caramurú and miroró, two inhabitants of the mangue.

The favorite shrimp banks are directly in front of the town of Vila Recôncavo, at the mouth of the river which empties into the Bay of All Saints. The preferred time to use the circular casting net for shrimp is early on a windless morning, during the hours of full tide when the incoming surge has ended and the outgoing current has not yet started. The shrimp fleet seen from the heights of the town presents a scene of utmost tranquility, for there is little action involved other than the quick throwing out and the slow pulling in and folding of the net. Tarrafa fishing is a one-man job. The man paddles a canoe out to the area where the shrimp are usually to be found, which in this case is a large submerged rock on the edge of the river channel, around which shrimp are numerous. Arriving there the fisherman ships his paddle and begins to cast his net, standing in the stern of the canoe. As a rule there are between twenty and thirty fishermen casting in and about the same place. The net is cone-shaped, the apex being

226 men say that the fish are leaving, while others say there are
43 just as many as ever. It is a difficult thing to prove one way or the other, for written records of the annual catches are only recent. However, there is no such thing as being unable to sell the fish they bring in. Many people in town have increased their consumption of fresh fish as a result of infla-
[226] tion, for it is less expensive than dried or fresh meat. The fishermen themselves eat a great deal of fish, always keep-
[458] ing enough out of a catch for their own family. The planters of the rural area complain that the fresh fish never arrive at the plantations any more as they did in the past. This is prob-
[251] ably due to the icehouse in the town. The fishermen sell first to their "usual customers," the women who work with xangô and shrimp; what is left is sold to the icehouse to be packed and shipped to Bahia, rather than being sent out to the country.

226 The jereré, a small basketlike net built around an iron ring 1 1/2 feet in circumference, is used by women and children along the shore and is part of a subsistence activity. It catches
[252] only a small crab (siri), an occasional eel, and other small fish which are cooked for the table in the form of moqueca,
[262] a sort of stew highly seasoned with peppers and dendê oil. The tideswamps abound in a large crab called the caranguejo,
[857] which is also highly prized for the table. Children often catch these, but a man who does so is called a caranguejeiro, a derogatory term. The hunter seeks the crab by sticking his arm down into its hole, which is usually very deep, at least
[134] arm's length. As a result he is always covered with the thick black mud so typical of the tideswamps. Often a tropeiro de
[443] cima comes to the town and commissions someone to catch the crabs, which he wraps carefully in mud and leaves and carries to the northern hinterland to sell.

463 The second largest subgroup in Group 3 is composed of the twenty-four gardeners (roçeiros) who are engaged in small-
241 scale commercial farming, rather than subsistence horticulture. They live in town and have their small fields on the
[427] outskirts of Vila Recôncavo. All of these fields are located on the plantation Engenho Da Vila ("P" on map of community), and they range from one, two, or three acres in size to as
241 many as fifteen acres, rented from the plantation at Cr$100,00 an acre per year. The major crops are manioc, bananas, and to a lesser extent tobacco, sugar cane for chewing (cana de
000 chupar), corn, beans, and squash. Because there are only 265

252 they produce. The juice which is squeezed out is saved, and starch is extracted from it to be used in pressing clothes. The nonpoisonous variety of manioc (aipim) is used to a much smaller extent. Usually the tuber is boiled in water and then eaten as though it were a potato, for it does not need any processing to render it edible.

241 Ten of the twenty-four gardeners concentrate on manioc,
463 while the others raise bananas. Most of them also grow their own household subsistence crops, scattered among the manioc and bananas, such as corn, beans, squash, and often a few shoots of excellent tobacco. Many of them also produce a quarter or half acre of a heavy type of sugar cane (cana de chupar) which is stripped of its bark, cut into short pieces, and masticated, the pulp being spit out after the person has
[146] sucked out the juice. Almost everyone indulges in this, and
[825] the sugar which is absorbed is undoubtedly a great source of energy. The plots (roças) are fenced and protected by an ox
[789] skull stuck on one of the fence posts to keep out the evil eye.

There are many gardeners to the west of the town who rent
241 their small plots from either the Engenho da Vila or the fed-
463 eral school. This area has not produced sugar cane for many years, for it lacks the surface covering of massapê. These
554 gardeners are often called matutos ("hicks"), real backwoods-
[427] men who get along on subsistence agriculture and seldom leave their rural neighborhood. They are as far removed from contact with modern civilization as anyone could be while living in the Recôncavo. They live in well-hidden, small houses of mud and thatch, and one can ride through this section without seeing anyone.

443 The peddlers (ambulantes) listed in Group 3 have their
463 houses in Vila Recôncavo but go from town to town selling their wares. While they do some trading at the fairs they also
[608] cover a regular route independent of the fairs. Compadresco, the system of godparentship, is important to them, for the houses of such relations give them a base of operations in every town they visit. One of the three is a man who buys and sells jewelry, and the other two are women; one sells cloth for dresses and the other sweets (doces), peanuts, and dried shrimp. The latter is one of the famous street merchants (bahianas) of Salvador; she sits on a street corner before a portable table selling favorite Bahian snacks such as acarajé and abará. She goes to Salvador on the boat on Saturdays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays, returning to Vila Recôncavo the

following days to make new supplies. On the return trip she brings wheat flour, peanuts, potatoes, and whatever is not available in Vila Recôncavo, as special orders (encomendas) for people in the town, who pay the price of the article plus a small percentage for her trouble in doing the shopping. 443 463

The people of Group 3 do most of their own labor; the men follow their trade while their womenfolk do the housework, care for the children, fetch water and firewood, and do their own laundry. This group also uses the batalhão for house building and repairing, although many employ the services of a carpenter to do the woodwork or a bricklayer to make a foundation, in contrast to the people of the preceding group, whose houses are usually built with a minimum of crude woodwork and without masonry foundations. The majority of men in this group, the fishermen, live in the lower part of town, in the areas known as Boqueirão, Caquende, and Cortume (see map of town). The others are scattered throughout the town, up the hill in back of the area of sobrados, and on the side of the hill sloping down to the beach. The fishermen have their own chapel built near the beach, which they support with the tithe (dizimo), a tenth of their earnings. The people in the fishing group seldom go up the hill to the older part of town, feeling that they do not belong there. 463 [462] [342] [361] [346] [764]

A few words need to be said about Group 4, which consists of thirty-one people who do not fit into the other three groups. Eleven of them, who listed themselves as unemployed, are unskilled persons, without a trade, and without a patron or service employment skill. For the most part they are women, and although an examination of the census data shows that they have no visible means of support, they do engage in subsistence activities such as carrying water, cutting spits for xangô, making dendê palm oil, or making fish nets, but not on a regular contract basis. Since they engage in a variety of small independent activities and work for different people at different times, they listed themselves as unemployed in the sense of being without a regular occupation. 463 464

Nine people in Group 4 lived in the town at the time of the census but worked at the Usina São Pedro. Three men worked on the sugar plantation nearest town, preferring to live in town rather than on the plantation, since the trip back and forth is so short. And, finally, the group includes eight people who were employed by the Institute of Vila Recôncavo as nurses, pharmacists, bookkeeper, and bartender. These people

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464 were included in Group 4 because they worked for a nonprofit charitable institution.

464 Occupationally, the town dwellers differ sharply from the people of the rural area of the community. Their work rare-
184 ly requires them to go out of town to the rural area. Of the entire working force of the town, only twelve men are em-
463 ployed in the sugar industry. Even during the harvest season,
632 the town does not supply men to work in the cane fields or the
[427] factory. However, the few people in town who have mules oc-
[492] casionally rent them to planters during the harvest season to help carry the cane. The twenty-five petroleum workers have to leave town each day for work, but their work is also very different from that of any of the rural dwellers.

463 In the town, as on the plantations, there is specialization
184 and division of labor. Among the fishermen, each man fishes constantly with one or two types of net. Change from one type of net to another is unusual and disliked. A fisherman seldom supplements his fishing by planting a garden. Instead, he depends upon his catch of fish to give him enough money to buy garden produce, as well as meat and manufactured articles. In his turn, the gardener never fishes, depending upon the returns from his garden to buy what he does not produce.

[512] Daily routine for the fisherman varies considerably because it depends closely upon the tides, while the daily routine of merchants, teachers, and bureaucrats, as well as household servants and craftsmen, follows a more citylike pattern, beginning at about seven in the morning and ending
[221] late in the evening. There is also less seasonal variance in the work of the town dwellers, for it does not depend upon the planting and harvesting of crops as does that of the rural workers.

369 The town and plantation ways of life also vary considerably
557 with respect to paternalism, which plays a much smaller part in the life of the town dweller. Most of the municipal bureau-
184 crats have patrons among the rural landowners who have placed them in their bureaucratic positions. Bureaucrats, in turn, are to a smaller extent the patrons of people living in the town, particularly of their household servants. Although they have neither the financial resources nor the prestige to provide the security which a rural landowner can offer his people, they do what they can to help whenever asked. This help often takes the form of asking their own patrons for help

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has already been accepted by other members of the upper class as their equal or nearly so.

Race or color prejudice finds its strongest expression at just this point--marriage into the upper class--but even here, if the mestiço is sufficiently light-skinned, educated, and well mannered, he or she can and does marry into the best families. The importance of the "bleaching process" in this society cannot be overestimated, for apparently the trend is toward lighter skins and straighter hair on a national scale. In the case of a marriage between one known to be of mixed descent and a member of an upper-class family, no point is ever made of the fact that one partner is "less white" than the other. Aside from the question of marriage into the small top group, color merges in importance with the other criteria, such as economic situation and education, in the contention for class position.

The three-class system which has been implied in the foregoing passages has recently been thoroughly described.[2] Although finer local distinctions have called for the addition of a fourth class here, Vila Recôncavo provides an excellent example of the various national classes. As in all discussions about this community, the urban-rural distinctions must be kept in mind. The local class system may be portrayed as follows:

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TABLE 2
SOCIAL CLASSES IN VILA RECÔNCAVO

	Urban	Rural
Class A	none	landowners
Class B	local bureaucrats, merchants, professional people	plantation administrators, mill technicians, specialists, office help
Class C	fishermen, gardeners, craftsmen	millworkers, field hands
Class D	laundresses, servants, persons without steady employment or craft	none

2. Charles Wagley, ed., Race and Class in Rural Brazil (Paris, 1952), pp. 144 ff.

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The above scheme shows that Class A, composed of landowners, who in this community are sugar-cane planters, is found only in the rural area of Vila Recôncavo. As has already been indicated, this class still follows the old pattern of the plantation master in that its members are part-time residents of the county, maintaining winter homes in the capital. This class is locally composed of seventeen adults and their sixteen children. A total of five families are represented, three of which are related to one another through marriage. These people have no competition from below in Vila Recôncavo. In the capital they are part of the national upper class, and as such are subject to all the stress and strain of any cosmopolitan "high society" group. They are largely descendants of former plantation masters, barons, viscounts, and other former aristocrats, who belonged traditionally to the national, as well as the local, upper class. Other members of these families are successful lawyers, doctors, and educators, and their political participation in state and federal matters is as traditional as their landowning. They belong to the upper class because they are legitimate descendants of former white aristocrats with long family traditions, because they are large-scale landowners and therefore major economic agents, because they are highly educated, some of them holding advanced degrees from European or North American universities, and because they engage in traditional gentlemen's professions such as law, medicine, and engineering.

* 565 [177] [183]

This is the group which is rapidly shedding the constraints of traditional behavior and embracing new ideas which come to them from Europe and North America. In contrast, the class immediately below them has for its goals and its patterns of ideal behavior the now historic upper-class traditions such as the double sex standard, the cloistering and protection of women, and dignity of dress and formal manners.

On the local scene it can be said that it is impossible for anyone to move up into Class A, for while its relations with the lower classes are cordial, they take place on the level of paternalism. The gulf between this small upper class and any of the classes below it is so great that it is inconceivable that anyone should cross it. In Salvador this upper class is considerably larger and less homogeneous, and although the usual pattern within this class is for social life to be spent em família--that is, in extended family gatherings rather than gatherings of several different families--the class is

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to have fewer offspring. Four or five generations ago a couple 594
might have as many as twenty children. It was common among 163
these large families for at least one child to enter the priest- 178
hood or a convent. This is no longer the case, not only be- [463]
cause of the smaller size of the families, but also because
the colonial pattern of a priest for each plantation is now gone.

The marriage age for girls is also changing, for several 582
reasons: it takes longer for a boy now to be educated and set- 178
tled in business; the families can no longer support married 562
children; and girls are being better educated. Instead of be- 565*
ing married at sixteen, seventeen, and eighteen, they now go
to school much longer, sometimes taking advanced degrees
as do their brothers. This delays marriage till the twenties
and gives the girls a certain amount of independence, rather
than simply a position of wife and mother. As yet few of them [463]
have entered the professions, but recently it has become styl-
ish to study nursing or social work at least for a while before
marriage. The old pattern was for widows to be supported by [736]
their families, but now girls want to feel self-sufficient, with-
out the dreary prospect of living as dependents in the case of
their husbands' death. In this century, also, marriage has
assumed an aspect of companionship, which was formerly
lacking, for women have achieved a much greater equality with
their husbands and are now partners rather than household
fixtures.

There has been a reaction to the family aspect of Bahian 565*
society, and frequently people are heard complaining of the 596
narrowness of life in such surroundings and expressing a de- 178
sire to live in Rio de Janeiro, or some place where they would
not be always in the same restricted group of relatives. Many 574
of the former obligations of formal visits to close and distant [206]
relatives are now relaxed, although telephone calls at least
are expected with some sort of regularity and members of the
extended family, as well as their attendants, are still expect-
ed at all weddings, birthdays, and deaths. The arrival of fam-
ily members from Rio calls for many dinners and celebrations
in their honor. But the conjugal families seek outside ac- 571
quaintances more and more, and as they enter new groups they 565*
become less able to cope with the numerous family affairs. 596
Nevertheless, it is still membership in these extensive, pa- 178
triarchal families which gives people their status in the com-
munity as a whole and their right to enter new groups which [594]
form along class lines. Everyone is well aware of this, and [554]

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nieces, and nephews
46 agregados and hospedes

Examples of the household units are given below.

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TABLE 10
COMPOSITION OF CLASS D HOUSEHOLDS

Status of Head of Family	Age	Occupation	Number of Head of Family's Children Living in House	Number of Others in House
unmarried	62	none	2	4 grandchildren
widow	70	cook	1	1 grandchild; 1 hospede
unmarried	59	laundress	1	4 grandchildren
unmarried	24	laundress	4	none
widow	49	seamstress	4	7 grandchildren, 1 agregado
unmarried	42	cook	3	1 sister, 1 niece, 1 hospede
unmarried	39	laundress	3	1 hospede
unmarried	66	ironing	0	6 nieces & nephews
widow	42	ironing	6	none
unmarried	56	laundress	0	1 grandchild
unmarried	36	laundress	6	1 nephew
unmarried	48	laundress	3	1 brother
married	36	ironing	6	1 mother, 1 nephew
unmarried	38	laundress	3	1 aunt, 1 cousin
unmarried	84	none	0	1 agregado
unmarried	21	ironing	1	none
unmarried	54	laundress	0	1 hospede, 2 agregados
married	52	laundress	1	3 grandchildren

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The household of Damiana is a good example for Class D. Damiana, who is now in her fifties, had a prolonged affair with a married man when she was young, and gave birth to three daughters. Orphaned herself at about the same time, she took her children and went to reside in the house of a good friend who was living in an unmarried relationship with a man. When Maria José, one of her daughters, was sixteen she was deflowered, and Damiana managed through a godfather's influence to force the boy who was responsible to marry the girl. Maria José, however, did not want to live with him, and since

3: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1963 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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567 those under 12 years of age.[1] Of the 121 slaves listed in the particular inventory mentioned above, 40 were African. Most of these came from West Africa. Of those whose African origin is indicated, *Nago* (Yoruba) is most often listed, and *Gege* (Ewe) is second.

249 On these sugar plantations of the Recôncavo in the colonial period, the overseer of all operations involved in the growth of sugar cane
565 and production of sugar was the owner himself. Generally, only the
463 oldest son was trained to take over his duties on the plantation; the younger sons were sent to Salvador, to Recife, or even to Europe to be educated as lawyers, physicians, engineers or Catholic priests. Daughters were married early and given their dowry, or they were
[582] sent to convents to become nuns or live as lay sisters. Marriages with first cousins were frequent. Every effort was made to keep the plantation undivided and in the family. The Recôncavo sugar plantation, until about the middle of the nineteenth century, was a remarkably stable community changing little in size and organization from generation to generation.

249 After the abolition of slavery, there was a partial exodus of ex-
567 slaves from the plantations to nearby towns and to the capital of Bahia. The ex-slaves who moved to small towns became manual
463 labourers or fishermen, or engaged in the profession they had learned on the plantations, such as barbering, bricklaying, etc. In other
464 cases, ex-slaves rented small plots of land on neighbouring plantations to raise manioc, corn, tobacco and other crops which required little
[427] outlay of capital. Others became sugar planters on a small scale; known as *rendeiros*, they rented a few acres from a plantation and cultivated sugar cane, sending the product to the nearby *engenhos* for milling. In other cases, the ex-slaves simply moved from one plantation to another, or they often remained as free men on the same plantation, still engaged in raising sugar cane, living under the same
249 conditions as before, but legally free. Contrary to popular opinion,
433 the *engenhos* of the Recôncavo did not all cease operations after
567 abolition. Many of them kept on producing as before. In other cases the *engenho* or mill closed down while the plantation continued to plant sugar cane, sending it to a nearby *engenho* which was still functioning for milling. Some *engenhos*, however, did close down altogether and were abandoned, or went into the hands of receivers.

249 At this time many plantations changed owners—wealthy people in
471 the city were able to buy lands at a low cost and did so. But the
567 failure of many of the *engenhos* in the Recôncavo was not a direct result of abolition, it was rather the continuation of an economic
[425] trend which had been going on for a long time. For many years previous to abolition, the plantations of the Recôncavo had suffered
[826] from lack of capital, poor administration, occasional crop failure, and

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[1] In the inventories, *pardo* indicated light skin; *mulato*, dark skin; and *crioulo*, black. These meanings nowadays are used differently in the Recôncavo. See page 39 ff.

from the competition of other sugar-producing areas. Abolition was the factor which, in many cases, simply ended a struggle several decades old.

The overall production of sugar in the Recôncavo was already dropping noticeably at the time of abolition, and it continued to decrease afterwards. At the end of the last century, state-supported *usinas*, or large mechanical factories for milling sugar cane, were opened in an effort to stimulate sugar production. At the same time, various other *usinas* were opened by private capital. These central mills received and processed the sugar cane of many plantations. The *usina* had the advantage of freeing the planter from the worries of milling and marketing the sugar, allowing him to concentrate on higher production of sugar cane, while the mechanized *usina* was able to produce more sugar out of the cane, thus increasing production. This system of sugar production proved relatively lucrative, and the government *usinas* passed into private hands. The owners of *usinas* bought as many neighbouring plantations as possible, and in this way the *usineiros*, as they were called, became at the same time the mill owners and sugar-cane planters—employers of factory workers and of agricultural workers. The plantations which did not pass into the hands of an *usina* became *fornecedores*, supplying cane to one or another large sugar mill.

The *usina* system, however, in many respects did little to change the traditional plantation system. The plantations belonging to *usineiros* continue as separate units; each generally had an administrator, a man responsible to the *usineiro*, who is in charge of the plantation. As a rule the administrator, who is an employee of the *usina*, lives in the old *sobrado*, the former residence of the *senhor do engenho*, as the old plantation owners were known. The workers on the plantations and their families frequently still live in *senzala*-like houses, usually a long narrow building under one roof divided into separate apartments of two or three rooms. Despite many changes of technology, many examples of the old and the new exist side by side on these Recôncavo plantations. On the same plantation both mechanical tractor and ox traction may be used to pull plows. There are workers' houses side by side, one with electricity and a radio, and another using candles and kerosene lamps. Furthermore, the hierarchy of workers and specialists in sugar-cane raising persists little modified from the early nineteenth century. There are the field hands, the ox-cart drivers, the artisans and other specialists. The plantation is also approximately the same size as it was in the early nineteenth century (although several may be the property of one company nowadays) and it has about the same number of hired workers as it had slaves before.

But the *usina* system and other outside influences have made for many fundamental changes in the Recôncavo. In the very large

3t Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1963 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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for several generations. In the other families, marriages have been, with but one exception, with persons of equal class status, although frequently with aristocratic families from other parts of the Recôncavo or from Salvador. In the one exception, the husband was without wealth or much education, but he was known to be of pure white descent. All these families live *em família* (within the family), both in the rural area and in the capital, where they spend a part of the year. Traditional family and friendship ties persist among them. They are large families with numerous relatives in the city and in other communities of the Recôncavo, so that dinners, dances, card parties, anniversaries and other social events are generally within the extended family. Most of the males in this group have a profession, such as lawyer, engineer or doctor.

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The second social stratum is a slightly larger group consisting of the bureaucrats of the town, plantation administrators, technicians and specialists of the sugar mill, merchants and professional people of the town, such as the doctor, dentist and schoolteachers. Persons in this group are for the most part descendants of local people, although the doctor, the dentist and several of the schoolteachers are from the outside. In this group, one finds the 14 'pure' whites mentioned as living in Vila Recôncavo itself, and five of them are members of a family of former planters. People in this stratum do not have residences in the capital. On the whole, this class is less well-educated than the class above it; it even includes people who have had no formal education whatsoever, and two individuals who cannot read or write. In this class are found most of the *brancos da terra*, many mulattoes and some Negroes, as well as the whites mentioned. This group might be termed the 'local upper class' to distinguish it from the small group of regional aristocrats mentioned above.

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The third social stratum of Vila Recôncavo is by far the largest numerically. It consists of 'the people' *(o povo*, or simply *gente)*, fishermen, carpenters, bricklayers, mill hands, plantation workers, and all others who do physical labour. Fourthly, there is a smaller group of even less status in the community, the people without a regular and steady income—women generally without husbands, but with children, who earn their living carrying water to homes from the nearby spring or who work as washerwomen and domestic servants, and men who serve as porters and perform other very menial tasks and odd jobs. There are no people in these two lower class strata who are considered 'pure' white. A few are considered *brancos da terra* but the great majority of them are Negroes, mulattoes, and others of various degrees of race mixture.

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The regional aristocrats reside only in the rural zone and maintain residences outside the community. The 'local upper class' is found in both the rural and the urban zones, since the technicians and administrators on the plantations are of this class, but mostly in the

town, which is the centre of the municipal bureaucracy. The upper stratum of the lower classes is also found in both zones, since it contains town-dwelling artisans and fishermen as well as plantation workers. But the stratum of lowest prestige, the people who live marginally in Vila Recôncavo, is limited to the town itself. There is no place for them on the plantations or *usina* of the rural area.

As has already been indicated, the major economic factor in the community area of Vila Recôncavo is sugar-cane growing and the manufacture of sugar. There are approximately 2,500 people dependent upon this activity.[1] Each plantation has its small community, with a store, houses, repair shop and the owner's house. Plantation workers live on the plantation, in houses belonging to it. They are paid according to the amount of work they do—that is, how much cane they cut per ton, or how many feet of planting they cultivate, etc. As a rule, there are only three salaried persons employed on a typical sugar plantation—the administrator, the *feitor* (foreman), and the *vaqueiro* (cowboy). The administrator is the most important person on the plantation, directing the work, making estimates for the forthcoming harvest, co-ordinating the cutting, transport and planting of cane, etc. It is the administrator who runs the plantation, who remains in the saddle all day overseeing the work, who checks on everything. The administrator is responsible only to the owner of the plantation, who generally acts through him. In nearly all cases the administrator is either a mulatto or a Negro. In two cases, Negro administrators are unable to read or write, but they are experts at their job and enjoy the full confidence of the owner and the respect of the workers. The *feitor* acts as the assistant of the administrator; he walks about carrying a measuring rod and a notebook, making note of the amount of work done by each man in the field. Frequently this is the middle step up the ladder from worker to administrator. As a rule, the *feitor* in Vila Recôncavo plantations is a mulatto, a dark *mestiço* (mixed) or a Negro as is the administrator. The *vaqueiro* is preferably a *caboclo* from the north. He looks after the oxen used for hauling the sugar cane—of which there may be as many as 90 to 100 head—and the milk cows, inspects fences, for the horses and mules, carries messages, and generally rides with the owner when he travels about from plantation to plantation. The three racial elements are thus represented among the high-prestige men of a typical plantation—the owner is Caucasoid, the administrator and the *feitor* are Negro-Caucasoid mixtures, and the cowboy from the *sertão* is generally of partly American-Indian descent.

Under this hierarchy comes the main body of workers and their families, which totals about 200 on the average plantation. Such

[1] Of the total population of 2,500 people living on the sugar plantations and at the usina, approximately 600 men are the actual cane field and usina workers. Obviously this permanent labour force is inadequate; it is supplemented by groups of *rastejeiros* at the harvest-planting season.

The other important occupation is fishing and there is the new petroleum industry. In Vila Recôncavo, bureaucracy plays a large part in the economics of the urban upper-class. The municipal secretary, the statistics agent, the federal and state tax collectors and their clerks, the postmaster and various other 'white collar' positions belong to this small group. Often members of the municipal government divide their attention between commerce (owning small stores) and their government jobs. Despite its long history and rather easy communication with the large city of Salvador, Vila Recôncavo is still an isolated community. After landing in the town from the regular steamer coming from Salvador, one must proceed inland either by foot or by animal. The only motor vehicles in the community area (except for those of the petroleum industry) are a truck and a delivery-type pick-up truck owned by the São Pedro *usina*. One hears from all classes that the town is backward, abandoned and dead. It has had a glorious past: wealth, the large and beautiful *sobrados* of the barons who were *donos dos engenhos* (owners of the *engenhos*), two beautiful churches, a national guard post with almost 1,000 soldiers stationed in it, a record of bravery and leadership in the war for Independence in 1822, and a place worthy of a visit from the emperor, Don Pedro II. Today the *sobrados* are in ruins, or have disappeared completely, as today's *donos dos engenhos* remain on their plantations or in the city, forsaking the town. The military have gone, the splendours of the religious feast-days are no more. Vila Recôncavo is representative of the decadence which has overtaken the entire area. Today it is known only for its *xangô* and shrimps.

463 [565] 361 489 [493] 361 178 829

IV. In the United States an absolute 'line' is drawn between white and Negro. A person who is not white is a Negro, however small the percentage of Negro blood may be. In Vila Recôncavo, this 'line' is recognized rather than drawn. A distinction between Negro and white is always kept in mind when classifying an individual. Everyone knows who is 'pure' white and who is not. Classification by race is one of the most important aspects of local culture, and one of the most difficult aspects for the outsider to grasp. *Bahianos* of the Recôncavo feel that one may instantly recognize the difference between a 'pure' white and a mixed white-Indian, white-Negro or Negro-Indian, but they do not let it go at that. They classify or minutely describe each person; they classify according to skin colour, according to hair form and according to facial features, and their classifications or racial types are used in everyday conversation. Just as it would be said in the United States that someone is short and fat, the people of Vila Recôncavo will describe a person's colour and hair.

563 [826]

Traditionally

565 the preto is linked with ignorance and superstition,
563 and a most common example of his 'ignorance', cited by the upper
794 strata of Vila Recôncavo society, is his belief in *candomblé*, the fetish
[171] cults of African origin so numerous in Salvador which have been
[177] described by various authors.[8] In the Caribbean, *candomblé* is
[178] known as voodoo and, as in Brazil, there is a mixture of Roman Catholic with African religious elements. In Vila Recôncavo there are highly complicated rituals of ceremony and healing, but owing to the pressures of modern life almost no one has the time necessary to spend in the full preparation for a *filha de santo* (servant of the god) or a *mãe de santo* (caretaker of the gods) and much of the old ritual is being forgotten and discarded, and newer and simpler
[776] innovations are in evidence. Another example given of the *preto's* 'superstition' in Vila Recôncavo is his participation in the cult of Janaina, the goddess of the water. This cult is really an offshoot of *candomblé*, Yemanja being the name of the African *orixa* or divinity, while Janaina is the name given to her by many of the cults in
[782] Brazil. It is Janaina 'who sends the fish to the fishermen', and they
[226] must thank her and give her gifts occasionally. Generally it is the *mãe de santo* who knows all the calls and prayers for Janaina and who presents the fishermen's gifts. Anyone who intends to climb the social ladder first disassociates himself from these rites, and then publicly condemns those who participate in them—although, in many cases, such an individual will continue secretly to give financial support to a local *mãe de santo* and to send gifts to Janaina. Often it is heard of a person: 'Oh yes, he is *gente* now, but last night he secretly sent his usual present to Janaina.' Individuals of all racial classifications belong to *candomblé*, although popular opinion has it that only the *pretos* engage in these activities. One can observe all racial types at a *candomblé festa* (ceremony), either as participants or as spectators. In one case in another area of the Recôncavo there is even a white *pae de santo* (male caretaker of the gods), a former lawyer!

563 Nevertheless, in Vila Recôncavo, there are examples of *pretos* and
555 *mestiços* who have shown themselves capable of progress, with and without education. Two examples are the plantation administrators, cited earlier, who have risen to that honoured and relatively
[463] well-paid occupation in spite of the fact that they cannot read or
[872] write. On another plantation, the *feitor* has taught himself to read
[873] and write and is known as an excellent story-teller. Primary schools were recently opened in the rural zone of Vila Recôncavo, and night schools for the adults. The response has been great, people often walking long distances at night to attend class, in spite of the fact that one of the most disliked and feared things is going out at night.

563 In Vila Recôncavo, there has been a central primary school for
565 many years, with an attendance of 354 of all racial types, children of
872 the whites as well as those of the others, although no children of the

planters. People in the upper class of the town, when they can, send their children to the capital to continue their education, and there are several *mestiço* students from Vila Recôncavo studying law, medicine and engineering in Salvador. The intelligence of the mulatto is traditional, and it has been equally traditional that the darker-skinned person is unintelligent. Today these traditions are not as strong as before, but still it is felt that the mulatto has somewhat more aptitude than the Negro. The old idea of the Negro, meant for work and to be servile, still exists, now tempered with the knowledge that education can change the situation. There is only one club in Vila Recôncavo—a football club—and the players are all shades, from white to black, and so are the spectators. They all sit or stand together under the shade of the one big tree which gives shade to the playing field. The field is on the property of a white man who, while he has nothing to do with the team, allows them to play there, put up goal posts and markers. The bar and recreation centre are open to all so long as they wear shoes—a ruling made to keep out the muddy feet of children who came straight from the beach to have a 'coke'. All the racial types and classes get together here to play pool and gossip, this being the one and only point of public social activity in the town. At the movies, the admission price is extremely low, the same for everyone, and all four classes attend. Negroes and whites of all classes sit next to each other. At church there are no special pews, the faithful usually gathering in the front and the less faithful hanging about near the back. The choir and the acolytes are from all classes and colours. At parties, which are few, colour lines are disregarded, *brancos* and *morenos* dance with *mulatos* and *pretos* just as long as both partners can *pular* (jump).

The social situation is gradually changing, and the extremely personal element is being lost. It is strongest on the private plantation, where the owner spends the greater part of the year, but at the *usina* much of the personal element is weakened because of the numbers of workers. Even at the *usina*, there is visiting and gossiping between the owners' families and the workers. But at the *usina* not all the workers accept their subservient position as do those of the plantations. This is specially true of the higher echelon of specialists and technicians of the mill, who will frequently not go to a party given by the owner, even though invited. It seems to be a way of saying that the company of the white owners is neither needed nor wanted. They prefer to keep their relations on a strictly business basis. At the *usina*, when a worker is sick, he goes to the medical post where he is treated by a paid nurse, rather than to the owner's house. On pay day, the *usina* worker is paid at the mill by a paymaster, not in the living room of the owner's house. Nevertheless, in spite of the industrialized aspect of the mill, the number of workers is not too large to exclude all personal contact with the owners, who adminis-

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571 trate and oversee most of the operations. This type of relationship
466 has proved so satisfactory that up to date there have been no strikes,
[468] and no labour movements, or unions formed among the workmen
[467] of São Pedro. The length of time the technicians and other workmen of the *usina* have remained in their employ, refusing employment in other *usinas* and other occupations, has been a matter of pride to the owners of São Pedro.

249 It is on the plantations belonging to the *usina* that the white
466 owner-*mestiço* worker personal relations are least close. The *usina*
463 owners are able to make only occasional tours of inspection of the
571 plantations, and therefore have little personal contact with the workers. However, the administrator has in many respects taken the place of the owner. He is the only man on the plantation with authority, and all complaints and requests for favours or help must be presented to him. In one case, an administrator has been on the same plantation for 26 years, and is well-known for the 'court' he holds. Once a year he gives an immense party for the entire community, and people from all four classes attend. He is wanted as godfather for the children of the workmen, and as *compadre* in their marriages. Nevertheless, the administrator is as much an employee of the *usina* as is the worker, and while the administrator can and does assume some of the attitudes and responsibilities of the owner, he cannot assume them all. However, it is a frequent saying among the white-owner class that the real owners are the administrators, for they are the group closest to the workers and to the land. A plantation with a poor administrator is not only a poor producer, but also means hardship for the *moradores*; a poor administrator will take no interest in them, and take little care of them.

249 In other areas of the Recôncavo, where the *usinas* are larger and
46 more industrialized and where no owner resides either at the *usina*
571 or on one of the plantations, but lives always in Salvador, there is only a paid representative of the corporation at the *usina*. In such large industrial units the personal element is almost entirely lacking both at the *usina* and on the company-owned plantations. There have been cases of labour difficulties, strikes, violence and the intrusion of political groups. In several instances, there are efforts today, on the owner's part to re-establish personal contact with mill and field workers, even on the largest of the corporation *usinas* and plantations.

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571 **VII.** The relations between people of different physical types in
Vila Recôncavo and on the surrounding sugar plantations have grown
466 out of the plantation-slave system which flourished in the region
249 about a century ago. Many patterns and attitudes formed in that epoch persist even today in the town and on the privately-owned plantations in the vicinity.

plantations in the vicinity. There is the aristocratic group of whites descendants of the *senhores de engenho*—who form almost a caste, marrying among themselves and living out their own social life apart from the Negro and racially mixed population of the community. Just as the slave owners in the past, however, they depend upon the Negro and *mestiço* for labour; the Negro is pictured as the faithful servant and attendant of the white aristocrat. Again, as in the past, the mulatto who was the offspring of the European master and a slave mother is pictured as a social upstart and an intelligent trouble-maker. Yet it is the man of mixed ancestry who holds the intermediate economic and social positions; he is the minor bureaucrat, the technician in the *usina*, and the administrator and *feitor* on the plantations. The essential hierarchy has changed little since colonial times; and the relationship between these aristocratic whites and their Negro and mixed workmen is still a highly personal one lacking in social tensions, since each knows his proper position and each knows his rights, duties and obligations toward the other.

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There is no race problem in Vila Recôncavo, nor does prejudice or discrimination work out as it does in other parts of the Western world. A Negro cannot become a member of the aristocracy, but a well-educated and economically successful Negro can have easy social relations with this stratum. Negro ancestry is without doubt a grave disadvantage in economic and social mobility, but there are no political and economic positions closed to a man of Negro or mixed descent. As yet, however, only a few Negroes have moved into high political or economic positions. There is only one plantation owner who is a Negro, and Negroes and *mestiços* hold only minor bureaucratic and political positions in the community. The *prefeito* or mayor has nearly always been drawn from the aristocratic white group, and has never been challenged from the Negro and mixed population. Yet in the town and among the mill workers, 'people of colour' are beginning to show independence, and unwillingness always to occupy a subservient and lowly position. The administrators like to ride better horses than the aristocrats, to have fancier saddles, to dress better, and to be more ostentatious than their employers. Many townspeople know the big city, and the essential class and racial democracy which exists there. There is competition to join the local upper class, and derogatory racial criteria are used to deride competitors who would like to rise out of the lower class groups into this growing upper class. African culture traits such as *candomblé* and the cult of Janaina are associated with low status, and people who would rise in the local social hierarchy are anxious to disassociate themselves from these groups.

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As modern attitudes and ideology penetrate Vila Recôncavo, there are more and more problems of class relationships; the population is becoming extremely class-conscious, and there is an in-

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4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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361 565 permitting as it does a full and unobstructed sweep of the cooling sea breeze, makes these heights more comfortable, more healthful, and, consequently, more desirable places of [362] residence. One usually finds here the more modern and • [463] substantial buildings, the homes of the upper classes. Here ordinarily live the scions of the old aristocracy, the large landholders, the city's intellectuals, and the leaders of its "society"; the lawyers, physicians, engineers, and politicians; the officials of the army, the poets and journalists, the professors in the Faculdades, the few industrialists which Bahia has so far produced—in fact, nearly all those prominent in the intellectual, political, "social," and economic life of the city. These families possess considerable property [873] and employ numerous servants. Their members are usually [463] literate, and at least the males are *formados* (i.e., graduated from one of the Faculdades, either in law, medicine, or engineering), a distinction which in the Bahian society marks them off quite sharply from the rest of the population.

[204] It is in these areas that the five newspapers published in [291] the city circulate almost exclusively and the latest fashions from Paris or Hollywood are known and generally adopted. [341] In recent years an occasional example of modernistic archi- [422] tecture and interior design has appeared. Here are to be found the owners of virtually all the city's 3,855 telephones, [206] its 1,028 automobiles, its radios, and private libraries. Here [217] live most of the 20,524 voters who cast ballots in the munici- [207] pal election of 1936. Here attachment to the *candomblé*, or Afro-Brazilian fetish cult, is minimal and Catholic belief is [794] least modified by elements from the more primitive reli- [177] gions. Here live that portion of the population which *o povo* ("the people") call the *ricos*, or the "rich."

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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to live together because they mutually support one another. Similarly, different racial stocks often occupy to mutual advantage the same habitat because each fits into a different niche in an interdependent symbiotic order. The fundamental problem is that of survival. The Portuguese at Bahia to a considerable extent resolved this problem by the development of an economy based upon plantation agriculture and slave labor.

A considerable number of Negroes died while being transported from Africa. Others subsequently perished from the ravages of cholera, yellow fever, and other epidemics. A few committed suicide or led religiously motivated uprisings against their masters. But the major portion were readily incorporated into the plantation system. Centuries of familiarity with the slave tradition of their African cultures and, in many cases, familiarity with the slave status itself probably made their adjustment to a slave system in the new land less difficult.

Most of the Negroes entering and remaining in the vicinity of Bahia were employed in the planting, cultivation, harvesting, processing, and marketing of sugar cane and tobacco. A limited number were engaged in cattle-raising. They also supplied the necessary artisan and domestic labor on the plantations.

Within the city of Bahia itself, as in other Brazilian ports, most of the slaves were engaged in domestic service. However, in addition, a modified form of slavery existed. Many blacks, known as *negros de ganho*, were employed as porters, stevedores, ironworkers, masons, carpenters, carriage- and cabinet-makers, printers, sign and ornamental painters, silversmiths, lithographers, sculptors in wood and stone, small shopkeepers, street merchants, etc. They were semi-inde-

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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No effective opposition appears to an individual with *um pouco da raça* ("a little color"), provided he also possesses the requisite characteristics of upper-class standing.

As we have indicated, marriages between individuals of different colors, like marriages between individuals from the same race, ordinarily take place within class lines. Thus, of twenty-four marriages at Bahia in which one partner was a *branco* or a *branca* and the other a *preto* or *preta*, all the individuals, with the possible exception of one couple, were from the same class. When such marriages occur outside class lines—that is, between individuals from different occupational or income levels—the economic and social advantage, as might be anticipated, will ordinarily be in favor of the white.[11] A *preto*, speaking of the marriage of a certain white woman on the Ilha de Mare to a black, explained, "She got more out of it than he did ['foi mais para ela']. He had money and she didn't."

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Of 72 cases of intermarriage upon which it was possible to secure accurate and relatively complete information, 61, or 85 per cent, were contracted by individuals from the same occupational level. Of the 11 remaining cases in which people married across class lines, in 8, or 73 per cent, the social and economic advantages accrued to the white partner. In the remaining 3 cases, in which white individuals married a spouse from a lower occupational level, the whites were all women, a circumstance probably to be expected, given a social order wherein women are ordinarily at a disadvantage socially and at the same time under pressure to avoid spinsterhood.

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Of 35 cases on which reliable information regarding financial condition was available, only 8 were from the same eco-

[11] To some extent this is also true of intermarriage *within* the same class.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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565 nomic level. Of the 27 others, in 21, or 80 per cent, of the cases the financial condition of the white was less favorable than that of the colored partner. Of the 6 other cases, in which monetary advantage was in favor of the darker individual, 3 of the whites involved were males, and 3 were females.

One of the males had married the daughter of a respected and widely revered mixed-blood educator, an "authority" on Portuguese grammar, with whom many Bahians of the upper classes had studied and into whose family, by reason of the father's prestige, anyone in Bahia would deem it an honor to be accepted. Moreover, the difference in economic level between the two families was slight. A second had married a "beautiful *morena*" whose physical charm, it is said, readily compensated for the difference in economic status.

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565 In 19 cases of intermarriage on which information was obtained from a town in the interior (Itaquara), 15 were
[114] from the same occupational level. In the 4 cases in which one spouse came from a lower social stratum than the other,
• [463] the social advantage was in each case in favor of the white.
[434] Thirteen of the 19 couples came from the same economic level.

One may say that the frequency of intermarriage at Bahia varies inversely with class level. In other words, intermarriage takes place readily in the lower circles, occasionally among whites who are climbing in the class scale, and rarely with whites in the upper class.[22]

When intermarriages involving upper-class individuals do occur, however, "society" does not completely close its doors

[22] This generalization does not hold for *brancos da Bahia*, or those mixed-bloods who have passed over into the white category.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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vantages of ancestry, social position, intellectuality, and wealth. The professions were readily open to them, and "marriages into the bosom of the most exclusive families"[3] sometimes took place. "More fortunate even than the son of a priest" and "A child of a priest is never unhappy" are expressions still heard at Bahia.[4]

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Significant also was the widespread system of *creação*, whereby colored children who were being reared within the master's house, the so-called *crias*, *irmãos de creação*, *malungos*, *muleques de estimação*, gained position as "persons of the house," somewhat comparable to poor relations in the households of medieval Europe. Often they were seated at the patriarchal table as if members of the family. Some even rode in the family vehicle with their masters.

Owing to the peculiar personal associations in which the mulattoes grew up, they tended to develop certain traits favorable to their advancement. They were usually more intelligent, we are told, more aggressive, more dexterous, and more cunning than the pure blacks. Consequently, they were often assigned to the more skilled occupations, such as shoemaking, carpentry, and tailoring, where they developed occupational skills symbolic of greater personal worth than ordinarily attaches to unskilled labor.

[157] [463]

Because they were liberated in preference to the blacks, the mixed-bloods, early in the colonial period, began to enter the free classes.[5] The disproportion between black

[3] Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 324.

[4] "The social ascension of children of priests, both white and light mixed-blood, has always occurred with great facility" (*ibid.*, pp. 323–24).

[5] In addition, the king of Portugal in 1773 intervened in their behalf, denouncing those persons "so lacking in the sentiments of humanity and of religion" that they still keep in slavery persons "whiter than they are" (Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 327).

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and mulatto slaves noticeable even before 1800, had by the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century become great. In 1822, for instance, the free blacks in Maranhão were reckoned at 9,308; the free mulattoes, at 25,111. Only 6,580 mulattoes were still in bondage as compared with 77,954 blacks. Thus, in this important center of Negro concentration, over three-fourths of the mixed-bloods had by 1822 been emancipated, whereas approximately only one-eighth of the blacks had been liberated. Walsh in 1828 reports that there were at that time in Brazil approximately 160,000 free blacks and 400,000 free mulattoes. In 1835, among a total of 170,000 mulattoes in Minas Geraes, only 40,000, or less than one-fourth, were reported to be slaves; while 250,000 out of an estimated 305,000 blacks, or approximately five-sixths, were still in bondage.[6] Although no figures are available for Bahia, it is likely that similar proportions held here also.

These numerically important liberated mulattoes began their rise in social rank by becoming small farmers (*lavradores*, *sitiantes*), or artisans (both rural and urban), street merchants, small shopkeepers, etc., taking their places beside those lower-class whites who either had not yet risen or did not possess the requisite ability to rise.

Free blacks, as well as free mulattoes, were able to establish themselves in manual occupations more readily than their brothers in the United States because the descendants of Europeans in Brazil have ordinarily looked down upon manual labor, as attested by the common saying: "Trabalho é para cachorro e negro" (work [that is, hard manual labor] is for Negroes and dogs). "Whatever may have been the en-

[6] Maurice Rugendas, *Voyage pittoresque dans le Brésil*, trans. from the German by de Colbery (3 vols.; Paris, 1835), p. 27.

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ergy exerted by their immigrant fathers, creoles [native Brazilians] ordinarily imbibed the colonial prejudice against labor, and assumed the airs of gentlemen." Free men of color entering agricultural or artisan employment "in no way aroused the jealousy of Europeans."[7]

The mobility of the Brazilian population in the colonial period, both vertically and horizontally, facilitated climbing. Changes in status during the lifetime of a given individual were common phenomena and at times even precipitous, a condition reflected in the common saying "Pae taberneiro, filho cavalheiro, neto mendicante" ("Father an innkeeper, son a squire, grandson a beggar"). Endogamy among the rural aristocracy, even in such *fidalgo* centers as Bahia and Pernambuco, was never absolute. Clerks and small merchants in the cities, immigrant peddlers in the interior, modest proprietors of small farms, owners of small herds of cattle—all aspired to, and some succeeded in attaining, the ranks of the rural aristocracy.[8]

Similarly significant was freedom to move in space. For in areas distant from those of their birth, light mulattoes of slave origin often managed to pass for individuals born of free parents. They were thus able readily to strip from themselves the social stigma of servile origin. One of the functions of the *bandeiras* and the *monções*[9] was to assist ambitious individuals to whom migration and the freedom of the frontier appeared to offer the most rapid and successful means of social advancement. Many mixed-bloods sought out new homes and became settlers, stock-raisers, small

[7] H. A. Wyndham, *The Atlantic and Slavery* (London: Oxford University Press, 1935), pp. 249–50.

[8] Vianna, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

[9] The *bandeiras* (also called *monções*) were groups of hardy explorers and frontier fighters who explored the interior or raided Indian villages for slaves.

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senhores de engenho, fazendeiros, etc.[10] Often they were runaway slaves.[11] In the cities they became masons, cobblers, tinsmiths, soldiers, actors, and at times reached even the small bourgeosie.[12]

The mulatto, owing to his closer approximation in physical characteristics to the European, was better able than the Negro to appropriate certain symbols of status—the small shoe and the little boot, for instance, the wearing of which was an important index of social standing in colonial and imperial Brazil.[13] Small feet, particularly among women, were for a long time, and still are, fashionable.

As the mulatto rose in class, he came to occupy something

[10] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, pp. 190–91, 205, 238.

[11] "I heard of a mulatto slave who ran away from his master; and in the course of years had become a wealthy man, by the purchase of lands which were overrun with cattle. He had, on one occasion, collected in pens great numbers of oxen which he was arranging with his herdsmen to dispatch to different parts for sale, when a stranger who came quite alone, made his appearance, and rode up and spoke to him, saying that he wished to have some private conversation with him. After a little time they retired together; and when they were alone the owner of the estate said, "I thank you for not mentioning the connection between us, whilst my people were present." It was his master, who had fallen into distressed circumstances, and had now made this visit in hopes of obtaining some trifle from him. He said that he would be grateful for anything his slave chose to give him. To reclaim him, he well knew, was out of the question—he was in the man's power, who might order him to be assassinated immediately. The slave gave his master several hundred oxen, and directed some of his men to accompany him with them to a market, giving out among his herdsmen, that he had thus paid a debt of old standing, for which he had only now been called upon" (Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil, 1809 to 1815* [2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1817], I, 244–45).

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[12] Vianna, *op. cit.*, p. 143. In 1774 a law opened to *homens pardos* access "to all offices, honors and dignities, without discrimination on account of difference in color" (*Annaes da Biblioteca Nacional*, XXXVII [1913], 85). See also Pedro Calmon, *História social do Brasil* (3 vols.; São Paulo, 1937–39), I, 168.

[13] "The use of shoes and little boots, which was at first almost entirely limited to persons recently arrived from Portugal, spread among those men

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officials of the middle tier, and the predominantly black slaves of the lower stratum.[18]

The duration of this particular organization was, however, brief. As the color line bent further under pressure of the rising mulatto, certain of the more able or more successful mixed-bloods broke through into the upper tiers.

The development of the cities increased the possibilities for economic advancement to individuals who, like the mulattoes, were noted for their skill as artisans and—what was more important—for their intellectual ability.[19] The rise, after independence in 1822, of the *academias superiores* offered to the more able mixed-bloods possibilities not previously attainable. Since by reason of their mental alertness the mulattoes often excelled, it is said, in those pursuits wherein intellectual ability is an essential for success, the development of these centers of advanced study opened, at least to the ambitious and favored ones among them, ready access to the rising professional classes, especially as *doutores* or *bachareis*.[20] Many promising young mulattoes were aided to a professional training by indulgent white fathers or other relatives and friends among the dominant class.

Of a prominent Brazilian intellectual, Raul Calogeras, whose father was a Bahian planter and whose mother was a Negro slave, we are told:

> Raul was very intelligent, and showed remarkable ability in his studies. It is said that when a very young boy at Santo Amaro, he used to slip away late at night, after his mother's master had gone to bed, to study by the street lamp on the corner near the house. When his father discovered this, he was much impressed, and other signs

[18] Vianna, *op. cit.*, pp. 72–73.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 151; Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, pp. 160–61, 190.

[20] Physicians, lawyers and engineers.

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of Raul's intelligence and his ability to apply himself multiplied the interest which his father took in him, and he supplied all his needs. When his father left the Reconcavo to come to Bahia, he brought Raul with him, and here, under his tutelage, Raul went to primary school where he had as white playmates his father's nephews and others. And later, when his father went to Rio, he took Raul with him. The boy never left his father's company as long as his father lived.[21]

Raul was a very dark mixed-blood with kinky hair. He came to be a prominent citizen and was noted not only for his fine figure, distinguished bearing, poise, and personal charm but also for his intelligence and professional competence. At one time he was a much-loved confidant of a recent president of Brazil.

Significant also, so far as the rise of the mulatto is concerned, is the fact that early in the nineteenth century the return of young professional men who had been trained in Europe—in Coimbra, Montpelier, Paris, and other centers—enhanced the prestige of the rising professional classes. These young lawyers and physicians, among whom were a number of quite capable mulattoes, were returning to Brazil after an education abroad, ordinarily more traveled, better informed, and more urbane than their brothers or half-brothers on the plantations, in the army, or among the clergy. They were especially attractive, we are told, to the upper-class ladies of the time. The importation of fashionable articles from the Continent—Parisian haberdashery, perfumes, hair-dressings, and English shoes—with the use of all of which these returning young men were quite familiar, enhanced their standing among the élite. The increasing

[21] From a letter to the author from a man reared in the same community as the individual in question and long acquainted with him. For information on the later life of this mixed-blood see Appen. A.

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The Count do Grobineau speaks of meeting three mulatto ladies-in-waiting to the Brazilian empress, one "marron," one "chocolat eclair," one "violette."[25] Montezuma became a viscount and sat in the national senate, as did also Salles Torres Homem. The best elements of the aristocracy attended the receptions for the noted engineer, Andre Rebouças.[26] His brother Antonio, a federal deputy, on requesting a representative on the crown council for the *população mulata* was heard attentively by the *camara*.[27] Domicio da Gama and the Barão de Cotegipe were long prominent in political and diplomatic circles. Dom Silvero Gomes Pimenta became an archbishop. No musician is said to have been more distinguished at court than the mixed-blood, José Mauricio. Domingos Caldas Barbosa, the son of a Negro woman from Angola, acquired considerable fame in the salons of Rio de Janiero and of Lisbon as a singer of popular songs. The eighteenth-century sculpture of Antonio Francisco Lisboa, better known as Aleijadinho, which may still be seen today in the old churches of Ouro Preto, Sabará, São João d'El Rei, and other cities of Minas Geraes, attracted much favorable comment. José Basilio da Gama, whose *Uruguay* is said to be the best epic poem of the colonial period, the writer, Machado de Assis, and the lyric poet, Antonio Gonçalves Dias, were universally accorded high rank in Brazilian letters. Tobias Barretto was honored as a poet but even more as a jurist and annotator of German philosophical works which he had translated. José de Natividade Saldanha, an able poet, was one of the leaders of the revolt in Recife in 1824.

[25] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 354.

[26] Visconde de Taunay, *Homens e cousas do imperio* (São Paulo, 1924), p. 145, noted by Calmon, *op. cit.*, II, 112.

[27] Antonio Pereira Rebouças, *Recordações da vida parlamentar* (2 vols.; Rio, 1870), I, 524, noted by Calmon, *op. cit.*, II, 113.

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José do Patrocinio became an able editor and wielded a powerful influence in the abolition movement. Joaquim Manoel was a violinist of considerable talent. A number of Francisco Braga's musical compositions achieved acclaim, and he was later invited to teach composition in the National Institute of Music. The Bahian mulatto, Francisco Chagas, better known as "Cabra," carved images with such skill that at least five of them ("Nossa Senhora do Carmo," "São Benedito," "São João e Magdalena," "Nossa Senhora dos Dores," and "Senhor da Redempção") may still be seen in the Igreja do Carmo. Valentim da Fonseca e Silva, popularly known as "Master Valentim," achieved fame as a skilled worker in gold and silver. The mulatto, Jesus, was a notable figure in an influential school of painting which flourished in Bahia in the eighteenth century. Crispim do Amaral, better known by his pseudonym "Falstaff," and Pedro Americo were accepted as among the most competent Brazilian painters of the nineteenth century. Antonio Gonçalves Teixeira e Sousa, Laurindo Rabello, and Gonçalves Crespo, all won acclaim in the Brazilian world of letters, and at least the latter of these three in the Portuguese world of letters as well. The psychiatrist, Juliano Moreira, became director-general of the hospital for the insane in Rio de Janeiro and was elected an honorary professor of the Faculty of Medicine in Bahia. The name of the Hospital João de Deus in Bahia was, in 1936, changed in honor of him to the Hospital Juliano Moreira. Theodoro Sampaio became widely known and respected throughout Brazil as an able engineer, intellectual figure, and linguistic scholar. José Ferreira de Menezes, Monteiro Lopes, Cardoso Vieira, Eliseu Cesar, Evaristo Ferreira da Veiga, and (in more recent times) the Bahian brothers, João and Octavio Manga-

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beira, have all been influential politicians with national reputations. Luiz Gama, mulatto journalist and lawyer, born a slave in Bahia, became exceedingly popular not only in São Paulo, where he came to reside, but throughout Brazil. At least one president of the Republic, Nilo Peçanha, had African ancestors.[28]

It is said the royal family set the example of social acceptance of the darker Brazilians and gently rebuked those whites inclined to be hesitant in the matter. Dom João VI, in his audiences at São Cristovão, cordially received men of all stations, and the two Pedros (Dom Pedro I and Dom Pedro II) continued the tradition. Once, at a court ball, Princess Isabel, noting that a lady had declined to dance with André Rebouças, herself offered to dance the subsequent waltz with him, "to compensate for the affront to this illustrious man."[29]

The range of acceptance was at that time broadening. Formerly only the exceptionally able mixed-bloods, or those most similar to the Europeans in color, had been incorporated into the upper circles. But "the prestige of the title 'doutor' began to overcome much of the prejudice which had been so active and apparently so invincible during three previous centuries."[30] Similarly, an army uniform, "especially

[28] For information in some detail on prominent Brazilian mixed-bloods see Arthur Ramos, *The Negro in Brazil* (Washington, 1939), *passim*.

[29] Calmon, *op. cit.*, II, 114. Affonso de E. Taunay (in a letter to the author) reports the incident thus: "At a court ball the Princess Isabel, Countess of Eu and heir to the throne of Brazil, insisted on dancing with André Rebouças, a mulatto who was almost black (albeit a man of great mental and moral worth), in order to censure the attitude of certain ladies of the court who had objected to him as a dancing partner."

[30] Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro*, p. 145.

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grown up naturally between the races were never threatened, let alone destroyed, by a program of reconstruction originating from without and imposed by armed conquest. Individual ability, personal ties and family solidarity, instead of external pressure, were the levers of social advancement. The rise of the mixed-blood and of the black in Brazil has always had effectively in its favor those sentiments and personal attachments which primary relations tend normally to develop.

Such political upheavals as did occur tended to advance the mixed-bloods not as a group but as individuals. Thus the overthrow of the monarchy and the rise of the republic marked a definite break with the rural aristocracy and accelerated the rise of a new class, that of the *bachareis* and the *doutores*, among whom were many mulattoes. And, more recently, the recrystallization of the political structure following the "revolution of 1930" found many Bahian mixed-bloods in positions of trust and responsibility, since the new political "ins," who were diligently seeking to solidify their gains and to establish themselves firmly in power, found it expedient to accept such support as was readily at hand. Again the mixed-bloods figured prominently, not as a group per se but as individuals belonging to an eligible professional class.

The role of sex and of romantic love should not be overlooked. The sexual attraction which the mulatto male exerted upon daughters of rich and influential European families led quite often to elopement or, occasionally and increasingly, to marriage with parental consent.[14] Similarly,

[14] "The daughters, the *yáyás* of the *sobrados*, the *sinhás* of the *casas grandes de engenho*, let themselves be kidnaped by these Don Juans, even by such as were plebeian and of color. . . . . Sellin noted the large number of young ladies eloping . . . . during the latter half of the nineteenth century. They were girls whose parents, for reasons of blood or of social position, had

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the mulatto women profited by the myth of the sexual potency of the hybrid,[35] the high mortality of white women (especially during the nineteenth century), and the consequent successive marriages of elderly patriarchs who sought an increasing degree of sexual stimulation. Cases of "marriages of elderly white men from illustrious families, descendants of barons and well situated in life, with beautiful octoroon, quadroon, or mulatto women who carried themselves like fine ladies and gave evidence of a sexual ardor beyond the ordinary,"[36] increasingly occurred.

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Today, the mixed-bloods are gaining a constantly increasing measure of social recognition. Among them are to be found prominent lawyers, jurists, physicians, engineers, politicians, diplomats, priests, educators, business and commercial magnates, musicians, painters, poets, novelists, journalists, planters.[37] In other words, the mulattoes have now penetrated to the top of the class scale.[38]

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not consented to their marriage with men for whom they had come to feel a sentimental or sexual predilection" (*ibid.*, pp. 156–57). Note also the novel *O mulato* (3d ed.; Rio, 1889), by Aluisio de Azevedo, whose hero is a mixed-blood *bacharel* educated in Europe and enamored of a white girl from a family "full of prejudices of white purity." Gilberto Freyre calls this book "a human document warm with the life of the time."

[35] A popular saying commonly heard in Bahia is: "A white woman for marriage, a Negro woman for work, a *mulata* for sexual intercourse."

[36] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 337.

[37] See Lacerda, *op. cit.*, pp. 381–82; Manoel de Oliveira Lima, *The Evolution of Brazil Compared with that of Spanish and Anglo-Saxon America* (Palo Alto, 1914), p. 39; Rudiger Bilden, "Laboratory of Civilization," *Nation*, CXXVIII (January 16, 1929), 73; Thomas Ewbank, *Life in Brazil* (New York, 1856), p. 267; Professor and Mrs. Louis Agassiz, *A Journey in Brazil* (Boston and New York, 1888), p. 124; Theodore Roosevelt, "Brazil and the Negro," *Outlook*, CVI (February, 1914), 409.

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[38] To accelerate his social climbing, the mixed-blood has developed certain characteristic personality traits: "a pleasant smile and manner, a cordial

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In all probability, the movement was at first largely vertical. When, however, the mixed-blood had gained some economic or professional competence, had definitely established his personal worth, he tended to be recognized as an "exceptional" individual; that is, as a person rather than as a member of a group. As the numbers of these "exceptional" individuals multiplied, the social conventions were subjected to constantly increasing pressure, since it is difficult to treat "exceptional" individuals in situations of intimate social intercourse differently from the way they are treated in intellectual, commercial, or political circles. This "strain for consistency" tends in time to modify conduct.[19]

Thus, as the mixed-bloods rose in class, this upward movement was accompanied by what might be called "horizontal progression." The individual who was rising in rank and establishing himself in the upper intellectual and economic circles began actually to penetrate the "inner sanctuaries" of the more exclusive social groups, breaking down marriage and familial taboos. The class tradition, in so far as it had been fixed by race, gradually began to give way under the irresistible pressure exerted upon it by the rising mulatto group.

This rise was accompanied by the personal stresses and strains which an individual in the process of moving from one class to another ordinarily experiences. The first mulattoes to penetrate the upper tiers reflected in their personal

show of hospitality, the use of diminutives as a means of being both respectful and intimate at the same time" (Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, pp. 357–58).

[19] Moreover, class interests tended to become more and more important and eventually to bind members of the same class with common bonds of sentiment, attitude, and idea, and thus to cut across lines of color or of racial descent.

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CHAPTER VII

THE PRESENT ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE CLASSES IN BAHIAN SOCIETY

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TODAY one finds at Bahia a freely competitive order in which individuals compete for position largely on the basis of personal merit and favorable family circumstance. Individual competence tends to overbalance ethnic origin as a determinant of social status.

However, the darker portion of the population, as we have already noted, have had to contend with the serious handicap that their parents or grandparents or other immediate ancestors began on the bottom as propertyless slaves of the white ruling class and now bear constantly with them, by reason of color and other physical characteristics, indelible badges of this slave ancestry, ineradicable symbols of low status. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the relatively unmixed blacks are still concentrated in the low-pay, low-status employments and that they gradually disappear as one ascends the occupational scale, until in the upper levels they are seldom to be found.

But the mixed-bloods, especially the lighter mulattoes, evidence a strong tendency to climb the occupational ladder. Although the darker individuals still occupy very largely the low-pay employments, the lighter mulattoes tend to be concentrated in the middle tier; while a considerable portion, especially of very light mixed-bloods, or *brancos da Bahia*, as they arc sometimes called, have penetrated into the upper strata.

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The whites, as might be anticipated, are concentrated in the upper levels. Their numbers, both absolute and relative, diminish sharply as one descends the occupational scale, and they appear only in small percentages in the lower tiers.

TABLE 8

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RACIAL DISTRIBUTION IN THOSE EMPLOYMENTS AT BAHIA IN WHICH BLACKS APPEAR TO BE PREDOMINANT, 1936

Employment	Sample	Percentage				
		Black*	Mulatto	White	*Cafuso*§	Total
Carregadores†	100	93.0	7.0	0.0	0.0	100
Laundresses	200	89.5	9.5	0.0	1.0	100
Carroceiros‡	100	83.0	15.0	0.0	2.0	100
Masons	125	82.4	16.8	0.0	0.8	100
Stevedores	125	81.6	15.2	1.6	1.6	100
Truck helpers	250	81.2	18.0	0.8	0.0	100
Domestics	250	78.8	18.8	0.8	1.6	100
Street laborers	225	78.3	21.2	0.5	0.0	100
Candy-peddlers	100	77.0	21.0	1.0	1.0	100
Cobblers	70	74.4	22.8	2.8	0.0	100
Venders	200	68.5	28.0	3.5	0.0	100
Newsboys	100	68.0	31.0	1.0	0.0	100
Shoe-shiners	50	66.0	32.0	2.0	0.0	100
Streetcar motormen	80	60.0	32.5	5.0	2.5	100
Truck-drivers	150	44.7	43.3	10.7	1.3	100

* It is, of course, possible that individuals with some degree of mixture are included in this category. Color and hair texture were the differentials particularly noted.

† *Carregadores* operate at the port, discharging the functions of porters and baggagemen.

‡ Individuals who own a mule and a two-wheeled cart and transport goods about the city are known as *carroceiros*.

§ Indian-Negro mixed-blood.

Of the employments in which relatively unmixed blacks and mulattoes were found to predominate, those in which there appeared to be more blacks than mulattoes (together with the corresponding percentages) were as indicated in Table 8. The mulattoes in each case were predominantly dark mixed-bloods.

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Of the same employments (in which blacks and mulattoes were found to predominate), those in which there appeared to be more mulattoes than unmixed blacks were as indicated in Table 9.

TABLE 9

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION IN THOSE EMPLOYMENTS AT BAHIA IN WHICH MULATTOES APPEAR TO BE PREDOMINANT OVER BLACKS, 1936

Employment	Sample	Percentage				
		Mulatto	Black	White	*Cafuso*	Total
Barbers*	150	74.0	20.0	6.0	0.0	100
Band musicians†	98	68.4	23.5	8.1	0.0	100
Street-sweepers	75	62.7	34.7	2.6	0.0	100
Streetcar *fiscais*‡	50	62.0	24.0	10.0	4.0	100
Streetcar conductors	80	58.8	22.5	16.2	2.5	100
Firemen†	100	58.0	32.0	9.0	1.0	100
Bus *cobradores*§	90	54.5	30.0	12.2	3.3	100
Taxi-drivers	85	54.1	31.8	9.4	4.7	100
Police*	150	54.0	32.6	13.4	0.0	100
Bus-drivers	90	50.0	27.8	17.8	4.4	100
Soldiers†	750	48.1	40.5	11.1	0.3	100

* These mulattoes were predominantly light.
† These mulattoes were predominantly dark.
‡ Individuals who check streetcar conductor's records.
§ *Cobradores* are fare-collectors in some cases, changeboys in others.

Of the employments in which whites and mulattoes appear to be predominant, those in which there appeared to be more mulattoes than whites were as given in Table 10.

Of the same employments (in which whites and mulattoes were found to predominate), those in which there appeared to be more whites than mulattoes were as indicated in Table 11.

Thus, the occupational groups found to be composed probably three-fourths or more of relatively unmixed blacks

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included: *carregadores*, laundresses, masons, stevedores, truck helpers, *carroceiros*, unskilled laborers, domestic servants, and candy-peddlers; those found to be composed perhaps two-thirds or more of blacks (in addition to the foregoing): cobblers, street venders, newsboys, and shoe-shiners; and those composed half or more of blacks (in addition to the above): streetcar motormen.

TABLE 10

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION IN THOSE EMPLOYMENTS AT BAHIA IN WHICH MULATTOES APPEAR TO BE PREDOMINANT OVER WHITES, 1936

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Employment	Sample	Percentage			
	*	Mulatto	White	Black	Total
Army officers:					
Superior*	33	57.6†	42.4	0.0	100
Inferior	38	47.4	34.2	15.8	100‡
Clerks	350	55.1§	44.6	0.3	100

* The range was from lieutenant upward.
† There were only two dark mulattoes.
‡ *Cafuso*, 2.6 per cent.
§ These mixed-bloods were predominantly light.

The occupational groups which appeared to consist half or more of mixed-bloods, included: clerks, barbers, band musicians, army officers (superior), police, firemen, streetcar conductors, streetcar *fiscais*, taxi- and bus-drivers, bus *cobradores*, and street-sweepers. Approximately two-thirds of the band musicians appeared to be mulattoes, and about three-fourths of the barbers.

Among those occupational groups which are composed probably three-fourths or more of whites were found priests,

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bank employees, and businessmen;[1] among those two-thirds white (in addition to the above): professors in the Faculdades, lawyers, politicians, and cabaret entertainers;[2] and among those half or more white (in addition to the groups

TABLE 11

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION IN THOSE EMPLOYMENTS AT BAHIA IN WHICH WHITES APPEAR TO BE PREDOMINANT, 1936

Employment	Sample	Percentage				
		White	Mulatto	Black	*Brancos da Bahia*	Total
Bank employees	125	84.0	2.4	0.0	13.6	100
Priests	50	76.0	8.0	0.0	16.0	100
Businessmen	40	75.0	7.5	0.0	17.5	100
Cabaret entertainers	26	73.1	11.5	0.0	15.4	100
Professors (Faculdades)	232	70.3	14.2	0.0	15.5	100
Lawyers	433	67.1	9.7	1.7	15.2	100*
Politicians	60	66.7	11.6	1.7	18.3	100†
Physicians	100	63.0	20.0	1.0	16.0	100
Teachers (secondary)	58	57.0	24.1	3.4	15.5	100
Commercial employees	325	54.8	27.4	1.6	15.3	100‡
Government *funcionarios*	250	45.2	32.8	5.6	16.0	100§

* Indian-white descent, 0.7 per cent; Indian-Negro descent, 0.7 per cent; white-Negro-Indian descent, 0.5 per cent; incomplete records, 4.4 per cent.

† *Mameluco* (white-Indian mixed-blood), 1.7 per cent.

‡ *Mameluco*, 0.6 per cent; *cafuso*, 0.3 per cent.

§ *Mameluco*, 0.4 per cent.

just named): physicians, commercial and government employees, and teachers in the secondary schools.

Of the first 500 *brancos* applying in 1935 at the Gabinete

[1] If *brancos da Bahia* are included in the white group, one would have to add cabaret entertainers, professors (advanced schools), politicians, lawyers, and physicians.

[2] If *brancos da Bahia* are included, one would have to add physicians, teachers in the secondary schools, and commercial employees.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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de Identificação for cards of identification, 292 were males. Of these, 213 were classified as students, 17 as businessmen, 11 as salesmen, 8 as government clerks, 8 as commercial employees, 5 as soldiers, 4 as teachers, 4 as hucksters, 3 as peddlers (a Rumanian Jew, a Pole, and a Spaniard), 3 as bus *cobradores*, 2 as engineers, 2 as house servants, and 1 each as carpenter, printer, auto mechanic, sailor, ship's engineer, tailor, musician (instrumental), vocalist, magistrate, laborer, farmer, and *proprietario* (one whose income is derived from rentals). Of the 208 females, 170 were classified as students, 24 as teachers, 7 as government clerks, 5 as housewives, 1 as vocalist, and 1 as typist.

Of the first 500 *pardos*, 244 were males. Of these, 90 were classified as students, 44 as peddlers, 25 as soldiers, 13 as commercial employees, 9 as mechanics, 7 as operators of bakeries, 7 as *carregadores*, 7 as shopkeepers, 6 as farmers, 4 as shoemakers, 3 as orchestra players, 3 as teachers, 2 as barbers, 2 as gardeners, 2 as house servants, 2 as beggars,[1] 2 as masons, 2 as bus *cobradores*, 2 as sailors, 2 as shoe-shiners, and 1 each as salesman, painter, carpenter, ironworker, tinsmith, vulcanizer, tailor, butcher, waiter, and truck-gardener. Of 256 females, 214 were classified as students, 30 as teachers, 4 as housewives, 2 as dressmakers, and 1 each as embroidery worker, designer, house servant, and beggar.

Of the first 155 *pretos*, 125 were males. Of these, 17 were classified as students, 51 as hucksters, 17 as *carregadores*, 8 as soldiers, 4 as bus *cobradores*, 3 as farmers, 4 as bakers, 2 as mechanics, 2 as masons, 2 as shoemakers, and 1 each as commercial employee, small shopkeeper, government clerk, decorator, hairdresser, pianist, jazz orchestra player, ironworker, leather worker, cabinet-maker, *carroceiro*, house

[1] *Mendicantes.*

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

 563* 463 162

servant, sailor, farmer, and shoe-shiner. Of the 30 females, 23 were classified as students, 2 as teachers, 2 as housewives, and 1 each as street peddler, domestic servant, and government clerk.

Inferences based upon this occupational distribution, together with certain other indices (such as tax returns, automobile ownership, the purchase of different-priced seats at cinemas and sport events), indicate that blacks and the darker mixed-bloods ordinarily occupy the lower economic levels, the medium and light mulattoes the middle position, and the whites (including the *brancos da Bahia*) the upper stratum. 563* 434

A Bahian official engaged in income-tax collections knew of no rich blacks in the city,[4] but he did know of several well-to-do mixed-bloods, among whom were a few dark mulattoes. Most incomes in the upper brackets, however, are those of whites. [556]

Of 116 cars being driven along the central thoroughfare, the Rua Chile, during a popular festival, in 90, or 77.6 per cent of the total, only whites were riding; in 26, or 22.4 per cent, mixed-bloods were among the occupants;[5] while no cars were occupied by blacks. However, on a similar occasion, of 50 cars noted, 2 were occupied exclusively by blacks. 563* 162 493

At a cinema performance, of 63 persons occupying *poltronas* at 2$200 a seat, 73 per cent were whites, 20.6 per cent 563* 162 546

[4] Although at Ilhéos in the rich cocoa area south of Bahia a few blacks and dark mulattoes are quite well to do. For a sketch of life in this region see Jorge Amado, *Cacau* (Rio, 1933).

[5] The 6 cars in which only mulattoes were riding constituted 5.2 per cent of the total (only 1 car was occupied by dark mulattoes); the 19 cars in which both whites and mulattoes were riding constituted 16.3 per cent of the total (3 cars were occupied principally by *brancos da Bahia*, 16 by whites, with only one or two light mulattoes in each case); 1 car (0.9 per cent of the total) contained one black and five dark mulattoes.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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the present social order at Bahia results, as it probably does in a free class society anywhere, from the tendency of the more advantaged and the more able to rise to, or to maintain themselves at, the top. Since the Africans began in Brazil at the bottom, the present distribution of color through the class scale obviously indicates the extent to which the Negroes (either pure or diluted) have been able to survive and to rise in competition with the Europeans and their descendants, who in the main began at the top. The present distribution is therefore that probably to be expected, even in a freely competitive society, given the original slave status of the Negro, his relatively disadvantaged position upon receiving freedom, the consequently limited opportunities for economic advancement, and the comparatively brief time he has enjoyed a freely competitive status.

One might also note that racial distribution in the occupations and with reference to economic status is not greatly dissimilar at Bahia to that in the United States. In other words, the Negro, either pure or mixed with the white, has slowly but steadily advanced both in Brazil and in this country, until today he is represented there and here in all the professions and in many, if not most, of the occupations. Even the relative numbers in the different levels of the occupational and economic scales are somewhat similar in the two cases.

The differences, however, are profound. Whereas in the United States the rise of the Negro and of the mixed-blood has been principally within the limits of the Negro world, in Brazil the rise has been with reference to the total community; that is, the Negro in Bahia not only competes freely with all others of his own color but can and does compete with all aspirants to the same class; and, if he has ability and

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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gives evidence of definite personal worth, he will be accepted for what he is as an individual, and his racial antecedents will, at least to a considerable degree, be overlooked.

The extent of participation of the different ethnic units in the total life of the community may be indicated by analyzing racial participation in such institutions as exclusive clubs, schools, labor unions, and churches.

One of Bahia's most exclusive clubs, membership in which is definitely indicative of advanced social status, is composed of Bahian "society," including most of the leading officials and many of the more prominent citizens. Numerous receptions for visiting celebrities are held at this club, and its dances are considered to be among the principal social functions of the year. No blacks have yet been admitted, although several mixed-bloods, including a number of *brancos da Bahia* and even a few dark mulattoes, are regular and honored members. Whites, of course, predominate.

Among the members is a dark mixed-blood, with Caucasian hair and features, a prominent citizen, an able eye, ear, nose, and throat specialist trained in Europe, and husband of a white wife. Of him a Bahian of undiluted European descent once commented, "You know when I went to see him about my eyes the other day, I never once thought of him as colored. I needed professional advice and I simply recalled that he, like his father before him, was the best eye specialist in Bahia." Another member of this club is a dark mixed-blood, a wealthy exporter, prominent in Bahian commercial circles, and husband of a white wife, upon whose visits into the interior, it is said, all those with whom he has business dealings (including whites) feel deeply honored when he visits them in their homes.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOH

Not listed among the members is a dark mixed-blood of distinguished bearing, probably Bahia's leading colored citizen, son of a white planter and a black slave, able engineer, once federal senator, president of an important intellectual and social organization, and "authority" on the Tupi language. However, an officer of the club, a white banker from one of the leading families whose aristocratic lineage, general competence, and recent contribution of a governor to the state and a federal senator to the national *camara* unquestionably admits its members to the most exclusive circles, once remarked that "if this distinguished colored citizen should sometime apply for membership, there would be no doubt that a man of his intelligence, refinement, and professional competence would be accepted without serious question."

In the schools there is no segregation in any form. Students, however, are predominantly white and light mulatto. The participation of blacks is somewhat limited, and there is a progressive elimination of the darker shades as one climbs the educational ladder. Illiteracy is high, especially in the lower class, in which, as we have seen, blacks and dark mulattoes predominate.

Table 13 indicates more equable participation of the blacks in the elementary schools, especially in those which are state supported, attendance at which is free and hence more accessible to Negro children, concentrated as their parents are in the lower economic levels.

In a parade of school children celebrating Emancipation Day (the thirteenth of May) twelve elementary schools participated, each group being dressed in its distinctive uniform. For example, the boys of one school wore light gray suits with a blue stripe down the trousers, blue belts, and

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

 563 * 829

The Afro-Brazilian Congress ought to point out how deplorable is the condition of the black man in Brazil.

The Afro-Brazilian Congress ought to say to the black man that social lynching is worse than physical lynching.

The Afro-Brazilian Congress ought to break the chains of oppression.

The Afro-Brazilian Congress ought to say to the black man that he is dying of tuberculosis, of the heavy labor of carrying weighty burdens, of passing up necessities,[44] and of sorrow.

The Afro-Brazilian Congress ought to remind the black man that he is selected for, and preferred in, the lower occupations.

The Afro-Brazilian Congress ought to ask the black man how long he wants to be a slave?

"What the black does not have here," admitted a Bahian white, "is economic equality. He ordinarily gets only the meanest of jobs. He may be a manual laborer, a *carregador*, a mason or other artisan, but he seldom gets much above this level." "The Bahian black is poor and oppressed," said a mulatto. "The best positions are usually difficult for him to attain, especially if he has no education. He has little chance of becoming an important intellectual, commercial, or political figure; the best jobs are ordinarily beyond his reach." 563 * 829 [463]

The feeling of being abused and unfairly treated by fate is quite evident in the following document written by a *preto* stevedor: 563 * 829

In the past the black man was the laborer, the slave, vilely treated by the owners of great wealth whose descendants today often fail to recognize in him the principal factor in the building of Brazil and continue to deny him what he rightly deserves as a reward and a recompense for his untiring services (and even sacrifices), and for his humility in making himself always acceptable to his masters.

Today the descendants of these slaveowners are the great indus-

[44] I.e., of going without midday meal while at work, without sufficient sleep, medical attention, etc.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

trialists and capitalists. Although they are unable to do as their predecessors did, nevertheless they make use, in a disguised manner, of that same abuse of power. They give evidence of a feeling of superiority, which confirms the presence in them of remnants of the former sentiments; they deprive the black man of equality, if not in ability, at least in the opportunity to make use of it.[45]

If the black man were properly educated, he axiomatically would be equal to those who judge themselves superior. Only from men who have leisure to spend in study will there come descendants with lofty aspirations; not from men handicapped by excessive labor and deficient nourishment. This does not prove less intelligence but only less good fortune. For if the forebears of the blacks had been masters of the plantations, the slave huts, and the mines, their descendants would naturally have been capable of educating their children with the same diligence and care as do the whites.

Today, the blacks are employed only as simple laborers, such as masons, carpenters, tailors, mechanics, shoemakers, ironworkers, stevedores, *carregadores*, etc. The reason the blacks do not use their abilities as business agents, bookkeepers, custom-house clerks, exporters, importers, etc., is that they do not possess the requisite skill and training, a deficiency which is principally due to the whites themselves, who always hinder the entering of this element of the population into the above-indicated classes where they might exercise authority over the other element and then they call them "inferiors," "the poor," "low-class."

The black child may attend elementary school and learn a few indispensable things. But since his parents cannot send him to secondary and superior schools, directly thereafter he goes to work; which causes, or at least contributes to, his inability to enter pursuits other than those in which stevedores, *carregadores*, etc., work.

This is the reason why the black man cannot attain a position of economic security in the Bahian community.

In assessing the significance of this document, one must draw a distinction between the lower-class *pretos* and those other blacks who have climbed somewhat in the economic

[45] I.e., in opportunities to develop these abilities through education.

4; Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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794 heartily in the songs, occasionally taps her cane on the ground in time with the drums, and appears to enjoy thoroughly each part of the ritual. Every once in a while she leans toward the drummers and shouts at the *alabê* in Nagô. Sometimes, when the *pae de santo* is temporarily absent from the *barracão*, she initiates the ritualistic songs. Her name is Ismeira and she lives in an old house in a section of the city which was once entirely inhabited, it is said, by Nagôs.

794 As the ceremony begins, 22 *filhas*, 1 *filho* (or male cere-
796 monial dancer), and the *pae de santo* are in the circle which has formed around the central post of the *barracão*. Seated in the center of the circle is a visiting *pae de santo* named Vidal. Twenty-one *ogans*, including visitors from other *seitas*, are to the left of the drums. Into the other available spaces are packed 208 spectators, of whom 136 are blacks, 68 are mulattoes (all dark mixed-bloods, except 6), and 4 are *brancos da Bahia*. There are no whites. Approximately two hundred other individuals mill about outside.

794 In this *seita* there are in all 34 *filhas de santo*, nearly 60 per
463 cent of whom are over forty years of age. The eldest are seventy-two and seventy-one years, respectively, and 9 are fifty or over. Ten are from forty to fifty, 7 are from thirty to forty years of age; 6 are twenty to thirty, 1 is nineteen, and 1 is twelve. Two are married, 13 are *amasiada*, 2 are engaged to be married, 15 are single, and 2 are widowed. All are from the lower class. Thirteen are peddlers of African foods in the streets, 7 are seamstresses, 5 are laundresses, 5 are domestic servants, and 1 is a midwife. One, the next to the eldest, is employed in looking after the *casa de candomblé*, 1 is the
794 *zelador de santo*,[14] and 1 an adolescent child. Thirteen, or

[14] It is the task of the *zelador de santo* to care for the *pegi*, wash the fetishes at regular intervals, and renew the food and drink offerings.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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more than a third, live in the immediate vicinity of the *terreiro*, 16 live from one to four miles away in seven different sections of Bahia, 3 are from the neighboring villages of Armação and Pitúba, and 2 others, residents of Rio de Janeiro, are visiting relatives and friends in Bahia. 794

One *filha de santo* has been "made" fifty-eight years; another, fifty-seven. Three more have been functionaries of the cult thirty years or longer; ten, from twelve to twenty-one years; nine, from six to seven years; six, including the twelve-year-old girl, from one to two years; and two have been "made" only approximately one month. Six are dedicated to the *orixá* of lightning and thunder, Xangô; five to the *orixá* of pestilence, Omolú; four to the deity of the hunt, Oxóssi, and four to the deity of war and iron, Ogun. Two others are dedicated to Oxalá "the Elder," and two to Oxalá "the Younger," or Oxagian. Nine are sacred to the *mães d'agua*, or the water deities: four to Oxun, two each to Yansan and Nanan, and one to Yemanjá, "the *orixá* of the sea."

The sixteen *ogans* range in age from twenty to sixty years, with the exception of a five-year-old boy. The "eldest" in point of service to the cult has been *confirmado* ("confirmed") thirty-two years. Most are persons of relatively assured income from the lower class, there being among them hucksters, stevedores, day laborers, a *carroceiro*, a tinsmith, a painter, a baker, a tailor, and a typesetter. Only three, or less than one-fifth, live in the immediate vicinity of the *terreiro*, the residences of the others being scattered throughout the city in nine different sections.[15] [565] [463]

[15] This dispersion is perhaps indicative of the *candomblé's* gradual disintegration. An *ogan* remarked, "I would like to have all the *ogans* and the *filhas* living here near each other. It would be so much better. Years ago they used to live that way. But today everyone wants to live wherever he chooses anywhere in the city." [178]

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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565 percentage of each racial stock in each occupational class will indicate the occupational status of the different racial elements. And since the group with superior status will have proportionately larger numbers in the upper brackets, and the groups with inferior status will have larger numbers in the lower brackets, one may describe a racial situation statistically. Thus, on the basis of a sample census recently taken, the relation to the class structure of the respective ethnic elements in the population at Bahia may be described as shown in Table 16.

TABLE 16

[571] RACIAL DISTRIBUTION IN THE CLASSES AT BAHIA, 1936

Ethnic Groups	Intelligentsia		Marginal		Lower Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Blacks	5	0.4	23	5.1	1,245	75.2
Mixed-bloods	222	15.7	255	56.3	386	23.3
Whites	1,183	83.9	175	38.6	25	1.5
Total	1,410	100.0	453	100.0	1,656	100.0

*463 *563 565 One might indicate graphically the vocational distribution of the various ethnic elements at Bahia by a series of pyramids, as illustrated on the facing page.

If now one were able to obtain statistics showing the extent of intermarriage between, on the one hand, members of the different racial stocks in the same occupational class and, on the other hand, between the different classes in the same racial stock, these facts should provide an accurate statistical description of what the racial situation actually is. If one finds that, as in the United States, marriages between

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 340].

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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different occupational classes within each racial group are more frequent than intermarriage between members of the different racial groups in the same class, we should expect to find solidarity and co-operation for common ends organized along racial lines. The racial group would then assume more or less the character of a nationality or of a racial minority. On the other hand, if solidarity and co-operation were organized along class lines, then the struggle for status would take more or less the form of a class struggle.

Statistical data to resolve this problem are unfortunately not available in any depository in Bahia. Such information as it was possible to secure in the course of this study indicated that marriages cross race lines more often than class lines and that solidarity and co-operation tend to be organized along class lines.

Since, then, the blacks, mixed-bloods, and whites in Bahia do not constitute endogamous occupational groupings, the social structure is not that of caste. Although the hierarchy of occupations still takes a decidedly pyramidal form, and the white race, occupying superior status, has predominantly larger numbers in the upper brackets, and the black race, representing inferior status, is overwhelmingly dominant in the lower brackets, each race and the mixed-bloods are represented in all the occupational classes.

To the extent that the blacks, mixed-bloods, and whites fall into endogamous but not necessarily occupational groupings, one might say that the structure here takes the form of a racial minority, or a nationality, in free association with, but not accepted on a basis of social equality by, a dominant racial majority. Such is the relation of the Jew in Europe and, increasingly now, of the Negro in the United States. Of the latter, Park has said:

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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of slavery was apparently very firmly intrenched. Thus, the "struggle for consistency" in the Brazilian mores went on *inside* each local community, where it had in its favor the intimate and personal relations of individuals who not only lived in close proximity to each other but were also bound together by ties of family, religion, and friendship.

10. Final emancipation came about as the culmination of a widespread liberation movement which for years had dominated the public mind. The release of the last slaves in bondage did not, as in the United States, occur as an incident of civil strife, nor were the race relations which have normally grown up under slavery ever exacerbated by a program of "reconstruction" imposed by armed conquest from without.

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11. The Brazilian white has never at any time felt that the black or the mixed-blood offered any serious threat to his own status. No feelings of fear, distrust, apprehension, dread, resentment, or envy have been stirred up, as in our South during and following the Civil War, no sense of unwarranted aggressions or attacks.

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12. Today, the blacks and the mixed-bloods are represented throughout the entire occupational scale, although, as is to be expected, considering the original slave status of the Negro, his relatively disadvantaged position upon receiving his liberty, and the comparatively brief time he has enjoyed a freely competitive status, the darker portion of the population is still concentrated in the low-pay, low-status employments. However, the blacks, ordinarily but not always paced by the mixed-bloods, are gradually rising in the occupational scale.

13. This rise in class of the blacks and the mixed-bloods is recognized not merely in a Negro world, as is largely true of

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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BRAZIL SL

similar advancement in the United States, but by all members of the Brazilian community.

14. Since, then, the blacks, the mixed-bloods, and the whites do not constitute endogamous occupational groupings, the social structure is not that of caste.

15. Nor does the Negro in Brazil appear to be, as he is in the United States, developing into a self-conscious racial minority in free association with, but not accepted by, a dominant racial majority.

16. Instead, the entire organization of society tends to take the form of a competitive order in which the individual finds his place on the basis of personal competence and individual achievement more than upon the basis of racial descent. This fact is perhaps best reflected in the common saying: "A rich Negro is a white man, and a poor white man is a Negro."

17. The Brazilian racial situation is, then, sufficiently distinct from that in India, for example, where the social order is organized on the principle of caste, and from those in many parts of the world where a national or racial minority (or minorities) is in free association with, but not accepted by, a dominant national or racial majority, to constitute, along with the Hawaiian racial situation and certain others, a distinct type: *a multiracial class society.*

18. There is no deliberate segregation as one finds where races have been embittered for a long time; spatial distribution is largely the consequence of economic sifting. Such isolation as exists is largely due to varying educational levels or to identification with elements of African culture, particularly the fetish cult.

19. For the assimilation of the *Africanos* at Bahia, while now far advanced, is not yet complete. African survivals still

5: Azevedo--19 D, Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
[Salvador]

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1. A colored business-man.

[SALVADOR]

/46/ Commerce

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The merchants and the fazendeiros enjoy a prestige in Bahia society proportional to the economic importance of their activities, the wealthiest families being made up by them, and their influence being well known in all the social life. It is by means of these two forms of activity that the Bahians acquire a certain social rank and exercise control over other sectors of the social structure (1).

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[162]

1. The economic activities that occupy the largest number of persons in the State of Bahia are agriculture and stock raising (67 o/o of individuals of the male sex); there follow in order of importance: small crafts industry and commerce, according to the census of 1940. In the city of Salvador (Bahia) the liberal professions and private instruction, which the statistics record in the aggregate, came in first place, and commerce and the industries are in second place.

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The national and racial groups that make up the population of Bahia participate in different fashion in the commerce and agriculture. While the Whites and the morenos predominate among the most important breeders of livestock, one finds among the owners of cacao plantations a large proportion of colored persons who began as small planters and have progressively enlarged their fazendas as cacoa gained in importance in the international markets. The plantations of cane and the sugar mills that belonged to the families of Portuguese origin, who were very conscious of their social rank during the colonial period, are today almost entirely in the hands of large capitalist enterprises in which Whites and a few métis predominate.

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As for commercial activities, they are not carried on exclusively by nationally and racially determined groups, but these groups portion them out among themselves up to a certain point --

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*563 555 871 Knowing to what extent schooling is useful to them to reduce the social distance that separates them from the ruling classes, colored persons, even the humblest and the darkest, make great efforts to send their children to primary school; they go so far as to make the sacrifice to send them to secondary courses when they could already be helping them in their work. A mulatto who [171] lives in the northern part of the country states that in this the Blacks of Bahia differ from those of the other States: "Here the humblest women -- washerwomen, cooks, domestics -- send their children to school and are very anxious about what they are taught. In the other States this does not interest them (1)."

[162] [872] [463]

1. Among the 92 students of both sexes in a public elementary school chosen at random, 23 were white, 42 pardos, and 27 black. Those responsible for the colored children (mothers, fathers, uncles, or godmothers) were domestics, seamstresses, cabinetmakers, carpenters, masons, petty officials, chauffeurs, commercial employees, cooks, washerwomen, etc.

*563 871 171 "The Blacks of another large Brazilian city," notes a black university student, "are very well dressed and shod, but they speak badly, use slang expressions, and are incapable of carrying on a conversation of a certain level. One might say that they are not at all anxious to learn."

*563 555 829 There is a very widespread conviction that, in order to excel in life and elevate oneself socially, a colored person must be better /67/ prepared and more capable than the Whites. "A young colored man must have great personal merit to be able to assert himself," says the student mentioned above. A mulatto physician who had an exceptional career and who has become one of the greatest names in Brazilian science told one of our informants that a colored man, in order to succeed, must have twice the merit as his white competitor, for exactly the same thing happens with a Black as with two balls of the same weight and the same size, one of metal and the other of wood; when one takes them in one's hand it always seems as though the metal one were heavier. Thus a colored man always gives the impression of having less merit than a White.

[SALVADOR]

/74 cont./

*563 794 were refused because of their "quality." Some of the examples mentioned are evidently a matter of class discrimination rather than of race or color. Nevertheless, a morena girl reports that, although she had satisfied all the requisite conditions, she was unable to enter a third order because, as a member of the management of the order told her, it did not accept colored persons. Nevertheless in almost all the most important brotherhoods there are light "brothers" of mixed blood, who are "socially white," and even dark mulattoes. The proportion in which such persons *563 794 are accepted varies according to the professional tradition of each organization. In those where merchants predominate, one finds •463 a reflection of what has taken place in commerce: the number of dark persons is smaller there; the Father who directs one of these has more than once cautioned his associates against the opposition they show toward admitting into their ranks dark individuals who otherwise satisfy all the moral and spiritual conditions required. In the brotherhoods controlled by the liberal professions, and above all in those that from organizations of classes have become organizations of charity and mutual aid, one finds numerous colored persons, even in positions of management. In one important brotherhood, frequently mentioned by the informants as being very discriminatory, 49 o/o of the members are merchants, 22 o/o practice a liberal profession, 7 o/o are in the bureaucracy. Thus, out of the 1,004 members whose portraits can be consulted in the files of the association, 81 o/o have a white phenotype, 15.64 o/o are morenos, and 2.88 o/o light mulattoes; all the director-members are white. In another brotherhood, traditionally governed by judges, lawyers, physicians, and other members of liberal professions, there are 11 pardos among the 34 members of the board of management; in the list of its "brothers" one can identify numerous métis and even a very dark Black who occupies an important public office. The priests who supervise this brotherhood, members of a *563 794 foreign religious order, have the right to put their veto against 793 the names of candidates whom they judge not to be suitable for any reason whatsoever; they are not bound to give the reason for their 797 decision; numerous members state that these priests almost always

5: Azevedo--102 D, Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[SALVADOR]

/79/ The Liberal Professions

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One of the aspects of social mobility in Brazil is the fact that a colored person from the most humble economic condition is able, thanks to his talent and effort, to elevate himself to a high position in the liberal professions and in the intellectual milieus, achieving in this way a status far above that into which he was born (1).

1. "The entire organization of the society tends to take on the form of an order of free competition, in which individuals find their place thanks to the criterion of professional competence and to chance, more than by racial origin." Pierson, op. cit., p. 420. The same remark is found in the book by Ruth Landes, The City of Women, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1947, p. 60.

One of the ways of elevating oneself socially, for everyone, is to practice a liberal profession and to acquire in it the flattering title of doctor, which, almost without discrimination, one bestows in speaking to university graduates. And this is possible [873] for colored persons as well as for whites, for in Brazil there are no separate universities for "Negroes"; all accept any student whatsoever. A black lawyer of African origin, already mentioned for his vigilant attitude on behalf of people of his race, has written: "For them (the Blacks) are open the wide doors of the temple of science, the fine arts, commerce, industry, and scientific agriculture, where, on a par with his white brother, the Black receives teaching that will [illegible]er him capable of proving himself strong in life's struggle and of attaining the goal that he sets for himself in the arcana of law and justice, of medicine, in the intricate mysteries of engineering, of commerce, of industry, and of work" (2).

[113] 2. Alakija (Maxwell P. Assunçao), "A parábola da velhinha /The parable of the little old man/," A Tarde, Bahia, 17 August 1922.

[SALVADOR]

/81 cont./

*563 873 875 the faculty of medicine, one can see at least eight pardos and morenos who taught there during the first half of the last century (2).

2. The colored candidates sometimes encountered serious difficulties in getting on the higher staffs of the professorship. One of them, Dr. Luiz Alvares dos Santos, in the thesis that he wrote in 1859 in order to become a professor in the faculty of medicine of Bahia, complained of having suffered rebuffs, which he attributed to the fact that he was of mixed blood. After three attempts he nevertheless ended up by being admitted.

In a list of 99 professors now at the university one counts 15 morenos and mulattoes, and /82/ an identical proportion among the assistants. Never is the scientific and social prestige of university professors measured by the pigmentation of the skin, and some of the most renowned intellectuals of Bahia are colored professors whose names are the pride of their faculties. Numerous finos white students are honored to have prepared their doctoral thesis under the direction of these professors and to have done their practical studies with them.

*563 • 463 555 The liberal professions are indubitably the most direct path of social ascent for persons who are colored and of modest milieu. With regard to these professions, even in the ones that are most on view persons of all types can have a career and build up a clientele, particularly as far as doctors and lawyers are concerned, among the upper-class Whites. The persons practicing a liberal profession whom federal and state organizations register and supervise are divided up as follows:

[SALVADOR]

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Professions	Total number	Percentage		
		Whites	Métis	Blacks
Lawyers	1,088	68.8	30	1.1
Civil engineers .	518	72.8	26.8	0.3
Physicians . . .	1,712	81.1	16.9	2
Pharmacists . .	173	82	14.4	3.6

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[759]

Men of all types occupy posts in public administrations and have management posts in them: they can reach the highest offices without having this provoke comments by their subordinates. Some of the better physicians in Bahia have been colored men whose names are recalled with respect and gratitude. A dark mulatto, brother of a female informant, was classed in first place, along with two white colleagues, in a competition for an important technical post. According to other informants, however, the exclusions formerly suffered by the candidates for the posts of the magistracy were attributed to race prejudice. "One did not openly deny the merits of colored candidates, but in the classification they always figured in second or third rank, although they achieved excellent tests," one informant tells us, and he adds that a certain colored candidate, after having been approved, saw his appointment postponed on several repeated occasions. In spite of this, there are in the judicial magistracy numerous morenos and dark colored men occupying the positions of judges, prosecutors, and praetors. The highest tribunal of the State includes about one-third colored judges, some of whom have assumed the /83/ presidency of the court of appeals. Other positions connected with judiciary power are also filled by colored men, and it is the same for those of clerk of the court. The positions of notary, for example, very lucrative positions, are filled by persons of great prestige. Among the five notaries of the city one is fino white, of aristocratic family, and has already occupied important political posts, among them that of governor of the State; another, a very black Black, is very much appreciated for his moral qualities.

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[SALVADOR]

/83 cont./

*563 The proportion of colored persons in each liberal profession
•463 depends on various factors. In those that have the least prestige (agricultural engineers as compared to civil engineers, non-graduate lawyers as compared to graduate ones) this proportion is
*563 larger. A very black student of medicine calls attention to the
759 fact that the Blacks in general do not devote themselves to surgery: "Some take up this specialization, but end up by remaining in the general clinic. Odontology is not a good career for them either: what well-dressed white girl would wish to open her mouth
*563 in front of a Black?" In the hospitals, physicians and attendants
758 of all types care for the sick, who are all gathered together ac-
759 cording to their maladies and according to their rank, and not ac-
743 cording to their color; in the private clinics that take patients of
565 the higher classes, everyone is admitted, provided that he can pay the price demanded.

*563 The title of "doctor" and the marks of deference due a graduate
554 are given without distinction to black or white persons who prac-
463 tice a liberal profession, which is why some of them have retained the habit of wearing on one of the fingers of the hand a "symbolic
[301] ring" of their profession, in order to be able to be identified and treated with the requisite consideration. Moreover, a Black may manifest the desire to practice a liberal profession without encountering hostility or scorn on the part of the Whites. In spite of this, some tens of years ago there were professors who humiliated a black student showing little intelligence or little industry, by saying "while so many people need a cook or laundress, there are Blacks who have presumed to become doctors." The author asked
[124] the professors of a primary school of the State for permission to question its 93 most advanced students, of both sexes, about the careers that they wished to take up later. The percentage of replies received, according to sex and type, were:

[SALVADOR]

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Career chosen	Whites		Mulattoes		Blacks	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Prestige careers (1)	80	62.50	33	46.80	44	15.70
Modest careers (2)	20	37.50	67	53.20	56	84.30

1. Merchant, civil engineer, physician, farmer /Fr. fermier/, accountant /Fr. comptable/, woman doctor, dentist, lawyer, engineer (woman), accountant /Fr. comptable/, pianist, official, professor.

2. Mechanic, salesman, printer, chauffeur, tailor, bookkeeper /Fr. comptable/, saleswoman, typist, dressmaker.

*563 One may make two observations on the subject of these replies.
555 The first is that schoolchildren of modest families, between 12 and 15 years of age, mulatto as well as black, manifest the intention of adopting prestige careers in which Whites predominate. This may denote their desire to escape situations socially and economically inferior; it may also express their faith in the possibility they have of realizing these aspirations, a possibility that would be refused them in a society with racial discrimination. The second observation is that the white persons to whom these replies were shown manifested neither surprise nor reprobation concerning the aspirations of colored children.

*563 In Brazilian folklore there is an anecdote that proves how
555 much Bahia is known as a place where Blacks can acquire status
538 by means of the liberal professions. It is said that a Black, very well dressed, arrived in the State of Ceara and the first person he met called him "doctor." Amazed to see that his rank had been guessed, the Black asked how his interlocutor could know that he was a graduate. And the reply was very clear: "A Black so well dressed can only be a servant among the English or a doctor in Bahia."

[SALVADOR]

/90 cont./ A colored girl in similar circumstances
*563 has greater advantages than a boy, for, being accompanied by a
562 friend or a relative, she is assured of dancing with him and with the
575 friends to whom he introduces her." But the colored girls, almost all the informants acknowledge, have much greater difficulty being accepted in the clubs, unless they are wives or members of the family of members. And the dark girls, for their part, fully accept this situation. In this they behave like "ignorant" colored men, someone remarks (1).

[113]

1. The refusal of female Whites to dance with male Blacks, in Bahia and in the neighboring State of Sergipe, has already been pointed out, cf. Felte Bezerra, Etnias sergipanas, Aracajù, 1950, p. 246.

*563 Refusing to dance with young colored men /91/ is not only done
562 by Whites. A dark student says that she dances with any boy pro-
535 vided that he dances well, "even if he is a blackamoor (pretinho)." Another one, very light, frankly confesses that she does not experience any pleasure and even some shame in dancing with a man darker than she.

*563 The very select clubs having a predominance of members who
575 are merchants or connected with industry and the liberal profes-
463 sions accept only persons who are "socially white," that is to say, showing the white type or classed as white; the clubs of small
554 tradesmen and commercial employees, modest officials, and people practicing a liberal profession of lower category have a much higher number of colored members, including dark
*563 mulattoes and even Blacks. The proportion of the different types
575 encountered among the members of two clubs of the categories
554 mentioned above is the following:

[SALVADOR]

/103 cont./ In principle
*563 anyone at all may elevate himself socially by wealth, by his
555 intellectual merits, by his professional titles, by his moral qualities,
[556] or by a combination of these elements, by virtue of the system of values of a capitalist society. In their ascent toward the higher classes, however, colored people encounter resistance, due in part to the influence of the prejudices of which we have spoken, but also because of the fact that for the most part they belong to classes that economically are at the bottom of the social hierarchy.

The social ascent of colored people, however, is relatively frequent, and there are numerous examples of it. As a group, however, colored people also rise, but with difficulty. It is
*563 sufficient, in order to get a clear idea of this, to compare the dis-
565 tribution of the different ethnic types that are encountered in
555 /104/ Brazil in the groupings and organizations that symbolize
162 the upper classes:
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	Whites		"Pardos"		Blacks	
	%	Indices	%	Indices	%	Indices
In the total population	33	100	47	100	20	100
Religious brotherhoods	82	240	18	38	--	--
Liberal professions (1)	76	230	22	46	2	10
Clubs	67	200	33	70	--	--

1. Average of various liberal professions.

*563 As may be seen, none of the above groups constitutes a sample
565 representative of the total population, which proves, in fact,
555 that the different types still do not have the possibility of advancing to the higher strata. If, by basing ourselves on the
[178] descriptions of the society of Bahia in the past, we could make up a table of the same nature, we would see that "high society" and the prestige professions 50 or 80 years ago were much less mixed, although the participation of individuals of mixed blood in these groups is an old Brazilian tradition.

5: Azevedo--142 D, Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

/106/ [SALVADOR]

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Table I. Types of members belonging to a "high-class" recreational club.

Professions	Whites		"Morenos"		"Mulattoes"		Totals
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Commerce, agriculture, industry	396	76.89	85	16.50	34	6.60	515
Officials	40	68.96	11	18.96	7	12.06	58
Military men	12	57.10	5	23.80	4	19	21
Artists, professors	3	50			3	50	6
Technicians (chemists, agronomists, draftsmen, translators, etc.	23	62.10	11	29.70	3	8.1	37
Lawyers	96		58		13		167
Physicians, dentists Pharmacists	142	62.03	79	30.05	20	7.90	241
Civil engineers	71		34		11		116
Students	240		95		26		361
	1,023	67.21	378	24.83	121	7.95	1,522

5: Azevedo--143 D. Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

/106 cont./ [SALVADOR]

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Table II. Types of members belonging to a recreational club of the intermediate social group.

Professions	Whites		"Morenos"		"Mulattoes"		Blacks		Totals
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Merchants, commercial employees	246	36.28	267	39.38	163	24.04	2	0.29	678
Officials	81	41.96	74	38.34	38	19.68			193
Military men	6	28.56	11	52.37	4	19.04			21
Artists, professors	4	17.39	11	47.82	7	30.43	1	4.34	23
Technicians	8	33.66	5	18.51	12	40.74	2	7.40	27
Liberal professions, students	79	45.66	31	17.91	61	35.26	2	1.15	173
	424	38.02	399	35.78	285	25.56	7	0.62	1,115

5: Azevedo--144 D,Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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[SALVADOR]

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Table III. Types of members of a "high-class" religious brotherhood.

Professions	Whites		"Morenos"		"Mulattoes"		Totals
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Commerce, agriculture, industry . . .	419	84.98	59	11.98	15	3.04	493
Officials	57	81.42	12	17.14	1	1.42	70
Military men	6	85.71	1	14.29			7
Artists, professors.	3	60	2	40			5
Technicians	14	93.33			1	6.67	15
Liberal professions	192	79.01	48	19.75	3	1.23	243
Students	64	82.05	10	12.82	4	5.12	78
Priests, including six bishops	14	48.27	15	51.73			29
Professions not indicated	49	75.56	10	15.62	5	7.81	64
	818	81.47	157	15.64	29	2.88	1,004

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1

BB 175 249 in mind when they founded the colony of Bahia.

> Already enough was known of Brazil to hope that sugar cane would do well in it. The hot and humid climate of its coast would be highly favorable, and as for hands for work, they counted mainly on the indigenous people who, as we have seen, were relatively numerous and peaceful on the coast. These perspectives were completely confirmed; the one factor of which they were ignorant before the attempt--the quality of the soil--revealed itself as supremely propitious, at some points at least, on the extensive coast. This was particularly the case in the extreme northeast, on the coastal plain occupied by the state of Pernambuco and on the contours of the Baía de Todos os Santos (the Recôncavo Baiano, as it would be called). These were not the only ones: in a general way all the Brazilian coast paid homage to sugar cane.
>
> It was on this base that the effective occupation and colonization of Brazil was initiated.[7]

BB [134]

By the end of the sixteenth century sugar cane cultivation had spread at least as far as its present western and southern limits in the Recôncavo, on the Paraguaçu and Jaguaripe rivers. Forty engenhos were engaged in the production of sugar.[8] The engenhos were the nuclei of the economic organization of the colony. The cultivation of sugar cane and the milling of sugar demanded a labor force too large to be recruited from among the indigenous Indians.[9] This labor force was supplied from the slave pens of Africa--chiefly on the Guinea Coast and in Angola. The city of Salvador, which had the advantage of a commodious port and a central location among the slave markets of Brazil, was the chief point of debarkation for these Africans.[10]

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BB [504]

Estimates of the number of slaves imported and the number who remained in Bahia vary over a wide range. In 1583, when the population of Brazil was estimated at 57,000 people, 25,000 were listed as whites, 18,000 as civilized Indians, and 14,000 as Negro slaves. The Negroes were concentrated mainly in Bahia and Pernambuco.[11] It seems likely that in Bahia the number of Negroes was at least equal to the number of whites. These two racial groups and their mixed-blood derivatives

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BB 162 563 [174]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 In
433 contemporary Bahia chronic shortages of staple foods, particularly
178 manioc, are characteristic of the zones of commercial agriculture.

175 The equipment and technology of the engenhos was primitive.
249 The cane was transported on the backs of mules or on ox carts to the
[492] mill where it was crushed in a crude press sometimes turned by water power but usually by animal- or even man-power. The cane juice was evaporated in large iron caldrons which were heated by fire made from wood. This type of processing was in general use in the Recôncavo for several centuries and still persists in some areas of the extra-Recôncavo
[464] backlands. The engenhos were operated almost exclusively with slave
[567] labor. Most of the slaves of Bahia are thought to have come from the
[177] Guinea Coast of Africa. These "Mina" Negroes[18] had a relatively sophisticated cultural inheritance from Africa and undoubtedly made substantial contributions to the cultural development of Bahia.[19]

175 The Negroes were introduced when Indian slaves failed to pro-
249 vide the necessary labor supply, but they were rarely available in
464 sufficient numbers and at a low enough cost to prevent chronic labor
567 shortages. Falta de braços (literally, lack of arms) has been a perennial concern in the Recôncavo no less than elsewhere in Brazil.
[162] The importation of hundreds of thousands of Negroes into Brazil--of which certainly a considerable number were settled in the Recôncavo--did not solve the problem.[20] In the early period most engenhos had from about 80 to 100 slaves, but by the eighteenth century some had as many as 1,000.[21]

175 From the beginning of settlement there was extensive miscegna-
563 tion. The Portuguese settlers were predominately male, and they bred
567 on a large scale with both Indian and Negro slave women. Some of the mestizo and mulatto children--chiefly the latter in the Recôncavo--retained the slave status of their mothers. Others were freed and sometimes occupied favored positions in their fathers' households.

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By the end of the century, São Paulo was the largest sugar producer, chiefly supplying its own internal market, but also exporting in small quantity. The Recôncavo struggled to maintain even a poor fourth position.[39]

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The growth of the sugar industry in the South was not an isolated development but was one part of a general agricultural and economic expansion. The south of Brazil, which had gained new political power as a result of its expansion, began to press for abolition of slaves. Slave labor had not played a significant role in the south after 1850.

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In 1871 a law was passed providing for the gradual emancipation of slaves and the compensation of slave holders. The Northeast resisted bitterly but in vain. A new law passed in 1888 gave complete and immediate freedom to the slaves; and this law did not provide for compensation of the slave owners.

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The end of slavery threatened the Recôncavo in two ways. The suppression of the slave traffic destroyed the African trade in tobacco. The loss was soon more than compensated by the rapid expansion of the market for Bahian tobacco in Europe. By the 1870's tobacco surpassed sugar and became the chief export of Bahia. The effect of the emancipation on the sugar industry was much more far-reaching. The freeing of the slaves destroyed the labor base of sugar cultivation and processing. The gradual character of emancipation cushioned the blow somewhat, but it was still disastrous to the industry. Slaves left the plantations by the thousands, and there was no alternative source of labor. Sugar exports fell to a fourth of the pre-emancipation level. After a time the emancipated Negroes and mulattoes returned to the plantations and mills under a system of free labor. But Bahian sugar could not regain even a substantial part of its former importance.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

000 economic role is usually minor. The individual or the unit family of
565 the lower class is usually linked very closely, mainly in the economic
571 sense, with an employer or merchant of influence (patrão). In a society in which personal relationships ("connections") count for so much, only a member of the upper class can be of real economic or political assistance.

Childhood in the lower class is quite different from that in
565 the upper class family. From an early age the children must, out of
857 economic necessity, accept many responsibilities. Young children frequently work in the fields or find odd jobs in the town. The girls may do the housework, cook, and manage the younger children while the mother works. The young sons, even six or seven years old, may pack a bundle of agricultural products across the município on the morning of market day. In the evening they return with the few articles of food or clothing which they have been able to purchase with the proceeds from their goods. As they grow older, the children either undertake more of the farm work or drift off to the nearby rural areas and villages or to Salvador. The girls may find employment
[464] as servants or as agricultural or industrial workers. Ultimately
[885] most will marry and settle down to a grinding life of poverty, child-bearing, disease, and hard labor, which will, however, be relieved by an informal and highly convivial social life.

565 The position of the woman is still inferior to that of the
562 man, but she has relatively greater economic, social, and sexual independence than the woman of the upper class.

565 The social life of lower class families is in marked contrast
776 to the narrow, formal, and sexually-discriminatory social life of the aristocracy. Lower class life is filled not only with poverty but also with a tremendous series of religious and quasi-religious festivals

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

128 Demography of the Recôncavo. The discussion of the composition and distribution of the population in the Recôncavo which follows is intended primarily as a basis for the study of agricultural phenomena. As such it is concerned with those population elements which are important in the production and distribution of agricultural products and in the servicing of the agricultural economy. The agricultural labor force is therefore the primary object of analysis, while the remaining population elements receive secondary consideration.

128 162 241 464 369 The population of the Recôncavo has been divided into two segments: (1) the rural population of the countryside and villages, which includes those engaged in direct agricultural production and those with a direct service or dependency relationship to agriculture; and (2) the urban population of the towns and cities, which has an indirect service or dependency relationship to agricultural production. (Table VI). The rural population has been subdivided in order to distinguish the agricultural labor force, consisting of those in direct agricultural production as workers or as administrators, from the service and dependent groups.[20] The accompanying table (Table VII) relates the area, total population, urban and rural population, and agricultural labor force of the 21 municipios of the Recôncavo.

241 464 [162] Agricultural Labor Force. Conceived in the narrowest sense, the basic human resource for agricultural production in the Recôncavo consists of the energy and skill of 196,000 agriculturalists--the agriculture labor force (Table VIII). In census terminology these are people ten years old or over who consider their principal occupation as that of employer, employee, or worker in crop cultivation (agricultura), animal husbandry (pecuária), or silviculture. In the Recôncavo these people are primarily cultivators and operators of farms

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 112]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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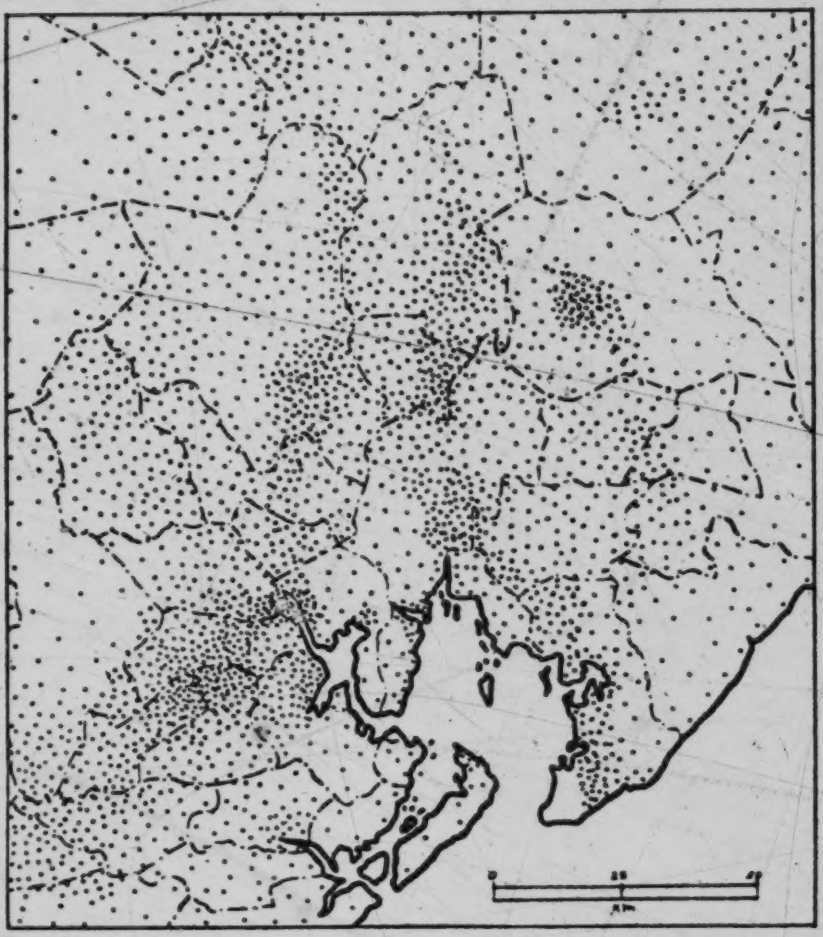

Each dot = 100 persons

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Agricultural Labor Force--1950

(Estimated)

Data estimated from Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censo Demográfico--Bahia, Vol. I, and (for 1950 data) Anuario Estatistico do Brasil-1953, Ano XIV.

MAP 17

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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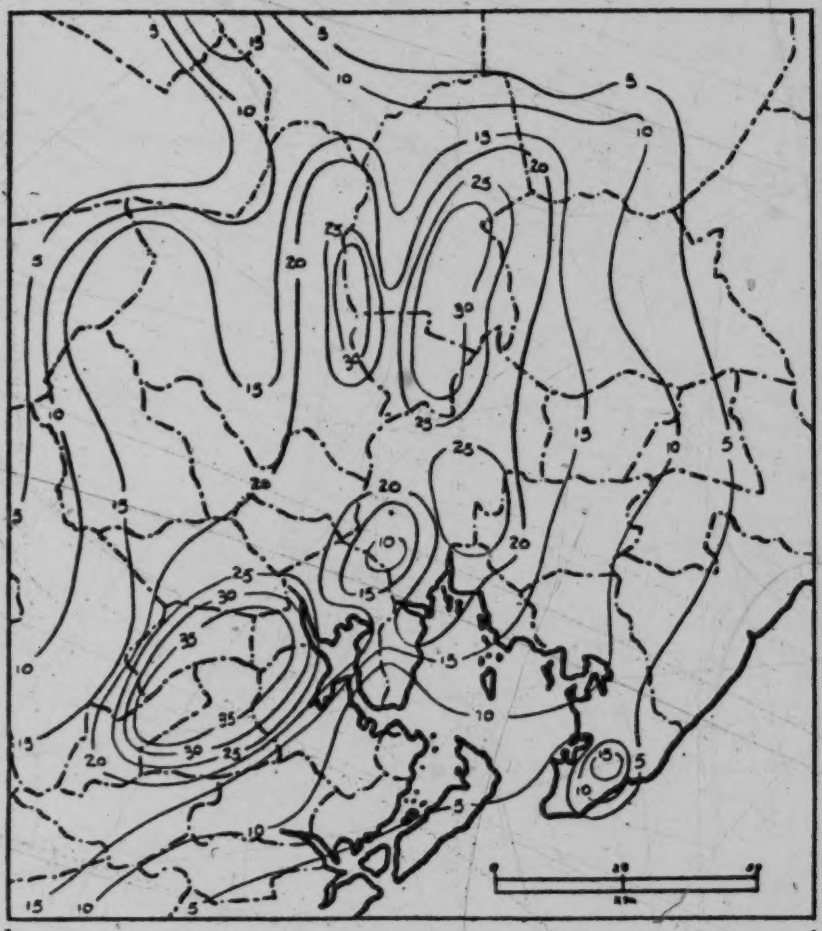

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Agricultural Labor Force per Square Kilometer of Total Area--1950
(estimated)

MAP 18

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 464 and plantations, and to a lesser extent, ranchers and vaquéiros (cowboys).[21] Silviculture is not an important occupation in the Recôncavo.

161 162 241 464 634 The mean density of the agricultural labor force for the Recôncavo was 15.7 per square kilometer. Since the distribution is very irregular, this mean density is far from representative of local situations--only six municípios had densities within 10 per cent of the mean. Because of the uneven distribution of cultivation, mean [128] figures for individual municípios, especially the larger ones, are [127] likely to be equally misleading. In the discussion which follows the gross distributions derived from census data have been modified on the basis of field observation and of inferences drawn from related demographic, cartographic, and agricultural information.[22]

161 162 241 464 The density of agricultural workers in the Central Recôncavo (Map 18) is appreciably higher than in the surrounding areas, except in the southwest. This central zone has densities in excess of 20 per square kilometer, and within it are four areas with densities in excess of 25 per square kilometer. Along the border of the Recôncavo, densities usually fall to 10 per square kilometer. However, this is not true of the more densely occupied "bridge" zone which connects the area of heavy concentration in the Recôncavo, south of the Rio Paraguaçu, with the "coffee area" to the southwest beyond the Recôncavo. The map of densities (Map 18) and the dot map (Map 17) of the agricultural labor force suggest that this population segment is clustered in areas which generally have an eccentric location in relation to such centers as Salvador and the Baía de Todos os Santos.

Over 20 per cent of the agricultural workers of the Recôncavo live along the southern, western, and northern extremes of the region,

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

161 every section of which is more than 50 kilometers from Salvador, the
162 economic center of the Recôncavo, and also more than 50 kilometers from
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464 the geometric center in Santo Amaro. If a line were drawn from the
161 cidade of Alagoinhas southwestward to the cidade of Nazaré, the
162 following municípios would fall entirely west of that line: Irará,
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464 Coração de Maria, Feira de Santana, São Gonçalo, Conceição da Feira,
634 and Santo Estêvão--all north of the Rio Paraguaçu--and Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, São Félix, São Filipe, and Conceição do Almeida--all south of the Rio Paraguaçu. These 11 of the 21 municípios of the Recôncavo are all more than 50 kilometers from Salvador--all are much farther in terms of land transport. In these eleven municípios live 125,000 of the 196,000 agricultural workers. In part, this eccentricity with respect to Salvador is a result of the shape of the land surface, with the city located at the end of a peninsula. Only one of these 11 municípios, São Félix, lies on tide water, and that at the extreme upper limit of navigation. The others are so arranged that they cannot make optimum use of the central position of the Bay, with its relatively cheap and direct route into the capital.

This eccentrically located belt is arcuate in form. It is the
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162 demographic representation of the transition zone from forest to
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464 scrub forest, which is often also the transition from the Coastal
[132] Plain to the Tabular or Crystalline Uplands. The concentration of
[133] agricultural labor in this belt is obviously significant from many points of view: social and political as well as economic.

Clustering is a characteristic pattern of Latin American population. The Recôncavo is the chief population cluster and the greatest single concentration of agricultural labor force within the state of

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Bahia. The broad cluster of the agricultural labor force is composed of several major zones of concentration and two minor agglomerations.

(1) The Southwestern Concentration: The most important of these concentrations, in terms of total number of agriculturalists, occupies the southwestern corner of the Recôncavo. This concentration is a major segment of the eccentric belt discussed above. It is located [131] in the Crystalline Uplands and the Intermediate Hills, along the drainage divide between the Rio Paraguaçu and the Rio Jaguaripe. This is an area of tobacco and manioc cultivation. There are some 35,000 agriculturalists in this concentration, which spreads over approximately 1,000 square kilometers in six municípios—São Félix, Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, Conceição do Almeida, São Filipe, and Maragogipe. The cidade of Cruz das Almas lies very near its center.

TABLE IX

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS—SOUTHWESTERN CONCENTRATION

[634]

Município	Distrito	Agricultural Workers 1950
São Félix	São Félix	2,568
	Outeiro Redondo	1,724
Muritiba	Muritiba	3,044
	Cabeças	1,699
Cruz das Almas	Cruz das Almas	6,038
	Sapé	1,845
	Baixa do Palmeira	1,476
Conceição do Almeida	Conceição do Almeida	3,878
	Comércio	2,038
São Filipe	São Filipe	4,931
	Cararipe	2,471
Maragogipe	Guapira	1,169
	Nagé	788
	Coqueiras	1,072
Approximately 1,000 square kilometers		34,741

With about 12 per cent of the Recôncavo's total area, the southwestern concentration includes 18 per cent of its agricultural labor force. In its core there are over forty agriculturalists per [634] square kilometer (the município of São Félix as a whole has 42.05 per square kilometer), and this compact core includes São Félix, northern

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161 São Filipe, northern Conceição do Almeida, southeastern Cruz das Almas,
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241 and the southeastern tenth of Muritiba.
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[634] The boundaries of this concentration are similar to the boundaries of labor concentrations in other parts of the western Recôncavo. To the southeast the density of the cluster declines sharply across the Intermediate Hills. There are very few fields and few farmers along the estuary of the Paraguaçu, which lies beyond the hills. Much of
[311] this land is in forest. To the west the decline in density is even more abrupt. In the dry caatinga beyond the western limits of Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, and Conceição do Almeida there are only a few scattered ranchers and small-scale farmers.

From the core of the concentration the distribution of agricultural workers continues to be relatively dense toward the north and toward the southwest, and this pattern extends across the "bridge" zone and into the coffee area beyond the Recôncavo. Just beyond the Recôncavo, in the middle of the "bridge," is the city and suburban zone of Santo Antônio de Jesus, which has a minor cluster of agricultural workers. The "bridge" follows the forest and scrub-forest transition.

161 (2) The Northern Concentration: Though the northern and
162 central clusters of the agricultural labor force of the Recôncavo
241
464 are less well defined and individually less important than the
131 southwestern cluster, they are major concentrations. In the northern Recôncavo a series of clusters extending through eastern Feira de Santana, Irará, and Coração de Maria are grouped in a rough "u-shaped" pattern. This concentration is the second major element of the eccentric belt of dense agricultural labor. The verticals of the "u" follow agricultural belts along the valleys of two tributaries of the (eastern) Rio Pojuca. This is a zone of Tabular Upland and caatinga vegetation.

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161 Because it does not correspond to census divisions, it is diffi-
162 cult to determine the area and population of this "u" zone. Apparently
241 464 it has about 1,150 square kilometers and about 30,000 agricultural
[131] workers (Table X). Maximum densities within this zone are 30 to 40 per square kilometer.

TABLE X

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS—NORTHERN CONCENTRATION

[634]

Município	Distrito	Agricultural Workers 1950
Feira de Santana	Feira de Santana	9,840
	Tiquaruçu	1,725
Coração de Maria	Coração de Maria	4,176
	Itacava	4,332
Irará	Irará	4,130
	Bento Simões	1,675
	Pedrão	2,454
	Ouriçangas	2,683
Approximately 1,150 square kilometers		31,015

The "u-shaped" zone is linked with the southwestern cluster by a belt of moderate population density. This belt, running north to south along the caatinga-forest transition, is followed by the Feira de Santana-Cachoeira railroad.

161 (3) The Central Concentration: The central concentration of
162 agricultural labor, in east-central Santo Amaro, western São Sebastião,
241 464 and São Francisco—the sugar cane zone, is not a part of the eccentric
131 belt discussed above, but rather lies in the heart of the Recôncavo. There are about 6,000 agriculturalists in the 300 square kilometers of this area. The maximum density is about 25 per square kilometer. In distinction to the concentrations discussed above, the central cluster is in the lowlands—the humid Coastal Plain. (see Table XI).

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TABLE XI

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS--CENTRAL CONCENTRATION

Município	Distrito	Agricultural Workers 1950
Santo Amaro	Rio Fundo	1,849
	Inhatá	1,542
	Mata de Aliança	920
São Sebastião	Jacuípe	1,036
São Francisco	São Francisco	804
	Santa Elisa	176
Approximately 300 square kilometers		6,327

(4) The Minor Agglomerations: Minor concentrations of agriculturalists surround two urban centers in the Recôncavo: Salvador and Alagoinhas. Most of the 12,000 agricultural workers in the município of Salvador are grouped either in the northeast--close to the central cluster of the sugar cane zone--or around the capital city. The latter either live in the city or in the sub-urban areas around and between the various urban segments. These sub-urban cultivators primarily work to supply the large urban market. Alagoinhas lies in the midst of relatively unproductive taboleiros. The agriculturalists who serve its urban market and produce its chief commercial crop--oranges--are gathered compactly in a symmetrical ring around the city.

The concentrations discussed above account for some 80,000 (41 per cent) of the agricultural workers and 3,150 square kilometers (25 per cent) of the area of the Recôncavo. In general, a straight line from the southwestern tip of Conceição do Almeida to the southern tip of Serrinha is the western limit of moderately dense distribution of the agricultural labor force. Beyond this line, in the caatinga of Feira de Santana and Castro Alves, there are few agricultural workers. However, in the caatinga of the município of Santo Estêvão and the adjacent part of Feira de Santana there is a zone with a population density of about 15 per square kilometer--higher than anywhere

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161 else along the western border. This modest concentration, scarcely a
162 cluster, represents the sum of a number of small agricultural settle-
241 464 ments scattered along the humid slopes of low serras. There are about
[361] 12,000 agricultural workers distributed over this area.

The distributional pattern of the rest of the Recôncavo can be
161 visualized as a coarse net in which the clusters are linked by areas
162 with population densities of 10 to 20 per square kilometer. There is
131 241 one large hole in this connecting net: along the common border of
464 Cachoeira, São Gonçalo, and Santo Amaro there is a zone with less than
ten and sometimes less than five agricultural workers per square
kilometer. This zone, very near to the center of the Recôncavo, for
[133] the most part is an area of rough sandy hills bordering the crystalline--
here the hills are particularly rugged and the transition zone broad.
On three sides--southwest, north, and northeast--this sparsely settled
zone is bordered by important clusters of agriculturalists.

The agricultural labor force of the Recôncavo is, as has been
161 seen, irregularly distributed. This distribution is highly fluid--
162 241 movement and growth and decline are continuously altering the pattern.
464 The whole region gained about 6,500 agriculturalists between 1940 and
1950, but these statistics do not reflect the extent of local reloca-
tion.

In the central Recôncavo one município, Santo Amaro, lost
161 almost 6,000 agricultural workers between 1940 and 1950, and in three
162 241 municípios of the central and eastern Recôncavo, Santo Amaro,
464 634 São Francisco, and Pojuca, losses exceeded 20 per cent. On the other
hand, in three municípios of the uplands of the northern and northwestern
Recôncavo--Alagoinhas, Feira de Santana, and Santo Estêvão--there were
gains of over 20 per cent. Over all, twelve municípios gained and nine
lost agriculturalists; the mean change in the agricultural labor

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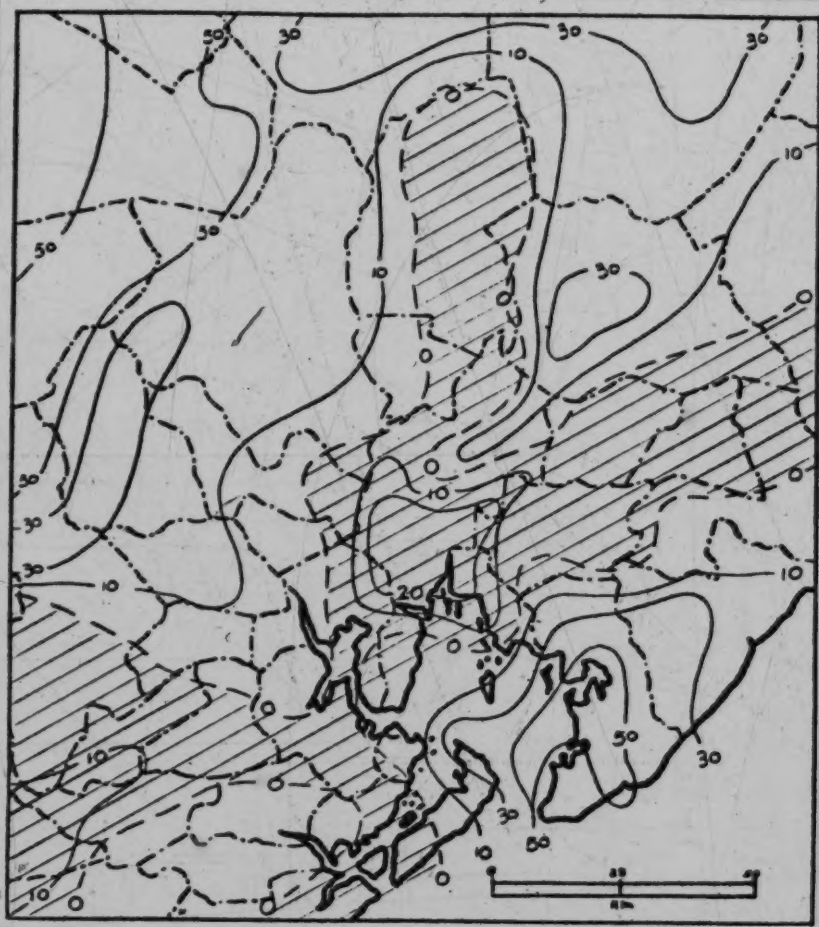

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of Change in the Agricultural Labor Force (Estimated)

and in the Rural Population from 1940 to 1950

Shaded area shows zone of loss of agricultural labor force.

MAP 19

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161 force of the 21 municípios--without regard to direction of change--was
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241 13 per cent.
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In general the area around Salvador and the northeastern and western margins of the Recôncavo gained in agricultural labor force (Map 19). The Central Recôncavo and areas in the north-central, eastern, and southwestern Recôncavo lost agriculturalists between 1940 and 1950. Some of the factors which produced these changes were local; others were identified with the Northeast or with Brazil as a whole.

The growth of cities in the Recôncavo is a manifestation of a nationwide phenomenon. The expanding urban centers create an increasing market for agricultural products which, because of the difficulty of transportation and the lack of food processing facilities, must be supplied primarily from local sources. These expanding markets attract discontented or displaced agriculturalists, who settle as close to the urban center as possible. There is a marked increase in the concentration of agricultural labor around Salvador, Feira de Santana, and Alagoinhas.

In 1950 and 1951 the urban trend and its agricultural con-
731
166 comitant was re-enforced by a specific Northeastern phenomenon—the
[369] flight from the drought (sêca) of the interior. Most of the refugees
[241] (flagelados) from the dry sertão settled along the periphery of the Recôncavo. Here, where they could remain close to their cherished sertão, much land was open for squatters. As indicated above, others settled around the urban centers of the Recôncavo caatinga zone—Feira de Santana and Alagoinhas.

Observations suggest that the greatest relative increases in
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464 agricultural labor force from the sertão were in the municípios
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166 bordering the Recôncavo on the west and north, where the "normal"
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agricultural population is small. However, refugees from the drought also found their way into most parts of the Recôncavo. Even in 1953 they were to be encountered as squatters in Muritiba, as cane field workers in Santo Amaro, and as porters in Salvador.

Refugees from secas usually have not become permanent additions to the labor force of the Recôncavo. The sertanejo of the Northeast is renowned in Brazil for his attachment to his terra (native soil), no matter how cruelly it treats him. Especially those migrants who settle as squatters on the margins of the Recôncavo seem only to wait for the renewal of the rains to return to the sertão. In 1953 migrants were still entering the Recôncavo along the Feira de Santana-Salvador highway, but others were boarding the train in Salvador and returning to the sertão. They had come from the sertão on foot or by begging rides on trucks, found jobs in the Recôncavo, saved a few cruzeiros, and were returning to their native terra. Some refugees remain in the Recôncavo, of course, but the number is proportionately very small.

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Several sections of the Recôncavo, notably the sugar cane zone, are losing rural population and agricultural labor at a serious rate. The municípios of Santo Amaro and São Francisco lost 6,400 agriculturalists between 1940 and 1950. The reduction in the number of agriculturalists in the sugar area is at least partially a symptom of the growing rationalization of labor under the big usinas, which increasingly dominate the sugar industry. The emigration from these areas is selective--the majority of the emigrants are young adults who leave to seek employment and broader opportunity elsewhere.

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Emigration within the Recôncavo is one current of the great tide of agricultural unrest ascribed to all of Brazil.

The rural Brazilian of the lower classes is notorious for his nomadic or migratory habits, for his lack of permanent attachment to the soil, for his tendency to

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> shift about from place to place. In few nations are such large proportions of the rural people, who in turn are three fourths of all people, so constantly on the move.[23]

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In the Recôncavo this shifting is like a game of musical chairs, in which the odd participant, probably thinking himself lucky, goes to Salvador. The exchange of places occurs on many levels: there is movement from plantation to plantation within the sugar zone, even between plantations operated by the same usina.[24] Many agricultural workers shift from one to another of the various agricultural zones within the Recôncavo.[25] These shifts of population in the Recôncavo primarily involve the agricultural laborers, share croppers, and tenant farmers. The landowners move only under the strongest pressure, and the upper class landowners are as immobile as the lower classes are migratory. However, these landowners compose only a small part of the agricultural labor force.

Another fluid element in the agricultural labor force of the Recôncavo is seasonal labor.

> Itinerant seasonal agricultural labor has for a long time been an important element in the sugar zones of the Northeast where at harvest time many of the cane cutters come from the "agreste" or even from the "sertao" into the "mata" zone.[26]

The principal source of this seasonal labor for the Recôncavo is the small farmer class of the sertão of Bahia north of the Rio Paraguaçu and east of the Chapada Diamantina. These workers are males, exclusively; the number involved is not known, but it is probably on the order of 5,000. Some sertanejos return again and again to the same fazenda or usina; others change their place of employment from year to year. They all return to the sertão at the beginning of the wet season to plant gardens for their families and to harvest cotton and other crops.

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241 [464] The skills of the 196,000 workers are an important agricultural resource in the Recôncavo. This resource can best be evaluated in terms of the prevailing agricultural systems: hoe and rudimentary plow agriculture. Hoe agriculture is universal in the Recôncavo, and in a society so thoroughly permeated with agricultural activity it is fair to assume that, except for some completely urbanized laborers in Salvador, all workers are familiar with the simple tools of this form of cultivation. Plow cultivation is more specialized; it is used [249] throughout the sugar cane zone but only in preparing the fields for planting. The seedstalks are covered with a hoe, and knives are used [407] for weeding and harvesting. Outside the sugar zone plows are rarely encountered.

[231] The domesticated animals which play a prominent role in cultivation in the Recôncavo are oxen, horses, mules, and donkeys, and the rudiments of their management are almost universally understood. The prominent crops of the Recôncavo are ubiquitous—manioc, corn, beans, sweet potatoes, peanuts, tobacco, sugar cane, bananas, and oranges are grown in all areas, and their cultivation under the prevailing agricultural system is common knowledge. There is little present need for agricultural labor specialized beyond this level.

241 178 It is clear that the introduction into the Recôncavo of new, radically different crops or techniques of cultivation would alter this [181] relatively favorable situation. The agricultural worker of the Recôncavo, like his counterpart in many other parts of the world, is inherently conservative. As in the past, he will continue to resist even minor changes, such as improved methods of seed selection in corn or improved curing of tobacco. More radical changes would probably be resisted more strongly. The problem of "selling" new ways of pro- [212] ducing agricultural products is difficult not only because of the

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241 464 As has been shown, the 196,000 agricultural workers in the Recôncavo in 1950 formed a relatively distinct cluster within Bahia. [131] These workers were concentrated especially in an arcuate belt near the western and northern frontiers, in the sub-urban zone of the larger cities, and in the central sugar zone. They were in complex motion, the net result of which was to reduce, in the decade 1940 to 1950, the agricultural labor force in the Central Recôncavo and to increase the labor force near the cities and along the western frontier. The labor force generally is adequately skilled for the agricultural tasks of the present system, but its tolerance for new ideas is [461] limited. The agricultural workers can work cheerfully and hard, but usually do so only with frequent interruptions, and the individual level of energy is low.

162 241 464 463 Rural Population. The agricultural labor force of the Recôncavo is a functionally but not residentially distinct segment of a larger population assemblage, the rural population. Rural population, as used here, includes not only the people of the countryside but also the village and town dwellers of all settlements without industrial establishments.[28] Although this assemblage can be defined in approximate residential terms as a rural population, it is considered here primarily as a functional grouping which includes agricultural workers and elements of all other major occupational groups except industrial workers. In this overwhelmingly agricultural society the associations of the non-agricultural occupational groups of the rural area with agriculture are of primary economic importance and compelling personal interest. While most of the agricultural workers are rural in the strictest sense, living in the countryside and on the fringes of the villages, towns, and cities, many others live within the small and

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162 241 464 463 some in large urban centers. On the other hand, occupational groups sometimes considered to be urban--shopkeepers, for example--may have residences and places of business in the countryside. Thus it is not possible to differentiate occupational groups precisely on the basis of residence.[29]

162 241 464 In 1950 the rural population of the Recôncavo, as defined here, included 578,508 people. This assemblage represented about 54 per cent of the total population of the Recôncavo. Its distribution was broadly but not precisely comparable to that of the agricultural labor force, as will be seen.

162 241 464 463 The agricultural labor force, which has been discussed above, composes 34 per cent of the rural population. The remaining 66 per cent will be called the "service segment" of the rural population. This segment is composed primarily of the following elements: merchants, tradesmen, and speculators who buy agricultural products and supply the simple needs of the agriculturalists; indirect service groups such as financial agents, public administrators, and transport workers; and minors and dependent women.[30] All of these are directly or indirectly dependent upon the agricultural economy. This dependency is, of course, mutual: the farmer of the Recôncavo is, at least partially, a commercial agriculturalist who must market his products in order to purchase food and clothing. However, the agriculturalist is the primary producer; the service segment basically is auxiliary to the agricultural economy.

241 463 464 [162] The map (Map 20) of the service segment relative to the agricultural labor force reveals several significant contrasts. In the outer Recôncavo--from the southwest corner around the periphery to the northeast--the service segment is from 1.5 to 2.0 times the agricultural labor force. As will be seen, this is the zone of tobacco

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TABLE VII

RELATIVE POPULATION OF THE MUNICÍPIOS OF THE RECÔNCAVO IN 1950

Município	% of Area of Recôncavo	% of Total Population of Recôncavo	% of Urban Population of Recôncavo	% of Rural Population of Recôncavo	% of Agricultural Labor Force of Recôncavo
Alagoinhas	12	5	4	5	6
Cachoeira	3	3	2	3	2
Catu	3	2		3	3
Conceição da Feira	1	1		2	2
Conceição do Almeida	2	2	1	4	5
Coração de Maria	2	2		4	4
Cruz das Almas	2	3		4	5
Feira de Santana	17	10	5	14	15
Irará	11	4		8	10
Itaparica	2	2		4	1
Maragogipe	3	3	2	5	4
Muritiba	3	3	2	4	4
Pojuca	3	1		1	1
Salvador	6	39	79	5	6
Santo Amaro	9	8	2	13	10
Santo Estêvão	6	3		5	6
São Felix	1	1	1	2	2
São Filipe	3	2		4	5
São Francisco	2	1		2	1
São Gonçalo	4	3	1	5	4
São Sebastião	4	2		4	3

Calculated from Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, No. 8 and Anuário Estatística do Brasil-1953, Ano XIV.

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TABLE VIII

AGRICULTURAL LABOR FORCE OF THE MUNICÍPIOS OF THE RECÔNCAVO IN 1940 AND 1950

Município	1940 Agricultural Labor Force	Per cent of Change 1940-1950*	1950 Agricultural Labor Force—Estimated
Alagoinhas	8,922	25	11,152
Cachoeira	4,367	- 3	4,236
Catu	5,395	- 5	5,125
Conceição da Feira	3,132	7	3,351
Conceição do Almeida	10,066	- 7	9,361
Coração de Maria	8,205	3	8,451
Cruz das Almas	8,763	6	9,289
Feira de Santana	26,140	16	30,322
Irará	19,920	- 2	19,522
Itaparica	1,379	10	1,517
Maragogipe	7,513	2	7,663
Muritiba	8,959	15	10,303
Pojuca	2,575	-31	1,777
Salvador	7,697	57**	12,075**
Santo Amaro	25,566	-23	19,686
Santo Estêvão	9,315	20	11,178
São Félix	4,086	6	4,331
São Filipe	10,327	- 2	10,120
São Francisco	2,373	-22	1,851
São Gonçalo	8,872	- 4	8,517
São Sebastião	6,395	4	6,651
Recôncavo	189,967		196,468

*Calculated change in rural population from 1940 to 1950. It has been assumed that the agricultural labor changed at the same rate as the rural population.

**Because of a change in the method of totaling the non-urban population of Salvador, it was not possible to derive the 1940-1950 rural population change in the usual manner. The 1950 figure is the mean of three estimates of increase derived from total population change 1940-1950, rural quadrant change 1940-1950, and per cent of total population in agriculture 1940 projected to 1950. These estimates were, in order, 11,097, 12,517, and 12,700. The rural quadrant is a statistical subdivision of the município which does not necessarily include all the rural areas.

Source: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censo Demográfico--Bahia, Vol. I, and Anuário Estatístico do Brasil-1953, Ano XIV.

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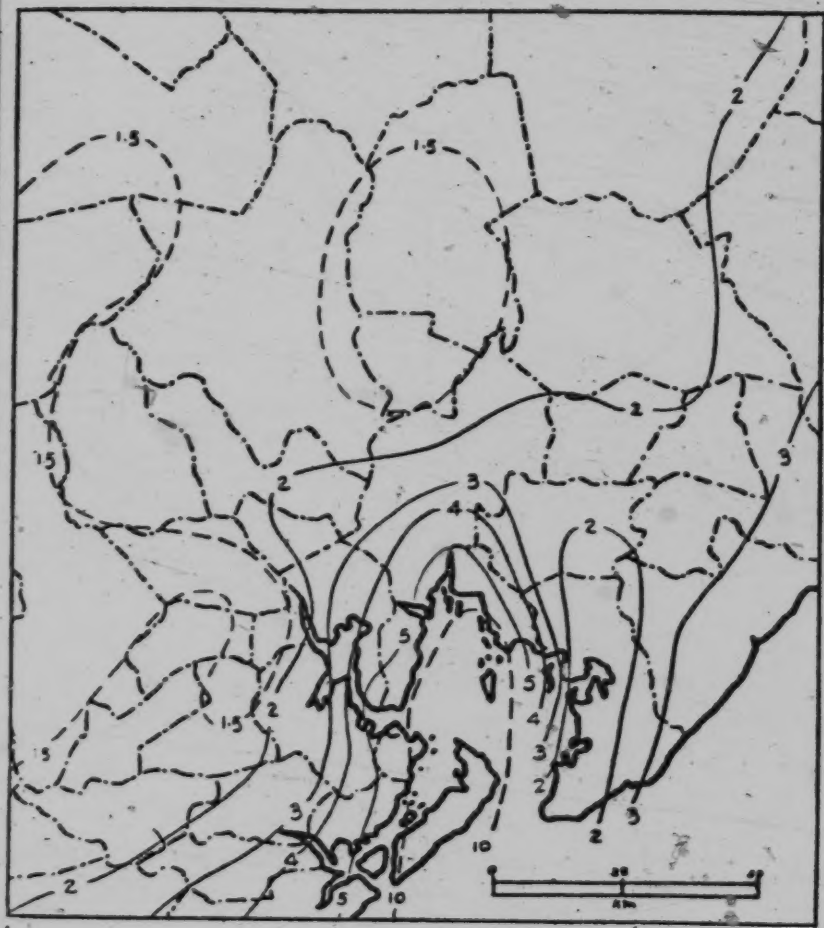

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Ratio of the "Service Segment" of the Rural Population

to the Agricultural Labor Force--1950

(estimated)

MAP 20

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241 463 464 and manioc production. While there is some processing of agricultural products in this zone, the trade centers primarily are local, and there have been few historical reasons for urban development.

463 433 241 Around the Bay the relative size of the service segment increases to five, even to ten times the agricultural labor force. In this area there are some alternative productive pursuits, fishing and charcoal burning, for example. The definition given for the "service segment" is less appropriate in this zone: the fishermen, for example, render their service primarily to the major urban centers rather than to the agriculturalists. Moreover, there is a large parasitic group, especially in the sugar zone. The decline and rationalization of the sugar industry have left an unproductive class living in waning state but still supported by the agricultural economy. The sugar industry, which is more efficiently organized than other agricultural enterprises in the Recôncavo, probably is better able to support parasitic elements.

464 241 In addition to providing services, the service segment is the local labor reserve for agriculture. The extent of the reserve depends not only on the size of the service segment, but also on its composition. For example, in the western and northern areas of the Recôncavo, where two-fifths of the people are agricultural laborers, perhaps an additional one-fifth consists of small children and the aged and infirm. If those who perform essential services, basic to the economy, are deducted from the remaining two-fifths, few are left for a labor reserve. Fortunately the tobacco-manioc economy of the Recôncavo has little need for seasonal labor, and long-term labor needs, in theory at least, can be filled from the sertão.

464 In the sugar cane zone and on the Bay margins the general labor reserve is larger. However, this reserve is drawn upon by the labor

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464 extravagant urban centers, the oil field and refineries north of the
Bay, and the fishing and shipping industries. Moreover, this area has
[565] a larger upper-class element, which as has been seen, could be counted
upon to perform manual labor only under dire circumstances.

464 Thus in all parts of the Recôncavo the local labor reserve
241 readily available for agricultural production and expansion is small.
In compensation the general high mobility of the lower class would
make available non-local reserves,[31] providing the proper incentives
were offered. The exploitative agricultural system of the Recôncavo
is ill-equipped to offer these incentives.

162 Urban Population. The remaining 493,944 people of the Recôncavo,
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433 46 per cent of the total 1950 population, lived in the nine major
urban centers. These people have much the same relationship to agri-
cultural production as the "service segment" discussed above, but the
relationship is less direct. These urban centers are engaged almost
exclusively in serving and in exploiting the agricultural population
of the Recôncavo and other agricultural areas of Bahia.

633 Salvador is the dominant city of the Recôncavo and of Bahia.
162 In 1950 it contained 389,422 people, 36 per cent of the total popula-
tion of the Recôncavo and 8 per cent of the total population of Bahia,
or 79 per cent of all urban people of the Recôncavo and 41 per cent
of all urban people of the state. The next largest city in Bahia was
Feira de Santana--less than one-fourteenth the size of Salvador.

Although Salvador is the fourth city in Brazil, it is much
633 smaller than either Rio de Janeiro or São Paulo and somewhat smaller
than Recife.[32] It ranked just above Pôrto Alegre in total population.
Salvador, often called either Bahia or o capital, cannot be interpreted
entirely or even predominately in terms of the Recôncavo. While its

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 132]

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The other urban centers of the Recôncavo:

633
[162]
[443]

	1950 Population
Maragogipe	9,744
Muritiba	7,452
Cruz das Almas	6,758
São Gonçalo	3,771

[297] are all local trade and cigar manufacturing centers. Maragogipe is a
[504] port of minor importance.[37] The other urban centers have inland loca-
[361] tions, near the inner edge of the Crystalline Uplands.[38]

Near the Recôncavo are four urban centers which have minor but appreciable effect upon its agricultural economy:

[162]

	1950 Population
Santo Antônio de Jesus	11,417
Nazaré	11,215
Castro Alves	6,479
Serrinha	4,602

Santo Antônio de Jesus and Nazaré are located along the southern periphery of the Recôncavo, and Castro Alves and Serrinha on the southwestern and northwestern periphery, respectively. All these centers
[496] are on one of Bahia's two main railroads, both of which terminate at the Bay--at Salvador or at São Roque do Paraguaçu.[39]

633
464 In 1950 the nine major urban centers of the Recôncavo had
433 100,000 to 120,000 workers in industry, transportation, and merchan-
[162] dising.[40] In all cities of the Recôncavo, except Salvador, the industrial workers almost exclusively were engaged in processing agricultural products--in sugar refining, cigar manufacturing, and
[231] slaughtering. Except for some of the animals slaughtered in Feira de
[241] Santana and the poorer grades of tobacco brought in from the sertão, these agricultural products originate in the Recôncavo.

The industrial structure of Salvador is more complex. It processes agricultural products from the Recôncavo, but also from other parts of the state, notably cacao. There is a small textile industry. It is probable that the majority of the industrial workers are employed in numerous small service industries which supply Salvador

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Brazil SL1

BB 633 464 433

and, to a lesser extent, the rest of the Recôncavo and the state. The relatively large and affluent upper class of Salvador utilizes an extravagantly large number of domestics and of industrial workers--in food, clothing, and construction industries.

BB 178 181 433 161 B BB 161 162

Conclusion. The preservation of traditional values among the people of the Recôncavo is evidence of the survival value of their conservative culture, but the relatively slow growth of the population is indicative of a declining economic role in the nation. Although the population of both Brazil and the Recôncavo grew between 1940 and 1950, Brazil's population increased 26.5 per cent, the Reconcavo's only 16 per cent. In Brazil as a whole, urban populations increased 46 per cent, in the Recôncavo only 34 per cent. The rural population of Brazil increased by 17 per cent; the approximately comparable figure for the Recôncavo was 4 per cent.

Within the Recôncavo the net effect of population changes in the decade 1940 to 1950 was the reduction in rural population from 60 per cent to 54 per cent of the total population (see Table XII). Even more serious, from the agricultural point of view, was the decline in the relative number of agricultural workers. Despite the influx of agricultural people from the sertão, the percentage of the total population in the agricultural labor force fell from 21 per cent (1940) to 18 per cent (1950).

BB 161 162 241 464

BB 633 [162]

The greatest single concentration of population in the Recôncavo is the city of Salvador. One-third of the people of the region live in this predominant city, occupying the tip of the peninsula which separates the Baía de Todos os Santos from the sea. In this eccentric peninsular location, Salvador is relatively distant from the main centers of agricultural production and has only circuitous land

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TABLE XII

COMPOSITION OF RECÔNCAVO POPULATION 1940-1950

Year	Total Population	Urban Centers	Rural Population	Agricultural Labor Force
		Absolute		
1940	924,032	368,932	555,100	189,967
1950	1,072,452	493,944	578,508	196,468
Change	+ 148,420	+125,012	+ 23,408	+ 6,501
		Relative		
1940	100 o/o	40 o/o	60 o/o	21 o/o
1950	100 o/o	46 o/o	54 o/o	18 o/o
Change		+ 6 o/o	- 6 o/o	- 3 o/o
		Growth of Recôncavo Population		
1940 to 1950	16 o/o	34 o/o	4 o/o	3 o/o
		Per cent of Total Growth		
1940 to 1950	100 o/o	84 o/o	16 o/o	4 o/o

connections with the western section of the Recôncavo. On the other hand, its location combines oceanic access with the rest of Brazil, Europe, and the Americas and a direct approach, via the Bay, to all of the central municípios of the Recôncavo.

The major concentrations of rural, agricultural population in the region are in the outer municípios of the Southwestern, Northwestern, and Northern Recôncavo. In the southwest, there is a notable concentration on the Crystalline Uplands. In the northern part of the Recôncavo, the concentrations lie along the dissected edges of the Tertiary taboleiros. Thus most of the agricultural people of the region live in upland areas of deep, porous soils and marginal rainfall. The only major lowland concentration of agricultural people is in the area of Cretaceous clay soils on the Coastal Plain of the Central Recôncavo. The relatively small size of the agricultural population in this area is reflective of the declining role of sugar cane cultivation in the Recôncavo.

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241 464 "Falta de braços"--lack of labor--is a problem much discussed in the Recôncavo. The landholders, merchants, and agronomists interviewed in the region almost invariably complained of the shortage of agricul-
[461] tural workers or renters. At the same time, the level of per capita productivity of most agricultural labor remains low, and, as will be seen, there have been few attempts at improvement of agricultural techniques. Neither is there any apparent trend toward higher wages or higher returns on rented properties, which might attract more people to the area. The complaints of labor shortages must be viewed in the context of the systems of production and the economic organization of agriculture, which will be discussed in the following chapters.

241 464 161 162 433 Several basic agricultural problems are prefigured in the analysis of the distribution of the population of the Recôncavo. The concentration of agricultural people in the western and northern municípios of the region corresponds, as will be shown, to a major area of agricultural production. Since this is also an area of marginal and irregular precipitation, it is almost inevitable that the level of production must be uneven and the lives of the agriculturalists unstable. The declining agricultural population of the Central Recôncavo is a symptom of the declining importance of the sugar economy, discussed previously, and of the centralization and rationalization currently under way. The alternating zones with high and low densities of population indicate the nuclear and separate character of the areas of agricultural production, detailed in the pattern of crop regions to be discussed in the chapters which follow.

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245 311 Within the Recôncavo coconut production is important along the sandy beach line of the island of Itaparica and along the ocean coast of Salvador, where coconuts are virtually the only agricultural product [133] (Maps 58, 59, and 60). The inner shores of the Bay, which rise abruptly [134] with rocky clay slopes, bear very few coconuts, except in a low-lying sandy zone along the estuary of the Paraguaçu. Coconuts are produced 245 [423] chiefly on large properties which are frequently owned by urban families. [464] The plantations are operated with hired labor drawn from the coastal [438] population. When harvested, the coconuts are sold in the urban markets [258] of Salvador and other cities and towns. Very little of the Recôncavo [439] production is converted into oil, and little is exported.

Oranges. The navel orange is a Bahian development, a mutation [433] of the orange brought from Europe. The main centers of Brazilian production, however, are elsewhere in the country, and cultivation of oranges within the Recôncavo is primarily for local consumption.

245 311 Scattered orange trees are a feature of the rural and urban landscape in many areas. In addition to this generalized cultivation, which frequently is not shown in the official data, there is commercial production in the environs of several urban centers—Alagoinhas, Santo Antônio, and to a lesser extent, Salvador (Maps 61 and 62). The [489] cidades of Alagoinhas and Santo Antônio are both markets for part of [443] the local crop; moreover, both are on the railroads leading to Salvador, which is the chief market for the entire region. In addition to these three main concentrations, there are numerous orange groves in the Southwestern Recôncavo which apparently serve both local and regional markets, though on a small scale. In general the relative area in orange groves is not great, yet in 1948 they occupied 10 per cent of the cropland of Alagoinhas.

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249 decline of the old system of independent plantations and small usinas and
471 the rise of agricultural capitalism in the Recôncavo as in Brazil's other
178 sugar areas. With greater capital resources, drawn from Salvador, Rio de Janeiro, and São Paulo, the large companies are slowly buying up the fazendas of the core area of sugar cane production and are closing out the small mills.

249 The typical usina involves a large-scale organization of land,
471 transportation, processing, and labor by means of an administrative hier-
489 archy. Timing is one of the critical aspects in converting cane to a finished product, for the harvesting of the cane and the operation of the mill must be closely coordinated. A basic factor in this coordination is the weather, which governs the quality of the cane, the transportation of the harvest, and thus the operation of the mill. In dry weather the
[492] sugar content of the cane is high, and the ox carts move easily through
[493] the fields. In wet weather the harvesting bogs down, and the operation of the mill comes to a standstill. Since the fixed costs of the mill and the plantations are very great, delays in harvest are costly to the in-
249 dustry. Another important administrative problem for the industry is
464 labor. The sugar economy depends upon itinerant seasonal labor and upon the declining local agricultural population. Occasionally the operation of the mill is delayed because of labor shortages. It is sometimes necessary to shift labor from the fields to the mill or vice versa or from one plantation to another and to balance the cost of maintaining a labor reserve, if available, against the losses incurred when the op-
249 eration of the mill is curtailed. The scope of operation of the usina
471 may be illustrated by a list of the major physical equipment of one of the large usinas in Santo Amaro:

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258 but also because the manioc roots are too heavy and bulky to be trans-
[438] ported over long distances. Moreover, the market for farinha de mandioca is generally local, except in the Southwestern Recôncavo.

258 The capital investment in a casa de farinha is small, usually
471 less than one hundred dollars, but this sum is far beyond the reach of
[454] most cultivators. The mills are built by owners of medium-sized land holdings or local merchants, and are operated on a share basis. The mill owner usually receives one-tenth of the finished product in exchange
[427] for the use of the mill equipment. The customer rents the equipment
[464] rather than the service and must therefore provide the labor, although
[592] the owner usually furnishes one or two workers. Generally the processing
[462] of manioc is a family operation in which the women and girls scrape the roots and the men and boys perform the more arduous tasks.

277 Most of the tobacco which is grown in the Recôncavo is exported
[439] in the form of leaf. Therefore, the processing of tobacco is less important in relation to the cultivation of tobacco than is the processing of manioc and sugar in relation to their respective cultivation. The leaf tobacco which is retained in the area is made into cigars in home industries and in a number of cigar factories. The home-produced cigars are made by tobacco cultivators and small-scale processors in the villages, towns, and cities of the region. These cigars are generally
[443] very cheap and are sold in the local mercado (market) or in small vendas (shops). It is difficult to assess the total importance of this form of processing, but it seems likely that the number of cigars so made is extremely large.

277 The cigar factories of the Recôncavo are located in the cidades of São Gonçalo, Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, and Maragogipe. Each of the
[464] factories employs from 100 to 200 workers, usually women from the surrounding area. Machines are used to produce the cheaper grades;

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244
433
[231]
[233]
of livestock, which had a value greater than sugar cane but less than manioc.

Agricultural activities within the Recôncavo are localized in several distinct sub-regions, each with a specialized system of cultivation and each with either one or two principal crops. The primary agricultural subdivisions of the region are: (1) the sugar cane monocultural sub-region; and (2) the tobacco-manioc sub-region.

249 Sugar cane is grown as the exclusive crop in its major area of production--the pocket of coastal plain north of the Baía de Todos os Santos. Cane is generally cultivated under a four-year monoculture and one-year fallow system on large properties employing large quantities of hand labor and using oxen to draw plows and carts. Neither fertilizer [407] nor agricultural machinery is used to any appreciable extent. Most of [492] the animals used as labor in the production of sugar cane are brought [231] [233] into the area from the sertão, and little livestock breeding is found in this area. The processing of sugar cane is in the hands of a small [471] number of medium-sized usinas. The companies which own these usinas [178] are gradually buying up the plantations so that to an increasing extent the mills directly control the production of sugar cane. Most of the [497] cane is brought to the usinas by railroad, although sailing boats are [489] used for this purpose along tidewater. Most of the sugar produced in [505] the Recôncavo is consumed within the state of Bahia, but small quantities [438] [439] are shipped to other parts of Brazil. Both the aristocratic upper class [565] and the rising non-aristocratic business interests of the Recôncavo are [471] [472] involved in the ownership and administration of the sugar industry. The [464] permanent labor force is supplied from the settlements of the sugar cane [178] plantations and the mills, but the rural population and the labor force of the sugar area are declining. Seasonal labor for the harvest comes from the interior sertão of Bahia.

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BB 241 231 233 In the surrounding sertão livestock production is the areally and, in many cases, economically dominant activity; the Recôncavo is primarily a region of crop cultivation.

BB 43 443 The Recôncavo is a functional unit in the economic organization of commercial agriculture and marketing. Salvador, with one-third of BB the people of the region, is the primary market center. The credit [249] [452] essential to the production of tobacco passes from the city to the countryside, while the leaf is either shipped to the city for export or is sent BB [249] to local cigar factories controlled by Salvador companies. Similarly, the headquarters of the sugar industry and the chief market for its products is Salvador. Feira de Santana is also a functional center for the region, since in its markets the agricultural and industrial products which either originate in the Recôncavo or are imported through Salvador are exchanged for the livestock, crops, and extractive products of the sertão.

B BB 241 Many of the features of the agricultural system of the Recôncavo are also characteristic of Brazil. Both the land rotation system and the permanent monoculture are basic Brazilian agricultural systems. Agricultural technology, in the Recôncavo and in most parts of Brazil, B BB is relatively backward. Brazilian agriculture is labor extravagant, [464] and there is a constant falta de braços, but with few attempts at mechanization. Agriculture is highly speculative, whether tobacco in B BB the Recôncavo or coffee in São Paulo. The large property—latifundia-- [423] [565] and the class organization with which it is associated are important in the region and in the country as a whole. There are large numbers of semi-dependent small cultivators in the Recôncavo as in other parts of Brazil. Both the region and the nation are very dependent upon the sale of agricultural products to distant markets.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

128 241 (2) tobacco production; (3) manioc production; (4) the land rotation system; and (5) alternative agricultural products.

249 471 For three centuries the sugar industry was the basis of the commercial economy of the Recôncavo and for the last century it has continued to play an important role. As a result of its long and profitable history, it has a number of advantages as a basis for agricultural development. Its capital assets are large--the best land in the region, a number of industrial plants, and a transportation network. Moreover, its [565] land is organized into large units, many of which are under the control of a single company, and all of which are under the control of a small group of the upper class. The industry has a large administrative staff, the most experienced in the region in large-scale enterprises--the organization of agricultural and industrial production, labor, transportation, and finance. It has the very great advantage of good political connections and government support. A part of the industry, [242] composed chiefly of the largest usinas, has had some experience with improved varieties of cane, and on a very limited scale with mechanization.

249 471 433 Against these advantages are a number of limiting factors. Most of the local capital of the sugar industry apparently is committed in the present plant. The sugar economy of the Recôncavo is large scale only in relation to the other agricultural enterprises of the region--the mean daily capacity of the mills can scarcely exceed 500 ton. Moreover, many of the mills are obsolescent--there is only one new usina, and only the larger mills have very much new equipment. Despite [464] the presumed administrative skill of the industry, labor has been one [178] of the continuing problems since the deterioration of the old feudalistic [466] employer-employee relationships of the late nineteenth century. However,

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These houses (solares, or sobrados) were enormous, constructed of stone and mortar, with wooden floors and ceilings. Stone and wood were themselves a sign of wealth, since it was necessary to bring them from a great distance. The furniture was often of handworked rosewood. Affluence was especially shown in table service of silver, porcelain, and crystal, most of which was imported from Europe. Members of the families frequently dressed in fine damask silks and were adorned with fine jewelry of gold and precious stones. It was not unusual for the plantation master to dress a few of his favorite slaves almost as well as his family and to parade them to church as an indication of his wealth. Another method of demonstrating wealth was the support of churches, especially that of the Tertiary Order of Franciscans.

175 249* 565* [342] [291] [301] [567] [794]

The plantation master eventually lost his prominence. When the capital of the colony was moved from Bahia to Rio de Janeiro in 1763 he was no longer so politically powerful, except locally, for there was too much distance between him and the new capital. Transportation was poor and communication still poorer. Also, other crops--namely coffee, cotton, rubber, and finally cacao--became more valuable than sugar. The abolition of slavery in 1888 was the final blow to the power of the plantation master.

175 178 249* 565* [567]

It was usually admitted that the greatest wealth or source of wealth of the plantation master was his slaves. At first the Portuguese colonists tried to enslave the Indians and put them to work on the sugar plantations, but the Indians sickened and died off easily. There was also great opposition, on the part of the Jesuits, to the enslavement of Indians. The importation of African slaves seemed to be the solution. From the middle of the sixteenth century until about the middle of the nineteenth century ships plied back and forth from Bahia to the west coast of Africa, carrying tobacco, leather, and rum to be traded for slaves. The African slave always brought a higher price in the market in Bahia than did the Indian slave. It was considered that a normal plantation or mill of a thousand acres needed approximately two hundred slaves, divided among the fields, the mill, the various skills, and the house of the owner. In the nineteenth century the procurement of slaves became increasingly difficult as a result of European, North American, and even Brazilian opposition to slavery. In the mid-nineteenth century the slave trade was officially prohibited and the traffic became clandestine. The prices of slaves soared at this

175 567 249* [435] [464] [435]

2: Hutchinson E-4-5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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struck the sugar cane itself, and production again dropped greatly. At the same time, coffee began to attract attention in São Paulo and the few slaves for sale were sent there, where they commanded a higher price, thereby causing a shortage of workmen in the Recôncavo. In 1888 a final blow was the abolition of slavery. Production dropped to a new low, and the twentieth century was entered during what was called the gravest crisis the industry had ever experienced.

During the late nineteenth century there were several attempts to better the machinery used in the fabrication of sugar. New methods were introduced from abroad, and at the turn of the century the usina made its first appearance on the scene. The usina represents the large-scale central factory, designed to mill the cane of many plantations, thereby raising the total sugar production.[2] The state government took a hand and financed the construction of three factories which were given to various individuals as concessions. There was an effort to revive the industry on a different and stronger basis. At the same time, however, the Recôncavo, as well as other parts of Brazil, felt the pull of the rubber boom in the Amazon and lost some of its manpower. But once again a European war came to the rescue, and during the second and third decades of this century the sugar industry prospered. Many factories were erected, and there was a definite feeling of optimism, which ended abruptly in 1929 and 1930 as a result of prolonged overproduction. In 1933 the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol was established by the national government to regulate production. The new regulations caused dissatisfaction and disputes, and production fell off sharply, only to rise again after World War II when many of the restrictions imposed by the institute were lifted. At the present time the Recôncavo seems to be experiencing a mild phase of affluence.

It is the introduction of the large-scale central factory which holds the most interest for us in this recital of crises, for it was this innovation which brought the maximum amount of change to the town and the entire community structure.

The factory was conceived of as a large mechanized mill,

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2. Hereafter, the word "factory" will be used to designate the usina; wherever the word "factory" appears it should be understood to mean sugar-cane milling factory, unless otherwise qualified. (Editor's note.)

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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4. Plantation Life

* 249 178 THE GOLDEN AGE of the sugar industry was typified by the plantation complex, which was accompanied by a definite way of life. The final breakdown of this complex came at the end of the nineteenth century with the creation of the large central mill. Changes in the agricultural practices, however, have only begun to take place. Almost all the emphasis of change in the past was placed on the development of the technical aspects of processing the cane, and very little attention was given to the agricultural side of the industry.

* 249 361 178 [464] Modern plantations continue to be relatively self-sufficient units, just as the engenhos were. The factories brought almost no change in the land settlement patterns of the area. Since they were established on the site of former plantations, they did not create new nuclei; rather, they simply enlarged the old centers. Some of the former slave population moved to those factories which needed more workmen. But in subsequent years there was a gradual resettlement of the former slaves on the old plantations, in the same locations and even at times in the same buildings.

The disappearance of the small smokestacks of many plantation mills and the appearance of the more widely scattered but far larger ones of the factories, together with the appearance of networks of narrow gauge railways radiating out from the factories, mark the major changes in the landscape of the Recôncavo. The outlines of the new plantations and their boundaries remain much the same as they were a hundred or more years ago. The former small mills are frequently still used as workshops and sheds for the oxcarts.

The following discussion will examine one of the five pri-

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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[The Private Plantation]

the town of Vila Recôncavo. João lives in the owner's house, enjoying her confidence to a greater degree than anyone else except perhaps the overseer. This is frequently the cause of friction between the cowboy and overseer, and this fact is not helped by the fact that João is an inlander (sertanejo), a true cowboy, taciturn and independent, from the cattle country to the north of Recôncavo. When Dona Sinhá is away, he occupies a different position, subject to the orders of Seu Paulo unless Dona Sinhá has left definite instructions for him. When Dona Sinhá is present he receives orders directly from her, bypassing the overseer. João is in a position to check on much of the plantation activity, bringing to the owner's attention any necessary works forgotten by Seu Paulo.

Below the owner, overseer, foreman, and cowboy are the bulk of the resident workmen (moradores). On the Fazenda das Moças, there is a population of slightly over two hundred men, women, and children, providing a working force of between sixty and seventy men and boys, plus a few women who occasionally do light work in the fields.

Below is an extract from one of the fortnightly pay sheets of the plantation. A brief explanation of the list, beginning at the top, will give a good idea of at least a part of the work on a plantation in this community. The "second weeding of a cane field" indicates that the man worked in a field which had already been weeded once since planting. Depending upon the amount of sunshine and rain and the quality of the weeding done, a field may have to be weeded as many as seven times between harvests. A cane field (taboleiro) varies from ten to twenty tarefas, and each field is numbered. Seu Paulo can therefore assign a man to weed a certain field, and they will both know whether it is the first, second, third, or other weeding. The weedings become progressively more difficult so that the amount paid per unit increases with the number of weedings. Weeding constitutes one of the major expenditures on Fazenda das Mocas, as it is done slowly with a hoe. As with all other tasks on the plantation, there is a set price for this work.

"Carrying seed" indicates the transference of bundles of tops of sugar-cane stalks from a field where they are cut to another where they are planted. The amount paid per trip increases with the distance the man must travel between fields. As a rule, several fields of cane are planted to be used exclusively for seed. The next item on the list, "cutting seed,"

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* 249 466 [427] [492] lands of the plantation, renting them to Dona Sinhá at harvest time for transport. Often a family has one or two pack horses or burros which can be used to transport cane or, at other times of the year, water or firewood. A worker also has the right to a plot to raise food crops. If the man in the household dies or deserts his family, the woman who is left can do one of several things: go to work in the field herself, the least popular alternative; send her children out to work if they are old enough; find another husband, which is not too difficult, for there is a scarcity of women in this rural zone; or return to her father's house.

*249 464 A group of workers who are essential to the well-being of the plantation, but who are not residents, are the caatinguejros (migrant workers from the scrubby forest area which borders on the Recôncavo and extends into the desert to the north). Hundreds of these men are available during the harvest season, a time when not only the plantations but the factories as well need more men than the resident population provides. The town of Vila Recôncavo, the other small rural towns, and the capital city do not supply agricultural workers to the rural areas. The plantations use instead the migrants from the north. A system has grown up whereby each plantation and factory has a man who can contact these migrant laborers. [571] This man is called the empreiteiro, a contractor who has a system of contacts in the north usually through family [466] and godparent relationships. The migrant workers are housed in the barracks, and generally keep themselves well apart from the residents. Only men come, leaving their families at home to care for their small farms and livestock while they earn money in the Recôncavo. None of these men appears on the plantation payroll. It is the empreiteiro who contracts with the overseer to have the required work done by the migrant laborers. Usually this work consists only of weeding, which must be done constantly but which at harvest time the resi- [465] dent workers cannot do. On the list of jobs and wages, above, there appears the name of Mario Adriano, who received 921,30 cruzeiros for weeding 249 braças. This man is the empreiteiro, who is paid for work done by fifteen, twenty, or more men. He in turn pays the migrant laborers, giving them less than the price for which he agreed with the overseer to do the work. In this way the contractor earns a living. Throughout the harvest season he gets work for about seventy-five to one hundred migrants, who camp in and about the barracks and

have little to do with the residents. At the end of the season they can be seen walking along the paths of the Recôncavo toward the north, each man carrying over his shoulder a stick from which is suspended a cloth bundle containing his few possessions. 249* 464

One prominent aspect of the relationships between people in this hierarchy is the intimacy and familiarity which has for so long characterized the Recôncavo. While slavery was not a benign institution anywhere, there was a softness in the relations between the Brazilian and his slaves which seems to have been absent in other slave areas. This quality persists today on private plantations such as Fazenda das Moças between the owner and the workers. Dona Sinhá knows the residents by name or nickname, knows their background and present condition; the worker knows Dona Sinhá's family background, her children, and her extended family. 249* 466 571 [567]

The former master is now the patron. It is she who arbitrates any differences between workers, or between a worker and Seu Paulo. It is her task to protect the worker against injustices, to provide medical care, to aid at weddings and baptisms, in short to do all the things the worker is unable to do through ignorance, fear, or poverty.

The relationship between Dona Sinhá and Seu Paulo is a curious one, for neither one of them can do without the other. The role of overseer came into being for several reasons, the primary one being the absenteeism of the owner. In order to keep the plantation running properly all year long it was necessary for someone with knowledge and authority to be present all the time; so the former feitor-mor became known as the overseer, with a house larger and better than that of anyone else on the plantation except the owner. As time went on, the overseer gathered more and more rights and privileges unto himself, until today he is the veritable owner of the plantation in all but the legal sense. He has the confidence and loyalty of the workmen, without which he would be a failure. He eventually becomes related to nearly all of them through the system of godparentship; in fact, he is more sought after than the owner for this purpose. On the Fazenda das Moças, the overseer is paid a higher salary than any other overseer in the area--as much as Cr$1.500,00 a month in comparison with Cr$1.000,00 or less for the others. In addition he receives a bonus at the end of the year, one cruzeiro for each ton of sugar cane the plantation produced during the year. 249* 463 466 571 [608] [465]

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Usina]

tion plantation. At its highest level it is a form of unwritten social security which works well, supplementing the low wages which are paid throughout the area. Even on the factory plantations there is a mild form of paternalism, which is stronger in plantations nearer to the factory and to the home of the usineiro. 249* 466

The migrant workers, however, do not fit into the pattern of paternalism, mostly because they do not seek it. Indirectly they receive its benefits, for if one of them is ill he can go to the contractor who will then go to the plantation owner or usineiro for medicine or whatever is needed. But in general the migrant laborers stay by themselves and ask little or nothing of their employers. 249* 464 466

In addition to the protection provided by a paternalistic system, the workers have the right to at least half an acre of land on the plantation where they can plant and raise their subsistence crops. Often they also plant tobacco, both in these plots and in the small areas throughout the plantation where no sugar cane is planted, such as corners where the plow cannot penetrate. The tobacco is sold to traveling buyers who scour the area at the tobacco harvest season. The money thus gained belongs to the workers, and many of them say that cash earned in such a way provides the "extras" they like during the year, such as rum, cigarettes, a pair of earrings, or some perfume. 249* 466 [241] [443] [434]

following days to make new supplies. On the return trip she brings wheat flour, peanuts, potatoes, and whatever is not available in Vila Recôncavo, as special orders (encomendas) for people in the town, who pay the price of the article plus a small percentage for her trouble in doing the shopping. 443 463

The people of Group 3 do most of their own labor; the men follow their trade while their womenfolk do the housework, care for the children, fetch water and firewood, and do their own laundry. This group also uses the batalhão for house building and repairing, although many employ the services of a carpenter to do the woodwork or a bricklayer to make a foundation, in contrast to the people of the preceding group, whose houses are usually built with a minimum of crude woodwork and without masonry foundations. The majority of men in this group, the fishermen, live in the lower part of town, in the areas known as Boqueirão, Caquende, and Cortume (see map of town). The others are scattered throughout the town, up the hill in back of the area of sobrados, and on the side of the hill sloping down to the beach. The fishermen have their own chapel built near the beach, which they support with the tithe (dizimo), a tenth of their earnings. The people in the fishing group seldom go up the hill to the older part of town, feeling that they do not belong there. 463 [462] [342] [361] [346] [764]

A few words need to be said about Group 4, which consists of thirty-one people who do not fit into the other three groups. Eleven of them, who listed themselves as unemployed, are unskilled persons, without a trade, and without a patron or service employment skill. For the most part they are women, and although an examination of the census data shows that they have no visible means of support, they do engage in subsistence activities such as carrying water, cutting spits for xangô, making dendê palm oil, or making fish nets, but not on a regular contract basis. Since they engage in a variety of small independent activities and work for different people at different times, they listed themselves as unemployed in the sense of being without a regular occupation. 463 464

Nine people in Group 4 lived in the town at the time of the census but worked at the Usina São Pedro. Three men worked on the sugar plantation nearest town, preferring to live in town rather than on the plantation, since the trip back and forth is so short. And, finally, the group includes eight people who were employed by the Institute of Vila Recôncavo as nurses, pharmacists, bookkeeper, and bartender. These people

3: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

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464 were included in Group 4 because they worked for a nonprofit charitable institution.

464 Occupationally, the town dwellers differ sharply from the people of the rural area of the community. Their work rarely requires them to go out of town to the rural area. Of the entire working force of the town, only twelve men are employed in the sugar industry. Even during the harvest season, the town does not supply men to work in the cane fields or the factory. However, the few people in town who have mules occasionally rent them to planters during the harvest season to help carry the cane. The twenty-five petroleum workers have to leave town each day for work, but their work is also very different from that of any of the rural dwellers.

184 463 632 [427] [492]

462 In the town, as on the plantations, there is specialization and division of labor. Among the fishermen, each man fishes constantly with one or two types of net. Change from one type of net to another is unusual and disliked. A fisherman seldom supplements his fishing by planting a garden. Instead, he depends upon his catch of fish to give him enough money to buy garden produce, as well as meat and manufactured articles. In his turn, the gardener never fishes, depending upon the returns from his garden to buy what he does not produce.

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[512] Daily routine for the fisherman varies considerably because it depends closely upon the tides, while the daily routine of merchants, teachers, and bureaucrats, as well as household servants and craftsmen, follows a more citylike pattern, beginning at about seven in the morning and ending late in the evening. There is also less seasonal variance in the work of the town dwellers, for it does not depend upon the planting and harvesting of crops as does that of the rural workers.

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369 The town and plantation ways of life also vary considerably with respect to paternalism, which plays a much smaller part in the life of the town dweller. Most of the municipal bureaucrats have patrons among the rural landowners who have placed them in their bureaucratic positions. Bureaucrats, in turn, are to a smaller extent the patrons of people living in the town, particularly of their household servants. Although they have neither the financial resources nor the prestige to provide the security which a rural landowner can offer his people, they do what they can to help whenever asked. This help often takes the form of asking their own patrons for help

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2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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and the social forces compelling them to conform to this ideal are strong enough to keep them at home.

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To some extent the Class B families take as their pattern the older traditions of the upper-class families. The father is the most important person in the home and has the final word in all decisions. His wife is not his equal in a social sense and plays a much more passive role than the women of classes A, C, and D. This, however, is slowly changing, for married couples of the younger generation are beginning to share more activities, such as going to the movies, visiting friends, or going on short trips to Salvador. But this is a recent development and applies only to four couples in the town. The others still maintain the old pattern whereby the man attends social functions while his wife remains home. On occasion of a farewell party, invitations were carefully extended to the married couples in Class B at the author's instigation. Of the thirteen couples invited, only four came together. In the other cases only the husbands came. Among the others, one of the husbands was away, and his wife would not come to the party even though her mother, father, and two sisters did. It is still common for the wife either to remain discreetly silent or to disappear altogether when her husband has visitors at home, and among the older families the father and his guests are served separately at meals, the women of the household eating afterwards alone.

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Family life in rural Class B follows to some extent that of the town family of the same class. The father is the central figure in the family and makes all decisions. He travels about the community while his wife remains at home. The sons of overseers, however, are seldom sent to Salvador to school, although the sons of Class B families living at the factory usually are, at least for a short time. So far, however, none of them has entered a profession.

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As has already been stated, the women of rural Class B lead much the same kind of life as the women in Class C, with whom they associate. Daughters are guarded carefully, while sons are placed in some advantageous position whenever possible, frequently through the aid of the plantation owner or usineiro. They may enter the factory office, and in several cases they have been set up in business on the plantations, running small stores which belong to their fathers.

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A daughter of Seu Paulo, the overseer of the Fazenda das Moças, married the son of the overseer on a neighboring

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remarkable fact about these female households is that mother and children manage to remain together as long as they do. Usually the husbandless woman finds work as a laundress or at ironing, or dries fish (xangó), three tasks which permit her to keep her children near her. When she becomes a cook or servant in someone's home, it is common for her to take the children to work and let them play nearby in the back yard. In such a case her children may eventually receive aid from her employer, who because of the children's continued presence in the house becomes fond of them and wants to do something for them. If this does not happen, the mother herself must take care of their future. As a rule, boys from such families leave town as soon as they are old enough, finding employment in Salvador. Girls, on the other hand, remain with their mothers more often than leaving. If they do leave, they often return, like Maria José, with children of their own.

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Because of the poverty of these households, there is little or no provision for the care of older people, and it is from this class that come the very few, poor, old women who beg for food, medicine, and other aid. The people of the town are in general extremely generous in view of their own financial circumstances, and they do what they can to help. In Vila Recôncavo there are no "professional" beggars; there is no one seated on a street corner asking for alms. There is, instead, a very proud spirit of independence, and having to go from door to door (or, rather, from kitchen to kitchen) asking for food or money is highly repugnant. Families will often send food to an old person regularly in order to avoid face-to-face contact with begging. Begging is also sometimes done through a third person, often a child, again to avoid face-to-face relationships in asking for aid.

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Class D does not exist in the rural area, for reasons already noted, particularly the pressure brought to bear by plantation owners and administrators. In addition, however, it also seems that women can only support themselves and their children in the more crowded urban areas, where they can find work which allows them to be near their children.

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can collect bananas, which should pay for the operating costs while waiting for the cacao to mature.

At the end of a five- or six-year period, the shade tree is usually large enough to provide sufficient shade, and the banana trees are gradually removed. At the same time the cacao begins to give its fruit, and one can then consider himself a cacauicultor.

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Several planters in Vila Recôncavo are at the banana-manioc planting stage, and have met with their first serious labor problem. No one wants to work in banana and manioc fields, as the work is arduous and slow. Machines are not available for the mechanical cultivation of manioc, so the work must be done by hand. The work is slowly being accomplished, but at costs which will make the manioc a considerable liability.

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Nevertheless, in spite of these difficulties, there is considerable interest in cacao in Vila Recôncavo, and cacao must be considered as an element of change in the community which will have far-reaching effects. The area of sugar production will be considerably reduced, requiring adjustments on the part of the factories, which represent large financial investments. Furthermore, cacao is a fairly simple product to process--its conversion into chocolate is usually done after export --and so it is quite likely that each plantation will return to the older aspect of the plantation, both growing and processing the crop, and become once again a highly self-sufficient unit.

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This would of course bring about a new alignment of socio-economic relations and would undoubtedly alter the community structure.

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A third principal cause of change in Vila Recôncavo is the growth of a new and potent industry within the community and throughout the county. This new industry is the nascent Brazilian petroleum industry. Exploratory work was done in Vila Recôncavo in 1950 and 1951 under the guidance of the Conselho Nacional de Petroleo. Since that date a nationalized company, Petrobrás, has been formed to exploit the oil fields which lie under the topsoil of the county of Vila Recôncavo. Petrobrás has brought in several hundred oil wells and has built roads, pipelines, storage tanks, and machine shops. Just outside the limits of the community, but within the county, it has built its oil refinery and has created a small new, modern city to house the technical workers of the refinery and the field. On land expropriated from the Usina São Pedro it has also con-

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structed a series of barracks, a recreation hall, a restaurant, and a service center for the unmarried field workers.

In spite of this, the changes in the community structure brought about by the petroleum industry have been as yet relatively few. The industry exists in the community as an intruder, not affecting communal life to any great extent, and not contributing any substantial local benefits. This is perhaps in part due to the fact that it is a nationalized company, with headquarters located in the city of Salvador, rather than a product of local efforts. The petroleum workers for the most part have not been drawn from the local labor force but have come from outside the county. It is almost as if a military base had been established in Vila Recôncavo on a temporary basis.

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The effect on the town has been principally to increase the number of houses. The married workers of Petrobrás for the most part live in the town. Naturally there has occurred a broadening of point of view among the town dwellers as a result of social intercourse, as well as a certain new prosperity due to greater numbers. Nevertheless, there are still no private cars, buses, or public transportation in the county. The petroleum workers and their families go to Salvador whenever possible for shopping and amusements, rather than attempting to satisfy these needs in Vila Recôncavo, where public services, diversions, and so forth have continued to be almost nonexistent.

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To counterbalance the effect of prosperity brought to the town by increased population, the petroleum industry has had an adverse effect on the fishing activities of the townspeople. Many wells have been drilled in the shallow waters of the Bay of All Saints in front of the town. As a result of underwater explosions, the constant passage of rapid motor launches, and digging and dredging machines, the traditional fishing area of the town's fishermen has been rapidly depleted and its ecological balance destroyed. The fishermen are gradually turning away from fishing as an occupation and seeking other remunerative activity, either outside the community or in the petroleum industry and, to a slight extent, in the sugar industry. Others are turning to service occupations, such as bricklaying, as stopgap activities.

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Petrobrás to date has affected rural life very little. The planters of the area have profited to some extent because of the roads constructed by the company. It is now possible to

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Politically, this influx of new workers has had little influence. Local politics, at least, remain in the hands of the traditional landowners. However, national political parties other than that of the landowners are gaining force, especially the labor party, and within the near future there will undoubtedly be considerable modification in the voting patterns. The bulk of the rural population do not have the franchise because of their illiteracy. On the other hand, the petroleum workers, whose level of living is considerably higher than that of the rural population, have the franchise and according to law must exercise it.

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A major area of change in the community is the class structure. In its main outlines the class structure remains the same, but there are some differences in emphasis. Class A, the rural upper class, which also is part of the upper class in the capital city where it resides part of the year, has been somewhat depleted. The Coronel and his son and son-in-law and their families, who constituted the family owner-directors of Usina São Pedro, are no longer part of the scene. As a result of the shift in ownership and direction the former usineiro has been replaced by paid employees.[1] Although these employees are related to the principal members of the new owning firm by marriage, they are treated as employees rather than as family members. They do not have the "social standing," meaning tradition, background, extended family relations, and the scholarly training, which distinguish the former owners. Class A therefore is now represented only by the private plantation owners.

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On the other hand, Class B is slowly becoming larger in both the rural and the urban areas of the community, as a result of the addition of two new groups: the members of the new factory organization, and the petroleum workers with their much higher standard of living, considerably higher education, and their steady employment as members of a new bureaucracy, Petrobrás. Unmarried workers belonging to Petrobrás are to some extent seeking marital alliances with girls of the area, especially from the factory nucleus and from the town of Vila Recôncavo. In some cases legal and religious marriages have taken place. In other cases the couple has simply

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1. The term usineiro is usually limited to the owner-director who is the founder of the factory, or is the son of the founder. When the director is a paid employee, he is just "the boss."

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ties between Negroes and whites on these colonial plantations. All writers have mentioned the frequency of sexual relations between the white plantation owners and their female slaves. Slavery was not a humane institution in Brazil or elsewhere, but in Brazil relations between the slave and the master were of a more personal nature than in other regions where slavery existed in the New World.

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By the middle of the last century, the West Indies and other regions of the world were competing with the Brazilian north-east for the world sugar market; and the abolition of slavery in 1888 caused difficulties of labour supply on these plantations. The sugar industry no longer provided the great wealth that it had in the past, and many of the old plantations were abandoned or sold to large commercial companies who installed modern equipment for large-scale sugar production. Plantation slaves became wage labourers, and the old traditional patterns of behaviour between the Negro slave and the white plantation-owning aristocrat began to disappear, to be replaced by an impersonal employee-employer relationship in keeping with the new way of life. Yet many patterns persist from the days of the old plantation system. Many of the descendants of the aristocratic plantation owners try to preserve the old traditions. They are proud of their family names, and large aristocratic families are still important in the economic and social life of the region. In many rural localities, there are still plantations where the relations between the workers and the owners are highly personalized, as they were in the past, and where customs and traditions formed during the period of opulence and slavery continue, if modified, by modern conditions. Throughout this part of Brazil, the relations between people of different racial groups have been influenced by the large proportion of Negroes in the population, by the importance of slavery in the relatively recent past, and by the particular form which the relations between the Negro slave and the European master took on the plantations.

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11. The community with which the present article is concerned is called Vila Recôncavo; it is a real town situated in the zone known as the Recôncavo which surrounds Salvador, the capital of the State of Bahia, and which borders on the Bay of All Saints, extending inland from the shores of the bay some 30 miles on the northern side, and considerably less on the southern side. The Recôncavo was characteristic of the whole north-eastern plantation region. The Portuguese who settled in Salvador in 1549 recognized the value of these lands around the new city and the Bay of All Saints for sugar production. The third governor of Bahia, Mem de Sá (1557–74),

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The most valuable property of a colonial *engenho*, however, was the slaves. Comparatively few Portuguese came to the Recôncavo, and even those among them who had been labourers in Portugal did not come to Brazil to do manual work. African slaves had already been used on sugar plantations in the Madeira Islands, and a slave system was imported into Brazil along with sugar cane. Although it was expressly prohibited by the Portuguese Government,[4] the early settlers in Bahia enslaved the Indians who did not flee or who were not killed in the early fighting with the colonists. Governor Mem de Sá's Testament lists 95 Indian men slaves, 84 Indian women slaves and only 20 African slaves.[5] From the start, however, Indians were considered inferior to Africans as slaves; they seemed unable to adapt themselves to continuous labour in the fields and mills. Yet in many cases they were kept as fishermen, hunters and boatmen for the *engenho*, being in these activities superior to the newly-arrived Negroes. By 1700, the Negro slaves greatly outnumbered the Europeans in the region, and there were but few Indian slaves. Slave was almost synonymous with Negro.

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An inventory of an *engenho* of about 650 acres, made in 1866 shortly before the end of slavery, gives a total value of 200 contos[1] for the *engenho*. The land, houses, slaves and livestock were valued at 125 contos; the value of the slaves alone was placed at 65 contos. The inventory divides the slaves into two categories: house slaves *(escravos de casa)* and work slaves *(escravos de lavoura)*. There were 18 house slaves and 103 work slaves. Among the house slaves were 1 barber-tailor-painter, 6 servants, 1 cook, 2 seamstresses and 1 apprentice seamstress, 2 sweet-makers, 2 laundresses, and 3 children without specific 'profession', as their occupation was called. Of the work slaves, 59 were listed as field workers (26 men and 33 women of all ages above the age of 12), 18 as small children, and 26 as specialists—including 4 ox-cart drivers, 5 sailors, 2 ironsmiths, 3 bricklayers, 1 field manager, 1 ship captain, 1 gardener, 1 barrel-maker, 1 specialist in the boiling of sugar, and 1 nurse. The prices of the slaves ran from 'without value' or as low as 20 milreis to as high as 1 conto 400 milreis, depending upon the age, physical condition and degree of skill of the slave.[2] The slaves were always listed in such inventories as foreign- or native-born and generally, if it were known, the place or tribe of origin was given. Many are listed simply as *Africano*. For those born in Brazil, the terms used are *Pardo*, *Cabra* or *Crioulo*; the diminutive form of these terms is used for all

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[1] The conto is a unit of Brazilian currency, composed of 1,000 milreis. The milreis, or cruzeiro as it is also called today, is the standard unit of currency. In 1951 the milreis was officially valued at 5.37 cents in U.S. currency, making the conto worth $53.70. However, it must be kept in mind that in 1866 the value of the milreis was considerably higher.

[2] In 1855 this same *engenho* had 48 house slaves and 155 work slaves. The highest valued slave was 900 milreis.

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567 those under 12 years of age.[1] Of the 121 slaves listed in the particular inventory mentioned above, 40 were African. Most of these came from West Africa. Of those whose African origin is indicated, *Nago* (Yoruba) is most often listed, and *Gege* (Ewe) is second.

249 On these sugar plantations of the Recôncavo in the colonial period,
565 the overseer of all operations involved in the growth of sugar cane and production of sugar was the owner himself. Generally, only the
463 oldest son was trained to take over his duties on the plantation; the younger sons were sent to Salvador, to Recife, or even to Europe to be educated as lawyers, physicians, engineers or Catholic priests.
[582] Daughters were married early and given their dowry, or they were sent to convents to become nuns or live as lay sisters. Marriages with first cousins were frequent. Every effort was made to keep the plantation undivided and in the family. The Recôncavo sugar plantation, until about the middle of the nineteenth century, was a remarkably stable community changing little in size and organization from generation to generation.

249 After the abolition of slavery, there was a partial exodus of ex-
567 slaves from the plantations to nearby towns and to the capital of Bahia. The ex-slaves who moved to small towns became manual
463 labourers or fishermen, or engaged in the profession they had learned
● 464 on the plantations, such as barbering, bricklaying, etc. In other cases, ex-slaves rented small plots of land on neighbouring plantations to raise manioc, corn, tobacco and other crops which required little
[427] outlay of capital. Others became sugar planters on a small scale; known as *rendeiros*, they rented a few acres from a plantation and cultivated sugar cane, sending the product to the nearby *engenhos* for milling. In other cases, the ex-slaves simply moved from one plantation to another, or they often remained as free men on the same plantation, still engaged in raising sugar cane, living under the same
249 conditions as before, but legally free. Contrary to popular opinion,
433 the *engenhos* of the Recôncavo did not all cease operations after abolition. Many of them kept on producing as before. In other cases
567 the *engenho* or mill closed down while the plantation continued to plant sugar cane, sending it to a nearby *engenho* which was still functioning for milling. Some *engenhos*, however, did close down altogether and were abandoned, or went into the hands of receivers.
249 At this time many plantations changed owners—wealthy people in
471 the city were able to buy lands at a low cost and did so. But the
567 failure of many of the *engenhos* in the Recôncavo was not a direct result of abolition, it was rather the continuation of an economic
[425] trend which had been going on for a long time. For many years previous to abolition, the plantations of the Recôncavo had suffered
[826] from lack of capital, poor administration, occasional crop failure, and
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[1] In the inventories, *pardo* indicated light skin; *cabra*, dark skin; and *crioulo*, black. These same terms nowadays are used differently in the Recôncavo. See page 28 ff.

249 178 466 [464] In the very large *usinas*, the mill hands and even the field hands are modern industrial workers. They are employees of a large industrial corporation and are protected at least theoretically by the labour laws of the nation. The highly personalized relationship between the plantation workers and the owner-administrator of his own plantation, which persisted from the slave era, has been replaced on the larger *usinas* by the impersonal employee-employer relationship of the modern industrial age. Today, modern plantations and small towns have electricity; there is modern housing for workmen; the State and even the sugar companies provide medical aid; there are primary schools both in the small towns and on many plantations; recreation facilities are found in the towns and provided by the *usinas*; and the sugar-cane experimental station situated in the area constantly urges fertilization of the land and modern techniques and methods of sugar-cane production. But the older and more traditional patterns exist side by side with the new, and each of them influences the relations among the racial groups of the zone.

[365] [362] [743] [872] [529] [242]

361 **III.** Vila Recôncavo is a small town on the Bay of All Saints. The rural area around it, which lies within the social and economic orbit of the town and which is the unit under consideration, comprises some 80 square kilometres, or slightly less than half the entire area of the county of which the town of Vila Recôncavo is the county seat.[1]

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[423] It this area there are 14 plantations, three of which nowadays plant very little sugar cane. Parts of the town itself are built on the land of one of these plantations and the rest of the town area is owned in small lots by private individuals or by the Church. Although Vila Recôncavo is the county seat, local government is the only important function which it fulfils for the surrounding area. It is not used as a shipping point, either for receiving supplies from the outside or for sending sugar to the outside. *Braços do mar*, or inlets of the bay, go to many of the plantations and are deep enough for the *saveiros* (shallow draft sailboats) used on the bay for transport. Many of the plantations have direct connexion with Salvador. Commerce in Vila Recôncavo is almost entirely limited to supplying the 1,462 inhabitants of the town and of some small islands and of one community near by which is not devoted to sugar production. It is not the major supply source even for these groups which live near enough to another and far larger commercial centre where they prefer to do their marketing. The *prefeito* or mayor of the county is rarely a resident of the town itself. Rather he is usually a planter of the surrounding area. He goes into town to do municipal business,

[634] [504] [487] [438] [162] 634

[1] Both the town and the county bear the name of Vila Recôncavo.

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for several generations. In the other families, marriages have been, with but one exception, with persons of equal class status, although frequently with aristocratic families from other parts of the Recôncavo or from Salvador. In the one exception, the husband was without wealth or much education, but he was known to be of pure white descent. All these families live *em família* (within the family), [596] both in the rural area and in the capital, where they spend a part of the year. Traditional family and friendship ties persist among them. They are large families with numerous relatives in the city and in other communities of the Recôncavo, so that dinners, dances, card parties, anniversaries and other social events are generally within the 565 extended family. Most of the males in this group have a profession, 463 such as lawyer, engineer or doctor.

The second social stratum is a slightly larger group consisting of the bureaucrats of the town, plantation administrators, technicians and specialists of the sugar mill, merchants and professional people of the town, such as the doctor, dentist and schoolteachers. Persons in this group are for the most part descendants of local people, although the doctor, the dentist and several of the schoolteachers are from the outside. In this group, one finds the 14 'pure' whites mentioned as living in Vila Recôncavo itself, and five of them are members of a [871] family of former planters. People in this stratum do not have residences in the capital. On the whole, this class is less well-educated than the class above it; it even includes people who have had no formal education whatsoever, and two individuals who cannot read [563] or write. In this class are found most of the *brancos da terra*, many mulattoes and some Negroes, as well as the whites mentioned. This group might be termed the 'local upper class' to distinguish it from the small group of regional aristocrats mentioned above.

The third social stratum of Vila Recôncavo is by far the largest numerically. It consists of 'the people' *(o povo*, or simply *gente)*, fishermen, carpenters, bricklayers, mill hands, plantation workers, [464] and all others who do physical labour. Fourthly, there is a smaller group of even less status in the community, the people without a regular and steady income—women generally without husbands, but with children, who earn their living carrying water to homes from the nearby spring or who work as washerwomen and domestic servants, and men who serve as porters and perform other very menial tasks and odd jobs. There are no people in these two lower class strata who are considered 'pure' white. A few are considered *brancos da terra* but the great majority of them are Negroes, mulattoes, and others of various degrees of race mixture.

The regional aristocrats reside only in the rural zone and maintain residences outside the community. The 'local upper class' is found in both the rural and the urban zones, since the technicians and administrators on the plantations are of this class, but mostly in the

town, which is the centre of the municipal bureaucracy. The upper stratum of the lower classes is also found in both zones, since it contains town-dwelling artisans and fishermen as well as plantation workers. But the stratum of lowest prestige, the people who live marginally in Vila Recôncavo, is limited to the town itself. There is no place for them on the plantations or *usina* of the rural area. 565

As has already been indicated, the major economic factor in the community area of Vila Recôncavo is sugar-cane growing and the manufacture of sugar. There are approximately 2,500 people dependent upon this activity.[1] Each plantation has its small community, with a store, houses, repair shop and the owner's house. Plantation workers live on the plantation, in houses belonging to it. They are paid according to the amount of work they do—that is, how much cane they cut per ton, or how many feet of planting they cultivate, etc. As a rule, there are only three salaried persons employed on a typical sugar plantation—the administrator, the *feitor* (foreman), and the *vaqueiro* (cowboy). The administrator is the most important person on the plantation, directing the work, making estimates for the forthcoming harvest, co-ordinating the cutting, transport and planting of cane, etc. It is the administrator who runs the plantation, who remains in the saddle all day overseeing the work, who checks on everything. The administrator is responsible only to the owner of the plantation, who generally acts through him. In nearly all cases the administrator is either a mulatto or a Negro. In two cases, Negro administrators are unable to read or write, but they are experts at their job and enjoy the full confidence of the owner and the respect of the workers. The *feitor* acts as the assistant of the administrator; he walks about carrying a measuring rod and a notebook, making note of the amount of work done by each man in the field. Frequently this is the middle step up the ladder from worker to administrator. As a rule, the *feitor* in Vila Recôncavo plantations is a mulatto, a dark *mestiço* (mixed) or a Negro as is the administrator. The *vaqueiro* is preferably a *caboclo* from the north. He looks after the oxen used for hauling the sugar cane—of which there may be as many as 90 to 100 head—and the milk cows, inspects fences, for the horses and mules, carries messages, and generally rides with the owner when he travels about from plantation to plantation. The three racial elements are thus represented among the high-prestige men of a typical plantation—the owner is Caucasoid, the administrator and the *feitor* are Negro-Caucasoid mixtures, and the cowboy from the *sertão* is generally of partly American-Indian descent. 249 463 563 [233]

Under this hierarchy comes the main body of workers and their families, which totals about 200 on the average plantation. Such 249 464

[1] Of the total population of 2,500 people living on the sugar plantations and at the usina, approximately 600 men are the actual cane field and usina workers. Obviously this permanent labour force is inadequate; it is supplemented by groups of *rastaqueros* at the harvest-planting season. [162] [464]

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[241] sugar workers move rarely, remaining for generations on the same plantation. Each family has its garden where a little maize, beans
[465] and manioc are grown. Pay day comes every two weeks, when as a rule the worker goes to the owner's house to receive his money. The pay is small, 15 to 25 dollars a fortnight, depending on how
[461] much the man has worked during the period. Men do not like to work more than five to six hours a day, from six a.m. to twelve noon, and seldom work more than five days a week. They work easily, without hurry. In the afternoon they work in their garden, if their
249 wives have not already done so. On the plantation no one starves;
466 everyone has his *patrão* (protector) in the person of the owner, and in case of an emergency, accident or sickness, he expects help from him. This personal element is very important on most plantations in the vicinity of Vila Recôncavo; as a rule, the owner knows all the workers by name, knows their families and their family troubles and
[164] problems. He is aware of their love affairs and up-to-date on the health of new-born children and their mothers. Nearly all cases of sickness, from common colds and rheumatism to more serious ailments, are brought directly to the attention of the *patrão* or his wife. The owner, returning from a prolonged stay in the city, receives visits from the workers or from their wives, during which all the personal gossip is exchanged. The workers inquire about the owner's family and more extended family, for they generally know them all. Engagements, weddings, births, deaths and illnesses are reported on both sides. Complaints or requests are also made to the owner. The relationship is highly personal, intimate, gentle and frank.

466 On one rather small *usina*, which will be called São Pedro, in the
249 rural zone of Vila Recôncavo, the situation is somewhat different.
472 São Pedro is not one of the large *usinas* of the Recôncavo, owned by a corporation; it is relatively small and owned by one of the most
[473] important families of the Vila Recôncavo community, members of the regional aristocracy whose family has held plantations there for many generations. Because the owners of the *usina* actually administrate it, and since they are in residence in the locality at least part of the year, they are able to maintain many of the traditional personal relations with their employees, many of whom have worked on the plantations belonging to their family and in the *usina* for most
[162] of their lives. But there is a total of 1,183 workers and their families at the *usina* and on the plantations belonging to São Pedro, and the very size of the enterprise and the number of workers make for a more impersonal and more strictly economic relationship between employer and employee. Workers become more a name on a payroll, and the employer a person with whom one seldom has direct contact. In the larger *usinas* of the Recôncavo this trend is even more marked especially where the employer is a large corporation with offices in Salvador.

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192 8. The *moreno* has excellent skin, fine-textured and smooth. He is light-skinned but not white. He has dark hair, which is long and
826 either wavy or curly. It is manageable and does not need straightening. His features are much more Caucasoid than Negroid. Here again we can distinguish between the dark and light *morenos*. Also we must distinguish between the *moreno mulato* and the *moreno* of the white families—the *moreno branco*. *Moreno*, as used regarding the 'white', distinguishes the brunet from the blond of the same group.

Few people fit any of these 'racial' types 100 per cent. When someone comes very close to being a perfect *preto*—that is, has all the characteristics of the *preto*—people call him *bem preto* or *bem pretinho* (really black). The same is true of the *sarará*—*bem sarará*, or of the *moreno*, who will be called *bem moreninho* or *moreno fino*. It is just as difficult to find the perfect type for the other classifications, because
563 there are so many variations. Often an individual is of one physical
826 type, but has one or more characteristics of another type. For instance, one young man in Vila Recôncavo has the characteristics of an *escuro*, but since most people like him they prefer to think of him as *moreno*. He has fine skin and thin facial features, but tight kinky hair. People generally refer to him as *moreno*, adding '*mas êle tem cabelo ruim*' (but he has poor hair). One frequently hears 'he is *mulato*, but very light'. These verbal descriptions paint a vivid picture of the person in question. In Vila Recôncavo, it is not simply a matter of black and white, but of all the shades in between.

A term of classification not listed above, *caboclo*, presents something of a special case. As mentioned earlier, most people with Amerindian physical traits have come into the Recôncavo from the *sertão* during the dry spells in the North. Considering the length of time that people of the North have been periodically coming into the Recôncavo, comparatively few have remained. Nevertheless, the population of Vila Recôncavo has a considerable *caboclo* element —that is, of people with a reddish or bronze tinge to their skin colour, more prominent cheek bones than the African or white elements, and a tendency toward almond-shaped eyes. However, few people in Vila Recôncavo bearing these marks are called *caboclos*.
563 They are classified instead in the local terms listed above, ignoring
[829] Indian traits. In Vila Recôncavo, there is a certain dispraisal of the *caboclo*. He is considered less civilized than the resident of the Recôncavo, though often known as a better worker, more ambitious, trustworthy, more frugal; also less genial than the easy-going
249 person of the Recôncavo. In the rural area of Vila Recôncavo, each
563 year many *caboclo* men come to the plantations to work during
464 harvest time. For the most part they stay together, away from the
466 *morador*, or resident worker of the plantation. The plantations construct a type of barracks to accommodate these men, who do

their own cooking, care for their own clothes, and spend their evenings gathered around a fire, singing songs of the *sertão*, apart from the permanent workers.

There is a mutual desire to keep apart, for while the *morador* looks down on the *caboclo*, the *caboclo* feels very much the same about the local people. He feels that they are lazy, ignorant, and above all superstitious. The *caboclo vaqueiro* (north-eastern cowboy) of one plantation says that the workers of the plantation are always talking about black magic, that they are lazy and spendthrifts, and at the same time deride his frugality. He says he is not afraid of their black magic, since he knows there is nothing to it, but he distrusts those who speak of it. People in Vila Recôncavo will not admit they have *caboclo* or Indian ancestors. One young girl who is almost a perfect American Indian type says she is a *mulatinha*.[1] She vehemently denied there was any Indian blood in her family, but finally reluctantly admitted that a great-grandparent of hers had been partly Indian. This girl's niece would make a perfect double for the popular conception of Pocahontas, given a feather in her hair and a sarong, but she is considered a '*mulata*, almost *morena*'.

However, among the 'pure' whites there is a different feeling about the *caboclo*. White families say that they would feel proud to know that they have 'Indian blood', for it would show the length of time their family had been in Brazil. Frequently a white child is extremely 'Indian looking', that is, a *moreno* with jet-black, straight hair. The nickname of *tapuya* is often given to this type, which is generally admired by the whites. All plantation owners agree that, for work, no one can top the *caboclo*. The north-eastern worker of American Indian physical type will go into the fields at six in the morning and not return until six at night. He takes his lunch with him and eats it there. On the other hand, the *morador* will go to the fields at six and return at noon. However, as permanent resident workers, plantation owners prefer the Negroes of the Recôncavo. Little if any effort is made to 'fix' the *caboclo* on the plantations. When the harvest is finished, he takes his money and departs. Next year he may come again to the same plantation, or he may not. It seems to make little difference to either party.

There have been no serious tensions between the two groups. They work together during part of the year, but spend their free time separately. This does not mean that an occasional *caboclo* will not stay, take a wife from among the *moradores* and start a family.

The following percentages of racial types were taken from a sample of 162 heads of families, using the four major types: *preto*, 50 or 40 per cent; *mulato*, 59 or 49 per cent; *caboclo*, 3 or 2 per cent; *branco*, 11 or 9 per cent.

[1] Little mulata. Using the diminutive form seems to be a softer and more agreeable way of saying 'mulata'.

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the lighter-skinned people for intermarriage with the mass of light-skinned people of the capital. Most of the townspeople have connexions of some sort in Salvador and travel back and forth a great deal. Some, mostly girls, take employment in the city as maids, and there either get married, or '*aparecem grávidas*' (show up pregnant), afterwards returning home to stay or for visits.

On the plantations the people have little opportunity for such mixing, owing to their isolation. Mixing occurs either on the same plantation or between neighbouring plantations, and since most of the plantation workers are dark, the offspring tends to remain dark. There is comparatively little marriage between people of the urban and rural zones.

The people of the town consider themselves far superior culturally to the *taberéu* or 'hick'[1] of the rural zone. Not only are they lighter in colour, but they are more 'citified', having more contact with the outside world, and this contact increases daily. Only in the town did the lower-class people express interest in the racial situation in the United States and particularly question segregation, a practice they could not understand. In the rural zone, the United States meant only some place other than Bahia. This is given as an example of the difference in degree of sophistication between the two parts of a comparatively small area. The sophistication of the townspeople tends to increase, as does their lightness of colour, while on the *fazendas* the colour has remained almost static, as has the degree of instruction.

565 Class is one of the most important factors in the everyday lives of the people of Vila Recôncavo. *Who's Who* is well known to all the residents of the community. Almost any resident will say that there are two classes, the rich and the poor. But definitions vary greatly as to what is rich, while practically all agree as to what is poor. Rich means, primarily, having money, a good house, more than one suit of clothing, a horse or mule, a servant to do the housework, and not having to do manual work. It also includes power of some description over other people. Poor is the reverse of all these things; working hard for someone else, a mud house with a dirt floor, one suit of clothes and one pair of shoes. For everyday ranking, this division into only two classes may serve.

A closer analysis shows that four distinct classes can be recognized, as stated earlier. There are many elements which go toward defining the classes—wealth, education and family. Race is also important. People say that wealth is the most important, education the second, and race the third in importance. Thus race is but one of a number of elements ranking people in a social scale, rather than a separating factor which divides them into distinct groups.

[1] Other terms used to convey the same meaning are *gente do mato* (people of the forest) and *gente de roça* (backwoodsmen).

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The emergence of new employment opportunities, especially in the centers of industry but also elsewhere, not only has stimulated internal migration but—more importantly for our interest here—has also facilitated social mobility. This has brought significant change, particularly to persons in the lower ranks, who are extensively (but far from exclusively) of dark color, and whose economic position has long been, on the whole, stagnant. There is clearly evident in Brazil what perhaps is the principal long-range trend in the modern world, namely, the rise of the underprivileged classes into increasingly greater economic and political power; while the growing anonymity of the developing cities is making human relations more impersonal and categoric, and this has led to a heightened sense of insecurity while also aiding the escape of individuals of color from the controls of the old superordinate and subordinate relationships developed during slavery and giving these individuals new conceptions of themselves and of others.

Until comparatively recent years, a middle class like that known in Europe or the United States scarcely existed. At the time of our research at Bahia, for instance, there were only two clearly-defined classes in the city, as attested (see pp. 15 ff.) by the popular division of the inhabitants into *ricos* (literally, "the rich") and *pobres* ("the poor"). There were many families, however, whose occupation, skills, education, or level of living placed them above the lower class but who were not attached by kinship or achievement to the upper ranks. They thus occupied an intermediate position between the two extremes of the social pyramid, although they tended to identify themselves with the interests and values of the upper class. In recent decades, however, the changes mentioned above have produced occupational and educational opportunities never before known, and also greatly stimulated those previously existent, so that, in the large and more

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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At Bahia in 1807, 1809, 1813, 1816, 1826, 1827, 1828, and 1830, slave revolts broke out, terminating in the serious Malê uprising of 1835. There existed here, particularly in the nineteenth century, a well-established group of Negro disciples of the prophet Mohammed. Here Nagô was for a long time a Negro lingua franca (or, to use the corresponding Portuguese expression, a *lingua geral*), and Nagô is still occasionally to be heard among some of the older blacks. Here one might have encountered in the years just preceding abolition in 1888 an interesting paradox: while at home Bahia clung tenaciously to slavery, she was known abroad for the eloquence of her abolition orators.[1] Here, also, one might have observed the gradual fusion of Catholic belief and ritual with African mythology and religious practice, evidences of which may be seen today in *candomblés*, or fetish-cult centers, like that of Gantois, for example, whose ceremonies have been carried on in the same sacred place for many decades.

In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries Bahia became one of the world's great sugar centers where a small aristocracy, as is attested today by the pretentious edifices still standing, achieved great wealth. As early as 1587 there were forty-seven sugar *engenhos*[4] in and about Bahia, and

[1] See Luiz Anselmo da Fonseca, *A escravidão, o clero e o abolicionismo* (Bahia, 1887), *passim*. This book, although obviously written as abolition propaganda, cites names, places, and dates to support its contentions and does not overlook negative cases.

[4] Each *engenho* consisted of a sugar plantation and a mill for processing the cane. Those at Bahia often had a capacity of a thousand tons or more yearly. Each was largely a self-sustaining economic unit, dependent upon the labor of numbers of Negro slaves. H. Morse Stephens says (*Portugal* [New York, 1903], p. 218) that sugar cane was imported into Brazil from the Madeira Islands in 1548.

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175 162 de Oliveira estimated that there were then in Bahia province 147,263 unfree Negroes.[5]

464 567 249 175 The blacks were practically all introduced as slaves, Brazil being, until 1888, a slaveholding state.[6] Under the favorable conditions of a rich soil, intense tropical sunlight, and plentiful rainfall common to the Reconcavo, sugar cane thrived. Its cultivation and processing in a land of "open resources" demanded a constant and inexpensive labor supply which the Portuguese, by reason of insufficient numbers and imperfect acclimitization, were themselves unable to 567 furnish. At first, as in the West Indies and the United 464 States, the indigenous Indians were enslaved; and, after the 175 limited supply on the littoral was exhausted, raiding expeditions penetrated deep into the interior. But the Indians, familiar with only the crudest forms of agriculture, seminomadic, and as unaccustomed to settled and ordered plan-

Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro [tomo especial; Rio, 1927], p. 294).

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 293 and 330.

[6] For detailed information on the slave trade and slavery see, especially Perdigão Malheiro, *A escravidão no Brasil* (3 vols.; Rio, 1867); Percy A. Martin, "Slavery and Abolition in Brazil," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. XIII, No. 2 (1933); Louis Couty, *L'esclavage au Brésil* (Paris, 1881); Lawrence F. Hill, "The Abolition of the African Slave Trade to Brazil," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. XI, No. 2 (1931); Braz do Amaral, "Os grandes mercados de escravos africanos; as tribus importadas; sua distribuição regional," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro* (special vol; Rio, 1927), pp. 437–96; Affonso Claudio, "As tribus negras importadas," *Revista do Institudo Historico e Geographico Brasileiro* (special vol., Part II; Rio, 1914), pp. 597–655; Mary W. Williams, "The Treatment of Brazilian Slaves in the Brazilian Empire," *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. XV (July, 1930); Evaristo de Moraes, *A escravidão africana no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1933); João Dornas Filho, *A escrividão no Brasil* (Rio, 1939); Roberto Simonsen, "As consequencias economicas da abolição," *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio), May 8, 1938; Affonso de E. Taunay, "Notas sobre as ultimas decadas do trafico," *ibid.*, July 24, July 31, August 7, 1938.

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tation life as they were at home in the near-by bush, proved inefficient and undependable workers.

Just the reverse was characteristic of the Africans, with whom the Portuguese had for some time been acquainted. As early as 1433,[7] Negro slaves had been imported into Portugal to labor on the large estates of the military and religious orders, particularly in the Algarves. Moreover, the West Coast of Africa lay within easy reach of Brazil, directly opposite its central and northern coasts.

The exact date when African importation began is unknown, although it is thought that the fleet which Martim Affonso de Souza in 1531 encountered in the bay at Bahia was engaged in the transport of slaves.[8] Sometime later in this same century[9] the slave trade began to gather momen-

[7] Prado cites a statement from Georg Friederici (*Der Charakter der Entdeckung und Eroberung Amerikas durch die Europaer* [3 vols.; Stuttgart, 1925–36]) to the effect that the first Africans were imported into Portugal in 1433, instead of 1441, as commonly thought. See J. F. de Almeida Prado, *Pernambuco e as capitanias do norte do Brasil* (2 vols.; São Paulo, 1939–41), I, 250 n. [114]

[8] Malheiro, *op. cit.*, III, 6; cf. Arthur Ramos, *As culturas negras no novo mundo* (Rio, 1937), p. 281.

[9] In a letter dated 1552 Padre Nobrega refers to having requested and received three slaves from Guinea. These arrived with others on orders from the king (see Ignacio Accioli de Cerqueira e Silva, *Memorias historicas e politicas da provincia da Bahia* [4 vols.; Bahia, 1919–33], I, 390). In another letter written June 5, 1559, Padre Nobrega refers to eight "Negros de Guiné" on the estate of one Andre Gavião at Bahia (see Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 442). In 1583 a certain Salvador Correa de Sá made a contract with João Gutteres Valerio in which he agreed to purchase every slave brought from Africa in his ship (F. Borges de Barros, *Novos documentos para a historia colonial* [Bahia, 1931], p. 77). Pedro Calmon (*op. cit.*, p. 178) gives 1548 as the year in which the traffic began, and Arthur Ramos (*The Negro in Brazil* [Washington, 1939], p. 3) says that the first shipment of slaves direct from the Guinea coast is thought to have occurred in 1538 in a vessel belonging to one Jorge Lopes Bixorda.

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to live together because they mutually support one another. Similarly, different racial stocks often occupy to mutual advantage the same habitat because each fits into a different niche in an interdependent symbiotic order. The fundamental problem is that of survival. The Portuguese at Bahia to a considerable extent resolved this problem by the development of an economy based upon plantation agriculture and slave labor.

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A considerable number of Negroes died while being transported from Africa. Others subsequently perished from the ravages of cholera, yellow fever, and other epidemics. A few committed suicide or led religiously motivated uprisings against their masters. But the major portion were readily incorporated into the plantation system. Centuries of familiarity with the slave tradition of their African cultures and, in many cases, familiarity with the slave status itself probably made their adjustment to a slave system in the new land less difficult.

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Most of the Negroes entering and remaining in the vicinity of Bahia were employed in the planting, cultivation, harvesting, processing, and marketing of sugar cane and tobacco. A limited number were engaged in cattle-raising. They also supplied the necessary artisan and domestic labor on the plantations.

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Within the city of Bahia itself, as in other Brazilian ports, most of the slaves were engaged in domestic service. However, in addition, a modified form of slavery existed. Many blacks, known as *negros de ganho*, were employed as porters, stevedores, ironworkers, masons, carpenters, carriage- and cabinet-makers, printers, sign and ornamental painters, silversmiths, lithographers, sculptors in wood and stone, small shopkeepers, street merchants, etc. They were semi-inde-

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rapi, and São Francisco, a *Sociedade Libertadora* freed 122 slaves in one day. Scores of these societies operated throughout Brazil.[72]

Dr. João Garcez dos Santos was the first Bahian *fazendeiro* (planter) to exchange slave labor for free. After spending some years in Europe studying agriculture, he returned to Brazil and, in 1864, bought an *engenho* called Pimental, in the *termo* of São Francisco. He freed all the slaves except eight domestic servants and paid these freedmen wages, retaining a portion of their earnings until he had been recompensed for their original cost. During the subsequent year he produced with free labor two hundred boxes of sugar. Three years later, he "freed the womb" of his eight female domestic servants, and, on his death in 1874, he set at liberty all the slaves which he had inherited from his father (a total of about sixty persons) on condition that they continue working for wages on the *engenho* for five years.[73]

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In 1868 the Senhoras Condessa de Barral and Pedra

liberated by will, and the Cantagallo plantation given them for a home; Barão de Dias, 163 slaves liberated, who remain established on his plantation as laborers." In 1887 Anselmo da Fonseca wrote: "As to the *cartas de alforria* granted by slaveholders themselves, it is well known that these have always appeared in greater or lesser number in the country, and that from 1880 on they have multiplied greatly and have now become quite numerous, thanks to the powerful influence of that propaganda which has contributed so much to the elevation of the moral sentiments of the Brazilian people."

[72] On September 7, 1869, an emancipation society was organised in Bahia "with the noble purpose of ending slavery in Bahia," and by March 1, 1874, it had conferred 267 "Letters of Liberty," 89 of which were "granted gratuitously in its name," and 178 by means of its own funds, the amount thus employed totaling 58,289 milreis (Alvares do Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 181). This organization was named A Sociedade Libertadora Sete de Setembro ("The Seventh of September Liberation Society") in honor of the day on which the independence of Brazil was declared.

[73] Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 220–22.

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from early colonial times on, seems not to have been very great, and the upheaval which in 1822 culminated in Brazilian independence seems to have buried most of the vestiges of Portuguese prestige. Even today the Portuguese are the constant butt of vaudeville jokes.

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Many of the free *homens de côr* (men of color), especially those who possessed slaves, either were indifferent to the slave question or openly opposed abolition.[95] Most of the large plantation owners and their spokesmen in the provincial legislature and national parliament opposed the abolition campaign, and their forces at one time dominated the Liberal party.[96] However, many of the slaveholders appear to have increasingly accepted abolition as inevitable and merely to have asked remuneration for the financial loss involved. Apprehension that the plantation system would utterly collapse if free labor were substituted for slave

[95] The abolitionist, Anselmo da Fonseca (*ibid.*, pp. 137, 142–43), complains of the persistent opposition to abolition on the part of *homens de côr*. In 1884, out of thirty candidates for the Bahian *camara*, "the only one who in a published document had the audacity to ask election in the name of slavery" was the *homem de côr*, Conselheiro Domingos Carlos e Silva. In 1887 an *homem de côr* canceled his subscription to the *Diario da Bahia* for its refusal to publish an advertisement regarding a fugitive slave. Fonseca regarded this man as "one of the most intolerant slaveholders in Bahia."

[96] On hearing of the program presented by the imperial cabinet on June 6, 1884, "almost all the leaders of the liberal party in Bahia, the owners of large business and commercial houses, and the sugar aristocracy" lodged a protest in which they declared: "The slave is more than a portion of a private fortune; he is a social institution, a labor supply, a necessity to production, an asset of the national life. Above the immediate interests of planter and merchant . . . . are the permanent . . . . interests of society, the benefits which accrue to thousands of human beings living or yet unborn—the necessities of public order, and the development of national wealth" (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 283).

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and that the sudden liberation of large numbers of subjected blacks would subvert public order gradually melted away as the numbers of emancipated Negroes increased and these freedmen gave evidence of their ability and willingness to become an orderly part of the free population and to labor as effectively, if not more effectively, for wages as when impelled by physical force.

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The free people of color (who by 1872 largely outnumbered the slaves)[97] were, Southey says, "an industrious and useful part of the population: most of the maize, manioc and pulse, with which the towns were supplied, was raised by them upon small pieces of ground, which they rented of the great proprietors at a low rate."[98] Freedmen were also employed as laborers on the large estates, where they lived as squatters on the land of their employers, erecting mud and palm-leaf huts for their families, and looking to the planter for protection from any who would do them harm.[99] In the towns they were employed principally as artisans, porters, messengers, barbers, street merchants and small shopkeep-

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[97] Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

[98] Southey, *op. cit.*, III, 787. Cf. also: "The masters who freed slaves often gave them, with their liberty, a piece of land to insure their subsistence. The Negroes who have inherited these small holdings are to-day (1911) the best element of the black agricultural population" (Pierre Denis, *Brazil*, trans. from the French by Bernard Miall [New York, 1911], p. 322).

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[99] Koster writes: "The Negroes in my possession could not perform what ought to be done in proper time; and therefore I collected free laborers for the purpose, and in a short period between thirty and forty men, some of whom brought their families, removed on to the lands of the plantation; and most of them erected hovels of palm-leaves, in which they dwelt; but a few of them were accommodated with huts of mud. . . . . Many of these fellows would have committed almost any crime under the impression that my protection would screen them" (*op. cit.*, I, 295, 297).

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4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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ers; some of them accumulated considerable sums of money. Occasionally, as we have noted, they owned slaves[100] or invested their savings in the slave trade, sending money, arms, and trade goods to some convenient individual in Africa to "get up raids in their old homes or amongst neighboring tribes."[101] In Minas Geraes free black laborers came to own mines like Encardideira and Palacio Velho.[102] In Bahia they maintained their own regiment,[103] fraternal orders, and religious brotherhoods, each limited in membership exclusively to Negroes of pure African descent.[104] Many made sustained efforts to educate their children, and a few even had sons in the priesthood who, since the bishops of Brazil did not confer them, took their orders in São Thomé.[105]

But the free Negro, in competition with the European

[100] Walsh, a visitor to Brazil in the early nineteenth century, writes: "Next came an old free Negro woman, with a young slave of her own sex and color carrying her bundle. . . . . Her young slave was her only property, and she made a good livelihood by hiring her out as a beast of burden, to whoever wanted her, and for whatever purpose" (*op. cit.*, II, 18).

[101] Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

[102] Gilberto Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos* (São Paulo, 1936), p. 73.

[103] "There are two of these regiments for the province of Pernambuco . . . . distinguished from each other by the names Old Henriques and New Henriques. . . . . I have seen some portion of one of these regiments, in Recife. . . . . They were dressed in white cloth uniforms, turned up with scarlet: and they looked very soldier-like. They were in tolerable discipline. . . . . They acted with an appearance of zeal and the desire of excelling. Those of which I speak formed a finer body of men than any other soldiers which I had an opportunity of seeing in that country. . . . . These men receive no pay, so that their neat appearance on such occasions bespeaks a certain degree of wealth among them" (Koster, *op. cit.*, II, 182–83).

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[104] See, in this connection, *Compromisso da Irmandade do Senhor Bom Jesus das Necessidades e Redempção* (Bahia, 1929); Joventino Silvino da Costa, *Relatorio da Sociedade Protectora dos Desvalidos, 1832–1932* (Bahia, 1934).

[105] Affonso de E. Taunay, *Na Bahia de João VI* (Bahia, 1928), p. 173.

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Government employ was for a long time denied to the black.[110] In colonial Brazil marriage into upper-class white families was zealously restricted to individuals of pure European descent,[111] and at least one case is on record of an Indian being seriously rebuked for having married a Negro woman.[112]

[110] There was "a separate justice" in colonial Brazil for cases relating to "Indians, mulattoes, and Negroes" (Vianna, *Populações meridionaes do Brasil*, p. 140).

[111] "It was this preoccupation with purity of lineage and white blood in their prospective sons-in-law which, in those provinces whose development was more irregular, like that of Minas, made the problem of marriage so difficult. In Pernambuco and São Paulo the problem was resolved by marrying cousins with cousins: a custom which gradually made of the early families almost a single strain" (Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 152).

[112] The eighth vice-*rei*, Marques de Lavradio, in an order dated August 6, 1771, removed an Indian from the post of *capitão-mor* for having married a Negro woman and, as the order said, "thus tarnished your blood and shown yourself unworthy of office" (Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* [2d ed.; Rio, 1936], p. 290).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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is said, did not usually exist in Brazil much longer than the third generation.[32] In Minas Geraes, in 1835, while importations from Africa were still large, there were 170,000 mulattoes to 305,000 blacks.[33]

Thus miscegenation has gone on in Brazil in an unobtrusive way over a long period of time. In few places in the world, perhaps, has the interpenetration of peoples of divergent racial stocks proceeded so continuously and on so extensive a scale.[34]

One circumstance in Bahia still favorable to miscegenation is the system of household service universal in upper-class, principally white, families. Whereas no inconsiderable portion of the domestic labor in the United States, at least in northern areas, is white, consisting largely of peasant immigrant women from Europe, household labor in Bahia is almost invariably black or dark mulatto. For example, of 250 servant women noted, 197 were black, 47 were mulatto (predominantly dark), 4 were *cafuso*,[34a] and only 2 were white. In other words, only 0.8 per cent appeared to be of unmixed white descent. For this reason, interbreeding between males in white upper-class families and servant girls leads almost always to black-white, or at least mulatto-white, crosses.

The disposition to tolerate intermixture with the African

[32] Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 163. [33] *Ibid.*

[34] Calmon writes (*ibid.*, p. 158): "Nenhum outro povo tão ligeiro marchou para a estabilização de um tipo procedente dos mais opostos fatores; principalmente em nenhum outro as propriedades unitivas do idioma, da religião, do meio fisico, se conjugaram tão intimamente para uniformizar, num imenso territorio (Luc Durtain disse que o Brasil é um dos cinco paises verdadeiramente cosmicos) a descendencia de inumeros troncos, celtico, negroide, aborigene."

[34a] Indian-Negro mixed-blood.

[SALVADOR]

The antagonism of the inhabitants of Bahia against the /47 cont./ Spanish merchants is expressed, aside from the manifestations pointed out in another chapter, by the belief that they are responsible for the discrimination that is practiced against colored people in certain recreational clubs. In the trade of textiles and petty retail objects, such as the Syrians, Lebanese, Arabs, and Turks carry on in little shops, there are no longer many openings possible for colored people. The Arab merchants accept colored employees to work at the counter in their establishments, but, since these are generally modest family enterprises, their few light descendants of mixed blood or morenos remain in the lower or intermediate strata of the population.

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In the offices of large export or import firms made up in part of Europeans (Germans, English, Swiss), colored persons are admitted and may obtain positions carrying some responsibility, but they rarely reach the rank of owners. The European merchants, numerous informants say, have the reputation of being liberal with their employees and other colored persons with whom they do business or who collaborate in their activities: harbor services, transport, transit, navigation. A wealthy, dark mulatto merchant states that his transport enterprise works a great deal for large /48/ foreign firms: "The English are particularly pleasant in that they help their colored employees and promote them to the secretariat of management." They often bring them gifts from Europe, invite them to their clubs, and are happy when some of them speak their language. "The German merchants who had very large firms in Bahia in the old days were very good to their colored assistants; they were very jealous of their language, however, and seemed not to like it at all when a Black spoke German. Some European firms honor their employees, even the Blacks, when they complete 20 or 30 years of service and give them bonuses on this occasion. But they do not promote them to important posts, sometimes because of their incompetence. The same thing does not happen with Brazilian firms, which are not accessible to colored people."

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[SALVADOR]

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*563 441 472 829 A fact known in Bahia is that during one of the two world wars an important German firm transferred the responsibility for its warehouses to one of its employees, a moreno, who had always been its confidential agent and who proved in this situation that he was really faithful by subsequently loyally returning the goods that had been entrusted to him. A mulatto merchant, [452] owner of a warehouse, recalls that German firms helped small Brazilian merchants a great deal, no matter what their physical characteristics were, by granting them credit facilities. "It was • [464] in this way that this firm developed, with the help of Germans," he says, "at the time when the large Portuguese firms, formerly the most important, did not offer any facilities to colored people and did not even allow them to work in their offices." The owner- [581] ship of firms was almost always transferred by the familial route by means of marriages between the most capable employees and the daughters of owners and associates, which explains why the management of these firms always remained with the Portuguese and their descendants. One and the same firm could, moreover, in certain cases give birth to two or three other firms of the same structure, thanks to the competence of the owners' sons, who, with the aid of their parents, set themselves up on their own.

*563 441 472 871 555 A wealthy contractor thinks that it is owing to his black color that he did not progress in the modest employment that he had in an important commercial firm. In order to advance, he says, he was obliged to give up commerce and devote himself to jobs as a contractor. It is evident that the stagnation of some employees in occupations of little importance arises, in the majority of cases, from their incompetence, it being a fact that in Bahia, even today, but especially in the very recent past, the /Figs. 5 and 6 appear here/ /49/ young men who intended to go into commerce had not completed secondary studies, or showed themselves [464] incapable of continuing them. This situation is tending to improve, but the majority of minor employees is still made up of young colored men coming from poor families and from a very low level of education. These young people therefore have only minimal possibilities for elevating themselves in careers where success depends a great deal either on the importance of capital invested or on administrative knowledge.

[SALVADOR]

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The large stores dealing in textiles, fashions, jewelry, and women's articles prefer, for the sale of the displays, employees who "look well," a euphemism for designating persons who are white or approaching it in appearance. Only a few years ago one of the largest stores in the city put an advertisement in the papers offering positions to saleswomen "of sound health, of white color, and at least 18 years of age." An informant relates that her sister, in spite of finos features, was not accepted in a very important store. In vain she made herself up attractively, arranged her hair, which is glossy and beautiful, and dressed with elegance; she was not accepted. The manageress told her that she preferred saleswomen with light hair. "The real reason," our informant explains, "is that the clientele does not like to be waited on by saleswomen of dark complexion. The colored girls, when they read announcements in the newspapers asking for employees of good appearance, do not even try to get the job, for they know very well that Whites are preferred; it is only due to great influence that they may be accepted." Another girl with moderately pigmented skin and slightly curly hair presented herself as a secretary in a large store, but the person in charge of personnel told her (and other candidates of the same type as she) that she was very sorry, but the firm preferred light girls. Someone who was present at the interview declared that it was a Portuguese employee associated with the firm who introduced this "racism" in that establishment. In a very famous firm dealing in women's articles, belonging to foreigners, only morenas finas or Whites are accepted. Almost all the employees of both sexes in the stores on the most central and the most important streets are white or morenos. Even in the more modest commercial spheres the situation is almost the same. In approximately 150 small or medium-sized stores dealing in textiles, haberdashery, women's articles, clothing and household articles, electrical goods and hardware, footwear, drugs, foodstuffs and baked goods, on a business street frequented by workers and the poorest population, /50/ not one black person or dark mulatto was seen as manageress, cashier, or saleswoman. "In any case," says a female

[SALVADOR]

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informant, "girls of light color are more readily accepted in these occupations, perhaps because they are content with salaries that are not as high as those the young men demand."

The statistics released by the Bureau of Identification of the police of the State of Bahia confirm these data. The physical characteristics of 273 persons registered during several months of 1950 as merchants or employees of commercial firms were the following:

Position in commerce	Whites	Blacks	"Morenos"	"Pardos"	Métis	Total
Merchants:						
Men . . .	28	-	12	6	-	46
Women .	1	-	-	-	-	1
Employees in commerce:						
Men	80	10	63	42	13	208
Women. . .	8	-	8	2	-	18
Total . . .	117	10	83	50	13	273

One sees that among the merchants the majority is white; among the employees in commerce the majority is colored. This is explained by the fact that the profession of merchant is one in which the Whites predominate (1)

1. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 243.

in part because social ascent in this sector depends on financial possibilities. The informants in general could with difficulty mention the name of more than three or four colored persons having a notable position in commerce. Nevertheless, the names of some dark merchants who have occupied important offices in the Trade Association and in other important social institutions are mentioned.

[SALVADOR]

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464 "In the banks dark individuals can no longer have careers," say our informants. In an important national bank, according to some, Blacks or very pigmented mulattoes are not admitted; in the branches that this bank has in the city colored employees are few, and these in any case are very light. This selection occurs in the competition for admission, the candidates of dark color being examined with great strictness. In other banking establishments one notes a less marked discrimination. Although /51/ the directors and the managers of the local banks are all white, more or less finos, several employees of mixed blood are accepted there. In the offices of two of these banks one counts 13 light mulattoes and morenos, two dark mulattoes, and 21 Whites. But access to the offices of the directorship or management is very difficult, because these organizations, aside from the fact that they constitute in a certain sense traditional enterprises of some families, demand that one have at his disposal deposited capital, in the form of shares, in the companies managed by the banks, which is difficult for young colored men."

A public official therefore had valid reasons for saying that "the colored people occupy few positions in commerce."

/52/ Politics

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[884] Every Brazilian who has reached the age of 21 may be registered as a voter, provided that he can read and write and that he is engaged in a lawful occupation. His physical type is of no importance: the law does not make any distinction and the officials in charge of voting questions do not make any difficulties about registering colored persons of either sex. Everyone may thus enjoy the right to vote and to be elected.

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*563 The number of voters in the State of Bahia is 875,000, in the city itself 139,000, a large proportion of which is colored people. And the number of the latter is increasing rapidly, for the social ascent of the proletarian masses in Brazil comes about by the acquisition of economic advantages and guarantees, but also and above all by the prize of political awareness and by access
000 to civic rights. From this point of view politics is in the process

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cano." He spends most of his day in the saddle, riding from one point of operation to another; going to the sugar mill to straighten out this or that matter, such as the nonappearance of railroad cars at the plantation loading point; caring for the troubles of the workers; and looking to his own interests. 249* 463 159

Below these two figures of authority is a salaried man who stands only slightly apart from the bulk of the workers, the foreman (feitor), Asclepiades. It is his duty to keep track of how much work is done each day and by whom. He walks about the plantation, from field to field, measuring with the six-foot stick he carries and marking down in his notebook the amount of work done by each man. The plantation laborers are paid according to how much each of them weeded, or planted, or to how many tons of cane each cut or conducted to the factory. Asclepiades writes it down in his little black book, and it appears on the daily work sheet which in turn is transferred to the fortnightly payroll. During harvest time the records of who was the driver and who the guide, of how much sugar cane was cut and by whom, are kept at each end of the plantation where the carts must pass to be weighed before the cane is transferred to the factory. It is Seu Paulo's duty every morning to assign tasks to the workmen, while Asclepiades keeps track of how much is done but does not see that it gets done, for this is the duty of the overseer. The foreman is paid a monthly salary of one thousand cruzeiros, and although he does not occupy the position of prestige which the overseer has there is always the chance that he may become an overseer either on that plantation or on another. 249* 463 465

There is one other salaried person on the plantation--the cowboy (vaqueiro) João who receives four hundred cruzeiros a month, plus room and board. João takes care of the cattle, milk cows, and saddle horses. He must also inspect the fences constantly and report any breaks, and whenever possible retrieve animals which have broken out of the pasture and wandered into the cane fields, where they cause great damage. As a rule the pastures are fenced, as are new cane plantations, but the established cane fields are left unguarded. Fences do not last more than one season, for the posts rot because of the wet soil, and the barbed wire rusts quickly. João is also the constant companion of the plantation owner when she is present, accompanying her or her children or guests on pleasure rides, meeting the train or boat with horses for guests or business acquaintances, and getting the mail from the post office in 249* 463 233 249* 463

*249 463 [578] [466] the town of Vila Recôncavo. João lives in the owner's house, enjoying her confidence to a greater degree than anyone else except perhaps the overseer. This is frequently the cause of friction between the cowboy and overseer, and this fact is not helped by the fact that João is an inlander (sertanejo), a true cowboy, taciturn and independent, from the cattle country to the north of Recôncavo. When Dona Sinhá is away, he occupies a different position, subject to the orders of Seu Paulo unless Dona Sinhá has left definite instructions for him. When Dona Sinhá is present he receives orders directly from her, bypassing the overseer. João is in a position to check on much of the plantation activity, bringing to the owner's attention any necessary works forgotten by Seu Paulo.

*249 46 162 Below the owner, overseer, foreman, and cowboy are the bulk of the resident workmen (moradores). On the Fazenda das Moças, there is a population of slightly over two hundred men, women, and children, providing a working force of between sixty and seventy men and boys, plus a few women who occasionally do light work in the fields.

*249 46 465 Below is an extract from one of the fortnightly pay sheets of the plantation. A brief explanation of the list, beginning at the top, will give a good idea of at least a part of the work on a plantation in this community. The "second weeding of a cane field" indicates that the man worked in a field which had already been weeded once since planting. Depending upon the amount of sunshine and rain and the quality of the weeding done, a field may have to be weeded as many as seven times between harvests. A cane field (taboleiro) varies from ten to twenty tarefas, and each field is numbered. Seu Paulo can therefore assign a man to weed a certain field, and they will both know whether it is the first, second, third, or other weeding. The weedings become progressively more difficult so that the amount paid per unit increases with the number of weedings. Weeding constitutes one of the major expenditures on Fazenda das Mocas, as it is done slowly with a hoe. As with all other tasks on the plantation, there is a set price for this work.

"Carrying seed" indicates the transference of bundles of tops of sugar-cane stalks from a field where they are cut to another where they are planted. The amount paid per trip increases with the distance the man must travel between fields. As a rule, several fields of cane are planted to be used exclusively for seed. The next item on the list, "cutting seed,"

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Ricardo Teixeira	2nd weeding of cane field	13 1/2	braças*	at	Cr$ 3,50	Cr$ 47,25
Julio Bispo	digging drainage ditch	30	meters	at	1,50	45,00
Paulo Manoel	carrying seed	12	trips	at	0,80	9,60
José Santo	cutting seed	5	loads	at	0,80	4,00
S. Santo	cutting out cattle	1	day	at	15,00	15,00
Malaquias Ario	trip to neighboring plantation	1	trip	at	10,00	10,00
Mario Adriano	3rd weeding of cane field	249	braças	at	3,70	921,30
F. Cramosa	planting	3 1/2	braças	at	2,20	7,70
Cecilio Argolo	replanting	65	braças	at	1,50	97,50
Paulo Manoel	carpentering	3	days	at	23,00	69,00
Sancho Santiago	repairing estiva	1	day	at	12,00	12,00
Paulo Souza	1st weeding of cane field	35	braças	at	3,20	112,00
Agostinho Batista	catching escaped cattle	2		at	10,00	20,00
Mario Serra	repairing fences	250	braças	at	0,15	37,50
Maria das Dores	gathering cane leaves for animal fodder	4	cartloads	at	2,00	8,00
Francisco Julião	loading railway wagon with sugar cane	1/2	day	at	7,50	7,50
Pedro Julio	cutting bamboo	12	mãos†	at	5,00	60,00
Francisco Brito	conducting load of wood	1	load	at	15,00	15,00
Crispim Argolo	repairing barracks	2 1/2	days	at	12,00	30,00
Domingos Moura	gardening	12	days	at	10,00	120,00
Osorio Ancieto	burying a burro	1	day	at	12,00	12,00
Pedro Julio	carrying water	1	day	at	10,00	10,00

*The braça equals 6 feet and is the measurement always used locally in the cane fields.
†Mão is a bundle of fifty and is used locally in speaking of fence posts and ears of corn.

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461 indicates work done in these fields. The top of the stalk just
•465 below the leaves is used as seed.

"Cutting out cattle" refers to selecting cattle from the herd to be used for the day's transportation. The "trip to neighboring plantation" means that Malaquias was sent to another plantation on an errand either for Dona Sinhá or for Seu Paulo on some plantation business, such as to get the payroll sheets, which are made up by a resident of another plantation. "Planting" means the first planting of sugar cane, while "replanting" means planting cane in the spaces where the first seed did not grow, either because it was buried too deeply, or because after planting it received too much sunshine or too much rain. Such spaces are always filled in when the new cane reaches a height of several inches.

[463] "Carpentering," a craft, commands a higher salary than agricultural work. Sometimes a plantation keeps a carpenter on a regular salary; at other times he is hired from the factory, as is the case here. His work may be on the wooden carts used for transportation or on any of the many houses of the plantation.

[491] An estiva is a type of makeshift bridge crossing a drainage ditch or a low spot on the road where water collects during the rainy season. It is usually no more than four or five yards long and a yard or two wide. The lengthwise pieces are bamboo with other pieces of the same material laid across them close together. Then earth is placed on top and smoothed off. These bridges require constant repair work. During the height of the rainy season they often break up entirely and float away. They are often quite perilous for horses, burros, and oxen, whose legs sometimes go through the bamboo latticework.

[233] "Catching escaped cattle" requires some agility on the part of the person who does it. It is usually done on foot, and if the ox or cow is in a cane field it must be worked out carefully in order not to destroy too much of the standing sugar cane. "Repairing fences" accompanies catching escaped cattle, for the animals often break through the fences enclosing their pastures. The fence posts are usually of bamboo, which rots quickly and must be constantly watched and replaced as it shows signs of weakening. "Cutting bamboo" is done for many
[824] different ends. Most plantation boundary lines are marked by rows of graceful bamboos whose wood is used for fence posts and estivas, as well as for the wicker framework of the mud-covered houses.

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Maria das Dores, whose name is listed as "gathering cane leaves for animal fodder," does the only type of work on the plantation done by women other than housework and gardening. When a field of cane is cut, the tops of the stalks and the long leaves are cut off and left on the ground. The very tip of the stalk is used as seed, while the heavier part is loaded on carts and sent to the factory. When natural pasturage gives out because of overgrazing or drought, the cattle's diet is supplemented with the freshly cut, green cane leaves; if the tender tips are not required for seed, they are also fed to the cattle. Gathering the leaves and stalk tips is relatively light work, and if a woman on the plantation wants to supplement her husband's income this is the task assigned her. Few women on this plantation do it, however, for it is a point of pride with any husband that he is capable of supporting his wife without her having to do gainful work. Only a small number of leaves are gathered up, and the remainder are burned as they lie in the field. Burning is done at night when there is little or no wind, and often during the summer fires which extend for acres dot the countryside. Burning is a traditional practice. Although professional agronomists insist that it is injurious to the cane roots and the new shoots, planters continue to burn the unwanted leaves, feeling that the ash provides some fertilization. 249* 461 465 [462] [233]

"Gardening" refers to work done in the vegetable garden which supplies Dona Sinhá's house. This garden stands in contrast to the roças, which are planted by the workers as well as by Dona Sinhá, and which are reserved for beans, manioc, corn, and some tobacco. Such plants as lettuce, tomatoes, cabbage, carrots, and other vegetables are disdained by the workers and are grown only for Dona Sinhá. [244]

"Carrying water" is usually work reserved for a small boy. Mounted on a donkey with four wooden kegs he rides to the neighboring plantation, Pedras, which belongs to the factory, fills the kegs at the spring, and returns to Fazenda das Moças where he puts the water into the various large clay containers in the kitchen and washrooms of the owner's house. "Oh, Pedro, there's no water" is a common cry heard in Dona Sinhá's house. [312] [857] [492]

There are few rules restricting the workers. Their services must be at the disposal of Dona Sinhá whenever required. Other than that, if during a slack season a man finds an opportunity to work somewhere else, he is free to do so. If he has a burro, or oxen, he has the right to pasture them on the 249* 466 [427] [492]

* 249 466 [427] [492] lands of the plantation, renting them to Dona Sinhá at harvest time for transport. Often a family has one or two pack horses or burros which can be used to transport cane or, at other times of the year, water or firewood. A worker also has the right to a plot to raise food crops. If the man in the household dies or deserts his family, the woman who is left can do one of several things: go to work in the field herself, the least popular alternative; send her children out to work if they are old enough; find another husband, which is not too difficult, for there is a scarcity of women in this rural zone; or return to her father's house.

*249 464 A group of workers who are essential to the well-being of the plantation, but who are not residents, are the caatinguejros (migrant workers from the scrubby forest area which borders on the Recôncavo and extends into the desert to the north). Hundreds of these men are available during the harvest season, a time when not only the plantations but the factories as well need more men than the resident population provides. The town of Vila Recôncavo, the other small rural towns, and the capital city do not supply agricultural workers to the rural areas. The plantations use instead the migrants from the north. A system has grown up whereby each plantation and factory has a man who can contact these migrant laborers. [571] This man is called the empreiteiro, a contractor who has a system of contacts in the north usually through family [466] and godparent relationships. The migrant workers are housed in the barracks, and generally keep themselves well apart from the residents. Only men come, leaving their families at home to care for their small farms and livestock while they earn money in the Recôncavo. None of these men appears on the plantation payroll. It is the empreiteiro who contracts with the overseer to have the required work done by the migrant laborers. Usually this work consists only of weeding, which must be done constantly but which at harvest time the resi- [465] dent workers cannot do. On the list of jobs and wages, above, there appears the name of Mario Adriano, who received 921,30 cruzeiros for weeding 249 braças. This man is the empreiteiro, who is paid for work done by fifteen, twenty, or more men. He in turn pays the migrant laborers, giving them less than the price for which he agreed with the overseer to do the work. In this way the contractor earns a living. Throughout the harvest season he gets work for about seventy-five to one hundred migrants, who camp in and about the barracks and

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have little to do with the residents. At the end of the season they can be seen walking along the paths of the Recôncavo toward the north, each man carrying over his shoulder a stick from which is suspended a cloth bundle containing his few possessions. 249* 464

One prominent aspect of the relationships between people in this hierarchy is the intimacy and familiarity which has for so long characterized the Recôncavo. While slavery was not a benign institution anywhere, there was a softness in the relations between the Brazilian and his slaves which seems to have been absent in other slave areas. This quality persists today on private plantations such as Fazenda das Moças between the owner and the workers. Dona Sinhá knows the residents by name or nickname, knows their background and present condition; the worker knows Dona Sinhá's family background, her children, and her extended family. 249* 466 571 [567]

The former master is now the patron. It is she who arbitrates any differences between workers, or between a worker and Seu Paulo. It is her task to protect the worker against injustices, to provide medical care, to aid at weddings and baptisms, in short to do all the things the worker is unable to do through ignorance, fear, or poverty.

The relationship between Dona Sinhá and Seu Paulo is a curious one, for neither one of them can do without the other. The role of overseer came into being for several reasons, the primary one being the absenteeism of the owner. In order to keep the plantation running properly all year long it was necessary for someone with knowledge and authority to be present all the time; so the former feitor-mor became known as the overseer, with a house larger and better than that of anyone else on the plantation except the owner. As time went on, the overseer gathered more and more rights and privileges unto himself, until today he is the veritable owner of the plantation in all but the legal sense. He has the confidence and loyalty of the workmen, without which he would be a failure. He eventually becomes related to nearly all of them through the system of godparentship; in fact, he is more sought after than the owner for this purpose. On the Fazenda das Moças, the overseer is paid a higher salary than any other overseer in the area--as much as Cr$1.500,00 a month in comparison with Cr$1.000,00 or less for the others. In addition he receives a bonus at the end of the year, one cruzeiro for each ton of sugar cane the plantation produced during the year. 249* 463 466 571 [608] [465]

[The Usina]

*249 463 466 [492] [465] *249 463 159 [427] *249 466 *249 [184] [496] [493] [311] 000

seer is entitled to the same rights and privileges as any other worker: a house, land on which to grow subsistence crops, and the use of the owner's pastures for his oxen, burros, and horses. The horses used in his work are supplied by the corporation, as are those of the other overseers. His salary is high: Cr$2.000,00 a month, plus a bonus of one cruzeiro for each ton of cane produced on all six plantations. The regional overseers receive Cr$800,00 a month, plus a bonus of half a cruzeiro per ton of cane produced on their plantation. Seu Pipiu has been general overseer of Usina São Pedro for twenty-five years, during which time he has accumulated a good deal of property. He is a mulatto, somewhat lighter skinned than the six administrators who are under him. Two of his sons work in the factory office, and a third runs the store on one of the plantations. In addition he is a small farmer, renting some forty acres from the factory, on which he plants sugar cane. He pays 25 per cent of the harvest to the factory for the use of the land.

The usineiros have the same complaints against their general overseers that private plantation owners have against theirs. At the same time, after many years of service such an official becomes indispensable, or is thought to be, and is allowed to go his way--quiet, well dressed, well mounted, ruler of all he surveys--while the usineiro watches and mutters to himself.

So far the rural properties of the factories have led the private plantations in the field of mechanization, as they have greater funds for purchasing equipment and can get more use out of each piece. Mechanization, however, is used as yet only in preparing the soil for planting. The ground is plowed and replowed, and grooves are made to receive the cane shoots. Also, planting in unplowed land is still common--grooves are opened for the seed with the simple plow, and no soil preparation is done at all. Here mechanization ends, and all further cultivation, as well as the cutting and harvesting of the cane, is done by hand. Narrow-gauge railway tracks reach out from the mill to loading points on the six plantations, where the cane is transferred from the oxcarts to the railroad wagons to be drawn to the mill. Approximately two thousand acres are under cultivation; the remaining land is used as pasture or as garden plots by the workers, in accordance with a rotation system.

Financially the two units--factory and plantation--are run

1 226 [435] costs about Cr$240,00 to make and lasts as long as ten years with good care.

227 The drag net, or deep net, as it is sometimes called, is a much larger net used to catch shrimp. It is 360 feet long, 168 feet wide, and has 420 feet of rope on one end and 480 [435] feet on the other. The top is equipped with wooden floats, and the bottom with lead weights. Such a net costs about [422] Cr$4.000,00 and is expensive to keep up, for it is easily torn [441] on submerged objects because of its size and weight. There are only six of them in the town; most of them belong to the merchants, who are the only ones who can afford the upkeep.

226 Fishing with this net is very complicated and requires the [461] services of at least ten men and two canoes, one large and one small. The owner seldom goes fishing. Instead, a master (mestre) is in charge of the operation, and the others in the crew are called "boys" (mocos). One of these is the baixador whose work is done standing in the water. His is an unpleasant job, and he runs the constant risk of being bitten by crabs, stung by large jellyfish, and cut by sharp shells on the bottom. The net is used only at the shrimp grounds already described, where the circular casting net is used, in front of the town. This net must also be used when the tide is at a standstill, because the current makes the heavy net unmanageable. The net is carried on the larger canoe which is paddled by six men, while four go in the smaller one. The canoes pause when they arrive at the customary point for launching the net, and almost everyone lights up a cigarette. There is usually some discussion among the fishermen in the various canoes as to who will launch his net first, but as a rule not more than four of the six nets are used on the same day. Since all four must be launched at exactly the same spot, there is an accepted order of first, second, third, and fourth. First yesterday is last today, each moving up one place each day. But if a crew is late in arriving the others will not wait very long, for the time for net work is short. Seldom do the four crews launch their nets more than twice in one morning. The last launching is called the "hard hard" (duradura), indicating the small returns obtained for such hard work. The first net to be launched usually catches the most shrimp.

[435] On a good day it is not unusual for the first crew to take in Cr$1.000,00 to Cr$2.000,00 worth of shrimp, especially if it [465] made two launchings. The method of paying the crew varies, but as a rule the owner takes between 40 and 50 per cent,

[Town Life]

the remainder being divided among the crew, the master and baixador receiving slightly more than the moços. Most fishermen dislike fishing with the drag net for several reasons: although the catch is usually large, it must be divided among many men; there really should be thirteen men to handle the net, which limits the amount each receives, and when only ten participate, the work is much greater for each although the increase in pay is slight; also, the operation is a rather boring process involving long waiting periods. It is becoming more and more difficult to get a crew together. 226 465 226 461

The resse, used to catch xangó, and the abaladeira, used to catch other small fish such as sardings and tainha, present a different operation. The resse is a net of close weave, 660 feet long and 12 feet wide. Like the deep net, it has wooden floats on the top and lead weights on the bottom. A small canoe (18 to 20 feet) is used, and only two men are necessary. This net can be used with either the incoming or the outgoing tide, and at any place. The fishermen have certain favorite sand and shell banks where they like to fish, east of town. They launch the net when they see the schools of small fish breaking water. The resse is a recent innovation in Vila Recôncavo, where it was first used with great secrecy to prevent knowledge of its weave from falling into the hands of too many people. But now most fishermen in this part of the Bay of All Saints are acquainted with it, and the entire county lists twenty-five resse nets. 226 [178]

A second innovation with this net, and one which applies also to the abaladeira, is the cooperative launching of two nets at once in order to catch more fish. Two canoes participate, each with two men and a net. An exceptional catch for a six-hour period of fishing may run as high as Cr$600,00 and usually averages between Cr$300,00 and Cr$400,00. When two canoes fish together the total catch is divided equally between the two. The resse and abaladeira fishermen estimate that they can earn an average of Cr$15,00 every day of the year. This is considered relatively good, for they do not fish constantly. After a few profitable days they are inclined to give up for a period of time, resting and enjoying themselves. [178] [476] [435] [434] [461]

The calão is another large net requiring at least six men to manipulate it, working from the canoe and from the water as with the deep net. It is used to catch fish of all sizes except the very small xangó and shrimp. The net is 780 feet [461]

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192 santo, which means literally "daughter (or son) of the saint." They prefer to refer to a person as "having a saint" (tem san-
[787] to) which indicates that he has an obligation toward one of the saints and becomes possessed by him. In ordinary speech the word "saint" is used, but once the person has "made his saint" --that is, has gone through the preparatory rites and has learned the cries and dances of the divinity and how to care for him properly--it is said that the person has Ômolú, or Sete Estrelas (Seven Stars).

794 Because most of the women, and the few men in the cults,
787 cannot spend a year segregated in the cult house in order to "make their saint," they continue for many years in the half-
776 way condition of someone who "has a saint but has not yet made the saint." This means that the person has experienced possession, and that it has been determined by the zelador that he is under obligation to a certain saint and is in the process of "making the saint." During this period of simply "having the saint," the person has to carry out certain duties such as feeding the saint, making the proper clothes, and buying the beads and other outer symbols of the deity which are to be used during the ceremonies. This involves considerable expendi-
[511] ture. The clothes are always made of silk, since nothing is too good for the saint. Today, lipstick, perfume, and cheap jewelry are competing for the few extra cents the girls have, so that it takes longer and longer to get the necessary items together. During this period, the obligations of dancing and possession are less strenuous. In the case of the Indian spirits, the deity often speaks through the person after one or two possessions, and this is taken to mean that the spirit is firmly upon the person and may be considered "made." In this fashion much arduous work is avoided, as well as considerable expense. This is a major reason for the growing popularity of the Indian saints, in addition to the fact that they are gayer.

794 The drummers also like Indian saints, for, after they have
533 danced, the Indian spirits usually take up a collection which is presented to the drummers for having played so well for
[465] them. The drummers are drawn from men whose wives parti-
[776] cipate in the activities, or else they are men who are interested in the proceedings and who like to drum. They learn the drumming early in their lives, listening to it as children when they go to watch the ceremonies. On nights when the drums are playing it is impossible for anyone not to hear the impos-

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[241] sugar workers move rarely, remaining for generations on the same plantation. Each family has its garden where a little maize, beans
[465] and manioc are grown. Pay day comes every two weeks, when as a rule the worker goes to the owner's house to receive his money. The pay is small, 15 to 25 dollars a fortnight, depending on how
[461] much the man has worked during the period. Men do not like to work more than five to six hours a day, from six a.m. to twelve noon, and seldom work more than five days a week. They work easily, without hurry. In the afternoon they work in their garden, if their
249 wives have not already done so. On the plantation no one starves;
466 everyone has his *patrão* (protector) in the person of the owner, and in case of an emergency, accident or sickness, he expects help from him. This personal element is very important on most plantations in the vicinity of Vila Recôncavo; as a rule, the owner knows all the workers by name, knows their families and their family troubles and problems. He is aware of their love affairs and up-to-date on the
[164] health of new-born children and their mothers. Nearly all cases of sickness, from common colds and rheumatism to more serious ailments, are brought directly to the attention of the *patrão* or his wife. The owner, returning from a prolonged stay in the city, receives visits from the workers or from their wives, during which all the personal gossip is exchanged. The workers inquire about the owner's family and more extended family, for they generally know them all. Engagements, weddings, births, deaths and illnesses are reported on both sides. Complaints or requests are also made to the owner. The relationship is highly personal, intimate, gentle and frank.

466 On one rather small *usina*, which will be called São Pedro, in the
249 rural zone of Vila Recôncavo, the situation is somewhat different.
472 São Pedro is not one of the large *usinas* of the Recôncavo, owned by a corporation; it is relatively small and owned by one of the most
[473] important families of the Vila Recôncavo community, members of the regional aristocracy whose family has held plantations there for many generations. Because the owners of the *usina* actually administrate it, and since they are in residence in the locality at least part of the year, they are able to maintain many of the traditional personal relations with their employees, many of whom have worked on the plantations belonging to their family and in the *usina* for most
[162] of their lives. But there is a total of 1,183 workers and their families at the *usina* and on the plantations belonging to São Pedro, and the very size of the enterprise and the number of workers make for a more impersonal and more strictly economic relationship between employer and employee. Workers become more a name on a payroll, and the employer a person with whom one seldom has direct contact. In the larger *usinas* of the Recôncavo this trend is even more marked especially where the employer is a large corporation with offices in Salvador.

planters. People in the upper class of the town, when they can, send their children to the capital to continue their education, and there are several *mestiço* students from Vila Recôncavo studying law, medicine and engineering in Salvador. The intelligence of the mulatto is traditional, and it has been equally traditional that the darker-skinned person is unintelligent. Today these traditions are not as strong as before, but still it is felt that the mulatto has somewhat more aptitude than the Negro. The old idea of the Negro, meant for work and to be servile, still exists, now tempered with the knowledge that education can change the situation. There is only one club in Vila Recôncavo—a football club—and the players are all shades, from white to black, and so are the spectators. They all sit or stand together under the shade of the one big tree which gives shade to the playing field. The field is on the property of a white man who, while he has nothing to do with the team, allows them to play there, put up goal posts and markers. The bar and recreation centre are open to all so long as they wear shoes—a ruling made to keep out the muddy feet of children who came straight from the beach to have a 'coke'. All the racial types and classes get together here to play pool and gossip, this being the one and only point of public social activity in the town. At the movies, the admission price is extremely low, the same for everyone, and all four classes attend. Negroes and whites of all classes sit next to each other. At church there are no special pews, the faithful usually gathering in the front and the less faithful hanging about near the back. The choir and the acolytes are from all classes and colours. At parties, which are few, colour lines are disregarded, *brancos* and *morenos* dance with *mulatos* and *pretos* just as long as both partners can *pular* (jump).

The social situation is gradually changing, and the extremely personal element is being lost. It is strongest on the private plantation, where the owner spends the greater part of the year, but at the *usina* much of the personal element is weakened because of the numbers of workers. Even at the *usina*, there is visiting and gossiping between the owners' families and the workers. But at the *usina* not all the workers accept their subservient position as do those of the plantations. This is specially true of the higher echelon of specialists and technicians of the mill, who will frequently not go to a party given by the owner, even though invited. It seems to be a way of saying that the company of the white owners is neither needed nor wanted. They prefer to keep their relations on a strictly business basis. At the *usina*, when a worker is sick, he goes to the medical post where he is treated by a paid nurse, rather than to the owner's house. On pay day, the *usina* worker is paid at the mill by a paymaster, not in the living room of the owner's house. Nevertheless, in spite of the industrialized aspect of the mill, the number of workers is not too large to exclude all personal contact with the owners, who adminis-

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Some masters preferred to have their slaves, on the payment of a small sum, punished by the civil authorities.[31] Gardner remarked that "many of the crimes for which only a few lashes are awarded, are of such a nature that in England would bring upon the perpetrator either death or transportation."[32]

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It was customary each week to grant slaves, in addition to their regular food, an allowance of tobacco.[33] On the large estates certain hospital facilities,[34] and nurseries for Negro children were maintained.[35] Accounts of white mistresses who themselves attended to the sick among their slaves are numerous.[36] The *amas* (nurses) were often "emancipated as soon as their work was over, and nearly always continued to live in freedom under the same roof with their masters and to have various privileges."[37] "The aged Negroes were only employed in light occupations; during the remainder of their time they chatted with the master's young children, telling

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[31] Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[32] *Ibid.*

[33] Prince Adalbert, *Travels of Prince Adalbert of Prussia*, trans. from *Aus meinem Tagebuche, 1842–1843* (Berlin, 1847), by Robert H. Schomburgk and John Edward Taylor (2 vols.; London, 1849), II, 37. Prince Adalbert noted on the coffee plantation Aldea, near Novo Friburgo, that "every evening, when their work is done, the slaves light fires in the rooms set apart for them, around which they sit for hours, even after the severest day's work, all talking and smoking, women as well as men."

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 36. "In the hospital, the hall and rooms for the two sexes were separated. A Negro woman was lying on a mat, with her little 'negrinho' at her breast, to which she had given birth only the night before. 'In a few days she will be able to resume work,' said the Doctor to Count Bismarck. In the men's room, there were four or five patients, suffering from accidents of various kinds" (coffee plantation Aldea, near Novo Friburgo).

[35] C. C. Andrews, *Brazil, Its Condition and Prospects* (2d ed.; New York, 1889), p. 164.

[36] Note, e.g., Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[37] Lacerda, *op. cit.*, p. 379.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 inaugurated a brief "golden age" in the evolution of the Recôncavo.
178 The mythology which this age engendered is an integral part of the
249 social and economic patterns in the present day Recôncavo. The
439 collapse of the sugar economy in the West Indies, particularly in Santo Domingo in 1792, and the expanding urban markets in Europe had given, for a moment, a great opportunity to the sugar industry of Northeast Brazil. Moreover, an important supplementary market had developed in the mining areas of Minas Gerais. In the subsequent economic expansion to supply these markets, the Recôncavo became an even more important center of sugar production in Brazil.

175 The landed proprietors of the Recôncavo apparently took this
249 resurgence as a vindication of their economic system.
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> They squandered money like the fidalgos [landed, slave-holding aristocrats] that they were. They installed sumptuous dwellings and lived the life of a nobility. Each sugar factory was a community where hundreds of slaves were dedicated to extraction of wealth from the soil. Each of these communities achieved a merited importance. A little Agricultural World gyrated around the Big House, and the Chapel, with its Holy Administrator, [was] dedicated to the dissemination of Catholicism in the community. In time many of these "Engenhos" developed into villas, and were succeeded by the cities of today.
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> Each of these "Engenhos," as these agricultural communities were called, produced everything that they consumed except luxury, and this was imported from Portugal in exchange for sugar, high-grade tobacco, cotton, and rare cabinet woods. The "Senhor" of the Engenho was a veritable Feudal Baron, with the power of life and death over his black and mestizo slaves. He exercised the right of torture and flogging in proportion to the offenses committed. These sugar Engenhos, because of their collective and independent existence, produced a pride of origin, an attachment to the soil, that flowered into a hatred of the monarchial exploiters and became the dominating factor in the movement for independence.
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> The fidalgos were essentially a product of the land, and spent the major part of their luxurious existence on their estates, attended by innumerable slaves. Their homes were built upon a vast scale and equipped with every luxury known to so simple a people. They also

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 249 567 [563] the offspring of master and slave and sometimes were considered as members of the household.

A set of feudalistic inter-relations developed in the society, loosely defining the responsibilities and privileges of master and slave. Ideally the slave had the privilege, almost the right, to appeal to the master in person for assistance and advice. Manumission and the granting of the right to purchase freedom were common. At the [466] same time, the economic system was based upon involuntary labor. The slave was exploited, and the fruit of his toil went to maintain the luxurious existence of the small upper class.

175 565 The small freemen occupied a very inferior social and economic position in this society. In the cities they became tradesmen or [463] [554] craftsmen, occupations without status. In the country some were petty dependents of the engenho, others established themselves as small cultivators. Since the sugar cane plantations dominated the central Recôncavo, it seems reasonable to assume that the small holders were segregated mainly in the outer zone.

175 161 162 In 1819--during the florescence of the Recôncavo--the population of the comarca (district) of Bahia was 362,503. Most of this population was centered in the Recôncavo--200,000 in the lowlands north of the Bay--the sugar cane area--and 77,503 in the western uplands around Cachoeira--the tobacco area.[31] At this time the total population of Bahia was estimated at 592,908 and that of Brazil as between 175 633 162 4,000,000 to 4,500,000.[32] Salvador, with a population somewhere between 100,000 and 130,000, was the largest city in Brazil and remained so until 1830.[33] The class and ethnic composition of the 175 563 population of this period is not clearly indicated. By some estimates, 565 567 over half of the population of Bahia was slave and over three-fifths

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Land:
9,000 hectares in 19 plantations and ranches; each of the 15 cane plantations has a small settlement, livestock, and a weighing station.

Transportation Equipment:
25 kilometers of railway, 9 locomotives, over 100 railway cars, 4 trucks, 2 jeeps, and for each cane plantation an average of 10 ox carts.

Agricultural Machinery:
9 tracked tractors with accessory plows and grading equipment, 1 wheeled tractor, and on each cane plantation 4 or 5 ox-drawn plows.

Housing:
About 50 houses and miscellaneous service buildings for each cane plantation.

Processing Plant:
Grinding and extracting plant, distillery, power house, 2 warehouses, garage, railroad shop, and medical dispensary.

Miscellaneous:
Office building, houses for company manager and administrator, school for the mill settlement, and church.

249 The operation of such a large enterprise as this requires a large administrative staff. The administrative staff of the particular usina described above includes the following: a general manager for all properties; an administrator over all the plantations; an administrator in charge of the mill; a sub-administrator over each group of four or five plantations; and an overseer and several foremen for each plantation. There are also a number of supervisors in the mill and on the railroad. In addition, the usina pays the salary of the teachers in the local school, engages the priest for the irregular services which are held in the church of the usina establishment, and in conjunction with several other nearby usinas, employs a doctor. These activities reflect the desire of the sugar company to stabilize labor relations through social services, but on a more impersonal basis than was characteristic of the feudalistic sugar system of the nineteenth century.

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258 Manioc can be converted into a staple food which is easy to transport and store by simple processes and small-scale enterprises.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

128 241 (2) tobacco production; (3) manioc production; (4) the land rotation system; and (5) alternative agricultural products.

249 471 For three centuries the sugar industry was the basis of the commercial economy of the Recôncavo, and for the last century it has continued to play an important role. As a result of its long and profitable history, it has a number of advantages as a basis for agricultural development. Its capital assets are large--the best land in the region, a number of industrial plants, and a transportation network. Moreover, its [565] land is organized into large units, many of which are under the control of a single company, and all of which are under the control of a small group of the upper class. The industry has a large administrative staff, the most experienced in the region in large-scale enterprises—the organization of agricultural and industrial production, labor, transportation, and finance. It has the very great advantage of good political connections and government support. A part of the industry, [242] composed chiefly of the largest usinas, has had some experience with improved varieties of cane, and on a very limited scale with mechanization.

249 471 433 Against these advantages are a number of limiting factors. Most of the local capital of the sugar industry apparently is committed in the present plant. The sugar economy of the Recôncavo is large scale only in relation to the other agricultural enterprises of the region--the mean daily capacity of the mills can scarcely exceed 500 ton. Moreover, many of the mills are obsolescent—there is only one new usina, and only the larger mills have very much new equipment. Despite [464] the presumed administrative skill of the industry, labor has been one [178] of the continuing problems since the deterioration of the old feudalistic [466] employer-employee relationships of the late nineteenth century. However,

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Private Plantation]

The following discussion will examine one of the five private plantations in the community of Vila Recôncavo and will then describe the network of factory plantations in the same community. 128

The Private Plantation: Fazenda das Moças

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The Fazenda das Moças ("G" on map of community) is typical of a privately owned plantation in all respects but one. Its owner is a lady who assumed active direction of the plantation after her husband's death. At first there was some difficulty in persuading the overseer of the plantation to take orders from a woman, for he felt his prestige was lowered in the eyes of the workmen as well as the overseers of neighboring plantations. However, after three or four years, Dona Sinhá, in cooperation with "Seu"[1] Paulo, the overseer, has made an outstanding success of her plantation, and the original friction between the two has greatly diminished. Below is an inventory of the Fazenda das Moças: 249* 562 466 [558]

Extent: 930 tarefas,[2] mostly of massapê, 450 of which are under sugar-cane cultivation, the rest consisting of pasture and small gardens 249* 423

Water: 4 drinking tanks for livestock
2 small freshwater streams
(Drinking water must be brought from a neighboring plantation, which has a spring well known in the area for the salubrious qualities of its water.) [312]

Houses: 45 workers' houses
Owner's house, with living room, dining room, 4 bedrooms, kitchen, bathroom, 2 maids' rooms, 2 other dependencies, veranda; surrounded by orchard [342]
1 overseer's house
1 house formerly used as a school

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1. "Seu" is a corruption of Senhor and is a title often given to persons of some prestige. [576] [554]

2. The tarefa is the unit of land measurement used in Bahia. It equals 900 square braças. The braça equals 6 feet, which gives the tarefa 32,400 square feet. This is 11,160 square feet less than one acre. [804]

*249 463 [578] [466] the town of Vila Recôncavo. João lives in the owner's house, enjoying her confidence to a greater degree than anyone else except perhaps the overseer. This is frequently the cause of friction between the cowboy and overseer, and this fact is not helped by the fact that João is an inlander (sertanejo), a true cowboy, taciturn and independent, from the cattle country to the north of Recôncavo. When Dona Sinhá is away, he occupies a different position, subject to the orders of Seu Paulo unless Dona Sinhá has left definite instructions for him. When Dona Sinhá is present he receives orders directly from her, bypassing the overseer. João is in a position to check on much of the plantation activity, bringing to the owner's attention any necessary works forgotten by Seu Paulo.

*249 464 162 Below the owner, overseer, foreman, and cowboy are the bulk of the resident workmen (moradores). On the Fazenda das Moças, there is a population of slightly over two hundred men, women, and children, providing a working force of between sixty and seventy men and boys, plus a few women who occasionally do light work in the fields.

*249 46 465 Below is an extract from one of the fortnightly pay sheets of the plantation. A brief explanation of the list, beginning at the top, will give a good idea of at least a part of the work on a plantation in this community. The "second weeding of a cane field" indicates that the man worked in a field which had already been weeded once since planting. Depending upon the amount of sunshine and rain and the quality of the weeding done, a field may have to be weeded as many as seven times between harvests. A cane field (taboleiro) varies from ten to twenty tarefas, and each field is numbered. Seu Paulo can therefore assign a man to weed a certain field, and they will both know whether it is the first, second, third, or other weeding. The weedings become progressively more difficult so that the amount paid per unit increases with the number of weedings. Weeding constitutes one of the major expenditures on Fazenda das Mocas, as it is done slowly with a hoe. As with all other tasks on the plantation, there is a set price for this work.

"Carrying seed" indicates the transference of bundles of tops of sugar-cane stalks from a field where they are cut to another where they are planted. The amount paid per trip increases with the distance the man must travel between fields. As a rule, several fields of cane are planted to be used exclusively for seed. The next item on the list, "cutting seed,"

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Private Plantation]

Maria das Dores, whose name is listed as "gathering cane leaves for animal fodder," does the only type of work on the plantation done by women other than housework and gardening. When a field of cane is cut, the tops of the stalks and the long leaves are cut off and left on the ground. The very tip of the stalk is used as seed, while the heavier part is loaded on carts and sent to the factory. When natural pasturage gives out because of overgrazing or drought, the cattle's diet is supplemented with the freshly cut, green cane leaves; if the tender tips are not required for seed, they are also fed to the cattle. Gathering the leaves and stalk tips is relatively light work, and if a woman on the plantation wants to supplement her husband's income this is the task assigned her. Few women on this plantation do it, however, for it is a point of pride with any husband that he is capable of supporting his wife without her having to do gainful work. Only a small number of leaves are gathered up, and the remainder are burned as they lie in the field. Burning is done at night when there is little or no wind, and often during the summer fires which extend for acres dot the countryside. Burning is a traditional practice. Although professional agronomists insist that it is injurious to the cane roots and the new shoots, planters continue to burn the unwanted leaves, feeling that the ash provides some fertilization. 249* 461 465 [462] [233]

"Gardening" refers to work done in the vegetable garden which supplies Dona Sinhá's house. This garden stands in contrast to the roças, which are planted by the workers as well as by Dona Sinhá, and which are reserved for beans, manioc, corn, and some tobacco. Such plants as lettuce, tomatoes, cabbage, carrots, and other vegetables are disdained by the workers and are grown only for Dona Sinhá. [244]

"Carrying water" is usually work reserved for a small boy. Mounted on a donkey with four wooden kegs he rides to the neighboring plantation, Pedras, which belongs to the factory, fills the kegs at the spring, and returns to Fazenda das Moças where he puts the water into the various large clay containers in the kitchen and washrooms of the owner's house. "Oh, Pedro, there's no water" is a common cry heard in Dona Sinhá's house. [312] [857] [492]

There are few rules restricting the workers. Their services must be at the disposal of Dona Sinhá whenever required. Other than that, if during a slack season a man finds an opportunity to work somewhere else, he is free to do so. If he has a burro, or oxen, he has the right to pasture them on the 249* 466 [427] [492]

* 249 lands of the plantation, renting them to Dona Sinhá at harvest
• 466 time for transport. Often a family has one or two pack horses
[427] or burros which can be used to transport cane or, at other
times of the year, water or firewood. A worker also has the
right to a plot to raise food crops. If the man in the household
[492] dies or deserts his family, the woman who is left can do one
of several things: go to work in the field herself, the least
popular alternative; send her children out to work if they are
old enough; find another husband, which is not too difficult,
for there is a scarcity of women in this rural zone; or return
to her father's house.

*249 A group of workers who are essential to the well-being of
464 the plantation, but who are not residents, are the caatinguej-
ros (migrant workers from the scrubby forest area which bor-
ders on the Recôncavo and extends into the desert to the north).
Hundreds of these men are available during the harvest sea-
son, a time when not only the plantations but the factories
as well need more men than the resident population pro-
vides. The town of Vila Recôncavo, the other small rural
towns, and the capital city do not supply agricultural workers
to the rural areas. The plantations use instead the migrants
from the north. A system has grown up whereby each planta-
tion and factory has a man who can contact these migrant la-
[571] borers. This man is called the empreiteiro, a contractor who
has a system of contacts in the north usually through family
[466] and godparent relationships. The migrant workers are housed
in the barracks, and generally keep themselves well apart
from the residents. Only men come, leaving their families
at home to care for their small farms and livestock while they
earn money in the Recôncavo. None of these men appears on
the plantation payroll. It is the empreiteiro who contracts with
the overseer to have the required work done by the migrant
laborers. Usually this work consists only of weeding, which
must be done constantly but which at harvest time the resi-
[465] dent workers cannot do. On the list of jobs and wages, above,
there appears the name of Mario Adriano, who received 921,30
cruzeiros for weeding 249 braças. This man is the empreiteiro, who is paid for work done by fifteen, twenty, or more men. He in turn pays the migrant laborers, giving them less than the price for which he agreed with the overseer to do the work. In this way the contractor earns a living. Throughout the harvest season he gets work for about seventy-five to one hundred migrants, who camp in and about the barracks and

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have little to do with the residents. At the end of the season they can be seen walking along the paths of the Recôncavo toward the north, each man carrying over his shoulder a stick from which is suspended a cloth bundle containing his few possessions. 249* 464

One prominent aspect of the relationships between people in this hierarchy is the intimacy and familiarity which has for so long characterized the Recôncavo. While slavery was not a benign institution anywhere, there was a softness in the relations between the Brazilian and his slaves which seems to have been absent in other slave areas. This quality persists today on private plantations such as Fazenda das Moças between the owner and the workers. Dona Sinhá knows the residents by name or nickname, knows their background and present condition; the worker knows Dona Sinhá's family background, her children, and her extended family. 249* 466 571 [567]

The former master is now the patron. It is she who arbitrates any differences between workers, or between a worker and Seu Paulo. It is her task to protect the worker against injustices, to provide medical care, to aid at weddings and baptisms, in short to do all the things the worker is unable to do through ignorance, fear, or poverty.

The relationship between Dona Sinhá and Seu Paulo is a curious one, for neither one of them can do without the other. The role of overseer came into being for several reasons, the primary one being the absenteeism of the owner. In order to keep the plantation running properly all year long it was necessary for someone with knowledge and authority to be present all the time; so the former feitor-mor became known as the overseer, with a house larger and better than that of anyone else on the plantation except the owner. As time went on, the overseer gathered more and more rights and privileges unto himself, until today he is the veritable owner of the plantation in all but the legal sense. He has the confidence and loyalty of the workmen, without which he would be a failure. He eventually becomes related to nearly all of them through the system of godparentship; in fact, he is more sought after than the owner for this purpose. On the Fazenda das Moças, the overseer is paid a higher salary than any other overseer in the area--as much as Cr$1.500,00 a month in comparison with Cr$1.000,00 or less for the others. In addition he receives a bonus at the end of the year, one cruzeiro for each ton of sugar cane the plantation produced during the year. 249* 463 466 571 [608] [465]

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[The Private Plantation]

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249 463 466 571 829 Dona Sinhá and other plantation owners feel that a plantation cannot be successful without a good overseer, and they also feel that the white man does not make a good overseer. They say he cannot stand the heat of the summer and the rain and mud of the winter when spending entire days in the saddle overseeing the work. Only the indefatigable mestiço is supposed to be able to take such punishment. The owners also say that only he can deal properly with the mestiço workers--that, being one himself, he knows their "foibles and tricks." To a certain extent the mestiço population seems to agree with this, for orders from the overseer are much more promptly obeyed than orders from the owner, and most of the workmen prefer to have the overseer explain what is wanted. It is also believed that the mestiço is stronger. For example, if Dona Sinhá has made a hard trip in the winter to get to the plantation the workers will sympathize with her, saying, "You came through all that rain and mud, and at night!" when the same trip may be a daily one for the overseer, the cowboy, or any of the workers.

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249 463 466 571 However, the creation of the position of overseer has also created a series of new problems for the owners. All owners now suspect their overseers of cheating them, and the control of the overseer is a subject which comes up frequently at social gatherings. Since the owner is absent from the plantation about half the year, there are many things which the overseer must do without consulting his employer. The owners will interpret independent action on the overseer's part as good management, mismanagement, or cheating, depending upon the results of the action. When the results are doubtful and there is any suspicion that the overseer might have gained money by his action, it is considered cheating. Very often the owners claim that the overseer and the foreman are "partners" working together against him.

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249 463 433 466 571 On one plantation in the community of Vila Recôncavo, the owner decided he would be his own overseer. He was young and had been born and brought up on the plantation. Within a few years his harvest had dropped to almost nothing, and lately he has changed to raising milk cows, at which he has not been particularly successful either. He himself, and all his friends, blame his lack of success on the lack of an overseer, saying that even though the old overseer had cheated and helped himself to what was not his, the plantation as a whole had not suffered as badly as it did without him.

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As a result, owners have to be satisfied with higher costs than they feel necessary and less profit than they think possible, the difference going to the overseer, rather than accept the complete failure of the plantation Overseers, foremen, and owners are all aware of the situation, but politeness, the traditional respect patterns, and the unwillingness to compete openly keep the situation covert. 249* 463 466 571

Nevertheless, on Fazenda das Moças, in spite of these difficulties there is considerable cooperation between Dona Sinhá and Seu Paulo. The duties of the overseer are confined generally to the plantation itself--seeing that the work is done, the cane planted, cultivated, harvested, and delivered to the factory as expediently as possible. The duties of Dona Sinhá are mainly concerned with finance, with arranging ready funds to meet the current expenses of the plantation. The practice of mortgaging crops did not end with the abolition of slavery, and it is the owner's task to juggle funds, loans, and interest so she will have enough money to improve and increase the yield of her plantation. In general the owners of single plantations rarely have enough funds to carry them through the year. Payrolls are met throughout the year with advances on the estimated harvest made by the factory, by the banks, or by the Cooperative of Sugar-Cane Growers and Suppliers. Thus when the season ends the owner is already in debt, part of which he must pay off in order to finance the coming year. There are two problems constantly present in the struggle to increase the size of the harvest: cost of production, and the antiquated methods used on the private plantations, where practically all work is done by hand. 249* 463 426 [433]

Table 1 shows production, costs, and profits for the harvests of the years 1947-48, 1948-49, and 1949-50 at Fazenda das Moças. The drop in production and the rise in costs in the years 1948-49 were attributed to a slackening of the vigilance of Dona Sinhá and to a poor overseer. It was at the end of this year that Seu Paulo assumed the position of overseer of the plantation. The following year showed a great improvement which has continued. for the 1950-51 harvest produced 6,000 tons, the highest output of any private plantation in the Recôncavo. Future harvests are expected to go well above this. In addition to changing the overseer, and in the following year the foreman, Dona Sinhá was able to borrow enough money to purchase the tractor mentioned earlier. The next year, as a result of the evident success of the new combination, two four- 249* 43 [426] [407] [493]

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TABLE 1
PRODUCTION, COSTS, PROFITS: FAZENDA DAS MOÇAS

1947-1948	
4,000 tons of cane at the selling price of Cr$81,40 a ton	Cr$325.600,00
Cost of production	206.244,00
Profit	119.356,00
1948-1949	
2,500 tons of cane at Cr$88,90	222.250,00
Cost of production	225.198,00
Loss	32.948,00
1949-1950	
5,000 tons of cane at Cr$107,40	537.000,00
Cost of production	319.248,00
Profit	217.751,00

[407] wheeled carts were added which could be drawn by the tractor,
[493] thus cutting down transportation costs. Recently a jeep was acquired to pull the carts, and a second tractor equipped with the mechanism to cultivate cane fields was purchased.

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[426]

Still, the plantation is heavily in debt, and any profits are immediately used for improvements or for paying off debts. Moreover, the cost of tractors, jeeps, and fertilizer is very high since they are imported products. Because of the dollar exchange rate their cost is extravagantly high in Brazil, compared with the United States. In addition, the plantation is still burdened with the old equipment and the necessity of pasture for the oxen, which cuts down the acreage available for planting. Animal traction cannot yet be entirely dispensed with, because of the condition of the soil in winter. The problem of maintaining the old system of work as well as introducing the new, which can only slowly pay for itself, is considerable. Dona Sinhá is faced with the dilemma of difficult natural conditions which, while good in many ways for sugar cane, impede the application of modern techniques. She is also faced with personnel problems in relation to the overseer. One solution is clearly apparent and has been adopted by Dona Sinhá: to spend more and more time on the plantation, sharing more and more work with Seu Paulo. This of course is a complete break with the past traditions of the plantation master. It is a difficult break for both parties concerned. Dona Sinhá misses her city

[492]
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life, and Seu Paulo resents the continued presence of the owner and the consequent lessening of his authority. 249* 178 466

Along with their feeling of pride and love for the Recôncavo, many landowners recognize clearly the difficulties with which they are faced. The following excerpt from the diary of Dona Sinhá, which I was allowed to read, illustrates the outlook of a sugar-cane planter of the Recôncavo:

. . . "Dona Sinhá, there is a man here looking for you." "What is it, my son?" "I have some boils coming out all over my body." Some sulfa and a little ointment do the trick, and just in time, for here comes Seu Paulo, the overseer. [757]

"The oxen of Pedras, the neighboring plantation, invaded the cane fields last night. Also those of Seu Cosme." "I'll telephone the usina immediately." "Also, there are no wagons at the loading point." "I'll find out about that too."

The tractor driver comes, complaining that there is no oil. I get that from the storeroom. Now there are two men on the veranda wanting to know about the last payday, when they claim their money "came out wrong." Going through the pay sheets, that was straightened out.

Now, while there is no one else, I'll go out and look over the fields. I look at the plantings, feel the earth which I love. But it doesn't satisfy me. Something is missing. We are backward and retrogressing, passively. This place puts an inertia in the heart of a person, a desire to stop fighting, to find everything fine and as it should be--the ragamuffin Negroes, poorly fed, ignorant and rude, their dirty children with protruding stomachs and the white pretending that there is progress, his house full of company, electricity, radio, telephone, horseback rides, poetry of Baudelaire, Verlaine, philosophy of Voltaire, Carlyle, etc. --but in the end, zero! Sometimes I feel a tremendous anguish, I feel that nothing can be done in the Recôncavo and I want to leave this paralyzed land, poisoned with tradition, with its ruined sobrados. And we today hold fast to these fantasies and want to relive the opulent past. Deep down there is a clash against these indefatigable overseers, mulattoes, and Negroes with their boots, senhores da fazenda. 249* 829 178

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* 249 361 a Mass can be celebrated for the family when a priest is available.

Situated nearest the chalet are the houses of the general overseer, the chief mechanic of the factory, the major office employees, and the director of the factory store. Next in order are the houses of the technical personnel of the factory. Behind them and farthest from the center are the homes of the agricultural workers who work on the plantation nearest the factory nucleus. The regional overseer of this plantation also lives among his plantation workers. The school and the store are located just outside the small park of the chalet.

[342] [177] The chalet has replaced the former solar (mansion) of the plantation masters. Its style differs from the earlier type and its name is derived from the fact that it is a modified copy of a Swiss chalet. In a different way it is as ornate as the old solar, but more up-to-date, with running water and electricity.

* 249 • 466 The personal, paternal aspect of the private plantation obviously cannot function on the usina, which has 1,350 people living on its lands. There is, nevertheless, an attempt at just such relations. The owning family spends vacations in the chalet. They also spend Christmas, Carnaval, and Botada[6] there, and at those times there are parties for the workers, Christmas presents for them and for their wives and children, dances, and ball games. The Coronel (Colonel, an honorary title now going out of use), the patriarch of the family, now incapacitated, still receives visits from the older workmen who used to have daily contact with him. His son and son-in-law, present directors of the enterprise, make their presence felt throughout the factory and the six plantations as best they can. As on the private plantation, the final arbitration of any difficulty lies with the usineiro, and no worker considers himself too far removed to go to him if he cannot get satisfaction from his overseer. However, the strongest relationships, both business and personal, lie between overseer and worker--employee and employee--rather than between employee and employer.

The private plantation presents a far better appearance than

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[788] 6. Botada is the annual blessing of the factory machinery, performed on the first day of the grinding season. It is a traditional ceremony formerly carried out on the plantations.

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Usina]

The private plantation presents a far better appearance than any plantation belonging to the factory, for it is usually "home" to the owner, who is interested in keeping it as pleasant as possible, while the factory plantation in charge of an overseer is simply a business project existing only to produce sugar cane. 249* 466 184

At the Usina São Pedro, as stated earlier for the Recôncavo generally, the consolidation of land by the corporations has not turned the entire property into one large plantation. Instead, each plantation has retained its old boundaries, indeed complete autonomy, following only the general policies of the factory directory. The Usina São Pedro happens to be situated in a central position in relation to its six plantations. This is not always the case, for frequently the lands of a factory are scattered far from the plant itself, creating difficulties of administration and transportation. 249* 423

Each of the plantations has its own nucleus, the street of workers' houses oriented toward the house of the overseer. Each of these little villages has its own small store, usually a private enterprise of the overseer. The largest plantation, Pedras, has a chapel and a school. None of the plantations has an electric power line, but each has a telephone in the overseer's house. The feeling of isolation and abandonment is strong, as indeed it is on almost all overseer-directed plantations belonging to a factory. There is a general feeling of pity for the residents who are situated so far from their patrão and whose first recourse must be the overseer, a man like themselves, with little or no education and little interest in the people other than to keep them working. In other words, the factory plantation lacks the paternal hand of the owner. In other respects it is similar to the private plantation in that it has an overseer, a foreman, a cowboy, and resident workmen. 249* 36 [206] 249* 571 [184]

The bulk of the agricultural direction of the São Pedro plantations is in the hands of the general overseer, Seu Pipiu. It is his duty to direct and supervise the activities of all six plantations. He is a man of no small status. He is practically independent in his actions, for the directors of the factory tell him how much cane they feel they need in the forthcoming harvest, and it is up to him to produce it. The methods and problems in doing this are left up to him. Seu Pipiu gives orders to each of the regional overseers, whose duties are the same as those of the overseer on a private plantation. The only difference is that they are dealing with a superior employee, instead of with the owner in person. The general over- 249* 463 466

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[The Usina]

*249 463 466 [492] [465] *249 463 159 [427] *249 466 *249 [184] [496] [493] [311] 000

seer is entitled to the same rights and privileges as any other worker: a house, land on which to grow subsistence crops, and the use of the owner's pastures for his oxen, burros, and horses. The horses used in his work are supplied by the corporation, as are those of the other overseers. His salary is high: Cr$2.000,00 a month, plus a bonus of one cruzeiro for each ton of cane produced on all six plantations. The regional overseers receive Cr$800,00 a month, plus a bonus of half a cruzeiro per ton of cane produced on their plantation. Seu Pipiu has been general overseer of Usina São Pedro for twenty-five years, during which time he has accumulated a good deal of property. He is a mulatto, somewhat lighter skinned than the six administrators who are under him. Two of his sons work in the factory office, and a third runs the store on one of the plantations. In addition he is a small farmer, renting some forty acres from the factory, on which he plants sugar cane. He pays 25 per cent of the harvest to the factory for the use of the land.

The usineiros have the same complaints against their general overseers that private plantation owners have against theirs. At the same time, after many years of service such an official becomes indispensable, or is thought to be, and is allowed to go his way--quiet, well dressed, well mounted, ruler of all he surveys--while the usineiro watches and mutters to himself.

So far the rural properties of the factories have led the private plantations in the field of mechanization, as they have greater funds for purchasing equipment and can get more use out of each piece. Mechanization, however, is used as yet only in preparing the soil for planting. The ground is plowed and replowed, and grooves are made to receive the cane shoots. Also, planting in unplowed land is still common--grooves are opened for the seed with the simple plow, and no soil preparation is done at all. Here mechanization ends, and all further cultivation, as well as the cutting and harvesting of the cane, is done by hand. Narrow-gauge railway tracks reach out from the mill to loading points on the six plantations, where the cane is transferred from the oxcarts to the railroad wagons to be drawn to the mill. Approximately two thousand acres are under cultivation; the remaining land is used as pasture or as garden plots by the workers, in accordance with a rotation system.

Financially the two units--factory and plantation--are run

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ing a heavy cane and increasing their tonnage rather than in raising the quality of the cane. There is a movement under way to change the payment method to payment by percentage of sucrose, but it seems to be gaining little headway.[7]

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The factory of the Usina São Pedro is directed personally by two members of the Conde family, while most other factories have a paid employee, a general manager, who is the industrial counterpart of the general overseer. There are approximately eighty salaried employees in this factory, who are paid by the day and who work all year long. The factory operates from September till February--the harvest season--in two shifts of twelve hours each. During the harvest season over a hundred migrant workers are added to the payroll under the direction of the contractor, and usually work on the endless belt and in the unloading operations.

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The resident factory worker, in addition to receiving a house, also has the right to electric light and to firewood. These workers are trained in the factory, and many of them have been there for a long time. The Usina São Pedro is especially proud of the loyalty of its men, many of whom remained there during the war when they were being enticed away with higher wages by the federal government to build military installations. The Usina São Pedro has experienced no labor difficulties as have some other larger factories, which have had riots and demonstrations caused by labor unions. This is due partly to the small size of the factory, and partly to the continued atmosphere of paternalism, to which many other factories are now making a determined effort to return.

Thus paternalism stands out as one of the major factors in the complicated organizational hierarchy of plantation life. The former master is now simply the patron, but in this role he carries out almost the same functions as did the master in relation to the well-being of his slaves. The patron of today has the same ethical responsibilities toward his workmen as did the former master. In general these responsibilities include care of the workmen beyond the mere payment of a salary, such as care of the sick and the old. Paternalism today is found at its highest degree on the private, family-run plantation and at its lowest degree on the overseer-run, corpora-

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7. Jayme V. B. Machado, Industria açucareira na Bahia (Bahia, 1950).

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tion plantation. At its highest level it is a form of unwritten social security which works well, supplementing the low wages which are paid throughout the area. Even on the factory plantations there is a mild form of paternalism, which is stronger in plantations nearer to the factory and to the home of the usineiro. 249* 466

The migrant workers, however, do not fit into the pattern of paternalism, mostly because they do not seek it. Indirectly they receive its benefits, for if one of them is ill he can go to the contractor who will then go to the plantation owner or usineiro for medicine or whatever is needed. But in general the migrant laborers stay by themselves and ask little or nothing of their employers. 249* 464 466

In addition to the protection provided by a paternalistic system, the workers have the right to at least half an acre of land on the plantation where they can plant and raise their subsistence crops. Often they also plant tobacco, both in these plots and in the small areas throughout the plantation where no sugar cane is planted, such as corners where the plow cannot penetrate. The tobacco is sold to traveling buyers who scour the area at the tobacco harvest season. The money thus gained belongs to the workers, and many of them say that cash earned in such a way provides the "extras" they like during the year, such as rum, cigarettes, a pair of earrings, or some perfume. 249* 466 [241] [443] [434]

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constantly growing, or at least changing. New members are added, people who have made their mark on the society and who, although they have less family tradition behind them, are on the whole acceptable to the elite.

Locally the upper-class members are addressed by the formal term o senhor and a senhora, at times by meu patrão or meu branco (my white), frequently by title name, such as "Dr. Louis," and in some cases by the traditional intimate term of yoyô (for a man) and yayá (for a woman). At times even the very formal, older term of Vossa Excelencia (Your Excellency) is used. Yoyô is an old term formerly used by some slaves toward their masters, and although it is generally restricted to white people, there are occasions when a member of a mulatto family is known to his intimates as yoyô. With rare exceptions, members of the upper class address all those below them simply as você, and usually use the imperative form of the verb in giving directions. These two linguistic devices tend to strengthen and maintain the differences between these groups of people.

565* 576 [182]

Relations between members of Class A and those below are simple. As has already been stated, the landowners avoid the town of Vila Recôncavo, and it is seldom that Class B town people are invited to a social gathering at a plantation or at the factory, so that these two classes are rarely in social contact. Since the rural Class B consists mainly of overseers and other employees of Class A, relationships between them are those of employee and employer. However, when a planter celebrates a special occasion such as a birthday, the overseers are invited, and may "drop in" as a matter of form or courtesy; they escape as soon as possible, for they are rarely included in the brincadeiras (plays, or jokes) of the owners and their guests. For the most part the overseers and others of their class come alone, without their wives and families. This is an important indication of class position, for as a rule the wife of an overseer feels embarrassed in the company of gente (people) and refuses to go even when specially invited. The very strong em familia pattern, combined with the intimacy of the large families, makes it extremely difficult for a lower-class person to feel any sort of equality at such a gathering.

565* 571 [466]

During the course of field work the author was given a party, a Reis, a kind of surprise party which takes place during the period following the sixth of January, the Day of Kings.

565* 574 123 571

The planta- 565 *
tion worker's world is small, and conversational topics are 571
limited to family matters such as births, deaths, marriages, [521]
sickness, and other intimate details of personal life, the
problems of work, and difficulties of any sort. The planter can
know the daily life and thoughts of the workers only through
observation, for he himself lives quite differently. However,
his knowledge of the workers is apt to be profound in spite
of the differences, and he knows much more of their lives
than they know of his. On the other hand, visiting between [574]
the workers and the members of Class B is on a much more
equal basis, for the differences between their modes of living
and thinking are small.

When the workers are invited to a party by the planters, 565 *
it is usually an affair given for them, such as a Christmas 571
celebration. At such a time the planter is host and spectator, 574
rather than host and participant. At other times the workers
may get together a song and dance group, a samba, and go to
the owner's house for the evening. This is frequently ex-
plained as "keeping the patron from being lonely." Again the [535]
owner is spectator, for the samba, performed exclusively by
women, is a type of folk dance seldom engaged in by the more
sophisticated upper class.

Class B in the rural area is only beginning to feel any sort 565 *
of group consciousness, for the occupational institutions it
represents are relatively new and it is not yet aligned in any
way with the corresponding class in town. There are two over-
seers who lack any formal education--indeed, who cannot read
or write. In all cases the male members of this class have
set up and maintained a family, educating their children and
seeing to it that they marry as well as possible. As a rule
such men are "self-made"--they have risen from the ranks
of workers as a result of their own ability, sagacity, sense
of responsibility, and desire to improve themselves. They are
distinguished from the workmen by these traits, which seem
to develop even further as they have the opportunity to use
their initiative.

Members of this group usually acquire numerous posses- 565 *
sions of their own, such as horses, oxen and carts, mules, 423
and donkeys which can be put to gainful use. They also op- [422]
erate small stores on their plantations--in one case even a
chain of stores, one on each of three plantations. They also [443]
try to buy a small farm somewhere nearby. Frequently the
employer facilitates such acquisitions as a sort of bonus, [466]
lending money or even giving some to the overseer.

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they are generally conceded to be so by the field hands and the members of classes A and B, because their occupations are more specialized and they work in the mill. There are actually several factors which distinguish them from the field laborers, for in addition to receiving protection by national legislation, including minimum salaries and rights to vacations and medical services, they receive from the factory electric light for their houses and firewood. In addition, factory workers do not plant gardens to supply their farina, and they consider themselves far superior to the agricultural laborers in that their own wives "do not use the hoe" (nao pegam na enxada). 565* 184 [656] [466]

At the factory nucleus where both millworkers and the agricultural laborers of one plantation live in the same place, the houses of the former are grouped in the middle of the village, clustered about the owner's chalet, while those of the latter are on the fringes, farther from the usineiro's house, the mill, and the large store. The factory workers' houses are better constructed than those of the field laborers. They are mostly of brick with tile roofs, while the field workers' homes are often of wattle-work covered with plaster and painted over. The houses of the factory nucleus follow the old slavequarter pattern. The buildings are long and narrow and divided into apartments under one roof. The factory owns all the houses, which the workers receive rent-free. The factory worker is better paid than the field worker, and consequently has more and better material possessions. His house is better furnished, and he dresses better. [361] 565* 342 184 [423]

Illiteracy is widespread in the rural area. The factory nucleus has had a state primary school for thirty years, and Pedras, the largest of the factory plantations, has had one for about twenty. As a result the factory workers, as well as the people of Pedras, have had the opportunity to attend four years of primary school. The rural laborers on other plantations, however, have lacked this opportunity in most cases. An exception is the Fazenda das Moças, which has had a school in recent years, for children in the daytime and for adults at night. 565* 184 871 [212]

The social life of the workers is almost entirely confined to the place in which they live. Their lives are spent on the plantation except for the days when they walk to the fair in Centro, usually on the Monday following payday. During the summer, when the roads are good for travel, they are busy with the 565* 517

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473 poration has extensive landholdings in other parts of the state,
*249 but they are exploited on an impersonal, profit basis, not on
*[565] the traditional, paternalistic basis common in the sugar area.

The Helvetians have taken a place in the upper ranks of Bahian society, representing new money and economic power. Their history is important. The original immigrant married into a Bahian family of "good name," and all of his sons have done the same. One of them married a daughter of the Coronel, founder of Usina São Pedro. It was through this marriage that the transfer of the factory was channeled. Today, although the Condes still own stock in the corporation, the Helvetians have the controlling interest, and the Condes are gradually selling their shares to the Helvetians.

466 The new corporation has brought about many changes in ad-
178 ministration of the factory. Although still a family corporation,
*249 it has become, from the wider, community, point of view, a
473 strictly business enterprise with no family ties and no face-
[596] to-face personal relations. A new directorship and manage-
[571] ment was established. The new "boss" of the factory is a man from a different part of the state, and his background is entirely different from that of sugar-cane growers. The thread of "family" is still unbroken, for the new manager is related to the new owning family by marriage. He is treated, however, as a paid employee of the corporation. His brother, now general administrator of the agricultural part of the factory-in-the-field, is treated similarly.

These two new managers have put the relations between management and labor on a strictly business basis and have removed all elements of paternalism. Upon taking over, they dismissed most of the older, higher-level factory, field, and office workers. Administrators, mechanics, and bookkeepers, most of whom had seen twenty years or more of service, were dispatched. New people came to take their places, and some of the vacancies were filled by promotions. Time clocks were installed, and the system of authority was reinforced all the way down the line. Social legislation--a new factor in rural, agricultural Brazil--was invoked to take the place of paternalism.

178 Thus the old, paternalistic, personal, owner-director pat-
*249 tern has changed completely. The chalet is no longer the scene of family gatherings for summer vacations, for Carnaval, or for Christmas; even the traditional Botada has undergone a

change. New faces and basically different relationships prevail at Usina São Pedro. 178 249* [466]

Another change, but this time in tune with the past, was an increase of capital, applied to the improvement of the factory. The capacity of the mill has been greatly enlarged. However, the agricultural part of the combination continues as it did before, with no innovations. The result is that the factory is able to mill and produce sugar much more quickly than it can be supplied with sugar cane. The hierarchical aspect of the factory as earlier diagrammed remains the same, and each plantation is still run as a separate unit. 178 249* 433 [471] [466]

In contrast, the private plantation in the community of Vila Recôncavo has undergone relatively little change in these five years. Always the most conservative element in the Recôncavo, the private plantation continues to retain its distinguishing feature: the personal, face-to-face, paternalistic owner-worker relations. The hierarchical pattern remains the same. Operations are still basically hand- and animal-powered, but private planters are slowly introducing mechanization in certain aspects of the process, especially that of transportation; trucks and tractor-drawn wagons carry cane from the fields to the factory. Tractors and mechanical plows are used to an increasingly large extent in the preparation of the soil, and mechanical cultivators are already in use on some plantations. However, the bulk of the work is still done by hand, and traction is supplied by oxen and mules. As yet no mechanical loaders, ditch-diggers, or planters have appeared, and little use is made of fertilization or herbicides. Few scientific agricultural practices are in use. The planter is still first and foremost a "practical" man. 178 249* 461 [492] [493] [407] [492] [407] [242]

Relations between the factory and the private plantations have also undergone considerable change, in both business and social aspects. The new managers of the factory have succeeded in almost completely alienating the private planters who supply them with sugar cane. Not only the members of the extended Conde family, but also other cane suppliers resented the highhanded, brusque methods of the new managers. Wishing to break completely with the past, the new managers instituted several new policies in relations with the cane suppliers. Formerly the private suppliers bought sugar by the sack, bought their supplies at the company store, and had their machines repaired at the company workshops, paying for such services at the end of the harvest season. The sup- 178 249* 571 [443] [452] [407]

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tory and its fields, and who are slowly drifting away from visiting the factory nucleus.

An overall result of the new conditions between private planters and the factory is a desire on the part of the suppliers of São Pedro to become independent of this outlet. Several of the suppliers are shifting their cane to other neighboring factories, when this is convenient. Most of them are seriously [311] considering shifting to another crop, as will be described below; in fact a goodly proportion of land has already been taken out of sugar-cane production, thus diminishing future cane harvests and endangering the cane supply of Usina São Pedro.

What was formerly a peaceful, "all in the family," almost preservelike area has become an area of tensions and of poor business, and social, relations. The situation has all the possibilities of a traditional sugar-cane kind of land capture. The factory needs land in order to produce more cane so that the mill can operate at capacity. No one is willing to sell to the factory, nor even to supply as much cane as he might under other conditions. But the private planters are dependent upon the factory, economically and for services. Therefore it is an [452] easy matter for the factory to make difficulties for the individual planter, even gradually forcing him into failure, since the planter operates on credit and has little latitude for even a single crop failure. Such a failure gives the factory an opportunity to acquire badly needed lands at a bargain. [425]

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The sugar industry in the community of Vila Recôncavo has also undergone changes in the labor aspects, in line with the entire industry. As was pointed out in Chapter 4, the price of the sugar cane and the sugar is artificially regulated, and has been rising slowly over a period of years. However, nationwide social legislation in the past three years has raised [656] the wages of the workers annually, before the price increases were granted by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol. Spiraling [458] inflation has also helped raise all the costs, of labor, of materials, and of machinery. Whereas prices for the task done [466] have always been fairly well regulated, they have recently become a very strong issue, and there is much worker discontent. The planter, whether private or corporate, is more than ever interested in holding down the costs of his labor supply, since other costs, particularly of machinery and repairs, are soaring, always narrowing the margin between the total cost of production and the established selling price.

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*249 For the first time in the history of Vila Recôncavo the work-
468 ers' discontent has taken the form of a strike accompanied by violence. The strike, although a general one throughout the sugar industry, was the first one in which workers of Vila Recôncavo participated. It was specifically directed against the
178 agricultural part of the factory combination; however, it af-
*249 fected some private plantations as well, and was joined by workers of private plantations. The strike was put down im-
468 mediately and effectively by the state police. On investigation
467 the police found considerable Communist literature and propaganda in the quarters of the labor union in Centro which had
668 organized the strike. The labor union itself was illegal, since it was not registered with the proper authorities, and its lead-
[625] ers were well-known Communist agitators. What is important for our study is the appearance in the community of Vila Recôncavo of written and verbal Communist propaganda and the willingness of the local agricultural workers to participate in a general strike. This is a tremendous change for such a conservative area, where loyalty and paternalism have always been so strong.

178 Thus the sugar industry of Vila Recôncavo has entered a
*249 phase of many new difficulties: ties between factory and pri-
571 vate planters are strained, and labor relations are becoming a problem for the private, as well as the corporate, planters.
466 Inflation and the "dollar situation," which affect planters directly since all machinery must be imported, are also working toward the build-up of a new "crisis," continuing the pattern described in Chapter 3.

178 However, a new element is entering the community of Vila
245 Recôncavo in the form of a new crop, cacao. One of the plant-
242 ers began experimenting with cacao during the author's first period of research in Vila Reconcavo. However, at least five years must pass before it can be known if the cacao tree will give satisfactory fruit. At the end of 1955 the Institute of Cacao of Bahia presented the experiment to the public as a success and is now systematically stimulating interest in cacao as a possible and lucrative substitute for sugar cane.

245 Cacao is Bahia's major export crop and in general means
439 money to a Bahian. Still more attractive is the fact that the cacao introduced to the Recôncavo is a genetic mutation, giv-
178 ing a white-seeded fruit which brings a much higher price on the
*[249] world market than does the ordinary fruit. The financial attraction of cacao, plus the disagreeable and financially weak

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ties between Negroes and whites on these colonial plantations. All writers have mentioned the frequency of sexual relations between the white plantation owners and their female slaves. Slavery was not a humane institution in Brazil or elsewhere, but in Brazil relations between the slave and the master were of a more personal nature than in other regions where slavery existed in the New World.

By the middle of the last century, the West Indies and other regions of the world were competing with the Brazilian north-east for the world sugar market; and the abolition of slavery in 1888 caused difficulties of labour supply on these plantations. The sugar industry no longer provided the great wealth that it had in the past, and many of the old plantations were abandoned or sold to large commercial companies who installed modern equipment for large-scale sugar production. Plantation slaves became wage labourers, and the old traditional patterns of behaviour between the Negro slave and the white plantation-owning aristocrat began to disappear, to be replaced by an impersonal employee-employer relationship in keeping with the new way of life. Yet many patterns persist from the days of the old plantation system. Many of the descendants of the aristocratic plantation owners try to preserve the old traditions. They are proud of their family names, and large aristocratic families are still important in the economic and social life of the region. In many rural localities, there are still plantations where the relations between the workers and the owners are highly personalized, as they were in the past, and where customs and traditions formed during the period of opulence and slavery continue, if modified, by modern conditions. Throughout this part of Brazil, the relations between people of different racial groups have been influenced by the large proportion of Negroes in the population, by the importance of slavery in the relatively recent past, and by the particular form which the relations between the Negro slave and the European master took on the plantations.

11. The community with which the present article is concerned is called Vila Recôncavo; it is a real town situated in the zone known as the Recôncavo which surrounds Salvador, the capital of the State of Bahia, and which borders on the Bay of All Saints, extending inland from the shores of the bay some 30 miles on the northern side, and considerably less on the southern side. The Recôncavo was characteristic of the whole north-eastern plantation region. The Portuguese who settled in Salvador in 1549 recognized the value of these lands around the new city and the Bay of All Saints for sugar production. The third governor of Bahia, Mem de Sá (1557–74),

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In the very large *usinas*, the mill hands and even the field hands are modern industrial workers. They are employees of a large industrial corporation and are protected at least theoretically by the labour laws of the nation. The highly personalized relationship between the plantation workers and the owner-administrator of his own plantation, which persisted from the slave era, has been replaced on the larger *usinas* by the impersonal employee-employer relationship of the modern industrial age. Today, modern plantations and small towns have electricity; there is modern housing for workmen; the State and even the sugar companies provide medical aid; there are primary schools both in the small towns and on many plantations; recreation facilities are found in the towns and provided by the *usinas*; and the sugar-cane experimental station situated in the area constantly urges fertilization of the land and modern techniques and methods of sugar-cane production. But the older and more traditional patterns exist side by side with the new, and each of them influences the relations among the racial groups of the zone.

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III. Vila Recôncavo is a small town on the Bay of All Saints. The rural area around it, which lies within the social and economic orbit of the town and which is the unit under consideration, comprises some 80 square kilometres, or slightly less than half the entire area of the county of which the town of Vila Recôncavo is the county seat.[1]

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It this area there are 14 plantations, three of which nowadays plant very little sugar cane. Parts of the town itself are built on the land of one of these plantations, and the rest of the town area is owned in small lots by private individuals or by the Church. Although Vila Recôncavo is the county seat, local government is the only important function which it fulfils for the surrounding area. It is not used as a shipping point, either for receiving supplies from the outside or for sending sugar to the outside. *Braços do mar*, or inlets of the bay, go to many of the plantations and are deep enough for the *saveiros* (shallow draft sailboats) used on the bay for transport. Many of the plantations have direct connexion with Salvador. Commerce in Vila Recôncavo is almost entirely limited to supplying the 1,462 inhabitants of the town and of some small islands and of one community near by which is not devoted to sugar production. It is not the major supply source even for these groups which live near enough to another and far larger commercial centre where they prefer to do their marketing. The *prefeito* or mayor of the county is rarely a resident of the town itself. Rather he is usually a planter of the surrounding area. He goes into town to do municipal business,

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[1] Both the town and the county bear the name of Vila Recôncavo.

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sugar workers move rarely, remaining for generations on the same
[241] plantation. Each family has its garden where a little maize, beans
[465] and manioc are grown. Pay day comes every two weeks, when as a rule the worker goes to the owner's house to receive his money. The pay is small, 15 to 25 dollars a fortnight, depending on how
[461] much the man has worked during the period. Men do not like to work more than five to six hours a day, from six a.m. to twelve noon, and seldom work more than five days a week. They work easily, without hurry. In the afternoon they work in their garden, if their
249 wives have not already done so. On the plantation no one starves;
466 everyone has his *patrão* (protector) in the person of the owner, and in case of an emergency, accident or sickness, he expects help from him. This personal element is very important on most plantations in the vicinity of Vila Recôncavo; as a rule, the owner knows all the workers by name, knows their families and their family troubles and
[164] problems. He is aware of their love affairs and up-to-date on the health of new-born children and their mothers. Nearly all cases of sickness, from common colds and rheumatism to more serious ailments, are brought directly to the attention of the *patrão* or his wife. The owner, returning from a prolonged stay in the city, receives visits from the workers or from their wives, during which all the personal gossip is exchanged. The workers inquire about the owner's family and more extended family, for they generally know them all. Engagements, weddings, births, deaths and illnesses are reported on both sides. Complaints or requests are also made to the owner. The relationship is highly personal, intimate, gentle and frank.

466 On one rather small *usina*, which will be called São Pedro, in the
249 rural zone of Vila Recôncavo, the situation is somewhat different.
472 São Pedro is not one of the large *usinas* of the Recôncavo, owned by a corporation; it is relatively small and owned by one of the most
[473] important families of the Vila Recôncavo community, members of the regional aristocracy whose family has held plantations there for many generations. Because the owners of the *usina* actually administrate it, and since they are in residence in the locality at least part of the year, they are able to maintain many of the traditional personal relations with their employees, many of whom have worked on the plantations belonging to their family and in the *usina* for most
[162] of their lives. But there is a total of 1,183 workers and their families at the *usina* and on the plantations belonging to São Pedro, and the very size of the enterprise and the number of workers make for a more impersonal and more strictly economic relationship between employer and employee. Workers become more a name on a payroll, and the employer a person with whom one seldom has direct contact. In the larger *usinas* of the Recôncavo this trend is even more marked especially where the employer is a large corporation with offices in Salvador.

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192 8. The *moreno* has excellent skin, fine-textured and smooth. He is light-skinned but not white. He has dark hair, which is long and
826 either wavy or curly. It is manageable and does not need straightening. His features are much more Caucasoid than Negroid. Here again we can distinguish between the dark and light *morenos*. Also we must distinguish between the *moreno mulato*, and the *moreno* of the white families—the *moreno branco*. *Moreno*, as used regarding the 'white', distinguishes the brunet from the blond of the same group.

Few people fit any of these 'racial' types 100 per cent. When someone comes very close to being a perfect *preto*—that is, has all the characteristics of the *preto*—people call him *bem preto* or *bem pretinho* (really black). The same is true of the *sarará*—*bem sarará*, or of the *moreno*, who will be called *bem morenino* or *moreno fino*. It is just as difficult to find the perfect type for the other classifications, because
563 there are so many variations. Often an individual is of one physical
826 type, but has one or more characteristics of another type. For instance, one young man in Vila Recôncavo has the characteristics of an *escuro*, but since most people like him they prefer to think of him as *moreno*. He has fine skin and thin facial features, but tight kinky hair. People generally refer to him as *moreno*, adding '*mas êle tem cabelo ruim*' (but he has poor hair). One frequently hears 'he is *mulato*, but very light'. These verbal descriptions paint a vivid picture of the person in question. In Vila Recôncavo, it is not simply a matter of black and white, but of all the shades in between.

A term of classification not listed above, *caboclo*, presents something of a special case. As mentioned earlier, most people with Amerindian physical traits have come into the Recôncavo from the *sertão* during the dry spells in the North. Considering the length of time that people of the North have been periodically coming into the Recôncavo, comparatively few have remained. Nevertheless, the population of Vila Recôncavo has a considerable *caboclo* element —that is, of people with a reddish or bronze tinge to their skin colour, more prominent cheek bones than the African or white elements, and a tendency toward almond-shaped eyes. However, few people in Vila Recôncavo bearing these marks are called *caboclos*.
563 They are classified instead in the local terms listed above, ignoring
[829] Indian traits. In Vila Recôncavo, there is a certain dispraisal of the *caboclo*. He is considered less civilized than the resident of the Recôncavo, though often known as a better worker, more ambitious, trustworthy, more frugal; also less genial than the easy-going
249 person of the Recôncavo. In the rural area of Vila Recôncavo, each
563 year many *caboclo* men come to the plantations to work during
464 harvest time. For the most part they stay together, away from the
466 *morador*, or resident worker of the plantation. The plantations construct a type of barracks to accommodate these men, who do

their own cooking, care for their own clothes, and spend their evenings gathered around a fire, singing songs of the *sertão*, apart from the permanent workers.

There is a mutual desire to keep apart, for while the *morador* looks down on the *caboclo*, the *caboclo* feels very much the same about the local people. He feels that they are lazy, ignorant, and above all superstitious. The *caboclo vaqueiro* (north-eastern cowboy) of one plantation says that the workers of the plantation are always talking about black magic, that they are lazy and spendthrifts, and at the same time deride his frugality. He says he is not afraid of their black magic, since he knows there is nothing to it, but he distrusts those who speak of it. People in Vila Recôncavo will not admit they have *caboclo* or Indian ancestors. One young girl who is almost a perfect American Indian type says she is a *mulatinha*.[1] She vehemently denied there was any Indian blood in her family, but finally reluctantly admitted that a great-grandparent of hers had been partly Indian. This girl's niece would make a perfect double for the popular conception of Pocahontas, given a feather in her hair and a sarong, but she is considered a '*mulata*, almost *morena*'.

However, among the 'pure' whites there is a different feeling about the *caboclo*. White families say that they would feel proud to know that they have 'Indian blood', for it would show the length of time their family had been in Brazil. Frequently a white child is extremely 'Indian looking', that is, a *moreno* with jet-black, straight hair. The nickname of *tapuya* is often given to this type, which is generally admired by the whites. All plantation owners agree that, for work, no one can top the *caboclo*. The north-eastern worker of American Indian physical type will go into the fields at six in the morning and not return until six at night. He takes his lunch with him and eats it there. On the other hand, the *morador* will go to the fields at six and return at noon. However, as permanent resident workers, plantation owners prefer the Negroes of the Recôncavo. Little if any effort is made to 'fix' the *caboclo* on the plantations. When the harvest is finished, he takes his money and departs. Next year he may come again to the same plantation, or he may not. It seems to make little difference to either party.

There have been no serious tensions between the two groups. They work together during part of the year, but spend their free time separately. This does not mean that an occasional *caboclo* will not stay, take a wife from among the *moradores* and start a family.

The following percentages of racial types were taken from a sample of 162 heads of families, using the four major types: *preto*, 50 or 40 per cent; *mulato*, 59 or 49 per cent; *caboclo*, 3 or 2 per cent; *branco*, 11 or 9 per cent.

[1] Little mulata. Using the diminutive form seems to be a milder and more agreeable way of saying 'mulata'.

planters. People in the upper class of the town, when they can, send their children to the capital to continue their education, and there are several *mestiço* students from Vila Recôncavo studying law, medicine and engineering in Salvador. The intelligence of the mulatto is traditional, and it has been equally traditional that the darker-skinned person is unintelligent. Today these traditions are not as strong as before, but still it is felt that the mulatto has somewhat more aptitude than the Negro. The old idea of the Negro, meant for work and to be servile, still exists, now tempered with the knowledge that education can change the situation. There is only one club in Vila Recôncavo—a football club—and the players are all shades, from white to black, and so are the spectators. They all sit or stand together under the shade of the one big tree which gives shade to the playing field. The field is on the property of a white man who, while he has nothing to do with the team, allows them to play there, put up goal posts and markers. The bar and recreation centre are open to all so long as they wear shoes—a ruling made to keep out the muddy feet of children who came straight from the beach to have a 'coke'. All the racial types and classes get together here to play pool and gossip, this being the one and only point of public social activity in the town. At the movies, the admission price is extremely low, the same for everyone, and all four classes attend. Negroes and whites of all classes sit next to each other. At church there are no special pews, the faithful usually gathering in the front and the less faithful hanging about near the back. The choir and the acolytes are from all classes and colours. At parties, which are few, colour lines are disregarded, *brancos* and *morenos* dance with *mulatos* and *pretos* just as long as both partners can *pular* (jump).

The social situation is gradually changing, and the extremely personal element is being lost. It is strongest on the private plantation, where the owner spends the greater part of the year, but at the *usina* much of the personal element is weakened because of the numbers of workers. Even at the *usina*, there is visiting and gossiping between the owners' families and the workers. But at the *usina* not all the workers accept their subservient position as do those of the plantations. This is specially true of the higher echelon of specialists and technicians of the mill, who will frequently not go to a party given by the owner, even though invited. It seems to be a way of saying that the company of the white owners is neither needed nor wanted. They prefer to keep their relations on a strictly business basis. At the *usina*, when a worker is sick, he goes to the medical post where he is treated by a paid nurse, rather than to the owner's house. On pay day, the *usina* worker is paid at the mill by a paymaster, not in the living room of the owner's house. Nevertheless, in spite of the industrialized aspect of the mill, the number of workers is not too large to exclude all personal contact with the owners, who adminis-

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571 trate and oversee most of the operations. This type of relationship
466 has proved so satisfactory that up to date there have been no strikes,
[468] and no labour movements, or unions formed among the workmen
[467] of São Pedro. The length of time the technicians and other workmen of the *usina* have remained in their employ, refusing employment in other *usinas* and other occupations, has been a matter of pride to the owners of São Pedro.

249 It is on the plantations belonging to the *usina* that the white
466 owner-*mestiço* worker personal relations are least close. The *usina*
463 owners are able to make only occasional tours of inspection of the
571 plantations, and therefore have little personal contact with the workers. However, the administrator has in many respects taken the place of the owner. He is the only man on the plantation with authority, and all complaints and requests for favours or help must be presented to him. In one case, an administrator has been on the same plantation for 26 years, and is well-known for the 'court' he holds. Once a year he gives an immense party for the entire community, and people from all four classes attend. He is wanted as godfather for the children of the workmen, and as *compadre* in their marriages. Nevertheless, the administrator is as much an employee of the *usina* as is the worker, and while the administrator can and does assume some of the attitudes and responsibilities of the owner, he cannot assume them all. However, it is a frequent saying among the white-owner class that the real owners are the administrators, for they are the group closest to the workers and to the land. A plantation with a poor administrator is not only a poor producer, but also means hardship for the *moradores*; a poor administrator will take no interest in them, and take little care of them.

249 In other areas of the Recôncavo, where the *usinas* are larger and
46 more industrialized and where no owner resides either at the *usina*
571 or on one of the plantations, but lives always in Salvador, there is only a paid representative of the corporation at the *usina*. In such large industrial units the personal element is almost entirely lacking both at the *usina* and on the company-owned plantations. There have been cases of labour difficulties, strikes, violence and the intrusion of political groups. In several instances, there are efforts today, on the owner's part to re-establish personal contact with mill and field workers, even on the largest of the corporation *usinas* and plantations.

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571 **VII.** The relations between people of different physical types in
466 Vila Recôncavo and on the surrounding sugar plantations have grown
249 out of the plantation-slave system which flourished in the region about a century ago. Many patterns and attitudes formed in that epoch persist even today in the town and on the privately-owned plantations in the vicinity.

plantations in the vicinity. There is the aristocratic group of whites descendants of the *senhores de engenho*—who form almost a caste, marrying among themselves and living out their own social life apart from the Negro and racially mixed population of the community. Just as the slave owners in the past, however, they depend upon the Negro and *mestiço* for labour; the Negro is pictured as the faithful servant and attendant of the white aristocrat. Again, as in the past, the mulatto who was the offspring of the European master and a slave mother is pictured as a social upstart and an intelligent trouble-maker. Yet it is the man of mixed ancestry who holds the intermediate economic and social positions; he is the minor bureaucrat, the technician in the *usina*, and the administrator and *feitor* on the plantations. The essential hierarchy has changed little since colonial times; and the relationship between these aristocratic whites and their Negro and mixed workmen is still a highly personal one lacking in social tensions, since each knows his proper position and each knows his rights, duties and obligations toward the other.

There is no race problem in Vila Recôncavo, nor does prejudice or discrimination work out as it does in other parts of the Western world. A Negro cannot become a member of the aristocracy, but a well-educated and economically successful Negro can have easy social relations with this stratum. Negro ancestry is without doubt a grave disadvantage in economic and social mobility, but there are no political and economic positions closed to a man of Negro or mixed descent. As yet, however, only a few Negroes have moved into high political or economic positions. There is only one plantation owner who is a Negro, and Negroes and *mestiços* hold only minor bureaucratic and political positions in the community. The *prefeito* or mayor has nearly always been drawn from the aristocratic white group, and has never been challenged from the Negro and mixed population. Yet in the town and among the mill workers, 'people of colour' are beginning to show independence, and unwillingness always to occupy a subservient and lowly position. The administrators like to ride better horses than the aristocrats, to have fancier saddles, to dress better, and to be more ostentatious than their employers. Many townspeople know the big city, and the essential class and racial democracy which exists there. There is competition to join the local upper class, and derogatory racial criteria are used to deride competitors who would like to rise out of the lower class groups into this growing upper class. African culture traits such as *candomblé* and the cult of Janaina are associated with low status, and people who would rise in the local social hierarchy are anxious to disassociate themselves from these groups.

As modern attitudes and ideology penetrate Vila Recôncavo, there are more and more problems of class relationships; the population is becoming extremely class-conscious, and there is an in-

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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BRAZIL SL1

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neighboring state of Sergipe.[22] Wagley (1963b:152–53) considered as "among the most important" of these generalizations portions of hypotheses 17 and 22, as well as the concluding paragraph, and restated them as follows: 1) "Brazil is a multi-racial class[24] society distinct from India, for example, where the social order is based upon the principle of caste and from those parts of the world where a national or racial minority (or minorities) is in free association with, but not accepted by, a dominant national or racial majority"; 2) "prejudice exists in Brazil; but it is *class* rather than *race* prejudice"; 3) "this does not mean that there are no social distinctions in Brazil. . . . Neither does it mean that there is no discrimination or that blacks or mixed-bloods are completely satisfied with their lot. But it does mean (a) that a man of color may, by reason of individual merit or favorable circumstances, improve his status and even achieve position in the upper levels of society, and (b) that this position will then be with reference not merely to the darker group whose color he shares but to the total community."

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In the Recôncavo area around the city of Bahia, Hutchinson (1957) and Costa Pinto (1958) report a shift under way in the relations between laborer and employer, from the formerly personal and face-to-face relations of the colonial and subsequent periods to those of a more contractual character,

[22] The statement on p. 134 of this book to the effect that a strictly-drawn color line would have to pass through families also has been noted by many other observers, including Frazier (1944:266) and Nelson de Souza Sampaio (1944) at Bahia; Freyre (1959:8) at Recife; and Willems (1949:407) at São Paulo.

[24] It is perhaps obvious that neither Wagley nor the present author uses the term "class" in the sense popular today in certain circles, wherein the "classes" and the "masses" are distinguished. On the contrary, it seems legitimate to include all persons in the class structure, whatever their rank.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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as the old patriarchal order continues to decline and industrialization increases; a shift which is intensified by the secularization deriving from the increasingly metropolitan character of the area and by the gradual emergence of new social groups. Have these and the other changes sketched above been sufficient to alter the character of the "racial" situation at Bahia since our original study was made? After a careful survey of the studies in the area in recent years, it seems to us that the evidence would lead one to agree with Wagley:[25] "Change has occurred, but *not* that much."

As Thales de Azevedo has pointed out (1955a:197), however, the possibilities of colored persons rising in class are increasing at Bahia; and many observers believe that this rise will continue to increase in the future. As this alteration in rank extends to continually larger and larger numbers of previously underprivileged individuals, greater strains and pressures probably will be exerted throughout the social order. For one thing, as Bahia continues to grow into a larger and larger metropolitan center, relations will be more difficult to maintain on a primary and face-to-face basis; and, for another, the anticipated industrialization, deriving from the extraction of petroleum resources in the area and the utilization of the recently-developed electric power on the São Francisco river, will in all likelihood augment the presently increasing anonymity and make relations more contractual and categoric. Moreover, as educational opportunities increase and extend downward further into the masses of previously unlettered individuals, thus adding to the effects of these other processes, the social order of Bahia may alter, perhaps markedly.

Wagley (1955:12) writes that "many" of the hypotheses

[25] In a letter to the author.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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[City of Salvador]

571 178 795 [554] siderable extent over those of the male portion, the church exercises a substantial measure of control. Prestige of the military is high.

596 621 The large family, with its wide ramifications and its patriarchal organization, also bespeaks a preindustrial era. Social cohesion in the community is maintained by the close association of members of these large family groups, together with the intimate ties common to friends of long standing, the degree of whose intimacy is much greater than that ordinarily to be found in the cities of comparable size in industrial societies. One notes in Bahia a warmth of manner uncommon to the United States. Bahians, like most Brazilians, tend to be very affectionate in the family and warmhearted toward their friends. Characteristic of such primary relationships is a high order of courtesy and politeness and an almost limitless consideration for the convenience and comfort of relatives and friends. Religious affiliation and guild association weave further strands of solidarity, binding the urban community together as if it were merely an overgrown village.

571 576 157 571 794 467

578 [477] [433] [466] In this stable society there is a comparative absence of most forms of conflict. In commerce and finance competition is comparatively slight and limited in considerable measure to foreigners. The economy is almost entirely extractive and industry is minimal. The few differences which arise between labor and capital often take the form of a

578 [477] [433] [466]

571 178 795 291 ual educated in Rio, to be seen on the beaches. Snug-fitting street dresses or those made of sheer or transparent material, and skirts which do not fall at least several inches below the knee, are subject to general criticism. At the exit of the principal churches and cathedrals is posted an official proclamation of the archbishop of Bahia specifying permissible dress. Failure to observe these regulations automatically bars the offender from the sacraments of the church.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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struggle of native labor versus foreign capital and thus tend to unify rather than to divide the local group. Religious competition has not become severe enough to intensify self-consciousness on the part of rival adherents and thus evoke serious animosities. As far as national affairs are concerned, intense local loyalties had not, at least at the time this study was made, been seriously exacerbated by onerous control from without. A minimum of racial conflict will be evident throughout this account. [466] [798] [621]

THE *ricos* OF THE RIDGES AND THE *pobres* OF THE VALLEYS

361 134

One of the things Darwin noted, when he visited Bahia in 1832, was that the city rested upon "a level plain of about three hundred feet in elevation, which in all parts has been worn into flat-bottomed valleys."[11] Today the scene is still much as Darwin saw it. Continuing erosion has merely emphasized the general characteristics of the landscape, transforming the once level plain somewhat more decidedly into alternating ridges, relatively steep declivities, and comparatively narrow valleys.

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This physiography of the country has not been without significance in the cultural life of Bahia; for, in general, the distribution of the population by classes, and even to some extent by ethnic divisions, follows quite closely the lay of the land. Along the ridges, which wind with the changing terrain, ordinarily run the principal streets, bearing the chief lines of transportation, whether by streetcar, bus, or automobile. So far as accessibility to the center and other principal parts of the city is concerned, here are the more convenient residential locations. The elevation of the ridges, [363] [133] [494]

[11] Charles Darwin, *The Voyage of the Beagle* ("Harvard Classics," Vol. XXIX [New York, 1909]), p. 521.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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and that the sudden liberation of large numbers of subjected blacks would subvert public order gradually melted away as the numbers of emancipated Negroes increased and these freedmen gave evidence of their ability and willingness to become an orderly part of the free population and to labor as effectively, if not more effectively, for wages as when impelled by physical force.

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The free people of color (who by 1872 largely outnumbered the slaves)[97] were, Southey says, "an industrious and useful part of the population: most of the maize, manioc and pulse, with which the towns were supplied, was raised by them upon small pieces of ground, which they rented of the great proprietors at a low rate."[98] Freedmen were also employed as laborers on the large estates, where they lived as squatters on the land of their employers, erecting mud and palm-leaf huts for their families, and looking to the planter for protection from any who would do them harm.[99] In the towns they were employed principally as artisans, porters, messengers, barbers, street merchants and small shopkeep-

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[97] Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

[98] Southey, *op. cit.*, III, 787. Cf. also: "The masters who freed slaves often gave them, with their liberty, a piece of land to insure their subsistence. The Negroes who have inherited these small holdings are to-day (1911) the best element of the black agricultural population" (Pierre Denis, *Brazil*, trans. from the French by Bernard Miall [New York, 1911], p. 322).

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[99] Koster writes: "The Negroes in my possession could not perform what ought to be done in proper time; and therefore I collected free laborers for the purpose, and in a short period between thirty and forty men, some of whom brought their families, removed on to the lands of the plantation; and most of them erected hovels of palm-leaves, in which they dwelt; but a few of them were accommodated with huts of mud. . . . . Many of these fellows would have committed almost any crime under the impression that my protection would screen them" (*op. cit.*, I, 295, 297).

[342]

[SALVADOR]

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829 "the mulattoes, especially the lightest ones, are the worst
*563 enemies of other métis and the Blacks. It is they who have the most prejudice and who offer the most resistance to the social ascent of persons of color." These feelings are, in part, the formulation of class anatagonisms between morenos and light mulattoes of high rank, "whites socially speaking," and the darker persons who strive to improve their position in the society.

829 According to a woman occupying a public office, the heads
*563 of her department, who are pardos in different degrees, recom-
• 466 mend to their subordinates that they hire only attractive candidates and not take into consideration "black or homely women."

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Population Increase and Crossbreeding

*563 A very significant fact and one that testifies to the good racial
162 relations in Bahia is the intensity of crossbreeding. There are in the city approximately 400,000 inhabitants, of whom almost 20 o/o are Blacks, 47 o/o métis, the majority mulattoes, and
*563 33 o/o Whites. Everywhere one sees persons of all ages, inter-
571 mingled without any distinction of type, men and women, gathered in the most frequented places, commenting on the events of the day, appraising the coming and going in the streets or discussing politics and sports, drinking in the cafés, walking in the environs and on the beaches, making purchases in the shops and in the markets, working in the mills, in the yards, in business firms and in the public administrations and the offices, traveling by means of public transportation, taking part in religious festivals and civic commemorations, without the least constraint. Friends,
[576] mulattoes, Whites, and Blacks, congratulate one another with a great display of embraces and handshakes; they sit down next to one another in the theater, in churches, in cafés, or in streetcars
*563 with the greatest ease. In accordance with local customs, con-
565 firmed by Pierson (1).
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1. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 421.

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468 ers' discontent has taken the form of a strike accompanied by violence. The strike, although a general one throughout the sugar industry, was the first one in which workers of Vila Recôncavo participated. It was specifically directed against the
178 agricultural part of the factory combination; however, it af-
*249 fected some private plantations as well, and was joined by
468 workers of private plantations. The strike was put down immediately and effectively by the state police. On investigation
467 the police found considerable Communist literature and prop-
668 aganda in the quarters of the labor union in Centro which had organized the strike. The labor union itself was illegal, since
[625] it was not registered with the proper authorities, and its leaders were well-known Communist agitators. What is important for our study is the appearance in the community of Vila Recôncavo of written and verbal Communist propaganda and the willingness of the local agricultural workers to participate in a general strike. This is a tremendous change for such a conservative area, where loyalty and paternalism have always been so strong.

178 Thus the sugar industry of Vila Recôncavo has entered a
*249 phase of many new difficulties: ties between factory and pri-
571 vate planters are strained, and labor relations are becoming a problem for the private, as well as the corporate, planters.
466 Inflation and the "dollar situation," which affect planters directly since all machinery must be imported, are also working toward the build-up of a new "crisis," continuing the pattern described in Chapter 3.

178 However, a new element is entering the community of Vila
245 Recôncavo in the form of a new crop, cacao. One of the plant-
242 ers began experimenting with cacao during the author's first period of research in Vila Reconcavo. However, at least five years must pass before it can be known if the cacao tree will give satisfactory fruit. At the end of 1955 the Institute of Cacao of Bahia presented the experiment to the public as a success and is now systematically stimulating interest in cacao as a possible and lucrative substitute for sugar cane.

245 Cacao is Bahia's major export crop and in general means
439 money to a Bahian. Still more attractive is the fact that the cacao introduced to the Recôncavo is a genetic mutation, giv-
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other *usinas* and other occupations, has been a matter of pride to the
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249 It is on the plantations belonging to the *usina* that the white
466 owner-*mestiço* worker personal relations are least close. The *usina*
463 owners are able to make only occasional tours of inspection of the
571 plantations, and therefore have little personal contact with the
workers. However, the administrator has in many respects taken the
place of the owner. He is the only man on the plantation with authority, and all complaints and requests for favours or help must be presented to him. In one case, an administrator has been on the same plantation for 26 years, and is well-known for the 'court' he holds. Once a year he gives an immense party for the entire community, and people from all four classes attend. He is wanted as godfather for the children of the workmen, and as *compadre* in their marriages. Nevertheless, the administrator is as much an employee of the *usina* as is the worker, and while the administrator can and does assume some of the attitudes and responsibilities of the owner, he cannot assume them all. However, it is a frequent saying among the white-owner class that the real owners are the administrators, for they are the group closest to the workers and to the land. A plantation with a poor administrator is not only a poor producer, but also means hardship for the *moradores*; a poor administrator will take no interest in them, and take little care of them.

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571 or on one of the plantations, but lives always in Salvador, there is
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571 **VII.** The relations between people of different physical types in
Vila Recôncavo and on the surrounding sugar plantations have grown
466 out of the plantation-slave system which flourished in the region
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[City of Salvador]

571 178 795 [554] siderable extent over those of the male portion, the church exercises a substantial measure of control. Prestige of the military is high.

596 621 The large family, with its wide ramifications and its patriarchal organization, also bespeaks a preindustrial era. Social cohesion in the community is maintained by the close association of members of these large family groups, together with the intimate ties common to friends of long standing, the degree of whose intimacy is much greater than that ordinarily to be found in the cities of comparable size in industrial societies. One notes in Bahia a warmth of manner uncommon to the United States. Bahians, like most Brazilians, tend to be very affectionate in the family and warmhearted toward their friends. Characteristic of such primary relationships is a high order of courtesy and politeness and an almost limitless consideration for the convenience and comfort of relatives and friends. Religious affiliation and guild association weave further strands of solidarity, binding the urban community together as if it were merely an overgrown village.

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4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Bahia, one mulatto, and three blacks. Several substantial white citizens had received their early training under this man.

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The public library is patronized indiscriminately by members of all ethnic groups. Blacks, however, appear among its frequenters only in rather limited numbers. For instance, of 560 individuals using the library facilities on different days and at different hours during the day,[11] only 9.6 per cent were blacks, while 35.9 per cent were mulattoes and 52.7 per cent were whites.[12]

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In labor unions organization definitely follows class lines, and ethnic differences are largely lost sight of in the pursuit of common ends. Leadership, however, tends to be white or near-white, even in those unions composed predominantly of blacks and dark mixed-bloods. For instance, at a "solemn assembly" for the installation of new officers in a local labor union whose membership, limited to 550, is overwhelmingly Negro (as indicated by a detailed check of the members with the aid of the union secretary), the retiring president was a *branco da Bahia* and the incoming president a light mulatto. Only eleven *brancos* (probably all, or nearly all, of whom are *brancos da Bahia*) and relatively few mulattoes are to be found among the membership.[13]

[11] Samples were taken for each hour from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M., with the exception of 12:00 noon to 2:00 P.M., when the institution was closed.

[12] Also 7 (1.2 per cent) *cafusos*, 3 (0.5 per cent) *mamelucos*.

[13] Of the speakers, 6 were blacks, 5 were mulattoes (2 quite light), 1 was a *branco da Bahia*, and 1 was a white. Among the themes presented were: "Solidarity! All Workers Are Brothers!" "Since the Revolution of 1930 Workers Are No Longer Slaves"; "Viva Getulio Vargas, the God, the Jesus, and the Senhor do Bomfim [patron saint of Bahia's poorer classes] of the Workers!" "Remember the Chicago Workers Who Died for Liberty!" "Save Brazil's Wealth from Exploitation by *Norte-Americanos* Who Hope To Seize Her Mines and Her Waterfalls and Make Slaves of Her People!" "Look to the World's Greatest Socialist and Sociologist, Jesus Christ."

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[SALVADOR]

From this point of
/52 cont./ view politics is in the process
178 of becoming one of the most powerful means of social transforma-
*563 tion. The politicians take the greatest care to promote the regis-
565 tration on the lists of the largest possible number of persons of the
666 lower classes, among whom there is a majority of Blacks and mêtis, people more dependent and less educated and for that reason also more amenable to propaganda and demagoguery. In the months that precede the general elections held simultaneously every four years throughout the country, the candidates for political offices spend considerable sums and multiply their efforts, directly or through the instrumentality of their canvassers, to persuade the people to have themselves registered as voters. The services that they render these voters are one of the means they count on to obtain their votes. As a result, the most popular politicians are those who, not having or pretending not to have class or color prejudice, approach the most humble voters, shake hands and embrace them when they meet them, pay them visits or receive them at their homes or in their offices, and who, after having been elected, continue to lavish on them the same demonstrations, in public or in the government palaces or chambers. A number of politicians, because of this, are assisted by black and mulatto canvassers, who thus, in our day, maintain the loyalty and the devotion that their ancestors showed the families in which they were slaves.

178 In former times, an informant tells us, a man of dark color
*563 could not enter political life; he could be a canvasser, but he was
666 rarely a candidate or a member of a party. In spite of this, in the
[665] municipal council of Bahia there was /53/ always one or two Blacks of humble occupation, elected thanks to the influence of political-party chiefs, and some morenos or mulattoes of more or less high rank were elected as representatives in the legislative
[646] assembly of the State of Bahia. With the political revolution of 1930, representation by class in the chamber of the State and
[467] in the federal chamber was created; in that way numerous manual laborers, black or mulatto, were elected as representatives of
[665] their unions. When union representation was suppressed in 1937,
[467] colored men continued to try to obtain improvement of their social situation by taking part in the life of the parties.

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

433 241 178 Recôncavo remains today a backward and traditional agricultural society.

However, not all elements in Recôncavo life are static. In the field one was incessantly conscious both of the gradual course of change in this region and of the latent instability of its economic organization. Particularly in the last 75 years the agricultural economy of the Recôncavo has begun to shift--it is apparently in the throes of a drastic economic reorganization. It remains to be seen whether the traditional values will survive this economic revolution. [128] The brief historical discussion to follow is not intended as a substitute for a full-scale historical reconstruction. Its purpose is to indicate the major patterns in the evolution of the Recôncavo.

175 <u>The Evolution of Colonial Agricultural Institutions</u>. By the end of the initial half century of settlement (1600) those ethnic groups, crops, animals, and agricultural institutions which were to [567] become characteristic of the Recôncavo were already in evidence. Negro [249] slaves were brought in on the heels of the first Portuguese settlers,[3] [231] and sugar cane and cattle were also introduced at this time.[4] Tobacco [244] and manioc, produced by the Indians indigenous to the northeast of [249] Brazil, were rapidly integrated into the colonial agriculture of the [177] Recôncavo.[5] The combined sugar mill and plantation (<u>engenho</u>), which [249] was the basic economic institution of the Recôncavo until the end of [471] the nineteenth century, already existed in rudimentary form before 1600.[6]

175 249 [244] From the beginning the new colony in the Recôncavo had three important crops--sugar cane, tobacco, and manioc. It was the cultivation of sugar which the Portuguese crown and the initial settlers had

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

178 crop, technology, and market—was the most important of these enter-
249 prises. The sugar industry flourished in its new world setting and
433 developed from the beginning an institutional character different from that of the old world, particularly in terms of land holding, labor, and the organization of production.

175 The regime of possession of the land was that of completely
423 alodial properties. Among the powers of the donatários of
249 the capitania was, as we have seen, that of disposing of
471 the land, which they distributed among the colonists. The grants were as a rule very large, the lots measuring many leagues. This is understandable: the lands were abundant, and the ambitions of these pioneers, recruited at such a cost, were evidently not contented with small properties; it was not the position of modest peasants to which they aspired in the new world but as great senhores [gentlemen] and latifundiários [landowners]. In addition to this and more important, there was a material factor which determined the type of property established. The culture of cane is practical, economically, only on a large scale. Merely conveniently to clear and prepare the lands (a costly task in this tropical and virgin setting so hostile to man) made necessary the united energy of many workers: it was not an enterprise for small and isolated proprietors. This done, the planting, the harvesting, and the transportation of the cane to the engenhos where it was made into sugar was only profitable when done in large volume. In these conditions the small producer could not exist.

It was above all these circumstances which determined the type of agricultural enterprise adopted in Brazil: the large property.[17]

175 The latifundia established by these colonists ideally were
241 self-sustaining units producing food and sometimes clothing for the
471
433 entire engenho community—free and slave. In fact, however, they often seem to have neglected food production for the cultivation of the universal commercial product--sugar cane. From the beginning of colonization a succession of regulations and decrees were issued to compel the cultivation of manioc. Recurrent food shortages suggest that these measures were not effective in the face of the "monocultural mentality" of the senhores de engenho (sugar plantation owners). In

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175 inaugurated a brief "golden age" in the evolution of the Recôncavo.
178 The mythology which this age engendered is an integral part of the
249 social and economic patterns in the present day Recôncavo. The
439 collapse of the sugar economy in the West Indies, particularly in Santo Domingo in 1792, and the expanding urban markets in Europe had given, for a moment, a great opportunity to the sugar industry of Northeast Brazil. Moreover, an important supplementary market had developed in the mining areas of Minas Gerais. In the subsequent economic expansion to supply these markets, the Recôncavo became an even more important center of sugar production in Brazil.

175 The landed proprietors of the Recôncavo apparently took this
249 resurgence as a vindication of their economic system.
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567
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> They squandered money like the fidalgos [landed, slave-holding aristocrats] that they were. They installed sumptuous dwellings and lived the life of a nobility. Each sugar factory was a community where hundreds of slaves were dedicated to extraction of wealth from the soil. Each of these communities achieved a merited importance. A little Agricultural World gyrated around the Big House, and the Chapel, with its Holy Administrator, [was] dedicated to the dissemination of Catholicism in the community. In time many of these "Engenhos" developed into villas, and were succeeded by the cities of today.
>
> Each of these "Engenhos," as these agricultural communities were called, produced everything that they consumed except luxury, and this was imported from Portugal in exchange for sugar, high-grade tobacco, cotton, and rare cabinet woods. The "Senhor" of the
[466] Engenho was a veritable Feudal Baron, with the power of life and death over his black and mestizo slaves. He exercised the right of torture and flogging in proportion to the offenses committed. These sugar Engenhos,
175 because of their collective and independent existence,
249 produced a pride of origin, an attachment to the soil,
471 that flowered into a hatred of the monarchial exploiters
565 and became the dominating factor in the movement for
[668] independence.
>
> The fidalgos were essentially a product of the land, and spent the major part of their luxurious existence on their estates, attended by innumerable slaves. Their homes were built upon a vast scale and equipped with every luxury known to so simple a people. They also

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175 249 565 [471]

maintained splendid establishments, called Solars, in the Capital, to which they repaired in the winter season, June, July and August, for social diversion.[29]

[178] The above citation is characteristic of the present-day views of many upper-class Baianos who identify themselves with this opulent era of the Recôncavo social evolution. The mythology engendered by the colonial sugar industry is outliving the engenho system. The wealth, pride, and ostentation of these fidalgos is undeniable. Within the limits of the provincial social environment, upper-class life was luxurious indeed. Compared with the upper-class society of the period in Europe or in the American South, however, social opportunities in the Recôncavo must have been rather limited. The casas [342] grandes—if the surviving specimens can be taken as typical—generally [489] were rather modest plantation houses. Transportation was difficult: few engenhos had carriage roads, and travel was by horseback or [671] palanquin. Social intercourse often was restricted to an ingrown [484] local circle. Apparently many of the social needs of the upper class could not be met within the rural Recôncavo so that trips were made frequently to Salvador, Rio de Janeiro, and sometimes Paris.[30]

Little has been recorded of the way of life of the slaves and 175 249 poor freemen in the Recôncavo. It is significant that both apologists 567 and critics of slavery usually have agreed that the masters were relatively clement in the treatment of their slave laborers. These slaves were very valuable possessions, particularly after the British began to suppress the slave trade. Because absentee ownership and delegation of administration to people outside the family was not usual, the masters and slaves were perforce in daily contact. Out of these daily contacts between landholder and laborer, a relatively personal relationship was developed. Within the household, relation- [563] ships were even more familiar. In addition, some of the slaves were

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175 563 was Negro. Other estimates state that less than one-third of the 565 567 people were slaves.[34]

175 249 Table IV, below, illustrates the economic organization of the 47 454 sugar industry in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

TABLE IV

TOTAL CAPITAL INVESTMENT IN SUGAR ENGENHOS OF BAHIA IN 1833

	In U. S. Dollars*	
	Per Unit	Total Investment
603 mills	$2,500	$1,507,500
48,240 slaves	150	7,236,000
60,300 oxen	20	904,500
23,100 horses	20	464,500
78,800 ha. of agric. land	46 (approx)	3,618,000
38,528 ha. of forest	23 (approx)	884,000
47 steam engines	3,000	141,000
62 water canals	3,000	186,000
Improvements of each mill	2,000	1,206,000
Total in Bahia		$16,147,500

*Conversion at $500 per thousand of reis, after Calogeras, p. 47 in footnote.

Source: Amaral, II, 84 after the Marquez de Abrantes.

The usefulness of the above data is limited by the ambiguity of several of its categories. "Agricultural land" could be either land cultivated or cultivable. The most serious problem of interpretation is the meaning of "improvements," since the value of these improvements is relatively high. It is reasonably certain, from the nature of the engenho, that these improvements are not technological advances but only those simple measures necessary to maintain the traditional structure--warehouses, corrals, slave quarters, etc. If the value of the house of the senhor de engenho is included in this figure, this would help to account for the relatively high figure for improvements.

Nevertheless, the data do represent certain significant elements of the mid-nineteenth century sugar cane system of the Recôncavo. Almost

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175 45 per cent of the total investment was in slaves--labor costs, always
249 high, had been driven up by the suppression of the slave trade. The
47 relatively small proportion of steam mills is at once a reflection of
454 the continuing primitive technology and a sign of the improvements which were to come later in the century. The value of production for [433] this year was $1,213,000--a return of 6.6 per cent on the capital investment.[35]

175 While the attention of the Baiano was focused on the sugar
249 industry during this golden age, tobacco unobtrusively was becoming
178 a primary commercial product. The suppression of the slave trade
439 deprived tobacco of its African market, but at the same time the European market was expanding. The spread of cigar smoking in Europe created an increasing demand for Bahian leaf. Ultimately the European demand for quality leaf and the development of a Brazilian market for the poorer grades were to carry tobacco to the leading position among Bahia's commercial products.

175 To a very large degree, the mold of the colonial Recôncavo was
433 fixed in the sixteenth century. Its socio-economic system was nurtured
249 by the prosperous semi-monopoly of sugar production. While the south [565] of Brazil was a raw frontier zone of migratory agricultural adventurers, the Paulistas (natives of São Paulo) of early colonial times,[36] a stable and wealthy aristocratic society was developing in the Recôncavo. In [477] the early eighteenth century, when West Indies competition undermined the sugar monopoly, the Recôncavo might have responded creatively to the challenge, but failed to do so. The simultaneous mineral boom in Minas Gerais drained away the more experimental elements and left behind those who were less adventurous. Yet before the denial of markets had disrupted entirely the old economic and cultural pattern, the late eighteenth-early nineteenth century resurgence reaffirmed

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B 175 257 178 was introduced in Brazil after 1870.[41] As might be expected, the more progressive Central-South led in the modernization of the industry. The Northeast, and especially Bahia, lagged behind--further evidence BB [178] of Bahia's resistance to change.

BB 175 249 257 471 178 The technological revolution had two historical stages: (1) engenhos centrais, and (2) usinas,[42] both of which still are clearly identifyable in Bahia (as is their predecessor, the engenho stage). In the engenho central stage the mills purchased cane from fornecedores (suppliers). These suppliers were old engenho properties which no longer operated a mill. The resistance of the fornecedores to a strict scheduling of delivery and price soon caused dissatisfaction among the mill owners. They began to buy out the fornecedores and go into direct production of cane.[43] The source of cane is the basic distinction between the engenho central system and the usina system. Once the central mill grew most of its own cane, it became an usina and entered the second phase of the technological revolution. The sugar industry in the present-day Recôncavo is characterized by both systems. In practice the systems employed by the various sugar mills tend to include features characteristic of both types, and there EB is no stereotype. The existing systems in Bahia are distinct from [249] [257] those of the Central-South, where the usinas have largely replaced the engenhos centrais.

NB BB 175 178 249 257 471 In the twentieth century, as in the nineteenth, the Recôncavo persisted in its monoculture and was reluctant to accept technological innovations in agriculture and industry. This conservatism was typical of most of the Northeast, but in Pernambuco the industry began simultaneously to intensify its monoculture and to modernize its industrial plant, and this state ultimately became the largest sugar producing state of Brazil.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

245 438 [471] Oranges, like coconuts, are usually grown on plantations. The capital investment in tree crops is usually too great for small cultivators. Moreover, as a highly perishable crop, oranges require more or less direct marketing, which is frequently beyond the capacity of the small grower. If oranges were marketed by trickling from the small grower through the hands of merchants, buyers, and the like, as is tobacco, they would be spoiled long before reaching the consumer. The small cultivator can market his handful of oranges only in the local market.

241 433 Supplementary Crops. Although the official data show only a very limited distribution of minor supplementary crops, their cultivation is not confined to those municípios where exceptionally conscientious [262] statistical agents have made detailed records. The common vegetables--green beans, onions, garlic, and tomatoes--are cultivated in small quantities in all parts of the Recôncavo and are a traditional part of Bahian dishes. Around the cities and towns there is some specialization [443] in vegetable farming, but there are no major concentrations. The Salvador market is supplied with produce from a broad rural zone which includes [489] most of the Recôncavo. The produce is brought to the city by donkey, truck, or by sailing boat.

The most important of the supplementary commercial crops is [134] pineapple, which is produced on the sandy soils of the Northern, and to a lesser extent, Southwestern Recôncavo. There is very scattered production of grapes, cotton, rice, and white potatoes, but there are no important centers of cultivation of these crops.

245 311 Minor Spontaneous Tree Crops. Mangoes are very common within the houseyards of Salvador and throughout the humid Coastal Plain. In

249 cultivation which is monocultural and highly standardized. As has been indicated, small scale sugar cane cultivation--in house gardens--is omnipresent in the Recôncavo. The area in such garden cane, however, can scarcely be as much as one per cent of the total cropland.

249 471 Within the Central Recôncavo sugar cane is grown principally to supply a relatively small number of sugar usinas. The usinas either own and operate or rent and operate the cane plantations or have a stable relationship with those plantations from which they buy cane. Under these circumstances it is both necessary and relatively easy to standardize the methods of production and cultivation. The industrial aspects of sugar production will be discussed in the section on processing.

249 The general system of sugar cane cultivation involves a five-year sequence:

[407] [492] (1) The land is broken with a large ox-drawn, wooden plow. The same plow opens parallel furrows, two to three feet apart, into which are laid pieces of cane stalk, cut from specially grown seed cane. The seed cane is then covered with hoes and packed with bare feet. Planting usually takes place during the last of the wet season--August and early September--to a lesser extent during the cane harvest--mid-September to mid-March--and at the end of the harvest in the autumn, if possible. Usually, however, the ground is too wet for planting during the months of May to August.

[412] (2) The cane is weeded frequently with a knife or a hoe. After a year of growth it is cut and carted away to the railroad. The leaves and upper stalk are left on the field and after drying are burned, except for some small part which is used as fodder.

(3) When the roots sprout again, the field is weeded and kept clean as the second-year cane develops; and after a year, the cane is harvested again. Generally this re-growth is repeated three times, so that there are four harvests for each planting.

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241 423 some properties in excess of 100,000 hectares of land. Such overwhelmingly large properties signalize a tremendous concentration of power and, for the sertão, much wealth.

The large properties of the Recôncavo were less extensive than the vast fazendas of the sertão, but they probably represented an even greater assemblage of economic and social power. The sugar cane plantations and the associated usinas, with their traditional prestige, large capital investment, and centralized production, are the preponderant social institutions of the Recôncavo. [249] [471]

Land Tenure. Most of the formal categories of farm tenure which are characteristic of the agriculture of the United States are present also in the Recôncavo: ownership by private individuals and corporations; operation by owners, administrators, renters, and "squatters."[5] However, the contrasts in property size and the centralized control of agricultural credit and capital in the Recôncavo give these these general types of agricultural tenure and operation a distinctive character.

241 423 472 Proprietor Operation. Most of the agricultural properties of the Recôncavo were operated by the owner in 1940. Only in the Southern Recôncavo--Maragogipe and Salvador--were less than half of the properties owner-operated. In most of the region and the adjoining area three-fourths of the units were operated by the owner (Map 112). The area occupied by owner-operated units was in excess of half the enumerated area in all parts of the region except the Southern Recôncavo (Map 113). However, the area in owner-operated properties was higher in the tobacco-manioc area of the Southwestern Recôncavo--70 to 80 per cent--than in either the tobacco-manioc or the sugar cane region north of the Bay. A greater contrast is reflected in the map of the mean size of owner-operated properties (Map 114). In Conceição do Almeida--

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 330]

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241 Southwestern Recôncavo--the 80 per cent of all units which were owner-
423 operated had a mean size of 16 hectares in 1940. In São Francisco--
472 Central Recôncavo--the 75 per cent of all units which were owner-operated had a mean size of 113 hectares. In general the mean size of owner-operated units in the tobacco-manioc region was from 15 to 30 hectares, while the mean size in the sugar cane region exceeded 100 hectares.

241 Operation by Administrator. Absentee ownership in the Recôncavo
423 probably had its origin in the colonial period, when it was the practice
471 of many of the senhores de engenho (sugar cane planters) to spend part
178 of the year in Salvador. As the urban interests of the owner increased, the management of some properties passed into the hands of overseers, frequently drawn from the mixed-blood retinue of the plantation owner. To a lesser extent the same practice seems to have developed in other parts of the Recôncavo, as the property owner became involved in business, in the professions, or in politics in the cidades or in Salvador. The development of corporate landholding as a concomitant of the usina system has made agricultural administrators even more numerous.

241 Properties operated by administrators were found in every muni-
423 cípio of the Recôncavo in 1940 (Map 115). In 13 municípios over
471 one-tenth of the properties were so operated. The number of administrator-operated properties was relatively large in São Félix--25 per cent--in the sugar cane region, but also in the município of Salvador and on the island of Itaparica opposite.[6] The area in administrator-operated properties was relatively great in the sugar cane zone--30 to 40 per cent--and near Salvador, in general conforming to the pattern of the relative number of properties under administrators (Map 116). However, administrator-operated properties in the Central Recôncavo were relatively large--200 hectares in São Francisco

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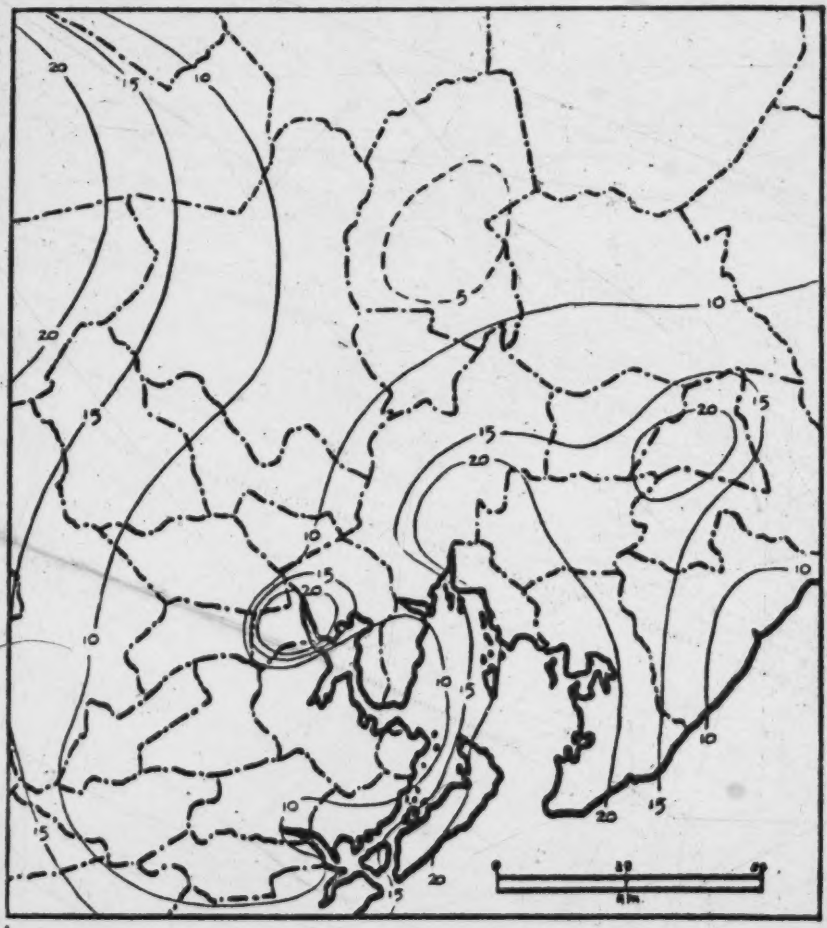

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of All Agricultural Properties Which Were

Operated by Administrators--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia. Vol. II.

MAP 115

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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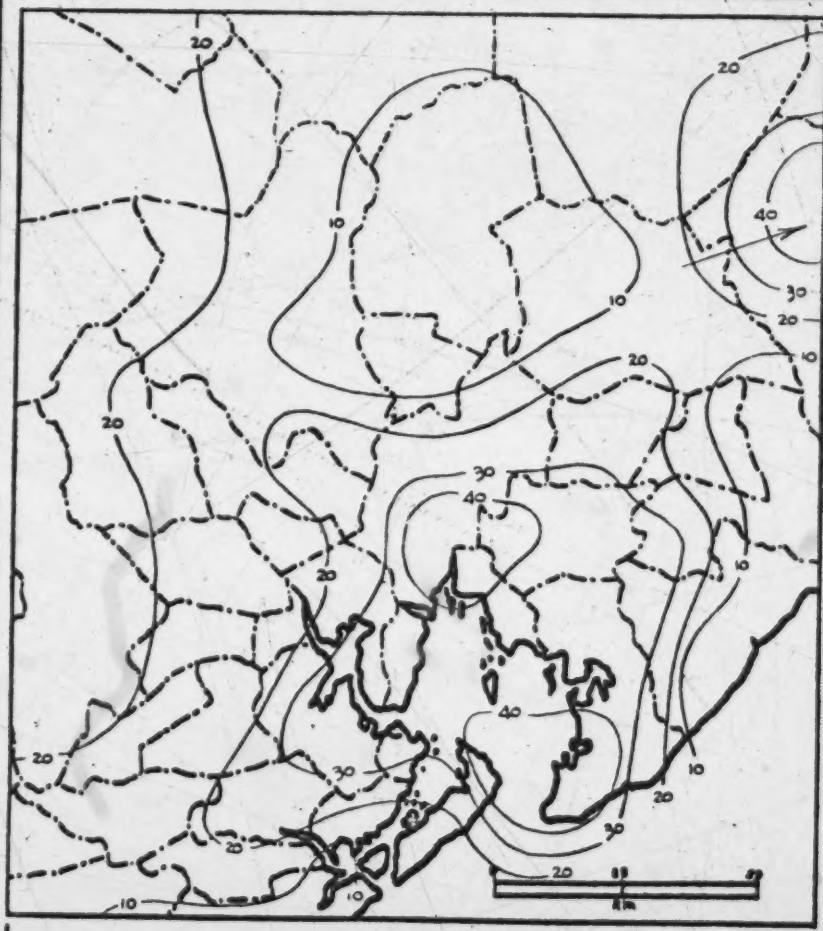

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumerated Area in

Administrator-Operated Properties—1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 116

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 423 471 and 161 hectares in Santo Amaro--while those of the Salvador area were relatively modest--81 hectares in Salvador and 72 hectares in Itaparica.

241 427 Rented Properties. There were few rented properties in the Recôncavo as a whole in 1940 (Map 117), but in three areas over 10 per cent of the properties were rented: in the core of the tobacco-manioc area of the Southwestern Recôncavo; in Irará; and around Salvador. In Maragogipe, 52 per cent of the properties, occupying 15 per cent of the enumerated area, were rented (Map 118). In Santo Antônio, adjoining the Southwestern Recôncavo, over 30 per cent of the properties were rented, but along the western and norther border zones of the Recôncavo there were very few rented properties. Because of the small size of the units, rented properties in the Recôncavo generally occupied less than 10 per cent of the enumerated area.

[244] [249] The rented properties of the tobacco-manioc crop region were usually small, from 10 to 30 hectares, but in the sugar cane area they averaged over 200 hectares (Map 119). If the official data are correct, the mean size of rented properties in Coração de Maria was over 267 hectares, but this seems very unlikely and has not been shown on the map.

241 423 471 Corporate Lands. In 1940, one-hundred ninety-eight of the 29,000 agricultural properties of the Recôncavo were owned by corporations or companies. The total area of these properties was 33,000 hectares, almost 4 per cent of the total enumerated area of the region. Moreover, the land which composed these properties was some of the most productive in the Recôncavo. The number of corporate properties and the concentration of land under corporate ownership almost certainly has increased since 1940.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 337]

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241 423 471 [249] Although there were a few corporate lands in the vicinity of the city of Salvador in 1940, the main concentration was in the sugar cane area north of the Bay. Here the large corporately-owned usinas controlled as much as 30 per cent of the agricultural land. Most of these corporate properties were sugar cane plantations, but some were cattle ranches and other accessory properties. The corporations tend to dominate the sugar cane areas which are most productive and most favorably located for the transportation of cane and of the refined sugar and other products.

Conclusion. The strong network of interpersonal relationships, discussed in connection with crop cultivation and systems, is often more important than the purely formal aspects of land ownership and operation in the Recôncavo. The agricultural society of the Recôncavo is closely knit, so that the effective freedom of operation of the farm operator is very limited. Although the large and rich landowners have, on some levels, a greater latitude than the small operators, they too are enmeshed in a system of inherited economic and social obligations and are subject to the restrictions imposed by the urban upper class. [565]

241 441 442 472 The two primary local supervisory groups in the agricultural society are the merchant-buyers of the tobacco-manioc region and the general administrators and plantation owners of the sugar cane region. However, both these groups are under the more or less immediate control of the sugar and tobacco companies in Salvador and of the official Instituto do Açúcar e do Álcool and the Instituto Baiano do Fumo.[7] [656]

249 471 472 656 The operations of the sugar cane plantations are dictated by the mills, which specify the type and quantity of cane and the schedule of delivery. In turn, the amount of sugar produced by the mill is determined by the Instituto do Açúcar e do Álcool, while the policy of

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BB 249 471 472 [656] operation is determined by the company officers, who generally live in Salvador. The company, in its turn, is subject to some control from Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo investors. This structured system of control probably is one of the reasons for the continuation of the monoculture in the sugar cane area. The usual explanation offered for the cane monoculture is the unique suitability of the soil and climate and the innate conservatism of the Baiano. However, one of the features of the present sugar economy is the lack of capital for other enterprises. The absentee owners, who are the only likely source of capital, are hesitant to advance money for new and untried enterprises. Moreover, alternative agricultural enterprises, if successful, would reduce the supply of cane and thus eventually raise the cost of usina operation.

BB 249 244 442 In the tobacco-manioc region the control exercised by Salvador is indirect, but compelling, because the small tobacco producer is almost completely at the mercy of the buyer, who receives orders from the tobacco exporter and manufacturer through the agent.

BB 241 423 471 [184] [231] [233] The differences in production specialization, size, and tenure among the agricultural properties of the Recôncavo both accentuate the basic dichotomy of the region and re-emphasize its unity. The small-scale mixed crop cultivation and livestock producing unit of the tobacco-manioc region and the large-scale crop cultivation unit of the sugar region are both esentially engaged in the production of commercial crops. Both are distinct from the primary agricultural unit of the sertão, the livestock ranch. Both are subject to the over-all economic control of the center—Salvador.

B BB 241 423 184 [249] In most parts of Brazil, as in the Recôncavo, the agricultural properties are highly diverse in size, function, and ownership. Most areas of sugar cane cultivation have relatively large properties, primarily engaged in crop cultivation. In other areas, as in

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In other areas, as in the Recôncavo, more and more of the cane plantations are passing into the hands of the central mills and are being operated by administrators. Small properties, owner or renter operated, are also a widespread feature of the Brazilian agricultural scene. Frequently, as in the Recôncavo, large and small properties are intermixed in zones where several crops and livestock are raised jointly. Throughout Brazil the class of small property holders is tied to the merchant and large landholder class by a network of economic and social relationships much like those of the Recôncavo. Apparently the number and total area of small properties is growing, especially in Central and South Brazil. If this be so, the development of small farms in the Recôncavo, such as those producing tobacco and manioc, is part of the nationwide trend.

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249 257 433 the large landholders and agricultural capitalists of Brazil have a strong historical bias toward monocultural systems.

249 433 471 As would be expected, the Central Recôncavo accounted for almost 90 per cent of the total value of sugar cane in the region. Sugar production in this area is dominated by the big usinas, and most of the cane is produced on very large properties, as has been seen.

243 244 433 438 Although corn and beans primarily are subsistence crops, they have, like manioc, some commercial importance (Map 125). The corn and bean areas within the Recôncavo do not produce outstanding surpluses, although these two crops are important commercial products in nearby Serrinha and Conceição do Coite. Most of the corn and beans of the Recôncavo are exchanged for farinha de mandioca, which provides the cultivator with a cheaper food.

244 245 433 438 The remaining crops of the region are of minor commercial importance, or are more valuable commercial crops of highly localized production. Bananas, peanuts, and sweet potatoes are minor commercial crops of diffuse production, since most of their cultivation is for subsistence purposes. Oranges, coconut, coffee, and pineapple are important but secondary commercial products whose production is concentrated in a few restricted areas (see, for example, Map 126 of coconut production).

249 244 245 433 438 The importance of the principal commercial crops--tobacco, sugar cane, coffee, coconut, oranges, pineapple, a few minor crops, and commercial manioc--varies widely from município to município (Map 127). However, two areas--the Central Recôncavo and the Southwestern Recôncavo--had highly commercial economies in which over 90 per cent of the total value of production was in commercial crops. In the tobacco-manioc area north of the Rio Paraguaçu, only one-half to three-quarters of

000 the total value of production was in commercial crops. Except in the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 358]

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442 443 233 campo de gado draws vaquéiros (cowboys) and ranchers from the sertão as well as agriculturalists and buyers from the Recôncavo, the nearby municipal market has a tributary area which is much larger than the município, indeed, much larger than the Recôncavo. The sertão and the Recôncavo exchange goods on a large scale in these markets. From the sertão come cattle and other animals, hides and skins, various extractive products, such as waxes, and the fumo em corda tobacco of the interior of northern Bahia. From the Recôncavo come food, especially bananas, coconuts, and sugar, and various manufactured articles which have been brought from South-Central Brazil via Salvador. Adjoining the campo de gado is an open lot where horses, mules, and all the accoutrements of the vaquéiro--bridles, saddles, and leather clothing--can be purchased.

249 471 438 A good deal of the sugar cane which is cultivated in the Recôncavo is grown by the usinas on their own properties. In other cases the cane plantations and processing plant are owned by different members of the same family, and the whole enterprise is operated on a profit-sharing basis. It cannot be said of either of these arrangements, which account for most of the cane harvested in the Recôncavo, that there is a genuine market situation. A truer market relationship exists for the few remaining fornecedores (suppliers) who grow cane and sell it to the usinas. Very commonly, however, these "independent" cane producers are indebted to the sugar company in both the economic and social sense. Moreover, the fornecedore is very much at the mercy of the company because of the lack of alternative markets and the difficulties of transportation. The cane which is purchased by the usinas on a contract basis must have a specified quality and must be delivered to the usina at its convenience by the supplier. It is likely that the mounting debts of many fornecedores will soon force them to sell

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their properties to the expanding usinas. This same process is taking place in most sugar areas of Brazil.

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The marketing of tobacco centers on one key figure—the agent. With the resources of the tobacco company he extends direct credit to the larger tobacco producers and indirect credit to the small producers via his buyer, who is generally a local shopkeeper. The company grants a specified sum of money to each agent at the beginning of the season, and he disburses this at his own discretion. Bad debts are charged against the company rather than the agent. Most of the tobacco crop is pledged to the buyers in advance, by meahs of a formal contract or an informal agreement which specifies the price, quantity, and quality of the leaf to be delivered. Most of these contracts are entered into in order to secure credit; there are few agriculturalists who could produce tobacco without first receiving credit. There is much opportunity for speculation within the framework of this marketing system. Those buyers who are shopkeepers have in stock the supplies which the cultivator needs. The shopkeeper delivers the goods needed by the cultivator and retains the money which has been advanced by the agent. Since most of the stock of the buyer--storekeeper--has been purchased on credit, he may accumulate a considerable sum in cash or bills of exchange. Speculation is an acknowledged feature of the marketing of tobacco in Bahia, and in many cases the buyer uses the credit advanced by the agent for speculation in the tobacco crop. He does this by extending credit against the tobacco crop of cultivators who are not included in the normal relationships with the agent. Sometimes these debtors are unable to liquidate their debt, and the buyer is caught short. In this event he can use his position as the agent's representative and as a local economic power to recoup, at least partially, by forcing the price upward or through the substitution of cheaper leaf

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249 Processing of Agricultural Products. Each of the three principal
252 crops of the Recôncavo require processing before it can be consumed.
276 Sugar cane and manioc are highly perishable, and both are processed in their entirety within the region. Tobacco, once it is fermented, can be stored for longer periods, so that there is no necessity for immediate processing within the Recôncavo. Sugar cane is processed in large usinas and to a lesser extent in engenhos (primitive sugar mills). Tobacco
[277] products are fabricated in small-scale home industries and in factories. Manioc is converted into farinha de mandioca in very small mills.

249 The cultivation, transportation, and processing of sugar cane
489 require an integrated system in which there is some form of centralized
471 administration. The larger usinas own and operate most of the surrounding cane plantations and the associated transportation system, and administration is direct. Where cane is purchased from furnishers--privately-owned plantations--the mill specifies the type of cane which it will buy and the schedule of delivery. Most of the sugar cane in the Recôncavo is processed by usinas, which produce sugar, rum, and alcohol. However, there are a number of engenhos and a few smaller usinas which specialize in the production of rum or crude sugar. The engenhos are most important around the margins of the main sugar cane area north of the Bay and in Cachoeira and São Félix, but the usinas dominate the core area of cane production in Santo Amaro, São Francisco, and São Sebastião. Within the core area the big usinas generally are located near but not on the main railroads, although a few are situated near the shore of the Bay.

249 The harvested sugar cane generally is delivered to smaller mills
492 by the grower, usually on ox carts. The larger mills receive their
249 cane via the railroad or the Bay. In these cases the cane is trans-
499 ported by ox cart from the cane fields to a weighing station, from
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249 which it is hauled by railroad or boat to the mill, although sometimes
497 the cane which is carried by boat is weighed at the mill. The rail-
505 roads which handle the cane, as has been indicated, are owned and
496 operated by the usinas, except that the government right-of-way is
471 used whenever these tracks pass close to the plantations. One of the
249 usinas is new and a few of the older mills have some new equipment, but the general level of technology is considerably below that of Pernambuco or São Paulo and the mills are somewhat smaller. The usinas grind the cane, extract the juices, and refine the sugar by means of vacuum pans and centrifuges. The more modern usinas produce a high quality sugar, but in general the product is coarse and not a pure white.
274 The by-products of the large usinas and part or all of the cane juice
385 of some of the usinas and engenhos is converted into rum or commercial
262 alcohol. The sugar, rum, and alcohol from the sugar industry of the
273 Recôncavo are consumed primarily within the Recôncavo and the adjoining
438 regions of Bahia. About one-tenth of the production of sugar is
439 exported, chiefly to Rio de Janeiro. The commercial alcohol usually
382 is mixed with gasoline in the bulk plants in Salvador to provide fuel
385 for automotive transport. By law a specified amount of commercial
654 alcohol must be mixed with gasoline--this is designed to subsidize the sugar industry.

249 There are twenty usinas in the Recôncavo, and these produced
471 an estimated 80 per cent of the total sugar of the state of Bahia in
433 1948. The three largest of these are owned by a single sugar company, which also owns the associated plantations, transportation equipment, and cattle fazendas. This company plays an important role in the
249 marketing of sugar from its own usinas and from other companies. The
471 concentration of the cultivation of sugar cane and of the production
178 of sugar in the hands of this single enterprise is a symptom of the

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249 decline of the old system of independent plantations and small usinas and
471 the rise of agricultural capitalism in the Recôncavo as in Brazil's other
178 sugar areas. With greater capital resources, drawn from Salvador, Rio de Janeiro, and São Paulo, the large companies are slowly buying up the fazendas of the core area of sugar cane production and are closing out the small mills.

249 The typical usina involves a large-scale organization of land,
471 transportation, processing, and labor by means of an administrative hier-
489 archy. Timing is one of the critical aspects in converting cane to a finished product, for the harvesting of the cane and the operation of the mill must be closely coordinated. A basic factor in this coordination is the weather, which governs the quality of the cane, the transportation of the harvest, and thus the operation of the mill. In dry weather the
[492] sugar content of the cane is high, and the ox carts move easily through
[493] the fields. In wet weather the harvesting bogs down, and the operation of the mill comes to a standstill. Since the fixed costs of the mill and the plantations are very great, delays in harvest are costly to the in-
249 dustry. Another important administrative problem for the industry is
464 labor. The sugar economy depends upon itinerant seasonal labor and upon the declining local agricultural population. Occasionally the operation of the mill is delayed because of labor shortages. It is sometimes necessary to shift labor from the fields to the mill or vice versa or from one plantation to another and to balance the cost of maintaining a labor reserve, if available, against the losses incurred when the op-
249 eration of the mill is curtailed. The scope of operation of the usina
471 may be illustrated by a list of the major physical equipment of one of the large usinas in Santo Amaro:

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Land:
9,000 hectares in 19 plantations and ranches; each of the 15 cane plantations has a small settlement, livestock, and a weighing station.

Transportation Equipment:
25 kilometers of railway, 9 locomotives, over 100 railway cars, 4 trucks, 2 jeeps, and for each cane plantation an average of 10 ox carts.

Agricultural Machinery:
9 tracked tractors with accessory plows and grading equipment, 1 wheeled tractor, and on each cane plantation 4 or 5 ox-drawn plows.

Housing:
About 50 houses and miscellaneous service buildings for each cane plantation.

Processing Plant:
Grinding and extracting plant, distillery, power house, 2 warehouses, garage, railroad shop, and medical dispensary.

Miscellaneous:
Office building, houses for company manager and administrator, school for the mill settlement, and church.

249 The operation of such a large enterprise as this requires a large administrative staff. The administrative staff of the particular usina described above includes the following: a general manager for all properties; an administrator over all the plantations; an administrator in charge of the mill; a sub-administrator over each group of four or five plantations; and an overseer and several foremen for each plantation. There are also a number of supervisors in the mill and on the
249 railroad. In addition, the usina pays the salary of the teachers in
466 the local school, engages the priest for the irregular services which are held in the church of the usina establishment, and in conjunction
[178] with several other nearby usinas, employs a doctor. These activities reflect the desire of the sugar company to stabilize labor relations through social services, but on a more impersonal basis than was characteristic of the feudalistic sugar system of the nineteenth century.

258 Manioc can be converted into a staple food which is easy to transport and store by simple processes and small-scale enterprises.

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258 but also because the manioc roots are too heavy and bulky to be trans-
[438] ported over long distances. Moreover, the market for farinha de mandioca is generally local, except in the Southwestern Recôncavo.

258 The capital investment in a casa de farinha is small, usually
471 less than one hundred dollars, but this sum is far beyond the reach of
[454] most cultivators. The mills are built by owners of medium-sized land holdings or local merchants, and are operated on a share basis. The mill owner usually receives one-tenth of the finished product in exchange
[427] for the use of the mill equipment. The customer rents the equipment
[464] rather than the service and must therefore provide the labor, although
[592] the owner usually furnishes one or two workers. Generally the processing
[462] of manioc is a family operation in which the women and girls scrape the roots and the men and boys perform the more arduous tasks.

277 Most of the tobacco which is grown in the Recôncavo is exported
[439] in the form of leaf. Therefore, the processing of tobacco is less important in relation to the cultivation of tobacco than is the processing of manioc and sugar in relation to their respective cultivation. The leaf tobacco which is retained in the area is made into cigars in home industries and in a number of cigar factories. The home-produced cigars are made by tobacco cultivators and small-scale processors in the villages, towns, and cities of the region. These cigars are generally
[443] very cheap and are sold in the local mercado (market) or in small vendas (shops). It is difficult to assess the total importance of this form of processing, but it seems likely that the number of cigars so made is extremely large.

277 The cigar factories of the Recôncavo are located in the cidades of São Gonçalo, Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, and Maragogipe. Each of the
[464] factories employs from 100 to 200 workers, usually women from the surrounding area. Machines are used to produce the cheaper grades;

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277 the more expensive varieties are hand made. The fillers and inner wrappers of the cigars are made from local tobaccos. Local leaf also [439] is used to a very limited extent for the outer wrappers, but almost all of the high quality cigars are made from wrapper leaf imported [471] from Havana, Sumatra, or the Connecticut Valley. The ownership of all the cigar factories is concentrated in three companies, all of which [439] have their headquarters in Salvador. The cigars produced in the Recôncavo are sold throughout Brazil.

182 43 44 184 Conclusion. Many of the features of the systems of marketing, transportation, and processing which are characteristic of the Recôncavo are effective in unifying the region. In particular, the centralized marketing and economic control of the production and processing of tobacco and sugar draw both the tobacco and manioc region and the sugar cane region closer to Salvador. At the same time, the differences in marketing techniques and the separate channels of control which are associated with these two products accentuate the sub-regional pattern 182 438 443 184 of the two crop regions. The system of general marketing exemplified by the municipal markets might at first glance seem to be a focus for local rather than regional interests. However, as has been seen, there are itinerant merchants who pass from market to market throughout the Recôncavo. Moreover, the major public markets, such as Feira de Santana and Salvador, draw large numbers of people from most of the rural sections. Even the local marketing institutions contribute to the identification of the people of this area with the region.

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of livestock, which had a value greater than sugar cane but less than manioc.

Agricultural activities within the Recôncavo are localized in several distinct sub-regions, each with a specialized system of cultivation and each with either one or two principal crops. The primary agricultural subdivisions of the region are: (1) the sugar cane monocultural sub-region; and (2) the tobacco-manioc sub-region.

249 Sugar cane is grown as the exclusive crop in its major area of production--the pocket of coastal plain north of the Baía de Todos os Santos. Cane is generally cultivated under a four-year monoculture and one-year fallow system on large properties employing large quantities of hand labor and using oxen to draw plows and carts. Neither fertilizer [407] nor agricultural machinery is used to any appreciable extent. Most of [492] the animals used as labor in the production of sugar cane are brought [231] into the area from the sertão, and little livestock breeding is found [233] in this area. The processing of sugar cane is in the hands of a small [471] number of medium-sized usinas. The companies which own these usinas [178] are gradually buying up the plantations so that to an increasing extent the mills directly control the production of sugar cane. Most of the [497] cane is brought to the usinas by railroad, although sailing boats are [489] used for this purpose along tidewater. Most of the sugar produced in [505] the Recôncavo is consumed within the state of Bahia, but small quantities [438] are shipped to other parts of Brazil. Both the aristocratic upper class [439] and the rising non-aristocratic business interests of the Recôncavo are [565] involved in the ownership and administration of the sugar industry. The [471] permanent labor force is supplied from the settlements of the sugar cane [472] plantations and the mills, but the rural population and the labor force [464] of the sugar area are declining. Seasonal labor for the harvest comes [178] from the interior sertão of Bahia.

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128 241 (2) tobacco production; (3) manioc production; (4) the land rotation system; and (5) alternative agricultural products.

249 471 For three centuries the sugar industry was the basis of the commercial economy of the Recôncavo, and for the last century it has continued to play an important role. As a result of its long and profitable history, it has a number of advantages as a basis for agricultural development. Its capital assets are large--the best land in the region, a number of industrial plants, and a transportation network. Moreover, its [565] land is organized into large units, many of which are under the control of a single company, and all of which are under the control of a small group of the upper class. The industry has a large administrative staff, the most experienced in the region in large-scale enterprises--the organization of agricultural and industrial production, labor, transportation, and finance. It has the very great advantage of good political connections and government support. A part of the industry, [242] composed chiefly of the largest usinas, has had some experience with improved varieties of cane, and on a very limited scale with mechanization.

249 471 433 Against these advantages are a number of limiting factors. Most of the local capital of the sugar industry apparently is committed in the present plant. The sugar economy of the Recôncavo is large scale only in relation to the other agricultural enterprises of the region--the mean daily capacity of the mills can scarcely exceed 500 ton. Moreover, many of the mills are obsolescent--there is only one new usina, and only the larger mills have very much new equipment. Despite [464] the presumed administrative skill of the industry, labor has been one [178] of the continuing problems since the deterioration of the old feudalistic [466] employer-employee relationships of the late nineteenth century. However,

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249 these individual shortcomings of the industry are less important than,
471 and to a certain extent derived from, three basic problems of the sugar
433 economy: land, market, and leadership.

249 Most of the area of Cretaceous soil in the lowlands of the
[311] Recôncavo presently is occupied by sugar cane or by the fallow fields. Only those lands which are too wet or which are needed for settlement, mills, or transportation are not used for cultivation. Thus there seems to be little opportunity to increase the area of good sugar cane land. It would presumably be possible to reduce the fallow period by lengthening the period of ratoon harvests or to abandon the fallow period altogether. If, as seems likely, these changes would reduce the yield of cane, then it would be necessary to begin to use expensive imported fertilizers in order not to lose the advantages gained by increasing
[242] the intensiveness of cultivation. The introduction of high-yielding Javanese varieties of cane has already been attempted, but because of climatic conditions, soil deficiencies, poor cultivation practices, or a combination of these factors, yields remain below East Indian levels.
[134] It is theoretically possible that sugar cane cultivation could be extended to the other soils of the lowland--the Tertiary sandy soils and the crystalline soils of the peninsula and of the Intermediate Hills west of the Bay. Both of these soils, however, are relatively infertile, and the sandy soils are particularly unsuited for cane because of their poor retention of water. Sugar cane cultivation is not practical on the Uplands on account of the low precipitation--cane can be grown in only a few damp valleys of the Uplands.

175 The second great disadvantage of the sugar cane industry of the
249 Recôncavo is in its market relationship. The history of the sugar cane
439 economy of the region may be summarized as follows. At the end of the sixteenth century the forty engenhos of the Recôncavo exported 1,800 to

/Information on the function of the sugar cane plantation system will be found in category 249./

trative work; he comes into office with a mayor and frequently remains through the terms of several other mayors. He therefore knows the duties well and can aid the mayor considerably. In addition, the secretary has a small store in town, capitalized at Cr$10.000,00, where drinks (rum and soft drinks), dried meat (charque), cigars, cigarettes, grass mats, condensed milk, wooden sandals, and a few other small items are sold. 463 632 [443] [471]

The top municipal office is that of the mayor, which in Brazil is a county-wide office. The mayor is not on the above list as an employee, because he occupies another place in the census from which these data were taken. In Vila Recôncavo the mayor has come traditionally from the top social level, the rural landowning group. The office is elective, with a four-year term, except in the 1930's and 1940's, when the mayor was chosen by the appointed governor of the state (interventor). In Vila Recôncavo, as a general rule, the mayor has little or no interest in the town or, except in a few cases, in the office, which is considered a more-or-less onerous duty. He traditionally does not accept his salary. At the time of the last election there was consternation on the part of the planters, for no one wanted the office but clearly someone had to take it. When the choice was made, the candidate--one of the usina directors--was elected, for he had no opponent. The majority of the duties are left in the hands of the secretary, the mayor doing only a minimum of supervision and contributing little that is constructive. Generally any important matters are discussed at the home of the mayor, and his orders are conveyed to the secretary by messenger or telephone.

The last mayor, Dr. Aliança, was an exception to the rule. He was interventor in 1947 and was elected mayor in 1948, serving until the general elections in the fall of 1950. He is a civil engineer and the owner of two large plantations, maintaining in perfect condition the old master's house of the former plantation in which he lives, as well as a large house in Salvador. While the roots of his family are in the Recôncavo, he himself came from the north and married into a plantation family of Vila Recôncavo. Although his family tradition has been that of sugar cane, he has not hesitated to break many of the traditional patterns of the area. One of his two plantations has been given over to experiments with other crops, such as bananas, rice, and manioc, on a relatively large scale, and also some production of milk and butter. A few 159 632 463 242

159 years ago, after determining that these crops were not suf-
632 ficiently rewarding, he made a large-scale planting of white
463 cacao. It is still too early to speak of the outcome of this ven-
ture, for the trees have not yet started to give their first fruit,
[242] but this instance illustrates his usual energetic spirit.

Dr. Aliança took the office of mayor seriously and gave a
159 great deal of energy to it. His accomplishments were many
in the space of a few years: the paving of most of the town's
632 streets, the installation of electric lights on the streets, the
463 formation of a company to sell electricity to those who wanted
it, the installation of telephone communications with the cap-
653 ital, and the construction of a new, modern primary school
building. As a result of his personal energy and direction
these works were completed, or at least nearly so, when he
left the office. (According to law, the mayor cannot be re-
elected). However, with the exception of building a bridge,
nothing was done in the rural areas of the county. Tradition-
ally any public works in the county are done in the county seat.

441 Many of the merchants in Group 1 are small operators.
463 The capitalization of the stores in Vila Recôncavo runs from
443 Cr$100.000,00 to as low as Cr$5.00,00. However, no matter
how small the store, it provides a living for someone, or as
• [471] they say in Vila Recôncavo, "Sempre da!" To the ordinary
town citizen it is difficult to get enough capital together to open
a store, but once opened it rarely closes for lack of business.
Of the twelve stores in town, eight are owned and operated by
men, and the other four belong to women. The best store in
441 town and the poorest one both belong to women. The "best"
444 store, Dona Carmen's, is the oldest, located on the main
street leading from the boat dock. At present it is owned by
[428] Dona Carmen, who inherited it from her brother. It com-
bines a general store and a bakery, and its prices are often
slightly higher than those in other stores. It serves most of
the people living in the older section of town. In addition to
having the largest stock of ordinary foods, the store also car-
ries finer packaged products such as wines, jellies, and pre-
serves.

444 Bread is baked in the afternoon and delivered to the doors
256 of the customers' houses, still warm and with the delicious
odor always associated with bread fresh from the oven. The
bakery's customers for the most part have standing orders,
receiving bread or rolls each day in time for supper. What
is left over is hawked through the streets by the delivery boy,

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9. Recent Changes in Vila Recôncavo

THE FIELD WORK described in Chapters 1 through 8 of this study was carried out from June, 1950, to June, 1951. In 1955 and 1956 the author had the opportunity to do further work in Vila Recôncavo. This chapter is a summary of some of the changes which have occurred during the five-year period from 1951 to 1956.

First, the sugar industry has undergone several changes, developing still further from the plantation (engenho) toward the highly industrialized factory (usina) as postulated in the introduction. The factory-plantation system, as distinct from the private plantations, has experienced the most change.

Usina São Pedro was described earlier as a family corporation, owned and directed by members of one extended family. At one time in the past five years, this family was obliged to take into the corporation a large amount of capital representing a second family enterprise, considerably larger in scope than that of the first. Within a short period the second family achieved complete control of the factory through a series of financial manipulations. As a result, Usina São Pedro passed from the Conde family's ownership and direction, and is now just one element of a large commercial firm.

For a more complete understanding of Bahian society it is necessary that we examine this second family corporation. The key word is "family," which represents almost a constant in this culture. The second family, the Helvetians, is a second generation immigrant family. The major activities of the family corporation--there are other stockholders, especially employees, with small holdings--have always been commercial: exporting, importing, distributing, and transporting. The cor-

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change. New faces and basically different relationships pre- [466]
vail at Usina São Pedro.

Another change, but this time in tune with the past, was an 178
increase of capital, applied to the improvement of the factory. 249*
The capacity of the mill has been greatly enlarged. However, 433
the agricultural part of the combination continues as it did be- [471]
fore, with no innovations. The result is that the factory is
able to mill and produce sugar much more quickly than it can
be supplied with sugar cane. The hierarchical aspect of the [466]
factory as earlier diagrammed remains the same, and each
plantation is still run as a separate unit.

In contrast, the private plantation in the community of Vila 178
Recôncavo has undergone relatively little change in these five 249*
years. Always the most conservative element in the Recôncavo, [466]
the private plantation continues to retain its distinguishing fea-
ture: the personal, face-to-face, paternalistic owner-worker
relations. The hierarchical pattern remains the same. Opera- 178
tions are still basically hand- and animal-powered, but pri- 249*
vate planters are slowly introducing mechanization in certain 461
aspects of the process, especially that of transportation; [492]
trucks and tractor-drawn wagons carry cane from the fields
to the factory. Tractors and mechanical plows are used to an [493]
increasingly large extent in the preparation of the soil, and [407]
mechanical cultivators are already in use on some planta- [492]
tions. However, the bulk of the work is still done by hand, [407]
and traction is supplied by oxen and mules. As yet no me-
chanical loaders, ditch-diggers, or planters have appeared,
and little use is made of fertilization or herbicides. Few sci- [242]
entific agricultural practices are in use. The planter is still
first and foremost a "practical" man.

Relations between the factory and the private plantations 178
have also undergone considerable change, in both business 249*
and social aspects. The new managers of the factory have 571
succeeded in almost completely alienating the private planters
who supply them with sugar cane. Not only the members of
the extended Conde family, but also other cane suppliers re-
sented the highhanded, brusque methods of the new managers.
Wishing to break completely with the past, the new managers
instituted several new policies in relations with the cane sup- [443]
pliers. Formerly the private suppliers bought sugar by the [452]
sack, bought their supplies at the company store, and had
their machines repaired at the company workshops, paying [407]
for such services at the end of the harvest season. The sup-

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gave sugar growing a great impetus by organizing expeditions of soldiers which he led into the farthest reaches of the Bay of All Saints, killing, driving out or enslaving the hostile Indian inhabitants, so as to make the area safe for settlers to move out of the city
175 into the surrounding area and plant sugar. Mem de Sá himself built
249 one of the largest and most productive of the sugar plantations in the
423 Recôncavo.[2] His lands comprised three and a half leagues along the coastline of the Bay, extending four leagues inland, and two islands.[3] This *sesmaria*—as the early land grants were called—of Mem de Sá was broken down into smaller pieces by his daughter who inherited it, and by the end of the sixteenth century, most of the *sesmarias* of the Recôncavo had similarly, been divided into plantations averaging approximately 600 to 1,000 acres. In the past 250 years, many of these have kept the same boundaries and names, but their ownership has changed hands many times and they have passed through many cycles of prosperity and depression.

249 The essential form of a plantation in the Recôncavo has changed
[178] little since the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the past, the entire plantation was known as an *engenho*, taking its name from
[376] the sugar-mill building which was the heart of the plantation. There were two chief types of sugar mills, one operated by water power
(492) and the other driven by traction power supplied by oxen. Before the end of slavery, steam-driven machinery had also come into use.
[375] A typical *engenho* had four main items of wealth—its lands, its
[471] buildings, the livestock and the slaves. Most of the land was, of course, planted in sugar cane, but there were also wood forests to supply firewood, pastures for the livestock, and small areas devoted
249 to the raising of food stuffs for the personnel of the *engenho*. The buildings of an *engenho* included the sugar mill, the *sobrado*, or home
342 of the owner, and the slave quarters. The owner's house was frequently a very large and pretentious building with one and a half or two storeys. In the Recôncavo the landowners sought to build their houses *a meia encosta*, or against the side of a hill, giving the appearance of a two-storey house in front, but only one in the rear. Such homes were frequently constructed of stone, wood and mortar, with tile roofs. The slave quarters, which were known as *senzalas*, were generally long narrow buildings with sides of mud or *taipa* and
249 and roofs of palm fronds. The livestock of a typical *engenho* con-
231 sisted of oxen, burros, horses, sheep and cows. The oxen supplied
[492] the power to turn the grinding mills when there was no water power, and they pulled the large two-wheeled carts which were used to transport the cane from the fields to the mill. Horses and burros provided transportation for the plantation owner in supervising the work in the fields, and for him and his family for visits to nearby *engenhos* and to town. Cattle and sheep grazing on the portions of the land which were fallow supplied milk and meat to the plantation community.

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The most valuable property of a colonial *engenho*, however, was the slaves. Comparatively few Portuguese came to the Recôncavo, and even those among them who had been labourers in Portugal did not come to Brazil to do manual work. African slaves had already been used on sugar plantations in the Madeira Islands, and a slave system was imported into Brazil along with sugar cane. Although it was expressly prohibited by the Portuguese Government,[4] the early settlers in Bahia enslaved the Indians who did not flee or who were not killed in the early fighting with the colonists. Governor Mem de Sá's Testament lists 95 Indian men slaves, 84 Indian women slaves and only 20 African slaves.[5] From the start, however, Indians were considered inferior to Africans as slaves; they seemed unable to adapt themselves to continuous labour in the fields and mills. Yet in many cases they were kept as fishermen, hunters and boatmen for the *engenho*, being in these activities superior to the newly-arrived Negroes. By 1700, the Negro slaves greatly outnumbered the Europeans in the region, and there were but few Indian slaves. Slave was almost synonymous with Negro.

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An inventory of an *engenho* of about 650 acres, made in 1866 shortly before the end of slavery, gives a total value of 200 contos[1] for the *engenho*. The land, houses, slaves and livestock were valued at 125 contos; the value of the slaves alone was placed at 65 contos. The inventory divides the slaves into two categories: house slaves *(escravos de casa)* and work slaves *(escravos de lavoura)*. There were 18 house slaves and 103 work slaves. Among the house slaves were 1 barber-tailor-painter, 6 servants, 1 cook, 2 seamstresses and 1 apprentice seamstress, 2 sweet-makers, 2 laundresses, and 3 children without specific 'profession', as their occupation was called. Of the work slaves, 59 were listed as field workers (26 men and 33 women of all ages above the age of 12), 18 as small children, and 26 as specialists—including 4 ox-cart drivers, 3 sailors, 2 ironsmiths, 3 bricklayers, 1 field manager, 1 ship captain, 1 gardener, 1 barrel-maker, 1 specialist in the boiling of sugar, and 1 nurse. The prices of the slaves ran from 'without value' or as low as 20 milreis to as high as 1 conto 400 milreis, depending upon the age, physical condition and degree of skill of the slave.[2] The slaves were always listed in such inventories as foreign- or native-born and generally, if it were known, the place or tribe of origin was given. Many are listed simply as *Africano*. For those born in Brazil, the terms used are *Pardo*, *Cabra* or *Crioulo*; the diminutive form of these terms is used for all

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[1] The conto is a unit of Brazilian currency, composed of 1,000 milreis. The milreis, or cruzeiro as it is also called today, is the standard unit of currency. In 1951 the milreis was officially valued at 5.37 cents in U.S. currency, making the conto worth $52.70. However, it must be kept in mind that in 1866 the value of the milreis was considerably higher.

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[2] In 1855 this same *engenho* had 60 house slaves and 158 work slaves. The highest valued slave was 900 milreis.

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567 those under 12 years of age.[1] Of the 121 slaves listed in the particular inventory mentioned above, 40 were African. Most of these came from West Africa. Of those whose African origin is indicated, *Nago* (Yoruba) is most often listed, and *Gege* (Ewe) is second.

249 On these sugar plantations of the Recôncavo in the colonial period,
565 the overseer of all operations involved in the growth of sugar cane and production of sugar was the owner himself. Generally, only the
463 oldest son was trained to take over his duties on the plantation; the younger sons were sent to Salvador, to Recife, or even to Europe to be educated as lawyers, physicians, engineers or Catholic priests. Daughters were married early and given their dowry, or they were
[582] sent to convents to become nuns or live as lay sisters. Marriages with first cousins were frequent. Every effort was made to keep the plantation undivided and in the family. The Recôncavo sugar plantation, until about the middle of the nineteenth century, was a remarkably stable community changing little in size and organization from generation to generation.

249 After the abolition of slavery, there was a partial exodus of ex-
567 slaves from the plantations to nearby towns and to the capital of Bahia. The ex-slaves who moved to small towns became manual
463 labourers or fishermen, or engaged in the profession they had learned on the plantations, such as barbering, bricklaying, etc. In other
464 cases, ex-slaves rented small plots of land on neighbouring plantations to raise manioc, corn, tobacco and other crops which required little
[427] outlay of capital. Others became sugar planters on a small scale; known as *rendeiros*, they rented a few acres from a plantation and cultivated sugar cane, sending the product to the nearby *engenhos* for milling. In other cases, the ex-slaves simply moved from one plantation to another, or they often remained as free men on the same plantation, still engaged in raising sugar cane, living under the same
249 conditions as before, but legally free. Contrary to popular opinion,
433 the *engenhos* of the Recôncavo did not all cease operations after
567 abolition. Many of them kept on producing as before. In other cases the *engenho* or mill closed down while the plantation continued to plant sugar cane, sending it to a nearby *engenho* which was still functioning for milling. Some *engenhos*, however, did close down altogether and were abandoned, or went into the hands of receivers.
249 At this time many plantations changed owners—wealthy people in
471 the city were able to buy lands at a low cost and did so. But the
567 failure of many of the *engenhos* in the Recôncavo was not a direct result of abolition, it was rather the continuation of an economic
[425] trend which had been going on for a long time. For many years previous to abolition, the plantations of the Recôncavo had suffered
[826] from lack of capital, poor administration, occasional crop failure, and
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[1] In the inventories, *pardo* indicated light skin; *mulato*, dark skin; and *crioulo*, black. These same terms nowadays are used differently in the Recôncavo. See page 98 ff.

from the competition of other sugar-producing areas. Abolition was the factor which, in many cases, simply ended a struggle several decades old.

The overall production of sugar in the Recôncavo was already dropping noticeably at the time of abolition, and it continued to decrease afterwards. At the end of the last century, state-supported *usinas*, or large mechanical factories for milling sugar cane, were opened in an effort to stimulate sugar production. At the same time, various other *usinas* were opened by private capital. These central mills received and processed the sugar cane of many plantations. The *usina* had the advantage of freeing the planter from the worries of milling and marketing the sugar, allowing him to concentrate on higher production of sugar cane, while the mechanized *usina* was able to produce more sugar out of the cane, thus increasing production. This system of sugar production proved relatively lucrative, and the government *usinas* passed into private hands. The owners of *usinas* bought as many neighbouring plantations as possible, and in this way the *usineiros*, as they were called, became at the same time the mill owners and sugar-cane planters—employers of factory workers and of agricultural workers. The plantations which did not pass into the hands of an *usina* became *fornecedores*, supplying cane to one or another large sugar mill.

The *usina* system, however, in many respects did little to change the traditional plantation system. The plantations belonging to *usineiros* continue as separate units; each generally had an administrator, a man responsible to the *usineiro*, who is in charge of the plantation. As a rule the administrator, who is an employee of the *usina*, lives in the old *sobrado*, the former residence of the *senhor do engenho*, as the old plantation owners were known. The workers on the plantations and their families frequently still live in *senzala*-like houses, usually a long narrow building under one roof divided into separate apartments of two or three rooms. Despite many changes of technology, many examples of the old and the new exist side by side on these Recôncavo plantations. On the same plantation both mechanical tractor and ox traction may be used to pull plows. There are workers' houses side by side, one with electricity and a radio, and another using candles and kerosene lamps. Furthermore, the hierarchy of workers and specialists in sugar-cane raising persists little modified from the early nineteenth century. There are the field hands, the ox-cart drivers, the artisans and other specialists. The plantation is also approximately the same size as it was in the early nineteenth century (although several may be the property of one company nowadays) and it has about the same number of hired workers as it had slaves before.

But the *usina* system and other outside influences have made for many fundamental changes in the Recôncavo. In the very large

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOil Bahia Brazilians SOil

Outside the city of Bahia and skirting the rim of All Saints Bay lies the Reconcavo,[7] some sixty miles long and varying from a few to thirty miles wide. Its soil is a cretaceous marl of great thickness, similar to the black gumbo of southern Arkansas and northern Texas, known locally as *massapé* or, in literal translation, "that which sticks to the feet." It is quite fertile and well watered and today appears only slightly impaired after nearly four centuries of cultivation. This is the cane and tobacco area upon which formerly both Bahia's commercial greatness and her need for reliable agricultural (hence slave) labor was based.

The Reconcavo was formerly a center of large landholdings, of a rural aristocracy, of a patriarchal system, and of slavery. Today, cane and tobacco are still cultivated, although the former, and to some extent the latter, languish by reason of the condition of the world-market and the persistence of primitive techniques of production. Although large landholdings are still common, the rural aristocracy is decadent, its prestige having suffered a gradual but persistent decline throughout the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries with the loss of the sugar monopoly, the growth of the coastal towns, and the accompanying increase in prestige of the urban professional classes. The abolition of slavery in the late nineteenth century was the final blow, and absentee ownership is now the predominating pattern. However, the present population is more dense in the Reconcavo than elsewhere in the state outside the city of Bahia and remains to this day markedly negroid in character.

[7] The literal meanings of the Portuguese word *reconcavo* are (1) a bay of semicircular shape and (2) the environs of a city. These two meanings appear to have fused in the Bahian use of the term.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
East Brazil SN1
Northeast Brazil SO1
Brazil SL1

EB NB 175 249 257 B 175 654 249 257 B [647]

In the first quarter of the twentieth century this competition of the more efficient and centrally located sugar industry of the Central-South threatened to bankrupt the Northeast.[44] Because the nation feared that a collapse of the sugar economy in the Northeast would destroy the social and economic base of these states, steps were taken to stabilize the industry. In 1933 the Instituto do Açúcar e do Álcool (Institute of Sugar and Alcohol) was created as a semi-autonomous branch of the federal government. Its purpose was to stabilize prices, maintain an equilibrium of production through quotas, and to control foreign sale of sugar. The effect of this program has been to subsidize the less efficient industry of the Northeast at the expense of the industry of the Central-South.

NB EB 178 249 257 43

During World War II temporary disruption of the national production quota system allowed the Central-South to expand, an advance which it continued to maintain after the war. This expansion limited the markets available to the sugar industry of the Northeast.

BB 178 249 257 433 B [433]

In Bahia the relative decline in sugar production, begun in the 1860's, continued steadily except for a break during and following World War I. In 1952 the mills of Bahia produced only 60,279 tons of (white) sugar of a total Brazilian production of 1,785,017 tons.[45]

BB 175 178 249 43

While the sugar industry of the Recôncavo was losing markets in the initial half of the twentieth century, the tobacco industry was able to maintain and in some cases even to expand its markets. Although the maximum level of export of Brazilian tobacco was reached in 1902 (50,000 tons), the decline thereafter was only moderate, and the export was stabilized, except for World War II, at about 30,000 tons, 80 per cent of which was from Bahia. In 1865

BB 175 277 472

the first cigarette factory in Bahia had been founded.[46] Small operators had produced cigars for some time, but by the beginning

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1

BB 175 277 472 of the twentieth century there were four cigarette factories and twelve cigar factories in the Recôncavo.[47]

B BB 647 249 654 656 As was characteristic for other products in Brazil, a semi-autonomous government organization was set up to stabilize the tobacco industry in Bahia--the Instituto Bahiano do Fumo (Bahian Institute of Tobacco). Founded in 1935, the Instituto attempts to stimulate the production and improvement of techniques and quality, supervise marketing through a grading system, set minimum prices, and control export of leaf tobacco. Although the Instituto has not succeeded in changing significantly the techniques of the tobacco industry, it has been reasonably successful in maintaining production and price.

BB 175 178 249 245 Just as Bahia had been displaced from its leading position within Brazil, so in turn was the Recôncavo displaced from its exalted position within the state. Tobacco replaced sugar as Bahia's leading commercial product in the nineteenth century, but forfeited its position to cacao in the twentieth century. The replacement of sugar by tobacco was primarily a shift within the Recôncavo, but the rise of cacao brought to the fore Bahia's southern coast. In one sense, however, the Recôncavo retained its old centrality--Salvador remains today the leading political and economic focus of the state, even for the cacao trade.

BB 433 249 BB 161 162 The continued importance of the Recôncavo in Bahia has been partially the result of the vested interests of the sugar and tobacco systems. In addition, the Recôncavo remains today the leading center of population in Bahia, despite its relative decline. In 1872 the Recôncavo had at least 450,000 out of a total state population of 1,379,616. Thereafter the position of the Recôncavo declined, so that by 1940 only one-fourth of the almost four million people of the state lived in this region. However, the compact population

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SOI1 Bahia Brazilians SO11

233 of Cachoeira as a regional center could account for some decline in
433 its cattle population. On the other hand, the almost four-fold increase in cattle in São Francisco, more than two-fold increase in Itaparica, and almost two-fold increase in Jaguaripe, indicated by the data, are not credible in view of the general agricultural situation. A moderate increase in the cattle population of these areas, to serve the growing Salvador market, is reasonable enough, but not such an astronomical expansion.

231 Swine. Although much less numerous than cattle—there were
433 135,000 swine in the Recôncavo in 1948—pigs are similary ubiquitous. These animals are particularly important in Feira de Santana and Irará, in the Southwestern Recôncavo, and on the island of Itaparica (Map 81). In the Feira de Santana-Irará area swine were much less numerous than cattle, but in the Southwestern Recôncavo and on Itaparica they were the most common livestock animal. Pigs were also the most numerous livestock in adjoining Nazaré, Aratuípe, and Jaguaripe.

The swine population of the Recôncavo is almost surely increasing. This increase is strongly indicated by the evident general agricultural development of the Southwestern Recôncavo, the main center of swine production. A comparison of the 1940 and the 1948 data shows an increase which is in excess of the probable errors of the data. The pattern of change within the Recôncavo shown by the 1940 and 1948 data is irrational for many municípios, although the strong increases shown for the Southwestern Recôncavo and for Feira de Santana are reasonable in view of the observable development of these areas.

231 In the cattle industry, big enterprises are dominant, but swine
[472] are produced almost exclusively by small holders, renters, and sharecroppers, each with two or three pigs. The swine are tough, thick-hided

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 279

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 423 some properties in excess of 100,000 hectares of land. Such overwhelmingly large properties signalize a tremendous concentration of power and, for the sertão, much wealth.

The large properties of the Recôncavo were less extensive than the vast fazendas of the sertão, but they probably represented an even greater assemblage of economic and social power. The sugar cane plantations and the associated usinas, with their traditional prestige, large capital investment, and centralized production, are the preponderant social institutions of the Recôncavo.

[249] [471]

Land Tenure. Most of the formal categories of farm tenure which are characteristic of the agriculture of the United States are present also in the Recôncavo: ownership by private individuals and corporations; operation by owners, administrators, renters, and "squatters,"[5] However, the contrasts in property size and the centralized control of agricultural credit and capital in the Recôncavo give these these general types of agricultural tenure and operation a distinctive character.

241 423 472 Proprietor Operation. Most of the agricultural properties of the Recôncavo were operated by the owner in 1940. Only in the Southern Recôncavo--Maragogipe and Salvador--were less than half of the properties owner-operated. In most of the region and the adjoining area three-fourths of the units were operated by the owner (Map 112). The area occupied by owner-operated units was in excess of half the enumerated area in all parts of the region except the Southern Recôncavo (Map 113). However, the area in owner-operated properties was higher in the tobacco-manioc area of the Southwestern Recôncavo--70 to 80 per cent--than in either the tobacco-manioc or the sugar cane region north of the Bay. A greater contrast is reflected in the map of the mean size of owner-operated properties (Map 114). In Conceição do Almeida--

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 330]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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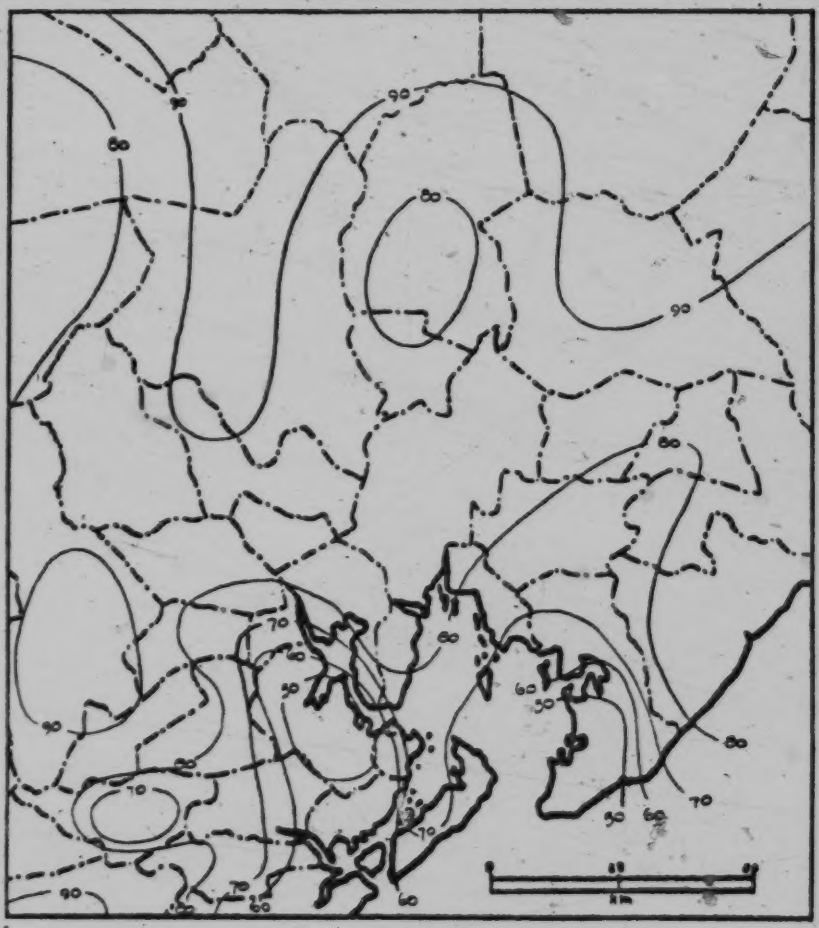

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of All Agricultural Properties Which Were Owner-Operated--1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 112

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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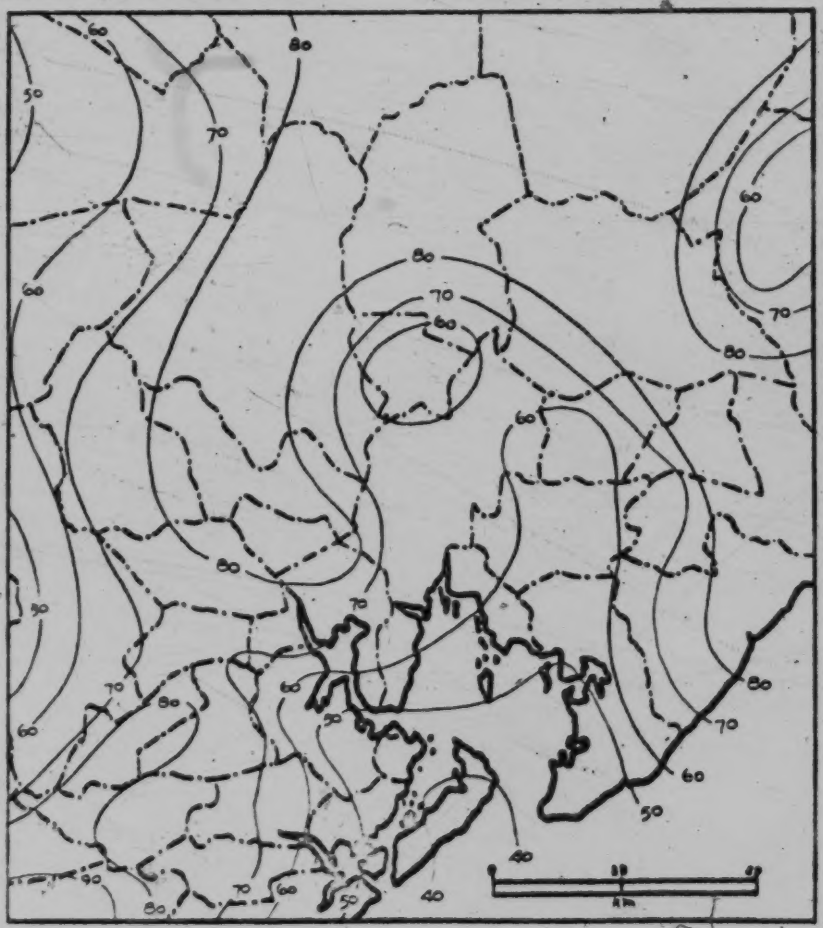

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Enumerated Area in

Owner-Operated Properties—1940

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 113

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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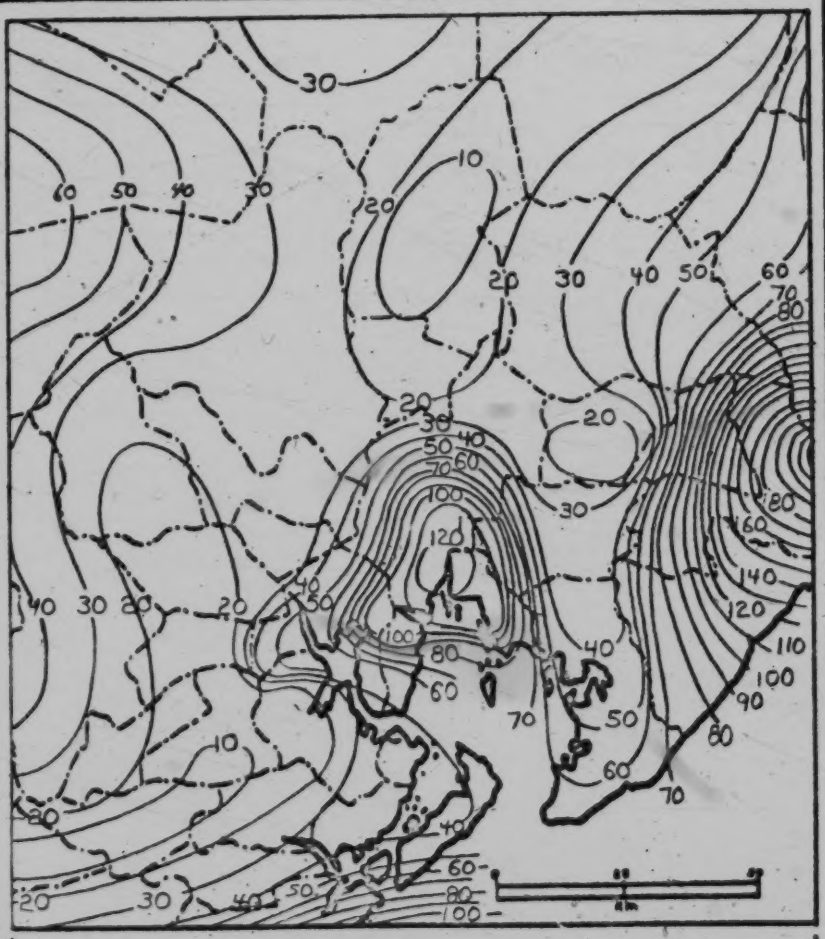

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Mean Size of Owner-Operated Properties—1940

In Hectares

Source of data: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

MAP 114

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 Southwestern Recôncavo--the 80 per cent of all units which were owner-
423 operated had a mean size of 16 hectares in 1940. In São Francisco--
• 472 Central Recôncavo--the 75 per cent of all units which were owner-operated had a mean size of 113 hectares. In general the mean size of owner-operated units in the tobacco-manioc region was from 15 to 30 hectares, while the mean size in the sugar cane region exceeded 100 hectares.

241 Operation by Administrator. Absentee ownership in the Recôncavo
423 probably had its origin in the colonial period, when it was the practice
471 of many of the senhores de engenho (sugar cane planters) to spend part
178 of the year in Salvador. As the urban interests of the owner increased, the management of some properties passed into the hands of overseers, frequently drawn from the mixed-blood retinue of the plantation owner. To a lesser extent the same practice seems to have developed in other parts of the Recôncavo, as the property owner became involved in business, in the professions, or in politics in the cidades or in Salvador. The development of corporate landholding as a concomitant of the usina system has made agricultural administrators even more numerous.

241 Properties operated by administrators were found in every muni-
423 cípio of the Recôncavo in 1940 (Map 115). In 13 municípios over
471 one-tenth of the properties were so operated. The number of administrator-operated properties was relatively large in São Félix--25 per cent--in the sugar cane region, but also in the município of Salvador and on the island of Itaparica opposite.[6] The area in administrator-operated properties was relatively great in the sugar cane zone--30 to 40 per cent--and near Salvador, in general conforming to the pattern of the relative number of properties under administrators (Map 116). However, administrator-operated properties in the Central Recôncavo were relatively large--200 hectares in São Francisco

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 333]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 423 471 [249] Although there were a few corporate lands in the vicinity of the city of Salvador in 1940, the main concentration was in the sugar cane area north of the Bay. Here the large corporately-owned usinas controlled as much as 30 per cent of the agricultural land. Most of these corporate properties were sugar cane plantations, but some were cattle ranches and other accessory properties. The corporations tend to dominate the sugar cane areas which are most productive and most favorably located for the transportation of cane and of the refined sugar and other products.

Conclusion. The strong network of interpersonal relationships, discussed in connection with crop cultivation and systems, is often more important than the purely formal aspects of land ownership and operation in the Recôncavo. The agricultural society of the Recôncavo is closely knit, so that the effective freedom of operation of the farm operator is very limited. Although the large and rich landowners have, on some levels, a greater latitude than the small operators, they too are enmeshed in a system of inherited economic and social obligations and are subject to the restrictions imposed by the urban upper class. [565]

241 441 442 472 [656] The two primary local supervisory groups in the agricultural society are the merchant-buyers of the tobacco-manioc region and the general administrators and plantation owners of the sugar cane region. However, both these groups are under the more or less immediate control of the sugar and tobacco companies in Salvador and of the official Instituto do Açúcar e do Álcool and the Instituto Baiano do Fumo.[7]

249 471 472 656 The operations of the sugar cane plantations are dictated by the mills, which specify the type and quantity of cane and the schedule of delivery. In turn, the amount of sugar produced by the mill is determined by the Instituto do Açúcar e do Álcool, while the policy of

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1

BB 249 407 472 [656] operation is determined by the company officers, who generally live in Salvador. The company, in its turn, is subject to some control from Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo investors. This structured system of control probably is one of the reasons for the continuation of the monoculture in the sugar cane area. The usual explanation offered for the cane monoculture is the unique suitability of the soil and climate and the innate conservatism of the Baiano. However, one of the features of the present sugar economy is the lack of capital for other enterprises. The absentee owners, who are the only likely source of capital, are hesitant to advance money for new and untried enterprises. Moreover, alternative agricultural enterprises, if successful, would reduce the supply of cane and thus eventually raise the cost of usina operation.

BB 249 244 442 In the tobacco-manioc region the control exercised by Salvador is indirect, but compelling, because the small tobacco producer is almost completely at the mercy of the buyer, who receives orders from the tobacco exporter and manufacturer through the agent.

BB 241 423 471 [184] [231] [233] The differences in production specialization, size, and tenure among the agricultural properties of the Recôncavo both accentuate the basic dichotomy of the region and re-emphasize its unity. The small-scale mixed crop cultivation and livestock producing unit of the tobacco-manioc region and the large-scale crop cultivation unit of the sugar region are both esentially engaged in the production of commercial crops. Both are distinct from the primary agricultural unit of the sertão, the livestock ranch. Both are subject to the over-all economic control of the center—Salvador.

B BB 241 423 184 [249] In most parts of Brazil, as in the Recôncavo, the agricultural properties are highly diverse in size, function, and ownership. Most areas of sugar cane cultivation have relatively large properties, primarily engaged in crop cultivation. In other areas, as in

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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of livestock, which had a value greater than sugar cane but less than manioc.

Agricultural activities within the Recôncavo are localized in several distinct sub-regions, each with a specialized system of cultivation and each with either one or two principal crops. The primary agricultural subdivisions of the region are: (1) the sugar cane monocultural sub-region; and (2) the tobacco-manioc sub-region.

249 Sugar cane is grown as the exclusive crop in its major area of production--the pocket of coastal plain north of the Baía de Todos os Santos. Cane is generally cultivated under a four-year monoculture and one-year fallow system on large properties employing large quantities of hand labor and using oxen to draw plows and carts. Neither fertilizer [407] nor agricultural machinery is used to any appreciable extent. Most of [492] the animals used as labor in the production of sugar cane are brought [231] into the area from the sertão, and little livestock breeding is found [233] in this area. The processing of sugar cane is in the hands of a small [471] number of medium-sized usinas. The companies which own these usinas [178] are gradually buying up the plantations so that to an increasing extent the mills directly control the production of sugar cane. Most of the [497] cane is brought to the usinas by railroad, although sailing boats are [489] used for this purpose along tidewater. Most of the sugar produced in [505] the Recôncavo is consumed within the state of Bahia, but small quantities [438] are shipped to other parts of Brazil. Both the aristocratic upper class [439] and the rising non-aristocratic business interests of the Recôncavo are [565] involved in the ownership and administration of the sugar industry. The [471] permanent labor force is supplied from the settlements of the sugar cane [472] plantations and the mills, but the rural population and the labor force [464] of the sugar area are declining. Seasonal labor for the harvest comes [178] from the interior sertão of Bahia.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 industry than the aristocrats, as the partial rationalization of the
565 sugar system since 1900 testifies. However, the entry of even these
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571 relatively progressive and forward-looking business men into an industry whose only future is that guaranteed by the protection of the government does not reveal a willingness either to accept short-term risks or to make an investment in the long-term future of the Recôncavo.

175 Tobacco, as has been seen, began its history as an auxiliary of
277 the sugar cane economy. The development of the commercial tobacco
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439 economy since 1800 indicates a greater flexibility than is characteristic
[567] of the sugar industry. When the decline of the slave trade brought an end to the African market for fumo em corda, the tobacco economy turned
277 to a new product, fumo em fôlha, and to a new market, Europe. Unlike
439 the sugar of the Recôncavo, Bahian tobacco has been able to compete successfully in the European market against leaf imported from Cuba and from Sumatra. Moreover, the leaf tobacco of Bahia dominates the internal market of Brazil to a degree not equaled by the local sugar industry for several centuries.

There are several possible explanations for the relatively
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472 greater flexibility of the tobacco economy. Several of the more promi-
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178 nent firms in the manufacturing of cigars and in the export of tobacco have foreign origins or are owned by people of European background. Indirectly these firms may have affected the operation of the tobacco economy, but it is difficult to find any signs of significant changes in the methods of cultivation. On the other hand, the tobacco industry and trade seem to have been spared the unimaginative and inflexible leadership which the aristocratic upper class of the Recôncavo has given to the sugar industry.

249 Tobacco cultivation by its very nature is more flexible than
[457] the system of sugar production. Instead of the usina, which must be

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Private Plantation]

The following discussion will examine one of the five private plantations in the community of Vila Recôncavo and will then describe the network of factory plantations in the same community. 128

The Private Plantation: Fazenda das Moças

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The Fazenda das Moças ("G" on map of community) is typical of a privately owned plantation in all respects but one. Its owner is a lady who assumed active direction of the plantation after her husband's death. At first there was some difficulty in persuading the overseer of the plantation to take orders from a woman, for he felt his prestige was lowered in the eyes of the workmen as well as the overseers of neighboring plantations. However, after three or four years, Dona Sinhá, in cooperation with "Seu"[1] Paulo, the overseer, has made an outstanding success of her plantation, and the original friction between the two has greatly diminished. Below is an inventory of the Fazenda das Moças:

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Extent: 930 tarefas,[2] mostly of massapê, 450 of which are under sugar-cane cultivation, the rest consisting of pasture and small gardens

Water: 4 drinking tanks for livestock
2 small freshwater streams
(Drinking water must be brought from a neighboring plantation, which has a spring well known in the area for the salubrious qualities of its water.) [312]

Houses: 45 workers' houses [342]
Owner's house, with living room, dining room, 4 bedrooms, kitchen, bathroom, 2 maids' rooms, 2 other dependencies, veranda; surrounded by orchard
1 overseer's house
1 house formerly used as a school

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1. "Seu" is a corruption of Senhor and is a title often given to persons of some prestige.

2. The tarefa is the unit of land measurement used in Bahia. It equals 900 square braças. The braça equals 6 feet, which gives the tarefa 32,400 square feet. This is 11,160 square feet less than one acre. [804]

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[464]
[241] sugar workers move rarely, remaining for generations on the same plantation. Each family has its garden where a little maize, beans
[465] and manioc are grown. Pay day comes every two weeks, when as a rule the worker goes to the owner's house to receive his money. The pay is small, 15 to 25 dollars a fortnight, depending on how
[461] much the man has worked during the period. Men do not like to work more than five to six hours a day, from six a.m. to twelve noon, and seldom work more than five days a week. They work easily, without hurry. In the afternoon they work in their garden, if their
249 wives have not already done so. On the plantation no one starves;
466 everyone has his *patrão* (protector) in the person of the owner, and in case of an emergency, accident or sickness, he expects help from him. This personal element is very important on most plantations in the vicinity of Vila Recôncavo; as a rule, the owner knows all the workers by name, knows their families and their family troubles and
[164] problems. He is aware of their love affairs and up-to-date on the health of new-born children and their mothers. Nearly all cases of sickness, from common colds and rheumatism to more serious ailments, are brought directly to the attention of the *patrão* or his wife. The owner, returning from a prolonged stay in the city, receives visits from the workers or from their wives, during which all the personal gossip is exchanged. The workers inquire about the owner's family and more extended family, for they generally know them all. Engagements, weddings, births, deaths and illnesses are reported on both sides. Complaints or requests are also made to the owner. The relationship is highly personal, intimate, gentle and frank.

466 On one rather small *usina*, which will be called São Pedro, in the
249 rural zone of Vila Recôncavo, the situation is somewhat different.
472 São Pedro is not one of the large *usinas* of the Recôncavo, owned by a corporation; it is relatively small and owned by one of the most
[473] important families of the Vila Recôncavo community, members of the regional aristocracy whose family has held plantations there for many generations. Because the owners of the *usina* actually administrate it, and since they are in residence in the locality at least part of the year, they are able to maintain many of the traditional personal relations with their employees, many of whom have worked on the plantations belonging to their family and in the *usina* for most
[162] of their lives. But there is a total of 1,183 workers and their families at the *usina* and on the plantations belonging to São Pedro, and the very size of the enterprise and the number of workers make for a more impersonal and more strictly economic relationship between employer and employee. Workers become more a name on a payroll, and the employer a person with whom one seldom has direct contact. In the larger *usinas* of the Recôncavo this trend is even more marked especially where the employer is a large corporation with offices in Salvador.

[SALVADOR]

/46/ Commerce

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*472 The merchants and the fazendeiros enjoy a prestige in Bahia
554 society proportional to the economic importance of their activities, the wealthiest families being made up by them, and their influence being well known in all the social life. It is by means of these two forms of activity that the Bahians acquire a certain social rank and exercise control over other sectors of the social structure (1).

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[162]

1. The economic activities that occupy the largest number of persons in the State of Bahia are agriculture and stock raising (67 o/o of individuals of the male sex); there follow in order of importance: small crafts industry and commerce, according to the census of 1940. In the city of Salvador (Bahia) the liberal professions and private instruction, which the statistics record in the aggregate, came in first place, and commerce and the industries are in second place.

*563
472 The national and racial groups that make up the population of Bahia participate in different fashion in the commerce and agriculture. While the Whites and the morenos predominate
[233] among the most important breeders of livestock, one finds among
[245] the owners of cacao plantations a large proportion of colored persons who began as small planters and have progressively enlarged their fazendas as cacoa gained in importance in the inter-
[249] national markets. The plantations of cane and the sugar mills that belonged to the families of Portuguese origin, who were very conscious of their social rank during the colonial period, are today almost entirely in the hands of large capitalist enterprises in which Whites and a few métis predominate.

*563 As for commercial activities, they are not carried on exclu-
441 sively by nationally and racially determined groups, but these groups portion them out among themselves up to a certain point --

[SALVADOR]

/46 cont./

*563 441 [186] although these lines of demarcation have a tendency to disappear. The Jews, who have immigrated since the first world war and whom people know under the name of "Russians," are the principal owners of furniture stores and are beginning to become interested in other kinds of commerce: strictly exclusive in their firms, they do not seem to have any Brazilian associates, so that the dark employees that they have among them never occupy any but subordinate positions and never reach the top positions that would permit them to take a place in the higher strata of society.

The characteristic endogamy of the Israelites has also contributed toward restricting the chances of colored people in this [233] sector. Some Jews of French origin who established themselves [472] in the city during the second half of the last century and who turned to commerce and stock raising were entirely assimilated. Their /47/ families today include some light métis and some *563 472 256 441 morenos. The Spaniards who dominate the grocery and bakery business are grouped into firms in which only they themselves and their immediate descendants participate. In order to maintain this commercial structure, the group is constantly renewed through the immigration of young men of the same nationality, who start to work in modest positions and end up by forming new firms or being integrated in the old ones. From the time the *563 472 441 Spanish emigrants came still unmarried or left their families in Spain, they had mulatto children or morenos here by their servants, children who were born illegitimate and who had no [175] right of inheritance (Brazilian law did not insure it to persons in [848] their position until some years later). But for about 20 years the [428] Spaniards have started to send for, or bring with them, their [671] families, so that they now form a very closed group, not only from the economic point of view, but especially from the social and, so to speak, the biological point of view. An informant [256] points out that in the old days numerous bakeries were the property of Blacks; since then the Spaniards have monopolized them almost completely, that they now control this type of business entirely. The antagonism of the inhabitants of Bahia against the

[SALVADOR]

The antagonism of the
/47 cont./ inhabitants of Bahia against the
*563 441 578 829 Spanish merchants is expressed, aside from the manifestations pointed out in another chapter, by the belief that they are responsible for the discrimination that is practiced against colored people in certain recreational clubs. In the trade of textiles and
*563 441 464 petty retail objects, such as the Syrians, Lebanese, Arabs, and Turks carry on in little shops, there are no longer many openings possible for colored people. The Arab merchants accept colored employees to work at the counter in their establishments, but, since these are generally modest family enterprises, their few light descendants of mixed blood or morenos remain in the lower or intermediate strata of the population.

*563 441 464 472 829 In the offices of large export or import firms made up in part of Europeans (Germans, English, Swiss), colored persons are admitted and may obtain positions carrying some responsibility, but they rarely reach the rank of owners. The European merchants, numerous informants say, have the reputation of being liberal with their employees and other colored persons with whom they do business or who collaborate in their activities: harbor services, transport, transit, navigation. A wealthy, dark mulatto merchant states that his transport enterprise works a great deal for large /48/ foreign firms: "The English are particularly pleasant in that they help their colored employees and promote them to the secretariat of management." They often bring them gifts from Europe, invite them to their clubs, and are happy when some of
[191] [186] them speak their language. "The German merchants who had very large firms in Bahia in the old days were very good to their colored assistants; they were very jealous of their language, however, and seemed not to like it at all when a Black spoke German. Some European firms honor their employees, even the Blacks, when they complete 20 or 30 years of service and give them bonuses on
[555] this occasion. But they do not promote them to important posts, sometimes because of their incompetence. The same thing does not happen with Brazilian firms, which are not accessible to colored people."

[SALVADOR]

/48 cont./

*563 441 •472 829 A fact known in Bahia is that during one of the two world wars an important German firm transferred the responsibility for its warehouses to one of its employees, a moreno, who had always been its confidential agent and who proved in this situation that he was really faithful by subsequently loyally returning the goods that had been entrusted to him. A mulatto merchant, [452] owner of a warehouse, recalls that German firms helped small Brazilian merchants a great deal, no matter what their physical characteristics were, by granting them credit facilities. "It was [464] in this way that this firm developed, with the help of Germans," he says, "at the time when the large Portuguese firms, formerly the most important, did not offer any facilities to colored people and did not even allow them to work in their offices." The ownership of firms was almost always transferred by the familial route [581] by means of marriages between the most capable employees and the daughters of owners and associates, which explains why the management of these firms always remained with the Portuguese and their descendants. One and the same firm could, moreover, in certain cases give birth to two or three other firms of the same structure, thanks to the competence of the owners' sons, who, with the aid of their parents, set themselves up on their own.

*563 441 472 871 555 A wealthy contractor thinks that it is owing to his black color that he did not progress in the modest employment that he had in an important commercial firm. In order to advance, he says, he was obliged to give up commerce and devote himself to jobs as a contractor. It is evident that the stagnation of some employees in occupations of little importance arises, in the majority of cases, from their incompetence, it being a fact that in Bahia, even today, but especially in the very recent past, the /Figs. 5 and 6 appear here/ /49/ young men who intended to go into commerce had not completed secondary studies, or showed themselves [464] incapable of continuing them. This situation is tending to improve, but the majority of minor employees is still made up of young colored men coming from poor families and from a very low level of education. These young people therefore have only minimal possibilities for elevating themselves in careers where success depends a great deal either on the importance of capital invested or on administrative knowledge.

121
*249 ditions and of paternalism. Here, the privately owned plantation is also still an important element.

In the community on which the present study focuses, there is a modern sugar factory or usina, but control by the factory of the entire process, from cane planting and harvesting to milling, is far from complete. Although the factory, in this case a family corporation, has bought up six neighboring plantations, at least half its supply of sugar cane comes from individual, family-owned plantations. Owners of these plantations, which have conserved their original boundaries, are often descendants of the aristocratic landholders of the past, and many of their workers are descendants of slaves who lived on the same plantations.

• [473]
[423]

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*249 In this community, changes in sugar-producing technology have not reached down into the actual cane cultivation on the plantations. Emphasis has been on the improvement of milling techniques, the further refinement of sugar-cane juice, and the perfection of the finished product by the central mill. But the agricultural methods--planting, cultivation, harvesting, and transportation--have remained relatively unchanged.

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571 Most important of all, with the retention of these older techniques has gone the retention to a very great degree of the old accompanying social system. The present social system tends to follow the old, traditional, family-oriented, slaveholding complex. The pattern of face-to-face interpersonal relations, developed during centuries of sugar-cane monoculture based on slavery, persists in a modified form. Although the relations between workers and owner on these family plantations are now those of employee and employer, and not slave and owner, there is still the highly personal, intimate relationship based upon mutual rights and obligations and a sense of the obligations of nobility. Even the usina system perpetuates this paternalism to a high degree.

121 The present work is a "community study" in the full sense of the term as it is understood today in social anthropology. It is primarily a descriptive analysis of one community in the sugar-producing region of northeastern Brazil, but it is conceived within the framework of the historical sequence outlined above.

175 located in a position where it could grind the cane of many
178 plantations. The two aspects of the sugar industry, the agri-
*249 cultural and the industrial, were to be separated. The cane was to be planted, cultivated, and harvested by one group of people; these were the former plantation masters, who under the new system became simply suppliers of sugar cane (fornecedores de cana) to the mill. The cane was then milled,
• [473] processed, and marketed by another group of people, a corporate body which became personified as the usineiro.

175 However, this division did not last long, for the modern up-
*249 to-date machinery of the new factories proved capable of grinding more cane than the planters were supplying. Because
473 of their poor financial conditions and loss of laborers due to
433 the abolition of slavery and the consequent resettlement of the former slaves, the planters were not able to expand their sugar-cane production enough to meet the demands of the factories. In other cases the planters resented the new factories and simply refused to cooperate, continuing to operate their outmoded mills in spite of adverse conditions. As a result, the corporations began buying plantations of their own, situated as near their mills as possible, in order to assure themselves of a larger supply of cane, and to lessen their dependence upon the individual planters.

175 There was an epoch when the hunger for land seemed insa-
*249 tiable. The usineiros not only had funds at their disposal which could be used for the purchase of land, but also had the means
425 of forcing individual planters to sell their land to the corpora-
473 tion. By refusing to mill the cane of the planter, or by taking his cane and then letting it sour, and by various other methods, the usineiros were able to force many planters into bankruptcy, after which the corporation bought the land. Also, many planters who continued to depend upon their own efforts, producing sugar in their old-style mills, gradually went into bankruptcy, since they could not compete with the improved product of the new factories.

175 In effect the factory system in Vila Recôncavo is an enlarged
* 249 agricultural-industrial combination, an engenho enlarged many
473 times over. The ownership pattern has changed; whereas the engenho was owned by a family, and therefore subject to transfer on the death of the owner, the usina is a corporation, which continues despite the death of stockholders. As will be shown
[178] later, however, the corporation may even be a family. The plantation master, owner of lands and of slaves and ruler of

small empires, disappeared. But in his place an even more powerful figure appeared, the usineiro, the land-factory combination director and representative of corporate power. 175 249* 473

However, not all private plantations succumbed to pressure from the factories or to economic collapse. There are many which still continue to plant and cultivate sugar cane and send it to the factory for milling. After 1933 the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol prescribed the amount of sugar cane each plantation, whether private or corporate, could produce, and indicated the total amount of sugar each factory could produce and how much cane it had to accept from each plantation. As a result of this protection, many private plantations continue to function in equilibrium with the factory to which they send their sugar cane. The private plantation owners also have a separate association which looks after their interests. [178] 175 249* 433 [656]

Thus the twentieth century has seen the introduction and development of the factory system and in its wake a series of fundamental changes. The growth of factory towns (the usina nuclei) has created further competition for the older county seats, such as the town of Vila Recôncavo, and further disintegration of the former community structure. 175 249* 178

Since its discovery and settlement, the rural area of Vila Recôncavo has been the scene of sugar-cane planting and sugar making. The rural area was settled before the town of Vila Recôncavo, and the plantation nuclei were actually self-sufficient small towns in themselves. The landowning pattern in this rural area has gone full cycle. First were the large land grants which were then split up into separate engenhos (after 1889 known as fazendas) through division due to inheritance, sale, or donation. For about three hundred years the pattern of the area was that of the engenho. However, at the end of the nineteenth century, this way of life came to an end as a result of financial crises and the abolition of slavery. The twentieth century has seen the introduction of the factory, which has led to a concentration of lands again under single ownership, although this time corporate and not that of a single individual or family. 175 178 249* 423

During the epoch of the plantations there was a necessity for the existence of the town to serve the needs of the landowning class. The community during this time was focused to a large extent toward the county seat. But with the abolition of slavery, the disappearance of the plantation master and his large family, and the coming of the factory, the former com- 175 178 249* 621

[The Private Plantation]

*249 829 178 [434] The entire harvest is done with great sacrifice, my head wearied by accounts; 6,000 tons of cane, over Cr$600.000,00--a lot of money, enough for all the expenses, and still some left over. What a mistake! The general costs, the extraordinary costs, house repairs, etc., will take it all. So we start again--new plantings, larger fields, all for more money. But we lack the courage to stop planting sugar cane and plant corn or coffee, anything else. We were born hearing of senhores de engenho, of trays and trays of silver service, of Negro slaves, of everything which has disappeared into the past. But it still burns in our blood, and deep down we want to have lands, to order and be obeyed. We like the humble and servile vassalage of the Negro, which makes us feel important, the dispensers of favors.

*249 829

I think of this as old Saturno goes along, step by step. There is Paulos Santos coming along the road, with his little burro and two baskets, going to get manioc for the ever-present farinha. "Good morning, Patron!" What affection I feel for each one of them! Pedro Manuel with so many little children; Zé Julião with his sick wife, Conceição with his air of secular servility. But affection resolves nothing! Money and action do! I could knock down those miserable hovels and make good hygienic houses.

Once home I fall into the hammock, reading Proust and forgetting everything.

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The Usina: Usina São Pedro

The Sociedad Anonima, the corporation which operates this factory, represents the new pattern in the Recôncavo. There are now nine factories functioning in the Recôncavo, for the trend has been to close the small ones which could not function economically. Five of the nine belong to one corporation, which holds extensive lands and receives the cane of many suppliers. We will describe the smallest of the four independent factories, which has a rated capacity of seventy-two thousand sacks of sugar as compared with the two hundred thousand of one of the larger mills (a sack equaling 60 kilograms). The legal capacity of the Usina São Pedro--which it has never reached--is fifty-two thousand sacks, as determined by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol. At the present time, however,

*249 433 [128] [656]

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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the factory is undergoing a reformation which will raise its capacity to over one hundred thousand sacks, and the legal capacity will be readjusted. 249* 433

Usina São Pedro, although the smallest, is representative of the others and experiences the same problems and difficulties. It differs from some in that it is a family enterprise. The stockholders are nearly all members of the Conde family, and the operations are directed by two members of the family. The factory itself was one of the three built by the state government in 1900 on land controlled by the Navy,[5] on the edge of the Bay, which provides excellent year-round transportation facilities. The mill was acquired in 1909 by the Conde family with two plantations, to which the family has since added four other contiguous plantations. The corporation has a total area of slightly over four thousand acres, mostly of rich massapê soil. The factory receives cane from the plantation of Dona Sinhá, who is also a member of the Conde family by birth and by marriage. It also gets cane from four other plantations within the community and four outside the community, which send their cane by the traditional sailboat. In addition, the factory owns a 2,324-acre plantation in the county of Purificação which is used for grazing and raising cattle and for supplying wood for the factory fires. There is direct water transportation between the factory and the plantation in Purificação. 249* 473 [653] [423] 249* [602] [423] [505]

The designation usina has several meanings which are quite similar to the meanings of the older term, engenho. In its larger context, usina means the entire land-factory combination, including the mill and all the plantations belonging to the corporation. More specifically, usina means the factory building itself. In another context, usina simply indicates the population nucleus, including the factory, the owner's house, and the other buildings. 249* 192

The usina or factory nucleus roughly follows the same settlement pattern of the old plantations. The point of orientation is the factory building, near which stand the chalet and other homes of the owning family, which are grouped together in a park of royal palms and mango trees. Usually a small chapel or oratory is included in one wing of the chalet, where 249* 361 [178]

5. The shoreline bordering salt water is controlled to the depth of 33 meters by the Brazilian Navy. [311]

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 8011 Bahia Brazilians 8011
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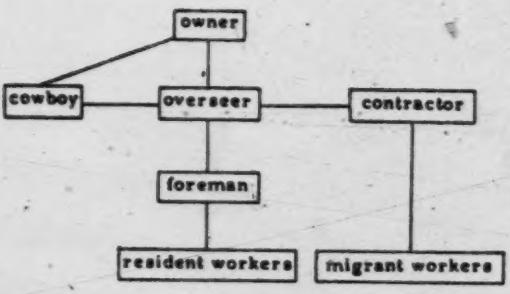

Fig. 1. Hierarchical diagram of the private plantation (Fazenda das Moças)

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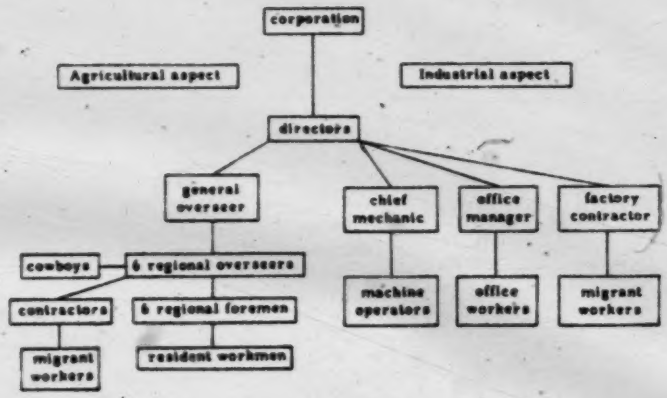

Fig. 2. Hierarchical diagram of the usina system (Usina São Pedro)

[Class A Families]

[Class B Families]

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such families also usually had fairly extensive accumulations of silver service, china and crystal, and linens. It was the custom for such possessions to be distributed among the heirs as separate items. One son would receive a plantation in the Recôncavo, another a ranch in the sertão; a daughter might receive a full and valuable set of table service, or perhaps a whole house and its furnishings in Salvador. Single plantations were almost never divided, unless they were large enough to make such a division practicable. Property divisions were often made rather arbitrarily by the family patriarch, and were often bitterly disputed by the heirs after his death. Slaves were also part of the property divided, although it was not infrequent that certain favorite slaves were freed at such a time. In other cases, the favorite slave of a son or daughter would be willed to him by the father. Through inheritances and constant divisions, the former large holdings of these aristocratic families came to be well broken up.

Today in the event of a death in a family, there is often only one plantation in which the heirs may share. However, the plantation is rarely divided. In some cases where there is no strong emotional tie to the plantation, the heirs may sell it outright and share the proceeds. Another solution has been to rent the plantation to a factory and thereby delay the final solution. Still another has been for one of the heirs to take over the management of the plantation, paying a rental fee to the other heirs. A final solution is often reached by allowing one of the heirs to purchase the plantation from his coinheritors, and in this way the plantation and its traditions remain in the family, and are to some extent shared by all members of the extended family.

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The problem of land disposal exists only for the private plantation. In the case of factory lands, ownership is corporate. Death of the holder of shares in the corporation does not affect the land tenure, which goes on as before. His shares in the corporation are simply distributed among his heirs.

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[596]
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The family pattern in Class B is quite different from that which has just been described. Although the conjugal family is equally small and shows the same trend toward diminution, there is never the extent or strength of the extended family which exists in Class A. In Vila Recôncavo, with only one exception, Class B families are only conjugal units without local tradition of generations in the area, for either they are couples who have recently come to the town in governmental

3: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1980-1981) 1987 8011 Bahia Brazilians 8011
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9. *Recent Changes in Vila Recôncavo*

THE FIELD WORK described in Chapters 1 through 8 of this study was carried out from June, 1950, to June, 1951. In 1955 and 1956 the author had the opportunity to do further work in Vila Recôncavo. This chapter is a summary of some of the changes which have occurred during the five-year period from 1951 to 1956.

First, the sugar industry has undergone several changes, developing still further from the plantation (engenho) toward the highly industrialized factory (usina) as postulated in the introduction. The factory-plantation system, as distinct from the private plantations, has experienced the most change.

Usina São Pedro was described earlier as a family corporation, owned and directed by members of one extended family. At one time in the past five years, this family was obliged to take into the corporation a large amount of capital representing a second family enterprise, considerably larger in scope than that of the first. Within a short period the second family achieved complete control of the factory through a series of financial manipulations. As a result, Usina São Pedro passed from the Conde family's ownership and direction, and is now just one element of a large commercial firm.

For a more complete understanding of Bahian society it is necessary that we examine this second family corporation. The key word is "family," which represents almost a constant in this culture. The second family, the Helvetians, is a second generation immigrant family. The major activities of the family corporation--there are other stockholders, especially employees, with small holdings--have always been commercial: exporting, importing, distributing, and transporting. The cor-

Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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473 poration has extensive landholdings in other parts of the state,
*249 but they are exploited on an impersonal, profit basis, not on
the traditional, paternalistic basis common in the sugar area.
*[565] The Helvetians have taken a place in the upper ranks of Bahian society, representing new money and economic power. Their history is important. The original immigrant married into a Bahian family of "good name," and all of his sons have done the same. One of them married a daughter of the Coronel, founder of Usina São Pedro. It was through this marriage that the transfer of the factory was channeled. Today, although the Condes still own stock in the corporation, the Helvetians have the controlling interest, and the Condes are gradually selling their shares to the Helvetians.

466 The new corporation has brought about many changes in ad-
178 ministration of the factory. Although still a family corporation,
*249 it has become, from the wider, community, point of view, a
473 strictly business enterprise with no family ties and no face-
to-face personal relations. A new directorship and manage-
[596] ment was established. The new "boss" of the factory is a man
from a different part of the state, and his background is en-
[571] tirely different from that of sugar-cane growers. The thread of "family" is still unbroken, for the new manager is related to the new owning family by marriage. He is treated, however, as a paid employee of the corporation. His brother, now general administrator of the agricultural part of the factory-in-the-field, is treated similarly.

These two new managers have put the relations between management and labor on a strictly business basis and have removed all elements of paternalism. Upon taking over, they dismissed most of the older, higher-level factory, field, and office workers. Administrators, mechanics, and bookkeepers, most of whom had seen twenty years or more of service, were dispatched. New people came to take their places, and some of the vacancies were filled by promotions. Time clocks were installed, and the system of authority was reinforced all the way down the line. Social legislation--a new factor in rural, agricultural Brazil--was invoked to take the place of paternalism.

178 Thus the old, paternalistic, personal, owner-director pat-
*249 tern has changed completely. The chalet is no longer the scene
of family gatherings for summer vacations, for Carnaval, or
for Christmas; even the traditional Botada has undergone a

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Politically, this influx of new workers has had little influence. Local politics, at least, remain in the hands of the traditional landowners. However, national political parties other than that of the landowners are gaining force, especially the labor party, and within the near future there will undoubtedly be considerable modification in the voting patterns. The bulk of the rural population do not have the franchise because of their illiteracy. On the other hand, the petroleum workers, whose level of living is considerably higher than that of the rural population, have the franchise and according to law must exercise it.

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A major area of change in the community is the class structure. In its main outlines the class structure remains the same, but there are some differences in emphasis. Class A, the rural upper class, which also is part of the upper class in the capital city where it resides part of the year, has been somewhat depleted. The Coronel and his son and son-in-law and their families, who constituted the family owner-directors of Usina São Pedro, are no longer part of the scene. As a result of the shift in ownership and direction the former usineiro has been replaced by paid employees.[1] Although these employees are related to the principal members of the new owning firm by marriage, they are treated as employees rather than as family members. They do not have the "social standing," meaning tradition, background, extended family relations, and the scholarly training, which distinguish the former owners. Class A therefore is now represented only by the private plantation owners.

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On the other hand, Class B is slowly becoming larger in both the rural and the urban areas of the community, as a result of the addition of two new groups: the members of the new factory organization, and the petroleum workers with their much higher standard of living, considerably higher education, and their steady employment as members of a new bureaucracy, Petrobrás. Unmarried workers belonging to Petrobrás are to some extent seeking marital alliances with girls of the area, especially from the factory nucleus and from the town of Vila Recôncavo. In some cases legal and religious marriages have taken place. In other cases the couple has simply

178 565* 315 58

1. The term usineiro is usually limited to the owner-director who is the founder of the factory, or is the son of the founder. When the director is a paid employee, he is just "the boss."

from the competition of other sugar-producing areas. Abolition was the factor which, in many cases, simply ended a struggle several decades old.

The overall production of sugar in the Recôncavo was already dropping noticeably at the time of abolition, and it continued to decrease afterwards. At the end of the last century, state-supported *usinas*, or large mechanical factories for milling sugar cane, were opened in an effort to stimulate sugar production. At the same time, various other *usinas* were opened by private capital. These central mills received and processed the sugar cane of many plantations. The *usina* had the advantage of freeing the planter from the worries of milling and marketing the sugar, allowing him to concentrate on higher production of sugar cane, while the mechanized *usina* was able to produce more sugar out of the cane, thus increasing production. This system of sugar production proved relatively lucrative, and the government *usinas* passed into private hands. The owners of *usinas* bought as many neighbouring plantations as possible, and in this way the *usineiros*, as they were called, became at the same time the mill owners and sugar-cane planters—employers of factory workers and of agricultural workers. The plantations which did not pass into the hands of an *usina* became *fornecedores*, supplying cane to one or another large sugar mill.

The *usina* system, however, in many respects did little to change the traditional plantation system. The plantations belonging to *usineiros* continue as separate units; each generally had an administrator, a man responsible to the *usineiro*, who is in charge of the plantation. As a rule the administrator, who is an employee of the *usina*, lives in the old *sobrado*, the former residence of the *senhor do engenho*, as the old plantation owners were known. The workers on the plantations and their families frequently still live in *senzala*-like houses, usually a long narrow building under one roof divided into separate apartments of two or three rooms. Despite many changes of technology, many examples of the old and the new exist side by side on these Recôncavo plantations. On the same plantation both mechanical tractor and ox traction may be used to pull plows. There are workers' houses side by side, one with electricity and a radio, and another using candles and kerosene lamps. Furthermore, the hierarchy of workers and specialists in sugar-cane raising persists little modified from the early nineteenth century. There are the field hands, the ox-cart drivers, the artisans and other specialists. The plantation is also approximately the same size as it was in the early nineteenth century (although several may be the property of one company nowadays) and it has about the same number of hired workers as it had slaves before.

But the *usina* system and other outside influences have made for many fundamental changes in the Recôncavo. In the very large

249
[464]
[241] sugar workers move rarely, remaining for generations on the same plantation. Each family has its garden where a little maize, beans
[465] and manioc are grown. Pay day comes every two weeks, when as a rule the worker goes to the owner's house to receive his money. The pay is small, 15 to 25 dollars a fortnight, depending on how
[461] much the man has worked during the period. Men do not like to work more than five to six hours a day, from six a.m. to twelve noon, and seldom work more than five days a week. They work easily, without hurry. In the afternoon they work in their garden, if their
249 wives have not already done so. On the plantation no one starves;
466 everyone has his *patrão* (protector) in the person of the owner, and in case of an emergency, accident or sickness, he expects help from him. This personal element is very important on most plantations in the vicinity of Vila Recôncavo; as a rule, the owner knows all the workers by name, knows their families and their family troubles and problems. He is aware of their love affairs and up-to-date on the
[164] health of new-born children and their mothers. Nearly all cases of sickness, from common colds and rheumatism to more serious ailments, are brought directly to the attention of the *patrão* or his wife. The owner, returning from a prolonged stay in the city, receives visits from the workers or from their wives, during which all the personal gossip is exchanged. The workers inquire about the owner's family and more extended family, for they generally know them all. Engagements, weddings, births, deaths and illnesses are reported on both sides. Complaints or requests are also made to the owner. The relationship is highly personal, intimate, gentle and frank.

466 On one rather small *usina*, which will be called São Pedro, in the
249 rural zone of Vila Recôncavo, the situation is somewhat different.
472 São Pedro is not one of the large *usinas* of the Recôncavo, owned by a corporation; it is relatively small and owned by one of the most
[473] important families of the Vila Recôncavo community, members of the regional aristocracy whose family has held plantations there for many generations. Because the owners of the *usina* actually administrate it, and since they are in residence in the locality at least part of the year, they are able to maintain many of the traditional personal relations with their employees, many of whom have worked on the plantations belonging to their family and in the *usina* for most
[162] of their lives. But there is a total of 1,183 workers and their families at the *usina* and on the plantations belonging to São Pedro, and the very size of the enterprise and the number of workers make for a more impersonal and more strictly economic relationship between employer and employee. Workers become more a name on a payroll, and the employer a person with whom one seldom has direct contact. In the larger *usinas* of the Recôncavo this trend is even more marked especially where the employer is a large corporation with offices in Salvador.

*565
596 riages and realignments between branches of these old families.

The Conde and Jacuipe families are good examples of family structure and cohesiveness in Class A. The Conde family is the principal owner of the factory, while several members of the Jacuipe family have stock in the corporation. The ancestral plantation of the Jacuipe family lies outside, although near, the community of Vila Recôncavo and is rented to a neighboring factory. Dona Sinhá, a member of the Jacuipe family and widow of a Conde, owns Fazenda das Moças within the community, a property adjoining the lands of Usina São Pedro. The Conde and Aliança families are joined by a mar-
[423] riage which has brought them into close contact. The Aliança family has three plantations in the community. Thus ten of the eleven functioning plantations in the area belong to the members of three interrelated extended families.

The senior member of the Conde family, the "Colonel," is one of the two men who founded the factory and the brother of the senior member of the Jacuipe family, Dona Yayá, now a widow. A son and a daughter of the Colonel married a daughter and a son of Dona Yayá, thus strengthening the ties between the two families. The Condes are represented by three generations: the mother and father, their eleven children, ten of whom are married, and their twenty-three grandchildren. The Jacuipe family is represented by four generations: Dona Yayá, her eight children, seven of whom are married, twenty-six grandchildren, and three great-grandchildren. Through marriages in the second descending generation of both families, seventeen more persons have been brought into the family group, and through marriages of the third descendent Jacuipe generation six more people have been added. The total number of persons in the two immediate families is ninety-
[162] seven. Nineteen members of the Jacuipe family now live in Rio de Janeiro, reducing the number constantly present in Bahia to seventy-eight. Those in Rio, however, maintain constant communication with Bahia and often spend their vacations "home" in Salvador.
[528]

The Colonel and his wife, and the Colonel's sister Dona Yayá, form the nucleus around which the two extended kin-
[474] dred groups are organised. At the factory there are three residences: the large chalet, where the Colonel and his wife live, and a house apiece for his son and son-in-law, who are the two active directors of the factory. There are accommodations

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462 the icehouse where the shrimp are kept cool; they can then be
438 sent to Salvador every other day on the boat to be sold as fresh
251 shrimp at the market and on the streets. "Camarão da Vila,"
[443] (shrimp from Vila) the cry of the Salvador street peddlers, is well known throughout the capital city.

463 The majority of people in Group 2 live down the hill from the older part of town, near the beach or out along the road
[361] which leads to the factory. They are more or less dependent
[571] upon Group 1, not only for the money they receive in return for services, but also for many kinds of favors which fall un-
[476] der the heading of patronship. They are seldom able to employ the services of Group 3 for such jobs as house building or repairing; they must rely on an old form of cooperative labor, called the batalhão (work group), to make or repair a house wall or to put on a new thatch roof. Frequently a patron will arrange for another of his "dependents" to transport the mud necessary for the palm thatch (taipa), and there is no cost involved for the recipient; but she must arrange the labor.

463 The people of Group 2 fetch their own water from the wells,
312 and usually their own firewood from the tideswamps. There
[313] are several men and women in town who make a business of carrying these two commodities. Such work is contractual. A household contracts for so many cans or barrels of water a day and so many loads of firewood a week. If they do not have enough money for these services they must carry them out themselves. During the dry summer months fetching water is a tedious business, for the majority of the wells dry up early in the summer. In the very dry summer of 1950-51, all the wells in town but one went dry. The one which continued to supply water did so at a much diminished rate. This well is completely encased in cement, for it provides the only drinking water in town. There is a small pipe serving as a spigot. During the dry season it takes from ten to twenty minutes to fill a five-gallon tin can from this pipe. As a result, there were always long lines of women waiting for water, and a sojourn of three or four hours at the well was common. Many of the more ambitious women used to get up at two or three in the morning and go to the well, making several
[821] trips so they would be free of this onerous duty during the day. This, however, took a great deal of courage, for most people
[492] in Vila Recôncavo are afraid of the dark, and no timid woman would make the trip out to the well at night. By general agreement, the men who carry water in barrels on donkeys walked

the remainder being divided among the crew, the master and baixador receiving slightly more than the moços. Most fishermen dislike fishing with the drag net for several reasons: although the catch is usually large, it must be divided among many men; there really should be thirteen men to handle the net, which limits the amount each receives, and when only ten participate, the work is much greater for each although the increase in pay is slight; also, the operation is a rather boring process involving long waiting periods. It is becoming more and more difficult to get a crew together. 226 465 226 461

The resse, used to catch xangó, and the abaladeira, used to catch other small fish such as sardines and tainha, present a different operation. The resse is a net of close weave, 660 feet long and 12 feet wide. Like the deep net, it has wooden floats on the top and lead weights on the bottom. A small canoe (18 to 20 feet) is used, and only two men are necessary. This net can be used with either the incoming or the outgoing tide, and at any place. The fishermen have certain favorite sand and shell banks where they like to fish, east of town. They launch the net when they see the schools of small fish breaking water. The resse is a recent innovation in Vila Recôncavo, where it was first used with great secrecy to prevent knowledge of its weave from falling into the hands of too many people. But now most fishermen in this part of the Bay of All Saints are acquainted with it, and the entire county lists twenty-five resse nets. 226 [178]

A second innovation with this net, and one which applies also to the abaladeira, is the cooperative launching of two nets at once in order to catch more fish. Two canoes participate, each with two men and a net. An exceptional catch for a six-hour period of fishing may run as high as Cr$600,00 and usually averages between Cr$300,00 and Cr$400,00. When two canoes fish together the total catch is divided equally between the two. The resse and abaladeira fishermen estimate that they can earn an average of Cr$15,00 every day of the year. This is considered relatively good, for they do not fish constantly. After a few profitable days they are inclined to give up for a period of time, resting and enjoying themselves. [178] [476] [435] [434] [461]

The calão is another large net requiring at least six men to manipulate it, working from the canoe and from the water as with the deep net. It is used to catch fish of all sizes except the very small xangó and shrimp. The net is 780 feet [461]

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584 intimation of its course. The meeting may finally be arranged at the house of an older female friend. If the two are genuinely interested in each other they may allow the fact to become
[836] public, and if the parents are pleased they will in due course be married. Otherwise the girl may keep the whole affair a secret, and after a period of flirtation have an affair with the
[263] boy and become pregnant. Any girl who refuses to eat pepper
[843] is immediately suspected of pregnancy, and inquiries are made.

*565 When a Class C family wishes to celebrate some occasion such as a birthday, anniversary, or the time in which the twin
574 saints Cosme and Damião are feasted, the woman's friends and any nearby female relatives come in to help her cook.
252 Guests are invited by the husband. The preparation of all
262 food must be done by hand, the chickens killed, cleaned, and
• [476] plucked, the beans shelled, the shrimp and fish cleaned, the farina cakes made, and the popular liqueurs (licores) prepared
[273] by soaking various kinds of fruit in bottles of rum and syrup. At such parties the traditional, favorite Bahian dishes of vatapá, acarejé, carurú, abará, cuscus, and the many moquecas,
[251] are served. All these are appetizing, but take much time to prepare and cannot be made too far in advance, for there
*565 is no way of preserving food. Unless the household is particularly wealthy, the family seldom gives parties; many never
574 manage to give one. Dancing forms an important part of the
535 festivities. The men bring their drums, tambourines, and guitars, while the women sing and dance the samba. In the rural
[369] area, social dancing in mixed couples is rare, but in town it is a common form.

*565 A family may take care of an aged mother, father, or even godparent, or of some other relative on either side. Such a
888 person is well cared for within the family means. Most people
736 in Vila Recôncavo are generous toward others who are in some way unfortunate, and help them if they can. There is little or no complaint if the household has to take in an infirm or aged relative; most people say that the same may happen to them one day and they will have to be taken care of. Perhaps the old person helped them in some way in the past when they needed aid and is now being repaid. Or if some older person wants to live alone, a group of neighbors and relatives all help in preparing meals and supplying food and other wants over an extended period of time. There is no case in Vila Recôncavo of an elderly person being sent to a public institution.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 45 per cent of the total investment was in slaves--labor costs, always
249 high, had been driven up by the suppression of the slave trade. The
47 relatively small proportion of steam mills is at once a reflection of
454 the continuing primitive technology and a sign of the improvements which were to come later in the century. The value of production for
[433] this year was $1,213,000--a return of 6.6 per cent on the capital investment.[35]

175 While the attention of the Baiano was focused on the sugar
249 industry during this golden age, tobacco unobtrusively was becoming
178 a primary commercial product. The suppression of the slave trade
439 deprived tobacco of its African market, but at the same time the European market was expanding. The spread of cigar smoking in Europe created an increasing demand for Bahian leaf. Ultimately the European demand for quality leaf and the development of a Brazilian market for the poorer grades were to carry tobacco to the leading position among Bahia's commercial products.

175 To a very large degree, the mold of the colonial Recôncavo was
433 fixed in the sixteenth century. Its socio-economic system was nurtured
249 by the prosperous semi-monopoly of sugar production. While the south
[565] of Brazil was a raw frontier zone of migratory agricultural adventurers, the Paulistas (natives of São Paulo) of early colonial times,[36] a stable and wealthy aristocratic society was developing in the Recôncavo. In
[477] the early eighteenth century, when West Indies competition undermined the sugar monopoly, the Recôncavo might have responded creatively to the challenge, but failed to do so. The simultaneous mineral boom in Minas Gerais drained away the more experimental elements and left behind those who were less adventurous. Yet before the denial of markets had disrupted entirely the old economic and cultural pattern, the late eighteenth-early nineteenth century resurgence reaffirmed

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[City of Salvador]

571 178 795 [554] siderable extent over those of the male portion, the church exercises a substantial measure of control. Prestige of the military is high.

596 621 The large family, with its wide ramifications and its patriarchal organization, also bespeaks a preindustrial era. Social cohesion in the community is maintained by the close association of members of these large family groups, together with the intimate ties common to friends of long standing, the degree of whose intimacy is much greater than that ordinarily to be found in the cities of comparable size in industrial societies. One notes in Bahia a warmth of manner uncommon to the United States. Bahians, like most Brazilians, tend to be very affectionate in the family and warmhearted toward their friends. Characteristic of such primary relationships is a high order of courtesy and politeness and an almost limitless consideration for the convenience and comfort of relatives and friends. Religious affiliation and guild association weave further strands of solidarity, binding the urban community together as if it were merely an overgrown village.

571 576 157 571 794 467

578 [477] [433] [466] In this stable society there is a comparative absence of most forms of conflict. In commerce and finance competition is comparatively slight and limited in considerable measure to foreigners. The economy is almost entirely extractive and industry is minimal. The few differences which arise between labor and capital often take the form of a

578 [477] [433] [466]

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591 178 795 291 ual educated in Rio, to be seen on the beaches. Snug-fitting street dresses or those made of sheer or transparent material, and skirts which do not fall at least several inches below the knee, are subject to general criticism. At the exit of the principal churches and cathedrals is posted an official proclamation of the archbishop of Bahia specifying permissible dress. Failure to observe these regulations automatically bars the offender from the sacraments of the church.

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[Town Life]

is very rough, though strong. Most of the men complain about it, for it cuts their hands when they are fishing and the action of salt water on the cuts inflames their hands badly. 227

There are between seventy-five and one hundred canoes in Vila Recôncavo, of all sizes, from 16 to about 50 feet long. They come from the southern part of the state, and cost between Cr$1.000,00 and Cr$6.000,00 apiece, depending on their size. They are made of vinhatico preto, a large tree from which an entire canoe can be hollowed out. As the canoes grow older, they are strengthened inside by the addition of ribs. The center support (pé do banco) has a hole in it through which a mast can be stepped for sailing. The fishermen use a variety of sails, but usually a simple square sail called traquête. Four flour sacks sewn together make a passable square sail. The canoes last a long time and are handed down from generation to generation. A hundred years is not an uncommon age for such a craft. 501 [313] [428]

The majority of fishermen cannot swim well and have a great respect for the water on two counts: the water is deep, which to them implies danger, and it is said to hide large, man-eating fish. There are stories of three men who have disappeared in the last few years, snatched away by fish. One was a baixador, and the other two fell overboard. Falling is not uncommon, for often a man steps on a small fish on the bottom of the canoe or simply slips on the wet wood, loses his balance, and goes overboard, as the canoes are narrow-beamed and unstable. In their canoes they are fearless, and will go anywhere in any weather. Severe storms which arise suddenly are ridden out in the canoe, which generally lies at anchor while the men lie under cover of the sail, peering out occasionally to see if the weather is clearing. Many of them, however, become violently ill on a larger boat during a storm. 501 226 [481] [825] [164]

Winter is the most productive season for fishing, although the most uncomfortable. There are many storms, and the rains are more or less constant. But the fishermen say that the mixture of salt water with the fresh water from small rivers emptying into the bay seems to produce many more fish than in the summer months. The fishermen dress only in a pair of shorts and a straw hat when fishing, and remain in the cold rain for hours on end. Colds are common among them, as is rheumatism among the older men. 226 [221] [132] [291] [164]

There is always a market for fish. There is a discussion currently going on in Vila Recôncavo, for some of the older 226 43

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 in meeting his contract with the agent. The result of this and other
442 speculative practices is that the price of tobacco tends to spiral upwards
438 throughout the season.
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455 The crop is delivered to the buyer in small lots--10 to 15 kilo-
249 grams--which are assembled, graded, and baled. The bales are taken to
276 the warehouse of the agent where they are added to other bales to form
438 a large pile in which fermentation can take place. After fermentation
442 the bales are broken, and the leaf is re-sorted. With the better grades the sorting is done very carefully, and a large number of size and texture grades are separated. Intermediate grades are sorted less carefully, often by bundles rather than by individual leaves. The poorest grades are stripped without grading. After sorting or stripping, the leaf is again placed in bales and kept in the warehouse until transport can be arranged to deliver the tobacco to Salvador or to the cigar factories.

249 Most of the tobacco produced in the Recôncavo is exported. In the
433 years 1946 to 1950, inclusive, 166,676 tons of leaf tobacco were produced
439 in Bahia and 128,567 tons were exported, so that about 75 per cent of the total crop of the state was exported.[2] However, the exported leaf is made up of the choice tobaccos, that is "Mata Fina," which are largely grown in the Recôncavo. It may be concluded from this that at least four-fifths of the tobacco crop of the Recôncavo was exported during this years. Tobacco exported from the Recôncavo normally composes 70 per cent of all the tobacco exported from Brazil. In value, the tobacco exported from the Recôncavo was less than 1 per cent of the total exports of all products from Brazil.[3]

482 Transportation. The backs of men and of animals are the basic
492 transportation media in the Recôncavo: almost all goods begin and end
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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

482 their journeys thus, and many agricultural products are transported in
492 no other fashion from the site of cultivation to the ultimate consumer.
489 [491] In each of the municípios of the Recôncavo, as in almost all of Brazil, there are extensive areas which are neither on nor near roads. In these areas, but also along the highways and in the cities, men and beasts of burden transport the products of the agricultural economy.

489 Long distance transportation, formerly dependent on animals, has been
499 changed in the last half century by the introduction of railroads and
493 more recently, automotive vehicles. In a similar fashion, both prim-
170 tive and relatively modern transport are used on the waters of the Báia
178 de Todos os Santos and of the various estuaries. Most of the agricul-
505 tural products which cross the Bay are carried on open-decked sailing vessels and canoes, but there are also a number of motor vessels and motorboats which provide relatively effective transport from Salvador to all the cidades on or near tidewater.

492 In the tobacco-manioc region, and in rural Brazil generally, the donkey or the mule is the characteristic beast of burden. On the backs of these animals the bales of tobacco, the sacks of manioc and farinha de mandioca, and the baskets of corn and vegetables are carried to the market. The equipage of the donkey is simple--a halter and a rough
492 crosstree pack saddle with a thick pad of vegetable fiber. In the
493 sugar cane region the donkey is supplemented and, in most areas, almost
[171] supplanted by the ox cart. The ox cart of Bahia, essentially like the carts used in other Brazilian sugar areas, is built of heavy wood, with a thick wooden bed and tongue, wooden axle, and solid wooden wheels about five-feet in diameter. This high, massive contraption has no bearings, and in dry weather especially it is frequently necessary to repair the wheels and axles. The ox cart is an admirable device for the Cretaceous lowland, for with its high wheels it can carry as much

mers. However, on almost every plantation there are brick- 312
lined springs from which the inhabitants get their drinking water. Women or children carrying five-gallon cans of water on [482]
their heads, and donkeys carrying four wooden kegs of water, [492]
are common sights along the roads of the Recôncavo. For the
cattle and other livestock of the plantations, drinking places 231
are excavated wherever there promises to be enough water. 312
Frequently, however, these go dry in the summer, especial- [132]
ly during the drought years which occur cyclically in rhythm
with the droughts of the sertão. At such times loss of cattle
is prevalent, except on plantations situated near one of the
small rivers.

A high-voltage electric line passes through this section 377
leading from the generating station further inland to the capital city. Recently most of the plantations have been able to connect with this line, so that at least the owners' houses have electric light. The houses of the workers are without it except at the factory, where the mill supplies its own electric power which is carried to almost all the workers' houses.

There are four state schools and one county school distrib- 871
uted among the plantations. The central school in the town of
Vila Recôncavo is not attended by children from the planta-
tions. Two plantations have their own chapels, which are vis- 347
ited at irregular intervals by the priests of Vila Recôncavo. 796
On the other plantations a small altar is set up in the owner's 793
house for special occasions such as Christmas, when the town
priest is invited to celebrate the Mass.

There is in the town a medical post with a visiting doctor, 743
a dentist, and several nurses in training, which is administered by a Franciscan lay brother and supported by federal, state, and county funds and by private donations. This post is fairly recent, and its influences are spreading only slowly to the rural area. Also in the town is a small county medical [249]*
post run by a resident physician. The sugar factory has a
dispensary with a nurse and is visited by the town doctor. Al- [752]
most every plantation has its own first-aid equipment, gen-
erally in the owner's house.

There are no fairs in the community. There are stores in 543
the town and a large supply store at the factory, run by the 443
corporation, and nearly every plantation has its own small [249]*
store. Major purchases are made at the weekly market in Centro, in the neighboring county. There are also traveling ped-

743 so there is competent medical assistance. Those who are too poor to pay receive free aid and medications, milk, and soup; those who can pay do so, paying only the wholesale prices of the articles. The institute is well equipped, with an x-ray machine, diathermy, and other heat appliances, which are popular because of the prevalence of colds and rheumatism.

743 529 [546] 743 873 The institute also operates the weekly motion picture which has been a great boon to the town, a recreation room, centrally located in the town, which has a radio, billiard tables, and a bar selling milk shakes, sandwiches, beer, and soft drinks. This place has become the major meeting place for the men and boys of the town. In addition to this, the institute also runs a night school for adults.

463 [571] [462] Group 2, as listed at the beginning of this chapter, consists mainly of the people who work for those in Group 1 and who are attached to them by the bonds of the patronship to some extent, as well as by salary. The majority of persons in this category are women, engaged in the traditional female pursuits of washing, ironing, sewing, embroidering, and general housework.

296 462 463 [482] As a rule the laundry is washed at one of the town wells, which are encased in cement. The women carry the dirty clothes, a bucket, and wooden basin, all piled on top of their heads, to the well. They pull up enough water in their buckets to fill the basins in which the clothes are washed. After a soaking and scrubbing with soap the wet, soapy clothes are spread out on the ground in the sun, and from time to time water is sprinkled on them to aid the sun in bleaching. Then the clothes are rewashed and spread out to dry. Depending upon the weather, the washing and drying process may take from a whole day to three or four days before the clothes are considered clean enough. Then they are taken home to be ironed. The older pattern demanded that a different person do the ironing, but today this pattern is breaking down and frequently the same person washes and irons. The irons used are the old-fashioned kind heated by charcoal, which is placed inside and ignited. The irons are made with drafts to keep the fire going, and the women must stop frequently to fan the fire or renew the charcoal. Often a busy woman has two irons going and sets one aside to heat while she irons with the other.

[463] [178]

462 252 463 Many women also prepare xangó, a small sardinelike fish caught in great quantities by the fishermen of Vila Recônca-

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two miles west of the town to another well which did not have to serve so many people. Many women also made this trip, with five-gallon cans of water on their heads, and with their children carrying smaller cans.

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In the past many women of this group possessed heirlooms: jewelry handed down to them by their female ancestors who had been favorite slaves of their white masters and who had received valuable brooches, necklaces, rings, and earrings from them, in accordance with the old pattern of luxury which extended even to certain slaves. In most cases this jewelry has now been sold at some time of emergency to antique dealers who scour the rural areas looking for such treasures, which are now highly valuable and sought by collectors.

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Group 3 is made up of independent artisans, that is, people who are self-employed. It differs from Group 1 in that its members rarely employ the services of other people in personal or household activities, although gardeners, carpenters, tailors, fishermen, bricklayers, and barbers do employ people in their business. The large number of men employed by the bricklayers should be explained, as it is not a permanent category. The census from which these data were taken was made in June, 1950, at the height of the work of paving the town streets with cobblestones. A number of bricklayers had come to town for this work, and they as well as the resident bricklayers had to employ workmen to do the work with them for the municipal government. When the paving was finished there was no longer a need for so many bricklayers, and they either left or went into fishing or some other occupation. Since the data were collected, the tailors have also moved to another town as a result of the lack of business in Vila Recôncavo.

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The majority of men in this group are the fishermen, who number 132, plus 5 who are employed rather than self-employed. They fish from canoes, with several types of nets, for a large variety of fish. The federal statistics agent lists seventeen types of fish, including shrimp, giving the following weight and price for the year's activities: 129,070 kilograms and Cr$921.540,00 (slightly under $50,000.00). Shrimp earns slightly more than half this total, Cr$468.000,00, although the amount in kilograms is only 26,000. Xangô, already mentioned, is the second most profitable product, bringing in Cr$195.000,00 for 65,000 kilograms. The statistics agent admits that these figures are approximations

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 249 565 [471]

maintained splendid establishments, called Solars, in the Capital, to which they repaired in the winter season, June, July and August, for social diversion.[29]

[178] The above citation is characteristic of the present-day views of many upper-class Bahanos who identify themselves with this opulent era of the Recôncavo social evolution. The mythology engendered by the colonial sugar industry is outliving the engenho system. The wealth, pride, and ostentation of these fidalgos is undeniable. Within the limits of the provincial social environment, upper-class life was luxurious indeed. Compared with the upper-class society of the period in Europe or in the American South, however, social opportunities in the Recôncavo must have been rather limited. The casas [342] grandes--if the surviving specimens can be taken as typical--generally [489] were rather modest plantation houses. Transportation was difficult: few engenhos had carriage roads, and travel was by horseback or [671] palanquin. Social intercourse often was restricted to an ingrown [484] local circle. Apparently many of the social needs of the upper class could not be met within the rural Recôncavo so that trips were made frequently to Salvador, Rio de Janeiro, and sometimes Paris.[30]

Little has been recorded of the way of life of the slaves and 175 249 poor freemen in the Recôncavo. It is significant that both apologists 567 and critics of slavery usually have agreed that the masters were relatively clement in the treatment of their slave laborers. These slaves were very valuable possessions, particularly after the British began to suppress the slave trade. Because absentee ownership and delegation of administration to people outside the family was not usual, the masters and slaves were perforce in daily contact. Out of these daily contacts between landholder and laborer, a relatively personal relationship was developed. Within the household, relation- [563] ships were even more familiar. In addition, some of the slaves were

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 on trains owned by the sugar company. In addition, much of the sugar, rum,
497 and alcohol which is manufactured by the big usinas is transported to Salvador over the lines of the Leste.

493 As has been suggested, automotive transport has come to have great
491 importance in the Recôncavo, despite the lack of good roads, the high cost of vehicles and fuel, and the competition of both boats and trains. No
491 município in the region can be said to have a road network, and usually only the cidades and in a few cases large villas are connected with other parts of the region. The principal road of the region is a dirt highway which connects Salvador with Feira de Santana. Feira is an important transportation center for the Northeast of Brazil, for it is the southern terminus of the Nordestina, the trunk highway which crosses the Sertão. The Nordestina joins the main road to Rio de Janeiro and the road to Salvador at Feira de Santana. A branch from the Salvador-Feira road turns southward and, passing through Cachoeira, São Félix, and Cruz das Almas, connects westward to Castro Alves and southward to the cacao zone. There is also a road from Salvador to Alagoinhas and other cities of the Tertiary zone farther north. A few lesser roads feed into these three main highways--the most important of these is the connection between Santo Amaro and the Feira to Salvador road.

All of the main highways are two-lane dirt roads which are almost always passable but which are extremely rough and are dusty in dry
491 weather and slippery when wet. The quality of the roads is probably
484 best illustrated by the time required to journey across the Recôncavo. The road distance from Salvador to Cruz das Almas is about 125 miles; the time required for a non-stop trip is 6 to 7 hours. It should be added that despite the poor road conditions, traffic moves very fast, and there are many accidents. To a very limited extent it is possible

491 for vehicles to pass from the main highways over the broader trails
484 to the nearby villages in good weather. However, this is rarely attempted except by jeep, and by these only infrequently.

249 Until the last few years a number of the large usinas in the main
499 sugar cane area have not been connected with the highways. Since jeeps and trucks have become more numerous in the Recôncavo, a number of the big usinas in Santo Amaro are constructing their own outlets to the
315 highway. In recent years the government-owned oil company has been
655 drilling exploratory wells in the cane fields of São Francisco. In
491 conjunction with this enterprise, new roads have been built, and for the
499 first time many plantations of this area have road connections to the highway system.

494 Most of the traffic on the roads of the Recôncavo consists of
493 trucks and busses--private automobiles generally are found only in the urban areas, since cars are very expensive in Brazil, and the highways are very destructive. A large number of busses connect the outer Recôncavo with Salvador. The best passenger service, and the most expensive, is provided by a major bus line which has a daily run from Salvador to Feira de Santana and back. While this bus line employs large busses, most of the other busses used in the Recôncavo are small. These latter provide connections between the Southwestern Recôncavo and Salvador, and supplement the major Feira de Santana-Salvador service. The runs of many of these smaller busses originate outside the Recôncavo, but they collect and discharge passengers at each cidade. Fares are cheap, considering the cost of vehicles and fuel, but still somewhat more expensive than train travel.

Truck traffic is very heavy on the main highways, especially from Feira de Santana to Salvador. Probably most of the agricultural

000 health post, and the bar have refrigerators. On Saturday and
546 Sunday nights there is a movie, the same film being shown both nights.

491 There are only two roads leading out of the town. One goes
492 northwest to Centro, following a ridge which leads along the river through a section of poor soil devoted to gardens of man-
484 ioc and bananas. On horseback it is a trip of approximately two hours to Centro. The other road leads northeast into the sugar-cane fields and to the sugar factory and then continues east, eventually leading to the oil fields of Conselho and out onto the major Bahian artery from Salvador to the interior city of Feira de Santana. The journey from Vila Recôncavo to the main highway takes about four hours on horseback. Although the local road, made during the empire and part of the public domain, is called the "royal road," it is really only one-track dirt. In the summer it affords a hard surface because the hot sun bakes the earth, but during the winter it turns into a river of mud. During the rainy season the layer of clay underneath the topsoil holds the water, turning the roads into practically impassable quagmires. The situation becomes even worse just after the rains end and the surface dries, for when a man or animal breaks through the dried surface and sinks down into the clay the suction created is difficult to overcome. A trip which during the summer takes half an hour on horseback may take from three to four hours in the winter. The horse must pick and choose each step with the utmost care. During these months travel is extremely fatiguing for horses and mules, and frequent changes of mount are necessary. During this part of the year one avoids making an inland journey if possible, and keeps to the waterways.

491 From Usina to Conselho (see map of community), the road
[421] has been recently coated with oil, sand, and broken stone by the Conselho Nacional de Petroleo in an attempt to make an all-weather route. The surfacing has proved fairly satisfactory but very expensive. Although this highway follows the old "royal road," it is owned by the conselho. When a plantation owner of the area wishes to pass over it in his car or
[493] jeep, he must secure permission from the conselho office in Salvador. Nevertheless, in the past year this road has proved a boon to the plantation owners, who can now go back and forth
[484] to their homes in the city in about two hours at almost any time of the year, eliminating the long journey by horseback or canoe to the town of Vila Recôncavo to take the boat. The

The railroad from Salvador to the interior passes about 15 kilometers east of Vila Recôncavo, and the planters situated near it experience the same difficulties of horseback travel when getting the train to go to the city. 496 492

There is no public transportation within the county. The train is so far from the town of Vila Recôncavo that it is not used by the town dwellers. Most of the population walks to wherever it is going, except to Salvador. Few people in town have horses or mules, for there is insufficient pasture nearby. As a result of the poor roads, the townspeople are dependent upon water navigation, a factor which helps to orient them to other towns by the water's edge and discourages communication between the town and the plantations of the interior of the county. At any season, there is little happening in the plantation area to attract the townspeople. On the other hand, people from the plantation come to the town, especially to see the doctor, for a special Mass, or to take the boat to Salvador. They rarely come for the movie, except those few subsistence gardeners (roçeiros) who live nearby, for travel is too difficult. During the dry season almost all transportation of goods is accomplished by an ox-drawn cart (carro de boi) with two large, solid wooden wheels drawn by eight oxen (junta de boi). The cart is driven by a man, and the oxen follow a small boy who walks in front of them. 484 [489] 49 484

The community of Vila Recôncavo comprises an area of some 80 square kilometers in the shape of a semicircle, bounded on one side by water and on the other by a high ridge. This area, which includes the town of Vila Recôncavo, forms a natural as well as a cultural unit. The remaining 100 square kilometers of the county fall into two subregions, one very small area which is oriented toward Centro and Cana-Uba (see map), and another which is strongly oriented toward Salvador. The three areas are drawn together by local administration: police, school system, tax collecting, and the collection of statistics--in other words, by the formal structure of county administration. 131 361 [634]

The 80 square kilometers of the community of Vila Recôncavo are composed almost entirely of thirteen large plantations, eleven of which are devoted to the cultivation of sugar cane. Of the other two, one plants cane on a small scale and rents most of its land to subsistence gardeners, while the second is a summer home, producing nothing. Of the eleven which plant sugar cane, six belong to the sugar factory which 361 249

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	Barbers	2
	Apprentice bricklayers	1
		44
Group 4 (miscellaneous)	Unemployed	11
	Factory workers	9
	Plantation workers	3
	Employees of Institute Vila Recôncavo (which will be described later)	8
		31

The federal and state employees in the town consist of the following people: 463 632

25 petroleum workers
9 teachers and maintenance workers from the nearby federal school
6 primary school teachers
3 tax collectors and secretary
1 federal statistics agent
1 postal and telegraph agent
1 mail carrier
2 secretaries of the Justice of the Peace
1 secretary of the civil register
1 police secretary
1 police lieutenant
2 policemen (this number changes occasionally)
1 malaria serviceman (called "José do DDT")

The Justice of the Peace, who is not listed above, does not live in the county but holds court in the courthouse once a week, or at other times if the occasion demands. His secretary, a local woman, does most of the work and has everything in readiness when he arrives. [693]

The twenty-five men listed as petroleum workers represent that industry's major contribution to the town. The oil workers receive relatively good wages, steady and sufficient for them to engage the services of at least one servant and a laundress. They may therefore be included in Group 1, even though they are not white-collar workers as are the others of the group. These men, rather than living in the petroleum workers' camp which is near the factory, have brought their fam- 463 [484]

463 [484] [521] ilies to live in Vila Recôncavo and travel to their work and back daily. During the summer this trip is made by truck, but in the winter it is made by foot or if possible by canoe. The petroleum industry has attracted few local people as yet. Instead, strangers have come into the area as petroleum employees. A favorite conversation among fishermen is a discussion of whether they should give up fishing and go to work in the oil fields. The general feeling is that they are better off as fishermen. As they put it, if they fished for the same number of hours as the oil men work, they could earn more money than the petroleum workers. In their present occupation they can work as much or as little as they wish, the major determinant being whether there is enough in the house to eat and still a little left over for cigarettes, Coca-Colas, and occasional new clothes. They are an independent group, and are frequently criticized as being lazy because they will not take steady employment. This seems an unfair criticism in view of the rigors of fishing.

463 [875] [632] The others listed in the group of federal and state employees have permanent appointments to their jobs and in all but a few cases are local people. The federal tax collector and his wife, who is one of the schoolteachers, are strangers to the area, but are now well integrated in the town. Three other schoolteachers are from other parts of the state and spend only the school year in Vila Recôncavo. There is a difference between the teachers who make Vila Recôncavo their home and those who do not. Those who spend only the school year there have little or no contact with the local population, apparently feeling that they are superior to anyone there. They are young women, but do not look for husbands among local men and openly admit they do not like the town. They are prominent in the group which calls the fishermen lazy and uncultured, and in general are unsympathetic to the town dwellers.

463 632 There are sixteen municipal employees, all of them local people, consisting of the county secretary, the treasurer and his assistant, the contador who takes care of the county spending, the fiscal who is supposed to supervise the collecting of the county funds, three county tax collectors, and others who occupy minor posts such as courthouse porter. These positions are appointive, and as a result of the relative stability of the area's politics the appointees are seldom changed. The secretary is the man who does most of the county's adminis-

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structed a series of barracks, a recreation hall, a restaurant, and a service center for the unmarried field workers.

In spite of this, the changes in the community structure brought about by the petroleum industry have been as yet relatively few. The industry exists in the community as an intruder, not affecting communal life to any great extent, and not contributing any substantial local benefits. This is perhaps in part due to the fact that it is a nationalized company, with headquarters located in the city of Salvador, rather than a product of local efforts. The petroleum workers for the most part have not been drawn from the local labor force but have come from outside the county. It is almost as if a military base had been established in Vila Recôncavo on a temporary basis. [464]

The effect on the town has been principally to increase the number of houses. The married workers of Petrobrás for the most part live in the town. Naturally there has occurred a broadening of point of view among the town dwellers as a result of social intercourse, as well as a certain new prosperity due to greater numbers. Nevertheless, there are still no private cars, buses, or public transportation in the county. The petroleum workers and their families go to Salvador whenever possible for shopping and amusements, rather than attempting to satisfy these needs in Vila Recôncavo, where public services, diversions, and so forth have continued to be almost nonexistent. [362] [571] [493] [494] [484]

To counterbalance the effect of prosperity brought to the town by increased population, the petroleum industry has had an adverse effect on the fishing activities of the townspeople. Many wells have been drilled in the shallow waters of the Bay of All Saints in front of the town. As a result of underwater explosions, the constant passage of rapid motor launches, and digging and dredging machines, the traditional fishing area of the town's fishermen has been rapidly depleted and its ecological balance destroyed. The fishermen are gradually turning away from fishing as an occupation and seeking other remunerative activity, either outside the community or in the petroleum industry and, to a slight extent, in the sugar industry. Others are turning to service occupations, such as bricklaying, as stopgap activities. 178 315 433 226

Petrobrás to date has affected rural life very little. The planters of the area have profited to some extent because of the roads constructed by the company. It is now possible to 178 315 433 49

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the lighter-skinned people for intermarriage with the mass of light-skinned people of the capital. Most of the townspeople have connexions of some sort in Salvador and travel back and forth a great deal. Some, mostly girls, take employment in the city as maids, and there either get married, or '*aparecem grávidas*' (show up pregnant), afterwards returning home to stay or for visits.

On the plantations the people have little opportunity for such mixing, owing to their isolation. Mixing occurs either on the same plantation or between neighbouring plantations, and since most of the plantation workers are dark, the offspring tends to remain dark. There is comparatively little marriage between people of the urban and rural zones.

The people of the town consider themselves far superior culturally to the *taberéu* or 'hick'[1] of the rural zone. Not only are they lighter in colour, but they are more 'citified', having more contact with the outside world, and this contact increases daily. Only in the town did the lower-class people express interest in the racial situation in the United States and particularly question segregation, a practice they could not understand. In the rural zone, the United States meant only some place other than Bahia. This is given as an example of the difference in degree of sophistication between the two parts of a comparatively small area. The sophistication of the townspeople tends to increase, as does their lightness of colour, while on the *fazendas* the colour has remained almost static, as has the degree of instruction.

565 Class is one of the most important factors in the everyday lives of the people of Vila Recôncavo. *Who's Who* is well known to all the residents of the community. Almost any resident will say that there are two classes, the rich and the poor. But definitions vary greatly as to what is rich, while practically all agree as to what is poor. Rich means, primarily, having money, a good house, more than one suit of clothing, a horse or mule, a servant to do the housework, and not having to do manual work. It also includes power of some description over other people. Poor is the reverse of all these things; working hard for someone else, a mud house with a dirt floor, one suit of clothes and one pair of shoes. For everyday ranking, this division into only two classes may serve.

A closer analysis shows that four distinct classes can be recognized, as stated earlier. There are many elements which go toward defining the classes—wealth, education and family. Race is also important. People say that wealth is the most important, education the second, and race the third in importance. Thus race is but one of a number of elements ranking people in a social scale, rather than a separating factor which divides them into distinct groups.

[1] Other terms used to convey the same meaning are *gente do mato* (people of the forest) and *gente do roça* (backwoodsmen).

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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The three most significant channels enter the western Bay from north, west, and south. Of these the Rio Sergi, on the north, is navigable for the shortest distance--this estuary is navigable by river launch only to Conde, which is the approximate limit of salt water, but sailing boats penetrate to the cidade of Santo Amaro.

The lower Paraguaçu provides entrance westward deep into the Intermediate Hills and to the edge of the Crystalline Uplands and opens a route to a smaller bay--the Bacia do Iguape. Motor vessels can reach São Roque, Maragogipe, and Cachoeira-São Félix through this deeply incised channel.

The southern channel, broader but more shallow, passes between the island of Itaparica and the mainland and entering the estuary of the Jaguaripe extends as far as Nazaré, which is the head of navigation of the southern area peripheral to the Recôncavo.

The Bay is the central area of the southern Recôncavo. Two of the channels, the Paraguaçu and the Sergi, link parts of the Recôncavo with the Bay. The third, which leads to Nazaré, primarily connects the Bay with an area outside the Recôncavo.

133 Land - Summary. In the Recôncavo there is much flat land in the uplands, but the area in plains is relatively limited. In the uplands, and to a lesser extent in the hills and along the margins of the plains, the flat surface is subdivided into individual segments.

The largest single segment of relatively flat land in the Recôncavo is the coastal plains area north of the Bay. The other plains areas--the island of Itaparica and the small compartment north of the Bacia do Iguape--are smaller flat-surfaced segments. After these, the largest continuous flat surfaces are the extensive taboleiros of the Tabular Uplands. Smaller tabular surfaces are

492 as a ton of cane through the rain-softened clay. It is pulled, depend-
493 ing upon the load and the condition of the route, by four, six, or eight oxen. It has no brakes, although occasionally a long pole is used as a drag. The cart and the team are managed by two people, a man who rides the cart, goads the wheel oxen, and shouts directions, and a boy who runs in front and turns the lead oxen with a long slender pole. As has been seen, a very large number of oxen are maintained on the sugar cane plantations and the accessory ranches of the area. Donkeys
492 are used in the cane area for lesser tasks, such as carrying seed cane, tools, and subsistence products; both horses and mules are used for riding--usually the plantation foremen ride the patient, slow-moving mules, while the owners and administrators ride the small, agile horses which come from the sertão. In most other parts of the Recôncavo, in the littoral forest and in the dry caatinga, the donkey and mule are the universal beasts of burden.

One município of the Recôncavo--Coração de Maria--has no motor
491 [492] roads, and is thus served only by pack animals. The cidades of all the other municípios are on highways of some sort, but usually only a single road passes directly across the município. The back-country
• 487 of the municípios, which in this sense includes about nine-tenths of the total area, is criss-crossed with a network of trails. Some of these are wide enough for an ox cart, or in very good weather, for a jeep to pass through. Many others are only narrow paths winding through the second growth and passing between cultivated fields.

489 Land transportation between the various parts of the Recôncavo
433 has less direct agricultural importance than in the United States, since
438 so much of the agricultural produce is consumed within the município
439 in which it is grown. Those agricultural products, such as tobacco
497 or sugar, which are destined for non-local or external markets are
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[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 373]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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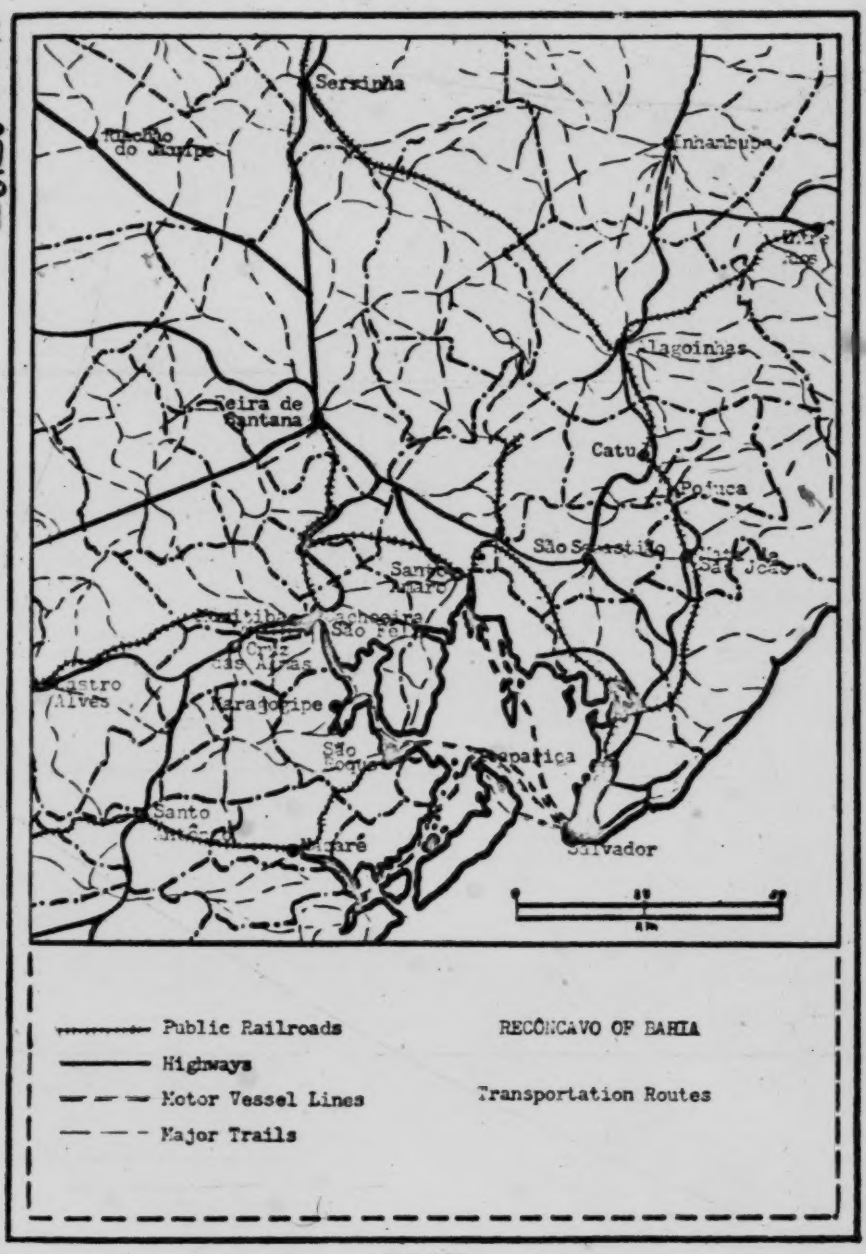

MAP 129

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tant centers of colonial life, and until 1763 Salvador was the capital of the Portuguese colony.

The Recôncavo helped to make Brasil a unique part of the Portuguese empire in the sixteenth century. Brazil was different from any of the other Portuguese colonies, for its wealth proved to lie in agriculture rather than in trade, as was the case in India and Africa. The Bay of All Saints, with a circumference of 200 kilometers, is in effect an inland sea, the entrance to which can be guarded from the heights on which the city of Salvador is situated. There are a number of picturesque islands throughout the bay, with good beaches and landing facilities. Many small rivers empty into the bay, and numerous creeks navigable at high tide extend further inland along its shores. The presence of such a large network of navigable waters was an important factor in the rapid development of the Recôncavo, providing easy and inexpensive transportation of sugar to the point of shipment to Europe.

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The climate is semitropical, with two seasons. Summer, from September to sometime in March, is relatively dry, dotted by showers and thunderstorms and cooled by fresh breezes blowing in from the Atlantic. Winter begins in April, lasting until August or September, the exact time of change differing from year to year. This season is marked by continued rain, usually a soft, constantly falling drizzle or light rain, interspersed with heavy showers, as front after front moves in from the Atlantic, dropping its moisture before being pushed upward by the abruptly rising land which surrounds the Recôncavo. According to statistics for the years 1914 to 1938, the months of minimum rainfall are October, November, and December; during this time the average rainfall was 11.81 inches. The period of maximum rainfall is April, May, and June, with an average of 35.83 inches for the three-month period. The yearly average from 1914 to 1938 was 65.93 inches.[1] The temperature range is from 70 to 90 degrees Fahrenheit.

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The soil of the Recôncavo, especially that of the sugar-Recôncavo, is extraordinarily fertile. It is a heavy black soil, known as massapê, approximately 6 inches to 2 feet thick, covering a clayey subsoil, known locally as tauá. Here and there are outcroppings of sand and mixtures of sand with clay.

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1. Atlas pluviometrico do Brasil (Rio de Janeiro, 1914-1938).

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

438 Centro, situated on the banks of a navigable river which
175 empties into the Bay in front of the town of Vila Recôncavo,
was in a good position to serve the entire back region of the
361 Recôncavo. As a county it now comprises 1,180 square kilo-
meters. As a port, Centro served two purposes in the early
[634] eighteenth century. A great deal of produce and many persons
[131] passed through it, including the families of sugar-cane grow-
ers from other regions of the Recôncavo; and it also served
[504] as a "gateway to the West" at a time when western Bahia and
Minas Gerais were being opened and the gold and diamond
rushes were in progress. Centro was the end of navigable
[487] waters and the beginning of one of the overland routes lead-
ing to the uplands of the sertão and the mining areas of the
[634] west. As Centro grew, Vila Recôncavo stagnated. In 1833
Centro was made judicial center (cabeça de comarca) of the
district and Vila Recôncavo became part of this judicial dis-
trict, thereby losing its prominence as the center of juris-
diction for the interior zone of the Recôncavo. Commercially,
Vila Recôncavo was soon overshadowed by Centro. In 1802,
Vilhena wrote:

> . . . In Centro there is a great deal of commerce, because of the amount of sugar, tobacco, and the number of distilleries and of Mineiros [miners and people from the state of Minas Gerais] who arrive there. Continuing along the bank of the river one finds Vila Recôncavo, which in spite of enough sugar passing through it, always had a weak commerce, and the town is known among all the others as the town of the least traffic.[8]

He says later:

175 In spite of its antiquity, Vila Recôncavo has few in-
361 habitants, and most of them poor, although through-
438 out the termo there are many good families of noble
433 people, rich through the products of their large engen-
hos, from which they take much and excellent sugar,
the only commerce of that town; in it also there is fish-
ing for a little sardinelike fish called xangó and a large
quantity of good and large shrimp, which is the main

8. Ibid., Letter I, p. 32 (author's translation).

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In the very large *usinas*, the mill hands and even the field hands are modern industrial workers. They are employees of a large industrial corporation and are protected at least theoretically by the labour laws of the nation. The highly personalized relationship between the plantation workers and the owner-administrator of his own plantation, which persisted from the slave era, has been replaced on the larger *usinas* by the impersonal employee-employer relationship of the modern industrial age. Today, modern plantations and small towns have electricity; there is modern housing for workmen; the State and even the sugar companies provide medical aid; there are primary schools both in the small towns and on many plantations; recreation facilities are found in the towns and provided by the *usinas*; and the sugar-cane experimental station situated in the area constantly urges fertilization of the land and modern techniques and methods of sugar-cane production. But the older and more traditional patterns exist side by side with the new, and each of them influences the relations among the racial groups of the zone.

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III. Vila Recôncavo is a small town on the Bay of All Saints. The rural area around it, which lies within the social and economic orbit of the town and which is the unit under consideration, comprises some 80 square kilometres, or slightly less than half the entire area of the county of which the town of Vila Recôncavo is the county seat.[1]

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It this area there are 14 plantations, three of which nowadays plant very little sugar cane. Parts of the town itself are built on the land of one of these plantations, and the rest of the town area is owned in small lots by private individuals or by the Church. Although Vila Recôncavo is the county seat, local government is the only important function which it fulfils for the surrounding area. It is not used as a shipping point, either for receiving supplies from the outside or for sending sugar to the outside. *Braços do mar*, or inlets of the bay, go to many of the plantations and are deep enough for the *saveiros* (shallow draft sailboats) used on the bay for transport. Many of the plantations have direct connexion with Salvador. Commerce in Vila Recôncavo is almost entirely limited to supplying the 1,462 inhabitants of the town and of some small islands and of one community near by which is not devoted to sugar production. It is not the major supply source even for these groups which live near enough to another and far larger commercial centre where they prefer to do their marketing. The *prefeito* or mayor of the county is rarely a resident of the town itself. Rather he is usually a planter of the surrounding area. He goes into town to do municipal business,

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[1] Both the town and the county bear the name of Vila Recôncavo.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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[City of Salvador]

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in 1822, in the politics of the Empire, a role similar to that assumed by Minas Geraes, São Paulo, and Rio Grande do Sul in the Republic following 1889. In fact, she has been called "the Brazilian Virginia." Until 1907 Bahia was also 175 the religious center of the Brazilian nation. Her archbishop 795 was the head of the Roman Catholic church in Brazil, and the religious orders maintained here their principal representatives. Thus in the economic, political, and religious life of Brazil, Bahia boasts a long tradition of distinction and prestige.

The present city is about the size of Indianapolis or Seattle.[6] It nestles along the eastern rim of a huge bay, Bahia de Todos os Santos. The bay is formed by the projection out into the ocean of Cape Santo Antonio, which, on its western side, breaks rather sharply almost at the water's edge, exposing a bold promontory approximately three hundred feet in height which parallels for some two to three miles the rim of the bay. The city clings to the narrow shelf between the bay and the cliff and then sprawls up over this sizable barrier and spreads out along the ridges and into the valleys to the east and north, where centuries of erosion have carved a one-time flat plain into alternating crests and steep-sloping depressions. 361

Bahia is thus divided by a natural barrier into a lower and an upper city, into a Cidade Baixa and a Cidade Alta, as the two parts are locally called; the one connected with the other by steep, winding streets paved with cobblestones, by inclined planes and modern hydraulic elevators, or by numerous well-worn footpaths. In the lower city lies, of course, [363] [406] [487] 000

[6] An estimate by the state government gave for the city of Bahia on December 31, 1934, a population of 352,244 (*Annuario estatistico da Bahia, 1934*, p. 131). The federal census of 1920 gave for Bahia City 283,422 (*Recenseamento do Brazil, 1920*, Vol. IV: *População*, Book I, p. xxiv). [162]

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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[City of Salvador]

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The valleys, on the other hand, afford less comfortable, less healthful, less convenient, and, consequently, less expensive residential locations. Here the regularly laid out streets and paving disappear. The inhabitants get about by way of footpaths, the red clay of which becomes slippery after a tropical downpour and quite treacherous on the steeper slopes. Here live the lower classes. Dwellings are simple mud huts constructed of a sapling framework over which puddled clay has been spread and allowed to dry. If the owner's income has permitted, the rough exterior of the dwellings has been smoothed off and a lime wash in pale tints of pink, blue, green, or yellow added. The floor is commonly of earth, neatly sanded at regular intervals with fresh *areia* from the seashore. The roof of such dwellings is usually of palm fronds and may be slightly raised at the gable to permit the more ready exit of smoke from the housewife's fire. The furniture ordinarily consists of rude benches or stools, perhaps a cheap chair, a rough table, and cots, or, more commonly, straw mats for sleeping. A Standard Oil Company can whose top and bottom have been removed is used for a stove. Furnishings include an unpretentious niche with a small image of the family's patron saint, a candle, perhaps an almanac, and a rude iron support for washbasin and pitcher of water. Utensils are usually of baked clay and quite simple in design.

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In respect to economic level, education, and, to some extent, religion, the inhabitants of these lower-class areas diverge widely from those of the ridges. They are usually illiterate, although some of the children are now being enrolled in government-sponsored schools. Communication is ordinarily by word of mouth, seldom by newspaper, book, or telephone. Conversation is carried on in the Portuguese

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249 311 [134] Commercial sugar cane cultivation is confined to the humid Coastal Plain areas with Cretaceous clay soils, except for a small area in São Filipe. Since the areas of Cretaceous clay soils are limited and compact, sugar cane production is highly localized in two areas: (1) the main sugar cane area in the municípios of Santo Amaro, São Francisco, and São Sebastião; and (2) a smaller area north of the Bacia do Iguape in the município of Cachoeira. There is a third area of less intensive production in southern São Filipe.

249 244 [433] The sole purpose of cultivation in the sugar cane area is the production of a commercial product, but the areas of tobacco-manioc cultivation produce both a staple food and a commodity for sale outside the region. Most of the tobacco and manioc of the Recôncavo are produced under a land rotation system in which the sequence is: (1) tobacco; (2) manioc; and (3) fallow in wild vegetation. The tobacco is planted in small fields, usually after an application of manure. The entire plant is harvested repeatedly until it will no longer produce a salable leaf. Manioc is planted following tobacco, sometimes several times, until the field is exhausted and abandoned to the second growth. The fallow period is frequently short, sometimes as little as one year. Cultivation is entirely by hand--no plows are used. There is very little selection of seed, and only one variety of tobacco--Bahia Brasil--is [423] [427] produced. Tobacco and manioc are produced almost exclusively by small cultivators who are either owners or renters. Frequently livestock [231] [233] are raised upon the properties of the cultivators, but except for the use of manure in the cultivation of tobacco, there is little integration of crop and livestock production. The leaf is harvested, dried, 276 and partially fermented by the cultivator. The marketing of tobacco 276 438 is inseparable from the credit arrangement between the cultivator and [452] [488] the tobacco buyer or agent. The leaf is delivered by the producer to the storekeeper-buyer or the local tobacco warehouse.

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1785 to 1795, and in the last five of these years 17,409 Africans came in from Angola.[20] From 1797 to 1806 approximately 47,000 "Minas" and 11,000 "Angolas" entered Bahia.[21] In the Angola trade, ships plied directly between the Brazilian ports of Bahia,[22] Pernambuco, Rio de Janeiro, and Maranhão and the Angola ports of São Paulo de Loanda, Benguella, and, particularly, Novo Redondo, exchanging for Angola Negroes tobacco, *cachaça*, cotton prints, knives, glass beads, powder, and lead.[23] Thousands of Yorubas, Gêges (Ewes), Haussás, Fuláhs (Fulbis, Fulanins), Ashantis, Tapas, Effans, and Mandingas were imported from the ports of Lagos, Forte de El Mina, and São João de Ajudá (Whydah).[24] Felix de Sousa, better known as Cháchá,[25] a mulatto from Rio de Janeiro, played a prominent role in the trade in the early part of the nineteenth century.

In the sixteenth century a good slave is said to have been

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[20] Calogeras, *op. cit.*, pp. 325-26.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 322.

[22] Several slave warehouses existed in the area between Agua dos Meninos and the Dourado docks. Some slave merchants used their own houses as *depositos*. A certain Siqueira Lima had such a house in Vitoria on the present site of the governor's palace (Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 70).

[23] Ferreira reports 8,037 Negroes imported into Bahia in the year 1807 (José Carlos Ferreira, "As insurreições dos africanos na Bahia," *Revista do Instituto Geographico e Historico da Bahia*, XXIX [1903], 96). In 1821, 21,199 Negroes entered Rio from Angola; in 1822, 24,934 (Maria Graham, *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil, 1821-1823* [London, 1824], p. 146).

[24] Braz do Amaral says there were also imported Africans known in Bahia as Macuas, Bambas, Jalos, Bechuanos, Balantes, Jingas, Krumanos, Timinis, Bengos, Jalofas, Bengalas, Cabindas, Côngos, Manjocos, Sentys, Maguiscas, Benins, Queitos, and Bornûs. Numerically important were the Yorubas (Nagôs) and Gêges (Amaral, *op. cit.*, pp. 474-84). The Yoruba subgroups, the Egbas and Ige-shas, were apparently large.

[25] Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 182; cf. Novas Calvo, *Pedro blanco el negrero* (Madrid, 1933), p. 69.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 249 565 [471]

maintained splendid establishments, called Solars, in the Capital, to which they repaired in the winter season, June, July and August, for social diversion.[29]

[178] The above citation is characteristic of the present-day views of many upper-class Baianos who identify themselves with this opulent era of the Recôncavo social evolution. The mythology engendered by the colonial sugar industry is outliving the engenho system. The wealth, pride, and ostentation of these fidalgos is undeniable. Within the limits of the provincial social environment, upper-class life was luxurious indeed. Compared with the upper-class society of the period in Europe or in the American South, however, social opportunities in the Recôncavo must have been rather limited. The casas [342] grandes—if the surviving specimens can be taken as typical--generally were rather modest plantation houses. Transportation was difficult: [489] few engenhos had carriage roads, and travel was by horseback or [671] palanquin. Social intercourse often was restricted to an ingrown [484] local circle. Apparently many of the social needs of the upper class could not be met within the rural Recôncavo so that trips were made frequently to Salvador, Rio de Janeiro, and sometimes Paris.[30]

Little has been recorded of the way of life of the slaves and 175 249 poor freemen in the Recôncavo. It is significant that both apologists 567 and critics of slavery usually have agreed that the masters were relatively clement in the treatment of their slave laborers. These slaves were very valuable possessions, particularly after the British began to suppress the slave trade. Because absentee ownership and delegation of administration to people outside the family was not usual, the masters and slaves were perforce in daily contact. Out of these daily contacts between landholder and laborer, a relatively personal relationship was developed. Within the household, relation- [563] ships were even more familiar. In addition, some of the slaves were

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 over the forest or the caatinga. In most areas it is the second growth, not the cultivated fields, which dominates the landscape.

241 361 443 634 The scale of the maps accompanying the following sections does not allow the indication of one of the significant patterns of cropland distribution in the Recôncavo—the concentration of cultivation around the cidades, the political centers. Each cidade is the economic focus of its município and is usually the primary market for the products of [489] its cultivators. The poorly developed system of transportation in the rural areas puts a premium on proximity to the market center. Thus in most of the municípios there is a decrease in cultivation away from the cidade, and where the municípios are large, such as on the northern and western perimeter of the Recôncavo, cropland becomes very widely scattered 241 before the political boundary is reached. This centralized distribution 361 443 491 of cropland has been complicated by the development of roads and truck traffic. Cultivators tend to cluster along the main highways with little regard for the absolute distance to the market of the cidade; accessibility as represented by time rather than distance seems to be the more important factor in choosing land for cultivation, providing that land is available. The pattern of concentration of cultivation along the highway is especially characteristic of the Upland sections of the Recôncavo.[1]

241 178 There are many exceptions to the modes of cropland distribution mentioned above. In the Recôncavo tradition and prestige often contravene direct economic self-interest. On a large scale the persistence of sugar cultivation is an example of the unwillingness to explore new sources of income. In other areas the traditional social advantages of land ownership may impede the subdivision of large properties into farms or rented plots, even where hired labor is not available to 000 cultivate the land efficiently. Livestock production, which offers

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243 311 433 The Recôncavo as a whole had 9,679 hectares of corn, with a production of 10,283 tons. Of this, 87 per cent of the area and 84 per cent of the production was in Santo Estêvão, Feira de Santana, and Irará (Maps 34, 35, and 36). The area and production of the Recôncavo were about the same as for one adjacent município, Serrinha, which had 8,500 hectares and 11,590 tons of corn in 1948.

243 311 Most of the corn grown and produced in the Recôncavo comes from two compact concentrations, one around the cidade of Irará; the other around the cidade of Santo Estêvão. Elsewhere in the Recôncavo it is grown either on very widely scattered plots or as a "garden" crop.[23]

The concentration of corn production is the result of several physical and economic factors. It is cultivated on the dry margins of the Recôncavo, where only a few restricted areas can produce a crop. 243 Though a commercial product of moderate value, its weight- or bulk-price [438] relationship is not highly favorable to long transportation to market— [489] in contrast to tobacco, which tends to attach itself to even the smallest and most remote semi-subsistence plot, and in contrast to beef, [491] which in Bahia is moved to market on the hoof. The concentration around Santo Estêvão, which is on the main trunk highway to Feira de Santana, is favorable for the transportation of the crop, and the Irará concentration is linked to Feira by a generally passable road. [251] In the more humid parts of the Recôncavo, corn is restricted not only by its poor competitive position vis-à-vis sugar cane or tobacco, but also by its harvest requirements; it must be harvested and stored in the proper season, while manioc may be harvested as it is needed, a great advantage for a subsistence crop.

243 311 433 Corn, although the second most important subsistence crop of the Recôncavo, occupied in 1948 only 12 per cent of the total cropland.

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BB 244 311 433 The total area in sweet potatoes in 1948 was 344 hectares, the total production, 2,565 tons. No single município grew more than 100 hectares nor produced over 1,000 tons (Maps 47 and 48). In Cachoeira and Maragogipe, 3 per cent of the total cropland was in sweet potatoes in 1948. The plants are grown on the slopes and in the sandier valley bottoms of the Intermediate Hills and are sold through the local markets. On a smaller scale, sweet potatoes are grown as a minor supplementary crop in the Southwestern Recôncavo. The mean Recôncavo yield was 7.5 tons per hectare, close to the mean Brazilian 1948-1950 yield of 8 tons per hectare. Sweet potatoes are grown in the Recôncavo both as "garden" crops for home consumption and as minor commercial crops for local exchange.

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The total area in peanuts in 1948 was 550 hectares; the total production was 876 tons (Maps 49 and 50). There is some small commercial production in Maragogipe and in the Northern Recôncavo; in the former, 6 per cent of the total cropland was in peanuts in 1948, and in the latter, from 2 to 5 per cent. Yields calculated for municípios varied from .3 to 3.5 tons per hectare without discernible pattern. The mean yield was 1.6 tons per hectare, higher than the .97 tons per hectare of Brazil and the .89 tons per hectare of the United States.

BB 245 433 Bananas. The banana is the sole important subsistence crop of the Recôncavo which is of old world origin. Brazil is the world's leading producer of bananas, and the main centers of production are in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and Minas Gerais. In the Recôncavo, bananas are grown primarily for subsistence and local exchange, but there are a few small commercial growers. Under the existing system of transportation, the long distance shipment of so bulky, heavy, perishable, and cheap a product is difficult.

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

245 311 Within the Recôncavo coconut production is important along the sandy beach line of the island of Itaparica and along the ocean coast of Salvador, where coconuts are virtually the only agricultural product [133] (Maps 58, 59, and 60). The inner shores of the Bay, which rise abruptly [134] with rocky clay slopes, bear very few coconuts, except in a low-lying sandy zone along the estuary of the Paraguaçu. Coconuts are produced 245 [423] chiefly on large properties which are frequently owned by urban families. [464] The plantations are operated with hired labor drawn from the coastal [438] population. When harvested, the coconuts are sold in the urban markets [258] of Salvador and other cities and towns. Very little of the Recôncavo [439] production is converted into oil, and little is exported.

Oranges. The navel orange is a Bahian development, a mutation of the orange brought from Europe. The main centers of Brazilian pro- [433] duction, however, are elsewhere in the country, and cultivation of oranges within the Recôncavo is primarily for local consumption.

245 311 Scattered orange trees are a feature of the rural and urban landscape in many areas. In addition to this generalized cultivation, which frequently is not shown in the official data, there is commercial production in the environs of several urban centers—Alagoinhas, Santo Antônio, and to a lesser extent, Salvador (Maps 61 and 62). The [489] cidades of Alagoinhas and Santo Antônio are both markets for part of [443] the local crop; moreover, both are on the railroads leading to Salvador, which is the chief market for the entire region. In addition to these three main concentrations, there are numerous orange groves in the Southwestern Recôncavo which apparently serve both local and regional markets, though on a small scale. In general the relative area in orange groves is not great, yet in 1948 they occupied 10 per cent of the cropland of Alagoinhas.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

245 438 [471] Oranges, like coconuts, are usually grown on plantations. The capital investment in tree crops is usually too great for small cultivators. Moreover, as a highly perishable crop, oranges require more or less direct marketing, which is frequently beyond the capacity of the small grower. If oranges were marketed by trickling from the small grower through the hands of merchants, buyers, and the like, as is tobacco, they would be spoiled long before reaching the consumer. The small cultivator can market his handful of oranges only in the local market.

241 433 Supplementary Crops. Although the official data show only a very limited distribution of minor supplementary crops, their cultivation is not confined to those municípios where exceptionally conscientious [262] statistical agents have made detailed records. The common vegetables--green beans, onions, garlic, and tomatoes--are cultivated in small quantities in all parts of the Recôncavo and are a traditional part of Bahian dishes. Around the cities and towns there is some specialization [443] in vegetable farming, but there are no major concentrations. The Salvador market is supplied with produce from a broad rural zone which includes [489] most of the Recôncavo. The produce is brought to the city by donkey, truck, or by sailing boat.

The most important of the supplementary commercial crops is [134] pineapple, which is produced on the sandy soils of the Northern, and to a lesser extent, Southwestern Recôncavo. There is very scattered production of grapes, cotton, rice, and white potatoes, but there are no important centers of cultivation of these crops.

245 311 Minor Spontaneous Tree Crops. Mangoes are very common within the houseyards of Salvador and throughout the humid Coastal Plain. In

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 433 neglect the critical tobacco producing areas. It seems to be true that
[245] [439] the chief recipients of political and economic attention have been the traditionally important sugar cane area, and more recently the cacao
[491] zone. The people of the tobacco area complain particularly about the lack of roads.

244 433 Not only is manioc the basic source of subsistence for the Recôncavo, it is also the second crop in value of production. Its cultivation, as has been seen, is closely associated with the production of tobacco, so that the Southwestern Recôncavo, which produced 63 per cent of the tobacco crop, also contributed a very large part--48 per cent--of the total value of manioc (Map 121). However, manioc is important in its own right, as well as in its relationship to tobacco. No data are available to indicate the importance of manioc as a surplus product which is sold beyond the borders of the município in which it is grown. A rough estimate can be made by assuming that the per capita consumption of manioc is 400 kilograms per year--this is the mean consumption for the state of Bahia. Using this figure in conjunction with the population data, it is possible to estimate that in 1948 about 30,000 tons of surplus manioc was produced in the Recôncavo. Ninety per cent of this surplus was produced in the municípios of the Southwestern Recôncavo
[489] [494] It is significant that many of the trucks passing from the Southwestern Recôncavo to Feira de Santana and Salvador are piled high with bags of farinha de mandioca. The total value of commercial manioc would be about Cr.$6,500,000, so that on this basis manioc is the fourth or fifth most valuable commercial crop of the Recôncavo. Using the above method of determination, it was found that several municípios adjoining the region also produced surpluses of manioc. The most notable of these were the four municípios adjacent to the Southwestern Recôncavo--Nazaré, São Miguel, Santo Antônio, and Castro Alves--which produced a

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CHAPTER X

MARKETING, TRANSPORTATION, AND PROCESSING OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS

44 Introduction. The institutions of marketing, processing, and transportation in the Recôncavo are of two basic types, local and regional. Those which serve the local economies, that is, the municípios, are traditional. These are the municipal market and the casa de farinha (manioc mill). The institutions which serve the regional economy--sugar and tobacco processing plants and marketing systems--have their traditional element but have been extensively modified in the last half century. Much the same division is reflected in the transportation systems of the Recôncavo, for although the chief media within the local economies are essentially traditional and primitive, the transportation net of the region as a whole has a number of modern features. The discussion which follows will deal with the various institutions which have developed in the Recôncavo to accommodate the marketing, transportation, and processing of the more important agricultural products.

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443 Marketing of Agricultural Products. Municipal markets play an important role in the exchange of the agricultural products in the Recôncavo as in most of Brazil. Large quantities of agricultural goods are sold within the local area in which they are produced, and much of this exchange takes place within the municipal market. The feira is the regular open market which usually is held once a week in the smaller centers but somewhat more frequently in the larger cities. It is usually housed in a public building, the municipal mercado. The other type of municipal market is the matadouro municipal (slaughter

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443 Many shopkeepers are also land owners, and their tenants as a matter
[452] of course are also their customers and their debtors. The livestock
[427] raised by the agriculturalist may be sold on the hoof at the feira or taken to the matadouro municipal (municipal slaughter house). The meat is sold either at the slaughter house or at the feira.

In the larger centers the market tends to last throughout the week. In the medium-sized centers there are a few offerings each morning, and often there is a small feira in the middle of the week. Some major cities, such as Cachoeira, Feira de Santana, Santo Amaro, and Salvador, have source areas larger than their municípios. For
[489] example, the market at Feira de Santana invariably draws scores of
[494] trucks, each laden with people and produce, from places as distant as Cruz das Almas, Ipirá, Serrinha, and Santo Amaro. The most important general market in the Recôncavo is the Saturday feira at Agua de Meninos
[505] in Salvador. This market is located on the low-lying tidal flats beside the Bay, and many of the agricultural products which are sold
[489] here are brought by sailing boats. Trucks, carts, streetcars, trains,
[494] and pack animals are also used to transport produce to this market. It is here that a very large portion of Salvador's population purchases the agricultural products of the Recôncavo. This market is also the source of supply of the street vendors who hawk fruits and vegetables through the streets of the city. Salvador also has a smaller central market—the Mercado Modelo—and a number of minor neighborhood markets which usually are open for part of each day.

442 The campo de gado (cattle fair) at Feira de Santana is the only
443 important specialized public market in the Recôncavo; and, as has been
233 seen, it plays a very critical role in the agricultural economy of the region and of the state. On Monday mornings thousands of cattle change hands in the pens and weighing compounds at this fair.[1] Because the

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 in meeting his contract with the agent. The result of this and other
442 speculative practices is that the price of tobacco tends to spiral upwards
438 throughout the season.
452
455 The crop is delivered to the buyer in small lots--10 to 15 kilo-
249 grams--which are assembled, graded, and baled. The bales are taken to
276 the warehouse of the agent where they are added to other bales to form
438 a large pile in which fermentation can take place. After fermentation
442 the bales are broken, and the leaf is re-sorted. With the better grades the sorting is done very carefully, and a large number of size and texture grades are separated. Intermediate grades are sorted less carefully, often by bundles rather than by individual leaves. The poorest grades are stripped without grading. After sorting or stripping, the leaf is again placed in bales and kept in the warehouse until transport can be arranged to deliver the tobacco to Salvador or to the cigar factories.

249 Most of the tobacco produced in the Recôncavo is exported. In the
433 years 1946 to 1950, inclusive, 166,676 tons of leaf tobacco were produced
439 in Bahia and 128,567 tons were exported, so that about 75 per cent of the total crop of the state was exported.[2] However, the exported leaf is made up of the choice tobaccos, that is "Mata Fina," which are largely grown in the Recôncavo. It may be concluded from this that at least four-fifths of the tobacco crop of the Recôncavo was exported during this years. Tobacco exported from the Recôncavo normally composes 70 per cent of all the tobacco exported from Brazil. In value, the tobacco exported from the Recôncavo was less than 1 per cent of the total exports of all products from Brazil.[3]

482 Transportation. The backs of men and of animals are the basic
492 transportation media in the Recôncavo: almost all goods begin and end
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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

482 their journeys thus, and many agricultural products are transported in
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489 no other fashion from the site of cultivation to the ultimate consumer.
[491] In each of the municípios of the Recôncavo, as in almost all of Brazil, there are extensive areas which are neither on nor near roads. In these areas, but also along the highways and in the cities, men and beasts of burden transport the products of the agricultural economy.
489 Long distance transportation, formerly dependent on animals, has been
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493 changed in the last half century by the introduction of railroads and
170 more recently, automotive vehicles. In a similar fashion, both prini-
178
505 tive and relatively modern transport are used on the waters of the Báia de Todos os Santos and of the various estuaries. Most of the agricultural products which cross the Bay are carried on open-decked sailing vessels and canoes, but there are also a number of motor vessels and motorboats which provide relatively effective transport from Salvador to all the cidades on or near tidewater.

492 In the tobacco-manioc region, and in rural Brazil generally, the donkey or the mule is the characteristic beast of burden. On the backs of these animals the bales of tobacco, the sacks of manioc and farinha de mandioca, and the baskets of corn and vegetables are carried to the market. The equipage of the donkey is simple--a halter and a rough
492 crosstree pack saddle with a thick pad of vegetable fiber. In the
493 sugar cane region the donkey is supplemented and, in most areas, almost
[171] supplanted by the ox cart. The ox cart of Bahia, essentially like the carts used in other Brazilian sugar areas, is built of heavy wood, with a thick wooden bed and tongue, wooden axle, and solid wooden wheels about five-feet in diameter. This high, massive contraption has no bearings, and in dry weather especially it is frequently necessary to repair the wheels and axles. The ox cart is an admirable device for the Cretaceous lowland, for with its high wheels it can carry as much

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

492 as a ton of cane through the rain-softened clay. It is pulled, depend-
493 ing upon the load and the condition of the roate, by four, six, or eight oxen. It has no brakes, although occasionally a long pole is used as a drag. The cart and the team are managed by two people, a man who rides the cart, goads the wheel oxen, and shouts directions, and a boy who runs in front and turns the lead oxen with a long slender pole. As has been seen, a very large number of oxen are maintained on the sugar cane plantations and the accessory ranches of the area. Donkeys
492 are used in the cane area for lesser tasks, such as carrying seed cane, tools, and subsistence products; both horses and mules are used for riding--usually the plantation foremen ride the patient, slow-moving mules, while the owners and administrators ride the small, agile horses which come from the sertão. In most other parts of the Recôncavo, in the littoral forest and in the dry caatinga, the donkey and mule are the universal beasts of burden.

One município of the Recôncavo--Coração de Maria--has no motor
491 [492] roads, and is thus served only by pack animals. The cidades of all the other municípios are on highways of some sort, but usually only a single road passes directly across the município. The back-country
487 of the municípios, which in this sense includes about nine-tenths of the total area, is criss-crossed with a network of trails. Some of these are wide enough for an ox cart, or in very good weather, for a jeep to pass through. Many others are only narrow paths winding through the second growth and passing between cultivated fields.

489 Land transportation between the various parts of the Recôncavo
433 has less direct agricultural importance than in the United States, since
438 so much of the agricultural produce is consumed within the município
439 in which it is grown. Those agricultural products, such as tobacco
497 or sugar, which are destined for non-local or external markets are
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505 abuse by the sea and by man. While some of these boats are used for
[226] fishing in the Bay and in the ocean, their most important function undoubtedly is bringing food from the areas around the Bay to the city of Salvador. On the return trip, they carry building materials,
[249] manufactured articles, and passengers. The usinas of the coastal
[257] sections of the sugar cane area use these vessels to transport cane to the mill and to deliver the products of the mill to Salvador. Several of the cities on the Bay are very much dependent upon this means of transport, especially São Francisco and Maragogipe, which for all practical purposes have no road connections.

Motor boats serve to connect Salvador and the island of Itaparica. All of the tidewater cidades of the Bay and, in addition, São Roque do Paraguaçu and Mazaré are connected with the city of Salvador by scheduled motor vessels which carry many passengers and small quantities of freight. These vessels ascend and descend the estuaries with the tide. The head of navigation on the Rio Paraguaçu is Cachoeira, and on the Rio Sergi is at a landing on the outskirts of Santo Amaro.

• 489 These various transport media provide for the movement of people
241 and goods across the Recôncavo. They are generally able to meet the
433 immediate demands of the agricultural economy without excessive delays. The available media of transport are used to the fullest extent; busses, trains, and motor vessels are always crowded, and the trucks are always busy. However, the poor roads, the archaic railroads, the taxes on the movement of goods, and the high cost of vehicles clearly set a limit to the expansion or the intensification of the agricultural system. The rationalization of agriculture in the Recôncavo would require considerable expansion and improvement of the system of transportation.

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249 Processing of Agricultural Products. Each of the three principal
252 crops of the Recôncavo require processing before it can be consumed.
276 Sugar cane and manioc are highly perishable, and both are processed in their entirety within the region. Tobacco, once it is fermented, can be stored for longer periods, so that there is no necessity for immediate processing within the Recôncavo. Sugar cane is processed in large usinas and to a lesser extent in engenhos (primitive sugar mills). Tobacco
[277] products are fabricated in small-scale home industries and in factories. Manioc is converted into farinha de mandioca in very small mills.

249 The cultivation, transportation, and processing of sugar cane
489 require an integrated system in which there is some form of centralized
471 administration. The larger usinas own and operate most of the surrounding cane plantations and the associated transportation system, and administration is direct. Where cane is purchased from furnishers--privately-owned plantations--the mill specifies the type of cane which it will buy and the schedule of delivery. Most of the sugar cane in the Recôncavo is processed by usinas, which produce sugar, rum, and alcohol. However, there are a number of engenhos and a few smaller usinas which specialize in the production of rum or crude sugar. The engenhos are most important around the margins of the main sugar cane area north of the Bay and in Cachoeira and São Félix, but the usinas dominate the core area of cane production in Santo Amaro, São Francisco, and São Sebastião. Within the core area the big usinas generally are located near but not on the main railroads, although a few are situated near the shore of the Bay.

249 The harvested sugar cane generally is delivered to smaller mills
492 by the grower, usually on ox carts. The larger mills receive their
249 cane via the railroad or the Bay. In these cases the cane is trans-
499 ported by ox cart from the cane fields to a weighing station, from
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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 decline of the old system of independent plantations and small usinas and
471 the rise of agricultural capitalism in the Recôncavo as in Brazil's other
178 sugar areas. With greater capital resources, drawn from Salvador, Rio de Janeiro, and São Paulo, the large companies are slowly buying up the fazendas of the core area of sugar cane production and are closing out the small mills.

249 The typical usina involves a large-scale organization of land,
471 transportation, processing, and labor by means of an administrative hier-
489 archy. Timing is one of the critical aspects in converting cane to a finished product, for the harvesting of the cane and the operation of the mill must be closely coordinated. A basic factor in this coordination is the weather, which governs the quality of the cane, the transportation of the harvest, and thus the operation of the mill. In dry weather the
[492] [493] sugar content of the cane is high, and the ox carts move easily through the fields. In wet weather the harvesting bogs down, and the operation of the mill comes to a standstill. Since the fixed costs of the mill and the plantations are very great, delays in harvest are costly to the in-
249 dustry. Another important administrative problem for the industry is
464 labor. The sugar economy depends upon itinerant seasonal labor and upon the declining local agricultural population. Occasionally the operation of the mill is delayed because of labor shortages. It is sometimes necessary to shift labor from the fields to the mill or vice versa or from one plantation to another and to balance the cost of maintaining a labor reserve, if available, against the losses incurred when the op-
249 eration of the mill is curtailed. The scope of operation of the usina
471 may be illustrated by a list of the major physical equipment of one of the large usinas in Santo Amaro:

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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of livestock, which had a value greater than sugar cane but less than manioc.

Agricultural activities within the Recôncavo are localized in several distinct sub-regions, each with a specialized system of cultivation and each with either one or two principal crops. The primary agricultural subdivisions of the region are: (1) the sugar cane monocultural sub-region; and (2) the tobacco-manioc sub-region.

249 Sugar cane is grown as the exclusive crop in its major area of production—the pocket of coastal plain north of the Baía de Todos os Santos. Cane is generally cultivated under a four-year monoculture and one-year fallow system on large properties employing large quantities of hand labor and using oxen to draw plows and carts. Neither fertilizer [407] nor agricultural machinery is used to any appreciable extent. Most of [492] the animals used as labor in the production of sugar cane are brought [231] [233] into the area from the sertão, and little livestock breeding is found in this area. The processing of sugar cane is in the hands of a small [471] number of medium-sized usinas. The companies which own these usinas [178] are gradually buying up the plantations so that to an increasing extent the mills directly control the production of sugar cane. Most of the [497] cane is brought to the usinas by railroad, although sailing boats are [489] used for this purpose along tidewater. Most of the sugar produced in [505] the Recôncavo is consumed within the state of Bahia, but small quantities [438] [439] are shipped to other parts of Brazil. Both the aristocratic upper class [565] and the rising non-aristocratic business interests of the Recôncavo are [471] [472] involved in the ownership and administration of the sugar industry. The [464] permanent labor force is supplied from the settlements of the sugar cane [178] plantations and the mills, but the rural population and the labor force of the sugar area are declining. Seasonal labor for the harvest comes from the interior sertão of Bahia.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 [457] purchased in Europe at the expense of precious foreign exchange, tobacco can be processed for the trade with only a shed and a few crude presses. [489] Rather than a relatively expensive rail net to assemble the crop, tobacco can be carried by truck, small boat, or even by pack animal. More- [433] over, since the cultivation of tobacco is integrated with the production of food and is primarily an activity of small farmers, it is possible to adjust the size of the crop from year to year with a minimum sacrifice of capital investment.

277 The tobacco industry of the Recôncavo has a number of disadvantages as a base for commercial development which may be summarized as problems of: (1) land; (2) markets; and (3) system of production.

249 311 Leaf tobacco production in the Recôncavo and in the adjoining areas of Bahia is confined to a narrow belt between the humid edges of the Up- [134] lands and the dry interior of the state. An expansion toward the coast would bring tobacco first into the Intermediate Hills where the upland soils which are preferred for tobacco cultivation are of limited area and then into the humid lowlands in which the Cretaceous soils are unsuitable, apparently, for the cultivation of quality leaf tobacco. [132] and in which the Tertiary soils are extremely infertile. An expansion westward would bring tobacco into an area where the precipitation in [134] most years is inadequate. The interior north of the tobacco area is dry and has very poor soils, the Tertiary upland soils. There is an [137] opportunity for the further expansion of the cultivation of tobacco toward the southwest along the forest and scrub forest boundary into a region which produces the same general type of tobacco as the Southwestern Recôncavo--the "Mata" grade. This apparently is the meaning of the increased tobacco production in Santo Antônio. It should be possible, at least as far as the soils and climate are concerned, to continue the expansion toward the southwest into the adjoining

The railroad from Salvador to the interior passes about 15 kilometers east of Vila Recôncavo, and the planters situated near it experience the same difficulties of horseback travel when getting the train to go to the city. 496 492

There is no public transportation within the county. The train is so far from the town of Vila Recôncavo that it is not used by the town dwellers. Most of the population walks to wherever it is going, except to Salvador. Few people in town have horses or mules, for there is insufficient pasture nearby. As a result of the poor roads, the townspeople are dependent upon water navigation, a factor which helps to orient them to other towns by the water's edge and discourages communication between the town and the plantations of the interior of the county. At any season, there is little happening in the plantation area to attract the townspeople. On the other hand, people from the plantation come to the town, especially to see the doctor, for a special Mass, or to take the boat to Salvador. They rarely come for the movie, except those few subsistence gardeners (roçeiros) who live nearby, for travel is too difficult. During the dry season almost all transportation of goods is accomplished by an ox-drawn cart (carro de boi) with two large, solid wooden wheels drawn by eight oxen (junta de boi). The cart is driven by a man, and the oxen follow a small boy who walks in front of them. 484 [489] 49 484

The community of Vila Recôncavo comprises an area of some 80 square kilometers in the shape of a semicircle, bounded on one side by water and on the other by a high ridge. This area, which includes the town of Vila Recôncavo, forms a natural as well as a cultural unit. The remaining 100 square kilometers of the county fall into two subregions, one very small area which is oriented toward Centro and Cana-Uba (see map), and another which is strongly oriented toward Salvador. The three areas are drawn together by local administration: police, school system, tax collecting, and the collection of statistics--in other words, by the formal structure of county administration. 131 361 [634]

The 80 square kilometers of the community of Vila Recôncavo are composed almost entirely of thirteen large plantations, eleven of which are devoted to the cultivation of sugar cane. Of the other two, one plants cane on a small scale and rents most of its land to subsistence gardeners, while the second is a summer home, producing nothing. Of the eleven which plant sugar cane, six belong to the sugar factory which 361 249

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilian SO11
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occupation of the poor people, who sell them after drying in the city of Salvador. . . .[9]

In 1837 Centro officially became a city, and for another hundred years it was the major commercial point of the sugar-Recôncavo. Gradually, however, it fell into the same pattern of decline which continues today in so much of the Recôncavo. In the 1900's a railroad was constructed from Salvador to Feira de Santana; it passed well back of Vila Recôncavo, missing it so far as to be of no aid whatsoever. Although it passed through Centro, the terminal point, Feira, became more important commercially to the state and became the new gateway to the north, west, and south of the state and of the nation. Although Centro is now a large town with a population of some ten thousand people and a weekly market which attracts people from the countryside and the neighboring towns, this is not enough to sustain it. Its port is now comparatively little used for the export of sugar, which in most cases goes directly to Salvador by train from the factories.

The immediate cause for the decay of the town of Vila Recôncavo, and to a great extent that of Centro and of so many other older towns, was the loss of functions after the period of frontier growth. Those towns which had been religious centers lost this function. Military posts were no longer needed, and administrative activities became more restricted as the counties were cut down in size and as the state and federal governments took over more functions, such as schools and health programs. Railroads and trucks have lately reduced the importance of the port towns. The rural towns no longer interest the wealthy rural aristocracy who always dominated and supported them. More rapid transportation has made it possible for this class to move about from plantation or factory to the town or the city and back in one day instead of three, thus removing the need for a town house in which to spend the night. Better transportation has also made it possible for the other classes to go to Salvador easily for shopping, medical purposes, festivals, and visiting. Thus Salvador, because of its nearness and the relative ease of transportation, has taken on many of the functions of the rural

9. Ibid., Letter XIII, p. 501 (author's translation).

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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county seats, functions which they would still fulfill if they were farther removed from the state capital.

Finally, and perhaps most important of all, there has been a population shift in the last half century. New centers of population and industry have appeared in the Recôncavo, and there has been a refocusing of commercial activity but no accompanying administrative reform. The old towns, such as Vila Recôncavo, have remained as county seats to carry on administrative duties and the pretense of being the center of municipal activity. Official statistics indicate a great predominance of rural inhabitants in the Recôncavo. Actually, however, much of the population lives in towns. Although these centers are not officially called towns, their pattern of living is urban and not rural. For example, the district of Richão in the county of Purificação reported in the 1940 census 442 urban and suburban inhabitants, and 9,369 rural inhabitants. This gives no indication of the existence of a large factory town which contains almost nine thousand people.

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The older towns may in the long run prove to be more permanent than the newer centers, which for the most part are factory towns, for it is possible that some day in the future the factories may close, causing a complete dislocation. In the meantime towns such as Vila Recôncavo are left out of the new developments, without industry or commerce except what can be done on a small scale, such as fishing or the weekly market. Still known as the formal centers of their counties or districts, they retain their local bureaucratic functions.

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Until the second half of the nineteenth century, the county was the principal community organization, and the town of Vila Recôncavo was the major center of attraction for its county. However, because of developments in the sugar industry, this older community structure began to change. These developments, which will be described in the next chapter, had the effect of further isolating the town of Vila Recôncavo from the main streams of life revolving about the sugar industry, which has always been the major feature of life in the Recôncavo. New developments in the industry caused new community alignments, the end results of which have been to leave the formal administrative centers, such as the town of Vila Recôncavo, out of rural community life to a very great degree. In the next chapter the history of the rural area will be discussed, linking together the town and the rural area.

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the refinery, namely gasoline, kerosene, diesel oil, bottled gas, and other petroleum derivatives. As a result of the increased income, the county government will be able to build up the county seat considerably. A hospital is already being built, as well as a new dock for the boat which comes from the city.

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In Milagres, located in the neighboring county, there is already a considerable movement for breaking away from the parent county and becoming a separate municipio, a common pattern in Brazil for districts which reach a certain population and degree of economic activity. Thus there are two possibilities for urban growth in the area and for the formation of urban centers which will attract the large rural population.

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The town of Vila Recôncavo is close to realizing other possibilities. The construction of a road from the town to Centro has already begun, filling a long-felt need. Its completion will make it possible for cars, buses, and trucks to come from Feira, on the edge of the sertão, to Centro, down through Vila Recôncavo to Milagres, and on into the city, shortening the long trip by the existing road which follows the edges of the Recôncavo. Such traffic would "put Vila Recôncavo on the map," and would greatly increase its contacts with the outside world. In addition, the possibilities of the introduction of a new crop to the community will bring increased commercial activity and a much greater tax income, enabling the county to build its own roads and bridges and to make other improvements for the development of the area.

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Thus the community structure of Vila Recôncavo, which five years ago was in the process of crystallizing around the factory town, is now ripe for further change. The factory town continues for the present to be the major center, but the old county seat has all the possibilities of a rebirth of its former importance. In fact, because of the petroleum industry and the forthcoming changeover from sugar cane to cacao, the factory town is threatened as a community center, the position which it has only recently been consolidating.

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Finally, one of the most important changes in Vila Recôncavo in these five years is a change in attitude on the part of the people. Vila Recôncavo was always known as a conservative community, maintaining its old traditions and ways, rejecting innovations. However, there is now an air of expectancy and a search for new ways and new things. Dissatisfaction with the sugar industry, combined with the appearance

The other important occupation is fishing and there is the new petroleum industry. In Vila Recôncavo, bureaucracy plays a large part in the economics of the urban upper-class. The municipal secretary, the statistics agent, the federal and state tax collectors and their clerks, the postmaster and various other 'white collar' positions belong to this small group. Often members of the municipal government divide their attention between commerce (owning small stores) and their government jobs. Despite its long history and rather easy communication with the large city of Salvador, Vila Recôncavo is still an isolated community. After landing in the town from the regular steamer coming from Salvador, one must proceed inland either by foot or by animal. The only motor vehicles in the community area (except for those of the petroleum industry) are a truck and a delivery-type pick-up truck owned by the São Pedro *usina*. One hears from all classes that the town is backward, abandoned and dead. It has had a glorious past: wealth, the large and beautiful *sobrados* of the barons who were *donos dos engenhos* (owners of the *engenhos*), two beautiful churches, a national guard post with almost 1,000 soldiers stationed in it, a record of bravery and leadership in the war for Independence in 1822, and a place worthy of a visit from the emperor, Don Pedro II. Today the *sobrados* are in ruins, or have disappeared completely, as today's *donos dos engenhos* remain on their plantations or in the city, forsaking the town. The military have gone, the splendours of the religious feast-days are no more. Vila Recôncavo is representative of the decadence which has overtaken the entire area. Today it is known only for its *xangô* and shrimps.

IV. In the United States an absolute 'line' is drawn between white and Negro. A person who is not white is a Negro, however small the percentage of Negro blood may be. In Vila Recôncavo, this 'line' is recognized rather than drawn. A distinction between Negro and white is always kept in mind when classifying an individual. Everyone knows who is 'pure' white and who is not. Classification by race is one of the most important aspects of local culture, and one of the most difficult aspects for the outsider to grasp. *Bahianos* of the Recôncavo feel that one may instantly recognize the difference between a 'pure' white and a mixed white-Indian, white-Negro or Negro-Indian, but they do not let it go at that. They classify or minutely describe each person; they classify according to skin colour, according to hair form and according to facial features, and their classifications or racial types are used in everyday conversation. Just as it would be said in the United States that someone is short and fat, the people of Vila Recôncavo will describe a person's colour and hair.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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[City of Salvador]

565 Conversation is carried on in the Portuguese
[197] vernacular, with a limited vocabulary and numerous errors
• [489] in grammar. Many words of African or native Indian origin
are commonly heard. Transport is primitive. Here the fe-
[771] tish cult, and the attitudes, sentiments, and beliefs associated
[794] with it, gains its most zealous and faithful devotees. Here,
cut off quite sharply from participation in the upper levels of European culture, live that portion of the population which the upper classes refer to as *o povo*, and who think of themselves as *os pobres* ("the poor").

The social gulf between the *pobres* of the valleys and the *ricos* of the ridges is wide and not easy to bridge. This is, of course, to be anticipated in a society with an aristocratic tradition whose upper circles still look somewhat askance upon manual labor and have always regarded education, family connection, and "good breeding" as indices of class.
[1068] Attitudes in this respect have changed little since the time
[567] when the abolitionist Anselmo da Fonseca felt it necessary to apologize for including the name of "a man of the people," a humble Negro shoemaker, among the prominent upper-class abolitionists of Bahia, arguing that "intelligence, patriotism, and truth are not the privilege of any one class" and explaining that this particular individual had been more useful to the abolition cause than many "more noble."

565 The upper classes habitually refer to members of the lower
186 classes as *trabalhadores* ("laborers"), *operarios* ("workers"), or *o povo baixo* ("common people") and humorously caricature them by a cartoon character known as Zé Povinho, an illiterate, stupid, and unprepossessing lout. To their chil-
[867] dren they often direct such phrases as "não seja gentinha" ("don't be like common people"), "não tenha modos de gentinha" ("don't take up the manners of common people"), "não ligue a (or *para*) povo miudo" ("don't attach yourself

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The 80 square kilometers of the community of Vila Recôncavo are composed almost entirely of thirteen large plantations, eleven of which are devoted to the cultivation of sugar cane. Of the other two, one plants cane on a small scale and rents most of its land to subsistence gardeners, while the second is a summer home, producing nothing. Of the eleven which plant sugar cane, six belong to the sugar factory which 361 249

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structed a series of barracks, a recreation hall, a restaurant, and a service center for the unmarried field workers.

In spite of this, the changes in the community structure brought about by the petroleum industry have been as yet relatively few. The industry exists in the community as an intruder, not affecting communal life to any great extent, and not contributing any substantial local benefits. This is perhaps in part due to the fact that it is a nationalized company, with headquarters located in the city of Salvador, rather than a product of local efforts. The petroleum workers for the most part have not been drawn from the local labor force but have come from outside the county. It is almost as if a military base had been established in Vila Recôncavo on a temporary basis.

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The effect on the town has been principally to increase the number of houses. The married workers of Petrobrás for the most part live in the town. Naturally there has occurred a broadening of point of view among the town dwellers as a result of social intercourse, as well as a certain new prosperity due to greater numbers. Nevertheless, there are still no private cars, buses, or public transportation in the county. The petroleum workers and their families go to Salvador whenever possible for shopping and amusements, rather than attempting to satisfy these needs in Vila Recôncavo, where public services, diversions, and so forth have continued to be almost nonexistent.

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To counterbalance the effect of prosperity brought to the town by increased population, the petroleum industry has had an adverse effect on the fishing activities of the townspeople. Many wells have been drilled in the shallow waters of the Bay of All Saints in front of the town. As a result of underwater explosions, the constant passage of rapid motor launches, and digging and dredging machines, the traditional fishing area of the town's fishermen has been rapidly depleted and its ecological balance destroyed. The fishermen are gradually turning away from fishing as an occupation and seeking other remunerative activity, either outside the community or in the petroleum industry and, to a slight extent, in the sugar industry. Others are turning to service occupations, such as bricklaying, as stopgap activities.

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Petrobrás to date has affected rural life very little. The planters of the area have profited to some extent because of the roads constructed by the company. It is now possible to

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travel from the city to the plantations by car at almost any season of the year. It is a two-hour trip, considerably more comfortable than the old system of travel by boat and on horseback. In addition, the roads have made it possible for the planters to transport their cane more efficiently, using trucks and tractor-drawn wagons. Along with this, the refinery has led to greater supplies of diesel oil, gasoline, and kerosene, so that it is no longer necessary to transport these items from the city at great cost and delay.

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The planters have also profited in another manner. Petrobrás invaded the cane fields in its search of oil. It fenced small areas where it drilled and constructed storage tanks, and it took out of cane production a good deal of land for roads and installations. Recently a basis has been reached for paying the planters in a satisfactory manner for the use of the lands. As a result each planter whose land is partially occupied now receives an annual cash payment based on what the occupied land could produce. As yet no arrangements have been made for the landowners to participate in the profits of Petrobrás, since all subsoil riches belong to the nation, and therefore in this case to Petrobrás.

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There has been little social intercourse between the planters and the personnel of Petrobrás, either in the rural area or in the city of Salvador. From time to time the higher echelon employees of Petrobras are invited to larger parties given by the planters, and in return the planters are sometimes invited to parties at the refinery. But the plantation society is so closed and so firmly based on family relationships that it is difficult to maintain steady social relations with newcomers. In addition, the engineers and other specialists of the oil industry are principally oriented toward the capital city, and there is no serious attempt made to establish social relationships with the planters.

The sugar-cane workers for their part are so definitely plantation-oriented that they seek little diversion among the new oil workers. The unmarried field workers of Petrobrás who might be expected to establish relationships with the rural population seldom do so. They live in a fenced barracks area which immediately gives the impression of a group cut off from the rest of society. When they do seek entertainment they go as a rule to the factory nucleus, or to the town of Vila Recôncavo, or to the nearby town of Milagres.

Politically, this influx of new workers has had little in-

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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31 However, almost all areas of Brazil have perennial labor shortages.

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32 In 1950, the urban centers in Brazil with more than 250,000 population were:

Rio de Janeiro	2,303,063
São Paulo	2,017,025
Recife	512,370
Salvador	389,422
Porto Alegre	375,049
Belo Horizonte	338,585

33 Others are Campina Grande in Paraíba, Sorocaba in São Paulo, and Tres Corações and Campo Belo in Minas Gerais.

BB [133] [491]

34 Cachoeira and São Félix are twin urban developments opposite each other on the Rio Paraguaçu. The river here is narrow, and the two centers are linked effectively by a combined railroad-highway bridge. In 1950 the population of Cachoeira was 10,825; the population of São Félix, 5,872. The two cidades are, in the main, a single functional unit.

BB [505] [493]

35 Santo Amaro proper can be reached by sailing craft or canoes only, but small steamers of the type used in the Bay regularly ascend the Rio Sergi to the outskirts—the connection into the city proper is by a streetcar drawn by two recalcitrant mules.

36 There is little direct evidence for this conclusion, but it is a reasonable inference from the present flow of goods and the observable decline in wealth and prestige in these cities. Nowadays the steamers which serve these ports carry passengers almost exclusively, and the number of sailing craft (saveiros) loading is generally small. It should be noted that trucks play a much more important role in the movement of goods than the railroads, except in the sugar zone, and that busses rival railroads as passenger carriers. The main highway system of Bahia has by-passed both Santo Amaro and Cachoeira.

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37 An all-weather road is now being constructed from Conceição do Almeida to Maragogipe. This will enable passengers and goods moving toward Salvador via the Bay to by-pass Cachoeira-São Félix. This may well further reduce the importance of the latter and increase the growing prosperity of Maragogipe.

BB [491]

38 Muritiba is only 5 kilometers from São Félix, but the two cities are quite distinct. São Félix-Cachoeira occupies the lower slopes of the narrow valley of the Rio Paraguaçu. A belt, composed of the upper slopes and the edge of the Uplands, which is all either cultivated or in second growth, makes a distinct but narrow, 3 kilometers wide, break between Muritiba and São Félix.

39 Nazaré is the main shop and Santo Antônio an important station of the Estrada de Ferro Nazaré. The terminus of the "Nazaré" is São Roque do Paraguaçu—down river from Maragogipe. Castro Alves is on the Brumado, Caculé, and Rio de Janeiro branch of the "Léste," and Serrinha is on the Alagoinhas, Bonfim, Juàzeiro branch of the same line.

40 Estimated from 1940 occupational data.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 over the forest or the caatinga. In most areas it is the second growth, not the cultivated fields, which dominates the landscape.

241 361 443 634 The scale of the maps accompanying the following sections does not allow the indication of one of the significant patterns of cropland distribution in the Recôncavo—the concentration of cultivation around the cidades, the political centers. Each cidade is the economic focus of its município and is usually the primary market for the products of its cultivators. The poorly developed system of transportation in the [489] rural areas puts a premium on proximity to the market center. Thus in most of the municípios there is a decrease in cultivation away from the cidade, and where the municípios are large, such as on the northern and western perimeter of the Recôncavo, cropland becomes very widely scattered 241 before the political boundary is reached. This centralized distribution 361 443 of cropland has been complicated by the development of roads and truck • 491 traffic. Cultivators tend to cluster along the main highways with little regard for the absolute distance to the market of the cidade; accessibility as represented by time rather than distance seems to be the more important factor in choosing land for cultivation, providing that land is available. The pattern of concentration of cultivation along the highway is especially characteristic of the Upland sections of the Recôncavo.[1]

241 178 There are many exceptions to the modes of cropland distribution mentioned above. In the Recôncavo tradition and prestige often contravene direct economic self-interest. On a large scale the persistence of sugar cultivation is an example of the unwillingness to explore new sources of income. In other areas the traditional social advantages of land ownership may impede the subdivision of large properties into farms or rented plots, even where hired labor is not available to 000 cultivate the land efficiently. Livestock production, which offers

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

243 311 433 The Recôncavo as a whole had 9,679 hectares of corn, with a production of 10,283 tons. Of this, 87 per cent of the area and 84 per cent of the production was in Santo Estêvão, Feira de Santana, and Irará (Maps 34, 35, and 36). The area and production of the Recôncavo were about the same as for one adjacent município, Serrinha, which had 8,500 hectares and 11,590 tons of corn in 1948.

243 311 Most of the corn grown and produced in the Recôncavo comes from two compact concentrations, one around the cidade of Irará; the other around the cidade of Santo Estêvão. Elsewhere in the Recôncavo it is grown either on very widely scattered plots or as a "garden" crop.[23]

The concentration of corn production is the result of several physical and economic factors. It is cultivated on the dry margins of the Recôncavo, where only a few restricted areas can produce a crop. 243 [438] [489] Though a commercial product of moderate value, its weight- or bulk-price relationship is not highly favorable to long transportation to market--in contrast to tobacco, which tends to attach itself to even the smallest and most remote semi-subsistence plot, and in contrast to beef, [491] which in Bahia is moved to market on the hoof. The concentration around Santo Estêvão, which is on the main trunk highway to Feira de Santana, is favorable for the transportation of the crop, and the Irará concentration is linked to Feira by a generally passable road. [251] In the more humid parts of the Recôncavo, corn is restricted not only by its poor competitive position vis-à-vis sugar cane or tobacco, but also by its harvest requirements; it must be harvested and stored in the proper season, while manioc may be harvested as it is needed, a great advantage for a subsistence crop.

243 311 433 Corn, although the second most important subsistence crop of the Recôncavo, occupied in 1948 only 12 per cent of the total cropland.

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000 Footnotes - Chapter VII

[436] [1]The approximate value of the cruzeiro at the time these data were compiled by the government was five cents.

[127] [2]The basic sources for data on livestock populations used in the following discussion were: (1) Ministério da Agricultura, Serviço de Estatística da Produção, "Pobulação Pecuária, Em 31/12/1948," pp. 1-8; (2) Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

[3]Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

[4]The use of the term "milk shed," generally applied to the tremendous movement of milk into the highly urbanized centers of the United States and western Europe, is somewhat inappropriate for the small-scale operations in Bahia. However, the essential elements are the same: the movement from countryside to urban places of fluid milk for home consumption.

[127] [5]Anuario Estatística do Brasil--1953 is used as a source of 1952 data on the livestock population of the state of Bahia in this and the following discussion.

[491] [6]Although there are trunk highways through São Gonçalo and Feira de Santana, the back country of each is remote from the cidade and the highway.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 433 neglect the critical tobacco producing areas. It seems to be true that
[245] the chief recipients of political and economic attention have been the
[439] traditionally important sugar cane area, and more recently the cacao
[491] zone. The people of the tobacco area complain particularly about the lack of roads.

244 433 Not only is manioc the basic source of subsistence for the Recôncavo, it is also the second crop in value of production. Its cultivation, as has been seen, is closely associated with the production of tobacco, so that the Southwestern Recôncavo, which produced 63 per cent of the tobacco crop, also contributed a very large part--48 per cent--of the total value of manioc (Map 121). However, manioc is important in its own right, as well as in its relationship to tobacco. No data are available to indicate the importance of manioc as a surplus product which is sold beyond the borders of the município in which it is grown. A rough estimate can be made by assuming that the per capita consumption of manioc is 400 kilograms per year--this is the mean consumption for the state of Bahia. Using this figure in conjunction with the population data, it is possible to estimate that in 1948 about 30,000 tons of surplus manioc was produced in the Recôncavo. Ninety per cent of this surplus was produced in the municípios of the Southwestern Recôncavo.
[489] It is significant that many of the trucks passing from the Southwestern
[494] Recôncavo to Feira de Santana and Salvador are piled high with bags of farinha de mandioca. The total value of commercial manioc would be about Cr.$6,500,000, so that on this basis manioc is the fourth or fifth most valuable commercial crop of the Recôncavo. Using the above method of determination, it was found that several municípios adjoining the region also produced surpluses of manioc. The most notable of these were the four municípios adjacent to the Southwestern Recôncavo--Nazaré, São Miguel, Santo Antônio, and Castro Alves--which produced a

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 350

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

482 their journeys thus, and many agricultural products are transported in
492 no other fashion from the site of cultivation to the ultimate consumer.
489 [491] In each of the municípios of the Recôncavo, as in almost all of Brazil, there are extensive areas which are neither on nor near roads. In these areas, but also along the highways and in the cities, men and beasts of burden transport the products of the agricultural economy.
489 Long distance transportation, formerly dependent on animals, has been
490 changed in the last half century by the introduction of railroads and
493 more recently, automotive vehicles. In a similar fashion, both prini-
198 tive and relatively modern transport are used on the waters of the Bâia
505 de Todos os Santos and of the various estuaries. Most of the agricultural products which cross the Bay are carried on open-decked sailing vessels and canoes, but there are also a number of motor vessels and motorboats which provide relatively effective transport from Salvador to all the cidades on or near tidewater.

492 In the tobacco-manioc region, and in rural Brazil generally, the donkey or the mule is the characteristic beast of burden. On the backs of these animals the bales of tobacco, the sacks of manioc and farinha de mandioca, and the baskets of corn and vegetables are carried to the market. The equipage of the donkey is simple--a halter and a rough
492 crosstree pack saddle with a thick pad of vegetable fiber. In the
493 sugar cane region the donkey is supplemented and, in most areas, almost
[171] supplanted by the ox cart. The ox cart of Bahia, essentially like the carts used in other Brazilian sugar areas, is built of heavy wood, with a thick wooden bed and tongue, wooden axle, and solid wooden wheels about five-feet in diameter. This high, massive contraption has no bearings, and in dry weather especially it is frequently necessary to repair the wheels and axles. The ox cart is an admirable device for the Cretaceous lowland, for with its high wheels it can carry as much

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

492 as a ton of cane through the rain-softened clay. It is pulled, depend-
493 ing upon the load and the condition of the route, by four, six, or eight oxen. It has no brakes, although occasionally a long pole is used as a drag. The cart and the team are managed by two people, a man who rides the cart, goads the wheel oxen, and shouts directions, and a boy who runs in front and turns the lead oxen with a long slender pole. As has been seen, a very large number of oxen are maintained on the sugar cane plantations and the accessory ranches of the area. Donkeys
492 are used in the cane area for lesser tasks, such as carrying seed cane, tools, and subsistence products; both horses and mules are used for riding--usually the plantation foremen ride the patient, slow-moving mules, while the owners and administrators ride the small, agile horses which come from the sertão. In most other parts of the Recôncavo, in the littoral forest and in the dry caatinga, the donkey and mule are the universal beasts of burden.

One município of the Recôncavo--Coração de Maria--has no motor
491 [492] roads, and is thus served only by pack animals. The cidades of all the other municípios are on highways of some sort, but usually only a single road passes directly across the município. The back-country
487 of the municípios, which in this sense includes about nine-tenths of the total area, is criss-crossed with a network of trails. Some of these are wide enough for an ox cart, or in very good weather, for a jeep to pass through. Many others are only narrow paths winding through the second growth and passing between cultivated fields.

489 Land transportation between the various parts of the Recôncavo
433 has less direct agricultural importance than in the United States, since
438 so much of the agricultural produce is consumed within the município
439 in which it is grown. Those agricultural products, such as tobacco
497 or sugar, which are destined for non-local or external markets are
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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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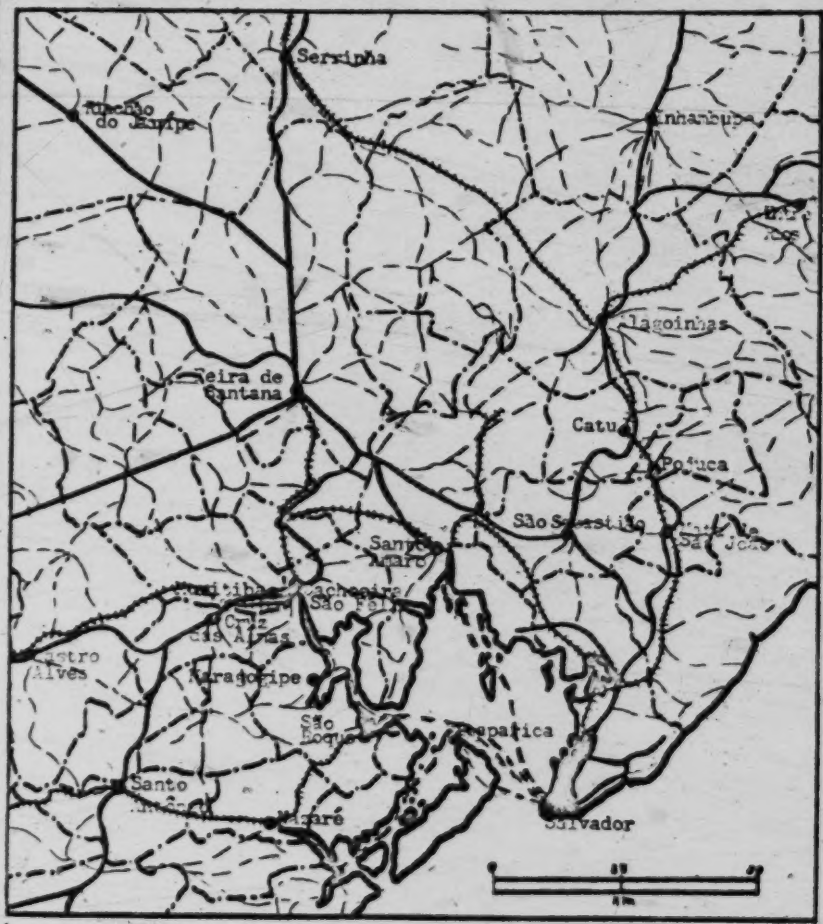

Public Railroads
Highways
Motor Vessel Lines
Major Trails

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Transportation Routes

MAP 129

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 on trains owned by the sugar company. In addition, much of the sugar, rum,
497 and alcohol which is manufactured by the big usinas is transported to Salvador over the lines of the Leste.

493 As has been suggested, automotive transport has come to have great
491 importance in the Recôncavo, despite the lack of good roads, the high cost of vehicles and fuel, and the competition of both boats and trains. No
491 município in the region can be said to have a road network, and usually only the cidades and in a few cases large villas are connected with other parts of the region. The principal road of the region is a dirt highway which connects Salvador with Feira de Santana. Feira is an important transportation center for the Northeast of Brazil, for it is the southern terminus of the Nordestina, the trunk highway which crosses the Sertão. The Nordestina joins the main road to Rio de Janeiro and the road to Salvador at Feira de Santana. A branch from the Salvador-Feira road turns southward and, passing through Cachoeira, São Félix, and Cruz das Almas, connects westward to Castro Alves and southward to the cacao zone. There is also a road from Salvador to Alagoinhas and other cities of the Tertiary zone farther north. A few lesser roads feed into these three main highways--the most important of these is the connection between Santo Amaro and the Feira to Salvador road.

All of the main highways are two-lane dirt roads which are almost always passable but which are extremely rough and are dusty in dry
491 weather and slippery when wet. The quality of the roads is probably
484 best illustrated by the time required to journey across the Recôncavo. The road distance from Salvador to Cruz das Almas is about 125 miles; the time required for a non-stop trip is 6 to 7 hours. It should be added that despite the poor road conditions, traffic moves very fast, and there are many accidents. To a very limited extent it is possible

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

491 484 for vehicles to pass from the main highways over the broader trails to the nearby villages in good weather. However, this is rarely attempted except by jeep, and by these only infrequently.

249 499 Until the last few years a number of the large usinas in the main sugar cane area have not been connected with the highways. Since jeeps and trucks have become more numerous in the Recôncavo, a number of the big usinas in Santo Amaro are constructing their own outlets to the highway. In recent years the government-owned oil company has been drilling exploratory wells in the cane fields of São Francisco. In conjunction with this enterprise, new roads have been built, and for the first time many plantations of this area have road connections to the highway system.

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494 493 Most of the traffic on the roads of the Recôncavo consists of trucks and busses--private automobiles generally are found only in the urban areas, since cars are very expensive in Brazil, and the highways are very destructive. A large number of busses connect the outer Recôncavo with Salvador. The best passenger service, and the most expensive, is provided by a major bus line which has a daily run from Salvador to Feira de Santana and back. While this bus line employs large busses, most of the other busses used in the Recôncavo are small. These latter provide connections between the Southwestern Recôncavo and Salvador, and supplement the major Feira de Santana-Salvador service. The runs of many of these smaller busses originate outside the Recôncavo, but they collect and discharge passengers at each cidade. Fares are cheap, considering the cost of vehicles and fuel, but still somewhat more expensive than train travel.

Truck traffic is very heavy on the main highways, especially from Feira de Santana to Salvador. Probably most of the agricultural

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546 health post, and the bar have refrigerators. On Saturday and Sunday nights there is a movie, the same film being shown both nights.

491 There are only two roads leading out of the town. One goes
492 northwest to Centro, following a ridge which leads along the river through a section of poor soil devoted to gardens of man-
484 ioc and bananas. On horseback it is a trip of approximately two hours to Centro. The other road leads northeast into the sugar-cane fields and to the sugar factory and then continues east, eventually leading to the oil fields of Conselho and out onto the major Bahian artery from Salvador to the interior city of Feira de Santana. The journey from Vila Recôncavo to the main highway takes about four hours on horseback. Although the local road, made during the empire and part of the public domain, is called the "royal road," it is really only one-track dirt. In the summer it affords a hard surface because the hot sun bakes the earth, but during the winter it turns into a river of mud. During the rainy season the layer of clay underneath the topsoil holds the water, turning the roads into practically impassable quagmires. The situation becomes even worse just after the rains end and the surface dries, for when a man or animal breaks through the dried surface and sinks down into the clay the suction created is difficult to overcome. A trip which during the summer takes half an hour on horseback may take from three to four hours in the winter. The horse must pick and choose each step with the utmost care. During these months travel is extremely fatiguing for horses and mules, and frequent changes of mount are necessary. During this part of the year one avoids making an inland journey if possible, and keeps to the waterways.

491 From Usina to Conselho (see map of community), the road
[421] has been recently coated with oil, sand, and broken stone by the Conselho Nacional de Petroleo in an attempt to make an all-weather route. The surfacing has proved fairly satisfactory but very expensive. Although this highway follows the old "royal road," it is owned by the conselho. When a plantation owner of the area wishes to pass over it in his car or
[493] jeep, he must secure permission from the conselho office in Salvador. Nevertheless, in the past year this road has proved a boon to the plantation owners, who can now go back and forth
[484] to their homes in the city in about two hours at almost any time of the year, eliminating the long journey by horseback or canoe to the town of Vila Recôncavo to take the boat. The

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

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indicates work done in these fields. The top of the stalk just below the leaves is used as seed.

"Cutting out cattle" refers to selecting cattle from the herd to be used for the day's transportation. The "trip to neighboring plantation" means that Malaquias was sent to another plantation on an errand either for Dona Sinhá or for Seu Paulo on some plantation business, such as to get the payroll sheets, which are made up by a resident of another plantation. "Planting" means the first planting of sugar cane, while "replanting" means planting cane in the spaces where the first seed did not grow, either because it was buried too deeply, or because after planting it received too much sunshine or too much rain. Such spaces are always filled in when the new cane reaches a height of several inches.

[463] "Carpentering," a craft, commands a higher salary than agricultural work. Sometimes a plantation keeps a carpenter on a regular salary; at other times he is hired from the factory, as is the case here. His work may be on the wooden carts used for transportation or on any of the many houses of the plantation.

• [491] An estiva is a type of makeshift bridge crossing a drainage ditch or a low spot on the road where water collects during the rainy season. It is usually no more than four or five yards long and a yard or two wide. The lengthwise pieces are bamboo with other pieces of the same material laid across them close together. Then earth is placed on top and smoothed off. These bridges require constant repair work. During the height of the rainy season they often break up entirely and float away. They are often quite perilous for horses, burros, and oxen, whose legs sometimes go through the bamboo latticework.

[233] "Catching escaped cattle" requires some agility on the part of the person who does it. It is usually done on foot, and if the ox or cow is in a cane field it must be worked out carefully in order not to destroy too much of the standing sugar cane. "Repairing fences" accompanies catching escaped cattle, for the animals often break through the fences enclosing their pastures. The fence posts are usually of bamboo, which rots quickly and must be constantly watched and replaced as it shows signs of weakening. "Cutting bamboo" is done for many

[824] different ends. Most plantation boundary lines are marked by rows of graceful bamboos whose wood is used for fence posts and estivas, as well as for the wicker framework of the mud-covered houses.

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the refinery, namely gasoline, kerosene, diesel oil, bottled gas, and other petroleum derivatives. As a result of the increased income, the county government will be able to build up the county seat considerably. A hospital is already being built, as well as a new dock for the boat which comes from the city.

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In Milagres, located in the neighboring county, there is already a considerable movement for breaking away from the parent county and becoming a separate municipio, a common pattern in Brazil for districts which reach a certain population and degree of economic activity. Thus there are two possibilities for urban growth in the area and for the formation of urban centers which will attract the large rural population.

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The town of Vila Recôncavo is close to realizing other possibilities. The construction of a road from the town to Centro has already begun, filling a long-felt need. Its completion will make it possible for cars, buses, and trucks to come from Feira, on the edge of the sertão, to Centro, down through Vila Recôncavo to Milagres, and on into the city, shortening the long trip by the existing road which follows the edges of the Recôncavo. Such traffic would "put Vila Recôncavo on the map," and would greatly increase its contacts with the outside world. In addition, the possibilities of the introduction of a new crop to the community will bring increased commercial activity and a much greater tax income, enabling the county to build its own roads and bridges and to make other improvements for the development of the area.

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Thus the community structure of Vila Recôncavo, which five years ago was in the process of crystallizing around the factory town, is now ripe for further change. The factory town continues for the present to be the major center, but the old county seat has all the possibilities of a rebirth of its former importance. In fact, because of the petroleum industry and the forthcoming changeover from sugar cane to cacao, the factory town is threatened as a community center, the position which it has only recently been consolidating.

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Finally, one of the most important changes in Vila Recôncavo in these five years is a change in attitude on the part of the people. Vila Recôncavo was always known as a conservative community, maintaining its old traditions and ways, rejecting innovations. However, there is now an air of expectancy and a search for new ways and new things. Dissatisfaction with the sugar industry, combined with the appearance

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 433 178 In contemporary Bahia chronic shortages of staple foods, particularly manioc, are characteristic of the zones of commercial agriculture.

175 249 [492] The equipment and technology of the engenhos was primitive. The cane was transported on the backs of mules or on ox carts to the mill where it was crushed in a crude press sometimes turned by water power but usually by animal- or even man-power. The cane juice was evaporated in large iron caldrons which were heated by fire made from wood. This type of processing was in general use in the Recôncavo for several centuries and still persists in some areas of the extra-Recôncavo backlands. [464-567] The engenhos were operated almost exclusively with slave labor. Most of the slaves of Bahia are thought to have come from the Guinea Coast of Africa. [177] These "Mina" Negroes[18] had a relatively sophisticated cultural inheritance from Africa and undoubtedly made substantial contributions to the cultural development of Bahia.[19]

175 249 464 567 The Negroes were introduced when Indian slaves failed to provide the necessary labor supply, but they were rarely available in sufficient numbers and at a low enough cost to prevent chronic labor shortages. Falta de braços (literally, lack of arms) has been a perennial concern in the Recôncavo no less than elsewhere in Brazil. [162] The importation of hundreds of thousands of Negroes into Brazil--of which certainly a considerable number were settled in the Recôncavo--did not solve the problem.[20] In the early period most engenhos had from about 80 to 100 slaves, but by the eighteenth century some had as many as 1,000.[21]

175 563 567 From the beginning of settlement there was extensive miscegnation. The Portuguese settlers were predominately male, and they bred on a large scale with both Indian and Negro slave women. Some of the mestizo and mulatto children--chiefly the latter in the Recôncavo--retained the slave status of their mothers. Others were freed and sometimes occupied favored positions in their fathers' households.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 cultivation which is monocultural and highly standardized. As has been indicated, small scale sugar cane cultivation--in house gardens--is omnipresent in the Recôncavo. The area in such garden cane, however, can scarcely be as much as one per cent of the total cropland.

249 471 Within the Central Recôncavo sugar cane is grown principally to supply a relatively small number of sugar usinas. The usinas either own and operate or rent and operate the cane plantations or have a stable relationship with those plantations from which they buy cane. Under these circumstances it is both necessary and relatively easy to standardize the methods of production and cultivation. The industrial aspects of sugar production will be discussed in the section on processing.

249 The general system of sugar cane cultivation involves a five-year sequence:

[407] [492] (1) The land is broken with a large ox-drawn, wooden plow. The same plow opens parallel furrows, two to three feet apart, into which are laid pieces of cane stalk, cut from specially grown seed cane. The seed cane is then covered with hoes and packed with bare feet. Planting usually takes place during the last of the wet season--August and early September--to a lesser extent during the cane harvest--mid-September to mid-March--and at the end of the harvest in the autumn, if possible. Usually, however, the ground is too wet for planting during the months of May to August.

[412] (2) The cane is weeded frequently with a knife or a hoe. After a year of growth it is cut and carted away to the railroad. The leaves and upper stalk are left on the field and after drying are burned, except for some small part which is used as fodder.

(3) When the roots sprout again, the field is weeded and kept clean as the second-year cane develops; and after a year, the cane is harvested again. Generally this re-growth is repeated three times, so that there are four harvests for each planting.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

231 [234] are found in all parts of the Recôncavo, although dairying is not a highly developed enterprise. It should be noted, however, that both oxen and milk cows usually end their careers in the slaughter house.

No município in the Recôncavo had less than 2,500 cattle in 1948, but there were only two important concentrations (Map 78). The largest of these was in Feira de Santana, chiefly around the cidade. Forty per cent of all cattle in the Recôncavo were held in this area. The second, and much smaller, concentration was in the sugar cane region, with about 8 per cent of the cattle of the Recôncavo. In order effectively to differentiate these concentrations and between them and the basal distribution of the rest of the Recôncavo, it is necessary to discuss briefly the specialized forms of livestock enterprise.

[492] (1) In the sugar zone a very large percentage (probably 70 to 90 per cent) of the cattle are oxen used as labor in the cane fields (Map 79). Since these animals are grass-fed exclusively--no grain is used--and since there are many disease problems, it is necessary to maintain a large local reserve so that day to day rotation is possible. In addition, the larger enterprises maintain ranches on which oxen and other labor animals, purchased in the Sertão or at Feira de Santana, are conditioned and at which ailing or weak animals recuperate. When they are no longer useful as draft animals, the oxen are butchered and sold to the local agricultural laborers. Only small quantities of milk 234 443 are produced in this zone.

(2) Salvador, and to a lesser extent Feira de Santana, have milk sheds of importance (Map 80). In addition, a very small milk shed surrounds each cidade, although Cachoeira-São Félix is not well endowed in this respect.[4] The marketing of milk is local--the only exception discovered was the sale in Salvador of milk from the município of Caravassari. The dairy industry around Salvador is relatively

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

231 Summary--Livestock Produced for Animal Products. Except for the oxen, all the animals discussed above are raised for meat or for other animal products rather than for use as beasts of burden. The distribution of these animals, without regard to kind, is summarized on the accompanying map of non-work animals (Map 84).

Feira de Santana has the outstanding concentration of these non-work animals in the Recôncavo and, undoubtedly, in Bahia. To a considerable degree this concentration signalizes the importance of the sertão as a producer of livestock and of the Recôncavo as a consumer, since many of the animals around Feira de Santana are transients moving from the former to the latter. The principal market served by [443] Feira de Santana is the city of Salvador, but the rural areas of all the Recôncavo north of the Bay and the estuary of the Rio Paraguaçu also secure much of their livestock through the campo de gado at "Feira."

The only other concentration of livestock raised for animal products is in the Southwestern Recôncavo. Most of these animals are [433] used to feed the large local population within the sub-region, which seems to be relatively self-sufficient as far as livestock production is concerned.

231 Asses and Mules. Asses and mules combined are the most numerous • 492 and widely distributed work animals in the Recôncavo. There were in 1948 about 115,000 of these two animals in the region (Map 85). Over one-half were found in Feira de Santana, where they are raised locally in large numbers and where animals brought from the Sertão are conditioned for sale. The asses and mules of the Recôncavo are both very small animals and are generally used as burden carriers, although the larger mules--still very small by United States standards--are used as riding animals.

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231 492 Asses and mules were the second most numerous animals in an area from São Gonçalo and Feira de Santana to Camassari--a zone which roughly corresponds to the northern part of the tobacco-manioc region. In this part of the crop region cultivation is more scattered and road transportation less well developed than in the Southwestern Recôncavo, and presumably the animals are needed to pack the tobacco crop to the markets.[6]

Work Animals. The work animals of the Recôncavo include oxen, horses, asses, and mules. As the accompanying map demonstrates (Map 86), the chief concentration of all work animals, without regard to type, was around Feira de Santana, the supply center for the region. Many of these animals were young or were being conditioned for market. On the other hand, most of the work animals of the smaller concentration in the sugar cane region were actually in use.

According to the official data, the total number of work animals in the Recôncavo increased from 85,000 to 215,000 between 1940 and 1948. Almost certainly there has been a strong increase, but such a tremendous rise in work animal population seems excessive; probably the 1940 total is too low, and perhaps the 1948 figure is excessive, though in view of the number of animals which are evident in the Recôncavo, not very much so.

231 Conclusion. Although the Recôncavo produces a moderate number of livestock of all types--except horses, asses, and mules--it has a great and continuing deficit. The livestock deficiencies of the region are supplied by the sertão in a movement of animals which had its inception in the initial century of colonization. Associated with the exchange 231 438 of animals from the sertão for products from the littoral is one of the historic institutions of the Northeast--the campo de gado of

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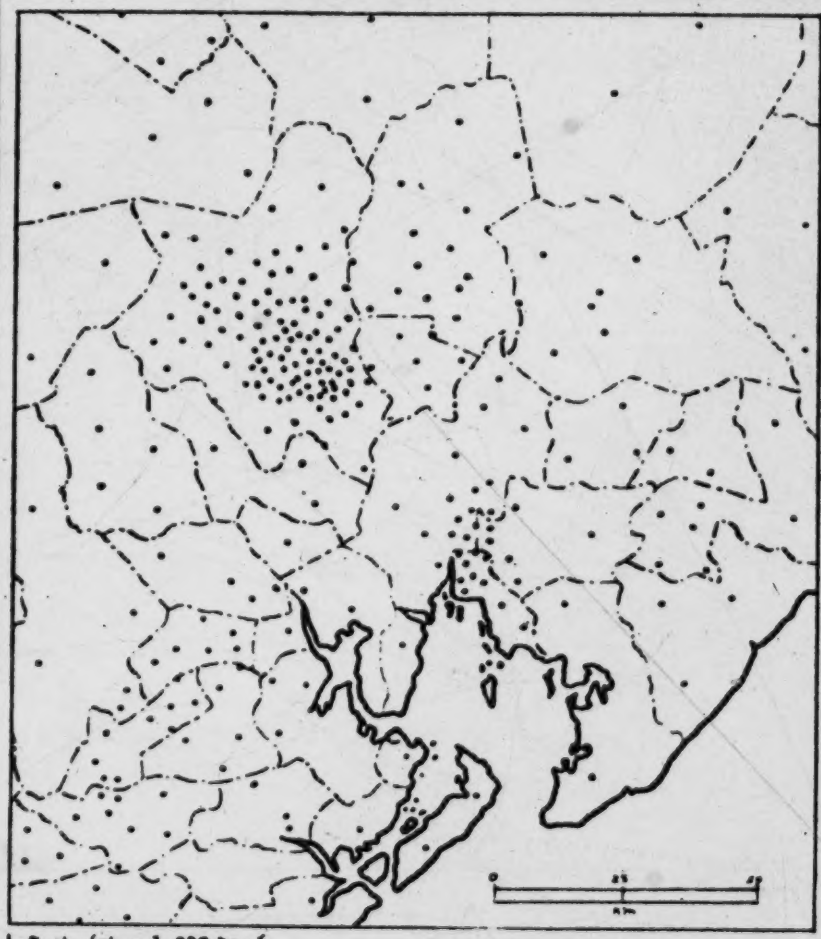

Each dot = 1,000 head

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Work Animals--1948

MAP 86

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

443 the journey to the market. The produce are carried by the individual
[492] or on the back of an ass or mule. By early morning all the roads are thronged with the people of the countryside and their animals moving toward the center. It is a gala social occasion in which the warm, lighthearted personal relationships of the lower class Baianos are evident. Upon arrival at the market, a cloth is spread on the floor or ground in a customary spot, and the offerings of the people are displayed. Very soon the townspeople--chiefly housewives and servants--enter the market area to inspect the offerings and haggle over their
[442] purchases of food and other agricultural products. Also moving through the market are the wholesale buyers, both local and itinerant. As their agricultural products are sold, the country people, too, begin to circulate through the area to purchase goods and talk with their friends and relatives. The market is a seething array of animals and people weaving their way between the displays of produce. In the smaller centers, most of the local products are sold by mid-day, and the rural people begin their journey home, a trip of as much as twenty kilometers.

443 The products which are generally sold in the markets of the
438 cidades and villas are shown below:

Local Agricultural Products - Unprocessed

Staples:
Corn, black beans, sweet potatoes, aipim (a sweet manioc used like white potatoes)

Meat:
Fresh beef and pork

Vegetables:
Such as onions, string beans, tomatoes, and local specialties

Fruits:
Especially oranges, bananas (including plantains), papaya, and mangoes

Coffee

Coconuts

Live Animals:
Especially chickens and pigs, but also draft animals.

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249 in meeting his contract with the agent. The result of this and other
442 speculative practices is that the price of tobacco tends to spiral upwards
438
452 throughout the season.
455

The crop is delivered to the buyer in small lots--10 to 15 kilo-
249 grams--which are assembled, graded, and baled. The bales are taken to
276
438 the warehouse of the agent where they are added to other bales to form
442 a large pile in which fermentation can take place. After fermentation the bales are broken, and the leaf is re-sorted. With the better grades the sorting is done very carefully, and a large number of size and texture grades are separated. Intermediate grades are sorted less carefully, often by bundles rather than by individual leaves. The poorest grades are stripped without grading. After sorting or stripping, the leaf is again placed in bales and kept in the warehouse until transport can be arranged to deliver the tobacco to Salvador or to the cigar factories.

249 Most of the tobacco produced in the Recôncavo is exported. In the
433
439 years 1946 to 1950, inclusive, 166,676 tons of leaf tobacco were produced in Bahia and 128,567 tons were exported, so that about 75 per cent of the total crop of the state was exported.[2] However, the exported leaf is made up of the choice tobaccos, that is "Mata Fina," which are largely grown in the Recôncavo. It may be concluded from this that at least four-fifths of the tobacco crop of the Recôncavo was exported during this years. Tobacco exported from the Recôncavo normally composes 70 per cent of all the tobacco exported from Brazil. In value, the tobacco exported from the Recôncavo was less than 1 per cent of the total exports of all products from Brazil.[3]

482 Transportation. The backs of men and of animals are the basic
492
499 transportation media in the Recôncavo: almost all goods begin and end
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482 492 489 their journeys thus, and many agricultural products are transported in no other fashion from the site of cultivation to the ultimate consumer. [491] In each of the municípios of the Recôncavo, as in almost all of Brazil, there are extensive areas which are neither on nor near roads. In these areas, but also along the highways and in the cities, men and beasts of burden transport the products of the agricultural economy. 489 497 493 177 178 Long distance transportation, formerly dependent on animals, has been changed in the last half century by the introduction of railroads and more recently, automotive vehicles. In a similar fashion, both primi- 505 tive and relatively modern transport are used on the waters of the Bâia de Todos os Santos and of the various estuaries. Most of the agricultural products which cross the Bay are carried on open-decked sailing vessels and canoes, but there are also a number of motor vessels and motorboats which provide relatively effective transport from Salvador to all the cidades on or near tidewater.

492 In the tobacco-manioc region, and in rural Brazil generally, the donkey or the mule is the characteristic beast of burden. On the backs of these animals the bales of tobacco, the sacks of manioc and farinha de mandioca, and the baskets of corn and vegetables are carried to the market. The equipage of the donkey is simple--a halter and a rough 492 crosstree pack saddle with a thick pad of vegetable fiber. In the 493 sugar cane region the donkey is supplemented and, in most areas, almost [171] supplanted by the ox cart. The ox cart of Bahia, essentially like the carts used in other Brazilian sugar areas, is built of heavy wood, with a thick wooden bed and tongue, wooden axle, and solid wooden wheels about five-feet in diameter. This high, massive contraption has no bearings, and in dry weather especially it is frequently necessary to repair the wheels and axles. The ox cart is an admirable device for the Cretaceous lowland, for with its high wheels it can carry as much

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492 as a ton of cane through the rain-softened clay. It is pulled, depend-
493 ing upon the load and the condition of the route, by four, six, or eight oxen. It has no brakes, although occasionally a long pole is used as a drag. The cart and the team are managed by two people, a man who rides the cart, goads the wheel oxen, and shouts directions, and a boy who runs in front and turns the lead oxen with a long slender pole. As has been seen, a very large number of oxen are maintained on the sugar cane plantations and the accessory ranches of the area. Donkeys
492 are used in the cane area for lesser tasks, such as carrying seed cane, tools, and subsistence products; both horses and mules are used for riding--usually the plantation foremen ride the patient, slow-moving mules, while the owners and administrators ride the small, agile horses which come from the sertão. In most other parts of the Recôncavo, in the littoral forest and in the dry caatinga, the donkey and mule are the universal beasts of burden.

491 One município of the Recôncavo--Coração de Maria--has no motor
[492] roads, and is thus served only by pack animals. The cidades of all the other municípios are on highways of some sort, but usually only a single road passes directly across the município. The back-country
487 of the municípios, which in this sense includes about nine-tenths of the total area, is criss-crossed with a network of trails. Some of these are wide enough for an ox cart, or in very good weather, for a jeep to pass through. Many others are only narrow paths winding through the second growth and passing between cultivated fields.

489 Land transportation between the various parts of the Recôncavo
433 has less direct agricultural importance than in the United States, since
438 so much of the agricultural produce is consumed within the município
439 in which it is grown. Those agricultural products, such as tobacco
497 or sugar, which are destined for non-local or external markets are
494

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 373]

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249 252 276 Processing of Agricultural Products. Each of the three principal crops of the Recôncavo require processing before it can be consumed. Sugar cane and manioc are highly perishable, and both are processed in their entirety within the region. Tobacco, once it is fermented, can be stored for longer periods, so that there is no necessity for immediate processing within the Recôncavo. Sugar cane is processed in large usinas and to a lesser extent in engenhos (primitive sugar mills). Tobacco [277] products are fabricated in small-scale home industries and in factories. Manioc is converted into farinha de mandioca in very small mills.

249 489 471 The cultivation, transportation, and processing of sugar cane require an integrated system in which there is some form of centralized administration. The larger usinas own and operate most of the surrounding cane plantations and the associated transportation system, and administration is direct. Where cane is purchased from furnishers--privately-owned plantations--the mill specifies the type of cane which it will buy and the schedule of delivery. Most of the sugar cane in the Recôncavo is processed by usinas, which produce sugar, rum, and alcohol. However, there are a number of engenhos and a few smaller usinas which specialize in the production of rum or crude sugar. The engenhos are most important around the margins of the main sugar cane area north of the Bay and in Cachoeira and São Félix, but the usinas dominate the core area of cane production in Santo Amaro, São Francisco, and São Sebastião. Within the core area the big usinas generally are located near but not on the main railroads, although a few are situated near the shore of the Bay.

249 492 The harvested sugar cane generally is delivered to smaller mills by the grower, usually on ox carts. The larger mills receive their 249 499 505 cane via the railroad or the Bay. In these cases the cane is transported by ox cart from the cane fields to a weighing station, from

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249 decline of the old system of independent plantations and small usinas and
471 the rise of agricultural capitalism in the Recôncavo as in Brazil's other
178 sugar areas. With greater capital resources, drawn from Salvador, Rio de Janeiro, and São Paulo, the large companies are slowly buying up the fazendas of the core area of sugar cane production and are closing out the small mills.

249 The typical usina involves a large-scale organization of land,
471 transportation, processing, and labor by means of an administrative hier-
489 archy. Timing is one of the critical aspects in converting cane to a finished product, for the harvesting of the cane and the operation of the mill must be closely coordinated. A basic factor in this coordination is the weather, which governs the quality of the cane, the transportation of the harvest, and thus the operation of the mill. In dry weather the
[492] sugar content of the cane is high, and the ox carts move easily through
[493] the fields. In wet weather the harvesting bogs down, and the operation of the mill comes to a standstill. Since the fixed costs of the mill and the plantations are very great, delays in harvest are costly to the in-
249 dustry. Another important administrative problem for the industry is
464 labor. The sugar economy depends upon itinerant seasonal labor and upon the declining local agricultural population. Occasionally the operation of the mill is delayed because of labor shortages. It is sometimes necessary to shift labor from the fields to the mill or vice versa or from one plantation to another and to balance the cost of maintaining a labor reserve, if available, against the losses incurred when the op-
249 eration of the mill is curtailed. The scope of operation of the usina
471 may be illustrated by a list of the major physical equipment of one of the large usinas in Santo Amaro:

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[231]
[233]
of livestock, which had a value greater than sugar cane but less than manioc.

Agricultural activities within the Recôncavo are localized in several distinct sub-regions, each with a specialized system of cultivation and each with either one or two principal crops. The primary agricultural subdivisions of the region are: (1) the sugar cane monocultural sub-region; and (2) the tobacco-manioc sub-region.

249 Sugar cane is grown as the exclusive crop in its major area of production--the pocket of coastal plain north of the Baía de Todos os Santos. Cane is generally cultivated under a four-year monoculture and one-year fallow system on large properties employing large quantities of hand labor and using oxen to draw plows and carts. Neither fertilizer [407] nor agricultural machinery is used to any appreciable extent. Most of [492] the animals used as labor in the production of sugar cane are brought [231] into the area from the sertão, and little livestock breeding is found [233] in this area. The processing of sugar cane is in the hands of a small [471] number of medium-sized usinas. The companies which own these usinas [178] are gradually buying up the plantations so that to an increasing extent the mills directly control the production of sugar cane. Most of the [497] cane is brought to the usinas by railroad, although sailing boats are [489] used for this purpose along tidewater. Most of the sugar produced in [505] the Recôncavo is consumed within the state of Bahia, but small quantities [438] [439] are shipped to other parts of Brazil. Both the aristocratic upper class [565] and the rising non-aristocratic business interests of the Recôncavo are [471] [472] involved in the ownership and administration of the sugar industry. The [464] permanent labor force is supplied from the settlements of the sugar cane [178] plantations and the mills, but the rural population and the labor force of the sugar area are declining. Seasonal labor for the harvest comes from the interior sertão of Bahia.

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546 health post, and the bar have refrigerators. On Saturday and Sunday nights there is a movie, the same film being shown both nights.

491 There are only two roads leading out of the town. One goes northwest to Centro, following a ridge which leads along the
• 492 river through a section of poor soil devoted to gardens of man-
484 ioc and bananas. On horseback it is a trip of approximately two hours to Centro. The other road leads northeast into the sugar-cane fields and to the sugar factory and then continues east, eventually leading to the oil fields of Conselho and out onto the major Bahian artery from Salvador to the interior city of Feira de Santana. The journey from Vila Recôncavo to the main highway takes about four hours on horseback. Although the local road, made during the empire and part of the public domain, is called the "royal road," it is really only one-track dirt. In the summer it affords a hard surface because the hot sun bakes the earth, but during the winter it turns into a river of mud. During the rainy season the layer of clay underneath the topsoil holds the water, turning the roads into practically impassable quagmires. The situation becomes even worse just after the rains end and the surface dries, for when a man or animal breaks through the dried surface and sinks down into the clay the suction created is difficult to overcome. A trip which during the summer takes half an hour on horseback may take from three to four hours in the winter. The horse must pick and choose each step with the utmost care. During these months travel is extremely fatiguing for horses and mules, and frequent changes of mount are necessary. During this part of the year one avoids making an inland journey if possible, and keeps to the waterways.

491 From Usina to Conselho (see map of community), the road
[421] has been recently coated with oil, sand, and broken stone by the Conselho Nacional de Petroleo in an attempt to make an all-weather route. The surfacing has proved fairly satisfactory but very expensive. Although this highway follows the old "royal road," it is owned by the conselho. When a plantation owner of the area wishes to pass over it in his car or
[493] jeep, he must secure permission from the conselho office in Salvador. Nevertheless, in the past year this road has proved a boon to the plantation owners, who can now go back and forth
[484] to their homes in the city in about two hours at almost any time of the year, eliminating the long journey by horseback or canoe to the town of Vila Recôncavo to take the boat. The

The railroad from Salvador to the interior passes about 15 kilometers east of Vila Recôncavo, and the planters situated near it experience the same difficulties of horseback travel when getting the train to go to the city. 496 492

There is no public transportation within the county. The train is so far from the town of Vila Recôncavo that it is not used by the town dwellers. Most of the population walks to wherever it is going, except to Salvador. Few people in town have horses or mules, for there is insufficient pasture nearby. As a result of the poor roads, the townspeople are dependent upon water navigation, a factor which helps to orient them to other towns by the water's edge and discourages communication between the town and the plantations of the interior of the county. At any season, there is little happening in the plantation area to attract the townspeople. On the other hand, people from the plantation come to the town, especially to see the doctor, for a special Mass, or to take the boat to Salvador. They rarely come for the movie, except those few subsistence gardeners (roçeiros) who live nearby, for travel is too difficult. During the dry season almost all transportation of goods is accomplished by an ox-drawn cart (carro de boi) with two large, solid wooden wheels drawn by eight oxen (junta de boi). The cart is driven by a man, and the oxen follow a small boy who walks in front of them. 484 [489] 49 484

The community of Vila Recôncavo comprises an area of some 80 square kilometers in the shape of a semicircle, bounded on one side by water and on the other by a high ridge. This area, which includes the town of Vila Recôncavo, forms a natural as well as a cultural unit. The remaining 100 square kilometers of the county fall into two subregions, one very small area which is oriented toward Centro and Cana-Uba (see map), and another which is strongly oriented toward Salvador. The three areas are drawn together by local administration: police, school system, tax collecting, and the collection of statistics--in other words, by the formal structure of county administration. 131 361 [634]

The 80 square kilometers of the community of Vila Recôncavo are composed almost entirely of thirteen large plantations, eleven of which are devoted to the cultivation of sugar cane. Of the other two, one plants cane on a small scale and rents most of its land to subsistence gardeners, while the second is a summer home, producing nothing. Of the eleven which plant sugar cane, six belong to the sugar factory which 361 249*

mers. However, on almost every plantation there are brick- 312
lined springs from which the inhabitants get their drinking water. Women or children carrying five-gallon cans of water on [482]
their heads, and donkeys carrying four wooden kegs of water, [492]
are common sights along the roads of the Recôncavo. For the
cattle and other livestock of the plantations, drinking places 231
are excavated wherever there promises to be enough water. 312
Frequently, however, these go dry in the summer, especial- [132]
ly during the drought years which occur cyclically in rhythm with the droughts of the sertão. At such times loss of cattle is prevalent, except on plantations situated near one of the small rivers.

A high-voltage electric line passes through this section 377
leading from the generating station further inland to the capital city. Recently most of the plantations have been able to connect with this line, so that at least the owners' houses have electric light. The houses of the workers are without it except at the factory, where the mill supplies its own electric power which is carried to almost all the workers' houses.

There are four state schools and one county school distrib- 871
uted among the plantations. The central school in the town of Vila Recôncavo is not attended by children from the plantations. Two plantations have their own chapels, which are vis- 347
ited at irregular intervals by the priests of Vila Recôncavo. 796
On the other plantations a small altar is set up in the owner's 793
house for special occasions such as Christmas, when the town priest is invited to celebrate the Mass.

There is in the town a medical post with a visiting doctor, 743
a dentist, and several nurses in training, which is administered by a Franciscan lay brother and supported by federal, state, and county funds and by private donations. This post is fairly recent, and its influences are spreading only slowly to the rural area. Also in the town is a small county medical
post run by a resident physician. The sugar factory has a [249]*
dispensary with a nurse and is visited by the town doctor. Al- [752]
most every plantation has its own first-aid equipment, generally in the owner's house.

There are no fairs in the community. There are stores in 543
the town and a large supply store at the factory, run by the 443
corporation, and nearly every plantation has its own small [249]*
store. Major purchases are made at the weekly market in Centro, in the neighboring county. There are also traveling ped-

côncavo. So far only the pai adão has been able to fulfill the plowing requirements. Lately, however, tractors with caterpillar tread have been introduced and, when used carefully with disk plows, have given excellent results. But the old standby is still commonly in use, hitched to eight, ten, twelve, or as many as twenty oxen.

The owner's house with its park stands on a small hilltop and is visible from afar because of its imperial palms. Nearby, on another hilltop, is the settlement of workers, a long street with houses on either side, the barracks, a small store, and the ever-present casa de farinha, the house where manioc is always being ground, pressed, and roasted to make the farina which is the staple food of the area. Also on this street is the overseer's house, which stands out from the others because of its large size and its veranda. The houses of the workmen are small and built for the most part under one long, common roof. Each house is really an apartment consisting of a front living room and a long corridor going back to the kitchen, with one or two bedrooms leading off the corridor. Other houses, under separate roofs, have similar interior arrangements. The roofs are of red tiles, the rest of the house of clay mud (taipa) slapped on both sides of a bamboo framework. After the mud has dried a coat of whitewash is applied. The houses are built and kept in repair by the plantation owner and do not belong to the workers. The floors are of beaten earth, difficult to keep clean. At night, when only a tiny oil lamp is burning, the houses look dark and gloomy.

After dark one has the impression of hearing much more than one can see. Kerosene is expensive to burn, no one reads, and most of life is geared to doing in the daytime those tasks which require light. At night the workmen and their families sit in the dark talking, or perhaps go to the casa de farinha where a fellow workman and his family may be grinding their manioc. This building is softly lit with kerosene lamps and there is a cheerful glow from the roasting fire. More recently the overseer's house has been equipped with electricity, and now it is always well lighted at night. His new radio has become a center of attraction and small groups form about his veranda, listening. At the other end of the street during harvest time, there is always a bonfire in front of the barracks where the migrant workers are sheltered. On special occasions there may be a samba (dance), perhaps in the plantation owner's house. Then everyone dons his best and the

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Private Plantation]

Maria das Dores, whose name is listed as "gathering cane leaves for animal fodder," does the only type of work on the plantation done by women other than housework and gardening. When a field of cane is cut, the tops of the stalks and the long leaves are cut off and left on the ground. The very tip of the stalk is used as seed, while the heavier part is loaded on carts and sent to the factory. When natural pasturage gives out because of overgrazing or drought, the cattle's diet is supplemented with the freshly cut, green cane leaves; if the tender tips are not required for seed, they are also fed to the cattle. Gathering the leaves and stalk tips is relatively light work, and if a woman on the plantation wants to supplement her husband's income this is the task assigned her. Few women on this plantation do it, however, for it is a point of pride with any husband that he is capable of supporting his wife without her having to do gainful work. Only a small number of leaves are gathered up, and the remainder are burned as they lie in the field. Burning is done at night when there is little or no wind, and often during the summer fires which extend for acres dot the countryside. Burning is a traditional practice. Although professional agronomists insist that it is injurious to the cane roots and the new shoots, planters continue to burn the unwanted leaves, feeling that the ash provides some fertilization. 249* 461 465 [462] [233]

"Gardening" refers to work done in the vegetable garden which supplies Dona Sinhá's house. This garden stands in contrast to the roças, which are planted by the workers as well as by Dona Sinhá, and which are reserved for beans, manioc, corn, and some tobacco. Such plants as lettuce, tomatoes, cabbage, carrots, and other vegetables are disdained by the workers and are grown only for Dona Sinhá. [244]

"Carrying water" is usually work reserved for a small boy. Mounted on a donkey with four wooden kegs he rides to the neighboring plantation, Pedras, which belongs to the factory, fills the kegs at the spring, and returns to Fazenda das Moças where he puts the water into the various large clay containers in the kitchen and washrooms of the owner's house. "Oh, Pedro, there's no water" is a common cry heard in Dona Sinhá's house. [312] [857] [492]

There are few rules restricting the workers. Their services must be at the disposal of Dona Sinhá whenever required. Other than that, if during a slack season a man finds an opportunity to work somewhere else, he is free to do so. If he has a burro, or oxen, he has the right to pasture them on the 249* 466 [427] [492]

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* 249 466 [427] • [492] lands of the plantation, renting them to Dona Sinhá at harvest time for transport. Often a family has one or two pack horses or burros which can be used to transport cane or, at other times of the year, water or firewood. A worker also has the right to a plot to raise food crops. If the man in the household dies or deserts his family, the woman who is left can do one of several things: go to work in the field herself, the least popular alternative; send her children out to work if they are old enough; find another husband, which is not too difficult, for there is a scarcity of women in this rural zone; or return to her father's house.

*249 464 A group of workers who are essential to the well-being of the plantation, but who are not residents, are the caatinguei-ros (migrant workers from the scrubby forest area which borders on the Recôncavo and extends into the desert to the north). Hundreds of these men are available during the harvest season, a time when not only the plantations but the factories as well need more men than the resident population provides. The town of Vila Recôncavo, the other small rural towns, and the capital city do not supply agricultural workers to the rural areas. The plantations use instead the migrants from the north. A system has grown up whereby each plantation and factory has a man who can contact these migrant laborers. [571] This man is called the empreiteiro, a contractor who has a system of contacts in the north usually through family [466] and godparent relationships. The migrant workers are housed in the barracks, and generally keep themselves well apart from the residents. Only men come, leaving their families at home to care for their small farms and livestock while they earn money in the Recôncavo. None of these men appears on the plantation payroll. It is the empreiteiro who contracts with the overseer to have the required work done by the migrant laborers. Usually this work consists only of weeding, which must be done constantly but which at harvest time the resi- [465] dent workers cannot do. On the list of jobs and wages, above, there appears the name of Mario Adriano, who received 921,30 cruzeiros for weeding 249 braças. This man is the empreiteiro, who is paid for work done by fifteen, twenty, or more men. He in turn pays the migrant laborers, giving them less than the price for which he agreed with the overseer to do the work. In this way the contractor earns a living. Throughout the harvest season he gets work for about seventy-five to one hundred migrants, who camp in and about the barracks and

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TABLE 1
PRODUCTION, COSTS, PROFITS: FAZENDA DAS MOÇAS

1947-1948	
4,000 tons of cane at the selling price of Cr$81,40 a ton	Cr$325.600,00
Cost of production	206.244,00
Profit	119.356,00
1948-1949	
2,500 tons of cane at Cr$88,90	222.250,00
Cost of production	225.198,00
Loss	32.948,00
1949-1950	
5,000 tons of cane at Cr$107,40	537.000,00
Cost of production	319.248,00
Profit	217.751,00

[407] wheeled carts were added which could be drawn by the tractor,
[493] thus cutting down transportation costs. Recently a jeep was acquired to pull the carts, and a second tractor equipped with the mechanism to cultivate cane fields was purchased.

*249 Still, the plantation is heavily in debt, and any profits are
43 immediately used for improvements or for paying off debts.
Moreover, the cost of tractors, jeeps, and fertilizer is very
178 high since they are imported products. Because of the dollar
[426] exchange rate their cost is extravagantly high in Brazil, compared with the United States. In addition, the plantation is still burdened with the old equipment and the necessity of pasture for the oxen, which cuts down the acreage available for plant-
[492] ing. Animal traction cannot yet be entirely dispensed with, because of the condition of the soil in winter. The problem of
*249 maintaining the old system of work as well as introducing the
178 new, which can only slowly pay for itself, is considerable. Dona Sinhá is faced with the dilemma of difficult natural conditions which, while good in many ways for sugar cane, impede
*249 the application of modern techniques. She is also faced with
178 personnel problems in relation to the overseer. One solution is
466 clearly apparent and has been adopted by Dona Sinhá: to spend more and more time on the plantation, sharing more and more work with Seu Paulo. This of course is a complete break with the past traditions of the plantation master. It is a difficult break for both parties concerned. Dona Sinhá misses her city

[The Usina]

*249 463 466 seer is entitled to the same rights and privileges as any other worker: a house, land on which to grow subsistence crops, and the use of the owner's pastures for his oxen, burros, and horses. The horses used in his work are supplied by the corporation, as are those of the other overseers. His salary is high: Cr$2.000,00 a month, plus a bonus of one cruzeiro for each ton of cane produced on all six plantations. The regional overseers receive Cr$800,00 a month, plus a bonus of half a cruzeiro per ton of cane produced on their plantation. Seu Pipiu has been general overseer of Usina São Pedro for twenty-five years, during which time he has accumulated a good deal of property. He is a mulatto, somewhat lighter skinned than the six administrators who are under him. Two of his sons work in the factory office, and a third runs the store on one of the plantations. In addition he is a small farmer, renting some forty acres from the factory, on which he plants sugar cane. He pays 25 per cent of the harvest to the factory for the use of the land.

[492] [465] *249 463 159 [427]

*249 466 The usineiros have the same complaints against their general overseers that private plantation owners have against theirs. At the same time, after many years of service such an official becomes indispensable, or is thought to be, and is allowed to go his way--quiet, well dressed, well mounted, ruler of all he surveys--while the usineiro watches and mutters to himself.

*249 [184] So far the rural properties of the factories have led the private plantations in the field of mechanization, as they have greater funds for purchasing equipment and can get more use out of each piece. Mechanization, however, is used as yet only in preparing the soil for planting. The ground is plowed and replowed, and grooves are made to receive the cane shoots. Also, planting in unplowed land is still common--grooves are opened for the seed with the simple plow, and no soil preparation is done at all. Here mechanization ends, and all further cultivation, as well as the cutting and harvesting of the cane, is done by hand. Narrow-gauge railway tracks reach out from the mill to loading points on the six plantations, where the cane is transferred from the oxcarts to the railroad wagons to be drawn to the mill. Approximately two thousand acres are under cultivation; the remaining land is used as pasture or as garden plots by the workers, in accordance with a rotation system.

[496] [493] [311]

000 Financially the two units--factory and plantation--are run

463
462 the icehouse where the shrimp are kept cool; they can then be
438 sent to Salvador every other day on the boat to be sold as fresh
251 shrimp at the market and on the streets. "Camarão da Vila,"
[443] (shrimp from Vila) the cry of the Salvador street peddlers, is well known throughout the capital city.

463 The majority of people in Group 2 live down the hill from the older part of town, near the beach or out along the road
[361] which leads to the factory. They are more or less dependent upon Group 1, not only for the money they receive in return
[571] for services, but also for many kinds of favors which fall un-
[476] der the heading of patronship. They are seldom able to employ the services of Group 3 for such jobs as house building or repairing; they must rely on an old form of cooperative labor, called the batalhão (work group), to make or repair a house wall or to put on a new thatch roof. Frequently a patron will arrange for another of his "dependents" to transport the mud necessary for the palm thatch (taipa), and there is no cost involved for the recipient; but she must arrange the labor.

463 The people of Group 2 fetch their own water from the wells,
312 and usually their own firewood from the tideswamps. There
[313] are several men and women in town who make a business of carrying these two commodities. Such work is contractual. A household contracts for so many cans or barrels of water a day and so many loads of firewood a week. If they do not have enough money for these services they must carry them out themselves. During the dry summer months fetching water is a tedious business, for the majority of the wells dry up early in the summer. In the very dry summer of 1950-51, all the wells in town but one went dry. The one which continued to supply water did so at a much diminished rate. This well is completely encased in cement, for it provides the only drinking water in town. There is a small pipe serving as a spigot. During the dry season it takes from ten to twenty minutes to fill a five-gallon tin can from this pipe. As a result, there were always long lines of women waiting for water, and a sojourn of three or four hours at the well was common. Many of the more ambitious women used to get up at two or three in the morning and go to the well, making several trips so they would be free of this onerous duty during the day.
[821] This, however, took a great deal of courage, for most people
[492] in Vila Recôncavo are afraid of the dark, and no timid woman would make the trip out to the well at night. By general agreement, the men who carry water in barrels on donkeys walked

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Town Life]

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two miles west of the town to another well which did not have to serve so many people. Many women also made this trip, with five-gallon cans of water on their heads, and with their children carrying smaller cans.

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In the past many women of this group possessed heirlooms: jewelry handed down to them by their female ancestors who had been favorite slaves of their white masters and who had received valuable brooches, necklaces, rings, and earrings from them, in accordance with the old pattern of luxury which extended even to certain slaves. In most cases this jewelry has now been sold at some time of emergency to antique dealers who scour the rural areas looking for such treasures, which are now highly valuable and sought by collectors.

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Group 3 is made up of independent artisans, that is, people who are self-employed. It differs from Group 1 in that its members rarely employ the services of other people in personal or household activities, although gardeners, carpenters, tailors, fishermen, bricklayers, and barbers do employ people in their business. The large number of men employed by the bricklayers should be explained, as it is not a permanent category. The census from which these data were taken was made in June, 1950, at the height of the work of paving the town streets with cobblestones. A number of bricklayers had come to town for this work, and they as well as the resident bricklayers had to employ workmen to do the work with them for the municipal government. When the paving was finished there was no longer a need for so many bricklayers, and they either left or went into fishing or some other occupation. Since the data were collected, the tailors have also moved to another town as a result of the lack of business in Vila Recôncavo.

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The majority of men in this group are the fishermen, who number 132, plus 5 who are employed rather than self-employed. They fish from canoes, with several types of nets, for a large variety of fish. The federal statistics agent lists seventeen types of fish, including shrimp, giving the following weight and price for the year's activities: 129,070 kilograms and Cr$921.540,00 (slightly under $50,000.00). Shrimp earns slightly more than half this total, Cr$468.000,00, although the amount in kilograms is only 26,000. Xangô, already mentioned, is the second most profitable product, bringing in Cr$195.000,00 for 65,000 kilograms. The statistics agent admits that these figures are approximations

9: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA PECÚNCAVO

[Town Life]

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464 were included in Group 4 because they worked for a nonprofit charitable institution.

464 Occupationally, the town dwellers differ sharply from the people of the rural area of the community. Their work rare-
184 ly requires them to go out of town to the rural area. Of the entire working force of the town, only twelve men are em-
463 ployed in the sugar industry. Even during the harvest season,
632 the town does not supply men to work in the cane fields or the
[420] factory. However, the few people in town who have mules oc-
[492] casionally rent them to planters during the harvest season to help carry the cane. The twenty-five petroleum workers have to leave town each day for work, but their work is also very different from that of any of the rural dwellers.

463 In the town, as on the plantations, there is specialization
184 and division of labor. Among the fishermen, each man fishes constantly with one or two types of net. Change from one type of net to another is unusual and disliked. A fisherman seldom supplements his fishing by planting a garden. Instead, he depends upon his catch of fish to give him enough money to buy garden produce, as well as meat and manufactured articles. In his turn, the gardener never fishes, depending upon the returns from his garden to buy what he does not produce.

[512] Daily routine for the fisherman varies considerably because it depends closely upon the tides, while the daily routine of merchants, teachers, and bureaucrats, as well as household servants and craftsmen, follows a more citylike pattern, beginning at about seven in the morning and ending
[221] late in the evening. There is also less seasonal variance in the work of the town dwellers, for it does not depend upon the planting and harvesting of crops as does that of the rural workers.

369 The town and plantation ways of life also vary considerably
557 with respect to paternalism, which plays a much smaller part in the life of the town dweller. Most of the municipal bureau-
184 crats have patrons among the rural landowners who have placed them in their bureaucratic positions. Bureaucrats, in turn, are to a smaller extent the patrons of people living in the town, particularly of their household servants. Although they have neither the financial resources nor the prestige to provide the security which a rural landowner can offer his people, they do what they can to help whenever asked. This help often takes the form of asking their own patrons for help

[Class A Families]

*565 596 527 262 [272] All these dishes are served with rice, potatoes, farina, and cooked vegetable salads. Then fruits are served, followed by a series of desserts including puddings, ice cream, and cakes. The meal is concluded with a demitasse (cafèzinho). Lunch is usually served at midday, and afterwards the guests generally break into small groups, talk, sleep, play cards, or stroll about the garden. In midafternoon a small merenda (snack) is served for those who want it, consisting of cake and demitasse, and in the evening ceia (supper) is served, including cold cuts, salads, and dessert. After this the group may go en masse to the movies, either at the Petroleum Camp or in the town of Vila Recôncavo. Or, if in gay spirits, they may spend the evening dancing in the living room to popular records. People go to these almoços by horseback, jeep, truck, or sometimes, in a spirit of fun, by oxcart. Hospitality has for hundreds of years been the tradition of the rural landowners, who envelop guests with an overabundance of everything. One planter always has the dining-room table set for at least ten people, although only he and his wife live in the house. Others have the reputation of always providing a good meal for anyone who passes at mealtime.

* 565 596 527 [546] [535] [492] [493] *565 574 423 178 428 The decreasing size of families, the shift in individual employment from agriculture to the professions, and this century's change to large-scale industrial holdings for the production of sugar have caused some differences in land tenure and, hence, inheritance. The Recôncavo is not an area in which land title was ever vague or lost as was often the case in the sertão. Land was always scarce here, for the desirable massapê soils are limited in extent. The plantations of today for the most part fall into one of two categories: those which have been in the hands of one family for a century or more, and those which were bought after the abolition of slavery by newcomers to the Recôncavo or by those who already had plantations and at a time of falling value bought new ones from the creditors who had taken them over from their former owners for debt. In both cases title passed free and clear. The common form of inheritance is for one half of the estate to go to the widow and the other half to be divided among other heirs.

178 42 A century ago, it was common for plantation masters to have extensive holdings, not only in the Recôncavo, but also in other parts of the state, as well as houses and even commercial buildings in the city of Salvador. In addition to this,

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change. New faces and basically different relationships pre- [466]
vail at Usina São Pedro.

Another change, but this time in tune with the past, was an 178
increase of capital, applied to the improvement of the factory. 249*
The capacity of the mill has been greatly enlarged. However, 433
the agricultural part of the combination continues as it did be- [471]
fore, with no innovations. The result is that the factory is [466]
able to mill and produce sugar much more quickly than it can
be supplied with sugar cane. The hierarchical aspect of the
factory as earlier diagrammed remains the same, and each
plantation is still run as a separate unit.

In contrast, the private plantation in the community of Vila 178
Recôncavo has undergone relatively little change in these five 249*
years. Always the most conservative element in the Recôncavo, [466]
the private plantation continues to retain its distinguishing fea-
ture: the personal, face-to-face, paternalistic owner-worker
relations. The hierarchical pattern remains the same. Opera- 178
tions are still basically hand- and animal-powered, but pri- 249*
vate planters are slowly introducing mechanization in certain 461
aspects of the process, especially that of transportation; [492]
trucks and tractor-drawn wagons carry cane from the fields [493]
to the factory. Tractors and mechanical plows are used to an [407]
increasingly large extent in the preparation of the soil, and [492]
mechanical cultivators are already in use on some planta- [407]
tions. However, the bulk of the work is still done by hand, [242]
and traction is supplied by oxen and mules. As yet no me-
chanical loaders, ditch-diggers, or planters have appeared,
and little use is made of fertilization or herbicides. Few sci-
entific agricultural practices are in use. The planter is still
first and foremost a "practical" man.

Relations between the factory and the private plantations 178
have also undergone considerable change, in both business 249*
and social aspects. The new managers of the factory have 571
succeeded in almost completely alienating the private planters
who supply them with sugar cane. Not only the members of
the extended Conde family, but also other cane suppliers re-
sented the highhanded, brusque methods of the new managers.
Wishing to break completely with the past, the new managers
instituted several new policies in relations with the cane sup- [443]
pliers. Formerly the private suppliers bought sugar by the [452]
sack, bought their supplies at the company store, and had [407]
their machines repaired at the company workshops, paying
for such services at the end of the harvest season. The sup-

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249 gave sugar growing a great impetus by organizing expeditions of soldiers which he led into the farthest reaches of the Bay of All Saints, killing, driving out or enslaving the hostile Indian inhabitants, so as to make the area safe for settlers to move out of the city
175 into the surrounding area and plant sugar. Mem de Sá himself built
249 one of the largest and most productive of the sugar plantations in the Recôncavo.[2] His lands comprised three and a half leagues along
423 the coastline of the Bay, extending four leagues inland, and two islands.[3] This *sesmaria*—as the early land grants were called—of Mem de Sá was broken down into smaller pieces by his daughter who inherited it, and by the end of the sixteenth century, most of the *sesmarias* of the Recôncavo had similarly, been divided into plantations averaging approximately 600 to 1,000 acres. In the past 250 years, many of these have kept the same boundaries and names, but their ownership has changed hands many times and they have passed through many cycles of prosperity and depression.

249 The essential form of a plantation in the Recôncavo has changed
[178] little since the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the past, the entire plantation was known as an *engenho*, taking its name from
[376] the sugar-mill building which was the heart of the plantation. There were two chief types of sugar mills, one operated by water power
[492] and the other driven by traction power supplied by oxen. Before the end of slavery, steam-driven machinery had also come into use.
[375] A typical *engenho* had four main items of wealth—its lands, its
[471] buildings, the livestock and the slaves. Most of the land was, of course, planted in sugar cane, but there were also wood forests to supply firewood, pastures for the livestock, and small areas devoted
249 to the raising of food stuffs for the personnel of the *engenho*. The buildings of an *engenho* included the sugar mill, the *sobrado*, or home
342 of the owner, and the slave quarters. The owner's house was frequently a very large and pretentious building with one and a half or two storeys. In the Recôncavo the landowners sought to build their houses *a meia encosta*, or against the side of a hill, giving the appearance of a two-storey house in front, but only one in the rear. Such homes were frequently constructed of stone, wood and mortar, with tile roofs. The slave quarters, which were known as *senzalas*, were generally long narrow buildings with sides of mud or *taipa* and
249 and roofs of palm fronds. The livestock of a typical *engenho* con-
231 sisted of oxen, burros, horses, sheep and cows. The oxen supplied the power to turn the grinding mills when there was no water power,
[492] and they pulled the large two-wheeled carts which were used to transport the cane from the fields to the mill. Horses and burros provided transportation for the plantation owner in supervising the work in the fields, and for him and his family for visits to nearby *engenhos* and to town. Cattle and sheep grazing on the portions of the land which were fallow supplied milk and meat to the plantation community.

from the competition of other sugar-producing areas. Abolition was the factor which, in many cases, simply ended a struggle several decades old.

The overall production of sugar in the Recôncavo was already dropping noticeably at the time of abolition, and it continued to decrease afterwards. At the end of the last century, state-supported *usinas*, or large mechanical factories for milling sugar cane, were opened in an effort to stimulate sugar production. At the same time, various other *usinas* were opened by private capital. These central mills received and processed the sugar cane of many plantations. The *usina* had the advantage of freeing the planter from the worries of milling and marketing the sugar, allowing him to concentrate on higher production of sugar cane, while the mechanized *usina* was able to produce more sugar out of the cane, thus increasing production. This system of sugar production proved relatively lucrative, and the government *usinas* passed into private hands. The owners of *usinas* bought as many neighbouring plantations as possible, and in this way the *usineiros*, as they were called, became at the same time the mill owners and sugar-cane planters—employers of factory workers and of agricultural workers. The plantations which did not pass into the hands of an *usina* became *fornecedores*, supplying cane to one or another large sugar mill.

The *usina* system, however, in many respects did little to change the traditional plantation system. The plantations belonging to *usineiros* continue as separate units; each generally had an administrator, a man responsible to the *usineiro*, who is in charge of the plantation. As a rule the administrator, who is an employee of the *usina*, lives in the old *sobrado*, the former residence of the *senhor do engenho*, as the old plantation owners were known. The workers on the plantations and their families frequently still live in *senzala*-like houses, usually a long narrow building under one roof divided into separate apartments of two or three rooms. Despite many changes of technology, many examples of the old and the new exist side by side on these Recôncavo plantations. On the same plantation both mechanical tractor and ox traction may be used to pull plows. There are workers' houses side by side, one with electricity and a radio, and another using candles and kerosene lamps. Furthermore, the hierarchy of workers and specialists in sugar-cane raising persists little modified from the early nineteenth century. There are the field hands, the ox-cart drivers, the artisans and other specialists. The plantation is also approximately the same size as it was in the early nineteenth century (although several may be the property of one company nowadays) and it has about the same number of hired workers as it had slaves before.

But the *usina* system and other outside influences have made for many fundamental changes in the Recôncavo. In the very large

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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presiding in accordance with the varying subjects under consideration, were seated erudite *doutores* from lecture-room and laboratory; huge *filhas de santo;*[7] aged Negro cooks who brought from . . . . the crude kitchens of their mud huts recipes of . . . . Afro-Brazilian dishes; Negroes from the cane fields (like Jovino, whose paper was as full of errors in Portuguese as of *saudades* of the time of the *almanjarras*);[8] . . . . *babalorixás*[9] like Pae Anselmo; queens of the *maracatú*[10] like Albertina de Fleury, whose name reminded José Lins do Rego[11] of the heroine of a romance by Proust; certain others who, although illiterate or semiliterate, had such intimate knowledge of Afro-Brazilian matters as to be able to make an appreciable contribution to the Congress; students of law, engineering, and medicine . . . . ; elderly folklorists like Rodrigues de Carvalho, who never missed a session . . . . ; individuals like Nobrega da Cunha, who knew intimately the ritual of the *macumba;*[12] psychiatrists of the ability and reputation of Ulysses Pernambucano, who was acclaimed with all justice Honorary President; artists like Luis Jardim and Cicero Dias; intellectuals, journalists, and special representatives of Rio newspapers; the teacher, Ernani Braga, who collected for the Congress a number of invocations to Xangô[13] sung by the young ladies of the Conservatorio on the closing day of school to the enthusiastic applause of the best people of Recife. Individuals

[794]

[7] *Filhas de santo* are ceremonial dancers of the fetish cult (see chap. x).

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[8] On the sugar plantations of colonial Brazil the beam to which animals were hitched to turn the millstone and crush the cane was called the *almanjarra*.

[492]

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[9] Priests of the fetish cult are sometimes called *babalorixás*. The word is formed from the Nagô words *bábá* ("father") and *orixá* ("deity").

[794]

[10] The *maracatú* was an organization of Negroes which formerly participated in Carnival at Recife (see Mario Sette, *Maxambombas e maracatús* [São Paulo, n.d.], pp. 339–41).

[538]

[11] José Lins do Rego is a noted Brazilian novelist whose realistic accounts of lower-class life, particularly in the state of Pernambuco, have helped to reveal a level of culture about which little had previously been written. See, e.g., his *Banguê* (Rio, 1934); *Menino de engenho* (2d ed.; Rio, 1934); *Usina* (Rio, 1936); *Historias da velha Totonia* (Rio, 1936); *Pureza* (Rio, 1937); *Pedra Bonita* (Rio, 1938); *Doidinho* (Rio, n.d.).

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[12] The Afro-Brazilian fetish cult is known in Rio de Janeiro as the *macumba*.

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[13] Xangô (pronounced "Shán-go") is a deity of the fetish cult (see chap. x).

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 178 212 satisfaction with traditional ways but also because the low level of literacy makes difficult even the presentation of new methods. The low level of literacy directly limits the media available for propagation of new ideas, and there is little consciousness of the existence of other methods in other areas. These factors restrict the intellectual horizon and reduce the tolerance for change.

241 407 [242] [254] As yet, mechanized agriculture is almost unknown--there are probably less than fifty tractors in the entire Recôncavo. Agricultural machinery is confined almost exclusively to government agricultural experiment stations and extension services or to the largest sugar fazendas--in 1952-53 the tractors of the fazendas were largely unused because of the lack of new parts or general unsuitability for the tasks at hand. A very small number of agricultural workers have had any experience with agricultural machinery. The introduction of large quantities of farm equipment would raise many problems related to skill [493] and receptivity. However, the truck, bus, and jeep are omnipresent in the Recôncavo, and the number of competent drivers and mechanics is surprisingly large. Most of these mechanically skilled workers live in the cities and towns, but some are available everywhere, especially in the sugar area. In this area, too, many workers have had experience with such massive equipment as the ox-plow. Thus the introduction of tractors and their accessories into the sugar zone, the area most adapted to mechanization at the present moment, would find at least a small cadre of experienced workers available.

241 461 In addition to skills, the mode of labor and the attitude toward work are important factors in evaluating the agricultural labor force. Agricultural work in the Recôncavo tends to be a joint enterprise--it is joint effort which makes it possible to perform many heavy or arduous tasks with little mechanical assistance. On the cane plantations

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31However, almost all areas of Brazil have perennial labor shortages.

32In 1950, the urban centers in Brazil with more than 250,000 population were:

B [133] [162]

Rio de Janeiro	2,303,063
São Paulo	2,017,025
Recife	512,370
Salvador	389,422
Porto Alegre	375,049
Belo Horizonte	338,585

33Others are Campina Grande in Paraíba, Sorocaba in São Paulo, and Tres Corações and Campo Belo in Minas Gerais.

34Cachoeira and São Félix are twin urban developments opposite each other on the Rio Paraguaçu. The river here is narrow, and the two centers are linked effectively by a combined railroad-highway bridge. In 1950 the population of Cachoeira was 10,825; the population of São Félix, 5,872. The two cidades are, in the main, a single functional unit.

BB [133] [491]

35Santo Amaro proper can be reached by sailing craft or canoes only, but small steamers of the type used in the Bay regularly ascend the Rio Sergi to the outskirts—the connection into the city proper is by a streetcar drawn by two recalcitrant mules.

BB [505] [493]

36There is little direct evidence for this conclusion, but it is a reasonable inference from the present flow of goods and the observable decline in wealth and prestige in these cities. Nowadays the steamers which serve these ports carry passengers almost exclusively, and the number of sailing craft (saveiros) loading is generally small. It should be noted that trucks play a much more important role in the movement of goods than the railroads, except in the sugar zone, and that busses rival railroads as passenger carriers. The main highway system of Bahia has by-passed both Santo Amaro and Cachoeira.

BB [491]

37An all-weather road is now being constructed from Conceição do Almeida to Maragogipe. This will enable passengers and goods moving toward Salvador via the Bay to by-pass Cachoeira-São Félix. This may well further reduce the importance of the latter and increase the growing prosperity of Maragogipe.

BB [491]

38Muritiba is only 5 kilometers from São Félix, but the two cities are quite distinct. São Félix-Cachoeira occupies the lower slopes of the narrow valley of the Rio Paraguaçu. A belt, composed of the upper slopes and the edge of the Uplands, which is all either cultivated or in second growth, makes a distinct but narrow, 3 kilometers wide, break between Muritiba and São Félix.

39Nazaré is the main shop and Santo Antônio an important station of the Estrada de Ferro Nazaré. The terminus of the "Nazaré" is São Roque do Paraguaçu—down river from Maragogipe. Castro Alves is on the Brumado, Caculé, and Rio de Janeiro branch of the "Léste," and Serrinha is on the Alagoinhas, Bonfim, Juàzeiro branch of the same line.

40Estimated from 1940 occupational data.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

The dairy industry around Salvador is relatively
234 large-scale, as is evident in the size and number of tank trucks which
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[493] peddle milk through the streets of the city, and which bear the name of
[272] local fazendas. However, the milk has a low butter-fat content, is unpasteurized, and it is expensive, and many people use powdered milk which is imported from other parts of Brazil and abroad. The Salvador dairy industry is large-scale only in relation to the small-scale operations in other parts of the region, where the small quantities of available milk are carried to the cidades on mules or asses and sold from house to house.

233 (3) Feira de Santana is the principal cattle market not only of
443 the Recôncavo but also of the state of Bahia. To its market (campo de gado) are driven the cattle of the northern sertão of Bahia and from as far west as the mountains. Before or after sale many of these cattle are rested and fattened on the pastures around the cidade so that the cattle population is large but fluid. Some of these cattle are butchered locally, but many are driven to Salvador before slaughter.

231 (4) In all other parts of the Recôncavo small-scale animal husbandry is very common. Many small farmers, sharecroppers, or renters
[272] have one or two cows and sometimes a calf. The milk, if any, is used
[234] either by the family or sold in the cidade. In addition, there are a
[443] few large cattle ranches, usually producing both milk and beef cattle. Thus the unspecialized livestock economy of most of the Recôncavo is distinct from the labor animal concentration in the sugar zone, the Salvador milk shed, and the market animal concentration around Feira de Santana.

233 The pattern of distribution of cattle outside the Recôncavo is not markedly different from that of the adjacent areas within the region. In this respect Mata de São João is like Pojuca, Castro Alves like Santo Estêvão, and Nazaré like São Felix-Maragogipe. However, the

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954) 1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

482 their journeys thus, and many agricultural products are transported in
492 no other fashion from the site of cultivation to the ultimate consumer.
489 [491] In each of the municípios of the Recôncavo, as in almost all of Brazil, there are extensive areas which are neither on nor near roads. In these areas, but also along the highways and in the cities, men and beasts of burden transport the products of the agricultural economy.

489 Long distance transportation, formerly dependent on animals, has been
497 changed in the last half century by the introduction of railroads and
493 more recently, automotive vehicles. In a similar fashion, both primi-
177 tive and relatively modern transport are used on the waters of the Báia
178 de Todos os Santos and of the various estuaries. Most of the agricul-
505 tural products which cross the Bay are carried on open-decked sailing vessels and canoes, but there are also a number of motor vessels and motorboats which provide relatively effective transport from Salvador to all the cidades on or near tidewater.

492 In the tobacco-manioc region, and in rural Brazil generally, the donkey or the mule is the characteristic beast of burden. On the backs of these animals the bales of tobacco, the sacks of manioc and farinha de mandioca, and the baskets of corn and vegetables are carried to the market. The equipage of the donkey is simple--a halter and a rough
492 crosstree pack saddle with a thick pad of vegetable fiber. In the
493 sugar cane region the donkey is supplemented and, in most areas, almost
[171] supplanted by the ox cart. The ox cart of Bahia, essentially like the carts used in other Brazilian sugar areas, is built of heavy wood, with a thick wooden bed and tongue, wooden axle, and solid wooden wheels about five-feet in diameter. This high, massive contraption has no bearings, and in dry weather especially it is frequently necessary to repair the wheels and axles. The ox cart is an admirable device for the Cretaceous lowland, for with its high wheels it can carry as much

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

492 as a ton of cane through the rain-softened clay. It is pulled, depend-
493 ing upon the load and the condition of the route, by four, six, or eight oxen. It has no brakes, although occasionally a long pole is used as a drag. The cart and the team are managed by two people, a man who rides the cart, goads the wheel oxen, and shouts directions, and a boy who runs in front and turns the lead oxen with a long slender pole. As has been seen, a very large number of oxen are maintained on the sugar cane plantations and the accessory ranches of the area. Donkeys
492 are used in the cane area for lesser tasks, such as carrying seed cane, tools, and subsistence products; both horses and mules are used for riding--usually the plantation foremen ride the patient, slow-moving mules, while the owners and administrators ride the small, agile horses which come from the sertão. In most other parts of the Recôncavo, in the littoral forest and in the dry caatinga, the donkey and mule are the universal beasts of burden.

One município of the Recôncavo--Coração de Maria--has no motor
491 [492] roads, and is thus served only by pack animals. The cidades of all the other municípios are on highways of some sort, but usually only a single road passes directly across the município. The back-country
487 of the municípios, which in this sense includes about nine-tenths of the total area, is criss-crossed with a network of trails. Some of these are wide enough for an ox cart, or in very good weather, for a jeep to pass through. Many others are only narrow paths winding through the second growth and passing between cultivated fields.

489 Land transportation between the various parts of the Recôncavo
433 has less direct agricultural importance than in the United States, since
438 so much of the agricultural produce is consumed within the município
439 in which it is grown. Those agricultural products, such as tobacco
497 or sugar, which are destined for non-local or external markets are
494

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 373]

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439
497 usually carried by rail or by automotive transport. The operation of
494 the economy of the Recôncavo seems to require a constant movement of merchants, fazendeiros (landowners) and agents between the various cidades, and between the lesser urban centers and Salvador or Feira de Santana.

496 The two railroad systems which serve the Recôncavo and the adjoin-
497 ing areas are both narrow-gauge lines. The most extensive system belongs to the Viação Férrea Federal Leste Brasileiro, called the "Leste." It is part of a larger network which, in theory, connects Rio de Janeiro and the rest of the Central-South with the Northeast as far as Maceió in the state of Alagoas. Within the Recôncavo the main lines of the Leste stretch out from Salvador northward through Alagoinhas and westward through Cachoeira. A branch line of the latter runs to Feira de Santana.

The Estrada de Ferro Nazaré railroad crosses only the corner of the Recôncavo, but it runs for a long distance near the southwestern perimeter. The line begins at Jequié in the coffee zone and terminates at the cidade of Nazaré and at São Roque on the estuary of the Rio
[505] Paraguaçu below Maragogipe. These two terminals are connected to Salvador by motor vessels which attempt to coordinate their schedules with the trains. A rail link between the Nazaré line at Santo Antônio and the Leste at Cruz das Almas has been under construction for some years.

493 Most of the rolling stock of the Leste is archaic, but the
497 Nazaré line has relatively good equipment. The woodburning locomotives used by both railroads are small but are kept in good repair and operate with reasonable efficiency. They are cheap and flexible to operate and, in view of the limited fuel resource of Brazil, seem almost ideal. The Leste has a diesel engine for the passenger train which operates between

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

493 Salvador and Feira de Santana, via Santo Amaro and São Gonçalo. The
497 Leste also has a special train of relatively modern type which runs from Salvador to Aracaju in Sergipe. As soon as electric power from the newly constructed dam at Paulo Alfonso on the Rio São Francisco is available, the Leste expects to electrify the line from Salvador through Alagoinhas. One of the most critical shortcomings of both lines is the very poor condition of the roadbed, so that derailments are relatively frequent.

497 Railroad fares are extremely cheap by the standards of the United States, so that for one or two dollars it is possible to travel all the way across the Recôncavo. Although there are many agriculturalists who cannot afford even these fares, rail transportation is within the means of merchants and buyers of the "service segment" of the agricultural population. Freight rates are higher but generally not excessive. However, there are many irregularties in the assessment of freight charges, and service is very slow.

The passenger operations of the Leste give relatively good service to the Central and Northwestern Recôncavo. In other parts of the Recôncavo the desultory passenger service of the Leste is little used. It is difficult to estimate the exact relative importance of railroads
(494) vis à vis trucks as freight carriers, but there is every indication that trucks carry most of the agricultural goods which are transported for long distances over the land. However, the railroads, which are
249 government owned, operate without regard to profit or loss. The main
499 and branch lines of the Leste play an important role in the sugar industry of Santo Amaro and western São Sebastião. The government tracks and the tracks of a number of private lines joined to them are used to haul cane from the plantations to the large usinas. The cane, which is delivered to the railroad line in ox carts, is hauled to the usina

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249 on trains owned by the sugar company. In addition, much of the sugar, rum,
497 and alcohol which is manufactured by the big usinas is transported to Salvador over the lines of the Leste.

493 As has been suggested, automotive transport has come to have great
491 importance in the Recôncavo, despite the lack of good roads, the high cost of vehicles and fuel, and the competition of both boats and trains. No
491 município in the region can be said to have a road network, and usually only the cidades and in a few cases large villas are connected with other parts of the region. The principal road of the region is a dirt highway which connects Salvador with Feira de Santana. Feira is an important transportation center for the Northeast of Brazil, for it is the southern terminus of the Nordestina, the trunk highway which crosses the Sertão. The Nordestina joins the main road to Rio de Janeiro and the road to Salvador at Feira de Santana. A branch from the Salvador-Feira road turns southward and, passing through Cachoeira, São Félix, and Cruz das Almas, connects westward to Castro Alves and southward to the cacao zone. There is also a road from Salvador to Alagoinhas and other cities of the Tertiary zone farther north. A few lesser roads feed into these three main highways--the most important of these is the connection between Santo Amaro and the Feira to Salvador road.

All of the main highways are two-lane dirt roads which are almost always passable but which are extremely rough and are dusty in dry
491 weather and slippery when wet. The quality of the roads is probably
484 best illustrated by the time required to journey across the Recôncavo. The road distance from Salvador to Cruz das Almas is about 125 miles; the time required for a non-stop trip is 6 to 7 hours. It should be added that despite the poor road conditions, traffic moves very fast, and there are many accidents. To a very limited extent it is possible

491 for vehicles to pass from the main highways over the broader trails
484 to the nearby villages in good weather. However, this is rarely attempted except by jeep, and by these only infrequently.

249 Until the last few years a number of the large usinas in the main
499 sugar cane area have not been connected with the highways. Since jeeps and trucks have become more numerous in the Recôncavo, a number of the big usinas in Santo Amaro are constructing their own outlets to the
315 highway. In recent years the government-owned oil company has been
655 drilling exploratory wells in the cane fields of São Francisco. In
491 conjunction with this enterprise, new roads have been built, and for the
499 first time many plantations of this area have road connections to the highway system.

494 Most of the traffic on the roads of the Recôncavo consists of
493 trucks and busses--private automobiles generally are found only in the urban areas, since cars are very expensive in Brazil, and the highways are very destructive. A large number of busses connect the outer Recôncavo with Salvador. The best passenger service, and the most expensive, is provided by a major bus line which has a daily run from Salvador to Feira de Santana and back. While this bus line employs large busses, most of the other busses used in the Recôncavo are small. These latter provide connections between the Southwestern Recôncavo and Salvador, and supplement the major Feira de Santana-Salvador service. The runs of many of these smaller busses originate outside the Recôncavo, but they collect and discharge passengers at each cidade. Fares are cheap, considering the cost of vehicles and fuel, but still somewhat more expensive than train travel.

Truck traffic is very heavy on the main highways, especially from Feira de Santana to Salvador. Probably most of the agricultural

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493 products which are carried from the various inland municípios of the region to Salvador and Feira de Santana are transported on trucks. These trucks pick up their loads at the weekly markets or at warehouses in the various cidades. Frequently they carry passengers as well as cargo, and the cheapest passenger service in the Recôncavo is to be found high on top of a heavily laden truck. It is especially common to seem trucks loaded with bags of farinha de mandioca speeding over the rough roads with the cab packed and the less fortunate passengers enduring the dust or the rain outside. Most agricultural laborers seem to travel in this fashion on longer journeys within the region. Many trucks operate on an unscheduled basis from cidade to cidade, accumulating loads without pre-arrangement. However, there is some regularized service, for it is a general practice for trucks from all over the Recôncavo to travel to Feira de Santana on its market day, and the more important markets of other cidades are also served by trucks on a regular but informal basis. Each of these trucks has its destination marked on the window and collects a load of goods and people as it passes across the region. The cost of this means of transport to the individual depends upon the distance he travels and the amount of goods which he carries. Thus both truck and bus transportation play a major role in the marketing system of the Recôncavo, each carrying both goods and passengers.

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438 One of the basic handicaps of automotive transport in the Recôncavo is that each município taxes the passage of goods transported on its roads. The repeated taxation of goods as they are moved across the boundaries of municípios may make it unprofitable for the agriculturalist to sell many of his products in the other markets of the region. Moreover, the lengthy stops required at each município boundary effectively slow down the movement of trucks and, to a lesser extent, of goods-carrying busses.

494 lesser extent, of goods-carrying busses. Another delay in movement of
493 goods results from frequent breakdowns. A large number of broken down trucks are to be seen along the side of any of the highways of the Recôncavo. The most direct cause of these breakdowns is the universal practice of heavily overloading trucks--extra springs and blocks have been added so that they can carry enormous loads, but frequently the axles and tires fail on the rough roads. A contributing factor in the breakdowns is probably the scarcity and high cost of new parts.

Many merchants, buyers, and prosperous farmers make use of an additional passenger service which is provided between the urban centers of the region by automobiles in what might be described as a combination limousine and zone taxicab service. These taxicabs wait in a conspicuous spot, usually near the square of the city, with their destination and the total fare for the trip painted on the windshield. A perspective rider may pay the entire fare himself, wait for others who will share the expense, or himself secure other passengers. The fares are standardized, and the system is particularly oriented toward the important markets of the region.

505 The centrally located Baía de Todos os Santos and its estuaries are very important in the transport of both goods and people within the Recôncavo. A most conspicuous and universal sight is the myriad of sailing vessels which transport large quantities of agricultural products across the Bay to Salvador. There is no way of estimating the importance of this traffic in relation to the total amount of goods carried, but the vessels (saveiros) can hold as much as four or five
[501] tons of cargo. These boats are heavy timbered, open decked sailing vessels with a single mast--they do not sail well except before the wind, and therefore their trips are timed according to the direction of the wind. The saveiros seem to be very hardy and able to survive

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 decline of the old system of independent plantations and small usinas and
471 the rise of agricultural capitalism in the Recôncavo as in Brazil's other
178 sugar areas. With greater capital resources, drawn from Salvador, Rio de Janeiro, and São Paulo, the large companies are slowly buying up the fazendas of the core area of sugar cane production and are closing out the small mills.

249 The typical usina involves a large-scale organization of land,
471 transportation, processing, and labor by means of an administrative hier-
489 archy. Timing is one of the critical aspects in converting cane to a finished product, for the harvesting of the cane and the operation of the mill must be closely coordinated. A basic factor in this coordination is the weather, which governs the quality of the cane, the transportation of the harvest, and thus the operation of the mill. In dry weather the
[492] sugar content of the cane is high, and the ox carts move easily through
[493] the fields. In wet weather the harvesting bogs down, and the operation of the mill comes to a standstill. Since the fixed costs of the mill and the plantations are very great, delays in harvest are costly to the in-
249 dustry. Another important administrative problem for the industry is
464 labor. The sugar economy depends upon itinerant seasonal labor and upon the declining local agricultural population. Occasionally the operation of the mill is delayed because of labor shortages. It is sometimes necessary to shift labor from the fields to the mill or vice versa or from one plantation to another and to balance the cost of maintaining a labor reserve, if available, against the losses incurred when the op-
249 eration of the mill is curtailed. The scope of operation of the usina
471 may be illustrated by a list of the major physical equipment of one of the large usinas in Santo Amaro:

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546 health post, and the bar have refrigerators. On Saturday and Sunday nights there is a movie, the same film being shown both nights.

491 There are only two roads leading out of the town. One goes
492 northwest to Centro, following a ridge which leads along the river through a section of poor soil devoted to gardens of man-
484 ioc and bananas. On horseback it is a trip of approximately two hours to Centro. The other road leads northeast into the sugar-cane fields and to the sugar factory and then continues east, eventually leading to the oil fields of Conselho and out onto the major Bahian artery from Salvador to the interior city of Feira de Santana. The journey from Vila Recôncavo to the main highway takes about four hours on horseback. Although the local road, made during the empire and part of the public domain, is called the "royal road," it is really only one-track dirt. In the summer it affords a hard surface because the hot sun bakes the earth, but during the winter it turns into a river of mud. During the rainy season the layer of clay underneath the topsoil holds the water, turning the roads into practically impassable quagmires. The situation becomes even worse just after the rains end and the surface dries, for when a man or animal breaks through the dried surface and sinks down into the clay the suction created is difficult to overcome. A trip which during the summer takes half an hour on horseback may take from three to four hours in the winter. The horse must pick and choose each step with the utmost care. During these months travel is extremely fatiguing for horses and mules, and frequent changes of mount are necessary. During this part of the year one avoids making an inland journey if possible, and keeps to the waterways.

491 From Usina to Conselho (see map of community), the road
[421] has been recently coated with oil, sand, and broken stone by the Conselho Nacional de Petroleo in an attempt to make an all-weather route. The surfacing has proved fairly satisfactory but very expensive. Although this highway follows the old "royal road," it is owned by the conselho. When a plantation owner of the area wishes to pass over it in his car or
[493] jeep, he must secure permission from the conselho office in Salvador. Nevertheless, in the past year this road has proved a boon to the plantation owners, who can now go back and forth
[484] to their homes in the city in about two hours at almost any time of the year, eliminating the long journey by horseback or canoe to the town of Vila Recôncavo to take the boat. The

[The Private Plantation]

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1 new, rural school, with rooms for classes and living quarters for teacher, constructed by the state on land donated by Dona Sinhá

Value of the plantation: Cr$1,500,000,00.[3]

Equipment: 1 Caterpillar tractor, model D2
1 John Deere plow
1 jeep
2 four-wheeled, rubber-tired wagons
9 juntas of oxen (the junta equals ten oxen, eight in use and two resting)
9 two-wheeled carts drawn by oxen--the antique and most used transportation in the Recôncavo
30 burros for carrying cane
12 saddle horses
35 milk cows and breeding mares
78 cattle for breeding purposes

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The Fazenda das Moças is unusual in its possession of a tractor, a mechanical plow, and a jeep. (Even more recently a second tractor and a mechanical cultivator have been added.) More commonly the pai adão (Father Adam) plow is used, drawn by eight oxen. According to Pinho the plow was introduced into Brazil in the late eighteenth century. Before this all cultivation was done with the hoe.[4] For the past 150 years the pai adão has been used primarily to open the rows in which the sugar cane is planted. All the rest of the cultivation is done by hand, with the hoe and billhook. The pai adão is a simple plow with a single plowshare. When it is drawn by oxen, a driver is needed, plus a small boy helper and another man to manage the plow. When it is drawn by tractor, only two men are needed, the driver and the plowman. Various properties of the soil, such as its hardness in the summer when it dries, its swamplike character during the rainy season, and the danger of turning up the infertile tauá which underlies the shallow layer of massapê, have made plowing difficult in the Re-

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3. The cruzeiro (Cr$) is the Brazilian monetary unit and equals roughly five cents in United States currency. Thus the value of the plantation is approximately $75,000.00.

4. de Araujo Pinho, Historia de um engenho do Recôncavo, 1522-1944 (Rio de Janeiro, 1946), p. 243.

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Private Plantation]

As a result, owners have to be satisfied with higher costs than they feel necessary and less profit than they think possible, the difference going to the overseer, rather than accept the complete failure of the plantation Overseers, foremen, and owners are all aware of the situation, but politeness, the traditional respect patterns, and the unwillingness to compete openly keep the situation covert. 249* 463 466 571

Nevertheless, on Fazenda das Moças, in spite of these difficulties there is considerable cooperation between Dona Sinhá and Seu Paulo. The duties of the overseer are confined generally to the plantation itself--seeing that the work is done, the cane planted, cultivated, harvested, and delivered to the factory as expediently as possible. The duties of Dona Sinhá are mainly concerned with finance, with arranging ready funds to meet the current expenses of the plantation. The practice of mortgaging crops did not end with the abolition of slavery, and it is the owner's task to juggle funds, loans, and interest so she will have enough money to improve and increase the yield of her plantation. In general the owners of single plantations rarely have enough funds to carry them through the year. Payrolls are met throughout the year with advances on the estimated harvest made by the factory, by the banks, or by the Cooperative of Sugar-Cane Growers and Suppliers. Thus when the season ends the owner is already in debt, part of which he must pay off in order to finance the coming year. There are two problems constantly present in the struggle to increase the size of the harvest: cost of production, and the antiquated methods used on the private plantations, where practically all work is done by hand. 249* 463 426 [433]

Table 1 shows production, costs, and profits for the harvests of the years 1947-48, 1948-49, and 1949-50 at Fazenda das Moças. The drop in production and the rise in costs in the years 1948-49 were attributed to a slackening of the vigilance of Dona Sinhá and to a poor overseer. It was at the end of this year that Seu Paulo assumed the position of overseer of the plantation. The following year showed a great improvement which has continued, for the 1950-51 harvest produced 6,000 tons, the highest output of any private plantation in the Recôncavo. Future harvests are expected to go well above this. In addition to changing the overseer, and in the following year the foreman, Dona Sinhá was able to borrow enough money to purchase the tractor mentioned earlier. The next year, as a result of the evident success of the new combination, two four- 249* 43 [426] [407] [493]

2t Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

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TABLE 1
PRODUCTION, COSTS, PROFITS: FAZENDA DAS MOÇAS

1947-1948	
4,000 tons of cane at the selling price of Cr$81,40 a ton	Cr$325.600,00
Cost of production	206.244,00
Profit	119.356,00
1948-1949	
2,500 tons of cane at Cr$88,90	222.250,00
Cost of production	225.198,00
Loss	32.948,00
1949-1950	
5,000 tons of cane at Cr$107,40	537.000,00
Cost of production	319.248,00
Profit	217.751,00

[407] wheeled carts were added which could be drawn by the tractor, [493] thus cutting down transportation costs. Recently a jeep was acquired to pull the carts, and a second tractor equipped with the mechanism to cultivate cane fields was purchased.

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Still, the plantation is heavily in debt, and any profits are immediately used for improvements or for paying off debts. Moreover, the cost of tractors, jeeps, and fertilizer is very high since they are imported products. Because of the dollar exchange rate their cost is extravagantly high in Brazil, compared with the United States. In addition, the plantation is still burdened with the old equipment and the necessity of pasture for the oxen, which cuts down the acreage available for planting. Animal traction cannot yet be entirely dispensed with, because of the condition of the soil in winter. The problem of maintaining the old system of work as well as introducing the new, which can only slowly pay for itself, is considerable. Dona Sinhá is faced with the dilemma of difficult natural conditions which, while good in many ways for sugar cane, impede the application of modern techniques. She is also faced with personnel problems in relation to the overseer. One solution is clearly apparent and has been adopted by Dona Sinhá: to spend more and more time on the plantation, sharing more and more work with Seu Paulo. This of course is a complete break with the past traditions of the plantation master. It is a difficult break for both parties concerned. Dona Sinhá misses her city

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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[The Usina]

*249 463 466 [492] [465] *249 463 159 [427] *249 466 *249 [184] [496] [493] [311] 000

seer is entitled to the same rights and privileges as any other worker: a house, land on which to grow subsistence crops, and the use of the owner's pastures for his oxen, burros, and horses. The horses used in his work are supplied by the corporation, as are those of the other overseers. His salary is high: Cr$2.000,00 a month, plus a bonus of one cruzeiro for each ton of cane produced on all six plantations. The regional overseers receive Cr$800,00 a month, plus a bonus of half a cruzeiro per ton of cane produced on their plantation. Seu Pipiu has been general overseer of Usina São Pedro for twenty-five years, during which time he has accumulated a good deal of property. He is a mulatto, somewhat lighter skinned than the six administrators who are under him. Two of his sons work in the factory office, and a third runs the store on one of the plantations. In addition he is a small farmer, renting some forty acres from the factory, on which he plants sugar cane. He pays 25 per cent of the harvest to the factory for the use of the land.

The usineiros have the same complaints against their general overseers that private plantation owners have against theirs. At the same time, after many years of service such an official becomes indispensable, or is thought to be, and is allowed to go his way--quiet, well dressed, well mounted, ruler of all he surveys--while the usineiro watches and mutters to himself.

So far the rural properties of the factories have led the private plantations in the field of mechanization, as they have greater funds for purchasing equipment and can get more use out of each piece. Mechanization, however, is used as yet only in preparing the soil for planting. The ground is plowed and replowed, and grooves are made to receive the cane shoots. Also, planting in unplowed land is still common--grooves are opened for the seed with the simple plow, and no soil preparation is done at all. Here mechanization ends, and all further cultivation, as well as the cutting and harvesting of the cane, is done by hand. Narrow-gauge railway tracks reach out from the mill to loading points on the six plantations, where the cane is transferred from the oxcarts to the railroad wagons to be drawn to the mill. Approximately two thousand acres are under cultivation; the remaining land is used as pasture or as garden plots by the workers, in accordance with a rotation system.

Financially the two units--factory and plantation--are run

[Class A Families]

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596 All these dishes are served with rice, potatoes, farina, and
527 cooked vegetable salads. Then fruits are served, followed by
a series of desserts including puddings, ice cream, and cakes.
262 The meal is concluded with a demitasse (cafèzinho). Lunch
[272] is usually served at midday, and afterwards the guests gen-
erally break into small groups, talk, sleep, play cards, or
stroll about the garden. In midafternoon a small merenda
(snack) is served for those who want it, consisting of cake and
* demitasse, and in the evening ceia (supper) is served, in-
565 cluding cold cuts, salads, and dessert. After this the group
596 may go en masse to the movies, either at the Petroleum Camp
527 or in the town of Vila Recôncavo. Or, if in gay spirits, they
[546] may spend the evening dancing in the living room to popular
[535] records. People go to these almoços by horseback, jeep,
truck, or sometimes, in a spirit of fun, by oxcart. Hospital-
[492] ity has for hundreds of years been the tradition of the rural
landowners, who envelop guests with an overabundance of
• [493] everything. One planter always has the dining-room table
set for at least ten people, although only he and his wife live
*565 in the house. Others have the reputation of always providing
a good meal for anyone who passes at mealtime.

574 The decreasing size of families, the shift in individual em-
ployment from agriculture to the professions, and this cen-
423 tury's change to large-scale industrial holdings for the pro-
178 duction of sugar have caused some differences in land ten-
428 ure and, hence, inheritance. The Recôncavo is not an area in
which land title was ever vague or lost as was often the case
in the sertão. Land was always scarce here, for the desir-
able massapê soils are limited in extent. The plantations of
today for the most part fall into one of two categories: those
which have been in the hands of one family for a century or
more, and those which were bought after the abolition of slav-
ery by newcomers to the Recôncavo or by those who already
had plantations and at a time of falling value bought new ones
from the creditors who had taken them over from their for-
mer owners for debt. In both cases title passed free and clear.
The common form of inheritance is for one half of the estate
to go to the widow and the other half to be divided among oth-
er heirs.

178 A century ago, it was common for plantation masters to
42 have extensive holdings, not only in the Recôncavo, but also
in other parts of the state, as well as houses and even com-
mercial buildings in the city of Salvador. In addition to this,

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249*
change. New faces and basically different relationships prevail at Usina São Pedro. [466]

Another change, but this time in tune with the past, was an 178
increase of capital, applied to the improvement of the factory. 249*
The capacity of the mill has been greatly enlarged. However, 433
the agricultural part of the combination continues as it did be- [471]
fore, with no innovations. The result is that the factory is
able to mill and produce sugar much more quickly than it can [466]
be supplied with sugar cane. The hierarchical aspect of the
factory as earlier diagrammed remains the same, and each
plantation is still run as a separate unit.

In contrast, the private plantation in the community of Vila 178
Recôncavo has undergone relatively little change in these five 249*
years. Always the most conservative element in the Recôncavo, [466]
the private plantation continues to retain its distinguishing feature: the personal, face-to-face, paternalistic owner-worker
relations. The hierarchical pattern remains the same. Opera- 178
tions are still basically hand- and animal-powered, but pri- 249*
vate planters are slowly introducing mechanization in certain 461
aspects of the process, especially that of transportation; [492]
trucks and tractor-drawn wagons carry cane from the fields
to the factory. Tractors and mechanical plows are used to an [493]
increasingly large extent in the preparation of the soil, and [407]
mechanical cultivators are already in use on some planta- [492]
tions. However, the bulk of the work is still done by hand, [407]
and traction is supplied by oxen and mules. As yet no me- [242]
chanical loaders, ditch-diggers, or planters have appeared,
and little use is made of fertilization or herbicides. Few scientific agricultural practices are in use. The planter is still
first and foremost a "practical" man.

Relations between the factory and the private plantations 178
have also undergone considerable change, in both business 249*
and social aspects. The new managers of the factory have 571
succeeded in almost completely alienating the private planters
who supply them with sugar cane. Not only the members of
the extended Conde family, but also other cane suppliers resented the highhanded, brusque methods of the new managers.
Wishing to break completely with the past, the new managers
instituted several new policies in relations with the cane sup- [443]
pliers. Formerly the private suppliers bought sugar by the [452]
sack, bought their supplies at the company store, and had
their machines repaired at the company workshops, paying [407]
for such services at the end of the harvest season. The sup-

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[425]

structed a series of barracks, a recreation hall, a restaurant, and a service center for the unmarried field workers.

In spite of this, the changes in the community structure brought about by the petroleum industry have been as yet relatively few. The industry exists in the community as an intruder, not affecting communal life to any great extent, and not contributing any substantial local benefits. This is perhaps in part due to the fact that it is a nationalized company, with headquarters located in the city of Salvador, rather than a product of local efforts. The petroleum workers for the most part have not been drawn from the local labor force but have come from outside the county. It is almost as if a military base had been established in Vila Recôncavo on a temporary basis. [464]

The effect on the town has been principally to increase the number of houses. The married workers of Petrobrás for the most part live in the town. Naturally there has occurred a broadening of point of view among the town dwellers as a result of social intercourse, as well as a certain new prosperity due to greater numbers. Nevertheless, there are still no private cars, buses, or public transportation in the county. The petroleum workers and their families go to Salvador whenever possible for shopping and amusements, rather than attempting to satisfy these needs in Vila Recôncavo, where public services, diversions, and so forth have continued to be almost nonexistent. [362] [571] [493] [494] [484]

To counterbalance the effect of prosperity brought to the town by increased population, the petroleum industry has had an adverse effect on the fishing activities of the townspeople. Many wells have been drilled in the shallow waters of the Bay of All Saints in front of the town. As a result of underwater explosions, the constant passage of rapid motor launches, and digging and dredging machines, the traditional fishing area of the town's fishermen has been rapidly depleted and its ecological balance destroyed. The fishermen are gradually turning away from fishing as an occupation and seeking other remunerative activity, either outside the community or in the petroleum industry and, to a slight extent, in the sugar industry. Others are turning to service occupations, such as bricklaying, as stopgap activities. 178 315 433 226

Petrobrás to date has affected rural life very little. The planters of the area have profited to some extent because of the roads constructed by the company. It is now possible to 178 315 433 49

The other important occupation is fishing and there is the new petroleum industry. In Vila Recôncavo, bureaucracy plays a large part in the economics of the urban upper-class. The municipal secretary, the statistics agent, the federal and state tax collectors and their clerks, the postmaster and various other 'white collar' positions belong to this small group. Often members of the municipal government divide their attention between commerce (owning small stores) and their government jobs. Despite its long history and rather easy communication with the large city of Salvador, Vila Recôncavo is still an isolated community. After landing in the town from the regular steamer coming from Salvador, one must proceed inland either by foot or by animal. The only motor vehicles in the community area (except for those of the petroleum industry) are a truck and a delivery-type pick-up truck owned by the São Pedro *usina*. One hears from all classes that the town is backward, abandoned and dead. It has had a glorious past: wealth, the large and beautiful *sobrados* of the barons who were *donos dos engenhos* (owners of the *engenhos*), two beautiful churches, a national guard post with almost 1,000 soldiers stationed in it, a record of bravery and leadership in the war for Independence in 1822, and a place worthy of a visit from the emperor, Don Pedro II. Today the *sobrados* are in ruins, or have disappeared completely, as today's *donos dos engenhos* remain on their plantations or in the city, forsaking the town. The military have gone, the splendours of the religious feast-days are no more. Vila Recôncavo is representative of the decadence which has overtaken the entire area. Today it is known only for its *xangô* and shrimps.

IV. In the United States an absolute 'line' is drawn between white and Negro. A person who is not white is a Negro, however small the percentage of Negro blood may be. In Vila Recôncavo, this 'line' is recognized rather than drawn. A distinction between Negro and white is always kept in mind when classifying an individual. Everyone knows who is 'pure' white and who is not. Classification by race is one of the most important aspects of local culture, and one of the most difficult aspects for the outsider to grasp. *Bahianos* of the Recôncavo feel that one may instantly recognize the difference between a 'pure' white and a mixed white-Indian, white-Negro or Negro-Indian, but they do not let it go at that. They classify or minutely describe each person; they classify according to skin colour, according to hair form and according to facial features, and their classifications or racial types are used in everyday conversation. Just as it would be said in the United States that someone is short and fat, the people of Vila Recôncavo will describe a person's colour and hair.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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servant, sailor, farmer, and shoe-shiner. Of the 30 females, 23 were classified as students, 2 as teachers, 2 as housewives, and 1 each as street peddler, domestic servant, and government clerk.

Inferences based upon this occupational distribution, together with certain other indices (such as tax returns, automobile ownership, the purchase of different-priced seats at cinemas and sport events), indicate that blacks and the darker mixed-bloods ordinarily occupy the lower economic levels, the medium and light mulattoes the middle position, and the whites (including the *brancos da Bahia*) the upper stratum. 563* 434

A Bahian official engaged in income-tax collections knew of no rich blacks in the city,[4] but he did know of several well-to-do mixed-bloods, among whom were a few dark mulattoes. Most incomes in the upper brackets, however, are those of whites. [556]

Of 116 cars being driven along the central thoroughfare, the Rua Chile, during a popular festival, in 90, or 77.6 per cent of the total, only whites were riding; in 26, or 22.4 per cent, mixed-bloods were among the occupants;[5] while no cars were occupied by blacks. However, on a similar occasion, of 50 cars noted, 2 were occupied exclusively by blacks. 563* 162 493

At a cinema performance, of 63 persons occupying *poltronas* at 2$200 a seat, 73 per cent were whites, 20.6 per cent 563* 162 546

[4] Although at Ilhéos in the rich cocoa area south of Bahia a few blacks and dark mulattoes are quite well to do. For a sketch of life in this region see Jorge Amado, *Cacau* (Rio, 1933).

[5] The 6 cars in which only mulattoes were riding constituted 5.2 per cent of the total (only 1 car was occupied by dark mulattoes); the 19 cars in which both whites and mulattoes were riding constituted 16.3 per cent of the total (3 cars were occupied principally by *brancos da Bahia*, 16 by whites, with only one or two light mulattoes in each case); 1 car (0.9 per cent of the total) contained one black and five dark mulattoes.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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A Negro dressed in black is a black vulture with a cape.

A Negro is a *pau de fumo*.[2]

The Negro if he doesn't soil things on entering, soils them before he leaves.

Negro, *onça*'s food.

The following verses of a similar character also are recalled:

The Negro has hair
Which lard will not flatten;
The more he combs it,
The more it kinks.

A Nagô Negro when he dies
Is carried off in a banguê;[3]
His relatives say,
"The vultures have to eat."

An old Negro when he dies
Smells like a skunk;
Our Lady, don't let
That Negro into Heaven!

A Negro when he dies
Is laid out in a shirttail;
His relatives say,
"A poor man has no need of luxury."

The odor of a Negro woman
Comes from two places:
The armpit
And the heel.

If the priest is white, he says Mass;
But if he is a Negro, he only pretends to be saying it.[4]

[2] A piece of wood around which raw tobacco is wrapped for transport. It subsequently turns very black. [276]

[3] A crude litter used in colonial Brazil to carry the bodies of dead slaves, to transport building materials, etc. [493]

[4] An informant explained this line thus: "If he acted as if he was saying Mass, he was merely pretending, for he had not learned how to say it."

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

633 tributary area does not extend beyond the state, it does include the coffee and cacao areas, parts of the São Francisco basin, and the sertão of Bahia. It is the focus of transportation and communication, of finance and administration, and of foreign trade for the entire state. Despite the economic, political, and social pre-eminence of Salvador, a few cities operate quasi-independently in a particular function, notably Ilhéus and Itabuna, in the cacao area.

The next largest cities in the Recôncavo--Feira de Santana and Alagoinhas--are much alike in size, location, and function. Feira de [162] Santana--often called merely Feira--with 26,559 people in 1950, was the second largest city of the Recôncavo and of the state. It is the [543] site of one of the most famous cattle fairs in Brazil.[33] Alagoinhas is smaller--21,289 people in 1950--and less notable historically. It is the third largest city of the Recôncavo and the fifth largest of the state. One of the common functions of both these cities is trans-
633 portation. Feira is the railhead of railroads from Salvador and from
• 494 Cachoeira and is the junction of the Transnordestina trunk highway
496 which crosses the northeast interior of Brazil, with a highway to Salvador and with the only highway from Bahia to Rio de Janeiro. Alagoinhas is the junction where the railraod (Leste) to Senhor do Bonfim and Juàzeiro--on the Rio São Francisco--branches from the main line from Salvador to Maceió, the capital of the state of Alagoas. Just outside Alagoinhas are the main railroad shops of the Leste line
633 (Viação Férrea Federal Leste Brasileiro). The position of these cities,
369 intermediate between the Recôncavo and the sertão, is reflected in
291 the appearance of the people who are met on their streets--dark
142 Recôncavo agriculturalists in straw hats, patched khaki trousers, and wooden clogs and mestiço vaquêiros (cowboys) from the sertão in
633 their leather hats and vests. Each has a number of postos (garages)
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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

633 495 161 to service the hundreds of trucks and busses which are transforming the transportation of the interior. Both cities reflected their growing function by a great increase in population between 1940 and 1950.

633 [162] Cachoeira-São Félix, 16,697 people in 1950,[34] and Santo Amaro, 12,258 people in 1950, are respectively the fourth and fifth largest cities in the Recôncavo and the eighth and tenth largest cities in Bahia. Both of these cities are important agricultural and marketing [443] centers within the Recôncavo, and both are notable historical centers. Santo Amaro was the great local social and economic focus of the slave-holding engenho sugar culture of the Central Recôncavo. Cachoeira was the major local center of the Western Recôncavo and of the tobacco economy throughout colonial times. While these cities maintain some of their former importance, they are mainly cities of the past, 633 growing at a much slower rate than most urban centers. Both cities 496 lie at or near the head of navigation,[35] and both are on the rail- 494 road which runs from Salvador to the western interior. The construction of the railroad and the development of automotive transport apparently have been important factors in the declining importance of these cities, for it is no longer necessary to trans-ship goods brought down from the interior into boats at these places. The 633 railroads and trucks move the goods directly to Salvador.[36] At present [565] these cities function as local trade centers, as minor industrial centers--Cachoeira-São Félix in tobacco; Santo Amaro in sugar--and as the residences of decadent upper class families whose fortunes declined with the disappearance of the slave-holding agricultural systems.

The other urban centers of the Recôncavo:

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249 433 neglect the critical tobacco producing areas. It seems to be true that
[245] [439] the chief recipients of political and economic attention have been the traditionally important sugar cane area, and more recently the cacao
[491] zone. The people of the tobacco area complain particularly about the lack of roads.

244 433 Not only is manioc the basic source of subsistence for the Recôncavo, it is also the second crop in value of production. Its cultivation, as has been seen, is closely associated with the production of tobacco, so that the Southwestern Recôncavo, which produced 63 per cent of the tobacco crop, also contributed a very large part--48 per cent--of the total value of manioc (Map 121). However, manioc is important in its own right, as well as in its relationship to tobacco. No data are available to indicate the importance of manioc as a surplus product which is sold beyond the borders of the município in which it is grown. A rough estimate can be made by assuming that the per capita consumption of manioc is 400 kilograms per year--this is the mean consumption for the state of Bahia. Using this figure in conjunction with the population data, it is possible to estimate that in 1948 about 30,000 tons of surplus manioc was produced in the Recôncavo. Ninety per cent of this surplus was produced in the municípios of the Southwestern Recôncavo.
[489] [494] It is significant that many of the trucks passing from the Southwestern Recôncavo to Feira de Santana and Salvador are piled high with bags of farinha de mandioca. The total value of commercial manioc would be about Cr.$6,500,000, so that on this basis manioc is the fourth or fifth most valuable commercial crop of the Recôncavo. Using the above method of determination, it was found that several municípios adjoining the region also produced surpluses of manioc. The most notable of these were the four municípios adjacent to the Southwestern Recôncavo--Nazaré, São Miguel, Santo Antônio, and Castro Alves--which produced a

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443 [452] [427] Many shopkeepers are also land owners, and their tenants as a matter of course are also their customers and their debtors. The livestock raised by the agriculturalist may be sold on the hoof at the feira or taken to the matadouro municipal (municipal slaughter house). The meat is sold either at the slaughter house or at the feira.

In the larger centers the market tends to last throughout the week. In the medium-sized centers there are a few offerings each morning, and often there is a small feira in the middle of the week. Some major cities, such as Cachoeira, Feira de Santana, Santo Amaro, and Salvador, have source areas larger than their municípios. For [489] [494] example, the market at Feira de Santana invariably draws scores of trucks, each laden with people and produce, from places as distant as Cruz das Almas, Ipirá, Serrinha, and Santo Amaro. The most important general market in the Recôncavo is the Saturday feira at Agua de Meninos [505] in Salvador. This market is located on the low-lying tidal flats beside the Bay, and many of the agricultural products which are sold [489] [494] here are brought by sailing boats. Trucks, carts, streetcars, trains, and pack animals are also used to transport produce to this market. It is here that a very large portion of Salvador's population purchases the agricultural products of the Recôncavo. This market is also the source of supply of the street vendors who hawk fruits and vegetables through the streets of the city. Salvador also has a smaller central market—the Mercado Modelo—and a number of minor neighborhood markets which usually are open for part of each day.

442 443 233 The campo de gado (cattle fair) at Feira de Santana is the only important specialized public market in the Recôncavo; and, as has been seen, it plays a very critical role in the agricultural economy of the region and of the state. On Monday mornings thousands of cattle change hands in the pens and weighing compounds at this fair.[1] Because the

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

492 as a ton of cane through the rain-softened clay. It is pulled, depend-
493 ing upon the load and the condition of the route, by four, six, or eight oxen. It has no brakes, although occasionally a long pole is used as a drag. The cart and the team are managed by two people, a man who rides the cart, goads the wheel oxen, and shouts directions, and a boy who runs in front and turns the lead oxen with a long slender pole. As has been seen, a very large number of oxen are maintained on the sugar cane plantations and the accessory ranches of the area. Donkeys
492 are used in the cane area for lesser tasks, such as carrying seed cane, tools, and subsistence products; both horses and mules are used for riding--usually the plantation foremen ride the patient, slow-moving mules, while the owners and administrators ride the small, agile horses which come from the sertão. In most other parts of the Recôncavo, in the littoral forest and in the dry caatinga, the donkey and mule are the universal beasts of burden.

One município of the Recôncavo--Coração de Maria--has no motor
491 [492] roads, and is thus served only by pack animals. The cidades of all the other municípios are on highways of some sort, but usually only a single road passes directly across the município. The back-country
487 of the municípios, which in this sense includes about nine-tenths of the total area, is criss-crossed with a network of trails. Some of these are wide enough for an ox cart, or in very good weather, for a jeep to pass through. Many others are only narrow paths winding through the second growth and passing between cultivated fields.

489 Land transportation between the various parts of the Recôncavo
433 has less direct agricultural importance than in the United States, since
438 so much of the agricultural produce is consumed within the município
439 in which it is grown. Those agricultural products, such as tobacco
497 or sugar, which are destined for non-local or external markets are
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497 usually carried by rail or by automotive transport. The operation of
494 the economy of the Recôncavo seems to require a constant movement of merchants, fazendeiros (landowners) and agents between the various cidades, and between the lesser urban centers and Salvador or Feira de Santana.

496 The two railroad systems which serve the Recôncavo and the adjoin-
497 ing areas are both narrow-gauge lines. The most extensive system belongs to the Viação Férrea Federal Leste Brasileiro, called the "Leste." It is part of a larger network which, in theory, connects Rio de Janeiro and the rest of the Central-South with the Northeast as far as Maceió in the state of Alagoas. Within the Recôncavo the main lines of the Leste stretch out from Salvador northward through Alagoinhas and westward through Cachoeira. A branch line of the latter runs to Feira de Santana.

The Estrada de Ferro Nazaré railroad crosses only the corner of the Recôncavo, but it runs for a long distance near the southwestern perimeter. The line begins at Jequié in the coffee zone and terminates at the cidade of Nazaré and at São Roque on the estuary of the Rio
[505] Paraguaçu below Maragogipe. These two terminals are connected to Salvador by motor vessels which attempt to coordinate their schedules with the trains. A rail link between the Nazaré line at Santo Antônio and the Leste at Cruz das Almas has been under construction for some years.

493 Most of the rolling stock of the Leste is archaic, but the
497 Nazaré line has relatively good equipment. The woodburning locomotives used by both railroads are small but are kept in good repair and operate with reasonable efficiency. They are cheap and flexible to operate and, in view of the limited fuel resource of Brazil, seem almost ideal. The Leste has a diesel engine for the passenger train which operates between

493 Salvador and Feira de Santana, via Santo Amaro and São Gonçalo. The
497 Leste also has a special train of relatively modern type which runs from Salvador to Aracaju in Sergipe. As soon as electric power from the newly constructed dam at Paulo Alfonso on the Rio São Francisco is available, the Leste expects to electrify the line from Salvador through Alagoinhas. One of the most critical shortcomings of both lines is the very poor condition of the roadbed, so that derailments are relatively frequent.

497 Railroad fares are extremely cheap by the standards of the United States, so that for one or two dollars it is possible to travel all the way across the Recôncavo. Although there are many agriculturalists who cannot afford even these fares, rail transportation is within the means of merchants and buyers of the "service segment" of the agricultural population. Freight rates are higher but generally not excessive. However, there are many irregularties in the assessment of freight charges, and service is very slow.

The passenger operations of the Leste give relatively good service to the Central and Northwestern Recôncavo. In other parts of the Recôncavo the desultory passenger service of the Leste is little used. It is difficult to estimate the exact relative importance of railroads
• [494] vis à vis trucks as freight carriers, but there is every indication that trucks carry most of the agricultural goods which are transported for long distances over the land. However, the railroads, which are
249 government owned, operate without regard to profit or loss. The main
499 and branch lines of the Leste play an important role in the sugar industry of Santo Amaro and western São Sebastião. The government tracks and the tracks of a number of private lines joined to them are used to haul cane from the plantations to the large usinas. The cane, which is delivered to the railroad line in ox carts, is hauled to the usina

491 for vehicles to pass from the main highways over the broader trails
484 to the nearby villages in good weather. However, this is rarely attempted except by jeep, and by these only infrequently.

249 Until the last few years a number of the large usinas in the main
499 sugar cane area have not been connected with the highways. Since jeeps and trucks have become more numerous in the Recôncavo, a number of the big usinas in Santo Amaro are constructing their own outlets to the
315 highway. In recent years the government-owned oil company has been
655 drilling exploratory wells in the cane fields of São Francisco. In
491 conjunction with this enterprise, new roads have been built, and for the
499 first time many plantations of this area have road connections to the highway system.

494 Most of the traffic on the roads of the Recôncavo consists of
493 trucks and busses--private automobiles generally are found only in the urban areas, since cars are very expensive in Brazil, and the highways are very destructive. A large number of busses connect the outer Recôncavo with Salvador. The best passenger service, and the most expensive, is provided by a major bus line which has a daily run from Salvador to Feira de Santana and back. While this bus line employs large busses, most of the other busses used in the Recôncavo are small. These latter provide connections between the Southwestern Recôncavo and Salvador, and supplement the major Feira de Santana-Salvador service. The runs of many of these smaller busses originate outside the Recôncavo, but they collect and discharge passengers at each cidade. Fares are cheap, considering the cost of vehicles and fuel, but still somewhat more expensive than train travel.

Truck traffic is very heavy on the main highways, especially from Feira de Santana to Salvador. Probably most of the agricultural

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493 products which are carried from the various inland municípios of the region to Salvador and Feira de Santana are transported on trucks. These trucks pick up their loads at the weekly markets or at warehouses in the various cidades. Frequently they carry passengers as well as cargo, and the cheapest passenger service in the Recôncavo is to be found high on top of a heavily laden truck. It is especially common to seem trucks loaded with bags of farinha de mandioca speeding over the rough roads with the cab packed and the less fortunate passengers enduring the dust or the rain outside. Most agricultural laborers seem to travel in this fashion on longer journeys within the region. Many trucks operate on an unscheduled basis from cidade to cidade, accumulating loads without pre-arrangement. However, there is some regularized service, for it is a general practice for trucks from all over the Recôncavo to travel to Feira de Santana on its market day, and the more important markets of other cidades are also served by trucks on a regular but informal basis. Each of these trucks has its destination marked on the window and collects a load of goods and people as it passes across the region. The cost of this means of transport to the individual depends upon the distance he travels and the amount of goods which he carries. Thus both truck and bus transportation play a major role in the marketing system of the Recôncavo, each carrying both goods and passengers.

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438 One of the basic handicaps of automotive transport in the Recôncavo is that each município taxes the passage of goods transported on its roads. The repeated taxation of goods as they are moved across the boundaries of municípios may make it unprofitable for the agriculturalist to sell many of his products in the other markets of the region. Moreover, the lengthy stops required at each município boundary effectively slow down the movement of trucks and, to a lesser extent, of goods-carrying busses.

494 493 lesser extent, of goods-carrying busses. Another delay in movement of goods results from frequent breakdowns. A large number of broken down trucks are to be seen along the side of any of the highways of the Recôncavo. The most direct cause of these breakdowns is the universal practice of heavily overloading trucks--extra springs and blocks have been added so that they can carry enormous loads, but frequently the axles and tires fail on the rough roads. A contributing factor in the breakdowns is probably the scarcity and high cost of new parts.

Many merchants, buyers, and prosperous farmers make use of an additional passenger service which is provided between the urban centers of the region by automobiles in what might be described as a combination limousine and zone taxicab service. These taxicabs wait in a conspicuous spot, usually near the square of the city, with their destination and the total fare for the trip painted on the windshield. A perspective rider may pay the entire fare himself, wait for others who will share the expense, or himself secure other passengers. The fares are standardized, and the system is particularly oriented toward the important markets of the region.

505 The centrally located Baía de Todos os Santos and its estuaries are very important in the transport of both goods and people within the Recôncavo. A most conspicuous and universal sight is the myriad of sailing vessels which transport large quantities of agricultural products across the Bay to Salvador. There is no way of estimating the importance of this traffic in relation to the total amount of goods carried, but the vessels (saveiros) can hold as much as four or five [501] tons of cargo. These boats are heavy timbered, open decked sailing vessels with a single mast—they do not sail well except before the wind, and therefore their trips are timed according to the direction of the wind. The saveiros seem to be very hardy and able to survive

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structed a series of barracks, a recreation hall, a restaurant, and a service center for the unmarried field workers.

In spite of this, the changes in the community structure brought about by the petroleum industry have been as yet relatively few. The industry exists in the community as an intruder, not affecting communal life to any great extent, and not contributing any substantial local benefits. This is perhaps in part due to the fact that it is a nationalized company, with headquarters located in the city of Salvador, rather than a product of local efforts. The petroleum workers for the most part have not been drawn from the local labor force but have come from outside the county. It is almost as if a military base had been established in Vila Recôncavo on a temporary basis. [464]

The effect on the town has been principally to increase the number of houses. The married workers of Petrobrás for the most part live in the town. Naturally there has occurred a broadening of point of view among the town dwellers as a result of social intercourse, as well as a certain new prosperity due to greater numbers. Nevertheless, there are still no private cars, buses, or public transportation in the county. The petroleum workers and their families go to Salvador whenever possible for shopping and amusements, rather than attempting to satisfy these needs in Vila Recôncavo, where public services, diversions, and so forth have continued to be almost nonexistent. [362] [571] [493] [494] [484]

To counterbalance the effect of prosperity brought to the town by increased population, the petroleum industry has had an adverse effect on the fishing activities of the townspeople. Many wells have been drilled in the shallow waters of the Bay of All Saints in front of the town. As a result of underwater explosions, the constant passage of rapid motor launches, and digging and dredging machines, the traditional fishing area of the town's fishermen has been rapidly depleted and its ecological balance destroyed. The fishermen are gradually turning away from fishing as an occupation and seeking other remunerative activity, either outside the community or in the petroleum industry and, to a slight extent, in the sugar industry. Others are turning to service occupations, such as bricklaying, as stopgap activities. 178 315 433 226

Petrobrás to date has affected rural life very little. The planters of the area have profited to some extent because of the roads constructed by the company. It is now possible to 178 315 433 49

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struggle of native labor versus foreign capital and thus tend [466] to unify rather than to divide the local group. Religious [798] competition has not become severe enough to intensify self-consciousness on the part of rival adherents and thus evoke [621] serious animosities. As far as national affairs are concerned, intense local loyalties had not, at least at the time this study was made, been seriously exacerbated by onerous control from without. A minimum of racial conflict will be evident throughout this account.

THE *ricos* OF THE RIDGES AND THE *pobres* OF THE VALLEYS

One of the things Darwin noted, when he visited Bahia 361 in 1832, was that the city rested upon "a level plain of about 134 three hundred feet in elevation, which in all parts has been worn into flat-bottomed valleys."[11] Today the scene is still much as Darwin saw it. Continuing erosion has merely emphasized the general characteristics of the landscape, transforming the once level plain somewhat more decidedly into alternating ridges, relatively steep declivities, and comparatively narrow valleys.

This physiography of the country has not been without 361 significance in the cultural life of Bahia; for, in general, the 565 distribution of the population by classes, and even to some extent by ethnic divisions, follows quite closely the lay of the land. Along the ridges, which wind with the changing [363] terrain, ordinarily run the principal streets, bearing the chief [133] lines of transportation, whether by streetcar, bus, or automobile. So far as accessibility to the center and other prin- [494] cipal parts of the city is concerned, here are the more convenient residential locations. The elevation of the ridges,

[11] Charles Darwin, *The Voyage of the Beagle* ("Harvard Classics," Vol. XXIX [New York, 1909]), p. 521.

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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633 [162] Cachoeira-São Félix, 16,697 people in 1950,[34] and Santo Amaro, 12,258 people in 1950, are respectively the fourth and fifth largest cities in the Recôncavo and the eighth and tenth largest cities in Bahia. [443] Both of these cities are important agricultural and marketing centers within the Recôncavo, and both are notable historical centers. Santo Amaro was the great local social and economic focus of the slave-holding engenho sugar culture of the Central Recôncavo. Cachoeira was the major local center of the Western Recôncavo and of the tobacco economy throughout colonial times. While these cities maintain some of their former importance, they are mainly cities of the past, 633 growing at a much slower rate than most urban centers. Both cities 496 lie at or near the head of navigation,[35] and both are on the rail- 494 road which runs from Salvador to the western interior. The construction of the railroad and the development of automotive transport apparently have been important factors in the declining importance of these cities, for it is no longer necessary to trans-ship goods brought down from the interior into boats at these places. The 633 railroads and trucks move the goods directly to Salvador.[36] At present [565] these cities function as local trade centers, as minor industrial centers--Cachoeira-São Félix in tobacco; Santo Amaro in sugar--and as the residences of decadent upper class families whose fortunes declined with the disappearance of the slave-holding agricultural systems.

The other urban centers of the Recôncavo:

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633 tributary area does not extend beyond the state, it does include the coffee and cacao areas, parts of the São Francisco basin, and the sertão of Bahia. It is the focus of transportation and communication, of finance and administration, and of foreign trade for the entire state. Despite the economic, political, and social pre-eminence of Salvador, a few cities operate quasi-independently in a particular function, notably Ilhéus and Itabuna, in the cacao area.

The next largest cities in the Recôncavo--Feira de Santana and Alagoinhas--are much alike in size, location, and function. Feira de [162] Santana--often called merely Feira--with 26,559 people in 1950, was the second largest city of the Recôncavo and of the state. It is the [543] cite of one of the most famous cattle fairs in Brazil.[33] Alagoinhas is smaller--21,289 people in 1950--and less notable historically. It is the third largest city of the Recôncavo and the fifth largest of the state. One of the common functions of both these cities is transportation. Feira is the railhead of railroads from Salvador and from 633 494 496 Cachoeira and is the junction of the Transnordestina trunk highway which crosses the northeast interior of Brazil, with a highway to Salvador and with the only highway from Bahia to Rio de Janeiro. Alagoinhas is the junction where the railraod (Leste) to Senhor do Bonfim and Juàzeiro--on the Rio São Francisco--branches from the main line from Salvador to Maceió, the capital of the state of Alagoas. Just outside Alagoinhas are the main railroad shops of the Leste line 633 (Viação Férrea Federal Leste Brasileiro). The position of these cities, 369 intermediate between the Recôncavo and the sertão, is reflected in 291 142 the appearance of the people who are met on their streets--dark Recôncavo agriculturalists in straw hats, patched khaki trousers, and wooden clogs and rustico vaquéiros (cowboys) from the sertão in 633 495 their leather hats and vests. Each has a number of postos (garages) 161

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The other urban centers of the Recôncavo:

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The other urban centers of the Recôncavo:

633 [162] [443]

	1950 Population
Maragogipe	9,744
Muritiba	7,452
Cruz das Almas	6,758
São Gonçalo	3,771

[277] are all local trade and cigar manufacturing centers. Maragogipe is a [504] port of minor importance.[37] The other urban centers have inland loca- [361] tions, near the inner edge of the Crystalline Uplands.[38]

Near the Recôncavo are four urban centers which have minor but appreciable effect upon its agricultural economy:

[162]

	1950 Population
Santo Antônio de Jesus	11,417
Nazaré	11,215
Castro Alves	6,479
Serrinha	4,602

Santo Antônio de Jesus and Nazaré are located along the southern periphery of the Recôncavo, and Castro Alves and Serrinha on the southwestern and northwestern periphery, respectively. All these centers [496] are on one of Bahia's two main railroads, both of which terminate at the Bay—at Salvador or at São Roque do Paraguaçu.[39]

633 464 433 [162] In 1950 the nine major urban centers of the Recôncavo had 100,000 to 120,000 workers in industry, transportation, and merchandising.[40] In all cities of the Recôncavo, except Salvador, the industrial workers almost exclusively were engaged in processing agricultural products--in sugar refining, cigar manufacturing, and [231] slaughtering. Except for some of the animals slaughtered in Feira de [241] Santana and the poorer grades of tobacco brought in from the sertão, these agricultural products originate in the Recôncavo.

The industrial structure of Salvador is more complex. It processes agricultural products from the Recôncavo, but also from other parts of the state, notably cacao. There is a small textile industry. It is probable that the majority of the industrial workers are employed in numerous small service industries which supply Salvador

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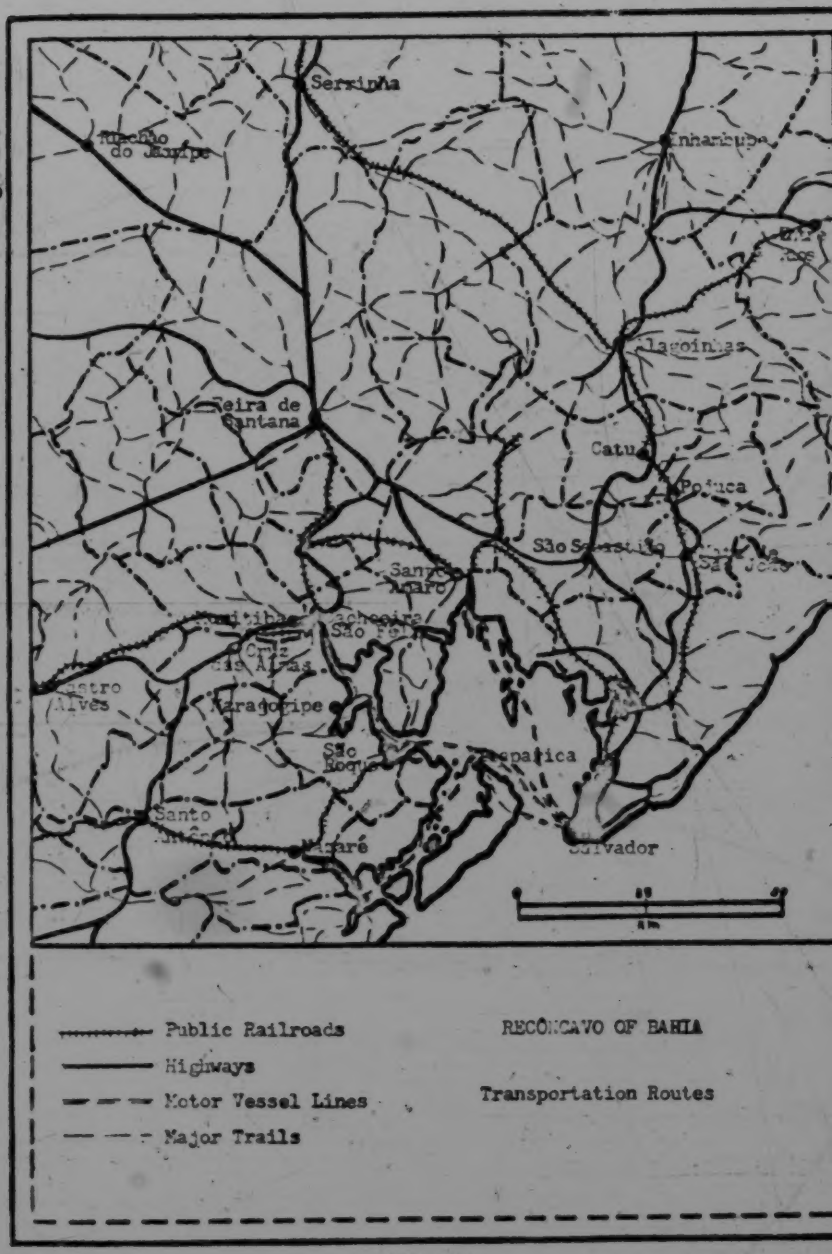

MAP 129

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

439
497 usually carried by rail or by automotive transport. The operation of
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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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497 the cane which is carried by boat is weighed at the mill. The rail-
505 roads which handle the cane, as has been indicated, are owned and
496 operated by the usinas, except that the government right-of-way is
471 used whenever these tracks pass close to the plantations. One of the
249 usinas is new and a few of the older mills have some new equipment, but the general level of technology is considerably below that of Pernambuco or São Paulo, and the mills are somewhat smaller. The usinas grind the cane, extract the juices, and refine the sugar by means of vacuum pans and centrifuges. The more modern usinas produce a high quality sugar, but in general the product is coarse and not a pure white.
274 The by-products of the large usinas and part or all of the cane juice
385 of some of the usinas and engenhos is converted into rum or commercial
262 alcohol. The sugar, rum, and alcohol from the sugar industry of the
273 Recôncavo are consumed primarily within the Recôncavo and the adjoining
438 regions of Bahia. About one-tenth of the production of sugar is
439 exported, chiefly to Rio de Janeiro. The commercial alcohol usually
382 is mixed with gasoline in the bulk plants in Salvador to provide fuel
385 for automotive transport. By law a specified amount of commercial
654 alcohol must be mixed with gasoline--this is designed to subsidize the sugar industry.

249 There are twenty usinas in the Recôncavo, and these produced
471 an estimated 80 per cent of the total sugar of the state of Bahia in
433 1948. The three largest of these are owned by a single sugar company, which also owns the associated plantations, transportation equipment, and cattle fazendas. This company plays an important role in the
249 marketing of sugar from its own usinas and from other companies. The
471 concentration of the cultivation of sugar cane and of the production
178 of sugar in the hands of this single enterprise is a symptom of the

The railroad from Salvador to the interior passes about 15 kilometers east of Vila Recôncavo, and the planters situated near it experience the same difficulties of horseback travel when getting the train to go to the city. 496 492

There is no public transportation within the county. The train is so far from the town of Vila Recôncavo that it is not used by the town dwellers. Most of the population walks to wherever it is going, except to Salvador. Few people in town have horses or mules, for there is insufficient pasture nearby. As a result of the poor roads, the townspeople are dependent upon water navigation, a factor which helps to orient them to other towns by the water's edge and discourages communication between the town and the plantations of the interior of the county. At any season, there is little happening in the plantation area to attract the townspeople. On the other hand, people from the plantation come to the town, especially to see the doctor, for a special Mass, or to take the boat to Salvador. They rarely come for the movie, except those few subsistence gardeners (roçeiros) who live nearby, for travel is too difficult. During the dry season almost all transportation of goods is accomplished by an ox-drawn cart (carro de boi) with two large, solid wooden wheels drawn by eight oxen (junta de boi). The cart is driven by a man, and the oxen follow a small boy who walks in front of them. 484 [489] 49 484

The community of Vila Recôncavo comprises an area of some 80 square kilometers in the shape of a semicircle, bounded on one side by water and on the other by a high ridge. This area, which includes the town of Vila Recôncavo, forms a natural as well as a cultural unit. The remaining 100 square kilometers of the county fall into two subregions, one very small area which is oriented toward Centro and Cana-Uba (see map), and another which is strongly oriented toward Salvador. The three areas are drawn together by local administration: police, school system, tax collecting, and the collection of statistics--in other words, by the formal structure of county administration. 131 361 [634]

The 80 square kilometers of the community of Vila Recôncavo are composed almost entirely of thirteen large plantations, eleven of which are devoted to the cultivation of sugar cane. Of the other two, one plants cane on a small scale and rents most of its land to subsistence gardeners, while the second is a summer home, producing nothing. Of the eleven which plant sugar cane, six belong to the sugar factory which 361 249*

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 S011 Bahia Brazilians S011
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occupation of the poor people, who sell them after drying in the city of Salvador. . . .[9]

In 1837 Centro officially became a city, and for another hundred years it was the major commercial point of the sugar-Recôncavo. Gradually, however, it fell into the same pattern of decline which continues today in so much of the Recôncavo. In the 1900's a railroad was constructed from Salvador to Feira de Santana; it passed well back of Vila Recôncavo, missing it so far as to be of no aid whatsoever. Although it passed through Centro, the terminal point, Feira, became more important commercially to the state and became the new gateway to the north, west, and south of the state and of the nation. Although Centro is now a large town with a population of some ten thousand people and a weekly market which attracts people from the countryside and the neighboring towns, this is not enough to sustain it. Its port is now comparatively little used for the export of sugar, which in most cases goes directly to Salvador by train from the factories.

The immediate cause for the decay of the town of Vila Recôncavo, and to a great extent that of Centro and of so many other older towns, was the loss of functions after the period of frontier growth. Those towns which had been religious centers lost this function. Military posts were no longer needed, and administrative activities became more restricted as the counties were cut down in size and as the state and federal governments took over more functions, such as schools and health programs. Railroads and trucks have lately reduced the importance of the port towns. The rural towns no longer interest the wealthy rural aristocracy who always dominated and supported them. More rapid transportation has made it possible for this class to move about from plantation or factory to the town or the city and back in one day instead of three, thus removing the need for a town house in which to spend the night. Better transportation has also made it possible for the other classes to go to Salvador easily for shopping, medical purposes, festivals, and visiting. Thus Salvador, because of its nearness and the relative ease of transportation, has taken on many of the functions of the rural

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9. Ibid., Letter XIII, p. 501 (author's translation).

[The Usina]

* 249 463 466 seer is entitled to the same rights and privileges as any other worker: a house, land on which to grow subsistence crops, and the use of the owner's pastures for his oxen, burros, and horses. The horses used in his work are supplied by the corporation, as are those of the other overseers. His salary is high: Cr$2.000,00 a month, plus a bonus of one cruzeiro for each ton of cane produced on all six plantations. The regional overseers receive Cr$800,00 a month, plus a bonus of half a cruzeiro per ton of cane produced on their plantation. Seu Pipiu has been general overseer of Usina São Pedro for twenty-five years, during which time he has accumulated a good deal of property. He is a mulatto, somewhat lighter skinned than the six administrators who are under him. Two of his sons work in the factory office, and a third runs the store on one of the plantations. In addition he is a small farmer, renting some forty acres from the factory, on which he plants sugar cane. He pays 25 per cent of the harvest to the factory for the use of the land.

[492] [465] * 249 463 159 [427]

* 249 466 The usineiros have the same complaints against their general overseers that private plantation owners have against theirs. At the same time, after many years of service such an official becomes indispensable, or is thought to be, and is allowed to go his way--quiet, well dressed, well mounted, ruler of all he surveys--while the usineiro watches and mutters to himself.

* 249 [184] So far the rural properties of the factories have led the private plantations in the field of mechanization, as they have greater funds for purchasing equipment and can get more use out of each piece. Mechanization, however, is used as yet only in preparing the soil for planting. The ground is plowed and replowed, and grooves are made to receive the cane shoots. Also, planting in unplowed land is still common--grooves are opened for the seed with the simple plow, and no soil preparation is done at all. Here mechanization ends, and all further cultivation, as well as the cutting and harvesting of the cane, is done by hand. Narrow-gauge railway tracks reach out from the mill to loading points on the six plantations, where the cane is transferred from the oxcarts to the railroad wagons to be drawn to the mill. Approximately two thousand acres are under cultivation; the remaining land is used as pasture or as garden plots by the workers, in accordance with a rotation system.

[496] [493] [311]

000 Financially the two units--factory and plantation--are run

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58 begun to live together. But it is a general policy of Petrobrás that its employees establish regularized households and register their children, as the benefits of social legislation and insurance must be paid to legal beneficiaries, such as wives and children. Because of the many recent marriages, there are no longer any houses available in Vila Recôncavo, nor in Milagres, and there has been a spurt of housebuilding.

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There have also been some shifts in emphasis in the structure of the community. While the factory nucleus is no longer the scene of social gathering for the upper class of the area, the structure of the factory-private plantation system ensures that it continues to be the economic center as long as sugar cane is being planted in the area. The system of quotas established for the private planter and the factory by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol requires that planter and factory cooperate in supplying and receiving sugar cane. Also, the physical structure of the area, in which the factory is the center of the network of a small railroad which reaches out to each of the private properties, strengthens the impression of the factory as the center of activities.

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The possible future shift from sugar to cacao will of course diminish the importance of the sugar factory. However, in the meantime there is a new factor which will give more importance than ever to the factory: a feira, or market place. The county of Vila Recôncavo does not have a weekly market. For many years the county officials have wanted to establish one, not only for increased municipal income, but also to help attract more people to the area and to make life easier for the population. A market place is now under construction at the factory nucleus. When the market is completed, the factory town will become at least a weekly center of attraction for many people of the surrounding plantations.

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The development of the petroleum industry is bringing new life to the town of Vila Recôncavo, to the nearby town of Milagres, and to the new city of Conselho. Petrobrás cannot develop a nucleus on the land which belongs to the factory or to the private owners, and therefore it must concentrate any local community building efforts in the old public towns which already exist. Petrobrás, indirectly, through the county court of Vila Recôncavo, will soon contribute considerably to the county income. The same sort of compensation which was worked out in regard to the planters is now being arranged for the county, through taxes on the finished products from

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482 their journeys thus, and many agricultural products are transported in
492 no other fashion from the site of cultivation to the ultimate consumer.
489 [491] In each of the municípios of the Recôncavo, as in almost all of Brazil, there are extensive areas which are neither on nor near roads. In these areas, but also along the highways and in the cities, men and beasts of burden transport the products of the agricultural economy.

489 Long distance transportation, formerly dependent on animals, has been
490 changed in the last half century by the introduction of railroads and
493 more recently, automotive vehicles. In a similar fashion, both primi-
177 tive and relatively modern transport are used on the waters of the Bâia
178 de Todos os Santos and of the various estuaries. Most of the agricul-
505 tural products which cross the Bay are carried on open-decked sailing vessels and canoes, but there are also a number of motor vessels and motorboats which provide relatively effective transport from Salvador to all the cidades on or near tidewater.

492 In the tobacco-manioc region, and in rural Brazil generally, the donkey or the mule is the characteristic beast of burden. On the backs of these animals the bales of tobacco, the sacks of manioc and farinha de mandioca, and the baskets of corn and vegetables are carried to the market. The equipage of the donkey is simple--a halter and a rough
492 crosstree pack saddle with a thick pad of vegetable fiber. In the
493 sugar cane region the donkey is supplemented and, in most areas, almost
[171] supplanted by the ox cart. The ox cart of Bahia, essentially like the carts used in other Brazilian sugar areas, is built of heavy wood, with a thick wooden bed and tongue, wooden axle, and solid wooden wheels about five-feet in diameter. This high, massive contraption has no bearings, and in dry weather especially it is frequently necessary to repair the wheels and axles. The ox cart is an admirable device for the Cretaceous lowland, for with its high wheels it can carry as much

492 as a ton of cane through the rain-softened clay. It is pulled, depend-
493 ing upon the load and the condition of the route, by four, six, or eight oxen. It has no brakes, although occasionally a long pole is used as a drag. The cart and the team are managed by two people, a man who rides the cart, goads the wheel oxen, and shouts directions, and a boy who runs in front and turns the lead oxen with a long slender pole. As has been seen, a very large number of oxen are maintained on the sugar cane plantations and the accessory ranches of the area. Donkeys
492 are used in the cane area for lesser tasks, such as carrying seed cane, tools, and subsistence products; both horses and mules are used for riding--usually the plantation foremen ride the patient, slow-moving mules, while the owners and administrators ride the small, agile horses which come from the sertão. In most other parts of the Recôncavo, in the littoral forest and in the dry caatinga, the donkey and mule are the universal beasts of burden.

One município of the Recôncavo--Coração de Maria--has no motor
491 [492] roads, and is thus served only by pack animals. The cidades of all the other municípios are on highways of some sort, but usually only a single road passes directly across the município. The back-country
487 of the municípios, which in this sense includes about nine-tenths of the total area, is criss-crossed with a network of trails. Some of these are wide enough for an ox cart, or in very good weather, for a jeep to pass through. Many others are only narrow paths winding through the second growth and passing between cultivated fields.

489 Land transportation between the various parts of the Recôncavo
433 has less direct agricultural importance than in the United States, since
438 so much of the agricultural produce is consumed within the município
439 in which it is grown. Those agricultural products, such as tobacco
497 or sugar, which are destined for non-local or external markets are
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[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 373]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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493 Salvador and Feira de Santana, via Santo Amaro and São Gonçalo. The
497 Leste also has a special train of relatively modern type which runs from Salvador to Aracaju in Sergipe. As soon as electric power from the newly constructed dam at Paulo Alfonso on the Rio São Francisco is available, the Leste expects to electrify the line from Salvador through Alagoinhas. One of the best critical shortcomings of both lines is the very poor condition of the roadbed, so that derailments are relatively frequent.

497 Railroad fares are extremely cheap by the standards of the United States, so that for one or two dollars it is possible to travel all the way across the Recôncavo. Although there are many agriculturalists who cannot afford even these fares, rail transportation is within the means of merchants and buyers of the "service segment" of the agricultural population. Freight rates are higher but generally not excessive. However, there are many irregularties in the assessment of freight charges, and service is very slow.

The passenger operations of the Leste give relatively good service to the Central and Northwestern Recôncavo. In other parts of the Recôncavo the desultory passenger service of the Leste is little used. It is difficult to estimate the exact relative importance of railroads
494 vis à vis trucks as freight carriers, but there is every indication that trucks carry most of the agricultural goods which are transported for long distances over the land. However, the railroads, which are
249 government owned, operate without regard to profit or loss. The main
499 and branch lines of the Leste play an important role in the sugar industry of Santo Amaro and western São Sebastião. The government tracks and the tracks of a number of private lines joined to them are used to haul cane from the plantations to the large usinas. The cane, which is delivered to the railroad line in ox carts, is hauled to the usina

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249 on trains owned by the sugar company. In addition, much of the sugar, rum,
• 497 and alcohol which is manufactured by the big usinas is transported to Salvador over the lines of the Leste.

493 As has been suggested, automotive transport has come to have great
491 importance in the Recôncavo, despite the lack of good roads, the high cost of vehicles and fuel, and the competition of both boats and trains. No
491 município in the region can be said to have a road network, and usually only the cidades and in a few cases large villas are connected with other parts of the region. The principal road of the region is a dirt highway which connects Salvador with Feira de Santana. Feira is an important transportation center for the Northeast of Brazil, for it is the southern terminus of the Nordestina, the trunk highway which crosses the Sertão. The Nordestina joins the main road to Rio de Janeiro and the road to Salvador at Feira de Santana. A branch from the Salvador-Feira road turns southward and, passing through Cachoeira, São Félix, and Cruz das Almas, connects westward to Castro Alves and southward to the cacao zone. There is also a road from Salvador to Alagoinhas and other cities of the Tertiary zone farther north. A few lesser roads feed into these three main highways--the most important of these is the connection between Santo Amaro and the Feira to Salvador road.

All of the main highways are two-lane dirt roads which are almost always passable but which are extremely rough and are dusty in dry
491 weather and slippery when wet. The quality of the roads is probably
484 best illustrated by the time required to journey across the Recôncavo. The road distance from Salvador to Cruz das Almas is about 125 miles; the time required for a non-stop trip is 6 to 7 hours. It should be added that despite the poor road conditions, traffic moves very fast, and there are many accidents. To a very limited extent it is possible

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178 of sugar in the hands of this single enterprise is a symptom of the

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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of livestock, which had a value greater than sugar cane but less than manioc.

Agricultural activities within the Recôncavo are localized in several distinct sub-regions, each with a specialized system of cultivation and each with either one or two principal crops. The primary agricultural subdivisions of the region are: (1) the sugar cane monocultural sub-region; and (2) the tobacco-manioc sub-region.

249 Sugar cane is grown as the exclusive crop in its major area of production--the pocket of coastal plain north of the Baía de Todos os Santos. Cane is generally cultivated under a four-year monoculture and one-year fallow system on large properties employing large quantities of hand labor and using oxen to draw plows and carts. Neither fertilizer [407] nor agricultural machinery is used to any appreciable extent. Most of [492] the animals used as labor in the production of sugar cane are brought [231] [233] into the area from the sertão, and little livestock breeding is found in this area. The processing of sugar cane is in the hands of a small [471] number of medium-sized usinas. The companies which own these usinas [178] are gradually buying up the plantations so that to an increasing extent the mills directly control the production of sugar cane. Most of the [497] cane is brought to the usinas by railroad, although sailing boats are [489] used for this purpose along tidewater. Most of the sugar produced in [505] the Recôncavo is consumed within the state of Bahia, but small quantities [438] [439] are shipped to other parts of Brazil. Both the aristocratic upper class [565] and the rising non-aristocratic business interests of the Recôncavo are [471] [472] involved in the ownership and administration of the sugar industry. The [464] permanent labor force is supplied from the settlements of the sugar cane [178] plantations and the mills, but the rural population and the labor force of the sugar area are declining. Seasonal labor for the harvest comes from the interior sertão of Bahia.

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilian SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

occupation of the poor people, who sell them after drying in the city of Salvador. . . .[9]

In 1837 Centro officially became a city, and for another hundred years it was the major commercial point of the sugar-Recôncavo. Gradually, however, it fell into the same pattern of decline which continues today in so much of the Recôncavo. In the 1900's a railroad was constructed from Salvador to Feira de Santana; it passed well back of Vila Recôncavo, missing it so far as to be of no aid whatsoever. Although it passed through Centro, the terminal point, Feira, became more important commercially to the state and became the new gateway to the north, west, and south of the state and of the nation. Although Centro is now a large town with a population of some ten thousand people and a weekly market which attracts people from the countryside and the neighboring towns, this is not enough to sustain it. Its port is now comparatively little used for the export of sugar, which in most cases goes directly to Salvador by train from the factories.

The immediate cause for the decay of the town of Vila Recôncavo, and to a great extent that of Centro and of so many other older towns, was the loss of functions after the period of frontier growth. Those towns which had been religious centers lost this function. Military posts were no longer needed, and administrative activities became more restricted as the counties were cut down in size and as the state and federal governments took over more functions, such as schools and health programs. Railroads and trucks have lately reduced the importance of the port towns. The rural towns no longer interest the wealthy rural aristocracy who always dominated and supported them. More rapid transportation has made it possible for this class to move about from plantation or factory to the town or the city and back in one day instead of three, thus removing the need for a town house in which to spend the night. Better transportation has also made it possible for the other classes to go to Salvador easily for shopping, medical purposes, festivals, and visiting. Thus Salvador, because of its nearness and the relative ease of transportation, has taken on many of the functions of the rural

9. Ibid., Letter XIII, p. 501 (author's translation).

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

491 for vehicles to pass from the main highways over the broader trails
484 to the nearby villages in good weather. However, this is rarely attempted except by jeep, and by these only infrequently.

249 Until the last few years a number of the large usinas in the main
• 499 sugar cane area have not been connected with the highways. Since jeeps and trucks have become more numerous in the Recôncavo, a number of the big usinas in Santo Amaro are constructing their own outlets to the
315 highway. In recent years the government-owned oil company has been
655 drilling exploratory wells in the cane fields of São Francisco. In
491 conjunction with this enterprise, new roads have been built, and for the
499 first time many plantations of this area have road connections to the highway system.

494 Most of the traffic on the roads of the Recôncavo consists of
493 trucks and busses--private automobiles generally are found only in the urban areas, since cars are very expensive in Brazil, and the highways are very destructive. A large number of busses connect the outer Recôncavo with Salvador. The best passenger service, and the most expensive, is provided by a major bus line which has a daily run from Salvador to Feira de Santana and back. While this bus line employs large busses, most of the other busses used in the Recôncavo are small. These latter provide connections between the Southwestern Recôncavo and Salvador, and supplement the major Feira de Santana-Salvador service. The runs of many of these smaller busses originate outside the Recôncavo, but they collect and discharge passengers at each cidade. Fares are cheap, considering the cost of vehicles and fuel, but still somewhat more expensive than train travel.

Truck traffic is very heavy on the main highways, especially from Feira de Santana to Salvador. Probably most of the agricultural

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 252 276 Processing of Agricultural Products. Each of the three principal crops of the Recôncavo require processing before it can be consumed. Sugar cane and manioc are highly perishable, and both are processed in their entirety within the region. Tobacco, once it is fermented, can be stored for longer periods, so that there is no necessity for immediate processing within the Recôncavo. Sugar cane is processed in large usinas and to a lesser extent in engenhos (primitive sugar mills). Tobacco [277] products are fabricated in small-scale home industries and in factories. Manioc is converted into farinha de mandioca in very small mills.

249 489 471 The cultivation, transportation, and processing of sugar cane require an integrated system in which there is some form of centralized administration. The larger usinas own and operate most of the surrounding cane plantations and the associated transportation system, and administration is direct. Where cane is purchased from furnishers--privately-owned plantations--the mill specifies the type of cane which it will buy and the schedule of delivery. Most of the sugar cane in the Recôncavo is processed by usinas, which produce sugar, rum, and alcohol. However, there are a number of engenhos and a few smaller usinas which specialize in the production of rum or crude sugar. The engenhos are most important around the margins of the main sugar cane area north of the Bay and in Cachoeira and São Félix, but the usinas dominate the core area of cane production in Santo Amaro, São Francisco, and São Sebastião. Within the core area the big usinas generally are located near but not on the main railroads, although a few are situated near the shore of the Bay.

249 492 The harvested sugar cane generally is delivered to smaller mills by the grower, usually on ox carts. The larger mills receive their 249 499 505 cane via the railroad or the Bay. In these cases the cane is transported by ox cart from the cane fields to a weighing station, from

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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•[499]

In 1882, the Roberts' Commission having been disbanded, I helped extend the rail line from Bahia to the São Francisco River, it being my job to draw up plans and specifications for the steel bridges of the railway.

In 1883 I was invited by Antonio Placido Peixoto de Amarante to be his First Engineer on the Comissão de Desobstrução do Rio de São Francisco, a project which we had studied together under the direction of Roberts three years before and which it had now fallen to his lot to execute as Chief Engineer. We removed the obstruction due to the celebrated Sobradinho Falls, the greatest obstacle to navigation in the upper part of the river, and shipping was soon established between the city of Joazeiro and the Falls of Pirapora, where the navigable section of the river ends.

For a little more than three years, or until 1886, I continued with this work. Orville Derby, who had been named head of the Geographic and Geological Commission of São Paulo, then invited me to be his First Engineer, charged especially with the geodetic survey.

The province of São Paulo was at that time governed by Senator João Alfredo Correa de Oliveira, an eminent man, who had always borne in mind the problem of communication with the interior and had just turned his attention to inland navigation and especially to the possibilities of connecting São Paulo with the faraway province of Matto Grosso. With this object in mind, we began the exploration of the Paranapanema, from its source in the Serra do Mar, in Itapetininga, to its junction with the Paraná River above Sete Quedas (Seven Falls). Studying the river from the point of view of its navigability, a labor which we carried out during the dry season of 1886, we found that more than two-thirds of its course was impracticable for navigation. This river failed to afford the solution for which we were searching. The Paranapanema is a great reservoir of hydroelectric energy rather than a passage between the Paraná-Paraguay and the Atlantic coast of southern Brazil.

On returning from these studies, which had also included an investigation of the geological character of the valley by the notable geologist, Francisco de Paula Oliveira, as well as an examination of those natural conditions bearing upon the productivity of the soil, and, in addition, ethnographic and ethnological studies of the Indians still dominating the woods and the plains of the Lower Paranapanema, we

494 493 lesser extent, of goods-carrying busses. Another delay in movement of goods results from frequent breakdowns. A large number of broken down trucks are to be seen along the side of any of the highways of the Recôncavo. The most direct cause of these breakdowns is the universal practice of heavily overloading trucks--extra springs and blocks have been added so that they can carry enormous loads, but frequently the axles and tires fail on the rough roads. A contributing factor in the breakdowns is probably the scarcity and high cost of new parts.

Many merchants, buyers, and prosperous farmers make use of an additional passenger service which is provided between the urban centers of the region by automobiles in what might be described as a combination limousine and zone taxicab service. These taxicabs wait in a conspicuous spot, usually near the square of the city, with their destination and the total fare for the trip painted on the windshield. A perspective rider may pay the entire fare himself, wait for others who will share the expense, or himself secure other passengers. The fares are standardized, and the system is particularly oriented toward the important markets of the region.

505 The centrally located Baía de Todos os Santos and its estuaries are very important in the transport of both goods and people within the Recôncavo. A most conspicuous and universal sight is the myriad of sailing vessels which transport large quantities of agricultural products across the Bay to Salvador. There is no way of estimating the importance of this traffic in relation to the total amount of goods carried, but the vessels (saveiros) can hold as much as four or five [501] tons of cargo. These boats are heavy timbered, open decked sailing vessels with a single mast--they do not sail well except before the wind, and therefore their trips are timed according to the direction of the wind. The saveiros seem to be very hardy and able to survive

It must be remembered that these figures include the capital city, the population of which is about 450,000. If this is subtracted from the total population of the Recôncavo, the average density of the Recôncavo is approximately 27 persons per square kilometer. 161 [162]

Vila Recôncavo, the community of this study, is part of a county located 41 kilometers across the bay from Salvador. The community includes the town of Vila Recôncavo, which is the county seat, and the surrounding rural zone. Throughout the study we will be dealing with these two components of the sugar-cane plantation community, sometimes separately and sometimes together. 101 634 [121]

The only public transportation to the town is by boat from the capital, a three-hour trip across the bay, threading through numerous islands. The major part of the trip is made on remarkably blue water, usually serenely calm but occasionally violently agitated, especially during the winter. One-, two-, and three-masted sailing vessels and an occasional large sailing canoe, the centuries-old methods of transportation in Bahia, are passed on their way into the city, carrying fruit, vegetables, pottery, firewood, fish, tobacco, manioc flour, and sugar to the more than four hundred thousand people of the city, as they have done since the early colonization of the Recôncavo. The only new element in the scene is the small diesel boat which makes the trip back and forth across the bay, outward bound one day and returning the next with the outgoing tide. 505 501

As the boat nears the luxuriantly green, palm-crested islands, stopping at several to discharge the mail, passengers, and "city goods," one becomes aware of the feeling of stepping back into the past. Barefoot children are selling oranges, peanuts, and fish; and parrots and parakeets, sometimes doped with rum to make them appear tame. The mailman on the dock receives the sack of mail and gives it to his helper to carry to the post office; the island priest may receive a message or package entrusted to the captain of the boat or may even go aboard to travel to the church on another island. The others on the dock call to friends on the boat and exchange news or else simply watch the activity of docking the boat and the casting off. The people of the islands are light-skinned, although well sunburned. Many of them are vacationers from the city, dressed in brightly colored clothes, for the islands are well-known resorts. The others, barefoot, wearing shorts 505 [857] [442] [205] [793] [142] [528]

The others, barefoot, wearing shorts and large-brimmed straw hats, are the permanent dwellers of the islands: fishermen, stevedores, and storekeepers.

When the islands are left behind, the scene begins to change. The color of the water changes from a clear, deep blue to a muddy gray. Groups of canoes are seen, their occupants busy with their fish nets, for this shallow part of the bay is a good fishing ground. Once again the mainland is close, rolling hills covered with a thousand shades of green--sugar cane, the crop which ~~nearly four~~ hundred years ago replaced the virgin forests. The deltalike shores of this part of the bay are covered with mangue, muddy areas with low-growing trees which at high tide are standing in the water. On a hill at the water's edge is the town of Vila Recôncavo, a town of 1,462 persons. The first thing one sees is the huge Franciscan convent[5] with its two tall towers and its royal palms. Approaching the long dock which juts out into the water, one can see almost the whole town, which is built on three hills and in the valleys between them.

The arrival of the boat from Salvador every other day is an event in an otherwise dull day. Nearly all the men of the town go down to the dock to meet the boat, to see who is traveling, to see what is arriving for someone in the town, to receive messages or parcels, to greet friends, and to gossip. The postmistress is there, and with her the man whose duty it is to carry the mail sack, but who has a helper to do it for him. After a few minutes the boat continues its journey, and the townsfolk walk back along the dock, breaking up into small groups on reaching the main square and then each going his own way.

On the square at the end of the dock, at the foot of the main street which leads up the middle hill and out into the

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country beyond, is a large, colonial, two-story building--the county courthouse (prefeitura), the official center of local county administration. With heavily barred windows on the ground level, it also serves as the county jail. At the top of the hill is a large church, the mother church of the parish of São Roque. On the right, on top of another hill, is the imposing Franciscan convent. The main street of the town is narrow, paved with cobblestones and lined by old colonial houses in various stages of repair. To the left one sees the "beach," which at low tide is an expanse of ugly black mud, typical of the shores of this back part of the bay. The long dugout canoes of the fishermen are anchored there and rest on the bottom when the tide is out.

As the boat sails away and the townspeople go about their business, the streets empty, and a peculiar hush, which is characteristic of Vila Recôncavo, falls over the town. There is an atmosphere not so much of sleepiness and inertia as of decadence, as though life had already passed by. The few people who remain somehow seem to be left over from something in the past. The houses which face the main street are somber, their façades going straight up two stories from the street, their windows shuttered. Some of them are crumbling, the mortar falling away, exposing the stone of which they are built; others are in complete ruin. All of them are turning black from the constant exposure to humid salt air, and moss is growing on the walls where the sun never strikes.

From the top of the hill, in front of the mother church, there is a magnificent view of the Bay of All Saints, and it is easily understood why this place was chosen 332 years ago as the site for a new town. This part of town is the old Vila Recôncavo (see map of town), dating back to a time when the settlement was the only administrative center of inland colonial Bahia. Upon this hill and the one on which the convent stands, the elite of the sugar lands built their town houses called sobrados. Once upon a time these streets with their stepping-stones were the scene of colonial opulence, of sedan chairs carried by liveried slaves, of soldiers in uniform, of ladies wearing gloves and carrying parasols. Today this old part of Vila Recôncavo is inhabited by simpler people, the town's upper class, who eke out a living in the local bureaucracy, or as merchants, or as representatives of the state and federal governments. They are quiet, gentlemanly people trying to keep up a semblance of dignity, a feat which becomes more difficult all the time.

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Town Life]

is very rough, though strong. Most of the men complain about it, for it cuts their hands when they are fishing and the action of salt water on the cuts inflames their hands badly. 227

There are between seventy-five and one hundred canoes in Vila Recôncavo, of all sizes, from 16 to about 50 feet long. They come from the southern part of the state, and cost between Cr$1.000,00 and Cr$6.000,00 apiece, depending on their size. They are made of vinhatico preto, a large tree from which an entire canoe can be hollowed out. As the canoes grow older, they are strengthened inside by the addition of ribs. The center support (pé do banco) has a hole in it through which a mast can be stepped for sailing. The fishermen use a variety of sails, but usually a simple square sail called traquête. Four flour sacks sewn together make a passable square sail. The canoes last a long time and are handed down from generation to generation. A hundred years is not an uncommon age for such a craft. 501 [313] [428]

The majority of fishermen cannot swim well and have a great respect for the water on two counts: the water is deep, which to them implies danger, and it is said to hide large, man-eating fish. There are stories of three men who have disappeared in the last few years, snatched away by fish. One was a baixador, and the other two fell overboard. Falling is not uncommon, for often a man steps on a small fish on the bottom of the canoe or simply slips on the wet wood, loses his balance, and goes overboard, as the canoes are narrow-beamed and unstable. In their canoes they are fearless, and will go anywhere in any weather. Severe storms which arise suddenly are ridden out in the canoe, which generally lies at anchor while the men lie under cover of the sail, peering out occasionally to see if the weather is clearing. Many of them, however, become violently ill on a larger boat during a storm. 501 226 [481] [825] [164]

Winter is the most productive season for fishing, although the most uncomfortable. There are many storms, and the rains are more or less constant. But the fishermen say that the mixture of salt water with the fresh water from small rivers emptying into the bay seems to produce many more fish than in the summer months. The fishermen dress only in a pair of shorts and a straw hat when fishing, and remain in the cold rain for hours on end. Colds are common among them, as is rheumatism among the older men. 226 [221] [132] [291] [164]

There is always a market for fish. There is a discussion currently going on in Vila Recôncavo, for some of the older 226 43

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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put many beads of O Senhor do Bomfim on him, and a *figa;* they covered him with ornaments.

The *figa* is to free one from the evil eye. For example: I have a dress. You think it is pretty, and you want it very much; something then happens to it. Or a *sabiá*[40] sings beautifully. You are visiting its owner; you want it, you want it very badly. You leave, and it dies or something else happens to it because you cannot have it. This is the evil eye. One needs to "pray it away" with *Guiné, Arruda,* or *Vassourinha Doce.* An oxhorn in the garden will keep it away from plants.

Then the man went around with hands folded, "taking the blessing" from everyone there. Seven children went out with lighted candles. Then he got up entirely well. Today he has a *casa de candomblé.* He is now very old. His *orixá* is Ogum de Gêge. The *pao de santo* who treated him is of Ogum de Mina.

My guardian angel [*anjo de guarda*] is Xangô. Ogum is a soldier, Xangô is of the thunder and also of the lightning. He is Santa Barbara of the Irmandade. All the *orixás* are equal. But Oxalá directs everything. Nanan is his wife. In the Gêge language she is called Odé.

My sister, she died, burned up. She caught all on fire. He who killed her is Oxóssi; it was he who killed her. My sister is buried in the Quinta dos Lazaros.[41] She burned to death because she disobeyed him. He sent a message and she paid no attention to it. Her husband had a *saveiro.*[42] Every trip which he made she went along in the boat. She had no children. Everywhere he went, she went too. When, one time, the *orixá* "arrived" and told her that she should not travel on the water, she didn't take his words very seriously; she laughed the matter off, "gave it a *muxóxó.*" But about a week afterward, she went with her husband in a *saveiro* across the Bay to Bahia. Between Itaparica and Salinas the *saveiro* caught afire. It had powder on it and the powder exploded. Parts of the *saveiro* were ripped off and hurled into the water. She was surrounded by fire. When they finally reached her, she was badly burned. They brought her to the Santa Isabel Hospital,

[40] A Brazilian bird which can be trained to sing tunes.

[41] A Bahian cemetery.

[42] A sturdy sailboat used on Todos os Santos Bay and its contributory rivers to transport light articles of commerce.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1

BB 175 249 in mind when they founded the colony of Bahia.

> Already enough was known of Brazil to hope that sugar cane would do well in it. The hot and humid climate of its coast would be highly favorable, and as for hands for work, they counted mainly on the indigenous people who, as we have seen, were relatively numerous and peaceful on the coast. These perspectives were completely confirmed; the one factor of which they were ignorant before the attempt--the quality of the soil--revealed itself as supremely propitious, at some points at least, on the extensive coast. This was particularly the case in the extreme northeast, on the coastal plain occupied by the state of Pernambuco and on the contours of the Baía de Todos os Santos (the Recôncavo Baiano, as it would be called). These were not the only ones: in a general way all the Brazilian coast paid homage to sugar cane.
>
> It was on this base that the effective occupation and colonization of Brazil was initiated.[7]

BB [134]

By the end of the sixteenth century sugar cane cultivation had spread at least as far as its present western and southern limits in the Recôncavo, on the Paraguaçu and Jaguaripe rivers. Forty engenhos were engaged in the production of sugar.[8] The engenhos were the nuclei of the economic organization of the colony. The cultivation of sugar cane and the milling of sugar demanded a labor force too large to be recruited from among the indigenous Indians.[9] This labor force was supplied from the slave pens of Africa--chiefly on the Guinea Coast and in Angola. The city of Salvador, which had the advantage of a commodious port and a central location among the slave markets of Brazil, was the chief point of debarkation for these Africans.[10]

BB 175 249 464 567

BB [504]

Estimates of the number of slaves imported and the number who remained in Bahia vary over a wide range. In 1583, when the population of Brazil was estimated at 57,000 people, 25,000 were listed as whites, 18,000 as civilized Indians, and 14,000 as Negro slaves. The Negroes were concentrated mainly in Bahia and Pernambuco.[11] It seems likely that in Bahia the number of Negroes was at least equal to the number of whites. These two racial groups and their mixed-blood derivatives

B 175 161 162

BB 162 563 [174]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

The other urban centers of the Recôncavo:

633 [162] [443]

	1950 Population
Maragogipe	9,744
Muritiba	7,452
Cruz das Almas	6,758
São Gonçalo	3,771

[277] are all local trade and cigar manufacturing centers. Maragogipe is a [504] port of minor importance.[37] The other urban centers have inland loca- [361] tions, near the inner edge of the Crystalline Uplands.[38]

Near the Recôncavo are four urban centers which have minor but appreciable effect upon its agricultural economy:

[162]

	1950 Population
Santo Antônio de Jesus	11,417
Nazaré	11,215
Castro Alves	6,479
Serrinha	4,602

Santo Antônio de Jesus and Nazaré are located along the southern periphery of the Recôncavo, and Castro Alves and Serrinha on the southwestern and northwestern periphery, respectively. All these centers [496] are on one of Bahia's two main railroads, both of which terminate at the Bay—at Salvador or at São Roque do Paraguaçu.[39]

633 In 1950 the nine major urban centers of the Recôncavo had 464 100,000 to 120,000 workers in industry, transportation, and merchan- 433 dising.[40] In all cities of the Recôncavo, except Salvador, the [162] industrial workers almost exclusively were engaged in processing agricultural products--in sugar refining, cigar manufacturing, and [231] slaughtering. Except for some of the animals slaughtered in Feira de [241] Santana and the poorer grades of tobacco brought in from the sertão, these agricultural products originate in the Recôncavo.

The industrial structure of Salvador is more complex. It processes agricultural products from the Recôncavo, but also from other parts of the state, notably cacao. There is a small textile industry. It is probable that the majority of the industrial workers are employed in numerous small service industries which supply Salvador

The others, barefoot, wearing shorts and large-brimmed straw hats, are the permanent dwellers of the islands: fishermen, stevedores, and storekeepers.

When the islands are left behind, the scene begins to change. The color of the water changes from a clear, deep blue to a muddy gray. Groups of canoes are seen, their occupants busy with their fish nets, for this shallow part of the bay is a good fishing ground. Once again the mainland is close, rolling hills covered with a thousand shades of green--sugar cane, the crop which nearly four hundred years ago replaced the virgin forests. The deltalike shores of this part of the bay are covered with mangue, muddy areas with low-growing trees which at high tide are standing in the water. On a hill at the water's edge is the town of Vila Recôncavo, a town of 1,462 persons. The first thing one sees is the huge Franciscan convent[5] with its two tall towers and its royal palms. Approaching the long dock which juts out into the water, one can see almost the whole town, which is built on three hills and in the valleys between them.

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438 Centro, situated on the banks of a navigable river which
175 empties into the Bay in front of the town of Vila Recôncavo,
was in a good position to serve the entire back region of the
361 Recôncavo. As a county it now comprises 1,180 square kilo-
meters. As a port, Centro served two purposes in the early
[634] eighteenth century. A great deal of produce and many persons
[131] passed through it, including the families of sugar-cane grow-
ers from other regions of the Recôncavo; and it also served
[504] as a "gateway to the West" at a time when western Bahia and
Minas Gerais were being opened and the gold and diamond
rushes were in progress. Centro was the end of navigable
[487] waters and the beginning of one of the overland routes lead-
ing to the uplands of the sertão and the mining areas of the
[634] west. As Centro grew, Vila Recôncavo stagnated. In 1833
Centro was made judicial center (cabeça de comarca) of the
district and Vila Recôncavo became part of this judicial dis-
trict, thereby losing its prominence as the center of juris-
diction for the interior zone of the Recôncavo. Commercially,
Vila Recôncavo was soon overshadowed by Centro. In 1802,
Vilhena wrote:

> . . . In Centro there is a great deal of commerce, because of the amount of sugar, tobacco, and the number of distilleries and of Mineiros [miners and people from the state of Minas Gerais] who arrive there. Continuing along the bank of the river one finds Vila Recôncavo, which in spite of enough sugar passing through it, always had a weak commerce, and the town is known among all the others as the town of the least traffic.[8]

He says later:

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361
438
433

> In spite of its antiquity, Vila Recôncavo has few inhabitants, and most of them poor, although throughout the termo there are many good families of noble people, rich through the products of their large engenhos, from which they take much and excellent sugar, the only commerce of that town; in it also there is fishing for a little sardinelike fish called xangó and a large quantity of good and large shrimp, which is the main

8. Ibid., Letter I, p. 32 (author's translation).

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

VILA RECÔNCAVO

226

Pulling in
the deep net

504

Waiting for the
arrival of the boat

[P. 72]

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[464]

In the very large *usinas*, the mill hands and even the field hands are modern industrial workers. They are employees of a large industrial corporation and are protected at least theoretically by the labour laws of the nation. The highly personalized relationship between the plantation workers and the owner-administrator of his own plantation, which persisted from the slave era, has been replaced on the larger *usinas* by the impersonal employee-employer relationship of the modern industrial age. Today, modern plantations and small towns have electricity; there is modern housing for workmen; the State and even the sugar companies provide medical aid; there are primary schools both in the small towns and on many plantations; recreation facilities are found in the towns and provided by the *usinas*; and the sugar-cane experimental station situated in the area constantly urges fertilization of the land and modern techniques and methods of sugar-cane production. But the older and more traditional patterns exist side by side with the new, and each of them influences the relations among the racial groups of the zone.

[365]
[362]
[743]
[872]
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[131]
[634]

III. Vila Recôncavo is a small town on the Bay of All Saints. The rural area around it, which lies within the social and economic orbit of the town and which is the unit under consideration, comprises some 80 square kilometres, or slightly less than half the entire area of the county of which the town of Vila Recôncavo is the county seat.[1]

[423]
[634]

It this area there are 14 plantations, three of which nowadays plant very little sugar cane. Parts of the town itself are built on the land of one of these plantations, and the rest of the town area is owned in small lots by private individuals or by the Church. Although Vila Recôncavo is the county seat, local government is the only important function which it fulfils for the surrounding area. It is not used as a shipping point, either for receiving supplies from the outside or for sending sugar to the outside. *Braços do mar*, or inlets of the bay, go to many of the plantations and are deep enough for the *saveiros* (shallow draft sailboats) used on the bay for transport. Many of the plantations have direct connexion with Salvador. Commerce in Vila Recôncavo is almost entirely limited to supplying the 1,462 inhabitants of the town and of some small islands and of one community near by which is not devoted to sugar production. It is not the major supply source even for these groups which live near enough to another and far larger commercial centre where they prefer to do their marketing. The *prefeito* or mayor of the county is rarely a resident of the town itself. Rather he is usually a planter of the surrounding area. He goes into town to do municipal business,

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[1] Both the town and the county bear the name of Vila Recôncavo.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[City of Salvador]

* *121 563 races, and the ensuing termination is perhaps most clearly discernible.

131 361 [132] Bahia lies in the tropics of the Southern Hemisphere, approximately thirteen degrees south of the Equator, her naturally warm and humid climate almost constantly tempered by the refreshing Southeast Trades. Located seven hundred miles above Rio de Janeiro, the Brazilian capital, and four hundred miles below the old sugar center of Pernambuco, Bahia marks approximately the mid-point of Brazil's four thousand miles of coast line which stretches from temperate [167] Uruguay to the torrid Guianas. Some twenty-five hundred miles to the northeast lie the Gold and Slave coasts of Africa, once the home of the parents or grandparents of many present-day Bahians; directly to the east is Angola, another important source of the city's population.

175 361 In 1949 Bahia will celebrate her four hundredth anniversary. As cities go in the New World, she is an old city; in fact, one of the very oldest. Permanently founded fifty- • [504] eight years before Jamestown and thirty-five years earlier than St. Augustine, this outpost of Portuguese civilization was one of the world's richest ports long before New York had outgrown her swaddling clothes.

175 162 *563 Here, shortly after 1500, set in the Portuguese transplantation, at first composed of adventurers, shipwrecked and deserting sailors; *degredados* banished from Portugal for criminal, political, or religious offenses; ambitious young men chosen for physical fitness and freedom from marital ties to serve in the colonial garrison; impoverished nobles seeking to recuperate fortunes squandered at the Portuguese court; a few officials, Jesuits, and secular clergy; Jews expelled by the Inquisition (who incidentally were to furnish a considerable portion of the much-needed capital for the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 6]

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[City of Salvador]

36 In the lower city lies, of course,
•[504] the port, with its customs, warehouses, shipping and consular offices, banks, the marine arsenal, the post office, the Association of Commerce, the principal public market, jewelry shops, hardware and cigar stores, and most of the men's shops of the city. Up on the promontory and extending out toward the suburbs are the public buildings and most of the churches, the convents and monasteries, hotels and movie theaters, the public library, museums, professional schools, primary and secondary institutions, hospitals, women's shops, photographic galleries, furniture and dry-goods stores, confectionary stalls, the "five and tens," physicians' and dentists' offices, clubs, the principal parks and *praças*, and the residential areas of the city.

131 Bahia the city is the economic and political capital of Bahia the state, whose area of 342,000 square miles makes
133 it considerably larger than Texas. The region is composed in large part of a vast plain of gneiss formation which rises abruptly from the comparatively narrow coastal belt to heights varying from 600 to 1,200 feet in the interior.
[135] Upon this plateau and running north and south across the central portion of the state lie a series of low mountains composed principally of sedimentary rock, sandstone, or conglomerates and containing such minerals as iron, manganese, copper, lead, gold, and diamonds (including the
132 black *carbonado* so essential for tool-cutting). This mountain
133 barrier acts as a valuable condenser, gathering moisture for a land which otherwise might be virtually desert. In the extreme western part of the state the plateau is composed of sandstone overlying limestone, and thus it provides a natural sponge which assures perennial rivers in a region where light rains and near drought alternate in six-month periods.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1

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31However, almost all areas of Brazil have perennial labor shortages.

B [633] [162]

32In 1950, the urban centers in Brazil with more than 250,000 population were:

Rio de Janeiro	2,303,063
São Paulo	2,017,025
Recife	512,370
Salvador	389,422
Porto Alegre	375,049
Belo Horizonte	338,585

33Others are Campina Grande in Paraíba, Sorocaba in São Paulo, and Tres Corações and Campo Belo in Minas Gerais.

BB [133] [491]

34Cachoeira and São Félix are twin urban developments opposite each other on the Rio Paraguaçu. The river here is narrow, and the two centers are linked effectively by a combined railroad-highway bridge. In 1950 the population of Cachoeira was 10,825; the population of São Félix, 5,872. The two cidades are, in the main, a single functional unit.

BB [505] [493]

35Santo Amaro proper can be reached by sailing craft or canoes only, but small steamers of the type used in the Bay regularly ascend the Rio Sergi to the outskirts--the connection into the city proper is by a streetcar drawn by two recalcitrant mules.

36There is little direct evidence for this conclusion, but it is a reasonable inference from the present flow of goods and the observable decline in wealth and prestige in these cities. Nowadays the steamers which serve these ports carry passengers almost exclusively, and the number of sailing craft (saveiros) loading is generally small. It should be noted that trucks play a much more important role in the movement of goods than the railroads, except in the sugar zone, and that busses rival railroads as passenger carriers. The main highway system of Bahia has by-passed both Santo Amaro and Cachoeira.

BB [491]

BB [491]

37An all-weather road is now being constructed from Conceição do Almeida to Maragogipe. This will enable passengers and goods moving toward Salvador via the Bay to by-pass Cachoeira-São Félix. This may well further reduce the importance of the latter and increase the growing prosperity of Maragogipe.

38Muritiba is only 5 kilometers from São Félix, but the two cities are quite distinct. São Félix-Cachoeira occupies the lower slopes of the narrow valley of the Rio Paraguaçu. A belt, composed of the upper slopes and the edge of the Uplands, which is all either cultivated or in second growth, makes a distinct but narrow, 3 kilometers wide, break between Muritiba and São Félix.

39Nazaré is the main shop and Santo Antônio an important station of the Estrada de Ferro Nazaré. The terminus of the "Nazaré" is São Roque do Paraguaçu--down river from Maragogipe. Castro Alves is on the Brumado, Caculé, and Rio de Janeiro branch of the "Léste," and Serrinha is on the Alagoinhas, Bonfim, Juàzeiro branch of the same line.

40Estimated from 1940 occupational data.

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245 The bananas of the Recôncavo include a number of types--large, medium and small eating varieties, and plantains--which are grown in most sections and which may be encountered in village and urban markets in all seasons. Cultivation is a haphazard enterprise in which the reproduction of bananas frequently is accidental rather than deliberate. Since there is so much semi-spontaneous cultivation concealed in gardens and second growth and thus probably not enumerated and since the spacing of the plants is so variable, area data for bananas in the [311] Recôncavo have little meaning. The official data for 1948 indicated that [433] there were 1,069 hectares planted in the region, producing an estimated 1,859 bunches.[25]

245 Banana plants are seen in all settlements of the Recôncavo, and 311 except in the drier caatinga zone of the Northwestern Recôncavo, scattered over the countryside (Map 51). The chief area of production is in the Southwest, where they are grown almost exclusively for the local market (Map 52). However, there is a concentration of banana production [505] [438] around the fringes of Salvador[26] and along the margins of the Bay and the estuary of the Paraguaçu, where sailing craft (saveiros) can conveniently pick up shipments for the large urban market.

245 In 1948 bananas had their greatest relative importance, as deter- 311 mined by the per cent of the total cropland which they occupied, 433 around and in the city of Salvador, on the island of Itaparica, and around the city of Alagoinhas. The mean yield of bananas in the Recôncavo was 1,730 bunches per hectare, or an estimated 13,840 kilograms per hectare (Map 53)--lower than the 28,900 kilograms per hectare of Brazil, but much higher than the 9,900 kilograms for French West Africa and the 4,400 kilograms for the Philippines.[27]

245 It should be emphasized that the banana in Bahia is a relatively 262 cheap and common subsistence food, eaten raw or cooked. This is not to

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 206]

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443 Many shopkeepers are also land owners, and their tenants as a matter
[452] of course are also their customers and their debtors. The livestock
[427] raised by the agriculturalist may be sold on the hoof at the feira or taken to the matadouro municipal (municipal slaughter house). The meat is sold either at the slaughter house or at the feira.

In the larger centers the market tends to last throughout the week. In the medium-sized centers there are a few offerings each morning, and often there is a small feira in the middle of the week. Some major cities, such as Cachoeira, Feira de Santana, Santo Amaro, and Salvador, have source areas larger than their municípios. For
[489] example, the market at Feira de Santana invariably draws scores of
[494] trucks, each laden with people and produce, from places as distant as Cruz das Almas, Ipirá, Serrinha, and Santo Amaro. The most important general market in the Recôncavo is the Saturday feira at Agua de Meninos
[505] in Salvador. This market is located on the low-lying tidal flats beside the Bay, and many of the agricultural products which are sold
[489] here are brought by sailing boats. Trucks, carts, streetcars, trains,
[494] and pack animals are also used to transport produce to this market. It is here that a very large portion of Salvador's population purchases the agricultural products of the Recôncavo. This market is also the source of supply of the street vendors who hawk fruits and vegetables through the streets of the city. Salvador also has a smaller central market—the Mercado Modelo—and a number of minor neighborhood markets which usually are open for part of each day.

442 The campo de gado (cattle fair) at Feira de Santana is the only
443 important specialized public market in the Recôncavo, and, as has been
233 seen, it plays a very critical role in the agricultural economy of the region and of the state. On Monday mornings thousands of cattle change hands in the pens and weighing compounds at this fair.[1] Because the

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482 their journeys thus, and many agricultural products are transported in
492 no other fashion from the site of cultivation to the ultimate consumer.
489 [491] In each of the municípios of the Recôncavo, as in almost all of Brazil, there are extensive areas which are neither on nor near roads. In these areas, but also along the highways and in the cities, men and beasts of burden transport the products of the agricultural economy.
489 Long distance transportation, formerly dependent on animals, has been
490 changed in the last half century by the introduction of railroads and
493 more recently, automotive vehicles. In a similar fashion, both prini-
177 tive and relatively modern transport are used on the waters of the Bâia
178 de Todos os Santos and of the various estuaries. Most of the agricul-
505 tural products which cross the Bay are carried on open-decked sailing vessels and canoes, but there are also a number of motor vessels and motorboats which provide relatively effective transport from Salvador to all the cidades on or near tidewater.

492 In the tobacco-manioc region, and in rural Brazil generally, the donkey or the mule is the characteristic beast of burden. On the backs of these animals the bales of tobacco, the sacks of manioc and farinha de mandioca, and the baskets of corn and vegetables are carried to the market. The equipage of the donkey is simple--a halter and a rough
492 crosstree pack saddle with a thick pad of vegetable fiber. In the
493 sugar cane region the donkey is supplemented and, in most areas, almost
[171] supplanted by the ox cart. The ox cart of Bahia, essentially like the carts used in other Brazilian sugar areas, is built of heavy wood, with a thick wooden bed and tongue, wooden axle, and solid wooden wheels about five-feet in diameter. This high, massive contraption has no bearings, and in dry weather especially it is frequently necessary to repair the wheels and axles. The ox cart is an admirable device for the Cretaceous lowland, for with its high wheels it can carry as much

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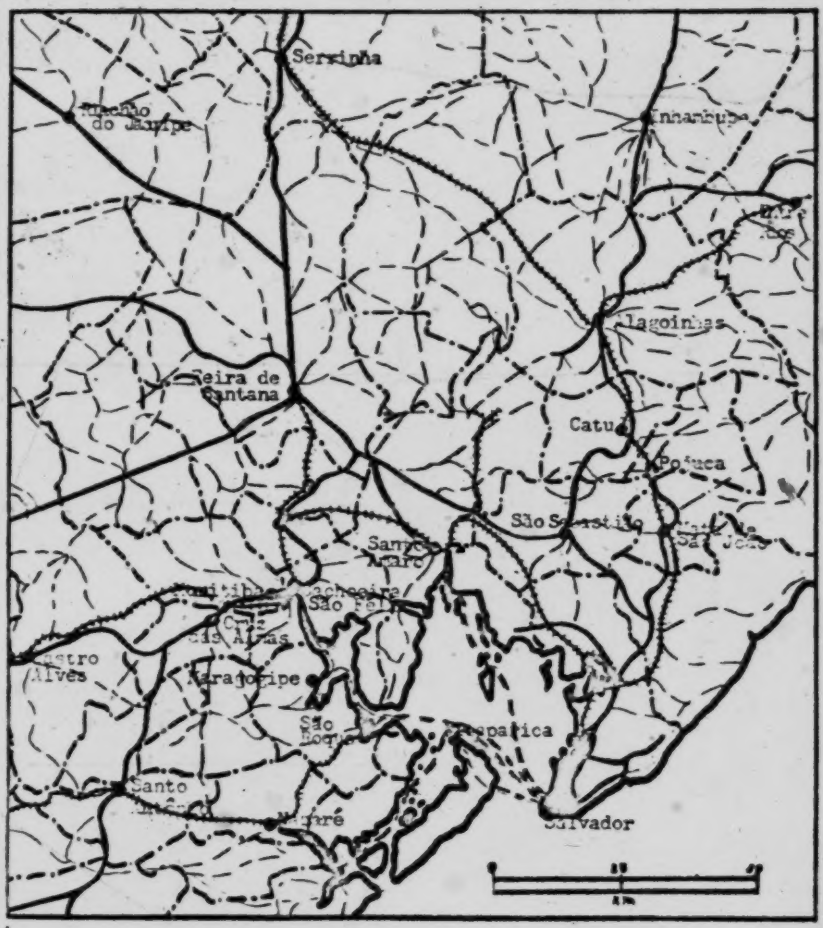

Public Railroads
Highways
Motor Vessel Lines
Major Trails

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Transportation Routes

MAP 129

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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497 usually carried by rail or by automotive transport. The operation of
494 the economy of the Recôncavo seems to require a constant movement of merchants, fazendeiros (landowners) and agents between the various cidades, and between the lesser urban centers and Salvador or Feira de Santana.

496 The two railroad systems which serve the Recôncavo and the adjoin-
497 ing areas are both narrow-gauge lines. The most extensive system belongs to the Viação Férrea Federal Leste Brasileiro, called the "Leste." It is part of a larger network which, in theory, connects Rio de Janeiro and the rest of the Central-South with the Northeast as far as Maceió in the state of Alagoas. Within the Recôncavo the main lines of the Leste stretch out from Salvador northward through Alagoinhas and westward through Cachoeira. A branch line of the latter runs to Feira de Santana.

The Estrada de Ferro Nazaré railroad crosses only the corner of the Recôncavo, but it runs for a long distance near the southwestern perimeter. The line begins at Jequié in the coffee zone and terminates at the cidade of Nazaré and at São Roque on the estuary of the Rio
[505] Paraguaçu below Maragogipe. These two terminals are connected to Salvador by motor vessels which attempt to coordinate their schedules with the trains. A rail link between the Nazaré line at Santo Antônio and the Leste at Cruz das Almas has been under construction for some years.

493 Most of the rolling stock of the Leste is archaic, but the
497 Nazaré line has relatively good equipment. The woodburning locomotives used by both railroads are small but are kept in good repair and operate with reasonable efficiency. They are cheap and flexible to operate and, in view of the limited fuel resource of Brazil, seem almost ideal. The Leste has a diesel engine for the passenger train which operates between

494 lesser extent, of goods-carrying busses. Another delay in movement of
493 goods results from frequent breakdowns. A large number of broken down trucks are to be seen along the side of any of the highways of the Recôncavo. The most direct cause of these breakdowns is the universal practice of heavily overloading trucks--extra springs and blocks have been added so that they can carry enormous loads, but frequently the axles and tires fail on the rough roads. A contributing factor in the breakdowns is probably the scarcity and high cost of new parts.

Many merchants, buyers, and prosperous farmers make use of an additional passenger service which is provided between the urban centers of the region by automobiles in what might be described as a combination limousine and zone taxicab service. These taxicabs wait in a conspicuous spot, usually near the square of the city, with their destination and the total fare for the trip painted on the windshield. A perspective rider may pay the entire fare himself, wait for others who will share the expense, or himself secure other passengers. The fares are standardized, and the system is particularly oriented toward the important markets of the region.

• 505 The centrally located Baía de Todos os Santos and its estuaries are very important in the transport of both goods and people within the Recôncavo. A most conspicuous and universal sight is the myriad of sailing vessels which transport large quantities of agricultural products across the Bay to Salvador. There is no way of estimating the importance of this traffic in relation to the total amount of goods carried, but the vessels (saveiros) can hold as much as four or five
[501] tons of cargo. These boats are heavy timbered, open decked sailing vessels with a single mast—they do not sail well except before the wind, and therefore their trips are timed according to the direction of the wind. The saveiros seem to be very hardy and able to survive

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

505 abuse by the sea and by man. While some of these boats are used for
[226] fishing in the Bay and in the ocean, their most important function undoubtedly is bringing food from the areas around the Bay to the city of Salvador. On the return trip, they carry building materials, manufactured articles, and passengers. The usinas of the coastal
[249] [257] sections of the sugar cane area use these vessels to transport cane to the mill and to deliver the products of the mill to Salvador. Several of the cities on the Bay are very much dependent upon this means of transport, especially São Francisco and Maragogipe, which for all practical purposes have no road connections.

Motor boats serve to connect Salvador and the island of Itaparica. All of the tidewater cidades of the Bay and, in addition, São Roque do Paraguaçu and Nazaré are connected with the city of Salvador by scheduled motor vessels which carry many passengers and small quantities of freight. These vessels ascend and descend the estuaries with the tide. The head of navigation on the Rio Paraguaçu is Cachoeira, and on the Rio Sergi is at a landing on the outskirts of Santo Amaro.

489 These various transport media provide for the movement of people
241 and goods across the Recôncavo. They are generally able to meet the
433 immediate demands of the agricultural economy without excessive delays. The available media of transport are used to the fullest extent; busses, trains, and motor vessels are always crowded, and the trucks are always busy. However, the poor roads, the archaic railroads, the taxes on the movement of goods, and the high cost of vehicles clearly set a limit to the expansion or the intensification of the agricultural system. The rationalization of agriculture in the Recôncavo would require considerable expansion and improvement of the system of transportation.

249 Processing of Agricultural Products. Each of the three principal
252 crops of the Recôncavo require processing before it can be consumed.
276 Sugar cane and manioc are highly perishable, and both are processed in their entirety within the region. Tobacco, once it is fermented, can be stored for longer periods, so that there is no necessity for immediate processing within the Recôncavo. Sugar cane is processed in large usinas and to a lesser extent in engenhos (primitive sugar mills). Tobacco
[277] products are fabricated in small-scale home industries and in factories. Manioc is converted into farinha de mandioca in very small mills.

249 The cultivation, transportation, and processing of sugar cane
489 require an integrated system in which there is some form of centralized
471 administration. The larger usinas own and operate most of the surrounding cane plantations and the associated transportation system, and administration is direct. Where cane is purchased from furnishers--privately-owned plantations--the mill specifies the type of cane which it will buy and the schedule of delivery. Most of the sugar cane in the Recôncavo is processed by usinas, which produce sugar, rum, and alcohol. However, there are a number of engenhos and a few smaller usinas which specialize in the production of rum or crude sugar. The engenhos are most important around the margins of the main sugar cane area north of the Bay and in Cachoeira and São Félix, but the usinas dominate the core area of cane production in Santo Amaro, São Francisco, and São Sebastião. Within the core area the big usinas generally are located near but not on the main railroads, although a few are situated near the shore of the Bay.

249 The harvested sugar cane generally is delivered to smaller mills
492 by the grower, usually on ox carts. The larger mills receive their
249 cane via the railroad or the Bay. In these cases the cane is trans-
499
505 ported by ox cart from the cane fields to a weighing station, from

249 which it is hauled by railroad or boat to the mill, although sometimes
497 the cane which is carried by boat is weighed at the mill. The rail-
• 505 roads which handle the cane, as has been indicated, are owned and
496 operated by the usinas, except that the government right-of-way is
471 used whenever these tracks pass close to the plantations. One of the
249 usinas is new and a few of the older mills have some new equipment, but the general level of technology is considerably below that of Pernambuco or São Paulo and the mills are somewhat smaller. The usinas grind the cane, extract the juices, and refine the sugar by means of vacuum pans and centrifuges. The more modern usinas produce a high quality sugar, but in general the product is coarse and not a pure white.
274 The by-products of the large usinas and part or all of the cane juice
385 of some of the usinas and engenhos is converted into rum or commercial
262 alcohol. The sugar, rum, and alcohol from the sugar industry of the
273 Recôncavo are consumed primarily within the Recôncavo and the adjoining
438 regions of Bahia. About one-tenth of the production of sugar is
439 exported, chiefly to Rio de Janeiro. The commercial alcohol usually
382 is mixed with gasoline in the bulk plants in Salvador to provide fuel
385 for automotive transport. By law a specified amount of commercial
654 alcohol must be mixed with gasoline--this is designed to subsidize the sugar industry.

249 There are twenty usinas in the Recôncavo, and these produced
471 an estimated 80 per cent of the total sugar of the state of Bahia in
433 1948. The three largest of these are owned by a single sugar company, which also owns the associated plantations, transportation equipment, and cattle fazendas. This company plays an important role in the
249 marketing of sugar from its own usinas and from other companies. The
471 concentration of the cultivation of sugar cane and of the production
178 of sugar in the hands of this single enterprise is a symptom of the

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of livestock, which had a value greater than sugar cane but less than manioc.

Agricultural activities within the Recôncavo are localized in several distinct sub-regions, each with a specialized system of cultivation and each with either one or two principal crops. The primary agricultural subdivisions of the region are: (1) the sugar cane monocultural sub-region; and (2) the tobacco-manioc sub-region.

249 Sugar cane is grown as the exclusive crop in its major area of production--the pocket of coastal plain north of the Baía de Todos os Santos. Cane is generally cultivated under a four-year monoculture and one-year fallow system on large properties employing large quantities of hand labor and using oxen to draw plows and carts. Neither fertilizer [407] nor agricultural machinery is used to any appreciable extent. Most of [492] the animals used as labor in the production of sugar cane are brought [231] into the area from the sertão, and little livestock breeding is found [233] in this area. The processing of sugar cane is in the hands of a small [471] number of medium-sized usinas. The companies which own these usinas [178] are gradually buying up the plantations so that to an increasing extent the mills directly control the production of sugar cane. Most of the [497] cane is brought to the usinas by railroad, although sailing boats are [489] used for this purpose along tidewater. Most of the sugar produced in [505] the Recôncavo is consumed within the state of Bahia, but small quantities [438] [439] are shipped to other parts of Brazil. Both the aristocratic upper class [565] and the rising non-aristocratic business interests of the Recôncavo are [471] involved in the ownership and administration of the sugar industry. The [472] permanent labor force is supplied from the settlements of the sugar cane [464] plantations and the mills, but the rural population and the labor force [178] of the sugar area are declining. Seasonal labor for the harvest comes from the interior sertão of Bahia.

It must be remembered that these figures include the capital city, the population of which is about 450,000. If this is subtracted from the total population of the Recôncavo, the average density of the Recôncavo is approximately 27 persons per square kilometer. 161 [162]

Vila Recôncavo, the community of this study, is part of a county located 41 kilometers across the bay from Salvador. The community includes the town of Vila Recôncavo, which is the county seat, and the surrounding rural zone. Throughout the study we will be dealing with these two components of the sugar-cane plantation community, sometimes separately and sometimes together. 101 634 [121]

The only public transportation to the town is by boat from the capital, a three-hour trip across the bay, threading through numerous islands. The major part of the trip is made on remarkably blue water, usually serenely calm but occasionally violently agitated, especially during the winter. One-, two-, and three-masted sailing vessels and an occasional large sailing canoe, the centuries-old methods of transportation in Bahia, are passed on their way into the city, carrying fruit, vegetables, pottery, firewood, fish, tobacco, manioc flour, and sugar to the more than four hundred thousand people of the city, as they have done since the early colonization of the Recôncavo. The only new element in the scene is the small diesel boat which makes the trip back and forth across the bay, outward bound one day and returning the next with the outgoing tide. 505 • 501

As the boat nears the luxuriantly green, palm-crested islands, stopping at several to discharge the mail, passengers, and "city goods," one becomes aware of the feeling of stepping back into the past. Barefoot children are selling oranges, peanuts, and fish; and parrots and parakeets, sometimes doped with rum to make them appear tame. The mailman on the dock receives the sack of mail and gives it to his helper to carry to the post office; the island priest may receive a message or package entrusted to the captain of the boat or may even go aboard to travel to the church on another island. The others on the dock call to friends on the boat and exchange news or else simply watch the activity of docking the boat and the casting off. The people of the islands are light-skinned, although well sunburned. Many of them are vacationers from the city, dressed in brightly colored clothes, for the islands are well-known resorts. The others, barefoot, wearing shorts 505 [857] [443] [205] [793] [142] [528]

The others, barefoot, wearing shorts and large-brimmed straw hats, are the permanent dwellers of the islands: fishermen, stevedores, and storekeepers.

When the islands are left behind, the scene begins to change. The color of the water changes from a clear, deep blue to a muddy gray. Groups of canoes are seen, their occupants busy with their fish nets, for this shallow part of the bay is a good fishing ground. Once again the mainland is close, rolling hills covered with a thousand shades of green--sugar cane, the crop which nearly four hundred years ago replaced the virgin forests. The deltalike shores of this part of the bay are covered with mangue, muddy areas with low-growing trees which at high tide are standing in the water. On a hill at the water's edge is the town of Vila Recôncavo, a town of 1,462 persons. The first thing one sees is the huge Franciscan convent[5] with its two tall towers and its royal palms. Approaching the long dock which juts out into the water, one can see almost the whole town, which is built on three hills and in the valleys between them.

The arrival of the boat from Salvador every other day is an event in an otherwise dull day. Nearly all the men of the town go down to the dock to meet the boat, to see who is traveling, to see what is arriving for someone in the town, to receive messages or parcels, to greet friends, and to gossip. The postmistress is there, and with her the man whose duty it is to carry the mail sack, but who has a helper to do it for him. After a few minutes the boat continues its journey, and the townsfolk walk back along the dock, breaking up into small groups on reaching the main square and then each going his own way.

On the square at the end of the dock, at the foot of the main street which leads up the middle hill and out into the

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5. It should be explained that "convent" in this case is a direct translation from Portuguese. In Portuguese, convent does not have the connotation of being a religious establishment only for women. The word convento is applied to the Franciscans' establishment because the Franciscans are not monks; if they were, their establishment would be called a mosteiro (monastery). In English, Franciscans are known as "friars," and their houses are called "friaries." However, throughout this monograph the direct translation, convent, is used.

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the factory is undergoing a reformation which will raise its capacity to over one hundred thousand sacks, and the legal capacity will be readjusted. 249* 433

Usina São Pedro, although the smallest, is representative of the others and experiences the same problems and difficulties. It differs from some in that it is a family enterprise. The stockholders are nearly all members of the Conde family, and the operations are directed by two members of the family. The factory itself was one of the three built by the state government in 1900 on land controlled by the Navy,[5] on the edge of the Bay, which provides excellent year-round transportation facilities. The mill was acquired in 1909 by the Conde family with two plantations, to which the family has since added four other contiguous plantations. The corporation has a total area of slightly over four thousand acres, mostly of rich massapê soil. The factory receives cane from the plantation of Dona Sinhá, who is also a member of the Conde family by birth and by marriage. It also gets cane from four other plantations within the community and four outside the community, which send their cane by the traditional sailboat. In addition, the factory owns a 2,324-acre plantation in the county of Purificação which is used for grazing and raising cattle and for supplying wood for the factory fires. There is direct water transportation between the factory and the plantation in Purificação. 249* 473 [653] [423] 249* [602] [423] [505]

The designation usina has several meanings which are quite similar to the meanings of the older term, engenho. In its larger context, usina means the entire land-factory combination, including the mill and all the plantations belonging to the corporation. More specifically, usina means the factory building itself. In another context, usina simply indicates the population nucleus, including the factory, the owner's house, and the other buildings. 249* 192

The usina or factory nucleus roughly follows the same settlement pattern of the old plantations. The point of orientation is the factory building, near which stand the chalet and other homes of the owning family, which are grouped together in a park of royal palms and mango trees. Usually a small chapel or oratory is included in one wing of the chalet, where 249* 361 [178]

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5. The shoreline bordering salt water is controlled to the depth of 33 meters by the Brazilian Navy. [311]

*5 tation administration are over. In general, however, neither the children nor the parents mix with the permanent residents of Vila Recôncavo. Although as small children they may have a worker's son as a constant playmate, by the time they are teenagers this relationship has usually faded into a fond memory.

*565 458 The standard of living of this class is far above that of any of the other local groups. It is important to realize that because of the fluctuations of the sugar market, members of this class have not always had fluid wealth at their command, while at other periods they have been undeniably wealthy. But even during a slump they have been able to raise money when necessary. One of the major reasons that planters turned to the professions was the need to assure themselves of a continued income when the sugar market falls. At such times their main activities are directed toward earning a living in the city. But at those times when sugar producing is profitable the practicing of the activities becomes a strain, and one or the other must suffer. Nevertheless, at any time these people have earned enough to maintain a standard of living which compares favorably with that of the upper class in any large city. Households are complete with refrigerators, radios, and other electrical appliances which must be imported. Many have automobiles, receive magazines from abroad, follow Parisian dress styles, take interest in international affairs, and in general lead a life of wide interests. In the rural zone their houses are much better than those of any others, often having running water, electricity, and a full range of service provided by servants. Usually the household servants move from country to city with the family.

*565 511 [416] [207] [184] [357] [166]

*565 571 Class B in the rural zone of the community is made up of plantation overseers, factory technicians, and white-collar workers of the factory offices. It is almost as small as Class A, comprising about twenty adult members. As in the case of the planters, who associate with other planters outside the community, the overseers of various plantations have reunions. There is much more social contact between the overseers and the mass of workers, however, than between the planters and the workers. The planters usually know all the workers on their plantations, as well as their families; but although there is frequent visiting and chatting between the women of the two groups and between the males of the two groups, there is little basis for conversation. The planta-

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TABLE 4
TOTAL PROPERTY VALUE

Urban (Cr$)	Class		Rural (Cr$)
	A		5.751.080,00
36.834,54	B		88.652,85
6.954,75	C	field workers	1.251,20
		factory workers	1.633,00
3.991,00	D		

*565
423
422

Total property value again demonstrates the enormous gap between the rural upper class and the classes below. It also shows the members of rural Class B far ahead of urban class B in possession of property. Most of this property consists of small farms and animals. Urban classes C and D have more property than does rural Class C, principally because the town dwellers own their own houses. In addition to this, members of Class C often own their own means of production, such as canoes and fish nets. Both houses and working equipment are supplied to the rural workers by the land owners.

*565
●511

TABLE 5
HOUSEHOLD EXPENDITURES

Class		Total expenditure	Expenditure for food
A		10.129,50	3.327,00
B	rural	1.955,91	1.199,28
	urban	1.771,40	1.342,21
C	field workers	522,00	413,00
	factory workers	755,54	522,00
	urban	728,00	571,00
D		440,90	434,00

Approximately one-third of the total expenditures of Class A are for food, while Class B spends about two-thirds of its

total expenditures for food, just half in total value of what Class A spends. Both Class A and Class B spend more for food alone than the total expenditures of classes C and D. The rural field workers spend the least amount for food, which again reflects their possession of garden plots. 565* 511

Color consciousness runs all through class relations and can even be equated with class to a certain extent. All Class A members are white; Class B has whites and a mixture of the others; Class C is nearly entirely composed of mestiços and blacks with the exception of a few "whites of the land" who are usually considered separately from mestiços; while Class D has light mestiços as well as blacks. "Color consciousness, or "color relations," would better describe the situation in this Bahian rural area than would the term "race relations," for although the Portuguese word raça, directly translatable into English as race, is used in this area to designate the three major racial stocks, American Indian, Negro, and Caucasian, it also means Brazilian in the sense of nationality. It is even more commonly used to describe animals which are pedigreed in contrast with those which are not. When asked questions about race, people are apt to ask first what kind of race is meant. If one speaks of color the situation is much clearer. 565* 563 826

In the United States an absolute "line" is drawn between white and Negro. A person who is not white is a Negro, whatever his percentage of Negro heritage may be. In Vila Recôncavo, this "line" is recognized rather than drawn. A distinction between Negro and white is always kept in mind when classifying an individual. Everyone knows who is "pure" white and who is not. Classification by color is one of the most important aspects of local culture, and one of the most difficult aspects for the outsider to grasp. Recôncavo Bahians feel that one may instantly recognize the difference between a "pure" white and a mixed white-Indian, white-Negro, or Negro-Indian, but they do not let it go at that. They classify or describe minutely each person; they classify according to skin color, hair form, and facial features. Their classifications of physical types are used in everyday conversation. Just as it would be said in the United States that someone is short and fat, the people of Vila Recôncavo will describe a person's color and hair form. 563 826 [171]

In the Recôncavo a white person is called a branco. The term Negro is rarely used to denote a person of African de-

794 192 [787] santo, which means literally "daughter (or son) of the saint." They prefer to refer to a person as "having a saint" (tem santo) which indicates that he has an obligation toward one of the saints and becomes possessed by him. In ordinary speech the word "saint" is used, but once the person has "made his saint" --that is, has gone through the preparatory rites and has learned the cries and dances of the divinity and how to care for him properly--it is said that the person has Ômolú, or Sete Estrelas (Seven Stars).

794 787 776 Because most of the women, and the few men in the cults, cannot spend a year segregated in the cult house in order to "make their saint," they continue for many years in the half-way condition of someone who "has a saint but has not yet made the saint." This means that the person has experienced possession, and that it has been determined by the zelador that he is under obligation to a certain saint and is in the process of "making the saint." During this period of simply "having the saint," the person has to carry out certain duties such as feeding the saint, making the proper clothes, and buying the beads and other outer symbols of the deity which are to be used during the ceremonies. This involves considerable expenditure. The clothes are always made of silk, since nothing is too good for the saint. Today, lipstick, perfume, and cheap jewelry are competing for the few extra cents the girls have, so that it takes longer and longer to get the necessary items together. During this period, the obligations of dancing and possession are less strenuous. In the case of the Indian spirits, the deity often speaks through the person after one or two possessions, and this is taken to mean that the spirit is firmly upon the person and may be considered "made." In this fashion much arduous work is avoided, as well as considerable expense. This is a major reason for the growing popularity of the Indian saints, in addition to the fact that they are gayer. [511]

794 533 [465] [776] The drummers also like Indian saints, for, after they have danced, the Indian spirits usually take up a collection which is presented to the drummers for having played so well for them. The drummers are drawn from men whose wives participate in the activities, or else they are men who are interested in the proceedings and who like to drum. They learn the drumming early in their lives, listening to it as children when they go to watch the ceremonies. On nights when the drums are playing it is impossible for anyone not to hear the impos-

793
794 travagant ceremonial of the house. The fulfillment of individ-
435 ual obligations is very expensive, too much so for one person to pay for it himself. The ceremony given at the end of the year in 1950 cost the members of the house almost two thousand cruzeiros in foods, sacrificial animals, candles, kerosene for the lamps, clothing, and ornaments. Individual members spent as much as four hundred cruzeiros on their clothes and beads, in addition to contributing to the common fund, not to mention their labor in cooking and in washing and ironing all the costumes and clothes used during the ceremonies.
[434] Such large sums of money are hard to get, so the number of ceremonies per year is decreasing. Not only are the salaries
[458] of the people low and inflation high, but more and more things
[511] which were not formerly available in the area--such as movies, wrist watches, jewelry other than the beads and bracelets symbolic of the deities, perfume, and lipstick--lay claim on the people's attention and purses.

* 565 Participation in the cults is generally considered to be an
794 activity of lower-class people, and in Vila Recôncavo only
184 such people are seen dancing and carrying out their other cult obligations. Individuals of other classes, however, do participate either indirectly or secretly. Class A displays a genuine lack of knowledge about the cult activities, in spite of being brought up within sound of the drums and within sight of the outward symbols of the African and Indian deities. These people, although they speak with disdain of cultism and of the paganism involved, have a certain respect for it and usually refrain from interfering with it in any way. They maintain a type of joking relationship in regard to it with the workers who they know participate in it, but seldom if ever attend a ceremony. Ceremonies are infrequently held on family-owned plantations when the owners are present. Most of them take place on plantations run by overseers.

Class B in the town has several members who help support the cult house and indirectly participate in its activities, especially in reference to the Mother of the Waters ritual. Since education, which implies freedom from belief in cultism, is a criterion of class position, members of Class B in public denounce cultism and those who participate in it. But many of them, coming from families which participated in it, retain some belief in the cults and fear them. They do not completely cut themselves off from cultism. They participate in it secretly, sending money to the cult leader and presents to the Moth-

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Politically, this influx of new workers has had little influence. Local politics, at least, remain in the hands of the traditional landowners. However, national political parties other than that of the landowners are gaining force, especially the labor party, and within the near future there will undoubtedly be considerable modification in the voting patterns. The bulk of the rural population do not have the franchise because of their illiteracy. On the other hand, the petroleum workers, whose level of living is considerably higher than that of the rural population, have the franchise and according to law must exercise it.

A major area of change in the community is the class structure. In its main outlines the class structure remains the same, but there are some differences in emphasis. Class A, the rural upper class, which also is part of the upper class in the capital city where it resides part of the year, has been somewhat depleted. The Coronel and his son and son-in-law and their families, who constituted the family owner-directors of Usina São Pedro, are no longer part of the scene. As a result of the shift in ownership and direction the former usineiro has been replaced by paid employees.[1] Although these employees are related to the principal members of the new owning firm by marriage, they are treated as employees rather than as family members. They do not have the "social standing," meaning tradition, background, extended family relations, and the scholarly training, which distinguish the former owners. Class A therefore is now represented only by the private plantation owners.

On the other hand, Class B is slowly becoming larger in both the rural and the urban areas of the community, as a result of the addition of two new groups: the members of the new factory organization, and the petroleum workers with their much higher standard of living, considerably higher education, and their steady employment as members of a new bureaucracy, Petrobrás. Unmarried workers belonging to Petrobrás are to some extent seeking marital alliances with girls of the area, especially from the factory nucleus and from the town of Vila Recôncavo. In some cases legal and religious marriages have taken place. In other cases the couple has simply

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1. The term usineiro is usually limited to the owner-director who is the founder of the factory, or is the son of the founder. When the director is a paid employee, he is just "the boss."

[SALVADOR]

/79 cont./

*563 873 178 ●511 With the gradual rise of the standard of living of the lower strata of the population and with the augmentation of facilities granted to poor students in the framework of secondary education, thanks to the creation of new free colleges, the number of colored students is rising from day to day.

*563 555 593 873 Moreover, many fathers and, in the case of young colored people, many mothers of very modest circumstances make extraordinary sacrifices to assure their children a diploma that will permit them to practice a liberal profession. As a result, in the various faculties of the University of Bahia there are numerous *563 571 873 colored students who share the life, the studies, the diversions of their white comrades and who form groups with them according to their social rank and the center of their intellectual and academic interest. If one sometimes sees groups made up solely of young colored people, it is nevertheless certain that in the university there is no intentional or permanent segregation /80/ based on classifications of "race" or "quality." In no other environment is there more harmony and less tension in interracial relations, the informants unanimously declare. Nevertheless events whose meaning could be debatable, and which some students attribute to race prejudice, do take place. There are even students who have a tendency to remain isolated during all their years of study; certain informants say that they adopt such behavior in the hope of avoiding annoyances that might be on account of their racial affiliation. Others claim to have had difficulties when they made their application to groups of excursionists or when they took part in oratorical contests, the winners of which were to go to Rio de Janeiro as representatives of the students of Bahia. One man practicing a liberal profession, very dark in color, said that he had never suffered from discrimination when he attended the university, but that he had heard his white comrades speak of people of his type by designating them with the pejorative term of "Negro." The interpretations of the informants on the subject of the preceding facts vary, however. Some think that these episodes are caused by the feeling of inferiority and the timidity of students of very low social status. With

505 The others, barefoot, wearing shorts
[291] and large-brimmed straw hats, are the permanent dwellers of the islands: fishermen, stevedores, and storekeepers.

When the islands are left behind, the scene begins to change.
505 The color of the water changes from a clear, deep blue to a
133 muddy gray. Groups of canoes are seen, their occupants busy
[501] with their fish nets, for this shallow part of the bay is a good fishing ground. Once again the mainland is close, rolling hills
[226] covered with a thousand shades of green--sugar cane, the crop which nearly four hundred years ago replaced the virgin forests. The deltalike shores of this part of the bay are cov-
[361] ered with mangue, muddy areas with low-growing trees which at high tide are standing in the water. On a hill at the water's
[162] edge is the town of Vila Recôncavo, a town of 1,462 persons. The first thing one sees is the huge Franciscan convent[5] with
[368] its two tall towers and its royal palms. Approaching the long dock which juts out into the water, one can see almost the
[504] whole town, which is built on three hills and in the valleys between them.

[361] The arrival of the boat from Salvador every other day is an event in an otherwise dull day. Nearly all the men of the town
505 go down to the dock to meet the boat, to see who is traveling,
• 512 to see what is arriving for someone in the town, to receive messages or parcels, to greet friends, and to gossip. The postmistress is there, and with her the man whose duty it is to carry the mail sack, but who has a helper to do it for him. After a few minutes the boat continues its journey, and the townsfolk walk back along the dock, breaking up into small groups on reaching the main square and then each going his own way.

361 On the square at the end of the dock, at the foot of the
344 main street which leads up the middle hill and out into the

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[128] 5. It should be explained that "convent" in this case is a direct translation from Portuguese. In Portuguese, convent does not have the connotation of being a religious establishment only for women. The word convento is applied to the Franciscans' establishment because the Franciscans are not monks; if they were, their establishment would be called a mosteiro (monastery). In English, Franciscans are known as "friars," and their houses are called "friaries." However, throughout this monograph the direct translation, convent, is used.

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[Town Life]

463
464 were included in Group 4 because they worked for a nonprofit charitable institution.

464 Occupationally, the town dwellers differ sharply from the people of the rural area of the community. Their work rare-
184 ly requires them to go out of town to the rural area. Of the entire working force of the town, only twelve men are em-
463 ployed in the sugar industry. Even during the harvest season,
632 the town does not supply men to work in the cane fields or the
[420] factory. However, the few people in town who have mules oc-
[492] casionally rent them to planters during the harvest season to help carry the cane. The twenty-five petroleum workers have to leave town each day for work, but their work is also very different from that of any of the rural dwellers.

463 In the town, as on the plantations, there is specialization
184 and division of labor. Among the fishermen, each man fishes constantly with one or two types of net. Change from one type of net to another is unusual and disliked. A fisherman seldom supplements his fishing by planting a garden. Instead, he depends upon his catch of fish to give him enough money to buy garden produce, as well as meat and manufactured articles. In his turn, the gardener never fishes, depending upon the returns from his garden to buy what he does not produce.

[512] Daily routine for the fisherman varies considerably because it depends closely upon the tides, while the daily routine of merchants, teachers, and bureaucrats, as well as household servants and craftsmen, follows a more citylike pattern, beginning at about seven in the morning and ending
[221] late in the evening. There is also less seasonal variance in the work of the town dwellers, for it does not depend upon the planting and harvesting of crops as does that of the rural workers.

369 The town and plantation ways of life also vary considerably
557 with respect to paternalism, which plays a much smaller part in the life of the town dweller. Most of the municipal bureau-
184 crats have patrons among the rural landowners who have placed them in their bureaucratic positions. Bureaucrats, in turn, are to a smaller extent the patrons of people living in the town, particularly of their household servants. Although they have neither the financial resources nor the prestige to provide the security which a rural landowner can offer his people, they do what they can to help whenever asked. This help often takes the form of asking their own patrons for help

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harvesting and milling. The factory operates twenty-four hours a day during this season. In the winter, when they have more leisure, travel is too difficult, for the roads disappear in mud. Few of the rural people go to the town of Vila Recôncavo, for it has nothing to attract them except the boat to Salvador and the priest, whom they sometimes visit to have a Mass said or for a burial. The free movies recently innovated by the Petroleum Council and located a mile from the factory have been a boon to the rural people, but as a rule only the men attend. In fact, almost any kind of off-plantation gathering is attended predominantly by men.

On most plantations the casa de farinha is a social gathering place, and both males and females congregate there to talk about the latest news while they work. The women also gossip at the local well as they fetch water or remain there washing their clothes. Their everyday lives are busy, and there is little time for purely social activities. The day begins and ends early. Soon after dark the lights go out, the houses close, and silence reigns except for the noise coming from the casa de farinha, which may operate all night, or the lonesome singing of the caatingueiros housed in the barracks, or the strong rhythmic sound of the drums coming from a distant candomblé ceremony. Because there is little work for women on a plantation, the "extra" girls, those for whom there are no potential husbands, ask the planter to get them work as domestics in the city; this is usually easy, for there is nearly always someone in Salvador looking for a "good, strong country girl" to work in the home. Occasionally, if a worker's son is especially intelligent and industrious, he too may be placed in some position in the city.

Class C comprises the majority of the population in the town of Vila Recôncavo and includes most of the occupations listed in Group 3 of the preceding chapter--that is, fishermen, gardeners, and artisans. There are no "pure whites" in this class, but, as in the rural area, a few "whites of the land" and the full range of mestiços, whose various color and social characteristics will be discussed later. The people of Class C live for the most part in the lower section of town, in the areas called Cortume, Largo de Santa Cruz, Rua Nova, Boqueirão, Cumbamba, and Caquende. The great majority of them own their homes, although the land belongs to the Fazenda Engenho da Vila, to the church, or to the prefeitura, and is rented for a small yearly sum. The houses are small, usually

[Class C Families]

565*
(tamancos), or perhaps leather shoes. Women wear a dress 291
and a slip and are usually barefoot. Dress-up occasions also [292]
call for undergarments, stockings, and shoes. Great modesty
is always shown about exposing oneself in front of others.
Few of the men shave themselves, going to the barber for 565*
this as well as for haircuts. There are several women who 305
are experts at hair straightening, which they do with a flat- 302
iron, although most women and girls in this class who have
the problem of straightening their hair know how to do it them-
selves.

In Class C as well as in Class B the father is the dominant 517
person. He rules the household. He is the one who is served 565*
at meals, whose clothing is always clean and pressed, and 592
who goes out the most. He spends much of his leisure time [184]
in one of the several stores, talking and taking an occasional
drink of rum; or on one of the few shaded corners playing
dominoes with his friends; or else in the bar playing billiards
and gossiping. As a rule he goes to the movies alone, or at
least without his family, although in the higher echelons of the
class families often go to the movies and to church together.
There is one family which is musically inclined, and which [533]
often spends evenings at home together, making up a small
orchestra. If there is a samba in someone's house, many men 565*
from this class will be there watching, while the participants 535
are usually single women and girls from the same class. The 517
men will discuss a woman's physical attributes while she is
in the center of the ring dancing. This is one of the most com-
mon ways in which a girl gets "looked over" and is watched as
she develops. Sooner or later some man will fall in love with
her (apaixonar-se dela), and if she is not well guarded by her
family he will eventually have an affair with her. In the case 565*
of fishermen, most of the time is taken up either by fishing or 226
by caring for equipment, for the nets need a good deal of at- 517
tention. Since the fishermen's hours follow the tides, their [513]
working hours differ from day to day. They often go to bed
early, in anticipation of getting up at three or four in the
morning.

The women, on the other hand, follow a more regular daily 565*
routine of getting the morning coffee ready, getting the chil- 512
dren off to school, going for water and wood, doing the ever- 462
present laundry and ironing, and caring for the younger chil-
dren. In addition, if possible, they prepare xangô to help sup-
plement the family income and go to the fair in Centro on Mon-

*565
•512 days when their husbands cannot go. The wives of fishermen
462 also have to cook meals at different times in the day for their husbands, who generally bring enough fish from the last catch for one or two meals. It is the woman who goes to the store for farina, coffee, beans, rice, and so on. Their evenings are usually spent at home sewing, making or mending a net either for their husbands or for someone else. If there is a samba they may go and watch but seldom stay long, but if there is a candomblé ceremony they may spend the whole night there, especially if they participate in it. In such a case they often take their children with them and put them to sleep in the house, or else put them on a bench to watch the proceedings.

759 The institute has broken down the pattern of the practical
743 midwife, known locally as parteira or curiosa, since one of
178 the first things done when it opened in 1945 was to have several young girls trained in Salvador as midwives. Up to that time, however, there had only been older women, who through experience and sometimes through necessity had taken on the job of midwives. In the rural area the untrained midwife is still important, for the clinic has not yet made itself felt to
846 the majority of people living there. When the time comes for
759 the birth of a child, a neighbor or perhaps a relative comes
462 into the house to cook and clean and look after the other chil-
[844] dren, and occasionally to assist with the birth. The father continues his usual round of occupations, as most women put it, "earning enough to feed another mouth." In some cases the man helps with the housework when he is home, and there are several men in the town who are good cooks and who can look after the children. In other cases the midwife may stay several days in the house, doing all these things. Recently, however, as a result of the death of one midwife and the resignation of two trained ones of the institute, the other two have been so busy that they cannot spend much time in any one house. A common complaint because of this is that the midwife tries to hurry the birth, massaging the woman's abdomen, and frequently attempting to induce birth before the normal time.

759 The most popular midwife in town rarely has a chance to rest. She is in her seventies and is frequently in a state of exhaustion from caring for households where a birth has taken place. She sleeps there, usually on a grass mat since the mother occupies the only bed. She serves in the rural area also, as well as on the islands facing the town. Payment for

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[Class C Families]

Patão, however, regales the daily gossip groups 626
with his exploits, detail by detail, so it is always known who 838
has visited him. These men are in no way ostracized, and [521]
continue a normal life alongside the others. There are also two cases of men connected with candomblé who are suspected of homosexual tendencies, but there are no definite data about them. Public opinion, nevertheless, is generally against homosexuality, and there was one case in which action was taken. A married man "pegou um menino" (caught a little boy) in the men's bath at one of the wells. Ordinarily the men enter the bath alone, the others waiting outside until the one inside has finished. On this occasion the man found the boy already there and entered with him. Later the boy told what had happened and the neighborhood was incensed and compelled the man to leave town at least temporarily. The boy's only remark was that he had not been paid!

Boys in their late teens sometimes jokingly refer to the 838
clube de veados (homosexuals' club), intimating their exploratory experiences with one another, and what they have tried when they went together to Salvador or Centro, where, [839]
according to them, the streets are full of veados. No such reports were found for the rural people, but the complaint that young men were viciados nas mulas (corrupted by the use of mules) was common. Another case at a distant factory con- [522]
cerned two women who were living together, one very strong, large and bearded, and very jealous of anyone who even looked at the other. This case was well known, and considered hilarious by the neighbors.

Family life in Class C is characterized by a lack of pri- 565 *
vacy. The house of a family in this class has at the most two [362]
bedrooms, frequently only one, in which all members must sleep. It is common for a young couple to have only one bed [352]
when their marriage begins, in which they, as well as their [513]
first and second children, sleep. The use of a cradle for infants is rare. The baby usually sleeps with the parents, and as it grows older, or as new babies are born, it is relegated to the foot of the bed. Loud and bitter are the complaints about 565 *
children who wet the bed, which many of them do for many 863
years. Most mothers say they try to wake up several times during the night in order to hold the infant over the side of the bed to allow it to perform its natural functions, which makes life more pleasant for the others in the bed. In the [356]
morning the floor is thoroughly washed.

During the day young boys go about with only shorts on, or 600

[Class C Families]

*565 291 During the day young boys go about with only shorts on, or with both shirt and shorts, depending upon the weather. Girls always wear a dress. Children who are in the crawling stage *565 515 854 become extremely dirty because of the amount of dirt tracked into the house from the streets, although this is now changing as a result of paving. Babies, however, seem to have a propensity for getting into the charcoal sack, usually kept near the kitchen stove, and emerging well blackened. They are bathed twice daily, morning and afternoon, at first in cold water to accustom them to the cold water they will be using for [853] the rest of their lives. Bathing the child is usually considered a pleasure for the mother as well as the baby, as is breast *565 143 feeding. If the child of light-skinned parents exhibits the genipapo (a bluish spot near the base of the spine, sometimes [826] known as the "Mongolian blue spot") the mothers will take care not to let visitors see it, as the spot is thought to be a strong indication of the nearness of Negro ancestry. It disappears after the child is seven or eight months old.

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[Class C Families]

(tamancos), or perhaps leather shoes. Women wear a dress and a slip and are usually barefoot. Dress-up occasions also call for undergarments, stockings, and shoes. Great modesty is always shown about exposing oneself in front of others. Few of the men shave themselves, going to the barber for this as well as for haircuts. There are several women who are experts at hair straightening, which they do with a flat-iron, although most women and girls in this class who have the problem of straightening their hair know how to do it themselves.

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In Class C as well as in Class B the father is the dominant person. He rules the household. He is the one who is served at meals, whose clothing is always clean and pressed, and who goes out the most. He spends much of his leisure time in one of the several stores, talking and taking an occasional drink of rum; or on one of the few shaded corners playing dominoes with his friends; or else in the bar playing billiards and gossiping. As a rule he goes to the movies alone, or at least without his family, although in the higher echelons of the class families often go to the movies and to church together. There is one family which is musically inclined, and which often spends evenings at home together, making up a small orchestra. If there is a samba in someone's house, many men from this class will be there watching, while the participants are usually single women and girls from the same class. The men will discuss a woman's physical attributes while she is in the center of the ring dancing. This is one of the most common ways in which a girl gets "looked over" and is watched as she develops. Sooner or later some man will fall in love with her (apaixonar-se dela), and if she is not well guarded by her family he will eventually have an affair with her. In the case of fishermen, most of the time is taken up either by fishing or by caring for equipment, for the nets need a good deal of attention. Since the fishermen's hours follow the tides, their working hours differ from day to day. They often go to bed early, in anticipation of getting up at three or four in the morning.

517 565* 592 [184] [533] 565* 535 517 565* 226 517 [513]

The women, on the other hand, follow a more regular daily routine of getting the morning coffee ready, getting the children off to school, going for water and wood, doing the ever-present laundry and ironing, and caring for the younger children. In addition, if possible, they prepare xangô to help supplement the family income and go to the fair in Centro on Mon-

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4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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help me get better, they took me up off the ground.[41] Then my mother called in Mamêdê [the local *pae de santo*], to see what was the matter with me. He came, *abriu a mesa*[42] and said that this had been with me from my birth. My mother then asked him if he could cure it. He said he could. He made her buy plates, *moringues*,[43] beads, cups, coconuts, etc. Then he prepared all that.[44] They washed my head with water from the sacred leaves. My mother asked if he could take that thing away so that it would not come back again. He said he would not dare to do that, or I would die. He said it always came back.

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When it returned, they washed my head again. I did not know what was going on. It was as if I had slept. When I awakened, I was all "prepared": dressed *de creola* with a *saia grande* and a *torso* on my head. Everything red. *Sandalias* too. Everything the same color.

When this happened I was still small. The *pae de santo* said that I was under a spell [*era encanto*]. He "did the work" once more, and I was all right again. But when I was seven years old, it took hold of me once more. My mother was afraid and begged the *pae de santo* to do something about it. She pleaded so earnestly that finally he said he would speak with the enchantment [*encanto*] so that it would not come down any more.

It didn't come back until I was fifteen years old. Then they arranged another dress *de creola*, and also handkerchiefs, strings of beads, bracelets, and *sandalias*. They ordered plates, small glasses, and *quartinhas* bought. When all this was ready, the *pae de santo* washed my head in sacred water. He said it was the "owner of my head" [*dono da minha cabeça*] who had done that to me. There in Cachoeira, across the river from São Felix,[45] is the *casa de Gêge*.[46] The *pae de santo* is the grandson of an African.

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[41] That is, she was removed from the reed mat which, placed directly upon the floor of a hut, is extensively used among the poorer families for sleeping purposes.

[42] That is, he set up certain means of divination.

[43] Water pots made of red clay.

[44] That is, he submitted it to the proper ritual.

[45] Cachoeira and São Felix are twin cities, separated by the Paraguassú River, located across the Bay to the north of the city of Bahia.

[46] The *candomblé* of the Gêge cult in which she had now been inducted.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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159 794 778 [515]

I stayed only seven days in the *casa*,[15] because my head was washed. Others spend three months there, lying down all the time. They lie awhile on one side, then on the other, and then face down. One takes a bath in water perfumed with sacred leaves. Every day. The bath is cold, very cold. You must change your clothes and the bed linen every day. It isn't in a real bed that one lies down. They put a mat on the floor, and you have only a pillow and a sheet. You can move, but only from one side to the other, never over on your back. During the time you are in the *camarinha*, you cannot see your relatives. You may see them only on the day you leave. But then you must go at four in the morning and return at four in the evening so that the dew will not fall on your head.

[513]

There may be others in the *camarinha*. Sometimes many others. All of them stay in the same room. They sleep with their heads together. If there are ten, there will be space for all ten. While they are in the *camarinha*, they do not attend ceremonies.

[302] [776] [793]

I did not go through all this because my head did not have to be shaved. I had my *orixá* from birth. When I came into this world, he already knew everything.[16] My *pae de santo* has "worked" with many people. Last week he was here in Fazenda Grande.

159 262 776

When my *orixá* took possession of me, I quit eating he-goat. Because of the taboo of the *orixá* one cannot eat certain things. During all my life I cannot eat he-goat, because of the taboo. Neither can I eat turtle. For he who is of Xangô does not eat either he-goat or turtle. He who is of Ogum must not eat sheep's meat. Some *filhas* must not eat fruit; others must not eat fish *de couro*, only those fish which have scales. Crabs cannot be eaten by some, nor the leaf of Ogum. Water may be drunk, but only that which is drawn at 4:00 A.M., before the sun rises.

[271]

White maize must be eaten by some, depending on the *orixá*. For every *orixá* of every nation[17] has his own food. There is the food of Odé. There is that of Xangô, which is mutton.

[15] The period during which the candidate is initiated into her new function is spent within the sacred room, or *camarinha*, of the *candomblé* center.

[16] That is, he "knew" that she would be consecrated to him.

[17] That is, of each type of *candomblé*: Gêge-Nagô, Congo, Angolo, *de caboclo*.

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[Class C Families]

842 are known to the majority. It was pointed out by the men with a laugh that such things were unprocurable in town because the institute drugstore is run by a friar. They are obtainable in Centro and Salvador, but they are expensive, and the men say they are embarrassed to ask for them. One young couple sent to São Paulo for some injections to be given to the wife to prevent conception, but they did no good. The couple had found an announcement of the injections in a magazine, and since they wanted to limit their family to the one child they already had, they tried other means. They now have three children in spite of their efforts at prevention.

847 [278] There also are local remedies which are supposed to produce abortions. They consist of herbal teas and for the most part are supposed to be effective only up to the third month of pregnancy. Aluman, coqueiro root, orelha de pau, pitanga, mil homem root, and melão de São Caetano are all supposed to be effective. Few women will admit to having used them, although they all know about them. Figures on the number of natural abortions are almost impossible to obtain, for most often there is no record at all. The mother does not go to the doctor; she simply buries tal bobagem (such nonsense) in the 843 back yard. Those who admit having had miscarriages say they came about because of a fall, or frequently because of a great fright such as seeing a snake on the road. Most women do not 841 keep track of their menstrual periods, and according to the 515 town doctor their personal hygiene leaves much to be desired. 864 Little or no information is directly passed between father and sons or mother and daughters concerning sexual matters. Each generation is left to find out for itself.

838 There are a few male sexual aberrants in town, known as "veados" (literally, "deer," but slang for homosexuals), and they are well known. A middle-aged fisherman, Patão, is the center of such activities. He is married and has several children. When his wife found out about his extramarital activities she took the children and left him, terribly shamed. This happened several years ago, and since then this man has worked up quite a trade, mostly among unmarried men, though there are at least three married men who go to him also. [548] Their excuse is that there are not enough women in the town, and since there are no prostitutes they go to him, although they do not like it. The married men say it is because their wives are ill or away, and they do not want complications with some girl. Patão, however, regales the daily gossip groups

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[Class C Families]

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2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[P 155]

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An old cult priestess

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The "beauty parlor," Vila Recôncavo

[The Private Plantation]

côncavo. So far only the pai adão has been able to fulfill the plowing requirements. Lately, however, tractors with caterpillar tread have been introduced and, when used carefully with disk plows, have given excellent results. But the old standby is still commonly in use, hitched to eight, ten, twelve, or as many as twenty oxen. 249*1 407 [492]

The owner's house with its park stands on a small hilltop and is visible from afar because of its imperial palms. Nearby, on another hilltop, is the settlement of workers, a long street with houses on either side, the barracks, a small store, and the ever-present casa de farinha, the house where manioc is always being ground, pressed, and roasted to make the farina which is the staple food of the area. Also on this street is the overseer's house, which stands out from the others because of its large size and its veranda. The houses of the workmen are small and built for the most part under one long, common roof. Each house is really an apartment consisting of a front living room and a long corridor going back to the kitchen, with one or two bedrooms leading off the corridor. Other houses, under separate roofs, have similar interior arrangements. The roofs are of red tiles, the rest of the house of clay mud (taipa) slapped on both sides of a bamboo framework. After the mud has dried a coat of whitewash is applied. The houses are built and kept in repair by the plantation owner and do not belong to the workers. The floors are of beaten earth, difficult to keep clean. At night, when only a tiny oil lamp is burning, the houses look dark and gloomy. 249* 361 [252] [262] 249* 342 [356] [423] [416]

After dark one has the impression of hearing much more than one can see. Kerosene is expensive to burn, no one reads, and most of life is geared to doing in the daytime those tasks which require light. At night the workmen and their families sit in the dark talking, or perhaps go to the casa de farinha where a fellow workman and his family may be grinding their manioc. This building is softly lit with kerosene lamps and there is a cheerful glow from the roasting fire. More recently the overseer's house has been equipped with electricity, and now it is always well lighted at night. His new radio has become a center of attraction and small groups form about his veranda, listening. At the other end of the street, during harvest time, there is always a bonfire in front of the barracks where the migrant workers are sheltered. On special occasions there may be a samba (dance), perhaps in the plantation owner's house. Then everyone dons his best and the 249* 517. [535]

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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[The Private Plantation]

*249 Then everyone dons his best and the
● 517 women dance while the men play the drums, tambourines, and
535 cavaquinhos (a ukelelelike instrument) or simply stand around
534 watching, gossiping and "passing the branquinha" (the local white rum).

273 There is a hierarchy of personnel on the plantation, which starts with the owner, Dona Sinhá, and her family. On other
*249 plantations the owner is also sometimes a lawyer, doctor, or
463 engineer whose main interests, both economic and social, are in the city of Salvador. This is not always the case, however, for many owners are only rural proprietors, as is Dona Sinhá. But it is always considered a sacrifice to be obliged to
[221] spend the winter on one's plantation. It has been a traditional prerogative of the plantation master to spend the winter in the city, and it is one of the traditions kept up today by the planters. However, as soon as the rains show signs of abating in August or September, Dona Sinhá appears on the scene, generally grateful for her release from the city and from the round of anniversaries, parties, and official functions she feels called upon to attend while there.

This aspect of partial absenteeism has given rise to the next rung in the hierarchical ladder: the overseer. As such he is a relatively new phenomenon, but he has actually been part of the scene for a long time. At the time of the engenho, the feitor-mor, or head foreman, frequently occupied the place of today's overseer. Seu Paulo is the focal point for most activities on Fazenda das Moças. It is he who puts into action Dona Sinhá's plans, for he has the greatest contact with the workers in the fields and at home, on the arruado (the street on which the houses are located). During the time Dona Sinhá is away
* he is ruler of the plantation (dono da terra).

249 Seu Paulo rose from the workers' ranks; he is familiar with all aspects of sugar-cane cultivation, and is able to handle
463 men and to deal with the owner as well as with the workers.
159 He is a dark mulatto, about forty-six years old, with a large family. He is sought after by the workers as godfather to their children. He rents a small piece of land on which he raises his own sugar cane. He has his own burros, oxen, and carts, which he rents to Dona Sinhá during the harvest season. Although unable to read or write, he can do figures in his head in an astounding fashion. He dresses well, in what is sometimes thought to be an attempt to imitate the plantation master of bygone days, while Dona Sinhá and her family have adopted a more comfortable garb for the country--"modo ameri-

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ter) and homens de côr (men of color) including a few pretos (blacks).

Most individuals in this class are conscious of their "superiority" over the bulk of the town population, because of their higher economic status, the kind of work they do (usually white-collar), their better educations, better family traditions, and whiter, or at least lighter, skins. They are conscious of the fact that they are at the top of the scale on the local scene, and that to go any higher is impossible in the town. To do this they would have to move to a city. If one had a special ability he might be able to improve his condition in a large city, but he might also remain unrecognized. In the town he is the "big frog in the little pond," and this seems to give a certain amount of satisfaction to many.

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People of Class B seek to maintain favorable relations with the rural landowners, who dispense the municipal patronage and have the contacts in Salvador necessary to influence federal and state appointments, since members of their families are frequently state and federal government representatives. Only the merchants of Class B are in a relatively independent position, for they can operate independently of politics. Their market is the town population and is in no way dependent upon trade or patronage from the planters or their workers. There are no traditional merchant families in Vila Recôncavo. All contemporary storekeepers are persons who have worked their way up from fishing or some other activity to storekeeping.

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This class is slowly growing, and there are certain standards to which all its members conform, such as living in the old part of town, dressing with more care than the lower classes, supporting the church and patronizing the few religious holiday celebrations, sending their children to Salvador for their secondary education, owning radios, good dishes and furniture, displaying family solidarity and good manners, and maintaining a good relationship with members of Class A. But there is little or no cohesion among members of the group. They seldom act as a unit or express a group opinion (except to condemn candomblé, the local variation of African cultism).

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The social life of these people is definitely limited and to some extent follows the same pattern as that of the rural members of the same class, in that the men go out more than do their wives. The women of this group remain at home most

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517 of the time, visiting little and receiving the local gossip from
[546] their servants. Since the advent of movies, however, it has
become fashionable for husband and wife and sometimes the
[541] children to attend the show together. When the circus comes
to town it is now common for them to go as a family at least
[794] once. As a rule, however, church services are attended separately, the wives and daughters going together and the men singly if at all, and standing in the back rather than sitting
[574] with the family. Dinners, card parties, or social gatherings with friends in the house, such as are common to North American small towns, do not exist here at all. About the only traveling these people do is to Salvador, where they stay with relatives while they make short visits, go to the doctor, or go shopping.

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871 Even the older members of Class B are less well educated than those of Class A, and do not belong to families which are nationally prominent. In many cases they have relatives in Salvador, but in no case do they maintain a second home there. Although their children may go to primary school in Vila Recôncavo, which the children of Class A would never do, they are sent to Salvador for further education; and several of the
*565 present generation are studying for degrees in law and medicine. As has already been pointed out, this class engages in
[571] little social activity in common with Class A, and in almost
[867] none with rural Class B persons. Daughters of families belonging to this class are carefully chaperoned and have little
[582] freedom. Their lives are spent at home, sewing, embroidering, and helping their mothers in the house. Their prospects for
*565 marriage are poor. This applies also to the schoolteachers who are sent to the town and who also belong to this class.
582 There is little opportunity for them to marry in Vila Recôncavo unless they accept a social inferior, which commonly
875 happens to rural schoolteachers in Brazil. "Felipe," as the schoolteacher's husband is generally known, is always a "no-good" supported by his wife. There are two cases in Vila Recôncavo of local upper-class wives who work--they are both schoolteachers, supplementing their husbands' incomes and alleviating the dullness of their lives.

*565 Class C in the rural area consists of the field hands and the factory workers, who constitute the major part of the population. There are no "pure whites" in this group, but a scat-
[184] tering of "whites of the land." In general the factory workers consider themselves superior to the agricultural laborers;

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they are generally conceded to be so by the field hands and the members of classes A and B, because their occupations are more specialized and they work in the mill. There are actually several factors which distinguish them from the field laborers, for in addition to receiving protection by national legislation, including minimum salaries and rights to vacations and medical services, they receive from the factory electric light for their houses and firewood. In addition, factory workers do not plant gardens to supply their farina, and they consider themselves far superior to the agricultural laborers in that their own wives "do not use the hoe" (nao pegam na enxada).

565* 184 [656] [466]

At the factory nucleus where both millworkers and the agricultural laborers of one plantation live in the same place, the houses of the former are grouped in the middle of the village, clustered about the owner's chalet, while those of the latter are on the fringes, farther from the usineiro's house, the mill, and the large store. The factory workers' houses are better constructed than those of the field laborers. They are mostly of brick with tile roofs, while the field workers' homes are often of wattle-work covered with plaster and painted over. The houses of the factory nucleus follow the old slavequarter pattern. The buildings are long and narrow and divided into apartments under one roof. The factory owns all the houses, which the workers receive rent-free. The factory worker is better paid than the field worker, and consequently has more and better material possessions. His house is better furnished, and he dresses better.

[361] 565* 342 184 [423]

Illiteracy is widespread in the rural area. The factory nucleus has had a state primary school for thirty years, and Pedras, the largest of the factory plantations, has had one for about twenty. As a result the factory workers, as well as the people of Pedras, have had the opportunity to attend four years of primary school. The rural laborers on other plantations, however, have lacked this opportunity in most cases. An exception is the Fazenda das Moças, which has had a school in recent years, for children in the daytime and for adults at night.

565* 184 871 [212]

The social life of the workers is almost entirely confined to the place in which they live. Their lives are spent on the plantation except for the days when they walk to the fair in Centro, usually on the Monday following payday. During the summer, when the roads are good for travel, they are busy with the

565* 517

harvesting and milling. The factory operates twenty-four hours a day during this season. In the winter, when they have more leisure, travel is too difficult, for the roads disappear in mud. Few of the rural people go to the town of Vila Recôncavo, for it has nothing to attract them except the boat to Salvador and the priest, whom they sometimes visit to have a Mass said or for a burial. The free movies recently innovated by the Petroleum Council and located a mile from the factory have been a boon to the rural people, but as a rule only the men attend. In fact, almost any kind of off-plantation gathering is attended predominantly by men.

On most plantations the casa de farinha is a social gathering place, and both males and females congregate there to talk about the latest news while they work. The women also gossip at the local well as they fetch water or remain there washing their clothes. Their everyday lives are busy, and there is little time for purely social activities. The day begins and ends early. Soon after dark the lights go out, the houses close, and silence reigns except for the noise coming from the casa de farinha, which may operate all night, or the lonesome singing of the caatingueiros housed in the barracks, or the strong rhythmic sound of the drums coming from a distant candomblé ceremony. Because there is little work for women on a plantation, the "extra" girls, those for whom there are no potential husbands, ask the planter to get them work as domestics in the city; this is usually easy, for there is nearly always someone in Salvador looking for a "good, strong country girl" to work in the home. Occasionally, if a worker's son is especially intelligent and industrious, he too may be placed in some position in the city.

Class C comprises the majority of the population in the town of Vila Recôncavo and includes most of the occupations listed in Group 3 of the preceding chapter--that is, fishermen, gardeners, and artisans. There are no "pure whites" in this class, but, as in the rural area, a few "whites of the land" and the full range of mestiços, whose various color and social characteristics will be discussed later. The people of Class C live for the most part in the lower section of town, in the areas called Cortume, Largo de Santa Cruz, Rua Nova, Boqueirão, Cumbamba, and Caquende. The great majority of them own their homes, although the land belongs to the Fazenda Engenho da Vila, to the church, or to the prefeitura, and is rented for a small yearly sum. The houses are small, usually

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 5011 Bahia Brazilians 5011
VILA RECONCAVO

[Class A Families]

in the three houses for nearly all members of the two extended families, for the factory has become the major gathering point for all of them during the summer. Each married couple maintains its own home in the city. In the Conde and Jacuipe families the tendency has been to enlarge the two families by the addition of in-laws rather than to lose sons and daughters, because of the exceptionally strong family loyalties held by the members. As a result, many more people are drawn into the social circles of the two groups, which at times appear as one family and at other times as two separate but close units. 565* 596

The social life of these people is carried out almost entirely within this group of ninety-seven persons, and their in-laws, plus the in-law families. Such intrafamilial social life is known as vida em familia. During the winter season in Salvador, their social activities are confined to visiting one another, playing cards with one another, having birthday parties for one another, attending the weddings of one another's children, and so forth. Trips to the beach and to social clubs and graduations are made jointly. During the summer, parts of families visit others, and at certain times, such as the botada da usina (first day of the sugar mill's activities each year), Carnaval, and the birthday of the Colonel, his wife, or Dona Yaya, nearly all the members of the family get together. This may mean a gathering of sixty to seventy persons. A "small" luncheon may be attended by a mere twenty or thirty persons. 565* 596 517

It is still the custom for young married couples to dine with the parents of each at least once a week. It is also not unusual to find an entire apartment house in the city occupied by members of one family, each conjugal group occupying its own apartment. Members of the same generation usually play or visit together, although all generations are present at most family gatherings. Through lifelong companionship, members of families in this class come to know each other extremely well and are often the best of friends as well as relatives. Because of the size of these families, and because of the constancy of their devotion to one another, there is little time or energy left for entertaining outsiders. This, however, does not mean that acquaintances are limited to family members. Friends are made, who are drawn into the various conjugal groups and into the activities of the larger extended family. 565* 596 [593] [342] [561] [574] [572]

Courtship in Class A families is a formal affair. At first it is considered that the young couple are gostando (liking each other) or namorando (in love). It is expected that the boy 565* 596 584

[Class B Families]

*565 594 capacities, or they are "newly arrived" socially, which often indicates that the relatives of either or both spouses may belong to the lower class; in this case the local upper-class families are inclined to ignore them. In these conjugal families the husband is the central figure, participating in business and social activities of the town, while his wife and children, [166] especially daughters, remain at home. The sons usually go to the city to school and remain there after graduation, so there [871] is little chance of continuing a strong family line in the town. At the factory the case is somewhat different, for the sons of Class B families may enter the factory in one of the higher office positions, thus forming a larger family group as they marry and settle down there. This pattern, however, is only apparent in the second generation, and there are only three cases of it.

*565 As a result of the lack of public entertainment in Vila Recôncavo and the competitive attitude of members of Class B among 517 themselves and toward the higher members of Class C, there [571] is little social gathering, especially for the women. There [596] are never extended family gatherings for Class B such as those described for Class A. The men go to the bar or visit one an- [574] other's homes to some slight extent, but wives and daughters seldom do. The wives are kept occupied bearing children and [562] caring for them. Those few daughters who are sent to school in the city are indeed fortunate, for their chances of marry- [871] ing and remaining in Salvador, the desire of most young people, are greatest. The summer vacation is boring to them in [166] comparison with their scope of activities in the winter. The [183] sons can enjoy the summer, going swimming, horseback riding, playing ball, making the most of the few parties and fes- [528] tivals (festas) which take place during the summer, lounging in the bar gossiping, meeting the boat, and visiting lower- *565 class girls. The daughters, on the other hand, can do nothing of the sort. They spend their time at home with their moth- 562 ers and sometimes visit a married girl friend or sister to 517 gossip.

For those girls who remain in the town, life can be intolerably dull. They must be extremely careful of where they go, when, and with whom, and of what they do, for the town gossip about them can be vicious. The reputation of a girl seen on the street at night without one of her parents is ruined. These girls are expected to be virgins, models of propriety,

[Class B Families]

and the social forces compelling them to conform to this ideal are strong enough to keep them at home. 565* 562 517

To some extent the Class B families take as their pattern the older traditions of the upper-class families. The father is the most important person in the home and has the final word in all decisions. His wife is not his equal in a social sense and plays a much more passive role than the women of classes A, C, and D. This, however, is slowly changing, for married couples of the younger generation are beginning to share more activities, such as going to the movies, visiting friends, or going on short trips to Salvador. But this is a recent development and applies only to four couples in the town. The others still maintain the old pattern whereby the man attends social functions while his wife remains home. On occasion of a farewell party, invitations were carefully extended to the married couples in Class B at the author's instigation. Of the thirteen couples invited, only four came together. In the other cases only the husbands came. Among the others, one of the husbands was away, and his wife would not come to the party even though her mother, father, and two sisters did. It is still common for the wife either to remain discreetly silent or to disappear altogether when her husband has visitors at home, and among the older families the father and his guests are served separately at meals, the women of the household eating afterwards alone. 565* 562 594 178 [184]

Family life in rural Class B follows to some extent that of the town family of the same class. The father is the central figure in the family and makes all decisions. He travels about the community while his wife remains at home. The sons of overseers, however, are seldom sent to Salvador to school, although the sons of Class B families living at the factory usually are, at least for a short time. So far, however, none of them has entered a profession. 369 565* 594 [871] [166]

As has already been stated, the women of rural Class B lead much the same kind of life as the women in Class C, with whom they associate. Daughters are guarded carefully, while sons are placed in some advantageous position whenever possible, frequently through the aid of the plantation owner or usineiro. They may enter the factory office, and in several cases they have been set up in business on the plantations, running small stores which belong to their fathers. 565* 562 184 464

A daughter of Seu Paulo, the overseer of the Fazenda das Moças, married the son of the overseer on a neighboring 565* 585 114

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Class C Families]

(tamancos), or perhaps leather shoes. Women wear a dress and a slip and are usually barefoot. Dress-up occasions also call for undergarments, stockings, and shoes. Great modesty is always shown about exposing oneself in front of others. Few of the men shave themselves, going to the barber for this as well as for haircuts. There are several women who are experts at hair straightening, which they do with a flat-iron, although most women and girls in this class who have the problem of straightening their hair know how to do it themselves.

In Class C as well as in Class B the father is the dominant person. He rules the household. He is the one who is served at meals, whose clothing is always clean and pressed, and who goes out the most. He spends much of his leisure time in one of the several stores, talking and taking an occasional drink of rum; or on one of the few shaded corners playing dominoes with his friends; or else in the bar playing billiards and gossiping. As a rule he goes to the movies alone, or at least without his family, although in the higher echelons of the class families often go to the movies and to church together. There is one family which is musically inclined, and which often spends evenings at home together, making up a small orchestra. If there is a samba in someone's house, many men from this class will be there watching, while the participants are usually single women and girls from the same class. The men will discuss a woman's physical attributes while she is in the center of the ring dancing. This is one of the most common ways in which a girl gets "looked over" and is watched as she develops. Sooner or later some man will fall in love with her (apaixonar-se dela), and if she is not well guarded by her family he will eventually have an affair with her. In the case of fishermen, most of the time is taken up either by fishing or by caring for equipment, for the nets need a good deal of attention. Since the fishermen's hours follow the tides, their working hours differ from day to day. They often go to bed early, in anticipation of getting up at three or four in the morning.

The women, on the other hand, follow a more regular daily routine of getting the morning coffee ready, getting the children off to school, going for water and wood, doing the ever-present laundry and ironing, and caring for the younger children. In addition, if possible, they prepare xangô to help supplement the family income and go to the fair in Centro on Mon-

the lower classes fail to have at least some knowledge of the ceremonial. In a region where there is little entertainment, such as in the town of Vila Recôncavo and especially in the rural area, the cults provide a major spectator activity, and those who have been exposed to it through their lives appreciate it as such. The number of active participants, however, is small. The house which is functioning in the town has about two dozen initiates, while the rural house is somewhat larger, having about forty-five devotees, only seven of whom are drawn from the plantation on which the house is situated. The rural house is more active for several reasons, according to local informants: the costumes are prettier, and therefore people prefer to dance there; the cult leader is a stronger personality and a better healer than the leader of the town house. The rural house is also more conveniently located for people from the surrounding plantations. Nevertheless, the small number of participants is indicative of the weakness of the institution in this area as a whole.

Healing, however, does play an important part in the cult activities, for the zelador who has "made his saint" has usually learned a large number of ritual and herbal cures. In fact, it is the healing aspect which brings most people to the cult activities. Sick persons, however, generally prefer to entrust themselves first to the ministrations of the plantation owner, plantation nurse, or town doctor. But if they feel they are not being helped, they turn to the cult house. If the sickness is diagnosed by the cult leader as a clear sign that the person is in contact with a spirit, the patient must enter the rites as an initiate or suffer the consequences. But for the ordinary run of headaches, stomach troubles, and skin eruptions, the cult leader draws upon his knowledge of herbal remedies. This knowledge is supposed to come from his deity, who often is St. Roch in this area, and who knows the cure. In fact, the leader of the rural house once compared his establishment with a pharmacy. He is paid for these medical services. Often one hears a person wishing that he could "have" such-and-such a saint so he would know how to cure and be able to make money, as do the cult leaders.

It is a general opinion that cult leaders are financially well off, although they themselves staunchly declare that they are not and that they must live from alms. As a rule all the participants in a house are obliged to contribute to the ceremonial honoring the leader's deity, which is usually the most extravagant ceremonial of the house.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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[City of Salvador]

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[562]

sirable as a seat of residence for one weary of the noises of an industrial city, but for the Bahian wife and daughters, whose world is still largely inside the doors of the home, these characteristics seem to give it a peculiar charm. Hence, one will see along this avenue, almost from Praça Castro Alves out, the residences of many substantial families and, in Vitoria, just beyond the governor's palace, the more pretentious dwellings of the upper class.

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TABLE 1

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FAMILIES DWELLING ALONG THE AVENIDA SETE DE SETEMBRO CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO ETHNIC COMPOSITION, BAHIA, 1936

	Number	Per Cent
Black	19	7.6
Mixed-blood	97	38.6
White	128	51.0
Mixed-blood and white	5	2.0
Black and mixed-blood	2	0.8
Total	251	100.0

125
563 *
796
[342]
[517] •

No Bahian house which boasts any pretension fails to have a balcony, while nearly all possess large casement windows opening out on the street. From this vantage point the family can while away many pleasant hours leaning on elbows and "watching the *gente* (people) go by." Consequently, one can readily gain, especially during the passage of processions when the balconies and windows are fully occupied, rather accurate information on the physical character of the population. It is possible at Carnival, for example, particularly just preceding the passage of the floats, to take a census with respect to racial composition, as far

463 [484] [521] ilies to live in Vila Recôncavo and travel to their work and back daily. During the summer this trip is made by truck, but in the winter it is made by foot or if possible by canoe. The petroleum industry has attracted few local people as yet. Instead, strangers have come into the area as petroleum employees. A favorite conversation among fishermen is a discussion of whether they should give up fishing and go to work in the oil fields. The general feeling is that they are better off as fishermen. As they put it, if they fished for the same number of hours as the oil men work, they could earn more money than the petroleum workers. In their present occupation they can work as much or as little as they wish, the major determinant being whether there is enough in the house to eat and still a little left over for cigarettes, Coca-Colas, and occasional new clothes. They are an independent group, and are frequently criticized as being lazy because they will not take steady employment. This seems an unfair criticism in view of the rigors of fishing.

463 [875] [632] The others listed in the group of federal and state employees have permanent appointments to their jobs and in all but a few cases are local people. The federal tax collector and his wife, who is one of the schoolteachers, are strangers to the area, but are now well integrated in the town. Three other schoolteachers are from other parts of the state and spend only the school year in Vila Recôncavo. There is a difference between the teachers who make Vila Recôncavo their home and those who do not. Those who spend only the school year there have little or no contact with the local population, apparently feeling that they are superior to anyone there. They are young women, but do not look for husbands among local men and openly admit they do not like the town. They are prominent in the group which calls the fishermen lazy and uncultured, and in general are unsympathetic to the town dwellers.

463 632 There are sixteen municipal employees, all of them local people, consisting of the county secretary, the treasurer and his assistant, the contador who takes care of the county spending, the fiscal who is supposed to supervise the collecting of the county funds, three county tax collectors, and others who occupy minor posts such as courthouse porter. These positions are appointive, and as a result of the relative stability of the area's politics the appointees are seldom changed. The secretary is the man who does most of the county's adminis-

The planta- 565 *
tion worker's world is small, and conversational topics are 571
limited to family matters such as births, deaths, marriages, [521]
sickness, and other intimate details of personal life, the
problems of work, and difficulties of any sort. The planter can
know the daily life and thoughts of the workers only through
observation, for he himself lives quite differently. However,
his knowledge of the workers is apt to be profound in spite
of the differences, and he knows much more of their lives
than they know of his. On the other hand, visiting between [574]
the workers and the members of Class B is on a much more
equal basis, for the differences between their modes of living
and thinking are small.

When the workers are invited to a party by the planters, 565 *
it is usually an affair given for them, such as a Christmas 571
celebration. At such a time the planter is host and spectator, 574
rather than host and participant. At other times the workers
may get together a song and dance group, a samba, and go to
the owner's house for the evening. This is frequently ex-
plained as "keeping the patron from being lonely." Again the [535]
owner is spectator, for the samba, performed exclusively by
women, is a type of folk dance seldom engaged in by the more
sophisticated upper class.

Class B in the rural area is only beginning to feel any sort 565 *
of group consciousness, for the occupational institutions it
represents are relatively new and it is not yet aligned in any
way with the corresponding class in town. There are two over-
seers who lack any formal education--indeed, who cannot read
or write. In all cases the male members of this class have
set up and maintained a family, educating their children and
seeing to it that they marry as well as possible. As a rule
such men are "self-made"--they have risen from the ranks
of workers as a result of their own ability, sagacity, sense
of responsibility, and desire to improve themselves. They are
distinguished from the workmen by these traits, which seem
to develop even further as they have the opportunity to use
their initiative.

Members of this group usually acquire numerous posses- 565 *
sions of their own, such as horses, oxen and carts, mules, 423
and donkeys which can be put to gainful use. They also op- [422]
erate small stores on their plantations--in one case even a [443]
chain of stores, one on each of three plantations. They also
try to buy a small farm somewhere nearby. Frequently the [466]
employer facilitates such acquisitions as a sort of bonus,
lending money or even giving some to the overseer.

harvesting and milling. The factory operates twenty-four hours a day during this season. In the winter, when they have more leisure, travel is too difficult, for the roads disappear in mud. Few of the rural people go to the town of Vila Recôncavo, for it has nothing to attract them except the boat to Salvador and the priest, whom they sometimes visit to have a Mass said or for a burial. The free movies recently innovated by the Petroleum Council and located a mile from the factory have been a boon to the rural people, but as a rule only the men attend. In fact, almost any kind of off-plantation gathering is attended predominantly by men.

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[Class C Families]

585
583
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able for the total number of marital unions formed during the years, so it is impossible to know the percentage of amasiado unions throughout the entire population.

TABLE 8
CIVIL MARRIAGES BY AGE GROUPS

585
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162

Males		Females	
minors under 18	1	minors under 15	2
18-22	4	15-19	6
23-27	6	20-24	7
28-32	5	25-29	2
33-37	1	30-34	1
38-43	2	35-39	1
	19		19

585
583

There are occasions when a couple marry in the church only after having lived together for many years, at which time their children may be the principal witnesses at the wedding. Such a wedding always gives the couple a feeling of satisfaction and well-being, for there is sometimes a certain shame attached to the amasiado state, especially when it is necessary to fill in official forms such as birth registration, the census, or registration at the Instituto of Vila Recôncavo. A woman who can say "meu esposo" or "meu marido" (my husband) feels a certain superiority over the one who can only say "meu homem" (my man).

842

The attitude toward children in Class C is somewhat ambivalent. Married women with as many as ten or twelve children may say they never wanted children, but simply "took what God sent." Frequently little girls pray that their mother will have another child so they may take care of it. All girls from the age of seven to thirteen or fourteen seem to like small children. There are few men who do not want children. Even though the mother may say she did not want them, she always seems pleased with them after they are born, and children, especially boys, are well loved and spoiled. Part of the women's gossip is often about another woman who is about to have a baby, and many women with five or six children of their own accuse others of having children "como ratos" (like rats) because they have eight or nine. [521]

There is no use of contraceptives in Class C, although they

[Class C Families]

Patão, however, regales the daily gossip groups with his exploits, detail by detail, so it is always known who has visited him. These men are in no way ostracized, and continue a normal life alongside the others. There are also two cases of men connected with candomblé who are suspected of homosexual tendencies, but there are no definite data about them. Public opinion, nevertheless, is generally against homosexuality, and there was one case in which action was taken. A married man "pegou um menino" (caught a little boy) in the men's bath at one of the wells. Ordinarily the men enter the bath alone, the others waiting outside until the one inside has finished. On this occasion the man found the boy already there and entered with him. Later the boy told what had happened and the neighborhood was incensed and compelled the man to leave town at least temporarily. The boy's only remark was that he had not been paid! 626 838 [521]

Boys in their late teens sometimes jokingly refer to the clube de veados (homosexuals' club), intimating their exploratory experiences with one another, and what they have tried when they went together to Salvador or Centro, where, according to them, the streets are full of veados. No such reports were found for the rural people, but the complaint that young men were viciados nas mulas (corrupted by the use of mules) was common. Another case at a distant factory concerned two women who were living together, one very strong, large and bearded, and very jealous of anyone who even looked at the other. This case was well known, and considered hilarious by the neighbors. 838 [839] [522]

Family life in Class C is characterized by a lack of privacy. The house of a family in this class has at the most two bedrooms, frequently only one, in which all members must sleep. It is common for a young couple to have only one bed when their marriage begins, in which they, as well as their first and second children, sleep. The use of a cradle for infants is rare. The baby usually sleeps with the parents, and as it grows older, or as new babies are born, it is relegated to the foot of the bed. Loud and bitter are the complaints about children who wet the bed, which many of them do for many years. Most mothers say they try to wake up several times during the night in order to hold the infant over the side of the bed to allow it to perform its natural functions, which makes life more pleasant for the others in the bed. In the morning the floor is thoroughly washed. 565* [362] [352] [513] 565* 863 [356]

During the day young boys go about with only shorts on, or 806

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

A stranger 602
is often surprised to discover individuals whom he had not previously thought of as related turning out to be brothers or other close relatives.

The gradually improving status of women is today working against *mancebia*, and many of the "more scrupulous" 562 837
families discourage it. In these, the wife, if she knows of her husband's affairs, may reprove him, as also may other members of the family and its friends. But usually, as an upper- [521]
class woman said, "the ladies talk very little about it, and then only with their most intimate friends. The subject is not generally discussed."

Although in recent years at least two feminists have become quite prominent, and one of these has been elected to 59 562
the state legislature, the common family pattern at Bahia is still patriarchal. Tempered, of course, by the natural claims [635]
which primary relations always tend to set up, the role of the husband and father has, throughout Bahian history, been a decidedly dominant role. For instance, it is said to have formerly been the custom—at Bahia today in some instances a custom still observed—for the husband to select and purchase the materials for his wife's clothing and even indicate the manner in which the goods should be made up. Formerly, women, other than prostitutes, servants, and other individuals of inferior status, were rarely seen upon the streets or in public places, the home being considered their proper sphere. Even in the home, women seem to have rarely appeared in the presence of strangers. Tollenare, visiting Pernambuco in the early nineteenth century, wrote, "At my arrival [in the house of a merchant], the women disappeared, and only the head of the house remained in the *salão* to talk to me." In another connection he remarked: "During eight months of residence in Pernambuco I never once saw the

[Class C Families]

Patão, however, regales the daily gossip groups with his exploits, detail by detail, so it is always known who has visited him. These men are in no way ostracized, and continue a normal life alongside the others. There are also two cases of men connected with candomblé who are suspected of homosexual tendencies, but there are no definite data about them. Public opinion, nevertheless, is generally against homosexuality, and there was one case in which action was taken. A married man "pegou um menino" (caught a little boy) in the men's bath at one of the wells. Ordinarily the men enter the bath alone, the others waiting outside until the one inside has finished. On this occasion the man found the boy already there and entered with him. Later the boy told what had happened and the neighborhood was incensed and compelled the man to leave town at least temporarily. The boy's only remark was that he had not been paid! 626 838 [521]

Boys in their late teens sometimes jokingly refer to the clube de veados (homosexuals' club), intimating their exploratory experiences with one another, and what they have tried when they went together to Salvador or Centro, where, according to them, the streets are full of veados. No such reports were found for the rural people, but the complaint that young men were viciados nas mulas (corrupted by the use of mules) was common. Another case at a distant factory concerned two women who were living together, one very strong, large and bearded, and very jealous of anyone who even looked at the other. This case was well known, and considered hilarious by the neighbors. 838 [839] [522]

Family life in Class C is characterized by a lack of privacy. The house of a family in this class has at the most two bedrooms, frequently only one, in which all members must sleep. It is common for a young couple to have only one bed when their marriage begins, in which they, as well as their first and second children, sleep. The use of a cradle for infants is rare. The baby usually sleeps with the parents, and as it grows older, or as new babies are born, it is relegated to the foot of the bed. Loud and bitter are the complaints about children who wet the bed, which many of them do for many years. Most mothers say they try to wake up several times during the night in order to hold the infant over the side of the bed to allow it to perform its natural functions, which makes life more pleasant for the others in the bed. In the morning the floor is thoroughly washed. 565* [362] [352] [513] 565* 863 [356]

During the day young boys go about with only shorts on, or 600

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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175 567 668 *563 •[522]

from early colonial times on, seems not to have been very great, and the upheaval which in 1822 culminated in Brazilian independence seems to have buried most of the vestiges of Portuguese prestige. Even today the Portuguese are the constant butt of vaudeville jokes.

175 567 668 249 464 [635] [664] [665] [646] *[563]

Many of the free *homens de côr* (men of color), especially those who possessed slaves, either were indifferent to the slave question or openly opposed abolition.[95] Most of the large plantation owners and their spokesmen in the provincial legislature and national parliament opposed the abolition campaign, and their forces at one time dominated the Liberal party.[96] However, many of the slaveholders appear to have increasingly accepted abolition as inevitable and merely to have asked remuneration for the financial loss involved. Apprehension that the plantation system would utterly collapse if free labor were substituted for slave

[95] The abolitionist, Anselmo da Fonseca (*ibid.*, pp. 137, 142–43), complains of the persistent opposition to abolition on the part of *homens de côr*. In 1884, out of thirty candidates for the Bahian *camara*, "the only one who in a published document had the audacity to ask election in the name of slavery" was the *homem de côr*, Conselheiro Domingos Carlos e Silva. In 1887 an *homem de côr* canceled his subscription to the *Diario da Bahia* for its refusal to publish an advertisement regarding a fugitive slave. Fonseca regarded this man as "one of the most intolerant slaveholders in Bahia."

[96] On hearing of the program presented by the imperial cabinet on June 6, 1884, "almost all the leaders of the liberal party in Bahia, the owners of large business and commercial houses, and the sugar aristocracy" lodged a protest in which they declared: "The slave is more than a portion of a private fortune; he is a social institution, a labor supply, a necessity to production, an asset of the national life. Above the immediate interests of planter and merchant . . . . are the permanent . . . . interests of society, the benefits which accrue to thousands of human beings living or yet unborn—the necessities of public order, and the development of national wealth" (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 283).

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two miles west of the town to another well which did not have to serve so many people. Many women also made this trip, with five-gallon cans of water on their heads, and with their children carrying smaller cans.

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In the past many women of this group possessed heirlooms: jewelry handed down to them by their female ancestors who had been favorite slaves of their white masters and who had received valuable brooches, necklaces, rings, and earrings from them, in accordance with the old pattern of luxury which extended even to certain slaves. In most cases this jewelry has now been sold at some time of emergency to antique dealers who scour the rural areas looking for such treasures, which are now highly valuable and sought by collectors.

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Group 3 is made up of independent artisans, that is, people who are self-employed. It differs from Group 1 in that its members rarely employ the services of other people in personal or household activities, although gardeners, carpenters, tailors, fishermen, bricklayers, and barbers do employ people in their business. The large number of men employed by the bricklayers should be explained, as it is not a permanent category. The census from which these data were taken was made in June, 1950, at the height of the work of paving the town streets with cobblestones. A number of bricklayers had come to town for this work, and they as well as the resident bricklayers had to employ workmen to do the work with them for the municipal government. When the paving was finished there was no longer a need for so many bricklayers, and they either left or went into fishing or some other occupation. Since the data were collected, the tailors have also moved to another town as a result of the lack of business in Vila Recôncavo.

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The majority of men in this group are the fishermen, who number 132, plus 5 who are employed rather than self-employed. They fish from canoes, with several types of nets, for a large variety of fish. The federal statistics agent lists seventeen types of fish, including shrimp, giving the following weight and price for the year's activities: 129,070 kilograms and Cr$921.540,00 (slightly under $50,000.00). Shrimp earns slightly more than half this total, Cr$468,000,00, although the amount in kilograms is only 26,000. Xangô, already mentioned, is the second most profitable product, bringing in Cr$195.000,00 for 65,000 kilograms. The statistics agent admits that these figures are approximations

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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in Pau Miuda, Cidade da Palha, and Cruz do Cosme—he has no interest in them. However, he has a consuming interest in the cinema, keeps an elaborate scrapbook which now contains over a hundred and fifty individual photographs of actors and actresses, and can glibly name nearly all the films in which each has played during the last three or four years.[20]

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The following account by a young mulatto student of secondary-school age who has developed a somewhat skeptical attitude toward the *candomblé* in spite of his father's being a prominent *ogan* in one of the *seitas* who occasionally, when the elderly *achôgun* is ill, officiates at the sacrificial ritual, illustrates the difficulty which *candomblé* leaders now experience in enforcing the sanctions of the cult:

> Pedro [a young *ogan*] didn't show proper respect for my father when he suggested that there ought to be some repairs made at the *terreiro*. Pedro said it had been that way when he was "confirmed" and that it was all right now. He used "você" in speaking to my father, although he is much "younger." And he said my father lied. When I heard about this, I hunted up Pedro and told him that he hadn't treated my father right, and when he talked nonsense I hit him. Pae Procopio then hunted me up. I told him that I didn't believe in anything he did, that I wasn't afraid of any sorcery he might make, that Pedro had ill-treated my father, and that I wanted nothing to do with him and with all his accursed *candomblé*.

[20] For instance, José named five films in which Patricia Ellis had played. His favorite actress is Shirley Temple, after which come, in order, Lilian Harvey, Joe E. Brown, Maurice Chevalier, and Laurel and Hardy. In addition, he likes Raul Roulien, Dolores del Rio, James Cagney, Lyle Talbot, Kay Francis, Dick Powell, Eddie Cantor, Clara Bow, Jeanette MacDonald, George O'Brien, Fred Astaire, John Boles, George Brent, Richard Talmage, José Mojico, Jan Kiepura, Adolphe Menjou, Pat O'Brien, Chester Morris, Buster Crabbe, Charlie Chaplin, Lee Tracy, Gary Cooper, Ramon Navarro, George Bancroft, Johnny Mack Brown, Alice Faye, Olivia de Havilland, and Ken Maynard. José does not care for Buck Jones, although many of his friends do. Neither does he like Lionel Barrymore, Douglas Fairbanks, Jr., Richard Arlen, Ronald Colman, or Gordon Westcott. Paul Muni, he says, is "only fair."

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mer, the filling of razor slashes with salt, the castration of males and the amputation of the breasts of females, and "murder at the slightest whim."[56] The custom of *novenas* and *trezenas* of slave beatings sometimes resulted in death.[57]

In 1887 a police sergeant in a village in the interior of Bahia Province reported to the governor: "Considering the number of crimes on slaves in this section which continually go unpunished, this town of Formosa is in great need of at least five soldiers to be stationed here at the disposal of the local police official."[58] The *Diario da Bahia* of July 21, 1887, reports the discovery of a slave woman bearing about her neck a pronged iron collar "weighing twenty-five pounds, from which were suspended heavy chains wrapped about her body like serpents."

Escapes were frequent, the fugitives being assisted by the character of the *matto*. They were hunted by hired *capitães do matto*, or "bush captains," usually Brazilian-born Negroes or mixed-bloods, whose trained dogs netted them a steady income.[59] Occasionally, fugitive slaves banded together in considerable numbers for mutual protection into *quilombos*.

[56] Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 561–63. For illustrations of instruments used to punish slaves, see Arthur Ramos, "Castigos de escravos," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* (São Paulo), XLVII (May, 1938), 79–104.

[57] "Each day at a certain hour . . . . the slave is stripped and tied to a post where he receives a certain number of blows which reopen wounds made on previous days. . . . . This is done for periods of nine to thirteen days in accordance with the practices [religious ceremonies extending over a period of nine to thirteen days] of the church" (*ibid.*, p. 43 n.).

[58] *Ibid.*, p. 673.

[59] Still played by children at Bahia is the game "Capitão do matto," a form of "hide and go seek" in which those hiding are presumed to be slaves and the hunter a "bush captain."

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*794 supposedly there is competition among them as to which night
[565] will be the loveliest. This becomes more expensive each year, however, and the patrons are becoming less willing to donate money. This festival is most enjoyed by the lower classes. It is avoided by members of Class B, who in many instances are nevertheless called upon to be patrons.

796 The festival takes on a carnival aspect each night, with
• [525] booths set up in the streets by professional people from Salvador and Centro. The booths have wheels of fortune and
[275] guessing games, and sell sweets and drinks. After the religious celebration in the chapel, everyone goes out into the square to talk, play games, and dance.

796 The day before the first Mass of the festival is celebrated, the chapel is thoroughly washed by the women participants of
794 the African cult house, who dress up in their many starched
358 skirts and bandanas and go to the well as a group for water,
[291] which they take to the chapel to throw on the floor. A few little barefoot girls wash down the floor with brooms. After the washing the women go out dancing in the streets. They dance
[535] on every street in town and ask for alms. This entire proce-
*[565] dure, known as the lavagem (washing), is much frowned upon by members of Class B.

796 Most of the ordinary town life ceases during these nine days, for everyone is tired after staying up so late at night. The day of the patron saint of the town falls during this festival, and is passed over with nothing more than a simple Mass celebrated in the mother church in his honor. The people of the rural area of this parish do not observe the day of the patron saint
[794] at all. The day after the nine-day festival, a group of young men go out dancing and singing in the streets, asking for alms to make a large feijoada (feast of beans) at night. This is called mazorra (the clowns). After this the men settle down again to their fishing, for by now their money is all used up.

The next festival on the calendar is the second of February, when the nearby towns of Centro, Conselho, and Morro celebrate the day of their patron saint. People from Vila Recôncavo go to one or another of these three towns, although not
[778] in great numbers. The majority go to Conselho, which has the reputation of being a holy place, and to which pilgrimages are
* frequently made.

[565] All festivities end during Lent, which is quietly observed. It is interesting to note that Carnaval, which takes place the
[184] three days before Lent, is observed in Vila Recôncavo only among members of Class A.

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*563 very light. Her mother is a *sarará*, her grandmother is a
874 dark mulatto with kinky hair, and her husband is also a dark
mixed-blood. Her family, it is said, has gradually risen from
[555] the lower class by reason of constantly taking advantage of
[565] every educational opportunity, by increasing their economic
competence, and by deliberately cultivating "good manners."

*563 At a "night club," where there were gambling, liquid re-
547 freshments, and partners for dancing, of 128 guests,[27] 62
535 were whites, 40 were *brancos da Bahia*, 21 were mulattoes
(several quite dark), 1 was a *cafuso*, and 4 were blacks. Of
the 26 female entertainers (dancers and singers), 19 were
whites,[28] 4 were *brancas da Bahia*, and 3 were mulattoes (all
very light). None of the darker patrons danced during the
evening.

*563 In the main gambling-room the group about the table
547 were principally whites, with a few light mulattoes and an
•525 occasional dark mixed-blood. In the hallway near the entrance, however, was another gaming-table where stakes
were lower. It was patronized principally by dark mulattoes, together with an occasional black, a few *brancos da Bahia*, and very few whites.

796 Carnival at Bahia lasts three days and is perhaps the most
204 popular festival of the year. At the close of one celebration
plans are immediately set on foot for the next. From time to
time throughout the ensuing twelve months, newspapers
carry reports of the development of these plans, and, beginning about a hundred and fifty days be[illegible] Carnival, a regular daily feature appears, the time before the big event being
checked off, day by day, much as United States newspapers
sometimes check off the days preceding Christmas; except

[27] On September 26, 1936. [28] Including a very swarthy Syrian girl.

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front of the Church of Bomfim, booths are erected, each of 443
which has been named for the patron saint of the proprietor 265
or bears an inscription like *Fé em Deus* ("Faith in God"), *Salve a Nova Aurora* ("Hail to the Dawn"), or *A Bahianinha* ("Dear Little *Bahiana*"). At these booths one may pur- [262]
chase such famous Bahian dishes of African origin as *aberém*, *carurú*, *vatapá*, *efó*, and *acarajé*, as well as drinks and other refreshments. *Kermesses*, or small booths given over to 796
games of chance similar to those of traveling "carnivals" in [525]
the United States, bear such names as *Lua Cheia* ("Full [533]
Moon") or *Abrigo dos Filhos do Povo* ("Shelter for the Children of the People"). A brass band, composed of blacks from [368]
the fire department in uniform, plays intermittently from a raised platform in the center of the square.

At night the entire front of the church is ablaze with electric lights. Fireworks almost constantly sputter and bang in the air. An immense crowd mills about the *adro*, while other people sit at tables, eating, drinking, talking, and watching the festivities. About two hours after midnight, the *terno* of *Os Ciganos* ("the Gypsies") appears. It is a band of approxi- [534]
mately thirty people, marching two abreast, ten musicians with brass instruments in the lead, followed by a dozen young men each of whom holds aloft a wooden staff branched at the top and lavishly decorated with paper flowers and Japanese lanterns, and an equal number of girls twelve to fourteen years old, dressed in gypsy costumes and shaking castanets and tambourines. After parading around the square, the *terno* halts in front of the church, greets the patron saint, then turns and ascends the platform vacated for this purpose by the band. The girls dance, sing, and play their instruments [535]
while one of the men performs a frenzied dance, twirling round and round a standard bearing the name and insignia of the terno.

be held in the canoe by the others, for she tries to jump into the water. At the same time, all those present in the canoe scoop up the water and pour it over themselves, for it is at this moment quite holy. The possessed person is gradually calmed and brought back to a normal state as the canoes move up the river. 796 794 782 776 [787]

During this time, groups of fishermen often go out in their newly blessed canoes (canoas de bordejo) to play. Because their canoes have been blessed by the priest, and because of the holy aspect of the water resulting from the presence of the Mother of the Waters, the men may enter the water without fear, so they jump in and out of the water and swim around their canoes until they are tired. This cannot be done at any other time of the year for it is not considered safe to enter deep water. [788] [823] [526]

After the second gift has been offered and accepted, the party lands and goes back to town on foot in a spirit of great joy and gaiety. The rest of the day is given over to horse racing, visiting, gaming, and dancing on the fishermen's square. People from classes A and B do not participate in these proceedings, which they consider barbarous. But most lower-class people at least watch, although only participants enter the canoes. Observers walk along the banks and watch. Cults from the rural areas make their own presentations separately, frequently on Christmas Day and in another locale. 796 794 565* [527] [389]

The next festival in the year comes after January 6, the Day of Kings, which has already been mentioned. Parties take place from this day until the beginning of Lent. Other than a Mass, there is no longer much sanctity connected to this day. 796

The most important festival of the year is that of Nossa Senhora da Conceição da Praia, the patron saint of most of the fishermen, to whom their chapel is dedicated. This festival begins on January 13 and starts off each evening with a novena held in the fishermen's chapel. The priest goes each evening for the novena, and, on the three last days of the festival, each morning, to celebrate Mass in honor of Nossa Senhora da Conceição, St. Peter, and St. John. A committee is organized in the chapel to ask patrons for contributions to the festival, for candles, oils, electric light, and to pay the priest each night. Flowers are a very important part of the festival, although at this time of the year they are very expensive. Each night of the novena there is a different group of patrons, and [776] 796 794

planters. People in the upper class of the town, when they can, send their children to the capital to continue their education, and there are several *mestiço* students from Vila Recôncavo studying law, medicine and engineering in Salvador. The intelligence of the mulatto is traditional, and it has been equally traditional that the darker-skinned person is unintelligent. Today these traditions are not as strong as before, but still it is felt that the mulatto has somewhat more aptitude than the Negro. The old idea of the Negro, meant for work and to be servile, still exists, now tempered with the knowledge that education can change the situation. There is only one club in Vila Recôncavo—a football club—and the players are all shades, from white to black, and so are the spectators. They all sit or stand together under the shade of the one big tree which gives shade to the playing field. The field is on the property of a white man who, while he has nothing to do with the team, allows them to play there, put up goal posts and markers. The bar and recreation centre are open to all so long as they wear shoes—a ruling made to keep out the muddy feet of children who came straight from the beach to have a 'coke'. All the racial types and classes get together here to play pool and gossip, this being the one and only point of public social activity in the town. At the movies, the admission price is extremely low, the same for everyone, and all four classes attend. Negroes and whites of all classes sit next to each other. At church there are no special pews, the faithful usually gathering in the front and the less faithful hanging about near the back. The choir and the acolytes are from all classes and colours. At parties, which are few, colour lines are disregarded, *brancos* and *morenos* dance with *mulatos* and *pretos* just as long as both partners can *pular* (jump).

The social situation is gradually changing, and the extremely personal element is being lost. It is strongest on the private plantation, where the owner spends the greater part of the year, but at the *usina* much of the personal element is weakened because of the numbers of workers. Even at the *usina*, there is visiting and gossiping between the owners' families and the workers. But at the *usina* not all the workers accept their subservient position as do those of the plantations. This is specially true of the higher echelon of specialists and technicians of the mill, who will frequently not go to a party given by the owner, even though invited. It seems to be a way of saying that the company of the white owners is neither needed nor wanted. They prefer to keep their relations on a strictly business basis. At the *usina*, when a worker is sick, he goes to the medical post where he is treated by a paid nurse, rather than to the owner's house. On pay day, the *usina* worker is paid at the mill by a paymaster, not in the living room of the owner's house. Nevertheless, in spite of the industrialized aspect of the mill, the number of workers is not too large to exclude all personal contact with the owners, who adminis-

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were mulattoes, and only 6.4 per cent were relatively unmixed blacks; while, of 30 occupants of general admission seats at one-half this price, only 20 per cent were whites, 40 per cent were mulattoes, and 40 per cent were blacks. Among spectators at a Sunday-afternoon soccer game, one noted the distribution as given in Table 12.

Of five hundred mothers applying for aid at the state's free children's clinic, only 9.2 per cent were white, 40.6 per

TABLE 12

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF SPECTATORS AT A SPORTS EVENT,* BAHIA, 1936

Seats	Price (in Milreis)	Occupants	Percentage			
			Blacks	Mulattoes	Whites	Total
Reserved	10	143	2.1	23.8†	74.1	100
Grandstand	7	267	4.1	29.4†	66.5	100
General admission	3	519	51.1	39.9‡	9.0	100

* *Futebol* (soccer), Campo da Graça, March 22, 1936.

† Chiefly light mulattoes, many of whom were very light with only slight traces of Negro lineage.

‡ Principally dark mulattoes.

cent were mulatto, predominantly dark, and 44.5 per cent appeared to be relatively unmixed blacks.[6] Of 1,511 photographs displayed in eleven photograph galleries, 73.2 per cent were probably of white individuals, 24.9 per cent of mixed-bloods, and only 1.7 per cent of unmixed blacks.[7]

In interpreting this ethnic distribution in the occupations and according to financial means, one might point out that

[6] The remaining 5.7 per cent were *cafuso* (21 individuals), *branco da Bahia* (2 individuals), *mamaluco* (2 individuals), and of Indian-white-Negro descent (1 individual).

[7] In addition, 0.2 per cent were *cafuso*.

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the garden swing were 11 blacks, 8 mulattoes, and 7 whites. 563 *
There was considerable moving about from group to group. 857
In the garden of the governor's palace a similar band, aged about seven to thirteen years, were laughing and shouting together around another teeter-totter. Among them were 3 blacks, 5 mulattoes, and 4 whites. "Beginning with his earliest years," wrote a white student, "a child in Bahia is accustomed to associating with all racial types without any distinction being made between them."

In Campo da Graça[11] 6 whites and 5 mulattoes (one of 563*
whom was quite dark) composed the team of the Faculty of 526 •
Law in a soccer game with the Faculty of Medicine (among whom were 7 whites, 3 mulattoes, and 1 black). In the subsequent professional contest 9 whites, 4 mulattoes, and 4 blacks composed the visiting team from São Paulo, coached by a *cafuso*. Bahia's colors were upheld by 2 whites, 5 mulattoes, 9 blacks, and 1 *cafuso*. The referee was a *branco da Bahia*.

At an informal basketball game played on an outdoor court at the Fortress of São Pedro, a black and 4 mulattoes composed one team; a black, 2 mulattoes, and 2 whites, the other. The referee was a black.

At a tea dance given at Bahia's most exclusive club in 563*
honor of Getulio Vargas, president of Brazil, the city's most 574
distinguished citizens and their families, to an approximate [535]
total of 600, were present. No blacks were among the guests, and only 28 individuals were noticeably negroid, 6 of whom were dark mulattoes. At a banquet subsequently given the President, all individuals seated at his table were white. A number of mixed-bloods, however, principally light mulattoes, were among the guests. Two of the six speakers at the

[11] On March 22, 1936.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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labor of Negro slaves in the cane fields of the *engenhos* of the Reconcavo. The *cantador*, or leader, sings:

> Olha a cana madura . . . .
> Ela é verde, é madura . . . .
> Para fazer "raspadura" . . . .

to which the chorus responds:

> No cannaviá!"[19]

In a second chorus the solo is: "Lá vem o padre," and the response: "Pra casar vocês dois!"[20] In a third, the solo, "Por mim não, barbulêta," is followed by the chorus, "Você póde avuá!"[21]

535 The principal steps of this primitive *samba* are known as the *corta-a-jaca* (cutting the *jaca*), the *separa-o-visgo* (parting the pulp), and the *apanha-o-bago* (taking out the *bago*, or edible portion).

526 *Capoeira* is often *jogado* (played) in out-of-the-way places, and at times, particularly during Carnival or at such festivals as Segunda Feira do Bomfim and Conceição da Praia, it even invades more public places. It is a highly complex form of personal combat, originally developed by fugitive slaves to enable them to compete more effectively with armed *capitães do matto* and now enjoyed as a sport set to music. The agility of the contestants is remarkable, as they strive for points in a struggle without actual physical contact, where unexpected thrusts of the feet or elbows, rapid pivot-

[19] "See the ripe cane,
It is green, it is ripe,
Ready to make *raspadura* [coarse brown sugar]
Chorus:
In the *cannaviá* [roadway through the cane field]!"

[20] "Here comes the priest,
To marry you both! . . . ."

[21] "As for me, no, butterfly,
You can fly away!"

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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ing, and sudden "cartwheels" alternate with other attempts to confuse and "cripple" an opponent.[22]

534

The musical instruments commonly employed among this portion of the population are the *atabaques*, the *agôgô*, the *caxixi*, the *canzá*, the *agê*, the *chocalho*, the *xaque-xaque*, the *cuica*, and the *berimbau*. All but the last three instruments are rarely seen outside the *candomblé*.

The *atabaques* (or *tambaques*) are wooden drums, each approximately twenty inches in diameter but varying in height, invariably used in sets of three. The largest, called *ilá*, or *rum*, is seldom less than two and one-half feet tall and occasionally attains seven feet, while the medium-sized drum, known as *rumpi*, ranges from two to four feet in height, and the smallest, or *lé*, from one and one-half to two and one-half feet. To produce a soft, muted sound, the drums are beaten with the hands. For the heavier tones, *baquetas*, or short wooden sticks, are employed. The huge *bátá-cóto*, or war drum, which played a prominent role in the slave insurrections, has long since disappeared.

The *agôgô* is a bi-tonal instrument, consisting of two hollow iron cones joined together. It is beaten with an iron pin. The *agê*, or *piano de cuiá*, is a large calabash containing pebbles and covered with a small cotton net in whose meshes *buzios*, or cowries imported from Africa, are firmly secured. If the latter are not available, dry seeds known as *contas da Nossa Senhora* are employed instead, and pebbles are occasionally inserted in the calabash itself to augment the sound. The *caxixi* is a tiny reed or straw basket containing cowries or small pebbles. The *xaque-xaque* is a hollow metal instrument shaped like a dumbbell, each of whose enlarged extremities contains small pebbles. When shaken, it produces

[824]

[22] See Edison Carneiro, *Negros bantus* (Rio, 1937), pp. 147–60.

[SALVADOR]

/76 cont./

*563 tradition of accepting as religious only the daughters of nobles
562 and of high colonial officials, and as "servants" girls of colored
792 or humble extraction. Therefore, the number of morenas or
178 very light mulatto religious is minimal and all are of recent admission.

*563 There is also a prejudice, widespread among the priests
793 of the secular clergy, that "the mulattoes are very inclined
[829] to concupiscence and to arrogance when they are intelligent." Nevertheless dark priests are ordained. At least 30 o/o of the 176 priests ordained at the archdiocesan theological seminary of Bahia between 1907 and 1951 were colored; among 50 colored priests identified in the register, at least seven were very dark or black. Approximately the same proportion can be noted among the 42 secular priests living in the city. Among those who are best known as sacred orators and who are invited to preach on solemn occasions in the ecclessiastical life and in the religious ceremonies that precede the examinations of the different schools of the local university, there are numerous pardos and Blacks, some of whom enjoy a great deal of prestige as vicars of important parishes, as professors, and as men of letters. The theo-
[874] logical seminary of the archdiocese also includes at present an increased number of young colored students, made up of dark mulattoes and Blacks.

/77/ Sports

*563 In no matter what study of the most popular sports of Brazil,
•526 whether it is a matter of football, rowing, basketball, volleyball, or tennis, it is indispensable to consider that some of them are practiced by certain socio-economic groups and that others, after having been a pastime of some of these groups, have become a profession.

*563 Tennis in Bahia is a bourgeois sport that an extremely limited
526 number of people play. On the grounds of one of the principal
575 clubs where this sport is played one does not see colored persons, except now and then one or two morenos of high rank from the liberal professions or from commerce. A mulatto practicing a

[SALVADOR]

/77 cont./

*563 liberal profession relates that he was more than once invited by
526 the members of this club to join their teams, but he answered
575 them: "You are all white. If one day when I might wish to play with a white girl she refused because I am mulatto, I would be capable of doing something foolish... It is much better to avoid this."

[565] Basketball and volleyball are also games played by the young people of the intermediate and upper classes, members of sporting and recreational clubs. Some of the "teams" as an exception, admit dark players capable of contributing to their victory; the portraits of these players may be seen in the halls of the luxurious buildings of some of these clubs. There are, moreover, some school teams on which students of different types take part.

In the rowing clubs, an informant assures us, discrimination [178] against colored persons was such some ten years ago that a group of dark young men founded a separate club that was allowed to pit itself against the others. Other informants explain, however, [565] that this discrimination was based on the fact that rowing has always been a sport of the bourgeoisie (students of the intermediate class, commercial employees, officials of the higher categories); no one of inferior rank, that is to say, of subordinate occupation (soldiers, domestics, laborers), was accepted on the teams. For some years, however, on the occasion of important competitions, certain clubs have temporarily completed their nautical teams with colored rowers taken from more plebeian teams. It is generally a matter of semiprofessional sportsmen of modest circumstances.

*563 The truly popular sport throughout the country is football.
526 Groups of players, having a permanent or temporary organization, practice this game almost everywhere. Football games /78/ arouse extraordinary enthusiasm, especially among persons of the male sex, draw thousands and thousands of spectators to the stadiums, and bring in a great deal. At the beginning of the century football, introduced into Brazil by young men reared in England, was a pastime of the bourgeoisie; on their "teams" there were probably never, or very rarely, young colored men. One

[SALVADOR]

/78 cont./

*563 of the latter, however, was part of these teams for many years
• 526 and was known and admired by the entire city. About 30 years
[178] ago football started to become professional; today there are few
[505] important clubs for amateurs. In the present phase that of pro-
*563 fessionals, there is no restriction against mulatto or black players.
542 They are acclaimed with enthusiasm, and many people consider them
555 exceptionally suited for this game because of their agility and
554 their skill. The most important and the richest clubs wrangle over these players and offer them very large sums so that they will consent to play on their teams. Thus several of them are made up almost exclusively of dark players. The most popular footballers of Bahia are almost all black or dark mulattoes. It should be noted, however, that the fame and the popularity of these sportsmen, in large part recruited from the lowest strata of the population, do not confer on them a higher rank; they have access to certain groups who are particularly interested in the sport; but they do not thereby acquire the right to attend the recreational celebrations of certain clubs, except on very rare occasions. Another aspect of football is that its "teams" are organized and supported by associations that generally also carry on recreational activities and are directed with passionate devotion, even at the price of pecuniary sacrifices, by rich and influential people in commerce, the liberal professions, and the bureaucracy. To take part in the management of one of these associations or on the committee that co-ordinates sports activities throughout the State of Bahia is greatly coveted: this permits one to affirm his prestige and to obtain political support from players and from thousands of fans of the sport. Some politicians distinguish themselves by the effort they make to obtain subventions and other resources for the sporting associations. According to the social level of each of these institutions, the opportunities that colored persons have to take part in their management vary. An informant who for many years was a member of the aforementioned committee cites the names of various mulattoes and Blacks who, by their wealth and their devotion, attained the posts of president and of director of several of these organizations, as well as of the sports federation of the State.

243 either separately or in conjunction with tobacco and manioc. They are
244 frequently grown on land thought to be not suitable for tobacco culti-
[134] vation yet too good for manioc alone, such as the steeper slopes of the crystalline area where the heavier soils do not produce good quality tobacco.

Since the area in corn and beans is small and the amount of slope land large, the capoéira is extensive and frequently quite tall. After the slopes are cleared, the land is very often planted to mixed corn and beans, more rarely to one or the other. The crops are planted [221] in March or April, perhaps in May, and even in June for beans alone. The planting season for these crops is extended both because they are tolerant of changes in season and because as crops secondary to tobacco they have a lesser priority. Some corn is usually planted early enough [527] [262] so that it will ripen in time for São João (mid-summer day) festival for which fresh corn-on-the-cob is the traditional food. This festival is usually the beginning of the corn harvest, but the bean harvest [251] begins a month later. Both crops are harvested by hand and, after drying, are shelled by hand, sacked, and either stored or sold. When the fertility of the soil is higher than normal or when there is labor to spare, the field may be planted to manioc after the corn and bean harvest.

243 As a result of the interpenetration of the corn-bean and the
244 tobacco-manioc systems, in many regions and on many individual proper-
249 ties the two co-exist. Usually the upland fields are in tobacco and
311 manioc, with an occasional plot of corn and/or beans. Usually the slope-land plots are in corn or beans.

249 The Cultivation of Sugar Cane. In distinction to the crops discussed above, sugar cane is grown under a system of permanent

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 (4) The field is burned for the last time, and as new cane or grass appears, it is used as pasture.

(5) After one year of pasture, sometimes more, the field is replanted to cane.

[527] The length of the harvest varies. It begins with a festa (festival) in the first week of September and continues as long as there is cane and as long as the heavy rains hold off--usually about six months.

249 311 Within the sugar cane area most of the land is in cane or in temporary fallow pasture except: (1) very wet bottom lands; (2) steep slopes; (3) villages; and (4) the lands and yards occupied by the mills. The general aspect of this area is that of an unbroken sea of cane. Single fields are often large--a square kilometer is not uncommon--but they are divided into separate plots. The cultivation of other crops within the sugar cane area is very limited. Small house gardens for the laborers are common, but other commercial agricultural forms of land use are rare.

249 423 257 184 Land holdings, as will be seen, generally are large under this system. The orientation of the sugar industry in São Filipe is somewhat different than in the zone discussed above. Properties are smaller, the monocultural aspect less dominant, and the whole sugar economy more primitive. There were eighty-two small sugar mills in this area in 1940, compared to the eight large usinas of Santo Amaro. [273] Many of these produced crude sugar (rapadura) rather than the refined sugar or cane brandy (cachaça) which are the main products of the zone north of the Bay.

245 The Cultivation of Coconuts. The final important agricultural system of the Recôncavo is the coconut monoculture, a less highly organized permanent culture than the sugar cane system.

[Class A Families]

565*
quently one girl in the family does not marry but remains 596
home with her parents, taking care of them until they have 589
passed away. Unless the father has made specific arrange- 73
ments for her before his death, the family usually sees to it
that she is cared for properly, since she has relieved them
of the responsibility of taking care of their parents for many
years. Or, if any member of the family lingers beyond what
might be considered to be a normal life span, the other mem-
bers help in some way so that person will be cared for. Thus
no one is left out because of misfortune of any kind. Neverthe-
less, any individual member always tries not to become a
burden on the family.

Of the former patriarchalism of Class A families only ves- 565*
tiges remain, which however are still important: the contin- 596
ued close relationship of family members, even though sep- 178
arated by distance and interests; the intermarriage of cous-
ins, and the strong pattern of life em familia; the fact that the
family as a unit still provides care and protection for those
members who are incapable of doing so themselves; and fi-
nally the acknowledgment of an extended-family head, a man
accorded deference and respect by members of his own fam-
ily as well as by other families. The upper-class family of
today differs in significant ways from that of former centu-
ries, especially in the increasing emphasis placed upon the
conjugal family and the decrease in family size. A major de- [562]
parture from the old family traditions is the increasing equal-
ity of women, their increased participation both in home ac-
tivities and in activities outside the home.

Birthdays are the most important occasions in these fami- 565*
lies aside from weddings. Whether in the city or on the planta- 596
tion, birthdays are commemorated on a large scale by an al- 527
moço (luncheon). During the summer in the country the plant-
ers sometimes also have a series of luncheons, each Sunday
on a different plantation. In such cases the house in which the
luncheon is to be held provides the bulk of the food, but as a
rule all the women make desserts which they bring with them.
The menu, in accordance with old Bahian tradition, is huge, 565*
usually beginning with a feijoada (a deep dish of beans and 596
meat, usually eaten with rice or farina), sarapatel (a highly 527
seasoned dish of which the basis is pork blood), moqueca de 262
camarão (a type of shrimp ragout made with dendê palm oil),
and ensopado de porco (pork stew). These are followed by
roasts of beef, pork, lamb, and turkey, and filet mignon.

[Class A Families]

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596 All these dishes are served with rice, potatoes, farina, and
• 527 cooked vegetable salads. Then fruits are served, followed by
262 a series of desserts including puddings, ice cream, and cakes.
[272] The meal is concluded with a demitasse (cafèzinho). Lunch is usually served at midday, and afterwards the guests generally break into small groups, talk, sleep, play cards, or stroll about the garden. In midafternoon a small merenda (snack) is served for those who want it, consisting of cake and
*565 demitasse, and in the evening ceia (supper) is served, in-
596 cluding cold cuts, salads, and dessert. After this the group
527 may go en masse to the movies, either at the Petroleum Camp
[546] or in the town of Vila Recôncavo. Or, if in gay spirits, they may spend the evening dancing in the living room to popular
[535] records. People go to these almoços by horseback, jeep, truck, or sometimes, in a spirit of fun, by oxcart. Hospital-
[492] ity has for hundreds of years been the tradition of the rural landowners, who envelop guests with an overabundance of
[493] everything. One planter always has the dining-room table set for at least ten people, although only he and his wife live
*565 in the house. Others have the reputation of always providing a good meal for anyone who passes at mealtime.

574 The decreasing size of families, the shift in individual em-
423 ployment from agriculture to the professions, and this cen-
178 tury's change to large-scale industrial holdings for the pro-
428 duction of sugar have caused some differences in land tenure and, hence, inheritance. The Recôncavo is not an area in which land title was ever vague or lost as was often the case in the sertão. Land was always scarce here, for the desirable massapê soils are limited in extent. The plantations of today for the most part fall into one of two categories: those which have been in the hands of one family for a century or more, and those which were bought after the abolition of slavery by newcomers to the Recôncavo or by those who already had plantations and at a time of falling value bought new ones from the creditors who had taken them over from their former owners for debt. In both cases title passed free and clear. The common form of inheritance is for one half of the estate to go to the widow and the other half to be divided among other heirs.

178 A century ago, it was common for plantation masters to
42 have extensive holdings, not only in the Recôncavo, but also in other parts of the state, as well as houses and even commercial buildings in the city of Salvador. In addition to this,

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

be held in the canoe by the others, for she tries to jump into the water. At the same time, all those present in the canoe scoop up the water and pour it over themselves, for it is at this moment quite holy. The possessed person is gradually calmed and brought back to a normal state as the canoes move up the river. 796 794 782 776 [787]

During this time, groups of fishermen often go out in their newly blessed canoes (canoas de bordejo) to play. Because their canoes have been blessed by the priest, and because of the holy aspect of the water resulting from the presence of the Mother of the Waters, the men may enter the water without fear, so they jump in and out of the water and swim around their canoes until they are tired. This cannot be done at any other time of the year for it is not considered safe to enter deep water. [788] [823] [526]

After the second gift has been offered and accepted, the party lands and goes back to town on foot in a spirit of great joy and gaiety. The rest of the day is given over to horse racing, visiting, gaming, and dancing on the fishermen's square. People from classes A and B do not participate in these proceedings, which they consider barbarous. But most lower-class people at least watch, although only participants enter the canoes. Observers walk along the banks and watch. Cults from the rural areas make their own presentations separately, frequently on Christmas Day and in another locale. 796 794 565* [527] [389]

The next festival in the year comes after January 6, the Day of Kings, which has already been mentioned. Parties take place from this day until the beginning of Lent. Other than a Mass, there is no longer much sanctity connected to this day. 796

The most important festival of the year is that of Nossa Senhora da Conceição da Praia, the patron saint of most of the fishermen, to whom their chapel is dedicated. This festival begins on January 13 and starts off each evening with a novena held in the fishermen's chapel. The priest goes each evening for the novena, and, on the three last days of the festival, each morning, to celebrate Mass in honor of Nossa Senhora da Conceição, St. Peter, and St. John. A committee is organized in the chapel to ask patrons for contributions to the festival, for candles, oils, electric light, and to pay the priest each night. Flowers are a very important part of the festival, although at this time of the year they are very expensive. Each night of the novena there is a different group of patrons, and [776] 796 794

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

[City of Salvador]

361 565 * 563 gated to the less desirable territory. Although the Europeans have still today, to a considerable extent, maintained their original advantage, the blacks and darker mixed-bloods have gradually pushed themselves up the slopes from their less favored locations until now they have come, in some cases, to share a portion of the Europeans' favored position. One occasionally finds them living next to the homes of the whites, symbolizing the fact that they now occupy those positions, social as well as spatial, which personal ability, occupational proficiency, and favorable circumstance have enabled them to achieve and to maintain. Thus the racial distinctions which one from the United States is so likely on first acquaintance to note turn out to be, as we shall soon see in more detail, not the things which are either so genuine or so important as at first sight might appear.

It is significant, in this connection, that in what might be called the intermediate residential areas of the city, where the dwellings of those who are rising out of the lower classes meet the dwellings of the upper classes, one finds the darker and the lighter portions of the population meeting and mingling in close residential proximity. This is true, for example, along the Avenida Sete de Setembro.

363 [788] The Avenida Sete de Setembro, from Jardim Suspenso on, is the only artery into the "downtown area" from South Bahia. It thus becomes the route of passage for processions [541] like those of Carnival, the "Micarêta,"[14] the Peruada,[15] and the numerous religious *festas*, and the avenue of march for [562] the military during visits of political celebrities. Its streetcar line and constant flow of busses would make it less de-

[14] The "Micarêta" is the so-called "second Carnival" held the Sunday following Easter.

[527] [15] The Peruada is an annual students' parade with floats.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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seat of the iman, or head in Brazil of all African disciples of the prophet Mohammed. Those who were resident in Rio, Ceará, and Pernambuco owed allegiance to him. Incidentally, it was a time of general social unrest not only among certain of the slaves but among the whites as well.[46] The aim of the conspiracy was "to set up a queen after exterminating all the Europeans." Extensive plans were laid, including the proposed participation of slaves from "every part of the Reconcavo," many of whom, immediately preceding the night set for the uprising, fled from their owners and came to Bahia. A banner was adopted and the robes worn at Mohammedan ceremonies selected as costumes of war. The time chosen for the uprising was during the popular festival of Nossa Senhora da Guia, when most of the European population would be gathered at Bomfim, outside the main area of the city, houses would consequently be deserted by white owners, and slaves might go in and out without arousing suspicion.[47]

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The governor, forewarned by a faithful slave a few hours before the uprising actually occurred, doubled all police

[46] From 1831 to 1837 revolts against the Brazilian imperial government broke out in Pará, Sergipe, Pernambuco, and Rio Grande do Sul. In Maranhão three thousand slaves, led by an African named Cosme, had recently revolted.

[47] The report of the chief of police to the governor of the province of Bahia (republished from the *Diario da Bahia* in the *Jornal do Commercio* of Rio, February 10, 1835) said that the evidence indicated "the insurrection had been plotted for a considerable period of time with absolute secrecy. . . . . Almost all the leaders know how to read and to write in some unknown language, which appears to be Arabic. This is the same language which is used by the Ussás, who seem to be united today with the Nagôs. These Ussás are from the same tribe which has revolted on several occasions in this Province. . . . . Their leaders, among whom are many free and even wealthy Africans, stir up and organise revolts."

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4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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One advantage which Brazilian slaves had over bondsmen in the English colonies was the numerous holidays of which the Catholic religion enjoins the observance. Koster wrote:

> These give to the slave many days of rest or time to work for his own profit; thirty-five of these, and the Sundays besides, allow him to employ much of his time as he pleases. Few masters are inclined to restrain the right of their slaves to dispose of these days as they think fit; or, at any rate, few dare, whatever their inclinations may be, to brave public opinion in depriving them of the intervals from work which the law has set apart as their own. . . . . The time which is thus afforded, enables the slave, who is so inclined, to accumulate a considerable sum of money.[50]

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Among the small proprietors, parity of condition in many respects apparently obtained between master and slave, who worked together and fared much alike.[51]

It is, of course, true that cases of the most barbaric and extreme cruelty occurred, but apparently these were relatively rare and confined in large measure to frontier areas, where masters were very much a law unto themselves.[52] Public opinion was ordinarily opposed to such treatment, much of which has been attributed to Negro or mulatto owners or overseers who were notorious for their severity.[53]

[50] *Op. cit.*, I, 191.

[51] Southey, *op. cit.*, III, 782.

[52] However, Koster records as late as 1800 that, owing to the "abominable cruelty" with which they were treated in Rio de Janeiro, frequent murders were committed by slaves. Iron shackles, sharply pronged iron collars, stocks, and thumb screws were employed, and severe beatings to the point of death and even boilings in oil occurred. See also Thomas Ewbank, *Life in Brazil* (New York, 1856), pp. 116–17, 439.

[53] Joaquim Nabuco made public, and Conselheiro Dantas once referred in the federal senate to "a disgraceful tragedy" which occurred in Parahyba do Sul on July 29, 1886. A master who was an *homem de côr*, his *homem de côr* overseer and *algos* "flayed and tortured" several slaves until they died

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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The two days in seven which according to custom the master allotted the slave for the cultivation of a plot of land[44] was as early as 1700 sanctioned in law.[45] His right in property could be transferred to his children.[46] He could

"a great deal depends upon the inclinations of the master, he will, however, be very careful in refusing to manumit, owing to the well-known opinion of every priest in favor of this regulation, to the feelings of the individuals of his own class in society, and to those of the lower orders of people; and likewise he will be afraid of losing his slave. He may escape with his money; and the master will then run much risk of never seeing him again, particularly if the individual is a creole slave. . . . . The master might indeed deprive the slave of the fruits of his labor, but this is never thought of; because the slave preserves his money in a secret place, or he has entrusted it to some person upon whom he can depend, and would suffer any punishment rather than disclose the spot in which his wealth lies concealed."

[44] "This day [Sunday] . . . . is the Negroes' own; after morning mass they are free to do their own will; and then most of them run to the hill to gather their coffee or maize, or prepare the ground for these or vegetables. They were just beginning to return from the wood, each with his . . . . basket laden with something of his own, something in which the master had no share; and again and again as they passed me, and displayed with glistening eye the little treasure, I blessed the Sabbath, the day of freedom to the slave" (Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 288).

[45] João Ribeiro, *Historia do Brasil* (3d rev. ed.; Rio, 1909), p. 255.

[46] However, if the slave died childless, his property reverted to the master. Note the following account given by Maria Graham regarding a slave on an estate in the province of Rio: "He was a mulatto boatman, the most trusty servant on the estate, and rich, because he is industrious enough to have earned a good deal of private property, besides doing his duty to his master. In his youth, and he is not now old, he had become attached to a creole woman, born, like him on the estate; but he did not marry her until he had earned money enough to purchase her, in order that their children, if they had any, might be born free. Since that time, he has become rich enough to purchase himself, even at the high price which such a slave might fetch; but his master will not sell him his freedom, his services being too valuable to lose, notwithstanding his promise to remain on the estate and work. Unfortunately, these people have no children; therefore on their death their property, now considerable, will revert to the master" (*op. cit.*, pp. 197–98).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Not listed among the members is a dark mixed-blood of distinguished bearing, probably Bahia's leading colored citizen, son of a white planter and a black slave, able engineer, once federal senator, president of an important intellectual and social organization, and "authority" on the Tupi language. However, an officer of the club, a white banker from one of the leading families whose aristocratic lineage, general competence, and recent contribution of a governor to the state and a federal senator to the national *camara* unquestionably admits its members to the most exclusive circles, once remarked that "if this distinguished colored citizen should sometime apply for membership, there would be no doubt that a man of his intelligence, refinement, and professional competence would be accepted without serious question."

In the schools there is no segregation in any form. Students, however, are predominantly white and light mulatto. The participation of blacks is somewhat limited, and there is a progressive elimination of the darker shades as one climbs the educational ladder. Illiteracy is high, especially in the lower class, in which, as we have seen, blacks and dark mulattoes predominate.

Table 13 indicates more equable participation of the blacks in the elementary schools, especially in those which are state supported, attendance at which is free and hence more accessible to Negro children, concentrated as their parents are in the lower economic levels.

In a parade of school children celebrating Emancipation Day (the thirteenth of May) twelve elementary schools participated, each group being dressed in its distinctive uniform. For example, the boys of one school wore light gray suits with a blue stripe down the trousers, blue belts, and

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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gray caps with blue bands; while the girls wore light gray dresses with blue belts, blue collars, and blue cuffs. Of approximately 325 pupils in the parade, about two-sevenths were black, two-sevenths white, and three-sevenths mulatto, indiscriminately mingled. In eight schools, the proportions were not greatly dissimilar. Two schools, however, were

TABLE 13

COMPARATIVE SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OF THE ETHNIC UNITS AT BAHIA, 1936

School	No. of Schools Sampled	Black	Mulatto	White	Others	Total
Elementary:						
Public	22	438	496	385	16*	1,335
Private	8	40	97	175	3†	315
Parochial	6	31	88	318	13‡	450
Secondary	5§	34	99	390	2‖	525
Superior (Faculties of Law, Medicine, Engineering)	3	12	88	424	6¶	530
Trade	3	88	122	123	2**	335
Normal	1	45	83	157	0	285

* *Cafuso*, 9; *mameluco*, 7.
† *Cafuso*, 2; *mameluco*, 1.
‡ *Cafuso*, 5; *mameluco*, 8.
§ One public, 2 private, 2 ecclesiastical.
‖ *Cafuso*, 2.
¶ *Cafuso*, 2; *mameluco*, 4.
** *Cafuso*, 1; *mameluco*, 1.

principally black and mixed-blood (in one of which there were 16 blacks, 34 mulattoes, 8 whites); and two schools were largely white (in one of which there were 25 whites, 8 mulattoes, and 5 blacks).

During the 1936 Peruada, which is an annual *festa* held by students at the Faculdades, of 168 individuals participating in a parade, 3 per cent were black, 10 per cent were mulatto, and 87 per cent were white.

At the graduating exercises of one of the Faculdades, no

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Two of the six speakers at the dedicatory exercises for the newly constructed Instituto de Cacau on the following day were *brancos da Bahia* (each with only slight indications of Negro ancestry), and four were whites.

During the visit of a neighboring governor, a procession formed in the Avenida Sete de Setembro to escort the distinguished visitor, together with the Bahian governor, Juracy Magalhães, to the latter's palace. Riding in the procession, alighting in front of the palace, and following the two chief executives into the spacious rooms of the governor's mansion, were presumably the city's political élite, all in formal attire. Of a total of 99 persons, 70 were whites, 22 were very light mulattoes with only slightly noticeable traces of Negro lineage, 7 were dark mulattoes, and none was black. Of the escort of 23 army officials dressed in appropriate uniform, 9 were whites, 12 were very light mulattoes, 2 were dark mixed-bloods.

Of 46 members of the state legislature, 69.4 per cent were whites, 15.2 per cent were *brancos da Bahia*, and 11.0 per cent were mulattoes.[11] Of 14 aldermen, 8 were whites, 4 were *brancos da Bahia*, and 2 were mulattoes (both very light).

In legal proceedings no discrimination is at all evident. Colored individuals appear not only among the defendants but also among those engaged in the defense or the prosecution, as well as among the jury itself. Whites, however, predominate.

Of the officers of the medical association, 6 were whites, 3 were *brancos da Bahia*, and 3 were mulattoes. Of 18 members of an elective supervisory body for the legal profession, 14 were whites, 3 were *brancos da Bahia*, and only 1 had noticeable evidence of mixed ancestry and that principally

[11] One deputy was a black, and there was also 1 *mameluco*.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Carlos Gomes, famed Brazilian composer of the operas *Guaraný* and *Fosca*, 389 Bahians gathered in the Instituto Geographico e Historico. Of these, 316 were whites, 61 were mulattoes (predominately light), 11 were blacks, and 1 was a *cafuso*. With the governor of Bahia (white) on the platform were 12 citizens in formal dress, all whites[26] except the governor's bodyguard, a light mulatto in army uniform. Two young ladies in formal dress, both white, sang and declaimed. Of the 3 subsequent speakers, 2 were whites and 1 was a *branco da Bahia*. The military police band, which furnished instrumental music for the occasion, was composed of 9 blacks, 26 mulattoes, 2 whites, 3 *cafusos*, and 1 *mameluco*, under the direction of a mulatto bandmaster. Fifty students from the Instituto de Musica da Bahia sang one of Gomes' compositions. All were whites, except 2 light mulattoes.

563* 527. [635] [544] [701] [533]

Twenty-one women, aged eighteen to forty, were present at a cooking school sponsored by a foreign resident. A novel experience in Bahia, where for generations Negro servants have prepared the food, this school had assumed somewhat the character of a fad. The group included several ladies from upper-class families, well to do, educated and traveled. The wife of the governor occasionally attended. Present were 18 whites and 3 light mulattoes, among the latter a *morena*, perhaps the best-dressed lady of the group. Her father is deceased, and her mother is a dressmaker in moderate circumstances. The girl's beauty, pleasant manner, and constant well-tailored appearance have secured for her admittance into the upper circles. She is often invited into the "best" homes. Another of the mixed-bloods present was

563* 874 [252] [357]

[26] Including one *branco da Bahia*.

[SALVADOR]

/85 cont./

*563 554 571 Among the intellectuals of whom Bahia is proud and who are included among its great names, there are some who are very dark. One of them, speaking of the mixture of races, says that "the descendants of the crossings mentioned are to be found in Brazil in all social classes, in all professions, even the most intellectual" (3).

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3. Viuva J. Moreina, "Juliano Moreina e o problema do negro mestiço no Brasil /Juliano Moreina and the problem of the Negro mestizo in Brazil/," in Novos estudos afro-brasileiros /Recent Afro-Brazilian Studies/, G. Freyre and others, Rio de Janeiro, 1937.

The colored intellectuals not only do not form a separate group, but are judged and classed solely according to their talent and their works, and in scientific and literary associations occupy positions corresponding to their importance. When, in 1923, [527] the first centenary of the struggles for national independence in the territory of Bahia was commemorated, a very well-known photographer in the city, in collaboration with a historian and professor of the university, put together a large picture with the portraits of the Bahian intellectuals who at that time enjoyed the greatest renown: members of parliament, jurists, poets, prose writers, sacred orators, biologists, physicians, musicians, engineers, folklorists, educators, journalists, linguists of both sexes. Among the 79 intellectuals represented, one counted one caboclo and 20 morenos and pardos, some of them quite /86/ pigmented. One of the four portraits most in view in the upper part of this composition was that of a dark mulatto, already mentioned above as a historian, engineer, and linguist; his picture was placed in the same port as that of Ruy Barbosa, a famous jurist and leader, who is considered "the greatest of Brazilians." The portraits of other métis appeared among those of numerous white intellectuals. [538] Among the recently published 100 biographies of the most notable Bahians of the period that extends from 1564 to 1925, there are 12

[SALVADOR]

/86 cont./

*563 554 571 538 métis celebrated as poets, jurists, linguists, physicians, and preachers, including a son of slaves, who, in the second half of the last century, because of his origin, had great difficulty in being accepted in a faculty of law of his country (1).

[113] 1. A. Loureiro Souza, Bahianos Ilustres, 1564-1925, Bahia, 1949.

All this testifies to the fact that intellectuals are judged according to the standards that apply to the whole of society, without color being taken into account. The literary critics, for example, affirm that the greatest living Bahian poet is a dark pardo and that a moreno is one of the best poets Bahia has had in recent decades. Moreover, the most listened-to literary and artistic critic, who died a few years ago, was a branqueado (whitened) mulatto, who exerted a great influence on the local intellectual life. When, on the occasion of the 350th anniversary of the [527] Lusitanian poet Camoens, the Portuguese colony celebrated Race Day, it was a dark mulatto who, in the name of Brazilians, gave the address of welcome to the Portuguese, while a celebrated sacred orator took the floor for the latter; in 1949, when the fourth centenary of the founding of the city was commemorated, the government of the State, in posthumous homage to this same mulatto intellectual, published one of his remaining unpublished historical works (2).

[113] 2. Teodoro Sampaio, Historia de Fundaçao da Cidade do Salvador /History of the Founding of the City of Salvador/, edited by the Secretaria do Educaçao e Sáude, Bahia, 1949.

*563 554 571 The favorable position given colored people in the intellectual milieus is reflected in certain comments that we gathered in the course of our investigation on colored people. One of them made the following remark: "Colored people owe much to Whites, it is they who praise the Negroes of merit and who make known their name and their works." Another assured us that "among intellectuals there was no color prejudice."

It must be remembered that these figures include the capital city, the population of which is about 450,000. If this is subtracted from the total population of the Recôncavo, the average density of the Recôncavo is approximately 27 persons per square kilometer. 161 [162]

Vila Recôncavo, the community of this study, is part of a county located 41 kilometers across the bay from Salvador. The community includes the town of Vila Recôncavo, which is the county seat, and the surrounding rural zone. Throughout the study we will be dealing with these two components of the sugar-cane plantation community, sometimes separately and sometimes together. 101 634 [121]

The only public transportation to the town is by boat from the capital, a three-hour trip across the bay, threading through numerous islands. The major part of the trip is made on remarkably blue water, usually serenely calm but occasionally violently agitated, especially during the winter. One-, two-, and three-masted sailing vessels and an occasional large sailing canoe, the centuries-old methods of transportation in Bahia, are passed on their way into the city, carrying fruit, vegetables, pottery, firewood, fish, tobacco, manioc flour, and sugar to the more than four hundred thousand people of the city, as they have done since the early colonization of the Recôncavo. The only new element in the scene is the small diesel boat which makes the trip back and forth across the bay, outward bound one day and returning the next with the outgoing tide. 505 501

As the boat nears the luxuriantly green, palm-crested islands, stopping at several to discharge the mail, passengers, and "city goods," one becomes aware of the feeling of stepping back into the past. Barefoot children are selling oranges, peanuts, and fish; and parrots and parakeets, sometimes doped with rum to make them appear tame. The mailman on the dock receives the sack of mail and gives it to his helper to carry to the post office; the island priest may receive a message or package entrusted to the captain of the boat or may even go aboard to travel to the church on another island. The others on the dock call to friends on the boat and exchange news or else simply watch the activity of docking the boat and the casting off. The people of the islands are light-skinned, although well sunburned. Many of them are vacationers from the city, dressed in brightly colored clothes, for the islands are well-known resorts. The others, barefoot, wearing shorts 505 [857] [442] [205] [793] [142] [528]

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596 riages and realignments between branches of these old families.

The Conde and Jacuipe families are good examples of family structure and cohesiveness in Class A. The Conde family is the principal owner of the factory, while several members of the Jacuipe family have stock in the corporation. The ancestral plantation of the Jacuipe family lies outside, although near, the community of Vila Recôncavo and is rented to a neighboring factory. Dona Sinhá, a member of the Jacuipe family and widow of a Conde, owns Fazenda das Moças within the community, a property adjoining the lands of Usina São Pedro. The Conde and Aliança families are joined by a marriage which has brought them into close contact. The Aliança family has three plantations in the community. Thus ten of the eleven functioning plantations in the area belong to the members of three interrelated extended families. [423]

The senior member of the Conde family, the "Colonel," is one of the two men who founded the factory and the brother of the senior member of the Jacuipe family, Dona Yayá, now a widow. A son and a daughter of the Colonel married a daughter and a son of Dona Yayá, thus strengthening the ties between the two families. The Condes are represented by three generations: the mother and father, their eleven children, ten of whom are married, and their twenty-three grandchildren. The Jacuipe family is represented by four generations: Dona Yayá, her eight children, seven of whom are married, twenty-six grandchildren, and three great-grandchildren. Through marriages in the second descending generation of both families, seventeen more persons have been brought into the family group, and through marriages of the third descendent Jacuipe generation six more people have been added. The total number of persons in the two immediate families is ninety-seven. Nineteen members of the Jacuipe family now live in Rio de Janeiro, reducing the number constantly present in Bahia to seventy-eight. Those in Rio, however, maintain constant communication with Bahia and often spend their vacations "home" in Salvador. [162]

[528]

The Colonel and his wife, and the Colonel's sister Dona Yayá, form the nucleus around which the two extended kindred groups are organized. At the factory there are three residences: the large chalet, where the Colonel and his wife live, and a house apiece for his son and son-in-law, who are the two active directors of the factory. There are accommodations [474]

*565 594 capacities, or they are "newly arrived" socially, which often indicates that the relatives of either or both spouses may belong to the lower class; in this case the local upper-class families are inclined to ignore them. In these conjugal families the husband is the central figure, participating in business and social activities of the town, while his wife and children, [166] especially daughters, remain at home. The sons usually go to the city to school and remain there after graduation, so there [871] is little chance of continuing a strong family line in the town. At the factory the case is somewhat different, for the sons of Class B families may enter the factory in one of the higher office positions, thus forming a larger family group as they marry and settle down there. This pattern, however, is only apparent in the second generation, and there are only three cases of it.

*565 517 As a result of the lack of public entertainment in Vila Recôncavo and the competitive attitude of members of Class B among themselves and toward the higher members of Class C, there [571] is little social gathering, especially for the women. There [596] are never extended family gatherings for Class B such as those described for Class A. The men go to the bar or visit one an- [574] other's homes to some slight extent, but wives and daughters seldom do. The wives are kept occupied bearing children and [562] caring for them. Those few daughters who are sent to school in the city are indeed fortunate, for their chances of marry- [871] ing and remaining in Salvador, the desire of most young people, are greatest. The summer vacation is boring to them in [166] comparison with their scope of activities in the winter. The [183] sons can enjoy the summer, going swimming, horseback riding, playing ball, making the most of the few parties and fes- [528] tivals (festas) which take place during the summer, lounging in the bar gossiping, meeting the boat, and visiting lower- *565 562 517 class girls. The daughters, on the other hand, can do nothing of the sort. They spend their time at home with their mothers and sometimes visit a married girl friend or sister to gossip.

For those girls who remain in the town, life can be intolerably dull. They must be extremely careful of where they go, when, and with whom, and of what they do, for the town gossip about them can be vicious. The reputation of a girl seen on the street at night without one of her parents is ruined. These girls are expected to be virgins, models of propriety,

743 so there is competent medical assistance. Those who are too poor to pay receive free aid and medications, milk, and soup; those who can pay do so, paying only the wholesale prices of the articles. The institute is well equipped, with an x-ray machine, diathermy, and other heat appliances, which are popular because of the prevalence of colds and rheumatism.

743 The institute also operates the weekly motion picture which
• 529 has been a great boon to the town, a recreation room, central-
[546] ly located in the town, which has a radio, billiard tables, and a bar selling milk shakes, sandwiches, beer, and soft drinks.
743 This place has become the major meeting place for the men
873 and boys of the town. In addition to this, the institute also runs a night school for adults.

463 Group 2, as listed at the beginning of this chapter, con-
[571] sists mainly of the people who work for those in Group 1 and who are attached to them by the bonds of the patronship to
[462] some extent, as well as by salary. The majority of persons in this category are women, engaged in the traditional female pursuits of washing, ironing, sewing, embroidering, and general housework.

296 As a rule the laundry is washed at one of the town wells,
462 which are encased in cement. The women carry the dirty clothes, a bucket, and wooden basin, all piled on top of their
463 heads, to the well. They pull up enough water in their buck-
[482] ets to fill the basins in which the clothes are washed. After a soaking and scrubbing with soap the wet, soapy clothes are spread out on the ground in the sun, and from time to time water is sprinkled on them to aid the sun in bleaching. Then the clothes are rewashed and spread out to dry. Depending upon the weather, the washing and drying process may take from a whole day to three or four days before the clothes are considered clean enough. Then they are taken home to be
[463] ironed. The older pattern demanded that a different person do the ironing, but today this pattern is breaking down and fre-
[178] quently the same person washes and irons. The irons used are the old-fashioned kind heated by charcoal, which is placed inside and ignited. The irons are made with drafts to keep the fire going, and the women must stop frequently to fan the fire or renew the charcoal. Often a busy woman has two irons going and sets one aside to heat while she irons with the other.

462 Many women also prepare xangô, a small sardinelike fish
252 caught in great quantities by the fishermen of Vila Recônca-
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3: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1963 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 178 466 [464] In the very large *usinas*, the mill hands and even the field hands are modern industrial workers. They are employees of a large industrial corporation and are protected at least theoretically by the labour laws of the nation. The highly personalized relationship between the plantation workers and the owner-administrator of his own plantation, which persisted from the slave era, has been replaced on the larger *usinas* by the impersonal employee-employer relationship of the modern industrial age. Today, modern plantations and small towns have electricity; there is modern housing for workmen; the State and even the sugar companies provide medical aid; there are primary schools both in the small towns and on many plantations; recreation facilities are found in the towns and provided by the *usinas*; and the sugar-cane experimental station situated in the area constantly urges fertilization of the land and modern techniques and methods of sugar-cane production. But the older and more traditional patterns exist side by side with the new, and each of them influences the relations among the racial groups of the zone.

[365] [362] [743] [872] [529] [242]

361 [131] [634] **III.** Vila Recôncavo is a small town on the Bay of All Saints. The rural area around it, which lies within the social and economic orbit of the town and which is the unit under consideration, comprises some 80 square kilometres, or slightly less than half the entire area of the county of which the town of Vila Recôncavo is the county seat.[1]

[423] [634] It this area there are 14 plantations, three of which nowadays plant very little sugar cane. Parts of the town itself are built on the land of one of these plantations, and the rest of the town area is owned in small lots by private individuals or by the Church. Although Vila Recôncavo is the county seat, local government is the only important function which it fulfils for the surrounding area. It is not used as a shipping point, either for receiving supplies from the outside or for sending sugar to the outside. *Braços do mar*, or inlets of the bay, go to many of the plantations and are deep enough for the *saveiros* (shallow draft sailboats) used on the bay for transport. Many of the plantations have direct connexion with Salvador. Commerce in Vila Recôncavo is almost entirely limited to supplying the 1,462 inhabitants of the town and of some small islands and of one community near by which is not devoted to sugar production. It is not the major supply source even for these groups which live near enough to another and far larger commercial centre where they prefer to do their marketing. The *prefeito* or mayor of the county is rarely a resident of the town itself. Rather he is usually a planter of the surrounding area. He goes into town to do municipal business,

[504] [487] [438] [162] 634

[1] Both the town and the county bear the name of Vila Recôncavo.

planters. People in the upper class of the town, when they can, send their children to the capital to continue their education, and there are several *mestiço* students from Vila Recôncavo studying law, medicine and engineering in Salvador. The intelligence of the mulatto is traditional, and it has been equally traditional that the darker-skinned person is unintelligent. Today these traditions are not as strong as before, but still it is felt that the mulatto has somewhat more aptitude than the Negro. The old idea of the Negro, meant for work and to be servile, still exists, now tempered with the knowledge that education can change the situation. There is only one club in Vila Recôncavo—a football club—and the players are all shades, from white to black, and so are the spectators. They all sit or stand together under the shade of the one big tree which gives shade to the playing field. The field is on the property of a white man who, while he has nothing to do with the team, allows them to play there, put up goal posts and markers. The bar and recreation centre are open to all so long as they wear shoes—a ruling made to keep out the muddy feet of children who came straight from the beach to have a 'coke'. All the racial types and classes get together here to play pool and gossip, this being the one and only point of public social activity in the town. At the movies, the admission price is extremely low, the same for everyone, and all four classes attend. Negroes and whites of all classes sit next to each other. At church there are no special pews, the faithful usually gathering in the front and the less faithful hanging about near the back. The choir and the acolytes are from all classes and colours. At parties, which are few, colour lines are disregarded, *brancos* and *morenos* dance with *mulatos* and *pretos* just as long as both partners can *pular* (jump).

The social situation is gradually changing, and the extremely personal element is being lost. It is strongest on the private plantation, where the owner spends the greater part of the year, but at the *usina* much of the personal element is weakened because of the numbers of workers. Even at the *usina*, there is visiting and gossiping between the owners' families and the workers. But at the *usina* not all the workers accept their subservient position as do those of the plantations. This is specially true of the higher echelon of specialists and technicians of the mill, who will frequently not go to a party given by the owner, even though invited. It seems to be a way of saying that the company of the white owners is neither needed nor wanted. They prefer to keep their relations on a strictly business basis. At the *usina*, when a worker is sick, he goes to the medical post where he is treated by a paid nurse, rather than to the owner's house. On pay day, the *usina* worker is paid at the mill by a paymaster, not in the living room of the owner's house. Nevertheless, in spite of the industrialized aspect of the mill, the number of workers is not too large to exclude all personal contact with the owners, who adminis-

[SALVADOR]

/18 cont./

829 365 The irregularities and inadequacies of electric service in the city are attributed by many inhabitants of Bahia to what they call the "contempt of the Americans for the well-being of the people," as if the Americans were the only ones responsible for the operation of the American-Brazilian enterprise that produces electricity for the region. Everything that is or is supposed to be American otherwise enjoys great prestige. There is, however, a foreign group against which (or, more precisely, against the hidden "trust" that it represents) there exists a very strong hostility, although it manifests itself only on certain occasions. It is a matter of emigrants from Spanish Galicia, accused of exploiting the populace owing to the monopoly that they have acquired in the grocery and bakery business. At certain times when tension is particularly strong, as in 1930, and following the rapid rise of the price of commodities of prime necessity at the beginning of the last world war, the populace gave free vent to its discontent by plundering certain Spanish business establishments. But the attitude of the Bahians toward the person of these immigrants is free of lasting animosity, and marriages between the two groups are frequent. The fact remains, however, that the population attributes to the Spaniards the shortage of certain food commodities, especially bread, and it accuses these emigrants of "enriching themselves off of the misery of the people."

829 *563 578 [443] [152] [458] [579] [261]

• 529 *563 575 743 The recreational associations of the English, Spaniards, Syrians, and Lebanese are frequented by Brazilians. Likewise the hospitals maintained by the Portuguese and Spanish colonies are managed by Brazilian doctors and receive numerous patients from Bahia, white or colored.

795 771 The religion of the Catholic majority is traditionally much more external and ritualistic than dogmatic, the religiosity of a large number of those who call themselves "strict Catholics" being chiefly theoretical. This must have constituted a serious difficulty for the clergy; it is also a subject of astonishment for the visitor who imagines that he will come in contact with "the most Catholic of Brazilian cities." The antagonisms between religious groups are also moderate in this domain and /19/ never affect the

798 621

[SALVADOR]

/62/ The Arts

*563 • 53 In Bahia the populace has its own art and its artists who interpret it according to their personal conception. And one may say that from this point of view there exists a form of art that is peculiar to poor and colored persons, especially in the [565] realm of music and dance. But in the artistic activities of the higher stratum of the population, the participation of colored *563 533 [555] people is not important, except for music. Perhaps because of the belief that attributes to mulattoes a particular inclination for music, colored musicians are relatively numerous, and some of them enjoy a great deal of prestige and are admitted into the social scheme. In all the bands and in all the orchestras there is a large proportion of Blacks and mulattoes, sometimes even as [875] soloists. Some of them engage in teaching and in this way reach [655] a higher social rank when, thanks to their competence, they succeed in having pupils who belong to the wealthiest families and when they become part of the teaching corps of the most important schools of music.

*563 875 533 Of three musicians, professors of piano and composition of Bahia, of great renown in the course of these last years, two are mulattoes. The most celebrated among them, after having very brilliantly concluded a course in Germany, taught for many years in Bahia; he then moved to another State; every time that he returns to his country he is the object of demonstrations of fellow-feeling; on these occasions numerous students or instrumentalists seek him out for short refresher courses. All Bahia is proud of the talents of this artist. Another mulatto, with the help of influential persons, organized a school of music which rapidly became very famous for the quality of its teaching and for the frequent concerts that it organized. After his death, the management of the school passed to his moreno son. The teaching of violin, which is at [462] present done almost exclusively by men, includes numerous black or dark mulatto professionals; in the teaching of piano, an activity to a large extent engaged in by women, one finds morenas and *563 545 533 "whitened" of great fame. A very popular singer of mixed blood is both founder and directress of an organization which, with the contribution of some thousands of adherents of the highest classes of

5: Azevedo--128 D, Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
[Salvador]

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11. A "mae de santo."

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

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346 by a large and sumptuous church, in which the first Mass was celebrated in 1722. The magnificence of the church is still present, although the original altars have been replaced by
[532] new ones. Exquisite tiles depicting the life of St. Anthony, to whom the church is dedicated, line the sides of the church. The floors are of marble, and the wooden ceilings are painted
[322] in oils. It is said that the marble and the painted ceilings were brought from Portugal. The woodwork in the choir loft and sacristy is beautiful hand-worked rosewood. The clock in the
[805] bell tower which rings the hour and half-hour is still the town timepiece, its sound reaching far out over the Bay. Under the marble floor, between the altar and the communion rail, are
[764] the tombs of the early families of Vila Recôncavo. The names inscribed on the tombs constitute a roster of families now scattered throughout the nation.

It is not known exactly when the Tertiary Order of Franciscans was first formed in Vila Recôncavo, but it too has left
175 its mark on the face of the town, for it constructed another
792 large church and two-story building at the side of the convent.
346 The chronicler of the convent in the early 1900's wrote:

> Of the epoch of the formation of the Tertiary Order and the construction of the church and buildings nothing remains, not a document exists, with the exception of one book, consisting of the elections, offices, and resolutions of the Order. This book was begun in 1853 and ended in 1866. On the ceiling of the church appears the date 1751, in white paint, which seems to be of the original workmanship, and at the side of it can be seen in black paint "repaired in 1844." The lands of the Order are known only through the tradition of the people, since no document exists.[6]

If the date 1751 can be taken as the date of the construction of the church of the Tertiary Order, it can be assumed that the Order existed in Vila Recôncavo some time before this date, at least early in the 1700's. These additions to the convent were the last of the noble constructions in the town of Vila Recôncavo and took place at the end of the town's flourishing period. They were the last public expression of grandeur in the

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6. Author's translation.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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cumstances they gradually lost their African customs and traditions and took over more and more European ideas, attitudes, and points of view.

This loyalty and devotion, as well as even deeds of heroism, on the part of Negro slaves quite naturally evoked corresponding sentiments of appreciation and affection in masters and their children. Mrs. Louis Agassiz, visiting, together with her husband, the Academy of Fine Arts in Rio in 1865, noted with particular interest the portrait of a Negro

> who, in a shipwreck off the coast, had saved a number of lives at the risk of his own. When he had brought several passengers to the shore, he was told that two children still remained in the ship. He swam back once more and brought them safely to the beach, but then sank down exhausted, and was seized with a hemorrhage. A considerable sum was raised for him in the city of Rio, and his picture was placed in the Academy to commemorate his heroism.[74]

BB

There hangs today in the Pinacotheca at Bahia a famous painting of the *mãe preta*, or "black mother." "We children," recently remarked a prominent Bahian banker, "respected our *mãe preta* as much as, or perhaps even more than, we did our own parents. I'm sure we feared her more and obeyed her more readily."

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Henrique Dias, a Pernambucan slave, materially and somewhat spectacularly aided the Portuguese when they were engaged, during the seventeenth century, in driving the Dutch out of Pernambuco. Captured, he was shortly released, the Dutch thinking that "because he was a Negro slave he wasn't worth the cost of feeding." He returned to fight effectively for the Portuguese and was once wounded in battle. Following the expulsion of the Dutch, he was given many honors, commissioned in the local militia, and put in

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[74] Professor and Mrs. Louis Agassiz, *A Journey in Brazil* (Boston and New York, 1888), p. 478.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

291 [565] (177) [301] Paris fashions largely dictate the nature of female attire among the upper classes at Bahia, but many black women still wear the *vestimenta bahiana*. This costume is composed of a *saia*, or very full skirt, of varying combinations of colors, which ordinarily measures some twelve to fifteen feet in circumference at the hem and is worn *bouffant*, spread by a heavily starched underskirt; a *bátá*, or long, loose-flowing white blouse which is ordinarily of cotton cloth but occasionally of silk, trimmed, in most cases, with wide lace, sometimes worn very loose at the neck and allowed to slip off one shoulder; a *pano da costa*, or long, heavy, striped cotton cloth, at times worn slung over the shoulder and pinned under the opposite arm, at times wrapped once or twice in a wide fold about the waist and tied rather tightly; a *torso*, or turban, of cotton or silk, bound about the head; *chinelas*, or strapless leather sandals with low heels; numerous necklaces of coral, cowries, or glass beads, with an occasional metal chain, often of silver; earrings of turquoise, coral, silver, or gold; and numerous [301] bracelets of cowries or of iron, copper, or other metal. The *balangandan*, formerly an important ornament, has disappeared."

As an alternate to the *bátá* a white blouse is sometimes worn tucked inside the *saia*, and in place of the *pano da costa* a woolen or silken shawl is occasionally substituted. For

[532] (789) "The *balangandan* (also known as *berenguendem*, *balançançan*, *cambaio*, or *penca*) consisted of a gold or silver frame on which were hung gold or silver images of animals, birds, fowls, fish, flowers, parts of the human body, houses, household utensils, amulets (including gold or silver balls inclosing soil from a cemetery), bells, medallions with religious significance, angels, suns, moons, etc. It was worn on festive occasions, tied at the waist (see F. Marques dos Santos, "As balangandans," *Espelho*, April, 1936). Many impoverished families, [422] attracted by recent high prices of gold and silver, have disposed of these relics of a former splendor. A limited number may still be seen among the heirlooms of wealthy Bahians.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

[P. 259]

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SYMBOLS OF THE SOOTHSAYER'S ART PAINTED ON THE WALL OF A NEGRO DWELLING IN MATATU

[SALVADOR]

/62 cont./

*563 545 533 [204] society, has brought to Bahia the most famous musicians of our time. The newspapers and journals report the concerts that the white and colored artists give in the theaters and halls of the most important organizations of the city, and publish their /63/ pictures as well as the comments that the art critics make on the subject.

*563 814 538 [532] [346] In the plastic arts, colored persons have not played an important role, although in the past they have produced some painters and sculptors of some renown whose works can be viewed in the most beautiful baroque churches of the city. These works are mentioned in the books on the art of Bahia, especially in those of a black or dark mulatto writer, Manoel Querino, son of slaves, whose studies on art, folklore, and Afro-Brazilian ethnography have made him famous. The first centenary of the birth of this intellectual, who in his biographies of numerous artists of Bahia only very rarely indicated their type, was solemnly commemorated in Bahia, as well as in Rio de Janeiro, at the same time that two other folklorists, who were white, one of whom was from Bahia, were honored.

*563 873 [875] In the school of fine arts of the local university, students of all types have acquired university degrees in architecture, painting, drawing, and sculpture; its teaching staff at present includes at least three mulattoes, two of whom are quite dark. Some informants say, however, that one painter, because of his color, was not counted for a prize offered by the school, consisting of a journey outside the State. This incident, which happened some tens of years ago, is interpreted in different ways by our informants.

*563 545 In the theater, colored persons (at least those who are very dark) do not have great possibilities, and one often hears this complaint expressed. The Blacks, says one young informant, never get beyond the stage of laborer or carpenter in our theaters; even for the roles of Blacks, disguised Whites are preferred. On the other hand, a morena amateur actress states that white women refuse to play the parts of Bahians and that they entrust these parts to colored girls. It is also somewhat difficult to present white and colored actors together on the same stage, even in the theatrical [873]

5: Azevedo--84 D. Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
[Salvador]

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7. Black painter.

5: Azevedo--106 D. Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[Salvador]

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10. A colored artisan.

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A group of people decide to "take a party of kings" to someone's house. They wait until the lights in the house go out late at night and then knock on the door, playing and singing a song which is traditional for the purpose. The owner must then open the house and let everyone in to dance and make merry. The surprise element has been removed, for it is now considered courteous to sound out the householder to see whether he would like to be the recipient of such a party, and also to give him time to prepare food and drink. The householder also has the privilege of inviting anyone he wants who might be overlooked by those who organize the party. A group of young men approached the author in the prescribed manner, and in due course all arrangements were completed. The young men were to supply an electric phonograph and records for the dancing, and the author was requested to invite the rural planters, especially those with daughters.

A group of twenty-four planters and about a hundred townspeople, factory technicians, overseers, and a few men of urban Class C came to the party. The planters arrived in a truck a little early and entered the house, which was then closed and the lights turned off. Shortly afterwards the others arrived at the door and knocked, and the band began to play the long serenade. (A band was brought along for the song, which is an important part of the Reis; but nowadays no one likes to dance to a hometown band when records are available, so the men played only the serenade and then put their instruments away.) At the end of the song, the doors and windows were opened and the guests began to pour in.

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The rooms of the house were small, but all the furniture had been removed to make room for dancing in the two largest rooms, which were joined by two wide doors. At the beginning of the party everyone was very formal and shy; the young men remained on one side of the room, the young women on the other, and the entire planter group in a huddle by itself. Gradually things got under way, and as drinks were served to esquentar a gente (warm up the people) as many as could dance in the cramped quarters did so. For the first hour or so all the guests mingled, dancing with one another; then gradually the members of Class A began to pull away, at first beginning to dance among themselves and finally usurping a third room in which they danced away from the others, uninterrupted by anyone.

Reactions to this were varied in the days after the party

[Class C Families]

(tamancos), or perhaps leather shoes. Women wear a dress and a slip and are usually barefoot. Dress-up occasions also call for undergarments, stockings, and shoes. Great modesty is always shown about exposing oneself in front of others. Few of the men shave themselves, going to the barber for this as well as for haircuts. There are several women who are experts at hair straightening, which they do with a flat-iron, although most women and girls in this class who have the problem of straightening their hair know how to do it themselves.

565* 291 [292] 565* 305 302

In Class C as well as in Class B the father is the dominant person. He rules the household. He is the one who is served at meals, whose clothing is always clean and pressed, and who goes out the most. He spends much of his leisure time in one of the several stores, talking and taking an occasional drink of rum; or on one of the few shaded corners playing dominoes with his friends; or else in the bar playing billiards and gossiping. As a rule he goes to the movies alone, or at least without his family, although in the higher echelons of the class families often go to the movies and to church together. There is one family which is musically inclined, and which often spends evenings at home together, making up a small orchestra. If there is a samba in someone's house, many men from this class will be there watching, while the participants are usually single women and girls from the same class. The men will discuss a woman's physical attributes while she is in the center of the ring dancing. This is one of the most common ways in which a girl gets "looked over" and is watched as she develops. Sooner or later some man will fall in love with her (apaixonar-se dela), and if she is not well guarded by her family he will eventually have an affair with her. In the case of fishermen, most of the time is taken up either by fishing or by caring for equipment, for the nets need a good deal of attention. Since the fishermen's hours follow the tides, their working hours differ from day to day. They often go to bed early, in anticipation of getting up at three or four in the morning.

517 565* 592 [184] [533] 565* 535 517 565* 226 517 [513]

The women, on the other hand, follow a more regular daily routine of getting the morning coffee ready, getting the children off to school, going for water and wood, doing the ever-present laundry and ironing, and caring for the younger children. In addition, if possible, they prepare xangô to help supplement the family income and go to the fair in Centro on Mon-

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[Class C Families]

her services ranges anywhere from fifty cruzeiros to nothing but thanks, but with the understanding that when she is ill the family will help her, since she lives alone. 759

If a baptized child dies before it is seven years old, it is called an angel and goes straight to heaven, while if it dies before this age and is unbaptized, it is called a pagan and goes to limbo. The angel is carried through the streets in an open coffin, for everyone to see. The lid is put on the coffin after it is in the ground, whereupon all those in attendance scoop in some earth. The attitude toward the death of a child is one of mixed joy and sadness, and sometimes of joy only. If the mother and father wanted the child very badly, they feel sad; but otherwise the general attitude is that the child is better off dead, especially since he becomes an angel. The difference in the ringing of the church bells also shows this, for the ringing for a dead child is a short, almost joyous sound, while that for an adult is a long, sad tolling. 761 851 775 [533]

If it appears that a child is going to die after it has been born, an effort is made to have it baptized as soon as possible. But if it is healthy, it is baptized whenever the family can do so. The baptism includes a small party for the family and godparents. Formerly if a child died before it was baptized, its grave was sometimes baptized on the eve of São João by the woman who had been chosen to be its godmother. The family and godparents would go to the cemetery at midnight and gather around the grave, which the godmother sprinkled with water and baptized. This, however, is no longer done. 763 851 769 851 178

According to the parish records, 705 children were baptized in the county during 1950; 320 of those belonged to the community of Vila Recôncavo. The civil register, however, showed only 276 persons of all ages registered in the county for the same year. A child is seldom registered right after birth, or even at the time of baptism, but whenever the parents think of it. Sometimes a person must do it himself when, as an adult, he needs a registration certificate. The situation is changing gradually as life becomes more entangled in official red tape, and people are registering their children more frequently than they used to. Members of classes A and B are much more careful about this matter than are the lower classes. 851 217 162 [178] [565]*

According to law, the medical doctor must sign a death certificate before a permit to bury someone can be obtained, so the figures for deaths are more accurate than those for births. The civil register for the community of Vila Recôncavo 217 [763] [759] 600

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santo, which means literally "daughter (or son) of the saint." They prefer to refer to a person as "having a saint" (tem santo) which indicates that he has an obligation toward one of the saints and becomes possessed by him. In ordinary speech the word "saint" is used, but once the person has "made his saint" --that is, has gone through the preparatory rites and has learned the cries and dances of the divinity and how to care for him properly--it is said that the person has Ômolú, or Sete Estrelas (Seven Stars).

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Because most of the women, and the few men in the cults, cannot spend a year segregated in the cult house in order to "make their saint," they continue for many years in the halfway condition of someone who "has a saint but has not yet made the saint." This means that the person has experienced possession, and that it has been determined by the zelador that he is under obligation to a certain saint and is in the process of "making the saint." During this period of simply "having the saint," the person has to carry out certain duties such as feeding the saint, making the proper clothes, and buying the beads and other outer symbols of the deity which are to be used during the ceremonies. This involves considerable expenditure. The clothes are always made of silk, since nothing is too good for the saint. Today, lipstick, perfume, and cheap jewelry are competing for the few extra cents the girls have, so that it takes longer and longer to get the necessary items together. During this period, the obligations of dancing and possession are less strenuous. In the case of the Indian spirits, the deity often speaks through the person after one or two possessions, and this is taken to mean that the spirit is firmly upon the person and may be considered "made." In this fashion much arduous work is avoided, as well as considerable expense. This is a major reason for the growing popularity of the Indian saints, in addition to the fact that they are gayer.

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The drummers also like Indian saints, for, after they have danced, the Indian spirits usually take up a collection which is presented to the drummers for having played so well for them. The drummers are drawn from men whose wives participate in the activities, or else they are men who are interested in the proceedings and who like to drum. They learn the drumming early in their lives, listening to it as children when they go to watch the ceremonies. On nights when the drums are playing it is impossible for anyone not to hear the impos-

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ing, exciting sounds, which continue for hours on end. Little boys pick up the rhythms quickly and soon associate each rhythm with the particular spirit who dances to it. As they grow older and show interest in it, they may be allowed to relieve one of the drummers during an interval and in this way join the others in some less important part of the ceremony, until finally the zelador feels they know enough to drum for the entire evening. 794 533

The entire proceedings are considered too strenuous for children, as much for the boy drummers as for the girl dancers. If a small girl shows signs of possession during the ceremony she is taken away, for until she is over fourteen dancing is considered too strenuous for her. But unless her family refuses, she may be coached in all the rituals by the other dancers and the zelador. The ceremonies always draw more onlookers than performers, and outside the rural cult house a man has set up a small stand to sell refreshments. As many as can, enter the room and line the walls, while the others stand outside, looking in through the open doors and windows. Most people know the procedure in a vague way and know whom the drums are calling and who "has" which saint. 794 857 [787] [869] 794 [265]

The ceremonies are rather long, the first step in the actual performance being the calling of the saints. The evening's participants dance in a circle while the drums call the various spirits. It sometimes takes quite a while for the saint to come, and there are times when he does not come at all. One young man danced unsuccessfully for over an hour and was finally removed, exhausted, by the zelador. When someone in the circle "falls," he is quickly led out of the room and into the pegi where the zelador changes his clothing, putting on him the costume of the spirit. In the meantime the others rest or may keep on dancing, becoming possessed one after the other, depending upon the type of ceremony. After the possessed person has been dressed and has completed the necessary ritual, he is led back into the main room where he now, as the saint, dances in earnest until tired or angered by something which occurs in the room. Often the zelador gives the signal for the drums to change their rhythm, indicating the end of the dance, by which time the person is physically very tired although emotionally highly keyed up. He is led back into the pegi to complete the detailed rituals, and is then given a place to rest and to come back to normal. As a rule he soon joins the others in the front room as a spectator. By 794 796 787 [533]

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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teenth. Tapa and Haussá were spoken during the entire nineteenth century, and the latter perhaps long before 1800. Although the Haussás were relatively few in number, their influence was considerable. The slave revolts of the early nineteenth century were, as we have seen, led by this reputedly "most intellectual element" among the imported Africans, many of whom could read and write Arabic characters. Kanúri, spoken in Bahia by the Bornús, and Grúnce, the tongue used by the slaves known as Gallinhas, are included, along with Haussá, Gêge, and Tapa, in the limited vocabularies which Rodrigues collected from Bahian Negroes near the beginning of the twentieth century.[11] Tshi (or Odji), Gá (or Acrá),[12] and Mandê (or Mandinga) were also employed to a limited extent.

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As late as 1900, Negro laborers in Bahia continued to wear "white vestments of coarse cotton cloth," which reminded Rodrigues of "the Nagô *camisús*."[13] The *Bahiana* costume,[14] of partial African origin, was extensively used by the Negro women. It was also customary for them to carry their babies bound to the back with a large cloth. African dishes, in the preparation of which *azeite de dendê* (oil of the *dendê* palm) and *pimenta da costa* (pepper from the West Coast) prominently figured, formed a considerable portion of the Negro diet.

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At that time, also, African music might be frequently heard, particularly in the ceremonies of the *candomblé*. African musical instruments, like the *atabaque*, the *agê*, the *canzá*, the *marimba*, the *agôgô*, the *caxixi*, and the *xáque-xáque*[15] were commonly employed. The fetish cult drew allegiance from numerous and zealous devotees.

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 217–21.

[12] Spoken in Bahia by the Ashantis.

[13] *Op. cit.*, p. 181.

[14] The *Bahiana* costume is described in detail in chap. ix.

[15] These instruments are described in chap. ix.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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to her,[53] romances written.[53] Of 146 male students responding to the query, "All things being equal, whom would you prefer to marry, a *branca*, a *morena*, a *parda*, a *preta*," 117, or 80.1 per cent, replied "a *morena*." Similarly, of 93 white female students responding to a like question, 80, or 86 per cent, preferred a *moreno* for a mate.

The *morena* may, or may not, have African blood.[54] But at least in Bahia this category includes many individuals of partial African descent. For instance, a study of five hundred women classified as *morenas* in the Gabinete de Identificação indicated the probable distribution given in Table 7.

It is the opinion of Arthur Ramos[55] that, although "the charms of the *morena* exert a profound sexual attraction" and the regard in which she is held "has a sexual base in the Freudian sense," the present attitude toward the *morena* "grew out of the enthusiasm and the sentimentalism of the abolition campaign. The *morena* expresses in a symbolic way the union of the two races—the black and the white—and the absence of [caste] prejudice."

The *morena* probably constitutes a decided bond be-

[53] As, for example, the following:

Beautiful morena,
Morena,
Morena who makes me suffer!
The full moon, so bright,
Is not as luminous as your eyes.
You are a *morena*,
A wonderful girl.
There's not a *branca* who hasn't
fallen for you.

Often,
When you pass by,
Men quarrel over you;
Everyone eagerly anticipates
Your smile.

Your heart is a boarding-house,
A family hotel
Along the seashore.
Oh, *morenina*, do not rent all!
Leave at least a corner
For me to live in!

[54] A rock on the island of Paquetá in Guanabara Bay at Rio de Janeiro very popular with young lovers, has been dedicated to the *morenina*.

[54] Pronouncing the word *morena* (or *moreno*) with a certain emphasis or changed inflection indicates darker color.

[55] Stated in personal correspondence with the author.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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in pigmentation. An able lawyer, with an extended period of practice in Bahia, he was well regarded by his associates.

At a formal dinner given by *A Tarde*, probably the most influential Bahian daily, in honor of a noted journalist and poet, 15 whites, 4 *brancos da Bahia*, 3 light mulattoes, and 6 medium or dark mixed-bloods sat down together at the banquet table. Among the guests, according to the account on the subsequent day, were "all the editorial writers and collaborators of this newspaper, together with a few specially invited friends and admirers of the honored guest [a white]."

Among the members attending a session of the Bahian Academy of Letters were 5 whites, 1 *branco da Bahia*, and 3 mulattoes. One of the latter is an able poet, quite dark, with kinky hair.

Present at a tea dance given by Bahia's Girl Guides at the exclusive club previously mentioned were the city's social élite, including the governor. *A Tarde*, in reporting the event, said, "As was to be expected, there was present our best society—all of it, almost—making the occasion one of elegance and distinction." Of the 414 guests, 346 were whites, 64 were very light mulattoes (exhibiting only slight traces of Negro ancestry), and 3 were dark mixed-bloods. One of the latter, with kinky hair but Caucasian features, was accompanied by a light mulatto wife, almost white, and two light mulatto daughters. One of the latter danced once during the afternoon—with a white youth. Of 30 Girl Guides serving the guests, 3 showed slight traces of Negro origin. The only blacks present were the members of the jazz orchestra (composed of 3 blacks and 6 dark mulattoes) and 2 maids who had accompanied white families.

The president of a literary, semiscientific, and social or-

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Carlos Gomes, famed Brazilian composer of the operas *Guaranÿ* and *Fosca*, 389 Bahians gathered in the Instituto Geographico e Historico. Of these, 316 were whites, 61 were mulattoes (predominately light), 11 were blacks, and 1 was a *cafuso*. With the governor of Bahia (white) on the platform were 12 citizens in formal dress, all whites[26] except the governor's bodyguard, a light mulatto in army uniform. Two young ladies in formal dress, both white, sang and declaimed. Of the 3 subsequent speakers, 2 were whites and 1 was a *branco da Bahia*. The military police band, which furnished instrumental music for the occasion, was composed of 9 blacks, 26 mulattoes, 2 whites, 3 *cafusos*, and 1 *mameluco*, under the direction of a mulatto bandmaster. Fifty students from the Instituto de Musica da Bahia sang one of Gomes' compositions. All were whites, except 2 light mulattoes.

563* 527. [635] [544] [701] [533]

Twenty-one women, aged eighteen to forty, were present at a cooking school sponsored by a foreign resident. A novel experience in Bahia, where for generations Negro servants have prepared the food, this school had assumed somewhat the character of a fad. The group included several ladies from upper-class families, well to do, educated and traveled. The wife of the governor occasionally attended. Present were 18 whites and 3 light mulattoes, among the latter a *morena*, perhaps the best-dressed lady of the group. Her father is deceased, and her mother is a dressmaker in moderate circumstances. The girl's beauty, pleasant manner, and constant well-tailored appearance have secured for her admittance into the upper circles. She is often invited into the "best" homes. Another of the mixed-bloods present was

563* 874 [252] [357]

[26] Including one *branco da Bahia*.

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that the period of time involved is much greater in the case of Carnival.

In 1936, as for some years previously, three clubs competed in presenting floats on the opening and closing evenings of Carnival. The rivalries, especially between Cruz Vermelha and the Fantoshes, are intense, the Innocentes em Progresso appearing to be rather generally admired. 796 575 [578]

Preceding, during, and following the parade, Negro *batucadas* and *cordões* pass through the milling crowds. The *batucadas* are usually composed of fifteen to twenty young men, invariably blacks or dark mulattoes, who carry small drums, *cuicas*, and *xaque-xaques*,[29] and parade in single file. The music is one toned and monotonous, reminiscent of the *candomblé* ritual. A *cordão* consists of fifty or sixty people of both sexes and all ages, invariably blacks and dark mulattoes, inclosed within a roped quadrangle, some marching, rather informally, some constantly whirling and dancing, all singing African songs and beating their palms. A banner, usually of silk and velvet, bears the group's name. It may be Outum Obá de Africa, Ideal Africano, Onça,[30] or some similar designation. The group also includes from ten to fifteen musicians with brass instruments, a few blacks in African costume, and a dancer bearing an animal's head (tiger, lion, *onça*, etc.). The women and the small children are usually dressed in the *Bahiana* costume, to be described in detail in a subsequent chapter. [533]

In a spirit of levity common to the Carnival season, one will occasionally see a group of whites and light mulattoes burlesquing the *cordão*. Encompassed by a rope, they pass through the crowd, singing, dancing, and beating their palms. In one of these *blocos*, as they are called, 16 of the 563* 796

[29] See chap. ix.

[30] The *onça* is the Brazilian jaguar.

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filled the churches at Mass, at prayers, and at sermons, accompanied by little black urchins carrying small stools of *jacarandá*[16] with carved feet. They were women who tended small stalls in the markets, or who sold in the streets, proprietors of small eating-places, elderly slaves, and young *mulatas* who came to turn the heads of the "old conquerors."[17]

[16] A very heavy wood of rich coloring much prized for furniture.

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[17] "Onde estão as *Bahianas?*" *A Tarde*, June 23, 1936. It was of these *Bahianas* that Carmen Miranda sang when she recently captivated Broadway with the staccato notes of the rollicking *samba* by Dorival Caymmi, "Que é que a Bahiana tem?"

O que é que a bahiana tem?	What is it that a *Bahiana* has?
O que é que a bahiana tem?	What is it that a *Bahiana* has?
Tem torço de seda, tem	She has a *torço* of silk, she has
Tem brinco de ouro, tem	She has ornaments of gold, she has
Corrente de ouro, tem	She has a golden necklace, she has
Tem pano da Costa, tem	She has a *pano da Costa*, she has
Tem bátá rendada, tem, ah!	She has a *bátá*, embroidered, she has—ah!
Pulseira de ouro, tem	Bracelets of gold, she has
Tem saia engomada, tem	She has a *saia*, starched, she has
Sandalia enfeitada, tem.	Decorated *sandalias*, she has.
Tem graça como ninguem	She has "oomph" like nobody else
Como ela requebra bem	How well she swings those hips!
Quando você se requebrar	When you swing those hips
Caia por cima de mim	Fall on top of me
Caia por cima de mim	Fall on top of me
Caia por cima de mim.	Fall on top of me.
O que é que a bahiana tem?	What is it that a *Bahiana* has?
O que é que a bahiana tem?	What is it that a *Bahiana* has?
Tem torço de seda, tem . . . . etc.	She has a *torço* of silk, she has . . . . etc.
Só vae no Bomfim quem tem	Only those go to Bomfim who have
Só vae no Bomfim quem tem	Only those go to Bomfim who have
Um rosario de ouro	A rosary of gold,
Uma bolota* assim	A little ball, thus,
Quem não tem balangandans	She who has no *balangandans*
Não vae no Bomfim	Can't go to Bomfim
Quem não tem balangandans	She who has no *balangandans*
Não vae no Bomfim	Can't go to Bomfim
Oi, não vae no Bomfim	Oi, can't go to Bomfim
Oi, não vae no Bomfim	Oi, can't go to Bomfim
Oi, não vae no Bomfim	Oi, can't go to Bomfim,
Oi, não vae no Bomfim.	Oi, can't go to Bomfim.

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* Instead of a cross the Malés, or Mohammedan Negroes in Bahia, used a ball on the rosary.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Although the Bahian upper classes, owing to their Negro cooks, are not unacquainted with those dishes of African origin so commonly eaten in the homes of lower-class blacks, one does not ordinarily find on their tables African delicacies like *abará*, *aberém*, *acassá*, *acaragé*, *arroz de Aussá*, *bôbó de inhame*, *carurú*, *efó*, *xin-xin*, etc., each of which is seasoned according to recipes handed down from African forebears who also extensively made use of African seasonings like *azeite de dendê*, *ataré*, *irú*, *pejerecum*, *iêrê*, and *egussi*.[18] The eating habits of the upper classes are, in general, European in origin. But the poorer inhabitants extensively utilize banana leaves for plates and for packaging foods and replace forks with fingers as eating accessories.

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The music and dances enjoyed by large numbers of the darker population further distinguish this portion of the Bahian community. For instance, the *samba*, or *samba batida*, a regional form of the old *batuque*, although it has now been taken over by the upper classes and in a modified form become not only one of the most characteristic musical forms but also one of the favorite dances of Brazil, is still enjoyed in its primitive simplicity by the Bahian lower classes. With them it is a dance in which first one and then another of the participants enters a circle, dances a shuffling step while singing, cantor-fashion, the first line of a stanza, the others responding as a chorus. A song very popular at Mar Grande on the island of Itaparica in the bay at Bahia recalls the

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[18] *Azeite de dendê* is oil from the *dendê* palm; *ataré*, said to have been imported from Africa by Bahian Negroes, is a variety of pepper; *egussi* are gourd or melon pips; *iêrê* are seeds similar to those of the coriander; *irú* and *pejerecum* (or *bejerecum*) are varieties of small beans. For recipes of a number of these dishes see Manoel Raymundo Querino, *A arte culinaria na Bahia* (Bahia, 1928).

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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labor of Negro slaves in the cane fields of the *engenhos* of the Reconcavo. The *cantador*, or leader, sings:

> Olha a cana madura . . . .
> Ela é verde, é madura . . . .
> Para fazer "raspadura" . . . .

to which the chorus responds:

> No cannaviá![19]

In a second chorus the solo is: "Lá vem o padre," and the response: "Pra casar vocês dois!"[20] In a third, the solo, "Por mim não, barbulêta," is followed by the chorus, "Você póde avuá!"[21]

535 The principal steps of this primitive *samba* are known as the *corta-a-jaca* (cutting the *jaca*), the *separa-o-visgo* (parting the pulp), and the *apanha-o-bago* (taking out the *bago*, or edible portion).

526 *Capoeira* is often *jogado* (played) in out-of-the-way places, and at times, particularly during Carnival or at such festivals as Segunda Feira do Bomfim and Conceição da Praia, it even invades more public places. It is a highly complex form of personal combat, originally developed by fugitive slaves to enable them to compete more effectively with armed *capitães do matto* and now enjoyed as a sport set to music. The agility of the contestants is remarkable, as they strive for points in a struggle without actual physical contact, where unexpected thrusts of the feet or elbows, rapid pivot-

[19] "See the ripe cane,
It is green, it is ripe,
Ready to make *raspadura* [coarse brown sugar]
Chorus:
In the *cannaviá* [roadway through the cane field]!"

[20] "Here comes the priest,
To marry you both! . . . . "

[21] "As for me, no, butterfly,
You can fly away!"

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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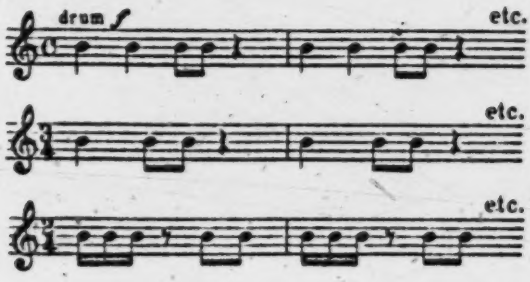
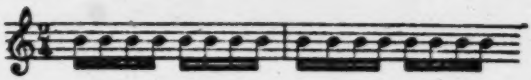
The *atabaques*, or drums, are indispensable to every ceremony. The heavy sound of the larger drum is intersected by the higher tones of the medium-sized and the small one. The rhythm is characterized by one-tone, interrupted syncopation and varies with each *orixá* invoked. Among the more frequent cadences noted by Arthur Ramos[10] are the following:



For the occasions on which an invoked *orixá* "delays" in manifesting himself, even after the tempo of his invocation is greatly increased, there is a special rhythm—vibrant, rapid, continuous, unsyncopated—known as *adarrum*, which the followers of the cult say no *orixá* can possibly "resist." It is the following monotonous rhythm:



Although the instrumental music of the *candomblé* is quite monotonous, as is also the hand-clapping which often accompanies it, the vocal accompaniment is polyphonic. The

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[10] "Os instrumentos musicaes dos candomblés da Bahia," *Bahia Medica*, III (July, 1932), 194.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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songs are ordinarily composed of simple sentences in the minor key, and the scale, which on importation from Africa is said to have consisted of only five intervals, now has seven.

Among the invocations sung to the various *orixás* is that given by a former *ogan* of the *candomblé* of Gantois:

Egbêji mori ô ri, okorin-kam
Orolu mori ô ri, okorin-kam
(Powerful One, I know thee as the first man)

Ôkum-kum biri-biri
Ajá lê mori ô korin-kam
(Even in the dark I can see thou art powerful)

A orêrê aiê, orixá loman,
Iá, ochê Egbêji orêrê, aiê
(In the whole world, nothing is hidden from the Great-One)[11]

At the burial of a cult member the songs and musical instruments of the *candomblé* ceremonies are now seldom used as, it is said, they formerly were. But the casket is carried by *ogans*, and the *filhas*, in *bahiana* costume, accompany the procession. Since it is still believed that the *orixá* of the departed may at this time seek a new *cavalo*, no pregnant woman attends. "Possession," however, may and does occur. Thus, at the burial of an elderly Negro woman, a *filha* of Ogun from the *candomblé* of Engenho Velho, who had been "made" for thirty-three years and was widely known and respected for her knowledge of African ritual, two *filhas de santo* were "seized" as the procession wound its way up the steep ascent to Quinta dos Lazaros Cemetery, and another later as the crypt was being sealed. In each case "possession" began with light weeping which soon increased to loud sobbing, the individual meanwhile pressing her hands

[11] Manoel Querino, *Costumes africanos no Brasil* (Rio, 1938), p. 108.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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794 girl carries in her hand the insignia of Oxun, a *leque* (fan) of brass decorated with a star.

794 All the other dancers, except one, are dressed in the
796 *bahiana* costume, with wide-flowing skirts of bright-colored cotton prints, blouses trimmed in handmade lace, and a *pano*
[291] *da Costa* two feet in width tied tightly around the small of the back and over the breasts. One woman about thirty-five years of age is dressed in an ordinary street costume of
[301] tailored blouse and skirt. Many of the dancers wear bracelets of copper, brass, bronze, lead, or glass beads, often on both wrists and occasionally three to four to the arm. One dancer has five strands of cowries about her neck.

794 The priestess of the *seitá*, Mãe Menninina, is a large
793 black woman, forty-one years of age, who has officiated in this *seita* for twenty-four years. She proudly speaks of herself as "uma neta d'um Africano" ("the granddaughter of an African").

786 Every dance begins with the salutation of the *mãe de san-*
535 *to*, which is accomplished by striking decisively the *agôgô*.
794 Immediately the drums take up the rhythm. The *filhas* be-
796 gin to dance, the circle turning like the rim of a wheel,
[576] counterclockwise. The women have their hands clasped be-
[533] hind their backs, their shoulders are hunching backward and forward, their bodies bending at the waist from side to side. One of the Oxun initiates moves with a halting, jerking movement, then suddenly pivots a complete turn. All the dancers are singing a refrain which sounds like, "Ô-mi-á, bá-
794 tû-lê." After some twenty minutes of continuous dancing,
796 one of the *filhas* suddenly becomes "possessed," her eyes
787 close, her expression becomes listless, while her neck and
786 shoulder muscles work convulsively back and forth "in time to the music." Voluntary control is apparently gone,

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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and she is helped around the circle by the next in line. When the music temporarily ceases, she relaxes, staggers, and appears in imminent danger of falling. Several *filhas* rush to catch and support her.

Again the *mãe de santo* strikes the *agôgô*, the leader of the drummers takes up the rhythm and sings out a refrain in which all the dancers join, beating their palms in time with the music. The tempo increases. The dancers as they pass round the circle alternately bow their heads, flex their knees, and touch the right hand to the floor, then snap erect, all in perfect time with the music. An elderly black woman emerges from a connecting-room and, shaking vigorously a *caxixi*, joins in the dance. With loud reports, rockets go off outside the *barracão*. Popcorn is then brought in and thrown over the dancers. The eyes of the initiates, who have also made part of the circle of dancers, are closed and remain closed throughout the ceremony. The shoulders of one *yaô* jerk spasmodically, her head hangs limp and must be supported by other dancers.

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Again the circle forms, and the *filhas*, singing at the top of their voices, shuffle forward in a half-stumbling movement, arms flexed at elbows and flapping up and down. An *ogan* says this dance is called *opanigé*. Sometime later, a *filha*, about forty-five years of age, suddenly sprawls stiff-legged on her hands and the tips of her toes, rapidly touches her forehead to the ground in front of the drums and shouts, "Hay-ee-ee," then leaps erect, jerks herself forward spasmodically, then repeats the performance. A girl joins the circle, wearing a pink and gold turban and carrying in her right hand a brass dagger eighteen inches long. Closing her eyes, she begins a wild dance, thrashing about with the dagger to right and to left. The tempo of the

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794 drums is accelerating. Another *filha*, a large but agile
786 Negro woman, strikes out at the girl with her bare hands,
796 and the two dance about, fighting a mock fight, while the
[535] beat of the drums becomes even more rapid and tumultuous
[533] until, just as the dancers close in upon one another where, it seems, harm might result, other *filhas* swing quickly in, catch each woman around the waist, and draw them apart, while the music slackens its tempo.

[535] All the *filhas* begin to dance again, their arms swinging from side to side, the index finger of the right hand held closely pressing against the thumb of the left. The dancing is very animated. Suddenly, one of the *filhas*, her shoulders heaving violently back and forth, begins to sink upon her knees and, gradually lowering her heaving shoulders to the floor, turns over on her back, all the while keeping the index finger of her right hand firmly in contact with the thumb of her left. She then slowly rises, gets to her feet, and again joins the other *filhas*. An *ogan* says this dance is known as *ecú*.

[787] The dances continue, rockets burst outside, confetti and flower petals are thrown over the initiates, and, at the insistent invocations of the drums and the spirited singing of the *filhas*, many *orixás* "arrive" and "take possession" of their human intermediaries.

794 The primary social function which the *candomblé* appears
182 to serve is that of reinforcing, by way of the collective experiences of ritual and ceremony, those attitudes and sentiments which distinguish the *Africanos* and their descendants from the European population and from the major portion of the mixed-bloods. By promoting a measure of solidarity and group consciousness, it tends to slow up the process of acculturation. At the same time cult experiences

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front of the Church of Bomfim, booths are erected, each of which has been named for the patron saint of the proprietor or bears an inscription like *Fé em Deus* ("Faith in God"), *Salve a Nova Aurora* ("Hail to the Dawn"), or *A Bahianinha* ("Dear Little *Bahiana*"). At these booths one may purchase such famous Bahian dishes of African origin as *aberém*, *carurú*, *vatapá*, *efó*, and *acarajé*, as well as drinks and other refreshments. *Kermesses*, or small booths given over to games of chance similar to those of traveling "carnivals" in the United States, bear such names as *Lua Cheia* ("Full Moon") or *Abrigo dos Filhos do Povo* ("Shelter for the Children of the People"). A brass band, composed of blacks from the fire department in uniform, plays intermittently from a raised platform in the center of the square.

At night the entire front of the church is ablaze with electric lights. Fireworks almost constantly sputter and bang in the air. An immense crowd mills about the *adro*, while other people sit at tables, eating, drinking, talking, and watching the festivities. About two hours after midnight, the *terno* of *Os Ciganos* ("the Gypsies") appears. It is a band of approximately thirty people, marching two abreast, ten musicians with brass instruments in the lead, followed by a dozen young men each of whom holds aloft a wooden staff branched at the top and lavishly decorated with paper flowers and Japanese lanterns, and an equal number of girls twelve to fourteen years old, dressed in gypsy costumes and shaking castanets and tambourines. After parading around the square, the *terno* halts in front of the church, greets the patron saint, then turns and ascends the platform vacated for this purpose by the band. The girls dance, sing, and play their instruments while one of the men performs a frenzied dance, twirling round and round a standard bearing the name and insignia of the terno.

[SALVADOR]

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*563 829 192 826 from the word any pejorative meaning. In fact, to say a "mulattress" in speaking of a young girl of a certain social class is in a way less courteous than to say "a little mulattress" (una mulatinha). Very often, in speaking of a person of distinction, one does not use any of these terms; one then says "a person of color" or "a /13/ dark person." A swarthy métis with slightly frizzy hair, whose features link him with the Whites, is a moreno, especially if he belongs to an upper social class. A journalist, recently describing a part of the city where a large number of colored people are found together, wrote that "one meets beautiful mulattresses there." If the latter belong to the lower classes and if they are poor, they are simply mulattresses; if they are granfinas (1),

1. Granfino, granfina may be translated by "very refined."

they become light morenas; and one could even add morenas the color of jambo (2).

[824] 2. Jambo, fruit of the jambevio, a Myrtaceae (Eugenia sp.).

• [533] [541] [204] One finds numerous references to women of this type in the popular songs launched on the occasion of the famous Brazilian carnival. In the journals reporting accidents, crimes, or other facts in which mulattoes happen to be involved, even from the poorest classes, it is rare to come across the word mulatto, for which pardo or *563 562 829 192 826 morena is preferred. The feminine form, moreover, has a sentimental value: it suggests a slightly pigmented skin and features of a beauty peculiar to these "women so sought after and preferred in greater number," as one of our informants told us. Because of this preference, the morena type has been celebrated in prose and in verse by our writers. And this morena, it goes without saying,

[SALVADOR]

/62/ The Arts

*563 53 In Bahia the populace has its own art and its artists who interpret it according to their personal conception. And one may say that from this point of view there exists a form of art that is peculiar to poor and colored persons, especially in the [565] realm of music and dance. But in the artistic activities of the higher stratum of the population, the participation of colored *563 people is not important, except for music. Perhaps because of • 533 the belief that attributes to mulattoes a particular inclination for [555] music, colored musicians are relatively numerous, and some of them enjoy a great deal of prestige and are admitted into the social scheme. In all the bands and in all the orchestras there is a large proportion of Blacks and mulattoes, sometimes even as [875] soloists. Some of them engage in teaching and in this way reach [555] a higher social rank when, thanks to their competence, they succeed in having pupils who belong to the wealthiest families and when they become part of the teaching corps of the most important schools of music.

*563 875 533 Of three musicians, professors of piano and composition of Bahia, of great renown in the course of these last years, two are mulattoes. The most celebrated among them, after having very brilliantly concluded a course in Germany, taught for many years in Bahia; he then moved to another State; every time that he returns to his country he is the object of demonstrations of fellow-feeling; on these occasions numerous students or instrumentalists seek him out for short refresher courses. All Bahia is proud of the talents of this artist. Another mulatto, with the help of influential persons, organized a school of music which rapidly became very famous for the quality of its teaching and for the frequent concerts that it organized. After his death, the management of the school passed to his moreno son. The teaching of violin, which is at [462] present done almost exclusively by men, includes numerous black or dark mulatto professionals; in the teaching of piano, an activity to a large extent engaged in by women, one finds morenas and *563 "whitened" of great fame. A very popular singer of mixed blood 545 is both founder and directress of an organization which, with the 533 contribution of some thousands of adherents of the highest classes of

[SALVADOR]

/62 cont./

*563 545 533 [204] society, has brought to Bahia the most famous musicians of our time. The newspapers and journals report the concerts that the white and colored artists give in the theaters and halls of the most important organizations of the city, and publish their /63/ pictures as well as the comments that the art critics make on the subject.

*563 814 538 [532] [346] In the plastic arts, colored persons have not played an important role, although in the past they have produced some painters and sculptors of some renown whose works can be viewed in the most beautiful baroque churches of the city. These works are mentioned in the books on the art of Bahia, especially in those of a black or dark mulatto writer, Manoel Querino, son of slaves, whose studies on art, folklore, and Afro-Brazilian ethnography have made him famous. The first centenary of the birth of this intellectual, who in his biographies of numerous artists of Bahia only very rarely indicated their type, was solemnly commemorated in Bahia, as well as in Rio de Janeiro, at the same time that two other folklorists, who were white, one of whom was from Bahia, were honored.

*563 873 [875] In the school of fine arts of the local university, students of all types have acquired university degrees in architecture, painting, drawing, and sculpture; its teaching staff at present includes at least three mulattoes, two of whom are quite dark. Some informants say, however, that one painter, because of his color, was not counted for a prize offered by the school, consisting of a journey outside the State. This incident, which happened some tens of years ago, is interpreted in different ways by our informants.

*563 545 In the theater, colored persons (at least those who are very dark) do not have great possibilities, and one often hears this complaint expressed. The Blacks, says one young informant, never get beyond the stage of laborer or carpenter in our theaters; even for the roles of Blacks, disguised Whites are preferred. On the other hand, a morena amateur actress states that white women refuse to play the parts of Bahians and that they entrust these parts to colored girls. It is also somewhat difficult to present white and [873] colored actors together on the same stage, even in the theatrical

5: Azevedo--85 D. Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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8. Composers of music.

[The Private Plantation]

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Then everyone dons his best and the women dance while the men play the drums, tambourines, and cavaquinhos (a ukelelelike instrument) or simply stand around watching, gossiping and "passing the branquinha" (the local white rum).

There is a hierarchy of personnel on the plantation, which starts with the owner, Dona Sinhá, and her family. On other plantations the owner is also sometimes a lawyer, doctor, or engineer whose main interests, both economic and social, are in the city of Salvador. This is not always the case, however, for many owners are only rural proprietors, as is Dona Sinhá. But it is always considered a sacrifice to be obliged to spend the winter on one's plantation. It has been a traditional prerogative of the plantation master to spend the winter in the city, and it is one of the traditions kept up today by the planters. However, as soon as the rains show signs of abating in August or September, Dona Sinhá appears on the scene, generally grateful for her release from the city and from the round of anniversaries, parties, and official functions she feels called upon to attend while there.

This aspect of partial absenteeism has given rise to the next rung in the hierarchical ladder: the overseer. As such he is a relatively new phenomenon, but he has actually been part of the scene for a long time. At the time of the engenho, the feitor-mor, or head foreman, frequently occupied the place of today's overseer. Seu Paulo is the focal point for most activities on Fazenda das Moças. It is he who puts into action Dona Sinhá's plans, for he has the greatest contact with the workers in the fields and at home, on the arruado (the street on which the houses are located). During the time Dona Sinhá is away he is ruler of the plantation (dono da terra).

Seu Paulo rose from the workers' ranks; he is familiar with all aspects of sugar-cane cultivation, and is able to handle men and to deal with the owner as well as with the workers. He is a dark mulatto, about forty-six years old, with a large family. He is sought after by the workers as godfather to their children. He rents a small piece of land on which he raises his own sugar cane. He has his own burros, oxen, and carts, which he rents to Dona Sinhá during the harvest season. Although unable to read or write, he can do figures in his head in an astounding fashion. He dresses well, in what is sometimes thought to be an attempt to imitate the plantation master of bygone days, while Dona Sinhá and her family have adopted a more comfortable garb for the country--"modo ameri-

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teenth. Tapa and Haussá were spoken during the entire nineteenth century, and the latter perhaps long before 1800. Although the Haussás were relatively few in number, their influence was considerable. The slave revolts of the early nineteenth century were, as we have seen, led by this reputedly "most intellectual element" among the imported Africans, many of whom could read and write Arabic characters. Kanúri, spoken in Bahia by the Bornús, and Grúnce, the tongue used by the slaves known as Gallinhas, are included, along with Haussá, Gêge, and Tapa, in the limited vocabularies which Rodrigues collected from Bahian Negroes near the beginning of the twentieth century.[11] Tshi (or Odji), Gá (or Acrá),[12] and Mandê (or Mandinga) were also employed to a limited extent.

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As late as 1900, Negro laborers in Bahia continued to wear "white vestments of coarse cotton cloth," which reminded Rodrigues of "the Nagô *camisús*."[13] The *Bahiana* costume,[14] of partial African origin, was extensively used by the Negro women. It was also customary for them to carry their babies bound to the back with a large cloth. African dishes, in the preparation of which *azeite de dendê* (oil of the *dendê* palm) and *pimenta da costa* (pepper from the West Coast) prominently figured, formed a considerable portion of the Negro diet.

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At that time, also, African music might be frequently heard, particularly in the ceremonies of the *candomblé*. African musical instruments, like the *atabaque*, the *agê*, the *canzá*, the *marimba*, the *agôgô*, the *caxixi*, and the *xáquexáque*[15] were commonly employed. The fetish cult drew allegiance from numerous and zealous devotees.

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 217–21.

[12] Spoken in Bahia by the Ashantis.

[13] *Op. cit.*, p. 181.

[14] The *Bahiana* costume is described in detail in chap. ix.

[15] These instruments are described in chap. ix.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Coast products much prized by Africans and their descendants in Brazil.[1] An elderly Bahian Negro recently brought out from among his treasured possessions a faded photograph of blacks aboard a ship on their way to Africa and pointed out an *atabaque*, or sacred drum, and a woman in *saia grande*.[2] He recalls having been many times with his father at the docks in Bahia when vessels came in from Africa and sailors brought news of Lagos.

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Trade with the West Coast, however, gradually decreased until, by 1905, it had almost entirely disappeared. Today, only a few important articles employed in the fetish ritual, such as cowries, *obis* and *orobôs* (sacred fruits), *pimenta* (pepper) *da costa*, *palha* (straw) *da costa*, *sabão* (soap) *da costa*, and strips of *pano* (cloth) *da costa*, are occasionally imported from Africa.

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Numerous Africans, their interest in Brazil stirred by Brazilian Negroes returning to the West Coast, are said to have emigrated to Bahia as recently as thirty years ago. Considerable areas in and about the city—for example, Caminho do São Gonçalo, Caminho do Cruz, and a portion of the Terreiro—were once owned, it is said, by *Africanos*.

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Today, native-born Africans as a population element are

[1] Pedro Calmon, *História social do Brasil* (3 vols.; São Paulo, 1937-39), I, 182. It is also reported that on at least two occasions representatives of African chiefs arrived in Bahia from Ajudá, with which port Bahian officials were maintaining direct commercial relations. One arrived during the administration of the Vice-rei Conde de Athouguia; two others "and an interpreter," on May 26, 1795. See João Varella, *Da Bahia que eu vi* (Bahia, 1935), pp. 153-57; J. B. de Sá e Oliveira, "Dois embaixadores africanos mandados a Bahia pelo Rei do Dahomé," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, LVI, Part I (1895), 413.

[2] The large skirt still worn *bouffant* by many Bahian black women. The date was approximately 1895.

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ing, and sudden "cartwheels" alternate with other attempts to confuse and "cripple" an opponent.[22]

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The musical instruments commonly employed among this portion of the population are the *atabaques*, the *agôgô*, the *caxixi*, the *canzá*, the *agê*, the *chocalho*, the *xaque-xaque*, the *cuica*, and the *berimbau*. All but the last three instruments are rarely seen outside the *candomblé*.

The *atabaques* (or *tambaques*) are wooden drums, each approximately twenty inches in diameter but varying in height, invariably used in sets of three. The largest, called *ilú*, or *rum*, is seldom less than two and one-half feet tall and occasionally attains seven feet, while the medium-sized drum, known as *rumpi*, ranges from two to four feet in height, and the smallest, or *lé*, from one and one-half to two and one-half feet. To produce a soft, muted sound, the drums are beaten with the hands. For the heavier tones, *baquetas*, or short wooden sticks, are employed. The huge *bátá-cótó*, or war drum, which played a prominent role in the slave insurrections, has long since disappeared.

The *agôgô* is a bi-tonal instrument, consisting of two hollow iron cones joined together. It is beaten with an iron pin. The *agê*, or *piano de cuiá*, is a large calabash containing pebbles and covered with a small cotton net in whose meshes *buzios*, or cowries imported from Africa, are firmly secured. If the latter are not available, dry seeds known as *contas da Nossa Senhora* are employed instead, and pebbles are occasionally inserted in the calabash itself to augment the sound. The *caxixi* is a tiny reed or straw basket containing cowries or small pebbles. The *xaque-xaque* is a hollow metal instrument shaped like a dumbbell, each of whose enlarged extremities contains small pebbles. When shaken, it produces

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[22] See Edison Carneiro, *Negros bantus* (Rio, 1937), pp. 147–60.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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•534 the sound from which its name is derived. The *chocalho* is a similar instrument, but with only one extremity enlarged. The *adjá* is a small metal bell used to invite members of the cult to the ritual *dar comido ao santo*.[23] The *canzá*, or *ganzá*, now is seldom seen.[24]

[824] The *berimbau* is used primarily to accompany *capoeira*. It consists of a wire strung upon a stick to form a bow, with a dried gourd open at the top attached at the lower extremity. The instrument is beaten, to produce numerous complex rhythms, with a wooden stick held, together with a *caxixi*, in the right hand, while with the left a copper *vintem* (old Portuguese coin) is alternately pressed against the wire and released. The *cuica* is a drumlike instrument, open at one end. Sound is produced by drawing the hand along a resined stick appended to the center of the drumhead.

753 In the lower-class world health and morality are in many
784 cases closely identified. The cause of disease or bodily harm
[565] is often believed to lie in the direct intervention of a deity who has become angered by the nonfulfilment of obligations prescribed in the sacred ritual or by the breaking of
754 taboos. Evil forces may be invoked, it is believed, through the magical influence of the *feitiço* and bring illness, blindness, insanity, or death.[25] The *mau olhado*, or "evil eye,"

[23] See chap. x.

[24] For illustrations of these instruments see Arthur Ramos, *O negro brasileiro* (Rio, 1934), Figs. 24 and 25 (p. 162).

[25] Rituals vary. A portion of the clothing of the one to be harmed, a shoe or other article, may be submitted to magical manipulation and thrown into the sea. In this way the individual is presumed to be subjected to the ebb and flow of the tide. Or a few hairs from the head of the one to be harmed may be mixed with crushed herbs of supposed magical power. Presumably he is then likely "to hate someone whom he now esteems, drink to excess, become crippled or insane, or lose his life." A pigeon, chicken, sheep, or he-

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has passed, dance the dance sacred to her *orixá*, after which she is assisted from the *barracão* into the *pegi*, taking due care to withdraw with her face always toward the drums. In a special room she is then dressed in the ceremonial robes sacred to her *orixá* and, with his sacred insignia, returns to the *barracão* to dance for hours the dances sacred to him.

The sacrifices are performed according to the ritual peculiar to the occasion and include the offering of chickens, pigeons, sheep, and goats.

In the *candomblé* world certain gestures are obligatory. Thus, when saluting a high dignitary of the cult, a *filha*, if the *orixá* to whom she is dedicated is masculine, prostrates herself, face downward at the feet of the one so honored; if her *orixá* is feminine, she lies at full length first on one side, then on the other, and, on rising, touches her head to the ground. In taking leave of an *orixá* who has "visited" the ceremony, a member of the *seita* clasps tightly the left hand of the ceremonial dancer. *Ogans* have a special handshake used only between them. Following a discussion among members of a *seita*, agreement is signified by rising, beating the palms, and shaking hands.

Status in the *candomblé* depends not only on one's position in the hierarchy of functionaries but more particularly upon priority in being "made" or confirmed. Those whose years of service are less are known as "the younger" and must address "the older" with greater respect and, as an *ogan* remarked, "prefer him above one's self."

The musical instruments employed include the *atabaques*, or drums; the *agôgô*, with which the priest or priestess strikes the first notes of each invocation and later accompanies the drums; the *caxixi;* the *agê* (also known as the *cabaça*, or *piano de cuia*); the *adjá;* and, occasionally, the *xaque-xaque*.

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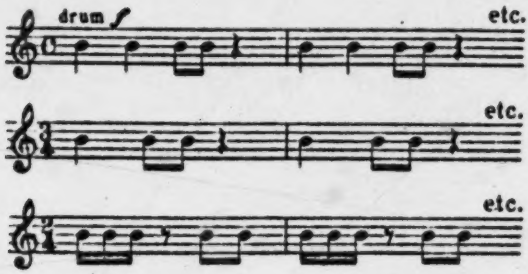
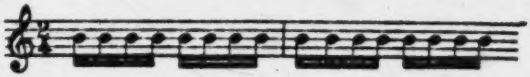
The *atabaques*, or drums, are indispensable to every ceremony. The heavy sound of the larger drum is intersected by the higher tones of the medium-sized and the small one. The rhythm is characterized by one-tone, interrupted syncopation and varies with each *orixá* invoked. Among the more frequent cadences noted by Arthur Ramos[10] are the following:



For the occasions on which an invoked *orixá* "delays" in manifesting himself, even after the tempo of his invocation is greatly increased, there is a special rhythm—vibrant, rapid, continuous, unsyncopated—known as *adarrum*, which the followers of the cult say no *orixá* can possibly "resist." It is the following monotonous rhythm:



Although the instrumental music of the *candomblé* is quite monotonous, as is also the hand-clapping which often accompanies it, the vocal accompaniment is polyphonic. The

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[10] "Os instrumentos musicaes dos candomblés da Bahia," *Bahia Medica*, III (July, 1932), 194.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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songs are ordinarily composed of simple sentences in the minor key, and the scale, which on importation from Africa is said to have consisted of only five intervals, now has seven.

Among the invocations sung to the various *orixás* is that given by a former *ogan* of the *candomblé* of Gantois:

[539]

> Egbêji mori ô ri, okorin-kam
> Orolu mori ô ri, okorin-kam
> (Powerful One, I know thee as the first man)
>
> Ôkum-kum biri-biri
> Ajá lê mori ô korin-kam
> (Even in the dark I can see thou art powerful)
>
> A orêrê aiê, orixá loman,
> Iá, ochê Egbêji orêrê, aiê
> (In the whole world, nothing is hidden from the Great-One)[11]

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At the burial of a cult member the songs and musical instruments of the *candomblé* ceremonies are now seldom used as, it is said, they formerly were. But the casket is carried by *ogans*, and the *filhas*, in *bahiana* costume, accompany the procession. Since it is still believed that the *orixá* of the departed may at this time seek a new *cavalo*, no pregnant woman attends. "Possession," however, may and does occur. Thus, at the burial of an elderly Negro woman, a *filha* of Ogun from the *candomblé* of Engenho Velho, who had been "made" for thirty-three years and was widely known and respected for her knowledge of African ritual, two *filhas de santo* were "seized" as the procession wound its way up the steep ascent to Quinta dos Lazaros Cemetery, and another later as the crypt was being sealed. In each case "possession" began with light weeping which soon increased to loud sobbing, the individual meanwhile pressing her hands

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[11] Manoel Querino, *Costumes africanos no Brasil* (Rio, 1938), p. 108.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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front of the Church of Bomfim, booths are erected, each of which has been named for the patron saint of the proprietor or bears an inscription like *Fé em Deus* ("Faith in God"), *Salve a Nova Aurora* ("Hail to the Dawn"), or *A Bahianinha* ("Dear Little *Bahiana*"). At these booths one may purchase such famous Bahian dishes of African origin as *aberém*, *carurú*, *vatapá*, *efó*, and *acarajé*, as well as drinks and other refreshments. *Kermesses*, or small booths given over to games of chance similar to those of traveling "carnivals" in the United States, bear such names as *Lua Cheia* ("Full Moon") or *Abrigo dos Filhos do Povo* ("Shelter for the Children of the People"). A brass band, composed of blacks from the fire department in uniform, plays intermittently from a raised platform in the center of the square.

At night the entire front of the church is ablaze with electric lights. Fireworks almost constantly sputter and bang in the air. An immense crowd mills about the *adro*, while other people sit at tables, eating, drinking, talking, and watching the festivities. About two hours after midnight, the *terno* of *Os Ciganos* ("the Gypsies") appears. It is a band of approximately thirty people, marching two abreast, ten musicians with brass instruments in the lead, followed by a dozen young men each of whom holds aloft a wooden staff branched at the top and lavishly decorated with paper flowers and Japanese lanterns, and an equal number of girls twelve to fourteen years old, dressed in gypsy costumes and shaking castanets and tambourines. After parading around the square, the *terno* halts in front of the church, greets the patron saint, then turns and ascends the platform vacated for this purpose by the band. The girls dance, sing, and play their instruments while one of the men performs a frenzied dance, twirling round and round a standard bearing the name and insignia of the terno.

2: Hutchinson E-4, 8 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Private Plantation]

côncavo. So far only the pai adão has been able to fulfill the plowing requirements. Lately, however, tractors with caterpillar tread have been introduced and, when used carefully with disk plows, have given excellent results. But the old standby is still commonly in use, hitched to eight, ten, twelve, or as many as twenty oxen.

The owner's house with its park stands on a small hilltop and is visible from afar because of its imperial palms. Nearby, on another hilltop, is the settlement of workers, a long street with houses on either side, the barracks, a small store, and the ever-present casa de farinha, the house where manioc is always being ground, pressed, and roasted to make the farina which is the staple food of the area. Also on this street is the overseer's house, which stands out from the others because of its large size and its veranda. The houses of the workmen are small and built for the most part under one long, common roof. Each house is really an apartment consisting of a front living room and a long corridor going back to the kitchen, with one or two bedrooms leading off the corridor. Other houses, under separate roofs, have similar interior arrangements. The roofs are of red tiles, the rest of the house of clay mud (taipa) slapped on both sides of a bamboo framework. After the mud has dried a coat of whitewash is applied. The houses are built and kept in repair by the plantation owner and do not belong to the workers. The floors are of beaten earth, difficult to keep clean. At night, when only a tiny oil lamp is burning, the houses look dark and gloomy.

After dark one has the impression of hearing much more than one can see. Kerosene is expensive to burn, no one reads, and most of life is geared to doing in the daytime those tasks which require light. At night the workmen and their families sit in the dark talking, or perhaps go to the casa de farinha where a fellow workman and his family may be grinding their manioc. This building is softly lit with kerosene lamps and there is a cheerful glow from the roasting fire. More recently the overseer's house has been equipped with electricity, and now it is always well lighted at night. His new radio has become a center of attraction and small groups form about his veranda, listening. At the other end of the street, during harvest time, there is always a bonfire in front of the barracks where the migrant workers are sheltered. On special occasions there may be a samba (dance), perhaps in the plantation owner's house. Then everyone dons his best and the

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[The Private Plantation]

*249 Then everyone dons his best and the
517 women dance while the men play the drums, tambourines, and
•535 cavaquinhos (a ukelelelike instrument) or simply stand around
534 watching, gossiping and "passing the branquinha" (the local
273 white rum).

There is a hierarchy of personnel on the plantation, which
*249 starts with the owner, Dona Sinhá, and her family. On other
463 plantations the owner is also sometimes a lawyer, doctor, or
[221] engineer whose main interests, both economic and social, are in the city of Salvador. This is not always the case, however, for many owners are only rural proprietors, as is Dona Sinhá. But it is always considered a sacrifice to be obliged to spend the winter on one's plantation. It has been a traditional prerogative of the plantation master to spend the winter in the city, and it is one of the traditions kept up today by the planters. However, as soon as the rains show signs of abating in August or September, Dona Sinhá appears on the scene, generally grateful for her release from the city and from the round of anniversaries, parties, and official functions she feels called upon to attend while there.

This aspect of partial absenteeism has given rise to the next rung in the hierarchical ladder: the overseer. As such he is a relatively new phenomenon, but he has actually been part of the scene for a long time. At the time of the engenho, the feitor-mor, or head foreman, frequently occupied the place of today's overseer. Seu Paulo is the focal point for most activities on Fazenda das Moças. It is he who puts into action Dona Sinhá's plans, for he has the greatest contact with the workers in the fields and at home, on the arruado (the street on which the houses are located). During the time Dona Sinhá is away
*249 he is ruler of the plantation (dono da terra).

Seu Paulo rose from the workers' ranks; he is familiar with
463 all aspects of sugar-cane cultivation, and is able to handle
159 men and to deal with the owner as well as with the workers. He is a dark mulatto, about forty-six years old, with a large family. He is sought after by the workers as godfather to their children. He rents a small piece of land on which he raises his own sugar cane. He has his own burros, oxen, and carts, which he rents to Dona Sinhá during the harvest season. Although unable to read or write, he can do figures in his head in an astounding fashion. He dresses well, in what is sometimes thought to be an attempt to imitate the plantation master of bygone days, while Dona Sinhá and her family have adopted a more comfortable garb for the country--"modo ameri-

VILA RECÔNCAVO

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A group of people decide to "take a party of kings" to someone's house. They wait until the lights in the house go out late at night and then knock on the door, playing and singing a song which is traditional for the purpose. The owner must then open the house and let everyone in to dance and make merry. The surprise element has been removed, for it is now considered courteous to sound out the householder to see whether he would like to be the recipient of such a party, and also to give him time to prepare food and drink. The householder also has the privilege of inviting anyone he wants who might be overlooked by those who organize the party. A group of young men approached the author in the prescribed manner, and in due course all arrangements were completed. The young men were to supply an electric phonograph and records for the dancing, and the author was requested to invite the rural planters, especially those with daughters.

A group of twenty-four planters and about a hundred townspeople, factory technicians, overseers, and a few men of urban Class C came to the party. The planters arrived in a truck a little early and entered the house, which was then closed
[533] and the lights turned off. Shortly afterwards the others arrived
[178] at the door and knocked, and the band began to play the long serenade. (A band was brought along for the song, which is an important part of the Reis; but nowadays no one likes to dance to a hometown band when records are available, so the men played only the serenade and then put their instruments away.) At the end of the song, the doors and windows were opened and the guests began to pour in.

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The rooms of the house were small, but all the furniture had been removed to make room for dancing in the two largest rooms, which were joined by two wide doors. At the beginning of the party everyone was very formal and shy; the young men remained on one side of the room, the young women on the other, and the entire planter group in a huddle by itself. Gradually things got under way, and as drinks were served to esquentar a gente (warm up the people) as many as could dance in the cramped quarters did so. For the first hour or so all the guests mingled, dancing with one another; then gradually the members of Class A began to pull away, at first beginning to dance among themselves and finally usurping a third room in which they danced away from the others, uninterrupted by anyone.

Reactions to this were varied in the days after the party

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when the affair was discussed. The young men were rather disappointed by the withdrawal of the upper-class girls, for they had looked forward to dancing with them with great expectations. Their disappointment, however, was expressed by saying, "We dance differently, and since it was the first time together there wasn't time to get used to each others' style." Some of the older men simply asked, "What did you expect? You know they don't mix with us." The planters, on the other hand, enjoyed the party but were embarrassed by the fact that they had created a separate group and ended up by saying that "the only kind of good party is a family party, which it was for us."

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This party was by no means typical, for the very existence of such an affair was due to the presence of a stranger in the town who was able to bring together the different elements. Under other conditions it would not have taken place. Under the novel conditions, each group after completing the formalities withdrew to itself, enjoying the party and creating no embarrassing moments for the host. Reflection on what had happened pointed out to everyone the distance between the two groups, but there was no bitterness or resentment shown by anyone. It passed as an incident, and afterwards people discussed only the part of the party they had enjoyed, ignoring the rest.

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Class A members participate in a broader schedule of activities in Salvador, where not only planters, but also professional, commercial, and industrial people mix. The children of Class A go to private schools, belong to the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts (organizations which have not as yet penetrated the rural zone) and to social clubs for sports and dancing. Their parents participate in a round of social activities including the theater, lectures, dances, and anniversaries. Birthdays are usually important celebrations, when as many members of the extended family as possible gather. For special occasions, such as a wedding in other parts of the family, they may go to Rio de Janeiro; at other times they go there simply for a vacation or on a shopping tour. Those who own plantations usually spend only the summer harvest season in the country. It is vacation time for the children, and they invite relatives and friends to spend some time with them swimming, fishing, hunting, and horseback riding. The entire area is their playground. Their parents participate in these activities as much as possible after their official duties of plan-

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The planta- 565 *
tion worker's world is small, and conversational topics are 571
limited to family matters such as births, deaths, marriages, [521]
sickness, and other intimate details of personal life, the
problems of work, and difficulties of any sort. The planter can
know the daily life and thoughts of the workers only through
observation, for he himself lives quite differently. However,
his knowledge of the workers is apt to be profound in spite
of the differences, and he knows much more of their lives
than they know of his. On the other hand, visiting between [574]
the workers and the members of Class B is on a much more
equal basis, for the differences between their modes of living
and thinking are small.

When the workers are invited to a party by the planters, 565 *
it is usually an affair given for them, such as a Christmas 571
celebration. At such a time the planter is host and spectator, 574
rather than host and participant. At other times the workers
may get together a song and dance group, a samba, and go to
the owner's house for the evening. This is frequently ex-
plained as "keeping the patron from being lonely." Again the [535]
owner is spectator, for the samba, performed exclusively by
women, is a type of folk dance seldom engaged in by the more
sophisticated upper class.

Class B in the rural area is only beginning to feel any sort 565 *
of group consciousness, for the occupational institutions it
represents are relatively new and it is not yet aligned in any
way with the corresponding class in town. There are two over-
seers who lack any formal education--indeed, who cannot read
or write. In all cases the male members of this class have
set up and maintained a family, educating their children and
seeing to it that they marry as well as possible. As a rule
such men are "self-made"--they have risen from the ranks
of workers as a result of their own ability, sagacity, sense
of responsibility, and desire to improve themselves. They are
distinguished from the workmen by these traits, which seem
to develop even further as they have the opportunity to use
their initiative.

Members of this group usually acquire numerous posses- 565 *
sions of their own, such as horses, oxen and carts, mules, 423
and donkeys which can be put to gainful use. They also op- [422]
erate small stores on their plantations--in one case even a
chain of stores, one on each of three plantations. They also [443]
try to buy a small farm somewhere nearby. Frequently the [466]
employer facilitates such acquisitions as a sort of bonus,
lending money or even giving some to the overseer.

[Class A Families]

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596 All these dishes are served with rice, potatoes, farina, and
527 cooked vegetable salads. Then fruits are served, followed by
262 a series of desserts including puddings, ice cream, and cakes.
[272] The meal is concluded with a demitasse (cafèzinho). Lunch is usually served at midday, and afterwards the guests generally break into small groups, talk, sleep, play cards, or stroll about the garden. In midafternoon a small merenda
* (snack) is served for those who want it, consisting of cake and
565 demitasse, and in the evening ceia (supper) is served, in-
596 cluding cold cuts, salads, and dessert. After this the group
527 may go en masse to the movies, either at the Petroleum Camp
[546] or in the town of Vila Recôncavo. Or, if in gay spirits, they may spend the evening dancing in the living room to popular
[535] records. People go to these almoços by horseback, jeep, truck, or sometimes, in a spirit of fun, by oxcart. Hospital-
[492] ity has for hundreds of years been the tradition of the rural landowners, who envelop guests with an overabundance of
[493] everything. One planter always has the dining-room table set for at least ten people, although only he and his wife live
*565 in the house. Others have the reputation of always providing a good meal for anyone who passes at mealtime.
574 The decreasing size of families, the shift in individual em-
423 ployment from agriculture to the professions, and this cen-
178 tury's change to large-scale industrial holdings for the pro-
428 duction of sugar have caused some differences in land tenure and, hence, inheritance. The Recôncavo is not an area in which land title was ever vague or lost as was often the case in the sertão. Land was always scarce here, for the desirable massapê soils are limited in extent. The plantations of today for the most part fall into one of two categories: those which have been in the hands of one family for a century or more, and those which were bought after the abolition of slavery by newcomers to the Recôncavo or by those who already had plantations and at a time of falling value bought new ones from the creditors who had taken them over from their former owners for debt. In both cases title passed free and clear. The common form of inheritance is for one half of the estate to go to the widow and the other half to be divided among other heirs.

178 A century ago, it was common for plantation masters to
42 have extensive holdings, not only in the Recôncavo, but also in other parts of the state, as well as houses and even commercial buildings in the city of Salvador. In addition to this,

[Class C Families]

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(tamancos), or perhaps leather shoes. Women wear a dress 291
and a slip and are usually barefoot. Dress-up occasions also [292]
call for undergarments, stockings, and shoes. Great modesty
is always shown about exposing oneself in front of others. 565*
Few of the men shave themselves, going to the barber for
this as well as for haircuts. There are several women who 305
are experts at hair straightening, which they do with a flat- 302
iron, although most women and girls in this class who have
the problem of straightening their hair know how to do it them-
selves.

In Class C as well as in Class B the father is the dominant 517
person. He rules the household. He is the one who is served 565*
at meals, whose clothing is always clean and pressed, and 592
who goes out the most. He spends much of his leisure time [184]
in one of the several stores, talking and taking an occasional
drink of rum; or on one of the few shaded corners playing
dominoes with his friends; or else in the bar playing billiards
and gossiping. As a rule he goes to the movies alone, or at
least without his family, although in the higher echelons of the
class families often go to the movies and to church together.
There is one family which is musically inclined, and which [533]
often spends evenings at home together, making up a small
orchestra. If there is a samba in someone's house, many men 565*
from this class will be there watching, while the participants 535 ●
are usually single women and girls from the same class. The 517
men will discuss a woman's physical attributes while she is
in the center of the ring dancing. This is one of the most com-
mon ways in which a girl gets "looked over" and is watched as
she develops. Sooner or later some man will fall in love with
her (apaixonar-se dela), and if she is not well guarded by her
family he will eventually have an affair with her. In the case 565*
of fishermen, most of the time is taken up either by fishing or 226
by caring for equipment, for the nets need a good deal of at- 517
tention. Since the fishermen's hours follow the tides, their [513]
working hours differ from day to day. They often go to bed
early, in anticipation of getting up at three or four in the
morning.

The women, on the other hand, follow a more regular daily 565*
routine of getting the morning coffee ready, getting the chil- 512
dren off to school, going for water and wood, doing the ever- 462
present laundry and ironing, and caring for the younger chil-
dren. In addition, if possible, they prepare xangô to help sup-
plement the family income and go to the fair in Centro on Mon-

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584 intimation of its course. The meeting may finally be arranged at the house of an older female friend. If the two are genuinely interested in each other they may allow the fact to become public, and if the parents are pleased they will in due course [836] be married. Otherwise the girl may keep the whole affair a secret, and after a period of flirtation have an affair with the [263] boy and become pregnant. Any girl who refuses to eat pepper [843] is immediately suspected of pregnancy, and inquiries are made.

*565 When a Class C family wishes to celebrate some occasion 574 such as a birthday, anniversary, or the time in which the twin 252 saints Cosme and Damião are feasted, the woman's friends 262 and any nearby female relatives come in to help her cook. Guests are invited by the husband. The preparation of all [476] food must be done by hand, the chickens killed, cleaned, and plucked, the beans shelled, the shrimp and fish cleaned, the [273] farina cakes made, and the popular liqueurs (licores) prepared by soaking various kinds of fruit in bottles of rum and syrup. At such parties the traditional, favorite Bahian dishes of vatapá, acarejé, carurú, abará, cuscus, and the many moquecas, are served. All these are appetizing, but take much time [251] to prepare and cannot be made too far in advance, for there *565 is no way of preserving food. Unless the household is particularly wealthy, the family seldom gives parties; many never 574 manage to give one. Dancing forms an important part of the 535 festivities. The men bring their drums, tambourines, and guitars, while the women sing and dance the samba. In the rural [369] area, social dancing in mixed couples is rare, but in town it is a common form.

*565 A family may take care of an aged mother, father, or even godparent, or of some other relative on either side. Such a 888 person is well cared for within the family means. Most people 736 in Vila Recôncavo are generous toward others who are in some way unfortunate, and help them if they can. There is little or no complaint if the household has to take in an infirm or aged relative; most people say that the same may happen to them one day and they will have to be taken care of. Perhaps the old person helped them in some way in the past when they needed aid and is now being repaid. Or if some older person wants to live alone, a group of neighbors and relatives all help in preparing meals and supplying food and other wants over an extended period of time. There is no case in Vila Recôncavo of an elderly person being sent to a public institution.

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*794 supposedly there is competition among them as to which night
[565] will be the loveliest. This becomes more expensive each year, however, and the patrons are becoming less willing to donate money. This festival is most enjoyed by the lower classes. It is avoided by members of Class B, who in many instances are nevertheless called upon to be patrons.

796 The festival takes on a carnival aspect each night, with
[525] booths set up in the streets by professional people from Sal-
[275] vador and Centro. The booths have wheels of fortune and guessing games, and sell sweets and drinks. After the religious celebration in the chapel, everyone goes out into the square to talk, play games, and dance.

796 The day before the first Mass of the festival is celebrated,
794 the chapel is thoroughly washed by the women participants of
358 the African cult house, who dress up in their many starched
[291] skirts and bandanas and go to the well as a group for water, which they take to the chapel to throw on the floor. A few little barefoot girls wash down the floor with brooms. After the
• [535] washing the women go out dancing in the streets. They dance
*[565] on every street in town and ask for alms. This entire procedure, known as the lavagem (washing), is much frowned upon by members of Class B.

796 Most of the ordinary town life ceases during these nine days, for everyone is tired after staying up so late at night. The day of the patron saint of the town falls during this festival, and is passed over with nothing more than a simple Mass celebrated in the mother church in his honor. The people of the rural area of this parish do not observe the day of the patron saint
[794] at all. The day after the nine-day festival, a group of young men go out dancing and singing in the streets, asking for alms to make a large feijoada (feast of beans) at night. This is called mazorra (the clowns). After this the men settle down again to their fishing, for by now their money is all used up.

The next festival on the calendar is the second of February, when the nearby towns of Centro, Conselho, and Morro celebrate the day of their patron saint. People from Vila Recôncavo go to one or another of these three towns, although not
[778] in great numbers. The majority go to Conselho, which has the reputation of being a holy place, and to which pilgrimages are
* frequently made.

[565] All festivities end during Lent, which is quietly observed. It is interesting to note that Carnaval, which takes place the
[184] three days before Lent, is observed in Vila Recôncavo only among members of Class A.

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giance from numerous and zealous devotees. African dances still invaded the popular festivals of the Europeans to such an extent that vigorous protests on the part of the white citizenry appeared in the newspapers.[16] Numerous images employed in the fetish worship were imported from Africa, and others were made by Negro sculptors in Bahia.

One occasionally encountered Negroes who in Africa had been chiefs or other dignitaries of considerable power and influence. Although in Brazil they shared the fortunes of a slave with their former subjects, they nevertheless often received allegiance and great reverence from them. On a chance meeting in the street these personages were, we are told, "saluted respectfully, their hands kissed, and a blessing requested of them." Even their masters were reported to have paid them, in several cases, considerable respect.

Slaves who were in close contact with their masters, especially the house servants, soon became, by the very necessities of the situation, at least to some extent bilingual. And their offspring, reared in close contact with the children of their masters, acquired little, if any, African vocabulary and came almost exclusively to speak Portuguese. Thus, about 1800, Koster wrote from Pernambuco, "Portuguese

[16] In the *Jornal de Noticias* for February 12, 1901, a white citizen wrote: "I wish to protest against the way in which this great civilized festival [Carnival] is being Africanized." Three days later the following was published: "These infamous Africanized groups *de cansás* and *busios* which, far from adding to the brilliance of our Carnival festival, bring shame upon the name of Bahia . . . . have since yesterday been keeping up their infernal tumult." Immediately preceding the opening of Carnival the following year there appeared in the *Jornal de Noticias* (February 5, 1902) the following note: "If during these former Carnival festivals when the popular enthusiasm has been greatly aroused by the passage of the victorious floats . . . . these groups of *Africanos* have been repugnant, what will the Carnival of 1902 turn out to be, unless the police take effective measures to prevent our streets from looking like *terreiros* where fetish practices reign amid a retinue of *ogans* and their *cansás* and tambourines?" (Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 236–38).

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In the time of Nina Rodrigues, African "carnival clubs" were still active in Bahia.[100] A Embaixada Africana ("The African Legation") and Os Pandegos da Africa ("The African Clowns") were the more prominent. Of lesser importance were A Chegada Africana ("The Arrival of the Africans") and Os Filhos da Africa ("Children of Africa"). A common theme portrayed on the floats prepared by these Negroes was "primitive Africa brought to Brazil a slave." Certain African traditions were also represented. Thus, for the Carnival of 1899, Os Pandegos da Africa prepared a float representing the river Zambesi "on one of whose banks might be seen the King Labossi reclining in an immense seashell and surrounded by his ministers Auá, Oman, and Aboto." A second float carried "two individuals representing the powerful ministers of the King's court—Barborim and Rodá"; and a third showed "the hut of Pae Ajou, his wife and the magical *caboré*[101] which brings good fortune to one and all." Rodrigues was impressed with the enormous crowd of Negroes and mixed-bloods which accompanied the floats, "singing African songs, dancing African dances and applauding the images on the magician's float." The scene was one of "a colossal *candomblé* traversing the streets of the city,"[102] although police regulations at that time forbade the public appearance of the cult.

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Much enjoyed by Brazilian Negroes were certain dances like the *lundú* and the *batuque*, evidently of at least partial African origin, although they perhaps also contained certain Portuguese and native Indian elements.

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[100] Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

[101] The *caboré* is a nocturnal bird.

[102] Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Koster found the masters and their families taking over many of the customs of their slaves.[114]

Grant, visiting Bahia about 1800, noted that the principal amusement engaged in at private gatherings of the upper class was a dance of African origin:

> It is performed by an individual of each sex moving their bodies to the monotonous tones of an instrument, always in one measure, and with scarcely any action of the legs or feet. The spectators seem delighted with the performance, and cheer the dancers by the most clamorous marks of approbation. This national dance . . . . is indulged in by all ranks of the citizens. . . . .[115]

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Numerous changes in the whites' speech occurred. Especially was this true on isolated fazendas where *senhores* and their families were semiliterate or even illiterate. The *r* and the *s* disappeared as final consonants from many words, *fazer* becoming *fazê; mandar*, *mandá; comer*, *comé;* and *lh* was often reduced to *l*, *mulher* becoming *muler; colher*, *coler;* etc. In 1798 the bishop of Recife urged the teachers in a local *recolhimento* to try to correct "certain errors of speech" in the young ladies there studying, especially that of inverting certain letters and saying, for instance, *breço* instead of *berço*, *cravão* instead of *carvão;* of omitting letters in the middle of a word and saying, for example, *teado* instead of *telhado*, *fio* instead of *filho;* of dropping the final letter of the plural or of words ending in a harsh sound and saying, for instance, *muitas florê* for *muitas flores*, and *Portugá* for *Portugal*.[116] Freyre says that these dialectical modifications were particularly noticeable among isolated families in the rural areas, where Negro slaves were "constantly within the

[114] *Op. cit.*, I, 200–201. [115] *Op. cit.*, pp. 232–33.

[116] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos* (São Paulo, 1936), p. 103.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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the garden swing were 11 blacks, 8 mulattoes, and 7 whites. 563* There was considerable moving about from group to group. 857 In the garden of the governor's palace a similar band, aged about seven to thirteen years, were laughing and shouting together around another teeter-totter. Among them were 3 blacks, 5 mulattoes, and 4 whites. "Beginning with his earliest years," wrote a white student, "a child in Bahia is accustomed to associating with all racial types without any distinction being made between them."

In Campo da Graça[a] 6 whites and 5 mulattoes (one of 563* whom was quite dark) composed the team of the Faculty of 526 Law in a soccer game with the Faculty of Medicine (among whom were 7 whites, 3 mulattoes, and 1 black). In the subsequent professional contest 9 whites, 4 mulattoes, and 4 blacks composed the visiting team from São Paulo, coached by a *cafuso*. Bahia's colors were upheld by 2 whites, 5 mulattoes, 9 blacks, and 1 *cafuso*. The referee was a *branco da Bahia*.

At an informal basketball game played on an outdoor court at the Fortress of São Pedro, a black and 4 mulattoes composed one team; a black, 2 mulattoes, and 2 whites, the other. The referee was a black.

At a tea dance given at Bahia's most exclusive club in 563* honor of Getulio Vargas, president of Brazil, the city's most 574 distinguished citizens and their families, to an approximate total of 600, were present. No blacks were among the guests. [535] and only 28 individuals were noticeably negroid, 6 of whom were dark mulattoes. At a banquet subsequently given the President, all individuals seated at his table were white. A number of mixed-bloods, however, principally light mulattoes, were among the guests. Two of the six speakers at the

[a] On March 22, 1936.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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in pigmentation. An able lawyer, with an extended period of practice in Bahia, he was well regarded by his associates.

At a formal dinner given by *A Tarde*, probably the most influential Bahian daily, in honor of a noted journalist and poet, 15 whites, 4 *brancos da Bahia*, 3 light mulattoes, and 6 medium or dark mixed-bloods sat down together at the banquet table. Among the guests, according to the account on the subsequent day, were "all the editorial writers and collaborators of this newspaper, together with a few specially invited friends and admirers of the honored guest [a white]."

Among the members attending a session of the Bahian Academy of Letters were 5 whites, 1 *branco da Bahia*, and 3 mulattoes. One of the latter is an able poet, quite dark, with kinky hair.

Present at a tea dance given by Bahia's Girl Guides at the exclusive club previously mentioned were the city's social élite, including the governor. *A Tarde*, in reporting the event, said, "As was to be expected, there was present our best society—all of it, almost—making the occasion one of elegance and distinction." Of the 414 guests, 346 were whites, 64 were very light mulattoes (exhibiting only slight traces of Negro ancestry), and 3 were dark mixed-bloods. One of the latter, with kinky hair but Caucasian features, was accompanied by a light mulatto wife, almost white, and two light mulatto daughters. One of the latter danced once during the afternoon—with a white youth. Of 30 Girl Guides serving the guests, 3 showed slight traces of Negro origin. The only blacks present were the members of the jazz orchestra (composed of 3 blacks and 6 dark mulattoes) and 2 maids who had accompanied white families.

The president of a literary, semiscientific, and social or-

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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*563 874 very light. Her mother is a *sarará*, her grandmother is a dark mulatto with kinky hair, and her husband is also a dark mixed-blood. Her family, it is said, has gradually risen from [555] the lower class by reason of constantly taking advantage of [565] every educational opportunity, by increasing their economic competence, and by deliberately cultivating "good manners."

*563 547 •535 At a "night club," where there were gambling, liquid refreshments, and partners for dancing, of 128 guests,[27] 62 were whites, 40 were *brancos da Bahia*, 21 were mulattoes (several quite dark), 1 was a *cafuso*, and 4 were blacks. Of the 26 female entertainers (dancers and singers), 19 were whites,[28] 4 were *brancas da Bahia*, and 3 were mulattoes (all very light). None of the darker patrons danced during the evening.

*563 547 525 In the main gambling-room the group about the table were principally whites, with a few light mulattoes and an occasional dark mixed-blood. In the hallway near the entrance, however, was another gaming-table where stakes were lower. It was patronized principally by dark mulattoes, together with an occasional black, a few *brancos da Bahia*, and very few whites.

796 204 Carnival at Bahia lasts three days and is perhaps the most popular festival of the year. At the close of one celebration plans are immediately set on foot for the next. From time to time throughout the ensuing twelve months, newspapers carry reports of the development of these plans, and, beginning about a hundred and fifty days before Carnival, a regular daily feature appears, the time before the big event being checked off, day by day, much as United States newspapers sometimes check off the days preceding Christmas; except

[27] On September 16, 1936. [28] Including a very swarthy Syrian girl.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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CHAPTER VIII

RACIAL IDEOLOGY AND RACIAL ATTITUDES

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IN RECENT years there has grown up in Brazil a lively interest in the African and his descendants. This has resulted, among other things, in the holding of two *Congressos Afro-brasileiros*, the first of which met in Recife in November, 1934, and the second in Bahia in January, 1937. Composed of intellectuals having a common interest in the Brazilian Negro, their agenda indicate that such interest is confined almost entirely to three fields: (1) the history of African importation and slavery; (2) problems of acculturation, with especial attention to the survivals of African cultural forms; and (3) anthropometric variations. Generally absent is any concern with problems of racial conflict or accommodation, implying quite definitely the comparative absence of these problems in the social order as well as the comparative absence of any race consciousness answering to them on the part of the Negro or any other ethnic group.

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The participants in the 1937 *Congresso*, which met in Bahia, visited fetish-cult centers, witnessed *capoeira*[1] and *samba*[2] presentations, studied the material relics of fetish-cult ceremonies available in Bahian museums, honored the memory of Nina Rodrigues (who some forty years ago pioneered in studies of the Afro-Brazilian cults in Bahia),[3] and

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[1] See chap. ix.

[2] The *samba*, probably of African origin, is a dance with vocal accompaniment (see chap. ix), as well as a musical form.

[3] See Nina Rodrigues, *L'Animisme fétichiste des nègres de Bahia* (Bahia, 1900) and *Os africanos no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1932).

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presiding in accordance with the varying subjects under consideration, were seated erudite *doutores* from lecture-room and laboratory; huge *filhas de santo;*[7] aged Negro cooks who brought from . . . . the crude kitchens of their mud huts recipes of . . . . Afro-Brazilian dishes; Negroes from the cane fields (like Jovino, whose paper was as full of errors in Portuguese as of *saudades* of the time of the *almanjarras*);[8] . . . . *babalorixás*[9] like Pae Anselmo; queens of the *maracatú*[10] like Albertina de Fleury, whose name reminded José Lins do Rego[11] of the heroine of a romance by Proust; certain others who, although illiterate or semiliterate, had such intimate knowledge of Afro-Brazilian matters as to be able to make an appreciable contribution to the Congress; students of law, engineering, and medicine . . . . ; elderly folklorists like Rodrigues de Carvalho, who never missed a session . . . . ; individuals like Nobrega da Cunha, who knew intimately the ritual of the *macumba;*[12] psychiatrists of the ability and reputation of Ulysses Pernambucano, who was acclaimed with all justice Honorary President; artists like Luis Jardim and Cicero Dias; intellectuals, journalists, and special representatives of Rio newspapers; the teacher, Ernani Braga, who collected for the Congress a number of invocations to Xangô[13] sung by the young ladies of the Conservatorio on the closing day of school to the enthusiastic applause of the best people of Recife. Individuals

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[7] *Filhas de santo* are ceremonial dancers of the fetish cult (see chap. x).

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[8] On the sugar plantations of colonial Brazil the beam to which animals were hitched to turn the millstone and crush the cane was called the *almanjarra*.

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[9] Priests of the fetish cult are sometimes called *babalorixás*. The word is formed from the Nagô words *bábá* ("father") and *orixá* ("deity").

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[10] The *maracatú* was an organization of Negroes which formerly participated in Carnival at Recife (see Mario Sette, *Maxambombas e maracatús* [São Paulo, n.d.], pp. 339–41).

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[11] José Lins do Rego is a noted Brazilian novelist whose realistic accounts of lower-class life, particularly in the state of Pernambuco, have helped to reveal a level of culture about which little had previously been written. See, e.g., his *Banguê* (Rio, 1934); *Menino de engenho* (2d ed.; Rio, 1934); *Usina* (Rio, 1936); *Histórias da velha Totonia* (Rio, 1936); *Pureza* (Rio, 1937); *Pedra Bonita* (Rio, 1938); *Doidinho* (Rio, n.d.).

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[12] The Afro-Brazilian fetish cult is known in Rio de Janeiro as the *macumba*.

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[13] Xangô (pronounced "Shán-go") is a deity of the fetish cult (see chap. x).

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Although the Bahian upper classes, owing to their Negro cooks, are not unacquainted with those dishes of African origin so commonly eaten in the homes of lower-class blacks, one does not ordinarily find on their tables African delicacies like *abará*, *aberém*, *acassá*, *acaragé*, *arroz de Aussá*, *bóbó de inhame*, *carurú*, *efó*, *xin-xin*, etc., each of which is seasoned according to recipes handed down from African forebears who also extensively made use of African seasonings like *azeite de dendê*, *atarê*, *irú*, *pejerecum*, *iêrê*, and *egussi*.[18] The eating habits of the upper classes are, in general, European in origin. But the poorer inhabitants extensively utilize banana leaves for plates and for packaging foods and replace forks with fingers as eating accessories.

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The music and dances enjoyed by large numbers of the darker population further distinguish this portion of the Bahian community. For instance, the *samba*, or *samba batida*, a regional form of the old *batuque*, although it has now been taken over by the upper classes and in a modified form become not only one of the most characteristic musical forms but also one of the favorite dances of Brazil, is still enjoyed in its primitive simplicity by the Bahian lower classes. With them it is a dance in which first one and then another of the participants enters a circle, dances a shuffling step while singing, cantor-fashion, the first line of a stanza, the others responding as a chorus. A song very popular at Mar Grande on the island of Itaparica in the bay at Bahia recalls the

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[18] *Azeite de dendê* is oil from the *dendê* palm; *atarê*, said to have been imported from Africa by Bahian Negroes, is a variety of pepper; *egussi* are gourd or melon pips; *iêrê* are seeds similar to those of the coriander; *irú* and *pejerecum* (or *bejerecum*) are varieties of small beans. For recipes of a number of these dishes see Manoel Raymundo Querino, *A arte culinaria na Bahia* (Bahia, 1928).

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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labor of Negro slaves in the cane fields of the *engenhos* of the Reconcavo. The *cantador*, or leader, sings:

> Olha a cana madura . . . .
> Ela é verde, é madura . . . .
> Para fazer "raspadura" . . . .

to which the chorus responds:

> No cannaviá![19]

In a second chorus the solo is: "Lá vem o padre," and the response: "Pra casar vocês dois!"[20] In a third, the solo, "Por mim não, barbulêta," is followed by the chorus, "Você póde avuá!"[21]

535 The principal steps of this primitive *samba* are known as the *corta-a-jaca* (cutting the *jaca*), the *separa-o-visgo* (parting the pulp), and the *apanha-o-bago* (taking out the *bago*, or edible portion).

526 *Capoeira* is often *jogado* (played) in out-of-the-way places, and at times, particularly during Carnival or at such festivals as Segunda Feira do Bomfim and Conceição da Praia, it even invades more public places. It is a highly complex form of personal combat, originally developed by fugitive slaves to enable them to compete more effectively with armed *capitães do matto* and now enjoyed as a sport set to music. The agility of the contestants is remarkable, as they strive for points in a struggle without actual physical contact, where unexpected thrusts of the feet or elbows, rapid pivot-

[19] "See the ripe cane,
It is green, it is ripe,
Ready to make *raspadura* [coarse brown sugar]
Chorus:
In the *cannaviá* [roadway through the cane field]!"

[20] "Here comes the priest,
To marry you both! . . . . "

[21] "As for me, no, butterfly,
You can fly away!"

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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ing the *bozó* in a place where the intended victim is likely to step on it or otherwise touch it.[32] An animal may be "prepared with the *ebó*" so that whoever subsequently touches the animal will catch the illness or inherit the misfortune. If, however, one wishes to avoid transferring the evil to another person, he may do so and still rid himself of his affliction by leaving the *ebó* in a cemetery.

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If a *filha de santo* (ceremonial dancer of the fetish cult) would avoid illness or other misfortune, it is considered highly important that she observe all the taboos, especially those attaching to food and drink. A pregnant woman must avoid vegetables and all meats other than chicken; she must not join a funeral procession, since the spirit of the deceased might enter her child; and she must avoid a rose touching her bare breast, for otherwise the child, it is believed, will be born with a birthmark.[33]

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Charms may be of a specific nature like the *figa*[34] or the

[32] The affliction may, however, be transferred to someone toward whom no harm was originally intended if the individual placing the *ebó*, either ignorantly or with intention, fails to leave it in the designated place. The first person coming in physical contact with it will be affected. So widespread is this fear of the *ebó* that chauffeurs, even at the risk of an accident, will not run a wheel over one.

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[33] Current folk medicines include: for syphilis, whale oil; for a toothache, pig or burro dung smoked in a clay pipe; for a cough, sweetened tea prepared by boiling a termite nest; for sore throat, tea made by boiling a live lizard whose body is then removed from the vessel and buried with its head toward the new moon. Native herbs are extensively employed, particularly by *curandeiros*, or they may be administered at the hands of anyone "instructed" by a "manifesting" deity, a common occurrence in those *candomblés* known as *de caboclo* (a portion of whose ritual is probably of native Indian origin) and in spiritualist centers like that in Alto do Bom Gosto, in Calcada, one of whose directors remarked, "So many *caboclos* 'manifest themselves' because they know so well how to heal with herbs."

[34] The *figa* is an image, usually made from wood, of a closed fist with the thumb inserted between the index and middle fingers.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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794 girl carries in her hand the insignia of Oxun, a *leque* (fan) of brass decorated with a star.

794 All the other dancers, except one, are dressed in the
796 *bahiana* costume, with wide-flowing skirts of bright-colored cotton prints, blouses trimmed in handmade lace, and a *pano*
[291] *da Costa* two feet in width tied tightly around the small of the back and over the breasts. One woman about thirty-five years of age is dressed in an ordinary street costume of
[301] tailored blouse and skirt. Many of the dancers wear bracelets of copper, brass, bronze, lead, or glass beads, often on both wrists and occasionally three to four to the arm. One dancer has five strands of cowries about her neck.

794 The priestess of the *seita*, Mãe Menninina, is a large
793 black woman, forty-one years of age, who has officiated in this *seita* for twenty-four years. She proudly speaks of herself as "uma neta d'um Africano" ("the granddaughter of an African").

786 Every dance begins with the salutation of the *mãe de san-*
• 535 *to*, which is accomplished by striking decisively the *agôgô*.
794 Immediately the drums take up the rhythm. The *filhas* be-
796 gin to dance, the circle turning like the rim of a wheel,
[576] counterclockwise. The women have their hands clasped be-
[533] hind their backs, their shoulders are hunching backward and forward, their bodies bending at the waist from side to side. One of the Oxun initiates moves with a halting, jerking movement, then suddenly pivots a complete turn. All the dancers are singing a refrain which sounds like, "Ô-mi-á, bá-
794 tû-lê." After some twenty minutes of continuous dancing,
796 one of the *filhas* suddenly becomes "possessed," her eyes
787 close, her expression becomes listless, while her neck and shoulder muscles work convulsively back and forth "in
786 time to the music." Voluntary control is apparently gone,

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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and she is helped around the circle by the next in line. When the music temporarily ceases, she relaxes, staggers, and appears in imminent danger of falling. Several *filhas* rush to catch and support her.

Again the *mãe de santo* strikes the *agôgô*, the leader of the drummers takes up the rhythm and sings out a refrain in which all the dancers join, beating their palms in time with the music. The tempo increases. The dancers as they pass round the circle alternately bow their heads, flex their knees, and touch the right hand to the floor, then snap erect, all in perfect time with the music. An elderly black woman emerges from a connecting-room and, shaking vigorously a *caxixi*, joins in the dance. With loud reports, rockets go off outside the *barracão*. Popcorn is then brought in and thrown over the dancers. The eyes of the initiates, who have also made part of the circle of dancers, are closed and remain closed throughout the ceremony. The shoulders of one *yaô* jerk spasmodically, her head hangs limp and must be supported by other dancers.

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Again the circle forms, and the *filhas*, singing at the top of their voices, shuffle forward in a half-stumbling movement, arms flexed at elbows and flapping up and down. An *ogan* says this dance is called *opanigé*. Sometime later, a *filha*, about forty-five years of age, suddenly sprawls stiff-legged on her hands and the tips of her toes, rapidly touches her forehead to the ground in front of the drums and shouts, "Hay-ee-ee," then leaps erect, jerks herself forward spasmodically, then repeats the performance. A girl joins the circle, wearing a pink and gold turban and carrying in her right hand a brass dagger eighteen inches long. Closing her eyes, she begins a wild dance, thrashing about with the dagger to right and to left. The tempo of the

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786 drums is accelerating. Another *filha*, a large but agile
796 Negro woman, strikes out at the girl with her bare hands,
[535] and the two dance about, fighting a mock fight, while the
[533] beat of the drums becomes even more rapid and tumultuous until, just as the dancers close in upon one another where, it seems, harm might result, other *filhas* swing quickly in, catch each woman around the waist, and draw them apart, while the music slackens its tempo.

[535] All the *filhas* begin to dance again, their arms swinging from side to side, the index finger of the right hand held closely pressing against the thumb of the left. The dancing is very animated. Suddenly, one of the *filhas*, her shoulders heaving violently back and forth, begins to sink upon her knees and, gradually lowering her heaving shoulders to the floor, turns over on her back, all the while keeping the index finger of her right hand firmly in contact with the thumb of her left. She then slowly rises, gets to her feet, and again joins the other *filhas*. An *ogan* says this dance is known as *ecú*.

[787] The dances continue, rockets burst outside, confetti and flower petals are thrown over the initiates, and, at the insistent invocations of the drums and the spirited singing of the *filhas*, many *orixás* "arrive" and "take possession" of their human intermediaries.

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182 The primary social function which the *candomblé* appears to serve is that of reinforcing, by way of the collective experiences of ritual and ceremony, those attitudes and sentiments which distinguish the *Africanos* and their descendants from the European population and from the major portion of the mixed-bloods. By promoting a measure of solidarity and group consciousness, it tends to slow up the process of acculturation. At the same time cult experiences

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front of the Church of Bomfim, booths are erected, each of which has been named for the patron saint of the proprietor or bears an inscription like *Fé em Deus* ("Faith in God"), *Salve a Nova Aurora* ("Hail to the Dawn"), or *A Bahianinha* ("Dear Little *Bahiana*"). At these booths one may purchase such famous Bahian dishes of African origin as *aberém*, *caruru*, *vatapá*, *efó*, and *acarajé*, as well as drinks and other refreshments. *Kermesses*, or small booths given over to games of chance similar to those of traveling "carnivals" in the United States, bear such names as *Lua Cheia* ("Full Moon") or *Abrigo dos Filhos do Povo* ("Shelter for the Children of the People"). A brass band, composed of blacks from the fire department in uniform, plays intermittently from a raised platform in the center of the square.

443 265 [262] 796 [525] [533] [368]

At night the entire front of the church is ablaze with electric lights. Fireworks almost constantly sputter and bang in the air. An immense crowd mills about the *adro*, while other people sit at tables, eating, drinking, talking, and watching the festivities. About two hours after midnight, the *terno* of *Os Ciganos* ("the Gypsies") appears. It is a band of approximately thirty people, marching two abreast, ten musicians with brass instruments in the lead, followed by a dozen young men each of whom holds aloft a wooden staff branched at the top and lavishly decorated with paper flowers and Japanese lanterns, and an equal number of girls twelve to fourteen years old, dressed in gypsy costumes and shaking castanets and tambourines. After parading around the square, the *terno* halts in front of the church, greets the patron saint, then turns and ascends the platform vacated for this purpose by the band. The girls dance, sing, and play their instruments while one of the men performs a frenzied dance, twirling round and round a standard bearing the name and insignia of the terno.

[534] [535]

[SALVADOR]

/90 cont./ A colored girl in similar circumstances
*563 has greater advantages than a boy, for, being accompanied by a
562 friend or a relative, she is assured of dancing with him and with the
575 friends to whom he introduces her." But the colored girls, almost all the informants acknowledge, have much greater difficulty being accepted in the clubs, unless they are wives or members of the family of members. And the dark girls, for their part, fully accept this situation. In this they behave like "ignorant" colored men, someone remarks (1).

[113]

1. The refusal of female Whites to dance with male Blacks, in Bahia and in the neighboring State of Sergipe, has already been pointed out, cf. Felte Bezerra, Etnias sergipanas, Aracajú, 1950, p. 246.

*563 Refusing to dance with young colored men /91/ is not only done
562 by Whites. A dark student says that she dances with any boy pro-
•535 vided that he dances well, "even if he is a blackamoor (pretinho)." Another one, very light, frankly confesses that she does not experience any pleasure and even some shame in dancing with a man darker than she.

*563 The very select clubs having a predominance of members who
575 are merchants or connected with industry and the liberal profes-
463 sions accept only persons who are "socially white," that is to say,
554 showing the white type or classed as white; the clubs of small tradesmen and commercial employees, modest officials, and people practicing a liberal profession of lower category have a much higher number of colored members, including dark
*563 mulattoes and even Blacks. The proportion of the different types
575 encountered among the members of two clubs of the categories
554 mentioned above is the following:

[SALVADOR]

/91 cont./

*563 575 554

Club	Number of members	Percentage			
		Whites	"Morenos"	Mulattoes	Blacks
		%	%	%	%
High category	1,522	67.21	24.83	7.95	-
Middle category	1,115	38.02	35.78	25.56	0.62

[535] In the dance clubs of workers, domestics, soldiers, and day laborers, the Whites are a minority and the Blacks are in high proportion.

As has been said above, one of the conditions required for the admission of a colored person in the recreational associations of the highest categories is to have a solid economic basis or a doctor's diploma. Indeed, in the distinguished clubs mentioned in the table above, the group of merchant members includes 76.89 o/o of white phenotype, 16.50 o/o morenos, and 6.60 o/o light branqueados (whitened) mulattoes, while that of the liberal professions contains only 62.03 o/o of the white type, 30.05 o/o morenos, and 7.90 o/o mulattoes. This confirms the observa-
[555] tion that many people succeed in improving their social rank by way of the liberal professions, for they are thus able to be introduced into the brotherhoods and social clubs, organizations which, in addition to their specific functions, are very important in that they are, as it were, an index of the social position of the Bahians.

*563 575 Numerous informants assert that they would not make an application to these clubs on their own, but that they are /92/ sometimes introduced by white friends. It may also happen that such proposals remain without effect when the management committees learn that it is a matter of a very black person. The papers lie in the archives of the club, but the candidate is never told the real or presumed reason for his refusal. It is said of a

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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molho de ferrugem."[107] From her and from the *mucama* (maid), as much as, if not more than, from his father and mother, the white child learned to speak. And almost without exception, he was given a *muleque companheiro de brinquedo*, a little Negro slave of his own age and sex, to be his playmate and his almost constant companion.[108] José Verissimo says that during slavery there was "no house which did not have one or more *muleques*, one or more *corumins*, little victims consecrated to the caprices of *nhônhô*:[109] his horse, his *leva-pancada*, his servant, his companion, his friend."[110] In 1821 Mathison saw on an estate near Rio "a number of fine Negro children playing in front of the house, and in the midst of them a younger brother of the proprietor, a lad about fourteen years of age, who had been brought up in this manner . . . . like the Negroes."[111] Freyre has suggested that "very likely many a Brazilian child took for his first hero, not a white physician, nor a navy official or a lawyer, but a slave acrobat who knew how to execute the difficult pirouettes of the impromptu circuses and of the *bumbas meu bois*[112] of the *engenhos;* or a Negro player of the trombone or the flute."[113] Under these conditions it is not surprising that

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[107] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 247. *Pirão* is made of manioc meal and meat broth; *molho de ferrugem* is oil of the *dendê* palm.

[108] Lacerda, *op. cit.*, p. 379.

[109] Slave rendering of *menino* (male child).

[110] *A educação nacional* (Rio, 1906), quoted in Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 248. A *leva-pancada* is one who "takes the beatings."

[111] *Op. cit.*, p. 93.

[112] The *bumba meu boi* is still to be seen in the Bahian interior. It is a folk drama in which a man dressed to represent an ox plays a prominent role (see Arthur Ramos, *O negro brasileiro* [Rio, 1934], pp. 259–68; see also his *O folk-lore negro do Brasil* [Rio, 1935], pp. 103–14).

[113] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

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[SALVADOR]

/27 cont./

829 white countries (1).
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1. Romulo Almeida, interview for the Diario Trabalhista, 28, 11, Rio de Janeiro, 1946.

829 The mulattoes, according to others, are supposed to be affected
*563 in their manner of speaking, wishing to display their erudition.
•537 The comment of a journalist about a politician is characteristic
157 of this way of thinking: "Without complexes or repressions ... he reasons dispassionately, which is astonishing on the part of a red curiboca (2)

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2. Curiboca, métis of Indian and Black; roxo, bluish red, a warm and dark shade of the pigmentation of the skin of certain métis.

like him. Not having the tropical verbosity of mulatto good speakers...., he is mentally a Nordic who sets forth his ideas without the cerebral complications such as are esteemed among the bachelor /referring to the academic degree/ morenos of our country" (3).

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3. "This tendency to use an elaborate language seems to be a sort of compensation for a feeling of inferiority," says V. L. Bicudo in "Attitudes raciales des Noirs et des mulâtres de São Paulo /Racial attitudes of the Blacks and mulattoes of São Paulo/," Sociologia, Vol. IX, No. 3, São Paulo, 1947, p. 211.

829 Opinions about the mulattoes, especially about those who try to
*563 advance themselves by means of intellectual activities, always
157 throw into relief the weak points of their personality and almost always give an unfavorable interpretation of their character. A literary critic of Bahia, commenting on the works of the greatest Brazilian novelist, the mulatto Machado de Assis, expresses this

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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among members of Class A. In the cult houses it is said that the African gods go back to Africa for Lent and that the Indian spirits go back to the forests, not coming back again to Vila Recôncavo until Easter Eve. Good Friday is usually marked by the eating of foods with much palm and olive oil, mostly the favorite Bahian dishes of acarajé and vatapá. On Saturday some people in the town "burn Judas." They make a figure stuffed with straw or grass and in the evening parade it through the whole town on a donkey until they arrive at the fishermen's chapel, where the dummy is strung up and burned. While it burns the man who made it reads a long poem which he has composed during the year and which tells about his friends and their individual peculiarities.

During the month of May a service is held each night in the mother church in honor of the Virgin Mary. A priest officiates, and the women of the upper class sing in the choir. This ceremony is attended almost entirely by townspeople, mostly women. St. John's Day, which comes at the end of June and is a popular holiday throughout most of Brazil, goes unnoticed in the town, although at dawn on that day there may be a reveille for St. John (alvorada de São João), which consists of shouting, "Wake up, St. John!" The sixteenth of August is celebrated, mostly by the rural people, as the day of St. Roch, who is considered a foe of pestilence. There is usually a Mass in the mother church on this day, after which the priest conducts Mass in as many of the rural chapels as he can. St. Roch is also celebrated by the African cults.

On September 27, the twin saints Cosme and Damião are celebrated, often with a Mass, but especially with a party called the carurú, the dish distinctive of this day and the days which follow it; for, as with the Day of Kings, Cosme and Damião may be feted any day within a month or so following the proper date. Before a carurú, it is customary for small images of the two saints to be carried about the streets from house to house asking for alms for a party in their honor. Usually the party is for the children, who dance and eat as much as they can, while the older people at first look on, and then finish up the food that was left and also dance. Anyone who is a twin or who likes twins may give a carurú in his house.

St. Francis is also feted, since there is a Franciscan convent in the town, by a devotion on three nights and a Mass on the morning of St. Francis' day. The last Sunday in October,

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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"slavery is extinct in all other countries of America to the shame of Brazil."

Beginning about 1862 a Bahian professor of mathematics, the mixed-blood, Dr. Francisco Alvares dos Santos, whose classes were said to be attended by two-thirds of the students of mathematics in the city, began carrying on abolition propaganda, and during the subsequent quarter of a century he each year gave a banquet to former students and invited as a special guest a slave whose liberty had been purchased on that day with funds supplied by a "patriotic battalion" composed of his students and organized in honor of the independence of Brazil. Out of his teaching arose the Sociedade Libertadora Dois de Julho, which freed several slaves.

By 1875 the Sociedade Libertadora Sete de Setembro, organized in 1869, had freed approximately five hundred slaves, and twenty-four numbers of a periodical, *O Abolicionista*, had been published. At a bazaar held by the Society in that year, Castro Alves, Bahia's "glorious poet of liberty," addressed a letter to Bahian women in behalf of the slaves, and Barão de Macahubas, resident at the imperial court, sent several gifts. The Society at that time numbered five hundred and twelve members, of whom fifteen were women.[82]

The Sociedade Humanitaria Abolicionista was organized in 1869, and the Sociedade Libertadora Bahiana in 1883.

[82] Among the more prominent members were: Frederico Marinho de Araujo, Victor Isaac de Araujo, Lourenço Gomes de Araujo e Silva, Abilio Cezar Borges, Conselheiro José Luiz de Almeida Couto, Dr. Francisco José da Rocha, Conselheiro Manoel Pinto de Souza Dantas, Conselheiro Salustiano Ferreira Santo, Dr. Augusto Guimarães, Dr. Antonio Ferreira Garcez, Bellarmino Barretto, Julio Alves Guimarães, Constancio José dos Santos, Major Antonio de Souza Vieira, Dr. Frederico Augusto da Silva Lisboa, Conselheiro Carneiro da Rocha, and Major Antonio Ferreira de Barros.

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In 1872 Dr. Frederico Lisboa advocated in *O Horizonte* "the right of all men to natural liberty" and, in keeping with this sentiment, liberated several slaves which had been presented to him on the occasion of his marriage. Subsequently he bought and freed some thirty Negroes belonging to others. In nine months Bahian abolitionists secured the release of approximately two hundred slaves illegally imported after passage of the law of 1831.[84] To make less difficult the transition from a slave to a free status, the courts appointed lawyers as *curadores* ("guardians") of the freedmen.[85]

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In 1880 Pamphilo da Santa Cruz founded a newspaper called *Gazeta da Tarde*, in whose first issue he stated a frankly abolitionist program. He was assisted in its publication by the journalist, Raymundo Bizarria, and by Conselheiro Luiz Alvares dos Santos, a professor at the Faculty of Medicine. In 1881, on the anniversary of the death of Castro Alves, "the immortal poet," author of the antislavery *Gonzaga* and *Poema dos escravos*, the public was invited through the columns of the *Diario da Bahia* "eloquently to affirm our irrevocable adhesion to the cause of abolition."

[84] For instance, Eduardo Carige demanded the liberation of an African woman whose owner, Antonio Alves Fernandes, had registered her in 1872 as forty years of age. Dr. Amphilophio Botelho Freire de Carvalho, "the first Bahian judge to comply with this law," whose decisions "were widely publicized and attracted the attention of the whole province," freed her on February 10, 1887. One irate master appealed from a decision of Botelho, charging that the judge was incompetent. The Superior Tribunal denied the appeal (see *Diario da Bahia* for March 15, 1887; Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 319–23).

[85] Among Bahian lawyers accepting this charge were: Dr. Affonso de Castro Rebello, Dr. Elpidio de Mesquita, Dr. Arthur de Mello e Mattos, Dr. Mauricio Francisco Ferreira da Silva, Dr. José Heraclides Ferreira, Dr. Francisco Moncorvo de Lima, Dr. Adolpho Carlos Sanches, Dr. Alexandre Galvão, Dr. Severino dos Santos Vieira, and Dr. Izaias Guedes de Mello. Dr. Raymundo Mendes Martins "rendered important services to the cause of the captives" as *curador geral* of orphans (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 324–26).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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At the ceremony Bahia's most famous citizen, the statesman, jurist, and orator, Ruy Barbosa, read from *Gonsaga:* "No more slaves! No more masters! Liberty to all hands, liberty to all heads," and himself added, "Abolition is an expression of the most inflexible of social necessities." Antonio Augusto de Mendonça, one of several Bahian poets then active in the antislavery cause, wrote and recited a poem dedicated to the Sociedade Libertadora Sete de Setembro. In the following year the *Gazeta da Tarde* inaugurated a series of abolition lectures to be given in the Lyceu de Artes e Officios and invited as the first speaker the well-known abolition orator, José do Patrocinio.[86] In 1885 a pamphlet entitled *A incoherencia da escravidão n'um paiz christão* was published in Bahia by Antonio Pereira de Araujo. When the news arrived (June 30, 1887) that the cabinet had secured the dissolution of "the pro-slave" *camara* a celebration was held at the offices of the *Diario da Bahia*, on the initiative of the *Libertadora Bahiana* and the *Gazeta da Tarde.*

In 1872 the province of Bahia freed the twenty-two slaves which it owned and had employed as gardeners, laundry women, and grave-diggers, either at the Hospital dos Lazaros or the cemetery of Quintas. In 1880 Joaquim Nabuco presented a project to the Pernambuco legislature calling for the extinction of slavery within ten years, and three years later he published a stirring abolition treatise entitled *O Abolicionismo.*[86a] In 1885, and again in 1887, he was elected federal deputy on an abolition platform. In 1881 the Bahian

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[86] Other lectures were given by Dr. Aristides Spinola, Dr. José de Oliveira Campos, Paula Ney, Conselheiro Luiz Alvares dos Santos, Ennes de Souza, Salles Barbosa, Elpidio de Mesquita, and Dr. Arthur Ferreira Vianna.

[86a] London, 1883.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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In the speech of very young children the doubling of a tonic syllable became common. Hence, *nhônhô* replaced *menino; titio* and *titia* were used for *tio* and *tia; dodoe* for *doe; dindinho* for *padrinho; vôvô* for *avô*, etc. Proper names "lost their solemnity, dissolving in a delicious manner in the mouths of the slaves." Little Antonia came to call herself, and to be called by her parents and other relatives, "Dondon" or "Toinha" or "Totonha"; Thereza became "Tetê"; Manoel became "Mané," "Mandú," or "Nezinho"; Francisco became "Chico," "Chiquinho," or "Chicó"; Pedro became "Pepê"; and Alberto became "Bebeto" or "Betinho."[119]

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In addition to the "hard and imperative" *diga-me, faça-me, espere-me*, of Portugal, another method of placing the pronoun came into use in Brazil. The slave and the lower classes developed *me-diga, me-faça, me-espere*, a manner of speaking which Ribeiro describes as of "great suavity and sweetness."[120] Freyre says "*faça-se* is the master speaking, the father, the patriarch; *me-dê* is the slave, the woman, the child."[121]

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The Negroes in Brazil are said to have been assiduous story-tellers. Many free *pretas*, mostly older women, made their living by wandering from *engenho* to *engenho* recounting tales to the women slaves which eventually found their way, transmitted especially by the *mãe preta* and the *mucama*, into the ears of the master's children. Particularly common were stories of animals possessing human characteris-

[119] Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 243.

[120] João Ribeiro, *A lingua nacional* (São Paulo, 1921), quoted in Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 246 n.

[121] *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 246.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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tics, as similarly were tales of the tortoise.[122] Boisterous children were quieted with stories of the Kibungo, a terrifying creature, half-man, half-animal, with an enormous hole in the middle of its back which opened ominously when the creature lowered its head.[123] The Kibungo was especially fond, it is said, of visiting the houses in which naughty boys lived, announcing his presence with:

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> De quem é esta casa?
> auê
> como gérê, como gérê
> como érá.[124]

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Max Schmidt observed in Matto Grosso that many of the local practices connected with cattle-raising were of African origin, as similarly were the iron instruments in use there. Eschwege contends that ironworking was learned in Brazil from imported Africans.[125]

[122] See Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 282–83.

[123] *Ibid.*, pp. 301–3.

[124] Whose is this house?
auê
I eat *gérê*, I eat *gérê*
I eat *érá*.

[125] Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, pp. 220–21. It is also probable that certain microbes were unwittingly brought to Brazil in the bodies of imported Africans. See Octavio de Freitas, *Doenças africanas no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1935).

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Similarly, an army uniform, "especially the gold braid of an officer, Aryanized and 'aristocratized' many mulattoes into whites."[31]

The rise of the mixed-bloods was also facilitated by the conviction which, since at least the late eighteenth century, had been crystallizing in the minds of Brazilian intellectuals to the effect that the Negroes, whose strong arms and backs had long furnished the country's labor supply, were to a considerable extent the actual builders of Brazil. In prose and poetry not only the toil of the slave but also the creative energies of the free people of color came to be exalted.[32] This appreciation of the African contribution to Brazilian civilization increased with the progress of the abolition campaign. Especially were the *amas* extolled.[33] Much of the abolition sentiment had its sanction in the affectionate gratitude of young aristocrats whom they had reared.

The rise of the mulatto, as also that of the black, was further favored by the gradual, rather than catastrophic, character of the emancipation process which in Brazil released most of the lower stratum of society from servile status gradually and as individuals, under circumstances favorable to the continuance of those intimate personal ties so highly advantageous to a "new freeman." Moreover, final emancipation was not, as in our South, brought about as an incident of civil strife, and the normal relations which had

[31] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 318.

[32] See Borges dos Reis, "Colonos indigenas e escravos," *Revista do Instituto Geographico e Historico da Bahia*, XXVIII (1902), 61. Note also Alvarengo Peixoto's stanza:

> ". . . . homens de varias accidentes
> pardos, pretos, tintos e tostados
> . . . . os fortes braços feitos ao trabalho."

[33] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 128.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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presiding in accordance with the varying subjects under consideration, were seated erudite *doutores* from lecture-room and laboratory; huge *filhas de santo;*[7] aged Negro cooks who brought from . . . . the crude kitchens of their mud huts recipes of . . . . Afro-Brazilian dishes; Negroes from the cane fields (like Jovino, whose paper was as full of errors in Portuguese as of *saudades* of the time of the *almanjarras*);[8] . . . . *babalorixás*[9] like Pae Anselmo; queens of the *maracatú*[10] like Albertina de Fleury, whose name reminded José Lins do Rego[11] of the heroine of a romance by Proust; certain others who, although illiterate or semiliterate, had such intimate knowledge of Afro-Brazilian matters as to be able to make an appreciable contribution to the Congress; students of law, engineering, and medicine . . . . ; elderly folklorists like Rodrigues de Carvalho, who never missed a session . . . . ; individuals like Nobrega da Cunha, who knew intimately the ritual of the *macumba;*[12] psychiatrists of the ability and reputation of Ulysses Pernambucano, who was acclaimed with all justice Honorary President; artists like Luis Jardim and Cicero Dias; intellectuals, journalists, and special representatives of Rio newspapers; the teacher, Ernani Braga, who collected for the Congress a number of invocations to Xangô[13] sung by the young ladies of the Conservatorio on the closing day of school to the enthusiastic applause of the best people of Recife. Individuals

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[7] *Filhas de santo* are ceremonial dancers of the fetish cult (see chap. x).

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[8] On the sugar plantations of colonial Brazil the beam to which animals were hitched to turn the millstone and crush the cane was called the *almanjarra*.

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[9] Priests of the fetish cult are sometimes called *babalorixás*. The word is formed from the Nagô words *bábá* ("father") and *orixá* ("deity").

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[10] The *maracatú* was an organization of Negroes which formerly participated in Carnival at Recife (see Mario Sette, *Maxambombas e maracatús* [São Paulo, n.d.], pp. 339–41).

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[11] José Lins do Rego is a noted Brazilian novelist whose realistic accounts of lower-class life, particularly in the state of Pernambuco, have helped to reveal a level of culture about which little had previously been written. See, e.g., his *Banguê* (Rio, 1934); *Menino de engenho* (2d ed.; Rio, 1934); *Usina* (Rio, 1936); *Historias da velha Totonia* (Rio, 1936); *Pureza* (Rio, 1937); *Pedra Bonita* (Rio, 1938); *Doidinho* (Rio, n.d.).

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[12] The Afro-Brazilian fetish cult is known in Rio de Janeiro as the *macumba*.

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[13] Xangô (pronounced "Shán-go") is a deity of the fetish cult (see chap. x).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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tice, now not so common as formerly but still occurring, of forsaking a dwelling-place in which some member of the family has died. "Visions" are commonly reported. A *preto* related: 787

> Once as I was working, I suddenly noticed an old friend, together with another man, standing by me, both of them "out of the flesh." My friend spoke and asked me how I was. I told him I was "so-so." Then he said, "Did you know that Fernando was dead?" I didn't, but, sure enough, I found out the next day that he had died that very morning.

One finds in many individuals an absolute credulity in folk tale and folk myth. Thus to many a Bahian of the lower classes the *lobishomem*, the *caipora*, the *mula de padre*, and the *biatátá* are actual entities which he himself, or someone known to him, has supposedly seen or heard. [538]

The *lobishomem* (werewolf), credulity in which is also common to large areas of Europe, is said at Bahia to roam about on moonlight nights, preferably on Fridays, with dogs following him. He takes the form of a man, very pallid, with an enormous shock of hair and long fingernails. Coming up behind a traveler or sneaking into the house after a child, he grasps his victim and sucks his blood. A person "very yellow" from malaria is thought to be in danger of turning into a *lobishomem*. If a family has seven sons and no daughters, the first-born is believed liable to develop into one of these creatures unless he is made co-padre with his parents at the baptism of the seventh child. The hour of such transformation is midnight sharp. A house servant remarked: 776 754

> When I was a small boy, I knew a man who turned into a *lobishomem*. There in my country, near Joazeiro [state of Bahia]. He had killed his father and his mother. He always went around with his head down, very sad and very pale. The children called him *chicobicho* and ran and hid from him. Every Friday night he turned into a

5: Azevedo--31 D, Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[SALVADOR]

/25/ Opinions about Colored People

829 *563 *538 The presence of so many colored people in their region has never constituted a preoccupation or a mark of inferiority for the people of Bahia. The authors of school manuals for primary and secondary education, the political men in their election campaigns, the preachers in their sermons, the journalists in the writing of editorials and news refer to the important contribution of the African slaves to the Brazilian economy and praise certain traits of theirs, natural kindness, good nature, resignation, with which they have enriched the psychology of the nation. In the folklore, in tourist propaganda, in the caricatures that accompany political criticisms, Bahia is generally represented as the Bahian mulattress wearing the characteristic costume of women affiliated with the candomblé. Even in the publications intended for the foreigner, the authorities never intentially reduce the high percentage of the descendants of Africans in the local population (1).

[113] 1. Cf. Impressoes do Brasil no século vinte /Impressions of Brazil in the Twentieth Century/, Lloyd's Greater Britain Publishing Co. Ltd., London, 1913, p. 873.

*563 [204] Condemning the attitude of a professor accused of making humiliating remarks to a colored student, a newspaper of Bahia wrote that even if there were no other reasons for condemning racial discrimination in Bahia, "there will always remain the great contribution that the black race has made to its civilization, to its development." The professor, in his reply, claimed that he too recognized the merit of "many colored people who have elevated themselves so much in society by their personal worth, the fruit of study and of work."

*563 829 Some authors, however, in the past and under the influence of a simplistic evolutionism, have expressed the conviction that the colored people represented a misfortune for Bahia, because of the "psychic inferiority" of the Negro. One of them regarded the black element as a "refractory element in civilization" and

[SALVADOR]

/28 cont./

829 moreover, that, in certain cases, they are applied to persons who
* 563 actually strive to compensate for their feeling of inferiority by an affected manner of speaking and behavior.

/29/ Color Is a Mere Accident

The expression "black with a white soul" is used as much in Bahia as in the rest of the world, wherever it is believed that a Black, in order to be good, must necessarily possess the qualities of the White. It is most significant that such a way of thinking finds followers even among colored people. The mother, morena,
[115] of one of our informants said that "the Black is black inside and out," and that if she were to marry again she would certainly never marry a man as dark as her husband. In a publication in which,
829 20 years ago, an association of Blacks commemorated the first
* 563 centenary of its founding, one can read on the first page: "If we
* 538 examine the archives of the society or if we leaf through its books,
[577] we shall see there this contrast: black men having a very high ideal, perfect characters, irreproachable sentiments, and, above all, very noble aspirations."

There are also, fortunately, those who deny the intellectual and moral inferiority of the Black. In an article appended to the statutes of another organization of colored people, it is explained that "what happens is that the Black, because he is poor, lacks the necessary tranquillity to which, for him as for the white man, is owed intellectual progress, the source of comfort and joy. Moreover, always tortured by the injustice that pursues him, he should have become a rebel rather than the efficient collaborator that he is, an element in the continuous ascent and moral and intellectual improvement of the Brazilian population." There is in these judgments, along with a complaint, the refutation of the theory of the innate mental inferiority of the black and the idea that there is a contrast between the dark color of the skin and noble aspirations.

[SALVADOR]

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*563 545 533 [204] society, has brought to Bahia the most famous musicians of our time. The newspapers and journals report the concerts that the white and colored artists give in the theaters and halls of the most important organizations of the city, and publish their /63/ pictures as well as the comments that the art critics make on the subject.

*563 814 538 [532] [346] In the plastic arts, colored persons have not played an important role, although in the past they have produced some painters and sculptors of some renown whose works can be viewed in the most beautiful baroque churches of the city. These works are mentioned in the books on the art of Bahia, especially in those of a black or dark mulatto writer, Manoel Querino, son of slaves, whose studies on art, folklore, and Afro-Brazilian ethnography have made him famous. The first centenary of the birth of this intellectual, who in his biographies of numerous artists of Bahia only very rarely indicated their type, was solemnly commemorated in Bahia, as well as in Rio de Janeiro, at the same time that two other folklorists, who were white, one of whom was from Bahia, were honored.

*563 873 [875] In the school of fine arts of the local university, students of all types have acquired university degrees in architecture, painting, drawing, and sculpture; its teaching staff at present includes at least three mulattoes, two of whom are quite dark. Some informants say, however, that one painter, because of his color, was not counted for a prize offered by the school, consisting of a journey outside the State. This incident, which happened some tens of years ago, is interpreted in different ways by our informants.

*563 545 In the theater, colored persons (at least those who are very dark) do not have great possibilities, and one often hears this complaint expressed. The Blacks, says one young informant, never get beyond the stage of laborer or carpenter in our theaters; even for the roles of Blacks, disguised Whites are preferred. On the other hand, a morena amateur actress states that white women refuse to play the parts of Bahians and that they entrust these parts to colored girls. It is also somewhat difficult to present white and [873] colored actors together on the same stage, even in the theatrical

[SALVADOR]

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Career chosen	Whites		Mulattoes		Blacks	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Prestige careers (1)	80	62.50	33	46.80	44	15.70
Modest careers (2)	20	37.50	67	53.20	56	84.30

1. Merchant, civil engineer, physician, farmer /Fr. fermier/, accountant /Fr. comptable/, woman doctor, dentist, lawyer, engineer (woman), accountant /Fr. comptable/, pianist, official, professor.

2. Mechanic, salesman, printer, chauffeur, tailor, bookkeeper /Fr. comptable/, saleswoman, typist, dressmaker.

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*563 One may make two observations on the subject of these replies.
555 The first is that schoolchildren of modest families, between 12 and 15 years of age, mulatto as well as black, manifest the intention of adopting prestige careers in which Whites predominate. This may denote their desire to escape situations socially and economically inferior; it may also express their faith in the possibility they have of realizing these aspirations, a possibility that would be refused them in a society with racial discrimination. The second observation is that the white persons to whom these replies were shown manifested neither surprise nor reprobation concerning the aspirations of colored children.

*563 In Brazilian folklore there is an anecdote that proves how
555 much Bahia is known as a place where Blacks can acquire status
● 538 by means of the liberal professions. It is said that a Black, very well dressed, arrived in the State of Ceara and the first person he met called him "doctor." Amazed to see that his rank had been guessed, the Black asked how his interlocutor could know that he was a graduate. And the reply was very clear: "A Black so well dressed can only be a servant among the English or a doctor in Bahia."

5: Azevedo--112 D, Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[SALVADOR]

/85/ The Intellectual Life

*563 554 538 The reputation of an intellectual is independent of his racial "quality." The biographies of illustrious Bahians do not mention their racial affiliation, an omission that constitutes a serious handicap for those who study the contribution of colored men to science, to letters, and to the arts of our city. With the exception of the case, for example, of an article on "Men of black color in the history of Bahia" (1),

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1. "Os Homens de côr preta na Historia da Bahia," by M. Querino, in Revista do Institute Geographico o Historico da Bahia, Vol. 48, 1923, p. 353 (38 brief biographies).

or some short studies of the same kind, it is practically impossible, unless one refers to other sources, to find out who the colored men who have distinguished themselves by their talent have been (2).

[113]

2. M. Querino, As artes na Bahia e Artistas Bahianos /The Arts in Bahia and Bahian Artists/; S. Bocanero Junior, O Teatro na Bahia, 1812-1912, Bahia, 1915; Gonçalo Moniz S. Aragao, A Medicina na Bahia, Diário Oficial, ed. do Centenario, 1923; C. Torres, Vultos, fatos e coisas da Bahia /Faces, Things, and Affairs of Bahia/, Bahia, 1951; and others.

Thus, several months ago, in celebrating the first centenary of the birth of Manoel Querino, who was a mulatto of dark complexion, a newspaper described him as "a poor and artistic Bahian who distinguished himself as a traditionalist historian, folklorist, ethnographer, sociologist, educator and 'leader' /quoted in English/ of the working class to which he belonged and which he tried to elevate."

5: Azevedo--113 D, Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[SALVADOR]

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* 563 554 571 Among the intellectuals of whom Bahia is proud and who are included among its great names, there are some who are very dark. One of them, speaking of the mixture of races, says that "the descendants of the crossings mentioned are to be found in Brazil in all social classes, in all professions, even the most intellectual" (3).

[113] 3. Viuva J. Moreina, "Juliano Moreina e o problema do negro mestiço no Brasil /Juliano Moreina and the problem of the Negro mestizo in Brazil/," in Novos estudos afro-brasileiros /Recent Afro-Brazilian Studies/, G. Freyre and others, Rio de Janeiro, 1937.

The colored intellectuals not only do not form a separate group, but are judged and classed solely according to their talent and their works, and in scientific and literary associations occupy positions corresponding to their importance. When, in 1923, [527] the first centenary of the struggles for national independence in the territory of Bahia was commemorated, a very well-known photographer in the city, in collaboration with a historian and professor of the university, put together a large picture with the portraits of the Bahian intellectuals who at that time enjoyed the greatest renown: members of parliament, jurists, poets, prose writers, sacred orators, biologists, physicians, musicians, engineers, folklorists, educators, journalists, linguists of both sexes. Among the 79 intellectuals represented, one counted one cabôclo and 20 morenos and pardos, some of them quite /86/ pigmented. One of the four portraits most in view in the upper part of this composition was that of a dark mulatto, already mentioned above as a historian, engineer, and linguist; his picture was placed in the same port as that of Ruy Barbosa, a famous jurist and leader, who is considered "the greatest of Brazilians." The portraits of other métis appeared among those of numerous white intellectuals. • [538] Among the recently published 100 biographies of the most notable Bahians of the period that extends from 1564 to 1925, there are 12

[SALVADOR]

/86 cont./

*563 554 571 538 métis celebrated as poets, jurists, linguists, physicians, and preachers, including a son of slaves, who, in the second half of the last century, because of his origin, had great difficulty in being accepted in a faculty of law of his country (1).

[113] 1. A. Loureiro Souza, Bahianos Ilustres, 1564-1925, Bahia, 1949.

All this testifies to the fact that intellectuals are judged according to the standards that apply to the whole of society, without color being taken into account. The literary critics, for example, affirm that the greatest living Bahian poet is a dark pardo and that a moreno is one of the best poets Bahia has had in recent decades. Moreover, the most listened-to literary and artistic critic, who died a few years ago, was a branqueado (whitened) mulatto, who exerted a great influence on the local intellectual [527] life. When, on the occasion of the 350th anniversary of the Lusitanian poet Camoens, the Portuguese colony celebrated Race Day, it was a dark mulatto who, in the name of Brazilians, gave the address of welcome to the Portuguese, while a celebrated sacred orator took the floor for the latter; in 1949, when the fourth centenary of the founding of the city was commemorated, the government of the State, in posthumous homage to this same mulatto intellectual, published one of his remaining unpublished historical works (2).

[113] 2. Teodoro Sampaio, Historia de Fundaçao da Cidade do Salvador /History of the Founding of the City of Salvador/, edited by the Secretaria do Educaçao e Sáude, Bahia, 1949.

*563 554 571 The favorable position given colored people in the intellectual milieus is reflected in certain comments that we gathered in the course of our investigation on colored people. One of them made the following remark: "Colored people owe much to Whites, it is they who praise the Negroes of merit and who make known their name and their works." Another assured us that "among intellectuals there was no color prejudice."

[SALVADOR]

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*563 814 571 The Academy of Letters of Bahia, an institution that groups Bahian intellectuals of the greatest renown, includes among its 41 founders eight mulattoes of the most varied shades of skin. One of them, an educator of repute, became a /87/ national celebrity for his works on Portuguese grammar and for the polemic on linguistic problems that he carried on with his old disciple Ruy Barbosa. Two mulattoes -- a very distinguished professor of medicine and another, both an engineer and historian -- were corresponding members of this famous association. Since its founding in 1917, the Academy has counted among its members 15 morenos and mulattoes; among them are names of which Bahia is justly proud. The group of poets and prose writers who, [538] under the influence of symbolism, were originally part of an important literary movement was made up in large part of colored men.

/88/ Recreational Clubs

*563 575 The social and recreational clubs are the sector where admittance is the most difficult for persons of very dark color, if one is to believe the majority of informants. Some of them even declare that the obstacles that stand in the way of their entry into such organizations are due both to color prejudices and to the fact that these associations are dominated by the old families who resist the admission of members not belonging to their social and economic [565] group. It seems, however, that even in the very select clubs of Bahia there are fissures in the class barriers: none of these clubs can keep itself strictly closed nor strictly aristocratic either from the point of view of the filiation of its members to the old families or from that of their color. And this so much the more because the founder groups permitted, not only finos Whites, but persons "socially white" or "white in color" (brancas na côr).

3t Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1963 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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the *homem de côr* to say '*êle É um senhor*' (he IS a real gentleman) or '*um branco bom*' (a good white) is to admit that the white and the Negro can live together in dignity.

There is a series of expressions used by all types to describe the person who is trying to appear white. Whoever tries to be what he is not is considered ridiculous by all. Both whites and Negroes gossip about the social climber and use the terms '*tem pinta*' (has a 'touch of the tarbrush'), '*tem sangue*' (has Negro blood), '*é da raça*' (is of the Negro race), or simply '*besta*' (show-off), '*cheio de arte*' (artful), '*cheio de manha*' (full of little tricks), or '*fala bonito*' (talks pretty).

There are also many phrases used by lower-class people to ridicule Negroes and *mestiços* who are showing off, or 'pushing'. Most of these start off with *Negro*:

[539]

Negro doesn't marry, he gets together.
Negro doesn't accompany a procession, he runs after it.
Negro doesn't sit down, he squats.
Negro in white clothes is a sign of rain.
Negro doesn't hear Mass, he spies on it.
Negro at a white man's party is the first to grab and the last to eat.
Negro's intelligence is the same size as his hair.

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The concepts and fixed ideas which the people of Vila Recôncavo have of these racial types were also revealed in their responses to a pictorial questionnaire devised in the field.[1] A series of eight photographs of people unknown to those answering the questionnaire was shown, consisting of a male and a female of each of the four major racial types, the *caboclo*, the *preto*, the *mulato* and the *branco*. An attempt was made to use photographs giving no clue to the possible class position of the eight persons. However, the photographs which we were able to secure were not entirely satisfactory for our purposes in Vila Recôncavo. The picture of the caboclo male was of a man of middle age, but a type considered in the local conception as having a strong personality, while the *caboclo* woman was older and certainly not *simpática* (pleasant) in the local view. The two *pretos* were both unmistakably *pretos*, and both young. The *mulato* male and female differed one from the other, as the man was definitely a common *mulato* type, while the woman was almost a *morena mulata* rather than 'pure' *mulata*. She was young and considered much more *simpática* than any of the four women presented. The two whites were not distinguished in any way; and there was doubt in the minds of the people answering the questionnaire as to whether these two were 'pure' white or not.

The questionnaire was given to 85 people: 18 *brancos*—11 males,

[1] These questionnaires were given by a local assistant after the author's stay in Vila Recôncavo, but the results agree in general with the observations made during research in the community. [114]

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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tics, as similarly were tales of the tortoise.[122] Boisterous children were quieted with stories of the Kibungo, a terrifying creature, half-man, half-animal, with an enormous hole in the middle of its back which opened ominously when the creature lowered its head.[123] The Kibungo was especially fond, it is said, of visiting the houses in which naughty boys lived, announcing his presence with:

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> De quem é esta casa?
> auê
> como gérê, como gérê
> como érá.[124]

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Max Schmidt observed in Matto Grosso that many of the local practices connected with cattle-raising were of African origin, as similarly were the iron instruments in use there. Eschwege contends that ironworking was learned in Brazil from imported Africans.[125]

[122] See Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 282–83.

[123] *Ibid.*, pp. 301–3.

[124] Whose is this house?
auê
I eat *gérê*, I eat *gérê*
I eat *érá*.

[125] Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, pp. 220–21. It is also probable that certain microbes were unwittingly brought to Brazil in the bodies of imported Africans. See Octavio de Freitas, *Doenças africanas no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1935).

[P. 108 is blank]

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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563 142 826 *pardo;* but common speech adds *cabra* (or *caibra*), *Cabo Verde* (*Cape Verde*), *sarará*, and *moreno*.

The *cabra*, or *caibra*, is slightly lighter in pigmentation than the *preto* and has hair a little less kinky. The *Cabo Verde* is very dark, with Caucasian features and black, glossy, "straight" hair. The infrequent *sarará* is light in color, with hair red (or sandy) and kinky. The *moreno*, many Bahians say, is the new physical type which Brazil is developing.

563 142 826 832 Quite significantly, the *morena* (or feminine *moreno*) is the "ideal type" of Bahian femininity. She is in many cases an individual of remarkable beauty. Typically, she has dark-brown eyes and dark hair, quite wavy, perhaps even curly, and Caucasian features; her color is *café com leite* (literally, "coffee with milk"; i.e., like that of one "heavily tanned"), and she has a healthy appearance. The term *morena* is seldom mentioned to a Bahian male without there appearing an instant change in his expression. His face "lights up," and a smile breaks on his lips. He pronounces *morena* with a tone indicative of admiration, affection, desire.[50] He seems pleased, happy in the contemplation of an agreeable object. Poets, both professional and amateur, pour out passionate stanzas in her honor,[51] songs are sung

[50] The *morena* has the reputation of being more desirable than lighter Brazilian women; she is commonly described as "more *ardente*" (passionate), "more *adstringente*" (clinging).

[539] [51] As, for example, the following:

Elsa . . . .
Number One girl,
Pretty little "paca" [small Brazilian animal]
Caboclo-colored butterfly,
Splendidly "morena." . . . .

I danced the "catérêté" *samba* with Elsa,
Her warm flesh quivering,
Her breasts full, almost exploding,
Inside her little white blouse.

And then she fell into my arms willingly, voluptuously,
Her eyes like burning coals,
Her ruby lips
Glued to mine in delirious pleasure.

Ah! Ah! mad girl!
"Bamba" girl!
Devilish girl!

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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to her,[52] romances written.[53] Of 146 male students responding to the query, "All things being equal, whom would you prefer to marry, a *branca*, a *morena*, a *parda*, a *preta*," 117, or 80.1 per cent, replied "a *morena*." Similarly, of 93 white female students responding to a like question, 80, or 86 per cent, preferred a *moreno* for a mate.

The *morena* may, or may not, have African blood.[54] But at least in Bahia this category includes many individuals of partial African descent. For instance, a study of five hundred women classified as *morenas* in the Gabinete de Identificação indicated the probable distribution given in Table 7.

It is the opinion of Arthur Ramos[55] that, although "the charms of the *morena* exert a profound sexual attraction" and the regard in which she is held "has a sexual base in the Freudian sense," the present attitude toward the *morena* "grew out of the enthusiasm and the sentimentalism of the abolition campaign. The *morena* expresses in a symbolic way the union of the two races—the black and the white—and the absence of [caste] prejudice."

The *morena* probably constitutes a decided bond be-

[52] As, for example, the following:

Beautiful morena,
Morena,
Morena who makes me suffer!
The full moon, so bright,
Is not as luminous as your eyes.
You are a *morena*,
A wonderful girl.
There's not a *branca* who hasn't
fallen for you.

Often,
When you pass by,
Men quarrel over you;
Everyone eagerly anticipates
Your smile.

Your heart is a boarding-house,
A family hotel
Along the seashore.
Oh, *moreninha*, do not rent all!
Leave at least a corner
For me to live in!

[53] A rock on the island of Paquetá in Guanabara Bay at Rio de Janeiro very popular with young lovers, has been dedicated to the *moreninha*.

[54] Pronouncing the word *morena* (or *moreno*) with a certain emphasis or changed inflection indicates darker color.

[55] Stated in personal correspondence with the author.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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While the mixed-bloods are consistently proud of their white lineage, they (at least the ambitious ones among them) tend, as we have noted, to be ashamed of black relatives and to hide, in so far as possible, the too obvious evidence of relation to them. This ordinarily occurs when the mixed-blood has achieved some economic competence or otherwise improved his standing in the social order.

Such an attitude is not greatly dissimilar to that of an upper-class resident of New York, for example, toward his relatives among the mountaineers of Tennessee. As with all individuals who within the span of a few years have climbed from one class to another, the self-confidence and sense of superiority of the Brazilian mixed-blood are to some extent intermittently, or even constantly, threatened by feelings of insecurity. João Varella has written of some of these individuals:

[539]

> Of his white father, whom he never saw,
> He has a picture in the parlor;
> But of the Negro woman who gave him birth
> He has no picture, nor does he even speak of her.[47]

Similarly, Gilberto Freyre has pointed out that many times in the past

> there resulted from . . . . the fact that the mother or the grandmother of the house was a mulatto situations often dramatic which are reflected in certain Brazilian romances and other accounts. Fair individuals often sought to keep visitors from seeing the fat mulatto grandmother, or even mother, with her huge negroid buttocks; or kept out of sight the dark brother, or dark sister, the tira-teima"[48]

[47] From an unpublished manuscript entitled "O africano na Bahia."

[48] Elucidating this phrase, a Bahian said, "The *tira teima* is an individual who in himself constitutes a living negation of the family's claim to whiteness. Being darker, or otherwise revealing the presence of Negro blood, this individual destroys the illusion (*tira a teima*) of *fidalguia* [superior standing] which the family wishes to give out."

[558]

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men, anxious for a good year's catch, or individuals wishing to be rid of some illness, to obtain employment, or to secure a satisfactory resolution of unrequited love, will purchase foods, wearing apparel, toilet articles, jewelry, and other gifts pleasing to a lady and place them with appropriate ceremonies in a body of water presumed to be inhabited by one of the *mães d'agua*. Particularly sacred are the waters of Mar Grande, off the island of Itaparica, where, a few years ago, a saddle horse, it is said, was presented to Yemanjá; Mont'serrat and Cabeceiras da Ponte, on opposite sides of Itapagipe; Baiutê,[29] near the village of Itapoan; and Mariquita, near Rio Vermelho.[30] Parents of twins make regular food and drink offerings to the twin-deities, the Beji, or Cosme and Damião. Omolú, the "*orixá* of smallpox," is believed to protect not only against the ravishes of this disease

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[29] A foreigner was swimming in Baiutê when a passer-by, seeing him, shouted excitedly, "What are you doing in there? Don't you know that that water is charmed (*encantado*)? You might even turn into a fish. Haven't you seen the white swans? They say that they are two people who once swam here." For accounts of public offerings to the *mães d'agua* see *Estado da Bahia* for June 19 and September 23, 1936; *A Tarde* (Bahia), February 3, 1938.

[30] A letter headed, "Every Vow Fulfilled up to the End of the Year, 1936," and addressed to "Our Lady of Mont'serrat, the Mistress of the Sea, Janaina," was found in the bay near Mont'serrat. It read:

[539]

To my Godmother:

I promise you, my Lady of Mont'serrat, that if you arrange it so that I can marry Domingos Portella, I will give you a present worth fifty milreis. And on the second of February I will put in another present according to my means. If possible, I will give you thirty milreis, and if not I will give you at least twenty. As large a present as I have I will give you on February 2, from twenty milreis up. My Godmother, I promise thee that the day of my marriage to Domingos Portella will be a happy day for you also; while I shall be having a *festa* here on land, you also will be having a *festa* there in the holy sea. I will fix dishes of all that we have in the house for this day, and send them to you, with greetings from me.

Your goddaughter,

Yvonne D. L. Braga

(Letter presented here by courtesy of Friar Tomás.)

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songs are ordinarily composed of simple sentences in the minor key, and the scale, which on importation from Africa is said to have consisted of only five intervals, now has seven.

Among the invocations sung to the various *orixás* is that given by a former *ogan* of the *candomblé* of Gantois:

[539]

> Egbêji mori ô ri, okorin-kam
> Orolu mori ô ri, okorin-kam
> (Powerful One, I know thee as the first man)
>
> Ôkum-kum biri-biri
> Ajá lê mori ô korin-kam
> (Even in the dark I can see thou art powerful)
>
> A orêrê aiê, orixá loman,
> Iâ, ochê Egbêji orêrê, aiê
> (In the whole world, nothing is hidden from the Great-One)[11]

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At the burial of a cult member the songs and musical instruments of the *candomblé* ceremonies are now seldom used as, it is said, they formerly were. But the casket is carried by *ogans*, and the *filhas*, in *bahiana* costume, accompany the procession. Since it is still believed that the *orixá* of the departed may at this time seek a new *cavalo*, no pregnant woman attends. "Possession," however, may and does occur. Thus, at the burial of an elderly Negro woman, a *filha* of Ogun from the *candomblé* of Engenho Velho, who had been "made" for thirty-three years and was widely known and respected for her knowledge of African ritual, two *filhas de santo* were "seized" as the procession wound its way up the steep ascent to Quinta dos Lazaros Cemetery, and another later as the crypt was being sealed. In each case "possession" began with light weeping which soon increased to loud sobbing, the individual meanwhile pressing her hands

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[11] Manoel Querino, *Costumes africanos no Brasil* (Rio, 1938), p. 108.

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revered leaders of the Afro-Brazilian world. When a priest 793
argued with her that, since she had not been ordained by the 159
pope, she had no "spiritual authority" to carry on religious 829
rites, she quickly inquired if Moses, "that great prophet and leader of his people, was ordained by the pope?" The first man, she maintains, must not have been a white man but instead a colored man; "if not black, at least red. For do the scholars not say that man originated in Asia, and do white men ever come out of that continent?" Jesus also must have been an African, or at least a person quite dark. "For did not his parents once hide him in Egypt? And is not Egypt in Africa? If Jesus was not dark, how could they have hidden him among the people of Africa?"

This *mãe de santo* was "made" over fifty years ago in the *candomblé* of Engenho Velho. "My *seita* is pure Nagô, like Engenho Velho," she boasts. "But I have revived much of the African tradition which even Engenho Velho has forgotten. Do they have a ceremony for the twelve ministers of Xangô?[11] No! But I have." She is planning to rebuild her *barracão*, or sacred dance pavilion, to be paid for by tithes levied on the incomes of members of her *seita*. She owns [444]
a small store in the Terreiro where she sells the various articles used in the cult ritual and, since the members of the fetish world know that these articles must be, if she sells

[11] According to a well known Bahian *babalaô*, Xangô was a great African chief whose cruelties the people sought to do away with by setting fire one [539]
night to his dwelling. Everyone in it burned except Xangô, who walked unscathed through the flames. Astounded, the people prostrated themselves before him and begged his forgiveness. Xangô became a powerful king and subjected many neighboring tribes, twelve of whose chiefs subsequently became his royal advisers, or ministers. Even before his death, which occurred at an advanced age, Xangô was being worshiped. Cf. Martiniano do Bomfim, "Os ministros de Xangô," *Estado da Bahia*, May 5, 1937.

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776 the proper ritual, and a vengeful destroyer if rites and taboos
177 are ignored.

Although this fusion is proceeding rapidly, it is still far from complete. A number of Gêge-Nagô and Congo-Angola *orixás*, and at least thirty *caboclo* deities, have not yet been in any way identified with Catholic equivalents.

794 Occasionally, the critical attitude of members of the fetish
177 world toward unorthodox practices in other *seitas* extends
797 also to the incorporation of Catholic ritual, ideas, and sentiments into fetish practice and belief. A *babalaô* and *feiticeiro*, born in Africa of repatriated Brazilian slaves, recently remarked, "These Bahian *candomblés* aren't African any more. Why, they all go to Mass, pray the rosary, and burn candles to the saints! It's all mixed up now."

• 539 The following story illustrates the fusion of European
177 and African traditions. Related recently by a local black, it recounts some of the experiences of Obaluaiê (Abaláu-aiê) and Omolú, known also in Bahia as Xapanan (Xapanã), and is obviously confused with the biblical stories of the Prodigal Son and of Lazarus. It also refers to a European city.

XAPANÃ, FATHER AND SON

Xapanã was fifteen years old when his parents sent him out into the world to see what life was like. After he had walked a long way, he came to a city called Venice, where he went about looking for work. But no one offered him anything, and finally, becoming very hungry, he began to go up to houses and beg for something to eat. But everywhere he asked he was turned away.

Sad and disillusioned, Xapanã continued on his way. At last he came to a forest, where he remained for some time, living on fruits and insects.

When Xapanã was nineteen years of age, he began to think of returning to his father's house and at last made himself ready and set out on the way. Xapanã walked and walked, until one day just as

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night was falling, he, all covered with sores and bruises, began to approach his father's house.

But his father, who saw the traveler coming a long way off, did not recognize him and consequently did not go out to meet him. Xapanã's mother, however, knew her son and in pity at his misfortune, begged and pleaded with her husband to have compassion for him and to receive him like the legitimate son he was.

But the old man turned to her and said:

"This fellow is not my son, because I never had a son who was full of sores."

But, at last, due to the continued pleadings of his wife, the ancient one inquired of the traveler what his name was. Xapanã replied:

"I am called Lazarus."

"Who is Lazarus?" asked the father.

Then Xapanã said: "I am he whom God permitted to use this name."

But the old man persisted in knowing the reason why, if he was Xapanã, he was using the name of Lazarus.

The son turned to his father and replied very quietly:

"I am Xapanã, the lord over pestilence throughout the whole world." And he sang in Queito:

"I say "Guedé,"
I am Obaluaiê,
I call out "Guedé,"
I am Obaluaiê,
Tôtô."

The old man Omolú then replied:

"Ojé badô
Dó lá."

And the young man sang:

"Ojé di apá."

In this way the two came to know each other, and Xapanã "the Elder" recognized Xapanã "the Younger."

A few whites, even from the upper classes, visit the *pae de santo* to obtain advice on business, politics, and other matters or aid in the cure and prevention of disease. Numerous

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4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

782 Numerous
565 families *da boa sociedade* ("of social standing") "dão comida"
184 (make the food offerings, especially of *carurú*) to Beji
794 (Cosme and Damião) and celebrate the day sacred to their honor. A number of white individuals on occasion make offerings to the *mãe d'agua*. Cases like that of the wife of a former state senator and political chieftain who kept an altar to an African *orixá* in her house are, however, not numerous.

125 Of 66 students in the Escola Normal classifying themselves
782 as *brancos* and responding to the query, "Do members of
184 your family give presents to the *mãe d'agua?*" 7, or 10.6 per
794 cent, answered in the affirmative. Of 36 *pardos*, the families of 9, or 25 per cent, similarly made offerings. Of 63 whites, 29, or 46 per cent, thought one ought to fear the *bozo* (black magic); as did 12, or 37 per cent of the *pardos*, and all 6 of the *pretos* who replied. Of 63 whites, only 1 thought the statement "A *pae de santo* is more useful in time of illness than a physician" was true, but 9, or 14 per cent, regarded it as "partially true"; of 32 *pardos*, 2 believed the statement true, and 7, or 22 per cent, thought it "partially true." Of 197 students in the Escola Normal and the Law School, the families of 25, or 13 per cent, "give *comida*" to Cosme and Damião.

184 Ordinarily the attitudes which the inhabitants of Euro-
798 pean descent take toward the *candomblé* vary from good-
794 natured tolerance, which is the most characteristic, through
829 indifference, which is common, to active opposition, which is comparatively rare, although from time to time complaints like the one below find their way into the newspapers.

[539] In *A Tarde* for May 8, 1936, appeared an editorial under the title:

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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DANGEROUS *CANDOMBLES*

Education may perhaps be the most certain means of eradicating harmful customs. But when these customs are linked with the persistent beliefs of African fetichism and constitute outrageous attacks upon the moral and physical well-being of those who practice them, it becomes necessary to insist upon immediate and complete suppression. This can be done in no way except by police action, energetic and persistent.

And, in *A Tarde* for December 9, 1935, appeared the following complaint:

THE CITY THAT GOD FORGOT

Scenes which Degrade and Depress . . . . The Revived *Candomblés* . . . . *Despachos* Even in the Heart of the City . . . .

The above looks like a movie title. But it is not. Our capital really is a city forgotten by . . . . God. . . . .

Your reporter . . . . has set down in his notebook curious scenes which reflect discredit upon our civilization; things which . . . . continue on for the eyes not only of those who live here but also of those who visit us from foreign places.

Bahia already has the reputation of being the city of *candomblés*, the paradise of the *macumbas*. However, these used to be localized in fixed zones where the devotees of Oxalá and Yemanjá beat their drums and "fell into the *santo*." Now they begin to encroach upon the most frequented streets, and the African cult is to be seen even in the best residential areas.

Your reporter verified this fact last Sunday night in the *bairro* of Barra, an elegant and aristocratic suburb. Here is to be found Grenfeld Street, very close to the Avenida Oceanica. And on this very street is a *candomblé*.

Happily there is no noise of drums. But palms are used instead, which beat without ceasing until day dawns. And whenever anyone makes an inquiry, the *pae de santo* insists that he has a license, and continues. . . . .

One morning not long ago, your reporter was passing in front of the

[789]

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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State Treasury building, a spot very much frequented. A *bosó* had been left there and still remained exposed to the curiosity of all who passed.

A black hen, three copper coins, yellow *farofia*, a cloth doll, stuck full of pins, a piece of a man's shirt, and other *bugigangas* [trinkets].

The thing was there until midday. This is no uncommon occurrence, but one which is frankly deplorable. That in the heart of our city, so close to the Rua Chile, *despachos* are made to Exú is, to say the least, disgusting.

[364] In the same newspaper sometime later (June 10, 1937), under the title, "A Specialist in Sport *Bozós*, *Pae de santo* Manoelzinho Is the Worst Enemy of the Limpeza Publica [Street Cleaning Department]," this complaint appeared:

A short time ago the *macumbeiro* known as Manoelzinho took up his residence in a *roça* at No. 256 Cruz do Cosme, and since that time his *bozós* have led to continuous complaints from dwellers along that road and from those who chance to pass that way.

At the side of the road just below the *roça* is a *loco* tree, that species so much preferred for fetishistic practices. Here *bozós* accumulate from day to day until they constitute a veritable mountain of refuse in which may be found an increasing number of dead fowls.

We are informed that this Manoelzinho, who is a *pae de santo* with considerable prestige, is a specialist in sport *bozós*. For it is said that among those who consult him are certain members of the different soccer clubs. Recently a policeman, on the eve of a great game at Graça, noted in one of these *bozós* the initials "T. V." which are the same as those of a well-known athlete.

Since the Street Cleaners never pass along Cruz do Cosme, the *bozós* keep polluting the atmosphere and obliging those who pass by to cover their noses with handkerchiefs.

To whom shall we appeal? Who will do something about this?

However, more characteristically, the Bahian identified with European customs and traditions adopts toward the *candomblé* a tolerant attitude. While he looks upon it as "ignorant fetishism," he ordinarily accepts it as "an African institution," which, in the words of a student at the Faculty

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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APPENDIX B

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COMMON SAYINGS REGARDING THE NEGRO

The following common sayings regarding the Negro probably date from the early years of the slave epoch. They are employed today more as interesting anecdotes of a former time than as characterizations of living individuals. They thus possess more the character of cultural survivals which are gradually disappearing than of racial myths actively functioning to maintain current racial inequalities or a caste order. Ordinarily, they are not thought of when individuals from the different races meet face to face. They are always uttered with a smile which seems to give them a character similar, for instance, to jokes about the Ford car which were so current in the United States in the 1920's or to humorous comments on the Irish, Scotch, or Swedes. Some of them are:

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Negroes aren't born; they just appear.

Negroes don't marry; they just live together.

Negroes don't sleep; they just take naps.

Negroes don't eat; they bolt their food.

Negroes don't look at you; they only glance at you out of the corners of their eyes.

Negroes don't dance; they "samba."

Negroes don't take a bath; they just wet themselves.

Negroes don't dry themselves; they just shake the water off.

Negroes don't comb their hair; they curry it.

A Negro woman doesn't give birth to a child; she just "pops it out."

A Negro with gloves on is a sign of rain.

A Negro dressed in white is a fly in milk.[1]

[1] That is, "he looks out of place," a *parda* explained.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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A Negro dressed in black is a black vulture with a cape.

A Negro is a *pau de fumo*.[2]

The Negro if he doesn't soil things on entering, soils them before he leaves.

Negro, *onça*'s food.

The following verses of a similar character also are recalled:

The Negro has hair
Which lard will not flatten;
The more he combs it,
The more it kinks.

A Nagô Negro when he dies
Is carried off in a banguê;[3]
His relatives say,
"The vultures have to eat."

An old Negro when he dies
Smells like a skunk;
Our Lady, don't let
That Negro into Heaven!

A Negro when he dies
Is laid out in a shirttail;
His relatives say,
"A poor man has no need of luxury."

The odor of a Negro woman
Comes from two places:
The armpit
And the heel.

If the priest is white, he says Mass;
But if he is a Negro, he only pretends to be saying it.[4]

[2] A piece of wood around which raw tobacco is wrapped for transport. It subsequently turns very black. [276]

[3] A crude litter used in colonial Brazil to carry the bodies of dead slaves, to transport building materials, etc. [493]

[4] An informant explained this line thus: "If he acted as if he was saying Mass, he was merely pretending, for he had not learned how to say it."

4; Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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The Negro was born to be a dog
And to spend his life barking.

The Negro will not go to heaven,
Even though he prays,
Because his hair is kinky,
And it might stick Our Lord.

I have a pain in my chest
That goes to my heart
When I see a Negro with shoes on
And a mulatto barefoot.

Every white man comes from God,
Every mulatto is a *pimpão*,[1]
Every caboclo is a thief,
Every Negro a *feiticeiro*.

The white man is a son of God,
The mulatto is a foster-child,
The *cabra* has no relatives,
The Negro is a son of Satan.

The white man goes to heaven,
The mulatto stays on earth,
The *caboclo* goes to purgatory,
The Negro goes to hell.

The white man is a gold chain, the mulatto fine silver,
The *cabra* is a *relicario*, the Negro a leather cord.

It seems probable that the following sayings and verses arose as a form of protest from the Negro group itself:

The Negro was born just to be a lackey of the whites.
In the white's fishing, it's the Negro who pulls the net.
If the Negro doesn't want gruel, they give him gruel.
If the Negro doesn't want beans, they give him beans.
An insane white man is said to be only nervous; but an insane Negro is called a "drunk."

[1] A *pimpão* is one who is "sassy," provoking, "goes about with a chip on his shoulder."

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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The white man eats out of a plate, the mulatto where he likes, the *cabra* from a *cuia*,[6] the Negro out of an *aribe*.[7]

The white man sleeps in a bed,
The mulatto in the hall,
The *caboclo* in the parlor,
The Negro in the "privy."

Whites sleep in beds,
Mulattoes in the kitchen,
Caboclos on the *terreiro*,[8]
Negroes under the henroost.

The white man drinks champagne,
The mulatto Port wine,
The *caboclo* beer,
The Negro pig's urine.

The *chique-chique* is a thorny wood,
The *umburana* a bee's tree,
The oxen's necktie is a yoke,
The Negro's coat a beating.

The mulatto, the *cabrinha*,[9] and the Negro
Used to be able to drink;
But today only whites and mulattoes
Can swill it down all day.

You call me ugly;
I am ugly, but I am also affectionate.
The seasoning is ugly too,
But it makes a dish taste good.

[6] A *cuia* is a bowl made from half a gourd.

[7] An *aribe* is a crude clay dish.

[8] The space between the house and the servant quarters is called the *terreiro*. It may be paved with brick, or cement, but more often it is only of bare ground. [351]

[9] Diminutive of *cabra*.

[SALVADOR]

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*563 793 Since that time priests who were black and of mixed blood began to distinguish themselves, in Bahia as throughout the country, as sacred orators, professors of Latin, of philosophy and rhetoric, of Portuguese, and as superiors and directors of educational institutions, prefects of studies, etc. Proud of this, the Blacks expressed their antagonism toward the mulattoes and caboclos by repeating [539] this quatrain:

> I have seen many Negroes
> At the altar in the act of saying Mass
> And the caboclo, all that he achieves
> Is to be usher.

*563 792 829 [797] In the religious orders, directed in general by European monks or of European structure, the prejudice that maintains that the métis find it difficult to be faithful to the vow of chastity persisted for a long time. Such a belief must have strongly influenced the opposition to the ordination of colored religious. An /76/ intellectual of dark color relates that during his youth, more than 40 years ago, he, wishing to become a priest, entered a religious order, but the superior of the monastery to which he applied, a Spaniard, advised him to seek another path. Astonished by this refusal, he demanded an explanation, and the superior told him that he might find it difficult to subject himself to the discipline, because men of his type are obliged to make great efforts to remain chaste. And since the informant thought that in the secular clergy he would be very much in danger of betraying his trust, he gave up his idea. Thus, even today, the religious orders include very few métis. [178] The situation is beginning to improve, however, with the ordination of some moreno and light mulatto monks; in an apostolic school in which one of these orders trains young men wishing to embrace the religious life, there is at present a majority of pardos and caboclos recruited from among modest families of the interior, particularly in the rural area of the northeastern part of the State of Bahia. Light mulattoes, ordained in the course of recent years, have been trained in the same school. In the *563 562 792 178 female religious orders the difficulties for the acceptance of colored girls are very much greater. Not only are some of them directed by European religious, but there still persists the Portuguese

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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[14]See section by Charles Wagley in Wagley, op. cit., pp. 148-149.

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[15]Smith, op. cit., pp. 637-640, citing Anuário Estatístico do Brasil-1939/40, states that there were 687 church marriages for each civil marriage in Bahia. The number of common law marriages is, obviously, not precisely known. Brazilian statutes do not permit divorce from civil marriage.

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[16]The chief exception to this social pattern is during Carnavál, when people of all classes "let themselves go." However, it is mainly the adolescents of the upper class who, for the moment, escape from the rigid social code of their class.

[17]As a consequence of the high mobility of the lower class, many of these community or neighborhood identifications are transitory. However, because of the free social intercourse within the class, the local relationships are quickly established and easily maintained. The core of local identification and of the community or neighborhood seems to be maintained primarily by the more stable upper-stratum of the class.

[18]The industries, trading houses, and exporters of Salvador are concerned to a large degree with agricultural products.

[19]For the United States, see Smith, op. cit., p. 221. For Brazil, calculated from the 1940 census.

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[20]A special statement is required because the problems of deriving data for population in this region profoundly affect the reliability of the demographic analysis. At the time this analysis was made, only incomplete and preliminary population data from the 1950 census had been published. Total population data by political units—municípios and distritos—and by "urban" places were available. It was necessary to estimate the agricultural occupational data. The 1950 agricultural labor force was projected from the 1940 data on the basis of changes in the rural population. Because the agricultural labor force and the rural population of which it is a part are subject to approximately the same social and economic forces, it was assumed that the change in the latter could be used to project the 1950 size of the former. The tables showing the derivation of the agricultural labor force for 1950 are based upon this procedure.

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[21]In 1940 the composition of this occupational group—based upon a combination of population census and agricultural census data—for the state of Bahia was approximately as follows:

Independent operators	44 per cent
Members of family	27 per cent
Employees	24 per cent
Employers	2 per cent
Non-owner administrators	2.5 per cent

Thus less than 5 per cent of the agricultural labor force were administrators; the others were either cultivators, vaquéiros, or agricultural laborers. In the Recôncavo the administrative group probably was relatively smaller.

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[22]In a region of such large statistical areas and diverse physical resources, it is almost inevitable that mean figures for some municípios, such as Feira de Santana, Alagoinhas, Irará, or, most of all, Santo Amaro,

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517 of the time, visiting little and receiving the local gossip from
[546] their servants. Since the advent of movies, however, it has
become fashionable for husband and wife and sometimes the
[541] children to attend the show together. When the circus comes
to town it is now common for them to go as a family at least
[794] once. As a rule, however, church services are attended separately, the wives and daughters going together and the men singly if at all, and standing in the back rather than sitting
[574] with the family. Dinners, card parties, or social gatherings with friends in the house, such as are common to North American small towns, do not exist here at all. About the only traveling these people do is to Salvador, where they stay with relatives while they make short visits, go to the doctor, or go shopping.

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871 Even the older members of Class B are less well educated than those of Class A, and do not belong to families which are nationally prominent. In many cases they have relatives in Salvador, but in no case do they maintain a second home there. Although their children may go to primary school in Vila Recôncavo, which the children of Class A would never do, they are sent to Salvador for further education; and several of the present generation are studying for degrees in law and medicine. As has already been pointed out, this class engages in
*565
[571] little social activity in common with Class A, and in almost
[867] none with rural Class B persons. Daughters of families belonging to this class are carefully chaperoned and have little
[582] freedom. Their lives are spent at home, sewing, embroidering, and helping their mothers in the house. Their prospects for marriage are poor. This applies also to the schoolteachers
*565 who are sent to the town and who also belong to this class.
582 There is little opportunity for them to marry in Vila Recôncavo unless they accept a social inferior, which commonly
875 happens to rural schoolteachers in Brazil. "Felipe," as the schoolteacher's husband is generally known, is always a "no-good" supported by his wife. There are two cases in Vila Recôncavo of local upper-class wives who work--they are both schoolteachers, supplementing their husbands' incomes and alleviating the dullness of their lives.

*565 Class C in the rural area consists of the field hands and the factory workers, who constitute the major part of the population. There are no "pure whites" in this group, but a scattering of "whites of the land." In general the factory workers
[184] consider themselves superior to the agricultural laborers;

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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[City of Salvador]

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gated to the less desirable territory. Although the Europeans have still today, to a considerable extent, maintained their original advantage, the blacks and darker mixed-bloods have gradually pushed themselves up the slopes from their less favored locations until now they have come, in some cases, to share a portion of the Europeans' favored position. One occasionally finds them living next to the homes of the whites, symbolizing the fact that they now occupy those positions, social as well as spatial, which personal ability, occupational proficiency, and favorable circumstance have enabled them to achieve and to maintain. Thus the racial distinctions which one from the United States is so likely on first acquaintance to note turn out to be, as we shall soon see in more detail, not the things which are either so genuine or so important as at first sight might appear.

It is significant, in this connection, that in what might be called the intermediate residential areas of the city, where the dwellings of those who are rising out of the lower classes meet the dwellings of the upper classes, one finds the darker and the lighter portions of the population meeting and mingling in close residential proximity. This is true, for example, along the Avenida Sete de Setembro.

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The Avenida Sete de Setembro, from Jardim Suspenso on, is the only artery into the "downtown area" from South Bahia. It thus becomes the route of passage for processions like those of Carnival, the "Micarêta,"[14] the Peruada,[15] and the numerous religious *festas*, and the avenue of march for the military during visits of political celebrities. Its streetcar line and constant flow of busses would make it less de-

[14] The "Micarêta" is the so-called "second Carnival" held the Sunday following Easter.

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[15] The Peruada is an annual students' parade with floats.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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giance from numerous and zealous devotees. African dances still invaded the popular festivals of the Europeans to such an extent that vigorous protests on the part of the white citizenry appeared in the newspapers.[16] Numerous images employed in the fetish worship were imported from Africa, and others were made by Negro sculptors in Bahia.

One occasionally encountered Negroes who in Africa had been chiefs or other dignitaries of considerable power and influence. Although in Brazil they shared the fortunes of a slave with their former subjects, they nevertheless often received allegiance and great reverence from them. On a chance meeting in the street these personages were, we are told, "saluted respectfully, their hands kissed, and a blessing requested of them." Even their masters were reported to have paid them, in several cases, considerable respect.

Slaves who were in close contact with their masters, especially the house servants, soon became, by the very necessities of the situation, at least to some extent bilingual. And their offspring, reared in close contact with the children of their masters, acquired little, if any, African vocabulary and came almost exclusively to speak Portuguese. Thus, about 1800, Koster wrote from Pernambuco, "Portuguese

[16] In the *Jornal de Noticias* for February 12, 1901, a white citizen wrote: "I wish to protest against the way in which this great civilized festival [Carnival] is being Africanized." Three days later the following was published: "These infamous Africanized groups *de cansás* and *busios* which, far from adding to the brilliance of our Carnival festival, bring shame upon the name of Bahia . . . . have since yesterday been keeping up their infernal tumult." Immediately preceding the opening of Carnival the following year there appeared in the *Jornal de Noticias* (February 5, 1902) the following note: "If during these former Carnival festivals when the popular enthusiasm has been greatly aroused by the passage of the victorious floats . . . . these groups of *Africanos* have been repugnant, what will the Carnival of 1902 turn out to be, unless the police take effective measures to prevent our streets from looking like *terreiros* where fetish practices reign amid a retinue of *ogans* and their *cansás* and tambourines?" (Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 236–38).

[SALVADOR]

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*563 829 192 826 from the word any pejorative meaning. In fact, to say a "mulattress" in speaking of a young girl of a certain social class is in a way less courteous than to say "a little mulattress" (una mulatinha). Very often, in speaking of a person of distinction, one does not use any of these terms: one then says "a person of color" or "a /13/ dark person." A swarthy métis with slightly frizzy hair, whose features link him with the Whites, is a moreno, especially if he belongs to an upper social class. A journalist, recently describing a part of the city where a large number of colored people are found together, wrote that "one meets beautiful mulattresses there." If the latter belong to the lower classes and if they are poor, they are simply mulattresses; if they are granfinas (1),

1. Granfino, granfina may be translated by "very refined."

they become light morenas; and one could even add morenas the color of jambo (2).

[824] 2. Jambo, fruit of the jambevio, a Myrtaceae (Eugenia sp.).

[533] [541] [204] One finds numerous references to women of this type in the popular songs launched on the occasion of the famous Brazilian carnival. In the journals reporting accidents, crimes, or other facts in which mulattoes happen to be involved, even from the poorest classes, it is rare to come across the word mulatto, for which pardo or

*563 562 829 192 826 morena is preferred. The feminine form, moreover, has a sentimental value: it suggests a slightly pigmented skin and features of a beauty peculiar to these "women so sought after and preferred in greater number," as one of our informants told us. Because of this preference, the morena type has been celebrated in prose and in verse by our writers. And this morena, it goes without saying,

[SALVADOR]

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of the latter, however, was part of these teams for many years and was known and admired by the entire city. About 30 years ago football started to become professional; today there are few important clubs for amateurs. In the present phase that of professionals, there is no restriction against mulatto or black players. They are acclaimed with enthusiasm, and many people consider them exceptionally suited for this game because of their agility and their skill. The most important and the richest clubs wrangle over these players and offer them very large sums so that they will consent to play on their teams. Thus several of them are made up almost exclusively of dark players. The most popular footballers of Bahia are almost all black or dark mulattoes. It should be noted, however, that the fame and the popularity of these sportsmen, in large part recruited from the lowest strata of the population, do not confer on them a higher rank; they have access to certain groups who are particularly interested in the sport; but they do not thereby acquire the right to attend the recreational celebrations of certain clubs, except on very rare occasions. Another aspect of football is that its "teams" are organized and supported by associations that generally also carry on recreational activities and are directed with passionate devotion, even at the price of pecuniary sacrifices, by rich and influential people in commerce, the liberal professions, and the bureaucracy. To take part in the management of one of these associations or on the committee that co-ordinates sports activities throughout the State of Bahia is greatly coveted: this permits one to affirm his prestige and to obtain political support from players and from thousands of fans of the sport. Some politicians distinguish themselves by the effort they make to obtain subventions and other resources for the sporting associations. According to the social level of each of these institutions, the opportunities that colored persons have to take part in their management vary. An informant who for many years was a member of the aforementioned committee cites the names of various mulattoes and Blacks who, by their wealth and their devotion, attained the posts of president and of director of several of these organizations, as well as of the sports federation of the State.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

633 tributary area does not extend beyond the state, it does include the coffee and cacao areas, parts of the São Francisco basin, and the sertão of Bahia. It is the focus of transportation and communication, of finance and administration, and of foreign trade for the entire state. Despite the economic, political, and social pre-eminence of Salvador, a few cities operate quasi-independently in a particular function, notably Ilhéus and Itabuna, in the cacao area.

The next largest cities in the Recôncavo--Feira de Santana and Alagoinhas--are much alike in size, location, and function. Feira de [162] Santana--often called merely Feira--with 26,559 people in 1950, was the second largest city of the Recôncavo and of the state. It is the [543] cite of one of the most famous cattle fairs in Brazil.[33] Alagoinhas is smaller--21,289 people in 1950--and less notable historically. It is the third largest city of the Recôncavo and the fifth largest of the state. One of the common functions of both these cities is trans-
633 portation. Feira is the railhead of railroads from Salvador and from
494 Cachoeira and is the junction of the Transnordestina trunk highway
496 which crosses the northeast interior of Brazil, with a highway to Salvador and with the only highway from Bahia to Rio de Janeiro. Alagoinhas is the junction where the railraod (Leste) to Senhor do Bonfim and Juàzeiro--on the Rio São Francisco--branches from the main line from Salvador to Maceió, the capital of the state of Alagoas. Just outside Alagoinhas are the main railroad shops of the Leste line
633 (Viação Férrea Federal Leste Brasileiro). The position of these cities,
369 intermediate between the Recôncavo and the sertão, is reflected in
291 the appearance of the people who are met on their streets--dark
142 Recôncavo agriculturalists in straw hats, patched khaki trousers, and wooden clogs and mestiço vaquéiros (cowboys) from the sertão in
633 495 their leather hats and vests. Each has a number of postos (garages)
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mers. However, on almost every plantation there are brick- 312
lined springs from which the inhabitants get their drinking wa-
ter. Women or children carrying five-gallon cans of water on [482]
their heads, and donkeys carrying four wooden kegs of water, [492]
are common sights along the roads of the Recôncavo. For the
cattle and other livestock of the plantations, drinking places 231
are excavated wherever there promises to be enough water. 312
Frequently, however, these go dry in the summer, especial- [132]
ly during the drought years which occur cyclically in rhythm
with the droughts of the sertão. At such times loss of cattle
is prevalent, except on plantations situated near one of the
small rivers.

A high-voltage electric line passes through this section 377
leading from the generating station further inland to the cap-
ital city. Recently most of the plantations have been able to
connect with this line, so that at least the owners' houses have
electric light. The houses of the workers are without it except
at the factory, where the mill supplies its own electric power
which is carried to almost all the workers' houses.

There are four state schools and one county school distrib- 871
uted among the plantations. The central school in the town of
Vila Recôncavo is not attended by children from the planta-
tions. Two plantations have their own chapels, which are vis- 347
ited at irregular intervals by the priests of Vila Recôncavo. 796
On the other plantations a small altar is set up in the owner's 793
house for special occasions such as Christmas, when the town
priest is invited to celebrate the Mass.

There is in the town a medical post with a visiting doctor, 743
a dentist, and several nurses in training, which is adminis-
tered by a Franciscan lay brother and supported by federal,
state, and county funds and by private donations. This post
is fairly recent, and its influences are spreading only slowly
to the rural area. Also in the town is a small county medical
post run by a resident physician. The sugar factory has a [249]*
dispensary with a nurse and is visited by the town doctor. Al- [752]
most every plantation has its own first-aid equipment, gen-
erally in the owner's house.

There are no fairs in the community. There are stores in 543
the town and a large supply store at the factory, run by the 443
corporation, and nearly every plantation has its own small [249]*
store. Major purchases are made at the weekly market in Cen-
tro, in the neighboring county. There are also traveling ped-

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
BRAZIL SL1

At the ceremony Bahia's most famous citizen, the statesman, jurist, and orator, Ruy Barbosa, read from *Gonzaga:* "No more slaves! No more masters! Liberty to all hands, liberty to all heads," and himself added, "Abolition is an expression of the most inflexible of social necessities." Antonio Augusto de Mendonça, one of several Bahian poets then active in the antislavery cause, wrote and recited a poem dedicated to the Sociedade Libertadora Sete de Setembro. In the following year the *Gazeta da Tarde* inaugurated a series of abolition lectures to be given in the Lyceu de Artes e Officios and invited as the first speaker the well-known abolition orator, José do Patrocinio.[86] In 1885 a pamphlet entitled *A incoherencia da escravidão n'um paiz christão* was published in Bahia by Antonio Pereira de Araujo. When the news arrived (June 30, 1887) that the cabinet had secured the dissolution of "the pro-slave" *camara* a celebration was held at the offices of the *Diario da Bahia*, on the initiative of the *Libertadora Bahiana* and the *Gazeta da Tarde.*

In 1872 the province of Bahia freed the twenty-two slaves which it owned and had employed as gardeners, laundry women, and grave-diggers, either at the Hospital dos Lazaros or the cemetery of Quintas. In 1880 Joaquim Nabuco presented a project to the Pernambuco legislature calling for the extinction of slavery within ten years, and three years later he published a stirring abolition treatise entitled *O Abolicionismo.*[86a] In 1885, and again in 1887, he was elected federal deputy on an abolition platform. In 1881 the Bahian

[86] Other lectures were given by Dr. Aristides Spinola, Dr. José de Oliviera Campos, Paula Ney, Conselheiro Luiz Alvares dos Santos, Ennes de Souza, Salles Barbosa, Elpidio de Mesquita, and Dr. Arthur Ferreira Vianna.

[86a] London, 1883.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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Bahia, one mulatto, and three blacks. Several substantial white citizens had received their early training under this man.

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The public library is patronized indiscriminately by members of all ethnic groups. Blacks, however, appear among its frequenters only in rather limited numbers. For instance, of 560 individuals using the library facilities on different days and at different hours during the day,[11] only 9.6 per cent were blacks, while 35.9 per cent were mulattoes and 52.7 per cent were whites.[12]

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In labor unions organization definitely follows class lines, and ethnic differences are largely lost sight of in the pursuit of common ends. Leadership, however, tends to be white or near-white, even in those unions composed predominantly of blacks and dark mixed-bloods. For instance, at a "solemn assembly" for the installation of new officers in a local labor union whose membership, limited to 550, is overwhelmingly Negro (as indicated by a detailed check of the members with the aid of the union secretary), the retiring president was a *branco da Bahia* and the incoming president a light mulatto. Only eleven *brancos* (probably all, or nearly all, of whom are *brancos da Bahia*) and relatively few mulattoes are to be found among the membership.[13]

[11] Samples were taken for each hour from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M., with the exception of 12:00 noon to 2:00 P.M., when the institution was closed.

[12] Also 7 (1.2 per cent) *cafusos*, 3 (0.5 per cent) *mamelucos*.

[13] Of the speakers, 6 were blacks, 5 were mulattoes (2 quite light), 1 was a *branco da Bahia*, and 1 was a white. Among the themes presented were: "Solidarity! All Workers Are Brothers!" "Since the Revolution of 1930 Workers Are No Longer Slaves"; "Viva Getulio Vargas, the God, the Jesus, and the Senhor do Bomfim [patron saint of Bahia's poorer classes] of the Workers!" "Remember the Chicago Workers Who Died for Liberty!" "Save Brazil's Wealth from Exploitation by *Norte-Americanos* Who Hope To Seize Her Mines and Her Waterfalls and Make Slaves of Her People!" "Look to the World's Greatest Socialist and Sociologist, Jesus Christ."

[544]

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

ganization which numbers about 345[24] of the city's intellectual élite, is a dark mixed-blood, the able engineer and Tupi scholar previously mentioned. The secretary of the organization is white, but during his absence on federal appointment in Rio the assistant secretary, a dark mulatto educator, discharges the secretarial duties. Of the 30 officers and committeemen of this institution, 24 are whites, 2 are *brancos da Bahia*, and 4 are mulattoes. Among the whites are several scions of the old aristocracy.

At a dinner of the Rotary Club, which numbers among its members some of the city's most prominent businessmen, 42 whites, 5 *brancos da Bahia*, and 1 very light mulatto (a visitor) were present. The guest speaker was white. Of 55 members, 47 are whites, 6 are *brancos da Bahia*, and 2 are very light mulattoes.

Of 28 citizens assuming prominent roles in a community organization designed to erect a mausoleum to Castro Alves, 15 were whites, 5 were *brancos da Bahia*, 7 were light mulattoes, 2 were dark mulattoes, and 1 was a black, the latter an able engineer and local historian. At a public meeting in honor of Castro Alves, the speaker was a white politician with a national reputation, an able man of letters, and scion of the old aristocracy. Of 200 individuals in the audience, only 18 were colored (15 mulattoes, mostly very light mixed-bloods, and 3 blacks).

At a recital given by a noted Brazilian pianist, where there were present, according to a newspaper account, "the most select of Bahia's artistic and social circles,"[25] the audience was composed of 116 whites, 14 mulattoes, predominantly light, and 2 blacks.

[24] According to the secretary of the organization.

[25] *Estado da Bahia*, January 22, 1937.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

Celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Carlos Gomes, famed Brazilian composer of the operas *Guaranÿ* and *Fosca*, 389 Bahians gathered in the Instituto Geographico e Historico. Of these, 316 were whites, 61 were mulattoes (predominately light), 11 were blacks, and 1 was a *cafuso*. With the governor of Bahia (white) on the platform were 12 citizens in formal dress, all whites[26] except the governor's bodyguard, a light mulatto in army uniform. Two young ladies in formal dress, both white, sang and declaimed. Of the 3 subsequent speakers, 2 were whites and 1 was a *branco da Bahia*. The military police band, which furnished instrumental music for the occasion, was composed of 9 blacks, 26 mulattoes, 2 whites, 3 *cafusos*, and 1 *mameluco*, under the direction of a mulatto bandmaster. Fifty students from the Instituto de Musica da Bahia sang one of Gomes' compositions. All were whites, except 2 light mulattoes.

563* 527. [635] [544] • [701] [533]

Twenty-one women, aged eighteen to forty, were present at a cooking school sponsored by a foreign resident. A novel experience in Bahia, where for generations Negro servants have prepared the food, this school had assumed somewhat the character of a fad. The group included several ladies from upper-class families, well to do, educated and traveled. The wife of the governor occasionally attended. Present were 18 whites and 3 light mulattoes, among the latter a *morena*, perhaps the best-dressed lady of the group. Her father is deceased, and her mother is a dressmaker in moderate circumstances. The girl's beauty, pleasant manner, and constant well-tailored appearance have secured for her admittance into the upper circles. She is often invited into the "best" homes. Another of the mixed-bloods present was

563* 874 [252] [357]

[26] Including one *branco da Bahia*.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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[25] *Estado da Bahia*, January 22, 1937.

[SALVADOR]

/62/ The Arts

*563 53 In Bahia the populace has its own art and its artists who interpret it according to their personal conception. And one may say that from this point of view there exists a form of art that is peculiar to poor and colored persons, especially in the [565] realm of music and dance. But in the artistic activities of the higher stratum of the population, the participation of colored *563 533 people is not important, except for music. Perhaps because of the belief that attributes to mulattoes a particular inclination for [555] music, colored musicians are relatively numerous, and some of them enjoy a great deal of prestige and are admitted into the social scheme. In all the bands and in all the orchestras there is a large proportion of Blacks and mulattoes, sometimes even as [875] soloists. Some of them engage in teaching and in this way reach [555] a higher social rank when, thanks to their competence, they succeed in having pupils who belong to the wealthiest families and when they become part of the teaching corps of the most important schools of music.

*563 875 533 Of three musicians, professors of piano and composition of Bahia, of great renown in the course of these last years, two are mulattoes. The most celebrated among them, after having very brilliantly concluded a course in Germany, taught for many years in Bahia; he then moved to another State; every time that he returns to his country he is the object of demonstrations of fellow-feeling; on these occasions numerous students or instrumentalists seek him out for short refresher courses. All Bahia is proud of the talents of this artist. Another mulatto, with the help of influential persons, organized a school of music which rapidly became very famous for the quality of its teaching and for the frequent concerts that it organized. After his death, the management of the school passed to his moreno son. The teaching of violin, which is at [462] present done almost exclusively by men, includes numerous black or dark mulatto professionals; in the teaching of piano, an activity to a large extent engaged in by women, one finds morenas and *563 "whitened" of great fame. A very popular singer of mixed blood • 545 is both founder and directress of an organization which, with the 533 contribution of some thousands of adherents of the highest classes of

[SALVADOR]

/62 cont./

*563 society, has brought to Bahia the most famous musicians of our
● 545 time. The newspapers and journals report the concerts that the
533 white and colored artists give in the theaters and halls of the
[204] most important organizations of the city, and publish their /63/ pictures as well as the comments that the art critics make on the subject.

*563 In the plastic arts, colored persons have not played an im-
814 portant role, although in the past they have produced some painters
538 and sculptors of some renown whose works can be viewed in the
[532] most beautiful baroque churches of the city. These works are
[346] mentioned in the books on the art of Bahia, especially in those of a black or dark mulatto writer, Manoel Querino, son of slaves, whose studies on art, folklore, and Afro-Brazilian ethnography have made him famous. The first centenary of the birth of this intellectual, who in his biographies of numerous artists of Bahia only very rarely indicated their type, was solemnly commemorated in Bahia, as well as in Rio de Janeiro, at the same time that two other folklorists, who were white, one of whom was from Bahia, were honored.

*563 In the school of fine arts of the local university, students of
873 all types have acquired university degrees in architecture, paint-
[875] ing, drawing, and sculpture; its teaching staff at present includes at least three mulattoes, two of whom are quite dark. Some informants say, however, that one painter, because of his color, was not counted for a prize offered by the school, consisting of a journey outside the State. This incident, which happened some tens of years ago, is interpreted in different ways by our informants.

*563 In the theater, colored persons (at least those who are very
545 dark) do not have great possibilities, and one often hears this complaint expressed. The Blacks, says one young informant, never get beyond the stage of laborer or carpenter in our theaters; even for the roles of Blacks, disguised Whites are preferred. On the other hand, a morena amateur actress states that white women refuse to play the parts of Bahians and that they entrust these parts
[873] to colored girls. It is also somewhat difficult to present white and colored actors together on the same stage, even in the theatrical

[SALVADOR]

/63 cont./

* 563 presentations of the secondary schools and universities, where
• 545 color prejudice is undeniably greatly reduced. This is con-
[873] firmed above all with regard to actors with pronounced Negroid features. A mulatto student relates that he often played roles (especially because of his voice) in the theater of the public secondary school where he studied; he almost always performed vocal solos, but he also often played the roles of a charlatan, a fisherman, or others of the same type. He was once designated to play, with a white companion, a love scene in which the two were to appear hand in hand. After numerous rehearsals, he was replaced by a White on the evening of the performance, on the pretext that he appeared /64/ earlier in numerous other scenes and it was necessary to give other students a chance to appear. Our informant assumes, as indeed the theatrical director admitted, that other persons considered it unsuitable for the girl to play a love scene with a mulatto.

The little theater organized and directed by a well-known intellectual of mixed blood has had great success; it is praised by the art critics and greatly admired by the population, which flocks in large numbers to attend its performances. But an incident with the judge for minors gave rise to interpretations that have been linked to color prejudice. Some time ago the theater
[671] gave presentations that were prolonged into the night; the judge
[692] for minors, basing himself on the law that forbids the labor of children and their presence in cinemas, circuses, theaters, and other places of nocturnal entertainment, decided to suspend the performances and instituted legal action against the director, who also directed a State department for cultural and artistic broadcasting /Fr. diffusion, diffusion, propagation, broadcasting/; the children who belong to this theater as amateur actors are recruited among families of the local intermediate classes. According to certain colored informants, these measures were due to resentment over the success gained by the initiative of a métis; and one informant heard it said in an omnibus that "the mistake of the promoter of the theater was to mix colored children and white children on the stage." These two versions are rejected by many Whites and métis who discussed this incident passionately, but it is undeniable that they have significance for the sociologist and the social psychologist.

[SALVADOR]

/64 cont./

*563 • 545 [171] For about ten years people have been trying to organize a "Negro theater" in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. In spite of the assistance of white intellectuals of great influence and endowed with the spirit of initiative, the two or three groups that have been founded have had only relative success, in spite of the indisputable artistic and intellectual merit of the Blacks and mulattoes who were at their head. About two years ago, when [658] one of these groups asked for government assistance in order to give a series of performances in Bahia, the presentation of a "Negro theater" in a city such as ours, where there is no separation of races, was considered inopportune. At least this is how some people justified the refusal against it. Two small theater groups were nevertheless founded in Bahia, "to give colored persons the possibility of becoming known," as was announced in a newspaper, but neither of these groups was able to succeed in staging a play. This lack of success may be explained in different ways. One explanation might be that amateur theater enterprises, even those directed by Whites of some prestige and aided by recreational associations able to spend /Figs. 7 and 8 appear here/ /65/ quite large sums on efforts of this kind, have been intermittent in Bahia and generally require an extreme effort by amateurs of the theatrical art; another is that the persons responsible for the two undertakings were young people of mixed blood, without experience and without credit. It should be noted, besides, that, according to one of these, the idea was not popular, even among colored persons. "Everybody doubts that this venture can be successful," he said. Some have even thought that this is "a separatist idea." It is possible that other factors come into play in this tendency to discourage similar endeavors. The theater being a means of [154] emotional expression, serving as a substitute for other ways of [796] liberating emotions, one may agree with the hypothesis of Roger Bastide, according to which the colored people of Bahia satisfy themselves by means of the exciting rites of the candomblé and the external Catholic worship with its brilliant liturgical ceremonies, its frequent and large processions, and the solemn saints' days around the most popular churches (1).

[113] 1. "Teatro de 30 dias /Theater of 30 days/," Anhembi, No. 10, Vol. IV, São Paulo, Sept. 1951.

[SALVADOR]

*563 /65 cont./
• 545 In any case it is certain that in the realm of the theater the
554 possibilities of social ascent for persons of dark color are ex-
[555] tremely limited, as, moreover, for the people of Bahia in general, because the professions of actor and especially of actress are held in very poor esteem. The city never having had a resident theater company, its theatrical life depends not only on the passing-through of companies from other States, but even, owing to the pejorative opinion concerning the theatrical profession, one can say that at present there are no Bahian actors. The small number of those who do succeed work in other Brazilian cities and rarely perform in Bahia.

/66/ Education

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871 For numerous inhabitants of Bahia, "color prejudice is a problem of education." This opinion is formulated in different ways, but it always expresses the conviction that it is the difference of education, that is to say, of manners and of schooling, that is the greatest obstacle in the acceptance of the Black and of colored persons in the white milieus. It is not rare to hear it said among dark persons that "the evil comes from the fact that many Blacks do not have the necessary education." A Black said that his companions, members of the same association as he, maintain that the Blacks can very well occupy high positions, but he proves to them that they are not on a level that permits them to claim such positions: they lack the teaching and education. "It is not sufficient to appear spick and span, as many believe!" And the same Black adds that a "well-bred and educated Black is able to enter anywhere." And the lighter an individual is, the more easily he advances if he satisfies these requirements. A parda girl relates that the members of a professional circle where she works as a secretary treat her with more courtesy and "less distance" when they learn that she is not a mere employee, but a graduate teacher, "an educated person."

000 health post, and the bar have refrigerators. On Saturday and
546 Sunday nights there is a movie, the same film being shown both nights.

491 There are only two roads leading out of the town. One goes
492 northwest to Centro, following a ridge which leads along the
484 river through a section of poor soil devoted to gardens of manioc and bananas. On horseback it is a trip of approximately two hours to Centro. The other road leads northeast into the sugar-cane fields and to the sugar factory and then continues east, eventually leading to the oil fields of Conselho and out onto the major Bahian artery from Salvador to the interior city of Feira de Santana. The journey from Vila Recôncavo to the main highway takes about four hours on horseback. Although the local road, made during the empire and part of the public domain, is called the "royal road," it is really only one-track dirt. In the summer it affords a hard surface because the hot sun bakes the earth, but during the winter it turns into a river of mud. During the rainy season the layer of clay underneath the topsoil holds the water, turning the roads into practically impassable quagmires. The situation becomes even worse just after the rains end and the surface dries, for when a man or animal breaks through the dried surface and sinks down into the clay the suction created is difficult to overcome. A trip which during the summer takes half an hour on horseback may take from three to four hours in the winter. The horse must pick and choose each step with the utmost care. During these months travel is extremely fatiguing for horses and mules, and frequent changes of mount are necessary. During this part of the year one avoids making an inland journey if possible, and keeps to the waterways.

491 From Usina to Conselho (see map of community), the road
[421] has been recently coated with oil, sand, and broken stone by the Conselho Nacional de Petroleo in an attempt to make an all-weather route. The surfacing has proved fairly satisfactory but very expensive. Although this highway follows the old "royal road," it is owned by the conselho. When a plantation owner of the area wishes to pass over it in his car or
[493] jeep, he must secure permission from the conselho office in Salvador. Nevertheless, in the past year this road has proved a boon to the plantation owners, who can now go back and forth
[484] to their homes in the city in about two hours at almost any time of the year, eliminating the long journey by horseback or canoe to the town of Vila Recôncavo to take the boat. The

743 so there is competent medical assistance. Those who are too poor to pay receive free aid and medications, milk, and soup; those who can pay do so, paying only the wholesale prices of the articles. The institute is well equipped, with an x-ray machine, diathermy, and other heat appliances, which are popular because of the prevalence of colds and rheumatism.

743 The institute also operates the weekly motion picture which
529 has been a great boon to the town, a recreation room, centrally located in the town, which has a radio, billiard tables, and
[546] a bar selling milk shakes, sandwiches, beer, and soft drinks.
743 This place has become the major meeting place for the men
873 and boys of the town. In addition to this, the institute also runs a night school for adults.

463 Group 2, as listed at the beginning of this chapter, con-
[571] sists mainly of the people who work for those in Group 1 and who are attached to them by the bonds of the patronship to some extent, as well as by salary. The majority of persons
[462] in this category are women, engaged in the traditional female pursuits of washing, ironing, sewing, embroidering, and general housework.

296 As a rule the laundry is washed at one of the town wells,
462 which are encased in cement. The women carry the dirty clothes, a bucket, and wooden basin, all piled on top of their
463 heads, to the well. They pull up enough water in their buck-
[482] ets to fill the basins in which the clothes are washed. After a soaking and scrubbing with soap the wet, soapy clothes are spread out on the ground in the sun, and from time to time water is sprinkled on them to aid the sun in bleaching. Then the clothes are rewashed and spread out to dry. Depending upon the weather, the washing and drying process may take from a whole day to three or four days before the clothes are considered clean enough. Then they are taken home to be
[463] ironed. The older pattern demanded that a different person do
[178] the ironing, but today this pattern is breaking down and frequently the same person washes and irons. The irons used are the old-fashioned kind heated by charcoal, which is placed inside and ignited. The irons are made with drafts to keep the fire going, and the women must stop frequently to fan the fire or renew the charcoal. Often a busy woman has two irons going and sets one aside to heat while she irons with the other.

462 Many women also prepare xangó, a small sardinelike fish
252 caught in great quantities by the fishermen of Vila Recônca-
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517 of the time, visiting little and receiving the local gossip from
[546] their servants. Since the advent of movies, however, it has
[541] become fashionable for husband and wife and sometimes the
[794] children to attend the show together. When the circus comes
to town it is now common for them to go as a family at least
once. As a rule, however, church services are attended sep-
arately, the wives and daughters going together and the men
singly if at all, and standing in the back rather than sitting
[574] with the family. Dinners, card parties, or social gatherings
with friends in the house, such as are common to North Amer-
ican small towns, do not exist here at all. About the only trav-
eling these people do is to Salvador, where they stay with rel-
atives while they make short visits, go to the doctor, or go
shopping.

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871 Even the older members of Class B are less well educated
than those of Class A, and do not belong to families which are
nationally prominent. In many cases they have relatives in
Salvador, but in no case do they maintain a second home there.
Although their children may go to primary school in Vila Re-
côncavo, which the children of Class A would never do, they
are sent to Salvador for further education; and several of the
present generation are studying for degrees in law and med-
icine. As has already been pointed out, this class engages in
[571] little social activity in common with Class A, and in almost
[867] none with rural Class B persons. Daughters of families be-
[582] longing to this class are carefully chaperoned and have little
freedom. Their lives are spent at home, sewing, embroidering,
and helping their mothers in the house. Their prospects for
marriage are poor. This applies also to the schoolteachers
who are sent to the town and who also belong to this class.
There is little opportunity for them to marry in Vila Recôn-
cavo unless they accept a social inferior, which commonly
happens to rural schoolteachers in Brazil. "Felipe," as the
schoolteacher's husband is generally known, is always a "no-
good" supported by his wife. There are two cases in Vila Re-
côncavo of local upper-class wives who work--they are both
schoolteachers, supplementing their husbands' incomes and
alleviating the dullness of their lives.

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Class C in the rural area consists of the field hands and the
factory workers, who constitute the major part of the pop-
ulation. There are no "pure whites" in this group, but a scat-
[184] tering of "whites of the land." In general the factory workers
consider themselves superior to the agricultural laborers;

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harvesting and milling. The factory operates twenty-four hours a day during this season. In the winter, when they have more leisure, travel is too difficult, for the roads disappear in mud. Few of the rural people go to the town of Vila Recôncavo, for it has nothing to attract them except the boat to Salvador and the priest, whom they sometimes visit to have a Mass said or for a burial. The free movies recently innovated by the Petroleum Council and located a mile from the factory have been a boon to the rural people, but as a rule only the men attend. In fact, almost any kind of off-plantation gathering is attended predominantly by men.

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On most plantations the casa de farinha is a social gathering place, and both males and females congregate there to talk about the latest news while they work. The women also gossip at the local well as they fetch water or remain there washing their clothes. Their everyday lives are busy, and there is little time for purely social activities. The day begins and ends early. Soon after dark the lights go out, the houses close, and silence reigns except for the noise coming from the casa de farinha, which may operate all night, or the lonesome singing of the caatingueiros housed in the barracks, or the strong rhythmic sound of the drums coming from a distant candomblé ceremony. Because there is little work for women on a plantation, the "extra" girls, those for whom there are no potential husbands, ask the planter to get them work as domestics in the city; this is usually easy, for there is nearly always someone in Salvador looking for a "good, strong country girl" to work in the home. Occasionally, if a worker's son is especially intelligent and industrious, he too may be placed in some position in the city.

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(361)

Class C comprises the majority of the population in the town of Vila Recôncavo and includes most of the occupations listed in Group 3 of the preceding chapter--that is, fishermen, gardeners, and artisans. There are no "pure whites" in this class, but, as in the rural area, a few "whites of the land" and the full range of mestiços, whose various color and social characteristics will be discussed later. The people of Class C live for the most part in the lower section of town, in the areas called Cortume, Largo de Santa Cruz, Rua Nova, Boqueirão, Cumbamba, and Caquende. The great majority of them own their homes, although the land belongs to the Fazenda Engenho da Vila, to the church, or to the prefeitura, and is rented for a small yearly sum. The houses are small, usually

(423)
(427)

[Class A Families]

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596 All these dishes are served with rice, potatoes, farina, and
527 cooked vegetable salads. Then fruits are served, followed by
262 a series of desserts including puddings, ice cream, and cakes.
[272] The meal is concluded with a demitasse (cafèzinho). Lunch is usually served at midday, and afterwards the guests generally break into small groups, talk, sleep, play cards, or stroll about the garden. In midafternoon a small merenda (snack) is served for those who want it, consisting of cake and
*565 demitasse, and in the evening ceia (supper) is served, in-
596 cluding cold cuts, salads, and dessert. After this the group
527 may go en masse to the movies, either at the Petroleum Camp
[546] or in the town of Vila Recôncavo. Or, if in gay spirits, they may spend the evening dancing in the living room to popular
[535] records. People go to these almoços by horseback, jeep, truck, or sometimes, in a spirit of fun, by oxcart. Hospitality has for hundreds of years been the tradition of the rural
[492] landowners, who envelop guests with an overabundance of
[493] everything. One planter always has the dining-room table set for at least ten people, although only he and his wife live in the house. Others have the reputation of always providing
*565 a good meal for anyone who passes at mealtime.
574 The decreasing size of families, the shift in individual em-
423 ployment from agriculture to the professions, and this cen-
178 tury's change to large-scale industrial holdings for the pro-
428 duction of sugar have caused some differences in land tenure and, hence, inheritance. The Recôncavo is not an area in which land title was ever vague or lost as was often the case in the sertão. Land was always scarce here, for the desirable massapê soils are limited in extent. The plantations of today for the most part fall into one of two categories: those which have been in the hands of one family for a century or more, and those which were bought after the abolition of slavery by newcomers to the Recôncavo or by those who already had plantations and at a time of falling value bought new ones from the creditors who had taken them over from their former owners for debt. In both cases title passed free and clear. The common form of inheritance is for one half of the estate to go to the widow and the other half to be divided among other heirs.

178 A century ago, it was common for plantation masters to
42 have extensive holdings, not only in the Recôncavo, but also in other parts of the state, as well as houses and even commercial buildings in the city of Salvador. In addition to this,

planters. People in the upper class of the town, when they can, send their children to the capital to continue their education, and there are several *mestiço* students from Vila Recôncavo studying law, medicine and engineering in Salvador. The intelligence of the mulatto is traditional, and it has been equally traditional that the darker-skinned person is unintelligent. Today these traditions are not as strong as before, but still it is felt that the mulatto has somewhat more aptitude than the Negro. The old idea of the Negro, meant for work and to be servile, still exists, now tempered with the knowledge that education can change the situation. There is only one club in Vila Recôncavo—a football club—and the players are all shades, from white to black, and so are the spectators. They all sit or stand together under the shade of the one big tree which gives shade to the playing field. The field is on the property of a white man who, while he has nothing to do with the team, allows them to play there, put up goal posts and markers. The bar and recreation centre are open to all so long as they wear shoes—a ruling made to keep out the muddy feet of children who came straight from the beach to have a 'coke'. All the racial types and classes get together here to play pool and gossip, this being the one and only point of public social activity in the town. At the movies, the admission price is extremely low, the same for everyone, and all four classes attend. Negroes and whites of all classes sit next to each other. At church there are no special pews, the faithful usually gathering in the front and the less faithful hanging about near the back. The choir and the acolytes are from all classes and colours. At parties, which are few, colour lines are disregarded, *brancos* and *morenos* dance with *mulatos* and *pretos* just as long as both partners can *pular* (jump).

The social situation is gradually changing, and the extremely personal element is being lost. It is strongest on the private plantation, where the owner spends the greater part of the year, but at the *usina* much of the personal element is weakened because of the numbers of workers. Even at the *usina*, there is visiting and gossiping between the owners' families and the workers. But at the *usina* not all the workers accept their subservient position as do those of the plantations. This is specially true of the higher echelon of specialists and technicians of the mill, who will frequently not go to a party given by the owner, even though invited. It seems to be a way of saying that the company of the white owners is neither needed nor wanted. They prefer to keep their relations on a strictly business basis. At the *usina*, when a worker is sick, he goes to the medical post where he is treated by a paid nurse, rather than to the owner's house. On pay day, the *usina* worker is paid at the mill by a paymaster, not in the living room of the owner's house. Nevertheless, in spite of the industrialized aspect of the mill, the number of workers is not too large to exclude all personal contact with the owners, who adminis-

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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servant, sailor, farmer, and shoe-shiner. Of the 30 females, 23 were classified as students, 2 as teachers, 2 as housewives, and 1 each as street peddler, domestic servant, and government clerk.

Inferences based upon this occupational distribution, together with certain other indices (such as tax returns, automobile ownership, the purchase of different-priced seats at cinemas and sport events), indicate that blacks and the darker mixed-bloods ordinarily occupy the lower economic levels, the medium and light mulattoes the middle position, and the whites (including the *brancos da Bahia*) the upper stratum. 563* 434

A Bahian official engaged in income-tax collections knew of no rich blacks in the city,[4] but he did know of several well-to-do mixed-bloods, among whom were a few dark mulattoes. Most incomes in the upper brackets, however, are those of whites. [556]

Of 116 cars being driven along the central thoroughfare, the Rua Chile, during a popular festival, in 90, or 77.6 per cent of the total, only whites were riding; in 26, or 22.4 per cent, mixed-bloods were among the occupants;[5] while no cars were occupied by blacks. However, on a similar occasion, of 50 cars noted, 2 were occupied exclusively by blacks. 563* 162 493

At a cinema performance, of 63 persons occupying *poltronas* at 2$200 a seat, 73 per cent were whites, 20.6 per cent 563* 162 546

[4] Although at Ilhéos in the rich cocoa area south of Bahia a few blacks and dark mulattoes are quite well to do. For a sketch of life in this region see Jorge Amado, *Cocau* (Rio, 1933).

[5] The 6 cars in which only mulattoes were riding constituted 5.2 per cent of the total (only 1 car was occupied by dark mulattoes); the 19 cars in which both whites and mulattoes were riding constituted 16.3 per cent of the total (3 cars were occupied principally by *brancos da Bahia*, 16 by whites, with only one or two light mulattoes in each case); 1 car (0.9 per cent of the total) contained one black and five dark mulattoes.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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were mulattoes, and only 6.4 per cent were relatively unmixed blacks; while, of 30 occupants of general admission seats at one-half this price, only 20 per cent were whites, 40 per cent were mulattoes, and 40 per cent were blacks. Among spectators at a Sunday-afternoon soccer game, one noted the distribution as given in Table 12.

Of five hundred mothers applying for aid at the state's free children's clinic, only 9.2 per cent were white, 40.6 per

TABLE 12

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF SPECTATORS AT A SPORTS EVENT,* BAHIA, 1936

Seats	Price (in Milreis)	Occupants	Percentage			
			Blacks	Mulattoes	Whites	Total
Reserved	10	143	2.1	23.8†	74.1	100
Grandstand	7	267	4.1	29.4†	66.5	100
General admission	3	510	51.1	39.9‡	9.0	100

* *Futebol* (soccer), Campo da Graça, March 22, 1936.

† Chiefly light mulattoes, many of whom were very light with only slight traces of Negro lineage.

‡ Principally dark mulattoes.

cent were mulatto, predominantly dark, and 44.5 per cent appeared to be relatively unmixed blacks.[6] Of 1,511 photographs displayed in eleven photograph galleries, 73.2 per cent were probably of white individuals, 24.9 per cent of mixed-bloods, and only 1.7 per cent of unmixed blacks.[7]

In interpreting this ethnic distribution in the occupations and according to financial means, one might point out that

[6] The remaining 5.7 per cent were *cafuso* (21 individuals), *branco da Bahia* (2 individuals), *mameluco* (2 individuals), and of Indian-white-Negro descent (1 individual).

[7] In addition, 0.2 per cent were *cafuso*.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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829 794 178 often been heard, on the lips of older members of, particularly, Protestant churches in the United States, "These young people today are not like we used to be. It's a shame the way they stray away."

829 794 178 159 [873] [658] João is a young black about twenty years of age who has just completed a business course subsequent to graduation from the Ginasio da Bahia, the city's state-supported secondary school. One day, in the home of his uncle, who is a prominent figure in the fetish world, João was copying a page in Nagô. Possessed of a deep affection for his uncle and being characteristically obliging and courteous, he was attempting to learn a few words of this African language. But the impression João made on a visitor was that his efforts with Nagô arose rather from a desire to please his uncle than from any genuine interest in the language itself. João remarked, apologetically, "You know I would like to learn it, but I just don't have time when I'm working every day."

A young mulatto girl who had completed two years at a secondary school remarked, "I don't care much for the *candomblé*, except to watch the dances and to see the [ceremonial] costumes. I seldom go, and then only for some special reason. I like the movies better, especially the North American and the English films." She further remarked: [546]

> My uncle doesn't believe in this business of the *orixás*. One day his daughter—my cousin—said that she felt an *orixá* about to "arrive." She ran all the way to a *candomblé*, began to dance, and, sure enough, "she fell into the *estado de santo*." But my uncle wouldn't stand for it. He got a sprig of *urtiga* and whipped her and then went and whipped the *pae de santo* too. The next day, my cousin couldn't bear anyone's hand on her, she was so sore. But that was the end of the *orixá*. He never came back.

José is a young mixed-blood, twenty-two years of age, employed as a janitor in one of Bahia's public buildings. Although he knows of three *seitas* near his home—one each

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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very light. Her mother is a *sarará*, her grandmother is a dark mulatto with kinky hair, and her husband is also a dark mixed-blood. Her family, it is said, has gradually risen from the lower class by reason of constantly taking advantage of every educational opportunity, by increasing their economic competence, and by deliberately cultivating "good manners."

At a "night club," where there were gambling, liquid refreshments, and partners for dancing, of 128 guests,[27] 62 were whites, 40 were *brancos da Bahia*, 21 were mulattoes (several quite dark), 1 was a *cafuso*, and 4 were blacks. Of the 26 female entertainers (dancers and singers), 19 were whites,[28] 4 were *brancas da Bahia*, and 3 were mulattoes (all very light). None of the darker patrons danced during the evening.

In the main gambling-room the group about the table were principally whites, with a few light mulattoes and an occasional dark mixed-blood. In the hallway near the entrance, however, was another gaming-table where stakes were lower. It was patronized principally by dark mulattoes, together with an occasional black, a few *brancos da Bahia*, and very few whites.

Carnival at Bahia lasts three days and is perhaps the most popular festival of the year. At the close of one celebration plans are immediately set on foot for the next. From time to time throughout the ensuing twelve months, newspapers carry reports of the development of these plans, and, beginning about a hundred and fifty days before Carnival, a regular daily feature appears, the time before the big event being checked off, day by day, much as United States newspapers sometimes check off the days preceding Christmas; except

[27] On September 26, 1936. [28] Including a very swarthy Syrian girl.

[Class C Families]

842 are known to the majority. It was pointed out by the men with a laugh that such things were unprocurable in town because the institute drugstore is run by a friar. They are obtainable in Centro and Salvador, but they are expensive, and the men say they are embarrassed to ask for them. One young couple sent to São Paulo for some injections to be given to the wife to prevent conception, but they did no good. The couple had found an announcement of the injections in a magazine, and since they wanted to limit their family to the one child they already had, they tried other means. They now have three children in spite of their efforts at prevention.

847 [278] There also are local remedies which are supposed to produce abortions. They consist of herbal teas and for the most part are supposed to be effective only up to the third month of pregnancy. Aluman, coqueiro root, orelha de pau, pitanga, mil homem root, and melão de São Caetano are all supposed to be effective. Few women will admit to having used them, although they all know about them. Figures on the number of natural abortions are almost impossible to obtain, for most often there is no record at all. The mother does not go to the doctor; she simply buries tal bobagem (such nonsense) in the 843 back yard. Those who admit having had miscarriages say they came about because of a fall, or frequently because of a great fright such as seeing a snake on the road. Most women do not 841 515 keep track of their menstrual periods, and according to the town doctor their personal hygiene leaves much to be desired. 864 Little or no information is directly passed between father and sons or mother and daughters concerning sexual matters. Each generation is left to find out for itself.

838 There are a few male sexual aberrants in town, known as "veados" (literally, "deer," but slang for homosexuals), and they are well known. A middle-aged fisherman, Patão, is the center of such activities. He is married and has several children. When his wife found out about his extramarital activities she took the children and left him, terribly shamed. This happened several years ago, and since then this man has worked up quite a trade, mostly among unmarried men, though there are at least three married men who go to him also. [548] Their excuse is that there are not enough women in the town, and since there are no prostitutes they go to him, although they do not like it. The married men say it is because their wives are ill or away, and they do not want complications with some girl. Patão, however, regales the daily gossip groups

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

place in only one instance--namely, as best worker--and only by the Negroes. In spite of the fact that in Table 6 the mulatto woman was considered the most attractive, she was chosen as such only by the mulattoes. The other three racial types selected the caboclo and the white woman. In summing up the total number of "votes," the mulatto woman won by the narrow margin of four. It is interesting to note that the Negroes chose the preto man as the wealthiest, selecting the caboclo in second place, while the other three racial types selected the caboclo first.

Most people who desire to ascend socially will say that it is better to be white, or at least light, than dark, because it is the white who has the most money, the most education, and consequently the greatest number of opportunities. Traditionally the light-skinned mulatto has been able to share to some extent in these things. Therefore, today, if an individual is lighter it will be easier for him to climb, simply because of his lightness. Nevertheless, it is considered better to be a wealthy preto than a poor white.

No one in any class likes a marriage in which the skin colors are too far apart. Any marriage of dark with light or white will be referred to as mosca no leite ("fly in the milk"), and a certain repugnance is felt by all. One man, formerly a fisherman but now a merchant of some means, is a preto married to a branca da terra who was poor but almost white. This marriage has not aided him much, as his wife did not bring him social position, but it has "lightened" his children. His own status is increased through his financial transactions. But his children are being educated in the city, and are more readily acceptable because of their color and their economic background. Their chances for a good marriage are greater than if they had the same background but were dark.

In another case, a white girl of the town's uppermost class is engaged to a preto who is an engineer in Salvador, but whose family has roots in Vila Recôncavo. There was great resistance to the engagement on the part of the girl's family, and all her friends felt that although she had a good "catch"--that is, a successful man--he was too dark for her, in spite of the fact that the girl's father is a branco da terra, and that her grandmother was dark-skinned.

The one impassable gap between the upper class of "aristocratic whites" and those below them is marriage. The white of the second class may be acceptable to the upper class be-

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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ergy exerted by their immigrant fathers, creoles [native Brazilians] ordinarily imbibed the colonial prejudice against labor, and assumed the airs of gentlemen." Free men of color entering agricultural or artisan employment "in no way aroused the jealousy of Europeans."[7]

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The mobility of the Brazilian population in the colonial period, both vertically and horizontally, facilitated climbing. Changes in status during the lifetime of a given individual were common phenomena and at times even precipitous, a condition reflected in the common saying "Pae taberneiro, filho cavalheiro, neto mendicante" ("Father an innkeeper, son a squire, grandson a beggar"). Endogamy among the rural aristocracy, even in such *fidalgo* centers as Bahia and Pernambuco, was never absolute. Clerks and small merchants in the cities, immigrant peddlers in the interior, modest proprietors of small farms, owners of small herds of cattle—all aspired to, and some succeeded in attaining, the ranks of the rural aristocracy.[8]

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Similarly significant was freedom to move in space. For in areas distant from those of their birth, light mulattoes of slave origin often managed to pass for individuals born of free parents. They were thus able readily to strip from themselves the social stigma of servile origin. One of the functions of the *bandeiras* and the *monções*[9] was to assist ambitious individuals to whom migration and the freedom of the frontier appeared to offer the most rapid and successful means of social advancement. Many mixed-bloods sought out new homes and became settlers, stock-raisers, small

[7] H. A. Wyndham, *The Atlantic and Slavery* (London: Oxford University Press, 1935), pp. 249–50.

[8] Vianna, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

[9] The *bandeiras* (also called *monções*) were groups of hardy explorers and frontier fighters who explored the interior or raided Indian villages for slaves.

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563 cause he is white. But the chances are heavy against the marriage of a member of Class A with a "man of color." Perhaps in the city a marriage between a white of this upper class and a mestiço of the same group would take place, but this would certainly not happen in the rural area.

563 Until the end of the last century a number of bastards were
848 produced by the white plantation owners and their sons, with the slaves and former slaves. A large segment of the Vila Recôncavo population is made up of these individuals and their
(551) children, and in many cases they bear the name of the white's family. These people are not recognized socially by the whites. In many instances the mestiço has the family name not because he was given it, but because he took it. Frequently a white family will keep track of the descendants on the illegitimate side of the family, and help them if necessary; but they will never introduce one of these individuals as a member of the family, even when that person has all the family's physical characteristics, if he has a darker skin.

In one case, the illegitimate daughter of a union between a white man and a slave recently found herself in a position to help the legitimate daughter of her father's cousin. This girl was born free prior to abolition. The slave mother managed to educate the girl, who became a successful schoolteacher and made excellent professional connections in the world of education. Later on, when her father's cousin's legitimate daughter, widowed with three children, needed aid to educate one of her own daughters, she received such aid from her mestiço cousin.

563 Because it is so striking a feature of these color relations, it may be repeated that there is only one series in the classification and this includes everyone from white to black. Regardless of degree of color all types are part of the same broad three-class system. The categories are known to all people, not only to those who happen to be "people of color," and they are used by all in referring to others.

[Class C Families]

165 The civil register for the community of Vila Recôncavo
[217] listed 111 deaths for 1950, fifty-one male and sixty female. The age breakdown was as follows:

TABLE 9
NUMBER OF DEATHS BY AGE GROUPS, 1950

under 1 year	36
1- 4	20
5- 9	1
10-14	4
15-19	4
20-29	10
30-39	10
40-49	6
50-59	9
60-69	4
70-79	3
80-89	1
90-99	2
over 99	1
	111

165 It is apparent that the first five years are those in which the
164 death rate is highest. According to the local doctor's records, the most frequent causes of these deaths are diarrhea and enteritis (seven deaths), whooping cough (seven deaths), chronic nephritis (five deaths), and acute bronchitis (four deaths). The mal de sete dias (literally, "illness of seven days," an umbilical infection in newly born infants) was the cause of only two deaths, and only one natural abortion was registered, as well as one stillbirth. According to the same doctor, many more adults die of heart trouble and kidney ailments than of anything else.

553 The most popular method of naming children is by choosing from an almanac a name which strikes the fancy of the
[214] parents. In Brazil many commercial concerns publish yearly almanacs which are widely distributed. In addition to giving national holidays, saints' days, and various other kinds of
• 551 calendars, they include lists of names, often of saints. While
553 in the upper classes children are named after their parents and grandparents, lower-class families give their offspring all sorts of exotic names chosen from the almanacs, such as Estanislaus, Enoch, or Ignace. Sometimes the name is cho-

[Class C Families]

sen because it is the name of the saint on whose day the child is born. There is also a good sprinkling of the more common names such as Antonio, João, Lourdes, and Maria. But if a child develops any peculiar characteristics, either physical or personal, he or she will be called by some descriptive term based on the peculiarity. Most people have nicknames such as Patão (Big Duck), Barco Velho (Old Boat), Cuspe Grosso (Thick Spit) or Gatinho (Little Cat), and in time their own proper name is forgotten almost entirely and used only for formal occasions such as signing records. The diminutive form of the given name is also popular, and is applied even to upper-class people, for example, Dr. Zeca (diminutive for Dr. José). In some cases a man is even known by his mother's or wife's name, for example, José de Ingracia.

In choosing godparents, there is great freedom. If possible, at least one of the godparents will be a member of the upper class, a patron who will help the child if necessary, especially if the godson when he grows up wants to go to school in the city or enter the army or navy. The other godparent may be a member of the child's family, or in some cases the midwife. In many cases the wife chooses the female godparent, especially if she suspects that her husband is paying too much attention to some other woman. In such a case she asks that woman to become the godmother; the latter can hardly refuse, as it is always considered a compliment. By becoming the godmother the woman is put effectively out of reach of the husband, as there can be no sexual relations between parents and godparents. This is a common device of women who have an unmarried sister living in the home, and it usually calls a halt to any amorous intentions on the part of either the husband or the sister. There have been cases, however, where this rule was broken. Usually the couple who break this taboo are highly censured by the rest of the community, for the wife, if she finds out, tells her friends about it. In one case which occurred in Vila Recôncavo during the author's stay, the woman was so ashamed and frightened by the sin she had committed that she killed herself by drinking rat poison.

In the rural area, while the man is usually acknowledged to be the dominant person in the family, it is the woman who dictates most of the daily actions. The children are with her most of the time, helping in the house and working with her in the garden, both girls and boys. When schools opened recently on several of the plantations, it was the mothers, not

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no child was born of the affair she went to Salvador where she found employment. There she met Vavá, whom she liked very much. She went to live with him for eleven years and had three children.

During this time, Vavá had affairs with several other women and had two other children. Finally he tired of Maria José and told her to go home to her mother, which she did, taking her three children with her. Damiana's godfather allowed her, Maria José and her children, and Tatá, another of Damiana's daughters who by then had six illegitimate children, to live rent-free in a house he owned. Childless, he took one daughter from each of the two girls to bring up in his own home.

Shortly after the three women had set up this household, Vavá tired of his new companion and wanted Maria José to come back to him, which she refused to do. From time to time he also asked her for money, as he was now unemployed. She always gave him some, since she was employed, explaining that it was not for him but for his two other children, for she could not think of their going hungry.

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In almost every case of break-up of the unmarried state, the children remain with the mother. This is also true in the case of an affair which results in a child. The father never takes on the responsibility of the children. In addition to this, as stated earlier, the children bear the mother's name and not that of the father. Often a break-up occurs because the man goes to live with another woman who does not want the children of his previous union, as she may have some of her own either by him or by someone else. On the other hand, women in Vila Recôncavo say that they would be ashamed to let the children go and be brought up by another woman, except in the case of a godparent, in whose home the treatment is expected to be at least as good as that which the mother could have given the child.

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Sometimes women in this class have affairs with men who are already married and who do not leave their wives and children. A woman seldom has more than one lover at one time, and usually stays with the same man for a long period. Although the man takes no responsibility for the resulting children, he may, nevertheless, try to help the woman sometimes; but his first allegiance is to his own wife and children.

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Unless there has been a formal marriage, the children are always considered as belonging to the mother, and the most

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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He could take his master's name.[47] Slaves who desired to change masters had the right to request transfer, and the master was expected to acquiesce.[48] Intercession in behalf of a fugitive slave, or even of one about to be punished for some other offense, is said seldom to have been in vain.[49] The master guilty of inhuman treatment toward his slave was liable to the police or tribunals.[50] Some masters preferred to have

[47] Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 256; cf. also Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 327: "Hence, the many Cavalcantis, Albuquerques, Mellos, Mouras, Wanderleys, Lins, Carneiro Leãos, etc., who possess none of the illustrious blood which their names imply."

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[48] Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 256. Koster (*op. cit.*, I, 194) records that "for this purpose a note is given, declaring that the bearer has leave to enter into the service of any one, upon the price which the master demands being paid by the purchaser. With this the slave applies to any individual or property whom he may wish to serve; owing to having heard a good report of his character toward his slaves, or from any other cause. This is a frequent practice." The following interesting case was observed: "A Negro woman applied to a planter to be purchased, for which purpose she had brought a note from her master. She was accepted; and a bargain was concluded between the two persons. However, the day after she had taken up her abode upon the estate of her new master, she came to him, and falling down upon her knees, said that she had a fellow-slave who wished likewise to serve him; and she begged him to purchase her companion. The new master spoke to the owner of the slave in question of the subject; but he refused to sell him, and the matter rested in this manner. But on the third day, he received a visit from the owner, offering the slave for sale, adding, that the man had refused to work, and had threatened to hang himself; and as he was a Gabão Negro (noted for the resolute manner which, on occasion, they committed suicide), he much feared that he might put his threat into execution. The price was soon fixed, and on the following morning the man made his appearance. He proved to be a most excellent slave" (*ibid.*, p. 203 n.).

[49] Codman, *op. cit.*, p. 201. Cf. also: "Costumes belissimos instituem-se entre os senhores; como o de *apadrinhar* os remissos ou fugitivos, o que impede o castigo, e nunhum senhor viola" (Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 255).

[50] J. B. von Spix and C. F. von Martius, *Travels in Brazil, 1817–1820*, trans. H. E. Lloyd (2 vols.; London, 1824), I, 179.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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palm flat in horizontal position in contrast to a vertical 565
placement for indicating the height of a lower animal.[10]

Although one is not likely to find any Bahian black who 551
has not been given at baptism a "Christian name," nicknames are very common, and many individuals are much better known by them than by their given names. Among such *apelidos* one will occasionally discover terms of probable African derivation; for instance, Okê, Bábá Cumdê, Cobê, Oum, Tau-édê, and Au-weh, all nicknames of members of a local labor union; or, among personages in the fetish world, such names as: Manoelzinho de Oxóssi, Lourenço Lemba, Maria de Tempo, Senhora de Yemanjá, João de Zázé, and Flaviano Cavungo, each of which recalls the African *orixá* to which the individual in question is dedicated.

Exercising considerable prestige among a portion of the 791
Bahian population is the *babalaô*, or *olhador*, whose primary 793
function, it seems, is to foretell the future; the *curandeiro*, 756
who by means of herbs, prayers, and other magical manipu- [754]
lations seeks both to treat and to prevent disease; and the
feiticeiro, or "witch doctor," who, for a price, works black
magic. The office of the *babalaô* is occasionally exercised by [794]
the *pae de santo*, or priest of the fetish cult, although his function is more particularly that of supervising the rituals and public ceremonies of the cult and overseeing the sacred properties. To some extent he also exercises the function of a *curandeiro*.

[10] A form of greeting recalled by older blacks but rarely used today is as [576]
follows: If the individuals are social equals, each lifts his hands, palms out- [178]
ward, and grasps the hands of the other in such a way that the fingers of the one are interlaced with the fingers of the other, after which the "*ogan* grip" is exchanged; if not social equals, the individual of greater prestige places his right hand over the closed hands of the other.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

[851] custom is to some extent recognized in law.[6] Usually the children take the mother's name, but occasionally the father [848] "recognizes" and registers them, so that they legally bear his name. They are sometimes taken into the legitimate household, where they are usually accepted without serious question by the legal wife.[7]

848 Particularly among the lower classes, illegitimacy is not [565] seriously prejudicial to the child. Personal qualities and in- [554] dividual ability largely determine his role and status; his parentage is rather naturally considered to be a matter be- 551 yond his control. A surname is not of great importance, the given name being infinitely more used, even among the upper classes. Prominent intellectual and political figures are 600 known throughout the city by their given names. A stranger

[837] and Portugal. Their eldest daughter is studying to be a pianist. There are three younger children. The man also supports another mulatto woman, said to be "very young and very pretty."

[837 671] [6] A single extra-marital amorous experience makes a woman liable to prosecution for adultery, whereas for a man such conduct must not only be proved to be habitual but also to have involved an established relationship with a *single* individual. For a wife to have cause for legal action, she must previously have been ignorant of the extra-legal affair of her husband. Otherwise, her implied acquiescence constitutes participation in guilt.

[7] One wife said of her husband's "natural" child, "He's a fine boy. I like him as much as, or more than, my own children." In 1911 an American consul at Pará wrote: "In Amazonia the father assumes all the responsibility and legally adopts his illegitimate children who, in a majority of cases, become a part of his own family, taking an equal place in social privileges with those children within the bounds of the church regulations. . . . . There is no disposition in the higher social circles to discriminate against the number of these illegitimate aristocrats who, in the matter of education, refinement and address, are often the superior of some of those born in wedlock in the same families . . . . [and are], in many prominent cases, the acknowledged leaders of society" (J. Orton Kerbey, *An American Consul in Amazonia* [New York, 1911], p. 119).

*565
596 will take the girl to his family gatherings and that he will be
584 invited to hers, so that their lives continue to be within the family, though now within two families. There are so few public places of entertainment in Salvador, other than the movies, that the couple is seldom alone. Dating nearly always takes place in family circles, so there is little need for a formal chaperone. Courtship continues until the boy has finished school (if it began that early, as it sometimes does), or is settled in business, at which time an engagement may be announced. Once the couple are engaged (noivos), they are allowed greater freedom; this does not, however, amount to much, as their social activities continue to be confined within the family. If for some reason the boy or the girl goes away for a time, the one left at home is invited to all family parties just as though both were there. The engagement period does not last very long--not as long as the gostando period, which may extend for two years--for once engaged, a couple is considered to be serious about marriage, which then takes place as soon as possible.

585 The wedding, always in Salvador, is both a religious and a
*565 civil ceremony. The former is a formal, fashionable church ceremony followed by a reception and luncheon, before the
596 bride and groom leave for their honeymoon. The civil wedding takes place in the bride's home shortly before the reli-
[591] gious ceremony. Only the godparents and closest relatives attend this ceremony. After marriage the couple usually set up their own home, but if this is not possible they may live with one of their in-laws. This, however, is undesirable, and often the wedding is postponed until the couple can have their own home. The parents on both sides help toward this end as
* much as they can by getting the young man settled in a suit-
565 able position. Family connections are extremely important
594 throughout Class A in placing young people in business or a profession.

163 As a rule a child is born to the young couple by the end of
[608] the first year of marriage, and the compadres (godparents)
[596] are chosen from close members of the two families, at least for the first child. Succeeding children may have close friends
[553] of the father as godparents. Children are named after family members of preceding generations or--as has happened in
[178] some cases--after a much-loved slave. The old pattern was for the couple to continue having children regularly as long as the wife was able to, but the trend is now for each generation

21 Hutchinson E-4,5 (1960-1961) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilian SO11

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Private Plantation]

Ricardo Teixeira	2nd weeding of cane field	13 1/2	braças*	at	Cr$ 3,50	Cr$ 47,25
Julio Bispo	digging drainage ditch	30	meters	at	1,50	45,00
Paulo Manoel	carrying seed	12	trips	at	0,80	9,60
José Santo	cutting seed	5	loads	at	0,80	4,00
S. Santo	cutting out cattle	1	day	at	15,00	15,00
Malaquias Ario	trip to neighboring plantation	1	trip	at	10,00	10,00
Mario Adriano	3rd weeding of cane field	249	braças	at	3,70	921,30
F. Cramosa	planting	3 1/2	braças	at	2,20	7,70
Cecilio Argolo	replanting	65	braças	at	1,50	97,50
Paulo Manoel	carpentering	3	days	at	23,00	69,00
Sancho Santiago	repairing estiva	1	day	at	12,00	12,00
Paulo Souza	1st weeding of cane field	35	braças	at	3,20	112,00
Agostinho Batista	catching escaped cattle	2		at	10,00	20,00
Mario Serra	repairing fences	250	braças	at	0,15	37,50
Maria das Dores	gathering cane leaves for animal fodder	4	cartloads	at	2,00	8,00
Francisco Julião	loading railway wagon with sugar cane	1/2	day	at	7,50	7,50
Pedro Julio	cutting bamboo	12	mãos†	at	5,00	60,00
Francisco Brito	conducting load of wood	1	load	at	15,00	15,00
Crispim Argolo	repairing barracks	2 1/2	days	at	12,00	30,00
Domingos Moura	gardening	12	days	at	10,00	120,00
Osorio Ancieto	burying a burro	1	day	at	12,00	12,00
Pedro Julio	carrying water	1	day	at	10,00	10,00

*The braça equals 6 feet and is the measurement always used locally in the cane fields.
†Mão is a bundle of fifty and is used locally in speaking of fence posts and ears of corn.

[204]

249* 55 | 194 465

[Class C Families]

165 The civil register for the community of Vila Recôncavo
[217] listed 111 deaths for 1950, fifty-one male and sixty female. The age breakdown was as follows:

TABLE 9
NUMBER OF DEATHS BY AGE GROUPS, 1950

under 1 year	36
1- 4	20
5- 9	1
10-14	4
15-19	4
20-29	10
30-39	10
40-49	6
50-59	9
60-69	4
70-79	3
80-89	1
90-99	2
over 99	1
	111

165 It is apparent that the first five years are those in which the
164 death rate is highest. According to the local doctor's records, the most frequent causes of these deaths are diarrhea and enteritis (seven deaths), whooping cough (seven deaths), chronic nephritis (five deaths), and acute bronchitis (four deaths). The mal de sete dias (literally, "illness of seven days," an umbilical infection in newly born infants) was the cause of only two deaths, and only one natural abortion was registered, as well as one stillbirth. According to the same doctor, many more adults die of heart trouble and kidney ailments than of anything else.

• 553 The most popular method of naming children is by choosing from an almanac a name which strikes the fancy of the
[214] parents. In Brazil many commercial concerns publish yearly almanacs which are widely distributed. In addition to giving national holidays, saints' days, and various other kinds of
551 calendars, they include lists of names, often of saints. While
553 in the upper classes children are named after their parents and grandparents, lower-class families give their offspring all sorts of exotic names chosen from the almanacs, such as Estanislaus, Enoch, or Ignace. Sometimes the name is cho-

[Class C Families]

553 •
sen because it is the name of the saint on whose day the child 551
is born. There is also a good sprinkling of the more common
names such as Antonio, João, Lourdes, and Maria. But if a
child develops any peculiar characteristics, either physical
or personal, he or she will be called by some descriptive
term based on the peculiarity. Most people have nicknames 551
such as Patão (Big Duck), Barco Velho (Old Boat), Cuspe
Grosso (Thick Spit) or Gatinho (Little Cat), and in time their
own proper name is forgotten almost entirely and used only
for formal occasions such as signing records. The diminu-
tive form of the given name is also popular, and is applied
even to upper-class people, for example, Dr. Zeca (diminu-
tive for Dr. José). In some cases a man is even known by his
mother's or wife's name, for example, José de Ingracia.

In choosing godparents, there is great freedom. If possible, 608
at least one of the godparents will be a member of the upper [565]
class, a patron who will help the child if necessary, especial-
ly if the godson when he grows up wants to go to school in the
city or enter the army or navy. The other godparent may be
a member of the child's family, or in some cases the mid-
wife. In many cases the wife chooses the female godparent,
especially if she suspects that her husband is paying too much
attention to some other woman. In such a case she asks that
woman to become the godmother; the latter can hardly refuse,
as it is always considered a compliment. By becoming the god- 608
mother the woman is put effectively out of reach of the hus- 835
band, as there can be no sexual relations between parents and
godparents. This is a common device of women who have an
unmarried sister living in the home, and it usually calls a
halt to any amorous intentions on the part of either the hus- [626]
band or the sister. There have been cases, however, where
this rule was broken. Usually the couple who break this ta-
boo are highly censured by the rest of the community, for the
wife, if she finds out, tells her friends about it. In one case [762]
which occurred in Vila Recôncavo during the author's stay,
the woman was so ashamed and frightened by the sin she had
committed that she killed herself by drinking rat poison.

In the rural area, while the man is usually acknowledged to 593
be the dominant person in the family, it is the woman who 369
dictates most of the daily actions. The children are with her
most of the time, helping in the house and working with her
in the garden, both girls and boys. When schools opened re-
cently on several of the plantations, it was the mothers, not

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 249 567 the offspring of master and slave and sometimes were considered as [563] members of the household.

A set of feudalistic inter-relations developed in the society, loosely defining the responsibilities and privileges of master and slave. Ideally the slave had the privilege, almost the right, to appeal to the master in person for assistance and advice. Manumission and the granting of the right to purchase freedom were common. At the [466] same time, the economic system was based upon involuntary labor. The slave was exploited, and the fruit of his toil went to maintain the luxurious existence of the small upper class.

175 565 The small freemen occupied a very inferior social and economic position in this society. In the cities they became tradesmen or [463] [554] craftsmen, occupations without status. In the country some were petty dependents of the engenho, others established themselves as small cultivators. Since the sugar cane plantations dominated the central Recôncavo, it seems reasonable to assume that the small holders were segregated mainly in the outer zone.

175 161 162 In 1819--during the florescence of the Recôncavo--the population of the comarca (district) of Bahia was 362,503. Most of this population was centered in the Recôncavo--200,000 in the lowlands north of the Bay--the sugar cane area--and 77,503 in the western uplands around Cachoeira--the tobacco area.[31] At this time the total population of Bahia was estimated at 592,908 and that of Brazil as between 175 4,000,000 to 4,500,000.[32] Salvador, with a population somewhere 633 162 between 100,000 and 130,000, was the largest city in Brazil and remained so until 1830.[33] The class and ethnic composition of the 175 563 population of this period is not clearly indicated. By some estimates, 565 567 over half of the population of Bahia was slave and over three-fifths

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

231 Livestock production, which offers
241 social prestige as well as economic gain, may occupy land within the
311 cultivated area which more profitably could be devoted to crops. These
554 factors, together with the eccentricities of political boundaries and the vagaries of terrain features, help to produce many distinctive local variations of the general geographical pattern of cultivation and of specific crops.

241 As will be seen in the following discussion, both land rotation (field and fallow) and permanent systems of cultivation are practiced in the Recôncavo. Under the land rotation system, the field is planted for a single year or for several years and is then abandoned to wild vegetation for a fallow period which, in some areas of the Recôncavo, has been reduced to as little as five years. Under the system of permanent cultivation, cropping is either continuous or is interrupted only by brief, widely-spaced fallow periods--in the sugar cane area, four years of cultivation are followed by one year of fallow. The significance of the data on the per cent of the area in cropland depends in part upon the system of cultivation employed.

127 Sources of Data. The statistical data used in the analysis of
241 crops and animals in the following sections were drawn almost exclusively
231 from two sources. Produção Agrícola: 1948[2] was the only source available with relatively complete data, gathered on a consistent basis, for the area, production, and value of the principal crops of Brazil by município units. This basic source has been supplemented by data for livestock taken from "Pobulação Pecuária em 31/12/1948."[3] In general these two sources provide a reasonably accurate and detailed statistical basis for the analysis of crops and livestock.

127 However, a careful inspection of the crop data, and especially
241 the calculation of crop yields by combining area and production data, revealed obvious errors in the figures in a number of instances. Usually

slave quarters. The entire unit formed a small village, for each plantation needed many specialists--carpenters, ironsmiths, bricklayers, coopers, sailors, fishermen, a barber, tailor, cowboy, chaplain--in addition to those whose trade was that of making sugar. In the morning the agricultural workers, cutters, and drivers went out to work in the fields, returning later in the day. Because of the size of the plantation and the number of its slaves--which frequently reached two or three hundred--the casa grande, settled among its royal palms and overlooking the mill, the slave quarters, the chapel, and other buildings, took on a distinct village appearance. 175 249* 361 [463] [567]

The owner and absolute ruler of these domains was the senhor de engenho, a title which became a symbol of wealth and later of nobility. The senhor de engenho dominated Bahia, and indeed all of the sugar-producing area of Alagoas and Pernambuco, for many years, socially and politically, until sugar was surpassed in importance by other crops and industries. Even much later, however, when sugar was less profitable and other activities surpassed it in economic importance to the nation, the plantation master was still a prominent figure, at least in northeastern Brazil. 175 249* 554* 565*

Each unit was a complete entity in itself, with its sobrado, chapel, mill, slave quarters, slaves, cane fields, pastures, oxen, and forest land. The pattern for the Recôncavo plantation was set in the early years. Today many of the original boundary lines still exist, and the plantations have often kept their original names. In addition to cultivating several units of 700 to 1,000 acres within the land grant, the owner also often rented smaller parcels of land to lavradores--free individuals who with a few slaves cultivated a small amount of sugar cane which they sent to the plantation to be milled and made into sugar. These people were the nearest approach to small-scale farmers in the Recôncavo; however, they did not own their own land and were completely dependent upon the plantation master. There are many sad tales of small farmers who were cheated by the master and virtually became his slaves. They had to send their cane to his mill and often were told the cane was dry, or sour, or that less had been sent than they recorded. In all this it was necessary to take the word of the plantation's bookkeeper. There was no court of appeals--only the master, who represented law, order, and justice in the Recôncavo. 175 249* 361 [178] 175 249* 427 565*

As time went on the aspect of the sesmaria was lost, and the plantation complex became the principal characteristic. [178]

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Private Plantation]

The following discussion will examine one of the five private plantations in the community of Vila Recôncavo and will then describe the network of factory plantations in the same community. 128

The Private Plantation: Fazenda das Moças

472

The Fazenda das Moças ("G" on map of community) is typical of a privately owned plantation in all respects but one. Its owner is a lady who assumed active direction of the plantation after her husband's death. At first there was some difficulty in persuading the overseer of the plantation to take orders from a woman, for he felt his prestige was lowered in the eyes of the workmen as well as the overseers of neighboring plantations. However, after three or four years, Dona Sinhá, in cooperation with "Seu"[1] Paulo, the overseer, has made an outstanding success of her plantation, and the original friction between the two has greatly diminished. Below is an inventory of the Fazenda das Moças: 249* 562 466 [558]

249*

Extent: 930 tarefas,[2] mostly of massapê, 450 of which are under sugar-cane cultivation, the rest consisting of pasture and small gardens 423

Water: 4 drinking tanks for livestock
2 small freshwater streams
(Drinking water must be brought from a neighboring plantation, which has a spring well known in the area for the salubrious qualities of its water.) [312]

Houses: 45 workers' houses [342]
Owner's house, with living room, dining room, 4 bedrooms, kitchen, bathroom, 2 maids' rooms, 2 other dependencies, veranda; surrounded by orchard
1 overseer's house
1 house formerly used as a school

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1. "Seu" is a corruption of Senhor and is a title often given to persons of some prestige. [586] [554]

2. The tarefa is the unit of land measurement used in Bahia. It equals 900 square braças. The braça equals 6 feet, which gives the tarefa 32,400 square feet. This is 11,160 square feet less than one acre. [804]

252 they produce. The juice which is squeezed out is saved, and starch is extracted from it to be used in pressing clothes. The nonpoisonous variety of manioc (aipim) is used to a much smaller extent. Usually the tuber is boiled in water and then eaten as though it were a potato, for it does not need any processing to render it edible.

241 463 Ten of the twenty-four gardeners concentrate on manioc, while the others raise bananas. Most of them also grow their own household subsistence crops, scattered among the manioc and bananas, such as corn, beans, squash, and often a few shoots of excellent tobacco. Many of them also produce a quarter or half acre of a heavy type of sugar cane (cana de chupar) which is stripped of its bark, cut into short pieces, and masticated, the pulp being spit out after the person has sucked out the juice. Almost everyone indulges in this, and the sugar which is absorbed is undoubtedly a great source of energy. The plots (roças) are fenced and protected by an ox skull stuck on one of the fence posts to keep out the evil eye.

[146] [825] [789]

There are many gardeners to the west of the town who rent their small plots from either the Engenho da Vila or the federal school. This area has not produced sugar cane for many years, for it lacks the surface covering of massapê. These gardeners are often called matutos ("hicks"), real backwoodsmen who get along on subsistence agriculture and seldom leave their rural neighborhood. They are as far removed from contact with modern civilization as anyone could be while living in the Recôncavo. They live in well-hidden, small houses of mud and thatch, and one can ride through this section without seeing anyone.

241 463 554 [427]

443 46 The peddlers (ambulantes) listed in Group 3 have their houses in Vila Recôncavo but go from town to town selling their wares. While they do some trading at the fairs they also cover a regular route independent of the fairs. Compadresco, the system of godparentship, is important to them, for the houses of such relations give them a base of operations in every town they visit. One of the three is a man who buys and sells jewelry, and the other two are women; one sells cloth for dresses and the other sweets (doces), peanuts, and dried shrimp. The latter is one of the famous street merchants (bahianas) of Salvador; she sits on a street corner before a portable table selling favorite Bahian snacks such as acarajé and abará. She goes to Salvador on the boat on Saturdays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays, returning to Vila Recôncavo the

[608]

[Class A Families]

565*
to have fewer offspring. Four or five generations ago a couple 594
might have as many as twenty children. It was common among 163
these large families for at least one child to enter the priest- 178
hood or a convent. This is no longer the case, not only be- [463]
cause of the smaller size of the families, but also because
the colonial pattern of a priest for each plantation is now gone.

The marriage age for girls is also changing, for several 582
reasons: it takes longer for a boy now to be educated and set- 178
tled in business; the families can no longer support married
children; and girls are being better educated. Instead of be- 562
ing married at sixteen, seventeen, and eighteen, they now go 565*
to school much longer, sometimes taking advanced degrees
as do their brothers. This delays marriage till the twenties
and gives the girls a certain amount of independence, rather
than simply a position of wife and mother. As yet few of them [463]
have entered the professions, but recently it has become styl-
ish to study nursing or social work at least for a while before
marriage. The old pattern was for widows to be supported by [736]
their families, but now girls want to feel self-sufficient, with-
out the dreary prospect of living as dependents in the case of
their husbands' death. In this century, also, marriage has
assumed an aspect of companionship, which was formerly
lacking, for women have achieved a much greater equality with
their husbands and are now partners rather than household
fixtures.

There has been a reaction to the family aspect of Bahian 565*
society, and frequently people are heard complaining of the 596
narrowness of life in such surroundings and expressing a de- 178
sire to live in Rio de Janeiro, or some place where they would
not be always in the same restricted group of relatives. Many 574
of the former obligations of formal visits to close and distant
relatives are now relaxed, although telephone calls at least [206]
are expected with some sort of regularity and members of the
extended family, as well as their attendants, are still expect-
ed at all weddings, birthdays, and deaths. The arrival of fam-
ily members from Rio calls for many dinners and celebrations
in their honor. But the conjugal families seek outside ac- 571
quaintances more and more, and as they enter new groups they 565*
become less able to cope with the numerous family affairs. 596
Nevertheless, it is still membership in these extensive, pa- 178
triarchal families which gives people their status in the com-
munity as a whole and their right to enter new groups which [594]*
form along class lines. Everyone is well aware of this, and [654]*

2: Hutchinson E-4,5. (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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who never miss a Mass, benediction, or prayer. By means of a questionnaire in the town and the rural area, the following data were obtained concerning the average frequency of church attendance per year for men and women over fourteen years of age:

TABLE 11
FREQUENCY OF CHURCH ATTENDANCE

Urban Number of times per year Males	Urban Number of times per year Females	Class	Rural Number of times per year Males	Rural Number of times per year Females
		A	19	23
40	96	B	4	3
17	25	C	3	3
4	41	D		

Several things are shown by this table. First, the higher a man's social position, the more often he goes to church, at least in classes B, C, and D. Second, the frequency of attendance by the women of all classes is considerably greater than that of the men. Third, the women of Class A attend church fewer times per year than do the women of classes B, C, and D of the urban area. Fourth, there are great differences in the rural and urban attendance: people from the plantations seldom go to town for Mass, preferring to wait for some special plantation occasion when the priest will go to the plantation. The difference between the attendance frequencies of Class A and Classes B and C of the rural zone is due to the time that Class A spends in Salvador, where members often attend Sunday Mass, as well as family Masses.

African Cults

Brazilian candomblé is usually thought of as a syncretism between African cultism and Catholicism. There has been a partial identification of the African deities with Catholic saints. For example, Ôgún, the African god of war, has been identified with St. Anthony; Ôxóssi, deity of the hunt, with St. George; Ômolú, the god of pestilence, with St. Roch; Êxu, the trickster, with Satan; Yansan, with St. Barbara; and Xangô, with either St. Jerome or St. Barbara. There has been

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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BRAZIL SLI

"Branco" and "prêto" are, therefore, first of all, categories of *physical appearance* rather than of race, so that a child will not necessarily be identified with the same "race" as one, or even both, of his parents. These terms also are categories of *social position*, so that rising in rank can take a colored person out of the colored category, a fact observed long ago at Recife by "the careful Koster," as Sir Richard Burton called him (see p. 219 of this book). These and similar terms employed in Brazil are descriptive not only of racial descent but of other and more important (to local individuals) phenomena; and, even more significantly, as we (1955:434) and others have pointed out, the use of these terms *varies with individuals*, in keeping with varying personal relationships, and also with the *same* individual at different times, in keeping with different moods or other circumstances.

In the United States one ordinarily hears only two terms being employed regularly in this connection: "Negro" and "white." "Mulatto" also is used but less often, as are certain other terms in popular speech. Nevertheless, as far as the behavior of the superordinate group is concerned, the principal terms are two; and all persons will be classified with reference to these two categories and behavior will be oriented in keeping with that classification.

In Brazil, on the other hand, the situation is quite different; for one thing, there exists a whole series of what at

group of persons from the lower class were engaged in a folk dance, accompanied by singing, known as *cururu*. Although composed largely (but not exclusively) of colored persons, this group was led by a lower-class white. Approaching several other persons nearby, who were spending their vacation at the seaside, and asking if they would like his group to sing and dance where they could be seen and heard more easily, the white leader referred to himself and to the other members of his group as "Nois prêtos" (We blacks).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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racial terms? In the first place, they are not racial terms at all; and, in the second place, they are only in part terms even of physical appearance. Although the classification of a given individual appears *at first sight* to be made on the basis of race, or at least of physical appearance, it actually is arrived at in a more complex way, as was implied in our Bahian study, as Harris (1964) and Harris and Kottak (1963) have since pointed out more specifically and in greater detail. It may, of course, be derived in part from physical appearance; but it also is derived from the possession of one or more of the other criteria of rank; for instance, personal, occupational or educational achievement; or the accumulation of wealth. This fact has long been reflected at Bahia in the common saying, "A rich black is a white man, and a poor white is a black"; in Koster's oft-quoted remark of his servant's disputing the ascription of "mulatto" to a man of high administrative position at Recife, by asking "How can a Head-Captain be a mulatto?"; and in Wagley's report of a dark mixed-blood of rank at Itá who is considered to be a branca (1964:134). Moreover, it reflects the personal relationship, at the time, of the speaker to the one spoken about. As Emilio Willems[5] reminds us, a person "who is one's friend tends to be a branco; or if he is too dark to be called that, he will be at least a *moreno* (brunette). But if he becomes one's enemy, he is called 'that mulatto' or 'that black,' " with pejorative adjectives attached.

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Brazilians are not blind to physical differences. No investigator has indicated any doubt that a person's appearance—particularly the texture of his hair and the color of his skin—are observed, and at least occasionally referred to, by all Brazilians, whatever their rank. However, at Arem-

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[5] In a letter to the author.

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bepe Harris and Kottak (204) found "as many as thirteen different terms" being applied to the same person by different members of the community; and these terms, although used to describe a single individual, were "spread out across practically the entire spectrum of theoretical racial types" (Harris 1964:57). This variation could not have been due to differences in economic condition, educational achievement or similar circumstance, because, Harris and Kottak further point out (204), Arembepe is "a socially homogeneous, one-class peasant community." Moreover, there was a variation from individual to individual regarding the precise meaning of these terms; and, in addition, an informant might alter his previous classification at a later time. Thus, the use of these terms, Harris and Kottak write, in summarizing their study, "varies from individual to individual, from place to place, time to time, test to test, observer to observer." Agreement was found with reference to the two terms which describe the opposite poles of the color scale, but informants disagreed regarding all the other thirty-seven terms (206n). Wagley (1964:133–34) found similar inconsistencies at Itá in the Amazon valley.

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What does all this ambiguity and inconsistency mean? It means, first of all, that, in Bahia and Brazil, among the lower class and perhaps beyond it, neither race nor color is an important consideration. Although persons often refer to a given individual as "that branco" or "that prêto," this is done, Wagley (1964:133) observed at Itá, "in about the same way that we might say 'that short fat fellow.' " Other things exist of at least as great importance, including educational achievement, family origin, type of occupation, financial resources, living level, and possibly other criteria. When a given individual is classified by another in any rank of the

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social order, all of these—and, *in addition*, physical appearance—are taken into consideration; but the term then used for him, although it appears at first sight to be a racial term, or at least a term of physical appearance, is, in fact, something more complex. As Caio Prado (104) puts it, "the ethnic classification of an individual in Brazil is made . . . on the basis of social position; and race, at least in the upper classes, is more a function of that position than of somatic characters." Whatever these so-called "racial" terms may be, then, as Harris and Kottak recognize, "they are not means by which to classify descent groups"; nor are they terms merely of physical appearance.

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In consideration of these facts—and in spite of the title of this present book—it seems to us that communication would be improved if we were to abandon the use of the term "Negro" and "white" when describing the Brazilian situation and use the terms Bahians and other Brazilians employ in popular speech, namely, "prêto," "branco," etc., giving these terms the local connotations as indicated above or in the glossary; and this we will do henceforth, in this Introduction.

Moreover, it is possible that when describing Brazil, the term "race" itself also ought to be abandoned. The perceptive Brazilian, Hernane Tavares de Sá (32), tells us that the expression "a member of your race," when translated into Portuguese, "is perfectly meaningless" to the general population, except in terms of "a *Brazilian* race";[6] and he maintains that "if the ordinary uneducated Brazilian listened to a discussion of racial problems with the terminology employed in the United States, he would not have the faintest idea of what anyone was talking about." One recalls in this con-

[6] Italics ours.

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"a very small and even ridiculous group"; and—what is even more important for our interest here—the attitudes involved are individually derived attitudes: they are held by discrete individuals or by an occasional family or group of families; they are not general attitudes which have been derived from the experience of the Brazilian people as a whole, and especially in the midst of grave apprehension that an established group position is threatened.

In those cases where the referent is color, these authors are dealing, as we suggested many years ago, with the color overtones of class distinction, for color is one of the criteria of rank. However, it is only *one* criterion; and its value in relation to the other criteria will vary with the individual in question, with his personal experience and relationships, and —what is most important—it *can be overbalanced* by the demonstrated possession of other and compensatory criteria of rank.[12] These are not the characteristics of a situation of race prejudice.

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It is the opinion of Emilio Willems (1949:407), a shrewd observer of the Brazilian scene for many years, particularly in São Paulo, that adverse positioning with reference to persons of color exists "only as a discreet attitude among small minorities of white middle- and upper-class people"; and that, even among these individuals, there is considerable doubt that "any kind of consensus" has emerged regarding either the forms or the degree of discrimination. In other words, we are dealing here with a basically class—and not a strictly racial or even a strictly color—phenomenon; and

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[12] Conversely, its value can be *intensified* by a lack of other criteria. "Light-skinned individuals who rank extremely low in terms of educational and occupational criteria," as Harris (1964:59) also has observed, "are frequently regarded as actually being darker in color than they really are."

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a nation more Caucasian in physical appearance." In addition, one should further note, as Willems has also suggested to us, that an aspect of this policy has become to some extent more formal and articulate in recent years. As we have defined it, this informal and unstated policy reflects a desire to absorb all minority groups—whether immigrant[40] or of color; but discrimination on the basis of either color or race obviously can stand in the way of its realization. It is with reference to this obstacle that Willems believes the policy has become more articulate, as reflected in the law of 1951, which gives legal negative sanction to discrimination in any form, a law passed overwhelmingly by the Brazilian Congress. It is reflected also in the committee reports and discussions inside and outside Congress which accompanied the enactment of this law; in the decidedly vocal and positive opposition on the part of Brazilian organs of public opinion to the occasional evidences of color discrimination upon which public attention becomes focused; and even, as Willems also points out, in the anti-racist militancy of colored organizations in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo.

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Although the basic facts seem to have been observed and reported in the original study, not all were given, perhaps, the relative prominence they deserved in the hypotheses which terminated it. One might add to these hypotheses certain apparent facts to which attention is called, to some extent at least, in the course of this book:

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1. A large number of popular terms have arisen which seem to designate the various racial combinations in the population. However, a) these terms are descriptive not so much of racial descent as (1) of the actual physical appearance of the individual in question, and (2) of his social

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[40] Cf., in this respect, Nogueira 1955:550; Pierson 1951:191.

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rank; b) they may vary with the person employing them, and with the same person at different times and under different circumstances, and especially with the status of the individual being referred to and with the relation of the speaker to him.

2. Caucasian physical traits possess prestige and also disproportionate aesthetic value among all social ranks and colors,[41] although the local "somatic norm-image," in the phrase of Hoetink (1961), is considerably "darker" than that in the United States, as is borne out, for instance, in attitudes toward the *morena* (see pp. 136–38).

3. The rise in rank of colored persons, a) occurs primarily by reason of demonstrated personal or occupational competence, educational achievement, the accumulation of financial resources, or fortuitous circumstance; b) is sometimes aided by brancos who are linked by parental, godparent or other bonds of sentiment to the individual in question (cf. pp. 353 ff.); and c) is accomplished by individuals *as individuals*, so that conflict on the basis of either color or class is relatively subdued (cf. Thales de Azevedo 1955a:195).

4. In their attempts to rise in rank, persons of color are handicapped by the fact that color has long been identified in Brazil with a slave condition and hence became, long ago, a criterion of rank. This is the role of dark color logically to be expected, given the history of slavery in Brazil and the Americas, where slaves for centuries were blacks taken from Africa by Europeans and their descendants, who possessed a more advanced technology, to labor on their plantations and

[41] With the possible exception of a few colored intellectuals, particularly in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, who deliberately seek to valorize "negritude" (blackness), although their attitudes in this respect seem to be rather ambivalent.

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in their placer mines. However, had this "historic accident" been of reverse character, that is, had Africa at the time of the discovery and early exploitation of the Americas itself possessed technological superiority, and had Africans and their descendants then discovered America and taken to work on *their* plantations European slaves from a Europe of less advanced technological development, dark color—and not white—would today, in all likelihood, carry prestige. Being white would then probably be a decided disadvantage, a definite handicap, since long ago white color would have become a criterion of inferior rank; and whites would then want to be black and to have children blacker than themselves.

5. However, the restraining influence of color in Brazil today, a) varies inversely with its intensity (as do all the other criteria of rank); b) is not the determining criterion, as in South Africa or the United States, but only one of a series of conditioning circumstances, similar (as far as most persons are concerned) to those with reference to age, sex, lack of personal competence, lack of skills, lack of financial resources, or lack of education; c) varies with the individual and with circumstance; d) may change permanently during an individual's lifetime; e) may be less significant than some observers have thought; and f) may be tending to decrease, as more individuals demonstrate their ability to overbalance the restraining influence of color by the accumulation of other criteria of rank (provided, of course, that changes now under way in the economic and sociological structures do not alter this trend).

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6. Although cases of discrimination involving colored persons undoubtedly occur, they are not necessarily due exclusively to color. In any given case, the circumstances are com-

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subject. Among these visitors there are two—James Bryce and Theodore Roosevelt—whose knowledge of conditions in the United States make their reports upon the situation in Brazil peculiarly interesting.

Viscount Bryce, whose "observations and impressions" of South America were first published in 1912, remarked that in Brazil, in contrast to the United States, the color line is nowhere sharply drawn and that "the fusion of whites and blacks by intermarriage goes steadily on." Mr. Roosevelt—Theodore and not Franklin Delano—who visited the country a few years later, is more explicit. He says: "If I were asked to name the one point in which there is a complete difference between the Brazilian and ourselves, I should say it was in the attitude to the black man."

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This attitude manifests itself in the fact that in Brazil "any Negro or mulatto who shows himself fit is without question given the place to which his abilities entitle him." However, the most conspicuous difference—the "one real difference"—is "the tendency of Brazil to absorb the Negro." This tendency is, however, not merely a historical and biological fact; it is rather an expression of a national policy, in so far as Brazil can be said to have a policy with respect to the Negro.

Statistics of population, which are never very accurate in this matter of race and less so perhaps in Brazil than in the United States, indicate that the number of Africans of unmixed blood is growing steadily less so that "with two or more racial crossings"—so say those Brazilians who are conscious of the Negro or concerned about his future—"the Negro blood tends to disappear." This so-called Aryanization of the African, from the point of view of Brazilian national policy, is a thing, perhaps one should say *the* thing, to be desired.

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these, together with the plantations of Pernambuco, supplied a large part of the sugar for the tables of Europe.

By 1670 Bahia was a wealthy capital boasting that her flag was known upon the seven seas. Ships from the Portuguese empire in the East called regularly on their way back to Portugal. By the early eighteenth century Bahia had grown into a city of 70,000, her commerce protected by the cross-fire of fourteen forts. Six- and seven-story buildings were common; the possession of carved ebony furniture had become a symbol of social standing; silks, palanquins, and the finest porcelain were imported from China. In the surrounding cane fields toiled, it is estimated, ten times as many slaves as in Virginia. A century later, Lindley, an English smuggler, after admiring the abundance of gold jewelry worn by the women of Bahia, looked out over the shipping in the harbor and wrote of "a degree of wealth unknown in Europe."

Bahia continued to be the first commercial city of Brazil until about 1830,[1] when she finally yielded front rank to São Paulo, the rising young metropolis to the south. But during the entire colonial period (1549–1822), Bahia possessed the principal Brazilian firms and the largest Brazilian fortunes.

During the first two centuries of the colonial era, Bahia was the seat of Portuguese control in Brazil, the official residence of high functionaries representing the Portuguese crown. Even after the government was transferred to Rio (1763), Bahia continued to play a prominent role in the politics of the colony and, subsequent to independence

[1] In 1868, although the decline in sugar production was by that time well advanced, Bahia had 511 *engenhos* producing nearly 19,000 tons of sugar a year.

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571 178 795 [554] siderable extent over those of the male portion, the church exercises a substantial measure of control. Prestige of the military is high.

596 621 The large family, with its wide ramifications and its patriarchal organization, also bespeaks a preindustrial era. Social cohesion in the community is maintained by the close association of members of these large family groups, together with the intimate ties common to friends of long standing, the degree of whose intimacy is much greater than that ordinarily to be found in the cities of comparable size in industrial societies. One notes in Bahia a warmth of manner uncommon to the United States. Bahians, like most Brazilians, tend to be very affectionate in the family and warmhearted toward their friends. Characteristic of such primary relationships is a high order of courtesy and politeness and an almost limitless consideration for the convenience and comfort of relatives and friends. Religious affiliation and guild association weave further strands of solidarity, binding the urban community together as if it were merely an overgrown village.

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578 [477] [433] [466] In this stable society there is a comparative absence of most forms of conflict. In commerce and finance competition is comparatively slight and limited in considerable measure to foreigners. The economy is almost entirely extractive and industry is minimal. The few differences which arise between labor and capital often take the form of a

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571 178 795 291 ual educated in Rio, to be seen on the beaches. Snug-fitting street dresses or those made of sheer or transparent material, and skirts which do not fall at least several inches below the knee, are subject to general criticism. At the exit of the principal churches and cathedrals is posted an official proclamation of the archbishop of Bahia specifying permissible dress. Failure to observe these regulations automatically bars the offender from the sacraments of the church.

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giance from numerous and zealous devotees. African dances still invaded the popular festivals of the Europeans to such an extent that vigorous protests on the part of the white citizenry appeared in the newspapers.[16] Numerous images employed in the fetish worship were imported from Africa, and others were made by Negro sculptors in Bahia.

One occasionally encountered Negroes who in Africa had been chiefs or other dignitaries of considerable power and influence. Although in Brazil they shared the fortunes of a slave with their former subjects, they nevertheless often received allegiance and great reverence from them. On a chance meeting in the street these personages were, we are told, "saluted respectfully, their hands kissed, and a blessing requested of them." Even their masters were reported to have paid them, in several cases, considerable respect.

Slaves who were in close contact with their masters, especially the house servants, soon became, by the very necessities of the situation, at least to some extent bilingual. And their offspring, reared in close contact with the children of their masters, acquired little, if any, African vocabulary and came almost exclusively to speak Portuguese. Thus, about 1800, Koster wrote from Pernambuco, "Portuguese

[16] In the *Jornal de Noticias* for February 12, 1901, a white citizen wrote: "I wish to protest against the way in which this great civilized festival [Carnival] is being Africanized." Three days later the following was published: "These infamous Africanized groups *de canzás* and *buzios* which, far from adding to the brilliance of our Carnival festival, bring shame upon the name of Bahia . . . . have since yesterday been keeping up their infernal tumult." Immediately preceding the opening of Carnival the following year there appeared in the *Jornal de Noticias* (February 5, 1902) the following note: "If during these former Carnival festivals when the popular enthusiasm has been greatly aroused by the passage of the victorious floats . . . . these groups of *Africanos* have been repugnant, what will the Carnival of 1902 turn out to be, unless the police take effective measures to prevent our streets from looking like *terreiros* where fetish practices reign amid a retinue of *ogans* and their *canzás* and tambourines?" (Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 236–38).

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molho de ferrugem."[107] From her and from the *mucama* (maid), as much as, if not more than, from his father and mother, the white child learned to speak. And almost without exception, he was given a *muleque companheiro de brinquedo*, a little Negro slave of his own age and sex, to be his playmate and his almost constant companion.[108] José Verissimo says that during slavery there was "no house which did not have one or more *muleques*, one or more *corumins*, little victims consecrated to the caprices of *nhônhô*:[109] his horse, his *leva-pancada*, his servant, his companion, his friend."[110] In 1821 Mathison saw on an estate near Rio "a number of fine Negro children playing in front of the house, and in the midst of them a younger brother of the proprietor, a lad about fourteen years of age, who had been brought up in this manner . . . . like the Negroes."[111] Freyre has suggested that "very likely many a Brazilian child took for his first hero, not a white physician, nor a navy official or a lawyer, but a slave acrobat who knew how to execute the difficult pirouettes of the impromptu circuses and of the *bumbas meu bois*[112] of the *engenhos;* or a Negro player of the trombone or the flute."[113] Under these conditions it is not surprising that

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[107] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 247. *Pirão* is made of manioc meal and meat broth; *molho de ferrugem* is oil of the *dendê* palm.

[108] Lacerda, *op. cit.*, p. 379.

[109] Slave rendering of *menino* (male child).

[110] *A educação nacional* (Rio, 1906), quoted in Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 248. A *leva-pancada* is one who "takes the beatings."

[111] *Op. cit.*, p. 93.

[112] The *bumba meu boi* is still to be seen in the Bahian interior. It is a folk drama in which a man dressed to represent an ox plays a prominent role (see Arthur Ramos, *O negro brasileiro* [Rio, 1934], pp. 159–68; see also his *O folk-lore negro do Brasil* [Rio, 1935], pp. 103–14).

[113] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

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563 grew up during slavery, and no circumstance has subsequently arisen to change it. In the United States, on the other hand, the spread of contraceptive practices[35] and the increasing race consciousness of the Negro have led to a decided decrease in miscegenation. Traditional behavior in Bahia is, in this respect as in many others, well defined. The sanction of custom has become, as it always does eventually in any case, moral sanction.

563 583 Race mixture is further favored in Bahia today by the widespread custom of *mancebia*,[36] or those conjugal unions outside marriage in which there is some degree of permanency. In many cases the women involved are mulattoes, rarely blacks. The man agrees to pay for rent and food; the woman, to care for the house and children. The man may have, at the same time, a legal family, although informal unions are often entered into by young men previous to marriage.

563 826 Miscegenation is also favored in Bahia today by the prestige which ordinarily attaches to the so-called "whiter" child. Dark mothers who bear "whiter" children consider themselves especially favored and are so looked upon by their immediate associates. A black mother proudly showed her light child and said, "Estou limpando a minha raça" ("I am cleansing [i.e., I am 'whitening'] my race"). One also

[164] [554] [882] [35] In Bahia there is not the fear of venereal disease common to this country. Its contraction is regarded by young men as an indication of sexual coming-of-age and perhaps enhances their prestige among their associates (cf. Freyre, *op. cit.*, pp. 49 ff.).

[193] [192] [36] This term is used only in more polite conversation. The woman involved is called *mancebo*, the verb is *mancebar*, and the participle *mancebado*. The popular expression, however, is *amasia*, or *amiga* (the feminine form of "friend"), or *amante*, or *companeira*, for the woman; the verb is *amasiar* or *amigar*, the participle *amasiado* or *amigado*.

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on the couple. "Some people feel sorry for them and try to treat them as usual; but, especially if the black is from the lower classes, there is always a difference," commented a member of the upper class. If someone marries a person a great deal darker than himself, one hears the phrase "Ele não tem vergonha na cara" (literally, "He does not have shame in his face").

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"But it would be different," added a white upper-class woman, "with Dr. Raul Calogeras,"[23] naming a prominent *preto*, a man of considerable personal charm, with the poise and bearing of a "gentleman," an able engineer for six years in charge of the sanitary service at Bahia and for twenty years at the head of a similar service for the city and state of São Paulo, once a federal senator and friend of the former president of Brazil, Washington Luiz. He is also nationally regarded as the principal Brazilian "authority" on the Tupi language. For years he has been president of an important intellectual and social institution in Bahia among whose membership, principally white, are to be found many of the leading intellectuals of the city. "Several white women whom I know would feel themselves honored to be his wife."

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The implications of this remark are highly significant, if one would understand the actual racial situation at Bahia. It indicates rather clearly that opposition to marriage with a black is more importantly on class than on racial grounds. When black color comes no longer to identify an individual as a member of the lower class, opposition to him tends to disappear. Virtually no opposition attaches to the marriage of light mixed-bloods into even the upper class, especially if they do not show in their features or color too obvious evidence of Negro origin.

[23] The name is, for obvious reasons, fictitious.

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In 1914 Theodore Roosevelt wrote of Rio de Janeiro: "In the lower ranks intermarriages are frequent, especially between the Negroes and the most numerous of the immigrant races of Europe. In the middle class these intermarriages are rare, and in the higher class almost unknown so far as concerns men and women in whom the black strain is at all evident. But even in the higher ranks there is apparently no prejudice whatever against marrying a man or girl who is, say, seven-eighths white, the remaining quantity of black blood being treated as a negligible element."[24] Although the Bahian aristocracy has maintained itself as endogamous as any similar group in Brazil, or perhaps even more endogamous, individuals possessing at least some Negro blood are now marrying into its ranks.

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A dark mixed-blood at Bahia, a prominent and relatively wealthy commercial figure, courted and married a girl from a distinguished white family. A common expression heard in connection with this case of intermarriage and which perhaps sums up in a pithy statement the racial situation at Bahia is: "Negro rico é branco, e branco pobre é negro" ("A rich Negro is a white man, and a poor white man is a Negro"). This is merely another way of saying that class (one criterion of which is wealth), not race, is the primary consideration.

A prominent medical specialist, a dark mixed-blood, has a blond German wife whom he courted and married while a student in Germany. Because of his professional competence, intellectual ability, and personal charm, he occupies a high position in the community. He is a member of the most exclusive social club, membership in which is an infallible index of social status. Since his professional practice is extensive

[24] "Brazil and the Negro," *Outlook*, CVI (February 21, 1914), 410.

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and his clients are drawn largely from the élite, he is well to do financially. His wife, it is said, is envied by other white women. 565 [554]

A woman of the upper class when asked if a woman's social standing declined after her marriage to a black or dark mulatto said: "This depends largely on the man. It may; but if he is cultivated and refined, it may not. A woman marrying Dr. Raul Calogeras would not lose caste." [558]

Obviously, then, a distinction must be made between interclass and intraclass marriages. The following reasons given by whites responding affirmatively to the query, "Do you object to marrying a *preto?*" indicate that their objection was basically on class, rather than on racial, grounds:

Because *pretos* seldom have social standing.
Because they are ordinarily lower in the social scale.
Because they are usually crude and stupid.
Because they belong to a low class.
Because it would lower me.
Because I think both should be on the same social level.
Because black color usually lowers one's social position.
Because I think social equality is indispensable for marriage.

These statements all reduce perhaps to one general statement: The Negro ordinarily lacks class.

A distinction must also be made between those individuals who are noticeably negroid and those who are *branqueados*, who have only *um pouco da raça*. As an upper-class white woman remarked: "It's different with the lighter shades. You can't easily draw the line between the pure whites and those with only *um pouco da raça*. Race mixture has now become so extensive that there wouldn't be many left to choose among." Very light mixed-bloods often marry whites without any question whatever arising. For instance, the four sons and two daughters of a fam- 563*

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who have not yet risen, he sees that the connection between race and discrimination is not direct but *indirect;* that not necessarily discrimination on the basis of *race* is involved but discrimination on the basis of *class*, involving in most cases, quite expectedly, individuals of color, owing to the concentration of the darker portion of the population for centuries in the lower status ranks.

Race has undoubtedly been a factor in Brazil in fixing classes and making them, to some extent at least, hereditary. But race as a criterion of class is breaking down, increasingly, as more and more individuals of dark color give evidence of the possession of, or the ability to achieve, other characteristics indicative of superior status. The significant fact is that a black or dark mulatto *can* overcome the handicap of color, *can* overbalance this liability by means of other assets. His social position is not fixed and rigid. It is always subject to change.

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CHAPTER VI

THE RISE OF THE MIXED-BLOOD

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EARLY in the colonial period race mixture resulted in an intermediate population group in more favorable position for social advancement. Mulatto slaves, because they were ordinarily chosen by their masters and mistresses for the more delicate and exacting household tasks, to be *mucamas* (maids), *amas de crear* ("mammies"), and other *pessoal de casa* (house servants), early developed into a distinct group apart from the field hands.[1] They were baptized, received the master's name, and often were married in accordance with the prescribed legal and religious practices, thus establishing legitimate families and adding to the social security of their offspring by building up a family tradition.

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Many *mulatinhos*, illegitimate children of the *senhor*, learned to read and to write even more quickly than white, legitimate children, outstripping them in preparatory and even advanced studies. The Reconcavo of Bahia yields a number of such cases.[2] Particularly fortunate, we are told, were the children of priests. Their fathers, being ordinarily from upper-class families and possessing money and prestige, transmitted to their offspring, colored as well as white, ad-

[1] F. J. Oliveira Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro* (2d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 157; Jean Baptiste de Lacerda, "The *Métis*, or Half-breeds of Brazil," in *Papers on Inter-racial Problems*, ed. G. Spiller (London, 1911), p. 379.

[2] Gilberto Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* (2d ed.; Rio, 1936), pp. 324–25. The author throughout this chapter is greatly indebted to Freyre's *Sobrados e mucambos* (São Paulo, 1936), esp. chap. vii.

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563 171 571 gives evidence of definite personal worth, he will be accepted for what he is as an individual, and his racial antecedents will, at least to a considerable degree, be overlooked.

The extent of participation of the different ethnic units in the total life of the community may be indicated by analyzing racial participation in such institutions as exclusive clubs, schools, labor unions, and churches.

563 571 575 565 One of Bahia's most exclusive clubs, membership in which is definitely indicative of advanced social status, is composed of Bahian "society," including most of the leading officials and many of the more prominent citizens. Numerous receptions for visiting celebrities are held at this club, and its dances are considered to be among the principal social functions of the year. No blacks have yet been admitted, although several mixed-bloods, including a number of *brancos da Bahia* and even a few dark mulattoes, are regular and honored members. Whites, of course, predominate.

563 571 575 463 759 554 Among the members is a dark mixed-blood, with Caucasian hair and features, a prominent citizen, an able eye, ear, nose, and throat specialist trained in Europe, and husband of a white wife. Of him a Bahian of undiluted European descent once commented, "You know when I went to see him about my eyes the other day, I never once thought of him as colored. I needed professional advice and I simply recalled that he, like his father before him, was the best eye specialist in Bahia." Another member of this club is a dark mixed-blood, a wealthy exporter, prominent in Bahian commercial circles, and husband of a white wife, upon whose visits into the interior, it is said, all those with whom he has business dealings (including whites) feel deeply honored when he visits them in their homes.

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Not listed among the members is a dark mixed-blood of distinguished bearing, probably Bahia's leading colored citizen, son of a white planter and a black slave, able engineer, once federal senator, president of an important intellectual and social organization, and "authority" on the Tupi language. However, an officer of the club, a white banker from one of the leading families whose aristocratic lineage, general competence, and recent contribution of a governor to the state and a federal senator to the national *camara* unquestionably admits its members to the most exclusive circles, once remarked that "if this distinguished colored citizen should sometime apply for membership, there would be no doubt that a man of his intelligence, refinement, and professional competence would be accepted without serious question."

In the schools there is no segregation in any form. Students, however, are predominantly white and light mulatto. The participation of blacks is somewhat limited, and there is a progressive elimination of the darker shades as one climbs the educational ladder. Illiteracy is high, especially in the lower class, in which, as we have seen, blacks and dark mulattoes predominate.

Table 13 indicates more equable participation of the blacks in the elementary schools, especially in those which are state supported, attendance at which is free and hence more accessible to Negro children, concentrated as their parents are in the lower economic levels.

In a parade of school children celebrating Emancipation Day (the thirteenth of May) twelve elementary schools participated, each group being dressed in its distinctive uniform. For example, the boys of one school wore light gray suits with a blue stripe down the trousers, blue belts, and

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sors honored as *paranymphos*,[9] all were white. Of 21 faculty members honored with *homenagem*,[10] 6 were mulattoes (2 quite negroid), 1 was *branco da Bahia*, 14 were whites, and none was black.

In a prominent secondary institution, of 18 instructors, 1 was a black, 5 were mulattoes, 3 were *brancos da Bahia*, and 9 were whites. In another secondary school, of 33 instructors, 7 were mulattoes, 6 were *brancos da Bahia*, and 20 were whites. While of 30 elementary teachers noted in state schools, 3 were blacks, 10 were mulattoes, 6 were *brancos da Bahia*, 1 was a *mameluco*, and 10 were whites.

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In educational circles one often hears of a dark mixed-blood of distinguished bearing with snow-white hair and beard who organized some years ago one of the present secondary institutions and whose two sons are well-known and widely respected educators. Several whites now prominent in local and national circles speak with pride of their schooling under this distinguished man.

A similar attitude is not infrequently manifested with reference to other colored teachers or professors; for instance, a prominent medical specialist and noted lecturer at the Faculty of Medicine; a legal "authority" and author of textbooks in law, now associate justice of the Brazilian supreme court; a prominent nerve specialist; a noted surgeon; and the city's ablest and most quoted literary critic.

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In a private elementary school a class of boys ranging in age from seven to eleven years were being taught by a Negro teacher. Among the group were two whites, one *branco da*

[9] Each graduating class in the secondary and professional schools selects one of its more popular teachers or professors for special recognition as *paranymphs*.

[10] Graduating classes also select, besides a *paranymphs*, several teachers or professors to be honored with *homenagem*.

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phasize the alien character of the individual's origin. Thus, if a Bahian wishes to be particularly insulting, he will aggravate the sting of "Negro" by adding to it *de Africa* ("from Africa"). In this way he doubly accentuates his reference to the foreign origin of a black.

Although it is true that dark color, as we have seen, is ordinarily identified with lower status and white color with upper-class position, rising in class tends to take a man out of even the color category. For instance, a white Bahian remarked of an upper-class mulatto, "I would hesitate to call him a *pardo*, although he plainly is one; some of his friends might overhear me." For use in such cases, *moreno* is the term "mais elegante."

As early as the imperial period the title of *capitão-mor*, we are told, "whitened even dark mulattoes."[41] Thus, in the second decade of the nineteenth century, the Englishman, Henry Koster, on referring, in a conversation with a citizen of Pernambuco, to the fact that a mulatto was occupying the local office of *capitão-mor*, was told the man in question was not a mulatto. Insisting that he undoubtedly appeared to the eyes to be a mulatto, Koster received the rather unexpected reply, "He used to be a mulatto, but he is not now. For how can a *capitão-mor* be a mulatto?"[42]

Under such circumstances racial consciousness tends to be reduced to a minimum. For if the individual can with rela-

[41] Gilberto Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos* (São Paulo, 1936), p. 318.

[42] "In conversing on one occasion with a man of color who was in my service, I asked if a certain Capitam-mor was not a mulatto man; he answered, 'he was, but is not now (era; porem já nam he).' I begged him to explain, when he added, 'Can a Capitam-mor be a mulatto man (pois Senhor Capitam-mor pode ser mulato)?'" (Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil, 1809 to 1815* [Philadelphia, 1817], II, 175–76). Note reference to this incident in Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro*, p. 153, and in Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 318.

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a man who has real worth from attaining a superior position just because he is colored. Absolutely not."

"Especially in Bahia, where there is much prejudice regarding 'quality,' " wrote a black, "a *pardo* or a *preto* is, in the presence of whites, never well thought of except he be a person of intellectual capacity or of some means; for in Bahia these two characteristics are very important."

A white student wrote:

> Race for me changes nothing in an individual. I think the *preto*, the *pardo*, and the *branco* should all be treated alike. Distinctions open to the whites ought to be equally open to the blacks and to the mulattoes. It is not they who made themselves black; it is not they who are responsible for their dark color. I have seen or known of *pretos* and *pardos* who on every occasion could readily replace certain *brancos*. Such men as these, in my opinion, are at least equal to the whites. I repeat, not race but personality influences me; a man who has a good character and is intelligent and competent merits distinction, be he white, black, or *pardo*.

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Among "the ten most important Bahians" selected by a hundred and twenty-two students in the Escola Normal were three mulattoes and two *brancos da Bahia*. Sixty-seven students in the Law School chose six whites, two *brancos da Bahia*, a mulatto, and a *preto* among the ten most prominent local citizens. Sixteen girls in a mission school conducted by North American missionaries listed two *brancos da Bahia*, a mulatto, and two *pretos* among those who, in their judgment, were "the ten most important Bahians."

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festive occasions *sandalias*, or leather "mules," are regularly preferred to *chinelas*, and one often sees the common footwear of the lower class, the *tamancos*, simple sandals with wooden soles and leather toe straps; or, occasionally, cloth slippers. Some women go barefoot.

The *torso*, commonly said to be of Arabic origin, was probably brought to Brazil by the Haussás and other Negro followers of Mohammed who were imported from the areas immediately south of the Sahara. In *Globus* for April 28, 1910,[12] there is a photograph taken in Togoland which shows Negroes wearing *torsos*, *panos da costa*, and *saias* similar to those seen today in Bahia, except that the heavily starched petticoat usually worn with the latter is lacking.[13] [177]

The typical wearer of this costume, or *vestimenta bahiana*, as it is called, is a tall, graceful black woman of remarkable physique, self-confident bearing, and intelligent, cheerful countenance. She is known as a *Bahiana*, the first of whom to emigrate from Bahia to Rio, during the disorders attendant on the struggle for independence, impressed the French visitor Debret as notably different from the black women of Rio, not only in dress, but also in general bearing.[14] "The *Bahiana* came to symbolize, by extension, a gracious (*graciosa*) and spirited creole woman."[15] 291 554 [167]

The *Bahianas* were worth seeing at our festivals, with their resplendent costumes; their arms half-covered with gold or silver bracelets; their diamond earrings; their gold necklaces from which hung . . . . crosses, *figas*, and medallions of the order of *Carmo*, all of gold. . . . . They completely dominated our religious festivals. . . . . They [301]

[12] XCVII, No. 16, 245.

[13] The *saia* is commonly worn in Bahia, on days other than those of festival, without starching the underskirt.

[14] J. B. Debret, *Voyage pittoresque et historique au Brésil, 1816–1831* (3 vols., Paris, 1835), II, 105.

[15] Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

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filled the churches at Mass, at prayers, and at sermons, accompanied by little black urchins carrying small stools of *jacaranda*[16] with carved feet. They were women who tended small stalls in the markets, or who sold in the streets, proprietors of small eating-places, elderly slaves, and young *mulatas* who came to turn the heads of the "old conquerors."[17]

[16] A very heavy wood of rich coloring much prized for furniture.

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[17] "Onde estão as *Bahianas?*" *A Tarde*, June 23, 1936. It was of these *Bahianas* that Carmen Miranda sang when she recently captivated Broadway with the staccato notes of the rollicking *samba* by Dorival Caymmi, "Que é que a Bahiana tem?"

O que é que a bahiana tem?	What is it that a *Bahiana* has?
O que é que a bahiana tem?	What is it that a *Bahiana* has?
Tem torço de seda, tem	She has a *torço* of silk, she has
Tem brinco de ouro, tem	She has ornaments of gold, she has
Corrente de ouro, tem	She has a golden necklace, she has
Tem pano da Costa, tem	She has a *pano da Costa*, she has
Tem bátá rendada, tem, ah!	She has a *bátá*, embroidered, she has—ah!
Pulseira de ouro, tem	Bracelets of gold, she has
Tem saia engomada, tem	She has a *saia*, starched, she has
Sandalia enfeitada, tem.	Decorated *sandalias*, she has.
Tem graça como ninguem	She has "oomph" like nobody else
Como ela requebra bem	How well she swings those hips!
Quando você se requebrar	When you swing those hips
Caia por cima de mim	Fall on top of me
Caia por cima de mim	Fall on top of me
Caia por cima de mim.	Fall on top of me.
O que é que a bahiana tem?	What is it that a *Bahiana* has?
O que é que a bahiana tem?	What is it that a *Bahiana* has?
Tem torço de seda, tem . . . . etc.	She has a *torço* of silk, she has . . . . etc.
Só vae no Bomfim quem tem	Only those go to Bomfim who have
Só vae no Bomfim quem tem	Only those go to Bomfim who have
Um rosario de ouro	A rosary of gold,
Uma bolota* assim	A little ball, thus,
Quem não tem balangandans	She who has no *balangandans*
Não vae no Bomfim	Can't go to Bomfim
Quem não tem balangandans	She who has no *balangandans*
Não vae no Bomfim	Can't go to Bomfim
Oi, não vae no Bomfim	Oi, can't go to Bomfim
Oi, não vae no Bomfim	Oi, can't go to Bomfim
Oi, não vae no Bomfim	Oi, can't go to Bomfim,
Oi, não vae no Bomfim.	Oi, can't go to Bomfim.

[778]

* Instead of a cross the Malês, or Mohammedan Negroes in Bahia, used a ball on the rosary.

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head. The wearing of *patuás*, or written prayers, is presumed to "close the body" (*fechar o corpo*) against disease or accident. The nut known as *chapeu de Napoleão* ("Napoleon's hat"), if worn on a string about the neck, similarly is reputed to possess magical power.[37] A cord of deerskin passed over the affected area is presumed to cure erysipelas; a string of white beads worn about the neck of a mother is thought to increase the flow of her milk; a cord tied tightly about the waist of a pregnant woman will, it is believed, "keep the baby from going to the head"; and a stone in the hair is thought to retard delivery. Considered particularly efficacious in all cases of illness is the "*itá* of Xangô."[38]

782 755 "Prayers," or the use of magical words or phrases over an affected part of the body, are also extensively employed. A common belief is that the *pae de santo* can in this way cure snakebite.

782 [776] The direct intervention of a deity may be invoked as when presents are made to the *mães d'agua* (female deities who are presumed to inhabit bodies of water) to remove illness or misfortune or to assure future success. Thus, fisher-

[37] At the children's clinic a black mother brought in a child very ill. About his neck was a cord suspending a *chapeu de Napoleão*. To the physician's query, the mother replied, "They said it would make him well. Everyone told me to use it, and I didn't know."

755 778 [554] [38] *Itás* (Tupi equivalent of "rocks" or "stones") of Xangô, or, as they are also called, *pedras* of Santa Barbara, are thought to have fallen from heaven during thunderstorms. They are said to have penetrated into the earth seven *braças* (2.2 meters) and to have returned to the surface after seven years. The person so fortunate as to find one of these stones is considered a highly privileged individual. The *itá* is used by the *pae do santo* to crush the leaves of certain medicinal plants which are then put, together with the yolk of an egg, into a vessel and mixed, while an invocation in Nagô, known as *ainin*, is intoned. The stone is then covered with the crushed leaves and egg yolk and allowed to stand for a period of time. The liquid prepared in this way is considered to possess miraculous healing power.

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794 outcome of some projected action; and also the office of a
793 *curandeiro*, who diagnoses ailments and prescribes cures. He may minister to a clientele even outside the members of the *seita*, giving advice and counsel on matters of business, politics, love, etc.

794 Disputes between members of the *seita* are ordinarily sub-
793 mitted for adjudication to the *pae* or *mãe de santo*. Persuasion is at first employed. But if this proves unsuccessful, the
627 priest orders each of the disputants to wash his particular fetish, upon which, with rare exceptions, acceptance of mediation is secured. The settling of the dispute is then celebrated by each party to the quarrel drinking from the water
[688] in which the other's fetish has been washed. Continuance of the altercation will break the implied promise to the *orixá* and render the offender liable to punishment, which is ordinarily death.

794 The *pae* or *mãe de santo* may also exercise the function of
793 a *feiticeiro* and deal in black magic. But this occupation is
754 disclaimed by several of the more prominent priests and priestesses, who refuse to countenance deeds designed to do harm to their fellow-men. It appears to be exercised more often by heads of the recently organized and "less careful" *caboclo seitas*.[1]

794 Age, number of years a member of the cult, intimate
793 knowledge of the ritual, and, particularly, purity of African
554 descent are important considerations in determining the prestige of a *pae* or *mãe de santo*.

For some reason male members of the *seita* rarely experi-
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[1] A *pae de santo* of a *caboclo candomblé* who is widely feared for his success in working black magic possesses a considerable bank account, numerous properties in the city, and rich cocoa land near Ilhéos, all acquired, it is said, from the exercise of this profession. However, it is quite probable that his political activity contributed a goodly portion.

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has passed, dance the dance sacred to her *orixá*, after which she is assisted from the *barracão* into the *pegi*, taking due care to withdraw with her face always toward the drums. In a special room she is then dressed in the ceremonial robes sacred to her *orixá* and, with his sacred insignia, returns to the *barracão* to dance for hours the dances sacred to him.

The sacrifices are performed according to the ritual peculiar to the occasion and include the offering of chickens, pigeons, sheep, and goats.

In the *candomblé* world certain gestures are obligatory. Thus, when saluting a high dignitary of the cult, a *filha*, if the *orixá* to whom she is dedicated is masculine, prostrates herself, face downward at the feet of the one so honored; if her *orixá* is feminine, she lies at full length first on one side, then on the other, and, on rising, touches her head to the ground. In taking leave of an *orixá* who has "visited" the ceremony, a member of the *seita* clasps tightly the left hand of the ceremonial dancer. *Ogans* have a special handshake used only between them. Following a discussion among members of a *seita*, agreement is signified by rising, beating the palms, and shaking hands.

Status in the *candomblé* depends not only on one's position in the hierarchy of functionaries but more particularly upon priority in being "made" or confirmed. Those whose years of service are less are known as "the younger" and must address "the older" with greater respect and, as an *ogan* remarked, "prefer him above one's self."

The musical instruments employed include the *atabaques*, or drums; the *agôgô*, with which the priest or priestess strikes the first notes of each invocation and later accompanies the drums; the *caxixi;* the *agê* (also known as the *cabaça*, or *piano de cuia*); the *adjá;* and, occasionally, the *xaque-xaque*.

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of Law, "will gradually disappear with social evolution." "Education will do away with it. Just give it time," remarked a student at the Faculty of Medicine. There are a few intellectuals, individuals who have broken with the Catholic church, who believe that the *candomblé* is entitled to the same rights and privileges as any other religion. One of these remarked, "We should see to it that the government gives the *candomblé* a square deal."

Indeed, of those Bahians identified with the European culture, the whites tend to be more tolerant of the *candomblé* than either the blacks or the mixed-bloods. These blacks and mixed-bloods are seeking to establish themselves in class and naturally make every effort to disassociate themselves from what are commonly considered to be lower-class cultural elements. Of 66 white students in the Escola Normal who responded to the query "Do you think the *candomblé* ought to be suppressed?" 22, or one-third, said, "No"; while, of 22 *pardos*, all but one replied in the affirmative. Of 5 blacks, 4 said, "Yes."

In the face of constant, although ordinarily tolerant, disparagement on the part of most prestige-bearing individuals in the European portion of the community and of such institutions as the church, the school, and the newspaper, most of the younger Negroes now tend to forsake the *candomblé* and the body of ideas and sentiments identified with it and to look upon these customs and traditions as evidence of "ignorance," "backwardness," and "retarded mental growth." Older leaders of the cult often complain, as did Maria Bádá on one occasion, that "the *candomblé* isn't what it used to be. The young people today don't learn Nagô; they don't know how to carry on any of the ritual; and, what is worse, they don't want to learn." *Mãe de santo* Anninha once remarked, in much the same words as in recent years have

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794 178 177 829 As a Bahian white said, "When a black man puts on a tie and shoes and learns to read and write, he loses interest in the *candomblé*. There are really two civilizations at Bahia, ours and the African. When a black begins seriously to take on our customs, he seldom spends any more time at *candomblés*." A prominent mulatto educator remarked, "I've never been to a fetish cult. I have no interest in them." A Negro laborer admitted that he used to go to such ceremonies, "but no more; I've given all that up now." The young nephew of a prominent *babalaô* said, "All this low stuff ought to be done away with. It's a sign of a very backward people. It has even disappeared in Africa. The English came into Lagos and brought modern civilization. Only in Bahia do these old customs hang on."

794 178 578 Indicative of the disintegrating state of the fetish world is the continuous and, at times, acute jealousy among the leaders and members of its more orthodox centers. In a given *seita* one hears much critical gossip regarding the practices of some other center. It is accused of forsaking the "true" African tradition and of inadequately interpreting mystical experiences. As the number of *Africanos* decreases, competition between the *seitas* for their allegiance is naturally increasing.

794 829 793 554 Among the Negroes who still identify themselves with the cult, the past tends to be romanticized, and the prestige of the "old Africans," like Bambuxê, Adeta, Iyalode Erelu, and others, to be constantly enhanced. Similarly, the prestige of the older cult figures who are still living—the *babalaô* Martiniano, *mãe de santo* Anninha,[11] and the aged Maria Bádá,

793 766 [11] Since this was written, *mãe de santo* Anninha has died. Of her funeral, the *Estado da Bahia* (January 5, 1938) said: "The crowd of people who accompanied the body to Quinta dos Lazaros Cemetery was one of the largest ever seen in Bahia and recalls the funeral for Pae Adão in Recife. More than

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all of whom represent the African tradition in its "purest" form—is, throughout the fetish world, very great.[22]

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two thousand persons were present, including members of the Irmandade of Rosario Church, dressed in their robes. The coffin, which was, in keeping with Anninha's request, quite modest, had over it the robe she had worn as a member of this Irmandade of which she was so proud, and was carried on the shoulders of the Brothers of Nossa Senhora do Rosario and of São Benedicto. The crowd of mourners blocked traffic in Rua Dr. Seabra for more than half an hour. Some *filhas de santo* wept unceasingly. Others related the virtues of the kind Anninha. 793 766

"When the coffin, carried by pious hands, entered the large gate of the cemetery, the *atabaques* broke out into African rhythms, while sad voices rose in the African songs of the *seita* to which the illustrious *mãe de santo* belonged.

"In the chapel of the cemetery, Canon Assis Curvello repeated the *encommendação*, and her body was laid away in a recently opened crypt.

"Then several orators spoke; among them Snr. Alvaro MacDowell de Oliveira in the name of the União das Seitas Afro-Brasileiras da Bahia, the journalist Edison Carneiro, and representatives of the Centro Cruz Santa do Aché de Okô Afonjá and of the Irmandade of Rosario Church. When the ceremony was over, two omnibuses carried a large number of the friends of Anninha to São Gonçalo do Retiro, where they took part in the preparatory ritual for the African funeral ceremony of Axèxè, to be held seven days after the death of the beloved leader of the *terreiro* of Aché de Okô Afonjá. This ceremony will consist of rites for the eternal peace of the dead *mãe de santo* and will be participated in by *ogans*, *filhas de santo*, *paes de santo*, and other friends of the deceased."

[22] This chapter is primarily based upon the author's personal experience as a visitor at numerous ceremonies in eighteen *seitas* at Bahia and as a participant over a period of several months as an *ogan* in the *candomblé* of Pae Procopio in Matatú. For further information see, in addition to the works of Nina Rodrigues, Arthur Ramos, Manoel Querino, and Edison Carneiro previously cited: Padre Étienne Ignace Brasil, "Le Fetichisme des negres du Brésil," *Anthropos*, III (1908), 881–904; Gonçalves Fernandes, *Xangôs do Nordeste* (Rio, 1937) and *O folklore magico do Nordeste* (Rio, 1938); João Varella, *Cosme e Damião* (Bahia, 1938); the novels *O feiticeiro* by Xavier Marques (Bahia, 1922) and *Jubiabá* by Jorge Amado (Rio, 1935); and newspaper accounts such as "Creado o conselho africano da Bahia," *Estado da Bahia*, August 4, 1937, and "No mundo cheio de mysterios dos espiritos e 'paes de santo,'" *ibid.*, May 14, 1936. 114 123 113

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custom is to some extent recognized in law.[6] Usually the children take the mother's name, but occasionally the father "recognizes" and registers them, so that they legally bear his name. They are sometimes taken into the legitimate household, where they are usually accepted without serious question by the legal wife.[7]

Particularly among the lower classes, illegitimacy is not seriously prejudicial to the child. Personal qualities and individual ability largely determine his role and status; his parentage is rather naturally considered to be a matter beyond his control. A surname is not of great importance, the given name being infinitely more used, even among the upper classes. Prominent intellectual and political figures are known throughout the city by their given names. A stranger

and Portugal. Their eldest daughter is studying to be a pianist. There are three younger children. The man also supports another mulatto woman, said to be "very young and very pretty."

[6] A single extra-marital amorous experience makes a woman liable to prosecution for adultery, whereas for a man such conduct must not only be proved to be habitual but also to have involved an established relationship with a *single* individual. For a wife to have cause for legal action, she must previously have been ignorant of the extra-legal affair of her husband. Otherwise, her implied acquiescence constitutes participation in guilt.

[7] One wife said of her husband's "natural" child, "He's a fine boy. I like him as much as, or more than, my own children." In 1911 an American consul at Pará wrote: "In Amazonia the father assumes all the responsibility and legally adopts his illegitimate children who, in a majority of cases, become a part of his own family, taking an equal place in social privileges with those children within the bounds of the church regulations. . . . . There is no disposition in the higher social circles to discriminate against the number of these illegitimate aristocrats who, in the matter of education, refinement and address, are often the superior of some of those born in wedlock in the same families . . . . [and are], in many prominent cases, the acknowledged leaders of society" (J. Orton Kerbey, *An American Consul in Amazonia* [New York, 1911], p. 119).

[SALVADOR]

/37 cont./

*563 565 the other hand, the métis with straight hair and a color very close to that of the white race could succeed in the different branches of human activity without having to suffer any annoyance of an ethnic nature."

[826] Notwithstanding all these difficulties, colored people, especially the lightest ones and those whose features bring them closer /38/ to the Whites, may achieve a rank as high as the latter. As [114] will be seen in the following chapters, they may marry Whites, according to their social position; they may have a pre-eminent place in the liberal professions, in the intellectual life; they may be admitted into the organizations through which one acquires prestige and social rank, which confirms the thesis already set forth by Pierson, that "what we find in Bahia is a multiracial society of classes" (1).

1. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 408.

*563 565 554 571 The social ascent of colored persons, although it is brought about with relative facility, is not without consequence for those who attain it. It is somewhat like "passing" /quoted in English/ for the North American Negroes: those who elevate themselves not only experience doubts and difficulties on the subject of their position, but they are also the object of resentment by some of those -- and they are numerous -- who remain in the lower strata of society.

When he elevates himself to the social rank that is to assimilate him culturally and socially with the White by endowing him with his "social skin," the Black is often criticized because he wants "to act the White" or because he "no longer wants to be colored."

*563 565 554 571 124 Numerous informants pointed out certain colored individuals who are considered that kind and who, they said, would certainly refuse to be interviewed for the investigation. Some of them actually avoided speaking of the racial problem, politely diverting the conversation to other subjects, under the pretext that they did not know anything about the subject and all that was of no importance among us. The author, in spite of his experience in the milieus

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*563 565 • 554 571 [124] [829] of Bahia, had some difficulty approaching some of the persons thus mentioned. In certain cases, however, he was able to verify that the imputations mentioned above are nothing but the informants' reactions of resentment against people who are much higher or whom they judge superficially because they do not know them personally. A number of persons questioned even showed great interest in race relations, declaring they had read numerous Brazilian or foreign books, had seen films on this subject, and liked to discuss this problem with persons belonging to the same type and to the same professional and social status as they; there were even two who declared they had thought a good deal about writing down their observations on this subject. In only one case a mulatto official replied with a certain irritation that this problem was not important and that the Blacks of Bahia did not elevate themselves socially because they were very "backward and bold."

*563 565 /39/ Interracial Marriages

For colored people, interracial marriage is a means of reaching the higher classes. Individuals with a lighter skin have the greatest possibilities of becoming white socially, and marriage between colored people and Whites gives the former prestige and offers them the prospect of having children closer to the preferred type.

*563 [585] No law in Brazil forbids marriage between members of different races. The candidates for a civil or religious marriage simply present themselves before the authorities of the State or of the Church, provided with the necessary papers, such as certificate of birth or baptism, in which the type or the color are mentioned only for the purposes of identification.

The number of marriages between individuals who differ with regard to color is very high in Bahia. Out of 222 unions concluded [162] some years ago, the man and woman were of the same color in 34 o/o of the cases; in 43 o/o the man was darker than the woman,

[SALVADOR]

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*563 829 look for light girls." Obviously this question is not one that can be solved with the material of an investigation like ours, but there seems to be no doubt that we are confronted here with reasons intended to mask the wish for a union with white women. This design, moreover, should be interpreted with the help of psychoanalysis and other techniques for investigating personality problems.

In Bahia there are some distinguished Blacks, particularly in the liberal professions, who are married to Whites or to women much lighter than they are. This fact is mentioned with some emphasis and with ill-concealed pride by some persons of dark color, although such cases are also the object of criticism. Very often the women belong to milieus inferior to those to which they themselves belong, "for in the higher classes, although marriages between mulattoes and morenos are frequent, the opposition is still strong against marriages between persons who are very /44/ far apart on the color scale" (1).

[565] [626]

1. Donald Pierson, op. cit.

*563 565 554 The lower the man's status, the less difficult a mixed marriage is for him within his class. That is to say, it is much easier for a Black of intermediate and inferior groups to marry a White of his social class than for a Black of a higher class to marry a girl of his own milieu. Moreover, the less great the difference between the man's and the woman's type, the less great will be the opposition to be overcome in whatever milieu it may be. The marriage of a light man with a dark woman, especially if she is much more pigmented than he, encounters very marked opposition in all milieus, although the opinions about the morena with fine features and the color of jambo make this type desirable for certain Whites, particularly for Portuguese immigrants and somewhat for Germans. A dark woman who marries a White is much more exposed to the hostility of her husband's family than a dark man who marries a light or white woman. In order to explain this in part it is necessary not to forget that, the family in Bahia

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[SALVADOR]

/46/ Commerce

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The merchants and the fazendeiros enjoy a prestige in Bahia society proportional to the economic importance of their activities, the wealthiest families being made up by them, and their influence being well known in all the social life. It is by means of these two forms of activity that the Bahians acquire a certain social rank and exercise control over other sectors of the social structure (1).

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1. The economic activities that occupy the largest number of persons in the State of Bahia are agriculture and stock raising (67 o/o of individuals of the male sex); there follow in order of importance: small crafts industry and commerce, according to the census of 1940. In the city of Salvador (Bahia) the liberal professions and private instruction, which the statistics record in the aggregate, came in first place, and commerce and the industries are in second place.

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The national and racial groups that make up the population of Bahia participate in different fashion in the commerce and agriculture. While the Whites and the morenos predominate among the most important breeders of livestock, one finds among the owners of cacao plantations a large proportion of colored persons who began as small planters and have progressively enlarged their fazendas as cacoa gained in importance in the international markets. The plantations of cane and the sugar mills that belonged to the families of Portuguese origin, who were very conscious of their social rank during the colonial period, are today almost entirely in the hands of large capitalist enterprises in which Whites and a few métis predominate.

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As for commercial activities, they are not carried on exclusively by nationally and racially determined groups, but these groups portion them out among themselves up to a certain point --

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545 In any case it is certain that in the realm of the theater the
•554 possibilities of social ascent for persons of dark color are ex-
[555] tremely limited, as, moreover, for the people of Bahia in general, because the professions of actor and especially of actress are held in very poor esteem. The city never having had a resident theater company, its theatrical life depends not only on the passing-through of companies from other States, but even, owing to the pejorative opinion concerning the theatrical profession, one can say that at present there are no Bahian actors. The small number of those who do succeed work in other Brazilian cities and rarely perform in Bahia.

/66/ Education

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For numerous inhabitants of Bahia, "color prejudice is a problem of education." This opinion is formulated in different ways, but it always expresses the conviction that it is the difference of education, that is to say, of manners and of schooling, that is the greatest obstacle in the acceptance of the Black and of colored persons in the white milieus. It is not rare to hear it said among dark persons that "the evil comes from the fact that many Blacks do not have the necessary education." A Black said that his companions, members of the same association as he, maintain that the Blacks can very well occupy high positions, but he proves to them that they are not on a level that permits them to claim such positions: they lack the teaching and education. "It is not sufficient to appear spick and span, as many believe!" And the same Black adds that a "well-bred and educated Black is able to enter anywhere." And the lighter an individual is, the more easily he advances if he satisfies these requirements. A parda girl relates that the members of a professional circle where she works as a secretary treat her with more courtesy and "less distance" when they learn that she is not a mere employee, but a graduate teacher, "an educated person."

[SALVADOR]

*563 794 [565] /72 cont.

social classes, the proportion of colored people varies from one to another. This is particularly striking in the brotherhoods and third orders, associations that have centuries of existence, founded for purposes of spiritual perfection, almost all long since transformed into organizations of charity and mutual aid. These organizations have always been very important in all of Latin America for marking or confirming the social classification of their members. When a biographical sketch of a distinguished person is published in a newspaper of Bahia, it always mentions the brotherhoods to which he belongs or in which he occupies a management position. During certain large religious festivals one can see men who are not "practicing" Catholics personally appear with their brotherhoods or third orders, dressed in costumes characteristic of these same societies, a torch in their hand, carrying the canopy and marching in a group. It is greatly desired to be able to become part of these institutions that give evidence of the high position and the prestige that one has acquired. The elections for the management of one of these brotherhoods, upon which hospitals, orphanages, and old people's homes depend and which administer a rich endowment, arouse extraordinary interest among the great merchants and the people of liberal professions who are members of them. The office of headmaster, that is to say, of president, an office to which no remuneration is attached and which demands great devotion, is very eagerly contended for, because it offers its holder the possibility of augmenting his social and political prestige and of showing his administrative abilities. These organizations were created in the colonial period in order to gather together, under the aegis of /73/ the Church, as happened in Portugal, persons of different social and economic groups for the purpose of spiritual improvement, but also in order to permit them to show their rank. Thus it is understood that even today they are arranged in hierarchies according to class lines, although the distinctions that separate them are in the process of becoming less clear and less rigid every day, with new conditions of urban life and with the appearance of other institutions having similar social aims. There are, for example, although

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*563 554 794 relatively decadent and less exclusive, brotherhoods of "colored men," which in olden times grouped together sometimes slaves, sometimes free Blacks or even mulattoes. A few of them still march in the processions, wearing their insignia and their livery and celebrating the festivals of their patron saints in the chapels on their premises with a pomp and luxury greatly reduced in comparison with the brilliant solemnities of their glorious period. But for many men of this type it is an honor to belong to these brotherhoods and to take part in their management committees. It is always a proof of prestige within the group. The brotherhoods and third orders of persons of high rank are always prosperous; in their rules or "compromises" it was formerly stipulated that only "gentlemen," white and of certain professions, would be permitted to be registered in them. The statutes of one of these brotherhoods still contain the following stipulations: "Art. 4. In order to become part of the brotherhood it is necessary: 1st, to practice the Roman Catholic religion; 2nd, to be more than 40 years old and to be of white color; 3rd, to have irreproachable moral and religious conduct and to live honestly from some employment, office, industry, or income; 4th, not to have been convicted of any dishonorable offense and not to have been expelled from any religious or secular corporation, except if one can prove that one has been 'rehabilitated.'" But more than a century ago the con-
[178] cept of "white" began to be enlarged in order to permit the admission of mulattoes, either married to Whites of noble families, or wealthy, or occupying an outstanding social position (1).

1. Gilberto Freyre, op. cit., II, p. 669.

*563 794 Although the arrangements relative to the "color" of their members or their "brothers" have become a dead letter or have completely disappeared from their statutes, people maintain that some of these brotherhoods do not accept colored persons, at least if they are not, one informant told us, nearly white pardos. People illustrate this assertion by citing the case of persons who did not ask for admission to these brotherhoods for fear of being refused, or of persons who, according /74/ to what certain informants assumed,

[SALVADOR]

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*563 794 793 797 [554] give the reasons that make them oppose someone's acceptance, and that they do not use their rights to prevent the acceptance of a candidate solely because of his color. A pardo who has occupied important positions in the administration of the State and who even reached the highest offices of his brotherhood asserts that the fathers who direct it, although the majority are Europeans, maintain the best relations with /75/ dark colored persons and even appear very affectionate toward them; colored persons are able, as may be seen, to be classified socially or to confirm their status by means of institutions. The Catholic religion offers them other, similar

*563 794 554 means. This is what happens, as we have already indicated, with regard to the "judges" and the festeiros, persons chosen each year to solicit donors and to organize the solemn festivals of the patrons of the church or chapel. This choice, made by the priest responsible or by the management of the religious associations, is based on social and economic prestige, much more than on other personal attributes (except morality and reputation); thus, color has never excluded anyone from one of these functions. An observer who has often dealt with these matters can testify to this.

*563 793 [195] [567] The Catholic priesthood is no longer a privilege of finos Whites. The ecclesiastical constitutions in force during the period of slavery forbade the ordination of slaves, so that priests should not be subject to a servile condition, deprived of the liberty and authority necessary for the practice of their ministry. Slaves were excluded, not Blacks, so that at the beginning of the last century foreign travelers were astonished to see black and mulatto priests officiating in the churches of the principal Brazilian cities. At

[555] the end of the eighteenth century colored men were able to take holy orders, and the Church became a means of social ascent "for all kinds of persons of humble circumstances, whatever their racial or family origin (1)."

[113] 1. Roger Bastide, "Religion and the Church in Brazil," in Brazil, Portrait of Half a Continent, p. 339.

[SALVADOR]

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* 563 of the latter, however, was part of these teams for many years
526 and was known and admired by the entire city. About 30 years
[178] ago football started to become professional; today there are few
[575] important clubs for amateurs. In the present phase that of professionals, there is no restriction against mulatto or black players.
* 563 They are acclaimed with enthusiasm, and many people consider them
542 exceptionally suited for this game because of their agility and
555 their skill. The most important and the richest clubs wrangle over
• 554 these players and offer them very large sums so that they will consent to play on their teams. Thus several of them are made up almost exclusively of dark players. The most popular footballers of Bahia are almost all black or dark mulattoes. It should be noted, however, that the fame and the popularity of these sportsmen, in large part recruited from the lowest strata of the population, do not confer on them a higher rank; they have access to certain groups who are particularly interested in the sport; but they do not thereby acquire the right to attend the recreational celebrations of certain clubs, except on very rare occasions. Another aspect of football is that its "teams" are organized and supported by associations that generally also carry on recreational activities and are directed with passionate devotion, even at the price of pecuniary sacrifices, by rich and influential people in commerce, the liberal professions, and the bureaucracy. To take part in the management of one of these associations or on the committee that co-ordinates sports activities throughout the State of Bahia is greatly coveted: this permits one to affirm his prestige and to obtain political support from players and from thousands of fans of the sport. Some politicians distinguish themselves by the effort they make to obtain subventions and other resources for the sporting associations. According to the social level of each of these institutions, the opportunities that colored persons have to take part in their management vary. An informant who for many years was a member of the aforementioned committee cites the names of various mulattoes and Blacks who, by their wealth and their devotion, attained the posts of president and of director of several of these organizations, as well as of the sports federation of the State.

[SALVADOR]

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Professions	Total number	Percentage		
		Whites	Métis	Blacks
Lawyers	1,088	68.8	30	1.1
Civil engineers .	518	72.8	26.8	0.3
Physicians . . .	1,712	81.1	16.9	2
Pharmacists . .	173	82	14.4	3.6

*563 647 Men of all types occupy posts in public administrations and have management posts in them: they can reach the highest offices without having this provoke comments by their subordinates. [759] Some of the better physicians in Bahia have been colored men whose names are recalled with respect and gratitude. A dark mulatto, brother of a female informant, was classed in first place, along with two white colleagues, in a competition for an important technical post. According to other informants, however, the exclusions formerly suffered by the candidates for the posts of the magistracy were attributed to race prejudice. "One did not openly deny the merits of colored candidates, but in the classification they always figured in second or third rank, although they achieved excellent tests," one informant tells us, and he adds that a certain colored candidate, after having been approved, saw his appointment postponed on several repeated occasions. In spite of this, there are in the judicial magistracy numerous morenos and dark colored men occupying the positions of judges, prosecutors, and praetors. The highest tribunal of the State includes about one-third colored judges, some of whom have assumed the /83/ presidency of the court of appeals. Other positions connected with judiciary power are also filled by colored men, and it is the same for those of clerk of the court. The positions of notary, for example, very lucrative positions, are filled by persons of great prestige. Among the five notaries of the city one is fino white, of aristocratic family, and has already occupied important political posts, among them that of governor of the State; another, a very black Black, is very much appreciated for his moral qualities.

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*563 463 The proportion of colored persons in each liberal profession depends on various factors. In those that have the least prestige (agricultural engineers as compared to civil engineers, non-graduate lawyers as compared to graduate ones) this proportion is *563 759 larger. A very black student of medicine calls attention to the fact that the Blacks in general do not devote themselves to surgery: "Some take up this specialization, but end up by remaining in the general clinic. Odontology is not a good career for them either: what well-dressed white girl would wish to open her mouth *563 758 759 743 565 in front of a Black?" In the hospitals, physicians and attendants of all types care for the sick, who are all gathered together according to their maladies and according to their rank, and not according to their color; in the private clinics that take patients of the higher classes, everyone is admitted, provided that he can pay the price demanded.

*563 554 463 [301] The title of "doctor" and the marks of deference due a graduate are given without distinction to black or white persons who practice a liberal profession, which is why some of them have retained the habit of wearing on one of the fingers of the hand a "symbolic ring" of their profession, in order to be able to be identified and treated with the requisite consideration. Moreover, a Black may manifest the desire to practice a liberal profession without encountering hostility or scorn on the part of the Whites. In spite of this, some tens of years ago there were professors who humiliated a black student showing little intelligence or little industry, by saying "while so many people need a cook or laundress, there are Blacks who have presumed to become doctors." The author asked [124] the professors of a primary school of the State for permission to question its 93 most advanced students, of both sexes, about the careers that they wished to take up later. The percentage of replies received, according to sex and type, were:

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Career chosen	Whites		Mulattoes		Blacks	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Prestige careers (1)	80	62.50	33	46.80	44	15.70
Modest careers (2)	20	37.50	67	53.20	56	84.30

1. Merchant, civil engineer, physician, farmer /Fr. fermier/, accountant /Fr. comptable/, woman doctor, dentist, lawyer, engineer (woman), accountant /Fr. comptable/, pianist, official, professor.

2. Mechanic, salesman, printer, chauffeur, tailor, bookkeeper /Fr. comptable/, saleswoman, typist, dressmaker.

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555 One may make two observations on the subject of these replies. The first is that schoolchildren of modest families, between 12 and 15 years of age, mulatto as well as black, manifest the intention of adopting prestige careers in which Whites predominate. This may denote their desire to escape situations socially and economically inferior; it may also express their faith in the possibility they have of realizing these aspirations, a possibility that would be refused them in a society with racial discrimination. The second observation is that the white persons to whom these replies were shown manifested neither surprise nor reprobation concerning the aspirations of colored children.

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538 In Brazilian folklore there is an anecdote that proves how much Bahia is known as a place where Blacks can acquire status by means of the liberal professions. It is said that a Black, very well dressed, arrived in the State of Ceara and the first person he met called him "doctor." Amazed to see that his rank had been guessed, the Black asked how his interlocutor could know that he was a graduate. And the reply was very clear: "A Black so well dressed can only be a servant among the English or a doctor in Bahia."

5: Azevedo--112 D. Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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/85/ The Intellectual Life

*563 554 538 The reputation of an intellectual is independent of his racial "quality." The biographies of illustrious Bahians do not mention their racial affiliation, an omission that constitutes a serious handicap for those who study the contribution of colored men to science, to letters, and to the arts of our city. With the exception of the case, for example, of an article on "Men of black color in the history of Bahia" (1),

[113] 1. "Os Homens de côr preta na Historia da Bahia," by M. Querino, in Revista do Institute Geographico o Historico da Bahia, Vol. 48, 1923, p. 353 (38 brief biographies).

or some short studies of the same kind, it is practically impossible, unless one refers to other sources, to find out who the colored men who have distinguished themselves by their talent have been (2).

[113] 2. M. Querino, As artes na Bahia e Artistas Bahianos /The Arts in Bahia and Bahian Artists/; S. Bocanero Junior, O Teatro na Bahia, 1812-1912, Bahia, 1915; Gonçalo Moniz S. Aragao, A Medicina na Bahia, Diário Oficial, ed. do Centenario, 1923; C. Torres, Vultos, fatos e coisas da Bahia /Faces, Things, and Affairs of Bahia/, Bahia, 1951; and others.

Thus, several months ago, in celebrating the first centenary of the birth of Manoel Querino, who was a mulatto of dark complexion, a newspaper described him as "a poor and artistic Bahian who distinguished himself as a traditionalist historian, folklorist, ethnographer, sociologist, educator and 'leader' /quoted in English/ of the working class to which he belonged and which he tried to elevate."

[SALVADOR]

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*563 *554 571 Among the intellectuals of whom Bahia is proud and who are included among its great names, there are some who are very dark. One of them, speaking of the mixture of races, says that "the descendants of the crossings mentioned are to be found in Brazil in all social classes, in all professions, even the most intellectual" (3).

[113] 3. Viuva J. Moreina, "Juliano Moreina e o problema do negro mestiço no Brasil /Juliano Moreina and the problem of the Negro mestizo in Brazil/," in Novos estudos afro-brasileiros /Recent Afro-Brazilian Studies/, G. Freyre and others, Rio de Janeiro, 1937.

The colored intellectuals not only do not form a separate group, but are judged and classed solely according to their talent and their works, and in scientific and literary associations occupy positions corresponding to their importance. When, in 1923, [527] the first centenary of the struggles for national independence in the territory of Bahia was commemorated, a very well-known photographer in the city, in collaboration with a historian and professor of the university, put together a large picture with the portraits of the Bahian intellectuals who at that time enjoyed the greatest renown: members of parliament, jurists, poets, prose writers, sacred orators, biologists, physicians, musicians, engineers, folklorists, educators, journalists, linguists of both sexes. Among the 79 intellectuals represented, one counted one cabôclo and 20 morenos and pardos, some of them quite /86/ pigmented. One of the four portraits most in view in the upper part of this composition was that of a dark mulatto, already mentioned above as a historian, engineer, and linguist; his picture was placed in the same port as that of Ruy Barbosa, a famous jurist and leader, who is considered "the greatest of Brazilians." The portraits of other métis appeared among those of numerous white intellectuals. [538] Among the recently published 100 biographies of the most notable Bahians of the period that extends from 1564 to 1925, there are 12

[SALVADOR]

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*563 554 571 538 métis celebrated as poets, jurists, linguists, physicians, and preachers, including a son of slaves, who, in the second half of the last century, because of his origin, had great difficulty in being accepted in a faculty of law of his country (1).

[113] 1. A. Loureiro Souza, Bahianos Ilustres, 1564-1925, Bahia, 1949.

All this testifies to the fact that intellectuals are judged according to the standards that apply to the whole of society, without color being taken into account. The literary critics, for example, affirm that the greatest living Bahian poet is a dark pardo and that a moreno is one of the best poets Bahia has had in recent decades. Moreover, the most listened-to literary and artistic critic, who died a few years ago, was a branqueado (whitened) mulatto, who exerted a great influence on the local intellectual life. When, on the occasion of the 350th anniversary of the [527] Lusitanian poet Camoens, the Portuguese colony celebrated Race Day, it was a dark mulatto who, in the name of Brazilians, gave the address of welcome to the Portuguese, while a celebrated sacred orator took the floor for the latter; in 1949, when the fourth centenary of the founding of the city was commemorated, the government of the State, in posthumous homage to this same mulatto intellectual, published one of his remaining unpublished historical works (2).

[113] 2. Teodoro Sampaio, Historia de Fundaçao da Cidade do Salvador /History of the Founding of the City of Salvador/, edited by the Secretaria do Educaçao e Sáude, Bahia, 1949.

*563 554 571 The favorable position given colored people in the intellectual milieus is reflected in certain comments that we gathered in the course of our investigation on colored people. One of them made the following remark: "Colored people owe much to Whites, it is they who praise the Negroes of merit and who make known their name and their works." Another assured us that "among intellectuals there was no color prejudice."

[SALVADOR]

/90 cont./ A colored girl in similar circumstances
*563 has greater advantages than a boy, for, being accompanied by a
562 friend or a relative, she is assured of dancing with him and with the
575 friends to whom he introduces her." But the colored girls, almost all the informants acknowledge, have much greater difficulty being accepted in the clubs, unless they are wives or members of the family of members. And the dark girls, for their part, fully accept this situation. In this they behave like "ignorant" colored men, someone remarks (1).

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1. The refusal of female Whites to dance with male Blacks, in Bahia and in the neighboring State of Sergipe, has already been pointed out, cf. Felte Bezerra, Etnias sergipanas, Aracajú, 1950, p. 246.

*563 Refusing to dance with young colored men /91/ is not only done
562 by Whites. A dark student says that she dances with any boy pro-
535 vided that he dances well, "even if he is a blackamoor (pretinho)." Another one, very light, frankly confesses that she does not experience any pleasure and even some shame in dancing with a man darker than she.

*563 The very select clubs having a predominance of members who
575 are merchants or connected with industry and the liberal profes-
463 sions accept only persons who are "socially white," that is to say,
●554 showing the white type or classed as white; the clubs of small tradesmen and commercial employees, modest officials, and people practicing a liberal profession of lower category have a much higher number of colored members, including dark
*563 mulattoes and even Blacks. The proportion of the different types
575 encountered among the members of two clubs of the categories
554 mentioned above is the following:

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Club	Number of members	Percentage			
		Whites	"Morenos"	Mulattoes	Blacks
		%	%	%	%
High category	1,522	67.21	24.83	7.95	-
Middle category	1,115	38.02	35.78	25.56	0.62

[535] In the dance clubs of workers, domestics, soldiers, and day laborers, the Whites are a minority and the Blacks are in high proportion.

As has been said above, one of the conditions required for the admission of a colored person in the recreational associations of the highest categories is to have a solid economic basis or a doctor's diploma. Indeed, in the distinguished clubs mentioned in the table above, the group of merchant members includes 76.89 o/o of white phenotype, 16.50 o/o morenos, and 6.60 o/o light branqueados (whitened) mulattoes, while that of the liberal professions contains only 62.03 o/o of the white type, 30.05 o/o morenos, and 7.90 o/o mulattoes. This confirms the observa-
[555] tion that many people succeed in improving their social rank by way of the liberal professions, for they are thus able to be introduced into the brotherhoods and social clubs, organizations which, in addition to their specific functions, are very important in that they are, as it were, an index of the social position of the Bahians.

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575 Numerous informants assert that they would not make an application to these clubs on their own, but that they are /92/ sometimes introduced by white friends. It may also happen that such proposals remain without effect when the management committees learn that it is a matter of a very black person. The papers lie in the archives of the club, but the candidate is never told the real or presumed reason for his refusal. It is said of a

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*563 668 especially the Blacks, toward the norms of behavior, the attitudes, the concepts of the Whites, in order to permit them to be accepted and classed in the society of Bahia. It is not difficult to perceive *563 183 829 that the "white" norms are the very ones that everybody in Bahia -- Whites, métis, and Blacks -- endeavors to realize in life, and that to be colored is not considered contemptible; the Blacks, for example, have not always succeeded in concealing some shame that many characteristics of their native culture cause them, particularly those that contrast most with the culture of European origin, such as religion. What seems to account for this is the fact that colored people feel themselves, as much as the Whites, entirely Brazilian, that is to say, integrated or desirous of being integrated in the Luso-Christian and, today still more, Neo-Brazilian *563 668 culture of the dominant class. A lawyer and a sociologist, both morenos and Bahians, a short time ago expressed the fear lest the "Negro" movements of Brazil take on segregative tendencies. And some leaders of these movements in Bahia are pointed out by the informants as being followers of such tendencies; however, "this isolationism," they add, "does not manage to gain the upper hand." "Up to now I have not wanted to become part of this association, but since there is no racism in it I am going to join," one Black stated.

*563 668 829 [554] The attitude of Blacks of professionally and socially high status is generally expressed by aloofness toward these movements; very few of them, as a matter of fact, can contribute to lend them personal prestige. At most these Blacks give their nominal support and contribute financially to these movements, but they follow their activities from a distance, avoiding all publicity in this respect, though they sympathize with a program that proposes to elevate the Blacks whose education has been neglected. They do not conceal their lack of confidence with regard to the aims and intentions of Negro movements on the national level. In the opinion of an educator, there is no reason for colored people to group themselves in terms of their quality. This would give a character of strife, which is undesirable. The pardo or the Black ought to endeavor to enter social life through the wide /102/ doors

Traditionally

565 the preto is linked with ignorance and superstition,
563 and a most common example of his 'ignorance', cited by the upper
794 strata of Vila Recôncavo society, is his belief in *candomblé*, the fetish
[171] cults of African origin so numerous in Salvador which have been
[177] described by various authors.[8] In the Caribbean, *candomblé* is
[178] known as voodoo and, as in Brazil, there is a mixture of Roman
Catholic with African religious elements. In Vila Recôncavo there
are highly complicated rituals of ceremony and healing, but owing
to the pressures of modern life almost no one has the time necessary
to spend in the full preparation for a *filha de santo* (servant of the
god) or a *mãe de santo* (caretaker of the gods) and much of the old
ritual is being forgotten and discarded, and newer and simpler
[776] innovations are in evidence. Another example given of the *preto's*
'superstition' in Vila Recôncavo is his participation in the cult of
Janaina, the goddess of the water. This cult is really an offshoot of
candomblé, Yemanja being the name of the African *orixa* or divinity,
[782] while Janaina is the name given to her by many of the cults in
[226] Brazil. It is Janaina 'who sends the fish to the fishermen', and they
must thank her and give her gifts occasionally. Generally it is the
mãe de santo who knows all the calls and prayers for Janaina and
who presents the fishermen's gifts. Anyone who intends to climb
the social ladder first disassociates himself from these rites, and then
publicly condemns those who participate in them—although, in
many cases, such an individual will continue secretly to give financial
support to a local *mãe de santo* and to send gifts to Janaina. Often it
is heard of a person: 'Oh yes, he is *gente* now, but last night he
secretly sent his usual present to Janaina.' Individuals of all racial
classifications belong to *candomblé*, although popular opinion has it
that only the *pretos* engage in these activities. One can observe all
racial types at a *candomblé festa* (ceremony), either as participants or
as spectators. In one case in another area of the Recôncavo there is
even a white *pae de santo* (male caretaker of the gods), a former
lawyer!

563 Nevertheless, in Vila Recôncavo, there are examples of *pretos* and
555 *mestiços* who have shown themselves capable of progress, with and
without education. Two examples are the plantation adminis-
[463] trators, cited earlier, who have risen to that honoured and relatively
[872] well-paid occupation in spite of the fact that they cannot read or
write. On another plantation, the *feitor* has taught himself to read
[873] and write and is known as an excellent story-teller. Primary schools
were recently opened in the rural zone of Vila Recôncavo, and night
schools for the adults. The response has been great, people often
walking long distances at night to attend class, in spite of the fact
that one of the most disliked and feared things is going out at night.

563 In Vila Recôncavo, there has been a central primary school for
565 many years, with an attendance of 354 of all racial types, children of
872 the whites as well as those of the others, although no children of the

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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officials of the middle tier, and the predominantly black slaves of the lower stratum.[18]

The duration of this particular organization was, however, brief. As the color line bent further under pressure of the rising mulatto, certain of the more able or more successful mixed-bloods broke through into the upper tiers.

The development of the cities increased the possibilities for economic advancement to individuals who, like the mulattoes, were noted for their skill as artisans and—what was more important—for their intellectual ability.[19] The rise, after independence in 1822, of the *academias superiores* offered to the more able mixed-bloods possibilities not previously attainable. Since by reason of their mental alertness the mulattoes often excelled, it is said, in those pursuits wherein intellectual ability is an essential for success, the development of these centers of advanced study opened, at least to the ambitious and favored ones among them, ready access to the rising professional classes, especially as *doutores* or *bachareis*.[20] Many promising young mulattoes were aided to a professional training by indulgent white fathers or other relatives and friends among the dominant class.

Of a prominent Brazilian intellectual, Raul Calogeras, whose father was a Bahian planter and whose mother was a Negro slave, we are told:

> Raul was very intelligent, and showed remarkable ability in his studies. It is said that when a very young boy at Santo Amaro, he used to slip away late at night, after his mother's master had gone to bed, to study by the street lamp on the corner near the house. When his father discovered this, he was much impressed, and other signs

[18] Vianna, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-73.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 151; Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, pp. 160-61, 190.

[20] Physicians, lawyers and engineers.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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of Raul's intelligence and his ability to apply himself multiplied the interest which his father took in him, and he supplied all his needs. When his father left the Reconcavo to come to Bahia, he brought Raul with him, and here, under his tutelage, Raul went to primary school where he had as white playmates his father's nephews and others. And later, when his father went to Rio, he took Raul with him. The boy never left his father's company as long as his father lived.[11]

Raul was a very dark mixed-blood with kinky hair. He came to be a prominent citizen and was noted not only for his fine figure, distinguished bearing, poise, and personal charm but also for his intelligence and professional competence. At one time he was a much-loved confidant of a recent president of Brazil.

Significant also, so far as the rise of the mulatto is concerned, is the fact that early in the nineteenth century the return of young professional men who had been trained in Europe—in Coimbra, Montpelier, Paris, and other centers—enhanced the prestige of the rising professional classes. These young lawyers and physicians, among whom were a number of quite capable mulattoes, were returning to Brazil after an education abroad, ordinarily more traveled, better informed, and more urbane than their brothers or half-brothers on the plantations, in the army, or among the clergy. They were especially attractive, we are told, to the upper-class ladies of the time. The importation of fashionable articles from the Continent—Parisian haberdashery, perfumes, hair-dressings, and English shoes—with the use of all of which these returning young men were quite familiar, enhanced their standing among the élite. The increasing

[11] From a letter to the author from a man reared in the same community as the individual in question and long acquainted with him. For information on the later life of this mixed-blood see Appen. A.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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CHAPTER VII

THE PRESENT ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE CLASSES IN BAHIAN SOCIETY

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TODAY one finds at Bahia a freely competitive order in which individuals compete for position largely on the basis of personal merit and favorable family circumstance. Individual competence tends to overbalance ethnic origin as a determinant of social status.

However, the darker portion of the population, as we have already noted, have had to contend with the serious handicap that their parents or grandparents or other immediate ancestors began on the bottom as propertyless slaves of the white ruling class and now bear constantly with them, by reason of color and other physical characteristics, indelible badges of this slave ancestry, ineradicable symbols of low status. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the relatively unmixed blacks are still concentrated in the low-pay, low-status employments and that they gradually disappear as one ascends the occupational scale, until in the upper levels they are seldom to be found.

But the mixed-bloods, especially the lighter mulattoes, evidence a strong tendency to climb the occupational ladder. Although the darker individuals still occupy very largely the low-pay employments, the lighter mulattoes tend to be concentrated in the middle tier; while a considerable portion, especially of very light mixed-bloods, or *brancos da Bahia*, as they are sometimes called, have penetrated into the upper strata.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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*563 874 very light. Her mother is a *sarará*, her grandmother is a dark mulatto with kinky hair, and her husband is also a dark mixed-blood. Her family, it is said, has gradually risen from •[555] [565] the lower class by reason of constantly taking advantage of every educational opportunity, by increasing their economic competence, and by deliberately cultivating "good manners."

*563 547 535 At a "night club," where there were gambling, liquid refreshments, and partners for dancing, of 128 guests,[27] 62 were whites, 40 were *brancos da Bahia*, 21 were mulattoes (several quite dark), 1 was a *cafuso*, and 4 were blacks. Of the 26 female entertainers (dancers and singers), 19 were whites,[28] 4 were *brancos da Bahia*, and 3 were mulattoes (all very light). None of the darker patrons danced during the evening.

*563 547 525 In the main gambling-room the group about the table were principally whites, with a few light mulattoes and an occasional dark mixed-blood. In the hallway near the entrance, however, was another gaming-table where stakes were lower. It was patronized principally by dark mulattoes, together with an occasional black, a few *brancos da Bahia*, and very few whites.

796 204 Carnival at Bahia lasts three days and is perhaps the most popular festival of the year. At the close of one celebration plans are immediately set on foot for the next. From time to time throughout the ensuing twelve months, newspapers carry reports of the development of these plans, and, beginning about a hundred and fifty days before Carnival, a regular daily feature appears, the time before the big event being checked off, day by day, much as United States newspapers sometimes check off the days preceding Christmas; except

[27] On September 26, 1936. [28] Including a very swarthy Syrian girl.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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563 This is the general pattern. The exceptions, however, are
796 significant. One occasionally notes, for instance, a darker person participating, apparently without any inhibition or the slightest show of self-consciousness, in the fun of the lighter groups. He ordinarily is an able individual, as evidenced by general appearance, bearing, and speech. Occasionally a white, in appearance and dress evidently of lower-class identity, will be celebrating with black or dark mulatto companions. Among the directing personnel, mulattoes appear in limited numbers, assisting the whites in planning and executing the various activities.

563 In like manner, the upper social circles at Bahia remain
565 today predominantly white. Only the lighter mixed-bloods, with few exceptions, have penetrated the upper tiers. The darker mulattoes, and particularly the blacks, have only in rare instances gained admittance.

But it is just these few individuals who indicate most clearly the actual racial situation at Bahia. The Negroes began on the bottom. The acceptance, then, of an occasional black, a few dark mulattoes as well as numerous light mixed-bloods into the upper circles points conclusively to the fact that if a person has ability and general competence, the handicap of color can be, and is constantly being, overcome. While it is undoubtedly true that status continues extensively to coincide with color, the fact that certain individuals who are quite dark and otherwise possessed of negroid traits have nevertheless been admitted into exclusive clubs and otherwise have attained positions of trust and responsibility in the community demonstrates quite clearly that in Bahia color is subordinate to other indices of class identification.
[555] Individual competence overbalances racial descent in the final determination of status. Color is undoubtedly a handi-

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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cap. But it always tends to be discounted if the individual in question possesses other characteristics of upper-class identity, such as professional competence, intellectual ability, educational achievement, wealth, an "engaging" manner, personal "charm," poise, "breeding," and, especially with the females, beauty. All these are characteristics which define status in a society based upon class rather than upon caste distinctions.

In this connection, an incident in Brazil noted by Edschmid is illuminating:

> The conductor [of the street car] passed all the men wearing collars into the first-class compartment whether they were white, yellow, brown, or black. He relegated all men without collars, regardless of their pigmentation, to the second class. He only looked for a collar. He sent a black-boy with a collar but without boots or shoes into the first, and he relegated a handsome English lad in a low-cut jersey to the second class.[11]

[11] Kasimir Edschmid, *South America* (New York, 1932), p. 370.

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degree of European intermixture increases or their symbolic reference is called into question by evidence of status-enhancing qualities in a given individual. Similarly, personal competence or individual achievement admit persons possessing considerable color into such status-symbolizing institutions as exclusive clubs. Race consciousness is at a minimum, "passing" has no point, and the circumstances are not ordinarily conducive to the appearance of the "marginal man." The organization of society tends to take the form of a competitive order in which the individual finds his place on the basis of personal competence rather than of racial descent.

The racial situation at Bahia probably is, in a general way, typical of all Brazil. At the same time a considerable immigration of Europeans during the past century into the southern Brazilian states, especially São Paulo, Santa Catharina, and Rio Grande do Sul, and the gradual development of an industrial society in São Paulo, may have modified somewhat the attitudes formerly prevailing in these areas. A Bahian mixed-blood recently returned from Rio Grande do Sul with the statement that he had there been referred to as a "Negro" and had otherwise felt uncomfortable distinctions to which in Bahia he had been unaccustomed. That there is some prejudice in the cosmopolitan city of Rio de Janeiro is attested by the organization in 1935 of O Movimento Brasileiro Contra o Preconceito Racial ("The Brazilian Movement against Race Prejudice"), sponsored by the prominent intellectuals, Arthur Ramos and Roquette Pinto. In São Paulo, the organization in 1924 of a Negro journal, *O Clarim d'Alvorada*, and later of others like *A Chibata*, *Cultura*, *O Clarim*, and *A Voz da Raça* ("The Voice of the Race"); of several Negro clubs for recreational and

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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similar advancement in the United States, but by all members of the Brazilian community.

14. Since, then, the blacks, the mixed-bloods, and the whites do not constitute endogamous occupational groupings, the social structure is not that of caste.

15. Nor does the Negro in Brazil appear to be, as he is in the United States, developing into a self-conscious racial minority in free association with, but not accepted by, a dominant racial majority.

16. Instead, the entire organization of society tends to take the form of a competitive order in which the individual finds his place on the basis of personal competence and individual achievement more than upon the basis of racial descent. This fact is perhaps best reflected in the common saying: "A rich Negro is a white man, and a poor white man is a Negro."

17. The Brazilian racial situation is, then, sufficiently distinct from that in India, for example, where the social order is organized on the principle of caste, and from those in many parts of the world where a national or racial minority (or minorities) is in free association with, but not accepted by, a dominant national or racial majority, to constitute, along with the Hawaiian racial situation and certain others, a distinct type: *a multiracial class society.*

18. There is no deliberate segregation as one finds where races have been embittered for a long time; spatial distribution is largely the consequence of economic sifting. Such isolation as exists is largely due to varying educational levels or to identification with elements of African culture, particularly the fetish cult.

19. For the assimilation of the *Africanos* at Bahia, while now far advanced, is not yet complete. African survivals still

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individuals seek to rationalize and to defend their customary conduct. This ideology is perhaps best summarized in the commonly heard phrase, "We Brazilians are becoming one people."

25. Thus, the race problem in Brazil, in so far as there is a race problem, tends to be identified with the resistance which an ethnic group offers, or is thought to offer, to absorption and assimilation.

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This is not to say that there are no social distinctions in Brazil; for such are obviously common to all societies, one thing or another serving as a basis. Neither does it mean that there is no discrimination or that the blacks and mixed-bloods are completely satisfied with their lot. But it does mean (*a*) that a man of color may, by reason of individual merit or favorable circumstance, improve his status and even achieve position in the upper levels of society and (*b*) that this position will then be with reference not merely to the darker group whose color he shares but to the total community.

[SALVADOR]

/34/ A Multiracial Society with Classes

565 [114] The structure of the classes of Bahia has never been described and analyzed from the sociological point of view, except very summarily by Donald Pierson (1).

1. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 64.

As this scholar shows, one may say schematically that the population of Bahia consists of an "upper" class, to which belong the descendants of the old aristocracy, the great landowners and the merchants, the intellectuals and those who practice a liberal profession, such as lawyers, doctors, engineers, politicians, officers of the armed forces, poets and journalists, university professors, the few industrialists that Bahia has produced, and a lower class made up of very poor people engaged in simple occupations, unskilled workmen and manual laborers. There is, furthermore, a stratum that one cannot exactly call a middle class, but rather an intermediate group, containing minor employees, petty officials, and tradesmen.

*563 •555 565 As for their place in society, one may say that, although in general terms the status of the Bahians depends on their birth, there is no doubt that social ascent proceeds by way of free competition. Blacks and métis, as individuals, may, "by their personal merit or as the result of favorable circumstances, improve their social situation and even obtain a position in the upper strata of society; this position will be in keeping, not only with their color group, but with the whole of the community" (2).

2. Ibid., p. 419, 422; cf. also Frazier, art. cit., p. 477.

565 *563 [361] [362] The majority of colored persons, like all the lower class, lives in poor quarters, in the outskirts of the city or in small clusters of modest houses interspersed in the residential quarters of the higher classes; moreover, numerous colored families of intermediate or upper status live in these same quarters. Colored persons are admitted, according to their economic resources and

[SALVADOR]

175 /40 cont./ These marriages increased after
178 Independence, in 1822, with the
*563 social ascent of mulattoes, military men, bureaucrats, lawyers
● 555 graduated from Portuguese and French universities, a process which was intense under the Brazilian monarchical regime and to which Bahia contributed liberally with statesmen and politicians coming from these groups (2).

2. G. Freyre, op. cit., III, p. 951.

178 Social pressure against mixed marriages seems to have de-
*563 creased with time, and so the latter became more numerous
626 every day. Formerly the families of high society or of the
584 bourgeoisie verified the origin of fiancés with great care. Many
593 marriages came to grief because one of the future partners was found to belong to the "caste." The unions that were formed against the parents' wish were the cause of lasting quarrels between parents and children, and gave rise to veritable domestic tragedies. Many fathers cursed their daughters and disinherited them when they persisted in wanting to marry a man of "inferior quality," especially if he were a bastard. "In our day," a female informant told us, "one has it much easier." This indeed seems to be the general opinion.

*563 The mixed marriage is greatly sought after because it confers
557 prestige on the one of the two partners who is darker. A black professor made the remark to us that there are few colored men who, in marrying a light woman, think of "improving the race," but rather they hope to facilitate their own social ascent. Proof of this is the frequency with which this intention is /41/ implicitly indicated or even acknowledged. A colored employee flirts with white boys "for fun"; in fact, she is trying to get the man she wants, and she announces that she will never marry a man of dark color unless he is rich and well situated. Her mother approves entirely when she announces that she will not accept the advances of a man of dark color. Her three sisters have married Whites, and one of them is proud of her children who are blond. A student of the same physical type "prefers" moreno suitors, but admits that she would have no objection to marrying a White.

[SALVADOR]

The antagonism of the inhabitants of Bahia against the

*563 441 578 829 /47 cont./ Spanish merchants is expressed, aside from the manifestations pointed out in another chapter, by the belief that they are responsible for the discrimination that is practiced against colored people in certain recreational clubs. In the trade of textiles and

*563 441 464 petty retail objects, such as the Syrians, Lebanese, Arabs, and Turks carry on in little shops, there are no longer many openings possible for colored people. The Arab merchants accept colored employees to work at the counter in their establishments, but, since these are generally modest family enterprises, their few light descendants of mixed blood or morenos remain in the lower or intermediate strata of the population.

*563 441 464 472 829 In the offices of large export or import firms made up in part of Europeans (Germans, English, Swiss), colored persons are admitted and may obtain positions carrying some responsibility, but they rarely reach the rank of owners. The European merchants, numerous informants say, have the reputation of being liberal with their employees and other colored persons with whom they do business or who collaborate in their activities: harbor services, transport, transit, navigation. A wealthy, dark mulatto merchant states that his transport enterprise works a great deal for large /48/ foreign firms: "The English are particularly pleasant in that they help their colored employees and promote them to the secretariat of management." They often bring them gifts from Europe, invite them to their clubs, and are happy when some of

[191] [186] them speak their language. "The German merchants who had very large firms in Bahia in the old days were very good to their colored assistants; they were very jealous of their language, however, and seemed not to like it at all when a Black spoke German. Some European firms honor their employees, even the Blacks, when they complete 20 or 30 years of service and give them bonuses on

[555] this occasion. But they do not promote them to important posts, sometimes because of their incompetence. The same thing does not happen with Brazilian firms, which are not accessible to colored people."

[SALVADOR]

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*563 441 472 829 A fact known in Bahia is that during one of the two world wars an important German firm transferred the responsibility for its warehouses to one of its employees, a moreno, who had always been its confidential agent and who proved in this situation that he was really faithful by subsequently loyally returning the goods that had been entrusted to him. A mulatto merchant, [452] owner of a warehouse, recalls that German firms helped small Brazilian merchants a great deal, no matter what their physical characteristics were, by granting them credit facilities. "It was [464] in this way that this firm developed, with the help of Germans," he says, "at the time when the large Portuguese firms, formerly the most important, did not offer any facilities to colored people and did not even allow them to work in their offices." The ownership of firms was almost always transferred by the familial route [581] by means of marriages between the most capable employees and the daughters of owners and associates, which explains why the management of these firms always remained with the Portuguese and their descendants. One and the same firm could, moreover, in certain cases give birth to two or three other firms of the same structure, thanks to the competence of the owners' sons, who, with the aid of their parents, set themselves up on their own.

*563 441 472 871 555 A wealthy contractor thinks that it is owing to his black color that he did not progress in the modest employment that he had in an important commercial firm. In order to advance, he says, he was obliged to give up commerce and devote himself to jobs as a contractor. It is evident that the stagnation of some employees in occupations of little importance arises, in the majority of cases, from their incompetence, it being a fact that in Bahia, even today, but especially in the very recent past, the /Figs. 5 and 6 appear here/ /49/ young men who intended to go into commerce had not completed secondary studies, or showed themselves [464] incapable of continuing them. This situation is tending to improve, but the majority of minor employees is still made up of young colored men coming from poor families and from a very low level of education. These young people therefore have only minimal possibilities for elevating themselves in careers where success depends a great deal either on the importance of capital invested or on administrative knowledge.

[SALVADOR]

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178 Thirty or forty years ago, among the insults hurled at po-
*563 litical adversaries in the newspapers and even in the speeches of
666 the legislative assemblies, the epithet "mulatto" or "Negro" was frequent. Today this takes place less often, because the style of political contests has lost much of its character of personal reprisals. Nevertheless one of the last governors of the State of Bahia, a statesman of national fame and once even a deputy minister to one of the presidents of the Republic, was a moreno of great moral and intellectual prestige. While he was in power, none of his political adversaries publicly alluded to his "caste." But, after he had left his office, a newspaper of another city, criticizing his activity, published a comment entitled "Administrative profile of a pardavasco" (1),

[192] 1. Pardavasco = diminutive sometimes used as a synonym of pardo.

an article in which the qualification mulato pachola was repeated in a contemptuous sense; another politician, in turn condemning his work in the government, delivered a speech against what he called "the creole democracy of the creole M.," the expression "creole" being used here in the sense of a Black or the descendant of a Black born in Brazil. Recently in the national parliament a politician from another State, feeling offended /56/ by the newspaper of an industrialist of Bahia, a whitened mulatto, gave a violen speech in which he called the latter "métis of low extraction." Attacks of this kind, however, do not always come from finos Whites; more than once they are the doing of "Whites in color."

*563 In short, although it is rare that a Black or a dark mulatto
•555 reaches a high political position, it is nonetheless true that for many colored people politics is a means of elevating oneself in the social hierarchy. Attacks of the kind that we have alluded to show a certain antagonism toward the colored men who elevate
[646] themselves thanks to politics. At the present time the leader of the governmental party in the legislative assembly of the State of Bahia is the red curiboca (métis of Indian and White blood) of whom we have already had occasion to speak. It is for this reason

[SALVADOR]

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*563 that one may say that for more than 100 years Bahia has been
555 governed "by Whites and by those who regard themselves as such" (1).

[113] 1. Von Spix and von Martius, Através a Bahia, /Across Bahia/, 2nd edition, Bahia, p. 75.

/57/ The Bureaucracy

*563 647 In all the public administrations of Bahia one finds colored officials (especially in the modest posts). In the past, and even [557] sometimes in our day, the officials were admitted through the influence of politicians or influential members of the administration itself. This is the way numerous dark officials were introduced in all the categories of the administration, without encountering any barrier or opposition. But well in advance of the governments of the States or the municipal services, the federal administration established a regime of competitive examinations in order to make up its ranks, even affecting purely bureaucratic positions. According to a métis who came into the bureaucracy in 1929, "in the federal civil service, there is no favoritism for the Whites, because the offices there are filled by competitive examinations, and there is no opposition to the registration of colored candidates. A well-bred, pleasant, competent Black or mulatto is accepted as associate or chief without opposition on the part of the Whites. Except when they are rude and when they take advantage of their position as departmental heads to make excessive unreasonable demands on Whites or Blacks, no one cares about their color."

With the perfecting of the system of competitive examinations, carried out by means of examinations in which the names of the candidates are not known by the members of the jury, an increasing number of persons of dark color are entering public service throughout Brazil, and cases of candidates who consider themselves victims of racial discrimination are rare. This system

[SALVADOR]

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*563 647 was introduced in the States and in the municipal services in such a way that possibilities are increasing for colored persons entitled to occupy these posts. Given the fact that in spite of this the support that a candidate may receive from a politician or a friend of an official is always very important, it is obvious that persons of more modest circumstances have more difficulty being appointed after having been admitted for the examinations; they are supposed to have even more difficulties obtaining offices that are advantageous or lead to first-rate positions. During the [175] colonial period some of the participants in a popular revolution [668] that broke out in Bahia, complaining that because they were pardos all promotion was denied them, tried to establish a regime of equality in which Whites, pardos, and Blacks, without distinction as to color, would be judged solely according to their abilities (1).

[113] 1. Alfonso Ruy, A primeira revolução social brasileira -- 1798 /The First Brazilian Social Revolution -- 1798/, 2nd edition, Bahia, 1951, p. 77.

[178] "In olden times," says one Black, "one never saw a moreno /58/ occupying a first-rate post," which is not altogether accurate, for the métis always had important positions in the administration of [557] Brazil since the colonial period. Today, says another informant, [555] "the incompetent ones advance through influence; as for the others, [178] they advance by their own merit, regardless of their color." He himself, in spite of his very dark color, manages sections in which Whites and Blacks work, and he knows that he is highly esteemed by his colleagues. Others think that the Blacks, although admitted without great difficulties, do not have access, save exceptionally, to positions of management which are temporarily occupied in commission through the individual choice of governors and higher officials. Two of our informants illustrate their asser- [665] tion by citing the case of a Black "who worked a great deal during an election campaign in favor of a party and who, in spite of

/60 cont./

*563 708 701 [874] police force and in politics. A school for the training of officers destined for this corps was recently created, in order to improve its capacity as a reserve for the army. Among the present students there are a few with dark skin. One may find two explanations for this: either a preliminary selection at the time of the examinations for admission, when it may happen that the young candidates with /61/ dark skin do not, for various reasons, satisfy the required conditions, or because the career of officer now has more prestige and consequently attracts a larger number of Whites. Up [555] to the present time the career of military-police officer represented one of the ways of social ascent for young colored men. Recently, under indictments of various kinds, a heavily pigmented Black who had reached the rank of captain was expelled from the corps. Not long ago, in a group of 27 young officers whose photographs were displayed in a commercial establishment, eight morenos and light mulattoes and one dark mulatto could be seen. But it is also certain that the officers corps at present, though mixed, is composed of Whites in the majority. Moreover, in the course of recent years the officers chosen by the general command to be integrated in the military department of the government of the State have almost without exception been Whites or "whitened": an aide-de-camp of this high authority must be a representative person, in order to make a "good impression" on individuals who come to the government Palace or on those who are passing through Bahia and on whom this officer must pay courtesy visits. A justification that everyone concedes.

*563 701 368 Among the officers of two local corps of civil character, but having a military organization and insignia, the civil guard and corps of firemen, the majority is dark. The Whites or "whitened" are in the minority in the second of these groups. This proportion corresponds to the lesser prestige that these two organizations enjoy, both, however, greatly appreciated for the services that they render to the community.

[SALVADOR]

/62/ The Arts

*563 53 In Bahia the populace has its own art and its artists who interpret it according to their personal conception. And one may say that from this point of view there exists a form of art that is peculiar to poor and colored persons, especially in the [565] realm of music and dance. But in the artistic activities of the higher stratum of the population, the participation of colored *563 533 people is not important, except for music. Perhaps because of the belief that attributes to mulattoes a particular inclination for • [555] music, colored musicians are relatively numerous, and some of them enjoy a great deal of prestige and are admitted into the social scheme. In all the bands and in all the orchestras there is a large proportion of Blacks and mulattoes, sometimes even as [875] soloists. Some of them engage in teaching and in this way reach [555] a higher social rank when, thanks to their competence, they succeed in having pupils who belong to the wealthiest families and when they become part of the teaching corps of the most important schools of music.

*563 875 533 Of three musicians, professors of piano and composition of Bahia, of great renown in the course of these last years, two are mulattoes. The most celebrated among them, after having very brilliantly concluded a course in Germany, taught for many years in Bahia; he then moved to another State; every time that he returns to his country he is the object of demonstrations of fellow-feeling; on these occasions numerous students or instrumentalists seek him out for short refresher courses. All Bahia is proud of the talents of this artist. Another mulatto, with the help of influential persons, organized a school of music which rapidly became very famous for the quality of its teaching and for the frequent concerts that it organized. After his death, the management of the school passed to his moreno son. The teaching of violin, which is at [462] present done almost exclusively by men, includes numerous black or dark mulatto professionals; in the teaching of piano, an activity to a large extent engaged in by women, one finds morenas and *563 545 533 "whitened" of great fame. A very popular singer of mixed blood is both founder and directress of an organization which, with the contribution of some thousands of adherents of the highest classes of

[SALVADOR]

*563 /65 cont./
545 In any case it is certain that in the realm of the theater the
554 possibilities of social ascent for persons of dark color are ex-
• [555] tremely limited, as, moreover, for the people of Bahia in general, because the professions of actor and especially of actress are held in very poor esteem. The city never having had a resident theater company, its theatrical life depends not only on the passing-through of companies from other States, but even, owing to the pejorative opinion concerning the theatrical profession, one can say that at present there are no Bahian actors. The small number of those who do succeed work in other Brazilian cities and rarely perform in Bahia.

/66/ Education

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871 For numerous inhabitants of Bahia, "color prejudice is a problem of education." This opinion is formulated in different ways, but it always expresses the conviction that it is the difference of education, that is to say, of manners and of schooling, that is the greatest obstacle in the acceptance of the Black and of colored persons in the white milieus. It is not rare to hear it said among dark persons that "the evil comes from the fact that many Blacks do not have the necessary education." A Black said that his companions, members of the same association as he, maintain that the Blacks can very well occupy high positions, but he proves to them that they are not on a level that permits them to claim such positions: they lack the teaching and education. "It is not sufficient to appear spick and span, as many believe!" And the same Black adds that a "well-bred and educated Black is able to enter anywhere." And the lighter an individual is, the more easily he advances if he satisfies these requirements. A parda girl relates that the members of a professional circle where she works as a secretary treat her with more courtesy and "less distance" when they learn that she is not a mere employee, but a graduate teacher, "an educated person."

/66 cont./

*563 *555 871 Knowing to what extent schooling is useful to them to reduce the social distance that separates them from the ruling classes, colored persons, even the humblest and the darkest, make great efforts to send their children to primary school; they go so far as to make the sacrifice to send them to secondary courses when they could already be helping them in their work. A mulatto who [171] lives in the northern part of the country states that in this the Blacks of Bahia differ from those of the other States: "Here the humblest women -- washerwomen, cooks, domestics -- send their children to school and are very anxious about what they are taught. In the other States this does not interest them (1)."

[162] [872] [463]

1. Among the 92 students of both sexes in a public elementary school chosen at random, 23 were white, 42 pardos, and 27 black. Those responsible for the colored children (mothers, fathers, uncles, or godmothers) were domestics, seamstresses, cabinetmakers, carpenters, masons, petty officials, chauffeurs, commercial employees, cooks, washerwomen, etc.

*563 871 171 "The Blacks of another large Brazilian city," notes a black university student, "are very well dressed and shod, but they speak badly, use slang expressions, and are incapable of carrying on a conversation of a certain level. One might say that they are not at all anxious to learn."

*563 555 829 There is a very widespread conviction that, in order to excel in life and elevate oneself socially, a colored person must be better /67/ prepared and more capable than the Whites. "A young colored man must have great personal merit to be able to assert himself," says the student mentioned above. A mulatto physician who had an exceptional career and who has become one of the greatest names in Brazilian science told one of our informants that a colored man, in order to succeed, must have twice the merit as his white competitor, for exactly the same thing happens with a Black as with two balls of the same weight and the same size, one of metal and the other of wood; when one takes them in one's hand it always seems as though the metal one were heavier. Thus a colored man always gives the impression of having less merit than a White.

[SALVADOR]

/71 cont./

*563 893 178 the black color of a female student. The complaint that the father of the latter made in a newspaper was immediately published with a very vehement comment that obliged the accused to defend himself. "In olden times," says a mulatto intellectual, "colored students suffered a great deal. Today, it is enough that they are honest and have real worth for their merit to be recognized." And he adds that in the establishment where he teaches and which he has directed, he has seen white students speak out in positive fashion against all racial discrimination with regard to their colored fellow-students.

*563 873 Among the professors whom the students of a private secondary establishment honored at the end of the courses in 1950, there were two morenos, two mulattoes, and one Black; ten out of 39 students were metis. Out of the 137 persons graduated by the philosophy faculty of the University of Bahia between 1945 and 1950, among whom a large number intended to take up secondary teaching, 2.9 o/o were black, 33 o/o were pardos and 63 o/o were white.

[555] Education, as one sees, is a very important factor in our city for the social ascent of colored people.

/72/ Religion

*563 794 The religious institutions of Bahia reflect the structure of the classes and the local social organization. The devout Catholics attend the same churches, mingle in the choir and at the communion table, independently of their "quality." In the solemn [796] festivals organized by the brotherhoods and the associations or carried out by the parishes in honor of their patron saints, one can see Whites, mulattoes, and Blacks gathered together in the places reserved at the high altar, along with the guests of honor, the "presidents of brotherhoods," and the "Maecenases" (festeiros) entrusted with the preparation and financing of these celebrations. [788] Likewise, in the processions, men and women of all types carry the litters of the sacred images that march past, or crowd around them. In the sacred associations there is no longer any discrimination; [565] since, however, some of them are made up of people different

[SALVADOR]

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*563 794 793 797 [554] give the reasons that make them oppose someone's acceptance, and that they do not use their rights to prevent the acceptance of a candidate solely because of his color. A pardo who has occupied important positions in the administration of the State and who even reached the highest offices of his brotherhood asserts that the fathers who direct it, although the majority are Europeans, maintain the best relations with /75/ dark colored persons and even appear very affectionate toward them; colored persons are able, as may be seen, to be classified socially or to confirm their status by means of institutions. The Catholic religion offers them other, similar

*563 794 554 means. This is what happens, as we have already indicated, with regard to the "judges" and the festeiros, persons chosen each year to solicit donors and to organize the solemn festivals of the patrons of the church or chapel. This choice, made by the priest responsible or by the management of the religious associations, is based on social and economic prestige, much more than on other personal attributes (except morality and reputation); thus, color has never excluded anyone from one of these functions. An observer who has often dealt with these matters can testify to this.

*563 793 [195] [567] The Catholic priesthood is no longer a privilege of finos Whites. The ecclesiastical constitutions in force during the period of slavery forbade the ordination of slaves, so that priests should not be subject to a servile condition, deprived of the liberty and authority necessary for the practice of their ministry. Slaves were excluded, not Blacks, so that at the beginning of the last century foreign travelers were astonished to see black and mulatto priests officiating in the churches of the principal Brazilian cities. At

•[555] the end of the eighteenth century colored men were able to take holy orders, and the Church became a means of social ascent "for all kinds of persons of humble circumstances, whatever their racial or family origin (1)."

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1. Roger Bastide, "Religion and the Church in Brazil," in Brazil, Portrait of Half a Continent, p. 339.

[SALVADOR]

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*563 526 [178] [575] of the latter, however, was part of these teams for many years and was known and admired by the entire city. About 30 years ago football started to become professional; today there are few important clubs for amateurs. In the present phase that of professionals, there is no restriction against mulatto or black players. *563 542 555 554 They are acclaimed with enthusiasm, and many people consider them exceptionally suited for this game because of their agility and their skill. The most important and the richest clubs wrangle over these players and offer them very large sums so that they will consent to play on their teams. Thus several of them are made up almost exclusively of dark players. The most popular footballers of Bahia are almost all black or dark mulattoes. It should be noted, however, that the fame and the popularity of these sportsmen, in large part recruited from the lowest strata of the population, do not confer on them a higher rank: they have access to certain groups who are particularly interested in the sport; but they do not thereby acquire the right to attend the recreational celebrations of certain clubs, except on very rare occasions. Another aspect of football is that its "teams" are organized and supported by associations that generally also carry on recreational activities and are directed with passionate devotion, even at the price of pecuniary sacrifices, by rich and influential people in commerce, the liberal professions, and the bureaucracy. To take part in the management of one of these associations or on the committee that co-ordinates sports activities throughout the State of Bahia is greatly coveted: this permits one to affirm his prestige and to obtain political support from players and from thousands of fans of the sport. Some politicians distinguish themselves by the effort they make to obtain subventions and other resources for the sporting associations. According to the social level of each of these institutions, the opportunities that colored persons have to take part in their management vary. An informant who for many years was a member of the aforementioned committee cites the names of various mulattoes and Blacks who, by their wealth and their devotion, attained the posts of president and of director of several of these organizations, as well as of the sports federation of the State.

5: Azevedo--102 D, Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[SALVADOR]

/79/ The Liberal Professions

*563 463 • 555 One of the aspects of social mobility in Brazil is the fact that a colored person from the most humble economic condition is able, thanks to his talent and effort, to elevate himself to a high position in the liberal professions and in the intellectual milieus, achieving in this way a status far above that into which he was born (1).

1. "The entire organization of the society tends to take on the form of an order of free competition, in which individuals find their place thanks to the criterion of professional competence and to chance, more than by racial origin." Pierson, op. cit., p. 420. The same remark is found in the book by Ruth Landes, The City of Women, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1947, p. 60.

One of the ways of elevating oneself socially, for everyone, is to practice a liberal profession and to acquire in it the flattering title of doctor, which, almost without discrimination, one bestows in speaking to university graduates. And this is possible [873] for colored persons as well as for whites, for in Brazil there are no separate universities for "Negroes"; all accept any student whatsoever. A black lawyer of African origin, already mentioned for his vigilant attitude on behalf of people of his race, has written: "For them (the Blacks) are open the wide doors of the temple of science, the fine arts, commerce, industry, and scientific agriculture, where, on a par with his white brother, the Black receives teaching that will render him capable of proving himself strong in life's struggle and of attaining the goal that he sets for himself in the arcana of law and justice, of medicine, in the intricate mysteries of engineering, of commerce, of industry, and of work" (2).

[113] 2. Alakija (Maxwell P. Assunçao), "A parábola da velhinha /The parable of the little old man/," A Tarde, Bahia, 17 August 1922.

[SALVADOR]

/79 cont./

*563 With the gradual rise of the standard of living of the lower strata
873 of the population and with the augmentation of facilities granted
178 to poor students in the framework of secondary education, thanks
511 to the creation of new free colleges, the number of colored students is rising from day to day.

*563 Moreover, many fathers and, in the case of young colored
•555 people, many mothers of very modest circumstances make ex-
573 traordinary sacrifices to assure their children a diploma that will
873 permit them to practice a liberal profession. As a result, in the
*563 various faculties of the University of Bahia there are numerous
571 colored students who share the life, the studies, the diversions of
873 their white comrades and who form groups with them according to their social rank and the center of their intellectual and academic interest. If one sometimes sees groups made up solely of young colored people, it is nevertheless certain that in the university there is no intentional or permanent segregation /80/ based on classifications of "race" or "quality." In no other environment is there more harmony and less tension in interracial relations, the informants unanimously declare. Nevertheless events whose meaning could be debatable, and which some students attribute to race prejudice, do take place. There are even students who have a tendency to remain isolated during all their years of study; certain informants say that they adopt such behavior in the hope of avoiding annoyances that might be on account of their racial affiliation. Others claim to have had difficulties when they made their application to groups of excursionists or when they took part in oratorical contests, the winners of which were to go to Rio de Janeiro as representatives of the students of Bahia. One man practicing a liberal profession, very dark in color, said that he had never suffered from discrimination when he attended the university, but that he had heard his white comrades speak of people of his type by designating them with the pejorative term of "Negro." The interpretations of the informants on the subject of the preceding facts vary, however. Some think that these episodes are caused by the feeling of inferiority and the timidity of students of very low social status. With

[SALVADOR]

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*563 873 875 the faculty of medicine, one can see at least eight pardos and morenos who taught there during the first half of the last century (2).

2. The colored candidates sometimes encountered serious difficulties in getting on the higher staffs of the professorship. One of them, Dr. Luiz Alvares dos Santos, in the thesis that he wrote in 1859 in order to become a professor in the faculty of medicine of Bahia, complained of having suffered rebuffs, which he attributed to the fact that he was of mixed blood. After three attempts he nevertheless ended up by being admitted.

In a list of 99 professors now at the university one counts 15 morenos and mulattoes, and /82/ an identical proportion among the assistants. Never is the scientific and social prestige of university professors measured by the pigmentation of the skin, and some of the most renowned intellectuals of Bahia are colored professors whose names are the pride of their faculties. Numerous finos white students are honored to have prepared their doctoral thesis under the direction of these professors and to have done their practical studies with them.

*563 463 • 555 The liberal professions are indubitably the most direct path of social ascent for persons who are colored and of modest milieu. With regard to these professions, even in the ones that are most on view persons of all types can have a career and build up a clientele, particularly as far as doctors and lawyers are concerned, among the upper-class Whites. The persons practicing a liberal profession whom federal and state organizations register and supervise are divided up as follows:

[SALVADOR]

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Professions	Total number	Percentage		
		Whites	Métis	Blacks
Lawyers	1,088	68.8	30	1.1
Civil engineers .	518	72.8	26.8	0.3
Physicians . . .	1,712	81.1	16.9	2
Pharmacists . .	173	82	14.4	3.6

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Men of all types occupy posts in public administrations and have management posts in them; they can reach the highest offices without having this provoke comments by their subordinates. Some of the better physicians in Bahia have been colored men whose names are recalled with respect and gratitude. A dark mulatto, brother of a female informant, was classed in first place, along with two white colleagues, in a competition for an important technical post. According to other informants, however, the exclusions formerly suffered by the candidates for the posts of the magistracy were attributed to race prejudice. "One did not openly deny the merits of colored candidates, but in the classification they always figured in second or third rank, although they achieved excellent tests," one informant tells us, and he adds that a certain colored candidate, after having been approved, saw his appointment postponed on several repeated occasions. In spite of this, there are in the judicial magistracy numerous morenos and dark colored men occupying the positions of judges, prosecutors, and praetors. The highest tribunal of the State includes about one-third colored judges, some of whom have assumed the /83/ presidency of the court of appeals. Other positions connected with judiciary power are also filled by colored men, and it is the same for those of clerk of the court. The positions of notary, for example, very lucrative positions, are filled by persons of great prestige. Among the five notaries of the city one is fino white, of aristocratic family, and has already occupied important political posts, among them that of governor of the State; another, a very black Black, is very much appreciated for his moral qualities.

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Career chosen	Whites		Mulattoes		Blacks	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Prestige careers (1)	80	62.50	33	46.80	44	15.70
Modest careers (2)	20	37.50	67	53.20	56	84.30

1. Merchant, civil engineer, physician, farmer /Fr. fermier/, accountant /Fr. comptable/, woman doctor, dentist, lawyer, engineer (woman), accountant /Fr. comptable/, pianist, official, professor.

2. Mechanic, salesman, printer, chauffeur, tailor, bookkeeper /Fr. comptable/, saleswoman, typist, dressmaker.

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*563 One may make two observations on the subject of these replies.
• 555 The first is that schoolchildren of modest families, between 12 and 15 years of age, mulatto as well as black, manifest the intention of adopting prestige careers in which Whites predominate. This may denote their desire to escape situations socially and economically inferior; it may also express their faith in the possibility they have of realizing these aspirations, a possibility that would be refused them in a society with racial discrimination. The second observation is that the white persons to whom these replies were shown manifested neither surprise nor reprobation concerning the aspirations of colored children.

*563 In Brazilian folklore there is an anecdote that proves how
555 much Bahia is known as a place where Blacks can acquire status
538 by means of the liberal professions. It is said that a Black, very well dressed, arrived in the State of Ceara and the first person he met called him "doctor." Amazed to see that his rank had been guessed, the Black asked how his interlocutor could know that he was a graduate. And the reply was very clear: "A Black so well dressed can only be a servant among the English or a doctor in Bahia."

[SALVADOR]

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Club	Number of members	Percentage			
		Whites	"Morenos"	Mulattoes	Blacks
		%	%	%	%
High category	1,522	67.21	24.83	7.95	-
Middle category	1,115	38.02	35.78	25.56	0.62

[535] In the dance clubs of workers, domestics, soldiers, and day laborers, the Whites are a minority and the Blacks are in high proportion.

As has been said above, one of the conditions required for the admission of a colored person in the recreational associations of the highest categories is to have a solid economic basis or a doctor's diploma. Indeed, in the distinguished clubs mentioned in the table above, the group of merchant members includes 76.89 o/o of white phenotype, 16.50 o/o morenos, and 6.60 o/o light branqueados (whitened) mulattoes, while that of the liberal professions contains only 62.03 o/o of the white type, 30.05 o/o morenos, and 7.90 o/o mulattoes. This confirms the observa-
•[555] tion that many people succeed in improving their social rank by way of the liberal professions, for they are thus able to be introduced into the brotherhoods and social clubs, organizations which, in addition to their specific functions, are very important in that they are, as it were, an index of the social position of the Bahians.

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575 Numerous informants assert that they would not make an application to these clubs on their own, but that they are /92/ sometimes introduced by white friends. It may also happen that such proposals remain without effect when the management committees learn that it is a matter of a very black person. The papers lie in the archives of the club, but the candidate is never told the real or presumed reason for his refusal. It is said of a

[SALVADOR]

/102 cont./

*563 671 829 esteemed, we only need more respect for the lower class in general; we need to improve its food, to help it effectively rise again, or, before that, to obtain a level of life that it has never as yet had."

/103/ Conclusions

*563 829 That there is no color prejudice in Bahia is a statement that is only partly true. Colored people are still regarded as forming a biological and social category characterized by traits that are considered inferior to those of the Whites. Some people are convinced that Blacks and Whites differ in intellectual capacities, in personality, morality, and aptitude for progress. They declare that if Bahia does not progress the fault lies with the Blacks. That is the reason why such a large number of light mulattoes conceal or deny their caste or feel ill at ease when one makes an indiscreet allusion. These prejudices, though slight, explain the cases of discrimination of which colored people in certain sectors of the society are victims. These incidents, moreover, are not accompanied by any violence, and it is difficult to distinguish them from manifestations of class antagonism, in view of the fact that in Brazil skin color is very often a symbol of social rank. The Whites evoke the memory of the old Portuguese colonists who dominated the economy, politics, and the administration, and whose descendants, even today, make up the major part of high society. As for the Blacks, they remind us of slavery, work on the plantations, and domestic occupations. Even today the colored men are cantoned in the lowest and least educated strata of society.

*563 [565] [564] [555] But the population of Bahia may be defined as a multiracial society with classes, and not with castes, if one defines caste as a closed group to which one belongs by birth and from which it is impossible to escape. In Bahia colored people have a status that is conditioned by their individual qualities and aptitudes, and they may enter into competition with the Whites. In principle

[SALVADOR]

/103 cont./ In principle
*563 anyone at all may elevate himself socially by wealth, by his
•655 intellectual merits, by his professional titles, by his moral qualities,
[556] or by a combination of these elements, by virtue of the system of values of a capitalist society. In their ascent toward the higher classes, however, colored people encounter resistance, due in part to the influence of the prejudices of which we have spoken, but also because of the fact that for the most part they belong to classes that economically are at the bottom of the social hierarchy.

The social ascent of colored people, however, is relatively frequent, and there are numerous examples of it. As a group, however, colored people also rise, but with difficulty. It is
*563 sufficient, in order to get a clear idea of this, to compare the dis-
565 tribution of the different ethnic types that are encountered in
555 /104/ Brazil in the groupings and organizations that symbolize
162 the upper classes:
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	Whites		"Pardos"		Blacks	
	%	Indices	%	Indices	%	Indices
In the total population	33	100	47	100	20	100
Religious brotherhoods	82	240	18	38	--	--
Liberal professions (1)	76	230	22	46	2	10
Clubs	67	200	33	70	--	--

1. Average of various liberal professions.

*563 As may be seen, none of the above groups constitutes a sample
565 representative of the total population, which proves, in fact,
555 that the different types still do not have the possibility of ad-
vancing to the higher strata. If, by basing ourselves on the
[178] descriptions of the society of Bahia in the past, we could make up a table of the same nature, we would see that "high society" and the prestige professions 50 or 80 years ago were much less mixed, although the participation of individuals of mixed blood in these groups is an old Brazilian tradition.

/104 cont./

000 in these groups is an old Brazilian tradition. In order to account
*563 for the amount of improvement that has occurred in the situation
175 of colored groups, it should be mentioned that on the occasion of
212 the national census of 1872 the totality of the slaves of the city
178 was illiterate. Since the abolition of slavery in 1888, although
[567] it did not do much on behalf of the recently freed men, they
[659] progressed to such an extent that today more than 50 o/o of the Blacks and more than 60 o/o of the pardos over the age of five know how to read and write, and their number is increasing every year in the secondary and higher courses, thus opening the way to the liberal professions, in which one may count them in variable proportions.

*563 It should also be remembered that among those who are
571 called "Whites" there are many light métis who are considered socially white, and that colored persons, even those who are the darkest and show the most obvious Negroid features, are treated like anyone else of the same social situation. Interracial relations are then governed by some "fair play"; in other words, Bahian customs disapprove of openly avowed discrimination motivated by racial intolerance or color prejudice. Another aspect of the Bahian dynamics and social psychology is that both the antagonisms of class and those of color are attenuated by the process of reciprocal accommodation between /105/ the groups and by the development, as much among Whites as among dark individuals, of the type of "cordial" and "gentle" personality that some authors consider to be characteristic of the Brazilian people and the prototype of which is supposed to be the inhabitant of Bahia.

*563 The facilities for the social ascent of colored individuals are
• 555 in the process of multiplying in Bahia; according to the opinion
178 of numerous informants, they will not cease to be augmented unless cultural change, under the influence of new social conditions created by the industrialization anticipated in the region by the exploitation of oil-bearing lands and with the development of the electrical energy of the waterworks under construction, produces a perceptible modification of the ethos of Bahia; it is

[SALVADOR]

/105 cont./

*563 important to note that up to now the chief means of social ascent,
• 555 by which a large number of Blacks and métis have acquired high
178 status, is education in the double sense of good manners and of instruction of a certain level, not to mention adherence to the customs and to the concepts of the predominant culture, which, in the last analysis, is a problem of acculturation or of greater integration of the colored masses into the dominant society. One
*563 of the mechanisms that facilitate this integration is the protec-
608 tion and aid that numerous godfathers and godmothers offer their
178 colored godchildren by rearing them in their own houses, by procuring employment for them, by sending them on to secondary and higher studies, and often by continuing afterwards to guide and protect them, this even being one of the principal functions of this system of spiritual kinship.

*563 The preponderant groups that constitute the upper strata of
829 Bahian society do not oppose these tendencies with organized resistance, and, in accordance with the liberalism that is the basis of their mentality, they consider them proof of moral progress and of "civilization," of which, in general, the Bahians of all types are very proud.

/Tables I-III follow on pages 142-144./

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

233 On the other hand, ranching is a prestige activity; the rancher almost invariably is
• 556 an influential and relatively wealthy member of the local community.
311 As such, he may command for grazing purposes land which would be more profitable to the owner and to the whole economy if it were under cultivation.

231 Livestock Production. The large livestock animals which are important to the Recôncavo--cattle, asses, mules, horses, sheep, and goats--are primarily the products of ranching enterprises, i.e., livestoc fazendas. Many of these animals are bred in the Sertão west and northwes of the Recôncavo and brought into the region as young stock ready for use as labor animals, as milk producers, or as mature animals ready for fattening and slaughter. However, there is some basic livestock production within the Recôncavo, especially in the outer ring of municípios. Here livestock are raised under conditions basically similar to those of the Sertão.

233 The cattle fazenda is a grazing enterprise in which the reproduction of the herd is uncontrolled; there is no selective breeding. Vaqueiros (cowboys) are employed to hold and to move the herds over vast distances. From time to time the young bulls are emasculated, and
[232] as they approach maturity, these oxen are usually driven to the Recôncavo. The remaining cattle are held until maturity and then driven across the Sertão to Feira de Santana. The characteristic cattle fazenda exists in a modified form in the Recôncavo. Since the land for grazing is more restricted, the herds are smaller, and sometimes the grazing area is fenced. Second growth is the basic forage, though, as has been seen, grass here plays a relatively more important
[232] role than in the Sertão. There have been a few attempts to breed selectively in the Recôncavo.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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politan areas even then—as we have pointed out above, there has scarcely been anything like a "middle class," to help individuals from the lower ranks cross over this "gulf." One should also recall that during the colonial period and long thereafter rural properties were extensively in the hands of the dominant class, so that the means of wealth in a predominantly agricultural country, except as it derived from a comparatively low scale of wages, from share cropping, or from small holdings (particularly in São Paulo and Minas Gerais), were largely out of the reach of all persons in the lower and intermediate ranks, whatever their color. This situation presented an almost insuperable problem to slaves and their descendants, who began competing in a free society with slender or no financial resources, minus, in most cases, even the occupational skills possessed by many immigrants, without even a "foot" on or even near the "ladder," so to speak. It also required Herculean effort to educate themselves or their children under conditions of an inadequate school system even for the upper ranks, to acquire skills, and to improve their personal and occupational competence so as to obtain the ability to compete, without which it would be impossible to rise. The basic problem in this respect therefore, has been—and still is—an *economic* and *educational* problem, not a racial problem at all. William L. Schurz (106) sees it as a "time lag."

Some authors point to the use of the derogatory term "*mulatto pernóstico*" (p. 230 of this book) as indicative of race, or at least color, prejudice. However, Thales de Azevedo more correctly reminds us (1955a:60) that the disapproval and even at times hostility revealed in the use of this term is not directed against the mulattoes as a group at all. Instead, the judgments involved are applied to certain individuals, *as*

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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servant, sailor, farmer, and shoe-shiner. Of the 30 females, 23 were classified as students, 2 as teachers, 2 as housewives, and 1 each as street peddler, domestic servant, and government clerk.

Inferences based upon this occupational distribution, together with certain other indices (such as tax returns, automobile ownership, the purchase of different-priced seats at cinemas and sport events), indicate that blacks and the darker mixed-bloods ordinarily occupy the lower economic levels, the medium and light mulattoes the middle position, and the whites (including the *brancos da Bahia*) the upper stratum. 563* 434

A Bahian official engaged in income-tax collections knew of no rich blacks in the city,[4] but he did know of several well-to-do mixed-bloods, among whom were a few dark mulattoes. Most incomes in the upper brackets, however, are those of whites. [556] •

Of 116 cars being driven along the central thoroughfare, the Rua Chile, during a popular festival, in 90, or 77.6 per cent of the total, only whites were riding; in 26, or 22.4 per cent, mixed-bloods were among the occupants;[5] while no cars were occupied by blacks. However, on a similar occasion, of 50 cars noted, 2 were occupied exclusively by blacks. 563* 162 493

At a cinema performance, of 63 persons occupying *poltronas* at 2$200 a seat, 73 per cent were whites, 20.6 per cent 563* 162 546

[4] Although at Ilhéos in the rich cocoa area south of Bahia a few blacks and dark mulattoes are quite well to do. For a sketch of life in this region see Jorge Amado, *Cacau* (Rio, 1933).

[5] The 6 cars in which only mulattoes were riding constituted 5.2 per cent of the total (only 1 car was occupied by dark mulattoes); the 19 cars in which both whites and mulattoes were riding constituted 16.3 per cent of the total (3 cars were occupied principally by *brancos da Bahia*, 16 by whites, with only one or two light mulattoes in each case); 1 car (0.0 per cent of the total) contained one black and five dark mulattoes.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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794 outcome of some projected action; and also the office of a
793 *curandeiro*, who diagnoses ailments and prescribes cures. He may minister to a clientele even outside the members of the *seita*, giving advice and counsel on matters of business, politics, love, etc.

794 Disputes between members of the *seita* are ordinarily sub-
793 mitted for adjudication to the *pae* or *mãe de santo*. Persua-
627 sion is at first employed. But if this proves unsuccessful, the priest orders each of the disputants to wash his particular fetish, upon which, with rare exceptions, acceptance of mediation is secured. The settling of the dispute is then celebrated by each party to the quarrel drinking from the water
[688] in which the other's fetish has been washed. Continuance of the altercation will break the implied promise to the *orixá* and render the offender liable to punishment, which is ordinarily death.

794 The *pae* or *mãe de santo* may also exercise the function of
793 a *feiticeiro* and deal in black magic. But this occupation is
754 disclaimed by several of the more prominent priests and priestesses, who refuse to countenance deeds designed to do harm to their fellow-men. It appears to be exercised more often by heads of the recently organized and "less careful" *caboclo seitas*.[7]

794 Age, number of years a member of the cult, intimate
793 knowledge of the ritual, and, particularly, purity of African
554 descent are important considerations in determining the prestige of a *pae* or *mãe de santo*.

For some reason male members of the *seita* rarely experi-

[556] [7] A *pae de santo* of a *caboclo candomblé* who is widely feared for his success in working black magic possesses a considerable bank account, numerous properties in the city, and rich cocoa land near Ilhéos, all acquired, it is said, from the exercise of this profession. However, it is quite probable that his political activity contributed a goodly portion.

[SALVADOR]

/103 cont./ In principle
*563 anyone at all may elevate himself socially by wealth, by his
555 intellectual merits, by his professional titles, by his moral qualities,
• [556] or by a combination of these elements, by virtue of the system of values of a capitalist society. In their ascent toward the higher classes, however, colored people encounter resistance, due in part to the influence of the prejudices of which we have spoken, but also because of the fact that for the most part they belong to classes that economically are at the bottom of the social hierarchy.

The social ascent of colored people, however, is relatively frequent, and there are numerous examples of it. As a group, however, colored people also rise, but with difficulty. It is
*563 sufficient, in order to get a clear idea of this, to compare the dis-
565 tribution of the different ethnic types that are encountered in
555 /104/ Brazil in the groupings and organizations that symbolize
162 the upper classes:
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	Whites		"Pardos"		Blacks	
	%	Indices	%	Indices	%	Indices
In the total population	33	100	47	100	20	100
Religious brotherhoods	82	240	18	38	--	--
Liberal professions (1)	76	230	22	46	2	10
Clubs	67	200	33	70	--	--

1. Average of various liberal professions.

*563 As may be seen, none of the above groups constitutes a sample
565 representative of the total population, which proves, in fact,
555 that the different types still do not have the possibility of advancing to the higher strata. If, by basing ourselves on the
[178] descriptions of the society of Bahia in the past, we could make up a table of the same nature, we would see that "high society" and the prestige professions 50 or 80 years ago were much less mixed, although the participation of individuals of mixed blood in these groups is an old Brazilian tradition.

2: Hutchinson E-4.5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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[Town Life]

were included in Group 4 because they worked for a nonprofit charitable institution.

Occupationally, the town dwellers differ sharply from the people of the rural area of the community. Their work rarely requires them to go out of town to the rural area. Of the entire working force of the town, only twelve men are employed in the sugar industry. Even during the harvest season, the town does not supply men to work in the cane fields or the factory. However, the few people in town who have mules occasionally rent them to planters during the harvest season to help carry the cane. The twenty-five petroleum workers have to leave town each day for work, but their work is also very different from that of any of the rural dwellers.

In the town, as on the plantations, there is specialization and division of labor. Among the fishermen, each man fishes constantly with one or two types of net. Change from one type of net to another is unusual and disliked. A fisherman seldom supplements his fishing by planting a garden. Instead, he depends upon his catch of fish to give him enough money to buy garden produce, as well as meat and manufactured articles. In his turn, the gardener never fishes, depending upon the returns from his garden to buy what he does not produce.

Daily routine for the fisherman varies considerably because it depends closely upon the tides, while the daily routine of merchants, teachers, and bureaucrats, as well as household servants and craftsmen, follows a more citylike pattern, beginning at about seven in the morning and ending late in the evening. There is also less seasonal variance in the work of the town dwellers, for it does not depend upon the planting and harvesting of crops as does that of the rural workers.

The town and plantation ways of life also vary considerably with respect to paternalism, which plays a much smaller part in the life of the town dweller. Most of the municipal bureaucrats have patrons among the rural landowners who have placed them in their bureaucratic positions. Bureaucrats, in turn, are to a smaller extent the patrons of people living in the town, particularly of their household servants. Although they have neither the financial resources nor the prestige to provide the security which a rural landowner can offer his people, they do what they can to help whenever asked. This help often takes the form of asking their own patrons for help

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for another person. In this way paternalism helps to link the two subcultures together. Nevertheless, the town subculture is much more of a money culture, and in general the people of the town are more independent than those of the rural area.

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ter) and homens de côr (men of color) including a few pretos (blacks).

Most individuals in this class are conscious of their "superiority" over the bulk of the town population, because of their higher economic status, the kind of work they do (usually white-collar), their better educations, better family traditions, and whiter, or at least lighter, skins. They are conscious of the fact that they are at the top of the scale on the local scene, and that to go any higher is impossible in the town. To do this they would have to move to a city. If one had a special ability he might be able to improve his condition in a large city, but he might also remain unrecognized. In the town he is the "big frog in the little pond," and this seems to give a certain amount of satisfaction to many.

People of Class B seek to maintain favorable relations with the rural landowners, who dispense the municipal patronage and have the contacts in Salvador necessary to influence federal and state appointments, since members of their families are frequently state and federal government representatives. Only the merchants of Class B are in a relatively independent position, for they can operate independently of politics. Their market is the town population and is in no way dependent upon trade or patronage from the planters or their workers. There are no traditional merchant families in Vila Recôncavo. All contemporary storekeepers are persons who have worked their way up from fishing or some other activity to storekeeping.

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This class is slowly growing, and there are certain standards to which all its members conform, such as living in the old part of town, dressing with more care than the lower classes, supporting the church and patronizing the few religious holiday celebrations, sending their children to Salvador for their secondary education, owning radios, good dishes and furniture, displaying family solidarity and good manners, and maintaining a good relationship with members of Class A. But there is little or no cohesion among members of the group. They seldom act as a unit or express a group opinion (except to condemn candomblé, the local variation of African cultism).

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The social life of these people is definitely limited and to some extent follows the same pattern as that of the rural members of the same class, in that the men go out more than do their wives. The women of this group remain at home most

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826 ers have some positive qualities. People arrange their pref-
157 erences in many ways, according to the physical qualities they wish to emphasize.

563 There is also a series of expressions used by everyone to
578 describe the person who is trying to appear white. It is almost axiomatic that whoever tries to be what he is not is considered
• 557 ridiculous by all. Both whites and Negroes gossip about the social climber and use the terms "tem pinta" (has a "touch of the tarbrush"), or "tem sangue" (has Negro blood), or "é da raça" (is of the Negro race), or simply "besta" (show-off), "cheio de arte" (artful), "cheio de manha" (full of little tricks), or "fala bonito" (talks pretty).

563 There are also many phrases used by lower-class people
578 to ridicule Negroes and mestiços who are showing off, or "pushing." Most of these start off with Negro:

Negro doesn't marry, he gets together.
Negro doesn't accompany a procession, he runs after it.
Negro doesn't sit down, he squats.
Negro in white clothes is a sign of rain.
Negro doesn't hear Mass, he spies on it.
Negro at a white man's party is the first to grab and the last to eat.
Negro's intelligence is the same size as his hair.

563 The concepts and fixed ideas which the people of Vila Re-
125 côncavo have of these racial types were also revealed in their responses to a pictorial questionnaire devised in the field. A series of eight photographs were shown. These were of people unknown to those answering the questionnaire. They consisted of a male and a female representative of each of the four major racial types, the caboclo, the preto, the mulato, and the branco. An attempt was made to keep the photographs from giving any clue to the possible class position of the eight persons. However, the photographs we were able to secure were not entirely satisfactory for our purposes in Vila Recôncavo.
[159] The picture of the caboclo male was that of a middle-aged man, but of a type considered locally as having a strong personality, while the caboclo woman was older and certainly not simpatica (pleasant) in the local view. The two pretos were both unmistakably pretos, and both young. The mulato male and female differed one from the other, for the man was definitely a common mulato type, while the woman was almost

[Class A Families]

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596 the first thing done on making new acquaintances is to inquire
[178] into their family background and place them mentally on the
[571] appropriate social level.

As a rule each extended family has a head, usually the oldest male. He is recognized by the rest of the family as the leader, and few things are done by them without his knowledge and advice. The head of the Jacuipe family is the eldest son of Dona Yayá. He has made his home in Rio de Janeiro and has not lived in Salvador for a long time. Nevertheless, he is informed of all that goes on within the family, and no serious step would be taken by any member without his counsel. On the local scene, however, it is his next younger sister who has taken the family lead in all social activities. It is she who sees to it that the family is represented at any function where it is a duty to appear. Among the Condes, the Colonel is still the family head in spite of his age and infirmity. For many years his eldest son showed himself capable of taking charge of the sugar mill and of the family fortunes as well, but since his untimely death none of the other sons has shown such vigor, and in the long run major decisions are left to the old gentleman.

[594] In the conjugal households, however, decisions and actions are made jointly by the married partners. Unless the action is a very serious one which might affect the rest of the family, they need by no means seek advice from the family head. The family leader has no strong control over the other members of the family; rather, he is someone to whom they can go if they need advice. Also, if any member of the family is in difficulties of any sort, the rest of the group rallies around him under the direction of such a person. Because of the many positions in public life occupied by members of these extended families, the family is able to muster considerable pistolão ("pull") in many fields. Requests are frequently made, especially to aid lower-class people who look to the various
[557] family members as patrons. A call here or there by the recognized leader of a large extended family can be a great assistance in getting someone into the already crowded hospitals, in helping with a will which has become entangled in legal difficulties, in getting a young man into the Air Force, and in the myriad other things which arise in this very personalized culture.

[73] The cohesiveness of the extended family also acts to take
[589] care of the aged, infirm, widowed, and unmarried. Not infre-

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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the mulatto women profited by the myth of the sexual potency of the hybrid,[15] the high mortality of white women (especially during the nineteenth century), and the consequent successive marriages of elderly patriarchs who sought an increasing degree of sexual stimulation. Cases of "marriages of elderly white men from illustrious families, descendants of barons and well situated in life, with beautiful octoroon, quadroon, or mulatto women who carried themselves like fine ladies and gave evidence of a sexual ardor beyond the ordinary,"[16] increasingly occurred.

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Today, the mixed-bloods are gaining a constantly increasing measure of social recognition. Among them are to be found prominent lawyers, jurists, physicians, engineers, politicians, diplomats, priests, educators, business and commercial magnates, musicians, painters, poets, novelists, journalists, planters.[17] In other words, the mulattoes have now penetrated to the top of the class scale.[18]

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not consented to their marriage with men for whom they had come to feel a sentimental or sexual predilection" (*ibid.*, pp. 156–57). Note also the novel *O mulato* (3d ed.; Rio, 1889), by Aluisio de Azevedo, whose hero is a mixed-blood *bachard* educated in Europe and enamored of a white girl from a family "full of prejudices of white purity." Gilberto Freyre calls this book "a human document warm with the life of the time."

[15] A popular saying commonly heard in Bahia is: "A white woman for marriage, a Negro woman for work, a *mulata* for sexual intercourse."

[16] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 337.

[17] See Lacerda, *op. cit.*, pp. 381–82; Manoel de Oliveira Lima, *The Evolution of Brazil Compared with that of Spanish and Anglo-Saxon America* (Palo Alto, 1914), p. 39; Rudiger Bilden, "Laboratory of Civilization," *Nation*, CXXVIII (January 16, 1929), 73; Thomas Ewbank, *Life in Brazil* (New York, 1856), p. 267; Professor and Mrs. Louis Agassiz, *A Journey in Brazil* (Boston and New York, 1888), p. 124; Theodore Roosevelt, "Brazil and the Negro," *Outlook*, CVI (February, 1914), 409.

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[18] To accelerate his social climbing, the mixed-blood has developed certain characteristic personality traits: "a pleasant smile and manner, a cordial

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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In all probability, the movement was at first largely vertical. When, however, the mixed-blood had gained some economic or professional competence, had definitely established his personal worth, he tended to be recognized as an "exceptional" individual; that is, as a person rather than as a member of a group. As the numbers of these "exceptional" individuals multiplied, the social conventions were subjected to constantly increasing pressure, since it is difficult to treat "exceptional" individuals in situations of intimate social intercourse differently from the way they are treated in intellectual, commercial, or political circles. This "strain for consistency" tends in time to modify conduct.[39]

Thus, as the mixed-bloods rose in class, this upward movement was accompanied by what might be called "horizontal progression." The individual who was rising in rank and establishing himself in the upper intellectual and economic circles began actually to penetrate the "inner sanctuaries" of the more exclusive social groups, breaking down marriage and familial taboos. The class tradition, in so far as it had been fixed by race, gradually began to give way under the irresistible pressure exerted upon it by the rising mulatto group.

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This rise was accompanied by the personal stresses and strains which an individual in the process of moving from one class to another ordinarily experiences. The first mulattoes to penetrate the upper tiers reflected in their personal

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show of hospitality, the use of diminutives as a means of being both respectful and intimate at the same time" (Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, pp. 357-58).

[39] Moreover, class interests tended to become more and more important and eventually to bind members of the same class with common bonds of sentiment, attitude, and idea, and thus to cut across lines of color or of racial descent.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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CHAPTER VII

THE PRESENT ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE CLASSES IN BAHIAN SOCIETY

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TODAY one finds at Bahia a freely competitive order in which individuals compete for position largely on the basis of personal merit and favorable family circumstance. Individual competence tends to overbalance ethnic origin as a determinant of social status.

However, the darker portion of the population, as we have already noted, have had to contend with the serious handicap that their parents or grandparents or other immediate ancestors began on the bottom as propertyless slaves of the white ruling class and now bear constantly with them, by reason of color and other physical characteristics, indelible badges of this slave ancestry, ineradicable symbols of low status. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the relatively unmixed blacks are still concentrated in the low-pay, low-status employments and that they gradually disappear as one ascends the occupational scale, until in the upper levels they are seldom to be found.

But the mixed-bloods, especially the lighter mulattoes, evidence a strong tendency to climb the occupational ladder. Although the darker individuals still occupy very largely the low-pay employments, the lighter mulattoes tend to be concentrated in the middle tier; while a considerable portion, especially of very light mixed-bloods, or *brancos da Bahia*, as they are sometimes called, have penetrated into the upper strata.

[SALVADOR]

175 /40 cont./ These marriages increased after
178 Independence, in 1822, with the
*563 social ascent of mulattoes, military men, bureaucrats, lawyers
555 graduated from Portuguese and French universities, a process which was intense under the Brazilian monarchical regime and to which Bahia contributed liberally with statesmen and politicians coming from these groups (2).

2. G. Freyre, op. cit., III, p. 951.

178 Social pressure against mixed marriages seems to have de-
*563 creased with time, and so the latter became more numerous
626 every day. Formerly the families of high society or of the
584 bourgeoisie verified the origin of fiancés with great care. Many
593 marriages came to grief because one of the future partners was found to belong to the "caste." The unions that were formed against the parents' wish were the cause of lasting quarrels between parents and children, and gave rise to veritable domestic tragedies. Many fathers cursed their daughters and disinherited them when they persisted in wanting to marry a man of "inferior quality," especially if he were a bastard. "In our day," a female informant told us, "one has it much easier." This indeed seems to be the general opinion.

*563 The mixed marriage is greatly sought after because it confers
●557 prestige on the one of the two partners who is darker. A black professor made the remark to us that there are few colored men who, in marrying a light woman, think of "improving the race," but rather they hope to facilitate their own social ascent. Proof of this is the frequency with which this intention is /41/ implicitly indicated or even acknowledged. A colored employee flirts with white boys "for fun"; in fact, she is trying to get the man she wants, and she announces that she will never marry a man of dark color unless he is rich and well situated. Her mother approves entirely when she announces that she will not accept the advances of a man of dark color. Her three sisters have married Whites, and one of them is proud of her children who are blond. A student of the same physical type "prefers" moreno suitors, but admits that she would have no objection to marrying a White.

[SALVADOR]

/41 cont./

*563 A young mulatto student boasts of already having had eight
• 557 flirtations with women lighter than he, except for one, which he illustrates by showing photographs of three of them. There are even some who speak of a Black who is supposed to have a very large sum in reserve in order "to buy a white husband." She declares that "she would never make any efforts to marry"; she will marry if that is her destiny, and she claims to have received advances from both Blacks and Whites, but to have rejected all of them. "I have no preference as to type; I demand only that he be a cultivated man and one who corresponds to my ideal." And as if she had unconsciously given herself away, she says that during a journey she met a German -- the most characteristic type of fino White for the people of Bahia -- who paid her court and who since then had written her numerous letters. Also very characteristic is what a young mulattress said: "The dark girls prefer lovers lighter than they. Myself, if I sought to marry..." She does not finish her sentence, but after a pause she adds: "It depends, for if I wanted to have a lover I would not consider color." And as if she were voicing a complaint: "The colored boys prefer light women," she says, "even if they are ill-bred; it is enough for them that they are light..."

The resentment that these difficulties cause in girls is generally dissimulated by an apparent detachment with regard to marriage. A woman of liberal profession asserts that she does not want to marry because she is of restless temperament. Moreover, she adds, the colored men want to marry white women and the Blacks that she has been able to associate with are mentally inferior to her, which may be perfectly true. The same frustrations are found among the men who do not happen to have white fiancées. One of them lives with a mulattress, but he says that he knows more than one white woman or morena who would accept him as a husband or even as a lover. Two very black Blacks declare that they do not wish to marry, at any rate they do not find white girls who love them. Another complains that the women do not want /42/ dark men, even well-bred ones, and prefer a White, even a poor devil badly "rigged out"; in the streets they repulse

[SALVADOR]

/42 cont./

*563 the advances of dark men, but accept those of Whites, however
557 disrespectful. That is why, he explains, they either become concubines of the latter, or else they do not marry.

*563 The white and blond woman, on the other hand, is represented
829 as being strongly attracted by men with a very pigmented skin. A
826 light mulatto, regarded very highly in his profession, is not at-
832 tracted by dark women, although he admits that they are striking and pretty; he prefers the "Whites, very white." According to what he said, many men of his kind have this same inclination, quite independently of the idea of "purifying the race." He adds that the finas Whites have a real taste for the Blacks, whom they consider particularly virile and strong, and they do not take those who have manners that are too refined. Other informants, on the contrary, speak without enthusiasm of this type of women, whom they consider cold and frail. "Color gives health," says one of them, and he adds that even the Whites think so. "Very light women are repugnant to some men," declares one métis: "I even know a European who has an inclination to vomit when he sees one of them." All these opinions on the very white woman are
[191] of the same order as those that in the United States, according to John Dollard (1),

> 1. "It seems possible that the image of the white woman is in part preserved from sexual thoughts and allusions of the same order, while the black woman tends to bear the entire brunt of uncontrolled sexual desire... If the black women are represented as sexually desirable in the white popular imagination, the black men are represented as particularly
> [113] virile and experienced in this domain." Caste and Class in a Southern Town, New York, 1949, p. 1 ff.

serve as protection against colored men and sometimes even against Whites. The morena, moreover, is regarded as the most ardent feminine type and even, sexually speaking, the most accessible. Numerous informants who have a plan to marry Whites explain or imply that they are looking for light, socially white métisses.

[SALVADOR]

/44 cont./

*563 59 being greatly influenced by the family of the bride, the husband is inevitably absorbed by it, so that the children are actually more intimate with their grandparents on the maternal side than with those on the paternal side (2).

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2. In order to verify this hypothesis the author questioned 30 young women of lower and intermediate class, students of a professional school, and was thus able to verify that 63.3 o/o considered themselves more intimate with the family of their mother; 26 o/o did not express any preference; 6.6 o/o inclined to the paternal side, and 3 o/o did not know their ancestors.

*563 565 557 59 A White who is married to a dark woman thereby "leaves" his category, for, according to an oft-repeated maxim, "when a girl marries, her family gains a son." The man thus passes into the world of colored people from which his wife originated. Likewise, a dark man "elevates" himself by being integrated into the family of his light or white spouse. That is the opinion of the Bahians, an opinion that the author has been able to perceive and observe by participating in the local life. On the other hand, this is confirmed analogically by what occurs in marriages between persons of different rank and wealth. In Bahia, as throughout Brazil generally, marriages between "cultivated and upright" young men, even if they are poor, and wealthy women of high rank are much more approved than those of wealthy men with "lower class" women. In the case of the "cultivated and upright" young man (these two conditions are required), even if he is poor or colored, the family of the fiancée capitalizes on these virtues as compensation for his fortune or for his whiteness in the bartering that it does; in the opposite situation, the virtues that the poor or dark girl may have do not generally have /45/ the same power of compensation for the family of her spouse.

[SALVADOR]

/56 cont./

*563 555 that one may say that for more than 100 years Bahia has been governed "by Whites and by those who regard themselves as such" (1).

[113] 1. Von Spix and von Martius, Através a Bahia, /Across Bahia/, 2nd edition, Bahia, p. 75.

/57/ The Bureaucracy

*563 647 In all the public administrations of Bahia one finds colored officials (especially in the modest posts). In the past, and even [557] sometimes in our day, the officials were admitted through the influence of politicians or influential members of the administration itself. This is the way numerous dark officials were introduced in all the categories of the administration, without encountering any barrier or opposition. But well in advance of the governments of the States or the municipal services, the federal administration established a regime of competitive examinations in order to make up its ranks, even affecting purely bureaucratic positions. According to a métis who came into the bureaucracy in 1929, "in the federal civil service, there is no favoritism for the Whites, because the offices there are filled by competitive examinations, and there is no opposition to the registration of colored candidates. A well-bred, pleasant, competent Black or mulatto is accepted as associate or chief without opposition on the part of the Whites. Except when they are rude and when they take advantage of their position as departmental heads to make excessive unreasonable demands on Whites or Blacks, no one cares about their color."

With the perfecting of the system of competitive examinations, carried out by means of examinations in which the names of the candidates are not known by the members of the jury, an increasing number of persons of dark color are entering public service throughout Brazil, and cases of candidates who consider themselves victims of racial discrimination are rare. This system

[SALVADOR]

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*563 647 was introduced in the States and in the municipal services in such a way that possibilities are increasing for colored persons entitled to occupy these posts. Given the fact that in spite of this the support that a candidate may receive from a politician or a friend of an official is always very important, it is obvious that persons of more modest circumstances have more difficulty being appointed after having been admitted for the examinations; they are supposed to have even more difficulties obtaining offices that are advantageous or lead to first-rate positions. During the [175] [668] colonial period some of the participants in a popular revolution that broke out in Bahia, complaining that because they were pardos all promotion was denied them, tried to establish a regime of equality in which Whites, pardos, and Blacks, without distinction as to color, would be judged solely according to their abilities (1).

[113] 1. Alfonso Ruy, A primeira revoluçao social brasileira -- 1798 /The First Brazilian Social Revolution -- 1798/, 2nd edition, Bahia, 1951, p. 77.

[178] "In olden times," says one Black, "one never saw a moreno /58/ occupying a first-rate post," which is not altogether accurate, for the métis always had important positions in the administration of Brazil since the colonial period. Today, says another informant, [557] [555] [178] "the incompetent ones advance through influence; as for the others, they advance by their own merit, regardless of their color." He himself, in spite of his very dark color, manages sections in which Whites and Blacks work, and he knows that he is highly esteemed by his colleagues. Others think that the Blacks, although admitted without great difficulties, do not have access, save exceptionally, to positions of management which are temporarily occupied in commission through the individual choice of governors and higher officials. Two of our informants illustrate their asser- [665] tion by citing the case of a Black "who worked a great deal during an election campaign in favor of a party and who, in spite of

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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[The Private Plantation]

The following discussion will examine one of the five private plantations in the community of Vila Recôncavo and will then describe the network of factory plantations in the same community. 128

The Private Plantation: Fazenda das Moças

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The Fazenda das Moças ("G" on map of community) is typical of a privately owned plantation in all respects but one. Its owner is a lady who assumed active direction of the plantation after her husband's death. At first there was some difficulty in persuading the overseer of the plantation to take orders from a woman, for he felt his prestige was lowered in the eyes of the workmen as well as the overseers of neighboring plantations. However, after three or four years, Dona Sinhá, in cooperation with "Seu"[1] Paulo, the overseer, has made an outstanding success of her plantation, and the original friction between the two has greatly diminished. Below is an inventory of the Fazenda das Moças:

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Extent: 930 tarefas,[2] mostly of massapê, 450 of which are under sugar-cane cultivation, the rest consisting of pasture and small gardens

Water: 4 drinking tanks for livestock
2 small freshwater streams
(Drinking water must be brought from a neighboring plantation, which has a spring well known in the area for the salubrious qualities of its water.) [312]

Houses: 45 workers' houses [342]
Owner's house, with living room, dining room, 4 bedrooms, kitchen, bathroom, 2 maids' rooms, 2 other dependencies, veranda; surrounded by orchard
1 overseer's house
1 house formerly used as a school

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1. "Seu" is a corruption of Senhor and is a title often given to persons of some prestige.

2. The tarefa is the unit of land measurement used in Bahia. It equals 900 square braças. The braça equals 6 feet, which gives the tarefa 32,400 square feet. This is 11,160 square feet less than one acre. [804]

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The houses are small, usually consisting of a front living room, a corridor with one or two bedrooms, a small dining room, and a kitchen. The furniture is scanty--a miscellany of chairs, benches, and tables, an occasional dish closet, the ever-present pictures of saints, one or two beds, and clay dishes. 565* 342 [352] [353]

As noted earlier, the fisherman could earn more if he wanted to. There is a certain dispraisal of those who attempt to better themselves, though once they have raised their status they are admired. One fisherman in town worked harder than the others, earning slightly more; his house was always in better condition than the others, and his wife took better care of it. She was very neat, and her house and children were always remarkably clean. This family was always ridiculed by its neighbors for trying to be like gente (literally, people, but in Vila Recôncavo carrying the special connotation of upper-class people). Life became so unpleasant for them that they finally moved away. 565* 558

Class C is aware of the difference between it and the town's uppermost class and the planters. The latter constitute a very distant group to most town members of Class C, for there are almost no occasions when the two groups meet. When not pushed to a finer distinction, lower-class people usually recognize two strata--their own and a small but powerful one above them, consisting of the local upper class and planters. Color plays an important role in Class C, for it is generally acknowledged that the whiter one is, the higher in the social scale, in spite of the instances in town where dark mestiços have climbed to the top of the ladder, that is, to the top of Class B. Color is the one classifying criterion which applies to all members of Class C, since many of the other criteria, such as education and family tradition, are inapplicable. These negative considerations, plus the fact that their occupations are all manual, tend to make the group quite homogeneous except for skin color. Nevertheless, the town members of Class C consider themselves definitely superior to the field workers, regarding them as country bumpkins. There is little or no tendency for rural people to move into town, and no one remembers having heard of the marriage of a country person with a town dweller. 565* 829

What has been called Class D in Vila Recôncavo is composed largely of women who have children but no acknowledged husbands. There is no such group in the rural area, because of the pressure brought to bear by the plantation own- 565*

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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and his clients are drawn largely from the élite, he is well to do financially. His wife, it is said, is envied by other white women. 565 [554]

A woman of the upper class when asked if a woman's social standing declined after her marriage to a black or dark mulatto said: "This depends largely on the man. It may; but if he is cultivated and refined, it may not. A woman marrying Dr. Raul Calogeras would not lose caste." [558]

Obviously, then, a distinction must be made between interclass and intraclass marriages. The following reasons given by whites responding affirmatively to the query, "Do you object to marrying a *preto?*" indicate that their objection was basically on class, rather than on racial, grounds:

Because *pretos* seldom have social standing.
Because they are ordinarily lower in the social scale.
Because they are usually crude and stupid.
Because they belong to a low class.
Because it would lower me.
Because I think both should be on the same social level.
Because black color usually lowers one's social position.
Because I think social equality is indispensable for marriage.

These statements all reduce perhaps to one general statement: The Negro ordinarily lacks class.

A distinction must also be made between those individuals who are noticeably negroid and those who are *branqueados*, who have only *um pouco da raça*. As an upper-class white woman remarked: "It's different with the lighter shades. You can't easily draw the line between the pure whites and those with only *um pouco da raça*. Race mixture has now become so extensive that there wouldn't be many left to choose among." Very light mixed-bloods often marry whites without any question whatever arising. For instance, the four sons and two daughters of a fam- 563*

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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While the mixed-bloods are consistently proud of their white lineage, they (at least the ambitious ones among them) tend, as we have noted, to be ashamed of black relatives and to hide, in so far as possible, the too obvious evidence of relation to them. This ordinarily occurs when the mixed-blood has achieved some economic competence or otherwise improved his standing in the social order.

Such an attitude is not greatly dissimilar to that of an upper-class resident of New York, for example, toward his relatives among the mountaineers of Tennessee. As with all individuals who within the span of a few years have climbed from one class to another, the self-confidence and sense of superiority of the Brazilian mixed-blood are to some extent intermittently, or even constantly, threatened by feelings of insecurity. João Varella has written of some of these individuals: [539]

> Of his white father, whom he never saw,
> He has a picture in the parlor;
> But of the Negro woman who gave him birth
> He has no picture, nor does he even speak of her.[47]

Similarly, Gilberto Freyre has pointed out that many times in the past

> there resulted from . . . . the fact that the mother or the grandmother of the house was a mulatto situations often dramatic which are reflected in certain Brazilian romances and other accounts. Fair individuals often sought to keep visitors from seeing the fat mulatto grandmother, or even mother, with her huge negroid buttocks; or kept out of sight the dark brother, or dark sister, the tira-teima"[48]

[47] From an unpublished manuscript entitled "O africano na Bahia."

[48] Elucidating this phrase, a Bahian said, "The *tira teima* is an individual who in himself constitutes a living negation of the family's claim to whiteness. Being darker, or otherwise revealing the presence of Negro blood, this individual destroys the illusion (*tira a teima*) of *fidalguia* [superior standing] which the family wishes to give out." [558]

9: Hutchinson E-4,6 (1950-1951) 1957 8011 Bahia Brazilians 8011
VILA RECÔNCAVO

6. Class and Race

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IT WAS the colonial sugar-cane plantation system which gave the Recôncavo many of its characteristic traditions, and which formed patterns of class and race or color relations which have persisted in the region in a modified form. More than three million Negroes were imported from Africa during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, and a large proportion of them were brought to northeastern Brazil. The Portuguese plantation owners became rich and formed a regional aristocracy which led a luxurious and ostentatious way of life. The slaves and their masters formed two distinct social groups. As the colony developed, intermediate groups came into existence. As early as 1549 there existed a small independent group of people, composed of Europeans and mestiços, for many Europeans who came to the colony did not receive land grants. They were merchants, soldiers, or priests in the colony, gente pequena (small people), free but without the social and political influence of the landowners. The mestiços date back to the times when Portuguese ships first began to touch the coast of Brazil, even before colonization began. A notable example is Caramurú, a Portuguese sailor who was stranded on the shore of what is now Bahia and who had a large mestiço family by the time the city of Salvador was founded in 1549.[1]

The early period of colonization is crucial to an understanding of the Brazilian class complex of today, since ap-

1. See Thales de Azevedo, Povoamento da cidade do Salvador, (Bahia, 1949), pp. 57 ff.

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parently the criteria for class distinctions were evolved and "set" at that time. The white Portuguese males, and the few Portuguese women present, were the owners of the land and of the people, both Indian and Negro, who were drawn into the cultural milieu which became Brazilian society. They were the group who set up and presented the ideal behavior patterns to the others. They were at the peak of the status and prestige hierarchy, while the slave was at the bottom. Thus was established the original dichotomy of the whites as upper-class and the colored people as lower-class. As colonial development continued, other factors were added to this basic one by the will of the whites. For it was the white group which was primarily responsible for the creation of the mestiço, and it was the white who placed this new mestiço socially between himself and the darkest colored person. 175 56

It is clear that color distinctions arose along with the creation of the multishaded mestiço group, and that at the same time other factors were brought into being, qualifying that of color, such as education, family, and occupation. White masters who had children by dark slaves often raised them as legitimate if they were light-skinned, that is, if the difference between father and child was not too great. In such a case the child could become a member of the upper end of the social hierarchy, with education, family, and a position in which he could command others rather than do any manual labor. 175 563 565*

This was particularly the case when the white master did not have a legitimate, European wife to bear him children. If the difference between father and offspring was too great for the child to be easily acceptable as the son of a European, the child was nevertheless not infrequently partially recognized and helped by the father in some fashion. He then took his place among the gente pequena, free but illegitimate and rather dark-skinned. With marked Negroid features his status was even lower than the European gente pequena. An illegitimate child who proved to be clearly Negroid was likely to be left in bondage with its mother. Thus, early in Brazilian society the degree of skin darkness and the kind of facial features and hair form became important. Opportunity for personal advancement was linked with similarity to the white European, who was the giver of status and who liked to give higher status to those in his image. 175 563 565* 848 175 563 565*

Until 1888 there were two major social categories: slaves and nonslaves. Within the nonslave group, however, there 175 565* 567

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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accurate to say that there is discrimination in Brazil on the basis of family origin, financial condition, educational achievement, personal characteristics—*and color?*

It nevertheless is true that the indelible character of color makes it somewhat different from the other criteria of rank. Always visible, it automatically and inevitably carries over into any situation of improved status. It cannot be hidden in new contacts nor entirely forgotten in the old, as readily occurs to a former condition of poverty, a former lack of education, or formerly immature or otherwise inadequate personal characteristics. Even relationship to a low-status family can be put "out of sight" to some extent merely by moving to a new community where one's family origin is unknown; or, if known, often imperfectly so.

That none of these former marks of low status continue to cling in the same way as color to the individual who has risen in rank in one of the reasons for some of the confusion regarding the precise character of the Brazilian "racial" situation. Some observers point out the undoubted opportunities of rising in rank, *in spite of color*; while others stress the difficulties in the way—difficulties not only of a colored person rising in rank at all but also with reference to the after-effects, sociologically, in his group relations (Florestan Fernandes 1955; 1964), and psychologically, as far as his inner life is concerned (Bastide 1943b), especially if he be a particularly sensitive or perhaps a pathological individual, as the poet Cruz e Sousa may have been.[16]

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Moreover, it is more difficult for a colored woman to rise in rank than for a colored man, because one more criteri[illegible] status is thus brought into play, namely, female sex; fo[illegible] traditionally in Brazil male sex has been valorized and female

[16] See Emiliano Pernetta, p. 3, *apud Ianni* (1962:264).

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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sex depreciated, although this situation, in more recent years and especially in the cities, is changing.

That we are not dealing with merely racial phenomena, then, is borne out by the thousands of persons scattered across the colored continuum, of at least partial and sometimes of considerable African descent, who have escaped socially (and openly) into the branco category and been accepted by brancos;[17] and that we are also dealing with a class, rather than with a color phenomenon alone, is borne out, first of all, by the fact that the discrimination[18] which all observers note—and which some think either constitutes or reflects prejudice—virtually does not exist among the *lower* class, but tends to appear only as one proceeds up the class scale.[19] In Brazil, as Bastide has pointed out with reference to São Paulo, to see a race problem among members of the lower class would be absurd. "In the poorer sections of the city," Bastide (1955:137) has written, "where the brancos live in promiscuity with blacks, any prejudice would be ridiculous." Frazier (1944:266) also recognized this absence of discrimination in the lower class; and that was our conclusion at Cruz das Almas (cf. 1951:190 ff.).

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[17] If it be suggested that many light-colored persons also escape into the white group in the United States, the difference is that, in every case, this is not known to the whites; and, if it does become known later, the individual will automatically be put back into the "Negro" category, a possibility which, in Brazil, would everywhere be considered absurd, as Freyre long ago pointed out.

[18] It should of course be clear that we are using "discrimination" here only as defined above, and that we do not imply that persons in the lower class are unaware of physical differences.

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[19] Although it may be possible to find an occasional branco among the lower-status groups who shows some measure of withdrawal from colored persons, and who even may speak disapprovingly of them, he will in all likelihood turn out to be a person with an ambitious desire to rise in rank, who holds similar attitudes toward all "pobres" (the lower-class poor), regardless of color (cf. Virginia Bicudo 1955:270).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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a nation more Caucasian in physical appearance." In addition, one should further note, as Willems has also suggested to us, that an aspect of this policy has become to some extent more formal and articulate in recent years. As we have defined it, this informal and unstated policy reflects a desire to absorb all minority groups—whether immigrant[40] or of color; but discrimination on the basis of either color or race obviously can stand in the way of its realization. It is with reference to this obstacle that Willems believes the policy has become more articulate, as reflected in the law of 1951, which gives legal negative sanction to discrimination in any form, a law passed overwhelmingly by the Brazilian Congress. It is reflected also in the committee reports and discussions inside and outside Congress which accompanied the enactment of this law; in the decidedly vocal and positive opposition on the part of Brazilian organs of public opinion to the occasional evidences of color discrimination upon which public attention becomes focused; and even, as Willems also points out, in the anti-racist militancy of colored organizations in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo.

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Although the basic facts seem to have been observed and reported in the original study, not all were given, perhaps, the relative prominence they deserved in the hypotheses which terminated it. One might add to these hypotheses certain apparent facts to which attention is called, to some extent at least, in the course of this book:

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1. A large number of popular terms have arisen which seem to designate the various racial combinations in the population. However, a) these terms are descriptive not so much of racial descent as (1) of the actual physical appearance of the individual in question, and (2) of his social

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[40] Cf., in this respect, Nogueira 1955:552; Pierson 1951:191.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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rank; b) they may vary with the person employing them, and with the same person at different times and under different circumstances, and especially with the status of the individual being referred to and with the relation of the speaker to him.

2. Caucasian physical traits possess prestige and also disproportionate aesthetic value among all social ranks and colors,[41] although the local "somatic norm-image," in the phrase of Hoetink (1961), is considerably "darker" than that in the United States, as is borne out, for instance, in attitudes toward the *morena* (see pp. 136–38).

3. The rise in rank of colored persons, a) occurs primarily by reason of demonstrated personal or occupational competence, educational achievement, the accumulation of financial resources, or fortuitous circumstance; b) is sometimes aided by brancos who are linked by parental, godparent or other bonds of sentiment to the individual in question (cf. pp. 353 ff.); and c) is accomplished by individuals *as individuals*, so that conflict on the basis of either color or class is relatively subdued (cf. Thales de Azevedo 1955a:195).

4. In their attempts to rise in rank, persons of color are handicapped by the fact that color has long been identified in Brazil with a slave condition and hence became, long ago, a criterion of rank. This is the role of dark color logically to be expected, given the history of slavery in Brazil and the Americas, where slaves for centuries were blacks taken from Africa by Europeans and their descendants, who possessed a more advanced technology, to labor on their plantations and

[41] With the possible exception of a few colored intellectuals, particularly in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, who deliberately seek to valorize "negritude" (blackness), although their attitudes in this respect seem to be rather ambivalent.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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in their placer mines. However, had this "historic accident" been of reverse character, that is, had Africa at the time of the discovery and early exploitation of the Americas itself possessed technological superiority, and had Africans and their descendants then discovered America and taken to work on *their* plantations European slaves from a Europe of less advanced technological development, dark color—and not white—would today, in all likelihood, carry prestige. Being white would then probably be a decided disadvantage, a definite handicap, since long ago white color would have become a criterion of inferior rank; and whites would then want to be black and to have children blacker than themselves.

5. However, the restraining influence of color in Brazil today, a) varies inversely with its intensity (as do all the other criteria of rank); b) is not the determining criterion, as in South Africa or the United States, but only one of a series of conditioning circumstances, similar (as far as most persons are concerned) to those with reference to age, sex, lack of personal competence, lack of skills, lack of financial resources, or lack of education; c) varies with the individual and with circumstance; d) may change permanently during an individual's lifetime; e) may be less significant than some observers have thought; and f) may be tending to decrease, as more individuals demonstrate their ability to overbalance the restraining influence of color by the accumulation of other criteria of rank (provided, of course, that changes now under way in the economic and sociological structures do not alter this trend).

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6. Although cases of discrimination involving colored persons undoubtedly occur, they are not necessarily due exclusively to color. In any given case, the circumstances are com-

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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CHAPTER VI

THE RISE OF THE MIXED-BLOOD

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EARLY in the colonial period race mixture resulted in an intermediate population group in more favorable position for social advancement. Mulatto slaves, because they were ordinarily chosen by their masters and mistresses for the more delicate and exacting household tasks, to be *mucamas* (maids), *amas de crear* ("mammies"), and other *pessoal de casa* (house servants), early developed into a distinct group apart from the field hands.[1] They were baptized, received the master's name, and often were married in accordance with the prescribed legal and religious practices, thus establishing legitimate families and adding to the social security of their offspring by building up a family tradition.

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Many *mulatinhos*, illegitimate children of the *senhor*, learned to read and to write even more quickly than white, legitimate children, outstripping them in preparatory and even advanced studies. The Reconcavo of Bahia yields a number of such cases.[2] Particularly fortunate, we are told, were the children of priests. Their fathers, being ordinarily from upper-class families and possessing money and prestige, transmitted to their offspring, colored as well as white, ad-

[1] F. J. Oliveira Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro* (2d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 157; Jean Baptiste de Lacerda, "The *Metis*, or Half-breeds of Brazil," in *Papers on Inter-racial Problems*, ed. G. Spiller (London, 1911), p. 379.

[2] Gilberto Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* (2d ed.; Rio, 1936), pp. 324–25. The author throughout this chapter is greatly indebted to Freyre's *Sobrados e mucambos* (São Paulo, 1936), esp. chap. vii.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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vantages of ancestry, social position, intellectuality, and wealth. The professions were readily open to them, and "marriages into the bosom of the most exclusive families"[3] sometimes took place. "More fortunate even than the son of a priest" and "A child of a priest is never unhappy" are expressions still heard at Bahia.[4]

Significant also was the widespread system of *creação*, whereby colored children who were being reared within the master's house, the so-called *crias*, *irmãos de creação*, *malungos*, *muleques de estimação*, gained position as "persons of the house," somewhat comparable to poor relations in the households of medieval Europe. Often they were seated at the patriarchal table as if members of the family. Some even rode in the family vehicle with their masters.

Owing to the peculiar personal associations in which the mulattoes grew up, they tended to develop certain traits favorable to their advancement. They were usually more intelligent, we are told, more aggressive, more dexterous, and more cunning than the pure blacks. Consequently, they were often assigned to the more skilled occupations, such as shoemaking, carpentry, and tailoring, where they developed occupational skills symbolic of greater personal worth than ordinarily attaches to unskilled labor.

Because they were liberated in preference to the blacks, the mixed-bloods, early in the colonial period, began to enter the free classes.[5] The disproportion between black

[3] Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 324.

[4] "The social ascension of children of priests, both white and light mixed-blood, has always occurred with great facility" (*ibid.*, pp. 323–24).

[5] In addition, the king of Portugal in 1773 intervened in their behalf, denouncing those persons "so lacking in the sentiments of humanity and of religion" that they still keep in slavery persons "whiter than they are" (Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 327).

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under the happiest circumstances, the individual feels himself constrained only by those obligations which he freely accepts or imposes upon himself.

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It is characteristic of such a moral order that it is nonrational. That means that it is not devised to protect any special interest, to serve any policy, and has no ulterior purposes of any sort. On the contrary, it arises in response to the natural claims which one individual makes upon another, as soon as he recognizes that other individual as human like himself.[10]

Manumission, as we have seen, extensively occurred from the first. And final emancipation came about as the culmination of a widespread liberation movement which had for years dominated the public mind. The Brazilian Negro was thus released from a servile status gradually and under circumstances which favored the continuance of intimate personal ties. Final emancipation was not, as in the United States, brought about as an incident of civil strife, and the race relations which had normally grown up under slavery were never exacerbated by a program of reconstruction imposed from without by armed conquest. The rise of the black and of the mixed-blood in Brazil has always had in its favor those sentiments and personal attachments which primary relations tend to develop.

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In Bahia there is probably little or no race prejudice in the sense in which that term is used in the United States. There are no castes based on race; there are only classes. This does not mean that there is nothing which might be properly called prejudice but that such prejudice as does exist is *class* rather than *caste* prejudice. It is the kind of prejudice which exists *inside* the ranks of the Negro in the United States, the amount and intensity of which is actually very great.

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That race prejudice has not arisen in Brazil is perhaps due

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[10] Park, Introduction to Bertram W. Doyle, *The Etiquette of Race Relations in the South* (Chicago, 1937), pp. xiv–xv.

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her, even in her dreams, and she dreaded worse terrors to come. Depressed by the helplessness of herself and her friends, of the whole South, it was not strange that she often remembered during these days the words which Tony Fontaine had spoken so passionately:

"By God, Scarlett, it isn't to be borne! And it won't be borne!"[11]

Brazilian society nowhere passed through a comparable period of social upheaval in which a threatened reversal of the status structure elicited such deep-seated fear and apprehension that generations later it is so vividly recalled by the descendants of those who lived through it. The rape of white women by colored men, either real or fancied, has been unknown in Brazil. There has not been anything remotely comparable to the conquest of our South by northern armies, the imposition, for years, of onerous political control from without, and the consequent development of feelings of resentment and bitterness which, lacking normal expression (by reason of the North's formidable power), in the form of effective aggression toward the actual offending object, became displaced upon the more or less helpless Negro when northern force was withdrawn. On the contrary, the relations between the races in Brazil have always been, to a considerable extent, intimate and cordial. The moral order of the Bahian *engenhos*, which, as we have seen, was organized largely on a familial and personal basis, has persisted relatively undisturbed down to the present day, and the members of the different races have, by way of personal feelings and sentiments, long identified themselves with each other, entered into each other's personal experiences, and come to appreciate their common human character. Instead of conceiving the Negro as an abstract object, the Bahian white tends to think of him as João or Maria and as being wholly human like himself.

[11] Margaret Mitchell, *Gone with the Wind* (New York, 1938), pp. 652–57.

443 diers (ambulantes) who walk through the area in the summer selling combs, ribbons, jewelry, and perfumes.

•561 One of the most important factors influencing the fortunes of
565 the town of Vila Recôncavo is the diversity of attitudes toward
369 it held by different segments of the local population. The most powerful group, although small in number, is that of the plantation and sugar-mill owners. The orientation of this group is polarized between the capital city, Salvador, and the plantations. There is no one living in the town who is included in the same social stratum as these people, and therefore the town is not a social drawing point for them as it might be in the plantation area of the southern United States. Vila does not represent a shopping center for them, and it is not an outlet for their sugar. Since they are so near the capital, business is transacted there rather than in the small rural town with its poor communications. This group as a whole looks upon the town as a decadent and backward place. There is little or no feeling among these people that they should "do something" to improve the town, to which they feel little or no allegiance. Rather, their allegiance is first to Bahia and to their own social class in the state, and second to the Recôncavo, the original seat of that class.

The plantation and sugar-mill workers also disregard Vila to a large extent, generally not considering it worth the effort involved in getting there. For these people the market in Centro and the sugar mill store are the major attractions of the area. Their social life is centered almost entirely within the plantation or at the sugar mill.

The town dwellers themselves have an ambivalent attitude toward their town, for, while they also feel that Vila is backward and without opportunity for personal advancement, they
369 nevertheless consider themselves an urban group in contrast
365 to the plantation workers. Recent improvements in the town, such as the installation of electricity and the introduction of radios, movies, and other electrical appliances, as well as the pavement of the mud streets with cobblestones, have been a great help in alleviating the former forlorn air of the town, once known as the "abandoned" town. The local population still speaks of this earlier state a great deal, almost with the haunt-
[652] ing fear that such conditions might return. The funds for these
[653] public works came from sources outside the county, that is, from grants of money by the state government during the epoch of the interventores, the governors appointed during the dic-

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 5011 Bahia Brazilians 5011
VILA RECÔNCAVO

in the three houses for nearly all members of the two extended families, for the factory has become the major gathering point for all of them during the summer. Each married couple maintains its own home in the city. In the Conde and Jacuipe families the tendency has been to enlarge the two families by the addition of in-laws rather than to lose sons and daughters, because of the exceptionally strong family loyalties held by the members. As a result, many more people are drawn into the social circles of the two groups, which at times appear as one family and at other times as two separate but close units. 565* 596

The social life of these people is carried out almost entirely within this group of ninety-seven persons, and their in-laws, plus the in-law families. Such intrafamilial social life is known as vida em familia. During the winter season in Salvador, their social activities are confined to visiting one another, playing cards with one another, having birthday parties for one another, attending the weddings of one another's children, and so forth. Trips to the beach and to social clubs and graduations are made jointly. During the summer, parts of families visit others, and at certain times, such as the botada da usina (first day of the sugar mill's activities each year), Carnaval, and the birthday of the Colonel, his wife, or Dona Yaya, nearly all the members of the family get together. This may mean a gathering of sixty to seventy persons. A "small" luncheon may be attended by a mere twenty or thirty persons. 565* 596 517

It is still the custom for young married couples to dine with the parents of each at least once a week. It is also not unusual to find an entire apartment house in the city occupied by members of one family, each conjugal group occupying its own apartment. Members of the same generation usually play or visit together, although all generations are present at most family gatherings. Through lifelong companionship, members of families in this class come to know each other extremely well and are often the best of friends as well as relatives. Because of the size of these families, and because of the constancy of their devotion to one another, there is little time or energy left for entertaining outsiders. This, however, does not mean that acquaintances are limited to family members. Friends are made, who are drawn into the various conjugal groups and into the activities of the larger extended family. 565* 596 [593] [342] [561] [574] [572]

Courtship in Class A families is a formal affair. At first it is considered that the young couple are gostando (liking each other) or namorando (in love). It is expected that the boy 565* 596 584

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

000 economic role is usually minor. The individual or the unit family of
565 571 the lower class is usually linked very closely, mainly in the economic sense, with an employer or merchant of influence (patrão). In a society in which personal relationships ("connections") count for so much, only a member of the upper class can be of real economic or political assistance.

Childhood in the lower class is quite different from that in
565 857 the upper class family. From an early age the children must, out of economic necessity, accept many responsibilities. Young children frequently work in the fields or find odd jobs in the town. The girls may do the housework, cook, and manage the younger children while the mother works. The young sons, even six or seven years old, may pack a bundle of agricultural products across the município on the morning of market day. In the evening they return with the few articles of food or clothing which they have been able to purchase with the proceeds from their goods. As they grow older, the children either undertake more of the farm work or drift off to the nearby rural areas and villages or to Salvador. The girls may find employment
[464] as servants or as agricultural or industrial workers. Ultimately
[885] most will marry and settle down to a grinding life of poverty, child-bearing, disease, and hard labor, which will, however, be relieved by an informal and highly convivial social life.

565 The position of the woman is still inferior to that of the
• 562 man, but she has relatively greater economic, social, and sexual independence than the woman of the upper class.

565 The social life of lower class families is in marked contrast
776 to the narrow, formal, and sexually-discriminatory social life of the aristocracy. Lower class life is filled not only with poverty but also with a tremendous series of religious and quasi-religious festivals

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

565 796 [184] (festas) and informal social activities. The uninhibited enjoyment of a samba (dance), a candomblé (fetish cult observance), a religious procession, or a Saint's day by the lower class is very different from the self-conscious upper class behavior under comparable conditions.[16]

565 562 369 The discussion above is largely in terms of stereotypes, and in fact there are many exceptions. In the upper class, strong-willed women may on occasion enter a profession--such as nursing or teaching--or operate a business or plantation, but usually with the aid and the advice of male relatives. In Salvador the upper class women are relatively more emancipated than are those of the villages and towns. 565 596 369 Many lower class people, especially the less poverty ridden groups of the villages and towns, tend to imitate the idealized upper class family pattern, within the limits of their economic, educational, and social resources.

565 571 621 59 In general it may be said that the interests of upper class families in the Recôncavo are regional, the interests of lower class families are local. The areally and biologically extended families of the upper class, interconnected through marriage and intermeshed in over-all economic, political, and social interests, are a basic element in the regional unity of the Recôncavo and in its integration into the Brazilian nation. In contrast the extra-local interests of lower class families are weak and unstable. The lower class community or neighborhood identification is the more effective unifying factor and seems to provide, in the Recôncavo, a focus for local interests generally lacking in at least the aristocratic and urban strata of the upper class.[17] However, the institutions of the community for the most part are maintained and directed by the aristocratic and the local upper class.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11 •
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000 BB [128] should be misleading. District data are desirable, but occupational breakdowns for these smaller political units are available neither for 1940 nor 1950. Furthermore, the areas of these districts cannot be calculated with even minimal accuracy from existing sources. Thus the distribution of rural population and agricultural labor force within municípios is largely a matter of inference. For example, the 1950 agricultural labor force was estimated, as has been seen, from the 1940 data and changes in rural population. Densities for each município were calculated from these estimates, and these densities were used as guides, in conjunction with the total populations of the various districts, in determining the distributional patterns of the map of the density of the agricultural labor force and the dot map of agricultural labor force. These maps are thus inferential distributions of inferred data.

[23]Smith, op. cit., p. 297.

BB [435] [24]Labor turnover is one of the explanations proffered for the high cost of sugar production in Bahia.

[25]The explanations offered by these migrants are various: lack of opportunity, a hostile or unfriendly landlord or creditor, a quarrel within the family or neighborhood, crop failure, or a desire to be near relatives.

[26]Joint Brazil-United States Economic Development Commission, The Development of Brazil (Institute of Inter-American Affairs, Foreign Operations Division. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1953), p. 16.

BB [196] [27]However, these people muster tremendous energy for festas (holidays or feast days), especially Carnavál. At such a time, a middle-aged lady with a chronic heart condition was observed to dance, in a procession, for several miles down the road. During the novena of Nossa Senhora de Purificão in Santo Amaro, the troups of performers will journey many miles to attend the celebration, dance and sing throughout the nights of each of the nine days, and without rest return to their homes.

[28]The people of nine urban centers of the Recôncavo--Salvador, Feira de Santana, Alagoinhas, Cachoeira-São Félix, Santo Amaro, Maragogipe, Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, and São Gonçalo--are thus excluded BB [633] from the rural population. These are the nine ranking cities of the Recôncavo, and all except São Gonçalo have more than 5,000 people. In addition to industry, those transportation, financial, retail, trade, and administrative functions which are not strictly local are confined to these urban centers, as well as wholesale trade and international commerce.

B [631] [633] [29]It is significant that Brazil has no urban political unit per se--the município or the distrito has both urban (city, town, or village) and rural sections without administrative expression.

B B [565] [562] [857] [30]In this society there are many women, especially in the lower class, who can scarcely be considered as dependent. Moreover, as has been seen, children are also frequently productive members of lower class families. In the upper class of the villages and towns, however, there are many children and housewives whose activities are either purely domestic or are only indirectly productive.

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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[The Private Plantation]

The following discussion will examine one of the five private plantations in the community of Vila Recôncavo and will then describe the network of factory plantations in the same community. 128

The Private Plantation: Fazenda das Moças

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The Fazenda das Moças ("G" on map of community) is typical of a privately owned plantation in all respects but one. Its owner is a lady who assumed active direction of the plantation after her husband's death. At first there was some difficulty in persuading the overseer of the plantation to take orders from a woman, for he felt his prestige was lowered in the eyes of the workmen as well as the overseers of neighboring plantations. However, after three or four years, Dona Sinhá, in cooperation with "Seu"[1] Paulo, the overseer, has made an outstanding success of her plantation, and the original friction between the two has greatly diminished. Below is an inventory of the Fazenda das Moças:

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Extent: 930 tarefas,[2] mostly of massapê, 450 of which are under sugar-cane cultivation, the rest consisting of pasture and small gardens

Water: 4 drinking tanks for livestock
2 small freshwater streams
(Drinking water must be brought from a neighboring plantation, which has a spring well known in the area for the salubrious qualities of its water.) [312]

Houses: 45 workers' houses [342]
Owner's house, with living room, dining room, 4 bedrooms, kitchen, bathroom, 2 maids' rooms, 2 other dependencies, veranda; surrounded by orchard
1 overseer's house
1 house formerly used as a school

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1. "Seu" is a corruption of Senhor and is a title often given to persons of some prestige.

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2. The tarefa is the unit of land measurement used in Bahia. It equals 900 square braças. The braça equals 6 feet, which gives the tarefa 32,400 square feet. This is 11,160 square feet less than one acre.

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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who walks about with a huge round basket on his head crying, "Pão, pão." 444 256

Dona Carmen's husband, Damião, is also a storekeeper. His store is in the downhill part of town, near the fishermen. The two stores are run separately, and the couple are doing well financially. In addition to his store, Damião also owns several canoes and fish nets which he rents to fishermen. He is the only storekeeper in town who gives credit to people who cannot pay immediately, allowing bills to run many months and even more than a year. He also allows his customers to borrow money in order to buy things outside his store--for instance fish, which he does not handle. He does not charge interest on these loans, nor seemingly make any demands on those who borrow. On the other hand the borrowers feel a sort of loyalty toward him and do not forget their debts, which they eventually manage to pay. 441 463 [444] [427] [452] [426]

Three of the smallest stores are owned and operated by women, whose husbands have set them up in business in a small way in order, as one put it, to "give my wife something to do." It is considered desirable for a woman to operate a store and it is usually the beginning of something larger, for later, whenever possible, the husband will stop his own work and help operate the store. In the case of the smaller stores the owner generally lives in the same building, either alongside the store or behind it. The larger storekeepers, however, usually have separate houses. At night they lock up the stores, which are sometimes guarded by dogs or even by the cashiers who sleep there. The storekeepers are usually asked for donations to the church at the time of any special festivals, and generally become politically active after they become established in business. 441 444 463 [562] [431] [66]

The stock in most of the stores is pretty much the same, varying in amount rather than diversity: drinks (rum and soft drinks), dried meat (the staple meat of the population), cereals, cigars, cigarettes, estivas (which include beans, rice, and farina, the three great staples of the local diet), as well as coffee, palm oil (azeite de dendê), vinegar, olive oil, garlic, onions, wooden sandals, condensed and powdered milk, salt, sugar, miudezas (small items such as matches and ribbons), toilet articles and laundry soaps, blueing agents and starch, grass mats, kerosene, and in one store aluminum kitchenware which is not sold very often, as well as nails, wire, screws, and wrapping paper and cord. One store in the 443

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517 harvesting and milling. The factory operates twenty-four hours
a day during this season. In the winter, when they have more
(461) leisure, travel is too difficult, for the roads disappear in
mud. Few of the rural people go to the town of Vila Recôn-
*(249) cavo, for it has nothing to attract them except the boat to Sal-
vador and the priest, whom they sometimes visit to have a
(546) Mass said or for a burial. The free movies recently inno-
• (562) vated by the Petroleum Council and located a mile from the
factory have been a boon to the rural people, but as a rule
only the men attend. In fact, almost any kind of off-planta-
*249 tion gathering is attended predominantly by men.

On most plantations the casa de farinha is a social gath-
*565 ering place, and both males and females congregate there to
talk about the latest news while they work. The women also
461 gossip at the local well as they fetch water or remain there
(521) washing their clothes. Their everyday lives are busy, and
there is little time for purely social activities. The day be-
(512) gins and ends early. Soon after dark the lights go out, the
houses close, and silence reigns except for the noise coming
from the casa de farinha, which may operate all night, or the
lonesome singing of the caatingueiros housed in the barracks,
*249 or the strong rhythmic sound of the drums coming from a dis-
tant candomblé ceremony. Because there is little work for
*565 women on a plantation, the "extra" girls, those for whom
there are no potential husbands, ask the planter to get them
461 work as domestics in the city; this is usually easy, for there
357 is nearly always someone in Salvador looking for a "good,
strong country girl" to work in the home. Occasionally, if a
worker's son is especially intelligent and industrious, he too
may be placed in some position in the city.

*565 Class C comprises the majority of the population in the town
of Vila Recôncavo and includes most of the occupations listed
in Group 3 of the preceding chapter--that is, fishermen, gar-
deners, and artisans. There are no "pure whites" in this
class, but, as in the rural area, a few "whites of the land"
and the full range of mestiços, whose various color and social
(361) characteristics will be discussed later. The people of Class
C live for the most part in the lower section of town, in the
areas called Cortume, Largo de Santa Cruz, Rua Nova, Bo-
(423) queirão, Cumbamba, and Caquende. The great majority of them
own their homes, although the land belongs to the Fazenda En-
(427) genho da Vila, to the church, or to the prefeitura, and is rent-
ed for a small yearly sum. The houses are small, usually

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[Class A Families]

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to have fewer offspring. Four or five generations ago a couple 594
might have as many as twenty children. It was common among 163
these large families for at least one child to enter the priest- 178
hood or a convent. This is no longer the case, not only be- [463]
cause of the smaller size of the families, but also because
the colonial pattern of a priest for each plantation is now gone.

The marriage age for girls is also changing, for several 582
reasons: it takes longer for a boy now to be educated and set- 178
tled in business; the families can no longer support married
children; and girls are being better educated. Instead of be- 562
ing married at sixteen, seventeen, and eighteen, they now go 565*
to school much longer, sometimes taking advanced degrees
as do their brothers. This delays marriage till the twenties
and gives the girls a certain amount of independence, rather
than simply a position of wife and mother. As yet few of them [463]
have entered the professions, but recently it has become styl-
ish to study nursing or social work at least for a while before
marriage. The old pattern was for widows to be supported by [736]
their families, but now girls want to feel self-sufficient, with-
out the dreary prospect of living as dependents in the case of
their husbands' death. In this century, also, marriage has
assumed an aspect of companionship, which was formerly
lacking, for women have achieved a much greater equality with
their husbands and are now partners rather than household
fixtures.

There has been a reaction to the family aspect of Bahian 565*
society, and frequently people are heard complaining of the 596
narrowness of life in such surroundings and expressing a de- 178
sire to live in Rio de Janeiro, or some place where they would
not be always in the same restricted group of relatives. Many 574
of the former obligations of formal visits to close and distant
relatives are now relaxed, although telephone calls at least [206]
are expected with some sort of regularity and members of the
extended family, as well as their attendants, are still expect-
ed at all weddings, birthdays, and deaths. The arrival of fam-
ily members from Rio calls for many dinners and celebrations
in their honor. But the conjugal families seek outside ac- 571
quaintances more and more, and as they enter new groups they 565*
become less able to cope with the numerous family affairs. 596
Nevertheless, it is still membership in these extensive, pa- 178
triarchal families which gives people their status in the com-
munity as a whole and their right to enter new groups which [594]
form along class lines. Everyone is well aware of this, and [554]

[Class A Families]

quently one girl in the family does not marry but remains home with her parents, taking care of them until they have passed away. Unless the father has made specific arrangements for her before his death, the family usually sees to it that she is cared for properly, since she has relieved them of the responsibility of taking care of their parents for many years. Or, if any member of the family lingers beyond what might be considered to be a normal life span, the other members help in some way so that person will be cared for. Thus no one is left out because of misfortune of any kind. Nevertheless, any individual member always tries not to become a burden on the family. 565* 596 589 73

Of the former patriarchalism of Class A families only vestiges remain, which however are still important: the continued close relationship of family members, even though separated by distance and interests; the intermarriage of cousins, and the strong pattern of life em familia; the fact that the family as a unit still provides care and protection for those members who are incapable of doing so themselves; and finally the acknowledgment of an extended-family head, a man accorded deference and respect by members of his own family as well as by other families. The upper-class family of today differs in significant ways from that of former centuries, especially in the increasing emphasis placed upon the conjugal family and the decrease in family size. A major departure from the old family traditions is the increasing equality of women, their increased participation both in home activities and in activities outside the home. 565* 596 178 [562]

Birthdays are the most important occasions in these families aside from weddings. Whether in the city or on the plantation, birthdays are commemorated on a large scale by an almoço (luncheon). During the summer in the country the planters sometimes also have a series of luncheons, each Sunday on a different plantation. In such cases the house in which the luncheon is to be held provides the bulk of the food, but as a rule all the women make desserts which they bring with them. The menu, in accordance with old Bahian tradition, is huge, usually beginning with a feijoada (a deep dish of beans and meat, usually eaten with rice or farina), sarapatel (a highly seasoned dish of which the basis is pork blood), moqueca de camarão (a type of shrimp ragout made with dendê palm oil), and ensopado de porco (pork stew). These are followed by roasts of beef, pork, lamb, and turkey, and filet mignon. 565* 596 527 565* 596 527 262

[Class B Families]

*565 594 capacities, or they are "newly arrived" socially, which often indicates that the relatives of either or both spouses may belong to the lower class; in this case the local upper-class families are inclined to ignore them. In these conjugal families the husband is the central figure, participating in business and social activities of the town, while his wife and children, [166] especially daughters, remain at home. The sons usually go to the city to school and remain there after graduation, so there [871] is little chance of continuing a strong family line in the town. At the factory the case is somewhat different, for the sons of Class B families may enter the factory in one of the higher office positions, thus forming a larger family group as they marry and settle down there. This pattern, however, is only apparent in the second generation, and there are only three cases of it.

*565 517 As a result of the lack of public entertainment in Vila Recôncavo and the competitive attitude of members of Class B among themselves and toward the higher members of Class C, there [571] is little social gathering, especially for the women. There are never extended family gatherings for Class B such as those [596] described for Class A. The men go to the bar or visit one an- [574] other's homes to some slight extent, but wives and daughters seldom do. The wives are kept occupied bearing children and [562] caring for them. Those few daughters who are sent to school in the city are indeed fortunate, for their chances of marry- [871] ing and remaining in Salvador, the desire of most young people, [166] are greatest. The summer vacation is boring to them in comparison with their scope of activities in the winter. The [183] sons can enjoy the summer, going swimming, horseback rid- [528] ing, playing ball, making the most of the few parties and festivals (festas) which take place during the summer, lounging in the bar gossiping, meeting the boat, and visiting lower- *565 562 class girls. The daughters, on the other hand, can do nothing of the sort. They spend their time at home with their mothers and sometimes visit a married girl friend or sister to 517 gossip.

For those girls who remain in the town, life can be intolerably dull. They must be extremely careful of where they go, when, and with whom, and of what they do, for the town gossip about them can be vicious. The reputation of a girl seen on the street at night without one of her parents is ruined. These girls are expected to be virgins, models of propriety,

[Class B Families]

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and the social forces compelling them to conform to this ideal are strong enough to keep them at home.

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To some extent the Class B families take as their pattern the older traditions of the upper-class families. The father is the most important person in the home and has the final word in all decisions. His wife is not his equal in a social sense and plays a much more passive role than the women of classes A, C, and D. This, however, is slowly changing, for married couples of the younger generation are beginning to share more activities, such as going to the movies, visiting friends, or going on short trips to Salvador. But this is a recent development and applies only to four couples in the town. The others still maintain the old pattern whereby the man attends social functions while his wife remains home. On occasion of a farewell party, invitations were carefully extended to the married couples in Class B at the author's instigation. Of the thirteen couples invited, only four came together. In the other cases only the husbands came. Among the others, one of the husbands was away, and his wife would not come to the party even though her mother, father, and two sisters did. It is still common for the wife either to remain discreetly silent or to disappear altogether when her husband has visitors at home, and among the older families the father and his guests are served separately at meals, the women of the household eating afterwards alone.

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Family life in rural Class B follows to some extent that of the town family of the same class. The father is the central figure in the family and makes all decisions. He travels about the community while his wife remains at home. The sons of overseers, however, are seldom sent to Salvador to school, although the sons of Class B families living at the factory usually are, at least for a short time. So far, however, none of them has entered a profession.

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As has already been stated, the women of rural Class B lead much the same kind of life as the women in Class C, with whom they associate. Daughters are guarded carefully, while sons are placed in some advantageous position whenever possible, frequently through the aid of the plantation owner or usineiro. They may enter the factory office, and in several cases they have been set up in business on the plantations, running small stores which belong to their fathers.

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A daughter of Seu Paulo, the overseer of the Fazenda das Moças, married the son of the overseer on a neighboring

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Class C Families]

[Class D Families]

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Orphans, or children whose parents cannot care for them because of financial difficulties, are always taken in by some member of the family--an aunt, or uncle, or perhaps the grandparents if they are still alive, or the godparents.

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The Class D family presents a very different picture from that of any of the other social classes in Vila Recôncavo. It is almost the reverse of the patriarchal upper-class family, for in Class D the woman is the chief member, the chefe de familia. In Vila Recôncavo, 90 of the 290 households counted in the 1950 census reported a woman as the family head. Of these, thirty listed themselves as widows, seventeen as married but with husbands who lived elsewhere, and forty-three as unmarried. It is difficult to determine with certainty how many of the women who declared themselves widows or married actually were so. It is a favorite device of Vila Recôncavo women who have lived in an unmarried relationship with a man and subsequently separated from him to say that they are widows. It is equally difficult to determine from these figures how many unmarried relationships are involved.

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The composition of these households almost defies classification. Fifty-five are composed of mothers and children, with the addition in some cases of relatives and an agregado (official census term designating someone who lives in the house permanently but does not pay for his board), as well as hospedes (census designation of someone who is staying in the house temporarily and who is not paying for his board). Of the fifty-five houses with children, twenty-four are represented by unmarried, female family heads. Eight of these twenty-four households list agregados of approximately the same age as the woman, which may indicate, although not necessarily so, amasiado relationships. The other households are composed of what appear to be "left overs" from other families or marital unions: elderly people who have outlived their own conjugal units, younger people whose families either never existed as legal units or have been dissolved, agregados, and hospedes. These ninety households include a total of 353 people, who can be classified as follows:

55 mothers
142 children
37 grandchildren
35 relatives, including mothers, aunts, cousins, sisters, brothers,

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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[City of Salvador]

361 565 * 563 gated to the less desirable territory. Although the Europeans have still today, to a considerable extent, maintained their original advantage, the blacks and darker mixed-bloods have gradually pushed themselves up the slopes from their less favored locations until now they have come, in some cases, to share a portion of the Europeans' favored position. One occasionally finds them living next to the homes of the whites, symbolizing the fact that they now occupy those positions, social as well as spatial, which personal ability, occupational proficiency, and favorable circumstance have enabled them to achieve and to maintain. Thus the racial distinctions which one from the United States is so likely on first acquaintance to note turn out to be, as we shall soon see in more detail, not the things which are either so genuine or so important as at first sight might appear.

It is significant, in this connection, that in what might be called the intermediate residential areas of the city, where the dwellings of those who are rising out of the lower classes meet the dwellings of the upper classes, one finds the darker and the lighter portions of the population meeting and mingling in close residential proximity. This is true, for example, along the Avenida Sete de Setembro.

363 [788] [541] [562] The Avenida Sete de Setembro, from Jardim Suspenso on, is the only artery into the "downtown area" from South Bahia. It thus becomes the route of passage for processions like those of Carnival, the "Micarêta,"[14] the Peruada,[15] and the numerous religious *festas*, and the avenue of march for the military during visits of political celebrities. Its streetcar line and constant flow of busses would make it less de-

[14] The "Micarêta" is the so-called "second Carnival" held the Sunday following Easter.

[527] [15] The Peruada is an annual students' parade with floats.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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[City of Salvador]

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[562].

sirable as a seat of residence for one weary of the noises of an industrial city, but for the Bahian wife and daughters, whose world is still largely inside the doors of the home, these characteristics seem to give it a peculiar charm. Hence, one will see along this avenue, almost from Praça Castro Alves out, the residences of many substantial families and, in Vitoria, just beyond the governor's palace, the more pretentious dwellings of the upper class.

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TABLE 1

FAMILIES DWELLING ALONG THE AVENIDA SETE DE SETEMBRO CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO ETHNIC COMPOSITION, BAHIA, 1936

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	Number	Per Cent
Black	19	7.6
Mixed-blood	97	38.6
White	128	51.0
Mixed-blood and white	5	2.0
Black and mixed-blood	2	0.8
Total	251	100.0

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No Bahian house which boasts any pretension fails to have a balcony, while nearly all possess large casement windows opening out on the street. From this vantage point the family can while away many pleasant hours leaning on elbows and "watching the *gente* (people) go by." Consequently, one can readily gain, especially during the passage of processions when the balconies and windows are fully occupied, rather accurate information on the physical character of the population. It is possible at Carnival, for example, particularly just preceding the passage of the floats, to take a census with respect to racial composition, as far

[342]
[517]

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

For some reason male members of the seita rarely experience, as do the women members, the "manifestation" of an *orixá*. Consequently, very few males ever pass through the rigorous period of training which must always follow the initial "appearance" of a deity in a given individual. Moreover, the men, being more mobile than the women, are ordinarily brought into more extensive contact with the Europeans and their descendants and consequently tend to take over more readily the ideas and sentiments of the whites. The women, on the other hand, ordinarily remain more closely identified with the customs and traditions of their African ancestors. It is probably for this reason that several of the more prominent and influential *candomblés* in Bahia now have women leaders. For the head of a *seita*, upon his approaching death, ordinarily chooses the new priest (or priestess) from among those members of the cult who are most learned in the ritual and other tradition. When asked about the occasion for So-and-so's selection, cult members always say, "Ele [*or* ela] é muito sabido" ("He is very learned in the ritual").

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Other sacred functionaries include the *ogans*, or male members of the *seita*, who assist the *pae* or *mãe de santo* with the ritual, particularly in invoking the presence of the *orixás* during ceremonial dances, help initiate new *ogans*, act as intermediaries between the *seita* and the legal authorities, and contribute toward the expenses of the cult; the *achôgun*, or "second *pae*" as he is often called, who performs the sacrifices; the *jibonam*, or *pequena mãe* ("little mother"), next in authority to the *mãe de santo*, who assists the ceremonial dancers in carrying out their *preceitos*, or ritualistic obligations, and who makes the *despacho*, or food offering, to Exú at the opening of each important ceremony; the musicians, who assist at certain secret rituals and all public cere-

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4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

794 ("guide") and a protector who, if she obeys the prescribed rituals and taboos, may bring her, it is thought, much fortune and happiness. "Look at me!" exclaimed a newly "made" *filha*. "My *orixá* is the greatest of all the *orixás*. He's powerful. I'm a black woman and can't read or write. But I'm living with a man *formado* in the Faculdade de Medicina. See what Oxalá did for me!"

794 796 [562] As has already been noted, the rituals and ceremonies of the cult are serious and dignified and carried on in accordance with fixed traditional forms. Among the essential elements of the Gêge-Nagô ceremonies is the rigid separation of spectators according to sex. The males always occupy the seats to the left of the drums, the females those to the right. [273] No drunkenness or obscenity is permitted. Said a member of a Nagô *seita*, "If they drink *cachaça* in a *candomblé*, you may know it is not well organized." Once at a ceremony at Gantois an intoxicated man forced his way through the crowd into the *barracão*. Immediately, the *mãe de santo* who was presiding signaled to two *ogans* who, calling out of the crowd a police official, promptly ejected the intruder.[9]

794 576 The *filhas de santo* before beginning a ceremonial dance make obeisance to the *pae* or *mãe de santo* by dropping to their knees and bowing their heads to the ground before the leader of their cult. Similar obeisance is also made to visiting *paes* or *mães de santo* or other honored personages of the fetish world and, occasionally, to the *ogans*.

794 796 787 When, during the ceremonial dance an *orixá* "arrives in the head" of a *filha*, she must, after the first violent seizure

[9] Such romanticized accounts of fetish cult ceremonies as that given by Graça Aranha and uncritically quoted by Vera Kelsey (*Seven Keys to Brazil* [New York, 1940], pp. 27–28), if they have any basis in fact at all, owe it to the disintegration of formerly wholesome cultural forms now characteristic of certain *macumba* centers of Rio de Janeiro. [114]

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

A stranger is often surprised to discover individuals whom he had not previously thought of as related turning out to be brothers or other close relatives. 602

The gradually improving status of women is today working against *mancebia*, and many of the "more scrupulous" families discourage it. In these, the wife, if she knows of her husband's affairs, may reprove him, as also may other members of the family and its friends. But usually, as an upper-class woman said, "the ladies talk very little about it, and then only with their most intimate friends. The subject is not generally discussed." 562 837 [521]

Although in recent years at least two feminists have become quite prominent, and one of these has been elected to the state legislature, the common family pattern at Bahia is still patriarchal. Tempered, of course, by the natural claims which primary relations always tend to set up, the role of the husband and father has, throughout Bahian history, been a decidedly dominant role. For instance, it is said to have formerly been the custom—at Bahia today in some instances a custom still observed—for the husband to select and purchase the materials for his wife's clothing and even indicate the manner in which the goods should be made up. Formerly, women, other than prostitutes, servants, and other individuals of inferior status, were rarely seen upon the streets or in public places, the home being considered their proper sphere. Even in the home, women seem to have rarely appeared in the presence of strangers. Tollenare, visiting Pernambuco in the early nineteenth century, wrote, "At my arrival [in the house of a merchant], the women disappeared, and only the head of the house remained in the *salão* to talk to me." In another connection he remarked: "During eight months of residence in Pernambuco I never once saw the 59 562 [635]

4; Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

59 562 high society of the city in spite of my letters of introduction and my efforts to enter several homes."[8]

121 564 567 Another important question to raise is, "Why did not the structure of Brazilian slave society, like that of the United States, pass over into caste?" The situation here is somewhat more clear. The function of caste appears to be that of preserving inviolate the racial integrity of a dominant group. Caste in India apparently arose in an attempt on the part of incoming Aryan peoples to preserve the status of their families against the consequences of intermixture with the conquered aboriginal tribes.[9] The prohibition of intermarriage excluded almost completely from the more intimate social contacts individuals from groups considered undesirable.

* 121 563 567 In Brazil the characteristic tendency has always been just the reverse: namely, to incorporate eventually all ethnic minorities into the dominant group. The contact of the Portuguese settlers with the imported Africans was, of course, originally that of master and slave. But out of the slave system which grew up there gradually emerged a moral order in which most whites and blacks, as we have seen, came to share a common life on an intimate, personal basis.

Men come together ordinarily because they are useful to one another. Under these circumstances they may regard each other for a long time as mere utilities. But human beings do not live for long, like plants, in relations that are merely symbiotic. For men, unlike plants, communicate. In this way they come to know one another's minds and to be responsive to one another's attitudes and sentiments. They find themselves, eventually, living as it were, each in the mind of all his neighbors. It is in this way that a moral order grows up in which,

[8] L. F. Tollenare, "Notas dominicais tomadas durante uma residencia no Brasil, 1816-1818" (portion relative to Pernambuco translated by Alfredo de Carvalho from the unpublished French manuscript), *Revista do Instituto Arqueologico e Geographico Pernambucano*, No. 61 (1905), pp. 129 and 230.

L. [113] [9] Sir Herbert H. Risley, *The People of India* (2d ed.; Calcutta, 1915), pp. 264-65.

[SALVADOR]

/12 cont./

*563 829 192 826 from the word any pejorative meaning. In fact, to say a "mulattress" in speaking of a young girl of a certain social class is in a way less courteous than to say "a little mulattress" (una mulatinha). Very often, in speaking of a person of distinction, one does not use any of these terms; one then says "a person of color" or "a /13/ dark person." A swarthy métis with slightly frizzy hair, whose features link him with the Whites, is a moreno, especially if he belongs to an upper social class. A journalist, recently describing a part of the city where a large number of colored people are found together, wrote that "one meets beautiful mulattresses there." If the latter belong to the lower classes and if they are poor, they are simply mulattresses; if they are granfinas (1),

1. Granfino, granfina may be translated by "very refined."

they become light morenas; and one could even add morenas the color of jambo (2).

[824] 2. Jambo, fruit of the jambevio, a Myrtaceae (Eugenia sp.).

[533] [541] [204] One finds numerous references to women of this type in the popular songs launched on the occasion of the famous Brazilian carnival. In the journals reporting accidents, crimes, or other facts in which mulattoes happen to be involved, even from the poorest classes, it is rare to come across the word mulatto, for which pardo or *563 morena is preferred. The feminine form, moreover, has a sentimental value: it suggests a slightly pigmented skin and features 829 of a beauty peculiar to these "women so sought after and preferred 192 in greater number," as one of our informants told us. Because of 826 this preference, the morena type has been celebrated in prose and in verse by our writers. And this morena, it goes without saying,

[SALVADOR]

826 /13 cont./
*563 may not be of African blood (3).
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3. Arthur Ramos, Introduçao a Antropologia Brasileira, II, Rio de Janeiro, 1947.

829 The Indians and the descendants of the cross between Indians
*563 and Whites are generally called cabôclos, but this expression is
192 no longer very common in Bahia and rarely serves to characterize
[178] the corresponding type. The term cabôclo has become, like that
[196] of "my Negro," rather a formula of tenderness between individuals
175 of any color whatsoever. It must be noted, moreover, thanks to
829 old statistics, that toward the middle of the eighteenth century, in
648 response to complaints about Brazilian "nativism," the Portuguese
641 government prohibited the use of the term cabôclo, to which was
576 then attached an insulting meaning, and granted at the same time the
192 civil status of Whites to Indians and to their descendants of mixed blood, so that they could contract marriage with the Whites and fulfill official duties in the colony; it is in that manner that the contingents of mamelucos or cabôclos were assimilated with the
192 Whites in the military roles of the time. The word meanwhile
178 lost its insulting import and in our day is even considered a com-
829 pliment when it refers to a cabôclo bom, that is to say, a man of
576 good manners.

The Negroid albinos and the mulattoes with red, blond, or
144 light auburn hair are known by the name of sararás.
192

The exact designation of these different types has always /14/
144 represented a difficulty, as much for anthropologists as for the
*563 persons charged with identifying school children, the military,
829 the criminals (1).

144 1. According to the Bahian anthropologist Nina
*563 Rodriguez (in her book As raças humanas e a
829 responsabilidade penal no Brasil /The Human
815 Races and Penal Responsibility in Brazil/, 3rd
[113] edition, written at the beginning of the century),
the métis include: 1st, the mulattoes produced
from the cross between the White and the Negro:

[SALVADOR]

/31 cont./

829 of a white lawyer. Certain colored persons, finally, claim to be
*563 proud of this color. A young girl of high rank claims to have no
regrets about being black and insists that her true "quality" be
[154] recorded in all official documents. This may also be a defense
reaction, especially since this informant has a personality clearly
marked by a frustration complex associated with her physical condition. It is said that when an employee hesitated about the term by which he had to describe, in an official document, the color of a very well-known man of liberal profession, the latter, guessing his difficulty, told him to write "mulatto," "for," he added, "I am a mulatto without any doubt."

829 Certain individuals are accused of isolating themselves in
571 order not to feel obliged to live in the "inferior" world to which
they belong because of the pigmentation of their skin. This
*563 arouses a certain resentment on the part of the Blacks who
attribute this behavior to the shame that these persons have about their type, and to the desire never to be seen "among those of
[184] their category." Our informants state that such a way of behaving
• [562] is common among the women of the middle or upper class.
Nevertheless the tendency to accept such segregation is not general.
[565] A dark black official relates his experiences thus: "Racial problems do not affect me. I am very well received everywhere, even among the most distinguished families; I give Portuguese lessons to their sons, and they value my friendship. A well-bred Black has access to all milieus. There is no discrimination among the men; it is among the women that one perceives this tendency very
[576] clearly. Some are content to be discourteous, avoiding shaking the hand of Blacks whom they meet among the Whites. Nevertheless, when they take a fancy to a colored man, they are capable of behaving foolishly." "Undoubtedly," he adds, "in certain milieus I feel isolated." It is interesting to note that this informant is one of the few who are concerned about discrimination, but he, like most of the others, is without rancor and is confident that he is compensated for it by the good relations that he maintains with his /32/ white colleagues in the important State administration where he works, where he has occupied positions of management, and where he has had to perform missions calling for great responsibility.

[SALVADOR]

/32 cont./

829 contempt. In the highest strata of Bahia society, our informants
*563 say, a colored person generally does not suffer humiliations. It
565 may even be that he is recognized as belonging to the most re-
156 spected groups. A very dark Black practicing a liberal profession is irritated because in the organization where he works many people who do not know him take him for an office boy or an employee of inferior category. A female official, /Figs. 3 and 4 appear here/ /33/ on the contrary, says that she and her family are fortunate and do not attribute any of their difficulties to the fact that they are dark mulattoes. "If I have never been able to pursue a career as I wished, it is because my father was poor and died young. For that reason I always say at home that we must not speak of certain things... Some people might believe that we suffer because of our color."

• [562] Among girls, who are more accustomed to discrimination than men, the feeling of inferiority can take quite peculiar forms; thus, a university student claims not to be disgusted with her color, "but she would like to be less homely." Finally, while not acknowledging it, a black woman practicing a liberal profession let the same frustration complex show by saying that she was very discouraged, when she was young, to hear herself called "a pretty little Black."

829 An important aspect of the problem is created by the fact
*563 that the Blacks and the dark mulattoes of urban working circles,
565 to the extent that they are aware of their civil and political rights,
571 are less inhibited in their behavior in front of Whites. The latter feel resentment at the way in which "impudent Negroes" speak loudly in the street, pass in front of them, and do not yield them their place in the tramways and other means of transportation. These incidents take on an aggressive significance in the eyes of those who lay claim to being the dominant class by virtue of their physical or social appearance. In many cases the Blacks do not make use of their color as a distinctive sign of their group. An important mutual-aid association for Blacks has taken as its emblem two white hands held out to each other as a symbol of solidarity. In one of its reports this same organization personifies its own activity by a picture representing a white woman carrying a white child and two other white children with European features, who hold her embraced.

[SALVADOR]

/58 cont./

*563 647 [665] this, when the aforesaid party was in power, was not offered any of the important positions that he had a right to hope for by reason of his personality, whereas Whites were appointed without having his capabilities." Facts of this order can certainly not be attributed solely to color prejudice. As for the métis, things are different. They have possibilities and, if they are capable, are named to positions of responsibility, although the Whites predominate in public service. The colored women, as their level of education rises, enter into the administration in open competition with the Whites. In one of the most important sections of Bahia, the controller's office responsible for the huge budgets that this section prepares each year is almost entirely in the hands of a dark mulattress who frequently confers with the secretary of State responsible, under the direct orders of the governor, for this sector of the administration of the State. There are, besides, numerous girls of varied crossbreeding in public positions of different categories.

*563 562 647

/59/ The Army

*563 70

Bahia is not an important military center. There are small units of the land, air, and naval forces in the city, and men of any type whatsoever are accepted there as simple soldiers. In their battalions there is no separation between Whites and "men of color," as was the case in the colonial period and in part even while slavery lasted. Certain informants state that it is not easy for a Black to go into aviation, even as a soldier, but others affirm the contrary, and one of them cites the case of a young man who did not go into aviation, but who, having been given certain tests, received as recompense a journey to another State. It is true that this branch, some years ago at any rate, preferred white personnel, but today its troops are mixed. The navy had in the city, in addition to a reduced contingent in which finos Whites and retintos Blacks are mixed, a seamen's preparatory school where any student is accepted. But from time to time a commandant who was accused

*563 706 874

[SALVADOR]

/75 cont./

*563 793 Since that time priests who were black and of mixed blood began to distinguish themselves, in Bahia as throughout the country, as sacred orators, professors of Latin, of philosophy and rhetoric, of Portuguese, and as superiors and directors of educational institutions, prefects of studies, etc. Proud of this, the Blacks expressed their antagonism toward the mulattoes and caboclos by repeating [539] this quatrain:

> I have seen many Negroes
> At the altar in the act of saying Mass
> And the caboclo, all that he achieves
> Is to be usher.

*563 792 829 [797] In the religious orders, directed in general by European monks or of European structure, the prejudice that maintains that the métis find it difficult to be faithful to the vow of chastity persisted for a long time. Such a belief must have strongly influenced the opposition to the ordination of colored religious. An /76/ intellectual of dark color relates that during his youth, more than 40 years ago, he, wishing to become a priest, entered a religious order, but the superior of the monastery to which he applied, a Spaniard, advised him to seek another path. Astonished by this refusal, he demanded an explanation, and the superior told him that he might find it difficult to subject himself to the discipline, because men of his type are obliged to make great efforts to remain chaste. And since the informant thought that in the secular clergy he would be very much in danger of betraying his trust, he gave up his idea. Thus, even today, the religious orders include very few métis. [178] The situation is beginning to improve, however, with the ordination of some moreno and light mulatto monks; in an apostolic school in which one of these orders trains young men wishing to embrace the religious life, there is at present a majority of pardos and caboclos recruited from among modest families of the interior, particularly in the rural area of the northeastern part of the State of Bahia. Light mulattoes, ordained in the course of recent years, have been trained in the same school. In the *563 • 566 792 178 female religious orders the difficulties for the acceptance of colored girls are very much greater. Not only are some of them directed by European religious, but there still persists the Portuguese

[SALVADOR]

/76 cont./

*563 562 792 178 tradition of accepting as religious only the daughters of nobles and of high colonial officials, and as "servants" girls of colored or humble extraction. Therefore, the number of morenas or very light mulatto religious is minimal and all are of recent admission.

*563 793 [829] There is also a prejudice, widespread among the priests of the secular clergy, that "the mulattoes are very inclined to concupiscence and to arrogance when they are intelligent." Nevertheless dark priests are ordained. At least 30 o/o of the 176 priests ordained at the archdiocesan theological seminary of Bahia between 1907 and 1951 were colored; among 50 colored priests identified in the register, at least seven were very dark or black. Approximately the same proportion can be noted among the 42 secular priests living in the city. Among those who are best known as sacred orators and who are invited to preach on solemn occasions in the ecclessiastical life and in the religious ceremonies that precede the examinations of the different schools of the local university, there are numerous pardos and Blacks, some of whom enjoy a great deal of prestige as vicars of important parishes, as professors, and as men of letters. The theological seminary of the archdiocese also includes at present an [874] increased number of young colored students, made up of dark mulattoes and Blacks.

/77/ Sports

*563 526 In no matter what study of the most popular sports of Brazil, whether it is a matter of football, rowing, basketball, volleyball, or tennis, it is indispensable to consider that some of them are practiced by certain socio-economic groups and that others, after having been a pastime of some of these groups, have become a profession.

*563 526 575 Tennis in Bahia is a bourgeois sport that an extremely limited number of people play. On the grounds of one of the principal clubs where this sport is played one does not see colored persons, except now and then one or two morenos of high rank from the liberal professions or from commerce. A mulatto practicing a

[SALVADOR]

/90 cont./ A colored girl in similar circumstances
*563 has greater advantages than a boy, for, being accompanied by a
•562 friend or a relative, she is assured of dancing with him and with the
575 friends to whom he introduces her." But the colored girls, almost all the informants acknowledge, have much greater difficulty being accepted in the clubs, unless they are wives or members of the family of members. And the dark girls, for their part, fully accept this situation. In this they behave like "ignorant" colored men, someone remarks (1).

[113]

1. The refusal of female Whites to dance with male Blacks, in Bahia and in the neighboring State of Sergipe, has already been pointed out, cf. Felte Bezerra, Etnias sergipanas, Aracajù, 1950, p. 246.

*563 Refusing to dance with young colored men /91/ is not only done
562 by Whites. A dark student says that she dances with any boy pro-
535 vided that he dances well, "even if he is a blackamoor (pretinho)." Another one, very light, frankly confesses that she does not experience any pleasure and even some shame in dancing with a man darker than she.

*563 The very select clubs having a predominance of members who
575 are merchants or connected with industry and the liberal profes-
463 sions accept only persons who are "socially white," that is to say,
554 showing the white type or classed as white; the clubs of small tradesmen and commercial employees, modest officials, and people practicing a liberal profession of lower category have a much higher number of colored members, including dark
*563 mulattoes and even Blacks. The proportion of the different types
575 encountered among the members of two clubs of the categories
554 mentioned above is the following:

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1

BB 175 249 in mind when they founded the colony of Bahia.

> Already enough was known of Brazil to hope that sugar cane would do well in it. The hot and humid climate of its coast would be highly favorable, and as for hands for work, they counted mainly on the indigenous people who, as we have seen, were relatively numerous and peaceful on the coast. These perspectives were completely confirmed; the one factor of which they were ignorant before the attempt--the quality of the soil--revealed itself as supremely propitious, at some points at least, on the extensive coast. This was particularly the case in the extreme northeast, on the coastal plain occupied by the state of Pernambuco and on the contours of the Baía de Todos os Santos (the Recôncavo Baiano, as it would be called). These were not the only ones: in a general way all the Brazilian coast paid homage to sugar cane.
>
> It was on this base that the effective occupation and colonization of Brazil was initiated.[7]

BB [134]

By the end of the sixteenth century sugar cane cultivation had spread at least as far as its present western and southern limits in the Recôncavo, on the Paraguaçu and Jaguaripe rivers. Forty engenhos were engaged in the production of sugar.[8] The engenhos were the nuclei of the economic organization of the colony. The cultivation of sugar cane and the milling of sugar demanded a labor force too large to be recruited from among the indigenous Indians.[9] This labor force was supplied from the slave pens of Africa--chiefly on the Guinea Coast and in Angola. The city of Salvador, which had the advantage of a commodious port and a central location among the slave markets of Brazil, was the chief point of debarkation for these Africans.[10]

BB 175 249 464 567

BB [504]

Estimates of the number of slaves imported and the number who remained in Bahia vary over a wide range. In 1583, when the population of Brazil was estimated at 57,000 people, 25,000 were listed as whites, 18,000 as civilized Indians, and 14,000 as Negro slaves. The Negroes were concentrated mainly in Bahia and Pernambuco.[11] It seems likely that in Bahia the number of Negroes was at least equal to the number of whites. These two racial groups and their mixed-blood derivatives

B 175 161 162

BB 162 563 [174]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

162 compose most of the population of the Recôncavo today. In 1940 the
563 population of the Centro-Litoral of Bahia--the census area most closely corresponding to the Recôncavo--had the following composition: white, 22 per cent; black, 29 per cent; and others, predominately mulatto, 49 per cent.[12]

The purchase of large quantities of slaves required the produc-
175 439 tion of a commodity which could be used as exchange in Africa. The
567 436 indigenous tobacco proved eminently suitable for this purpose. Although
276 rum apparently was used also in this trade, tobacco became the essential
[273] source of exchange for the slave traffic.[13] Bahia was the main area of
[249] tobacco production, and probably most of this production was localized in the Recôncavo.[14]

175 The initial period of settlement saw also the incorporation of
244 433 manioc[15] into the agricultural economy as a staple. Like tobacco, it
[507] was an indigenous crop. Thus one indigenous crop was adopted to purchase slaves in Africa and another to feed them in Brazil. By 1587 manioc apparently was being cultivated on a moderate scale in Bahia.[16] A recurring theme in the history of the Recôncavo is the shortage of this essential foodstuff.

In addition to the principal crops--sugar, tobacco, and
241 262 manioc--a number of lesser agricultural products were important in the
175 433 early history of the Recôncavo. Corn, beans, and bananas were grown on a small scale and used to supplement the manioc diet. Other diversi-
231 fications of the diet were provided by meat and fish. Cattle were maintained to draw the ox carts and to power many of the cane mills. For lighter tasks asses and mules were used.

178 Out of this complex of Portuguese settlers and Negro slaves, of
249 433 old world and new world crops, there developed certain characteristic agricultural enterprises. The engenho--old world in the origin of its

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 In
433 contemporary Bahia chronic shortages of staple foods, particularly
178 manioc, are characteristic of the zones of commercial agriculture.

175 The equipment and technology of the engenhos was primitive.
249 The cane was transported on the backs of mules or on ox carts to the
[492] mill where it was crushed in a crude press sometimes turned by water power but usually by animal- or even man-power. The cane juice was evaporated in large iron caldrons which were heated by fire made from wood. This type of processing was in general use in the Recôncavo for several centuries and still persists in some areas of the extra-Recôncavo
[464] backlands. The engenhos were operated almost exclusively with slave
[567] labor. Most of the slaves of Bahia are thought to have come from the Guinea Coast of Africa. These "Mina" Negroes[18] had a relatively
[177] sophisticated cultural inheritance from Africa and undoubtedly made substantial contributions to the cultural development of Bahia.[19]

175 The Negroes were introduced when Indian slaves failed to pro-
249 vide the necessary labor supply, but they were rarely available in
464 sufficient numbers and at a low enough cost to prevent chronic labor
567 shortages. Falta de braços (literally, lack of arms) has been a perennial concern in the Recôncavo no less than elsewhere in Brazil.
[162] The importation of hundreds of thousands of Negroes into Brazil--of which certainly a considerable number were settled in the Recôncavo--did not solve the problem.[20] In the early period most engenhos had from about 80 to 100 slaves, but by the eighteenth century some had as many as 1,000.[21]

175 From the beginning of settlement there was extensive miscegna-
563 tion. The Portuguese settlers were predominately male, and they bred
567 on a large scale with both Indian and Negro slave women. Some of the mestizo and mulatto children--chiefly the latter in the Recôncavo--retained the slave status of their mothers. Others were freed and sometimes occupied favored positions in their fathers' households.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 565 The landed, slave-owning aristocrat was the master of Recôncavo society. The extended aristocratic family was the basic social, economic, and political unit of colonial society. The upper class of the Recôncavo, composed of inter-related family units, continued without substantial alteration until the twentieth century.

175 241 433 565 563 Despite the predominance of sugar cane and the engenho in the colonial Recôncavo--and in the literature on the region--other products and other institutions were important. It is clear that tobacco and manioc were the chief secondary agricultural products, but the development of the associated institutions is not documented. Presumably a class of small semi-subsistence cultivators occupied the lands unsuitable for sugar cane. This class probably was composed of whites lacking the capital for plantation agriculture and freed mulattoes and slaves--manumission was very common in the Recôncavo. The chief commercial product of these small farmers was rolo or corda tobacco (similar to a "twist" of tobacco),[22] and probably to a lesser extent farinha de mandioca (manioc flour). In addition, corn, beans, rice, and bananas were produced.

175 43 The colonial economy of the Recôncavo was not self-sufficient, in spite of the production of food crops and meat animals on small farms and on plantations. Near the beginning of colonization the livestock ranching industry, originating in coastal areas like the Recôncavo, migrated into the interior of the Northeast. Thereafter [231] a strong current of trade in animals, especially cattle, flowed into the Recôncavo from the São Francisco valley, from Ceará, and probably from the sertão of Bahia between the coast and the mountains. These animals were exchanged at the cattle fairs--notably at Feira de Santana--for the products of the coast and for imports from abroad.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 249 565 [471] maintained splendid establishments, called Solars, in the Capital, to which they repaired in the winter season, June, July and August, for social diversion.[29]

[178] The above citation is characteristic of the present-day views of many upper-class Baianos who identify themselves with this opulent era of the Recôncavo social evolution. The mythology engendered by the colonial sugar industry is outliving the engenho system. The wealth, pride, and ostentation of these fidalgos is undeniable. Within the limits of the provincial social environment, upper-class life was luxurious indeed. Compared with the upper-class society of the period in Europe or in the American South, however, social opportunities in the Recôncavo must have been rather limited. The casas [342] grandes—if the surviving specimens can be taken as typical—generally [489] were rather modest plantation houses. Transportation was difficult: few engenhos had carriage roads, and travel was by horseback or [571] palanquin. Social intercourse often was restricted to an ingrown [484] local circle. Apparently many of the social needs of the upper class could not be met within the rural Recôncavo so that trips were made frequently to Salvador, Rio de Janeiro, and sometimes Paris.[30]

Little has been recorded of the way of life of the slaves and 175 249 poor freemen in the Recôncavo. It is significant that both apologists 567 and critics of slavery usually have agreed that the masters were relatively clement in the treatment of their slave laborers. These slaves were very valuable possessions, particularly after the British began to suppress the slave trade. Because absentee ownership and delegation of administration to people outside the family was not usual, the masters and slaves were perforce in daily contact. Out of these daily contacts between landholder and laborer, a relatively personal relationship was developed. Within the household, relation- [563] ships were even more familiar. In addition, some of the slaves were

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 249 567 the offspring of master and slave and sometimes were considered as [563] members of the household.

A set of feudalistic inter-relations developed in the society, loosely defining the responsibilities and privileges of master and slave. Ideally the slave had the privilege, almost the right, to appeal to the master in person for assistance and advice. Manumission and the granting of the right to purchase freedom were common. At the [466] same time, the economic system was based upon involuntary labor. The slave was exploited, and the fruit of his toil went to maintain the luxurious existence of the small upper class.

175 565 The small freemen occupied a very inferior social and economic position in this society. In the cities they became tradesmen or [463] [554] craftsmen, occupations without status. In the country some were petty dependents of the engenho, others established themselves as small cultivators. Since the sugar cane plantations dominated the central Recôncavo, it seems reasonable to assume that the small holders were segregated mainly in the outer zone.

175 161 162 In 1819--during the florescence of the Recôncavo--the population of the comarca (district) of Bahia was 362,503. Most of this population was centered in the Recôncavo--200,000 in the lowlands north of the Bay--the sugar cane area--and 77,503 in the western uplands around Cachoeira--the tobacco area.[31] At this time the total population of Bahia was estimated at 592,908 and that of Brazil as between 175 633 162 4,000,000 to 4,500,000.[32] Salvador, with a population somewhere between 100,000 and 130,000, was the largest city in Brazil and remained so until 1830.[33] The class and ethnic composition of the 175 563 565 569 population of this period is not clearly indicated. By some estimates, over half of the population of Bahia was slave and over three-fifths

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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was Negro. Other estimates state that less than one-third of the people were slaves.[34]

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Table IV, below, illustrates the economic organization of the sugar industry in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

TABLE IV

TOTAL CAPITAL INVESTMENT IN SUGAR ENGENHOS OF BAHIA IN 1833

	In U. S. Dollars*	
	Per Unit	Total Investment
603 mills	$2,500	$1,507,500
48,240 slaves	150	7,236,000
60,300 oxen	20	904,500
23,100 horses	20	464,500
78,800 ha. of agric. land	46 (approx)	3,618,000
38,528 ha. of forest	23 (approx)	884,000
47 steam engines	3,000	141,000
62 water canals	3,000	186,000
Improvements of each mill	2,000	1,206,000
Total in Bahia		$16,147,500

*Conversion at $500 per thousand of reis, after Calogeras, p. 47 in footnote.

Source: Amaral, II, 84 after the Marquez de Abrantes.

The usefulness of the above data is limited by the ambiguity of several of its categories. "Agricultural land" could be either land cultivated or cultivable. The most serious problem of interpretation is the meaning of "improvements," since the value of these improvements is relatively high. It is reasonably certain, from the nature of the engenho, that these improvements are not technological advances but only those simple measures necessary to maintain the traditional structure--warehouses, corrals, slave quarters, etc. If the value of the house of the senhor de engenho is included in this figure, this would help to account for the relatively high figure for improvements.

Nevertheless, the data do represent certain significant elements of the mid-nineteenth century sugar cane system of the Recôncavo. Almost

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Economic and social changes in Brazil during the last century have had two important effects upon the relative position of the Recôncavo: (1) This historic region, in common with much of the Northeast, has lagged behind the new economic and social centers of the Central-South--the Recôncavo has become, vis-a-vis Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and the southern states, an under-developed area. (2) Many new, usually externally originated, cultural elements have been rapidly accepted in the Recôncavo, whereas much of the conservative ideology of the society has remained essentially unchanged.

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Racial Characteristics. The Recôncavo is a region of heterogenous racial characteristics--in every município each of the three basic racial groups (white, black, and mixed) comprises at least 10 per cent of the population. These racial categories generally do not correspond to social groups, nor is the Recôncavo in any sense a plural society. In linage, in social and cultural interaction, and in the daily business of earning a living the various people of the region are closely linked.

During three centuries of slavery hundreds of thousands of Africans were brought into Bahia, and the Negro element in the population is still large. As a result of this and the more or less continuous miscegenation "Baia [Bahia] and Negroid characteristics are very closely associated in Brasilian thinking."[6] On the basis of the 1940 census, over 70 per cent of the people of the state of Bahia were Negroes or mixed bloods. Only one other Brazilian state--Amazonas--had a higher proportion, and the national average was only 36 per cent.[7] Within Bahia the proportion of non-whites was highest in the Centro-Litora (east-central Bahia), which includes the Recôncavo. In 1940, 78 per cent of the people of this census division were Negroes or mixed bloods.[8]

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TABLE V

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THE STATE OF BAHIA AND THE RECÔNCAVO MUNICÍPIOS

	Per cent of Total Population - 1940		
	Whites	Blacks	Others
State of Bahia	28.74	20.13	51.11
Central Recôncavo:			
Santo Amaro	10.47	37.59	51.94
São Francisco	14.02	29.96	56.01
São Sebastião	12.74	32.76	54.50
Cachoeira	11.71	38.51	49.78
Northern Recôncavo:			
Coração de Maria	15.58	37.18	47.23
Irará	12.50	34.07	53.43
Alagoinhas	22.88	24.41	52.69
Northwestern Recôncavo:			
Feira de Santana	12.16	28.31	59.53
São Gonçalo	10.63	48.19	41.18
Conceição da Feira	15.24	47.46	37.16
Santo Estêvão	17.66	31.38	50.95
Southwestern Recôncavo:			
Muritiba	10.48	40.48	49.03
Cruz das Almas	16.34	36.84	46.82
Conceição do Almeida	19.63	30.54	49.83
São Filipe	25.32	30.66	44.02
São Félix	15.78	33.33	50.87
Eastern Recôncavo:			
Catu	23.78	22.58	53.64
Pojuca	22.69	21.90	55.41
Southern Recôncavo:			
Maragogipe	37.40	23.05	39.53
Itaparica	14.60	26.99	58.38
Salvador	35.08	26.33	38.54

Note: The difference between the totals of these figures and 100 per cent consists of a very small percentage of Orientals.

Source: Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, 1940. Rio de Janeiro, 1949.

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From the above table (Table V) it can be seen that "whites" compose less than one-third of the total population of all Recôncavo municípios except Maragogipe and Salvador. Over one-fourth of the population is classified as "black" in all but the three municípios of Alagoinhas, Maragogipe, and Catu. Those persons classified as "others"--mulatos and mestiços--account for 40 to 60 per cent of the population

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

563 162 634 in all municípios but three—Maragogipe, Salvador, and Conceição da Feira. The variations between the individual municípios reflect: (1) concentrations of Negroes in the sugar cane area; and (2) concentrations of mixed-bloods, some of which are mestiços, on the inland borders of the Recôncavo and around the sugar zone. Salvador has a relatively larger white group--35 per cent--and a lower proportion of mixed-bloods--38 per cent.

563 565 With the possible exception of the prevailing white upper class, no significant cultural segment of Recôncavo society can be defined in racial terms. The lower class is composed of Negroes, mixed bloods, and whites--it is an economic, not a racial unit. The upper class is predominantly white, but this primarily reflects the historical economic advantages of the white people and only incidentally the social advantages of a lighter skin. Given wealth, dark-skinned people enter the upper class with little--but nevertheless perceptible--difficulty on account of their racial background. Baianos say "a rich man is not a Negro." If a Negro or mulato is wealthy, many people think of him as being light-skinned. The cultural range between the upper and lower class in Recôncavo society is great. Neither the simpler cultural system of the lower classes nor the sophisticated upper class culture is associated with race per se.[9]

565 Class Differences. Recôncavo society is characterized by a strongly developed class structure and little vertical social mobility. In a recent anthropological survey of class in Brazil, "one's income, the kind of work one does, one's education, one's family (in varying degrees) and finally, one's physical [i.e. racial] appearance" were the main criteria used.[10] The study made by Hutchinson of a small community in the Central Recôncavo sugar cane area in 1950-51 distinguished four social strata.[11] Among the findings of the study were the following:

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

565 563 [162] Five families, out of a total community population of 4,269, composed the aristocratic upper class. All five were plantation-owning families, resident on their fazendas or engenhos. All were closely linked either to each other or to other aristocratic families in the sugar-cane area and in Salvador by marriage [and were linked through these to the national Brazilian upper class]. All were relatively [871] well educated, and most of the males had university degrees in law, engineering, or medicine. All were of Caucasoid appearance.

The second class consisted of local bureaucrats, plantation administrators, sugar-mill technicians, merchants, and professional people of the only small town (cidade, a sort of county seat). For the most part they were descendants of local people. The educational [871] range was from university educated doctors to illiterates. Members of this class included pure Caucasoids, brancos da terra (whites of the land, or whites with known or suspected Négro ancestors) mulattoes, and some Negroes. This was called a local upper class to distinguish it from the regional, aristocratic, upper class.

The third and most numerous class was that of "the people" (gente). This was the class of those who did physical work. They were plantation and mill workers, craftsmen, and fishermen. In the urban segment of this class, in the cidade, there was a fairly continuous gradation of standing within this class, with each occupational group occupying a defined social position. In the agricultural segment there is also a definite heirarchy. The feitor (foreman) and the vaquéiro (cowboy) form an upper level. On the basis of the sequence of promotion and the degree of authority elsewhere in the sugar zone, the balançéiro or weigh master also belongs in this group. The bulk of the plantation workers form the next

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563 sub-stratum. Most of the rural and urban workers who fell within the third class were Negroes, mulatos, or dark-skinned mestiços.

At the bottom of the social heirarchy was a small group of cidade dwellers of menial position. These were porters, water carriers, washerwomen, domestic servants, and odd-jobbers. This class was chiefly Negro or mulatto, but there were some brancos da terra.

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369 The homes of the aristocratic upper class were all located on fazendas outside the cidade. The lowermost class was entirely urban. The other classes were both rural and urban in distribution. The aristocratic upper class did not intermarry with, nor receive new members directly from, the local upper class. There was some social mobility between the various levels in the lower class.

The above analysis of class corresponds quite closely to the general class structure throughout the sugar-cane zone and with modification to Salvador. The composition of the upper class of Salvador is more complex. Here the upper stratum is composed not only of landed aristocrats and their dispossessed descendants but also of urban capitalists and speculators. These latter often have agricultural landholdings, but usually as an investment rather than as a way of life. These people are generally newcomers to the upper class. The professions also have their place in the upper class, since members of the families of aristocrats, dispossessed aristocrats, and capitalists are often prominent doctors, lawyers, and, in recent years, engineers.

The more complex composition of the upper class in Salvador is a product of the economic decline of the aristocratic family and the concurrent rise of powerful business interests. This development reflects the growth of a greater degree of social mobility among the upper class of Salvador than is characteristic of the sugar cane area.

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parently the criteria for class distinctions were evolved and "set" at that time. The white Portuguese males, and the few Portuguese women present, were the owners of the land and of the people, both Indian and Negro, who were drawn into the cultural milieu which became Brazilian society. They were the group who set up and presented the ideal behavior patterns to the others. They were at the peak of the status and prestige hierarchy, while the slave was at the bottom. Thus was established the original dichotomy of the whites as upper-class and the colored people as lower-class. As colonial development continued, other factors were added to this basic one by the will of the whites. For it was the white group which was primarily responsible for the creation of the mestiço, and it was the white who placed this new mestiço socially between himself and the darkest colored person. 175 56

It is clear that color distinctions arose along with the creation of the multishaded mestiço group, and that at the same time other factors were brought into being, qualifying that of color, such as education, family, and occupation. White masters who had children by dark slaves often raised them as legitimate if they were light-skinned, that is, if the difference between father and child was not too great. In such a case the child could become a member of the upper end of the social hierarchy, with education, family, and a position in which he could command others rather than do any manual labor. 175 563 565*

This was particularly the case when the white master did not have a legitimate, European wife to bear him children. If the difference between father and offspring was too great for the child to be easily acceptable as the son of a European, the child was nevertheless not infrequently partially recognized and helped by the father in some fashion. He then took his place among the gente pequena, free but illegitimate and rather dark-skinned. With marked Negroid features his status was even lower than the European gente pequena. An illegitimate child who proved to be clearly Negroid was likely to be left in bondage with its mother. Thus, early in Brazilian society the degree of skin darkness and the kind of facial features and hair form became important. Opportunity for personal advancement was linked with similarity to the white European, who was the giver of status and who liked to give higher status to those in his image. 175 563 565* 848 175 563 565*

Until 1888 there were two major social categories: slaves and nonslaves. Within the nonslave group, however, there 175 565* 567

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567 were definite subdivisions or classes, with the white European landowner at the top and the darkest-colored free laborer at the bottom. This bottom group grew constantly as a result of the addition of manumitted slaves, especially during the second half of the nineteenth century.

Abolition of slavery removed the strongest barrier to mobility for the largest homogeneous segment of Brazilian population, that of the slaves. Overnight the former slaves became the bottom rank of a new prestige system based mainly on five major criteria: economic power or wealth, profession, education, family, and color. As the lower ranks swelled in size after the abolition, color decreased in importance for mobility, as the other four factors became increasingly meaningful for this large segment of the population. Because of the fact that for three hundred years such a large part of the nonslave population had been colored or mestiço, and there was already in existence a social scale which included them, the entrance of the former slaves into free society did not upset what was already a fully functioning class system, even though the addition of so many people to the bottom class made this by far the largest, numerically.

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*565 The abolition of slavery also gave increased emphasis to class competition, or at least to the possibilities of competition among a greatly enlarged number of people. Nevertheless, the gap between the top of the hierarchy, the regional aristocracy, and any of those below remained as great as before, restricting class competition to the members of the lower classes. Few people from below were able to enter the uppermost group unless they were white and had in some way accumulated sufficient wealth. Some merchants moved into this class through the purchase of property as former aristocratic families died out. As time went on, many people in the upper brackets of the middle class maintained easy social relations with the upper class.

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563 However, formal marriage between colored people of the ranks below and white people of the upper class has always
*565 been forbidden; the small group of landowners and other upper-class people continued to intermarry as they had for centuries. Nevertheless, even this barrier has broken down occasionally, for upper-class people have married and do marry persons known to be of mixed descent. Usually, however, the mestiço partner in such a union is very light-skinned and comes from a family in good economic circumstances which

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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has already been accepted by other members of the upper class as their equal or nearly so.

Race or color prejudice finds its strongest expression at just this point--marriage into the upper class--but even here, if the mestiço is sufficiently light-skinned, educated, and well mannered, he or she can and does marry into the best families. The importance of the "bleaching process" in this society cannot be overestimated, for apparently the trend is toward lighter skins and straighter hair on a national scale. In the case of a marriage between one known to be of mixed descent and a member of an upper-class family, no point is ever made of the fact that one partner is "less white" than the other. Aside from the question of marriage into the small top group, color merges in importance with the other criteria, such as economic situation and education, in the contention for class position.

The three-class system which has been implied in the foregoing passages has recently been thoroughly described.[2] Although finer local distinctions have called for the addition of a fourth class here, Vila Recôncavo provides an excellent example of the various national classes. As in all discussions about this community, the urban-rural distinctions must be kept in mind. The local class system may be portrayed as follows:

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TABLE 2
SOCIAL CLASSES IN VILA RECÔNCAVO

	Urban	Rural
Class A	none	landowners
Class B	local bureaucrats, merchants, professional people	plantation administrators, mill technicians, specialists, office help
Class C	fishermen, gardeners, craftsmen	millworkers, field hands
Class D	laundresses, servants, persons without steady employment or craft	none

2. Charles Wagley, ed., Race and Class in Rural Brazil (Paris, 1952), pp. 144 ff.

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total expenditures for food, just half in total value of what Class A spends. Both Class A and Class B spend more for food alone than the total expenditures of classes C and D. The rural field workers spend the least amount for food, which again reflects their possession of garden plots. 565* 511

Color consciousness runs all through class relations and can even be equated with class to a certain extent. All Class A members are white; Class B has whites and a mixture of the others; Class C is nearly entirely composed of mestiços and blacks with the exception of a few "whites of the land" who are usually considered separately from mestiços; while Class D has light mestiços as well as blacks. "Color consciousness, or "color relations," would better describe the situation in this Bahian rural area than would the term "race relations," for although the Portuguese word raça, directly translatable into English as race, is used in this area to designate the three major racial stocks, American Indian, Negro, and Caucasian, it also means Brazilian in the sense of nationality. It is even more commonly used to describe animals which are pedigreed in contrast with those which are not. When asked questions about race, people are apt to ask first what kind of race is meant. If one speaks of color the situation is much clearer. 565* 563 826

In the United States an absolute "line" is drawn between white and Negro. A person who is not white is a Negro, whatever his percentage of Negro heritage may be. In Vila Recôncavo, this "line" is recognized rather than drawn. A distinction between Negro and white is always kept in mind when classifying an individual. Everyone knows who is "pure" white and who is not. Classification by color is one of the most important aspects of local culture, and one of the most difficult aspects for the outsider to grasp. Recôncavo Bahians feel that one may instantly recognize the difference between a "pure" white and a mixed white-Indian, white-Negro, or Negro-Indian, but they do not let it go at that. They classify or describe minutely each person; they classify according to skin color, hair form, and facial features. Their classifications of physical types are used in everyday conversation. Just as it would be said in the United States that someone is short and fat, the people of Vila Recôncavo will describe a person's color and hair form. 563 826 [171]

In the Recôncavo a white person is called a branco. The term Negro is rarely used to denote a person of African de-

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scent. Rather, such a person is called homem de côr (man of color). Negro is used abstractly to denote the Negro race, but it is almost never used to single out an individual. Nêgo (a softened variation of the word Negro) may frequently be used as a term of endearment, even among whites, and it is sometimes used as a nickname. When a Bahian of the Recôncavo speaks of indio, he usually thinks of the Indian of the interior of Mato Grosso or of the Amazon. When he wishes to indicate people of American Indian physical type in the Recôncavo, he generally says caboclo, or caatingueiro, or sometimes sertanejo.

Even the whites are subclassified, divided into two categories, the louro (blond), and the moreno (brunet). There is still a third term for people with Caucasoid physical characteristics, namely branco da terra (white of the land). This term denotes one who is phenotypically white, that is, who has the physical characteristics of a Caucasoid--fair skin, fine features, and "good" (meaning "straight") hair--but whose ancestry has Negro blood. He is generally moreno (dark) and is frequently characterized by a slightly yellowish tinge to the skin. The branco da terra sometimes also shows traces of caboclo, as well as Negro and white, descent. In Vila Recôncavo, the "pure" white man may refer to such a person as a branco da terra but will ordinarily call him a branco. To the majority of the population, the branco da terra is always called white, and no one would ever call anyone a branco da terra to his face. He is accorded the same treatment as is any white person by both whites and nonwhites.

In classifying people, skin color is an important factor, but hair form is equally important. If there is any question about what to call a person, his hair is usually the deciding criterion. After skin and hair, facial features (prognathism, nose shape, and thickness of lips) are considered. The many designations used in Vila Recôncavo for the people of Negroid or mixed ancestry can be broken down roughly as follows:

1. The preto or preto retinto ("dark black") has black, shiny skin, kinky, woolly hair, thick lips, and a flat, broad nose. The prêtos distinguish among themselves as to what they call qualidade (quality), and rank themselves according to minute differences in skin color, nose form, etc. The preto with the greatest "quality" is the farthest removed from the usual concept of a Negro, and yet he is still a black. He is a "prettier" black.

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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2. The cabra (male) and cabrocha (female) are generally slightly lighter than the preto, with hair growing somewhat longer, but still kinky and unmanageable, facial features somewhat less Negroid, although often with fairly thick lips and flat nose. The cabra and cabrocha usually lack the definite facial features and shine of the preto.

3. The Cabo Verde is lighter than the preto, but still very dark. The Cabo Verde, however, has long, straight hair, and his facial features are apt to be very fine, with thin lips and a narrow, straight nose. He is almost a "black white man."

4. The escuro, or simply "dark man," is darker than the usual run of mestiços, but the term is generally applied to a person who does not fit into one of the three types mentioned above. The escuro is nearly but not quite a Negro with Caucasoid features. He usually has "quality." Escuro is a very useful term for the outsider in the Recôncavo.

5. The mulato is a category always divided into two types, the mulato escuro and mulato claro (dark and light mulattoes). The mulato has hair which grows perhaps to shoulder length, but which has a decided curl or even kink. It can, however, be straightened. The mulato's facial features vary widely: thick lips with a narrow nose, or vice versa. As a rule, the features are "thicker" than the branco's and "thinner" than the preto's. The mulato is generally distinguishable by a yellowish tinge to his skin color, more accentuated than that of the branco da terra. His skin color varies from very light to very dark. A mulato claro, with straightened hair, thin lips, and a "good" nose, is very much like the branco da terra.

6. Pardo is a term not often used in speech. It is one of the official classifications used in the census and on identification papers. However, it is used occasionally to describe an individual who is closer to the white than a mulato claro. Occasionally mestiço children are described as pardo during the early years of their lives, before their features become distinctive enough to fit them definitely into one of the other groups. In one case, a little girl of three was called parda by her mother. The girl lives with her godfather, who is a branco da terra. He lists the girl as white, since her skin is very light and her hair is growing long and only slightly wavy. But her mother says she is a parda, because she knows that "her hair may curl up any day, which would make her a mulata clara."

7. The sarará is not difficult to distinguish. He has very

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light skin, and hair which is reddish or blondish but kinky or curled. His facial features are extremely varied, even more so than the mulato's. There are sararás who would "pass" for white in the United States, but more often the sarará has an unusual appearance: skin which is neither dark nor light, frequently freckled, eyes with a greenish-blue cast, and hair which bleaches easily in the sun. In Vila Recôncavo the sarará is usually found among fishermen and those living on the islands. It is difficult to find a person of this physical type without a good suntan and bleached hair.

8. The moreno has "excellent" skin, "fine-textured" and smooth. He is light-skinned but not white. He has dark hair, which is long and either wavy or curly. It is manageable and does not need straightening. His features are much more Caucasoid than Negroid. Here again a distinction is made between the dark and light morenos; also between these and the moreno branco. Moreno, as used regarding the white, distinguishes the brunet from the blond of the same group.

Few people fit completely into any of these "racial" types. When one has all the defined characteristics of the preto people call him "bem preto" or "bem pretinho" (really black). The same is true of the sarará, bem sarará; or of the moreno, who is called bem moreninho or moreno fino. It is just as difficult to find the ideal type for the other classifications, because there are so many variations. Many times one must point out that an individual is predominantly of one physical type but has one or more characteristics of another type. For instance, one young man in Vila Recôncavo has the characteristics of an escuro, but since most people like him they prefer to think of him as moreno. He has "fine" skin and "thin" facial features, but has tight, kinky hair. People generally refer to him as moreno, adding, "Mas ele tem cabelo ruim" (But he has bad hair). One frequently hears, "He is mulato, but very light." These verbal descriptions paint a vivid picture of the person in question. In Vila Recôncavo, it is not simply a matter of black and white, but of all the shades in between.

A term of classification not listed above, caboclo, is something of a special case. As mentioned earlier, most people with American Indian physical traits have come into the Recôncavo from the sertão during the dry spells of the north. In view of the length of time that people of the north have been periodically coming into the Recôncavo, comparatively few

2: Hutchinson E-4, δ (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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have remained. Nevertheless, the population of Vila Recôncavo shows a considerable Indian element, that is, of people with a reddish or bronze tinge to their skin color, more prominent cheekbones than the Africans or whites, and a tendency toward an almond-shaped eye. However, few people in Vila Recôncavo bearing these marks are called caboclos. They are classified instead in the local terms mentioned above, ignoring Indian traits. In Vila Recôncavo, there is a certain dispraisal of the caboclo. He is considered less civilized than the resident of the Recôncavo. He is often known as a better worker, more ambitious, trustworthy, and frugal, but less genial than the easygoing person of the Recôncavo. In the rural area of Vila Recôncavo, each year many caboclo men come to the plantations to work during harvest time. For the most part they stay together, away from the resident workers of the plantation. The plantations construct a type of barracks to accommodate these men, who do their own cooking, care for their own clothes, and spend their evenings gathered around a fire, singing songs of the sertão, apart from the permanent workers.

The following percentages of racial types were taken from a sample of 162 heads of families, using the four major types:

Preto	50, or 40 per cent
Mulato	59, or 49 per cent
Caboclo	3, or 2 per cent
Branco	11, or 9 per cent

Each physical type in Vila Recôncavo is thought to have a series of personality traits correlated with physical appearance. Furthermore, these stereotypes of expected behavior reflect the attitude of people toward the various racial types. Two physical types, for example, the cabra-cabrocha and the sarará, are usually "more to be pitied than censured," for they are considered ugly by most people. There is a feeling that they are unfortunate crosses between parents of physical characteristics which do not mix well. They are thought to lack the definite traits which characterize the other physical types, and "even a preto de qualidade is better than either of these--at least more handsome." Furthermore, people of these physical types are thought to be difficult to deal with. They are sometimes irritable and easily angered. They are the physical types least preferred in Vila Recôncavo; all oth-

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826 ers have some positive qualities. People arrange their pref-
157 erences in many ways, according to the physical qualities they wish to emphasize.

563 There is also a series of expressions used by everyone to
578 describe the person who is trying to appear white. It is almost
557 axiomatic that whoever tries to be what he is not is considered ridiculous by all. Both whites and Negroes gossip about the social climber and use the terms "tem pinta" (has a "touch of the tarbrush"), or "tem sangue" (has Negro blood), or "é da raça" (is of the Negro race), or simply "besta" (show-off), "cheio de arte" (artful), "cheio de manha" (full of little tricks), or "fala bonito" (talks pretty).

563 There are also many phrases used by lower-class people
578 to ridicule Negroes and mestiços who are showing off, or "pushing." Most of these start off with Negro:

Negro doesn't marry, he gets together.
Negro doesn't accompany a procession, he runs after it.
Negro doesn't sit down, he squats.
Negro in white clothes is a sign of rain.
Negro doesn't hear Mass, he spies on it.
Negro at a white man's party is the first to grab and the last to eat.
Negro's intelligence is the same size as his hair.

563 The concepts and fixed ideas which the people of Vila Re-
125 côncavo have of these racial types were also revealed in their responses to a pictorial questionnaire devised in the field. A series of eight photographs were shown. These were of people unknown to those answering the questionnaire. They consisted of a male and a female representative of each of the four major racial types, the caboclo, the preto, the mulato, and the branco. An attempt was made to keep the photographs from giving any clue to the possible class position of the eight persons. However, the photographs we were able to secure were not entirely satisfactory for our purposes in Vila Recôncavo.
[159] The picture of the caboclo male was that of a middle-aged man, but of a type considered locally as having a strong personality, while the caboclo woman was older and certainly not simpatica (pleasant) in the local view. The two pretos were both unmistakably pretos, and both young. The mulato male and female differed one from the other, for the man was definitely a common mulato type, while the woman was almost

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a morena mulata rather than "pure" mulata. She was young and considered much more simpatica than any of the other three women presented. The two whites were also both young, but neither was distinguished in any way, and there was doubt in the minds of the people answering the questionnaire as to whether these two were "pure" white or not.

The questionnaire was given to eighty-five people, broken down into the following groups:

18 brancos	11 males	7 females
41 mulatos	21 males	20 females
18 pretos	7 males	11 females
8 caboclos	6 males	2 females
85	45	40

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Table 6 gives the results as to which racial types were found respectively most physically attractive, most wealthy, best worker, most honest, and most religious.

TABLE 6
PHYSICAL TYPES

Question	Number of people selected in 1st place			
	Branco	Preto	Mulato	Caboclo
Most attractive man	39*	17	14	15
Most attractive woman	26	3	30	26
Most wealthy man	27	11	9	38
Most wealthy woman	37	8	17	23
Best worker (man)	4	38	13	30
Best worker (woman)	7	22	23	33
Most honest man	11	22	8	44
Most honest woman	15	13	22	33
Most religious man	21	15	13	36
Most religious woman	17	11	17	40

*Underlined numbers indicate the group most frequently selected in first place.

From Table 6 it becomes clear that the ideal of the most attractive male is the white; and that the numerically indicated preference for the female type is the mulata--but the cabocla, it must be noted, is equally selected with the white.

2t Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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Both the mulata and the cabocla (despite her apparent age) of the photographs are of types which have the physical characteristics of the morena, so preferred in Vila Recôncavo. It is surprising that the caboclo male was selected as the wealthiest, in view of the stereotype that it is the white who is generally wealthiest; but I believe that this is due to the fact that people found the photograph of the caboclo to have a rather "distinguished" face, while the white on the photograph was felt to be a young man with what might be considered a "characterless" face. The preto man was chosen as the best worker, which supports the stereotype discussed earlier, while the cabocla was chosen as the best woman worker. This may be explained by the local phrase used to describe her: "Good for nothing else." The caboclos, both male and female, were chosen as most honest and most religious, which is in keeping with the stereotype of the caboclo, who is considered more serious and solemn than the native of the Recôncavo.

Table 7, a breakdown of Table 6 by racial types, shows clearly the types selected in first place by the Negroes, the mulattoes, the whites, and the caboclos.

TABLE 7
BREAKDOWN OF TABLE 6 BY RACIAL TYPES

Question	Chosen in first place by: Pretos(P)	Mulatos(M)	Brancos(B)	Caboclos(C)
Most attractive man	P	B	B	B
Most attractive woman	C&B	M	B	B
Most wealthy man	P	C	C	C
Most wealthy woman	B	B	B	B
Best worker (man)	P	C	P	P
Best worker (woman)	P	C	M	C
Most honest man	C	C	C	C
Most honest woman	C	C	C	C
Most religious man	C&M	C	C	C&B
Most religious woman	C	C	B	C

*Where two racial types are in first place it means they received an equal number of "votes."

Table 7 shows the extremely low position of the Negro woman in relation to the other women. She was chosen in the first

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place in only one instance--namely, as best worker--and only by the Negroes. In spite of the fact that in Table 6 the mulatto woman was considered the most attractive, she was chosen as such only by the mulattoes. The other three racial types selected the caboclo and the white woman. In summing up the total number of "votes," the mulatto woman won by the narrow margin of four. It is interesting to note that the Negroes chose the preto man as the wealthiest, selecting the caboclo in second place, while the other three racial types selected the caboclo first.

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Most people who desire to ascend socially will say that it is better to be white, or at least light, than dark, because it is the white who has the most money, the most education, and consequently the greatest number of opportunities. Traditionally the light-skinned mulatto has been able to share to some extent in these things. Therefore, today, if an individual is lighter it will be easier for him to climb, simply because of his lightness. Nevertheless, it is considered better to be a wealthy preto than a poor white.

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No one in any class likes a marriage in which the skin colors are too far apart. Any marriage of dark with light or white will be referred to as mosca no leite ("fly in the milk"), and a certain repugnance is felt by all. One man, formerly a fisherman but now a merchant of some means, is a preto married to a branca da terra who was poor but almost white. This marriage has not aided him much, as his wife did not bring him social position, but it has "lightened" his children. His own status is increased through his financial transactions. But his children are being educated in the city, and are more readily acceptable because of their color and their economic background. Their chances for a good marriage are greater than if they had the same background but were dark.

In another case, a white girl of the town's uppermost class is engaged to a preto who is an engineer in Salvador, but whose family has roots in Vila Recôncavo. There was great resistance to the engagement on the part of the girl's family, and all her friends felt that although she had a good "catch"--that is, a successful man--he was too dark for her, in spite of the fact that the girl's father is a branco da terra, and that her grandmother was dark-skinned.

The one impassable gap between the upper class of "aristocratic whites" and those below them is marriage. The white of the second class may be acceptable to the upper class be-

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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•563 cause he is white. But the chances are heavy against the marriage of a member of Class A with a "man of color." Perhaps in the city a marriage between a white of this upper class and a mestiço of the same group would take place, but this would certainly not happen in the rural area.

563 Until the end of the last century a number of bastards were
848 produced by the white plantation owners and their sons, with the slaves and former slaves. A large segment of the Vila Re-
(551) côncavo population is made up of these individuals and their children, and in many cases they bear the name of the white's family. These people are not recognized socially by the whites. In many instances the mestiço has the family name not because he was given it, but because he took it. Frequently a white family will keep track of the descendants on the illegitimate side of the family, and help them if necessary; but they will never introduce one of these individuals as a member of the family, even when that person has all the family's physical characteristics, if he has a darker skin.

In one case, the illegitimate daughter of a union between a white man and a slave recently found herself in a position to help the legitimate daughter of her father's cousin. This girl was born free prior to abolition. The slave mother managed to educate the girl, who became a successful schoolteacher and made excellent professional connections in the world of education. Later on, when her father's cousin's legitimate daughter, widowed with three children, needed aid to educate one of her own daughters, she received such aid from her mestiço cousin.

563 Because it is so striking a feature of these color relations, it may be repeated that there is only one series in the classification and this includes everyone from white to black. Regardless of degree of color all types are part of the same broad three-class system. The categories are known to all people, not only to those who happen to be "people of color," and they are used by all in referring to others.

3: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1963 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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1. Mulatto cowboy of the interior of Bahia

[facing P. 18]

3: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1963 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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[facing p. 19]

2. Cabocla of the interior of Bahia

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but spends most of his time on his plantation. The rest of the municipal officials are, for the most part, people who live in the town, although some of the town councillors are also planters living in the rural area.

The population of the area under study was 4,269 in 1940, and is approximately the same now. Of this number, 1,462 are residents of the town. Of the total of 4, 269, only 17 adults (plus their 16 children) in the rural area are considered locally, and appear to be, pure Caucasoid. They are all plantation owners, and all of them also have residences in the city of Salvador as well as in the rural area of Vila Recôncavo. Living in the town are 14 persons (plus their eight children) who are also considered pure Caucasoid. Three of these are foreign-born priests, one is a doctor, one a dentist, one a state tax collector, one a federal tax collector, and two are young men who have married into town families. The others are the wives and sisters of the men in the group, although one of the wives is suspected of having Negro ancestors since she has to have her hair straightened while the others have theirs curled. There are five families and numerous other individuals in Vila Recôncavo who are called 'white', but whose ancestry is known to all as not being entirely Caucasoid, and in the rural area there are even fewer. These people are known as *brancos da terra* (whites of the land), a term similar to the *brancos da Bahia* of which Pierson speaks.[6]

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The two other elements which are present in the population of Vila Recôncavo and the surrounding rural area are the Negro and the Indian. As might be expected, the Negroid element in the population overwhelmingly predominates, and there are people who represent mixtures of Negro and Caucasoid ancestry in all possible proportions. The American Indian element appears in the people called locally the *caboclos*, generally from the arid north-eastern *sertão*, who are of mixed Indian and Caucasoid descent. These *caatingueiros* (literally, people from the low brush country of *caatinga*) and *sertanejos* (literally, people from the *sertão*) are not usually permanent residents of the Recôncavo. As a rule, *levas* or groups of these *caboclos* of *caatingueiros* come down into the Recôncavo at harvest time, from September to March, to work during the period when the *sertão* is dry and unproductive. Generally also, only men come, and they remain apart from the permanent plantation workers and at the end of the harvest head for home.

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In Vila Recôncavo and its rural area, four social strata can be distinguished. First, there is a small upper class of aristocratic whites. This is almost an endogamous class, and intermarriage between first cousins is extremely frequent. The 17 white adults mentioned above are the members of the five families which locally compose this class. These families have been in the area for generations; two of them have been linked through first-cousin marriages

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for several generations. In the other families, marriages have been, with but one exception, with persons of equal class status, although frequently with aristocratic families from other parts of the Recôncavo or from Salvador. In the one exception, the husband was without wealth or much education, but he was known to be of pure white descent. All these families live *em família* (within the family), both in the rural area and in the capital, where they spend a part of (596) the year. Traditional family and friendship ties persist among them. They are large families with numerous relatives in the city and in other communities of the Recôncavo, so that dinners, dances, card parties, anniversaries and other social events are generally within the 565 extended family. Most of the males in this group have a profession, 463 such as lawyer, engineer or doctor.

The second social stratum is a slightly larger group consisting of the bureaucrats of the town, plantation administrators, technicians and specialists of the sugar mill, merchants and professional people of the town, such as the doctor, dentist and schoolteachers. Persons in this group are for the most part descendants of local people, although the doctor, the dentist and several of the schoolteachers are from the outside. In this group, one finds the 14 'pure' whites mentioned as living in Vila Recôncavo itself, and five of them are members of a family of former planters. People in this stratum do not have resi- [871] dences in the capital. On the whole, this class is less well-educated than the class above it; it even includes people who have had no formal education whatsoever, and two individuals who cannot read (563) or write. In this class are found most of the *brancos da terra*, many mulattoes and some Negroes, as well as the whites mentioned. This group might be termed the 'local upper class' to distinguish it from the small group of regional aristocrats mentioned above.

The third social stratum of Vila Recôncavo is by far the largest numerically. It consists of 'the people' *(o povo*, or simply *gente)*, fishermen, carpenters, bricklayers, mill hands, plantation workers, [464] and all others who do physical labour. Fourthly, there is a smaller group of even less status in the community, the people without a regular and steady income—women generally without husbands, but with children, who earn their living carrying water to homes from the nearby spring or who work as washerwomen and domestic servants, and men who serve as porters and perform other very menial tasks and odd jobs. There are no people in these two lower class strata who are considered 'pure' white. A few are considered *brancos da terra* but the great majority of them are Negroes, mulattoes, and others of various degrees of race mixture.

The regional aristocrats reside only in the rural zone and maintain residences outside the community. The 'local upper class' is found in both the rural and the urban zones, since the technicians and administrators on the plantations are of this class, but mostly in the

town, which is the centre of the municipal bureaucracy. The upper stratum of the lower classes is also found in both zones, since it contains town-dwelling artisans and fishermen as well as plantation workers. But the stratum of lowest prestige, the people who live marginally in Vila Recôncavo, is limited to the town itself. There is no place for them on the plantations or *usina* of the rural area. 565

As has already been indicated, the major economic factor in the community area of Vila Recôncavo is sugar-cane growing and the manufacture of sugar. There are approximately 2,500 people dependent upon this activity.[1] Each plantation has its small community, with a store, houses, repair shop and the owner's house. Plantation workers live on the plantation, in houses belonging to it. They are paid according to the amount of work they do—that is, how much cane they cut per ton, or how many feet of planting they cultivate, etc. As a rule, there are only three salaried persons employed on a typical sugar plantation—the administrator, the *feitor* (foreman), and the *vaqueiro* (cowboy). The administrator is the most important person on the plantation, directing the work, making estimates for the forthcoming harvest, co-ordinating the cutting, transport and planting of cane, etc. It is the administrator who runs the plantation, who remains in the saddle all day overseeing the work, who checks on everything. The administrator is responsible only to the owner of the plantation, who generally acts through him. In nearly all cases the administrator is either a mulatto or a Negro. In two cases, Negro administrators are unable to read or write, but they are experts at their job and enjoy the full confidence of the owner and the respect of the workers. The *feitor* acts as the assistant of the administrator; he walks about carrying a measuring rod and a notebook, making note of the amount of work done by each man in the field. Frequently this is the middle step up the ladder from worker to administrator. As a rule, the *feitor* in Vila Recôncavo plantations is a mulatto, a dark *mestiço* (mixed) or a Negro as is the administrator. The *vaqueiro* is preferably a *caboclo* from the north. He looks after the oxen used for hauling the sugar cane—of which there may be as many as 90 to 100 head—and the milk cows, inspects fences, for the horses and mules, carries messages, and generally rides with the owner when he travels about from plantation to plantation. The three racial elements are thus represented among the high-prestige men of a typical plantation—the owner is Caucasoid, the administrator and the *feitor* are Negro-Caucasoid mixtures, and the cowboy from the *sertão* is generally of partly American-Indian descent. 249 463 563 [233] 249 464

Under this hierarchy comes the main body of workers and their families, which totals about 200 on the average plantation. Such

[1] Of the total population of 2,500 people living on the sugar plantations and at the *usina*, approximately 600 men are the actual cane field and *usina* workers. Obviously this permanent labour force is inadequate; it is supplemented by groups of *rastaqueres* at the harvest-planting season. [162] [464]

The other important occupation is fishing and there is the new petroleum industry. In Vila Recôncavo, bureaucracy plays a large part in the economics of the urban upper-class. The municipal secretary, the statistics agent, the federal and state tax collectors and their clerks, the postmaster and various other 'white collar' positions belong to this small group. Often members of the municipal government divide their attention between commerce (owning small stores) and their government jobs. Despite its long history and rather easy communication with the large city of Salvador, Vila Recôncavo is still an isolated community. After landing in the town from the regular steamer coming from Salvador, one must proceed inland either by foot or by animal. The only motor vehicles in the community area (except for those of the petroleum industry) are a truck and a delivery-type pick-up truck owned by the São Pedro *usina*. One hears from all classes that the town is backward, abandoned and dead. It has had a glorious past: wealth, the large and beautiful *sobrados* of the barons who were *donos dos engenhos* (owners of the *engenhos*), two beautiful churches, a national guard post with almost 1,000 soldiers stationed in it, a record of bravery and leadership in the war for Independence in 1822, and a place worthy of a visit from the emperor, Don Pedro II. Today the *sobrados* are in ruins, or have disappeared completely, as today's *donos dos engenhos* remain on their plantations or in the city, forsaking the town. The military have gone, the splendours of the religious feast-days are no more. Vila Recôncavo is representative of the decadence which has overtaken the entire area. Today it is known only for its *xangô* and shrimps.

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IV. In the United States an absolute 'line' is drawn between white and Negro. A person who is not white is a Negro, however small the percentage of Negro blood may be. In Vila Recôncavo, this 'line' is recognized rather than drawn. A distinction between Negro and white is always kept in mind when classifying an individual. Everyone knows who is 'pure' white and who is not. Classification by race is one of the most important aspects of local culture, and one of the most difficult aspects for the outsider to grasp. *Bahianos* of the Recôncavo feel that one may instantly recognize the difference between a 'pure' white and a mixed white-Indian, white-Negro or Negro-Indian, but they do not let it go at that. They classify or minutely describe each person; they classify according to skin colour, according to hair form and according to facial features, and their classifications or racial types are used in everyday conversation. Just as it would be said in the United States that someone is short and fat, the people of Vila Recôncavo will describe a person's colour and hair.

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In the Recôncavo three race stocks are recognized: the white, the Negro and the Indian. A white is called a *branco*. The term *negro* is rarely used to denote a person of African descent. Rather such a person is called *homem de côr* (man of colour). *Negro* is used abstractly to denote the Negro race, but is almost never used to single out an individual. *Nego* (a softened variation of the word *negro*) may frequently be used as a term of endearment, even among whites, and sometimes as a nickname. When the *bahiano* of the Recôncavo speaks of *índio*, he usually thinks of the Indian of the interior of Mato Grosso or of the Amazon. When he wishes to indicate people of American Indian physical type in the Recôncavo, he generally says *caboclo*.

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Yet even the whites are sub-classified, being divided into two categories, the *louro* (blond) and the *moreno* (brunet). There is still a third term for people with Caucasoid physical characteristics, but one which is used only by those who are considered 'pure' white—namely, *branco da terra*. A *branco da terra* is someone who is phenotypically white—that is, who has the physical characteristics of a Caucasoid: fair skin, fine features and 'good' (meaning *straight*) hair—but whose ancestry had Negro blood. He or she is generally *moreno*, and is frequently characterized by a slightly yellowish tinge to the skin. The *branco da terra* sometimes also shows traces of *caboclo* blood as well as of Negro and white blood. In Vila Recôncavo, the 'pure' white man may refer to such a person as a *branco da terra*, but ordinarily will call him or her a *branco*. To the majority of the population, the *branco da terra* is always called white, and no one would ever call anyone a *branco da terra* to his face. He is accorded the same treatment as a white by both whites and non-whites, and there is no constraint on anyone's part.

In classifying people, if skin colour is an important factor, hair form is equally important. If there is any question as to what to call a person, the hair is generally the deciding criterion. After skin and hair, facial features (prognathism, nose shape and thickness of lips) are considered. The many designations used in Vila Recôncavo for the people of Negroid or mixed ancestry can be broken down roughly into the following types in terms of these various criteria:

1. The *preto* or *preto retinto* (black) has black shiny skin, kinky, woolly hair, thick lips and a flat, broad nose. The *pretos* distinguish among themselves, and will rank themselves according to minute differences in 'quality' of skin colour, nose form, etc. The *preto* with the most '*qualidade*' is the farthest from the usual concept of a Negro, and yet still a black. He is a 'prettier' black.
2. The *cabra* (male) and *cabrocha* (female) are generally slightly lighter than the *preto*, with hair growing somewhat longer, but still kinky and unmanageable, facial features somewhat less Negroid, although often with fairly thick lips and flat nose.

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The *cabra* and *cabrocha* generally lack the definite features and shine of the *preto*.

3. The *cabo verde* is slightly lighter than the *preto*, but still very dark. The *cabo verde*, however, has long straight hair, and his facial features are apt to be very fine, with thin lips and a narrow straight nose. He is almost a 'black white man'.
4. The *escuro*, or simply 'dark man', is darker than the usual run of *mestiços*, but the term is generally applied to a person who does not fit into one of the three types mentioned above. The *escuro* is almost a Negro with Caucasoid features. He generally has *qualidade*. *Escuro* is a very useful term for the outsider in the Recôncavo.
5. The *mulato* is a category always divided into two types, the *mulato escuro* and *mulato claro* (dark and light mulattoes). The *mulato* has hair which grows perhaps to shoulder length, but which has a decided curl and even kink. It can, however, be straightened. The *mulato's* facial features vary widely; thick lips with a narrow nose, or vice-versa. As a rule, the features are thicker than the *branco's* and thinner than the *preto's*. The *mulato* is generally distinguishable by a yellowish tinge to his skin colour, which is more accentuated than that of the *branco da terra*. His skin colour varies from very light to very dark. A *mulato claro*, with straightened hair, thin lips and a 'good' nose is very much like the *branco da terra*.
6. *Pardo* is a term not often used in speech. It is one of the official classifications used in the census and on identification papers. However, it is used occasionally to describe an individual who is closer to the white than a *mulato claro*. Occasionally *mestiço* children are described as *pardo*, before their features become distinctive enough to fit them definitely into one of the other groups. In one case, a little girl of three was called *parda* by her mother. The girl lives with her godfather, who is a *branco da terra*. He lists the girl as white, since her skin is very light and her hair is growing long and only slightly wavy. But her mother says she is a *parda*, because she knows that 'her hair may curl up any day, which would make her a *mulata clara*'.
7. The *sarard* is not difficult to distinguish. He has very light skin, and hair which is reddish or blondish but kinky or curled. His hair is described as *duro*, or hard. His facial features are extremely varied, even more so than the *mulato's*. There are *sarards* who would 'pass' for white in the United States, but more often the *sarard* has a curious appearance; skin which is neither dark nor light, frequently freckled, eyes with a greenish-blue cast and hair which bleaches easily in the sun. In Vila Recôncavo, the *sarard* is usually found among fishermen and those living on the islands. It is difficult to see a person of this physical type without a good sun-tan and bleached hair.

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8. The *moreno* has excellent skin, fine-textured and smooth. He is light-skinned but not white. He has dark hair, which is long and either wavy or curly. It is manageable and does not need straightening. His features are much more Caucasoid than Negroid. Here again we can distinguish between the dark and light *morenos*. Also we must distinguish between the *moreno mulato*, and the *moreno* of the white families—the *moreno branco*. *Moreno*, as used regarding the 'white', distinguishes the brunet from the blond of the same group.

Few people fit any of these 'racial' types 100 per cent. When someone comes very close to being a perfect *preto*—that is, has all the characteristics of the *preto*—people call him *bem preto* or *bem pretinho* (really black). The same is true of the *sarará*—*bem sarará*, or of the *moreno*, who will be called *bem moreninho* or *moreno fino*. It is just as difficult to find the perfect type for the other classifications, because there are so many variations. Often an individual is of one physical type, but has one or more characteristics of another type. For instance, one young man in Vila Recôncavo has the characteristics of an *escuro*, but since most people like him they prefer to think of him as *moreno*. He has fine skin and thin facial features, but tight kinky hair. People generally refer to him as *moreno*, adding '*mas êle tem cabelo ruim*' (but he has poor hair). One frequently hears 'he is *mulato*, but very light'. These verbal descriptions paint a vivid picture of the person in question. In Vila Recôncavo, it is not simply a matter of black and white, but of all the shades in between.

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A term of classification not listed above, *caboclo*, presents something of a special case. As mentioned earlier, most people with Amerindian physical traits have come into the Recôncavo from the *sertão* during the dry spells in the North. Considering the length of time that people of the North have been periodically coming into the Recôncavo, comparatively few have remained. Nevertheless, the population of Vila Recôncavo has a considerable *caboclo* element—that is, of people with a reddish or bronze tinge to their skin colour, more prominent cheek bones than the African or white elements, and a tendency toward almond-shaped eyes. However, few people in Vila Recôncavo bearing these marks are called *caboclos*. They are classified instead in the local terms listed above, ignoring Indian traits. In Vila Recôncavo, there is a certain dispraisal of the *caboclo*. He is considered less civilized than the resident of the Recôncavo, though often known as a better worker, more ambitious, trustworthy, more frugal; also less genial than the easy-going person of the Recôncavo. In the rural area of Vila Recôncavo, each year many *caboclo* men come to the plantations to work during harvest time. For the most part they stay together, away from the *morador*, or resident worker of the plantation. The plantations construct a type of barracks to accommodate these men, who do

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their own cooking, care for their own clothes, and spend their [464]
evenings gathered around a fire, singing songs of the *sertão*, apart [466]
from the permanent workers.

There is a mutual desire to keep apart, for while the *morador* [249]
looks down on the *caboclo*, the *caboclo* feels very much the same about the local people. He feels that they are lazy, ignorant, and above all superstitious. The *caboclo vaqueiro* (north-eastern cowboy) of one plantation says that the workers of the plantation are always talking about black magic, that they are lazy and spendthrifts, and at the same time deride his frugality. He says he is not afraid of their black magic, since he knows there is nothing to it, but he distrusts those who speak of it. People in Vila Recôncavo will not admit they have *caboclo* or Indian ancestors. One young girl who is almost a perfect American Indian type says she is a *mulatinha*.[1] She vehemently denied there was any Indian blood in her family, but finally reluctantly admitted that a great-grandparent of hers had been partly Indian. This girl's niece would make a perfect double for the popular conception of Pocahontas, given a feather in her hair and a sarong, but she is considered a '*mulata*, almost *morena*'.

However, among the 'pure' whites there is a different feeling about the *caboclo*. White families say that they would feel proud to know that they have 'Indian blood', for it would show the length of time their family had been in Brazil. Frequently a white child is extremely 'Indian looking', that is, a *moreno* with jet-black, straight hair. The nickname of *tapuya* is often given to this type, which is generally admired by the whites. All plantation owners agree that, for work, no one can top the *caboclo*. The north-eastern worker of [157]
American Indian physical type will go into the fields at six in the morning and not return until six at night. He takes his lunch with [461]
him and eats it there. On the other hand, the *morador* will go to the fields at six and return at noon. However, as permanent resident [464]
workers, plantation owners prefer the Negroes of the Recôncavo. Little if any effort is made to 'fix' the *caboclo* on the plantations. When the harvest is finished, he takes his money and departs. Next year he may come again to the same plantation, or he may not. It seems to make little difference to either party.

There have been no serious tensions between the two groups. [466]
They work together during part of the year, but spend their free time separately. This does not mean that an occasional *caboclo* will not stay, take a wife from among the *moradores* and start a family.

The following percentages of racial types were taken from a 162
sample of 162 heads of families, using the four major types: *preto*, 50 or 40 per cent; *mulato*, 59 or 49 per cent; *caboclo*, 3 or 2 per cent; *branco*, 11 or 9 per cent.

[1] Little mulata. Using the diminutive form seems to be a softer and more agreeable way of saying 'mulata'. [829]

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826 V. Each physical type in Vila Recôncavo is thought to have a
829 series of personality traits which are correlated with physical appearance. Furthermore, these stereotypes of expected behaviour reflect the attitude of people toward the various racial types present in the population. Two physical types, for example, the *cabra-cabrocha* and the *sarará*, are usually 'more to be pitied than blamed', as they are considered extremely ugly by most people. There is a feeling that they are unfortunate crosses between parents of physical characteristics which do not mix well. They are thought to lack the definite traits which characterize the other physical types and 'even a *preto de qualidade* is better than either of these—at least more handsome'. Furthermore, people of these physical types are thought to be difficult to deal with, irritable and easily angered. They are the physical types which are least preferred in Vila Recôncavo. All other types have some positive qualities. People arrange their preferences in terms of physical type in many ways, according to the qualities they wish to emphasize.

563 To the *preto* falls the more humble attributes of being a hard
829 worker, of being humble and capable of loyalty and affection for his employer. He is also called lazy, a contradiction of hard worker. He is considered servile and cheerful. Also it is said that it is the *preto* who knows best how to please *(agradar bem)* the white. With a winning smile, pleasant little sayings and personal attentions, the *preto* knows how to make the *branco* feel important and puts him in the mood to grant favours. In other words, he is a good 'apple polisher', but even this he does with a certain dignity, aware of what he is doing, and aware of the fact that the *branco* also knows. The whites say that a *preto* is usually 'content' to remain *preto*, knowing that while he cannot change his colour, perhaps future generations of his family will have changed theirs. In Vila Recôncavo, people of all racial types, not only the whites, often say that one of the things they like best about the *preto* is that he does not try to be white. No one is more ridiculed than an *homem de côr* who, because of his economic situation and other circumstances, tries to be *gente*, or white.

On the other hand, a *preto* in good economic circumstances, who lives in dignity without pretension, is well thought-of by all. There is one outstanding example of this in Vila Recôncavo. A *preto*, who is the owner of one of the neighbouring sugar plantations and who is quite wealthy, lives quietly and without pretension. His sons go to school in the capital, one to Law School and the other to High School. His relations with the white plantation owners and *usineiros* are cordial and business-like. He would be acceptable at any social gathering he chose to attend, where he would conduct himself like a gentleman, without airs. For this he is admired by all, and pointed to as an example of how the *preto* can conduct himself.

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On the other hand, the *mulato* and the *escuro* have the reputation of being social climbers. This is especially true of the *mulato* or *escuro* who has had education beyond the primary school, and who holds some government post or is a merchant or professional man. In Vila Recôncavo two mulattoes consider themselves as, without exception, the only cultured intellectuals in town. They lament the lack of companions to discuss poetry, literature, art and music. They are the first and loudest to say that the people of Vila Recôncavo are lazy, stupid, ignorant and superstitious. They are inclined to call all others *pretos*, and put as much distance between themselves and the *pretos* as possible. They say that they are much closer, racially speaking, to the white than the Negro.

At social reunions among the upper-class whites, a group of educated mulattoes is often present, and it is on such an occasion that all the pretensions characteristic of the mulatto are believed to appear, and that he shows himself a social climber who makes a fetish of correctness of manners, dress and speech. Pierson, writing about the city of Salvador, sums up the attitude of the Vila Recôncavo white toward the mulatto when he quotes: 'I resent their forwardness, their enviousness, their jealousy, their "lack of respect", their pretentiousness, their inconstancy and unreliability, their arrogance and (upon gaining some measure of improved social position) their overweaning pride, their boastfulness, cocksureness, "cheekiness" and general manner of showing off.'[7] Both the whites and the Negroes of Vila Recôncavo ridicule the mulatto, and when they use the term *mulato* with a certain inflection they convey the picture of a certain kind of personality. The mulatto, traditionally, has had the opportunity to advance socially, until today he is accorded much the same treatment given to the whites. Once on this level there seems to be competition between the two, and the insecurity of the mulatto seems to make for the above characteristics.

The other *mestiços* of the area resent this type of mulatto, whose actions as well as words indicate that he wants to be white as well as to be treated as white. Few servants are willing to work in the household of such a person. Many people who have the physical characteristics of a mulatto, but have not had the opportunity for education and other advancement, do not like to be called *mulato*. Instead they prefer *pardo*, which indicates the physical characteristics of the mulatto without the personality traits.

The stereotypes regarding the *moreno* are happier. A *moreno*, and more particularly *uma morena* (the female) is expected to be liked. The physical attraction towards such people is felt in all classes and colours. The *morena mulata* (mixed-blood *morena*) and the *morena branca* (white brunette) are frequently lumped together in the romantic national idealization of '*morena*'. The *morena* may adopt the ways of whatever group, and she will still be accepted. The *morena*

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829 is the darling of all the racial types, and she can do almost no wrong.

There are also stereotypes regarding the white. He is someone who should not work, who should not get dirty or perspire because of work (in sport it is all right). The white is expected to be well educated, well dressed, wealthy, and to have power—both politically and as a landowner. He should also show a certain sense of responsibility toward those of the lower classes dependent upon him, protecting them against any violation of their rights, watching out for his *afilhados* (godchildren) of lower class, and distributing occa-
563 sional favours. The white is addressed by the formal *o senhor*, while
576 he in return addresses all others by the popular *você*. The white may also receive the very informal and affectionate form of address *yoyô* (for a man) or *yayá* (for a lady), which was traditionally used by slaves for their masters. Interestingly enough, it is usually the darkest of the *pretos* (even the most independent of them) who generally use this form of greeting. *Vossa Excelência* (Your Excellency) is also heard frequently when people of low status of an older generation address an 'aristocratic' white. Sometimes, whites are addressed simply as *meu branco* (my white). When the lower class refer to 'aristocratic white' or when whites talk of themselves, they may simply use the term *gente*, which means more than the simple dictionary definition of 'people': *gente* is synonymous with white, upper class, and wealth. The stereotypes regarding the white and, above all, the very terms by which he is addressed, are in keeping with his landowning aristocratic position.

563 This complicated classification of people by racial type, and these
571 numerous stereotypes of the *homem de côr* by the white and vice-versa, are particularly striking in the Recôncavo. In addition to being simply a way of describing a person, like saying he is short or tall, thin or fat, they also imply what people desire in those of other physical types. The white wants good workers, cheerful people in whom he can have confidence. The *homem de côr* wants and needs a protector, a *patrão*, someone who will help him when he needs help,
563 who will be godfather to his children, etc. But at times people will
578 employ these terms in a derogatory manner. A white, displeased by something a *preto* has done or has not done, will frequently say
571 '*que negro ruim*' (what a bad Negro!). But his *preta* cook may say the same thing of the *mulato claro* water-carrier who spills water on her kitchen floor. In the same way, a *preto* or *mestiço* who has been disappointed by a white may say '*que gente ruim*' (literally: what bad people!). Each of these two expressions has its counterpart of approval. The '*que negro bom*' (what a good Negro) has a wealth of meaning. Applied to whatever *homem de côr*, it expresses all that is warm and good that has developed during four centuries of close relationship between Negro and white. It is at once an apology for oppression and slavery, as well as an immediate thank-you. And for

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the *homem de côr* to say '*ele É um senhor*' (he IS a real gentleman) or '*um branco bom*' (a good white) is to admit that the white and the Negro can live together in dignity.

There is a series of expressions used by all types to describe the person who is trying to appear white. Whoever tries to be what he is not is considered ridiculous by all. Both whites and Negroes gossip about the social climber and use the terms '*tem pinta*' (has a 'touch of the tarbrush'), '*tem sangue*' (has Negro blood), '*é da raça*' (is of the Negro race), or simply '*besta*' (show-off), '*cheio de arte*' (artful), '*cheio de manha*' (full of little tricks), or '*fala bonito*' (talks pretty).

There are also many phrases used by lower-class people to ridicule Negroes and *mestiços* who are showing off, or 'pushing'. Most of these start off with *Negro*:

[539]

Negro doesn't marry, he gets together.
Negro doesn't accompany a procession, he runs after it.
Negro doesn't sit down, he squats.
Negro in white clothes is a sign of rain.
Negro doesn't hear Mass, he spies on it.
Negro at a white man's party is the first to grab and the last to eat.
Negro's intelligence is the same size as his hair.

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The concepts and fixed ideas which the people of Vila Recôncavo have of these racial types were also revealed in their responses to a pictorial questionnaire devised in the field.[1] A series of eight photographs of people unknown to those answering the questionnaire was shown, consisting of a male and a female of each of the four major racial types, the *caboclo*, the *preto*, the *mulato* and the *branco*. An attempt was made to use photographs giving no clue to the possible class position of the eight persons. However, the photographs which we were able to secure were not entirely satisfactory for our purposes in Vila Recôncavo. The picture of the caboclo male was of a man of middle age, but a type considered in the local conception as having a strong personality, while the *caboclo* woman was older and certainly not *simpática* (pleasant) in the local view. The two *pretos* were both unmistakably *pretos*, and both young. The *mulato* male and female differed one from the other, as the man was definitely a common *mulato* type, while the woman was almost a *morena mulata* rather than 'pure' *mulata*. She was young and considered much more *simpática* than any of the four wom .n presented. The two whites were not distinguished in any way; and there was doubt in the minds of the people answering the questionnaire as to whether these two were 'pure' white or not.

The questionnaire was given to 85 people: 18 *brancos*—11 males,

[1] These questionnaires were given by a local assistant after the author's stay in Vila Recôncavo, but the results agree in general with the observations made during research in the community.

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7 females; 41 *mulatos*—21 males, 20 females; 18 *pretos*—7 males, 11 females; 8 *caboclos*—6 males, 2 females.

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Table I gives the racial types which were found respectively most physically attractive, most wealthy, best worker, most honest and most religious.

TABLE I.

Question	No. of people who selected in first place			
	Branco	Preto	Mulato	Caboclo
Most attractive man	**39**	17	14	15
Most attractive woman	**26**	3	**30**	**26**
Most wealthy man	**27**	11	9	**38**
Most wealthy woman	**37**	8	17	**23**
Best worker, man	4	**38**	13	**30**
Best worker, woman	7	**22**	**23**	**33**
Most honest man	11	**22**	8	**44**
Most honest woman	15	13	**22**	**38**
Most religious man	**21**	15	13	**36**
Most religious woman	17	11	17	**40**

(Bold type indicates the group most frequently selected in first place.)

From Table I, it results that: (a) the ideal of the most attractive male is the white; (b) the preferred female type is the *mulata*, but the *cabocla*, it must be noted, is almost equally selected with the white; both the *mulata* and the *cabocla* (despite her apparent age) of the photos are of types which have the physical characteristics of the *morena* so preferred in Vila Recôncavo; (c) surprisingly, the *caboclo* male was selected as the wealthiest, in view of the stereotype that it is the white who is generally wealthiest, but I believe that this is due to the fact that people found the photo of the *caboclo* to have a rather 'distinguished' face, while the photo of the white was considered to be a young man with what might be considered a 'characterless' face; (d) the *preto* man was chosen as the best worker, which supports the stereotype discussed earlier, but the *cabocla* was chosen as the best woman worker (this may be explained by the local phrase used to describe her: 'Good for nothing else'); (e) the *caboclos*, both male and female, were chosen as most honest and most religious, which is in keeping with the stereotype of the *caboclo*, who is considered more serious and solemn than the native of the Recôncavo.

Table II, a breakdown of Table I by racial types, shows clearly the type selected in first place by the Negroes, the mulattoes, the whites and the *caboclos*, in answer to the same questionnaire. The most obvious inference derived from Table II is the extremely low posi-

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tion of the Negro woman in relation to the other women. She was chosen in first place in only one instance, namely as best worker, and only by the Negroes. In spite of the fact that in Table I the mulatto woman was considered the most attractive, she was chosen so only by the mulattoes. The other three racial types selected the *caboclo*

TABLE II.

Question	Chosen in first place by			
	Negroes	Mulattoes	Whites	Caboclos
Most attractive man	P	B	B	B
Most attractive woman	C & B	M	B	B
Most wealthy man	P	C	C	C
Most wealthy woman	B	B	B	B
Best worker, man	P	C	P	P
Best worker, woman	P	C	M	C
Most honest man	C	C	C	C
Most honest woman	C	C	C	C
Most religious man	C & M	C	C	C & B
Most religious woman	C	C	B	C

(P—*preto*; B—*branco*; C—*caboclo*; M—*mulato*. Where two racial types are in first place, they received an equal number of 'votes'.)

and the white woman. In summing up the total number of 'votes', the mulatto woman won by a narrow margin (four votes). It is interesting to note that the Negroes chose the *preto* man as the most wealthy, putting the caboclo in second place, while the other three racial types put the *caboclo* first.

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VI. There is a saying in the Recôncavo that where there was sugar, there were Negroes. This rule of thumb seems to hold remarkably well even today. On the islands in the bay where there never were *engenhos*, there are few *pretos*. In the town of Vila Recôncavo, and in a small settlement to the west of Vila Recôncavo where there never was an *engenho*, there are relatively few *pretos*, in comparison with the area of *engenhos* and plantations. The region as a whole can be shaded off in dark and light, to distinguish roughly the spatial arrangement according to colour. In the areas where there was and is sugar, there are many more *gente branqueada* (whitened people) than in the non-plantation areas.

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These lightened areas seem to continue to lighten, while the darker areas retain their dark characteristics. In Vila Recôncavo, which is a *mestiço* community, there is much more opportunity for

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the lighter-skinned people for intermarriage with the mass of light-skinned people of the capital. Most of the townspeople have connexions of some sort in Salvador and travel back and forth a great deal. Some, mostly girls, take employment in the city as maids, and there either get married, or '*aparecem grávidas*' (show up pregnant), afterwards returning home to stay or for visits.

On the plantations the people have little opportunity for such mixing, owing to their isolation. Mixing occurs either on the same plantation or between neighbouring plantations, and since most of the plantation workers are dark, the offspring tends to remain dark. There is comparatively little marriage between people of the urban and rural zones.

The people of the town consider themselves far superior culturally to the *taberéu* or 'hick'[1] of the rural zone. Not only are they lighter in colour, but they are more 'citified', having more contact with the outside world, and this contact increases daily. Only in the town did the lower-class people express interest in the racial situation in the United States and particularly question segregation, a practice they could not understand. In the rural zone, the United States meant only some place other than Bahia. This is given as an example of the difference in degree of sophistication between the two parts of a comparatively small area. The sophistication of the townspeople tends to increase, as does their lightness of colour, while on the *fazendas* the colour has remained almost static, as has the degree of instruction.

565 Class is one of the most important factors in the everyday lives of the people of Vila Recôncavo. *Who's Who* is well known to all the residents of the community. Almost any resident will say that there are two classes, the rich and the poor. But definitions vary greatly as to what is rich, while practically all agree as to what is poor. Rich means, primarily, having money, a good house, more than one suit of clothing, a horse or mule, a servant to do the housework, and not having to do manual work. It also includes power of some description over other people. Poor is the reverse of all these things; working hard for someone else, a mud house with a dirt floor, one suit of clothes and one pair of shoes. For everyday ranking, this division into only two classes may serve.

A closer analysis shows that four distinct classes can be recognized, as stated earlier. There are many elements which go toward defining the classes—wealth, education and family. Race is also important. People say that wealth is the most important, education the second, and race the third in importance. Thus race is but one of a number of elements ranking people in a social scale, rather than a separating factor which divides them into distinct groups.

[1] Other terms used to convey the same meaning are *gente do mato* (people of the forest) and *gente do roça* (backwoodsmen).

In only one case can we absolutely equate a racial type with a class – the 'aristocratic white' of the rural area with upper class. The upper class of Vila Recôncavo is composed of a few families, descendants of the *senhores de engenho* (landowners), who have kept control of their lands, as well as having made a professional life in the capital as a lawyer, engineer or politician. They are upper-class not only in Vila Recôncavo, but also in the capital, Salvador, and their families are known in other great cities of Brazil. The horizon of these people is far wider than that of anyone else in Vila Recôncavo, and the scope of their activities is wider. Thus the gap between this upper class and any of the other classes is enormous. Nevertheless, the relations between it and the others are close, as this small class spends a large part of the year in the area and travels to it frequently during its stay in Salvador. There is little or no competition between this class and those under it, at least in the rural situation. In the city they are subject to all the stress and strain common to any 'high society' group.

In the rural situation this class remains, to a great extent socially apart from the other strata, but frequently a plantation owner gives a party for the *redondeza* (for the personnel of the nearby plantations). To such a gathering 200 or 300 people may come. The whites remain more as spectators than participants, but rules of courtesy and hospitality are rigorously observed, and guests are made to feel at home, without class differences. It is at such a gathering that the local *mulato* intellectuals and leaders will often attempt to show that they are closer to the whites than the other *mestiços*.

The chief class competition in Vila Recôncavo is between the second highest class and those below it. This second class, the local upper class, includes all the whites of the town, plus a large number of mulattoes and Negroes. As a rule it is this class which is the most conservative, the most anxious to retain its 'superiority', and which bears the brunt of pressures from below. This class will seize upon and magnify any element possible to belittle those who are, in any way, possible competition. It is in this group that the daughters are 'guarded', and have neither the freedom of the daughters of the plantation owners nor of the daughters of the fishermen. Ostentation plays a large part in their lives, and the men of this group rarely appear in the street without collar, tie and suit coat.

This group is also widely split by politics. Politics are one of its main methods for holding or advancing its social position, and they are taken seriously. Political scrapping has broken up the social activities of this group to a large extent, and there is more than one case of a family not speaking to another because of political differences. As a result their social activities are almost nil. They lead an unquestionably dull life, attempting to preserve a way of life belong-

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ing to the past, hard-put to maintain their economic status and remain gentlemen, with the result that they retreat more and more into a narrower scope of activity. This class is comparatively small, and while there is no upward movement to the class above it, there are many people hanging on its lower rung, coming up from below. Money will carry a person, whatever his racial type, into this group, although in the rural zone it is occupation and increase in money and authority which will elevate an individual, as in the case of the plantation administrator.

It is in the great body of the third class, the local middle class, that we find the most social ascension, or at least the most opportunity for ascension. Anyone in this class can better himself if he so desires, and once again it is wealth which is most important. Racial type enters here perhaps more strongly than in the second stratum; also the measure of desire to climb which the individual possesses. For among the majority of this class, there is what appears to be a lack of desire to climb. Perhaps this is allied with the past, with a strong heritage of slavery. At any rate, it is here that class and race are most generally confused.

565 Most people in this stratum who desire to ascend socially will say
●563 that it is better to be white, or at least light, than dark because it is the white who has the most money, the most education, and consequently most opportunities. Traditionally the light-skinned mulatto has been able to share to some extent in these things. Therefore, today, if an individual is lighter it will be easier for him to climb, simply because of his lightness. Upper-class people accept light-skinned people more readily—nevertheless, it is considered better to be a wealthy *preto* than a poor white.

For this class, after money, marriage is one of the surest methods to climb, and it is a fact that the light-skinned person marries *upward* more easily than the dark-skinned person. No one in any class likes a marriage in which the skin colours are too far apart. Any marriage of dark with light or white will be referred to as *mosca no leite*, or fly in the milk, and a certain repugnance is felt by all. One man, formerly a fisherman, but now a merchant of some means, is a *preto* married to a *branca da terra* who was poor but almost white. This marriage has not helped him much, as his wife did not bring him social position, but it has 'lightened' his children. His own status is increased through his financial transactions. But his children, who are lighter, are being educated in the city, and more readily acceptable because of their colour and their economic background. Their chances for a better marriage are greater than if they had the same background but were dark.

In another case, a white girl of the local upper class of the town is engaged to a *preto*, who is an engineer in Salvador, but whose family has roots in Vila Recôncavo. There was great resistance to

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the engagement on the part of the girl's family, and all her friends felt that, although she had a good 'catch', that is, a successful man, he was too dark for her. This in spite of the fact that the girl's father is a *branco da terra*, and that her grandmother was dark-skinned.

One great bar between the upper class of 'aristocratic whites' and those below them is that of marriage. The white of the second class may sometimes be acceptable to the upper class, because he is white; but the chances are heavy against the marriage of an 'aristocratic white' with an *homem de côr*. Perhaps in the city situation a marriage between a white of this upper class and a *mestiço* of the same class would take place, but certainly not in a rural area.

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Until the end of the last century many bastards were produced by the white plantation owners and their sons, with the slaves and ex-slaves. The Vila Recôncavo population is made up of a large segment of these individuals and their offspring, and in many cases they bear the name of the family of the white. So that today there exist in Vila Recôncavo people who are relatives to various degrees of the white upper class, and in some cases have the same family name. These people are not recognized socially by the whites. In many instances the mixed-blood has the family name, not because he was given it, but because he took it. Frequently a white family will keep track of the descendants on the illegitimate side of the family, and help them if necessary, but they would never introduce one of these individuals as a member of the family, even when that person has all the family physical characteristics.

In one case, the illegitimate daughter of a union between a slave and a white man recently found herself in a position to help the legitimate daughter of her father's cousin. This girl was born free to a slave, before abolition. The slave mother managed to educate the girl, who became a successful schoolteacher. Later on, when her father's cousin's legitimate daughter, widowed with three children, needed help to educate one of her own daughters, she found that aid from her *mestiço* cousin.

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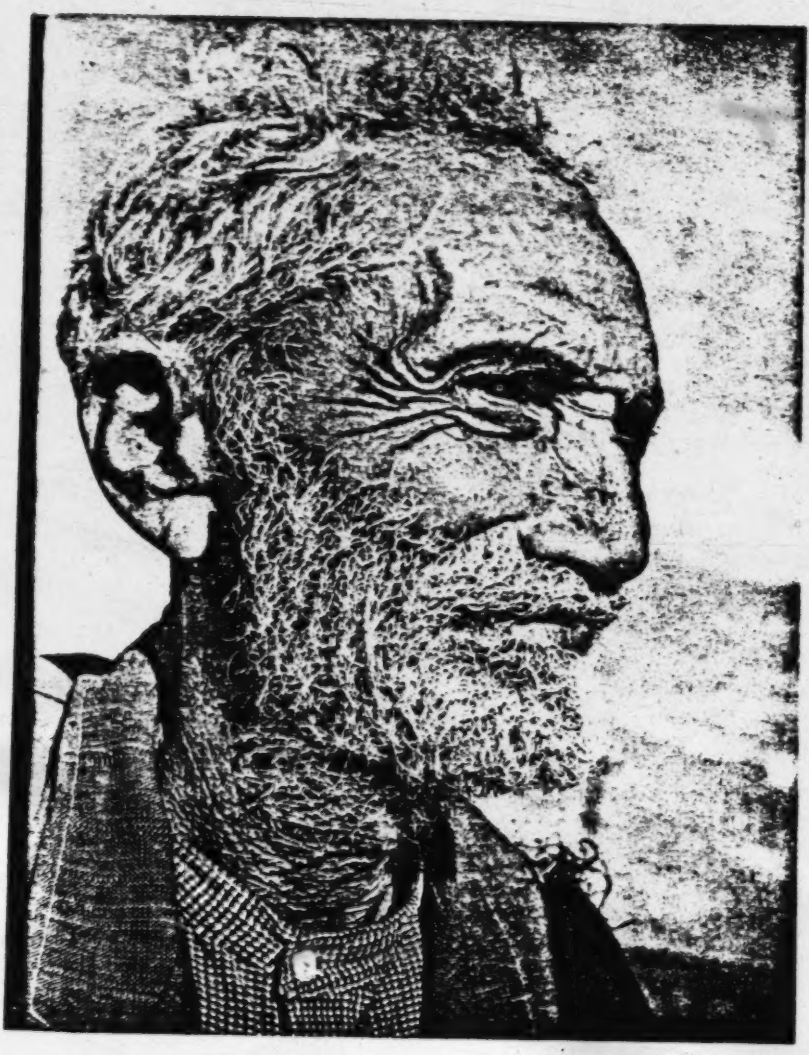
This type of race mixture is far less common today than it was some 70 years ago. However, young white men still frequently have their early sex experiences with *mestiço* and *preto* girls.

The fourth class, the lowest, is confined to the town and consists of people who have no steady employment and who have no *patrão*. They are people caught in the changing economic pattern of the area, from a highly personalized *patrão* economy to a more modern money economy. As yet there is no room for this group in the rural area. There are no 'pure' whites here—a few *brancos da terra*, and *mulatos* and *pretos*. Ascension from this class, which is very small, is easier for a woman, especially if she is light-skinned. For a man, only money will take him upward.

Traditionally the *preto* is linked with ignorance and superstition,

3: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951)-1963 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11



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3. Caboclo of the interior of Bahia

[facing P. 42]

Traditionally

565 the preto is linked with ignorance and superstition,
•563 and a most common example of his 'ignorance', cited by the upper
794 strata of Vila Recôncavo society, is his belief in *candomblé*, the fetish
[171] cults of African origin so numerous in Salvador which have been
[177] described by various authors.[8] In the Caribbean, *candomblé* is
[178] known as voodoo and, as in Brazil, there is a mixture of Roman Catholic with African religious elements. In Vila Recôncavo there are highly complicated rituals of ceremony and healing, but owing to the pressures of modern life almost no one has the time necessary to spend in the full preparation for a *filha de santo* (servant of the god) or a *mãe de santo* (caretaker of the gods) and much of the old ritual is being forgotten and discarded, and newer and simpler
[776] innovations are in evidence. Another example given of the *preto's* 'superstition' in Vila Recôncavo is his participation in the cult of Janaina, the goddess of the water. This cult is really an offshoot of *candomblé*, Yemanja being the name of the African *orixa* or divinity, while Janaina is the name given to her by many of the cults in
[782] Brazil. It is Janaina 'who sends the fish to the fishermen', and they
[226] must thank her and give her gifts occasionally. Generally it is the *mãe de santo* who knows all the calls and prayers for Janaina and who presents the fishermen's gifts. Anyone who intends to climb the social ladder first disassociates himself from these rites, and then publicly condemns those who participate in them—although, in many cases, such an individual will continue secretly to give financial support to a local *mãe de santo* and to send gifts to Janaina. Often it is heard of a person: 'Oh yes, he is *gente* now, but last night he secretly sent his usual present to Janaina.' Individuals of all racial classifications belong to *candomblé*, although popular opinion has it that only the *pretos* engage in these activities. One can observe all racial types at a *candomblé festa* (ceremony), either as participants or as spectators. In one case in another area of the Recôncavo there is even a white *pae de santo* (male caretaker of the gods), a former lawyer!

563 Nevertheless, in Vila Recôncavo, there are examples of *pretos* and
555 *mestiços* who have shown themselves capable of progress, with and without education. Two examples are the plantation administrators, cited earlier, who have risen to that honoured and relatively
[463] well-paid occupation in spite of the fact that they cannot read or
[872] write. On another plantation, the *feitor* has taught himself to read
[873] and write and is known as an excellent story-teller. Primary schools were recently opened in the rural zone of Vila Recôncavo, and night schools for the adults. The response has been great, people often walking long distances at night to attend class, in spite of the fact that one of the most disliked and feared things is going out at night.

563 In Vila Recôncavo, there has been a central primary school for
565 many years, with an attendance of 354 of all racial types, children of
872 the whites as well as those of the others, although no children of the

3: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1963 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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4. A black cowboy of the Sertão

[facing P. 43]

planters. People in the upper class of the town, when they can, send their children to the capital to continue their education, and there are several *mestiço* students from Vila Recôncavo studying law, medicine and engineering in Salvador. The intelligence of the mulatto is traditional, and it has been equally traditional that the darker-skinned person is unintelligent. Today these traditions are not as strong as before, but still it is felt that the mulatto has somewhat more aptitude than the Negro. The old idea of the Negro, meant for work and to be servile, still exists, now tempered with the knowledge that education can change the situation. There is only one club in Vila Recôncavo—a football club—and the players are all shades, from white to black, and so are the spectators. They all sit or stand together under the shade of the one big tree which gives shade to the playing field. The field is on the property of a white man who, while he has nothing to do with the team, allows them to play there, put up goal posts and markers. The bar and recreation centre are open to all so long as they wear shoes—a ruling made to keep out the muddy feet of children who came straight from the beach to have a 'coke'. All the racial types and classes get together here to play pool and gossip, this being the one and only point of public social activity in the town. At the movies, the admission price is extremely low, the same for everyone, and all four classes attend. Negroes and whites of all classes sit next to each other. At church there are no special pews, the faithful usually gathering in the front and the less faithful hanging about near the back. The choir and the acolytes are from all classes and colours. At parties, which are few, colour lines are disregarded, *brancos* and *morenos* dance with *mulatos* and *pretos* just as long as both partners can *pular* (jump).

The social situation is gradually changing, and the extremely personal element is being lost. It is strongest on the private plantation, where the owner spends the greater part of the year, but at the *usina* much of the personal element is weakened because of the numbers of workers. Even at the *usina*, there is visiting and gossiping between the owners' families and the workers. But at the *usina* not all the workers accept their subservient position as do those of the plantations. This is specially true of the higher echelon of specialists and technicians of the mill, who will frequently not go to a party given by the owner, even though invited. It seems to be a way of saying that the company of the white owners is neither needed nor wanted. They prefer to keep their relations on a strictly business basis. At the *usina*, when a worker is sick, he goes to the medical post where he is treated by a paid nurse, rather than to the owner's house. On pay day, the *usina* worker is paid at the mill by a paymaster, not in the living room of the owner's house. Nevertheless, in spite of the industrialized aspect of the mill, the number of workers is not too large to exclude all personal contact with the owners, who adminis-

plantations in the vicinity. There is the aristocratic group of whites descendants of the *senhores de engenho*—who form almost a caste, marrying among themselves and living out their own social life apart from the Negro and racially mixed population of the community. Just as the slave owners in the past, however, they depend upon the Negro and *mestiço* for labour; the Negro is pictured as the faithful servant and attendant of the white aristocrat. Again, as in the past, the mulatto who was the offspring of the European master and a slave mother is pictured as a social upstart and an intelligent trouble-maker. Yet it is the man of mixed ancestry who holds the intermediate economic and social positions; he is the minor bureaucrat, the technician in the *usina*, and the administrator and *feitor* on the plantations. The essential hierarchy has changed little since colonial times; and the relationship between these aristocratic whites and their Negro and mixed workmen is still a highly personal one lacking in social tensions, since each knows his proper position and each knows his rights, duties and obligations toward the other.

There is no race problem in Vila Recôncavo, nor does prejudice or discrimination work out as it does in other parts of the Western world. A Negro cannot become a member of the aristocracy, but a well-educated and economically successful Negro can have easy social relations with this stratum. Negro ancestry is without doubt a grave disadvantage in economic and social mobility, but there are no political and economic positions closed to a man of Negro or mixed descent. As yet, however, only a few Negroes have moved into high political or economic positions. There is only one plantation owner who is a Negro, and Negroes and *mestiços* hold only minor bureaucratic and political positions in the community. The *prefeito* or mayor has nearly always been drawn from the aristocratic white group, and has never been challenged from the Negro and mixed population. Yet in the town and among the mill workers, 'people of colour' are beginning to show independence, and unwillingness always to occupy a subservient and lowly position. The administrators like to ride better horses than the aristocrats, to have fancier saddles, to dress better, and to be more ostentatious than their employers. Many townspeople know the big city, and the essential class and racial democracy which exists there. There is competition to join the local upper class, and derogatory racial criteria are used to deride competitors who would like to rise out of the lower class groups into this growing upper class. African culture traits such as *candomblé* and the cult of Janaina are associated with low status, and people who would rise in the local social hierarchy are anxious to disassociate themselves from these groups.

As modern attitudes and ideology penetrate Vila Recôncavo, there are more and more problems of class relationships; the population is becoming extremely class-conscious, and there is an in-

3t Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1963 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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creasing desire to rise in the social hierarchy. In the rural districts physical type is less important than in the town, since there is less chance for one to rise socially, the positions of prestige being highly limited. But in the town and at the *usina*, the opportunities are greater, and therefore more emphasis is put upon racial type; although, even in the town, racial type is not the most important criterion for ascending the social scale, the most important being the possession of wealth and education. However, in the town, people who have wealth and education also show a tendency to 'lighten', generation after generation, as well as to ascend socially. There is no such thing as 'passing' in Vila Recôncavo, and there is no need for it, for many individuals who clearly show traces of Negro ancestry are called white and treated as white, with no constraint or embarrassment. Also there are no social activities closed to the *homem de côr*, provided he has the money and the education to take advantage of them. Physical attraction is also extremely important in the social acceptance of rejection of people, as is shown in the complicated fashion of classifying and stereotyping individuals, and the idealization of the *morena*.

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In other areas of the Recôncavo, the personal element has been lost to a great extent, and has been replaced with a rigid class system, based upon wealth, personal initiative, education, racial type and 'luck'. For the most part, the tradition of the *patrão* is disappearing and people are more dependent upon their own resources in a more strictly monetary economy. Vila Recôncavo still however remains sufficiently isolated to preserve much of the tradition of the past, of easy-going personal relations between people of all classes and racial types.

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4. Oliveira Martins (3rd edition), p. 30.
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6. Pierson (1942), p. 139.
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8. Rodrigues (1935), Chapter 7. Pierson (1942), Chapter 10. Landis (1947). Carneiro (1948).

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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high society of the city in spite of my letters of introduction and my efforts to enter several homes."[8]

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Another important question to raise is, "Why did not the structure of Brazilian slave society, like that of the United States, pass over into caste?" The situation here is somewhat more clear. The function of caste appears to be that of preserving inviolate the racial integrity of a dominant group. Caste in India apparently arose in an attempt on the part of incoming Aryan peoples to preserve the status of their families against the consequences of intermixture with the conquered aboriginal tribes.[9] The prohibition of intermarriage excluded almost completely from the more intimate social contacts individuals from groups considered undesirable.

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In Brazil the characteristic tendency has always been just the reverse: namely, to incorporate eventually all ethnic minorities into the dominant group. The contact of the Portuguese settlers with the imported Africans was, of course, originally that of master and slave. But out of the slave system which grew up there gradually emerged a moral order in which most whites and blacks, as we have seen, came to share a common life on an intimate, personal basis.

Men come together ordinarily because they are useful to one another. Under these circumstances they may regard each other for a long time as mere utilities. But human beings do not live for long, like plants, in relations that are merely symbiotic. For men, unlike plants, communicate. In this way they come to know one another's minds and to be responsive to one another's attitudes and sentiments. They find themselves, eventually, living as it were, each in the mind of all his neighbors. It is in this way that a moral order grows up in which,

[8] L. F. Tollenare, "Notas dominicais tomadas durante uma residencia no Brasil, 1816–1818" (portion relative to Pernambuco translated by Alfredo de Carvalho from the unpublished French manuscript), *Revista do Instituto Arqueologico e Geographico Pernambucano*, No. 61 (1905), pp. 129 and 250.

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[9] Sir Herbert H. Risley, *The People of India* (2d ed.; Calcutta, 1915), pp. 264–65.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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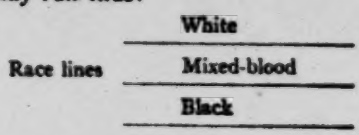
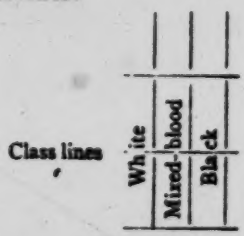
There is no caste based upon race; there are only classes. These classes are still largely identified with color, it is true, but they are classes nonetheless and not castes. The most characteristic tendency of the Bahian social order is the gradual but persistent reduction of all distinguishing racial and cultural marks and the fusing, biologically and culturally, of the African and the European into one race and one common culture.

The actual situation in any case of race contact can perhaps be precisely defined by a diagram which distinguishes between caste and class relations.[13] In a caste system the racial lines may run thus:



In case the structure of society is organized on the basis of class, as in Brazil or Hawaii, the color lines run vertically, cutting across class lines:



Each race, including the mixed-bloods, is likely to be represented in all the occupational classes. The hierarchy of occupations will inevitably take the form of a pyramid, but the

[13] The author is indebted for this schematic arrangement to Dr. Robert E. Park.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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similar advancement in the United States, but by all members of the Brazilian community.

14. Since, then, the blacks, the mixed-bloods, and the whites do not constitute endogamous occupational groupings, the social structure is not that of caste.

15. Nor does the Negro in Brazil appear to be, as he is in the United States, developing into a self-conscious racial minority in free association with, but not accepted by, a dominant racial majority.

16. Instead, the entire organization of society tends to take the form of a competitive order in which the individual finds his place on the basis of personal competence and individual achievement more than upon the basis of racial descent. This fact is perhaps best reflected in the common saying: "A rich Negro is a white man, and a poor white man is a Negro."

17. The Brazilian racial situation is, then, sufficiently distinct from that in India, for example, where the social order is organized on the principle of caste, and from those in many parts of the world where a national or racial minority (or minorities) is in free association with, but not accepted by, a dominant national or racial majority, to constitute, along with the Hawaiian racial situation and certain others, a distinct type: *a multiracial class society.*

18. There is no deliberate segregation as one finds where races have been embittered for a long time; spatial distribution is largely the consequence of economic sifting. Such isolation as exists is largely due to varying educational levels or to identification with elements of African culture, particularly the fetish cult.

19. For the assimilation of the *Africanos* at Bahia, while now far advanced, is not yet complete. African survivals still

[SALVADOR]

/34 cont./

*563 565 their degree of education, in the hotels and even more in the boarding houses of various categories. They may freely visit restaurants, cafés, teashops, cabarets; they frequently participate in dinner parties where they meet white friends. The news-
*563 565 204 papers and magazines report anniversaries, marriages, the conferring of diplomas, births, returns from travel, celebrations and tributes received, or the death of any person whomsoever, without any mention of type or color, printing portraits of either of them indiscriminately. And when an individual is not well enough known so that the newspapers spontaneously publish an article about him, /35/ it is not rare to see his name or even his portrait reproduced, after payment of the price of the announcement, in
*563 565 the column devoted to this kind of news. "Few persons," says a White, "could have more prestige in Bahia society, thanks to their exquisite manners and their elegance, than a university professor and his wife, both mulattoes, had ten years ago."

Among the most highly placed families of the present-day society of Bahia, says a morena informant, there are many who "belong to the caste," who, in other words, are métisses, although it would not be discreet to draw attention to the origin of these
• [564] families. Since there are no castes, properly speaking, but merely classes, colored people find their way into the world of the Whites, even if they have pronounced black features; it is merely necessary for them to approximate the "superior" dominant group by their behavior. In order to show that she was born already assimilated with the Whites, a woman practicing a liberal profession explains that she is the daughter of a Black who was a domestic "in a milieu other than that of the senzala" (1).

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1. Senzala = all the communicating houses of poor quality where the slaves lived in the fazendas.

She considers herself a privileged creature of God, since she has
*563 565 all that she desires. "I am on good terms with people of the best society. I choose my friends in all classes. I visit the clubs and
571 the government palace frequently. A short time ago the newspapers
[204] even published my picture beside the governor of the State in the course of a luncheon that one of my friends gave in his honor."

[SALVADOR]

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*563 575 873 A very dark color may, however, create difficulties in some circumstances. One of the founders of the important association of students of secondary education was a dark mulatto, highly esteemed among his colleagues; it was, however, not possible for him to be elected president of the association because, as he was able to confirm, a white Communist colleague insinuated that so dark a young man would not have enough prestige before the educational authorities and the public. Elected vice-president he assumed the office of president only when the latter retired; he was then able to perform many accomplishments without encountering the obstacles that might have been connected with his "quality." When an excursion to another city was organized, a mulatto student felt that some of his /70/ comrades hesitated to include him in their group (1).

• [564] [565] [113]

1. "In Brazil there is no caste line. As a colored man assimilates the standards of culture of the dominant class, he is treated as an equal, although one notes a strong tendency among the Whites to avoid relations with colored men in situations requiring a certain setting (diplomacy, elegant salons, military schools, etc.)." Guerreiro Ramos, "Contactos raciais no Brasil," Quilombo, 1st year, No. 1, Rio de Janeiro, 1948.

Taking account of this, he decided to withdraw discreetly and was congratulated by a white comrade for his "elegant gesture." [178] These two episodes occurred about ten years ago, and the informants say that they would hardly occur today, tolerance having become much greater.

*563 873 Relations between students and professors of different "quality" present nothing unusual in our day; they depend, as a general rule, on the psychological characteristics of both, rather than on their physical appearance. *563 872 But there are white schoolmistresses in the public elementary schools who appear more severe and sometimes

[SALVADOR]

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*563 671 829 esteemed, we only need more respect for the lower class in general; we need to improve its food, to help it effectively rise again, or, before that, to obtain a level of life that it has never as yet had."

/103/ Conclusions

*563 829 That there is no color prejudice in Bahia is a statement that is only partly true. Colored people are still regarded as forming a biological and social category characterized by traits that are considered inferior to those of the Whites. Some people are convinced that Blacks and Whites differ in intellectual capacities, in personality, morality, and aptitude for progress. They declare that if Bahia does not progress the fault lies with the Blacks. That is the reason why such a large number of light mulattoes conceal or deny their caste or feel ill at ease when one makes an indiscreet allusion. These prejudices, though slight, explain the cases of discrimination of which colored people in certain sectors of the society are victims. These incidents, moreover, are not accompanied by any violence, and it is difficult to distinguish them from manifestations of class antagonism, in view of the fact that in Brazil skin color is very often a symbol of social rank. The Whites evoke the memory of the old Portuguese colonists who dominated the economy, politics, and the administration, and whose descendants, even today, make up the major part of high society. As for the Blacks, they remind us of slavery, work on the plantations, and domestic occupations. Even today the colored men are cantoned in the lowest and least educated strata of society.

*563 [565] [564] [555] But the population of Bahia may be defined as a multiracial society with classes, and not with castes, if one defines caste as a closed group to which one belongs by birth and from which it is impossible to escape. In Bahia colored people have a status that is conditioned by their individual qualities and aptitudes, and they may enter into competition with the Whites. In principle

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 565 The landed, slave-owning aristocrat was the master of Recôncavo society. The extended aristocratic family was the basic social, economic, and political unit of colonial society. The upper class of the Recôncavo, composed of inter-related family units, continued without substantial alteration until the twentieth century.

175 241 433 565 563 Despite the predominance of sugar cane and the engenho in the colonial Recôncavo--and in the literature on the region--other products and other institutions were important. It is clear that tobacco and manioc were the chief secondary agricultural products, but the development of the associated institutions is not documented. Presumably a class of small semi-subsistence cultivators occupied the lands unsuitable for sugar cane. This class probably was composed of whites lacking the capital for plantation agriculture and freed mulattoes and slaves--manumission was very common in the Recôncavo. The chief commercial product of these small farmers was rolo or corda tobacco (similar to a "twist" of tobacco),[22] and probably to a lesser extent farinha de mandioca (manioc flour). In addition, corn, beans, rice, and bananas were produced.

175 43 The colonial economy of the Recôncavo was not self-sufficient, in spite of the production of food crops and meat animals on small farms and on plantations. Near the beginning of colonization the livestock ranching industry, originating in coastal areas like the Recôncavo, migrated into the interior of the Northeast. Thereafter [231] a strong current of trade in animals, especially cattle, flowed into the Recôncavo from the São Francisco valley, from Ceará, and probably from the sertão of Bahia between the coast and the mountains. These animals were exchanged at the cattle fairs--notably at Feira de Santana--for the products of the coast and for imports from abroad.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 inaugurated a brief "golden age" in the evolution of the Recôncavo.
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249 The mythology which this age engendered is an integral part of the
439 social and economic patterns in the present day Recôncavo. The collapse of the sugar economy in the West Indies, particularly in Santo Domingo in 1792, and the expanding urban markets in Europe had given, for a moment, a great opportunity to the sugar industry of Northeast Brazil. Moreover, an important supplementary market had developed in the mining areas of Minas Gerais. In the subsequent economic expansion to supply these markets, the Recôncavo became an even more important center of sugar production in Brazil.

175 The landed proprietors of the Recôncavo apparently took this
249 resurgence as a vindication of their economic system.
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> They squandered money like the fidalgos [landed, slave-holding aristocrats] that they were. They installed sumptuous dwellings and lived the life of a nobility. Each sugar factory was a community where hundreds of slaves were dedicated to extraction of wealth from the soil. Each of these communities achieved a merited importance. A little Agricultural World gyrated around the Big House, and the Chapel, with its Holy Administrator, [was] dedicated to the dissemination of Catholicism in the community. In time many of these "Engenhos" developed into villas, and were succeeded by the cities of today.
>
> Each of these "Engenhos," as these agricultural communities were called, produced everything that they consumed except luxury, and this was imported from Portugal in exchange for sugar, high-grade tobacco, cotton, and rare cabinet woods. The "Senhor" of the
[466] Engenho was a veritable Feudal Baron, with the power of life and death over his black and mestizo slaves. He exercised the right of torture and flogging in proportion to the offenses committed. These sugar Engenhos,
175 because of their collective and independent existence,
249 produced a pride of origin, an attachment to the soil,
471 that flowered into a hatred of the monarchial exploiters
565 and became the dominating factor in the movement for
[668] independence.
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> The fidalgos were essentially a product of the land, and spent the major part of their luxurious existence on their estates, attended by innumerable slaves. Their homes were built upon a vast scale and equipped with every luxury known to so simple a people. They also

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 249 565 [471] maintained splendid establishments, called Solars, in the Capital, to which they repaired in the winter season, June, July and August, for social diversion.[29]

[178] The above citation is characteristic of the present-day views of many upper-class Baianos who identify themselves with this opulent era of the Recôncavo social evolution. The mythology engendered by the colonial sugar industry is outliving the engenho system. The wealth, pride, and ostentation of these fidalgos is undeniable. Within the limits of the provincial social environment, upper-class life was luxurious indeed. Compared with the upper-class society of the period in Europe or in the American South, however, social opportunities in the Recôncavo must have been rather limited. The casas [342] grandes—if the surviving specimens can be taken as typical--generally [489] were rather modest plantation houses. Transportation was difficult: few engenhos had carriage roads, and travel was by horseback or [571] palanquin. Social intercourse often was restricted to an ingrown [484] local circle. Apparently many of the social needs of the upper class could not be met within the rural Recôncavo so that trips were made frequently to Salvador, Rio de Janeiro, and sometimes Paris.[30]

Little has been recorded of the way of life of the slaves and 175 249 poor freemen in the Recôncavo. It is significant that both apologists 567 and critics of slavery usually have agreed that the masters were relatively clement in the treatment of their slave laborers. These slaves were very valuable possessions, particularly after the British began to suppress the slave trade. Because absentee ownership and delegation of administration to people outside the family was not usual, the masters and slaves were perforce in daily contact. Out of these daily contacts between landholder and laborer, a relatively personal relationship was developed. Within the household, relation- [563] ships were even more familiar. In addition, some of the slaves were

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175 249 567 the offspring of master and slave and sometimes were considered as [563] members of the household.

A set of feudalistic inter-relations developed in the society, loosely defining the responsibilities and privileges of master and slave. Ideally the slave had the privilege, almost the right, to appeal to the master in person for assistance and advice. Manumission and the granting of the right to purchase freedom were common. At the [466] same time, the economic system was based upon involuntary labor. The slave was exploited, and the fruit of his toil went to maintain the luxurious existence of the small upper class.

175 565 The small freemen occupied a very inferior social and economic position in this society. In the cities they became tradesmen or [463] [554] craftsmen, occupations without status. In the country some were petty dependents of the engenho, others established themselves as small cultivators. Since the sugar cane plantations dominated the central Recôncavo, it seems reasonable to assume that the small holders were segregated mainly in the outer zone.

175 161 162 In 1819--during the florescence of the Recôncavo--the population of the comarca (district) of Bahia was 362,503. Most of this population was centered in the Recôncavo--200,000 in the lowlands north of the Bay--the sugar cane area--and 77,503 in the western uplands around Cachoeira--the tobacco area.[31] At this time the total population of Bahia was estimated at 592,908 and that of Brazil as between 175 4,000,000 to 4,500,000.[32] Salvador, with a population somewhere 633 162 between 100,000 and 130,000, was the largest city in Brazil and remained so until 1830.[33] The class and ethnic composition of the 175 563 population of this period is not clearly indicated. By some estimates, 565 over half of the population of Bahia was slave and over three-fifths 569

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was Negro. Other estimates state that less than one-third of the people were slaves.[34]

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Table IV, below, illustrates the economic organization of the sugar industry in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

TABLE IV

TOTAL CAPITAL INVESTMENT IN SUGAR ENGENHOS OF BAHIA IN 1833

	In U. S. Dollars*	
	Per Unit	Total Investment
603 mills	$2,500	$1,507,500
48,240 slaves	150	7,236,000
60,300 oxen	20	904,500
23,100 horses	20	464,500
78,800 ha. of agric. land	46 (approx)	3,618,000
38,528 ha. of forest	23 (approx)	884,000
47 steam engines	3,000	141,000
62 water canals	3,000	186,000
Improvements of each mill	2,000	1,206,000
Total in Bahia		$16,147,500

*Conversion at $500 per thousand of reis, after Calogeras, p. 47 in footnote.
Source: Amaral, II, 84 after the Marquez de Abrantes.

The usefulness of the above data is limited by the ambiguity of several of its categories. "Agricultural land" could be either land cultivated or cultivable. The most serious problem of interpretation is the meaning of "improvements," since the value of these improvements is relatively high. It is reasonably certain, from the nature of the engenho, that these improvements are not technological advances but only those simple measures necessary to maintain the traditional structure--warehouses, corrals, slave quarters, etc. If the value of the house of the senhor de engenho is included in this figure, this would help to account for the relatively high figure for improvements.

Nevertheless, the data do represent certain significant elements of the mid-nineteenth century sugar cane system of the Recôncavo. Almost

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 45 per cent of the total investment was in slaves—labor costs, always
249 high, had been driven up by the suppression of the slave trade. The
47 relatively small proportion of steam mills is at once a reflection of
454 the continuing primitive technology and a sign of the improvements
which were to come later in the century. The value of production for
[433] this year was $1,213,000--a return of 6.6 per cent on the capital
investment.[35]

175 While the attention of the Baiano was focused on the sugar
249 industry during this golden age, tobacco unobtrusively was becoming
178 a primary commercial product. The suppression of the slave trade
439 deprived tobacco of its African market, but at the same time the
European market was expanding. The spread of cigar smoking in Europe
created an increasing demand for Bahian leaf. Ultimately the European
demand for quality leaf and the development of a Brazilian market for
the poorer grades were to carry tobacco to the leading position among
Bahia's commercial products.

175 To a very large degree, the mold of the colonial Recôncavo was
433 fixed in the sixteenth century. Its socio-economic system was nurtured
249 by the prosperous semi-monopoly of sugar production. While the south
[565] of Brazil was a raw frontier zone of migratory agricultural adventurers,
the Paulistas (natives of São Paulo) of early colonial times,[36] a stable
and wealthy aristocratic society was developing in the Recôncavo. In
[477] the early eighteenth century, when West Indies competition undermined
the sugar monopoly, the Recôncavo might have responded creatively to
the challenge, but failed to do so. The simultaneous mineral boom in
Minas Gerais drained away the more experimental elements and left
behind those who were less adventurous. Yet before the denial of
markets had disrupted entirely the old economic and cultural pattern,
the late eighteenth-early nineteenth century resurgence reaffirmed

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161 distribution and the vested political and economic interests of the
162 Recôncavo allowed it to continue as the dominant region of the state.

177 The Recôncavo has remained a conservative area in Brazil, and
178 within the state it seems to exert a strong traditional influence. On
433 a national scale, however, the traditional values which are preserved
249 565 in Bahian culture have been overridden by the aggressive dynamism of
181 São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. Moreover, the economic core of tradition in the Recôncavo--the sugar-producing upper class--is being progressively infiltrated and dominated by the new economic interests of the Central-South. The effects of these new economic interests are manifest in the administrative and labor problems of the sugar industry in the present decade.[48] New economic groups also are coming to the fore in the tobacco industry.

The technological revolution in the sugar industry and the emergence of a new "progressive" upper class have weakened but not destroyed the traditional orientation of the Recôncavo. The cultural patterns which have so successfully resisted basic change for almost four centuries will not easily give way. However, the issues have been joined, and already the old technology, the old upper class, and the old inter-class social fabric have been profoundly disturbed. In the long run it seems inevitable that the cultural patterns of the Recôncavo will have to accommodate many new values.

177 Not all the new social forces are restricted to the upper
178 class. More and more new technology, such as the automobile, new
565 political and social institutions, such as labor unions, and new ideas
181 from the South, brought through newspapers, radios, and travelers, have affected the lives of the lower classes. While the access of this group to new ideas is more limited than that of the upper class,

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178 its vested interest in the traditional system is weaker. Thus on all
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181 social levels the old Recôncavo is being threatened.

For the present, however, tradition is a continuing and power-
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181 ful force in agriculture and in the economic and social institutions
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433 which surround agriculture in the Recôncavo.

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563 in all municípios but three—Maragogipe, Salvador, and Conceição da
162 Feira. The variations between the individual municípios reflect:
634 (1) concentrations of Negroes in the sugar cane area; and (2) concentrations of mixed-bloods, some of which are mestiços, on the inland borders of the Recôncavo and around the sugar zone. Salvador has a relatively larger white group--35 per cent--and a lower proportion of mixed-bloods--38 per cent.

563 With the possible exception of the prevailing white upper class,
565 no significant cultural segment of Recôncavo society can be defined in racial terms. The lower class is composed of Negroes, mixed bloods, and whites--it is an economic, not a racial unit. The upper class is predominantly white, but this primarily reflects the historical economic advantages of the white people and only incidentally the social advantages of a lighter skin. Given wealth, dark-skinned people enter the upper class with little--but nevertheless perceptible--difficulty on account of their racial background. Baianos say "a rich man is not a Negro." If a Negro or mulato is wealthy, many people think of him as being light-skinned. The cultural range between the upper and lower class in Recôncavo society is great. Neither the simpler cultural system of the lower classes nor the sophisticated upper class culture is associated with race per se.[9]

565 Class Differences. Recôncavo society is characterized by a strongly developed class structure and little vertical social mobility. In a recent anthropological survey of class in Brazil, "one's income, the kind of work one does, one's education, one's family (in varying degrees) and finally, one's physical [i.e. racial] appearance" were the main criteria used.[10] The study made by Hutchinson of a small community in the Central Recôncavo sugar cane area in 1950-51 distinguished four social strata.[11] Among the findings of the study were the following:

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565 563 [162] Five families, out of a total community population of 4,269, composed the aristocratic upper class. All five were plantation-owning families, resident on their fazendas or engenhos. All were closely linked either to each other or to other aristocratic families in the sugar-cane area and in Salvador by marriage [and were linked through these to the national Brazilian upper class]. All were relatively [871] well educated, and most of the males had university degrees in law, engineering, or medicine. All were of Caucasoid appearance.

The second class consisted of local bureaucrats, plantation administrators, sugar-mill technicians, merchants, and professional people of the only small town (cidade, a sort of county seat). For the most part they were descendants of local people. The educational [871] range was from university educated doctors to illiterates. Members of this class included pure Caucasoids, brancos da terra (whites of the land, or whites with known or suspected Négro ancestors) mulattoes, and some Negroes. This was called a local upper class to distinguish it from the regional, aristocratic, upper class.

The third and most numerous class was that of "the people" (gente). This was the class of those who did physical work. They were plantation and mill workers, craftsmen, and fishermen. In the urban segment of this class, in the cidade, there was a fairly continuous gradation of standing within this class, with each occupational group occupying a defined social position. In the agricultural segment there is also a definite heirarchy. The feitor (foreman) and the vaquéiro (cowboy) form an upper level. On the basis of the sequence of promotion and the degree of authority elsewhere in the sugar zone, the balançéiro or weigh master also belongs in this group. The bulk of the plantation workers form the next

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563 sub-stratum. Most of the rural and urban workers who fell within the third class were Negroes, mulatos, or dark-skinned mestiços.

At the bottom of the social heirarchy was a small group of cidade dwellers of menial position. These were porters, water carriers, washerwomen, domestic servants, and odd-jobbers. This class was chiefly Negro or mulatto, but there were some brancos da terra.

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369 The homes of the aristocratic upper class were all located on fazendas outside the cidade. The lowermost class was entirely urban. The other classes were both rural and urban in distribution. The aristocratic upper class did not intermarry with, nor receive new members directly from, the local upper class. There was some social mobility between the various levels in the lower class.

The above analysis of class corresponds quite closely to the general class structure throughout the sugar-cane zone and with modification to Salvador. The composition of the upper class of Salvador is more complex. Here the upper stratum is composed not only of landed aristocrats and their dispossessed descendants but also of urban capitalists and speculators. These latter often have agricultural landholdings, but usually as an investment rather than as a way of life. These people are generally newcomers to the upper class. The professions also have their place in the upper class, since members of the families of aristocrats, dispossessed aristocrats, and capitalists are often prominent doctors, lawyers, and, in recent years, engineers.

The more complex composition of the upper class in Salvador is a product of the economic decline of the aristocratic family and the concurrent rise of powerful business interests. This development reflects the growth of a greater degree of social mobility among the upper class of Salvador than is characteristic of the sugar cane area.

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565 369 To the extent that the economic and social position of the aristocratic group is usurped by the new upper class elements in Salvador, the pre-eminent role of the aristocrats in the sugar cane zone is threatened.

565 249 In Bahia the strong aristocratic class derived from the sugar cane system. Outside the sugar areas a well-defined aristocratic class is lacking--the upper level in these areas is occupied by groups similar to the local upper class of the sugar zone. In the tobacco and manioc zones, around the sugar cane area, the members of the local upper class, including those with urban residences, are very intimately involved in agriculture. In this agricultural zone the upper class has few personal or family connections with the Salvador upper class.

565 The lower class outside the sugar areas is composed of cultivators and urban workers and probably has more gradations and a less heirarchical structure than is characteristic of the sugar area. The cultivators are semi-independent small farmers, renters, and share croppers of varying dependence and social position. Social mobility appears to be about equal to that in the corresponding stratum of the sugar zone.

565 871 Compared with the United States, the opportunity for educational and cultural development in the lower class is much more severely restricted by the prevailing poverty. Effective literacy is low among [212] the manual laborers of city or countryside. The middle groups and local upper classes are usually, but not universally, literate, but for the most part their cultural horizons are limited. In contrast, the cultural opportunities and outlook of the aristocratic and big-business class is both cosmopolitan and sophisticated. Education in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Europe, or the United States is not uncommon. Nevertheless, large segments of this class remain distinctly provincial in their cultural orientation--this is particularly true of the decadent aristocratic families.

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BB 565 184 It is easy to over-emphasize the cultural differences between classes and between areas within the Recôncavo. It is possible to assemble an array of significant cultural differences on a class or areal basis, as has been done above. But underneath these differences there seems to exist an implicit and almost universally shared way of life. As far as most of the people are concerned, Recôncavo society is probably best viewed as a cultural continuum of great vertical range, in which extreme positions are occupied by the cosmopolitan upper class of Salvador and the more remote agricultural people of the BB 184 lower class. The validity of the concept of the Recôncavo as a cultural region is recognized by the anthropologist who studies Recôncavo society and by Brazilians who characterize the man of the BB NB 184 Recôncavo as a particular type. This Recôncavo continuum or sub-culture is a part of what Wagley has called the cultural region of the Northeastern Coast. Also included within this region are coastal Pernambuco, Alagoas, and Sergipe.[12] In turn, the Northeastern Coast is a part of the Brazilian cultural region.

BB 178 565 596 <u>The Family</u>. One of the basic social institutions which has strong historical roots in the Recôncavo, and in the other colonial sugar cane regions, is the Brazilian family. The most conspicuous survival of the colonial family is the present-day family stereotype of the aristocratic stratum of Recôncavo society.

> The large, aristocratic, patriarchal family always has been the most important of Brazil's social institutions. Rarely has this primary kinship group had to play a role secondary to that of the church, as so frequently has been true in Spanish-American countries; nor has its relative importance ever been seriously challenged by the school, as may be the case in a North-American community. In colonial times such a large, closely knit group of relatives, acknowledging allegiance to the oldest living male, possessing many slaves, and carrying on the aristocratic tradition at its best, was the chief instrument employed in the occupation of Brazil. This

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> was in sharp contrast to the colonization of Spanish America where the conquistador and the priest were largely responsible for establishing the Spaniards as a ruling caste, and to the founding of the English colonies in North America where the community and the smaller, more equalitarian family were basic elements. As has been shown so well by Freyre's monumental work, the patriarchal form of social organization early obtained almost unlimited sway in Brazil. For centuries Portuguese America continued to be dominated by a few thousand casas grandes, seats of sugar engenhos and cattle fazendas, each of which was the fortress headquarters of a numerous clan. Even today there remains much of this feudal type of social organization, and this great family is the institution through which the white or near-white upper class maintains its control. Of course this patriarchal family has little in common with the equalitarian family of the United States and western Europe.[13]

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596 The colonial family is the idealized family of both the aristocratic upper class in Salvador and the sugar cane zone and of the local upper classes in the smaller cities. It also corresponds rather closely to the actual family structure of much of the upper class of the Recôncavo. The lower class families of the Recôncavo seem to have quite a different functional character and social significance.

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582 The Upper Class Family. Marriage, contracted almost exclusively from within the class group, has the important function of uniting the relatively small number of large extended families which compose the
594 upper class. The unit families, parents and children, of the Recôncavo
596 are relatively large, in conformation to the Brasilian stereotype of five children. This unit family is tightly enclosed in a net of relationships with the extended families of both husband and wife, and many social functions are centered within these larger groups.

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596 The upper class child is reared within a well-defined circle which includes the immediate family, the servants--who frequently have
861 a quasi-parental relationship to the children, like the legendary
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591 "mammy" of the United States South--and the more immediate members of the extended family.

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565 596 861 [872] the extended family. The upper class child develops in an atmosphere of alternate indulgence and discipline, with very few responsibilities. Most upper class children attend private schools, which are usually parochial.

565 The social status of the upper class individual is determined by birth and is maintained by the economic and social standing of the individual and his family. The specific determinants of status--wealth, occupation, education, kin relations, and physical appearance[14]--are either fixed or are strongly influenced by the family.

565 596 In the Recôncavo the extended upper class family frequently has a diversified economic structure which enables it to safeguard effectively the position of the individual and the group. Ideally the family group includes the usinéiro (sugar mill owner or administrator), the fazendéiro (cane planter), the doctor, the lawyer-politician, and the urban business man. These various individuals cooperate to build and to maintain the economic, political, and social position of the family. These activities constitute the principal responsibility of the males of the family and justify, it is believed, the characteristic masculine superiority of the society.

565 588 [592] The Lower Class Family. Some of the upper class characteristics are shared by lower class families, especially by the upper stratum, but the contrasts are striking. Lower class families in the Recôncavo seem to have less stability and a less extended character than those of the upper class. Common law marriages and church marriages, not legally binding in Brazil, are quite common and are easily dissolved. The common law marriages of the young adults are frequently temporary, but most older adults seem to establish permanent unions.[15]

565 596 Though kinship relationships are always recognized and cherished, the extended family of the lower class is widely dispersed, and its economic role is usually minor.

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000 economic role is usually minor. The individual or the unit family of
565 the lower class is usually linked very closely, mainly in the economic
571 sense, with an employer or merchant of influence (patrão). In a society in which personal relationships ("connections") count for so much, only a member of the upper class can be of real economic or political assistance.

565 Childhood in the lower class is quite different from that in
857 the upper class family. From an early age the children must, out of economic necessity, accept many responsibilities. Young children frequently work in the fields or find odd jobs in the town. The girls may do the housework, cook, and manage the younger children while the mother works. The young sons, even six or seven years old, may pack a bundle of agricultural products across the município on the morning of market day. In the evening they return with the few articles of food or clothing which they have been able to purchase with the proceeds from their goods. As they grow older, the children either undertake more of the farm work or drift off to the nearby rural areas and villages or to Salvador. The girls may find employment
[464] as servants or as agricultural or industrial workers. Ultimately
[885] most will marry and settle down to a grinding life of poverty, child-bearing, disease, and hard labor, which will, however, be relieved by an informal and highly convivial social life.

565 The position of the woman is still inferior to that of the
562 man, but she has relatively greater economic, social, and sexual independence than the woman of the upper class.

565 The social life of lower class families is in marked contrast
776 to the narrow, formal, and sexually-discriminatory social life of the aristocracy. Lower class life is filled not only with poverty but also with a tremendous series of religious and quasi-religious festivals

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565 796 [184] (festas) and informal social activities. The uninhibited enjoyment of a samba (dance), a candomblé (fetish cult observance), a religious procession, or a Saint's day by the lower class is very different from the self-conscious upper class behavior under comparable conditions.[16]

565 562 369 The discussion above is largely in terms of stereotypes, and in fact there are many exceptions. In the upper class, strong-willed women may on occasion enter a profession--such as nursing or teaching--or operate a business or plantation, but usually with the aid and the advice of male relatives. In Salvador the upper class women are relatively more emancipated than are those of the villages and towns. 565 596 369 Many lower class people, especially the less poverty ridden groups of the villages and towns, tend to imitate the idealized upper class family pattern, within the limits of their economic, educational, and social resources.

565 571 621 59 In general it may be said that the interests of upper class families in the Recôncavo are regional, the interests of lower class families are local. The areally and biologically extended families of the upper class, interconnected through marriage and intermeshed in over-all economic, political, and social interests, are a basic element in the regional unity of the Recôncavo and in its integration into the Brazilian nation. In contrast the extra-local interests of lower class families are weak and unstable. The lower class community or neighborhood identification is the more effective unifying factor and seems to provide, in the Recôncavo, a focus for local interests generally lacking in at least the aristocratic and urban strata of the upper class.[17] However, the institutions of the community for the most part are maintained and directed by the aristocratic and the local upper class.

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agricultural population is small. However, refugees from the drought also found their way into most parts of the Recôncavo. Even in 1953 they were to be encountered as squatters in Muritiba, as cane field workers in Santo Amaro, and as porters in Salvador.

Refugees from secas usually have not become permanent additions to the labor force of the Recôncavo. The sertanejo of the Northeast is renowned in Brazil for his attachment to his terra (native soil), no matter how cruelly it treats him. Especially those migrants who settle as squatters on the margins of the Recôncavo seem only to wait for the renewal of the rains to return to the sertão. In 1953 migrants were still entering the Recôncavo along the Feira de Santana-Salvador highway, but others were boarding the train in Salvador and returning to the sertão. They had come from the sertão on foot or by begging rides on trucks, found jobs in the Recôncavo, saved a few cruzeiros, and were returning to their native terra. Some refugees remain in the Recôncavo, of course, but the number is proportionately very small.

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Several sections of the Recôncavo, notably the sugar cane zone, are losing rural population and agricultural labor at a serious rate. The municípios of Santo Amaro and São Francisco lost 6,400 agriculturalists between 1940 and 1950. The reduction in the number of agriculturalists in the sugar area is at least partially a symptom of the growing rationalization of labor under the big usinas, which increasingly dominate the sugar industry. The emigration from these areas is selective--the majority of the emigrants are young adults who leave to seek employment and broader opportunity elsewhere.

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Emigration within the Recôncavo is one current of the great tide of agricultural unrest ascribed to all of Brazil.

The rural Brazilian of the lower classes is notorious for his nomadic or migratory habits, for his lack of permanent attachment to the soil, for his tendency to

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> shift about from place to place. In few nations are such large proportions of the rural people, who in turn are three fourths of all people, so constantly on the move.[23]

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In the Recôncavo this shifting is like a game of musical chairs, in which the odd participant, probably thinking himself lucky, goes to Salvador. The exchange of places occurs on many levels: there is movement from plantation to plantation within the sugar zone, even between plantations operated by the same usina.[24] Many agricultural workers shift from one to another of the various agricultural zones within the Recôncavo.[25] These shifts of population in the Recôncavo primarily involve the agricultural laborers, share croppers, and tenant farmers. The landowners move only under the strongest pressure, and the upper class landowners are as immobile as the lower classes are migratory. However, these landowners compose only a small part of the agricultural labor force.

Another fluid element in the agricultural labor force of the Recôncavo is seasonal labor.

> Itinerant seasonal agricultural labor has for a long time been an important element in the sugar zones of the Northeast where at harvest time many of the cane cutters come from the "agreste" or even from the "sertao" into the "mata" zone.[26]

The principal source of this seasonal labor for the Recôncavo is the small farmer class of the sertão of Bahia north of the Rio Paraguaçu and east of the Chapada Diamantina. These workers are males, exclusively; the number involved is not known, but it is probably on the order of 5,000. Some sertanejos return again and again to the same fazenda or usina; others change their place of employment from year to year. They all return to the sertão at the beginning of the wet season to plant gardens for their families and to harvest cotton and other crops.

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On the cane plantations
241 the field work of planting and harvesting is done by labor gangs com-
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857 posed of men, women, and older children. There is some specialization: men cut the cane, women gather and pile the cane stalks and leaves, and the older children assist at these tasks and at managing the ox carts. The smaller children remain at home, where they are responsible from a very early age for some household tasks.

241 Outside the sugar zone the family is a basic labor unit. Men,
592 women, and children work in the fields as required and participate in
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857 processing tobacco and manioc. To an even greater extent than is characteristic of the sugar zone the children participate in family tasks, and as soon as they can manage the hoe, they join in the field work.

461 The upper class Baiano seldom does physical labor—to do physical
• 565 work is to lower one's status. In the lower class work would seem to be approached as a somewhat unpleasant necessity which is best tackled in a cheerful and convivial atmosphere. The agricultural laborer is given to spells of extremely hard work interrupted by banter and occasional "horseplay." While the lone worker often seems rather cheerless and plodding in the field, the shouted jokes, songs, and exclamations of groups of laborers frequently resound throughout the countryside. The intermittent vigorous labor seems to be an extension of play, for there is little social evaluation of hard work for its own sake.

Despite the enthusiasm and commotion which surrounds almost any effort, the per capita productivity of the worker in the Recôncavo
461 is relatively modest. In part this is a result of the intermittent
147 character of the work, but a more important factor is the limited energy of the worker. The lower class of the Recôncavo is weakened by perennial hunger, bad diet, and disease.[27]

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464 extravagant urban centers, the oil field and refineries north of the Bay, and the fishing and shipping industries. Moreover, this area has [565] a larger upper-class element, which as has been seen, could be counted upon to perform manual labor only under dire circumstances.

464 241 Thus in all parts of the Recôncavo the local labor reserve readily available for agricultural production and expansion is small. In compensation the general high mobility of the lower class would make available non-local reserves,[31] providing the proper incentives were offered. The exploitative agricultural system of the Recôncavo is ill-equipped to offer these incentives.

162 369 433 Urban Population. The remaining 493,944 people of the Recôncavo, 46 per cent of the total 1950 population, lived in the nine major urban centers. These people have much the same relationship to agricultural production as the "service segment" discussed above, but the relationship is less direct. These urban centers are engaged almost exclusively in serving and in exploiting the agricultural population of the Recôncavo and other agricultural areas of Bahia.

633 162 Salvador is the dominant city of the Recôncavo and of Bahia. In 1950 it contained 389,422 people, 36 per cent of the total population of the Recôncavo and 8 per cent of the total population of Bahia, or 79 per cent of all urban people of the Recôncavo and 41 per cent of all urban people of the state. The next largest city in Bahia was Feira de Santana--less than one-fourteenth the size of Salvador.

633 Although Salvador is the fourth city in Brazil, it is much smaller than either Rio de Janeiro or São Paulo and somewhat smaller than Recife.[32] It ranked just above Pôrto Alegre in total population. Salvador, often called either Bahia or o capital, cannot be interpreted entirely or even predominately in terms of the Recôncavo. While its

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 132]

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633 495 161 to service the hundreds of trucks and busses which are transforming the transportation of the interior. Both cities reflected their growing function by a great increase in population between 1940 and 1950.

633 [162] Cachoeira-São Félix, 16,697 people in 1950,[34] and Santo Amaro, 12,258 people in 1950, are respectively the fourth and fifth largest cities in the Recôncavo and the eighth and tenth largest cities in Bahia. Both of these cities are important agricultural and marketing [443] centers within the Recôncavo, and both are notable historical centers. Santo Amaro was the great local social and economic focus of the slave-holding engenho sugar culture of the Central Recôncavo. Cachoeira was the major local center of the Western Recôncavo and of the tobacco economy throughout colonial times. While these cities maintain some of their former importance, they are mainly cities of the past, 633 growing at a much slower rate than most urban centers. Both cities 496 lie at or near the head of navigation,[35] and both are on the rail- 494 road which runs from Salvador to the western interior. The construction of the railroad and the development of automotive transport apparently have been important factors in the declining importance of these cities, for it is no longer necessary to trans-ship goods brought down from the interior into boats at these places. The 633 railroads and trucks move the goods directly to Salvador.[36] At present [565] these cities function as local trade centers, as minor industrial centers--Cachoeira-São Félix in tobacco; Santo Amaro in sugar--and as the residences of decadent upper class families whose fortunes declined with the disappearance of the slave-holding agricultural systems.

The other urban centers of the Recôncavo:

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000 BB [128] should be misleading. District data are desirable, but occupational breakdowns for these smaller political units are available neither for 1940 nor 1950. Furthermore, the areas of these districts cannot be calculated with even minimal accuracy from existing sources. Thus the distribution of rural population and agricultural labor force within municípios is largely a matter of inference. For example, the 1950 agricultural labor force was estimated, as has been seen, from the 1940 data and changes in rural population. Densities for each município were calculated from these estimates, and these densities were used as guides, in conjunction with the total populations of the various districts, in determining the distributional patterns of the map of the density of the agricultural labor force and the dot map of agricultural labor force. These maps are thus inferential distributions of inferred data.

[23]Smith, op. cit., p. 297.

BB [435] [24]Labor turnover is one of the explanations proffered for the high cost of sugar production in Bahia.

[25]The explanations offered by these migrants are various: lack of opportunity, a hostile or unfriendly landlord or creditor, a quarrel within the family or neighborhood, crop failure, or a desire to be near relatives.

[26]Joint Brazil-United States Economic Development Commission, The Development of Brazil (Institute of Inter-American Affairs, Foreign Operations Division. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1953), p. 16.

BB [796] [27]However, these people muster tremendous energy for festas (holidays or feast days), especially Carnavál. At such a time, a middle-aged lady with a chronic heart condition was observed to dance, in a procession, for several miles down the road. During the novena of Nossa Senhora de Purificão in Santo Amaro, the troups of performers will journey many miles to attend the celebration, dance and sing throughout the nights of each of the nine days, and without rest return to their homes.

[28]The people of nine urban centers of the Recôncavo—Salvador, Feira de Santana, Alagoinhas, Cachoeira-São Félix, Santo Amaro, Maragogipe, Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, and São Gonçalo—are thus excluded BB [633] from the rural population. These are the nine ranking cities of the Recôncavo, and all except São Gonçalo have more than 5,000 people. In addition to industry, those transportation, financial, retail, trade, and administrative functions which are not strictly local are confined to these urban centers, as well as wholesale trade and international commerce.

B [631] [633] [29]It is significant that Brazil has no urban political unit per se--the município or the distrito has both urban (city, town, or village) and rural sections without administrative expression.

B BB [565] [562] [857] [30]In this society there are many women, especially in the lower class, who can scarcely be considered as dependent. Moreover, as has been seen, children are also frequently productive members of lower class families. In the upper class of the villages and towns, however, there are many children and housewives whose activities are either purely domestic or are only indirectly productive.

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Supplementary Crops
(Subsistence and Commercial):

Pineapple (Abacaxi)	168 hectares
Rice (Arroz)	61 "
Tomatoes (Tomate)	46 "
White Potatoes (Batata inglêsa)	44 "
Cotton (Algodão)	40 "
Onions (Cebola)	14 "
Garlic (Alho)	5 "
Green or Snap Beans (Fava)	4 "

241 311 On the basis of the above figures, the total cultivated land in the Recôncavo in 1948 was about 80,000 hectares. In addition to the above, 245 there are a number of tree crops, not cultivated in the true sense, which are important in the agricultural complex. More often than not these "crops" are of spontaneous origin.

[192]

African Oil Palm (Dendê)
Mango (Manga)
Jack Fruit (Jaca)
Cashew (Cajú)
Bread Fruit (Fruta de pão)

231 The following animals are important in the livestock economy of the Recôncavo:

[192]

Cattle (Bovinos)
  Cows (Vacas)
  Oxen (Bois de trabalho)
Sheep (Ovinos)
Goats (Caprinos)
Swine (Suinos)
Donkeys (Asininos or Burros)
Mules (Muares)
Horses (Equinos or Cavalos)

These animals will be discussed in the chapter on animal industry (Chapter VII).

244 Manioc. Manioc was one of the most important cultivated plants which the Portuguese colonists borrowed from the Indians of Brazil. [175] Flour made from the manioc root, farinha de mandioca, was the basic [262] subsistence food of the colonial sugar economy and remains today the [178] principal element of the diet of much of the Brazilian lower class. [565] 000 Manioc production is most notable along the coast of Brazil, from the

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249 Rope tobacco, fumo em corda, is a twist of sweetened, fermented tobacco of rope-like appearance which is smoked in pipes or in hand-made cigarettes or may be used as a chewing tobacco--however, the habit of chewing tobacco is not common in the Recôncavo. This type of tobacco originally was produced for exchange in the slave trade, but at the present time it is consumed almost exclusively by the rural lower class. The urban lower class, formerly also consumers of rope tobacco, are turning increasingly to manufactured cigarettes, which for the most part are made from the tobacco grown in Rio Grande do Sul.

In general the production of leaf tobacco in Brazil is restricted to the Recôncavo and adjacent sections of Bahia, but rope tobacco is a product of the sertão of Bahia and the northeastern interior and of Minas Gerais. In Bahia the moderate rainfall and the sandy soils of the humid edge of the crystalline zone, in areas of caatinga or mata vegetation, produce a relatively mild leaf. The best--most valuable--leaf of Bahia is the Mata grade of the Southwestern Recôncavo and certain adjacent municípios.[14] Of the Mata grade, the highest quality comes from Cruz das Almas. Rope tobacco is made primarily from the harsh, strong leaves grown in the sertão, but it is made also from leaves of poorer plants or very strong end-of-season leaves of plants originally harvested for fumo em fôlha. Thus the Recôncavo may sometimes produce small quantities of rope tobacco, but the main Bahian production is north of the Recôncavo in the agreste, especially in Inhambupe and Entre Rios.

The cultivation of tobacco will be discussed in the chapter on agricultural systems (Chapter VI), but one singular characteristic of its harvesting should be borne in mind in evaluating production statistics. In distinction to cultivation of quality tobacco in most other parts of the world, Bahia-Brasil is harvested repeatedly until

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[127] [25]The official data for banana production have been adjusted, as is shown in Appendix D. According to: Immigration and Colonization Council, Modern Brazil (Rio de Janeiro: Immigration and Colonization Council, 1949), p. 119, a bunch of Brazilian bananas contains an average of 60 fruits and weighs 8 kilograms.

[35] [565] [26]Indeed, bananas are common plants within the city. Each upper class house, perched on top of the ridge, has its banana grove on the declivity behind. In the valley bottoms, banana plants surround the adobe houses of the lower class.

[27]These yields are offered for the purpose of general comparison. The diversity of conversion figures used in estimating the weight of bananas does not allow for precise comparison.

[127] [28]The official data for area in coffee in São Filipe apparently is a three-fold exaggeration, unless the yields are incredibly low. The production data are more reasonable.

[244] [29]Although manioc is not an annual plant, it is usually harvested in the Recôncavo before it is a year old. It seems more useful to classify these plants as annuals or perennials by their respective systems of cultivation rather than by their botanical characteristics.

[30]This comparison is somewhat unfair to Paraíba and Alagoas, since these states both include extensive non-agricultural areas, while the Recôncavo is an area specifically selected on the basis of intensity of agricultural land use.

[128] [31]For a comparison of 1940 and 1948 cultivated and agricultural area, see Appendix F.

[127] [249] [32]The cropland figure for Serrinha, derived from the 1948 data, is 25 per cent larger than the cultivated area given in the 1940 census. A complicating and contradictory line of evidence is supplied by the data on tobacco production, which is usually a good index of crop cultivation changes in this area. The tobacco production of Serrinha showed a decided decline from 1940 to 1948. It can only be assumed, in the light of the obvious growth of the cidade, that there was some expansion, but in food crops rather than in tobacco.

[33]The region which includes these two municípios follows the railroad from Nazaré to Jequié--the Estrada de Ferro Nazaré--and includes all the municípios touched by the line. In general this is thought of as a "coffee zone," but in its eastern section other crops, notably sugar cane and tobacco, displace coffee as the chief commercial products. Where this region approaches the Recôncavo most closely, in northern Santo Antônio, it is difficult to draw the boundary between the two. However, in 1948, even in 1953, the basic economic associations of Santo Antônio were with the railroad zone.

241 423 471 [249] Although there were a few corporate lands in the vicinity of the city of Salvador in 1940, the main concentration was in the sugar cane area north of the Bay. Here the large corporately-owned usinas controlled as much as 30 per cent of the agricultural land. Most of these corporate properties were sugar cane plantations, but some were cattle ranches and other accessory properties. The corporations tend to dominate the sugar cane areas which are most productive and most favorably located for the transportation of cane and of the refined sugar and other products.

Conclusion. The strong network of interpersonal relationships, discussed in connection with crop cultivation and systems, is often more important than the purely formal aspects of land ownership and operation in the Recôncavo. The agricultural society of the Recôncavo is closely knit, so that the effective freedom of operation of the farm operator [565] is very limited. Although the large and rich landowners have, on some levels, a greater latitude than the small operators, they too are enmeshed in a system of inherited economic and social obligations and are subject to the restrictions imposed by the urban upper class.

241 441 442 472 [656] The two primary local supervisory groups in the agricultural society are the merchant-buyers of the tobacco-manioc region and the general administrators and plantation owners of the sugar cane region. However, both these groups are under the more or less immediate control of the sugar and tobacco companies in Salvador and of the official Instituto do Açúcar e do Álcool and the Instituto Baiano do Fumo.[7]

249 471 472 656 The operations of the sugar cane plantations are dictated by the mills, which specify the type and quantity of cane and the schedule of delivery. In turn, the amount of sugar produced by the mill is determined by the Instituto do Açúcar e do Álcool, while the policy of

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[231] of livestock, which had a value greater than sugar cane but less than
[233] manioc.

Agricultural activities within the Recôncavo are localized in several distinct sub-regions, each with a specialized system of cultivation and each with either one or two principal crops. The primary agricultural subdivisions of the region are: (1) the sugar cane monocultural sub-region; and (2) the tobacco-manioc sub-region.

249 Sugar cane is grown as the exclusive crop in its major area of production--the pocket of coastal plain north of the Baía de Todos os Santos. Cane is generally cultivated under a four-year monoculture and one-year fallow system on large properties employing large quantities of hand labor and using oxen to draw plows and carts. Neither fertilizer
[407] nor agricultural machinery is used to any appreciable extent. Most of
[492] the animals used as labor in the production of sugar cane are brought
[231] into the area from the sertão, and little livestock breeding is found
[233] in this area. The processing of sugar cane is in the hands of a small
[471] number of medium-sized usinas. The companies which own these usinas
[178] are gradually buying up the plantations so that to an increasing extent the mills directly control the production of sugar cane. Most of the
[497] cane is brought to the usinas by railroad, although sailing boats are
[489] used for this purpose along tidewater. Most of the sugar produced in
[505] the Recôncavo is consumed within the state of Bahia, but small quantities
[438] are shipped to other parts of Brazil. Both the aristocratic upper class
[439] and the rising non-aristocratic business interests of the Recôncavo are
[565] involved in the ownership and administration of the sugar industry. The
[471] permanent labor force is supplied from the settlements of the sugar cane
[472] plantations and the mills, but the rural population and the labor force
[464] of the sugar area are declining. Seasonal labor for the harvest comes
[178] from the interior sertão of Bahia.

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128 241 (2) tobacco production; (3) manioc production; (4) the land rotation system; and (5) alternative agricultural products.

249 471 For three centuries the sugar industry was the basis of the commercial economy of the Recôncavo, and for the last century it has continued to play an important role. As a result of its long and profitable history, it has a number of advantages as a basis for agricultural development. Its capital assets are large--the best land in the region, a number of industrial plants, and a transportation network. Moreover, its [565] land is organized into large units, many of which are under the control of a single company, and all of which are under the control of a small group of the upper class. The industry has a large administrative staff, the most experienced in the region in large-scale enterprises--the organization of agricultural and industrial production, labor, transportation, and finance. It has the very great advantage of good political connections and government support. A part of the industry, [242] composed chiefly of the largest usinas, has had some experience with improved varieties of cane, and on a very limited scale with mechanization.

249 471 433 Against these advantages are a number of limiting factors. Most of the local capital of the sugar industry apparently is committed in the present plant. The sugar economy of the Recôncavo is large scale only in relation to the other agricultural enterprises of the region--the mean daily capacity of the mills can scarcely exceed 500 ton. Moreover, many of the mills are obsolescent--there is only one new usina, and only the larger mills have very much new equipment. Despite [464] the presumed administrative skill of the industry, labor has been one [178] of the continuing problems since the deterioration of the old feudalistic [466] employer-employee relationships of the late nineteenth century. However,

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BB 241 231 233 In the surrounding sertão livestock production is the areally and, in many cases, economically dominant activity; the Recôncavo is primarily a region of crop cultivation.

BB 43 443 The Recôncavo is a functional unit in the economic organization of commercial agriculture and marketing. Salvador, with one-third of BB the people of the region, is the primary market center. The credit [249] [452] essential to the production of tobacco passes from the city to the countryside, while the leaf is either shipped to the city for export or is sent BB [249] to local cigar factories controlled by Salvador companies. Similarly, the headquarters of the sugar industry and the chief market for its products is Salvador. Feira de Santana is also a functional center for the region, since in its markets the agricultural and industrial products which either originate in the Recôncavo or are imported through Salvador are exchanged for the livestock, crops, and extractive products of the sertão.

B BB 241 Many of the features of the agricultural system of the Recôncavo are also characteristic of Brazil. Both the land rotation system and the permanent monoculture are basic Brazilian agricultural systems. Agricultural technology, in the Recôncavo and in most parts of Brazil, B BB [464] is relatively backward. Brazilian agriculture is labor extravagant, and there is a constant falta de braços, but with few attempts at mechanization. Agriculture is highly speculative, whether tobacco in B BB the Recôncavo or coffee in São Paulo. The large property—latifundia-- [423] [565] and the class organization with which it is associated are important in the region and in the country as a whole. There are large numbers of semi-dependent small cultivators in the Recôncavo as in other parts of Brazil. Both the region and the nation are very dependent upon the sale of agricultural products to distant markets.

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249 439 [175] of sugar to Europe. This 1,800 tons of sugar was probably a very large part of the total world trade in sugar at that time. In 1948 the twenty usinas of the region exported 8,497 tons of sugar to the rest of Brazil, primarily to Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. In this year the total international trade in sugar was about twelve million tons. Moreover, the Recôncavo was able to sell in the Brazilian market only by virtue of the support which has been given to the sugar industry of the Northeast by the Brazilian government. The European market has long been lost to the Recôncavo, and the chances of regaining any substantial part of it are not good--not only on account of the low level of efficiency of the Bahian sugar industry but also because of the local and foreign sources of sugar against which it would have to compete in the European market.

249 565 178 571 The third problem of the sugar industry is leadership, which is to say the problem of the Bahian upper class. The development of the sugar economy and of the aristocratic upper class of the Reconcavo are practically inseparable, and the decline of the former is in part a reflection of the inability of the latter to provide intelligent and progressive leadership. The institutions which were developed in the opening century of colonization for the production of sugar succeeded altogether too well as far as the region is concerned, for since then the industry has not succeeded in establishing a new pattern in conformity with the changing systems of technology and the new competitive situation. A century of failure either to develop an efficient sugar industry or to find new sources of income for the sugar area is a sign of the continuing failure of the upper class. More and more the leadership of the sugar industry is passing from the artistocrats to the new segment of the upper class, the agricultural capitalists. In most cases these men seem to have a broader view of the problems of the

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249 industry than the aristocrats, as the partial rationalization of the
565 sugar system since 1900 testifies. However, the entry of even these
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571 relatively progressive and forward-looking business men into an industry whose only future is that guaranteed by the protection of the government does not reveal a willingness either to accept short-term risks or to make an investment in the long-term future of the Recôncavo.

175 Tobacco, as has been seen, began its history as an auxiliary of
277 the sugar cane economy. The development of the commercial tobacco
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439 economy since 1800 indicates a greater flexibility than is characteristic
[567] of the sugar industry. When the decline of the slave trade brought an end to the African market for fumo em corda, the tobacco economy turned
277 to a new product, fumo em fôlha, and to a new market, Europe. Unlike
439 the sugar of the Recôncavo, Bahian tobacco has been able to compete successfully in the European market against leaf imported from Cuba and from Sumatra. Moreover, the leaf tobacco of Bahia dominates the internal market of Brazil to a degree not equaled by the local sugar industry for several centuries.

There are several possible explanations for the relatively
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472 greater flexibility of the tobacco economy. Several of the more promi-
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178 nent firms in the manufacturing of cigars and in the export of tobacco have foreign origins or are owned by people of European background. Indirectly these firms may have affected the operation of the tobacco economy, but it is difficult to find any signs of significant changes in the methods of cultivation. On the other hand, the tobacco industry and trade seem to have been spared the unimaginative and inflexible leadership which the aristocratic upper class of the Recôncavo has given to the sugar industry.

249 Tobacco cultivation by its very nature is more flexible than
[457] the system of sugar production. Instead of the usina, which must be

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/For information on social class in Bahia Brazil, see category 116, pp. 35-3
141-145, 150-154, 161-164, 166, 176-178, 180, and 189-190./

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443 diers (ambulantes) who walk through the area in the summer selling combs, ribbons, jewelry, and perfumes.

561 One of the most important factors influencing the fortunes of the town of Vila Recôncavo is the diversity of attitudes toward
565 it held by different segments of the local population. The most
369 powerful group, although small in number, is that of the plantation and sugar-mill owners. The orientation of this group is polarized between the capital city, Salvador, and the plantations. There is no one living in the town who is included in the same social stratum as these people, and therefore the town is not a social drawing point for them as it might be in the plantation area of the southern United States. Vila does not represent a shopping center for them, and it is not an outlet for their sugar. Since they are so near the capital, business is transacted there rather than in the small rural town with its poor communications. This group as a whole looks upon the town as a decadent and backward place. There is little or no feeling among these people that they should "do something" to improve the town, to which they feel little or no allegiance. Rather, their allegiance is first to Bahia and to their own social class in the state, and second to the Recôncavo, the original seat of that class.

The plantation and sugar-mill workers also disregard Vila to a large extent, generally not considering it worth the effort involved in getting there. For these people the market in Centro and the sugar mill store are the major attractions of the area. Their social life is centered almost entirely within the plantation or at the sugar mill.

The town dwellers themselves have an ambivalent attitude toward their town, for, while they also feel that Vila is backward and without opportunity for personal advancement, they
369 nevertheless consider themselves an urban group in contrast to the plantation workers. Recent improvements in the town,
365 such as the installation of electricity and the introduction of radios, movies, and other electrical appliances, as well as the pavement of the mud streets with cobblestones, have been a great help in alleviating the former forlorn air of the town, once known as the "abandoned" town. The local population still speaks of this earlier state a great deal, almost with the haunt-
[652] ing fear that such conditions might return. The funds for these
[653] public works came from sources outside the county, that is, from grants of money by the state government during the epoch of the interventores, the governors appointed during the dic-

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sen because it is the name of the saint on whose day the child 551
is born. There is also a good sprinkling of the more common names such as Antonio, João, Lourdes, and Maria. But if a child develops any peculiar characteristics, either physical or personal, he or she will be called by some descriptive 551
term based on the peculiarity. Most people have nicknames such as Patão (Big Duck), Barco Velho (Old Boat), Cuspe Grosso (Thick Spit) or Gatinho (Little Cat), and in time their own proper name is forgotten almost entirely and used only for formal occasions such as signing records. The diminutive form of the given name is also popular, and is applied even to upper-class people, for example, Dr. Zeca (diminutive for Dr. José). In some cases a man is even known by his mother's or wife's name, for example, José de Ingracia.

In choosing godparents, there is great freedom. If possible, 608
at least one of the godparents will be a member of the upper [565]
class, a patron who will help the child if necessary, especially if the godson when he grows up wants to go to school in the city or enter the army or navy. The other godparent may be a member of the child's family, or in some cases the midwife. In many cases the wife chooses the female godparent, especially if she suspects that her husband is paying too much attention to some other woman. In such a case she asks that woman to become the godmother; the latter can hardly refuse, 608
as it is always considered a compliment. By becoming the godmother the woman is put effectively out of reach of the husband, as there can be no sexual relations between parents and 835
godparents. This is a common device of women who have an unmarried sister living in the home, and it usually calls a halt to any amorous intentions on the part of either the husband or the sister. There have been cases, however, where [626]
this rule was broken. Usually the couple who break this taboo are highly censured by the rest of the community, for the wife, if she finds out, tells her friends about it. In one case [762]
which occurred in Vila Recôncavo during the author's stay, the woman was so ashamed and frightened by the sin she had committed that she killed herself by drinking rat poison.

In the rural area, while the man is usually acknowledged to 593
be the dominant person in the family, it is the woman who 369
dictates most of the daily actions. The children are with her most of the time, helping in the house and working with her in the garden, both girls and boys. When schools opened recently on several of the plantations, it was the mothers, not

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the day of Christ the King, there is always a procession in town which starts from the mother church and goes to a small altar set up in front of the County Hall, then to the fishermen's chapel, to a cross which stands in one of the squares, and back to the convent and church. A few people set their small household oratories in the street in front of their houses to be blessed by the priest as he passes. This procession is accompanied mostly by women of all classes, although the canopy over the Host is carried by men from Class B. Christmas is observed quietly except for the exchange of gifts.

[778] [788] *[565] [184] [431]

Prayers

794 782 •[565] [184] Prayers are very popular throughout the year among the women of classes C and D. For a variety of reasons a group of women will get together in the house of one of them and pray aloud, standing before the little decorated niche which contains a picture or figure of the household saint. The one who knows the prayer best leads the others. A group may pray on the evening before the day of the patron saint of one of them, especially if they have been unable to have a Mass said because of the lack of money or a previous commitment of the priest. At times they pray because someone has promised his patron saint that he would do so if he were cured of an illness.

782 Strangely, perhaps, the fishermen never seem to feel a need for supernatural help to overcome bad weather or lack of fish. A few of them, however, give a present to the Mother of the Waters in thanks for an exceptionally fine catch. At other times, people simply pray to their patron saints if they cannot have a party in their honor. Personal patron saints, however, do not play a very important part in the lives of the people of Vila Recôncavo, although nearly everyone has one and has at least a picture of the saint on the wall. It is common to find women who belong to an African cult group praying at these nightly gatherings in honor of the various saints who may or may not be represented in their cult houses.

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755 782 [754] Exceptional fatigue, light illness, and pains may all be caused by the evil eye, and are removed by having a woman pray over the victim. There are several women in town who can make such prayers particularly well; however, they do not pray as a group. A woman goes to the house of the victim and, with a piece of thread in her hand which she passes over the body of the victim, says the Lord's Prayer and the

3: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1963 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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RACE RELATIONS IN A RURAL COMMUNITY OF THE BAHIAN RECÔNCAVO[1]

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by
HARRY W. HUTCHINSON

1. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, a narrow strip along the north-eastern coast of Brazil in what are now the States of Pernambuco, Alagoas, Sergipe and Bahia, was the most important region of economic, political and social life in the whole colony. The rainfall along this portion of the coast is dependable and the extremely fertile soil, which was originally covered with thick forests, was ideally suited for sugar cane. By the seventeenth century, this region produced a large part of the world's sugar supply. Sugar, which was then a luxury in Europe, brought fabulous profits, and the north-eastern coast of Brazil became an exceedingly prosperous colony. Large cities grew up along the coast; Salvador in Bahia and Recife in Pernambuco became the most important centres of colonial life, and Salvador was the capital of the colony from 1549 to 1763. Both were cities of great wealth based on the booming sugar industry. The numerous churches built in Salvador during the period of opulence, with their elaborate gold-leafed wood carving and polychrome tile work, are witnesses to the tremendous wealth of the era.

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It was the plantation system, the basis of this lucrative sugar industry, which gave this region many of its characteristic traditions and formed patterns of race relations which have persisted in a modified form into the present. Gilberto Freyre in his monumental *Casa Grande e Senzala*, and other Brazilian writers [1],[2] have described life on these sugar plantations. African slaves provided the manpower. More than three million Negroes were imported from Africa during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and a large proportion came to the sugar plantations of north-eastern Brazil. The Portuguese plantation owners became rich, and came to form a regional aristocracy with a luxurious and ostentatious way of life. The slaves and their masters, on these plantations, formed two distinct social groups, but it is distinctive of the region that their relations were intimate and warm; Freyre describes the intimacy between the *moleque* (Negro lad) and the master's son as playmates, between the master's wife and her domestic servants, between the Negro nurse and her white charges, and other close

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[1] In addition to thanking those persons listed in the introduction to this series of articles for their aid and co-operation in making this study possible, I wish to thank the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Charitable Foundation Inc. and the Department of Anthropology of Columbia University, whose grants of funds contributed largely to the possibility of this study. Also, to acknowledge with thanks the aid of Carmelita Junqueira Ayres and Elias Amelia Ferreira for their assistance in the collection of the data.

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[2] The figures in brackets refer to the bibliography on page 46.

ties between Negroes and whites on these colonial plantations. All writers have mentioned the frequency of sexual relations between the white plantation owners and their female slaves. Slavery was not a humane institution in Brazil or elsewhere, but in Brazil relations between the slave and the master were of a more personal nature than in other regions where slavery existed in the New World.

By the middle of the last century, the West Indies and other regions of the world were competing with the Brazilian north-east for the world sugar market; and the abolition of slavery in 1888 caused difficulties of labour supply on these plantations. The sugar industry no longer provided the great wealth that it had in the past, and many of the old plantations were abandoned or sold to large commercial companies who installed modern equipment for large-scale sugar production. Plantation slaves became wage labourers, and the old traditional patterns of behaviour between the Negro slave and the white plantation-owning aristocrat began to disappear, to be replaced by an impersonal employee-employer relationship in keeping with the new way of life. Yet many patterns persist from the days of the old plantation system. Many of the descendants of the aristocratic plantation owners try to preserve the old traditions. They are proud of their family names, and large aristocratic families are still important in the economic and social life of the region. In many rural localities, there are still plantations where the relations between the workers and the owners are highly personalized, as they were in the past, and where customs and traditions formed during the period of opulence and slavery continue, if modified, by modern conditions. Throughout this part of Brazil, the relations between people of different racial groups have been influenced by the large proportion of Negroes in the population, by the importance of slavery in the relatively recent past, and by the particular form which the relations between the Negro slave and the European master took on the plantations.

11. The community with which the present article is concerned is called Vila Recôncavo; it is a real town situated in the zone known as the Recôncavo which surrounds Salvador, the capital of the State of Bahia, and which borders on the Bay of All Saints, extending inland from the shores of the bay some 30 miles on the northern side, and considerably less on the southern side. The Recôncavo was characteristic of the whole north-eastern plantation region. The Portuguese who settled in Salvador in 1549 recognized the value of these lands around the new city and the Bay of All Saints for sugar production. The third governor of Bahia, Mem de Sá (1557–74),

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567 those under 12 years of age.[1] Of the 124 slaves listed in the particular inventory mentioned above, 40 were African. Most of these came from West Africa. Of those whose African origin is indicated, *Nago* (Yoruba) is most often listed, and *Gege* (Ewe) is second.

249 On these sugar plantations of the Recôncavo in the colonial period,
565 the overseer of all operations involved in the growth of sugar cane and production of sugar was the owner himself. Generally, only the
463 oldest son was trained to take over his duties on the plantation; the younger sons were sent to Salvador, to Recife, or even to Europe to be educated as lawyers, physicians, engineers or Catholic priests.
[582] Daughters were married early and given their dowry, or they were sent to convents to become nuns or live as lay sisters. Marriages with first cousins were frequent. Every effort was made to keep the plantation undivided and in the family. The Recôncavo sugar plantation, until about the middle of the nineteenth century, was a remarkably stable community changing little in size and organization from generation to generation.

249 After the abolition of slavery, there was a partial exodus of ex-
567 slaves from the plantations to nearby towns and to the capital of Bahia. The ex-slaves who moved to small towns became manual
463 labourers or fishermen, or engaged in the profession they had learned on the plantations, such as barbering, bricklaying, etc. In other
464 cases, ex-slaves rented small plots of land on neighbouring plantations to raise manioc, corn, tobacco and other crops which required little
[427] outlay of capital. Others became sugar planters on a small scale; known as *rendeiros*, they rented a few acres from a plantation and cultivated sugar cane, sending the product to the nearby *engenhos* for milling. In other cases, the ex-slaves simply moved from one plantation to another, or they often remained as free men on the same plantation, still engaged in raising sugar cane, living under the same
249 conditions as before, but legally free. Contrary to popular opinion,
433 the *engenhos* of the Recôncavo did not all cease operations after abolition. Many of them kept on producing as before. In other cases
567 the *engenho* or mill closed down while the plantation continued to plant sugar cane, sending it to a nearby *engenho* which was still functioning for milling. Some *engenhos*, however, did close down altogether and were abandoned, or went into the hands of receivers.
249 At this time many plantations changed owners—wealthy people in
471 the city were able to buy lands at a low cost and did so. But the
567 failure of many of the *engenhos* in the Recôncavo was not a direct result of abolition, it was rather the continuation of an economic
[425] trend which had been going on for a long time. For many years previous to abolition, the plantations of the Recôncavo had suffered
[826] from lack of capital, poor administration, occasional crop failure, and
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[1] In the inventories, *pardo* indicated light skin; *mulato*, dark skin; and *crioulo*, black. These same terms nowadays are used differently in the Recôncavo. See page 28 ff.

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but spends most of his time on his plantation. The rest of the municipal officials are, for the most part, people who live in the town, although some of the town councillors are also planters living in the rural area.

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The population of the area under study was 4,269 in 1940, and is approximately the same now. Of this number, 1,462 are residents of the town. Of the total of 4, 269, only 17 adults (plus their 16 children) in the rural area are considered locally, and appear to be, pure Caucasoid. They are all plantation owners, and all of them also have residences in the city of Salvador as well as in the rural area of Vila Recôncavo. Living in the town are 14 persons (plus their eight children) who are also considered pure Caucasoid. Three of these are foreign-born priests, one is a doctor, one a dentist, one a state tax collector, one a federal tax collector, and two are young men who have married into town families. The others are the wives and sisters of the men in the group, although one of the wives is suspected of having Negro ancestors since she has to have her hair straightened while the others have theirs curled. There are five families and numerous other individuals in Vila Recôncavo who are called 'white', but whose ancestry is known to all as not being entirely Caucasoid, and in the rural area there are even fewer. These people are known as *brancos da terra* (whites of the land), a term similar to the *brancos da Bahia* of which Pierson speaks.[6]

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The two other elements which are present in the population of Vila Recôncavo and the surrounding rural area are the Negro and the Indian. As might be expected, the Negroid element in the population overwhelmingly predominates, and there are people who represent mixtures of Negro and Caucasoid ancestry in all possible proportions. The American Indian element appears in the people called locally the *caboclos*, generally from the arid north-eastern *sertão*, who are of mixed Indian and Caucasoid descent. These *caatingueiros* (literally, people from the low brush country of *caatinga*) and *sertanejos* (literally, people from the *sertão*) are not usually permanent residents of the Recôncavo. As a rule, *levas* or groups of these *caboclos* of *caatingueiros* come down into the Recôncavo at harvest time, from September to March, to work during the period when the *sertão* is dry and unproductive. Generally also, only men come, and they remain apart from the permanent plantation workers and at the end of the harvest head for home.

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In Vila Recôncavo and its rural area, four social strata can be distinguished. First, there is a small upper class of aristocratic whites. This is almost an endogamous class, and intermarriage between first cousins is extremely frequent. The 17 white adults mentioned above are the members of the five families which locally compose this class. These families have been in the area for generations; two of them have been linked through first-cousin marriages

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for several generations. In the other families, marriages have been, with but one exception, with persons of equal class status, although frequently with aristocratic families from other parts of the Recôncavo or from Salvador. In the one exception, the husband was without wealth or much education, but he was known to be of pure white descent. All these families live *em família* (within the family), both in the rural area and in the capital, where they spend a part of the year. Traditional family and friendship ties persist among them. They are large families with numerous relatives in the city and in other communities of the Recôncavo, so that dinners, dances, card parties, anniversaries and other social events are generally within the extended family. Most of the males in this group have a profession, such as lawyer, engineer or doctor.

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The second social stratum is a slightly larger group consisting of the bureaucrats of the town, plantation administrators, technicians and specialists of the sugar mill, merchants and professional people of the town, such as the doctor, dentist and schoolteachers. Persons in this group are for the most part descendants of local people, although the doctor, the dentist and several of the schoolteachers are from the outside. In this group, one finds the 14 'pure' whites mentioned as living in Vila Recôncavo itself, and five of them are members of a family of former planters. People in this stratum do not have residences in the capital. On the whole, this class is less well-educated than the class above it; it even includes people who have had no formal education whatsoever, and two individuals who cannot read or write. In this class are found most of the *brancos da terra*, many mulattoes and some Negroes, as well as the whites mentioned. This group might be termed the 'local upper class' to distinguish it from the small group of regional aristocrats mentioned above.

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The third social stratum of Vila Recôncavo is by far the largest numerically. It consists of 'the people' *(o povo*, or simply *gente)*, fishermen, carpenters, bricklayers, mill hands, plantation workers, and all others who do physical labour. Fourthly, there is a smaller group of even less status in the community, the people without a regular and steady income—women generally without husbands, but with children, who earn their living carrying water to homes from the nearby spring or who work as washerwomen and domestic servants, and men who serve as porters and perform other very menial tasks and odd jobs. There are no people in these two lower class strata who are considered 'pure' white. A few are considered *brancos da terra* but the great majority of them are Negroes, mulattoes, and others of various degrees of race mixture.

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The regional aristocrats reside only in the rural zone and maintain residences outside the community. The 'local upper class' is found in both the rural and the urban zones, since the technicians and administrators on the plantations are of this class, but mostly in the

town, which is the centre of the municipal bureaucracy. The upper stratum of the lower classes is also found in both zones, since it contains town-dwelling artisans and fishermen as well as plantation workers. But the stratum of lowest prestige, the people who live marginally in Vila Recôncavo, is limited to the town itself. There is no place for them on the plantations or *usina* of the rural area. 565

As has already been indicated, the major economic factor in the community area of Vila Recôncavo is sugar-cane growing and the manufacture of sugar. There are approximately 2,500 people dependent upon this activity.[1] Each plantation has its small community, with a store, houses, repair shop and the owner's house. Plantation workers live on the plantation, in houses belonging to it. They are paid according to the amount of work they do—that is, how much cane they cut per ton, or how many feet of planting they cultivate, etc. As a rule, there are only three salaried persons employed on a typical sugar plantation—the administrator, the *feitor* (foreman), and the *vaqueiro* (cowboy). The administrator is the most important person on the plantation, directing the work, making estimates for the forthcoming harvest, co-ordinating the cutting, transport and planting of cane, etc. It is the administrator who runs the plantation, who remains in the saddle all day overseeing the work, who checks on everything. The administrator is responsible only to the owner of the plantation, who generally acts through him. In nearly all cases the administrator is either a mulatto or a Negro. In two cases, Negro administrators are unable to read or write, but they are experts at their job and enjoy the full confidence of the owner and the respect of the workers. The *feitor* acts as the assistant of the administrator; he walks about carrying a measuring rod and a notebook, making note of the amount of work done by each man in the field. Frequently this is the middle step up the ladder from worker to administrator. As a rule, the *feitor* in Vila Recôncavo plantations is a mulatto, a dark *mestiço* (mixed) or a Negro as is the administrator. The *vaqueiro* is preferably a *caboclo* from the north. He looks after the oxen used for hauling the sugar cane—of which there may be as many as 90 to 100 head—and the milk cows, inspects fences, for the horses and mules, carries messages, and generally rides with the owner when he travels about from plantation to plantation. The three racial elements are thus represented among the high-prestige men of a typical plantation—the owner is Caucasoid, the administrator and the *feitor* are Negro-Caucasoid mixtures, and the cowboy from the *sertão* is generally of partly American-Indian descent. 249 463 563 [233]

Under this hierarchy comes the main body of workers and their families, which totals about 200 on the average plantation. Such 249 464

[1] Of the total population of 2,500 people living on the sugar plantations and at the *usina*, approximately 600 men are the actual cane field and *usina* workers. Obviously this permanent labour force is inadequate; it is supplemented by groups of *cortadores* at the harvest-planting season. [162] [464]

The other important occupation is fishing and there is the new petroleum industry. In Vila Recôncavo, bureaucracy plays a large part in the economics of the urban upper-class. The municipal secretary, the statistics agent, the federal and state tax collectors and their clerks, the postmaster and various other 'white collar' positions belong to this small group. Often members of the municipal government divide their attention between commerce (owning small stores) and their government jobs. Despite its long history and rather easy communication with the large city of Salvador, Vila Recôncavo is still an isolated community. After landing in the town from the regular steamer coming from Salvador, one must proceed inland either by foot or by animal. The only motor vehicles in the community area (except for those of the petroleum industry) are a truck and a delivery-type pick-up truck owned by the São Pedro *usina*. One hears from all classes that the town is backward, abandoned and dead. It has had a glorious past: wealth, the large and beautiful *sobrados* of the barons who were *donos dos engenhos* (owners of the *engenhos*), two beautiful churches, a national guard post with almost 1,000 soldiers stationed in it, a record of bravery and leadership in the war for Independence in 1822, and a place worthy of a visit from the emperor, Don Pedro II. Today the *sobrados* are in ruins, or have disappeared completely, as today's *donos dos engenhos* remain on their plantations or in the city, forsaking the town. The military have gone, the splendours of the religious feast-days are no more. Vila Recôncavo is representative of the decadence which has overtaken the entire area. Today it is known only for its *xangô* and shrimps.

IV. In the United States an absolute 'line' is drawn between white and Negro. A person who is not white is a Negro, however small the percentage of Negro blood may be. In Vila Recôncavo, this 'line' is recognized rather than drawn. A distinction between Negro and white is always kept in mind when classifying an individual. Everyone knows who is 'pure' white and who is not. Classification by race is one of the most important aspects of local culture, and one of the most difficult aspects for the outsider to grasp. *Bahianos* of the Recôncavo feel that one may instantly recognize the difference between a 'pure' white and a mixed white-Indian, white-Negro or Negro-Indian, but they do not let it go at that. They classify or minutely describe each person; they classify according to skin colour, according to hair form and according to facial features, and their classifications or racial types are used in everyday conversation. Just as it would be said in the United States that someone is short and fat, the people of Vila Recôncavo will describe a person's colour and hair.

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the lighter-skinned people for intermarriage with the mass of light-skinned people of the capital. Most of the townspeople have connexions of some sort in Salvador and travel back and forth a great deal. Some, mostly girls, take employment in the city as maids, and there either get married, or '*aparecem grávidas*' (show up pregnant), afterwards returning home to stay or for visits.

On the plantations the people have little opportunity for such mixing, owing to their isolation. Mixing occurs either on the same plantation or between neighbouring plantations, and since most of the plantation workers are dark, the offspring tends to remain dark. There is comparatively little marriage between people of the urban and rural zones.

The people of the town consider themselves far superior culturally to the *taberéu* or 'hick'[1] of the rural zone. Not only are they lighter in colour, but they are more 'citified', having more contact with the outside world, and this contact increases daily. Only in the town did the lower-class people express interest in the racial situation in the United States and particularly question segregation, a practice they could not understand. In the rural zone, the United States meant only some place other than Bahia. This is given as an example of the difference in degree of sophistication between the two parts of a comparatively small area. The sophistication of the townspeople tends to increase, as does their lightness of colour, while on the *fazendas* the colour has remained almost static, as has the degree of instruction.

Class is one of the most important factors in the everyday lives of the people of Vila Recôncavo. *Who's Who* is well known to all the residents of the community. Almost any resident will say that there are two classes, the rich and the poor. But definitions vary greatly as to what is rich, while practically all agree as to what is poor. Rich means, primarily, having money, a good house, more than one suit of clothing, a horse or mule, a servant to do the housework, and not having to do manual work. It also includes power of some description over other people. Poor is the reverse of all these things; working hard for someone else, a mud house with a dirt floor, one suit of clothes and one pair of shoes. For everyday ranking, this division into only two classes may serve.

A closer analysis shows that four distinct classes can be recognized, as stated earlier. There are many elements which go toward defining the classes—wealth, education and family. Race is also important. People say that wealth is the most important, education the second, and race the third in importance. Thus race is but one of a number of elements ranking people in a social scale, rather than a separating factor which divides them into distinct groups.

[1] Other terms used to convey the same meaning are *gente do mato* (people of the forest) and *gente de roça* (backwoodsmen).

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In only one case can we absolutely equate a racial type with a class—the 'aristocratic white' of the rural area with upper class. The upper class of Vila Recôncavo is composed of a few families, descendants of the *senhores de engenho* (landowners), who have kept control of their lands, as well as having made a professional life in the capital as a lawyer, engineer or politician. They are upper-class not only in Vila Recôncavo, but also in the capital, Salvador, and their families are known in other great cities of Brazil. The horizon of these people is far wider than that of anyone else in Vila Recôncavo, and the scope of their activities is wider. Thus the gap between this upper class and any of the other classes is enormous. Nevertheless, the relations between it and the others are close, as this small class spends a large part of the year in the area and travels to it frequently during its stay in Salvador. There is little or no competition between this class and those under it, at least in the rural situation. In the city they are subject to all the stress and strain common to any 'high society' group.

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In the rural situation this class remains, to a great extent socially apart from the other strata, but frequently a plantation owner gives a party for the *redondeza* (for the personnel of the nearby plantations). To such a gathering 200 or 300 people may come. The whites remain more as spectators than participants, but rules of courtesy and hospitality are rigorously observed, and guests are made to feel at home, without class differences. It is at such a gathering that the local *mulato* intellectuals and leaders will often attempt to show that they are closer to the whites than the other *mestiços*.

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The chief class competition in Vila Recôncavo is between the second highest class and those below it. This second class, the local upper class, includes all the whites of the town, plus a large number of mulattoes and Negroes. As a rule it is this class which is the most conservative, the most anxious to retain its 'superiority', and which bears the brunt of pressures from below. This class will seize upon and magnify any element possible to belittle those who are, in any way, possible competition. It is in this group that the daughters are 'guarded', and have neither the freedom of the daughters of the plantation owners nor of the daughters of the fishermen. Ostentation plays a large part in their lives, and the men of this group rarely appear in the street without collar, tie and suit coat.

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This group is also widely split by politics. Politics are one of its main methods for holding or advancing its social position, and they are taken seriously. Political scrapping has broken up the social activities of this group to a large extent, and there is more than one case of a family not speaking to another because of political differences. As a result their social activities are almost nil. They lead an unquestionably dull life, attempting to preserve a way of life belong-

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ing to the past, hard-put to maintain their economic status and remain gentlemen, with the result that they retreat more and more into a narrower scope of activity. This class is comparatively small, and while there is no upward movement to the class above it, there are many people hanging on its lower rung, coming up from below. Money will carry a person, whatever his racial type, into this group, although in the rural zone it is occupation and increase in money and authority which will elevate an individual, as in the case of the plantation administrator.

It is in the great body of the third class, the local middle class, that we find the most social ascension, or at least the most opportunity for ascension. Anyone in this class can better himself if he so desires, and once again it is wealth which is most important. Racial type enters here perhaps more strongly than in the second stratum; also the measure of desire to climb which the individual possesses. For among the majority of this class, there is what appears to be a lack of desire to climb. Perhaps this is allied with the past, with a strong heritage of slavery. At any rate, it is here that class and race are most generally confused.

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563 Most people in this stratum who desire to ascend socially will say that it is better to be white, or at least light, than dark because it is the white who has the most money, the most education, and consequently most opportunities. Traditionally the light-skinned mulatto has been able to share to some extent in these things. Therefore, today, if an individual is lighter it will be easier for him to climb, simply because of his lightness. Upper-class people accept light-skinned people more readily—nevertheless, it is considered better to be a wealthy *preto* than a poor white.

For this class, after money, marriage is one of the surest methods to climb, and it is a fact that the light-skinned person marries *upward* more easily than the dark-skinned person. No one in any class likes a marriage in which the skin colours are too far apart. Any marriage of dark with light or white will be referred to as *mosca no leite*, or fly in the milk, and a certain repugnance is felt by all. One man, formerly a fisherman, but now a merchant of some means, is a *preto* married to a *branca da terra* who was poor but almost white. This marriage has not helped him much, as his wife did not bring him social position, but it has 'lightened' his children. His own status is increased through his financial transactions. But his children, who are lighter, are being educated in the city, and more readily acceptable because of their colour and their economic background. Their chances for a better marriage are greater than if they had the same background but were dark.

In another case, a white girl of the local upper class of the town is engaged to a *preto*, who is an engineer in Salvador, but whose family has roots in Vila Recôncavo. There was great resistance to

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the engagement on the part of the girl's family, and all her friends felt that, although she had a good 'catch', that is, a successful man, he was too dark for her. This in spite of the fact that the girl's father is a *branco da terra*, and that her grandmother was dark-skinned.

One great bar between the upper class of 'aristocratic whites' and those below them is that of marriage. The white of the second class may sometimes be acceptable to the upper class, because he is white; but the chances are heavy against the marriage of an 'aristocratic white' with an *homem de côr*. Perhaps in the city situation a marriage between a white of this upper class and a *mestiço* of the same class would take place, but certainly not in a rural area.

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Until the end of the last century many bastards were produced by the white plantation owners and their sons, with the slaves and ex-slaves. The Vila Recôncavo population is made up of a large segment of these individuals and their offspring, and in many cases they bear the name of the family of the white. So that today there exist in Vila Recôncavo people who are relatives to various degrees of the white upper class, and in some cases have the same family name. These people are not recognized socially by the whites. In many instances the mixed-blood has the family name, not because he was given it, but because he took it. Frequently a white family will keep track of the descendants on the illegitimate side of the family, and help them if necessary, but they would never introduce one of these individuals as a member of the family, even when that person has all the family physical characteristics.

In one case, the illegitimate daughter of a union between a slave and a white man recently found herself in a position to help the legitimate daughter of her father's cousin. This girl was born free to a slave, before abolition. The slave mother managed to educate the girl, who became a successful schoolteacher. Later on, when her father's cousin's legitimate daughter, widowed with three children, needed help to educate one of her own daughters, she found that aid from her *mestiço* cousin.

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This type of race mixture is far less common today than it was some 70 years ago. However, young white men still frequently have their early sex experiences with *mestiço* and *preto* girls.

The fourth class, the lowest, is confined to the town and consists of people who have no steady employment and who have no *patrão*. They are people caught in the changing economic pattern of the area, from a highly personalized *patrão* economy to a more modern money economy. As yet there is no room for this group in the rural area. There are no 'pure' whites here—a few *brancos da terra*, and *mulatos* and *pretos*. Ascension from this class, which is very small, is easier for a woman, especially if she is light-skinned. For a man, only money will take him upward.

Traditionally the *preto* is linked with ignorance and superstition,

Traditionally the preto is linked with ignorance and superstition, and a most common example of his 'ignorance', cited by the upper strata of Vila Recôncavo society, is his belief in *candomblé*, the fetish cults of African origin so numerous in Salvador which have been described by various authors.[8] In the Caribbean, *candomblé* is known as voodoo and, as in Brazil, there is a mixture of Roman Catholic with African religious elements. In Vila Recôncavo there are highly complicated rituals of ceremony and healing, but owing to the pressures of modern life almost no one has the time necessary to spend in the full preparation for a *filha de santo* (servant of the god) or a *mãe de santo* (caretaker of the gods) and much of the old ritual is being forgotten and discarded, and newer and simpler innovations are in evidence. Another example given of the *preto's* 'superstition' in Vila Recôncavo is his participation in the cult of Janaina, the goddess of the water. This cult is really an offshoot of *candomblé*, Yemanja being the name of the African *orixa* or divinity, while Janaina is the name given to her by many of the cults in Brazil. It is Janaina 'who sends the fish to the fishermen', and they must thank her and give her gifts occasionally. Generally it is the *mãe de santo* who knows all the calls and prayers for Janaina and who presents the fishermen's gifts. Anyone who intends to climb the social ladder first disassociates himself from these rites, and then publicly condemns those who participate in them—although, in many cases, such an individual will continue secretly to give financial support to a local *mãe de santo* and to send gifts to Janaina. Often it is heard of a person: 'Oh yes, he is *gente* now, but last night he secretly sent his usual present to Janaina.' Individuals of all racial classifications belong to *candomblé*, although popular opinion has it that only the *pretos* engage in these activities. One can observe all racial types at a *candomblé festa* (ceremony), either as participants or as spectators. In one case in another area of the Recôncavo there is even a white *pae de santo* (male caretaker of the gods), a former lawyer!

Nevertheless, in Vila Recôncavo, there are examples of *pretos* and *mestiços* who have shown themselves capable of progress, with and without education. Two examples are the plantation administrators, cited earlier, who have risen to that honoured and relatively well-paid occupation in spite of the fact that they cannot read or write. On another plantation, the *feitor* has taught himself to read and write and is known as an excellent story-teller. Primary schools were recently opened in the rural zone of Vila Recôncavo, and night schools for the adults. The response has been great, people often walking long distances at night to attend class, in spite of the fact that one of the most disliked and feared things is going out at night.

In Vila Recôncavo, there has been a central primary school for many years, with an attendance of 354 of all racial types, children of the whites as well as those of the others, although no children of the

planters. People in the upper class of the town, when they can, send their children to the capital to continue their education, and there are several *mestiço* students from Vila Recôncavo studying law, medicine and engineering in Salvador. The intelligence of the mulatto is traditional, and it has been equally traditional that the darker-skinned person is unintelligent. Today these traditions are not as strong as before, but still it is felt that the mulatto has somewhat more aptitude than the Negro. The old idea of the Negro, meant for work and to be servile, still exists, now tempered with the knowledge that education can change the situation. There is only one club in Vila Recôncavo—a football club—and the players are all shades, from white to black, and so are the spectators. They all sit or stand together under the shade of the one big tree which gives shade to the playing field. The field is on the property of a white man who, while he has nothing to do with the team, allows them to play there, put up goal posts and markers. The bar and recreation centre are open to all so long as they wear shoes—a ruling made to keep out the muddy feet of children who came straight from the beach to have a 'coke'. All the racial types and classes get together here to play pool and gossip, this being the one and only point of public social activity in the town. At the movies, the admission price is extremely low, the same for everyone, and all four classes attend. Negroes and whites of all classes sit next to each other. At church there are no special pews, the faithful usually gathering in the front and the less faithful hanging about near the back. The choir and the acolytes are from all classes and colours. At parties, which are few, colour lines are disregarded, *brancos* and *morenos* dance with *mulatos* and *pretos* just as long as both partners can *pular* (jump).

The social situation is gradually changing, and the extremely personal element is being lost. It is strongest on the private plantation, where the owner spends the greater part of the year, but at the *usina* much of the personal element is weakened because of the numbers of workers. Even at the *usina*, there is visiting and gossiping between the owners' families and the workers. But at the *usina* not all the workers accept their subservient position as do those of the plantations. This is specially true of the higher echelon of specialists and technicians of the mill, who will frequently not go to a party given by the owner, even though invited. It seems to be a way of saying that the company of the white owners is neither needed nor wanted. They prefer to keep their relations on a strictly business basis. At the *usina*, when a worker is sick, he goes to the medical post where he is treated by a paid nurse, rather than to the owner's house. On pay day, the *usina* worker is paid at the mill by a paymaster, not in the living room of the owner's house. Nevertheless, in spite of the industrialized aspect of the mill, the number of workers is not too large to exclude all personal contact with the owners, who adminis-

plantations in the vicinity. There is the aristocratic group of whites descendants of the *senhores de engenho*—who form almost a caste, marrying among themselves and living out their own social life apart from the Negro and racially mixed population of the community. Just as the slave owners in the past, however, they depend upon the Negro and *mestiço* for labour; the Negro is pictured as the faithful servant and attendant of the white aristocrat. Again, as in the past, the mulatto who was the offspring of the European master and a slave mother is pictured as a social upstart and an intelligent trouble-maker. Yet it is the man of mixed ancestry who holds the intermediate economic and social positions; he is the minor bureaucrat, the technician in the *usina*, and the administrator and *feitor* on the plantations. The essential hierarchy has changed little since colonial times; and the relationship between these aristocratic whites and their Negro and mixed workmen is still a highly personal one lacking in social tensions, since each knows his proper position and each knows his rights, duties and obligations toward the other. 249 565 571 563 466 178 [463]

There is no race problem in Vila Recôncavo, nor does prejudice or discrimination work out as it does in other parts of the Western world. A Negro cannot become a member of the aristocracy, but a well-educated and economically successful Negro can have easy social relations with this stratum. Negro ancestry is without doubt a grave disadvantage in economic and social mobility, but there are no political and economic positions closed to a man of Negro or mixed descent. As yet, however, only a few Negroes have moved into high political or economic positions. There is only one plantation owner who is a Negro, and Negroes and *mestiços* hold only minor bureaucratic and political positions in the community. The *prefeito* or mayor has nearly always been drawn from the aristocratic white group, and has never been challenged from the Negro and mixed population. Yet in the town and among the mill workers, 'people of colour' are beginning to show independence, and unwillingness always to occupy a subservient and lowly position. The administrators like to ride better horses than the aristocrats, to have fancier saddles, to dress better, and to be more ostentatious than their employers. Many townspeople know the big city, and the essential class and racial democracy which exists there. There is competition to join the local upper class, and derogatory racial criteria are used to deride competitors who would like to rise out of the lower class groups into this growing upper class. African culture traits such as *candomblé* and the cult of Janaina are associated with low status, and people who would rise in the local social hierarchy are anxious to disassociate themselves from these groups. 563 565 463 178 [794]

As modern attitudes and ideology penetrate Vila Recôncavo, there are more and more problems of class relationships; the population is becoming extremely class-conscious, and there is an in- 565 563 178

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creasing desire to rise in the social hierarchy. In the rural districts physical type is less important than in the town, since there is less chance for one to rise socially, the positions of prestige being highly limited. But in the town and at the *usina*, the opportunities are greater, and therefore more emphasis is put upon racial type; although, even in the town, racial type is not the most important criterion for ascending the social scale, the most important being the possession of wealth and education. However, in the town, people who have wealth and education also show a tendency to 'lighten', generation after generation, as well as to ascend socially. There is no such thing as 'passing' in Vila Recôncavo, and there is no need for it, for many individuals who clearly show traces of Negro ancestry are called white and treated as white, with no constraint or embarrassment. Also there are no social activities closed to the *homem de côr*, provided he has the money and the education to take advantage of them. Physical attraction is also extremely important in the social acceptance of rejection of people, as is shown in the complicated fashion of classifying and stereotyping individuals, and the idealization of the *morena*.

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In other areas of the Recôncavo, the personal element has been lost to a great extent, and has been replaced with a rigid class system, based upon wealth, personal initiative, education, racial type and 'luck'. For the most part, the tradition of the *patrão* is disappearing and people are more dependent upon their own resources in a more strictly monetary economy. Vila Recôncavo still however remains sufficiently isolated to preserve much of the tradition of the past, of easy-going personal relations between people of all classes and racial types.

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5. Araújo Pinho, op. cit., p. 49.
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8. Rodrigues (1935), Chapter 7. Pierson (1942), Chapter 10. Landis (1947). Carneiro (1948).

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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The emergence of new employment opportunities, especially in the centers of industry but also elsewhere, not only has stimulated internal migration but—more importantly for our interest here—has also facilitated social mobility. This has brought significant change, particularly to persons in the lower ranks, who are extensively (but far from exclusively) of dark color, and whose economic position has long been, on the whole, stagnant. There is clearly evident in Brazil what perhaps is the principal long-range trend in the modern world, namely, the rise of the underprivileged classes into increasingly greater economic and political power; while the growing anonymity of the developing cities is making human relations more impersonal and categoric, and this has led to a heightened sense of insecurity while also aiding the escape of individuals of color from the controls of the old superordinate and subordinate relationships developed during slavery and giving these individuals new conceptions of themselves and of others.

Until comparatively recent years, a middle class like that known in Europe or the United States scarcely existed. At the time of our research at Bahia, for instance, there were only two clearly-defined classes in the city, as attested (see pp. 15 ff.) by the popular division of the inhabitants into *ricos* (literally, "the rich") and *pobres* ("the poor"). There were many families, however, whose occupation, skills, education, or level of living placed them above the lower class but who were not attached by kinship or achievement to the upper ranks. They thus occupied an intermediate position between the two extremes of the social pyramid, although they tended to identify themselves with the interests and values of the upper class. In recent decades, however, the changes mentioned above have produced occupational and educational opportunities never before known, and also greatly stimulated those previously existent, so that, in the large and more

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industrialized cities at least, these intermediate ranks have developed into a definite middle class.

The so-called "traditional" families, who for so long virtually constituted almost the entire upper class, still play an important role in industrial, commercial, intellectual, and political activities; but although they perhaps were never a completely closed unit, they now are having to accept into their ranks as never before an increasing number of persons who have risen from the intermediate tiers by reason of occupational or educational achievement, acquired wealth, or political influence.

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Brazil is thus in process of transition from a predominantly rural, agricultural and pastoral society, with a rather rigid class system, to an urban and industrialized society, where class lines are somewhat less important, and other elements of the economic, political and sociological structures are changing. There is a considerable degree of fluidity, in the midst of which the high value formerly placed upon primary relations, particularly the intimate attachments of members of large kinship, godparent or friendship groups, upon exclusiveness toward groups outside those of immediate personal contact, upon class membership, and upon loyalty is giving away, and new values are emerging. These changes are so extensive that Charles Wagley (1960a) has referred to them as "the Brazilian revolution."

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Owing also to the complex and rather subtle character of the Brazilian racial situation, its analysis is not an easy or simple procedure. Regarding the fact that this differs from that in the United States there is no disagreement. But there is disagreement regarding the character of this difference, its extent, and the circumstances which produced it.

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A sizable obstacle to analyzing this situation, and also to making it intelligible to persons in the United States, is a

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bepe Harris and Kottak (204) found "as many as thirteen different terms" being applied to the same person by different members of the community; and these terms, although used to describe a single individual, were "spread out across practically the entire spectrum of theoretical racial types" (Harris 1964:57). This variation could not have been due to differences in economic condition, educational achievement or similar circumstance, because, Harris and Kottak further point out (204), Arembepe is "a socially homogeneous, one-class peasant community." Moreover, there was a variation from individual to individual regarding the precise meaning of these terms; and, in addition, an informant might alter his previous classification at a later time. Thus, the use of these terms, Harris and Kottak write, in summarizing their study, "varies from individual to individual, from place to place, time to time, test to test, observer to observer." Agreement was found with reference to the two terms which describe the opposite poles of the color scale, but informants disagreed regarding all the other thirty-seven terms (206n). Wagley (1964:133–34) found similar inconsistencies at Itá in the Amazon valley.

What does all this ambiguity and inconsistency mean? It means, first of all, that, in Bahia and Brazil, among the lower class and perhaps beyond it, neither race nor color is an important consideration. Although persons often refer to a given individual as "that branco" or "that prêto," this is done, Wagley (1964:133) observed at Itá, "in about the same way that we might say 'that short fat fellow.' " Other things exist of at least as great importance, including educational achievement, family origin, type of occupation, financial resources, living level, and possibly other criteria. When a given individual is classified by another in any rank of the

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"a very small and even ridiculous group"; and—what is even more important for our interest here—the attitudes involved are individually derived attitudes: they are held by discrete individuals or by an occasional family or group of families; they are not general attitudes which have been derived from the experience of the Brazilian people as a whole, and especially in the midst of grave apprehension that an established group position is threatened.

In those cases where the referent is color, these authors are dealing, as we suggested many years ago, with the color overtones of class distinction, for color is one of the criteria of rank. However, it is only *one* criterion; and its value in relation to the other criteria will vary with the individual in question, with his personal experience and relationships, and —what is most important—it *can be overbalanced* by the demonstrated possession of other and compensatory criteria of rank.[12] These are not the characteristics of a situation of race prejudice.

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It is the opinion of Emilio Willems (1949:407), a shrewd observer of the Brazilian scene for many years, particularly in São Paulo, that adverse positioning with reference to persons of color exists "only as a discreet attitude among small minorities of white middle- and upper-class people"; and that, even among these individuals, there is considerable doubt that "any kind of consensus" has emerged regarding either the forms or the degree of discrimination. In other words, we are dealing here with a basically class—and not a strictly racial or even a strictly color—phenomenon; and

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[12] Conversely, its value can be *intensified* by a lack of other criteria. "Light-skinned individuals who rank extremely low in terms of educational and occupational criteria," as Harris (1964:59) also has observed, "are frequently regarded as actually being darker in color than they really are."

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also with a series of attitudes characteristic of a *statistical aggregate* rather than of a group, in the sociological sense of that term. Melville J. Herskovits (1942:35) also noted that this attitude "is personal and not institutionalized."

Mario de Andrade (1939), a perceptive man of color and of prestige in São Paulo, called our attention many years ago to a tendency to exaggerate the role of color and thus to confuse discrimination based strictly on color differences with discrimination on the basis of class differences. Referring to "a very curious documentation" presented by "a writer of colored origin" during a public address in São Paulo, Mario de Andrade writes that "in spite of its being very interesting," this documentation "appeared to be little convincing as evidence of color prejudice. . . . It was a documentation of class and not of color." Tavares de Sá (36) also has noted that "a coincidence between social position and the amount of colored blood makes one sometimes take for race prejudice what is merely class prejudice"; and this is the opinion also of Guerreiro Ramos when he writes that the frustrations of men of color in Brazil "are attributed to racial prejudice when, many times, they should be attributed to that of class."[12]

Noting what has impressed many persons, namely, that class in Brazil coincides largely with color, Nestor Duarte (171–72) of Bahia reminds us, however, that "it is more an economic and social than a color criterion that divides brancos, prêtos and mixed-bloods in Brazilian society"; while Felte Bezerra (1956:504) of Aracaju, observing that color and class largely coincide there also, reminds us, nevertheless, that "he who rises in class frees himself from the peril of slights or barriers by reason of color." Bastide also

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[12] Interview in *Diário Trabalhista* (Rio de Janeiro), March 24, 1946.

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long held this position. "The line which separates him (the man of color) from the branco," Bastide (1943a:29–30) once wrote, "is not a caste line but one of class; and the proof is that, as the descendant of the African rises in the community, the doors of the houses of the brancos open to him." This certainly does not describe a situation of race prejudice. The shrewd observer, James Bryce (470), also saw the distinction, in a similar situation, as one "of rank or class rather than of color."

In their analyses of the local "racial" situation several writers in Brazil refer of course to the relationship of the colored with the brancos; but almost without exception the relationship described is with the brancos of the *upper* and *middle* classes,[14] almost never with the brancos of the lower class. This is one of the reasons why there is a tendency to see a racial, or at least a color, struggle where in many—if not most—cases class competition is involved; class competition into which color of course enters, since it is a criterion of rank, but not *per se*, alone, and determinantly.

There is no doubt that color is one of the criteria of rank in Brazil; and, *all else being equal*, the darker the pigmentation, the lower the rank, and the less the pigmentation, the higher the rank. However, this is merely the same situation that exists with reference to all the other criteria: the lower the status of the family to which one belongs, all else being equal, the lower the rank, and the higher the social standing of that family, all else being equal, the higher the rank; the less a person's education, all else being equal, the lower his

[14] This limiting feature extends to several of the attitude and "social distance" studies reported to date in the Brazilian literature. This is clearly stated by Thales de Azevedo (1959:146) and René Ribeiro (1956:157); but unfortunately it is not so clearly recognized by several other writers.

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rank, and the more extensive that education, all else being equal, the higher the rank; etc.

The principal difficulty in this connection—and one which sometimes leads to a misinterpretation of the Brazilian scene—is that of giving inadequate attention to the determinants of rank in a given case. One sees a person who is not fully accepted, or even is discriminated against, and one also notes that this person is of African ancestry. The observer—particularly if he be from the United States—then assumes that the discrimination is due to race; or, if not to race, at least to color. In other words, D (discrimination) is immediately linked in a casual connection with R (race), or with C (color).

Usually, however, the situation in any given case in Brazil is more complex: D may be due also to E (low educational level); or to L (low economic condition); or to F (membership in a family of low status); or to P (certain unfavorable personal characteristics which carry low-status value); or to PF, PE, or PL; or to FE, or FL; or to EL; or to PEF, PEL, or EFL; or, still further, to PFEL or, even, PFELX.[15] Any given case is likely to be quite complex and to require careful and thorough analysis.

But if the fact that color is one of the several criteria of rank is to be cited as evidence of color *prejudice*, then one logically must conclude that all the other criteria of rank also have their prejudice counterparts; so that there is low-family-origin prejudice, low-financial-condition prejudice, low-educational-achievement prejudice, and inadequate-personal-characteristics prejudice. Perhaps so. But does this not represent an overworking of the term? Would it not be more

[15] We thus arrive at the extreme case—which unfortunately is that of many descendants of former slaves—namely, PFELXC.

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accurate to say that there is discrimination in Brazil on the basis of family origin, financial condition, educational achievement, personal characteristics—*and color?*

It nevertheless is true that the indelible character of color makes it somewhat different from the other criteria of rank. Always visible, it automatically and inevitably carries over into any situation of improved status. It cannot be hidden in new contacts nor entirely forgotten in the old, as readily occurs to a former condition of poverty, a former lack of education, or formerly immature or otherwise inadequate personal characteristics. Even relationship to a low-status family can be put "out of sight" to some extent merely by moving to a new community where one's family origin is unknown, or, if known, often imperfectly so.

That none of these former marks of low status continue to cling in the same way as color to the individual who has risen in rank in one of the reasons for some of the confusion regarding the precise character of the Brazilian "racial" situation. Some observers point out the undoubted opportunities of rising in rank, *in spite of color;* while others stress the difficulties in the way—difficulties not only of a colored person rising in rank at all but also with reference to the after-effects, sociologically, in his group relations (Florestan Fernandes 1955; 1964), and psychologically, as far as his inner life is concerned (Bastide 1943b), especially if he be a particularly sensitive or perhaps a pathological individual, as the poet Cruz e Sousa may have been.[16]

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Moreover, it is more difficult for a colored woman to rise in rank than for a colored man, because one more criterion of status is thus brought into play, namely, female sex; for, traditionally in Brazil male sex has been valorized and female

[16] See Emiliano Pernetta, p. 3, *apud Ianni* (1962: 264).

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sex depreciated, although this situation, in more recent years and especially in the cities, is changing.

That we are not dealing with merely racial phenomena, then, is borne out by the thousands of persons scattered across the colored continuum, of at least partial and sometimes of considerable African descent, who have escaped socially (and openly) into the branco category and been accepted by brancos;[17] and that we are also dealing with a class, rather than with a color phenomenon alone, is borne out, first of all, by the fact that the discrimination[18] which all observers note—and which some think either constitutes or reflects prejudice—virtually does not exist among the *lower* class, but tends to appear only as one proceeds up the class scale.[19] In Brazil, as Bastide has pointed out with reference to São Paulo, to see a race problem among members of the lower class would be absurd. "In the poorer sections of the city," Bastide (1955:137) has written, "where the brancos live in promiscuity with blacks, any prejudice would be ridiculous." Frazier (1944:266) also recognized this absence of discrimination in the lower class; and that was our conclusion at Cruz das Almas (cf. 1951:190 ff.).

[17] If it be suggested that many light-colored persons also escape into the white group in the United States, the difference is that, in every case, this is not known to the whites; and, if it does become known later, the individual will automatically be put back into the "Negro" category, a possibility which, in Brazil, would everywhere be considered absurd, as Freyre long ago pointed out.

[18] It should of course be clear that we are using "discrimination" here only as defined above, and that we do not imply that persons in the lower class are unaware of physical differences.

[19] Although it may be possible to find an occasional branco among the lower-status groups who shows some measure of withdrawal from colored persons, and who even may speak disapprovingly of them, he will in all likelihood turn out to be a person with an ambitious desire to rise in rank, who holds similar attitudes toward all "pobres" (the lower-class poor), regardless of color (cf. Virginia Bicudo 1955:270).

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In fact, the great mass of lower-class brancos, mixed-bloods and prêtos share very much a common life. As Nogueira (1955:513) observed at Itapetininga, there is a "more complete fraternization between colored and brancos in the less-favored stratum." This situation is *just the reverse* of that in South Africa, or of that in the United States, where the most intense and implacable race prejudice in each country is to be found among the "poor whites." Whatever be the type of "prejudice" which those who write about "prejudice" in Brazil are dealing with, then, it is almost without exception "prejudice" in the upper and middle classes; and consequently it is more of class, rather than of strictly racial, or even of merely color, character. For, if discrimination is comparatively absent in the lower class but, as Bastide (1955: 131, 132) observed in São Paulo even with reference to immigrants, "increases as one climbs up the class scale," are we not observing a primarily class phenomenon?

That we are dealing more with class than with color, *per se*, is further borne out by the comparative lack of either race- or color-consciousness among colored persons in the lower ranks[20] and by their widespread insistence, on the contrary, that "there is no prejudice in Brazil," an attitude which puzzles (and even gives concern) to some observers. It also is borne out by the strong adverse feeling which lower-class colored sometimes direct toward other colored persons who have managed to rise in class and who, like successful newcomers to New York, tend to "forget" former friends "back

[20] Some informants at Bahia say that political agitators have attempted to foster and to exploit color antagonism as an aid in the class struggle which they hope to exacerbate (Thales de Azevedo 1955a:106); but, although this agitation has had some effect, particularly among frustrated individuals, it apparently has had little to feed upon except resentment against the world in general.

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home" (Florestan Fernandes 1955:160; Bastide 1955:163); and also by the acceptance—and use—on the part of certain individuals of dark color who have risen in rank of derogatory statements regarding colored persons, but only with reference to those in ranks *below* themselves (Bastide 1955: 163).

Much emphasis is laid by some writers upon the presence in the lower ranks of the Brazilian economic order of a large mass of underprivileged colored; and this fact repeatedly is cited as evidence of a disharmonious racial situation in Brazil, and even of race, or at least color, prejudice. It is claimed that this fact defines the racial situation. In a restricted sense, it may do so to some extent, in that it points out the economic effects coming down to today of the long "shadow of the plantation," in the expressive phrase of Charles S. Johnson;[21] but in a more inclusive sense it is only one aspect of the total situation. Moreover, it often is either assumed or left to be assumed by implication that this unequal distribution is due entirely to discrimination, hostility, and prejudice on the part of brancos. This is too simple a conclusion. It should not be forgotten that hundreds of thousands of brancos are themselves in these lower ranks. In fact, the great mass of the Brazilian population, *both colored and branco,* is still concentrated on these low economic levels, "belonging to the same class, without regard to color," as Willems has observed, "and not to two different class systems, as in the United States."

Besides, there always has been a gr[illegible] gulf" between the lower and the upper classes in Brazil, [illegible] "gulf" which is extremely difficult to cross, whatever be the color of the individual. Except in recent years—and only in a few metro-

[21] *Shadow of the Plantation* (Chicago, 1934).

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politan areas even then—as we have pointed out above, there has scarcely been anything like a "middle class," to help individuals from the lower ranks cross over this "gulf." One should also recall that during the colonial period and long thereafter rural properties were extensively in the hands of the dominant class, so that the means of wealth in a predominantly agricultural country, except as it derived from a comparatively low scale of wages, from share cropping, or from small holdings (particularly in São Paulo and Minas Gerais), were largely out of the reach of all persons in the lower and intermediate ranks, whatever their color. This situation presented an almost insuperable problem to slaves and their descendants, who began competing in a free society with slender or no financial resources, minus, in most cases, even the occupational skills possessed by many immigrants, without even a "foot" on or even near the "ladder," so to speak. It also required Herculean effort to educate themselves or their children under conditions of an inadequate school system even for the upper ranks, to acquire skills, and to improve their personal and occupational competence so as to obtain the ability to compete, without which it would be impossible to rise The basic problem in this respect therefore, has been—and still is—an *economic* and *educational* problem, not a racial problem at all. William L. Schurz (106) sees it as a "time lag."

Some authors point to the use of the derogatory term "*mulatto pernóstico*" (p. 230 of this book) as indicative of race, or at least color, prejudice. However, Thales de Azevedo more correctly reminds us (1955a:60) that the disapproval and even at times hostility revealed in the use of this term is not directed against the mulattoes as a group at all. Instead, the judgments involved are applied to certain individuals, *as*

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individuals. In a society with aristocratic traditions like that of Bahia, Thales de Azevedo (73–74) reminds us, the etiquette between persons of different levels is an extremely important consideration, so that a person whose manners imply a degree of intimacy or a conception of role out of keeping with the actual situation as commonly defined is always looked upon with disfavor, even if he be a white. It is not race, nor is it color, which is actually involved here; it is a matter far more inclusive, namely, good form for *any* person.

Just how important *is* color as a criterion of rank in Brazil? Some writers, particularly those acquainted at first hand with the United States, or who are unconsciously influenced by a knowledge of the racial situation here or elsewhere, give it primary attention. In this justified?

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As indicated in the Preface, a brief survey of the role of certain criteria in determining social rank in Brazil was made, previous to preparing this Introduction. Five of the presumably most significant criteria were employed: family affiliation, economic condition, personal competence, educational achievement—and color.[22] The respondents were university students in Bahia and four other Brazilian cities: Recife, João Pessoa, Vitória and São Paulo. Each of these criteria was paired with each of the others; and respondents were then asked their preference between, for instance, 1) being poor and belonging to a family of prestige and 2) being rich and belonging to a family of low standing; or between 1) having little education and being a branco and 2) having a "good" education and being a prêto; etc. In addition, prefer-

[22] This is, of course, not a complete list of criteria used in Brazil. To it should probably be added: type of occupation, living level, certain personal and social characteristics of capital importance in determining prestige and position (cf., for instance, p. 205 of this book; Pierson 1951: 200–205), and perhaps others.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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ences were asked regarding the "most important" characteristic in a marriage partner, the "second most important" characteristic, and the "least important."

This preliminary inquiry is probably not worthy of being published in full here or elsewhere, since the replies are too limited in number, the samples need greater care regarding their representativeness, and the presentation of questions perhaps was not under the rigorous control necessary to obtain common situations of response. Nevertheless, if we bear in mind that these are preliminary and tentative data, they do at least afford some clues regarding the "racial" situation in Brazil, at least sufficiently to raise hypotheses for further testing.

Pending further and more thorough investigation, then, at least certain tendencies in these samples may be quoted, especially where the stated preferences were as high as approximately five to one. In Bahia, for instance, this decidedly clear preference appeared in two cases (considering only those choices in which color figured): an approximately five to one preference for "belonging to a family with prestige and being a mixed-blood," in contrast to "belonging to a family of low standing and being a branco"; and an approximately five to one preference also for "having a 'good' education and being a mixed-blood," in contrast to "having little education and being a branco." At least a three to one preference was indicated also for "being rich and a mixed-blood," in contrast to "being poor and a branco"; and also for "having a 'good' education and being a prêto," in contrast to "having little education and being a branco." The approximately two to one preference for "belonging to a family of prestige and being a prêto," in contrast to "belonging to a family of low standing and being a branco," and the approximately equal preference between "being rich and a

4; Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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prêto" and "being poor and a branco," are perhaps too indecisive for statistical validity, considering the smallness of the sample.

Whatever the limitations of this preliminary survey, however, there would appear to be a strong presumption—at least this hypothesis might be advanced for further testing—that, in determining rank at Bahia, the possession of white color is of *less* importance than certain other criteria.

In choosing a marriage partner, students at Bahia considered to be "most important" personal competence, followed closely by extent of education. Only three respondents selected family affiliation (indicating, probably, that a shift in the traditional attitudes in this respect is well under way); and none selected economic condition. Nor did anyone mention color as the "most important" criterion. Chosen as the "second most important" was extent of education, closely followed by personal competence, family affiliation, and economic condition, in that order. Color was selected as "second most important" by only two respondents. Given as "*least* important" was color, a striking fact, since, in such a situation as that involved in these selections many observers think the so-called "acid test" of any racial situation lies.

Although the sample from each of the five cities is too small to measure the variations between these cities with any reliability, the five samples taken as a whole, at least in those cases where consistencies appear throughout, can perhaps give us at least preliminary data on possible tendencies in Brazil, pending, of course, further and more complete investigation.

When choosing a life partner, these students in all five cities considered the "most important" criterion to be: first, extent of education; and, then, personal competence, family

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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affiliation, economic condition, and color, in that order. There was a surprisingly high degree of concordance in all five cities, the highest number of selections in each case being either personal competence or educational achievement. These two criteria were also most chosen as the "second most important" in all cities except one (where economic condition received the highest number of preferences for second place). As the "least important" criterion in a marriage partner, color was overwhelmingly selected in all cities, without exception.

What do these data mean? Are they illusory, by reason of flaws in the investigative tool? Do they point even more sharply to what some careful investigators have suggested regarding the differences between verbal and actual behavior? Or, taking into due consideration the admitted limitations of this preliminary survey, and taking also into consideration possible variants in verbal as contrasted with actual behavior, does there not still remain a strong likelihood that the role of color has been exaggerated by certain investigators who are familiar with other racial situations and simply cannot believe what lies before them? Or by local investigators who are in revolt regarding what they consider to be an overemphasis on Brazil's being a "racial democracy" and have deliberately set out to prove the reverse and in so doing have emphasized unduly certain limited aspects of the total situation and thus thrown the "picture" out of focus?

Wagley (1963b:152) reports that the hypotheses which emerged out of our study of Bahia were reaffirmed, in general, by the studies which he and his associates made in the same state and in the Amazon valley. They appear to be acceptable to the Bahian researcher, Thales de Azevedo; as well as to Felte Bezerra (1950; 1956), with reference to the

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neighboring state of Sergipe.[23] Wagley (1963b:152–53) considered as "among the most important" of these generalizations portions of hypotheses 17 and 22, as well as the concluding paragraph, and restated them as follows: 1) "Brazil is a multi-racial class[24] society distinct from India, for example, where the social order is based upon the principle of caste and from those parts of the world where a national or racial minority (or minorities) is in free association with, but not accepted by, a dominant national or racial majority"; 2) "prejudice exists in Brazil; but it is *class* rather than *race* prejudice"; 3) "this does not mean that there are no social distinctions in Brazil. . . . Neither does it mean that there is no discrimination or that blacks or mixed-bloods are completely satisfied with their lot. But it does mean (a) that a man of color may, by reason of individual merit or favorable circumstances, improve his status and even achieve position in the upper levels of society, and (b) that this position will then be with reference not merely to the darker group whose color he shares but to the total community."

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In the Recôncavo area around the city of Bahia, Hutchinson (1957) and Costa Pinto (1958) report a shift under way in the relations between laborer and employer, from the formerly personal and face-to-face relations of the colonial and subsequent periods to those of a more contractual character,

[23] The statement on p. 134 of this book to the effect that a strictly-drawn color line would have to pass through families also has been noted by many other observers, including Frazier (1944:266) and Nelson de Souza Sampaio (1944) at Bahia; Freyre (1959:8) at Recife; and Willems (1949:407) at São Paulo.

[24] It is perhaps obvious that neither Wagley nor the present author uses the term "class" in the sense popular today in certain circles, wherein the "classes" and the "masses" are distinguished. On the contrary, it seems legitimate to include all persons in the class structure, whatever their rank.

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as the old patriarchal order continues to decline and industrialization increases; a shift which is intensified by the secularization deriving from the increasingly metropolitan character of the area and by the gradual emergence of new social groups. Have these and the other changes sketched above been sufficient to alter the character of the "racial" situation at Bahia since our original study was made? After a careful survey of the studies in the area in recent years, it seems to us that the evidence would lead one to agree with Wagley:[25] "Change has occurred, but *not* that much."

As Thales de Azevedo has pointed out (1955a:197), however, the possibilities of colored persons rising in class are increasing at Bahia; and many observers believe that this rise will continue to increase in the future. As this alteration in rank extends to continually larger and larger numbers of previously underprivileged individuals, greater strains and pressures probably will be exerted throughout the social order. For one thing, as Bahia continues to grow into a larger and larger metropolitan center, relations will be more difficult to maintain on a primary and face-to-face basis; and, for another, the anticipated industrialization, deriving from the extraction of petroleum resources in the area and the utilization of the recently-developed electric power on the São Francisco river, will in all likelihood augment the presently increasing anonymity and make relations more contractual and categoric. Moreover, as educational opportunities increase and extend downward further into the masses of previously unlettered individuals, thus adding to the effects of these other processes, the social order of Bahia may alter, perhaps markedly.

Wagley (1955:12) writes that "many" of the hypotheses

[25] In a letter to the author.

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128 vein, has pointed out. It was used in our original study to
*563 refer to very light mixed-bloods whose racial origin was evident to an anthropologist but not so evident to others, in an effort to make more understandable to a United States audience the actual situation at Bahia.

114 Perhaps it would be helpful to clarify certain matters
*563 mentioned in this book which have led serious critics to
*565 erroneous conclusions. Citing a Portuguese version of Chap-
*121 ter VII, Bastide (1943a:31) quotes us as saying that "in Bahia race prejudice is linked inexplicably (sic) to that of class." This statement we are unable to find in the translation of that chapter or in any other of our publications; nor do we subscribe to it.[32] The need to define terms is imperative. In their criticism of hypothesis 22 (see p. 349), Bastide and Fernandes (1951)[33] do not refer to *race* prejudice at all but instead—and repeatedly—to *color* prejudice. Obviously, they have misunderstood our intention. In an article published in the United States, Bastide and Pierre van den Berghe (1957:693) claim to have invalidated this hypothesis, "so far as São Paulo is concerned." They also write, however, that "we have not been able to isolate the effects of class and racial prejudice." It is therefore difficult to understand the subsequent statement to the effect that "we can definitely assert that, after *having eliminated*[34] the effects of class prejudice against colored people, there would remain an important residue of properly racial prejudice."

The principal difference of opinion, however, would seem to be due to a variation in the use of terms. It is the implica-

[32] A similarly erroneous (if more acceptable) ascription to our authorship is made by Staley (18).

[33] Republished, 1959:333.

[34] Italics ours.

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tion of our research, confirmed, and much more clearly stated, by Wagley and his associates—particularly by Harris—that one of the criteria of class is color. In so far as this is true, class discrimination and color discrimination (but *not* race prejudice as defined above) are inevitably linked. Bastide and Van den Berghe contend that they are dealing with "race prejudice" when we believe they mean "discrimination on the basis of color."[35] That such exists by reason of color being one of the criteria of rank is admitted, in the same sense in which discrimination exists in the case of low family origin, or of low economic condition, or of low educational level, or of lack of personal competence.

Bastide and Van den Berghe also claim to have invalidated, as far as São Paulo is concerned, another hypothesis of this study which they identify as follows: "Prejudice against Negroes is directly proportional to socio-economic status." It is not clear to what these authors refer. We do not recognize this hypothesis as being among those formulated by us, either in this book or elsewhere; nor do we subscribe to it, as stated.

The hypotheses which emerged out of our original study[36] may require, however, certain qualifications and additions, in order to make the description and analysis more precise and complete.

With reference to hypotheses 1 and 2, Willems has called our attention to the possibility that the mortality rate among the lower (and extensively colored) ranks of the Brazilian population may be proportionately lower now than in the

[35] Plus a few limited and atypical cases, as we have suggested above, of discrimination on the basis of race, neither derived from, however, nor supported by, the local mores.

[36] See pages 345–50 of this book.

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past, while the birth rate may have remained more or less constant. If this apparent shift in natural increase continues, it will of course slow down, or even reverse, the trend toward biological absorption evident in the past.[37]

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With reference to hypotheses 3, 4, and 5, one should note three qualifications. In the first place, although the originally unbalanced sex ratio undoubtedly played a definite role in colonial Brazil in developing a tradition of interracial unions, it became more normal shortly after first contact; in the second place, miscegenation, from the colonial period to the present, has proceeded considerably (but not exclusively) *outside* marriage, by way of informal unions; and, in the third place, the term "endogamy" in hypothesis 5 perhaps should be substituted by some such phrase as "the biological distinctiveness of the races." Endogamy still exists, however, among a numerically small segment of the upper class, including certain families which evidence an uncommon pride in their European origin and, even more particularly, certain families among the landed aristocracy which have long sought to keep property in the family and—for this and other reasons—to resist the intrusion of individuals from outside the kinship group, including native-born and immigrant whites as well as colored individuals. This has been accomplished by extensive and continuous marriage within the kinship group, including cousin with cousin and, until recent

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[37] T. Lynn Smith (102–6) reminds us that the fertility index for brancos, according to the 1950 census, was at that time higher than that for prêtos in all but one of the Brazilian states and territories (the State of Rio de Janeiro, where the two were approximately even); and that the fertility index for brancos also was higher in fourteen states than that of even the pardos (browns). (In assessing these data, one must of course take into consideration the meaning of these supposedly racial terms, as indicated above.)

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times, of uncle with niece and aunt with nephew, as observers have noted.

With reference to hypothesis 20, a few highly sensitive mixed-bloods who have risen in rank have become obsessed by a repugnance for the color which continued to symbolize low status, a repugnance which is reflected, at least symbolically, in word and act. This feeling, however, does not seem to be the result of the internalization of external conflict. At least little, if any, evidence of this sort has been turned up. In discussing several of these cases, Bastide (1941a:32) makes an illuminating comment when he writes, "An interesting paradox is that the effect of prejudice upon the subconscious is stronger *the less visible* it is."[38] Moreover, as Frazier (1944:265) has observed, "there was no segregated colored community with which they could be identified" and in terms of which they would become "marginal men." The feelings in question resulted from brooding over a sense of inferiority which derived not so much from actual personal experiences of discrimination as from internally-generated pressures, a fact clearly evident if one contrasts the feelings of these men with the markedly different ones of a host of similar mixed-bloods, including Machado de Assis, André Rebouças and Theodoro Sampaio (who wrote the autobiographical sketch beginning on p. 353).

For some reason, the matters mentioned in hypothesis 22 (p. 349) have attracted most attention, although they would not seem to us to be of that importance. As this hypothesis now stands, however, it perhaps is too brief for clarity; and for that reason we have given considerable attention above to the matters mentioned in it.

Frazier[39] has with justice called attention to a measure of

[38] Italics ours.
[39] *The Negro in the United States* (New York, 1949), p. 675.

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confusion which may emerge in the minds of persons in the United States from a reading of hypothesis 23. This is due to the variant meanings attached in Brazil and in the United States to the term "Negro," as pointed out above. Taking into consideration this fact, and also the unfavorable economic condition of underprivileged persons in Brazil mentioned previously, we might reformulate this hypothesis in the following way: It is possible that the darker persons of color, *considered as an aggregate*, have not risen as rapidly, perhaps, as the Negroes in the United States. This may be due : (a) to fewer economic opportunities in Brazil, in comparison to those afforded by an expansion of industry much earlier in the United States; (b) to the limited educational opportunities available in Brazil until comparatively recent years and the low value long placed upon education for all except the sons of the elite; (c) to the possibility that local prêtos, feeling themselves less under the necessity of demonstrating to a skeptical white world their personal competence and their ability to achieve, have had less social incentive for advancement; and (d) to certain structural differences in the two cases, as Willems has suggested, "especially the fact that most achievements of the American Negro occurred within his own class structure, while the Brazilian colored did not have these structural incentives and opportunities."

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With reference to hypothesis 24, Wagley (1963b:153) has well suggested that the absorption of the African and his descendants into the predominantly branco group (as referred to in hypothesis 1), and the process of whitening by which it is being accomplished (see pp. 120 ff.), are also part of the informal racial policy, so that "the common . . . statement that 'We Brazilians are becoming one people,' " Wagley writes, "seems to imply that Brazilians hope to become a nation more Caucasian in physical appearance."

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plex and need further study. If the discrimination turns out to be due only (or largely) to color, it will in most cases be because color is one of the criteria of rank. However, nowhere in Brazil is it supported by public opinion. On the contrary, it receives severe and widespread condemnation, in press and elsewhere, and legislators hasten to pass laws bringing it under repressive legal sanction. In other words, public opinion and public action invariably are *in favor of*—never against—the darker portion of the population.

7. Nevertheless, in any conflict situation, the lack of one of the determinants of status—namely, light color—*just as any other lack*, may be seized upon, to a person's disadvantage, by competitors.

8. Numerous common sayings regarding Africans and their descendants (cf. pp. 362–65 of this book) which originated during the slave epoch, and which long ago lost all, or most, of their function as stereotypes (cf. Florestan Fernandes 1959:328), occasionally are employed by brancos but ordinarily with a smile and in a humorous manner and when colored persons are not present. Moreover, actual behavior tends to belie these common sayings; and they are even used in jocular fashion by colored persons themselves. Nevertheless, they are remnants of a superordinate-subordinate relationship in a former caste order and, as such, constitute threats to status in possible conflict situations, and also potential aids to the development of group-consciousness.

To these hypotheses, there might be added the following one, suggested by Wagley (1963b:154):

9. "The ability of 'people of color' to improve their status . . . varies considerably from community to community according to the possibilities open to them."

Wagley's further statement that "rural Brazilian society

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has a rigid class structure" would seem to be valid for all Brazil outside pioneer areas. We might consider also in this connection the observations of Hutchinson (1963:45–46) at Vila Recôncavo to the effect that "the population is becoming . . . class-conscious" and that "there is an increasing desire to rise in the social hierarchy"; as well as the discovery by Harris (1963:79) of a degree of tension in the large middle group at Minas Velhas; and certain data turned up in the studies in central and southern Brazil. These (and other) considerations raise the following additional hypothesis:

10. Both social mobility and class-consciousness are increasing; and this increase may be heightening color-consciousness, particularly in the intermediate ranks, by reason of the comparative rigidity of class lines, and the fact that color is a criterion of rank.

JULY 1965

DONALD PIERSON

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Outside the city of Bahia and skirting the rim of All Saints Bay lies the Reconcavo,[7] some sixty miles long and varying from a few to thirty miles wide. Its soil is a cretaceous marl of great thickness, similar to the black gumbo of southern Arkansas and northern Texas, known locally as *massapé* or, in literal translation, "that which sticks to the feet." It is quite fertile and well watered and today appears only slightly impaired after nearly four centuries of cultivation. This is the cane and tobacco area upon which formerly both Bahia's commercial greatness and her need for reliable agricultural (hence slave) labor was based.

The Reconcavo was formerly a center of large landholdings, of a rural aristocracy, of a patriarchal system, and of slavery. Today, cane and tobacco are still cultivated, although the former, and to some extent the latter, languish by reason of the condition of the world-market and the persistence of primitive techniques of production. Although large landholdings are still common, the rural aristocracy is decadent, its prestige having suffered a gradual but persistent decline throughout the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries with the loss of the sugar monopoly, the growth of the coastal towns, and the accompanying increase in prestige of the urban professional classes. The abolition of slavery in the late nineteenth century was the final blow, and absentee ownership is now the predominating pattern. However, the present population is more dense in the Reconcavo than elsewhere in the state outside the city of Bahia and remains to this day markedly negroid in character.

[7] The literal meanings of the Portuguese word *reconcavo* are (1) a bay of semicircular shape and (2) the environs of a city. These two meanings appear to have fused in the Bahian use of the term.

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struggle of native labor versus foreign capital and thus tend [466] to unify rather than to divide the local group. Religious [798] competition has not become severe enough to intensify self-consciousness on the part of rival adherents and thus evoke serious animosities. As far as national affairs are concerned, [621] intense local loyalties had not, at least at the time this study was made, been seriously exacerbated by onerous control from without. A minimum of racial conflict will be evident throughout this account.

THE *ricos* OF THE RIDGES AND THE *pobres* OF THE VALLEYS

One of the things Darwin noted, when he visited Bahia 361 in 1832, was that the city rested upon "a level plain of about 134 three hundred feet in elevation, which in all parts has been worn into flat-bottomed valleys."[11] Today the scene is still much as Darwin saw it. Continuing erosion has merely emphasized the general characteristics of the landscape, transforming the once level plain somewhat more decidedly into alternating ridges, relatively steep declivities, and comparatively narrow valleys.

This physiography of the country has not been without 361 significance in the cultural life of Bahia; for, in general, the 565 distribution of the population by classes, and even to some extent by ethnic divisions, follows quite closely the lay of the land. Along the ridges, which wind with the changing [363] terrain, ordinarily run the principal streets, bearing the chief [133] lines of transportation, whether by streetcar, bus, or automobile. So far as accessibility to the center and other prin- [494] cipal parts of the city is concerned, here are the more convenient residential locations. The elevation of the ridges,

[11] Charles Darwin, *The Voyage of the Beagle* ("Harvard Classics," Vol. XXIX [New York, 1909]), p. 521.

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361 565 permitting as it does a full and unobstructed sweep of the cooling sea breeze, makes these heights more comfortable, more healthful, and, consequently, more desirable places of [362] residence. One usually finds here the more modern and [463] substantial buildings, the homes of the upper classes. Here ordinarily live the scions of the old aristocracy, the large landholders, the city's intellectuals, and the leaders of its "society"; the lawyers, physicians, engineers, and politicians; the officials of the army, the poets and journalists, the professors in the Faculdades, the few industrialists which Bahia has so far produced—in fact, nearly all those prominent in the intellectual, political, "social," and economic life of the city. These families possess considerable property [873] and employ numerous servants. Their members are usually [463] literate, and at least the males are *formados* (i.e., graduated from one of the Faculdades, either in law, medicine, or engineering), a distinction which in the Bahian society marks them off quite sharply from the rest of the population.

[204] It is in these areas that the five newspapers published in [291] the city circulate almost exclusively and the latest fashions from Paris or Hollywood are known and generally adopted. [341] In recent years an occasional example of modernistic archi- [422] tecture and interior design has appeared. Here are to be [206] found the owners of virtually all the city's 3,855 telephones, [217] its 1,028 automobiles, its radios, and private libraries. Here [207] live most of the 20,524 voters who cast ballots in the municipal election of 1936. Here attachment to the *candomblé*, or [794] Afro-Brazilian fetish cult, is minimal and Catholic belief is [177] least modified by elements from the more primitive religions. Here live that portion of the population which *o povo* ("the people") call the *ricos*, or the "rich."

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The valleys, on the other hand, afford less comfortable, less healthful, less convenient, and, consequently, less expensive residential locations. Here the regularly laid out streets and paving disappear. The inhabitants get about by way of footpaths, the red clay of which becomes slippery after a tropical downpour and quite treacherous on the steeper slopes. Here live the lower classes. Dwellings are simple mud huts constructed of a sapling framework over which puddled clay has been spread and allowed to dry. If the owner's income has permitted, the rough exterior of the dwellings has been smoothed off and a lime wash in pale tints of pink, blue, green, or yellow added. The floor is commonly of earth, neatly sanded at regular intervals with fresh *areia* from the seashore. The roof of such dwellings is usually of palm fronds and may be slightly raised at the gable to permit the more ready exit of smoke from the housewife's fire. The furniture ordinarily consists of rude benches or stools, perhaps a cheap chair, a rough table, and cots, or, more commonly, straw mats for sleeping. A Standard Oil Company can whose top and bottom have been removed is used for a stove. Furnishings include an unpretentious niche with a small image of the family's patron saint, a candle, perhaps an almanac, and a rude iron support for washbasin and pitcher of water. Utensils are usually of baked clay and quite simple in design.

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In respect to economic level, education, and, to some extent, religion, the inhabitants of these lower-class areas diverge widely from those of the ridges. They are usually illiterate, although some of the children are now being enrolled in government-sponsored schools. Communication is ordinarily by word of mouth, seldom by newspaper, book, or telephone. Conversation is carried on in the Portuguese

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• 565 Conversation is carried on in the Portuguese
[197] vernacular, with a limited vocabulary and numerous errors
[489] in grammar. Many words of African or native Indian origin
are commonly heard. Transport is primitive. Here the fe-
[771] tish cult, and the attitudes, sentiments, and beliefs associated
[794] with it, gains its most zealous and faithful devotees. Here,
cut off quite sharply from participation in the upper levels of European culture, live that portion of the population which the upper classes refer to as *o povo*, and who think of themselves as *os pobres* ("the poor").

The social gulf between the *pobres* of the valleys and the *ricos* of the ridges is wide and not easy to bridge. This is, of course, to be anticipated in a society with an aristocratic tradition whose upper circles still look somewhat askance upon manual labor and have always regarded education, family connection, and "good breeding" as indices of class.
[6068] Attitudes in this respect have changed little since the time
[567] when the abolitionist Anselmo da Fonseca felt it necessary to apologize for including the name of "a man of the people," a humble Negro shoemaker, among the prominent upper-class abolitionists of Bahia, arguing that "intelligence, patriotism, and truth are not the privilege of any one class" and explaining that this particular individual had been more useful to the abolition cause than many "more noble."

565 The upper classes habitually refer to members of the lower
186 classes as *trabalhadores* ("laborers"), *operarios* ("workers"), or *o povo baixo* ("common people") and humorously caricature them by a cartoon character known as Zé Povinho, an illiterate, stupid, and unprepossessing lout. To their chil-
[867] dren they often direct such phrases as "não seja gentinha" ("don't be like common people"), "não tenha modos de gentinha" ("don't take up the manners of common people"), "não ligue a (or *para*) povo miudo" ("don't attach yourself

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to vulgar persons"), "não faça caso de gente baixa" ("don't mind low people"), "não dê attenção á gentinha" ("don't pay any attention to common people"), and "não se incommode com a gente baixa" ("don't trouble yourself about common people"). Of themselves, the upper classes use the rather general expressions *as altas rodas* ("the upper circles"), *grand monde*, and the "élite." 186 [867]

The lower classes refer to the upper classes as *os "chefões"* ("the big shots"), *os donos da gente* ("the owners of the people"), *os grandes graudos* ("the illustrious great"), *os manda-chuvas da cidade* ("the rainmakers of the city"; i.e., those who can do anything), *ricaços* ("the plutocrats"), or merely *os brancos* ("the whites").

Although this rather simple pattern in which ridges and valleys appear as contrasted residential areas is, in general, characteristic of the entire city, it is modified in a few minor instances. The upper-class suburb of Barra, for example, lies low on the seacoast, albeit well swept by the refreshing sea breeze; while the ridges (as well as the valleys) in the less accessible areas outside the main portion of the city are covered with the huts of the lower class. In the old outmoded four-to-seven-story buildings (relics of Bahia's former splendor), which hedge about the central portion of the city and lie either on top, or well up toward the top, of the central ridges, are crowded together in something approaching slum conditions hundreds of the city's poor.[11] But in general the pattern of the city conforms quite closely to that which has been described. 361 565 [362]

As one moves about the different residential areas, he [563]*

[11] For an intimate glimpse into the life of this latter area see Jorge Amado, *Suor* (2d ed.; Rio, 1936). The locale of these interesting sketches is an old building at No. 68 on the Pelourinho which fronts on the triangular *praça* where the old slave whipping-post used to stand.

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notes that this segregation by economic and educational classes conforms in a general way, although with certain important exceptions, to the differences in color in the population. In fact, Bahia on initial acquaintance seems not unlike a medieval city surrounded by African villages.[13]

Thus, in general, one may say that the whites and the lighter mixed-bloods ordinarily occupy the more comfortable, more healthful, more convenient, and hence more expensive ridges of the city; while the blacks and darker mixed-bloods usually reside in the less convenient, less healthful, hence cheaper, low-lying areas, and the outlying, less accessible regions called locally *suburbios*. In other words, the ridges of the *ricos* correspond in the main to the residential areas of the whites and of the lighter *mestiços*, while the valleys and the outlying sections of the *pobres* correspond in large measure to the residential areas of the darker portion of the population. On the outskirts of the city, such sections as Matta Escura, Engenho Velho, Federação, Garcia, Quintas da Barra, Retiro, Alto do Abacaxi, Alto das Pombas, Estrada da Liberdade, Estrada do Rodagem, Cabrito, Cruz do Cosme, Matatú Pequeno, etc., are all predominantly inhabited by blacks and darker mixed-bloods. The lighter *mestiços* are clearly in the minority and whites quite rare. On the other hand, the ridges of Vitoria, Canella, and Graça and the seaside *bairro* of Barra are almost entirely inhabited by whites, with only a limited number of the lighter mixed-bloods scattered among them. It is, however,

[13] An American resident who had spent five years at Lagos on the African West Coast once remarked, "When I go out into the suburbs of Bahia, I feel like I am back in Africa, the Negro huts and their surroundings are so similar."

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true that one finds, on the slopes to the rear of the more pretentious houses of these areas and spreading into the valleys beyond, a considerable number of simple huts whose occupants are blacks and darker mixed-bloods.

Nazaré is less predominantly an area of white residence, there being in this *bairro* numbers of very light *mestiços* but, except on the slopes toward the Baixa dos Sapateiros, on the one hand, and the Dique, on the other, relatively few blacks. The transitional sections of Santo Antonio, Barbalho, Barris, Tororó, and the peninsula of Itapagipe (which extends more than a mile out into Todos os Santos Bay) are predominantly inhabited by mixed-bloods. Nevertheless, here also a few whites and a considerable number of blacks, particularly in such subsections as Massaranduba in Itapagipe, also live side by side with *mestiços*.

One soon discovers, however, that this ethnic segregation is largely due to the circumstance that color and class, as we shall soon see in detail, tend to coincide. This is, of course, a situation to be anticipated, given the circumstances and conditions of Negro importation and settlement and the comparatively recent emergence of the darker race from a servile status. The important consideration is that there is in Bahia, it seems, no deliberate attempt to segregate the races as a means of maintaining caste or class distinctions.

In fact, the spatial distribution of the races would appear even on first sight to be an index of the racial situation, and longer acquaintance with the city tends to confirm this hypothesis. The residential pattern suggests a gradually evolving, freely competitive society in which the Europeans settled on the ridges, and the Africans and their descendants, as propertyless slaves, or impoverished freedmen, were rele-

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gated to the less desirable territory. Although the Europeans have still today, to a considerable extent, maintained their original advantage, the blacks and darker mixed-bloods have gradually pushed themselves up the slopes from their less favored locations until now they have come, in some cases, to share a portion of the Europeans' favored position. One occasionally finds them living next to the homes of the whites, symbolizing the fact that they now occupy those positions, social as well as spatial, which personal ability, occupational proficiency, and favorable circumstance have enabled them to achieve and to maintain. Thus the racial distinctions which one from the United States is so likely on first acquaintance to note turn out to be, as we shall soon see in more detail, not the things which are either so genuine or so important as at first sight might appear.

It is significant, in this connection, that in what might be called the intermediate residential areas of the city, where the dwellings of those who are rising out of the lower classes meet the dwellings of the upper classes, one finds the darker and the lighter portions of the population meeting and mingling in close residential proximity. This is true, for example, along the Avenida Sete de Setembro.

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The Avenida Sete de Setembro, from Jardim Suspenso on, is the only artery into the "downtown area" from South Bahia. It thus becomes the route of passage for processions like those of Carnival, the "Micarêta,"[14] the Pêruada,[15] and the numerous religious *festas*, and the avenue of march for the military during visits of political celebrities. Its streetcar line and constant flow of busses would make it less de-

[14] The "Micarêta" is the so-called "second Carnival" held the Sunday following Easter.

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[15] The Peruada is an annual students' parade with floats.

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sirable as a seat of residence for one weary of the noises of an industrial city, but for the Bahian wife and daughters, whose world is still largely inside the doors of the home, these characteristics seem to give it a peculiar charm. Hence, one will see along this avenue, almost from Praça Castro Alves out, the residences of many substantial families and, in Vitoria, just beyond the governor's palace, the more pretentious dwellings of the upper class.

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TABLE 1

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FAMILIES DWELLING ALONG THE AVENIDA SETE DE SETEMBRO CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO ETHNIC COMPOSITION, BAHIA, 1936

	Number	Per Cent
Black	19	7.6
Mixed-blood	97	38.6
White	128	51.0
Mixed-blood and white	5	2.0
Black and mixed-blood	2	0.8
Total	251	100.0

No Bahian house which boasts any pretension fails to have a balcony, while nearly all possess large casement windows opening out on the street. From this vantage point the family can while away many pleasant hours leaning on elbows and "watching the *gente* (people) go by." Consequently, one can readily gain, especially during the passage of processions when the balconies and windows are fully occupied, rather accurate information on the physical character of the population. It is possible at Carnival, for example, particularly just preceding the passage of the floats, to take a census with respect to racial composition, as far

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desirable) neighborhood. The objection appeared to be not so much to the blacks *as such* but rather to those areas in which the darker portion of the population, being less secure financially (as we shall presently see in more detail), ordinarily dwell.

In this connection it is also significant to note that an occasional black resides in such upper-class sections as Canella or Vitoria without any question being made of the fact. He will ordinarily be a person of wealth, education, professional competence, and "good breeding"; in other words, a member of the upper classes. Similarly significant is the complementary fact that a considerable number of lower-class whites may be found living in the valleys or the outlying regions, scattered among the darker portion of the population, imbedded quite unconsciously in what might be called, if they were in the United States, the "Negro bottoms."[17] Sharing a common life with the other illiterate poor, these occasional white families visit about among their darker neighbors, eat, drink, work, play, and intermarry with them, and participate in a common body of ideas and sentiments, just as at the other end of the class scale an occasional black participates in the predominately white world of the élite. 361 * 563 565 •

Thus, although Bahia is divided quite definitely into upper- and lower-class residents who occupy rather distinct areas of the city, and these class and geographical divisions also tend to correspond rather closely to the color divisions in the population, one notes certain significant exceptions whose occurrence points rather clearly toward class rather than caste as the basis of social organization.

[17] An occasional well-to-do white upper-class family will reside in a lower-class area, the house and grounds ordinarily taking on the appearance of a spacious country seat surrounded by more humble dwellings.

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. . . . is spoken by all the slaves; and their own dialects are allowed to lie dormant until they are by many . . . . quite forgotten."[17] With the acquisition of the master's language went quite naturally other European habits and customs, and the group of assimilated Negroes, known as *ladinos*, grew in numbers relatively rapidly.

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Although the hardships incidental to a plantation system continued, the circumstances under which this gradual assimilation went on were ordinarily those imposed by a mild form of slavery in which the natural and continuous growth of intimate personal relations tended to further humanize the institution and to modify its formal and legal character to such an extent that the widely traveled Richard Burton, enamored as he was of the customs of the East, could in the middle of the nineteenth century say, "Nowhere, even in oriental countries, has the 'bitter draught' so little of gall in it."[18]

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Symbolic of the intimate character of these personal relations is a custom recorded in detail and with some sense of the humor of the situation by the able French artist Debret.[19] The head of a Brazilian household is depicted setting out with his family, all in gala attire, for a customary Sunday promenade. The entire group is in single file, the two

[17] *Op. cit.*, p. 200.

[18] Sir Richard F. Burton, *Explorations of the Highlands of the Brazil* (2 vols.; London, 1869), I, 270.

[19] Invited to Brazil at the request of the Brazilian emperor, Debret subsequently published three volumes of drawings and comment which together furnish a highly illuminating record of the life of Rio de Janeiro in the early part of the nineteenth century (see J. B. Debret, *Voyage pittoresque et historique au Brésil, 1816–1831* [3 vols.; Paris, 1835]). A similar record was made by another competent artist, Maurice Rugendas. See his *Voyage pittoresque dans le Brésil*, trans. from the German by de Colbery (3 vols.; Paris, 1835).

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daughters immediately behind the father, then the mother, followed by her mulatto *femme de chambre*, next the family *ama*, or Negro nurse, and the latter's female assistant, then the father's Negro body servant, and last a young slave in training for domestic service.[20] On such occasions it was a matter of considerable pride to dress the slaves as well as the family's station would permit. As late as 1852 a visitor to Rio recorded:

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> Though less generally the custom than formerly, it is still the habit of some of the *bourgeosie* . . . . at least on Sundays and great holidays, to promenade to and from church, by whole families, parents and children, from adults to infants, with a retinue of servants in their best dresses . . . . bringing up the rear, and, whether male or female, ... usually as elaborately, if not as expensively, dressed as the rest of the family; and often, in the case of the women, with an equal display of laces, muslins, and showy jewelry.[21]

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In the cities domestic slaves ordinarily lived in the same houses as their masters, occupying the lower floor; or, where the buildings were only of one story, "a sort of cellar" underneath.[22] Since the mistress of the household and her daughters lived a very secluded life in the interior of the home,[23] they were in almost constant contact with domestic slaves and the slave's children. Debret has sketched[24] one such intimate scene in which two Negro women are at work,

[20] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Pl. 5 ("Un Employé du gouvernement sortant de chez lui avec sa famille").

[21] C. S. Stewart, *Brasil and La Plata* (New York, 1856), p. 295.

[22] Maria Graham, *Journal of a Voyage to Brasil, 1821–1823* (London, 1824), p. 145.

[23] Until recent years, women from the upper classes in Bahia were rarely seen on the public thoroughfares and then only in the company of a male escort.

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[24] Debret, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Pl. 6 ("Une dame bréailienne dans son intérieur") and p. 33.

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Koster found the masters and their families taking over many of the customs of their slaves.[114]

Grant, visiting Bahia about 1800, noted that the principal amusement engaged in at private gatherings of the upper class was a dance of African origin:

> It is performed by an individual of each sex moving their bodies to the monotonous tones of an instrument, always in one measure, and with scarcely any action of the legs or feet. The spectators seem delighted with the performance, and cheer the dancers by the most clamorous marks of approbation. This national dance . . . . is indulged in by all ranks of the citizens. . . . .[115]

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Numerous changes in the whites' speech occurred. Especially was this true on isolated fazendas where *senhores* and their families were semiliterate or even illiterate. The *r* and the *s* disappeared as final consonants from many words, *fazer* becoming *fazê; mandar*, *mandá; comer*, *comé;* and *lh* was often reduced to *l*, *mulher* becoming *muler; colher*, *coler;* etc. In 1798 the bishop of Recife urged the teachers in a local *recolhimento* to try to correct "certain errors of speech" in the young ladies there studying, especially that of inverting certain letters and saying, for instance, *breço* instead of *berço*, *cravão* instead of *carvão;* of omitting letters in the middle of a word and saying, for example, *teado* instead of *telhado*, *fio* instead of *filho;* of dropping the final letter of the plural or of words ending in a harsh sound and saying, for instance, *muitas florê* for *muitas flores*, and *Portugá* for *Portugal*.[116] Freyre says that these dialectical modifications were particularly noticeable among isolated families in the rural areas, where Negro slaves were "constantly within the

[114] *Op. cit.*, I, 200–201. [115] *Op. cit.*, pp. 232–33.

[116] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos* (São Paulo, 1936), p. 103.

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In the speech of very young children the doubling of a tonic syllable became common. Hence, *nhônhô* replaced *menino; titio* and *titia* were used for *tio* and *tia; dodoe* for *doe; dindinho* for *padrinho; vôvô* for *avô*, etc. Proper names "lost their solemnity, dissolving in a delicious manner in the mouths of the slaves." Little Antonia came to call herself, and to be called by her parents and other relatives, "Dondon" or "Toinha" or "Totonha"; Thereza became "Teté"; Manoel became "Mané," "Mandú," or "Nezinho"; Francisco became "Chico," "Chiquinho," or "Chicó"; Pedro became "Pepé"; and Alberto became "Bebeto" or "Betinho."[119]

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In addition to the "hard and imperative" *diga-me, faça-me, espere-me*, of Portugal, another method of placing the pronoun came into use in Brazil. The slave and the lower classes developed *me-diga, me-faça, me-espere*, a manner of speaking which Ribeiro describes as of "great suavity and sweetness."[120] Freyre says "*faça-se* is the master speaking, the father, the patriarch; *me-dê* is the slave, the woman, the child."[121]

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The Negroes in Brazil are said to have been assiduous story-tellers. Many free *pretas*, mostly older women, made their living by wandering from *engenho* to *engenho* recounting tales to the women slaves which eventually found their way, transmitted especially by the *mãe preta* and the *mucama*, into the ears of the master's children. Particularly common were stories of animals possessing human characteris-

[119] Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 243.

[120] João Ribeiro, *A língua nacional* (São Paulo, 1921), quoted in Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 246 n.

[121] *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 246.

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state. Unions were not confined to the lower classes but extended into even the upper social ranks, not only of the English, but of other European nationalities as well.[14]

Miscegenation and interracial marriage are perhaps always incidental to the expansion of a racial frontier. As Park has pointed out: "Transplanting a people, like transplanting any other organism, is a ticklish business, and interbreeding is one way of successfully accomplishing the transition."[15]

Thus, the Brazilian society of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries came to be founded largely upon families in which Indian or part Indian women were the consorts and mothers.[16] At least this was generally true of the lower classes, but it was by no means limited exclusively to them.[17]

These *de facto* unions were gradually "regularized by the church into Christian marriage," thus lending the powerful sanction of the ecclesiastical authority, chief guardian of the mores in a sacred society, to interracial crossing. The church was joined in this policy by the state, which legalized mixed unions. Thus, neither church nor state injected any "strain for consistency"[18] into the colonial mores which had grown up quite naturally in response to the exigencies of colonization but instead themselves offered support to the "definitions of the situation"[19] already laid down in the prevailing attitudes.

[14] See Cedric Dover, *Half-caste* (London, 1937), pp. 117 ff.

[15] *Op. cit.*, p. 57.

[16] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

[17] E.g., the *mamaluco* descendants of Caramurú married into prominent families.

[18] See William Graham Sumner, *Folkways* (Boston, 1906), p. 5.

[19] See W. I. Thomas, *Primitive Behavior* (New York and London, 1937), pp. 8–9.

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man is a Negro"), has now been largely replaced by, as Freyre says, the "more Brazilian saying": "Quem escapa de negro, branco é" ("Who isn't a Negro is a white man").

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With due regard, then, to such qualifications regarding the precise meaning of *branco* as these facts suggest, we may note that the classification of births in Bahia in 1932 indicated the color distribution to be as given in Table 3.

TABLE 2

PROBABLE ETHNIC ORIGIN OF THE FIRST FIVE HUNDRED INDIVIDUALS LISTED AS *Brancos* IN THE FILES OF THE GABINETE DE IDENTIFICAÇÃO, BAHIA, 1937

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Probability	Number	Per Cent
Whites	340	68.0
Mulattoes*	95	19.0
Indian-white mixed-bloods†	39	7.8
Indian-white-Negro mixed-bloods†	26	5.2
Total	500	100.0

* Individuals with the following physical characteristics were noted: (1) nose very broad, lips very full; (2) dark skin, hair almost kinky, lips thick; (3) skin *café com leite* ("coffee with milk"), hair exceedingly curly; (4) hair almost kinky; (5) lips full, nose broad, considerable prognathism.

† Ordinarily only slight traces of Indian ancestry evident in each case.

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Since the total registration of births for each of these years averages slightly in excess of five hundred in a city of an estimated 360,000, the records are obviously incomplete. Many midwife deliveries go unrecorded; and, since these births occur usually among the lower classes, which are largely black and dark mulatto, the relative color percentages are probably skewed toward the white pole.

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Deaths are less likely to go unrecorded. But since deaths

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and the proof of his moral qualities have led people to overlook the evident contrast of his physical characters, and his black origin is lost sight of in the approximation of his moral and intellectual qualities to those of the white."[19]

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In Bahia today people neither think nor talk very much about interracial marriage. It is of no more consequence, perhaps, than interclass marriage or marriage between different nationalities in the United States. Few marriages of any kind cross class lines. Marriages between a member of the upper class, on the one hand, and an individual who has climbed up out of the lower class into an intermediate position, on the other, or between the latter and a member of the lower class, do occasionally take place. But they occur very rarely between individuals from the upper and the lower strata.

It is the impression of competent residents well acquainted with the social structure of Bahia that marriages cross race lines more often than class lines; that is, that marriages between individuals from different occupational and income levels within each racial group are less frequent than marriages between members of the different racial groups in the same class. Unfortunately, reliable statistical data upon this important point are not available.

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According to the official records, 42 cases of intermarriage occurred at Bahia out of a total of 1,269 marriages during the year and four months from September 1, 1933, to December 31, 1934. Although this figure represents only 3.3 per cent of the marriages recorded, it does not include those cases in which one of the participants, although classified according to local categories as a *branco* or a *branca*, actually

[19] Jean Baptiste de Lacerda, "The *Metis*, or Half-breeds of Brazil," in *Papers on Inter-racial Problems*, ed. G. Spiller (London, 1911), p. 382.

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has some degree of color in his ancestry. In other words, the white-*branco da Bahia* marriages are omitted.** It represents, therefore, the number of intermarriages from the local point of view, but, as a government official pointed out, it does not accurately reflect the amount of actual race-crossing.

Among the whites of the upper classes a definite line is drawn at intermarriage between individuals from the extreme limits of the color scale, just as a line is drawn, and perhaps for the same reason, at marriage between individuals from the lower and upper limits of the class scale. Although such marriages do occasionally occur, they are ordinarily frowned upon. Thus, of 149 students classifying themselves as *brancos* and responding to the query, "Do you object to marrying a *preto?*" 139, or 93 per cent, replied "Yes." Of 140 similar students, 93, or two-thirds, even objected to dancing with a black.

The brother of a former governor of Bahia, scion of a family which traces its lineage back through a long line of colonial and European aristocracy, had never married but had lived all his life with a lower-class Negro mistress. When, on his deathbed, he desired to marry the woman and thus legitimize the children, his family objected so strenuously that the attempt was abandoned. However, opposition was not only on color but also, and more importantly, on class grounds.

Hence, white-Negro *consorcios* which involve a member of the upper class are ordinarily extra-legal, outside marriage. In the upper circles intermarriage becomes more pronounced as the colors approach along the white-black continuum.

** It is also true, of course, that *branco da Bahia-pardo* marriages are included.

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No effective opposition appears to an individual with *um pouco da raça* ("a little color"), provided he also possesses the requisite characteristics of upper-class standing.

As we have indicated, marriages between individuals of different colors, like marriages between individuals from the same race, ordinarily take place within class lines. Thus, of twenty-four marriages at Bahia in which one partner was a *branco* or a *branca* and the other a *preto* or *preta*, all the individuals, with the possible exception of one couple, were from the same class. When such marriages occur outside class lines—that is, between individuals from different occupational or income levels—the economic and social advantage, as might be anticipated, will ordinarily be in favor of the white.* A *preto*, speaking of the marriage of a certain white woman on the Ilha de Mare to a black, explained, "She got more out of it than he did ['foi mais para ela']. He had money and she didn't."

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Of 72 cases of intermarriage upon which it was possible to secure accurate and relatively complete information, 61, or 85 per cent, were contracted by individuals from the same occupational level. Of the 11 remaining cases in which people married across class lines, in 8, or 73 per cent, the social and economic advantages accrued to the white partner. In the remaining 3 cases, in which white individuals married a spouse from a lower occupational level, the whites were all women, a circumstance probably to be expected, given a social order wherein women are ordinarily at a disadvantage socially and at the same time under pressure to avoid spinsterhood.

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Of 35 cases on which reliable information regarding financial condition was available, only 8 were from the same eco-

* To some extent this is also true of intermarriage *within* the same class.

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• 565 cases the financial condition of the white was less favorable than that of the colored partner. Of the 6 other cases, in which monetary advantage was in favor of the darker individual, 3 of the whites involved were males, and 3 were females.

One of the males had married the daughter of a respected and widely revered mixed-blood educator, an "authority" on Portuguese grammar, with whom many Bahians of the upper classes had studied and into whose family, by reason of the father's prestige, anyone in Bahia would deem it an honor to be accepted. Moreover, the difference in economic level between the two families was slight. A second had married a "beautiful *morena*" whose physical charm, it is said, readily compensated for the difference in economic status.

* 563 In 19 cases of intermarriage on which information was
565 obtained from a town in the interior (Itaquara), 15 were
[114] from the same occupational level. In the 4 cases in which
[463] one spouse came from a lower social stratum than the other, the social advantage was in each case in favor of the white.
[434] Thirteen of the 19 couples came from the same economic level.

One may say that the frequency of intermarriage at Bahia varies inversely with class level. In other words, intermarriage takes place readily in the lower circles, occasionally among whites who are climbing in the class scale, and rarely with whites in the upper class.[22]

When intermarriages involving upper-class individuals do occur, however, "society" does not completely close its doors

[22] This generalization does not hold for *brancos da Bahia*, or those mixed-bloods who have passed over into the white category.

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on the couple. "Some people feel sorry for them and try to treat them as usual; but, especially if the black is from the lower classes, there is always a difference," commented a member of the upper class. If someone marries a person a great deal darker than himself, one hears the phrase "Ele não tem vergonha na cara" (literally, "He does not have shame in his face").

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"But it would be different," added a white upper-class woman, "with Dr. Raul Calogeras,"[33] naming a prominent *preto*, a man of considerable personal charm, with the poise and bearing of a "gentleman," an able engineer for six years in charge of the sanitary service at Bahia and for twenty years at the head of a similar service for the city and state of São Paulo, once a federal senator and friend of the former president of Brazil, Washington Luiz. He is also nationally regarded as the principal Brazilian "authority" on the Tupi language. For years he has been president of an important intellectual and social institution in Bahia among whose membership, principally white, are to be found many of the leading intellectuals of the city. "Several white women whom I know would feel themselves honored to be his wife."

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The implications of this remark are highly significant, if one would understand the actual racial situation at Bahia. It indicates rather clearly that opposition to marriage with a black is more importantly on class than on racial grounds. When black color comes no longer to identify an individual as a member of the lower class, opposition to him tends to disappear. Virtually no opposition attaches to the marriage of light mixed-bloods into even the upper class, especially if they do not show in their features or color too obvious evidence of Negro origin.

[33] The name is, for obvious reasons, fictitious.

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565 In 1914 Theodore Roosevelt wrote of Rio de Janeiro: "In the lower ranks intermarriages are frequent, especially between the Negroes and the most numerous of the immigrant races of Europe. In the middle class these intermarriages are rare, and in the higher class almost unknown so far as concerns men and women in whom the black strain is at all evident. But even in the higher ranks there is apparently no prejudice whatever against marrying a man or girl who is, say, seven-eighths white, the remaining quantity of black blood being treated as a negligible element."[24] Although the Bahian aristocracy has maintained itself as endogamous as any similar group in Brazil, or perhaps even more endogamous, individuals possessing at least some Negro blood are now marrying into its ranks.

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554 A dark mixed-blood at Bahia, a prominent and relatively wealthy commercial figure, courted and married a girl from a distinguished white family. A common expression heard in connection with this case of intermarriage and which perhaps sums up in a pithy statement the racial situation at Bahia is: "Negro rico é branco, e branco pobre é negro" ("A rich Negro is a white man, and a poor white man is a Negro"). This is merely another way of saying that class (one criterion of which is wealth), not race, is the primary consideration.

A prominent medical specialist, a dark mixed-blood, has a blond German wife whom he courted and married while a student in Germany. Because of his professional competence, intellectual ability, and personal charm, he occupies a high position in the community. He is a member of the most exclusive social club, membership in which is an infallible index of social status. Since his professional practice is extensive

[24] "Brazil and the Negro," *Outlook*, CVI (February 21, 1914), 410.

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and his clients are drawn largely from the élite, he is well to do financially. His wife, it is said, is envied by other white women.

A woman of the upper class when asked if a woman's social standing declined after her marriage to a black or dark mulatto said: "This depends largely on the man. It may; but if he is cultivated and refined, it may not. A woman marrying Dr. Raul Calogeras would not lose caste." [558]

Obviously, then, a distinction must be made between interclass and intraclass marriages. The following reasons given by whites responding affirmatively to the query, "Do you object to marrying a *preto?*" indicate that their objection was basically on class, rather than on racial, grounds:

Because *pretos* seldom have social standing.
Because they are ordinarily lower in the social scale.
Because they are usually crude and stupid.
Because they belong to a low class.
Because it would lower me.
Because I think both should be on the same social level.
Because black color usually lowers one's social position.
Because I think social equality is indispensable for marriage.

These statements all reduce perhaps to one general statement: The Negro ordinarily lacks class.

A distinction must also be made between those individuals who are noticeably negroid and those who are *branqueados*, who have only *um pouco da raça*. As an upper-class white woman remarked: "It's different with the lighter shades. You can't easily draw the line between the pure whites and those with only *um pouco da raça*. Race mixture has now become so extensive that there wouldn't be many left to choose among." Very light mixed-bloods often marry whites without any question whatever arising. For instance, the four sons and two daughters of a fam- 563 *

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leite ('a fly in the milk'). There wasn't so much mixture then."

One may perhaps say, then, that black color, although an undeniable handicap to marriage into the upper classes at Bahia (at least when sufficiently obvious to be readily observable) is not an absolute bar and may be overcome with the aid of such advantages as wealth, intelligence, occupational proficiency, beauty, and personal charm. The individual involved will be accepted more on the basis of his mental and social qualities than on racial descent. 565 • 563 *

However, since a Negro cannot escape his color but, on the contrary, constantly carries with him this indelible badge of low status, he tends to be catalogued by one meeting him for the first time as a member of the lower status group. Only as he simultaneously or subsequently gives evidence of other characteristics ordinarily associated with upper-class standing, such as economic competence, professional skill, educational achievement, "gentlemanly bearing," etc., is this original conception modified; and even then the fact of his being in appearance like a lower-class man remains one of the criteria of him and is undoubtedly a handicap.

It is in the light of this distinction that one perhaps best understands what at first sight appears to be discrimination on the basis of race. Since to a large extent discrimination follows color lines, one is likely to assume its similarity to that which we know in the United States and naïvely posit an automatic relationship between race and discrimination. But if one focuses his attention on those *homens de côr* who have risen in class and who for this reason are no longer subjected to the same prejudices as others of their fellows

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who have not yet risen, he sees that the connection between race and discrimination is not direct but *indirect;* that not necessarily discrimination on the basis of *race* is involved but discrimination on the basis of *class*, involving in most cases, quite expectedly, individuals of color, owing to the concentration of the darker portion of the population for centuries in the lower status ranks.

Race has undoubtedly been a factor in Brazil in fixing classes and making them, to some extent at least, hereditary. But race as a criterion of class is breaking down, increasingly, as more and more individuals of dark color give evidence of the possession of, or the ability to achieve, other characteristics indicative of superior status. The significant fact is that a black or dark mulatto *can* overcome the handicap of color, *can* overbalance this liability by means of other assets. His social position is not fixed and rigid. It is always subject to change.

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ergy exerted by their immigrant fathers, creoles [native Brazilians] ordinarily imbibed the colonial prejudice against labor, and assumed the airs of gentlemen." Free men of color entering agricultural or artisan employment "in no way aroused the jealousy of Europeans."[7]

The mobility of the Brazilian population in the colonial period, both vertically and horizontally, facilitated climbing. Changes in status during the lifetime of a given individual were common phenomena and at times even precipitous, a condition reflected in the common saying "Pae taberneiro, filho cavalheiro, neto mendicante" ("Father an innkeeper, son a squire, grandson a beggar"). Endogamy among the rural aristocracy, even in such *fidalgo* centers as Bahia and Pernambuco, was never absolute. Clerks and small merchants in the cities, immigrant peddlers in the interior, modest proprietors of small farms, owners of small herds of cattle—all aspired to, and some succeeded in attaining, the ranks of the rural aristocracy.[8]

Similarly significant was freedom to move in space. For in areas distant from those of their birth, light mulattoes of slave origin often managed to pass for individuals born of free parents. They were thus able readily to strip from themselves the social stigma of servile origin. One of the functions of the *bandeiras* and the *monções*[9] was to assist ambitious individuals to whom migration and the freedom of the frontier appeared to offer the most rapid and successful means of social advancement. Many mixed-bloods sought out new homes and became settlers, stock-raisers, small

[7] H. A. Wyndham, *The Atlantic and Slavery* (London: Oxford University Press, 1935), pp. 249–50.

[8] Vianna, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

[9] The *bandeiras* (also called *monções*) were groups of hardy explorers and frontier fighters who explored the interior or raided Indian villages for slaves.

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senhores de engenho, fazendeiros, etc.[10] Often they were runaway slaves.[11] In the cities they became masons, cobblers, tinsmiths, soldiers, actors, and at times reached even the small bourgeosie.[12]

The mulatto, owing to his closer approximation in physical characteristics to the European, was better able than the Negro to appropriate certain symbols of status—the small shoe and the little boot, for instance, the wearing of which was an important index of social standing in colonial and imperial Brazil.[13] Small feet, particularly among women, were for a long time, and still are, fashionable.

As the mulatto rose in class, he came to occupy something

[10] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, pp. 190–91, 205, 238.

[11] "I heard of a mulatto slave who ran away from his master; and in the course of years had become a wealthy man, by the purchase of lands which were overrun with cattle. He had, on one occasion, collected in pens great numbers of oxen which he was arranging with his herdsmen to dispatch to different parts for sale, when a stranger who came quite alone, made his appearance, and rode up and spoke to him, saying that he wished to have some private conversation with him. After a little time they retired together; and when they were alone the owner of the estate said, "I thank you for not mentioning the connection between us, whilst my people were present." It was his master, who had fallen into distressed circumstances, and had now made this visit in hopes of obtaining some trifle from him. He said that he would be grateful for anything his slave chose to give him. To reclaim him, he well knew, was out of the question—he was in the man's power, who might order him to be assassinated immediately. The slave gave his master several hundred oxen, and directed some of his men to accompany him with them to a market, giving out among his herdsmen, that he had thus paid a debt of old standing, for which he had only now been called upon" (Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil, 1809 to 1815* [2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1817], I, 244–45).

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[12] Vianna, *op. cit.*, p. 143. In 1774 a law opened to *homens pardos* access "to all offices, honors and dignities, without discrimination on account of difference in color" (*Annaes da Biblioteca Nacional*, XXXVII [1913], 85). See also Pedro Calmon, *História social do Brasil* (3 vols.; São Paulo, 1937–39), I, 168.

[13] "The use of shoes and little boots, which was at first almost entirely limited to persons recently arrived from Portugal, spread among those men

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As the mulatto rose in class, he came to occupy something analogous to a middle position distinct from either that of the dominant European or that of the subject African. In the colonial period, "to appease the repugnance felt by whites at being put on the same level with mulattoes,"[14] the latter were segregated for military duty. Thus separate battalions were organized at Bahia and elsewhere for whites, for *pardos*,[15] and for *pretos*.[16] Similarly, separate church organizations arose for *pardos* (Palma, Guadaloupe, Boqueirão) as well as for *pretos*.[17]

In the Brazilian rural society of the colonial period Oliveira Vianna identifies three distinct social strata: the predominantly white *senhores* of the upper rank, the predominantly mixed-blood free artisans, *rendeiros*, and petty

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and women of the Brazilian aristocracy who were blessed with small feet. The difficulties of the blacks, even when serving as pages, to adjust themselves to this new European and aristocratic style so ill adapted to their large and flat feet, can be easily understood. The mulattoes, on the other hand, who possessed smaller feet, well formed according to the European standard, could adapt themselves more readily to a practice which Handelmann observed constituted in nineteenth-century Brazil one of the marks of class distinction" (Freyre, *Sobrados e mucombos*, pp. 329–30).

[14] Vianna, *op. cit.*, p. 164; see also his *Populações meridionaes do Brasil* (3d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 140.

[15] In Bahia, the Regimento dos Pardos. See Luiz dos Santos Vilhena, *Cartas*, edited and annotated by Braz do Amaral (2 vols.; Bahia, 1922), pp. 253–54.

[16] In Bahia, as elsewhere, Os Henriques.

[17] In Bahia, Rosario de João Pereira, Barroquinha, Corpo Santo, Rosario "at the foot of the Pelourinho." Cf. also: "The cemetery for Africans was located next to the Misericordia Cemetery, as one can see from the map made of the city of Salvador and its suburbs by Carlos Augusto Weyll" (J. B. von Spix and C. F. P. von Martius, *Através da Bahia* [excerpts from the larger work, *Reise in Brasilien* (3 vols.; München, 1823–31)], trans. Pirajá da Silva and Paulo Wolf [3d ed.; São Paulo, 1938], pp. 141–42 [translators' note]).

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officials of the middle tier, and the predominantly black slaves of the lower stratum.[18]

The duration of this particular organization was, however, brief. As the color line bent further under pressure of the rising mulatto, certain of the more able or more successful mixed-bloods broke through into the upper tiers.

The development of the cities increased the possibilities for economic advancement to individuals who, like the mulattoes, were noted for their skill as artisans and—what was more important—for their intellectual ability.[19] The rise, after independence in 1822, of the *academias superiores* offered to the more able mixed-bloods possibilities not previously attainable. Since by reason of their mental alertness the mulattoes often excelled, it is said, in those pursuits wherein intellectual ability is an essential for success, the development of these centers of advanced study opened, at least to the ambitious and favored ones among them, ready access to the rising professional classes, especially as *doutores* or *bachareis*.[20] Many promising young mulattoes were aided to a professional training by indulgent white fathers or other relatives and friends among the dominant class.

Of a prominent Brazilian intellectual, Raul Calogeras, whose father was a Bahian planter and whose mother was a Negro slave, we are told:

> Raul was very intelligent, and showed remarkable ability in his studies. It is said that when a very young boy at Santo Amaro, he used to slip away late at night, after his mother's master had gone to bed, to study by the street lamp on the corner near the house. When his father discovered this, he was much impressed, and other signs

[18] Vianna, *op. cit.*, pp. 72–73.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 151; Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, pp. 160–61, 190.

[20] Physicians, lawyers and engineers.

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of Raul's intelligence and his ability to apply himself multiplied the interest which his father took in him, and he supplied all his needs. When his father left the Reconcavo to come to Bahia, he brought Raul with him, and here, under his tutelage, Raul went to primary school where he had as white playmates his father's nephews and others. And later, when his father went to Rio, he took Raul with him. The boy never left his father's company as long as his father lived."

Raul was a very dark mixed-blood with kinky hair. He came to be a prominent citizen and was noted not only for his fine figure, distinguished bearing, poise, and personal charm but also for his intelligence and professional competence. At one time he was a much-loved confidant of a recent president of Brazil.

Significant also, so far as the rise of the mulatto is concerned, is the fact that early in the nineteenth century the return of young professional men who had been trained in Europe—in Coimbra, Montpelier, Paris, and other centers—enhanced the prestige of the rising professional classes. These young lawyers and physicians, among whom were a number of quite capable mulattoes, were returning to Brazil after an education abroad, ordinarily more traveled, better informed, and more urbane than their brothers or half-brothers on the plantations, in the army, or among the clergy. They were especially attractive, we are told, to the upper-class ladies of the time. The importation of fashionable articles from the Continent—Parisian haberdashery, perfumes, hair-dressings, and English shoes—with the use of all of which these returning young men were quite familiar, enhanced their standing among the élite. The increasing

" From a letter to the author from a man reared in the same community as the individual in question and long acquainted with him. For information on the later life of this mixed-blood see Appen. A.

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The increasing prestige of youth, accelerated by the popular rule of young King Dom Pedro II, together with the increasing dominance of the cities in which the young graduates located, also contributed to their rise in social esteem.

The disruption of the old order based upon slavery, owing to the loss of the sugar monopoly, the increasing dependence of rural *senhores* on their urban agents and commission merchants, and the progress of the abolition campaign, eventually leading as it did to widespread desertion of slaves from the *engenhos*, also facilitated the rise of the professional classes. There was under way a gradual transfer of prestige from the rural aristocracy,[22] which had been almost exclusively European, to the urban intelligentsia, which increasingly included mulattoes, particularly of the lighter shades; for example, Gonçalves Dias, Natividade Saldanha, José do Patrocinio, Machado de Assis, Barão de Cotegipe, Olavo Bilac, Domingos Caldas Barbosa, Salles Torres Homem, Nilo Peçanha, Domicio da Gama, Dom Silvero Gomes Pimenta, Dom Luiz Raymundo da Silva Brito, Tobias Barretto, Antonio Vieira, José Mauricio, Auta de Souza, Francisco Gé Acabaya de Montezuma, the Rebouças brothers, and "hundreds of other Brazilians," as João Dornas Filho says, "whose great mental capacity has brought resounding fame to Brazil."[23]

Dom Pedro II elevated to the nobility a prominent mixed-blood who was subsequently known familiarly as "Barão do Chocolate."[24] The Count do Gobineau speaks of meeting

[22] For a sketch of the *rise* of the Brazilian aristocracy see Alan K. Manchester, "The Rise of the Brazilian Aristocracy," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XI, No. 2 (May, 1931), 145-68.

[23] *A escravidão no Brasil* (Rio, 1939), p. 228.

[24] Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 190.

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grown up naturally between the races were never threatened, let alone destroyed, by a program of reconstruction originating from without and imposed by armed conquest. Individual ability, personal ties and family solidarity, instead of external pressure, were the levers of social advancement. The rise of the mixed-blood and of the black in Brazil has always had effectively in its favor those sentiments and personal attachments which primary relations tend normally to develop.

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Such political upheavals as did occur tended to advance the mixed-bloods not as a group but as individuals. Thus the overthrow of the monarchy and the rise of the republic marked a definite break with the rural aristocracy and accelerated the rise of a new class, that of the *bachareis* and the *doutores*, among whom were many mulattoes. And, more recently, the recrystallization of the political structure following the "revolution of 1930" found many Bahian mixed-bloods in positions of trust and responsibility, since the new political "ins," who were diligently seeking to solidify their gains and to establish themselves firmly in power, found it expedient to accept such support as was readily at hand. Again the mixed-bloods figured prominently, not as a group per se but as individuals belonging to an eligible professional class.

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The role of sex and of romantic love should not be overlooked. The sexual attraction which the mulatto male exerted upon daughters of rich and influential European families led quite often to elopement or, occasionally and increasingly, to marriage with parental consent.[14] Similarly,

[14] "The daughters, the *yayas* of the *sobrados*, the *sinhas* of the *casas grandes de engenho*, let themselves be kidnaped by these Don Juans, even by such as were plebeian and of color. . . . . Sellin noted the large number of young ladies eloping . . . . during the latter half of the nineteenth century. They were girls whose parents, for reasons of blood or of social position, had

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the mulatto women profited by the myth of the sexual potency of the hybrid,[35] the high mortality of white women (especially during the nineteenth century), and the consequent successive marriages of elderly patriarchs who sought an increasing degree of sexual stimulation. Cases of "marriages of elderly white men from illustrious families, descendants of barons and well situated in life, with beautiful octoroon, quadroon, or mulatto women who carried themselves like fine ladies and gave evidence of a sexual ardor beyond the ordinary,"[36] increasingly occurred.

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Today, the mixed-bloods are gaining a constantly increasing measure of social recognition. Among them are to be found prominent lawyers, jurists, physicians, engineers, politicians, diplomats, priests, educators, business and commercial magnates, musicians, painters, poets, novelists, journalists, planters.[37] In other words, the mulattoes have now penetrated to the top of the class scale.[38]

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not consented to their marriage with men for whom they had come to feel a sentimental or sexual predilection" (*ibid.*, pp. 156–57). Note also the novel *O mulato* (3d ed.; Rio, 1889), by Aluisio de Azevedo, whose hero is a mixed-blood *bacharel* educated in Europe and enamored of a white girl from a family "full of prejudices of white purity." Gilberto Freyre calls this book "a human document warm with the life of the time."

[35] A popular saying commonly heard in Bahia is: "A white woman for marriage, a Negro woman for work, a *mulato* for sexual intercourse."

[36] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 337.

[37] See Lacerda, *op. cit.*, pp. 381–82; Manoel de Oliveira Lima, *The Evolution of Brazil Compared with that of Spanish and Anglo-Saxon America* (Palo Alto, 1914), p. 39; Rudiger Bilden, "Laboratory of Civilization," *Nation*, CXXVIII (January 16, 1929), 73; Thomas Ewbank, *Life in Brazil* (New York, 1856), p. 267; Professor and Mrs. Louis Agassiz, *A Journey in Brazil* (Boston and New York, 1888), p. 124; Theodore Roosevelt, "Brazil and the Negro," *Outlook*, CVI (February, 1914), 409.

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[38] To accelerate his social climbing, the mixed-blood has developed certain characteristic personality traits: "a pleasant smile and manner, a cordial

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In all probability, the movement was at first largely vertical. When, however, the mixed-blood had gained some economic or professional competence, had definitely established his personal worth, he tended to be recognized as an "exceptional" individual; that is, as a person rather than as a member of a group. As the numbers of these "exceptional" individuals multiplied, the social conventions were subjected to constantly increasing pressure, since it is difficult to treat "exceptional" individuals in situations of intimate social intercourse differently from the way they are treated in intellectual, commercial, or political circles. This "strain for consistency" tends in time to modify conduct.[39]

Thus, as the mixed-bloods rose in class, this upward movement was accompanied by what might be called "horizontal progression." The individual who was rising in rank and establishing himself in the upper intellectual and economic circles began actually to penetrate the "inner sanctuaries" of the more exclusive social groups, breaking down marriage and familial taboos. The class tradition, in so far as it had been fixed by race, gradually began to give way under the irresistible pressure exerted upon it by the rising mulatto group.

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This rise was accompanied by the personal stresses and strains which an individual in the process of moving from one class to another ordinarily experiences. The first mulattoes to penetrate the upper tiers reflected in their personal

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show of hospitality, the use of diminutives as a means of being both respectful and intimate at the same time" (Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, pp. 357–58).

[39] Moreover, class interests tended to become more and more important and eventually to bind members of the same class with common bonds of sentiment, attitude, and idea, and thus to cut across lines of color or of racial descent.

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lives participation in two different, and to some extent antagonistic, worlds which met and fused, so to speak, in their own personalities. They were perhaps, to some extent at least, "marginal men."[40]

The Brazilian mixed-blood was marginal, however, in the cultural rather than in the racial sense. Often he had moved during his lifetime from the lower rungs of the class ladder to the middle or even upper tiers. He had achieved some measure of recognition and was enjoying certain of the advantages of the upper classes. At the same time he was deeply sensitive to his servile origin and to the fact that he inescapably carried with him in his physical characteristics a mark of low status. Thus, Gonçalves Dias was, we are told, throughout his life a melancholy soul. "A wound always bleeding, although hidden under the cloak of a *doutor*. Sensitive to his inferior origin, to the stigma of his color, to his negroid features always shouting at him from his mirror, 'Remember you are a mulatto!' "[41] The mixed-blood became noted for an extravagant use of perfume which seems to have been an overcompensation for the body odor, the so-called *catinga*, or *budum*, reputedly characteristic of the African. At home the mulatto sought to keep out of sight the "*tira-teima* of the family," the relative whose dark color or negroid features too clearly betrayed his "less noble" origin. In an attempt to convince himself and others of his identity with the upper strata, he often developed an "emphatic Aryanism" and became, like Machado de Assis or Olavo Bilac, "a champion of the white against the black."[42]

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[40] See Robert E. Park, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIII (May, 1928), 881; Everett Stonequist, *The Marginal Man* (New York, 1937).

[41] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 320.

[42] *Ibid.*, pp. 335, 355, 363; Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 324.

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It should be noted that, although the light mulattoes have ordinarily set the pace in this struggle to rise and have contributed the bulk of the advancing individuals of color, they have not completely monopolized the advance.[43] They have been followed, and in some notable cases even outdistanced, by individuals from the darker portions of the population. For example, Henrique Dias, the black hero of the expulsion of the Dutch from Pernambuco, was made a member of the nobility and granted membership in the Ordem de Christo.[44] A black is today president of an important intellectual and social institution at Bahia. Another is a member of the most exclusive club. But the appearance of black individuals among the upper classes is still today quite rare. In the attempt to achieve higher standing in the social order, the blacks have had to contend even more decidedly with the handicaps of starting on the bottom and of bearing constantly with them a physical badge of slave ancestry and a symbol of low status.

It is perhaps also true that individuals of African descent, mixed-bloods as well as blacks, have risen in class more slowly than has the Negro in the United States. Being less under the stigma of racial inferiority, the Brazilian blacks and mixed-bloods have naturally had less incentive to demonstrate to a hostile white world their personal competence and ability to achieve. Hence, it is likely that they have been less ambitious, less aggressive, than their northern brothers, and consequently have risen *as a group* less rapidly.

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[43] See Manoel Querino, "Os homens de côr preta na historia," *Revista do Instituto Geographico e Historico da Bahia*, XLVIII (Bahia, 1923), 353–63; see also Augusto Victorino Alves Sacramento Blake, *Dicionario bibliographico brasileiro* (Rio, 1893), II, 452–55.

[44] Heinrich Handelmann, *Historia do Brasil* (Portuguese trans. by the Instituto Historico e Geographico of *Geschichte von Brasilien* [Berlin, 1860]; 2 vols.; Rio, 1931), I, 381.

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were mulattoes, and only 6.4 per cent were relatively unmixed blacks; while, of 30 occupants of general admission seats at one-half this price, only 20 per cent were whites, 40 per cent were mulattoes, and 40 per cent were blacks. Among spectators at a Sunday-afternoon soccer game, one noted the distribution as given in Table 12.

Of five hundred mothers applying for aid at the state's free children's clinic, only 9.2 per cent were white, 40.6 per

TABLE 12

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF SPECTATORS AT A SPORTS EVENT,* BAHIA, 1936

Seats	Price (in Milreis)	Occupants	Percentage			
			Blacks	Mulattoes	Whites	Total
Reserved	10	143	2.1	23.8†	74.1	100
Grandstand	7	267	4.1	29.4†	66.5	100
General admission	3	519	51.1	39.9‡	9.0	100

* *Futebol* (soccer), Campo da Graça, March 22, 1936.

† Chiefly light mulattoes, many of whom were very light with only slight traces of Negro lineage.

‡ Principally dark mulattoes.

cent were mulatto, predominantly dark, and 44.5 per cent appeared to be relatively unmixed blacks.[6] Of 1,511 photographs displayed in eleven photograph galleries, 73.2 per cent were probably of white individuals, 24.9 per cent of mixed-bloods, and only 1.7 per cent of unmixed blacks.[7]

In interpreting this ethnic distribution in the occupations and according to financial means, one might point out that

[6] The remaining 5.7 per cent were *cafuso* (21 individuals), *branco da Bahia* (2 individuals), *mameluco* (2 individuals), and of Indian-white-Negro descent (1 individual).

[7] In addition, 0.2 per cent were *cafuso*.

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the present social order at Bahia results, as it probably does in a free class society anywhere, from the tendency of the more advantaged and the more able to rise to, or to maintain themselves at, the top. Since the Africans began in Brazil at the bottom, the present distribution of color through the class scale obviously indicates the extent to which the Negroes (either pure or diluted) have been able to survive and to rise in competition with the Europeans and their descendants, who in the main began at the top. The present distribution is therefore that probably to be expected, even in a freely competitive society, given the original slave status of the Negro, his relatively disadvantaged position upon receiving freedom, the consequently limited opportunities for economic advancement, and the comparatively brief time he has enjoyed a freely competitive status.

One might also note that racial distribution in the occupations and with reference to economic status is not greatly dissimilar at Bahia to that in the United States. In other words, the Negro, either pure or mixed with the white, has slowly but steadily advanced both in Brazil and in this country, until today he is represented there and here in all the professions and in many, if not most, of the occupations. Even the relative numbers in the different levels of the occupational and economic scales are somewhat similar in the two cases.

The differences, however, are profound. Whereas in the United States the rise of the Negro and of the mixed-blood has been principally within the limits of the Negro world, in Brazil the rise has been with reference to the total community; that is, the Negro in Bahia not only competes freely with all others of his own color but can and does compete with all aspirants to the same class; and, if he has ability and

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gives evidence of definite personal worth, he will be accepted for what he is as an individual, and his racial antecedents will, at least to a considerable degree, be overlooked.

The extent of participation of the different ethnic units in the total life of the community may be indicated by analyzing racial participation in such institutions as exclusive clubs, schools, labor unions, and churches.

One of Bahia's most exclusive clubs, membership in which is definitely indicative of advanced social status, is composed of Bahian "society," including most of the leading officials and many of the more prominent citizens. Numerous receptions for visiting celebrities are held at this club, and its dances are considered to be among the principal social functions of the year. No blacks have yet been admitted, although several mixed-bloods, including a number of *brancos da Bahia* and even a few dark mulattoes, are regular and honored members. Whites, of course, predominate.

Among the members is a dark mixed-blood, with Caucasian hair and features, a prominent citizen, an able eye, ear, nose, and throat specialist trained in Europe, and husband of a white wife. Of him a Bahian of undiluted European descent once commented, "You know when I went to see him about my eyes the other day, I never once thought of him as colored. I needed professional advice and I simply recalled that he, like his father before him, was the best eye specialist in Bahia." Another member of this club is a dark mixed-blood, a wealthy exporter, prominent in Bahian commercial circles, and husband of a white wife, upon whose visits into the interior, it is said, all those with whom he has business dealings (including whites) feel deeply honored when he visits them in their homes.

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Bahia, one mulatto, and three blacks. Several substantial white citizens had received their early training under this man.

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The public library is patronized indiscriminately by members of all ethnic groups. Blacks, however, appear among its frequenters only in rather limited numbers. For instance, of 560 individuals using the library facilities on different days and at different hours during the day,[11] only 9.6 per cent were blacks, while 35.9 per cent were mulattoes and 52.7 per cent were whites.[12]

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In labor unions organization definitely follows class lines, and ethnic differences are largely lost sight of in the pursuit of common ends. Leadership, however, tends to be white or near-white, even in those unions composed predominantly of blacks and dark mixed-bloods. For instance, at a "solemn assembly" for the installation of new officers in a local labor union whose membership, limited to 550, is overwhelmingly Negro (as indicated by a detailed check of the members with the aid of the union secretary), the retiring president was a *branco da Bahia* and the incoming president a light mulatto. Only eleven *brancos* (probably all, or nearly all, of whom are *brancos da Bahia*) and relatively few mulattoes are to be found among the membership.[13]

[11] Samples were taken for each hour from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M., with the exception of 12:00 noon to 2:00 P.M., when the institution was closed.

[12] Also 7 (1.2 per cent) *cafusos*, 3 (0.5 per cent) *mamelucos*.

[13] Of the speakers, 6 were blacks, 5 were mulattoes (2 quite light), 1 was a *branco da Bahia*, and 1 was a white. Among the themes presented were: "Solidarity! All Workers Are Brothers!" "Since the Revolution of 1930 Workers Are No Longer Slaves"; "Viva Getúlio Vargas, the God, the Jesus, and the Senhor do Bomfim [patron saint of Bahia's poorer classes] of the Workers!" "Remember the Chicago Workers Who Died for Liberty!" "Save Brazil's Wealth from Exploitation by *Norte-Americanos* Who Hope To Seize Her Mines and Her Waterfalls and Make Slaves of Her People!" "Look to the World's Greatest Socialist and Sociologist, Jesus Christ."

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in pigmentation. An able lawyer, with an extended period of practice in Bahia, he was well regarded by his associates.

At a formal dinner given by *A Tarde*, probably the most influential Bahian daily, in honor of a noted journalist and poet, 15 whites, 4 *brancos da Bahia*, 3 light mulattoes, and 6 medium or dark mixed-bloods sat down together at the banquet table. Among the guests, according to the account on the subsequent day, were "all the editorial writers and collaborators of this newspaper, together with a few specially invited friends and admirers of the honored guest [a white]."

Among the members attending a session of the Bahian Academy of Letters were 5 whites, 1 *branco da Bahia*, and 3 mulattoes. One of the latter is an able poet, quite dark, with kinky hair.

Present at a tea dance given by Bahia's Girl Guides at the exclusive club previously mentioned were the city's social élite, including the governor. *A Tarde*, in reporting the event, said, "As was to be expected, there was present our best society—all of it, almost—making the occasion one of elegance and distinction." Of the 414 guests, 340 were whites, 64 were very light mulattoes (exhibiting only slight traces of Negro ancestry), and 3 were dark mixed-bloods. One of the latter, with kinky hair but Caucasian features, was accompanied by a light mulatto wife, almost white, and two light mulatto daughters. One of the latter danced once during the afternoon—with a white youth. Of 30 Girl Guides serving the guests, 3 showed slight traces of Negro origin. The only blacks present were the members of the jazz orchestra (composed of 3 blacks and 6 dark mulattoes) and 2 maids who had accompanied white families.

The president of a literary, semiscientific, and social or-

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*563 874 very light. Her mother is a *sarará*, her grandmother is a dark mulatto with kinky hair, and her husband is also a dark mixed-blood. Her family, it is said, has gradually risen from [555] the lower class by reason of constantly taking advantage of [565] every educational opportunity, by increasing their economic competence, and by deliberately cultivating "good manners."

*563 547 535 At a "night club," where there were gambling, liquid refreshments, and partners for dancing, of 128 guests,[27] 62 were whites, 40 were *brancos da Bahia*, 21 were mulattoes (several quite dark), 1 was a *cafuso*, and 4 were blacks. Of the 26 female entertainers (dancers and singers), 19 were whites,[28] 4 were *brancos da Bahia*, and 3 were mulattoes (all very light). None of the darker patrons danced during the evening.

*563 547 525 In the main gambling-room the group about the table were principally whites, with a few light mulattoes and an occasional dark mixed-blood. In the hallway near the entrance, however, was another gaming-table where stakes were lower. It was patronized principally by dark mulattoes, together with an occasional black, a few *brancos da Bahia*, and very few whites.

796 204 Carnival at Bahia lasts three days and is perhaps the most popular festival of the year. At the close of one celebration plans are immediately set on foot for the next. From time to time throughout the ensuing twelve months, newspapers carry reports of the development of these plans, and, beginning about a hundred and fifty days before Carnival, a regular daily feature appears, the time before the big event being checked off, day by day, much as United States newspapers sometimes check off the days preceding Christmas; except

[27] On September 26, 1936. [28] Including a very swarthy Syrian girl.

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563 This is the general pattern. The exceptions, however, are
796 significant. One occasionally notes, for instance, a darker person participating, apparently without any inhibition or the slightest show of self-consciousness, in the fun of the lighter groups. He ordinarily is an able individual, as evidenced by general appearance, bearing, and speech. Occasionally a white, in appearance and dress evidently of lower-class identity, will be celebrating with black or dark mulatto companions. Among the directing personnel, mulattoes appear in limited numbers, assisting the whites in planning and executing the various activities.

563 In like manner, the upper social circles at Bahia remain
565 today predominantly white. Only the lighter mixed-bloods, with few exceptions, have penetrated the upper tiers. The darker mulattoes, and particularly the blacks, have only in rare instances gained admittance.

But it is just these few individuals who indicate most clearly the actual racial situation at Bahia. The Negroes began on the bottom. The acceptance, then, of an occasional black, a few dark mulattoes as well as numerous light mixed-bloods into the upper circles points conclusively to the fact that if a person has ability and general competence, the handicap of color can be, and is constantly being, overcome. While it is undoubtedly true that status continues extensively to coincide with color, the fact that certain individuals who are quite dark and otherwise possessed of negroid traits have nevertheless been admitted into exclusive clubs and otherwise have attained positions of trust and responsibility in the community demonstrates quite clearly that in Bahia color is subordinate to other indices of class identification.
[555] Individual competence overbalances racial descent in the final determination of status. Color is undoubtedly a handi-

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cap. But it always tends to be discounted if the individual in question possesses other characteristics of upper-class identity, such as professional competence, intellectual ability, educational achievement, wealth, an "engaging" manner, personal "charm," poise, "breeding," and, especially with the females, beauty. All these are characteristics which define status in a society based upon class rather than upon caste distinctions.

In this connection, an incident in Brazil noted by Edschmid is illuminating:

> The conductor [of the street car] passed all the men wearing collars into the first-class compartment whether they were white, yellow, brown, or black. He relegated all men without collars, regardless of their pigmentation, to the second class. He only looked for a collar. He sent a black-boy with a collar but without boots or shoes into the first, and he relegated a handsome English lad in a low-cut jersey to the second class.[31]

[31] Kasimir Edschmid, *South America* (New York, 1932), p. 370.

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phasize the alien character of the individual's origin. Thus, if a Bahian wishes to be particularly insulting, he will aggravate the sting of "Negro" by adding to it *de Africa* ("from Africa"). In this way he doubly accentuates his reference to the foreign origin of a black.

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Although it is true that dark color, as we have seen, is ordinarily identified with lower status and white color with upper-class position, rising in class tends to take a man out of even the color category. For instance, a white Bahian remarked of an upper-class mulatto, "I would hesitate to call him a *pardo*, although he plainly is one; some of his friends might overhear me." For use in such cases, *moreno* is the term "mais elegante."

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As early as the imperial period the title of *capitão-mor*, we are told, "whitened even dark mulattoes."[41] Thus, in the second decade of the nineteenth century, the Englishman, Henry Koster, on referring, in a conversation with a citizen of Pernambuco, to the fact that a mulatto was occupying the local office of *capitão-mor*, was told the man in question was not a mulatto. Insisting that he undoubtedly appeared to the eyes to be a mulatto, Koster received the rather unexpected reply, "He used to be a mulatto, but he is not now. For how can a *capitão-mor* be a mulatto?"[42]

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Under such circumstances racial consciousness tends to be reduced to a minimum. For if the individual can with rela-

[41] Gilberto Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos* (São Paulo, 1936), p. 318.

[42] "In conversing on one occasion with a man of color who was in my service, I asked if a certain Capitam-mor was not a mulatto man; he answered, 'he was, but is not now (era; porem já nam he).' I begged him to explain, when he added, 'Can a Capitam-mor be a mulatto man (pois Senhor Capitam-mor pode ser mulato)?' " (Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil, 1809 to 1815* [Philadelphia, 1817], II, 175–76). Note reference to this incident in Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro*, p. 153, and in Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 318.

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Directing attention to a report in a Bahian newspaper of a lynching in Georgia, this man on another occasion said:

> Look at that! We've never known anything like that in Brazil. Why do the whites in the United States do such a thing? [With a tone of unbelief] Is it just because he's black? I can't understand it. You just can't conceive of such a thing happening here. The black man is as much a Brazilian as any white.

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On the other hand, there are Bahian blacks who, as we have noted, are dissatisfied with their lot. These individuals base their dissatisfaction, however, on an entirely different ground from that of Negroes in the United States; namely, upon class, rather than caste, differences. These blacks, who are all from the lower strata, feel very strongly that the classes occupying a superior social position are not giving the other classes what they deserve. The struggle for position in Brazil, therefore, takes on some of the character of a class struggle in the Marxian sense.

A reflection of this attitude is evident in one of the three last-named papers presented to the first Afro-Brazilian Congress. The author is a philanthropically minded young journalist. Under the influence of leftist ideology and earnestly impressed with the obviously low economic level of the Bahian lower classes, he writes, somewhat bitterly:

> The black has been, and continues to be, a being apart, almost an animal, permitted by the authorities merely to have access to the streets and to labor for the whites. Nothing more. For this reason the black can never hope to improve himself, to raise very high his intellectual or moral level, the failure to do which is responsible for his continuing animism, his criminality, etc.[43]

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Attitudes of dissatisfaction and protest are also evident in the following suggestions presented by a Bahian *preto* to the second Afro-Brazilian Congress:

[43] Edison Carneiro, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

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trialists and capitalists. Although they are unable to do as their predecessors did, nevertheless they make use, in a disguised manner, of that same abuse of power. They give evidence of a feeling of superiority, which confirms the presence in them of remnants of the former sentiments; they deprive the black man of equality, if not in ability, at least in the opportunity to make use of it.[48]

If the black man were properly educated, he axiomatically would be equal to those who judge themselves superior. Only from men who have leisure to spend in study will there come descendants with lofty aspirations; not from men handicapped by excessive labor and deficient nourishment. This does not prove less intelligence but only less good fortune. For if the forebears of the blacks had been masters of the plantations, the slave huts, and the mines, their descendants would naturally have been capable of educating their children with the same diligence and care as do the whites.

Today, the blacks are employed only as simple laborers, such as masons, carpenters, tailors, mechanics, shoemakers, ironworkers, stevedores, *carregadores*, etc. The reason the blacks do not use their abilities as business agents, bookkeepers, custom-house clerks, exporters, importers, etc., is that they do not possess the requisite skill and training, a deficiency which is principally due to the whites themselves, who always hinder the entering of this element of the population into the above-indicated classes where they might exercise authority over the other element and then they call them "inferiors," "the poor," "low-class."

The black child may attend elementary school and learn a few indispensable things. But since his parents cannot send him to secondary and superior schools, directly thereafter he goes to work; which causes, or at least contributes to, his inability to enter pursuits other than those in which stevedores, *carregadores*, etc., work.

This is the reason why the black man cannot attain a position of economic security in the Bahian community.

In assessing the significance of this document, one must draw a distinction between the lower-class *pretos* and those other blacks who have climbed somewhat in the economic

[48] I.e., in opportunities to develop these abilities through education.

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and social order and have attained a measure of security. If one takes account of class identification, the dissatisfaction and protest here illustrated may be interpreted—and in connection with the whole cultural situation in Brazil properly should be interpreted—as incidents of a class rather than of a racial struggle; of a competitive process which naturally takes on the seeming appearance of a racial struggle due to the coincidence, in general, of class and color identifications.

That this interpretation is tenable is borne out by the fact that from Negroes who have improved their social position one does not hear this note of dissatisfaction and protest. *Pretos* or dark *pardos* who have attained some standing in the community and some measure of recognition commonly defend the white man and laud the merits of Brazil, as did the Negro physician quoted above. Said he, on another occasion, somewhat exaggeratedly: "In Brazil there is no fear of color, no prejudice of race. A black man may enter any profession and draw his clients from any group. See, I was a member of the class of 1928 [proudly displaying a framed panel of photographs of graduates in that year of the Faculty of Medicine]. The greater part of my clients are white. And at the clinic, look at this! [showing a photograph of a large number of children, many of whom were white]. These came to me for professional advice."

A black of some social standing remarked with a show of pride, "Here we are all equal, black, white, and mixed-blood. No position is closed to the black man, and no profession. He can reach any level for which he shows himself fit."

If the presence of a limited degree of race consciousness in Bahia does not imply that the lower-class *preto* is completely satisfied with his lot, neither does it mean that the

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Said, somewhat exaggeratedly perhaps, a prominent white:

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> I'm going to get out of Bahia and go to São Paulo. This town is too full of mulattoes and of mulatto traits. Bahia has become a *pau de sebo* ["greased pole"]. No one wants to get the prizes, but they all want to pull down everyone who tries to get them. This place is full of envy, of ill will and egotism, all mulatto characteristics. The mulatto is not like the black; he is a person without character. He has no honor. He's always envious, he's jealous, he's so busy "maintaining himself," pushing himself in where he isn't wanted, that he can't tend to his business or to his job; he can't do anything except make of himself a general nuisance.

"I always find black servants preferable to mulattoes," another white Bahian said. "They're more faithful, more respectful, even if less intelligent perhaps. The mulattoes are always trying to be 'whiter' than they are."

A student wrote:

> The *pardo* has one quality which the *preto* does not have. He is more *pernostico*, probably because he has the strong conviction that, even if one parent *is* black, the other is white. He ordinarily is not as accomplished as the whites, but he wants to appear in public better than he is. The *pretos*, no; they are more pleasant and have the natural gentleness of a race which has suffered much and has been made a martyr by the *senzalas*. I do not mean by this that there are no *pretos* who are ill-bred and stupid; but I do mean to say that such *pretos* are more rare than those *pardos* who, when they attain some position of importance in our public life, act as if they no longer tread upon the earth.

The attitudes engendered between the various ethnic groups at Bahia tend to be those ordinarily arising out of a struggle for position in any class order. The newly arrived, as well as those engaged in elbowing their way up, are everywhere resented. These attitudes focus upon color for the reason that, within limits, color is still identified with social po-

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sition. But the fact that these attitudes tend to disappear in cases where the colored man's claim to advanced standing rests on grounds of demonstrated competence and obvious personal worth is highly significant. It identifies the Bahian social order as a class society wherein competition takes the form of a struggle between classes (which by reason of historic accident happen to coincide to a considerable degree with color) rather than a struggle between races or colors as such.

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Said a white Bahian: "We like a person to be modest. One who is aggressive and self-assertive we tend to shove back a little. That's one reason why the black, Raul Calogeras, is so well regarded. He never presumes, never pushes himself forward. Whites respect him for what he is, especially for his great intellectual ability."

Another white Bahian, acquainted with the United States, said:

> As I think of it, the feeling toward the Negro here is somewhat like the feeling toward the Jew in the United States. As long as he remains a Jew, it is not the thing to marry him, but occasionally it is done with more or less comment. Your dealings with the Jew depend a great deal on the kind of a Jew he is. If he's a low type, you leave him to himself. If he's overly ambitious, aggressive, and always pushing himself forward, you resent his behavior. If he's educated and capable, but still modest, and at the same time willing to give up his Jewish separatism, you are apt to share more or less your experiences with him. The less he is like a Jew, the more he tries to be like other Americans, the more you have to do with him. In a similar way, the more the Negro repudiates his African connections, the more he comes to be like Europeans, but in a modest, inoffensive way, the more we have to do with him.

A white Bahian wrote: "Naturally those persons who have ethnic characteristics more like those of the white race enjoy somewhat greater prestige. But this does not prevent

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CHAPTER IX

OS AFRICANOS

THE connection between Africa and Bahia is perhaps more intimate and has been maintained over a longer period of time than any similar connection elsewhere in the New World. Although assimilation of the Africans and their descendants has been proceeding at a gradually accelerating rate and has now reached an advanced stage, identification with Africa and with African cultural forms still marks off rather noticeably a portion of the darker population. Differences in dress, in food and food habits, in forms of religious expression, in sacred specialists, in attempts to exercise control over personal destiny and over other human beings, in credulity in folklore, and, to a limited extent, in language describe different worlds which still coexist at Bahia: one largely African in derivation, the other European.

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The mental world of the Bahian upper class, which, as we have seen, includes a considerable number of the lighter mixed-bloods, is not greatly dissimilar to that of the same stratum in predominantly Catholic areas of Europe, especially in Portugal, Spain, and France, the latter of which has for a long time been the "intellectual motherland" of Brazil.

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But the superior, educated class is relatively small. Most of the people in the city, as well as in the state of Bahia, are illiterate and would be included in what is ordinarily conceived of as the folk. Of this group, the Africans and their descendants obviously constituted in the past, and still constitute today, a large element.

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178 This division in cultural identification, however, is not
184 always sharply defined. Adherence to African cultural forms, for instance, the *candomblé*, often varies not only from family to family but also from individual to individual in the same family group; and, occasionally, in the same individual with reference to different cultural elements, to different periods in his life, and even to varying moods in his experience. In other words, African cultural forms at Bahia are disintegrating at a comparatively rapid rate.

•565 Nor should one assume that the body of customs and tra-
178 ditions which marks off to some extent this lower-class
177 world is entirely of African origin. While it undoubtedly is composed in considerable part of elements originating in Africa, certain native Indian customs and traditions, together with ideas and practices common to the lower classes of Europe, as well as other customary behavior which has arisen in response to the circumstances of life in Brazil, contribute to it. The disentanglement of these diverse strands is, in some instances, a difficult and exceedingly laborious task.

It should be emphasized that these distinctions follow cultural and not necessarily racial lines. The lower class, as we have seen, includes a number of Europeans, and these have in numerous cases taken over sentiments and attitudes of African origin. Moreover, as the blacks and the mixed-bloods rise in class, they tend to slough off all identification with Africa and with African cultural forms.

439 Bahian Negroes long maintained direct contact with the
175 West Coast. Even after the extinction of the slave traffic, vessels regularly plied between Bahia and Lagos, repatriating nostalgic emancipated Negroes and returning with West

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191. Although it is exceedingly doubtful if there is in Bahia today anyone of African descent who does not speak Portuguese, a few individuals can and on occasion do converse in Nagô. One may also hear Gêge spoken, as well as those lan-
[794] guages known locally as "Angola" and "Congo." However,
[796] the use of these tongues is very largely confined to the ritual
[576] of the *candomblé*, although at times one hears in the homes of blacks the Nagô greeting, "Ô-kú á-sán!" and the parting salutation, "Ôdi-ôlá-ô!" and even conversations in Nagô.
192 Many African words are to be found in the predominantly Portuguese speech of the lower class, a limited number of which have become common to all Bahia and, to some extent, to all Brazil. Approximately three hundred of the latter were noted.

201 Certain gestures are to be observed among the lower-class
• 565 blacks which are not common to the general population; for example, the *legua de beiço*, or slight extension of the lower lip when indicating distance (the words accompanying may be "one league," but the sense is much farther); and the *muxóxó*, or pursing of the lips as the lower portion of the face is pushed forward and upward, signifying disdain. Approbation is indicated by touching the tips of the fingers to pursed lips and withdrawing them while making a kissing sound. Silence is compelled by grasping the upper lip with the tips of the fingers. The act of eating is indicated by closing and opening the right hand before the mouth, and the act of drinking by raising the right hand before the face, flexing the three middle digits, and, with thumb and little finger extended, raising and lowering the hand at the wrist. The height of a human being is demonstrated by extending the

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palm flat in horizontal position in contrast to a vertical placement for indicating the height of a lower animal.[10]

Although one is not likely to find any Bahian black who has not been given at baptism a "Christian name," nicknames are very common, and many individuals are much better known by them than by their given names. Among such *apelidos* one will occasionally discover terms of probable African derivation; for instance, Okê, Bábá Cumdê, Cobê, Oum, Tau-édê, and Au-weh, all nicknames of members of a local labor union; or, among personages in the fetish world, such names as: Manoelzinho de Oxóssi, Lourenço Lemba, Maria de Tempo, Senhora de Yemanjá, João de Zázé, and Flaviano Cavungo, each of which recalls the African *orixá* to which the individual in question is dedicated.

Exercising considerable prestige among a portion of the Bahian population is the *babalaô*, or *olhador*, whose primary function, it seems, is to foretell the future; the *curandeiro*, who by means of herbs, prayers, and other magical manipulations seeks both to treat and to prevent disease; and the *feiticeiro*, or "witch doctor," who, for a price, works black magic. The office of the *babalaô* is occasionally exercised by the *pae de santo*, or priest of the fetish cult, although his function is more particularly that of supervising the rituals and public ceremonies of the cult and overseeing the sacred properties. To some extent he also exercises the function of a *curandeiro*.

[10] A form of greeting recalled by older blacks but rarely used today is as follows: If the individuals are social equals, each lifts his hands, palms outward, and grasps the hands of the other in such a way that the fingers of the one are interlaced with the fingers of the other, after which the "ogun grip" is exchanged; if not social equals, the individual of greater prestige places his right hand over the closed hands of the other.

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291 [565] Paris fashions largely dictate the nature of female attire among the upper classes at Bahia, but many black [177] women still wear the *vestimenta bahiana*. This costume is [301] composed of a *saia*, or very full skirt, of varying combinations of colors, which ordinarily measures some twelve to fifteen feet in circumference at the hem and is worn *bouffant*, spread by a heavily starched underskirt; a *bátá*, or long, loose-flowing white blouse which is ordinarily of cotton cloth but occasionally of silk, trimmed, in most cases, with wide lace, sometimes worn very loose at the neck and allowed to slip off one shoulder; a *pano da costa*, or long, heavy, striped cotton cloth, at times worn slung over the shoulder and pinned under the opposite arm, at times wrapped once or twice in a wide fold about the waist and tied rather tightly; a *torso*, or turban, of cotton or silk, bound about the head; *chinelas*, or strapless leather sandals with low heels; numerous necklaces of coral, cowries, or glass beads, with an occasional metal chain, often of silver; earrings of turquoise, coral, silver, or gold; and numerous [301] bracelets of cowries or of iron, copper, or other metal. The *balangandan*, formerly an important ornament, has disappeared."

As an alternate to the *bátá* a white blouse is sometimes worn tucked inside the *saia*, and in place of the *pano da costa* a woolen or silken shawl is occasionally substituted. For

[532] [789] "The *balangandan* (also known as *berenguendem*, *balançançan*, *cambaio*, or *penca*) consisted of a gold or silver frame on which were hung gold or silver images of animals, birds, fowls, fish, flowers, parts of the human body, houses, household utensils, amulets (including gold or silver balls inclosing soil from a cemetery), bells, medallions with religious significance, angels, suns, moons, etc. It was worn on festive occasions, tied at the waist (see F. Marques dos [422] Santos, "As balangandans," *Espelho*, April, 1936). Many impoverished families, attracted by recent high prices of gold and silver, have disposed of these relics of a former splendor. A limited number may still be seen among the heirlooms of wealthy Bahians.

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Although the Bahian upper classes, owing to their Negro cooks, are not unacquainted with those dishes of African origin so commonly eaten in the homes of lower-class blacks, one does not ordinarily find on their tables African delicacies like *abará*, *aberém*, *acassá*, *acaragé*, *arroz de Aussá*, *bôbó de inhame*, *carurú*, *efó*, *xin-xin*, etc., each of which is seasoned according to recipes handed down from African forebears who also extensively made use of African seasonings like *azeite de dendê*, *atarê*, *irú*, *pejerecum*, *iêrê*, and *egussi*.[18] The eating habits of the upper classes are, in general, European in origin. But the poorer inhabitants extensively utilize banana leaves for plates and for packaging foods and replace forks with fingers as eating accessories.

565 264 [177] [824]

The music and dances enjoyed by large numbers of the darker population further distinguish this portion of the Bahian community. For instance, the *samba*, or *samba batida*, a regional form of the old *batuque*, although it has now been taken over by the upper classes and in a modified form become not only one of the most characteristic musical forms but also one of the favorite dances of Brazil, is still enjoyed in its primitive simplicity by the Bahian lower classes. With them it is a dance in which first one and then another of the participants enters a circle, dances a shuffling step while singing, cantor-fashion, the first line of a stanza, the others responding as a chorus. A song very popular at Mar Grande on the island of Itaparica in the bay at Bahia recalls the

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[18] *Azeite de dendê* is oil from the *dendê* palm; *atarê*, said to have been imported from Africa by Bahian Negroes, is a variety of pepper; *egussi* are gourd or melon pips; *iêrê* are seeds similar to those of the coriander; *irú* and *pejerecum* (or *bejerecum*) are varieties of small beans. For recipes of a number of these dishes see Manoel Raymundo Querino, *A arte culinaria na Bahia* (Bahia, 1928).

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534 the sound from which its name is derived. The *chocalho* is a similar instrument, but with only one extremity enlarged. The *adjá* is a small metal bell used to invite members of the cult to the ritual *dar comido ao santo*.[23] The *canzá*, or *ganzá*, now is seldom seen.[24]

[824] The *berimbau* is used primarily to accompany *capoeira*. It consists of a wire strung upon a stick to form a bow, with a dried gourd open at the top attached at the lower extremity. The instrument is beaten, to produce numerous complex rhythms, with a wooden stick held, together with a *caxixi*, in the right hand, while with the left a copper *vintem* (old Portuguese coin) is alternately pressed against the wire and released. The *cuica* is a drumlike instrument, open at one end. Sound is produced by drawing the hand along a resined stick appended to the center of the drumhead.

753 In the lower-class world health and morality are in many
784 cases closely identified. The cause of disease or bodily harm
[565] is often believed to lie in the direct intervention of a deity who has become angered by the nonfulfilment of obligations prescribed in the sacred ritual or by the breaking of
754 taboos. Evil forces may be invoked, it is believed, through the magical influence of the *feitiço* and bring illness, blindness, insanity, or death.[25] The *mau olhado*, or "evil eye,"

[23] See chap. x.

[24] For illustrations of these instruments see Arthur Ramos, *O negro brasileiro* (Rio, 1934), Figs. 24 and 25 (p. 162).

[25] Rituals vary. A portion of the clothing of the one to be harmed, a shoe or other article, may be submitted to magical manipulation and thrown into the sea. In this way the individual is presumed to be subjected to the ebb and flow of the tide. Or a few hairs from the head of the one to be harmed may be mixed with crushed herbs of supposed magical power. Presumably he is then likely "to hate someone whom he now esteems, drink to excess, become crippled or insane, or lose his life." A pigeon, chicken, sheep, or he-

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jacás, found one, and shot at it. The *jacú* flew at him with its claws extended and severely scratched him. He shot at it again. It flew back and clawed at his eyes. Then he heard a voice, saying "You know you must not hunt on Fridays." It was the *caipora*. The man staggered home, and fell senseless in the door of his house. I knew this man well.

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The *bialdid* is said to be a woman who inhabits the sea, appearing above water only at night, gradually increasing in size until she assumes an enormous shape, and "casting a huge and frightening shadow."

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Fear of the toad, probably also a survival of Indian belief, is common.[39] If a toad happens to hop into the door of a house, the occupant will immediately grab a broom and sweep it out, repeating over and over, "Creio em Deus Padre."[40] If a malicious person paints a toad on the wall of a dwelling, its occupants will at once desert the place.

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The following account reveals in an intimate way the mental world of a considerable portion of the Bahian lower class. It was related by a young Negro woman in the form of a series of personal experiences and is presented here in as nearly as possible the exact phrasing in which it was originally given.

I was three years old. I was sitting with my mother when something hit me, and I fell over unconscious. She picked me up and took me to a doctor. He gave me medicine and said that it was congestion. Some thought it was the *ar do vento*.

I knew nothing of what was going on; it was as if I were dead. To

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[39] "Montoya says ('Manuscripto guarani da Bibliotheca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro sobre a primitiva catechese dos Indios das Missões,' *Annaes da Bibliotheca National*, Vol. VI) that among Indians observed by him, the entrance of a toad into a gathering of people was a sign of the approaching death of one of those present" (Gilberto Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* [2d ed.; Rio, 1936], p. 99).

[40] "I believe in God, the Father."

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My sister is preparing *carurú*. She has twin boys. When God gives you twins, you are obliged to present *carurú* to Cosme and Damião. If you fail to do this, someone in the house will die that year.

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If one were now to set down an account of the personal experiences of an upper-class Bahian, it would reveal an entirely different mental world. In general content it would reflect a culture distinctly European. Dress, music, food and food habits, forms of religious expression, sacred specialists, means of exercising control over personal destiny, and the ideas, attitudes, sentiments, points of view, and philosophy of life associated with them would, in general, not vary from those commonly characteristic of individuals of European origin wherever found.

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This variation at Bahia in cultural identification between the Europeans, on the one hand, and the *Africanos*, on the other—this difference in ideas, attitudes, and sentiments—obviously erects serious barriers to intercommunication and consequently retards the development of a body of common understandings upon which the moral solidarity of any society is built. Although most of the Bahian blacks have now to a considerable extent sloughed off their former cultural identity with Africa and have been more or less completely incorporated into the European world, a remnant of *Africanos* still live, in spite of contiguity in space with the Europeans, to a considerable extent culturally apart.

As will be evident in greater detail in the following chapter, the Europeans tend to look upon the beliefs and the practices of the *Africanos* as matters for ridicule, scorn, disparagement, and condemnation. They are thought of as queer, bizarre, unintelligible, inferior forms of behavior.

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CHAPTER X

THE *CANDOMBLE*

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AMONG the last elements of African culture to disappear at Bahia are the customs and traditions associated with the expression of religious sentiment. The *candomblé*, or Afro-Brazilian fetish cult, is still a vigorous institution and numbers among its adherents some of the most widely known and respected members of the Bahian lower classes. Its leaders, in several conspicuous instances, are able and intelligent individuals, whose prestige extends even into the upper circles. Some *seitas*, or cult centers, have maintained the same temple of worship for generations. Their rituals and ceremonies are serious, dignified, and carried on according to definite, fixed, traditional forms.

[565] • [793] [346]

This highly complex organization of ritual and belief is built around an order of *orixás*, or deities, each of whom apparently personifies some natural phenomenon. Thus, of the more important and more widely honored deities, Xangô is worshiped as the *orixá* of lightning and thunder; Ogun, of war and iron; Oxossi, of the hunt; Omolú, of pestilence; Nanan, of rain; Yemanjá, of salt water; Oxun, of fresh water; Yansan, of wind and storm; Oxun-manrê, of the rainbow; and Beji, of twin births.

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The older and more respected *seitas* are commonly considered to be of Nagô (Yoruba) or Gêge (Ewe) origin or represent a fusion in Brazil of these two apparently closely related bodies of African ritual and belief.[1] In details of lan-

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[1] Nina Rodrigues, *Os africanos no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1932), p. 390.

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more than a third, live in the immediate vicinity of the *terreiro*, 16 live from one to four miles away in seven different sections of Bahia, 3 are from the neighboring villages of Armação and Pitúba, and 2 others, residents of Rio de Janeiro, are visiting relatives and friends in Bahia. 794

One *filha de santo* has been "made" fifty-eight years; another, fifty-seven. Three more have been functionaries of the cult thirty years or longer; ten, from twelve to twenty-one years; nine, from six to seven years; six, including the twelve-year-old girl, from one to two years; and two have been "made" only approximately one month. Six are dedicated to the *orixá* of lightning and thunder, Xangô; five to the *orixá* of pestilence, Omolú; four to the deity of the hunt, Oxóssi, and four to the deity of war and iron, Ogun. Two others are dedicated to Oxalá "the Elder," and two to Oxalá "the Younger," or Oxagian. Nine are sacred to the *mães d'agua*, or the water deities: four to Oxun, two each to Yansan and Nanan, and one to Yemanjá, "the *orixá* of the sea."

The sixteen *ogans* range in age from twenty to sixty years, with the exception of a five-year-old boy. The "eldest" in point of service to the cult has been *confirmado* ("confirmed") thirty-two years. Most are persons of relatively assured income from the lower class, there being among them hucksters, stevedores, day laborers, a *carroceiro*, a tinsmith, a painter, a baker, a tailor, and a typesetter. Only three, or less than one-fifth, live in the immediate vicinity of the *terreiro*, the residences of the others being scattered throughout the city in nine different sections.[18] [565] [463]

[18] This dispersion is perhaps indicative of the *candomblé's* gradual disintegration. An *ogan* remarked, "I would like to have all the *ogans* and the *filhas* living here near each other. It would be so much better. Years ago they used to live that way. But today everyone wants to live wherever he chooses anywhere in the city." [178]

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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782 Numerous
565 families *da boa sociedade* ("of social standing") "dão comida"
184 (make the food offerings, especially of *carurú*) to Beji
794 (Cosme and Damião) and celebrate the day sacred to their honor. A number of white individuals on occasion make offerings to the *mãe d'agua*. Cases like that of the wife of a former state senator and political chieftain who kept an altar to an African *orixá* in her house are, however, not numerous.

125 Of 66 students in the Escola Normal classifying themselves
782 as *brancos* and responding to the query, "Do members of
184 your family give presents to the *mãe d'agua?*" 7, or 10.6 per
794 cent, answered in the affirmative. Of 36 *pardos*, the families of 9, or 25 per cent, similarly made offerings. Of 63 whites, 29, or 46 per cent, thought one ought to fear the *bozo* (black magic); as did 12, or 37 per cent of the *pardos*, and all 6 of the *pretos* who replied. Of 63 whites, only 1 thought the statement "A *pae de santo* is more useful in time of illness than a physician" was true, but 9, or 14 per cent, regarded it as "partially true"; of 32 *pardos*, 2 believed the statement true, and 7, or 22 per cent, thought it "partially true." Of 197 students in the Escola Normal and the Law School, the families of 25, or 13 per cent, "give *comida*" to Cosme and Damião.

184 Ordinarily the attitudes which the inhabitants of Euro-
798 pean descent take toward the *candomblé* vary from good-
794 natured tolerance, which is the most characteristic, through
829 indifference, which is common, to active opposition, which is comparatively rare, although from time to time complaints like the one below find their way into the newspapers.

[539] In *A Tarde* for May 8, 1936, appeared an editorial under the title:

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[851] custom is to some extent recognized in law.[6] Usually the
[848] children take the mother's name, but occasionally the father "recognizes" and registers them, so that they legally bear his name. They are sometimes taken into the legitimate household, where they are usually accepted without serious question by the legal wife.[7]

848 Particularly among the lower classes, illegitimacy is not
[565] seriously prejudicial to the child. Personal qualities and in-
[554] dividual ability largely determine his role and status; his parentage is rather naturally considered to be a matter be-
551 yond his control. A surname is not of great importance, the given name being infinitely more used, even among the upper classes. Prominent intellectual and political figures are
000 known throughout the city by their given names. A stranger

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[837] and Portugal. Their eldest daughter is studying to be a pianist. There are three younger children. The man also supports another mulatto woman, said to be "very young and very pretty."

[837] [671] [6] A single extra-marital amorous experience makes a woman liable to prosecution for adultery, whereas for a man such conduct must not only be proved to be habitual but also to have involved an established relationship with a *single* individual. For a wife to have cause for legal action, she must previously have been ignorant of the extra-legal affair of her husband. Otherwise, her implied acquiescence constitutes participation in guilt.

[7] One wife said of her husband's "natural" child, "He's a fine boy. I like him as much as, or more than, my own children." In 1911 an American consul at Pará wrote: "In Amazonia the father assumes all the responsibility and legally adopts his illegitimate children who, in a majority of cases, become a part of his own family, taking an equal place in social privileges with those children within the bounds of the church regulations. . . . . There is no disposition in the higher social circles to discriminate against the number of these illegitimate aristocrats who, in the matter of education, refinement and address, are often the superior of some of those born in wedlock in the same families . . . . [and are], in many prominent cases, the acknowledged leaders of society" (J. Orton Kerbey, *An American Consul in Amazonia* [New York, 1911], p. 119).

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It is true that the Europeans at Bahia, like all groups, are ethnocentric, and individual whites share a general feeling of the superiority of their group. Many of them are adverse to the (to them) strange and bizarre behavior represented by the *candomblé* ritual and other African cultural survivals. In some minds at least these acts have taken on a disgusting and even offensive character and may have evoked deeply rooted antipathies. However, these antagonisms are directed at *cultural* rather than at *racial* variations, and they tend to disappear when the Negro, as he is now rapidly doing, gives up his identification with African cultural forms and becomes assimilated into the European world. The antipathy does not extend, therefore, to the Negro as such but rather to the *Africano*, the foreigner, he who constitutes an alien cyst in the social organism. This attitude is not greatly different from that characteristic of descendants of the first English settlers in the United States toward recent immigrants from southern and eastern Europe who for a time continue to live much to themselves and to cling tenaciously to Old World customs and traditions.

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One might note that the Brazilian case of racial contact definitely supports Faris' challenge of a popular assumption which, confusing the customary with the natural, maintains that race prejudice is instinctive and hereditary.[11] If race prejudice were organic, it obviously would appear in all cases of racial contact. If, then, we discover cases in which it does not appear, the hypothesis that race prejudice is instinctive is no longer valid.

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What we find, then, in Bahia is a multiracial class society.

[11] Ellsworth Faris, "The Natural History of Race Prejudice," in *The Nature of Human Nature* (New York and London, 1937), chap. xxxii, pp. 357 ff.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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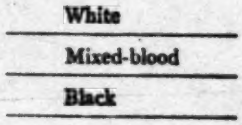
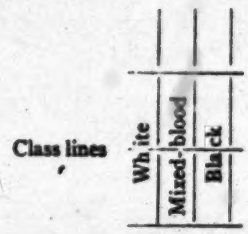
There is no caste based upon race; there are only classes. These classes are still largely identified with color, it is true, but they are classes nonetheless and not castes. The most characteristic tendency of the Bahian social order is the gradual but persistent reduction of all distinguishing racial and cultural marks and the fusing, biologically and culturally, of the African and the European into one race and one common culture.

The actual situation in any case of race contact can perhaps be precisely defined by a diagram which distinguishes between caste and class relations.[13] In a caste system the racial lines may run thus:



In case the structure of society is organized on the basis of class, as in Brazil or Hawaii, the color lines run vertically, cutting across class lines:



Each race, including the mixed-bloods, is likely to be represented in all the occupational classes. The hierarchy of occupations will inevitably take the form of a pyramid, but the

[13] The author is indebted for this schematic arrangement to Dr. Robert E. Park.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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•565 percentage of each racial stock in each occupational class will indicate the occupational status of the different racial elements. And since the group with superior status will have proportionately larger numbers in the upper brackets, and the groups with inferior status will have larger numbers in the lower brackets, one may describe a racial situation statistically. Thus, on the basis of a sample census recently taken, the relation to the class structure of the respective ethnic elements in the population at Bahia may be described as shown in Table 16.

TABLE 16

[571] RACIAL DISTRIBUTION IN THE CLASSES AT BAHIA, 1936

Ethnic Groups	Intelligentsia		Marginal		Lower Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Blacks	5	0.4	23	5.1	1,245	75.2
Mixed-bloods	222	15.7	255	56.3	386	23.3
Whites	1,183	83.9	175	38.6	25	1.5
Total	1,410	100.0	453	100.0	1,656	100.0

*463 One might indicate graphically the vocational distribution of the various ethnic elements at Bahia by a series of pyramids, as illustrated on the facing page.
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If now one were able to obtain statistics showing the extent of intermarriage between, on the one hand, members of the different racial stocks in the same occupational class and, on the other hand, between the different classes in the same racial stock, these facts should provide an accurate statistical description of what the racial situation actually is. If one finds that, as in the United States, marriages between

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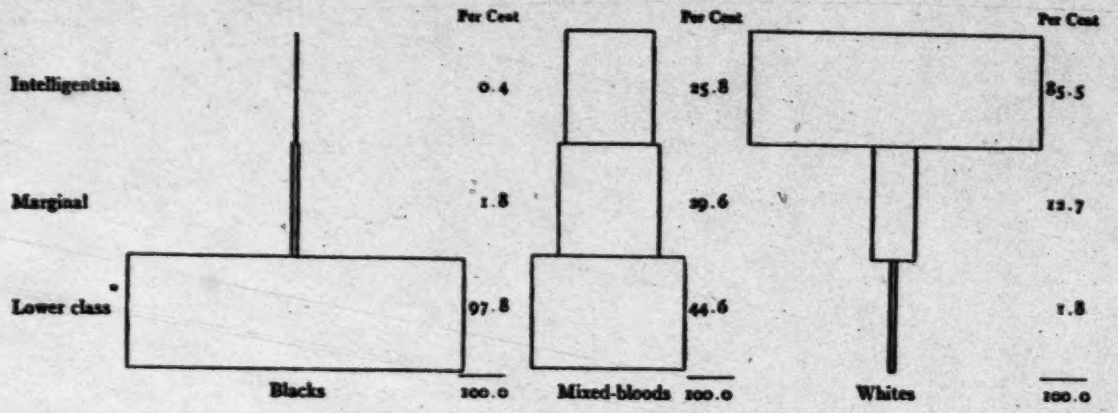
CLASS DISTRIBUTION OF THE RACES, BAHIA, 1936



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different occupational classes within each racial group are more frequent than intermarriage between members of the different racial groups in the same class, we should expect to find solidarity and co-operation for common ends organized along racial lines. The racial group would then assume more or less the character of a nationality or of a social minority. On the other hand, if solidarity and co-operation were organized along class lines, then the struggle for status would take more or less the form of a class struggle.

[127] Statistical data to resolve this problem are unfortunately not available in any dependency in Africa. Such information as it was possible to secure in the course of this study has caused that marriage rates were then more often than not class lines and that solidarity and co-operation were to be organized along class lines.

Hence, then, the blacks, mixed-bloods and whites in Africa do not constitute endogamous occupational groupings. The social structure is not that of caste. Although the frequency of occupations still takes a racially pyramidal form, and the white race, occupying superior status, has proportionately larger numbers in the upper brackets, and the black race, representing inferior status, is overwhelmingly numerous in the lower brackets, each race and the mixed-bloods are represented in all the occupational classes.

To the extent that the blacks, mixed-bloods and whites fall into endogamous but not exclusively occupational groupings, one might say that the structure has taken the form of a racial minority, or a nationality, in two operative sets, but not accepted on a basis of social equality by a dominant racial majority. Such is the relation of the Jew in Europe and, increasingly now, of the Negro in the United States. Of the latter, Park has said:

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Although caste still persists and serves in a way to regulate race relations, many things—education, the rise within the Negro community of a professional class (teachers, ministers, and physicians) and of an intelligentsia, seeking to organize and direct the Negro's rising race consciousness—have conspired not merely to undermine the traditional caste system but to render it obsolete. 000

Meanwhile, the slow but steady advance of the Negro, as a result of a competition within and without the group, and the gradual rise of a Negro society within the limits of the white man's world have changed the whole structure of race relations in the United States, both in the North and in the South.

The restrictions on intermarriage still persist and continue to make of the Negro an endogamous social group, in much the same sense that the Jews, the Mennonites, and any of the more primitive religious sects are endogamous. On the other hand, in view of the fact that he has developed a society in which all the professions and many, if not most, occupations are represented, the Negro has an opportunity now, which he did not have earlier, to rise within the limits of the Negro world. Under those circumstances the Negro group has gradually ceased to exhibit the characteristics of a caste and has assumed rather the character of a racial or national minority.[14]

With the Negro in Brazil endogamy is far from absolute, breaking down particularly along the biological borders of the race, probably increasingly, with the passage of time and the continued rise of individuals from the inferior status group. The scale of race distinctions, including the Negro at the bottom and the white at the top, seems to correspond in a general way to the scale of color distinctions *within the Negro minority* in the United States. 563 * 565 •

Although color and negroid features are still indicative of slave origin and still tend to be closely identified with low status and hence to constitute a considerable handicap to marriage into the upper classes, these characteristics lose their limiting and restrictive character in proportion as the [142]

[14] Introduction to Doyle, *op. cit.*, pp. xxi–xxii.

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degree of European intermixture increases or their symbolic reference is called into question by evidence of status-enhancing qualities in a given individual. Similarly, personal competence or individual achievement admit persons possessing considerable color into such status-symbolizing institutions as exclusive clubs. Race consciousness is at a minimum, "passing" has no point, and the circumstances are not ordinarily conducive to the appearance of the "marginal man." The organization of society tends to take the form of a competitive order in which the individual finds his place on the basis of personal competence rather than of racial descent.

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The racial situation at Bahia probably is, in a general way, typical of all Brazil. At the same time a considerable immigration of Europeans during the past century into the southern Brazilian states, especially São Paulo, Santa Catharina, and Rio Grande do Sul, and the gradual development of an industrial society in São Paulo, may have modified somewhat the attitudes formerly prevailing in these areas. A Bahian mixed-blood recently returned from Rio Grande do Sul with the statement that he had there been referred to as a "Negro" and had otherwise felt uncomfortable distinctions to which in Bahia he had been unaccustomed. That there is some prejudice in the cosmopolitan city of Rio de Janeiro is attested by the organization in 1935 of O Movimento Brasileiro Contra o Preconceito Racial ("The Brazilian Movement against Race Prejudice"), sponsored by the prominent intellectuals, Arthur Ramos and Roquette Pinto. In São Paulo, the organization in 1924 of a Negro journal, *O Clarim d'Alvorada*, and later of others like *A Chibata*, *Cultura*, *O Clarim*, and *A Voz da Raça* ("The Voice of the Race"); of several Negro clubs for recreational and

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ses for further testing what appear to be the more significant facts about the racial situation in Brazil, especially as it is related to the career of the African and his descendants.

1. Although probably more Africans were imported into Brazil than into the United States, or into any other region of the New World, the Brazilian Negro, as a racial unit, like the Brazilian Indian before him, is gradually but to all appearances inevitably disappearing, being biologically absorbed into the predominantly European population. Race mixture has gone on in an unobtrusive way over a long period of time. In few places in the world, perhaps, has the interpenetration of diverse races proceeded so continuously and on so extensive a scale.

2. There is not growing up a relatively permanent mixed racial stock, like the "Cape Coloured" of South Africa, the Macanese in China, or the Goanese in India. The Brazilian mixed-bloods are absorbing the blacks and are themselves in turn being absorbed by the predominantly European population.

3. In answer to the normal needs of a racial and cultural frontier a tradition of intermarriage arose and became firmly fixed in the colonial mores. This appears to be the natural response in all cases of racial contact where the sex ratio is out of balance.

4. Miscegenation, particularly when linked with intermarriage, resulted in bonds of sentiment between parents and offspring which hindered the arising of attitudes of prejudice and at the same time placed the mixed-bloods in a favorable position for social advancement.

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5. With rise in class, intermarriage between mixed-bloods (especially those of the lighter shades) and whites became increasingly common. Thus, endogamy has for some time

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been breaking down, particularly along the biological borders of the races, and, with the continued rise of individuals from the inferior status group, this tendency is evidently increasing. Although color and negroid features are still symbolic of slave origin, still tend to be closely identified with low status and hence to constitute an undeniable handicap to marriage into the upper classes, these physical marks lose their restraining character in proportion to the degree white intermixture increases or—what is even more important—in proportion to the degree their symbolic reference is called into question by evidence of other qualities of a status-enhancing character in a given individual.

6. In general, slavery in Brazil, as also in the United States, was characterized by the continuous growth of intimate, personal relations between master and slave which tended gradually to humanize the institution and undermine its formal character. The Brazilian moral order became organized, to a considerable extent, on a familial and personal basis.

7. The custom of manumission became firmly intrenched in the Brazilian mores, constituting, under certain circumstances, universally expected behavior. Brazilian Negroes were thus released from a servile status gradually and under circumstances which favored the continuance of those intimate personal ties already built up.

8. Emancipation sentiment in Brazil never suffered from a wave of fear like that which swept our South after the Negro uprising in Haiti and the disorders attendant on the subsequent annihilation of the Haitian whites.

9. Abolition sentiment and agitation was not limited to any one section of Brazil but, on the contrary, penetrated every community, even that of Bahia, where the institution

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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similar advancement in the United States, but by all members of the Brazilian community.

14. Since, then, the blacks, the mixed-bloods, and the whites do not constitute endogamous occupational groupings, the social structure is not that of caste.

15. Nor does the Negro in Brazil appear to be, as he is in the United States, developing into a self-conscious racial minority in free association with, but not accepted by, a dominant racial majority.

16. Instead, the entire organization of society tends to take the form of a competitive order in which the individual finds his place on the basis of personal competence and individual achievement more than upon the basis of racial descent. This fact is perhaps best reflected in the common saying: "A rich Negro is a white man, and a poor white man is a Negro."

17. The Brazilian racial situation is, then, sufficiently distinct from that in India, for example, where the social order is organized on the principle of caste, and from those in many parts of the world where a national or racial minority (or minorities) is in free association with, but not accepted by, a dominant national or racial majority, to constitute, along with the Hawaiian racial situation and certain others, a distinct type: *a multiracial class society.*

18. There is no deliberate segregation as one finds where races have been embittered for a long time; spatial distribution is largely the consequence of economic sifting. Such isolation as exists is largely due to varying educational levels or to identification with elements of African culture, particularly the fetish cult.

19. For the assimilation of the *Africanos* at Bahia, while now far advanced, is not yet complete. African survivals still

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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BB 563 *

persist, setting apart to some extent a (comparatively small) portion of the black population.

B BB 563 * [578] [684]

20. Lynching and the rape of white women by colored men are both unknown, "passing" has no point, and circumstances are not ordinarily conducive to the appearance of the "marginal man."

B BB [826]

21. One drop of African blood does not, as in the United States (if known), class a mixed-blood as a Negro. Instead, many individuals are listed in the official statistics as whites, and are similarly known in the community, who not only have African ancestors but actually give some evidence of this descent in their color and features.

B BB 563 * 565 •

22. Prejudice exists in Brazil; but it is *class* rather than *race* prejudice. It is the kind of prejudice which one finds inside the ranks of the Negro in the United States.

23. It is possible that the Brazilian blacks and mixed-bloods, lacking as they do in most cases the sense of inferiority long characteristic of the Negro in the United States, particularly of the mixed-blood, have been less activated by personal ambition. Feeling themselves less under the necessity of demonstrating to a hostile white world their individual talents and abilities, they have not had the same incentive for social advancement and, consequently, have not, perhaps, as a group, risen in class as rapidly as has the Negro in the United States.

B BB 563 * 183

24. Although Brazil seems never to have had a formal racial policy, the traditional behavior which originally grew up and took shape under the influence of the immediate and unreflecting responses to the circumstances and conditions of colonial life gave rise to an *informal* racial policy, or racial ideology, which underlies and gives consistency to the mores, appearing only when they are challenged from without and

4; Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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individuals seek to rationalize and to defend their customary conduct. This ideology is perhaps best summarized in the commonly heard phrase, "We Brazilians are becoming one people."

25. Thus, the race problem in Brazil, in so far as there is a race problem, tends to be identified with the resistance which an ethnic group offers, or is thought to offer, to absorption and assimilation.

This is not to say that there are no social distinctions in Brazil; for such are obviously common to all societies, one thing or another serving as a basis. Neither does it mean that there is no discrimination or that the blacks and mixed-bloods are completely satisfied with their lot. But it does mean (*a*) that a man of color may, by reason of individual merit or favorable circumstance, improve his status and even achieve position in the upper levels of society and (*b*) that this position will then be with reference not merely to the darker group whose color he shares but to the total community.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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APPENDIX C

THE BOMFIM FESTIVAL

796 Certain popular festivals, like the Sabado and Segunda
•565 Feira do Bomfim, are largely taken over and even dominated
by the lower classes. Individuals from the upper circles,
[439] both white and colored, attend only in their automobiles,
driving slowly back and forth along the principal streets and
through the crowds, or watch the festivities from the windows and doorways of near-by houses. In the words of a local citizen, the festival of Bomfim "springs from the people themselves, who regard O Senhor do Bomfim as their patron saint. It belongs to them more than Carnival does; Carnival is more refined (*mais elevado*), more under the control of the educated, 'cultured' Bahians."

796 Preceded by exclusively religious ceremonies, the celebration begins on the third Saturday in January and continues through the following Sunday and Monday. A large part of the population attends. Formerly, it is said, all business houses closed for the festival, and a few still do, while others take only a half-holiday on Monday. The celebration opens
[368] at the Church of Bomfim, which crowns a gently sloping hill
[443] on the peninsula of Itapagipe which juts out into Todos
os Santos Bay to the north of the port. Black women in
[265] *bahiana* costume sit around the edges of the crowd selling
such wares as *cocada*,[1] cakes, and other confections, mangoes,
[257] peanuts, *umbús*, and *cajús*.[2] In the *adro*, or open space, in

[1] *Cocada* is a confection made of coconut and sugar.

[2] *Cajús* are the fruit of the cashew tree. *Umbús* are a green, smooth-skinned fruit, about the size of a small lime.

[SALVADOR]

/10 cont./

*563 826 In order to understand the composition of the local population and to interpret correctly the demographic statistics of Bahia, ancient and modern, it is necessary to be well acquainted with the meaning of the terms that serve to designate the different physical types brought together in its vast melting pot. The most common expressions are branco, preto, mulato, pardo, moreno, and [192] caboclo, which one may translate as: White, Black, mulatto (1).

[192] [128] 1. There are no common French terms to designate the terms pardo, moreno, caboclo, the explanation of which is given farther on. We shall therefore leave them in their Brazilian form in these pages.

[829] These terms seemingly designate definite physical types; in reality, their meaning is inspired much more by the social context than by racial characteristics such as the color of the skin, the hair, and the shape of the face.

*563 827 829 •565 In a general way Whites are individuals of white phenotype; very tall persons with light eyes and with hair likewise light and fine are often called brancos finos (fine Whites) because they do show any signs of mixture with colored types. Nevertheless individuals who are wealthy and of high rank, whatever their appearance, may very well be called Whites. When one hears a person of humble station, a servant or agricultural worker, call a superior "my White," one is sometimes surprised to discover that the person to whom the title is addressed has a very dark complexion. The stevedores and porters, who are almost all black, indiscriminately call Whites and mulattoes of prosperous appearance "my White." The common people never cease saying that "the one who has money is White."

A colored sociologist says that "a Brazilian Black can become white to the extent that he rises economically and acquires the attitude of the upper groups." Assignment to an upper social class in Brazil is based more on the culture or the economic position of an individual than on his racial characteristics. The

[SALVADOR]

826 /10 cont./
829 The mulattoes of light complexion, socially "whitened" or "Whites
*563 in color" (brancos na côr), are commonly called "Whites of the
•565 land" (brancos da terra) or "Whites of Bahia" (2).
[192]

2. According to Donald Pierson, the Whites of Bahia are "very light métis /persons of mixed blood / who in Bahia are generally considered Whites"; cf. Brancos e pretos na Bahia /Whites and Blacks in Bahia/, São Paulo, 1945, p. 200.
[114] In commenting on this definition, a writer from Bahia explains that it does not rest upon an observation based on physical anthropology. Factors of a sociological order enter into this specification and make defining it difficult. J.
[113] Valadares, "Brancos da Bahia," Estado da Bahia, 2, VI, Bahia, 1943 (this comment refers to an article published by Pierson in 1943).

when they occupy an important position and when one /11/ does not wish to offend them by calling them mulattoes. In the characterization of these "presumed Whites," fortune or social rank always plays a large part. In speaking of a light métis /a person with mixed blood/ with slightly Negroid features, one may say with a certain irony: "So-and-So is White, socially speaking, since he has already occupied one of the highest positions in the State." It is for these reasons that a physician from Bahia who had taken up the study of anthropology wrote as early as 1898 that "anatomically the Whites of Bahia are placed between the pardos and the direct descendants of Portuguese not of mixed blood (1)."

[113] 1. J. B. Sá Oliveira, Evoluçao psiquica dos bahianos /Psychic evolution of the Bahians/, Bahia, 1898, p. 51.

[SALVADOR]

/14 cont./

829 Many persons identified in this office under the word White
*563 are probably métis of different types: the same confusion occurs
659 with persons designated as mulattoes, pardos, or morenos, ac-
192 cording to examinations made by Pierson (2)

2. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 189.

and now repeated by the author. A black lawyer relates that his wife, a relatively light mulattress, was registered in this office as Black, while the latter's sister, almost the same type as she, was classed as a mulattress. It is, moreover, interesting to note that generally in the dossier of identity referring to the persons registered the designation "mulatto" never appears, so to speak, but almost always that of moreno or pardo, the first having a pejorative character. A social worker relates that the women of the most humble milieu who are registered in her office, even when they are Blacks, do not want to be mulattoes, but morenas, sometimes saying that their children are moreninhos (little morenos) "like me," or that their husbands are a little more morenos or "darker." In any case, the terms officially employed
829 in the offices are branco, pardo, and preto. A dark mulatto
*563 physician whom most people would have described as black re-
• 565 lates that, when he was young /15/ and traveling on a train one day, he was recognized by a friend of his father, and this friend, knowing his father was white, introduced him to the other travelers by saying that, in spite of his appearance, he was really White in origin. "My brother, although darker than I," a morena informant told us, "was once classed as White, perhaps because he had a doctor's diploma."

829 The difficulties of identification and the differences of opinion
*563 among Bahians on the subject of local ethnic types can be easily explained. On account of the lack of unity of the criteria intended for distinguishing Blacks and mulattoes, an anthropologist of Rio de Janeiro divided the colored people of Bahia into two categories: the darker and the less dark (1).

[113]

1. M. Julia Pourchet, Contribuçao ao estudo antropofisico da criança de côr /Contribution

/15 cont./

829 to the anthropophysical study of the colored
*563 child/, Rio de Janeiro, 1939.
[113]

125 The author of these pages has classified, according to their
829 respective photographs, 30 social-club members of the male sex
*563 belonging to the well-educated people of Bahia, and showed them to a young white girl of the middle class, to a métise of modest class, a student of the social sciences, and to a métis in charge of the administration of the same club, asking them to classify them in turn. Here are the descriptions applied according to the judgment of each identifier:

Designation	Number of individuals of each type (1)			
	A	B	C	D
Whites	19	14	21	6
Brancos da terra . . .	1	11	2	-
Morenos	4	-	6	19
Mulattoes	6	5	1	5

1. A, author; B, young white girl; C, métisse student; D, métis functionary.

The four classifications agree only in certain instances: this was a matter of the Whites whose phenotype was obvious; in five cases, three agreed with regard to the classification of a White who was classified by the fourth as moreno; in 14 cases the opinions were divided by half and so on.

829 Most of the light métis are identified as morenos in the registers
*563 in which are inscribed the members of the social clubs, religious
[575] brotherhoods, in the lists of students of an establishment for uni-
[790] versity instruction examined at the end of the investigation. When
[873] it was requested of different persons of the middle class, most of
[125]
[565]

[SALVADOR]

/15 cont./

829 whom practiced a liberal profession and were graduates of the
*563 University of Bahia, to classify according to their type the per-
125 sons carried on the list of physicians and pharmacists registered at
• 565 the Ministry of Public Health, representatives of the State and
/16/ federal representatives, university professors, members of the local academy of letters, and other associations of the city, there too the term moreno was most often used to designate the mêtis. Those who used the expression "mulatto" were rare. As
[177] a result of the influence exerted by North American films, one
[192] sometimes hears mention of "colored" /quoted in English/; a local journal described a politician of Bahia with this term, and a woman questioned by us acknowledged being "colored" /quoted in English/.

In a recent book a writer of the city sums up the semantic
829 problems in relation to the characterization of local types in
*563 this way: "A light Black is called mulatto, the light mulatto is a
192 moreno, a blond becomes a sarará. As for pardo, no one knows what that is. White fino is said of those persons whose origin and appearance do not show this "margin" thanks to which one infallibly recognizes crossbreeding. And those who are whites of mixed blood do not like to show the portraits of their ancestors" (1).

[113] 1. J. Valadares, Beabá da Bahia /ABC's of Bahia/ 1951, p. 91.

829 The foreigners, who are relatively limited in number in the
*563 city, are easily distinguished by the majority of people. A European with strange manners, speaking Portuguese with great difficulty, or expressing himself in another language, is simply considered a "foreigner," particularly if he has a light and pink skin, blue eyes, and fine, blond hair. A Brazilian showing these characteristics is accused of being a "foreigner type" or a "German
829 type." Foreigners may also be called gringos, whatever their
*563 physical characteristics may be. The Spaniards, who are very
[192] numerous in the grocery business, are sometimes called the "gringos of the grocery business." The Russian, Polish, and

[SALVADOR]

/20 cont./

829 "the mulattoes, especially the lightest ones, are the worst
*563 enemies of other métis and the Blacks. It is they who have the most prejudice and who offer the most resistance to the social ascent of persons of color." These feelings are, in part, the formulation of class anatagonisms between morenos and light mulattoes of high rank, "whites socially speaking," and the darker persons who strive to improve their position in the society.

829 According to a woman occupying a public office, the heads
*563 of her department, who are pardos in different degrees, recom-
466 mend to their subordinates that they hire only attractive candidates and not take into consideration "black or homely women."

/21/

Population Increase and Crossbreeding

*563 A very significant fact and one that testifies to the good racial
162 relations in Bahia is the intensity of crossbreeding. There are in the city approximately 400,000 inhabitants, of whom almost 20 o/o are Blacks, 47 o/o métis, the majority mulattoes, and
*563 33 o/o Whites. Everywhere one sees persons of all ages, inter-
571 mingled without any distinction of type, men and women, gathered in the most frequented places, commenting on the events of the day, appraising the coming and going in the streets or discussing politics and sports, drinking in the cafés, walking in the environs and on the beaches, making purchases in the shops and in the markets, working in the mills, in the yards, in business firms and in the public administrations and the offices, traveling by means of public transportation, taking part in religious festivals and civic commemorations, without the least constraint. Friends,
[576] mulattoes, Whites, and Blacks, congratulate one another with a great display of embraces and handshakes; they sit down next to one another in the theater, in churches, in cafés, or in streetcars
*563 with the greatest ease. In accordance with local customs, con-
565 firmed by Pierson (1).
829

1. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 421.

[SALVADOR]

/21 cont./

*563 the Bahians congregate together or avoid one another much more
•565 in terms of their social rank than of their color or their race.
829 Crossbreeding is not forbidden by law and comes up against
[656] the disapprobation of opinion only to the extent that it affects the
[626] structure of classes firmly established in the country: upper strata made up almost exclusively of Whites, that is to say, persons of white phenotype or at least "socially white," lower strata made up chiefly of colored people: a classification which makes classes and racial types approximately coincide, without, however, making them identical.

175 From the early days of Portuguese colonization there has been
*563 a large number of colored persons in Bahia. In the beginning the colonists mixed largely with the tupi /Tupi/ Indian women of
[595] the region, living with them in a state of concubinage and often
[567] polygamy. Slavery having been abolished in the first half of the
[641] seventeenth century for the aborigines, and civil and political rights having been granted them a short time afterward, cross-
[829] breeding continued through marriage. Thus, today a large number of morenos explain their dark color by boasting about some ancestor pegado a dente de cachorro, that is to say, captured like an animal that one hunts in the virgin forest in the wild state.
[161] But the number of natives decreased rapidly and had little influ-
[167] ence on the formation of the Bahian type. The opposite /22/
[567] occurred with the Africans brought by the thousands and thousands to work on the sugar-cane plantations. The crossbreeding of Portuguese and Brazilians with Africans and Blacks born in Brazil was made possible and even favored by different factors, among them the scarcity of white women in the initial period, the slave system, the laxness of social control with regard to male sexual behavior, the physical and psychological charms of black women, in particular the minas Blacks, natives of the Costa da Mina in
[829] the western Sudan. It was commonly said at that time that, in order to see beautiful Negresses, it was necessary to go to Bahia (1):

1. F. Biard, Deux années au Brésil /Two years in Brazil/, Paris, 1862.

[SALVADOR]

/29 cont./

829 *563 Colored persons often repeat that "color is a mere accident," an expression that goes back very far in Bahia. A famous dark mulatto intellectual, president of an important scientific association, stated in a speech, in which he denounced a decision of the League of Nations on the discriminatory treatment to be applied to the human races, that: "To discuss the rights of man, even human dignity, as if they depended on an accident, that of color, is to repudiate centuries of struggle among the most glorious in the history of civilization" (1).

[113] 1. Teodoro Sampaio, in Rev. Instituto Geogr. e Historico da Bahia, No. 45, 1919, p. 179.

A black judge, who is at the head of an association of colored people, also considers that color "is an accident to which one pays no attention among us." That is the reason why few families [867] of the highest classes /30/ of society develop in their children an awareness of their own type, or, if they do, they never associate with this notion a feeling of inferiority or resentment. A Black relates that he did hear his parents make comments about the disadvantages of being of dark color, but the way in which they did it was neither bitter nor hostile. A pardo educator believes that it is not necessary to conceal from the child a feeling about his color, for "that, being purely physical, is of no importance." The attitude of a girl, likewise parda, whose father, White, but married to a mulattress, does not like people of dark color, is different; she herself does not like them, although she claims to feel no shame about her "quality." Her feeling of inferiority is clearly revealed when she says that she has a friend, son of Syrians, who wants to marry her, although of a "race superior" to her own.

829 *563 •565 Among certain individuals the consciousness of class goes beyond the consciousness of race. A mulatto official relates that when he was a child he did not feel any different from his companions at school and play from a city in the interior of the State; it was only when his family became very poor that he realized

[SALVADOR]

/30 cont./

829 he was a mulatto. His own mother called his attention to the
*563 difference that existed between him and his friends, but those
• 565 who were of his type and who had money continued to regard themselves as Whites and to be treated as such. An economist, darker than the official we have just quoted, states that the extreme poverty in which he lived during his childhood did not permit him to think of his color. An intellectual of a dark color says that when he was an adolescent he never thought of his type; no experiences previous to this period were associated with an
[572] awareness of his color. The same thing seems to happen among white children when lasting relationships are allowed to be established between them and their companions at school and play, without discrimination as to type. Numerous informants of very dark color report that they still maintain several friendships made at school with finos Whites. Even among the adults there are some who claim not to have ever been conscious of their type. An
[115] instructor told us that he was never preoccupied with his pigmentation, because he regarded that as having nothing to do with his difficulties or with his professional life. It is clear that statements
[124] of this nature cannot be accepted solely at their face value; they
[123] could, as a matter of fact, be defense reactions against the inquiries of the investigators.

*563 There are nevertheless persons who do not succeed in over-
829 coming the inferiority complex resulting from their "quality."
571 "A look is enough to upset a person of dark color," said a /31/ very black university student. Sometimes when he had been treated as a "Negro" he was irritated and felt humiliated. "But I have succeeded in overcoming this feeling," he adds; "I too am able to treat other "Whites" without antipathy as soon as I see that they are prepared to be pleasant with me." Without doubt there exists "a slight repression" among the Blacks, "but it is never intense and ought to be overcome," states a mulatto lawyer, and he adds that "such a feeling can give birth to a servile attitude"; one of his colleagues, of the same color as he, a very competent and industrious man, does not have the courage to plead cases for himself and continues to be simply the assistant of a white lawyer.

[SALVADOR]

/31 cont./

829 of a white lawyer. Certain colored persons, finally, claim to be
*563 proud of this color. A young girl of high rank claims to have no
regrets about being black and insists that her true "quality" be
[154] recorded in all official documents. This may also be a defense
reaction, especially since this informant has a personality clearly
marked by a frustration complex associated with her physical condition. It is said that when an employee hesitated about the term
by which he had to describe, in an official document, the color
of a very well-known man of liberal profession, the latter, guessing
his difficulty, told him to write "mulatto," "for," he added, "I am
a mulatto without any doubt."

829 Certain individuals are accused of isolating themselves in
571 order not to feel obliged to live in the "inferior" world to which
*563 they belong because of the pigmentation of their skin. This
arouses a certain resentment on the part of the Blacks who
attribute this behavior to the shame that these persons have about
their type, and to the desire never to be seen "among those of
[184] their category." Our informants state that such a way of behaving
[569] is common among the women of the middle or upper class.
Nevertheless the tendency to accept such segregation is not general.
• [565] A dark black official relates his experiences thus: "Racial problems
do not affect me. I am very well received everywhere, even
among the most distinguished families; I give Portuguese lessons
to their sons, and they value my friendship. A well-bred Black
has access to all milieus. There is no discrimination among the
men; it is among the women that one perceives this tendency very
[576] clearly. Some are content to be discourteous, avoiding shaking
the hand of Blacks whom they meet among the Whites. Nevertheless, when they take a fancy to a colored man, they are capable of
behaving foolishly." "Undoubtedly," he adds, "in certain milieus
I feel isolated." It is interesting to note that this informant is one
of the few who are concerned about discrimination, but he, like
most of the others, is without rancor and is confident that he is
compensated for it by the good relations that he maintains with his
/32/ white colleagues in the important State administration where
he works, where he has occupied positions of management, and where
he has had to perform missions calling for great responsibility.

[SALVADOR]

/32 cont./

829 contempt. In the highest strata of Bahia society, our informants
*563 say, a colored person generally does not suffer humiliations. It
•565 may even be that he is recognized as belonging to the most re-
156 spected groups. A very dark Black practicing a liberal profession is irritated because in the organization where he works many people who do not know him take him for an office boy or an employee of inferior category. A female official, /Figs. 3 and 4 appear here/ /33/ on the contrary, says that she and her family are fortunate and do not attribute any of their difficulties to the fact that they are dark mulattoes. "If I have never been able to pursue a career as I wished, it is because my father was poor and died young. For that reason I always say at home that we must not speak of certain things... Some people might believe that we suffer because of our color."

[562] Among girls, who are more accustomed to discrimination than men, the feeling of inferiority can take quite peculiar forms; thus, a university student claims not to be disgusted with her color, "but she would like to be less homely." Finally, while not acknowledging it, a black woman practicing a liberal profession let the same frustration complex show by saying that she was very discouraged, when she was young, to hear herself called "a pretty little Black."

829 An important aspect of the problem is created by the fact
*563 that the Blacks and the dark mulattoes of urban working circles,
565 to the extent that they are aware of their civil and political rights,
571 are less inhibited in their behavior in front of Whites. The latter feel resentment at the way in which "impudent Negroes" speak loudly in the street, pass in front of them, and do not yield them their place in the tramways and other means of transportation. These incidents take on an aggressive significance in the eyes of those who lay claim to being the dominant class by virtue of their physical or social appearance. In many cases the Blacks do not make use of their color as a distinctive sign of their group. An important mutual-aid association for Blacks has taken as its emblem two white hands held out to each other as a symbol of solidarity. In one of its reports this same organization personifies its own activity by a picture representing a white woman carrying a white child and two other white children with European features, who hold her embraced.

[SALVADOR]

/34/ A Multiracial Society with Classes

•565 [114] The structure of the classes of Bahia has never been described and analyzed from the sociological point of view, except very summarily by Donald Pierson (1).

1. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 64.

As this scholar shows, one may say schematically that the population of Bahia consists of an "upper" class, to which belong the descendants of the old aristocracy, the great landowners and the merchants, the intellectuals and those who practice a liberal profession, such as lawyers, doctors, engineers, politicians, officers of the armed forces, poets and journalists, university professors, the few industrialists that Bahia has produced, and a lower class made up of very poor people engaged in simple occupations, unskilled workmen and manual laborers. There is, furthermore, a stratum that one cannot exactly call a middle class, but rather an intermediate group, containing minor employees, petty officials, and tradesmen.

*563 555 565 As for their place in society, one may say that, although in general terms the status of the Bahians depends on their birth, there is no doubt that social ascent proceeds by way of free competition. Blacks and métis, as individuals, may, "by their personal merit or as the result of favorable circumstances, improve their social situation and even obtain a position in the upper strata of society; this position will be in keeping, not only with their color group, but with the whole of the community" (2).

2. Ibid., p. 419, 422; cf. also Frazier, art. cit., p. 477.

565 *563 [36] [362] The majority of colored persons, like all the lower class, lives in poor quarters, in the outskirts of the city or in small clusters of modest houses interspersed in the residential quarters of the higher classes; moreover, numerous colored families of intermediate or upper status live in these same quarters. Colored persons are admitted, according to their economic resources and

[illegible]

/34 cont./

*563 their degree of education. In the hotels and even more in the
• 565 boarding houses of various categories. They may freely visit
restaurants, cafés, vendeiras, cabarets; they frequently partici-
*563 pate in dinner parties where they meet white friends. The news-
565 papers and magazines report marriages, the conferring
565 of diplomas, births, returns from travel, celebrations and visitors
*204 received, or the death of any person whomsoever, without any
mention of type or color, pointing persons of color of Bahia to
discriminately. And when an individual is not well enough known
so that the newspapers spontaneously publish an article about
him. /35/ It is not rare to see his name or even his portrait re-
produced, after payment of the price of the announcement, in
*563 the column devoted to this kind of news. "Few persons," says a
565 White, "would have more prestige in Bahia society. Based on their
exquisite manners and their elegance, that a university professor
and his wife, both mulattoes, had ten years ago."

Among the most highly placed families of the present day
society of Bahia, says a [illegible] informant, there are some who
"belong to the caste," who, in other words, are mulattoes, although
it would not be discreet to draw attention to the origin of these
[564] families. Since there are no castes, property spending, low income
classes, colored people find their way into the world of the Whites,
even if they have pronounced black features. It is merely necessary
for them to appreciate the "superior" dominant group in their
behavior. In order to show that she was born already assimilated
with the Whites, a woman possessing a liberal profession explains
that she is the daughter of a Black who was a monarch "in a sphere
other than that of the [illegible]" (35).

[192]
[567]
[342]

1. [illegible] = all the communicating houses of
poor quality where the dance lived in the [illegible]

She considers herself a privileged creature of God, since she has
*563 all that she desires. "I am on good terms with people of the best
565 society. I choose my friends in all classes. I visit the clubs and
571 the government palace frequently. A short time ago the newspapers
[204] even published my picture beside the governor of the State in the
course of a luncheon that one of my friends gave in his honor."

[SALVADOR]

/35 cont./

*565 571 The Whites hope that colored people, especially the darkest ones, will be moderate in their attitude, behave modestly, and, in spite of their personal merits, maintain a certain distance, and colored people are not by any means unaware of this. A mulatto of liberal profession says, for example, that he goes only where his presence is necessary. "Often," says a Black, "the Black does not come up against barriers because, knowing the prejudices of the Whites, he does not go in certain places." Another Black, of liberal profession, thinks that colored people, in order to be able to elevate themselves in the social hierarchy, "must avoid doing certain things." Some of these "things," according to numerous informants, are aggressive attitudes, pretentious and affected manners, immoderate, ludicrous gestures." One individual, practicing a liberal profession, would be better received, for example, if he were not so aggressive and so conspicuous. He prizes being seated among the leaders of associations at the meetings he attends, and he always wants to appear in the photographs. On the occasion of a tribute rendered to a famous visitor, he took his place, before /36/ the session began, at the table of the presidency, causing by this action some irritation among the presiding officers of the association, some of whom are conscious of not being white."

*563 571 576 565 In a society of aristocratic traditions, such as that of Bahia, etiquette concerning the relations between people of different social levels is very important. A person who has "cheek," who oversteps the limits that his rank or his position of outsider sets for him, by resorting, without cause, to manners that reveal a certain intimacy or identity of positions, is always disliked, even if he is white. This is even worse if he is colored, for in this case he is accused not only of ill breeding, but even of brazenness, someone who "takes a great deal of liberty" with those whom he does not know or who "are not of his class." The word "class" used in this sense means a very low social status. "The opposition that appears against the social ascent of Negroes," said an almost black person, "is explained by their lack of education and their bad manners. It is the same with mulattoes, for if some are

/36 cont./

*563 excessively humble and submissive, others are pretentious,
*565 vicious, excessive in their manners, desirous of putting them-
571 selves forward." Two Blacks of liberal profession repeat almost
576 the same thing: "Color does not have a direct influence, but it entails certain consequences. Colored people, because of their origin, are humble, have customs that are peculiar to them, and are not prepared for the life of society. Their manners attract attention and displease well-bred people. Because of this, the persons belonging to this class and who detach themselves from it suffer from prejudices that hold sway over them. When one sees a Black elevate himself and when one has to deal with him, one always asks oneself whether he will have bad manners. It is only when one begins to know him that this impression is dispelled."

*563 No less important is adherence to the moral standards of the
565 higher classes in order to be accepted there. According to a highly esteemed and skilled mulatto of liberal profession, "the one who merits respect is respected, whatever his color may be" (1).

[167]
[567]
[829]
[113]

1. Among the Yoruba, who made up a considerable part of the African slaves imported to Bahia, one often hears it said in the course of discussions on the subject of the social situation and classification that "one respects the one who respects himself," cf. W. R. Bascom, "Social Status, Wealth, and Individual Differences among the Yoruba," Am. Anthropologist, Vol. 53, No. 4, Part 1, Oct.-Dec., 1951, p. 504.

An amiable character also facilitates ascent and living with the Whites. As much among the latter as among colored persons, it is said of a dark mulatto educator that he is highly esteemed because of his good character, his gentle and subdued manners; likewise, the success of a Black of liberal profession /37/ is attributed to his communicative temperament, his joviality, and his even temper. But inasmuch as the problem of race relations,

[SALVADOR]

/37 cont./

*563 for many people, is more a question of class than a question of
● 565 race, "the primacy of culture and of class" having the ascendancy, one may say with a mulatto educator that "if he has money, education, and manners, the Black can elevate himself." This synthesis, however, does not exhaust all the aspects of the problem. A very dark woman of liberal profession declares that "a Black, in order to elevate himself socially, must have talent and friend-
[571] ships." In truth, good personal and family relationships are very important for everybody in Bahia, whether in trade, in administration, or in politics. A maxim constantly cited by Brazilians teaches that "a friend at hand is worth more than money in the till," which means that any enterprise is easier when the interested party is given a "personal" introduction by a friend of the person with whom he must deal. One informant insists on explaining that she does not believe money has a great influence on the social ascent of colored people: she knows several among them who, having previously made a fortune, did not succeed in elevating them-
[156] selves. "For in order to elevate oneself it is necessary not to have an inferiority complex. There are many Blacks who not only do not dare to approach Whites of a high class, but transmit this fear to their children." The fact that the black color recalls the ancient slaves is cited by many as an explanation for the difficulties that
[567] the darkest ones encounter in attaining a high rank. "Lately risen
[826] from the depths of slavery," writes a priest of mixed blood, "rare are the Negroes who succeed in reaching a high level or position.
[571] As for mulattoes and morenos (who are not true Blacks), we can say that, from all points of view, they live in harmony with the Whites, at least here in Bahia." A doctor makes the same comment: "As far as the morenos are concerned, they have a position equivalent to that of the Whites; but it is not correct to say that the Blacks can easily attain the highest offices or positions of the first order in the most esteemed professions. As for mulattoes, one finds some of them in the positions that we have just named, without being able to deny, however, that for the métis whose color closely approaches that of the Negroes, this pigmentation of the skin creates obstacles to the various careers mentioned. On

/37 cont./

*563 the other hand, the métis with straight hair and a color very close
•565 to that of the white race could succeed in the different branches of human activity without having to suffer any annoyance of an ethnic nature."

[826] Notwithstanding all these difficulties, colored people, espe-
cially the lightest ones and those whose features bring them closer
/38/ to the Whites, may achieve a rank as high as the latter. As
[114] will be seen in the following chapters, they may marry Whites, according to their social position; they may have a pre-eminent place in the liberal professions, in the intellectual life; they may be admitted into the organizations through which one acquires prestige and social rank, which confirms the thesis already set forth by Pierson, that "what we find in Bahia is a multiracial society of classes" (1).

1. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 408.

*563 The social ascent of colored persons, although it is brought
565 about with relative facility, is not without consequence for those
554 who attain it. It is somewhat like "passing" /quoted in English/
571 for the North American Negroes: those who elevate themselves not only experience doubts and difficulties on the subject of their position, but they are also the object of resentment by some of those -- and they are numerous -- who remain in the lower strata of society.

When he elevates himself to the social rank that is to assimilate him culturally and socially with the White by endowing him with his "social skin," the Black is often criticized because he wants "to act the White" or because he "no longer wants to be colored."

*563 Numerous informants pointed out certain colored individuals who
565 are considered that kind and who, they said, would certainly refuse
554 to be interviewed for the investigation. Some of them actually
571 avoided speaking of the racial problem, politely diverting the
124 conversation to other subjects, under the pretext that they did not know anything about the subject and all that was of no importance among us. The author, in spite of his experience in the milieus

/38 cont./

*563 of Bahia, had some difficulty approaching some of the persons thus
565 mentioned. In certain cases, however, he was able to verify
554 that the imputations mentioned above are nothing but the in-
571 formants' reactions of resentment against people who are much
[124] higher or whom they judge superficially because they do not
[829] know them personally. A number of persons questioned even showed great interest in race relations, declaring they had read numerous Brazilian or foreign books, had seen films on this subject, and liked to discuss this problem with persons belonging to the same type and to the same professional and social status as they; there were even two who declared they had thought a good deal about writing down their observations on this subject. In only one case a mulatto official replied with a certain irritation that this problem was not important and that the Blacks of Bahia did not elevate themselves socially because they were very "backward and bold."

*563 /39/ Interracial Marriages
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For colored people, interracial marriage is a means of reaching the higher classes. Individuals with a lighter skin have the greatest possibilities of becoming white socially, and marriage between colored people and Whites gives the former prestige and offers them the prospect of having children closer to the preferred type.

*563 No law in Brazil forbids marriage between members of differ-
[585] ent races. The candidates for a civil or religious marriage simply present themselves before the authorities of the State or of the Church, provided with the necessary papers, such as certificate of birth or baptism, in which the type or the color are mentioned only for the purposes of identification.

The number of marriages between individuals who differ with regard to color is very high in Bahia. Out of 222 unions concluded
[162] some years ago, the man and woman were of the same color in 34 o/o of the cases; in 43 o/o the man was darker than the woman,

[SALVADOR]

/43 cont./

*563 829 look for light girls." Obviously this question is not one that can be solved with the material of an investigation like ours, but there seems to be no doubt that we are confronted here with reasons intended to mask the wish for a union with white women. This design, moreover, should be interpreted with the help of psychoanalysis and other techniques for investigating personality problems.

In Bahia there are some distinguished Blacks, particularly in the liberal professions, who are married to Whites or to women much lighter than they are. This fact is mentioned with some emphasis and with ill-concealed pride by some persons of dark color, although such cases are also the object of criticism. Very often the women belong to milieus inferior to those to which [565 626] they themselves belong, "for in the higher classes, although marriages between mulattoes and morenos are frequent, the opposition is still strong against marriages between persons who are very /44/ far apart on the color scale" (1).

1. Donald Pierson, op. cit.

*563 565 554 The lower the man's status, the less difficult a mixed marriage is for him within his class. That is to say, it is much easier for a Black of intermediate and inferior groups to marry a White of his social class than for a Black of a higher class to marry a girl of his own milieu. Moreover, the less great the difference between the man's and the woman's type, the less great will be the opposition to be overcome in whatever milieu it may be. The *563 [626] marriage of a light man with a dark woman, especially if she is much more pigmented than he, encounters very marked opposition in all milieus, although the opinions about the morena with fine features and the color of jambo make this type desirable for certain Whites, particularly for Portuguese immigrants and somewhat for Germans. *563 59 A dark woman who marries a White is much more exposed to the hostility of her husband's family than a dark man who marries a light or white woman. In order to explain this in part it is necessary not to forget that, the family in Bahia

[SALVADOR]

/44 cont./

*563 59 being greatly influenced by the family of the bride, the husband is inevitably absorbed by it, so that the children are actually more intimate with their grandparents on the maternal side than with those on the paternal side (2).

[124] [565]

2. In order to verify this hypothesis the author questioned 30 young women of lower and intermediate class, students of a professional school, and was thus able to verify that 63.3 o/o considered themselves more intimate with the family of their mother; 26 o/o did not express any preference; 6.6 o/o inclined to the paternal side, and 3 o/o did not know their ancestors.

*563 565 557 59 A White who is married to a dark woman thereby "leaves" his category, for, according to an oft-repeated maxim, "when a girl marries, her family gains a son." The man thus passes into the world of colored people from which his wife originated. Likewise, a dark man "elevates" himself by being integrated into the family of his light or white spouse. That is the opinion of the Bahians, an opinion that the author has been able to perceive and observe by participating in the local life. On the other hand, this is confirmed analogically by what occurs in marriages between persons of different rank and wealth. In Bahia, as throughout Brazil generally, marriages between "cultivated and upright" young men, even if they are poor, and wealthy women of high rank are much more approved than those of wealthy men with "lower class" women. In the case of the "cultivated and upright" young man (these two conditions are required), even if he is poor or colored, the family of the fiancée capitalizes on these virtues as compensation for his fortune or for his whiteness in the bartering that it does; in the opposite situation, the virtues that the poor or dark girl may have do not generally have /45/ the same power of compensation for the family of her spouse.

[SALVADOR]

/52 cont./ From this point of view politics is in the process of becoming one of the most powerful means of social transformation. The politicians take the greatest care to promote the registration on the lists of the largest possible number of persons of the lower classes, among whom there is a majority of Blacks and métis, people more dependent and less educated and for that reason also more amenable to propaganda and demagoguery. In the months that precede the general elections held simultaneously every four years throughout the country, the candidates for political offices spend considerable sums and multiply their efforts, directly or through the instrumentality of their canvassers, to persuade the people to have themselves registered as voters. The services that they render these voters are one of the means they count on to obtain their votes. As a result, the most popular politicians are those who, not having or pretending not to have class or color prejudice, approach the most humble voters, shake hands and embrace them when they meet them, pay them visits or receive them at their homes or in their offices, and who, after having been elected, continue to lavish on them the same demonstrations, in public or in the government palaces or chambers. A number of politicians, because of this, are assisted by black and mulatto canvassers, who thus, in our day, maintain the loyalty and the devotion that their ancestors showed the families in which they were slaves.

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In former times, an informant tells us, a man of dark color could not enter political life; he could be a canvasser, but he was rarely a candidate or a member of a party. In spite of this, in the municipal council of Bahia there was /53/ always one or two Blacks of humble occupation, elected thanks to the influence of political-party chiefs, and some morenos or mulattoes of more or less high rank were elected as representatives in the legislative assembly of the State of Bahia. With the political revolution of 1930, representation by class in the chamber of the State and in the federal chamber was created; in that way numerous manual laborers, black or mulatto, were elected as representatives of their unions. When union representation was suppressed in 1937, colored men continued to try to obtain improvement of their social situation by taking part in the life of the parties.

178 *563 666 [665] [646] [467] [665] [467]

[SALVADOR]

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* 563 706 874 [204] of not admitting Blacks came to run this school: this occurred more than 20 years ago, under vehement protests. It is significant that among the articles that the papers published about this event those of a lawyer and professor of English, a black leader originally from a British colony of Africa, stand out in particular (1).

[641]

1. In one of these articles this same Black wrote: "The Black is a preponderant ethnic factor in the formation of the crossbreeding so common in its various nuances in Brazil and, as a Brazilian in fact and by law, he is, before the Constitution, the equal of the White as a citizen of this same Republic. The School of naval apprentices having the right to choose its candidates, this right can be based only on moral precedents, on the aptitudes or the physical stamina of the candidates, and not on physical accidents of color.

* 563 641 Such episodes reveal one of the peculiar aspects of race relations in Bahia, as in all of Brazil, the freedom that has been given colored people to defend their rights themselves, by expressing themselves, sometimes with violence, against prejudice. Now not only is this freedom guaranteed them, but numerous finos Whites of high position, particularly university professors and intellectuals, support them by their writings. At present the naval apprentices are recruited among the poor classes, and numerous Blacks are found among them, as one may verify in the civic and military parades in which they take part. Blacks, métis, and Whites may advance in aviation and the navy up to the grades of sergeant and non-commissioned officer. That of officer, apart from the fact that it cannot be obtained except after specialized courses, presents other difficulties. The land army, of all the national military organizations, is the one that is considered the most /60/ accessible to colored people, even with regard to the officers. Among 12 superior officers who took part in a military

* 563 70 [565]

[SALVADOR]

/62/ The Arts

*563 53 In Bahia the populace has its own art and its artists who interpret it according to their personal conception. And one may say that from this point of view there exists a form of art that is peculiar to poor and colored persons, especially in the [565] realm of music and dance. But in the artistic activities of the higher stratum of the population, the participation of colored *563 533 people is not important, except for music. Perhaps because of the belief that attributes to mulattoes a particular inclination for [555] music, colored musicians are relatively numerous, and some of them enjoy a great deal of prestige and are admitted into the social scheme. In all the bands and in all the orchestras there is a large proportion of Blacks and mulattoes, sometimes even as [875] soloists. Some of them engage in teaching and in this way reach [556] a higher social rank when, thanks to their competence, they succeed in having pupils who belong to the wealthiest families and when they become part of the teaching corps of the most important schools of music.

*563 875 533 Of three musicians, professors of piano and composition of Bahia, of great renown in the course of these last years, two are mulattoes. The most celebrated among them, after having very brilliantly concluded a course in Germany, taught for many years in Bahia; he then moved to another State; every time that he returns to his country he is the object of demonstrations of fellow-feeling; on these occasions numerous students or instrumentalists seek him out for short refresher courses. All Bahia is proud of the talents of this artist. Another mulatto, with the help of influential persons, organized a school of music which rapidly became very famous for the quality of its teaching and for the frequent concerts that it organized. After his death, the management of the school passed to his moreno son. The teaching of violin, which is at [462] present done almost exclusively by men, includes numerous black or dark mulatto professionals; in the teaching of piano, an activity to a large extent engaged in by women, one finds morenas and *563 "whitened" of great fame. A very popular singer of mixed blood 545 is both founder and directress of an organization which, with the 533 contribution of some thousands of adherents of the highest classes of

[SALVADOR]

/68 cont./

*563 872 572 565 In the public elementary schools the students, in general little conscious of their rank, have a tendency to mix indiscriminately. The informants in general do not recall discriminatory attitudes on the part of their white fellow-students and state /69/ that from these contacts result -- it is not uncommon to ascertain this -- close and lasting friendships. A woman of liberal profession established good relations with white colleagues of the upper classes during her school years, amicable relations that have lasted to this day. In working in the public schools of Bahia, a psychologist confirmed, however, that the children group themselves according to their physical type, but that they have a tendency to seek out in class children lighter than they as seatmates. It is understandable that in this phase of development and socialization of the child the latter has greater facility in identifying those of his group according to physical appearance, especially if he finds himself away from his family and is not influenced by the criteria of social classification current there. Even in the secondary schools, numerous informants say, the students group themselves according to their physical type, but especially in terms of social and economic rank; friendships between young people belonging to two extremes of the color scale are confirmed on each level; more rarely between different social strata. "The daughters of doctors, even if they are dark," a woman informant declared, "are treated with more attention by the professors and their companions than the Whites and the colored children who are poor." The relations between colored students and their Jewish comrades seem to be good, if one is to believe certain information.

*563 [217] In the libraries one can see students of very different types gathered around the same tables and working together. The colored students not only take part in groups on excursions, but sometimes are at the head of them; they happen to command their comrades of all types in the civic parades. A literary association founded by a black professor in a college-preparatory secondary school has white and colored members. [814] [873]

[SALVADOR]

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*563 575 873 A very dark color may, however, create difficulties in some circumstances. One of the founders of the important association of students of secondary education was a dark mulatto, highly esteemed among his colleagues; it was, however, not possible for him to be elected president of the association because, as he was able to confirm, a white Communist colleague insinuated that so dark a young man would not have enough prestige before the educational authorities and the public. Elected vice-president he assumed the office of president only when the latter retired; he was then able to perform many accomplishments without encountering the obstacles that might have been connected with his "quality." When an excursion to another city was organized, a mulatto student felt that some of his /70/ comrades hesitated to include him in their group (1).

[564] •[565] [113]

1. "In Brazil there is no caste line. As a colored man assimilates the standards of culture of the dominant class, he is treated as an equal, although one notes a strong tendency among the Whites to avoid relations with colored men in situations requiring a certain setting (diplomacy, elegant salons, military schools, etc.)." Guerreiro Ramos, "Contactos raciais no Brasil," Quilombo, 1st year, No. 1, Rio de Janeiro, 1948.

Taking account of this, he decided to withdraw discreetly and was congratulated by a white comrade for his "elegant gesture." [178] These two episodes occurred about ten years ago, and the informants say that they would hardly occur today, tolerance having become much greater.

*563 873 Relations between students and professors of different "quality" present nothing unusual in our day; they depend, as a general rule, on the psychological characteristics of both, rather than on their physical appearance. But there are white schoolmistresses in the *563 872 public elementary schools who appear more severe and sometimes

[SALVADOR]

/71 cont./

*563 893 178 the black color of a female student. The complaint that the father of the latter made in a newspaper was immediately published with a very vehement comment that obliged the accused to defend himself. "In olden times," says a mulatto intellectual, "colored students suffered a great deal. Today, it is enough that they are honest and have real worth for their merit to be recognized." And he adds that in the establishment where he teaches and which he has directed, he has seen white students speak out in positive fashion against all racial discrimination with regard to their colored fellow-students.

*563 893 Among the professors whom the students of a private secondary establishment honored at the end of the courses in 1950, there were two morenos, two mulattoes, and one Black; ten out of 39 students were metis. Out of the 137 persons graduated by the philosophy faculty of the University of Bahia between 1945 and 1950, among whom a large number intended to take up secondary teaching, 2.9 o/o were black, 33 o/o were pardos and 63 o/o were white.

[555] Education, as one sees, is a very important factor in our city for the social ascent of colored people.

/72/ Religion

*563 794 The religious institutions of Bahia reflect the structure of the classes and the local social organization. The devout Catholics attend the same churches, mingle in the choir and at the communion table, independently of their "quality." In the solemn [796] festivals organized by the brotherhoods and the associations or carried out by the parishes in honor of their patron saints, one can see Whites, mulattoes, and Blacks gathered together in the places reserved at the high altar, along with the guests of honor, the "presidents of brotherhoods," and the "Maecenases" (festeiros) entrusted with the preparation and financing of these celebrations. [988] Likewise, in the processions, men and women of all types carry the litters of the sacred images that march past, or crowd around them. In the sacred associations there is no longer any discrimination; since, however, some of them are made up of people different [565]

[SALVADOR]

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*563 794 •[565] social classes, the proportion of colored people varies from one to another. This is particularly striking in the brotherhoods and third orders, associations that have centuries of existence, founded for purposes of spiritual perfection, almost all long since transformed into organizations of charity and mutual aid. These organizations have always been very important in all of Latin America for marking or confirming the social classification of their members. When a biographical sketch of a distinguished person is published in a newspaper of Bahia, it always mentions the brotherhoods to which he belongs or in which he occupies a management position. During certain large religious festivals one can see men who are not "practicing" Catholics personally appear with their brotherhoods or third orders, dressed in costumes characteristic of these same societies, a torch in their hand, carrying the canopy and marching in a group. It is greatly desired to be able to become part of these institutions that give evidence of the high position and the prestige that one has acquired. The elections for the management of one of these brotherhoods, upon which hospitals, orphanages, and old people's homes depend and which administer a rich endowment, arouse extraordinary interest among the great merchants and the people of liberal professions who are members of them. The office of headmaster, that is to say, of president, an office to which no remuneration is attached and which demands great devotion, is very eagerly contended for, because it offers its holder the possibility of augmenting his social and political prestige and of showing his administrative abilities. These organizations were created in the colonial period in order to gather together, under the aegis of /73/ the Church, as happened in Portugal, persons of different social and economic groups for the purpose of spiritual improvement, but also in order to permit them to show their rank. Thus it is understood that even today they are arranged in hierarchies according to class lines, although the distinctions that separate them are in the process of becoming less clear and less rigid every day, with new conditions of urban life and with the appearance of other institutions having similar social aims. There are, for example, although

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[SALVADOR]

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*563 526 575 liberal profession relates that he was more than once invited by the members of this club to join their teams, but he answered them: "You are all white. If one day when I might wish to play with a white girl she refused because I am mulatto, I would be capable of doing something foolish... It is much better to avoid this."

• [565] Basketball and volleyball are also games played by the young people of the intermediate and upper classes, members of sporting and recreational clubs. Some of the "teams" as an exception, admit dark players capable of contributing to their victory; the portraits of these players may be seen in the halls of the luxurious buildings of some of these clubs. There are, moreover, some school teams on which students of different types take part.

In the rowing clubs, an informant assures us, discrimination [178] against colored persons was such some ten years ago that a group of dark young men founded a separate club that was allowed to pit itself against the others. Other informants explain, however, [565] that this discrimination was based on the fact that rowing has always been a sport of the bourgeoisie (students of the intermediate class, commercial employees, officials of the higher categories); no one of inferior rank, that is to say, of subordinate occupation (soldiers, domestics, laborers), was accepted on the teams. For some years, however, on the occasion of important competitions, certain clubs have temporarily completed their nautical teams with colored rowers taken from more plebeian teams. It is generally a matter of semiprofessional sportsmen of modest circumstances.

*563 526 The truly popular sport throughout the country is football. Groups of players, having a permanent or temporary organization, practice this game almost everywhere. Football games /78/ arouse extraordinary enthusiasm, especially among persons of the male sex, draw thousands and thousands of spectators to the stadiums, and bring in a great deal. At the beginning of the century football, introduced into Brazil by young men reared in England, was a pastime of the bourgeoisie; on their "teams" there were probably never, or very rarely, young colored men. One

[SALVADOR]

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*563 463 The proportion of colored persons in each liberal profession depends on various factors. In those that have the least prestige (agricultural engineers as compared to civil engineers, non-graduate lawyers as compared to graduate ones) this proportion is *563 759 larger. A very black student of medicine calls attention to the fact that the Blacks in general do not devote themselves to surgery: "Some take up this specialization, but end up by remaining in the general clinic. Odontology is not a good career for them either: what well-dressed white girl would wish to open her mouth *563 758 759 743 565 in front of a Black?" In the hospitals, physicians and attendants of all types care for the sick, who are all gathered together according to their maladies and according to their rank, and not according to their color; in the private clinics that take patients of the higher classes, everyone is admitted, provided that he can pay the price demanded.

*563 554 463 [301] The title of "doctor" and the marks of deference due a graduate are given without distinction to black or white persons who practice a liberal profession, which is why some of them have retained the habit of wearing on one of the fingers of the hand a "symbolic ring" of their profession, in order to be able to be identified and treated with the requisite consideration. Moreover, a Black may manifest the desire to practice a liberal profession without encountering hostility or scorn on the part of the Whites. In spite of this, some tens of years ago there were professors who humiliated a black student showing little intelligence or little industry, by saying "while so many people need a cook or laundress, there are Blacks who have presumed to become doctors." The author asked [124] the professors of a primary school of the State for permission to question its 93 most advanced students, of both sexes, about the careers that they wished to take up later. The percentage of replies received, according to sex and type, were:

[SALVADOR]

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* 563 814 571 The Academy of Letters of Bahia, an institution that groups Bahian intellectuals of the greatest renown, includes among its 41 founders eight mulattoes of the most varied shades of skin. One of them, an educator of repute, became a /87/ national celebrity for his works on Portuguese grammar and for the polemic on linguistic problems that he carried on with his old disciple Ruy Barbosa. Two mulattoes -- a very distinguished professor of medicine and another, both an engineer and historian -- were corresponding members of this famous association. Since its founding in 1917, the Academy has counted among its members 15 morenos and mulattoes; among them are names of which Bahia is justly proud. The group of poets and prose writers who, [538] under the influence of symbolism, were originally part of an important literary movement was made up in large part of colored men.

/88/ Recreational Clubs

* 563 575 The social and recreational clubs are the sector where admittance is the most difficult for persons of very dark color, if one is to believe the majority of informants. Some of them even declare that the obstacles that stand in the way of their entry into such organizations are due both to color prejudices and to the fact that these associations are dominated by the old families who resist the admission of members not belonging to their social and economic group. It seems, however, that even in the very select clubs of • [565] Bahia there are fissures in the class barriers: none of these clubs can keep itself strictly closed nor strictly aristocratic either from the point of view of the filiation of its members to the old families or from that of their color. And this so much the more because the founder groups permitted, not only finos Whites, but persons "socially white" or "white in color" (brancas na côr).

[SALVADOR]

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*563 Several facts reported in our account show that colored persons are subject, among us, to treatment that tends to class them according to category (1).

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1. Discriminatory judgment on the basis of prejudices bearing on the characteristics of groups or categories of certain individuals. Donald Pierson, "Contacto categórico /Categorical contact/," in Teoria e Pesquisa em Sociologia /Theory and Research in Sociology/, Melhoramento edition, São Paulo, p. 445.

*563 829 [565] The marks of this treatment, which frequently coincides with class feelings, may be seen in the personality of several of our informants. One of them makes a very expressive remark: "Prejudice really exists, no matter how much 'caste' is concealed. But, between denying the problem and wishing to give it excessive importance, there is nothing but a difference in the manner of formulating the beliefs and the defensive attitudes of the group concerned. The position of those who deny prejudice entirely is that of someone who formulates an ideal model of relations, prompted by the desire that the problem might not exist, or in the vain hope of contributing to what society evades" (2).

2. R. Almeida, loc. cit.

Those who exaggerate the proportions of this controversy are supposed to be maladjusted personalities (3).

3. Only a psychological study could elucidate up to what point the difficulties encountered by colored persons are really due to racial barriers, for, without denying that many persons may suffer opposition because of their color, it is also necessary to remember that these same persons may very well have recourse to certain stereotypes and to certain rationalizations in order to

[SALVADOR]

/102 cont./

*563 671 829 esteemed, we only need more respect for the lower class in general; we need to improve its food, to help it effectively rise again, or, before that, to obtain a level of life that it has never as yet had."

/103/ Conclusions

*563 829 That there is no color prejudice in Bahia is a statement that is only partly true. Colored people are still regarded as forming a biological and social category characterized by traits that are considered inferior to those of the Whites. Some people are convinced that Blacks and Whites differ in intellectual capacities, in personality, morality, and aptitude for progress. They declare that if Bahia does not progress the fault lies with the Blacks. That is the reason why such a large number of light mulattoes conceal or deny their caste or feel ill at ease when one makes an indiscreet allusion. These prejudices, though slight, explain the cases of discrimination of which colored people in certain sectors of the society are victims. These incidents, moreover, are not accompanied by any violence, and it is difficult to distinguish them from manifestations of class antagonism, in view of the fact that in Brazil skin color is very often a symbol of social rank. The Whites evoke the memory of the old Portuguese colonists who dominated the economy, politics, and the administration, and whose descendants, even today, make up the major part of high society. As for the Blacks, they remind us of slavery, work on the plantations, and domestic occupations. Even today the colored men are cantoned in the lowest and least educated strata of society.

*563 [565] [564] [555] But the population of Bahia may be defined as a multiracial society with classes, and not with castes, if one defines caste as a closed group to which one belongs by birth and from which it is impossible to escape. In Bahia colored people have a status that is conditioned by their individual qualities and aptitudes, and they may enter into competition with the Whites. In principle

[SALVADOR]

/103 cont./ In principle
*563 anyone at all may elevate himself socially by wealth, by his
555 intellectual merits, by his professional titles, by his moral qualities,
[556] or by a combination of these elements, by virtue of the system of values of a capitalist society. In their ascent toward the higher classes, however, colored people encounter resistance, due in part to the influence of the prejudices of which we have spoken, but also because of the fact that for the most part they belong to classes that economically are at the bottom of the social hierarchy.

The social ascent of colored people, however, is relatively frequent, and there are numerous examples of it. As a group, however, colored people also rise, but with difficulty. It is
*563 sufficient, in order to get a clear idea of this, to compare the dis-
• 565 tribution of the different ethnic types that are encountered in
555 /104/ Brazil in the groupings and organizations that symbolize
162 the upper classes:
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	Whites		"Pardos"		Blacks	
	%	Indices	%	Indices	%	Indices
In the total population	33	100	47	100	20	100
Religious brotherhoods	82	240	18	38	--	--
Liberal professions (1)	76	230	22	46	2	10
Clubs	67	200	33	70	--	--

1. Average of various liberal professions.

*563 As may be seen, none of the above groups constitutes a sample
565 representative of the total population, which proves, in fact,
555 that the different types still do not have the possibility of advancing to the higher strata. If, by basing ourselves on the
[178] descriptions of the society of Bahia in the past, we could make up a table of the same nature, we would see that "high society" and the prestige professions 50 or 80 years ago were much less mixed, although the participation of individuals of mixed blood in these groups is an old Brazilian tradition.

/106/ [SALVADOR]

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Table I. Types of members belonging to a "high-class" recreational club.

Professions	Whites		"Morenos"		"Mulattoes"		Totals
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Commerce, agriculture, industry	396	76.89	85	16.50	34	6.60	515
Officials	40	68.96	11	18.96	7	12.06	58
Military men	12	57.10	5	23.80	4	19	21
Artists, professors	3	50			3	50	6
Technicians (chemists, agronomists, draftsmen, translators, etc.	23	62.10	11	29.70	3	8.1	37
Lawyers	96		58		13		167
Physicians, dentists Pharmacists	142	62.03	79	30.05	20	7.90	241
Civil engineers	71		34		11		116
Students	240		95		26		361
	1,023	67.21	378	24.83	121	7.95	1,522

St Azevedo--143 D.Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

/106 cont./ [SALVADOR]

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. Table II. Types of members belonging to a recreational club of the intermediate social group.

Professions	Whites		"Morenos"		"Mulattoes"		Blacks		Totals
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Merchants, commercial employees	246	36.28	267	39.38	163	24.04	2	0.29	678
Officials	81	41.96	74	38.34	38	19.68			193
Military men	6	28.56	11	52.37	4	19.04			21
Artists, professors	4	17.39	11	47.82	7	30.43	1	4.34	23
Technicians	8	33.66	5	18.51	12	40.74	2	7.40	27
Liberal professions, students	79	45.66	31	17.91	61	35.26	2	1.15	173
	424	38.02	399	35.78	285	25.56	7	0.62	1,115

5: Azevedo--144 D, Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

/107/ [SALVADOR]

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Table III. Types of members of a "high-class" religious brotherhood.

Professions	Whites		"Morenos"		"Mulattoes"		Totals
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Commerce, agriculture, industry . . .	419	84.98	59	11.98	15	3.04	493
Officials	57	81.42	12	17.14	1	1.42	70
Military men	6	85.71	1	14.29			7
Artists, professors	3	60	2	40			5
Technicians	14	93.33			1	6.67	15
Liberal professions	192	79.01	48	19.75	3	1.23	243
Students	64	82.05	10	12.82	4	5.12	78
Priests, including six bishops	14	48.27	15	51.73			29
Professions not indicated	49	75.56	10	15.62	5	7.81	64
	818	81.47	157	15.64	29	2.88	1,004

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954) 1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

433 241 178 Recôncavo remains today a backward and traditional agricultural society.

However, not all elements in Recôncavo life are static. In the field one was incessantly conscious both of the gradual course of change in this region and of the latent instability of its economic organization. Particularly in the last 75 years the agricultural economy of the Recôncavo has begun to shift--it is apparently in the throes of a drastic economic reorganization. It remains to be seen whether the traditional values will survive this economic revolution. [128] The brief historical discussion to follow is not intended as a substitute for a full-scale historical reconstruction. Its purpose is to indicate the major patterns in the evolution of the Recôncavo.

175 <u>The Evolution of Colonial Agricultural Institutions</u>. By the end of the initial half century of settlement (1600) those ethnic groups, crops, animals, and agricultural institutions which were to [567] become characteristic of the Recôncavo were already in evidence. Negro [249] slaves were brought in on the heels of the first Portuguese settlers,[3] [231] and sugar cane and cattle were also introduced at this time.[4] Tobacco [244] and manioc, produced by the Indians indigenous to the northeast of [249] Brazil, were rapidly integrated into the colonial agriculture of the [177] Recôncavo.[5] The combined sugar mill and plantation (<u>engenho</u>), which [249] was the basic economic institution of the Recôncavo until the end of [471] the nineteenth century, already existed in rudimentary form before 1600.[6]

175 From the beginning the new colony in the Recôncavo had three 249 important crops—sugar cane, tobacco, and manioc. It was the cultivation [244] of sugar which the Portuguese crown and the initial settlers had

BB 175 249 in mind when they founded the colony of Bahia.

> Already enough was known of Brazil to hope that sugar cane would do well in it. The hot and humid climate of its coast would be highly favorable, and as for hands for work, they counted mainly on the indigenous people who, as we have seen, were relatively numerous and peaceful on the coast. These perspectives were completely confirmed; the one factor of which they were ignorant before the attempt--the quality of the soil--revealed itself as supremely propitious, at some points at least, on the extensive coast. This was particularly the case in the extreme northeast, on the coastal plain occupied by the state of Pernambuco and on the contours of the Baía de Todos os Santos (the Recôncavo Baiano, as it would be called). These were not the only ones: in a general way all the Brazilian coast paid homage to sugar cane.
>
> It was on this base that the effective occupation and colonization of Brazil was initiated.[7]

BB [134]

By the end of the sixteenth century sugar cane cultivation had spread at least as far as its present western and southern limits in the Recôncavo, on the Paraguaçu and Jaguaripe rivers. Forty engenhos were engaged in the production of sugar.[8] The engenhos were the nuclei of the economic organization of the colony. The cultivation of sugar cane and the milling of sugar demanded a labor force too large to be recruited from among the indigenous Indians.[9] This labor force was supplied from the slave pens of Africa--chiefly on the Guinea Coast and in Angola. The city of Salvador, which had the advantage of a commodious port and a central location among the slave markets of Brazil, was the chief point of debarkation for these Africans.[10]

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Estimates of the number of slaves imported and the number who remained in Bahia vary over a wide range. In 1583, when the population of Brazil was estimated at 57,000 people, 25,000 were listed as whites, 18,000 as civilized Indians, and 14,000 as Negro slaves. The Negroes were concentrated mainly in Bahia and Pernambuco.[11] It seems likely that in Bahia the number of Negroes was at least equal to the number of whites. These two racial groups and their mixed-blood derivatives

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

162 563 compose most of the population of the Recôncavo today. In 1940 the population of the Centro-Litoral of Bahia--the census area most closely corresponding to the Recôncavo--had the following composition: white, 22 per cent; black, 29 per cent; and others, predominately mulatto, 49 per cent.[12]

175 439 567 436 276 [273] [249] The purchase of large quantities of slaves required the production of a commodity which could be used as exchange in Africa. The indigenous tobacco proved eminently suitable for this purpose. Although rum apparently was used also in this trade, tobacco became the essential source of exchange for the slave traffic.[13] Bahia was the main area of tobacco production, and probably most of this production was localized in the Recôncavo.[14]

175 244 433 [567] The initial period of settlement saw also the incorporation of manioc[15] into the agricultural economy as a staple. Like tobacco, it was an indigenous crop. Thus one indigenous crop was adopted to purchase slaves in Africa and another to feed them in Brazil. By 1587 manioc apparently was being cultivated on a moderate scale in Bahia.[16] A recurring theme in the history of the Recôncavo is the shortage of this essential foodstuff.

241 262 175 433 In addition to the principal crops--sugar, tobacco, and manioc--a number of lesser agricultural products were important in the early history of the Recôncavo. Corn, beans, and bananas were grown on a small scale and used to supplement the manioc diet. Other diversi-
231 fications of the diet were provided by meat and fish. Cattle were maintained to draw the ox carts and to power many of the cane mills. For lighter tasks asses and mules were used.

178 249 433 Out of this complex of Portuguese settlers and Negro slaves, of old world and new world crops, there developed certain characteristic agricultural enterprises. The engenho--old world in the origin of its

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 433 178 In contemporary Bahia chronic shortages of staple foods, particularly manioc, are characteristic of the zones of commercial agriculture.

175 249 [492] The equipment and technology of the engenhos was primitive. The cane was transported on the backs of mules or on ox carts to the mill where it was crushed in a crude press sometimes turned by water power but usually by animal- or even man-power. The cane juice was evaporated in large iron caldrons which were heated by fire made from wood. This type of processing was in general use in the Recôncavo for several centuries and still persists in some areas of the extra-Recôncavo backlands. The engenhos were operated almost exclusively with slave [464] [567] labor. Most of the slaves of Bahia are thought to have come from the Guinea Coast of Africa. These "Mina" Negroes[18] had a relatively [177] sophisticated cultural inheritance from Africa and undoubtedly made substantial contributions to the cultural development of Bahia.[19]

175 249 464 567 The Negroes were introduced when Indian slaves failed to provide the necessary labor supply, but they were rarely available in sufficient numbers and at a low enough cost to prevent chronic labor shortages. Falta de braços (literally, lack of arms) has been a perennial concern in the Recôncavo no less than elsewhere in Brazil. [162] The importation of hundreds of thousands of Negroes into Brazil--of which certainly a considerable number were settled in the Recôncavo--did not solve the problem.[20] In the early period most engenhos had from about 80 to 100 slaves, but by the eighteenth century some had as many as 1,000.[21]

175 563 567 From the beginning of settlement there was extensive miscegnation. The Portuguese settlers were predominately male, and they bred on a large scale with both Indian and Negro slave women. Some of the mestizo and mulatto children--chiefly the latter in the Recôncavo--retained the slave status of their mothers. Others were freed and sometimes occupied favored positions in their fathers' households.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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231 After they had recuperated from the long drives, the cattle were used for both labor and food.

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433 The colonial economy developed in the Recôncavo--in common with
439 Pernambuco, Campinas (Rio de Janeiro), and lesser centers like Sergipe
171 and Alagoas--was distinct from the economy of the south of Brazil. São Paulo, for example, was self-sufficient, buying little from abroad and having little to sell. Bahia and Pernambuco were almost completely dependent upon exchange with European markets, with Portugal acting as the middleman.

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249 Economic Development from 1600 to 1850. By the middle of the
439 seventeenth century most of the institutions discussed above existed in at least rudimentary form. They were nurtured by an expanding Brazilian commercial economy which enjoyed, for the moment, a virtual monopoly in sugar. Bahia was the leading province in Brazil in the export of both sugar and tobacco.[23] The production of these crops was centered almost entirely in the Recôncavo area of the state. The
[567] tobacco was sent at first to Africa, in exchange for increasingly large numbers of slaves for the ever-greedy sugar industry. Slowly, however, a secondary market for Bahia tobacco developed in Europe. With few exceptions the sugar was marketed in Europe and at a high price. The engenhos of Bahia were the largest in Brazil, though still very small by modern standards.[24]

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648 The development of the colony did not proceed smoothly. In the mid-seventeenth century Bahia was occupied for a brief period by the Dutch, but the development of the colony faltered only momentarily. On the other hand, the Dutch occupied Pernambuco and the north coast for a longer period. The subsequent transference of Dutch efforts to the West Indies was to have a profound effect upon the future of

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 648 the Recôncavo, for they took with them a newly acquired knowledge of sugar cane cultivation.

175 167 567 The eighteenth century opened with a series of disasters for the region. When word of gold discoveries in Minas Gerais (1704) reached Bahia, an exodus began.[25] Slaves were sold at exorbitant prices, and often masters and slaves together went off to the mines. The colonial authorities took drastic steps to halt the flight, but [731] to no avail. The first quarter of the century ended with floods in the Recôncavo and the discovery of diamonds in the interior. There was a second exodus.[26]

175 171 249 In the meantime there were momentous developments in the West Indies. Sugar cane cultivation spread rapidly in the Antilles as the Netherlands and other northwestern European states which had been lucrative markets for Brazilian sugar began their own production in their respective West Indian colonies. In addition to the protected markets which the mother countries afforded, these new centers enjoyed sound economic and geographical advantages. As newcomers to the field of sugar production, the Antilles were free of both the antiquated equipment and the backward techniques which burdened Brazil, and they were closer to the major European markets.[27]

175 178 185 249 The Recôncavo was unable to counter these West Indian developments. In a century and a half of commercial development there had been few improvements in agricultural or industrial methods. There was no conservation of the soil. Only one variety of cane was known, and there was no attempt to develop improved strains. The mills continued to burn expensive wood rather than to use bagasse. Antique, low-yielding crushing mills continued to be used for extraction.[28]

175 249 178 439 At the end of the eighteenth century, however, developments abroad restored to the Recôncavo and to Brazil many of the advantages which it had formerly held in the international market. This

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 inaugurated a brief "golden age" in the evolution of the Recôncavo.
198 The mythology which this age engendered is an integral part of the
249 social and economic patterns in the present day Recôncavo. The
439 collapse of the sugar economy in the West Indies, particularly in Santo Domingo in 1792, and the expanding urban markets in Europe had given, for a moment, a great opportunity to the sugar industry of Northeast Brazil. Moreover, an important supplementary market had developed in the mining areas of Minas Gerais. In the subsequent economic expansion to supply these markets, the Recôncavo became an even more important center of sugar production in Brazil.

175 The landed proprietors of the Recôncavo apparently took this
249 resurgence as a vindication of their economic system.
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> They squandered money like the fidalgos [landed, slave-holding aristocrats] that they were. They installed sumptuous dwellings and lived the life of a nobility. Each sugar factory was a community where hundreds of slaves were dedicated to extraction of wealth from the soil. Each of these communities achieved a merited importance. A little Agricultural World gyrated around the Big House, and the Chapel, with its Holy Administrator, [was] dedicated to the dissemination of Catholicism in the community. In time many of these "Engenhos" developed into villas, and were succeeded by the cities of today.
>
> Each of these "Engenhos," as these agricultural communities were called, produced everything that they consumed except luxury, and this was imported from Portugal in exchange for sugar, high-grade tobacco, cotton, and rare cabinet woods. The "Senhor" of the
[466] Engenho was a veritable Feudal Baron, with the power of life and death over his black and mestizo slaves. He exercised the right of torture and flogging in proportion to the offenses committed. These sugar Engenhos,
175 because of their collective and independent existence,
249 produced a pride of origin, an attachment to the soil,
471 that flowered into a hatred of the monarchial exploiters
565 and became the dominating factor in the movement for
[668] independence.
>
> The fidalgos were essentially a product of the land, and spent the major part of their luxurious existence on their estates, attended by innumerable slaves. Their homes were built upon a vast scale and equipped with every luxury known to so simple a people. They also

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 249 565 [471] maintained splendid establishments, called Solars, in the Capital, to which they repaired in the winter season, June, July and August, for social diversion.[29]

[178] The above citation is characteristic of the present-day views of many upper-class Baianos who identify themselves with this opulent era of the Recôncavo social evolution. The mythology engendered by the colonial sugar industry is outliving the engenho system. The wealth, pride, and ostentation of these fidalgos is undeniable. Within the limits of the provincial social environment, upper-class life was luxurious indeed. Compared with the upper-class society of the period in Europe or in the American South, however, social opportunities in the Recôncavo must have been rather limited. The casas [342] grandes--if the surviving specimens can be taken as typical--generally [489] were rather modest plantation houses. Transportation was difficult: few engenhos had carriage roads, and travel was by horseback or [571] palanquin. Social intercourse often was restricted to an ingrown [484] local circle. Apparently many of the social needs of the upper class could not be met within the rural Recôncavo so that trips were made frequently to Salvador, Rio de Janeiro, and sometimes Paris.[30]

Little has been recorded of the way of life of the slaves and 175 249 poor freemen in the Recôncavo. It is significant that both apologists 567 and critics of slavery usually have agreed that the masters were relatively clement in the treatment of their slave laborers. These slaves were very valuable possessions, particularly after the British began to suppress the slave trade. Because absentee ownership and delegation of administration to people outside the family was not usual, the masters and slaves were perforce in daily contact. Out of these daily contacts between landholder and laborer, a relatively personal relationship was developed. Within the household, relation- [563] ships were even more familiar. In addition, some of the slaves were

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 249 567 [563] the offspring of master and slave and sometimes were considered as members of the household.

A set of feudalistic inter-relations developed in the society, loosely defining the responsibilities and privileges of master and slave. Ideally the slave had the privilege, almost the right, to appeal to the master in person for assistance and advice. Manumission and the granting of the right to purchase freedom were common. At the [466] same time, the economic system was based upon involuntary labor. The slave was exploited, and the fruit of his toil went to maintain the luxurious existence of the small upper class.

175 565 The small freemen occupied a very inferior social and economic position in this society. In the cities they became tradesmen or [463] [554] craftsmen, occupations without status. In the country some were petty dependents of the engenho, others established themselves as small cultivators. Since the sugar cane plantations dominated the central Recôncavo, it seems reasonable to assume that the small holders were segregated mainly in the outer zone.

175 161 162 In 1819--during the florescence of the Recôncavo--the population of the comarca (district) of Bahia was 362,503. Most of this population was centered in the Recôncavo--200,000 in the lowlands north of the Bay--the sugar cane area--and 77,503 in the western uplands around Cachoeira--the tobacco area.[31] At this time the total population of Bahia was estimated at 592,908 and that of Brazil as between 175 4,000,000 to 4,500,000.[32] Salvador, with a population somewhere 633 162 between 100,000 and 130,000, was the largest city in Brazil and remained so until 1830.[33] The class and ethnic composition of the 175 563 population of this period is not clearly indicated. By some estimates, 565 569 over half of the population of Bahia was slave and over three-fifths

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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was Negro. Other estimates state that less than one-third of the people were slaves.[34]

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Table IV, below, illustrates the economic organization of the sugar industry in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

TABLE IV

TOTAL CAPITAL INVESTMENT IN SUGAR ENGENHOS OF BAHIA IN 1833

	In U. S. Dollars*	
	Per Unit	Total Investment
603 mills	$2,500	$1,507,500
48,240 slaves	150	7,236,000
60,300 oxen	20	904,500
23,100 horses	20	464,500
78,800 ha. of agric. land	46 (approx)	3,618,000
38,528 ha. of forest	23 (approx)	884,000
47 steam engines	3,000	141,000
62 water canals	3,000	186,000
Improvements of each mill	2,000	1,206,000
Total in Bahia		$16,147,500

*Conversion at $500 per thousand of reis, after Calogeras, p. 47 in footnote.

Source: Amaral, II, 84 after the Marquez de Abrantes.

The usefulness of the above data is limited by the ambiguity of several of its categories. "Agricultural land" could be either land cultivated or cultivable. The most serious problem of interpretation is the meaning of "improvements," since the value of these improvements is relatively high. It is reasonably certain, from the nature of the engenho, that these improvements are not technological advances but only those simple measures necessary to maintain the traditional structure--warehouses, corrals, slave quarters, etc. If the value of the house of the senhor de engenho is included in this figure, this would help to account for the relatively high figure for improvements.

Nevertheless, the data do represent certain significant elements of the mid-nineteenth century sugar cane system of the Recôncavo. Almost

BB 175 249 433 the traditional values. As has been seen, the re-opening of the markets at first particularly benefited the Recôncavo.

NB 175 433 The developments in the Recôncavo were shared only partially by the other areas of the Brazilian Northeast. The colonial economy of Pernambuco, the second major center in the Northeast, was not nurtured NB EB [316] by a prosperity equal to that of Bahia. The booms in the mineral areas, which had a disruptive effect on the Recôncavo, apparently were less strongly felt in more-distant Pernambuco. In the south of Brazil, EB 175 433 316 241 neither Rio de Janeiro nor São Paulo shared in Bahia's colonial opulence until the nineteenth century. Moreover, the mining developments, which were a disturbing influence on Recôncavo society, had a stimulating effect on agriculture and trade in the South, especially in São Paulo. Although Minas Gerais attracted some settlers from the South, in the main the mineral development acted as a stimulant to agriculture. Thus the forces of colonial evolution in the Recôncavo were distinctive variants of those characteristic of the whole of Brazil.

BB 175 The Last Hundred Years--1850 to the Present. The series of external forces which contributed to the revival of the Recôncavo in the early nineteenth century were destined to sweep it from the main current of Brazilian development. The pressure of these outside events were apparent in the Recôncavo as early as 1825, but it was in the last half of the century that the region was relegated to the subordinate position which it occupies today.

B BB 175 567 648 [439] There is a historical connection between the events which first bestowed and later took away Recôncavo prosperity. The collapse in the West Indies sugar industry re-opened markets to Brazil, but it also ended England's economic interests in slavery. With no vested

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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Northeast Brazil SO1
Brazil SL1

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interest to deter her, Great Britain became in the nineteenth century the great anti-slavery force of the world. The British government began to press Brazil for a treaty to halt the slave trade. In 1826 a treaty was signed in which Brazil agreed to end the slave trade within four years. However, Brazil had just achieved its independence (1824), and the new national government was too weak to enforce the provisions of the treaty. After 25 years of bitter diplomatic exchanges with Great Britain, the Brazilian government succeeded in fulfilling its treaty obligations, and after 1852 almost no slaves were landed in Brazil.

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The end of the slave trade foreshadowed the end of slave labor in Brazil. The Northeast fought to preserve the system, but it was doomed not only as a result of extra-Brazilian pressures but also because of internal economic development. Just as in the eighteenth century the political capital had shifted from the North (Salvador) to the Central-South (Rio de Janeiro), so in the nineteenth century the economic center of gravity moved to São Paulo and adjacent Rio de Janeiro and Minas Gerais.[37] At first the developments in São Paulo imitated those of the Northeast, and a sugar industry employing traditional techniques was established. Almost immediately, however, the Central-South began to demonstrate an initiative unknown in the old sugar regions.

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At the beginning of the nineteenth century Bahia was exporting 12,000 tons of sugar, Pernambuco 8,400 tons, Rio de Janeiro 5,400 tons, and São Paulo 600 tons.[38] By mid-century Rio de Janeiro--chiefly Campos, near the mouth of the Rio Paraíba--was producing more sugar than any other province. In 1875, Rio de Janeiro was still the largest producer, with São Paulo second, Pernambuco third, and Bahia fourth. By the end of the century, São Paulo was the largest sugar

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By the end of the century, São Paulo was the largest sugar producer, chiefly supplying its own internal market, but also exporting in small quantity. The Recôncavo struggled to maintain even a poor fourth position.[39]

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The growth of the sugar industry in the South was not an isolated development but was one part of a general agricultural and economic expansion. The south of Brazil, which had gained new political power as a result of its expansion, began to press for abolition of slaves. Slave labor had not played a significant role in the south after 1850.

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In 1871 a law was passed providing for the gradual emancipation of slaves and the compensation of slave holders. The Northeast resisted bitterly but in vain. A new law passed in 1888 gave complete and immediate freedom to the slaves; and this law did not provide for compensation of the slave owners.

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The end of slavery threatened the Recôncavo in two ways. The suppression of the slave traffic destroyed the African trade in tobacco. The loss was soon more than compensated by the rapid expansion of the market for Bahian tobacco in Europe. By the 1870's tobacco surpassed sugar and became the chief export of Bahia. The effect of the emancipation on the sugar industry was much more far-reaching. The freeing of the slaves destroyed the labor base of sugar cultivation and processing. The gradual character of emancipation cushioned the blow somewhat, but it was still disastrous to the industry. Slaves left the plantations by the thousands, and there was no alternative source of labor. Sugar exports fell to a fourth of the pre-emancipation level. After a time the emancipated Negroes and mulattoes returned to the plantations and mills under a system of free labor. But Bahian sugar could not regain even a substantial part of its former importance.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

128 orientation. This will be followed by a discussion of demography as a basis for the understanding of the agricultural economy.

181 The People of the Recôncavo - Introduction. The Recôncavo is the nucleus of a sub-culture which is a distinctive but integral part of the national culture of modern Brazil. Throughout Brazil the Baiano is characterized by a formality of behavior, an oratorical turn of speech, a sentimental attachment to the region of his birth, and a special accent which distinguishes him from the Mineiros, Paulistas, Gaúchos, or Pernambucanos of the other Brazilian regions.[4] These superficial distinctions seem to be a reflection of deep-seated differences in the culture and personality of the people who live in the Recôncavo and in the surrounding zone. On another level, the culture and personality of the people of the northeastern coast, including the inhabitants of the Recôncavo, is unlike that of the sertanejos (people of the arid northeastern interior--the Sertão).[5] Some of the culture and personality traits of the Recôncavo have a significant relationship to local agricultural phenomena.

178 181 241 567 The Baiano of today, as has been seen, is the product of several centuries of historical evolution along lines distinct from those of Central and Southern Brazil and to a lesser degree from those of the rest of the Northeast. A significant feature of the development of the Recôncavo was the social cohesiveness which derived in a large measure from the original strength and periodic re-enforcement of the slave labor latifundia system. Although this system was operative in other regions of Brazil, it was generally less highly organized, and its vestiges have had less impact on contemporary society. In the Recôncavo it remained the chief cohesive social force until the end of the nineteenth century, and cultural and economic survivals of the system remain in force today.

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249 Rope tobacco, fumo em corda, is a twist of sweetened, fermented tobacco of rope-like appearance which is smoked in pipes or in hand-made cigarettes or may be used as a chewing tobacco--however, the habit of chewing tobacco is not common in the Recôncavo. This type of tobacco originally was produced for exchange in the slave trade, but at the present time it is consumed almost exclusively by the rural lower class. The urban lower class, formerly also consumers of rope tobacco, are turning increasingly to manufactured cigarettes, which for the most part are made from the tobacco grown in Rio Grande do Sul.

In general the production of leaf tobacco in Brazil is restricted to the Recôncavo and adjacent sections of Bahia, but rope tobacco is a product of the sertão of Bahia and the northeastern interior and of Minas Gerais. In Bahia the moderate rainfall and the sandy soils of the humid edge of the crystalline zone, in areas of caatinga or mata vegetation, produce a relatively mild leaf. The best--most valuable--leaf of Bahia is the Mata grade of the Southwestern Recôncavo and certain adjacent municípios.[14] Of the Mata grade, the highest quality comes from Cruz das Almas. Rope tobacco is made primarily from the harsh, strong leaves grown in the sertão, but it is made also from leaves of poorer plants or very strong end-of-season leaves of plants originally harvested for fumo em fôlha. Thus the Recôncavo may sometimes produce small quantities of rope tobacco, but the main Bahian production is north of the Recôncavo in the agreste, especially in Inhambupe and Entre Rios.

The cultivation of tobacco will be discussed in the chapter on agricultural systems (Chapter VI), but one singular characteristic of its harvesting should be borne in mind in evaluating production statistics. In distinction to cultivation of quality tobacco in most other parts of the world, Bahia-Brasil is harvested repeatedly until

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175 Cachoeira, which
178 formerly included most of the western part of the region, was the center
249 of the production of tobacco for use in the slave trade. The growth of
[567] the trade in leaf tobacco in the nineteenth century brought great changes
[439] to the region, for it made tobacco a major commercial product in its own right, no longer dependent upon the slave trade. Eventually this development gave the region of tobacco production a greater economic importance than the sugar cane region, although it remained subordinate in political and social influence. The development of the new tobacco economy also gave the region a greater superiority over the sertão, which could satisfactorily produce fumo en corda, but could grow only the poorest grades of fumo em fôlha.

174 Probably the tobacco-manioc region supplied manioc as the sub-
244 sistence food of the sugar economy, since it is the only nearby area
249 which was a center of manioc production. Perhaps manioc was produced
433 in the sugar cane zone, but in view of the intensity of sugar cane cultivation, this seems doubtful. In any case, the present relative level of manioc production in this crop region probably dates from the nineteenth century development of cigar tobacco production.

249 The second basic crop region of the Recôncavo is the sugar cane
311 monocultural area. It is sub-divided into a major zone, in Santo Amaro, São Sebastião, and São Francisco; a minor zone in Cachoeira; and an outlier in São Filipe. It is estimated that in the first two zones 90 per cent of the cropland was in cane in 1948. In the São Filipe outlier of the sugar cane region the proportion seems to have been lower--perhaps 50 per cent of the cultivated area.

The physical association of the sugar cane region north of the
[13] Rio Paraguaçu and the Bay is relatively simple--a humid and formerly forested undulating plain composed of mixed Cretaceous soils--massapê, salão, and areia. In São Filipe the land is rougher, but the sugar cane is grown upon heavy soils similar to the Cretaceous series.

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249 industry than the aristocrats, as the partial rationalization of the
565 sugar system since 1900 testifies. However, the entry of even these
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571 relatively progressive and forward-looking business men into an industry whose only future is that guaranteed by the protection of the government does not reveal a willingness either to accept short-term risks or to make an investment in the long-term future of the Recôncavo.

175 Tobacco, as has been seen, began its history as an auxiliary of
277 the sugar cane economy. The development of the commercial tobacco
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439 economy since 1800 indicates a greater flexibility than is characteristic
[567] of the sugar industry. When the decline of the slave trade brought an end to the African market for fumo em corda, the tobacco economy turned
277 to a new product, fumo em fôlha, and to a new market, Europe. Unlike
439 the sugar of the Recôncavo, Bahian tobacco has been able to compete successfully in the European market against leaf imported from Cuba and from Sumatra. Moreover, the leaf tobacco of Bahia dominates the internal market of Brazil to a degree not equaled by the local sugar industry for several centuries.

There are several possible explanations for the relatively
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472 greater flexibility of the tobacco economy. Several of the more promi-
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178 nent firms in the manufacturing of cigars and in the export of tobacco have foreign origins or are owned by people of European background. Indirectly these firms may have affected the operation of the tobacco economy, but it is difficult to find any signs of significant changes in the methods of cultivation. On the other hand, the tobacco industry and trade seem to have been spared the unimaginative and inflexible leadership which the aristocratic upper class of the Recôncavo has given to the sugar industry.

249 Tobacco cultivation by its very nature is more flexible than
[457] the system of sugar production. Instead of the usina, which must be

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175 as with pride and love for having made it appear from untamed wilds."[1] After his death the land passed to his son, who died shortly after and left the property to his sister, the Countess of Linhares and wife of Fernando Noronha. Noronha died not too long after, and his wife remarried, again becoming a widow and also losing her own children. At her death in 1618, what had not already been sold of the land was bequeathed to various religious organizations.[2]

It was reported in 1587 that there were fourteen plantations in the area that later became the county of Vila Recôncavo.[3] In 1591 the Franciscans went through the Recôncavo, looking for a place to build a convent. They established a "small hospice" in 1618 on what is now plantation "N" (see map of community). This hospice lasted only two years, for in 1620 the friars returned to Salvador.[4] In 1624 the Franciscans returned to the town, selected a spot of high ground on the shoreline overlooking the Bay of All Saints, and started to construct a chapel and convent. At this time Gaspar dos Reis Pinto was in possession of plantation "N," which included the area chosen by the Franciscans for their construction. In 1633 Gaspar gave 143 square braças (1 braça=6 ft.) to the religious order.[5] With the founding of the convent, the town of Vila Recôncavo received a major impulse, becoming a nucleus for further development.

175 The seventeenth century saw a period of great expansion in
165 the Recôncavo--the erection of many plantations and the in-
567 crease of population, mainly due to the importation of great
634 numbers of African slaves. During this period the first two formal administrative divisions of the Recôncavo were organized. In Vila Recôncavo, a military district created in 1668 was the first formal unit. Troubles with the Dutch in the
712 early part of the century and continuing invasions and sack-
175 ings by pirates led to the necessity of fortifying appropriate
634 places in the Recôncavo, such as the mouths of rivers emp-
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1. J. Wanderley de Araujo Pinho, Testamento de Mem de Sá (Rio de Janeiro, 1941), p. 33.

2. Ibid., p. 19.

3. Gabriel Soares de Sousa, Noticias do Brasil (São Paulo, n.d.), I, Book I, 282.

4. de Araujo Pinho, Testamento de Mem de Sá, p. 54.

5. Ibid.

slave quarters. The entire unit formed a small village, for each plantation needed many specialists--carpenters, ironsmiths, bricklayers, coopers, sailors, fishermen, a barber, tailor, cowboy, chaplain--in addition to those whose trade was that of making sugar. In the morning the agricultural workers, cutters, and drivers went out to work in the fields, returning later in the day. Because of the size of the plantation and the number of its slaves--which frequently reached two or three hundred--the casa grande, settled among its royal palms and overlooking the mill, the slave quarters, the chapel, and other buildings, took on a distinct village appearance.

The owner and absolute ruler of these domains was the senhor de engenho, a title which became a symbol of wealth and later of nobility. The senhor de engenho dominated Bahia, and indeed all of the sugar-producing area of Alagoas and Pernambuco, for many years, socially and politically, until sugar was surpassed in importance by other crops and industries. Even much later, however, when sugar was less profitable and other activities surpassed it in economic importance to the nation, the plantation master was still a prominent figure, at least in northeastern Brazil.

Each unit was a complete entity in itself, with its sobrado, chapel, mill, slave quarters, slaves, cane fields, pastures, oxen, and forest land. The pattern for the Recôncavo plantation was set in the early years. Today many of the original boundary lines still exist, and the plantations have often kept their original names. In addition to cultivating several units of 700 to 1,000 acres within the land grant, the owner also often rented smaller parcels of land to lavradores--free individuals who with a few slaves cultivated a small amount of sugar cane which they sent to the plantation to be milled and made into sugar. These people were the nearest approach to small-scale farmers in the Recôncavo; however, they did not own their own land and were completely dependent upon the plantation master. There are many sad tales of small farmers who were cheated by the master and virtually became his slaves. They had to send their cane to his mill and often were told the cane was dry, or sour, or that less had been sent than they recorded. In all this it was necessary to take the word of the plantation's bookkeeper. There was no court of appeals--only the master, who represented law, order, and justice in the Recôncavo.

As time went on the aspect of the sesmaria was lost, and the plantation complex became the principal characteristic.

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These houses (solares, or sobrados) were enormous, constructed of stone and mortar, with wooden floors and ceilings. Stone and wood were themselves a sign of wealth, since it was necessary to bring them from a great distance. The furniture was often of handworked rosewood. Affluence was especially shown in table service of silver, porcelain, and crystal, most of which was imported from Europe. Members of the families frequently dressed in fine damask silks and were adorned with fine jewelry of gold and precious stones. It was not unusual for the plantation master to dress a few of his favorite slaves almost as well as his family and to parade them to church as an indication of his wealth. Another method of demonstrating wealth was the support of churches, especially that of the Tertiary Order of Franciscans.

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The plantation master eventually lost his prominence. When the capital of the colony was moved from Bahia to Rio de Janeiro in 1763 he was no longer so politically powerful, except locally, for there was too much distance between him and the new capital. Transportation was poor and communication still poorer. Also, other crops--namely coffee, cotton, rubber, and finally cacao--became more valuable than sugar. The abolition of slavery in 1888 was the final blow to the power of the plantation master.

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It was usually admitted that the greatest wealth or source of wealth of the plantation master was his slaves. At first the Portuguese colonists tried to enslave the Indians and put them to work on the sugar plantations, but the Indians sickened and died off easily. There was also great opposition, on the part of the Jesuits, to the enslavement of Indians. The importation of African slaves seemed to be the solution. From the middle of the sixteenth century until about the middle of the nineteenth century ships plied back and forth from Bahia to the west coast of Africa, carrying tobacco, leather, and rum to be traded for slaves. The African slave always brought a higher price in the market in Bahia than did the Indian slave. It was considered that a normal plantation or mill of a thousand acres needed approximately two hundred slaves, divided among the fields, the mill, the various skills, and the house of the owner. In the nineteenth century the procurement of slaves became increasingly difficult as a result of European, North American, and even Brazilian opposition to slavery. In the mid-nineteenth century the slave trade was officially prohibited and the traffic became clandestine. The prices of slaves soared at this

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*249 time and remained high until the 1888 decree which ended slavery completely. Before this time there had already been a great deal of manumission.

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571 In fact, it is distinctive of the entire region that the relations between the whites and the slaves were relatively warm and intimate. Gilberto Freyre describes the intimacy between the moleque (little Negro boy) and the master's son as playmates, between the master's wife and her domestics, between the Negro nursemaid and her white charges, between Negroes and whites in other close relationships on these plantations. A good deal of race mixture occurred. It is still a joke in this region to say that a particular plantation owner "populated the area."

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[654] The crises through which the sugar industry passed during its four-hundred-year history are interesting and worthy of consideration. During the first fifty years of production (until early in the seventeenth century), the sugar industry prospered and expanded. It was a "period of formation, official protection, and government stimulation, during which the liberties of production, transportation, prices and commerce suffered little or no restrictions."[1] The seventeenth

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648 century, however, was full of crises, one of the greatest being the war with Holland. In 1624 the Dutch attempted to capture Bahia but were repulsed. However, they sailed along the shores of the Bay of All Saints, burning and sacking plantations and setting fire to the cane fields. In the north the Dutch succeeded in capturing Pernambuco, which they retained for twenty-four years, also engaging in the production of sugar. In 1644 the Dutch governor, Maurice of Nassau, was recalled to Holland, and the colony was left undirected. The Brazilians revolted and recaptured Pernambuco.

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[458] In 1666 there was an epidemic of smallpox in the Recôncavo which reduced the slave population and left many plantation owners without laborers. There followed a period of near-famine for some years, due to the lack of food-plant cultivation. While this situation continued, plantation masters frequently mortgaged their plantations in order to buy new

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1. J. Wanderley de Araujo Pinho, Historia de um engenho do Recôncavo, 1552-1944 (Rio de Janeiro, 1946), p. 193. The following three paragraphs are a condensation of the material contained in pp. 193-220 (author's translation).

have little to do with the residents. At the end of the season they can be seen walking along the paths of the Recôncavo toward the north, each man carrying over his shoulder a stick from which is suspended a cloth bundle containing his few possessions. 249* 464

One prominent aspect of the relationships between people in this hierarchy is the intimacy and familiarity which has for so long characterized the Recôncavo. While slavery was not a benign institution anywhere, there was a softness in the relations between the Brazilian and his slaves which seems to have been absent in other slave areas. This quality persists today on private plantations such as Fazenda das Moças between the owner and the workers. Dona Sinhá knows the residents by name or nickname, knows their background and present condition; the worker knows Dona Sinhá's family background, her children, and her extended family. 249* 466 571 [567]

The former master is now the patron. It is she who arbitrates any differences between workers, or between a worker and Seu Paulo. It is her task to protect the worker against injustices, to provide medical care, to aid at weddings and baptisms, in short to do all the things the worker is unable to do through ignorance, fear, or poverty.

The relationship between Dona Sinhá and Seu Paulo is a curious one, for neither one of them can do without the other. The role of overseer came into being for several reasons, the primary one being the absenteeism of the owner. In order to keep the plantation running properly all year long it was necessary for someone with knowledge and authority to be present all the time; so the former feitor-mor became known as the overseer, with a house larger and better than that of anyone else on the plantation except the owner. As time went on, the overseer gathered more and more rights and privileges unto himself, until today he is the veritable owner of the plantation in all but the legal sense. He has the confidence and loyalty of the workmen, without which he would be a failure. He eventually becomes related to nearly all of them through the system of godparentship; in fact, he is more sought after than the owner for this purpose. On the Fazenda das Moças, the overseer is paid a higher salary than any other overseer in the area--as much as Cr$1.500,00 a month in comparison with Cr$1.000,00 or less for the others. In addition he receives a bonus at the end of the year, one cruzeiro for each ton of sugar cane the plantation produced during the year. 249* 463 466 571 [608] [465]

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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parently the criteria for class distinctions were evolved and "set" at that time. The white Portuguese males, and the few Portuguese women present, were the owners of the land and of the people, both Indian and Negro, who were drawn into the cultural milieu which became Brazilian society. They were the group who set up and presented the ideal behavior patterns to the others. They were at the peak of the status and prestige hierarchy, while the slave was at the bottom. Thus was established the original dichotomy of the whites as upper-class and the colored people as lower-class. As colonial development continued, other factors were added to this basic one by the will of the whites. For it was the white group which was primarily responsible for the creation of the mestiço, and it was the white who placed this new mestiço socially between himself and the darkest colored person. 175 56

It is clear that color distinctions arose along with the creation of the multishaded mestiço group, and that at the same time other factors were brought into being, qualifying that of color, such as education, family, and occupation. White masters who had children by dark slaves often raised them as legitimate if they were light-skinned, that is, if the difference between father and child was not too great. In such a case the child could become a member of the upper end of the social hierarchy, with education, family, and a position in which he could command others rather than do any manual labor. 175 563 565*

This was particularly the case when the white master did not have a legitimate, European wife to bear him children. If the difference between father and offspring was too great for the child to be easily acceptable as the son of a European, the child was nevertheless not infrequently partially recognized and helped by the father in some fashion. He then took his place among the gente pequena, free but illegitimate and rather dark-skinned. With marked Negroid features his status was even lower than the European gente pequena. An illegitimate child who proved to be clearly Negroid was likely to be left in bondage with its mother. Thus, early in Brazilian society the degree of skin darkness and the kind of facial features and hair form became important. Opportunity for personal advancement was linked with similarity to the white European, who was the giver of status and who liked to give higher status to those in his image. 175 563 565* 848 175 563 565*

Until 1888 there were two major social categories: slaves and nonslaves. Within the nonslave group, however, there 175 565* 567

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•567 were definite subdivisions or classes, with the white European landowner at the top and the darkest-colored free laborer at the bottom. This bottom group grew constantly as a result of the addition of manumitted slaves, especially during the second half of the nineteenth century.

Abolition of slavery removed the strongest barrier to mobility for the largest homogeneous segment of Brazilian population, that of the slaves. Overnight the former slaves became the bottom rank of a new prestige system based mainly on five major criteria: economic power or wealth, profession, education, family, and color. As the lower ranks swelled in size after the abolition, color decreased in importance for mobility, as the other four factors became increasingly meaningful for this large segment of the population. Because of the fact that for three hundred years such a large part of the nonslave population had been colored or mestiço, and there was already in existence a social scale which included them, the entrance of the former slaves into free society did not upset what was already a fully functioning class system, even though the addition of so many people to the bottom class made this by far the largest, numerically.

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*565 The abolition of slavery also gave increased emphasis to class competition, or at least to the possibilities of competition among a greatly enlarged number of people. Nevertheless, the gap between the top of the hierarchy, the regional aristocracy, and any of those below remained as great as before, restricting class competition to the members of the lower classes. Few people from below were able to enter the uppermost group unless they were white and had in some way accumulated sufficient wealth. Some merchants moved into this class through the purchase of property as former aristocratic families died out. As time went on, many people in the upper brackets of the middle class maintained easy social relations with the upper class.

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*565 However, formal marriage between colored people of the ranks below and white people of the upper class has always been forbidden; the small group of landowners and other upper-class people continued to intermarry as they had for centuries. Nevertheless, even this barrier has broken down occasionally, for upper-class people have married and do marry persons known to be of mixed descent. Usually, however, the mestiço partner in such a union is very light-skinned and comes from a family in good economic circumstances which

3: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1963 S011 Bahia Brazilians S011
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RACE RELATIONS IN A RURAL COMMUNITY OF THE BAHIAN RECÔNCAVO[1]

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by
HARRY W. HUTCHINSON

I. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, a narrow strip along the north-eastern coast of Brazil in what are now the States of Pernambuco, Alagoas, Sergipe and Bahia, was the most important region of economic, political and social life in the whole colony. The rainfall along this portion of the coast is dependable and the extremely fertile soil, which was originally covered with thick forests, was ideally suited for sugar cane. By the seventeenth century, this region produced a large part of the world's sugar supply. Sugar, which was then a luxury in Europe, brought fabulous profits, and the north-eastern coast of Brazil became an exceedingly prosperous colony. Large cities grew up along the coast; Salvador in Bahia and Recife in Pernambuco became the most important centres of colonial life, and Salvador was the capital of the colony from 1549 to 1763. Both were cities of great wealth based on the booming sugar industry. The numerous churches built in Salvador during the period of opulence, with their elaborate gold-leafed wood carving and polychrome tile work, are witnesses to the tremendous wealth of the era.

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It was the plantation system, the basis of this lucrative sugar industry, which gave this region many of its characteristic traditions and formed patterns of race relations which have persisted in a modified form into the present. Gilberto Freyre in his monumental *Casa Grande e Senzala*, and other Brazilian writers [1],[2] have described life on these sugar plantations. African slaves provided the manpower. More than three million Negroes were imported from Africa during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and a large proportion came to the sugar plantations of north-eastern Brazil. The Portuguese plantation owners became rich, and came to form a regional aristocracy with a luxurious and ostentatious way of life. The slaves and their masters, on these plantations, formed two distinct social groups, but it is distinctive of the region that their relations were intimate and warm; Freyre describes the intimacy between the *moleque* (Negro lad) and the master's son as playmates, between the master's wife and her domestic servants, between the Negro nurse and her white charges, and other close

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[1] In addition to thanking those persons listed in the introduction to this series of articles for their aid and co-operation in making this study possible, I wish to thank the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Charitable Foundation Inc. and the Department of Anthropology of Columbia University, whose grants of funds contributed largely to the possibility of this study. Also, to acknowledge with thanks the aid of Carmelita Junqueira Ayres and Elisa Amelia Ferreira for their assistance in the collection of the data.

[2] The figures in brackets refer to the bibliography on page 46.

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ties between Negroes and whites on these colonial plantations. All writers have mentioned the frequency of sexual relations between the white plantation owners and their female slaves. Slavery was not a humane institution in Brazil or elsewhere, but in Brazil relations between the slave and the master were of a more personal nature than in other regions where slavery existed in the New World.

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By the middle of the last century, the West Indies and other regions of the world were competing with the Brazilian north-east for the world sugar market; and the abolition of slavery in 1888 caused difficulties of labour supply on these plantations. The sugar industry no longer provided the great wealth that it had in the past, and many of the old plantations were abandoned or sold to large commercial companies who installed modern equipment for large-scale sugar production. Plantation slaves became wage labourers, and the old traditional patterns of behaviour between the Negro slave and the white plantation-owning aristocrat began to disappear, to be replaced by an impersonal employee-employer relationship in keeping with the new way of life. Yet many patterns persist from the days of the old plantation system. Many of the descendants of the aristocratic plantation owners try to preserve the old traditions. They are proud of their family names, and large aristocratic families are still important in the economic and social life of the region. In many rural localities, there are still plantations where the relations between the workers and the owners are highly personalized, as they were in the past, and where customs and traditions formed during the period of opulence and slavery continue, if modified, by modern conditions. Throughout this part of Brazil, the relations between people of different racial groups have been influenced by the large proportion of Negroes in the population, by the importance of slavery in the relatively recent past, and by the particular form which the relations between the Negro slave and the European master took on the plantations.

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II. The community with which the present article is concerned is called Vila Recôncavo; it is a real town situated in the zone known as the Recôncavo which surrounds Salvador, the capital of the State of Bahia, and which borders on the Bay of All Saints, extending inland from the shores of the bay some 30 miles on the northern side, and considerably less on the southern side. The Recôncavo was characteristic of the whole north-eastern plantation region. The Portuguese who settled in Salvador in 1549 recognized the value of these lands around the new city and the Bay of All Saints for sugar production. The third governor of Bahia, Mem de Sá (1557–74),

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The most valuable property of a colonial *engenho*, however, was the slaves. Comparatively few Portuguese came to the Recôncavo, and even those among them who had been labourers in Portugal did not come to Brazil to do manual work. African slaves had already been used on sugar plantations in the Madeira Islands, and a slave system was imported into Brazil along with sugar cane. Although it was expressly prohibited by the Portuguese Government,[4] the early settlers in Bahia enslaved the Indians who did not flee or who were not killed in the early fighting with the colonists. Governor Mem de Sá's Testament lists 95 Indian men slaves, 84 Indian women slaves and only 20 African slaves.[5] From the start, however, Indians were considered inferior to Africans as slaves; they seemed unable to adapt themselves to continuous labour in the fields and mills. Yet in many cases they were kept as fishermen, hunters and boatmen for the *engenho*, being in these activities superior to the newly-arrived Negroes. By 1700, the Negro slaves greatly outnumbered the Europeans in the region, and there were but few Indian slaves. Slave was almost synonymous with Negro.

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An inventory of an *engenho* of about 650 acres, made in 1866 shortly before the end of slavery, gives a total value of 200 contos[1] for the *engenho*. The land, houses, slaves and livestock were valued at 125 contos; the value of the slaves alone was placed at 65 contos. The inventory divides the slaves into two categories: house slaves *(escravos de casa)* and work slaves *(escravos de lavoura)*. There were 18 house slaves and 103 work slaves. Among the house slaves were 1 barber-tailor-painter, 6 servants, 1 cook, 2 seamstresses and 1 apprentice seamstress, 2 sweet-makers, 2 laundresses, and 3 children without specific 'profession', as their occupation was called. Of the work slaves, 59 were listed as field workers (26 men and 33 women of all ages above the age of 12), 18 as small children, and 26 as specialists—including 4 ox-cart drivers, 5 sailors, 2 ironsmiths, 3 bricklayers, 1 field manager, 1 ship captain, 1 gardener, 1 barrel-maker, 1 specialist in the boiling of sugar, and 1 nurse. The prices of the slaves ran from 'without value' or as low as 20 milreis to as high as 1 conto 400 milreis, depending upon the age, physical condition and degree of skill of the slave.[2] The slaves were always listed in such inventories as foreign- or native-born and generally, if it were known, the place or tribe of origin was given. Many are listed simply as *Africano*. For those born in Brazil, the terms used are *Pardo*, *Cabra* or *Crioulo*; the diminutive form of these terms is used for all

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[1] The conto is a unit of Brazilian currency, composed of 1,000 milreis. The milreis, or cruzeiro as it is also called today, is the standard unit of currency. In 1951 the milreis was officially valued at 5.27 cents in U.S. currency, making the conto worth $52.70. However, it must be kept in mind that in 1866 the value of the milreis was considerably higher.

[2] In 1855 this same *engenho* had 68 house slaves and 155 work slaves. The highest valued slave was 900 milreis.

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567 those under 12 years of age.[1] Of the 121 slaves listed in the particular inventory mentioned above, 40 were African. Most of these came from West Africa. Of those whose African origin is indicated, *Nago* (Yoruba) is most often listed, and *Gege* (Ewe) is second.

249 On these sugar plantations of the Recôncavo in the colonial period, the overseer of all operations involved in the growth of sugar cane
565 and production of sugar was the owner himself. Generally, only the
463 oldest son was trained to take over his duties on the plantation; the younger sons were sent to Salvador, to Recife, or even to Europe to be educated as lawyers, physicians, engineers or Catholic priests. Daughters were married early and given their dowry, or they were
[582] sent to convents to become nuns or live as lay sisters. Marriages with first cousins were frequent. Every effort was made to keep the plantation undivided and in the family. The Recôncavo sugar plantation, until about the middle of the nineteenth century, was a remarkably stable community changing little in size and organization from generation to generation.

249 After the abolition of slavery, there was a partial exodus of ex-
567 slaves from the plantations to nearby towns and to the capital of Bahia. The ex-slaves who moved to small towns became manual
463 labourers or fishermen, or engaged in the profession they had learned on the plantations, such as barbering, bricklaying, etc. In other
464 cases, ex-slaves rented small plots of land on neighbouring plantations to raise manioc, corn, tobacco and other crops which required little
[427] outlay of capital. Others became sugar planters on a small scale; known as *rendeiros*, they rented a few acres from a plantation and cultivated sugar cane, sending the product to the nearby *engenhos* for milling. In other cases, the ex-slaves simply moved from one plantation to another, or they often remained as free men on the same plantation, still engaged in raising sugar cane, living under the same
249 conditions as before, but legally free. Contrary to popular opinion,
433 the *engenhos* of the Recôncavo did not all cease operations after
567 abolition. Many of them kept on producing as before. In other cases the *engenho* or mill closed down while the plantation continued to plant sugar cane, sending it to a nearby *engenho* which was still functioning for milling. Some *engenhos*, however, did close down altogether and were abandoned, or went into the hands of receivers.
249 At this time many plantations changed owners—wealthy people in
471 the city were able to buy lands at a low cost and did so. But the
567 failure of many of the *engenhos* in the Recôncavo was not a direct result of abolition, it was rather the continuation of an economic
[425] trend which had been going on for a long time. For many years previous to abolition, the plantations of the Recôncavo had suffered from lack of capital, poor administration, occasional crop failure, and

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[1] In the inventories, *pardo* indicated light skin; *mulato*, dark skin; and *crioulo*, black. These same terms nowadays are used differently in the Recôncavo. See page 30 ff.

from the competition of other sugar-producing areas. Abolition was the factor which, in many cases, simply ended a struggle several decades old.

The overall production of sugar in the Recôncavo was already dropping noticeably at the time of abolition, and it continued to decrease afterwards. At the end of the last century, state-supported *usinas*, or large mechanical factories for milling sugar cane, were opened in an effort to stimulate sugar production. At the same time, various other *usinas* were opened by private capital. These central mills received and processed the sugar cane of many plantations. The *usina* had the advantage of freeing the planter from the worries of milling and marketing the sugar, allowing him to concentrate on higher production of sugar cane, while the mechanized *usina* was able to produce more sugar out of the cane, thus increasing production. This system of sugar production proved relatively lucrative, and the government *usinas* passed into private hands. The owners of *usinas* bought as many neighbouring plantations as possible, and in this way the *usineiros*, as they were called, became at the same time the mill owners and sugar-cane planters—employers of factory workers and of agricultural workers. The plantations which did not pass into the hands of an *usina* became *fornecedores*, supplying cane to one or another large sugar mill.

The *usina* system, however, in many respects did little to change the traditional plantation system. The plantations belonging to *usineiros* continue as separate units; each generally had an administrator, a man responsible to the *usineiro*, who is in charge of the plantation. As a rule the administrator, who is an employee of the *usina*, lives in the old *sobrado*, the former residence of the *senhor do engenho*, as the old plantation owners were known. The workers on the plantations and their families frequently still live in *senzala*-like houses, usually a long narrow building under one roof divided into separate apartments of two or three rooms. Despite many changes of technology, many examples of the old and the new exist side by side on these Recôncavo plantations. On the same plantation both mechanical tractor and ox traction may be used to pull plows. There are workers' houses side by side, one with electricity and a radio, and another using candles and kerosene lamps. Furthermore, the hierarchy of workers and specialists in sugar-cane raising persists little modified from the early nineteenth century. There are the field hands, the ox-cart drivers, the artisans and other specialists. The plantation is also approximately the same size as it was in the early nineteenth century (although several may be the property of one company nowadays) and it has about the same number of hired workers as it had slaves before.

But the *usina* system and other outside influences have made for many fundamental changes in the Recôncavo. In the very large

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colony's development); gypsies destined to play a role in the subsequent slave trade and to bequeath their name permanently to the section of the city in which they settled; prostitutes and orphan girls sent over in limited numbers as wives by the Crown; and a few hardy peasant colonists, with their families, from Portugal, the Cape Verde Islands, and the Azores.

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This incoming wave of European population met the indigenous Indians and eventually absorbed or expelled them from the coast. In and about Bahia they were the Tupinambás and the Tupiniquins, part of the earlier Tupí expansion from the south, and of very primitive culture. The wifeless soldiers and colonists took Indian or half-breed women, first for concubines and later for legally married wives, and soon a numerous mixed-blood population sprang up which was gradually absorbed into the dominant white. Indian males were annihilated in battle, died from the rigors of slavery, or were driven, together with their women and children, far back into the interior. When they put up too stubborn resistance, whole villages were deliberately exterminated, one of the most effective means being the planting of smallpox germs from the clothing of a recent victim of the disease. The Indians, previously strangers to this European malady, rapidly succumbed.

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As early as the middle of the sixteenth century there began at Bahia extensive and prolonged Negro importation from Africa, and Bahia's Bay of All Saints subsequently served for generations as the principal port of entry into Brazil for this black commerce from the African coast. This involuntary population movement to Brazil eventually became what is, probably, the greatest intercontinental displacement of Negro peoples which ever occurred.

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At Bahia in 1807, 1809, 1813, 1816, 1826, 1827, 1828, and 1830, slave revolts broke out, terminating in the serious Malê uprising of 1835. There existed here, particularly in the nineteenth century, a well-established group of Negro disciples of the prophet Mohammed. Here Nagô was for a long time a Negro lingua franca (or, to use the corresponding Portuguese expression, a *lingua geral*), and Nagô is still occasionally to be heard among some of the older blacks. Here one might have encountered in the years just preceding abolition in 1888 an interesting paradox: while at home Bahia clung tenaciously to slavery, she was known abroad for the eloquence of her abolition orators.[3] Here, also, one might have observed the gradual fusion of Catholic belief and ritual with African mythology and religious practice, evidences of which may be seen today in *candomblés*, or fetish-cult centers, like that of Gantois, for example, whose ceremonies have been carried on in the same sacred place for many decades.

In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries Bahia became one of the world's great sugar centers where a small aristocracy, as is attested today by the pretentious edifices still standing, achieved great wealth. As early as 1587 there were forty-seven sugar *engenhos*[4] in and about Bahia, and

[3] See Luiz Anselmo da Fonseca, *A escravidão, o clero e o abolicionismo* (Bahia, 1887), *passim*. This book, although obviously written as abolition propaganda, cites names, places, and dates to support its contentions and does not overlook negative cases.

[4] Each *engenho* consisted of a sugar plantation and a mill for processing the cane. Those at Bahia often had a capacity of a thousand tons or more yearly. Each was largely a self-sustaining economic unit, dependent upon the labor of numbers of Negro slaves. H. Morse Stephens says (*Portugal* [New York, 1903], p. 228) that sugar cane was imported into Brazil from the Madeira Islands in 1548.

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these, together with the plantations of Pernambuco, supplied a large part of the sugar for the tables of Europe.

By 1670 Bahia was a wealthy capital boasting that her flag was known upon the seven seas. Ships from the Portuguese empire in the East called regularly on their way back to Portugal. By the early eighteenth century Bahia had grown into a city of 70,000, her commerce protected by the cross-fire of fourteen forts. Six- and seven-story buildings were common; the possession of carved ebony furniture had become a symbol of social standing; silks, palanquins, and the finest porcelain were imported from China. In the surrounding cane fields toiled, it is estimated, ten times as many slaves as in Virginia. A century later, Lindley, an English smuggler, after admiring the abundance of gold jewelry worn by the women of Bahia, looked out over the shipping in the harbor and wrote of "a degree of wealth unknown in Europe."

Bahia continued to be the first commercial city of Brazil until about 1830,[1] when she finally yielded front rank to São Paulo, the rising young metropolis to the south. But during the entire colonial period (1549–1822), Bahia possessed the principal Brazilian firms and the largest Brazilian fortunes.

During the first two centuries of the colonial era, Bahia was the seat of Portuguese control in Brazil, the official residence of high functionaries representing the Portuguese crown. Even after the government was transferred to Rio (1763), Bahia continued to play a prominent role in the politics of the colony and, subsequent to independence

[1] In 1868, although the decline in sugar production was by that time well advanced, Bahia had 511 *engenhos* producing nearly 19,000 tons of sugar a year.

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Outside the city of Bahia and skirting the rim of All Saints Bay lies the Reconcavo,[7] some sixty miles long and varying from a few to thirty miles wide. Its soil is a cretaceous marl of great thickness, similar to the black gumbo of southern Arkansas and northern Texas, known locally as *massapé* or, in literal translation, "that which sticks to the feet." It is quite fertile and well watered and today appears only slightly impaired after nearly four centuries of cultivation. This is the cane and tobacco area upon which formerly both Bahia's commercial greatness and her need for reliable agricultural (hence slave) labor was based.

The Reconcavo was formerly a center of large landholdings, of a rural aristocracy, of a patriarchal system, and of slavery. Today, cane and tobacco are still cultivated, although the former, and to some extent the latter, languish by reason of the condition of the world-market and the persistence of primitive techniques of production. Although large landholdings are still common, the rural aristocracy is decadent, its prestige having suffered a gradual but persistent decline throughout the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries with the loss of the sugar monopoly, the growth of the coastal towns, and the accompanying increase in prestige of the urban professional classes. The abolition of slavery in the late nineteenth century was the final blow, and absentee ownership is now the predominating pattern. However, the present population is more dense in the Reconcavo than elsewhere in the state outside the city of Bahia and remains to this day markedly negroid in character.

[7] The literal meanings of the Portuguese word *reconcavo* are (1) a bay of semicircular shape and (2) the environs of a city. These two meanings appear to have fused in the Bahian use of the term.

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565 Conversation is carried on in the Portuguese
[197] vernacular, with a limited vocabulary and numerous errors
[489] in grammar. Many words of African or native Indian origin
[771] are commonly heard. Transport is primitive. Here the fetish cult, and the attitudes, sentiments, and beliefs associated
[794] with it, gains its most zealous and faithful devotees. Here, cut off quite sharply from participation in the upper levels of European culture, live that portion of the population which the upper classes refer to as *o povo*, and who think of themselves as *os pobres* ("the poor").

The social gulf between the *pobres* of the valleys and the *ricos* of the ridges is wide and not easy to bridge. This is, of course, to be anticipated in a society with an aristocratic tradition whose upper circles still look somewhat askance upon manual labor and have always regarded education, family connection, and "good breeding" as indices of class.
[1068] Attitudes in this respect have changed little since the time
[567] when the abolitionist Anselmo da Fonseca felt it necessary to apologize for including the name of "a man of the people," a humble Negro shoemaker, among the prominent upper-class abolitionists of Bahia, arguing that "intelligence, patriotism, and truth are not the privilege of any one class" and explaining that this particular individual had been more useful to the abolition cause than many "more noble."

565 The upper classes habitually refer to members of the lower
186 classes as *trabalhadores* ("laborers"), *operarios* ("workers"), or *o povo baixo* ("common people") and humorously caricature them by a cartoon character known as Zé Povinho, an illiterate, stupid, and unprepossessing lout. To their chil-
[867] dren they often direct such phrases as "não seja gentinha" ("don't be like common people"), "não tenha modos de gentinha" ("don't take up the manners of common people"), "não ligue a (or *para*) povo miudo" ("don't attach yourself

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175 162 de Oliveira estimated that there were then in Bahia province 147,263 unfree Negroes.[5]

464 The blacks were practically all introduced as slaves, Brazil being, until 1888, a slaveholding state.[6] Under the favor- •567 able conditions of a rich soil, intense tropical sunlight, and 249 plentiful rainfall common to the Reconcavo, sugar cane 175 thrived. Its cultivation and processing in a land of "open resources" demanded a constant and inexpensive labor supply which the Portuguese, by reason of insufficient numbers and imperfect acclimitization, were themselves unable to 567 furnish. At first, as in the West Indies and the United 464 States, the indigenous Indians were enslaved; and, after the 175 limited supply on the littoral was exhausted, raiding expeditions penetrated deep into the interior. But the Indians, familiar with only the crudest forms of agriculture, seminomadic, and as unaccustomed to settled and ordered plan-

Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro [tomo especial; Rio, 1927], p. 294).

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 293 and 330.

[6] For detailed information on the slave trade and slavery see, especially Perdigão Malheiro, *A escravidão no Brasil* (3 vols.; Rio, 1867); Percy A. Martin, "Slavery and Abolition in Brazil," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. XIII, No. 2 (1933); Louis Couty, *L'esclavage au Brésil* (Paris, 1881); Lawrence F. Hill, "The Abolition of the African Slave Trade to Brazil," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. XI, No. 2 (1931); Braz do Amaral, "Os grandes mercados de escravos africanos; as tribus importadas; sua distribuição regional," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro* (special vol; Rio, 1927), pp. 437–96; Affonso Claudio, "As tribus negras importadas," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro* (special vol., Part II; Rio, 1914), pp. 597–655; Mary W. Williams, "The Treatment of Brazilian Slaves in the Brazilian Empire," *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. XV (July, 1930); Evaristo de Moraes, *A escravidão africana no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1933); João Dornas Filho, *A escrividão no Brasil* (Rio, 1939); Roberto Simonsen, "As consequencias economicas da abolição," *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio), May 8, 1938; Affonso de E. Taunay, "Notas sobre as ultimas decadas do trafico," *ibid.*, July 24, July 31, August 7, 1938.

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tation life as they were at home in the near-by bush, proved inefficient and undependable workers.

Just the reverse was characteristic of the Africans, with whom the Portuguese had for some time been acquainted. As early as 1433,[7] Negro slaves had been imported into Portugal to labor on the large estates of the military and religious orders, particularly in the Algarves. Moreover, the West Coast of Africa lay within easy reach of Brazil, directly opposite its central and northern coasts.

The exact date when African importation began is unknown, although it is thought that the fleet which Martim Affonso de Souza in 1531 encountered in the bay at Bahia was engaged in the transport of slaves.[8] Sometime later in this same century[9] the slave trade began to gather momen-

[7] Prado cites a statement from Georg Friederici (*Der Charakter der Entdeckung und Eroberung Amerikas durch die Europaer* [3 vols.; Stuttgart, 1925–36]) to the effect that the first Africans were imported into Portugal in 1433, instead of 1441, as commonly thought. See J. F. de Almeida Prado, *Pernambuco e as capitanias do norte do Brasil* (2 vols.; São Paulo, 1939–41), I, 250 n. [114]

[8] Malheiro, *op. cit.*, III, 6; cf. Arthur Ramos, *As culturas negras no novo mundo* (Rio, 1937), p. 281.

[9] In a letter dated 1552 Padre Nobrega refers to having requested and received three slaves from Guinea. These arrived with others on orders from the king (see Ignacio Accioli de Cerqueira e Silva, *Memorias historicas e politicas da provincia da Bahia* [4 vols.; Bahia, 1919–33], I, 390). In another letter written June 5, 1559, Padre Nobrega refers to eight "Negros de Guiné" on the estate of one Andre Gavião at Bahia (see Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 442). In 1583 a certain Salvador Correa de Sá made a contract with João Gutteres Valerio in which he agreed to purchase every slave brought from Africa in his ship (F. Borges de Barros, *Novos documentos para a historia colonial* [Bahia, 1931], p. 77). Pedro Calmon (*op. cit.*, p. 178) gives 1548 as the year in which the traffic began, and Arthur Ramos (*The Negro in Brazil* [Washington, 1939], p. 3) says that the first shipment of slaves direct from the Guinea coast is thought to have occurred in 1538 in a vessel belonging to one Jorge Lopes Bixorda.

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tum, Bahia serving for at least two centuries as the principal port of entry.[10] The traffic opened in Guinea and the island of São Thomé, spread shortly to the Congo and Angola, and finally to distant Mozambique. It continued uninterruptedly for nearly three hundred years, assuming its largest proportions in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when first gold-mining and diamond-panning in Minas Geraes, and then the development of coffee cultivation in São Paulo, augmented the demand.[11] How many Africans were brought

[10] Often for transhipment to Rio or for overland delivery to Minas Geraes.

[11] Henry Koster, writing in the early nineteenth century, says of this trade: "As the voyage from the coast of Africa to the opposite shores of South America is usually short, for the winds are subject to little variation and the weather is usually fine, the vessels which are employed in this traffic are generally speaking small, and are not of the best construction. The situation of captain or master of a slave ship is considered of secondary rank in the Portuguese merchant-service; and the persons who are usually so occupied are vastly inferior to the generality of the individuals who command the large and regular trading vessels between Europe and Brazil. The slave ships were formerly crowded to a most shocking degree; nor was there any means of preventing this. But a law has been passed for the purpose of restricting the number of persons for each vessel. However, I more than suspect, that no attention is paid to this regulation. . . . . The slaves . . . . are placed in the streets before the doors of the owners, ... lying or sitting promiscuously upon the foot-path, sometimes to the number of two or three hundred. The males wear a small piece of blue cloth round their waist, which is drawn between the legs and fastened behind. The females are allowed a larger piece of cloth, which is worn as a petticoat; and sometimes a second portion is given to them, for the purpose of covering the upper parts of the body. The stench which is created by these assemblages is almost intolerable to one who is unaccustomed to their vicinity; and the sight of them, good God! is horrid beyond anything. These people do not, however, seem to feel their situation, any farther than that it is uncomfortable. Their food consists of salt meat, the flour of the manioc, beans, and plantain occasionally. The victuals for each day are cooked in the middle of the street in an enormous caldron. At night, they are driven into one or more warehouses: and a driver stands to count them as they pass. They are locked in; and the door is again opened at day-break on the following morning. The wish of these wretched creatures to escape from this state of

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in perhaps never will be known, but the number undoubtedly ran into millions.[12]

Angola furnished most of the importations during the late sixteenth[13] and the seventeenth centuries; Guinea, during the eighteenth and early nineteenth.[14] By 1710 Bahian to-

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inaction and discomfort is manifested upon the appearance of a purchaser. They start up willingly, to be placed in the row for the purpose of being viewed and handled like cattle: and on being chosen they give signs of much pleasure. I have had many opportunities of seeing slaves bought; for my particular friends at Recife lived opposite to slave dealers. I never saw any demonstrations of grief at parting from each other: but I attribute this to a resigned or rather despairing sensation, which checks any show of grief, and which has prepared them for the worst, by making them indifferent to whatever may occur: besides, it is not often, that a family is brought over together: the separation of relatives and friends has taken place in Africa. It is among the younger part of the assemblage of persons who are exposed for sale, that pleasure is particularly visible at the change of situation; the Negroes of more advanced age do whatever the driver desires, usually with an unchanged countenance. A species of relationship exists between the individuals who have been imported in the same ship. They call each other *malunges:* and this term is much regarded among them. The purchaser gives to each of his newly-bought slaves a large piece of baize and a straw hat and as soon as possible marches them off to his estate. I have often in travelling met with many parties going up to their new homes, and have observed that they were usually cheerful" (*Travels in Brazil, 1809 to 1815* [2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1817], I, 205–9).

[12] Affonso de E. Taunay, "Numeros do trafico," *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio), September 30, 1936. Estimates made by Brazilian writers range from three to eighteen millions, although the latter figure would appear to be considerably exaggerated. Ramos believes the number did not exceed five millions (*The Negro in Brazil*, p. 6).

[13] Especially after the founding of São Paulo de Loanda in 1575 (Calmon, *op. cit.*, pp. 178–79). See also *Dialogos das grandezas do Brasil*, ed. Rodolfo Garcia (Rio: Academia Brasileira de Letras, 1930), p. 143.

[14] In 1811 an agreement with England, actively enforced by the latter's cruisers, cut off importations from north of the Equator. Angola once more became the principal source of slave supply, and, between 1815 and 1850, approximately a million Angola Negroes, it is estimated, came in (Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 182).

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By 1710 Bahian tobacco[15] was being shipped in quantity to "the Mina coast," which for more than a century thereafter absorbed a full third of Bahia's production.[16] A visitor early in the eighteenth century referred to Bahia as "New Guinea";[17] while the natives of Guinea were said at that time to have called the outer world "Bahia."[18]

In 1781 fifty vessels were engaged in the Brazilian traffic, "eight or ten with Angola and the rest with the Sudanese coast."[19] In 1800 twenty vessels were plying the trade from Bahia alone. According to custom-house records, 29,172 Negroes from "the Mina coast" and the islands of São Thomé and Principe entered Bahia during the decade from

[15] *Aguardente*, or *cachaça* (cheap rum), sugar, and manioc meal were also extensively used for trading purposes, as similarly were cowries (*busios*) from the coast south of Bahia.

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[16] Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

[17] Amadeu Francisco Frézier, *Relation d'un voyage à la mer du sud* (Paris, 1716); cf. Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 185. The demand for slave labor in the gold fields of Minas Geraes so stimulated importations that La Barbinais, visiting Bahia in 1717, estimated that in that year 25,000 Africans were landed at Bahia. See Affonso de E. Taunay, *Na Bahia colonial* (Rio, 1925), p. 364.

[18] "It was principally to Bahia . . . . that the unfortunate sons of Lybia were brought, and it is for this reason that the natives of Guinea give the name of Bahia to Brazil, to America, and even to Europe" (Onesime Reclus, quoted by Manoel Querino, "A raça africana e os seus costumes na Bahia," *Annaes do quinto congresso brasileiro de geographia* [Rio, 1916], p. 626).

[19] Calmon, *op. cit.*, pp. 180–81. See letter of Silva Lisboa, *Annaes da Bibliotecа Nacional*, XXXII, 504. From September 29, 1771, to September 22, 1772, nine slave ships with 2,307 Negroes entered the port of Bahia. One ship, "Nossa Senhora do Rosario," carrying 371 Africans "and two babies at the breast" had not had a single death on the voyage. Another vessel, "Nossa Senhora da Conceição da Ponte," sailing from the Mina coast with a call at São Thomé, landed 13 without casualty, July 11, 1772. But other ships lost, respectively, 111 out of 374, 17 out of 468, 17 out of 158, 29 out of 233, 11 out of 308, 44 out of 327, 20 out of 302—a total loss of [illegible] out of 2,554 leaving the African coast (from custom-house records; see Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 458).

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1785 to 1795, and in the last five of these years 17,409 Africans came in from Angola.[20] From 1797 to 1806 approximately 47,000 "Minas" and 11,000 "Angolas" entered Bahia.[21] In the Angola trade, ships plied directly between the Brazilian ports of Bahia,[22] Pernambuco, Rio de Janeiro, and Maranhão and the Angola ports of São Paulo de Loanda, Benguella, and, particularly, Novo Redondo, exchanging for Angola Negroes tobacco, *cachaça*, cotton prints, knives, glass beads, powder, and lead.[23] Thousands of Yorubas, Gêges (Ewes), Haussás, Fuláhs (Fulbis, Fulanins), Ashantis, Tapas, Effans, and Mandingas were imported from the ports of Lagos, Forte de El Mina, and São João de Ajudá (Whydah).[24] Felix de Sousa, better known as Cháchá,[25] a mulatto from Rio de Janeiro, played a prominent role in the trade in the early part of the nineteenth century.

In the sixteenth century a good slave is said to have been

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[20] Calogeras, *op. cit.*, pp. 325–26.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 322.

[22] Several slave warehouses existed in the area between Agua dos Meninos and the Dourado docks. Some slave merchants used their own houses as *depositos*. A certain Siqueira Lima had such a house in Vitoria on the present site of the governor's palace (Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 70).

[23] Ferreira reports 8,037 Negroes imported into Bahia in the year 1807 (José Carlos Ferreira, "As insurreições dos africanos na Bahia," *Revista do Instituto Geographico e Historico da Bahia*, XXIX [1903], 96). In 1821, 21,199 Negroes entered Rio from Angola; in 1822, 24,934 (Maria Graham, *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil, 1821–1823* [London, 1824], p. 146).

[24] Braz do Amaral says there were also imported Africans known in Bahia as Macuas, Bambas, Jalos, Bechuanos, Balantes, Jingas, Krumanos, Timinis, Bengos, Jalofas, Bengalas, Cabindas, Congos, Manjocos, Sentys, Maguiscas, Benins, Queitos, and Bornûs. Numerically important were the Yorubas (Nagôs) and Gêges (Amaral, *op. cit.*, pp. 474–84). The Yoruba subgroups, the Egbas and Ige-shas, were apparently large.

[25] Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 182; cf. Novas Calvo, *Pedro blanco el negrero* (Madrid, 1933), p. 69.

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In the sixteenth century a good slave is said to have been valued in Bahia at 40 milreis; in 1692, at 60 milreis; in 1703, at 100 milreis; and in 1800, at 140 milreis.[26] At Pernambuco, early in the nineteenth century, Negroes were valued at 32 pounds sterling; oxen at 31 pounds each, and horses the same; although "by management the two last may be obtained at lower prices," Koster informs us,[27] adding that "plantations of the first class ought to have eighty Negroes at least."

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In addition to Bahia and Recife, there were two other centers of African importation on the coast, at Rio de Janeiro to the south and Maranhão to the north, and one interior region of concentration, the province of Minas Geraes. These five areas received the major portion of all importations and remain today the principal centers of Negro population in Brazil.

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In 1831 a treaty with Great Britain sought to abolish the slave trade. But for a quarter of a century this agreement was so little enforced[28] that an estimated 500,000 additional

[26] Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 182. A slave worth 100 milreis in 1830 was valued at five times this figure ten years later, and still more as the pressure of the British blockade continued (Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 472).

[27] *Op. cit.*, II, 139.

[28] "At one time it appeared impossible to abolish the traffic. . . . . The planters declared that without Africans they would be absolutely unable to plant crops; that free labor was not to be had in sufficient numbers for the necessities of agriculture; that only by force could labor be obtained in this hot country; that the citizen, he who was a free man, possessed as his chief privilege 'não trabalhar' [the right not to labor], or at least to work only enough to enable him to eat and to live as 'Deus dará' [God will provide]; that since the 'gente rude' did not lack shelter, being content to live in palm-leaf huts, it was useless to attempt to obtain profitable labor from free men, who were always lazy and inclined to idleness; that the *fazendeiro* who used free labor was soon reduced to penury by the wages paid out and the poor quality of work so secured" (Amaral, *op. cit.*, pp. 472–73). On receiving news of the decree of 1831, the Bahian provincial assembly directed a petition to

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Africans were brought into Brazil, many in United States ships, operated by English capital.[29] In 1846, 50,324 were imported; in 1847, 56,172; and, in the following year, 60,000.[30] This traffic was completely suppressed only by 1852,[30a] Bahia being one of the areas in which it died hardest.[31]

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In plant and animal communities different species come

the federal senate, demanding its repeal. At one time a *delegado de policia* in Bahia was dismissed from office for having apprehended a shipment of Africans, although such shipment was obviously illegal under the provisions of this law.

[29] Daniel P. Kidder, *Sketches of Residence and Travels in Brazil* (2 vols.; London, 1845), II, 96–97; Hill, *op. cit.*, pp. 179 ff.; Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 319. The most notorious slave-trade case involving a vessel from the United States was that of the "Mary E. Smith" of New Orleans. The ship was brought into Bahia by the Brazilian brig "Olinda" on January 29, 1856, with 370 slaves from fifteen to twenty years of age aboard. The "Mary E. Smith," despite efforts to detain her, had left Boston on the preceding August 24 and sailed to the Gold Coast, where she had picked up a cargo of nearly five hundred Africans. When captured, she had been attempting unsuccessfully for weeks to land her cargo on the Bahian coast. One hundred and six slaves died before the vessel was finally taken and those still alive upon arrival in Bahia were so weakened by starvation and disease that only a few survived.

[30] Calmon, *op. cit.*, II, 171. According to figures given by the British Anti-slavery Society, 221,800 Africans entered Brazil between 1840 and 1847 (Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 495).

[30a] Percy A. Martin, *Argentina, Brazil and Chile since Independence* (Washington, 1935), p. 208. The last shipload into Bahia landed October 29, 1851. See Wanderley de A. Pinho, "O ultimo desembarque de escravos na Bahia," *Espelho* (September, 1936), pp. 13–16.

[31] Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 236. The *Argos Pernambucano* of January 30, 1850, says: "The way in which free Africans are imported into Bahia and reduced to slavery, with the obvious connivance of the government, is a notorious scandal." In the *Argos Sant'Amarense* appeared the following: "The Governor of the Province himself, at nightfall, on the twenty-first of October, 1849, unloaded in the city of Santo Amaro a large number of newly arrived Africans, which he had brought from the capital [Bahia] in a boat, and transported them to his *engenho*." See also Querino, *op. cit.*, p. 626.

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to live together because they mutually support one another. Similarly, different racial stocks often occupy to mutual advantage the same habitat because each fits into a different niche in an interdependent symbiotic order. The fundamental problem is that of survival. The Portuguese at Bahia to a considerable extent resolved this problem by the development of an economy based upon plantation agriculture and slave labor.

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A considerable number of Negroes died while being transported from Africa. Others subsequently perished from the ravages of cholera, yellow fever, and other epidemics. A few committed suicide or led religiously motivated uprisings against their masters. But the major portion were readily incorporated into the plantation system. Centuries of familiarity with the slave tradition of their African cultures and, in many cases, familiarity with the slave status itself probably made their adjustment to a slave system in the new land less difficult.

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Most of the Negroes entering and remaining in the vicinity of Bahia were employed in the planting, cultivation, harvesting, processing, and marketing of sugar cane and tobacco. A limited number were engaged in cattle-raising. They also supplied the necessary artisan and domestic labor on the plantations.

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Within the city of Bahia itself, as in other Brazilian ports, most of the slaves were engaged in domestic service. However, in addition, a modified form of slavery existed. Many blacks, known as *negros de ganho*, were employed as porters, stevedores, ironworkers, masons, carpenters, carriage- and cabinet-makers, printers, sign and ornamental painters, silversmiths, lithographers, sculptors in wood and stone, small shopkeepers, street merchants, etc. They were semi-inde-

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pendent, lived apart from their masters, and arranged their own employment. They were usually required to pay a stated sum weekly to their owners, after which they might retain for their own use any balance remaining. In Bahia they are reported to have been principally Yorubas, Gêges, and Haussás.

These Negroes were reputedly strong, capable workers. Almost all the Haussás were ardent Mohammedans, who in Bahia seem to have converted to their faith many Yorubas, Gêges, and other Africans. Shrewd and intelligent, they were at times superior in cultural equipment to their masters. Many were literate, and some are said to have written Arabic fluently. Often they banded together to mature schemes of revolt, to buy the freedom of a favorite friend, or to work under a leader for the liberation of all. The order in which they secured their freedom was ordinarily determined by lot, the earliest liberated remaining with the group until the last was purchased, after which they sometimes returned to Africa, paying their passage with what they had earned.[32]

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It was principally the Haussás who led the numerous slave revolts[33] at Bahia during the early nineteenth century. Although these uprisings were all unsuccessful and ordi-

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[32] Daniel P. Kidder and James C. Fletcher, *Brazil and the Brazilians* (Philadelphia, 1857), p. 135. Between 1850 and 1878 from four to six thousand free Negroes from Brazil settled at Lagos and Whydah and a few in Angola (Sir Harry H. Johnston, *The Negro in the New World* [New York, 1910], p. 98 n.). Repatriated Gêges are said to have founded on the African West Coast a city with the name of a Bahian port, Porto Seguro.

[33] In the Archivo Publico at Bahia are four volumes of police documents covering the revolts of this period. Each volume contains from a thousand to twelve hundred sheets in long hand which, for their age, are fairly well preserved.

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narily ended in the death of their leaders, the Europeans lived throughout this period in a more or less constant state of alarm.[34] Arthur Ramos, following Nina Rodrigues, considers these disturbances to have been "nothing more or less than a continuation of the long and recurrent struggles of religious conquest carried on by the Mohammedan Negroes of the Sudan."[35] In support of this contention it has been pointed out that their animosity was directed not only at the Europeans but also at creole blacks and mulattoes who did not join the crusade.

In estimating the character of these revolts, one should give particular attention to the fact that the participants were either free Negroes or those slaves, like the *negros de ganho* and the field hands, whose relations with the whites were not the intimate relations which ordinarily arise out of close personal contact. It is highly significant that on the eve of revolt the whites always received timely warning from

[34] The following document, which was sent to the governor of Bahia by several *senhores de engenho*, shows the fear which at that time agricultural proprietors had of these disturbances (Silva, *op. cit.*, p. 346):

The undersigned owners of *engenhos*, considering the imminent peril in which by reason of the frequent slave revolts known to Your Excellency their persons and, in general, those of all the inhabitants of the Reconcavo and even perhaps of the entire Province [of Bahia] are placed, and considering that at every moment the property of each one of them is at stake, feel it an unavoidable duty to point out this situation to Your Excellency and to beg the actual placing of those Detachments which Your Excellency sometime ago ordered stationed at various points in the Reconcavo in keeping with the police plan of the 10th of December, 1828, the which, being included in the *Proposta* of the Provincial Counsel General, was approved along with other provisions and ordered put into effect, the expenses of its execution to be paid out of the public treasury.

It not being, however, the intention of the petitioners to load onto the Public Treasury the entire burden, they themselves offer to seek to raise a portion of this expense by means of a subscription.

The petitioners rest confident in the interest which Your Excellency has always taken in the preservation of public order, and are thereby assured that you will give ear to this urgent request which they have here set forth.

[35] Ramos, *As culturas negras*, p. 336; see also Nina Rodrigues, *Os africanos no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1932), pp. 61–107.

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some slave,[36] and many Negroes repeatedly refused to participate in the uprisings.[37] The disturbances were ordinarily led, as we have seen, by Mohammedan Haussás, said to be exceedingly spirited and resolute individuals,[38] who were either free blacks or semi-independent *negros de ganho*. Moreover, they lived for the most part in the city where life was less arduous than on the plantations and where there was, at the same time, more leisure for brooding over grievances and perfecting schemes of revolt. Since all insurrectionists spoke the same or quite similar languages and shared

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[36] Dantas Junior, in commenting on the revolt of 1807, repeats (*A Illustração* [Bahia], June, 1936) that on the night of the twenty-second of May (the revolt was set for 7:00 P.M. of the twenty-eighth) a "person of integrity" urgently sought out the governor at his palace and secretly informed him that "a Negro of mine told me that the slaves of the Ussá nation are plotting to revolt." Following the serious uprising of 1835, the provincial assembly rewarded (*Laws*, No. 344, August 5, 1848, and No. 405, August 2, 1850) the "free Africans," Duarte Mendes and his wife, Sabina da Cruz, with the cancellation of their taxes for having "informed on and thus prevented the success of the planned insurrection."

[37] "The Negroes of the warehouses belonging to Manoel Ignacio da Cunha and Francisco Lourenço Herculano did not wish to join the band" (Silva, *op. cit.*, p. 347). Wied Neuwied, who visited Bahia during the period of these uprisings, says that colored troops were used in suppressing them. See Prince Maximilian Wied Neuwied, *Viagem ao Brasil*, trans. from the German of *Reise nach Brasilien in den Jahren 1815 bis 1817* (2 vols.; Frankfurt, 1820), by Edgar Sussekind de Mendonça and Flavio Poppe de Figueiredo (São Paulo, 1940), pp. 450–51.

[38] Koster, noting that "Pernambuco has never experienced any serious revolt among the slaves; but at Bahia there have been several commotions," and convinced that "Bahia contains fewer free people than Pernambuco in proportion to the number of slaves," wrote, "I cannot avoid attributing the quietude of the latter in some measure to the circumstances of a few of the Gold Coast Negroes being imported into it, whilst at Bahia the principal stock of slaves is from that part of Africa. . . . . They are represented as possessing great firmness of mind and body, and ferociousness of disposition" (*op. cit.*, I, 214).

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the same or similar religious beliefs and practices, they were able to act effectively together.

In 1806, following a raid upon a "conspirator's house," the imprisonment of a number of suspected plotters, and the confiscation of "four hundred arrows, a bundle of sticks, and quantities of cord for the making of bows, a large number of knives and pistols, a gun and a drum," orders were issued to arrest every slave found in the streets after nine o'clock at night "without a letter from his master or in his company."[39] The following year correspondence between African conspirators in Bahia and Santo Amaro (a sugar center in the Reconcavo) was intercepted, and the leaders thus exposed were subsequently tried, sentenced to death, and executed.[40] About the same time the governor of Bahia ordered destroyed two troublesome *quilombos*, or settlements of fugitive slaves, on the outskirts of the city near Cabula and Nossa Senhora dos Mares, and the *capitãomor* with eighty soldiers surrounded their huts and took prisoner seventy-eight blacks, some of whom were free Negroes.[41]

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In 1809 a revolt about twelve miles from Bahia was put down after the Haussás had "committed all sorts of outrages."[42] In 1813 about five hundred Haussás revolted and fled into the surrounding country but were speedily pursued and disarmed and their leaders publicly hung on gallows erected in Praça Piedade, one of the principal squares of the city. Several others were deported to Africa.[43] In 1826 soldiers had to be sent to various points in the Reconcavo,

[39] Silva, *op. cit.*, p. 346.

[40] Alvares do Amaral, *Resumo chronologico da Bahia* (Bahia, n.d.), p. 111.

[41] Eduardo A. de Caldas Britto, "Levantes de pretos na Bahia," *Revista do Instituto Geographico e Historico da Bahia*, XXIX, 72.

[42] Alvares do Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 39. See also Ramos, *As culturas negras*, p. 337.

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including Cachoeira, to put down an African insurrection, whose leader had been chosen a "king of the blacks" and when wounded and captured "carried a red flag, had on his head . . . . a crown, and over his shoulders an old-fashioned mantle of green velveteen on which had been embroidered a golden cock." An incident of this uprising was the successful resistance of a *quilombo* near Pirajá, a few miles distant from Bahia, to the attack of several *capitães do matto*[43a] who, in the mistaken belief that they had to deal with a small number of Negroes, sought without reinforcements to apprehend these fugitives and lost their lives in the attempt. A detachment of soldiers was required to dislodge the Africans.[44]

In 1827 a body of Yoruba slaves fled into the *matto* after sacking and setting fire to houses in the suburbs of the city. A police force sent in pursuit engaged the fugitives, killing or wounding eight of their number, but met with such resistance over a period of two days' skirmishing that it would have itself been wiped out had not a patrol of troops come to its rescue. The next year, following three separate revolts, slaveholders in the Reconcavo appealed to the governor for more effective police protection.

In 1835 the last and most serious revolt broke out, led again by Mohammedan Negroes, each of whom wore upon his person a *patuá*, or charm, presumed to protect the faithful against death in any form.[45] Bahia was at that time the [789]

[43a] "Bush Captains" hired to track down fugitive slaves.

[44] Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

[45] Padre Etienne Ignace Brasil, "Os Malês," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, LXXII, Part II (1909), 83. In São Salvador dos Campos, in the province of Rio de Janeiro, "restless slaves wearing plumes in their hats" were arrested, one of whom on being interrogated confessed that orders had been received from Bahia to revolt on the following Ash Wednesday (Alvares do Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 91).

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seat of the iman, or head in Brazil of all African disciples of the prophet Mohammed. Those who were resident in Rio, Ceará, and Pernambuco owed allegiance to him. Incidentally, it was a time of general social unrest not only among certain of the slaves but among the whites as well.[46] The aim of the conspiracy was "to set up a queen after exterminating all the Europeans." Extensive plans were laid, including the proposed participation of slaves from "every part of the Reconcavo," many of whom, immediately preceding the night set for the uprising, fled from their owners and came to Bahia. A banner was adopted and the robes worn at Mohammedan ceremonies selected as costumes of war. The time chosen for the uprising was during the popular festival of Nossa Senhora da Guia, when most of the European population would be gathered at Bomfim, outside the main area of the city, houses would consequently be deserted by white owners, and slaves might go in and out without arousing suspicion.[47]

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The governor, forewarned by a faithful slave a few hours before the uprising actually occurred, doubled all police

[46] From 1831 to 1837 revolts against the Brazilian imperial government broke out in Pará, Sergipe, Pernambuco, and Rio Grande do Sul. In Maranhão three thousand slaves, led by an African named Cosme, had recently revolted.

[47] The report of the chief of police to the governor of the province of Bahia (republished from the *Diario da Bahia* in the *Jornal do Commercio* of Rio, February 10, 1835) said that the evidence indicated "the insurrection had been plotted for a considerable period of time with absolute secrecy. . . . . Almost all the leaders know how to read and to write in some unknown language, which appears to be Arabic. This is the same language which is used by the Ussás, who seem to be united today with the Nagôs. These Ussás are from the same tribe which has revolted on several occasions in this Province. . . . . Their leaders, among whom are many free and even wealthy Africans, stir up and organise revolts."

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patrols which later, aided by foot soldiers and cavalry and favored by considerable confusion among the widely separated bands of blacks as to the actual hour of attack, scattered and broke up the Negro mobs, but only after a serious struggle.[48] The leaders of the revolt were tried,[49] given two hundred, five hundred, even one thousand lashes, or shot by a firing squad, or deported to Africa. Further importation of the *batá*, or African war drum, was forbidden.

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The number and persistence of these slave insurrections may suggest that slavery in Brazil was unusually severe. The reverse seems to be the fact. Insurrectionists were unassimilated free Negroes and semi-independent slaves, morally isolated from the Europeans. Although the hardships incidental to a plantation system obviously existed, and atrocities occurred here as elsewhere, the slavery involved, as we shall see in detail in chapter iii, was ordinarily a mild form of servitude. In general, slavery in Brazil was characterized by the gradual and continuous growth of intimate, personal relations between master and slave which tended to humanize the institution and undermine its formal character.

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[48] A letter from Bahia published in the *Jornal do Commercio* of Rio on February 10, 1835, and dated January 31, reads: "Business and commerce is completely at a standstill by reason of a Negro uprising which last Sunday suddenly upset public tranquillity in this city. The revolt, which had been planned for a long time, was very serious, but the armed forces managed to put it down."

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[49] The police records deposited in the Archivo Publico at Bahia list 234 Negroes who, subsequent to the uprising, were brought to trial by the authorities. Among these, 165 are listed as Nagôs, 21 as Haussás, 6 as Gêges, and 6 as Tapas. Documents found in their possession, facsimiles of which may be seen in the above depository, were written in Arabic characters. See also the novel by Pedro Calmon, *Os Malês, a insurreção das senzalas* (Rio, 1933).

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One advantage which Brazilian slaves had over bondsmen in the English colonies was the numerous holidays of which the Catholic religion enjoins the observance. Koster wrote:

> These give to the slave many days of rest or time to work for his own profit; thirty-five of these, and the Sundays besides, allow him to employ much of his time as he pleases. Few masters are inclined to restrain the right of their slaves to dispose of these days as they think fit; or, at any rate, few dare, whatever their inclinations may be, to brave public opinion in depriving them of the intervals from work which the law has set apart as their own. . . . . The time which is thus afforded, enables the slave, who is so inclined, to accumulate a considerable sum of money.[50]

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Among the small proprietors, parity of condition in many respects apparently obtained between master and slave, who worked together and fared much alike.[51]

It is, of course, true that cases of the most barbaric and extreme cruelty occurred, but apparently these were relatively rare and confined in large measure to frontier areas, where masters were very much a law unto themselves.[52] Public opinion was ordinarily opposed to such treatment, much of which has been attributed to Negro or mulatto owners or overseers who were notorious for their severity.[53]

[50] *Op. cit.*, I, 191.

[51] Southey, *op. cit.*, III, 782.

[52] However, Koster records as late as 1800 that, owing to the "abominable cruelty" with which they were treated in Rio de Janeiro, frequent murders were committed by slaves. Iron shackles, sharply pronged iron collars, stocks, and thumb screws were employed, and severe beatings to the point of death and even boilings in oil occurred. See also Thomas Ewbank, *Life in Brazil* (New York, 1856), pp. 116–17, 439.

[53] Joaquim Nabuco made public, and Conselheiro Dantas once referred in the federal senate to "a disgraceful tragedy" which occurred in Parahyba do Sul on July 29, 1886. A master who was an *homem de côr*, his *homem de côr* overseer and *algos* "flayed and tortured" several slaves until they died

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One must not overlook the fact, however, that during the first years of colonization the letters of the Jesuits contained numerous references to Indian slaves who were "tortured and branded in the face."[54] And later, the kings of Portugal, impressed by reports which had come to them concerning hardships inflicted on Negro slaves in Brazil, more than once wrote to their colonial representatives, exhorting them "to put a stop to such crying inhumanities."[55]

Most reports of cruelties, however, date from the abolition campaign and no doubt reflect the agitation and fervor of that movement. Thus, the able Bahian abolitionist, Anselmo da Fonseca, reports the case of a Negro in Rio Grande do Sul whose wrists were tied above his head and, after honey had been poured over his nude body, was left to the insects. Anselmo further reports the raping of small children, the use of stocks, the fracturing of teeth with a ham-

from the effects of their wounds (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 145). Fonseca estimates that two-thirds of all the *feitores* (overseers), *capitães de mallo*, and *corretores* (slave dealers) in Bahia were either mulattoes or blacks (*ibid.*, p. 151).

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[54] Brazilian Indians, who before the coming of the Portuguese had killed their prisoners of war, changed this custom when it was discovered that they could sell their captives to the Europeans. Subsequently the latter organized raids into the interior in search of Indian slaves. The Jesuits fought this traffic, their struggles with the colonists lending a dramatic note to accounts of life in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Gradually their influence at the Portuguese court prevailed, certain restrictions were by royal decree put upon the enslavement of Indians, which, being disregarded by the colonists, led to further Jesuit protest and finally, in 1755, to a royal edict liberating all Indian slaves. Equal legal rights were subsequently granted the Indians, the University of Coimbra was opened to them, and they were even admitted, it is said, to the nobility.

[55] A writer cites three "royal letters" in support, dated, respectively, March 20, 1688, March 1, 1700, and April 27, 1719 (see the anonymous article entitled "Tradiçoes bahianas," *Revista do Instituto Geographico e Historico da Bahia*, LVI [1930], 514).

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mer, the filling of razor slashes with salt, the castration of males and the amputation of the breasts of females, and "murder at the slightest whim."[56] The custom of *novenas* and *trezenas* of slave beatings sometimes resulted in death.[57]

In 1887 a police sergeant in a village in the interior of Bahia Province reported to the governor: "Considering the number of crimes on slaves in this section which continually go unpunished, this town of Formosa is in great need of at least five soldiers to be stationed here at the disposal of the local police official."[58] The *Diario da Bahia* of July 21, 1887, reports the discovery of a slave woman bearing about her neck a pronged iron collar "weighing twenty-five pounds, from which were suspended heavy chains wrapped about her body like serpents."

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Escapes were frequent, the fugitives being assisted by the character of the *matto*. They were hunted by hired *capitães do matto*, or "bush captains," usually Brazilian-born Negroes or mixed-bloods, whose trained dogs netted them a steady income.[59] Occasionally, fugitive slaves banded together in considerable numbers for mutual protection into *quilombos*.

[56] Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 561–63. For illustrations of instruments used to punish slaves, see Arthur Ramos, "Castigos de escravos," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* (São Paulo), XLVII (May, 1938), 79–104.

[57] "Each day at a certain hour . . . . the slave is stripped and tied to a post where he receives a certain number of blows which reopen wounds made on previous days. . . . . This is done for periods of nine to thirteen days in accordance with the practices [religious ceremonies extending over a period of nine to thirteen days] of the church" (*ibid.*, p. 43 n.).

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[58] *Ibid.*, p. 673.

[59] Still played by children at Bahia is the game "Capitão do matto," a form of "hide and go seek" in which those hiding are presumed to be slaves and the hunter a "bush captain."

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The present town of Orobó,[60] approximately a hundred and fifty miles interior from the port of Bahia, is said to have had its origin in such a settlement.[61] Even outlying areas of the city of Bahia like Matta Escura and Estrada da Liberdade, and the neighboring villages of Cabula, Armação, Pirajá, and Itapoan, are said to have had their origin in *quilombos*, dating from the colonial period. From these settlements there were frequent sallies of Negroes into the city to rob and to pillage. However, no *quilombo* in the state of Bahia

[60] The name has recently been changed to Ruy Barbosa.

[61] On September 23, 1796, an investigation was ordered of complaints regarding the *quilombo* of Orobó. On April 6 of the following year this report was made (Silva, *op. cit.*, III, 227):

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ILLUSTRIOUS AND ESTEEMED SIR:

There having been repeated requests on the part of certain *senhores de engenho* and owners of *fazendas* living in the vicinity of Orobó, district of the villa of Cachoeira, that there be destroyed a very old *quilombo* of fugitive slaves who have been wasting and destroying neighboring plantations and committing other excesses of great damage to the settlers, I ordered the *desembargador*, Juiz de Fora, of the same villa to find out if these reports were true, and if they were, to seek by all means possible to destroy this *quilombo*, using all prudence and care to avoid any fatal occurrence in the execution of the order, in view of the great distance between Cachoeira and that district, as well as our ignorance of the size of the *quilombo* which, according to some accounts, was not small. The necessity of collecting provisions, of enrolling and arming men . . . . delayed for some time the execution of this order until, the complaints continuing and the people themselves offering to lend some aid and assistance, I ordered the *capitão-mor* of Entradas e Assaltos of the District of São José das Itapororocas, Severino Pereira, to organize an armed force and to destory the *mocambo*. This order was carried out in December of last year, the two *quilombos*, or *mocambos*, known as Orobó and Andrah being destroyed. At these places were found fields of manioc, *inhame*, rice, fruit, and a little sugar cane, with all of which the inhabitants had easily been able to sustain themselves. Thirteen slaves were apprehended, among them men, women, and children, all of whom were delivered up to their respective masters. Previous to the arrival of the armed force, it is reported, a great number of slaves living there fled, for apparently they suspected, or perhaps were even aware of, the impending attack. As it appeared that they had fled to another *quilombo* called Tupim, farther off, I ordered that it similarly be destroyed, but I have not yet had notice whether such has been done. This is what I have to offer Your Excellency in reply to a letter directed to me and received on the 23rd of September of last year, urging me to undertake the most effective means of destroying the indicated *quilombos* and of relieving the settlers.

God guard Your Excellency.

Bahia, 6th of April, 1797. Most Illustrious and Excellent Sir, D. Rodrigo de Souza Coutinho.

D. FERNANDO JOSÉ DE PORTUGAL

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equaled in size or in importance the famed Palmares of Alagoas.[42]

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It is a mistake, however, to conclude that humane and intimate relations between master and slave were by any means rare. In fact, they were in all likelihood, as we shall see in detail later, the general rule. The literature records numerous instances like that witnessed by John Codman in 1866, of which he says:

> We drove up to the door of our Brazilian passengers. They were most boisterously welcomed by a troop of blacks. The pleasantest thing I had seen for some hours was the affection of these poor Negroes. Bright shone their eyes, and what a display was there of ivory! They fairly seized their mistress . . . . in their arms, and "toted" her off into the house, hugging and kissing her, screaming and dancing as they went.[43]

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[42] The famous "Negroes of the Palmares" (or "Palm Forests") were slaves who had escaped from Pernambuco before and particularly during the struggles of the Portuguese with the Dutch. Constantly acquiring recruits, they set up a series of crudely fortified villages scattered over some sixty leagues (about two hundred and forty miles). From these they harried the neighboring regions, taking from outlying *fazendas* both mates and slaves, among the former of which white women were occasionally to be found. They became so strong and so difficult to dislodge, that numerous expeditions sent out by the Dutch and later by the Portuguese served only to check for a time their growth—were unable for seventy years to destroy them completely. Only in 1697 were they finally subdued by an army from Recife led by a Paulista famed for success in such fighting and especially imported for this service, and then only after he had at first encountered serious reversals at their hands and their resistance had subsequently been broken by a failure of the food supply (Southey, *op. cit.*, III, 23–29). This Negro group had at times carried on trade with the whites, exchanging agricultural products for articles of manufacture. That they were seriously treated as an alien but respected group is attested by an exchange of peace commissioners during the governorship of Ayres Souza e Castro and the subsequent signing of a treaty of peace. (Incidentally, this treaty was never kept by the whites.) For a critical examination of the exaggerated reports of this erroneously labeled "Negro Republic" see Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 111–43.

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[43] John Codman, *Ten Months in Brazil* (Boston, 1867), p. 125.

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The first recorded protest in Brazil against slavery as an institution was that of the Jesuit Manoel de Nobrega, who, shortly after Bahia was founded, sent a letter to the superior of his order in Lisbon protesting against the importation of Africans into the new settlement.

In 1758 Manoel Ribeiro da Rocha, who had been educated at Coimbra, published in Lisbon a book entitled *Ethiope resgatado, empenhado, sustentado, corrigido, instruido e libertado*, in which the abolition of the slave trade was advocated. Sixty-five years later, in 1823, José Bonifacio de Andrade e Silva unsuccessfully proposed in parliament a measure designed to end importation by 1828. But on November 7, 1831, the regent, Padre Diogo Antonio Feijó, signed a resolution drawn up by Costa Carvalho, Lima e Sousa, and Basilio Muniz, which declared free all Africans subsequently brought into Brazil.

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Manumission existed from the first. Apparently early in the colonial period it became customary for masters to accept remuneration for original cost.[64] Public opinion demanded that an owner set at liberty any slave requesting his freedom and offering the price of his purchase.[65] The requirement was later made legally binding and enforced by law.[65a] Other slaves were given their freedom either during their master's lifetime or upon his death. The fathers of illegitimate offspring often freed their children at the baptismal font. From 1864 to 1870 large numbers of slaves were granted their freedom on agreeing to serve in the Para-

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[64] The wearing of shoes or slippers became a symbol of freedom.

[65] R. Walsh, *Notices of Brazil* (2 vols.; London, 1830), II, 391.

[65a] National Law No. 2040, September 28, 1871. See Manoel Joaquim do Nascimento e Silva, *Synopsis da legislação brasileira* (Rio, 1874), p. 460.

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guayan war.[66] The law eventually provided that Negro women, after rearing ten children, should be automatically liberated.[67] In 1871 the so-called "law of Rio Branco" freed offspring of slaves born subsequent to its adoption[68] and set up a fund for the purchase and liberation of Negroes by the government. By 1880 a widespread emancipation movement was under way.[69] Thousands were freed by will, by payments from emancipation funds,[70] or by outright gift.[71] For instance, in 1883, in the towns of Baturité, Aca-

[66] On March 30, 1867, the monastery of São Bento in Bahia, which had already freed eleven slaves for service in the war with Paraguay, liberated six more Negroes and "presented them to the Governor for the same purpose."

[67] Koster, however, wrote from Pernambuco in the early nineteenth century: "A slave who has brought into the world, and has reared ten children, ought to be free, for so the law ordains. But this regulation is generally evaded" (*op. cit.*, I, 195).

[68] This law was, however, in some cases ineffective. Sixteen years after its passage the Bahian *Diario Official*, of June 4, 1887, reported the following auction of slave property at the *fazenda Concordia:* "Alberto, 10 years of age, one conto of reis; Vicente, 13 years, one conto of reis; Felix, 14 years, 800 milreis; Flauzinha, 13 years, 600 milreis, Simplicio, 14 years, one conto of reis" (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 587 n.)

[69] Among the prominent abolitionists mentioned by Anselmo da Fonseca were: José do Patrocinio, Joaquim Nabuco ("the great and illustrious head of the abolition movement"), Senator Dantas, Ferreira de Menezes, Andre Rebouças, Quintino Bocayuva, Joaquim Serra, Ennes de Souza, Getulio das Neves, Nicolau Moreira, José Mariano, Celso Junior, Senator Jaguaripe, Luiz de Andrade, João Clapp, Beaurepaire Rohan, Aristides Spinola, Ruy Barbosa, Escragnole Taunay, Franco de Sá, Antonio Pinto, Leopoldo Bulhões, and "a writer using the pseudonym of Clarkson" (*ibid.*, p. 23).

[70] These funds were sponsored by emancipation societies, private individuals, and municipal, state, and national treasuries.

[71] The *Provinciano*, a newspaper of Parahyba do Sul, listed in 1884, among others, the following emancipations: "Dona Anna S. José, 16 slaves liberated and a farm given them for their use; Condessa do Rio Novo, 200 slaves

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rapi, and São Francisco, a *Sociedade Libertadora* freed 122 slaves in one day. Scores of these societies operated throughout Brazil.[72]

Dr. João Garcez dos Santos was the first Bahian *fazendeiro* (planter) to exchange slave labor for free. After spending some years in Europe studying agriculture, he returned to Brazil and, in 1864, bought an *engenho* called Pimental, in the *termo* of São Francisco. He freed all the slaves except eight domestic servants and paid these freedmen wages, retaining a portion of their earnings until he had been recompensed for their original cost. During the subsequent year he produced with free labor two hundred boxes of sugar. Three years later, he "freed the womb" of his eight female domestic servants, and, on his death in 1874, he set at liberty all the slaves which he had inherited from his father (a total of about sixty persons) on condition that they continue working for wages on the *engenho* for five years.[73]

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In 1868 the Senhoras Condessa de Barral and Pedra

liberated by will, and the Cántagallo plantation given them for a home; Barão de Dias, 163 slaves liberated, who remain established on his plantation as laborers." In 1887 Anselmo da Fonseca wrote: "As to the *cartas de alforria* granted by slaveholders themselves, it is well known that these have always appeared in greater or lesser number in the country, and that from 1880 on they have multiplied greatly and have now become quite numerous, thanks to the powerful influence of that propaganda which has contributed so much to the elevation of the moral sentiments of the Brazilian people."

[72] On September 7, 1869, an emancipation society was organized in Bahia "with the noble purpose of ending slavery in Bahia," and by March 1, 1874, it had conferred 267 "Letters of Liberty," 89 of which were "granted gratuitously in its name," and 178 by means of its own funds, the amount thus employed totaling 58,289 milreis (Alvares do Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 181). This organization was named A Sociedade Libertadora Sete de Setembro ("The Seventh of September Liberation Society") in honor of the day on which the independence of Brazil was declared.

[73] Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 220–22.

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Branca while sojourning in France "freed the womb" of the slave women on their *engenhos*, São Pedro and São João, in Santo Amaro, and continued gradually to manumit all their slaves. In the same year the friars of the Order of São Bento "freed the womb" of their slave women and announced that all their slaves would be free within three years, or by September, 1871.[74]

The first Bahian abolitionist to raise his voice to "a shout loud enough to be heard throughout the entire country" was Conselheiro Jeronymo Sodré Pereira, a state deputy and professor in the local Faculty of Medicine. In an address to the Bahian *camara* on March 5, 1879, he declared: "We who represent the democratic ideal, we who earnestly desire the liberation of the citizen through the vote and through instruction, ought to proclaim to our fellow-countrymen throughout the land that all Brazilians are citizens, all are free." This speech was favorably reported by several Bahian newspapers, including the *Gazeta de Noticias* and the *Gazeta da Tarde*, which at this time were becoming organs of the abolition movement. Although the ideas they were advancing had been at first considered "antipatriotic, subversive of the social order, and incendiary," they gradually spread.[75]

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The clergy as a group did not support abolition, and many padres who possessed slaves were accused by the abolitionists of "the same cruelty toward the victims, the same outspoken hostility, the same fury toward abolition, the same hypocritical and ridiculous insistence upon the rights of property, the same lack of respect for justice and the true interests of Brazil." Occasionally a priest, like João Manoel,

[74] *Ibid.*, pp. 227–28. [75] *Ibid.*, pp. 18–21.

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became known throughout the country as an opponent of abolition, and, further, in 1791, a bishop of Pernambuco, José Joaquim da Cunha de Azevedo Coutinho, published a book in Lisbon entitled *A analyse sobre a justiça do commercio do resgate dos escravos da costa d'Africa*,[16] in which he upheld slavery as having "existed since the beginning of the world and in the lap of all religions."

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Nevertheless, some noted ecclesiastics did from time to time take up the slave cause. Padre Antonio Vieira, although he later became more cautious under "the necessity of furthering the Jesuit determination to free the Indians, even at the expense of the Negroes," delivered a sermon as early as the middle of the seventeenth century in which he said: "The fact that whites dominate blacks is due to force and not to either reason or nature." On another occasion, he said:

> O inhuman traffic in which the merchandise is men! Few masters, many slaves; masters richly dressed, slaves despised and naked; masters banqueting, slaves dying of hunger; masters swimming in gold and silver, slaves loaded down with irons; masters treating their slaves like brutes, slaves in fear and awe of their masters as if they were gods; masters present at a whipping, standing like statues of might and tyranny, slaves prostrate, their hands strapped behind their backs, like debased emblems of servitude.
>
> Peradventure these men are not our brothers?
>
> Were these souls not redeemed with the blood of the same Christ? Are not these bodies born and do they not die like ours? Do they not breathe the same air? Does not the same sky cover them? Are they not warmed by the same sun?[17]

An archbishop of Bahia, the Marquis of Santa Cruz, in an address to the *camara* in 1827, vigorously opposed slav-

[16] This book went through two editions and was translated into both French and English.

[17] *Sermões* (15 vols., 1679-1748), Vol. X, Sermon 27.

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ery.[78] As early as Independence Day, 1851, the Benedictine friar, Francisco da Natividade Carneiro da Cunha, preached a sermon in the Bahian Cathedral in which he urged Bahians "to complete Brazilian independence by gradually emancipating the slaves."[79] Monsenhor Joaquim Pinto de Campos attacked slavery in sermons as early as 1856, in one of which, preached before the Sociedade Ypiranga, he said: "Humanity is one, and all of its parts have equal rights. The public conscience, which is the voice of God re-echoing in the souls of the people, is always repelled by favoritism in the distribution of liberty."

Canon Rodrigo de Souza Menezes, in the columns of *O Horizonte* as early as 1872, and in a sermon preached in the Cathedral on July 2, 1883, vigorously attacked slavery and advocated its abolition throughout Brazil. Another Bahian canon, Dr. Romualdo Maria de Seixas Barroso, wrote many abolition articles for the newspapers, among them one addressed especially to Bahian women; and in his will, probated in 1886, he declared: "I have always considered it a crime to draw up a contract for the buying and selling of any human being—he who is my own brother and who may be redeemed, as I, by the blood of the Savior of mankind."[80]

The bishop of Olinda, on March 25, 1887, wrote a pastoral letter urging his clergy to free immediately their

[78] *Ibid.*, p. 35. The archbishop said: "I have always been persuaded that the word 'slavery' calls up images of all vices and all crimes; and that the word 'liberty' calls out the ideas and the sentiments attendent upon all virtue and all good. Always I have maintained that slavery is a harmful condition which destroys the spirit, weakens the faculties of understanding, and perverts the heart."

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[79] "Public opinion was aroused against the words of Friar Carneiro. Upon his descending from the pulpit, one of his relatives asked him if he had lost his reason" (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 382–83).

[80] *Ibid.*, pp. 384–88.

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slaves so that "on the next birthday of the Holy Father, Leo XIII, there may be laid next his throne a declaration saying: 'The clergy of Olinda no longer own slaves.'" A similar suggestion was shortly thereafter made to the bishop of São Paulo by several of his priests. On July 29 the archbishop of Bahia issued a pastoral letter in which he referred to slavery as "a cruel injustice practiced on many of our brothers . . . . a blot which stains the Brazilian flag alone among the banners of civilized nations." The archbishop further declared that, while the church had previously feared that abolition would disrupt public order, the consequences of recent manumissions had entirely dispelled this apprehension.

The proposal of the bishop of Olinda was supported by the bishop of Maranhão, who agreed that "one can do nothing which would honor the august head of the great Christian family more than to grant liberty to those who are our brothers and children of our church." The proposal was also supported by the bishop of Rio Grande do Sul, who closed his pastoral letter with the strong declaration that "slavery is a corpse in need of being interred;"[81] and by the bishop of Diamantina, who proposed "a decree written in letters of gold abolishing slavery in Brazil by the thirty-first day of December, 1887." The bishop of Mariana also advocated general abolition, referring to slavery as an obstacle to the spread of "the great principles planted by our Master Jesus Christ" and reminding the priests of his bishopric that

[81] *Ibid.*, pp. 513–19. Although the enumeration in accordance with the law of September 28, 1871, listed 99,401 slaves in Rio Grande do Sul, the census which was completed June 12, 1885, gave only 27,242, or less than one-third of those returned fourteen years earlier. The enumeration of March 30, 1887, listed only 8,436 (*ibid.*, p. 520). It appears that attempts to emancipate by entire provinces originated in this province.

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"slavery is extinct in all other countries of America to the shame of Brazil."

Beginning about 1862 a Bahian professor of mathematics, the mixed-blood, Dr. Francisco Alvares dos Santos, whose classes were said to be attended by two-thirds of the students of mathematics in the city, began carrying on abolition propaganda, and during the subsequent quarter of a century he each year gave a banquet to former students and invited as a special guest a slave whose liberty had been purchased on that day with funds supplied by a "patriotic battalion" composed of his students and organized in honor of the independence of Brazil. Out of his teaching arose the Sociedade Libertadora Dois de Julho, which freed several slaves.

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By 1875 the Sociedade Libertadora Sete de Setembro, organized in 1869, had freed approximately five hundred slaves, and twenty-four numbers of a periodical, *O Abolicionista*, had been published. At a bazaar held by the Society in that year, Castro Alves, Bahia's "glorious poet of liberty," addressed a letter to Bahian women in behalf of the slaves, and Barão de Macahubas, resident at the imperial court, sent several gifts. The Society at that time numbered five hundred and twelve members, of whom fifteen were women.[82]

The Sociedade Humanitaria Abolicionista was organized in 1869, and the Sociedade Libertadora Bahiana in 1883.

[82] Among the more prominent members were: Frederico Marinho de Araujo, Victor Isaac de Araujo, Lourenço Gomes de Araujo e Silva, Abilio Cezar Borges, Conselheiro José Luiz de Almeida Couto, Dr. Francisco José da Rocha, Conselheiro Manoel Pinto de Souza Dantas, Conselheiro Salustiano Ferreira Santo, Dr. Augusto Guimarães, Dr. Antonio Ferreira Garcez, Bellarmino Barretto, Julio Alves Guimarães, Constancio José dos Santos, Major Antonio de Souza Vieira, Dr. Frederico Augusto da Silva Lisboa, Conselheiro Carneiro da Rocha, and Major Antonio Ferreira de Barros.

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Four years later the latter changed its name to Sociedade Abolicionista Bahiana. In that time it had purchased the freedom of about fifty slaves, "including those whose liberty was demanded by reason of illegal servitude." The treasurer of the Society was a Negro shoemaker, Manoel Roque, "a man of the people," who carried on abolition propaganda among the free Negroes and "made several converts to the cause."

Abolitionists in other parts of the province of Bahia were similarly active. In 1884 an emancipation society was organized at Cachoeira, where two "out-spoken abolition newspapers," the *Jornal da Tarde* and *Planeta Venus*, were keeping the slave issue before the public. Another emancipation society, under the leadership of Pedro Alves de São Boaventura, operated at Camisão. Abolition sentiment and activity were also reported from Ilhcos, Cannavieiras, Santo Antonio da Barra, and Feira de Sant'Anna, said to be "a strong pro-slave center."

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In 1862 a Bahian student published an antislavery article in a local publication, *O Estudante*. In 1869, after the Liberal party had adopted emancipation as a party policy, the *Diario da Bahia* began to support the antislavery cause. On March 20, 1872, five of the six newspapers then printed in the Bahian capital agreed "not to give publicity from this day forth to advertisements of any kind relative to the flight, purchase, sale, or placement of any slave."[83]

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[83] Signed by Francisco José da Rocha for the *Jornal da Bahia*, Innocencio Marques de Araujo Goes Junior for the *Correio da Bahia*, Manoel Pinto de Souza Dantas for the *Diario da Bahia*, Carvalho Gama for the *Diario de Noticias*, and José Marques de Souza and Aristides Ricardo de Sant'Anna for the *Alabama*. This agreement was renewed nine years later (in 1881), and the resolution was then taken "to urge the adhesion to it of all the press of the Empire." Only the *Gazeta da Bahia* refused to sign (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 276–79).

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In 1872 Dr. Frederico Lisboa advocated in *O Horizonte* "the right of all men to natural liberty" and, in keeping with this sentiment, liberated several slaves which had been presented to him on the occasion of his marriage. Subsequently he bought and freed some thirty Negroes belonging to others. In nine months Bahian abolitionists secured the release of approximately two hundred slaves illegally imported after passage of the law of 1831.[84] To make less difficult the transition from a slave to a free status, the courts appointed lawyers as *curadores* ("guardians") of the freedmen.[85]

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In 1880 Pamphilo da Santa Cruz founded a newspaper called *Gazeta da Tarde*, in whose first issue he stated a frankly abolitionist program. He was assisted in its publication by the journalist, Raymundo Bizarria, and by Conselheiro Luiz Alvares dos Santos, a professor at the Faculty of Medicine. In 1881, on the anniversary of the death of Castro Alves, "the immortal poet," author of the antislavery *Gonzaga* and *Poema dos escravos*, the public was invited through the columns of the *Diario da Bahia* "eloquently to affirm our irrevocable adhesion to the cause of abolition."

[84] For instance, Eduardo Carige demanded the liberation of an African woman whose owner, Antonio Alves Fernandes, had registered her in 1872 as forty years of age. Dr. Amphilophio Botelho Freire de Carvalho, "the first Bahian judge to comply with this law," whose decisions "were widely publicized and attracted the attention of the whole province," freed her on February 10, 1887. One irate master appealed from a decision of Botelho, charging that the judge was incompetent. The Superior Tribunal denied the appeal (see *Diario da Bahia* for March 15, 1887; Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 319–23).

[85] Among Bahian lawyers accepting this charge were: Dr. Affonso de Castro Rebello, Dr. Elpidio de Mesquita, Dr. Arthur de Mello e Mattos, Dr. Mauricio Francisco Ferreira da Silva, Dr. José Heraclides Ferreira, Dr. Francisco Moncorvo de Lima, Dr. Adolpho Carlos Sanches, Dr. Alexandre Galvão, Dr. Severino dos Santos Vieira, and Dr. Izaias Guedes de Mello. Dr. Raymundo Mendes Martins "rendered important services to the cause of the captives" as *curador geral* of orphans (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 324–26).

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At the ceremony Bahia's most famous citizen, the statesman, jurist, and orator, Ruy Barbosa, read from *Gonzaga:* "No more slaves! No more masters! Liberty to all hands, liberty to all heads," and himself added, "Abolition is an expression of the most inflexible of social necessities." Antonio Augusto de Mendonça, one of several Bahian poets then active in the antislavery cause, wrote and recited a poem dedicated to the Sociedade Libertadora Sete de Setembro. In the following year the *Gazeta da Tarde* inaugurated a series of abolition lectures to be given in the Lyceu de Artes e Officios and invited as the first speaker the well-known abolition orator, José do Patrocinio.[66] In 1885 a pamphlet entitled *A incoherencia da escravidão n'um paiz christão* was published in Bahia by Antonio Pereira de Araujo. When the news arrived (June 30, 1887) that the cabinet had secured the dissolution of "the pro-slave" *camara* a celebration was held at the offices of the *Diario da Bahia*, on the initiative of the *Libertadora Bahiana* and the *Gazeta da Tarde.*

In 1872 the province of Bahia freed the twenty-two slaves which it owned and had employed as gardeners, laundry women, and grave-diggers, either at the Hospital dos Lazaros or the cemetery of Quintas. In 1880 Joaquim Nabuco presented a project to the Pernambuco legislature calling for the extinction of slavery within ten years, and three years later he published a stirring abolition treatise entitled *O Abolicionismo.*[66a] In 1885, and again in 1887, he was elected federal deputy on an abolition platform. In 1881 the Bahian

[66] Other lectures were given by Dr. Aristides Spinola, Dr. José de Oliviera Campos, Paula Ney, Conselheiro Luiz Alvares dos Santos, Ennes de Souza, Salles Barbosa, Elpidio de Mesquita, and Dr. Arthur Ferreira Vianna.

[66a] London, 1883.

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In 1881 the Bahian provincial assembly created an emancipation fund "to free slaves in this province."[87] On March 25, 1884, slavery was abolished in the province of Ceará, the culmination of fifteen months of municipal emancipation.[88] Similar action was taken by the provinces of Amazonas and Maranhão later in the same year. In 1885 all Negroes over sixty years of age were liberated by edict of the Brazilian emperor.[89] In 1886

[87] Law No. 2146 of May 14, 1881, sponsored by Deputies Marcolino Moura, Alexandre Herculano, Frederico Lisboa, and Virgilio de Carvalho. Articles 2 and 3 read as follows:

ARTICLE 2.—This Emancipation Fund shall be derived:

SECTION 1. From each and every provincial tax relative to slaves, including the inheritance and legacy stamps.

SEC. 2. From the returns of an annual lottery of 100 contos.

SEC. 3. From the donations of individuals and of philanthropic associations.

SEC. 4. From legacies left or set up for the benefit of the fund.

SEC. 5. From the payment of a tax obligatory for this purpose by every dramatic and musical company which shall play in the Theatro Publico.

ART. 3.—The distribution of this Emancipation Fund shall be in the hands of each *municipio* in accordance with Article 26 of Statute 5135 of the thirteenth of November, 1872.

The seventh apportionment from this fund, made by act of Governor Theodoro Machado on May 13, 1886, amounted to 59 contos, 723$244 (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 233).

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[88] The *Rio News* of April 5, 1884, reported a week's festival being at that time held in Rio in celebration of emancipation in Ceará. Large sums were realized from donations and bazaars, several slaves were liberated, and a movement set on foot to secure complete emancipation in Rio also. On September 28, 1887, there was held at Belem a "redemption celebration" to which flocked "the press, the abolition societies, the Masons, leaders of the city's commercial life, many women, and the people." One hundred and nine *Cartas de Liberdade* were distributed. On the following day, the *Provincio do Pará*, one of the leading abolition journals of Brazil, published an editorial suggesting a *liga redemptora*, whose program would be that of seeking to secure complete emancipation in the Belem *municipio* by the following December 31 (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 548).

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[89] The provisions of this law freed slaves from sixty to sixty-two years of age on the condition that they serve three additional years without remuneration. Slaves sixty-three years of age were to serve two additional years; those sixty-four, one additional year.

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In 1886 the municipal *camara* of Bahia, following the initiative of other Brazilian cities, authorized a *Livro de Ouro* ("Golden Book") in which the names of persons contributing toward the emancipation of slaves in the *municipio* were to be inscribed. On April 19 of the following year a project was presented to the municipal *camara* by its president, Dr. Augusto Guimarães, authorizing the setting-up of a commission to study means of extinguishing slavery throughout the *municipio*.

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On the eve of nation-wide abolition, or in 1887, a number of emancipation projects were presented to the Bahian *camara*. Two were presented in the state senate: one by Senator Taunay and one by Senator Dantas, the former setting Christmas, 1889, as the date of final abolition for the province of Bahia, and the latter naming December 31 of the same year. Slaves in various parts of Brazil, "learning that they are men and will one day be citizens," were by this time deserting the plantations.[90] Police and the soldiery often refused to aid in their recapture.

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In 1887, "as a significant manifestation of abolition senti-

[90] In 1887 Fonseca mentions the "recent flight" en masse of slaves from several *fazendas* in the province of São Paulo. For instance, in Piracicaba, a hundred slaves fled from Barão de Serra Negra. In the *municipio* of Campos fifty slaves fled from the *fazenda* of Becco and, joined by other Negroes who were deserting the *fazenda* of Penha, turned upon the police sent out from Itu to apprehend them and caught, stripped, and beat them. That year the following advertisement appeared in the *Gazeta da Bahia:*

Fled from the owner whose signature appears below the following slaves: Maria dos Neves, *cabra* [offspring of Negro and mulatto], short, stocky, round faced, with prominent cheek bones, milk-white teeth, straight hair, parted in the middle; speaks very rapidly. Antonio (who sometimes calls himself Maria da Piedade), dark *cabra*, short, fat, with good teeth, and large scars on breast and one arm (these scars are from burns). Was last seen in Rio Vermelho.

Whoever recovers and brings these slaves to my office at Rua do Julião, No. 1, or to No. 125 Ribeira in Itapagipe, will be well rewarded.

DR. JOSÉ ALVES CARDOSO E SILVA

(Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 595, 602–3, 161).

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ment," a picture of José Bonifacio was hung in the salon of the Gremio Litterario at Bahia, in the presence of "the principal civil and military authorities, representatives of the press, and several delegations from other organizations." The Sociedade Libertadora Bahiana took advantage of the occasion to present six "Letters of Liberty." As these were being distributed,

> a young slave girl, so covered with rags as to look like an abandoned beggar, forced her way into the assemblage and, falling upon her knees, begged and pleaded for her liberty. The pitiful aspect of this girl, the recently spoken words of Sr. Carige, and, above all, the sentiments evoked in contemplation of the sacrificial heroism of José Bonifacio, produced a profound effect. . . . . A citizen arose and said, "In honor of the memory of José Bonifacio, I contribute one hundred milreis toward the liberation of this woman."

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Finally, in 1888, the imperial government at Rio, through a decree signed by Princess Isabel, abolished slavery entirely, freeing the last six hundred thousand Negroes in bondage throughout the country.

The extinction of the institution of slavery in Brazil thus came about gradually by means of a progressively increasing and finally irresistible popular movement, aided, it seems, by the decay of the sugar industry,[29] by the arguments of the economists who held that the slave was an expensive workman, by the example of the United States in freeing her slaves (which left Brazil the only slaveholding American nation), and by the "strain for consistency" exerted upon the institution by the philosophy of the French Revolution[30]

[29] Silvio Romero, "O Brasil social," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, LXIX (1906), 111.

[30] In 1883 Joaquim Nabuco wrote: "Slavery has now endured in Brazil almost a century after the French Revolution taught the world to know and to love liberty."

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and the doctrines of Christianity. The normal development of the emancipation process was never checked or seriously hampered by a wave of fear like that which swept over slave areas in the United States following the Haitian revolution and the consequent annihilation of Haitian whites and the slaughter of thousands of mulattoes and blacks.

Resistance to abolition was apparently never strong or well organized. It was not confined to any one section of the country but even in slaveholding centers like Bahia was, as we have seen, constantly being undermined by local criticism. An occasional newspaper "persisted in being a slave organ" or appeared "timid and acquiescent with reference to slavery,"[93] but the overwhelming majority of the press increasingly supported the antislavery cause.

It is, however, true that commercial leaders like Ramalho Ortigão, president of the Bahian *Centro* of Commerce and Agriculture, "tenaciously opposed" the abolition movement. Anselmo da Fonseca says that Portuguese immigrants, many of whom engaged in trade and commerce, were, with rare exceptions, "decided partisans of slavery" and not only became "the greatest and most audacious slave traders of Bahia" who offered most of the opposition to the cessation of the slave traffic but also energetically opposed the abolition of slavery itself.[94] However, the prestige of this group,

[93] Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

[94] "The Portuguese cannot comprehend a Brazil without slaves. We hear daily from them, 'The Negro is peculiarly created by nature for the cultivation of sugar' " (*ibid.*, pp. 155-56). The Portuguese are said to have been the principal violators of the law of 1831, several of the more powerful of whom Euzebio de Queiroz felt impelled to deport when, some twenty years after the passage of this law legally abolishing the slave trade, he sought effectively to suppress the traffic. However, immigrant laborers, since they were in competition with slave laborers, ordinarily opposed slavery. See Henry K. Norton, *The Coming of South America* (New York, 1932), pp. 103-4.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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from early colonial times on, seems not to have been very great, and the upheaval which in 1822 culminated in Brazilian independence seems to have buried most of the vestiges of Portuguese prestige. Even today the Portuguese are the constant butt of vaudeville jokes.

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Many of the free *homens de côr* (men of color), especially those who possessed slaves, either were indifferent to the slave question or openly opposed abolition.[95] Most of the large plantation owners and their spokesmen in the provincial legislature and national parliament opposed the abolition campaign, and their forces at one time dominated the Liberal party.[96] However, many of the slaveholders appear to have increasingly accepted abolition as inevitable and merely to have asked remuneration for the financial loss involved. Apprehension that the plantation system would utterly collapse if free labor were substituted for slave

[95] The abolitionist, Anselmo da Fonseca (*ibid.*, pp. 137, 142–43), complains of the persistent opposition to abolition on the part of *homens de côr*. In 1884, out of thirty candidates for the Bahian *camara*, "the only one who in a published document had the audacity to ask election in the name of slavery" was the *homem de côr*, Conselheiro Domingos Carlos e Silva. In 1883 an *homem de côr* canceled his subscription to the *Diario da Bahia* for its refusal to publish an advertisement regarding a fugitive slave. Fonseca regarded this man as "one of the most intolerant slaveholders in Bahia."

[96] On hearing of the program presented by the imperial cabinet on June 6, 1884, "almost all the leaders of the liberal party in Bahia, the owners of large business and commercial houses, and the sugar aristocracy" lodged a protest in which they declared: "The slave is more than a portion of a private fortune; he is a social institution, a labor supply, a necessity to production, an asset of the national life. Above the immediate interests of planter and merchant . . . . are the permanent . . . . interests of society, the benefits which accrue to thousands of human beings living or yet unborn—the necessities of public order, and the development of national wealth" (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 283).

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and that the sudden liberation of large numbers of subjected blacks would subvert public order gradually melted away as the numbers of emancipated Negroes increased and these freedmen gave evidence of their ability and willingness to become an orderly part of the free population and to labor as effectively, if not more effectively, for wages as when impelled by physical force.

The free people of color (who by 1872 largely outnumbered the slaves)[97] were, Southey says, "an industrious and useful part of the population: most of the maize, manioc and pulse, with which the towns were supplied, was raised by them upon small pieces of ground, which they rented of the great proprietors at a low rate."[98] Freedmen were also employed as laborers on the large estates, where they lived as squatters on the land of their employers, erecting mud and palm-leaf huts for their families, and looking to the planter for protection from any who would do them harm.[99] In the towns they were employed principally as artisans, porters, messengers, barbers, street merchants and small shopkeep-

[97] Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

[98] Southey, *op. cit.*, III, 787. Cf. also: "The masters who freed slaves often gave them, with their liberty, a piece of land to insure their subsistence. The Negroes who have inherited these small holdings are to-day (1911) the best element of the black agricultural population" (Pierre Denis, *Brazil*, trans. from the French by Bernard Miall [New York, 1911], p. 322).

[99] Koster writes: "The Negroes in my possession could not perform what ought to be done in proper time; and therefore I collected free laborers for the purpose, and in a short period between thirty and forty men, some of whom brought their families, removed on to the lands of the plantation; and most of them erected hovels of palm-leaves, in which they dwelt; but a few of them were accommodated with huts of mud. . . . . Many of these fellows would have committed almost any crime under the impression that my protection would screen them" (*op. cit.*, I, 295, 297).

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But the free Negro, in competition with the European and his descendants, was faced with a difficult struggle. Even though he might cease to speak Nagô and to scarify his face and body; even though his wife might discard her distinctive African costume, and both no longer identify themselves with African fetish beliefs and practices but give instead allegiance to Catholic forms; nevertheless, the free Negro could not escape the fact that he was sharply differentiated from the ruling class in color, hair texture, and facial characteristics. He could not readily discard a highly visible badge of his former slave status. Wherever he went he would be known, if not for a slave, at least for the descendant of slaves.

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The occupations of the free Negroes, or at least those of their immediate forebears, had been employments commensurate with servile status and had ordinarily consisted in hard, sordid, manual labor. The common saying, "Trabalho é para cachorro e negro" ("Work [i.e., hard manual labor] is for Negroes and dogs"), reflects this fact. To work with one's hands has been in Brazil long considered debasing for a white man. As Monteiro has said, "Even if in Portugal he had been a servant with a hoe in his hands, upon setting his foot upon Brazilian soil, he cared not to work."[106] That artisan labor was not a white man's job was long a tradition in Brazil.[107] To be a white was identical with being noble,[108] and "there was a common root of plebeian origin: it was African descent."[109] Government employ was for a long time

[106] Vahia Monteiro, quoted by F. J. Oliveira Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro* (3d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 153.

[107] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

[108] Vianna, *Populações meridionais do Brasil* (3d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 139.

[109] "A côr significava nobreza; havia uma comum origem plebéia—o tronco africano" (Calmon, *op. cit.*, I, 24).

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CHAPTER III

CASA GRANDE AND *SENZALA*[1]

EVEN as late as the second quarter of the nineteenth century a visitor to Brazil wrote: "Again and again, while travelling in the interior, I have seen troops of new slaves of both sexes, who could not speak a single word of Portuguese, varying from twenty to one hundred individuals, marched inland for sale, or already belonging to proprietors of plantations."[2] These newly imported Africans were known as *negros novos*, or "new Negroes."[3]

Since the major portion of African importations into Bahia came from contiguous territory in Africa, the Negroes ordinarily brought with them closely related dialects and, consequently, could more easily communicate among themselves in African tongues. Gradually there came into general use, especially among the influential semi-independent *negros de ganho*, an African language known as Nagô,[4] which by facilitating intercommunication intensified the Negroes' moral isolation from the white world and retarded the whole acculturation process. Nagô continued for a long time to

[1] The "Big House" and the "slave quarters."

[2] George Gardner, *Travels in the Interior of Brazil, 1836–1841* (London, 1849), p. 12.

[3] Nina Rodrigues, *Os africanos no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1932), p. 187.

[4] "Like the French, we in Bahia call Nagôs all Negroes from the Slave Coast who speak the Yoruba language. Of this group we have received slaves from all the smaller subdivisions, from Oyó the capital of Yoruba, from Ilorin, Ige-sha, Ibadan, Iffé, Iebú, Egba, Lagos, etc." (*ibid.*, p. 157).

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Nagô at times spoken in Bahia and an occasional individual whose command of this language is comparable to his command of Portuguese.

The nature of Negro settlement at Bahia favored to a considerable extent the preservation of African cultural forms. Tribal units were not deliberately broken up, as in Jamaica and the United States, and the Negro was thereby able to preserve and to transmit to his children a considerable portion of his African heritage. Even on the plantations the distribution of newly imported Africans among the old-established Negroes seems not to have occurred.[8] The concentration in the city of Bahia over a long period of time of large numbers of semi-independent *negros de ganho*, around whom there gradually accumulated a considerable number of relatively unassimilated free Negroes, also favored the persistence of African cultural elements.

It is likely that Nagô was not maintained in a pure form but came to be a patois containing numerous elements from other African dialects as well as from Portuguese. A Catholic missionary, Padre Coquard, visiting Bahia in 1899 to solicit funds, spoke to the colored population in Nagô. But the sermon, preached in the ancient church of Sé, was wholly ineffective.[9]

Other African languages were spoken in Bahia.[10] Rodrigues believed that Gége (or Ewe) was used throughout the eighteenth century and until at least the middle of the nine-

[8] Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil, 1809 to 1815* (2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1817), I, 229 n.

[9] Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 200–201. Perhaps another reason for this ineffectiveness was that the Negroes who were most able to understand Nagô were unassimilated Africans who, out of loyalty to the religion of their fathers, deliberately absented themselves from this ceremony of the Catholic church.

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 197–230.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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giance from numerous and zealous devotees. African dances still invaded the popular festivals of the Europeans to such an extent that vigorous protests on the part of the white citizenry appeared in the newspapers.[16] Numerous images employed in the fetish worship were imported from Africa, and others were made by Negro sculptors in Bahia.

One occasionally encountered Negroes who in Africa had been chiefs or other dignitaries of considerable power and influence. Although in Brazil they shared the fortunes of a slave with their former subjects, they nevertheless often received allegiance and great reverence from them. On a chance meeting in the street these personages were, we are told, "saluted respectfully, their hands kissed, and a blessing requested of them." Even their masters were reported to have paid them, in several cases, considerable respect.

Slaves who were in close contact with their masters, especially the house servants, soon became, by the very necessities of the situation, at least to some extent bilingual. And their offspring, reared in close contact with the children of their masters, acquired little, if any, African vocabulary and came almost exclusively to speak Portuguese. Thus, about 1800, Koster wrote from Pernambuco, "Portuguese

[16] In the *Jornal de Noticias* for February 12, 1901, a white citizen wrote: "I wish to protest against the way in which this great civilized festival [Carnival] is being Africanized." Three days later the following was published: "These infamous Africanized groups *de canzás* and *busios* which, far from adding to the brilliance of our Carnival festival, bring shame upon the name of Bahia . . . . have since yesterday been keeping up their infernal tumult." Immediately preceding the opening of Carnival the following year there appeared in the *Jornal de Noticias* (February 5, 1902) the following note: "If during these former Carnival festivals when the popular enthusiasm has been greatly aroused by the passage of the victorious floats . . . . these groups of *Africanos* have been repugnant, what will the Carnival of 1902 turn out to be, unless the police take effective measures to prevent our streets from looking like *terreiros* where fetish practices reign amid a retinue of *ogans* and their *canzás* and tambourines?" (Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 236–38).

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. . . . is spoken by all the slaves; and their own dialects are allowed to lie dormant until they are by many . . . . quite forgotten."[17] With the acquisition of the master's language went quite naturally other European habits and customs, and the group of assimilated Negroes, known as *ladinos*, grew in numbers relatively rapidly.

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Although the hardships incidental to a plantation system continued, the circumstances under which this gradual assimilation went on were ordinarily those imposed by a mild form of slavery in which the natural and continuous growth of intimate personal relations tended to further humanize the institution and to modify its formal and legal character to such an extent that the widely traveled Richard Burton, enamored as he was of the customs of the East, could in the middle of the nineteenth century say, "Nowhere, even in oriental countries, has the 'bitter draught' so little of gall in it."[18]

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Symbolic of the intimate character of these personal relations is a custom recorded in detail and with some sense of the humor of the situation by the able French artist Debret.[19] The head of a Brazilian household is depicted setting out with his family, all in gala attire, for a customary Sunday promenade. The entire group is in single file, the two

[17] *Op. cit.*, p. 200.

[18] Sir Richard F. Burton, *Explorations of the Highlands of the Brazil* (2 vols.; London, 1869), I, 170.

[19] Invited to Brazil at the request of the Brazilian emperor, Debret subsequently published three volumes of drawings and comment which together furnish a highly illuminating record of the life of Rio de Janeiro in the early part of the nineteenth century (see J. B. Debret, *Voyage pittoresque et historique au Brésil, 1816–1831* [3 vols.; Paris, 1835]). A similar record was made by another competent artist, Maurice Rugendas. See his *Voyage pittoresque dans le Brésil*, trans. from the German by de Colbery (3 vols.; Paris, 1835).

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daughters immediately behind the father, then the mother, followed by her mulatto *femme de chambre*, next the family *ama*, or Negro nurse, and the latter's female assistant, then the father's Negro body servant, and last a young slave in training for domestic service.[20] On such occasions it was a matter of considerable pride to dress the slaves as well as the family's station would permit. As late as 1852 a visitor to Rio recorded:

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> Though less generally the custom than formerly, it is still the habit of some of the *bourgeosie* . . . . at least on Sundays and great holidays, to promenade to and from church, by whole families, parents and children, from adults to infants, with a retinue of servants in their best dresses . . . . bringing up the rear, and, whether male or female, ... usually as elaborately, if not as expensively, dressed as the rest of the family; and often, in the case of the women, with an equal display of laces, muslins, and showy jewelry.[21]

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In the cities domestic slaves ordinarily lived in the same houses as their masters, occupying the lower floor; or, where the buildings were only of one story, "a sort of cellar" underneath.[22] Since the mistress of the household and her daughters lived a very secluded life in the interior of the home,[23] they were in almost constant contact with domestic slaves and the slave's children. Debret has sketched[24] one such intimate scene in which two Negro women are at work,

[20] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Pl. 5 ("Un Employé du gouvernement sortant de chez lui avec sa famille").

[21] C. S. Stewart, *Brazil and La Plata* (New York, 1856), p. 295.

[22] Maria Graham, *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil, 1821-1823* (London, 1824), p. 145.

[23] Until recent years, women from the upper classes in Bahia were rarely seen on the public thoroughfares and then only in the company of a male escort.

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[24] Debret, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Pl. 6 ("Une dame bréailienne dans son intérieur") and p. 33.

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seated on the floor at the feet of their mistress and her daughter, while two little Negro babies play near by.[25] Koster wrote of an estate near Recife that the "Great House" was full of young Negro children. "They were quite naked, and played with each other, and with some large dogs which were lying at full length upon the floor. These ebon cupids were plainly great favorites, and seemed to employ the greater part of the thoughts of the good ladies, the youngest of whom was on the other side of fifty; and even the priest laughed at their gambols."[26] Visiting in the interior of Rio de Janeiro province in 1823, Maria Graham noted that "the female in-door slaves . . . . have been mostly . . . . brought up in their mistress' house." She saw "children of all ages and colors running about, who seemed to be as tenderly treated as if they had been of the family," and commented that, under these conditions, slavery was "more like that of the patriarchal times, where the purchased servant became to all intents one of the family."[27] "How many times," writes Lacerda, "have we not seen masters who did not hesitate to bring their little mulatto slaves to the family table?"[28] Relations within these households became so intimate that, as sometimes also occurred in our South, white women took to their breasts colored babies whose mothers had died in childbirth.[29]

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In the home, on the plantation, along the roads of the

[25] Debret writes (*ibid.*, p. 39): "A Rio de Janeiro et dans toutes les autres villes du Brésil, il est d'usage, pendant le tête-à-tête d'un *diner marital*, que le mari s'occupe silencieusement de ses affaires, et que la *femme* s'amuse de ses *petits* négrillons, qui remplacent la famille presque éteinte des petits chiens carlins en Europe."

[26] *Op. cit.*, pp. 258–59. [27] *Op. cit.*, pp. 279–80.

[28] Jean Baptiste de Lacerda, "The *Metis*, or Half-breeds, of Brazil," *Papers on Inter-racial Problems*, ed. G. Spiller (London, 1911), p. 379.

[29] Gilberto Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* (2d ed.; Rio, 1936), p. 327.

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rural areas, or in the streets of the cities, on the hunt, at parties, or at church, black and white were constantly to be seen in each other's company. And since human beings, wherever they come into close and uninterrupted contact upon an intimate personal basis, sooner or later tend to lay personal claims upon one another, it is not surprising to find that ties of enduring sentiment arose, which tended gradually to break down the formal barriers between the races and to modify the nature of slavery.

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It is, of course, probably true that the Mohammedan conception of the slave exercised considerable influence over the original form of African slavery in Portugal itself. The Arabian prophet, it is said, while unable to do away with an ancient institution, "did his utmost to soften the rigors of slavery." After conceding to his importuning followers that "God hath ordained" the slave institution, Mohammed added: "Therefore, him whom God hath ordained to be the slave of his brother, his brother must give him of the food which he eateth himself, and of the clothes wherewith he clotheth himself, and not order him to do anything beyond his power. . . . . A man who ill-treats his slave will not enter into Paradise." Thus

> there is no more commendable action in Mohammedan morals than to free slaves, and such enfranchisement is enjoined by the Prophet especially as an atonement for an undeserved blow or other injustice. In Andalusia, the slaves upon the estates that had passed . . . . into the possession of Moslems were almost in the position of small farmers; their Mohammedan masters, whose trade was war, and who despised heartily such menial occupations as tilling the soil, left them free to cultivate the land as they pleased, and only insisted on a fair return of products.[10]

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[10] Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Story of the Moors in Spain* (New York and London, 1886), p. 48. Cf. also: "The Mohammedan slave was rarely

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Mild though its original form may have been, slavery in Brazil was not, as we have already seen, without at least occasional evidences of brutality. The fact is that slavery in Brazil was *both* mild *and* severe. But as an institution continuing over centuries it became more and more mild. Cases of brutality ordinarily occurred under conditions of absentee ownership or in fear of slave insurrection, or arose in dealing with recalcitrant and unsubjected individuals, many of them at the hands of mixed-blood or Negro overseers who in this way unconsciously compensated for otherwise limited social effectiveness.[31] Moreover, the relatively few cases which did occur were so ably used by such prominent political and intellectual leaders as Ruy Barbosa and Joaquim Nabuco that they have probably left behind in the Brazilian mind of today an exaggerated notion of the cruelties of slavery. The important point to note is that, under circumstances of intimate, personal contact, the institution of slavery, with its occasional cases of harsh treatment, gradually lost its character as a political, and assumed that of a patriarchal and familial, institution.

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Obviously, there is inherent in slavery an economic consideration which has little regard for the interests of the slave himself. But wherever human beings live together in close proximity for any period of time there also tend to grow up *personal relations* which humanize whatever formal institutions have been set up. The opportunities in Brazil

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abused. . . . . His acceptance of the faith of Islam rendered his manumission easy. No stigma attached to his (subsequent) condition" (S. P. Scott, *History of the Moorish Empire in Europe* [Philadelphia, 1904], p. 660.

[31] Koster, reflecting over the fact that mulattoes, especially those who had formerly been slaves, "make bad masters," concluded that "the change of situation would lead to the same consequences in any race of human beings" (*op. cit.*, II, 177–78).

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The opportunities in Brazil for these relations to develop, particularly in the case of domestic servants, were extensive. Cooper states a fact long characteristic of the upper classes in Brazil when he says: "As in the East, the houses are . . . . filled with . . . . servants, and these servants partake of the character of their Eastern prototypes in their . . . . willingness to perform the many small and menial acts of personal service which the Brazilian requires, but which would hardly be expected of servants in the United States."[32]

Symbolic of the intimate nature of these relations was the common form of etiquette which grew up and became customary between Brazilian master and slave. It is said to have been a practice observed in all well-regulated families that slaves, "of both sexes and of every age," requested each morning and evening a blessing from their master. According to Stewart, the words used in the middle of the nineteenth century were, "I beseech your blessing [or "Grant me a blessing"], in the name of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ!" To which the master replied, "Jesus Christ bless you forever!"[33] As João Ribeiro has aptly said, "Agrupavam-se em familias, senão no sentido da lei, ao menos da religião."[34]

Debret, who spent several months at Rio in the early part of the same century, says[35] that it was there customary for

[32] Clayton S. Cooper, *The Brazilians and Their Country* (New York, 1917), pp. 61-62. Cf. also Gilberto Freyre, "Social Life in Brazil in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, V, No. 4 (November, 1922), 607.

[33] *Op. cit.*, p. 408.

[34] "They were united into families, if not by law, at least by religion."

[35] *Op. cit.*, III, 130. Cf. also the account of Maria Graham regarding a *fazenda* in the province of Rio de Janeiro: "I attended the weekly muster of all the Negroes of the *fazenda;* clean shirts and trousers were given to the

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slaves, on repeating the evening Ave Maria, to present themselves before the master with a "Boa noite, meu senhor,"[36] in reply to which, as a sign of approbation, the master made a simple movement of the head. It was also customary for a Negro who by chance met a white acquaintance on a public thoroughfare to bow his head, extend his right hand, half-opened, and to request a blessing, to which the white replied, "Deus te faça santo,"[37] or simply "Viva!"

These forms of etiquette, together with their religious implications, although they became in time highly conventionalized and occasionally were reduced to "the shortest possible abbreviation" and repeated with "all manner of intonations of voice and every mood of humor,"[38] still symbolized the recognition on the part of the master of a common human bond with his slaves. "I can call to mind," writes Codman, "many touching incidents of the kind feelings of masters and servants towards each other."[39]

Relationships of this character were undoubtedly advantageous to the Negro, not only during his period of subjection as a slave but also after his enfranchisement. Koster says of Brazilian neighbors in Pernambuco who possessed a considerable number of slaves:

> These excellent women and the good priest [intend] eventually to emancipate all of them; and that they may be prepared for the change, several of the men have been brought up as mechanics of different

men, and shifts and shirts to the women, of very coarse white cotton. Each, as he or she came in, kissed a hand, and then bowed to Mr. P. saying either, 'Father, give me blessing,' or 'The names of Jesus and Mary be praised!' and were answered accordingly, either 'Bless you,' or 'Be they praised!' This is the custom in old establishments: it is repeated morning and evening, and seems to acknowledge a kind of relationship between master and slave" (*op. cit.*, p. 196).

[36] "Good night, my master."

[37] "God make thee a saint."

[38] Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 408.

[39] John Codman, *Ten Months in Brasil* (Boston, 1867), p. 201.

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descriptions; and the women have been taught needle-work, embroidery, and all branches of culinary knowledge.[40]

In 1822 an observer in Rio noted:

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When the Emperor had received the public bodies, he came and led the Empress into the great receiving room, and there, both of them standing on the upper step of the throne, had their hands kissed by naval, military and civil officers, and private citizens. . . . . It was curious, but it pleased me, to see some Negro officers take the small white hand of the Empress in their clumsy black hands, and apply their pouting African lips to so delicate a skin; but they looked up to *Nosso Imperador* (Our Emperor), and to her, with a reverence that seemed to me a promise of faith *from* them, a bond of kindness *to* them.[41]

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"There is evidently," commented another visitor, "a sincere wish to make the liberated slave a useful citizen, if possible."[42]

Custom came gradually to grant the slave, as Burton has pointed out, many of the rights of a freeman:

He may educate himself, and he is urged to do so. He is regularly catechised, and in all large plantations there is a daily religious service. If assailed in life or limb he may defend himself against his master, or any white man, and an over-harsh proprietor or overseer always runs considerable risk of not dying in bed. He is legally married, and the chastity of his wife is defended against his owner. He has little fear of being separated from his family: the humane instincts and the religious tenets of the people are strongly opposed to this act of barbarity. He has every chance of becoming a free man: manumission is held to be a Catholic duty and priestly communities are ashamed of holding slaves. . . . .[43]

[40] *Op. cit.*, I, 258: "The owners said that all their own immediate relations were rich; . . . . and that therefore these their children had no right to work for any one else."

[41] Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 319. [42] Codman, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

[43] *Op. cit.*, pp. 271–72. Some cases undoubtedly occurred in which the master refused to manumit a slave upon his presenting the cost price, but these were probably rare. Koster (*op. cit.*, I, 192–94) says that, although

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The two days in seven which according to custom the master allotted the slave for the cultivation of a plot of land[44] was as early as 1700 sanctioned in law.[45] His right in property could be transferred to his children.[46] He could

"a great deal depends upon the inclinations of the master, he will, however, be very careful in refusing to manumit, owing to the well-known opinion of every priest in favor of this regulation, to the feelings of the individuals of his own class in society, and to those of the lower orders of people; and likewise he will be afraid of losing his slave. He may escape with his money; and the master will then run much risk of never seeing him again, particularly if the individual is a creole slave. . . . . The master might indeed deprive the slave of the fruits of his labor, but this is never thought of; because the slave preserves his money in a secret place, or he has entrusted it to some person upon whom he can depend, and would suffer any punishment rather than disclose the spot in which his wealth lies concealed."

[44] "This day [Sunday] . . . . is the Negroes' own; after morning mass they are free to do their own work; and then most of them run to the hill to gather their coffee or maize, or prepare the ground for these or vegetables. They were just beginning to return from the wood, each with his . . . . basket laden with something of his own, something in which the master had no share; and again and again as they passed me, and displayed with glistening eye the little treasure, I blessed the Sabbath, the day of freedom to the slave" (Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 288).

[45] João Ribeiro, *Historia do Brasil* (3d rev. ed.; Rio, 1909), p. 255.

[46] However, if the slave died childless, his property reverted to the master. Note the following account given by Maria Graham regarding a slave on an estate in the province of Rio: "He was a mulatto boatman, the most trusty servant on the estate, and rich, because he is industrious enough to have earned a good deal of private property, besides doing his duty to his master. In his youth, and he is not now old, he had become attached to a creole woman, born, like him on the estate; but he did not marry her until he had earned money enough to purchase her, in order that their children, if they had any, might be born free. Since that time, he has become rich enough to purchase himself, even at the high price which such a slave might fetch; but his master will not sell him his freedom, his services being too valuable to lose, notwithstanding his promise to remain on the estate and work. Unfortunately, these people have no children; therefore on their death their property, now considerable, will revert to the master" (*op. cit.*, pp. 197–98).

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He could take his master's name.[47] Slaves who desired to change masters had the right to request transfer, and the master was expected to acquiesce.[48] Intercession in behalf of a fugitive slave, or even of one about to be punished for some other offense, is said seldom to have been in vain.[49] The master guilty of inhuman treatment toward his slave was liable to the police or tribunals.[50] Some masters preferred to have

[47] Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 256; cf. also Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 327: "Hence, the many Cavalcantis, Albuquerques, Mellos, Mouras, Wanderleys, Lins, Carneiro Leãos, etc., who possess none of the illustrious blood which their names imply."

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[48] Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 256. Koster (*op. cit.*, I, 194) records that "for this purpose a note is given, declaring that the bearer has leave to enter into the service of any one, upon the price which the master demands being paid by the purchaser. With this the slave applies to any individual or property whom he may wish to serve; owing to having heard a good report of his character toward his slaves, or from any other cause. This is a frequent practice." The following interesting case was observed: "A Negro woman applied to a planter to be purchased; for which purpose she had brought a note from her master. She was accepted; and a bargain was concluded between the two persons. However, the day after she had taken up her abode upon the estate of her new master, she came to him, and falling down upon her knees, said that she had a fellow-slave who wished likewise to serve him; and she begged him to purchase her companion. The new master spoke to the owner of the slave in question of the subject; but he refused to sell him, and the matter rested in this manner. But on the third day, he received a visit from the owner, offering the slave for sale, adding, that the man had refused to work, and had threatened to hang himself; and as he was a Gabão Negro (noted for the resolute manner which, on occasion, they committed suicide), he much feared that he might put his threat into execution. The price was soon fixed, and on the following morning the man made his appearance. He proved to be a most excellent slave" (*ibid.*, p. 203 n.).

[49] Codman, *op. cit.*, p. 201. Cf. also: "Costumes bellissimos instituem-se entre os senhores; como o de *apadrinhar* os remissos ou fugitivos, o que impede o castigo, e nunhum senhor viola" (Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 255).

[50] J. B. von Spix and C. F. von Martius, *Travels in Brazil, 1817–1820*, trans. H. E. Lloyd (2 vols.; London, 1824), I, 179.

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Some masters preferred to have their slaves, on the payment of a small sum, punished by the civil authorities.[31] Gardner remarked that "many of the crimes for which only a few lashes are awarded, are of such a nature that in England would bring upon the perpetrator either death or transportation."[32]

It was customary each week to grant slaves, in addition to their regular food, an allowance of tobacco.[33] On the large estates certain hospital facilities,[34] and nurseries for Negro children were maintained.[35] Accounts of white mistresses who themselves attended to the sick among their slaves are numerous.[36] The *amas* (nurses) were often "emancipated as soon as their work was over, and nearly always continued to live in freedom under the same roof with their masters and to have various privileges."[37] "The aged Negroes were only employed in light occupations; during the remainder of their time they chatted with the master's young children, telling

[31] Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[32] *Ibid.*

[33] Prince Adalbert, *Travels of Prince Adalbert of Prussia*, trans. from *Aus meinem Tagebuche, 1842–1843* (Berlin, 1847), by Robert H. Schomburgk and John Edward Taylor (2 vols.; London, 1849), II, 37. Prince Adalbert noted on the coffee plantation Aldea, near Novo Friburgo, that "every evening, when their work is done, the slaves light fires in the rooms set apart for them, around which they sit for hours, even after the severest day's work, all talking and smoking, women as well as men."

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 36. "In the hospital, the hall and rooms for the two sexes were separated. A Negro woman was lying on a mat, with her little 'negrinho' at her breast, to which she had given birth only the night before. 'In a few days she will be able to resume work,' said the Doctor to Count Bismarck. In the men's room, there were four or five patients, suffering from accidents of various kinds" (coffee plantation Aldea, near Novo Friburgo).

[35] C. C. Andrews, *Brazil, Its Condition and Prospects* (3d ed.; New York, 1889), p. 164.

[36] Note, e.g., Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[37] Lacerda, *op. cit.*, p. 379.

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them odd stories which were calculated to strike their imagination."[58]

Public opinion expected of masters the acceptance of an offer made to manumit an infant on the occasion of his baptism.[59] It also became customary, when marriages were being solemnized in the master's family, to free one or two favorite slaves.[60] Masters frequently declined the money proffered by a Negro for his purchase and granted his freedom without payment.[61] Slaves of the religious orders, it is said, considered themselves to belong to the saints themselves and were never sold.[62] The law adopted in 1809 to protect the property of sugar planters against attachment for debt also provided that slaves need not be sold separately from an estate to satisfy a creditor's claims. Thus the master could not be forced to dispose of his slaves, unless the debt amounted to the value of the entire estate; and, as Koster has pointed out,[63] the slave in this way was advanced, in some degree at least, toward the condition of a serf.

[58] *Ibid.*

[59] "Another custom which was advantageous to the slave was that of *alforrias na pia*, which was accomplished with the insignificant amount of 5 to 50 milreis and never was refused; this custom became very common, especially when the child had a light skin" (Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 255). Koster gives the price in Pernambuco early in the nineteenth century as £5 and says that "In this manner, a considerable number of persons are set at liberty; for the smallness of the price enables many freemen who have had connections with female slaves to manumit their offspring; and instances occur of the sponsors performing this .... act. Not infrequently female slaves apply to persons of consideration to become sponsors to their children, in the hope that the pride of these will be too great to allow of their godchildren remaining in slavery" (*op. cit.*, I, 195-96).

[60] Frank Bennett, *Forty Years in Brazil* (London, 1914), p. 111.

[61] Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 256. [62] *Ibid.* [63] *Op. cit.*, I, 229 n.

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In the light of these customs which gradually grew up and ameliorated the lot of the bondsman, it is not surprising that neither Brazil nor the mother-country ever felt it necessary to adopt a "Black Code." The Englishman Dent says "I had certainly opportunity of seeing something of the treatment of slaves, being thirteen months in the country; but I never came across any other than considerate kindness from master to slave, sometimes even far greater benevolence and consideration than is exercised towards servants in our own country."[64] Dent mentions an old Negro woman who "had received her liberty sometime ago, but seemed to be much attached to the family and never to have thought of leaving them."[65] Numerous other visitors to Brazil remark that the slaves appeared to be treated with kindness, to be well cared for, and happy. In 1821 Mathison noted that Negroes on an estate near Rio "showed by their cheerful looks and bodily condition that they were well taken care of."[66] "He who has had occasion to observe the happy songs and dances that are sung and danced after sunset by great groups of Negroes in the streets of Bahia," wrote the German scientists, Spix and Martius, "can with difficulty be convinced that these are the same slaves which one had thought, according to the exaggerated accounts of certain writers, had been pulled down to an animal existence."[67]

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[64] Hastings Charles Dent, *A Year in Brazil* (London, 1886), p. 285. Compare the remarks of another English traveler, Bennett (*op. cit.*, p. 10): "I want to say that, although some slaves may have been (and undoubtedly were) badly treated, a great many of them were better off than some free-born people here in England in the present day."

[65] *Op. cit.*, p. 120.

[66] Gilbert Farquhar Mathison, *Narrative of a Visit to Brazil, Chile, Peru, and the Sandwich Islands, 1821–1822* (London, 1825), pp. 93, 121.

[67] Spix and Martius, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

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Wells, journeying three thousand miles through the interior of Brazil a few years before abolition, thought that "many a poor laborer at home [in the United States] would enjoy their lot."[48] Gardner, who during five years' residence "saw more than has fallen to the lot of most Europeans," said:

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> I have conversed with Negroes in all parts of the country, and have met with but very few who expressed any regret at having been taken from their own country, or a desire to return to it. On some of the large estates at which I have resided for short periods, the number of slaves often amounted to three or four hundred, and but for my previous knowledge of their being such, I could never have found out from my own observations that they were slaves. I saw . . . . contented and well-conditioned laborers turning out from their little huts, often surrounded by a small garden, and proceeding to their respective daily occupations, from which they returned in the evening anything but broken and bent down with the severity of their tasks.[49]

Codman wrote:

> It is the result of my observation, and I believe that of every one who has investigated the subject, that the Brazilians are generally kind and indulgent masters, treating their slaves with much greater leniency than has been practised by any other people among whom the "institution" has existed in modern times.[50]

[48] James W. Wells, *Three Thousand Miles through Brazil* (2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1886), II, 187.

[49] *Op. cit.*, p. 14.

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[50] *Op. cit.*, p. 201. Absentee ownership, however, occasionally resulted, as on the estate of Prince Dom Rodrigo visited by Mawe, in a "system of management . . . . so bad that the slaves are half starved, almost destitute of clothing, and most miserably lodged" (John Mawe, *Travels in the Interior of Brazil* [Philadelphia, 1816], p. 115). Note also Mathison, *op. cit.*, p. 114. Nor is it to be supposed that the field hands always fared as well as the house servants. Compare the conclusion of Stewart (*op. cit.*, p. 296): "House servants in Rio [1852] are said to have easy times, and to do very much as they please; but to judge from the incidents I have seen of field laborers, I fear such have but a sad and wearisome life."

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The "wide spread of gentle manners in Brazil,"[71] which impressed some commentators as contributing to the favored treatment of Brazilian slaves, was an integral part of a social order in which the large family was the principal unit of cohesion. Under such conditions the network of personal relations arising out of the intimate contact of master and slave not only tempered but, over a period of time, tended to destroy the formal barriers between them. "The Negro is everywhere among the Brazilians," wrote Codman, "and they understand him thoroughly."[72]

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It was usually among the newly arrived Africans, the field hands, or those blacks like the semi-independent *negros de ganho*, all of whom were not in intimate contact with the whites, that escapes and insurrections occurred. Some of these Negroes at times affected scorn and contempt of whites.[73] But those who were in close contact with the Europeans over a period of time developed sentiments of "belonging together," of loyalty and affection. Under such cir-

[71] "One afternoon I sat in a street car of the Copacabana line running to and from the heart of Rio de Janeiro city. As we approached the Avenida and paused at a sharp turn at the regulator's signal, a small boy poorly clad in cotton clothes got onto the front platform with a dinner pail in his hand. He set it down, removed his cap, bent his knee as the motorman, with a swift smile at the child, extended his right hand. The boy respectfully kissed it, replaced his cap, and jumped down. The little incident was typical of the wide spread of gentle manners in Brazil; it is here usual enough to see elderly bankers kiss the hands of their parents, but courtesy is not confined to the upper classes. . . . Brazilian men meeting each other in the street a dozen times a day, lift their hats every time to each other" (L. E. Elliott, *Brazil, Today and Tomorrow* [New York, 1917], p. 76).

[72] *Op. cit.*, p. 202.

[73] Bennett (*op. cit.*, p. 9) mentions the following incident from Pernambuco: "One evening when we were walking along the Rua Nova, a black woman who was passing us suddenly drew aside with a lofty air, exclaiming: 'O meu Deus, os brancos perto de mim!' (Oh, my God, whites near me!)"

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cumstances they gradually lost their African customs and traditions and took over more and more European ideas, attitudes, and points of view.

This loyalty and devotion, as well as even deeds of heroism, on the part of Negro slaves quite naturally evoked corresponding sentiments of appreciation and affection in masters and their children. Mrs. Louis Agassiz, visiting, together with her husband, the Academy of Fine Arts in Rio in 1865, noted with particular interest the portrait of a Negro

> who, in a shipwreck off the coast, had saved a number of lives at the risk of his own. When he had brought several passengers to the shore, he was told that two children still remained in the ship. He swam back once more and brought them safely to the beach, but then sank down exhausted, and was seized with a hemorrhage. A considerable sum was raised for him in the city of Rio, and his picture was placed in the Academy to commemorate his heroism.[74]

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There hangs today in the Pinacotheca at Bahia a famous painting of the *mãe preta*, or "black mother." "We children," recently remarked a prominent Bahian banker, "respected our *mãe preta* as much as, or perhaps even more than, we did our own parents. I'm sure we feared her more and obeyed her more readily."

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Henrique Dias, a Pernambucan slave, materially and somewhat spectacularly aided the Portuguese when they were engaged, during the seventeenth century, in driving the Dutch out of Pernambuco. Captured, he was shortly released, the Dutch thinking that "because he was a Negro slave he wasn't worth the cost of feeding." He returned to fight effectively for the Portuguese and was once wounded in battle. Following the expulsion of the Dutch, he was given many honors, commissioned in the local militia, and put in

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[74] Professor and Mrs. Louis Agassiz, *A Journey in Brasil* (Boston and New York, 1888), p. 478.

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command of a Negro regiment. As a Bahian *preto* recently remarked with pride, "His contribution to his country was an honored one."

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Negros novos were required by law to be baptized into the Christian religion on penalty of forfeiture to the state. Those from Portuguese Angola were baptized in lots before they left their native shores.[75] The mark of the royal crown upon their breasts signified that they had undergone this ceremony and also that the king's duty had been paid. With slaves from other parts of Africa, the master was allowed a year for the instruction requisite for baptism.[76] Debret noted that elderly Negroes acquainted with African languages were often used to catechise the candidates, ordinarily the oldest and "most virtuous" slaves being chosen for this purpose.[77] One of the first things taught was the threefold sign of the cross accompanied by the words, "The sign of the cross delivers us from our enemies." Slaves were not considered, we are told, "members of society, but rather brute animals," until they could "lawfully go to mass, confess their sins, and receive the sacrament."[78] Participation in these ceremonies made them fellow human beings.

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On the plantations slaves were regularly instructed in Catholic ritual and belief, chaplains often being retained on the larger estates for this purpose as well as to conduct the public religious ceremonies in the chapel attached to the plantation. Mawe, visiting the estate of Prince Dom Rodrigo near Rio in the early years of the nineteenth century, noted that it was customary "to have prayers publicly read

[75] Koster, *op. cit.*, I, 198.

[76] Koster (*ibid.*) writes that "the law is not always strictly adhered to as to time, but it is never evaded altogether."

[77] *Op. cit.*, III, 129. [78] Koster, *op. cit.*, I, 199.

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to slaves morning and evening, at the commencement and close of their day's labor."[79] Mathison noted that "on Sunday large numbers of slaves may be seen in the churches, particularly females."[80] For the exclusive worship of the Negroes, certain saints—Nossa Senhora do Rosario, São Benedito, and Santa Efigenia—were set aside, and their images were often, and still are today, painted black. Numerous *irmandades* composed entirely of Negroes were organized, usually under the patronage of São Benedito and Nossa Senhora do Rosario,[81] and in Bahia, at least, these all-Negro organizations persist to the present day. Koster, writing about 1800, tells us:

> The ambition of the slave very generally aims at being admitted into one of these Irmandades, and at being made one of the officers and directors of the concerns of the brotherhood. Even some of the money which the industrious slave is collecting for the purpose of purchasing his freedom, will often times be brought out of its concealment for the decoration of a saint, that the donor may become of importance in the society to which he belongs.[82]

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In 1848 Henry Bates noted that on an estate called Caripí, near Pará, the Christmas festival "was celebrated by the Negroes of their own free will, and in a very pleasing manner."

> The room next to the one I had chosen was the *capella*, or chapel. It had a little altar which was neatly arranged, and the room was furnished with a magnificent brass chandelier. Men, women, and children were busy in the chapel all day on the 24th of December, decorating the altar with flowers and strewing the floor with orange leaves. They invited some of their neighbors to the evening prayers; and when the simple ceremony began, an hour before midnight, the chapel was

[79] Mawe, *op. cit.*, p. 115; cf. also Mathison, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

[80] *Op. cit.*, pp. 156–57.

[81] Cf. Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 255. [82] *Op. cit.*, I, 199–200.

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crowded. They were obliged to dispense with the mass, for they had no priest; the service therefore consisted merely of a long litany and a few hymns. There was placed on the altar a small image of the infant Christ, the "Menino Deus" as they called it, or the Child-God, which had a long ribbon depending from its waist. An old white-haired Negro led off the litany, and the rest of the people joined in the responses. After the service was over they all went up to the altar, one by one, and kissed the end of the ribbon. The gravity and earnestness shown throughout the proceedings was remarkable.[83]

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Slaves were often married according to the forms of the Catholic church, and the banns were published in the same manner as for free persons.[84] Debret has preserved a visual impression of such a ceremony being performed in the house of wealthy Brazilians.[85]

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As Freyre has pointed out,[86] priests continually urged upon white masters the advantage of conceding to the Negroes their African pastimes. A Jesuit, writing in the eighteenth century, advised slaveowners not only to permit but even to encourage the *festas* of the blacks, saying: "You should not make it difficult for them to choose their king, and to sing and dance as they desire on certain appointed days of the year, and legitimately to enjoy themselves on Sunday afternoons when in the morning they have executed the ceremonies in honor of Nossa Senhora do Rosario, São Benedito, or the guardian-saint of the chapel." Slaves were granted permission to use during public festivals—at first the Vespers of Reis, later Christmas, New Year's, and Carnival—

[83] Henry W. Bates, *The Naturalist on the River Amazons* (reprint, London, 1892), p. 88.

[84] Koster, *op. cit.*, I, 202. The consent of the master was required and the ceremony could not be performed until "the requisite prayers have been learned, the nature of the confession . . . . understood, and the sacrament can be received."

[85] *Op. cit.*, Vol. III, Pl. 15. [86] *Op. cit.*, p. 264.

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African costumes, songs, and dances.[87] The Catholic church was never in haste, it seems, to assimilate the Brazilian Negro but adopted instead a patient and tolerant policy which in the end was eminently successful. Early in the nineteenth century Koster wrote from Pernambuco, "No compulsion is resorted to, to make the Negroes embrace the habits of their masters; but their ideas are insensibly led to imitate and adopt them."[88]

As might be expected, the transition from fetish-cult ideas and practices to Catholic ritual and belief was marked by intermediary stages in which elements of both religions coexisted in the Negroes' thought and practice, and the objects of one cult were identified with objects of a similar nature in the other. Hence, the extensive identification, for instance, of several African *orixds* with certain Catholic saints (as we shall later see in greater detail) and the coexistence of African and European forms in the principal religious and popular festivals.

Thus, in 1852, a visitor wrote from Rio de Janeiro:

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> For many nights past, Gloria Hill . . . . has echoed till a late hour with the songs, the wild music, and the tread of the dance in the Negroes' favorite amusements; and yesterday afternoon, I accidentally became a spectator of a grand gathering of this kind. It was "Twelfth" or "King's Day," as sometimes called—being that commemorative of the adoration of the Magi in the stable of Bethlehem; and it is a chief festival with the Negroes. . . . . When about half way up the Larangeiras . . . . my attention was arrested by a large gathering of Negroes within an enclosure by the wayside, engaged in their native dances, accompanied by the wild and rude music brought with them from Africa. . . . . Many of the principal performers, both among the dancers and musicians, were dressed in the most . . . . grotesque manner. . . . . A majority, if not all the performers, were baptized

[87] *Ibid.*

[88] *Op. cit.*, I, 100.

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members of the . . . . church. . . . . Exhibitions of this kind are far from being limited here to extraordinary holidays, or to the seclusion of by-places. I have seen them in open daylight, in the most public corners of the city, while young [white] females . . . . hung over the surrounding balconies as spectators.[89]

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The festival here witnessed was probably that of the Rei do Congo ("King of the Congo"). Throughout Brazil, Africans were permitted on occasion to select a king and a queen and to celebrate their coronation with extensive ceremonies. This festival came to be held at the same time as that of the Catholic celebration of Epiphany and to be confused in the minds of the Negroes with it.[90] Of the king and queen, Koster records:

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The personages . . . . fixed upon may either actually be slaves, or they may be manumitted Negroes. These sovereigns exercise a species of mock jurisdiction over their subjects, which is much laughed at by the whites. But their chief power and superiority over their countrymen is shown on the day of the festival. The Negroes of their nation . . . . pay much respect to them. The man who had acted as their king in Itamaraca (for each district has its king) for several years, was about to resign from old age, and a new chief was to be chosen. He who had been fixed upon for this purpose was an old man and a slave, belonging to the plantation of Amparo. The . . . . queen would not resign, but still continued at her post. The old Negro who was this day to be crowned, came early in the morning to pay his respects to the vicar, who said to him in a jocular manner, "Well, sir, today I am to wait upon you, and to be your chaplain." About eleven o'clock I proceeded to the church with the vicar. We were standing at the door when there appeared a number of male and female Negroes, habited in cotton dresses of colors and of white, with flags flying and drums beating; and as they approached, we discovered among them the king and queen, and the secretary of state. Each of the former wore upon their heads a crown, which was partly covered with gilt

[89] Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

[90] Cf. Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 256: ". . . . festa que eles faziam coincidir e confundir com a catolica dos Tres Reis."

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Stewart recounts of Rio in 1852 that "two black African women, richly and fashionably attired, came sauntering along with the most conscious air of high-bred self-possession. They were followed by a black female slave, also in full dress, carrying a black baby three or four months old, and decked out in all the finery of an aristocratic heir—an elaborately wrought, lace-frilled and rosetted cap, and long flowing robe of thin muslin beautifully embroidered, and ornamented with lace."[105]

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A fashion which in the early part of the nineteenth century served "to mark the high rank of those (of either sex) who adopted it" was that of "permitting the nails of the fore-finger and thumb to grow to a great length . . . . [and be] cut to a sharp point."[106] Today, while the whites in Bahia no longer follow this fashion, one occasionally sees individuals of prominence in the Negro group—for instance, Mãe Anninha of the *candomblé* of São Gonçalo—with long fingernails.

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However, assimilation is not a process in which the individuals of only one of the races in contact are modified thereby while members of the other race remain unchanged. Circumstances in Brazil were such as to favor the taking-over by the whites of certain African elements. One rarely found a white child, especially during the slave period, who had not been reared by a Negro *ama*. She "gave him of her own milk, rocked him in his cradle or hammock, taught him his first words of halting Portuguese, his first Padre Nosso, his first Ave Maria, his first 'vôte!' or 'oxente'; she put into his mouth the first *pirão* with meat and

[105] *Op. cit.*, p. 295.

[106] Andrew Grant, *History of Brazil* (London, 1809), p. 234.

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molho de ferrugem."[107] From her and from the *mucama* (maid), as much as, if not more than, from his father and mother, the white child learned to speak. And almost without exception, he was given a *muleque companheiro de brinquedo*, a little Negro slave of his own age and sex, to be his playmate and his almost constant companion.[108] José Verissimo says that during slavery there was "no house which did not have one or more *muleques*, one or more *corumins*, little victims consecrated to the caprices of *nhônhô:*[109] his horse, his *leva-pancada*, his servant, his companion, his friend."[110] In 1821 Mathison saw on an estate near Rio "a number of fine Negro children playing in front of the house, and in the midst of them a younger brother of the proprietor, a lad about fourteen years of age, who had been brought up in this manner . . . . like the Negroes."[111] Freyre has suggested that "very likely many a Brazilian child took for his first hero, not a white physician, nor a navy official or a lawyer, but a slave acrobat who knew how to execute the difficult pirouettes of the impromptu circuses and of the *bumbas meu bois*[112] of the *engenhos;* or a Negro player of the trombone or the flute."[113] Under these conditions it is not surprising that

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[107] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 247. *Pirão* is made of manioc meal and meat broth; *molho de ferrugem* is oil of the *dendê* palm.

[108] Lacerda, *op. cit.*, p. 379.

[109] Slave rendering of *menino* (male child).

[110] *A educação nacional* (Rio, 1906), quoted in Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 248. A *leva-pancada* is one who "takes the beatings."

[111] *Op. cit.*, p. 93.

[112] The *bumbo meu boi* is still to be seen in the Bahian interior. It is a folk drama in which a man dressed to represent an ox plays a prominent role (see Arthur Ramos, *O negro brasileiro* [Rio, 1934], pp. 259–68; see also his *O folk-lore negro do Brasil* [Rio, 1935], pp. 103–14).

[113] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

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Koster found the masters and their families taking over many of the customs of their slaves.[114]

Grant, visiting Bahia about 1800, noted that the principal amusement engaged in at private gatherings of the upper class was a dance of African origin:

> It is performed by an individual of each sex moving their bodies to the monotonous tones of an instrument, always in one measure, and with scarcely any action of the legs or feet. The spectators seem delighted with the performance, and cheer the dancers by the most clamorous marks of approbation. This national dance . . . . is indulged in by all ranks of the citizens. . . . .[115]

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Numerous changes in the whites' speech occurred. Especially was this true on isolated fazendas where *senhores* and their families were semiliterate or even illiterate. The *r* and the *s* disappeared as final consonants from many words, *fazer* becoming *fazê; mandar*, *mandá; comer*, *comé;* and *lh* was often reduced to *l*, *mulher* becoming *muler; colher*, *coler;* etc. In 1798 the bishop of Recife urged the teachers in a local *recolhimento* to try to correct "certain errors of speech" in the young ladies there studying, especially that of inverting certain letters and saying, for instance, *breço* instead of *berço*, *cravão* instead of *carvão;* of omitting letters in the middle of a word and saying, for example, *teado* instead of *telhado*, *fio* instead of *filho;* of dropping the final letter of the plural or of words ending in a harsh sound and saying, for instance, *muitas florê* for *muitas flores*, and *Portugá* for *Portugal*.[116] Freyre says that these dialectical modifications were particularly noticeable among isolated families in the rural areas, where Negro slaves were "constantly within the

[114] *Op. cit.*, I, 200–201. [115] *Op. cit.*, pp. 232–33.

[116] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos* (São Paulo, 1936), p. 103.

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In the speech of very young children the doubling of a tonic syllable became common. Hence, *nhônhô* replaced *menino; titio* and *titia* were used for *tio* and *tia; dodoe* for *doe; dindinho* for *padrinho; vôvô* for *avô*, etc. Proper names "lost their solemnity, dissolving in a delicious manner in the mouths of the slaves." Little Antonia came to call herself, and to be called by her parents and other relatives, "Dondon" or "Toinha" or "Totonha"; Thereza became "Tetê"; Manoel became "Mané," "Mandú," or "Nezinho"; Francisco became "Chico," "Chiquinho," or "Chicó"; Pedro became "Pepê"; and Alberto became "Bebeto" or "Betinho."[119]

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In addition to the "hard and imperative" *diga-me, faça-me, espere-me*, of Portugal, another method of placing the pronoun came into use in Brazil. The slave and the lower classes developed *me-diga, me-faça, me-espere*, a manner of speaking which Ribeiro describes as of "great suavity and sweetness."[120] Freyre says "*faça-se* is the master speaking, the father, the patriarch; *me-dê* is the slave, the woman, the child."[121]

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The Negroes in Brazil are said to have been assiduous story-tellers. Many free *pretas*, mostly older women, made their living by wandering from *engenho* to *engenho* recounting tales to the women slaves which eventually found their way, transmitted especially by the *mãe preta* and the *mucama*, into the ears of the master's children. Particularly common were stories of animals possessing human characteris-

[119] Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 243.

[120] João Ribeiro, *A lingua nacional* (São Paulo, 1921), quoted in Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 246 n.

[121] *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 246.

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often hears in Bahia the expression *melhorando a raca* ("improving the breed").[37]

The attitude here inferred arose during slavery, when it became a distinct privilege for a Negro woman to bear a child to her white master; for she and her progeny were thereby placed in a more advantageous position, especially as far as material benefits, and even freedom, were concerned. [567] [178]

João Varella, in a booklet entitled *Da Bahia do Senhor do Bomfim*, reproduces the figure of a Negro woman bearing a young child bound to her back by a wide cloth. "When the child was black and ugly," Varella writes, "he was usually carried in this fashion. If, however, he was a *coisa mais limpa* (literally, 'a cleaner thing'), he was borne in front, in his mother's arms, so that all the world might the more readily see him."

This desire "to marry whiter" is not limited to the female portion of the black population. Successful males here, as in Haiti and the United States, generally seek to insure further their status and that of their children by marrying lighter-

[37] Of twenty-four babies delivered at the free maternity ward of Santa Isabel Hospital from Negro and mulatto mothers, four, an obstetrician thought, would grow up relatively "white," while only two appeared to be completely negroid. Although pigmentation apparently is not fixed at this early period, the appearance of *manchas* (or deeply colored "stains," called in popular speech *genipapo* after a common Brazilian fruit of a similar coffee-brown color), on either the back or buttocks is, in Bahia, commonly considered an index of subsequent dark pigmentation over the entire body. Three of the babies from dark mulatto women and one whose mother was a light mixed-blood showed no evidence of *manchas*. One dark mulatto mother, when requested, removed her child's clothing and proudly displayed his back free from these marks. The obstetrician, with a smile and a friendly pat on the mother's shoulder, inquired, "It's father was white, wasn't he?" The colored mother, pleased, replied, "I have five other children like him, all without *manchas*." [743]

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*175 563 seventeenth century largely disappeared, Zacharias Wagner at that time observed that unions of Portuguese men with Indian or mixed-blood women were still of frequent occurrence.[7] Capistrano de Abreu records the desire of native [829] women to have children "belonging to the superior race, since, according to the ideas current among them, parentage was important only on the paternal side."[8] Freyre, following Varnhagen, thinks "a decided sexual preference" was involved.[9]

*563 Intermarriage assures to the family relationships of the 593 mixed-blood a relative permanence and continuity not always characteristic of informal unions. Although human [848] beings are responsive to the natural claims of paternity, illegitimate offspring are often denied the regular presence of a father in the family and the relative security in other respects of legitimate children.

175 Among the Africans imported into Bahia were numerous 212 individuals possessed, as we have seen, of a cultural equip- *563 ment superior not only to that of the native Indian but also "to that of the majority of the white colonists . . . . many of •[567] whom were illiterate and the greater portion only semiliterate."[10] In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries there was so little literacy among the Europeans that "not rarely rich *fazendeiros* in the interior requested their friends on the coast to arrange a son-in-law who, although he had no

[7] Alfredo de Carvalho, "O Zoobillion de Zacharias Wagner," *Revista do Instituto Archeologico, Historico e Geographico de Pernambuco*, Vol. XI (1904), quoted by Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

[8] Capistrano de Abreu, *Capitulos de historia colonial* (3d. ed.; Rio, 1934), quoted by Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

[9] *Op. cit.*, p. 59. [10] *Ibid.*, p. 212.

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other possessions, did know how to read and write."[11] Incidentally, some of these men were light mulattoes.

The Negro women known in Bahia as "Minas" were famed for their fine physiques, their proud, dignified bearing, and their culinary skill.[12] They were probably Fulahs and Ashantis who were called "Minas" after the name of the Portuguese slave factory on the West Coast known as Forte de el Mina,[13] whence they were imported into Brazil. They approximated the whites in color and features perhaps more closely than any other imported Africans. Araripe Junior writes that they made "excellent companions." "Healthy, ingenuous, and affectionate, it was inevitable," he concludes, "under the precarious conditions of the first and second centuries, that they should dominate the situation."[14] It is probably among these women that the first legal marriages of Europeans with Negro women occurred. In 1730 the governor of Rio de Janeiro, Luis Vahia Monteiro, stated that "there is no Mineiro [gold miner] who can live without a Mina Negro woman. They say that only with them are they lucky."[15] The Minas became not only *amigas* and *mancebas* of the Europeans but eventually *donas de casa* ("housewives").

[11] Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil, 1809 to 1815* (2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1817), II, 178–79.

[12] Braz do Amaral, "Os grandes mercados de escravos africanos," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brazileiro*, tomo especial, *Congresso Internacional de Historia da America* (1927), V, 481.

[13] Arthur Ramos, *As culturas negras no novo mundo* (Rio, 1937), pp. 324–25.

[14] Araripe Junior, *Gregorio de Mattos* (Rio, 1894), quoted by Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

[15] F. J. Oliveira Vianna, *Evolução do povo brazileiro* (2d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 149.

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Dampier, who visited Bahia in the seventeenth century, knew several Europeans living in common-law marriage with Negro women. By this time the relations were not merely casual affairs. "Many an African woman," we are told, "had managed to gain the respect of her white mate; some through the fear inspired by their *mandingas* (black magic); others, like the Minas for example, by their affectionate natures and womanly qualities."[16] "At least a minority of these women had by this time achieved for themselves . . . . positions as housekeepers to the whites; no longer were they kept in the *sensalas* merely for the physical pleasure of their masters and the increase of his human capital." By the early nineteenth century the marriage of white men with *mulheres de côr* were, we are told, not rare.[17] The women involved, like the Osage Indian women of the United States, for instance, whose oil lands have increased their desirability as wives for white men,[18] often possessed considerable property. Such cases were "commented upon in intimate circles but without acrimony, especially when the excuse proved to be the dowry of the bride."

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Other marriage partners of the whites were mixed-bloods, men as well as women. Gradually, we are told, marriages with mulattoes came "no longer to be disdained as they formerly were, now that the high position of the mulatto

[16] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

[17] Koster, *op. cit.*, II, 178.

[18] "The white demand for Osage women, who are rich in oil land, is now so great that the Indian agent requires every prospective husband to give a bond, submit to a physical examination, and present character references. White husbands have become so easy to get that they are now considered somewhat less desirable than even Indian men of other tribes" (Ralph Linton, "An Anthropological View of Race Mixture," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, XIX [1924], 76).

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CHAPTER VI

THE RISE OF THE MIXED-BLOOD

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EARLY in the colonial period race mixture resulted in an intermediate population group in more favorable position for social advancement. Mulatto slaves, because they were ordinarily chosen by their masters and mistresses for the more delicate and exacting household tasks, to be *mucamas* (maids), *amas de crear* ("mammies"), and other *pessoal de casa* (house servants), early developed into a distinct group apart from the field hands.[1] They were baptized, received the master's name, and often were married in accordance with the prescribed legal and religious practices, thus establishing legitimate families and adding to the social security of their offspring by building up a family tradition.

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Many *mulatinhos*, illegitimate children of the *senhor*, learned to read and to write even more quickly than white, legitimate children, outstripping them in preparatory and even advanced studies. The Reconcavo of Bahia yields a number of such cases.[2] Particularly fortunate, we are told, were the children of priests. Their fathers, being ordinarily from upper-class families and possessing money and prestige, transmitted to their offspring, colored as well as white, ad-

[1] F. J. Oliveira Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro* (2d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 157; Jean Baptiste de Lacerda, "The *Métis*, or Half-breeds of Brazil," in *Papers on Inter-racial Problems*, ed. G. Spiller (London, 1911), p. 379.

[2] Gilberto Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* (2d ed.; Rio, 1936), pp. 324–25. The author throughout this chapter is greatly indebted to Freyre's *Sobrados e mucambos* (São Paulo, 1936), esp. chap. vii.

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vantages of ancestry, social position, intellectuality, and wealth. The professions were readily open to them, and "marriages into the bosom of the most exclusive families"[3] sometimes took place. "More fortunate even than the son of a priest" and "A child of a priest is never unhappy" are expressions still heard at Bahia.[4]

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Significant also was the widespread system of *creação*, whereby colored children who were being reared within the master's house, the so-called *crias*, *irmãos de creação*, *malungos*, *muleques de estimação*, gained position as "persons of the house," somewhat comparable to poor relations in the households of medieval Europe. Often they were seated at the patriarchal table as if members of the family. Some even rode in the family vehicle with their masters.

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Owing to the peculiar personal associations in which the mulattoes grew up, they tended to develop certain traits favorable to their advancement. They were usually more intelligent, we are told, more aggressive, more dexterous, and more cunning than the pure blacks. Consequently, they were often assigned to the more skilled occupations, such as shoemaking, carpentry, and tailoring, where they developed occupational skills symbolic of greater personal worth than ordinarily attaches to unskilled labor.

Because they were liberated in preference to the blacks, the mixed-bloods, early in the colonial period, began to enter the free classes.[5] The disproportion between black

[3] Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 324.

[4] "The social ascension of children of priests, both white and light mixed-blood, has always occurred with great facility" (*ibid.*, pp. 323–24).

[5] In addition, the king of Portugal in 1773 intervened in their behalf, denouncing those persons "so lacking in the sentiments of humanity and of religion" that they still keep in slavery persons "whiter than they are" (Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 327).

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and mulatto slaves noticeable even before 1800, had by the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century become great. In 1822, for instance, the free blacks in Maranhão were reckoned at 9,308; the free mulattoes, at 25,111. Only 6,580 mulattoes were still in bondage as compared with 77,954 blacks. Thus, in this important center of Negro concentration, over three-fourths of the mixed-bloods had by 1822 been emancipated, whereas approximately only one-eighth of the blacks had been liberated. Walsh in 1828 reports that there were at that time in Brazil approximately 160,000 free blacks and 400,000 free mulattoes. In 1835, among a total of 170,000 mulattoes in Minas Geraes, only 40,000, or less than one-fourth, were reported to be slaves; while 250,000 out of an estimated 305,000 blacks, or approximately five-sixths, were still in bondage.[4] Although no figures are available for Bahia, it is likely that similar proportions held here also.

These numerically important liberated mulattoes began their rise in social rank by becoming small farmers (*lavradores, sitiantes*), or artisans (both rural and urban), street merchants, small shopkeepers, etc., taking their places beside those lower-class whites who either had not yet risen or did not possess the requisite ability to rise.

Free blacks, as well as free mulattoes, were able to establish themselves in manual occupations more readily than their brothers in the United States because the descendants of Europeans in Brazil have ordinarily looked down upon manual labor, as attested by the common saying: "Trabalho é para cachorro e negro" (work [that is, hard manual labor] is for Negroes and dogs). "Whatever may have been the en-

[4] Maurice Rugendas, *Voyage pittoresque dans le Brésil*, trans. from the German by de Colbery (3 vols.; Paris, 1835), p. 27.

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ergy exerted by their immigrant fathers, creoles [native Brazilians] ordinarily imbibed the colonial prejudice against labor, and assumed the airs of gentlemen." Free men of color entering agricultural or artisan employment "in no way aroused the jealousy of Europeans."[7]

The mobility of the Brazilian population in the colonial period, both vertically and horizontally, facilitated climbing. Changes in status during the lifetime of a given individual were common phenomena and at times even precipitous, a condition reflected in the common saying "Pae taberneiro, filho cavalheiro, neto mendicante" ("Father an innkeeper, son a squire, grandson a beggar"). Endogamy among the rural aristocracy, even in such *fidalgo* centers as Bahia and Pernambuco, was never absolute. Clerks and small merchants in the cities, immigrant peddlers in the interior, modest proprietors of small farms, owners of small herds of cattle—all aspired to, and some succeeded in attaining, the ranks of the rural aristocracy.[8]

Similarly significant was freedom to move in space. For in areas distant from those of their birth, light mulattoes of slave origin often managed to pass for individuals born of free parents. They were thus able readily to strip from themselves the social stigma of servile origin. One of the functions of the *bandeiras* and the *monções*[9] was to assist ambitious individuals to whom migration and the freedom of the frontier appeared to offer the most rapid and successful means of social advancement. Many mixed-bloods sought out new homes and became settlers, stock-raisers, small

[7] H. A. Wyndham, *The Atlantic and Slavery* (London: Oxford University Press, 1935), pp. 249–50.

[8] Vianna, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

[9] The *bandeiras* (also called *monções*) were groups of hardy explorers and frontier fighters who explored the interior or raided Indian villages for slaves.

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senhores de engenho, fazendeiros, etc.[10] Often they were runaway slaves.[11] In the cities they became masons, cobblers, tinsmiths, soldiers, actors, and at times reached even the small bourgeosie.[12]

The mulatto, owing to his closer approximation in physical characteristics to the European, was better able than the Negro to appropriate certain symbols of status—the small shoe and the little boot, for instance, the wearing of which was an important index of social standing in colonial and imperial Brazil.[13] Small feet, particularly among women, were for a long time, and still are, fashionable.

As the mulatto rose in class, he came to occupy something

[10] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, pp. 190-91, 205, 238.

[11] "I heard of a mulatto slave who ran away from his master; and in the course of years had become a wealthy man, by the purchase of lands which were overrun with cattle. He had, on one occasion, collected in pens great numbers of oxen which he was arranging with his herdsmen to dispatch to different parts for sale, when a stranger who came quite alone, made his appearance, and rode up and spoke to him, saying that he wished to have some private conversation with him. After a little time they retired together; and when they were alone the owner of the estate said, "I thank you for not mentioning the connection between us, whilst my people were present." It was his master, who had fallen into distressed circumstances, and had now made this visit in hopes of obtaining some trifle from him. He said that he would be grateful for anything his slave chose to give him. To reclaim him, he well knew, was out of the question—he was in the man's power, who might order him to be assassinated immediately. The slave gave his master several hundred oxen, and directed some of his men to accompany him with them to a market, giving out among his herdsmen, that he had thus paid a debt of old standing, for which he had only now been called upon" (Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil, 1809 to 1815* [2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1817], I, 244-45).

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[12] Vianna, *op. cit.*, p. 143. In 1774 a law opened to *homens pardos* access "to all offices, honors and dignities, without discrimination on account of difference in color" (*Annaes da Biblioteca Nacional*, XXXVII [1913], 85). See also Pedro Calmon, *Historia social do Brasil* (3 vols.; São Paulo, 1937-39), I, 168.

[13] "The use of shoes and little boots, which was at first almost entirely limited to persons recently arrived from Portugal, spread among those men

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Similarly, an army uniform, "especially the gold braid of an officer, Aryanized and 'aristocratized' many mulattoes into whites."[31]

The rise of the mixed-bloods was also facilitated by the conviction which, since at least the late eighteenth century, had been crystallizing in the minds of Brazilian intellectuals to the effect that the Negroes, whose strong arms and backs had long furnished the country's labor supply, were to a considerable extent the actual builders of Brazil. In prose and poetry not only the toil of the slave but also the creative energies of the free people of color came to be exalted.[32] This appreciation of the African contribution to Brazilian civilization increased with the progress of the abolition campaign. Especially were the *amas* extolled.[33] Much of the abolition sentiment had its sanction in the affectionate gratitude of young aristocrats whom they had reared.

The rise of the mulatto, as also that of the black, was further favored by the gradual, rather than catastrophic, character of the emancipation process which in Brazil released most of the lower stratum of society from servile status gradually and as individuals, under circumstances favorable to the continuance of those intimate personal ties so highly advantageous to a "new freeman." Moreover, final emancipation was not, as in our South, brought about as an incident of civil strife, and the normal relations which had

[31] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 318.

[32] See Borges dos Reis, "Colonos indigenas e escravos," *Revista do Instituto Geographico e Historico da Bahia*, XXVIII (1902), 61. Note also Alvarengo Peixoto's stanza:

> ". . . . homens de varias accidentes
> pardos, pretos, tintos e tostados
> . . . . os fortes braços feitos ao trabalho."

[33] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 128.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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grown up naturally between the races were never threatened, let alone destroyed, by a program of reconstruction originating from without and imposed by armed conquest. Individual ability, personal ties and family solidarity, instead of external pressure, were the levers of social advancement. The rise of the mixed-blood and of the black in Brazil has always had effectively in its favor those sentiments and personal attachments which primary relations tend normally to develop.

Such political upheavals as did occur tended to advance the mixed-bloods not as a group but as individuals. Thus the overthrow of the monarchy and the rise of the republic marked a definite break with the rural aristocracy and accelerated the rise of a new class, that of the *bachareis* and the *doutores*, among whom were many mulattoes. And, more recently, the recrystallization of the political structure following the "revolution of 1930" found many Bahian mixed-bloods in positions of trust and responsibility, since the new political "ins," who were diligently seeking to solidify their gains and to establish themselves firmly in power, found it expedient to accept such support as was readily at hand. Again the mixed-bloods figured prominently, not as a group per se but as individuals belonging to an eligible professional class.

The role of sex and of romantic love should not be overlooked. The sexual attraction which the mulatto male exerted upon daughters of rich and influential European families led quite often to elopement or, occasionally and increasingly, to marriage with parental consent.[34] Similarly,

[34] "The daughters, the *yáyás* of the *sobrados*, the *sinhás* of the *casas grandes de engenho*, let themselves be kidnaped by these Don Juans, even by such as were plebeian and of color. . . . . Sellin noted the large number of young ladies eloping . . . . during the latter half of the nineteenth century. They were girls whose parents, for reasons of blood or of social position, had

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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562 high society of the city in spite of my letters of introduction and my efforts to enter several homes."[8]

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564 Another important question to raise is, "Why did not the structure of Brazilian slave society, like that of the United States, pass over into caste?" The situation here is some-
•567 what more clear. The function of caste appears to be that of preserving inviolate the racial integrity of a dominant group. Caste in India apparently arose in an attempt on the part of incoming Aryan peoples to preserve the status of their families against the consequences of intermixture with the conquered aboriginal tribes.[9] The prohibition of intermarriage excluded almost completely from the more intimate social contacts individuals from groups considered undesirable.

*121 In Brazil the characteristic tendency has always been just
563 the reverse: namely, to incorporate eventually all ethnic
567 minorities into the dominant group. The contact of the Portuguese settlers with the imported Africans was, of course, originally that of master and slave. But out of the slave system which grew up there gradually emerged a moral order in which most whites and blacks, as we have seen, came to share a common life on an intimate, personal basis.

Men come together ordinarily because they are useful to one another. Under these circumstances they may regard each other for a long time as mere utilities. But human beings do not live for long, like plants, in relations that are merely symbiotic. For men, unlike plants, communicate. In this way they come to know one another's minds and to be responsive to one another's attitudes and sentiments. They find themselves, eventually, living as it were, each in the mind of all his neighbors. It is in this way that a moral order grows up in which,

[8] L. F. Tollenare, "Notas dominicais tomadas durante uma residencia no Brasil, 1816–1818" (portion relative to Pernambuco translated by Alfredo de Carvalho from the unpublished French manuscript), *Revista do Instituto Arqueologico e Geographico Pernambucano*, No. 61 (1905), pp. 129 and 250.

[113] [9] Sir Herbert H. Risley, *The People of India* (2d ed.; Calcutta, 1915), pp. 264–65.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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under the happiest circumstances, the individual feels himself constrained only by those obligations which he freely accepts or imposes upon himself.

It is characteristic of such a moral order that it is nonrational. That means that it is not devised to protect any special interest, to serve any policy, and has no ulterior purposes of any sort. On the contrary, it arises in response to the natural claims which one individual makes upon another, as soon as he recognizes that other individual as human like himself.[10]

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Manumission, as we have seen, extensively occurred from the first. And final emancipation came about as the culmination of a widespread liberation movement which had for years dominated the public mind. The Brazilian Negro was thus released from a servile status gradually and under circumstances which favored the continuance of intimate personal ties. Final emancipation was not, as in the United States, brought about as an incident of civil strife, and the race relations which had normally grown up under slavery were never exacerbated by a program of reconstruction imposed from without by armed conquest. The rise of the black and of the mixed-blood in Brazil has always had in its favor those sentiments and personal attachments which primary relations tend to develop.

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In Bahia there is probably little or no race prejudice in the sense in which that term is used in the United States. There are no castes based on race; there are only classes. This does not mean that there is nothing which might be properly called prejudice but that such prejudice as does exist is *class* rather than *caste* prejudice. It is the kind of prejudice which exists *inside* the ranks of the Negro in the United States, the amount and intensity of which is actually very great.

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That race prejudice has not arisen in Brazil is perhaps due

[10] Park, Introduction to Bertram W. Doyle, *The Etiquette of Race Relations in the South* (Chicago, 1937), pp. xiv–xv.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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been breaking down, particularly along the biological borders of the races, and, with the continued rise of individuals from the inferior status group, this tendency is evidently increasing. Although color and negroid features are still symbolic of slave origin, still tend to be closely identified with low status and hence to constitute an undeniable handicap to marriage into the upper classes, these physical marks lose their restraining character in proportion to the degree white intermixture increases or—what is even more important—in proportion to the degree their symbolic reference is called into question by evidence of other qualities of a status-enhancing character in a given individual.

6. In general, slavery in Brazil, as also in the United States, was characterized by the continuous growth of intimate, personal relations between master and slave which tended gradually to humanize the institution and undermine its formal character. The Brazilian moral order became organized, to a considerable extent, on a familial and personal basis.

7. The custom of manumission became firmly intrenched in the Brazilian mores, constituting, under certain circumstances, universally expected behavior. Brazilian Negroes were thus released from a servile status gradually and under circumstances which favored the continuance of those intimate personal ties already built up.

8. Emancipation sentiment in Brazil never suffered from a wave of fear like that which swept our South after the Negro uprising in Haiti and the disorders attendant on the subsequent annihilation of the Haitian whites.

9. Abolition sentiment and agitation was not limited to any one section of Brazil but, on the contrary, penetrated every community, even that of Bahia, where the institution

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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of slavery was apparently very firmly intrenched. Thus, the "struggle for consistency" in the Brazilian mores went on *inside* each local community, where it had in its favor the intimate and personal relations of individuals who not only lived in close proximity to each other but were also bound together by ties of family, religion, and friendship.

10. Final emancipation came about as the culmination of a widespread liberation movement which for years had dominated the public mind. The release of the last slaves in bondage did not, as in the United States, occur as an incident of civil strife, nor were the race relations which have normally grown up under slavery ever exacerbated by a program of "reconstruction" imposed by armed conquest from without.

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11. The Brazilian white has never at any time felt that the black or the mixed-blood offered any serious threat to his own status. No feelings of fear, distrust, apprehension, dread, resentment, or envy have been stirred up, as in our South during and following the Civil War, no sense of unwarranted aggressions or attacks.

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12. Today, the blacks and the mixed-bloods are represented throughout the entire occupational scale, although, as is to be expected, considering the original slave status of the Negro, his relatively disadvantaged position upon receiving his liberty, and the comparatively brief time he has enjoyed a freely competitive status, the darker portion of the population is still concentrated in the low-pay, low-status employments. However, the blacks, ordinarily but not always paced by the mixed-bloods, are gradually rising in the occupational scale.

13. This rise in class of the blacks and the mixed-bloods is recognized not merely in a Negro world, as is largely true of

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/9/ The Ethnic Types of Bahia

361 Bahia owes its reputation, not only to its privileged location
*563 on the shores of a magnificent bay and to its churches of an ornate
633 rococo style, but also, to a certain degree, to the excellent relations that exist in the heart of its motley population between people of different color. Stephan Zweig drew a very vivid picture
633 of Bahia and its ancient traditions. For him, Brazil began with
*563 this city, and not only Brazil, but also South America. "In this city was erected the first pier of the vast bridge thrown across the Atlantic; in it has originated, through the combination of European, African, and American material, the new mixture that is fermenting so actively at the present time (1)."

[113] 1. Stephan Zweig, Brazil, Pais do Futuro /Brazil, Land of the Future/, trans. by Gallotti, Rio de Janeiro, 1941, p. 275.

175 From its founding under the official name of Cidade do
633 Salvador, Bahia began to be known for its wealth, which it owed
[103] to the sugar produced by its fazendas (2)
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2. Plantations.

and its engenhos (3).

3. Sugar mills.

[796] It was also renowned for the magnificence of the worship in its
[363] numerous churches, for the religious processions that passed through its narrow, climbing streets, and for the traditions, so typically Portuguese, of its inhabitants. Center of importation
[567] of African slaves, Bahia was also famous for the large proportion
[167] of Blacks in its population, to the point that foreign travelers of
[162] the colonial period speak of this city as a "new Guinea" (4).

[113] 4. M. Frezier, Relation du voyage de la mer du Sud aux côtes du Chili et du Pérou fait pendant les années 1712, 1713 and 1714 /Account of the

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175 called Negroes because of the ignominious and base implications
*563 of a term that puts them on the same footing as the people of the
829 coast of Africa destined to become slaves of the Whites. The true African Negroes were at that time called Negroes of Guinea, Negroes of the coast, or Negroes of nation, that is to say, of such
175 and such an African tribe. In a general way the term Negro was
829 applied to every slave, to the point that in 1773 a Portuguese
*563 monarch complained that in Brazil there were still "persons so
• 567 wanting in feelings of humanity and religion as to keep among
192 them slaves, some of whom are whiter than they themselves, under the names of Blacks and Negresses, or even métisses /plural feminine form of métis, a person of mixed blood/." The sons of
829 African Negroes born in Brazil were called creoles, a term ap-
*563 plied even today, in the feminine, to black women and mulattress
192 who dress like the Bahian women, with the troquette, the very full
291 skirt, the white, embroidered, and very décolleté blouse, and the
794 colored shawl around the bust, a costume worn by the Africans of Nigeria and even in our day, with certain local modifications, by the women belonging to the religious cults of African origin, the
*563 candomblés. The creoles of Bahia constitute a typical spectacle
794 in the streets of the city; one can see them there, making their
443 way to a fetishist-cult center or sitting beside stalls in which they
262 display, especially during the popular festivals, the foods of the famous local cuisine, which is also of African origin to a great extent.

*563 The words pardo and mestiço, both having, as we have seen,
829 the meaning of mulatto, serve to designate the descendants of a
192 cross between Europeans and Blacks. Every variation of these
826 types, depending on the intensity of the color or the nature of the hair, was formerly designated by a particular name fallen into disuse today. One speaks of light mulatto or dark mulatto, according to the predominance of one or the other of the characteristics; the light mulattoes, when their hair is very similar to that of Whites, are also called cabo verdes or rôxos. A young girl showing
[196] few traces of crossbreeding is a roxinha or even a cabrocha; in this case the inhabitants of Bahia use a diminutive in order to remo
from the word any pejorative meaning.

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*563 the Bahians congregate together or avoid one another much more
565 in terms of their social rank than of their color or their race.
829 Crossbreeding is not forbidden by any law and comes up against
[656] the disapprobation of opinion only to the extent that it affects the
[626] structure of classes firmly established in the country: upper strata made up almost exclusively of Whites, that is to say, persons of white phenotype or at least "socially white," lower strata made up chiefly of colored people; a classification which makes classes and racial types approximately coincide, without, however, making them identical.

175 From the early days of Portuguese colonization there has been
*563 a large number of colored persons in Bahia. In the beginning the
[595] colonists mixed largely with the tupi /Tupi/ Indian women of the region, living with them in a state of concubinage and often
[567] polygamy. Slavery having been abolished in the first half of the
[641] seventeenth century for the aborigines, and civil and political rights having been granted them a short time afterward, cross-
[829] breeding continued through marriage. Thus, today a large number of morenos explain their dark color by boasting about some ancestor pegado a dente de cachorro, that is to say, captured like an animal that one hunts in the virgin forest in the wild state.
[161] But the number of natives decreased rapidly and had little influ-
[167] ence on the formation of the Bahian type. The opposite /22/
[567] occurred with the Africans brought by the thousands and thousands to work on the sugar-cane plantations. The crossbreeding of Portuguese and Brazilians with Africans and Blacks born in Brazil was made possible and even favored by different factors, among them the scarcity of white women in the initial period, the slave system, the laxness of social control with regard to male sexual behavior, the physical and psychological charms of black women, in particular the minas Blacks, natives of the Costa da Mina in
[829] the western Sudan. It was commonly said at that time that, in order to see beautiful Negresses, it was necessary to go to Bahia (1):

1. F. Biard, Deux années au Brésil /Two years in Brazil/, Paris, 1862.

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175 a European traveler describes them as gigantic women with the
*563 opulent figures of ancient goddesses carved in blocks of black
[829] marble, who attracted attention by their "wealth of incomparable vigor" (2).

2. A. d'Assier, op. cit., p. 196.

These were the women whom the Whites preferred as concubines.
[829] Certain types of mulattresses and of morenas, especially when they combined the traits of the two races from which they sprang, were also very much sought after by the Whites.

*563 None of the other Brazilian States that have a large number of Blacks presents as high a percentage of crossbreeding as Bahia. This proves that this State has been the most important Afro-
[567] European ethnic melting-pot of Brazil. In truth, it is in our city and in its environs, an ancient center of concentration of slaves,
*563 that the crossing has taken place with the greatest intensity. The
162 ratio between the number of Blacks and of métis, according to the 1940 census, is 1 to 2.55 in Bahia, whereas in States such as Minas Gerais, which has relatively the same number of Blacks, it is only 1 to 1; in other States, such as Maranhão and Piauí, which have, respectively, 27 o/o and 32 o/o Blacks, this ratio
[829] is 1 to 0.93 and 0.71. This results from the fact that in Bahia the factors of segregation and of discrimination that lie heavily on the darkest of its inhabitants are much less than in the other
175 States. The proportion of pure Blacks began to decrease from
*563 the second half of the last century, slave traffic having been
567 forbidden, and especially from 1888, the date of the definitive
161 abolition of slavery, when numerous ex-slaves emigrated to the more prosperous regions of southern Brazil. At present, unfavor-
*563 able social and economic factors influence the conditions of life,
161 the birth and mortality rates of this group, and explain its progressive diminution (3).

[113] 3. Thales de Azevedo, Civilização e mestiçagem /Civilization and Crossbreeding/, Livr. Progresso Edit., Bahia, 1951, p. 63.

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The generally gentle and humane treatment that the owners reserved for their slaves and the efforts made by the Catholic clergy, from the beginning of the slave trade, to try to incorporate the /23/ Africans into the Catholic religion played an important role in the establishment of good relations between races in Bahia as throughout Brazil. Contrary to what occurred in the other colonial nations, where the aborigines and the imported slaves were kept in a state of segregation, like unassimilable "savages," in Brazil the natives and the Blacks were baptized, catechized, and admitted into the Church as men. Thus, numerous slaves, baptized Negroes, were no longer considered "beasts" and became "Christians," with the same title as the European colonists, having to endure neither hostility nor religious discrimination. They were taught the Christian doctrine, and the preachers endeavored to speak to them in their languages, chiefly in nagô, which had become a sort of lingua franca in which the Africans of different origins were able to understand one another. They intermarried; their marriage having been consecrated by the Church, this protected them when their masters intended to separate the spouses or sell one of the partners; they received the sacraments; they acted as witnesses in religious proceedings and participated as acolytes in religious ceremonies; they marched in the processions, carrying the standards and emblems of their brotherhoods; they were buried in the Christian cemeteries, the owners of slaves being obliged to call the priest in time to assist the dying. No one pretends by that to claim that their lives were free from suffering or that the Negroes were thus completely integrated in Catholicism. The clergy, the owners, and the civil authorities always allowed them some freedom concerning certain proceedings of their pagan cults and never forced them to embrace the official religion. They likewise permitted them to amuse themselves in their way by dances, songs, ceremonies (batuques), banquets in the manner of those of their countries of origin. From that comes this Catholicism somewhat mixed with fetishist beliefs and practices that constitutes the religion of a large part of the colored people of Bahia (1).

1. Roger Bastide, "Religion and the Church in

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Brazil," in Brazil, Portrait of Half a Continent, p. 334.

Because of crossbreeding and other sociobiological factors, the darkest group of black phenotype was gradually absorbed by ethnic blending: the Whites increased at a slightly faster rhythm, while the number of métis registered in the statistics as pardos rose and gave birth finally, as a result of the mixture, to a group in which European ancestry predominated (2).

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2. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 417.

"Among our ancestors there were already creoles of "clean belly" (barriga limpa). Their children, being themselves /24/ children of lighter men, tended progressively toward the color of their fathers. Perhaps Bahia is a city that contains many female Blacks and métisses of barriga limpa. Everybody remarks that we are moving toward a population totally of mixed blood but of white appearance (1)."

1. J. Valadares, op. cit., p. 91.

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In consulting the death certificates recorded between 1897 and 1938 (2),

2. A. Rabelo Leite, "A tuberculose do preto na Bahia /The tuberculosis of the Black in Bahia/"; Cesar de Araujo, Anais do I° Congresso Nacional de Tuberculose /Annals of the First National Tuberculosis Congress/, Vol. I, 1930; see also E. F. Frazier, "The Negro Family in Bahia, Brazil," American Sociological Review, Vol. VII, No. 4, 1942, p. 467.

one can see that the proportional quantities of each type varies in our city as shown below:

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*563 565 their degree of education, in the hotels and even more in the boarding houses of various categories. They may freely visit restaurants, cafés, teashops, cabarets; they frequently participate in dinner parties where they meet white friends. The news-
*563 565 204 papers and magazines report anniversaries, marriages, the conferring of diplomas, births, returns from travel, celebrations and tributes received, or the death of any person whomsoever, without any mention of type or color, printing portraits of either of them indiscriminately. And when an individual is not well enough known so that the newspapers spontaneously publish an article about him, /35/ it is not rare to see his name or even his portrait reproduced, after payment of the price of the announcement, in
*563 565 the column devoted to this kind of news. "Few persons," says a White, "could have more prestige in Bahia society, thanks to their exquisite manners and their elegance, than a university professor and his wife, both mulattoes, had ten years ago."

Among the most highly placed families of the present-day society of Bahia, says a morena informant, there are many who "belong to the caste," who, in other words, are métisses, although it would not be discreet to draw attention to the origin of these
[564] families. Since there are no castes, properly speaking, but merely classes, colored people find their way into the world of the Whites, even if they have pronounced black features; it is merely necessary for them to approximate the "superior" dominant group by their behavior. In order to show that she was born already assimilated with the Whites, a woman practicing a liberal profession explains that she is the daughter of a Black who was a domestic "in a milieu other than that of the senzala" (1).

[192] [567] [342]

1. Senzala = all the communicating houses of poor quality where the slaves lived in the fazendas.

She considers herself a privileged creature of God, since she has
*563 565 all that she desires. "I am on good terms with people of the best society. I choose my friends in all classes. I visit the clubs and
571 the government palace frequently. A short time ago the newspapers
[204] even published my picture beside the governor of the State in the course of a luncheon that one of my friends gave in his honor."

/36 cont./

*563 excessively humble and submissive, others are pretentious,
565 vicious, excessive in their manners, desirous of putting them-
571 selves forward." Two Blacks of liberal profession repeat almost
576 the same thing: "Color does not have a direct influence, but it entails certain consequences. Colored people, because of their origin, are humble, have customs that are peculiar to them, and are not prepared for the life of society. Their manners attract attention and displease well-bred people. Because of this, the persons belonging to this class and who detach themselves from it suffer from prejudices that hold sway over them. When one sees a Black elevate himself and when one has to deal with him, one always asks oneself whether he will have bad manners. It is only when one begins to know him that this impression is dispelled."

*563 No less important is adherence to the moral standards of the
565 higher classes in order to be accepted there. According to a highly esteemed and skilled mulatto of liberal profession, "the one who merits respect is respected, whatever his color may be" (1).

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1. Among the Yoruba, who made up a considerable part of the African slaves imported to Bahia, one often hears it said in the course of discussions on the subject of the social situation and classification that "one respects the one who respects himself," cf. W. R. Bascom, "Social Status, Wealth, and Individual Differences among the Yoruba," Am. Anthropologist, Vol. 53, No. 4, Part 1, Oct.-Dec., 1951, p. 504.

An amiable character also facilitates ascent and living with the Whites. As much among the latter as among colored persons, it is said of a dark mulatto educator that he is highly esteemed because of his good character, his gentle and subdued manners; likewise, the success of a Black of liberal profession /37/ is attributed to his communicative temperament, his joviality, and his even temper. But inasmuch as the problem of race relations,

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/37 cont./

*563 565 for many people, is more a question of class than a question of race, "the primacy of culture and of class" having the ascendancy, one may say with a mulatto educator that "if he has money, education, and manners, the Black can elevate himself." This synthesis, however, does not exhaust all the aspects of the problem. A very dark woman of liberal profession declares that "a Black, in order to elevate himself socially, must have talent and friend-
[571] ships." In truth, good personal and family relationships are very important for everybody in Bahia, whether in trade, in administration, or in politics. A maxim constantly cited by Brazilians teaches that "a friend at hand is worth more than money in the till," which means that any enterprise is easier when the interested party is given a "personal" introduction by a friend of the person with whom he must deal. One informant insists on explaining that she does not believe money has a great influence on the social ascent of colored people: she knows several among them who, having previously made a fortune, did not succeed in elevating them-
[156] selves. "For in order to elevate oneself it is necessary not to have an inferiority complex. There are many Blacks who not only do not dare to approach Whites of a high class, but transmit this fear to their children." The fact that the black color recalls the ancient slaves is cited by many as an explanation for the difficulties that
• [567] [826] the darkest ones encounter in attaining a high rank. "Lately risen from the depths of slavery," writes a priest of mixed blood, "rare are the Negroes who succeed in reaching a high level or position.
[571] As for mulattoes and morenos (who are not true Blacks), we can say that, from all points of view, they live in harmony with the Whites, at least here in Bahia." A doctor makes the same comment: "As far as the morenos are concerned, they have a position equivalent to that of the Whites; but it is not correct to say that the Blacks can easily attain the highest offices or positions of the first order in the most esteemed professions. As for mulattoes, one finds some of them in the positions that we have just named, without being able to deny, however, that for the métis whose color closely approaches that of the Negroes, this pigmentation of the skin creates obstacles to the various careers mentioned. On

[SALVADOR]

/39 cont./

*563 one will see that the proportion may reach 20 o/o or more. It
[175] was not always so, however. Portuguese laws during the colonial period prohibited marriages of Whites with the natives and with
17 Negroes. Once the slavery of the aborigines was abolished, mar-
*563 riage between these /40/ last and the Whites was permitted; but
• 567 before that the Catholic clergy had already regularized by religious marriages the numerous concubinages between Portuguese colonists and native women. The marriages of Whites and natives with the Blacks continued to be forbidden for a long time yet, but as crossbreeding between Europeans and Africans increased because of free unions, the number of interracial marriages increased in parallel fashion, for in reality only marriages between free persons and slaves were forbidden. Finally, with the abolition of black slavery the last barrier set up against interracial marriages
175 fell. Penalized before that, and for quite a long time, by severe
*563 social sanctions (1).
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1. Ch. Expilly wrote in 1863: "The constitution has proclaimed the equality of the citizens. Prejudice stronger than the constitution raises an impassable barrier -- up to now at any rate -- between individuals who differ in the shade of their skin. One in vain distributes bedizenment, decorations, titles to men of mixed blood, no one becomes intimate with them. When has one seen a female White marry a mulatto? The one who would dare so boldly to affront the usages and customs of her country would be immediately rejected by everyone of pure race. She would
[113) be scorned, pointed at, excluded from the society in which in other times she was the ornament and pride." Mulheres e costumes do Brasil /Women and Customs of Brazil/, São Paulo, 1935, p. 279.

000 These marriages increased after Independence, in 1822, with the

[SALVADOR]

/70 cont./

*563 872 intolerant toward very black little girls, pardoning their mistakes only with difficulty and punishing them more severely than the Whites. An informant relates that in his school he heard the schoolmistress say: "This moleque (2)

[192] [567]

2. Moleque = term by which one designates the little children of black slaves; it also means an ill-bred, undisciplined young man; may be heard as a synonym for young colored man.

has no sensibility. Not only is he black, but he is not studious."
*563 873 The students of the secondary schools often admire their colored professors and treat them with the same respect as the white professors; their attitude may vary, however, according to the social rank of the schoolmasters of dark color. Some of them are particularly esteemed for their competence and for the gentleness of their manners. Others are accused of treating their students differently by appearing more exacting and sometimes harsh with the Whites; in such cases the students complain among themselves about the rudeness "of this Negro" and secretly circulate names and epigrams that allude to his Negroid features. There are, on the other hand, dark professors who have the reputation of mistreating the students of their own type, information that is challenged by some people; if this happens, says an informant, it is not because of hostility, but because of the desire to urge these students to work more and thus to distinguish themselves from the others. In the past, however, there have been white professors who openly humiliated the black students and treated them with hostility, which sometimes gave rise to violently aggressive reactions on the part of the latter. Some of these professors were still teaching 20
*563 873 178 or 25 years ago. All this could scarcely happen today, and if anything might cause an attitude of /71/ this kind to be suspected, the milieu reacts sharply in disapproving the "racist" behavior. That is what happened this year when in one public school a professor used words that were interpreted as a contemptuous allusion to

[SALVADOR]

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*563 794 793 797 [554] give the reasons that make them oppose someone's acceptance, and that they do not use their rights to prevent the acceptance of a candidate solely because of his color. A pardo who has occupied important positions in the administration of the State and who even reached the highest offices of his brotherhood asserts that the fathers who direct it, although the majority are Europeans, maintain the best relations with /75/ dark colored persons and even appear very affectionate toward them: colored persons are able, as may be seen, to be classified socially or to confirm their status by means of institutions. The Catholic religion offers them other, similar

*563 794 554 means. This is what happens, as we have already indicated, with regard to the "judges" and the festeiros, persons chosen each year to solicit donors and to organize the solemn festivals of the patrons of the church or chapel. This choice, made by the priest responsible or by the management of the religious associations, is based on social and economic prestige, much more than on other personal attributes (except morality and reputation): thus, color has never excluded anyone from one of these functions. An observer who has often dealt with these matters can testify to this.

*563 793 [195] [567] The Catholic priesthood is no longer a privilege of finos Whites. The ecclesiastical constitutions in force during the period of slavery forbade the ordination of slaves, so that priests should not be subject to a servile condition, deprived of the liberty and authority necessary for the practice of their ministry. Slaves were excluded, not Blacks, so that at the beginning of the last century foreign travelers were astonished to see black and mulatto priests officiating in the churches of the principal Brazilian cities. At

[555] the end of the eighteenth century colored men were able to take holy orders, and the Church became a means of social ascent "for all kinds of persons of humble circumstances, whatever their racial or family origin (1)."

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1. Roger Bastide, "Religion and the Church in Brazil," in Brazil, Portrait of Half a Continent, p. 339.

/104 cont./

000 in these groups is an old Brazilian tradition. In order to account
*563 for the amount of improvement that has occurred in the situation
175 of colored groups, it should be mentioned that on the occasion of
212 the national census of 1872 the totality of the slaves of the city
178 was illiterate. Since the abolition of slavery in 1888, although
[562] it did not do much on behalf of the recently freed men, they
[659] progressed to such an extent that today more than 50 o/o of the Blacks and more than 60 o/o of the pardos over the age of five know how to read and write, and their number is increasing every year in the secondary and higher courses, thus opening the way to the liberal professions, in which one may count them in variable proportions.

*563 It should also be remembered that among those who are
571 called "Whites" there are many light métis who are considered socially white, and that colored persons, even those who are the darkest and show the most obvious Negroid features, are treated like anyone else of the same social situation. Interracial relations are then governed by some "fair play"; in other words, Bahian customs disapprove of openly avowed discrimination motivated by racial intolerance or color prejudice. Another aspect of the Bahian dynamics and social psychology is that both the antagonisms of class and those of color are attenuated by the process of reciprocal accommodation between /105/ the groups and by the development, as much among Whites as among dark individuals, of the type of "cordial" and "gentle" personality that some authors consider to be characteristic of the Brazilian people and the prototype of which is supposed to be the inhabitant of Bahia.

*563 The facilities for the social ascent of colored individuals are
555 in the process of multiplying in Bahia; according to the opinion
178 of numerous informants, they will not cease to be augmented unless cultural change, under the influence of new social conditions created by the industrialization anticipated in the region by the exploitation of oil-bearing lands and with the development of the electrical energy of the waterworks under construction, produces a perceptible modification of the ethos of Bahia; it is

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 249 565 [471] maintained splendid establishments, called Solars, in the Capital, to which they repaired in the winter season, June, July and August, for social diversion.[29]

[178] The above citation is characteristic of the present-day views of many upper-class Baianos who identify themselves with this opulent era of the Recôncavo social evolution. The mythology engendered by the colonial sugar industry is outliving the engenho system. The wealth, pride, and ostentation of these fidalgos is undeniable. Within the limits of the provincial social environment, upper-class life was luxurious indeed. Compared with the upper-class society of the period in Europe or in the American South, however, social opportunities in the Recôncavo must have been rather limited. The casas [342] grandes—if the surviving specimens can be taken as typical--generally were rather modest plantation houses. Transportation was difficult: [489] few engenhos had carriage roads, and travel was by horseback or [671] palanquin. Social intercourse often was restricted to an ingrown [484] local circle. Apparently many of the social needs of the upper class could not be met within the rural Recôncavo so that trips were made frequently to Salvador, Rio de Janeiro, and sometimes Paris.[30]

Little has been recorded of the way of life of the slaves and 175 249 poor freemen in the Recôncavo. It is significant that both apologists 567 and critics of slavery usually have agreed that the masters were relatively clement in the treatment of their slave laborers. These slaves were very valuable possessions, particularly after the British began to suppress the slave trade. Because absentee ownership and delegation of administration to people outside the family was not usual, the masters and slaves were perforce in daily contact. Out of these daily contacts between landholder and laborer, a relatively personal relationship was developed. Within the household, relation- [563] ships were even more familiar. In addition, some of the slaves were

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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> was in sharp contrast to the colonization of Spanish America where the conquistador and the priest were largely responsible for establishing the Spaniards as a ruling caste, and to the founding of the English colonies in North America where the community and the smaller, more equalitarian family were basic elements. As has been shown so well by Freyre's monumental work, the patriarchal form of social organization early obtained almost unlimited sway in Brazil. For centuries Portuguese America continued to be dominated by a few thousand casas grandes, seats of sugar engenhos and cattle fazendas, each of which was the fortress headquarters of a numerous clan. Even today there remains much of this feudal type of social organization, and this great family is the institution through which the white or near-white upper class maintains its control. Of course this patriarchal family has little in common with the equalitarian family of the United States and western Europe.[13]

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596 The colonial family is the idealized family of both the aristocratic upper class in Salvador and the sugar cane zone and of the local upper classes in the smaller cities. It also corresponds rather closely to the actual family structure of much of the upper class of the Recôncavo. The lower class families of the Recôncavo seem to have quite a different functional character and social significance.

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582 The Upper Class Family. Marriage, contracted almost exclusively from within the class group, has the important function of uniting the relatively small number of large extended families which compose the
594 upper class. The unit families, parents and children, of the Recôncavo
596 are relatively large, in conformation to the Brazilian stereotype of five children. This unit family is tightly enclosed in a net of relationships with the extended families of both husband and wife, and many social functions are centered within these larger groups.

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596 The upper class child is reared within a well-defined circle which includes the immediate family, the servants--who frequently have
861 a quasi-parental relationship to the children, like the legendary
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571 "mammy" of the United States South--and the more immediate members of the extended family.

000 economic role is usually minor. The individual or the unit family of
565 571 the lower class is usually linked very closely, mainly in the economic sense, with an employer or merchant of influence (patrão). In a society in which personal relationships ("connections") count for so much, only a member of the upper class can be of real economic or political assistance.

565 857 Childhood in the lower class is quite different from that in the upper class family. From an early age the children must, out of economic necessity, accept many responsibilities. Young children frequently work in the fields or find odd jobs in the town. The girls may do the housework, cook, and manage the younger children while the mother works. The young sons, even six or seven years old, may pack a bundle of agricultural products across the município on the morning of market day. In the evening they return with the few articles of food or clothing which they have been able to purchase with the proceeds from their goods. As they grow older, the children either undertake more of the farm work or drift off to the nearby rural areas and villages or to Salvador. The girls may find employment [464] as servants or as agricultural or industrial workers. Ultimately [885] most will marry and settle down to a grinding life of poverty, child-bearing, disease, and hard labor, which will, however, be relieved by an informal and highly convivial social life.

565 562 The position of the woman is still inferior to that of the man, but she has relatively greater economic, social, and sexual independence than the woman of the upper class.

565 776 The social life of lower class families is in marked contrast to the narrow, formal, and sexually-discriminatory social life of the aristocracy. Lower class life is filled not only with poverty but also with a tremendous series of religious and quasi-religious festivals

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

565 (festas) and informal social activities. The uninhibited enjoyment of
796 a samba (dance), a candomblé (fetish cult observance), a religious pro-
[184] cession, or a Saint's day by the lower class is very different from the self-conscious upper class behavior under comparable conditions.[16]

565 The discussion above is largely in terms of stereotypes, and
562 in fact there are many exceptions. In the upper class, strong-willed
369 women may on occasion enter a profession--such as nursing or teaching--or operate a business or plantation, but usually with the aid and the advice of male relatives. In Salvador the upper class women are relatively more emancipated than are those of the villages and towns.
565 Many lower class people, especially the less poverty ridden groups of
596 the villages and towns, tend to imitate the idealized upper class
369 family pattern, within the limits of their economic, educational, and social resources.

565 In general it may be said that the interests of upper class
571 families in the Recôncavo are regional, the interests of lower class
621 families are local. The areally and biologically extended families
59 of the upper class, interconnected through marriage and intermeshed in over-all economic, political, and social interests, are a basic element in the regional unity of the Recôncavo and in its integration into the Brazilian nation. In contrast the extra-local interests of lower class families are weak and unstable. The lower class community or neighborhood identification is the more effective unifying factor and seems to provide, in the Recôncavo, a focus for local interests generally lacking in at least the aristocratic and urban strata of the upper class.[17] However, the institutions of the community for the most part are maintained and directed by the aristocratic and the local upper class.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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BB 241 178 increase his production and he rejects these opportunities, it is clear that strong non-economic forces are operating directly upon the individual. These forces are the rigid agricultural and social traditions of the Recôncavo society, which are given particular rigidity by the explicit conservatism of the Recôncavo. These traditions are given BB 241 571 178 particular force by the strongly personal character of social and economic relationships in the Recôncavo. The relationship of the share-cropper with the landlord, of the buyer of tobacco with the seller, of the cane field worker with the foreman or usina manager, of the cidade store keeper or agent with the banker or dealer in the capital, are all strongly personal and generally of long standing. Under these circumstances any adventurism by one individual will bring him, if he is in a subordinate position, under the pressure of the traditional bias of those above. If he is in a superior position, any adventurism on his part will bring him not only the criticism of all his colleagues but the personally expressed resistance of his dependents. To the present at least, the vested interest of Recôncavo culture in the fixity of its agricultural systems has successfully resisted major change.

B BB 241 The system of monocultural agriculture, represented in the Recôncavo by sugar cane cultivation, is a traditional element in Brazilian agriculture. Not only sugar cane, but also cacao, coffee, and many other commercial crops are grown in Brazil as monocultures. Specifically, sugar cane monocultures are found in Pernambuco and the other states of the Northeast, in Rio de Janeiro, in Minas Gerais, and in São Paulo.

However, in Brazil as in the Recôncavo, monoculture is being superseded by diversified cultivation. "Too much has . . . been made of the misleading statement that Brazil is a 'one-crop' country," Wythe has said.[7] In the center and south of the country, growing

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 439 [175] of sugar to Europe. This 1,800 tons of sugar was probably a very large part of the total world trade in sugar at that time. In 1948 the twenty usinas of the region exported 8,497 tons of sugar to the rest of Brazil, primarily to Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. In this year the total international trade in sugar was about twelve million tons. Moreover, the Recôncavo was able to sell in the Brazilian market only by virtue of the support which has been given to the sugar industry of the Northeast by the Brazilian government. The European market has long been lost to the Recôncavo, and the chances of regaining any substantial part of it are not good--not only on account of the low level of efficiency of the Bahian sugar industry but also because of the local and foreign sources of sugar against which it would have to compete in the European market.

249 565 178 571 The third problem of the sugar industry is leadership, which is to say the problem of the Bahian upper class. The development of the sugar economy and of the aristocratic upper class of the Reconcavo are practically inseparable, and the decline of the former is in part a reflection of the inability of the latter to provide intelligent and progressive leadership. The institutions which were developed in the opening century of colonization for the production of sugar succeeded altogether too well as far as the region is concerned, for since then the industry has not succeeded in establishing a new pattern in conformity with the changing systems of technology and the new competitive situation. A century of failure either to develop an efficient sugar industry or to find new sources of income for the sugar area is a sign of the continuing failure of the upper class. More and more the leadership of the sugar industry is passing from the artistocrats to the new segment of the upper class, the agricultural capitalists. In most cases these men seem to have a broader view of the problems of the

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 industry than the aristocrats, as the partial rationalization of the
565 sugar system since 1900 testifies. However, the entry of even these
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571 relatively progressive and forward-looking business men into an industry whose only future is that guaranteed by the protection of the government does not reveal a willingness either to accept short-term risks or to make an investment in the long-term future of the Recôncavo.

175 Tobacco, as has been seen, began its history as an auxiliary of
277 the sugar cane economy. The development of the commercial tobacco
433
439 economy since 1800 indicates a greater flexibility than is characteristic
[567] of the sugar industry. When the decline of the slave trade brought an end to the African market for fumo em corda, the tobacco economy turned
277 to a new product, fumo em fôlha, and to a new market, Europe. Unlike
439 the sugar of the Recôncavo, Bahian tobacco has been able to compete successfully in the European market against leaf imported from Cuba and from Sumatra. Moreover, the leaf tobacco of Bahia dominates the internal market of Brazil to a degree not equaled by the local sugar industry for several centuries.

There are several possible explanations for the relatively
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472 greater flexibility of the tobacco economy. Several of the more promi-
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178 nent firms in the manufacturing of cigars and in the export of tobacco have foreign origins or are owned by people of European background. Indirectly these firms may have affected the operation of the tobacco economy, but it is difficult to find any signs of significant changes in the methods of cultivation. On the other hand, the tobacco industry and trade seem to have been spared the unimaginative and inflexible leadership which the aristocratic upper class of the Recôncavo has given to the sugar industry.

249 Tobacco cultivation by its very nature is more flexible than
[457] the system of sugar production. Instead of the usina, which must be

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*249 ditions and of paternalism. Here, the privately owned plantation is also still an important element.

In the community on which the present study focuses, there is a modern sugar factory or usina, but control by the fac-
[473] tory of the entire process, from cane planting and harvest-
ing to milling, is far from complete. Although the factory,
[423] in this case a family corporation, has bought up six neigh-
boring plantations, at least half its supply of sugar cane comes from individual, family-owned plantations. Owners of these plantations, which have conserved their original boundaries, are often descendants of the aristocratic landholders of the past, and many of their workers are descendants of slaves who lived on the same plantations.

121 In this community, changes in sugar-producing technology
178 have not reached down into the actual cane cultivation on the
plantations. Emphasis has been on the improvement of mill-
*249 ing techniques, the further refinement of sugar-cane juice, and the perfection of the finished product by the central mill. But the agricultural methods--planting, cultivation, harvesting, and transportation--have remained relatively unchanged.

121 Most important of all, with the retention of these older tech-
178 niques has gone the retention to a very great degree of the old
accompanying social system. The present social system tends
*249 to follow the old, traditional, family-oriented, slaveholding
●571 complex. The pattern of face-to-face interpersonal relations, developed during centuries of sugar-cane monoculture based on slavery, persists in a modified form. Although the relations between workers and owner on these family plantations are now those of employee and employer, and not slave and owner, there is still the highly personal, intimate relationship based upon mutual rights and obligations and a sense of the obligations of nobility. Even the usina system perpetuates this paternalism to a high degree.

121 The present work is a "community study" in the full sense of the term as it is understood today in social anthropology. It is primarily a descriptive analysis of one community in the sugar-producing region of northeastern Brazil, but it is conceived within the framework of the historical sequence outlined above.

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the plantation complex became the principal characteristic. Marriages between the families of plantation owners brought new alignments of property, some families acquiring more land and others losing it through the natural processes of the marriage and growth of parts of families and the dying out of others. Family became increasingly important. As a rule the conjugal family was large and the extended family enormous; marriages between cousins, uncles, nieces, and other relatives were common. Social life was carried on between neighboring plantations, and of course many marriages took place as a result of these contacts, so that it was not infrequent to find many plantations, both contiguous and scattered, owned by the same family. As a rule each extended family had its traditional plantation as a sort of home base, and the head of the family frequently resided there, although not always. The patriarch was generally granted great respect and prestige by the members of his family, both far and near.

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Many who received land grants were the noblemen of the province, and many of them were representatives of the government. In this way the plantation master was securely establishing himself and his family not only in the Recôncavo but also in the governmental hierarchy, and was often in a position to see that the government action did not adversely affect the interests of the sugar-cane growers. At any rate, for several centuries social and political domination was in the hands of a small group which gradually intermarried, always strengthening itself. Its members were, first and foremost, the landowning gentry; next in importance were professional people such as lawyers, doctors, clerics, educators, and politicians. Members of this group were also soldiers, and in the War of Independence in 1822 the plantation masters of Vila Recôncavo took a foremost part both personally and financially, for which many were later honored by having royal titles bestowed upon them.

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As the small rural towns, and later the counties, grew, they also fell under the domination of one or several plantation masters. Not infrequently a feud would arise between two families to determine which was to be the dominant one. As the plantation master prospered, he showed his wealth and power with a degree of ostentation which was commented upon by travelers and chroniclers of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. The ruins of houses built at this time can be seen today scattered throughout the coastal northeast.

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*249 time and remained high until the 1888 decree which ended slavery completely. Before this time there had already been a great deal of manumission.

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• 571 In fact, it is distinctive of the entire region that the relations between the whites and the slaves were relatively warm and intimate. Gilberto Freyre describes the intimacy between the moleque (little Negro boy) and the master's son as playmates, between the master's wife and her domestics, between the Negro nursemaid and her white charges, between Negroes and whites in other close relationships on these plantations. A good deal of race mixture occurred. It is still a joke in this region to say that a particular plantation owner "populated the area."

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[654] The crises through which the sugar industry passed during its four-hundred-year history are interesting and worthy of consideration. During the first fifty years of production (until early in the seventeenth century), the sugar industry prospered and expanded. It was a "period of formation, official protection, and government stimulation, during which the liberties of production, transportation, prices and commerce suffered little or no restrictions."[1] The seventeenth

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648 century, however, was full of crises, one of the greatest being the war with Holland. In 1624 the Dutch attempted to capture Bahia but were repulsed. However, they sailed along the shores of the Bay of All Saints, burning and sacking plantations and setting fire to the cane fields. In the north the Dutch succeeded in capturing Pernambuco, which they retained for twenty-four years, also engaging in the production of sugar. In 1644 the Dutch governor, Maurice of Nassau, was recalled to Holland, and the colony was left undirected. The Brazilians revolted and recaptured Pernambuco.

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[458] In 1666 there was an epidemic of smallpox in the Recôncavo which reduced the slave population and left many plantation owners without laborers. There followed a period of near-famine for some years, due to the lack of food-plant cultivation. While this situation continued, plantation masters frequently mortgaged their plantations in order to buy new

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1. J. Wanderley de Araujo Pinho, Historia de um engenho do Recôncavo, 1552-1944 (Rio de Janeiro, 1946), p. 193. The following three paragraphs are a condensation of the material contained in pp. 193-220 (author's translation).

*249 466 [427] [492] lands of the plantation, renting them to Dona Sinhá at harvest time for transport. Often a family has one or two pack horses or burros which can be used to transport cane or, at other times of the year, water or firewood. A worker also has the right to a plot to raise food crops. If the man in the household dies or deserts his family, the woman who is left can do one of several things: go to work in the field herself, the least popular alternative; send her children out to work if they are old enough; find another husband, which is not too difficult, for there is a scarcity of women in this rural zone; or return to her father's house.

*249 464 A group of workers who are essential to the well-being of the plantation, but who are not residents, are the caatinguejros (migrant workers from the scrubby forest area which borders on the Recôncavo and extends into the desert to the north). Hundreds of these men are available during the harvest season, a time when not only the plantations but the factories as well need more men than the resident population provides. The town of Vila Recôncavo, the other small rural towns, and the capital city do not supply agricultural workers to the rural areas. The plantations use instead the migrants from the north. A system has grown up whereby each plantation and factory has a man who can contact these migrant laborers. [571] This man is called the empreiteiro, a contractor who has a system of contacts in the north usually through family [466] and godparent relationships. The migrant workers are housed in the barracks, and generally keep themselves well apart from the residents. Only men come, leaving their families at home to care for their small farms and livestock while they earn money in the Recôncavo. None of these men appears on the plantation payroll. It is the empreiteiro who contracts with the overseer to have the required work done by the migrant laborers. Usually this work consists only of weeding, which must be done constantly but which at harvest time the resi- [465] dent workers cannot do. On the list of jobs and wages, above, there appears the name of Mario Adriano, who received 921,30 cruzeiros for weeding 249 braças. This man is the empreiteiro, who is paid for work done by fifteen, twenty, or more men. He in turn pays the migrant laborers, giving them less than the price for which he agreed with the overseer to do the work. In this way the contractor earns a living. Throughout the harvest season he gets work for about seventy-five to one hundred migrants, who camp in and about the barracks and

have little to do with the residents. At the end of the season they can be seen walking along the paths of the Recôncavo toward the north, each man carrying over his shoulder a stick from which is suspended a cloth bundle containing his few possessions. 249* 464

One prominent aspect of the relationships between people in this hierarchy is the intimacy and familiarity which has for so long characterized the Recôncavo. While slavery was not a benign institution anywhere, there was a softness in the relations between the Brazilian and his slaves which seems to have been absent in other slave areas. This quality persists today on private plantations such as Fazenda das Moças between the owner and the workers. Dona Sinhá knows the residents by name or nickname, knows their background and present condition; the worker knows Dona Sinhá's family background, her children, and her extended family. 249* 466 571 [567]

The former master is now the patron. It is she who arbitrates any differences between workers, or between a worker and Seu Paulo. It is her task to protect the worker against injustices, to provide medical care, to aid at weddings and baptisms, in short to do all the things the worker is unable to do through ignorance, fear, or poverty.

The relationship between Dona Sinhá and Seu Paulo is a curious one, for neither one of them can do without the other. The role of overseer came into being for several reasons, the primary one being the absenteeism of the owner. In order to keep the plantation running properly all year long it was necessary for someone with knowledge and authority to be present all the time; so the former feitor-mor became known as the overseer, with a house larger and better than that of anyone else on the plantation except the owner. As time went on, the overseer gathered more and more rights and privileges unto himself, until today he is the veritable owner of the plantation in all but the legal sense. He has the confidence and loyalty of the workmen, without which he would be a failure. He eventually becomes related to nearly all of them through the system of godparentship; in fact, he is more sought after than the owner for this purpose. On the Fazenda das Moças, the overseer is paid a higher salary than any other overseer in the area--as much as Cr$1.500,00 a month in comparison with Cr$1.000,00 or less for the others. In addition he receives a bonus at the end of the year, one cruzeiro for each ton of sugar cane the plantation produced during the year. 249* 463 466 571 [608] [465]

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Private Plantation]

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249 Dona Sinhá and other plantation owners feel that a planta-
463 tion cannot be successful without a good overseer, and they
466 also feel that the white man does not make a good overseer.
571 They say he cannot stand the heat of the summer and the rain
829 and mud of the winter when spending entire days in the saddle overseeing the work. Only the indefatigable mestiço is supposed to be able to take such punishment. The owners also say that only he can deal properly with the mestiço workers--that, being one himself, he knows their "foibles and tricks." To a certain extent the mestiço population seems to agree with this, for orders from the overseer are much more promptly obeyed than orders from the owner, and most of the workmen prefer to have the overseer explain what is wanted. It is also believed that the mestiço is stronger. For example, if Dona Sinhá has made a hard trip in the winter to get to the plantation the workers will sympathize with her, saying, "You came through all that rain and mud, and at night!" when the same trip may be a daily one for the overseer, the cowboy, or any of the workers.

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249 However, the creation of the position of overseer has also
463 created a series of new problems for the owners. All owners
466 now suspect their overseers of cheating them, and the control
571 of the overseer is a subject which comes up frequently at social gatherings. Since the owner is absent from the plantation about half the year, there are many things which the overseer must do without consulting his employer. The owners will interpret independent action on the overseer's part as good management, mismanagement, or cheating, depending upon the results of the action. When the results are doubtful and there is any suspicion that the overseer might have gained money by his action, it is considered cheating. Very often the owners claim that the overseer and the foreman are "partners" working together against him.

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249 On one plantation in the community of Vila Recôncavo, the
463 owner decided he would be his own overseer. He was young
433 and had been born and brought up on the plantation. Within a
466 few years his harvest had dropped to almost nothing, and lately he has changed to raising milk cows, at which he has not
571 been particularly successful either. He himself, and all his friends, blame his lack of success on the lack of an overseer, saying that even though the old overseer had cheated and helped himself to what was not his, the plantation as a whole had not suffered as badly as it did without him.

[The Private Plantation]

As a result, owners have to be satisfied with higher costs than they feel necessary and less profit than they think possible, the difference going to the overseer, rather than accept the complete failure of the plantation Overseers, foremen, and owners are all aware of the situation, but politeness, the traditional respect patterns, and the unwillingness to compete openly keep the situation covert. 249* 463 466 571

Nevertheless, on Fazenda das Moças, in spite of these difficulties there is considerable cooperation between Dona Sinhá and Seu Paulo. The duties of the overseer are confined generally to the plantation itself--seeing that the work is done, the cane planted, cultivated, harvested, and delivered to the factory as expediently as possible. The duties of Dona Sinhá are mainly concerned with finance, with arranging ready funds to meet the current expenses of the plantation. The practice of mortgaging crops did not end with the abolition of slavery, and it is the owner's task to juggle funds, loans, and interest so she will have enough money to improve and increase the yield of her plantation. In general the owners of single plantations rarely have enough funds to carry them through the year. Payrolls are met throughout the year with advances on the estimated harvest made by the factory, by the banks, or by the Cooperative of Sugar-Cane Growers and Suppliers. Thus when the season ends the owner is already in debt, part of which he must pay off in order to finance the coming year. There are two problems constantly present in the struggle to increase the size of the harvest: cost of production, and the antiquated methods used on the private plantations, where practically all work is done by hand. 249* 463 426 [433]

Table 1 shows production, costs, and profits for the harvests of the years 1947-48, 1948-49, and 1949-50 at Fazenda das Moças. The drop in production and the rise in costs in the years 1948-49 were attributed to a slackening of the vigilance of Dona Sinhá and to a poor overseer. It was at the end of this year that Seu Paulo assumed the position of overseer of the plantation. The following year showed a great improvement which has continued. for the 1950-51 harvest produced 6,000 tons, the highest output of any private plantation in the Recôncavo. Future harvests are expected to go well above this. In addition to changing the overseer, and in the following year the foreman, Dona Sinhá was able to borrow enough money to purchase the tractor mentioned earlier. The next year, as a result of the evident success of the new combination, two four- 249* 43 [426] [407] [493]

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Usina]

The private plantation presents a far better appearance than any plantation belonging to the factory, for it is usually "home" to the owner, who is interested in keeping it as pleasant as possible, while the factory plantation in charge of an overseer is simply a business project existing only to produce sugar cane. 249* 466 184

At the Usina São Pedro, as stated earlier for the Recôncavo generally, the consolidation of land by the corporations has not turned the entire property into one large plantation. Instead, each plantation has retained its old boundaries, indeed complete autonomy, following only the general policies of the factory directory. The Usina São Pedro happens to be situated in a central position in relation to its six plantations. This is not always the case, for frequently the lands of a factory are scattered far from the plant itself, creating difficulties of administration and transportation. 249* 423

Each of the plantations has its own nucleus, the street of workers' houses oriented toward the house of the overseer. Each of these little villages has its own small store, usually a private enterprise of the overseer. The largest plantation, Pedras, has a chapel and a school. None of the plantations has an electric power line, but each has a telephone in the overseer's house. The feeling of isolation and abandonment is strong, as indeed it is on almost all overseer-directed plantations belonging to a factory. There is a general feeling of pity for the residents who are situated so far from their patrão and whose first recourse must be the overseer, a man like themselves, with little or no education and little interest in the people other than to keep them working. In other words, the factory plantation lacks the paternal hand of the owner. In other respects it is similar to the private plantation in that it has an overseer, a foreman, a cowboy, and resident workmen. 249* 36 [206] 249* 571 [184]

The bulk of the agricultural direction of the São Pedro plantations is in the hands of the general overseer, Seu Pipiu. It is his duty to direct and supervise the activities of all six plantations. He is a man of no small status. He is practically independent in his actions, for the directors of the factory tell him how much cane they feel they need in the forthcoming harvest, and it is up to him to produce it. The methods and problems in doing this are left up to him. Seu Pipiu gives orders to each of the regional overseers, whose duties are the same as those of the overseer on a private plantation. The only difference is that they are dealing with a superior employee, instead of with the owner in person. The general over- 249* 463 466

743 so there is competent medical assistance. Those who are too poor to pay receive free aid and medications, milk, and soup; those who can pay do so, paying only the wholesale prices of the articles. The institute is well equipped, with an x-ray machine, diathermy, and other heat appliances, which are popular because of the prevalence of colds and rheumatism.

743 529 [546] The institute also operates the weekly motion picture which has been a great boon to the town, a recreation room, centrally located in the town, which has a radio, billiard tables, and a bar selling milk shakes, sandwiches, beer, and soft drinks. This place has become the major meeting place for the men and boys of the town. In addition to this, the institute also runs a night school for adults.

743 873

463 [571] [462] Group 2, as listed at the beginning of this chapter, consists mainly of the people who work for those in Group 1 and who are attached to them by the bonds of the patronship to some extent, as well as by salary. The majority of persons in this category are women, engaged in the traditional female pursuits of washing, ironing, sewing, embroidering, and general housework.

296 462 463 [482] As a rule the laundry is washed at one of the town wells, which are encased in cement. The women carry the dirty clothes, a bucket, and wooden basin, all piled on top of their heads, to the well. They pull up enough water in their buckets to fill the basins in which the clothes are washed. After a soaking and scrubbing with soap the wet, soapy clothes are spread out on the ground in the sun, and from time to time water is sprinkled on them to aid the sun in bleaching. Then the clothes are rewashed and spread out to dry. Depending upon the weather, the washing and drying process may take from a whole day to three or four days before the clothes are considered clean enough. Then they are taken home to be ironed. The older pattern demanded that a different person do the ironing, but today this pattern is breaking down and frequently the same person washes and irons. The irons used are the old-fashioned kind heated by charcoal, which is placed inside and ignited. The irons are made with drafts to keep the fire going, and the women must stop frequently to fan the fire or renew the charcoal. Often a busy woman has two irons going and sets one aside to heat while she irons with the other.

[463] [178]

462 252 463 Many women also prepare xangô, a small sardinelike fish caught in great quantities by the fishermen of Vila Recônca-

St Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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462 the icehouse where the shrimp are kept cool; they can then be
438 sent to Salvador every other day on the boat to be sold as fresh
251 shrimp at the market and on the streets. "Camarão da Vila,"
[443] (shrimp from Vila) the cry of the Salvador street peddlers, is well known throughout the capital city.

463 The majority of people in Group 2 live down the hill from the older part of town, near the beach or out along the road
[361] which leads to the factory. They are more or less dependent upon Group 1, not only for the money they receive in return
[571] for services, but also for many kinds of favors which fall un-
[476] der the heading of patronship. They are seldom able to employ the services of Group 3 for such jobs as house building or repairing; they must rely on an old form of cooperative labor, called the batalhão (work group), to make or repair a house wall or to put on a new thatch roof. Frequently a patron will arrange for another of his "dependents" to transport the mud necessary for the palm thatch (taipa), and there is no cost involved for the recipient; but she must arrange the labor.

463 The people of Group 2 fetch their own water from the wells,
312 and usually their own firewood from the tideswamps. There
[313] are several men and women in town who make a business of carrying these two commodities. Such work is contractual. A household contracts for so many cans or barrels of water a day and so many loads of firewood a week. If they do not have enough money for these services they must carry them out themselves. During the dry summer months fetching water is a tedious business, for the majority of the wells dry up early in the summer. In the very dry summer of 1950-51, all the wells in town but one went dry. The one which continued to supply water did so at a much diminished rate. This well is completely encased in cement, for it provides the only drinking water in town. There is a small pipe serving as a spigot. During the dry season it takes from ten to twenty minutes to fill a five-gallon tin can from this pipe. As a result, there were always long lines of women waiting for water, and a sojourn of three or four hours at the well was common. Many of the more ambitious women used to get up at two or three in the morning and go to the well, making several
[821] trips so they would be free of this onerous duty during the day. This, however, took a great deal of courage, for most people
[492] in Vila Recôncavo are afraid of the dark, and no timid woman would make the trip out to the well at night. By general agreement, the men who carry water in barrels on donkeys walked

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constantly growing, or at least changing. New members are added, people who have made their mark on the society and who, although they have less family tradition behind them, are on the whole acceptable to the elite.

Locally the upper-class members are addressed by the formal term o senhor and a senhora, at times by meu patrão or meu branco (my white), frequently by title name, such as "Dr. Louis," and in some cases by the traditional intimate term of yoyô (for a man) and yayá (for a woman). At times even the very formal, older term of Vossa Excelencia (Your Excellency) is used. Yoyô is an old term formerly used by some slaves toward their masters, and although it is generally restricted to white people, there are occasions when a member of a mulatto family is known to his intimates as yoyô. With rare exceptions, members of the upper class address all those below them simply as você, and usually use the imperative form of the verb in giving directions. These two linguistic devices tend to strengthen and maintain the differences between these groups of people.

565* 576 [182]

Relations between members of Class A and those below are simple. As has already been stated, the landowners avoid the town of Vila Recôncavo, and it is seldom that Class B town people are invited to a social gathering at a plantation or at the factory, so that these two classes are rarely in social contact. Since the rural Class B consists mainly of overseers and other employees of Class A, relationships between them are those of employee and employer. However, when a planter celebrates a special occasion such as a birthday, the overseers are invited, and may "drop in" as a matter of form or courtesy; they escape as soon as possible, for they are rarely included in the brincadeiras (plays, or jokes) of the owners and their guests. For the most part the overseers and others of their class come alone, without their wives and families. This is an important indication of class position, for as a rule the wife of an overseer feels embarrassed in the company of gente (people) and refuses to go even when specially invited. The very strong em familia pattern, combined with the intimacy of the large families, makes it extremely difficult for a lower-class person to feel any sort of equality at such a gathering.

565* 571 [466]

During the course of field work the author was given a party, a Reis, a kind of surprise party which takes place during the period following the sixth of January, the Day of Kings.

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574 A group of people decide to "take a party of kings" to some-
123 one's house. They wait until the lights in the house go out
late at night and then knock on the door, playing and singing
● 571 a song which is traditional for the purpose. The owner must
then open the house and let everyone in to dance and make
merry. The surprise element has been removed, for it is now
considered courteous to sound out the householder to see
whether he would like to be the recipient of such a party, and
also to give him time to prepare food and drink. The house-
holder also has the privilege of inviting anyone he wants who
might be overlooked by those who organize the party. A group
of young men approached the author in the prescribed man-
ner, and in due course all arrangements were completed. The
young men were to supply an electric phonograph and records
for the dancing, and the author was requested to invite the ru-
ral planters, especially those with daughters.

A group of twenty-four planters and about a hundred towns-
people, factory technicians, overseers, and a few men of ur-
ban Class C came to the party. The planters arrived in a truck
a little early and entered the house, which was then closed
[533] and the lights turned off. Shortly afterwards the others arrived
[178] at the door and knocked, and the band began to play the long
serenade. (A band was brought along for the song, which is
an important part of the Reis; but nowadays no one likes to
dance to a hometown band when records are available, so the
men played only the serenade and then put their instruments
away.) At the end of the song, the doors and windows were
opened and the guests began to pour in.

571 The rooms of the house were small, but all the furniture
*565 had been removed to make room for dancing in the two largest
574 rooms, which were joined by two wide doors. At the begin-
535 ning of the party everyone was very formal and shy; the young
.123 men remained on one side of the room, the young women on
571 the other, and the entire planter group in a huddle by itself.
Gradually things got under way, and as drinks were served
to esquentar a gente (warm up the people) as many as could
dance in the cramped quarters did so. For the first hour or
so all the guests mingled, dancing with one another; then grad-
ually the members of Class A began to pull away, at first be-
ginning to dance among themselves and finally usurping a third
room in which they danced away from the others, uninterrupt-
ed by anyone.

Reactions to this were varied in the days after the party

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when the affair was discussed. The young men were rather disappointed by the withdrawal of the upper-class girls, for they had looked forward to dancing with them with great expectations. Their disappointment, however, was expressed by saying, "We dance differently, and since it was the first time together there wasn't time to get used to each others' style." Some of the older men simply asked, "What did you expect? You know they don't mix with us." The planters, on the other hand, enjoyed the party but were embarrassed by the fact that they had created a separate group and ended up by saying that "the only kind of good party is a family party, which it was for us."

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This party was by no means typical, for the very existence of such an affair was due to the presence of a stranger in the town who was able to bring together the different elements. Under other conditions it would not have taken place. Under the novel conditions, each group after completing the formalities withdrew to itself, enjoying the party and creating no embarrassing moments for the host. Reflection on what had happened pointed out to everyone the distance between the two groups, but there was no bitterness or resentment shown by anyone. It passed as an incident, and afterwards people discussed only the part of the party they had enjoyed, ignoring the rest.

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Class A members participate in a broader schedule of activities in Salvador, where not only planters, but also professional, commercial, and industrial people mix. The children of Class A go to private schools, belong to the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts (organizations which have not as yet penetrated the rural zone) and to social clubs for sports and dancing. Their parents participate in a round of social activities including the theater, lectures, dances, and anniversaries. Birthdays are usually important celebrations, when as many members of the extended family as possible gather. For special occasions, such as a wedding in other parts of the family, they may go to Rio de Janeiro; at other times they go there simply for a vacation or on a shopping tour. Those who own plantations usually spend only the summer harvest season in the country. It is vacation time for the children, and they invite relatives and friends to spend some time with them swimming, fishing, hunting, and horseback riding. The entire area is their playground. Their parents participate in these activities as much as possible after their official duties of plan-

*565 tation administration are over. In general, however, neither the children nor the parents mix with the permanent residents of Vila Recôncavo. Although as small children they may have a worker's son as a constant playmate, by the time they are teenagers this relationship has usually faded into a fond memory.

*565 458 The standard of living of this class is far above that of any of the other local groups. It is important to realize that because of the fluctuations of the sugar market, members of this class have not always had fluid wealth at their command, while at other periods they have been undeniably wealthy. But even during a slump they have been able to raise money when necessary. One of the major reasons that planters turned to the professions was the need to assure themselves of a continued income when the sugar market falls. At such times their main activities are directed toward earning a living in the city. But at those times when sugar producing is profitable the practicing of the activities becomes a strain, and one or the other must suffer. Nevertheless, at any time these people have earned enough to maintain a standard of living which compares favorably with that of the upper class in any large city. Households are complete with refrigerators, radios, and other electrical appliances which must be imported. Many have automobiles, receive magazines from abroad, follow Parisian dress styles, take interest in international affairs, and in general lead a life of wide interests. In the rural zone their houses are much better than those of any others, often having running water, electricity, and a full range of service provided by servants. Usually the household servants move from country to city with the family.

*565 511 [416] [207] [184] [357] [166]

Class B in the rural zone of the community is made up of plantation overseers, factory technicians, and white-collar workers of the factory offices. It is almost as small as Class A, comprising about twenty adult members. As in the case of the planters, who associate with other planters outside the community, the overseers of various plantations have reunions. There is much more social contact between the overseers and the mass of workers, however, than between the planters and the workers. The planters usually know all the workers on their plantations, as well as their families; but although there is frequent visiting and chatting between the women of the two groups and between the males of the two groups, there is little basis for conversation. The planta-

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The planta- 565 *
tion worker's world is small, and conversational topics are
limited to family matters such as births, deaths, marriages, 571 •
sickness, and other intimate details of personal life, the [521]
problems of work, and difficulties of any sort. The planter can
know the daily life and thoughts of the workers only through
observation, for he himself lives quite differently. However,
his knowledge of the workers is apt to be profound in spite
of the differences, and he knows much more of their lives
than they know of his. On the other hand, visiting between [574]
the workers and the members of Class B is on a much more
equal basis, for the differences between their modes of living
and thinking are small.

When the workers are invited to a party by the planters, 565 *
it is usually an affair given for them, such as a Christmas
celebration. At such a time the planter is host and spectator, 571
rather than host and participant. At other times the workers 574
may get together a song and dance group, a samba, and go to
the owner's house for the evening. This is frequently ex-
plained as "keeping the patron from being lonely." Again the [535]
owner is spectator, for the samba, performed exclusively by
women, is a type of folk dance seldom engaged in by the more
sophisticated upper class.

Class B in the rural area is only beginning to feel any sort 565 *
of group consciousness, for the occupational institutions it
represents are relatively new and it is not yet aligned in any
way with the corresponding class in town. There are two over-
seers who lack any formal education--indeed, who cannot read
or write. In all cases the male members of this class have
set up and maintained a family, educating their children and
seeing to it that they marry as well as possible. As a rule
such men are "self-made"--they have risen from the ranks
of workers as a result of their own ability, sagacity, sense
of responsibility, and desire to improve themselves. They are
distinguished from the workmen by these traits, which seem
to develop even further as they have the opportunity to use
their initiative.

Members of this group usually acquire numerous posses- 565 *
sions of their own, such as horses, oxen and carts, mules, 423
and donkeys which can be put to gainful use. They also op- [422]
erate small stores on their plantations--in one case even a
chain of stores, one on each of three plantations. They also [443]
try to buy a small farm somewhere nearby. Frequently the [466]
employer facilitates such acquisitions as a sort of bonus,
lending money or even giving some to the overseer.

ter) and homens de côr (men of color) including a few pretos (blacks). 565*

Most individuals in this class are conscious of their "superiority" over the bulk of the town population, because of their higher economic status, the kind of work they do (usually white-collar), their better educations, better family traditions, and whiter, or at least lighter, skins. They are conscious of the fact that they are at the top of the scale on the local scene, and that to go any higher is impossible in the town. To do this they would have to move to a city. If one had a special ability he might be able to improve his condition in a large city, but he might also remain unrecognized. In the town he is the "big frog in the little pond," and this seems to give a certain amount of satisfaction to many.

People of Class B seek to maintain favorable relations with the rural landowners, who dispense the municipal patronage and have the contacts in Salvador necessary to influence federal and state appointments, since members of their families are frequently state and federal government representatives. [557]

Only the merchants of Class B are in a relatively independent position, for they can operate independently of politics. Their market is the town population and is in no way dependent upon trade or patronage from the planters or their workers. There are no traditional merchant families in Vila Recôncavo. All contemporary storekeepers are persons who have worked their way up from fishing or some other activity to storekeeping. 565* 441

This class is slowly growing, and there are certain standards to which all its members conform, such as living in the old part of town, dressing with more care than the lower classes, supporting the church and patronizing the few religious holiday celebrations, sending their children to Salvador for their secondary education, owning radios, good dishes and furniture, displaying family solidarity and good manners, and maintaining a good relationship with members of Class A. But there is little or no cohesion among members of the group. They seldom act as a unit or express a group opinion (except to condemn candomblé, the local variation of African cultism). 565* 183 [571]

The social life of these people is definitely limited and to some extent follows the same pattern as that of the rural members of the same class, in that the men go out more than do their wives. The women of this group remain at home most 565* 517

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517 of the time, visiting little and receiving the local gossip from
[546] their servants. Since the advent of movies, however, it has
become fashionable for husband and wife and sometimes the
[541] children to attend the show together. When the circus comes
to town it is now common for them to go as a family at least
[794] once. As a rule, however, church services are attended sep-
arately, the wives and daughters going together and the men
singly if at all, and standing in the back rather than sitting
[574] with the family. Dinners, card parties, or social gatherings
with friends in the house, such as are common to North Amer-
ican small towns, do not exist here at all. About the only trav-
eling these people do is to Salvador, where they stay with rel-
atives while they make short visits, go to the doctor, or go
shopping.

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871 Even the older members of Class B are less well educated
than those of Class A, and do not belong to families which are
nationally prominent. In many cases they have relatives in
Salvador, but in no case do they maintain a second home there.
Although their children may go to primary school in Vila Re-
côncavo, which the children of Class A would never do, they
are sent to Salvador for further education; and several of the
present generation are studying for degrees in law and med-
*565 icine. As has already been pointed out, this class engages in
[571] little social activity in common with Class A, and in almost
none with rural Class B persons. Daughters of families be-
[867] longing to this class are carefully chaperoned and have little
freedom. Their lives are spent at home, sewing, embroidering,
[582] and helping their mothers in the house. Their prospects for
marriage are poor. This applies also to the schoolteachers
*565 who are sent to the town and who also belong to this class.
582 There is little opportunity for them to marry in Vila Recôn-
cavo unless they accept a social inferior, which commonly
875 happens to rural schoolteachers in Brazil. "Felipe," as the
schoolteacher's husband is generally known, is always a "no-
good" supported by his wife. There are two cases in Vila Re-
côncavo of local upper-class wives who work--they are both
schoolteachers, supplementing their husbands' incomes and
alleviating the dullness of their lives.

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565 Class C in the rural area consists of the field hands and the
factory workers, who constitute the major part of the pop-
ulation. There are no "pure whites" in this group, but a scat-
[184] tering of "whites of the land." In general the factory workers
consider themselves superior to the agricultural laborers;

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have remained. Nevertheless, the population of Vila Recôncavo shows a considerable Indian element, that is, of people with a reddish or bronze tinge to their skin color, more prominent cheekbones than the Africans or whites, and a tendency toward an almond-shaped eye. However, few people in Vila Recôncavo bearing these marks are called caboclos. They are classified instead in the local terms mentioned above, ignoring Indian traits. In Vila Recôncavo, there is a certain dispraisal of the caboclo. He is considered less civilized than the resident of the Recôncavo. He is often known as a better worker, more ambitious, trustworthy, and frugal, but less genial than the easygoing person of the Recôncavo. In the rural area of Vila Recôncavo, each year many caboclo men come to the plantations to work during harvest time. For the most part they stay together, away from the resident workers of the plantation. The plantations construct a type of barracks to accommodate these men, who do their own cooking, care for their own clothes, and spend their evenings gathered around a fire, singing songs of the sertão, apart from the permanent workers. [157] [571]

The following percentages of racial types were taken from a sample of 162 heads of families, using the four major types: [162]

Preto	50, or 40 per cent
Mulato	59, or 49 per cent
Caboclo	3, or 2 per cent
Branco	11, or 9 per cent

Each physical type in Vila Recôncavo is thought to have a series of personality traits correlated with physical appearance. Furthermore, these stereotypes of expected behavior reflect the attitude of people toward the various racial types. Two physical types, for example, the cabra-cabrocha and the sarará, are usually "more to be pitied than censured," for they are considered ugly by most people. There is a feeling that they are unfortunate crosses between parents of physical characteristics which do not mix well. They are thought to lack the definite traits which characterize the other physical types, and "even a preto de qualidade is better than either of these--at least more handsome." Furthermore, people of these physical types are thought to be difficult to deal with. They are sometimes irritable and easily angered. They are the physical types least preferred in Vila Recôncavo; all oth- 563 826 157

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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[Class A Families]

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to have fewer offspring. Four or five generations ago a couple 594
might have as many as twenty children. It was common among 163
these large families for at least one child to enter the priest- 178
hood or a convent. This is no longer the case, not only be- [463]
cause of the smaller size of the families, but also because
the colonial pattern of a priest for each plantation is now gone.

The marriage age for girls is also changing, for several 582
reasons: it takes longer for a boy now to be educated and set- 178
tled in business; the families can no longer support married
children; and girls are being better educated. Instead of be- 562
ing married at sixteen, seventeen, and eighteen, they now go 565*
to school much longer, sometimes taking advanced degrees
as do their brothers. This delays marriage till the twenties
and gives the girls a certain amount of independence, rather
than simply a position of wife and mother. As yet few of them [463]
have entered the professions, but recently it has become styl-
ish to study nursing or social work at least for a while before
marriage. The old pattern was for widows to be supported by [736]
their families, but now girls want to feel self-sufficient, with-
out the dreary prospect of living as dependents in the case of
their husbands' death. In this century, also, marriage has
assumed an aspect of companionship, which was formerly
lacking, for women have achieved a much greater equality with
their husbands and are now partners rather than household
fixtures.

There has been a reaction to the family aspect of Bahian 565*
society, and frequently people are heard complaining of the 596
narrowness of life in such surroundings and expressing a de- 178
sire to live in Rio de Janeiro, or some place where they would
not be always in the same restricted group of relatives. Many 574
of the former obligations of formal visits to close and distant [206]
relatives are now relaxed, although telephone calls at least
are expected with some sort of regularity and members of the
extended family, as well as their attendants, are still expect-
ed at all weddings, birthdays, and deaths. The arrival of fam-
ily members from Rio calls for many dinners and celebrations 571 *
in their honor. But the conjugal families seek outside ac- 565*
quaintances more and more, and as they enter new groups they
become less able to cope with the numerous family affairs. 596
Nevertheless, it is still membership in these extensive, pa- 178
triarchal families which gives people their status in the com-
munity as a whole and their right to enter new groups which [594]
form along class lines. Everyone is well aware of this, and [554]

[Class A Families]

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596 the first thing done on making new acquaintances is to inquire
[178] into their family background and place them mentally on the
[571] appropriate social level.

As a rule each extended family has a head, usually the oldest male. He is recognized by the rest of the family as the leader, and few things are done by them without his knowledge and advice. The head of the Jacuipe family is the eldest son of Dona Yayá. He has made his home in Rio de Janeiro and has not lived in Salvador for a long time. Nevertheless, he is informed of all that goes on within the family, and no serious step would be taken by any member without his counsel. On the local scene, however, it is his next younger sister who has taken the family lead in all social activities. It is she who sees to it that the family is represented at any function where it is a duty to appear. Among the Condes, the Colonel is still the family head in spite of his age and infirmity. For many years his eldest son showed himself capable of taking charge of the sugar mill and of the family fortunes as well, but since his untimely death none of the other sons has shown such vigor, and in the long run major decisions are left to the old gentleman.

[594] In the conjugal households, however, decisions and actions are made jointly by the married partners. Unless the action is a very serious one which might affect the rest of the family, they need by no means seek advice from the family head. The family leader has no strong control over the other members of the family; rather, he is someone to whom they can go if they need advice. Also, if any member of the family is in difficulties of any sort, the rest of the group rallies around him under the direction of such a person. Because of the many positions in public life occupied by members of these extended families, the family is able to muster considerable pistolão ("pull") in many fields. Requests are frequently made, especially to aid lower-class people who look to the various
[557] family members as patrons. A call here or there by the recognized leader of a large extended family can be a great assistance in getting someone into the already crowded hospitals, in helping with a will which has become entangled in legal difficulties, in getting a young man into the Air Force, and in the myriad other things which arise in this very personalized culture.

[73] The cohesiveness of the extended family also acts to take
[589] care of the aged, infirm, widowed, and unmarried. Not infre-

[Class B Families]

*565 594 capacities, or they are "newly arrived" socially, which often indicates that the relatives of either or both spouses may belong to the lower class; in this case the local upper-class families are inclined to ignore them. In these conjugal families the husband is the central figure, participating in business and social activities of the town, while his wife and children, [166] especially daughters, remain at home. The sons usually go to the city to school and remain there after graduation, so there [871] is little chance of continuing a strong family line in the town. At the factory the case is somewhat different, for the sons of Class B families may enter the factory in one of the higher office positions, thus forming a larger family group as they marry and settle down there. This pattern, however, is only apparent in the second generation, and there are only three cases of it.

*565 517 As a result of the lack of public entertainment in Vila Recôncavo and the competitive attitude of members of Class B among themselves and toward the higher members of Class C, there [571] is little social gathering, especially for the women. There [596] are never extended family gatherings for Class B such as those described for Class A. The men go to the bar or visit one an- [574] other's homes to some slight extent, but wives and daughters seldom do. The wives are kept occupied bearing children and [562] caring for them. Those few daughters who are sent to school in the city are indeed fortunate, for their chances of marry- [871] ing and remaining in Salvador, the desire of most young people, [166] are greatest. The summer vacation is boring to them in comparison with their scope of activities in the winter. The [183] sons can enjoy the summer, going swimming, horseback riding, playing ball, making the most of the few parties and fes- [528] tivals (festas) which take place during the summer, lounging in the bar gossiping, meeting the boat, and visiting lower- *565 class girls. The daughters, on the other hand, can do nothing of the sort. They spend their time at home with their moth- 562 ers and sometimes visit a married girl friend or sister to 517 gossip.

For those girls who remain in the town, life can be intolerably dull. They must be extremely careful of where they go, when, and with whom, and of what they do, for the town gossip about them can be vicious. The reputation of a girl seen on the street at night without one of her parents is ruined. These girls are expected to be virgins, models of propriety,

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473 poration has extensive landholdings in other parts of the state,
*249 but they are exploited on an impersonal, profit basis, not on
the traditional, paternalistic basis common in the sugar area.
*[565] The Helvetians have taken a place in the upper ranks of Bahian society, representing new money and economic power. Their history is important. The original immigrant married into a Bahian family of "good name," and all of his sons have done the same. One of them married a daughter of the Coronel, founder of Usina São Pedro. It was through this marriage that the transfer of the factory was channeled. Today, although the Condes still own stock in the corporation, the Helvetians have the controlling interest, and the Condes are gradually selling their shares to the Helvetians.

466 The new corporation has brought about many changes in ad-
178 ministration of the factory. Although still a family corporation,
*249 it has become, from the wider, community, point of view, a
473 strictly business enterprise with no family ties and no face-
to-face personal relations. A new directorship and manage-
[596] ment was established. The new "boss" of the factory is a man
from a different part of the state, and his background is en-
•[571] tirely different from that of sugar-cane growers. The thread
of "family" is still unbroken, for the new manager is related to the new owning family by marriage. He is treated, however, as a paid employee of the corporation. His brother, now general administrator of the agricultural part of the factory-in-the-field, is treated similarly.

These two new managers have put the relations between management and labor on a strictly business basis and have removed all elements of paternalism. Upon taking over, they dismissed most of the older, higher-level factory, field, and office workers. Administrators, mechanics, and bookkeepers, most of whom had seen twenty years or more of service, were dispatched. New people came to take their places, and some of the vacancies were filled by promotions. Time clocks were installed, and the system of authority was reinforced all the way down the line. Social legislation--a new factor in rural, agricultural Brazil--was invoked to take the place of paternalism.

178 Thus the old, paternalistic, personal, owner-director pat-
*249 tern has changed completely. The chalet is no longer the scene
of family gatherings for summer vacations, for Carnaval, or for Christmas; even the traditional Botada has undergone a

change. New faces and basically different relationships prevail at Usina São Pedro. 178 249* [466]

Another change, but this time in tune with the past, was an increase of capital, applied to the improvement of the factory. The capacity of the mill has been greatly enlarged. However, the agricultural part of the combination continues as it did before, with no innovations. The result is that the factory is able to mill and produce sugar much more quickly than it can be supplied with sugar cane. The hierarchical aspect of the factory as earlier diagrammed remains the same, and each plantation is still run as a separate unit. 178 249* 433 [471] [466]

In contrast, the private plantation in the community of Vila Recôncavo has undergone relatively little change in these five years. Always the most conservative element in the Recôncavo, the private plantation continues to retain its distinguishing feature: the personal, face-to-face, paternalistic owner-worker relations. The hierarchical pattern remains the same. Operations are still basically hand- and animal-powered, but private planters are slowly introducing mechanization in certain aspects of the process, especially that of transportation; trucks and tractor-drawn wagons carry cane from the fields to the factory. Tractors and mechanical plows are used to an increasingly large extent in the preparation of the soil, and mechanical cultivators are already in use on some plantations. However, the bulk of the work is still done by hand, and traction is supplied by oxen and mules. As yet no mechanical loaders, ditch-diggers, or planters have appeared, and little use is made of fertilization or herbicides. Few scientific agricultural practices are in use. The planter is still first and foremost a "practical" man. 178 249* 461 [492] [493] [407] [492] [407] [242]

Relations between the factory and the private plantations have also undergone considerable change, in both business and social aspects. The new managers of the factory have succeeded in almost completely alienating the private planters who supply them with sugar cane. Not only the members of the extended Conde family, but also other cane suppliers resented the highhanded, brusque methods of the new managers. Wishing to break completely with the past, the new managers instituted several new policies in relations with the cane suppliers. Formerly the private suppliers bought sugar by the sack, bought their supplies at the company store, and had their machines repaired at the company workshops, paying for such services at the end of the harvest season. The sup- 178 249* 571 • [443] [452] [407]

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*249 pliers were presented with accounts showing how much cane
571 had been sent to the mill, the price, how much the factory had
452 paid the bank on the supplier's loans, how much had been ad-
407 vanced the supplier for his cane, and how much was still owed
178 the supplier, discounting the costs of services received from
*249 the factory facilities. This has been traditional practice, not
571 only at Usina São Pedro, but also at the other factories of the
407 area. Now, however, Usina São Pedro expects to receive
437 cash at the moment of the transaction for each such service
the supplier receives. In addition, the factory has gradually
cut down on the number of services it offers the suppliers.
This has been particularly serious regarding services of the
mechanics, as the private suppliers have no other source of
repair for their machines except in the city; taking them into
the city costs a great deal of time and is more expensive than
were the services performed by the factory mechanics.

178 The new managers at first charged an automatic discount
*249 upon the cane tonnage supplied by each private plantation. This
571 resulted in a considerable loss of money at the end of the year
432 for each private supplier, thereby straining even more the
[656] relations which daily were becoming more and more disagree-
able. Any question of scale and tonnage is a touchy one for
private planters, who sell their cane by the weight. The dis-
count charged on general principles by the factory was so
serious a matter that several of the private suppliers united
and called the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol to their defense
and succeeded in correcting the situation. This was a "first"
for Usina São Pedro, where such a thing had never before
happened, and where such a recourse is considered an ex-
treme.

178 Social relationships between the private planters and the
*249 managers of the factory are almost nonexistent. Whereas a
571 few years ago the factory was the central gathering point for
the social life of the planters of the area, it is now a place to
be avoided. In addition to making working conditions difficult,
the new managers and their families are "outsiders" in this
small, closed plantation society, with different backgrounds
and manners. As a result of the new conditions, the private
planters are spending more time on their plantations than be-
fore, but their social life rotates from one plantation to an-
other, skipping the factory nucleus. This pattern is also re-
flected in the activities of the resident workers, who are up-
set at the treatment shown to the older employees of the fac-

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tory and its fields, and who are slowly drifting away from visiting the factory nucleus.

An overall result of the new conditions between private planters and the factory is a desire on the part of the suppliers of São Pedro to become independent of this outlet. Several of the suppliers are shifting their cane to other neighboring factories, when this is convenient. Most of them are seriously considering shifting to another crop, as will be described below; in fact a goodly proportion of land has already been taken out of sugar-cane production, thus diminishing future cane harvests and endangering the cane supply of Usina São Pedro. [311]

What was formerly a peaceful, "all in the family," almost preservelike area has become an area of tensions and of poor business, and social, relations. The situation has all the possibilities of a traditional sugar-cane kind of land capture. The factory needs land in order to produce more cane so that the mill can operate at capacity. No one is willing to sell to the factory, nor even to supply as much cane as he might under other conditions. But the private planters are dependent upon the factory, economically and for services. Therefore it is an easy matter for the factory to make difficulties for the individual planter, even gradually forcing him into failure, since the planter operates on credit and has little latitude for even a single crop failure. Such a failure gives the factory an opportunity to acquire badly needed lands at a bargain. [452] [425]

The sugar industry in the community of Vila Recôncavo has also undergone changes in the labor aspects, in line with the entire industry. As was pointed out in Chapter 4, the price of the sugar cane and the sugar is artificially regulated, and has been rising slowly over a period of years. However, nationwide social legislation in the past three years has raised the wages of the workers annually, before the price increases were granted by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol. Spiraling inflation has also helped raise all the costs, of labor, of materials, and of machinery. Whereas prices for the task done have always been fairly well regulated, they have recently become a very strong issue, and there is much worker discontent. The planter, whether private or corporate, is more than ever interested in holding down the costs of his labor supply, since other costs, particularly of machinery and repairs, are soaring, always narrowing the margin between the total cost of production and the established selling price.

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*249 For the first time in the history of Vila Recôncavo the work-
468 ers' discontent has taken the form of a strike accompanied by violence. The strike, although a general one throughout the sugar industry, was the first one in which workers of Vila Recôncavo participated. It was specifically directed against the
178 agricultural part of the factory combination; however, it af-
*249 fected some private plantations as well, and was joined by workers of private plantations. The strike was put down im-
468 mediately and effectively by the state police. On investigation
467 the police found considerable Communist literature and propaganda in the quarters of the labor union in Centro which had
668 organized the strike. The labor union itself was illegal, since it was not registered with the proper authorities, and its lead-
[625] ers were well-known Communist agitators. What is important for our study is the appearance in the community of Vila Recôncavo of written and verbal Communist propaganda and the willingness of the local agricultural workers to participate in a general strike. This is a tremendous change for such a conservative area, where loyalty and paternalism have always been so strong.

178 Thus the sugar industry of Vila Recôncavo has entered a
*249 phase of many new difficulties: ties between factory and private planters are strained, and labor relations are becoming
• 571 a problem for the private, as well as the corporate, planters.
466 Inflation and the "dollar situation," which affect planters directly since all machinery must be imported, are also working toward the build-up of a new "crisis," continuing the pattern described in Chapter 3.

178 However, a new element is entering the community of Vila
245 Recôncavo in the form of a new crop, cacao. One of the plant-
242 ers began experimenting with cacao during the author's first period of research in Vila Reconcavo. However, at least five years must pass before it can be known if the cacao tree will give satisfactory fruit. At the end of 1955 the Institute of Cacao of Bahia presented the experiment to the public as a success and is now systematically stimulating interest in cacao as a possible and lucrative substitute for sugar cane.

245 Cacao is Bahia's major export crop and in general means
439 money to a Bahian. Still more attractive is the fact that the
178 cacao introduced to the Recôncavo is a genetic mutation, giving a white-seeded fruit which brings a much higher price on the
*[249] world market than does the ordinary fruit. The financial attraction of cacao, plus the disagreeable and financially weak

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can collect bananas, which should pay for the operating costs while waiting for the cacao to mature.

At the end of a five- or six-year period, the shade tree is usually large enough to provide sufficient shade, and the banana trees are gradually removed. At the same time the cacao begins to give its fruit, and one can then consider himself a cacauicultor.

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Several planters in Vila Recôncavo are at the banana-manioc planting stage, and have met with their first serious labor problem. No one wants to work in banana and manioc fields, as the work is arduous and slow. Machines are not available for the mechanical cultivation of manioc, so the work must be done by hand. The work is slowly being accomplished, but at costs which will make the manioc a considerable liability.

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Nevertheless, in spite of these difficulties, there is considerable interest in cacao in Vila Recôncavo, and cacao must be considered as an element of change in the community which will have far-reaching effects. The area of sugar production will be considerably reduced, requiring adjustments on the part of the factories, which represent large financial investments. Furthermore, cacao is a fairly simple product to process--its conversion into chocolate is usually done after export --and so it is quite likely that each plantation will return to the older aspect of the plantation, both growing and processing the crop, and become once again a highly self-sufficient unit. This would of course bring about a new alignment of socio-economic relations and would undoubtedly alter the community structure.

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A third principal cause of change in Vila Recôncavo is the growth of a new and potent industry within the community and throughout the county. This new industry is the nascent Brazilian petroleum industry. Exploratory work was done in Vila Recôncavo in 1950 and 1951 under the guidance of the Conselho Nacional de Petroleo. Since that date a nationalized company, Petrobrás, has been formed to exploit the oil fields which lie under the topsoil of the county of Vila Recôncavo. Petrobrás has brought in several hundred oil wells and has built roads, pipelines, storage tanks, and machine shops. Just outside the limits of the community, but within the county, it has built its oil refinery and has created a small new, modern city to house the technical workers of the refinery and the field. On land expropriated from the Usina São Pedro it has also con-

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structed a series of barracks, a recreation hall, a restaurant, and a service center for the unmarried field workers.

In spite of this, the changes in the community structure brought about by the petroleum industry have been as yet relatively few. The industry exists in the community as an intruder, not affecting communal life to any great extent, and not contributing any substantial local benefits. This is perhaps in part due to the fact that it is a nationalized company, with headquarters located in the city of Salvador, rather than a product of local efforts. The petroleum workers for the most part have not been drawn from the local labor force but have come from outside the county. It is almost as if a military base had been established in Vila Recôncavo on a temporary basis. [464]

The effect on the town has been principally to increase the number of houses. The married workers of Petrobrás for the most part live in the town. Naturally there has occurred a broadening of point of view among the town dwellers as a result of social intercourse, as well as a certain new prosperity due to greater numbers. Nevertheless, there are still no private cars, buses, or public transportation in the county. The petroleum workers and their families go to Salvador whenever possible for shopping and amusements, rather than attempting to satisfy these needs in Vila Recôncavo, where public services, diversions, and so forth have continued to be almost nonexistent. [362] [571] [493] [494] [484]

To counterbalance the effect of prosperity brought to the town by increased population, the petroleum industry has had an adverse effect on the fishing activities of the townspeople. Many wells have been drilled in the shallow waters of the Bay of All Saints in front of the town. As a result of underwater explosions, the constant passage of rapid motor launches, and digging and dredging machines, the traditional fishing area of the town's fishermen has been rapidly depleted and its ecological balance destroyed. The fishermen are gradually turning away from fishing as an occupation and seeking other remunerative activity, either outside the community or in the petroleum industry and, to a slight extent, in the sugar industry. Others are turning to service occupations, such as bricklaying, as stopgap activities. 178 315 433 226

Petrobrás to date has affected rural life very little. The planters of the area have profited to some extent because of the roads constructed by the company. It is now possible to 178 315 433 49

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433 travel from the city to the plantations by car at almost any
49 season of the year. It is a two-hour trip, considerably more comfortable than the old system of travel by boat and on horseback. In addition, the roads have made it possible for the planters to transport their cane more efficiently, using trucks and tractor-drawn wagons. Along with this, the refinery has led to greater supplies of diesel oil, gasoline, and kerosene, so that it is no longer necessary to transport these items from the city at great cost and delay.

178 The planters have also profited in another manner. Petro-
315 brás invaded the cane fields in its search of oil. It fenced small areas where it drilled and constructed storage tanks,
311 and it took out of cane production a good deal of land for roads
433 and installations. Recently a basis has been reached for paying the planters in a satisfactory manner for the use of the lands.
427 As a result each planter whose land is partially occupied now receives an annual cash payment based on what the occupied
[421] land could produce. As yet no arrangements have been made for the landowners to participate in the profits of Petrobrás, since all subsoil riches belong to the nation, and therefore in this case to Petrobrás.

178 There has been little social intercourse between the planters
315 and the personnel of Petrobrás, either in the rural area or in the city of Salvador. From time to time the higher echelon
• 571 employees of Petrobras are invited to larger parties given by the planters, and in return the planters are sometimes invited to parties at the refinery. But the plantation society is so closed and so firmly based on family relationships that it is difficult to maintain steady social relations with newcomers. In addition, the engineers and other specialists of the oil industry are principally oriented toward the capital city, and there is no serious attempt made to establish social relationships with the planters.

The sugar-cane workers for their part are so definitely plantation-oriented that they seek little diversion among the new oil workers. The unmarried field workers of Petrobrás who might be expected to establish relationships with the rural population seldom do so. They live in a fenced barracks area which immediately gives the impression of a group cut off from the rest of society. When they do seek entertainment they go as a rule to the factory nucleus, or to the town of Vila Recôncavo, or to the nearby town of Milagres.

Politically, this influx of new workers has had little in-

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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Politically, this influx of new workers has had little influence. Local politics, at least, remain in the hands of the traditional landowners. However, national political parties other than that of the landowners are gaining force, especially the labor party, and within the near future there will undoubtedly be considerable modification in the voting patterns. The bulk of the rural population do not have the franchise because of their illiteracy. On the other hand, the petroleum workers, whose level of living is considerably higher than that of the rural population, have the franchise and according to law must exercise it.

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A major area of change in the community is the class structure. In its main outlines the class structure remains the same, but there are some differences in emphasis. Class A, the rural upper class, which also is part of the upper class in the capital city where it resides part of the year, has been somewhat depleted. The Coronel and his son and son-in-law and their families, who constituted the family owner-directors of Usina São Pedro, are no longer part of the scene. As a result of the shift in ownership and direction the former usineiro has been replaced by paid employees.[1] Although these employees are related to the principal members of the new owning firm by marriage, they are treated as employees rather than as family members. They do not have the "social standing," meaning tradition, background, extended family relations, and the scholarly training, which distinguish the former owners. Class A therefore is now represented only by the private plantation owners.

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On the other hand, Class B is slowly becoming larger in both the rural and the urban areas of the community, as a result of the addition of two new groups: the members of the new factory organization, and the petroleum workers with their much higher standard of living, considerably higher education, and their steady employment as members of a new bureaucracy, Petrobrás. Unmarried workers belonging to Petrobrás are to some extent seeking marital alliances with girls of the area, especially from the factory nucleus and from the town of Vila Recôncavo. In some cases legal and religious marriages have taken place. In other cases the couple has simply

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1. The term usineiro is usually limited to the owner-director who is the founder of the factory, or is the son of the founder. When the director is a paid employee, he is just "the boss."

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RACE RELATIONS IN A RURAL COMMUNITY OF THE BAHIAN RECÔNCAVO[1]

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by
249 HARRY W. HUTCHINSON
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1. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, a narrow strip along the north-eastern coast of Brazil in what are now the States of Pernambuco, Alagoas, Sergipe and Bahia, was the most important region of economic, political and social life in the whole colony. The rainfall along this portion of the coast is dependable and the extremely fertile soil, which was originally covered with thick forests, was ideally suited for sugar cane. By
[439] the seventeenth century, this region produced a large part of the world's sugar supply. Sugar, which was then a luxury in Europe, brought fabulous profits, and the north-eastern coast of Brazil
[633] became an exceedingly prosperous colony. Large cities grew up along the coast; Salvador in Bahia and Recife in Pernambuco became the most important centres of colonial life, and Salvador was the capital
[346] of the colony from 1549 to 1763. Both were cities of great wealth based on the booming sugar industry. The numerous churches built in Salvador during the period of opulence, with their elaborate gold-leafed wood carving and polychrome tile work, are witnesses to the tremendous wealth of the era.

175 It was the plantation system, the basis of this lucrative sugar industry, which gave this region many of its characteristic traditions
249 and formed patterns of race relations which have persisted in a
567 modified form into the present. Gilberto Freyre in his monumental
565 *Casa Grande e Senzala*, and other Brazilian writers [1],[2] have described life on these sugar plantations. African slaves provided the manpower. More than three million Negroes were imported from Africa during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and a large proportion came to the sugar plantations of north-
[571] eastern Brazil. The Portuguese plantation owners became rich, and came to form a regional aristocracy with a luxurious and ostentatious way of life. The slaves and their masters, on these plantations, formed two distinct social groups, but it is distinctive of the region that their relations were intimate and warm; Freyre describes the intimacy between the *moleque* (Negro lad) and the master's son as playmates, between the master's wife and her domestic servants, between the Negro nurse and her white charges, and other close

[122] [1]In addition to thanking those persons listed in the introduction to this series of articles for their aid and co-operation in making this study possible, I wish to thank the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Charitable Foundation Inc. and the Department of Anthropology of Columbia University, whose grants of funds contributed largely to the possibility of this study. Also, to acknowledge with thanks the aid of Carmelita Junqueira Ayres and Elias Amedin Ferreira for their assistance in the collection of the data.

[2]The figures in brackets refer to the bibliography on page 48.

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ties between Negroes and whites on these colonial plantations. All writers have mentioned the frequency of sexual relations between the white plantation owners and their female slaves. Slavery was not a humane institution in Brazil or elsewhere, but in Brazil relations between the slave and the master were of a more personal nature than in other regions where slavery existed in the New World.

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By the middle of the last century, the West Indies and other regions of the world were competing with the Brazilian north-east for the world sugar market; and the abolition of slavery in 1888 caused difficulties of labour supply on these plantations. The sugar industry no longer provided the great wealth that it had in the past, and many of the old plantations were abandoned or sold to large commercial companies who installed modern equipment for large-scale sugar production. Plantation slaves became wage labourers, and the old traditional patterns of behaviour between the Negro slave and the white plantation-owning aristocrat began to disappear, to be replaced by an impersonal employee-employer relationship in keeping with the new way of life. Yet many patterns persist from the days of the old plantation system. Many of the descendants of the aristocratic plantation owners try to preserve the old traditions. They are proud of their family names, and large aristocratic families are still important in the economic and social life of the region. In many rural localities, there are still plantations where the relations between the workers and the owners are highly personalized, as they were in the past, and where customs and traditions formed during the period of opulence and slavery continue, if modified, by modern conditions. Throughout this part of Brazil, the relations between people of different racial groups have been influenced by the large proportion of Negroes in the population, by the importance of slavery in the relatively recent past, and by the particular form which the relations between the Negro slave and the European master took on the plantations.

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11. The community with which the present article is concerned is called Vila Recôncavo; it is a real town situated in the zone known as the Recôncavo which surrounds Salvador, the capital of the State of Bahia, and which borders on the Bay of All Saints, extending inland from the shores of the bay some 30 miles on the northern side, and considerably less on the southern side. The Recôncavo was characteristic of the whole north-eastern plantation region. The Portuguese who settled in Salvador in 1549 recognized the value of these lands around the new city and the Bay of All Saints for sugar production. The third governor of Bahia, Mem de Sá (1557–74),

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829 is the darling of all the racial types, and she can do almost no wrong.

There are also stereotypes regarding the white. He is someone who should not work, who should not get dirty or perspire because of work (in sport it is all right). The white is expected to be well educated, well dressed, wealthy, and to have power—both politically and as a landowner. He should also show a certain sense of responsibility toward those of the lower classes dependent upon him, protecting them against any violation of their rights, watching out for his *afilhados* (godchildren) of lower class, and distributing occa-
563 sional favours. The white is addressed by the formal *o senhor*, while
576 he in return addresses all others by the popular *você*. The white may also receive the very informal and affectionate form of address *yoyô* (for a man) or *yayá* (for a lady), which was traditionally used by slaves for their masters. Interestingly enough, it is usually the darkest of the *pretos* (even the most independent of them) who generally use this form of greeting. *Vossa Excelência* (Your Excellency) is also heard frequently when people of low status of an older generation address an 'aristocratic' white. Sometimes, whites are addressed simply as *meu branco* (my white). When the lower class refer to 'aristocratic white' or when whites talk of themselves, they may simply use the term *gente*, which means more than the simple dictionary definition of 'people': *gente* is synonymous with white, upper class, and wealth. The stereotypes regarding the white and, above all, the very terms by which he is addressed, are in keeping with his landowning aristocratic position.

563 This complicated classification of people by racial type, and these
571 numerous stereotypes of the *homem de côr* by the white and vice-versa, are particularly striking in the Recôncavo. In addition to being simply a way of describing a person, like saying he is short or tall, thin or fat, they also imply what people desire in those of other physical types. The white wants good workers, cheerful people in whom he can have confidence. The *homem de côr* wants and needs a protector, a *patrão*, someone who will help him when he needs help,
563 who will be godfather to his children, etc. But at times people will
578 employ these terms in a derogatory manner. A white, displeased by
571 something a *preto* has done or has not done, will frequently say '*que negro ruim*' (what a bad Negro!). But his *preta* cook may say the same thing of the *mulato claro* water-carrier who spills water on her kitchen floor. In the same way, a *preto* or *mestiço* who has been disappointed by a white may say '*que gente ruim*' (literally: what bad people!). Each of these two expressions has its counterpart of approval. The '*que negro bom*' (what a good Negro) has a wealth of meaning. Applied to whatever *homem de côr*, it expresses all that is warm and good that has developed during four centuries of close relationship between Negro and white. It is at once an apology for oppression and slavery, as well as an immediate thank-you. And for

3t Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1963 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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the *homem de côr* to say '*êle É um senhor*' (he IS a real gentleman) or '*um branco bom*' (a good white) is to admit that the white and the Negro can live together in dignity.

There is a series of expressions used by all types to describe the person who is trying to appear white. Whoever tries to be what he is not is considered ridiculous by all. Both whites and Negroes gossip about the social climber and use the terms '*tem pinta*' (has a 'touch of the tarbrush'), '*tem sangue*' (has Negro blood), '*é da raça*' (is of the Negro race), or simply '*besta*' (show-off), '*cheio de arte*' (artful), '*cheio de manha*' (full of little tricks), or '*fala bonito*' (talks pretty).

There are also many phrases used by lower-class people to ridicule Negroes and *mestiços* who are showing off, or 'pushing'. Most of these start off with *Negro*:

[539]

Negro doesn't marry, he gets together.
Negro doesn't accompany a procession, he runs after it.
Negro doesn't sit down, he squats.
Negro in white clothes is a sign of rain.
Negro doesn't hear Mass, he spies on it.
Negro at a white man's party is the first to grab and the last to eat.
Negro's intelligence is the same size as his hair.

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The concepts and fixed ideas which the people of Vila Recôncavo have of these racial types were also revealed in their responses to a pictorial questionnaire devised in the field.[1] A series of eight photographs of people unknown to those answering the questionnaire was shown, consisting of a male and a female of each of the four major racial types, the *caboclo*, the *preto*, the *mulato* and the *branco*. An attempt was made to use photographs giving no clue to the possible class position of the eight persons. However, the photographs which we were able to secure were not entirely satisfactory for our purposes in Vila Recôncavo. The picture of the caboclo male was of a man of middle age, but a type considered in the local conception as having a strong personality, while the *caboclo* woman was older and certainly not *simpática* (pleasant) in the local view. The two *pretos* were both unmistakably *pretos*, and both young. The *mulato* male and female differed one from the other, as the man was definitely a common *mulato* type, while the woman was almost a *morena mulata* rather than 'pure' *mulata*. She was young and considered much more *simpática* than any of the four women presented. The two whites were not distinguished in any way; and there was doubt in the minds of the people answering the questionnaire as to whether these two were 'pure' white or not.

The questionnaire was given to 85 people: 18 *brancos*—11 males,

[114]

[1] These questionnaires were given by a local assistant after the author's stay in Vila Recôncavo, but the results agree in general with the observations made during research in the community.

planters. People in the upper class of the town, when they can, send their children to the capital to continue their education, and there are several *mestiço* students from Vila Recôncavo studying law, medicine and engineering in Salvador. The intelligence of the mulatto is traditional, and it has been equally traditional that the darker-skinned person is unintelligent. Today these traditions are not as strong as before, but still it is felt that the mulatto has somewhat more aptitude than the Negro. The old idea of the Negro, meant for work and to be servile, still exists, now tempered with the knowledge that education can change the situation. There is only one club in Vila Recôncavo—a football club—and the players are all shades, from white to black, and so are the spectators. They all sit or stand together under the shade of the one big tree which gives shade to the playing field. The field is on the property of a white man who, while he has nothing to do with the team, allows them to play there, put up goal posts and markers. The bar and recreation centre are open to all so long as they wear shoes—a ruling made to keep out the muddy feet of children who came straight from the beach to have a 'coke'. All the racial types and classes get together here to play pool and gossip, this being the one and only point of public social activity in the town. At the movies, the admission price is extremely low, the same for everyone, and all four classes attend. Negroes and whites of all classes sit next to each other. At church there are no special pews, the faithful usually gathering in the front and the less faithful hanging about near the back. The choir and the acolytes are from all classes and colours. At parties, which are few, colour lines are disregarded, *brancos* and *morenos* dance with *mulatos* and *pretos* just as long as both partners can *pular* (jump).

The social situation is gradually changing, and the extremely personal element is being lost. It is strongest on the private plantation, where the owner spends the greater part of the year, but at the *usina* much of the personal element is weakened because of the numbers of workers. Even at the *usina*, there is visiting and gossiping between the owners' families and the workers. But at the *usina* not all the workers accept their subservient position as do those of the plantations. This is specially true of the higher echelon of specialists and technicians of the mill, who will frequently not go to a party given by the owner, even though invited. It seems to be a way of saying that the company of the white owners is neither needed nor wanted. They prefer to keep their relations on a strictly business basis. At the *usina*, when a worker is sick, he goes to the medical post where he is treated by a paid nurse, rather than to the owner's house. On pay day, the *usina* worker is paid at the mill by a paymaster, not in the living room of the owner's house. Nevertheless, in spite of the industrialized aspect of the mill, the number of workers is not too large to exclude all personal contact with the owners, who adminis-

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trate and oversee most of the operations. This type of relationship has proved so satisfactory that up to date there have been no strikes, and no labour movements, or unions formed among the workmen of São Pedro. The length of time the technicians and other workmen of the *usina* have remained in their employ, refusing employment in other *usinas* and other occupations, has been a matter of pride to the owners of São Pedro.

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It is on the plantations belonging to the *usina* that the white owner-*mestiço* worker personal relations are least close. The *usina* owners are able to make only occasional tours of inspection of the plantations, and therefore have little personal contact with the workers. However, the administrator has in many respects taken the place of the owner. He is the only man on the plantation with authority, and all complaints and requests for favours or help must be presented to him. In one case, an administrator has been on the same plantation for 26 years, and is well-known for the 'court' he holds. Once a year he gives an immense party for the entire community, and people from all four classes attend. He is wanted as godfather for the children of the workmen, and as *compadre* in their marriages. Nevertheless, the administrator is as much an employee of the *usina* as is the worker, and while the administrator can and does assume some of the attitudes and responsibilities of the owner, he cannot assume them all. However, it is a frequent saying among the white-owner class that the real owners are the administrators, for they are the group closest to the workers and to the land. A plantation with a poor administrator is not only a poor producer, but also means hardship for the *moradores*; a poor administrator will take no interest in them, and take little care of them.

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In other areas of the Recôncavo, where the *usinas* are larger and more industrialized and where no owner resides either at the *usina* or on one of the plantations, but lives always in Salvador, there is only a paid representative of the corporation at the *usina*. In such large industrial units the personal element is almost entirely lacking both at the *usina* and on the company-owned plantations. There have been cases of labour difficulties, strikes, violence and the intrusion of political groups. In several instances, there are efforts today, on the owner's part to re-establish personal contact with mill and field workers, even on the largest of the corporation *usinas* and plantations.

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VII. The relations between people of different physical types in Vila Recôncavo and on the surrounding sugar plantations have grown out of the plantation-slave system which flourished in the region about a century ago. Many patterns and attitudes formed in that epoch persist even today in the town and on the privately-owned plantations in the vicinity.

plantations in the vicinity. There is the aristocratic group of whites descendants of the *senhores de engenho*—who form almost a caste, marrying among themselves and living out their own social life apart from the Negro and racially mixed population of the community. Just as the slave owners in the past, however, they depend upon the Negro and *mestiço* for labour; the Negro is pictured as the faithful servant and attendant of the white aristocrat. Again, as in the past, the mulatto who was the offspring of the European master and a slave mother is pictured as a social upstart and an intelligent trouble-maker. Yet it is the man of mixed ancestry who holds the intermediate economic and social positions; he is the minor bureaucrat, the technician in the *usina*, and the administrator and *feitor* on the plantations. The essential hierarchy has changed little since colonial times; and the relationship between these aristocratic whites and their Negro and mixed workmen is still a highly personal one lacking in social tensions, since each knows his proper position and each knows his rights, duties and obligations toward the other.

There is no race problem in Vila Recôncavo, nor does prejudice or discrimination work out as it does in other parts of the Western world. A Negro cannot become a member of the aristocracy, but a well-educated and economically successful Negro can have easy social relations with this stratum. Negro ancestry is without doubt a grave disadvantage in economic and social mobility, but there are no political and economic positions closed to a man of Negro or mixed descent. As yet, however, only a few Negroes have moved into high political or economic positions. There is only one plantation owner who is a Negro, and Negroes and *mestiços* hold only minor bureaucratic and political positions in the community. The *prefeito* or mayor has nearly always been drawn from the aristocratic white group, and has never been challenged from the Negro and mixed population. Yet in the town and among the mill workers, 'people of colour' are beginning to show independence, and unwillingness always to occupy a subservient and lowly position. The administrators like to ride better horses than the aristocrats, to have fancier saddles, to dress better, and to be more ostentatious than their employers. Many townspeople know the big city, and the essential class and racial democracy which exists there. There is competition to join the local upper class, and derogatory racial criteria are used to deride competitors who would like to rise out of the lower class groups into this growing upper class. African culture traits such as *candomblé* and the cult of Janaina are associated with low status, and people who would rise in the local social hierarchy are anxious to disassociate themselves from these groups.

As modern attitudes and ideology penetrate Vila Recôncavo, there are more and more problems of class relationships; the population is becoming extremely class-conscious, and there is an in-

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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The emergence of new employment opportunities, espe-

cially in the centers of industry but also elsewhere, not only has stimulated internal migration but—more importantly for our interest here—has also facilitated social mobility. This has brought significant change, particularly to persons in the lower ranks, who are extensively (but far from exclusively) of dark color, and whose economic position has long been, on the whole, stagnant. There is clearly evident in Brazil what perhaps is the principal long-range trend in the modern world, namely, the rise of the underprivileged classes into increasingly greater economic and political power; while the growing anonymity of the developing cities is making human relations more impersonal and categoric, and this has led to a heightened sense of insecurity while also aiding the escape of individuals of color from the controls of the old superordinate and subordinate relationships developed during slavery and giving these individuals new conceptions of themselves and of others.

Until comparatively recent years, a middle class like that known in Europe or the United States scarcely existed. At the time of our research at Bahia, for instance, there were only two clearly-defined classes in the city, as attested (see pp. 15 ff.) by the popular division of the inhabitants into *ricos* (literally, "the rich") and *pobres* ("the poor"). There were many families, however, whose occupation, skills, education, or level of living placed them above the lower class but who were not attached by kinship or achievement to the upper ranks. They thus occupied an intermediate position between the two extremes of the social pyramid, although they tended to identify themselves with the interests and values of the upper class. In recent decades, however, the changes mentioned above have produced occupational and educational opportunities never before known, and also greatly stimulated those previously existent, so that, in the large and more

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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industrialized cities at least, these intermediate ranks have developed into a definite middle class.

The so-called "traditional" families, who for so long virtually constituted almost the entire upper class, still play an important role in industrial, commercial, intellectual, and political activities; but although they perhaps were never a completely closed unit, they now are having to accept into their ranks as never before an increasing number of persons who have risen from the intermediate tiers by reason of occupational or educational achievement, acquired wealth, or political influence.

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Brazil is thus in process of transition from a predominantly rural, agricultural and pastoral society, with a rather rigid class system, to an urban and industrialized society, where class lines are somewhat less important, and other elements of the economic, political and sociological structures are changing. There is a considerable degree of fluidity, in the midst of which the high value formerly placed upon primary relations, particularly the intimate attachments of members of large kinship, godparent or friendship groups, upon exclusiveness toward groups outside those of immediate personal contact, upon class membership, and upon loyalty is giving away, and new values are emerging. These changes are so extensive that Charles Wagley (1960a) has referred to them as "the Brazilian revolution."

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Owing also to the complex and rather subtle character of the Brazilian racial situation, its analysis is not an easy or simple procedure. Regarding the fact that this differs from that in the United States there is no disagreement. But there is disagreement regarding the character of this difference, its extent, and the circumstances which produced it.

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A sizable obstacle to analyzing this situation, and also to making it intelligible to persons in the United States, is a

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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confusion over terms, particularly those whose form is identical but whose meaning varies in the two situations. So powerful is the grip of habit over the mind that the connotation of a word in our own culture tends automatically to be carried over into our thinking about an apparent referent elsewhere, even though we may be aware of the difference in meaning. This is particularly true of the general public; but it is also true to some extent of specialists and occurs even in spite of their normal caution.

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The simple use of the term "Negro," for instance, when describing the Bahian racial situation, automatically conveys to many persons United States meanings from which it is difficult to escape (cf. E. Franklin Frazier 1942:465). Moreover, the unwarranted assumption on the part of those who use the English language, or who are familiar with it, that the Brazilian term "prêto" can be translated by "Negro," and "branco" by "white," adds to the confusion.

These terms are not interchangeable. In the United States "white" means "of undiluted Caucasian descent"; but in Brazil "branco" can mean "a predominantly white person, no matter what his racial origin," including thousands of light mixed-bloods and, in the case of prestige-bearing individuals, darker mixed-bloods and even an occasional black; or it can mean, at times, merely "a person of prestige" or simply "my friend." On the other hand, "Negro" in the United States means "anyone descended in any degree from an African, *including all mixed-bloods*" (provided origin is known); while "prêto" in Brazil may mean "a person with noticeably Negroid traits" or, at times, merely "a person of low status"[4] or simply "a personal enemy."

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[4] Particularly revealing in this respect is an incident witnessed in Sergipe by Felte Bezerra (1950:252). On the beach at a seaside town a

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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"Branco" and "prêto" are, therefore, first of all, categories of *physical appearance* rather than of race, so that a child will not necessarily be identified with the same "race" as one, or even both, of his parents. These terms also are categories of *social position*, so that rising in rank can take a colored person out of the colored category, a fact observed long ago at Recife by "the careful Koster," as Sir Richard Burton called him (see p. 219 of this book). These and similar terms employed in Brazil are descriptive not only of racial descent but of other and more important (to local individuals) phenomena; and, even more significantly, as we (1955:434) and others have pointed out, the use of these terms *varies with individuals*, in keeping with varying personal relationships, and also with the *same* individual at different times, in keeping with different moods or other circumstances.

In the United States one ordinarily hears only two terms being employed regularly in this connection: "Negro" and "white." "Mulatto" also is used but less often, as are certain other terms in popular speech. Nevertheless, as far as the behavior of the superordinate group is concerned, the principal terms are two; and all persons will be classified with reference to these two categories and behavior will be oriented in keeping with that classification.

In Brazil, on the other hand, the situation is quite different; for one thing, there exists a whole series of what at

group of persons from the lower class were engaged in a folk dance, accompanied by singing, known as *cururu*. Although composed largely (but not exclusively) of colored persons, this group was led by a lower-class white. Approaching several other persons nearby, who were spending their vacation at the seaside, and asking if they would like his group to sing and dance where they could be seen and heard more easily, the white leader referred to himself and to the other members of his group as "Nois prêtos" (We blacks).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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racial terms? In the first place, they are not racial terms at all; and, in the second place, they are only in part terms even of physical appearance. Although the classification of a given individual appears *at first sight* to be made on the basis of race, or at least of physical appearance, it actually is arrived at in a more complex way, as was implied in our Bahian study, as Harris (1964) and Harris and Kottak (1963) have since pointed out more specifically and in greater detail. It may, of course, be derived in part from physical appearance; but it also is derived from the possession of one or more of the other criteria of rank; for instance, personal, occupational or educational achievement; or the accumulation of wealth. This fact has long been reflected at Bahia in the common saying, "A rich black is a white man, and a poor white is a black"; in Koster's oft-quoted remark of his servant's disputing the ascription of "mulatto" to a man of high administrative position at Recife, by asking "How can a Head-Captain be a mulatto?"; and in Wagley's report of a dark mixed-blood of rank at Itá who is considered to be a branca (1964:134). Moreover, it reflects the personal relationship, at the time, of the speaker to the one spoken about. As Emilio Willems[8] reminds us, a person "who is one's friend tends to be a branco; or if he is too dark to be called that, he will be at least a *moreno* (brunette). But if he becomes one's enemy, he is called 'that mulatto' or 'that black,' " with pejorative adjectives attached.

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Brazilians are not blind to physical differences. No investigator has indicated any doubt that a person's appearance—particularly the texture of his hair and the color of his skin—are observed, and at least occasionally referred to, by all Brazilians, whatever their rank. However, at Arem-

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[8] In a letter to the author.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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"a very small and even ridiculous group"; and—what is even more important for our interest here—the attitudes involved are individually derived attitudes: they are held by discrete individuals or by an occasional family or group of families; they are not general attitudes which have been derived from the experience of the Brazilian people as a whole, and especially in the midst of grave apprehension that an established group position is threatened.

In those cases where the referent is color, these authors are dealing, as we suggested many years ago, with the color overtones of class distinction, for color is one of the criteria of rank. However, it is only *one* criterion; and its value in relation to the other criteria will vary with the individual in question, with his personal experience and relationships, and —what is most important—it *can be overbalanced* by the demonstrated possession of other and compensatory criteria of rank.[12] These are not the characteristics of a situation of race prejudice.

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It is the opinion of Emilio Willems (1949:407), a shrewd observer of the Brazilian scene for many years, particularly in São Paulo, that adverse positioning with reference to persons of color exists "only as a discreet attitude among small minorities of white middle- and upper-class people"; and that, even among these individuals, there is considerable doubt that "any kind of consensus" has emerged regarding either the forms or the degree of discrimination. In other words, we are dealing here with a basically class—and not a strictly racial or even a strictly color—phenomenon; and

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[12] Conversely, its value can be *intensified* by a lack of other criteria. "Light-skinned individuals who rank extremely low in terms of educational and occupational criteria," as Harris (1964:59) also has observed, "are frequently regarded as actually being darker in color than they really are."

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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also with a series of attitudes characteristic of a *statistical aggregate* rather than of a group, in the sociological sense of that term. Melville J. Herskovits (1942:35) also noted that this attitude "is personal and not institutionalized."

Mario de Andrade (1939), a perceptive man of color and of prestige in São Paulo, called our attention many years ago to a tendency to exaggerate the role of color and thus to confuse discrimination based strictly on color differences with discrimination on the basis of class differences. Referring to "a very curious documentation" presented by "a writer of colored origin" during a public address in São Paulo, Mario de Andrade writes that "in spite of its being very interesting," this documentation "appeared to be little convincing as evidence of color prejudice. . . . It was a documentation of class and not of color." Tavares de Sá (36) also has noted that "a coincidence between social position and the amount of colored blood makes one sometimes take for race prejudice what is merely class prejudice"; and this is the opinion also of Guerreiro Ramos when he writes that the frustrations of men of color in Brazil "are attributed to racial prejudice when, many times, they should be attributed to that of class."[12]

Noting what has impressed many persons, namely, that class in Brazil coincides largely with color, Nestor Duarte (171–72) of Bahia reminds us, however, that "it is more an economic and social than a color criterion that divides brancos, prêtos and mixed-bloods in Brazilian society"; while Felte Bezerra (1956:504) of Aracaju, observing that color and class largely coincide there also, reminds us, nevertheless, that "he who rises in class frees himself from the peril of slights or barriers by reason of color." Bastide also

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[12] Interview in *Diário Trabalhista* (Rio de Janeiro), March 24, 1946.

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neighboring state of Sergipe.[23] Wagley (1963b:152–53) considered as "among the most important" of these generalizations portions of hypotheses 17 and 22, as well as the concluding paragraph, and restated them as follows: 1) "Brazil is a multi-racial class[24] society distinct from India, for example, where the social order is based upon the principle of caste and from those parts of the world where a national or racial minority (or minorities) is in free association with, but not accepted by, a dominant national or racial majority"; 2) "prejudice exists in Brazil; but it is *class* rather than *race* prejudice"; 3) "this does not mean that there are no social distinctions in Brazil. . . . Neither does it mean that there is no discrimination or that blacks or mixed-bloods are completely satisfied with their lot. But it does mean (a) that a man of color may, by reason of individual merit or favorable circumstances, improve his status and even achieve position in the upper levels of society, and (b) that this position will then be with reference not merely to the darker group whose color he shares but to the total community."

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In the Recôncavo area around the city of Bahia, Hutchinson (1957) and Costa Pinto (1958) report a shift under way in the relations between laborer and employer, from the formerly personal and face-to-face relations of the colonial and subsequent periods to those of a more contractual character,

[23] The statement on p. 134 of this book to the effect that a strictly-drawn color line would have to pass through families also has been noted by many other observers, including Frazier (1944:266) and Nelson de Souza Sampaio (1944) at Bahia; Freyre (1959:8) at Recife; and Willems (1949:407) at São Paulo.

[24] It is perhaps obvious that neither Wagley nor the present author uses the term "class" in the sense popular today in certain circles, wherein the "classes" and the "masses" are distinguished. On the contrary, it seems legitimate to include all persons in the class structure, whatever their rank.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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as the old patriarchal order continues to decline and industrialization increases; a shift which is intensified by the secularization deriving from the increasingly metropolitan character of the area and by the gradual emergence of new social groups. Have these and the other changes sketched above been sufficient to alter the character of the "racial" situation at Bahia since our original study was made? After a careful survey of the studies in the area in recent years, it seems to us that the evidence would lead one to agree with Wagley:[25] "Change has occurred, but *not* that much."

As Thales de Azevedo has pointed out (1955a:197), however, the possibilities of colored persons rising in class are increasing at Bahia; and many observers believe that this rise will continue to increase in the future. As this alteration in rank extends to continually larger and larger numbers of previously underprivileged individuals, greater strains and pressures probably will be exerted throughout the social order. For one thing, as Bahia continues to grow into a larger and larger metropolitan center, relations will be more difficult to maintain on a primary and face-to-face basis; and, for another, the anticipated industrialization, deriving from the extraction of petroleum resources in the area and the utilization of the recently-developed electric power on the São Francisco river, will in all likelihood augment the presently increasing anonymity and make relations more contractual and categoric. Moreover, as educational opportunities increase and extend downward further into the masses of previously unlettered individuals, thus adding to the effects of these other processes, the social order of Bahia may alter, perhaps markedly.

Wagley (1955:12) writes that "many" of the hypotheses

[25] In a letter to the author.

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361 162 As one moves interior from the Reconcavo into the *sertão*, the Negro contribution to the population tends to decrease and the Indian contribution, much mixed with [311] both white and Negro, to increase. Both on the moderately [177] watered plateaus and river basins, chiefly devoted to cattle-raising and light farming and occasionally covered with virgin or second-growth timber, as well as in the sandy, dry, and hot *caatinga* country of the semiarid zones, one finds a frontier society which is relatively isolated and has been only slightly modified during recent decades by contact with the outside world.[8]

Thus, in this particular area of intimate racial and cultural contact where the Negro and his descendants have been fated to work out a rather picturesque career, one will find three distinct types of settlement and population. In the *sertão*, or interior, is a highly mixed stock to whose composition the Indian has contributed in greater proportion probably than either the Negro or the European. In the Reconcavo, with its tradition of a departed rural aristocracy, a disintegrated plantation system, and a long history of slavery, the population is still principally negroid. While in the city of Bahia itself the people are largely of mixed European-African origin, individuals of either pure European or pure African descent being clearly in the minority.

633 In the city also, the social order is still relatively stable. 571 There has been in recent times little change. Bahia is, as we have seen, a comparatively old city, conscious of its traditions and proud of them. Conventions originally developed

[114] [8] Euclydes da Cunha's *Os Sertões* (12th ed.; Rio, 1933) gives a vivid and dramatic account of life on the *sertão*. Although written in 1902, it is still timely. R. B. Cunningham-Graham's *A Brazilian Mystic* (New York, 1925) is based upon this more detailed account.

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in response to the needs of colonial life still persist and direct life pretty much in the old familiar channels. Bahia has long been a relatively isolated city; and isolation has intensified personal intimacies and, by so doing, has promoted the growth of peculiarly local customs in response to peculiarly local conditions.

The character of Bahia's population, as might be expected, is also relatively stable. Virtually no immigration has come in from foreign lands in recent years, and little from other parts of Brazil. What population movement there is into the city comes largely from the interior of the state or from contiguous areas like Alagoas and Sergipe. Similarly there is little emigration.

Bahia is thus a "culturally passive" area[9] with a stability and an order reminiscent of Europe in the Middle Ages. In fact, Bahia is, in some respects at least, a medieval town. Every eminence of the city is dominated by a church or a cathedral. Until very recently there were no modern office buildings or industrial edifices to overshadow or to crowd out these symbols of a sacred order, and such as have in the past few years been erected only accentuate the dominance of the ecclesiastical structures. Over the habits of the female portion of the population in particular,[10] and to a con-

[9] Dr. Robert E. Park has used this phrase to describe an area "in which life continues, on the whole, to revolve in the same unbroken and traditional routine," where "population, natural resources, and the standard of living have achieved some sort of equilibrium and where custom and tradition provide for most of the exigencies of life." In such an area, "changes still take place, to be sure, but take place silently, continuously, and at an almost imperceptible pace" (see Robert E. Park, "Race Relations and Certain Frontiers," in *Race and Culture Contacts*, ed. E. B. Reuter [New York, 1934], p. 57).

[10] The ecclesiastical authorities have rigorously censured women's bathing suits which do not have sleeves to the elbow and knee-length skirts. Rarely is a woman other than a foreign resident or an occasional individ-

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571 178 795 [554] siderable extent over those of the male portion, the church exercises a substantial measure of control. Prestige of the military is high.

596 621 The large family, with its wide ramifications and its patriarchal organization, also bespeaks a preindustrial era. Social cohesion in the community is maintained by the close association of members of these large family groups, together with the intimate ties common to friends of long standing, the degree of whose intimacy is much greater than that ordinarily to be found in the cities of comparable size in industrial societies. One notes in Bahia a warmth of manner uncommon to the United States. Bahians, like most Brazilians, tend to be very affectionate in the family and warmhearted toward their friends. Characteristic of such primary relationships is a high order of courtesy and politeness and an almost limitless consideration for the convenience and comfort of relatives and friends. Religious affiliation and guild association weave further strands of solidarity, binding the urban community together as if it were merely an overgrown village.

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578 [477] [433] [466] In this stable society there is a comparative absence of most forms of conflict. In commerce and finance competition is comparatively slight and limited in considerable measure to foreigners. The economy is almost entirely extractive and industry is minimal. The few differences which arise between labor and capital often take the form of a

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ual educated in Rio, to be seen on the beaches. Snug-fitting street dresses or those made of sheer or transparent material, and skirts which do not fall at least several inches below the knee, are subject to general criticism. At the exit of the principal churches and cathedrals is posted an official proclamation of the archbishop of Bahia specifying permissible dress. Failure to observe these regulations automatically bars the offender from the sacraments of the church.

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pendent, lived apart from their masters, and arranged their own employment. They were usually required to pay a stated sum weekly to their owners, after which they might retain for their own use any balance remaining. In Bahia they are reported to have been principally Yorubas, Gêges, and Haussás.

These Negroes were reputedly strong, capable workers. Almost all the Haussás were ardent Mohammedans, who in Bahia seem to have converted to their faith many Yorubas, Gêges, and other Africans. Shrewd and intelligent, they were at times superior in cultural equipment to their masters. Many were literate, and some are said to have written Arabic fluently. Often they banded together to mature schemes of revolt, to buy the freedom of a favorite friend, or to work under a leader for the liberation of all. The order in which they secured their freedom was ordinarily determined by lot, the earliest liberated remaining with the group until the last was purchased, after which they sometimes returned to Africa, paying their passage with what they had earned.[32]

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It was principally the Haussás who led the numerous slave revolts[33] at Bahia during the early nineteenth century. Although these uprisings were all unsuccessful and ordi-

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[32] Daniel P. Kidder and James C. Fletcher, *Brazil and the Brazilians* (Philadelphia, 1857), p. 135. Between 1850 and 1878 from four to six thousand free Negroes from Brazil settled at Lagos and Whydah and a few in Angola (Sir Harry H. Johnston, *The Negro in the New World* [New York, 1910], p. 98 n.). Repatriated Gêges are said to have founded on the African West Coast a city with the name of a Bahian port, Porto Seguro.

[33] In the Archivo Publico at Bahia are four volumes of police documents covering the revolts of this period. Each volume contains from a thousand to twelve hundred sheets in long hand which, for their age, are fairly well preserved.

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patrols which later, aided by foot soldiers and cavalry and favored by considerable confusion among the widely separated bands of blacks as to the actual hour of attack, scattered and broke up the Negro mobs, but only after a serious struggle.[48] The leaders of the revolt were tried,[49] given two hundred, five hundred, even one thousand lashes, or shot by a firing squad, or deported to Africa. Further importation of the *batá*, or African war drum, was forbidden.

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The number and persistence of these slave insurrections may suggest that slavery in Brazil was unusually severe. The reverse seems to be the fact. Insurrectionists were unassimilated free Negroes and semi-independent slaves, morally isolated from the Europeans. Although the hardships incidental to a plantation system obviously existed, and atrocities occurred here as elsewhere, the slavery involved, as we shall see in detail in chapter iii, was ordinarily a mild form of servitude. In general, slavery in Brazil was characterized by the gradual and continuous growth of intimate, personal relations between master and slave which tended to humanize the institution and undermine its formal character.

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[48] A letter from Bahia published in the *Jornal do Commercio* of Rio on February 10, 1835, and dated January 31, reads: "Business and commerce is completely at a standstill by reason of a Negro uprising which last Sunday suddenly upset public tranquillity in this city. The revolt, which had been planned for a long time, was very serious, but the armed forces managed to put it down."

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[49] The police records deposited in the Archivo Publico at Bahia list 234 Negroes who, subsequent to the uprising, were brought to trial by the authorities. Among these, 165 are listed as Nagôs, 21 as Haussás, 6 as Gêges, and 6 as Tapas. Documents found in their possession, facsimiles of which may be seen in the above depository, were written in Arabic characters. See also the novel by Pedro Calmon, *Os Malês, a insurreição das senzalas* (Rio, 1933).

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equaled in size or in importance the famed Palmares of Alagoas.[42]

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It is a mistake, however, to conclude that humane and intimate relations between master and slave were by any means rare. In fact, they were in all likelihood, as we shall see in detail later, the general rule. The literature records numerous instances like that witnessed by John Codman in 1866, of which he says:

> We drove up to the door of our Brazilian passengers. They were most boisterously welcomed by a troop of blacks. The pleasantest thing I had seen for some hours was the affection of these poor Negroes. Bright shone their eyes, and what a display was there of ivory! They fairly seized their mistress . . . . in their arms, and "toted" her off into the house, hugging and kissing her, screaming and dancing as they went.[43]

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[42] The famous "Negroes of the Palmares" (or "Palm Forests") were slaves who had escaped from Pernambuco before and particularly during the struggles of the Portuguese with the Dutch. Constantly acquiring recruits, they set up a series of crudely fortified villages scattered over some sixty leagues (about two hundred and forty miles). From these they harried the neighboring regions, taking from outlying *fazendas* both mates and slaves, among the former of which white women were occasionally to be found. They became so strong and so difficult to dislodge, that numerous expeditions sent out by the Dutch and later by the Portuguese served only to check for a time their growth—were unable for seventy years to destroy them completely. Only in 1697 were they finally subdued by an army from Recife led by a Paulista famed for success in such fighting and especially imported for this service, and then only after he had at first encountered serious reversals at their hands and their resistance had subsequently been broken by a failure of the food supply (Southey, *op. cit.*, III, 23-29). This Negro group had at times carried on trade with the whites, exchanging agricultural products for articles of manufacture. That they were seriously treated as an alien but respected group is attested by an exchange of peace commissioners during the governorship of Ayres Souza e Castro and the subsequent signing of a treaty of peace. (Incidentally, this treaty was never kept by the whites.) For a critical examination of the exaggerated reports of this erroneously labeled "Negro Republic" see Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-43.

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[43] John Codman, *Ten Months in Brazil* (Boston, 1867), p. 125.

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giance from numerous and zealous devotees. African dances still invaded the popular festivals of the Europeans to such an extent that vigorous protests on the part of the white citizenry appeared in the newspapers.[16] Numerous images employed in the fetish worship were imported from Africa, and others were made by Negro sculptors in Bahia.

One occasionally encountered Negroes who in Africa had been chiefs or other dignitaries of considerable power and influence. Although in Brazil they shared the fortunes of a slave with their former subjects, they nevertheless often received allegiance and great reverence from them. On a chance meeting in the street these personages were, we are told, "saluted respectfully, their hands kissed, and a blessing requested of them." Even their masters were reported to have paid them, in several cases, considerable respect.

Slaves who were in close contact with their masters, especially the house servants, soon became, by the very necessities of the situation, at least to some extent bilingual. And their offspring, reared in close contact with the children of their masters, acquired little, if any, African vocabulary and came almost exclusively to speak Portuguese. Thus, about 1800, Koster wrote from Pernambuco, "Portuguese

[16] In the *Jornal de Noticias* for February 12, 1901, a white citizen wrote: "I wish to protest against the way in which this great civilized festival [Carnival] is being Africanized." Three days later the following was published: "These infamous Africanized groups *de canzás* and *busios* which, far from adding to the brilliance of our Carnival festival, bring shame upon the name of Bahia . . . . have since yesterday been keeping up their infernal tumult." Immediately preceding the opening of Carnival the following year there appeared in the *Jornal de Noticias* (February 5, 1902) the following note: "If during these former Carnival festivals when the popular enthusiasm has been greatly aroused by the passage of the victorious floats . . . . these groups of *Africanos* have been repugnant, what will the Carnival of 1902 turn out to be, unless the police take effective measures to prevent our streets from looking like *terreiros* where fetish practices reign amid a retinue of *ogans* and their *canzás* and tambourines?" (Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 236–38).

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. . . . is spoken by all the slaves; and their own dialects are allowed to lie dormant until they are by many . . . . quite forgotten."[17] With the acquisition of the master's language went quite naturally other European habits and customs, and the group of assimilated Negroes, known as *ladinos*, grew in numbers relatively rapidly.

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Although the hardships incidental to a plantation system continued, the circumstances under which this gradual assimilation went on were ordinarily those imposed by a mild form of slavery in which the natural and continuous growth of intimate personal relations tended to further humanize the institution and to modify its formal and legal character to such an extent that the widely traveled Richard Burton, enamored as he was of the customs of the East, could in the middle of the nineteenth century say, "Nowhere, even in oriental countries, has the 'bitter draught' so little of gall in it."[18]

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Symbolic of the intimate character of these personal relations is a custom recorded in detail and with some sense of the humor of the situation by the able French artist Debret.[19] The head of a Brazilian household is depicted setting out with his family, all in gala attire, for a customary Sunday promenade. The entire group is in single file, the two

[17] *Op. cit.*, p. 200.

[18] Sir Richard F. Burton, *Explorations of the Highlands of the Brazil* (2 vols.; London, 1869), I, 270.

[19] Invited to Brazil at the request of the Brazilian emperor, Debret subsequently published three volumes of drawings and comment which together furnish a highly illuminating record of the life of Rio de Janeiro in the early part of the nineteenth century (see J. B. Debret, *Voyage pittoresque et historique au Brésil, 1816–1831* [3 vols.; Paris, 1835]). A similar record was made by another competent artist, Maurice Rugendas. See his *Voyage pittoresque dans le Brésil*, trans. from the German by de Colbery (3 vols.; Paris, 1835).

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daughters immediately behind the father, then the mother, followed by her mulatto *femme de chambre*, next the family *ama*, or Negro nurse, and the latter's female assistant, then the father's Negro body servant, and last a young slave in training for domestic service.[30] On such occasions it was a matter of considerable pride to dress the slaves as well as the family's station would permit. As late as 1852 a visitor to Rio recorded:

> Though less generally the custom than formerly, it is still the habit of some of the *bourgeoisie* . . . . at least on Sundays and great holidays, to promenade to and from church, by whole families, parents and children, from adults to infants, with a retinue of servants in their best dresses . . . . bringing up the rear, and, whether male or female, ... usually as elaborately, if not as expensively, dressed as the rest of the family; and often, in the case of the women, with an equal display of laces, muslins, and showy jewelry.[31]

In the cities domestic slaves ordinarily lived in the same houses as their masters, occupying the lower floor; or, where the buildings were only of one story, "a sort of cellar" underneath.[32] Since the mistress of the household and her daughters lived a very secluded life in the interior of the home,[33] they were in almost constant contact with domestic slaves and the slave's children. Debret has sketched[34] one such intimate scene in which two Negro women are at work,

[30] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Pl. 5 ("Un Employé du gouvernement sortant de chez lui avec sa famille").

[31] C. S. Stewart, *Brazil and La Plata* (New York, 1856), p. 295.

[32] Maria Graham, *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil, 1821–1823* (London, 1824), p. 145.

[33] Until recent years, women from the upper classes in Bahia were rarely seen on the public thoroughfares and then only in the company of a male escort.

[34] Debret, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Pl. 6 ("Une dame brésilienne dans son intérieur") and p. 33.

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seated on the floor at the feet of their mistress and her daughter, while two little Negro babies play near by.[25] Koster wrote of an estate near Recife that the "Great House" was full of young Negro children. "They were quite naked, and played with each other, and with some large dogs which were lying at full length upon the floor. These ebon cupids were plainly great favorites, and seemed to employ the greater part of the thoughts of the good ladies, the youngest of whom was on the other side of fifty; and even the priest laughed at their gambols."[26] Visiting in the interior of Rio de Janeiro province in 1823, Maria Graham noted that "the female in-door slaves . . . . have been mostly . . . . brought up in their mistress' house." She saw "children of all ages and colors running about, who seemed to be as tenderly treated as if they had been of the family," and commented that, under these conditions, slavery was "more like that of the patriarchal times, where the purchased servant became to all intents one of the family."[27] "How many times," writes Lacerda, "have we not seen masters who did not hesitate to bring their little mulatto slaves to the family table?"[28] Relations within these households became so intimate that, as sometimes also occurred in our South, white women took to their breasts colored babies whose mothers had died in childbirth.[29]

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In the home, on the plantation, along the roads of the

[25] Debret writes (*ibid.*, p. 39): "A Rio de Janeiro et dans toutes les autres villes du Brésil, il est d'usage, pendant le tête-à-tête d'un *diner marital*, que le mari s'occupe silencieusement de ses affaires, et que la *femme* s'amuse de ses *petits* négrillons, qui remplacent la famille presque éteinte des petits chiens carlins en Europe."

[26] *Op. cit.*, pp. 258–59.

[27] *Op. cit.*, pp. 279–80.

[28] Jean Baptiste de Lacerda, "The *Metis*, or Half-breeds, of Brazil," *Papers on Inter-racial Problems*, ed. G. Spiller (London, 1911), p. 379.

[29] Gilberto Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* (2d ed.; Rio, 1936), p. 327.

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rural areas, or in the streets of the cities, on the hunt, at parties, or at church, black and white were constantly to be seen in each other's company. And since human beings, wherever they come into close and uninterrupted contact upon an intimate personal basis, sooner or later tend to lay personal claims upon one another, it is not surprising to find that ties of enduring sentiment arose, which tended gradually to break down the formal barriers between the races and to modify the nature of slavery.

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It is, of course, probably true that the Mohammedan conception of the slave exercised considerable influence over the original form of African slavery in Portugal itself. The Arabian prophet, it is said, while unable to do away with an ancient institution, "did his utmost to soften the rigors of slavery." After conceding to his importuning followers that "God hath ordained" the slave institution, Mohammed added: "Therefore, him whom God hath ordained to be the slave of his brother, his brother must give him of the food which he eateth himself, and of the clothes wherewith he clotheth himself, and not order him to do anything beyond his power. . . . . A man who ill-treats his slave will not enter into Paradise." Thus

> there is no more commendable action in Mohammedan morals than to free slaves, and such enfranchisement is enjoined by the Prophet especially as an atonement for an undeserved blow or other injustice. In Andalusia, the slaves upon the estates that had passed . . . . into the possession of Moslems were almost in the position of small farmers; their Mohammedan masters, whose trade was war, and who despised heartily such menial occupations as tilling the soil, left them free to cultivate the land as they pleased, and only insisted on a fair return of products.[39]

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[39] Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Story of the Moors in Spain* (New York and London, 1886), p. 48. Cf. also: "The Mohammedan slave was rarely

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Mild though its original form may have been, slavery in Brazil was not, as we have already seen, without at least occasional evidences of brutality. The fact is that slavery in Brazil was *both* mild *and* severe. But as an institution continuing over centuries it became more and more mild. Cases of brutality ordinarily occurred under conditions of absentee ownership or in fear of slave insurrection, or arose in dealing with recalcitrant and unsubjected individuals, many of them at the hands of mixed-blood or Negro overseers who in this way unconsciously compensated for otherwise limited social effectiveness.[11] Moreover, the relatively few cases which did occur were so ably used by such prominent political and intellectual leaders as Ruy Barbosa and Joaquim Nabuco that they have probably left behind in the Brazilian mind of today an exaggerated notion of the cruelties of slavery. The important point to note is that, under circumstances of intimate, personal contact, the institution of slavery, with its occasional cases of harsh treatment, gradually lost its character as a political, and assumed that of a patriarchal and familial, institution.

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Obviously, there is inherent in slavery an economic consideration which has little regard for the interests of the slave himself. But wherever human beings live together in close proximity for any period of time there also tend to grow up *personal relations* which humanize whatever formal institutions have been set up. The opportunities in Brazil

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abused. . . . . His acceptance of the faith of Islam rendered his manumission easy. No stigma attached to his (subsequent) condition" (S. P. Scott, *History of the Moorish Empire in Europe* [Philadelphia, 1904], p. 660.

[11] Koster, reflecting over the fact that mulattoes, especially those who had formerly been slaves, "make bad masters," concluded that "the change of situation would lead to the same consequences in any race of human beings" (*op. cit.*, II, 177–78).

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The opportunities in Brazil for these relations to develop, particularly in the case of domestic servants, were extensive. Cooper states a fact long characteristic of the upper classes in Brazil when he says: "As in the East, the houses are . . . . filled with . . . . servants, and these servants partake of the character of their Eastern prototypes in their . . . . willingness to perform the many small and menial acts of personal service which the Brazilian requires, but which would hardly be expected of servants in the United States."[32]

Symbolic of the intimate nature of these relations was the common form of etiquette which grew up and became customary between Brazilian master and slave. It is said to have been a practice observed in all well-regulated families that slaves, "of both sexes and of every age," requested each morning and evening a blessing from their master. According to Stewart, the words used in the middle of the nineteenth century were, "I beseech your blessing [or "Grant me a blessing"], in the name of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ!" To which the master replied, "Jesus Christ bless you forever!"[33] As João Ribeiro has aptly said, "Agrupavam-se em famílias, senão no sentido da lei, ao menos da religião."[34]

Debret, who spent several months at Rio in the early part of the same century, says[35] that it was there customary for

[32] Clayton S. Cooper, *The Brazilians and Their Country* (New York, 1917), pp. 61-62. Cf. also Gilberto Freyre, "Social Life in Brazil in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, V, No. 4 (November, 1922), 607.

[33] *Op. cit.*, p. 408.

[34] "They were united into families, if not by law, at least by religion."

[35] *Op. cit.*, III, 130. Cf. also the account of Maria Graham regarding a *fazenda* in the province of Rio de Janeiro: "I attended the weekly muster of all the Negroes of the *fazenda;* clean shirts and trousers were given to the

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slaves, on repeating the evening Ave Maria, to present themselves before the master with a "Boa noite, meu senhor,"[36] in reply to which, as a sign of approbation, the master made a simple movement of the head. It was also customary for a Negro who by chance met a white acquaintance on a public thoroughfare to bow his head, extend his right hand, half-opened, and to request a blessing, to which the white replied, "Deus te faça santo,"[37] or simply "Viva!"

These forms of etiquette, together with their religious implications, although they became in time highly conventionalized and occasionally were reduced to "the shortest possible abbreviation" and repeated with "all manner of intonations of voice and every mood of humor,"[38] still symbolized the recognition on the part of the master of a common human bond with his slaves. "I can call to mind," writes Codman, "many touching incidents of the kind feelings of masters and servants towards each other."[39]

Relationships of this character were undoubtedly advantageous to the Negro, not only during his period of subjection as a slave but also after his enfranchisement. Koster says of Brazilian neighbors in Pernambuco who possessed a considerable number of slaves:

> These excellent women and the good priest [intend] eventually to emancipate all of them; and that they may be prepared for the change, several of the men have been brought up as mechanics of different

men, and shifts and shirts to the women, of very coarse white cotton. Each, as he or she came in, kissed a hand, and then bowed to Mr. P. saying either, 'Father, give me blessing,' or 'The names of Jesus and Mary be praised!' and were answered accordingly, either 'Bless you,' or 'Be they praised!' This is the custom in old establishments: it is repeated morning and evening, and seems to acknowledge a kind of relationship between master and slave" (*op. cit.*, p. 196).

[36] "Good night, my master."

[37] "God make thee a saint."

[38] Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 408.

[39] John Codman, *Ten Months in Brazil* (Boston, 1867), p. 201.

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descriptions; and the women have been taught needle-work, embroidery, and all branches of culinary knowledge.[40]

In 1822 an observer in Rio noted:

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When the Emperor had received the public bodies, he came and led the Empress into the great receiving room, and there, both of them standing on the upper step of the throne, had their hands kissed by naval, military and civil officers, and private citizens. . . . . It was curious, but it pleased me, to see some Negro officers take the small white hand of the Empress in their clumsy black hands, and apply their pouting African lips to so delicate a skin; but they looked up to *Nosso Imperador* (Our Emperor), and to her, with a reverence that seemed to me a promise of faith *from* them, a bond of kindness *to* them.[41]

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"There is evidently," commented another visitor, "a sincere wish to make the liberated slave a useful citizen, if possible."[42]

Custom came gradually to grant the slave, as Burton has pointed out, many of the rights of a freeman:

He may educate himself, and he is urged to do so. He is regularly catechised, and in all large plantations there is a daily religious service. If assailed in life or limb he may defend himself against his master, or any white man, and an over-harsh proprietor or overseer always runs considerable risk of not dying in bed. He is legally married, and the chastity of his wife is defended against his owner. He has little fear of being separated from his family: the humane instincts and the religious tenets of the people are strongly opposed to this act of barbarity. He has every chance of becoming a free man: manumission is held to be a Catholic duty and priestly communities are ashamed of holding slaves. . . . .[43]

[40] *Op. cit.*, I, 258: "The owners said that all their own immediate relations were rich; . . . . and that therefore these their children had no right to work for any one else."

[41] Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 319. [42] Codman, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

[43] *Op. cit.*, pp. 271–72. Some cases undoubtedly occurred in which the master refused to manumit a slave upon his presenting the cost price, but these were probably rare. Koster (*op. cit.*, I, 192–94) says that, although

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The "wide spread of gentle manners in Brazil,"[71] which impressed some commentators as contributing to the favored treatment of Brazilian slaves, was an integral part of a social order in which the large family was the principal unit of cohesion. Under such conditions the network of personal relations arising out of the intimate contact of master and slave not only tempered but, over a period of time, tended to destroy the formal barriers between them. "The Negro is everywhere among the Brazilians," wrote Codman, "and they understand him thoroughly."[72]

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It was usually among the newly arrived Africans, the field hands, or those blacks like the semi-independent *negros de ganho*, all of whom were not in intimate contact with the whites, that escapes and insurrections occurred. Some of these Negroes at times affected scorn and contempt of whites.[73] But those who were in close contact with the Europeans over a period of time developed sentiments of "belonging together," of loyalty and affection. Under such cir-

[71] "One afternoon I sat in a street car of the Copacabana line running to and from the heart of Rio de Janeiro city. As we approached the Avenida and paused at a sharp turn at the regulator's signal, a small boy poorly clad in cotton clothes got onto the front platform with a dinner pail in his hand. He set it down, removed his cap, bent his knee as the motorman, with a swift smile at the child, extended his right hand. The boy respectfully kissed it, replaced his cap, and jumped down. The little incident was typical of the wide spread of gentle manners in Brazil; it is here usual enough to see elderly bankers kiss the hands of their parents, but courtesy is not confined to the upper classes. . . . Brazilian men meeting each other in the street a dozen times a day, lift their hats every time to each other" (L. E. Elliott, *Brazil, Today and Tomorrow* [New York, 1917], p. 76).

[72] *Op. cit.*, p. 202.

[73] Bennett (*op. cit.*, p. 9) mentions the following incident from Pernambuco: "One evening when we were walking along the Rua Nova, a black woman who was passing us suddenly drew aside with a lofty air, exclaiming: 'O meu Deus, os brancos perto de mim!' (Oh, my God, whites near me!)"

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cumstances they gradually lost their African customs and traditions and took over more and more European ideas, attitudes, and points of view.

This loyalty and devotion, as well as even deeds of heroism, on the part of Negro slaves quite naturally evoked corresponding sentiments of appreciation and affection in masters and their children. Mrs. Louis Agassiz, visiting, together with her husband, the Academy of Fine Arts in Rio in 1865, noted with particular interest the portrait of a Negro

> who, in a shipwreck off the coast, had saved a number of lives at the risk of his own. When he had brought several passengers to the shore, he was told that two children still remained in the ship. He swam back once more and brought them safely to the beach, but then sank down exhausted, and was seized with a hemorrhage. A considerable sum was raised for him in the city of Rio, and his picture was placed in the Academy to commemorate his heroism.[74]

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There hangs today in the Pinacotheca at Bahia a famous painting of the *mãe preta*, or "black mother." "We children," recently remarked a prominent Bahian banker, "respected our *mãe preta* as much as, or perhaps even more than, we did our own parents. I'm sure we feared her more and obeyed her more readily."

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Henrique Dias, a Pernambucan slave, materially and somewhat spectacularly aided the Portuguese when they were engaged, during the seventeenth century, in driving the Dutch out of Pernambuco. Captured, he was shortly released, the Dutch thinking that "because he was a Negro slave he wasn't worth the cost of feeding." He returned to fight effectively for the Portuguese and was once wounded in battle. Following the expulsion of the Dutch, he was given many honors, commissioned in the local militia, and put in

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[74] Professor and Mrs. Louis Agassiz, *A Journey in Brasil* (Boston and New York, 1888), p. 478.

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At the same time, *meu negro* ("my Negro"), with its variation *meu nego*[16] and diminutive *meu negrinho*, all spoken in soft tones, are terms of endearment used even by whites in speaking to other whites, especially in cases of great intimacy as, for instance, between lovers. Their use constitutes, as a Bahian put it, "um modo de tratar bem" ("a way of being nice"). Occasionally one hears these expressions on the lips of a beggar asking alms of a white and, if he appears well to do, of a mulatto as well. Clerks sometimes employ them in addressing a customer. They appear to call up tender memories of intimate, personal relations like those existent, for example, between Mammy and Scarlett O'Hara in Margaret Mitchell's *Gone with the Wind*.

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The term *branco da Bahia* ("Bahian white") is also heard, although it is ordinarily employed *outside* Bahia. It has reference to the local custom of including many light mixed-bloods in the *branco* category. The phrase *branco por procuração* ("white by proxy") is occasionally used in Bahia but never when speaking to such an individual directly or in his presence. Light mixed-bloods are sometimes referred to as *bem areiadas* ("well sandpapered"); very dark young Negro boys as *pregos* ("nails"); very dark blacks as *pretos retintos* (literally "black blacks," or "black as coal"), and *reclames do pixe* (literally "shouts of tar," i.e., "black as pitch"). The phrase *ele tem genipapo* refers to the possession of *manchas*, as previously noted. Of a person who shows slight traces of Negro ancestry, it is said, "Ele tem dedo na cozinha" ("He has a finger in the kitchen"). Additional descriptive words or phrases include: *de côr escura* ("of dark color"), *de côr*

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[16] The feminine forms are *minha negra*, *minha nega*, and *minha negrinha*. [193]

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of Raul's intelligence and his ability to apply himself multiplied the interest which his father took in him, and he supplied all his needs. When his father left the Reconcavo to come to Bahia, he brought Raul with him, and here, under his tutelage, Raul went to primary school where he had as white playmates his father's nephews and others. And later, when his father went to Rio, he took Raul with him. The boy never left his father's company as long as his father lived.[11]

Raul was a very dark mixed-blood with kinky hair. He came to be a prominent citizen and was noted not only for his fine figure, distinguished bearing, poise, and personal charm but also for his intelligence and professional competence. At one time he was a much-loved confidant of a recent president of Brazil.

Significant also, so far as the rise of the mulatto is concerned, is the fact that early in the nineteenth century the return of young professional men who had been trained in Europe—in Coimbra, Montpelier, Paris, and other centers—enhanced the prestige of the rising professional classes. These young lawyers and physicians, among whom were a number of quite capable mulattoes, were returning to Brazil after an education abroad, ordinarily more traveled, better informed, and more urbane than their brothers or half-brothers on the plantations, in the army, or among the clergy. They were especially attractive, we are told, to the upper-class ladies of the time. The importation of fashionable articles from the Continent—Parisian haberdashery, perfumes, hair-dressings, and English shoes—with the use of all of which these returning young men were quite familiar, enhanced their standing among the élite. The increasing

[11] From a letter to the author from a man reared in the same community as the individual in question and long acquainted with him. For information on the later life of this mixed-blood see Appen. A.

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The increasing prestige of youth, accelerated by the popular rule of young King Dom Pedro II, together with the increasing dominance of the cities in which the young graduates located, also contributed to their rise in social esteem.

The disruption of the old order based upon slavery, owing to the loss of the sugar monopoly, the increasing dependence of rural *senhores* on their urban agents and commission merchants, and the progress of the abolition campaign, eventually leading as it did to widespread desertion of slaves from the *engenhos*, also facilitated the rise of the professional classes. There was under way a gradual transfer of prestige from the rural aristocracy,[22] which had been almost exclusively European, to the urban intelligentsia, which increasingly included mulattoes, particularly of the lighter shades; for example, Gonçalves Dias, Natividade Saldanha, José do Patrocinio, Machado de Assis, Barão de Cotegipe, Olavo Bilac, Domingos Caldas Barbosa, Salles Torres Homem, Nilo Peçanha, Domicio da Gama, Dom Silvero Gomes Pimenta, Dom Luiz Raymundo da Silva Brito, Tobias Barretto, Antonio Vieira, José Mauricio, Auta de Souza, Francisco Gé Acabaya de Montezuma, the Rebouças brothers, and "hundreds of other Brazilians," as João Dornas Filho says, "whose great mental capacity has brought resounding fame to Brazil."[23]

Dom Pedro II elevated to the nobility a prominent mixed-blood who was subsequently known familiarly as "Barão do Chocolate."[24] The Count do Gobineau speaks of meeting

[22] For a sketch of the *rise* of the Brazilian aristocracy see Alan K. Manchester, "The Rise of the Brazilian Aristocracy," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XI, No. 2 (May, 1931), 145-68.

[23] *A escravidão no Brasil* (Rio, 1939), p. 228.

[24] Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 190.

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The Count do Grobineau speaks of meeting three mulatto ladies-in-waiting to the Brazilian empress, one "marron," one "chocolat eclair," one "violette."[25] Montezuma became a viscount and sat in the national senate, as did also Salles Torres Homem. The best elements of the aristocracy attended the receptions for the noted engineer, Andre Rebouças.[26] His brother Antonio, a federal deputy, on requesting a representative on the crown council for the *população mulata* was heard attentively by the *camara*.[27] Domicio da Gama and the Barão de Cotegipe were long prominent in political and diplomatic circles. Dom Silvero Gomes Pimenta became an archbishop. No musician is said to have been more distinguished at court than the mixed-blood, José Mauricio. Domingos Caldas Barbosa, the son of a Negro woman from Angola, acquired considerable fame in the salons of Rio de Janiero and of Lisbon as a singer of popular songs. The eighteenth-century sculpture of Antonio Francisco Lisboa, better known as Aleijadinho, which may still be seen today in the old churches of Ouro Preto, Sabará, São João d'El Rei, and other cities of Minas Geraes, attracted much favorable comment. José Basilio da Gama, whose *Uruguay* is said to be the best epic poem of the colonial period, the writer, Machado de Assis, and the lyric poet, Antonio Gonçalves Dias, were universally accorded high rank in Brazilian letters. Tobias Barretto was honored as a poet but even more as a jurist and annotator of German philosophical works which he had translated. José de Natividade Saldanha, an able poet, was one of the leaders of the revolt in Recife in 1824.

[25] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 354.

[26] Visconde de Taunay, *Homens e cousas do imperio* (São Paulo, 1924), p. 145, noted by Calmon, *op. cit.*, II, 112.

[27] Antonio Pereira Rebouças, *Recordações da vida parlamentar* (2 vols.; Rio, 1870), I, 524, noted by Calmon, *op. cit.*, II, 113.

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José do Patrocinio became an able editor and wielded a powerful influence in the abolition movement. Joaquim Manoel was a violinist of considerable talent. A number of Francisco Braga's musical compositions achieved acclaim, and he was later invited to teach composition in the National Institute of Music. The Bahian mulatto, Francisco Chagas, better known as "Cabra," carved images with such skill that at least five of them ("Nossa Senhora do Carmo," "São Benedito," "São João e Magdalena," "Nossa Senhora dos Dores," and "Senhor da Redempção") may still be seen in the Igreja do Carmo. Valentim da Fonseca e Silva, popularly known as "Master Valentim," achieved fame as a skilled worker in gold and silver. The mulatto, Jesus, was a notable figure in an influential school of painting which flourished in Bahia in the eighteenth century. Crispim do Amaral, better known by his pseudonym "Falstaff," and Pedro Americo were accepted as among the most competent Brazilian painters of the nineteenth century. Antonio Gonçalves Teixeira e Sousa, Laurindo Rabello, and Gonçalves Crespo, all won acclaim in the Brazilian world of letters, and at least the latter of these three in the Portuguese world of letters as well. The psychiatrist, Juliano Moreira, became director-general of the hospital for the insane in Rio de Janeiro and was elected an honorary professor of the Faculty of Medicine in Bahia. The name of the Hospital João de Deus in Bahia was, in 1936, changed in honor of him to the Hospital Juliano Moreira. Theodoro Sampaio became widely known and respected throughout Brazil as an able engineer, intellectual figure, and linguistic scholar. José Ferreira de Menezes, Monteiro Lopes, Cardoso Vieira, Eliseu Cesar, Evaristo Ferreira da Veiga, and (in more recent times) the Bahian brothers, João and Octavio Manga-

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beira, have all been influential politicians with national reputations. Luiz Gama, mulatto journalist and lawyer, born a slave in Bahia, became exceedingly popular not only in São Paulo, where he came to reside, but throughout Brazil. At least one president of the Republic, Nilo Pecanha, had African ancestors.[28]

It is said the royal family set the example of social acceptance of the darker Brazilians and gently rebuked those whites inclined to be hesitant in the matter. Dom João VI, in his audiences at São Cristovão, cordially received men of all stations, and the two Pedros (Dom Pedro I and Dom Pedro II) continued the tradition. Once, at a court ball, Princess Isabel, noting that a lady had declined to dance with André Rebouças, herself offered to dance the subsequent waltz with him, "to compensate for the affront to this illustrious man."[29]

The range of acceptance was at that time broadening. Formerly only the exceptionally able mixed-bloods, or those most similar to the Europeans in color, had been incorporated into the upper circles. But "the prestige of the title 'doutor' began to overcome much of the prejudice which had been so active and apparently so invincible during three previous centuries."[30] Similarly, an army uniform, "especially

[28] For information in some detail on prominent Brazilian mixed-bloods see Arthur Ramos, *The Negro in Brazil* (Washington, 1939), *passim*.

[29] Calmon, *op. cit.*, II, 114. Affonso de E. Taunay (in a letter to the author) reports the incident thus: "At a court ball the Princess Isabel, Countess of Eu and heir to the throne of Brazil, insisted on dancing with André Rebouças, a mulatto who was almost black (albeit a man of great mental and moral worth), in order to censure the attitude of certain ladies of the court who had objected to him as a dancing partner."

[30] Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro*, p. 145.

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the present social order at Bahia results, as it probably does in a free class society anywhere, from the tendency of the more advantaged and the more able to rise to, or to maintain themselves at, the top. Since the Africans began in Brazil at the bottom, the present distribution of color through the class scale obviously indicates the extent to which the Negroes (either pure or diluted) have been able to survive and to rise in competition with the Europeans and their descendants, who in the main began at the top. The present distribution is therefore that probably to be expected, even in a freely competitive society, given the original slave status of the Negro, his relatively disadvantaged position upon receiving freedom, the consequently limited opportunities for economic advancement, and the comparatively brief time he has enjoyed a freely competitive status.

One might also note that racial distribution in the occupations and with reference to economic status is not greatly dissimilar at Bahia to that in the United States. In other words, the Negro, either pure or mixed with the white, has slowly but steadily advanced both in Brazil and in this country, until today he is represented there and here in all the professions and in many, if not most, of the occupations. Even the relative numbers in the different levels of the occupational and economic scales are somewhat similar in the two cases.

The differences, however, are profound. Whereas in the United States the rise of the Negro and of the mixed-blood has been principally within the limits of the Negro world, in Brazil the rise has been with reference to the total community; that is, the Negro in Bahia not only competes freely with all others of his own color but can and does compete with all aspirants to the same class; and, if he has ability and

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gives evidence of definite personal worth, he will be accepted for what he is as an individual, and his racial antecedents will, at least to a considerable degree, be overlooked.

The extent of participation of the different ethnic units in the total life of the community may be indicated by analyzing racial participation in such institutions as exclusive clubs, schools, labor unions, and churches.

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One of Bahia's most exclusive clubs, membership in which is definitely indicative of advanced social status, is composed of Bahian "society," including most of the leading officials and many of the more prominent citizens. Numerous receptions for visiting celebrities are held at this club, and its dances are considered to be among the principal social functions of the year. No blacks have yet been admitted, although several mixed-bloods, including a number of *brancos da Bahia* and even a few dark mulattoes, are regular and honored members. Whites, of course, predominate.

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Among the members is a dark mixed-blood, with Caucasian hair and features, a prominent citizen, an able eye, ear, nose, and throat specialist trained in Europe, and husband of a white wife. Of him a Bahian of undiluted European descent once commented, "You know when I went to see him about my eyes the other day, I never once thought of him as colored. I needed professional advice and I simply recalled that he, like his father before him, was the best eye specialist in Bahia." Another member of this club is a dark mixed-blood, a wealthy exporter, prominent in Bahian commercial circles, and husband of a white wife, upon whose visits into the interior, it is said, all those with whom he has business dealings (including whites) feel deeply honored when he visits them in their homes.

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Not listed among the members is a dark mixed-blood of distinguished bearing, probably Bahia's leading colored citizen, son of a white planter and a black slave, able engineer, once federal senator, president of an important intellectual and social organization, and "authority" on the Tupi language. However, an officer of the club, a white banker from one of the leading families whose aristocratic lineage, general competence, and recent contribution of a governor to the state and a federal senator to the national *camara* unquestionably admits its members to the most exclusive circles, once remarked that "if this distinguished colored citizen should sometime apply for membership, there would be no doubt that a man of his intelligence, refinement, and professional competence would be accepted without serious question."

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In the schools there is no segregation in any form. Students, however, are predominantly white and light mulatto. The participation of blacks is somewhat limited, and there is a progressive elimination of the darker shades as one climbs the educational ladder. Illiteracy is high, especially in the lower class, in which, as we have seen, blacks and dark mulattoes predominate.

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Table 13 indicates more equable participation of the blacks in the elementary schools, especially in those which are state supported, attendance at which is free and hence more accessible to Negro children, concentrated as their parents are in the lower economic levels.

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In a parade of school children celebrating Emancipation Day (the thirteenth of May) twelve elementary schools participated, each group being dressed in its distinctive uniform. For example, the boys of one school wore light gray suits with a blue stripe down the trousers, blue belts, and

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Bahia, tend to implement and to support the Brazilian racial policy. For the Catholic church, by emphasizing ritual, centers attention *outside the individual* upon common objects; while the Protestant churches, by emphasizing belief, center attention *upon the individual*, thus tending to increase self-consciousness and, consequently, awareness of difference which, in so far as the self and its distinguishing characteristics are identified with a group, automatically increases *group*-consciousness.

The Catholic conceptions tend to lay emphasis upon the community, upon the totality of individuals. For it is through his participation in the community that the individual in the Catholic view gains recognition as a person. The Protestant churches, on the other hand, tend to emphasize the individual. It is by reason of his inherent worth that the community in which he participates gains meaning in the Protestant ideology.

The Catholic procedure thus tends to unify the community, while the Protestant procedure tends to divide it into separate groups, each of which emphasizes its points of difference with all the others and tends to be divisive in its attitude toward the others. Obviously, a sect (which is by its very nature a conflict group) can in no other way live. The Catholic procedure lays a premium upon solidarity, while the Protestant lays a premium upon diversity.

Indicative of race relations among the younger generation at Bahia is the behavior of three groups of children who were observed playing together in Campo Grande. Aged approximately four to fifteen years, they were hilariously enjoying themselves. When first noted, there were at the "giant stride" 4 blacks, 5 mulattoes, and 2 whites. At the teeter-totter were 1 black, 9 mulattoes, and 15 whites. At

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in pigmentation. An able lawyer, with an extended period of practice in Bahia, he was well regarded by his associates.

At a formal dinner given by *A Tarde*, probably the most influential Bahian daily, in honor of a noted journalist and poet, 15 whites, 4 *brancos da Bahia*, 3 light mulattoes, and 6 medium or dark mixed-bloods sat down together at the banquet table. Among the guests, according to the account on the subsequent day, were "all the editorial writers and collaborators of this newspaper, together with a few specially invited friends and admirers of the honored guest [a white]."

Among the members attending a session of the Bahian Academy of Letters were 5 whites, 1 *branco da Bahia*, and 3 mulattoes. One of the latter is an able poet, quite dark, with kinky hair.

Present at a tea dance given by Bahia's Girl Guides at the exclusive club previously mentioned were the city's social élite, including the governor. *A Tarde*, in reporting the event, said, "As was to be expected, there was present our best society—all of it, almost—making the occasion one of elegance and distinction." Of the 414 guests, 346 were whites, 64 were very light mulattoes (exhibiting only slight traces of Negro ancestry), and 3 were dark mixed-bloods. One of the latter, with kinky hair but Caucasian features, was accompanied by a light mulatto wife, almost white, and two light mulatto daughters. One of the latter danced once during the afternoon—with a white youth. Of 30 Girl Guides serving the guests, 3 showed slight traces of Negro origin. The only blacks present were the members of the jazz orchestra (composed of 3 blacks and 6 dark mulattoes) and 2 maids who had accompanied white families.

The president of a literary, semiscientific, and social or-

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ganization which numbers about 345[24] of the city's intellectual élite, is a dark mixed-blood, the able engineer and Tupi scholar previously mentioned. The secretary of the organization is white, but during his absence on federal appointment in Rio the assistant secretary, a dark mulatto educator, discharges the secretarial duties. Of the 30 officers and committeemen of this institution, 24 are whites, 2 are *brancos da Bahia*, and 4 are mulattoes. Among the whites are several scions of the old aristocracy.

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At a dinner of the Rotary Club, which numbers among its members some of the city's most prominent businessmen, 42 whites, 5 *brancos da Bahia*, and 1 very light mulatto (a visitor) were present. The guest speaker was white. Of 55 members, 47 are whites, 6 are *brancos da Bahia*, and 2 are very light mulattoes.

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Of 28 citizens assuming prominent roles in a community organization designed to erect a mausoleum to Castro Alves, 15 were whites, 5 were *brancos da Bahia*, 7 were light mulattoes, 2 were dark mulattoes, and 1 was a black, the latter an able engineer and local historian. At a public meeting in honor of Castro Alves, the speaker was a white politician with a national reputation, an able man of letters, and scion of the old aristocracy. Of 200 individuals in the audience, only 18 were colored (15 mulattoes, mostly very light mixed-bloods, and 3 blacks).

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At a recital given by a noted Brazilian pianist, where there were present, according to a newspaper account, "the most select of Bahia's artistic and social circles,"[25] the audience was composed of 116 whites, 14 mulattoes, predominantly light, and 2 blacks.

[24] According to the secretary of the organization.

[25] *Estado da Bahia*, January 22, 1937.

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been persistently characteristic of Brazilian society. Out of the traditional behavior which developed in response to the circumstances and conditions of colonial life emerged an informal racial policy, or racial ideology, which has served as a philosophy underlying and giving consistency to the mores, appearing only when they are challenged from without and individuals seek to rationalize and defend their customary conduct. A Bahian school girl of white parentage put this informal policy into words when she remarked: "Race mixture is an inevitable thing. We Brazilians are becoming one single people."

Thus in Bahia the black and the white do not stand over against each other as irreducible ethnic groups, differing not only in appearance, which is obvious, but also in kind, and fated ever to remain separate and distinct. Such inferiority as at present exists is not thought of as racial and permanent but rather as cultural and temporary, and already well on the way to extinction. Every citizen is considered first of all a Brazilian, and every Brazilian takes pride in all other nationals, irrespective of racial origin. Distinctions are secondary. In this connection one ought perhaps to point out that the widespread web of personal relationships in Bahia tends to make a man or woman not so much a member of a category (e.g., a Negro or a mulatto) as an individual (João or Maria).

Even for individuals beyond the range of intimate personal relationships racial terms are seldom used in Bahia. To call a colored man in his hearing a "Negro" or a "mulatto" is not "good form." These terms are used to a man's face only when one is enraged or otherwise desirous of giving offense. It is, as we have noted, like calling an Italian immigrant a "Wop" or a Mexican a "Greaser." These terms em-

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hian descendants of Europeans, whether or not they are aware of the fact, has been an eminently successful policy.

This change is not difficult to understand. The children and grandchildren of the *Africanos* are in more direct contact with the schools and other instrumentalities of European cultural diffusion. To a considerable extent they are being weaned away from the beliefs and practices of their ancestors. In most cases they have now come to take toward their parents and grandparents the same attitudes which the European community takes toward them. Gradually, the behavior of these children and grandchildren is developing in the *Africanos* themselves an increasingly acute sense of cultural inferiority.

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At the same time *Africanos* resent every evidence of another *Africano* breaking with the traditions of his ancestors and thus tending, even unwittingly, to undermine the solidarity of the group. Especially do they resent someone's currying favor with Europeans. As one man put it, "If I see an *Africano* talking to one of these whites, I won't look at the white man but I'll look the black fellow all over, this way [giving facial expression to indicate contempt, disdain], and after I'm down the street a ways I'll do this [sharply clearing his throat and spitting]." A white man was walking one day in Caminho da Cruz da Redenção in Brotas (a subdivision of Bahia) in company with two *Africanos*, an elderly *feiticeiro* ("witch doctor") and his son. A black suddenly shoved his head out of the window of a hut which they were passing and shouted, "Such Negroes! Worthless trash! Walking around with a white man!"

At first sight, one is likely to assume that these outbursts, reflecting as they obviously do antagonistic attitudes toward

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571 178 the whites, are evidences of race prejudice. The fact, however, that outside the *Africano* group, among the more or less assimilated blacks, these antagonistic attitudes tend to disappear, indicates that what we see reflected here is a cultural, and not necessarily a racial, conflict. Antagonism is [186] directed not at the whites as such but at *Europeans;* it is directed at the bearers of a culture, a body of ideas, attitudes, and sentiments, in conflict with the ideas, attitudes, and sentiments of the *Africanos.*

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night was falling, he, all covered with sores and bruises, began to approach his father's house.

But his father, who saw the traveler coming a long way off, did not recognize him and consequently did not go out to meet him. Xapanã's mother, however, knew her son and in pity at his misfortune, begged and pleaded with her husband to have compassion for him and to receive him like the legitimate son he was.

But the old man turned to her and said:

"This fellow is not my son, because I never had a son who was full of sores."

But, at last, due to the continued pleadings of his wife, the ancient one inquired of the traveler what his name was. Xapanã replied:

"I am called Lazarus."

"Who is Lazarus?" asked the father.

Then Xapanã said: "I am he whom God permitted to use this name."

But the old man persisted in knowing the reason why, if he was Xapanã, he was using the name of Lazarus.

The son turned to his father and replied very quietly:

"I am Xapanã, the lord over pestilence throughout the whole world." And he sang in Queito:

"I say "Guedé,"
I am Obaluaiê,
I call out "Guedé,"
I am Obaluaiê,
Tôtô."

The old man Omolú then replied:

"Ojé badô
Dô lá."

And the young man sang:

"Ojé di apá."

In this way the two came to know each other, and Xapanã "the Elder" recognized Xapanã "the Younger."

A few whites, even from the upper classes, visit the *pae de santo* to obtain advice on business, politics, and other matters or aid in the cure and prevention of disease. Numerous

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565 percentage of each racial stock in each occupational class will indicate the occupational status of the different racial elements. And since the group with superior status will have proportionately larger numbers in the upper brackets, and the groups with inferior status will have larger numbers in the lower brackets, one may describe a racial situation statistically. Thus, on the basis of a sample census recently taken, the relation to the class structure of the respective ethnic elements in the population at Bahia may be described as shown in Table 16.

TABLE 16

•[571] RACIAL DISTRIBUTION IN THE CLASSES AT BAHIA, 1936

Ethnic Groups	Intelligentsia		Marginal		Lower Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Blacks	5	0.4	23	5.1	1,245	75.2
Mixed-bloods	222	15.7	255	56.3	386	23.3
Whites	1,183	83.9	175	38.6	25	1.5
Total	1,410	100.0	453	100.0	1,656	100.0

*463 563 565 One might indicate graphically the vocational distribution of the various ethnic elements at Bahia by a series of pyramids, as illustrated on the facing page.

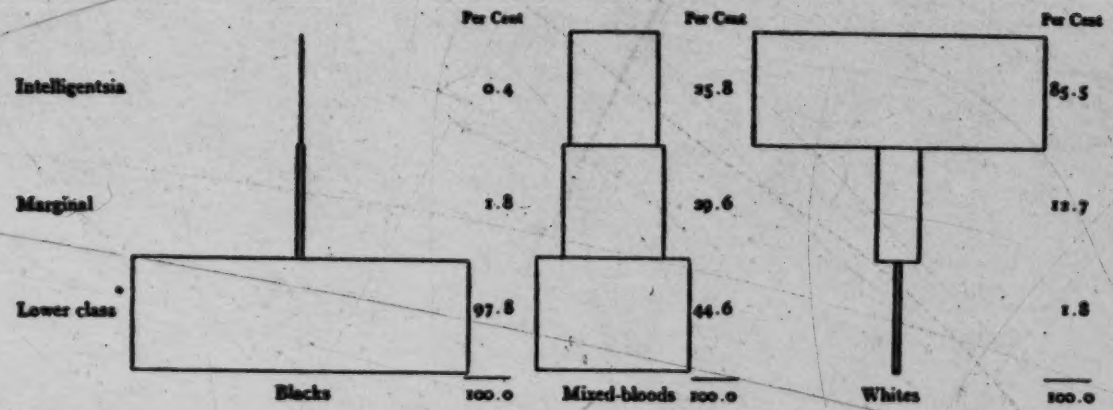
If now one were able to obtain statistics showing the extent of intermarriage between, on the one hand, members of the different racial stocks in the same occupational class and, on the other hand, between the different classes in the same racial stock, these facts should provide an accurate statistical description of what the racial situation actually is. If one finds that, as in the United States, marriages between

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 340]

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOII Bahia Brazilians SOII

[P. 339]

CLASS DISTRIBUTION OF THE RACES, BAHIA, 1936



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4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

East Brazil SN1

EB 563 575 [175] [204]

literary purposes like the Club 15 de Novembro, Club 13 de Maio, Gremio Dramatus e Recreativo Kosmos, and the Gremio União da Mocidade; of the Negro women's organization, Centro Civico Palmares; and, in 1931, of the Frente Negra Brasileira[15] ("Brazilian Negro Front") with the aim of "bringing together the Negroes of all Brazil," clearly indicates at least some race consciousness on the part of the Negroes of São Paulo and consequently reflects feelings of exclusion and discrimination; as also do the subsequently organized Associação dos Brasileiros de Côr in Santos and the Frente Negra Pelotense in Pelotas, Río Grande do Sul.[16]

BB 563* 575 EB [575] BB 571 563*

However, these indications of a measure of race consciousness are probably exceptions to the general Brazilian cultural pattern and not typical of it. Organizers for the Frente Negra do Brasil, after several weeks of fruitless effort, gave up an attempt to organize a chapter at Bahia. The fact that noted intellectuals band together to resist attitudes prejudicial to racial minorities is in itself an evidence of the racial ideology which we have noted. That these intellectuals are not atypical persons is attested by the general tenor of the spontaneous utterances, as well as formal remarks, of numerous Brazilians. It may be that Bahia, by reason of long being a passive cultural area in comparison to the more active cultural areas of the South, is more characteristically representative of the original Brazilian mores than São Paulo and certain other southern zones. But even in São Paulo the journals referred to above have one by one suspended publication, a fact which would seem to indicate

EB 563 BB 563* EB [204]

[15] With the advent of the new regime in November, 1937, the political activities of the Frente Negra Brasileira were suppressed. Its social and educational program, however, was continued and the name changed to União Negra Brasileira.

[16] See Arthur Ramos, *The Negro in Brazil* (Washington, 1939), pp. 168–74.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
BRAZIL SL1

been breaking down, particularly along the biological borders of the races, and, with the continued rise of individuals from the inferior status group, this tendency is evidently increasing. Although color and negroid features are still symbolic of slave origin, still tend to be closely identified with low status and hence to constitute an undeniable handicap to marriage into the upper classes, these physical marks lose their restraining character in proportion to the degree white intermixture increases or --what is even more important—in proportion to the degree their symbolic reference is called into question by evidence of other qualities of a status-enhancing character in a given individual.

6. In general, slavery in Brazil, as also in the United States, was characterized by the continuous growth of intimate, personal relations between master and slave which tended gradually to humanize the institution and undermine its formal character. The Brazilian moral order became organized, to a considerable extent, on a familial and personal basis.

7. The custom of manumission became firmly intrenched in the Brazilian mores, constituting, under certain circumstances, universally expected behavior. Brazilian Negroes were thus released from a servile status gradually and under circumstances which favored the continuance of those intimate personal ties already built up.

8. Emancipation sentiment in Brazil never suffered from a wave of fear like that which swept our South after the Negro uprising in Haiti and the disorders attendant on the subsequent annihilation of the Haitian whites.

9. Abolition sentiment and agitation was not limited to any one section of Brazil but, on the contrary, penetrated every community, even that of Bahia, where the institution

[SALVADOR]

/20 cont./

829 "the mulattoes, especially the lightest ones, are the worst
*563 enemies of other métis and the Blacks. It is they who have the most prejudice and who offer the most resistance to the social ascent of persons of color." These feelings are, in part, the formulation of class anatagonisms between morenos and light mulattoes of high rank, "whites socially speaking," and the darker persons who strive to improve their position in the society.

829 According to a woman occupying a public office, the heads
*563 of her department, who are pardos in different degrees, recom-
466 mend to their subordinates that they hire only attractive candidates and not take into consideration "black or homely women."

/21/

Population Increase and Crossbreeding

*563 A very significant fact and one that testifies to the good racial
162 relations in Bahia is the intensity of crossbreeding. There are in the city approximately 400,000 inhabitants, of whom almost 20 o/o are Blacks, 47 o/o métis, the majority mulattoes, and
*563 33 o/o Whites. Everywhere one sees persons of all ages, inter-
• 571 mingled without any distinction of type, men and women, gathered in the most frequented places, commenting on the events of the day, appraising the coming and going in the streets or discussing politics and sports, drinking in the cafés, walking in the environs and on the beaches, making purchases in the shops and in the markets, working in the mills, in the yards, in business firms and in the public administrations and the offices, traveling by means of public transportation, taking part in religious festivals and civic commemorations, without the least constraint. Friends,
[576] mulattoes, Whites, and Blacks, congratulate one another with a great display of embraces and handshakes; they sit down next to one another in the theater, in churches, in cafés, or in streetcars
*563 with the greatest ease. In accordance with local customs, con-
565 firmed by Pierson (1).
829

1. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 421.

[SALVADOR]

/30 cont./

829 he was a mulatto. His own mother called his attention to the
*563 difference that existed between him and his friends, but those
565 who were of his type and who had money continued to regard themselves as Whites and to be treated as such. An economist, darker than the official we have just quoted, states that the extreme poverty in which he lived during his childhood did not permit him to think of his color. An intellectual of a dark color says that when he was an adolescent he never thought of his type; no experiences previous to this period were associated with an
[572] awareness of his color. The same thing seems to happen among white children when lasting relationships are allowed to be established between them and their companions at school and play, without discrimination as to type. Numerous informants of very dark color report that they still maintain several friendships made at school with finos Whites. Even among the adults there are some who claim not to have ever been conscious of their type. An
[115] instructor told us that he was never preoccupied with his pigmentation, because he regarded that as having nothing to do with his difficulties or with his professional life. It is clear that statements
[124] of this nature cannot be accepted solely at their face value; they
[123] could, as a matter of fact, be defense reactions against the inquiries of the investigators.

*563 There are nevertheless persons who do not succeed in over-
829 coming the inferiority complex resulting from their "quality."
• 571 "A look is enough to upset a person of dark color," said a /31/ very black university student. Sometimes when he had been treated as a "Negro" he was irritated and felt humiliated. "But I have succeeded in overcoming this feeling," he adds; "I too am able to treat other "Whites" without antipathy as soon as I see that they are prepared to be pleasant with me." Without doubt there exists "a slight repression" among the Blacks, "but it is never intense and ought to be overcome," states a mulatto lawyer, and he adds that "such a feeling can give birth to a servile attitude"; one of his colleagues, of the same color as he, a very competent and industrious man, does not have the courage to plead cases for himself and continues to be simply the assistant of a white lawyer.

[SALVADOR]

/31 cont./

829 of a white lawyer. Certain colored persons, finally, claim to be
*563 proud of this color. A young girl of high rank claims to have no regrets about being black and insists that her true "quality" be
[154] recorded in all official documents. This may also be a defense reaction, especially since this informant has a personality clearly marked by a frustration complex associated with her physical condition. It is said that when an employee hesitated about the term by which he had to describe, in an official document, the color of a very well-known man of liberal profession, the latter, guessing his difficulty, told him to write "mulatto," "for," he added, "I am a mulatto without any doubt."

829 Certain individuals are accused of isolating themselves in order not to feel obliged to live in the "inferior" world to which
•571 they belong because of the pigmentation of their skin. This
*563 arouses a certain resentment on the part of the Blacks who attribute this behavior to the shame that these persons have about their type, and to the desire never to be seen "among those of
[184] their category." Our informants state that such a way of behaving
[564] is common among the women of the middle or upper class.
[565] Nevertheless the tendency to accept such segregation is not general. A dark black official relates his experiences thus: "Racial problems do not affect me. I am very well received everywhere, even among the most distinguished families; I give Portuguese lessons to their sons, and they value my friendship. A well-bred Black has access to all milieus. There is no discrimination among the men; it is among the women that one perceives this tendency very
[576] clearly. Some are content to be discourteous, avoiding shaking the hand of Blacks whom they meet among the Whites. Nevertheless, when they take a fancy to a colored man, they are capable of behaving foolishly." "Undoubtedly," he adds, "in certain milieus I feel isolated." It is interesting to note that this informant is one of the few who are concerned about discrimination, but he, like most of the others, is without rancor and is confident that he is compensated for it by the good relations that he maintains with his /32/ white colleagues in the important State administration where he works, where he has occupied positions of management, and where he has had to perform missions calling for great responsibility.

[SALVADOR]

/32 cont./

829 *563 156 On the whole, the Blacks speak with calmness, and, even when they are very reserved toward the investigator, they show a certain psychological assurance and a good adjustment to the conditions of life in Bahia. Here, too, there are obviously exceptions: one man practicing a liberal profession and who is thought to have had worries because of his color, proves reticent and even reserved. "He feels inferior because of the fact that he is black," other Blacks say; "for this reason he frequently causes trouble." The informants state that there are mulattoes who, wishing to conceal their origin, avoid appearing in the company of their own parents of black color. One young man practicing a liberal [593] profession, highly esteemed, is covered with praise because he does not have such prejudices: although married to a White, he goes everywhere with his mother, a Black of the most beautiful black, and introduces her to all his friends. On the other hand, another man of the same milieu and the same "quality" is criticized, because, according to some, "he does not wish to be black and for that reason he hides his old mother." Another Black is regarded as full of prejudice and as a racist, "because he prefers to go around with the Whites and he likes to appear in public with women whiter of complexion than of reputation." Some of his colleagues of the same profession and the same social rank regard him as one "repressed," one who is ashamed of being black. "And," it is added, "there are many like him, who, if they could, would be white!"

829 *563 576 There is no doubt but that certain Whites, including light and dark mulattoes, treat the Blacks and colored persons of humble social class with a certain air of superiority. They do so more rarely with individuals of the same rank as they. To say to someone's face that he is inferior because of his color would be a serious offense, according to the etiquette that governs the relations between individuals of different types in Bahia. A moreno educator, [571] native of a northern State, says that during the nine years that he lived in Bahia he was able to observe this mutual respect between persons of different "qualities," provided they were of the same social rank, while in his State colored people are treated with contempt.

[SALVADOR]

/34 cont./

*563 565 their degree of education, in the hotels and even more in the boarding houses of various categories. They may freely visit restaurants, cafés, teashops, cabarets; they frequently participate in dinner parties where they meet white friends. The news-
*563 565 204 papers and magazines report anniversaries, marriages, the conferring of diplomas, births, returns from travel, celebrations and tributes received, or the death of any person whomsoever, without any mention of type or color, printing portraits of either of them indiscriminately. And when an individual is not well enough known so that the newspapers spontaneously publish an article about him, /35/ it is not rare to see his name or even his portrait reproduced, after payment of the price of the announcement, in
*563 565 the column devoted to this kind of news. "Few persons," says a White, "could have more prestige in Bahia society, thanks to their exquisite manners and their elegance, than a university professor and his wife, both mulattoes, had ten years ago."

Among the most highly placed families of the present-day society of Bahia, says a morena informant, there are many who "belong to the caste," who, in other words, are métisses, although it would not be discreet to draw attention to the origin of these
[564] families. Since there are no castes, properly speaking, but merely classes, colored people find their way into the world of the Whites, even if they have pronounced black features; it is merely necessary for them to approximate the "superior" dominant group by their behavior. In order to show that she was born already assimilated with the Whites, a woman practicing a liberal profession explains that she is the daughter of a Black who was a domestic "in a milieu other than that of the senzala" (1).

[192] [567] [342]

1. Senzala = all the communicating houses of poor quality where the slaves lived in the fazendas.

She considers herself a privileged creature of God, since she has
*563 565 all that she desires. "I am on good terms with people of the best society. I choose my friends in all classes. I visit the clubs and
• 571 the government palace frequently. A short time ago the newspapers
[204] even published my picture beside the governor of the State in the course of a luncheon that one of my friends gave in his honor."

/35 cont./

563 The Whites hope that colored people, especially the darkest
571 ones, will be moderate in their attitude, behave modestly, and, in spite of their personal merits, maintain a certain distance, and colored people are not by any means unaware of this. A mulatto of liberal profession says, for example, that he goes only where his presence is necessary. "Often," says a Black, "the Black does not come up against barriers because, knowing the prejudices of the Whites, he does not go in certain places." Another Black, of liberal profession, thinks that colored people, in order to be able to elevate themselves in the social hierarchy, "must avoid doing certain things." Some of these "things," according to numerous informants, are aggressive attitudes, pretentious and affected manners, immoderate, ludicrous gestures." One individual, practicing a liberal profession, would be better received, for example, if he were not so aggressive and so conspicuous. He prizes being seated among the leaders of associations at the meetings he attends, and he always wants to appear in the photographs. On the occasion of a tribute rendered to a famous visitor, he took his place, before /36/ the session began, at the table of the presidency, causing by this action some irritation among the presiding officers of the association, some of whom are conscious of not being white."

563 In a society of aristocratic traditions, such as that of Bahia,
571 etiquette concerning the relations between people of different
576 social levels is very important. A person who has "cheek," who
565 oversteps the limits that his rank or his position of outsider sets for him, by resorting, without cause, to manners that reveal a certain intimacy or identity of positions, is always disliked, even if he is white. This is even worse if he is colored, for in this case he is accused not only of ill breeding, but even of brazenness, someone who "takes a great deal of liberty" with those whom he does not know or who "are not of his class." The word "class" used in this sense means a very low social status. "The opposition that appears against the social ascent of Negroes," said an almost black person, "is explained by their lack of education and their bad manners. It is the same with mulattoes, for if some are

/36 cont./

*563 excessively humble and submissive, others are pretentious,
565 vicious, excessive in their manners, desirous of putting them-
571 selves forward." Two Blacks of liberal profession repeat almost
576 the same thing: "Color does not have a direct influence, but it entails certain consequences. Colored people, because of their origin, are humble, have customs that are peculiar to them, and are not prepared for the life of society. Their manners attract attention and displease well-bred people. Because of this, the persons belonging to this class and who detach themselves from it suffer from prejudices that hold sway over them. When one sees a Black elevate himself and when one has to deal with him, one always asks oneself whether he will have bad manners. It is only when one begins to know him that this impression is dispelled."

*563 No less important is adherence to the moral standards of the
565 higher classes in order to be accepted there. According to a highly esteemed and skilled mulatto of liberal profession, "the one who merits respect is respected, whatever his color may be" (1).

[167]
[567]
[829]
[113]

1. Among the Yoruba, who made up a considerable part of the African slaves imported to Bahia, one often hears it said in the course of discussions on the subject of the social situation and classification that "one respects the one who respects himself," cf. W. R. Bascom, "Social Status, Wealth, and Individual Differences among the Yoruba," Am. Anthropologist, Vol. 53, No. 4, Part 1, Oct.-Dec., 1951, p. 504.

An amiable character also facilitates ascent and living with the Whites. As much among the latter as among colored persons, it is said of a dark mulatto educator that he is highly esteemed because of his good character, his gentle and subdued manners; likewise, the success of a Black of liberal profession /37/ is attributed to his communicative temperament, his joviality, and his even temper. But inasmuch as the problem of race relations,

[SALVADOR]

/37 cont./

*563 565 for many people, is more a question of class than a question of race, "the primacy of culture and of class" having the ascendancy, one may say with a mulatto educator that "if he has money, education, and manners, the Black can elevate himself." This synthesis, however, does not exhaust all the aspects of the problem. A very dark woman of liberal profession declares that "a Black, in order to elevate himself socially, must have talent and friend-
• [571] ships." In truth, good personal and family relationships are very important for everybody in Bahia, whether in trade, in administration, or in politics. A maxim constantly cited by Brazilians teaches that "a friend at hand is worth more than money in the till," which means that any enterprise is easier when the interested party is given a "personal" introduction by a friend of the person with whom he must deal. One informant insists on explaining that she does not believe money has a great influence on the social ascent of colored people: she knows several among them who, having previously made a fortune, did not succeed in elevating them-
[156] selves. "For in order to elevate oneself it is necessary not to have an inferiority complex. There are many Blacks who not only do not dare to approach Whites of a high class, but transmit this fear to their children." The fact that the black color recalls the ancient slaves is cited by many as an explanation for the difficulties that
[567] the darkest ones encounter in attaining a high rank. "Lately risen
[826] from the depths of slavery," writes a priest of mixed blood, "rare are the Negroes who succeed in reaching a high level or position.
[571] As for mulattoes and morenos (who are not true Blacks), we can say that, from all points of view, they live in harmony with the Whites, at least here in Bahia." A doctor makes the same comment: "As far as the morenos are concerned, they have a position equivalent to that of the Whites; but it is not correct to say that the Blacks can easily attain the highest offices or positions of the first order in the most esteemed professions. As for mulattoes, one finds some of them in the positions that we have just named, without being able to deny, however, that for the métis whose color closely approaches that of the Negroes, this pigmentation of the skin creates obstacles to the various careers mentioned. On

[SALVADOR]

/37 cont./

*563 565 the other hand, the métis with straight hair and a color very close to that of the white race could succeed in the different branches of human activity without having to suffer any annoyance of an ethnic nature."

[326] Notwithstanding all these difficulties, colored people, especially the lightest ones and those whose features bring them closer /38/ to the Whites, may achieve a rank as high as the latter. As [114] will be seen in the following chapters, they may marry Whites, according to their social position; they may have a pre-eminent place in the liberal professions, in the intellectual life; they may be admitted into the organizations through which one acquires prestige and social rank, which confirms the thesis already set forth by Pierson, that "what we find in Bahia is a multiracial society of classes" (1).

1. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 408.

*563 565 554 571 The social ascent of colored persons, although it is brought about with relative facility, is not without consequence for those who attain it. It is somewhat like "passing" /quoted in English/ for the North American Negroes: those who elevate themselves not only experience doubts and difficulties on the subject of their position, but they are also the object of resentment by some of those -- and they are numerous -- who remain in the lower strata of society.

When he elevates himself to the social rank that is to assimilate him culturally and socially with the White by endowing him with his "social skin," the Black is often criticized because he wants "to act the White" or because he "no longer wants to be colored."

*563 565 554 571 124 Numerous informants pointed out certain colored individuals who are considered that kind and who, they said, would certainly refuse to be interviewed for the investigation. Some of them actually avoided speaking of the racial problem, politely diverting the conversation to other subjects, under the pretext that they did not know anything about the subject and all that was of no importance among us. The author, in spite of his experience in the milieus

/38 cont./

*563 565 554 •571 [124] [829] of Bahia, had some difficulty approaching some of the persons thus mentioned. In certain cases, however, he was able to verify that the imputations mentioned above are nothing but the informants' reactions of resentment against people who are much higher or whom they judge superficially because they do not know them personally. A number of persons questioned even showed great interest in race relations, declaring they had read numerous Brazilian or foreign books, had seen films on this subject, and liked to discuss this problem with persons belonging to the same type and to the same professional and social status as they; there were even two who declared they had thought a good deal about writing down their observations on this subject. In only one case a mulatto official replied with a certain irritation that this problem was not important and that the Blacks of Bahia did not elevate themselves socially because they were very "backward and bold."

*563 565 /39/ Interracial Marriages

For colored people, interracial marriage is a means of reaching the higher classes. Individuals with a lighter skin have the greatest possibilities of becoming white socially, and marriage between colored people and Whites gives the former prestige and offers them the prospect of having children closer to the preferred type.

*563 [585] No law in Brazil forbids marriage between members of different races. The candidates for a civil or religious marriage simply present themselves before the authorities of the State or of the Church, provided with the necessary papers, such as certificate of birth or baptism, in which the type or the color are mentioned only for the purposes of identification.

The number of marriages between individuals who differ with regard to color is very high in Bahia. Out of 222 unions concluded [162] some years ago, the man and woman were of the same color in 34 o/o of the cases; in 43 o/o the man was darker than the woman,

[SALVADOR]

/42 cont./

*563 829 One of the reasons why mixed marriages are desired is, as we have already said, that thanks to them it is possible to "improve one's own race." Marriages of Blacks with Blacks only prolong the situation, thinks a black man of liberal profession who is considered a racist. "The mulatto son is accepted better and does not suffer what his family has suffered." The finer features of children of mixed blood, declares another informant, facilitates their social integration. "To have a white father," he adds, "is in itself an advantage." A mulatto of dark complexion re- [671] lates that he started to work in very humble and arduous occupations, but his situation began to improve /43/ when a very important politician learned that he was the son of one of his white friends. He then obtained office work, which left him time to study until he passed his university examinations. Another man practicing a liberal profession believes that one of the assets that he had during his childhood was to have a white father, who, although of modest means, was intimately acquainted with the politicians of the small locality in which he lived.

As for the particular cases of our informants who are married to white or at least very light women, it is interesting to note that none of them has invoked one of the reasons set forth above in order to justify this preference. Some say they first had a dark fiancée who died or who broke the engagement; it is because of this that they ended up by marrying a light woman. Others do not seek any justification. One of them said: "There are many Whites whom I do not like to see at my house. Nevertheless I married a White of Portuguese descent." Another reason given by some informants is that dark girls refuse young men of their type even when they are graduates and have good positions. It seems, however, that this information is somewhat exaggerated. In the white families in which many of these girls are servants, our informants add, they continually hear it said that "they must avoid these bold and ignorant Blacks." But this warning refers to Blacks of humble circumstances, not to those of a high social or professional rank. The dark boys, said a Black, begin to recognize this difficulty as soon as they reach the age of 20: "That is why they

[SALVADOR]

/79 cont./

*563 873 178 511 With the gradual rise of the standard of living of the lower strata of the population and with the augmentation of facilities granted to poor students in the framework of secondary education, thanks to the creation of new free colleges, the number of colored students is rising from day to day.

*563 555 593 873 Moreover, many fathers and, in the case of young colored people, many mothers of very modest circumstances make extraordinary sacrifices to assure their children a diploma that will permit them to practice a liberal profession. As a result, in the various faculties of the University of Bahia there are numerous colored students who share the life, the studies, the diversions of their white comrades and who form groups with them according to their social rank and the center of their intellectual and academic interest. If one sometimes sees groups made up solely of young colored people, it is nevertheless certain that in the university there is no intentional or permanent segregation /80/ based on classifications of "race" or "quality." In no other environment is there more harmony and less tension in interracial relations, the informants unanimously declare. Nevertheless events whose meaning could be debatable, and which some students attribute to race prejudice, do take place. There are even students who have a tendency to remain isolated during all their years of study; certain informants say that they adopt such behavior in the hope of avoiding annoyances that might be on account of their racial affiliation. Others claim to have had difficulties when they made their application to groups of excursionists or when they took part in oratorical contests, the winners of which were to go to Rio de Janeiro as representatives of the students of Bahia. One man practicing a liberal profession, very dark in color, said that he had never suffered from discrimination when he attended the university, but that he had heard his white comrades speak of people of his type by designating them with the pejorative term of "Negro." The interpretations of the informants on the subject of the preceding facts vary, however. Some think that these episodes are caused by the feeling of inferiority and the timidity of students of very low social status. With

[SALVADOR]

*563 /80 cont./
873 regard to this, one mulatto asserts that the black students are mis-
571 treated by their white comrades on the occasion of the trote in-
flicted on the calouros by the veterans (1);

[192]

1. Trote = jokes and humorous ceremonies with which the older students, the veterans, receive into the schools of the university those newly admitted, or calouros.

two persons practicing a liberal profession and with very pronounced Negroid features asserted exactly the opposite. The esteem of black and mulatto students for their comrades, and the attentions of which they are the object when they show themselves gifted and industrious, are also proof of the harmony of which we have spoken. At the time of the distribution of diplomas, students of all types are mixed together without distinction and embrace one another as a sign of rejoicing; likewise, in the large pictures showing the portraits of the recipients with the insignia of each discipline, the latter are grouped according to the State from which they come (the University of Bahia includes students from different regions of Brazil), but never according to their physical type. The relations between students and professors are likewise good, the "quality" of one or the other influences their relations only in an altogether exceptional way. There were formerly, in the years that followed the abolition of slavery, university professors who were opposed to the entrance of black students in their faculties and who would have liked to prevent them from attending their courses. Such an attitude was sometimes manifest and it did happen that it obtained the tacit support of certain persons; but it was disapproved of /Figs. 9 and 10 appear here/ /81/ on the whole. Only one informant asserted that in the faculty he attended the colored students did not enjoy the same facilities as the Whites. Nevertheless the prize that one of the faculties offers annually to the student who has completed the courses with a total of the highest marks has often been won by young colored people. Black and mulatto

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 107]

[SALVADOR]

/81 cont./

*563 571 873 students are admitted, like the others, as probationers at the palace of justice, in the laboratories, in the hospital services of the university, etc., and sometimes enjoy exceptional facilities in pursuing instruction given under the guidance of a professor of renown. It is said, however, that formerly a school for civil *563 874 [178] engineers did not readily admit colored students. This school is particularly strict, and, because of the limited opening that Bahia represented for engineers some years ago, it had a very small number of students; in spite of this, it awarded diplomas to Blacks and to mulattoes, some of whom achieved a first-class position in their profession or elsewhere; among these is the present director of the school. If one takes at random the lists of students graduated in the course of different years, one can confirm that all types are found among them, the proportion of those with very dark skin being very high. The fact that there are very few civil engineers who are really black is explained by the small number of diplomas awarded by this school in comparison to others of the University of Bahia (1).

1. The Polytechnical School of Bahia in 1918 awarded diplomas to 23 students, two of them mulattoes; in 1948 it awarded a diploma to 51 students, among them one Black and ten métis, and in 1949 to 68 students, among them six métis.

*563 873 875 According to a mulatto informant, "there is a sector prohibited to Blacks and to colored persons: the university professorship." And he relates that having been a candidate for a university chair himself, anyone could say that his competence was unquestionable, but that "he was a mulatto..." Nevertheless he was accepted. Two other informants relate that a young man practicing a liberal profession, assistant in one of the faculties, had been excluded because he was mulatto, despite his recognized competence. The facts seem to contradict such interpretations, for all the faculties of Bahia have always had colored professors, though in different proportions. In the gallery of portraits of the oldest among them,

[SALVADOR]

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*563 554 •571 Among the intellectuals of whom Bahia is proud and who are included among its great names, there are some who are very dark. One of them, speaking of the mixture of races, says that "the descendants of the crossings mentioned are to be found in Brazil in all social classes, in all professions, even the most intellectual" (3).

[113] 3. Viuva J. Moreina, "Juliano Moreina e o problema do negro mestiço no Brasil /Juliano Moreina and the problem of the Negro mestizo in Brazil/," in Novos estudos afro-brasileiros /Recent Afro-Brazilian Studies/, G. Freyre and others, Rio de Janeiro, 1937.

The colored intellectuals not only do not form a separate group, but are judged and classed solely according to their talent and their works, and in scientific and literary associations occupy positions corresponding to their importance. When, in 1923, [527] the first centenary of the struggles for national independence in the territory of Bahia was commemorated, a very well-known photographer in the city, in collaboration with a historian and professor of the university, put together a large picture with the portraits of the Bahian intellectuals who at that time enjoyed the greatest renown: members of parliament, jurists, poets, prose writers, sacred orators, biologists, physicians, musicians, engineers, folklorists, educators, journalists, linguists of both sexes. Among the 79 intellectuals represented, one counted one cabôclo and 20 morenos and pardos, some of them quite /86/ pigmented. One of the four portraits most in view in the upper part of this composition was that of a dark mulatto, already mentioned above as a historian, engineer, and linguist; his picture was placed in the same port as that of Ruy Barbosa, a famous jurist and leader, who is considered "the greatest of Brazilians." The portraits of other métis appeared among those of numerous white intellectuals. [538] Among the recently published 100 biographies of the most notable Bahians of the period that extends from 1564 to 1925, there are 12

[SALVADOR]

/86 cont./

*563 554 571 538 métis celebrated as poets, jurists, linguists, physicians, and preachers, including a son of slaves, who, in the second half of the last century, because of his origin, had great difficulty in being accepted in a faculty of law of his country (1).

[113] 1. A. Loureiro Souza, Bahianos Ilustres, 1564-1925, Bahia, 1949.

All this testifies to the fact that intellectuals are judged according to the standards that apply to the whole of society, without color being taken into account. The literary critics, for example, affirm that the greatest living Bahian poet is a dark pardo and that a moreno is one of the best poets Bahia has had in recent decades. Moreover, the most listened-to literary and artistic critic, who died a few years ago, was a branqueado (whitened) mulatto, who exerted a great influence on the local intellectual [527] life. When, on the occasion of the 350th anniversary of the Lusitanian poet Camoens, the Portuguese colony celebrated Race Day, it was a dark mulatto who, in the name of Brazilians, gave the address of welcome to the Portuguese, while a celebrated sacred orator took the floor for the latter; in 1949, when the fourth centenary of the founding of the city was commemorated, the government of the State, in posthumous homage to this same mulatto intellectual, published one of his remaining unpublished historical works (2).

[113] 2. Teodoro Sampaio, Historia de Fundaçao da Cidade do Salvador /History of the Founding of the City of Salvador/, edited by the Secretaria do Educaçao e Saúde, Bahia, 1949.

*563 554 571 The favorable position given colored people in the intellectual milieus is reflected in certain comments that we gathered in the course of our investigation on colored people. One of them made the following remark: "Colored people owe much to Whites, it is they who praise the Negroes of merit and who make known their name and their works." Another assured us that "among intellectuals there was no color prejudice."

[SALVADOR]

/86 cont./

* 563 814 • 571 The Academy of Letters of Bahia, an institution that groups Bahian intellectuals of the greatest renown, includes among its 41 founders eight mulattoes of the most varied shades of skin. One of them, an educator of repute, became a /87/ national celebrity for his works on Portuguese grammar and for the polemic on linguistic problems that he carried on with his old disciple Ruy Barbosa. Two mulattoes -- a very distinguished professor of medicine and another, both an engineer and historian -- were corresponding members of this famous association. Since its founding in 1917, the Academy has counted among its members 15 morenos and mulattoes; among them are names of which Bahia is justly proud. The group of poets and prose writers who, [538] under the influence of symbolism, were originally part of an important literary movement was made up in large part of colored men.

/88/ Recreational Clubs

* 563 575 The social and recreational clubs are the sector where admittance is the most difficult for persons of very dark color, if one is to believe the majority of informants. Some of them even declare that the obstacles that stand in the way of their entry into such organizations are due both to color prejudices and to the fact that these associations are dominated by the old families who resist the admission of members not belonging to their social and economic [565] group. It seems, however, that even in the very select clubs of Bahia there are fissures in the class barriers: none of these clubs can keep itself strictly closed nor strictly aristocratic either from the point of view of the filiation of its members to the old families or from that of their color. And this so much the more because the founder groups permitted, not only finos Whites, but persons "socially white" or "white in color" (brancas na côr).

/92 cont./

*563 575 mulatto professor that one of his friends wanted to enroll him in a club of the intermediate category located in a neighborhood of the same order, took his photograph for the club file, and ... never told him the result of his procedure; he concluded from it that the refusal was motivated by his "quality."

It is obvious that all the cases cannot be interpreted simply as examples of the screening carried on against colored persons. One notes, however, that this is a sector of social relations where there is a certain conflict, although the tension that results from it is concealed by a mechanism of accommodation on both sides. On the one hand, the clubs allege not to have in their statutes provisions that oppose the admission of colored persons, even black ones, and endeavor to give rational explanations for what the excluded candidates consider acts of discrimination; on the other hand, dark colored persons assume an attitude of negative defense by suppressing the aggressive impulses which usually result from states of frustration.

*563 ●571 574 In student celebrations that take place in the halls of the clubs of the highest category, restrictions against the entry of dark colored persons and against dancing between Whites and Blacks are considerably reduced. This is what the informants say, and observation altogether confirms this statement. In family reunions, not very frequent in our day among the upper classes, discrimination is relaxed. "Familiarity makes prejudices fall away," according to the utterance of a Black. "When a Black appears at a white family celebration," a student asserts, "he arouses a certain curiosity and a certain reserve until he is introduced and one knows who he is. But from the moment he is introduced, especially if he is a friend of the family, he does not encounter any difficulty in dancing even with white girls." "The girls in such cases do not, or very rarely, refuse to dance with a colored boy, especially if it is a matter of a student or a well-bred person; the mothers, however, create some opposition and appear uneasy to see their daughters approached by a dark young man, sometimes fearing that they will fall in love." This information is given by a mulatto practicing a liberal profession, who, when he was a student, took part in numerous family celebrations at the homes of Whites.

/104 cont./

000 in these groups is an old Brazilian tradition. In order to account
*563 for the amount of improvement that has occurred in the situation
175 of colored groups, it should be mentioned that on the occasion of
212 the national census of 1872 the totality of the slaves of the city
178 was illiterate. Since the abolition of slavery in 1888, although
[567] it did not do much on behalf of the recently freed men, they
[659] progressed to such an extent that today more than 50 o/o of the Blacks and more than 60 o/o of the pardos over the age of five know how to read and write, and their number is increasing every year in the secondary and higher courses, thus opening the way to the liberal professions, in which one may count them in variable proportions.

*563 It should also be remembered that among those who are
• 571 called "Whites" there are many light métis who are considered socially white, and that colored persons, even those who are the darkest and show the most obvious Negroid features, are treated like anyone else of the same social situation. Interracial relations are then governed by some "fair play"; in other words, Bahian customs disapprove of openly avowed discrimination motivated by racial intolerance or color prejudice. Another aspect of the Bahian dynamics and social psychology is that both the antagonisms of class and those of color are attenuated by the process of reciprocal accommodation between /105/ the groups and by the development, as much among Whites as among dark individuals, of the type of "cordial" and "gentle" personality that some authors consider to be characteristic of the Brazilian people and the prototype of which is supposed to be the inhabitant of Bahia.

*563 The facilities for the social ascent of colored individuals are
555 in the process of multiplying in Bahia; according to the opinion
178 of numerous informants, they will not cease to be augmented unless cultural change, under the influence of new social conditions created by the industrialization anticipated in the region by the exploitation of oil-bearing lands and with the development of the electrical energy of the waterworks under construction, produces a perceptible modification of the ethos of Bahia; it is

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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[Class A Families]

in the three houses for nearly all members of the two extended families, for the factory has become the major gathering point for all of them during the summer. Each married couple maintains its own home in the city. In the Conde and Jacuipe families the tendency has been to enlarge the two families by the addition of in-laws rather than to lose sons and daughters, because of the exceptionally strong family loyalties held by the members. As a result, many more people are drawn into the social circles of the two groups, which at times appear as one family and at other times as two separate but close units. 565* 596

The social life of these people is carried out almost entirely within this group of ninety-seven persons, and their in-laws, plus the in-law families. Such intrafamilial social life is known as vida em familia. During the winter season in Salvador, their social activities are confined to visiting one another, playing cards with one another, having birthday parties for one another, attending the weddings of one another's children, and so forth. Trips to the beach and to social clubs and graduations are made jointly. During the summer, parts of families visit others, and at certain times, such as the botada da usina (first day of the sugar mill's activities each year), Carnaval, and the birthday of the Colonel, his wife, or Dona Yaya, nearly all the members of the family get together. This may mean a gathering of sixty to seventy persons. A "small" luncheon may be attended by a mere twenty or thirty persons. 565* 596 517

It is still the custom for young married couples to dine with the parents of each at least once a week. It is also not unusual to find an entire apartment house in the city occupied by members of one family, each conjugal group occupying its own apartment. Members of the same generation usually play or visit together, although all generations are present at most family gatherings. Through lifelong companionship, members of families in this class come to know each other extremely well and are often the best of friends as well as relatives. Because of the size of these families, and because of the constancy of their devotion to one another, there is little time or energy left for entertaining outsiders. This, however, does not mean that acquaintances are limited to family members. Friends are made, who are drawn into the various conjugal groups and into the activities of the larger extended family. 565* 596 [593] [342] [561] [574] [572]

Courtship in Class A families is a formal affair. At first it is considered that the young couple are gostando (liking each other) or namorando (in love). It is expected that the boy 565* 596 584

[SALVADOR]

/30 cont./

829 he was a mulatto. His own mother called his attention to the
*563 difference that existed between him and his friends, but those
565 who were of his type and who had money continued to regard themselves as Whites and to be treated as such. An economist, darker than the official we have just quoted, states that the extreme poverty in which he lived during his childhood did not permit him to think of his color. An intellectual of a dark color says that when he was an adolescent he never thought of his type; no experiences previous to this period were associated with an
[572] awareness of his color. The same thing seems to happen among white children when lasting relationships are allowed to be established between them and their companions at school and play, without discrimination as to type. Numerous informants of very dark color report that they still maintain several friendships made at school with fines Whites. Even among the adults there are some who claim not to have ever been conscious of their type. An
[115] instructor told us that he was never preoccupied with his pigmentation, because he regarded that as having nothing to do with his difficulties or with his professional life. It is clear that statements
[124] of this nature cannot be accepted solely at their face value; they
[123] could, as a matter of fact, be defense reactions against the inquiries of the investigators.

*563 There are nevertheless persons who do not succeed in over-
829 coming the inferiority complex resulting from their "quality."
571 "A look is enough to upset a person of dark color," said a /31/ very black university student. Sometimes when he had been treated as a "Negro" he was irritated and felt humiliated. "But I have succeeded in overcoming this feeling," he adds: "I too am able to treat other "Whites" without antipathy as soon as I see that they are prepared to be pleasant with me." Without doubt there exists "a slight repression" among the Blacks, "but it is never intense and ought to be overcome," states a mulatto lawyer, and he adds that "such a feeling can give birth to a servile attitude": one of his colleagues, of the same color as he, a very competent and industrious man, does not have the courage to plead cases for himself and continues to be simply the assistant of a white lawyer.

[SALVADOR]

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*563 872 572 565 In the public elementary schools the students, in general little conscious of their rank, have a tendency to mix indiscriminately. The informants in general do not recall discriminatory attitudes on the part of their white fellow-students and state /69/ that from these contacts result -- it is not uncommon to ascertain this -- close and lasting friendships. A woman of liberal profession established good relations with white colleagues of the upper classes during her school years, amicable relations that have lasted to this day. In working in the public schools of Bahia, a psychologist confirmed, however, that the children group themselves according to their physical type, but that they have a tendency to seek out in class children lighter than they as seatmates. It is understandable that in this phase of development and socialization of the child the latter has greater facility in identifying those of his group according to physical appearance, especially if he finds himself away from his family and is not influenced by the criteria of social classification current there. Even in the secondary schools, numerous informants say, the students group themselves according to their physical type, but especially in terms of social and economic rank; friendships between young people belonging to two extremes of the color scale are confirmed on each level; more rarely between different social strata. "The daughters of doctors, even if they are dark," a woman informant declared, "are treated with more attention by the professors and their companions than the Whites and the colored children who are poor." The relations between colored students and their Jewish comrades seem to be good, if one is to believe certain information.

*563 [217] In the libraries one can see students of very different types gathered around the same tables and working together. The colored students not only take part in groups on excursions, but sometimes are at the head of them; they happen to command their comrades of all types in the civic parades. A literary association founded by a black professor in a college-preparatory secondary school has white and colored members. [814] [873]

[Town Life]

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The majority of people in Group 1 live in the older part of Vila Recôncavo, often in the old colonial sobrados, and they rarely descend the hill to the part of town inhabited by the fishermen. Indeed, they mix little with people of the town, and there is almost no social life within the group itself. Parties are expensive, and visiting from house to house in the evening is not common. Vila Recôncavo has no such pastime as the evening walk in the square. This group is seldom united on anything, especially local politics; however, the more distant the question the more apt the group is to be of one mind. [361] [574]

Most families in this group send their children to school in Salvador, go there on holidays whenever possible, receive the city newspaper and the Diario Oficial,[2] and shop in the city as often as they can. [871] [204] [443]

Vila Recôncavo differs in one respect from most other rural Brazilian communities: it has no parish priest. The mother church of the parish (matriz) has long been unable to support its own priest, and the duties which would normally fall to such a person are performed by the Franciscans, whose convent is in Vila Recôncavo. The priests remain within the convent, taking little or no part in the social life of the town. 793 [792]

It will be noted that there was no mention of a drug store in Vila Recôncavo. There was none until 1945, when a nonprofit organization, the Institute of Vila Recôncavo, was opened. This is a medical post supported by federal, state, municipal, and private funds; its director is Friar Innocence, a Franciscan lay brother. The institute is housed in the spacious old buildings of the extinct Third Order of Franciscans, and consists of a pharmacy, an infants' milk and soup distributing center, a maternity post, a dental post, and other medical facilities. The dentist, who has modern equipment, is competent in his work. For several years a doctor was in daily attendance, dividing his time between the institute and the petroleum workers' camp. As a result of a complicated local political conflict, he left the institute, however, and Friar Innocence arranged for a visiting doctor to come from Centro and spend two days a week in Vila Recôncavo. Three town girls were sent to Salvador to study nursing and midwifery, so there is competent medical assistance. 743 [444] [792] 743 759

2. The Diario Oficial is the newspaper in which government laws and regulations are published. As a rule, it is the publication of a regulation which makes it become a law.

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constantly growing, or at least changing. New members are added, people who have made their mark on the society and who, although they have less family tradition behind them, are on the whole acceptable to the elite.

Locally the upper-class members are addressed by the formal term o senhor and a senhora, at times by meu patrão or meu branco (my white), frequently by title name, such as "Dr. Louis," and in some cases by the traditional intimate term of yoyô (for a man) and yayá (for a woman). At times even the very formal, older term of Vossa Excelencia (Your Excellency) is used. Yoyô is an old term formerly used by some slaves toward their masters, and although it is generally restricted to white people, there are occasions when a member of a mulatto family is known to his intimates as yoyô. With rare exceptions, members of the upper class address all those below them simply as você, and usually use the imperative form of the verb in giving directions. These two linguistic devices tend to strengthen and maintain the differences between these groups of people.

565* 576 [182]

Relations between members of Class A and those below are simple. As has already been stated, the landowners avoid the town of Vila Recôncavo, and it is seldom that Class B town people are invited to a social gathering at a plantation or at the factory, so that these two classes are rarely in social contact. Since the rural Class B consists mainly of overseers and other employees of Class A, relationships between them are those of employee and employer. However, when a planter celebrates a special occasion such as a birthday, the overseers are invited, and may "drop in" as a matter of form or courtesy; they escape as soon as possible, for they are rarely included in the brincadeiras (plays, or jokes) of the owners and their guests. For the most part the overseers and others of their class come alone, without their wives and families. This is an important indication of class position, for as a rule the wife of an overseer feels embarrassed in the company of gente (people) and refuses to go even when specially invited. The very strong em familia pattern, combined with the intimacy of the large families, makes it extremely difficult for a lower-class person to feel any sort of equality at such a gathering.

565* 571 [466]

During the course of field work the author was given a party, a Reis, a kind of surprise party which takes place during the period following the sixth of January, the Day of Kings.

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2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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●574 A group of people decide to "take a party of kings" to some-
123 one's house. They wait until the lights in the house go out
571 late at night and then knock on the door, playing and singing a song which is traditional for the purpose. The owner must then open the house and let everyone in to dance and make merry. The surprise element has been removed, for it is now considered courteous to sound out the householder to see whether he would like to be the recipient of such a party, and also to give him time to prepare food and drink. The householder also has the privilege of inviting anyone he wants who might be overlooked by those who organize the party. A group of young men approached the author in the prescribed manner, and in due course all arrangements were completed. The young men were to supply an electric phonograph and records for the dancing, and the author was requested to invite the rural planters, especially those with daughters.

A group of twenty-four planters and about a hundred townspeople, factory technicians, overseers, and a few men of urban Class C came to the party. The planters arrived in a truck a little early and entered the house, which was then closed
[533] and the lights turned off. Shortly afterwards the others arrived
[178] at the door and knocked, and the band began to play the long serenade. (A band was brought along for the song, which is an important part of the Reis; but nowadays no one likes to dance to a hometown band when records are available, so the men played only the serenade and then put their instruments away.) At the end of the song, the doors and windows were opened and the guests began to pour in.

571 The rooms of the house were small, but all the furniture
*565 had been removed to make room for dancing in the two largest
574 rooms, which were joined by two wide doors. At the beginning of the party everyone was very formal and shy; the young
535 men remained on one side of the room, the young women on
.123 the other, and the entire planter group in a huddle by itself.
571 Gradually things got under way, and as drinks were served to esquentar a gente (warm up the people) as many as could dance in the cramped quarters did so. For the first hour or so all the guests mingled, dancing with one another; then gradually the members of Class A began to pull away, at first beginning to dance among themselves and finally usurping a third room in which they danced away from the others, uninterrupted by anyone.

Reactions to this were varied in the days after the party

when the affair was discussed. The young men were rather disappointed by the withdrawal of the upper-class girls, for they had looked forward to dancing with them with great expectations. Their disappointment, however, was expressed by saying, "We dance differently, and since it was the first time together there wasn't time to get used to each others' style." Some of the older men simply asked, "What did you expect? You know they don't mix with us." The planters, on the other hand, enjoyed the party but were embarrassed by the fact that they had created a separate group and ended up by saying that "the only kind of good party is a family party, which it was for us." 565* 574 535 123 571

This party was by no means typical, for the very existence of such an affair was due to the presence of a stranger in the town who was able to bring together the different elements. Under other conditions it would not have taken place. Under the novel conditions, each group after completing the formalities withdrew to itself, enjoying the party and creating no embarrassing moments for the host. Reflection on what had happened pointed out to everyone the distance between the two groups, but there was no bitterness or resentment shown by anyone. It passed as an incident, and afterwards people discussed only the part of the party they had enjoyed, ignoring the rest. 565* 574 123 571

Class A members participate in a broader schedule of activities in Salvador, where not only planters, but also professional, commercial, and industrial people mix. The children of Class A go to private schools, belong to the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts (organizations which have not as yet penetrated the rural zone) and to social clubs for sports and dancing. Their parents participate in a round of social activities including the theater, lectures, dances, and anniversaries. Birthdays are usually important celebrations, when as many members of the extended family as possible gather. For special occasions, such as a wedding in other parts of the family, they may go to Rio de Janeiro; at other times they go there simply for a vacation or on a shopping tour. Those who own plantations usually spend only the summer harvest season in the country. It is vacation time for the children, and they invite relatives and friends to spend some time with them swimming, fishing, hunting, and horseback riding. The entire area is their playground. Their parents participate in these activities as much as possible after their official duties of plan- 565*

*565 tation administration are over. In general, however, neither the children nor the parents mix with the permanent residents of Vila Recôncavo. Although as small children they may have a worker's son as a constant playmate, by the time they are teenagers this relationship has usually faded into a fond memory.

*565 458 The standard of living of this class is far above that of any of the other local groups. It is important to realize that because of the fluctuations of the sugar market, members of this class have not always had fluid wealth at their command, while at other periods they have been undeniably wealthy. But even during a slump they have been able to raise money when necessary. One of the major reasons that planters turned to the professions was the need to assure themselves of a continued income when the sugar market falls. At such times their main activities are directed toward earning a living in the city. But at those times when sugar producing is profitable the practicing of the activities becomes a strain, and one or the other must suffer. Nevertheless, at any time these people have earned enough to maintain a standard of living which compares favorably with that of the upper class in any large city. Households are complete with refrigerators, radios, and other electrical appliances which must be imported. Many have automobiles, receive magazines from abroad, follow Parisian dress styles, take interest in international affairs, and in general lead a life of wide interests. In the rural zone their houses are much better than those of any others, often having running water, electricity, and a full range of service provided by servants. Usually the household servants move from country to city with the family.

*565 511 [416] [207] [184] [357] [166]

*565 571 Class B in the rural zone of the community is made up of plantation overseers, factory technicians, and white-collar workers of the factory offices. It is almost as small as Class A, comprising about twenty adult members. As in the case of the planters, who associate with other planters outside the community, the overseers of various plantations have reunions. There is much more social contact between the overseers and the mass of workers, however, than between the planters and the workers. The planters usually know all the workers on their plantations, as well as their families; but although there is frequent visiting and chatting between the women of the two groups and between the males of the two groups, there is little basis for conversation. The planta-

[574]

The planta- 565 *
tion worker's world is small, and conversational topics are
limited to family matters such as births, deaths, marriages, 571
sickness, and other intimate details of personal life, the [521]
problems of work, and difficulties of any sort. The planter can
know the daily life and thoughts of the workers only through
observation, for he himself lives quite differently. However,
his knowledge of the workers is apt to be profound in spite
of the differences, and he knows much more of their lives
than they know of his. On the other hand, visiting between [574]
the workers and the members of Class B is on a much more
equal basis, for the differences between their modes of living
and thinking are small.

When the workers are invited to a party by the planters, 565 *
it is usually an affair given for them, such as a Christmas
celebration. At such a time the planter is host and spectator, 571
rather than host and participant. At other times the workers 574
may get together a song and dance group, a samba, and go to
the owner's house for the evening. This is frequently ex-
plained as "keeping the patron from being lonely." Again the [535]
owner is spectator, for the samba, performed exclusively by
women, is a type of folk dance seldom engaged in by the more
sophisticated upper class.

Class B in the rural area is only beginning to feel any sort 565 *
of group consciousness, for the occupational institutions it
represents are relatively new and it is not yet aligned in any
way with the corresponding class in town. There are two over-
seers who lack any formal education--indeed, who cannot read
or write. In all cases the male members of this class have
set up and maintained a family, educating their children and
seeing to it that they marry as well as possible. As a rule
such men are "self-made"--they have risen from the ranks
of workers as a result of their own ability, sagacity, sense
of responsibility, and desire to improve themselves. They are
distinguished from the workmen by these traits, which seem
to develop even further as they have the opportunity to use
their initiative.

Members of this group usually acquire numerous posses- 565 *
sions of their own, such as horses, oxen and carts, mules, 423
and donkeys which can be put to gainful use. They also op- [422]
erate small stores on their plantations--in one case even a
chain of stores, one on each of three plantations. They also [443]
try to buy a small farm somewhere nearby. Frequently the [466]
employer facilitates such acquisitions as a sort of bonus,
lending money or even giving some to the overseer.

*565
517 of the time, visiting little and receiving the local gossip from
[546] their servants. Since the advent of movies, however, it has
become fashionable for husband and wife and sometimes the
[541] children to attend the show together. When the circus comes
to town it is now common for them to go as a family at least
[794] once. As a rule, however, church services are attended separately, the wives and daughters going together and the men singly if at all, and standing in the back rather than sitting
[574] with the family. Dinners, card parties, or social gatherings with friends in the house, such as are common to North American small towns, do not exist here at all. About the only traveling these people do is to Salvador, where they stay with relatives while they make short visits, go to the doctor, or go shopping.

*565 Even the older members of Class B are less well educated
871 than those of Class A, and do not belong to families which are nationally prominent. In many cases they have relatives in Salvador, but in no case do they maintain a second home there. Although their children may go to primary school in Vila Recôncavo, which the children of Class A would never do, they are sent to Salvador for further education; and several of the present generation are studying for degrees in law and medicine. As has already been pointed out, this class engages in
[571] little social activity in common with Class A, and in almost none with rural Class B persons. Daughters of families be-
[867] longing to this class are carefully chaperoned and have little freedom. Their lives are spent at home, sewing, embroidering,
[582] and helping their mothers in the house. Their prospects for marriage are poor. This applies also to the schoolteachers who are sent to the town and who also belong to this class. There is little opportunity for them to marry in Vila Recôncavo unless they accept a social inferior, which commonly happens to rural schoolteachers in Brazil. "Felipe," as the schoolteacher's husband is generally known, is always a "no-good" supported by his wife. There are two cases in Vila Recôncavo of local upper-class wives who work--they are both schoolteachers, supplementing their husbands' incomes and alleviating the dullness of their lives.

*565 Class C in the rural area consists of the field hands and the factory workers, who constitute the major part of the population. There are no "pure whites" in this group, but a scattering of "whites of the land." In general the factory workers
[184] consider themselves superior to the agricultural laborers;

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in the three houses for nearly all members of the two extend- 565* 596
ed families, for the factory has become the major gathering point for all of them during the summer. Each married couple maintains its own home in the city. In the Conde and Jacuipe families the tendency has been to enlarge the two families by the addition of in-laws rather than to lose sons and daughters, because of the exceptionally strong family loyalties held by the members. As a result, many more people are drawn into the social circles of the two groups, which at times appear as one family and at other times as two separate but close units.

The social life of these people is carried out almost entire- 565*
ly within this group of ninety-seven persons, and their in-laws, plus the in-law families. Such intrafamilial social life 596
is known as vida em familia. During the winter season in Salva- 517
dor, their social activities are confined to visiting one another, playing cards with one another, having birthday parties for one another, attending the weddings of one another's children, and so forth. Trips to the beach and to social clubs and graduations are made jointly. During the summer, parts of families visit others, and at certain times, such as the botada da usina (first day of the sugar mill's activities each year), Carnaval, and the birthday of the Colonel, his wife, or Dona Yaya, nearly all the members of the family get together. This may mean a gathering of sixty to seventy persons. A "small" luncheon may be attended by a mere twenty or thirty persons.

It is still the custom for young married couples to dine with 565*
the parents of each at least once a week. It is also not unusual 596
to find an entire apartment house in the city occupied by mem- [593]
bers of one family, each conjugal-group occupying its own [342]
apartment. Members of the same generation usually play or [561]
visit together, although all generations are present at most [574]
family gatherings. Through lifelong companionship, members of families in this class come to know each other extremely well and are often the best of friends as well as relatives. Because of the size of these families, and because of the constancy of their devotion to one another, there is little time or energy left for entertaining outsiders. This, however, does [572]
not mean that acquaintances are limited to family members. Friends are made, who are drawn into the various conjugal groups and into the activities of the larger extended family.

Courtship in Class A families is a formal affair. At first 565*
it is considered that the young couple are gostando (liking 596
each other) or namorando (in love). It is expected that the boy 584

[Class A Families]

565*
to have fewer offspring. Four or five generations ago a couple 594
might have as many as twenty children. It was common among 163
these large families for at least one child to enter the priest- 178
hood or a convent. This is no longer the case, not only be- [463]
cause of the smaller size of the families, but also because
the colonial pattern of a priest for each plantation is now gone.

The marriage age for girls is also changing, for several 582
reasons: it takes longer for a boy now to be educated and set- 178
tled in business; the families can no longer support married
children; and girls are being better educated. Instead of be- 562
ing married at sixteen, seventeen, and eighteen, they now go 565*
to school much longer, sometimes taking advanced degrees
as do their brothers. This delays marriage till the twenties
and gives the girls a certain amount of independence, rather
than simply a position of wife and mother. As yet few of them [463]
have entered the professions, but recently it has become styl-
ish to study nursing or social work at least for a while before
marriage. The old pattern was for widows to be supported by [736]
their families, but now girls want to feel self-sufficient, with-
out the dreary prospect of living as dependents in the case of
their husbands' death. In this century, also, marriage has
assumed an aspect of companionship, which was formerly
lacking, for women have achieved a much greater equality with
their husbands and are now partners rather than household
fixtures.

There has been a reaction to the family aspect of Bahian 565*
society, and frequently people are heard complaining of the 596
narrowness of life in such surroundings and expressing a de- 178
sire to live in Rio de Janeiro, or some place where they would
not be always in the same restricted group of relatives. Many 574
of the former obligations of formal visits to close and distant [206]
relatives are now relaxed, although telephone calls at least
are expected with some sort of regularity and members of the
extended family, as well as their attendants, are still expect-
ed at all weddings, birthdays, and deaths. The arrival of fam-
ily members from Rio calls for many dinners and celebrations 571
in their honor. But the conjugal families seek outside ac- 565*
quaintances more and more, and as they enter new groups they
become less able to cope with the numerous family affairs. 596
Nevertheless, it is still membership in these extensive, pa- 178
triarchal families which gives people their status in the com-
munity as a whole and their right to enter new groups which [594]
form along class lines. Everyone is well aware of this, and [554]

[Class A Families]

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596 All these dishes are served with rice, potatoes, farina, and
527 cooked vegetable salads. Then fruits are served, followed by
262 a series of desserts including puddings, ice cream, and cakes.
[272] The meal is concluded with a demitasse (cafèzinho). Lunch is usually served at midday, and afterwards the guests generally break into small groups, talk, sleep, play cards, or stroll about the garden. In midafternoon a small merenda (snack) is served for those who want it, consisting of cake and
*565 demitasse, and in the evening ceia (supper) is served, in-
596 cluding cold cuts, salads, and dessert. After this the group
527 may go en masse to the movies, either at the Petroleum Camp
[546] or in the town of Vila Recôncavo. Or, if in gay spirits, they may spend the evening dancing in the living room to popular
[535] records. People go to these almoços by horseback, jeep, truck, or sometimes, in a spirit of fun, by oxcart. Hospitality has for hundreds of years been the tradition of the rural
[492] landowners, who envelop guests with an overabundance of
[493] everything. One planter always has the dining-room table set for at least ten people, although only he and his wife live in the house. Others have the reputation of always providing
*565 a good meal for anyone who passes at mealtime.

● 574 The decreasing size of families, the shift in individual employment from agriculture to the professions, and this cen-
423 tury's change to large-scale industrial holdings for the pro-
178 duction of sugar have caused some differences in land ten-
428 ure and, hence, inheritance. The Recôncavo is not an area in which land title was ever vague or lost as was often the case in the sertão. Land was always scarce here, for the desirable massapê soils are limited in extent. The plantations of today for the most part fall into one of two categories: those which have been in the hands of one family for a century or more, and those which were bought after the abolition of slavery by newcomers to the Recôncavo or by those who already had plantations and at a time of falling value bought new ones from the creditors who had taken them over from their former owners for debt. In both cases title passed free and clear. The common form of inheritance is for one half of the estate to go to the widow and the other half to be divided among other heirs.

178 A century ago, it was common for plantation masters to
42 have extensive holdings, not only in the Recôncavo, but also in other parts of the state, as well as houses and even commercial buildings in the city of Salvador. In addition to this,

[Class B Families]

*565 594 capacities, or they are "newly arrived" socially, which often indicates that the relatives of either or both spouses may belong to the lower class; in this case the local upper-class families are inclined to ignore them. In these conjugal families the husband is the central figure, participating in business and social activities of the town, while his wife and children, [166] especially daughters, remain at home. The sons usually go to the city to school and remain there after graduation, so there [871] is little chance of continuing a strong family line in the town. At the factory the case is somewhat different, for the sons of Class B families may enter the factory in one of the higher office positions, thus forming a larger family group as they marry and settle down there. This pattern, however, is only apparent in the second generation, and there are only three cases of it.

*565 517 As a result of the lack of public entertainment in Vila Recôncavo and the competitive attitude of members of Class B among themselves and toward the higher members of Class C, there [571] is little social gathering, especially for the women. There [596] are never extended family gatherings for Class B such as those described for Class A. The men go to the bar or visit one an- [574] other's homes to some slight extent, but wives and daughters seldom do. The wives are kept occupied bearing children and [562] caring for them. Those few daughters who are sent to school in the city are indeed fortunate, for their chances of marry- [871] ing and remaining in Salvador, the desire of most young people, [166] are greatest. The summer vacation is boring to them in comparison with their scope of activities in the winter. The [183] sons can enjoy the summer, going swimming, horseback rid- ing, playing ball, making the most of the few parties and fes- [528] tivals (festas) which take place during the summer, lounging in the bar gossiping, meeting the boat, and visiting lower- *565 class girls. The daughters, on the other hand, can do noth- 562 ing of the sort. They spend their time at home with their moth- 517 ers and sometimes visit a married girl friend or sister to gossip.

For those girls who remain in the town, life can be intolerably dull. They must be extremely careful of where they go, when, and with whom, and of what they do, for the town gossip about them can be vicious. The reputation of a girl seen on the street at night without one of her parents is ruined. These girls are expected to be virgins, models of propriety,

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584 intimation of its course. The meeting may finally be arranged at the house of an older female friend. If the two are genuinely interested in each other they may allow the fact to become public, and if the parents are pleased they will in due course [836] be married. Otherwise the girl may keep the whole affair a secret, and after a period of flirtation have an affair with the [263] boy and become pregnant. Any girl who refuses to eat pepper is immediately suspected of pregnancy, and inquiries are [843] made.

*565 When a Class C family wishes to celebrate some occasion such as a birthday, anniversary, or the time in which the twin •574 saints Cosme and Damião are feasted, the woman's friends and any nearby female relatives come in to help her cook. 252 Guests are invited by the husband. The preparation of all 262 food must be done by hand, the chickens killed, cleaned, and [476] plucked, the beans shelled, the shrimp and fish cleaned, the farina cakes made, and the popular liqueurs (licores) prepared [273] by soaking various kinds of fruit in bottles of rum and syrup. At such parties the traditional, favorite Bahian dishes of vatapá, acarejé, carurú, abará, cuscus, and the many moquecas, are served. All these are appetizing, but take much time [251] to prepare and cannot be made too far in advance, for there *565 is no way of preserving food. Unless the household is particularly wealthy, the family seldom gives parties; many never 574 manage to give one. Dancing forms an important part of the festivities. The men bring their drums, tambouripes, and gui- 535 tars, while the women sing and dance the samba. In the rural [369] area, social dancing in mixed couples is rare, but in town it is a common form.

*565 A family may take care of an aged mother, father, or even godparent, or of some other relative on either side. Such a 888 person is well cared for within the family means. Most people in Vila Recôncavo are generous toward others who are in some 736 way unfortunate, and help them if they can. There is little or no complaint if the household has to take in an infirm or aged relative; most people say that the same may happen to them one day and they will have to be taken care of. Perhaps the old person helped them in some way in the past when they needed aid and is now being repaid. Or if some older person wants to live alone, a group of neighbors and relatives all help in preparing meals and supplying food and other wants over an extended period of time. There is no case in Vila Recôncavo of an elderly person being sent to a public institution.

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In only one case can we absolutely equate a racial type with a class—the 'aristocratic white' of the rural area with upper class. The upper class of Vila Recôncavo is composed of a few families, descendants of the *senhores de engenho* (landowners), who have kept control of their lands, as well as having made a professional life in the capital as a lawyer, engineer or politician. They are upper-class not only in Vila Recôncavo, but also in the capital, Salvador, and their families are known in other great cities of Brazil. The horizon of these people is far wider than that of anyone else in Vila Recôncavo, and the scope of their activities is wider. Thus the gap between this upper class and any of the other classes is enormous. Nevertheless, the relations between it and the others are close, as this small class spends a large part of the year in the area and travels to it frequently during its stay in Salvador. There is little or no competition between this class and those under it, at least in the rural situation. In the city they are subject to all the stress and strain common to any 'high society' group.

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In the rural situation this class remains, to a great extent socially apart from the other strata, but frequently a plantation owner gives a party for the *redondeza* (for the personnel of the nearby plantations). To such a gathering 200 or 300 people may come. The whites remain more as spectators than participants, but rules of courtesy and hospitality are rigorously observed, and guests are made to feel at home, without class differences. It is at such a gathering that the local *mulato* intellectuals and leaders will often attempt to show that they are closer to the whites than the other *mestiços*.

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The chief class competition in Vila Recôncavo is between the second highest class and those below it. This second class, the local upper class, includes all the whites of the town, plus a large number of mulattoes and Negroes. As a rule it is this class which is the most conservative, the most anxious to retain its 'superiority', and which bears the brunt of pressures from below. This class will seize upon and magnify any element possible to belittle those who are, in any way, possible competition. It is in this group that the daughters are 'guarded', and have neither the freedom of the daughters of the plantation owners nor of the daughters of the fishermen. Ostentation plays a large part in their lives, and the men of this group rarely appear in the street without collar, tie and suit coat.

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This group is also widely split by politics. Politics are one of its main methods for holding or advancing its social position, and they are taken seriously. Political scrapping has broken up the social activities of this group to a large extent, and there is more than one case of a family not speaking to another because of political differences. As a result their social activities are almost nil. They lead an unquestionably dull life, attempting to preserve a way of life belong-

planters. People in the upper class of the town, when they can, send their children to the capital to continue their education, and there are several *mestiço* students from Vila Recôncavo studying law, medicine and engineering in Salvador. The intelligence of the mulatto is traditional, and it has been equally traditional that the darker-skinned person is unintelligent. Today these traditions are not as strong as before, but still it is felt that the mulatto has somewhat more aptitude than the Negro. The old idea of the Negro, meant for work and to be servile, still exists, now tempered with the knowledge that education can change the situation. There is only one club in Vila Recôncavo—a football club—and the players are all shades, from white to black, and so are the spectators. They all sit or stand together under the shade of the one big tree which gives shade to the playing field. The field is on the property of a white man who, while he has nothing to do with the team, allows them to play there, put up goal posts and markers. The bar and recreation centre are open to all so long as they wear shoes—a ruling made to keep out the muddy feet of children who came straight from the beach to have a 'coke'. All the racial types and classes get together here to play pool and gossip, this being the one and only point of public social activity in the town. At the movies, the admission price is extremely low, the same for everyone, and all four classes attend. Negroes and whites of all classes sit next to each other. At church there are no special pews, the faithful usually gathering in the front and the less faithful hanging about near the back. The choir and the acolytes are from all classes and colours. At parties, which are few, colour lines are disregarded, *brancos* and *morenos* dance with *mulatos* and *pretos* just as long as both partners can *pular* (jump).

The social situation is gradually changing, and the extremely personal element is being lost. It is strongest on the private plantation, where the owner spends the greater part of the year, but at the *usina* much of the personal element is weakened because of the numbers of workers. Even at the *usina*, there is visiting and gossiping between the owners' families and the workers. But at the *usina* not all the workers accept their subservient position as do those of the plantations. This is specially true of the higher echelon of specialists and technicians of the mill, who will frequently not go to a party given by the owner, even though invited. It seems to be a way of saying that the company of the white owners is neither needed nor wanted. They prefer to keep their relations on a strictly business basis. At the *usina*, when a worker is sick, he goes to the medical post where he is treated by a paid nurse, rather than to the owner's house. On pay day, the *usina* worker is paid at the mill by a paymaster, not in the living room of the owner's house. Nevertheless, in spite of the industrialized aspect of the mill, the number of workers is not too large to exclude all personal contact with the owners, who adminis-

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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the garden swing were 11 blacks, 8 mulattoes, and 7 whites. 563 *
There was considerable moving about from group to group. 857
In the garden of the governor's palace a similar band, aged about seven to thirteen years, were laughing and shouting together around another teeter-totter. Among them were 3 blacks, 5 mulattoes, and 4 whites. "Beginning with his earliest years," wrote a white student, "a child in Bahia is accustomed to associating with all racial types without any distinction being made between them."

In Campo da Graça[22] 6 whites and 5 mulattoes (one of 563*
whom was quite dark) composed the team of the Faculty of 526
Law in a soccer game with the Faculty of Medicine (among whom were 7 whites, 3 mulattoes, and 1 black). In the subsequent professional contest 9 whites, 4 mulattoes, and 4 blacks composed the visiting team from São Paulo, coached by a *cafuso*. Bahia's colors were upheld by 2 whites, 5 mulattoes, 9 blacks, and 1 *cafuso*. The referee was a *branco da Bahia*.

At an informal basketball game played on an outdoor court at the Fortress of São Pedro, a black and 4 mulattoes composed one team; a black, 2 mulattoes, and 2 whites, the other. The referee was a black.

At a tea dance given at Bahia's most exclusive club in 563*
honor of Getulio Vargas, president of Brazil, the city's most 574 •
distinguished citizens and their families, to an approximate [535]
total of 600, were present. No blacks were among the guests, and only 28 individuals were noticeably negroid, 6 of whom were dark mulattoes. At a banquet subsequently given the President, all individuals seated at his table were white. A number of mixed-bloods, however, principally light mulattoes, were among the guests. Two of the six speakers at the

[22] On March 22, 1936.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Two of the six speakers at the dedicatory exercises for the newly constructed Instituto de Cacau on the following day were *brancos da Bahia* (each with only slight indications of Negro ancestry), and four were whites.

During the visit of a neighboring governor, a procession formed in the Avenida Sete de Setembro to escort the distinguished visitor, together with the Bahian governor, Juracy Magalhães, to the latter's palace. Riding in the procession, alighting in front of the palace, and following the two chief executives into the spacious rooms of the governor's mansion, were presumably the city's political élite, all in formal attire. Of a total of 99 persons, 70 were whites, 22 were very light mulattoes with only slightly noticeable traces of Negro lineage, 7 were dark mulattoes, and none was black. Of the escort of 23 army officials dressed in appropriate uniform, 9 were whites, 12 were very light mulattoes, 2 were dark mixed-bloods.

Of 46 members of the state legislature, 69.4 per cent were whites, 15.2 per cent were *brancos da Bahia*, and 11.0 per cent were mulattoes.[11] Of 14 aldermen, 8 were whites, 4 were *brancos da Bahia*, and 2 were mulattoes (both very light).

In legal proceedings no discrimination is at all evident. Colored individuals appear not only among the defendants but also among those engaged in the defense or the prosecution, as well as among the jury itself. Whites, however, predominate.

Of the officers of the medical association, 6 were whites, 3 were *brancos da Bahia*, and 3 were mulattoes. Of 18 members of an elective supervisory body for the legal profession, 14 were whites, 3 were *brancos da Bahia*, and only 1 had noticeable evidence of mixed ancestry and that principally

[11] One deputy was a black, and there was also 1 *mameluco*.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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in pigmentation. An able lawyer, with an extended period of practice in Bahia, he was well regarded by his associates.

At a formal dinner given by *A Tarde*, probably the most influential Bahian daily, in honor of a noted journalist and poet, 15 whites, 4 *brancos da Bahia*, 3 light mulattoes, and 6 medium or dark mixed-bloods sat down together at the banquet table. Among the guests, according to the account on the subsequent day, were "all the editorial writers and collaborators of this newspaper, together with a few specially invited friends and admirers of the honored guest [a white]."

Among the members attending a session of the Bahian Academy of Letters were 5 whites, 1 *branco da Bahia*, and 3 mulattoes. One of the latter is an able poet, quite dark, with kinky hair.

Present at a tea dance given by Bahia's Girl Guides at the exclusive club previously mentioned were the city's social élite, including the governor. *A Tarde*, in reporting the event, said, "As was to be expected, there was present our best society—all of it, almost—making the occasion one of elegance and distinction." Of the 414 guests, 346 were whites, 64 were very light mulattoes (exhibiting only slight traces of Negro ancestry), and 3 were dark mixed-bloods. One of the latter, with kinky hair but Caucasian features, was accompanied by a light mulatto wife, almost white, and two light mulatto daughters. One of the latter danced once during the afternoon—with a white youth. Of 30 Girl Guides serving the guests, 3 showed slight traces of Negro origin. The only blacks present were the members of the jazz orchestra (composed of 3 blacks and 6 dark mulattoes) and 2 maids who had accompanied white families.

The president of a literary, semiscientific, and social or-

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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563 571 575 ganization which numbers about 345[24] of the city's intellectual élite, is a dark mixed-blood, the able engineer and Tupi scholar previously mentioned. The secretary of the organization is white, but during his absence on federal appointment in Rio the assistant secretary, a dark mulatto educator, discharges the secretarial duties. Of the 30 officers and committeemen of this institution, 24 are whites, 2 are *brancos da Bahia*, and 4 are mulattoes. Among the whites are several scions of the old aristocracy.

563 574 575 At a dinner of the Rotary Club, which numbers among its members some of the city's most prominent businessmen, 42 whites, 5 *brancos da Bahia*, and 1 very light mulatto (a visitor) were present. The guest speaker was white. Of 55 members, 47 are whites, 6 are *brancos da Bahia*, and 2 are very light mulattoes.

563 575 Of 28 citizens assuming prominent roles in a community organization designed to erect a mausoleum to Castro Alves, 15 were whites, 5 were *brancos da Bahia*, 7 were light mulattoes, 2 were dark mulattoes, and 1 was a black, the latter an able engineer and local historian. At a public meeting in honor of Castro Alves, the speaker was a white politician with a national reputation, an able man of letters, and scion of the old aristocracy. Of 200 individuals in the audience, only 18 were colored (15 mulattoes, mostly very light mixed-bloods, and 3 blacks).

563 545 At a recital given by a noted Brazilian pianist, where there were present, according to a newspaper account, "the most select of Bahia's artistic and social circles,"[25] the audience was composed of 116 whites, 14 mulattoes, predominantly light, and 2 blacks.

[24] According to the secretary of the organization.

[25] *Estado da Bahia*, January 22, 1937.

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*563 575 mulatto professor that one of his friends wanted to enroll him in a club of the intermediate category located in a neighborhood of the same order, took his photograph for the club file, and ... never told him the result of his procedure; he concluded from it that the refusal was motivated by his "quality."

It is obvious that all the cases cannot be interpreted simply as examples of the screening carried on against colored persons. One notes, however, that this is a sector of social relations where there is a certain conflict, although the tension that results from it is concealed by a mechanism of accommodation on both sides. On the one hand, the clubs allege not to have in their statutes provisions that oppose the admission of colored persons, even black ones, and endeavor to give rational explanations for what the excluded candidates consider acts of discrimination; on the other hand, dark colored persons assume an attitude of negative defense by suppressing the aggressive impulses which usually result from states of frustration.

*563 571 •574 In student celebrations that take place in the halls of the clubs of the highest category, restrictions against the entry of dark colored persons and against dancing between Whites and Blacks are considerably reduced. This is what the informants say, and observation altogether confirms this statement. In family reunions, not very frequent in our day among the upper classes, discrimination is relaxed. "Familiarity makes prejudices fall away," according to the utterance of a Black. "When a Black appears at a white family celebration," a student asserts, "he arouses a certain curiosity and a certain reserve until he is introduced and one knows who he is. But from the moment he is introduced, especially if he is a friend of the family, he does not encounter any difficulty in dancing even with white girls." "The girls in such cases do not, or very rarely, refuse to dance with a colored boy, especially if it is a matter of a student or a well-bred person; the mothers, however, create some opposition and appear uneasy to see their daughters approached by a dark young man, sometimes fearing that they will fall in love." This information is given by a mulatto practicing a liberal profession, who, when he was a student, took part in numerous family celebrations at the homes of Whites.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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ers; some of them accumulated considerable sums of money. Occasionally, as we have noted, they owned slaves[100] or invested their savings in the slave trade, sending money, arms, and trade goods to some convenient individual in Africa to "get up raids in their old homes or amongst neighboring tribes."[101] In Minas Geraes free black laborers came to own mines like Encardideira and Palacio Velho.[102] In Bahia they maintained their own regiment,[103] fraternal orders, and religious brotherhoods, each limited in membership exclusively to Negroes of pure African descent.[104] Many made sustained efforts to educate their children, and a few even had sons in the priesthood who, since the bishops of Brazil did not confer them, took their orders in São Thomé.[105]

But the free Negro, in competition with the European

[100] Walsh, a visitor to Brazil in the early nineteenth century, writes: "Next came an old free Negro woman, with a young slave of her own sex and color carrying her bundle. . . . . Her young slave was her only property, and she made a good livelihood by hiring her out as a beast of burden, to whoever wanted her, and for whatever purpose" (*op. cit.*, II, 18).

[101] Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

[102] Gilberto Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos* (São Paulo, 1936), p. 73.

[103] "There are two of these regiments for the province of Pernambuco . . . . distinguished from each other by the names Old Henriques and New Henriques. . . . . I have seen some portion of one of these regiments, in Recife. . . . . They were dressed in white cloth uniforms, turned up with scarlet: and they looked very soldier-like. They were in tolerable discipline. . . . . They acted with an appearance of zeal and the desire of excelling. Those of which I speak formed a finer body of men than any other soldiers which I had an opportunity of seeing in that country. . . . . These men receive no pay, so that their neat appearance on such occasions bespeaks a certain degree of wealth among them" (Koster, *op. cit.*, II, 182–83).

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[104] See, in this connection, *Compromisso da Irmandade do Senhor Bom Jesus das Necessidades e Redempção* (Bahia, 1929); Joventino Silvino da Costa, *Relatorio da Sociedade Protectora dos Desvalidos, 1832–1932* (Bahia, 1934).

[105] Affonso de E. Taunay, *No Bahia de João VI* (Bahia, 1928), p. 173.

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In the time of Nina Rodrigues, African "carnival clubs" were still active in Bahia.[100] A Embaixada Africana ("The African Legation") and Os Pandegos da Africa ("The African Clowns") were the more prominent. Of lesser importance were A Chegada Africana ("The Arrival of the Africans") and Os Filhos da Africa ("Children of Africa"). A common theme portrayed on the floats prepared by these Negroes was "primitive Africa brought to Brazil a slave." Certain African traditions were also represented. Thus, for the Carnival of 1899, Os Pandegos da Africa prepared a float representing the river Zambesi "on one of whose banks might be seen the King Labossi reclining in an immense seashell and surrounded by his ministers Auá, Oman, and Aboto." A second float carried "two individuals representing the powerful ministers of the King's court—Barborim and Rodá"; and a third showed "the hut of Pae Ajou, his wife and the magical *cabore*[101] which brings good fortune to one and all." Rodrigues was impressed with the enormous crowd of Negroes and mixed-bloods which accompanied the floats, "singing African songs, dancing African dances and applauding the images on the magician's float." The scene was one of "a colossal *candomblé* traversing the streets of the city,"[102] although police regulations at that time forbade the public appearance of the cult.

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Much enjoyed by Brazilian Negroes were certain dances like the *lundú* and the *batuque*, evidently of at least partial African origin, although they perhaps also contained certain Portuguese and native Indian elements.

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[100] Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

[101] The *cabore* is a nocturnal bird. [102] Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

563 171 571 gives evidence of definite personal worth, he will be accepted for what he is as an individual, and his racial antecedents will, at least to a considerable degree, be overlooked.

The extent of participation of the different ethnic units in the total life of the community may be indicated by analyzing racial participation in such institutions as exclusive clubs, schools, labor unions, and churches.

563 571 575 565 One of Bahia's most exclusive clubs, membership in which is definitely indicative of advanced social status, is composed of Bahian "society," including most of the leading officials and many of the more prominent citizens. Numerous receptions for visiting celebrities are held at this club, and its dances are considered to be among the principal social functions of the year. No blacks have yet been admitted, although several mixed-bloods, including a number of *brancos da Bahia* and even a few dark mulattoes, are regular and honored members. Whites, of course, predominate.

563 571 575 463 759 554 Among the members is a dark mixed-blood, with Caucasian hair and features, a prominent citizen, an able eye, ear, nose, and throat specialist trained in Europe, and husband of a white wife. Of him a Bahian of undiluted European descent once commented, "You know when I went to see him about my eyes the other day, I never once thought of him as colored. I needed professional advice and I simply recalled that he, like his father before him, was the best eye specialist in Bahia." Another member of this club is a dark mixed-blood, a wealthy exporter, prominent in Bahian commercial circles, and husband of a white wife, upon whose visits into the interior, it is said, all those with whom he has business dealings (including whites) feel deeply honored when he visits them in their homes.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians-SOH

Not listed among the members is a dark mixed-blood of distinguished bearing, probably Bahia's leading colored citizen, son of a white planter and a black slave, able engineer, once federal senator, president of an important intellectual and social organization, and "authority" on the Tupi language. However, an officer of the club, a white banker from one of the leading families whose aristocratic lineage, general competence, and recent contribution of a governor to the state and a federal senator to the national *camara* unquestionably admits its members to the most exclusive circles, once remarked that "if this distinguished colored citizen should sometime apply for membership, there would be no doubt that a man of his intelligence, refinement, and professional competence would be accepted without serious question."

In the schools there is no segregation in any form. Students, however, are predominantly white and light mulatto. The participation of blacks is somewhat limited, and there is a progressive elimination of the darker shades as one climbs the educational ladder. Illiteracy is high, especially in the lower class, in which, as we have seen, blacks and dark mulattoes predominate.

Table 13 indicates more equable participation of the blacks in the elementary schools, especially in those which are state supported, attendance at which is free and hence more accessible to Negro children, concentrated as their parents are in the lower economic levels.

In a parade of school children celebrating Emancipation Day (the thirteenth of May) twelve elementary schools participated, each group being dressed in its distinctive uniform. For example, the boys of one school wore light gray suits with a blue stripe down the trousers, blue belts, and

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

in pigmentation. An able lawyer, with an extended period of practice in Bahia, he was well regarded by his associates.

At a formal dinner given by *A Tarde*, probably the most influential Bahian daily, in honor of a noted journalist and poet, 15 whites, 4 *brancos da Bahia*, 3 light mulattoes, and 6 medium or dark mixed-bloods sat down together at the banquet table. Among the guests, according to the account on the subsequent day, were "all the editorial writers and collaborators of this newspaper, together with a few specially invited friends and admirers of the honored guest [a white]."

Among the members attending a session of the Bahian Academy of Letters were 5 whites, 1 *branco da Bahia*, and 3 mulattoes. One of the latter is an able poet, quite dark, with kinky hair.

Present at a tea dance given by Bahia's Girl Guides at the exclusive club previously mentioned were the city's social élite, including the governor. *A Tarde*, in reporting the event, said, "As was to be expected, there was present our best society—all of it, almost—making the occasion one of elegance and distinction." Of the 414 guests, 346 were whites, 64 were very light mulattoes (exhibiting only slight traces of Negro ancestry), and 3 were dark mixed-bloods. One of the latter, with kinky hair but Caucasian features, was accompanied by a light mulatto wife, almost white, and two light mulatto daughters. One of the latter danced once during the afternoon—with a white youth. Of 30 Girl Guides serving the guests, 3 showed slight traces of Negro origin. The only blacks present were the members of the jazz orchestra (composed of 3 blacks and 6 dark mulattoes) and 2 maids who had accompanied white families.

The president of a literary, semiscientific, and social or-

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

ganization which numbers about 345[24] of the city's intellectual élite, is a dark mixed-blood, the able engineer and Tupi scholar previously mentioned. The secretary of the organization is white, but during his absence on federal appointment in Rio the assistant secretary, a dark mulatto educator, discharges the secretarial duties. Of the 30 officers and committeemen of this institution, 24 are whites, 2 are *brancos da Bahia*, and 4 are mulattoes. Among the whites are several scions of the old aristocracy.

At a dinner of the Rotary Club, which numbers among its members some of the city's most prominent businessmen, 42 whites, 5 *brancos da Bahia*, and 1 very light mulatto (a visitor) were present. The guest speaker was white. Of 55 members, 47 are whites, 6 are *brancos da Bahia*, and 2 are very light mulattoes.

Of 28 citizens assuming prominent roles in a community organization designed to erect a mausoleum to Castro Alves, 15 were whites, 5 were *brancos da Bahia*, 7 were light mulattoes, 2 were dark mulattoes, and 1 was a black, the latter an able engineer and local historian. At a public meeting in honor of Castro Alves, the speaker was a white politician with a national reputation, an able man of letters, and scion of the old aristocracy. Of 200 individuals in the audience, only 18 were colored (15 mulattoes, mostly very light mixed-bloods, and 3 blacks).

At a recital given by a noted Brazilian pianist, where there were present, according to a newspaper account, "the most select of Bahia's artistic and social circles,"[25] the audience was composed of 116 whites, 14 mulattoes, predominantly light, and 2 blacks.

[24] According to the secretary of the organization.

[25] *Estado da Bahia*, January 22, 1937.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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that the period of time involved is much greater in the case of Carnival.

In 1936, as for some years previously, three clubs competed in presenting floats on the opening and closing evenings of Carnival. The rivalries, especially between Cruz Vermelha and the Fantoshes, are intense, the Innocentes em Progresso appearing to be rather generally admired. 796 575 • [578]

Preceding, during, and following the parade, Negro *batucadas* and *cordões* pass through the milling crowds. The *batucadas* are usually composed of fifteen to twenty young men, invariably blacks or dark mulattoes, who carry small drums, *cuicas*, and *xaque-xaques*,[29] and parade in single file. The music is one toned and monotonous, reminiscent of the *candomblé* ritual. A *cordão* consists of fifty or sixty people of both sexes and all ages, invariably blacks and dark mulattoes, inclosed within a roped quadrangle, some marching, rather informally, some constantly whirling and dancing, all singing African songs and beating their palms. A banner, usually of silk and velvet, bears the group's name. It may be Outum Obá de Africa, Ideal Africano, Onça,[30] or some similar designation. The group also includes from ten to fifteen musicians with brass instruments, a few blacks in African costume, and a dancer bearing an animal's head (tiger, lion, *onça*, etc.). The women and the small children are usually dressed in the *Bahiana* costume, to be described in detail in a subsequent chapter. [533]

In a spirit of levity common to the Carnival season, one will occasionally see a group of whites and light mulattoes burlesquing the *cordão*. Encompassed by a rope, they pass through the crowd, singing, dancing, and beating their palms. In one of these *blocos*, as they are called, 16 of the 563* 796

[29] See chap. ix. [30] The *onça* is the Brazilian jaguar.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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literary purposes like the Club 15 de Novembro, Club 13 de Maio, Gremio Dramatus e Recreativo Kosmos, and the Gremio União da Mocidade; of the Negro women's organization, Centro Civico Palmares; and, in 1931, of the Frente Negra Brasileira[15] ("Brazilian Negro Front") with the aim of "bringing together the Negroes of all Brazil," clearly indicates at least some race consciousness on the part of the Negroes of São Paulo and consequently reflects feelings of exclusion and discrimination; as also do the subsequently organized Associação dos Brasileiros de Côr in Santos and the Frente Negra Pelotense in Pelotas, Rio Grande do Sul.[16]

However, these indications of a measure of race consciousness are probably exceptions to the general Brazilian cultural pattern and not typical of it. Organizers for the Frente Negra do Brasil, after several weeks of fruitless effort, gave up an attempt to organize a chapter at Bahia. The fact that noted intellectuals band together to resist attitudes prejudicial to racial minorities is in itself an evidence of the racial ideology which we have noted. That these intellectuals are not atypical persons is attested by the general tenor of the spontaneous utterances, as well as formal remarks, of numerous Brazilians. It may be that Bahia, by reason of long being a passive cultural area in comparison to the more active cultural areas of the South, is more characteristically representative of the original Brazilian mores than São Paulo and certain other southern zones. But even in São Paulo the journals referred to above have one by one suspended publication, a fact which would seem to indicate

[15] With the advent of the new regime in November, 1937, the political activities of the Frente Negra Brasileira were suppressed. Its social and educational program, however, was continued and the name changed to União Negra Brasileira.

[16] See Arthur Ramos, *The Negro in Brazil* (Washington, 1939), pp. 168–74.

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829 to the anthropophysical study of the colored
*563 child/. Rio de Janeiro, 1939.
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125 The author of these pages has classified, according to their
829 respective photographs, 30 social-club members of the male sex
*563 belonging to the well-educated people of Bahia, and showed them to a young white girl of the middle class, to a métise of modest class, a student of the social sciences, and to a métis in charge of the administration of the same club, asking them to classify them in turn. Here are the descriptions applied according to the judgment of each identifier:

Designation	Number of individuals of each type (1)			
	A	B	C	D
Whites	19	14	21	6
Brancos da terra . . .	1	11	2	-
Morenos	4	-	6	19
Mulattoes	6	5	1	5

1. A, author; B, young white girl; C, métisse student; D, métis functionary.

The four classifications agree only in certain instances: this was a matter of the Whites whose phenotype was obvious; in five cases, three agreed with regard to the classification of a White who was classified by the fourth as moreno; in 14 cases the opinions were divided by half and so on.

829 Most of the light métis are identified as morenos in the registers
*563 in which are inscribed the members of the social clubs, religious
[575] brotherhoods, in the lists of students of an establishment for uni-
[794] versity instruction examined at the end of the investigation. When
[873] it was requested of different persons of the middle class, most of
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/18 cont./

829 The irregularities and inadequacies of electric service in
365 the city are attributed by many inhabitants of Bahia to what they call the "contempt of the Americans for the well-being of the people," as if the Americans were the only ones responsible for the operation of the American-Brazilian enterprise that produces electricity for the region. Everything that is or is supposed to be American otherwise enjoys great prestige. There is, how-
829 ever, a foreign group against which (or, more precisely, against
+563 the hidden "trust" that it represents) there exists a very strong
578 hostility, although it manifests itself only on certain occasions.
[443] It is a matter of emigrants from Spanish Galicia, accused of exploiting the populace owing to the monopoly that they have acquired in the grocery and bakery business. At certain times when ten-
[152] sion is particularly strong, as in 1930, and following the rapid
[458] rise of the price of commodities of prime necessity at the be-
[579] ginning of the last world war, the populace gave free vent to its discontent by plundering certain Spanish business establishments. But the attitude of the Bahians toward the person of these immigrants is free of lasting animosity, and marriages between the two
[261] groups are frequent. The fact remains, however, that the population attributes to the Spaniards the shortage of certain food commodities, especially bread, and it accuses these emigrants of "enriching themselves off of the misery of the people."

529 The recreational associations of the English, Spaniards,
+563 Syrians, and Lebanese are frequented by Brazilians. Likewise
575 the hospitals maintained by the Portuguese and Spanish colonies
743 are managed by Brazilian doctors and receive numerous patients from Bahia, white or colored.

795 The religion of the Catholic majority is traditionally much
771 more external and ritualistic than dogmatic, the religiosity of a large number of those who call themselves "strict Catholics" being chiefly theoretical. This must have constituted a serious difficulty for the clergy; it is also a subject of astonishment for the visitor who imagines that he will come in contact with "the most
798 Catholic of Brazilian cities." The antagonisms between religious
621 groups are also moderate in this domain and /19/ never affect the

[SALVADOR]

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*563 *575 873 A very dark color may, however, create difficulties in some circumstances. One of the founders of the important association of students of secondary education was a dark mulatto, highly esteemed among his colleagues; it was, however, not possible for him to be elected president of the association because, as he was able to confirm, a white Communist colleague insinuated that so dark a young man would not have enough prestige before the educational authorities and the public. Elected vice-president he assumed the office of president only when the latter retired; he was then able to perform many accomplishments without encountering the obstacles that might have been connected with his "quality." When an excursion to another city was organized, a mulatto student felt that some of his /70/ comrades hesitated to include him in their group (1).

[564] [565] [113]

1. "In Brazil there is no caste line. As a colored man assimilates the standards of culture of the dominant class, he is treated as an equal, although one notes a strong tendency among the Whites to avoid relations with colored men in situations requiring a certain setting (diplomacy, elegant salons, military schools, etc.)," Guerreiro Ramos, "Contactos raciais no Brasil," Quilombo, 1st year, No. 1, Rio de Janeiro, 1948.

Taking account of this, he decided to withdraw discreetly and was congratulated by a white comrade for his "elegant gesture." [178] These two episodes occurred about ten years ago, and the informants say that they would hardly occur today, tolerance having become much greater.

*563 873 Relations between students and professors of different "quality" present nothing unusual in our day; they depend, as a general rule, on the psychological characteristics of both, rather than on their physical appearance. *563 872 But there are white schoolmistresses in the public elementary schools who appear more severe and sometimes

[SALVADOR]

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*563 562 792 178 tradition of accepting as religious only the daughters of nobles and of high colonial officials, and as "servants" girls of colored or humble extraction. Therefore, the number of morenas or very light mulatto religious is minimal and all are of recent admission.

*563 793 [829] There is also a prejudice, widespread among the priests of the secular clergy, that "the mulattoes are very inclined to concupiscence and to arrogance when they are intelligent." Nevertheless dark priests are ordained. At least 30 o/o of the 176 priests ordained at the archdiocesan theological seminary of Bahia between 1907 and 1951 were colored; among 50 colored priests identified in the register, at least seven were very dark or black. Approximately the same proportion can be noted among the 42 secular priests living in the city. Among those who are best known as sacred orators and who are invited to preach on solemn occasions in the ecclessiastical life and in the religious ceremonies that precede the examinations of the different schools of the local university, there are numerous pardos and Blacks, some of whom enjoy a great deal of prestige as vicars of important parishes, as professors, and as men of letters. The theo- [874] logical seminary of the archdiocese also includes at present an increased number of young colored students, made up of dark mulattoes and Blacks.

/77/ Sports

*563 526 In no matter what study of the most popular sports of Brazil, whether it is a matter of football, rowing, basketball, volleyball, or tennis, it is indispensable to consider that some of them are practiced by certain socio-economic groups and that others, after having been a pastime of some of these groups, have become a profession.

*563 526 •595 Tennis in Bahia is a bourgeois sport that an extremely limited number of people play. On the grounds of one of the principal clubs where this sport is played one does not see colored persons, except now and then one or two morenos of high rank from the liberal professions or from commerce. A mulatto practicing a

[SALVADOR]

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*563 liberal profession relates that he was more than once invited by
526 the members of this club to join their teams, but he answered
575 them: "You are all white. If one day when I might wish to play with a white girl she refused because I am mulatto, I would be capable of doing something foolish... It is much better to avoid this."

[565] Basketball and volleyball are also games played by the young people of the intermediate and upper classes, members of sporting and recreational clubs. Some of the "teams" as an exception, admit dark players capable of contributing to their victory; the portraits of these players may be seen in the halls of the luxurious buildings of some of these clubs. There are, moreover, some school teams on which students of different types take part.

In the rowing clubs, an informant assures us, discrimination [178] against colored persons was such some ten years ago that a group of dark young men founded a separate club that was allowed to pit itself against the others. Other informants explain, however, [565] that this discrimination was based on the fact that rowing has always been a sport of the bourgeoisie (students of the intermediate class, commercial employees, officials of the higher categories); no one of inferior rank, that is to say, of subordinate occupation (soldiers, domestics, laborers), was accepted on the teams. For some years, however, on the occasion of important competitions, certain clubs have temporarily completed their nautical teams with colored rowers taken from more plebeian teams. It is generally a matter of semiprofessional sportsmen of modest circumstances.

*563 The truly popular sport throughout the country is football.
526 Groups of players, having a permanent or temporary organization, practice this game almost everywhere. Football games /78/ arouse extraordinary enthusiasm, especially among persons of the male sex, draw thousands and thousands of spectators to the stadiums, and bring in a great deal. At the beginning of the century football, introduced into Brazil by young men reared in England, was a pastime of the bourgeoisie; on their "teams" there were probably never, or very rarely, young colored men. One

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*563 of the latter, however, was part of these teams for many years
526 and was known and admired by the entire city. About 30 years
[178] ago football started to become professional; today there are few
[575] important clubs for amateurs. In the present phase that of pro-
*563 fessionals, there is no restriction against mulatto or black players.
542 They are acclaimed with enthusiasm, and many people consider them
555 exceptionally suited for this game because of their agility and
554 their skill. The most important and the richest clubs wrangle over these players and offer them very large sums so that they will consent to play on their teams. Thus several of them are made up almost exclusively of dark players. The most popular footballers of Bahia are almost all black or dark mulattoes. It should be noted, however, that the fame and the popularity of these sportsmen, in large part recruited from the lowest strata of the population, do not confer on them a higher rank; they have access to certain groups who are particularly interested in the sport; but they do not thereby acquire the right to attend the recreational celebrations of certain clubs, except on very rare occasions. Another aspect of football is that its "teams" are organized and supported by associations that generally also carry on recreational activities and are directed with passionate devotion, even at the price of pecuniary sacrifices, by rich and influential people in commerce, the liberal professions, and the bureaucracy. To take part in the management of one of these associations or on the committee that co-ordinates sports activities throughout the State of Bahia is greatly coveted: this permits one to affirm his prestige and to obtain political support from players and from thousands of fans of the sport. Some politicians distinguish themselves by the effort they make to obtain subventions and other resources for the sporting associations. According to the social level of each of these institutions, the opportunities that colored persons have to take part in their management vary. An informant who for many years was a member of the aforementioned committee cites the names of various mulattoes and Blacks who, by their wealth and their devotion, attained the posts of president and of director of several of these organizations, as well as of the sports federation of the State.

[SALVADOR]

/86 cont./

*563 814 571 The Academy of Letters of Bahia, an institution that groups Bahian intellectuals of the greatest renown, includes among its 41 founders eight mulattoes of the most varied shades of skin. One of them, an educator of repute, became a /87/ national celebrity for his works on Portuguese grammar and for the polemic on linguistic problems that he carried on with his old disciple Ruy Barbosa. Two mulattoes -- a very distinguished professor of medicine and another, both an engineer and historian -- were corresponding members of this famous association. Since its founding in 1917, the Academy has counted among its members 15 morenos and mulattoes; among them are names of which Bahia is justly proud. The group of poets and prose writers who, [538] under the influence of symbolism, were originally part of an important literary movement was made up in large part of colored men.

/88/ Recreational Clubs

*563 ●575 The social and recreational clubs are the sector where admittance is the most difficult for persons of very dark color, if one is to believe the majority of informants. Some of them even declare that the obstacles that stand in the way of their entry into such organizations are due both to color prejudices and to the fact that these associations are dominated by the old families who resist the admission of members not belonging to their social and economic [565] group. It seems, however, that even in the very select clubs of Bahia there are fissures in the class barriers: none of these clubs can keep itself strictly closed nor strictly aristocratic either from the point of view of the filiation of its members to the old families or from that of their color. And this so much the more because the founder groups permitted, not only finos Whites, but persons "socially white" or "white in color" (brancas na côr).

[SALVADOR]

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"The truly black Black does not enter these clubs," says an informant, and if he happens to be accepted it is truly exceptional; in those of the highest classes he feels isolated at the meetings and celebrations. He is then obliged to form a really marginal group with those of his type. Very few persons with quite pigmented skin have been admitted to clubs of this category, according to what people assert, but if they are received, a black leader says, it is the "doctor" who is admitted and not the Black.

A quite pigmented girl who has been at dances in several of the clubs mentioned told her friends that "the clubs accepted her because she had graduated and that people did not have the courage to turn her away." One may imagine the astonishment that a woman of liberal profession caused in Rio de Janeiro, said one informant, by going, perhaps from provocation and undoubtedly because she was accustomed to the mores of Bahia, to a ball in one of the highest-class hotels of the city.

Nevertheless and on condition that they are "socially white," light individuals do not encounter barriers. The latter, moreover, fall away in proportion as the clubs are more modest. In the clubs of intermediate category or that try to improve their class and seek members of circumstances less low, the old members of very dark color are kept somewhat reluctantly, our informants declare, and new ones are not admitted. A mulatto informant who for many years took part in the management of one of these clubs said that the latter are in the process of "having a cleaning" and they take advantage of every occasion to eliminate undesirable members; /89/ this orientation is not accepted by all the directors and has brought about serious crises. One very dark man of liberal profession relates that about eight years ago he was invited to go to the headquarters of one of these organizations to help with the carnival processions; upon his arrival he felt that the porter hesitated to let him in. The friend who had invited him was not present, so he asked to see one of the directors of the association; the latter told him, while excusing himself a great deal, that it was not possible for him to let him enter, the club not being able

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/89 cont.

*563 ●575 at that time to receive colored people. The informant adds, however, that he does not know of any other incident of this kind, and that he attributes it to the passing influence of some member of the management of the club in question. According to another informant, a mulatto of modest circumstances was recently unable to renew his registration at a club of which he was already a member: he attributed this refusal to his color, for he fulfilled the necessary conditions for his readmission. Thus there are clubs of intermediate category that are mentioned by the informants as being sometimes accessible to Blacks, sometimes inclined to exclude them.

Even in the most modest organizations, cases of discrimination may occur. About ten years ago an association of minor employees in commerce refused entrance to colored people during a festival it held at its headquarters. A few days later a similar association, announcing by way of the newspapers an excursion that it proposed to organize in order to celebrate a national date, added that there would be no "color distinction" and explained that the excursion would be "democratic." More recently one of the weekly newspapers of the city published the following note on the subject of a club of intermediate class: [204]

"The news that reaches us is grave; club X is taking a dangerous road: racism. In the course of the festival of the day before yesterday, at the moment when the ball was at its height, an 'Aryan' director expelled from the festival all persons of very dark color, which was very mortifying, particularly for the young people who were obliged to withdraw humiliated from the festival. If club X is against Blacks, its directors should notify their members in advance for all practical purposes. Never, in short, should they make them leave the premises, which is inelegant and could provoke reprisals."

Toward situations of this kind the attitude of the persons affected varies also. In certain cases they protest by way of the newspapers, but one most frequently encounters an attitude of remoteness, of disaffection, toward the meetings and entertainments of similar [204]

[SALVADOR]

/89 cont./

*563 organizations, even among the little pigmented métis of rela-
• 575 tively high rank, who, by their features and their social qualifica-
[204] tions, could be accepted, but who, /90/ probably out of timidity, prefer to adopt a negative reaction of defense. Almost all claim to be of an eccentric nature, to have always lived very much apart, to have never learned to dance. Some go so far as to pretend that, even if they were accepted, they would very rarely go to a club celebration. One Black explains that "often Negroes do not encounter barriers because, knowing the racial prejudice, they do not go to certain places, particularly to the social clubs, for it is in connection with dancing that this prejudice manifests itself most." There are those who, agreeing with this opinion, console themselves by saying that "a Negro never goes to clubs, but he is admitted to scientific congresses and in intellectual milieus. Still others react like a black student for whom these refusals "ought to stimulate the reaction of colored persons so that those who have education finally endeavor to rise to the point of being amused. But it is the opposite that happens, they withdraw." In truth, there are few who are disposed to cope with the oppositions and those who are determined to do so may be accused, even by those of their type, of being "indiscreet" and of exposing themselves to useless conflicts by going where they have not been invited. Moreover, these attitudes are very typical of persons belonging to groups subject to discrimination and who think it is useless to react against the differential treatment that is applied to them. "I know a club to which some dark colored people were able to be admitted, but by provoking reactions," relates a rather pigmented man of liberal profession. "I do not want to subject myself to such an eventuality. I should be happy to be admitted, however, if I had a sufficiently powerful friend to introduce me and to overcome the resistance of the management committees. This, however, does not interest me, but it would be a favorable precedent for others; I also know that if this happened I would encounter the hostility of the white girls who would be very embarrassed to dance with a Black. On the part of the men there would be no opposition. A colored girl in similar circumstances

[SALVADOR]

/90 cont./ A colored girl in similar circumstances
*563 has greater advantages than a boy, for, being accompanied by a
562 friend or a relative, she is assured of dancing with him and with the
•575 friends to whom he introduces her." But the colored girls, almost all the informants acknowledge, have much greater difficulty being accepted in the clubs, unless they are wives or members of the family of members. And the dark girls, for their part, fully accept this situation. In this they behave like "ignorant" colored men, someone remarks (1).

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1. The refusal of female Whites to dance with male Blacks, in Bahia and in the neighboring State of Sergipe, has already been pointed out, cf. Felte Bezerra, Etnias sergipanas, Aracajû, 1950, p. 246.

*563 Refusing to dance with young colored men /91/ is not only done
562 by Whites. A dark student says that she dances with any boy pro-
535 vided that he dances well, "even if he is a blackamoor (pretinho)." Another one, very light, frankly confesses that she does not experience any pleasure and even some shame in dancing with a man darker than she.

*563 The very select clubs having a predominance of members who
575 are merchants or connected with industry and the liberal profes-
463 sions accept only persons who are "socially white," that is to say,
554 showing the white type or classed as white; the clubs of small tradesmen and commercial employees, modest officials, and people practicing a liberal profession of lower category have a much higher number of colored members, including dark
*563 mulattoes and even Blacks. The proportion of the different types
575 encountered among the members of two clubs of the categories
554 mentioned above is the following:

[SALVADOR]

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Club	Number of members	Percentage			
		Whites	"Morenos"	Mulattoes	Blacks
		%	%	%	%
High category	1,522	67.21	24.83	7.95	-
Middle category	1,115	38.02	35.78	25.56	0.62

[535] In the dance clubs of workers, domestics, soldiers, and day laborers, the Whites are a minority and the Blacks are in high proportion.

As has been said above, one of the conditions required for the admission of a colored person in the recreational associations of the highest categories is to have a solid economic basis or a doctor's diploma. Indeed, in the distinguished clubs mentioned in the table above, the group of merchant members includes 76.89 o/o of white phenotype, 16.50 o/o morenos, and 6.60 o/o light branqueados (whitened) mulattoes, while that of the liberal professions contains only 62.03 o/o of the white type, 30.05 o/o morenos, and 7.90 o/o mulattoes. This confirms the observa-
[555] tion that many people succeed in improving their social rank by way of the liberal professions, for they are thus able to be introduced into the brotherhoods and social clubs, organizations which, in addition to their specific functions, are very important in that they are, as it were, an index of the social position of the Bahians.

*563 575 Numerous informants assert that they would not make an application to these clubs on their own, but that they are /92/ sometimes introduced by white friends. It may also happen that such proposals remain without effect when the management committees learn that it is a matter of a very black person. The papers lie in the archives of the club, but the candidate is never told the real or presumed reason for his refusal. It is said of a

[SALVADOR]

/92 cont./

* 563 mulatto professor that one of his friends wanted to enroll him in
● 575 a club of the intermediate category located in a neighborhood of the same order, took his photograph for the club file, and ... never told him the result of his procedure; he concluded from it that the refusal was motivated by his "quality."

It is obvious that all the cases cannot be interpreted simply as examples of the screening carried on against colored persons. One notes, however, that this is a sector of social relations where there is a certain conflict, although the tension that results from it is concealed by a mechanism of accommodation on both sides. On the one hand, the clubs allege not to have in their statutes provisions that oppose the admission of colored persons, even black ones, and endeavor to give rational explanations for what the excluded candidates consider acts of discrimination; on the other hand, dark colored persons assume an attitude of negative defense by suppressing the aggressive impulses which usually result from states of frustration.

* 563 In student celebrations that take place in the halls of the
577 clubs of the highest category, restrictions against the entry of
574 dark colored persons and against dancing between Whites and Blacks are considerably reduced. This is what the informants say, and observation altogether confirms this statement. In family reunions, not very frequent in our day among the upper classes, discrimination is relaxed. "Familiarity makes prejudices fall away," according to the utterance of a Black. "When a Black appears at a white family celebration," a student asserts, "he arouses a certain curiosity and a certain reserve until he is introduced and one knows who he is. But from the moment he is introduced, especially if he is a friend of the family, he does not encounter any difficulty in dancing even with white girls." "The girls in such cases do not, or very rarely, refuse to dance with a colored boy, especially if it is a matter of a student or a well-bred person; the mothers, however, create some opposition and appear uneasy to see their daughters approached by a dark young man, sometimes fearing that they will fall in love." This information is given by a mulatto practicing a liberal profession, who, when he was a student, took part in numerous family celebrations at the homes of Whites.

[SALVADOR]

/100 cont./

*563 668 whose aim was: "To extirpate, annul, abolish the inferiority complex (of the darkest ones); to demolish, enlighten, and purify a false superiority complex (of the lightest ones), so that, by a just and balanced educational process, there may no longer be Blacks and Whites in Brazil, but only Brazilians." Aside from a publication in the form of proverbs, thoughts, and maxims on the inferior situation of the Blacks, this campaign was pursued by means of "conferences of spiritualist philosophy" conducted by the founder, a physician with a modest clientele. This movement too, however, had neither the repercussion nor the prestige hoped for by its founder, with the result that the latter is thinking of starting in Bahia a branch of the Union of Colored Men, created some years ago in the country. But although he believes in the existence of color prejudice and wishes to combat it, the secretary-general of this union, in statements to a newspaper of Bahia on the occasion of a visit to the city, said that "in Brazil there is in reality no race prejudice. And this is so true that, although our principal objective is to unite colored men of all countries, the union opens its doors to citizens of other races; this also because we think it would be impossible to form a separatist association in this land, which is for all."

*563 • 575 794 The Federation of the Afro-Brazilian Cult, organized to join together the groups of the cult, and the centers of Afro-Brazilian studies are, as their names indicate, organizations of a different nature. Neither their statutes nor their activities tie them directly to the programs of social action in favor of colored people.

*563 668 /101/ As may be seen, the "Negro" movements in Bahia have a very precarious existence and operation. Ordinarily they group almost exclusively Blacks and dark mulattoes of relatively modest circumstances, and they do not practice real social and political action. They do not, however, form hostile groups, but, quite the contrary, they endeavor to bring together Whites and Blacks; they avoid all strife and antagonism with the dominant group, and in the last analysis they have as a fundamental objective the integration, let us say even the acculturation, of colored people,

[SALVADOR]

/103 cont./ In principle
*563 anyone at all may elevate himself socially by wealth, by his
555 intellectual merits, by his professional titles, by his moral qualities,
[556] or by a combination of these elements, by virtue of the system of values of a capitalist society. In their ascent toward the higher classes, however, colored people encounter resistance, due in part to the influence of the prejudices of which we have spoken, but also because of the fact that for the most part they belong to classes that economically are at the bottom of the social hierarchy.

The social ascent of colored people, however, is relatively frequent, and there are numerous examples of it. As a group, however, colored people also rise, but with difficulty. It is
*563 sufficient, in order to get a clear idea of this, to compare the dis-
565 tribution of the different ethnic types that are encountered in
555 /104/ Brazil in the groupings and organizations that symbolize
162 the upper classes:
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	Whites		"Pardos"		Blacks	
	%	Indices	%	Indices	%	Indices
In the total population	33	100	47	100	20	100
Religious brotherhoods	82	240	18	38	--	--
Liberal professions (1)	76	230	22	46	2	10
Clubs	67	200	33	70	--	--

1. Average of various liberal professions.

*563 As may be seen, none of the above groups constitutes a sample
565 representative of the total population, which proves, in fact,
555 that the different types still do not have the possibility of advancing to the higher strata. If, by basing ourselves on the
[178] descriptions of the society of Bahia in the past, we could make up a table of the same nature, we would see that "high society" and the prestige professions 50 or 80 years ago were much less mixed, although the participation of individuals of mixed blood in these groups is an old Brazilian tradition.

5: Azevedo--142 D, Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

/106/

[SALVADOR]

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Table I. Types of members belonging to a "high-class" recreational club.

Professions	Whites		"Morenos"		"Mulattoes"		Totals
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Commerce, agriculture, industry	396	76.89	85	16.50	34	6.60	515
Officials	40	68.96	11	18.96	7	12.06	58
Military men	12	57.10	5	23.80	4	19	21
Artists, professors	3	50			3	50	6
Technicians (chemists, agronomists, draftsmen, translators, etc.)	23	62.10	11	29.70	3	8.1	37
Lawyers	96		58		13		167
Physicians, dentists Pharmacists	142	62.03	79	30.05	20	7.90	241
Civil engineers	71		34		11		116
Students	240		95		26		361
	1,023	67.21	378	24.83	121	7.95	1,522

/106 cont./ [SALVADOR]

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Table II. Types of members belonging to a recreational club of the intermediate social group.

Professions	Whites		"Morenos"		"Mulattoes"		Blacks		Totals
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Merchants, commercial employees	246	36.28	267	39.38	163	24.04	2	0.29	678
Officials	81	41.96	74	38.34	38	19.68			193
Military men	6	28.56	11	52.37	4	19.04			21
Artists, professors	4	17.39	11	47.82	7	30.43	1	4.34	23
Technicians	8	33.66	5	18.51	12	40.74	2	7.40	27
Liberal professions, students	79	45.66	31	17.91	61	35.26	2	1.15	173
	424	38.02	399	35.78	285	25.56	7	0.62	1,115

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Private Plantation]

The following discussion will examine one of the five private plantations in the community of Vila Recôncavo and will then describe the network of factory plantations in the same community. 128

The Private Plantation: Fazenda das Moças

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The Fazenda das Moças ("G" on map of community) is typical of a privately owned plantation in all respects but one. 249* Its owner is a lady who assumed active direction of the plantation after her husband's death. 562 At first there was some difficulty in persuading the overseer of the plantation to take orders from a woman, 466 for he felt his prestige was lowered in the eyes of the workmen as well as the overseers of neighboring plantations. [558] However, after three or four years, Dona Sinhá, in cooperation with "Seu"[1] Paulo, the overseer, has made an outstanding success of her plantation, and the original friction between the two has greatly diminished. Below is an inventory of the Fazenda das Moças:

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Extent: 930 tarefas,[2] mostly of massapê, 450 of which are under sugar-cane cultivation, the rest consisting of pasture and small gardens 423

Water: 4 drinking tanks for livestock
2 small freshwater streams
(Drinking water must be brought from a neighboring plantation, which has a spring well known in the area for the salubrious qualities of its water.) [312]

Houses: 45 workers' houses [342]
Owner's house, with living room, dining room, 4 bedrooms, kitchen, bathroom, 2 maids' rooms, 2 other dependencies, veranda; surrounded by orchard
1 overseer's house
1 house formerly used as a school

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1. "Seu" is a corruption of Senhor and is a title often given to persons of some prestige.

2. The tarefa is the unit of land measurement used in Bahia. It equals 900 square braças. The braça equals 6 feet, which gives the tarefa 32,400 square feet. This is 11,160 square feet less than one acre. [804]

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constantly growing, or at least changing. New members are added, people who have made their mark on the society and who, although they have less family tradition behind them, are on the whole acceptable to the elite.

Locally the upper-class members are addressed by the formal term o senhor and a senhora, at times by meu patrão or meu branco (my white), frequently by title name, such as "Dr. Louis," and in some cases by the traditional intimate term of yoyô (for a man) and yayá (for a woman). At times even the very formal, older term of Vossa Excelencia (Your Excellency) is used. Yoyô is an old term formerly used by some slaves toward their masters, and although it is generally restricted to white people, there are occasions when a member of a mulatto family is known to his intimates as yoyô. With rare exceptions, members of the upper class address all those below them simply as você, and usually use the imperative form of the verb in giving directions. These two linguistic devices tend to strengthen and maintain the differences between these groups of people.

565* 576 [182]

Relations between members of Class A and those below are simple. As has already been stated, the landowners avoid the town of Vila Recôncavo, and it is seldom that Class B town people are invited to a social gathering at a plantation or at the factory, so that these two classes are rarely in social contact. Since the rural Class B consists mainly of overseers and other employees of Class A, relationships between them are those of employee and employer. However, when a planter celebrates a special occasion such as a birthday, the overseers are invited, and may "drop in" as a matter of form or courtesy; they escape as soon as possible, for they are rarely included in the brincadeiras (plays, or jokes) of the owners and their guests. For the most part the overseers and others of their class come alone, without their wives and families. This is an important indication of class position, for as a rule the wife of an overseer feels embarrassed in the company of gente (people) and refuses to go even when specially invited. The very strong em familia pattern, combined with the intimacy of the large families, makes it extremely difficult for a lower-class person to feel any sort of equality at such a gathering.

565* 571 [466]

During the course of field work the author was given a party, a Reis, a kind of surprise party which takes place during the period following the sixth of January, the Day of Kings.

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3: Hutchinson E-4, 6 (1950-1951) 1963 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

563
829 is the darling of all the racial types, and she can do almost no wrong.

There are also stereotypes regarding the white. He is someone who should not work, who should not get dirty or perspire because of work (in sport it is all right). The white is expected to be well educated, well dressed, wealthy, and to have power—both politically and as a landowner. He should also show a certain sense of responsibility toward those of the lower classes dependent upon him, protecting them against any violation of their rights, watching out for his *afilhados* (godchildren) of lower class, and distributing occa-
563 sional favours. The white is addressed by the formal *o senhor*, while
576 he in return addresses all others by the popular *você*. The white may also receive the very informal and affectionate form of address *yoyô* (for a man) or *yayá* (for a lady), which was traditionally used by slaves for their masters. Interestingly enough, it is usually the darkest of the *pretos* (even the most independent of them) who generally use this form of greeting. *Vossa Excelência* (Your Excellency) is also heard frequently when people of low status of an older generation address an 'aristocratic' white. Sometimes, whites are addressed simply as *meu branco* (my white). When the lower class refer to 'aristocratic white' or when whites talk of themselves, they may simply use the term *gente*, which means more than the simple dictionary definition of 'people': *gente* is synonymous with white, upper class, and wealth. The stereotypes regarding the white and, above all, the very terms by which he is addressed, are in keeping with his landowning aristocratic position.

563 This complicated classification of people by racial type, and these
571 numerous stereotypes of the *homem de côr* by the white and vice-versa, are particularly striking in the Recôncavo. In addition to being simply a way of describing a person, like saying he is short or tall, thin or fat, they also imply what people desire in those of other physical types. The white wants good workers, cheerful people in whom he can have confidence. The *homem de côr* wants and needs a protector, a *patrão*, someone who will help him when he needs help,
563 who will be godfather to his children, etc. But at times people will
578 employ these terms in a derogatory manner. A white, displeased by
571 something a *preto* has done or has not done, will frequently say '*que negro ruim*' (what a bad Negro!). But his *preta* cook may say the same thing of the *mulato claro* water-carrier who spills water on her kitchen floor. In the same way, a *preto* or *mestiço* who has been disappointed by a white may say '*que gente ruim*' (literally: what bad people!). Each of these two expressions has its counterpart of approval. The '*que negro bom*' (what a good Negro) has a wealth of meaning. Applied to whatever *homem de côr*, it expresses all that is warm and good that has developed during four centuries of close relationship between Negro and white. It is at once an apology for oppression and slavery, as well as an immediate thank-you. And for

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[City of Salvador]

571 178 795 [554] siderable extent over those of the male portion, the church exercises a substantial measure of control. Prestige of the military is high.

596 621 The large family, with its wide ramifications and its patriarchal organization, also bespeaks a preindustrial era. Social cohesion in the community is maintained by the close association of members of these large family groups, together with the intimate ties common to friends of long standing, the degree of whose intimacy is much greater than that ordinarily to be found in the cities of comparable size in industrial societies. One notes in Bahia a warmth of manner uncommon to the United States. Bahians, like most Brazilians, tend to be very affectionate in the family and warmhearted toward their friends. Characteristic of such primary relationships is a high order of courtesy and politeness and an almost limitless consideration for the convenience and comfort of relatives and friends. Religious affiliation and guild association weave further strands of solidarity, binding the urban community together as if it were merely an overgrown village.

571 576 157 571 794 467

578 [477] [433] [466] In this stable society there is a comparative absence of most forms of conflict. In commerce and finance competition is comparatively slight and limited in considerable measure to foreigners. The economy is almost entirely extractive and industry is minimal. The few differences which arise between labor and capital often take the form of a

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571 178 795 291 ual educated in Rio, to be seen on the beaches. Snug-fitting street dresses or those made of sheer or transparent material, and skirts which do not fall at least several inches below the knee, are subject to general criticism. At the exit of the principal churches and cathedrals is posted an official proclamation of the archbishop of Bahia specifying permissible dress. Failure to observe these regulations automatically bars the offender from the sacraments of the church.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
BRAZIL SL1

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The opportunities in Brazil for these relations to develop, particularly in the case of domestic servants, were extensive. Cooper states a fact long characteristic of the upper classes in Brazil when he says: "As in the East, the houses are . . . . filled with . . . . servants, and these servants partake of the character of their Eastern prototypes in their . . . . willingness to perform the many small and menial acts of personal service which the Brazilian requires, but which would hardly be expected of servants in the United States."[32]

Symbolic of the intimate nature of these relations was the common form of etiquette which grew up and became customary between Brazilian master and slave. It is said to have been a practice observed in all well-regulated families that slaves, "of both sexes and of every age," requested each morning and evening a blessing from their master. According to Stewart, the words used in the middle of the nineteenth century were, "I beseech your blessing [or "Grant me a blessing"], in the name of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ!" To which the master replied, "Jesus Christ bless you forever!"[33] As João Ribeiro has aptly said, "Agrupavam-se em familias, senão no sentido da lei, ao menos da religião."[34]

Debret, who spent several months at Rio in the early part of the same century, says[35] that it was there customary for

[32] Clayton S. Cooper, *The Brazilians and Their Country* (New York, 1917), pp. 61–62. Cf. also Gilberto Freyre, "Social Life in Brazil in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, V, No. 4 (November, 1922), 607.

[33] *Op. cit.*, p. 408.

[34] "They were united into families, if not by law, at least by religion."

[35] *Op. cit.*, III, 130. Cf. also the account of Maria Graham regarding a *fasenda* in the province of Rio de Janeiro: "I attended the weekly muster of all the Negroes of the *fasenda;* clean shirts and trousers were given to the

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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BRAZIL SL1

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slaves, on repeating the evening Ave Maria, to present themselves before the master with a "Boa noite, meu senhor,"[36] in reply to which, as a sign of approbation, the master made a simple movement of the head. It was also customary for a Negro who by chance met a white acquaintance on a public thoroughfare to bow his head, extend his right hand, half-opened, and to request a blessing, to which the white replied, "Deus te faça santo,"[37] or simply "Viva!"

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These forms of etiquette, together with their religious implications, although they became in time highly conventionalized and occasionally were reduced to "the shortest possible abbreviation" and repeated with "all manner of intonations of voice and every mood of humor,"[38] still symbolized the recognition on the part of the master of a common human bond with his slaves. "I can call to mind," writes Codman, "many touching incidents of the kind feelings of masters and servants towards each other."[39]

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Relationships of this character were undoubtedly advantageous to the Negro, not only during his period of subjection as a slave but also after his enfranchisement. Koster says of Brazilian neighbors in Pernambuco who possessed a considerable number of slaves:

> These excellent women and the good priest [intend] eventually to emancipate all of them; and that they may be prepared for the change, several of the men have been brought up as mechanics of different

men, and shifts and shirts to the women, of very coarse white cotton. Each, as he or she came in, kissed a hand, and then bowed to Mr. P. saying either, 'Father, give me blessing,' or 'The names of Jesus and Mary be praised!' and were answered accordingly, either 'Bless you,' or 'Be they praised!' This is the custom in old establishments: it is repeated morning and evening, and seems to acknowledge a kind of relationship between master and slave" (*op. cit.*, p. 196).

[36] "Good night, my master."

[37] "God make thee a saint."

[38] Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 408.

[39] John Codman, *Ten Months in Brazil* (Boston, 1867), p. 201.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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The "wide spread of gentle manners in Brazil,"[71] which impressed some commentators as contributing to the favored treatment of Brazilian slaves, was an integral part of a social order in which the large family was the principal unit of cohesion. Under such conditions the network of personal relations arising out of the intimate contact of master and slave not only tempered but, over a period of time, tended to destroy the formal barriers between them. "The Negro is everywhere among the Brazilians," wrote Codman, "and they understand him thoroughly."[72]

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It was usually among the newly arrived Africans, the field hands, or those blacks like the semi-independent *negros de ganho*, all of whom were not in intimate contact with the whites, that escapes and insurrections occurred. Some of these Negroes at times affected scorn and contempt of whites.[73] But those who were in close contact with the Europeans over a period of time developed sentiments of "belonging together," of loyalty and affection. Under such cir-

[71] "One afternoon I sat in a street car of the Copacabana line running to and from the heart of Rio de Janeiro city. As we approached the Avenida and paused at a sharp turn at the regulator's signal, a small boy poorly clad in cotton clothes got onto the front platform with a dinner pail in his hand. He set it down, removed his cap, bent his knee as the motorman, with a swift smile at the child, extended his right hand. The boy respectfully kissed it, replaced his cap, and jumped down. The little incident was typical of the wide spread of gentle manners in Brazil; it is here usual enough to see elderly bankers kiss the hands of their parents, but courtesy is not confined to the upper classes. . . . Brazilian men meeting each other in the street a dozen times a day, lift their hats every time to each other" (L. E. Elliott, *Brazil, Today and Tomorrow* [New York, 1917], p. 76).

[72] *Op. cit.*, p. 202.

[73] Bennett (*op. cit.*, p. 9) mentions the following incident from Pernambuco: "One evening when we were walking along the Rua Nova, a black woman who was passing us suddenly drew aside with a lofty air, exclaiming: 'O meu Deus, os brancos perto de mim!' (Oh, my God, whites near me!)"

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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At the same time, *meu negro* ("my Negro"), with its variation *meu nego*[16] and diminutive *meu negrinho*, all spoken in soft tones, are terms of endearment used even by whites in speaking to other whites, especially in cases of great intimacy as, for instance, between lovers. Their use constitutes, as a Bahian put it, "um modo de tratar bem" ("a way of being nice"). Occasionally one hears these expressions on the lips of a beggar asking alms of a white and, if he appears well to do, of a mulatto as well. Clerks sometimes employ them in addressing a customer. They appear to call up tender memories of intimate, personal relations like those existent, for example, between Mammy and Scarlett O'Hara in Margaret Mitchell's *Gone with the Wind*.

563* 192 [832] [576] [591]

The term *branco da Bahia* ("Bahian white") is also heard, although it is ordinarily employed *outside* Bahia. It has reference to the local custom of including many light mixed-bloods in the *branco* category. The phrase *branco por procuração* ("white by proxy") is occasionally used in Bahia but never when speaking to such an individual directly or in his presence. Light mixed-bloods are sometimes referred to as *bem areiadas* ("well sandpapered"); very dark young Negro boys as *pregos* ("nails"); very dark blacks as *pretos retintos* (literally "black blacks," or "black as coal"), and *reclames do pixe* (literally "shouts of tar," i.e., "black as pitch"). The phrase *ele tem genipapo* refers to the possession of *manchas*, as previously noted. Of a person who shows slight traces of Negro ancestry, it is said, "Ele tem dedo na cozinha" ("He has a finger in the kitchen"). Additional descriptive words or phrases include: *de côr escura* ("of dark color"), *de côr*

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[16] The feminine forms are *minha negra*, *minha nega*, and *minha negrinha*. [193]

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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191. Although it is exceedingly doubtful if there is in Bahia today anyone of African descent who does not speak Portuguese, a few individuals can and on occasion do converse in Nagô. One may also hear Gêge spoken, as well as those lan-
[794] guages known locally as "Angola" and "Congo." However,
[796] the use of these tongues is very largely confined to the ritual
•[576] of the *candomblé*, although at times one hears in the homes of blacks the Nagô greeting, "Ô-kú â-sân!" and the parting salutation, "Ôdî-ôlá-ô!" and even conversations in Nagô.
192 Many African words are to be found in the predominantly Portuguese speech of the lower class, a limited number of which have become common to all Bahia and, to some extent, to all Brazil. Approximately three hundred of the latter were noted.

201 Certain gestures are to be observed among the lower-class
565 blacks which are not common to the general population; for example, the *legua de beiço*, or slight extension of the lower lip when indicating distance (the words accompanying may be "one league," but the sense is much farther); and the *muxôxô*, or pursing of the lips as the lower portion of the face is pushed forward and upward, signifying disdain. Approbation is indicated by touching the tips of the fingers to pursed lips and withdrawing them while making a kissing sound. Silence is compelled by grasping the upper lip with the tips of the fingers. The act of eating is indicated by closing and opening the right hand before the mouth, and the act of drinking by raising the right hand before the face, flexing the three middle digits, and, with thumb and little finger extended, raising and lowering the hand at the wrist. The height of a human being is demonstrated by extending the

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

201 palm flat in horizontal position in contrast to a vertical 565 placement for indicating the height of a lower animal.[10]

Although one is not likely to find any Bahian black who 551 has not been given at baptism a "Christian name," nicknames are very common, and many individuals are much better known by them than by their given names. Among such *apelidos* one will occasionally discover terms of probable African derivation; for instance, Okê, Bábá Cumdê, Cobê, Oum, Tau-édê, and Au-weh, all nicknames of members of a local labor union; or, among personages in the fetish world, such names as: Manoelzinho de Oxóssi, Lourenço Lemba, Maria de Tempo, Senhora de Yemanjá, João de Zázé, and Flaviano Cavungo, each of which recalls the African *orixá* to which the individual in question is dedicated.

Exercising considerable prestige among a portion of the 791 Bahian population is the *babalaô*, or *olhador*, whose primary 793 function, it seems, is to foretell the future; the *curandeiro*, 756 who by means of herbs, prayers, and other magical manipulations [754] seeks both to treat and to prevent disease; and the *feiticeiro*, or "witch doctor," who, for a price, works black magic. The office of the *babalaô* is occasionally exercised by [794] the *pae de santo*, or priest of the fetish cult, although his function is more particularly that of supervising the rituals and public ceremonies of the cult and overseeing the sacred properties. To some extent he also exercises the function of a *curandeiro*.

[10] A form of greeting recalled by older blacks but rarely used today is as follows: If the individuals are social equals, each lifts his hands, palms outward, and grasps the hands of the other in such a way that the fingers of the one are interlaced with the fingers of the other, after which the "*ogan* grip" is exchanged; if not social equals, the individual of greater prestige places his right hand over the closed hands of the other. [576] [178]

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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794 ("guide") and a protector who, if she obeys the prescribed rituals and taboos, may bring her, it is thought, much fortune and happiness. "Look at me!" exclaimed a newly "made" *filha*. "My *orixá* is the greatest of all the *orixás*. He's powerful. I'm a black woman and can't read or write. But I'm living with a man *formado* in the Faculdade de Medicina. See what Oxalá did for me!"

794 As has already been noted, the rituals and ceremonies of
796 the cult are serious and dignified and carried on in accord-
[562] ance with fixed traditional forms. Among the essential elements of the Gêge-Nagô ceremonies is the rigid separation of spectators according to sex. The males always occupy the seats to the left of the drums, the females those to the right.
[273] No drunkenness or obscenity is permitted. Said a member of a Nagô *seita*, "If they drink *cachaça* in a *candomblé*, you may know it is not well organized." Once at a ceremony at Gantois an intoxicated man forced his way through the crowd into the *barracão*. Immediately, the *mãe de santo* who was presiding signaled to two *ogans* who, calling out of the crowd a police official, promptly ejected the intruder.[9]

794 The *filhas de santo* before beginning a ceremonial dance
• 576 make obeisance to the *pae* or *mãe de santo* by dropping to their knees and bowing their heads to the ground before the leader of their cult. Similar obeisance is also made to visiting *paes* or *mães de santo* or other honored personages of the fetish world and, occasionally, to the *ogans*.

794 When, during the ceremonial dance an *orixá* "arrives in
796 the head" of a *filha*, she must, after the first violent seizure
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[9] Such romanticized accounts of fetish cult ceremonies as that given by Graça Aranha and uncritically quoted by Vera Kelsey (*Seven Keys to Brazil* [New York, 1940], pp. 27–28), if they have any basis in fact at all, owe it to the disintegration of formerly wholesome cultural forms now characteristic of certain *macumba* centers of Rio de Janeiro.
[114]

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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has passed, dance the dance sacred to her *orixá*, after which she is assisted from the *barracão* into the *pegi*, taking due care to withdraw with her face always toward the drums. In a special room she is then dressed in the ceremonial robes sacred to her *orixá* and, with his sacred insignia, returns to the *barracão* to dance for hours the dances sacred to him.

The sacrifices are performed according to the ritual peculiar to the occasion and include the offering of chickens, pigeons, sheep, and goats.

In the *candomblé* world certain gestures are obligatory. Thus, when saluting a high dignitary of the cult, a *filho*, if the *orixá* to whom she is dedicated is masculine, prostrates herself, face downward at the feet of the one so honored; if her *orixá* is feminine, she lies at full length first on one side, then on the other, and, on rising, touches her head to the ground. In taking leave of an *orixá* who has "visited" the ceremony, a member of the *seita* clasps tightly the left hand of the ceremonial dancer. *Ogans* have a special handshake used only between them. Following a discussion among members of a *seita*, agreement is signified by rising, beating the palms, and shaking hands.

Status in the *candomblé* depends not only on one's position in the hierarchy of functionaries but more particularly upon priority in being "made" or confirmed. Those whose years of service are less are known as "the younger" and must address "the older" with greater respect and, as an *ogan* remarked, "prefer him above one's self."

The musical instruments employed include the *atabaques*, or drums; the *agôgô*, with which the priest or priestess strikes the first notes of each invocation and later accompanies the drums; the *caxixi;* the *agê* (also known as the *cabaça*, or *piano de cuia*); the *adjá;* and, occasionally, the *xaque-xaque*.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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them, legitimate, the store does a thriving business. She says:

> The *Africano* doesn't worship things made with human hands. He worships nature. What is the *pedra* [the fetish stone]? Is it not a mineral? No human hands have made it.
>
> We are just as Christian as the Catholics. Only we follow the law of Moses. He commanded that sacrifices be made of sheep, goats, oxen, chickens, pigeons, and so forth. Is it not so? We merely obey his commandments.
>
> There are two parts to the Bible, are there not? The Old Testament and the New. We follow the Old as well as the New. In the days before Christ, the people worshiped God with singing and dancing. Is it not so? David played his harp and sang psalms and danced before the Lord. We have our songs, too, and each has a special meaning. Just as the Catholics have something to remind them of their saints, so we have something to remind us of our *orixás*. But we do not worship images made with human hands like they do. We worship nature.

One of the assistants of the *mãe de santo*, an elderly Negro woman who "takes care of" the *terreiro*, is said to be over ninety years of age, is known by an African name, Bádá, and speaks Nagô as well as, or better than, she speaks Portuguese. No one in the fetish world at Bahia is said "to give her the blessing," because she is the "oldest" (that is, the longest "made" or "confirmed") in the city. She laments "the old days" before the Africans in Bahia all died.

A Negro man of seventy-seven years of age, Martiniano, one of two *babalaôs* in Bahia, known and thoroughly respected throughout the fetish world for his piety and sincerity and his knowledge of African customs and traditions, is, upon entering the connecting-room to the *pegi*, saluted by a rapid beat of muffled drums. He bows to the drummers, acknowledging their greeting, steps into the *pegi*, bows low before the altar, touches the ground with the tips of his fingers, and repeats a prayer in Nagô. So learned is he "in

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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794 girl carries in her hand the insignia of Oxun, a *leque* (fan) of brass decorated with a star.

794 All the other dancers, except one, are dressed in the
796 *bahiana* costume, with wide-flowing skirts of bright-colored
[291] cotton prints, blouses trimmed in handmade lace, and a *pano da Costa* two feet in width tied tightly around the small of the back and over the breasts. One woman about thirty-five years of age is dressed in an ordinary street costume of
[301] tailored blouse and skirt. Many of the dancers wear bracelets of copper, brass, bronze, lead, or glass beads, often on both wrists and occasionally three to four to the arm. One dancer has five strands of cowries about her neck.

794 The priestess of the *seita*, Mãe Menininha, is a large
793 black woman, forty-one years of age, who has officiated in this *seita* for twenty-four years. She proudly speaks of herself as "uma neta d'um Africano" ("the granddaughter of an African").

786 Every dance begins with the salutation of the *mãe de san-*
535 *to*, which is accomplished by striking decisively the *agôgô*.
794 Immediately the drums take up the rhythm. The *filhas* be-
796 gin to dance, the circle turning like the rim of a wheel,
• [576] counterclockwise. The women have their hands clasped be-
[533] hind their backs, their shoulders are hunching backward and forward, their bodies bending at the waist from side to side. One of the Oxun initiates moves with a halting, jerking movement, then suddenly pivots a complete turn. All the dancers are singing a refrain which sounds like, "Ô-mi-á, bá-
794 tû-lê." After some twenty minutes of continuous dancing,
796 one of the *filhas* suddenly becomes "possessed," her eyes
787 close, her expression becomes listless, while her neck and
786 shoulder muscles work convulsively back and forth "in time to the music." Voluntary control is apparently gone,

[SALVADOR]

826 /11 cont./
829 Pretos, or Blacks, are all the individuals who show the physi-
x 563 cal characteristics of the Black, particularly the very dark skin,
• 576 "the color of charcoal," the frizzy hair, the flat nose, and the
[192] very thick lips. But to use the expression "Negro" /Fr. nègre/ is considered less courteous and sometimes even offensive. A physician who worked in a dermatology clinic registered as "Negro" a patient who had come to be treated; but the father of the latter came to the physician to protest that he should substitute for this term that of preto (Black) or escuro (dark /Fr. foncé/).

A person who is speaking to a Black of a lower class may say
[192] to him, in speaking of another Black, "Someone black like you"; but if it is a matter of a person belonging to a higher class, good form requires that one use the term escuro (dark) or even moreno. Several informants reported that the students of certain black professors with crude manners say of them that they have the "manners of Negroes." In the same way, a dark mulatto intellectual knows that if one wishes to offend him one calls him "this Negro," and a Black practicing a liberal profession is not unaware either that his political adversaries, in speaking of him, say "the Negro Léonard." It is not rare to hear Whites and morenos protest in a low voice against the bad manners, the bursts of laughter, the gossip of these "Negroes," when Blacks and mulattoes give free vent to their noisy gaiety in public conveyances, in cinemas, or in the streets. Nevertheless the expression "my Negro" is a term of friendship, even among Whites. Sometimes the term "Negro" is used as a diminutive, "a sympathetic
[196] little Negro" /Fr. négrillon/, without containing any unkind implication. On the other hand, the word nigrinha, the feminine form of the same diminutive, has a pejorative and insulting meaning; it is applied to young colored people of questionable reputation. To act like a nigrinha is equivalent to behaving badly.

175 In the first years of colonization, Indians were often desig-
x 563 nated by the name of Negro. The use of this /12/ word, the true
829 meaning of which has been established only recently, caused much embarrassment to historians who sought to unravel the respective role of Indians and Blacks in the formation of Brazilian civilization. A Portuguese law of 1755 stipulates that Indians must not be

[SALVADOR]

826 /13 cont./
*563 may not be of African blood (3).
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3. Arthur Ramos, Introduçao a Antropologia Brasileira, II, Rio de Janeiro, 1947.

829 The Indians and the descendants of the cross between Indians
*563 and Whites are generally called cabôclos, but this expression is
192 no longer very common in Bahia and rarely serves to characterize
[178] the corresponding type. The term cabôclo has become, like that
[196] of "my Negro," rather a formula of tenderness between individuals
of any color whatsoever. It must be noted, moreover, thanks to
175 old statistics, that toward the middle of the eighteenth century, in
829 response to complaints about Brazilian "nativism," the Portuguese
648 government prohibited the use of the term cabôclo, to which was
641 then attached an insulting meaning, and granted at the same time the
• 576 civil status of Whites to Indians and to their descendants of mixed
192 blood, so that they could contract marriage with the Whites and fulfill official duties in the colony: it is in that manner that the contingents of mamelucos or cabôclos were assimilated with the
192 Whites in the military roles of the time. The word meanwhile
178 lost its insulting import and in our day is even considered a com-
829 pliment when it refers to a cabôclo bom, that is to say, a man of
576 good manners.

The Negroid albinos and the mulattoes with red, blond, or
144 light auburn hair are known by the name of sararás.
192 The exact designation of these different types has always /14/
144 represented a difficulty, as much for anthropologists as for the
*563 persons charged with identifying school children, the military,
829 the criminals (1).

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1. According to the Bahian anthropologist Nina Rodriguez (in her book As raças humanas e a responsabilidade penal no Brasil /The Human Races and Penal Responsibility in Brazil/, 3rd edition, written at the beginning of the century), the métis include: 1st, the mulattoes produced from the cross between the White and the Negro:

[SALVADOR]

/20 cont./

829 "the mulattoes, especially the lightest ones, are the worst
*563 enemies of other métis and the Blacks. It is they who have the most prejudice and who offer the most resistance to the social ascent of persons of color." These feelings are, in part, the formulation of class anatagonisms between morenos and light mulattoes of high rank, "whites socially speaking," and the darker persons who strive to improve their position in the society.

829 According to a woman occupying a public office, the heads
*563 of her department, who are pardos in different degrees, recom-
466 mend to their subordinates that they hire only attractive candidates and not take into consideration "black or homely women."

/21/

Population Increase and Crossbreeding

*563 A very significant fact and one that testifies to the good racial
162 relations in Bahia is the intensity of crossbreeding. There are in the city approximately 400,000 inhabitants, of whom almost 20 o/o are Blacks, 47 o/o métis, the majority mulattoes, and
*563 33 o/o Whites. Everywhere one sees persons of all ages, inter-
571 mingled without any distinction of type, men and women, gathered in the most frequented places, commenting on the events of the day, appraising the coming and going in the streets or discussing politics and sports, drinking in the cafés, walking in the environs and on the beaches, making purchases in the shops and in the markets, working in the mills, in the yards, in business firms and in the public administrations and the offices, traveling by means of public transportation, taking part in religious festivals and civic commemorations, without the least constraint. Friends,
• [576] mulattoes, Whites, and Blacks, congratulate one another with a great display of embraces and handshakes; they sit down next to one another in the theater, in churches, in cafés, or in streetcars
*563 with the greatest ease. In accordance with local customs, con-
565 firmed by Pierson (1).
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1. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 421.

[SALVADOR]

/31 cont./

829 of a white lawyer. Certain colored persons, finally, claim to be
*563 proud of this color. A young girl of high rank claims to have no regrets about being black and insists that her true "quality" be
[154] recorded in all official documents. This may also be a defense reaction, especially since this informant has a personality clearly marked by a frustration complex associated with her physical condition. It is said that when an employee hesitated about the term by which he had to describe, in an official document, the color of a very well-known man of liberal profession, the latter, guessing his difficulty, told him to write "mulatto," "for," he added, "I am a mulatto without any doubt."

829 Certain individuals are accused of isolating themselves in order not to feel obliged to live in the "inferior" world to which
571 they belong because of the pigmentation of their skin. This
*563 arouses a certain resentment on the part of the Blacks who attribute this behavior to the shame that these persons have about their type, and to the desire never to be seen "among those of
[184] their category." Our informants state that such a way of behaving
[562] is common among the women of the middle or upper class.
[565] Nevertheless the tendency to accept such segregation is not general. A dark black official relates his experiences thus: "Racial problems do not affect me. I am very well received everywhere, even among the most distinguished families; I give Portuguese lessons to their sons, and they value my friendship. A well-bred Black has access to all milieus. There is no discrimination among the men; it is among the women that one perceives this tendency very
• [576] clearly. Some are content to be discourteous, avoiding shaking the hand of Blacks whom they meet among the Whites. Nevertheless, when they take a fancy to a colored man, they are capable of behaving foolishly." "Undoubtedly," he adds, "in certain milieus I feel isolated." It is interesting to note that this informant is one of the few who are concerned about discrimination, but he, like most of the others, is without rancor and is confident that he is compensated for it by the good relations that he maintains with his /32/ white colleagues in the important State administration where he works, where he has occupied positions of management, and where he has had to perform missions calling for great responsibility.

[SALVADOR]

/32 cont./

829 *563 156 On the whole, the Blacks speak with calmness, and, even when they are very reserved toward the investigator, they show a certain psychological assurance and a good adjustment to the conditions of life in Bahia. Here, too, there are obviously exceptions: one man practicing a liberal profession and who is thought to have had worries because of his color, proves reticent and even reserved. "He feels inferior because of the fact that he is black," other Blacks say; "for this reason he frequently causes trouble." The informants state that there are mulattoes who, wishing to conceal their origin, avoid appearing in the company of their own parents of black color. One young man practicing a liberal [593] profession, highly esteemed, is covered with praise because he does not have such prejudices: although married to a White, he goes everywhere with his mother, a Black of the most beautiful black, and introduces her to all his friends. On the other hand, another man of the same milieu and the same "quality" is criticized, because, according to some, "he does not wish to be black and for that reason he hides his old mother." Another Black is regarded as full of prejudice and as a racist, "because he prefers to go around with the Whites and he likes to appear in public with women whiter of complexion than of reputation." Some of his colleagues of the same profession and the same social rank regard him as one "repressed," one who is ashamed of being black. "And," it is added, "there are many like him, who, if they could, would be white!"

829 *563 576 There is no doubt but that certain Whites, including light and dark mulattoes, treat the Blacks and colored persons of humble social class with a certain air of superiority. They do so more rarely with individuals of the same rank as they. To say to someone's face that he is inferior because of his color would be a serious offense, according to the etiquette that governs the relations between individuals of different types in Bahia. A moreno educator, [671] native of a northern State, says that during the nine years that he lived in Bahia he was able to observe this mutual respect between persons of different "qualities," provided they were of the same social rank, while in his State colored people are treated with contempt.

[SALVADOR]

/35 cont./

*563 571 The Whites hope that colored people, especially the darkest ones, will be moderate in their attitude, behave modestly, and, in spite of their personal merits, maintain a certain distance, and colored people are not by any means unaware of this. A mulatto of liberal profession says, for example, that he goes only where his presence is necessary. "Often," says a Black, "the Black does not come up against barriers because, knowing the prejudices of the Whites, he does not go in certain places." Another Black, of liberal profession, thinks that colored people, in order to be able to elevate themselves in the social hierarchy, "must avoid doing certain things." Some of these "things," according to numerous informants, are aggressive attitudes, pretentious and affected manners, immoderate, ludicrous gestures." One individual, practicing a liberal profession, would be better received, for example, if he were not so aggressive and so conspicuous. He prizes being seated among the leaders of associations at the meetings he attends, and he always wants to appear in the photographs. On the occasion of a tribute rendered to a famous visitor, he took his place, before /36/ the session began, at the table of the presidency, causing by this action some irritation among the presiding officers of the association, some of whom are conscious of not being white."

*563 571 576 565 In a society of aristocratic traditions, such as that of Bahia, etiquette concerning the relations between people of different social levels is very important. A person who has "cheek," who oversteps the limits that his rank or his position of outsider sets for him, by resorting, without cause, to manners that reveal a certain intimacy or identity of positions, is always disliked, even if he is white. This is even worse if he is colored, for in this case he is accused not only of ill breeding, but even of brazenness, someone who "takes a great deal of liberty" with those whom he does not know or who "are not of his class." The word "class" used in this sense means a very low social status. "The opposition that appears against the social ascent of Negroes," said an almost black person, "is explained by their lack of education and their bad manners. It is the same with mulattoes, for if some are

/36 cont./

*563 excessively humble and submissive, others are pretentious,
565 vicious, excessive in their manners, desirous of putting them-
571 selves forward." Two Blacks of liberal profession repeat almost
the same thing: "Color does not have a direct influence, but it
576 entails certain consequences. Colored people, because of their origin, are humble, have customs that are peculiar to them, and are not prepared for the life of society. Their manners attract attention and displease well-bred people. Because of this, the persons belonging to this class and who detach themselves from it suffer from prejudices that hold sway over them. When one sees a Black elevate himself and when one has to deal with him, one always asks oneself whether he will have bad manners. It is only when one begins to know him that this impression is dispelled."

*563 No less important is adherence to the moral standards of the
565 higher classes in order to be accepted there. According to a highly esteemed and skilled mulatto of liberal profession, "the one who merits respect is respected, whatever his color may be" (1).

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1. Among the Yoruba, who made up a considerable part of the African slaves imported to Bahia, one often hears it said in the course of discussions on the subject of the social situation and classification that "one respects the one who respects himself," cf. W. R. Bascom, "Social Status, Wealth, and Individual Differences among the Yoruba," Am. Anthropologist, Vol. 53, No. 4, Part 1, Oct.-Dec., 1951, p. 504.

An amiable character also facilitates ascent and living with the Whites. As much among the latter as among colored persons, it is said of a dark mulatto educator that he is highly esteemed because of his good character, his gentle and subdued manners; likewise, the success of a Black of liberal profession /37/ is attributed to his communicative temperament, his joviality, and his even temper. But inasmuch as the problem of race relations,

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brasilians SO11
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a morena mulata rather than "pure" mulata. She was young and considered much more simpatica than any of the other three women presented. The two whites were also both young, but neither was distinguished in any way, and there was doubt in the minds of the people answering the questionnaire as to whether these two were "pure" white or not.

The questionnaire was given to eighty-five people, broken down into the following groups:

18 brancos	11 males	7 females
41 mulatos	21 males	20 females
18 pretos	7 males	11 females
8 caboclos	6 males	2 females
85	45	40

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Table 6 gives the results as to which racial types were found respectively most physically attractive, most wealthy, best worker, most honest, and most religious.

TABLE 6
PHYSICAL TYPES

Question	Number of people selected in 1st place			
	Branco	Preto	Mulato	Caboclo
Most attractive man	39*	17	14	15
Most attractive woman	26	3	30	26
Most wealthy man	27	11	9	38
Most wealthy woman	37	8	17	23
Best worker (man)	4	38	13	30
Best worker (woman)	7	22	23	33
Most honest man	11	22	8	44
Most honest woman	15	13	22	33
Most religious man	21	15	13	36
Most religious woman	17	11	17	40

*Underlined numbers indicate the group most frequently selected in first place.

From Table 6 it becomes clear that the ideal of the most attractive male is the white; and that the numerically indicated preference for the female type is the mulata--but the cabocla, it must be noted, is equally selected with the white.

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Both the mulata and the cabocla (despite her apparent age) of the photographs are of types which have the physical characteristics of the morena, so preferred in Vila Recôncavo. It is surprising that the caboclo male was selected as the wealthiest, in view of the stereotype that it is the white who is generally wealthiest; but I believe that this is due to the fact that people found the photograph of the caboclo to have a rather "distinguished" face, while the white on the photograph was felt to be a young man with what might be considered a "characterless" face. The preto man was chosen as the best worker, which supports the stereotype discussed earlier, while the cabocla was chosen as the best woman worker. This may be explained by the local phrase used to describe her: "Good for nothing else." The caboclos, both male and female, were chosen as most honest and most religious, which is in keeping with the stereotype of the caboclo, who is considered more serious and solemn than the native of the Recôncavo.

Table 7, a breakdown of Table 6 by racial types, shows clearly the types selected in first place by the Negroes, the mulattoes, the whites, and the caboclos.

TABLE 7
BREAKDOWN OF TABLE 6 BY RACIAL TYPES

Question	Chosen in first place by: Pretos(P)	Mulatos(M)	Brancos(B)	Caboclos(C)
Most attractive man	P	B	B	B
Most attractive woman	C&B	M	B	B
Most wealthy man	P	C	C	C
Most wealthy woman	B	B	B	B
Best worker (man)	P	C	P	P
Best worker (woman)	P	C	M	C
Most honest man	C	C	C	C
Most honest woman	C	C	C	C
Most religious man	C&M	C	C	C&B
Most religious woman	C	C	B	C

*Where two racial types are in first place it means they received an equal number of "votes."

Table 7 shows the extremely low position of the Negro woman in relation to the other women. She was chosen in the first

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place in only one instance--namely, as best worker--and only by the Negroes. In spite of the fact that in Table 6 the mulatto woman was considered the most attractive, she was chosen as such only by the mulattoes. The other three racial types selected the cabocla and the white woman. In summing up the total number of "votes," the mulatto woman won by the narrow margin of four. It is interesting to note that the Negroes chose the preto man as the wealthiest, selecting the caboclo in second place, while the other three racial types selected the caboclo first.

Most people who desire to ascend socially will say that it is better to be white, or at least light, than dark, because it is the white who has the most money, the most education, and consequently the greatest number of opportunities. Traditionally the light-skinned mulatto has been able to share to some extent in these things. Therefore, today, if an individual is lighter it will be easier for him to climb, simply because of his lightness. Nevertheless, it is considered better to be a wealthy preto than a poor white.

No one in any class likes a marriage in which the skin colors are too far apart. Any marriage of dark with light or white will be referred to as mosca no leite ("fly in the milk"), and a certain repugnance is felt by all. One man, formerly a fisherman but now a merchant of some means, is a preto married to a branca da terra who was poor but almost white. This marriage has not aided him much, as his wife did not bring him social position, but it has "lightened" his children. His own status is increased through his financial transactions. But his children are being educated in the city, and are more readily acceptable because of their color and their economic background. Their chances for a good marriage are greater than if they had the same background but were dark.

In another case, a white girl of the town's uppermost class is engaged to a preto who is an engineer in Salvador, but whose family has roots in Vila Recôncavo. There was great resistance to the engagement on the part of the girl's family, and all her friends felt that although she had a good "catch"--that is, a successful man--he was too dark for her, in spite of the fact that the girl's father is a branco da terra, and that her grandmother was dark-skinned.

The one impassable gap between the upper class of "aristocratic whites" and those below them is marriage. The white of the second class may be acceptable to the upper class be-

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7 females; 41 *mulatos*—21 males, 20 females; 18 *pretos*—7 males, 11 females; 8 *caboclos*—6 males, 2 females.

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Table I gives the racial types which were found respectively most physically attractive, most wealthy, best worker, most honest and most religious.

TABLE I.

Question	No. of people who selected in first place			
	Brown	Preto	Mulato	Caboclo
Most attractive man	**39**	17	14	15
Most attractive woman	**26**	3	30	26
Most wealthy man	**27**	11	9	38
Most wealthy woman	**37**	8	17	23
Best worker, man	4	**38**	13	30
Best worker, woman	7	**22**	23	33
Most honest man	11	**22**	8	44
Most honest woman	15	13	**22**	35
Most religious man	21	15	13	**36**
Most religious woman	17	11	17	**40**

(Bold type indicates the group most frequently selected in first place.)

From Table I, it results that: (a) the ideal of the most attractive male is the white; (b) the preferred female type is the *mulata*, but the *cabocla*, it must be noted, is almost equally selected with the white; both the *mulata* and the *cabocla* (despite her apparent age) of the photos are of types which have the physical characteristics of the *morena* so preferred in Vila Recôncavo; (c) surprisingly, the *caboclo* male was selected as the wealthiest, in view of the stereotype that it is the white who is generally wealthiest, but I believe that this is due to the fact that people found the photo of the *caboclo* to have a rather 'distinguished' face, while the photo of the white was considered to be a young man with what might be considered a 'characterless' face; (d) the *preto* man was chosen as the best worker, which supports the stereotype discussed earlier, but the *cabocla* was chosen as the best woman worker (this may be explained by the local phrase used to describe her: 'Good for nothing else'); (e) the *caboclos*, both male and female, were chosen as most honest and most religious, which is in keeping with the stereotype of the *caboclo*, who is considered more serious and solemn than the native of the Recôncavo.

Table II, a breakdown of Table I by racial types, shows clearly the type selected in first place by the Negroes, the mulattoes, the whites and the *caboclos*, in answer to the same questionnaire. The most obvious inference derived from Table II is the extremely low posi-

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tion of the Negro woman in relation to the other women. She was chosen in first place in only one instance, namely as best worker, and only by the Negroes. In spite of the fact that in Table I the mulatto woman was considered the most attractive, she was chosen so only by the mulattoes. The other three racial types selected the *caboclo*

TABLE II.

Question	Chosen in first place by			
	Negroes	Mulattoes	Whites	Caboclos
Most attractive man	P	B	B	B
Most attractive woman	C & B	M	B	B
Most wealthy man	P	C	C	C
Most wealthy woman	B	B	B	B
Best worker, man	P	C	P	P
Best worker, woman	P	C	M	C
Most honest man	C	C	C	C
Most honest woman	C	C	C	C
Most religious man	C & M	C	C	C & B
Most religious woman	C	C	B	C

(P—preto; B—branco; C—caboclo; M—mulato. Where two racial types are in first place, they received an equal number of 'votes'.)

and the white woman. In summing up the total number of 'votes', the mulatto woman won by a narrow margin (four votes). It is interesting to note that the Negroes chose the *preto* man as the most wealthy, putting the caboclo in second place, while the other three racial types put the *caboclo* first.

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VI. There is a saying in the Recôncavo that where there was sugar, there were Negroes. This rule of thumb seems to hold remarkably well even today. On the islands in the bay where there never were *engenhos*, there are few *pretos*. In the town of Vila Recôncavo, and in a small settlement to the west of Vila Recôncavo where there never was an *engenho*, there are relatively few *pretos*, in comparison with the area of *engenhos* and plantations. The region as a whole can be shaded off in dark and light, to distinguish roughly the spatial arrangement according to colour. In the areas where there was and is sugar, there are many more *gente branqueada* (whitened people) than in the non-plantation areas.

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These lightened areas seem to continue to lighten, while the darker areas retain their dark characteristics. In Vila Recôncavo, which is a *mestiço* community, there is much more opportunity for

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665 This means that Brazilians born in other States have made
666 careers in different parties of Bahia and have been elected to
578 represent the Bahians at the legislative assembly of the State or
829 at the national parliament. The same candidate, moreover,
[646] had been elected governor several years earlier, before this attribute of "foreigner" exerted a decisive influence in the fight led against him.

829 /20/ Brazilian customs condemn all social discrimination;
• 577 the Bahians, particularly those of the more advanced groups, pride themselves on these traditions of tolerance and liberalism, and consider them proper for forming the very prototype of the cordial Brazilian man whom Gobineau describes: "to be very polished, gracious, very friendly," and whose qualities are defined by a Brazilian sociologist as a mixture of kindness, tolerance, and good
181 manners. Life in Bahia is appreciated and envied by some, criti-
182 cized by others for its slow rhythm, its lack of combativeness, its strict particularism, and for the thousand mechanisms that always work in a way to mitigate the antagonisms and the conflicts between groups and individuals. The French sociologist Roger Bastide said some years ago that it is good "that in Bahia very rapid progress is not at all prejudicial to the qualities of soul that make up its charm."

641 What contributes a great deal toward mitigating the tensions
829 between the groups that confront one another in the society of
186 Bahia is the polarization of dissatisfaction that in all of Brazil, but especially in our city, takes place concerning the idea of "government," that is to say, public authorities in general, the population having the habit of discharging on them its aggressive impulses, imputing to this very vague entity all the evils that beset Bahia.

829 As for race relations, one may state that a certain antagonism
* 563 exists between Blacks and mulattoes. There are, without doubt, some color prejudices in Bahia, but, as a moreno of liberal profession says, "prejudice is not only the doing of Whites; out of fear of being assimilated with the Blacks, the mulatto avoids them and draws closer to the Whites." A number of informants think that

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829 moreover, that, in certain cases, they are applied to persons who
*563 actually strive to compensate for their feeling of inferiority by an affected manner of speaking and behavior.

/29/ Color Is a Mere Accident

The expression "black with a white soul" is used as much in Bahia as in the rest of the world, wherever it is believed that a Black, in order to be good, must necessarily possess the qualities of the White. It is most significant that such a way of thinking finds followers even among colored people. The mother, morena,
[115] of one of our informants said that "the Black is black inside and out," and that if she were to marry again she would certainly never
829 marry a man as dark as her husband. In a publication in which,
*563 20 years ago, an association of Blacks commemorated the first
538 centenary of its founding, one can read on the first page: "If we examine the archives of the society or if we leaf through its books,
• [577] we shall see there this contrast: black men having a very high ideal, perfect characters, irreproachable sentiments, and, above all, very noble aspirations."

There are also, fortunately, those who deny the intellectual and moral inferiority of the Black. In an article appended to the statutes of another organization of colored people, it is explained that "what happens is that the Black, because he is poor, lacks the necessary tranquillity to which, for him as for the white man, is owed intellectual progress, the source of comfort and joy. Moreover, always tortured by the injustice that pursues him, he should have become a rebel rather than the efficient collaborator that he is, an element in the continuous ascent and moral and intellectual improvement of the Brazilian population." There is in these judgments, along with a complaint, the refutation of the theory of the innate mental inferiority of the black and the idea that there is a contrast between the dark color of the skin and noble aspirations.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
East Brazil SN1
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[41]Prado, op. cit., p. 255.

[42]At this point the terminology of the sugar industry becomes even more complex. Engenho, engenho central, and usina all refer either to the industrial and the agricultural segments of the industry or to the mill alone. Indication will be made, where necessary, when the term refers to the mill only. Fornecedores (furnishers) are usually called fazendas (a type of plantation, although elsewhere the term might apply to a cattle ranch). Some fazendas were former engenhos and have sometimes retained that name. An additional complication is the fact that "engenho" occasionally is used as part of a name where there is not necessarily a functioning mill or plantation. In addition, fazendas may be owned and operated as part of a large usina.

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[43]This period was characterized by a bitter struggle, chiefly on the political level, between the fornecedores and the large mill owners. In the end superior economic resources, coupled with political influence, enabled the large mill owners to defeat but not completely dispossess the fornecedores in the Recôncavo.

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[44]By 1940, over one-half of the people of Brazil lived in the central southern region. Because of the higher standard of living, the people in this area accounted for much more than one-half of the internal market for sugar.

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[45]Conselho Nacional de Estatística, Anuário Estatística do Brasil--1953, Ano XIV (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço Gráfico do Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, 1953), p. 189.

[46]Amaral, op. cit., II, 369.

[47]Ibid., p. 370.

[48]The problems will be discussed in the chapters on population (Chapter IV) and on marketing, transportation, and processing of agricultural products (Chapter X).

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the plantation complex became the principal characteristic. Marriages between the families of plantation owners brought new alignments of property, some families acquiring more land and others losing it through the natural processes of the marriage and growth of parts of families and the dying out of others. Family became increasingly important. As a rule the conjugal family was large and the extended family enormous; marriages between cousins, uncles, nieces, and other relatives were common. Social life was carried on between neighboring plantations, and of course many marriages took place as a result of these contacts, so that it was not infrequent to find many plantations, both contiguous and scattered, owned by the same family. As a rule each extended family had its traditional plantation as a sort of home base, and the head of the family frequently resided there, although not always. The patriarch was generally granted great respect and prestige by the members of his family, both far and near.

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Many who received land grants were the noblemen of the province, and many of them were representatives of the government. In this way the plantation master was securely establishing himself and his family not only in the Recôncavo but also in the governmental hierarchy, and was often in a position to see that the government action did not adversely affect the interests of the sugar-cane growers. At any rate, for several centuries social and political domination was in the hands of a small group which gradually intermarried, always strengthening itself. Its members were, first and foremost, the landowning gentry; next in importance were professional people such as lawyers, doctors, clerics, educators, and politicians. Members of this group were also soldiers, and in the War of Independence in 1822 the plantation masters of Vila Recôncavo took a foremost part both personally and financially, for which many were later honored by having royal titles bestowed upon them.

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As the small rural towns, and later the counties, grew, they also fell under the domination of one or several plantation masters. Not infrequently a feud would arise between two families to determine which was to be the dominant one. As the plantation master prospered, he showed his wealth and power with a degree of ostentation which was commented upon by travelers and chroniclers of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. The ruins of houses built at this time can be seen today scattered throughout the coastal northeast.

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*249 463 [578] [466] the town of Vila Recôncavo. João lives in the owner's house, enjoying her confidence to a greater degree than anyone else except perhaps the overseer. This is frequently the cause of friction between the cowboy and overseer, and this fact is not helped by the fact that João is an inlander (sertanejo), a true cowboy, taciturn and independent, from the cattle country to the north of Recôncavo. When Dona Sinhá is away, he occupies a different position, subject to the orders of Seu Paulo unless Dona Sinhá has left definite instructions for him. When Dona Sinhá is present he receives orders directly from her, bypassing the overseer. João is in a position to check on much of the plantation activity, bringing to the owner's attention any necessary works forgotten by Seu Paulo.

*249 464 162 Below the owner, overseer, foreman, and cowboy are the bulk of the resident workmen (moradores). On the Fazenda das Moças, there is a population of slightly over two hundred men, women, and children, providing a working force of between sixty and seventy men and boys, plus a few women who occasionally do light work in the fields.

*249 46 465 Below is an extract from one of the fortnightly pay sheets of the plantation. A brief explanation of the list, beginning at the top, will give a good idea of at least a part of the work on a plantation in this community. The "second weeding of a cane field" indicates that the man worked in a field which had already been weeded once since planting. Depending upon the amount of sunshine and rain and the quality of the weeding done, a field may have to be weeded as many as seven times between harvests. A cane field (taboleiro) varies from ten to twenty tarefas, and each field is numbered. Seu Paulo can therefore assign a man to weed a certain field, and they will both know whether it is the first, second, third, or other weeding. The weedings become progressively more difficult so that the amount paid per unit increases with the number of weedings. Weeding constitutes one of the major expenditures on Fazenda das Mocas, as it is done slowly with a hoe. As with all other tasks on the plantation, there is a set price for this work.

"Carrying seed" indicates the transference of bundles of tops of sugar-cane stalks from a field where they are cut to another where they are planted. The amount paid per trip increases with the distance the man must travel between fields. As a rule, several fields of cane are planted to be used exclusively for seed. The next item on the list, "cutting seed,"

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826 ers have some positive qualities. People arrange their pref-
157 erences in many ways, according to the physical qualities they wish to emphasize.

563 There is also a series of expressions used by everyone to
578 describe the person who is trying to appear white. It is almost axiomatic that whoever tries to be what he is not is considered
557 ridiculous by all. Both whites and Negroes gossip about the social climber and use the terms "tem pinta" (has a "touch of the tarbrush"), or "tem sangue" (has Negro blood), or "é da raça" (is of the Negro race), or simply "besta" (show-off), "cheio de arte" (artful), "cheio de manha" (full of little tricks), or "fala bonito" (talks pretty).

563 There are also many phrases used by lower-class people
578 to ridicule Negroes and mestiços who are showing off, or "pushing." Most of these start off with Negro:

Negro doesn't marry, he gets together.
Negro doesn't accompany a procession, he runs after it.
Negro doesn't sit down, he squats.
Negro in white clothes is a sign of rain.
Negro doesn't hear Mass, he spies on it.
Negro at a white man's party is the first to grab and the last to eat.
Negro's intelligence is the same size as his hair.

563 The concepts and fixed ideas which the people of Vila Re-
125 côncavo have of these racial types were also revealed in their responses to a pictorial questionnaire devised in the field. A series of eight photographs were shown. These were of people unknown to those answering the questionnaire. They consisted of a male and a female representative of each of the four major racial types, the caboclo, the preto, the mulato, and the branco. An attempt was made to keep the photographs from giving any clue to the possible class position of the eight persons. However, the photographs we were able to secure were not entirely satisfactory for our purposes in Vila Recôncavo.
[159] The picture of the caboclo male was that of a middle-aged man, but of a type considered locally as having a strong personality, while the caboclo woman was older and certainly not simpatica (pleasant) in the local view. The two pretos were both unmistakably pretos, and both young. The mulato male and female differed one from the other, for the man was definitely a common mulato type, while the woman was almost

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

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794 to do with cultism. His parents were strongly opposed to cult-
[778] ism and had told him that it was bad. But the next day the stone was back in his house, frightening him. He again threw it away, and again it reappeared in his house. Then he took it to the cult leader on the plantation, who told him that it was
[782] a sign that he had an obligation to fulfill toward the gods. To put an end to the matter, it was necessary to make certain appeasements in the form of food and drink. So he began to save money, and at the same time took instruction from the woman as to what to do. During this time he became genuinely interested in cultism and became the "most curious"
[428] of the woman's disciples. He studied for many years with her and did as much as he could in the ceremonies. When she died
[765] she left the house to him, as he was the most active among her followers. After he had observed the honorary period of a year after her death and had properly dispatched her saints, he moved into the house where he has now been leader for
[578] thirteen years. Because of jealousies and fights over the inheritance, many of the devotees broke away and went to other houses, taking their saints with them.

793 Three years after he had taken over the house, he had his
794 first experience with the Indian spirit Seven Stars, who came to him in a dream and let it be known that he wanted to enter
787 the man and become part of the cult. For some time the man
177 resisted, for the cult was traditionally Nagô and the former leader would have had nothing to do with Indian spirits. Seven Stars, however, threatened him with extinction if he did not comply, so in the end he gave in, and one night during a ceremony was possessed by Seven Stars. Everyone liked Seven Stars, because he was a very happy and gay spirit and danced well. After this many other devotees in the house were also possessed by this as well as by one or two other Indian spirits, neither of which, however, was considered as nice as Seven Stars.

794 According to dogma, there are twenty-one Indian spirits,
787 although the informant could not name them all and neither
177 could anyone else. All twenty-one live in an aldeia (village) in the woods. There was nothing in the African tradition to tell
[776] what preparation was necessary for these spirits, so the entire ritual became one of inventiveness and propitiousness. Nowadays young people who enter the cults are nearly always taken by an Indian spirit and are much pleased, for these spirits involve less expense and much less work. The major com-

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829 is the darling of all the racial types, and she can do almost no wrong.

There are also stereotypes regarding the white. He is someone who should not work, who should not get dirty or perspire because of work (in sport it is all right). The white is expected to be well educated, well dressed, wealthy, and to have power—both politically and as a landowner. He should also show a certain sense of responsibility toward those of the lower classes dependent upon him, protecting them against any violation of their rights, watching out for his *afilhados* (godchildren) of lower class, and distributing occa-
563 sional favours. The white is addressed by the formal *o senhor*, while
576 he in return addresses all others by the popular *você*. The white may also receive the very informal and affectionate form of address *yoyô* (for a man) or *yayá* (for a lady), which was traditionally used by slaves for their masters. Interestingly enough, it is usually the darkest of the *pretos* (even the most independent of them) who generally use this form of greeting. *Vossa Excelência* (Your Excellency) is also heard frequently when people of low status of an older generation address an 'aristocratic' white. Sometimes, whites are addressed simply as *meu branco* (my white). When the lower class refer to 'aristocratic white' or when whites talk of themselves, they may simply use the term *gente*, which means more than the simple dictionary definition of 'people': *gente* is synonymous with white, upper class, and wealth. The stereotypes regarding the white and, above all, the very terms by which he is addressed, are in keeping with his landowning aristocratic position.

563 This complicated classification of people by racial type, and these
571 numerous stereotypes of the *homem de côr* by the white and vice-versa, are particularly striking in the Recôncavo. In addition to being simply a way of describing a person, like saying he is short or tall, thin or fat, they also imply what people desire in those of other physical types. The white wants good workers, cheerful people in whom he can have confidence. The *homem de côr* wants and needs a protector, a *patrão*, someone who will help him when he needs help,
563 who will be godfather to his children, etc. But at times people will
578 employ these terms in a derogatory manner. A white, displeased by
571 something a *preto* has done or has not done, will frequently say '*que negro ruim*' (what a bad Negro!). But his *preta* cook may say the same thing of the *mulato claro* water-carrier who spills water on her kitchen floor. In the same way, a *preto* or *mestiço* who has been disappointed by a white may say '*que gente ruim*' (literally: what bad people!). Each of these two expressions has its counterpart of approval. The '*que negro bom*' (what a good Negro) has a wealth of meaning. Applied to whatever *homem de côr*, it expresses all that is warm and good that has developed during four centuries of close relationship between Negro and white. It is at once an apology for oppression and slavery, as well as an immediate thank-you. And for

3: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1963 SO11 Bahia Brasilians SO11

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the *homem de côr* to say '*Ele É um senhor*' (he IS a real gentleman) or '*um branco bom*' (a good white) is to admit that the white and the Negro can live together in dignity.

There is a series of expressions used by all types to describe the person who is trying to appear white. Whoever tries to be what he is not is considered ridiculous by all. Both whites and Negroes gossip about the social climber and use the terms '*tem pinta*' (has a 'touch of the tarbrush'), '*tem sangue*' (has Negro blood), '*é da raça*' (is of the Negro race), or simply '*besta*' (show-off), '*cheio de arte*' (artful), '*cheio de manha*' (full of little tricks), or '*fala bonito*' (talks pretty).

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Negro doesn't hear Mass, he spies on it.
Negro at a white man's party is the first to grab and the last to eat.
Negro's intelligence is the same size as his hair.

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The concepts and fixed ideas which the people of Vila Recôncavo have of these racial types were also revealed in their responses to a pictorial questionnaire devised in the field.[1] A series of eight photographs of people unknown to those answering the questionnaire was shown, consisting of a male and a female of each of the four major racial types, the *caboclo*, the *preto*, the *mulato* and the *branco*. An attempt was made to use photographs giving no clue to the possible class position of the eight persons. However, the photographs which we were able to secure were not entirely satisfactory for our purposes in Vila Recôncavo. The picture of the caboclo male was of a man of middle age, but a type considered in the local conception as having a strong personality, while the *caboclo* woman was older and certainly not *simpática* (pleasant) in the local view. The two *pretos* were both unmistakably *pretos*, and both young. The *mulato* male and female differed one from the other, as the man was definitely a common *mulato* type, while the woman was almost a *morena mulata* rather than 'pure' *mulata*. She was young and considered much more *simpática* than any of the four women presented. The two whites were not distinguished in any way; and there was doubt in the minds of the people answering the questionnaire as to whether these two were 'pure' white or not.

The questionnaire was given to 85 people: 18 *brancos*—11 males,

[1] These questionnaires were given by a local assistant after the author's stay in Vila Recôncavo, but the results agree in general with the observations made during research in the community.

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In only one case can we absolutely equate a racial type with a class—the 'aristocratic white' of the rural area with upper class. The upper class of Vila Recôncavo is composed of a few families, descendants of the *senhores de engenho* (landowners), who have kept control of their lands, as well as having made a professional life in the capital as a lawyer, engineer or politician. They are upper-class not only in Vila Recôncavo, but also in the capital, Salvador, and their families are known in other great cities of Brazil. The horizon of these people is far wider than that of anyone else in Vila Recôncavo, and the scope of their activities is wider. Thus the gap between this upper class and any of the other classes is enormous. Nevertheless, the relations between it and the others are close, as this small class spends a large part of the year in the area and travels to it frequently during its stay in Salvador. There is little or no competition between this class and those under it, at least in the rural situation. In the city they are subject to all the stress and strain common to any 'high society' group.

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In the rural situation this class remains, to a great extent socially apart from the other strata, but frequently a plantation owner gives a party for the *redondeza* (for the personnel of the nearby plantations). To such a gathering 200 or 300 people may come. The whites remain more as spectators than participants, but rules of courtesy and hospitality are rigorously observed, and guests are made to feel at home, without class differences. It is at such a gathering that the local *mulato* intellectuals and leaders will often attempt to show that they are closer to the whites than the other *mestiços*.

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The chief class competition in Vila Recôncavo is between the second highest class and those below it. This second class, the local upper class, includes all the whites of the town, plus a large number of mulattoes and Negroes. As a rule it is this class which is the most conservative, the most anxious to retain its 'superiority', and which bears the brunt of pressures from below. This class will seize upon and magnify any element possible to belittle those who are, in any way, possible competition. It is in this group that the daughters are 'guarded', and have neither the freedom of the daughters of the plantation owners nor of the daughters of the fishermen. Ostentation plays a large part in their lives, and the men of this group rarely appear in the street without collar, tie and suit coat.

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This group is also widely split by politics. Politics are one of its main methods for holding or advancing its social position, and they are taken seriously. Political scrapping has broken up the social activities of this group to a large extent, and there is more than one case of a family not speaking to another because of political differences. As a result their social activities are almost nil. They lead an unquestionably dull life, attempting to preserve a way of life belong-

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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[City of Salvador]

571 178 795 [554] siderable extent over those of the male portion, the church exercises a substantial measure of control. Prestige of the military is high.

596 621 The large family, with its wide ramifications and its patriarchal organization, also bespeaks a preindustrial era. Social cohesion in the community is maintained by the close association of members of these large family groups, together with the intimate ties common to friends of long standing, the degree of whose intimacy is much greater than that ordinarily to be found in the cities of comparable size in industrial societies. One notes in Bahia a warmth of manner uncommon to the United States. Bahians, like most Brazilians, tend to be very affectionate in the family and warmhearted toward their friends. Characteristic of such primary relationships is a high order of courtesy and politeness and an almost limitless consideration for the convenience and comfort of relatives and friends. Religious affiliation and guild association weave further strands of solidarity, binding the urban community together as if it were merely an overgrown village.

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578 [477] [433] [466] In this stable society there is a comparative absence of most forms of conflict. In commerce and finance competition is comparatively slight and limited in considerable measure to foreigners. The economy is almost entirely extractive and industry is minimal. The few differences which arise between labor and capital often take the form of a

571 178 795 291 ual educated in Rio, to be seen on the beaches. Snug-fitting street dresses or those made of sheer or transparent material, and skirts which do not fall at least several inches below the knee, are subject to general criticism. At the exit of the principal churches and cathedrals is posted an official proclamation of the archbishop of Bahia specifying permissible dress. Failure to observe these regulations automatically bars the offender from the sacraments of the church.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

[City of Salvador]

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struggle of native labor versus foreign capital and thus tend [466] to unify rather than to divide the local group. Religious [798] competition has not become severe enough to intensify self-consciousness on the part of rival adherents and thus evoke [621] serious animosities. As far as national affairs are concerned, intense local loyalties had not, at least at the time this study was made, been seriously exacerbated by onerous control from without. A minimum of racial conflict will be evident throughout this account.

THE *ricos* OF THE RIDGES AND THE *pobres* OF THE VALLEYS

One of the things Darwin noted, when he visited Bahia 361 in 1832, was that the city rested upon "a level plain of about 134 three hundred feet in elevation, which in all parts has been worn into flat-bottomed valleys."[11] Today the scene is still much as Darwin saw it. Continuing erosion has merely emphasized the general characteristics of the landscape, transforming the once level plain somewhat more decidedly into alternating ridges, relatively steep declivities, and comparatively narrow valleys.

This physiography of the country has not been without 361 significance in the cultural life of Bahia; for, in general, the 565 distribution of the population by classes, and even to some extent by ethnic divisions, follows quite closely the lay of the land. Along the ridges, which wind with the changing [363] terrain, ordinarily run the principal streets, bearing the chief [133] lines of transportation, whether by streetcar, bus, or automobile. So far as accessibility to the center and other prin- [494] cipal parts of the city is concerned, here are the more convenient residential locations. The elevation of the ridges,

[11] Charles Darwin, *The Voyage of the Beagle* ("Harvard Classics," Vol. XXIX [New York, 1909]), p. 521.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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that the period of time involved is much greater in the case of Carnival.

In 1936, as for some years previously, three clubs competed in presenting floats on the opening and closing evenings of Carnival. The rivalries, especially between Cruz Vermelha and the Fantoshes, are intense, the Innocentes em Progresso appearing to be rather generally admired. 796 575 [578]

Preceding, during, and following the parade, Negro *batucadas* and *cordões* pass through the milling crowds. The *batucadas* are usually composed of fifteen to twenty young men, invariably blacks or dark mulattoes, who carry small drums, *cuicas*, and *xaque-xaques*,[19] and parade in single file. The music is one toned and monotonous, reminiscent of the *candomblé* ritual. A *cordão* consists of fifty or sixty people of both sexes and all ages, invariably blacks and dark mulattoes, inclosed within a roped quadrangle, some marching, rather informally, some constantly whirling and dancing, all singing African songs and beating their palms. A banner, usually of silk and velvet, bears the group's name. It may be Outum Obá de Africa, Ideal Africano, Onça,[20] or some similar designation. The group also includes from ten to fifteen musicians with brass instruments, a few blacks in African costume, and a dancer bearing an animal's head (tiger, lion, *onça*, etc.). The women and the small children are usually dressed in the *Bahiana* costume, to be described in detail in a subsequent chapter. [533]

In a spirit of levity common to the Carnival season, one will occasionally see a group of whites and light mulattoes burlesquing the *cordão*. Encompassed by a rope, they pass through the crowd, singing, dancing, and beating their palms. In one of these *blocos*, as they are called, 16 of the 563* 796

[19] See chap. ix.

[20] The *onça* is the Brazilian jaguar.

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been persistently characteristic of Brazilian society. Out of the traditional behavior which developed in response to the circumstances and conditions of colonial life emerged an informal racial policy, or racial ideology, which has served as a philosophy underlying and giving consistency to the mores, appearing only when they are challenged from without and individuals seek to rationalize and defend their customary conduct. A Bahian school girl of white parentage put this informal policy into words when she remarked: "Race mixture is an inevitable thing. We Brazilians are becoming one single people."

Thus in Bahia the black and the white do not stand over against each other as irreducible ethnic groups, differing not only in appearance, which is obvious, but also in kind, and fated ever to remain separate and distinct. Such inferiority as at present exists is not thought of as racial and permanent but rather as cultural and temporary, and already well on the way to extinction. Every citizen is considered first of all a Brazilian, and every Brazilian takes pride in all other nationals, irrespective of racial origin. Distinctions are secondary. In this connection one ought perhaps to point out that the widespread web of personal relationships in Bahia tends to make a man or woman not so much a member of a category (e.g., a Negro or a mulatto) as an individual (João or Maria).

Even for individuals beyond the range of intimate personal relationships racial terms are seldom used in Bahia. To call a colored man in his hearing a "Negro" or a "mulatto" is not "good form." These terms are used to a man's face only when one is enraged or otherwise desirous of giving offense. It is, as we have noted, like calling an Italian immigrant a "Wop" or a Mexican a "Greaser." These terms em-

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phasize the alien character of the individual's origin. Thus, if a Bahian wishes to be particularly insulting, he will aggravate the sting of "Negro" by adding to it *de Africa* ("from Africa"). In this way he doubly accentuates his reference to the foreign origin of a black.

Although it is true that dark color, as we have seen, is ordinarily identified with lower status and white color with upper-class position, rising in class tends to take a man out of even the color category. For instance, a white Bahian remarked of an upper-class mulatto, "I would hesitate to call him a *pardo*, although he plainly is one; some of his friends might overhear me." For use in such cases, *moreno* is the term "mais elegante."

As early as the imperial period the title of *capitão-mor*, we are told, "whitened even dark mulattoes."[44] Thus, in the second decade of the nineteenth century, the Englishman, Henry Koster, on referring, in a conversation with a citizen of Pernambuco, to the fact that a mulatto was occupying the local office of *capitão-mor*, was told the man in question was not a mulatto. Insisting that he undoubtedly appeared to the eyes to be a mulatto, Koster received the rather unexpected reply, "He used to be a mulatto, but he is not now. For how can a *capitão-mor* be a mulatto?"[45]

Under such circumstances racial consciousness tends to be reduced to a minimum. For if the individual can with rela-

[44] Gilberto Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos* (São Paulo, 1936), p. 318.

[45] "In conversing on one occasion with a man of color who was in my service, I asked if a certain Capitam-mor was not a mulatto man; he answered, 'he was, but is not now (era; porem já nam he).' I begged him to explain, when he added, 'Can a Capitam-mor be a mulatto man (pois Senhor Capitam-mor pode ser mulato)?'" (Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil, 1809 to 1815* [Philadelphia, 1817], II, 175–76). Note reference to this incident in Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro*, p. 153, and in Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 318.

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in Pau Miuda, Cidade da Palha, and Cruz do Cosme—he has no interest in them. However, he has a consuming interest in the cinema, keeps an elaborate scrapbook which now contains over a hundred and fifty individual photographs of actors and actresses, and can glibly name nearly all the films in which each has played during the last three or four years.[20]

The following account by a young mulatto student of secondary-school age who has developed a somewhat skeptical attitude toward the *candomblé* in spite of his father's being a prominent *ogan* in one of the *seitas* who occasionally, when the elderly *achôgun* is ill, officiates at the sacrificial ritual, illustrates the difficulty which *candomblé* leaders now experience in enforcing the sanctions of the cult:

> Pedro [a young *ogan*] didn't show proper respect for my father when he suggested that there ought to be some repairs made at the *terreiro*. Pedro said it had been that way when he was "confirmed" and that it was all right now. He used "você" in speaking to my father, although he is much "younger." And he said my father lied. When I heard about this, I hunted up Pedro and told him that he hadn't treated my father right, and when he talked nonsense I hit him. Pae Procopio then hunted me up. I told him that I didn't believe in anything he did, that I wasn't afraid of any sorcery he might make, that Pedro had ill-treated my father, and that I wanted nothing to do with him and with all his accursed *candomblé*.

[20] For instance, José named five films in which Patricia Ellis had played. His favorite actress is Shirley Temple, after which come, in order, Lilian Harvey, Joe E. Brown, Maurice Chevalier, and Laurel and Hardy. In addition, he likes Raul Roulien, Dolores del Rio, James Cagney, Lyle Talbot, Kay Francis, Dick Powell, Eddie Cantor, Clara Bow, Jeanette MacDonald, George O'Brien, Fred Astaire, John Boles, George Brent, Richard Talmage, José Mojico, Jan Kiepura, Adolphe Menjou, Pat O'Brien, Chester Morris, Buster Crabbe, Charlie Chaplin, Lee Tracy, Gary Cooper, Ramon Navarro, George Bancroft, Johnny Mack Brown, Alice Faye, Olivia de Havilland, and Ken Maynard. José does not care for Buck Jones, although many of his friends do. Neither does he like Lionel Barrymore, Douglas Fairbanks, Jr., Richard Arlen, Ronald Colman, or Gordon Westcott. Paul Muni, he says, is "only fair."

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794 178 177 829 As a Bahian white said, "When a black man puts on a tie and shoes and learns to read and write, he loses interest in the *candomblé*. There are really two civilizations at Bahia, ours and the African. When a black begins seriously to take on our customs, he seldom spends any more time at *candomblés*." A prominent mulatto educator remarked, "I've never been to a fetish cult. I have no interest in them." A Negro laborer admitted that he used to go to such ceremonies, "but no more; I've given all that up now." The young nephew of a prominent *babalaô* said, "All this low stuff ought to be done away with. It's a sign of a very backward people. It has even disappeared in Africa. The English came into Lagos and brought modern civilization. Only in Bahia do these old customs hang on."

794 178 578 Indicative of the disintegrating state of the fetish world is the continuous and, at times, acute jealousy among the leaders and members of its more orthodox centers. In a given *seita* one hears much critical gossip regarding the practices of some other center. It is accused of forsaking the "true" African tradition and of inadequately interpreting mystical experiences. As the number of *Africanos* decreases, competition between the *seitas* for their allegiance is naturally increasing.

794 829 793 554 Among the Negroes who still identify themselves with the cult, the past tends to be romanticized, and the prestige of the "old Africans," like Bambuxê, Adeta, Iyalode Erelu, and others, to be constantly enhanced. Similarly, the prestige of the older cult figures who are still living—the *babalaô* Martiniano, *mãe de santo* Anninha,[11] and the aged Maria Bádá,

793 766 [11] Since this was written, *mãe de santo* Anninha has died. Of her funeral, the *Estado da Bahia* (January 5, 1938) said: "The crowd of people who accompanied the body to Quinta dos Lazaros Cemetery was one of the largest ever seen in Bahia and recalls the funeral for Pae Adão in Recife. More than

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It is true that the Europeans at Bahia, like all groups, are ethnocentric, and individual whites share a general feeling of the superiority of their group. Many of them are adverse to the (to them) strange and bizarre behavior represented by the *candomblé* ritual and other African cultural survivals. In some minds at least these acts have taken on a disgusting and even offensive character and may have evoked deeply rooted antipathies. However, these antagonisms are directed at *cultural* rather than at *racial* variations, and they tend to disappear when the Negro, as he is now rapidly doing, gives up his identification with African cultural forms and becomes assimilated into the European world. The antipathy does not extend, therefore, to the Negro as such but rather to the *Africano*, the foreigner, he who constitutes an alien cyst in the social organism. This attitude is not greatly different from that characteristic of descendants of the first English settlers in the United States toward recent immigrants from southern and eastern Europe who for a time continue to live much to themselves and to cling tenaciously to Old World customs and traditions.

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One might note that the Brazilian case of racial contact definitely supports Faris' challenge of a popular assumption which, confusing the customary with the natural, maintains that race prejudice is instinctive and hereditary.[12] If race prejudice were organic, it obviously would appear in all cases of racial contact. If, then, we discover cases in which it does not appear, the hypothesis that race prejudice is instinctive is no longer valid.

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What we find, then, in Bahia is a multiracial class society.

[12] Ellsworth Faris, "The Natural History of Race Prejudice," in *The Nature of Human Nature* (New York and London, 1937), chap. xxxii, pp. 357 ff.

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persist, setting apart to some extent a (comparatively small) portion of the black population.

20. Lynching and the rape of white women by colored men are both unknown, "passing" has no point, and circumstances are not ordinarily conducive to the appearance of the "marginal man."

21. One drop of African blood does not, as in the United States (if known), class a mixed-blood as a Negro. Instead, many individuals are listed in the official statistics as whites, and are similarly known in the community, who not only have African ancestors but actually give some evidence of this descent in their color and features.

22. Prejudice exists in Brazil; but it is *class* rather than *race* prejudice. It is the kind of prejudice which one finds inside the ranks of the Negro in the United States.

23. It is possible that the Brazilian blacks and mixed-bloods, lacking as they do in most cases the sense of inferiority long characteristic of the Negro in the United States, particularly of the mixed-blood, have been less activated by personal ambition. Feeling themselves less under the necessity of demonstrating to a hostile white world their individual talents and abilities, they have not had the same incentive for social advancement and, consequently, have not, perhaps, as a group, risen in class as rapidly as has the Negro in the United States.

24. Although Brazil seems never to have had a formal racial policy, the traditional behavior which originally grew up and took shape under the influence of the immediate and unreflecting responses to the circumstances and conditions of colonial life gave rise to an *informal* racial policy, or racial ideology, which underlies and gives consistency to the mores, appearing only when they are challenged from without and

[SALVADOR]

/16 cont./

829 Rumanian Jews who devote themselves to the furniture business or
*563 who practice selling on credit are called in a bloc: the "Russians"; the common people do not know that they are Israelites, and in the majority of cases do not even know the term "Jew." The Syrians, Lebanese, Arabs, and Turks, proprietors of small and medium-sized business houses in the center of the city, are indiscriminately called "Arabs," and their descendants, provided they are recognizable by their features, are the "sons of Arabs." /Ills. 1 and 2 appear here./

/17/ A Minimum of Tension in Bahia Society

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*563 Bahia is considered one of the most "Brazilian" communities of the whole country because of the extremely limited number of foreigners that its population contains and because it continues to be formed of those same elements that constituted the population of Brazil from the beginning. In the entire State of Bahia, at the time of the 1940 census, there were 204 foreigners per 1,000 Brazilians, grouped for the most part in the capital; in the course of the last ten years this number has very likely increased, but the total population has also grown and maintains its homogeneity. These foreigners form small groups (1)

1. Spaniards, 2,115; Portuguese, 1,912; Syrians, Lebanese, etc., 1,059; Italians, 950; Germans and Austrians, 592; North Americans, 83; European Russians, 168, etc.

distinct from the Bahians through certain physical traits, but above all through their cultural characteristics (those that one calls "Russians" or "Arabs," for example) or through their professional specializations (for example, the Spaniards). An
[578] antagonism between some of these groups and the Brazilians gives rise to moderate discrimination in certain social sectors, but it is rarely expressed by a declared hostility or in an active form of segregation.

[SALVADOR]

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829 The irregularities and inadequacies of electric service in
365 the city are attributed by many inhabitants of Bahia to what they call the "contempt of the Americans for the well-being of the people," as if the Americans were the only ones responsible for the operation of the American-Brazilian enterprise that produces electricity for the region. Everything that is or is supposed to be American otherwise enjoys great prestige. There is, how-
829 ever, a foreign group against which (or, more precisely, against
*563 the hidden "trust" that it represents) there exists a very strong
578 hostility, although it manifests itself only on certain occasions.
[443] It is a matter of emigrants from Spanish Galicia, accused of exploiting the populace owing to the monopoly that they have acquired in the grocery and bakery business. At certain times when ten-
[152] sion is particularly strong, as in 1930, and following the rapid
[458] rise of the price of commodities of prime necessity at the be-
[579] ginning of the last world war, the populace gave free vent to its discontent by plundering certain Spanish business establishments. But the attitude of the Bahians toward the person of these immigrants is free of lasting animosity, and marriages between the two
[261] groups are frequent. The fact remains, however, that the population attributes to the Spaniards the shortage of certain food commodities, especially bread, and it accuses these emigrants of "enriching themselves off of the misery of the people."

529 The recreational associations of the English, Spaniards,
*563 Syrians, and Lebanese are frequented by Brazilians. Likewise
575 the hospitals maintained by the Portuguese and Spanish colonies
743 are managed by Brazilian doctors and receive numerous patients from Bahia, white or colored.

795 The religion of the Catholic majority is traditionally much
771 more external and ritualistic than dogmatic, the religiosity of a large number of those who call themselves "strict Catholics" being chiefly theoretical. This must have constituted a serious difficulty for the clergy; it is also a subject of astonishment for the visitor who imagines that he will come in contact with "the most
798 Catholic of Brazilian cities." The antagonisms between religious
621 groups are also moderate in this domain and /19/ never affect the

[SALVADOR]

/19 cont./

798 social cohesion of the community (1).
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[162] 1. In 1940 the population of the city and of the municipality was made up of 97.49 o/o Roman
[795] Apostolic Catholics; 1.11 o/o Protestants; 0.26 o/o Israelites; 0.62 o/o spiritualists, etc.

[797] The Catholic majority views with an evil eye the activities of foreign Protestant missionaries and condemns particularly the "disloyal methods employed by some of them" and their way of distorting the Church. Protestantism is fought in the pulpit as heresy, but never the Protestants as persons having different characteristics and toward whom one vows hostility. The antago-
[871] nism between Catholics, Protestants, and Presbyterians is also
[777] placed on the purely doctrinal plane; the institutions of learning maintained by Baptists and Presbyterians are attended by Catholic students and enjoy prestige because of their "American methods."

794 As for the candomblés, sanctuaries devoted to the cults of
798 African origin, the current feeling is that these rites are so many barbaric survivals that ought to be done away with, for they are a matter of shame before foreigners and tourists. In a commentary on tourism, a local journal proposes that the visit to candomblés be omitted from excursion programs, "because there can be no propaganda more negative for this Brazilian city four times a hundred years old, which has so many other interesting things to show." These cults, despite everything, enjoy relative freedom and function by virtue of police authorization. They have sometimes been prohibited and their devotees violently dispersed by police forces. Among the Blacks there are many who share the opinions of the Whites on the subject of these rites.

666 Only the rivalry between political parties provokes real
665 tension during the election campaigns. This tension is particularly
578 intense in the controversies in the interior of the State; it never expresses itself other than verbally; individual cases of aggression or actual conflicts between groups belonging to different political parties have become extremely rare. The ethnocentric feelings
[829] of the Bahians reached great vehemence several years ago when the majority of the electors refused to elect as governor of the State a candidate who was not "born in Bahia."

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665 This means that Brazilians born in other States have made
666 careers in different parties of Bahia and have been elected to
578 represent the Bahians at the legislative assembly of the State or
828 at the national parliament. The same candidate, moreover,
[646] had been elected governor several years earlier, before this attribute of "foreigner" exerted a decisive influence in the fight led against him.

829 /20/ Brazilian customs condemn all social discrimination;
577 the Bahians, particularly those of the more advanced groups, pride themselves on these traditions of tolerance and liberalism, and consider them proper for forming the very prototype of the cordial Brazilian man whom Gobineau describes: "to be very polished, gracious, very friendly," and whose qualities are defined by a Brazilian sociologist as a mixture of kindness, tolerance, and good
181 manners. Life in Bahia is appreciated and envied by some, criti-
182 cized by others for its slow rhythm, its lack of combativeness, its strict particularism, and for the thousand mechanisms that always work in a way to mitigate the antagonisms and the conflicts between groups and individuals. The French sociologist Roger Bastide said some years ago that it is good "that in Bahia very rapid progress is not at all prejudicial to the qualities of soul that make up its charm."

641 What contributes a great deal toward mitigating the tensions
829 between the groups that confront one another in the society of
186 Bahia is the polarization of dissatisfaction that in all of Brazil, but especially in our city, takes place concerning the idea of "government," that is to say, public authorities in general, the population having the habit of discharging on them its aggressive impulses, imputing to this very vague entity all the evils that beset Bahia.

829 As for race relations, one may state that a certain antagonism
*563 exists between Blacks and mulattoes. There are, without doubt, some color prejudices in Bahia, but, as a moreno of liberal profession says, "prejudice is not only the doing of Whites; out of fear of being assimilated with the Blacks, the mulatto avoids them and draws closer to the Whites." A number of informants think that

[SALVADOR]

The antagonism of the
/47 cont./ inhabitants of Bahia against the
*563 441 • 578 829 Spanish merchants is expressed, aside from the manifestations pointed out in another chapter, by the belief that they are responsible for the discrimination that is practiced against colored people in certain recreational clubs. In the trade of textiles and
*563 441 464 petty retail objects, such as the Syrians, Lebanese, Arabs, and Turks carry on in little shops, there are no longer many openings possible for colored people. The Arab merchants accept colored employees to work at the counter in their establishments, but, since these are generally modest family enterprises, their few light descendants of mixed blood or morenos remain in the lower or intermediate strata of the population.

*563 441 464 472 829 In the offices of large export or import firms made up in part of Europeans (Germans, English, Swiss), colored persons are admitted and may obtain positions carrying some responsibility, but they rarely reach the rank of owners. The European merchants, numerous informants say, have the reputation of being liberal with their employees and other colored persons with whom they do business or who collaborate in their activities: harbor services, transport, transit, navigation. A wealthy, dark mulatto merchant states that his transport enterprise works a great deal for large
/48/ foreign firms: "The English are particularly pleasant in that they help their colored employees and promote them to the secretariat of management." They often bring them gifts from Europe, invite them to their clubs, and are happy when some of
[191] [186] them speak their language. "The German merchants who had very large firms in Bahia in the old days were very good to their colored assistants; they were very jealous of their language, however, and seemed not to like it at all when a Black spoke German. Some European firms honor their employees, even the Blacks, when they complete 20 or 30 years of service and give them bonuses on
[555] this occasion. But they do not promote them to important posts, sometimes because of their incompetence. The same thing does not happen with Brazilian firms, which are not accessible to colored people."

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The present town of Orobó,[60] approximately a hundred and fifty miles interior from the port of Bahia, is said to have had its origin in such a settlement.[61] Even outlying areas of the city of Bahia like Matta Escura and Estrada da Liberdade, and the neighboring villages of Cabula, Armação, Pirajá, and Itapoan, are said to have had their origin in *quilombos*, dating from the colonial period. From these settlements there were frequent sallies of Negroes into the city to rob and to pillage. However, no *quilombo* in the state of Bahia

[60] The name has recently been changed to Ruy Barbosa.

[61] On September 23, 1796, an investigation was ordered of complaints regarding the *quilombo* of Orobó. On April 6 of the following year this report was made (Silva, *op. cit.*, III, 227):

ILLUSTRIOUS AND ESTEEMED SIR:

There having been repeated requests on the part of certain *senhores de engenho* and owners of *fazendas* living in the vicinity of Orobó, district of the villa of Cachoeira, that there be destroyed a very old *quilombo* of fugitive slaves who have been wasting and destroying neighboring plantations and committing other excesses of great damage to the settlers, I ordered the *desembargador*, Juiz de Fora, of the same villa to find out if these reports were true, and if they were, to seek by all means possible to destroy this *quilombo*, using all prudence and care to avoid any fatal occurrence in the execution of the order, in view of the great distance between Cachoeira and that district, as well as our ignorance of the size of the *quilombo* which, according to some accounts, was not small. The necessity of collecting provisions, of enrolling and arming men . . . . delayed for some time the execution of this order until, the complaints continuing and the people themselves offering to lend some aid and assistance, I ordered the *capitão-mor* of Entrados e Assaltos of the District of São José das Itapororocas, Severino Pereira, to organize an armed force and to destory the *mocambo*. This order was carried out in December of last year, the two *quilombos*, or *mocambos*, known as Orobó and Andrah being destroyed. At these places were found fields of manioc, *inhame*, rice, fruit, and a little sugar cane, with all of which the inhabitants had easily been able to sustain themselves. Thirteen slaves were apprehended, among them men, women, and children, all of whom were delivered up to their respective masters. Previous to the arrival of the armed force, it is reported, a great number of slaves living there fled, for apparently they suspected, or perhaps were even aware of, the impending attack. As it appeared that they had fled to another *quilombo* called Tupim, farther off, I ordered that it similarly be destroyed, but I have not yet had notice whether such has been done. This is what I have to offer Your Excellency in reply to a letter directed to me and received on the 23rd of September of last year, urging me to undertake the most effective means of destroying the indicated *quilombos* and of relieving the settlers.

God guard Your Excellency.

Bahia, 6th of April, 1797. Most Illustrious and Excellent Sir, D. Rodrigo de Souza Coutinho.

D. FERNANDO JOSÉ DE PORTUGAL

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equaled in size or in importance the famed Palmares of Alagoas.[62]

It is a mistake, however, to conclude that humane and intimate relations between master and slave were by any means rare. In fact, they were in all likelihood, as we shall see in detail later, the general rule. The literature records numerous instances like that witnessed by John Codman in 1866, of which he says:

> We drove up to the door of our Brazilian passengers. They were most boisterously welcomed by a troop of blacks. The pleasantest thing I had seen for some hours was the affection of these poor Negroes. Bright shone their eyes, and what a display was there of ivory! They fairly seized their mistress . . . . in their arms, and "toted" her off into the house, hugging and kissing her, screaming and dancing as they went.[63]

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[62] The famous "Negroes of the Palmares" (or "Palm Forests") were slaves who had escaped from Pernambuco before and particularly during the struggles of the Portuguese with the Dutch. Constantly acquiring recruits, they set up a series of crudely fortified villages scattered over some sixty leagues (about two hundred and forty miles). From these they harried the neighboring regions, taking from outlying *fazendas* both mates and slaves, among the former of which white women were occasionally to be found. They became so strong and so difficult to dislodge, that numerous expeditions sent out by the Dutch and later by the Portuguese served only to check for a time their growth—were unable for seventy years to destroy them completely. Only in 1697 were they finally subdued by an army from Recife led by a Paulista famed for success in such fighting and especially imported for this service, and then only after he had at first encountered serious reversals at their hands and their resistance had subsequently been broken by a failure of the food supply (Southey, *op. cit.*, III, 23–29). This Negro group had at times carried on trade with the whites, exchanging agricultural products for articles of manufacture. That they were seriously treated as an alien but respected group is attested by an exchange of peace commissioners during the governorship of Ayres Souza e Castro and the subsequent signing of a treaty of peace. (Incidentally, this treaty was never kept by the whites.) For a critical examination of the exaggerated reports of this erroneously labeled "Negro Republic" see Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 111–43.

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[63] John Codman, *Ten Months in Brazil* (Boston, 1867), p. 125.

[SALVADOR]

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365 the city are attributed by many inhabitants of Bahia to what they call the "contempt of the Americans for the well-being of the people," as if the Americans were the only ones responsible for the operation of the American-Brazilian enterprise that produces electricity for the region. Everything that is or is supposed to be American otherwise enjoys great prestige. There is, how-
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the plantation complex became the principal characteristic. Marriages between the families of plantation owners brought new alignments of property, some families acquiring more land and others losing it through the natural processes of the marriage and growth of parts of families and the dying out of others. Family became increasingly important. As a rule the conjugal family was large and the extended family enormous; marriages between cousins, uncles, nieces, and other relatives were common. Social life was carried on between neighboring plantations, and of course many marriages took place as a result of these contacts, so that it was not infrequent to find many plantations, both contiguous and scattered, owned by the same family. As a rule each extended family had its traditional plantation as a sort of home base, and the head of the family frequently resided there, although not always. The patriarch was generally granted great respect and prestige by the members of his family, both far and near.

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Many who received land grants were the noblemen of the province, and many of them were representatives of the government. In this way the plantation master was securely establishing himself and his family not only in the Recôncavo but also in the governmental hierarchy, and was often in a position to see that the government action did not adversely affect the interests of the sugar-cane growers. At any rate, for several centuries social and political domination was in the hands of a small group which gradually intermarried, always strengthening itself. Its members were, first and foremost, the landowning gentry; next in importance were professional people such as lawyers, doctors, clerics, educators, and politicians. Members of this group were also soldiers, and in the War of Independence in 1822 the plantation masters of Vila Recôncavo took a foremost part both personally and financially, for which many were later honored by having royal titles bestowed upon them.

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As the small rural towns, and later the counties, grew, they also fell under the domination of one or several plantation masters. Not infrequently a feud would arise between two families to determine which was to be the dominant one. As the plantation master prospered, he showed his wealth and power with a degree of ostentation which was commented upon by travelers and chroniclers of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. The ruins of houses built at this time can be seen today scattered throughout the coastal northeast.

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VILA RECÔNCAVO

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Politically, this influx of new workers has had little influence. Local politics, at least, remain in the hands of the traditional landowners. However, national political parties other than that of the landowners are gaining force, especially the labor party, and within the near future there will undoubtedly be considerable modification in the voting patterns. The bulk of the rural population do not have the franchise because of their illiteracy. On the other hand, the petroleum workers, whose level of living is considerably higher than that of the rural population, have the franchise and according to law must exercise it.

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A major area of change in the community is the class structure. In its main outlines the class structure remains the same, but there are some differences in emphasis. Class A, the rural upper class, which also is part of the upper class in the capital city where it resides part of the year, has been somewhat depleted. The Coronel and his son and son-in-law and their families, who constituted the family owner-directors of Usina São Pedro, are no longer part of the scene. As a result of the shift in ownership and direction the former usineiro has been replaced by paid employees.[1] Although these employees are related to the principal members of the new owning firm by marriage, they are treated as employees rather than as family members. They do not have the "social standing," meaning tradition, background, extended family relations, and the scholarly training, which distinguish the former owners. Class A therefore is now represented only by the private plantation owners.

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On the other hand, Class B is slowly becoming larger in both the rural and the urban areas of the community, as a result of the addition of two new groups: the members of the new factory organization, and the petroleum workers with their much higher standard of living, considerably higher education, and their steady employment as members of a new bureaucracy, Petrobrás. Unmarried workers belonging to Petrobrás are to some extent seeking marital alliances with girls of the area, especially from the factory nucleus and from the town of Vila Recôncavo. In some cases legal and religious marriages have taken place. In other cases the couple has simply

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1. The term usineiro is usually limited to the owner-director who is the founder of the factory, or is the son of the founder. When the director is a paid employee, he is just "the boss."

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begun to live together. But it is a general policy of Petrobrás that its employees establish regularized households and register their children, as the benefits of social legislation and insurance must be paid to legal beneficiaries, such as wives and children. Because of the many recent marriages, there are no longer any houses available in Vila Recôncavo, nor in Milagres, and there has been a spurt of housebuilding.

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There have also been some shifts in emphasis in the structure of the community. While the factory nucleus is no longer the scene of social gathering for the upper class of the area, the structure of the factory-private plantation system ensures that it continues to be the economic center as long as sugar cane is being planted in the area. The system of quotas established for the private planter and the factory by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol requires that planter and factory cooperate in supplying and receiving sugar cane. Also, the physical structure of the area, in which the factory is the center of the network of a small railroad which reaches out to each of the private properties, strengthens the impression of the factory as the center of activities.

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The possible future shift from sugar to cacao will of course diminish the importance of the sugar factory. However, in the meantime there is a new factor which will give more importance than ever to the factory: a feira, or market place. The county of Vila Recôncavo does not have a weekly market. For many years the county officials have wanted to establish one, not only for increased municipal income, but also to help attract more people to the area and to make life easier for the population. A market place is now under construction at the factory nucleus. When the market is completed, the factory town will become at least a weekly center of attraction for many people of the surrounding plantations.

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The development of the petroleum industry is bringing new life to the town of Vila Recôncavo, to the nearby town of Milagres, and to the new city of Conselho. Petrobrás cannot develop a nucleus on the land which belongs to the factory or to the private owners, and therefore it must concentrate any local community building efforts in the old public towns which already exist. Petrobrás, indirectly, through the county court of Vila Recôncavo, will soon contribute considerably to the county income. The same sort of compensation which was worked out in regard to the planters is now being arranged for the county, through taxes on the finished products from

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4; Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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prêto" and "being poor and a branco," are perhaps too indecisive for statistical validity, considering the smallness of the sample.

Whatever the limitations of this preliminary survey, however, there would appear to be a strong presumption—at least this hypothesis might be advanced for further testing—that, in determining rank at Bahia, the possession of white color is of *less* importance than certain other criteria.

In choosing a marriage partner, students at Bahia considered to be "most important" personal competence, followed closely by extent of education. Only three respondents selected family affiliation (indicating, probably, that a shift in the traditional attitudes in this respect is well under way); and none selected economic condition. Nor did anyone mention color as the "most important" criterion. Chosen as the "second most important" was extent of education, closely followed by personal competence, family affiliation, and economic condition, in that order. Color was selected as "*least* important" was color, a striking fact, since, in such a situation as that involved in these selections many observers think the so-called "acid test" of any racial situation lies.

Although the sample from each of the five cities is too small to measure the variations between these cities with any reliability, the five samples taken as a whole, at least in those cases where consistencies appear throughout, can perhaps give us at least preliminary data on possible tendencies in Brazil, pending, of course, further and more complete investigation.

When choosing a life partner, these students in all five cities considered the "most important" criterion to be: first, extent of education; and, then, personal competence, family

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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affiliation, economic condition, and color, in that order. There was a surprisingly high degree of concordance in all five cities, the highest number of selections in each case being either personal competence or educational achievement. These two criteria were also most chosen as the "second most important" in all cities except one (where economic condition received the highest number of preferences for second place). As the "least important" criterion in a marriage partner, color was overwhelmingly selected in all cities, without exception.

What do these data mean? Are they illusory, by reason of flaws in the investigative tool? Do they point even more sharply to what some careful investigators have suggested regarding the differences between verbal and actual behavior? Or, taking into due consideration the admitted limitations of this preliminary survey, and taking also into consideration possible variants in verbal as contrasted with actual behavior, does there not still remain a strong likelihood that the role of color has been exaggerated by certain investigators who are familiar with other racial situations and simply cannot believe what lies before them? Or by local investigators who are in revolt regarding what they consider to be an overemphasis on Brazil's being a "racial democracy" and have deliberately set out to prove the reverse and in so doing have emphasized unduly certain limited aspects of the total situation and thus thrown the "picture" out of focus?

Wagley (1963b:152) reports that the hypotheses which emerged out of our study of Bahia were reaffirmed, in general, by the studies which he and his associates made in the same state and in the Amazon valley. They appear to be acceptable to the Bahian researcher, Thales de Azevedo; as well as to Felte Bezerra (1950; 1956), with reference to the

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Dampier, who visited Bahia in the seventeenth century, knew several Europeans living in common-law marriage with Negro women. By this time the relations were not merely casual affairs. "Many an African woman," we are told, "had managed to gain the respect of her white mate; some through the fear inspired by their *mandingas* (black magic); others, like the Minas for example, by their affectionate natures and womanly qualities."[16] "At least a minority of these women had by this time achieved for themselves . . . . positions as housekeepers to the whites; no longer were they kept in the *senzalas* merely for the physical pleasure of their masters and the increase of his human capital." By the early nineteenth century the marriage of white men with *mulheres de côr* were, we are told, not rare.[17] The women involved, like the Osage Indian women of the United States, for instance, whose oil lands have increased their desirability as wives for white men,[18] often possessed considerable property. Such cases were "commented upon in intimate circles but without acrimony, especially when the excuse proved to be the dowry of the bride."

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Other marriage partners of the whites were mixed-bloods, men as well as women. Gradually, we are told, marriages with mulattoes came "no longer to be disdained as they formerly were, now that the high position of the mulatto

[16] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

[17] Koster, *op. cit.*, II, 178.

[18] "The white demand for Osage women, who are rich in oil land, is now so great that the Indian agent requires every prospective husband to give a bond, submit to a physical examination, and present character references. White husbands have become so easy to get that they are now considered somewhat less desirable than even Indian men of other tribes" (Ralph Linton, "An Anthropological View of Race Mixture," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, XIX [1924], 76).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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took over at least three cultural elements whose presence in the mores of colonial Brazil may be significant for our problem: the practice of concubinage, the subordinate position of woman in the household, and the comparative absence of color consciousness.

It may be that the Portuguese, like the Moors and other Mohammedans, were, as several commentators have said, a "color-blind" people; that is, awareness of color and other racial differences was not so pronounced with them as with us. It is probably true that the *conceptions* laid down in the culture materially influence the *perceptions* which individuals have.

Perhaps one reason the Portuguese in the New Country and their descendants cohabited with individuals from other races and interbred so extensively was that such behavior had long been common in the Old Country, where their ancestors had taken over from the Moors oriental customs tolerant of plural marriage. Even when Orientals exclude the children of concubines from the legitimate family in an attempt to preserve its status, emphasis is upon preserving status rather than purity of race.

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Concubinage, or *mancebia*, as it is known in Bahia, seems to have been quite common throughout the history of Brazil. It appears always to have been more or less socially sanctioned and accepted into the mores. Divorce is illegal, and many marriages are made for family convenience. It is not rare today in Bahia for a man with a legal wife and family to keep in separate establishments one or more *amantes*.[1] The

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[1] In one reported instance there are five; in another, eight. Usually the man, owing to the expense involved, is well to do; the women are from the lower strata. For instance, a wealthy and prominent intellectual figure lives most of the time apart from his legal wife with a mulatto woman who is intelligent, "attractive," and has traveled (with him) in France, Belgium,

[SALVADOR]

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*563 441 472 829 A fact known in Bahia is that during one of the two world wars an important German firm transferred the responsibility for its warehouses to one of its employees, a moreno, who had always been its confidential agent and who proved in this situation that he was really faithful by subsequently loyally returning the goods that had been entrusted to him. A mulatto merchant, [452] owner of a warehouse, recalls that German firms helped small Brazilian merchants a great deal, no matter what their physical characteristics were, by granting them credit facilities. "It was [464] in this way that this firm developed, with the help of Germans," he says, "at the time when the large Portuguese firms, formerly the most important, did not offer any facilities to colored people and did not even allow them to work in their offices." The owner- • [581] ship of firms was almost always transferred by the familial route by means of marriages between the most capable employees and the daughters of owners and associates, which explains why the management of these firms always remained with the Portuguese and their descendants. One and the same firm could, moreover, in certain cases give birth to two or three other firms of the same structure, thanks to the competence of the owners' sons, who, with the aid of their parents, set themselves up on their own.

*563 441 472 871 555 A wealthy contractor thinks that it is owing to his black color that he did not progress in the modest employment that he had in an important commercial firm. In order to advance, he says, he was obliged to give up commerce and devote himself to jobs as a contractor. It is evident that the stagnation of some employees in occupations of little importance arises, in the majority of cases, from their incompetence, it being a fact that in Bahia, even today, but especially in the very recent past, the /Figs. 5 and 6 appear here/ /49/ young men who intended to go into commerce had not completed secondary studies, or showed themselves [464] incapable of continuing them. This situation is tending to improve, but the majority of minor employees is still made up of young colored men coming from poor families and from a very low level of education. These young people therefore have only minimal possibilities for elevating themselves in careers where success depends a great deal either on the importance of capital invested or on administrative knowledge.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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> was in sharp contrast to the colonization of Spanish America where the conquistador and the priest were largely responsible for establishing the Spaniards as a ruling caste, and to the founding of the English colonies in North America where the community and the smaller, more equalitarian family were basic elements. As has been shown so well by Freyre's monumental work, the patriarchal form of social organization early obtained almost unlimited sway in Brazil. For centuries Portuguese America continued to be dominated by a few thousand casas grandes, seats of sugar engenhos and cattle fazendas, each of which was the fortress headquarters of a numerous clan. Even today there remains much of this feudal type of social organization, and this great family is the institution through which the white or near-white upper class maintains its control. Of course this patriarchal family has little in common with the equalitarian family of the United States and western Europe.[13]

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596 The colonial family is the idealized family of both the aristocratic upper class in Salvador and the sugar cane zone and of the local upper classes in the smaller cities. It also corresponds rather closely to the actual family structure of much of the upper class of the Recôncavo. The lower class families of the Recôncavo seem to have quite a different functional character and social significance.

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582 The Upper Class Family. Marriage, contracted almost exclusively from within the class group, has the important function of uniting the relatively small number of large extended families which compose the
594 upper class. The unit families, parents and children, of the Recôncavo
596 are relatively large, in conformation to the Brazilian stereotype of five children. This unit family is tightly enclosed in a net of relationships with the extended families of both husband and wife, and many social functions are centered within these larger groups.

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596 The upper class child is reared within a well-defined circle which includes the immediate family, the servants--who frequently have
861 a quasi-parental relationship to the children, like the legendary
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591 "mammy" of the United States South--and the more immediate members of the extended family.

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517 of the time, visiting little and receiving the local gossip from
[546] their servants. Since the advent of movies, however, it has
become fashionable for husband and wife and sometimes the
[541] children to attend the show together. When the circus comes
to town it is now common for them to go as a family at least
[794] once. As a rule, however, church services are attended separately, the wives and daughters going together and the men singly if at all, and standing in the back rather than sitting
[574] with the family. Dinners, card parties, or social gatherings with friends in the house, such as are common to North American small towns, do not exist here at all. About the only traveling these people do is to Salvador, where they stay with relatives while they make short visits, go to the doctor, or go shopping.

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871 Even the older members of Class B are less well educated than those of Class A, and do not belong to families which are nationally prominent. In many cases they have relatives in Salvador, but in no case do they maintain a second home there. Although their children may go to primary school in Vila Recôncavo, which the children of Class A would never do, they are sent to Salvador for further education; and several of the present generation are studying for degrees in law and medicine. As has already been pointed out, this class engages in
[571] little social activity in common with Class A, and in almost
none with rural Class B persons. Daughters of families be-
[867] longing to this class are carefully chaperoned and have little
freedom. Their lives are spent at home, sewing, embroidering,
[582] and helping their mothers in the house. Their prospects for
marriage are poor. This applies also to the schoolteachers
*565 who are sent to the town and who also belong to this class.
There is little opportunity for them to marry in Vila Recôn-
582 cavo unless they accept a social inferior, which commonly
875 happens to rural schoolteachers in Brazil. "Felipe," as the schoolteacher's husband is generally known, is always a "no-good" supported by his wife. There are two cases in Vila Recôncavo of local upper-class wives who work--they are both schoolteachers, supplementing their husbands' incomes and alleviating the dullness of their lives.

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565 Class C in the rural area consists of the field hands and the factory workers, who constitute the major part of the population. There are no "pure whites" in this group, but a scat-
[184] tering of "whites of the land." In general the factory workers consider themselves superior to the agricultural laborers;

[Class A Families]

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to have fewer offspring. Four or five generations ago a couple 594
might have as many as twenty children. It was common among 163
these large families for at least one child to enter the priest- 178
hood or a convent. This is no longer the case, not only be- [463]
cause of the smaller size of the families, but also because
the colonial pattern of a priest for each plantation is now gone.

The marriage age for girls is also changing, for several 582
reasons: it takes longer for a boy now to be educated and set- 178
tled in business; the families can no longer support married
children; and girls are being better educated. Instead of be- 562
ing married at sixteen, seventeen, and eighteen, they now go 565*
to school much longer, sometimes taking advanced degrees
as do their brothers. This delays marriage till the twenties
and gives the girls a certain amount of independence, rather
than simply a position of wife and mother. As yet few of them [463]
have entered the professions, but recently it has become styl-
ish to study nursing or social work at least for a while before
marriage. The old pattern was for widows to be supported by [736]
their families, but now girls want to feel self-sufficient, with-
out the dreary prospect of living as dependents in the case of
their husbands' death. In this century, also, marriage has
assumed an aspect of companionship, which was formerly
lacking, for women have achieved a much greater equality with
their husbands and are now partners rather than household
fixtures.

There has been a reaction to the family aspect of Bahian 565*
society, and frequently people are heard complaining of the 596
narrowness of life in such surroundings and expressing a de- 178
sire to live in Rio de Janeiro, or some place where they would
not be always in the same restricted group of relatives. Many 574
of the former obligations of formal visits to close and distant
relatives are now relaxed, although telephone calls at least [206]
are expected with some sort of regularity and members of the
extended family, as well as their attendants, are still expect-
ed at all weddings, birthdays, and deaths. The arrival of fam-
ily members from Rio calls for many dinners and celebrations
in their honor. But the conjugal families seek outside ac- 571
quaintances more and more, and as they enter new groups they 565*
become less able to cope with the numerous family affairs. 596
Nevertheless, it is still membership in these extensive, pa- 178
triarchal families which gives people their status in the com-
munity as a whole and their right to enter new groups which [594]
form along class lines. Everyone is well aware of this, and [554]

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able for the total number of marital unions formed during the years, so it is impossible to know the percentage of amasiado unions throughout the entire population.

TABLE 8
CIVIL MARRIAGES BY AGE GROUPS

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Males		Females	
minors under 18	1	minors under 15	2
18-22	4	15-19	6
23-27	6	20-24	7
28-32	5	25-29	2
33-37	1	30-34	1
38-43	2	35-39	1
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There are occasions when a couple marry in the church only after having lived together for many years, at which time their children may be the principal witnesses at the wedding. Such a wedding always gives the couple a feeling of satisfaction and well-being, for there is sometimes a certain shame attached to the amasiado state, especially when it is necessary to fill in official forms such as birth registration, the census, or registration at the Institute of Vila Recôncavo. A woman who can say "meu esposo" or "meu marido" (my husband) feels a certain superiority over the one who can only say "meu homem" (my man).

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The attitude toward children in Class C is somewhat ambivalent. Married women with as many as ten or twelve children may say they never wanted children, but simply "took what God sent." Frequently little girls pray that their mother will have another child so they may take care of it. All girls from the age of seven to thirteen or fourteen seem to like small children. There are few men who do not want children. Even though the mother may say she did not want them, she always seems pleased with them after they are born, and children, especially boys, are well loved and spoiled. Part of the women's gossip is often about another woman who is about to have a baby, and many women with five or six children of their own accuse others of having children "como ratos" (like rats) because they have eight or nine.

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There is no use of contraceptives in Class C, although they

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567 those under 12 years of age.[1] Of the 121 slaves listed in the particular inventory mentioned above, 40 were African. Most of these came from West Africa. Of those whose African origin is indicated, *Nago* (Yoruba) is most often listed, and *Gege* (Ewe) is second.

249 On these sugar plantations of the Recôncavo in the colonial period, the overseer of all operations involved in the growth of sugar cane
565 and production of sugar was the owner himself. Generally, only the
463 oldest son was trained to take over his duties on the plantation; the younger sons were sent to Salvador, to Recife, or even to Europe to be educated as lawyers, physicians, engineers or Catholic priests. Daughters were married early and given their dowry, or they were
[582] sent to convents to become nuns or live as lay sisters. Marriages with first cousins were frequent. Every effort was made to keep the plantation undivided and in the family. The Recôncavo sugar plantation, until about the middle of the nineteenth century, was a remarkably stable community changing little in size and organization from generation to generation.

249 After the abolition of slavery, there was a partial exodus of ex-
567 slaves from the plantations to nearby towns and to the capital of Bahia. The ex-slaves who moved to small towns became manual
463 labourers or fishermen, or engaged in the profession they had learned on the plantations, such as barbering, bricklaying, etc. In other
464 cases, ex-slaves rented small plots of land on neighbouring plantations to raise manioc, corn, tobacco and other crops which required little
[427] outlay of capital. Others became sugar planters on a small scale; known as *rendeiros*, they rented a few acres from a plantation and cultivated sugar cane, sending the product to the nearby *engenhos* for milling. In other cases, the ex-slaves simply moved from one plantation to another, or they often remained as free men on the same plantation, still engaged in raising sugar cane, living under the same
249 conditions as before, but legally free. Contrary to popular opinion,
433 the *engenhos* of the Recôncavo did not all cease operations after
567 abolition. Many of them kept on producing as before. In other cases the *engenho* or mill closed down while the plantation continued to plant sugar cane, sending it to a nearby *engenho* which was still functioning for milling. Some *engenhos*, however, did close down altogether and were abandoned, or went into the hands of receivers.

249 At this time many plantations changed owners—wealthy people in
471 the city were able to buy lands at a low cost and did so. But the
567 failure of many of the *engenhos* in the Recôncavo was not a direct result of abolition, it was rather the continuation of an economic
[425] trend which had been going on for a long time. For many years previous to abolition, the plantations of the Recôncavo had suffered from lack of capital, poor administration, occasional crop failure, and
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[1] In the inventories, pardo indicated light skin; moreno, dark skin; and crioulo, black. These same terms nowadays are used differently in the Recôncavo. See page 29 ff.

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but spends most of his time on his plantation. The rest of the municipal officials are, for the most part, people who live in the town, although some of the town councillors are also planters living in the rural area.

162 [161]

The population of the area under study was 4,269 in 1940, and is approximately the same now. Of this number, 1,462 are residents of the town. Of the total of 4, 269, only 17 adults (plus their 16 children) in the rural area are considered locally, and appear to be, pure Caucasoid. They are all plantation owners, and all of them also have residences in the city of Salvador as well as in the rural area of Vila Recôncavo. Living in the town are 14 persons (plus their eight children) who are also considered pure Caucasoid. Three of these are foreign-born priests, one is a doctor, one a dentist, one a state tax collector, one a federal tax collector, and two are young men who have married into town families. The others are the wives and sisters of the men in the group, although one of the wives is suspected of having Negro ancestors since she has to have her hair straightened while the others have theirs curled. There are five families and numerous other individuals in Vila Recôncavo who are called 'white', but whose ancestry is known to all as not being entirely Caucasoid, and in the rural area there are even fewer. These people are known as *brancos da terra* (whites of the land), a term similar to the *brancos da Bahia* of which Pierson speaks.[6]

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The two other elements which are present in the population of Vila Recôncavo and the surrounding rural area are the Negro and the Indian. As might be expected, the Negroid element in the population overwhelmingly predominates, and there are people who represent mixtures of Negro and Caucasoid ancestry in all possible proportions. The American Indian element appears in the people called locally the *caboclos*, generally from the arid north-eastern *sertão*, who are of mixed Indian and Caucasoid descent. These *caatingueiros* (literally, people from the low brush country of *caatinga*) and *sertanejos* (literally, people from the *sertão*) are not usually permanent residents of the Recôncavo. As a rule, *levas* or groups of these *caboclos* of *caatingueiros* come down into the Recôncavo at harvest time, from September to March, to work during the period when the *sertão* is dry and unproductive. Generally also, only men come, and they remain apart from the permanent plantation workers and at the end of the harvest head for home.

565 [582]

In Vila Recôncavo and its rural area, four social strata can be distinguished. First, there is a small upper class of aristocratic whites. This is almost an endogamous class, and intermarriage between first cousins is extremely frequent. The 17 white adults mentioned above are the members of the five families which locally compose this class. These families have been in the area for generations; two of them have been linked through first-cousin marriages

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the lighter-skinned people for intermarriage with the mass of light-skinned people of the capital. Most of the townspeople have connexions of some sort in Salvador and travel back and forth a great deal. Some, mostly girls, take employment in the city as maids, and there either get married, or '*aparecem grávidas*' (show up pregnant), afterwards returning home to stay or for visits.

On the plantations the people have little opportunity for such mixing, owing to their isolation. Mixing occurs either on the same plantation or between neighbouring plantations, and since most of the plantation workers are dark, the offspring tends to remain dark. There is comparatively little marriage between people of the urban and rural zones.

The people of the town consider themselves far superior culturally to the *taberéu* or 'hick'[1] of the rural zone. Not only are they lighter in colour, but they are more 'citified', having more contact with the outside world, and this contact increases daily. Only in the town did the lower-class people express interest in the racial situation in the United States and particularly question segregation, a practice they could not understand. In the rural zone, the United States meant only some place other than Bahia. This is given as an example of the difference in degree of sophistication between the two parts of a comparatively small area. The sophistication of the townspeople tends to increase, as does their lightness of colour, while on the *fazendas* the colour has remained almost static, as has the degree of instruction.

565 Class is one of the most important factors in the everyday lives of the people of Vila Recôncavo. *Who's Who* is well known to all the residents of the community. Almost any resident will say that there are two classes, the rich and the poor. But definitions vary greatly as to what is rich, while practically all agree as to what is poor. Rich means, primarily, having money, a good house, more than one suit of clothing, a horse or mule, a servant to do the housework, and not having to do manual work. It also includes power of some description over other people. Poor is the reverse of all these things; working hard for someone else, a mud house with a dirt floor, one suit of clothes and one pair of shoes. For everyday ranking, this division into only two classes may serve.

A closer analysis shows that four distinct classes can be recognized, as stated earlier. There are many elements which go toward defining the classes—wealth, education and family. Race is also important. People say that wealth is the most important, education the second, and race the third in importance. Thus race is but one of a number of elements ranking people in a social scale, rather than a separating factor which divides them into distinct groups.

[1] Other terms used to convey the same meaning are *gente do mato* (people of the forest) and *gente do roça* (backwoodsmen).

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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past, while the birth rate may have remained more or less constant. If this apparent shift in natural increase continues, it will of course slow down, or even reverse, the trend toward biological absorption evident in the past.[37]

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With reference to hypotheses 3, 4, and 5, one should note three qualifications. In the first place, although the originally unbalanced sex ratio undoubtedly played a definite role in colonial Brazil in developing a tradition of interracial unions, it became more normal shortly after first contact; in the second place, miscegenation, from the colonial period to the present, has proceeded considerably (but not exclusively) *outside* marriage, by way of informal unions; and, in the third place, the term "endogamy" in hypothesis 5 perhaps should be substituted by some such phrase as "the biological distinctiveness of the races." Endogamy still exists, however, among a numerically small segment of the upper class, including certain families which evidence an uncommon pride in their European origin and, even more particularly, certain families among the landed aristocracy which have long sought to keep property in the family and—for this and other reasons—to resist the intrusion of individuals from outside the kinship group, including native-born and immigrant whites as well as colored individuals. This has been accomplished by extensive and continuous marriage within the kinship group, including cousin with cousin and, until recent

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[37] T. Lynn Smith (103–6) reminds us that the fertility index for brancos, according to the 1950 census, was at that time higher than that for prêtos in all but one of the Brazilian states and territories (the State of Rio de Janeiro, where the two were approximately even); and that the fertility index for brancos also was higher in fourteen states than that of even the pardos (browns). (In assessing these data, one must of course take into consideration the meaning of these supposedly racial terms, as indicated above.)

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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times, of uncle with niece and aunt with nephew, as observers have noted.

With reference to hypothesis 20, a few highly sensitive mixed-bloods who have risen in rank have become obsessed by a repugnance for the color which continued to symbolize low status, a repugnance which is reflected, at least symbolically, in word and act. This feeling, however, does not seem to be the result of the internalization of external conflict. At least little, if any, evidence of this sort has been turned up. In discussing several of these cases, Bastide (1941a:32) makes an illuminating comment when he writes, "An interesting paradox is that the effect of prejudice upon the subconscious is stronger *the less visible* it is."[28] Moreover, as Frazier (1944:265) has observed, "there was no segregated colored community with which they could be identified" and in terms of which they would become "marginal men." The feelings in question resulted from brooding over a sense of inferiority which derived not so much from actual personal experiences of discrimination as from internally-generated pressures, a fact clearly evident if one contrasts the feelings of these men with the markedly different ones of a host of similar mixed-bloods, including Machado de Assis, André Rebouças and Theodoro Sampaio (who wrote the autobiographical sketch beginning on p. 353).

For some reason, the matters mentioned in hypothesis 22 (p. 349) have attracted most attention, although they would not seem to us to be of that importance. As this hypothesis now stands, however, it perhaps is too brief for clarity; and for that reason we have given considerable attention above to the matters mentioned in it.

Frazier[29] has with justice called attention to a measure of

[28] Italics ours.

[29] *The Negro in the United States* (New York, 1949), p. 675.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Government employ was for a long time denied to the black.[110] In colonial Brazil marriage into upper-class white families was zealously restricted to individuals of pure European descent,[111] and at least one case is on record of an Indian being seriously rebuked for having married a Negro woman.[112]

[110] There was "a separate justice" in colonial Brazil for cases relating to "Indians, mulattoes, and Negroes" (Vianna, *Populações meridionais do Brazil*, p. 140).

[111] "It was this preoccupation with purity of lineage and white blood in their prospective sons-in-law which, in those provinces whose development was more irregular, like that of Minas, made the problem of marriage so difficult. In Pernambuco and São Paulo the problem was resolved by marrying cousins with cousins: a custom which gradually made of the early families almost a single strain" (Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 152).

[112] The eighth vice-*rei*, Marques de Lavradio, in an order dated August 6, 1771, removed an Indian from the post of *capitão-mor* for having married a Negro woman and, as the order said, "thus tarnished your blood and shown yourself unworthy of office" (Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* [2d ed.; Rio, 1936], p. 290).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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to her,[52] romances written.[53] Of 146 male students responding to the query, "All things being equal, whom would you prefer to marry, a *branca*, a *morena*, a *parda*, a *preta*," 117, or 80.1 per cent, replied "a *morena*." Similarly, of 93 white female students responding to a like question, 80, or 86 per cent, preferred a *moreno* for a mate.

The *morena* may, or may not, have African blood.[54] But at least in Bahia this category includes many individuals of partial African descent. For instance, a study of five hundred women classified as *morenas* in the Gabinete de Identificação indicated the probable distribution given in Table 7.

It is the opinion of Arthur Ramos[55] that, although "the charms of the *morena* exert a profound sexual attraction" and the regard in which she is held "has a sexual base in the Freudian sense," the present attitude toward the *morena* "grew out of the enthusiasm and the sentimentalism of the abolition campaign. The *morena* expresses in a symbolic way the union of the two races—the black and the white—and the absence of [caste] prejudice."

The *morena* probably constitutes a decided bond be-

[52] As, for example, the following:

Beautiful morena,
Morena,
Morena who makes me suffer!
The full moon, so bright,
Is not as luminous as your eyes.
You are a *morena*,
A wonderful girl.
There's not a *brésac* who hasn't
fallen for you.

Often,
When you pass by,
Men quarrel over you;
Everyone eagerly anticipates
Your smile.

Your heart is a boarding-house,
A family hotel
Along the seashore.
Oh, *morenínha*, do not rest all!
Leave at least a corner
For me to live in!

[53] A rock on the island of Paquetá in Guanabara Bay at Rio de Janeiro very popular with young lovers, has been dedicated to the *morenínha*.

[54] Pronouncing the word *morena* (or *moreno*) with a certain emphasis or changed inflection indicates darker color.

[55] Stated in personal correspondence with the author.

[Class B Families]

[Class C Families]

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[114] plantation during the author's stay in the community, and her father gave her a large wedding. The wedding party left the plantation early in the morning in an oxcart decorated with white crepe paper, and proceeded to the town of Vila Recôncavo. The wedding was held in the Franciscan chapel. The townspeople did not attend the wedding or show any interest in it. Immediately after the ceremony the wedding party started back to the plantation, a five-mile trip. As each plantation nucleus was passed the cart stopped in front of the overseer's house, and small glasses of rum were passed to the guests, and the happiness of bride and groom was toasted.

[342] On arrival at the new brick house which the groom's father had presented to the couple, the bride went into the kitchen
[431] to help her mother and the other women who were preparing the luncheon. Then she passed small glasses of wine to the
[114] guests. With the exception of Dona Sinhá and the author, the guests were all overseers from the neighboring plantations. The female guests were relatives of the bride. The meal con-
[262] sisted of everything the region had to offer: fish, shrimp, salads; roasts of beef, pork, lamb, and turkey; potatoes and farina; followed by fruits, desserts, and coffee. After all the men had eaten and moved into the living room to chat, the bride and the other women sat down in the dining room to eat.

*565 In a sample of eighteen Class B households (eleven urban
585 and seven rural), fifteen couples were married by both civil
● 583 and religious ceremonies. The remaining three couples were simply living together, a state known in northern Brazil as
[125] amasiado. In Class C a sample of ninety-five households (forty-one urban and fifty-four rural) showed twenty-three couples in the amasiado state, twenty-two married by civil and religious ceremonies, thirty-four married in church only, and eight by civil marriage alone. Eight of the couples sampled did not answer the question. In Class B, one partner in each of the three couples living in the amasiado state was married to someone else whom he or she had left.

585 Nineteen civil marriages were performed in the entire coun-
583 ty (population over 11,000) during the year of 1950. They are shown below by age group. Fifty religious marriages were
[161] performed during the same year throughout the five parishes attended by the Franciscans. Because of differences in the
[127] manner of recording the two types of marriages, however, no correlation could be worked out as to how many marriages were both civil and religious. There are no statistics avail-

[Class C Families]

able for the total number of marital unions formed during the years, so it is impossible to know the percentage of amasiado unions throughout the entire population.

TABLE 8
CIVIL MARRIAGES BY AGE GROUPS

Males		Females	
minors under 18	1	minors under 15	2
18-22	4	15-19	6
23-27	6	20-24	7
28-32	5	25-29	2
33-37	1	30-34	1
38-43	2	35-39	1
	19		19

There are occasions when a couple marry in the church only after having lived together for many years, at which time their children may be the principal witnesses at the wedding. Such a wedding always gives the couple a feeling of satisfaction and well-being, for there is sometimes a certain shame attached to the amasiado state, especially when it is necessary to fill in official forms such as birth registration, the census, or registration at the Institute of Vila Recôncavo. A woman who can say "meu esposo" or "meu marido" (my husband) feels a certain superiority over the one who can only say "meu homem" (my man).

The attitude toward children in Class C is somewhat ambivalent. Married women with as many as ten or twelve children may say they never wanted children, but simply "took what God sent." Frequently little girls pray that their mother will have another child so they may take care of it. All girls from the age of seven to thirteen or fourteen seem to like small children. There are few men who do not want children. Even though the mother may say she did not want them, she always seems pleased with them after they are born, and children, especially boys, are well loved and spoiled. Part of the women's gossip is often about another woman who is about to have a baby, and many women with five or six children of their own accuse others of having children "como ratos" (like rats) because they have eight or nine.

There is no use of contraceptives in Class C, although they

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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[Class C Families]

[Class D Families]

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Orphans, or children whose parents cannot care for them because of financial difficulties, are always taken in by some member of the family--an aunt, or uncle, or perhaps the grandparents if they are still alive, or the godparents.

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The Class D family presents a very different picture from that of any of the other social classes in Vila Recôncavo. It is almost the reverse of the patriarchal upper-class family, for in Class D the woman is the chief member, the chefe de familia. In Vila Recôncavo, 90 of the 290 households counted in the 1950 census reported a woman as the family head. Of these, thirty listed themselves as widows, seventeen as married but with husbands who lived elsewhere, and forty-three as unmarried. It is difficult to determine with certainty how many of the women who declared themselves widows or married actually were so. It is a favorite device of Vila Recôncavo women who have lived in an unmarried relationship with a man and subsequently separated from him to say that they are widows. It is equally difficult to determine from these figures how many unmarried relationships are involved.

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The composition of these households almost defies classification. Fifty-five are composed of mothers and children, with the addition in some cases of relatives and an agregado (official census term designating someone who lives in the house permanently but does not pay for his board), as well as hospedes (census designation of someone who is staying in the house temporarily and who is not paying for his board). Of the fifty-five houses with children, twenty-four are represented by unmarried, female family heads. Eight of these twenty-four households list agregados of approximately the same age as the woman, which may indicate, although not necessarily so, amasiado relationships. The other households are composed of what appear to be "left overs" from other families or marital unions: elderly people who have outlived their own conjugal units, younger people whose families either never existed as legal units or have been dissolved, agregados, and hospedes. These ninety households include a total of 353 people, who can be classified as follows:

55 mothers
142 children
37 grandchildren
35 relatives, including mothers, aunts, cousins, sisters, brothers,

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nieces, and nephews
46 agregados and hospedes

Examples of the household units are given below.

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TABLE 10
COMPOSITION OF CLASS D HOUSEHOLDS

Status of Head of Family	Age	Occupation	Number of Head of Family's Children Living in House	Number of Others in House
unmarried	62	none	2	4 grandchildren
widow	70	cook	1	1 grandchild; 1 hospede
unmarried	59	laundress	1	4 grandchildren
unmarried	24	laundress	4	none
widow	49	seamstress	4	7 grandchildren, 1 agregado
unmarried	42	cook	3	1 sister, 1 niece, 1 hospede
unmarried	39	laundress	3	1 hospede
unmarried	66	ironing	0	6 nieces & nephews
widow	42	ironing	6	none
unmarried	56	laundress	0	1 grandchild
unmarried	36	laundress	6	1 nephew
unmarried	48	laundress	3	1 brother
married	36	ironing	6	1 mother, 1 nephew
unmarried	38	laundress	3	1 aunt, 1 cousin
unmarried	84	none	0	1 agregado
unmarried	21	ironing	1	none
unmarried	54	laundress	0	1 hospede, 2 agregados
married	52	laundress	1	3 grandchildren

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The household of Damiana is a good example for Class D. Damiana, who is now in her fifties, had a prolonged affair with a married man when she was young, and gave birth to three daughters. Orphaned herself at about the same time, she took her children and went to reside in the house of a good friend who was living in an unmarried relationship with a man. When Maria José, one of her daughters, was sixteen she was deflowered, and Damiana managed through a godfather's influence to force the boy who was responsible to marry the girl. Maria José, however, did not want to live with him, and since

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Class D Families]

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no child was born of the affair she went to Salvador where she found employment. There she met Vavá, whom she liked very much. She went to live with him for eleven years and had three children.

During this time, Vavá had affairs with several other women and had two other children. Finally he tired of Maria José and told her to go home to her mother, which she did, taking her three children with her. Damiana's godfather allowed her, Maria José and her children, and Tatá, another of Damiana's daughters who by then had six illegitimate children, to live rent-free in a house he owned. Childless, he took one daughter from each of the two girls to bring up in his own home.

Shortly after the three women had set up this household, Vavá tired of his new companion and wanted Maria José to come back to him, which she refused to do. From time to time he also asked her for money, as he was now unemployed. She always gave him some, since she was employed, explaining that it was not for him but for his two other children, for she could not think of their going hungry.

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In almost every case of break-up of the unmarried state, the children remain with the mother. This is also true in the case of an affair which results in a child. The father never takes on the responsibility of the children. In addition to this, as stated earlier, the children bear the mother's name and not that of the father. Often a break-up occurs because the man goes to live with another woman who does not want the children of his previous union, as she may have some of her own either by him or by someone else. On the other hand, women in Vila Recôncavo say that they would be ashamed to let the children go and be brought up by another woman, except in the case of a godparent, in whose home the treatment is expected to be at least as good as that which the mother could have given the child.

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Sometimes women in this class have affairs with men who are already married and who do not leave their wives and children. A woman seldom has more than one lover at one time, and usually stays with the same man for a long period. Although the man takes no responsibility for the resulting children, he may, nevertheless, try to help the woman sometimes; but his first allegiance is to his own wife and children.

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Unless there has been a formal marriage, the children are always considered as belonging to the mother, and the most

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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past, while the birth rate may have remained more or less constant. If this apparent shift in natural increase continues, it will of course slow down, or even reverse, the trend toward biological absorption evident in the past.[37]

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With reference to hypotheses 3, 4, and 5, one should note three qualifications. In the first place, although the originally unbalanced sex ratio undoubtedly played a definite role in colonial Brazil in developing a tradition of interracial unions, it became more normal shortly after first contact; in the second place, miscegenation, from the colonial period to the present, has proceeded considerably (but not exclusively) *outside* marriage, by way of informal unions; and, in the third place, the term "endogamy" in hypothesis 5 perhaps should be substituted by some such phrase as "the biological distinctiveness of the races." Endogamy still exists, however, among a numerically small segment of the upper class, including certain families which evidence an uncommon pride in their European origin and, even more particularly, certain families among the landed aristocracy which have long sought to keep property in the family and—for this and other reasons—to resist the intrusion of individuals from outside the kinship group, including native-born and immigrant whites as well as colored individuals. This has been accomplished by extensive and continuous marriage within the kinship group, including cousin with cousin and, until recent

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[37] T. Lynn Smith (102–6) reminds us that the fertility index for brancos, according to the 1950 census, was at that time higher than that for prêtos in all but one of the Brazilian states and territories (the State of Rio de Janeiro, where the two were approximately even); and that the fertility index for brancos also was higher in fourteen states than that of even the pardos (browns). (In assessing these data, one must of course take into consideration the meaning of these supposedly racial terms, as indicated above.)

4; Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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state. Unions were not confined to the lower classes but extended into even the upper social ranks, not only of the English, but of other European nationalities as well.[14]

Miscegenation and interracial marriage are perhaps always incidental to the expansion of a racial frontier. As Park has pointed out: "Transplanting a people, like transplanting any other organism, is a ticklish business, and interbreeding is one way of successfully accomplishing the transition."[15]

Thus, the Brazilian society of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries came to be founded largely upon families in which Indian or part Indian women were the consorts and mothers.[16] At least this was generally true of the lower classes, but it was by no means limited exclusively to them.[17]

These *de facto* unions were gradually "regularized by the church into Christian marriage," thus lending the powerful sanction of the ecclesiastical authority, chief guardian of the mores in a sacred society, to interracial crossing. The church was joined in this policy by the state, which legalized mixed unions. Thus, neither church nor state injected any "strain for consistency"[18] into the colonial mores which had grown up quite naturally in response to the exigencies of colonization but instead themselves offered support to the "definitions of the situation"[19] already laid down in the prevailing attitudes.

[14] See Cedric Dover, *Half-caste* (London, 1937), pp. 117 ff.

[15] *Op. cit.*, p. 57.

[16] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

[17] E.g., the *mameluca* descendants of Caramurú married into prominent families.

[18] See William Graham Sumner, *Folkways* (Boston, 1906), p. 5.

[19] See W. I. Thomas, *Primitive Behavior* (New York and London, 1937), pp. 8–9.

4; Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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563 grew up during slavery, and no circumstance has subsequently arisen to change it. In the United States, on the other hand, the spread of contraceptive practices[15] and the increasing race consciousness of the Negro have led to a decided decrease in miscegenation. Traditional behavior in Bahia is, in this respect as in many others, well defined. The sanction of custom has become, as it always does eventually in any case, moral sanction.

563 583 Race mixture is further favored in Bahia today by the widespread custom of *mancebia*,[16] or those conjugal unions outside marriage in which there is some degree of permanency. In many cases the women involved are mulattoes, rarely blacks. The man agrees to pay for rent and food; the woman, to care for the house and children. The man may have, at the same time, a legal family, although informal unions are often entered into by young men previous to marriage.

563 826 Miscegenation is also favored in Bahia today by the prestige which ordinarily attaches to the so-called "whiter" child. Dark mothers who bear "whiter" children consider themselves especially favored and are so looked upon by their immediate associates. A black mother proudly showed her light child and said, "Estou limpando a minha raça" ("I am cleansing [i.e., I am 'whitening'] my race"). One also

[164] [554] [882] [15] In Bahia there is not the fear of venereal disease common to this country. Its contraction is regarded by young men as an indication of sexual coming-of-age and perhaps enhances their prestige among their associates (cf. Freyre, *op. cit.*, pp. 49 ff.).

[193] [192] [16] This term is used only in more polite conversation. The woman involved is called *mancebа*, the verb is *mancebar*, and the participle *mancebado*. The popular expression, however, is *amasia*, or *amiga* (the feminine form of "friend"), or *amante*, or *companeira*, for the woman; the verb is *amasiar* or *amigar*, the participle *amasiado* or *amigado*.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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[826] colored women. A common expression heard in this connection is: "I don't want to go back to Africa."

Race mixture is further favored in Bahia today by the economic and social position of the occasional immigrant, usually from Portugal or Spain. Ordinarily from the lower class, he arrives unattached, poor, and with little or no education. He meets a rigid class line and, at least during the first years, before he gains some measure of economic competence, is ordinarily cut off from a better class marriage. Moreover, in many cases he conceives of his stay as temporary. Many immigrants, especially among the Spanish, have left families in Europe to whom they expect to return once they have accumulated a sizable competence.

*563 In his struggle to gain a footing, the immigrant soon dis-
• 583 covers that the lower-class black or mixed-blood woman is a valuable assistant. She may become his cook and housekeeper, supplement his income by taking in washings or by preparing and peddling food delicacies, and ordinarily demands little in return. So frequently do such unions occur, especially among Portuguese immigrants, that the Portuguese have come to be popularly regarded, not only in Bahia but throughout Brazil, as peculiarly attached to Negro women.

[441] However, as we have indicated, not all immigrant men living *amancebados* with Negro women are from Portugal. A number of the *vendas*, or small grocery stores, scattered about Bahia are owned by Spanish immigrants, many of whom live with Negro women, as similarly does occasionally an Italian, an Englishman, an American, or a German.[38]

[38] A German who had been manager of a nail factory in Bahia returned a few years ago to Germany. For sometime thereafter a Negro woman with whom he had lived and their son received 200 milreis regularly each month

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Moema, who, exhausted, perished in the billows of the sea. This unhappy Indian maiden is still today sung by the poets. . . . .

On returning from Europe, Catherina Paraguassû, endowed with a beauty that was first among her people, performed the duty of a true heroine by receiving as her guest the first Governor-general, Thomé de Souza. She and her husband made the native Indians, without the least hesitancy, subject themselves to the Portuguese dominion. And it is from Diogo Alvares Caramurû and Catherina Paraguassû that the ancient and noble house of Garcia d'Avila, so celebrated for its wealth and civic services, is descended.

Subsequent to the arrival of Thomé de Souza, Diogo had been legally married to Paraguassû. And the church soon saw to it that most, if not all, of the similarly informal unions between European men and native Indian women were "regularized in Christian marriage." [585] [583] [795]

Although incoming Portuguese colonists and adventurers had readily entered into informal unions with native women, they appear at first to have hesitated before actual marriage. It was the Jesuits, we are told, who "managed to conquer in the early colonists the repugnance which they originally held toward marriages with Indian women."[5] "Most of them [the Portuguese] here," wrote Padre Nobrega from Pernambuco in 1551, "have for a long time kept Indian women from whom they have had children; but to marry them was considered a scandalous thing (*grande infamia*). They are now marrying and assuming a proper life."[6] At any rate, intermarriage eventually became a firmly established custom, sanctioned by both church and state. 175 583 585 563* [797]

Although the scarcity of European women, so notable during the first century of colonization, had by the early 175 563*

[5] Gilberto Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* (2d ed.; Rio, 1936), p. 302.

[6] Padre Manoel de Nobrega, *Cartas do Brasil, 1549–1560* (Rio, 1886), quoted by Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

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Dampier, who visited Bahia in the seventeenth century, knew several Europeans living in common-law marriage with Negro women. By this time the relations were not merely casual affairs. "Many an African woman," we are told, "had managed to gain the respect of her white mate; some through the fear inspired by their *mandingas* (black magic); others, like the Minas for example, by their affectionate natures and womanly qualities."[16] "At least a minority of these women had by this time achieved for themselves . . . . positions as housekeepers to the whites; no longer were they kept in the *sensalas* merely for the physical pleasure of their masters and the increase of his human capital." By the early nineteenth century the marriage of white men with *mulheres de côr* were, we are told, not rare.[17] The women involved, like the Osage Indian women of the United States, for instance, whose oil lands have increased their desirability as wives for white men,[18] often possessed considerable property. Such cases were "commented upon in intimate circles but without acrimony, especially when the excuse proved to be the dowry of the bride."

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Other marriage partners of the whites were mixed-bloods, men as well as women. Gradually, we are told, marriages with mulattoes came "no longer to be disdained as they formerly were, now that the high position of the mulatto

[16] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

[17] Koster, *op. cit.*, II, 178.

[18] "The white demand for Osage women, who are rich in oil land, is now so great that the Indian agent requires every prospective husband to give a bond, submit to a physical examination, and present character references. White husbands have become so easy to get that they are now considered somewhat less desirable than even Indian men of other tribes" (Ralph Linton, "An Anthropological View of Race Mixture," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, XIX [1924], 76).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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grown up naturally between the races were never threatened, let alone destroyed, by a program of reconstruction originating from without and imposed by armed conquest. Individual ability, personal ties and family solidarity, instead of external pressure, were the levers of social advancement. The rise of the mixed-blood and of the black in Brazil has always had effectively in its favor those sentiments and personal attachments which primary relations tend normally to develop.

Such political upheavals as did occur tended to advance the mixed-bloods not as a group but as individuals. Thus the overthrow of the monarchy and the rise of the republic marked a definite break with the rural aristocracy and accelerated the rise of a new class, that of the *bachareis* and the *doutores*, among whom were many mulattoes. And, more recently, the recrystallization of the political structure following the "revolution of 1930" found many Bahian mixed-bloods in positions of trust and responsibility, since the new political "ins," who were diligently seeking to solidify their gains and to establish themselves firmly in power, found it expedient to accept such support as was readily at hand. Again the mixed-bloods figured prominently, not as a group per se but as individuals belonging to an eligible professional class.

The role of sex and of romantic love should not be overlooked. The sexual attraction which the mulatto male exerted upon daughters of rich and influential European families led quite often to elopement or, occasionally and increasingly, to marriage with parental consent.[34] Similarly,

[34] "The daughters, the *yáyás* of the *sobrados*, the *sinhás* of the *casas grandes de engenho*, let themselves be kidnaped by these Don Juans, even by such as were plebeian and of color. . . . . Sellin noted the large number of young ladies eloping . . . . during the latter half of the nineteenth century. They were girls whose parents, for reasons of blood or of social position, had

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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the mulatto women profited by the myth of the sexual potency of the hybrid,[15] the high mortality of white women (especially during the nineteenth century), and the consequent successive marriages of elderly patriarchs who sought an increasing degree of sexual stimulation. Cases of "marriages of elderly white men from illustrious families, descendants of barons and well situated in life, with beautiful octoroon, quadroon, or mulatto women who carried themselves like fine ladies and gave evidence of a sexual ardor beyond the ordinary,"[16] increasingly occurred.

Today, the mixed-bloods are gaining a constantly increasing measure of social recognition. Among them are to be found prominent lawyers, jurists, physicians, engineers, politicians, diplomats, priests, educators, business and commercial magnates, musicians, painters, poets, novelists, journalists, planters.[17] In other words, the mulattoes have now penetrated to the top of the class scale.[18]

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not consented to their marriage with men for whom they had come to feel a sentimental or sexual predilection" (*ibid.*, pp. 156–57). Note also the novel *O mulato* (3d ed.; Rio, 1889), by Aluisio de Azevedo, whose hero is a mixed-blood *bachard* educated in Europe and enamored of a white girl from a family "full of prejudices of white purity." Gilberto Freyre calls this book "a human document warm with the life of the time."

[15] A popular saying commonly heard in Bahia is: "A white woman for marriage, a Negro woman for work, a *mulata* for sexual intercourse."

[16] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 337.

[17] See Lacerda, *op. cit.*, pp. 381–82; Manoel de Oliveira Lima, *The Evolution of Brazil Compared with that of Spanish and Anglo-Saxon America* (Palo Alto, 1914), p. 39; Rudiger Bilden, "Laboratory of Civilization," *Nation*, CXXVIII (January 16, 1929), 73; Thomas Ewbank, *Life in Brazil* (New York, 1856), p. 267; Professor and Mrs. Louis Agassiz, *A Journey in Brazil* (Boston and New York, 1888), p. 124; Theodore Roosevelt, "Brazil and the Negro," *Outlook*, CVI (February, 1914), 409.

[18] To accelerate his social climbing, the mixed-blood has developed certain characteristic personality traits: "a pleasant smile and manner, a cordial

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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took over at least three cultural elements whose presence in the mores of colonial Brazil may be significant for our problem: the practice of concubinage, the subordinate position of woman in the household, and the comparative absence of color consciousness.

It may be that the Portuguese, like the Moors and other Mohammedans, were, as several commentators have said, a "color-blind" people; that is, awareness of color and other racial differences was not so pronounced with them as with us. It is probably true that the *conceptions* laid down in the culture materially influence the *perceptions* which individuals have.

Perhaps one reason the Portuguese in the New Country and their descendants cohabited with individuals from other races and interbred so extensively was that such behavior had long been common in the Old Country, where their ancestors had taken over from the Moors oriental customs tolerant of plural marriage. Even when Orientals exclude the children of concubines from the legitimate family in an attempt to preserve its status, emphasis is upon preserving status rather than purity of race.

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Concubinage, or *mancebia*, as it is known in Bahia, seems to have been quite common throughout the history of Brazil. It appears always to have been more or less socially sanctioned and accepted into the mores. Divorce is illegal, and many marriages are made for family convenience. It is not rare today in Bahia for a man with a legal wife and family to keep in separate establishments one or more *amantes*.[5] The

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[5] In one reported instance there are five; in another, eight. Usually the man, owing to the expense involved, is well to do; the women are from the lower strata. For instance, a wealthy and prominent intellectual figure lives most of the time apart from his legal wife with a mulatto woman who is intelligent, "attractive," and has traveled (with him) in France, Belgium,

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[Class A Families]

in the three houses for nearly all members of the two extended families, for the factory has become the major gathering point for all of them during the summer. Each married couple maintains its own home in the city. In the Conde and Jacuipe families the tendency has been to enlarge the two families by the addition of in-laws rather than to lose sons and daughters, because of the exceptionally strong family loyalties held by the members. As a result, many more people are drawn into the social circles of the two groups, which at times appear as one family and at other times as two separate but close units. 565* 596

The social life of these people is carried out almost entirely within this group of ninety-seven persons, and their in-laws, plus the in-law families. Such intrafamilial social life is known as vida em familia. During the winter season in Salvador, their social activities are confined to visiting one another, playing cards with one another, having birthday parties for one another, attending the weddings of one another's children, and so forth. Trips to the beach and to social clubs and graduations are made jointly. During the summer, parts of families visit others, and at certain times, such as the botada da usina (first day of the sugar mill's activities each year), Carnaval, and the birthday of the Colonel, his wife, or Dona Yaya, nearly all the members of the family get together. This may mean a gathering of sixty to seventy persons. A "small" luncheon may be attended by a mere twenty or thirty persons. 565* 596 517

It is still the custom for young married couples to dine with the parents of each at least once a week. It is also not unusual to find an entire apartment house in the city occupied by members of one family, each conjugal group occupying its own apartment. Members of the same generation usually play or visit together, although all generations are present at most family gatherings. Through lifelong companionship, members of families in this class come to know each other extremely well and are often the best of friends as well as relatives. Because of the size of these families, and because of the constancy of their devotion to one another, there is little time or energy left for entertaining outsiders. This, however, does not mean that acquaintances are limited to family members. Friends are made, who are drawn into the various conjugal groups and into the activities of the larger extended family. 565* 596 [593] [342] [561] [574] [572]

Courtship in Class A families is a formal affair. At first it is considered that the young couple are gostando (liking each other) or namorando (in love). It is expected that the boy 565* 596 584

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596 will take the girl to his family gatherings and that he will be
584 invited to hers, so that their lives continue to be within the family, though now within two families. There are so few public places of entertainment in Salvador, other than the movies, that the couple is seldom alone. Dating nearly always takes place in family circles, so there is little need for a formal chaperone. Courtship continues until the boy has finished school (if it began that early, as it sometimes does), or is settled in business, at which time an engagement may be announced. Once the couple are engaged (noivos), they are allowed greater freedom; this does not, however, amount to much, as their social activities continue to be confined within the family. If for some reason the boy or the girl goes away for a time, the one left at home is invited to all family parties just as though both were there. The engagement period does not last very long--not as long as the gostando period, which may extend for two years--for once engaged, a couple is considered to be serious about marriage, which then takes place as soon as possible.

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*565 civil ceremony. The former is a formal, fashionable church
596 ceremony followed by a reception and luncheon, before the bride and groom leave for their honeymoon. The civil wedding takes place in the bride's home shortly before the religious ceremony. Only the godparents and closest relatives
[591] attend this ceremony. After marriage the couple usually set up their own home, but if this is not possible they may live with one of their in-laws. This, however, is undesirable, and often the wedding is postponed until the couple can have their own home. The parents on both sides help toward this end as
* much as they can by getting the young man settled in a suit-
565 able position. Family connections are extremely important
594 throughout Class A in placing young people in business or a profession.

163 As a rule a child is born to the young couple by the end of
[608] the first year of marriage, and the compadres (godparents)
[596] are chosen from close members of the two families, at least for the first child. Succeeding children may have close friends of the father as godparents. Children are named after family
[553] members of preceding generations or--as has happened in
[178] some cases--after a much-loved slave. The old pattern was for the couple to continue having children regularly as long as the wife was able to, but the trend is now for each generation

593 369 the fathers, who insisted that the children go. In the case of a woman who moves in with a new husband and brings her own children, she always makes it clear that the children are hers and not his. She will allow no interference from her husband in the matter of disciplining her children. Often the best possible relations exist between stepfather and children, but he never gives orders to them. The rural mother in all cases seems to be more exacting with her offspring than the town [861] mother. It is not uncommon for a rural mother to beat her children, even those who are grown men, with the cipó de caboclo (a switch), whereas this would never happen in the town. She also extends her control over them even after they are married, counseling them and helping when she can, and criticizing them severely if she does not like something they do.

883 By the time they are in their late teens, boys become interested in courting (namoro), though girls often start earlier. If a boy sees a girl who interests him, he manages to 584 212 meet her as often as possible on the street or at the dock, and 832 by looks and slight remarks makes it clear that he is interested. Or, if he can write, he may send the girl a note through [206] a common friend. In Vila Recôncavo the telephone office is a popular place for making one's interests known, for the telephone operator is a young woman who is highly respected by most people in town and well liked by young people. A note typical of those which may pass through her hands is as follows:

Vila Recôncavo
January 7, 1951

Dona Therezinha, Salutations:

I am absolutely convinced that you do not doubt the sincerity of my love, which is always manifested so clearly in my letters and in my face when I see you.

So, I equally have the conviction of having the strange happiness of possessing your love, but in the meantime there is something lacking to complete my felicity. That is to speak to you, to hear from your lips the sincere confession of your love, to feel you near me for a few minutes.

I ask you to give me permission to speak to you, indicating the day, hour, and place in which we can meet.

You will surely not repent giving me this pleasure, for you will see that I know how to retribute your confidence

[Class C Families]

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with respect and honesty. Anxiously awaiting your answer, I am your sincere admirer.

Excuse the mistakes. End.

Themistocles Filho

In this case it was the girl's first experience with this sort of thing, so she asked an older friend to write the answer for her. It took over a week before the answer was ready and was given to the boy. During this time the girls who know about the affair discussed the possibilities: the boy's looks, his note, his friends, and so on, until nothing was left uncovered. Generally the details of such an affair are shared by the girl with her female friends. The answer, when ready, ran as follows:

Vila Recôncavo
January 10, 1951

Dear Citizen:

Initially I send my wishes for happiness so that they may become part of all that is stored in your imagination, loyal and sincere friend.

And now I want to acknowledge receipt of your letter, which in its first moment was the source of indescribable joy in my heart. Afterwards, in the surprised reality of all young girls, I asked myself about the content of all that which you wrote to me so nicely. And, although bewildered by the disillusions of many of my girl friends, I think that my authorized answer may be a meeting between the two of us, so that we may know each other better, and if we understand each other well our destinies will belong to God.

And thus I present myself.

Therezinha

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This affair went on for several more letters before the girl made a definite date. In the meantime the two passed each other in the street, in the movies, and on the dock without speaking. In the end the girl, who was only fourteen, lost her nerve, and the affair ended before any meeting took place. When such a correspondence culminates in an actual meeting, the meetings are facilitated or made difficult by the degree of vigilance exercised by the girl's parents. Often such an affair is hidden from them completely, only the girl's best friends having any

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584 intimation of its course. The meeting may finally be arranged at the house of an older female friend. If the two are genuinely interested in each other they may allow the fact to become public, and if the parents are pleased they will in due course [836] be married. Otherwise the girl may keep the whole affair a secret, and after a period of flirtation have an affair with the [263] boy and become pregnant. Any girl who refuses to eat pepper [843] is immediately suspected of pregnancy, and inquiries are made.

*565 When a Class C family wishes to celebrate some occasion 574 such as a birthday, anniversary, or the time in which the twin 252 saints Cosme and Damião are feasted, the woman's friends 262 and any nearby female relatives come in to help her cook. Guests are invited by the husband. The preparation of all [476] food must be done by hand, the chickens killed, cleaned, and plucked, the beans shelled, the shrimp and fish cleaned, the [273] farina cakes made, and the popular liqueurs (licores) prepared by soaking various kinds of fruit in bottles of rum and syrup. At such parties the traditional, favorite Bahian dishes of vatapá, acarajé, carurú, abará, cuscus, and the many moquecas, are served. All these are appetizing, but take much time [251] to prepare and cannot be made too far in advance, for there *565 is no way of preserving food. Unless the household is particularly wealthy, the family seldom gives parties; many never 574 manage to give one. Dancing forms an important part of the 535 festivities. The men bring their drums, tambourines, and guitars, while the women sing and dance the samba. In the rural [369] area, social dancing in mixed couples is rare, but in town it is a common form.

*565 A family may take care of an aged mother, father, or even godparent, or of some other relative on either side. Such a 888 person is well cared for within the family means. Most people 736 in Vila Recôncavo are generous toward others who are in some way unfortunate, and help them if they can. There is little or no complaint if the household has to take in an infirm or aged relative; most people say that the same may happen to them one day and they will have to be taken care of. Perhaps the old person helped them in some way in the past when they needed aid and is now being repaid. Or if some older person wants to live alone, a group of neighbors and relatives all help in preparing meals and supplying food and other wants over an extended period of time. There is no case in Vila Recôncavo of an elderly person being sent to a public institution.

[SALVADOR]

175 178 *563 555 These marriages increased after /40 cont./ Independence, in 1822, with the social ascent of mulattoes, military men, bureaucrats, lawyers graduated from Portuguese and French universities, a process which was intense under the Brazilian monarchical regime and to which Bahia contributed liberally with statesmen and politicians coming from these groups (2).

2. G. Freyre, op. cit., III, p. 951.

178 *563 626 584 593 Social pressure against mixed marriages seems to have decreased with time, and so the latter became more numerous every day. Formerly the families of high society or of the bourgeoisie verified the origin of fiancés with great care. Many marriages came to grief because one of the future partners was found to belong to the "caste." The unions that were formed against the parents' wish were the cause of lasting quarrels between parents and children, and gave rise to veritable domestic tragedies. Many fathers cursed their daughters and disinherited them when they persisted in wanting to marry a man of "inferior quality," especially if he were a bastard. "In our day," a female informant told us, "one has it much easier." This indeed seems to be the general opinion.

*563 557 The mixed marriage is greatly sought after because it confers prestige on the one of the two partners who is darker. A black professor made the remark to us that there are few colored men who, in marrying a light woman, think of "improving the race," but rather they hope to facilitate their own social ascent. Proof of this is the frequency with which this intention is /41/ implicitly indicated or even acknowledged. A colored employee flirts with white boys "for fun"; in fact, she is trying to get the man she wants, and she announces that she will never marry a man of dark color unless he is rich and well situated. Her mother approves entirely when she announces that she will not accept the advances of a man of dark color. Her three sisters have married Whites, and one of them is proud of her children who are blond. A student of the same physical type "prefers" moreno suitors, but admits that she would have no objection to marrying a White.

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[14]See section by Charles Wagley in Wagley, op. cit., pp. 148-149.

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[15]Smith, op. cit., pp. 637-640, citing Anuário Estatístico do Brasil-1939/40, states that there were 687 church marriages for each civil marriage in Bahia. The number of common law marriages is, obviously, not precisely known. Brazilian statutes do not permit divorce from civil marriage.

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[16]The chief exception to this social pattern is during Carnaval, when people of all classes "let themselves go." However, it is mainly the adolescents of the upper class who, for the moment, escape from the rigid social code of their class.

[17]As a consequence of the high mobility of the lower class, many of these community or neighborhood identifications are transitory. However, because of the free social intercourse within the class, the local relationships are quickly established and easily maintained. The core of local identification and of the community or neighborhood seems to be maintained primarily by the more stable upper-stratum of the class.

[18]The industries, trading houses, and exporters of Salvador are concerned to a large degree with agricultural products.

[19]For the United States, see Smith, op. cit., p. 221. For Brazil, calculated from the 1940 census.

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[20]A special statement is required because the problems of deriving data for population in this region profoundly affect the reliability of the demographic analysis. At the time this analysis was made, only incomplete and preliminary population data from the 1950 census had been published. Total population data by political units—municípios and distritos—and by "urban" places were available. It was necessary to estimate the agricultural occupational data. The 1950 agricultural labor force was projected from the 1940 data on the basis of changes in the rural population. Because the agricultural labor force and the rural population of which it is a part are subject to approximately the same social and economic forces, it was assumed that the change in the latter could be used to project the 1950 size of the former. The tables showing the derivation of the agricultural labor force for 1950 are based upon this procedure.

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[21]In 1940 the composition of this occupational group—based upon a combination of population census and agricultural census data—for the state of Bahia was approximately as follows:

Independent operators	44 per cent
Members of family	27 per cent
Employees	24 per cent
Employers	2 per cent
Non-owner administrators	2.5 per cent

Thus less than 5 per cent of the agricultural labor force were administrators; the others were either cultivators, vaquéiros, or agricultural laborers. In the Recôncavo the administrative group probably was relatively smaller.

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[22]In a region of such large statistical areas and diverse physical resources, it is almost inevitable that mean figures for some municípios, such as Feira de Santana, Alagoinhas, Irará, or, most of all, Santo Amaro,

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584 will take the girl to his family gatherings and that he will be invited to hers, so that their lives continue to be within the family, though now within two families. There are so few public places of entertainment in Salvador, other than the movies, that the couple is seldom alone. Dating nearly always takes place in family circles, so there is little need for a formal chaperone. Courtship continues until the boy has finished school (if it began that early, as it sometimes does), or is settled in business, at which time an engagement may be announced. Once the couple are engaged (noivos), they are allowed greater freedom; this does not, however, amount to much, as their social activities continue to be confined within the family. If for some reason the boy or the girl goes away for a time, the one left at home is invited to all family parties just as though both were there. The engagement period does not last very long--not as long as the gostando period, which may extend for two years--for once engaged, a couple is considered to be serious about marriage, which then takes place as soon as possible.

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565 able position. Family connections are extremely important
594 throughout Class A in placing young people in business or a profession.

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[608] the first year of marriage, and the compadres (godparents)
[596] are chosen from close members of the two families, at least for the first child. Succeeding children may have close friends
[553] of the father as godparents. Children are named after family members of preceding generations or--as has happened in
[178] some cases--after a much-loved slave. The old pattern was for the couple to continue having children regularly as long as the wife was able to, but the trend is now for each generation

2: Hutchinson E-4.5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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and the social forces compelling them to conform to this ideal are strong enough to keep them at home. 565* 562 517

To some extent the Class B families take as their pattern the older traditions of the upper-class families. The father is the most important person in the home and has the final word in all decisions. His wife is not his equal in a social sense and plays a much more passive role than the women of classes A, C, and D. This, however, is slowly changing, for married couples of the younger generation are beginning to share more activities, such as going to the movies, visiting friends, or going on short trips to Salvador. But this is a recent development and applies only to four couples in the town. The others still maintain the old pattern whereby the man attends social functions while his wife remains home. On occasion of a farewell party, invitations were carefully extended to the married couples in Class B at the author's instigation. Of the thirteen couples invited, only four came together. In the other cases only the husbands came. Among the others, one of the husbands was away, and his wife would not come to the party even though her mother, father, and two sisters did. It is still common for the wife either to remain discreetly silent or to disappear altogether when her husband has visitors at home, and among the older families the father and his guests are served separately at meals, the women of the household eating afterwards alone. 565* 562 594 178 [184]

Family life in rural Class B follows to some extent that of the town family of the same class. The father is the central figure in the family and makes all decisions. He travels about the community while his wife remains at home. The sons of overseers, however, are seldom sent to Salvador to school, although the sons of Class B families living at the factory usually are, at least for a short time. So far, however, none of them has entered a profession. 369 565* 594 [871] [166]

As has already been stated, the women of rural Class B lead much the same kind of life as the women in Class C, with whom they associate. Daughters are guarded carefully, while sons are placed in some advantageous position whenever possible, frequently through the aid of the plantation owner or usineiro. They may enter the factory office, and in several cases they have been set up in business on the plantations, running small stores which belong to their fathers. 565* 562 184 464

A daughter of Seu Paulo, the overseer of the Fazenda das Moças, married the son of the overseer on a neighboring 565* 585 114

[Class B Families]

[Class C Families]

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• 585 plantation during the author's stay in the community, and her
[114] father gave her a large wedding. The wedding party left the plantation early in the morning in an oxcart decorated with white crepe paper, and proceeded to the town of Vila Recôncavo. The wedding was held in the Franciscan chapel. The townspeople did not attend the wedding or show any interest in it. Immediately after the ceremony the wedding party started back to the plantation, a five-mile trip. As each plantation nucleus was passed the cart stopped in front of the overseer's house, and small glasses of rum were passed to the guests, and the happiness of bride and groom was toasted.

[342] On arrival at the new brick house which the groom's father had presented to the couple, the bride went into the kitchen
[431] to help her mother and the other women who were preparing the luncheon. Then she passed small glasses of wine to the
[114] guests. With the exception of Dona Sinhá and the author, the guests were all overseers from the neighboring plantations. The female guests were relatives of the bride. The meal con-
[262] sisted of everything the region had to offer: fish, shrimp, salads; roasts of beef, pork, lamb, and turkey; potatoes and farina; followed by fruits, desserts, and coffee. After all the men had eaten and moved into the living room to chat, the bride and the other women sat down in the dining room to eat.

*565 In a sample of eighteen Class B households (eleven urban
585 and seven rural), fifteen couples were married by both civil
583 and religious ceremonies. The remaining three couples were simply living together, a state known in northern Brazil as
[125] amasiado. In Class C a sample of ninety-five households (forty-one urban and fifty-four rural) showed twenty-three couples in the amasiado state, twenty-two married by civil and religious ceremonies, thirty-four married in church only, and eight by civil marriage alone. Eight of the couples sampled did not answer the question. In Class B, one partner in each of the three couples living in the amasiado state was married to someone else whom he or she had left.

585 Nineteen civil marriages were performed in the entire coun-
583 ty (population over 11,000) during the year of 1950. They are shown below by age group. Fifty religious marriages were
[161] performed during the same year throughout the five parishes attended by the Franciscans. Because of differences in the
[127] manner of recording the two types of marriages, however, no correlation could be worked out as to how many marriages were both civil and religious. There are no statistics avail-

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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able for the total number of marital unions formed during the years, so it is impossible to know the percentage of amasiado unions throughout the entire population.

TABLE 8
CIVIL MARRIAGES BY AGE GROUPS

Males		Females	
minors under 18	1	minors under 15	2
18-22	4	15-19	6
23-27	6	20-24	7
28-32	5	25-29	2
33-37	1	30-34	1
38-43	2	35-39	1
	19		19

There are occasions when a couple marry in the church only after having lived together for many years, at which time their children may be the principal witnesses at the wedding. Such a wedding always gives the couple a feeling of satisfaction and well-being, for there is sometimes a certain shame attached to the amasiado state, especially when it is necessary to fill in official forms such as birth registration, the census, or registration at the Institute of Vila Recôncavo. A woman who can say "meu esposo" or "meu marido" (my husband) feels a certain superiority over the one who can only say "meu homem" (my man).

The attitude toward children in Class C is somewhat ambivalent. Married women with as many as ten or twelve children may say they never wanted children, but simply "took what God sent." Frequently little girls pray that their mother will have another child so they may take care of it. All girls from the age of seven to thirteen or fourteen seem to like small children. There are few men who do not want children. Even though the mother may say she did not want them, she always seems pleased with them after they are born, and children, especially boys, are well loved and spoiled. Part of the women's gossip is often about another woman who is about to have a baby, and many women with five or six children of their own accuse others of having children "como ratos" (like rats) because they have eight or nine.

There is no use of contraceptives in Class C, although they

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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them odd stories which were calculated to strike their imagination."[58]

Public opinion expected of masters the acceptance of an offer made to manumit an infant on the occasion of his baptism.[59] It also became customary, when marriages were being solemnized in the master's family, to free one or two favorite slaves.[60] Masters frequently declined the money proffered by a Negro for his purchase and granted his freedom without payment.[61] Slaves of the religious orders, it is said, considered themselves to belong to the saints themselves and were never sold.[62] The law adopted in 1809 to protect the property of sugar planters against attachment for debt also provided that slaves need not be sold separately from an estate to satisfy a creditor's claims. Thus the master could not be forced to dispose of his slaves, unless the debt amounted to the value of the entire estate; and, as Koster has pointed out,[63] the slave in this way was advanced, in some degree at least, toward the condition of a serf.

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[58] *Ibid.*

[59] "Another custom which was advantageous to the slave was that of *alforrias na pia*, which was accomplished with the insignificant amount of 5 to 50 milreis and never was refused; this custom became very common, especially when the child had a light skin" (Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 255). Koster gives the price in Pernambuco early in the nineteenth century as £5 and says that "in this manner, a considerable number of persons are set at liberty; for the smallness of the price enables many freemen who have had connections with female slaves to manumit their offspring; and instances occur of the sponsors performing this . . . . act. Not infrequently female slaves apply to persons of consideration to become sponsors to their children, in the hope that the pride of these will be too great to allow of their godchildren remaining in slavery" (*op. cit.*, I, 195–96).

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[60] Frank Bennett, *Forty Years in Brazil* (London, 1914), p. 111.

[61] Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 256. [62] *Ibid.* [63] *Op. cit.*, I, 229 n.

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crowded. They were obliged to dispense with the mass, for they had no priest; the service therefore consisted merely of a long litany and a few hymns. There was placed on the altar a small image of the infant Christ, the "Menino Deus" as they called it, or the Child-God, which had a long ribbon depending from its waist. An old white-haired Negro led off the litany, and the rest of the people joined in the responses. After the service was over they all went up to the altar, one by one, and kissed the end of the ribbon. The gravity and earnestness shown throughout the proceedings was remarkable.[83]

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Slaves were often married according to the forms of the Catholic church, and the banns were published in the same manner as for free persons.[84] Debret has preserved a visual impression of such a ceremony being performed in the house of wealthy Brazilians.[85]

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As Freyre has pointed out,[86] priests continually urged upon white masters the advantage of conceding to the Negroes their African pastimes. A Jesuit, writing in the eighteenth century, advised slaveowners not only to permit but even to encourage the *festas* of the blacks, saying: "You should not make it difficult for them to choose their king, and to sing and dance as they desire on certain appointed days of the year, and legitimately to enjoy themselves on Sunday afternoons when in the morning they have executed the ceremonies in honor of Nossa Senhora do Rosario, São Benedito, or the guardian-saint of the chapel." Slaves were granted permission to use during public festivals—at first the Vespers of Reis, later Christmas, New Year's, and Carnival—

[83] Henry W. Bates, *The Naturalist on the River Amazons* (reprint, London, 1892), p. 88.

[84] Koster, *op. cit.*, I, 202. The consent of the master was required and the ceremony could not be performed until "the requisite prayers have been learned, the nature of the confession . . . . understood, and the sacrament can be received."

[85] *Op. cit.*, Vol. III, Pl. 15. [86] *Op. cit.*, p. 264.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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state. Unions were not confined to the lower classes but extended into even the upper social ranks, not only of the English, but of other European nationalities as well.[14]

Miscegenation and interracial marriage are perhaps always incidental to the expansion of a racial frontier. As Park has pointed out: "Transplanting a people, like transplanting any other organism, is a ticklish business, and interbreeding is one way of successfully accomplishing the transition."[15]

Thus, the Brazilian society of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries came to be founded largely upon families in which Indian or part Indian women were the consorts and mothers.[16] At least this was generally true of the lower classes, but it was by no means limited exclusively to them.[17]

These *de facto* unions were gradually "regularized by the church into Christian marriage," thus lending the powerful sanction of the ecclesiastical authority, chief guardian of the mores in a sacred society, to interracial crossing. The church was joined in this policy by the state, which legalized mixed unions. Thus, neither church nor state injected any "strain for consistency"[18] into the colonial mores which had grown up quite naturally in response to the exigencies of colonization but instead themselves offered support to the "definitions of the situation"[19] already laid down in the prevailing attitudes.

[14] See Cedric Dover, *Half-caste* (London, 1937), pp. 117 ff.

[15] *Op. cit.*, p. 57.

[16] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

[17] E.g., the *mameluco* descendants of Caramurú married into prominent families.

[18] See William Graham Sumner, *Folkways* (Boston, 1906), p. 5.

[19] See W. I. Thomas, *Primitive Behavior* (New York and London, 1937), pp. 8–9.

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Moema, who, exhausted, perished in the billows of the sea. This unhappy Indian maiden is still today sung by the poets. . . . .

On returning from Europe, Catherina Paraguassú, endowed with a beauty that was first among her people, performed the duty of a true heroine by receiving as her guest the first Governor-general, Thomé de Souza. She and her husband made the native Indians, without the least hesitancy, subject themselves to the Portuguese dominion. And it is from Diogo Alvares Caramurú and Catherina Paraguassú that the ancient and noble house of Garcia d'Avila, so celebrated for its wealth and civic services, is descended.

Subsequent to the arrival of Thomé de Souza, Diogo had been legally married to Paraguassú. And the church soon saw to it that most, if not all, of the similarly informal unions between European men and native Indian women were "regularized in Christian marriage." [585] [583] [795]

Although incoming Portuguese colonists and adventurers had readily entered into informal unions with native women, they appear at first to have hesitated before actual marriage. It was the Jesuits, we are told, who "managed to conquer in the early colonists the repugnance which they originally held toward marriages with Indian women."[5] "Most of them [the Portuguese] here," wrote Padre Nobrega from Pernambuco in 1551, "have for a long time kept Indian women from whom they have had children; but to marry them was considered a scandalous thing (*grande infamia*). They are now marrying and assuming a proper life."[6] At any rate, intermarriage eventually became a firmly established custom, sanctioned by both church and state. 175 583 585 563* [797]

Although the scarcity of European women, so notable during the first century of colonization, had by the early 175 563*

[5] Gilberto Freyre, *Casagrande e senzala* (2d ed.; Rio, 1936), p. 302.

[6] Padre Manoel de Nóbrega, *Cartas do Brasil, 1549–1560* (Rio, 1886), quoted by Freyre, *op. cit.* p. 302.

[SALVADOR]

/22 cont./

The generally gentle and humane treatment that the owners reserved for their slaves and the efforts made by the Catholic clergy, from the beginning of the slave trade, to try to incorporate the /23/ Africans into the Catholic religion played an important role in the establishment of good relations between races in Bahia as throughout Brazil. Contrary to what occurred in the other colonial nations, where the aborigines and the imported slaves were kept in a state of segregation, like unassimilable "savages," in Brazil the natives and the Blacks were baptized, catechized, and admitted into the Church as men. Thus, numerous slaves, baptized Negroes, were no longer considered "beasts" and became "Christians," with the same title as the European colonists, having to endure neither hostility nor religious discrimination. They were taught the Christian doctrine, and the preachers endeavored to speak to them in their languages, chiefly in nagô, which had become a sort of lingua franca in which the Africans of different origins were able to understand one another. They intermarried; their marriage having been consecrated by the Church, this protected them when their masters intended to separate the spouses or sell one of the partners; they received the sacraments; they acted as witnesses in religious proceedings and participated as acolytes in religious ceremonies; they marched in the processions, carrying the standards and emblems of their brotherhoods; they were buried in the Christian cemeteries, the owners of slaves being obliged to call the priest in time to assist the dying. No one pretends by that to claim that their lives were free from suffering or that the Negroes were thus completely integrated in Catholicism. The clergy, the owners, and the civil authorities always allowed them some freedom concerning certain proceedings of their pagan cults and never forced them to embrace the official religion. They likewise permitted them to amuse themselves in their way by dances, songs, ceremonies (batuques), banquets in the manner of those of their countries of origin. From that comes this Catholicism somewhat mixed with fetishist beliefs and practices that constitutes the religion of a large part of the colored people of Bahia (1).

1. Roger Bastide, "Religion and the Church in

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*563 565 554 571 [124] [829] of Bahia, had some difficulty approaching some of the persons thus mentioned. In certain cases, however, he was able to verify that the imputations mentioned above are nothing but the informants' reactions of resentment against people who are much higher or whom they judge superficially because they do not know them personally. A number of persons questioned even showed great interest in race relations, declaring they had read numerous Brazilian or foreign books, had seen films on this subject, and liked to discuss this problem with persons belonging to the same type and to the same professional and social status as they; there were even two who declared they had thought a good deal about writing down their observations on this subject. In only one case a mulatto official replied with a certain irritation that this problem was not important and that the Blacks of Bahia did not elevate themselves socially because they were very "backward and bold."

*563 565 /39/ Interracial Marriages

For colored people, interracial marriage is a means of reaching the higher classes. Individuals with a lighter skin have the greatest possibilities of becoming white socially, and marriage between colored people and Whites gives the former prestige and offers them the prospect of having children closer to the preferred type.

*563 [585] No law in Brazil forbids marriage between members of different races. The candidates for a civil or religious marriage simply present themselves before the authorities of the State or of the Church, provided with the necessary papers, such as certificate of birth or baptism, in which the type or the color are mentioned only for the purposes of identification.

The number of marriages between individuals who differ with regard to color is very high in Bahia. Out of 222 unions concluded [162] some years ago, the man and woman were of the same color in 34 o/o of the cases; in 43 o/o the man was darker than the woman,

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[14]See section by Charles Wagley in Wagley, op. cit., pp. 148-149.

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[15]Smith, op. cit., pp. 637-640, citing Anuário Estatístico do Brasil-1939/40, states that there were 687 church marriages for each civil marriage in Bahia. The number of common law marriages is, obviously, not precisely known. Brazilian statutes do not permit divorce from civil marriage.

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[16]The chief exception to this social pattern is during Carnavál, when people of all classes "let themselves go." However, it is mainly the adolescents of the upper class who, for the moment, escape from the rigid social code of their class.

[17]As a consequence of the high mobility of the lower class, many of these community or neighborhood identifications are transitory. However, because of the free social intercourse within the class, the local relationships are quickly established and easily maintained. The core of local identification and of the community or neighborhood seems to be maintained primarily by the more stable upper-stratum of the class.

[18]The industries, trading houses, and exporters of Salvador are concerned to a large degree with agricultural products.

[19]For the United States, see Smith, op. cit., p. 221. For Brazil, calculated from the 1940 census.

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[20]A special statement is required because the problems of deriving data for population in this region profoundly affect the reliability of the demographic analysis. At the time this analysis was made, only incomplete and preliminary population data from the 1950 census had been published. Total population data by political units—municípios and distritos—and by "urban" places were available. It was necessary to estimate the agricultural occupational data. The 1950 agricultural labor force was projected from the 1940 data on the basis of changes in the rural population. Because the agricultural labor force and the rural population of which it is a part are subject to approximately the same social and economic forces, it was assumed that the change in the latter could be used to project the 1950 size of the former. The tables showing the derivation of the agricultural labor force for 1950 are based upon this procedure.

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[21]In 1940 the composition of this occupational group—based upon a combination of population census and agricultural census data—for the state of Bahia was approximately as follows:

Independent operators	44 per cent
Members of family	27 per cent
Employees	24 per cent
Employers	2 per cent
Non-owner administrators	2.5 per cent

Thus less than 5 per cent of the agricultural labor force were administrators; the others were either cultivators, vaquéiros, or agricultural laborers. In the Recôncavo the administrative group probably was relatively smaller.

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[22]In a region of such large statistical areas and diverse physical resources, it is almost inevitable that mean figures for some municípios, such as Feira de Santana, Alagoinhas, Irará, or, most of all, Santo Amaro,

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took over at least three cultural elements whose presence in the mores of colonial Brazil may be significant for our problem: the practice of concubinage, the subordinate position of woman in the household, and the comparative absence of color consciousness.

It may be that the Portuguese, like the Moors and other Mohammedans, were, as several commentators have said, a "color-blind" people; that is, awareness of color and other racial differences was not so pronounced with them as with us. It is probably true that the *conceptions* laid down in the culture materially influence the *perceptions* which individuals have.

Perhaps one reason the Portuguese in the New Country and their descendants cohabited with individuals from other races and interbred so extensively was that such behavior had long been common in the Old Country, where their ancestors had taken over from the Moors oriental customs tolerant of plural marriage. Even when Orientals exclude the children of concubines from the legitimate family in an attempt to preserve its status, emphasis is upon preserving status rather than purity of race.

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Concubinage, or *mancebia*, as it is known in Bahia, seems to have been quite common throughout the history of Brazil. It appears always to have been more or less socially sanctioned and accepted into the mores. Divorce is illegal, and many marriages are made for family convenience. It is not rare today in Bahia for a man with a legal wife and family to keep in separate establishments one or more *amantes*.[3] The

[3] In one reported instance there are five; in another, eight. Usually the man, owing to the expense involved, is well to do; the women are from the lower strata. For instance, a wealthy and prominent intellectual figure lives most of the time apart from his legal wife with a mulatto woman who is intelligent, "attractive," and has traveled (with him) in France, Belgium,

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

565 596 861 the extended family. The upper class child develops in an atmosphere of alternate indulgence and discipline, with very few responsibilities. [872] Most upper class children attend private schools, which are usually parochial.

565 The social status of the upper class individual is determined by birth and is maintained by the economic and social standing of the individual and his family. The specific determinants of status--wealth, occupation, education, kin relations, and physical appearance[14]--are either fixed or are strongly influenced by the family.

565 596 In the Recôncavo the extended upper class family frequently has a diversified economic structure which enables it to safeguard effectively the position of the individual and the group. Ideally the family group includes the usinêiro (sugar mill owner or administrator), the fazendêiro (cane planter), the doctor, the lawyer-politician, and the urban business man. These various individuals cooperate to build and to maintain the economic, political, and social position of the family. These activities constitute the principal responsibility of the males of the family and justify, it is believed, the characteristic masculine superiority of the society.

565 588 The Lower Class Family. Some of the upper class characteristics are shared by lower class families, especially by the upper stratum, [872] but the contrasts are striking. Lower class families in the Recôncavo seem to have less stability and a less extended character than those of the upper class. Common law marriages and church marriages, not legally binding in Brazil, are quite common and are easily dissolved. The common law marriages of the young adults are frequently temporary, but most older adults seem to establish permanent unions.[15]

565 596 Though kinship relationships are always recognized and cherished, the extended family of the lower class is widely dispersed, and its economic role is usually minor.

[Class A Families]

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596 the first thing done on making new acquaintances is to inquire
[178] into their family background and place them mentally on the
[571] appropriate social level.

As a rule each extended family has a head, usually the oldest male. He is recognized by the rest of the family as the leader, and few things are done by them without his knowledge and advice. The head of the Jacuipe family is the eldest son of Dona Yayá. He has made his home in Rio de Janeiro and has not lived in Salvador for a long time. Nevertheless, he is informed of all that goes on within the family, and no serious step would be taken by any member without his counsel. On the local scene, however, it is his next younger sister who has taken the family lead in all social activities. It is she who sees to it that the family is represented at any function where it is a duty to appear. Among the Condes, the Colonel is still the family head in spite of his age and infirmity. For many years his eldest son showed himself capable of taking charge of the sugar mill and of the family fortunes as well, but since his untimely death none of the other sons has shown such vigor, and in the long run major decisions are left to the old gentleman.

[594] In the conjugal households, however, decisions and actions are made jointly by the married partners. Unless the action is a very serious one which might affect the rest of the family, they need by no means seek advice from the family head. The family leader has no strong control over the other members of the family; rather, he is someone to whom they can go if they need advice. Also, if any member of the family is in difficulties of any sort, the rest of the group rallies around him under the direction of such a person. Because of the many positions in public life occupied by members of these extended families, the family is able to muster considerable pistolão ("pull") in many fields. Requests are frequently made, especially to aid lower-class people who look to the various
[557] family members as patrons. A call here or there by the recognized leader of a large extended family can be a great assistance in getting someone into the already crowded hospitals, in helping with a will which has become entangled in legal difficulties, in getting a young man into the Air Force, and in the myriad other things which arise in this very personalized culture.

[73] The cohesiveness of the extended family also acts to take
[589] care of the aged, infirm, widowed, and unmarried. Not infre-

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quently one girl in the family does not marry but remains 596
home with her parents, taking care of them until they have 589
passed away. Unless the father has made specific arrange- 73
ments for her before his death, the family usually sees to it that she is cared for properly, since she has relieved them of the responsibility of taking care of their parents for many years. Or, if any member of the family lingers beyond what might be considered to be a normal life span, the other members help in some way so that person will be cared for. Thus no one is left out because of misfortune of any kind. Nevertheless, any individual member always tries not to become a burden on the family.

Of the former patriarchalism of Class A families only ves- 565*
tiges remain, which however are still important: the contin- 596
ued close relationship of family members, even though sep- 178
arated by distance and interests; the intermarriage of cousins, and the strong pattern of life em familia; the fact that the family as a unit still provides care and protection for those members who are incapable of doing so themselves; and finally the acknowledgment of an extended-family head, a man accorded deference and respect by members of his own family as well as by other families. The upper-class family of today differs in significant ways from that of former centuries, especially in the increasing emphasis placed upon the conjugal family and the decrease in family size. A major de- [562]
parture from the old family traditions is the increasing equality of women, their increased participation both in home activities and in activities outside the home.

Birthdays are the most important occasions in these fami- 565*
lies aside from weddings. Whether in the city or on the planta- 596
tion, birthdays are commemorated on a large scale by an almoço (luncheon). During the summer in the country the plant- 527
ers sometimes also have a series of luncheons, each Sunday on a different plantation. In such cases the house in which the luncheon is to be held provides the bulk of the food, but as a rule all the women make desserts which they bring with them. The menu, in accordance with old Bahian tradition, is huge, 565*
usually beginning with a feijoada (a deep dish of beans and 596
meat, usually eaten with rice or farina), sarapatel (a highly 527
seasoned dish of which the basis is pork blood), moqueca de 262
camarão (a type of shrimp ragout made with dendê palm oil), and ensopado de porco (pork stew). These are followed by roasts of beef, pork, lamb, and turkey, and filet mignon.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

565 (festas) and informal social activities. The uninhibited enjoyment of
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[184] a samba (dance), a candomblé (fetish cult observance), a religious procession, or a Saint's day by the lower class is very different from the self-conscious upper class behavior under comparable conditions.[16]

565 The discussion above is largely in terms of stereotypes, and
562 in fact there are many exceptions. In the upper class, strong-willed
369 women may on occasion enter a profession--such as nursing or teaching--or operate a business or plantation, but usually with the aid and the advice of male relatives. In Salvador the upper class women are relatively more emancipated than are those of the villages and towns.
565 Many lower class people, especially the less poverty ridden groups of
596 the villages and towns, tend to imitate the idealized upper class
369 family pattern, within the limits of their economic, educational, and social resources.

565 In general it may be said that the interests of upper class
571 families in the Recôncavo are regional, the interests of lower class
621 families are local. The areally and biologically extended families
59 of the upper class, interconnected through marriage and intermeshed in over-all economic, political, and social interests, are a basic element in the regional unity of the Recôncavo and in its integration into the Brazilian nation. In contrast the extra-local interests of lower class families are weak and unstable. The lower class community or neighborhood identification is the more effective unifying factor and seems to provide, in the Recôncavo, a focus for local interests generally lacking in at least the aristocratic and urban strata of the upper class.[17] However, the institutions of the community for the most part are maintained and directed by the aristocratic and the local upper class.

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A stranger is often surprised to discover individuals whom he had not previously thought of as related turning out to be brothers or other close relatives.

The gradually improving status of women is today working against *mancebia*, and many of the "more scrupulous" families discourage it. In these, the wife, if she knows of her husband's affairs, may reprove him, as also may other members of the family and its friends. But usually, as an upper-class woman said, "the ladies talk very little about it, and then only with their most intimate friends. The subject is not generally discussed."

Although in recent years at least two feminists have become quite prominent, and one of these has been elected to the state legislature, the common family pattern at Bahia is still patriarchal. Tempered, of course, by the natural claims which primary relations always tend to set up, the role of the husband and father has, throughout Bahian history, been a decidedly dominant role. For instance, it is said to have formerly been the custom—at Bahia today in some instances a custom still observed—for the husband to select and purchase the materials for his wife's clothing and even indicate the manner in which the goods should be made up. Formerly, women, other than prostitutes, servants, and other individuals of inferior status, were rarely seen upon the streets or in public places, the home being considered their proper sphere. Even in the home, women seem to have rarely appeared in the presence of strangers. Tollenare, visiting Pernambuco in the early nineteenth century, wrote, "At my arrival [in the house of a merchant], the women disappeared, and only the head of the house remained in the *salão* to talk to me." In another connection he remarked: "During eight months of residence in Pernambuco I never once saw the

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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high society of the city in spite of my letters of introduction and my efforts to enter several homes."[8]

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Another important question to raise is, "Why did not the structure of Brazilian slave society, like that of the United States, pass over into caste?" The situation here is somewhat more clear. The function of caste appears to be that of preserving inviolate the racial integrity of a dominant group. Caste in India apparently arose in an attempt on the part of incoming Aryan peoples to preserve the status of their families against the consequences of intermixture with the conquered aboriginal tribes.[9] The prohibition of intermarriage excluded almost completely from the more intimate social contacts individuals from groups considered undesirable.

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In Brazil the characteristic tendency has always been just the reverse: namely, to incorporate eventually all ethnic minorities into the dominant group. The contact of the Portuguese settlers with the imported Africans was, of course, originally that of master and slave. But out of the slave system which grew up there gradually emerged a moral order in which most whites and blacks, as we have seen, came to share a common life on an intimate, personal basis.

Men come together ordinarily because they are useful to one another. Under these circumstances they may regard each other for a long time as mere utilities. But human beings do not live for long, like plants, in relations that are merely symbiotic. For men, unlike plants, communicate. In this way they come to know one another's minds and to be responsive to one another's attitudes and sentiments. They find themselves, eventually, living as it were, each in the mind of all his neighbors. It is in this way that a moral order grows up in which,

[8] L. F. Tollenare, "Notas dominicais tomadas durante uma residencia no Brasil, 1816-1818" (portion relative to Pernambuco translated by Alfredo de Carvalho from the unpublished French manuscript), *Revista do Instituto Arqueologico e Geographico Pernambucano*, No. 61 (1905), pp. 129 and 230.

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[9] Sir Herbert H. Risley, *The People of India* (2d ed.; Calcutta, 1915), pp. 264-65.

[SALVADOR]

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*563 829 look for light girls." Obviously this question is not one that can be solved with the material of an investigation like ours, but there seems to be no doubt that we are confronted here with reasons intended to mask the wish for a union with white women. This design, moreover, should be interpreted with the help of psychoanalysis and other techniques for investigating personality problems.

In Bahia there are some distinguished Blacks, particularly in the liberal professions, who are married to Whites or to women much lighter than they are. This fact is mentioned with some emphasis and with ill-concealed pride by some persons of dark color, although such cases are also the object of criticism. Very often the women belong to milieus inferior to those to which they themselves belong, "for in the higher classes, although marriages between mulattoes and morenos are frequent, the opposition is still strong against marriages between persons who are very /44/ far apart on the color scale" (1).

[565] [626]

1. Donald Pierson, op. cit.

*563 565 554 The lower the man's status, the less difficult a mixed marriage is for him within his class. That is to say, it is much easier for a Black of intermediate and inferior groups to marry a White of his social class than for a Black of a higher class to marry a girl of his own milieu. Moreover, the less great the difference between the man's and the woman's type, the less great will be the opposition to be overcome in whatever milieu it may be. The marriage of a light man with a dark woman, especially if she is much more pigmented than he, encounters very marked opposition in all milieus, although the opinions about the morena with fine features and the color of jambo make this type desirable for certain Whites, particularly for Portuguese immigrants and somewhat for Germans. A dark woman who marries a White is much more exposed to the hostility of her husband's family than a dark man who marries a light or white woman. In order to explain this in part it is necessary not to forget that, the family in Bahia

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[SALVADOR]

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*563 •59 being greatly influenced by the family of the bride, the husband is inevitably absorbed by it, so that the children are actually more intimate with their grandparents on the maternal side than with those on the paternal side (2).

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2. In order to verify this hypothesis the author questioned 30 young women of lower and intermediate class, students of a professional school, and was thus able to verify that 63.3 o/o considered themselves more intimate with the family of their mother; 26 o/o did not express any preference; 6.6 o/o inclined to the paternal side, and 3 o/o did not know their ancestors.

*563 565 557 59 A White who is married to a dark woman thereby "leaves" his category, for, according to an oft-repeated maxim, "when a girl marries, her family gains a son." The man thus passes into the world of colored people from which his wife originated. Likewise, a dark man "elevates" himself by being integrated into the family of his light or white spouse. That is the opinion of the Bahians, an opinion that the author has been able to perceive and observe by participating in the local life. On the other hand, this is confirmed analogically by what occurs in marriages between persons of different rank and wealth. In Bahia, as throughout Brazil generally, marriages between "cultivated and upright" young men, even if they are poor, and wealthy women of high rank are much more approved than those of wealthy men with "lower class" women. In the case of the "cultivated and upright" young man (these two conditions are required), even if he is poor or colored, the family of the fiancée capitalizes on these virtues as compensation for his fortune or for his whiteness in the bartering that it does; in the opposite situation, the virtues that the poor or dark girl may have do not generally have /45/ the same power of compensation for the family of her spouse.

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596 will take the girl to his family gatherings and that he will be
584 invited to hers, so that their lives continue to be within the family, though now within two families. There are so few public places of entertainment in Salvador, other than the movies, that the couple is seldom alone. Dating nearly always takes place in family circles, so there is little need for a formal chaperone. Courtship continues until the boy has finished school (if it began that early, as it sometimes does), or is settled in business, at which time an engagement may be announced. Once the couple are engaged (noivos), they are allowed greater freedom; this does not, however, amount to much, as their social activities continue to be confined within the family. If for some reason the boy or the girl goes away for a time, the one left at home is invited to all family parties just as though both were there. The engagement period does not last very long--not as long as the gostando period, which may extend for two years--for once engaged, a couple is considered to be serious about marriage, which then takes place as soon as possible.

585 The wedding, always in Salvador, is both a religious and a
*565 civil ceremony. The former is a formal, fashionable church ceremony followed by a reception and luncheon, before the
596 bride and groom leave for their honeymoon. The civil wedding takes place in the bride's home shortly before the religious ceremony. Only the godparents and closest relatives
• [591] attend this ceremony. After marriage the couple usually set up their own home, but if this is not possible they may live with one of their in-laws. This, however, is undesirable, and often the wedding is postponed until the couple can have their own home. The parents on both sides help toward this end as
* much as they can by getting the young man settled in a suit-
565 able position. Family connections are extremely important
594 throughout Class A in placing young people in business or a profession.

163 As a rule a child is born to the young couple by the end of
[608] the first year of marriage, and the compadres (godparents) are chosen from close members of the two families, at least
[596] for the first child. Succeeding children may have close friends of the father as godparents. Children are named after family
[553] members of preceding generations or--as has happened in
[178] some cases--after a much-loved slave. The old pattern was for the couple to continue having children regularly as long as the wife was able to, but the trend is now for each generation

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

565 596 861 [872] the extended family. The upper class child develops in an atmosphere of alternate indulgence and discipline, with very few responsibilities. Most upper class children attend private schools, which are usually parochial.

565 The social status of the upper class individual is determined by birth and is maintained by the economic and social standing of the individual and his family. The specific determinants of status--wealth, occupation, education, kin relations, and physical appearance[14]--are either fixed or are strongly influenced by the family.

565 596 In the Recôncavo the extended upper class family frequently has a diversified economic structure which enables it to safeguard effectively the position of the individual and the group. Ideally the family group includes the usinéiro (sugar mill owner or administrator), the fazendéiro (cane planter), the doctor, the lawyer-politician, and the urban business man. These various individuals cooperate to build and to maintain the economic, political, and social position of the family. These activities constitute the principal responsibility of the males of the family and justify, it is believed, the characteristic masculine superiority of the society.

565 588 [592] The Lower Class Family. Some of the upper class characteristics are shared by lower class families, especially by the upper stratum, but the contrasts are striking. Lower class families in the Recôncavo seem to have less stability and a less extended character than those of the upper class. Common law marriages and church marriages, not legally binding in Brazil, are quite common and are easily dissolved. The common law marriages of the young adults are frequently temporary, but most older adults seem to establish permanent unions.[15]

565 596 Though kinship relationships are always recognized and cherished, the extended family of the lower class is widely dispersed, and its economic role is usually minor.

On the cane plantations
241 the field work of planting and harvesting is done by labor gangs com-
462
857 posed of men, women, and older children. There is some specialization: men cut the cane, women gather and pile the cane stalks and leaves, and the older children assist at these tasks and at managing the ox carts. The smaller children remain at home, where they are responsible from a very early age for some household tasks.

241 Outside the sugar zone the family is a basic labor unit. Men,
•592
462 women, and children work in the fields as required and participate in
857 processing tobacco and manioc. To an even greater extent than is characteristic of the sugar zone the children participate in family tasks, and as soon as they can manage the hoe, they join in the field work.

461 The upper class Baiano seldom does physical labor—to do physical
[565] work is to lower one's status. In the lower class work would seem to be approached as a somewhat unpleasant necessity which is best tackled in a cheerful and convivial atmosphere. The agricultural laborer is given to spells of extremely hard work interrupted by banter and occasional "horseplay." While the lone worker often seems rather cheerless and plodding in the field, the shouted jokes, songs, and exclamations of groups of laborers frequently resound throughout the countryside. The intermittent vigorous labor seems to be an extension of play, for there is little social evaluation of hard work for its own sake.

Despite the enthusiasm and commotion which surrounds almost any effort, the per capita productivity of the worker in the Recôncavo
461 is relatively modest. In part this is a result of the intermittent
147 character of the work, but a more important factor is the limited energy of the worker. The lower class of the Recôncavo is weakened by perennial hunger, bad diet, and disease.[27]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

258 but also because the manioc roots are too heavy and bulky to be trans-
[438] ported over long distances. Moreover, the market for farinha de mandioca is generally local, except in the Southwestern Recôncavo.

258 The capital investment in a casa de farinha is small, usually
471 less than one hundred dollars, but this sum is far beyond the reach of
[454] most cultivators. The mills are built by owners of medium-sized land holdings or local merchants, and are operated on a share basis. The mill owner usually receives one-tenth of the finished product in exchange
[427] for the use of the mill equipment. The customer rents the equipment
[464] rather than the service and must therefore provide the labor, although
[592] the owner usually furnishes one or two workers. Generally the processing
[462] of manioc is a family operation in which the women and girls scrape the roots and the men and boys perform the more arduous tasks.

277 Most of the tobacco which is grown in the Recôncavo is exported
[439] in the form of leaf. Therefore, the processing of tobacco is less important in relation to the cultivation of tobacco than is the processing of manioc and sugar in relation to their respective cultivation. The leaf tobacco which is retained in the area is made into cigars in home industries and in a number of cigar factories. The home-produced cigars are made by tobacco cultivators and small-scale processors in the villages, towns, and cities of the region. These cigars are generally
[443] very cheap and are sold in the local mercado (market) or in small vendas (shops). It is difficult to assess the total importance of this form of processing, but it seems likely that the number of cigars so made is extremely large.

277 The cigar factories of the Recôncavo are located in the cidades of São Gonçalo, Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, and Maragogipe. Each of the
[464] factories employs from 100 to 200 workers, usually women from the surrounding area. Machines are used to produce the cheaper grades;

21 Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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[Class C Families]

565*
(tamancos), or perhaps leather shoes. Women wear a dress 291
and a slip and are usually barefoot. Dress-up occasions also [292]
call for undergarments, stockings, and shoes. Great modesty
is always shown about exposing oneself in front of others.
Few of the men shave themselves, going to the barber for 565*
this as well as for haircuts. There are several women who 305
are experts at hair straightening, which they do with a flat- 302
iron, although most women and girls in this class who have
the problem of straightening their hair know how to do it them-
selves.

In Class C as well as in Class B the father is the dominant 517
person. He rules the household. He is the one who is served 565*
at meals, whose clothing is always clean and pressed, and 592
who goes out the most. He spends much of his leisure time [184]
in one of the several stores, talking and taking an occasional
drink of rum; or on one of the few shaded corners playing
dominoes with his friends; or else in the bar playing billiards
and gossiping. As a rule he goes to the movies alone, or at
least without his family, although in the higher echelons of the
class families often go to the movies and to church together.
There is one family which is musically inclined, and which [533]
often spends evenings at home together, making up a small 565*
orchestra. If there is a samba in someone's house, many men 535
from this class will be there watching, while the participants 517
are usually single women and girls from the same class. The
men will discuss a woman's physical attributes while she is
in the center of the ring dancing. This is one of the most com-
mon ways in which a girl gets "looked over" and is watched as
she develops. Sooner or later some man will fall in love with
her (apaixonar-se dela), and if she is not well guarded by her
family he will eventually have an affair with her. In the case 565*
of fishermen, most of the time is taken up either by fishing or 226
by caring for equipment, for the nets need a good deal of at- 517
tention. Since the fishermen's hours follow the tides, their [513]
working hours differ from day to day. They often go to bed
early, in anticipation of getting up at three or four in the
morning.

The women, on the other hand, follow a more regular daily 565*
routine of getting the morning coffee ready, getting the chil- 512
dren off to school, going for water and wood, doing the ever- 462
present laundry and ironing, and caring for the younger chil-
dren. In addition, if possible, they prepare xangô to help sup-
plement the family income and go to the fair in Centro on Mon-

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Class C Families]

[Class D Families]

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Orphans, or children whose parents cannot care for them because of financial difficulties, are always taken in by some member of the family--an aunt, or uncle, or perhaps the grandparents if they are still alive, or the godparents.

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[162]

The Class D family presents a very different picture from that of any of the other social classes in Vila Recôncavo. It is almost the reverse of the patriarchal upper-class family, for in Class D the woman is the chief member, the chefe de familia. In Vila Recôncavo, 90 of the 290 households counted in the 1950 census reported a woman as the family head. Of these, thirty listed themselves as widows, seventeen as married but with husbands who lived elsewhere, and forty-three as unmarried. It is difficult to determine with certainty how many of the women who declared themselves widows or married actually were so. It is a favorite device of Vila Recôncavo women who have lived in an unmarried relationship with a man and subsequently separated from him to say that they are widows. It is equally difficult to determine from these figures how many unmarried relationships are involved.

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The composition of these households almost defies classification. Fifty-five are composed of mothers and children, with the addition in some cases of relatives and an agregado (official census term designating someone who lives in the house permanently but does not pay for his board), as well as hospedes (census designation of someone who is staying in the house temporarily and who is not paying for his board). Of the fifty-five houses with children, twenty-four are represented by unmarried, female family heads. Eight of these twenty-four households list agregados of approximately the same age as the woman, which may indicate, although not necessarily so, amasiado relationships. The other households are composed of what appear to be "left overs" from other families or marital unions: elderly people who have outlived their own conjugal units, younger people whose families either never existed as legal units or have been dissolved, agregados, and hospedes. These ninety households include a total of 353 people, who can be classified as follows:

[583]

[162]

55 mothers
142 children
37 grandchildren
35 relatives, including mothers, aunts, cousins, sisters, brothers,

9: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 8011 Bahia Brazilians 8011
VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Class D Families]

*565
•592
[162]

nieces, and nephews
46 agregados and hospedes

Examples of the household units are given below.

*565
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TABLE 10
COMPOSITION OF CLASS D HOUSEHOLDS

Status of Head of Family	Age	Occupation	Number of Head of Family's Children Living in House	Number of Others in House
unmarried	62	none	2	4 grandchildren
widow	70	cook	1	1 grandchild; 1 hospede
unmarried	59	laundress	1	4 grandchildren
unmarried	24	laundress	4	none
widow	49	seamstress	4	7 grandchildren, 1 agregado
unmarried	42	cook	3	1 sister, 1 niece, 1 hospede
unmarried	39	laundress	3	1 hospede
unmarried	66	ironing	0	6 nieces & nephews
widow	42	ironing	6	none
unmarried	56	laundress	0	1 grandchild
unmarried	36	laundress	6	1 nephew
unmarried	48	laundress	3	1 brother
married	36	ironing	6	1 mother, 1 nephew
unmarried	38	laundress	3	1 aunt, 1 cousin
unmarried	84	none	0	1 agregado
unmarried	21	ironing	1	none
unmarried	54	laundress	0	1 hospede, 2 agregados
married	52	laundress	1	3 grandchildren

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The household of Damiana is a good example for Class D. Damiana, who is now in her fifties, had a prolonged affair with a married man when she was young, and gave birth to three daughters. Orphaned herself at about the same time, she took her children and went to reside in the house of a good friend who was living in an unmarried relationship with a man. When Maria José, one of her daughters, was sixteen she was deflowered, and Damiana managed through a godfather's influence to force the boy who was responsible to marry the girl. Maria José, however, did not want to live with him, and since

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Class D Families]

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[608]

no child was born of the affair she went to Salvador where she found employment. There she met Vavá, whom she liked very much. She went to live with him for eleven years and had three children.

During this time, Vavá had affairs with several other women and had two other children. Finally he tired of Maria José and told her to go home to her mother, which she did, taking her three children with her. Damiana's godfather allowed her, Maria José and her children, and Tatá, another of Damiana's daughters who by then had six illegitimate children, to live rent-free in a house he owned. Childless, he took one daughter from each of the two girls to bring up in his own home.

Shortly after the three women had set up this household, Vavá tired of his new companion and wanted Maria José to come back to him, which she refused to do. From time to time he also asked her for money, as he was now unemployed. She always gave him some, since she was employed, explaining that it was not for him but for his two other children, for she could not think of their going hungry.

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[551]
[583]

In almost every case of break-up of the unmarried state, the children remain with the mother. This is also true in the case of an affair which results in a child. The father never takes on the responsibility of the children. In addition to this, as stated earlier, the children bear the mother's name and not that of the father. Often a break-up occurs because the man goes to live with another woman who does not want the children of his previous union, as she may have some of her own either by him or by someone else. On the other hand, women in Vila Recôncavo say that they would be ashamed to let the children go and be brought up by another woman, except in the case of a godparent, in whose home the treatment is expected to be at least as good as that which the mother could have given the child.

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Sometimes women in this class have affairs with men who are already married and who do not leave their wives and children. A woman seldom has more than one lover at one time, and usually stays with the same man for a long period. Although the man takes no responsibility for the resulting children, he may, nevertheless, try to help the woman sometimes; but his first allegiance is to his own wife and children.

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Unless there has been a formal marriage, the children are always considered as belonging to the mother, and the most

*565
592 remarkable fact about these female households is that mother
848 and children manage to remain together as long as they do. Usually the husbandless woman finds work as a laundress or at ironing, or dries fish (xangó), three tasks which permit her to keep her children near her. When she becomes a cook or servant in someone's home, it is common for her to take the children to work and let them play nearby in the back yard. In such a case her children may eventually receive aid from her employer, who because of the children's continued presence in the house becomes fond of them and wants to do something for them. If this does not happen, the mother herself
[464] must take care of their future. As a rule, boys from such families leave town as soon as they are old enough, finding employment in Salvador. Girls, on the other hand, remain with their mothers more often than leaving. If they do leave, they often return, like Maria José, with children of their own.

*565 Because of the poverty of these households, there is little
592 or no provision for the care of older people, and it is from
735 this class that come the very few, poor, old women who beg for food, medicine, and other aid. The people of the town are
888 in general extremely generous in view of their own financial circumstances, and they do what they can to help. In Vila Recôncavo there are no "professional" beggars; there is no one
[157] seated on a street corner asking for alms. There is, instead, a very proud spirit of independence, and having to go from door to door (or, rather, from kitchen to kitchen) asking for food or money is highly repugnant. Families will often send food to an old person regularly in order to avoid face-to-face contact with begging. Begging is also sometimes done through a third person, often a child, again to avoid face-to-face relationships in asking for aid.

*565 Class D does not exist in the rural area, for reasons al-
369 ready noted, particularly the pressure brought to bear by plantation owners and administrators. In addition, however, it also seems that women can only support themselves and their children in the more crowded urban areas, where they can find work which allows them to be near their children.

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECONCAVO

in the three houses for nearly all members of the two extended families, for the factory has become the major gathering point for all of them during the summer. Each married couple maintains its own home in the city. In the Conde and Jacuipe families the tendency has been to enlarge the two families by the addition of in-laws rather than to lose sons and daughters, because of the exceptionally strong family loyalties held by the members. As a result, many more people are drawn into the social circles of the two groups, which at times appear as one family and at other times as two separate but close units. 565* 596

The social life of these people is carried out almost entirely within this group of ninety-seven persons, and their in-laws, plus the in-law families. Such intrafamilial social life is known as vida em familia. During the winter season in Salvador, their social activities are confined to visiting one another, playing cards with one another, having birthday parties for one another, attending the weddings of one another's children, and so forth. Trips to the beach and to social clubs and graduations are made jointly. During the summer, parts of families visit others, and at certain times, such as the botada da usina (first day of the sugar mill's activities each year), Carnaval, and the birthday of the Colonel, his wife, or Dona Yaya, nearly all the members of the family get together. This may mean a gathering of sixty to seventy persons. A "small" luncheon may be attended by a mere twenty or thirty persons. 565* 596 517

It is still the custom for young married couples to dine with the parents of each at least once a week. It is also not unusual to find an entire apartment house in the city occupied by members of one family, each conjugal group occupying its own apartment. Members of the same generation usually play or visit together, although all generations are present at most family gatherings. Through lifelong companionship, members of families in this class come to know each other extremely well and are often the best of friends as well as relatives. Because of the size of these families, and because of the constancy of their devotion to one another, there is little time or energy left for entertaining outsiders. This, however, does not mean that acquaintances are limited to family members. Friends are made, who are drawn into the various conjugal groups and into the activities of the larger extended family. 565* 596 [593] [342] [561] [574] [572]

Courtship in Class A families is a formal affair. At first it is considered that the young couple are gostando (liking each other) or namorando (in love). It is expected that the boy 565* 596 584

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sen because it is the name of the saint on whose day the child 551
is born. There is also a good sprinkling of the more common
names such as Antonio, João, Lourdes, and Maria. But if a
child develops any peculiar characteristics, either physical
or personal, he or she will be called by some descriptive
term based on the peculiarity. Most people have nicknames 551
such as Patão (Big Duck), Barco Velho (Old Boat), Cuspe
Grosso (Thick Spit) or Gatinho (Little Cat), and in time their
own proper name is forgotten almost entirely and used only
for formal occasions such as signing records. The diminu-
tive form of the given name is also popular, and is applied
even to upper-class people, for example, Dr. Zeca (diminu-
tive for Dr. José). In some cases a man is even known by his
mother's or wife's name, for example, José de Ingracia.

In choosing godparents, there is great freedom. If possible, 608
at least one of the godparents will be a member of the upper [565]
class, a patron who will help the child if necessary, especial-
ly if the godson when he grows up wants to go to school in the
city or enter the army or navy. The other godparent may be
a member of the child's family, or in some cases the mid-
wife. In many cases the wife chooses the female godparent,
especially if she suspects that her husband is paying too much
attention to some other woman. In such a case she asks that
woman to become the godmother; the latter can hardly refuse,
as it is always considered a compliment. By becoming the god- 608
mother the woman is put effectively out of reach of the hus- 835
band, as there can be no sexual relations between parents and
godparents. This is a common device of women who have an
unmarried sister living in the home, and it usually calls a
halt to any amorous intentions on the part of either the hus-
band or the sister. There have been cases, however, where [626]
this rule was broken. Usually the couple who break this ta-
boo are highly censured by the rest of the community, for the
wife, if she finds out, tells her friends about it. In one case [762]
which occurred in Vila Recôncavo during the author's stay,
the woman was so ashamed and frightened by the sin she had
committed that she killed herself by drinking rat poison.

In the rural area, while the man is usually acknowledged to 593
be the dominant person in the family, it is the woman who 369
dictates most of the daily actions. The children are with her
most of the time, helping in the house and working with her
in the garden, both girls and boys. When schools opened re-
cently on several of the plantations, it was the mothers, not

• 593 369 the fathers, who insisted that the children go. In the case of a woman who moves in with a new husband and brings her own children, she always makes it clear that the children are hers and not his. She will allow no interference from her husband in the matter of disciplining her children. Often the best possible relations exist between stepfather and children, but he never gives orders to them. The rural mother in all cases seems to be more exacting with her offspring than the town [861] mother. It is not uncommon for a rural mother to beat her children, even those who are grown men, with the cipó de caboclo (a switch), whereas this would never happen in the town. She also extends her control over them even after they are married, counseling them and helping when she can, and criticizing them severely if she does not like something they do.

883 By the time they are in their late teens, boys become interested in courting (namoro), though girls often start ear- 584 lier. If a boy sees a girl who interests him, he manages to 212 meet her as often as possible on the street or at the dock, and 832 by looks and slight remarks makes it clear that he is interested. Or, if he can write, he may send the girl a note through [206] a common friend. In Vila Recôncavo the telephone office is a popular place for making one's interests known, for the telephone operator is a young woman who is highly respected by most people in town and well liked by young people. A note typical of those which may pass through her hands is as follows:

Vila Recôncavo
January 7, 1951

Dona Therezinha, Salutations:

I am absolutely convinced that you do not doubt the sincerity of my love, which is always manifested so clearly in my letters and in my face when I see you.

So, I equally have the conviction of having the strange happiness of possessing your love, but in the meantime there is something lacking to complete my felicity. That is to speak to you, to hear from your lips the sincere confession of your love, to feel you near me for a few minutes.

I ask you to give me permission to speak to you, indicating the day, hour, and place in which we can meet.

You will surely not repent giving me this pleasure, for you will see that I know how to retribute your confidence

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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One reason why race mixture in Bahia is more extensive than in the United States is that in Bahia it goes on by legal intermarriage in a less restricted way than with us. Although interbreeding between individuals from extreme ends of the color scale is largely extra-legal, intermarriage becomes more frequent as the colors approach along this continuum.

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BB
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The general tendency is for the predominantly European portion of the population to absorb the lighter mixed-bloods while the mulattoes in turn absorb the blacks. This means that the Brazilian population is constantly becoming more European, less negroid, in appearance, a tendency which is referred to by local intellectuals as "progressive Aryanization." As Oliveira Vianna has said: "Podemos já assignalar . . . . uma tendencia que cada vez mais se precisa e define: a tendencia para a aryanização progressiva dos nossos grupos regionaes. Isto é, *o coefficiente da raça branca eleva-se cada vez mais em nossa população.*"[38a]

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[596]
B
BB
[593] •

Family ties are, as we have noted, tenacious. Loyalty to the clan still today transcends loyalty to the state, the church, or any other institution. There is strong personal attachment between white parents and colored offspring, both legitimate and illegitimate, and these ties obviously place the mulatto in an advantageous position for social advancement.

It is commonly thought in Brazil that the Brazilian

from Germany. The man also sent money to a second Negro woman, her two girls and a boy, for whom he, while still in Brazil, had built a comfortable home.

[38a] "A progressive whitening of our population is clearly evident. In other words, the proportion of white blood is constantly increasing" (*Evolução do povo brasileiro* [2d ed.; São Paulo, 1933], p. 172). See also João Pandiá Calogeras, *Formação historica do Brasil* (3d ed.; São Paulo, 1938), p. 36.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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*175 563 seventeenth century largely disappeared, Zacharias Wagner at that time observed that unions of Portuguese men with Indian or mixed-blood women were still of frequent occurrence.[7] Capistrano de Abreu records the desire of native women to have children "belonging to the superior race, since, according to the ideas current among them, parentage was important only on the paternal side."[8] Freyre, following Varnhagen, thinks "a decided sexual preference" was involved.[9]

[829]

* 563 Intermarriage assures to the family relationships of the mixed-blood a relative permanence and continuity not always characteristic of informal unions. Although human beings are responsive to the natural claims of paternity, illegitimate offspring are often denied the regular presence of a father in the family and the relative security in other respects of legitimate children.

• 593 [848]

175 Among the Africans imported into Bahia were numerous individuals possessed, as we have seen, of a cultural equipment superior not only to that of the native Indian but also "to that of the majority of the white colonists . . . . many of whom were illiterate and the greater portion only semiliterate."[10] In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries there was so little literacy among the Europeans that "not rarely rich *fazendeiros* in the interior requested their friends on the coast to arrange a son-in-law who, although he had no

* 212 563 [567]

[7] Alfredo de Carvalho, "O Zoobillion de Zacharias Wagner," *Revista do Instituto Archeologico, Historico e Geographico de Pernambuco*, Vol. XI (1904), quoted by Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

[8] Capistrano de Abreu, *Capitulos de historia colonial* (3d. ed.; Rio, 1934), quoted by Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

[9] *Op. cit.*, p. 59.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 212.

[SALVADOR]

/32 cont./

829 *563 156 On the whole, the Blacks speak with calmness, and, even when they are very reserved toward the investigator, they show a certain psychological assurance and a good adjustment to the conditions of life in Bahia. Here, too, there are obviously exceptions: one man practicing a liberal profession and who is thought to have had worries because of his color, proves reticent and even reserved. "He feels inferior because of the fact that he is black," other Blacks say; "for this reason he frequently causes trouble." The informants state that there are mulattoes who, wishing to conceal their origin, avoid appearing in the company of their own parents of black color. One young man practicing a liberal [593] profession, highly esteemed, is covered with praise because he does not have such prejudices; although married to a White, he goes everywhere with his mother, a Black of the most beautiful black, and introduces her to all his friends. On the other hand, another man of the same milieu and the same "quality" is criticized, because, according to some, "he does not wish to be black and for that reason he hides his old mother." Another Black is regarded as full of prejudice and as a racist, "because he prefers to go around with the Whites and he likes to appear in public with women whiter of complexion than of reputation." Some of his colleagues of the same profession and the same social rank regard him as one "repressed," one who is ashamed of being black. "And," it is added, "there are many like him, who, if they could, would be white!"

829 *563 576 There is no doubt but that certain Whites, including light and dark mulattoes, treat the Blacks and colored persons of humble social class with a certain air of superiority. They do so more rarely with individuals of the same rank as they. To say to someone's face that he is inferior because of his color would be a serious offense, according to the etiquette that governs the relations be- [571] tween individuals of different types in Bahia. A moreno educator, native of a northern State, says that during the nine years that he lived in Bahia he was able to observe this mutual respect between persons of different "qualities," provided they were of the same social rank, while in his State colored people are treated with contempt.

[SALVADOR]

175 /40 cont./ These marriages increased after
178 Independence, in 1822, with the
*563 social ascent of mulattoes, military men, bureaucrats, lawyers
555 graduated from Portuguese and French universities, a process which was intense under the Brazilian monarchical regime and to which Bahia contributed liberally with statesmen and politicians coming from these groups (2).

2. G. Freyre, op. cit., III, p. 951.

178 Social pressure against mixed marriages seems to have de-
*563 creased with time, and so the latter became more numerous
626 every day. Formerly the families of high society or of the
584 bourgeoisie verified the origin of fiancés with great care. Many
*593 marriages came to grief because one of the future partners was found to belong to the "caste." The unions that were formed against the parents' wish were the cause of lasting quarrels between parents and children, and gave rise to veritable domestic tragedies. Many fathers cursed their daughters and disinherited them when they persisted in wanting to marry a man of "inferior quality," especially if he were a bastard. "In our day," a female informant told us, "one has it much easier." This indeed seems to be the general opinion.

*563 The mixed marriage is greatly sought after because it confers
557 prestige on the one of the two partners who is darker. A black professor made the remark to us that there are few colored men who, in marrying a light woman, think of "improving the race," but rather they hope to facilitate their own social ascent. Proof of this is the frequency with which this intention is /41/ implicitly indicated or even acknowledged. A colored employee flirts with white boys "for fun"; in fact, she is trying to get the man she wants, and she announces that she will never marry a man of dark color unless he is rich and well situated. Her mother approves entirely when she announces that she will not accept the advances of a man of dark color. Her three sisters have married Whites, and one of them is proud of her children who are blond. A student of the same physical type "prefers" moreno suitors, but admits that she would have no objection to marrying a White.

[SALVADOR]

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*563 873 178 511 With the gradual rise of the standard of living of the lower strata of the population and with the augmentation of facilities granted to poor students in the framework of secondary education, thanks to the creation of new free colleges, the number of colored students is rising from day to day.

*563 555 593 873 Moreover, many fathers and, in the case of young colored people, many mothers of very modest circumstances make extraordinary sacrifices to assure their children a diploma that will permit them to practice a liberal profession. As a result, in the various faculties of the University of Bahia there are numerous colored students who share the life, the studies, the diversions of their white comrades and who form groups with them according to their social rank and the center of their intellectual and academic interest. If one sometimes sees groups made up solely of young colored people, it is nevertheless certain that in the university there is no intentional or permanent segregation /80/ based on classifications of "race" or "quality." In no other environment is there more harmony and less tension in interracial relations, the informants unanimously declare. Nevertheless events whose meaning could be debatable, and which some students attribute to race prejudice, do take place. There are even students who have a tendency to remain isolated during all their years of study; certain informants say that they adopt such behavior in the hope of avoiding annoyances that might be on account of their racial affiliation. Others claim to have had difficulties when they made their application to groups of excursionists or when they took part in oratorical contests, the winners of which were to go to Rio de Janeiro as representatives of the students of Bahia. One man practicing a liberal profession, very dark in color, said that he had never suffered from discrimination when he attended the university, but that he had heard his white comrades speak of people of his type by designating them with the pejorative term of "Negro." The interpretations of the informants on the subject of the preceding facts vary, however. Some think that these episodes are caused by the feeling of inferiority and the timidity of students of very low social status. With

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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> was in sharp contrast to the colonization of Spanish America where the conquistador and the priest were largely responsible for establishing the Spaniards as a ruling caste, and to the founding of the English colonies in North America where the community and the smaller, more equalitarian family were basic elements. As has been shown so well by Freyre's monumental work, the patriarchal form of social organization early obtained almost unlimited sway in Brazil. For centuries Portuguese America continued to be dominated by a few thousand casas grandes, seats of sugar engenhos and cattle fazendas, each of which was the fortress headquarters of a numerous clan. Even today there remains much of this feudal type of social organization, and this great family is the institution through which the white or near-white upper class maintains its control. Of course this patriarchal family has little in common with the equalitarian family of the United States and western Europe.[13]

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596 The colonial family is the idealized family of both the aristocratic upper class in Salvador and the sugar cane zone and of the local upper classes in the smaller cities. It also corresponds rather closely to the actual family structure of much of the upper class of the Recôncavo. The lower class families of the Recôncavo seem to have quite a different functional character and social significance.

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582 The Upper Class Family. Marriage, contracted almost exclusively from within the class group, has the important function of uniting the relatively small number of large extended families which compose the
594 upper class. The unit families, parents and children, of the Recôncavo
596 are relatively large, in conformation to the Brazilian stereotype of five children. This unit family is tightly enclosed in a net of relationships with the extended families of both husband and wife, and many social functions are centered within these larger groups.

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596 The upper class child is reared within a well-defined circle which includes the immediate family, the servants--who frequently have
861 a quasi-parental relationship to the children, like the legendary
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571 "mammy" of the United States South--and the more immediate members of the extended family.

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the plantation complex became the principal characteristic. Marriages between the families of plantation owners brought new alignments of property, some families acquiring more land and others losing it through the natural processes of the marriage and growth of parts of families and the dying out of others. Family became increasingly important. As a rule the conjugal family was large and the extended family enormous; marriages between cousins, uncles, nieces, and other relatives were common. Social life was carried on between neighboring plantations, and of course many marriages took place as a result of these contacts, so that it was not infrequent to find many plantations, both contiguous and scattered, owned

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by the same family. As a rule each extended family had its traditional plantation as a sort of home base, and the head of the family frequently resided there, although not always. The patriarch was generally granted great respect and prestige by the members of his family, both far and near.

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Many who received land grants were the noblemen of the province, and many of them were representatives of the government. In this way the plantation master was securely establishing himself and his family not only in the Recôncavo but also in the governmental hierarchy, and was often in a position to see that the government action did not adversely affect the interests of the sugar-cane growers. At any rate, for several centuries social and political domination was in the hands of a small group which gradually intermarried, always strengthening itself. Its members were, first and foremost, the landowning gentry; next in importance were professional people such as lawyers, doctors, clerics, educators,

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and politicians. Members of this group were also soldiers, and in the War of Independence in 1822 the plantation masters of Vila Recôncavo took a foremost part both personally and financially, for which many were later honored by having royal titles bestowed upon them.

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As the small rural towns, and later the counties, grew, they also fell under the domination of one or several plantation masters. Not infrequently a feud would arise between two families to determine which was to be the dominant one. As the plantation master prospered, he showed his wealth and power with a degree of ostentation which was commented upon by travelers and chroniclers of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. The ruins of houses built at this time can be seen today scattered throughout the coastal northeast.

[Class A Families]

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596 will take the girl to his family gatherings and that he will be
584 invited to hers, so that their lives continue to be within the family, though now within two families. There are so few public places of entertainment in Salvador, other than the movies, that the couple is seldom alone. Dating nearly always takes place in family circles, so there is little need for a formal chaperone. Courtship continues until the boy has finished school (if it began that early, as it sometimes does), or is settled in business, at which time an engagement may be announced. Once the couple are engaged (noivos), they are allowed greater freedom; this does not, however, amount to much, as their social activities continue to be confined within the family. If for some reason the boy or the girl goes away for a time, the one left at home is invited to all family parties just as though both were there. The engagement period does not last very long--not as long as the gostando period, which may extend for two years--for once engaged, a couple is considered to be serious about marriage, which then takes place as soon as possible.

585 The wedding, always in Salvador, is both a religious and a
*565 civil ceremony. The former is a formal, fashionable church
596 ceremony followed by a reception and luncheon, before the bride and groom leave for their honeymoon. The civil wedding takes place in the bride's home shortly before the religious ceremony. Only the godparents and closest relatives
[591] attend this ceremony. After marriage the couple usually set up their own home, but if this is not possible they may live with one of their in-laws. This, however, is undesirable, and often the wedding is postponed until the couple can have their own home. The parents on both sides help toward this end as much as they can by getting the young man settled in a suit-
565 able position. Family connections are extremely important
• 594 throughout Class A in placing young people in business or a profession.

163 As a rule a child is born to the young couple by the end of
[608] the first year of marriage, and the compadres (godparents) are chosen from close members of the two families, at least
[596] for the first child. Succeeding children may have close friends of the father as godparents. Children are named after family
[553] members of preceding generations or--as has happened in
[178] some cases--after a much-loved slave. The old pattern was for the couple to continue having children regularly as long as the wife was able to, but the trend is now for each generation

[Class A Families]

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to have fewer offspring. Four or five generations ago a couple 594
might have as many as twenty children. It was common among 163
these large families for at least one child to enter the priest- 178
hood or a convent. This is no longer the case, not only be-
cause of the smaller size of the families, but also because [463]
the colonial pattern of a priest for each plantation is now gone.

The marriage age for girls is also changing, for several 582
reasons: it takes longer for a boy now to be educated and set- 178
tled in business; the families can no longer support married
children; and girls are being better educated. Instead of be- 562
ing married at sixteen, seventeen, and eighteen, they now go 565*
to school much longer, sometimes taking advanced degrees
as do their brothers. This delays marriage till the twenties
and gives the girls a certain amount of independence, rather
than simply a position of wife and mother. As yet few of them [463]
have entered the professions, but recently it has become styl-
ish to study nursing or social work at least for a while before
marriage. The old pattern was for widows to be supported by [736]
their families, but now girls want to feel self-sufficient, with-
out the dreary prospect of living as dependents in the case of
their husbands' death. In this century, also, marriage has
assumed an aspect of companionship, which was formerly
lacking, for women have achieved a much greater equality with
their husbands and are now partners rather than household
fixtures.

There has been a reaction to the family aspect of Bahian 565*
society, and frequently people are heard complaining of the 596
narrowness of life in such surroundings and expressing a de- 178
sire to live in Rio de Janeiro, or some place where they would
not be always in the same restricted group of relatives. Many 574
of the former obligations of formal visits to close and distant
relatives are now relaxed, although telephone calls at least [206]
are expected with some sort of regularity and members of the
extended family, as well as their attendants, are still expect-
ed at all weddings, birthdays, and deaths. The arrival of fam-
ily members from Rio calls for many dinners and celebrations
in their honor. But the conjugal families seek outside ac- 571
quaintances more and more, and as they enter new groups they 565*
become less able to cope with the numerous family affairs. 596
Nevertheless, it is still membership in these extensive, pa- 178
triarchal families which gives people their status in the com-
munity as a whole and their right to enter new groups which [594]
form along class lines. Everyone is well aware of this, and [554]

[Class A Families]

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596 the first thing done on making new acquaintances is to inquire
[178] into their family background and place them mentally on the
[571] appropriate social level.

As a rule each extended family has a head, usually the oldest male. He is recognized by the rest of the family as the leader, and few things are done by them without his knowledge and advice. The head of the Jacuipe family is the eldest son of Dona Yayá. He has made his home in Rio de Janeiro and has not lived in Salvador for a long time. Nevertheless, he is informed of all that goes on within the family, and no serious step would be taken by any member without his counsel. On the local scene, however, it is his next younger sister who has taken the family lead in all social activities. It is she who sees to it that the family is represented at any function where it is a duty to appear. Among the Condes, the Colonel is still the family head in spite of his age and infirmity. For many years his eldest son showed himself capable of taking charge of the sugar mill and of the family fortunes as well, but since his untimely death none of the other sons has shown such vigor, and in the long run major decisions are left to the old gentleman.

• [594] In the conjugal households, however, decisions and actions are made jointly by the married partners. Unless the action is a very serious one which might affect the rest of the family, they need by no means seek advice from the family head. The family leader has no strong control over the other members of the family; rather, he is someone to whom they can go if they need advice. Also, if any member of the family is in difficulties of any sort, the rest of the group rallies around him under the direction of such a person. Because of the many positions in public life occupied by members of these extended families, the family is able to muster considerable pistolão ("pull") in many fields. Requests are frequently made, especially to aid lower-class people who look to the various
[557] family members as patrons. A call here or there by the recognized leader of a large extended family can be a great assistance in getting someone into the already crowded hospitals, in helping with a will which has become entangled in legal difficulties, in getting a young man into the Air Force, and in the myriad other things which arise in this very personalized culture.

[73] The cohesiveness of the extended family also acts to take
[589] care of the aged, infirm, widowed, and unmarried. Not infre-

[Class A Families]

[Class B Families]

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such families also usually had fairly extensive accumulations of silver service, china and crystal, and linens. It was the custom for such possessions to be distributed among the heirs as separate items. One son would receive a plantation in the Recôncavo, another a ranch in the sertão; a daughter might receive a full and valuable set of table service, or perhaps a whole house and its furnishings in Salvador. Single plantations were almost never divided, unless they were large enough to make such a division practicable. Property divisions were often made rather arbitrarily by the family patriarch, and were often bitterly disputed by the heirs after his death. Slaves were also part of the property divided, although it was not infrequent that certain favorite slaves were freed at such a time. In other cases, the favorite slave of a son or daughter would be willed to him by the father. Through inheritances and constant divisions, the former large holdings of these aristocratic families came to be well broken up.

Today in the event of a death in a family, there is often only one plantation in which the heirs may share. However, the plantation is rarely divided. In some cases where there is no strong emotional tie to the plantation, the heirs may sell it outright and share the proceeds. Another solution has been to rent the plantation to a factory and thereby delay the final solution. Still another has been for one of the heirs to take over the management of the plantation, paying a rental fee to the other heirs. A final solution is often reached by allowing one of the heirs to purchase the plantation from his coinheritors, and in this way the plantation and its traditions remain in the family, and are to some extent shared by all members of the extended family.

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The problem of land disposal exists only for the private plantation. In the case of factory lands, ownership is corporate. Death of the holder of shares in the corporation does not affect the land tenure, which goes on as before. His shares in the corporation are simply distributed among his heirs.

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The family pattern in Class B is quite different from that which has just been described. Although the conjugal family is equally small and shows the same trend toward diminution, there is never the extent or strength of the extended family which exists in Class A. In Vila Recôncavo, with only one exception, Class B families are only conjugal units without local tradition of generations in the area, for either they are couples who have recently come to the town in governmental

[Class B Families]

*565 ●594 capacities, or they are "newly arrived" socially, which often indicates that the relatives of either or both spouses may belong to the lower class; in this case the local upper-class families are inclined to ignore them. In these conjugal families the husband is the central figure, participating in business and social activities of the town, while his wife and children, [166] especially daughters, remain at home. The sons usually go to the city to school and remain there after graduation, so there [871] is little chance of continuing a strong family line in the town. At the factory the case is somewhat different, for the sons of Class B families may enter the factory in one of the higher office positions, thus forming a larger family group as they marry and settle down there. This pattern, however, is only apparent in the second generation, and there are only three cases of it.

*565 517 As a result of the lack of public entertainment in Vila Recôncavo and the competitive attitude of members of Class B among themselves and toward the higher members of Class C, there [571] is little social gathering, especially for the women. There [596] are never extended family gatherings for Class B such as those described for Class A. The men go to the bar or visit one an- [574] other's homes to some slight extent, but wives and daughters seldom do. The wives are kept occupied bearing children and [562] caring for them. Those few daughters who are sent to school in the city are indeed fortunate, for their chances of marry- [871] ing and remaining in Salvador, the desire of most young people, are greatest. The summer vacation is boring to them in [166] comparison with their scope of activities in the winter. The [183] sons can enjoy the summer, going swimming, horseback riding, playing ball, making the most of the few parties and fes- [528] tivals (festas) which take place during the summer, lounging in the bar gossiping, meeting the boat, and visiting lower- *565 562 class girls. The daughters, on the other hand, can do nothing of the sort. They spend their time at home with their mothers and sometimes visit a married girl friend or sister to 517 gossip.

For those girls who remain in the town, life can be intolerably dull. They must be extremely careful of where they go, when, and with whom, and of what they do, for the town gossip about them can be vicious. The reputation of a girl seen on the street at night without one of her parents is ruined. These girls are expected to be virgins, models of propriety,

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Class B Families]

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and the social forces compelling them to conform to this ideal are strong enough to keep them at home.

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To some extent the Class B families take as their pattern the older traditions of the upper-class families. The father is the most important person in the home and has the final word in all decisions. His wife is not his equal in a social sense and plays a much more passive role than the women of classes A, C, and D. This, however, is slowly changing, for married couples of the younger generation are beginning to share more activities, such as going to the movies, visiting friends, or going on short trips to Salvador. But this is a recent development and applies only to four couples in the town. The others still maintain the old pattern whereby the man attends social functions while his wife remains home. On occasion of a farewell party, invitations were carefully extended to the married couples in Class B at the author's instigation. Of the thirteen couples invited, only four came together. In the other cases only the husbands came. Among the others, one of the husbands was away, and his wife would not come to the party even though her mother, father, and two sisters did. It is still common for the wife either to remain discreetly silent or to disappear altogether when her husband has visitors at home, and among the older families the father and his guests are served separately at meals, the women of the household eating afterwards alone.

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Family life in rural Class B follows to some extent that of the town family of the same class. The father is the central figure in the family and makes all decisions. He travels about the community while his wife remains at home. The sons of overseers, however, are seldom sent to Salvador to school, although the sons of Class B families living at the factory usually are, at least for a short time. So far, however, none of them has entered a profession.

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As has already been stated, the women of rural Class B lead much the same kind of life as the women in Class C, with whom they associate. Daughters are guarded carefully, while sons are placed in some advantageous position whenever possible, frequently through the aid of the plantation owner or usineiro. They may enter the factory office, and in several cases they have been set up in business on the plantations, running small stores which belong to their fathers.

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A daughter of Seu Paulo, the overseer of the Fazenda das Moças, married the son of the overseer on a neighboring

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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took over at least three cultural elements whose presence in the mores of colonial Brazil may be significant for our problem: the practice of concubinage, the subordinate position of woman in the household, and the comparative absence of color consciousness.

It may be that the Portuguese, like the Moors and other Mohammedans, were, as several commentators have said, a "color-blind" people; that is, awareness of color and other racial differences was not so pronounced with them as with us. It is probably true that the *conceptions* laid down in the culture materially influence the *perceptions* which individuals have.

Perhaps one reason the Portuguese in the New Country and their descendants cohabited with individuals from other races and interbred so extensively was that such behavior had long been common in the Old Country, where their ancestors had taken over from the Moors oriental customs tolerant of plural marriage. Even when Orientals exclude the children of concubines from the legitimate family in an attempt to preserve its status, emphasis is upon preserving status rather than purity of race.

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Concubinage, or *mancebia*, as it is known in Bahia, seems to have been quite common throughout the history of Brazil. It appears always to have been more or less socially sanctioned and accepted into the mores. Divorce is illegal, and many marriages are made for family convenience. It is not rare today in Bahia for a man with a legal wife and family to keep in separate establishments one or more *amantes*.[5] The

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[5] In one reported instance there are five; in another, eight. Usually the man, owing to the expense involved, is well to do; the women are from the lower strata. For instance, a wealthy and prominent intellectual figure lives most of the time apart from his legal wife with a mulatto woman who is intelligent, "attractive," and has traveled (with him) in France, Belgium,

[SALVADOR]

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*563 565 829 the Bahians congregate together or avoid one another much more in terms of their social rank than of their color or their race.

Crossbreeding is not forbidden by any law and comes up against [656] the disapprobation of opinion only to the extent that it affects the [626] structure of classes firmly established in the country: upper strata made up almost exclusively of Whites, that is to say, persons of white phenotype or at least "socially white," lower strata made up chiefly of colored people; a classification which makes classes and racial types approximately coincide, without, however, making them identical.

175 From the early days of Portuguese colonization there has been *563 a large number of colored persons in Bahia. In the beginning the • [595] colonists mixed largely with the tupi /Tupi/ Indian women of the region, living with them in a state of concubinage and often [567] polygamy. Slavery having been abolished in the first half of the [641] seventeenth century for the aborigines, and civil and political rights having been granted them a short time afterward, cross- [829] breeding continued through marriage. Thus, today a large number of morenos explain their dark color by boasting about some ancestor pegado a dente de cachorro, that is to say, captured like an animal that one hunts in the virgin forest in the wild state. [161] But the number of natives decreased rapidly and had little influence on the formation of the Bahian type. The opposite /22/ [167] occurred with the Africans brought by the thousands and thousands [567] to work on the sugar-cane plantations. The crossbreeding of Portuguese and Brazilians with Africans and Blacks born in Brazil was made possible and even favored by different factors, among them the scarcity of white women in the initial period, the slave system, the laxness of social control with regard to male sexual behavior, the physical and psychological charms of black women, in particular the minas Blacks, natives of the Costa da Mina in [829] the western Sudan. It was commonly said at that time that, in order to see beautiful Negresses, it was necessary to go to Bahia (1):

1. F. Biard, Deux années au Brésil /Two years in Brazil/, Paris, 1862.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Northeast Brazil SO1

BB 565 184 It is easy to over-emphasize the cultural differences between classes and between areas within the Recôncavo. It is possible to assemble an array of significant cultural differences on a class or areal basis, as has been done above. But underneath these differences there seems to exist an implicit and almost universally shared way of life. As far as most of the people are concerned, Recôncavo society is probably best viewed as a cultural continuum of great vertical range, in which extreme positions are occupied by the cosmopolitan upper class of Salvador and the more remote agricultural people of the BB 184 lower class. The validity of the concept of the Recôncavo as a cultural region is recognized by the anthropologist who studies Recôncavo society and by Brazilians who characterize the man of the BB NB 184 Recôncavo as a particular type. This Recôncavo continuum or sub-culture is a part of what Wagley has called the cultural region of the Northeastern Coast. Also included within this region are coastal Pernambuco, Alagoas, and Sergipe.[12] In turn, the Northeastern Coast is a part of the Brazilian cultural region.

BB 178 565 596 <u>The Family</u>. One of the basic social institutions which has strong historical roots in the Recôncavo, and in the other colonial sugar cane regions, is the Brazilian family. The most conspicuous survival of the colonial family is the present-day family stereotype of the aristocratic stratum of Recôncavo society.

> The large, aristocratic, patriarchal family always has been the most important of Brazil's social institutions. Rarely has this primary kinship group had to play a role secondary to that of the church, as so frequently has been true in Spanish-American countries; nor has its relative importance ever been seriously challenged by the school, as may be the case in a North-American community. In colonial times such a large, closely knit group of relatives, acknowledging allegiance to the oldest living male, possessing many slaves, and carrying on the aristocratic tradition at its best, was the chief instrument employed in the occupation of Brazil. This

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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> was in sharp contrast to the colonization of Spanish America where the conquistador and the priest were largely responsible for establishing the Spaniards as a ruling caste, and to the founding of the English colonies in North America where the community and the smaller, more equalitarian family were basic elements. As has been shown so well by Freyre's monumental work, the patriarchal form of social organization early obtained almost unlimited sway in Brazil. For centuries Portuguese America continued to be dominated by a few thousand casas grandes, seats of sugar engenhos and cattle fazendas, each of which was the fortress headquarters of a numerous clan. Even today there remains much of this feudal type of social organization, and this great family is the institution through which the white or near-white upper class maintains its control. Of course this patriarchal family has little in common with the equalitarian family of the United States and western Europe.[13]

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The upper class child is reared within a well-defined circle which includes the immediate family, the servants--who frequently have a quasi-parental relationship to the children, like the legendary "mammy" of the United States South--and the more immediate members of the extended family.

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

565 the extended family. The upper class child develops in an atmosphere
596 of alternate indulgence and discipline, with very few responsibilities.
861 [872] Most upper class children attend private schools, which are usually parochial.

565 The social status of the upper class individual is determined by birth and is maintained by the economic and social standing of the individual and his family. The specific determinants of status--wealth, occupation, education, kin relations, and physical appearance[14]--are either fixed or are strongly influenced by the family.

565 In the Recôncavo the extended upper class family frequently has
596 a diversified economic structure which enables it to safeguard effectively the position of the individual and the group. Ideally the family group includes the usinéiro (sugar mill owner or administrator), the fazendéiro (cane planter), the doctor, the lawyer-politician, and the urban business man. These various individuals cooperate to build and to maintain the economic, political, and social position of the family. These activities constitute the principal responsibility of the males of the family and justify, it is believed, the characteristic masculine superiority of the society.

565 The Lower Class Family. Some of the upper class characteristics
588 are shared by lower class families, especially by the upper stratum,
[592] but the contrasts are striking. Lower class families in the Recôncavo seem to have less stability and a less extended character than those of the upper class. Common law marriages and church marriages, not legally binding in Brazil, are quite common and are easily dissolved. The common law marriages of the young adults are frequently temporary, but most older adults seem to establish permanent unions.[15]

565 Though kinship relationships are always recognized and cherished,
596 the extended family of the lower class is widely dispersed, and its economic role is usually minor.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

565 (festas) and informal social activities. The uninhibited enjoyment of
796 a samba (dance), a candomblé (fetish cult observance), a religious pro-
[184] cession, or a Saint's day by the lower class is very different from the self-conscious upper class behavior under comparable conditions.[16]

565 The discussion above is largely in terms of stereotypes, and
562 in fact there are many exceptions. In the upper class, strong-willed
369 women may on occasion enter a profession--such as nursing or teaching--or operate a business or plantation, but usually with the aid and the advice of male relatives. In Salvador the upper class women are relatively more emancipated than are those of the villages and towns.
565 Many lower class people, especially the less poverty ridden groups of
596 the villages and towns, tend to imitate the idealized upper class
369 family pattern, within the limits of their economic, educational, and social resources.

565 In general it may be said that the interests of upper class
571 families in the Recôncavo are regional, the interests of lower class
621 families are local. The areally and biologically extended families
59 of the upper class, interconnected through marriage and intermeshed in over-all economic, political, and social interests, are a basic element in the regional unity of the Recôncavo and in its integration into the Brazilian nation. In contrast the extra-local interests of lower class families are weak and unstable. The lower class community or neighborhood identification is the more effective unifying factor and seems to provide, in the Recôncavo, a focus for local interests generally lacking in at least the aristocratic and urban strata of the upper class.[17] However, the institutions of the community for the most part are maintained and directed by the aristocratic and the local upper class.

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the plantation complex became the principal characteristic. Marriages between the families of plantation owners brought new alignments of property, some families acquiring more land and others losing it through the natural processes of the marriage and growth of parts of families and the dying out of others. Family became increasingly important. As a rule the conjugal family was large and the extended family enormous; marriages between cousins, uncles, nieces, and other relatives were common. Social life was carried on between neighboring plantations, and of course many marriages took place as a result of these contacts, so that it was not infrequent to find many plantations, both contiguous and scattered, owned by the same family. As a rule each extended family had its traditional plantation as a sort of home base, and the head of the family frequently resided there, although not always. The patriarch was generally granted great respect and prestige by the members of his family, both far and near.

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Many who received land grants were the noblemen of the province, and many of them were representatives of the government. In this way the plantation master was securely establishing himself and his family not only in the Recôncavo but also in the governmental hierarchy, and was often in a position to see that the government action did not adversely affect the interests of the sugar-cane growers. At any rate, for several centuries social and political domination was in the hands of a small group which gradually intermarried, always strengthening itself. Its members were, first and foremost, the landowning gentry; next in importance were professional people such as lawyers, doctors, clerics, educators, and politicians. Members of this group were also soldiers, and in the War of Independence in 1822 the plantation masters of Vila Recôncavo took a foremost part both personally and financially, for which many were later honored by having royal titles bestowed upon them.

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As the small rural towns, and later the counties, grew, they also fell under the domination of one or several plantation masters. Not infrequently a feud would arise between two families to determine which was to be the dominant one. As the plantation master prospered, he showed his wealth and power with a degree of ostentation which was commented upon by travelers and chroniclers of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. The ruins of houses built at this time can be seen today scattered throughout the coastal northeast.

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2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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[Class A Families]

7. The Family

THE FAMILIES of Vila Recôncavo carry out the usual functions of this kinship unit to a greater or lesser degree, depending mainly upon their class and their internal structure. There are extremes of family structure in the area: Class A families represent a tightly built and extensive, extended, "patriarchal" organization, constantly giving evidence of its strong solidarity, while Class D is characterized by a loose and weak organization of small, immediate families and part families of women with their children. 565* 596

Class A in the community of Vila Recôncavo is represented by five family lines which own practically all the sugar lands in the area. Two of these families, the Condes and the Jacuipes, are closely interwoven by first-cousin marriages; a third, the Aliança family, is related to these two by marriage. The remaining two families are not related to those just mentioned nor to each other. There is little or no contact between them and the other families, for they spend little time in the rural area, and in Salvador they belong to circles composed of their own extended families. The Conde, Jacuipe, and Aliança families come into occasional contact with the other two at public functions in Salvador, but hardly ever at smaller social gatherings. They spend more time in the rural area, where they are more active politically than the other two. If the roots of these three families were traced back a century or so, it would be seen that they are also related to many other families of local planters and usineiros. Because of the tremendous growth of the numbers in each of the families, they have grown apart, each branch preserving its own nuclear group. Each generation brings new intermar- [423]

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•596 riages and realignments between branches of these old families.

The Conde and Jacuipe families are good examples of family structure and cohesiveness in Class A. The Conde family is the principal owner of the factory, while several members of the Jacuipe family have stock in the corporation. The ancestral plantation of the Jacuipe family lies outside, although near, the community of Vila Recôncavo and is rented to a neighboring factory. Dona Sinhá, a member of the Jacuipe family and widow of a Conde, owns Fazenda das Moças within the community, a property adjoining the lands of Usina São Pedro. The Conde and Aliança families are joined by a mar-
[423] riage which has brought them into close contact. The Aliança family has three plantations in the community. Thus ten of the eleven functioning plantations in the area belong to the members of three interrelated extended families.

The senior member of the Conde family, the "Colonel," is one of the two men who founded the factory and the brother of the senior member of the Jacuipe family, Dona Yayá, now a widow. A son and a daughter of the Colonel married a daughter and a son of Dona Yayá, thus strengthening the ties between the two families. The Condes are represented by three generations: the mother and father, their eleven children, ten of whom are married, and their twenty-three grandchildren. The Jacuipe family is represented by four generations: Dona Yayá, her eight children, seven of whom are married, twenty-six grandchildren, and three great-grandchildren. Through marriages in the second descending generation of both families, seventeen more persons have been brought into the family group, and through marriages of the third descendent Jacuipe generation six more people have been added. The total
[162] number of persons in the two immediate families is ninety-seven. Nineteen members of the Jacuipe family now live in Rio de Janeiro, reducing the number constantly present in Bahia to seventy-eight. Those in Rio, however, maintain constant communication with Bahia and often spend their vacations "home" in Salvador.

[528] The Colonel and his wife, and the Colonel's sister Dona Yayá, form the nucleus around which the two extended kin-
[474] dred groups are organized. At the factory there are three residences: the large chalet, where the Colonel and his wife live, and a house apiece for his son and son-in-law, who are the two active directors of the factory. There are accommodations

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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in the three houses for nearly all members of the two extended families, for the factory has become the major gathering point for all of them during the summer. Each married couple maintains its own home in the city. In the Conde and Jacuipe families the tendency has been to enlarge the two families by the addition of in-laws rather than to lose sons and daughters, because of the exceptionally strong family loyalties held by the members. As a result, many more people are drawn into the social circles of the two groups, which at times appear as one family and at other times as two separate but close units. 565* 596

The social life of these people is carried out almost entirely within this group of ninety-seven persons, and their in-laws, plus the in-law families. Such intrafamilial social life is known as vida em familia. During the winter season in Salvador, their social activities are confined to visiting one another, playing cards with one another, having birthday parties for one another, attending the weddings of one another's children, and so forth. Trips to the beach and to social clubs and graduations are made jointly. During the summer, parts of families visit others, and at certain times, such as the botada da usina (first day of the sugar mill's activities each year), Carnaval, and the birthday of the Colonel, his wife, or Dona Yaya, nearly all the members of the family get together. This may mean a gathering of sixty to seventy persons. A "small" luncheon may be attended by a mere twenty or thirty persons. 565* 596 517

It is still the custom for young married couples to dine with the parents of each at least once a week. It is also not unusual to find an entire apartment house in the city occupied by members of one family, each conjugal group occupying its own apartment. Members of the same generation usually play or visit together, although all generations are present at most family gatherings. Through lifelong companionship, members of families in this class come to know each other extremely well and are often the best of friends as well as relatives. Because of the size of these families, and because of the constancy of their devotion to one another, there is little time or energy left for entertaining outsiders. This, however, does not mean that acquaintances are limited to family members. Friends are made, who are drawn into the various conjugal groups and into the activities of the larger extended family. 565* 596 [593] [342] [561] [574] [572]

Courtship in Class A families is a formal affair. At first it is considered that the young couple are gostando (liking each other) or namorando (in love). It is expected that the boy 565* 596 584

[Class A Families]

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596 will take the girl to his family gatherings and that he will be
584 invited to hers, so that their lives continue to be within the family, though now within two families. There are so few public places of entertainment in Salvador, other than the movies, that the couple is seldom alone. Dating nearly always takes place in family circles, so there is little need for a formal chaperone. Courtship continues until the boy has finished school (if it began that early, as it sometimes does), or is settled in business, at which time an engagement may be announced. Once the couple are engaged (noivos), they are allowed greater freedom; this does not, however, amount to much, as their social activities continue to be confined within the family. If for some reason the boy or the girl goes away for a time, the one left at home is invited to all family parties just as though both were there. The engagement period does not last very long--not as long as the gostando period, which may extend for two years--for once engaged, a couple is considered to be serious about marriage, which then takes place as soon as possible.

585 The wedding, always in Salvador, is both a religious and a
*565 civil ceremony. The former is a formal, fashionable church ceremony followed by a reception and luncheon, before the
596 bride and groom leave for their honeymoon. The civil wedding takes place in the bride's home shortly before the reli-
[591] gious ceremony. Only the godparents and closest relatives attend this ceremony. After marriage the couple usually set up their own home, but if this is not possible they may live with one of their in-laws. This, however, is undesirable, and often the wedding is postponed until the couple can have their own home. The parents on both sides help toward this end as
* much as they can by getting the young man settled in a suit-
565 able position. Family connections are extremely important
594 throughout Class A in placing young people in business or a profession.

163 As a rule a child is born to the young couple by the end of
[608] the first year of marriage, and the compadres (godparents) are chosen from close members of the two families, at least
[596] for the first child. Succeeding children may have close friends of the father as godparents. Children are named after family
[553] members of preceding generations or--as has happened in
[178] some cases--after a much-loved slave. The old pattern was for the couple to continue having children regularly as long as the wife was able to, but the trend is now for each generation

[Class A Families]

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to have fewer offspring. Four or five generations ago a couple 594
might have as many as twenty children. It was common among 163
these large families for at least one child to enter the priest- 178
hood or a convent. This is no longer the case, not only be- [463]
cause of the smaller size of the families, but also because
the colonial pattern of a priest for each plantation is now gone.

The marriage age for girls is also changing, for several 582
reasons: it takes longer for a boy now to be educated and set- 178
tled in business; the families can no longer support married
children; and girls are being better educated. Instead of be- 562
ing married at sixteen, seventeen, and eighteen, they now go 565*
to school much longer, sometimes taking advanced degrees
as do their brothers. This delays marriage till the twenties
and gives the girls a certain amount of independence, rather
than simply a position of wife and mother. As yet few of them [463]
have entered the professions, but recently it has become styl-
ish to study nursing or social work at least for a while before
marriage. The old pattern was for widows to be supported by [736]
their families, but now girls want to feel self-sufficient, with-
out the dreary prospect of living as dependents in the case of
their husbands' death. In this century, also, marriage has
assumed an aspect of companionship, which was formerly
lacking, for women have achieved a much greater equality with
their husbands and are now partners rather than household
fixtures.

There has been a reaction to the family aspect of Bahian 565*
society, and frequently people are heard complaining of the 596
narrowness of life in such surroundings and expressing a de- 178
sire to live in Rio de Janeiro, or some place where they would
not be always in the same restricted group of relatives. Many 574
of the former obligations of formal visits to close and distant [206]
relatives are now relaxed, although telephone calls at least
are expected with some sort of regularity and members of the
extended family, as well as their attendants, are still expect-
ed at all weddings, birthdays, and deaths. The arrival of fam-
ily members from Rio calls for many dinners and celebrations
in their honor. But the conjugal families seek outside ac- 571
quaintances more and more, and as they enter new groups they 565*
become less able to cope with the numerous family affairs. 596
Nevertheless, it is still membership in these extensive, pa- 178
triarchal families which gives people their status in the com-
munity as a whole and their right to enter new groups which [594]
form along class lines. Everyone is well aware of this, and [554]

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•596 the first thing done on making new acquaintances is to inquire
[178] into their family background and place them mentally on the
[571] appropriate social level.

As a rule each extended family has a head, usually the oldest male. He is recognized by the rest of the family as the leader, and few things are done by them without his knowledge and advice. The head of the Jacuipe family is the eldest son of Dona Yayá. He has made his home in Rio de Janeiro and has not lived in Salvador for a long time. Nevertheless, he is informed of all that goes on within the family, and no serious step would be taken by any member without his counsel. On the local scene, however, it is his next younger sister who has taken the family lead in all social activities. It is she who sees to it that the family is represented at any function where it is a duty to appear. Among the Condes, the Colonel is still the family head in spite of his age and infirmity. For many years his eldest son showed himself capable of taking charge of the sugar mill and of the family fortunes as well, but since his untimely death none of the other sons has shown such vigor, and in the long run major decisions are left to the old gentleman.

[594] In the conjugal households, however, decisions and actions are made jointly by the married partners. Unless the action is a very serious one which might affect the rest of the family, they need by no means seek advice from the family head. The family leader has no strong control over the other members of the family; rather, he is someone to whom they can go if they need advice. Also, if any member of the family is in difficulties of any sort, the rest of the group rallies around him under the direction of such a person. Because of the many positions in public life occupied by members of these extended families, the family is able to muster considerable pistolão ("pull") in many fields. Requests are frequently made, especially to aid lower-class people who look to the various
[557] family members as patrons. A call here or there by the recognized leader of a large extended family can be a great assistance in getting someone into the already crowded hospitals, in helping with a will which has become entangled in legal difficulties, in getting a young man into the Air Force, and in the myriad other things which arise in this very personalized culture.

[73] The cohesiveness of the extended family also acts to take
[589] care of the aged, infirm, widowed, and unmarried. Not infre-

[Class A Families]

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quently one girl in the family does not marry but remains 596
home with her parents, taking care of them until they have 589
passed away. Unless the father has made specific arrange- 73
ments for her before his death, the family usually sees to it that she is cared for properly, since she has relieved them of the responsibility of taking care of their parents for many years. Or, if any member of the family lingers beyond what might be considered to be a normal life span, the other members help in some way so that person will be cared for. Thus no one is left out because of misfortune of any kind. Nevertheless, any individual member always tries not to become a burden on the family.

Of the former patriarchalism of Class A families only ves- 565*
tiges remain, which however are still important: the contin- 596
ued close relationship of family members, even though sep- 178
arated by distance and interests; the intermarriage of cous-
ins, and the strong pattern of life em familia; the fact that the family as a unit still provides care and protection for those members who are incapable of doing so themselves; and finally the acknowledgment of an extended-family head, a man accorded deference and respect by members of his own family as well as by other families. The upper-class family of today differs in significant ways from that of former centuries, especially in the increasing emphasis placed upon the conjugal family and the decrease in family size. A major de- [562]
parture from the old family traditions is the increasing equality of women, their increased participation both in home activities and in activities outside the home.

Birthdays are the most important occasions in these fami- 565*
lies aside from weddings. Whether in the city or on the planta- 596
tion, birthdays are commemorated on a large scale by an al- 527
moço (luncheon). During the summer in the country the planters sometimes also have a series of luncheons, each Sunday on a different plantation. In such cases the house in which the luncheon is to be held provides the bulk of the food, but as a rule all the women make desserts which they bring with them. The menu, in accordance with old Bahian tradition, is huge, 565*
usually beginning with a feijoada (a deep dish of beans and 596
meat, usually eaten with rice or farina), sarapatel (a highly 527
seasoned dish of which the basis is pork blood), moqueca de 262
camarão (a type of shrimp ragout made with dendê palm oil), and ensopado de porco (pork stew). These are followed by roasts of beef, pork, lamb, and turkey, and filet mignon.

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• 596 All these dishes are served with rice, potatoes, farina, and
527 cooked vegetable salads. Then fruits are served, followed by
262 a series of desserts including puddings, ice cream, and cakes.
[272] The meal is concluded with a demitasse (cafèzinho). Lunch
is usually served at midday, and afterwards the guests gen-
erally break into small groups, talk, sleep, play cards, or
stroll about the garden. In midafternoon a small merenda
* (snack) is served for those who want it, consisting of cake and
565 demitasse, and in the evening ceia (supper) is served, in-
596 cluding cold cuts, salads, and dessert. After this the group
527 may go en masse to the movies, either at the Petroleum Camp
[546] or in the town of Vila Recôncavo. Or, if in gay spirits, they
may spend the evening dancing in the living room to popular
[535] records. People go to these almoços by horseback, jeep,
truck, or sometimes, in a spirit of fun, by oxcart. Hospital-
[492] ity has for hundreds of years been the tradition of the rural
landowners, who envelop guests with an overabundance of
[493] everything. One planter always has the dining-room table
set for at least ten people, although only he and his wife live
*565 in the house. Others have the reputation of always providing
574 a good meal for anyone who passes at mealtime.

The decreasing size of families, the shift in individual em-
ployment from agriculture to the professions, and this cen-
423 tury's change to large-scale industrial holdings for the pro-
178 duction of sugar have caused some differences in land ten-
428 ure and, hence, inheritance. The Recôncavo is not an area in
which land title was ever vague or lost as was often the case
in the sertão. Land was always scarce here, for the desir-
able massapê soils are limited in extent. The plantations of
today for the most part fall into one of two categories: those
which have been in the hands of one family for a century or
more, and those which were bought after the abolition of slav-
ery by newcomers to the Recôncavo or by those who already
had plantations and at a time of falling value bought new ones
from the creditors who had taken them over from their for-
mer owners for debt. In both cases title passed free and clear.
The common form of inheritance is for one half of the estate
to go to the widow and the other half to be divided among oth-
er heirs.

178 A century ago, it was common for plantation masters to
42 have extensive holdings, not only in the Recôncavo, but also
in other parts of the state, as well as houses and even com-
mercial buildings in the city of Salvador. In addition to this,

[Class A Families]

[Class B Families]

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such families also usually had fairly extensive accumulations of silver service, china and crystal, and linens. It was the custom for such possessions to be distributed among the heirs as separate items. One son would receive a plantation in the Recôncavo, another a ranch in the sertão; a daughter might receive a full and valuable set of table service, or perhaps a whole house and its furnishings in Salvador. Single plantations were almost never divided, unless they were large enough to make such a division practicable. Property divisions were often made rather arbitrarily by the family patriarch, and were often bitterly disputed by the heirs after his death. Slaves were also part of the property divided, although it was not infrequent that certain favorite slaves were freed at such a time. In other cases, the favorite slave of a son or daughter would be willed to him by the father. Through inheritances and constant divisions, the former large holdings of these aristocratic families came to be well broken up.

Today in the event of a death in a family, there is often only one plantation in which the heirs may share. However, the plantation is rarely divided. In some cases where there is no strong emotional tie to the plantation, the heirs may sell it outright and share the proceeds. Another solution has been to rent the plantation to a factory and thereby delay the final solution. Still another has been for one of the heirs to take over the management of the plantation, paying a rental fee to the other heirs. A final solution is often reached by allowing one of the heirs to purchase the plantation from his coinheritors, and in this way the plantation and its traditions remain in the family, and are to some extent shared by all members of the extended family.

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The problem of land disposal exists only for the private plantation. In the case of factory lands, ownership is corporate. Death of the holder of shares in the corporation does not affect the land tenure, which goes on as before. His shares in the corporation are simply distributed among his heirs.

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The family pattern in Class B is quite different from that which has just been described. Although the conjugal family is equally small and shows the same trend toward diminution, there is never the extent or strength of the extended family which exists in Class A. In Vila Recôncavo, with only one exception, Class B families are only conjugal units without local tradition of generations in the area, for either they are couples who have recently come to the town in governmental

[Class B Families]

*565 594 capacities, or they are "newly arrived" socially, which often indicates that the relatives of either or both spouses may belong to the lower class; in this case the local upper-class families are inclined to ignore them. In these conjugal families the husband is the central figure, participating in business and social activities of the town, while his wife and children, [166] especially daughters, remain at home. The sons usually go to the city to school and remain there after graduation, so there [871] is little chance of continuing a strong family line in the town. At the factory the case is somewhat different, for the sons of Class B families may enter the factory in one of the higher office positions, thus forming a larger family group as they marry and settle down there. This pattern, however, is only apparent in the second generation, and there are only three cases of it.

*565 517 As a result of the lack of public entertainment in Vila Recôncavo and the competitive attitude of members of Class B among themselves and toward the higher members of Class C, there [571] is little social gathering, especially for the women. There are never extended family gatherings for Class B such as those [596] described for Class A. The men go to the bar or visit one an- [574] other's homes to some slight extent, but wives and daughters seldom do. The wives are kept occupied bearing children and [562] caring for them. Those few daughters who are sent to school in the city are indeed fortunate, for their chances of marry- [871] ing and remaining in Salvador, the desire of most young people, are greatest. The summer vacation is boring to them in [166] comparison with their scope of activities in the winter. The [183] sons can enjoy the summer, going swimming, horseback riding, playing ball, making the most of the few parties and fes- [528] tivals (festas) which take place during the summer, lounging in the bar gossiping, meeting the boat, and visiting lower- *565 class girls. The daughters, on the other hand, can do noth- 562 ing of the sort. They spend their time at home with their moth- 517 ers and sometimes visit a married girl friend or sister to gossip.

For those girls who remain in the town, life can be intolerably dull. They must be extremely careful of where they go, when, and with whom, and of what they do, for the town gossip about them can be vicious. The reputation of a girl seen on the street at night without one of her parents is ruined. These girls are expected to be virgins, models of propriety,

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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9. *Recent Changes in Vila Recôncavo*

THE FIELD WORK described in Chapters 1 through 8 of this study was carried out from June, 1950, to June, 1951. In 1955 and 1956 the author had the opportunity to do further work in Vila Recôncavo. This chapter is a summary of some of the changes which have occurred during the five-year period from 1951 to 1956.

First, the sugar industry has undergone several changes, developing still further from the plantation (engenho) toward the highly industrialized factory (usina) as postulated in the introduction. The factory-plantation system, as distinct from the private plantations, has experienced the most change.

Usina São Pedro was described earlier as a family corporation, owned and directed by members of one extended family. At one time in the past five years, this family was obliged to take into the corporation a large amount of capital representing a second family enterprise, considerably larger in scope than that of the first. Within a short period the second family achieved complete control of the factory through a series of financial manipulations. As a result, Usina São Pedro passed from the Conde family's ownership and direction, and is now just one element of a large commercial firm.

For a more complete understanding of Bahian society it is necessary that we examine this second family corporation. The key word is "family," which represents almost a constant in this culture. The second family, the Helvetians, is a second generation immigrant family. The major activities of the family corporation--there are other stockholders, especially employees, with small holdings--have always been commercial: exporting, importing, distributing, and transporting. The cor-

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473 poration has extensive landholdings in other parts of the state,
*249 but they are exploited on an impersonal, profit basis, not on
the traditional, paternalistic basis common in the sugar area.
*[565] The Helvetians have taken a place in the upper ranks of Bahian society, representing new money and economic power. Their history is important. The original immigrant married into a Bahian family of "good name," and all of his sons have done the same. One of them married a daughter of the Coronel, founder of Usina São Pedro. It was through this marriage that the transfer of the factory was channeled. Today, although the Condes still own stock in the corporation, the Helvetians have the controlling interest, and the Condes are gradually selling their shares to the Helvetians.

466 The new corporation has brought about many changes in ad-
178 ministration of the factory. Although still a family corporation,
*249 it has become, from the wider, community, point of view, a
473 strictly business enterprise with no family ties and no face-
[596] to-face personal relations. A new directorship and manage-
[571] ment was established. The new "boss" of the factory is a man from a different part of the state, and his background is entirely different from that of sugar-cane growers. The thread of "family" is still unbroken, for the new manager is related to the new owning family by marriage. He is treated, however, as a paid employee of the corporation. His brother, now general administrator of the agricultural part of the factory-in-the-field, is treated similarly.

These two new managers have put the relations between management and labor on a strictly business basis and have removed all elements of paternalism. Upon taking over, they dismissed most of the older, higher-level factory, field, and office workers. Administrators, mechanics, and bookkeepers, most of whom had seen twenty years or more of service, were dispatched. New people came to take their places, and some of the vacancies were filled by promotions. Time clocks were installed, and the system of authority was reinforced all the way down the line. Social legislation--a new factor in rural, agricultural Brazil--was invoked to take the place of paternalism.

178 Thus the old, paternalistic, personal, owner-director pat-
*249 tern has changed completely. The chalet is no longer the scene of family gatherings for summer vacations, for Carnaval, or for Christmas; even the traditional Botada has undergone a

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for several generations. In the other families, marriages have been, with but one exception, with persons of equal class status, although frequently with aristocratic families from other parts of the Recôncavo or from Salvador. In the one exception, the husband was without wealth or much education, but he was known to be of pure white descent. All these families live *em família* (within the family), both in the rural area and in the capital, where they spend a part of the year. Traditional family and friendship ties persist among them. They are large families with numerous relatives in the city and in other communities of the Recôncavo, so that dinners, dances, card parties, anniversaries and other social events are generally within the extended family. Most of the males in this group have a profession, such as lawyer, engineer or doctor.

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The second social stratum is a slightly larger group consisting of the bureaucrats of the town, plantation administrators, technicians and specialists of the sugar mill, merchants and professional people of the town, such as the doctor, dentist and schoolteachers. Persons in this group are for the most part descendants of local people, although the doctor, the dentist and several of the schoolteachers are from the outside. In this group, one finds the 14 'pure' whites mentioned as living in Vila Recôncavo itself, and five of them are members of a family of former planters. People in this stratum do not have residences in the capital. On the whole, this class is less well-educated than the class above it; it even includes people who have had no formal education whatsoever, and two individuals who cannot read or write. In this class are found most of the *brancos da terra*, many mulattoes and some Negroes, as well as the whites mentioned. This group might be termed the 'local upper class' to distinguish it from the small group of regional aristocrats mentioned above.

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The third social stratum of Vila Recôncavo is by far the largest numerically. It consists of 'the people' *(o povo*, or simply *gente)*, fishermen, carpenters, bricklayers, mill hands, plantation workers, and all others who do physical labour. Fourthly, there is a smaller group of even less status in the community, the people without a regular and steady income—women generally without husbands, but with children, who earn their living carrying water to homes from the nearby spring or who work as washerwomen and domestic servants, and men who serve as porters and perform other very menial tasks and odd jobs. There are no people in these two lower class strata who are considered 'pure' white. A few are considered *brancos da terra* but the great majority of them are Negroes, mulattoes, and others of various degrees of race mixture.

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The regional aristocrats reside only in the rural zone and maintain residences outside the community. The 'local upper class' is found in both the rural and the urban zones, since the technicians and administrators on the plantations are of this class, but mostly in the

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[City of Salvador]

571 178 795 [554] siderable extent over those of the male portion, the church exercises a substantial measure of control. Prestige of the military is high.

•596 621 The large family, with its wide ramifications and its patriarchal organization, also bespeaks a preindustrial era. Social cohesion in the community is maintained by the close association of members of these large family groups, together with the intimate ties common to friends of long standing, the degree of whose intimacy is much greater than that ordinarily to be found in the cities of comparable size in industrial societies. One notes in Bahia a warmth of manner uncommon to the United States. Bahians, like most Brazilians, tend to be very affectionate in the family and warmhearted toward their friends. Characteristic of such primary relationships is a high order of courtesy and politeness and an almost limitless consideration for the convenience and comfort of relatives and friends. Religious affiliation and guild association weave further strands of solidarity, binding the urban community together as if it were merely an overgrown village.

571 576 157 571 794 467

578 [477] [433] [466] In this stable society there is a comparative absence of most forms of conflict. In commerce and finance competition is comparatively slight and limited in considerable measure to foreigners. The economy is almost entirely extractive and industry is minimal. The few differences which arise between labor and capital often take the form of a

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571 178 795 291 ual educated in Rio, to be seen on the beaches. Snug-fitting street dresses or those made of sheer or transparent material, and skirts which do not fall at least several inches below the knee, are subject to general criticism. At the exit of the principal churches and cathedrals is posted an official proclamation of the archbishop of Bahia specifying permissible dress. Failure to observe these regulations automatically bars the offender from the sacraments of the church.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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BRAZIL SL1

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The "wide spread of gentle manners in Brazil,"[71] which impressed some commentators as contributing to the favored treatment of Brazilian slaves, was an integral part of a social order in which the large family was the principal unit of cohesion. Under such conditions the network of personal relations arising out of the intimate contact of master and slave not only tempered but, over a period of time, tended to destroy the formal barriers between them. "The Negro is everywhere among the Brazilians," wrote Codman, "and they understand him thoroughly."[72]

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It was usually among the newly arrived Africans, the field hands, or those blacks like the semi-independent *negros de ganho*, all of whom were not in intimate contact with the whites, that escapes and insurrections occurred. Some of these Negroes at times affected scorn and contempt of whites.[73] But those who were in close contact with the Europeans over a period of time developed sentiments of "belonging together," of loyalty and affection. Under such cir-

[71] "One afternoon I sat in a street car of the Copacabana line running to and from the heart of Rio de Janeiro city. As we approached the Avenida and paused at a sharp turn at the regulator's signal, a small boy poorly clad in cotton clothes got onto the front platform with a dinner pail in his hand. He set it down, removed his cap, bent his knee as the motorman, with a swift smile at the child, extended his right hand. The boy respectfully kissed it, replaced his cap, and jumped down. The little incident was typical of the wide spread of gentle manners in Brazil; it is here usual enough to see elderly bankers kiss the hands of their parents, but courtesy is not confined to the upper classes. . . . Brazilian men meeting each other in the street a dozen times a day, lift their hats every time to each other" (L. E. Elliott, *Brazil, Today and Tomorrow* [New York, 1917], p. 76).

[72] *Op. cit.*, p. 202.

[73] Bennett (*op. cit.*, p. 9) mentions the following incident from Pernambuco: "One evening when we were walking along the Rua Nova, a black woman who was passing us suddenly drew aside with a lofty air, exclaiming: 'O meu Deus, os brancos perto de mim!' (Oh, my God, whites near me!)"

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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BRAZIL SLI

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One reason why race mixture in Bahia is more extensive than in the United States is that in Bahia it goes on by legal intermarriage in a less restricted way than with us. Although interbreeding between individuals from extreme ends of the color scale is largely extra-legal, intermarriage becomes more frequent as the colors approach along this continuum.

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The general tendency is for the predominantly European portion of the population to absorb the lighter mixed-bloods while the mulattoes in turn absorb the blacks. This means that the Brazilian population is constantly becoming more European, less negroid, in appearance, a tendency which is referred to by local intellectuals as "progressive Aryanization." As Oliveira Vianna has said: "Podemos já assignalar . . . . uma tendencia que cada vez mais se precisa e define: a tendencia para a aryanização progressiva dos nossos grupos regionaes. Isto é, *o coefficiente da raça branca eleva-se cada vez mais em nossa população.*"[38a]

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Family ties are, as we have noted, tenacious. Loyalty to the clan still today transcends loyalty to the state, the church, or any other institution. There is strong personal attachment between white parents and colored offspring, both legitimate and illegitimate, and these ties obviously place the mulatto in an advantageous position for social advancement.

It is commonly thought in Brazil that the Brazilian

from Germany. The man also sent money to a second Negro woman, her two girls and a boy, for whom he, while still in Brazil, had built a comfortable home.

[38a] "A progressive whitening of our population is clearly evident. In other words, the proportion of white blood is constantly increasing" (*Evolução do povo brasileiro* [2d ed.; São Paulo, 1933], p. 172). See also João Pandiá Calogeras, *Formação historica do Brasil* (3d ed.; São Paulo, 1938), p. 36.

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Usina]

the factory is undergoing a reformation which will raise its capacity to over one hundred thousand sacks, and the legal capacity will be readjusted. 249* 433

Usina São Pedro, although the smallest, is representative of the others and experiences the same problems and difficulties. It differs from some in that it is a family enterprise. The stockholders are nearly all members of the Conde family, and the operations are directed by two members of the family. The factory itself was one of the three built by the state government in 1900 on land controlled by the Navy,[5] on the edge of the Bay, which provides excellent year-round transportation facilities. The mill was acquired in 1909 by the Conde family with two plantations, to which the family has since added four other contiguous plantations. The corporation has a total area of slightly over four thousand acres, mostly of rich massapê soil. The factory receives cane from the plantation of Dona Sinhá, who is also a member of the Conde family by birth and by marriage. It also gets cane from four other plantations within the community and four outside the community, which send their cane by the traditional sailboat. In addition, the factory owns a 2,324-acre plantation in the county of Purificação which is used for grazing and raising cattle and for supplying wood for the factory fires. There is direct water transportation between the factory and the plantation in Purificação. 249* 473 [653] [423] 249* [602] [423] [505]

The designation usina has several meanings which are quite similar to the meanings of the older term, engenho. In its larger context, usina means the entire land-factory combination, including the mill and all the plantations belonging to the corporation. More specifically, usina means the factory building itself. In another context, usina simply indicates the population nucleus, including the factory, the owner's house, and the other buildings. 249* 192

The usina or factory nucleus roughly follows the same settlement pattern of the old plantations. The point of orientation is the factory building, near which stand the chalet and other homes of the owning family, which are grouped together in a park of royal palms and mango trees. Usually a small chapel or oratory is included in one wing of the chalet, where 249* 361 [178]

5. The shoreline bordering salt water is controlled to the depth of 33 meters by the Brazilian Navy. [311]

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

A stranger is often surprised to discover individuals whom he had not previously thought of as related turning out to be brothers or other close relatives.

The gradually improving status of women is today working against *mancebia*, and many of the "more scrupulous" families discourage it. In these, the wife, if she knows of her husband's affairs, may reprove him, as also may other members of the family and its friends. But usually, as an upper-class woman said, "the ladies talk very little about it, and then only with their most intimate friends. The subject is not generally discussed."

Although in recent years at least two feminists have become quite prominent, and one of these has been elected to the state legislature, the common family pattern at Bahia is still patriarchal. Tempered, of course, by the natural claims which primary relations always tend to set up, the role of the husband and father has, throughout Bahian history, been a decidedly dominant role. For instance, it is said to have formerly been the custom—at Bahia today in some instances a custom still observed—for the husband to select and purchase the materials for his wife's clothing and even indicate the manner in which the goods should be made up. Formerly, women, other than prostitutes, servants, and other individuals of inferior status, were rarely seen upon the streets or in public places, the home being considered their proper sphere. Even in the home, women seem to have rarely appeared in the presence of strangers. Tollenare, visiting Pernambuco in the early nineteenth century, wrote, "At my arrival [in the house of a merchant], the women disappeared, and only the head of the house remained in the *salão* to talk to me." In another connection he remarked: "During eight months of residence in Pernambuco I never once saw the

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

have little to do with the residents. At the end of the season they can be seen walking along the paths of the Recôncavo toward the north, each man carrying over his shoulder a stick from which is suspended a cloth bundle containing his few possessions. 249* 464

One prominent aspect of the relationships between people in this hierarchy is the intimacy and familiarity which has for so long characterized the Recôncavo. While slavery was not a benign institution anywhere, there was a softness in the relations between the Brazilian and his slaves which seems to have been absent in other slave areas. This quality persists today on private plantations such as Fazenda das Moças between the owner and the workers. Dona Sinhá knows the residents by name or nickname, knows their background and present condition; the worker knows Dona Sinhá's family background, her children, and her extended family. 249* 466 571 [567]

The former master is now the patron. It is she who arbitrates any differences between workers, or between a worker and Seu Paulo. It is her task to protect the worker against injustices, to provide medical care, to aid at weddings and baptisms, in short to do all the things the worker is unable to do through ignorance, fear, or poverty.

The relationship between Dona Sinhá and Seu Paulo is a curious one, for neither one of them can do without the other. The role of overseer came into being for several reasons, the primary one being the absenteeism of the owner. In order to keep the plantation running properly all year long it was necessary for someone with knowledge and authority to be present all the time; so the former feitor-mor became known as the overseer, with a house larger and better than that of anyone else on the plantation except the owner. As time went on, the overseer gathered more and more rights and privileges unto himself, until today he is the veritable owner of the plantation in all but the legal sense. He has the confidence and loyalty of the workmen, without which he would be a failure. He eventually becomes related to nearly all of them through the system of godparentship; in fact, he is more sought after than the owner for this purpose. On the Fazenda das Moças, the overseer is paid a higher salary than any other overseer in the area--as much as Cr$1.500,00 a month in comparison with Cr$1.000,00 or less for the others. In addition he receives a bonus at the end of the year, one cruzeiro for each ton of sugar cane the plantation produced during the year. 249* 463 466 571 [608] [465]

252 they produce. The juice which is squeezed out is saved, and starch is extracted from it to be used in pressing clothes. The nonpoisonous variety of manioc (aipim) is used to a much smaller extent. Usually the tuber is boiled in water and then eaten as though it were a potato, for it does not need any processing to render it edible.

241 463 Ten of the twenty-four gardeners concentrate on manioc, while the others raise bananas. Most of them also grow their own household subsistence crops, scattered among the manioc and bananas, such as corn, beans, squash, and often a few shoots of excellent tobacco. Many of them also produce a quarter or half acre of a heavy type of sugar cane (cana de chupar) which is stripped of its bark, cut into short pieces, and masticated, the pulp being spit out after the person has [146] sucked out the juice. Almost everyone indulges in this, and [825] the sugar which is absorbed is undoubtedly a great source of energy. The plots (roças) are fenced and protected by an ox [789] skull stuck on one of the fence posts to keep out the evil eye.

There are many gardeners to the west of the town who rent 241 their small plots from either the Engenho da Vila or the federal school. This area has not produced sugar cane for many 463 years, for it lacks the surface covering of massapê. These 554 gardeners are often called matutos ("hicks"), real backwoods- [427] men who get along on subsistence agriculture and seldom leave their rural neighborhood. They are as far removed from contact with modern civilization as anyone could be while living in the Recôncavo. They live in well-hidden, small houses of mud and thatch, and one can ride through this section without seeing anyone.

443 The peddlers (ambulantes) listed in Group 3 have their 463 houses in Vila Recôncavo but go from town to town selling their wares. While they do some trading at the fairs they also [608] cover a regular route independent of the fairs. Compadresco, the system of godparentship, is important to them, for the houses of such relations give them a base of operations in every town they visit. One of the three is a man who buys and sells jewelry, and the other two are women; one sells cloth for dresses and the other sweets (doces), peanuts, and dried shrimp. The latter is one of the famous street merchants (bahianas) of Salvador; she sits on a street corner before a portable table selling favorite Bahian snacks such as acarajé and abará. She goes to Salvador on the boat on Saturdays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays, returning to Vila Recôncavo the

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596 will take the girl to his family gatherings and that he will be
584 invited to hers, so that their lives continue to be within the family, though now within two families. There are so few public places of entertainment in Salvador, other than the movies, that the couple is seldom alone. Dating nearly always takes place in family circles, so there is little need for a formal chaperone. Courtship continues until the boy has finished school (if it began that early, as it sometimes does), or is settled in business, at which time an engagement may be announced. Once the couple are engaged (noivos), they are allowed greater freedom; this does not, however, amount to much, as their social activities continue to be confined within the family. If for some reason the boy or the girl goes away for a time, the one left at home is invited to all family parties just as though both were there. The engagement period does not last very long--not as long as the gostando period, which may extend for two years--for once engaged, a couple is considered to be serious about marriage, which then takes place as soon as possible.

585 The wedding, always in Salvador, is both a religious and a
*565 civil ceremony. The former is a formal, fashionable church
596 ceremony followed by a reception and luncheon, before the bride and groom leave for their honeymoon. The civil wedding takes place in the bride's home shortly before the reli-
[591] gious ceremony. Only the godparents and closest relatives attend this ceremony. After marriage the couple usually set up their own home, but if this is not possible they may live with one of their in-laws. This, however, is undesirable, and often the wedding is postponed until the couple can have their own home. The parents on both sides help toward this end as much as they can by getting the young man settled in a suit-
*565 able position. Family connections are extremely important
594 throughout Class A in placing young people in business or a profession.

163 As a rule a child is born to the young couple by the end of
[608] the first year of marriage, and the compadres (godparents)
[596] are chosen from close members of the two families, at least for the first child. Succeeding children may have close friends
[553] of the father as godparents. Children are named after family members of preceding generations or--as has happened in
[178] some cases--after a much-loved slave. The old pattern was for the couple to continue having children regularly as long as the wife was able to, but the trend is now for each generation

[Class C Families]

sen because it is the name of the saint on whose day the child is born. There is also a good sprinkling of the more common names such as Antonio, João, Lourdes, and Maria. But if a child develops any peculiar characteristics, either physical or personal, he or she will be called by some descriptive term based on the peculiarity. Most people have nicknames such as Patão (Big Duck), Barco Velho (Old Boat), Cuspe Grosso (Thick Spit) or Gatinho (Little Cat), and in time their own proper name is forgotten almost entirely and used only for formal occasions such as signing records. The diminutive form of the given name is also popular, and is applied even to upper-class people, for example, Dr. Zeca (diminutive for Dr. José). In some cases a man is even known by his mother's or wife's name, for example, José de Ingracia. 553 551 551

In choosing godparents, there is great freedom. If possible, at least one of the godparents will be a member of the upper class, a patron who will help the child if necessary, especially if the godson when he grows up wants to go to school in the city or enter the army or navy. The other godparent may be a member of the child's family, or in some cases the midwife. In many cases the wife chooses the female godparent, especially if she suspects that her husband is paying too much attention to some other woman. In such a case she asks that woman to become the godmother; the latter can hardly refuse, as it is always considered a compliment. By becoming the godmother the woman is put effectively out of reach of the husband, as there can be no sexual relations between parents and godparents. This is a common device of women who have an unmarried sister living in the home, and it usually calls a halt to any amorous intentions on the part of either the husband or the sister. There have been cases, however, where this rule was broken. Usually the couple who break this taboo are highly censured by the rest of the community, for the wife, if she finds out, tells her friends about it. In one case which occurred in Vila Recôncavo during the author's stay, the woman was so ashamed and frightened by the sin she had committed that she killed herself by drinking rat poison. 608 [565] 608 835 [626] [762]

In the rural area, while the man is usually acknowledged to be the dominant person in the family, it is the woman who dictates most of the daily actions. The children are with her most of the time, helping in the house and working with her in the garden, both girls and boys. When schools opened recently on several of the plantations, it was the mothers, not 593 369

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Class D Families]

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no child was born of the affair she went to Salvador where she found employment. There she met Vavá, whom she liked very much. She went to live with him for eleven years and had three children.

During this time, Vavá had affairs with several other women and had two other children. Finally he tired of Maria José and told her to go home to her mother, which she did, taking her three children with her. Damiana's godfather allowed her, Maria José and her children, and Tatá, another of Damiana's daughters who by then had six illegitimate children, to live rent-free in a house he owned. Childless, he took one daughter from each of the two girls to bring up in his own home.

Shortly after the three women had set up this household, Vavá tired of his new companion and wanted Maria José to come back to him, which she refused to do. From time to time he also asked her for money, as he was now unemployed. She always gave him some, since she was employed, explaining that it was not for him but for his two other children, for she could not think of their going hungry.

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In almost every case of break-up of the unmarried state, the children remain with the mother. This is also true in the case of an affair which results in a child. The father never takes on the responsibility of the children. In addition to this, as stated earlier, the children bear the mother's name and not that of the father. Often a break-up occurs because the man goes to live with another woman who does not want the children of his previous union, as she may have some of her own either by him or by someone else. On the other hand, women in Vila Recôncavo say that they would be ashamed to let the children go and be brought up by another woman, except in the case of a godparent, in whose home the treatment is expected to be at least as good as that which the mother could have given the child.

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Sometimes women in this class have affairs with men who are already married and who do not leave their wives and children. A woman seldom has more than one lover at one time, and usually stays with the same man for a long period. Although the man takes no responsibility for the resulting children, he may, nevertheless, try to help the woman sometimes; but his first allegiance is to his own wife and children.

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Unless there has been a formal marriage, the children are always considered as belonging to the mother, and the most

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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them odd stories which were calculated to strike their imagination."[58]

Public opinion expected of masters the acceptance of an offer made to manumit an infant on the occasion of his baptism.[59] It also became customary, when marriages were being solemnized in the master's family, to free one or two favorite slaves.[60] Masters frequently declined the money proffered by a Negro for his purchase and granted his freedom without payment.[61] Slaves of the religious orders, it is said, considered themselves to belong to the saints themselves and were never sold.[62] The law adopted in 1809 to protect the property of sugar planters against attachment for debt also provided that slaves need not be sold separately from an estate to satisfy a creditor's claims. Thus the master could not be forced to dispose of his slaves, unless the debt amounted to the value of the entire estate; and, as Koster has pointed out,[63] the slave in this way was advanced, in some degree at least, toward the condition of a serf.

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[58] *Ibid.*

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[59] "Another custom which was advantageous to the slave was that of *alforrias na pia*, which was accomplished with the insignificant amount of 5 to 50 milreis and never was refused; this custom became very common, especially when the child had a light skin" (Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 255). Koster gives the price in Pernambuco early in the nineteenth century as £5 and says that "in this manner, a considerable number of persons are set at liberty, for the smallness of the price enables many freemen who have had connections with female slaves to manumit their offspring; and instances occur of the sponsors performing this . . . . act. Not infrequently female slaves apply to persons of consideration to become sponsors to their children, in the hope that the pride of these will be too great to allow of their godchildren remaining in slavery" (*op. cit.*, I, 195–96).

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[60] Frank Bennett, *Forty Years in Brazil* (London, 1914), p. 111.

[61] Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 256. [62] *Ibid.* [63] *Op. cit.*, I, 229 n.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

office of priest) to him. He is dedicated to the same *orixá*, Ogun, as was she, and speaks, he claims, "a little of six different African languages: Nagô, Gêge, Ige-chá, Queito, Egba, and Musurumi." He owns "a roomful" of ceremonial costumes, one of which is said to have cost six contos (approximately $360). He considers his task to be that of "doing good" and refuses to deal in black magic, an attitude which has cost him, it is said, "much money."[13] He is godfather to approximately a hundred and fifteen children and is soon to be godfather to nine others who are on the point of receiving the baptismal ceremony. He visits about the Reconcavo, particularly in Cachoeira, exercising his office of *pae de santo*, and is said to have paid similar visits to Rio de Janeiro, Pernambuco, Maranhão, and Pará, in each of which he has "made" several *filhas* and "confirmed" *ogans*.

The *achôgun*, or sacrificer, is an elderly black with a kindly face and snow-white hair. The leader of the drummers, or the *alabê*, a jolly black whose mother (now deceased) was a *mãe de santo* in Cidade de Palha, is very expert with the drums, speaks Nagô, and sings in a high-pitched but rather pleasant voice the African *cantigas*, or ritualistic songs. An *ogan* says of him, proudly, "He knows almost as much about African things as a *pae de santo*."

An elderly Negro woman, who walks haltingly with a cane, attends every ceremony. Younger friends carefully help her to a seat where she can see everything that goes on. Leaning forward on her cane, her intelligent eyes wide open, her face continually breaking into beaming smiles, she joins

[13] An *ogan* of this *seita* says that a *pae de santo* in Itapoan named Gregorio (now deceased) once declined twelve contos (approximately $720) "to make a man mad." This *ogan* knows, however, a *mãe de santo* who, as he says, became angered at the remarks of a young skeptic and "made a *negocio*" (literally a "business"; i.e., black magic) which "drove him mad in two days."

[SALVADOR]

/105 cont./

*563 555 178 important to note that up to now the chief means of social ascent, by which a large number of Blacks and métis have acquired high status, is education in the double sense of good manners and of instruction of a certain level, not to mention adherence to the customs and to the concepts of the predominant culture, which, in the last analysis, is a problem of acculturation or of greater integration of the colored masses into the dominant society. One *563 • 608 178 of the mechanisms that facilitate this integration is the protection and aid that numerous godfathers and godmothers offer their colored godchildren by rearing them in their own houses, by procuring employment for them, by sending them on to secondary and higher studies, and often by continuing afterwards to guide and protect them, this even being one of the principal functions of this system of spiritual kinship.

*563 829 The preponderant groups that constitute the upper strata of Bahian society do not oppose these tendencies with organized resistance, and, in accordance with the liberalism that is the basis of their mentality, they consider them proof of moral progress and of "civilization," of which, in general, the Bahians of all types are very proud.

/Tables I-III follow on pages 142-144./

814 phrase one hears often but without further elucidation. Although there are many ruins of old town houses and plantations dotting the area and even the town streets, few people can tell anything about them or about their former illustrious owners.
217 Almost no historical documents can be found in the town, as most of the old records have either been destroyed by insects and dampness or burned at intervals when there was no longer room for their storage, or else have come into private hands in small quantities. Most clerical records of the convent and mother church of the parish have disappeared, although undoubtedly some are stored in church archives in Salvador and
[127] Olinda (Pernambuco). Some information was obtained from the office of the justice of the peace, where records go back to 1800 and consist mostly of testaments and inventories and records of a few lawsuits involving property, including slaves.

621 The community of Vila Recôncavo gives the impression of being a large private preserve. The town serves as contact
• 609 point with the outside. Although the inhabitants of the community frequently leave it for business or visits, it is seldom that a stranger enters the area. There are no facilities in the town or in the rural area to care for one who has no family ties in the community. Going along the roads of the community one can identify practically everyone encountered, if not by name then at least as to where he is from. The higher a person's position on the social scale, the more likely he is to be known by name to a great part of the community. Strangers are probably someone's guests. But the appearance of an unidentified person alone gives cause for speculation.

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175 Given the isolation in which Brazil remained at least until
439 1808, the moment when for the first time its ports were opened
167 to international commerce, given too the fact that Bahia was
829 never a center of massive European immigration, like certain
• 609 southern states, the foreigner is received by the people of Bahia
*563 with a mixture of curiosity and distrust. At the same time,
the emigrant is easily absorbed here by the milieu and likewise
adapts himself to the customs and norms of local life. The
829 Portuguese emigrants, for example, are put in a special category;
*563 one has the habit of saying that not one of them is ever, properly
speaking Brazilian, but that he is never, properly speaking, a
foreigner either. In spite of the two world wars, one nowhere
notes manifestations of antipathy with regard to German, Austrian,
or Italian emigrants. The nationals of these nations have, in
general, an excellent reputation because they are considered
good workers, because they marry Brazilians and remain in the
country when their businesses prosper. The vast majority of the
population and even the persons who are hostile to the "Russian"
merchants never have anti-Semitic sentiments. When, however,
a Jewish group publicly protested against the presentation of a
European musician accused of having had ties with Hitlerism in
the past, the association that organizes concerts of famous musicians
rejected "this attempt at outside interference dictated by /18/
racial prejudice," declaring that its activities ought to remain
"above all religious, philosophical, political, racial, or class
prejudice." And yet numerous Israelites are members of this
association.

The "Arabs," although living quite isolated in accordance
[443] with their customs, marry Brazilians, and no hostility is ever
[178] manifested with regard to them; at the time when some of them
were carrying on the trade of itinerant vendors of fabrics and
hardware, they were ridiculed somewhat, it is true, but that
stopped with the disappearance of the last peddlers.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

APPENDIX A

Sub-Regions and Municipios of the Recôncavo

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Central Recôncavo:
- Santo Amaro
- São Francisco
- São Sebastião
- Cachoeira

Northern Recôncavo:
- Coração de Maria
- Irará
- Alagoinhas

Northwestern Recôncavo:
- Feira de Santana
- São Gonçalo
- Conceição da Feira
- Santo Estêvão

Southwestern Recôncavo:
- Muritiba
- Cruz das Almas
- Conceição do Almeida
- São Filipe
- São Félix

Eastern Recôncavo:
- Catu
- Pojuca

Southern Recôncavo:
- Maragogipe
- Itaparica
- Salvador

814 phrase one hears often but without further elucidation. Although there are many ruins of old town houses and plantations dotting the area and even the town streets, few people can tell anything about them or about their former illustrious owners.
217 Almost no historical documents can be found in the town, as most of the old records have either been destroyed by insects and dampness or burned at intervals when there was no longer room for their storage, or else have come into private hands in small quantities. Most clerical records of the convent and mother church of the parish have disappeared, although undoubtedly some are stored in church archives in Salvador and
[127] Olinda (Pernambuco). Some information was obtained from the office of the justice of the peace, where records go back to 1800 and consist mostly of testaments and inventories and records of a few lawsuits involving property, including slaves.

• 621 The community of Vila Recôncavo gives the impression of being a large private preserve. The town serves as contact
609 point with the outside. Although the inhabitants of the community frequently leave it for business or visits, it is seldom that a stranger enters the area. There are no facilities in the town or in the rural area to care for one who has no family ties in the community. Going along the roads of the community one can identify practically everyone encountered, if not by name then at least as to where he is from. The higher a person's position on the social scale, the more likely he is to be known by name to a great part of the community. Strangers are probably someone's guests. But the appearance of an unidentified person alone gives cause for speculation.

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

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county seats, functions which they would still fulfill if they were farther removed from the state capital.

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Finally, and perhaps most important of all, there has been a population shift in the last half century. New centers of population and industry have appeared in the Recôncavo, and there has been a refocusing of commercial activity but no accompanying administrative reform. The old towns, such as Vila Recôncavo, have remained as county seats to carry on administrative duties and the pretense of being the center of municipal activity. Official statistics indicate a great predominance of rural inhabitants in the Recôncavo. Actually, however, much of the population lives in towns. Although these centers are not officially called towns, their pattern of living is urban and not rural. For example, the district of Richão in the county of Purificação reported in the 1940 census 442 urban and suburban inhabitants, and 9,369 rural inhabitants. This gives no indication of the existence of a large factory town which contains almost nine thousand people.

The older towns may in the long run prove to be more permanent than the newer centers, which for the most part are factory towns, for it is possible that some day in the future the factories may close, causing a complete dislocation. In the meantime towns such as Vila Recôncavo are left out of the new developments, without industry or commerce except what can be done on a small scale, such as fishing or the weekly market. Still known as the formal centers of their counties or districts, they retain their local bureaucratic functions.

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Until the second half of the nineteenth century, the county was the principal community organization, and the town of Vila Recôncavo was the major center of attraction for its county. However, because of developments in the sugar industry, this older community structure began to change. These developments, which will be described in the next chapter, had the effect of further isolating the town of Vila Recôncavo from the main streams of life revolving about the sugar industry, which has always been the major feature of life in the Recôncavo. New developments in the industry caused new community alignments, the end results of which have been to leave the formal administrative centers, such as the town of Vila Recôncavo, out of rural community life to a very great degree. In the next chapter the history of the rural area will be discussed, linking together the town and the rural area.

small empires, disappeared. But in his place an even more powerful figure appeared, the usineiro, the land-factory combination director and representative of corporate power. 175 249* 473

However, not all private plantations succumbed to pressure from the factories or to economic collapse. There are many which still continue to plant and cultivate sugar cane and send it to the factory for milling. After 1933 the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol prescribed the amount of sugar cane each plantation, whether private or corporate, could produce, and indicated the total amount of sugar each factory could produce and how much cane it had to accept from each plantation. As a result of this protection, many private plantations continue to function in equilibrium with the factory to which they send their sugar cane. The private plantation owners also have a separate association which looks after their interests. [178] 175 249* 433 [656]

Thus the twentieth century has seen the introduction and development of the factory system and in its wake a series of fundamental changes. The growth of factory towns (the usina nuclei) has created further competition for the older county seats, such as the town of Vila Recôncavo, and further disintegration of the former community structure. 175 249* 178

Since its discovery and settlement, the rural area of Vila Recôncavo has been the scene of sugar-cane planting and sugar making. The rural area was settled before the town of Vila Recôncavo, and the plantation nuclei were actually self-sufficient small towns in themselves. The landowning pattern in this rural area has gone full cycle. First were the large land grants which were then split up into separate engenhos (after 1889 known as fazendas) through division due to inheritance, sale, or donation. For about three hundred years the pattern of the area was that of the engenho. However, at the end of the nineteenth century, this way of life came to an end as a result of financial crises and the abolition of slavery. The twentieth century has seen the introduction of the factory, which has led to a concentration of lands again under single ownership, although this time corporate and not that of a single individual or family. 175 178 249* 423

During the epoch of the plantations there was a necessity for the existence of the town to serve the needs of the landowning class. The community during this time was focused to a large extent toward the county seat. But with the abolition of slavery, the disappearance of the plantation master and his large family, and the coming of the factory, the former com- 175 178 249* 621

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munity structure began to break up. The corporations gradually acquired plantations which became commercial enterprises. The Big House was no longer the home of a master and the scene of his family life and social activities. The top level of the social strata partially disappeared, and those who were left to do the agricultural work looked now to the factory for their instructions and pay, to the new factory store for supplies, and to the chalet of the usineiro as the new senhor and patron. The owners of single plantations who joined the factory networks also began to look to the factory nucleus for social life, for buying supplies, and for selling their cane and receiving their money.

Thus each factory slowly became the focus of a new community structure, composed of the nucleus--the factory, the store, and the director's and workers' houses--surrounded by the corporation plantations, each of which still preserves the former plantation pattern of settlement, plus the private plantations, which are little changed in appearance from the days of the engenho. The factory towns, however, did not take over the formal functions of the county seats. In fact, rarely have factory towns received formal recognition as towns by the government. For the most part the factory nuclei appear on official records only as plantations.

Because of the growth of the factory and its surrounding network of plantations, the new community structures of the Recôncavo have taken on almost circular appearances. Vila Recôncavo demonstrates this well. In the spaces between the circles which represent factory systems, may be found the old formal administrative towns, with little of the influence or attraction that they once had. And yet they are bureaucratically important to the functioning of the county. As a result of this breakup of the old community structure, a process which is still going on, there is now no definite, clear-cut community center in Vila Recôncavo.

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58 begun to live together. But it is a general policy of Petrobrás that its employees establish regularized households and register their children, as the benefits of social legislation and insurance must be paid to legal beneficiaries, such as wives and
[745] children. Because of the many recent marriages, there are
[362] no longer any houses available in Vila Recôncavo, nor in Milagres, and there has been a spurt of housebuilding.

178 There have also been some shifts in emphasis in the struc-
621 ture of the community. While the factory nucleus is no longer
*249 the scene of social gathering for the upper class of the area, the structure of the factory-private plantation system ensures that it continues to be the economic center as long as sugar
[434] cane is being planted in the area. The system of quotas established for the private planter and the factory by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol requires that planter and factory
[361] cooperate in supplying and receiving sugar cane. Also, the
[496] physical structure of the area, in which the factory is the center of the network of a small railroad which reaches out to each of the private properties, strengthens the impression of the factory as the center of activities.

178 The possible future shift from sugar to cacao will of course
443 diminish the importance of the sugar factory. However, in the meantime there is a new factor which will give more im-
[245] portance than ever to the factory: a feira, or market place.
*[249] The county of Vila Recôncavo does not have a weekly market. For many years the county officials have wanted to establish one, not only for increased municipal income, but also to help attract more people to the area and to make life easier for the population. A market place is now under construction at the factory nucleus. When the market is completed, the factory town will become at least a weekly center of attraction for many people of the surrounding plantations.

178 The development of the petroleum industry is bringing new
315 life to the town of Vila Recôncavo, to the nearby town of Mi-
[311] lagres, and to the new city of Conselho. Petrobrás cannot develop a nucleus on the land which belongs to the factory or to the private owners, and therefore it must concentrate any local community building efforts in the old public towns which
178 already exist. Petrobrás, indirectly, through the county court
315 of Vila Recôncavo, will soon contribute considerably to the
434 county income. The same sort of compensation which was worked out in regard to the planters is now being arranged
651 for the county, through taxes on the finished products from
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the refinery, namely gasoline, kerosene, diesel oil, bottled gas, and other petroleum derivatives. As a result of the increased income, the county government will be able to build up the county seat considerably. A hospital is already being built, as well as a new dock for the boat which comes from the city.

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In Milagres, located in the neighboring county, there is already a considerable movement for breaking away from the parent county and becoming a separate municipio, a common pattern in Brazil for districts which reach a certain population and degree of economic activity. Thus there are two possibilities for urban growth in the area and for the formation of urban centers which will attract the large rural population.

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The town of Vila Recôncavo is close to realizing other possibilities. The construction of a road from the town to Centro has already begun, filling a long-felt need. Its completion will make it possible for cars, buses, and trucks to come from Feira, on the edge of the sertão, to Centro, down through Vila Recôncavo to Milagres, and on into the city, shortening the long trip by the existing road which follows the edges of the Recôncavo. Such traffic would "put Vila Recôncavo on the map," and would greatly increase its contacts with the outside world. In addition, the possibilities of the introduction of a new crop to the community will bring increased commercial activity and a much greater tax income, enabling the county to build its own roads and bridges and to make other improvements for the development of the area.

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Thus the community structure of Vila Recôncavo, which five years ago was in the process of crystallizing around the factory town, is now ripe for further change. The factory town continues for the present to be the major center, but the old county seat has all the possibilities of a rebirth of its former importance. In fact, because of the petroleum industry and the forthcoming changeover from sugar cane to cacao, the factory town is threatened as a community center, the position which it has only recently been consolidating.

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Finally, one of the most important changes in Vila Recôncavo in these five years is a change in attitude on the part of the people. Vila Recôncavo was always known as a conservative community, maintaining its old traditions and ways, rejecting innovations. However, there is now an air of expectancy and a search for new ways and new things. Dissatisfaction with the sugar industry, combined with the appearance

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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571 178 795 [554] siderable extent over those of the male portion, the church exercises a substantial measure of control. Prestige of the military is high.

596 621 The large family, with its wide ramifications and its patriarchal organization, also bespeaks a preindustrial era. Social cohesion in the community is maintained by the close association of members of these large family groups, together with the intimate ties common to friends of long standing, the degree of whose intimacy is much greater than that ordinarily to be found in the cities of comparable size in industrial societies. One notes in Bahia a warmth of manner uncommon to the United States. Bahians, like most Brazilians, tend to be very affectionate in the family and warmhearted toward their friends. Characteristic of such primary relationships is a high order of courtesy and politeness and an almost limitless consideration for the convenience and comfort of relatives and friends. Religious affiliation and guild association weave further strands of solidarity, binding the urban community together as if it were merely an overgrown village.

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578 [477] [433] [466] In this stable society there is a comparative absence of most forms of conflict. In commerce and finance competition is comparatively slight and limited in considerable measure to foreigners. The economy is almost entirely extractive and industry is minimal. The few differences which arise between labor and capital often take the form of a

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591 178 795 291 ual educated in Rio, to be seen on the beaches. Snug-fitting street dresses or those made of sheer or transparent material, and skirts which do not fall at least several inches below the knee, are subject to general criticism. At the exit of the principal churches and cathedrals is posted an official proclamation of the archbishop of Bahia specifying permissible dress. Failure to observe these regulations automatically bars the offender from the sacraments of the church.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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struggle of native labor versus foreign capital and thus tend [466] to unify rather than to divide the local group. Religious [798] competition has not become severe enough to intensify self-consciousness on the part of rival adherents and thus evoke serious animosities. As far as national affairs are concerned, [621] intense local loyalties had not, at least at the time this study was made, been seriously exacerbated by onerous control from without. A minimum of racial conflict will be evident throughout this account.

THE *ricos* OF THE RIDGES AND THE *pobres* OF THE VALLEYS

One of the things Darwin noted, when he visited Bahia 361 in 1832, was that the city rested upon "a level plain of about 134 three hundred feet in elevation, which in all parts has been worn into flat-bottomed valleys."[11] Today the scene is still much as Darwin saw it. Continuing erosion has merely emphasized the general characteristics of the landscape, transforming the once level plain somewhat more decidedly into alternating ridges, relatively steep declivities, and comparatively narrow valleys.

This physiography of the country has not been without 361 significance in the cultural life of Bahia; for, in general, the 565 distribution of the population by classes, and even to some extent by ethnic divisions, follows quite closely the lay of the land. Along the ridges, which wind with the changing [363] terrain, ordinarily run the principal streets, bearing the chief [133] lines of transportation, whether by streetcar, bus, or automobile. So far as accessibility to the center and other prin- [494] cipal parts of the city is concerned, here are the more convenient residential locations. The elevation of the ridges,

[11] Charles Darwin, *The Voyage of the Beagle* ("Harvard Classics," Vol. XXIX [New York, 1909]), p. 521.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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mer, the filling of razor slashes with salt, the castration of males and the amputation of the breasts of females, and "murder at the slightest whim."[56] The custom of *novenas* and *trezenas* of slave beatings sometimes resulted in death.[57]

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In 1887 a police sergeant in a village in the interior of Bahia Province reported to the governor: "Considering the number of crimes on slaves in this section which continually go unpunished, this town of Formosa is in great need of at least five soldiers to be stationed here at the disposal of the local police official."[58] The *Diario da Bahia* of July 21, 1887, reports the discovery of a slave woman bearing about her neck a pronged iron collar "weighing twenty-five pounds, from which were suspended heavy chains wrapped about her body like serpents."

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Escapes were frequent, the fugitives being assisted by the character of the *matto*. They were hunted by hired *capitães do matto*, or "bush captains," usually Brazilian-born Negroes or mixed-bloods, whose trained dogs netted them a steady income.[59] Occasionally, fugitive slaves banded together in considerable numbers for mutual protection into *quilombos*.

[56] Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 361–63. For illustrations of instruments used to punish slaves, see Arthur Ramos, "Castigos de escravos," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* (São Paulo), XLVII (May, 1938), 79–104.

[57] "Each day at a certain hour . . . . the slave is stripped and tied to a post where he receives a certain number of blows which reopen wounds made on previous days. . . . . This is done for periods of nine to thirteen days in accordance with the practices [religious ceremonies extending over a period of nine to thirteen days] of the church" (*ibid.*, p. 43 n.).

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[58] *Ibid.*, p. 673.

[59] Still played by children at Bahia is the game "Capitão do matto," a form of "hide and go seek" in which those hiding are presumed to be slaves and the hunter a "bush captain."

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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The present town of Orobó,[60] approximately a hundred and fifty miles interior from the port of Bahia, is said to have had its origin in such a settlement.[61] Even outlying areas of the city of Bahia like Matta Escura and Estrada da Liberdade, and the neighboring villages of Cabula, Armação, Pirajá, and Itapoan, are said to have had their origin in *quilombos*, dating from the colonial period. From these settlements there were frequent sallies of Negroes into the city to rob and to pillage. However, no *quilombo* in the state of Bahia

[60] The name has recently been changed to Ruy Barbosa.

[61] On September 23, 1796, an investigation was ordered of complaints regarding the *quilombo* of Orobó. On April 6 of the following year this report was made (Silva, *op. cit.*, III, 227):

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ILLUSTRIOUS AND ESTEEMED SIR:

There having been repeated requests on the part of certain *senhores de engenho* and owners of *fazendas* living in the vicinity of Orobó, district of the villa of Cachoeira, that there be destroyed a very old *quilombo* of fugitive slaves who have been wasting and destroying neighboring plantations and committing other excesses of great damage to the settlers, I ordered the *desembargador*, Juiz de Fora, of the same villa to find out if these reports were true, and if they were, to seek by all means possible to destroy this *quilombo*, using all prudence and care to avoid any fatal occurrence in the execution of the order, in view of the great distance between Cachoeira and that district, as well as our ignorance of the size of the *quilombo* which, according to some accounts, was not small. The necessity of collecting provisions, of enrolling and arming men . . . . delayed for some time the execution of this order until, the complaints continuing and the people themselves offering to lend some aid and assistance, I ordered the *capitão-mor* of Entrados e Assaltos of the District of São José das Itapororocas, Severino Pereira, to organize an armed force and to destory the *mocambo*. This order was carried out in December of last year, the two *quilombos*, or *mocambos*, known as Orobó and Andrah being destroyed. At these places were found fields of manioc, *inhame*, rice, fruit, and a little sugar cane, with all of which the inhabitants had easily been able to sustain themselves. Thirteen slaves were apprehended, among them men, women, and children, all of whom were delivered up to their respective masters. Previous to the arrival of the armed force, it is reported, a great number of slaves living there fled, for apparently they suspected, or perhaps were even aware of, the impending attack. As it appeared that they had fled to another *quilombo* called Tupim, farther off, I ordered that it similarly be destroyed, but I have not yet had notice whether such has been done. This is what I have to offer Your Excellency in reply to a letter directed to me and received on the 23rd of September of last year, urging me to undertake the most effective means of destroying the indicated *quilombos* and of relieving the settlers.

God guard Your Excellency.

Bahia, 6th of April, 1797. Most Illustrious and Excellent Sir, D. Rodrigo de Souza Coutinho.

D. FERNANDO JOSÉ DE PORTUGAL

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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equaled in size or in importance the famed Palmares of Alagoas.[42]

It is a mistake, however, to conclude that humane and intimate relations between master and slave were by any means rare. In fact, they were in all likelihood, as we shall see in detail later, the general rule. The literature records numerous instances like that witnessed by John Codman in 1866, of which he says:

> We drove up to the door of our Brazilian passengers. They were most boisterously welcomed by a troop of blacks. The pleasantest thing I had seen for some hours was the affection of these poor Negroes. Bright shone their eyes, and what a display was there of ivory! They fairly seized their mistress . . . . in their arms, and "toted" her off into the house, hugging and kissing her, screaming and dancing as they went.[43]

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[42] The famous "Negroes of the Palmares" (or "Palm Forests") were slaves who had escaped from Pernambuco before and particularly during the struggles of the Portuguese with the Dutch. Constantly acquiring recruits, they set up a series of crudely fortified villages scattered over some sixty leagues (about two hundred and forty miles). From these they harried the neighboring regions, taking from outlying *fazendas* both mates and slaves, among the former of which white women were occasionally to be found. They became so strong and so difficult to dislodge, that numerous expeditions sent out by the Dutch and later by the Portuguese served only to check for a time their growth—were unable for seventy years to destroy them completely. Only in 1697 were they finally subdued by an army from Recife led by a Paulista famed for success in such fighting and especially imported for this service, and then only after he had at first encountered serious reversals at their hands and their resistance had subsequently been broken by a failure of the food supply (Southey, *op. cit.*, III; 23-29). This Negro group had at times carried on trade with the whites, exchanging agricultural products for articles of manufacture. That they were seriously treated as an alien but respected group is attested by an exchange of peace commissioners during the governorship of Ayres Souza e Castro and the subsequent signing of a treaty of peace. (Incidentally, this treaty was never kept by the whites.) For a critical examination of the exaggerated reports of this erroneously labeled "Negro Republic" see Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-43.

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[43] John Codman, *Ten Months in Brazil* (Boston, 1867), p. 125.

[SALVADOR]

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829 The irregularities and inadequacies of electric service in
365 the city are attributed by many inhabitants of Bahia to what they call the "contempt of the Americans for the well-being of the people," as if the Americans were the only ones responsible for the operation of the American-Brazilian enterprise that produces electricity for the region. Everything that is or is supposed to be American otherwise enjoys great prestige. There is, how-
829 ever, a foreign group against which (or, more precisely, against
+563 the hidden "trust" that it represents) there exists a very strong
578 hostility, although it manifests itself only on certain occasions.
[443] It is a matter of emigrants from Spanish Galicia, accused of exploiting the populace owing to the monopoly that they have acquired in the grocery and bakery business. At certain times when ten-
[152] sion is particularly strong, as in 1930, and following the rapid
[458] rise of the price of commodities of prime necessity at the be-
[579] ginning of the last world war, the populace gave free vent to its discontent by plundering certain Spanish business establishments. But the attitude of the Bahians toward the person of these immigrants is free of lasting animosity, and marriages between the two
[261] groups are frequent. The fact remains, however, that the population attributes to the Spaniards the shortage of certain food commodities, especially bread, and it accuses these emigrants of "enriching themselves off of the misery of the people."

529 The recreational associations of the English, Spaniards,
+563 Syrians, and Lebanese are frequented by Brazilians. Likewise
575 the hospitals maintained by the Portuguese and Spanish colonies
743 are managed by Brazilian doctors and receive numerous patients from Bahia, white or colored.

795 The religion of the Catholic majority is traditionally much
771 more external and ritualistic than dogmatic, the religiosity of a large number of those who call themselves "strict Catholics" being chiefly theoretical. This must have constituted a serious difficulty for the clergy; it is also a subject of astonishment for the visitor who imagines that he will come in contact with "the most
798 Catholic of Brazilian cities." The antagonisms between religious
621 groups are also moderate in this domain and /19/ never affect the

[SALVADOR]

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798 social cohesion of the community (1).
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[162] 1. In 1940 the population of the city and of the municipality was made up of 97.49 o/o Roman Apostolic Catholics; 1.11 o/o Protestants; 0.26 o/o Israelites; 0.62 o/o spiritualists, etc.
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[797] The Catholic majority views with an evil eye the activities of foreign Protestant missionaries and condemns particularly the "disloyal methods employed by some of them" and their way of distorting the Church. Protestantism is fought in the pulpit as heresy, but never the Protestants as persons having different characteristics and toward whom one vows hostility. The antagonism between Catholics, Protestants, and Presbyterians is also [871] placed on the purely doctrinal plane; the institutions of learning [177] maintained by Baptists and Presbyterians are attended by Catholic students and enjoy prestige because of their "American methods."

794 As for the candomblés, sanctuaries devoted to the cults of
798 African origin, the current feeling is that these rites are so many barbaric survivals that ought to be done away with, for they are a matter of shame before foreigners and tourists. In a commentary on tourism, a local journal proposes that the visit to candomblés be omitted from excursion programs, "because there can be no propaganda more negative for this Brazilian city four times a hundred years old, which has so many other interesting things to show." These cults, despite everything, enjoy relative freedom and function by virtue of police authorization. They have sometimes been prohibited and their devotees violently dispersed by police forces. Among the Blacks there are many who share the opinions of the Whites on the subject of these rites.

666 Only the rivalry between political parties provokes real
665 tension during the election campaigns. This tension is particularly
578 intense in the controversies in the interior of the State; it never expresses itself other than verbally; individual cases of aggression or actual conflicts between groups belonging to different political parties have become extremely rare. The ethnocentric feelings [829] of the Bahians reached great vehemence several years ago when the majority of the electors refused to elect as governor of the State a candidate who was not "born in Bahia."

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*249 For the first time in the history of Vila Recôncavo the work-
468 ers' discontent has taken the form of a strike accompanied by violence. The strike, although a general one throughout the sugar industry, was the first one in which workers of Vila Recôncavo participated. It was specifically directed against the
178 agricultural part of the factory combination; however, it af-
*249 fected some private plantations as well, and was joined by
468 workers of private plantations. The strike was put down im-
467 mediately and effectively by the state police. On investigation the police found considerable Communist literature and prop-
668 aganda in the quarters of the labor union in Centro which had organized the strike. The labor union itself was illegal, since it was not registered with the proper authorities, and its lead-
[625] ers were well-known Communist agitators. What is important for our study is the appearance in the community of Vila Recôncavo of written and verbal Communist propaganda and the willingness of the local agricultural workers to participate in a general strike. This is a tremendous change for such a conservative area, where loyalty and paternalism have always been so strong.

178 Thus the sugar industry of Vila Recôncavo has entered a
*249 phase of many new difficulties: ties between factory and pri-
571 vate planters are strained, and labor relations are becoming a problem for the private, as well as the corporate, planters.
466 Inflation and the "dollar situation," which affect planters directly since all machinery must be imported, are also working toward the build-up of a new "crisis," continuing the pattern described in Chapter 3.

178 However, a new element is entering the community o. Vila
245 Recôncavo in the form of a new crop, cacao. One of the plant-
242 ers began experimenting with cacao during the author's first period of research in Vila Reconcavo. However, at least five years must pass before it can be known if the cacao tree will give satisfactory fruit. At the end of 1955 the Institute of Cacao of Bahia presented the experiment to the public as a success and is now systematically stimulating interest in cacao as a possible and lucrative substitute for sugar cane.

245 Cacao is Bahia's major export crop and in general means
439 money to a Bahian. Still more attractive is the fact that the
178 cacao introduced to the Recôncavo is a genetic mutation, giving a white-seeded fruit which brings a much higher price on the
*[249] world market than does the ordinary fruit. The financial attraction of cacao, plus the disagreeable and financially weak

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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mer, the filling of razor slashes with salt, the castration of males and the amputation of the breasts of females, and "murder at the slightest whim."[46] The custom of *novenas* and *trezenas* of slave beatings sometimes resulted in death.[47]

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[625]

In 1887 a police sergeant in a village in the interior of Bahia Province reported to the governor: "Considering the number of crimes on slaves in this section which continually go unpunished, this town of Formosa is in great need of at least five soldiers to be stationed here at the disposal of the local police official."[48] The *Diario da Bahia* of July 21, 1887, reports the discovery of a slave woman bearing about her neck a pronged iron collar "weighing twenty-five pounds, from which were suspended heavy chains wrapped about her body like serpents."

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Escapes were frequent, the fugitives being assisted by the character of the *matto*. They were hunted by hired *capitães do matto*, or "bush captains," usually Brazilian-born Negroes or mixed-bloods, whose trained dogs netted them a steady income.[49] Occasionally, fugitive slaves banded together in considerable numbers for mutual protection into *quilombos*.

[46] Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 561–63. For illustrations of instruments used to punish slaves, see Arthur Ramos, "Castigos de escravos," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* (São Paulo), XLVII (May, 1938), 79–104.

[47] "Each day at a certain hour . . . . the slave is stripped and tied to a post where he receives a certain number of blows which reopen wounds made on previous days. . . . . This is done for periods of nine to thirteen days in accordance with the practices [religious ceremonies extending over a period of nine to thirteen days] of the church" (*ibid.*, p. 43 n.).

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[524]

[48] *Ibid.*, p. 673.

[49] Still played by children at Bahia is the game "Capitão do matto," a form of "hide and go seek" in which those hiding are presumed to be slaves and the hunter a "bush captain."

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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He could take his master's name.[47] Slaves who desired to change masters had the right to request transfer, and the master was expected to acquiesce.[48] Intercession in behalf of a fugitive slave, or even of one about to be punished for some other offense, is said seldom to have been in vain.[49] The master guilty of inhuman treatment toward his slave was liable to the police or tribunals.[50] Some masters preferred to have

[47] Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 256; cf. also Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 327: "Hence, the many Cavalcantis, Albuquerques, Mellos, Mouras, Wanderleys, Lins, Carneiro Leãos, etc., who possess none of the illustrious blood which their names imply."

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[48] Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 256. Koster (*op. cit.*, I, 194) records that "for this purpose a note is given, declaring that the bearer has leave to enter into the service of any one, upon the price which the master demands being paid by the purchaser. With this the slave applies to any individual or property whom he may wish to serve; owing to having heard a good report of his character toward his slaves, or from any other cause. This is a frequent practice." The following interesting case was observed: "A Negro woman applied to a planter to be purchased; for which purpose she had brought a note from her master. She was accepted; and a bargain was concluded between the two persons. However, the day after she had taken up her abode upon the estate of her new master, she came to him, and falling down upon her knees, said that she had a fellow-slave who wished likewise to serve him; and she begged him to purchase her companion. The new master spoke to the owner of the slave in question of the subject; but he refused to sell him, and the matter rested in this manner. But on the third day, he received a visit from the owner, offering the slave for sale, adding, that the man had refused to work, and had threatened to hang himself; and as he was a Gabão Negro (noted for the resolute manner which, on occasion, they committed suicide), he much feared that he might put his threat into execution. The price was soon fixed, and on the following morning the man made his appearance. He proved to be a most excellent slave" (*ibid.*, p. 203 n.).

[49] Codman, *op. cit.*, p. 201. Cf. also: "Costumes belissimos instituem-se entre os senhores; como o de *apadrinhar* os remissos ou fugitivos, o que impede o castigo, e nunhum senhor viola" (Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 255).

[50] J. B. von Spix and C. F. von Martius, *Travels in Brazil, 1817–1820*, trans. H. E. Lloyd (2 vols.; London, 1824), I, 179.

[Class C Families]

Patão, however, regales the daily gossip groups 626 •
with his exploits, detail by detail, so it is always known who 838
has visited him. These men are in no way ostracized, and [521]
continue a normal life alongside the others. There are also
two cases of men connected with candomblé who are suspect-
ed of homosexual tendencies, but there are no definite data
about them. Public opinion, nevertheless, is generally against
homosexuality, and there was one case in which action was
taken. A married man "pegou um menino" (caught a little boy)
in the men's bath at one of the wells. Ordinarily the men en-
ter the bath alone, the others waiting outside until the one in-
side has finished. On this occasion the man found the boy al-
ready there and entered with him. Later the boy told what had
happened and the neighborhood was incensed and compelled
the man to leave town at least temporarily. The boy's only
remark was that he had not been paid!

Boys in their late teens sometimes jokingly refer to the 838
clube de veados (homosexuals' club), intimating their ex-
ploratory experiences with one another, and what they have
tried when they went together to Salvador or Centro, where,
according to them, the streets are full of veados. No such re- [839]
ports were found for the rural people, but the complaint that
young men were viciados nas mulas (corrupted by the use of
mules) was common. Another case at a distant factory con- [522]
cerned two women who were living together, one very strong,
large and bearded, and very jealous of anyone who even looked
at the other. This case was well known, and considered hi-
larious by the neighbors.

Family life in Class C is characterized by a lack of pri- 565 *
vacy. The house of a family in this class has at the most two [362]
bedrooms, frequently only one, in which all members must
sleep. It is common for a young couple to have only one bed [352]
when their marriage begins, in which they, as well as their [513]
first and second children, sleep. The use of a cradle for in-
fants is rare. The baby usually sleeps with the parents, and
as it grows older, or as new babies are born, it is relegated
to the foot of the bed. Loud and bitter are the complaints about 565 *
children who wet the bed, which many of them do for many 863
years. Most mothers say they try to wake up several times
during the night in order to hold the infant over the side of
the bed to allow it to perform its natural functions, which
makes life more pleasant for the others in the bed. In the [356]
morning the floor is thoroughly washed.

During the day young boys go about with only shorts on, or 600

sen because it is the name of the saint on whose day the child is born. There is also a good sprinkling of the more common names such as Antonio, João, Lourdes, and Maria. But if a child develops any peculiar characteristics, either physical or personal, he or she will be called by some descriptive term based on the peculiarity. Most people have nicknames such as Patão (Big Duck), Barco Velho (Old Boat), Cuspe Grosso (Thick Spit) or Gatinho (Little Cat), and in time their own proper name is forgotten almost entirely and used only for formal occasions such as signing records. The diminutive form of the given name is also popular, and is applied even to upper-class people, for example, Dr. Zeca (diminutive for Dr. José). In some cases a man is even known by his mother's or wife's name, for example, José de Ingracia.

In choosing godparents, there is great freedom. If possible, at least one of the godparents will be a member of the upper class, a patron who will help the child if necessary, especially if the godson when he grows up wants to go to school in the city or enter the army or navy. The other godparent may be a member of the child's family, or in some cases the midwife. In many cases the wife chooses the female godparent, especially if she suspects that her husband is paying too much attention to some other woman. In such a case she asks that woman to become the godmother; the latter can hardly refuse, as it is always considered a compliment. By becoming the godmother the woman is put effectively out of reach of the husband, as there can be no sexual relations between parents and godparents. This is a common device of women who have an unmarried sister living in the home, and it usually calls a halt to any amorous intentions on the part of either the husband or the sister. There have been cases, however, where this rule was broken. Usually the couple who break this taboo are highly censured by the rest of the community, for the wife, if she finds out, tells her friends about it. In one case which occurred in Vila Recôncavo during the author's stay, the woman was so ashamed and frightened by the sin she had committed that she killed herself by drinking rat poison.

In the rural area, while the man is usually acknowledged to be the dominant person in the family, it is the woman who dictates most of the daily actions. The children are with her most of the time, helping in the house and working with her in the garden, both girls and boys. When schools opened recently on several of the plantations, it was the mothers, not

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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plex and need further study. If the discrimination turns out to be due only (or largely) to color, it will in most cases be because color is one of the criteria of rank. However, nowhere in Brazil is it supported by public opinion. On the contrary, it receives severe and widespread condemnation, in press and elsewhere, and legislators hasten to pass laws bringing it under repressive legal sanction. In other words, public opinion and public action invariably are *in favor of*—never against—the darker portion of the population.

7. Nevertheless, in any conflict situation, the lack of one of the determinants of status—namely, light color—*just as any other lack*, may be seized upon, to a person's disadvantage, by competitors.

8. Numerous common sayings regarding Africans and their descendants (cf. pp. 362–65 of this book) which originated during the slave epoch, and which long ago lost all, or most, of their function as stereotypes (cf. Florestan Fernandes 1959:328), occasionally are employed by brancos but ordinarily with a smile and in a humorous manner and when colored persons are not present. Moreover, actual behavior tends to belie these common sayings; and they are even used in jocular fashion by colored persons themselves. Nevertheless, they are remnants of a superordinate-subordinate relationship in a former caste order and, as such, constitute threats to status in possible conflict situations, and also potential aids to the development of group-consciousness.

To these hypotheses, there might be added the following one, suggested by Wagley (1963b:154):

9. "The ability of 'people of color' to improve their status . . . varies considerably from community to community according to the possibilities open to them."

Wagley's further statement that "rural Brazilian society

[SALVADOR]

/21 cont./

*563 565 829 the Bahians congregate together or avoid one another much more in terms of their social rank than of their color or their race.

Crossbreeding is not forbidden by any law and comes up against [656] the disapprobation of opinion only to the extent that it affects the [626] structure of classes firmly established in the country: upper strata made up almost exclusively of Whites, that is to say, persons of white phenotype or at least "socially white," lower strata made up chiefly of colored people; a classification which makes classes and racial types approximately coincide, without, however, making them identical.

175 *563 From the early days of Portuguese colonization there has been a large number of colored persons in Bahia. In the beginning the [595] colonists mixed largely with the tupi /Tupi/ Indian women of the region, living with them in a state of concubinage and often [567] polygamy. Slavery having been abolished in the first half of the [641] seventeenth century for the aborigines, and civil and political rights having been granted them a short time afterward, cross- [829] breeding continued through marriage. Thus, today a large number of morenos explain their dark color by boasting about some ancestor pegado a dente de cachorro, that is to say, captured like an animal that one hunts in the virgin forest in the wild state. [161] But the number of natives decreased rapidly and had little influence on the formation of the Bahian type. The opposite /22/ [167] occurred with the Africans brought by the thousands and thousands [567] to work on the sugar-cane plantations. The crossbreeding of Portuguese and Brazilians with Africans and Blacks born in Brazil was made possible and even favored by different factors, among them the scarcity of white women in the initial period, the slave system, the laxness of social control with regard to male sexual behavior, the physical and psychological charms of black women, in particular the minas Blacks, natives of the Costa da Mina in [829] the western Sudan. It was commonly said at that time that, in order to see beautiful Negresses, it was necessary to go to Bahia (1);

1. F. Biard, Deux années au Brésil /Two years in Brazil/, Paris, 1862.

[SALVADOR]

/39 cont./

*563 one will see that the proportion may reach 20 o/o or more. It
[175] was not always so, however. Portuguese laws during the colonial period prohibited marriages of Whites with the natives and with
17 Negroes. Once the slavery of the aborigines was abolished, mar-
*563 riage between these /40/ last and the Whites was permitted; but
567 before that the Catholic clergy had already regularized by religious marriages the numerous concubinages between Portuguese colonists and native women. The marriages of Whites and natives with the Blacks continued to be forbidden for a long time yet, but as crossbreeding between Europeans and Africans increased because of free unions, the number of interracial marriages increased in parallel fashion, for in reality only marriages between free persons and slaves were forbidden. Finally, with the abolition of black slavery the last barrier set up against interracial marriages
175 fell. Penalized before that, and for quite a long time, by severe
*563 social sanctions (1),
• 626

1. Ch. Expilly wrote in 1863: "The constitution has proclaimed the equality of the citizens. Prejudice stronger than the constitution raises an impassable barrier -- up to now at any rate -- between individuals who differ in the shade of their skin. One in vain distributes bedizenment, decorations, titles to men of mixed blood, no one becomes intimate with them. When has one seen a female White marry a mulatto? The one who would dare so boldly to affront the usages and customs of her country would be immediately rejected by everyone of pure race. She would
[113) be scorned, pointed at, excluded from the society in which in other times she was the ornament and pride." Mulheres e costumes do Brasil /Women and Customs of Brazil/, São Paulo, 1935, p. 279.

ooo These marriages increased after Independence, in 1822, with the

[SALVADOR]

These marriages increased after
175 /40 cont./ Independence, in 1822, with the
178 social ascent of mulattoes, military men, bureaucrats, lawyers
*563 graduated from Portuguese and French universities, a process
553 which was intense under the Brazilian monarchical regime and to which Bahia contributed liberally with statesmen and politicians coming from these groups (2).

2. G. Freyre, op. cit., III, p. 951.

178 Social pressure against mixed marriages seems to have de-
*563 creased with time, and so the latter became more numerous
• 626 every day. Formerly the families of high society or of the
584 bourgeoisie verified the origin of fiancés with great care. Many
593 marriages came to grief because one of the future partners was found to belong to the "caste." The unions that were formed against the parents' wish were the cause of lasting quarrels between parents and children, and gave rise to veritable domestic tragedies. Many fathers cursed their daughters and disinherited them when they persisted in wanting to marry a man of "inferior quality," especially if he were a bastard. "In our day," a female informant told us, "one has it much easier." This indeed seems to be the general opinion.

*563 The mixed marriage is greatly sought after because it confers
557 prestige on the one of the two partners who is darker. A black professor made the remark to us that there are few colored men who, in marrying a light woman, think of "improving the race," but rather they hope to facilitate their own social ascent. Proof of this is the frequency with which this intention is /41/ implicitly indicated or even acknowledged. A colored employee flirts with white boys "for fun"; in fact, she is trying to get the man she wants, and she announces that she will never marry a man of dark color unless he is rich and well situated. Her mother approves entirely when she announces that she will not accept the advances of a man of dark color. Her three sisters have married Whites, and one of them is proud of her children who are blond. A student of the same physical type "prefers" moreno suitors, but admits that she would have no objection to marrying a White.

[SALVADOR]

/43 cont./

*563 829 look for light girls." Obviously this question is not one that can be solved with the material of an investigation like ours, but there seems to be no doubt that we are confronted here with reasons intended to mask the wish for a union with white women. This design, moreover, should be interpreted with the help of psychoanalysis and other techniques for investigating personality problems.

In Bahia there are some distinguished Blacks, particularly in the liberal professions, who are married to Whites or to women much lighter than they are. This fact is mentioned with some emphasis and with ill-concealed pride by some persons of dark color, although such cases are also the object of criticism. Very often the women belong to milieus inferior to those to which they themselves belong, "for in the higher classes, although [565 626] marriages between mulattoes and morenos are frequent, the opposition is still strong against marriages between persons who are very /44/ far apart on the color scale" (1).

1. Donald Pierson, op. cit.

*563 565 554 The lower the man's status, the less difficult a mixed marriage is for him within his class. That is to say, it is much easier for a Black of intermediate and inferior groups to marry a White of his social class than for a Black of a higher class to marry a girl of his own milieu. Moreover, the less great the difference between the man's and the woman's type, the less great will be the opposition to be overcome in whatever milieu it may be. The *563 [626] marriage of a light man with a dark woman, especially if she is much more pigmented than he, encounters very marked opposition in all milieus, although the opinions about the morena with fine features and the color of jambo make this type desirable for certain Whites, particularly for Portuguese immigrants and somewhat for Germans. A dark woman who marries a White is much *563 59 more exposed to the hostility of her husband's family than a dark man who marries a light or white woman. In order to explain this in part it is necessary not to forget that, the family in Bahia

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627 INFORMAL INGROUP JUSTICE--unformalized mechanisms for adjusting grievances and applying sanctions within the community; private retaliation (e.g., lynching, tarring and feathering, feuding); negotiation and compromise; informal hearings before the headman or local council; etc. Data on justice will be filed under 69 rather than under this category whenever formal judicial institutions are found even at the community level. See also:

Liability . . . . . 67 Offenses and punishments 68

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794 outcome of some projected action; and also the office of a
793 *curandeiro*, who diagnoses ailments and prescribes cures. He may minister to a clientele even outside the members of the *seita*, giving advice and counsel on matters of business, politics, love, etc.

794 Disputes between members of the *seita* are ordinarily sub-
793 mitted for adjudication to the *pae* or *mãe de santo*. Persuasion is at first employed. But if this proves unsuccessful, the
• 627 priest orders each of the disputants to wash his particular fetish, upon which, with rare exceptions, acceptance of mediation is secured. The settling of the dispute is then celebrated by each party to the quarrel drinking from the water
[688] in which the other's fetish has been washed. Continuance of the altercation will break the implied promise to the *orixá* and render the offender liable to punishment, which is ordinarily death.

794 The *pae* or *mãe de santo* may also exercise the function of
793 a *feiticeiro* and deal in black magic. But this occupation is
754 disclaimed by several of the more prominent priests and priestesses, who refuse to countenance deeds designed to do harm to their fellow-men. It appears to be exercised more often by heads of the recently organized and "less careful" *caboclo seitas*.[7]

794 Age, number of years a member of the cult, intimate
793 knowledge of the ritual, and, particularly, purity of African
554 descent are important considerations in determining the prestige of a *pae* or *mãe de santo*.

For some reason male members of the *seita* rarely experi-

[556] [7] A *pae de santo* of a *caboclo candomblé* who is widely feared for his success in working black magic possesses a considerable bank account, numerous properties in the city, and rich cocoa land near Ilhéos, all acquired, it is said, from the exercise of this profession. However, it is quite probable that his political activity contributed a goodly portion.

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631 TERRITORIAL HIERARCHY--territorial structure of the state; the various levels of territorial and administrative organization within the state and their reconciliation with the categories below; hierarchy of political officials; integration with larger political units (e.g., Ukraine within the USSR); general nature of the territorial hierarchy (e.g., feudal, administrative, federal); degree of local differentiation in structural forms (e.g., federal districts, free cities, territories, colonies); etc. See also:

Identification of the cultural group in relation to culture areas and neighboring societies. 101

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000 Footnotes - Chapter I

[1]See section by Charles Wagley in Ralph Linton (ed.), Most of The World (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949), p. 226.

[2]Henry William Spiegel, The Brazilian Economy (Philadelphia: The Blakiston Company, 1949), pp. 157-168.

[3]See section by Preston E. James in Simon Kuznets, Wilbert E. Moore, and Joseph J. Spengler (eds.), Economic Growth: Brazil, India, Japan (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1955), pp. 78-102.

[4]J. F. Normano, Brazil. A Study of Economic Types (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1935), p. 75.

B BB [634] [63] [5]The município is the approximate Brazilian equivalent of the county in the United States. The município has two elements: (1) the sede (seat) which is the administrative center and is called a cidade regardless of its size; and (2) the rest of the município, which in the Recôncavo is almost invariably rural. The município usually is subdivided into distritos (districts), each with a seat which, regardless of size, is called a villa. Neither the cidade nor the villa is a corporate entity separate from the município or district; i.e., there is no urban organization per se. In the Recôncavo the cidades are either small cities, towns, or villages, while the villas are villages or hamlets. There is a tremendous range in the area of the various municípios, which may be extremely large where settlement is scattered and small where settlement is dense. In the Recôncavo the largest município has just over 2,000 sq. km., and the smallest has just over 100 sq. km. The município is the primary statistical unit used in this research, although district data have been used on the few occasions where they were available. For a list of the 21 municípios included in the Recôncavo as defined here, see Appendix A.

[6]Ruth Matos Almeida Simões, "Comentário do Mapa da Produção de Cana de Açúcar no Estado da Bahia," Boletim Geográfico, Vol. XI, No. 113 (March-April, 1953), pp. 171-173. Ariadne Soares Souto Mayor, "Comentário do Mapa da Produção de Fumo na Bahia," Boletim Geográfico, Vol. XI, No. 112 (January-February, 1953), pp. 87-90. Ruth Matos Almeida Simões, "Comentário do Mapa da Produção de Mandioca no Estado da Bahia," Boletim Geográfico, Vol. XI, No. 112 (January-February, 1953), pp. 84-86.

[7]Such as: Gilberto Freyre, Nordeste (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio Livrária Editora, 1937), 267 pp. Luís Amaral, Historia Geral da Agricultura Brasileira (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1939-40), 3 Vols. Charles Wagley (ed.), Race and Class in Rural Brasil (Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 1952), 160 pp.

[8]Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Regional Series, Part XII-Bahia, Vol. II (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço Gráfico do Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, 1950).

[9]Ministério da Agricultura, Serviço de Estatística da Produção, Produção Agrícola: 1948 (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço Gráfico do Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, 1950).

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RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Major Physical-Political Sub-Regions

MAP 16

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VILA RECÔNCAVO

county and among the first to fall into decline and extinction in the days following the sugar boom. The remaining buildings of the Order are now used for quite a different purpose, which will be discussed later.

The first half of the eighteenth century saw the final flourishing of Vila Recôncavo and the beginning of its fall into obscurity. By 1700 the town was a thriving urban center--the newly created seat of local government, a military post, a highly active religious center, and the scene of the local courts of justice. In addition to large public buildings, imposing private residences dotted the streets, for many of the plantation owners constructed large houses in the town, which they used as stopping places in their journeys to and from their plantations and Salvador. Then as now, however, Vila Recôncavo was not the main center of attraction for the planters and their families, most of whom had houses in the capital where they spent the rainy seasons. Nevertheless, the presence of their large and ornate town houses gave a certain air of distinction and prosperity to the town.

The story of the decline of the town of Vila Recôncavo is symptomatic of what happened to many other towns in the region at a later date. Vilhena connects the decadence of Vila Recôncavo with the creation of the administrative center of Centro in 1727.[7] Until that time Centro had been a sítio (terminal designation for a small town), created in 1608. Toward the end of the seventeenth century the best lands of the Recôncavo, situated in what is now the county of Purificação, came into use as a result of the cessation of Indian attacks and of improvement in the machinery used in the plantations. Sugar mills powered by water no longer held as great an advantage as they had previously; over a hundred years of sugar-cane operation had pretty well stripped the littoral of the firewood necessary for continued high production; and by this time the coastal regions no longer held room for expansion. As the colonists pushed farther inland from Centro they found an abundance of the rich massapê lands and sufficient firewood for the needs of many plantations, and soon the number of inland sugar mills surpassed that of the coast.

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7. Luís dos Santos Vilhena, Notícias soteropolitanas e brasílicas, 1802, ed. Brás do Amaral (Salvador, 1922), p. 502.

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VILA RECÔNCAVO

5. Town Life

THE OCCUPATIONS of the townspeople in Vila Recôncavo differ considerably from the pursuits of the people in the rural zone. The town residents are engaged in gaining a living from a number of small enterprises; the economy is a money economy, and not one dominated by mutual obligations and rights, as it is to a certain degree on the plantations. Vila Recôncavo is the county seat and lacks any organized commerce or industry. It can be called an administrative town, inasmuch as government employment is the life of many of the people, especially the town's upper class. 369 463 632 [434] [433] [647]

The economic occupations of the townspeople can be divided into four groups: (1) the bureaucrats and merchants; (2) the group which serves them, such as cooks and laundresses; (3) a middle group of artisans whose greatest asset, as well as liability, is their independence; (4) a small group of people who do not fit into any of the three groups above. 463

According to the census which was taken in June, 1950, the labor force of the town numbered 459 persons, including men and women. Of the 459, eleven listed themselves as unemployed. The remainder of the population were listed as housewives, students, small children, and old people who were retired or incapacitated. In this category, which numbers about one thousand people, there are individuals who engage in part-time work, such as carrying water or firewood or doing piecework sewing--in other words, small occupations which in their eyes are not worthy of being classed as employment. [162]

The occupations which were listed can be broken down into the four groups mentioned above as follows:

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[632]
[441]

Group 1 (bureaucrats and merchants)	Federal and state employees	54
	Municipal employees	16
	Merchants	12
		82
Group 2 (service occupations)	Laundresses	46
	Ironers	17
	Electricians	1
	General servants	29
	Seamstresses	8
	Embroiderers	1
	Store cashiers	10
	Canoeists	2
	Bakery workers	4
		118
Group 3 (artisans)	Farmers	24
	Fishermen	132
	Bricklayers	6
	Barbers	6
	Carpenters	4
	Tailors	3
	Peddlers	3
	Woodworkers	2
	Coopers	1
	Butchers	1
	Shoemakers	1
	Quitandeiras[1]	1
		184

Group 3 workers employ the following number of people, either as employees or as apprentices:

Bricklayers	17
Workers in roças	13
Fishermen	5
Tailors	4
Woodworkers	1
Carpenters	1

[443]

1. Quitanda is an incipient store, usually run by a woman who sells vegetables and fruit from her windowsill.

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	Barbers	2
	Apprentice bricklayers	1
		44
Group 4 (miscellaneous)	Unemployed	11
	Factory workers	9
	Plantation workers	3
	Employees of Institute Vila Recôncavo (which will be described later)	8
		31

The federal and state employees in the town consist of the following people: 463 632

25 petroleum workers
9 teachers and maintenance workers from the nearby federal school
6 primary school teachers
3 tax collectors and secretary
1 federal statistics agent
1 postal and telegraph agent
1 mail carrier
2 secretaries of the Justice of the Peace
1 secretary of the civil register
1 police secretary
1 police lieutenant
2 policemen (this number changes occasionally)
1 malaria serviceman (called "José do DDT")

The Justice of the Peace, who is not listed above, does not live in the county but holds court in the courthouse once a week, or at other times if the occasion demands. His secretary, a local woman, does most of the work and has everything in readiness when he arrives. [693]

The twenty-five men listed as petroleum workers represent that industry's major contribution to the town. The oil workers receive relatively good wages, steady and sufficient for them to engage the services of at least one servant and a laundress. They may therefore be included in Group 1, even though they are not white-collar workers as are the others of the group. These men, rather than living in the petroleum workers' camp which is near the factory, have brought their fam- 463 [484]

463 [484] [521] lies to live in Vila Recôncavo and travel to their work and back daily. During the summer this trip is made by truck, but in the winter it is made by foot or if possible by canoe. The petroleum industry has attracted few local people as yet. Instead, strangers have come into the area as petroleum employees. A favorite conversation among fishermen is a discussion of whether they should give up fishing and go to work in the oil fields. The general feeling is that they are better off as fishermen. As they put it, if they fished for the same number of hours as the oil men work, they could earn more money than the petroleum workers. In their present occupation they can work as much or as little as they wish, the major determinant being whether there is enough in the house to eat and still a little left over for cigarettes, Coca-Colas, and occasional new clothes. They are an independent group, and are frequently criticized as being lazy because they will not take steady employment. This seems an unfair criticism in view of the rigors of fishing.

463 [875] [632] The others listed in the group of federal and state employees have permanent appointments to their jobs and in all but a few cases are local people. The federal tax collector and his wife, who is one of the schoolteachers, are strangers to the area, but are now well integrated in the town. Three other schoolteachers are from other parts of the state and spend only the school year in Vila Recôncavo. There is a difference between the teachers who make Vila Recôncavo their home and those who do not. Those who spend only the school year there have little or no contact with the local population, apparently feeling that they are superior to anyone there. They are young women, but do not look for husbands among local men and openly admit they do not like the town. They are prominent in the group which calls the fishermen lazy and uncultured, and in general are unsympathetic to the town dwellers.

463 632 There are sixteen municipal employees, all of them local people, consisting of the county secretary, the treasurer and his assistant, the contador who takes care of the county spending, the fiscal who is supposed to supervise the collecting of the county funds, three county tax collectors, and others who occupy minor posts such as courthouse porter. These positions are appointive, and as a result of the relative stability of the area's politics the appointees are seldom changed. The secretary is the man who does most of the county's adminis-

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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trative work; he comes into office with a mayor and frequently remains through the terms of several other mayors. He therefore knows the duties well and can aid the mayor considerably. In addition, the secretary has a small store in town, capitalized at Cr$10.000,00, where drinks (rum and soft drinks), dried meat (charque), cigars, cigarettes, grass mats, condensed milk, wooden sandals, and a few other small items are sold.

The top municipal office is that of the mayor, which in Brazil is a county-wide office. The mayor is not on the above list as an employee, because he occupies another place in the census from which these data were taken. In Vila Recôncavo the mayor has come traditionally from the top social level, the rural landowning group. The office is elective, with a four-year term, except in the 1930's and 1940's, when the mayor was chosen by the appointed governor of the state (interventor). In Vila Recôncavo, as a general rule, the mayor has little or no interest in the town or, except in a few cases, in the office, which is considered a more-or-less onerous duty. He traditionally does not accept his salary. At the time of the last election there was consternation on the part of the planters, for no one wanted the office but clearly someone had to take it. When the choice was made, the candidate--one of the usina directors--was elected, for he had no opponent. The majority of the duties are left in the hands of the secretary, the mayor doing only a minimum of supervision and contributing little that is constructive. Generally any important matters are discussed at the home of the mayor, and his orders are conveyed to the secretary by messenger or telephone.

The last mayor, Dr. Aliança, was an exception to the rule. He was interventor in 1947 and was elected mayor in 1948, serving until the general elections in the fall of 1950. He is a civil engineer and the owner of two large plantations, maintaining in perfect condition the old master's house of the former plantation in which he lives, as well as a large house in Salvador. While the roots of his family are in the Recôncavo, he himself came from the north and married into a plantation family of Vila Recôncavo. Although his family tradition has been that of sugar cane, he has not hesitated to break many of the traditional patterns of the area. One of his two plantations has been given over to experiments with other crops, such as bananas, rice, and manioc, on a relatively large scale, and also some production of milk and butter. A few

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632 years ago, after determining that these crops were not suf-
463 ficiently rewarding, he made a large-scale planting of white
[242] cacao. It is still too early to speak of the outcome of this venture, for the trees have not yet started to give their first fruit, but this instance illustrates his usual energetic spirit.

159 Dr. Aliança took the office of mayor seriously and gave a
632 great deal of energy to it. His accomplishments were many
463 in the space of a few years: the paving of most of the town's
653 streets, the installation of electric lights on the streets, the formation of a company to sell electricity to those who wanted it, the installation of telephone communications with the capital, and the construction of a new, modern primary school building. As a result of his personal energy and direction these works were completed, or at least nearly so, when he left the office. (According to law, the mayor cannot be reelected). However, with the exception of building a bridge, nothing was done in the rural areas of the county. Traditionally any public works in the county are done in the county seat.

441 Many of the merchants in Group 1 are small operators.
463 The capitalization of the stores in Vila Recôncavo runs from
443 Cr$100.000,00 to as low as Cr$5.00,00. However, no matter
[471] how small the store, it provides a living for someone, or as they say in Vila Recôncavo, "Sempre da!" To the ordinary town citizen it is difficult to get enough capital together to open a store, but once opened it rarely closes for lack of business. Of the twelve stores in town, eight are owned and operated by men, and the other four belong to women. The best store in
441 town and the poorest one both belong to women. The "best"
444 store, Dona Carmen's, is the oldest, located on the main
[428] street leading from the boat dock. At present it is owned by Dona Carmen, who inherited it from her brother. It combines a general store and a bakery, and its prices are often slightly higher than those in other stores. It serves most of the people living in the older section of town. In addition to having the largest stock of ordinary foods, the store also carries finer packaged products such as wines, jellies, and preserves.

444 Bread is baked in the afternoon and delivered to the doors
256 of the customers' houses, still warm and with the delicious odor always associated with bread fresh from the oven. The bakery's customers for the most part have standing orders, receiving bread or rolls each day in time for supper. What is left over is hawked through the streets by the delivery boy,

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[Town Life]

were included in Group 4 because they worked for a nonprofit charitable institution.

Occupationally, the town dwellers differ sharply from the people of the rural area of the community. Their work rarely requires them to go out of town to the rural area. Of the entire working force of the town, only twelve men are employed in the sugar industry. Even during the harvest season, the town does not supply men to work in the cane fields or the factory. However, the few people in town who have mules occasionally rent them to planters during the harvest season to help carry the cane. The twenty-five petroleum workers have to leave town each day for work, but their work is also very different from that of any of the rural dwellers.

In the town, as on the plantations, there is specialization and division of labor. Among the fishermen, each man fishes constantly with one or two types of net. Change from one type of net to another is unusual and disliked. A fisherman seldom supplements his fishing by planting a garden. Instead, he depends upon his catch of fish to give him enough money to buy garden produce, as well as meat and manufactured articles. In his turn, the gardener never fishes, depending upon the returns from his garden to buy what he does not produce.

Daily routine for the fisherman varies considerably because it depends closely upon the tides, while the daily routine of merchants, teachers, and bureaucrats, as well as household servants and craftsmen, follows a more citylike pattern, beginning at about seven in the morning and ending late in the evening. There is also less seasonal variance in the work of the town dwellers, for it does not depend upon the planting and harvesting of crops as does that of the rural workers.

The town and plantation ways of life also vary considerably with respect to paternalism, which plays a much smaller part in the life of the town dweller. Most of the municipal bureaucrats have patrons among the rural landowners who have placed them in their bureaucratic positions. Bureaucrats, in turn, are to a smaller extent the patrons of people living in the town, particularly of their household servants. Although they have neither the financial resources nor the prestige to provide the security which a rural landowner can offer his people, they do what they can to help whenever asked. This help often takes the form of asking their own patrons for help

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herents of these cults, female slaves and former slaves for the most part, followed a lengthy routine to become practitioners in the various cult houses and spent large sums of money, according to legend, on the required bracelets, necklaces, and clothing.

Today, however, the cult priests and priestesses have the same complaint as the Catholic priests. They say that young people no longer have the understanding or the patience necessary to prepare for devotion in the cult houses. The older priestesses deplore the degeneration of some of these houses and the admission of Indian spirits, which are now displacing the African gods.

Spiritualism has recently entered the community. So far it has been limited to few people in the community, although it is very popular in Salvador.

The use of the supernatural as described in Willems' Cunha[1] does not take place in Vila Recôncavo. In Cunha the saints are asked to send rain whenever it appears that the crops are in danger. But in Vila Recôncavo, which lies in a semitropical rain area, there is no need for such invocations. Besides, these are large-scale economic crops, not subsistence produce on which the people depend directly for their living.

The Catholic Church in Vila Recôncavo

During the colonial period each religious parish was carefully delineated and conserved, but later political divisions cut across parish lines. This has made the use of colonial statistics very difficult. During colonial and empire times the church was the main census organ, but since parishes and counties do not coincide in their outlines the statistics are little help today in comparing the present with the past. Each parish built a mother church (matriz) in the parish town. Each of these churches had a patron saint, who was also the patron of the parish, and a resident priest or priests.

In the town of Vila Recôncavo, the county seat, a mother church was built, with São Gonçalo as its patron saint; also constructed was the Franciscan convent, connected with an opulent Third Order. As the Recôncavo entered its long per-

1. Emilio Willems, Cunha: Tradição e transição en uma cultura rural do Brasil (Sao Paulo, 1947), Chapter 7.

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58 begun to live together. But it is a general policy of Petrobrás that its employees establish regularized households and register their children, as the benefits of social legislation and insurance must be paid to legal beneficiaries, such as wives and [745] children. Because of the many recent marriages, there are [362] no longer any houses available in Vila Recôncavo, nor in Milagres, and there has been a spurt of housebuilding.

178 There have also been some shifts in emphasis in the structure of the community. While the factory nucleus is no longer 621 the scene of social gathering for the upper class of the area, *249 the structure of the factory-private plantation system ensures that it continues to be the economic center as long as sugar [434] cane is being planted in the area. The system of quotas established for the private planter and the factory by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol requires that planter and factory [361] cooperate in supplying and receiving sugar cane. Also, the [496] physical structure of the area, in which the factory is the center of the network of a small railroad which reaches out to each of the private properties, strengthens the impression of the factory as the center of activities.

178 The possible future shift from sugar to cacao will of course 443 diminish the importance of the sugar factory. However, in the meantime there is a new factor which will give more im- [245] portance than ever to the factory: a feira, or market place. The county of Vila Recôncavo does not have a weekly market. *[249] For many years the county officials have wanted to establish one, not only for increased municipal income, but also to help attract more people to the area and to make life easier for the population. A market place is now under construction at the factory nucleus. When the market is completed, the factory town will become at least a weekly center of attraction for many people of the surrounding plantations.

178 The development of the petroleum industry is bringing new 315 life to the town of Vila Recôncavo, to the nearby town of Mi- [311] lagres, and to the new city of Conselho. Petrobrás cannot develop a nucleus on the land which belongs to the factory or to the private owners, and therefore it must concentrate any local community building efforts in the old public towns which 178 already exist. Petrobrás, indirectly, through the county court 315 of Vila Recôncavo, will soon contribute considerably to the 434 county income. The same sort of compensation which was 651 worked out in regard to the planters is now being arranged 652 for the county, through taxes on the finished products from
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the refinery, namely gasoline, kerosene, diesel oil, bottled gas, and other petroleum derivatives. As a result of the increased income, the county government will be able to build up the county seat considerably. A hospital is already being built, as well as a new dock for the boat which comes from the city.

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In Milagres, located in the neighboring county, there is already a considerable movement for breaking away from the parent county and becoming a separate municipio, a common pattern in Brazil for districts which reach a certain population and degree of economic activity. Thus there are two possibilities for urban growth in the area and for the formation of urban centers which will attract the large rural population. The town of Vila Recôncavo is close to realizing other possibilities. The construction of a road from the town to Centro has already begun, filling a long-felt need. Its completion will make it possible for cars, buses, and trucks to come from Feira, on the edge of the sertão, to Centro, down through Vila Recôncavo to Milagres, and on into the city, shortening the long trip by the existing road which follows the edges of the Recôncavo. Such traffic would "put Vila Recôncavo on the map," and would greatly increase its contacts with the outside world. In addition, the possibilities of the introduction of a new crop to the community will bring increased commercial activity and a much greater tax income, enabling the county to build its own roads and bridges and to make other improvements for the development of the area.

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Thus the community structure of Vila Recôncavo, which five years ago was in the process of crystallizing around the factory town, is now ripe for further change. The factory town continues for the present to be the major center, but the old county seat has all the possibilities of a rebirth of its former importance. In fact, because of the petroleum industry and the forthcoming changeover from sugar cane to cacao, the factory town is threatened as a community center, the position which it has only recently been consolidating.

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Finally, one of the most important changes in Vila Recôncavo in these five years is a change in attitude on the part of the people. Vila Recôncavo was always known as a conservative community, maintaining its old traditions and ways, rejecting innovations. However, there is now an air of expectancy and a search for new ways and new things. Dissatisfaction with the sugar industry, combined with the appearance

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 249 567 the offspring of master and slave and sometimes were considered as [563] members of the household.

A set of feudalistic inter-relations developed in the society, loosely defining the responsibilities and privileges of master and slave. Ideally the slave had the privilege, almost the right, to appeal to the master in person for assistance and advice. Manumission and the granting of the right to purchase freedom were common. At the [466] same time, the economic system was based upon involuntary labor. The slave was exploited, and the fruit of his toil went to maintain the luxurious existence of the small upper class.

175 565 The small freemen occupied a very inferior social and economic position in this society. In the cities they became tradesmen or [463] [554] craftsmen, occupations without status. In the country some were petty dependents of the engenho, others established themselves as small cultivators. Since the sugar cane plantations dominated the central Recôncavo, it seems reasonable to assume that the small holders were segregated mainly in the outer zone.

175 161 162 In 1819--during the florescence of the Recôncavo--the population of the comarca (district) of Bahia was 362,503. Most of this population was centered in the Recôncavo--200,000 in the lowlands north of the Bay--the sugar cane area--and 77,503 in the western uplands around Cachoeira--the tobacco area.[31] At this time the total population of Bahia was estimated at 592,908 and that of Brazil as between 175 4,000,000 to 4,500,000.[32] Salvador, with a population somewhere 633 162 between 100,000 and 130,000, was the largest city in Brazil and remained so until 1830.[33] The class and ethnic composition of the 175 563 population of this period is not clearly indicated. By some estimates, 565 567 over half of the population of Bahia was slave and over three-fifths

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

CHAPTER IV

POPULATION

162 [161] Introduction. In 1950 there were about one million people living in the 12,500 square kilometers of the Recôncavo--0.15 per cent of Brazil's area and about 2 per cent of its total population.[1] A more meaningful comparison is one with the effectively occupied coastal belt extending from Maranhão to Rio Grande do Sul, including the interior state of Minas Gerais.[2] The Recôncavo occupies 0.4 per cent of the area of these states and has a little over 2 per cent of the people.

[361] The relatively modest size of this population does not reflect adequately the great historical importance of the Recôncavo. The compact distribution and cohesion of this settlement make it a significant concentration of the people of modern Brazil.

161 162 The Recôncavo is the foremost nucleus of settlement in the state of Bahia in both the historical and purely demographic sense. With its one million people, it had in 1950 almost 86 people per square kilometer. There were 3,800,000 people in the rest of the state, but there was no concentration which had a size and density equal to that of the Recôncavo. The only other areas with even approximately equal density--Santo Antônio de Jesus and Nazaré--were contiguous with the 633 162 Recôncavo. The chief city of the Recôncavo, Salvador, was fourteen times the size of any other urban center in Bahia, and of the five next most populous cities--with a population range of 20,000 to 30,000--two were in the Recôncavo.[3]

128 The discussion which follows is divided into two parts. First the general character of the population will be analyzed in terms of general cultural development, race, class, family, and economic

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

464 extravagant urban centers, the oil field and refineries north of the Bay, and the fishing and shipping industries. Moreover, this area has [565] a larger upper-class element, which as has been seen, could be counted upon to perform manual labor only under dire circumstances.

464 241 Thus in all parts of the Recôncavo the local labor reserve readily available for agricultural production and expansion is small. In compensation the general high mobility of the lower class would make available non-local reserves,[31] providing the proper incentives were offered. The exploitative agricultural system of the Recôncavo is ill-equipped to offer these incentives.

162 369 433 Urban Population. The remaining 493,944 people of the Recôncavo, 46 per cent of the total 1950 population, lived in the nine major urban centers. These people have much the same relationship to agricultural production as the "service segment" discussed above, but the relationship is less direct. These urban centers are engaged almost exclusively in serving and in exploiting the agricultural population of the Recôncavo and other agricultural areas of Bahia.

633 162 Salvador is the dominant city of the Recôncavo and of Bahia. In 1950 it contained 389,422 people, 36 per cent of the total population of the Recôncavo and 8 per cent of the total population of Bahia, or 79 per cent of all urban people of the Recôncavo and 41 per cent of all urban people of the state. The next largest city in Bahia was Feira de Santana--less than one-fourteenth the size of Salvador.

633 Although Salvador is the fourth city in Brazil, it is much smaller than either Rio de Janeiro or São Paulo and somewhat smaller than Recife.[32] It ranked just above Pôrto Alegre in total population. Salvador, often called either Bahia or o capital, cannot be interpreted entirely or even predominately in terms of the Recôncavo. While its

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633 tributary area does not extend beyond the state, it does include the coffee and cacao areas, parts of the São Francisco basin, and the sertão of Bahia. It is the focus of transportation and communication, of finance and administration, and of foreign trade for the entire state. Despite the economic, political, and social pre-eminence of Salvador, a few cities operate quasi-independently in a particular function, notably Ilhéus and Itabuna, in the cacao area.

The next largest cities in the Recôncavo--Feira de Santana and Alagoinhas--are much alike in size, location, and function. Feira de [162] Santana--often called merely Feira--with 26,559 people in 1950, was the second largest city of the Recôncavo and of the state. It is the [543] cite of one of the most famous cattle fairs in Brazil.[33] Alagoinhas is smaller--21,289 people in 1950--and less notable historically. It is the third largest city of the Recôncavo and the fifth largest of the state. One of the common functions of both these cities is trans-
633 portation. Feira is the railhead of railroads from Salvador and from
494 Cachoeira and is the junction of the Transnordestina trunk highway
496 which crosses the northeast interior of Brazil, with a highway to Salvador and with the only highway from Bahia to Rio de Janeiro. Alagoinhas is the junction where the railraod (Leste) to Senhor do Bonfim and Juàzeiro--on the Rio São Francisco--branches from the main line from Salvador to Maceió, the capital of the state of Alagoas. Just outside Alagoinhas are the main railroad shops of the Leste line
633 (Viação Férrea Federal Leste Brasileiro). The position of these cities,
369 intermediate between the Recôncavo and the sertão, is reflected in
291 the appearance of the people who are met on their streets--dark
142 Recôncavo agriculturalists in straw hats, patched khaki trousers, and wooden clogs and mestiço vaquéiros (cowboys) from the sertão in
633 495 their leather hats and vests. Each has a number of postos (garages)
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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

633 495 161 to service the hundreds of trucks and busses which are transforming the transportation of the interior. Both cities reflected their growing function by a great increase in population between 1940 and 1950.

633 [162] Cachoeira-São Félix, 16,697 people in 1950,[34] and Santo Amaro, 12,258 people in 1950, are respectively the fourth and fifth largest cities in the Recôncavo and the eighth and tenth largest cities in Bahia. Both of these cities are important agricultural and marketing [443] centers within the Recôncavo, and both are notable historical centers. Santo Amaro was the great local social and economic focus of the slave-holding engenho sugar culture of the Central Recôncavo. Cachoeira was the major local center of the Western Recôncavo and of the tobacco economy throughout colonial times. While these cities maintain some of their former importance, they are mainly cities of the past, 633 growing at a much slower rate than most urban centers. Both cities 496 lie at or near the head of navigation,[35] and both are on the rail- 494 road which runs from Salvador to the western interior. The construction of the railroad and the development of automotive transport apparently have been important factors in the declining importance of these cities, for it is no longer necessary to trans-ship goods brought down from the interior into boats at these places. The 633 railroads and trucks move the goods directly to Salvador.[36] At present [565] these cities function as local trade centers, as minor industrial centers--Cachoeira-São Félix in tobacco; Santo Amaro in sugar--and as the residences of decadent upper class families whose fortunes declined with the disappearance of the slave-holding agricultural systems.

The other urban centers of the Recôncavo:

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The other urban centers of the Recôncavo:

633 [162] [443]

	1950 Population
Maragogipe	9,744
Muritiba	7,452
Cruz das Almas	6,758
São Gonçalo	3,771

[277] are all local trade and cigar manufacturing centers. Maragogipe is a [504] port of minor importance.[37] The other urban centers have inland loca- [361] tions, near the inner edge of the Crystalline Uplands.[38]

Near the Recôncavo are four urban centers which have minor but appreciable effect upon its agricultural economy:

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	1950 Population
Santo Antônio de Jesus	11,417
Nazaré	11,215
Castro Alves	6,479
Serrinha	4,602

Santo Antônio de Jesus and Nazaré are located along the southern periphery of the Recôncavo, and Castro Alves and Serrinha on the southwestern and northwestern periphery, respectively. All these centers [496] are on one of Bahia's two main railroads, both of which terminate at the Bay--at Salvador or at São Roque do Paraguaçu.[39]

633 464 433 [162] In 1950 the nine major urban centers of the Recôncavo had 100,000 to 120,000 workers in industry, transportation, and merchandising.[40] In all cities of the Recôncavo, except Salvador, the industrial workers almost exclusively were engaged in processing agricultural products--in sugar refining, cigar manufacturing, and [231] [241] slaughtering. Except for some of the animals slaughtered in Feira de Santana and the poorer grades of tobacco brought in from the sertão, these agricultural products originate in the Recôncavo.

The industrial structure of Salvador is more complex. It processes agricultural products from the Recôncavo, but also from other parts of the state, notably cacao. There is a small textile industry. It is probable that the majority of the industrial workers are employed in numerous small service industries which supply Salvador

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BB 633 464 433 and, to a lesser extent, the rest of the Recôncavo and the state. The relatively large and affluent upper class of Salvador utilizes an extravagantly large number of domestics and of industrial workers--in food, clothing, and construction industries.

BB 178 181 433 161 B BB 161 162 Conclusion. The preservation of traditional values among the people of the Recôncavo is evidence of the survival value of their conservative culture, but the relatively slow growth of the population is indicative of a declining economic role in the nation. Although the population of both Brazil and the Recôncavo grew between 1940 and 1950, Brazil's population increased 26.5 per cent, the Reconcavo's only 16 per cent. In Brazil as a whole, urban populations increased 46 per cent, in the Recôncavo only 34 per cent. The rural population of Brazil increased by 17 per cent; the approximately comparable figure for the Recôncavo was 4 per cent.

Within the Recôncavo the net effect of population changes in the decade 1940 to 1950 was the reduction in rural population from 60 per cent to 54 per cent of the total population (see Table XII). BB 161 162 241 464 Even more serious, from the agricultural point of view, was the decline in the relative number of agricultural workers. Despite the influx of agricultural people from the sertão, the percentage of the total population in the agricultural labor force fell from 21 per cent (1940) to 18 per cent (1950).

BB 633 [162] The greatest single concentration of population in the Recôncavo is the city of Salvador. One-third of the people of the region live in this predominant city, occupying the tip of the peninsula which separates the Baía de Todos os Santos from the sea. In this eccentric peninsular location, Salvador is relatively distant from the main centers of agricultural production and has only circuitous land

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

TABLE XII

COMPOSITION OF RECÔNCAVO POPULATION 1940-1950

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Year	Total Population	Urban Centers	Rural Population	Agricultural Labor Force
		Absolute		
1940	924,032	368,932	555,100	189,967
1950	1,072,452	493,944	578,508	196,468
Change	+ 148,420	+125,012	+ 23,408	+ 6,501
		Relative		
1940	100 o/o	40 o/o	60 o/o	21 o/o
1950	100 o/o	46 o/o	54 o/o	18 o/o
Change		+ 6 o/o	- 6 o/o	- 3 o/o
		Growth of Recôncavo Population		
1940 to 1950	16 o/o	34 o/o	4 o/o	3 o/o
		Per cent of Total Growth		
1940 to 1950	100 o/o	84 o/o	16 o/o	4 o/o

633 connections with the western section of the Recôncavo. On the other hand, its location combines oceanic access with the rest of Brazil, Europe, and the Americas and a direct approach, via the Bay, to all of the central municípios of the Recôncavo.

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The major concentrations of rural, agricultural population in the region are in the outer municípios of the Southwestern, Northwestern and Northern Recôncavo. In the southwest, there is a notable concentration on the Crystalline Uplands. In the northern part of the Recôncavo the concentrations lie along the dissected edges of the Tertiary taboleiros. Thus most of the agricultural people of the region live [134] [132] in upland areas of deep, porous soils and marginal rainfall. The only major lowland concentration of agricultural people is in the area of Cretaceous clay soils on the Coastal Plain of the Central Recôncavo. The relatively small size of the agricultural population [249] [178] in this area is reflective of the declining role of sugar cane cultivation in the Recôncavo.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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000 BB [128] should be misleading. District data are desirable, but occupational breakdowns for these smaller political units are available neither for 1940 nor 1950. Furthermore, the areas of these districts cannot be calculated with even minimal accuracy from existing sources. Thus the distribution of rural population and agricultural labor force within municípios is largely a matter of inference. For example, the 1950 agricultural labor force was estimated, as has been seen, from the 1940 data and changes in rural population. Densities for each município were calculated from these estimates, and these densities were used as guides, in conjunction with the total populations of the various districts, in determining the distributional patterns of the map of the density of the agricultural labor force and the dot map of agricultural labor force. These maps are thus inferential distributions of inferred data.

[23]Smith, op. cit., p. 297.

BB [435] [24]Labor turnover is one of the explanations proffered for the high cost of sugar production in Bahia.

[25]The explanations offered by these migrants are various: lack of opportunity, a hostile or unfriendly landlord or creditor, a quarrel within the family or neighborhood, crop failure, or a desire to be near relatives.

[26]Joint Brazil-United States Economic Development Commission, The Development of Brazil (Institute of Inter-American Affairs, Foreign Operations Division. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1953), p. 16.

BB [196] [27]However, these people muster tremendous energy for festas (holidays or feast days), especially Carnaval. At such a time, a middle aged lady with a chronic heart condition was observed to dance, in a procession, for several miles down the road. During the novena of Nossa Senhora de Purificão in Santo Amaro, the troups of performers will journey many miles to attend the celebration, dance and sing throughout the nights of each of the nine days, and without rest return to their homes.

[28]The people of nine urban centers of the Recôncavo--Salvador, Feira de Santana, Alagoinhas, Cachoeira-São Félix, Santo Amaro, Maragogipe, Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, and São Gonçalo--are thus excluded BB [633] from the rural population. These are the nine ranking cities of the Recôncavo, and all except São Gonçalo have more than 5,000 people. In addition to industry, those transportation, financial, retail, trade, and administrative functions which are not strictly local are confined to these urban centers, as well as wholesale trade and international commerce.

B [631] [633] [29]It is significant that Brazil has no urban political unit per se--the município or the distrito has both urban (city, town, or village) and rural sections without administrative expression.

B B B [565] [562] [857] [30]In this society there are many women, especially in the lower class, who can scarcely be considered as dependent. Moreover, as has been seen, children are also frequently productive members of lower class families. In the upper class of the villages and towns, however, there are many children and housewives whose activities are either purely domestic or are only indirectly productive.

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APPENDIX A

Sub-Regions and Municipios of the Recôncavo

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Central Recôncavo:
- Santo Amaro
- São Francisco
- São Sebastião
- Cachoeira

Northern Recôncavo:
- Coração de Maria
- Irará
- Alagoinhas

Northwestern Recôncavo:
- Feira de Santana
- São Gonçalo
- Conceição da Feira
- Santo Estêvão

Southwestern Recôncavo:
- Muritiba
- Cruz das Almas
- Conceição do Almeida
- São Filipe
- São Félix

Eastern Recôncavo:
- Catu
- Pojuca

Southern Recôncavo:
- Maragogipe
- Itaparica
- Salvador

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Vila Recôncavo

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RACE RELATIONS IN A RURAL COMMUNITY OF THE BAHIAN RECÔNCAVO[1]

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by
HARRY W. HUTCHINSON

I. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, a narrow strip along the north-eastern coast of Brazil in what are now the States of Pernambuco, Alagoas, Sergipe and Bahia, was the most important region of economic, political and social life in the whole colony. The rainfall along this portion of the coast is dependable and the extremely fertile soil, which was originally covered with thick forests, was ideally suited for sugar cane. By the seventeenth century, this region produced a large part of the world's sugar supply. Sugar, which was then a luxury in Europe, brought fabulous profits, and the north-eastern coast of Brazil became an exceedingly prosperous colony. Large cities grew up along the coast; Salvador in Bahia and Recife in Pernambuco became the most important centres of colonial life, and Salvador was the capital of the colony from 1549 to 1763. Both were cities of great wealth based on the booming sugar industry. The numerous churches built in Salvador during the period of opulence, with their elaborate gold-leafed wood carving and polychrome tile work, are witnesses to the tremendous wealth of the era.

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It was the plantation system, the basis of this lucrative sugar industry, which gave this region many of its characteristic traditions and formed patterns of race relations which have persisted in a modified form into the present. Gilberto Freyre in his monumental *Casa Grande e Senzala*, and other Brazilian writers [1],[2] have described life on these sugar plantations. African slaves provided the manpower. More than three million Negroes were imported from Africa during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and a large proportion came to the sugar plantations of north-eastern Brazil. The Portuguese plantation owners became rich, and came to form a regional aristocracy with a luxurious and ostentatious way of life. The slaves and their masters, on these plantations, formed two distinct social groups, but it is distinctive of the region that their relations were intimate and warm; Freyre describes the intimacy between the *moleque* (Negro lad) and the master's son as playmates, between the master's wife and her domestic servants, between the Negro nurse and her white charges, and other close

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[1]In addition to thanking those persons listed in the introduction to this series of articles for their aid and co-operation in making this study possible, I wish to thank the Harry L. and Grace Doherty Charitable Foundation Inc. and the Department of Anthropology of Columbia University, whose grants of funds contributed largely to the possibility of this study. Also, to acknowledge with thanks the aid of Carmelita Junqueira Ayres and Elias Amelin Ferreira for their assistance in the collection of the data.

[2] The figures in brackets refer to the bibliography on page 46.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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[City of Salvador]

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these, together with the plantations of Pernambuco, supplied a large part of the sugar for the tables of Europe.

175 439 433 [162] [34] [352] [554] [567]

By 1670 Bahia was a wealthy capital boasting that her flag was known upon the seven seas. Ships from the Portuguese empire in the East called regularly on their way back to Portugal. By the early eighteenth century Bahia had grown into a city of 70,000, her commerce protected by the cross-fire of fourteen forts. Six- and seven-story buildings were common; the possession of carved ebony furniture had become a symbol of social standing; silks, palanquins, and the finest porcelain were imported from China. In the surrounding cane fields toiled, it is estimated, ten times as many slaves as in Virginia. A century later, Lindley, an English smuggler, after admiring the abundance of gold jewelry worn by the women of Bahia, looked out over the shipping in the harbor and wrote of "a degree of wealth unknown in Europe."

Bahia continued to be the first commercial city of Brazil until about 1830,[1] when she finally yielded front rank to São Paulo, the rising young metropolis to the south. But during the entire colonial period (1549–1822), Bahia possessed the principal Brazilian firms and the largest Brazilian fortunes.

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During the first two centuries of the colonial era, Bahia was the seat of Portuguese control in Brazil, the official residence of high functionaries representing the Portuguese crown. Even after the government was transferred to Rio (1763), Bahia continued to play a prominent role in the politics of the colony and, subsequent to independence

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[1] In 1868, although the decline in sugar production was by that time well advanced, Bahia had 511 *engenhos* producing nearly 19,000 tons of sugar a year.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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in 1822, in the politics of the Empire, a role similar to that assumed by Minas Geraes, São Paulo, and Rio Grande do Sul in the Republic following 1889. In fact, she has been called "the Brazilian Virginia." Until 1907 Bahia was also the religious center of the Brazilian nation. Her archbishop was the head of the Roman Catholic church in Brazil, and the religious orders maintained here their principal representatives. Thus in the economic, political, and religious life of Brazil, Bahia boasts a long tradition of distinction and prestige.

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The present city is about the size of Indianapolis or Seattle.[6] It nestles along the eastern rim of a huge bay, Bahia de Todos os Santos. The bay is formed by the projection out into the ocean of Cape Santo Antonio, which, on its western side, breaks rather sharply almost at the water's edge, exposing a bold promontory approximately three hundred feet in height which parallels for some two to three miles the rim of the bay. The city clings to the narrow shelf between the bay and the cliff and then sprawls up over this sizable barrier and spreads out along the ridges and into the valleys to the east and north, where centuries of erosion have carved a one-time flat plain into alternating crests and steep-sloping depressions.

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Bahia is thus divided by a natural barrier into a lower and an upper city, into a Cidade Baixa and a Cidade Alta, as the two parts are locally called; the one connected with the other by steep, winding streets paved with cobblestones, by inclined planes and modern hydraulic elevators, or by numerous well-worn footpaths. In the lower city lies, of course,

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[6] An estimate by the state government gave for the city of Bahia on December 31, 1934, a population of 352,244 (*Annuario estatistico da Bahia, 1934*, p. 131). The federal census of 1920 gave for Bahia City 283,422 (*Recenseamento do Brasil, 1920*, Vol. IV: *População*, Book I, p. xxiv).

[162]

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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361 162 As one moves interior from the Reconcavo into the *sertão*, the Negro contribution to the population tends to decrease and the Indian contribution, much mixed with [311] both white and Negro, to increase. Both on the moderately [177] watered plateaus and river basins, chiefly devoted to cattle-raising and light farming and occasionally covered with virgin or second-growth timber, as well as in the sandy, dry, and hot *caatinga* country of the semiarid zones, one finds a frontier society which is relatively isolated and has been only slightly modified during recent decades by contact with the outside world.[8]

Thus, in this particular area of intimate racial and cultural contact where the Negro and his descendants have been fated to work out a rather picturesque career, one will find three distinct types of settlement and population. In the *sertão*, or interior, is a highly mixed stock to whose composition the Indian has contributed in greater proportion probably than either the Negro or the European. In the Reconcavo, with its tradition of a departed rural aristocracy, a disintegrated plantation system, and a long history of slavery, the population is still principally negroid. While in the city of Bahia itself the people are largely of mixed European-African origin, individuals of either pure European or pure African descent being clearly in the minority.

• 633 571 In the city also, the social order is still relatively stable. There has been in recent times little change. Bahia is, as we have seen, a comparatively old city, conscious of its traditions and proud of them. Conventions originally developed

[114] [8] Euclydes da Cunha's *Os Sertões* (12th ed.; Rio, 1933) gives a vivid and dramatic account of life on the *sertão*. Although written in 1902, it is still timely. R. B. Cunningham-Graham's *A Brazilian Mystic* (New York, 1925) is based upon this more detailed account.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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in response to the needs of colonial life still persist and direct life pretty much in the old familiar channels. Bahia has long been a relatively isolated city; and isolation has intensified personal intimacies and, by so doing, has promoted the growth of peculiarly local customs in response to peculiarly local conditions. 633 571

The character of Bahia's population, as might be expected, is also relatively stable. Virtually no immigration has come in from foreign lands in recent years, and little from other parts of Brazil. What population movement there is into the city comes largely from the interior of the state or from contiguous areas like Alagoas and Sergipe. Similarly there is little emigration. 167 166

Bahia is thus a "culturally passive" area[9] with a stability and an order reminiscent of Europe in the Middle Ages. In fact, Bahia is, in some respects at least, a medieval town. Every eminence of the city is dominated by a church or a cathedral. Until very recently there were no modern office buildings or industrial edifices to overshadow or to crowd out these symbols of a sacred order, and such as have in the past few years been erected only accentuate the dominance of the ecclesiastical structures. Over the habits of the female portion of the population in particular,[10] and to a con- 571 178 795 [368]

[9] Dr. Robert E. Park has used this phrase to describe an area "in which life continues, on the whole, to revolve in the same unbroken and traditional routine," where "population, natural resources, and the standard of living have achieved some sort of equilibrium and where custom and tradition provide for most of the exigencies of life." In such an area, "changes still take place, to be sure, but take place silently, continuously, and at an almost imperceptible pace" (see Robert E. Park, "Race Relations and Certain Frontiers," in *Race and Culture Contacts*, ed. E. B. Reuter [New York, 1934], p. 57).

[10] The ecclesiastical authorities have rigorously censured women's bathing suits which do not have sleeves to the elbow and knee-length skirts. Rarely is a woman other than a foreign resident or an occasional individ- [291]

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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In 1886 the municipal *camara* of Bahia, following the initiative of other Brazilian cities, authorized a *Livro de Ouro* ("Golden Book") in which the names of persons contributing toward the emancipation of slaves in the *municipio* were to be inscribed. On April 19 of the following year a project was presented to the municipal *camara* by its president, Dr. Augusto Guimarães, authorizing the setting-up of a commission to study means of extinguishing slavery throughout the *municipio*.

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On the eve of nation-wide abolition, or in 1887, a number of emancipation projects were presented to the Bahian *camara*. Two were presented in the state senate: one by Senator Taunay and one by Senator Dantas, the former setting Christmas, 1889, as the date of final abolition for the province of Bahia, and the latter naming December 31 of the same year. Slaves in various parts of Brazil, "learning that they are men and will one day be citizens," were by this time deserting the plantations.[99] Police and the soldiery often refused to aid in their recapture.

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In 1887, "as a significant manifestation of abolition senti-

[99] In 1887 Fonseca mentions the "recent flight" en masse of slaves from several *fazendas* in the province of São Paulo. For instance, in Piracicaba, a hundred slaves fled from Barão de Serra Negra. In the *municipio* of Campos fifty slaves fled from the *fazenda* of Becco and, joined by other Negroes who were deserting the *fazenda* of Penha, turned upon the police sent out from Itu to apprehend them and caught, stripped, and beat them. That year the following advertisement appeared in the *Gazeta da Bahia:*

Fled from the owner whose signature appears below the following slaves: Maria dos Neves, *cabra* [offspring of Negro and mulatto], short, stocky, round faced, with prominent cheek bones, milk-white teeth, straight hair, parted in the middle; speaks very rapidly. Antonio (who sometimes calls himself Maria da Piedade), dark *cabra*, short, fat, with good teeth, and large scars on breast and one arm (these scars are from burns). Was last seen in Rio Vermelho.

Whoever recovers and brings these slaves to my office at Rua do Julião, No. 1, or to No. 193 Ribeira in Itapagipe, will be well rewarded.

DR. JOSÉ ALVES CARDOSO E SILVA

(Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 595, 602–3, 161).

4; Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Two of the six speakers at the dedicatory exercises for the newly constructed Instituto de Cacau on the following day were *brancos da Bahia* (each with only slight indications of Negro ancestry), and four were whites.

During the visit of a neighboring governor, a procession formed in the Avenida Sete de Setembro to escort the distinguished visitor, together with the Bahian governor, Juracy Magalhães, to the latter's palace. Riding in the procession, alighting in front of the palace, and following the two chief executives into the spacious rooms of the governor's mansion, were presumably the city's political élite, all in formal attire. Of a total of 99 persons, 70 were whites, 22 were very light mulattoes with only slightly noticeable traces of Negro lineage, 7 were dark mulattoes, and none was black. Of the escort of 23 army officials dressed in appropriate uniform, 9 were whites, 12 were very light mulattoes, 2 were dark mixed-bloods.

Of 46 members of the state legislature, 69.4 per cent were whites, 15.2 per cent were *brancos da Bahia*, and 11.0 per cent were mulattoes.[21] Of 14 aldermen, 8 were whites, 4 were *brancos da Bahia*, and 2 were mulattoes (both very light).

In legal proceedings no discrimination is at all evident. Colored individuals appear not only among the defendants but also among those engaged in the defense or the prosecution, as well as among the jury itself. Whites, however, predominate.

Of the officers of the medical association, 6 were whites, 3 were *brancos da Bahia*, and 3 were mulattoes. Of 18 members of an elective supervisory body for the legal profession, 14 were whites, 3 were *brancos da Bahia*, and only 1 had noticeable evidence of mixed ancestry and that principally

[21] One deputy was a black, and there was also 1 *mamaluco*.

[SALVADOR]

/9/ The Ethnic Types of Bahia

361 Bahia owes its reputation, not only to its privileged location
*563 on the shores of a magnificent bay and to its churches of an ornate
• 633 rococo style, but also, to a certain degree, to the excellent rela-
tions that exist in the heart of its motley population between peo-
633 ple of different color. Stephan Zweig drew a very vivid picture
*563 of Bahia and its ancient traditions. For him, Brazil began with this city, and not only Brazil, but also South America. "In this city was erected the first pier of the vast bridge thrown across the Atlantic; in it has originated, through the combination of European, African, and American material, the new mixture that is fermenting so actively at the present time (1)."

[113] 1. Stephan Zweig, Brazil, Pais do Futuro /Brazil, Land of the Future/, trans. by Gallotti, Rio de Janeiro, 1941, p. 275.

175 Prom its founding under the official name of Cidade do
633 Salvador, Bahia began to be known for its wealth, which it owed
103 to the sugar produced by its fazendas (2)
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2. Plantations.

and its engenhos (3).

3. Sugar mills.

[796] It was also renowned for the magnificence of the worship in its
[363] numerous churches, for the religious processions that passed through its narrow, climbing streets, and for the traditions, so typically Portuguese, of its inhabitants. Center of importation
[567] of African slaves, Bahia was also famous for the large proportion
167 of Blacks in its population, to the point that foreign travelers of
162 the colonial period speak of this city as a "new Guinea" (4).

[113] 4. M. Frezier, Relation du voyage de la mer du Sud aux côtes du Chili et du Pérou fait pendant les années 1712, 1713 and 1714 /Account of the

[SALVADOR]

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voyage from the South Sea to the coasts of Chile and Peru made during the years 1712, 1713, and 1714/, Paris, 1732; Adolphe d'Assier, Le Brésil contemporain /Contemporary Brazil/, Paris, 1867.

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Founded in 1549, seat of the general government of Brazil and residence of the Portuguese viceroy until 1763, the date when the capital of the colony was transferred to Rio de Janeiro, Bahia was regarded as "the most Portuguese" of the cities of the American continent. Even today it is one of the most important cities of Brazil (5).

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5. The State of Bahia has an area of 563,000 square kilometers and a littoral of 100 kilometers; its territory, of varied geographical aspect, is occupied chiefly by plantations of cacao, tobacco, cereals, by stock farms, and by mines of manganese, chromium, diamonds, iron, bituminous schists, etc. After the national census of July, 1950, the State had 4,900,419 inhabitants, 395,993 of them in the city of Salvador itself. The other most populous cities of Brazil are: Rio de Janeiro (federal district), with 2,335,931 inhabitants; São Paulo, with 2,041,716 inhabitants; Recife, with 522,466 inhabitants; Porto Alegre, 381,964 inhabitants, and Belo Horizonte, with 346,207 inhabitants.

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Owing to the conservative and traditionalist nature of its civilization, owing also to the distance that separates it from the other important urban centers, it is considered one of the /10/ demographic and cultural islets of what has been called the "Brazilian Archipelago." As we have said, what makes it particularly interesting is the fact that it was always a melting pot of races, certainly the most representative and the most symbolic of racial relations of the country.

[SALVADOR]

/16 cont./

829 Rumanian Jews who devote themselves to the furniture business or
*563 who practice selling on credit are called in a bloc: the "Russians"; the common people do not know that they are Israelites, and in the majority of cases do not even know the term "Jew." The Syrians, Lebanese, Arabs, and Turks, proprietors of small and medium-sized business houses in the center of the city, are indiscriminately called "Arabs," and their descendants, provided they are recognizable by their features, are the "sons of Arabs." /Ills. 1 and 2 appear here./

/17/ A Minimum of Tension in Bahia Society

• 633
*563 Bahia is considered one of the most "Brazilian" communities of the whole country because of the extremely limited number of foreigners that its population contains and because it continues to be formed of those same elements that constituted the population of Brazil from the beginning. In the entire State of Bahia, at the time of the 1940 census, there were 204 foreigners per 1,000 Brazilians, grouped for the most part in the capital; in the course of the last ten years this number has very likely increased, but the total population has also grown and maintains its homogeneity. These foreigners form small groups (1)

> 1. Spaniards, 2,115; Portuguese, 1,912; Syrians, Lebanese, etc., 1,059; Italians, 950; Germans and Austrians, 592; North Americans, 83; European Russians, 168, etc.

distinct from the Bahians through certain physical traits, but above all through their cultural characteristics (those that one calls "Russians" or "Arabs," for example) or through their professional specializations (for example, the Spaniards). An
[578] antagonism between some of these groups and the Brazilians gives rise to moderate discrimination in certain social sectors, but it is rarely expressed by a declared hostility or in an active form of segregation.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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000 Footnotes - Chapter I

[1]See section by Charles Wagley in Ralph Linton (ed.), Most of The World (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949), p. 226.

[2]Henry William Spiegel, The Brazilian Economy (Philadelphia: The Blakiston Company, 1949), pp. 157-168.

[3]See section by Preston E. James in Simon Kuznets, Wilbert E. Moore and Joseph J. Spengler (eds.), Economic Growth: Brazil, India, Japan (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1955), pp. 78-102.

[4]J. F. Normano, Brazil. A Study of Economic Types (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1935), p. 75.

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[5]The município is the approximate Brazilian equivalent of the county in the United States. The município has two elements: (1) the sede (seat) which is the administrative center and is called a cidade regardless of its size; and (2) the rest of the município, which in the Recôncavo is almost invariably rural. The município usually is subdivided into distritos (districts), each with a seat which, regardless of size, is called a villa. Neither the cidade nor the villa is a corporate entity separate from the município or district; i.e., there is no urban organization per se. In the Recôncavo the cidades are either small cities, towns, or villages, while the villas are villages or hamlets. There is a tremendous range in the area of the various municípios, which may be extremely large where settlement is scattered and small where settlement is dense. In the Recôncavo the largest município has just over 2,000 sq. km., and the smallest has just over 100 sq. km. The município is the primary statistical unit used in this research, although district data have been used on the few occasions where they were available. For a list of the 21 municípios included in the Recôncavo as defined here, see Appendix A.

[6]Ruth Matos Almeida Simões, "Comentário do Mapa da Produção de Cana de Açúcar no Estado da Bahia," Boletim Geográfico, Vol. XI, No. 113 (March-April, 1953), pp. 171-173. Ariadne Soares Souto Mayor, "Comentário do Mapa da Produção de Fumo na Bahia," Boletim Geográfico, Vol. XI, No. 112 (January-February, 1953), pp. 87-90. Ruth Matos Almeida Simões, "Comentário do Mapa da Produção de Mandioca no Estado da Bahia," Boletim Geográfico, Vol. XI, No. 112 (January-February, 1953), pp. 84-86.

[7]Such as: Gilberto Freyre, Nordeste (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio Livraria Editora, 1937), 267 pp. Luis Amaral, História Geral da Agricultura Brasileira (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1939-40), 3 Vols. Charles Wagley (ed.), Race and Class in Rural Brasil (Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 1952), 160 pp.

[8]Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Regional Series, Part XII-Bahia Vol. II (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço Gráfico do Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, 1950).

[9]Ministério da Agricultura, Serviço de Estatística da Produção, Produção Agrícola: 1948 (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço Gráfico do Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, 1950).

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Município Boundaries—1948

Source: Conselho Nacional de Geografia, "Cartogramas da Divisão Administrativa do Estado da Bahia."

MAP 3

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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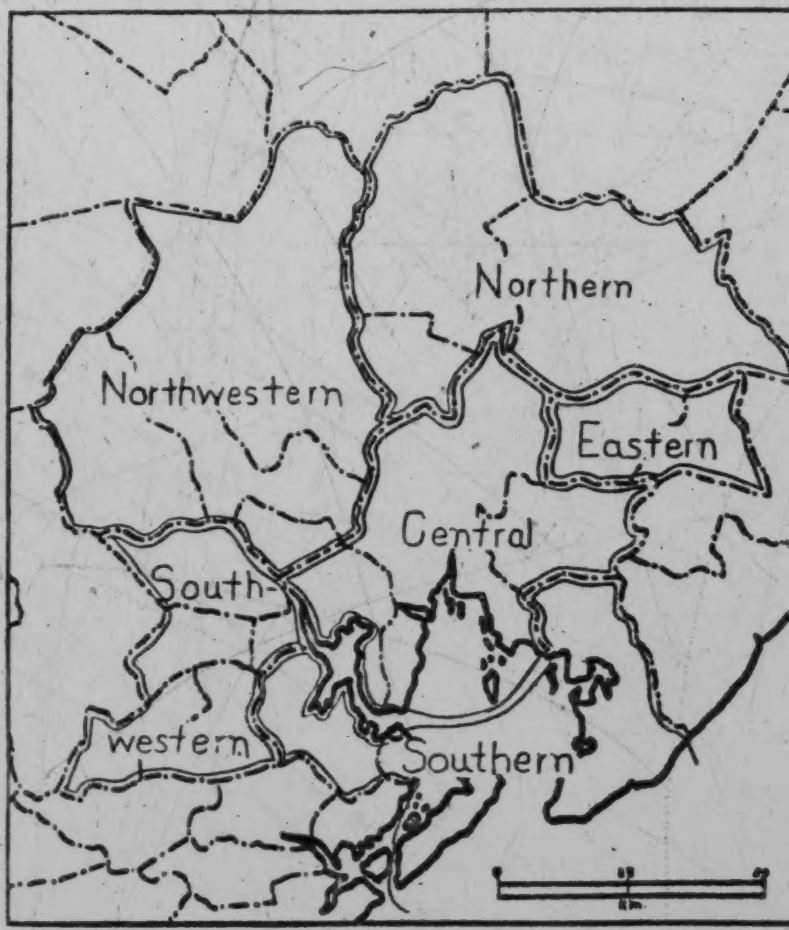

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Major Physical-Political Sub-Regions

MAP 16

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Northeast Brazil SO1

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TABLE V

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THE STATE OF BAHIA AND THE RECÔNCAVO MUNICÍPIOS

	Per cent of Total Population - 1940		
	Whites	Blacks	Others
State of Bahia	28.74	20.13	51.11
Central Recôncavo:			
Santo Amaro	10.47	37.59	51.94
São Francisco	14.02	29.96	56.01
São Sebastião	12.74	32.76	54.50
Cachoeira	11.71	38.51	49.78
Northern Recôncavo:			
Coração de Maria	15.58	37.18	47.23
Irará	12.50	34.07	53.43
Alagoinhas	22.88	24.41	52.69
Northwestern Recôncavo:			
Feira de Santana	12.16	28.31	59.53
São Gonçalo	10.63	48.19	41.18
Conceição da Feira	15.24	47.46	37.16
Santo Estêvão	17.06	31.38	50.95
Southwestern Recôncavo:			
Muritiba	10.48	40.48	49.03
Cruz das Almas	16.34	36.84	46.82
Conceição do Almeida	19.63	30.54	49.83
São Filipe	25.32	30.66	44.02
São Félix	15.78	33.33	50.87
Eastern Recôncavo:			
Catu	23.78	22.58	53.64
Pojuca	22.69	21.90	55.41
Southern Recôncavo:			
Maragogipe	37.40	23.05	39.53
Itaparica	14.60	26.99	58.38
Salvador	35.08	26.33	38.54

Note: The difference between the totals of these figures and 100 per cent consists of a very small percentage of Orientals.

Source: Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, 1940. Rio de Janeiro, 1949.

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From the above table (Table V) it can be seen that "whites" compose less than one-third of the total population of all Recôncavo municípios except Maragogipe and Salvador. Over one-fourth of the population is classified as "black" in all but the three municípios of Alagoinhas, Maragogipe, and Catu. Those persons classified as "others" mulatos and mestiços--account for 40 to 60 per cent of the population

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563 in all municípios but three--Maragogipe, Salvador, and Conceição da
162 Feira. The variations between the individual municípios reflect:
• 634 (1) concentrations of Negroes in the sugar cane area; and (2) concentrations of mixed-bloods, some of which are mestiços, on the inland borders of the Recôncavo and around the sugar zone. Salvador has a relatively larger white group--35 per cent--and a lower proportion of mixed-bloods--38 per cent.

563 With the possible exception of the prevailing white upper class,
565 no significant cultural segment of Recôncavo society can be defined in racial terms. The lower class is composed of Negroes, mixed bloods, and whites--it is an economic, not a racial unit. The upper class is predominantly white, but this primarily reflects the historical economic advantages of the white people and only incidentally the social advantages of a lighter skin. Given wealth, dark-skinned people enter the upper class with little--but nevertheless perceptible--difficulty on account of their racial background. Baianos say "a rich man is not a Negro." If a Negro or mulato is wealthy, many people think of him as being light-skinned. The cultural range between the upper and lower class in Recôncavo society is great. Neither the simpler cultural system of the lower classes nor the sophisticated upper class culture is associated with race per se.[9]

565 Class Differences. Recôncavo society is characterized by a strongly developed class structure and little vertical social mobility. In a recent anthropological survey of class in Brazil, "one's income, the kind of work one does, one's education, one's family (in varying degrees) and finally, one's physical [i.e. racial] appearance" were the main criteria used.[10] The study made by Hutchinson of a small community in the Central Recôncavo sugar cane area in 1950-51 distingui four social strata.[11] Among the findings of the study were the followi

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TABLE VI

TOTAL, URBAN, AND RURAL POPULATION OF THE MUNICÍPIOS OF THE RECÔNCAVO IN 1950

Município	Total Population	Urban Population (Urban Centers with Manufacturing)	Rural Population (Total minus Urban Population)
Alagoinhas	52,007	21,283	30,724
Cachoeira	26,979	10,825	16,154
Catu	16,437		16,437
Conceição da Feira	10,532		10,532
Conceição do Almeida	25,407		25,407
Coração de Maria	20,256		20,256
Cruz das Almas	32,276	6,758	25,518
Feira do Santana	107,205	26,559	80,646
Irará	46,711		46,711
Itaparica	21,433		21,433
Maragogipe	36,868	9,744	27,124
Muritiba	31,605	7,452	24,153
Pojuca	6,911		6,911
Salvador	417,235	389,422	27,813
Santo Amaro	85,739	12,258	73,481
Santo Estêvão	31,665		31,665
São Félix	14,801	5,872	8,929
São Filipe	25,343		25,343
São Francisco	11,077		11,077
São Gonçalo	30,830	3,771	27,059
São Sebastião	21,135		21,135
Recôncavo	1,072,452	493,944	578,508

Source: Anuário Estatística do Brasil-1953, Ano. XIV.

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

TABLE VII

RELATIVE POPULATION OF THE MUNICÍPIOS OF THE RECÔNCAVO IN 1950

Município	% of Area of Recôncavo	% of Total Population of Recôncavo	% of Urban Population of Recôncavo	% of Rural Population of Recôncavo	% of Agricultural Labor Force of Recôncavo
Alagoinhas	12	5	4	5	6
Cachoeira	3	3	2	3	2
Catu	3	2		3	3
Conceição da Feira	1	1		2	2
Conceição do Almeida	2	2	1	4	5
Coração de Maria	2	2		4	4
Cruz das Almas	2	3		4	5
Feira de Santana	17	10	5	14	15
Irará	11	4		8	10
Itaparica	2	2		4	1
Maragogipe	3	3	2	5	4
Muritiba	3	3	2	4	4
Pojuca	3	1		1	1
Salvador	6	39	79	5	6
Santo Amaro	9	8	2	13	10
Santo Estêvão	6	3		5	6
São Felix	1	1	1	2	2
São Filipe	3	2		4	5
São Francisco	2	1		2	1
São Gonçalo	4	3	1	5	4
São Sebastião	4	2		4	3

Calculated from Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, No. 8 and Anuário Estatística do Brasil-1953, Ano XIV.

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TABLE VIII

AGRICULTURAL LABOR FORCE OF THE MUNICÍPIOS OF THE RECÔNCAVO IN 1940 AND 1950

Município	1940 Agricultural Labor Force	Per cent of Change 1940-1950*	1950 Agricultural Labor Force—Estimated
Alagoinhas	8,922	25	11,152
Cachoeira	4,367	- 3	4,238
Catu	5,395	- 5	5,125
Conceição da Feira	3,132	7	3,351
Conceição do Almeida	10,066	- 7	9,361
Coração de Maria	8,205	3	8,451
Cruz das Almas	8,763	6	9,289
Feira de Santana	26,140	16	30,322
Irará	19,920	- 2	19,522
Itaparica	1,379	10	1,517
Maragogipe	7,513	2	7,663
Muritiba	8,959	15	10,303
Pojuca	2,575	-31	1,777
Salvador	7,697	57**	12,075**
Santo Amaro	25,566	-23	19,686
Santo Estêvão	9,315	20	11,178
São Félix	4,086	6	4,331
São Filipe	10,327	- 2	10,120
São Francisco	2,373	-22	1,851
São Gonçalo	8,872	- 4	8,517
São Sebastião	6,395	4	6,651
Recôncavo	189,967		196,486

*Calculated change in rural population from 1940 to 1950. It has been assumed that the agricultural labor changed at the same rate as the rural population.

**Because of a change in the method of totaling the non-urban population of Salvador, it was not possible to derive the 1940-1950 rural population change in the usual manner. The 1950 figure is the mean of three estimates of increase derived from total population change 1940-1950, rural quadrant change 1940-1950, and per cent of total population in agriculture 1940 projected to 1950. These estimates were, in order, 11,097, 12,517, and 12,700. The rural quadrant is a statistical subdivision of the município which does not necessarily include all the rural areas.

Source: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censo Demográfico--Bahia. Vol. I, and Anuário Estatístico do Brasil-1953, Ano XIV.

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241 464 and plantations, and to a lesser extent, ranchers and vaqueiros (cowboys).[21] Silviculture is not an important occupation in the Recôncavo.

161 162 241 464 634 The mean density of the agricultural labor force for the Recôncavo was 15.7 per square kilometer. Since the distribution is very irregular, this mean density is far from representative of local situations--only six municípios had densities within 10 per cent of the mean. Because of the uneven distribution of cultivation, mean [128] figures for individual municípios, especially the larger ones, are likely to be equally misleading. In the discussion which follows [127] the gross distributions derived from census data have been modified on the basis of field observation and of inferences drawn from related demographic, cartographic, and agricultural information.[22]

161 162 241 464 The density of agricultural workers in the Central Recôncavo (Map 18) is appreciably higher than in the surrounding areas, except in the southwest. This central zone has densities in excess of 20 per square kilometer, and within it are four areas with densities in excess of 25 per square kilometer. Along the border of the Recôncavo, densities usually fall to 10 per square kilometer. However, this is not true of the more densely occupied "bridge" zone which connects the area of heavy concentration in the Recôncavo, south of the Rio Paraguaçu, with the "coffee area" to the southwest beyond the Recôncavo. The map of densities (Map 18) and the dot map (Map 17) of the agricultural labor force suggest that this population segment is clustered in areas which generally have an eccentric location in relation to such centers as Salvador and the Baía de Todos os Santos.

Over 20 per cent of the agricultural workers of the Recôncavo live along the southern, western, and northern extremes of the region,

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161 every section of which is more than 50 kilometers from Salvador, the
162
241 economic center of the Recôncavo, and also more than 50 kilometers from
464 the geometric center in Santo Amaro. If a line were drawn from the
161 cidade of Alagoinhas southwestward to the cidade of Nazaré, the
162 following municípios would fall entirely west of that line: Irará,
241
464 Coração de Maria, Feira de Santana, São Gonçalo, Conceição da Feira,
634 and Santo Estêvão--all north of the Rio Paraguaçu—and Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, São Félix, São Filipe, and Conceição do Almeida—all south of the Rio Paraguaçu. These 11 of the 21 municípios of the Recôncavo are all more than 50 kilometers from Salvador—all are much farther in terms of land transport. In these eleven municípios live 125,000 of the 196,000 agricultural workers. In part, this eccentricity with respect to Salvador is a result of the shape of the land surface, with the city located at the end of a peninsula. Only one of these 11 municípios, São Félix, lies on tide water, and that at the extreme upper limit of navigation. The others are so arranged that they cannot make optimum use of the central position of the Bay, with its relatively cheap and direct route into the capital.

This eccentrically located belt is arcuate in form. It is the
161
162 demographic representation of the transition zone from forest to
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464 scrub forest, which is often also the transition from the Coastal
[132] Plain to the Tabular or Crystalline Uplands. The concentration of
[133] agricultural labor in this belt is obviously significant from many points of view: social and political as well as economic.

Clustering is a characteristic pattern of Latin American population. The Recôncavo is the chief population cluster and the greatest single concentration of agricultural labor force within the state of

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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Bahia. The broad cluster of the agricultural labor force is composed of several major zones of concentration and two minor agglomerations.

(1) The Southwestern Concentration: The most important of these concentrations, in terms of total number of agriculturalists, occupies the southwestern corner of the Recôncavo. This concentration is a major segment of the eccentric belt discussed above. It is located [131] in the Crystalline Uplands and the Intermediate Hills, along the drainage divide between the Rio Paraguaçu and the Rio Jaguaripe. This is an area of tobacco and manioc cultivation. There are some 35,000 agriculturalists in this concentration, which spreads over approximately 1,000 square kilometers in six municípios—São Félix, Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, Conceição do Almeida, São Filipe, and Maragogipe. The cidade of Cruz das Almas lies very near its center.

TABLE IX

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS—SOUTHWESTERN CONCENTRATION

[634]

Município	Distrito	Agricultural Workers 1950
São Félix	São Félix	2,568
	Outeiro Redondo	1,724
Muritiba	Muritiba	3,044
	Cabeças	1,699
Cruz das Almas	Cruz das Almas	6,038
	Sapé	1,845
	Baixa do Palmeira	1,476
Conceição do Almeida	Conceição do Almeida	3,878
	Comércio	2,038
São Filipe	São Filipe	4,931
	Cararipe	2,471
Maragogipe	Guapira	1,169
	Nagé	788
	Coqueiras	1,072
Approximately 1,000 square kilometers		34,741

With about 12 per cent of the Recôncavo's total area, the southwestern concentration includes 18 per cent of its agricultural labor force. In its core there are over forty agriculturalists per [634] square kilometer (the município of São Félix as a whole has 42.05 per square kilometer), and this compact core includes São Félix, northern

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161 São Filipe, northern Conceição do Almeida, southeastern Cruz das Almas,
162 and the southeastern tenth of Muritiba.
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634 The boundaries of this concentration are similar to the boundaries of labor concentrations in other parts of the western Recôncavo. To the southeast the density of the cluster declines sharply across the Intermediate Hills. There are very few fields and few farmers along the estuary of the Paraguaçu, which lies beyond the hills. Much of
311 this land is in forest. To the west the decline in density is even more abrupt. In the dry caatinga beyond the western limits of Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, and Conceição do Almeida there are only a few scattered ranchers and small-scale farmers.

From the core of the concentration the distribution of agricultural workers continues to be relatively dense toward the north and toward the southwest, and this pattern extends across the "bridge" zone and into the coffee area beyond the Recôncavo. Just beyond the Recôncavo, in the middle of the "bridge," is the city and suburban zone of Santo Antônio de Jesus, which has a minor cluster of agricultural workers. The "bridge" follows the forest and scrub-forest transition.

161 (2) The Northern Concentration: Though the northern and
162 central clusters of the agricultural labor force of the Recôncavo
241 are less well defined and individually less important than the
464 southwestern cluster, they are major concentrations. In the northern
131 Recôncavo a series of clusters extending through eastern Feira de Santa Irará, and Coração de Maria are grouped in a rough "u-shaped" pattern. This concentration is the second major element of the eccentric belt of dense agricultural labor. The verticals of the "u" follow agricultural belts along the valleys of two tributaries of the (eastern) Rio Pojuca. This is a zone of Tabular Upland and caatinga vegetation.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954) 1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

161 162 241 464 [131] Because it does not correspond to census divisions, it is diffi cult to determine the area and population of this "u" zone. Apparentl it has about 1,150 square kilometers and about 30,000 agricultural workers (Table X). Maximum densities within this zone are 30 to 40 per square kilometer.

TABLE X

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS--NORTHERN CONCENTRATION

[634]

Município	Distrito	Agricultural Workers 1950
Feira de Santana	Feira de Santana	9,840
	Tiquaruçu	1,725
Coração de Maria	Coração de Maria	4,176
	Itacava	4,332
Irará	Irará	4,130
	Bento Simões	1,675
	Pedrão	2,454
	Ouriçangas	2,683
Approximately 1,150 square kilometers		31,015

The "u-shaped" zone is linked with the southwestern cluster by a belt of moderate population density. This belt, running north to south along the caatinga-forest transition, is followed by the Feira de Santana-Cachoeira railroad.

161 162 241 464 131 (3) The Central Concentration: The central concentration of agricultural labor, in east-central Santo Amaro, western São Sebastiã and São Francisco--the sugar cane zone, is not a part of the eccentric belt discussed above, but rather lies in the heart of the Recôncavo. There are about 6,000 agriculturalists in the 300 square kilometers of this area. The maximum density is about 25 per square kilometer. In distinction to the concentrations discussed above, the central cluster is in the lowlands--the humid Coastal Plain (see Table XI).

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TABLE XI

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS--CENTRAL CONCENTRATION

Município	Distrito	Agricultural Workers 1950
Santo Amaro	Rio Fundo	1,849
	Inhatá	1,542
	Mata de Aliança	920
São Sebastião	Jacuípe	1,036
São Francisco	São Francisco	804
	Santa Elisa	176
Approximately 300 square kilometers		6,327

(4) The Minor Agglomerations: Minor concentrations of agriculturalists surround two urban centers in the Recôncavo: Salvador and Alagoinhas. Most of the 12,000 agricultural workers in the município of Salvador are grouped either in the northeast--close to the central cluster of the sugar cane zone--or around the capital city. The latter either live in the city or in the sub-urban areas around and between the various urban segments. These sub-urban cultivators primarily work to supply the large urban market. Alagoinhas lies in the midst of relatively unproductive taboleiros. The agriculturalists who serve its urban market and produce its chief commercial crop--oranges--are gathered compactly in a symmetrical ring around the city.

The concentrations discussed above account for some 80,000 (41 per cent) of the agricultural workers and 3,150 square kilometers (25 per cent) of the area of the Recôncavo. In general, a straight line from the southwestern tip of Conceição do Almeida to the southern tip of Serrinha is the western limit of moderately dense distribution of the agricultural labor force. Beyond this line, in the caatinga of Feira de Santana and Castro Alves, there are few agricultural workers. However, in the caatinga of the município of Santo Estêvão and the adjacent part of Feira de Santana there is a zone with a population density of about 15 per square kilometer--higher than anywhere

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else along the western border. This modest concentration, scarcely a cluster, represents the sum of a number of small agricultural settlements scattered along the humid slopes of low serras. There are about 12,000 agricultural workers distributed over this area.

The distributional pattern of the rest of the Recôncavo can be visualized as a coarse net in which the clusters are linked by areas with population densities of 10 to 20 per square kilometer. There is one large hole in this connecting net: along the common border of Cachoeira, São Gonçalo, and Santo Amaro there is a zone with less than ten and sometimes less than five agricultural workers per square kilometer. This zone, very near to the center of the Recôncavo, for the most part is an area of rough sandy hills bordering the crystalline here the hills are particularly rugged and the transition zone broad. On three sides--southwest, north, and northeast--this sparsely settled zone is bordered by important clusters of agriculturalists.

The agricultural labor force of the Recôncavo is, as has been seen, irregularly distributed. This distribution is highly fluid--movement and growth and decline are continuously altering the pattern. The whole region gained about 6,500 agriculturalists between 1940 and 1950, but these statistics do not reflect the extent of local relocation.

In the central Recôncavo one município, Santo Amaro, lost almost 6,000 agricultural workers between 1940 and 1950, and in three municípios of the central and eastern Recôncavo, Santo Amaro, São Francisco, and Pojuca, losses exceeded 20 per cent. On the other hand, in three municípios of the uplands of the northern and northwest Recôncavo--Alagoinhas, Feira de Santana, and Santo Estêvão--there were gains of over 20 per cent. Over all, twelve municípios gained and nin lost agriculturalists; the mean change in the agricultural labor

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 120.]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

161 force of the 21 municípios--without regard to direction of change--was
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241 13 per cent.
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[634]

In general the area around Salvador and the northeastern and western margins of the Recôncavo gained in agricultural labor force (Map 19). The Central Recôncavo and areas in the north-central, eastern, and southwestern Recôncavo lost agriculturalists between 1940 and 1950. Some of the factors which produced these changes were local; others were identified with the Northeast or with Brazil as a whole.

The growth of cities in the Recôncavo is a manifestation of a nationwide phenomenon. The expanding urban centers create an increasing market for agricultural products which, because of the difficulty of transportation and the lack of food processing facilities, must be supplied primarily from local sources. These expanding markets attract discontented or displaced agriculturalists, who settle as close to the urban center as possible. There is a marked increase in the concentration of agricultural labor around Salvador, Feira de Santana, and Alagoinhas.

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166 In 1950 and 1951 the urban trend and its agricultural con-
[369] comitant was re-enforced by a specific Northeastern phenomenon—the
[241] flight from the drought (sêca) of the interior. Most of the refugees (flagelados) from the dry sertão settled along the periphery of the Recôncavo. Here, where they could remain close to their cherished sertão, much land was open for squatters. As indicated above, others settled around the urban centers of the Recôncavo caatinga zone—Feira de Santana and Alagoinhas.

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464 Observations suggest that the greatest relative increases in
178 agricultural labor force from the sertão were in the municípios
166 bordering the Recôncavo on the west and north, where the "normal"
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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 over the forest or the caatinga. In most areas it is the second growth, not the cultivated fields, which dominates the landscape.

241 361 443 634 The scale of the maps accompanying the following sections does not allow the indication of one of the significant patterns of cropland distribution in the Recôncavo—the concentration of cultivation around the cidades, the political centers. Each cidade is the economic focus of its município and is usually the primary market for the products of its cultivators. The poorly developed system of transportation in the [489] rural areas puts a premium on proximity to the market center. Thus in most of the municípios there is a decrease in cultivation away from the cidade, and where the municípios are large, such as on the northern and western perimeter of the Recôncavo, cropland becomes very widely scatte 241 before the political boundary is reached. This centralized distributic 361 443 of cropland has been complicated by the development of roads and truck 491 traffic. Cultivators tend to cluster along the main highways with little regard for the absolute distance to the market of the cidade; accessibility as represented by time rather than distance seems to be the more important factor in choosing land for cultivation, providing that land is available. The pattern of concentration of cultivation along the highway is especially characteristic of the Upland sections of the Recôncavo.[1]

241 178 There are many exceptions to the modes of cropland distribution mentioned above. In the Recôncavo tradition and prestige often contravene direct economic self-interest. On a large scale the persistence of sugar cultivation is an example of the unwillingness to explore new sources of income. In other areas the traditional social advantages of land ownership may impede the subdivision of large properties into farms or rented plots, even where hired labor is not available to 000 cultivate the land efficiently. Livestock production, which offers

It must be remembered that these figures include the capital city, the population of which is about 450,000. If this is subtracted from the total population of the Recôncavo, the average density of the Recôncavo is approximately 27 persons per square kilometer. 161 [162]

Vila Recôncavo, the community of this study, is part of a county located 41 kilometers across the bay from Salvador. The community includes the town of Vila Recôncavo, which is the county seat, and the surrounding rural zone. Throughout the study we will be dealing with these two components of the sugar-cane plantation community, sometimes separately and sometimes together. 101 634 [121]

The only public transportation to the town is by boat from the capital, a three-hour trip across the bay, threading through numerous islands. The major part of the trip is made on remarkably blue water, usually serenely calm but occasionally violently agitated, especially during the winter. One-, two-, and three-masted sailing vessels and an occasional large sailing canoe, the centuries-old methods of transportation in Bahia, are passed on their way into the city, carrying fruit, vegetables, pottery, firewood, fish, tobacco, manioc flour, and sugar to the more than four hundred thousand people of the city, as they have done since the early colonization of the Recôncavo. The only new element in the scene is the small diesel boat which makes the trip back and forth across the bay, outward bound one day and returning the next with the outgoing tide. 505 501

As the boat nears the luxuriantly green, palm-crested islands, stopping at several to discharge the mail, passengers, and "city goods," one becomes aware of the feeling of stepping back into the past. Barefoot children are selling oranges, peanuts, and fish; and parrots and parakeets, sometimes doped with rum to make them appear tame. The mailman on the dock receives the sack of mail and gives it to his helper to carry to the post office; the island priest may receive a message or package entrusted to the captain of the boat or may even go aboard to travel to the church on another island. The others on the dock call to friends on the boat and exchange news or else simply watch the activity of docking the boat and the casting off. The people of the islands are light-skinned, although well sunburned. Many of them are vacationers from the city, dressed in brightly colored clothes, for the islands are well-known resorts. The others, barefoot, wearing shorts 505 [857] [443] [205] [793] [142] [528]

The railroad from Salvador to the interior passes about 15 kilometers east of Vila Recôncavo, and the planters situated near it experience the same difficulties of horseback travel when getting the train to go to the city. 496 492

There is no public transportation within the county. The train is so far from the town of Vila Recôncavo that it is not used by the town dwellers. Most of the population walks to wherever it is going, except to Salvador. Few people in town have horses or mules, for there is insufficient pasture nearby. As a result of the poor roads, the townspeople are dependent upon water navigation, a factor which helps to orient them to other towns by the water's edge and discourages communication between the town and the plantations of the interior of the county. At any season, there is little happening in the plantation area to attract the townspeople. On the other hand, people from the plantation come to the town, especially to see the doctor, for a special Mass, or to take the boat to Salvador. They rarely come for the movie, except those few subsistence gardeners (roçeiros) who live nearby, for travel is too difficult. During the dry season almost all transportation of goods is accomplished by an ox-drawn cart (carro de boi) with two large, solid wooden wheels drawn by eight oxen (junta de boi). The cart is driven by a man, and the oxen follow a small boy who walks in front of them. 484 [489] 49 484

The community of Vila Recôncavo comprises an area of some 80 square kilometers in the shape of a semicircle, bounded on one side by water and on the other by a high ridge. This area, which includes the town of Vila Recôncavo, forms a natural as well as a cultural unit. The remaining 100 square kilometers of the county fall into two subregions, one very small area which is oriented toward Centro and Cana-Uba (see map), and another which is strongly oriented toward Salvador. The three areas are drawn together by local administration: police, school system, tax collecting, and the collection of statistics--in other words, by the formal structure of county administration. 131 361 [634]

The 80 square kilometers of the community of Vila Recôncavo are composed almost entirely of thirteen large plantations, eleven of which are devoted to the cultivation of sugar cane. Of the other two, one plants cane on a small scale and rents most of its land to subsistence gardeners, while the second is a summer home, producing nothing. Of the eleven which plant sugar cane, six belong to the sugar factory which 361 249

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 8011 Bahia Brazilians 8011

175 as with pride and love for having made it appear from untamed wilds."[1] After his death the land passed to his son, who died shortly after and left the property to his sister, the Countess of Linhares and wife of Fernando Noronha. Noronha died not too long after, and his wife remarried, again becoming a widow and also losing her own children. At her death in 1618, what had not already been sold of the land was bequeathed to various religious organizations.[2]

It was reported in 1587 that there were fourteen plantations in the area that later became the county of Vila Recôncavo.[3] In 1591 the Franciscans went through the Recôncavo, looking for a place to build a convent. They established a "small hospice" in 1618 on what is now plantation "N" (see map of community). This hospice lasted only two years, for in 1620 the friars returned to Salvador.[4] In 1624 the Franciscans returned to the town, selected a spot of high ground on the shoreline overlooking the Bay of All Saints, and started to construct a chapel and convent. At this time Gaspar dos Reis Pinto was in possession of plantation "N," which included the area chosen by the Franciscans for their construction. In 1633 Gaspar gave 143 square braças (1 braça=6 ft.) to the religious order.[5] With the founding of the convent, the town of Vila Recôncavo received a major impulse, becoming a nucleus for further development.

175 The seventeenth century saw a period of great expansion in
165 the Recôncavo--the erection of many plantations and the in-
567 crease of population, mainly due to the importation of great
634 numbers of African slaves. During this period the first two formal administrative divisions of the Recôncavo were organized. In Vila Recôncavo, a military district created in 1668 was the first formal unit. Troubles with the Dutch in the
712 early part of the century and continuing invasions and sack-
175 ings by pirates led to the necessity of fortifying appropriate
634 places in the Recôncavo, such as the mouths of rivers emp-
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1. J. Wanderley de Araujo Pinho, Testamento de Mem de Sá (Rio de Janeiro, 1941), p. 33.
2. Ibid., p. 19.
3. Gabriel Soares de Sousa, Noticias do Brasil (São Paulo, n.d.), I, Book I, 282.
4. de Araujo Pinho, Testamento de Mem de Sá, p. 54.
5. Ibid.

175 634 713 726 [706]

tying into the Bay, to protect the plantations situated on river banks, a location in all other respects ideal for sugar mills. Vila Recôncavo was chosen as the site for a battery in 1668 and was given guns and men. It was also necessary to maintain a small fleet of armed ships to help repel pirates. One side of the hill on which the convent is situated, which overlooks the Bay and lies directly at the mouth of the river coming from Centro, is still called the Battery in remembrance of the days when it was part of the old fortifications.

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The second formal administrative unit to be formed was that of the county of Vila Recôncavo. Until 1693 Salvador was the only judicial and legislative center in Bahia. Because of development in the Recôncavo it was thought necessary at this time to create three vilas in the area, this being the term then applied to the administrative centers of counties. Thus in February of 1698 Vila Recôncavo became one of the first organized counties (municipios) in the Recôncavo, a transformation which made it the center of much activity as it was now the seat of local rural government, tax collecting, and justice. Since its creation the county of Vila Recôncavo has shrunk in size as new counties have been established in the Recôncavo. Vila Recôncavo lost part of its land, until in 1945 it retained only 189 square kilometers, less than half its original area.

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Prior to either military or civil divisions, there had already existed religious divisions, or parishes. The parish of São Gonçalo included the town of Vila Recôncavo and much of the hinterland. The mother church (matriz) of the parish was constructed in the town in 1678. It was reconstructed in 1887 by the third Baron of Vila Recôncavo, at which time it had fallen into such disrepair that the reconstruction was a complete renovation. This was done in great simplicity, blotting out most of the former ornateness. Today it is again in need of repair as the plaster is falling off, exposing the still solid stone and cement construction of three-foot-thick walls. Most of the wood in the altars, floors, and inner partitions is rotting away. The outside has turned black from the action of the salt air on the whitewash. For more than forty years the parish has been unable to support a priest, and the duties of caring for the spiritual needs of the parishioners has fallen upon the Franciscans. The church is opened now only for Mass on Sundays, and for occasional missions and weddings throughout the year.

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In 1718 the chapel of the Franciscan convent was replaced

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

438 Centro, situated on the banks of a navigable river which
175 empties into the Bay in front of the town of Vila Recôncavo,
361 was in a good position to serve the entire back region of the
Recôncavo. As a county it now comprises 1,180 square kilo-
[634] meters. As a port, Centro served two purposes in the early
[131] eighteenth century. A great deal of produce and many persons
passed through it, including the families of sugar-cane grow-
[504] ers from other regions of the Recôncavo; and it also served
as a "gateway to the West" at a time when western Bahia and
Minas Gerais were being opened and the gold and diamond
rushes were in progress. Centro was the end of navigable
[487] waters and the beginning of one of the overland routes lead-
ing to the uplands of the sertão and the mining areas of the
[634] west. As Centro grew, Vila Recôncavo stagnated. In 1833
Centro was made judicial center (cabeça de comarca) of the
district and Vila Recôncavo became part of this judicial dis-
trict, thereby losing its prominence as the center of juris-
diction for the interior zone of the Recôncavo. Commercially,
Vila Recôncavo was soon overshadowed by Centro. In 1802,
Vilhena wrote:

> . . . In Centro there is a great deal of commerce, because of the amount of sugar, tobacco, and the number of distilleries and of Mineiros [miners and people from the state of Minas Gerais] who arrive there. Continuing along the bank of the river one finds Vila Recôncavo, which in spite of enough sugar passing through it, always had a weak commerce, and the town is known among all the others as the town of the least traffic.[8]

He says later:

175 In spite of its antiquity, Vila Recôncavo has few in-
361 habitants, and most of them poor, although through-
438 out the termo there are many good families of noble
433 people, rich through the products of their large engen-
hos, from which they take much and excellent sugar,
the only commerce of that town; in it also there is fish-
ing for a little sardinelike fish called xangó and a large
quantity of good and large shrimp, which is the main

8. Ibid., Letter I, p. 32 (author's translation).

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In the very large *usinas*, the mill hands and even the field hands are modern industrial workers. They are employees of a large industrial corporation and are protected at least theoretically by the labour laws of the nation. The highly personalized relationship between the plantation workers and the owner-administrator of his own plantation, which persisted from the slave era, has been replaced on the larger *usinas* by the impersonal employee-employer relationship of the modern industrial age. Today, modern plantations and small towns have electricity; there is modern housing for workmen; the State and even the sugar companies provide medical aid; there are primary schools both in the small towns and on many plantations; recreation facilities are found in the towns and provided by the *usinas*; and the sugar-cane experimental station situated in the area constantly urges fertilization of the land and modern techniques and methods of sugar-cane production. But the older and more traditional patterns exist side by side with the new, and each of them influences the relations among the racial groups of the zone.

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III. Vila Recôncavo is a small town on the Bay of All Saints. The rural area around it, which lies within the social and economic orbit of the town and which is the unit under consideration, comprises some 80 square kilometres, or slightly less than half the entire area of the county of which the town of Vila Recôncavo is the county seat.[1]

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It this area there are 14 plantations, three of which nowadays plant very little sugar cane. Parts of the town itself are built on the land of one of these plantations, and the rest of the town area is owned in small lots by private individuals or by the Church. Although Vila Recôncavo is the county seat, local government is the only important function which it fulfils for the surrounding area. It is not used as a shipping point, either for receiving supplies from the outside or for sending sugar to the outside. *Braços do mar*, or inlets of the bay, go to many of the plantations and are deep enough for the *saveiros* (shallow draft sailboats) used on the bay for transport. Many of the plantations have direct connexion with Salvador. Commerce in Vila Recôncavo is almost entirely limited to supplying the 1,462 inhabitants of the town and of some small islands and of one community near by which is not devoted to sugar production. It is not the major supply source even for these groups which live near enough to another and far larger commercial centre where they prefer to do their marketing. The *prefeito* or mayor of the county is rarely a resident of the town itself. Rather he is usually a planter of the surrounding area. He goes into town to do municipal business,

[1] Both the town and the county bear the name of Vila Recôncavo.

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but spends most of his time on his plantation. The rest of the municipal officials are, for the most part, people who live in the town, although some of the town councillors are also planters living in the rural area.

162 The population of the area under study was 4,269 in 1940, and is approximately the same now. Of this number, 1,462 are residents of the town. Of the total of 4, 269, only 17 adults (plus their 16 children) [161] in the rural area are considered locally, and appear to be, pure Caucasoid. They are all plantation owners, and all of them also have residences in the city of Salvador as well as in the rural area of Vila Recôncavo. Living in the town are 14 persons (plus their eight children) who are also considered pure Caucasoid. Three of these are foreign-born priests, one is a doctor, one a dentist, one a state tax collector, one a federal tax collector, and two are young men who have married into town families. The others are the wives and sisters of the men in the group, although one of the wives is suspected of having Negro ancestors since she has to have her hair straightened while the others have theirs curled. There are five families and numerous other individuals in Vila Recôncavo who are called 'white', but whose ancestry is known to all as not being entirely Caucasoid, and in the rural area there are even fewer. These people are known as *brancos da terra* (whites of the land), a term similar to the *brancos da Bahia* of which Pierson speaks.[6]

563 The two other elements which are present in the population of Vila Recôncavo and the surrounding rural area are the Negro and the Indian. As might be expected, the Negroid element in the population overwhelmingly predominates, and there are people who represent mixtures of Negro and Caucasoid ancestry in all possible proportions. The American Indian element appears in the people called locally the *caboclos*, generally from the arid north-eastern *sertão*, who are of mixed Indian and Caucasoid descent. These *caatingueiros* (literally, people from the low brush country of *caatinga*) and *sertanejos* (literally, people from the *sertão*) are not usually permanent residents of the Recôncavo. As a rule, *levas* or groups of these *caboclos* of *caatingueiros* come down into the Recôncavo at harvest time, from September to March, to work during the period when the *sertão* is dry and unproductive. Generally also, only men come, and they remain apart from the permanent plantation workers and at the end of the harvest head for home.

565 In Vila Recôncavo and its rural area, four social strata can be distinguished. First, there is a small upper class of aristocratic whites. This is almost an endogamous class, and intermarriage [582] between first cousins is extremely frequent. The 17 white adults mentioned above are the members of the five families which locally compose this class. These families have been in the area for generations; two of them have been linked through first-cousin marriages

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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In 1881 the Bahian provincial assembly created an emancipation fund "to free slaves in this province."[87] On March 25, 1884, slavery was abolished in the province of Ceará, the culmination of fifteen months of municipal emancipation.[88] Similar action was taken by the provinces of Amazonas and Maranhão later in the same year. In 1885 all Negroes over sixty years of age were liberated by edict of the Brazilian emperor.[89] In 1886

[87] Law No. 2146 of May 14, 1881, sponsored by Deputies Marcolino Moura, Alexandre Herculano, Frederico Lisboa, and Virgilio de Carvalho. Articles 2 and 3 read as follows:

ARTICLE 2.—This Emancipation Fund shall be derived:

SECTION 1. From each and every provincial tax relative to slaves, including the inheritance and legacy stamps.

SEC. 2. From the returns of an annual lottery of 100 contos.

SEC. 3. From the donations of individuals and of philanthropic associations.

SEC. 4. From legacies left or set up for the benefit of the fund.

SEC. 5. From the payment of a tax obligatory for this purpose by every dramatic and musical company which shall play in the Theatro Publico.

ART. 3.—The distribution of this Emancipation Fund shall be in the hands of each *municipio* in accordance with Article 26 of Statute 5135 of the thirteenth of November, 1872.

The seventh apportionment from this fund, made by act of Governor Theodoro Machado on May 13, 1886, amounted to 59 contos, 723$244 (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 233).

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[88] The *Rio News* of April 5, 1884, reported a week's festival being at that time held in Rio in celebration of emancipation in Ceará. Large sums were realized from donations and bazaars, several slaves were liberated, and a movement set on foot to secure complete emancipation in Rio also. On September 28, 1887, there was held at Belem a "redemption celebration" to which flocked "the press, the abolition societies, the Masons, leaders of the city's commercial life, many women, and the people." One hundred and nine *Cartas de Liberdade* were distributed. On the following day, the *Provincio do Pará*, one of the leading abolition journals of Brazil, published an editorial suggesting a *liga redemptora*, whose program would be that of seeking to secure complete emancipation in the Belem *municipio* by the following December 31 (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 548).

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[89] The provisions of this law freed slaves from sixty to sixty-two years of age on the condition that they serve three additional years without remuneration. Slaves sixty-three years of age were to serve two additional years; those sixty-four, one additional year.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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from early colonial times on, seems not to have been very great, and the upheaval which in 1822 culminated in Brazilian independence seems to have buried most of the vestiges of Portuguese prestige. Even today the Portuguese are the constant butt of vaudeville jokes.

175 567 668 249 464 • [635] [664] [665] [646] *[563]

Many of the free *homens de côr* (men of color), especially those who possessed slaves, either were indifferent to the slave question or openly opposed abolition.[95] Most of the large plantation owners and their spokesmen in the provincial legislature and national parliament opposed the abolition campaign, and their forces at one time dominated the Liberal party.[96] However, many of the slaveholders appear to have increasingly accepted abolition as inevitable and merely to have asked remuneration for the financial loss involved. Apprehension that the plantation system would utterly collapse if free labor were substituted for slave

[95] The abolitionist, Anselmo da Fonseca (*ibid.*, pp. 137, 142–43), complains of the persistent opposition to abolition on the part of *homens de côr*. In 1884, out of thirty candidates for the Bahian *camara*, "the only one who in a published document had the audacity to ask election in the name of slavery" was the *homem de côr*, Conselheiro Domingos Carlos e Silva. In 1887 an *homem de côr* canceled his subscription to the *Diario da Bahia* for its refusal to publish an advertisement regarding a fugitive slave. Fonseca regarded this man as "one of the most intolerant slaveholders in Bahia."

[96] On hearing of the program presented by the imperial cabinet on June 6, 1884, "almost all the leaders of the liberal party in Bahia, the owners of large business and commercial houses, and the sugar aristocracy" lodged a protest in which they declared: "The slave is more than a portion of a private fortune; he is a social institution, a labor supply, a necessity to production, an asset of the national life. Above the immediate interests of planter and merchant . . . . are the permanent . . . . interests of society, the benefits which accrue to thousands of human beings living or yet unborn—the necessities of public order, and the development of national wealth" (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 283).

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Two of the six speakers at the dedicatory exercises for the newly constructed Instituto de Cacau on the following day were *brancos da Bahia* (each with only slight indications of Negro ancestry), and four were whites.

During the visit of a neighboring governor, a procession formed in the Avenida Sete de Setembro to escort the distinguished visitor, together with the Bahian governor, Juracy Magalhães, to the latter's palace. Riding in the procession, alighting in front of the palace, and following the two chief executives into the spacious rooms of the governor's mansion, were presumably the city's political élite, all in formal attire. Of a total of 99 persons, 70 were whites, 22 were very light mulattoes with only slightly noticeable traces of Negro lineage, 7 were dark mulattoes, and none was black. Of the escort of 23 army officials dressed in appropriate uniform, 9 were whites, 12 were very light mulattoes, 2 were dark mixed-bloods.

Of 46 members of the state legislature, 69.4 per cent were whites, 15.2 per cent were *brancos da Bahia*, and 11.0 per cent were mulattoes.[23] Of 14 aldermen, 8 were whites, 4 were *brancos da Bahia*, and 2 were mulattoes (both very light).

In legal proceedings no discrimination is at all evident. Colored individuals appear not only among the defendants but also among those engaged in the defense or the prosecution, as well as among the jury itself. Whites, however, predominate.

Of the officers of the medical association, 6 were whites, 3 were *brancos da Bahia*, and 3 were mulattoes. Of 18 members of an elective supervisory body for the legal profession, 14 were whites, 3 were *brancos da Bahia*, and only 1 had noticeable evidence of mixed ancestry and that principally

[23] One deputy was a black, and there was also 1 *mameluco*.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Carlos Gomes, famed Brazilian composer of the operas *Guaraný* and *Fosca*, 389 Bahians gathered in the Instituto Geographico e Historico. Of these, 316 were whites, 61 were mulattoes (predominately light), 11 were blacks, and 1 was a *cafuso*. With the governor of Bahia (white) on the platform were 12 citizens in formal dress, all whites[26] except the governor's bodyguard, a light mulatto in army uniform. Two young ladies in formal dress, both white, sang and declaimed. Of the 3 subsequent speakers, 2 were whites and 1 was a *branco da Bahia*. The military police band, which furnished instrumental music for the occasion, was composed of 9 blacks, 26 mulattoes, 2 whites, 3 *cafusos*, and 1 *mameluco*, under the direction of a mulatto bandmaster. Fifty students from the Instituto de Musica da Bahia sang one of Gomes' compositions. All were whites, except 2 light mulattoes.

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Twenty-one women, aged eighteen to forty, were present at a cooking school sponsored by a foreign resident. A novel experience in Bahia, where for generations Negro servants have prepared the food, this school had assumed somewhat the character of a fad. The group included several ladies from upper-class families, well to do, educated and traveled. The wife of the governor occasionally attended. Present were 18 whites and 3 light mulattoes, among the latter a *morena*, perhaps the best-dressed lady of the group. Her father is deceased, and her mother is a dressmaker in moderate circumstances. The girl's beauty, pleasant manner, and constant well-tailored appearance have secured for her admittance into the upper circles. She is often invited into the "best" homes. Another of the mixed-bloods present was

563* 874 [252] [357]

[26] Including one *branco da Bahia*.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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A stranger 602
is often surprised to discover individuals whom he had not previously thought of as related turning out to be brothers or other close relatives.

The gradually improving status of women is today work- 562
ing against *mancebia*, and many of the "more scrupulous" 837
families discourage it. In these, the wife, if she knows of her husband's affairs, may reprove him, as also may other members of the family and its friends. But usually, as an upper- [521]
class woman said, "the ladies talk very little about it, and then only with their most intimate friends. The subject is not generally discussed."

Although in recent years at least two feminists have be- 59
come quite prominent, and one of these has been elected to 562
the state legislature, the common family pattern at Bahia is [635]
still patriarchal. Tempered, of course, by the natural claims which primary relations always tend to set up, the role of the husband and father has, throughout Bahian history, been a decidedly dominant role. For instance, it is said to have formerly been the custom—at Bahia today in some instances a custom still observed—for the husband to select and purchase the materials for his wife's clothing and even indicate the manner in which the goods should be made up. Formerly, women, other than prostitutes, servants, and other individuals of inferior status, were rarely seen upon the streets or in public places, the home being considered their proper sphere. Even in the home, women seem to have rarely appeared in the presence of strangers. Tollenare, visiting Pernambuco in the early nineteenth century, wrote, "At my arrival [in the house of a merchant], the women disappeared, and only the head of the house remained in the *salão* to talk to me." In another connection he remarked: "During eight months of residence in Pernambuco I never once saw the

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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descriptions; and the women have been taught needle-work, embroidery, and all branches of culinary knowledge.[40]

In 1822 an observer in Rio noted:

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When the Emperor had received the public bodies, he came and led the Empress into the great receiving room, and there, both of them standing on the upper step of the throne, had their hands kissed by naval, military and civil officers, and private citizens. . . . . It was curious, but it pleased me, to see some Negro officers take the small white hand of the Empress in their clumsy black hands, and apply their pouting African lips to so delicate a skin; but they looked up to *Nosso Imperador* (Our Emperor), and to her, with a reverence that seemed to me a promise of faith *from* them, a bond of kindness *to* them.[41]

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"There is evidently," commented another visitor, "a sincere wish to make the liberated slave a useful citizen, if possible."[42]

Custom came gradually to grant the slave, as Burton has pointed out, many of the rights of a freeman:

He may educate himself, and he is urged to do so. He is regularly catechised, and in all large plantations there is a daily religious service. If assailed in life or limb he may defend himself against his master, or any white man, and an over-harsh proprietor or overseer always runs considerable risk of not dying in bed. He is legally married, and the chastity of his wife is defended against his owner. He has little fear of being separated from his family: the humane instincts and the religious tenets of the people are strongly opposed to this act of barbarity. He has every chance of becoming a free man: manumission is held to be a Catholic duty and priestly communities are ashamed of holding slaves. . . . .[43]

[40] *Op. cit.*, I, 258: "The owners said that all their own immediate relations were rich; . . . . and that therefore these their children had no right to work for any one else."

[41] Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 319. [42] Codman, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

[43] *Op. cit.*, pp. 271–72. Some cases undoubtedly occurred in which the master refused to manumit a slave upon his presenting the cost price, but these were probably rare. Koster (*op. cit.*, I, 192–94) says that, although

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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CHAPTER VIII

RACIAL IDEOLOGY AND RACIAL ATTITUDES

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IN RECENT years there has grown up in Brazil a lively interest in the African and his descendants. This has resulted, among other things, in the holding of two *Congressos Afro-brasileiros*, the first of which met in Recife in November, 1934, and the second in Bahia in January, 1937. Composed of intellectuals having a common interest in the Brazilian Negro, their agenda indicate that such interest is confined almost entirely to three fields: (1) the history of African importation and slavery; (2) problems of acculturation, with especial attention to the survivals of African cultural forms; and (3) anthropometric variations. Generally absent is any concern with problems of racial conflict or accommodation, implying quite definitely the comparative absence of these problems in the social order as well as the comparative absence of any race consciousness answering to them on the part of the Negro or any other ethnic group.

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The participants in the 1937 *Congresso*, which met in Bahia, visited fetish-cult centers, witnessed *capoeira*[1] and *samba*[2] presentations, studied the material relics of fetish-cult ceremonies available in Bahian museums, honored the memory of Nina Rodrigues (who some forty years ago pioneered in studies of the Afro-Brazilian cults in Bahia),[3] and

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[1] See chap. ix.

[2] The *samba*, probably of African origin, is a dance with vocal accompaniment (see chap. ix), as well as a musical form.

[3] See Nina Rodrigues, *L'Animisme fétichiste des nègres de Bahia* (Bahia, 1900) and *Os africanos no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1932).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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passed resolutions protesting police interference with the *candomblé* and demanding full religious liberty in the exercise of its rites.

Papers presented to this congress by Brazilians dealt with such subjects as "Slave Insurrections in the Province of Espirito Santo during the Nineteenth Century," "Old Documents concerning the Negroes of the Palmares," "Castro Alves and Brazilian Poetical Treatment of the Negro Slave," "The *Africano* in Bahia," "Chapters in Afro-Brazilian Ethnology in Rio Grande," "Bantú Contributions to Religious Syncretism in Brazil," "A Revision of Afro-Brazilian Ethnology," "The *Africano* and His Culture in Brazil," "The *Orixá*[4] of the Poor," "The School of Nina Rodrigues," and "The Negro and the Problem of Acculturation in Brazil." Only one paper was not concerned with ethnological or historical problems; and it, although it took account of ethnic differences, did not treat of any form of racial conflict. It dealt with "The Negro Criminal in Bahia."

Similar questions were discussed in the first *Congresso Afro-brasileiro*, which met in Recife, sponsored by Gilberto Freyre, a social historian whose *Casa grande e senzala* and *Sobrados e mucambos* throw significant light upon the Negro in colonial and imperial Brazil.[5] This gathering was, because of its informal character and the attempt to present factual data, "something new in Brazil."[6] As Freyre describes it:

> There was lacking both formality and a consciousness of class. Around a table, at the head of which different individuals took turns

[4] *Orixá* is a Yoruba word meaning "deity."

[5] An interesting estimate of Freyre's work by Dr. Lewis Hanke appears in the *Quarterly Journal of Inter-American Relations*, July, 1939, pp. 24-44, under the title "Gilberto Freyre: Brazilian Social Historian."

[6] Gilberto Freyre, "O que foi o primeiro Congresso Afro-brasileiro no Recife," in *Novos estudos afro-brasileiros*, ed. Freyre *et al.* (Rio, 1937), p. 348.

[SALVADOR]

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*563 /13 cont./
562 may not be of African blood (3).
829
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[113]

3. Arthur Ramos, Introduçao a Antropologia Brasileira, II, Rio de Janeiro, 1947.

829 The Indians and the descendants of the cross between Indians
*563 and Whites are generally called cabôclos, but this expression is
192 no longer very common in Bahia and rarely serves to characterize
[178] the corresponding type. The term cabôclo has become, like that
[196] of "my Negro," rather a formula of tenderness between individuals
of any color whatsoever. It must be noted, moreover, thanks to
175 old statistics, that toward the middle of the eighteenth century, in
829 response to complaints about Brazilian "nativism," the Portuguese
648 government prohibited the use of the term cabôclo, to which was
• 641 then attached an insulting meaning, and granted at the same time the
576 civil status of Whites to Indians and to their descendants of mixed
192 blood, so that they could contract marriage with the Whites and
fulfill official duties in the colony; it is in that manner that the
contingents of mamelucos or cabôclos were assimilated with the
192 Whites in the military roles of the time. The word meanwhile
178 lost its insulting import and in our day is even considered a com-
829 pliment when it refers to a cabôclo bom, that is to say, a man of
576 good manners.

The Negroid albinos and the mulattoes with red, blond, or
144 light auburn hair are known by the name of sararás.
192

The exact designation of these different types has always /14/
144 represented a difficulty, as much for anthropologists as for the
*563 persons charged with identifying school children, the military,
829 the criminals (1).

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*563
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[113]

1. According to the Bahian anthropologist Nina Rodriguez (in her book As raças humanas e a responsabilidade penal no Brasil /The Human Races and Penal Responsibility in Brazil/, 3rd edition, written at the beginning of the century), the métis include: 1st, the mulattoes produced from the cross between the White and the Negro:

[SALVADOR]

/21 cont./

*563 the Bahians congregate together or avoid one another much more
565 in terms of their social rank than of their color or their race.
829 Crossbreeding is not forbidden by any law and comes up against
[656] the disapprobation of opinion only to the extent that it affects the
[626] structure of classes firmly established in the country: upper strata made up almost exclusively of Whites, that is to say, persons of white phenotype or at least "socially white," lower strata made up chiefly of colored people; a classification which makes classes and racial types approximately coincide, without, however, making them identical.

175 From the early days of Portuguese colonization there has been
*563 a large number of colored persons in Bahia. In the beginning the
[595] colonists mixed largely with the tupi /Tupi/ Indian women of the region, living with them in a state of concubinage and often
[567] polygamy. Slavery having been abolished in the first half of the
[641] seventeenth century for the aborigines, and civil and political rights having been granted them a short time afterward, cross-
[829] breeding continued through marriage. Thus, today a large number of morenos explain their dark color by boasting about some ancestor pegado a dente de cachorro, that is to say, captured like an animal that one hunts in the virgin forest in the wild state.
[161] But the number of natives decreased rapidly and had little influ-
[167] ence on the formation of the Bahian type. The opposite /22/
[567] occurred with the Africans brought by the thousands and thousands to work on the sugar-cane plantations. The crossbreeding of Portuguese and Brazilians with Africans and Blacks born in Brazil was made possible and even favored by different factors, among them the scarcity of white women in the initial period, the slave system, the laxness of social control with regard to male sexual behavior, the physical and psychological charms of black women, in particular the minas Blacks, natives of the Costa da Mina in
[829] the western Sudan. It was commonly said at that time that, in order to see beautiful Negresses, it was necessary to go to Bahia (1);

1. F. Biard, Deux années au Brésil /Two years in Brazil/, Paris, 1862.

[SALVADOR]

/19 cont./

665 This means that Brazilians born in other States have made
666 careers in different parties of Bahia and have been elected to
578 represent the Bahians at the legislative assembly of the State or
828 at the national parliament. The same candidate, moreover,
[646] had been elected governor several years earlier, before this attribute of "foreigner" exerted a decisive influence in the fight led against him.

829 /20/ Brazilian customs condemn all social discrimination.
577 the Bahians, particularly those of the more advanced groups, pride themselves on these traditions of tolerance and liberalism, and consider them proper for forming the very prototype of the cordial Brazilian man whom Gobineau describes: "to be very polished, gracious, very friendly," and whose qualities are defined by a Brazilian sociologist as a mixture of kindness, tolerance, and good
181 manners. Life in Bahia is appreciated and envied by some, criti-
182 cized by others for its slow rhythm, its lack of combativeness, its strict particularism, and for the thousand mechanisms that always work in a way to mitigate the antagonisms and the conflicts between groups and individuals. The French sociologist Roger Bastide said some years ago that it is good "that in Bahia very rapid progress is not at all prejudicial to the qualities of soul that make up its charm."

• 641 What contributes a great deal toward mitigating the tensions
829 between the groups that confront one another in the society of
186 Bahia is the polarization of dissatisfaction that in all of Brazil, but especially in our city, takes place concerning the idea of "government," that is to say, public authorities in general, the population having the habit of discharging on them its aggressive impulses, imputing to this very vague entity all the evils that beset Bahia.

829 As for race relations, one may state that a certain antagonism
* 563 exists between Blacks and mulattoes. There are, without doubt, some color prejudices in Bahia, but, as a moreno of liberal profession says, "prejudice is not only the doing of Whites; out of fear of being assimilated with the Blacks, the mulatto avoids them and draws closer to the Whites." A number of informants think that

[SALVADOR]

*563 453 464 /50 cont./

"In the banks dark individuals can no longer have careers," say our informants. In an important national bank, according to some, Blacks or very pigmented mulattoes are not admitted; in the branches that this bank has in the city colored employees are few, and these in any case are very light. This selection occurs in the competition for admission, the candidates of dark color being examined with great strictness. In other banking establishments one notes a less marked discrimination. Although /51/ the directors and the managers of the local banks are all white, more or less finos, several employees of mixed blood are accepted there. In the offices of two of these banks one counts 13 light mulattoes and morenos, two dark mulattoes, and 21 Whites. But access to the offices of the directorship or management is very difficult, because these organizations, aside from the fact that they constitute in a certain sense traditional enterprises of some families, demand that one have at his disposal deposited capital, in the form of shares, in the companies managed by the banks, which is difficult for young colored men."

A public official therefore had valid reasons for saying that "the colored people occupy few positions in commerce."

• 641 *563 [884] /52/ Politics

Every Brazilian who has reached the age of 21 may be registered as a voter, provided that he can read and write and that he is engaged in a lawful occupation. His physical type is of no importance: the law does not make any distinction and the officials in charge of voting questions do not make any difficulties about registering colored persons of either sex. Everyone may thus enjoy the right to vote and to be elected.

162 641 *563 The number of voters in the State of Bahia is 875,000, in the city itself 139,000, a large proportion of which is colored people. And the number of the latter is increasing rapidly, for the social ascent of the proletarian masses in Brazil comes about by the acquisition of economic advantages and guarantees, but also and above all by the prize of political awareness and by access ooo to civic rights. From this point of view politics is in the process

[SALVADOR]

/59 cont./

*563 706 874 [504] of not admitting Blacks came to run this school; this occurred more than 20 years ago, under vehement protests. It is significant that among the articles that the papers published about this event those of a lawyer and professor of English, a black leader originally from a British colony of Africa, stand out in particular (1).

•[641]

1. In one of these articles this same Black wrote: "The Black is a preponderant ethnic factor in the formation of the crossbreeding so common in its various nuances in Brazil and, as a Brazilian in fact and by law, he is, before the Constitution, the equal of the White as a citizen of this same Republic. The School of naval apprentices having the right to choose its candidates, this right can be based only on moral precedents, on the aptitudes or the physical stamina of the candidates, and not on physical accidents of color.

*563 641 Such episodes reveal one of the peculiar aspects of race relations in Bahia, as in all of Brazil, the freedom that has been given colored people to defend their rights themselves, by expressing themselves, sometimes with violence, against prejudice. Now not only is this freedom guaranteed them, but numerous finos Whites of high position, particularly university professors and intellectuals, support them by their writings. At present the naval apprentices are recruited among the poor classes, and numerous Blacks are found among them, as one may verify in the civic and military parades in which they take part. Blacks, métis, and Whites may advance in aviation and the navy up to the grades of sergeant and non-commissioned officer. That of officer, apart from the fact that it cannot be obtained except after specialized courses, presents other difficulties. The land army, of all the national military organizations, is the one that is considered the most /60/ accessible to colored people, even with regard to the officers. Among 12 superior officers who took part in a military

*563 70 [565]

[SALVADOR]

/99 cont./

*563 668 [669] [642]

During this time political agitation increased in the country, a revolution broke out, and the parties of the extreme right and the extreme left made their appearance, thus increasing the confusion, which reached its height in 1937 with a dictatorship that lasted about eight years. During the first months of this same year there was founded in Bahia the Henrique Dias Society, named in honor of a black soldier who had become famous in the struggles against the Dutch invaders during the colonial period. The founders of this association, although much less numerous than those of the preceding one, were men of a higher professional and social position, though modest in the majority. The only intellectual leaders were a lawyer and former judge, the central figure of the group, 12 young physicians, a judge, a pharmacist, eight non-graduate lawyers, two journalists, a musician, and a university student; the other founder-members were 21 petty officials, three merchants, six civil constructors, 14 commercial employees, and 68 artisans. All signed the founding document. The society, according to its statutes, is composed of Brazilians, without distinction as to color, and its aim is "to fight for reconciliation and unity between persons of different color, to develop education, chiefly for the members and their families, to grant them all the assistance desired, to engage in sports and commemorate civic dates." One of the articles of these statutes stipulates that "homage will be rendered to persons who have accomplished a lofty deed for the defense of society, of country, and for the equality of the races." In a page of propaganda, the founder of the society explained that the name of the soldier of whom we have spoken above "symbolically expresses racial and social unity, for this is what Henrique Diaz was: an act of union between the black race, which did the physical work of Brazil, and the white race, which governed and defended it." Continuing the argument he added that "all this demonstrates the reason d'être of racial equality and the absurdity of prejudice, which endeavors to subordinate one race to the other," and he succeeded in justifying the existence of the Henrique Diaz Society, which, "having decided to lead the

[SALVADOR]

/99 cont./

*563 668 struggle against this prejudice, wishes to do so for the unity of individuals of different skins, for the realization of an educational program." "This association," its founder announced in a letter to the author of these pages, "was an outcome of the black fronts and was founded in order to combat the racial prejudice that Nazism wanted to introduce into our country when /100/ integralism (1)

[665] 1. A political movement of the extreme right, organized into a party. One of the principal national leaders of this party at that time published several books of anti-Semitic doctrine.

dominated. It should be noted that the situation was such that Negroes were afraid to be and to call themselves black, this making them suspected of Communism. And in fact a newspaper went so far as to say that this was Communism. But once the New State had disappeared (2),

[642] 2. The name given to the authoritarian political regime established by the dictatorship from 1937 to 1945.

[178] there came democracy and our society continued." The Henrique Diaz Society still exists, but has not acquired great prestige; its management rarely meets, and since its head has settled in the interior of the State, where he performs the duties of judge, it has practically only a nominal existence, limiting itself, thanks to a small federal subvention, to running a modest primary school in a poor district.

One of the founders of the society launched another movement in 1946, the Campanha do Pi Racial (3),

3. Pi (π), a Greek letter adopted by the Campanha do Pi Racial as a symbol of rapprochement.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOII Bahia Brazilians SOII
BRAZIL SLI

BB 159

went to Campo Largo, setting up our camp near the iron foundry of Ipanema, a location which we had chosen by reason of its natural advantages to be our first base from which to survey the province of São Paulo.

BB 159 643

We were proceeding with this measuring when a communication arrived from Colonel Mursa, director of the foundry, which surprised us greatly. His Majesty, the Emperor Dom Pedro II, the Colonel told us, had arrived there yesterday and had commanded the engineers of the Geographic and Geological Commission to present themselves before him without further delay and to bring with them their field notes and all data gathered during the exploration of the Paranapanema River, since His Majesty wished to see this information before its re-writing in the office. The order was urgent, and the Colonel advised us to go just as we were, in our field attire, since this was the wish of the Emperor.

B 643

All morning in Ipanema, Dom Pedro II examined our blueprints, measurements, notes, calculations, and drawings and inquired about the practical results of our work. He raised still other questions and objections on certain technical points, since he was a professional in this field. At luncheon he invited us all to join him at the same table, and I was given the honor of sitting in the chair at his right. During the luncheon we talked only of the studies carried out during our exploration, of the incidents of the trip, of the Indians, their customs and language. I state these details so that you may see how great was the interest of the Brazilian monarch in scientific studies, his vast erudition, his thirst for knowledge, his manifest desire for justice, and his utter lack of class or color prejudice. For Dom Pedro II was of all Brazilians most exempt from the prejudices of his time.

On taking leave of us, His Majesty desired that the studies of the Paranapanema River should be published as soon as possible.

BB 159

Our investigation of the valley of the Paranapanema, a region which in former times was under the dominion of the Tupís and Guaranís, afforded me an opportunity of studying more closely this indigenous element so important in the history of the Brazilian people and in the formation of their national character. I gathered valuable data to contribute to the body of information regarding this race and the *lingua geral* which for nearly three centuries was the language spoken in this part of Brazil.

[SALVADOR]

/53 cont./

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175 is not entirely new, except in that it affects men of dark color and
178 modest circumstances, for since the monarchical epoch numerous
*563 métis bearers of nobiliary titles granted by the emperor had rep-
•645 resented Bahia in the imperial parliament and occupied posts in the
646 national ministries. At least three ministers of foreign affairs, chosen among the statesmen of Bahia during the Empire and the Republic, were métis of great talent and of great social and political prestige. One of the most brilliant federal deputies of the republican regime established in 1889 was a dark mulatto, a health-service engineer, a historian and linguist of renown. Alluding to this intellectual, someone once said to a dark young man: "You will never be president of the Republic, but you can hope to acquire the fame of a Teodoro Sampaio." If one is to be-
[173] lieve oral tradition, a member of the highest tribunal of justice
[829] of Bahia, a métis of very high social and intellectual rank, asserted in a speech that Bahia has always had the lead in this tradition "of liberty and equality among men who do not belong to the same race or at times to the same religion."

*563 During the last election campaigns, the attitude of certain
666 candidates toward colored persons was exploited in favor of some and to the detriment of others. Thus, rumors were circulated in 1945, according to which a candidate for the presidency of the Republic was supposed to harbor color prejudices and not allow the admission of Blacks and dark mulattoes into the military aviation services, which he then directed. It is maintained that these accusations contributed to reducing the number of votes in favor of this candidate in Bahia, in spite of the efforts that his party made to lessen the bad impression that this revelation had produced, even among the Whites. On the occasion of the 1950 campaign, the followers of one of the candidates for the office of governor of the State distributed a tract in which a newspaper favorable to another candidate was accused of having published an article whose author maintained that Negresses made themselves /54/ ridiculous by aping white women. In both cases it was an attempt to cause difficulties between candidates and voters. Moreover, a national association of colored men recommended to

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 567 668 *563 [522]

from early colonial times on, seems not to have been very great, and the upheaval which in 1822 culminated in Brazilian independence seems to have buried most of the vestiges of Portuguese prestige. Even today the Portuguese are the constant butt of vaudeville jokes.

175 567 668 249 464 [635] [664] [665] • [646] *[563]

Many of the free *homens de côr* (men of color), especially those who possessed slaves, either were indifferent to the slave question or openly opposed abolition.[95] Most of the large plantation owners and their spokesmen in the provincial legislature and national parliament opposed the abolition campaign, and their forces at one time dominated the Liberal party.[96] However, many of the slaveholders appear to have increasingly accepted abolition as inevitable and merely to have asked remuneration for the financial loss involved. Apprehension that the plantation system would utterly collapse if free labor were substituted for slave

[95] The abolitionist, Anselmo da Fonseca (*ibid.*, pp. 137, 142–43), complains of the persistent opposition to abolition on the part of *homens de côr*. In 1884, out of thirty candidates for the Bahian *camara*, "the only one who in a published document had the audacity to ask election in the name of slavery" was the *homem de côr*, Conselheiro Domingos Carlos e Silva. In 1887 an *homem de côr* canceled his subscription to the *Diario da Bahia* for its refusal to publish an advertisement regarding a fugitive slave. Fonseca regarded this man as "one of the most intolerant slaveholders in Bahia."

[96] On hearing of the program presented by the imperial cabinet on June 6, 1884, "almost all the leaders of the liberal party in Bahia, the owners of large business and commercial houses, and the sugar aristocracy" lodged a protest in which they declared: "The slave is more than a portion of a private fortune; he is a social institution, a labor supply, a necessity to production, an asset of the national life. Above the immediate interests of planter and merchant . . . . are the permanent . . . . interests of society, the benefits which accrue to thousands of human beings living or yet unborn—the necessities of public order, and the development of national wealth" (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 283).

[SALVADOR]

/19 cont./

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[SALVADOR]

/52 cont./ From this point of view politics is in the process
178 of becoming one of the most powerful means of social transforma-
*563 tion. The politicians take the greatest care to promote the regis-
565 tration on the lists of the largest possible number of persons of the
666 lower classes, among whom there is a majority of Blacks and mêtis, people more dependent and less educated and for that reason also more amenable to propaganda and demagoguery. In the months that precede the general elections held simultaneously every four years throughout the country, the candidates for political offices spend considerable sums and multiply their efforts, directly or through the instrumentality of their canvassers, to persuade the people to have themselves registered as voters. The services that they render these voters are one of the means they count on to obtain their votes. As a result, the most popular politicians are those who, not having or pretending not to have class or color prejudice, approach the most humble voters, shake hands and embrace them when they meet them, pay them visits or receive them at their homes or in their offices, and who, after having been elected, continue to lavish on them the same demonstrations, in public or in the government palaces or chambers. A number of politicians, because of this, are assisted by black and mulatto canvassers, who thus, in our day, maintain the loyalty and the devotion that their ancestors showed the families in which they were slaves.

178 In former times, an informant tells us, a man of dark color
*563 could not enter political life; he could be a canvasser, but he was
666 rarely a candidate or a member of a party. In spite of this, in the
[665] municipal council of Bahia there was /53/ always one or two Blacks of humble occupation, elected thanks to the influence of political-party chiefs, and some morenos or mulattoes of more or less high rank were elected as representatives in the legislative assembly of the State of Bahia. With the political revolution of
• [646] 1930, representation by class in the chamber of the State and
[467] in the federal chamber was created; in that way numerous manual laborers, black or mulatto, were elected as representatives of
[665] their unions. When union representation was suppressed in 1937,
[467] colored men continued to try to obtain improvement of their social situation by taking part in the life of the parties.

[SALVADOR]

/53 cont./

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[SALVADOR]

/54 cont./

*563 665 perform very important duties in the government of the State. A merchant of mixed blood, wealthy and refined, and moreover one of the directors of a strong centrist party, was elected federal deputy in the last elections. These two men exert great influence on their respective parties; this influence is also due to the financial support and to the devotion that they do not cease to lavish on them. The Communist Party does not have a legal existence, but, according to some informants, it exploits the difficulties of the poor and stimulates racial antagonism; the newspaper that it publishes in Bahia and the candidates that it presents under the cover of other parties receive some support from poor colored people; one of /55/ the most important of its leaders is a mulatto of liberal profession.

[204]

*563 666 646 At the last elections numerous persons of dark color were candidates for political offices, but the registers of the electoral tribunal bear no indication of the candidates' type. It is known, however, that among the 103 present representatives of the people of Bahia in the federal, municipal, and State legislative assemblies there are approximately 30 o/o morenos and pardos, some of whom are quite dark. Several of them enjoy great prestige, and it should be noted that in the assemblies they are by no means grouped according to their type of their racial origin. The politicians of one and the same party conduct their tours and their election campaigns together, and their prestige by no means depends on their color, but on their personality and the parties or political leaders with whom they are affiliated. One can currently read in the newspapers appeals signed by persons of different "quality" with a view to paying tribute to politicians likewise of different "quality." A deputy from Bahia is regarded as the one member of the national parliament who shows the most Negroid features, but this does not create any difficulty for him in his political work. It is said that a white deputy speaking from the rostrum of parliament has presented himself more than once as a "mulatto from Bahia" in order to become better identified with the representatives from the State of Bahia.

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[SALVADOR]

/55 cont./

178 Thirty or forty years ago, among the insults hurled at po-
*563 litical adversaries in the newspapers and even in the speeches of
666 the legislative assemblies, the epithet "mulatto" or "Negro" was frequent. Today this takes place less often, because the style of political contests has lost much of its character of personal reprisals. Nevertheless one of the last governors of the State of Bahia, a statesman of national fame and once even a deputy minister to one of the presidents of the Republic, was a moreno of great moral and intellectual prestige. While he was in power, none of his political adversaries publicly alluded to his "caste." But, after he had left his office, a newspaper of another city, criticizing his activity, published a comment entitled "Administrative profile of a pardavasco" (1),

[192] 1. Pardavasco = diminutive sometimes used as a synonym of pardo.

an article in which the qualification mulato pachola was repeated in a contemptuous sense; another politician, in turn condemning his work in the government, delivered a speech against what he called "the creole democracy of the creole M.," the expression "creole" being used here in the sense of a Black or the descendant of a Black born in Brazil. Recently in the national parliament a politician from another State, feeling offended /56/ by the newspaper of an industrialist of Bahia, a whitened mulatto, gave a violent speech in which he called the latter "métis of low extraction." Attacks of this kind, however, do not always come from finos Whites; more than once they are the doing of "Whites in color."

*563 In short, although it is rare that a Black or a dark mulatto
555 reaches a high political position, it is nonetheless true that for many colored people politics is a means of elevating oneself in the social hierarchy. Attacks of the kind that we have alluded to show a certain antagonism toward the colored men who elevate
• [646] themselves thanks to politics. At the present time the leader of the governmental party in the legislative assembly of the State of Bahia is the red curiboca (métis of Indian and White blood) of whom we have already had occasion to speak. It is for this reason

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1

BB 175 277 472 of the twentieth century there were four cigarette factories and twelve cigar factories in the Recôncavo.[47]

BB 647 249 651 652 As was characteristic for other products in Brazil, a semi-autonomous government organization was set up to stabilize the tobacco industry in Bahia--the Instituto Bahiano do Fumo (Bahian Institute of Tobacco). Founded in 1935, the Instituto attempts to stimulate the production and improvement of techniques and quality, supervise marketing through a grading system, set minimum prices, and control export of leaf tobacco. Although the Instituto has not succeeded in changing significantly the techniques of the tobacco industry, it has been reasonably successful in maintaining production and price.

BB 175 178 249 245 Just as Bahia had been displaced from its leading position within Brazil, so in turn was the Recôncavo displaced from its exalted position within the state. Tobacco replaced sugar as Bahia's leading commercial product in the nineteenth century, but forfeited its position to cacao in the twentieth century. The replacement of sugar by tobacco was primarily a shift within the Recôncavo, but the rise of cacao brought to the fore Bahia's southern coast. In one sense, however, the Recôncavo retained its old centrality--Salvador remains today the leading political and economic focus of the state, even for the cacao trade.

BB 433 249 BB 161 162 The continued importance of the Recôncavo in Bahia has been partially the result of the vested interests of the sugar and tobacco systems. In addition, the Recôncavo remains today the leading center of population in Bahia, despite its relative decline. In 1872 the Recôncavo had at least 450,000 out of a total state population of 1,379,616. Thereafter the position of the Recôncavo declined, so that by 1940 only one-fourth of the almost four million people of the state lived in this region. However, the compact population

VILA RECÔNCAVO

5. Town Life

THE OCCUPATIONS of the townspeople in Vila Recôncavo differ considerably from the pursuits of the people in the rural zone. The town residents are engaged in gaining a living from a number of small enterprises; the economy is a money economy, and not one dominated by mutual obligations and rights, as it is to a certain degree on the plantations. Vila Recôncavo is the county seat and lacks any organized commerce or industry. It can be called an administrative town, inasmuch as government employment is the life of many of the people, especially the town's upper class. 369 463 632 [434] [433] [647]

The economic occupations of the townspeople can be divided into four groups: (1) the bureaucrats and merchants; (2) the group which serves them, such as cooks and laundresses; (3) a middle group of artisans whose greatest asset, as well as liability, is their independence; (4) a small group of people who do not fit into any of the three groups above. 463

According to the census which was taken in June, 1950, the labor force of the town numbered 459 persons, including men and women. Of the 459, eleven listed themselves as unemployed. The remainder of the population were listed as housewives, students, small children, and old people who were retired or incapacitated. In this category, which numbers about one thousand people, there are individuals who engage in part-time work, such as carrying water or firewood or doing piecework sewing--in other words, small occupations which in their eyes are not worthy of being classed as employment. [162]

The occupations which were listed can be broken down into the four groups mentioned above as follows:

[SALVADOR]

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*563 555 that one may say that for more than 100 years Bahia has been governed "by Whites and by those who regard themselves as such" (1).

[113] 1. Von Spix and von Martius, Através a Bahia, /Across Bahia/, 2nd edition, Bahia, p. 75.

/57/ The Bureaucracy

*563 • 647 [557] In all the public administrations of Bahia one finds colored officials (especially in the modest posts). In the past, and even sometimes in our day, the officials were admitted through the influence of politicians or influential members of the administration itself. This is the way numerous dark officials were introduced in all the categories of the administration, without encountering any barrier or opposition. But well in advance of the governments of the States or the municipal services, the federal administration established a regime of competitive examinations in order to make up its ranks, even affecting purely bureaucratic positions. According to a métis who came into the bureaucracy in 1929, "in the federal civil service, there is no favoritism for the Whites, because the offices there are filled by competitive examinations, and there is no opposition to the registration of colored candidates. A well-bred, pleasant, competent Black or mulatto is accepted as associate or chief without opposition on the part of the Whites. Except when they are rude and when they take advantage of their position as departmental heads to make excessive unreasonable demands on Whites or Blacks, no one cares about their color."

With the perfecting of the system of competitive examinations, carried out by means of examinations in which the names of the candidates are not known by the members of the jury, an increasing number of persons of dark color are entering public service throughout Brazil, and cases of candidates who consider themselves victims of racial discrimination are rare. This system

[SALVADOR]

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*563 was introduced in the States and in the municipal services in
• 647 such a way that possibilities are increasing for colored persons entitled to occupy these posts. Given the fact that in spite of this the support that a candidate may receive from a politician or a friend of an official is always very important, it is obvious that persons of more modest circumstances have more difficulty being appointed after having been admitted for the examinations; they are supposed to have even more difficulties obtaining offices that are advantageous or lead to first-rate positions. During the
[175] colonial period some of the participants in a popular revolution
[668] that broke out in Bahia, complaining that because they were pardos all promotion was denied them, tried to establish a regime of equality in which Whites, pardos, and Blacks, without distinction as to color, would be judged solely according to their abilities (1).

[113] 1. Alfonso Ruy, A primeira revoluçao social brasileira -- 1798 /The First Brazilian Social Revolution -- 1798/, 2nd edition, Bahia, 1951, p. 77.

[178] "In olden times," says one Black, "one never saw a moreno /58/ occupying a first-rate post," which is not altogether accurate, for the métis always had important positions in the administration of
[557] Brazil since the colonial period. Today, says another informant,
[555] "the incompetent ones advance through influence; as for the others,
[178] they advance by their own merit, regardless of their color." He himself, in spite of his very dark color, manages sections in which Whites and Blacks work, and he knows that he is highly esteemed by his colleagues. Others think that the Blacks, although admitted without great difficulties, do not have access, save exceptionally, to positions of management which are temporarily occupied in commission through the individual choice of governors and higher officials. Two of our informants illustrate their asser-
[665] tion by citing the case of a Black "who worked a great deal during an election campaign in favor of a party and who, in spite of

[SALVADOR]

/58 cont./

*563 642 [665] this, when the aforesaid party was in power, was not offered any of the important positions that he had a right to hope for by reason of his personality, whereas Whites were appointed without having his capabilities." Facts of this order can certainly not be attributed solely to color prejudice. As for the métis, things are different. They have possibilities and, if they are capable, are named to positions of responsibility, although the Whites predominate in public service. The colored women, as their level of education rises, enter into the administration in open competition with the Whites. In one of the most important sections of Bahia, the controller's office responsible for the huge budgets that this section prepares each year is almost entirely in the hands of a dark mulattress who frequently confers with the secretary of State responsible, under the direct orders of the governor, for this sector of the administration of the State. There are, besides, numerous girls of varied crossbreeding in public positions of different categories.

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/59/ The Army

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Bahia is not an important military center. There are small units of the land, air, and naval forces in the city, and men of any type whatsoever are accepted there as simple soldiers. In their battalions there is no separation between Whites and "men of color," as was the case in the colonial period and in part even while slavery lasted. Certain informants state that it is not easy for a Black to go into aviation, even as a soldier, but others affirm the contrary, and one of them cites the case of a young man who did not go into aviation, but who, having been given certain tests, received as recompense a journey to another State. It is true that this branch, some years ago at any rate, preferred white personnel, but today its troops are mixed. The navy had in the city, in addition to a reduced contingent in which finos Whites and retintos Blacks are mixed, a seamen's preparatory school where any student is accepted. But from time to time a commandant who was accused

*563 706 874

[SALVADOR]

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Professions	Total number	Percentage		
		Whites	Métis	Blacks
Lawyers	1,088	68.8	30	1.1
Civil engineers .	518	72.8	26.8	0.3
Physicians . . .	1,712	81.1	16.9	2
Pharmacists . .	173	82	14.4	3.6

*563 Men of all types occupy posts in public administrations and have
• 647 management posts in them; they can reach the highest offices without having this provoke comments by their subordinates.
[759] Some of the better physicians in Bahia have been colored men whose names are recalled with respect and gratitude. A dark mulatto, brother of a female informant, was classed in first place, along with two white colleagues, in a competition for an important technical post. According to other informants, however, the exclusions formerly suffered by the candidates for the posts of the magistracy were attributed to race prejudice. "One did not openly deny the merits of colored candidates, but in the classification they always figured in second or third rank, although they achieved excellent tests," one informant tells us, and he adds that a certain colored candidate, after having been approved, saw his ap-
*563 pointment postponed on several repeated occasions. In spite of
692 this, there are in the judicial magistracy numerous morenos and
693 dark colored men occupying the positions of judges, prosecutors, and praetors. The highest tribunal of the State includes about one-third colored judges, some of whom have assumed the /83/ presidency of the court of appeals. Other positions connected with judiciary power are also filled by colored men, and it is the same
*563 for those of clerk of the court. The positions of notary, for example,
693 very lucrative positions, are filled by persons of great prestige.
554 Among the five notaries of the city one is fino white, of aristocratic family, and has already occupied important political posts, among them that of governor of the State; another, a very black Black, is very much appreciated for his moral qualities.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 231 After they had recuperated from the long drives, the cattle were used for both labor and food.

175 433 439 171 The colonial economy developed in the Recôncavo--in common with Pernambuco, Campinas (Rio de Janeiro), and lesser centers like Sergipe and Alagoas--was distinct from the economy of the south of Brazil. São Paulo, for example, was self-sufficient, buying little from abroad and having little to sell. Bahia and Pernambuco were almost completely dependent upon exchange with European markets, with Portugal acting as the middleman.

175 249 439 Economic Development from 1600 to 1850. By the middle of the seventeenth century most of the institutions discussed above existed in at least rudimentary form. They were nurtured by an expanding Brazilian commercial economy which enjoyed, for the moment, a virtual monopoly in sugar. Bahia was the leading province in Brazil in the export of both sugar and tobacco.[23] The production of these crops was centered almost entirely in the Recôncavo area of the state. The [567] tobacco was sent at first to Africa, in exchange for increasingly large numbers of slaves for the ever-greedy sugar industry. Slowly, however, a secondary market for Bahia tobacco developed in Europe. With few exceptions the sugar was marketed in Europe and at a high price. The engenhos of Bahia were the largest in Brazil, though still very small by modern standards.[24]

175 648 The development of the colony did not proceed smoothly. In the mid-seventeenth century Bahia was occupied for a brief period by the Dutch, but the development of the colony faltered only momentarily. On the other hand, the Dutch occupied Pernambuco and the north coast for a longer period. The subsequent transference of Dutch efforts to the West Indies was to have a profound effect upon the future of

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 648 the Recôncavo, for they took with them a newly acquired knowledge of sugar cane cultivation.

175 167 567 The eighteenth century opened with a series of disasters for the region. When word of gold discoveries in Minas Gerais (1704) reached Bahia, an exodus began.[25] Slaves were sold at exorbitant prices, and often masters and slaves together went off to the mines. The colonial authorities took drastic steps to halt the flight, but [731] to no avail. The first quarter of the century ended with floods in the Recôncavo and the discovery of diamonds in the interior. There was a second exodus.[26]

175 171 249 In the meantime there were momentous developments in the West Indies. Sugar cane cultivation spread rapidly in the Antilles as the Netherlands and other northwestern European states which had been lucrative markets for Brazilian sugar began their own production in their respective West Indian colonies. In addition to the protected markets which the mother countries afforded, these new centers enjoyed sound economic and geographical advantages. As newcomers to the field of sugar production, the Antilles were free of both the antiquated equipment and the backward techniques which burdened Brazil, and they were closer to the major European markets.[27]

175 178 185 249 The Recôncavo was unable to counter these West Indian developments. In a century and a half of commercial development there had been few improvements in agricultural or industrial methods. There was no conservation of the soil. Only one variety of cane was known, and there was no attempt to develop improved strains. The mills continued to burn expensive wood rather than to use bagasse. Antique, low-yielding crushing mills continued to be used for extraction.[28]

175 249 178 439 At the end of the eighteenth century, however, developments abroad restored to the Recôncavo and to Brazil many of the advantages which it had formerly held in the international market. This

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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BB 175 248 433 the traditional values. As has been seen, the re-opening of the markets at first particularly benefited the Recôncavo.

NB 175 433 The developments in the Recôncavo were shared only partially by the other areas of the Brazilian Northeast. The colonial economy of Pernambuco, the second major center in the Northeast, was not nurtured NB EB [316] by a prosperity equal to that of Bahia. The booms in the mineral areas, which had a disruptive effect on the Recôncavo, apparently were less strongly felt in more-distant Pernambuco. In the south of Brazil, EB 175 433 316 241 neither Rio de Janeiro nor São Paulo shared in Bahia's colonial opulence until the nineteenth century. Moreover, the mining developments, which were a disturbing influence on Recôncavo society, had a stimulating effect on agriculture and trade in the South, especially in São Paulo. Although Minas Gerais attracted some settlers from the South, in the main the mineral development acted as a stimulant to agriculture. Thus the forces of colonial evolution in the Recôncavo were distinctive variants of those characteristic of the whole of Brazil.

BB 175 The Last Hundred Years--1850 to the Present. The series of external forces which contributed to the revival of the Recôncavo in the early nineteenth century were destined to sweep it from the main current of Brazilian development. The pressure of these outside events were apparent in the Recôncavo as early as 1825, but it was in the last half of the century that the region was relegated to the subordinate position which it occupies today.

B BB 175 567 648 [429] There is a historical connection between the events which first bestowed and later took away Recôncavo prosperity. The collapse in the West Indies sugar industry re-opened markets to Brazil, but it also ended England's economic interests in slavery. With no vested

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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interest to deter her, Great Britain became in the nineteenth century the great anti-slavery force of the world. The British government began to press Brazil for a treaty to halt the slave trade. In 1826 a treaty was signed in which Brazil agreed to end the slave trade within four years. However, Brazil had just achieved its independence (1824), and the new national government was too weak to enforce the provisions of the treaty. After 25 years of bitter diplomatic exchanges with Great Britain, the Brazilian government succeeded in fulfilling its treaty obligations, and after 1852 almost no slaves were landed in Brazil.

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The end of the slave trade foreshadowed the end of slave labor in Brazil. The Northeast fought to preserve the system, but it was doomed not only as a result of extra-Brazilian pressures but also because of internal economic development. Just as in the eighteenth century the political capital had shifted from the North (Salvador) to the Central-South (Rio de Janeiro), so in the nineteenth century the economic center of gravity moved to São Paulo and adjacent Rio de Janeiro and Minas Gerais.[37] At first the developments in São Paulo imitated those of the Northeast, and a sugar industry employing traditional techniques was established. Almost immediately, however, the Central-South began to demonstrate an initiative unknown in the old sugar regions.

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At the beginning of the nineteenth century Bahia was exporting 12,000 tons of sugar, Pernambuco 8,400 tons, Rio de Janeiro 5,400 tons, and São Paulo 600 tons.[38] By mid-century Rio de Janeiro--chiefly Campos, near the mouth of the Rio Paraíba--was producing more sugar than any other province. In 1875, Rio de Janeiro was still the largest producer, with São Paulo second, Pernambuco third, and Bahia fourth. By the end of the century, São Paulo was the largest sugar

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*249 time and remained high until the 1888 decree which ended slavery completely. Before this time there had already been a great deal of manumission.

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571 In fact, it is distinctive of the entire region that the relations between the whites and the slaves were relatively warm and intimate. Gilberto Freyre describes the intimacy between the moleque (little Negro boy) and the master's son as playmates, between the master's wife and her domestics, between the Negro nursemaid and her white charges, between Negroes and whites in other close relationships on these plantations. A good deal of race mixture occurred. It is still a joke in this region to say that a particular plantation owner "populated the area."

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[654] The crises through which the sugar industry passed during its four-hundred-year history are interesting and worthy of consideration. During the first fifty years of production (until early in the seventeenth century), the sugar industry prospered and expanded. It was a "period of formation, official protection, and government stimulation, during which the liberties of production, transportation, prices and commerce suffered little or no restrictions."[1] The seventeenth

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648 century, however, was full of crises, one of the greatest being the war with Holland. In 1624 the Dutch attempted to capture Bahia but were repulsed. However, they sailed along the shores of the Bay of All Saints, burning and sacking plantations and setting fire to the cane fields. In the north the Dutch succeeded in capturing Pernambuco, which they retained for twenty-four years, also engaging in the production of sugar. In 1644 the Dutch governor, Maurice of Nassau, was recalled to Holland, and the colony was left undirected. The Brazilians revolted and recaptured Pernambuco.

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[458] In 1666 there was an epidemic of smallpox in the Recôncavo which reduced the slave population and left many plantation owners without laborers. There followed a period of near-famine for some years, due to the lack of food-plant cultivation. While this situation continued, plantation masters frequently mortgaged their plantations in order to buy new

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1. J. Wanderley de Araujo Pinho, Historia de um engenho do Recôncavo, 1552-1944 (Rio de Janeiro, 1946), p. 193. The following three paragraphs are a condensation of the material contained in pp. 193-220 (author's translation).

slaves and equipment. Thus began a long series of mortgages which continued for several centuries. The commercial agents in the city, for the most part representatives of Portuguese companies, loaned money to the plantation owners, using the next crop as collateral. They also charged high interest rates. When the next crop did not materialize, nor the next, the plantation owners found themselves inextricably in debt. At the same time the sugar market in Portugal was lost because the sugar was arriving there in a spoiled condition due to poor transportation, a cargo at times taking two years to arrive at its destination. Furthermore, the prices of most necessities were rising, and, in addition, Portugal began to tax the colonists heavily. 175 249* 426 458

In the early 1700's there was a more prosperous phase, due to higher prices for sugar in Europe. Many plantations were reconstructed, enlarged, and modified, and new ones were built. As a result many people went into debt again. During the eighteenth century two major factors turned against the prosperity of the sugar-cane growers: competition in the European market with the French, Spanish, and British, who were now producing sugar on their Caribbean islands; and the discovery of gold in the western part of Brazil. Sugar could be shipped to Europe more rapidly from the Caribbean than from Brazil. It was subject to less spoilage, and there was also probably less governmental interference. As soon as the European market was flooded with sugar, the price fell. 175 249* 458 [426]

The discovery of gold in Minas Gerais further dislocated the sugar industry of the Recôncavo at the time when it could least afford it. The prices of slaves, metals, cloth, cattle, horses, and all the necessities of life increased. Many of the freemen who worked in the plantations in administrative capacities were enticed away to the mines by the promise of great wealth. The need for slaves at the mines was great, and traders who sold slaves preferred to sell them to the miners, who could pay cash, rather than to the plantation owners, who frequently paid in sugar. During this time there was also a serious shortage of foodstuffs, for many of the smaller farmers who normally raised food crops emigrated to Minas Gerais. 175 249* 433 458

The agriculturalists--those who planted tobacco as well as those who planted sugar--were still being pressed by high taxes. There are many letters and documents from the governing bodies of the colony, addressed to the Portuguese king, telling him of the deplorable situation in which sugar planters 175 249* 458 648 651

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

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*249 found themselves, with no food, their slaves dying, the price
458 of sugar falling, the markets lost, and, especially, overbur-
• 648 dening taxes. Most of the documents which remain are pessi-
651 mistic ones, for during the times of prosperity little was writ-
ten. At any rate, late in the eighteenth century some measures were taken to lighten the burden of taxation and to provide better means of transportation to Europe than the irregular system of fleets which were frequently spaced two and three years apart. As a result, many plantation owners took heart and applied themselves again to the raising of sugar cane. They were further aided by an increasing market in Europe, which finally became almost entirely theirs at the turn of the century, as a result of the European wars.

175 By the end of the Napoleonic wars sugar production was at
*249 its best, and Bahia was once again experiencing a pleasurable
458 prosperity. However, 1822 brought the War of Independence,
669 much of it fought in the Recôncavo. The war was supported to
[731] a great extent by the plantation masters, both financially and physically. Although they gained a great deal of prestige, they lost two harvests, and their exports fell off greatly. It took them some time to recuperate, and in 1855 they suffered another violent blow, an epidemic of cholera.

175 An indication of the difficulties caused by the epidemic is
*249 given in the following passage, translated from a document in
458 the inventory of the Baron of Caju made upon the death of his
731 wife, a victim of cholera:

> The family was in a good state of animation and prosperity in 1855, when the fatal epidemic of cholera morbus wasted this Province, invading the home of the Inventoried and causing him horrible damages and enormous losses! The Baroness fell victim to this voracious scourge! Eighty-two of the most valuable and useful slaves had the same fate; the best expediencies, treatment, and vigilant care were of no effect! Almost the entire harvest of this fatal year was lost in the complete absence of field hands, for the number not stricken was small, and the others, convalescents, were truly specters! The harvests of 1856 and 1857 also suffered.

433 Soon afterwards a new phase began when the Civil War
*175 started in the United States, sending up the price of sugar
249 and increasing the market. Some years after this a disease
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4; Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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colony's development); gypsies destined to play a role in the subsequent slave trade and to bequeath their name permanently to the section of the city in which they settled; prostitutes and orphan girls sent over in limited numbers as wives by the Crown; and a few hardy peasant colonists, with their families, from Portugal, the Cape Verde Islands, and the Azores.

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This incoming wave of European population met the indigenous Indians and eventually absorbed or expelled them from the coast. In and about Bahia they were the Tupinambás and the Tupiniquins, part of the earlier Tupí expansion from the south, and of very primitive culture. The wifeless soldiers and colonists took Indian or half-breed women, first for concubines and later for legally married wives, and soon a numerous mixed-blood population sprang up which was gradually absorbed into the dominant white. Indian males were annihilated in battle, died from the rigors of slavery, or were driven, together with their women and children, far back into the interior. When they put up too stubborn resistance, whole villages were deliberately exterminated, one of the most effective means being the planting of smallpox germs from the clothing of a recent victim of the disease. The Indians, previously strangers to this European malady, rapidly succumbed.

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As early as the middle of the sixteenth century there began at Bahia extensive and prolonged Negro importation from Africa, and Bahia's Bay of All Saints subsequently served for generations as the principal port of entry into Brazil for this black commerce from the African coast. This involuntary population movement to Brazil eventually became what is, probably, the greatest intercontinental displacement of Negro peoples which ever occurred.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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in perhaps never will be known, but the number undoubtedly ran into millions.[12]

Angola furnished most of the importations during the late sixteenth[13] and the seventeenth centuries; Guinea, during the eighteenth and early nineteenth.[14] By 1710 Bahian to-

inaction and discomfort is manifested upon the appearance of a purchaser. They start up willingly, to be placed in the row for the purpose of being viewed and handled like cattle: and on being chosen they give signs of much pleasure. I have had many opportunities of seeing slaves bought; for my particular friends at Recife lived opposite to slave dealers. I never saw any demonstrations of grief at parting from each other: but I attribute this to a resigned or rather despairing sensation, which checks any show of grief, and which has prepared them for the worst, by making them indifferent to whatever may occur: besides, it is not often, that a family is brought over together: the separation of relatives and friends has taken place in Africa. It is among the younger part of the assemblage of persons who are exposed for sale, that pleasure is particularly visible at the change of situation; the Negroes of more advanced age do whatever the driver desires, usually with an unchanged countenance. A species of relationship exists between the individuals who have been imported in the same ship. They call each other *malungos:* and this term is much regarded among them. The purchaser gives to each of his newly-bought slaves a large piece of baize and a straw hat and as soon as possible marches them off to his estate. I have often in travelling met with many parties going up to their new homes, and have observed that they were usually cheerful" (*Travels in Brazil, 1809 to 1815* [2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1817], I, 205–9).

[12] Affonso de E. Taunay, "Numeros do trafico," *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio), September 30, 1936. Estimates made by Brazilian writers range from three to eighteen millions, although the latter figure would appear to be considerably exaggerated. Ramos believes the number did not exceed five millions (*The Negro in Brazil*, p. 6).

[13] Especially after the founding of São Paulo de Loanda in 1575 (Calmon, *op. cit.*, pp. 178–79). See also *Dialogos das grandezas do Brasil*, ed. Rodolfo Garcia (Rio: Academia Brasileira de Letras, 1930), p. 143.

[14] In 1811 an agreement with England, actively enforced by the latter's cruisers, cut off importations from north of the Equator. Angola once more became the principal source of slave supply, and, between 1815 and 1850, approximately a million Angola Negroes, it is estimated, came in (Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 182).

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4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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NEGROES IN BRAZIL

In the sixteenth century a good slave is said to have been valued in Bahia at 40 milreis; in 1692, at 60 milreis; in 1703, at 100 milreis; and in 1800, at 140 milreis.[26] At Pernambuco, early in the nineteenth century, Negroes were valued at 32 pounds sterling; oxen at 31 pounds each, and horses the same; although "by management the two last may be obtained at lower prices," Koster informs us,[27] adding that "plantations of the first class ought to have eighty Negroes at least."

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In addition to Bahia and Recife, there were two other centers of African importation on the coast, at Rio de Janeiro to the south and Maranhão to the north, and one interior region of concentration, the province of Minas Geraes. These five areas received the major portion of all importations and remain today the principal centers of Negro population in Brazil.

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In 1831 a treaty with Great Britain sought to abolish the slave trade. But for a quarter of a century this agreement was so little enforced[28] that an estimated 500,000 additional

[26] Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 182. A slave worth 100 milreis in 1830 was valued at five times this figure ten years later, and still more as the pressure of the British blockade continued (Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 472).

[27] *Op. cit.*, II, 139.

[28] "At one time it appeared impossible to abolish the traffic. . . . . The planters declared that without Africans they would be absolutely unable to plant crops; that free labor was not to be had in sufficient numbers for the necessities of agriculture; that only by force could labor be obtained in this hot country; that the citizen, he who was a free man, possessed as his chief privilege 'não trabalhar' [the right not to labor], or at least to work only enough to enable him to eat and to live as 'Deus dará' [God will provide]; that since the 'gente rude' did not lack shelter, being content to live in palm-leaf huts, it was useless to attempt to obtain profitable labor from free men, who were always lazy and inclined to idleness; that the *fazendeiro* who used free labor was soon reduced to penury by the wages paid out and the poor quality of work so secured" (Amaral, *op. cit.*, pp. 472–73). On receiving news of the decree of 1831, the Bahian provincial assembly directed a petition to

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Africans were brought into Brazil, many in United States ships, operated by English capital.[29] In 1846, 50,324 were imported; in 1847, 56,172; and, in the following year, 60,000.[30] This traffic was completely suppressed only by 1852,[30a] Bahia being one of the areas in which it died hardest.[31]

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In plant and animal communities different species come

the federal senate, demanding its repeal. At one time a *delegado de policia* in Bahia was dismissed from office for having apprehended a shipment of Africans, although such shipment was obviously illegal under the provisions of this law.

[29] Daniel P. Kidder, *Sketches of Residence and Travels in Brazil* (2 vols.; London, 1845), II, 96–97; Hill, *op. cit.*, pp. 179 ff.; Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 319. The most notorious slave-trade case involving a vessel from the United States was that of the "Mary E. Smith" of New Orleans. The ship was brought into Bahia by the Brazilian brig "Olinda" on January 29, 1856, with 370 slaves from fifteen to twenty years of age aboard. The "Mary E. Smith," despite efforts to detain her, had left Boston on the preceding August 24 and sailed to the Gold Coast, where she had picked up a cargo of nearly five hundred Africans. When captured, she had been attempting unsuccessfully for weeks to land her cargo on the Bahian coast. One hundred and six slaves died before the vessel was finally taken and those still alive upon arrival in Bahia were so weakened by starvation and disease that only a few survived.

[30] Calmon, *op. cit.*, II, 171. According to figures given by the British Anti-slavery Society, 221,800 Africans entered Brazil between 1840 and 1847 (Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 495).

[30a] Percy A. Martin, *Argentina, Brazil and Chile since Independence* (Washington, 1935), p. 208. The last shipload into Bahia landed October 29, 1851. See Wanderley de A. Pinho, "O ultimo desembarque de escravos na Bahia," *Espelho* (September, 1936), pp. 13–16.

[31] Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 236. The *Argos Pernambucano* of January 30, 1850, says: "The way in which free Africans are imported into Bahia and reduced to slavery, with the obvious connivance of the government, is a notorious scandal." In the *Argos Sant'Amarense* appeared the following: "The Governor of the Province himself, at nightfall, on the twenty-first of October, 1849, unloaded in the city of Santo Amaro a large number of newly arrived Africans, which he had brought from the capital [Bahia] in a boat, and transported them to his *engenho*." See also Querino, *op. cit.*, p. 626.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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One must not overlook the fact, however, that during the first years of colonization the letters of the Jesuits contained numerous references to Indian slaves who were "tortured and branded in the face."[54] And later, the kings of Portugal, impressed by reports which had come to them concerning hardships inflicted on Negro slaves in Brazil, more than once wrote to their colonial representatives, exhorting them "to put a stop to such crying inhumanities."[55]

Most reports of cruelties, however, date from the abolition campaign and no doubt reflect the agitation and fervor of that movement. Thus, the able Bahian abolitionist, Anselmo da Fonseca, reports the case of a Negro in Rio Grande do Sul whose wrists were tied above his head and, after honey had been poured over his nude body, was left to the insects. Anselmo further reports the raping of small children, the use of stocks, the fracturing of teeth with a ham-

from the effects of their wounds (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 145). Fonseca estimates that two-thirds of all the *feitores* (overseers), *capitães de mato*, and *corretores* (slave dealers) in Bahia were either mulattoes or blacks (*ibid.*, p. 151).

[54] Brazilian Indians, who before the coming of the Portuguese had killed their prisoners of war, changed this custom when it was discovered that they could sell their captives to the Europeans. Subsequently the latter organized raids into the interior in search of Indian slaves. The Jesuits fought this traffic, their struggles with the colonists lending a dramatic note to accounts of life in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Gradually their influence at the Portuguese court prevailed, certain restrictions were by royal decree put upon the enslavement of Indians, which, being disregarded by the colonists, led to further Jesuit protest and finally, in 1755, to a royal edict liberating all Indian slaves. Equal legal rights were subsequently granted the Indians, the University of Coimbra was opened to them, and they were even admitted, it is said, to the nobility.

[55] A writer cites three "royal letters" in support, dated, respectively, March 20, 1688, March 1, 1700, and April 27, 1719 (see the anonymous article entitled "Tradiçoes bahianas," *Revista do Instituto Geographico e Historico da Bahia*, LVI [1930], 514).

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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virtually extinct.[3] Only an occasional individual of African birth may be found, like, for instance, a certain elderly black once prominent in the fetish cults not only of Bahia but also of Rio de Janeiro who was born in Lagos, his father having purchased his mother out of slavery in Brazil shortly before his birth and taken her to Africa. He knows four *Africanos* still living in Rio. In 1936 he met in Brotas (a subdivision of Bahia) an elderly African woman with facial scarification and almost no command of Portuguese. She has since died.

Thus, actual contact with Africa is today little more than a memory in the minds of a few of the older blacks, who recall stories told by their parents or by other Africans of persons, places, and events in Africa; or who years ago visited in the home of African ancestors or were, perhaps, personally acquainted with blacks plying their small vessels between Bahia and the West Coast. However, certain individuals of the older generation still cherish sentimental attachment to Africa, as is indicated by the expression occasionally heard on the lips of an elderly Negro, as he reverently turns his eyes upward toward the sky, "Sou filho de dois Africanos, graças a Deus!"[4] "If I had the money," remarked another black, his eyes lighting up, "I'd go to Africa, to Abeokuta, build me a house, and live like a man ought to."

An elderly Bahian Negro recalled:

My mother was just a young girl when she was captured by a warrior in Africa. He wanted to sell her to a slave trader in Dahomey.

[3] Since lower-class Negroes who have difficulty in speaking correct Portuguese occasionally attempt to cover up their chagrin by saying that they are *Africanos*, and others, participating in social circles where prestige attaches to the native-born African, may deliberately misstate their origin, the incautious observer may be led erroneously to think that there are a considerable number of Africans still living in Bahia.

[4] "My father and mother were both Africans, thank God!"

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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On that day two younger children were with her, a baby she was carrying on her back and a child she was leading by the hand.

She told me of a terrible thing which she saw on that day. Two warriors were running to catch a young girl. Each grabbed one of her arms, and they began to quarrel, pulling at her and shouting, "She's mine! She's mine!" But neither could jerk her away from the other. Finally one swung his big knife, and slash! He cut the girl in half and told the other man that now he could have his share.

My mother's name was Manjengbasa, which means, "Don't leave me alone." She was born after her mother had lost both of her first two children. She carried a scar on her cheek which meant that she was a Yoruba; for all Yorubas, both men and women, have this mark. She married my father here in Brazil, and when I was born they called me Ógeládê.

When I was thirteen years and eleven months old, my father took me to *Af-ri-ca;* to Lagos, *West-Coast-of-Af-ri-ca*, Nigeria. Ige-sha is two days away. Oyó used to be the capital. And there is Akra on the coast; there is Ashanti, and Groweh, and Ifé, and Egba. My father was from Egba, and his father was from Abeokuta. And there is Efun and Dahomey.

My father was only on a visit. He soon came back to Bahia to take care of his business. He was at that time importing African things. But I stayed in Lagos eleven years and nine months. From 1875 until 1886 I was there. Later I went again to Africa and remained another year. And three years after that I again returned, to sell coral and fine and coarse wool. I bought *pano da costa* to sell here.

My grandfather was a great warrior. He had a large plot of ground, but he was more of a warrior than a farmer. One day while fighting he got an arrow in his arm. He jerked it out and the blood covered him. When, years later, my grandfather died, I was a child of six years.

My uncle also was a great warrior. He was younger than my father. When they brought my father to Brazil, my uncle was left there in Africa.

My grandfather had forty wives. He lived in an *atalaia*,[1] a house

[1] Composed of many dwellings placed side by side and having a common roof.

4; Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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as long as from here to the entrance of the fort,[6] just for the family of my grandfather. He was buried in a room. A *quartinho* of water which is always kept full still stands there today.

When my father was born, my grandmother was already an old woman. But she was still very strong. When my grandfather died, she walked all by herself up to the place where they buried him. When I went to Africa, she was in Ibadum. She never saw my father again. When he took me to Africa, she did not get to see him because the Africans were fighting fiercely. No one could travel as far as from here to Rio Vermelho.[7] So my father did not get to see his mother. But when she found out that he had been in Lagos and had left a son there, she never left off speaking of me. She wished to have me stolen, but the men who came to carry me to my grandmother never found me alone. They brought me presents. My grandmother had made me an African food which lasts two or three months and does not spoil. It is made with *fubá* of maize, crushed. All is seasoned with fragrant and savory seasonings, with onions and shrimps, and put in a large pan. It is like a cake they call here *bom bocado*. In the African language it is called *adúm*. Rolled up in leaves they gave it to me. My tutor ate part of it too.[8] For fifteen days we ate *adúm*. When I came back to Bahia and told my father I had eaten *adúm*, he lost almost the whole day crying, because he had not seen his mother for almost fifty years, let alone eaten her cooking. He looked up at me, and said 'You, my son; *you* ate *adúm!*' "

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Some contact with Africa is still maintained through family connections, although these are now rare; by means of African visitors, principally individuals from the crews of English ships recruited in Lagos; and by way of occasional newspapers published on the East or West Coast in Portuguese, English, or even African languages.

Thus, one will occasionally find in the possession of Bahian Negroes a copy of the *Nigerian Daily Times*, published

[6] About one hundred yards.

[7] About three miles.

[8] The boy had been placed in a mission school.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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in Lagos.[9] In this journal for December, 1932, a Bahian black recently pointed out photos of Cleonice de Assumpção Alakija, "the youngest daughter of Dr. Maxwell P. de Assumpção Alakija, a lawyer of Bahia, Brazil," who "recently graduated as a throat and ear specialist from the Faculty of Medicine at Bahia"; of Dally Assumpção Alakija, youngest son of Dr. Maxwell, "recently graduated in Bahia as a civil engineer"; and of Adeyemo Alakija, their cousin, in the royal robes of an African chief from Abeokuta. The caption of the accompanying article was "A Notable Egba, Adeyemo Alakija."

This African cousin of Bahian blacks had been "honored by His Highness, the *Alaké* of Abeokuta," at a festival celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of the settlement of the Egbas at Abeokuta following severe internecine warfare and had subsequently been installed as "The Barujun of Aké." According to the account, Adeyemo Alakija belongs to a "distinguished family." His father was Marculino Assumpção, "Chief Akigbotum, known also as Elemeji, one of the first men to own a cotton gin in Abeokuta"; and his mother, Maxmilliana Assumpção Alakija, was the daughter of the late Alfa Cyprian Akinosho Tairu, native of Oyó, "a chief of Abeokuta with the title of Morope of Aké," for whom Tairu Lane in Lagos is named. Both of Adeyemo Alakija's parents were born in Brazil, the eldest living member of the family being the Bahian lawyer, Dr. Maxwell Porphyrio Assumpção Alakija, "father-in-law of His Worship, Olumuyiwa Jibouwu, our Police Magistrate."

[9] One *Africano* also possesses copies of *Wasu* ("Preach"), a missionary pamphlet used in Nigeria; the English prayer-book and the Bible, both in Yoruba; the *Nigerian Catholic Almanac* for 1933; a life of Marcus Garvey; and a copy of the *Negro World* for April 19, 1930, the latter given him by a Negro fireman on an English ship which occasionally puts in at Bahia.

[SALVADOR]

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voyage from the South Sea to the coasts of Chile and Peru made during the years 1712, 1713, and 1714/, Paris, 1732; Adolphe d'Assier, Le Brésil contemporain /Contemporary Brazil/, Paris, 1867.

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Founded in 1549, seat of the general government of Brazil and residence of the Portuguese viceroy until 1763, the date when the capital of the colony was transferred to Rio de Janeiro, Bahia was regarded as "the most Portuguese" of the cities of the American continent. Even today it is one of the most important cities of Brazil (5).

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5. The State of Bahia has an area of 563,000 square kilometers and a littoral of 100 kilometers; its territory, of varied geographical aspect, is occupied chiefly by plantations of cacao, tobacco, cereals, by stock farms, and by mines of manganese, chromium, diamonds, iron, bituminous schists, etc. After the national census of July, 1950, the State had 4,900,419 inhabitants, 395,993 of them in the city of Salvador itself. The other most populous cities of Brazil are: Rio de Janeiro (federal district), with 2,335,931 inhabitants; São Paulo, with 2,041,716 inhabitants; Recife, with 522,466 inhabitants; Porto Alegre, 381,964 inhabitants, and Belo Horizonte, with 346,207 inhabitants.

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Owing to the conservative and traditionalist nature of its civilization, owing also to the distance that separates it from the other important urban centers, it is considered one of the /10/ demographic and cultural islets of what has been called the "Brazilian Archipelago." As we have said, what makes it particularly interesting is the fact that it was always a melting pot of races, certainly the most representative and the most symbolic of racial relations of the country.

[SALVADOR]

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*563 may not be of African blood (3).
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3. Arthur Ramos, Introduçao a Antropologia Brasileira, II, Rio de Janeiro, 1947.

829 The Indians and the descendants of the cross between Indians
*563 and Whites are generally called cabôclos, but this expression is
192 no longer very common in Bahia and rarely serves to characterize
[178] the corresponding type. The term cabôclo has become, like that
[196] of "my Negro," rather a formula of tenderness between individuals
175 of any color whatsoever. It must be noted, moreover, thanks to
829 old statistics, that toward the middle of the eighteenth century, in
• 648 response to complaints about Brazilian "nativism," the Portuguese
641 government prohibited the use of the term cabôclo, to which was
576 then attached an insulting meaning, and granted at the same time the
192 civil status of Whites to Indians and to their descendants of mixed blood, so that they could contract marriage with the Whites and fulfill official duties in the colony; it is in that manner that the contingents of mamelucos or cabôclos were assimilated with the
192 Whites in the military roles of the time. The word meanwhile
178 lost its insulting import and in our day is even considered a com-
829 pliment when it refers to a cabôclo bom, that is to say, a man of
576 good manners.

144 The Negroid albinos and the mulattoes with red, blond, or
192 light auburn hair are known by the name of sararás.

The exact designation of these different types has always /14/
144 represented a difficulty, as much for anthropologists as for the
*563 persons charged with identifying school children, the military,
829 the criminals (1).

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1. According to the Bahian anthropologist Nina Rodriguez (in her book As raças humanas e a responsabilidade penal no Brasil /The Human Races and Penal Responsibility in Brazil/, 3rd edition, written at the beginning of the century), the métis include: 1st, the mulattoes produced from the cross between the White and the Negro:

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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493 products which are carried from the various inland municípios of the region to Salvador and Feira de Santana are transported on trucks. These trucks pick up their loads at the weekly markets or at warehouses in the various cidades. Frequently they carry passengers as well as cargo, and the cheapest passenger service in the Recôncavo is to be found high on top of a heavily laden truck. It is especially common to seem trucks loaded with bags of farinha de mandioca speeding over the rough roads with the cab packed and the less fortunate passengers enduring the dust or the rain outside. Most agricultural laborers seem to travel in this fashion on longer journeys within the region. Many trucks operate on an unscheduled basis from cidade to cidade, accumulating loads without pre-arrangement. However, there is some regularized service, for it is a general practice for trucks from all over the Recôncavo to travel to Feira de Santana on its market day, and the more important markets of other cidades are also served by trucks on a regular but informal basis. Each of these trucks has its destination marked on the window and collects a load of goods and people as it passes across the region. The cost of this means of transport to the individual depends upon the distance he travels and the amount of goods which he carries. Thus both truck and bus transportation play a major role in the marketing system of the Recôncavo, each carrying both goods and passengers.

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438 One of the basic handicaps of automotive transport in the Recôncavo is that each município taxes the passage of goods transported on its roads. The repeated taxation of goods as they are moved across the boundaries of municípios may make it unprofitable for the agriculturalist to sell many of his products in the other markets of the region. Moreover, the lengthy stops required at each município boundary effectively slow down the movement of trucks and, to a lesser extent, of goods-carrying busses.

slaves and equipment. Thus began a long series of mortgages which continued for several centuries. The commercial agents in the city, for the most part representatives of Portuguese companies, loaned money to the plantation owners, using the next crop as collateral. They also charged high interest rates. When the next crop did not materialize, nor the next, the plantation owners found themselves inextricably in debt. At the same time the sugar market in Portugal was lost because the sugar was arriving there in a spoiled condition due to poor transportation, a cargo at times taking two years to arrive at its destination. Furthermore, the prices of most necessities were rising, and, in addition, Portugal began to tax the colonists heavily. 175 249* 426 458

In the early 1700's there was a more prosperous phase, due to higher prices for sugar in Europe. Many plantations were reconstructed, enlarged, and modified, and new ones were built. As a result many people went into debt again. During the eighteenth century two major factors turned against the prosperity of the sugar-cane growers: competition in the European market with the French, Spanish, and British, who were now producing sugar on their Caribbean islands; and the discovery of gold in the western part of Brazil. Sugar could be shipped to Europe more rapidly from the Caribbean than from Brazil. It was subject to less spoilage, and there was also probably less governmental interference. As soon as the European market was flooded with sugar, the price fell. 175 249* 458 [426]

The discovery of gold in Minas Gerais further dislocated the sugar industry of the Recôncavo at the time when it could least afford it. The prices of slaves, metals, cloth, cattle, horses, and all the necessities of life increased. Many of the freemen who worked in the plantations in administrative capacities were enticed away to the mines by the promise of great wealth. The need for slaves at the mines was great, and traders who sold slaves preferred to sell them to the miners, who could pay cash, rather than to the plantation owners, who frequently paid in sugar. During this time there was also a serious shortage of foodstuffs, for many of the smaller farmers who normally raised food crops emigrated to Minas Gerais. 175 249* 433 458

The agriculturalists--those who planted tobacco as well as those who planted sugar--were still being pressed by high taxes. There are many letters and documents from the governing bodies of the colony, addressed to the Portuguese king, telling him of the deplorable situation in which sugar planters 175 249* 458 648 651

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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*249 found themselves, with no food, their slaves dying, the price
458 of sugar falling, the markets lost, and, especially, overbur-
648 dening taxes. Most of the documents which remain are pessi-
651 mistic ones, for during the times of prosperity little was writ-
ten. At any rate, late in the eighteenth century some measures were taken to lighten the burden of taxation and to provide better means of transportation to Europe than the irregular system of fleets which were frequently spaced two and three years apart. As a result, many plantation owners took heart and applied themselves again to the raising of sugar cane. They were further aided by an increasing market in Europe, which finally became almost entirely theirs at the turn of the century, as a result of the European wars.

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*249 By the end of the Napoleonic wars sugar production was at
458 its best, and Bahia was once again experiencing a pleasurable
669 prosperity. However, 1822 brought the War of Independence,
[731] much of it fought in the Recôncavo. The war was supported to a great extent by the plantation masters, both financially and physically. Although they gained a great deal of prestige, they lost two harvests, and their exports fell off greatly. It took them some time to recuperate, and in 1855 they suffered another violent blow, an epidemic of cholera.

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*249 An indication of the difficulties caused by the epidemic is
458 given in the following passage, translated from a document in
731 the inventory of the Baron of Caju made upon the death of his wife, a victim of cholera:

> The family was in a good state of animation and prosperity in 1855, when the fatal epidemic of cholera morbus wasted this Province, invading the home of the Inventoried and causing him horrible damages and enormous losses! The Baroness fell victim to this voracious scourge! Eighty-two of the most valuable and useful slaves had the same fate; the best expediencies, treatment, and vigilant care were of no effect! Almost the entire harvest of this fatal year was lost in the complete absence of field hands, for the number not stricken was small, and the others, convalescents, were truly specters! The harvests of 1856 and 1857 also suffered.

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175 Soon afterwards a new phase began when the Civil War
*249 started in the United States, sending up the price of sugar
[458] and increasing the market. Some years after this a disease
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VILA RECÔNCAVO

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begun to live together. But it is a general policy of Petrobrás that its employees establish regularized households and register their children, as the benefits of social legislation and insurance must be paid to legal beneficiaries, such as wives and children. Because of the many recent marriages, there are no longer any houses available in Vila Recôncavo, nor in Milagres, and there has been a spurt of housebuilding.

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There have also been some shifts in emphasis in the structure of the community. While the factory nucleus is no longer the scene of social gathering for the upper class of the area, the structure of the factory-private plantation system ensures that it continues to be the economic center as long as sugar cane is being planted in the area. The system of quotas established for the private planter and the factory by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol requires that planter and factory cooperate in supplying and receiving sugar cane. Also, the physical structure of the area, in which the factory is the center of the network of a small railroad which reaches out to each of the private properties, strengthens the impression of the factory as the center of activities.

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The possible future shift from sugar to cacao will of course diminish the importance of the sugar factory. However, in the meantime there is a new factor which will give more importance than ever to the factory: a feira, or market place. The county of Vila Recôncavo does not have a weekly market. For many years the county officials have wanted to establish one, not only for increased municipal income, but also to help attract more people to the area and to make life easier for the population. A market place is now under construction at the factory nucleus. When the market is completed, the factory town will become at least a weekly center of attraction for many people of the surrounding plantations.

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The development of the petroleum industry is bringing new life to the town of Vila Recôncavo, to the nearby town of Milagres, and to the new city of Conselho. Petrobrás cannot develop a nucleus on the land which belongs to the factory or to the private owners, and therefore it must concentrate any local community building efforts in the old public towns which already exist. Petrobrás, indirectly, through the county court of Vila Recôncavo, will soon contribute considerably to the county income. The same sort of compensation which was worked out in regard to the planters is now being arranged for the county, through taxes on the finished products from

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the refinery, namely gasoline, kerosene, diesel oil, bottled gas, and other petroleum derivatives. As a result of the increased income, the county government will be able to build up the county seat considerably. A hospital is already being built, as well as a new dock for the boat which comes from the city.

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In Milagres, located in the neighboring county, there is already a considerable movement for breaking away from the parent county and becoming a separate municipio, a common pattern in Brazil for districts which reach a certain population and degree of economic activity. Thus there are two possibilities for urban growth in the area and for the formation of urban centers which will attract the large rural population.

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The town of Vila Recôncavo is close to realizing other possibilities. The construction of a road from the town to Centro has already begun, filling a long-felt need. Its completion will make it possible for cars, buses, and trucks to come from Feira, on the edge of the sertão, to Centro, down through Vila Recôncavo to Milagres, and on into the city, shortening the long trip by the existing road which follows the edges of the Recôncavo. Such traffic would "put Vila Recôncavo on the map," and would greatly increase its contacts with the outside world. In addition, the possibilities of the introduction of a new crop to the community will bring increased commercial activity and a much greater tax income, enabling the county to build its own roads and bridges and to make other improvements for the development of the area.

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Thus the community structure of Vila Recôncavo, which five years ago was in the process of crystallizing around the factory town, is now ripe for further change. The factory town continues for the present to be the major center, but the old county seat has all the possibilities of a rebirth of its former importance. In fact, because of the petroleum industry and the forthcoming changeover from sugar cane to cacao, the factory town is threatened as a community center, the position which it has only recently been consolidating.

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Finally, one of the most important changes in Vila Recôncavo in these five years is a change in attitude on the part of the people. Vila Recôncavo was always known as a conservative community, maintaining its old traditions and ways, rejecting innovations. However, there is now an air of expectancy and a search for new ways and new things. Dissatisfaction with the sugar industry, combined with the appearance

443 dlers (ambulantes) who walk through the area in the summer selling combs, ribbons, jewelry, and perfumes.

561 One of the most important factors influencing the fortunes of
565 the town of Vila Recôncavo is the diversity of attitudes toward
369 it held by different segments of the local population. The most powerful group, although small in number, is that of the plantation and sugar-mill owners. The orientation of this group is polarized between the capital city, Salvador, and the plantations. There is no one living in the town who is included in the same social stratum as these people, and therefore the town is not a social drawing point for them as it might be in the plantation area of the southern United States. Vila does not represent a shopping center for them, and it is not an outlet for their sugar. Since they are so near the capital, business is transacted there rather than in the small rural town with its poor communications. This group as a whole looks upon the town as a decadent and backward place. There is little or no feeling among these people that they should "do something" to improve the town, to which they feel little or no allegiance. Rather, their allegiance is first to Bahia and to their own social class in the state, and second to the Recôncavo, the original seat of that class.

The plantation and sugar-mill workers also disregard Vila to a large extent, generally not considering it worth the effort involved in getting there. For these people the market in Centro and the sugar mill store are the major attractions of the area. Their social life is centered almost entirely within the plantation or at the sugar mill.

The town dwellers themselves have an ambivalent attitude toward their town, for, while they also feel that Vila is backward and without opportunity for personal advancement, they nevertheless consider themselves an urban group in contrast
369 to the plantation workers. Recent improvements in the town,
365 such as the installation of electricity and the introduction of radios, movies, and other electrical appliances, as well as the pavement of the mud streets with cobblestones, have been a great help in alleviating the former forlorn air of the town, once known as the "abandoned" town. The local population still speaks of this earlier state a great deal, almost with the haunt-
[652] ing fear that such conditions might return. The funds for these
[653] public works came from sources outside the county, that is, from grants of money by the state government during the epoch of the interventores, the governors appointed during the dic-

tatorial regime of Getulio Vargas. One of the last of these was a son of the county who wished to leave a permanent remembrance of his family in the town. Most of the work was done by local labor, which brought a certain measure of prosperity to the town. Certainly the appearance of the town changed. New façades were added to many houses; others were freshly painted in gay colors; and some people constructed cement sidewalks in front of their homes. At night the streets are brighter because of the electric street lights (which are turned off at midnight) and because of the rays of bright electric light passing through the cracks of the closed window shutters and doors.

Almost every evening at dusk, however, the electric power of the countryside is shut off for at least an hour because of inadequate generating facilities at the main plant, leaving the countryside and small towns in darkness. At this hour the town returns to its past, and one seems to be in an era one, two, or three hundred years ago. Tiny oil lamps (fifós) are lighted, or an occasional kerosene lamp, the soft and short-reaching rays of which barely penetrate the heavy darkness of the house and do not reach the street. A hush falls over the town during the spell of darkness. All the old fears of shadows, malevolence, and lobishomens (werewolves) return. The family congregates in one room, for no one wants to be alone, speaking softly as though not to break the spell. The streets are suddenly emptied, and the silence is broken only by the occasional forlorn braying of a donkey left wandering outside.

Without light there is no life in Vila Recôncavo. The evening religious service is delayed; the movie is delayed; the bar closes. One thinks of the impermanence of the new prosperity, remembering how quickly the moist salt air can blacken the gayest colored building, how the heavy rains can wash away the foundation of a mud house, how fast the weeds can grow in the cracks of the pavement, and how by the flick of a switch in some faraway place the magical lights are removed. A heavy gloom settles over the town and remains until, as suddenly as they went off, the lights return. Life picks up again, radios blare forth at fullest volume, and Vila Recôncavo once again is grateful for light and life, however impermanent.

Although this is a traditional area, few local people know its history. Only a few can provide historical data going back further than one generation, and even fewer know anything of what lies behind the "glorious past" of Vila Recôncavo, a

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begun to live together. But it is a general policy of Petrobrás that its employees establish regularized households and register their children, as the benefits of social legislation and insurance must be paid to legal beneficiaries, such as wives and children. Because of the many recent marriages, there are no longer any houses available in Vila Recôncavo, nor in Milagres, and there has been a spurt of housebuilding.

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There have also been some shifts in emphasis in the structure of the community. While the factory nucleus is no longer the scene of social gathering for the upper class of the area, the structure of the factory-private plantation system ensures that it continues to be the economic center as long as sugar cane is being planted in the area. The system of quotas established for the private planter and the factory by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol requires that planter and factory cooperate in supplying and receiving sugar cane. Also, the physical structure of the area, in which the factory is the center of the network of a small railroad which reaches out to each of the private properties, strengthens the impression of the factory as the center of activities.

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The possible future shift from sugar to cacao will of course diminish the importance of the sugar factory. However, in the meantime there is a new factor which will give more importance than ever to the factory: a feira, or market place. The county of Vila Recôncavo does not have a weekly market. For many years the county officials have wanted to establish one, not only for increased municipal income, but also to help attract more people to the area and to make life easier for the population. A market place is now under construction at the factory nucleus. When the market is completed, the factory town will become at least a weekly center of attraction for many people of the surrounding plantations.

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The development of the petroleum industry is bringing new life to the town of Vila Recôncavo, to the nearby town of Milagres, and to the new city of Conselho. Petrobrás cannot develop a nucleus on the land which belongs to the factory or to the private owners, and therefore it must concentrate any local community building efforts in the old public towns which already exist. Petrobrás, indirectly, through the county court of Vila Recôncavo, will soon contribute considerably to the county income. The same sort of compensation which was worked out in regard to the planters is now being arranged for the county, through taxes on the finished products from

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the refinery, namely gasoline, kerosene, diesel oil, bottled gas, and other petroleum derivatives. As a result of the increased income, the county government will be able to build up the county seat considerably. A hospital is already being built, as well as a new dock for the boat which comes from the city.

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In Milagres, located in the neighboring county, there is already a considerable movement for breaking away from the parent county and becoming a separate municipio, a common pattern in Brazil for districts which reach a certain population and degree of economic activity. Thus there are two possibilities for urban growth in the area and for the formation of urban centers which will attract the large rural population.

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The town of Vila Recôncavo is close to realizing other possibilities. The construction of a road from the town to Centro has already begun, filling a long-felt need. Its completion will make it possible for cars, buses, and trucks to come from Feira, on the edge of the sertão, to Centro, down through Vila Recôncavo to Milagres, and on into the city, shortening the long trip by the existing road which follows the edges of the Recôncavo. Such traffic would "put Vila Recôncavo on the map," and would greatly increase its contacts with the outside world. In addition, the possibilities of the introduction of a new crop to the community will bring increased commercial activity and a much greater tax income, enabling the county to build its own roads and bridges and to make other improvements for the development of the area.

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Thus the community structure of Vila Recôncavo, which five years ago was in the process of crystallizing around the factory town, is now ripe for further change. The factory town continues for the present to be the major center, but the old county seat has all the possibilities of a rebirth of its former importance. In fact, because of the petroleum industry and the forthcoming changeover from sugar cane to cacao, the factory town is threatened as a community center, the position which it has only recently been consolidating.

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Finally, one of the most important changes in Vila Recôncavo in these five years is a change in attitude on the part of the people. Vila Recôncavo was always known as a conservative community, maintaining its old traditions and ways, rejecting innovations. However, there is now an air of expectancy and a search for new ways and new things. Dissatisfaction with the sugar industry, combined with the appearance

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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guayan war.[66] The law eventually provided that Negro women, after rearing ten children, should be automatically liberated.[67] In 1871 the so-called "law of Rio Branco" freed offspring of slaves born subsequent to its adoption[68] and set up a fund for the purchase and liberation of Negroes by the government. By 1880 a widespread emancipation movement was under way.[69] Thousands were freed by will, by payments from emancipation funds,[70] or by outright gift.[71] For instance, in 1883, in the towns of Baturite, Aca-

[66] On March 30, 1867, the monastery of São Bento in Bahia, which had already freed eleven slaves for service in the war with Paraguay, liberated six more Negroes and "presented them to the Governor for the same purpose."

[67] Koster, however, wrote from Pernambuco in the early nineteenth century: "A slave who has brought into the world, and has reared ten children, ought to be free, for so the law ordains. But this regulation is generally evaded" (*op. cit.*, I, 195).

[68] This law was, however, in some cases ineffective. Sixteen years after its passage the Bahian *Diario Official*, of June 4, 1887, reported the following auction of slave property at the *fazenda Concordia:* "Alberto, 10 years of age, one conto of reis; Vicente, 13 years, one conto of reis; Felix, 14 years, 800 milreis; Flauzinha, 13 years, 600 milreis, Simplicio, 14 years, one conto of reis" (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 587 n.)

[69] Among the prominent abolitionists mentioned by Anselmo da Fonseca were: José do Patrocinio, Joaquim Nabuco ("the great and illustrious head of the abolition movement"), Senator Dantas, Ferreira de Menezes, Andre Rebouças, Quintino Bocayuva, Joaquim Serra, Ennes de Souza, Getulio das Neves, Nicolau Moreira, José Mariano, Celso Junior, Senator Jaguaripe, Luiz de Andrade, João Clapp, Beaurepaire Rohan, Aristides Spinola, Ruy Barbosa, Escragnole Taunay, Franco de Sá, Antonio Pinto, Leopoldo Bulhões, and "a writer using the pseudonym of Clarkson" (*ibid.*, p. 23).

[70] These funds were sponsored by emancipation societies, private individuals, and municipal, state, and national treasuries.

[71] The *Provinciano*, a newspaper of Parahyba do Sul, listed in 1884, among others, the following emancipations: "Dona Anna S. José, 16 slaves liberated and a farm given them for their use; Condessa do Rio Novo, 200 slaves

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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In 1881 the Bahian provincial assembly created an emancipation fund "to free slaves in this province."[87] On March 25, 1884, slavery was abolished in the province of Ceará, the culmination of fifteen months of municipal emancipation.[88] Similar action was taken by the provinces of Amazonas and Maranhão later in the same year. In 1885 all Negroes over sixty years of age were liberated by edict of the Brazilian emperor.[89] In 1886

[87] Law No. 2146 of May 14, 1881, sponsored by Deputies Marcolino Moura, Alexandre Herculano, Frederico Lisboa, and Virgilio de Carvalho. Articles 2 and 3 read as follows:

ARTICLE 2.—This Emancipation Fund shall be derived:

SECTION 1. From each and every provincial tax relative to slaves, including the inheritance and legacy stamps.

SEC. 2. From the returns of an annual lottery of 100 contos.

SEC. 3. From the donations of individuals and of philanthropic associations.

SEC. 4. From legacies left or set up for the benefit of the fund.

SEC. 5. From the payment of a tax obligatory for this purpose by every dramatic and musical company which shall play in the Theatro Publico.

ART. 3.—The distribution of this Emancipation Fund shall be in the hands of each *municipio* in accordance with Article 26 of Statute 5135 of the thirteenth of November, 1872.

The seventh apportionment from this fund, made by act of Governor Theodoro Machado on May 13, 1886, amounted to 59 contos, 723$244 (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 233).

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[88] The *Rio News* of April 5, 1884, reported a week's festival being at that time held in Rio in celebration of emancipation in Ceará. Large sums were realized from donations and bazaars, several slaves were liberated, and a movement set on foot to secure complete emancipation in Rio also. On September 28, 1887, there was held at Belem a "redemption celebration" to which flocked "the press, the abolition societies, the Masons, leaders of the city's commercial life, many women, and the people." One hundred and nine *Cartas de Liberdade* were distributed. On the following day, the *Provincio do Pará*, one of the leading abolition journals of Brazil, published an editorial suggesting a *liga redemptora*, whose program would be that of seeking to secure complete emancipation in the Belem *municipio* by the following December 31 (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 548).

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[89] The provisions of this law freed slaves from sixty to sixty-two years of age on the condition that they serve three additional years without remuneration. Slaves sixty-three years of age were to serve two additional years; those sixty-four, one additional year.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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In 1886 the municipal *camara* of Bahia, following the initiative of other Brazilian cities, authorized a *Livro de Ouro* ("Golden Book") in which the names of persons contributing toward the emancipation of slaves in the *municipio* were to be inscribed. On April 19 of the following year a project was presented to the municipal *camara* by its president, Dr. Augusto Guimarães, authorizing the setting-up of a commission to study means of extinguishing slavery throughout the *municipio*.

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On the eve of nation-wide abolition, or in 1887, a number of emancipation projects were presented to the Bahian *camara*. Two were presented in the state senate: one by Senator Taunay and one by Senator Dantas, the former setting Christmas, 1889, as the date of final abolition for the province of Bahia, and the latter naming December 31 of the same year. Slaves in various parts of Brazil, "learning that they are men and will one day be citizens," were by this time deserting the plantations.** Police and the soldiery often refused to aid in their recapture.

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In 1887, "as a significant manifestation of abolition senti-

** In 1887 Fonseca mentions the "recent flight" en masse of slaves from several *fazendas* in the province of São Paulo. For instance, in Piracicaba, a hundred slaves fled from Barão de Serra Negra. In the *municipio* of Campos fifty slaves fled from the *fazenda* of Becco and, joined by other Negroes who were deserting the *fazenda* of Penha, turned upon the police sent out from Itu to apprehend them and caught, stripped, and beat them. That year the following advertisement appeared in the *Gazeta da Bahia:*

Fled from the owner whose signature appears below the following slaves: Maria dos Neves, *cabra* [offspring of Negro and mulatto], short, stocky, round faced, with prominent cheek bones, milk-white teeth, straight hair, parted in the middle; speaks very rapidly. Antonio (who sometimes calls himself Maria da Piedade), dark *cabra*, short, fat, with good teeth, and large scars on breast and one arm (these scars are from burns). Was last seen in Rio Vermelho.

Whoever recovers and brings these slaves to my office at Rua do Julião, No. 1, or to No. 123 Ribeira in Itapagipe, will be well rewarded.

DR. JOSÉ ALVES CARDOSO E SILVA

(Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 505, 602–3, 161).

443 diers (ambulantes) who walk through the area in the summer selling combs, ribbons, jewelry, and perfumes.

561 One of the most important factors influencing the fortunes of
565 the town of Vila Recôncavo is the diversity of attitudes toward
it held by different segments of the local population. The most
369 powerful group, although small in number, is that of the plantation and sugar-mill owners. The orientation of this group is polarized between the capital city, Salvador, and the plantations. There is no one living in the town who is included in the same social stratum as these people, and therefore the town is not a social drawing point for them as it might be in the plantation area of the southern United States. Vila does not represent a shopping center for them, and it is not an outlet for their sugar. Since they are so near the capital, business is transacted there rather than in the small rural town with its poor communications. This group as a whole looks upon the town as a decadent and backward place. There is little or no feeling among these people that they should "do something" to improve the town, to which they feel little or no allegiance. Rather, their allegiance is first to Bahia and to their own social class in the state, and second to the Recôncavo, the original seat of that class.

The plantation and sugar-mill workers also disregard Vila to a large extent, generally not considering it worth the effort involved in getting there. For these people the market in Centro and the sugar mill store are the major attractions of the area. Their social life is centered almost entirely within the plantation or at the sugar mill.

The town dwellers themselves have an ambivalent attitude toward their town, for, while they also feel that Vila is backward and without opportunity for personal advancement, they nevertheless consider themselves an urban group in contrast
369 to the plantation workers. Recent improvements in the town,
365 such as the installation of electricity and the introduction of radios, movies, and other electrical appliances, as well as the pavement of the mud streets with cobblestones, have been a great help in alleviating the former forlorn air of the town, once known as the "abandoned" town. The local population still speaks of this earlier state a great deal, almost with the haunt-
[652] ing fear that such conditions might return. The funds for these
[653] public works came from sources outside the county, that is, from grants of money by the state government during the epoch of the interventores, the governors appointed during the dic-

tatorial regime of Getulio Vargas. One of the last of these was a son of the county who wished to leave a permanent remembrance of his family in the town. Most of the work was done by local labor, which brought a certain measure of prosperity to the town. Certainly the appearance of the town changed. New façades were added to many houses; others were freshly painted in gay colors; and some people constructed cement sidewalks in front of their homes. At night the streets are brighter because of the electric street lights (which are turned off at midnight) and because of the rays of bright electric light passing through the cracks of the closed window shutters and doors.

Almost every evening at dusk, however, the electric power of the countryside is shut off for at least an hour because of inadequate generating facilities at the main plant, leaving the countryside and small towns in darkness. At this hour the town returns to its past, and one seems to be in an era one, two, or three hundred years ago. Tiny oil lamps (fifós) are lighted, or an occasional kerosene lamp, the soft and short-reaching rays of which barely penetrate the heavy darkness of the house and do not reach the street. A hush falls over the town during the spell of darkness. All the old fears of shadows, malevolence, and lobishomens (werewolves) return. The family congregates in one room, for no one wants to be alone, speaking softly as though not to break the spell. The streets are suddenly emptied, and the silence is broken only by the occasional forlorn braying of a donkey left wandering outside.

Without light there is no life in Vila Recôncavo. The evening religious service is delayed; the movie is delayed; the bar closes. One thinks of the impermanence of the new prosperity, remembering how quickly the moist salt air can blacken the gayest colored building, how the heavy rains can wash away the foundation of a mud house, how fast the weeds can grow in the cracks of the pavement, and how by the flick of a switch in some faraway place the magical lights are removed. A heavy gloom settles over the town and remains until, as suddenly as they went off, the lights return. Life picks up again, radios blare forth at fullest volume, and Vila Recôncavo once again is grateful for light and life, however impermanent.

Although this is a traditional area, few local people know its history. Only a few can provide historical data going back further than one generation, and even fewer know anything of what lies behind the "glorious past" of Vila Recôncavo, a

VILA RECONCAVO

[The Usina]

the factory is undergoing a reformation which will raise its capacity to over one hundred thousand sacks, and the legal capacity will be readjusted. 249* 433

Usina São Pedro, although the smallest, is representative of the others and experiences the same problems and difficulties. It differs from some in that it is a family enterprise. The stockholders are nearly all members of the Conde family, and the operations are directed by two members of the family. The factory itself was one of the three built by the state government in 1900 on land controlled by the Navy,[5] on the edge of the Bay, which provides excellent year-round transportation facilities. The mill was acquired in 1909 by the Conde family with two plantations, to which the family has since added four other contiguous plantations. The corporation has a total area of slightly over four thousand acres, mostly of rich massapê soil. The factory receives cane from the plantation of Dona Sinhá, who is also a member of the Conde family by birth and by marriage. It also gets cane from four other plantations within the community and four outside the community, which send their cane by the traditional sailboat. In addition, the factory owns a 2,324-acre plantation in the county of Purificação which is used for grazing and raising cattle and for supplying wood for the factory fires. There is direct water transportation between the factory and the plantation in Purificação. 249* 473 [653] [423] 249* [602] [423] [505]

The designation usina has several meanings which are quite similar to the meanings of the older term, engenho. In its larger context, usina means the entire land-factory combination, including the mill and all the plantations belonging to the corporation. More specifically, usina means the factory building itself. In another context, usina simply indicates the population nucleus, including the factory, the owner's house, and the other buildings. 249* 192

The usina or factory nucleus roughly follows the same settlement pattern of the old plantations. The point of orientation is the factory building, near which stand the chalet and other homes of the owning family, which are grouped together in a park of royal palms and mango trees. Usually a small chapel or oratory is included in one wing of the chalet, where 249* 361 [178]

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5. The shoreline bordering salt water is controlled to the depth of 33 meters by the Brazilian Navy. [311]

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632 years ago, after determining that these crops were not suf-
463 ficiently rewarding, he made a large-scale planting of white
[242] cacao. It is still too early to speak of the outcome of this venture, for the trees have not yet started to give their first fruit, but this instance illustrates his usual energetic spirit.

Dr. Aliança took the office of mayor seriously and gave a
159 great deal of energy to it. His accomplishments were many
632 in the space of a few years: the paving of most of the town's
463 streets, the installation of electric lights on the streets, the formation of a company to sell electricity to those who wanted
•653 it, the installation of telephone communications with the capital, and the construction of a new, modern primary school building. As a result of his personal energy and direction these works were completed, or at least nearly so, when he left the office. (According to law, the mayor cannot be reelected). However, with the exception of building a bridge, nothing was done in the rural areas of the county. Traditionally any public works in the county are done in the county seat.

441 Many of the merchants in Group 1 are small operators.
463 The capitalization of the stores in Vila Recôncavo runs from Cr$100.000,00 to as low as Cr$5.00,00. However, no matter
443 how small the store, it provides a living for someone, or as
[471] they say in Vila Recôncavo, "Sempre da!" To the ordinary town citizen it is difficult to get enough capital together to open a store, but once opened it rarely closes for lack of business. Of the twelve stores in town, eight are owned and operated by men, and the other four belong to women. The best store in
441 town and the poorest one both belong to women. The "best"
444 store, Dona Carmen's, is the oldest, located on the main street leading from the boat dock. At present it is owned by
[428] Dona Carmen, who inherited it from her brother. It combines a general store and a bakery, and its prices are often slightly higher than those in other stores. It serves most of the people living in the older section of town. In addition to having the largest stock of ordinary foods, the store also carries finer packaged products such as wines, jellies, and preserves.

444 Bread is baked in the afternoon and delivered to the doors
256 of the customers' houses, still warm and with the delicious odor always associated with bread fresh from the oven. The bakery's customers for the most part have standing orders, receiving bread or rolls each day in time for supper. What is left over is hawked through the streets by the delivery boy,

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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BB 175 277 472 of the twentieth century there were four cigarette factories and twelve cigar factories in the Recôncavo.[47]

BB 647 249 654 656 As was characteristic for other products in Brazil, a semi-autonomous government organization was set up to stabilize the tobacco industry in Bahia—the Instituto Bahiano do Fumo (Bahian Institute of Tobacco). Founded in 1935, the Instituto attempts to stimulate the production and improvement of techniques and quality, supervise marketing through a grading system, set minimum prices, and control export of leaf tobacco. Although the Instituto has not succeeded in changing significantly the techniques of the tobacco industry, it has been reasonably successful in maintaining production and price.

BB 175 178 249 245 Just as Bahia had been displaced from its leading position within Brazil, so in turn was the Recôncavo displaced from its exalted position within the state. Tobacco replaced sugar as Bahia's leading commercial product in the nineteenth century, but forfeited its position to cacao in the twentieth century. The replacement of sugar by tobacco was primarily a shift within the Recôncavo, but the rise of cacao brought to the fore Bahia's southern coast. In one sense, however, the Recôncavo retained its old centrality—Salvador remains today the leading political and economic focus of the state, even for the cacao trade.

BB 433 249 BB 161 162 The continued importance of the Recôncavo in Bahia has been partially the result of the vested interests of the sugar and tobacco systems. In addition, the Recôncavo remains today the leading center of population in Bahia, despite its relative decline. In 1872 the Recôncavo had at least 450,000 out of a total state population of 1,379,616. Thereafter the position of the Recôncavo declined, so that by 1940 only one-fourth of the almost four million people of the state lived in this region. However, the compact population

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 178 212 satisfaction with traditional ways but also because the low level of literacy makes difficult even the presentation of new methods. The low level of literacy directly limits the media available for propagation of new ideas, and there is little consciousness of the existence of other methods in other areas. These factors restrict the intellectual horizon and reduce the tolerance for change.

As yet, mechanized agriculture is almost unknown--there are 241 407 probably less than fifty tractors in the entire Recôncavo. Agricultural [242] [354] machinery is confined almost exclusively to government agricultural experiment stations and extension services or to the largest sugar fazendas--in 1952-53 the tractors of the fazendas were largely unused because of the lack of new parts or general unsuitability for the tasks at hand. A very small number of agricultural workers have had any experience with agricultural machinery. The introduction of large quantities of farm equipment would raise many problems related to skill [493] and receptivity. However, the truck, bus, and jeep are omnipresent in the Recôncavo, and the number of competent drivers and mechanics is surprisingly large. Most of these mechanically skilled workers live in the cities and towns, but some are available everywhere, especially in the sugar area. In this area, too, many workers have had experience with such massive equipment as the ox-plow. Thus the introduction of tractors and their accessories into the sugar zone, the area most adapted to mechanization at the present moment, would find at least a small cadre of experienced workers available.

241 461 In addition to skills, the mode of labor and the attitude toward work are important factors in evaluating the agricultural labor force. Agricultural work in the Recôncavo tends to be a joint enterprise--it is joint effort which makes it possible to perform many heavy or 000 arduous tasks with little mechanical assistance. On the cane plantations

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 are many local signs of the increase in cultivation—expanding rural
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178 settlement, overcrowded market facilities, and stories of the "old days"
[361] when life was more leisurely and the land problem less severe. Two areas of the Recôncavo are in great contrast as far as the trend of land use is concerned—the Central Recôncavo on the one hand and the
249 outer Recôncavo, especially the Southwest, on the other. As a result of
311
178 the stabilization of the sugar industry by the Instituto do Açúcar e do
[654] Álcool and, undoubtedly, of the high fixed costs of the sugar industry,
[656] the area under cultivation in the Central Recôncavo has remained relatively constant. Indeed, since large-scale speculation in the cultivation of cane is no longer feasible, as a result of government control, it is possible that marginal lands have been withdrawn from cultivation or have been converted to other uses. However, the evidence of the present land use pattern, at least in the area north of the Bay, is against this hypothesis--there are no signs of abandoned cane fields and no extensive areas with any form of land use except those associated with the sugar industry. There are indications of the abandonment of cultivation near the lesser sugar cane area north of the Bacia do Iguape, but the state of the abandoned sugar mills suggest that the decline in cultivation took place before the last decade. In general, then, the area in cane probably was relatively stable during the 1940's and the 1950's, at least to 1953.

249 The situation in the areas of the cultivation of tobacco and
244 manioc is more complicated, in part because the economies of these crops
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178 are not stabilized. The area in tobacco undoubtedly has fluctuated over a wide range from year to year, although the area in manioc probably has tended to change more steadily, since it is a basic food crop. There seems to be no question but that during the 1940's the area in

249 crop of poor tobacco without the application of manure. Commercial
244 fertilizers are beyond the means of all but a very small minority of
237 cultivators. Those large growers who have experimented with commercial fertilizers report unfavorable results, presumably because of excessive leaching in the porous soils.

249 (3) The system of seed selection is illustrative of the general crudity of cultivation. As indicated above, the seeds are taken from the old and repeatedly harvested plants of the preceding season. The only criterion for selection is survival--the seed plant continued to produce longer than the rest of the crop. This does not mean that it produced more leaf or better quality--indeed, the opposite is often
[654] the case. Occasionally better seeds are available from the federal or
[242] state government, but the cultivators take little interest.

(4) The practice of harvesting the entire stalk or shoot at one time increases the variation in quality, since there are appreciable differences in the stages of development of the leaves. Immature leaves do not cure properly, while overripe leaves will produce only inferior grades.

249 (5) The primitive methods of drying and fermenting further re-
276 duce the quality of the leaf. Where the leaves are dried indoors over the fire, they acquire a smoky character. Frequently the debts of the
[424] cultivator force him to sell part of his crop prematurely so that a bulk large enough for fermentation is not assembled. On the other hand, if a large bulk of leaf is accumulated for curing and fermentation, there is always the risk of scorching, since thermometers are never used to check the temperature. A common abuse, and a costly one to the cultivator, results from delay in stringing the leaf up to dry. If the freshly cut leaves are allowed to remain piled in the sun before hanging, the green color is fixed. This damage cannot be

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

244 433 10,000-ton surplus. The surplus manioc of these municípios would appear [438] to be marketed to the manioc-deficit areas of the Recôncavo, particularly the sugar cane area and Salvador. It is significant that those municípios [249] which were the leading producers of tobacco were also the leading producers of commercial manioc (Map 123). Although the exchange and processing of tobacco in these areas is well organized and receives some attention from government bureaus, the growing and processing of manioc remains an unrecognized enterprise.

249 244 433 The importance of the production of tobacco and of commercial manioc to the various municípios of the Southwestern Recôncavo is shown in the following summary:

Município	Per cent of Total Value of Production	
	Tobacco	Manioc
Cruz das Almas	65	23
Conceição de Almeida	57	38
São Filipe	25	32
Muritiba	17	14
São Félix	54	-

One of the advantages of the relative balance of these two products is that in the event of a crop failure of one, the area would still have a salable commercial product. Moreover, since the production of manioc is relatively large, a moderate decrease in its yield would still leave this area with at least a minimum supply of food for its large agricultural population.

249 257 433 Sugar cane is now the third crop in value in the Recôncavo, but it is maintained in that position only by government subsidy. It is [654] a crop which either dominates the region in which it is produced or its cultivation is economically unimportant (Map 124). In part this is the result of the technological requirements of the sugar industry, which demand that large quantities of sugar cane be produced close to the mill so that the cane can be delivered quickly once it is cut. However,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 354]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 which it is hauled by railroad or boat to the mill, although sometimes
497 the cane which is carried by boat is weighed at the mill. The rail-
505 roads which handle the cane, as has been indicated, are owned and
496 operated by the usinas, except that the government right-of-way is
471 used whenever these tracks pass close to the plantations. One of the
249 usinas is new and a few of the older mills have some new equipment, but the general level of technology is considerably below that of Pernambuco or São Paulo and the mills are somewhat smaller. The usinas grind the cane, extract the juices, and refine the sugar by means of vacuum pans and centrifuges. The more modern usinas produce a high quality sugar, but in general the product is coarse and not a pure white.
274 The by-products of the large usinas and part or all of the cane juice
385 of some of the usinas and engenhos is converted into rum or commercial
262 alcohol. The sugar, rum, and alcohol from the sugar industry of the
273 Recôncavo are consumed primarily within the Recôncavo and the adjoining
438 regions of Bahia. About one-tenth of the production of sugar is
439 exported, chiefly to Rio de Janeiro. The commercial alcohol usually
382 is mixed with gasoline in the bulk plants in Salvador to provide fuel
385 for automotive transport. By law a specified amount of commercial
654 alcohol must be mixed with gasoline--this is designed to subsidize the sugar industry.

249 There are twenty usinas in the Recôncavo, and these produced
471 an estimated 80 per cent of the total sugar of the state of Bahia in
433 1948. The three largest of these are owned by a single sugar company, which also owns the associated plantations, transportation equipment, and cattle fazendas. This company plays an important role in the
249 marketing of sugar from its own usinas and from other companies. The
471 concentration of the cultivation of sugar cane and of the production
178 of sugar in the hands of this single enterprise is a symptom of the

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*249 time and remained high until the 1888 decree which ended slavery completely. Before this time there had already been a great deal of manumission.

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571 In fact, it is distinctive of the entire region that the relations between the whites and the slaves were relatively warm and intimate. Gilberto Freyre describes the intimacy between the moleque (little Negro boy) and the master's son as playmates, between the master's wife and her domestics, between the Negro nursemaid and her white charges, between Negroes and whites in other close relationships on these plantations. A good deal of race mixture occurred. It is still a joke in this region to say that a particular plantation owner "populated the area."

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[654] The crises through which the sugar industry passed during its four-hundred-year history are interesting and worthy of consideration. During the first fifty years of production (until early in the seventeenth century), the sugar industry prospered and expanded. It was a "period of formation, official protection, and government stimulation, during which the liberties of production, transportation, prices and commerce suffered little or no restrictions."[1] The seventeenth

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648 century, however, was full of crises, one of the greatest being the war with Holland. In 1624 the Dutch attempted to capture Bahia but were repulsed. However, they sailed along the shores of the Bay of All Saints, burning and sacking plantations and setting fire to the cane fields. In the north the Dutch succeeded in capturing Pernambuco, which they retained for twenty-four years, also engaging in the production of sugar. In 1644 the Dutch governor, Maurice of Nassau, was recalled to Holland, and the colony was left undirected. The Brazilians revolted and recaptured Pernambuco.

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[731]
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[458] In 1666 there was an epidemic of smallpox in the Recôncavo which reduced the slave population and left many plantation owners without laborers. There followed a period of near-famine for some years, due to the lack of food-plant cultivation. While this situation continued, plantation masters frequently mortgaged their plantations in order to buy new

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1. J. Wanderley de Araujo Pinho, Historia de um engenho do Recôncavo, 1552-1944 (Rio de Janeiro, 1946), p. 193. The following three paragraphs are a condensation of the material contained in pp. 193-220 (author's translation).

struck the sugar cane itself, and production again dropped greatly. At the same time, coffee began to attract attention in São Paulo and the few slaves for sale were sent there, where they commanded a higher price, thereby causing a shortage of workmen in the Recôncavo. In 1888 a final blow was the abolition of slavery. Production dropped to a new low, and the twentieth century was entered during what was called the gravest crisis the industry had ever experienced.

During the late nineteenth century there were several attempts to better the machinery used in the fabrication of sugar. New methods were introduced from abroad, and at the turn of the century the usina made its first appearance on the scene. The usina represents the large-scale central factory, designed to mill the cane of many plantations, thereby raising the total sugar production.[2] The state government took a hand and financed the construction of three factories which were given to various individuals as concessions. There was an effort to revive the industry on a different and stronger basis. At the same time, however, the Recôncavo, as well as other parts of Brazil, felt the pull of the rubber boom in the Amazon and lost some of its manpower. But once again a European war came to the rescue, and during the second and third decades of this century the sugar industry prospered. Many factories were erected, and there was a definite feeling of optimism, which ended abruptly in 1929 and 1930 as a result of prolonged overproduction. In 1933 the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol was established by the national government to regulate production. The new regulations caused dissatisfaction and disputes, and production fell off sharply, only to rise again after World War II when many of the restrictions imposed by the institute were lifted. At the present time the Recôncavo seems to be experiencing a mild phase of affluence.

It is the introduction of the large-scale central factory which holds the most interest for us in this recital of crises, for it was this innovation which brought the maximum amount of change to the town and the entire community structure.

The factory was conceived of as a large mechanized mill,

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2. Hereafter, the word "factory" will be used to designate the usina; wherever the word "factory" appears it should be understood to mean sugar-cane milling factory, unless otherwise qualified. (Editor's note.)

*249
221 kills the new shoots. Toward the end of summer, the pastures or garden plots which are to be made into new plantations (rêgo novo) are prepared, for such work is usually done in accordance with conditions of the land rather than only at the
[433] time of planting. New plantings yield an average of thirty to forty tons per acre. Cutting, transporting, burning, and planting are done by the resident workers, while the weeding and general cultivating are carried out by the migrant laborers.

Work in the winter period can usually be handled by the resident workers alone. The planting of cane goes on throughout the year, but the most favorable time is during July and August, when the rains begin to diminish in constancy and the sun shines longer. Cane planted at this time gives the greatest yield. The seed used is the top part of the cane itself, the "eye" which appears just below the leaves. As a rule each plantation furnishes most of its own seed. That for the summer planting comes from the cane which is cut to go to the
• [654] factory, and that for the winter from small plantings made previously for the purpose. The state government also maintains an agricultural station in the area, from which the planters can get seed. During the winter all repairs are made on houses, fences, and equipment, and of course the necessary drainage ditches must be built or repaired and seasonal cultivation and clearing work must be done.

*249 The usineiros maintain that the agricultural operations pay more than does the factory. The factory plantations sell their
435 cane at the same price as the private suppliers, a price fixed by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol. This price has gradually gone up as have all the factory costs. But the ceiling price of sugar, which is Cr$166,00 a sack, has not increased. In 1951 the cost per sack of sugar at Usina São Pedro was
[434] Cr$132,00. Each year the costs rise, creeping nearer and nearer to the selling price. So while the books show that each plantation is making more money for its cane, the factory's books show a slackening of profits. At the moment, most of the factories in the Recôncavo are engaged in refining their processes in order to get a higher percentage of sugar out of
[433] each ton of cane. The Usina São Pedro is only able to get an average of eighty kilograms of sugar per ton of cane, while the largest factory gets one hundred kilograms per ton. The factory also loses money because it pays for the cane by the ton of dead weight, and not by the percentage of sucrose the cane contains. As a result the planters are interested in rais-

from the competition of other sugar-producing areas. Abolition was the factor which, in many cases, simply ended a struggle several decades old.

The overall production of sugar in the Recôncavo was already dropping noticeably at the time of abolition, and it continued to decrease afterwards. At the end of the last century, state-supported *usinas*, or large mechanical factories for milling sugar cane, were opened in an effort to stimulate sugar production. At the same time, various other *usinas* were opened by private capital. These central mills received and processed the sugar cane of many plantations. The *usina* had the advantage of freeing the planter from the worries of milling and marketing the sugar, allowing him to concentrate on higher production of sugar cane, while the mechanized *usina* was able to produce more sugar out of the cane, thus increasing production. This system of sugar production proved relatively lucrative, and the government *usinas* passed into private hands. The owners of *usinas* bought as many neighbouring plantations as possible, and in this way the *usineiros*, as they were called, became at the same time the mill owners and sugar-cane planters—employers of factory workers and of agricultural workers. The plantations which did not pass into the hands of an *usina* became *fornecedores*, supplying cane to one or another large sugar mill.

The *usina* system, however, in many respects did little to change the traditional plantation system. The plantations belonging to *usineiros* continue as separate units; each generally had an administrator, a man responsible to the *usineiro*, who is in charge of the plantation. As a rule the administrator, who is an employee of the *usina*, lives in the old *sobrado*, the former residence of the *senhor do engenho*, as the old plantation owners were known. The workers on the plantations and their families frequently still live in *senzala*-like houses, usually a long narrow building under one roof divided into separate apartments of two or three rooms. Despite many changes of technology, many examples of the old and the new exist side by side on these Recôncavo plantations. On the same plantation both mechanical tractor and ox traction may be used to pull plows. There are workers' houses side by side, one with electricity and a radio, and another using candles and kerosene lamps. Furthermore, the hierarchy of workers and specialists in sugar-cane raising persists little modified from the early nineteenth century. There are the field hands, the ox-cart drivers, the artisans and other specialists. The plantation is also approximately the same size as it was in the early nineteenth century (although several may be the property of one company nowadays) and it has about the same number of hired workers as it had slaves before.

But the *usina* system and other outside influences have made for many fundamental changes in the Recôncavo. In the very large

491 for vehicles to pass from the main highways over the broader trails
484 to the nearby villages in good weather. However, this is rarely attempted except by jeep, and by these only infrequently.

249 Until the last few years a number of the large usinas in the main
499 sugar cane area have not been connected with the highways. Since jeeps and trucks have become more numerous in the Recôncavo, a number of the big usinas in Santo Amaro are constructing their own outlets to the
315 highway. In recent years the government-owned oil company has been
655 drilling exploratory wells in the cane fields of São Francisco. In
491 conjunction with this enterprise, new roads have been built, and for the
499 first time many plantations of this area have road connections to the highway system.

494 Most of the traffic on the roads of the Recôncavo consists of
493 trucks and busses--private automobiles generally are found only in the urban areas, since cars are very expensive in Brazil, and the highways are very destructive. A large number of busses connect the outer Recôncavo with Salvador. The best passenger service, and the most expensive, is provided by a major bus line which has a daily run from Salvador to Feira de Santana and back. While this bus line employs large busses, most of the other busses used in the Recôncavo are small. These latter provide connections between the Southwestern Recôncavo and Salvador, and supplement the major Feira de Santana-Salvador service. The runs of many of these smaller busses originate outside the Recôncavo, but they collect and discharge passengers at each cidade. Fares are cheap, considering the cost of vehicles and fuel, but still somewhat more expensive than train travel.

Truck traffic is very heavy on the main highways, especially from Feira de Santana to Salvador. Probably most of the agricultural

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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BB 175 277 472 of the twentieth century there were four cigarette factories and twelve cigar factories in the Recôncavo.[47]

BB 647 249 654 656 As was characteristic for other products in Brazil, a semi-autonomous government organization was set up to stabilize the tobacco industry in Bahia--the Instituto Bahiano do Fumo (Bahian Institute of Tobacco). Founded in 1935, the Instituto attempts to stimulate the production and improvement of techniques and quality, supervise marketing through a grading system, set minimum prices, and control export of leaf tobacco. Although the Instituto has not succeeded in changing significantly the techniques of the tobacco industry, it has been reasonably successful in maintaining production and price.

BB 176 178 249 245 Just as Bahia had been displaced from its leading position within Brazil, so in turn was the Recôncavo displaced from its exalted position within the state. Tobacco replaced sugar as Bahia's leading commercial product in the nineteenth century, but forfeited its position to cacao in the twentieth century. The replacement of sugar by tobacco was primarily a shift within the Recôncavo, but the rise of cacao brought to the fore Bahia's southern coast. In one sense, however, the Recôncavo retained its old centrality--Salvador remains today the leading political and economic focus of the state, even for the cacao trade.

BB 433 249 The continued importance of the Recôncavo in Bahia has been partially the result of the vested interests of the sugar and tobacco systems. BB 161 162 In addition, the Recôncavo remains today the leading center of population in Bahia, despite its relative decline. In 1872 the Recôncavo had at least 450,000 out of a total state population of 1,379,616. Thereafter the position of the Recôncavo declined, so that by 1940 only one-fourth of the almost four million people of the state lived in this region. However, the compact population

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 311 178 are many local signs of the increase in cultivation—expanding rural settlement, overcrowded market facilities, and stories of the "old days" [361] when life was more leisurely and the land problem less severe. Two areas of the Recôncavo are in great contrast as far as the trend of land use is concerned—the Central Recôncavo on the one hand and the 249 311 178 outer Recôncavo, especially the Southwest, on the other. As a result of the stabilization of the sugar industry by the Instituto do Açúcar e do [654] Álcool and, undoubtedly, of the high fixed costs of the sugar industry, [656] the area under cultivation in the Central Recôncavo has remained relatively constant. Indeed, since large-scale speculation in the cultivation of cane is no longer feasible, as a result of government control, it is possible that marginal lands have been withdrawn from cultivation or have been converted to other uses. However, the evidence of the present land use pattern, at least in the area north of the Bay, is against this hypothesis--there are no signs of abandoned cane fields and no extensive areas with any form of land use except those associated with the sugar industry. There are indications of the abandonment of cultivation near the lesser sugar cane area north of the Bacia do Iguape, but the state of the abandoned sugar mills suggest that the decline in cultivation took place before the last decade. In general, then, the area in cane probably was relatively stable during the 1940's and the 1950's, at least to 1953.

249 244 311 178 The situation in the areas of the cultivation of tobacco and manioc is more complicated, in part because the economies of these crops are not stabilized. The area in tobacco undoubtedly has fluctuated over a wide range from year to year, although the area in manioc probably has tended to change more steadily, since it is a basic food crop. There seems to be no question but that during the 1940's the area in

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 423 471 [249] Although there were a few corporate lands in the vicinity of the city of Salvador in 1940, the main concentration was in the sugar cane area north of the Bay. Here the large corporately-owned usinas controlled as much as 30 per cent of the agricultural land. Most of these corporate properties were sugar cane plantations, but some were cattle ranches and other accessory properties. The corporations tend to dominate the sugar cane areas which are most productive and most favorably located for the transportation of cane and of the refined sugar and other products.

Conclusion. The strong network of interpersonal relationships, discussed in connection with crop cultivation and systems, is often more important than the purely formal aspects of land ownership and operation in the Recôncavo. The agricultural society of the Recôncavo is closely knit, so that the effective freedom of operation of the farm operator [565] is very limited. Although the large and rich landowners have, on some levels, a greater latitude than the small operators, they too are enmeshed in a system of inherited economic and social obligations and are subject to the restrictions imposed by the urban upper class.

241 441 442 472 The two primary local supervisory groups in the agricultural society are the merchant-buyers of the tobacco-manioc region and the general administrators and plantation owners of the sugar cane region. [656] However, both these groups are under the more or less immediate control of the sugar and tobacco companies in Salvador and of the official Instituto do Açúcar e do Álcool and the Instituto Baiano do Fumo.[7]

249 471 472 656 The operations of the sugar cane plantations are dictated by the mills, which specify the type and quantity of cane and the schedule of delivery. In turn, the amount of sugar produced by the mill is determined by the Instituto do Açúcar e do Álcool, while the policy of

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1

BB 249 47 472 656 operation is determined by the company officers, who generally live in Salvador. The company, in its turn, is subject to some control from Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo investors. This structured system of control probably is one of the reasons for the continuation of the monoculture in the sugar cane area. The usual explanation offered for the cane monoculture is the unique suitability of the soil and climate and the innate conservatism of the Baiano. However, one of the features of the present sugar economy is the lack of capital for other enterprises. The absentee owners, who are the only likely source of capital, are hesitant to advance money for new and untried enterprises. Moreover, alternative agricultural enterprises, if successful, would reduce the supply of cane and thus eventually raise the cost of usina operation.

BB 249 244 442 In the tobacco-manioc region the control exercised by Salvador is indirect, but compelling, because the small tobacco producer is almost completely at the mercy of the buyer, who receives orders from the tobacco exporter and manufacturer through the agent.

BB 241 423 471 184 231 233 The differences in production specialization, size, and tenure among the agricultural properties of the Recôncavo both accentuate the basic dichotomy of the region and re-emphasize its unity. The small-scale mixed crop cultivation and livestock producing unit of the tobacco-manioc region and the large-scale crop cultivation unit of the sugar region are both esentially engaged in the production of commercial crops. Both are distinct from the primary agricultural unit of the sertão, the livestock ranch. Both are subject to the over-all economic control of the center—Salvador.

B BB 241 423 184 249 In most parts of Brazil, as in the Recôncavo, the agricultural properties are highly diverse in size, function, and ownership. Most areas of sugar cane cultivation have relatively large properties, primarily engaged in crop cultivation. In other areas, as in

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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come to be the area of the greatest value of agricultural production in the state--Cr.$1,007,824,000, in 1948, almost three times the value of crop and livestock production in the Recôncavo, Cr.$335,000,000. The total value of livestock production in the Recôncavo is estimated to be about Cr.$60,000,000 for 1948. Although no comparable figure is available for Brazil, probably the Recôncavo had less then 1 per cent of the livestock and thus produced less than 1 per cent of the value of livestock in the nation as a whole.[1]

B BB 231 233 433

B BB 433

The present inferior position of the Recôncavo is in part a reflection of the relative decline of the region in the nineteenth century discussed in the chapter on the evolution of the Recôncavo. However, the Recôncavo continues to lag behind in the contemporary development of Brazil. From 1944 to 1952 the total cruzeiro value of the principal crops of Brazil increased four-fold, while the value of Bahia's tobacco crop, a good indicator of the economic shifts of the Recôncavo, increased by only one-fifth despite the concurrent inflationary spiral. Even the government-stabilized sugar industry of the Recôncavo produced only three and one-half times its 1944 value. Although the above increases are more indicative of the steadily declining value of Brazilian currency than of true economic development, they are an index of the relative importance of agriculture in the Recôncavo to the national economy.

B BB 241 249 433 [458] [650]

BB 249 244 433 311

Tobacco, sugar cane, and manioc, which occupied 70 per cent of the Recôncavo's cropland, accounted for 77 per cent of the total value of all principal crops in 1948 (Table XVI). Each of the three crops contributed at least 20 per cent of the value of all crops, while no other crop produced over 6 per cent of the total. The cruzeiro value of these principal crops, and of livestock, and their relative position within the nation has been given in Table IV, above.

small empires, disappeared. But in his place an even more powerful figure appeared, the usineiro, the land-factory combination director and representative of corporate power. 175 249* 473

However, not all private plantations succumbed to pressure from the factories or to economic collapse. There are many which still continue to plant and cultivate sugar cane and send it to the factory for milling. After 1933 the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol prescribed the amount of sugar cane each plantation, whether private or corporate, could produce, and indicated the total amount of sugar each factory could produce and how much cane it had to accept from each plantation. As a result of this protection, many private plantations continue to function in equilibrium with the factory to which they send their sugar cane. The private plantation owners also have a separate association which looks after their interests. [178] 175 249* 433 [656]

Thus the twentieth century has seen the introduction and development of the factory system and in its wake a series of fundamental changes. The growth of factory towns (the usina nuclei) has created further competition for the older county seats, such as the town of Vila Recôncavo, and further disintegration of the former community structure. 175 249* 178

Since its discovery and settlement, the rural area of Vila Recôncavo has been the scene of sugar-cane planting and sugar making. The rural area was settled before the town of Vila Recôncavo, and the plantation nuclei were actually self-sufficient small towns in themselves. The landowning pattern in this rural area has gone full cycle. First were the large land grants which were then split up into separate engenhos (after 1889 known as fazendas) through division due to inheritance, sale, or donation. For about three hundred years the pattern of the area was that of the engenho. However, at the end of the nineteenth century, this way of life came to an end as a result of financial crises and the abolition of slavery. The twentieth century has seen the introduction of the factory, which has led to a concentration of lands again under single ownership, although this time corporate and not that of a single individual or family. 175 178 249* 423

During the epoch of the plantations there was a necessity for the existence of the town to serve the needs of the landowning class. The community during this time was focused to a large extent toward the county seat. But with the abolition of slavery, the disappearance of the plantation master and his large family, and the coming of the factory, the former com- 175 178 249* 621

[The Private Plantation]

*249 829 178 [434] The entire harvest is done with great sacrifice, my head wearied by accounts; 6,000 tons of cane, over Cr$600.000,00--a lot of money, enough for all the expenses, and still some left over. What a mistake! The general costs, the extraordinary costs, house repairs, etc., will take it all. So we start again--new plantings, larger fields, all for more money. But we lack the courage to stop planting sugar cane and plant corn or coffee, anything else. We were born hearing of senhores de engenho, of trays and trays of silver service, of Negro slaves, of everything which has disappeared into the past. But it still burns in our blood, and deep down we want to have lands, to order and be obeyed. We like the humble and servile vassalage of the Negro, which makes us feel important, the dispensers of favors.

*249 829

I think of this as old Saturno goes along, step by step. There is Paulos Santos coming along the road, with his little burro and two baskets, going to get manioc for the ever-present farinha. "Good morning, Patron!" What affection I feel for each one of them! Pedro Manuel with so many little children; Zé Julião with his sick wife, Conceição with his air of secular servility. But affection resolves nothing! Money and action do! I could knock down those miserable hovels and make good hygienic houses.

Once home I fall into the hammock, reading Proust and forgetting everything.

*249 473

The Usina: Usina São Pedro

The Sociedad Anonima, the corporation which operates this factory, represents the new pattern in the Recôncavo. There are now nine factories functioning in the Recôncavo, for the trend has been to close the small ones which could not function economically. Five of the nine belong to one corporation, which holds extensive lands and receives the cane of many suppliers. We will describe the smallest of the four independent factories, which has a rated capacity of seventy-two thousand sacks of sugar as compared with the two hundred thousand of one of the larger mills (a sack equaling 60 kilograms). The legal capacity of the Usina São Pedro--which it has never reached--is fifty-two thousand sacks, as determined by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol. At the present time, however,

*249 433 [128] [656]

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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they are generally conceded to be so by the field hands and the members of classes A and B, because their occupations are more specialized and they work in the mill. There are actually several factors which distinguish them from the field laborers, for in addition to receiving protection by national legislation, including minimum salaries and rights to vacations and medical services, they receive from the factory electric light for their houses and firewood. In addition, factory workers do not plant gardens to supply their farina, and they consider themselves far superior to the agricultural laborers in that their own wives "do not use the hoe" (nao pegam na enxada). 565* 184 [656] [466]

At the factory nucleus where both millworkers and the agricultural laborers of one plantation live in the same place, the houses of the former are grouped in the middle of the village, clustered about the owner's chalet, while those of the latter are on the fringes, farther from the usineiro's house, the mill, and the large store. The factory workers' houses are better constructed than those of the field laborers. They are mostly of brick with tile roofs, while the field workers' homes are often of wattle-work covered with plaster and painted over. The houses of the factory nucleus follow the old slavequarter pattern. The buildings are long and narrow and divided into apartments under one roof. The factory owns all the houses, which the workers receive rent-free. The factory worker is better paid than the field worker, and consequently has more and better material possessions. His house is better furnished, and he dresses better. [361] 565* 342 184 [423]

Illiteracy is widespread in the rural area. The factory nucleus has had a state primary school for thirty years, and Pedras, the largest of the factory plantations, has had one for about twenty. As a result the factory workers, as well as the people of Pedras, have had the opportunity to attend four years of primary school. The rural laborers on other plantations, however, have lacked this opportunity in most cases. An exception is the Fazenda das Moças, which has had a school in recent years, for children in the daytime and for adults at night. 565* 184 871 [212]

The social life of the workers is almost entirely confined to the place in which they live. Their lives are spent on the plantation except for the days when they walk to the fair in Centro, usually on the Monday following payday. During the summer, when the roads are good for travel, they are busy with the 565* 517

178 *
* 249 pliers were presented with accounts showing how much cane
571 had been sent to the mill, the price, how much the factory had
452 paid the bank on the supplier's loans, how much had been ad-
407 vanced the supplier for his cane, and how much was still owed
the supplier, discounting the costs of services received from
the factory facilities. This has been traditional practice, not
only at Usina São Pedro, but also at the other factories of the
178 area. Now, however, Usina São Pedro expects to receive
cash at the moment of the transaction for each such service
*249 the supplier receives. In addition, the factory has gradually
571 cut down on the number of services it offers the suppliers.
This has been particularly serious regarding services of the
407 mechanics, as the private suppliers have no other source of
437 repair for their machines except in the city; taking them into
the city costs a great deal of time and is more expensive than
were the services performed by the factory mechanics.

178 The new managers at first charged an automatic discount
* 249 upon the cane tonnage supplied by each private plantation. This
571 resulted in a considerable loss of money at the end of the year
for each private supplier, thereby straining even more the
432 relations which daily were becoming more and more disagree-
able. Any question of scale and tonnage is a touchy one for
private planters, who sell their cane by the weight. The dis-
• [656] count charged on general principles by the factory was so
serious a matter that several of the private suppliers united
and called the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol to their defense
and succeeded in correcting the situation. This was a "first"
for Usina São Pedro, where such a thing had never before
happened, and where such a recourse is considered an ex-
treme.

178 Social relationships between the private planters and the
* 249 managers of the factory are almost nonexistent. Whereas a
571 few years ago the factory was the central gathering point for
the social life of the planters of the area, it is now a place to
be avoided. In addition to making working conditions difficult,
the new managers and their families are "outsiders" in this
small, closed plantation society, with different backgrounds
and manners. As a result of the new conditions, the private
planters are spending more time on their plantations than be-
fore, but their social life rotates from one plantation to an-
other, skipping the factory nucleus. This pattern is also re-
flected in the activities of the resident workers, who are up-
set at the treatment shown to the older employees of the fac-

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tory and its fields, and who are slowly drifting away from visiting the factory nucleus.

An overall result of the new conditions between private planters and the factory is a desire on the part of the suppliers of São Pedro to become independent of this outlet. Several of the suppliers are shifting their cane to other neighboring factories, when this is convenient. Most of them are seriously considering shifting to another crop, as will be described below; in fact a goodly proportion of land has already been taken out of sugar-cane production, thus diminishing future cane harvests and endangering the cane supply of Usina São Pedro. [311]

What was formerly a peaceful, "all in the family," almost preservelike area has become an area of tensions and of poor business, and social, relations. The situation has all the possibilities of a traditional sugar-cane kind of land capture. The factory needs land in order to produce more cane so that the mill can operate at capacity. No one is willing to sell to the factory, nor even to supply as much cane as he might under other conditions. But the private planters are dependent upon the factory, economically and for services. Therefore it is an easy matter for the factory to make difficulties for the individual planter, even gradually forcing him into failure, since the planter operates on credit and has little latitude for even a single crop failure. Such a failure gives the factory an opportunity to acquire badly needed lands at a bargain. [452] [425]

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The sugar industry in the community of Vila Recôncavo has also undergone changes in the labor aspects, in line with the entire industry. As was pointed out in Chapter 4, the price of the sugar cane and the sugar is artificially regulated, and has been rising slowly over a period of years. However, nationwide social legislation in the past three years has raised the wages of the workers annually, before the price increases were granted by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol. Spiraling inflation has also helped raise all the costs, of labor, of materials, and of machinery. Whereas prices for the task done have always been fairly well regulated, they have recently become a very strong issue, and there is much worker discontent. The planter, whether private or corporate, is more than ever interested in holding down the costs of his labor supply, since other costs, particularly of machinery and repairs, are soaring, always narrowing the margin between the total cost of production and the established selling price. [656] [458] [466]

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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a nation more Caucasian in physical appearance." In addition, one should further note, as Willems has also suggested to us, that an aspect of this policy has become to some extent more formal and articulate in recent years. As we have defined it, this informal and unstated policy reflects a desire to absorb all minority groups—whether immigrant[40] or of color; but discrimination on the basis of either color or race obviously can stand in the way of its realization. It is with reference to this obstacle that Willems believes the policy has become more articulate, as reflected in the law of 1951, which gives legal negative sanction to discrimination in any form, a law passed overwhelmingly by the Brazilian Congress. It is reflected also in the committee reports and discussions inside and outside Congress which accompanied the enactment of this law; in the decidedly vocal and positive opposition on the part of Brazilian organs of public opinion to the occasional evidences of color discrimination upon which public attention becomes focused; and even, as Willems also points out, in the anti-racist militancy of colored organizations in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo.

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Although the basic facts seem to have been observed and reported in the original study, not all were given, perhaps, the relative prominence they deserved in the hypotheses which terminated it. One might add to these hypotheses certain apparent facts to which attention is called, to some extent at least, in the course of this book:

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1. A large number of popular terms have arisen which seem to designate the various racial combinations in the population. However, a) these terms are descriptive not so much of racial descent as (1) of the actual physical appearance of the individual in question, and (2) of his social

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[40] Cf., in this respect, Nogueira 1955:552; Pierson 1951:191.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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plex and need further study. If the discrimination turns out to be due only (or largely) to color, it will in most cases be because color is one of the criteria of rank. However, nowhere in Brazil is it supported by public opinion. On the contrary, it receives severe and widespread condemnation, in press and elsewhere, and legislators hasten to pass laws bringing it under repressive legal sanction. In other words, public opinion and public action invariably are *in favor of*—never against—the darker portion of the population.

7. Nevertheless, in any conflict situation, the lack of one of the determinants of status—namely, light color—*just as any other lack*, may be seized upon, to a person's disadvantage, by competitors.

8. Numerous common sayings regarding Africans and their descendants (cf. pp. 362–65 of this book) which originated during the slave epoch, and which long ago lost all, or most, of their function as stereotypes (cf. Florestan Fernandes 1959:328), occasionally are employed by brancos but ordinarily with a smile and in a humorous manner and when colored persons are not present. Moreover, actual behavior tends to belie these common sayings; and they are even used in jocular fashion by colored persons themselves. Nevertheless, they are remnants of a superordinate-subordinate relationship in a former caste order and, as such, constitute threats to status in possible conflict situations, and also potential aids to the development of group-consciousness.

To these hypotheses, there might be added the following one, suggested by Wagley (1963b:154):

9. "The ability of 'people of color' to improve their status . . . varies considerably from community to community according to the possibilities open to them."

Wagley's further statement that "rural Brazilian society

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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The first recorded protest in Brazil against slavery as an institution was that of the Jesuit Manoel de Nobrega, who, shortly after Bahia was founded, sent a letter to the superior of his order in Lisbon protesting against the importation of Africans into the new settlement.

In 1758 Manoel Ribeiro da Rocha, who had been educated at Coimbra, published in Lisbon a book entitled *Ethiope resgatado, empenhado, sustentado, corrigido, instruido e libertado*, in which the abolition of the slave trade was advocated. Sixty-five years later, in 1823, José Bonifacio de Andrade e Silva unsuccessfully proposed in parliament a measure designed to end importation by 1828. But on November 7, 1831, the regent, Padre Diogo Antonio Feijó, signed a resolution drawn up by Costa Carvalho, Lima e Sousa, and Basilio Muniz, which declared free all Africans subsequently brought into Brazil.

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Manumission existed from the first. Apparently early in the colonial period it became customary for masters to accept remuneration for original cost.[64] Public opinion demanded that an owner set at liberty any slave requesting his freedom and offering the price of his purchase.[65] The requirement was later made legally binding and enforced by law.[65a] Other slaves were given their freedom either during their master's lifetime or upon his death. The fathers of illegitimate offspring often freed their children at the baptismal font. From 1864 to 1870 large numbers of slaves were granted their freedom on agreeing to serve in the Para-

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[64] The wearing of shoes or slippers became a symbol of freedom.

[65] R. Walsh, *Notices of Brazil* (2 vols.; London, 1830), II, 391.

[65a] National Law No. 2040, September 28, 1871. See Manoel Joaquim do Nascimento e Silva, *Synopsis da legislação brasileira* (Rio, 1874), p. 460.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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guayan war.[66] The law eventually provided that Negro women, after rearing ten children, should be automatically liberated.[67] In 1871 the so-called "law of Rio Branco" freed offspring of slaves born subsequent to its adoption[68] and set up a fund for the purchase and liberation of Negroes by the government. By 1880 a widespread emancipation movement was under way.[69] Thousands were freed by will, by payments from emancipation funds,[70] or by outright gift.[71] For instance, in 1883, in the towns of Baturite, Aca-

[66] On March 30, 1867, the monastery of São Bento in Bahia, which had already freed eleven slaves for service in the war with Paraguay, liberated six more Negroes and "presented them to the Governor for the same purpose."

[67] Koster, however, wrote from Pernambuco in the early nineteenth century: "A slave who has brought into the world, and has reared ten children, ought to be free, for so the law ordains. But this regulation is generally evaded" (*op. cit.*, I, 195).

[68] This law was, however, in some cases ineffective. Sixteen years after its passage the Bahian *Diario Official*, of June 4, 1887, reported the following auction of slave property at the *fazenda Concordia:* "Alberto, 10 years of age, one conto of reis; Vicente, 13 years, one conto of reis; Felix, 14 years, 800 milreis; Flauzinha, 13 years, 600 milreis, Simplicio, 14 years, one conto of reis" (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 587 n.)

[69] Among the prominent abolitionists mentioned by Anselmo da Fonseca were: José do Patrocinio, Joaquim Nabuco ("the great and illustrious head of the abolition movement"), Senator Dantas, Ferreira de Menezes, Andre Rebouças, Quintino Bocayuva, Joaquim Serra, Ennes de Souza, Getulio das Neves, Nicolau Moreira, José Mariano, Celso Junior, Senator Jaguaripe, Luiz de Andrade, João Clapp, Beaurepaire Rohan, Aristides Spinola, Ruy Barbosa, Escragnole Taunay, Franco de Sá, Antonio Pinto, Leopoldo Bulhões, and "a writer using the pseudonym of Clarkson" (*ibid.*, p. 23).

[70] These funds were sponsored by emancipation societies, private individuals, and municipal, state, and national treasuries.

[71] The *Provinciano*, a newspaper of Parahyba do Sul, listed in 1884, among others, the following emancipations: "Dona Anna S. José, 16 slaves liberated and a farm given them for their use; Condessa do Rio Novo, 200 slaves

[SALVADOR]

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*563 565 829 the Bahians congregate together or avoid one another much more in terms of their social rank than of their color or their race.

Crossbreeding is not forbidden by any law and comes up against [656] [626] the disapprobation of opinion only to the extent that it affects the structure of classes firmly established in the country: upper strata made up almost exclusively of Whites, that is to say, persons of white phenotype or at least "socially white," lower strata made up chiefly of colored people; a classification which makes classes and racial types approximately coincide, without, however, making them identical.

175 *563 From the early days of Portuguese colonization there has been a large number of colored persons in Bahia. In the beginning the [595] colonists mixed largely with the tupi /Tupi/ Indian women of the region, living with them in a state of concubinage and often [567] polygamy. Slavery having been abolished in the first half of the [641] seventeenth century for the aborigines, and civil and political rights having been granted them a short time afterward, cross- [829] breeding continued through marriage. Thus, today a large number of morenos explain their dark color by boasting about some ancestor pegado a dente de cachorro, that is to say, captured like an animal that one hunts in the virgin forest in the wild state. [161] But the number of natives decreased rapidly and had little influence on the formation of the Bahian type. The opposite /22/ [167] occurred with the Africans brought by the thousands and thousands [567] to work on the sugar-cane plantations. The crossbreeding of Portuguese and Brazilians with Africans and Blacks born in Brazil was made possible and even favored by different factors, among them the scarcity of white women in the initial period, the slave system, the laxness of social control with regard to male sexual behavior, the physical and psychological charms of black women, in particular the minas Blacks, natives of the Costa da Mina in [829] the western Sudan. It was commonly said at that time that, in order to see beautiful Negresses, it was necessary to go to Bahia (1);

1. F. Biard, Deux années au Brésil /Two years in Brazil/, Paris, 1862.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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often been heard, on the lips of older members of, particularly, Protestant churches in the United States, "These young people today are not like we used to be. It's a shame the way they stray away."

829 794 178 159 [873] [658]

João is a young black about twenty years of age who has just completed a business course subsequent to graduation from the Ginasio da Bahia, the city's state-supported secondary school. One day, in the home of his uncle, who is a prominent figure in the fetish world, João was copying a page in Nagô. Possessed of a deep affection for his uncle and being characteristically obliging and courteous, he was attempting to learn a few words of this African language. But the impression João made on a visitor was that his efforts with Nagô arose rather from a desire to please his uncle than from any genuine interest in the language itself. João remarked, apologetically, "You know I would like to learn it, but I just don't have time when I'm working every day."

A young mulatto girl who had completed two years at a secondary school remarked, "I don't care much for the *candomblé*, except to watch the dances and to see the [ceremonial] costumes. I seldom go, and then only for some special reason. I like the movies better, especially the North American and the English films." She further remarked:

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> My uncle doesn't believe in this business of the *orixás*. One day his daughter—my cousin—said that she felt an *orixá* about to "arrive." She ran all the way to a *candomblé*, began to dance, and, sure enough, "she fell into the *estado de santo*." But my uncle wouldn't stand for it. He got a sprig of *urtiga* and whipped her and then went and whipped the *pae de santo* too. The next day, my cousin couldn't bear anyone's hand on her, she was so sore. But that was the end of the *orixá*. He never came back.

José is a young mixed-blood, twenty-two years of age, employed as a janitor in one of Bahia's public buildings. Although he knows of three *seitas* near his home—one each

5: Azevedo--83 D. Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[SALVADOR]

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*563 545 [171] For about ten years people have been trying to organize a "Negro theater" in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. In spite of the assistance of white intellectuals of great influence and endowed with the spirit of initiative, the two or three groups that have been founded have had only relative success, in spite of the indisputable artistic and intellectual merit of the Blacks and mulattoes who were at their head. About two years ago, when [658] one of these groups asked for government assistance in order to give a series of performances in Bahia, the presentation of a "Negro theater" in a city such as ours, where there is no separation of races, was considered inopportune. At least this is how some people justified the refusal against it. Two small theater groups were nevertheless founded in Bahia, "to give colored persons the possibility of becoming known," as was announced in a newspaper, but neither of these groups was able to succeed in staging a play. This lack of success may be explained in different ways. One explanation might be that amateur theater enterprises, even those directed by Whites of some prestige and aided by recreational associations able to spend /Figs. 7 and 8 appear here/ /65/ quite large sums on efforts of this kind, have been intermittent in Bahia and generally require an extreme effort by amateurs of the theatrical art; another is that the persons responsible for the two undertakings were young people of mixed blood, without experience and without credit. It should be noted, besides, that, according to one of these, the idea was not popular, even among colored persons. "Everybody doubts that this venture can be successful," he said. Some have even thought that this is "a separatist idea." It is possible that other factors come into play in this tendency to discourage similar endeavors. The theater being a means of [154] emotional expression, serving as a substitute for other ways of [796] liberating emotions, one may agree with the hypothesis of Roger Bastide, according to which the colored people of Bahia satisfy themselves by means of the exciting rites of the candomblé and the external Catholic worship with its brilliant liturgical ceremonies, its frequent and large processions, and the solemn saints' days around the most popular churches (1).

[113] 1. "Teatro de 30 dias /Theater of 30 days/," Anhembi, No. 10, Vol. IV, São Paulo, Sept. 1951.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

APPENDIX D

Changes in Crop Data

241 433 127 128 [659] The crop data in Produção Agrícola: 1948 were gathered by statistical agencies of the Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística established in each cidade of Bahia and of most other states in Brazil. The quality of statistical data assembled is highly variable, depending in part upon the efficiency of the agent but also upon the size of the município and upon whether the products are easily assessable, or are marketed locally, and a number of other factors. In a number of cases it has been necessary to modify obviously erroneous parts of the official data, which were sometimes contradictory and sometimes at variance with the agricultural pattern as determined by field investigation. This usually has been done by interpolating from other more creditable data from the same basic source or from other sources. In the following pages the important changes which have been made in the data for various crops will be discussed, and maps based upon the original data will be presented.

When the data for area, production, and value were combined to determine yield and price, and these relationships were mapped, certain obvious errors and a number of clues to the direction and extent of error were discernible because the general outline of price and yield pattern in the Recôncavo was clear. Generally one of the three base figures--area, production, or value--was accepted as valid and the others adjusted to bring yield and/or price into line. Because of an almost complete lack of property surveys, the crop area data are at best a gross estimate and liable to great error. On the other hand, [443] [659] the location of the statistical bureau in the cidades, usually the primary market, does give opportunity to make reasonably close estimates of value and production, at least of marketed crops.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

APPENDIX E

Tobacco Zones of Bahia

249 659 311 The tobacco industry, the exporting houses, and the official tobacco organizations of the government have divided the entire leaf tobacco producing area of Bahia into four zones on the basis of the kind of tobacco produced. None of these zones even approximately coincides with the Recôncavo, but three of the four include Recôncavo municípios, while the edge of the fourth touches upon the region. These four zones, in order of approximate relative value of their leaf, are "Mata," "Feira," "Caatinga," and "Sertão." Many different types and grades are included in "Sertão." The accompanying map (Map 136) shows the relationship of these zones to the Recôncavo.

249 311 "Mata," the most valuable, is a good burning, light to medium tobacco which can be used after twelve months of curing. Very often it is worth twice as much as the next grade. The "Mata" zone stretches from northern Santo Amaro to the southwestern extreme of the coffee zone. It is divided into three parts—norte, which includes northeast Santo Amaro, southeast Feira de Santana, and Cachoeira; sul, which includes southern Castro Alves, southern Santo Antônio, São Miguel, and the municípios to the southwest; and fina, which includes São Gonçalo, Conceição da Feira, Muritiba, Conceição do Almeida, Cruz das Almas, São Filipe, São Félix, Maragogipe, and northern Santo Antônio. The greatest premium within the Mata Fina grade is given for Cruz das Almas leaf, although São Gonçalo leaf also is highly valued. In addition to the intrinsic value of the leaf, "Mata" tobacco is valuable because of its uniformity, both from area to area and from year to year. In part this uniformity results from the fact that it is grown upon similar

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 420]

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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rapidly becoming one people. Some day not far distant there will be only *one* race in our country."

On visiting Brazil, Theodore Roosevelt once wrote: "Perhaps the attitude that the Brazilians, including the most intelligent among them, take is best symbolized by a picture which we saw in the Art Museum in Rio. It portrayed a black grandfather, a mulatto son, and a white grandchild, the evident intention of the painter being to express both the hope and the belief that the Negro was being absorbed and transformed so that he would become a white man." Quoting a Brazilian statesman, Roosevelt continued: "You speak of Brazil as having a large Negro population. Well, in a century there will not be any Negroes in Brazil, whereas you will have twenty or thirty millions of them. Then for you there will be a real and very uncomfortable problem, while for us the problem in its most menacing phase will have disappeared."[42]

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It is difficult to check this general impression that the population is constantly becoming more and more European in appearance. Reliable statistics on the present distribution of the various ethnic groups are not available. No adequate data of this sort have recently been compiled by any agency. The last Brazilian census to include racial categories was taken a half-century ago, in 1890. At that time the racial division in Bahia was given as: *brancos*, 32.0 per cent; *pretos*, 26.4 per cent; and *mestiços*, 35.1 per cent.[43]

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Vital statistics, however, are still recorded in the city by

[42] *Outlook*, CVI (February 21, 1914), 410–11.

[43] *Caboclos* were given as 6.5 per cent. It is difficult to understand how so large a number of Indians, or Indian mixed-bloods (the term is variously used at different times and in different places in Brazil), could have at that time existed in the city of Bahia.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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color categories, three being officially recognized: *branco*, *preto*, and *pardo*. These classifications are based upon physical appearance, the principal criteria being pigmentation and hair texture. Racial intermixture has now proceeded to the point where public officials say no attempt is made to indicate ethnic distinctions. Thus the *branco* category includes many light mulattoes and the *preto* category many dark mixed-bloods.

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These official color divisions directly reflect popular distinctions. It is therefore important to note that their usage indicates a shift in criterion from racial descent (as in the United States) to physical appearance; and physical appearance is a characteristic which miscegenation tends continually to modify. Whereas in the United States one drop of Negro blood, if it be known, makes a man a Negro, in Bahia many individuals are listed in the census as white (and, one might add, are so considered by their friends and associates) whose grandmothers were Negroes of pure African descent.

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For instance, the grandmother of a *branco* politician who holds a responsible position in the Rio government, and who himself shows no noticeable traces of Negro ancestry, is said to have been a black woman who wore on Bahia's streets "a *saia grande* and a *panno da Costa*."[44] The *branco* wife of a prominent physician, fair and blue eyed, similarly had an African grandmother. A former governor, to all appearances white and so considered throughout the community, is only two generations removed from an African forebear. Cases might be cited indefinitely similar to that of a Bahian who, referring to a prominent local woman invariably con-

[44] Elements of the distinctive costume, partially African in origin, which is worn in Bahia by Negro women (see chap. ix.).

[SALVADOR]

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a) mulattoes of prime blood; b) light mulattoes tending to revert to the white race; c) dark mulattoes, cabras, product tending to revert to the black race, some almost completely identified with the creole Negroes, the others more easily separable; 2nd, the mamelucos or cabôclos, products of the cross between White and Indian; 3rd, the product of the cross of the three races and especially the cross between the mulatto and the Indian or with the mamelucos and cabôclos. Arthur Ramos in his book A aculturaçao negra no Brasil /Negro Acculturation in Brazil/, 1942, p. 58, and in other works, one of which is "The Negro in Brazil," in Brazil, Portrait of Half a Continent, edited by Lynn Smith and A. Marchant, New York, 1950, p. 130, adopts almost the same classification, but proposes that, in order to avoid inaccuracies, one use the words pardo, mulatto, and métis as synonyms.

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In response to the demand of a lawyer, the head of the Bureau of Judicial Identification of the civil police of the State of Bahia stated some years ago that in his department one uses, according to the judgment of the identifier, the terms White, moreno, pardo, métis, and Black. A woman official who has worked for a long time in this service describes the different Bahia types thus: "The métis is a descendant of Black and mulatto; the pardo is the son of a mulatto and a White; the mulatto is derived from a White and a Black: he may be light, but he will always have lips that are thick and reddened by pigmentation; the moreno is the mulatto fino, and the Black is an individual with pronounced Negro traits."

[SALVADOR]

/14 cont./

829 Many persons identified in this office under the word White
*563 are probably métis of different types; the same confusion occurs
• 659 with persons designated as mulattoes, pardos, or morenos, ac-
192 cording to examinations made by Pierson (2)

2. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 189.

and now repeated by the author. A black lawyer relates that his wife, a relatively light mulattress, was registered in this office as Black, while the latter's sister, almost the same type as she, was classed as a mulattress. It is, moreover, interesting to note that generally in the dossier of identity referring to the persons registered the designation "mulatto" never appears, so to speak, but almost always that of moreno or pardo, the first having a pejorative character. A social worker relates that the women of the most humble milieu who are registered in her office, even when they are Blacks, do not want to be mulattoes, but morenas, sometimes saying that their children are moreninhos (little morenos) "like me," or that their husbands are a little more morenos or "darker." In any case, the terms officially employed
829 in the offices are branco, pardo, and preto. A dark mulatto
*563 physician whom most people would have described as black re-
565 lates that, when he was young /15/ and traveling on a train one day, he was recognized by a friend of his father, and this friend, knowing his father was white, introduced him to the other travelers by saying that, in spite of his appearance, he was really White in origin. "My brother, although darker than I," a morena informant told us, "was once classed as White, perhaps because he had a doctor's diploma."

829 The difficulties of identification and the differences of opinion
*563 among Bahians on the subject of local ethnic types can be easily explained. On account of the lack of unity of the criteria intended for distinguishing Blacks and mulattoes, an anthropologist of Rio de Janeiro divided the colored people of Bahia into two categories: the darker and the less dark (1).

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1. M. Julia Pourchet, Contribuçao ao estudo antropofisico da criança de côr /Contribution

/104 cont./

000 in these groups is an old Brazilian tradition. In order to account
*563 for the amount of improvement that has occurred in the situation
175 of colored groups, it should be mentioned that on the occasion of
212 the national census of 1872 the totality of the slaves of the city
178 was illiterate. Since the abolition of slavery in 1888, although
[567] it did not do much on behalf of the recently freed men, they
•[659] progressed to such an extent that today more than 50 o/o of the Blacks and more than 60 o/o of the pardos over the age of five know how to read and write, and their number is increasing every year in the secondary and higher courses, thus opening the way to the liberal professions, in which one may count them in variable proportions.

*563 It should also be remembered that among those who are
571 called "Whites" there are many light métis who are considered socially white, and that colored persons, even those who are the darkest and show the most obvious Negroid features, are treated like anyone else of the same social situation. Interracial relations are then governed by some "fair play"; in other words, Bahian customs disapprove of openly avowed discrimination motivated by racial intolerance or color prejudice. Another aspect of the Bahian dynamics and social psychology is that both the antagonisms of class and those of color are attenuated by the process of reciprocal accommodation between /105/ the groups and by the development, as much among Whites as among dark individuals, of the type of "cordial" and "gentle" personality that some authors consider to be characteristic of the Brazilian people and the prototype of which is supposed to be the inhabitant of Bahia.

*563 The facilities for the social ascent of colored individuals are
555 in the process of multiplying in Bahia; according to the opinion
178 of numerous informants, they will not cease to be augmented unless cultural change, under the influence of new social conditions created by the industrialization anticipated in the region by the exploitation of oil-bearing lands and with the development of the electrical energy of the waterworks under construction, produces a perceptible modification of the ethos of Bahia; it is

who walks about with a huge round basket on his head crying, "Pão, pão." 444 256

Dona Carmen's husband, Damião, is also a storekeeper. His store is in the downhill part of town, near the fishermen. The two stores are run separately, and the couple are doing well financially. In addition to his store, Damião also owns several canoes and fish nets which he rents to fishermen. He is the only storekeeper in town who gives credit to people who cannot pay immediately, allowing bills to run many months and even more than a year. He also allows his customers to borrow money in order to buy things outside his store--for instance fish, which he does not handle. He does not charge interest on these loans, nor seemingly make any demands on those who borrow. On the other hand the borrowers feel a sort of loyalty toward him and do not forget their debts, which they eventually manage to pay. 441 463 [444] [427] [452] [426]

Three of the smallest stores are owned and operated by women, whose husbands have set them up in business in a small way in order, as one put it, to "give my wife something to do." It is considered desirable for a woman to operate a store and it is usually the beginning of something larger, for later, whenever possible, the husband will stop his own work and help operate the store. In the case of the smaller stores the owner generally lives in the same building, either alongside the store or behind it. The larger storekeepers, however, usually have separate houses. At night they lock up the stores, which are sometimes guarded by dogs or even by the cashiers who sleep there. The storekeepers are usually asked for donations to the church at the time of any special festivals, and generally become politically active after they become established in business. 441 444 463 [562] [431] [66]

The stock in most of the stores is pretty much the same, varying in amount rather than diversity: drinks (rum and soft drinks), dried meat (the staple meat of the population), cereals, cigars, cigarettes, estivas (which include beans, rice, and farina, the three great staples of the local diet), as well as coffee, palm oil (azeite de dendê), vinegar, olive oil, garlic, onions, wooden sandals, condensed and powdered milk, salt, sugar, miudezas (small items such as matches and ribbons), toilet articles and laundry soaps, blueing agents and starch, grass mats, kerosene, and in one store aluminum kitchenware which is not sold very often, as well as nails, wire, screws, and wrapping paper and cord. One store in the 443

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 567 668 *563 [522]

from early colonial times on, seems not to have been very great, and the upheaval which in 1822 culminated in Brazilian independence seems to have buried most of the vestiges of Portuguese prestige. Even today the Portuguese are the constant butt of vaudeville jokes.

175 567 668 249 464 [635] [664] [665] [646] *[563]

Many of the free *homens de côr* (men of color), especially those who possessed slaves, either were indifferent to the slave question or openly opposed abolition.[95] Most of the large plantation owners and their spokesmen in the provincial legislature and national parliament opposed the abolition campaign, and their forces at one time dominated the Liberal party.[96] However, many of the slaveholders appear to have increasingly accepted abolition as inevitable and merely to have asked remuneration for the financial loss involved. Apprehension that the plantation system would utterly collapse if free labor were substituted for slave

[95] The abolitionist, Anselmo da Fonseca (*ibid.*, pp. 137, 142–43), complains of the persistent opposition to abolition on the part of *homens de côr*. In 1884, out of thirty candidates for the Bahian *camara*, "the only one who in a published document had the audacity to ask election in the name of slavery" was the *homem de côr*, Conselheiro Domingos Carlos e Silva. In 1887 an *homem de côr* canceled his subscription to the *Diario da Bahia* for its refusal to publish an advertisement regarding a fugitive slave. Fonseca regarded this man as "one of the most intolerant slaveholders in Bahia."

[96] On hearing of the program presented by the imperial cabinet on June 6, 1884, "almost all the leaders of the liberal party in Bahia, the owners of large business and commercial houses, and the sugar aristocracy" lodged a protest in which they declared: "The slave is more than a portion of a private fortune; he is a social institution, a labor supply, a necessity to production, an asset of the national life. Above the immediate interests of planter and merchant . . . . are the permanent . . . . interests of society, the benefits which accrue to thousands of human beings living or yet unborn—the necessities of public order, and the development of national wealth" (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 283).

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In only one case can we absolutely equate a racial type with a class—the 'aristocratic white' of the rural area with upper class. The upper class of Vila Recôncavo is composed of a few families, descendants of the *senhores de engenho* (landowners), who have kept control of their lands, as well as having made a professional life in the capital as a lawyer, engineer or politician. They are upper-class not only in Vila Recôncavo, but also in the capital, Salvador, and their families are known in other great cities of Brazil. The horizon of these people is far wider than that of anyone else in Vila Recôncavo, and the scope of their activities is wider. Thus the gap between this upper class and any of the other classes is enormous. Nevertheless, the relations between it and the others are close, as this small class spends a large part of the year in the area and travels to it frequently during its stay in Salvador. There is little or no competition between this class and those under it, at least in the rural situation. In the city they are subject to all the stress and strain common to any 'high society' group.

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In the rural situation this class remains, to a great extent socially apart from the other strata, but frequently a plantation owner gives a party for the *redondeza* (for the personnel of the nearby plantations). To such a gathering 200 or 300 people may come. The whites remain more as spectators than participants, but rules of courtesy and hospitality are rigorously observed, and guests are made to feel at home, without class differences. It is at such a gathering that the local *mulato* intellectuals and leaders will often attempt to show that they are closer to the whites than the other *mestiços*.

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The chief class competition in Vila Recôncavo is between the second highest class and those below it. This second class, the local upper class, includes all the whites of the town, plus a large number of mulattoes and Negroes. As a rule it is this class which is the most conservative, the most anxious to retain its 'superiority', and which bears the brunt of pressures from below. This class will seize upon and magnify any element possible to belittle those who are, in any way, possible competition. It is in this group that the daughters are 'guarded', and have neither the freedom of the daughters of the plantation owners nor of the daughters of the fishermen. Ostentation plays a large part in their lives, and the men of this group rarely appear in the street without collar, tie and suit coat.

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This group is also widely split by politics. Politics are one of its main methods for holding or advancing its social position, and they are taken seriously. Political scrapping has broken up the social activities of this group to a large extent, and there is more than one case of a family not speaking to another because of political differences. As a result their social activities are almost nil. They lead an unquestionably dull life, attempting to preserve a way of life belong-

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Four years later the latter changed its name to Sociedade Abolicionista Bahiana. In that time it had purchased the freedom of about fifty slaves, "including those whose liberty was demanded by reason of illegal servitude." The treasurer of the Society was a Negro shoemaker, Manoel Roque, "a man of the people," who carried on abolition propaganda among the free Negroes and "made several converts to the cause."

Abolitionists in other parts of the province of Bahia were similarly active. In 1884 an emancipation society was organized at Cachoeira, where two "out-spoken abolition newspapers," the *Jornal da Tarde* and *Planeta Venus*, were keeping the slave issue before the public. Another emancipation society, under the leadership of Pedro Alves de São Boaventura, operated at Camisão. Abolition sentiment and activity were also reported from Ilheos, Cannavieiras, Santo Antonio da Barra, and Feira de Sant'Anna, said to be "a strong pro-slave center."

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In 1862 a Bahian student published an antislavery article in a local publication, *O Estudante*. In 1869, after the Liberal party had adopted emancipation as a party policy, the *Diario da Bahia* began to support the antislavery cause. On March 20, 1872, five of the six newspapers then printed in the Bahian capital agreed "not to give publicity from this day forth to advertisements of any kind relative to the flight, purchase, sale, or placement of any slave."[83]

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[83] Signed by Francisco José da Rocha for the *Jornal da Bahia*, Innocencio Marques de Araujo Goes Junior for the *Correio da Bahia*, Manoel Pinto de Souza Dantas for the *Diario da Bahia*, Carvalho Gama for the *Diario de Noticias*, and José Marques de Souza and Aristides Ricardo de Sant'Anna for the *Alabama*. This agreement was renewed nine years later (in 1881), and the resolution was then taken "to urge the adhesion to it of all the press of the Empire." Only the *Gazeta da Bahia* refused to sign (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 276–79).

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[SALVADOR]

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[798] [621] social cohesion of the community (1).

[162] [795] 1. In 1940 the population of the city and of the municipality was made up of 97.49 o/o Roman Apostolic Catholics; 1.11 o/o Protestants; 0.26 o/o Israelites; 0.62 o/o spiritualists, etc.

[797] The Catholic majority views with an evil eye the activities of foreign Protestant missionaries and condemns particularly the "disloyal methods employed by some of them" and their way of distorting the Church. Protestantism is fought in the pulpit as heresy, but never the Protestants as persons having different characteristics and toward whom one vows hostility. The antagonism between Catholics, Protestants, and Presbyterians is also [871] [177] placed on the purely doctrinal plane; the institutions of learning maintained by Baptists and Presbyterians are attended by Catholic students and enjoy prestige because of their "American methods."

[794] [798] As for the candomblés, sanctuaries devoted to the cults of African origin, the current feeling is that these rites are so many barbaric survivals that ought to be done away with, for they are a matter of shame before foreigners and tourists. In a commentary on tourism, a local journal proposes that the visit to candomblés be omitted from excursion programs, "because there can be no propaganda more negative for this Brazilian city four times a hundred years old, which has so many other interesting things to show." These cults, despite everything, enjoy relative freedom and function by virtue of police authorization. They have sometimes been prohibited and their devotees violently dispersed by police forces. Among the Blacks there are many who share the opinions of the Whites on the subject of these rites.

[666] [665] [578] Only the rivalry between political parties provokes real tension during the election campaigns. This tension is particularly intense in the controversies in the interior of the State; it never expresses itself other than verbally; individual cases of aggression or actual conflicts between groups belonging to different political parties have become extremely rare. The ethnocentric feelings [829] of the Bahians reached great vehemence several years ago when the majority of the electors refused to elect as governor of the State a candidate who was not "born in Bahia."

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182 cized by others for its slow rhythm, its lack of combativeness, its strict particularism, and for the thousand mechanisms that always work in a way to mitigate the antagonisms and the conflicts between groups and individuals. The French sociologist Roger Bastide said some years ago that it is good "that in Bahia very rapid progress is not at all prejudicial to the qualities of soul that make up its charm."

641 What contributes a great deal toward mitigating the tensions
829 between the groups that confront one another in the society of Bahia is the polarization of dissatisfaction that in all of Brazil,
186 but especially in our city, takes place concerning the idea of "government," that is to say, public authorities in general, the population having the habit of discharging on them its aggressive impulses, imputing to this very vague entity all the evils that beset Bahia.

829 As for race relations, one may state that a certain antagonism
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[SALVADOR]

/52 cont./ From this point of view politics is in the process of becoming one of the most powerful means of social transformation. The politicians take the greatest care to promote the registration on the lists of the largest possible number of persons of the lower classes, among whom there is a majority of Blacks and métis, people more dependent and less educated and for that reason also more amenable to propaganda and demagoguery. In the months that precede the general elections held simultaneously every four years throughout the country, the candidates for political offices spend considerable sums and multiply their efforts, directly or through the instrumentality of their canvassers, to persuade the people to have themselves registered as voters. The services that they render these voters are one of the means they count on to obtain their votes. As a result, the most popular politicians are those who, not having or pretending not to have class or color prejudice, approach the most humble voters, shake hands and embrace them when they meet them, pay them visits or receive them at their homes or in their offices, and who, after having been elected, continue to lavish on them the same demonstrations, in public or in the government palaces or chambers. A number of politicians, because of this, are assisted by black and mulatto canvassers, who thus, in our day, maintain the loyalty and the devotion that their ancestors showed the families in which they were slaves.

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In former times, an informant tells us, a man of dark color could not enter political life; he could be a canvasser, but he was rarely a candidate or a member of a party. In spite of this, in the municipal council of Bahia there was /53/ always one or two Blacks of humble occupation, elected thanks to the influence of political-party chiefs, and some morenos or mulattoes of more or less high rank were elected as representatives in the legislative assembly of the State of Bahia. With the political revolution of 1930, representation by class in the chamber of the State and in the federal chamber was created; in that way numerous manual laborers, black or mulatto, were elected as representatives of their unions. When union representation was suppressed in 1937, colored men continued to try to obtain improvement of their social situation by taking part in the life of the parties.

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[SALVADOR]

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*563 666 the voters of Bahia, by means of printed proclamations, a White candidate for the federal deputation because he had been "a champion of racial democracy and of the valorization of the colored masses of the Brazilian people." A recommendation of this kind, however, or the fact that a candidate is colored cannot have a determining influence on his election, as the results of the last plebiscite prove. A young lawyer, a dark mulatto, very attractive in manner, was twice a candidate for a municipal office; his friends told him that as a colored man he would certainly have a chance of being elected. Nevertheless he was not elected either time, and it is precisely in the district of the city where the largest part of the colored proletariate is found that he had the least votes.

*563 666 829 Although some dark leaders think that their group ought to have its own representation in the government (1),

1. A pardo writer asserted that "the Negroes who form our economy ... already definitely assimilated and developed, at present claim, by way of the new generations, a better and more dignified position and even more direct participation in the responsibilities and in the destinies of the State"; cf. W. Morais, in A Tarde, Bahia, 21 October 1950.

the voters do not seem to decide in favor of such a solution. Sometimes, however, the color of the candidate is regarded as the symbol of his rank and of his ties to the lower strata of the population. One of the most popular politicians of the city, elected many times to the municipal chamber as "a true representative of the people," is a non-graduate lawyer, a mulatto.

*563 665 It is possible to come across colored persons in the leadership of certain local parties, but the "peoples" and "workers" parties always group together more Blacks and mulattoes than the center and the right. A dark Black participated in the leadership of one of these parties, along with Whites and morenos, some of whom

[SALVADOR]

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*563 perform very important duties in the government of the State. A
• 665 merchant of mixed blood, wealthy and refined, and moreover one of the directors of a strong centrist party, was elected federal deputy in the last elections. These two men exert great influence on their respective parties; this influence is also due to the financial support and to the devotion that they do not cease to lavish on them. The Communist Party does not have a legal ex-
[204] istence, but, according to some informants, it exploits the difficulties of the poor and stimulates racial antagonism; the newspaper that it publishes in Bahia and the candidates that it presents under the cover of other parties receive some support from poor colored people; one of /55/ the most important of its leaders is a mulatto of liberal profession.

*563 At the last elections numerous persons of dark color were
666 candidates for political offices, but the registers of the electoral
646 tribunal bear no indication of the candidates' type. It is known,
[162] however, that among the 103 present representatives of the people of Bahia in the federal, municipal, and State legislative assemblies there are approximately 30 o/o morenos and pardos, some of whom are quite dark. Several of them enjoy great prestige, and it should be noted that in the assemblies they are by no means grouped according to their type or their racial origin. The politicians of
[665] one and the same party conduct their tours and their election campaigns together, and their prestige by no means depends on their color, but on their personality and the parties or political leaders with whom they are affiliated. One can currently read in the newspapers appeals signed by persons of different "quality" with a view to paying tribute to politicians likewise of different "quality." A deputy from Bahia is regarded as the one member of the national parliament who shows the most Negroid features, but this does not create any difficulty for him in his political work. It is said that a white deputy speaking from the rostrum of parliament has presented himself more than once as a "mulatto from Bahia" in order to become better identified with the representatives from the State of Bahia.

[SALVADOR]

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*563 647 was introduced in the States and in the municipal services in such a way that possibilities are increasing for colored persons entitled to occupy these posts. Given the fact that in spite of this the support that a candidate may receive from a politician or a friend of an official is always very important, it is obvious that persons of more modest circumstances have more difficulty being appointed after having been admitted for the examinations; they are supposed to have even more difficulties obtaining offices that are advantageous or lead to first-rate positions. During the [175] [668] colonial period some of the participants in a popular revolution that broke out in Bahia, complaining that because they were pardos all promotion was denied them, tried to establish a regime of equality in which Whites, pardos, and Blacks, without distinction as to color, would be judged solely according to their abilities (1).

[113] 1. Alfonso Ruy, A primeira revolução social brasileira -- 1798 /The First Brazilian Social Revolution -- 1798/, 2nd edition, Bahia, 1951, p. 77.

[178] "In olden times," says one Black, "one never saw a moreno /58/ occupying a first-rate post," which is not altogether accurate, for the métis always had important positions in the administration of [557] Brazil since the colonial period. Today, says another informant, "the incompetent ones advance through influence; as for the others, [555] they advance by their own merit, regardless of their color." He [178] himself, in spite of his very dark color, manages sections in which Whites and Blacks work, and he knows that he is highly esteemed by his colleagues. Others think that the Blacks, although admitted without great difficulties, do not have access, save exceptionally, to positions of management which are temporarily occupied in commission through the individual choice of governors and higher officials. Two of our informants illustrate their asser- [665] tion by citing the case of a Black "who worked a great deal during an election campaign in favor of a party and who, in spite of

[SALVADOR]

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*563 647 [665] this, when the aforesaid party was in power, was not offered any of the important positions that he had a right to hope for by reason of his personality, whereas Whites were appointed without having his capabilities." Facts of this order can certainly not be attributed solely to color prejudice. As for the métis, things are different. They have possibilities and, if they are capable, are named to positions of responsibility, although the Whites predominate in public service. The colored women, as their level of education rises, enter into the administration in open competition with the Whites. In one of the most important sections of Bahia, the controller's office responsible for the huge budgets that this section prepares each year is almost entirely in the hands of a dark mulattress who frequently confers with the secretary of State responsible, under the direct orders of the governor, for this sector of the administration of the State. There are, besides, numerous girls of varied crossbreeding in public positions of different categories.

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/59/ The Army

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Bahia is not an important military center. There are small units of the land, air, and naval forces in the city, and men of any type whatsoever are accepted there as simple soldiers. In their battalions there is no separation between Whites and "men of color," as was the case in the colonial period and in part even while slavery lasted. Certain informants state that it is not easy for a Black to go into aviation, even as a soldier, but others affirm the contrary, and one of them cites the case of a young man who did not go into aviation, but who, having been given certain tests, received as recompense a journey to another State. It is true that this branch, some years ago at any rate, preferred white personnel, but today its troops are mixed. The navy had in the city, in addition to a reduced contingent in which finos Whites and retintos Blacks are mixed, a seamen's preparatory school where any student is accepted. But from time to time a commandant who was accused

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*563 668 struggle against this prejudice, wishes to do so for the unity of individuals of different skins, for the realization of an educational program." "This association," its founder announced in a letter to the author of these pages, "was an outcome of the black fronts and was founded in order to combat the racial prejudice that Nazism wanted to introduce into our country when /100/ integralism (1)

[665] 1. A political movement of the extreme right, organized into a party. One of the principal national leaders of this party at that time published several books of anti-Semitic doctrine.

dominated. It should be noted that the situation was such that Negroes were afraid to be and to call themselves black, this making them suspected of Communism. And in fact a newspaper went so far as to say that this was Communism. But once the New State had disappeared (2),

[642] 2. The name given to the authoritarian political regime established by the dictatorship from 1937 to 1945.

[178] there came democracy and our society continued." The Henrique Diaz Society still exists, but has not acquired great prestige; its management rarely meets, and since its head has settled in the interior of the State, where he performs the duties of judge, it has practically only a nominal existence, limiting itself, thanks to a small federal subvention, to running a modest primary school in a poor district.

One of the founders of the society launched another movement in 1946, the Campanha do Pi Racial (3),

3. Pi (π), a Greek letter adopted by the Campanha do Pi Racial as a symbol of rapprochement.

[SALVADOR]

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[665] municipal council of Bahia there was /53/ always one or two Blacks of humble occupation, elected thanks to the influence of political-party chiefs, and some morenos or mulattoes of more or less high rank were elected as representatives in the legislative
[646] assembly of the State of Bahia. With the political revolution of 1930, representation by class in the chamber of the State and
[467] in the federal chamber was created; in that way numerous manual laborers, black or mulatto, were elected as representatives of
[665] their unions. When union representation was suppressed in 1937,
[467] colored men continued to try to obtain improvement of their social situation by taking part in the life of the parties.

[SALVADOR]

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000 175 178 *563 645 646 situation by taking part in the life of the parties. This phenomenon is not entirely new, except in that it affects men of dark color and modest circumstances, for since the monarchical epoch numerous métis bearers of nobiliary titles granted by the emperor had represented Bahia in the imperial parliament and occupied posts in the national ministries. At least three ministers of foreign affairs, chosen among the statesmen of Bahia during the Empire and the Republic, were métis of great talent and of great social and political prestige. One of the most brilliant federal deputies of the republican regime established in 1889 was a dark mulatto, a health-service engineer, a historian and linguist of renown. Alluding to this intellectual, someone once said to a dark young man: "You will never be president of the Republic, but you can hope to acquire the fame of a Teodoro Sampaio." If one is to be-
[173] [829] lieve oral tradition, a member of the highest tribunal of justice of Bahia, a métis of very high social and intellectual rank, asserted in a speech that Bahia has always had the lead in this tradition "of liberty and equality among men who do not belong to the same race or at times to the same religion."

*563 • 666 During the last election campaigns, the attitude of certain candidates toward colored persons was exploited in favor of some and to the detriment of others. Thus, rumors were circulated in 1945, according to which a candidate for the presidency of the Republic was supposed to harbor color prejudices and not allow the admission of Blacks and dark mulattoes into the military aviation services, which he then directed. It is maintained that these accusations contributed to reducing the number of votes in favor of this candidate in Bahia, in spite of the efforts that his party made to lessen the bad impression that this revelation had produced, even among the Whites. On the occasion of the 1950 campaign, the followers of one of the candidates for the office of governor of the State distributed a tract in which a newspaper favorable to another candidate was accused of having published an article whose author maintained that Negresses made themselves /54/ ridiculous by aping white women. In both cases it was an attempt to cause difficulties between candidates and voters. Moreover, a national association of colored men recommended to

[SALVADOR]

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*563 666 the voters of Bahia, by means of printed proclamations, a White candidate for the federal deputation because he had been "a champion of racial democracy and of the valorization of the colored masses of the Brazilian people." A recommendation of this kind, however, or the fact that a candidate is colored cannot have a determining influence on his election, as the results of the last plebiscite prove. A young lawyer, a dark mulatto, very attractive in manner, was twice a candidate for a municipal office; his friends told him that as a colored man he would certainly have a chance of being elected. Nevertheless he was not elected either time, and it is precisely in the district of the city where the largest part of the colored proletariate is found that he had the least votes.

*563 666 829 Although some dark leaders think that their group ought to have its own representation in the government (1),

1. A pardo writer asserted that "the Negroes who form our economy ... already definitely assimilated and developed, at present claim, by way of the new generations, a better and more dignified position and even more direct participation in the responsibilities and in the destinies of the State"; cf. W. Morais, in A Tarde, Bahia, 21 October 1950.

the voters do not seem to decide in favor of such a solution. Sometimes, however, the color of the candidate is regarded as the symbol of his rank and of his ties to the lower strata of the population. One of the most popular politicians of the city, elected many times to the municipal chamber as "a true representative of the people," is a non-graduate lawyer, a mulatto.

*563 665 It is possible to come across colored persons in the leadership of certain local parties, but the "peoples" and "workers" parties always group together more Blacks and mulattoes than the center and the right. A dark Black participated in the leadership of one of these parties, along with Whites and morenos, some of whom

[SALVADOR]

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*563 665 perform very important duties in the government of the State. A merchant of mixed blood, wealthy and refined, and moreover one of the directors of a strong centrist party, was elected federal deputy in the last elections. These two men exert great influence on their respective parties; this influence is also due to the financial support and to the devotion that they do not cease to lavish on them. The Communist Party does not have a legal existence, but, according to some informants, it exploits the difficulties of the poor and stimulates racial antagonism; the newspaper that it publishes in Bahia and the candidates that it presents under the cover of other parties receive some support from poor colored people; one of /55/ the most important of its leaders is a mulatto of liberal profession.

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*563 666 648 At the last elections numerous persons of dark color were candidates for political offices, but the registers of the electoral tribunal bear no indication of the candidates' type. It is known, however, that among the 103 present representatives of the people of Bahia in the federal, municipal, and State legislative assemblies there are approximately 30 o/o morenos and pardos, some of whom are quite dark. Several of them enjoy great prestige, and it should be noted that in the assemblies they are by no means grouped according to their type or their racial origin. The politicians of one and the same party conduct their tours and their election campaigns together, and their prestige by no means depends on their color, but on their personality and the parties or political leaders with whom they are affiliated. One can currently read in the newspapers appeals signed by persons of different "quality" with a view to paying tribute to politicians likewise of different "quality." A deputy from Bahia is regarded as the one member of the national parliament who shows the most Negroid features, but this does not create any difficulty for him in his political work. It is said that a white deputy speaking from the rostrum of parliament has presented himself more than once as a "mulatto from Bahia" in order to become better identified with the representatives from the State of Bahia.

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[SALVADOR]

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178 Thirty or forty years ago, among the insults hurled at po-
*563 litical adversaries in the newspapers and even in the speeches of
•666 the legislative assemblies, the epithet "mulatto" or "Negro" was frequent. Today this takes place less often, because the style of political contests has lost much of its character of personal reprisals. Nevertheless one of the last governors of the State of Bahia, a statesman of national fame and once even a deputy minister to one of the presidents of the Republic, was a moreno of great moral and intellectual prestige. While he was in power, none of his political adversaries publicly alluded to his "caste." But, after he had left his office, a newspaper of another city, criticizing his activity, published a comment entitled "Administrative profile of a pardavasco" (1),

[192] 1. Pardavasco = diminutive sometimes used as a synonym of pardo.

an article in which the qualification mulato pachola was repeated in a contemptuous sense; another politician, in turn condemning his work in the government, delivered a speech against what he called "the creole democracy of the creole M.," the expression "creole" being used here in the sense of a Black or the descendant of a Black born in Brazil. Recently in the national parliament a politician from another State, feeling offended /56/ by the newspaper of an industrialist of Bahia, a whitened mulatto, gave a violent speech in which he called the latter "métis of low extraction." Attacks of this kind, however, do not always come from finos Whites; more than once they are the doing of "Whites in color."

*563 In short, although it is rare that a Black or a dark mulatto
555 reaches a high political position, it is nonetheless true that for many colored people politics is a means of elevating oneself in the social hierarchy. Attacks of the kind that we have alluded to show a certain antagonism toward the colored men who elevate
[646] themselves thanks to politics. At the present time the leader of the governmental party in the legislative assembly of the State of Bahia is the red curiboca (métis of Indian and White blood) of whom we have already had occasion to speak. It is for this reason

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 inaugurated a brief "golden age" in the evolution of the Recôncavo.
178 The mythology which this age engendered is an integral part of the
249 social and economic patterns in the present day Recôncavo. The
439 collapse of the sugar economy in the West Indies, particularly in Santo Domingo in 1792, and the expanding urban markets in Europe had given, for a moment, a great opportunity to the sugar industry of Northeast Brazil. Moreover, an important supplementary market had developed in the mining areas of Minas Gerais. In the subsequent economic expansion to supply these markets, the Recôncavo became an even more important center of sugar production in Brazil.

175 The landed proprietors of the Recôncavo apparently took this
249 resurgence as a vindication of their economic system.
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> They squandered money like the fidalgos [landed, slave-holding aristocrats] that they were. They installed sumptuous dwellings and lived the life of a nobility. Each sugar factory was a community where hundreds of slaves were dedicated to extraction of wealth from the soil. Each of these communities achieved a merited importance. A little Agricultural World gyrated around the Big House, and the Chapel, with its Holy Administrator, [was] dedicated to the dissemination of Catholicism in the community. In time many of these "Engenhos" developed into villas, and were succeeded by the cities of today.
>
> Each of these "Engenhos," as these agricultural communities were called, produced everything that they consumed except luxury, and this was imported from Portugal in exchange for sugar, high-grade tobacco, cotton, and rare cabinet woods. The "Senhor" of the Engenho was a veritable Feudal Baron, with the power of life and death over his black and mestizo slaves. He exercised the right of torture and flogging in proportion to the offenses committed. These sugar Engenhos, because of their collective and independent existence, produced a pride of origin, an attachment to the soil, that flowered into a hatred of the monarchial exploiters and became the dominating factor in the movement for independence.
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> The fidalgos were essentially a product of the land, and spent the major part of their luxurious existence on their estates, attended by innumerable slaves. Their homes were built upon a vast scale and equipped with every luxury known to so simple a people. They also

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2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SC11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

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*249 For the first time in the history of Vila Recôncavo the work-
468 ers' discontent has taken the form of a strike accompanied by violence. The strike, although a general one throughout the sugar industry, was the first one in which workers of Vila Recôncavo participated. It was specifically directed against the
178 agricultural part of the factory combination; however, it af-
*249 fected some private plantations as well, and was joined by
468 workers of private plantations. The strike was put down im-
467 mediately and effectively by the state police. On investigation the police found considerable Communist literature and prop-
• 668 aganda in the quarters of the labor union in Centro which had
[625] organized the strike. The labor union itself was illegal, since it was not registered with the proper authorities, and its leaders were well-known Communist agitators. What is important for our study is the appearance in the community of Vila Recôncavo of written and verbal Communist propaganda and the willingness of the local agricultural workers to participate in a general strike. This is a tremendous change for such a conservative area, where loyalty and paternalism have always been so strong.

178 Thus the sugar industry of Vila Recôncavo has entered a
*249 phase of many new difficulties: ties between factory and pri-
571 vate planters are strained, and labor relations are becoming a problem for the private, as well as the corporate, planters.
466 Inflation and the "dollar situation," which affect planters directly since all machinery must be imported, are also working toward the build-up of a new "crisis," continuing the pattern described in Chapter 3.

178 However, a new element is entering the community of Vila
245 Recôncavo in the form of a new crop, cacao. One of the plant-
242 ers began experimenting with cacao during the author's first period of research in Vila Reconcavo. However, at least five years must pass before it can be known if the cacao tree will give satisfactory fruit. At the end of 1955 the Institute of Cacao of Bahia presented the experiment to the public as a success and is now systematically stimulating interest in cacao as a possible and lucrative substitute for sugar cane.

245 Cacao is Bahia's major export crop and in general means
439 money to a Bahian. Still more attractive is the fact that the cacao introduced to the Recôncavo is a genetic mutation, giv-
178 ing a white-seeded fruit which brings a much higher price on the
*[249] world market than does the ordinary fruit. The financial attraction of cacao, plus the disagreeable and financially weak

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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In fact, the great mass of lower-class brancos, mixed-bloods and prêtos share very much a common life. As Nogueira (1955:513) observed at Itapetininga, there is a "more complete fraternization between colored and brancos in the less-favored stratum." This situation is *just the reverse* of that in South Africa, or of that in the United States, where the most intense and implacable race prejudice in each country is to be found among the "poor whites." Whatever be the type of "prejudice" which those who write about "prejudice" in Brazil are dealing with, then, it is almost without exception "prejudice" in the upper and middle classes; and consequently it is more of class, rather than of strictly racial, or even of merely color, character. For, if discrimination is comparatively absent in the lower class but, as Bastide (1955: 131, 132) observed in São Paulo even with reference to immigrants, "increases as one climbs up the class scale," are we not observing a primarily class phenomenon?

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That we are dealing more with class than with color, *per se*, is further borne out by the comparative lack of either race- or color-consciousness among colored persons in the lower ranks[20] and by their widespread insistence, on the contrary, that "there is no prejudice in Brazil," an attitude which puzzles (and even gives concern) to some observers. It also is borne out by the strong adverse feeling which lower-class colored sometimes direct toward other colored persons who have managed to rise in class and who, like successful newcomers to New York, tend to "forget" former friends "back

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[20] Some informants at Bahia say that political agitators have attempted to foster and to exploit color antagonism as an aid in the class struggle which they hope to exacerbate (Thales de Azevedo 1955a:106); but, although this agitation has had some effect, particularly among frustrated individuals, it apparently has had little to feed upon except resentment against the world in general.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

[City of Salvador]

565 Conversation is carried on in the Portuguese
[197] vernacular, with a limited vocabulary and numerous errors
[489] in grammar. Many words of African or native Indian origin
are commonly heard. Transport is primitive. Here the fe-
[771] tish cult, and the attitudes, sentiments, and beliefs associated
[794] with it, gains its most zealous and faithful devotees. Here,
cut off quite sharply from participation in the upper levels of European culture, live that portion of the population which the upper classes refer to as *o povo*, and who think of themselves as *os pobres* ("the poor").

The social gulf between the *pobres* of the valleys and the *ricos* of the ridges is wide and not easy to bridge. This is, of course, to be anticipated in a society with an aristocratic tradition whose upper circles still look somewhat askance upon manual labor and have always regarded education, family connection, and "good breeding" as indices of class.
• [668] Attitudes in this respect have changed little since the time
[567] when the abolitionist Anselmo da Fonseca felt it necessary to apologize for including the name of "a man of the people," a humble Negro shoemaker, among the prominent upper-class abolitionists of Bahia, arguing that "intelligence, patriotism, and truth are not the privilege of any one class" and explaining that this particular individual had been more useful to the abolition cause than many "more noble."

565 The upper classes habitually refer to members of the lower
186 classes as *trabalhadores* ("laborers"), *operarios* ("workers"), or *o povo baixo* ("common people") and humorously caricature them by a cartoon character known as Zé Povinho, an
[867] illiterate, stupid, and unprepossessing lout. To their children they often direct such phrases as "não seja gentinha" ("don't be like common people"), "não tenha modos de gentinha" ("don't take up the manners of common people"), "não ligue a (or *para*) povo miudo" ("don't attach yourself

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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One must not overlook the fact, however, that during the first years of colonization the letters of the Jesuits contained numerous references to Indian slaves who were "tortured and branded in the face."[54] And later, the kings of Portugal, impressed by reports which had come to them concerning hardships inflicted on Negro slaves in Brazil, more than once wrote to their colonial representatives, exhorting them "to put a stop to such crying inhumanities."[55]

Most reports of cruelties, however, date from the abolition campaign and no doubt reflect the agitation and fervor of that movement. Thus, the able Bahian abolitionist, Anselmo da Fonseca, reports the case of a Negro in Rio Grande do Sul whose wrists were tied above his head and, after honey had been poured over his nude body, was left to the insects. Anselmo further reports the raping of small children, the use of stocks, the fracturing of teeth with a ham-

from the effects of their wounds (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 145). Fonseca estimates that two-thirds of all the *feitores* (overseers), *capitães de matto*, and *corretores* (slave dealers) in Bahia were either mulattoes or blacks (*ibid.*, p. 151).

[54] Brazilian Indians, who before the coming of the Portuguese had killed their prisoners of war, changed this custom when it was discovered that they could sell their captives to the Europeans. Subsequently the latter organized raids into the interior in search of Indian slaves. The Jesuits fought this traffic, their struggles with the colonists lending a dramatic note to accounts of life in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Gradually their influence at the Portuguese court prevailed, certain restrictions were by royal decree put upon the enslavement of Indians, which, being disregarded by the colonists, led to further Jesuit protest and finally, in 1755, to a royal edict liberating all Indian slaves. Equal legal rights were subsequently granted the Indians, the University of Coimbra was opened to them, and they were even admitted, it is said, to the nobility.

[55] A writer cites three "royal letters" in support, dated, respectively, March 20, 1688, March 1, 1700, and April 27, 1719 (see the anonymous article entitled "Tradiçoes bahianas," *Revista do Instituto Geographico e Historico da Bahia*, LVI [1930], 514).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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The first recorded protest in Brazil against slavery as an institution was that of the Jesuit Manoel de Nobrega, who, shortly after Bahia was founded, sent a letter to the superior of his order in Lisbon protesting against the importation of Africans into the new settlement.

In 1758 Manoel Ribeiro da Rocha, who had been educated at Coimbra, published in Lisbon a book entitled *Ethiope resgatado, empenhado, sustentado, corrigido, instruido e libertado*, in which the abolition of the slave trade was advocated. Sixty-five years later, in 1823, José Bonifacio de Andrade e Silva unsuccessfully proposed in parliament a measure designed to end importation by 1828. But on November 7, 1831, the regent, Padre Diogo Antonio Feijó, signed a resolution drawn up by Costa Carvalho, Lima e Sousa, and Basilio Muniz, which declared free all Africans subsequently brought into Brazil.

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Manumission existed from the first. Apparently early in the colonial period it became customary for masters to accept remuneration for original cost.[54] Public opinion demanded that an owner set at liberty any slave requesting his freedom and offering the price of his purchase.[55] The requirement was later made legally binding and enforced by law.[55a] Other slaves were given their freedom either during their master's lifetime or upon his death. The fathers of illegitimate offspring often freed their children at the baptismal font. From 1864 to 1870 large numbers of slaves were granted their freedom on agreeing to serve in the Para-

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[54] The wearing of shoes or slippers became a symbol of freedom.

[55] R. Walsh, *Notices of Brazil* (2 vols.; London, 1830), II, 391.

[55a] National Law No. 2040, September 28, 1871. See Manoel Joaquim do Nascimento e Silva, *Synopsis da legislação brasileira* (Rio, 1874), p. 460.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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guayan war.[66] The law eventually provided that Negro women, after rearing ten children, should be automatically liberated.[67] In 1871 the so-called "law of Rio Branco" freed offspring of slaves born subsequent to its adoption[68] and set up a fund for the purchase and liberation of Negroes by the government. By 1880 a widespread emancipation movement was under way.[69] Thousands were freed by will, by payments from emancipation funds,[70] or by outright gift.[71] For instance, in 1883, in the towns of Baturite, Aca-

[66] On March 30, 1867, the monastery of São Bento in Bahia, which had already freed eleven slaves for service in the war with Paraguay, liberated six more Negroes and "presented them to the Governor for the same purpose."

[67] Koster, however, wrote from Pernambuco in the early nineteenth century: "A slave who has brought into the world, and has reared ten children, ought to be free, for so the law ordains. But this regulation is generally evaded" (*op. cit.*, I, 195).

[68] This law was, however, in some cases ineffective. Sixteen years after its passage the Bahian *Diario Official*, of June 4, 1887, reported the following auction of slave property at the *fazenda Concordia:* "Alberto, 10 years of age, one conto of reis; Vicente, 13 years, one conto of reis; Felix, 14 years, 800 milreis; Flauzinha, 13 years, 600 milreis, Simplicio, 14 years, one conto of reis" (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 587 n.)

[69] Among the prominent abolitionists mentioned by Anselmo da Fonseca were: José do Patrocinio, Joaquim Nabuco ("the great and illustrious head of the abolition movement"), Senator Dantas, Ferreira de Menezes, Andre Rebouças, Quintino Bocayuva, Joaquim Serra, Ennes de Souza, Getulio das Neves, Nicolau Moreira, José Mariano, Celso Junior, Senator Jaguaripe, Luiz de Andrade, João Clapp, Beaurepaire Rohan, Aristides Spinola, Ruy Barbosa, Escragnole Taunay, Franco de Sá, Antonio Pinto, Leopoldo Bulhões, and "a writer using the pseudonym of Clarkson" (*ibid.*, p. 23).

[70] These funds were sponsored by emancipation societies, private individuals, and municipal, state, and national treasuries.

[71] The *Provinciano*, a newspaper of Parahyba do Sul, listed in 1884, among others, the following emancipations: "Dona Anna S. José, 16 slaves liberated and a farm given them for their use; Condessa do Rio Novo, 200 slaves

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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rapi, and São Francisco, a *Sociedade Libertadora* freed 122 slaves in one day. Scores of these societies operated throughout Brazil.[72]

Dr. João Garcez dos Santos was the first Bahian *fazendeiro* (planter) to exchange slave labor for free. After spending some years in Europe studying agriculture, he returned to Brazil and, in 1864, bought an *engenho* called Pimental, in the *termo* of São Francisco. He freed all the slaves except eight domestic servants and paid these freedmen wages, retaining a portion of their earnings until he had been recompensed for their original cost. During the subsequent year he produced with free labor two hundred boxes of sugar. Three years later, he "freed the womb" of his eight female domestic servants, and, on his death in 1874, he set at liberty all the slaves which he had inherited from his father (a total of about sixty persons) on condition that they continue working for wages on the *engenho* for five years.[73]

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In 1868 the Senhoras Condessa de Barral and Pedra

liberated by will, and the Cantagallo plantation given them for a home; Barão de Dias, 163 slaves liberated, who remain established on his plantation as laborers." In 1887 Anselmo da Fonseca wrote: "As to the *cartas de alforria* granted by slaveholders themselves, it is well known that these have always appeared in greater or lesser number in the country, and that from 1880 on they have multiplied greatly and have now become quite numerous, thanks to the powerful influence of that propaganda which has contributed so much to the elevation of the moral sentiments of the Brazilian people."

[72] On September 7, 1869, an emancipation society was organized in Bahia "with the noble purpose of ending slavery in Bahia," and by March 1, 1874, it had conferred 267 "Letters of Liberty," 89 of which were "granted gratuitously in its name," and 178 by means of its own funds, the amount thus employed totaling 58,289 milreis (Alvares do Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 181). This organization was named A Sociedade Libertadora Sete de Setembro ("The Seventh of September Liberation Society") in honor of the day on which the independence of Brazil was declared.

[73] Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 220–22.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Branca while sojourning in France "freed the womb" of the slave women on their *engenhos*, São Pedro and São João, in Santo Amaro, and continued gradually to manumit all their slaves. In the same year the friars of the Order of São Bento "freed the womb" of their slave women and announced that all their slaves would be free within three years, or by September, 1871.[74]

The first Bahian abolitionist to raise his voice to "a shout loud enough to be heard throughout the entire country" was Conselheiro Jeronymo Sodré Pereira, a state deputy and professor in the local Faculty of Medicine. In an address to the Bahian *camara* on March 5, 1879, he declared: "We who represent the democratic ideal, we who earnestly desire the liberation of the citizen through the vote and through instruction, ought to proclaim to our fellow-countrymen throughout the land that all Brazilians are citizens, all are free." This speech was favorably reported by several Bahian newspapers, including the *Gazeta de Noticias* and the *Gazeta da Tarde*, which at this time were becoming organs of the abolition movement. Although the ideas they were advancing had been at first considered "antipatriotic, subversive of the social order, and incendiary," they gradually spread.[75]

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The clergy as a group did not support abolition, and many padres who possessed slaves were accused by the abolitionists of "the same cruelty toward the victims, the same outspoken hostility, the same fury toward abolition, the same hypocritical and ridiculous insistence upon the rights of property, the same lack of respect for justice and the true interests of Brazil." Occasionally a priest, like João Manoel,

[74] *Ibid.*, pp. 227-28. [75] *Ibid.*, pp. 18-21.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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became known throughout the country as an opponent of abolition, and, further, in 1791, a bishop of Pernambuco, José Joaquim da Cunha de Azevedo Coutinho, published a book in Lisbon entitled *A analyse sobre a justiça do commercio do resgate dos escravos da costa d'Africa*,[76] in which he upheld slavery as having "existed since the beginning of the world and in the lap of all religions."

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Nevertheless, some noted ecclesiastics did from time to time take up the slave cause. Padre Antonio Vieira, although he later became more cautious under "the necessity of furthering the Jesuit determination to free the Indians, even at the expense of the Negroes," delivered a sermon as early as the middle of the seventeenth century in which he said: "The fact that whites dominate blacks is due to force and not to either reason or nature." On another occasion, he said:

> O inhuman traffic in which the merchandise is men! Few masters, many slaves; masters richly dressed, slaves despised and naked; masters banqueting, slaves dying of hunger; masters swimming in gold and silver, slaves loaded down with irons; masters treating their slaves like brutes, slaves in fear and awe of their masters as if they were gods; masters present at a whipping, standing like statues of might and tyranny, slaves prostrate, their hands strapped behind their backs, like debased emblems of servitude.
>
> Peradventure these men are not our brothers?
>
> Were these souls not redeemed with the blood of the same Christ? Are not these bodies born and do they not die like ours? Do they not breathe the same air? Does not the same sky cover them? Are they not warmed by the same sun?[77]

An archbishop of Bahia, the Marquis of Santa Cruz, in an address to the *camara* in 1827, vigorously opposed slav-

[76] This book went through two editions and was translated into both French and English.

[77] *Sermões* (15 vols., 1679–1748), Vol. X, Sermon 27.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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ery.[78]. As early as Independence Day, 1851, the Benedictine friar, Francisco da Natividade Carneiro da Cunha, preached a sermon in the Bahian Cathedral in which he urged Bahians "to complete Brazilian independence by gradually emancipating the slaves."[79] Monsenhor Joaquim Pinto de Campos attacked slavery in sermons as early as 1856, in one of which, preached before the Sociedade Ypiranga, he said: "Humanity is one, and all of its parts have equal rights. The public conscience, which is the voice of God re-echoing in the souls of the people, is always repelled by favoritism in the distribution of liberty."

Canon Rodrigo de Souza Menezes, in the columns of *O Horizonte* as early as 1872, and in a sermon preached in the Cathedral on July 2, 1883, vigorously attacked slavery and advocated its abolition throughout Brazil. Another Bahian canon, Dr. Romualdo Maria de Seixas Barroso, wrote many abolition articles for the newspapers, among them one addressed especially to Bahian women; and in his will, probated in 1886, he declared: "I have always considered it a crime to draw up a contract for the buying and selling of any human being—he who is my own brother and who may be redeemed, as I, by the blood of the Savior of mankind."[80]

The bishop of Olinda, on March 25, 1887, wrote a pastoral letter urging his clergy to free immediately their

[78] *Ibid.*, p. 35. The archbishop said: "I have always been persuaded that the word 'slavery' calls up images of all vices and all crimes; and that the word 'liberty' calls out the ideas and the sentiments attendent upon all virtue and all good. Always I have maintained that slavery is a harmful condition which destroys the spirit, weakens the faculties of understanding, and perverts the heart."

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[79] "Public opinion was aroused against the words of Friar Carneiro. Upon his descending from the pulpit, one of his relatives asked him if he had lost his reason" (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 382-83).

[80] *Ibid.*, pp. 384-88.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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slaves so that "on the next birthday of the Holy Father, Leo XIII, there may be laid next his throne a declaration saying: 'The clergy of Olinda no longer own slaves.'" A similar suggestion was shortly thereafter made to the bishop of São Paulo by several of his priests. On July 10 the archbishop of Bahia issued a pastoral letter in which he referred to slavery as "a cruel injustice practiced on many of our brothers . . . . a blot which stains the Brazilian flag alone among the banners of civilized nations." The archbishop further declared that, while the church had previously feared that abolition would disrupt public order, the consequences of recent manumissions had entirely dispelled this apprehension.

The proposal of the bishop of Olinda was supported by the bishop of Maranhão, who agreed that "one can do nothing which would honor the august head of the great Christian family more than to grant liberty to those who are our brothers and children of our church." The proposal was also supported by the bishop of Rio Grande do Sul, who closed his pastoral letter with the strong declaration that "slavery is a corpse in need of being interred;"[81] and by the bishop of Diamantina, who proposed "a decree written in letters of gold abolishing slavery in Brazil by the thirty-first day of December, 1887." The bishop of Mariana also advocated general abolition, referring to slavery as an obstacle to the spread of "the great principles planted by our Master Jesus Christ" and reminding the priests of his bishopric that

[81] *Ibid.*, pp. 513–19. Although the enumeration in accordance with the law of September 28, 1871, listed 99,401 slaves in Rio Grande do Sul, the census which was completed June 12, 1885, gave only 27,242, or less than one-third of those returned fourteen years earlier. The enumeration of March 30, 1887, listed only 8,436 (*ibid.*, p. 520). It appears that attempts to emancipate by entire provinces originated in this province.

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"slavery is extinct in all other countries of America to the shame of Brazil."

Beginning about 1862 a Bahian professor of mathematics, the mixed-blood, Dr. Francisco Alvares dos Santos, whose classes were said to be attended by two-thirds of the students of mathematics in the city, began carrying on abolition propaganda, and during the subsequent quarter of a century he each year gave a banquet to former students and invited as a special guest a slave whose liberty had been purchased on that day with funds supplied by a "patriotic battalion" composed of his students and organized in honor of the independence of Brazil. Out of his teaching arose the Sociedade Libertadora Dois de Julho, which freed several slaves.

By 1875 the Sociedade Libertadora Sete de Setembro, organized in 1869, had freed approximately five hundred slaves, and twenty-four numbers of a periodical, *O Abolicionista*, had been published. At a bazaar held by the Society in that year, Castro Alves, Bahia's "glorious poet of liberty," addressed a letter to Bahian women in behalf of the slaves, and Barão de Macahubas, resident at the imperial court, sent several gifts. The Society at that time numbered five hundred and twelve members, of whom fifteen were women.[11]

The Sociedade Humanitaria Abolicionista was organized in 1869, and the Sociedade Libertadora Bahiana in 1883.

[11] Among the more prominent members were: Frederico Marinho de Araujo, Victor Isaac de Araujo, Lourenço Gomes de Araujo e Silva, Abilio Cezar Borges, Conselheiro José Luiz de Almeida Couto, Dr. Francisco José da Rocha, Conselheiro Manoel Pinto de Souza Dantas, Conselheiro Salustiano Ferreira Santo, Dr. Augusto Guimarães, Dr. Antonio Ferreira Garcez, Bellarmino Barretto, Julio Alves Guimarães, Constancio José dos Santos, Major Antonio de Souza Vieira, Dr. Frederico Augusto da Silva Lisboa, Conselheiro Carneiro da Rocha, and Major Antonio Ferreira de Barros.

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Four years later the latter changed its name to Sociedade Abolicionista Bahiana. In that time it had purchased the freedom of about fifty slaves, "including those whose liberty was demanded by reason of illegal servitude." The treasurer of the Society was a Negro shoemaker, Manoel Roque, "a man of the people," who carried on abolition propaganda among the free Negroes and "made several converts to the cause."

Abolitionists in other parts of the province of Bahia were similarly active. In 1884 an emancipation society was organized at Cachoeira, where two "out-spoken abolition newspapers," the *Jornal da Tarde* and *Planeta Venus*, were keeping the slave issue before the public. Another emancipation society, under the leadership of Pedro Alves de São Boaventura, operated at Camisão. Abolition sentiment and activity were also reported from Ilheos, Cannaviciras, Santo Antonio da Barra, and Feira de Sant'Anna, said to be "a strong pro-slave center."

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In 1862 a Bahian student published an antislavery article in a local publication, *O Estudante*. In 1869, after the Liberal party had adopted emancipation as a party policy, the *Diario da Bahia* began to support the antislavery cause. On March 20, 1872, five of the six newspapers then printed in the Bahian capital agreed "not to give publicity from this day forth to advertisements of any kind relative to the flight, purchase, sale, or placement of any slave."[83]

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[83] Signed by Francisco José da Rocha for the *Jornal da Bahia*, Innocencio Marques de Araujo Goes Junior for the *Correio da Bahia*, Manoel Pinto de Souza Dantas for the *Diario da Bahia*, Carvalho Gama for the *Diario de Noticias*, and José Marques de Souza and Aristides Ricardo de Sant'Anna for the *Alabama*. This agreement was renewed nine years later (in 1881), and the resolution was then taken "to urge the adhesion to it of all the press of the Empire." Only the *Gazeta da Bahia* refused to sign (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 276–79).

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In 1872 Dr. Frederico Lisboa advocated in *O Horizonte* "the right of all men to natural liberty" and, in keeping with this sentiment, liberated several slaves which had been presented to him on the occasion of his marriage. Subsequently he bought and freed some thirty Negroes belonging to others. In nine months Bahian abolitionists secured the release of approximately two hundred slaves illegally imported after passage of the law of 1831.[84] To make less difficult the transition from a slave to a free status, the courts appointed lawyers as *curadores* ("guardians") of the freedmen.[85]

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In 1880 Pamphilo da Santa Cruz founded a newspaper called *Gazeta da Tarde*, in whose first issue he stated a frankly abolitionist program. He was assisted in its publication by the journalist, Raymundo Bizarria, and by Conselheiro Luiz Alvares dos Santos, a professor at the Faculty of Medicine. In 1881, on the anniversary of the death of Castro Alves, "the immortal poet," author of the antislavery *Gonzaga* and *Poema dos escravos*, the public was invited through the columns of the *Diario da Bahia* "eloquently to affirm our irrevocable adhesion to the cause of abolition."

[84] For instance, Eduardo Carige demanded the liberation of an African woman whose owner, Antonio Alves Fernandes, had registered her in 1872 as forty years of age. Dr. Amphilophio Botelho Freire de Carvalho, "the first Bahian judge to comply with this law," whose decisions "were widely publicized and attracted the attention of the whole province," freed her on February 10, 1887. One irate master appealed from a decision of Botelho, charging that the judge was incompetent. The Superior Tribunal denied the appeal (see *Diario da Bahia* for March 15, 1887; Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 319–23).

[85] Among Bahian lawyers accepting this charge were: Dr. Affonso de Castro Rebello, Dr. Elpidio de Mesquita, Dr. Arthur de Mello e Mattos, Dr. Mauricio Francisco Ferreira da Silva, Dr. José Heraclides Ferreira, Dr. Francisco Moncorvo de Lima, Dr. Adolpho Carlos Sanches, Dr. Alexandre Galvão, Dr. Severino dos Santos Vieira, and Dr. Izaias Guedes de Mello. Dr. Raymundo Mendes Martins "rendered important services to the cause of the captives" as *curador geral* of orphans (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 324–26).

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At the ceremony Bahia's most famous citizen, the statesman, jurist, and orator, Ruy Barbosa, read from *Gonzaga:* "No more slaves! No more masters! Liberty to all hands, liberty to all heads," and himself added, "Abolition is an expression of the most inflexible of social necessities." Antonio Augusto de Mendonça, one of several Bahian poets then active in the antislavery cause, wrote and recited a poem dedicated to the Sociedade Libertadora Sete de Setembro. In the following year the *Gazeta da Tarde* inaugurated a series of abolition lectures to be given in the Lyceu de Artes e Officios and invited as the first speaker the well-known abolition orator, José do Patrocinio.[66] In 1885 a pamphlet entitled *A incoherencia da escravidão n'um paiz christão* was published in Bahia by Antonio Pereira de Araujo. When the news arrived (June 30, 1887) that the cabinet had secured the dissolution of "the pro-slave" *camara* a celebration was held at the offices of the *Diario da Bahia*, on the initiative of the *Libertadora Bahiana* and the *Gazeta da Tarde.*

In 1872 the province of Bahia freed the twenty-two slaves which it owned and had employed as gardeners, laundry women, and grave-diggers, either at the Hospital dos Lazaros or the cemetery of Quintas. In 1880 Joaquim Nabuco presented a project to the Pernambuco legislature calling for the extinction of slavery within ten years, and three years later he published a stirring abolition treatise entitled *O Abolicionismo.*[66a] In 1885, and again in 1887, he was elected federal deputy on an abolition platform. In 1881 the Bahian

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[66] Other lectures were given by Dr. Aristides Spinola, Dr. José de Oliviera Campos, Paula Ney, Conselheiro Luiz Alvares dos Santos, Ennes de Souza, Salles Barbosa, Elpidio de Mesquita, and Dr. Arthur Ferreira Vianna.

[66a] London, 1883.

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In 1886 the municipal *camara* of Bahia, following the initiative of other Brazilian cities, authorized a *Livro de Ouro* ("Golden Book") in which the names of persons contributing toward the emancipation of slaves in the *municipio* were to be inscribed. On April 19 of the following year a project was presented to the municipal *camara* by its president, Dr. Augusto Guimarães, authorizing the setting-up of a commission to study means of extinguishing slavery throughout the *municipio*.

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On the eve of nation-wide abolition, or in 1887, a number of emancipation projects were presented to the Bahian *camara*. Two were presented in the state senate: one by Senator Taunay and one by Senator Dantas, the former setting Christmas, 1889, as the date of final abolition for the province of Bahia, and the latter naming December 31 of the same year. Slaves in various parts of Brazil, "learning that they are men and will one day be citizens," were by this time deserting the plantations.[90] Police and the soldiery often refused to aid in their recapture.

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In 1887, "as a significant manifestation of abolition senti-

[90] In 1887 Fonseca mentions the "recent flight" en masse of slaves from several *fazendas* in the province of São Paulo. For instance, in Piracicaba, a hundred slaves fled from Barão de Serra Negra. In the *municipio* of Campos fifty slaves fled from the *fazenda* of Becco and, joined by other Negroes who were deserting the *fazenda* of Penha, turned upon the police sent out from Itu to apprehend them and caught, stripped, and beat them. That year the following advertisement appeared in the *Gazeta da Bahia:*

> Fled from the owner whose signature appears below the following slaves: Maria dos Neves, *cabra* [offspring of Negro and mulatto], short, stocky, round faced, with prominent cheek bones, milk-white teeth, straight hair, parted in the middle; speaks very rapidly. Antonio (who sometimes calls himself Maria da Piedade), dark *cabra*, short, fat, with good teeth, and large scars on breast and one arm (these scars are from burns). Was last seen in Rio Vermelho.
>
> Whoever recovers and brings these slaves to my office at Rua do Julião, No. 1, or to No. 125 Ribeira in Itapagipe, will be well rewarded.
>
> DR. JOSÉ ALVES CARDOSO E SILVA

(Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 595, 602–3, 161).

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ment," a picture of José Bonifacio was hung in the salon of the Gremio Litterario at Bahia, in the presence of "the principal civil and military authorities, representatives of the press, and several delegations from other organizations." The Sociedade Libertadora Bahiana took advantage of the occasion to present six "Letters of Liberty." As these were being distributed,

> a young slave girl, so covered with rags as to look like an abandoned beggar, forced her way into the assemblage and, falling upon her knees, begged and pleaded for her liberty. The pitiful aspect of this girl, the recently spoken words of Sr. Carige, and, above all, the sentiments evoked in contemplation of the sacrificial heroism of José Bonifacio, produced a profound effect. . . . . A citizen arose and said, "In honor of the memory of José Bonifacio, I contribute one hundred milreis toward the liberation of this woman."

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Finally, in 1888, the imperial government at Rio, through a decree signed by Princess Isabel, abolished slavery entirely, freeing the last six hundred thousand Negroes in bondage throughout the country.

The extinction of the institution of slavery in Brazil thus came about gradually by means of a progressively increasing and finally irresistible popular movement, aided, it seems, by the decay of the sugar industry,[91] by the arguments of the economists who held that the slave was an expensive workman, by the example of the United States in freeing her slaves (which left Brazil the only slaveholding American nation), and by the "strain for consistency" exerted upon the institution by the philosophy of the French Revolution[92]

[91] Silvio Romero, "O Brasil social," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, LXIX (1906), 111.

[92] In 1883 Joaquim Nabuco wrote: "Slavery has now endured in Brazil almost a century after the French Revolution taught the world to know and to love liberty."

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and the doctrines of Christianity. The normal development of the emancipation process was never checked or seriously hampered by a wave of fear like that which swept over slave areas in the United States following the Haitian revolution and the consequent annihilation of Haitian whites and the slaughter of thousands of mulattoes and blacks.

Resistance to abolition was apparently never strong or well organized. It was not confined to any one section of the country but even in slaveholding centers like Bahia was, as we have seen, constantly being undermined by local criticism. An occasional newspaper "persisted in being a slave organ" or appeared "timid and acquiescent with reference to slavery,"[93] but the overwhelming majority of the press increasingly supported the antislavery cause.

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It is, however, true that commercial leaders like Ramalho Ortigão, president of the Bahian *Centro* of Commerce and Agriculture, "tenaciously opposed" the abolition movement. Anselmo da Fonseca says that Portuguese immigrants, many of whom engaged in trade and commerce, were, with rare exceptions, "decided partisans of slavery" and not only became "the greatest and most audacious slave traders of Bahia" who offered most of the opposition to the cessation of the slave traffic but also energetically opposed the abolition of slavery itself.[94] However, the prestige of this group,

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[93] Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

[94] "The Portuguese cannot comprehend a Brazil without slaves. We hear daily from them, 'The Negro is peculiarly created by nature for the cultivation of sugar' " (*ibid.*, pp. 155–56). The Portuguese are said to have been the principal violators of the law of 1831, several of the more powerful of whom Euzebio de Queiroz felt impelled to deport when, some twenty years after the passage of this law legally abolishing the slave trade, he sought effectively to suppress the traffic. However, immigrant laborers, since they were in competition with slave laborers, ordinarily opposed slavery. See Henry K. Norton, *The Coming of South America* (New York, 1932), pp. 103–4.

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from early colonial times on, seems not to have been very great, and the upheaval which in 1822 culminated in Brazilian independence seems to have buried most of the vestiges of Portuguese prestige. Even today the Portuguese are the constant butt of vaudeville jokes.

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Many of the free *homens de côr* (men of color), especially those who possessed slaves, either were indifferent to the slave question or openly opposed abolition.[95] Most of the large plantation owners and their spokesmen in the provincial legislature and national parliament opposed the abolition campaign, and their forces at one time dominated the Liberal party.[96] However, many of the slaveholders appear to have increasingly accepted abolition as inevitable and merely to have asked remuneration for the financial loss involved. Apprehension that the plantation system would utterly collapse if free labor were substituted for slave

[95] The abolitionist, Anselmo da Fonseca (*ibid.*, pp. 137, 142–43), complains of the persistent opposition to abolition on the part of *homens de côr*. In 1884, out of thirty candidates for the Bahian *camara*, "the only one who in a published document had the audacity to ask election in the name of slavery" was the *homem de côr*, Conselheiro Domingos Carlos e Silva. In 1887 an *homem de côr* canceled his subscription to the *Diario da Bahia* for its refusal to publish an advertisement regarding a fugitive slave. Fonseca regarded this man as "one of the most intolerant slaveholders in Bahia."

[96] On hearing of the program presented by the imperial cabinet on June 6, 1884, "almost all the leaders of the liberal party in Bahia, the owners of large business and commercial houses, and the sugar aristocracy" lodged a protest in which they declared: "The slave is more than a portion of a private fortune; he is a social institution, a labor supply, a necessity to production, an asset of the national life. Above the immediate interests of planter and merchant . . . . are the permanent . . . . interests of society, the benefits which accrue to thousands of human beings living or yet unborn—the necessities of public order, and the development of national wealth" (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 283).

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and that the sudden liberation of large numbers of subjected blacks would subvert public order gradually melted away as the numbers of emancipated Negroes increased and these freedmen gave evidence of their ability and willingness to become an orderly part of the free population and to labor as effectively, if not more effectively, for wages as when impelled by physical force.

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The free people of color (who by 1872 largely outnumbered the slaves)[97] were, Southey says, "an industrious and useful part of the population: most of the maize, manioc and pulse, with which the towns were supplied, was raised by them upon small pieces of ground, which they rented of the great proprietors at a low rate."[98] Freedmen were also employed as laborers on the large estates, where they lived as squatters on the land of their employers, erecting mud and palm-leaf huts for their families, and looking to the planter for protection from any who would do them harm.[99] In the towns they were employed principally as artisans, porters, messengers, barbers, street merchants and small shopkeep-

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[97] Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

[98] Southey, *op. cit.*, III, 787. Cf. also: "The masters who freed slaves often gave them, with their liberty, a piece of land to insure their subsistence. The Negroes who have inherited these small holdings are to-day (1911) the best element of the black agricultural population" (Pierre Denis, *Brasil*, trans. from the French by Bernard Miall [New York, 1911], p. 322).

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[99] Koster writes: "The Negroes in my possession could not perform what ought to be done in proper time; and therefore I collected free laborers for the purpose, and in a short period between thirty and forty men, some of whom brought their families, removed on to the lands of the plantation; and most of them erected hovels of palm-leaves, in which they dwelt; but a few of them were accommodated with huts of mud. . . . . Many of these fellows would have committed almost any crime under the impression that my protection would screen them" (*op. cit.*, I, 295, 297).

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the emperor and by the fact that abolition had been decreed *without* indemnification. The republican propaganda, which had been active since the convention of Itú, gained its victory without great effort since, as it is only fair to remember, the tolerant spirit of the Emperor and the simplicity of his living had contributed greatly to the development of democratic ideas.

During this era of great transformation, in which the intellectuals and the youth of Brazil threw themselves with enthusiasm, we were all swept by the reform wave. I would not have made the Republic just as it was made; but I accepted it as a logical result of its historical antecedents and the democratic atmosphere then dominant in America.

The province of São Paulo soon took the lead in the extensive reforms which the country was experiencing. Political administration, agricultural development, immigration, all were stimulated by the new regime. I collaborated in all this as a citizen and as a public servant in proportion to my ability. In 1896 I was Chief Engineer of Sanitation for the state of São Paulo, a service which I directed for some years. With General Jardim and Salles de Oliveira I served on the Commission which organized the Escola Politecnica of São Paulo during the governorship of Bernardino de Campos. With Antonio Pisa, Cezario Motta, Horacio de Carvalho, Conselheiro Manoel Antonio Duarte de Azevedo, and others, we founded the Instituto Historico e Geographico of São Paulo, and I directed the construction of the building which still houses it. During the celebration of the three hundredth anniversary of Padre José de Anchieta's birth, which, through the initiative of Eduardo Prado, one of our most illustrious journalists and authors, launched a literary movement, I collaborated in the famed "Conferencias Anchietanas," which were to mark an epoch in the literary life of Brazil. My liking for historical studies then led me into the examination of documents from the first years of Brazilian colonization and the publication of the results of such research as monographs or articles in magazines of a scientific character. In this way I made a modest contribution.

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It was during this period that I gave my leisure time over to the study of our indigenous races. I wrote and published some observations concerning the language of the Cayuas of the Lower Paranapanema and some data on the Guayanas of São Paulo. I published

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*563 647 was introduced in the States and in the municipal services in such a way that possibilities are increasing for colored persons entitled to occupy these posts. Given the fact that in spite of this the support that a candidate may receive from a politician or a friend of an official is always very important, it is obvious that persons of more modest circumstances have more difficulty being appointed after having been admitted for the examinations; they are supposed to have even more difficulties obtaining offices that are advantageous or lead to first-rate positions. During the [175] colonial period some of the participants in a popular revolution [668] that broke out in Bahia, complaining that because they were pardos all promotion was denied them, tried to establish a regime of equality in which Whites, pardos, and Blacks, without distinction as to color, would be judged solely according to their abilities (1).

[113] 1. Alfonso Ruy, A primeira revoluçao social brasileira -- 1798 /The First Brazilian Social Revolution -- 1798/, 2nd edition, Bahia, 1951, p. 77.

[178] "In olden times," says one Black, "one never saw a moreno /58/ occupying a first-rate post," which is not altogether accurate, for the métis always had important positions in the administration of [557] Brazil since the colonial period. Today, says another informant, [555] "the incompetent ones advance through influence; as for the others, [178] they advance by their own merit, regardless of their color." He himself, in spite of his very dark color, manages sections in which Whites and Blacks work, and he knows that he is highly esteemed by his colleagues. Others think that the Blacks, although admitted without great difficulties, do not have access, save exceptionally, to positions of management which are temporarily occupied in commission through the individual choice of governors and higher officials. Two of our informants illustrate their asser- [665] tion by citing the case of a Black "who worked a great deal during an election campaign in favor of a party and who, in spite of

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project their deficiencies, their personality defects, and their professional incompetence on the Whites and their institutions. See on this subject Kimball Young, Handbook of Social Psychology, London, 1948, p. 277.

which is not always the case; exaggeration is a powerful means of drawing attention to a problem that one assumes to be non-existent or without importance, but it may also represent a form of aggression against the discriminator group.

*563 A white sociologist, who admits the existence of the problem, says very justly that "...this prejudice is nimble and cunning. It tries to hide in the folds of the unconscious of the collectivity and, ashamed of itself, reacts to attempts at expression or exposure to the light of conscience. The reaction is thus more vigorous when we suspect some effort to cultivate it. One tolerates the fact that prejudice lives as an unconfessed feeling of class or of social prestige, but one experiences an immediate repulsion when people try to raise it to the rank of an institution or of spirit of caste" (4).

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4. Nelson Sampaio, "Democracia racial," Forum, Vol. IX, No. 21, Bahia, 1945.

/98/ The Black Movements in Bahia

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About 20 years ago, when the Brazilian urban proletariat began to become aware of its existence, there arose in the southern part of the country a movement intended to group together "the Brazilian Negro population" with the aim "of obtaining political representation, of defending the rights of Negroes and of elevating them on the educational level." From São Paulo, the most important Brazilian industrial center, the Black Front (Frente Negra) began to spread into other cities. In November 1932 a group of less than ten colored men of modest

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*563 circumstances, almost all black, founded the Black Front of
● 668 Bahia. Until that time the only organizations of "colored
*563 people" existing in the city were the brotherhoods and some
668 workmen's and charity associations, none of which had as a
747 definite aim the defense of colored men against racial prejudice.
794 The Protective Society for Invalids, founded in 1832 as a religious and charitable brotherhood for persons "exclusively of black color," stated in a publication commemorating the centenary of its founding that "to speak of the ideal of the founder of this great work of philanthropy, it is to eliminate skin prejudice from Brazilian soil." This organization, however, does not include in its statutes, revised in 1948, or mention in its annual reports activities other than those of charity or mutual aid -- something that the informants, including members of the management, confirm.

*563 A local enterprise considered "an innovation for Bahia the
668 news that colored men, against whom no distinction is made, are going to form a group." A professor of the university, in an ironic article on the Black Front, tried to advance the hypothesis that this movement was the result of Communist influence which profited from all occasional political agitation. One of the first activities of the Black Front, an activity which was disagreeable to dark persons of higher rank, says a mulatto informant, was a parade of poor Blacks along one of the commercial streets of the city, intended to show the misery in which they lived and to draw attention to the new organization. According to the same informant, the movement was "doomed to failure from its inception," for it was organized "as a kind of revolt." The founder and leader of this group, a worker who lived in São Paulo and took part in identical activities, harassed by financial difficulties and also yielding to what he himself, in an interview given to a newspaper, called his destiny of "wandering Jew," /99/ returned the following year to the southern part of the country, disappointed by the results of his enterprise, which found no support and soon died out.

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During this time political agitation increased in the country, a revolution broke out, and the parties of the extreme right and the extreme left made their appearance, thus increasing the confusion, which reached its height in 1937 with a dictatorship that lasted about eight years. During the first months of this same year there was founded in Bahia the Henrique Dias Society, named in honor of a black soldier who had become famous in the struggles against the Dutch invaders during the colonial period. The founders of this association, although much less numerous than those of the preceding one, were men of a higher professional and social position, though modest in the majority. The only intellectual leaders were a lawyer and former judge, the central figure of the group, 12 young physicians, a judge, a pharmacist, eight non-graduate lawyers, two journalists, a musician, and a university student; the other founder-members were 21 petty officials, three merchants, six civil constructors, 14 commercial employees, and 68 artisans. All signed the founding document. The society, according to its statutes, is composed of Brazilians, without distinction as to color, and its aim is "to fight for reconciliation and unity between persons of different color, to develop education, chiefly for the members and their families, to grant them all the assistance desired, to engage in sports and commemorate civic dates." One of the articles of these statutes stipulates that "homage will be rendered to persons who have accomplished a lofty deed for the defense of society, of country, and for the equality of the races." In a page of propaganda, the founder of the society explained that the name of the soldier of whom we have spoken above "symbolically expresses racial and social unity, for this is what Henrique Diaz was: an act of union between the black race, which did the physical work of Brazil, and the white race, which governed and defended it." Continuing the argument he added that "all this demonstrates the reason d'être of racial equality and the absurdity of prejudice, which endeavors to subordinate one race to the other," and he succeeded in justifying the existence of the Henrique Diaz Society, which, "having decided to lead the

[SALVADOR]

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*563 •668 struggle against this prejudice, wishes to do so for the unity of individuals of different skins, for the realization of an educational program." "This association," its founder announced in a letter to the author of these pages, "was an outcome of the black fronts and was founded in order to combat the racial prejudice that Nazism wanted to introduce into our country when /100/ integralism (1)

[665] 1. A political movement of the extreme right, organized into a party. One of the principal national leaders of this party at that time published several books of anti-Semitic doctrine.

dominated. It should be noted that the situation was such that Negroes were afraid to be and to call themselves black, this making them suspected of Communism. And in fact a newspaper went so far as to say that this was Communism. But once the New State had disappeared (2),

[642] 2. The name given to the authoritarian political regime established by the dictatorship from 1937 to 1945.

[178] there came democracy and our society continued." The Henrique Diaz Society still exists, but has not acquired great prestige; its management rarely meets, and since its head has settled in the interior of the State, where he performs the duties of judge, it has practically only a nominal existence, limiting itself, thanks to a small federal subvention, to running a modest primary school in a poor district.

One of the founders of the society launched another movement in 1946, the Campanha do Pi Racial (3),

3. Pi (π), a Greek letter adopted by the Campanha do Pi Racial as a symbol of rapprochement.

[SALVADOR]

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*563 whose aim was: "To extirpate, annul, abolish the inferiority
• 668 complex (of the darkest ones); to demolish, enlighten, and purify a false superiority complex (of the lightest ones), so that, by a just and balanced educational process, there may no longer be Blacks and Whites in Brazil, but only Brazilians." Aside from a publication in the form of proverbs, thoughts, and maxims on the inferior situation of the Blacks, this campaign was pursued by means of "conferences of spiritualist philosophy" conducted by the founder, a physician with a modest clientele. This movement too, however, had neither the repercussion nor the prestige hoped for by its founder, with the result that the latter is thinking of starting in Bahia a branch of the Union of Colored Men, created some years ago in the country. But although he believes in the existence of color prejudice and wishes to combat it, the secretary-general of this union, in statements to a newspaper of Bahia on the occasion of a visit to the city, said that "in Brazil there is in reality no race prejudice. And this is so true that, although our principal objective is to unite colored men of all countries, the union opens its doors to citizens of other races; this also because we think it would be impossible to form a separatist association in this land, which is for all."

*563 The Federation of the Afro-Brazilian Cult, organized to
575 join together the groups of the cult, and the centers of Afro-
794 Brazilian studies are, as their names indicate, organizations of a different nature. Neither their statutes nor their activities tie them directly to the programs of social action in favor of colored people.

*563 /101/ As may be seen, the "Negro" movements in Bahia have
668 a very precarious existence and operation. Ordinarily they group almost exclusively Blacks and dark mulattoes of relatively modest circumstances, and they do not practice real social and political action. They do not, however, form hostile groups, but, quite the contrary, they endeavor to bring together Whites and Blacks; they avoid all strife and antagonism with the dominant group, and in the last analysis they have as a fundamental objective the integration, let us say even the acculturation, of colored people,

[SALVADOR]

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*563 especially the Blacks, toward the norms of behavior, the attitudes,
668 the concepts of the Whites, in order to permit them to be accepted and classed in the society of Bahia. It is not difficult to perceive
*563 that the "white" norms are the very ones that everybody in
183 Bahia -- Whites, métis, and Blacks -- endeavors to realize in life,
829 and that to be colored is not considered contemptible; the Blacks, for example, have not always succeeded in concealing some shame that many characteristics of their native culture cause them, particularly those that contrast most with the culture of European origin, such as religion. What seems to account for this is the fact that colored people feel themselves, as much as the Whites, entirely Brazilian, that is to say, integrated or desirous of being integrated in the Luso-Christian and, today still more, Neo-Brazilian
*563 culture of the dominant class. A lawyer and a sociologist, both
668 morenos and Bahians, a short time ago expressed the fear lest the "Negro" movements of Brazil take on segregative tendencies. And some leaders of these movements in Bahia are pointed out by the informants as being followers of such tendencies; however, "this isolationism," they add, "does not manage to gain the upper hand." "Up to now I have not wanted to become part of this association, but since there is no racism in it I am going to join," one Black stated.

*563 The attitude of Blacks of professionally and socially high
668 status is generally expressed by aloofness toward these movements;
829 very few of them, as a matter of fact, can contribute to lend
[554] them personal prestige. At most these Blacks give their nominal support and contribute financially to these movements, but they follow their activities from a distance, avoiding all publicity in this respect, though they sympathize with a program that proposes to elevate the Blacks whose education has been neglected. They do not conceal their lack of confidence with regard to the aims and intentions of Negro movements on the national level. In the opinion of an educator, there is no reason for colored people to group themselves in terms of their quality. This would give a character of strife, which is undesirable. The pardo or the Black ought to endeavor to enter social life through the wide /102/ doors

[SALVADOR]

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*563 of merit, without its being necessary to force them. Others con-
668 sider that such organizations are not suitable, either because they
829 are proof that discrimination exists, or because they tend to aggravate it by giving it dimensions that it does not have in Bahia. One young man who practices a liberal profession asserts that "he looks on such movements with uneasiness, in fear of ridicule, for its promoters prove their social in adaptation." Some share the opinion of a mulatto, highly esteemed in his profession, who affirms that he refuses to participate in such groupings, not in order to deny his quality as a colored man, but because he considers them unjustified.

The methods of action adopted by the "Negro" movements are likewise criticized. A politician wrote that "the Negroes and mulattoes try to unite in congresses and associations, but give to the struggle merely a doctrinaire character and do not seize all the possibilities that their weakness can prevail upon." In a newspaper article in which he expressed himself thus, he himself proposed a national boycott of merchandise produced by a factory that refused to admit a colored employee. Although his article was very vehement against this foreign enterprise and ended with a stirring appeal to colored persons, it does not seem to have had any practical effect in Bahia. The leaders of these movements, moreover, feared not being understood and not receiving the necessary support. According to one of them, "the Black of Bahia is not convinced that he is black."

*563 Concerning the federal law recently put in force against re-
671 ligious and racial discrimination, the informants in general have
829 only a very vague notion of its existence and are ignorant of its text. Some consider it useful in some cases (hotelkeepers who refuse Blacks, for instance) or to lower the barriers that prevent young colored people from entering upon a diplomatic career or a military career at the rank of officer. Others consider it simply useless in Bahia; a short time ago the papers featured the news that this law was put into effect in the State of Rio Grande do Sul in the southern part of Brazil. A mulatto priest stated: "We have no need of laws, here in Bahia, to have a Negro

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the plantation complex became the principal characteristic. Marriages between the families of plantation owners brought new alignments of property, some families acquiring more land and others losing it through the natural processes of the marriage and growth of parts of families and the dying out of others. Family became increasingly important. As a rule the conjugal family was large and the extended family enormous; marriages between cousins, uncles, nieces, and other relatives were common. Social life was carried on between neighboring plantations, and of course many marriages took place as a result of these contacts, so that it was not infrequent to find many plantations, both contiguous and scattered, owned by the same family. As a rule each extended family had its traditional plantation as a sort of home base, and the head of the family frequently resided there, although not always. The patriarch was generally granted great respect and prestige by the members of his family, both far and near.

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Many who received land grants were the noblemen of the province, and many of them were representatives of the government. In this way the plantation master was securely establishing himself and his family not only in the Recôncavo but also in the governmental hierarchy, and was often in a position to see that the government action did not adversely affect the interests of the sugar-cane growers. At any rate, for several centuries social and political domination was in the hands of a small group which gradually intermarried, always strengthening itself. Its members were, first and foremost, the landowning gentry; next in importance were professional people such as lawyers, doctors, clerics, educators, and politicians. Members of this group were also soldiers, and in the War of Independence in 1822 the plantation masters of Vila Recôncavo took a foremost part both personally and financially, for which many were later honored by having royal titles bestowed upon them.

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As the small rural towns, and later the counties, grew, they also fell under the domination of one or several plantation masters. Not infrequently a feud would arise between two families to determine which was to be the dominant one. As the plantation master prospered, he showed his wealth and power with a degree of ostentation which was commented upon by travelers and chroniclers of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. The ruins of houses built at this time can be seen today scattered throughout the coastal northeast.

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

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*249 found themselves, with no food, their slaves dying, the price
458 of sugar falling, the markets lost, and, especially, overbur-
648 dening taxes. Most of the documents which remain are pessi-
651 mistic ones, for during the times of prosperity little was writ-
ten. At any rate, late in the eighteenth century some measures were taken to lighten the burden of taxation and to provide better means of transportation to Europe than the irregular system of fleets which were frequently spaced two and three years apart. As a result, many plantation owners took heart and applied themselves again to the raising of sugar cane. They were further aided by an increasing market in Europe, which finally became almost entirely theirs at the turn of the century, as a result of the European wars.

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*249 By the end of the Napoleonic wars sugar production was at
458 its best, and Bahia was once again experiencing a pleasurable
•669 prosperity. However, 1822 brought the War of Independence,
[731] much of it fought in the Recôncavo. The war was supported to a great extent by the plantation masters, both financially and physically. Although they gained a great deal of prestige, they lost two harvests, and their exports fell off greatly. It took them some time to recuperate, and in 1855 they suffered another violent blow, an epidemic of cholera.

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*249 An indication of the difficulties caused by the epidemic is
458 given in the following passage, translated from a document in
731 the inventory of the Baron of Caju made upon the death of his wife, a victim of cholera:

> The family was in a good state of animation and prosperity in 1855, when the fatal epidemic of cholera morbus wasted this Province, invading the home of the Inventoried and causing him horrible damages and enormous losses! The Baroness fell victim to this voracious scourge! Eighty-two of the most valuable and useful slaves had the same fate; the best expediencies, treatment, and vigilant care were of no effect! Almost the entire harvest of this fatal year was lost in the complete absence of field hands, for the number not stricken was small, and the others, convalescents, were truly specters! The harvests of 1856 and 1857 also suffered.

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175 Soon afterwards a new phase began when the Civil War
*249 started in the United States, sending up the price of sugar
[458] and increasing the market. Some years after this a disease
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4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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[City of Salvador]

At Bahia in 1807, 1809, 1813, 1816, 1826, 1827, 1828, and 1830, slave revolts broke out, terminating in the serious Malê uprising of 1835. There existed here, particularly in the nineteenth century, a well-established group of Negro disciples of the prophet Mohammed. Here Nagô was for a long time a Negro lingua franca (or, to use the corresponding Portuguese expression, a *lingua geral*), and Nagô is still occasionally to be heard among some of the older blacks. Here one might have encountered in the years just preceding abolition in 1888 an interesting paradox: while at home Bahia clung tenaciously to slavery, she was known abroad for the eloquence of her abolition orators.[3] Here, also, one might have observed the gradual fusion of Catholic belief and ritual with African mythology and religious practice, evidences of which may be seen today in *candomblés*, or fetish-cult centers, like that of Gantois, for example, whose ceremonies have been carried on in the same sacred place for many decades.

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In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries Bahia became one of the world's great sugar centers where a small aristocracy, as is attested today by the pretentious edifices still standing, achieved great wealth. As early as 1587 there were forty-seven sugar *engenhos*[4] in and about Bahia, and

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[3] See Luiz Anselmo da Fonseca, *A escravidão, o clero e o abolicionismo* (Bahia, 1887), *passim*. This book, although obviously written as abolition propaganda, cites names, places, and dates to support its contentions and does not overlook negative cases.

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[4] Each *engenho* consisted of a sugar plantation and a mill for processing the cane. Those at Bahia often had a capacity of a thousand tons or more yearly. Each was largely a self-sustaining economic unit, dependent upon the labor of numbers of Negro slaves. H. Morse Stephens says (*Portugal* [New York, 1903], p. 228) that sugar cane was imported into Brazil from the Madeira Islands in 1548.

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4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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pendent, lived apart from their masters, and arranged their own employment. They were usually required to pay a stated sum weekly to their owners, after which they might retain for their own use any balance remaining. In Bahia they are reported to have been principally Yorubas, Gêges, and Haussás.

These Negroes were reputedly strong, capable workers. Almost all the Haussás were ardent Mohammedans, who in Bahia seem to have converted to their faith many Yorubas, Gêges, and other Africans. Shrewd and intelligent, they were at times superior in cultural equipment to their masters. Many were literate, and some are said to have written Arabic fluently. Often they banded together to mature schemes of revolt, to buy the freedom of a favorite friend, or to work under a leader for the liberation of all. The order in which they secured their freedom was ordinarily determined by lot, the earliest liberated remaining with the group until the last was purchased, after which they sometimes returned to Africa, paying their passage with what they had earned.[32]

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It was principally the Haussás who led the numerous slave revolts[33] at Bahia during the early nineteenth century. Although these uprisings were all unsuccessful and ordi-

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[32] Daniel P. Kidder and James C. Fletcher, *Brasil and the Brazilians* (Philadelphia, 1857), p. 135. Between 1850 and 1878 from four to six thousand free Negroes from Brazil settled at Lagos and Whydah and a few in Angola (Sir Harry H. Johnston, *The Negro in the New World* [New York, 1910], p. 98 n.). Repatriated Gêges are said to have founded on the African West Coast a city with the name of a Bahian port, Porto Seguro.

[33] In the Archivo Publico at Bahia are four volumes of police documents covering the revolts of this period. Each volume contains from a thousand to twelve hundred sheets in long hand which, for their age, are fairly well preserved.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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narily ended in the death of their leaders, the Europeans lived throughout this period in a more or less constant state of alarm.[34] Arthur Ramos, following Nina Rodrigues, considers these disturbances to have been "nothing more or less than a continuation of the long and recurrent struggles of religious conquest carried on by the Mohammedan Negroes of the Sudan."[35] In support of this contention it has been pointed out that their animosity was directed not only at the Europeans but also at creole blacks and mulattoes who did not join the crusade.

In estimating the character of these revolts, one should give particular attention to the fact that the participants were either free Negroes or those slaves, like the *negros de ganho* and the field hands, whose relations with the whites were not the intimate relations which ordinarily arise out of close personal contact. It is highly significant that on the eve of revolt the whites always received timely warning from

[34] The following document, which was sent to the governor of Bahia by several *senhores de engenho*, shows the fear which at that time agricultural proprietors had of these disturbances (Silva, *op. cit.*, p. 346):

The undersigned owners of *engenhos*, considering the imminent peril in which by reason of the frequent slave revolts known to Your Excellency their persons and, in general, those of all the inhabitants of the Reconcavo and even perhaps of the entire Province [of Bahia] are placed, and considering that at every moment the property of each one of them is at stake, feel it an unavoidable duty to point out this situation to Your Excellency and to beg the actual placing of those Detachments which Your Excellency sometime ago ordered stationed at various points in the Reconcavo in keeping with the police plan of the 10th of December, 1828, the which, being included in the *Proposta* of the Provincial Counsel General, was approved along with other provisions and ordered put into effect, the expenses of its execution to be paid out of the public treasury.

It not being, however, the intention of the petitioners to load onto the Public Treasury the entire burden, they themselves offer to seek to raise a portion of this expense by means of a subscription.

The petitioners rest confident in the interest which Your Excellency has always taken in the preservation of public order, and are thereby assured that you will give ear to this urgent request which they have here set forth.

[35] Ramos, *As culturas negras*, p. 336; see also Nina Rodrigues, *Os africanos no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1932), pp. 61–107.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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some slave,[36] and many Negroes repeatedly refused to participate in the uprisings.[37] The disturbances were ordinarily led, as we have seen, by Mohammedan Haussás, said to be exceedingly spirited and resolute individuals,[38] who were either free blacks or semi-independent *negros de ganho*. Moreover, they lived for the most part in the city where life was less arduous than on the plantations and where there was, at the same time, more leisure for brooding over grievances and perfecting schemes of revolt. Since all insurrectionists spoke the same or quite similar languages and shared

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[36] Dantas Junior, in commenting on the revolt of 1807, repeats (*A Illustração* [Bahia]; June, 1936) that on the night of the twenty-second of May (the revolt was set for 7:00 P.M. of the twenty-eighth) a "person of integrity" urgently sought out the governor at his palace and secretly informed him that "a Negro of mine told me that the slaves of the Ussá nation are plotting to revolt." Following the serious uprising of 1835, the provincial assembly rewarded (*Laws*, No. 344, August 5, 1848, and No. 405, August 2, 1850) the "free Africans," Duarte Mendes and his wife, Sabina da Cruz, with the cancellation of their taxes for having "informed on and thus prevented the success of the planned insurrection."

[37] "The Negroes of the warehouses belonging to Manoel Ignacio da Cunha and Francisco Lourenço Herculano did not wish to join the band" (Silva, *op. cit.*, p. 347). Wied Neuwied, who visited Bahia during the period of these uprisings, says that colored troops were used in suppressing them. See Prince Maximilian Wied Neuwied, *Viagem ao Brasil*, trans. from the German of *Reise nach Brasilien in den Jahren 1815 bis 1817* (2 vols.; Frankfurt, 1820), by Edgar Sussekind de Mendonça and Flavio Poppe de Figueiredo (São Paulo, 1940), pp. 450–51.

[38] Koster, noting that "Pernambuco has never experienced any serious revolt among the slaves; but at Bahia there have been several commotions," and convinced that "Bahia contains fewer free people than Pernambuco in proportion to the number of slaves," wrote, "I cannot avoid attributing the quietude of the latter in some measure to the circumstances of a few of the Gold Coast Negroes being imported into it, whilst at Bahia the principal stock of slaves is from that part of Africa. . . . . They are represented as possessing great firmness of mind and body, and ferociousness of disposition" (*op. cit.*, I, 214).

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the same or similar religious beliefs and practices, they were able to act effectively together.

In 1806, following a raid upon a "conspirator's house," the imprisonment of a number of suspected plotters, and the confiscation of "four hundred arrows, a bundle of sticks, and quantities of cord for the making of bows, a large number of knives and pistols, a gun and a drum," orders were issued to arrest every slave found in the streets after nine o'clock at night "without a letter from his master or in his company."[39] The following year correspondence between African conspirators in Bahia and Santo Amaro (a sugar center in the Reconcavo) was intercepted, and the leaders thus exposed were subsequently tried, sentenced to death, and executed.[40] About the same time the governor of Bahia ordered destroyed two troublesome *quilombos*, or settlements of fugitive slaves, on the outskirts of the city near Cabula and Nossa Senhora dos Mares, and the *capitãomor* with eighty soldiers surrounded their huts and took prisoner seventy-eight blacks, some of whom were free Negroes.[41]

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In 1809 a revolt about twelve miles from Bahia was put down after the Haussás had "committed all sorts of outrages."[42] In 1813 about five hundred Haussás revolted and fled into the surrounding country but were speedily pursued and disarmed and their leaders publicly hung on gallows erected in Praça Piedade, one of the principal squares of the city. Several others were deported to Africa.[43] In 1826 soldiers had to be sent to various points in the Reconcavo,

[39] Silva, *op. cit.*, p. 346.

[40] Alvares do Amaral, *Resumo chronologico da Bahia* (Bahia, n.d.), p. 111.

[41] Eduardo A. de Caldas Britto, "Levantes de pretos na Bahia," *Revista do Instituto Geographico e Historico da Bahia*, XXIX, 72.

[42] Alvares do Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 39. See also Ramos, *As culturas negras*, p. 337.

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including Cachoeira, to put down an African insurrection, whose leader had been chosen a "king of the blacks" and when wounded and captured "carried a red flag, had on his head . . . . a crown, and over his shoulders an old-fashioned mantle of green velveteen on which had been embroidered a golden cock." An incident of this uprising was the successful resistance of a *quilombo* near Pirajá, a few miles distant from Bahia, to the attack of several *capitães do matto*[43a] who, in the mistaken belief that they had to deal with a small number of Negroes, sought without reinforcements to apprehend these fugitives and lost their lives in the attempt. A detachment of soldiers was required to dislodge the Africans.[44]

In 1827 a body of Yoruba slaves fled into the *matto* after sacking and setting fire to houses in the suburbs of the city. A police force sent in pursuit engaged the fugitives, killing or wounding eight of their number, but met with such resistance over a period of two days' skirmishing that it would have itself been wiped out had not a patrol of troops come to its rescue. The next year, following three separate revolts, slaveholders in the Reconcavo appealed to the governor for more effective police protection.

In 1835 the last and most serious revolt broke out, led again by Mohammedan Negroes, each of whom wore upon his person a *paluá*, or charm, presumed to protect the faithful against death in any form.[45] Bahia was at that time the [789]

[43a] "Bush Captains" hired to track down fugitive slaves.

[44] Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

[45] Padre Etienne Ignace Brasil, "Os Malês," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, LXXII, Part II (1909), 83. In São Salvador dos Campos, in the province of Rio de Janeiro, "restless slaves wearing plumes in their hats" were arrested, one of whom on being interrogated confessed that orders had been received from Bahia to revolt on the following Ash Wednesday (Alvares do Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 91).

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seat of the iman, or head in Brazil of all African disciples of the prophet Mohammed. Those who were resident in Rio, Ceará, and Pernambuco owed allegiance to him. Incidentally, it was a time of general social unrest not only among certain of the slaves but among the whites as well.[46] The aim of the conspiracy was "to set up a queen after exterminating all the Europeans." Extensive plans were laid, including the proposed participation of slaves from "every part of the Reconcavo," many of whom, immediately preceding the night set for the uprising, fled from their owners and came to Bahia. A banner was adopted and the robes worn at Mohammedan ceremonies selected as costumes of war. The time chosen for the uprising was during the popular festival of Nossa Senhora da Guia, when most of the European population would be gathered at Bomfim, outside the main area of the city, houses would consequently be deserted by white owners, and slaves might go in and out without arousing suspicion.[47]

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The governor, forewarned by a faithful slave a few hours before the uprising actually occurred, doubled all police

[46] From 1831 to 1837 revolts against the Brazilian imperial government broke out in Pará, Sergipe, Pernambuco, and Rio Grande do Sul. In Maranhão three thousand slaves, led by an African named Cosme, had recently revolted.

[47] The report of the chief of police to the governor of the province of Bahia (republished from the *Diario da Bahia* in the *Jornal do Commercio* of Rio, February 10, 1835) said that the evidence indicated "the insurrection had been plotted for a considerable period of time with absolute secrecy. . . . . Almost all the leaders know how to read and to write in some unknown language, which appears to be Arabic. This is the same language which is used by the Ussás, who seem to be united today with the Nagôs. These Ussás are from the same tribe which has revolted on several occasions in this Province. . . . . Their leaders, among whom are many free and even wealthy Africans, stir up and organise revolts."

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patrols which later, aided by foot soldiers and cavalry and favored by considerable confusion among the widely separated bands of blacks as to the actual hour of attack, scattered and broke up the Negro mobs, but only after a serious struggle.[48] The leaders of the revolt were tried,[49] given two hundred, five hundred, even one thousand lashes, or shot by a firing squad, or deported to Africa. Further importation of the *batá*, or African war drum, was forbidden.

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The number and persistence of these slave insurrections may suggest that slavery in Brazil was unusually severe. The reverse seems to be the fact. Insurrectionists were unassimilated free Negroes and semi-independent slaves, morally isolated from the Europeans. Although the hardships incidental to a plantation system obviously existed, and atrocities occurred here as elsewhere, the slavery involved, as we shall see in detail in chapter iii, was ordinarily a mild form of servitude. In general, slavery in Brazil was characterized by the gradual and continuous growth of intimate, personal relations between master and slave which tended to humanize the institution and undermine its formal character.

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[48] A letter from Bahia published in the *Jornal do Commercio* of Rio on February 10, 1835, and dated January 31, reads: "Business and commerce is completely at a standstill by reason of a Negro uprising which last Sunday suddenly upset public tranquillity in this city. The revolt, which had been planned for a long time, was very serious, but the armed forces managed to put it down."

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[49] The police records deposited in the Archivo Publico at Bahia list 234 Negroes who, subsequent to the uprising, were brought to trial by the authorities. Among these, 165 are listed as Nagôs, 21 as Haussás, 6 as Géges, and 6 as Tapas. Documents found in their possession, facsimiles of which may be seen in the above depository, were written in Arabic characters. See also the novel by Pedro Calmon, *Os Malês, a insurreição das senzalas* (Rio, 1933).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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grown up naturally between the races were never threatened, let alone destroyed, by a program of reconstruction originating from without and imposed by armed conquest. Individual ability, personal ties and family solidarity, instead of external pressure, were the levers of social advancement. The rise of the mixed-blood and of the black in Brazil has always had effectively in its favor those sentiments and personal attachments which primary relations tend normally to develop.

Such political upheavals as did occur tended to advance the mixed-bloods not as a group but as individuals. Thus the overthrow of the monarchy and the rise of the republic marked a definite break with the rural aristocracy and accelerated the rise of a new class, that of the *bachareis* and the *doutores*, among whom were many mulattoes. And, more recently, the recrystallization of the political structure following the "revolution of 1930" found many Bahian mixed-bloods in positions of trust and responsibility, since the new political "ins," who were diligently seeking to solidify their gains and to establish themselves firmly in power, found it expedient to accept such support as was readily at hand. Again the mixed-bloods figured prominently, not as a group per se but as individuals belonging to an eligible professional class.

The role of sex and of romantic love should not be overlooked. The sexual attraction which the mulatto male exerted upon daughters of rich and influential European families led quite often to elopement or, occasionally and increasingly, to marriage with parental consent.[14] Similarly,

[14] "The daughters, the *yayas* of the *sobrados*, the *sinhás* of the *casas grandes de engenho*, let themselves be kidnaped by these Don Juans, even by such as were plebeian and of color. . . . . Sellin noted the large number of young ladies eloping . . . . during the latter half of the nineteenth century. They were girls whose parents, for reasons of blood or of social position, had

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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[824] oxhorn, both of which are employed for protection against the *mau olhado*, or "evil eye." Or they may be of a more general nature like the letters *J M J* (Jesus, Maria, José), or the *signo de Salomão* ("sign of Solomon")[25] either or both of which may be painted or carved on the door of the house or even tattooed on an individual's arm, leg, or chest; or a small pouch worn around the neck and containing either a *patuá* (presumed to protect against evil, especially the machinations of an enemy or death in battle)[26] or a small piece of garlic, "Danda root," *mil homens*, or *arruda*, a clove, or merely some object sacred to the *orixá* to whom the individual is dedicated. Similarly employed are such magical practices as the sprinkling of sea water in the four corners of the house, the emptying through the front door of a basin of water left overnight in the center of the floor, or the burning regularly at six o'clock in the evening of incense to which, occasionally, sulphur and pieces of oxhorn are added until the house is filled with magically potent smoke.

794 787 In the fetish cult, divination is commonly resorted to for such purposes as the identification of an unknown *orixá* who has "manifested himself" in human form, the determination of such matters as the eligibility of a prospective *ogan*, or male functionary of the cult, the cause of a troubling illness, or the proper course to pursue in some contemplated action. Divination is also employed to foretell future events, particularly the outcome of business or amorous ventures, jour-

[25] A six-pointed star at whose apex appears a cross.

[26] During the insurrection of 1835, the Malês, as we have seen, wore *patuás* consisting either of prayers or of verses from the Koran, written or printed in Arabic characters. They were presumed to protect against death in any form. For photographs of some of these see Nina Rodrigues, *Os africanos no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1932), p. 98, Figs. 1, 2, 3, and 4.

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During this time political agitation increased in the country, a revolution broke out, and the parties of the extreme right and the extreme left made their appearance, thus increasing the confusion, which reached its height in 1937 with a dictatorship that lasted about eight years. During the first months of this same year there was founded in Bahia the Henrique Dias Society, named in honor of a black soldier who had become famous in the struggles against the Dutch invaders during the colonial period. The founders of this association, although much less numerous than those of the preceding one, were men of a higher professional and social position, though modest in the majority. The only intellectual leaders were a lawyer and former judge, the central figure of the group, 12 young physicians, a judge, a pharmacist, eight non-graduate lawyers, two journalists, a musician, and a university student; the other founder-members were 21 petty officials, three merchants, six civil constructors, 14 commercial employees, and 68 artisans. All signed the founding document. The society, according to its statutes, is composed of Brazilians, without distinction as to color, and its aim is "to fight for reconciliation and unity between persons of different color, to develop education, chiefly for the members and their families, to grant them all the assistance desired, to engage in sports and commemorate civic dates." One of the articles of these statutes stipulates that "homage will be rendered to persons who have accomplished a lofty deed for the defense of society, of country, and for the equality of the races." In a page of propaganda, the founder of the society explained that the name of the soldier of whom we have spoken above "symbolically expresses racial and social unity, for this is what Henrique Diaz was: an act of union between the black race, which did the physical work of Brazil, and the white race, which governed and defended it." Continuing the argument he added that "all this demonstrates the reason d'être of racial equality and the absurdity of prejudice, which endeavors to subordinate one race to the other," and he succeeded in justifying the existence of the Henrique Diaz Society, which, "having decided to lead the

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[14]See section by Charles Wagley in Wagley, op. cit., pp. 148-149.

[15]Smith, op. cit., pp. 637-640, citing Anuário Estatístico do Brasil-1939/40, states that there were 687 church marriages for each civil marriage in Bahia. The number of common law marriages is, obviously, not precisely known. Brazilian statutes do not permit divorce from civil marriage.

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[16]The chief exception to this social pattern is during Carnaval, when people of all classes "let themselves go." However, it is mainly the adolescents of the upper class who, for the moment, escape from the rigid social code of their class.

[17]As a consequence of the high mobility of the lower class, many of these community or neighborhood identifications are transitory. However, because of the free social intercourse within the class, the local relationships are quickly established and easily maintained. The core of local identification and of the community or neighborhood seems to be maintained primarily by the more stable upper-stratum of the class.

[18]The industries, trading houses, and exporters of Salvador are concerned to a large degree with agricultural products.

[19]For the United States, see Smith, op. cit., p. 221. For Brazil, calculated from the 1940 census.

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[20]A special statement is required because the problems of deriving data for population in this region profoundly affect the reliability of the demographic analysis. At the time this analysis was made, only incomplete and preliminary population data from the 1950 census had been published. Total population data by political units—municípios and distritos—and by "urban" places were available. It was necessary to estimate the agricultural occupational data. The 1950 agricultural labor force was projected from the 1940 data on the basis of changes in the rural population. Because the agricultural labor force and the rural population of which it is a part are subject to approximately the same social and economic forces, it was assumed that the change in the latter could be used to project the 1950 size of the former. The tables showing the derivation of the agricultural labor force for 1950 are based upon this procedure.

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[21]In 1940 the composition of this occupational group—based upon a combination of population census and agricultural census data—for the state of Bahia was approximately as follows:

Independent operators	44 per cent
Members of family	27 per cent
Employees	24 per cent
Employers	2 per cent
Non-owner administrators	2.5 per cent

Thus less than 5 per cent of the agricultural labor force were administrators; the others were either cultivators, vaquéiros, or agricultural laborers. In the Recôncavo the administrative group probably was relatively smaller.

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[22]In a region of such large statistical areas and diverse physical resources, it is almost inevitable that mean figures for some municípios, such as Feira de Santana, Alagoinhas, Irará, or, most of all, Santo Amaro,

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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In 1881 the Bahian provincial assembly created an emancipation fund "to free slaves in this province."[87] On March 25, 1884, slavery was abolished in the province of Ceará, the culmination of fifteen months of municipal emancipation.[88] Similar action was taken by the provinces of Amazonas and Maranhão later in the same year. In 1885 all Negroes over sixty years of age were liberated by edict of the Brazilian emperor.[89] In 1886

[87] Law No. 2146 of May 14, 1881, sponsored by Deputies Marcolino Moura, Alexandre Herculano, Frederico Lisboa, and Virgilio de Carvalho. Articles 2 and 3 read as follows:

ARTICLE 2.—This Emancipation Fund shall be derived:

SECTION 1. From each and every provincial tax relative to slaves, including the inheritance and legacy stamps.

SEC. 2. From the returns of an annual lottery of 100 contos.

SEC. 3. From the donations of individuals and of philanthropic associations.

SEC. 4. From legacies left or set up for the benefit of the fund.

SEC. 5. From the payment of a tax obligatory for this purpose by every dramatic and musical company which shall play in the Theatro Publico.

ART. 3.—The distribution of this Emancipation Fund shall be in the hands of each *municipio* in accordance with Article 26 of Statute 5135 of the thirteenth of November, 1872.

The seventh apportionment from this fund, made by act of Governor Theodoro Machado on May 13, 1886, amounted to 59 contos, 723$244 (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 233).

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[88] The *Rio News* of April 5, 1884, reported a week's festival being at that time held in Rio in celebration of emancipation in Ceará. Large sums were realized from donations and bazaars, several slaves were liberated, and a movement set on foot to secure complete emancipation in Rio also. On September 28, 1887, there was held at Belem a "redemption celebration" to which flocked "the press, the abolition societies, the Masons, leaders of the city's commercial life, many women, and the people." One hundred and nine *Cartas de Liberdade* were distributed. On the following day, the *Provincio do Pará*, one of the leading abolition journals of Brazil, published an editorial suggesting a *liga redemptora*, whose program would be that of seeking to secure complete emancipation in the Belem *municipio* by the following December 31 (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 548).

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[89] The provisions of this law freed slaves from sixty to sixty-two years of age on the condition that they serve three additional years without remuneration. Slaves sixty-three years of age were to serve two additional years; those sixty-four, one additional year.

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Government employ was for a long time denied to the black.[110] In colonial Brazil marriage into upper-class white families was zealously restricted to individuals of pure European descent,[111] and at least one case is on record of an Indian being seriously rebuked for having married a Negro woman.[112]

[110] There was "a separate justice" in colonial Brazil for cases relating to "Indians, mulattoes, and Negroes" (Vianna, *Populações meridionaes do Brasil*, p. 140).

[111] "It was this preoccupation with purity of lineage and white blood in their prospective sons-in-law which, in those provinces whose development was more irregular, like that of Minas, made the problem of marriage so difficult. In Pernambuco and São Paulo the problem was resolved by marrying cousins with cousins: a custom which gradually made of the early families almost a single strain" (Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 152).

[112] The eighth vice-*rei*, Marques de Lavradio, in an order dated August 6, 1771, removed an Indian from the post of *capitão-mor* for having married a Negro woman and, as the order said, "thus tarnished your blood and shown yourself unworthy of office" (Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* [2d ed.; Rio, 1936], p. 290).

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The two days in seven which according to custom the master allotted the slave for the cultivation of a plot of land[44] was as early as 1700 sanctioned in law.[45] His right in property could be transferred to his children.[46] He could

"a great deal depends upon the inclinations of the master, he will, however, be very careful in refusing to manumit, owing to the well-known opinion of every priest in favor of this regulation, to the feelings of the individuals of his own class in society, and to those of the lower orders of people; and likewise he will be afraid of losing his slave. He may escape with his money; and the master will then run much risk of never seeing him again, particularly if the individual is a creole slave. . . . . The master might indeed deprive the slave of the fruits of his labor, but this is never thought of; because the slave preserves his money in a secret place, or he has entrusted it to some person upon whom he can depend, and would suffer any punishment rather than disclose the spot in which his wealth lies concealed."

[44] "This day [Sunday] . . . . is the Negroes' own; after morning mass they are free to do their own will; and then most of them run to the hill to gather their coffee or maize, or prepare the ground for these or vegetables. They were just beginning to return from the wood, each with his . . . . basket laden with something of his own, something in which the master had no share; and again and again as they passed me, and displayed with glistening eye the little treasure, I blessed the Sabbath, the day of freedom to the slave" (Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 288).

[45] João Ribeiro, *Historia do Brazil* (3d rev. ed.; Rio, 1909), p. 255.

[46] However, if the slave died childless, his property reverted to the master. Note the following account given by Maria Graham regarding a slave on an estate in the province of Rio: "He was a mulatto boatman, the most trusty servant on the estate, and rich, because he is industrious enough to have earned a good deal of private property, besides doing his duty to his master. In his youth, and he is not now old, he had become attached to a creole woman, born, like him on the estate; but he did not marry her until he had earned money enough to purchase her, in order that their children, if they had any, might be born free. Since that time, he has become rich enough to purchase himself, even at the high price which such a slave might fetch; but his master will not sell him his freedom, his services being too valuable to lose, notwithstanding his promise to remain on the estate and work. Unfortunately, these people have no children; therefore on their death their property, now considerable, will revert to the master" (*op. cit.*, pp. 197–98).

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them odd stories which were calculated to strike their imagination."[58]

Public opinion expected of masters the acceptance of an offer made to manumit an infant on the occasion of his baptism.[59] It also became customary, when marriages were being solemnized in the master's family, to free one or two favorite slaves.[60] Masters frequently declined the money proffered by a Negro for his purchase and granted his freedom without payment.[61] Slaves of the religious orders, it is said, considered themselves to belong to the saints themselves and were never sold.[62] The law adopted in 1809 to protect the property of sugar planters against attachment for debt also provided that slaves need not be sold separately from an estate to satisfy a creditor's claims. Thus the master could not be forced to dispose of his slaves, unless the debt amounted to the value of the entire estate; and, as Koster has pointed out,[63] the slave in this way was advanced, in some degree at least, toward the condition of a serf.

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[58] *Ibid.*

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[59] "Another custom which was advantageous to the slave was that of *alforrias na pia*, which was accomplished with the insignificant amount of 5 to 50 milreis and never was refused; this custom became very common, especially when the child had a light skin" (Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 255). Koster gives the price in Pernambuco early in the nineteenth century as £5 and says that "in this manner, a considerable number of persons are set at liberty; for the smallness of the price enables many freemen who have had connections with female slaves to manumit their offspring; and instances occur of the sponsors performing this .... act. Not infrequently female slaves apply to persons of consideration to become sponsors to their children, in the hope that the pride of these will be too great to allow of their godchildren remaining in slavery" (*op. cit.*, I, 195–96).

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[60] Frank Bennett, *Forty Years in Brazil* (London, 1914), p. 111.

[61] Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 256. [62] *Ibid.* [63] *Op. cit.*, I, 229 n.

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senhores de engenho, fazendeiros, etc.[10] Often they were runaway slaves.[11] In the cities they became masons, cobblers, tinsmiths, soldiers, actors, and at times reached even the small bourgeosie.[12]

The mulatto, owing to his closer approximation in physical characteristics to the European, was better able than the Negro to appropriate certain symbols of status—the small shoe and the little boot, for instance, the wearing of which was an important index of social standing in colonial and imperial Brazil.[13] Small feet, particularly among women, were for a long time, and still are, fashionable.

As the mulatto rose in class, he came to occupy something

[10] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, pp. 190–91, 205, 238.

[11] "I heard of a mulatto slave who ran away from his master; and in the course of years had become a wealthy man, by the purchase of lands which were overrun with cattle. He had, on one occasion, collected in pens great numbers of oxen which he was arranging with his herdsmen to dispatch to different parts for sale, when a stranger who came quite alone, made his appearance, and rode up and spoke to him, saying that he wished to have some private conversation with him. After a little time they retired together; and when they were alone the owner of the estate said, "I thank you for not mentioning the connection between us, whilst my people were present." It was his master, who had fallen into distressed circumstances, and had now made this visit in hopes of obtaining some trifle from him. He said that he would be grateful for anything his slave chose to give him. To reclaim him, he well knew, was out of the question—he was in the man's power, who might order him to be assassinated immediately. The slave gave his master several hundred oxen, and directed some of his men to accompany him with them to a market, giving out among his herdsmen, that he had thus paid a debt of old standing, for which he had only now been called upon" (Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil, 1809 to 1815* [2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1817], I, 244–45).

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[12] Vianna, *op. cit.*, p. 143. In 1774 a law opened to *homens pardos* access "to all offices, honors and dignities, without discrimination on account of difference in color" (*Annaes da Biblioteca Nacional*, XXXVII [1913], 85). See also Pedro Calmon, *História social do Brasil* (3 vols.; São Paulo, 1937–39), I, 168.

[13] "The use of shoes and little boots, which was at first almost entirely limited to persons recently arrived from Portugal, spread among those men

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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custom is to some extent recognized in law.[6] Usually the children take the mother's name, but occasionally the father "recognizes" and registers them, so that they legally bear his name. They are sometimes taken into the legitimate household, where they are usually accepted without serious question by the legal wife.[7]

Particularly among the lower classes, illegitimacy is not seriously prejudicial to the child. Personal qualities and individual ability largely determine his role and status; his parentage is rather naturally considered to be a matter beyond his control. A surname is not of great importance, the given name being infinitely more used, even among the upper classes. Prominent intellectual and political figures are known throughout the city by their given names. A stranger

and Portugal. Their eldest daughter is studying to be a pianist. There are three younger children. The man also supports another mulatto woman, said to be "very young and very pretty."

[6] A single extra-marital amorous experience makes a woman liable to prosecution for adultery, whereas for a man such conduct must not only be proved to be habitual but also to have involved an established relationship with a *single* individual. For a wife to have cause for legal action, she must previously have been ignorant of the extra-legal affair of her husband. Otherwise, her implied acquiescence constitutes participation in guilt.

[7] One wife said of her husband's "natural" child, "He's a fine boy. I like him as much as, or more than, my own children." In 1911 an American consul at Pará wrote: "In Amazonia the father assumes all the responsibility and legally adopts his illegitimate children who, in a majority of cases, become a part of his own family, taking an equal place in social privileges with those children within the bounds of the church regulations. . . . . There is no disposition in the higher social circles to discriminate against the number of these illegitimate aristocrats who, in the matter of education, refinement and address, are often the superior of some of those born in wedlock in the same families . . . . [and are], in many prominent cases, the acknowledged leaders of society" (J. Orton Kerbey, *An American Consul in Amazonia* [New York, 1911], p. 119).

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*563 441 [186] although these lines of demarcation have a tendency to disappear. The Jews, who have immigrated since the first world war and whom people know under the name of "Russians," are the principal owners of furniture stores and are beginning to become interested in other kinds of commerce; strictly exclusive in their firms, they do not seem to have any Brazilian associates, so that the dark employees that they have among them never occupy any but subordinate positions and never reach the top positions that would permit them to take a place in the higher strata of society.

The characteristic endogamy of the Israelites has also contributed toward restricting the chances of colored people in this [233] [472] sector. Some Jews of French origin who established themselves in the city during the second half of the last century and who turned to commerce and stock raising were entirely assimilated. Their /47/ families today include some light métis and some *563 472 256 441 morenos. The Spaniards who dominate the grocery and bakery business are grouped into firms in which only they themselves and their immediate descendants participate. In order to maintain this commercial structure, the group is constantly renewed through the immigration of young men of the same nationality, who start to work in modest positions and end up by forming new firms or being integrated in the old ones. From the time the *563 472 441 Spanish emigrants came still unmarried or left their families in Spain, they had mulatto children or morenos here by their servants, children who were born illegitimate and who had no [175] [848] [428] [671] right of inheritance (Brazilian law did not insure it to persons in their position until some years later). But for about 20 years the Spaniards have started to send for, or bring with them, their families, so that they now form a very closed group, not only from the economic point of view, but especially from the social and, so to speak, the biological point of view. An informant [256] points out that in the old days numerous bakeries were the property of Blacks; since then the Spaniards have monopolized them almost completely, that they now control this type of business entirely. The antagonism of the inhabitants of Bahia against the

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* 563 545 [873] presentations of the secondary schools and universities, where color prejudice is undeniably greatly reduced. This is confirmed above all with regard to actors with pronounced Negroid features. A mulatto student relates that he often played roles (especially because of his voice) in the theater of the public secondary school where he studied; he almost always performed vocal solos, but he also often played the roles of a charlatan, a fisherman, or others of the same type. He was once designated to play, with a white companion, a love scene in which the two were to appear hand in hand. After numerous rehearsals, he was replaced by a White on the evening of the performance, on the pretext that he appeared /64/ earlier in numerous other scenes and it was necessary to give other students a chance to appear. Our informant assumes, as indeed the theatrical director admitted, that other persons considered it unsuitable for the girl to play a love scene with a mulatto.

The little theater organized and directed by a well-known intellectual of mixed blood has had great success; it is praised by the art critics and greatly admired by the population, which flocks in large numbers to attend its performances. But an incident with the judge for minors gave rise to interpretations that have been linked to color prejudice. Some time ago the theater • [671] [692] gave presentations that were prolonged into the night; the judge for minors, basing himself on the law that forbids the labor of children and their presence in cinemas, circuses, theaters, and other places of nocturnal entertainment, decided to suspend the performances and instituted legal action against the director, who also directed a State department for cultural and artistic broadcasting /Fr. diffusion, diffusion, propagation, broadcasting/; the children who belong to this theater as amateur actors are recruited among families of the local intermediate classes. According to certain colored informants, these measures were due to resentment over the success gained by the initiative of a métis; and one informant heard it said in an omnibus that "the mistake of the promoter of the theater was to mix colored children and white children on the stage." These two versions are rejected by many Whites and métis who discussed this incident passionately, but it is undeniable that they have significance for the sociologist and the social psychologist.

[SALVADOR]

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*563 668 829 of merit, without its being necessary to force them. Others consider that such organizations are not suitable, either because they are proof that discrimination exists, or because they tend to aggravate it by giving it dimensions that it does not have in Bahia. One young man who practices a liberal profession asserts that "he looks on such movements with uneasiness, in fear of ridicule, for its promoters prove their social in adaptation." Some share the opinion of a mulatto, highly esteemed in his profession, who affirms that he refuses to participate in such groupings, not in order to deny his quality as a colored man, but because he considers them unjustified.

The methods of action adopted by the "Negro" movements are likewise criticized. A politician wrote that "the Negroes and mulattoes try to unite in congresses and associations, but give to the struggle merely a doctrinaire character and do not seize all the possibilities that their weakness can prevail upon." In a newspaper article in which he expressed himself thus, he himself proposed a national boycott of merchandise produced by a factory that refused to admit a colored employee. Although his article was very vehement against this foreign enterprise and ended with a stirring appeal to colored persons, it does not seem to have had any practical effect in Bahia. The leaders of these movements, moreover, feared not being understood and not receiving the necessary support. According to one of them, "the Black of Bahia is not convinced that he is black."

*563 • 671 829 Concerning the federal law recently put in force against religious and racial discrimination, the informants in general have only a very vague notion of its existence and are ignorant of its text. Some consider it useful in some cases (hotelkeepers who refuse Blacks, for instance) or to lower the barriers that prevent young colored people from entering upon a diplomatic career or a military career at the rank of officer. Others consider it simply useless in Bahia; a short time ago the papers featured the news that this law was put into effect in the State of Rio Grande do Sul in the southern part of Brazil. A mulatto priest stated: "We have no need of laws, here in Bahia, to have a Negro

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*563 esteemed, we only need more respect for the lower class in gen-
671 eral; we need to improve its food, to help it effectively rise
829 again, or, before that, to obtain a level of life that it has never as yet had."

/103/ Conclusions

*563 That there is no color prejudice in Bahia is a statement that is
829 only partly true. Colored people are still regarded as forming a biological and social category characterized by traits that are considered inferior to those of the Whites. Some people are convinced that Blacks and Whites differ in intellectual capacities, in personality, morality, and aptitude for progress. They declare that if Bahia does not progress the fault lies with the Blacks. That is the reason why such a large number of light mulattoes conceal or deny their caste or feel ill at ease when one makes an indiscreet allusion. These prejudices, though slight, explain the cases of discrimination of which colored people in certain sectors of the society are victims. These incidents, moreover, are not accompanied by any violence, and it is difficult to distinguish them from manifestations of class antagonism, in view of the fact that in Brazil skin color is very often a symbol of social rank. The Whites evoke the memory of the old Portuguese colonists who dominated the economy, politics, and the administration, and whose descendants, even today, make up the major part of high society. As for the Blacks, they remind us of slavery, work on the plantations, and domestic occupations. Even today the colored men are cantoned in the lowest and least educated strata of society.

*563 But the population of Bahia may be defined as a multiracial
[565] society with classes, and not with castes, if one defines caste as
[564] a closed group to which one belongs by birth and from which it is
[555] impossible to escape. In Bahia colored people have a status that is conditioned by their individual qualities and aptitudes, and they may enter into competition with the Whites. In principle

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Politically, this influx of new workers has had little influence. Local politics, at least, remain in the hands of the traditional landowners. However, national political parties other than that of the landowners are gaining force, especially the labor party, and within the near future there will undoubtedly be considerable modification in the voting patterns. The bulk of the rural population do not have the franchise because of their illiteracy. On the other hand, the petroleum workers, whose level of living is considerably higher than that of the rural population, have the franchise and according to law must exercise it.

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A major area of change in the community is the class structure. In its main outlines the class structure remains the same, but there are some differences in emphasis. Class A, the rural upper class, which also is part of the upper class in the capital city where it resides part of the year, has been somewhat depleted. The Coronel and his son and son-in-law and their families, who constituted the family owner-directors of Usina São Pedro, are no longer part of the scene. As a result of the shift in ownership and direction the former usineiro has been replaced by paid employees.[1] Although these employees are related to the principal members of the new owning firm by marriage, they are treated as employees rather than as family members. They do not have the "social standing," meaning tradition, background, extended family relations, and the scholarly training, which distinguish the former owners. Class A therefore is now represented only by the private plantation owners.

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On the other hand, Class B is slowly becoming larger in both the rural and the urban areas of the community, as a result of the addition of two new groups: the members of the new factory organization, and the petroleum workers with their much higher standard of living, considerably higher education, and their steady employment as members of a new bureaucracy, Petrobrás. Unmarried workers belonging to Petrobrás are to some extent seeking marital alliances with girls of the area, especially from the factory nucleus and from the town of Vila Recôncavo. In some cases legal and religious marriages have taken place. In other cases the couple has simply

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1. The term usineiro is usually limited to the owner-director who is the founder of the factory, or is the son of the founder. When the director is a paid employee, he is just "the boss."

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Some masters preferred to have their slaves, on the payment of a small sum, punished by the civil authorities.[51] Gardner remarked that "many of the crimes for which only a few lashes are awarded, are of such a nature that in England would bring upon the perpetrator either death or transportation."[52]

It was customary each week to grant slaves, in addition to their regular food, an allowance of tobacco.[53] On the large estates certain hospital facilities,[54] and nurseries for Negro children were maintained.[55] Accounts of white mistresses who themselves attended to the sick among their slaves are numerous.[56] The *amas* (nurses) were often "emancipated as soon as their work was over, and nearly always continued to live in freedom under the same roof with their masters and to have various privileges."[57] "The aged Negroes were only employed in light occupations; during the remainder of their time they chatted with the master's young children, telling

[51] Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[52] *Ibid.*

[53] Prince Adalbert, *Travels of Prince Adalbert of Prussia*, trans. from *Aus meinem Tagebuche, 1842-1843* (Berlin, 1847), by Robert H. Schomburgk and John Edward Taylor (2 vols.; London, 1849), II, 37. Prince Adalbert noted on the coffee plantation Aldea, near Novo Friburgo, that "every evening, when their work is done, the slaves light fires in the rooms set apart for them, around which they sit for hours, even after the severest day's work, all talking and smoking, women as well as men."

[54] *Ibid.*, p. 36. "In the hospital, the hall and rooms for the two sexes were separated. A Negro woman was lying on a mat, with her little 'negrinho' at her breast, to which she had given birth only the night before. 'In a few days she will be able to resume work,' said the Doctor to Count Bismarck. In the men's room, there were four or five patients, suffering from accidents of various kinds" (coffee plantation Aldea, near Novo Friburgo).

[55] C. C. Andrews, *Brazil, Its Condition and Prospects* (2d ed.; New York, 1889), p. 164.

[56] Note, e.g., Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[57] Lacerda, *op. cit.*, p. 379.

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persist, setting apart to some extent a (comparatively small) portion of the black population.

20. Lynching and the rape of white women by colored men are both unknown, "passing" has no point, and circumstances are not ordinarily conducive to the appearance of the "marginal man."

21. One drop of African blood does not, as in the United States (if known), class a mixed-blood as a Negro. Instead, many individuals are listed in the official statistics as whites, and are similarly known in the community, who not only have African ancestors but actually give some evidence of this descent in their color and features.

22. Prejudice exists in Brazil, but it is *class* rather than *race* prejudice. It is the kind of prejudice which one finds inside the ranks of the Negro in the United States.

23. It is possible that the Brazilian blacks and mixed-bloods, lacking as they do in most cases the sense of inferiority long characteristic of the Negro in the United States, particularly of the mixed-blood, have been less activated by personal ambition. Feeling themselves less under the necessity of demonstrating to a hostile white world their individual talents and abilities, they have not had the same incentive for social advancement and, consequently, have not, perhaps, as a group, risen in class as rapidly as has the Negro in the United States.

24. Although Brazil seems never to have had a formal racial policy, the traditional behavior which originally grew up and took shape under the influence of the immediate and unreflecting responses to the circumstances and conditions of colonial life gave rise to an *informal* racial policy, or racial ideology, which underlies and gives consistency to the mores, appearing only when they are challenged from without and

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794 outcome of some projected action; and also the office of a
793 *curandeiro*, who diagnoses ailments and prescribes cures. He may minister to a clientele even outside the members of the *seita*, giving advice and counsel on matters of business, politics, love, etc.

794 Disputes between members of the *seita* are ordinarily sub-
793 mitted for adjudication to the *pae* or *mãe de santo*. Persua-
627 sion is at first employed. But if this proves unsuccessful, the priest orders each of the disputants to wash his particular fetish, upon which, with rare exceptions, acceptance of mediation is secured. The settling of the dispute is then celebrated by each party to the quarrel drinking from the water
• [688] in which the other's fetish has been washed. Continuance of the altercation will break the implied promise to the *orisá* and render the offender liable to punishment, which is ordinarily death.

794 The *pae* or *mãe de santo* may also exercise the function of
793 a *feiticeiro* and deal in black magic. But this occupation is
754 disclaimed by several of the more prominent priests and priestesses, who refuse to countenance deeds designed to do harm to their fellow-men. It appears to be exercised more often by heads of the recently organized and "less careful" *caboclo seitas*.[7]

794 Age, number of years a member of the cult, intimate
793 knowledge of the ritual, and, particularly, purity of African
554 descent are important considerations in determining the prestige of a *pae* or *mãe de santo*.

For some reason male members of the *seita* rarely experi-

[556] [7] A *pae de santo* of a *caboclo candomblé* who is widely feared for his success in working black magic possesses a considerable bank account, numerous properties in the city, and rich cocoa land near Ilhéos, all acquired, it is said, from the exercise of this profession. However, it is quite probable that his political activity contributed a goodly portion.

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Two of the six speakers at the dedicatory exercises for the newly constructed Instituto de Cacau on the following day were *brancos da Bahia* (each with only slight indications of Negro ancestry), and four were whites.

During the visit of a neighboring governor, a procession formed in the Avenida Sete de Setembro to escort the distinguished visitor, together with the Bahian governor, Juracy Magalhães, to the latter's palace. Riding in the procession, alighting in front of the palace, and following the two chief executives into the spacious rooms of the governor's mansion, were presumably the city's political élite, all in formal attire. Of a total of 99 persons, 70 were whites, 22 were very light mulattoes with only slightly noticeable traces of Negro lineage, 7 were dark mulattoes, and none was black. Of the escort of 23 army officials dressed in appropriate uniform, 9 were whites, 12 were very light mulattoes, 2 were dark mixed-bloods.

Of 46 members of the state legislature, 69.4 per cent were whites, 15.2 per cent were *brancos da Bahia*, and 11.0 per cent were mulattoes.[21] Of 14 aldermen, 8 were whites, 4 were *brancos da Bahia*, and 2 were mulattoes (both very light).

In legal proceedings no discrimination is at all evident. Colored individuals appear not only among the defendants but also among those engaged in the defense or the prosecution, as well as among the jury itself. Whites, however, predominate.

Of the officers of the medical association, 6 were whites, 3 were *brancos da Bahia*, and 3 were mulattoes. Of 18 members of an elective supervisory body for the legal profession, 14 were whites, 3 were *brancos da Bahia*, and only 1 had noticeable evidence of mixed ancestry and that principally

[21] One deputy was a black, and there was also 1 *mameluco*.

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He could take his master's name.[47] Slaves who desired to change masters had the right to request transfer, and the master was expected to acquiesce.[48] Intercession in behalf of a fugitive slave, or even of one about to be punished for some other offense, is said seldom to have been in vain.[49] The master guilty of inhuman treatment toward his slave was liable to the police or tribunals.[50] Some masters preferred to have

[47] Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 256; cf. also Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 327: "Hence, the many Cavalcantis, Albuquerques, Mellos, Mouras, Wanderleys, Lins, Carneiro Leãos, etc., who possess none of the illustrious blood which their names imply."

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[48] Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 256. Koster (*op. cit.*, I, 194) records that "for this purpose a note is given, declaring that the bearer has leave to enter into the service of any one, upon the price which the master demands being paid by the purchaser. With this the slave applies to any individual or property whom he may wish to serve; owing to having heard a good report of his character toward his slaves, or from any other cause. This is a frequent practice." The following interesting case was observed: "A Negro woman applied to a planter to be purchased; for which purpose she had brought a note from her master. She was accepted; and a bargain was concluded between the two persons. However, the day after she had taken up her abode upon the estate of her new master, she came to him, and falling down upon her knees, said that she had a fellow-slave who wished likewise to serve him; and she begged him to purchase her companion. The new master spoke to the owner of the slave in question of the subject; but he refused to sell him, and the matter rested in this manner. But on the third day, he received a visit from the owner, offering the slave for sale, adding, that the man had refused to work, and had threatened to hang himself; and as he was a Gabão Negro (noted for the resolute manner which, on occasion, they committed suicide), he much feared that he might put his threat into execution. The price was soon fixed, and on the following morning the man made his appearance. He proved to be a most excellent slave" (*ibid.*, p. 203 n.).

[49] Codman, *op. cit.*, p. 201. Cf. also: "Costumes belissimos instituem-se entre os senhores; como o de *apadrinhar* os remissos ou fugitivos, o que impede o castigo, e nunhum senhor viola" (Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 255).

[50] J. B. von Spix and C. F. von Martius, *Travels in Brazil, 1817–1820*, trans. H. E. Lloyd (2 vols.; London, 1824), I, 179.

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* 563 545 [893] presentations of the secondary schools and universities, where color prejudice is undeniably greatly reduced. This is confirmed above all with regard to actors with pronounced Negroid features. A mulatto student relates that he often played roles (especially because of his voice) in the theater of the public secondary school where he studied; he almost always performed vocal solos, but he also often played the roles of a charlatan, a fisherman, or others of the same type. He was once designated to play, with a white companion, a love scene in which the two were to appear hand in hand. After numerous rehearsals, he was replaced by a White on the evening of the performance, on the pretext that he appeared /64/ earlier in numerous other scenes and it was necessary to give other students a chance to appear. Our informant assumes, as indeed the theatrical director admitted, that other persons considered it unsuitable for the girl to play a love scene with a mulatto.

The little theater organized and directed by a well-known intellectual of mixed blood has had great success; it is praised by the art critics and greatly admired by the population, which flocks in large numbers to attend its performances. But an incident with the judge for minors gave rise to interpretations that have been linked to color prejudice. Some time ago the theater [671] gave presentations that were prolonged into the night; the judge • [692] for minors, basing himself on the law that forbids the labor of children and their presence in cinemas, circuses, theaters, and other places of nocturnal entertainment, decided to suspend the performances and instituted legal action against the director, who also directed a State department for cultural and artistic broadcasting /Fr. diffusion, diffusion, propagation, broadcasting/; the children who belong to this theater as amateur actors are recruited among families of the local intermediate classes. According to certain colored informants, these measures were due to resentment over the success gained by the initiative of a métis; and one informant heard it said in an omnibus that "the mistake of the promoter of the theater was to mix colored children and white children on the stage." These two versions are rejected by many Whites and métis who discussed this incident passionately, but it is undeniable that they have significance for the sociologist and the social psychologist.

[SALVADOR]

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Professions	Total number	Percentage		
		Whites	Métis	Blacks
Lawyers	1,088	68.8	30	1.1
Civil engineers .	518	72.8	26.8	0.3
Physicians . . .	1,712	81.1	16.9	2
Pharmacists . .	173	82	14.4	3.6

*563 647 Men of all types occupy posts in public administrations and have management posts in them; they can reach the highest offices without having this provoke comments by their subordinates.

[759] Some of the better physicians in Bahia have been colored men whose names are recalled with respect and gratitude. A dark mulatto, brother of a female informant, was classed in first place, along with two white colleagues, in a competition for an important technical post. According to other informants, however, the exclusions formerly suffered by the candidates for the posts of the magistracy were attributed to race prejudice. "One did not openly deny the merits of colored candidates, but in the classification they always figured in second or third rank, although they achieved excellent tests," one informant tells us, and he adds that a certain colored candidate, after having been approved, saw his appointment postponed on several repeated occasions. In spite of this, there are in the judicial magistracy numerous morenos and dark colored men occupying the positions of judges, prosecutors, and praetors. The highest tribunal of the State includes about one-third colored judges, some of whom have assumed the /83/ presidency of the court of appeals. Other positions connected with judiciary power are also filled by colored men, and it is the same for those of clerk of the court. The positions of notary, for example, very lucrative positions, are filled by persons of great prestige. Among the five notaries of the city one is fino white, of aristocratic family, and has already occupied important political posts, among them that of governor of the State; another, a very black Black, is very much appreciated for his moral qualities.

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	Barbers	2
	Apprentice bricklayers	1
		44
Group 4 (miscellaneous)	Unemployed	11
	Factory workers	9
	Plantation workers	3
	Employees of Institute Vila Recôncavo (which will be described later)	8
		31

The federal and state employees in the town consist of the following people: 463 632

25 petroleum workers
9 teachers and maintenance workers from the nearby federal school
6 primary school teachers
3 tax collectors and secretary
1 federal statistics agent
1 postal and telegraph agent
1 mail carrier
2 secretaries of the Justice of the Peace
1 secretary of the civil register
1 police secretary
1 police lieutenant
2 policemen (this number changes occasionally)
1 malaria serviceman (called "José do DDT")

The Justice of the Peace, who is not listed above, does not live in the county but holds court in the courthouse once a week, or at other times if the occasion demands. His secretary, a local woman, does most of the work and has everything in readiness when he arrives. [693]

The twenty-five men listed as petroleum workers represent that industry's major contribution to the town. The oil workers receive relatively good wages, steady and sufficient for them to engage the services of at least one servant and a laundress. They may therefore be included in Group 1, even though they are not white-collar workers as are the others of the group. These men, rather than living in the petroleum workers' camp which is near the factory, have brought their fam- 463 [484]

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in pigmentation. An able lawyer, with an extended period of practice in Bahia, he was well regarded by his associates.

At a formal dinner given by *A Tarde*, probably the most influential Bahian daily, in honor of a noted journalist and poet, 15 whites, 4 *brancos da Bahia*, 3 light mulattoes, and 6 medium or dark mixed-bloods sat down together at the banquet table. Among the guests, according to the account on the subsequent day, were "all the editorial writers and collaborators of this newspaper, together with a few specially invited friends and admirers of the honored guest [a white]."

Among the members attending a session of the Bahian Academy of Letters were 5 whites, 1 *branco da Bahia*, and 3 mulattoes. One of the latter is an able poet, quite dark, with kinky hair.

Present at a tea dance given by Bahia's Girl Guides at the exclusive club previously mentioned were the city's social élite, including the governor. *A Tarde*, in reporting the event, said, "As was to be expected, there was present our best society—all of it, almost—making the occasion one of elegance and distinction." Of the 414 guests, 346 were whites, 64 were very light mulattoes (exhibiting only slight traces of Negro ancestry), and 3 were dark mixed-bloods. One of the latter, with kinky hair but Caucasian features, was accompanied by a light mulatto wife, almost white, and two light mulatto daughters. One of the latter danced once during the afternoon—with a white youth. Of 30 Girl Guides serving the guests, 3 showed slight traces of Negro origin. The only blacks present were the members of the jazz orchestra (composed of 3 blacks and 6 dark mulattoes) and 2 maids who had accompanied white families.

The president of a literary, semiscientific, and social or-

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country beyond, is a large, colonial, two-story building--the county courthouse (prefeitura), the official center of local county administration. With heavily barred windows on the ground level, it also serves as the county jail. At the top of the hill is a large church, the mother church of the parish of São Roque. On the right, on top of another hill, is the imposing Franciscan convent. The main street of the town is narrow, paved with cobblestones and lined by old colonial houses in various stages of repair. To the left one sees the "beach," which at low tide is an expanse of ugly black mud, typical of the shores of this back part of the bay. The long dugout canoes of the fishermen are anchored there and rest on the bottom when the tide is out.

As the boat sails away and the townspeople go about their business, the streets empty, and a peculiar hush, which is characteristic of Vila Recôncavo, falls over the town. There is an atmosphere not so much of sleepiness and inertia as of decadence, as though life had already passed by. The few people who remain somehow seem to be left over from something in the past. The houses which face the main street are somber, their façades going straight up two stories from the street, their windows shuttered. Some of them are crumbling, the mortar falling away, exposing the stone of which they are built; others are in complete ruin. All of them are turning black from the constant exposure to humid salt air, and moss is growing on the walls where the sun never strikes.

From the top of the hill, in front of the mother church, there is a magnificent view of the Bay of All Saints, and it is easily understood why this place was chosen 332 years ago as the site for a new town. This part of town is the old Vila Recôncavo (see map of town), dating back to a time when the settlement was the only administrative center of inland colonial Bahia. Upon this hill and the one on which the convent stands, the elite of the sugar lands built their town houses called sobrados. Once upon a time these streets with their stepping-stones were the scene of colonial opulence, of sedan chairs carried by liveried slaves, of soldiers in uniform, of ladies wearing gloves and carrying parasols. Today this old part of Vila Recôncavo is inhabited by simpler people, the town's upper class, who eke out a living in the local bureaucracy, or as merchants, or as representatives of the state and federal governments. They are quiet, gentlemanly people trying to keep up a semblance of dignity, a feat which becomes more difficult all the time.

[SALVADOR]

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*563 647 [665] this, when the aforesaid party was in power, was not offered any of the important positions that he had a right to hope for by reason of his personality, whereas Whites were appointed without having his capabilities." Facts of this order can certainly not be attributed solely to color prejudice. As for the métis, things are different. They have possibilities and, if they are capable, are named to positions of responsibility, although the Whites predominate in public service. The colored women, as their level of education rises, enter into the administration in open competition with the Whites. In one of the most important sections of Bahia, the controller's office responsible for the huge budgets that this section prepares each year is almost entirely in the hands of a dark mulattress who frequently confers with the secretary of State responsible, under the direct orders of the governor, for this sector of the administration of the State. There are, besides, numerous girls of varied crossbreeding in public positions of different categories.

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/59/ The Army

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Bahia is not an important military center. There are small units of the land, air, and naval forces in the city, and men of any type whatsoever are accepted there as simple soldiers. In their battalions there is no separation between Whites and "men of color," as was the case in the colonial period and in part even while slavery lasted. Certain informants state that it is not easy for a Black to go into aviation, even as a soldier, but others affirm the contrary, and one of them cites the case of a young man who did not go into aviation, but who, having been given certain tests, received as recompense a journey to another State. It is true that this branch, some years ago at any rate, preferred white personnel, but today its troops are mixed. The navy had in the city, in addition to a reduced contingent in which finos Whites and retintos Blacks are mixed, a seamen's preparatory school where any student is accepted. But from time to time a commandant who was accused

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*563 706 874 [204] of not admitting Blacks came to run this school; this occurred more than 20 years ago, under vehement protests. It is significant that among the articles that the papers published about this event those of a lawyer and professor of English, a black leader originally from a British colony of Africa, stand out in particular (1).

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1. In one of these articles this same Black wrote: "The Black is a preponderant ethnic factor in the formation of the crossbreeding so common in its various nuances in Brazil and, as a Brazilian in fact and by law, he is, before the Constitution, the equal of the White as a citizen of this same Republic. The School of naval apprentices having the right to choose its candidates, this right can be based only on moral precedents, on the aptitudes or the physical stamina of the candidates, and not on physical accidents of color.

*563 641 Such episodes reveal one of the peculiar aspects of race relations in Bahia, as in all of Brazil, the freedom that has been given colored people to defend their rights themselves, by expressing themselves, sometimes with violence, against prejudice. Now not only is this freedom guaranteed them, but numerous finos Whites of high position, particularly university professors and intellectuals, support them by their writings. At present the naval apprentices are recruited among the poor classes, and numerous Blacks are found among them, as one may verify in the civic and military parades in which they take part. Blacks, métis, and Whites may advance in aviation and the navy up to the grades of sergeant and non-commissioned officer. That of officer, apart from the fact that it cannot be obtained except after specialized courses, presents other difficulties. The land army, of all the national military organizations, is the one that is considered the most /60/ accessible to colored people, even with regard to the officers. Among 12 superior officers who took part in a military

*563 • 70 [565]

[SALVADOR]

*563 /60 cont./
• 70 parade, one was recently able to identify three morenos, but it should be added that, the land army, aviation, or the navy being national bodies, the officers detached to serve in the different States include only a small number of local elements.

[873] The Brazilian university students do military service by attending, for two years, courses for the preparation of reserve officers for the army. Colored students are admitted there like all the others, and, as certain of them have assured us, they are not subject to any discriminatory measures. But as few young men of Bahia intend to have a military career, the difficulties that persons of dark color may encounter in this sector are not very important. According to numerous informants, however, only the nearly white métis obtain officers' posts in the combat forces; it is easier for them to obtain posts as doctors, pharmacists, intendants, and procurator of military justice. A mulatto student relates that he aspired to enter military aviation, but that, fearing that he would not be admitted, he decided on another career. The officers' schools do not refuse the registration of dark-colored candidates, but the latter, our informants say, rarely satisfy the physical and intellectual demands required by the respective regulations, which provoked lively debates a few years ago in the national parliament.

*563 The military police of the State of Bahia is a traditionally
708 popular organization, in the ranks of which no racial distinction
701 is made; its troops have been made up of a majority of colored men. Within its primitive system of promotions a large number of mulatto and black soldiers have advanced to the ranks of officers and have succeeded in performing, under the general command of the State, duties of major importance during periods of political agitation, during periods when the government of the State had to be able to count on the loyalty of its troops. The political intrusions in the granting of these posts have greatly decreased with the changes that have been brought about in the Brazilian democratic system, but they continue nevertheless to play a certain role. From the officers' ranks of this militia have come numerous Blacks who have occupied important posts in the

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The first recorded protest in Brazil against slavery as an institution was that of the Jesuit Manoel de Nobrega, who, shortly after Bahia was founded, sent a letter to the superior of his order in Lisbon protesting against the importation of Africans into the new settlement.

In 1758 Manoel Ribeiro da Rocha, who had been educated at Coimbra, published in Lisbon a book entitled *Ethiope resgatado, empenhado, sustentado, corrigido, instruido e libertado*, in which the abolition of the slave trade was advocated. Sixty-five years later, in 1823, José Bonifacio de Andrade e Silva unsuccessfully proposed in parliament a measure designed to end importation by 1828. But on November 7, 1831, the regent, Padre Diogo Antonio Feijó, signed a resolution drawn up by Costa Carvalho, Lima e Sousa, and Basilio Muniz, which declared free all Africans subsequently brought into Brazil.

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Manumission existed from the first. Apparently early in the colonial period it became customary for masters to accept remuneration for original cost.[64] Public opinion demanded that an owner set at liberty any slave requesting his freedom and offering the price of his purchase.[65] The requirement was later made legally binding and enforced by law.[65a] Other slaves were given their freedom either during their master's lifetime or upon his death. The fathers of illegitimate offspring often freed their children at the baptismal font. From 1864 to 1870 large numbers of slaves were granted their freedom on agreeing to serve in the Para-

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[64] The wearing of shoes or slippers became a symbol of freedom.

[65] R. Walsh, *Notices of Brazil* (2 vols.; London, 1830), II, 391.

[65a] National Law No. 1040, September 18, 1871. See Manoel Joaquim do Nascimento e Silva, *Synopsis da legislação brasileira* (Rio, 1874), p. 460.

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guayan war.[66] The law eventually provided that Negro women, after rearing ten children, should be automatically liberated.[67] In 1871 the so-called "law of Rio Branco" freed offspring of slaves born subsequent to its adoption[68] and set up a fund for the purchase and liberation of Negroes by the government. By 1880 a widespread emancipation movement was under way.[69] Thousands were freed by will, by payments from emancipation funds,[70] or by outright gift.[71] For instance, in 1883, in the towns of Baturite, Aca-

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[68] This law was, however, in some cases ineffective. Sixteen years after its passage the Bahian *Diario Official*, of June 4, 1887, reported the following auction of slave property at the *fazenda Concordia:* "Alberto, 10 years of age, one conto of reis; Vicente, 13 years, one conto of reis; Felix, 14 years, 800 milreis; Flauzinha, 13 years, 600 milreis, Simplicio, 14 years, one conto of reis" (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 387 n.)

[69] Among the prominent abolitionists mentioned by Anselmo da Fonseca were: José do Patrocinio, Joaquim Nabuco ("the great and illustrious head of the abolition movement"), Senator Dantas, Ferreira de Menezes, Andre Rebouças, Quintino Bocayuva, Joaquim Serra, Ennes de Souza, Getulio das Neves, Nicolau Moreira, José Mariano, Celso Junior, Senator Jaguaripe, Luiz de Andrade, João Clapp, Beaurepaire Rohan, Aristides Spinola, Ruy Barbosa, Escragnole Taunay, Franco de Sá, Antonio Pinto, Leopoldo Bulhões, and "a writer using the pseudonym of Clarkson" (*ibid.*, p. 23).

[70] These funds were sponsored by emancipation societies, private individuals, and municipal, state, and national treasuries.

[71] The *Provinciano*, a newspaper of Parahyba do Sul, listed in 1884, among others, the following emancipations: "Dona Anna S. José, 16 slaves liberated and a farm given them for their use; Condessa do Rio Novo, 200 slaves

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ers; some of them accumulated considerable sums of money. Occasionally, as we have noted, they owned slaves[100] or invested their savings in the slave trade, sending money, arms, and trade goods to some convenient individual in Africa to "get up raids in their old homes or amongst neighboring tribes."[101] In Minas Geraes free black laborers came to own mines like Encardideira and Palacio Velho.[102] In Bahia they maintained their own regiment,[103] fraternal orders, and religious brotherhoods, each limited in membership exclusively to Negroes of pure African descent.[104] Many made sustained efforts to educate their children, and a few even had sons in the priesthood who, since the bishops of Brazil did not confer them, took their orders in São Thomé.[105]

But the free Negro, in competition with the European

[100] Walsh, a visitor to Brazil in the early nineteenth century, writes: "Next came an old free Negro woman, with a young slave of her own sex and color carrying her bundle. . . . . Her young slave was her only property, and she made a good livelihood by hiring her out as a beast of burden, to whoever wanted her, and for whatever purpose" (*op. cit.*, II, 18).

[101] Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

[102] Gilberto Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos* (São Paulo, 1936), p. 73.

[103] "There are two of these regiments for the province of Pernambuco . . . . distinguished from each other by the names Old Henriques and New Henriques. . . . . I have seen some portion of one of these regiments, in Recife. . . . . They were dressed in white cloth uniforms, turned up with scarlet: and they looked very soldier-like. They were in tolerable discipline. . . . . They acted with an appearance of zeal and the desire of excelling. Those of which I speak formed a finer body of men than any other soldiers which I had an opportunity of seeing in that country. . . . . These men receive no pay, so that their neat appearance on such occasions bespeaks a certain degree of wealth among them" (Koster, *op. cit.*, II, 182-83).

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[104] See, in this connection, *Compromisso da Irmandade do Senhor Bom Jesus dos Necessidades e Redempção* (Bahia, 1929); Joventino Silvino da Costa, *Relatorio da Sociedade Protectora dos Desvalidos, 1832-1932* (Bahia, 1934).

[105] Affonso de E. Taunay, *Na Bahia de João VI* (Bahia, 1918), p. 173.

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As the mulatto rose in class, he came to occupy something analogous to a middle position distinct from either that of the dominant European or that of the subject African. In the colonial period, "to appease the repugnance felt by whites at being put on the same level with mulattoes,"[14] the latter were segregated for military duty. Thus separate battalions were organized at Bahia and elsewhere for whites, for *pardos*,[15] and for *pretos*.[16] Similarly, separate church organizations arose for *pardos* (Palma, Guadaloupe, Boqueirão) as well as for *pretos*.[17]

In the Brazilian rural society of the colonial period Oliveira Vianna identifies three distinct social strata: the predominantly white *senhores* of the upper rank, the predominantly mixed-blood free artisans, *rendeiros*, and petty

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and women of the Brazilian aristocracy who were blessed with small feet. The difficulties of the blacks, even when serving as pages, to adjust themselves to this new European and aristocratic style so ill adapted to their large and flat feet, can be easily understood. The mulattoes, on the other hand, who possessed smaller feet, well formed according to the European standard, could adapt themselves more readily to a practice which Handelmann observed constituted in nineteenth-century Brazil one of the marks of class distinction" (Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, pp. 329–30).

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[14] Vianna, *op. cit.*, p. 164; see also his *Populações meridionaes do Brasil* (3d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 140.

[15] In Bahia, the Regimento dos Pardos. See Luiz dos Santos Vilhena, *Cartas*, edited and annotated by Braz do Amaral (2 vols.; Bahia, 1922), pp. 353–54.

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[16] In Bahia, as elsewhere, Os Henriques.

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[17] In Bahia, Rosario de João Pereira, Barroquinha, Corpo Santo, Rosario "at the foot of the Pelourinho." Cf. also: "The cemetery for Africans was located next to the Misericordia Cemetery, as one can see from the map made of the city of Salvador and its suburbs by Carlos Augusto Weyll" (J. B. von Spix and C. F. P. von Martius, *Através da Bahia* [excerpts from the larger work, *Reise in Brasilien* (3 vols.; München, 1823–31)], trans. Pirajá da Silva and Paulo Wolf [3d ed.; São Paulo, 1938], pp. 141–42 [translators' note]).

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included: *carregadores*, laundresses, masons, stevedores, truck helpers, *carroceiros*, unskilled laborers, domestic servants, and candy-peddlers; those found to be composed perhaps two-thirds or more of blacks (in addition to the foregoing): cobblers, street venders, newsboys, and shoe-shiners; and those composed half or more of blacks (in addition to the above): streetcar motormen.

TABLE 10

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION IN THOSE EMPLOYMENTS AT BAHIA IN WHICH MULATTOES APPEAR TO BE PREDOMINANT OVER WHITES, 1936

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Employment	Sample	Percentage			
		Mulatto	White	Black	Total
Army officers:					
Superior*	33	57.6†	42.4	0.0	100
Inferior	38	47.4	34.2	15.8	100‡
Clerks	350	55.1§	44.6	0.3	100

* The range was from lieutenant upward.
† There were only two dark mulattoes.
‡ *Cafuzo*, 2.6 per cent.
§ These mixed-bloods were predominantly light.

The occupational groups which appeared to consist half or more of mixed-bloods, included: clerks, barbers, band musicians, army officers (superior), police, firemen, streetcar conductors, streetcar *fiscais*, taxi- and bus-drivers, bus *cobradores*, and street-sweepers. Approximately two-thirds of the band musicians appeared to be mulattoes, and about three-fourths of the barbers.

Among those occupational groups which are composed probably three-fourths or more of whites were found priests,

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Celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Carlos Gomes, famed Brazilian composer of the operas *Guaranÿ* and *Fosca*, 389 Bahians gathered in the Instituto Geographico e Historico. Of these, 316 were whites, 61 were mulattoes (predominately light), 11 were blacks, and 1 was a *cafuso*. With the governor of Bahia (white) on the platform were 12 citizens in formal dress, all whites[26] except the governor's bodyguard, a light mulatto in army uniform. Two young ladies in formal dress, both white, sang and declaimed. Of the 3 subsequent speakers, 2 were whites and 1 was a *branco da Bahia*. The military police band, which furnished instrumental music for the occasion, was composed of 9 blacks, 26 mulattoes, 2 whites, 3 *cafusos*, and 1 *mameluco*, under the direction of a mulatto bandmaster. Fifty students from the Instituto de Musica da Bahia sang one of Gomes' compositions. All were whites, except 2 light mulattoes.

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Twenty-one women, aged eighteen to forty, were present at a cooking school sponsored by a foreign resident. A novel experience in Bahia, where for generations Negro servants have prepared the food, this school had assumed somewhat the character of a fad. The group included several ladies from upper-class families, well to do, educated and traveled. The wife of the governor occasionally attended. Present were 18 whites and 3 light mulattoes, among the latter a *morena*, perhaps the best-dressed lady of the group. Her father is deceased, and her mother is a dressmaker in moderate circumstances. The girl's beauty, pleasant manner, and constant well-tailored appearance have secured for her admittance into the upper circles. She is often invited into the "best" homes. Another of the mixed-bloods present was

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[26] Including one *branco da Bahia*.

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parade, one was recently able to identify three morenos, but it should be added that, the land army, aviation, or the navy being national bodies, the officers detached to serve in the different States include only a small number of local elements.

[873] The Brazilian university students do military service by attending, for two years, courses for the preparation of reserve officers for the army. Colored students are admitted there like all the others, and, as certain of them have assured us, they are not subject to any discriminatory measures. But as few young men of Bahia intend to have a military career, the difficulties that persons of dark color may encounter in this sector are not very important. According to numerous informants, however, only the nearly white métis obtain officers' posts in the combat forces; it is easier for them to obtain posts as doctors, pharmacists, intendants, and procurator of military justice. A mulatto student relates that he aspired to enter military aviation, but that, fearing that he would not be admitted, he decided on another career. The officers' schools do not refuse the registration of dark-colored candidates, but the latter, our informants say, rarely satisfy the physical and intellectual demands required by the respective regulations, which provoked lively debates a few years ago in the national parliament.

*563 708 • 701 The military police of the State of Bahia is a traditionally popular organization, in the ranks of which no racial distinction is made; its troops have been made up of a majority of colored men. Within its primitive system of promotions a large number of mulatto and black soldiers have advanced to the ranks of officers and have succeeded in performing, under the general command of the State, duties of major importance during periods of political agitation, during periods when the government of the State had to be able to count on the loyalty of its troops. The political intrusions in the granting of these posts have greatly decreased with the changes that have been brought about in the Brazilian democratic system, but they continue nevertheless to play a certain role. From the officers' ranks of this militia have come numerous Blacks who have occupied important posts in the

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*563 708 701 [874] police force and in politics. A school for the training of officers destined for this corps was recently created, in order to improve its capacity as a reserve for the army. Among the present students there are a few with dark skin. One may find two explanations for this: either a preliminary selection at the time of the examinations for admission, when it may happen that the young candidates with /61/ dark skin do not, for various reasons, satisfy the required conditions, or because the career of officer now has more prestige and consequently attracts a larger number of Whites. Up [555] to the present time the career of military-police officer represented one of the ways of social ascent for young colored men. Recently, under indictments of various kinds, a heavily pigmented Black who had reached the rank of captain was expelled from the corps. Not long ago, in a group of 27 young officers whose photographs were displayed in a commercial establishment, eight morenos and light mulattoes and one dark mulatto could be seen. But it is also certain that the officers corps at present, though mixed, is composed of Whites in the majority. Moreover, in the course of recent years the officers chosen by the general command to be integrated in the military department of the government of the State have almost without exception been Whites or "whitened": an aide-de-camp of this high authority must be a representative person, in order to make a "good impression" on individuals who come to the government Palace or on those who are passing through Bahia and on whom this officer must pay courtesy visits. A justification that everyone concedes.

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tying into the Bay, to protect the plantations situated on river banks, a location in all other respects ideal for sugar mills. Vila Recôncavo was chosen as the site for a battery in 1668 and was given guns and men. It was also necessary to maintain a small fleet of armed ships to help repel pirates. One side of the hill on which the convent is situated, which overlooks the Bay and lies directly at the mouth of the river coming from Centro, is still called the Battery in remembrance of the days when it was part of the old fortifications.

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The second formal administrative unit to be formed was that of the county of Vila Recôncavo. Until 1693 Salvador was the only judicial and legislative center in Bahia. Because of development in the Recôncavo it was thought necessary at this time to create three vilas in the area, this being the term then applied to the administrative centers of counties. Thus in February of 1698 Vila Recôncavo became one of the first organized counties (municipios) in the Recôncavo, a transformation which made it the center of much activity as it was now the seat of local rural government, tax collecting, and justice. Since its creation the county of Vila Recôncavo has shrunk in size as new counties have been established in the Recôncavo. Vila Recôncavo lost part of its land, until in 1945 it retained only 189 square kilometers, less than half its original area.

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Prior to either military or civil divisions, there had already existed religious divisions, or parishes. The parish of São Gonçalo included the town of Vila Recôncavo and much of the hinterland. The mother church (matriz) of the parish was constructed in the town in 1678. It was reconstructed in 1887 by the third Baron of Vila Recôncavo, at which time it had fallen into such disrepair that the reconstruction was a complete renovation. This was done in great simplicity, blotting out most of the former ornateness. Today it is again in need of repair as the plaster is falling off, exposing the still solid stone and cement construction of three-foot-thick walls. Most of the wood in the altars, floors, and inner partitions is rotting away. The outside has turned black from the action of the salt air on the whitewash. For more than forty years the parish has been unable to support a priest, and the duties of caring for the spiritual needs of the parishioners has fallen upon the Franciscans. The church is opened now only for Mass on Sundays, and for occasional missions and weddings throughout the year.

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In 1718 the chapel of the Franciscan convent was replaced

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*563 647 [665] this, when the aforesaid party was in power, was not offered any of the important positions that he had a right to hope for by reason of his personality, whereas Whites were appointed without having his capabilities." Facts of this order can certainly not be attributed solely to color prejudice. As for the métis, things are different. They have possibilities and, if they are capable, are named to positions of responsibility, although the Whites predominate in public service. The colored women, as their level of education rises, enter into the administration in open competition with the Whites. In one of the most important sections of Bahia, the controller's office responsible for the huge budgets that this section prepares each year is almost entirely in the hands of a dark mulattress who frequently confers with the secretary of State responsible, under the direct orders of the governor, for this sector of the administration of the State. There are, besides, numerous girls of varied crossbreeding in public positions of different categories.

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/59/ The Army

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Bahia is not an important military center. There are small units of the land, air, and naval forces in the city, and men of any type whatsoever are accepted there as simple soldiers. In their battalions there is no separation between Whites and "men of color," as was the case in the colonial period and in part even while slavery lasted. Certain informants state that it is not easy for a Black to go into aviation, even as a soldier, but others affirm the contrary, and one of them cites the case of a young man who did not go into aviation, but who, having been given certain tests, received as recompense a journey to another State. It is true that this branch, some years ago at any rate, preferred white personnel, but today its troops are mixed. The navy had in the city, in addition to a reduced contingent in which finos Whites and retintos Blacks are mixed, a seamen's preparatory school where any student is accepted. But from time to time a commandant who was accused

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*563 of not admitting Blacks came to run this school; this occurred
•706 more than 20 years ago, under vehement protests. It is signifi-
874 cant that among the articles that the papers published about this
[504] event those of a lawyer and professor of English, a black leader
originally from a British colony of Africa, stand out in particular (1).

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1. In one of these articles this same Black wrote: "The Black is a preponderant ethnic factor in the formation of the crossbreeding so common in its various nuances in Brazil and, as a Brazilian in fact and by law, he is, before the Constitution, the equal of the White as a citizen of this same Republic. The School of naval apprentices having the right to choose its candidates, this right can be based only on moral precedents, on the aptitudes or the physical stamina of the candidates, and not on physical accidents of color.

*563 Such episodes reveal one of the peculiar aspects of race relations
641 in Bahia, as in all of Brazil, the freedom that has been given colored people to defend their rights themselves, by expressing themselves, sometimes with violence, against prejudice. Now not only is this freedom guaranteed them, but numerous finos Whites of high position, particularly university professors and in-
*563 tellectuals, support them by their writings. At present the naval apprentices are recruited among the poor classes, and numerous
70 Blacks are found among them, as one may verify in the civic and
[565] military parades in which they take part. Blacks, métis, and Whites may advance in aviation and the navy up to the grades of sergeant and non-commissioned officer. That of officer, apart from the fact that it cannot be obtained except after specialized courses, presents other difficulties. The land army, of all the national military organizations, is the one that is considered the most /60/ accessible to colored people, even with regard to the officers. Among 12 superior officers who took part in a military

*563 70 /60 cont./ parade, one was recently able to identify three morenos, but it should be added that, the land army, aviation, or the navy being national bodies, the officers detached to serve in the different States include only a small number of local elements.

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175 as with pride and love for having made it appear from untamed wilds."[1] After his death the land passed to his son, who died shortly after and left the property to his sister, the Countess of Linhares and wife of Fernando Noronha. Noronha died not too long after, and his wife remarried, again becoming a widow and also losing her own children. At her death in 1618, what had not already been sold of the land was bequeathed to various religious organizations.[2]

It was reported in 1587 that there were fourteen plantations in the area that later became the county of Vila Recôncavo.[3] In 1591 the Franciscans went through the Recôncavo, looking for a place to build a convent. They established a "small hospice" in 1618 on what is now plantation "N" (see map of community). This hospice lasted only two years, for in 1620 the friars returned to Salvador.[4] In 1624 the Franciscans returned to the town, selected a spot of high ground on the shoreline overlooking the Bay of All Saints, and started to construct a chapel and convent. At this time Gaspar dos Reis Pinto was in possession of plantation "N," which included the area chosen by the Franciscans for their construction. In 1633 Gaspar gave 143 square braças (1 braça=6 ft.) to the religious order.[5] With the founding of the convent, the town of Vila Recôncavo received a major impulse, becoming a nucleus for further development.

175 The seventeenth century saw a period of great expansion in
165 the Recôncavo--the erection of many plantations and the in-
567 crease of population, mainly due to the importation of great
634 numbers of African slaves. During this period the first two formal administrative divisions of the Recôncavo were organized. In Vila Recôncavo, a military district created in 1668 was the first formal unit. Troubles with the Dutch in the
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1. J. Wanderley de Araujo Pinho, Testamento de Mem de Sá (Rio de Janeiro, 1941), p. 33.
2. Ibid., p. 19.
3. Gabriel Soares de Sousa, Noticias do Brasil (São Paulo, n.d.), I, Book I, 282.
4. de Araujo Pinho, Testamento de Mem de Sá, p. 54.
5. Ibid.

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In 1718 the chapel of the Franciscan convent was replaced

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seat of the iman, or head in Brazil of all African disciples of the prophet Mohammed. Those who were resident in Rio, Ceará, and Pernambuco owed allegiance to him. Incidentally, it was a time of general social unrest not only among certain of the slaves but among the whites as well.[46] The aim of the conspiracy was "to set up a queen after exterminating all the Europeans." Extensive plans were laid, including the proposed participation of slaves from "every part of the Reconcavo," many of whom, immediately preceding the night set for the uprising, fled from their owners and came to Bahia. A banner was adopted and the robes worn at Mohammedan ceremonies selected as costumes of war. The time chosen for the uprising was during the popular festival of Nossa Senhora da Guia, when most of the European population would be gathered at Bomfim, outside the main area of the city, houses would consequently be deserted by white owners, and slaves might go in and out without arousing suspicion.[47]

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The governor, forewarned by a faithful slave a few hours before the uprising actually occurred, doubled all police

[46] From 1831 to 1837 revolts against the Brazilian imperial government broke out in Pará, Sergipe, Pernambuco, and Rio Grande do Sul. In Maranhão three thousand slaves, led by an African named Cosme, had recently revolted.

[47] The report of the chief of police to the governor of the province of Bahia (republished from the *Diario da Bahia* in the *Jornal do Commercio* of Rio, February 10, 1835) said that the evidence indicated "the insurrection had been plotted for a considerable period of time with absolute secrecy. . . . Almost all the leaders know how to read and to write in some unknown language, which appears to be Arabic. This is the same language which is used by the Ussás, who seem to be united today with the Nagôs. These Ussás are from the same tribe which has revolted on several occasions in this Province. . . . . Their leaders, among whom are many free and even wealthy Africans, stir up and organize revolts."

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ers; some of them accumulated considerable sums of money. Occasionally, as we have noted, they owned slaves[100] or invested their savings in the slave trade, sending money, arms, and trade goods to some convenient individual in Africa to "get up raids in their old homes or amongst neighboring tribes."[101] In Minas Geraes free black laborers came to own mines like Encardideira and Palacio Velho.[102] In Bahia they maintained their own regiment,[103] fraternal orders, and religious brotherhoods, each limited in membership exclusively to Negroes of pure African descent.[104] Many made sustained efforts to educate their children, and a few even had sons in the priesthood who, since the bishops of Brazil did not confer them, took their orders in São Thomé.[105]

But the free Negro, in competition with the European

[100] Walsh, a visitor to Brazil in the early nineteenth century, writes: "Next came an old free Negro woman, with a young slave of her own sex and color carrying her bundle. . . . . Her young slave was her only property, and she made a good livelihood by hiring her out as a beast of burden, to whoever wanted her, and for whatever purpose" (*op. cit.*, II, 18).

[101] Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

[102] Gilberto Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos* (São Paulo, 1936), p. 73.

[103] "There are two of these regiments for the province of Pernambuco . . . . distinguished from each other by the names Old Henriques and New Henriques. . . . . I have seen some portion of one of these regiments, in Recife. . . . . They were dressed in white cloth uniforms, turned up with scarlet: and they looked very soldier-like. They were in tolerable discipline. . . . . They acted with an appearance of zeal and the desire of excelling. Those of which I speak formed a finer body of men than any other soldiers which I had an opportunity of seeing in that country. . . . . These men receive no pay, so that their neat appearance on such occasions bespeaks a certain degree of wealth among them" (Koster, *op. cit.*, II, 182-83).

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[104] See, in this connection, *Compromisso da Irmandade do Senhor Bom Jesus das Necessidades e Redempção* (Bahia, 1929); Joventino Silvino da Costa, *Relatorio da Sociedade Protectora dos Desvalidos, 1832-1932* (Bahia, 1934).

[105] Affonso de E. Taunay, *Na Bahia de João VI* (Bahia, 1928), p. 173.

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Similarly, an army uniform, "especially the gold braid of an officer, Aryanized and 'aristocratized' many mulattoes into whites."[31]

The rise of the mixed-bloods was also facilitated by the conviction which, since at least the late eighteenth century, had been crystallizing in the minds of Brazilian intellectuals to the effect that the Negroes, whose strong arms and backs had long furnished the country's labor supply, were to a considerable extent the actual builders of Brazil. In prose and poetry not only the toil of the slave but also the creative energies of the free people of color came to be exalted.[32] This appreciation of the African contribution to Brazilian civilization increased with the progress of the abolition campaign. Especially were the *amas* extolled.[33] Much of the abolition sentiment had its sanction in the affectionate gratitude of young aristocrats whom they had reared.

The rise of the mulatto, as also that of the black, was further favored by the gradual, rather than catastrophic, character of the emancipation process which in Brazil released most of the lower stratum of society from servile status gradually and as individuals, under circumstances favorable to the continuance of those intimate personal ties so highly advantageous to a "new freeman." Moreover, final emancipation was not, as in our South, brought about as an incident of civil strife, and the normal relations which had

[31] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 318.

[32] See Borges dos Reis, "Colonos indigenas e escravos," *Revista do Instituto Geographico e Historico da-Bahia*, XXVIII (1902), 61. Note also Alvarengo Peixoto's stanza:

> ". . . . homens de varias accidentes
> pardos, pretos, tintos e tostados
> . . . . os fortes braços feitos ao trabalho."

[33] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 128.

175 as with pride and love for having made it appear from untamed wilds."[1] After his death the land passed to his son, who died shortly after and left the property to his sister, the Countess of Linhares and wife of Fernando Noronha. Noronha died not too long after, and his wife remarried, again becoming a widow and also losing her own children. At her death in 1618, what had not already been sold of the land was bequeathed to various religious organizations.[2]

It was reported in 1587 that there were fourteen plantations in the area that later became the county of Vila Recôncavo.[3] In 1591 the Franciscans went through the Recôncavo, looking for a place to build a convent. They established a "small hospice" in 1618 on what is now plantation "N" (see map of community). This hospice lasted only two years, for in 1620 the friars returned to Salvador.[4] In 1624 the Franciscans returned to the town, selected a spot of high ground on the shoreline overlooking the Bay of All Saints, and started to construct a chapel and convent. At this time Gaspar dos Reis Pinto was in possession of plantation "N," which included the area chosen by the Franciscans for their construction. In 1633 Gaspar gave 143 square braças (1 braça=6 ft.) to the religious order.[5] With the founding of the convent, the town of Vila Recôncavo received a major impulse, becoming a nucleus for further development.

175 The seventeenth century saw a period of great expansion in
165 the Recôncavo--the erection of many plantations and the in-
567 crease of population, mainly due to the importation of great
634 numbers of African slaves. During this period the first two formal administrative divisions of the Recôncavo were organized. In Vila Recôncavo, a military district created in
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The present town of Orobó,[60] approximately a hundred and fifty miles interior from the port of Bahia, is said to have had its origin in such a settlement.[61] Even outlying areas of the city of Bahia like Matta Escura and Estrada da Liberdade, and the neighboring villages of Cabula, Armação, Pirajá, and Itapoan, are said to have had their origin in *quilombos*, dating from the colonial period. From these settlements there were frequent sallies of Negroes into the city to rob and to pillage. However, no *quilombo* in the state of Bahia

[60] The name has recently been changed to Ruy Barbosa.

[61] On September 23, 1796, an investigation was ordered of complaints regarding the *quilombo* of Orobó. On April 6 of the following year this report was made (Silva, *op. cit.*, III, 227):

ILLUSTRIOUS AND EXTREMED SIR:

There having been repeated requests on the part of certain *senhores de engenho* and owners of *fazendas* living in the vicinity of Orobó, district of the villa of Cachoeira, that there be destroyed a very old *quilombo* of fugitive slaves who have been wasting and destroying neighboring plantations and committing other excesses of great damage to the settlers, I ordered the *desembargador*, Juiz de Fora, of the same villa to find out if these reports were true, and if they were, to seek by all means possible to destroy this *quilombo*, using all prudence and care to avoid any fatal occurrence in the execution of the order, in view of the great distance between Cachoeira and that district, as well as our ignorance of the size of the *quilombo* which, according to some accounts, was not small. The necessity of collecting provisions, of enrolling and arming men . . . . delayed for some time the execution of this order until, the complaints continuing and the people themselves offering to lend some aid and assistance, I ordered the *capitão-mor* of Entradas e Assaltos of the District of São José das Itapororocas, Severino Pereira, to organize an armed force and to destory the *mocambo*. This order was carried out in December of last year, the two *quilombos*, or *mocambos*, known as Orobó and Andrah being destroyed. At these places were found fields of manioc, *inhame*, rice, fruit, and a little sugar cane, with all of which the inhabitants had easily been able to sustain themselves. Thirteen slaves were apprehended, among them men, women, and children, all of whom were delivered up to their respective masters. Previous to the arrival of the armed force, it is reported, a great number of slaves living there fled, for apparently they suspected, or perhaps were even aware of, the impending attack. As it appeared that they had fled to another *quilombo* called Tupim, farther off, I ordered that it similarly be destroyed, but I have not yet had notice whether such has been done. This is what I have to offer Your Excellency in reply to a letter directed to me and received on the 23rd of September of last year, urging me to undertake the most effective means of destroying the indicated *quilombos* and of relieving the settlers.

God guard Your Excellency.

Bahia, 6th of April, 1797. Most Illustrious and Excellent Sir, D. Rodrigo de Souza Coutinho.

D. FERNANDO JOSÉ DE PORTUGAL

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equaled in size or in importance the famed Palmares of Alagoas.[43]

It is a mistake, however, to conclude that humane and intimate relations between master and slave were by any means rare. In fact, they were in all likelihood, as we shall see in detail later, the general rule. The literature records numerous instances like that witnessed by John Codman in 1866, of which he says:

> We drove up to the door of our Brazilian passengers. They were most boisterously welcomed by a troop of blacks. The pleasantest thing I had seen for some hours was the affection of these poor Negroes. Bright shone their eyes, and what a display was there of ivory! They fairly seized their mistress . . . . in their arms, and "toted" her off into the house, hugging and kissing her, screaming and dancing as they went.[44]

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[43] The famous "Negroes of the Palmares" (or "Palm Forests") were slaves who had escaped from Pernambuco before and particularly during the struggles of the Portuguese with the Dutch. Constantly acquiring recruits, they set up a series of crudely fortified villages scattered over some sixty leagues (about two hundred and forty miles). From these they harried the neighboring regions, taking from outlying *fazendas* both mates and slaves, among the former of which white women were occasionally to be found. They became so strong and so difficult to dislodge, that numerous expeditions sent out by the Dutch and later by the Portuguese served only to check for a time their growth—were unable for seventy years to destroy them completely. Only in 1697 were they finally subdued by an army from Recife led by a Paulista famed for success in such fighting and especially imported for this service, and then only after he had at first encountered serious reversals at their hands and their resistance had subsequently been broken by a failure of the food supply (Southey, *op. cit.*, III, 23-29). This Negro group had at times carried on trade with the whites, exchanging agricultural products for articles of manufacture. That they were seriously treated as an alien but respected group is attested by an exchange of peace commissioners during the governorship of Ayres Souza e Castro and the subsequent signing of a treaty of peace. (Incidentally, this treaty was never kept by the whites.) For a critical examination of the exaggerated reports of this erroneously labeled "Negro Republic" see Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-43.

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[44] John Codman, *Ten Months in Brasil* (Boston, 1867), p. 125.

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[64] John Codman, *Ten Months in Brazil* (Boston, 1867), p. 125.

[Class A Families]

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596 the first thing done on making new acquaintances is to inquire
[178] into their family background and place them mentally on the
[571] appropriate social level.

As a rule each extended family has a head, usually the oldest male. He is recognized by the rest of the family as the leader, and few things are done by them without his knowledge and advice. The head of the Jacuipe family is the eldest son of Dona Yayá. He has made his home in Rio de Janeiro and has not lived in Salvador for a long time. Nevertheless, he is informed of all that goes on within the family, and no serious step would be taken by any member without his counsel. On the local scene, however, it is his next younger sister who has taken the family lead in all social activities. It is she who sees to it that the family is represented at any function where it is a duty to appear. Among the Condes, the Colonel is still the family head in spite of his age and infirmity. For many years his eldest son showed himself capable of taking charge of the sugar mill and of the family fortunes as well, but since his untimely death none of the other sons has shown such vigor, and in the long run major decisions are left to the old gentleman.

[594] In the conjugal households, however, decisions and actions are made jointly by the married partners. Unless the action is a very serious one which might affect the rest of the family, they need by no means seek advice from the family head. The family leader has no strong control over the other members of the family; rather, he is someone to whom they can go if they need advice. Also, if any member of the family is in difficulties of any sort, the rest of the group rallies around him under the direction of such a person. Because of the many positions in public life occupied by members of these extended families, the family is able to muster considerable pistolão ("pull") in many fields. Requests are frequently made, especially to aid lower-class people who look to the various
[557] family members as patrons. A call here or there by the recognized leader of a large extended family can be a great assistance in getting someone into the already crowded hospitals, in helping with a will which has become entangled in legal difficulties, in getting a young man into the Air Force, and in the myriad other things which arise in this very personalized culture.

[73] The cohesiveness of the extended family also acts to take
[589] care of the aged, infirm, widowed, and unmarried. Not infre-

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quently one girl in the family does not marry but remains home with her parents, taking care of them until they have passed away. Unless the father has made specific arrangements for her before his death, the family usually sees to it that she is cared for properly, since she has relieved them of the responsibility of taking care of their parents for many years. Or, if any member of the family lingers beyond what might be considered to be a normal life span, the other members help in some way so that person will be cared for. Thus no one is left out because of misfortune of any kind. Nevertheless, any individual member always tries not to become a burden on the family.

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Of the former patriarchalism of Class A families only vestiges remain, which however are still important: the continued close relationship of family members, even though separated by distance and interests; the intermarriage of cousins, and the strong pattern of life em familia; the fact that the family as a unit still provides care and protection for those members who are incapable of doing so themselves; and finally the acknowledgment of an extended-family head, a man accorded deference and respect by members of his own family as well as by other families. The upper-class family of today differs in significant ways from that of former centuries, especially in the increasing emphasis placed upon the conjugal family and the decrease in family size. A major departure from the old family traditions is the increasing equality of women, their increased participation both in home activities and in activities outside the home.

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Birthdays are the most important occasions in these families aside from weddings. Whether in the city or on the plantation, birthdays are commemorated on a large scale by an almoço (luncheon). During the summer in the country the planters sometimes also have a series of luncheons, each Sunday on a different plantation. In such cases the house in which the luncheon is to be held provides the bulk of the food, but as a rule all the women make desserts which they bring with them.

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The menu, in accordance with old Bahian tradition, is huge, usually beginning with a feijoada (a deep dish of beans and meat, usually eaten with rice or farina), sarapatel (a highly seasoned dish of which the basis is pork blood), moqueca de camarão (a type of shrimp ragout made with dendê palm oil), and ensopado de porco (pork stew). These are followed by roasts of beef, pork, lamb, and turkey, and filet mignon.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 648 the Recôncavo, for they took with them a newly acquired knowledge of sugar cane cultivation.

175 167 567 The eighteenth century opened with a series of disasters for the region. When word of gold discoveries in Minas Gerais (1704) reached Bahia, an exodus began.[25] Slaves were sold at exorbitant prices, and often masters and slaves together went off to the mines. The colonial authorities took drastic steps to halt the flight, but [731] to no avail. The first quarter of the century ended with floods in the Recôncavo and the discovery of diamonds in the interior. There was a second exodus.[26]

175 171 249 In the meantime there were momentous developments in the West Indies. Sugar cane cultivation spread rapidly in the Antilles as the Netherlands and other northwestern European states which had been lucrative markets for Brazilian sugar began their own production in their respective West Indian colonies. In addition to the protected markets which the mother countries afforded, these new centers enjoyed sound economic and geographical advantages. As newcomers to the field of sugar production, the Antilles were free of both the antiquated equipment and the backward techniques which burdened Brazil, and they were closer to the major European markets.[27]

175 178 185 249 The Recôncavo was unable to counter these West Indian developments. In a century and a half of commercial development there had been few improvements in agricultural or industrial methods. There was no conservation of the soil. Only one variety of cane was known, and there was no attempt to develop improved strains. The mills continued to burn expensive wood rather than to use bagasse. Antique, low-yielding crushing mills continued to be used for extraction.[28]

175 249 178 439 At the end of the eighteenth century, however, developments abroad restored to the Recôncavo and to Brazil many of the advantages which it had formerly held in the international market. This

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

161 force of the 21 municípios--without regard to direction of change--was
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241 13 per cent.
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In general the area around Salvador and the northeastern and western margins of the Recôncavo gained in agricultural labor force (Map 19). The Central Recôncavo and areas in the north-central, eastern, and southwestern Recôncavo lost agriculturalists between 1940 and 1950. Some of the factors which produced these changes were local; others were identified with the Northeast or with Brazil as a whole.

The growth of cities in the Recôncavo is a manifestation of a nationwide phenomenon. The expanding urban centers create an increasing market for agricultural products which, because of the difficulty of transportation and the lack of food processing facilities, must be supplied primarily from local sources. These expanding markets attract discontented or displaced agriculturalists, who settle as close to the urban center as possible. There is a marked increase in the concentration of agricultural labor around Salvador, Feira de Santana, and Alagoinhas.

In 1950 and 1951 the urban trend and its agricultural con-
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166 comitant was re-enforced by a specific Northeastern phenomenon--the
[369] flight from the drought (sêca) of the interior. Most of the refugees
[241] (flagelados) from the dry sertão settled along the periphery of the Recôncavo. Here, where they could remain close to their cherished sertão, much land was open for squatters. As indicated above, others settled around the urban centers of the Recôncavo caatinga zone--Feira de Santana and Alagoinhas.

Observations suggest that the greatest relative increases in
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464 agricultural labor force from the sertão were in the municípios
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166 bordering the Recôncavo on the west and north, where the "normal"
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agricultural population is small. However, refugees from the drought also found their way into most parts of the Recôncavo. Even in 1953 they were to be encountered as squatters in Muritiba, as cane field workers in Santo Amaro, and as porters in Salvador.

Refugees from secas usually have not become permanent additions to the labor force of the Recôncavo. The sertanejo of the Northeast is renowned in Brazil for his attachment to his terra (native soil), no matter how cruelly it treats him. Especially those migrants who settle as squatters on the margins of the Recôncavo seem only to wait for the renewal of the rains to return to the sertão. In 1953 migrants were still entering the Recôncavo along the Feira de Santana-Salvador highway, but others were boarding the train in Salvador and returning to the sertão. They had come from the sertão on foot or by begging rides on trucks, found jobs in the Recôncavo, saved a few cruzeiros, and were returning to their native terra. Some refugees remain in the Recôncavo, of course, but the number is proportionately very small.

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Several sections of the Recôncavo, notably the sugar cane zone, are losing rural population and agricultural labor at a serious rate. The municípios of Santo Amaro and São Francisco lost 6,400 agriculturalists between 1940 and 1950. The reduction in the number of agriculturalists in the sugar area is at least partially a symptom of the growing rationalization of labor under the big usinas, which increasingly dominate the sugar industry. The emigration from these areas is selective--the majority of the emigrants are young adults who leave to seek employment and broader opportunity elsewhere.

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Emigration within the Recôncavo is one current of the great tide of agricultural unrest ascribed to all of Brazil.

> The rural Brazilian of the lower classes is notorious for his nomadic or migratory habits, for his lack of permanent attachment to the soil, for his tendency to

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*249 time and remained high until the 1888 decree which ended slavery completely. Before this time there had already been a great deal of manumission.

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571 In fact, it is distinctive of the entire region that the relations between the whites and the slaves were relatively warm and intimate. Gilberto Freyre describes the intimacy between the moleque (little Negro boy) and the master's son as playmates, between the master's wife and her domestics, between the Negro nursemaid and her white charges, between Negroes and whites in other close relationships on these plantations. A good deal of race mixture occurred. It is still a joke in this region to say that a particular plantation owner "populated the area."

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[654] The crises through which the sugar industry passed during its four-hundred-year history are interesting and worthy of consideration. During the first fifty years of production (until early in the seventeenth century), the sugar industry prospered and expanded. It was a "period of formation, official protection, and government stimulation, during which the liberties of production, transportation, prices and commerce suffered little or no restrictions."[1] The seventeenth

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648 century, however, was full of crises, one of the greatest being the war with Holland. In 1624 the Dutch attempted to capture Bahia but were repulsed. However, they sailed along the shores of the Bay of All Saints, burning and sacking plantations and setting fire to the cane fields. In the north the Dutch succeeded in capturing Pernambuco, which they retained for twenty-four years, also engaging in the production of sugar. In 1644 the Dutch governor, Maurice of Nassau, was recalled to Holland, and the colony was left undirected. The Brazilians revolted and recaptured Pernambuco.

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[458] In 1666 there was an epidemic of smallpox in the Recôncavo which reduced the slave population and left many plantation owners without laborers. There followed a period of near-famine for some years, due to the lack of food-plant cultivation. While this situation continued, plantation masters frequently mortgaged their plantations in order to buy new

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1. J. Wanderley de Araujo Pinho, Historia de um engenho do Recôncavo, 1552-1944 (Rio de Janeiro, 1946), p. 193. The following three paragraphs are a condensation of the material contained in pp. 193-220 (author's translation).

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*249 found themselves, with no food, their slaves dying, the price
458 of sugar falling, the markets lost, and, especially, overbur-
648 dening taxes. Most of the documents which remain are pessi-
651 mistic ones, for during the times of prosperity little was writ-
ten. At any rate, late in the eighteenth century some measures were taken to lighten the burden of taxation and to provide better means of transportation to Europe than the irregular system of fleets which were frequently spaced two and three years apart. As a result, many plantation owners took heart and applied themselves again to the raising of sugar cane. They were further aided by an increasing market in Europe, which finally became almost entirely theirs at the turn of the century, as a result of the European wars.

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*249 By the end of the Napoleonic wars sugar production was at
458 its best, and Bahia was once again experiencing a pleasurable
669 prosperity. However, 1822 brought the War of Independence,
[731] much of it fought in the Recôncavo. The war was supported to a great extent by the plantation masters, both financially and physically. Although they gained a great deal of prestige, they lost two harvests, and their exports fell off greatly. It took them some time to recuperate, and in 1855 they suffered another violent blow, an epidemic of cholera.

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*249 An indication of the difficulties caused by the epidemic is
458 given in the following passage, translated from a document in
731 the inventory of the Baron of Caju made upon the death of his wife, a victim of cholera:

> The family was in a good state of animation and prosperity in 1855, when the fatal epidemic of cholera morbus wasted this Province, invading the home of the Inventoried and causing him horrible damages and enormous losses! The Baroness fell victim to this voracious scourge! Eighty-two of the most valuable and useful slaves had the same fate; the best expediencies, treatment, and vigilant care were of no effect! Almost the entire harvest of this fatal year was lost in the complete absence of field hands, for the number not stricken was small, and the others, convalescents, were truly specters! The harvests of 1856 and 1857 also suffered.

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175 Soon afterwards a new phase began when the Civil War
*249 started in the United States, sending up the price of sugar
[458] and increasing the market. Some years after this a disease
[731]

struck the sugar cane itself, and production again dropped greatly. At the same time, coffee began to attract attention in São Paulo and the few slaves for sale were sent there, where they commanded a higher price, thereby causing a shortage of workmen in the Recôncavo. In 1888 a final blow was the abolition of slavery. Production dropped to a new low, and the twentieth century was entered during what was called the gravest crisis the industry had ever experienced.

During the late nineteenth century there were several attempts to better the machinery used in the fabrication of sugar. New methods were introduced from abroad, and at the turn of the century the usina made its first appearance on the scene. The usina represents the large-scale central factory, designed to mill the cane of many plantations, thereby raising the total sugar production.[2] The state government took a hand and financed the construction of three factories which were given to various individuals as concessions. There was an effort to revive the industry on a different and stronger basis. At the same time, however, the Recôncavo, as well as other parts of Brazil, felt the pull of the rubber boom in the Amazon and lost some of its manpower. But once again a European war came to the rescue, and during the second and third decades of this century the sugar industry prospered. Many factories were erected, and there was a definite feeling of optimism, which ended abruptly in 1929 and 1930 as a result of prolonged overproduction. In 1933 the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol was established by the national government to regulate production. The new regulations caused dissatisfaction and disputes, and production fell off sharply, only to rise again after World War II when many of the restrictions imposed by the institute were lifted. At the present time the Recôncavo seems to be experiencing a mild phase of affluence.

It is the introduction of the large-scale central factory which holds the most interest for us in this recital of crises, for it was this innovation which brought the maximum amount of change to the town and the entire community structure.

The factory was conceived of as a large mechanized mill,

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2. Hereafter, the word "factory" will be used to designate the usina; wherever the word "factory" appears it should be understood to mean sugar-cane milling factory, unless otherwise qualified. (Editor's note.)

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Usina]

Financially the two units--factory and plantation--are run separately. One set of books is kept for the agricultural part, and one set for the factory. The six plantations combined produced eighteen thousand tons of cane in 1950, although they had planned on twenty-three thousand. The fall in the expected harvest was due to several things. First, less new cane was planted, because of the activities of the petroleum workers who were invading the cane fields of the factory and drilling oil wells. (The first time a field is cut, the percentage of cane is higher than that obtained by cuts during the next four or five years. The same amount of land, therefore, will produce more cane if it is replanted regularly. The factory, however, deemed it wiser to be content with the older plantings for one year because of the oil workers' invasion, for newly planted cane is more subject to damage than an established field.) Second, during that year there was a serious drought which affected adversely the growth of sugar cane. There is no irrigation in the Recôncavo, and during the drought seasons which come periodically a partial crop loss nearly always occurs. In addition one entire taboleiro caught fire and burned to the ground, causing the loss of many tons of cane.

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The agricultural cycle and the work on a plantation may be divided into two broad epochs, summer and winter. Summer is the busiest season, for it is harvest time and all hands are occupied, including the migrant workers. The cutters with their machetes cut an average of three to four tons a day apiece, which must be quickly loaded and carried to the factory and milled, for the longer the lapse of time between the two operations, the greater the loss of sugar content. After a field has been cut, one of two things occurs. If it is to be turned into pasture, it is fenced, and the draft animals are turned loose in it. Otherwise the leaves which were cut from the top of the plant and left lying on the ground are burned, and within a short time the roots start sending up new shoots. This old planting (soca) each year gives a decreased yield. As a rule a field is cut and burned three to four years before being turned into pasture. In the days of the old plantations, when the soil was more vigorous, cane of twelve years was considered "new cane." Now, however, the yield is so decreased by the increasing poverty of the soil that three to four years is the best, depending upon the amount of rain. During the summer, if land is prepared and there are prospects of heavy showers, "summer plantings" may be made. They are never as good as those done in the winter, for the sun frequently

249* 221 [461] [134]

[Town Life]

Because there are only 265 acres of manioc under cultivation in the entire county, production is far below the amount of farina consumed, and it is necessary to import the milled manioc tuber which constitutes the major dietary item of the people. In 1951 a municipal law was passed prohibiting the exportation of farina. Three times during the author's stay in the town there was a pronounced lack of farina, when there was almost none to be bought and its price per liter rose from one to three cruzeiros. That year's drought was also partly responsible for the shortage. 241 43 [262] [114] [731]

Bananas are the only commercial export crop of the gardeners. There are approximately 15,000 banana trees in the county, producing for the commercial market an annual production of 177,000 arms (cachos) of bananas, providing an income of Cr$500.000,00. The fruits are sold to a middleman from Bahia who knows most of the gardeners in the area. Once a week, or every two weeks, he arrives at the town in a large sailboat to receive the fresh bananas, which he then takes to Bahia and sells. Sometimes a gardener sells an arm of bananas to a woman in town who then resells them to townspeople. Few people in town have to buy them, however, for each household has at least one banana tree in the back yard. An acre of land supports about 144 banana trees, which when well cared for produce 1,500 arms a year. The fruits are sold in cargoes of fifty arms at Cr$160,00 a cargo, so that one acre earns about Cr$5.000,00 a year. This sum is almost entirely profit, for gardeners do most of their own work, except when they have too much land for one man to take care of properly. Hired help is paid in accordance with the service performed: ten cruzeiros for cutting fifty arms of bananas, twenty for transporting them to the dock if the gardener does not have his own animals, and a hundred cruzeiros an acre for "cleaning," i.e., cutting down and burning old stalks and leaves and keeping the weeds cut down. 245 43 [442] [311] 245 46

Manioc presents a slightly different case, for the raw product must be processed before it is consumed. The manioc root from which farina is made is the poisonous variety and must be peeled and grated, pressed to remove the juice, and then toasted. The final product is a white powder, fine or coarse depending upon the type of grater used. Most of the local product is a coarse type (farinha de guerra). One of the gardeners has a flour house where the tubers are converted into flour. He mills his own manioc there and lets others use the machinery, charging them one liter of farina out of each ten they produce. 252 [427]

[Class D Families]

*565 592 848 remarkable fact about these female households is that mother and children manage to remain together as long as they do. Usually the husbandless woman finds work as a laundress or at ironing, or dries fish (xangó), three tasks which permit her to keep her children near her. When she becomes a cook or servant in someone's home, it is common for her to take the children to work and let them play nearby in the back yard. In such a case her children may eventually receive aid from her employer, who because of the children's continued presence in the house becomes fond of them and wants to do something for them. If this does not happen, the mother herself [464] must take care of their future. As a rule, boys from such families leave town as soon as they are old enough, finding employment in Salvador. Girls, on the other hand, remain with their mothers more often than leaving. If they do leave, they often return, like Maria José, with children of their own.

*565 592 735 888 Because of the poverty of these households, there is little or no provision for the care of older people, and it is from this class that come the very few, poor, old women who beg for food, medicine, and other aid. The people of the town are in general extremely generous in view of their own financial circumstances, and they do what they can to help. In Vila Recôncavo there are no "professional" beggars; there is no one [157] seated on a street corner asking for alms. There is, instead, a very proud spirit of independence, and having to go from door to door (or, rather, from kitchen to kitchen) asking for food or money is highly repugnant. Families will often send food to an old person regularly in order to avoid face-to-face contact with begging. Begging is also sometimes done through a third person, often a child, again to avoid face-to-face relationships in asking for aid.

*565 369 Class D does not exist in the rural area, for reasons already noted, particularly the pressure brought to bear by plantation owners and administrators. In addition, however, it also seems that women can only support themselves and their children in the more crowded urban areas, where they can find work which allows them to be near their children.

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[Class A Families]

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to have fewer offspring. Four or five generations ago a couple might have as many as twenty children. It was common among these large families for at least one child to enter the priesthood or a convent. This is no longer the case, not only because of the smaller size of the families, but also because the colonial pattern of a priest for each plantation is now gone.

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The marriage age for girls is also changing, for several reasons: it takes longer for a boy now to be educated and settled in business; the families can no longer support married children; and girls are being better educated. Instead of being married at sixteen, seventeen, and eighteen, they now go to school much longer, sometimes taking advanced degrees as do their brothers. This delays marriage till the twenties and gives the girls a certain amount of independence, rather than simply a position of wife and mother. As yet few of them have entered the professions, but recently it has become stylish to study nursing or social work at least for a while before marriage. The old pattern was for widows to be supported by their families, but now girls want to feel self-sufficient, without the dreary prospect of living as dependents in the case of their husbands' death. In this century, also, marriage has assumed an aspect of companionship, which was formerly lacking, for women have achieved a much greater equality with their husbands and are now partners rather than household fixtures.

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There has been a reaction to the family aspect of Bahian society, and frequently people are heard complaining of the narrowness of life in such surroundings and expressing a desire to live in Rio de Janeiro, or some place where they would not be always in the same restricted group of relatives. Many of the former obligations of formal visits to close and distant relatives are now relaxed, although telephone calls at least are expected with some sort of regularity and members of the extended family, as well as their attendants, are still expected at all weddings, birthdays, and deaths. The arrival of family members from Rio calls for many dinners and celebrations in their honor. But the conjugal families seek outside acquaintances more and more, and as they enter new groups they become less able to cope with the numerous family affairs. Nevertheless, it is still membership in these extensive, patriarchal families which gives people their status in the community as a whole and their right to enter new groups which form along class lines. Everyone is well aware of this, and

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584 intimation of its course. The meeting may finally be arranged at the house of an older female friend. If the two are genuinely interested in each other they may allow the fact to become public, and if the parents are pleased they will in due course [836] be married. Otherwise the girl may keep the whole affair a secret, and after a period of flirtation have an affair with the [263] boy and become pregnant. Any girl who refuses to eat pepper [843] is immediately suspected of pregnancy, and inquiries are made.

* 565 When a Class C family wishes to celebrate some occasion such as a birthday, anniversary, or the time in which the twin 574 saints Cosme and Damião are feasted, the woman's friends and any nearby female relatives come in to help her cook. 252 Guests are invited by the husband. The preparation of all 262 food must be done by hand, the chickens killed, cleaned, and [476] plucked, the beans shelled, the shrimp and fish cleaned, the farina cakes made, and the popular liqueurs (licores) prepared [273] by soaking various kinds of fruit in bottles of rum and syrup. At such parties the traditional, favorite Bahian dishes of vatapá, acarejé, carurú, abará, cuscus, and the many moquecas, are served. All these are appetizing, but take much time [251] to prepare and cannot be made too far in advance, for there * 565 is no way of preserving food. Unless the household is particularly wealthy, the family seldom gives parties; many never 574 manage to give one. Dancing forms an important part of the 535 festivities. The men bring their drums, tambourines, and guitars, while the women sing and dance the samba. In the rural [369] area, social dancing in mixed couples is rare, but in town it is a common form.

*565 A family may take care of an aged mother, father, or even godparent, or of some other relative on either side. Such a 888 person is well cared for within the family means. Most people in Vila Recôncavo are generous toward others who are in some ● 736 way unfortunate, and help them if they can. There is little or no complaint if the household has to take in an infirm or aged relative; most people say that the same may happen to them one day and they will have to be taken care of. Perhaps the old person helped them in some way in the past when they needed aid and is now being repaid. Or if some older person wants to live alone, a group of neighbors and relatives all help in preparing meals and supplying food and other wants over an extended period of time. There is no case in Vila Recôncavo of an elderly person being sent to a public institution.

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[Class C Families]

[Class D Families]

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Orphans, or children whose parents cannot care for them because of financial difficulties, are always taken in by some member of the family--an aunt, or uncle, or perhaps the grandparents if they are still alive, or the godparents.

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The Class D family presents a very different picture from that of any of the other social classes in Vila Recôncavo. It is almost the reverse of the patriarchal upper-class family, for in Class D the woman is the chief member, the chefe de familia. In Vila Recôncavo, 90 of the 290 households counted in the 1950 census reported a woman as the family head. Of these, thirty listed themselves as widows, seventeen as married but with husbands who lived elsewhere, and forty-three as unmarried. It is difficult to determine with certainty how many of the women who declared themselves widows or married actually were so. It is a favorite device of Vila Recôncavo women who have lived in an unmarried relationship with a man and subsequently separated from him to say that they are widows. It is equally difficult to determine from these figures how many unmarried relationships are involved.

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The composition of these households almost defies classification. Fifty-five are composed of mothers and children, with the addition in some cases of relatives and an agregado (official census term designating someone who lives in the house permanently but does not pay for his board), as well as hospedes (census designation of someone who is staying in the house temporarily and who is not paying for his board). Of the fifty-five houses with children, twenty-four are represented by unmarried, female family heads. Eight of these twenty-four households list agregados of approximately the same age as the woman, which may indicate, although not necessarily so, amasiado relationships. The other households are composed of what appear to be "left overs" from other families or marital unions: elderly people who have outlived their own conjugal units, younger people whose families either never existed as legal units or have been dissolved, agregados, and hospedes. These ninety households include a total of 353 people, who can be classified as follows:

55 mothers
142 children
37 grandchildren
35 relatives, including mothers, aunts, cousins, sisters, brothers,

mers. However, on almost every plantation there are brick- 312
lined springs from which the inhabitants get their drinking wa-
ter. Women or children carrying five-gallon cans of water on [482]
their heads, and donkeys carrying four wooden kegs of water, [492]
are common sights along the roads of the Recôncavo. For the
cattle and other livestock of the plantations, drinking places 231
are excavated wherever there promises to be enough water. 312
Frequently, however, these go dry in the summer, especial- [132]
ly during the drought years which occur cyclically in rhythm
with the droughts of the sertão. At such times loss of cattle
is prevalent, except on plantations situated near one of the
small rivers.

A high-voltage electric line passes through this section 377
leading from the generating station further inland to the cap-
ital city. Recently most of the plantations have been able to
connect with this line, so that at least the owners' houses have
electric light. The houses of the workers are without it except
at the factory, where the mill supplies its own electric power
which is carried to almost all the workers' houses.

There are four state schools and one county school distrib- 871
uted among the plantations. The central school in the town of
Vila Recôncavo is not attended by children from the planta-
tions. Two plantations have their own chapels, which are vis- 347
ited at irregular intervals by the priests of Vila Recôncavo. 796
On the other plantations a small altar is set up in the owner's 793
house for special occasions such as Christmas, when the town
priest is invited to celebrate the Mass.

There is in the town a medical post with a visiting doctor, 743
a dentist, and several nurses in training, which is adminis-
tered by a Franciscan lay brother and supported by federal,
state, and county funds and by private donations. This post
is fairly recent, and its influences are spreading only slowly
to the rural area. Also in the town is a small county medical
post run by a resident physician. The sugar factory has a [249]*
dispensary with a nurse and is visited by the town doctor. Al- [752]
most every plantation has its own first-aid equipment, gen-
erally in the owner's house.

There are no fairs in the community. There are stores in 543
the town and a large supply store at the factory, run by the 44?
corporation, and nearly every plantation has its own small [249]*
store. Major purchases are made at the weekly market in Cen-
tro, in the neighboring county. There are also traveling ped-

[Town Life]

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The majority of people in Group 1 live in the older part of Vila Recôncavo, often in the old colonial sobrados, and they rarely descend the hill to the part of town inhabited by the fishermen. Indeed, they mix little with people of the town, and there is almost no social life within the group itself. Parties are expensive, and visiting from house to house in the evening is not common. Vila Recôncavo has no such pastime as the evening walk in the square. This group is seldom united on anything, especially local politics; however, the more distant the question the more apt the group is to be of one mind. [361] [574]

Most families in this group send their children to school in Salvador, go there on holidays whenever possible, receive the city newspaper and the Diario Oficial,[2] and shop in the city as often as they can. [871] [204] [443]

Vila Recôncavo differs in one respect from most other rural Brazilian communities: it has no parish priest. The mother church of the parish (matriz) has long been unable to support its own priest, and the duties which would normally fall to such a person are performed by the Franciscans, whose convent is in Vila Recôncavo. The priests remain within the convent, taking little or no part in the social life of the town. 793 [792]

It will be noted that there was no mention of a drug store in Vila Recôncavo. There was none until 1945, when a nonprofit organization, the Institute of Vila Recôncavo, was opened. This is a medical post supported by federal, state, municipal, and private funds; its director is Friar Innocence, a Franciscan lay brother. The institute is housed in the spacious old buildings of the extinct Third Order of Franciscans, and consists of a pharmacy, an infants' milk and soup distributing center, a maternity post, a dental post, and other medical facilities. The dentist, who has modern equipment, is competent in his work. For several years a doctor was in daily attendance, dividing his time between the institute and the petroleum workers' camp. As a result of a complicated local political conflict, he left the institute, however, and Friar Innocence arranged for a visiting doctor to come from Centro and spend two days a week in Vila Recôncavo. Three town girls were sent to Salvador to study nursing and midwifery, so there is competent medical assistance. 743 [444] [792] 743 759

2. The Diario Oficial is the newspaper in which government laws and regulations are published. As a rule, it is the publication of a regulation which makes it become a law.

743 so there is competent medical assistance. Those who are too poor to pay receive free aid and medications, milk, and soup; those who can pay do so, paying only the wholesale prices of the articles. The institute is well equipped, with an x-ray machine, diathermy, and other heat appliances, which are popular because of the prevalence of colds and rheumatism.

743 The institute also operates the weekly motion picture which
529 has been a great boon to the town, a recreation room, central-
[546] ly located in the town, which has a radio, billiard tables, and a bar selling milk shakes, sandwiches, beer, and soft drinks.
743 This place has become the major meeting place for the men
873 and boys of the town. In addition to this, the institute also runs a night school for adults.

463 Group 2, as listed at the beginning of this chapter, con-
[571] sists mainly of the people who work for those in Group 1 and who are attached to them by the bonds of the patronship to
[462] some extent, as well as by salary. The majority of persons in this category are women, engaged in the traditional female pursuits of washing, ironing, sewing, embroidering, and general housework.

296 As a rule the laundry is washed at one of the town wells,
462 which are encased in cement. The women carry the dirty clothes, a bucket, and wooden basin, all piled on top of their
463 heads, to the well. They pull up enough water in their buck-
[482] ets to fill the basins in which the clothes are washed. After a soaking and scrubbing with soap the wet, soapy clothes are spread out on the ground in the sun, and from time to time water is sprinkled on them to aid the sun in bleaching. Then the clothes are rewashed and spread out to dry. Depending upon the weather, the washing and drying process may take from a whole day to three or four days before the clothes are
[463] considered clean enough. Then they are taken home to be ironed. The older pattern demanded that a different person do
[178] the ironing, but today this pattern is breaking down and frequently the same person washes and irons. The irons used are the old-fashioned kind heated by charcoal, which is placed inside and ignited. The irons are made with drafts to keep the fire going, and the women must stop frequently to fan the fire or renew the charcoal. Often a busy woman has two irons going and sets one aside to heat while she irons with the other.

462 Many women also prepare xangó, a small sardinelike fish
252 caught in great quantities by the fishermen of Vila Recônca-
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512 days when their husbands cannot go. The wives of fishermen
462 also have to cook meals at different times in the day for their husbands, who generally bring enough fish from the last catch for one or two meals. It is the woman who goes to the store for farina, coffee, beans, rice, and so on. Their evenings are usually spent at home sewing, making or mending a net either for their husbands or for someone else. If there is a samba they may go and watch but seldom stay long, but if there is a candomblé ceremony they may spend the whole night there, especially if they participate in it. In such a case they often take their children with them and put them to sleep in the house, or else put them on a bench to watch the proceedings.

759 The institute has broken down the pattern of the practical
743 midwife, known locally as parteira or curiosa, since one of
178 the first things done when it opened in 1945 was to have several young girls trained in Salvador as midwives. Up to that time, however, there had only been older women, who through experience and sometimes through necessity had taken on the job of midwives. In the rural area the untrained midwife is still important, for the clinic has not yet made itself felt to
846 the majority of people living there. When the time comes for
759 the birth of a child, a neighbor or perhaps a relative comes
462 into the house to cook and clean and look after the other children, and occasionally to assist with the birth. The father
[844] continues his usual round of occupations, as most women put it, "earning enough to feed another mouth." In some cases the man helps with the housework when he is home, and there are several men in the town who are good cooks and who can look after the children. In other cases the midwife may stay several days in the house, doing all these things. Recently, however, as a result of the death of one midwife and the resignation of two trained ones of the institute, the other two have been so busy that they cannot spend much time in any one house. A common complaint because of this is that the midwife tries to hurry the birth, massaging the woman's abdomen, and frequently attempting to induce birth before the normal time.

759 The most popular midwife in town rarely has a chance to rest. She is in her seventies and is frequently in a state of exhaustion from caring for households where a birth has taken place. She sleeps there, usually on a grass mat since the mother occupies the only bed. She serves in the rural area also, as well as on the islands facing the town. Payment for

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In the very large *usinas*, the mill hands and even the field hands are modern industrial workers. They are employees of a large industrial corporation and are protected at least theoretically by the labour laws of the nation. The highly personalized relationship between the plantation workers and the owner-administrator of his own plantation, which persisted from the slave era, has been replaced on the larger *usinas* by the impersonal employee-employer relationship of the modern industrial age. Today, modern plantations and small towns have electricity; there is modern housing for workmen; the State and even the sugar companies provide medical aid; there are primary schools both in the small towns and on many plantations; recreation facilities are found in the towns and provided by the *usinas*; and the sugar-cane experimental station situated in the area constantly urges fertilization of the land and modern techniques and methods of sugar-cane production. But the older and more traditional patterns exist side by side with the new, and each of them influences the relations among the racial groups of the zone.

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361 III. Vila Recôncavo is a small town on the Bay of All Saints. The rural area around it, which lies within the social and economic orbit of the town and which is the unit under consideration, comprises some 80 square kilometres, or slightly less than half the entire area of the county of which the town of Vila Recôncavo is the county seat.[1]

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It this area there are 14 plantations, three of which nowadays plant very little sugar cane. Parts of the town itself are built on the land of one of these plantations, and the rest of the town area is owned in small lots by private individuals or by the Church. Although Vila Recôncavo is the county seat, local government is the only important function which it fulfils for the surrounding area. It is not used as a shipping point, either for receiving supplies from the outside or for sending sugar to the outside. *Braços do mar*, or inlets of the bay, go to many of the plantations and are deep enough for the *saveiros* (shallow draft sailboats) used on the bay for transport. Many of the plantations have direct connexion with Salvador. Commerce in Vila Recôncavo is almost entirely limited to supplying the 1,462 inhabitants of the town and of some small islands and of one community near by which is not devoted to sugar production. It is not the major supply source even for these groups which live near enough to another and far larger commercial centre where they prefer to do their marketing. The *prefeito* or mayor of the county is rarely a resident of the town itself. Rather he is usually a planter of the surrounding area. He goes into town to do municipal business,

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[1] Both the town and the county bear the name of Vila Recôncavo.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Some masters preferred to have their slaves, on the payment of a small sum, punished by the civil authorities.[51] Gardner remarked that "many of the crimes for which only a few lashes are awarded, are of such a nature that in England would bring upon the perpetrator either death or transportation."[52]

It was customary each week to grant slaves, in addition to their regular food, an allowance of tobacco.[53] On the large estates certain hospital facilities,[54] and nurseries for Negro children were maintained.[55] Accounts of white mistresses who themselves attended to the sick among their slaves are numerous.[56] The *amas* (nurses) were often "emancipated as soon as their work was over, and nearly always continued to live in freedom under the same roof with their masters and to have various privileges."[57] "The aged Negroes were only employed in light occupations; during the remainder of their time they chatted with the master's young children, telling

[51] Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[52] *Ibid.*

[53] Prince Adalbert, *Travels of Prince Adalbert of Prussia*, trans. from *Aus meinem Tagebuche, 1842–1843* (Berlin, 1847), by Robert H. Schomburgk and John Edward Taylor (2 vols.; London, 1849), II, 37. Prince Adalbert noted on the coffee plantation Aldea, near Novo Friburgo, that "every evening, when their work is done, the slaves light fires in the rooms set apart for them, around which they sit for hours, even after the severest day's work, all talking and smoking, women as well as men."

[54] *Ibid.*, p. 36. "In the hospital, the hall and rooms for the two sexes were separated. A Negro woman was lying on a mat, with her little 'negrinho' at her breast, to which she had given birth only the night before. 'In a few days she will be able to resume work,' said the Doctor to Count Bismarck. In the men's room, there were four or five patients, suffering from accidents of various kinds" (coffee plantation Aldea, near Novo Friburgo).

[55] C. C. Andrews, *Brazil, Its Condition and Prospects* (2d ed.; New York, 1889), p. 164.

[56] Note, e.g., Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[57] Lacerda, *op. cit.*, p. 379.

4:.Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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often hears in Bahia the expression *melhorando a raca* ("improving the breed").[37]

The attitude here inferred arose during slavery, when it became a distinct privilege for a Negro woman to bear a child to her white master; for she and her progeny were thereby placed in a more advantageous position, especially as far as material benefits, and even freedom, were concerned. [567 178]

João Varella, in a booklet entitled *Da Bahia do Senhor do Bomfim*, reproduces the figure of a Negro woman bearing a young child bound to her back by a wide cloth. "When the child was black and ugly," Varella writes, "he was usually carried in this fashion. If, however, he was a *coisa mais limpa* (literally, 'a cleaner thing'), he was borne in front, in his mother's arms, so that all the world might the more readily see him."

This desire "to marry whiter" is not limited to the female portion of the black population. Successful males here, as in Haiti and the United States, generally seek to insure further their status and that of their children by marrying lighter-

[37] Of twenty-four babies delivered at the free maternity ward of Santa Isabel Hospital from Negro and mulatto mothers, four, an obstetrician thought, would grow up relatively "white," while only two appeared to be completely negroid. Although pigmentation apparently is not fixed at this early period, the appearance of *manchas* (or deeply colored "stains," called in popular speech *genipapo* after a common Brazilian fruit of a similar coffee-brown color), on either the back or buttocks is, in Bahia, commonly considered an index of subsequent dark pigmentation over the entire body. Three of the babies from dark mulatto women and one whose mother was a light mixed-blood showed no evidence of *manchas*. One dark mulatto mother, when requested, removed her child's clothing and proudly displayed his back free from these marks. The obstetrician, with a smile and a friendly pat on the mother's shoulder, inquired, "It's father was white, wasn't he?" The colored mother, pleased, replied, "I have five other children like him, all without *manchas*." [743]

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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José do Patrocinio became an able editor and wielded a powerful influence in the abolition movement. Joaquim Manoel was a violinist of considerable talent. A number of Francisco Braga's musical compositions achieved acclaim, and he was later invited to teach composition in the National Institute of Music. The Bahian mulatto, Francisco Chagas, better known as "Cabra," carved images with such skill that at least five of them ("Nossa Senhora do Carmo," "São Benedito," "São João e Magdalena," "Nossa Senhora dos Dores," and "Senhor da Redempção") may still be seen in the Igreja do Carmo. Valentim da Fonseca e Silva, popularly known as "Master Valentim," achieved fame as a skilled worker in gold and silver. The mulatto, Jesus, was a notable figure in an influential school of painting which flourished in Bahia in the eighteenth century. Crispim do Amaral, better known by his pseudonym "Falstaff," and Pedro Americo were accepted as among the most competent Brazilian painters of the nineteenth century. Antonio Gonçalves Teixeira e Sousa, Laurindo Rabello, and Gonçalves Crespo, all won acclaim in the Brazilian world of letters, and at least the latter of these three in the Portuguese world of letters as well. The psychiatrist, Juliano Moreira, became director-general of the hospital for the insane in Rio de Janeiro and was elected an honorary professor of the Faculty of Medicine in Bahia. The name of the Hospital João de Deus in Bahia was, in 1936, changed in honor of him to the Hospital Juliano Moreira. Theodoro Sampaio became widely known and respected throughout Brazil as an able engineer, intellectual figure, and linguistic scholar. José Ferreira de Menezes, Monteiro Lopes, Cardoso Vieira, Eliseu Cesar, Evaristo Ferreira da Veiga, and (in more recent times) the Bahian brothers, João and Octavio Manga-

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were mulattoes, and only 6.4 per cent were relatively unmixed blacks; while, of 30 occupants of general admission seats at one-half this price, only 20 per cent were whites, 40 per cent were mulattoes, and 40 per cent were blacks. Among spectators at a Sunday-afternoon soccer game, one noted the distribution as given in Table 12.

Of five hundred mothers applying for aid at the state's free children's clinic, only 9.2 per cent were white, 40.6 per

TABLE 12

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF SPECTATORS AT A SPORTS EVENT,* BAHIA, 1936

Seats	Price (in Milreis)	Occupants	Percentage			
			Blacks	Mulattoes	Whites	Total
Reserved	10	143	2.1	23.8†	74.1	100
Grandstand	7	267	4.1	29.4†	66.5	100
General admission	3	519	51.1	39.9‡	9.0	100

* *Futebol* (soccer), Campo da Graça, March 22, 1936.

† Chiefly light mulattoes, many of whom were very light with only slight traces of Negro lineage.

‡ Principally dark mulattoes.

cent were mulatto, predominantly dark, and 44.5 per cent appeared to be relatively unmixed blacks.[6] Of 1,511 photographs displayed in eleven photograph galleries, 73.2 per cent were probably of white individuals, 24.9 per cent of mixed-bloods, and only 1.7 per cent of unmixed blacks.[7]

In interpreting this ethnic distribution in the occupations and according to financial means, one might point out that

[6] The remaining 5.7 per cent were *cafuso* (21 individuals), *branco da Bahia* (2 individuals), *mameluco* (2 individuals), and of Indian-white-Negro descent (1 individual).

[7] In addition, 0.3 per cent were *cafuso*.

[SALVADOR]

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829 365 The irregularities and inadequacies of electric service in the city are attributed by many inhabitants of Bahia to what they call the "contempt of the Americans for the well-being of the people," as if the Americans were the only ones responsible for the operation of the American-Brazilian enterprise that produces electricity for the region. Everything that is or is supposed to be American otherwise enjoys great prestige. There is, however, a foreign group against which (or, more precisely, against the hidden "trust" that it represents) there exists a very strong hostility, although it manifests itself only on certain occasions. It is a matter of emigrants from Spanish Galicia, accused of exploiting the populace owing to the monopoly that they have acquired in the grocery and bakery business. At certain times when tension is particularly strong, as in 1930, and following the rapid rise of the price of commodities of prime necessity at the beginning of the last world war, the populace gave free vent to its discontent by plundering certain Spanish business establishments. But the attitude of the Bahians toward the person of these immigrants is free of lasting animosity, and marriages between the two groups are frequent. The fact remains, however, that the population attributes to the Spaniards the shortage of certain food commodities, especially bread, and it accuses these emigrants of "enriching themselves off of the misery of the people."

829 *563 578 [443] [152] [458] [579] [261]

529 *563 575 743 The recreational associations of the English, Spaniards, Syrians, and Lebanese are frequented by Brazilians. Likewise the hospitals maintained by the Portuguese and Spanish colonies are managed by Brazilian doctors and receive numerous patients from Bahia, white or colored.

795 771 The religion of the Catholic majority is traditionally much more external and ritualistic than dogmatic, the religiosity of a large number of those who call themselves "strict Catholics" being chiefly theoretical. This must have constituted a serious difficulty for the clergy; it is also a subject of astonishment for the visitor who imagines that he will come in contact with "the most Catholic of Brazilian cities." The antagonisms between religious groups are also moderate in this domain and /19/ never affect the

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[SALVADOR]

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*563 463 The proportion of colored persons in each liberal profession depends on various factors. In those that have the least prestige (agricultural engineers as compared to civil engineers," non-graduate lawyers as compared to graduate ones) this proportion is *563 759 larger. A very black student of medicine calls attention to the fact that the Blacks in general do not devote themselves to surgery: "Some take up this specialization, but end up by remaining in the general clinic. Odontology is not a good career for them either: what well-dressed white girl would wish to open her mouth *563 758 759 743 565 in front of a Black?" In the hospitals, physicians and attendants of all types care for the sick, who are all gathered together according to their maladies and according to their rank, and not according to their color; in the private clinics that take patients of the higher classes, everyone is admitted, provided that he can pay the price demanded.

*563 554 463 [301] The title of "doctor" and the marks of deference due a graduate are given without distinction to black or white persons who practice a liberal profession, which is why some of them have retained the habit of wearing on one of the fingers of the hand a "symbolic ring" of their profession, in order to be able to be identified and treated with the requisite consideration. Moreover, a Black may manifest the desire to practice a liberal profession without encountering hostility or scorn on the part of the Whites. In spite of this, some tens of years ago there were professors who humiliated a black student showing little intelligence or little industry, by saying "while so many people need a cook or laundress, there are Blacks who have presumed to become doctors." The author asked [124] the professors of a primary school of the State for permission to question its 93 most advanced students, of both sexes, about the careers that they wished to take up later. The percentage of replies received, according to sex and type, were:

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The mau olhado, or "evil eye," 754
a magical power presumed in many parts of the world, [171]
including Europe, to be possessed, often unwittingly, by
certain individuals, is thought at Bahia to bring death
to plants, birds, and even small children whom the person
has coveted or, perhaps, merely admired. More natural 753
forces are the *ar do vento*, or "air of the wind," a cold draught 821
said to result in indigestion, deformity, insanity, or death; [826]
the *espinhela caida*, or "fallen breastbone," which presumably brings on an emaciated condition of the body; and
sangue nova, or "new blood," thought to be responsible for
the breaking-out of a rash. Dew must not be allowed to fall 753
on the head. Certain diseases, like syphilis and leprosy, are
considered defects common to all men.[*] However, the per- [744]
sistent efforts of agencies like the Rockefeller Foundation [177]
have widely disseminated the idea that malaria results from
the bite of a mosquito.

The treatment or prevention of disease is the logical coun- 789
terpart of a magical theory of causation. Thus, members of 782
this section of the Bahian population attempt to control personal destiny through the use of charms or other magical
means or through the direct intervention of a deity, whose
favor is sought by the offering of gifts or the performance of
prescribed rituals. Thus, to counteract the influence of the 755
"evil eye," charms are worn, or pieces of the *Guiné*, *Arruda*, 824
or *Vassourinha Doce* plants are passed, to the accompaniment of magical words, over and about the affected person's
head.

goat may be killed, or a doll made and its neck pierced by a bit of wood. [754]
Either object is then placed in the doorway of the individual to be harmed or in any other place where he is likely to pass, the one depositing the *feitiço* calling out, as he drops it, the name of the person for whom harm is intended.

[*] "Syphilis," a black explained, "began with the world. Everyone has it, even horses, although it may never show up."

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begun to live together. But it is a general policy of Petrobrás that its employees establish regularized households and register their children, as the benefits of social legislation and insurance must be paid to legal beneficiaries, such as wives and children. Because of the many recent marriages, there are no longer any houses available in Vila Recôncavo, nor in Milagres, and there has been a spurt of housebuilding.

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There have also been some shifts in emphasis in the structure of the community. While the factory nucleus is no longer the scene of social gathering for the upper class of the area, the structure of the factory-private plantation system ensures that it continues to be the economic center as long as sugar cane is being planted in the area. The system of quotas established for the private planter and the factory by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol requires that planter and factory cooperate in supplying and receiving sugar cane. Also, the physical structure of the area, in which the factory is the center of the network of a small railroad which reaches out to each of the private properties, strengthens the impression of the factory as the center of activities.

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The possible future shift from sugar to cacao will of course diminish the importance of the sugar factory. However, in the meantime there is a new factor which will give more importance than ever to the factory: a feira, or market place. The county of Vila Recôncavo does not have a weekly market. For many years the county officials have wanted to establish one, not only for increased municipal income, but also to help attract more people to the area and to make life easier for the population. A market place is now under construction at the factory nucleus. When the market is completed, the factory town will become at least a weekly center of attraction for many people of the surrounding plantations.

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The development of the petroleum industry is bringing new life to the town of Vila Recôncavo, to the nearby town of Milagres, and to the new city of Conselho. Petrobrás cannot develop a nucleus on the land which belongs to the factory or to the private owners, and therefore it must concentrate any local community building efforts in the old public towns which already exist. Petrobrás, indirectly, through the county court of Vila Recôncavo, will soon contribute considerably to the county income. The same sort of compensation which was worked out in regard to the planters is now being arranged for the county, through taxes on the finished products from

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2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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794 1933 when two women took the scapular and cord. But nothing
747 more came of it. There is a benevolent organization, the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, which gives aid to the poor and is run by three men of Class B. It is very weak, however, and at present can help only four persons in the town. The society conducts no festivals or public displays.

Festivals

796 The festivals which take place in Vila Recôncavo are based
[184] on the religious calendar and are participated in to a great extent by the African cult members. January 1 is an im-
[793] portant date in town and is celebrated by a Mass in the fishermen's chapel, after which the priest goes out on the beach and
796 blesses all the canoes. After he has gone, the participants in African cults make their offering for the day. This is the date
794 when presents are given to the Mother of Waters (Mae d'Agua
782 locally, but sometimes known as Janaina, Sereia, or Yansan in other parts of Brazil). The presentations are made by the
776 cult priestesses, but anyone who wants to give a present to the Mother of Waters may do so by handing the gift to the cult
[822] priestess beforehand. The presents may consist of money or of anything a woman can use, as long as it is white: combs, ribbons, powders, perfumes, soaps, flowers, and so on. Everything is wrapped together and placed in a large clay basin covered with white cloths and decked with white flowers.

The cult priestess comes out of the cult house after Mass and, accompanied by participants and onlookers, goes down to the beach and enters one of the large canoes prepared for the occasion. The cult drummers accompany her, as well as most of the female devotees (filhas de santo). Usually two presents are given, one to the young Mother of Waters, who lives near the town, and another, larger one to the old Mother of Waters, who lives at about an hour's distance from town, where the water is very deep. The canoes take off and proceed up the river, while the drums beat and the devotees sing. The Mother of Waters is called and praised, and when the canoes arrive where the younger one lives, her present is lowered into the water. If it does not sink it is a very bad sign, for it means that the present was rejected. The bundles usually sink, however, for they are bound in a heavy clay basin.
[787] At this moment the Mother of Waters is supposed to enter the body of the person who placed the gift in the water. This person, usually an older devotee, enters a trance state and must

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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guayan war.[66] The law eventually provided that Negro women, after rearing ten children, should be automatically liberated.[67] In 1871 the so-called "law of Rio Branco" freed offspring of slaves born subsequent to its adoption[68] and set up a fund for the purchase and liberation of Negroes by the government. By 1880 a widespread emancipation movement was under way.[69] Thousands were freed by will, by payments from emancipation funds,[70] or by outright gift.[71] For instance, in 1883, in the towns of Baturite, Aca-

[66] On March 30, 1867, the monastery of São Bento in Bahia, which had already freed eleven slaves for service in the war with Paraguay, liberated six more Negroes and "presented them to the Governor for the same purpose."

[67] Koster, however, wrote from Pernambuco in the early nineteenth century: "A slave who has brought into the world, and has reared ten children, ought to be free, for so the law ordains. But this regulation is generally evaded" (*op. cit.*, I, 195).

[68] This law was, however, in some cases ineffective. Sixteen years after its passage the Bahian *Diario Official*, of June 4, 1887, reported the following auction of slave property at the *fazenda Concordia:* "Alberto, 10 years of age, one conto of reis; Vicente, 13 years, one conto of reis; Felix, 14 years, 800 milreis; Flauzinha, 13 years, 600 milreis, Simplicio, 14 years, one conto of reis" (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 587 n.)

[69] Among the prominent abolitionists mentioned by Anselmo da Fonseca were: José do Patrocinio, Joaquim Nabuco ("the great and illustrious head of the abolition movement"), Senator Dantas, Ferreira de Menezes, Andre Rebouças, Quintino Bocayuva, Joaquim Serra, Ennes de Souza, Getulio das Neves, Nicolau Moreira, José Mariano, Celso Junior, Senator Jaguaripe, Luiz de Andrade, João Clapp, Beaurepaire Rohan, Aristides Spinola, Ruy Barbosa, Escragnole Taunay, Franco de Sá, Antonio Pinto, Leopoldo Bulhões, and "a writer using the pseudonym of Clarkson" (*ibid.*, p. 23).

[70] These funds were sponsored by emancipation societies, private individuals, and municipal, state, and national treasuries.

[71] The *Provinciano*, a newspaper of Parahyba do Sul, listed in 1884, among others, the following emancipations: "Dona Anna S. José, 16 slaves liberated and a farm given them for their use; Condessa do Rio Novo, 200 slaves

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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rapi, and São Francisco, a *Sociedade Libertadora* freed 122 slaves in one day. Scores of these societies operated throughout Brazil.[72]

Dr. João Garcez dos Santos was the first Bahian *fazendeiro* (planter) to exchange slave labor for free. After spending some years in Europe studying agriculture, he returned to Brazil and, in 1864, bought an *engenho* called Pimental, in the *termo* of São Francisco. He freed all the slaves except eight domestic servants and paid these freedmen wages, retaining a portion of their earnings until he had been recompensed for their original cost. During the subsequent year he produced with free labor two hundred boxes of sugar. Three years later, he "freed the womb" of his eight female domestic servants, and, on his death in 1874, he set at liberty all the slaves which he had inherited from his father (a total of about sixty persons) on condition that they continue working for wages on the *engenho* for five years.[73]

In 1868 the Senhoras Condessa de Barral and Pedra

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liberated by will, and the Cantagallo plantation given them for a home; Barão de Dias, 163 slaves liberated, who remain established on his plantation as laborers." In 1887 Anselmo da Fonseca wrote: "As to the *cartas de alforria* granted by slaveholders themselves, it is well known that these have always appeared in greater or lesser number in the country, and that from 1880 on they have multiplied greatly and have now become quite numerous, thanks to the powerful influence of that propaganda which has contributed so much to the elevation of the moral sentiments of the Brazilian people."

[72] On September 7, 1869, an emancipation society was organized in Bahia "with the noble purpose of ending slavery in Bahia," and by March 1, 1874, it had conferred 267 "Letters of Liberty," 89 of which were "granted gratuitously in its name," and 178 by means of its own funds, the amount thus employed totaling 58,289 milreis (Alvares do Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 181). This organization was named A Sociedade Libertadora Sete de Setembro ("The Seventh of September Liberation Society") in honor of the day on which the independence of Brazil was declared.

[73] Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 220–22.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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"slavery is extinct in all other countries of America to the shame of Brazil."

Beginning about 1862 a Bahian professor of mathematics, the mixed-blood, Dr. Francisco Alvares dos Santos, whose classes were said to be attended by two-thirds of the students of mathematics in the city, began carrying on abolition propaganda, and during the subsequent quarter of a century he each year gave a banquet to former students and invited as a special guest a slave whose liberty had been purchased on that day with funds supplied by a "patriotic battalion" composed of his students and organized in honor of the independence of Brazil. Out of his teaching arose the Sociedade Libertadora Dois de Julho, which freed several slaves.

By 1875 the Sociedade Libertadora Sete de Setembro, organized in 1869, had freed approximately five hundred slaves, and twenty-four numbers of a periodical, *O Abolicionista*, had been published. At a bazaar held by the Society in that year, Castro Alves, Bahia's "glorious poet of liberty," addressed a letter to Bahian women in behalf of the slaves, and Barão de Macahubas, resident at the imperial court, sent several gifts. The Society at that time numbered five hundred and twelve members, of whom fifteen were women.[11]

The Sociedade Humanitaria Abolicionista was organized in 1869, and the Sociedade Libertadora Bahiana in 1883.

[11] Among the more prominent members were: Frederico Marinho de Araujo, Victor Isaac de Araujo, Lourenço Gomes de Araujo e Silva, Abilio Cezar Borges, Conselheiro José Luiz de Almeida Couto, Dr. Francisco José da Rocha, Conselheiro Manoel Pinto de Souza Dantas, Conselheiro Salustiano Ferreira Santo, Dr. Augusto Guimarães, Dr. Antonio Ferreira Garcez, Bellarmino Barretto, Julio Alves Guimarães, Constancio José dos Santos, Major Antonio de Souza Vieira, Dr. Frederico Augusto da Silva Lisboa, Conselheiro Carneiro da Rocha, and Major Antonio Ferreira de Barros.

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Four years later the latter changed its name to Sociedade Abolicionista Bahiana. In that time it had purchased the freedom of about fifty slaves, "including those whose liberty was demanded by reason of illegal servitude." The treasurer of the Society was a Negro shoemaker, Manoel Roque, "a man of the people," who carried on abolition propaganda among the free Negroes and "made several converts to the cause."

Abolitionists in other parts of the province of Bahia were similarly active. In 1884 an emancipation society was organized at Cachoeira, where two "out-spoken abolition newspapers," the *Jornal da Tarde* and *Planeta Venus*, were keeping the slave issue before the public. Another emancipation society, under the leadership of Pedro Alves de São Boaventura, operated at Camisão. Abolition sentiment and activity were also reported from Ilheos, Cannavieiras, Santo Antonio da Barra, and Feira de Sant'Anna, said to be "a strong pro-slave center."

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In 1862 a Bahian student published an antislavery article in a local publication, *O Estudante*. In 1869, after the Liberal party had adopted emancipation as a party policy, the *Diario da Bahia* began to support the antislavery cause. On March 20, 1872, five of the six newspapers then printed in the Bahian capital agreed "not to give publicity from this day forth to advertisements of any kind relative to the flight, purchase, sale, or placement of any slave."[81]

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[81] Signed by Francisco José da Rocha for the *Jornal da Bahia*, Innocencio Marques de Araujo Goes Junior for the *Correio da Bahia*, Manoel Pinto de Souza Dantas for the *Diario da Bahia*, Carvalho Gama for the *Diario de Noticias*, and José Marques de Souza and Aristides Ricardo de Sant'Anna for the *Alabama*. This agreement was renewed nine years later (in 1881), and the resolution was then taken "to urge the adhesion to it of all the press of the Empire." Only the *Gazeta da Bahia* refused to sign (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 276–79).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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ment," a picture of José Bonifacio was hung in the salon of the Gremio Litterario at Bahia, in the presence of "the principal civil and military authorities, representatives of the press, and several delegations from other organizations." The Sociedade Libertadora Bahiana took advantage of the occasion to present six "Letters of Liberty." As these were being distributed,

> a young slave girl, so covered with rags as to look like an abandoned beggar, forced her way into the assemblage and, falling upon her knees, begged and pleaded for her liberty. The pitiful aspect of this girl, the recently spoken words of Sr. Carige, and, above all, the sentiments evoked in contemplation of the sacrificial heroism of José Bonifacio, produced a profound effect. . . . . A citizen arose and said, "In honor of the memory of José Bonifacio, I contribute one hundred milreis toward the liberation of this woman."

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Finally, in 1888, the imperial government at Rio, through a decree signed by Princess Isabel, abolished slavery entirely, freeing the last six hundred thousand Negroes in bondage throughout the country.

The extinction of the institution of slavery in Brazil thus came about gradually by means of a progressively increasing and finally irresistible popular movement, aided, it seems, by the decay of the sugar industry,[11] by the arguments of the economists who held that the slave was an expensive workman, by the example of the United States in freeing her slaves (which left Brazil the only slaveholding American nation), and by the "strain for consistency" exerted upon the institution by the philosophy of the French Revolution[12]

[11] Silvio Romero, "O Brasil social," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brazileiro*, LXIX (1906), 111.

[12] In 1883 Joaquim Nabuco wrote: "Slavery has now endured in Brazil almost a century after the French Revolution taught the world to know and to love liberty."

[SALVADOR]

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*563 668 circumstances, almost all black, founded the Black Front of Bahia. Until that time the only organizations of "colored
*563 668 people" existing in the city were the brotherhoods and some workmen's and charity associations, none of which had as a
747 definite aim the defense of colored men against racial prejudice.
794 The Protective Society for Invalids, founded in 1832 as a religious and charitable brotherhood for persons "exclusively of black color," stated in a publication commemorating the centenary of its founding that "to speak of the ideal of the founder of this great work of philanthropy, it is to eliminate skin prejudice from Brazilian soil." This organization, however, does not include in its statutes, revised in 1948, or mention in its annual reports activities other than those of charity or mutual aid -- something that the informants, including members of the management, confirm.

*563 668 A local enterprise considered "an innovation for Bahia the news that colored men, against whom no distinction is made, are going to form a group." A professor of the university, in an ironic article on the Black Front, tried to advance the hypothesis that this movement was the result of Communist influence which profited from all occasional political agitation. One of the first activities of the Black Front, an activity which was disagreeable to dark persons of higher rank, says a mulatto informant, was a parade of poor Blacks along one of the commercial streets of the city, intended to show the misery in which they lived and to draw attention to the new organization. According to the same informant, the movement was "doomed to failure from its inception," for it was organized "as a kind of revolt." The founder and leader of this group, a worker who lived in São Paulo and took part in identical activities, harassed by financial difficulties and also yielding to what he himself, in an interview given to a newspaper, called his destiny of "wandering Jew," /99/ returned the following year to the southern part of the country, disappointed by the results of his enterprise, which found no support and soon died out.

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men, anxious for a good year's catch, or individuals wishing to be rid of some illness, to obtain employment, or to secure a satisfactory resolution of unrequited love, will purchase foods, wearing apparel, toilet articles, jewelry, and other gifts pleasing to a lady and place them with appropriate ceremonies in a body of water presumed to be inhabited by one of the *mães d'agua*. Particularly sacred are the waters of Mar Grande, off the island of Itaparica, where, a few years ago, a saddle horse, it is said, was presented to Yemanjá; Mont'serrat and Cabeceiras da Ponte, on opposite sides of Itapagipe; Baiutê,[29] near the village of Itapoan; and Mariquita, near Rio Vermelho.[30] Parents of twins make regular food and drink offerings to the twin-deities, the Beji, or Cosme and Damião. Omolú, the "*orixá* of smallpox," is believed to protect not only against the ravishes of this disease

[29] A foreigner was swimming in Baiutê when a passer-by, seeing him, shouted excitedly, "What are you doing in there? Don't you know that that water is charmed (*encantado*)? You might even turn into a fish. Haven't you seen the white swans? They say that they are two people who once swam here." For accounts of public offerings to the *mães d'agua* see *Estado da Bahia* for June 19 and September 23, 1936; *A Tarde* (Bahia), February 3, 1938.

[30] A letter headed, "Every Vow Fulfilled up to the End of the Year, 1936," and addressed to "Our Lady of Mont'serrat, the Mistress of the Sea, Janaina," was found in the bay near Mont'serrat. It read:

To my Godmotha:

I promise you, my Lady of Mont'serrat, that if you arrange it so that I can marry Domingos Portella, I will give you a present worth fifty milreis. And on the second of February I will put in another present according to my means. If possible, I will give you thirty milreis, and if not I will give you at least twenty. As large a present as I have I will give you on February 2, from twenty milreis up. My Godmother, I promise thee that the day of my marriage to Domingos Portella will be a happy day for you also; while I shall be having a *festa* here on land, you also will be having a *festa* there in the holy sea. I will fix dishes of all that we have in the house for this day, and send them to you, with greetings from me.

Your goddaughter,

Yvonne D. L. Baaga

(Letter presented here by courtesy of Friar Tomás.)

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776 but also against all skin ailments, including leprosy. Particularly approachable is the deity to whom a person is dedicated. "This bad cut on my foot," remarked a *mãe de santo* dedicated to Xangô, "would not heal. So I talked it over with Xangô. He agreed to heal it, and told me what to use. It's now getting well; it's much better already."

755 789 793 794 An individual troubled by continued ill-health, business difficulties, or even bad dreams may request of the fetish-cult priest the ritual of *lavágem das contas*, or "washing the beads." Divination is first resorted to in order to identify the *orixá* "responsible" for the difficulty. Then the beads sacred to this deity are immersed in water, a newly purchased basin being used for the purpose, and a handful of leaves also sacred to him are crushed and added. After a time, the beads are removed and washed with *sabão da costa* ("soap from the Coast"). Thus purified, they are given to the person suffering the ill fortune, who must subsequently keep them in a clay vessel and from time to time wear them about his neck.

755 789 825 753 Considered one of the most effective methods of "removing" a disease or misfortune is the *troca da cabeça*, or "changing of heads," whose purpose is to transfer the disturbing influence from the afflicted person to another individual. The ritual varies. The afflicted one may have his head rubbed with a chicken or a pigeon, which, having thus acquired the evil influence, is then killed. Or an *ebó*, or *bozó*, as it is more commonly called, may be prepared,[31] and the affliction purposely transferred to another individual by leav-

[31] The *bozó* almost always includes a dead hen, popcorn, manioc meal with *azeite de dendê*, pieces of clothing from the one to be benefited, nickel or copper coins, certain African foods like *acassá*, *aberém*, and *acarajé*, and, if available, the African fruits, the *obí* and the *orobó*, of ritualistic significance.

mers. However, on almost every plantation there are brick- 312
lined springs from which the inhabitants get their drinking wa-
ter. Women or children carrying five-gallon cans of water on [482]
their heads, and donkeys carrying four wooden kegs of water, [492]
are common sights along the roads of the Recôncavo. For the
cattle and other livestock of the plantations, drinking places 231
are excavated wherever there promises to be enough water. 312
Frequently, however, these go dry in the summer, especial- [132]
ly during the drought years which occur cyclically in rhythm
with the droughts of the sertão. At such times loss of cattle
is prevalent, except on plantations situated near one of the
small rivers.

A high-voltage electric line passes through this section 377
leading from the generating station further inland to the cap-
ital city. Recently most of the plantations have been able to
connect with this line, so that at least the owners' houses have
electric light. The houses of the workers are without it except
at the factory, where the mill supplies its own electric power
which is carried to almost all the workers' houses.

There are four state schools and one county school distrib- 871
uted among the plantations. The central school in the town of
Vila Recôncavo is not attended by children from the planta-
tions. Two plantations have their own chapels, which are vis- 347
ited at irregular intervals by the priests of Vila Recôncavo. 796
On the other plantations a small altar is set up in the owner's 793
house for special occasions such as Christmas, when the town
priest is invited to celebrate the Mass.

There is in the town a medical post with a visiting doctor, 743
a dentist, and several nurses in training, which is adminis-
tered by a Franciscan lay brother and supported by federal,
state, and county funds and by private donations. This post
is fairly recent, and its influences are spreading only slowly
to the rural area. Also in the town is a small county medical
post run by a resident physician. The sugar factory has a [249]*
dispensary with a nurse and is visited by the town doctor. Al- [752]
most every plantation has its own first-aid equipment, gen-
erally in the owner's house.

There are no fairs in the community. There are stores in 543
the town and a large supply store at the factory, run by the 442
corporation, and nearly every plantation has its own small [249]*
store. Major purchases are made at the weekly market in Cen-
tro, in the neighboring county. There are also traveling ped-

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534 the sound from which its name is derived. The *chocalho* is a similar instrument, but with only one extremity enlarged. The *adjá* is a small metal bell used to invite members of the cult to the ritual *dar comido ao santo*.[23] The *canzá*, or *ganzá*, now is seldom seen.[24]

[824] The *berimbau* is used primarily to accompany *capoeira*. It consists of a wire strung upon a stick to form a bow, with a dried gourd open at the top attached at the lower extremity. The instrument is beaten, to produce numerous complex rhythms, with a wooden stick held, together with a *caxixi*, in the right hand, while with the left a copper *vintem* (old Portuguese coin) is alternately pressed against the wire and released. The *cuica* is a drumlike instrument, open at one end. Sound is produced by drawing the hand along a resined stick appended to the center of the drumhead.

• 753 In the lower-class world health and morality are in many 784 cases closely identified. The cause of disease or bodily harm [565] is often believed to lie in the direct intervention of a deity who has become angered by the nonfulfilment of obligations prescribed in the sacred ritual or by the breaking of 754 taboos. Evil forces may be invoked, it is believed, through the magical influence of the *feitiço* and bring illness, blindness, insanity, or death.[25] The *mau olhado*, or "evil eye,"

[23] See chap. x.

[24] For illustrations of these instruments see Arthur Ramos, *O negro brasileiro* (Rio, 1934), Figs. 24 and 25 (p. 162).

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The mau olhado, or "evil eye," 754
a magical power presumed in many parts of the world, [171]
including Europe, to be possessed, often unwittingly, by
certain individuals, is thought at Bahia to bring death
to plants, birds, and even small children whom the person
has coveted or, perhaps, merely admired. More natural 753
forces are the *ar do vento*, or "air of the wind," a cold draught 821
said to result in indigestion, deformity, insanity, or death; [826]
the *espinhela caida*, or "fallen breastbone," which presumably brings on an emaciated condition of the body; and
sangue nova, or "new blood," thought to be responsible for
the breaking-out of a rash. Dew must not be allowed to fall 753
on the head. Certain diseases, like syphilis and leprosy, are [744]
considered defects common to all men.[16] However, the persistent efforts of agencies like the Rockefeller Foundation [177]
have widely disseminated the idea that malaria results from
the bite of a mosquito.

The treatment or prevention of disease is the logical coun- 789
terpart of a magical theory of causation. Thus, members of 782
this section of the Bahian population attempt to control personal destiny through the use of charms or other magical
means or through the direct intervention of a deity, whose
favor is sought by the offering of gifts or the performance of
prescribed rituals. Thus, to counteract the influence of the 755
"evil eye," charms are worn, or pieces of the *Guiné*, *Arruda*, 824
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goat may be killed, or a doll made and its neck pierced by a bit of wood. Either object is then placed in the doorway of the individual to be harmed or in any other place where he is likely to pass, the one depositing the *feitiço* calling out, as he drops it, the name of the person for whom harm is intended. [754]

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ing the *bozó* in a place where the intended victim is likely to step on it or otherwise touch it.[32] An animal may be "prepared with the *ebó*" so that whoever subsequently touches the animal will catch the illness or inherit the misfortune. If, however, one wishes to avoid transferring the evil to another person, he may do so and still rid himself of his affliction by leaving the *ebó* in a cemetery.

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If a *filha de santo* (ceremonial dancer of the fetish cult) would avoid illness or other misfortune, it is considered highly important that she observe all the taboos, especially those attaching to food and drink. A pregnant woman must avoid vegetables and all meats other than chicken; she must not join a funeral procession, since the spirit of the deceased might enter her child; and she must avoid a rose touching her bare breast, for otherwise the child, it is believed, will be born with a birthmark.[33]

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Charms may be of a specific nature like the *figa*[34] or the

[32] The affliction may, however, be transferred to someone toward whom no harm was originally intended if the individual placing the *ebó*, either ignorantly or with intention, fails to leave it in the designated place. The first person coming in physical contact with it will be affected. So widespread is this fear of the *ebó* that chauffeurs, even at the risk of an accident, will not run a wheel over one.

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[33] Current folk medicines include: for syphilis, whale oil; for a toothache, pig or burro dung smoked in a clay pipe; for a cough, sweetened tea prepared by boiling a termite nest; for sore throat, tea made by boiling a live lizard whose body is then removed from the vessel and buried with its head toward the new moon. Native herbs are extensively employed, particularly by *curandeiros*, or they may be administered at the hands of anyone "instructed" by a "manifesting" deity, a common occurrence in those *candomblés* known as *de caboclo* (a portion of whose ritual is probably of native Indian origin) and in spiritualist centers like that in Alto do Bom Gosto, in Calcada, one of whose directors remarked, "So many *caboclos* 'manifest themselves' because they know so well how to heal with herbs."

[34] The *figa* is an image, usually made from wood, of a closed fist with the thumb inserted between the index and middle fingers.

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the day of Christ the King, there is always a procession in town which starts from the mother church and goes to a small altar set up in front of the County Hall, then to the fishermen's chapel, to a cross which stands in one of the squares, and back to the convent and church. A few people set their small household oratories in the street in front of their houses to be blessed by the priest as he passes. This procession is accompanied mostly by women of all classes, although the canopy over the Host is carried by men from Class B. Christmas is observed quietly except for the exchange of gifts.

[778] [788] *[565] [184] [431]

Prayers

794 782 *[565] [184]

Prayers are very popular throughout the year among the women of classes C and D. For a variety of reasons a group of women will get together in the house of one of them and pray aloud, standing before the little decorated niche which contains a picture or figure of the household saint. The one who knows the prayer best leads the others. A group may pray on the evening before the day of the patron saint of one of them, especially if they have been unable to have a Mass said because of the lack of money or a previous commitment of the priest. At times they pray because someone has promised his patron saint that he would do so if he were cured of an illness.

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Strangely, perhaps, the fishermen never seem to feel a need for supernatural help to overcome bad weather or lack of fish. A few of them, however, give a present to the Mother of the Waters in thanks for an exceptionally fine catch. At other times, people simply pray to their patron saints if they cannot have a party in their honor. Personal patron saints, however, do not play a very important part in the lives of the people of Vila Recôncavo, although nearly everyone has one and has at least a picture of the saint on the wall. It is common to find women who belong to an African cult group praying at these nightly gatherings in honor of the various saints who may or may not be represented in their cult houses.

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Exceptional fatigue, light illness, and pains may all be caused by the evil eye, and are removed by having a woman pray over the victim. There are several women in town who can make such prayers particularly well; however, they do not pray as a group. A woman goes to the house of the victim and, with a piece of thread in her hand which she passes over the body of the victim, says the Lord's Prayer and the

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palm flat in horizontal position in contrast to a vertical placement for indicating the height of a lower animal.[10]

Although one is not likely to find any Bahian black who has not been given at baptism a "Christian name," nicknames are very common, and many individuals are much better known by them than by their given names. Among such *apelidos* one will occasionally discover terms of probable African derivation; for instance, Okê, Bábá Cumdê, Cobê, Oum, Tau-édê, and Au-weh, all nicknames of members of a local labor union; or, among personages in the fetish world, such names as: Manoelzinho de Oxóssi, Lourenço Lemba, Maria de Tempo, Senhora de Yemanjá, João de Zázé, and Flaviano Cavungo, each of which recalls the African *orixá* to which the individual in question is dedicated.

Exercising considerable prestige among a portion of the Bahian population is the *babalaô*, or *olhador*, whose primary function, it seems, is to foretell the future; the *curandeiro*, who by means of herbs, prayers, and other magical manipulations seeks both to treat and to prevent disease; and the *feiticeiro*, or "witch doctor," who, for a price, works black magic. The office of the *babalaô* is occasionally exercised by the *pae de santo*, or priest of the fetish cult, although his function is more particularly that of supervising the rituals and public ceremonies of the cult and overseeing the sacred properties. To some extent he also exercises the function of a *curandeiro*.

[10] A form of greeting recalled by older blacks but rarely used today is as follows: If the individuals are social equals, each lifts his hands, palms outward, and grasps the hands of the other in such a way that the fingers of the one are interlaced with the fingers of the other, after which the "*ogan* grip" is exchanged; if not social equals, the individual of greater prestige places his right hand over the closed hands of the other.

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tice, now not so common as formerly but still occurring, of forsaking a dwelling-place in which some member of the family has died. "Visions" are commonly reported. A *preto* related: 787

> Once as I was working, I suddenly noticed an old friend, together with another man, standing by me, both of them "out of the flesh." My friend spoke and asked me how I was. I told him I was "so-so." Then he said, "Did you know that Fernando was dead?" I didn't, but, sure enough, I found out the next day that he had died that very morning.

One finds in many individuals an absolute credulity in folk tale and folk myth. Thus to many a Bahian of the lower classes the *lobishomem*, the *caipora*, the *mula de padre*, and the *biatátá* are actual entities which he himself, or someone known to him, has supposedly seen or heard. [538]

The *lobishomem* (werewolf), credulity in which is also common to large areas of Europe, is said at Bahia to roam about on moonlight nights, preferably on Fridays, with dogs following him. He takes the form of a man, very pallid, with an enormous shock of hair and long fingernails. Coming up behind a traveler or sneaking into the house after a child, he grasps his victim and sucks his blood. A person "very yellow" from malaria is thought to be in danger of turning into a *lobishomem*. If a family has seven sons and no daughters, the first-born is believed liable to develop into one of these creatures unless he is made co-padre with his parents at the baptism of the seventh child. The hour of such transformation is midnight sharp. A house servant remarked: 776 754

> When I was a small boy, I knew a man who turned into a *lobishomem*. There in my country, near Joazeiro [state of Bahia]. He had killed his father and his mother. He always went around with his head down, very sad and very pale. The children called him *chicobicho* and ran and hid from him. Every Friday night he turned into a

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beast and wandered about. We knew he did, for a man who was passing a dark spot on the road late one night saw him; but when he took out his knife and started after him, the beast fled. The *lobishomem* was covered all over with hair and looked horrible. Other people saw him too, running around on all fours. The dogs always barked on Friday nights something terrible. On Saturday morning this man appeared dusty and more pale than usual. He never caught any children because they were all careful to stay in the house during the hours when he was out. But he caught many dogs and cats. He merely sucked their blood; he did not eat them. People found the bodies later, with all the blood drained out.

776 *Mulas de padre* are reputedly the concubines of priests who, transformed into headless animals, run about at night, preferably on Fridays. Covered with noise-making instruments, such as bells, *chocalhos*, and kitchen utensils, they are said to make "an infernal racket" which can be heard as much as a mile away and "makes one's blood run cold."

[177] The *caipora* and the *biatáiá* are probably survivals of Indian lore. The former is a creature thought to inhabit timbered areas, where he is peculiarly fond of leading people astray. When a person is lost, the *caipora* "may make him pass right by the path and never see it." The *caipora* calls out to the unfortunate person and leads him further and further astray. Of female sex, an animal some say, a half-body cut perpendicularly from crown to crotch according to others, the *caipora* may be driven away if one smokes tobacco, takes snuff, or chews garlic.

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A young *pardo* shoemaker, having become by reason of his schooling somewhat skeptical of tales of the *lobishomem* and of the *mula de padre*, insisted, however, that

the *caipora* is real. Just as a blow on your arm will leave a red mark, the *caipora* has left signs of himself. I know a Portuguese immigrant, a man upright and truthful, who was warned not to hunt on Fridays. He laughed at the warning, and went on into the timber in search of

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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put many beads of O Senhor do Bomfim on him, and a *figa;* they covered him with ornaments.

[789] The *figa* is to free one from the evil eye. For example: I have a dress. You think it is pretty, and you want it very much; something [754] then happens to it. Or a *sabiá*[48] sings beautifully. You are visiting its owner; you want it, you want it very badly. You leave, and it dies or something else happens to it because you cannot have it. This is the evil eye. One needs to "pray it away" with *Guiné*, *Arruda*, or *Vassourinha Doce*. An oxhorn in the garden will keep it away from plants.

[794] Then the man went around with hands folded, "taking the blessing" from everyone there. Seven children went out with lighted can-
[776] dles. Then he got up entirely well. Today he has a *casa de candomblé*.
[793] He is now very old. His *orixá* is Ogum de Gêge. The *pao de santo* who treated him is of Ogum de Mina.

159 My guardian angel [*anjo de guarda*] is Xangô. Ogum is a soldier,
776 Xangô is of the thunder and also of the lightning. He is Santa Barbara of the Irmandade. All the *orixás* are equal. But Oxalá directs everything. Nanan is his wife. In the Gêge language she is called Odé.

159 My sister, she died, burned up. She caught all on fire. He who
776 killed her is Oxóssi; it was he who killed her. My sister is buried in the Quinta dos Lazaros.[49] She burned to death because she disobeyed him.
784 He sent a message and she paid no attention to it. Her husband had a *saveiro*.[50] Every trip which he made she went along in the boat. She had no children. Everywhere he went, she went too. When, one time, the *orixá* "arrived" and told her that she should not travel on the water, she didn't take his words very seriously; she laughed the matter off, "gave it a *muxóxó*." But about a week afterward, she went with her husband in a *saveiro* across the Bay to Bahia. Between Itaparica and Salinas the *saveiro* caught afire. It had powder on it and the powder exploded. Parts of the *saveiro* were ripped off and hurled into the water. She was surrounded by fire. When they finally reached her, she was badly burned. They brought her to the Santa Isabel Hospital,

[825] [48] A Brazilian bird which can be trained to sing tunes.

[49] A Bahian cemetery.

[501] [50] A sturdy sailboat used on Todos os Santos Bay and its contributory rivers to transport light articles of commerce.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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My *pae de santo* made an *ebó* for me last week. It is a *limpeza do corpo* ["cleansing of the body"]. I had an unclean body and dragged myself around, listless. I went to the "master" of the *candomblé* and he "opened the table" and looked to see if my body was unclean. He then asked me to bring toasted maize, a black cloth, popcorn, honey, and a candle. He passed them all over me,[48] and when he had finished, he took them and left them in a crossroads. Friday is the day for this. 159 793 783

Now if a person puts a *bruxaria*[49] in your doorway, with a doll stuck through with pins, that is of the *feiticeiro* and it is different from a "cleansing of the body." My *pae de santo* does not make *feitiço*. He says that he does not care to do harm to people, because he has a soul for which he is responsible to God. But any *pae de santo* who wishes to bring harm upon someone can do so. For example, if I arrive in his *casa* and say that I want to do something to someone he asks me: "What do you want to do to her?" I say that when she comes to my door I want her to go blind. He will "make a business" and the next day she will come to my door and go blind. Or else I say that I want her to be wounded by a knife. He arranges it so that this happens.[50] 159 754 [793]

"Opening the table" is a thing done with *buzios*. The *pae de santo* puts an *orixá* on top of the table, together with his little towel.[51] He takes up the *buzios* and sees if "the way is open." My *pae de santo* "opens the table" with beads.[52] He takes the beads and puts them alongside *palha* from the *pindoba*.[53] These beads come from the Coast.[54] His set cost 1:000$000.[55] 159 787 793 778 [439] [435]

[48] That is, in front, to side, behind, above the head, etc.

[49] Any instrument of black magic.

[50] That is, she will be attacked in a lonely place by robbers, or accidentally stabbed. The action is always mediate.

[51] The table-covering which is placed over the *orixá* in the *pegi*, or sanctuary.

[52] Other means employed: a glass of water, a set of playing cards.

[53] Fronds from a variety of the coconut palm.

[54] That is, from the West Coast of Africa.

[55] One thousand milreis, or one conto, equivalent at that time to approximately $60.

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794 outcome of some projected action; and also the office of a
793 *curandeiro*, who diagnoses ailments and prescribes cures. He may minister to a clientele even outside the members of the *seita*, giving advice and counsel on matters of business, politics, love, etc.

794 Disputes between members of the *seita* are ordinarily sub-
793 mitted for adjudication to the *pae* or *mãe de santo*. Persua-
627 sion is at first employed. But if this proves unsuccessful, the priest orders each of the disputants to wash his particular fetish, upon which, with rare exceptions, acceptance of mediation is secured. The settling of the dispute is then celebrated by each party to the quarrel drinking from the water
[688] in which the other's fetish has been washed. Continuance of the altercation will break the implied promise to the *orixá* and render the offender liable to punishment, which is ordinarily death.

794 The *pae* or *mãe de santo* may also exercise the function of
793 a *feiticeiro* and deal in black magic. But this occupation is
754 disclaimed by several of the more prominent priests and priestesses, who refuse to countenance deeds designed to do harm to their fellow-men. It appears to be exercised more often by heads of the recently organized and "less careful" *caboclo seitas*.[7]

794 Age, number of years a member of the cult, intimate
793 knowledge of the ritual, and, particularly, purity of African
554 descent are important considerations in determining the prestige of a *pae* or *mãe de santo*.

For some reason male members of the *seita* rarely experi-

[556] [7] A *pae de santo* of a *caboclo candomblé* who is widely feared for his success in working black magic possesses a considerable bank account, numerous properties in the city, and rich cocoa land near Ilhéos, all acquired, it is said, from the exercise of this profession. However, it is quite probable that his political activity contributed a goodly portion.

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office of priest) to him. He is dedicated to the same *orixá*, 793
Ogun, as was she, and speaks, he claims, "a little of six dif- 159
ferent African languages: Nagô, Gêge, Ige-chá, Queito, [191]
Egba, and Musurumi." He owns "a roomful" of ceremonial [292]
costumes, one of which is said to have cost six contos (ap- [435]
proximately $360). He considers his task to be that of "doing
good" and refuses to deal in black magic, an attitude which [608]
has cost him, it is said, "much money."[13] He is godfather to
approximately a hundred and fifteen children and is soon to
be godfather to nine others who are on the point of receiving
the baptismal ceremony. He visits about the Reconcavo,
particularly in Cachoeira, exercising his office of *pae de santo*,
and is said to have paid similar visits to Rio de Janeiro,
Pernambuco, Maranhão, and Pará, in each of which he has
"made" several *filhas* and "confirmed" *ogans*.

The *achôgun*, or sacrificer, is an elderly black with a kindly 794
face and snow-white hair. The leader of the drummers, or
the *alâbê*, a jolly black whose mother (now deceased) was a
mãe de santo in Cidade de Palha, is very expert with the
drums, speaks Nagô, and sings in a high-pitched but rather
pleasant voice the African *cantigas*, or ritualistic songs. An
ogan says of him, proudly, "He knows almost as much about
African things as a *pae de santo*."

An elderly Negro woman, who walks haltingly with a
cane, attends every ceremony. Younger friends carefully
help her to a seat where she can see everything that goes on.
Leaning forward on her cane, her intelligent eyes wide open,
her face continually breaking into beaming smiles, she joins

[13] An *ogan* of this *seita* says that a *pae de santo* in Itapoan named Gregorio [754]
(now deceased) once declined twelve contos (approximately $720) "to make
a man mad." This *ogan* knows, however, a *mãe de santo* who, as he says, be-
came angered at the remarks of a young skeptic and "made a *negocio*" (liter-
ally a "business"; i.e., black magic) which "drove him mad in two days."

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the day of Christ the King, there is always a procession in town which starts from the mother church and goes to a small altar set up in front of the County Hall, then to the fishermen's chapel, to a cross which stands in one of the squares, and back to the convent and church. A few people set their small household oratories in the street in front of their houses to be blessed by the priest as he passes. This procession is accompanied mostly by women of all classes, although the canopy over the Host is carried by men from Class B. Christmas is observed quietly except for the exchange of gifts.

[778] [788] *[565] [184] [431]

Prayers

794 782 *[565] [184]

Prayers are very popular throughout the year among the women of classes C and D. For a variety of reasons a group of women will get together in the house of one of them and pray aloud, standing before the little decorated niche which contains a picture or figure of the household saint. The one who knows the prayer best leads the others. A group may pray on the evening before the day of the patron saint of one of them, especially if they have been unable to have a Mass said because of the lack of money or a previous commitment of the priest. At times they pray because someone has promised his patron saint that he would do so if he were cured of an illness.

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Strangely, perhaps, the fishermen never seem to feel a need for supernatural help to overcome bad weather or lack of fish. A few of them, however, give a present to the Mother of the Waters in thanks for an exceptionally fine catch. At other times, people simply pray to their patron saints if they cannot have a party in their honor. Personal patron saints, however, do not play a very important part in the lives of the people of Vila Recôncavo, although nearly everyone has one and has at least a picture of the saint on the wall. It is common to find women who belong to an African cult group praying at these nightly gatherings in honor of the various saints who may or may not be represented in their cult houses.

[776] [794]

• 755 782 [754]

Exceptional fatigue, light illness, and pains may all be caused by the evil eye, and are removed by having a woman pray over the victim. There are several women in town who can make such prayers particularly well; however, they do not pray as a group. A woman goes to the house of the victim and, with a piece of thread in her hand which she passes over the body of the victim, says the Lord's Prayer and the

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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Hail Mary. Some women say this process must be repeated three times in a row, others that it must be done each Friday for three weeks. This is a protective prayer "to take away the evil eye" (para tirar mau olhado). The thread which is used is taken away and carefully disposed of, by the person who prayed.

Conflict and Differential Participation

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The attitude of the priests toward conditions in their parishes is one of resignation. They realize that it is physically impossible for them to take religion to all the people or even to the majority of them. Also, they are disheartened by the poor intellectual basis the people have for understanding the doctrine of the church. They do not discourage the group prayers, nor do they encourage them; they simply let them exist. But they vigorously combat African cultism. For several years the fishermen's chapel was closed because of the cult activities of so many of the women who attended the chapel. Recently, however, the Franciscan superior reopened the chapel, feeling that it was better not to exclude the entire fisherman population from the church because a few of them also participated in African cults. For it had turned out that when the chapel was closed all the people in the lower part of town refused to go up the hill to the convent and therefore passed several years without attending Mass, confessing, or taking Communion. In sermons given during Mass an opportunity to condemn cultism is never lost, even though it may have little effect. The local church policy toward cultism depends upon the feelings of each new superior and whether he will tolerate it. The priest who reopened the chapel became a much-loved person in the town, at least by the lower classes, for he realized how few people in the total population indulge in cult activities compared to the many who go to watch. The caretaker of one of the rural chapels is also a cult leader on his plantation, but relations between him and the priests are cordial. Although most of the female devotees attend the Masses for their particular saints, the priestess of the cult house never goes to church and avoids meeting the priests if possible.

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Religion is more a part of the women's lives than of the men's, and there are more women than men at every Mass. There are a few strongly religious women (beatas) in the town

the lower classes fail to have at least some knowledge of the 794
ceremonial. In a region where there is little entertainment, [517]
such as in the town of Vila Recôncavo and especially in the [796]
rural area, the cults provide a major spectator activity, and
those who have been exposed to it through their lives appre- 794
ciate it as such. The number of active participants, however,
is small. The house which is functioning in the town has about 369
two dozen initiates, while the rural house is somewhat larger,
having about forty-five devotees, only seven of whom are
drawn from the plantation on which the house is situated. The
rural house is more active for several reasons, according to
local informants: the costumes are prettier, and therefore
people prefer to dance there; the cult leader is a stronger
personality and a better healer than the leader of the town
house. The rural house is also more conveniently located for
people from the surrounding plantations. Nevertheless, the
small number of participants is indicative of the weakness of
the institution in this area as a whole.

Healing, however, does play an important part in the cult 794
activities, for the zelador who has "made his saint" has usu- 793
ally learned a large number of ritual and herbal cures. In 755
fact, it is the healing aspect which brings most people to the 757
cult activities. Sick persons, however, generally prefer to en-
trust themselves first to the ministrations of the plantation
owner, plantation nurse, or town doctor. But if they feel they
are not being helped, they turn to the cult house. If the sick-
ness is diagnosed by the cult leader as a clear sign that the
person is in contact with a spirit, the patient must enter the [776]
rites as an initiate or suffer the consequences. But for the
ordinary run of headaches, stomach troubles, and skin erup-
tions, the cult leader draws upon his knowledge of herbal rem-
edies. This knowledge is supposed to come from his deity,
who often is St. Roch in this area, and who knows the cure.
In fact, the leader of the rural house once compared his es-
tablishment with a pharmacy. He is paid for these medical
services. Often one hears a person wishing that he could
"have" such-and-such a saint so he would know how to cure
and be able to make money, as do the cult leaders.

It is a general opinion that cult leaders are financially well 793
off, although they themselves staunchly declare that they are 794
not and that they must live from alms. As a rule all the par-
ticipants in a house are obliged to contribute to the ceremo-
nial honoring the leader's deity, which is usually the most ex-
travagant ceremonial of the house.

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er of the Waters. Naturally, in such a small group, the secret is not very well kept and it is soon known who has sent a present, why, and when. Many people in this group, and some in Class A, entertain the fear that they may become themselves possessed by a deity, especially if they expose themselves to cult activities during a ceremony, and for this reason they do not attend the rituals. To a certain extent this fear is the basis for the protest many of them make against night-long drumming, although the common complaint is that they cannot sleep because of the noise. The sound of the drums at night is very impressive, and no one is unaware that nearby the supernatural is being called. It is very disturbing to those who do not understand the mechanics of the ceremonies and the meaning of the drumming and sacrifices.

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Spiritualism

Spiritualism, which does not use drums, is as disturbing as cultism to people of all classes, although because of its quieter character it is not always known when a session is taking place. Spiritualism seems to be gaining popularity in the area, although it is greatly feared by many people. It is slowly gaining adherents, however, because of the healing powers exhibited by the mediums. In most cases people are drawn to it, both in the town and in the rural area, through illness and the promise of a cure. Because of lack of aid from the doctor, or because of the expense of medical treatment, or perhaps because of the failure of the African cult to cure him, a patient may try spiritualism as a last resort. For those who are helped by it, it becomes a constant companion, and although they may have entered with fear, they soon lose it. They become staunch defenders and try to draw in their friends. The greatest successes in curing seem to follow the herbal treatments of the African cultists, but spiritualism requires no further obligations, as do the cults. It is common to hear someone say that attendance at a spiritualist seance cured him of some minor ailment and left him free of obligations, and that he did not even have to pay the medium. Spiritualism is also used to discover and counteract the evil eye and evil machinations of any enemy. In spiritualism one finds the same Indian spirits which are found in the local African cults, although no dancing is involved. There is now definite competition between the mediums and the cult leaders for adherents.

771 755 787 [757] [776] [777] [798]

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.755 There is one outstanding case of a Class A family which has
787 been "helped" by spiritualism. This family had not been too
*565 well liked in the town and felt that evil was being worked against it. It was claimed that a local medium prevented harm to the father of this family through the medium's spirit. The father became convinced of the value of spiritualism and converted his wife to it. They now make no move without first consulting the spirits, and they frequently call the medium to their house in Salvador for aid. The urban upper class is no stranger to spiritualism, and even those who make no use of mediums and spiritualistic sessions seem to consider themselves possible victims of spiritualism. A decade or so ago, experiments with spiritualism, such as the moving glass, were popular. These experiments gained many adherents and left many others in a state between belief and disbelief in the possibilities of spiritualism.

Protestantism

795 Protestantism has made no entry in Vila Recôncavo. This
797 is a minor point of pride among the residents, who have heard
177 of Protestantism but know nothing about it. In other areas of the Recôncavo there have been converts, but as yet there are no Protestant churches, chapels, or house groups in Vila Recôncavo. In other communities, traveling ministers hold services in small private houses of the adherents. Just as with the African cults, there always are many onlookers standing outside who discuss the merits of the sermon and of the Bible readings and hymn singing. Those who are sufficiently impressed sometimes join, but as yet there is considerable resistance to another organised religion.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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The mau olhado, or "evil eye," 754
a magical power presumed in many parts of the world, [171]
including Europe, to be possessed, often unwittingly, by
certain individuals, is thought at Bahia to bring death
to plants, birds, and even small children whom the person
has coveted or, perhaps, merely admired. More natural 753
forces are the *ar do vento*, or "air of the wind," a cold draught 821
said to result in indigestion, deformity, insanity, or death; [826]
the *espinhela caida*, or "fallen breastbone," which presumably brings on an emaciated condition of the body; and
sangue nova, or "new blood," thought to be responsible for
the breaking-out of a rash. Dew must not be allowed to fall 753
on the head. Certain diseases, like syphilis and leprosy, are
considered defects common to all men.[26] However, the per- [744]
sistent efforts of agencies like the Rockefeller Foundation [177]
have widely disseminated the idea that malaria results from
the bite of a mosquito.

The treatment or prevention of disease is the logical coun- 789
terpart of a magical theory of causation. Thus, members of 782
this section of the Bahian population attempt to control personal destiny through the use of charms or other magical
means or through the direct intervention of a deity, whose
favor is sought by the offering of gifts or the performance of
prescribed rituals. Thus, to counteract the influence of the 755
"evil eye," charms are worn, or pieces of the *Guiné*, *Arruda*, 824
or *Vassourinha Doce* plants are passed, to the accompaniment of magical words, over and about the affected person's
head.

goat may be killed, or a doll made and its neck pierced by a bit of wood. [754]
Either object is then placed in the doorway of the individual to be harmed or in any other place where he is likely to pass, the one depositing the *feitiço* calling out, as he drops it, the name of the person for whom harm is intended.

[26] "Syphilis," a black explained, "began with the world. Everyone has it, even horses, although it may never show up."

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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789 head. The wearing of *patuás*, or written prayers, is presumed to "close the body" (*fechar o corpo*) against disease or accident. The nut known as *chapeu de Napoleão* ("Napoleon's hat"), if worn on a string about the neck, similarly is reputed to possess magical power.[27] A cord of deerskin passed over the affected area is presumed to cure erysipelas; a string of white beads worn about the neck of a mother is thought to increase the flow of her milk; a cord tied tightly about the waist of a pregnant woman will, it is believed, "keep the baby from going to the head"; and a stone in the hair is thought to retard delivery. Considered particularly efficacious in all cases of illness is the "*itá* of Xangô."[28]
782 "Prayers," or the use of magical words or phrases over an
• 755 affected part of the body, are also extensively employed. A common belief is that the *pae de santo* can in this way cure snakebite.

782 The direct intervention of a deity may be invoked as
[776] when presents are made to the *mães d'agua* (female deities who are presumed to inhabit bodies of water) to remove illness or misfortune or to assure future success. Thus, fisher-

[27] At the children's clinic a black mother brought in a child very ill. About his neck was a cord suspending a *chapeu de Napoleão*. To the physician's query, the mother replied, "They said it would make him well. Everyone told me to use it, and I didn't know."

755 [28] *Itás* (Tupi equivalent of "rocks" or "stones") of Xangô, or, as they are
778 also called, *pedras* of Santa Barbara, are thought to have fallen from heaven during thunderstorms. They are said to have penetrated into the earth seven *braças* (2.2 meters) and to have returned to the surface after seven
[554] years. The person so fortunate as to find one of these stones is considered a highly privileged individual. The *itá* is used by the *pae de santo* to crush the leaves of certain medicinal plants which are then put, together with the yolk of an egg, into a vessel and mixed, while an invocation in Nagô, known as *atutu*, is intoned. The stone is then covered with the crushed leaves and egg yolk and allowed to stand for a period of time. The liquid prepared in this way is considered to possess miraculous healing power.

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but also against all skin ailments, including leprosy. Particularly approachable is the deity to whom a person is dedicated. "This bad cut on my foot," remarked a *mãe de santo* dedicated to Xangô, "would not heal. So I talked it over with Xangô. He agreed to heal it, and told me what to use. It's now getting well; it's much better already."

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An individual troubled by continued ill-health, business difficulties, or even bad dreams may request of the fetish-cult priest the ritual of *lavagem das contas*, or "washing the beads." Divination is first resorted to in order to identify the *orixá* "responsible" for the difficulty. Then the beads sacred to this deity are immersed in water, a newly purchased basin being used for the purpose, and a handful of leaves also sacred to him are crushed and added. After a time, the beads are removed and washed with *sabão da costa* ("soap from the Coast"). Thus purified, they are given to the person suffering the ill fortune, who must subsequently keep them in a clay vessel and from time to time wear them about his neck.

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Considered one of the most effective methods of "removing" a disease or misfortune is the *troca da cabeça*, or "changing of heads," whose purpose is to transfer the disturbing influence from the afflicted person to another individual. The ritual varies. The afflicted one may have his head rubbed with a chicken or a pigeon, which, having thus acquired the evil influence, is then killed. Or an *ebó*, or *bozó*, as it is more commonly called, may be prepared,[11] and the affliction purposely transferred to another individual by leav-

[11] The *bozó* almost always includes a dead hen, popcorn, manioc meal with *azeite de dendê*, pieces of clothing from the one to be benefited, nickel or copper coins, certain African foods like *acassá*, *abertêm*, and *acarajé*, and, if available, the African fruits, the *obí* and the *orobó*, of ritualistic significance.

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ing the *bozó* in a place where the intended victim is likely to step on it or otherwise touch it.[23] An animal may be "prepared with the *ebó*" so that whoever subsequently touches the animal will catch the illness or inherit the misfortune. If, however, one wishes to avoid transferring the evil to another person, he may do so and still rid himself of his affliction by leaving the *ebó* in a cemetery.

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If a *filha de santo* (ceremonial dancer of the fetish cult) would avoid illness or other misfortune, it is considered highly important that she observe all the taboos, especially those attaching to food and drink. A pregnant woman must avoid vegetables and all meats other than chicken; she must not join a funeral procession, since the spirit of the deceased might enter her child; and she must avoid a rose touching her bare breast, for otherwise the child, it is believed, will be born with a birthmark.[23]

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Charms may be of a specific nature like the *figa*[24] or the

[23] The affliction may, however, be transferred to someone toward whom no harm was originally intended if the individual placing the *ebó*, either ignorantly or with intention, fails to leave it in the designated place. The first person coming in physical contact with it will be affected. So widespread is this fear of the *ebó* that chauffeurs, even at the risk of an accident, will not run a wheel over one.

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[23] Current folk medicines include: for syphilis, whale oil; for a toothache, pig or burro dung smoked in a clay pipe; for a cough, sweetened tea prepared by boiling a termite nest; for sore throat, tea made by boiling a live lizard whose body is then removed from the vessel and buried with its head toward the new moon. Native herbs are extensively employed, particularly by *curandeiros*, or they may be administered at the hands of anyone "instructed" by a "manifesting" deity, a common occurrence in those *candomblés* known as *de caboclo* (a portion of whose ritual is probably of native Indian origin) and in spiritualist centers like that in Alto do Bom Gosto, in Calcada, one of whose directors remarked, "So many *caboclos* 'manifest themselves' because they know so well how to heal with herbs."

[24] The *figa* is an image, usually made from wood, of a closed fist with the thumb inserted between the index and middle fingers.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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jacús, found one, and shot at it. The *jacú* flew at him with its claws extended and severely scratched him. He shot at it again. It flew back and clawed at his eyes. Then he heard a voice, saying "You know you must not hunt on Fridays." It was the *caipora*. The man staggered home, and fell senseless in the door of his house. I knew this man well.

The *biatáiá* is said to be a woman who inhabits the sea, appearing above water only at night, gradually increasing in size until she assumes an enormous shape, and "casting a huge and frightening shadow." 776

Fear of the toad, probably also a survival of Indian belief, is common.[39] If a toad happens to hop into the door of a house, the occupant will immediately grab a broom and sweep it out, repeating over and over, "Creio em Deus Padre."[40] If a malicious person paints a toad on the wall of a dwelling, its occupants will at once desert the place. 825 [177]

The following account reveals in an intimate way the mental world of a considerable portion of the Bahian lower class. It was related by a young Negro woman in the form of a series of personal experiences and is presented here in as nearly as possible the exact phrasing in which it was originally given. 158 159 755 [565]

I was three years old. I was sitting with my mother when something hit me, and I fell over unconscious. She picked me up and took me to a doctor. He gave me medicine and said that it was congestion. Some thought it was the *ar do vento*.

I knew nothing of what was going on; it was as if I were dead. To

[39] "Montoya says ('Manuscripto guarani da Bibliotheca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro sobre a primitiva catechese dos Indios das Missões,' *Annaes da Bibliotheca Nacional*, Vol. VI) that among Indians observed by him, the entrance of a toad into a gathering of people was a sign of the approaching death of one of those present" (Gilberto Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* [2d ed.; Rio, 1936], p. 99). [171]

[40] "I believe in God, the Father."

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

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help me get better, they took me up off the ground.[40] Then my mother called in Mamédé [the local *pae de santo*], to see what was the matter with me. He came, *abriu a mesa*[41] and said that this had been with me from my birth. My mother then asked him if he could cure it. He said he could. He made her buy plates, *moringues*,[42] beads, cups, coconuts, etc. Then he prepared all that.[43] They washed my head with water from the sacred leaves. My mother asked if he could take that thing away so that it would not come back again. He said he would not dare to do that, or I would die. He said it always came back.

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When it returned, they washed my head again. I did not know what was going on. It was as if I had slept. When I awakened, I was all "prepared": dressed *de creola* with a *saia grande* and a *torso* on my head. Everything red. *Sandalias* too. Everything the same color.

When this happened I was still small. The *pae de santo* said that I was under a spell [*era encanto*]. He "did the work" once more, and I was all right again. But when I was seven years old, it took hold of me once more. My mother was afraid and begged the *pae de santo* to do something about it. She pleaded so earnestly that finally he said he would speak with the enchantment [*encanto*] so that it would not come down any more.

It didn't come back until I was fifteen years old. Then they arranged another dress *de creola*, and also handkerchiefs, strings of beads, bracelets, and *sandalias*. They ordered plates, small glasses, and *quartinhas* bought. When all this was ready, the *pae de santo* washed my head in sacred water. He said it was the "owner of my head" [*dono da minha cabeça*] who had done that to me. There in Cachoeira, across the river from São Felix,[44] is the *casa de Gêge*.[45] The *pae de santo* is the grandson of an African.

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[40] That is, she was removed from the reed mat which, placed directly upon the floor of a hut, is extensively used among the poorer families for sleeping purposes.

[41] That is, he set up certain means of divination.

[42] Water pots made of red clay.

[43] That is, he submitted it to the proper ritual.

[44] Cachoeira and São Felix are twin cities, separated by the Paraguassú River, located across the Bay to the north of the city of Bahia.

[45] The *candomblé* of the Gêge cult in which she had now been inducted.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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When I was sixteen years old I went across the river to live in São Felix. There was a man there who was crazy. We asked what was the matter with him, and they said that he had seven Exú's[47] in his body. They had given him a cigar and when he began to smoke, he became wild. He was nearly insane. He did not want to hear the word of God. When they talked of going to Mass, he wanted to run away. They took him and tied him up. He stayed this way two whole weeks. Once in a while his relatives came to see him. Finally, they decided to take him to a *candomblé*. They untied him and he went. For a long time he remained there and kept on acting the same way. Then the head of the *candomblé* took a hand in the matter. He ordered them to get black cloth, candles, *azeite de dendê*, incense, and several other things which he needed. After he had finished, he gave the man a bath to clean him up. When twelve o'clock came, he stretched him out in the middle of the floor. And there he lay all sprawled out. We saw a black Negro with red lips sitting on his knee. He was about this high [indicating approximately two and one-half feet], and as black as coal. His lips were as red as the lid of that can [indicating a *malte* container with bright red cover]. He had large ears that stuck out like this [indicating about a twelve-inch spread]. He was horrible. His horns were this long [indicating about six inches]. And his tail, about a meter. His eyes were big, like this [indicating an oval three inches in diameter]. They were the size of "three children."[48] His tongue looked like a snake's; it was really four separate tongues. And he was sitting there on the man's knee. We were all afraid. We wanted to run; but we dared not. He didn't stay long. Only about ten minutes. He left the man's knee and disappeared into the body of the man who had bought and brought the "things." The *pae de santo* filled up a basin, and Exú took himself away. We did not see him disappear. Ten minutes later the man got up, feeling better. He had been sitting there crying hard. They shaved off his hair, washed his head and painted it with a pencil, white, blue, pink, and lavender. Then they

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[47] Exú (pronounced "Ã-shu") is an African deity who is often, although not always, thought of as possessing an evil nature. See chap. x.

[48] This expression was explained in the following manner: "A person looking into an ordinary eye sees the image of one child; in Exú's eyes the image was three times as big."

[826]

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

put many beads of O Senhor do Bomfim on him, and a *figa;* they covered him with ornaments.

The *figa* is to free one from the evil eye. For example: I have a dress. You think it is pretty, and you want it very much; something then happens to it. Or a *sabiá*[40] sings beautifully. You are visiting its owner; you want it, you want it very badly. You leave, and it dies or something else happens to it because you cannot have it. This is the evil eye. One needs to "pray it away" with *Guiné*, *Arruda*, or *Vassourinha Doce*. An oxhorn in the garden will keep it away from plants.

Then the man went around with hands folded, "taking the blessing" from everyone there. Seven children went out with lighted candles. Then he got up entirely well. Today he has a *casa de candomblé*. He is now very old. His *orixá* is Ogum de Gêge. The *pao de santo* who treated him is of Ogum de Mina.

My guardian angel [*anjo de guarda*] is Xangô. Ogum is a soldier, Xangô is of the thunder and also of the lightning. He is Santa Barbara of the Irmandade. All the *orixás* are equal. But Oxalá directs everything. Nanan is his wife. In the Gêge language she is called Odé.

My sister, she died, burned up. She caught all on fire. He who killed her is Oxóssi; it was he who killed her. My sister is buried in the Quinta dos Lazaros.[41] She burned to death because she disobeyed him. He sent a message and she paid no attention to it. Her husband had a *saveiro*.[42] Every trip which he made she went along in the boat. She had no children. Everywhere he went, she went too. When, one time, the *orixá* "arrived" and told her that she should not travel on the water, she didn't take his words very seriously; she laughed the matter off, "gave it a *muxóxó*." But about a week afterward, she went with her husband in a *saveiro* across the Bay to Bahia. Between Itaparica and Salinas the *saveiro* caught afire. It had powder on it and the powder exploded. Parts of the *saveiro* were ripped off and hurled into the water. She was surrounded by fire. When they finally reached her, she was badly burned. They brought her to the Santa Isabel Hospital,

[40] A Brazilian bird which can be trained to sing tunes.

[41] A Bahian cemetery.

[42] A sturdy sailboat used on Todos os Santos Bay and its contributory rivers to transport light articles of commerce.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazillans SO11

Two of the six speakers at the dedicatory exercises for the newly constructed Instituto de Cacau on the following day were *brancos da Bahia* (each with only slight indications of Negro ancestry), and four were whites.

During the visit of a neighboring governor, a procession formed in the Avenida Sete de Setembro to escort the distinguished visitor, together with the Bahian governor, Juracy Magalhães, to the latter's palace. Riding in the procession, alighting in front of the palace, and following the two chief executives into the spacious rooms of the governor's mansion, were presumably the city's political élite, all in formal attire. Of a total of 99 persons, 70 were whites, 22 were very light mulattoes with only slightly noticeable traces of Negro lineage, 7 were dark mulattoes, and none was black. Of the escort of 23 army officials dressed in appropriate uniform, 9 were whites, 12 were very light mulattoes, 2 were dark mixed-bloods.

Of 46 members of the state legislature, 69.4 per cent were whites, 15.2 per cent were *brancos da Bahia*, and 11.0 per cent were mulattoes.[23] Of 14 aldermen, 8 were whites, 4 were *brancos da Bahia*, and 2 were mulattoes (both very light).

In legal proceedings no discrimination is at all evident. Colored individuals appear not only among the defendants but also among those engaged in the defense or the prosecution, as well as among the jury itself. Whites, however, predominate.

Of the officers of the medical association, 6 were whites, 3 were *brancos da Bahia*, and 3 were mulattoes. Of 18 members of an elective supervisory body for the legal profession, 14 were whites, 3 were *brancos da Bahia*, and only 1 had noticeable evidence of mixed ancestry and that principally

[23] One deputy was a black, and there was also 1 *mamaluco*.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

palm flat in horizontal position in contrast to a vertical placement for indicating the height of a lower animal.[19]

Although one is not likely to find any Bahian black who has not been given at baptism a "Christian name," nicknames are very common, and many individuals are much better known by them than by their given names. Among such *apelidos* one will occasionally discover terms of probable African derivation; for instance, Okê, Bábá Cumdê, Cobê, Oum, Tau-édê, and Au-weh, all nicknames of members of a local labor union; or, among personages in the fetish world, such names as: Manoelzinho de Oxóssi, Lourenço Lemba, Maria de Tempo, Senhora de Yemanjá, João de Záze, and Flaviano Cavungo, each of which recalls the African *orixá* to which the individual in question is dedicated.

Exercising considerable prestige among a portion of the Bahian population is the *babalaô*, or *olhador*, whose primary function, it seems, is to foretell the future; the *curandeiro*, who by means of herbs, prayers, and other magical manipulations seeks both to treat and to prevent disease; and the *feiticeiro*, or "witch doctor," who, for a price, works black magic. The office of the *babalaô* is occasionally exercised by the *pae de santo*, or priest of the fetish cult, although his function is more particularly that of supervising the rituals and public ceremonies of the cult and overseeing the sacred properties. To some extent he also exercises the function of a *curandeiro*.

[19] A form of greeting recalled by older blacks but rarely used today is as follows: If the individuals are social equals, each lifts his hands, palms outward, and grasps the hands of the other in such a way that the fingers of the one are interlaced with the fingers of the other, after which the "*ogan* grip" is exchanged; if not social equals, the individual of greater prestige places his right hand over the closed hands of the other.

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

life, and Seu Paulo resents the continued presence of the owner and the consequent lessening of his authority. 249* 178 466

Along with their feeling of pride and love for the Recôncavo, many landowners recognize clearly the difficulties with which they are faced. The following excerpt from the diary of Dona Sinhá, which I was allowed to read, illustrates the outlook of a sugar-cane planter of the Recôncavo:

. . . "Dona Sinhá, there is a man here looking for you." "What is it, my son?" "I have some boils coming out all over my body." Some sulfa and a little ointment do the trick, and just in time, for here comes Seu Paulo, the overseer. [757]

"The oxen of Pedras, the neighboring plantation, invaded the cane fields last night. Also those of Seu Cosme." "I'll telephone the usina immediately." "Also, there are no wagons at the loading point." "I'll find out about that too."

The tractor driver comes, complaining that there is no oil. I get that from the storeroom. Now there are two men on the veranda wanting to know about the last payday, when they claim their money "came out wrong." Going through the pay sheets, that was straightened out.

Now, while there is no one else, I'll go out and look over the fields. I look at the plantings, feel the earth which I love. But it doesn't satisfy me. Something is missing. We are backward and retrogressing, passively. This place puts an inertia in the heart of a person, a desire to stop fighting, to find everything fine and as it should be--the ragamuffin Negroes, poorly fed, ignorant and rude, their dirty children with protruding stomachs and the white pretending that there is progress, his house full of company, electricity, radio, telephone, horseback rides, poetry of Baudelaire, Verlaine, philosophy of Voltaire, Carlyle, etc. --but in the end, zero! Sometimes I feel a tremendous anguish, I feel that nothing can be done in the Recôncavo and I want to leave this paralyzed land, poisoned with tradition, with its ruined sobrados. And we today hold fast to these fantasies and want to relive the opulent past. Deep down there is a clash against these indefatigable overseers, mulattoes, and Negroes with their boots, senhores da fazenda. 249* 829 178

the lower classes fail to have at least some knowledge of the ceremonial. In a region where there is little entertainment, such as in the town of Vila Recôncavo and especially in the rural area, the cults provide a major spectator activity, and those who have been exposed to it through their lives appreciate it as such. The number of active participants, however, is small. The house which is functioning in the town has about two dozen initiates, while the rural house is somewhat larger, having about forty-five devotees, only seven of whom are drawn from the plantation on which the house is situated. The rural house is more active for several reasons, according to local informants: the costumes are prettier, and therefore people prefer to dance there; the cult leader is a stronger personality and a better healer than the leader of the town house. The rural house is also more conveniently located for people from the surrounding plantations. Nevertheless, the small number of participants is indicative of the weakness of the institution in this area as a whole.

Healing, however, does play an important part in the cult activities, for the zelador who has "made his saint" has usually learned a large number of ritual and herbal cures. In fact, it is the healing aspect which brings most people to the cult activities. Sick persons, however, generally prefer to entrust themselves first to the ministrations of the plantation owner, plantation nurse, or town doctor. But if they feel they are not being helped, they turn to the cult house. If the sickness is diagnosed by the cult leader as a clear sign that the person is in contact with a spirit, the patient must enter the rites as an initiate or suffer the consequences. But for the ordinary run of headaches, stomach troubles, and skin eruptions, the cult leader draws upon his knowledge of herbal remedies. This knowledge is supposed to come from his deity, who often is St. Roch in this area, and who knows the cure. In fact, the leader of the rural house once compared his establishment with a pharmacy. He is paid for these medical services. Often one hears a person wishing that he could "have" such-and-such a saint so he would know how to cure and be able to make money, as do the cult leaders.

It is a general opinion that cult leaders are financially well off, although they themselves staunchly declare that they are not and that they must live from alms. As a rule all the participants in a house are obliged to contribute to the ceremonial honoring the leader's deity, which is usually the most extravagant ceremonial of the house.

er of the Waters. Naturally, in such a small group, the secret is not very well kept and it is soon known who has sent a present, why, and when. Many people in this group, and some in Class A, entertain the fear that they may become themselves possessed by a deity, especially if they expose themselves to cult activities during a ceremony, and for this reason they do not attend the rituals. To a certain extent this fear is the basis for the protest many of them make against night-long drumming, although the common complaint is that they cannot sleep because of the noise. The sound of the drums at night is very impressive, and no one is unaware that nearby the supernatural is being called. It is very disturbing to those who do not understand the mechanics of the ceremonies and the meaning of the drumming and sacrifices.

565* 794 184 [152]

Spiritualism

Spiritualism, which does not use drums, is as disturbing as cultism to people of all classes, although because of its quieter character it is not always known when a session is taking place. Spiritualism seems to be gaining popularity in the area, although it is greatly feared by many people. It is slowly gaining adherents, however, because of the healing powers exhibited by the mediums. In most cases people are drawn to it, both in the town and in the rural area, through illness and the promise of a cure. Because of lack of aid from the doctor, or because of the expense of medical treatment, or perhaps because of the failure of the African cult to cure him, a patient may try spiritualism as a last resort. For those who are helped by it, it becomes a constant companion, and although they may have entered with fear, they soon lose it. They become staunch defenders and try to draw in their friends. The greatest successes in curing seem to follow the herbal treatments of the African cultists, but spiritualism requires no further obligations, as do the cults. It is common to hear someone say that attendance at a spiritualist seance cured him of some minor ailment and left him free of obligations, and that he did not even have to pay the medium. Spiritualism is also used to discover and counteract the evil eye and evil machinations of any enemy. In spiritualism one finds the same Indian spirits which are found in the local African cults, although no dancing is involved. There is now definite competition between the mediums and the cult leaders for adherents.

771 755 787 [757] [776] [177] [798]

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

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ing the *bozó* in a place where the intended victim is likely to step on it or otherwise touch it.[32] An animal may be "prepared with the *ebó*" so that whoever subsequently touches the animal will catch the illness or inherit the misfortune. If, however, one wishes to avoid transferring the evil to another person, he may do so and still rid himself of his affliction by leaving the *ebó* in a cemetery.

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If a *filha de santo* (ceremonial dancer of the fetish cult) would avoid illness or other misfortune, it is considered highly important that she observe all the taboos, especially those attaching to food and drink. A pregnant woman must avoid vegetables and all meats other than chicken; she must not join a funeral procession, since the spirit of the deceased might enter her child; and she must avoid a rose touching her bare breast, for otherwise the child, it is believed, will be born with a birthmark.[33]

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Charms may be of a specific nature like the *figa*[34] or the

[32] The affliction may, however, be transferred to someone toward whom no harm was originally intended if the individual placing the *ebó*, either ignorantly or with intention, fails to leave it in the designated place. The first person coming in physical contact with it will be affected. So widespread is this fear of the *ebó* that chauffeurs, even at the risk of an accident, will not run a wheel over one.

[33] Current folk medicines include: for syphilis, whale oil; for a toothache, pig or burro dung smoked in a clay pipe; for a cough, sweetened tea prepared by boiling a termite nest; for sore throat, tea made by boiling a live lizard whose body is then removed from the vessel and buried with its head toward the new moon. Native herbs are extensively employed, particularly by *curandeiros*, or they may be administered at the hands of anyone "instructed" by a "manifesting" deity, a common occurrence in those *candomblés* known as *de caboclo* (a portion of whose ritual is probably of native Indian origin) and in spiritualist centers like that in Alto do Bom Gosto, in Calcada, one of whose directors remarked, "So many *caboclos* 'manifest themselves' because they know so well how to heal with herbs."

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[34] The *figa* is an image, usually made from wood, of a closed fist with the thumb inserted between the index and middle fingers.

[SALVADOR]

/45 cont./

*563 829 The Whites justify their opposition to marriages with Blacks, not only by ideologies concerning the mental and moral inferiority of the Black, but also by an "instinctive" repulsion to certain organic characteristics of Africans and their close descendants. A mulatto, reared among Europeans, expresses this attitude by saying that "it is not so much the color prejudice that is strong in Bahia as the instinctive repulsion of the white race for the taint of the sister race when it is pure or almost pure: bad odor, color, etc., which does not fail to provoke disagreeable comments about the descendants of Ham." It should be noted that, *563 829 828 147 concerning the "bad odor," that of the Blacks is regarded as something inherent in their nature and thus irremediable, the disagreeable odor of the Portuguese and the other immigrants being attributed solely to the lack of body care. This conception puts the Black in a special and inferior psychological category, many Whites not knowing that they themselves emit an odor intolerable to the Asiatics and to the Blacks (1).

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1. It is interesting to note what happens in blood transfusion. When this was done directly from donor to recipient, often the white patient or his family preferred white donors, showing annoyance when the donor was mulatto or black. At present, with the system of preserved blood, almost no one asks what the "quality" of the donor is, except Jews and certain foreigners, especially Europeans who demand blood from members of their family or their "race." In the first instance, what motivated the attitude of the Whites was above all the fact that the donor was lying in a bed parallel to that of the sick person, a situation recalling the intimacy of two persons who sleep side by side.

5: Azevedo--42 D, Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
[Salvador]

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3. At the bedside of a sick person.

[SALVADOR]

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*563 463 The proportion of colored persons in each liberal profession depends on various factors. In those that have the least prestige (agricultural engineers as compared to civil engineers, non-graduate lawyers as compared to graduate ones) this proportion is *563 759 larger. A very black student of medicine calls attention to the fact that the Blacks in general do not devote themselves to surgery: "Some take up this specialization, but end up by remaining in the general clinic. Odontology is not a good career for them either: what well-dressed white girl would wish to open her mouth *563 758 759 743 565 in front of a Black?" In the hospitals, physicians and attendants of all types care for the sick, who are all gathered together according to their maladies and according to their rank, and not according to their color: in the private clinics that take patients of the higher classes, everyone is admitted, provided that he can pay the price demanded.

*563 554 463 [301] The title of "doctor" and the marks of deference due a graduate are given without distinction to black or white persons who practice a liberal profession, which is why some of them have retained the habit of wearing on one of the fingers of the hand a "symbolic ring" of their profession, in order to be able to be identified and treated with the requisite consideration. Moreover, a Black may manifest the desire to practice a liberal profession without encountering hostility or scorn on the part of the Whites. In spite of this, some tens of years ago there were professors who humiliated a black student showing little intelligence or little industry, by saying "while so many people need a cook or laundress, there are Blacks who have presumed to become doctors." The author asked [124] the professors of a primary school of the State for permission to question its 93 most advanced students, of both sexes, about the careers that they wished to take up later. The percentage of replies received, according to sex and type, were:

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Town Life]

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The majority of people in Group 1 live in the older part of Vila Recôncavo, often in the old colonial sobrados, and they [361] rarely descend the hill to the part of town inhabited by the fishermen. Indeed, they mix little with people of the town, and there is almost no social life within the group itself. Parties are expensive, and visiting from house to house in the [574] evening is not common. Vila Recôncavo has no such pastime as the evening walk in the square. This group is seldom united on anything, especially local politics; however, the more distant the question the more apt the group is to be of one mind.

Most families in this group send their children to school in [871] Salvador, go there on holidays whenever possible, receive the city newspaper and the Diario Oficial,[2] and shop in the city [204] as often as they can. [443]

Vila Recôncavo differs in one respect from most other rural Brazilian communities: it has no parish priest. The mother church of the parish (matriz) has long been unable to support its own priest, and the duties which would normally fall [792] to such a person are performed by the Franciscans, whose convent is in Vila Recôncavo. The priests remain within the convent, taking little or no part in the social life of the town. 793

It will be noted that there was no mention of a drug store in Vila Recôncavo. There was none until 1945, when a nonprofit [444] organization, the Institute of Vila Recôncavo, was opened. This is a medical post supported by federal, state, municipal, [792] and private funds; its director is Friar Innocence, a Franciscan lay brother. The institute is housed in the spacious old buildings of the extinct Third Order of Franciscans, and consists of a pharmacy, an infants' milk and soup distributing center, a maternity post, a dental post, and other medical facilities. The dentist, who has modern equipment, is competent in his work. For several years a doctor was in daily attendance, dividing his time between the institute and the petroleum workers' camp. As a result of a complicated local political conflict, he left the institute, however, and Friar Innocence arranged for a visiting doctor to come from Centro and spend two days a week in Vila Recôncavo. Three town girls were sent to Salvador to study nursing and midwifery, so there is competent medical assistance. 743 759

2. The Diario Oficial is the newspaper in which government laws and regulations are published. As a rule, it is the publication of a regulation which makes it become a law.

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512 days when their husbands cannot go. The wives of fishermen
462 also have to cook meals at different times in the day for their husbands, who generally bring enough fish from the last catch for one or two meals. It is the woman who goes to the store for farina, coffee, beans, rice, and so on. Their evenings are usually spent at home sewing, making or mending a net either for their husbands or for someone else. If there is a samba they may go and watch but seldom stay long, but if there is a candomblé ceremony they may spend the whole night there, especially if they participate in it. In such a case they often take their children with them and put them to sleep in the house, or else put them on a bench to watch the proceedings.

759 The institute has broken down the pattern of the practical
743 midwife, known locally as parteira or curiosa, since one of
178 the first things done when it opened in 1945 was to have several young girls trained in Salvador as midwives. Up to that time, however, there had only been older women, who through experience and sometimes through necessity had taken on the job of midwives. In the rural area the untrained midwife is still important, for the clinic has not yet made itself felt to
846 the majority of people living there. When the time comes for
759 the birth of a child, a neighbor or perhaps a relative comes
462 into the house to cook and clean and look after the other chil-
[844] dren, and occasionally to assist with the birth. The father continues his usual round of occupations, as most women put it, "earning enough to feed another mouth." In some cases the man helps with the housework when he is home, and there are several men in the town who are good cooks and who can look after the children. In other cases the midwife may stay several days in the house, doing all these things. Recently, however, as a result of the death of one midwife and the resignation of two trained ones of the institute, the other two have been so busy that they cannot spend much time in any one house. A common complaint because of this is that the midwife tries to hurry the birth, massaging the woman's abdomen, and frequently attempting to induce birth before the normal time.

759 The most popular midwife in town rarely has a chance to rest. She is in her seventies and is frequently in a state of exhaustion from caring for households where a birth has taken place. She sleeps there, usually on a grass mat since the mother occupies the only bed. She serves in the rural area also, as well as on the islands facing the town. Payment for

[Class C Families]

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4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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563 171 571 gives evidence of definite personal worth, he will be accepted for what he is as an individual, and his racial antecedents will, at least to a considerable degree, be overlooked.

The extent of participation of the different ethnic units in the total life of the community may be indicated by analyzing racial participation in such institutions as exclusive clubs, schools, labor unions, and churches.

* 563 571 575 565 One of Bahia's most exclusive clubs, membership in which is definitely indicative of advanced social status, is composed of Bahian "society," including most of the leading officials and many of the more prominent citizens. Numerous receptions for visiting celebrities are held at this club, and its dances are considered to be among the principal social functions of the year. No blacks have yet been admitted, although several mixed-bloods, including a number of *brancos da Bahia* and even a few dark mulattoes, are regular and honored members. Whites, of course, predominate.

* 563 571 575 463 759 554 Among the members is a dark mixed-blood, with Caucasian hair and features, a prominent citizen, an able eye, ear, nose, and throat specialist trained in Europe, and husband of a white wife. Of him a Bahian of undiluted European descent once commented, "You know when I went to see him about my eyes the other day, I never once thought of him as colored. I needed professional advice and I simply recalled that he, like his father before him, was the best eye specialist in Bahia." Another member of this club is a dark mixed-blood, a wealthy exporter, prominent in Bahian commercial circles, and husband of a white wife, upon whose visits into the interior, it is said, all those with whom he has business dealings (including whites) feel deeply honored when he visits them in their homes.

5: Azevedo--42 D, Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[Salvador].

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3. At the bedside of a sick person.

5: Azevedo--3 D, Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
[Salvador]

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4. Woman doctor from Salvador.

[SALVADOR]

/82 cont./

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Professions	Total number	Percentage		
		Whites	Métis	Blacks
Lawyers	1,088	68.8	30	1.1
Civil engineers .	518	72.8	26.8	0.3
Physicians . . .	1,712	81.1	16.9	2
Pharmacists . .	173	82	14.4	3.6

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• [759]

Men of all types occupy posts in public administrations and have management posts in them: they can reach the highest offices without having this provoke comments by their subordinates. Some of the better physicians in Bahia have been colored men whose names are recalled with respect and gratitude. A dark mulatto, brother of a female informant, was classed in first place, along with two white colleagues, in a competition for an important technical post. According to other informants, however, the exclusions formerly suffered by the candidates for the posts of the magistracy were attributed to race prejudice. "One did not openly deny the merits of colored candidates, but in the classification they always figured in second or third rank, although they achieved excellent tests," one informant tells us, and he adds that a certain colored candidate, after having been approved, saw his appointment postponed on several repeated occasions. In spite of this, there are in the judicial magistracy numerous morenos and dark colored men occupying the positions of judges, prosecutors, and praetors. The highest tribunal of the State includes about one-third colored judges, some of whom have assumed the /83/ presidency of the court of appeals. Other positions connected with judiciary power are also filled by colored men, and it is the same for those of clerk of the court. The positions of notary, for example, very lucrative positions, are filled by persons of great prestige. Among the five notaries of the city one is fino white, of aristocratic family, and has already occupied important political posts, among them that of governor of the State; another, a very black Black, is very much appreciated for his moral qualities.

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[SALVADOR]

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*563 463 The proportion of colored persons in each liberal profession depends on various factors. In those that have the least prestige (agricultural engineers as compared to civil engineers, non-graduate lawyers as compared to graduate ones) this proportion is *563 larger. A very black student of medicine calls attention to the •759 fact that the Blacks in general do not devote themselves to surgery: "Some take up this specialization, but end up by remaining in the general clinic. Odontology is not a good career for them either: what well-dressed white girl would wish to open her mouth *563 in front of a Black?" In the hospitals, physicians and attendants 758 of all types care for the sick, who are all gathered together ac- 759 cording to their maladies and according to their rank, and not ac- 743 cording to their color; in the private clinics that take patients of 565 the higher classes, everyone is admitted, provided that he can pay the price demanded.

*563 The title of "doctor" and the marks of deference due a graduate 554 are given without distinction to black or white persons who prac- 463 tice a liberal profession, which is why some of them have retained [301] the habit of wearing on one of the fingers of the hand a "symbolic ring" of their profession, in order to be able to be identified and treated with the requisite consideration. Moreover, a Black may manifest the desire to practice a liberal profession without encountering hostility or scorn on the part of the Whites. In spite of this, some tens of years ago there were professors who humiliated a black student showing little intelligence or little industry, by saying "while so many people need a cook or laundress, there are Blacks who have presumed to become doctors." The author asked [124] the professors of a primary school of the State for permission to question its 93 most advanced students, of both sexes, about the careers that they wished to take up later. The percentage of replies received, according to sex and type, were:

[Class C Families]

her services ranges anywhere from fifty cruzeiros to nothing but thanks, but with the understanding that when she is ill the family will help her, since she lives alone. 759

If a baptized child dies before it is seven years old, it is called an angel and goes straight to heaven, while if it dies before this age and is unbaptized, it is called a pagan and goes to limbo. The angel is carried through the streets in an open coffin, for everyone to see. The lid is put on the coffin after it is in the ground, whereupon all those in attendance scoop in some earth. The attitude toward the death of a child is one of mixed joy and sadness, and sometimes of joy only. If the mother and father wanted the child very badly, they feel sad; but otherwise the general attitude is that the child is better off dead, especially since he becomes an angel. The difference in the ringing of the church bells also shows this, for the ringing for a dead child is a short, almost joyous sound, while that for an adult is a long, sad tolling. 761 851 775 [533]

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[Class C Families]

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sen because it is the name of the saint on whose day the child 551
is born. There is also a good sprinkling of the more common names such as Antonio, João, Lourdes, and Maria. But if a child develops any peculiar characteristics, either physical or personal, he or she will be called by some descriptive 551
term based on the peculiarity. Most people have nicknames such as Patão (Big Duck), Barco Velho (Old Boat), Cuspe Grosso (Thick Spit) or Gatinho (Little Cat), and in time their own proper name is forgotten almost entirely and used only for formal occasions such as signing records. The diminutive form of the given name is also popular, and is applied even to upper-class people, for example, Dr. Zeca (diminutive for Dr. José). In some cases a man is even known by his mother's or wife's name, for example, José de Ingracia.

In choosing godparents, there is great freedom. If possible, 608
at least one of the godparents will be a member of the upper [565]
class, a patron who will help the child if necessary, especially if the godson when he grows up wants to go to school in the city or enter the army or navy. The other godparent may be a member of the child's family, or in some cases the midwife. In many cases the wife chooses the female godparent, especially if she suspects that her husband is paying too much attention to some other woman. In such a case she asks that woman to become the godmother; the latter can hardly refuse, 608
as it is always considered a compliment. By becoming the godmother the woman is put effectively out of reach of the husband, as there can be no sexual relations between parents and 835
godparents. This is a common device of women who have an unmarried sister living in the home, and it usually calls a halt to any amorous intentions on the part of either the husband or the sister. There have been cases, however, where [626]
this rule was broken. Usually the couple who break this taboo are highly censured by the rest of the community, for the wife, if she finds out, tells her friends about it. In one case [762]
which occurred in Vila Recôncavo during the author's stay, the woman was so ashamed and frightened by the sin she had committed that she killed herself by drinking rat poison.

In the rural area, while the man is usually acknowledged to 593
be the dominant person in the family, it is the woman who 369
dictates most of the daily actions. The children are with her most of the time, helping in the house and working with her in the garden, both girls and boys. When schools opened recently on several of the plantations, it was the mothers, not

[Class C Families]

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Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

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346 by a large and sumptuous church, in which the first Mass was celebrated in 1722. The magnificence of the church is still present, although the original altars have been replaced by
[532] new ones. Exquisite tiles depicting the life of St. Anthony, to whom the church is dedicated, line the sides of the church. The floors are of marble, and the wooden ceilings are painted
[322] in oils. It is said that the marble and the painted ceilings were brought from Portugal. The woodwork in the choir loft and
[205] sacristy is beautiful hand-worked rosewood. The clock in the bell tower which rings the hour and half-hour is still the town timepiece, its sound reaching far out over the Bay. Under the marble floor, between the altar and the communion rail, are
[764] the tombs of the early families of Vila Recôncavo. The names inscribed on the tombs constitute a roster of families now scattered throughout the nation.

175 It is not known exactly when the Tertiary Order of Franciscans was first formed in Vila Recôncavo, but it too has left
792 its mark on the face of the town, for it constructed another large church and two-story building at the side of the convent.
346 The chronicler of the convent in the early 1900's wrote:

> Of the epoch of the formation of the Tertiary Order and the construction of the church and buildings nothing remains, not a document exists, with the exception of one book, consisting of the elections, offices, and resolutions of the Order. This book was begun in 1853 and ended in 1866. On the ceiling of the church appears the date 1751, in white paint, which seems to be of the original workmanship, and at the side of it can be seen in black paint "repaired in 1844." The lands of the Order are known only through the tradition of the people, since no document exists.[6]

If the date 1751 can be taken as the date of the construction of the church of the Tertiary Order, it can be assumed that the Order existed in Vila Recôncavo some time before this date, at least early in the 1700's. These additions to the convent were the last of the noble constructions in the town of Vila Recôncavo and took place at the end of the town's flourishing period. They were the last public expression of grandeur in the

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6. Author's translation.

following days to make new supplies. On the return trip she brings wheat flour, peanuts, potatoes, and whatever is not available in Vila Recôncavo, as special orders (encomendas) for people in the town, who pay the price of the article plus a small percentage for her trouble in doing the shopping. 443 463

The people of Group 3 do most of their own labor; the men follow their trade while their womenfolk do the housework, care for the children, fetch water and firewood, and do their own laundry. This group also uses the batalhão for house building and repairing, although many employ the services of a carpenter to do the woodwork or a bricklayer to make a foundation, in contrast to the people of the preceding group, whose houses are usually built with a minimum of crude woodwork and without masonry foundations. The majority of men in this group, the fishermen, live in the lower part of town, in the areas known as Boqueirão, Caquende, and Cortume (see map of town). The others are scattered throughout the town, up the hill in back of the area of sobrados, and on the side of the hill sloping down to the beach. The fishermen have their own chapel built near the beach, which they support with the tithe (dizimo), a tenth of their earnings. The people in the fishing group seldom go up the hill to the older part of town, feeling that they do not belong there. 463 [462] [342] [361] [346] [764]

A few words need to be said about Group 4, which consists of thirty-one people who do not fit into the other three groups. Eleven of them, who listed themselves as unemployed, are unskilled persons, without a trade, and without a patron or service employment skill. For the most part they are women, and although an examination of the census data shows that they have no visible means of support, they do engage in subsistence activities such as carrying water, cutting spits for xangô, making dendê palm oil, or making fish nets, but not on a regular contract basis. Since they engage in a variety of small independent activities and work for different people at different times, they listed themselves as unemployed in the sense of being without a regular occupation. 463 464

Nine people in Group 4 lived in the town at the time of the census but worked at the Usina São Pedro. Three men worked on the sugar plantation nearest town, preferring to live in town rather than on the plantation, since the trip back and forth is so short. And, finally, the group includes eight people who were employed by the Institute of Vila Recôncavo as nurses, pharmacists, bookkeeper, and bartender. These people

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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ter them any others who want to receive it. Through the year few people from the rural area go to hear Mass in town, unless they have asked for a special service in honor of their patron saint or in the memory of a dead relative. They usually wait for the priest's visit to their own locality. The same is true of weddings and baptisms, which are often held up pending the arrival of the priest. 79

In case of death, the corpse is buried within twenty-four hours. Each parish has its own cemetery, and the relatives and friends of the dead carry the coffin there for burial. In the parish of Vila Recôncavo, the cemetery lies just outside the town. People from this parish, as well as those from the town itself, take the coffin to the convent before burial to be blessed, for there is always a priest there. Then they carry the coffin to the cemetery. In the other parishes the dead are buried without the benefit of a blessing, which will however take place on the second of November, when priests try to visit each cemetery and bless all the dead. 79 764

The many duties which have fallen upon the Franciscans have made it almost impossible for them to continue the type of life prescribed for those who enter an order. It is very difficult for them to attend the retreats to which they should go; there is little or no time for them to study or contemplate, or to teach, for they have been faced with the discouraging reality of trying to keep religion alive in a population too large and scattered for proper contact to be maintained. In 1941 Vila Recôncavo was described by the provincial canonical visitors as "one of the greatest crosses of our Province, because of the five decadent parishes entrusted to it."[2] The same book speaks constantly of the "deplorable indifference" and "religious coldness" of the people of Vila Recôncavo. In 1949 the statistics of religious activities were as follows: 333 baptisms (184 legitimate and 149 illegitimate children), 27 weddings, 200 First Communions, 8,292 general Communions, and 80 Communions for sick people. 792 794 795 [162]

As of today there are no religious brotherhoods in Vila Recôncavo. The last to pass out of existence was the Brotherhood of the Most Sacred Sacrament, which was closed upon the death of its treasurer early in this century. The Third Order of Franciscans, formally closed in 1902, was reopened in 792

2. Livro de cronica do convento, Vila Recôncavo (MS in Franciscan Convent, Vila Recôncavo).

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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As the mulatto rose in class, he came to occupy something analogous to a middle position distinct from either that of the dominant European or that of the subject African. In the colonial period, "to appease the repugnance felt by whites at being put on the same level with mulattoes,"[14] the latter were segregated for military duty. Thus separate battalions were organized at Bahia and elsewhere for whites, for *pardos*,[15] and for *pretos*.[16] Similarly, separate church organizations arose for *pardos* (Palma, Guadaloupe, Boqueirão) as well as for *pretos*.[17]

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In the Brazilian rural society of the colonial period Oliveira Vianna identifies three distinct social strata: the predominantly white *senhores* of the upper rank, the predominantly mixed-blood free artisans, *rendeiros*, and petty

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and women of the Brazilian aristocracy who were blessed with small feet. The difficulties of the blacks, even when serving as pages, to adjust themselves to this new European and aristocratic style so ill adapted to their large and flat feet, can be easily understood. The mulattoes, on the other hand, who possessed smaller feet, well formed according to the European standard, could adapt themselves more readily to a practice which Handelmann observed constituted in nineteenth-century Brazil one of the marks of class distinction" (Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, pp. 329–30).

[14] Vianna, *op. cit.*, p. 164; see also his *Populaçoes meridionaes do Brasil* (3d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 140.

[15] In Bahia, the Regimento dos Pardos. See Luiz dos Santos Vilhena, *Cartas*, edited and annotated by Braz do Amaral (2 vols.; Bahia, 1922), pp. 253–54.

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[16] In Bahia, as elsewhere, Os Henriques.

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[17] In Bahia, Rosario de João Pereira, Barroquinha, Corpo Santo, Rosario "at the foot of the Pelourinho." Cf. also: "The cemetery for Africans was located next to the Misericordia Cemetery, as one can see from the map made of the city of Salvador and its suburbs by Carlos Augusto Weyll" (J. B. von Spix and C. F. P. von Martius, *Através da Bahia* [excerpts from the larger work, *Reise in Brasilien* (3 vols.; München, 1823–31)], trans. Pirajá da Silva and Paulo Wolf [3d ed.; São Paulo, 1938], pp. 141–42 [translators' note]).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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songs are ordinarily composed of simple sentences in the minor key, and the scale, which on importation from Africa is said to have consisted of only five intervals, now has seven.

Among the invocations sung to the various *orixás* is that given by a former *ogan* of the *candomblé* of Gantois:

[539]

Egbêji mori ô ri, okorin-kam
Orolu mori ô ri, okorin-kam
(Powerful One, I know thee as the first man)

Ôkum-kum biri-biri
Ajá lê mori ô korin-kam
(Even in the dark I can see thou art powerful)

A orêrê aiê, orixá loman,
Iá, ochê Egbêji orêrê, aiê
(In the whole world, nothing is hidden from the Great-One)[11]

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At the burial of a cult member the songs and musical instruments of the *candomblé* ceremonies are now seldom used as, it is said, they formerly were. But the casket is carried by *ogans*, and the *filhas*, in *bahiana* costume, accompany the procession. Since it is still believed that the *orixá* of the departed may at this time seek a new *cavalo*, no pregnant woman attends. "Possession," however, may and does occur. Thus, at the burial of an elderly Negro woman, a *filha* of Ogun from the *candomblé* of Engenho Velho, who had been "made" for thirty-three years and was widely known and respected for her knowledge of African ritual, two *filhas de santo* were "seized" as the procession wound its way up the steep ascent to Quinta dos Lazaros Cemetery, and another later as the crypt was being sealed. In each case "possession" began with light weeping which soon increased to loud sobbing, the individual meanwhile pressing her hands

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[11] Manoel Querino, *Costumes africanos no Brasil* (Rio, 1938), p. 108.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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forcefully to her head, one in front and one in back, as if in great pain. Knees then gave way and shoulders and back muscles began to vibrate violently. In one case, the spine stiffened and, with the exception of the shoulder muscles which continued a rapid quivering, the entire body became rigid, with arms and legs stretched out at full length. Meanwhile, the *filha* whimpered, cried, or shrieked aloud.

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To reach the *seita* of a well-known *mãe de santo*, one takes a Calçada car out of the city, past orange groves and fields of tall forage grass, to the Matadouro, where he alights and begins to climb a steep winding road lined with the *nativo* plant (said to be native to Africa) and *uricuri* and coconut palms, until, after more than a mile of trudging, he comes out onto a high ridge overlooking a green valley, where he can see, far in the distance, the houses of the city. A cool breeze blows in from the sea and tempers the heat of the tropical sun. In a grove of scattered palm trees nestle several houses, some of which are neatly whitewashed and others tinted pink, yellow, or blue.

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The *mãe de santo* is called Anninha. She is a tall regal-appearing black, whose slightest gesture is immediately obeyed by members of her *seita*. She owns considerable property and is said to be otherwise quite well to do. She boasts, proudly, "Sou filha de dois Africanos, graças a Deus" ("I am the daughter of two Africans, thank God"). Queito she learned to speak, she says, from her parents; Nagô she acquired "in the *seita*." She is illiterate, but of her learning in the ritual and belief of the African cult an *ogan* says, with pride, "She knows African things better than anyone I know in Bahia." Intelligent, quick-witted, agile in debate, she is one of the most widely respected and revered leaders of the Afro-Brazilian world.

[SALVADOR]

/22 cont./

175 829 567 182 797 The generally gentle and humane treatment that the owners reserved for their slaves and the efforts made by the Catholic clergy, from the beginning of the slave trade, to try to incorporate the /23/ Africans into the Catholic religion played an important role in the establishment of good relations between races in Bahia as throughout Brazil. Contrary to what occurred in the 175 177 829 567 797 other colonial nations, where the aborigines and the imported slaves were kept in a state of segregation, like unassimilable "savages," in Brazil the natives and the Blacks were baptized, catechized, and admitted into the Church as men. Thus, numerous slaves, baptized Negroes, were no longer considered "beasts" and became "Christians," with the same title as the European colonists, having to endure neither hostility nor religious dis- 175 797 198 567 crimination. They were taught the Christian doctrine, and the preachers endeavored to speak to them in their languages, chiefly in nagô, which had become a sort of lingua franca in which the Africans of different origins were able to understand one another. 175 567 79 [585] [764] They intermarried; their marriage having been consecrated by the Church, this protected them when their masters intended to separate the spouses or sell one of the partners; they received the sacraments; they acted as witnesses in religious proceedings and participated as acolytes in religious ceremonies; they marched in the processions, carrying the standards and emblems of their brotherhoods; they were buried in the Christian cemeteries, the owners of slaves being obliged to call the priest in time to assist the dying. No one pretends by that to claim that their lives were free from suffering or that the Negroes were thus completely integrated in Catholicism. The clergy, the owners, and the civil authorities always allowed them some freedom concerning certain proceedings of their pagan cults and never forced them to embrace the official religion. They likewise permitted them to amuse themselves in their way by dances, songs, ceremonies (batuques), banquets in the manner of those of their countries of [177] [791] origin. From that comes this Catholicism somewhat mixed with fetishist beliefs and practices that constitutes the religion of a large part of the colored people of Bahia (1).

[113] 1. Roger Bastide, "Religion and the Church in

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794 to do with cultism. His parents were strongly opposed to cult-
[778] ism and had told him that it was bad. But the next day the stone was back in his house, frightening him. He again threw it away, and again it reappeared in his house. Then he took it to the cult leader on the plantation, who told him that it was a sign that he had an obligation to fulfill toward the gods. To
[782] put an end to the matter, it was necessary to make certain appeasements in the form of food and drink. So he began to save money, and at the same time took instruction from the woman as to what to do. During this time he became genuinely interested in cultism and became the "most curious"
[428] of the woman's disciples. He studied for many years with her
[765] and did as much as he could in the ceremonies. When she died she left the house to him, as he was the most active among her followers. After he had observed the honorary period of a year after her death and had properly dispatched her saints, he moved into the house where he has now been leader for
[578] thirteen years. Because of jealousies and fights over the inheritance, many of the devotees broke away and went to other houses, taking their saints with them.

793 Three years after he had taken over the house, he had his
794 first experience with the Indian spirit Seven Stars, who came to him in a dream and let it be known that he wanted to enter
787 the man and become part of the cult. For some time the man
177 resisted, for the cult was traditionally Nagô and the former leader would have had nothing to do with Indian spirits. Seven Stars, however, threatened him with extinction if he did not comply, so in the end he gave in, and one night during a ceremony was possessed by Seven Stars. Everyone liked Seven Stars, because he was a very happy and gay spirit and danced well. After this many other devotees in the house were also possessed by this as well as by one or two other Indian spirits, neither of which, however, was considered as nice as Seven Stars.

794 According to dogma, there are twenty-one Indian spirits,
787 although the informant could not name them all and neither could anyone else. All twenty-one live in an aldeia (village) in
177 the woods. There was nothing in the African tradition to tell
[776] what preparation was necessary for these spirits, so the entire ritual became one of inventiveness and propitiousness. Nowadays young people who enter the cults are nearly always taken by an Indian spirit and are much pleased, for these spirits involve less expense and much less work. The major com-

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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while the *orixás* "partake" of a special sacrifice offered to them. Her hair is cut off, her head shaved,[8] and dots and circles are painted in white upon the crown, forehead, and cheeks. The initiate then takes on *obí* in her hand, the *atabaques* begin to beat an invocation to her *orixá*, and she dances the special dance sacred to him until he "arrives in her head" and she experiences once more the *estado de santo*. The *yaubá* is then escorted from the *pegi* to the *camarinha*, where she remains for sixteen days before participating in her first public ceremony, whence she returns to the *camarinha* for a period of six months to a year, to be taught the various rituals of the cult, the songs, and, to some extent at least, an African language. Meanwhile, she is subject to certain food and other taboos.

To verify her acceptance by the *orixá*, a *filha* may be required to undergo without evidence of bodily harm an ordeal, such as swallowing lighted candlewicks soaked in *azeite de dendê*, thrusting her hands into boiling palm oil, chewing the leaves of the *urtiga* (Brazilian thistle), or submitting, on bended knee, to being beaten about the neck and arms with a sprig of the thorny *cansanção*.

Throughout her life the new *filha de santo*, in addition to submitting to the "manifestations" of her *orixá*, must perform on occasion certain ritualistic acts, rigorously observe certain food, drink, and sex taboos, and wear a special costume on ceremonial occasions and "days of obligation" (Fridays especially). On her death this costume, together with the other objects of cult worship belonging to her, are taken and dropped into the sea, "to be carried by the waves back to Africa."

Upon being "made," the *filha de santo* acquires a *guia*

[8] Formerly, all hairy parts of the body were shaved.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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794 178 177 829 As a Bahian white said, "When a black man puts on a tie and shoes and learns to read and write, he loses interest in the *candomblé*. There are really two civilizations at Bahia, ours and the African. When a black begins seriously to take on our customs, he seldom spends any more time at *candomblés*." A prominent mulatto educator remarked, "I've never been to a fetish cult. I have no interest in them." A Negro laborer admitted that he used to go to such ceremonies, "but no more; I've given all that up now." The young nephew of a prominent *babalaô* said, "All this low stuff ought to be done away with. It's a sign of a very backward people. It has even disappeared in Africa. The English came into Lagos and brought modern civilization. Only in Bahia do these old customs hang on."

794 178 578 Indicative of the disintegrating state of the fetish world is the continuous and, at times, acute jealousy among the leaders and members of its more orthodox centers. In a given *seita* one hears much critical gossip regarding the practices of some other center. It is accused of forsaking the "true" African tradition and of inadequately interpreting mystical experiences. As the number of *Africanos* decreases, competition between the *seitas* for their allegiance is naturally increasing.

794 829 793 554 Among the Negroes who still identify themselves with the cult, the past tends to be romanticized, and the prestige of the "old Africans," like Bambuxê, Adeta, Iyalode Erelu, and others, to be constantly enhanced. Similarly, the prestige of the older cult figures who are still living—the *babalaô* Martiniano, *mãe de santo* Anninha,[21] and the aged Maria Bádá,

793 766 [21] Since this was written, *mãe de santo* Anninha has died. Of her funeral, the *Estado da Bahia* (January 5, 1938) said: "The crowd of people who accompanied the body to Quinta dos Lazaros Cemetery was one of the largest ever seen in Bahia and recalls the funeral for Pae Adão in Recife. More than

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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all of whom represent the African tradition in its "purest" form—is, throughout the fetish world, very great."

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two thousand persons were present, including members of the Irmandade of Rosario Church, dressed in their robes. The coffin, which was, in keeping with Anninha's request, quite modest, had over it the robe she had worn as a member of this Irmandade of which she was so proud, and was carried on the shoulders of the Brothers of Nossa Senhora do Rosario and of São Benedicto. The crowd of mourners blocked traffic in Rua Dr. Seabra for more than half an hour. Some *filhas de santo* wept unceasingly. Others related the virtues of the kind Anninha.

"When the coffin, carried by pious hands, entered the large gate of the cemetery, the *atabaques* broke out into African rhythms, while sad voices rose in the African songs of the *seita* to which the illustrious *mãe de santo* belonged.

"In the chapel of the cemetery, Canon Assis Curvello repeated the *encommendação*, and her body was laid away in a recently opened crypt.

"Then several orators spoke, among them Snr. Alvaro MacDowell de Oliveira in the name of the União das Seitas Afro-Brasileiras da Bahia, the journalist Edison Carneiro, and representatives of the Centro Cruz Santa do Aché de Okô Afonjá and of the Irmandade of Rosario Church. When the ceremony was over, two omnibuses carried a large number of the friends of Anninha to São Gonçalo do Retiro, where they took part in the preparatory ritual for the African funeral ceremony of Axèxê, to be held seven days after the death of the beloved leader of the *terreiro* of Aché de Okô Afonjá. This ceremony will consist of rites for the eternal peace of the dead *mãe de santo* and will be participated in by *ogans*, *filhas de santo*, *paes de santo*, and other friends of the deceased."

" This chapter is primarily based upon the author's personal experience as a visitor at numerous ceremonies in eighteen *seitas* at Bahia and as a participant over a period of several months as an *ogan* in the *candomblé* of Pae Procopio in Matatú. For further information see, in addition to the works of Nina Rodrigues, Arthur Ramos, Manoel Querino, and Edison Carneiro previously cited: Padre Étienne Ignace Brasil, "Le Fetichisme des negres du Brésil," *Anthropos*, III (1908), 881–904; Gonçalves Fernandes, *Xangôs do Nordeste* (Rio, 1937) and *O folklore magico do Nordeste* (Rio, 1938); João Varella, *Cosme e Damião* (Bahia, 1938); the novels *O feiticeiro* by Xavier Marques (Bahia, 1922) and *Jubiabá* by Jorge Amado (Rio, 1935); and newspaper accounts such as "Creado o conselho africano da Bahia," *Estado da Bahia*, August 4, 1937, and "No mundo cheio de mysterios dos espiritos e 'paes de santo,'" *ibid.*, May 14, 1936.

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her services ranges anywhere from fifty cruzeiros to nothing but thanks, but with the understanding that when she is ill the family will help her, since she lives alone. 759

If a baptized child dies before it is seven years old, it is called an angel and goes straight to heaven, while if it dies before this age and is unbaptized, it is called a pagan and goes to limbo. The angel is carried through the streets in an open coffin, for everyone to see. The lid is put on the coffin after it is in the ground, whereupon all those in attendance scoop in some earth. The attitude toward the death of a child is one of mixed joy and sadness, and sometimes of joy only. If the mother and father wanted the child very badly, they feel sad; but otherwise the general attitude is that the child is better off dead, especially since he becomes an angel. The difference in the ringing of the church bells also shows this, for the ringing for a dead child is a short, almost joyous sound, while that for an adult is a long, sad tolling. 761 851 775 [533]

If it appears that a child is going to die after it has been born, an effort is made to have it baptized as soon as possible. But if it is healthy, it is baptized whenever the family can do so. The baptism includes a small party for the family and godparents. Formerly if a child died before it was baptized, its grave was sometimes baptized on the eve of São João by the woman who had been chosen to be its godmother. The family and godparents would go to the cemetery at midnight and gather around the grave, which the godmother sprinkled with water and baptized. This, however, is no longer done. 763 851 769 851 178

According to the parish records, 705 children were baptized in the county during 1950; 320 of those belonged to the community of Vila Recôncavo. The civil register, however, showed only 276 persons of all ages registered in the county for the same year. A child is seldom registered right after birth, or even at the time of baptism, but whenever the parents think of it. Sometimes a person must do it himself when, as an adult, he needs a registration certificate. The situation is changing gradually as life becomes more entangled in official red tape, and people are registering their children more frequently than they used to. Members of classes A and B are much more careful about this matter than are the lower classes. 851 217 162 [178] [565]*

According to law, the medical doctor must sign a death certificate before a permit to bury someone can be obtained, so the figures for deaths are more accurate than those for births. The civil register for the community of Vila Recôncavo 217 [763] [759] 600

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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[113] [12]Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, No. 8 (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço Gráfico do Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, 1949), pp. 59-80.
[114] The Zona Fisiográfica Centro-Litoral (Central-Littoral Physiographic zone) is one of a series of nine so-called physiographic zones used as major subdivisions in Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, No. 8. It includes all 21 of the Recôncavo municípios, and 17 others.

[13]Amaral, op. cit., II, 367.

[14]Amaral, op. cit., II, 366, and Calogeras, op. cit., p. 31.

[137] [15]Manihot utilissima, called cassava, manioc, or, sometimes, tapioca in English and mandioca in Portuguese.

[16]Amaral, op. cit., II, 11-12.

[17]Prado, op. cit., pp. 40-41.

[18]Minas, Yorbes, Geges, Hausa, and other Guinea Coast peoples.
[113] See T. Lynn Smith, Brazil: People and Institutions (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1946), pp. 168-169.

[194] [191] [19]African religions, for example, survive in a modified form in the candomblé (fetish) cults and in the supernatural conceptions prevalent in the Recôncavo.

[20]Neither the total number of slaves imported into Brazil nor the number brought to the Recôncavo is known. Calogeras, op. cit., pp. 27-28, estimates the number as 40,000 per year in the seventeenth century, 50,000 per year in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, or 14,000,000 for the 300 years of the slave trade. Another source has estimated that 1,200,000 slaves were imported between 1550 and 1850, a more reasonable figure. See section by Pedro Calmon in Curious and Interesting Facts Concerning the First European Settlement Made in the New World, p. 9. It is also asserted in this latter source that "more than half remained in Bahia;" this is less reasonable.

[21]Prado, op. cit., p. 46.

[206] [22]A rope-like twist of dark, often sweetened, tobacco wound in a large coil of 50 to 100 lbs.

[23]At the end of the seventeenth century Bahia was exporting 7,500 tons of sugar per year; Pernambuco 5,400 tons, and Rio de Janeiro 5,350 tons. At this same period Bahia exported 25,000 rolls of tobacco (perhaps 1,125 tons at 45 kg. per roll) compared with 2,500 rolls from Pernambuco and Alagoas. Calogeras, op. cit., p. 31.

[433] [24]Calogeras, op. cit., pp. [illegible]-31, cites João Antonil, Cultura e Opulencia do Brasil, por sus Drogas e Minas (1711), who says that in 1711 the mean sugar export--which must have been virtually the entire production--per engenho in Bahia was 52 tons, in Rio de Janeiro 41 tons, and in Pernambuco 22 tons. The weight is given in arrobas by Calogeras.

[25]Amaral, op. cit., II, 84.

[26]Calogeras, op. cit., pp. 38-39.

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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8. Religion

[249] DURING COLONIAL and empire times, religion occupied a large part of the lives of the landed aristocracy. The town of Vila Recôncavo had a Franciscan convent, a large mother church of the parish of São Gonçalo, and the chapel of the [793] Third Order of Franciscans. In the rural area of the community nearly every plantation had its own chapel, which formed part of the owner's house, and its own chaplain to care for the spiritual needs of the landowning families and their [794] slaves. Much of the wealth of landowners was used to build magnificent churches, to sponsor religious processions, and to maintain religious brotherhoods for laymen.

178 In this century, however, Catholicism is no longer the official state religion, the landowners no longer support the 79 town church as they used to, and the Third Order of Franciscans has died out in Vila Recôncavo. Today members of the *[565] upper class (Class A) confine their support to the churches they attend in Salvador, leaving the local church to the mercy of God and to the gente pequena of the town. Visits from the Franciscans to celebrate Mass and give instruction for first communion have taken the place of the plantation chaplain and chapel. The priests today say that the people of the community have no intellectual basis for understanding religious teachings or beliefs. Consequently, they say that they now seek only to have as many as possible conform to the outer forms and rituals of the church and refrain from attending the African cults.

175 In addition to the formal structure of the Catholic Church there arose, especially in the nineteenth century, many houses 794 of African cultism, called in this region candomblé. The ad-

herents of these cults, female slaves and former slaves for the most part, followed a lengthy routine to become practitioners in the various cult houses and spent large sums of money, according to legend, on the required bracelets, necklaces, and clothing.

Today, however, the cult priests and priestesses have the same complaint as the Catholic priests. They say that young people no longer have the understanding or the patience necessary to prepare for devotion in the cult houses. The older priestesses deplore the degeneration of some of these houses and the admission of Indian spirits, which are now displacing the African gods.

Spiritualism has recently entered the community. So far it has been limited to few people in the community, although it is very popular in Salvador.

The use of the supernatural as described in Willems' Cunha[1] does not take place in Vila Recôncavo. In Cunha the saints are asked to send rain whenever it appears that the crops are in danger. But in Vila Recôncavo, which lies in a semitropical rain area, there is no need for such invocations. Besides, these are large-scale economic crops, not subsistence produce on which the people depend directly for their living.

The Catholic Church in Vila Recôncavo

During the colonial period each religious parish was carefully delineated and conserved, but later political divisions cut across parish lines. This has made the use of colonial statistics very difficult. During colonial and empire times the church was the main census organ, but since parishes and counties do not coincide in their outlines the statistics are little help today in comparing the present with the past. Each parish built a mother church (matriz) in the parish town. Each of these churches had a patron saint, who was also the patron of the parish, and a resident priest or priests.

In the town of Vila Recôncavo, the county seat, a mother church was built, with São Gonçalo as its patron saint; also constructed was the Franciscan convent, connected with an opulent Third Order. As the Recôncavo entered its long per-

1. Emilio Willems, Cunha: Tradição e transição en uma cultura rural do Brasil (Sao Paulo, 1947), Chapter 7.

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er of the Waters. Naturally, in such a small group, the se- 794
cret is not very well kept and it is soon known who has sent 184
a present, why, and when. Many people in this group, and
some in Class A, entertain the fear that they may become [152]
themselves possessed by a deity, especially if they expose
themselves to cult activities during a ceremony, and for this
reason they do not attend the rituals. To a certain extent this
fear is the basis for the protest many of them make against
night-long drumming, although the common complaint is that
they cannot sleep because of the noise. The sound of the drums
at night is very impressive, and no one is unaware that near-
by the supernatural is being called. It is very disturbing to
those who do not understand the mechanics of the ceremonies
and the meaning of the drumming and sacrifices.

Spiritualism

Spiritualism, which does not use drums, is as disturbing as 771 •
cultism to people of all classes, although because of its quieter 755
character it is not always known when a session is taking 787
place. Spiritualism seems to be gaining popularity in the area,
although it is greatly feared by many people. It is slowly gain-
ing adherents, however, because of the healing powers exhibit-
ed by the mediums. In most cases people are drawn to it, both
in the town and in the rural area, through illness and the prom-
ise of a cure. Because of lack of aid from the doctor, or be-
cause of the expense of medical treatment, or perhaps because
of the failure of the African cult to cure him, a patient may
try spiritualism as a last resort. For those who are helped
by it, it becomes a constant companion, and although they
may have entered with fear, they soon lose it. They become
staunch defenders and try to draw in their friends. The great- [757]
est successes in curing seem to follow the herbal treatments
of the African cultists, but spiritualism requires no further
obligations, as do the cults. It is common to hear someone
say that attendance at a spiritualist seance cured him of some
minor ailment and left him free of obligations, and that he
did not even have to pay the medium. Spiritualism is also
used to discover and counteract the evil eye and evil machi- [776]
nations of any enemy. In spiritualism one finds the same [177]
Indian spirits which are found in the local African cults, al- [798]
though no dancing is involved. There is now definite competi-
tion between the mediums and the cult leaders for adherents.

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755 There is one outstanding case of a Class A family which has
787 been "helped" by spiritualism. This family had not been too
*565 well liked in the town and felt that evil was being worked against it. It was claimed that a local medium prevented harm to the father of this family through the medium's spirit. The father became convinced of the value of spiritualism and converted his wife to it. They now make no move without first consulting the spirits, and they frequently call the medium to their house in Salvador for aid. The urban upper class is no stranger to spiritualism, and even those who make no use of mediums and spiritualistic sessions seem to consider themselves possible victims of spiritualism. A decade or so ago, experiments with spiritualism, such as the moving glass, were popular. These experiments gained many adherents and left many others in a state between belief and disbelief in the possibilities of spiritualism.

Protestantism

795 Protestantism has made no entry in Vila Recôncavo. This
797 is a minor point of pride among the residents, who have heard
177 of Protestantism but know nothing about it. In other areas of the Recôncavo there have been converts, but as yet there are no Protestant churches, chapels, or house groups in Vila Recôncavo. In other communities, traveling ministers hold services in small private houses of the adherents. Just as with the African cults, there always are many onlookers standing outside who discuss the merits of the sermon and of the Bible readings and hymn singing. Those who are sufficiently impressed sometimes join, but as yet there is considerable resistance to another organized religion.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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At Bahia in 1807, 1809, 1813, 1816, 1826, 1827, 1828, and 1830, slave revolts broke out, terminating in the serious Malê uprising of 1835. There existed here, particularly in the nineteenth century, a well-established group of Negro disciples of the prophet Mohammed. Here Nagô was for a long time a Negro lingua franca (or, to use the corresponding Portuguese expression, a *lingua geral*), and Nagô is still occasionally to be heard among some of the older blacks. Here one might have encountered in the years just preceding abolition in 1888 an interesting paradox: while at home Bahia clung tenaciously to slavery, she was known abroad for the eloquence of her abolition orators.[3] Here, also, one might have observed the gradual fusion of Catholic belief and ritual with African mythology and religious practice, evidences of which may be seen today in *candomblés*, or fetish-cult centers, like that of Gantois, for example, whose ceremonies have been carried on in the same sacred place for many decades.

In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries Bahia became one of the world's great sugar centers where a small aristocracy, as is attested today by the pretentious edifices still standing, achieved great wealth. As early as 1587 there were forty-seven sugar *engenhos*[4] in and about Bahia, and

[3] See Luiz Anselmo da Fonseca, *A escravidão, o clero e o abolicionismo* (Bahia, 1887), *passim*. This book, although obviously written as abolition propaganda, cites names, places, and dates to support its contentions and does not overlook negative cases.

[4] Each *engenho* consisted of a sugar plantation and a mill for processing the cane. Those at Bahia often had a capacity of a thousand tons or more yearly. Each was largely a self-sustaining economic unit, dependent upon the labor of numbers of Negro slaves. H. Morse Stephens says (*Portugal* [New York, 1903], p. 228) that sugar cane was imported into Brazil from the Madeira Islands in 1548.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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565 Conversation is carried on in the Portuguese
[197] vernacular, with a limited vocabulary and numerous errors
[489] in grammar. Many words of African or native Indian origin
are commonly heard. Transport is primitive. Here the fe-
• [771] tish cult, and the attitudes, sentiments, and beliefs associated
[794] with it, gains its most zealous and faithful devotees. Here,
cut off quite sharply from participation in the upper levels
of European culture, live that portion of the population
which the upper classes refer to as *o povo*, and who think of
themselves as *os pobres* ("the poor").

The social gulf between the *pobres* of the valleys and the *ricos* of the ridges is wide and not easy to bridge. This is, of course, to be anticipated in a society with an aristocratic tradition whose upper circles still look somewhat askance upon manual labor and have always regarded education, family connection, and "good breeding" as indices of class.
[1068] Attitudes in this respect have changed little since the time
[567] when the abolitionist Anselmo da Fonseca felt it necessary
to apologize for including the name of "a man of the people," a humble Negro shoemaker, among the prominent upper-class abolitionists of Bahia, arguing that "intelligence, patriotism, and truth are not the privilege of any one class" and explaining that this particular individual had been more useful to the abolition cause than many "more noble."

565 The upper classes habitually refer to members of the lower
186 classes as *trabalhadores* ("laborers"), *operarios* ("workers"), or *o povo baixo* ("common people") and humorously caricature them by a cartoon character known as Zé Povinho, an illiterate, stupid, and unprepossessing lout. To their chil-
[867] dren they often direct such phrases as "não seja gentinha" ("don't be like common people"), "não tenha modos de gentinha" ("don't take up the manners of common people"), "não ligue a (or *para*) povo miudo" ("don't attach yourself

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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them, legitimate, the store does a thriving business. She says:

> The *Africano* doesn't worship things made with human hands. He worships nature. What is the *pedra* [the fetish stone]? Is it not a mineral? No human hands have made it.
>
> We are just as Christian as the Catholics. Only we follow the law of Moses. He commanded that sacrifices be made of sheep, goats, oxen, chickens, pigeons, and so forth. Is it not so? We merely obey his commandments.
>
> There are two parts to the Bible, are there not? The Old Testament and the New. We follow the Old as well as the New. In the days before Christ, the people worshiped God with singing and dancing. Is it not so? David played his harp and sang psalms and danced before the Lord. We have our songs, too, and each has a special meaning. Just as the Catholics have something to remind them of their saints, so we have something to remind us of our *orixás*. But we do not worship images made with human hands like they do. We worship nature.

One of the assistants of the *mãe de santo*, an elderly Negro woman who "takes care of" the *terreiro*, is said to be over ninety years of age, is known by an African name, Bádá, and speaks Nagô as well as, or better than, she speaks Portuguese. No one in the fetish world at Bahia is said "to give her the blessing," because she is the "oldest" (that is, the longest "made" or "confirmed") in the city. She laments "the old days" before the Africans in Bahia all died.

A Negro man of seventy-seven years of age, Martiniano, one of two *babalaôs* in Bahia, known and thoroughly respected throughout the fetish world for his piety and sincerity and his knowledge of African customs and traditions, is, upon entering the connecting-room to the *pegi*, saluted by a rapid beat of muffled drums. He bows to the drummers, acknowledging their greeting, steps into the *pegi*, bows low before the altar, touches the ground with the tips of his fingers, and repeats a prayer in Nagô. So learned is he "in

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/18 cont./

829 The irregularities and inadequacies of electric service in
365 the city are attributed by many inhabitants of Bahia to what they call the "contempt of the Americans for the well-being of the people," as if the Americans were the only ones responsible for the operation of the American-Brazilian enterprise that produces electricity for the region. Everything that is or is supposed to be American otherwise enjoys great prestige. There is, how-
829 ever, a foreign group against which (or, more precisely, against
*563 the hidden "trust" that it represents) there exists a very strong
578 hostility, although it manifests itself only on certain occasions.
[443] It is a matter of emigrants from Spanish Galicia, accused of exploiting the populace owing to the monopoly that they have acquired in the grocery and bakery business. At certain times when ten-
[152] sion is particularly strong, as in 1930, and following the rapid
[458] rise of the price of commodities of prime necessity at the be-
[579] ginning of the last world war, the populace gave free vent to its discontent by plundering certain Spanish business establishments. But the attitude of the Bahians toward the person of these immigrants is free of lasting animosity, and marriages between the two
[261] groups are frequent. The fact remains, however, that the population attributes to the Spaniards the shortage of certain food commodities, especially bread, and it accuses these emigrants of "enriching themselves off of the misery of the people."

529 The recreational associations of the English, Spaniards,
*563 Syrians, and Lebanese are frequented by Brazilians. Likewise
575 the hospitals maintained by the Portuguese and Spanish colonies
743 are managed by Brazilian doctors and receive numerous patients from Bahia, white or colored.

795 The religion of the Catholic majority is traditionally much
• 771 more external and ritualistic than dogmatic, the religiosity of a large number of those who call themselves "strict Catholics" being chiefly theoretical. This must have constituted a serious difficulty for the clergy; it is also a subject of astonishment for the visitor who imagines that he will come in contact with "the most
798 Catholic of Brazilian cities." The antagonisms between religious
621 groups are also moderate in this domain and /19/ never affect the

[SALVADOR]

/22 cont./

The generally gentle and humane treatment that the owners reserved for their slaves and the efforts made by the Catholic clergy, from the beginning of the slave trade, to try to incorporate the /23/ Africans into the Catholic religion played an important role in the establishment of good relations between races in Bahia as throughout Brazil. Contrary to what occurred in the other colonial nations, where the aborigines and the imported slaves were kept in a state of segregation, like unassimilable "savages," in Brazil the natives and the Blacks were baptized, catechized, and admitted into the Church as men. Thus, numerous slaves, baptized Negroes, were no longer considered "beasts" and became "Christians," with the same title as the European colonists, having to endure neither hostility nor religious discrimination. They were taught the Christian doctrine, and the preachers endeavored to speak to them in their languages, chiefly in nagô, which had become a sort of lingua franca in which the Africans of different origins were able to understand one another. They intermarried; their marriage having been consecrated by the Church, this protected them when their masters intended to separate the spouses or sell one of the partners; they received the sacraments; they acted as witnesses in religious proceedings and participated as acolytes in religious ceremonies; they marched in the processions, carrying the standards and emblems of their brotherhoods; they were buried in the Christian cemeteries, the owners of slaves being obliged to call the priest in time to assist the dying. No one pretends by that to claim that their lives were free from suffering or that the Negroes were thus completely integrated in Catholicism. The clergy, the owners, and the civil authorities always allowed them some freedom concerning certain proceedings of their pagan cults and never forced them to embrace the official religion. They likewise permitted them to amuse themselves in their way by dances, songs, ceremonies (batuques), banquets in the manner of those of their countries of origin. From that comes this Catholicism somewhat mixed with fetishist beliefs and practices that constitutes the religion of a large part of the colored people of Bahia (1).

1. Roger Bastide, "Religion and the Church in

[Class C Families]

her services ranges anywhere from fifty cruzeiros to nothing but thanks, but with the understanding that when she is ill the family will help her, since she lives alone. 759

If a baptized child dies before it is seven years old, it is called an angel and goes straight to heaven, while if it dies before this age and is unbaptized, it is called a pagan and goes to limbo. The angel is carried through the streets in an open coffin, for everyone to see. The lid is put on the coffin after it is in the ground, whereupon all those in attendance scoop in some earth. The attitude toward the death of a child is one of mixed joy and sadness, and sometimes of joy only. If the mother and father wanted the child very badly, they feel sad; but otherwise the general attitude is that the child is better off dead, especially since he becomes an angel. The difference in the ringing of the church bells also shows this, for the ringing for a dead child is a short, almost joyous sound, while that for an adult is a long, sad tolling. 761 851 775 [533]

If it appears that a child is going to die after it has been born, an effort is made to have it baptized as soon as possible. But if it is healthy, it is baptized whenever the family can do so. The baptism includes a small party for the family and godparents. Formerly if a child died before it was baptized, its grave was sometimes baptized on the eve of São João by the woman who had been chosen to be its godmother. The family and godparents would go to the cemetery at midnight and gather around the grave, which the godmother sprinkled with water and baptized. This, however, is no longer done. 763 851 769 851 178

According to the parish records, 705 children were baptized in the county during 1950; 320 of those belonged to the community of Vila Recôncavo. The civil register, however, showed only 276 persons of all ages registered in the county for the same year. A child is seldom registered right after birth, or even at the time of baptism, but whenever the parents think of it. Sometimes a person must do it himself when, as an adult, he needs a registration certificate. The situation is changing gradually as life becomes more entangled in official red tape, and people are registering their children more frequently than they used to. Members of classes A and B are much more careful about this matter than are the lower classes. 851 217 162 [178] [565]*

According to law, the medical doctor must sign a death certificate before a permit to bury someone can be obtained, so the figures for deaths are more accurate than those for births. The civil register for the community of Vila Recôncavo 217 [763] [759] 600

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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songs are ordinarily composed of simple sentences in the minor key, and the scale, which on importation from Africa is said to have consisted of only five intervals, now has seven.

Among the invocations sung to the various *orixás* is that given by a former *ogan* of the *candomblé* of Gantois:

[539]

Egbéji mori ô ri, okorin-kam
Orolu mori ô ri, okorin-kam
(Powerful One, I know thee as the first man)

Ôkum-kum biri-biri
Ajá lê mori ô korin-kam
(Even in the dark I can see thou art powerful)

A orêrê aiê, orixá loman,
Iá, ochê Egbéji orêrê, aiê
(In the whole world, nothing is hidden from the Great-One)[11]

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At the burial of a cult member the songs and musical instruments of the *candomblé* ceremonies are now seldom used as, it is said, they formerly were. But the casket is carried by *ogans*, and the *filhas*, in *bahiana* costume, accompany the procession. Since it is still believed that the *orixá* of the departed may at this time seek a new *cavalo*, no pregnant woman attends. "Possession," however, may and does occur. Thus, at the burial of an elderly Negro woman, a *filha* of Ogun from the *candomblé* of Engenho Velho, who had been "made" for thirty-three years and was widely known and respected for her knowledge of African ritual, two *filhas de santo* were "seized" as the procession wound its way up the steep ascent to Quinta dos Lazaros Cemetery, and another later as the crypt was being sealed. In each case "possession" began with light weeping which soon increased to loud sobbing, the individual meanwhile pressing her hands

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[11] Manoel Querino, *Costumes africanos no Brasil* (Rio, 1938), p. 108.

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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herents of these cults, female slaves and former slaves for the most part, followed a lengthy routine to become practitioners in the various cult houses and spent large sums of money, according to legend, on the required bracelets, necklaces, and clothing.

Today, however, the cult priests and priestesses have the same complaint as the Catholic priests. They say that young people no longer have the understanding or the patience necessary to prepare for devotion in the cult houses. The older priestesses deplore the degeneration of some of these houses and the admission of Indian spirits, which are now displacing the African gods.

Spiritualism has recently entered the community. So far it has been limited to few people in the community, although it is very popular in Salvador.

The use of the supernatural as described in Willems' Cunha[1] does not take place in Vila Recôncavo. In Cunha the saints are asked to send rain whenever it appears that the crops are in danger. But in Vila Recôncavo, which lies in a semitropical rain area, there is no need for such invocations. Besides, these are large-scale economic crops, not subsistence produce on which the people depend directly for their living.

The Catholic Church in Vila Recôncavo

During the colonial period each religious parish was carefully delineated and conserved, but later political divisions cut across parish lines. This has made the use of colonial statistics very difficult. During colonial and empire times the church was the main census organ, but since parishes and counties do not coincide in their outlines the statistics are little help today in comparing the present with the past. Each parish built a mother church (matriz) in the parish town. Each of these churches had a patron saint, who was also the patron of the parish, and a resident priest or priests.

In the town of Vila Recôncavo, the county seat, a mother church was built, with São Gonçalo as its patron saint; also constructed was the Franciscan convent, connected with an opulent Third Order. As the Recôncavo entered its long per-

1. Emilio Willems, Cunha: Tradição e transição en uma cultura rural do Brasil (Sao Paulo, 1947), Chapter 7.

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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1933 when two women took the scapular and cord. But nothing more came of it. There is a benevolent organization, the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, which gives aid to the poor and is run by three men of Class B. It is very weak, however, and at present can help only four persons in the town. The society conducts no festivals or public displays.

Festivals

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The festivals which take place in Vila Recôncavo are based on the religious calendar and are participated in to a great extent by the African cult members. January 1 is an important date in town and is celebrated by a Mass in the fishermen's chapel, after which the priest goes out on the beach and blesses all the canoes. After he has gone, the participants in African cults make their offering for the day. This is the date when presents are given to the Mother of Waters (Mae d'Agua locally, but sometimes known as Janaina, Sereia, or Yansan in other parts of Brazil). The presentations are made by the cult priestesses, but anyone who wants to give a present to the Mother of Waters may do so by handing the gift to the cult priestess beforehand. The presents may consist of money or of anything a woman can use, as long as it is white: combs, ribbons, powders, perfumes, soaps, flowers, and so on. Everything is wrapped together and placed in a large clay basin covered with white cloths and decked with white flowers.

The cult priestess comes out of the cult house after Mass and, accompanied by participants and onlookers, goes down to the beach and enters one of the large canoes prepared for the occasion. The cult drummers accompany her, as well as most of the female devotees (filhas de santo). Usually two presents are given, one to the young Mother of Waters, who lives near the town, and another, larger one to the old Mother of Waters, who lives at about an hour's distance from town, where the water is very deep. The canoes take off and proceed up the river, while the drums beat and the devotees sing. The Mother of Waters is called and praised, and when the canoes arrive where the younger one lives, her present is lowered into the water. If it does not sink it is a very bad sign, for it means that the present was rejected. The bundles usually sink, however, for they are bound in a heavy clay basin.
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At this moment the Mother of Waters is supposed to enter the body of the person who placed the gift in the water. This person, usually an older devotee, enters a trance state and must

be held in the canoe by the others, for she tries to jump into the water. At the same time, all those present in the canoe scoop up the water and pour it over themselves, for it is at this moment quite holy. The possessed person is gradually calmed and brought back to a normal state as the canoes move up the river. 796 794 782 776 [787]

During this time, groups of fishermen often go out in their newly blessed canoes (canoas de bordejo) to play. Because their canoes have been blessed by the priest, and because of the holy aspect of the water resulting from the presence of the Mother of the Waters, the men may enter the water without fear, so they jump in and out of the water and swim around their canoes until they are tired. This cannot be done at any other time of the year for it is not considered safe to enter deep water. [788] [823] [526]

After the second gift has been offered and accepted, the party lands and goes back to town on foot in a spirit of great joy and gaiety. The rest of the day is given over to horse racing, visiting, gaming, and dancing on the fishermen's square. People from classes A and B do not participate in these proceedings, which they consider barbarous. But most lower-class people at least watch, although only participants enter the canoes. Observers walk along the banks and watch. Cults from the rural areas make their own presentations separately, frequently on Christmas Day and in another locale. 796 794 565* [527] [389]

The next festival in the year comes after January 6, the Day of Kings, which has already been mentioned. Parties take place from this day until the beginning of Lent. Other than a Mass, there is no longer much sanctity connected to this day. 796

The most important festival of the year is that of Nossa Senhora da Conceição da Praia, the patron saint of most of the fishermen, to whom their chapel is dedicated. This festival begins on January 13 and starts off each evening with a novena held in the fishermen's chapel. The priest goes each evening for the novena, and, on the three last days of the festival, each morning, to celebrate Mass in honor of Nossa Senhora da Conceição, St. Peter, and St. John. A committee is organized in the chapel to ask patrons for contributions to the festival, for candles, oils, electric light, and to pay the priest each night. Flowers are a very important part of the festival, although at this time of the year they are very expensive. Each night of the novena there is a different group of patrons, and [776] 796 794

among members of Class A. In the cult houses it is said that 796
the African gods go back to Africa for Lent and that the Indian spirits go back to the forests, not coming back again to [794]
Vila Recôncavo until Easter Eve. Good Friday is usually [776]
marked by the eating of foods with much palm and olive oil, mostly the favorite Bahian dishes of acarajé and vatapá. On [262]
Saturday some people in the town "burn Judas." They make a figure stuffed with straw or grass and in the evening parade it through the whole town on a donkey until they arrive at the fishermen's chapel, where the dummy is strung up and burned. [538]
While it burns the man who made it reads a long poem which he has composed during the year and which tells about his friends and their individual peculiarities.

During the month of May a service is held each night in the [793]
mother church in honor of the Virgin Mary. A priest officiates, and the women of the upper class sing in the choir. This [794]
ceremony is attended almost entirely by townspeople, mostly women. St. John's Day, which comes at the end of June and is [569]
a popular holiday throughout most of Brazil, goes unnoticed in the town, although at dawn on that day there may be a reveille for St. John (alvorada de São João), which consists of [369]
shouting, "Wake up, St. John!" The sixteenth of August is celebrated, mostly by the rural people, as the day of St. Roch, who is considered a foe of pestilence. There is usually a Mass in the mother church on this day, after which the priest [794]
conducts Mass in as many of the rural chapels as he can. St. [184]
Roch is also celebrated by the African cults.

On September 27, the twin saints Cosme and Damião are celebrated, often with a Mass, but especially with a party called the carurú, the dish distinctive of this day and the days which follow it; for, as with the Day of Kings, Cosme and Damião may be feted any day within a month or so [794]
following the proper date. Before a carurú, it is customary for small images of the two saints to be carried about the streets from house to house asking for alms for a party in their honor. Usually the party is for the children, who dance and eat as much as they can, while the older people at first look on, and then finish up the food that was left and also dance. Anyone who is a twin or who likes twins may give a carurú in his house.

St. Francis is also feted, since there is a Franciscan convent in the town, by a devotion on three nights and a Mass on the morning of St. Francis' day. The last Sunday in October,

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the day of Christ the King, there is always a procession in town which starts from the mother church and goes to a small altar set up in front of the County Hall, then to the fishermen's chapel, to a cross which stands in one of the squares, and back to the convent and church. A few people set their small household oratories in the street in front of their houses to be blessed by the priest as he passes. This procession is accompanied mostly by women of all classes, although the canopy over the Host is carried by men from Class B. Christmas is observed quietly except for the exchange of gifts.

[778] [788] *[565] [184] [431]

Prayers

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Prayers are very popular throughout the year among the women of classes C and D. For a variety of reasons a group of women will get together in the house of one of them and pray aloud, standing before the little decorated niche which contains a picture or figure of the household saint. The one who knows the prayer best leads the others. A group may pray on the evening before the day of the patron saint of one of them, especially if they have been unable to have a Mass said because of the lack of money or a previous commitment of the priest. At times they pray because someone has promised his patron saint that he would do so if he were cured of an illness.

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Strangely, perhaps, the fishermen never seem to feel a need for supernatural help to overcome bad weather or lack of fish. A few of them, however, give a present to the Mother of the Waters in thanks for an exceptionally fine catch. At other times, people simply pray to their patron saints if they cannot have a party in their honor. Personal patron saints, however, do not play a very important part in the lives of the people of Vila Recôncavo, although nearly everyone has one and has at least a picture of the saint on the wall. It is common to find women who belong to an African cult group praying at these nightly gatherings in honor of the various saints who may or may not be represented in their cult houses.

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755 782 [754]

Exceptional fatigue, light illness, and pains may all be caused by the evil eye, and are removed by having a woman pray over the victim. There are several women in town who can make such prayers particularly well; however, they do not pray as a group. A woman goes to the house of the victim and, with a piece of thread in her hand which she passes over the body of the victim, says the Lord's Prayer and the

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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who never miss a Mass, benediction, or prayer. By means of a questionnaire in the town and the rural area, the following data were obtained concerning the average frequency of church attendance per year for men and women over fourteen years of age:

TABLE 11
FREQUENCY OF CHURCH ATTENDANCE

Urban Number of times per year		Class	Rural Number of times per year	
Males	Females		Males	Females
		A	19	23
40	96	B	4	3
17	25	C	3	3
4	41	D		

Several things are shown by this table. First, the higher a man's social position, the more often he goes to church, at least in classes B, C, and D. Second, the frequency of attendance by the women of all classes is considerably greater than that of the men. Third, the women of Class A attend church fewer times per year than do the women of classes B, C, and D of the urban area. Fourth, there are great differences in the rural and urban attendance: people from the plantations seldom go to town for Mass, preferring to wait for some special plantation occasion when the priest will go to the plantation. The difference between the attendance frequencies of Class A and Classes B and C of the rural zone is due to the time that Class A spends in Salvador, where members often attend Sunday Mass, as well as family Masses.

African Cults

Brazilian candomblé is usually thought of as a syncretism between African cultism and Catholicism. There has been a partial identification of the African deities with Catholic saints. For example, Ôgún, the African god of war, has been identified with St. Anthony; Ôxóssi, deity of the hunt, with St. George; Ômolú, the god of pestilence, with St. Roch; Êxu, the trickster, with Satan; Yansan, with St. Barbara; and Xangô, with either St. Jerome or St. Barbara. There has been

some confusion in the minds of the cultists themselves as to exactly which saint an African spirit represents, and there often are slight differences in interpretation which do not, however, upset the cult practices to any great extent. Cultism in Brazil has been described in detail by Nina Rodrigues,[3] Arthur Ramos,[4] and Edison Carneiro,[5] and by the Americans Donald Pierson[6] and Ruth Landes,[7] all of whom concentrated on cultism in the city of Salvador; Eduardo Octavio da Costa[8] has good material on urban-rural cultism in Maranhão (northern Brazil). In Vila Recôncavo the syncretisms are being forgotten as the content of cults changes from African spirits to the Indian spirits, for which no identification is made with the Catholic saints.

Cultism apparently got its start in Bahia in the early nineteenth century. Carneiro[9] sets the date for the establishment of the first cult house in the city as 1838. Old people in Vila Recôncavo do not remember cultism beyond two generations ago. There is one woman in town who is in her late nineties and who only remembers hearing of her mother and her mother's generation as active in cults. Apparently the force of cultism increased with the decrease in Catholic proselytization, as the number of priests in the rural areas diminished. It also increased in tempo with the manumission of slaves, and apparently was one of the institutions through which former slaves bought the freedom of other slaves.

Today the cults of the rural area are far less elaborate than those in the city of Salvador, although it seems that even in the city, cultism is showing the same general trend toward disintegration which is so strongly apparent in the rural area. In both places there is a shift away from African ritual to practices connected with the Indian spirits, whose demands

3. Raymundo Nina Rodrigues, O animismo fetichista dos negros bahianos (Rio de Janeiro, 1935).

4. Arthur Ramos, O negro brasileiro (2nd ed.; São Paulo, 1940).

5. Edison Carneiro, Candomblés da Bahia, (Publicações do Museu do Estado, No. 8 [Bahia, 1948]).

6. Donald Pierson, Negroes in Brazil (Chicago, 1942).

7. Ruth Landes, The City of Women (New York, 1947).

8. Octavio da Costa Eduardo, The Negro in Northern Brazil (New York, 1948).

9. Carneiro, Candomblés da Bahia, p. 31.

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794 to do with cultism. His parents were strongly opposed to cult-
[778] ism and had told him that it was bad. But the next day the stone was back in his house, frightening him. He again threw it away, and again it reappeared in his house. Then he took it to the cult leader on the plantation, who told him that it was
[782] a sign that he had an obligation to fulfill toward the gods. To put an end to the matter, it was necessary to make certain appeasements in the form of food and drink. So he began to save money, and at the same time took instruction from the woman as to what to do. During this time he became genuinely interested in cultism and became the "most curious"
[428] of the woman's disciples. He studied for many years with her and did as much as he could in the ceremonies. When she died
[765] she left the house to him, as he was the most active among her followers. After he had observed the honorary period of a year after her death and had properly dispatched her saints, he moved into the house where he has now been leader for
[578] thirteen years. Because of jealousies and fights over the inheritance, many of the devotees broke away and went to other houses, taking their saints with them.

793 Three years after he had taken over the house, he had his
794 first experience with the Indian spirit Seven Stars, who came
787 to him in a dream and let it be known that he wanted to enter
177 the man and become part of the cult. For some time the man resisted, for the cult was traditionally Nagô and the former leader would have had nothing to do with Indian spirits. Seven Stars, however, threatened him with extinction if he did not comply, so in the end he gave in, and one night during a ceremony was possessed by Seven Stars. Everyone liked Seven Stars, because he was a very happy and gay spirit and danced well. After this many other devotees in the house were also possessed by this as well as by one or two other Indian spirits, neither of which, however, was considered as nice as Seven Stars.

794 According to dogma, there are twenty-one Indian spirits,
787 although the informant could not name them all and neither
177 could anyone else. All twenty-one live in an aldeia (village) in the woods. There was nothing in the African tradition to tell
[776] what preparation was necessary for these spirits, so the entire ritual became one of inventiveness and propitiousness. Nowadays young people who enter the cults are nearly always taken by an Indian spirit and are much pleased, for these spirits involve less expense and much less work. The major com-

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192 santo, which means literally "daughter (or son) of the saint." They prefer to refer to a person as "having a saint" (tem san-
[787] to) which indicates that he has an obligation toward one of the saints and becomes possessed by him. In ordinary speech the word "saint" is used, but once the person has "made his saint" --that is, has gone through the preparatory rites and has learned the cries and dances of the divinity and how to care for him properly--it is said that the person has Ômolú, or Sete Estrelas (Seven Stars).

794 Because most of the women, and the few men in the cults, cannot spend a year segregated in the cult house in order to
787 "make their saint," they continue for many years in the half-
• 776 way condition of someone who "has a saint but has not yet made the saint." This means that the person has experienced possession, and that it has been determined by the zelador that he is under obligation to a certain saint and is in the process of "making the saint." During this period of simply "having the saint," the person has to carry out certain duties such as feeding the saint, making the proper clothes, and buying the beads and other outer symbols of the deity which are to be used during the ceremonies. This involves considerable expendi-
[511] ture. The clothes are always made of silk, since nothing is too good for the saint. Today, lipstick, perfume, and cheap jewelry are competing for the few extra cents the girls have, so that it takes longer and longer to get the necessary items together. During this period, the obligations of dancing and possession are less strenuous. In the case of the Indian spirits, the deity often speaks through the person after one or two possessions, and this is taken to mean that the spirit is firmly upon the person and may be considered "made." In this fashion much arduous work is avoided, as well as considerable expense. This is a major reason for the growing popularity of the Indian saints, in addition to the fact that they are gayer.

794 The drummers also like Indian saints, for, after they have danced, the Indian spirits usually take up a collection which
533 is presented to the drummers for having played so well for
[465] them. The drummers are drawn from men whose wives parti-
[776] cipate in the activities, or else they are men who are interested in the proceedings and who like to drum. They learn the drumming early in their lives, listening to it as children when they go to watch the ceremonies. On nights when the drums are playing it is impossible for anyone not to hear the impos-

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then the drums are calling the other saints, the circle has been formed again, and the process is repeated. This goes on frequently all night long, ending only with the dawn. The rural cult house has a general ceremony for all the saints of the house during the New Year holiday, and it often takes three or four days and nights of continuous dancing and drumming for all the participants to "fulfill their obligations." Activities cease for a while during the day while everyone rests, and then pick up again late in the afternoon.

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The general rule is that the person who "has a saint" must fulfill his obligations to that spirit at least once a year, if possible on the saint's day. Of course, the proper foods must be supplied constantly throughout the year, but at least once a year the saint must be feted, that is, called to possess the person and dance. The general term used for the ceremony is bater (to beat, referring to the drums), although several other euphemisms are used, such as, "We are going to have a party," or, "We are going to play." If the person is unable to fete the saint on the specified day, however, he must do it at the general ceremony at the end of the year. Not to comply with the rituals would be disastrous. The zelador of the house always fetes his saint on the proper day as well as at the end of the year. In both active cult houses the zeladores have more than one saint and try to fete each on the specified date. All participants keep the symbolic paraphernalia of their saints in the cult house and look after them personally if possible, but for many of them who live far from the house the zelador does this. In many cases a person who "has a saint" has a miniature pegi in his own house and also keeps there the proper foods and drinks. In some cases an older woman may even have a ceremony in her home if she can afford the requisite sacrificial animals and foods.

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Membership in the cults is not always passed down from parents to children. Many of the younger participants have come into the cults on their own and may be children of families which are unsympathetic to cult activities. When a mother belongs to a cult, her children may be indoctrinated in the rituals because of their continued attendance at the ceremonies. But unless the children feel the call themselves, no pressure is applied upon them to enter the activities, though they may always participate vicariously in the ceremonies. The majority of the population say they have nothing to do with the cults and are ignorant of the ritual. But few members of

the lower classes fail to have at least some knowledge of the ceremonial. In a region where there is little entertainment, such as in the town of Vila Recôncavo and especially in the rural area, the cults provide a major spectator activity, and those who have been exposed to it through their lives appreciate it as such. The number of active participants, however, is small. The house which is functioning in the town has about two dozen initiates, while the rural house is somewhat larger, having about forty-five devotees, only seven of whom are drawn from the plantation on which the house is situated. The rural house is more active for several reasons, according to local informants: the costumes are prettier, and therefore people prefer to dance there; the cult leader is a stronger personality and a better healer than the leader of the town house. The rural house is also more conveniently located for people from the surrounding plantations. Nevertheless, the small number of participants is indicative of the weakness of the institution in this area as a whole.

Healing, however, does play an important part in the cult activities, for the zelador who has "made his saint" has usually learned a large number of ritual and herbal cures. In fact, it is the healing aspect which brings most people to the cult activities. Sick persons, however, generally prefer to entrust themselves first to the ministrations of the plantation owner, plantation nurse, or town doctor. But if they feel they are not being helped, they turn to the cult house. If the sickness is diagnosed by the cult leader as a clear sign that the person is in contact with a spirit, the patient must enter the rites as an initiate or suffer the consequences. But for the ordinary run of headaches, stomach troubles, and skin eruptions, the cult leader draws upon his knowledge of herbal remedies. This knowledge is supposed to come from his deity, who often is St. Roch in this area, and who knows the cure. In fact, the leader of the rural house once compared his establishment with a pharmacy. He is paid for these medical services. Often one hears a person wishing that he could "have" such-and-such a saint so he would know how to cure and be able to make money, as do the cult leaders.

It is a general opinion that cult leaders are financially well off, although they themselves staunchly declare that they are not and that they must live from alms. As a rule all the participants in a house are obliged to contribute to the ceremonial honoring the leader's deity, which is usually the most extravagant ceremonial of the house.

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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er of the Waters. Naturally, in such a small group, the secret is not very well kept and it is soon known who has sent a present, why, and when. Many people in this group, and some in Class A, entertain the fear that they may become themselves possessed by a deity, especially if they expose themselves to cult activities during a ceremony, and for this reason they do not attend the rituals. To a certain extent this fear is the basis for the protest many of them make against night-long drumming, although the common complaint is that they cannot sleep because of the noise. The sound of the drums at night is very impressive, and no one is unaware that nearby the supernatural is being called. It is very disturbing to those who do not understand the mechanics of the ceremonies and the meaning of the drumming and sacrifices.

Spiritualism

Spiritualism, which does not use drums, is as disturbing as cultism to people of all classes, although because of its quieter character it is not always known when a session is taking place. Spiritualism seems to be gaining popularity in the area, although it is greatly feared by many people. It is slowly gaining adherents, however, because of the healing powers exhibited by the mediums. In most cases people are drawn to it, both in the town and in the rural area, through illness and the promise of a cure. Because of lack of aid from the doctor, or because of the expense of medical treatment, or perhaps because of the failure of the African cult to cure him, a patient may try spiritualism as a last resort. For those who are helped by it, it becomes a constant companion, and although they may have entered with fear, they soon lose it. They become staunch defenders and try to draw in their friends. The greatest successes in curing seem to follow the herbal treatments of the African cultists, but spiritualism requires no further obligations, as do the cults. It is common to hear someone say that attendance at a spiritualist seance cured him of some minor ailment and left him free of obligations, and that he did not even have to pay the medium. Spiritualism is also used to discover and counteract the evil eye and evil machinations of any enemy. In spiritualism one finds the same Indian spirits which are found in the local African cults, although no dancing is involved. There is now definite competition between the mediums and the cult leaders for adherents.

Traditionally

565 the preto is linked with ignorance and superstition,
563 and a most common example of his 'ignorance', cited by the upper
794 strata of Vila Recôncavo society, is his belief in *candomblé*, the fetish
[171] cults of African origin so numerous in Salvador which have been
[177] described by various authors.[8] In the Caribbean, *candomblé* is
[178] known as voodoo and, as in Brazil, there is a mixture of Roman Catholic with African religious elements. In Vila Recôncavo there are highly complicated rituals of ceremony and healing, but owing to the pressures of modern life almost no one has the time necessary to spend in the full preparation for a *filha de santo* (servant of the god) or a *mãe de santo* (caretaker of the gods) and much of the old ritual is being forgotten and discarded, and newer and simpler
[776] innovations are in evidence. Another example given of the *preto's* 'superstition' in Vila Recôncavo is his participation in the cult of Janaina, the goddess of the water. This cult is really an offshoot of *candomblé*, Yemanja being the name of the African *orixa* or divinity,
[782] while Janaina is the name given to her by many of the cults in
[226] Brazil. It is Janaina 'who sends the fish to the fishermen', and they must thank her and give her gifts occasionally. Generally it is the *mãe de santo* who knows all the calls and prayers for Janaina and who presents the fishermen's gifts. Anyone who intends to climb the social ladder first disassociates himself from these rites, and then publicly condemns those who participate in them—although, in many cases, such an individual will continue secretly to give financial support to a local *mãe de santo* and to send gifts to Janaina. Often it is heard of a person: 'Oh yes, he is *gente* now, but last night he secretly sent his usual present to Janaina.' Individuals of all racial classifications belong to *candomblé*, although popular opinion has it that only the *pretos* engage in these activities. One can observe all racial types at a *candomblé festa* (ceremony), either as participants or as spectators. In one case in another area of the Recôncavo there is even a white *pae de santo* (male caretaker of the gods), a former lawyer!

563 Nevertheless, in Vila Recôncavo, there are examples of *pretos* and
555 *mestiços* who have shown themselves capable of progress, with and without education. Two examples are the plantation administrators, cited earlier, who have risen to that honoured and relatively
[463] well-paid occupation in spite of the fact that they cannot read or
[872] write. On another plantation, the *feitor* has taught himself to read
[873] and write and is known as an excellent story-teller. Primary schools were recently opened in the rural zone of Vila Recôncavo, and night schools for the adults. The response has been great, people often walking long distances at night to attend class, in spite of the fact that one of the most disliked and feared things is going out at night.

563 In Vila Recôncavo, there has been a central primary school for
565 many years, with an attendance of 354 of all racial types, children of
872 the whites as well as those of the others, although no children of the

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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to slaves morning and evening, at the commencement and close of their day's labor."[79] Mathison noted that "on Sunday large numbers of slaves may be seen in the churches, particularly females."[80] For the exclusive worship of the Negroes, certain saints—Nossa Senhora do Rosario, São Benedito, and Santa Efigenia—were set aside, and their images were often, and still are today, painted black. Numerous *irmandades* composed entirely of Negroes were organized, usually under the patronage of São Benedito and Nossa Senhora do Rosario,[81] and in Bahia, at least, these all-Negro organizations persist to the present day. Koster, writing about 1800, tells us:

> The ambition of the slave very generally aims at being admitted into one of these Irmandades, and at being made one of the officers and directors of the concerns of the brotherhood. Even some of the money which the industrious slave is collecting for the purpose of purchasing his freedom, will often times be brought out of its concealment for the decoration of a saint, that the donor may become of importance in the society to which he belongs.[82]

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In 1848 Henry Bates noted that on an estate called Caripí, near Pará, the Christmas festival "was celebrated by the Negroes of their own free will, and in a very pleasing manner."

> The room next to the one I had chosen was the *capella*, or chapel. It had a little altar which was neatly arranged, and the room was furnished with a magnificent brass chandelier. Men, women, and children were busy in the chapel all day on the 24th of December, decorating the altar with flowers and strewing the floor with orange leaves. They invited some of their neighbors to the evening prayers; and when the simple ceremony began, an hour before midnight, the chapel was

[79] Mawe, *op. cit.*, p. 115; cf. also Mathison, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

[80] *Op. cit.*, pp. 156–57.

[81] Cf. Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 255. [82] *Op. cit.*, I, 199–200.

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African costumes, songs, and dances.[37] The Catholic church was never in haste, it seems, to assimilate the Brazilian Negro but adopted instead a patient and tolerant policy which in the end was eminently successful. Early in the nineteenth century Koster wrote from Pernambuco, "No compulsion is resorted to, to make the Negroes embrace the habits of their masters; but their ideas are insensibly led to imitate and adopt them."[38]

As might be expected, the transition from fetish-cult ideas and practices to Catholic ritual and belief was marked by intermediary stages in which elements of both religions coexisted in the Negroes' thought and practice, and the objects of one cult were identified with objects of a similar nature in the other. Hence, the extensive identification, for instance, of several African *orixás* with certain Catholic saints (as we shall later see in greater detail) and the coexistence of African and European forms in the principal religious and popular festivals.

Thus, in 1852, a visitor wrote from Rio de Janeiro:

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> For many nights past, Gloria Hill . . . . has echoed till a late hour with the songs, the wild music, and the tread of the dance in the Negroes' favorite amusements; and yesterday afternoon, I accidentally became a spectator of a grand gathering of this kind. It was "Twelfth" or "King's Day," as sometimes called—being that commemorative of the adoration of the Magi in the stable of Bethlehem; and it is a chief festival with the Negroes. . . . . When about half way up the Larangeiras . . . . my attention was arrested by a large gathering of Negroes within an enclosure by the wayside, engaged in their native dances, accompanied by the wild and rude music brought with them from Africa. . . . . Many of the principal performers, both among the dancers and musicians, were dressed in the most . . . . grotesque manner. . . . . A majority, if not all the performers, were baptized

[37] *Ibid.*

[38] *Op. cit.*, I, 200.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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testy manner, was clearly represented by a young black from Sabará. On his right sat the captain of war, the Premier; on his left the young Prince, his son and heir. Of course the buffoon of the Dahomean court was there, and the fun consisted in kicking and cuffing him as if he were one of our clowns. . . . . The "play" was a representation of . . . . a slave hunt; the march, accompanied with much running about and clashing of swords, which all handled like butcher's knives; the surprise, dragging in prisoners, directions to put to death recreant ministers and warriors, poisonings and administering antidotes. . . . . His Majesty freely used his staff, threshing everybody right regally. The speeches were delivered in a singsong tone; the language was Hamitico-Lusan, and there was an attempt at cadence and rhyme. Slaughtering the foeman and drinking his blood were the favorite topics, varied by arch allusions to the Superintendent and his guests.[93]

But the "Kings of the Congo," says Koster,

also worship Nossa Senhora do Rosario; and are dressed in the dress of white men. They and their subjects dance, it is true, after the manner of their country; but to these festivals are admitted Africans of other nations, creole blacks, and mulattoes, all of whom dance after the same manner; and these dances are now as much the national dances of Brazil, as they are of Africa.

Shortly after 1800 Maria Graham, visiting a plantation in the interior of Rio de Janeiro Province, wrote:

While we were sitting by the sugar-mill presses, Dona Mariana (mistress of the *engenho*) desired the slave women, who were supplying the canes, to sing, and they began at first with some of their own wild African airs, with words adopted at the moment to suit the occasion. She then told them to sing their hymns to the Virgin; when, regularly in tune and time, and with some sweet voices, the evening and other hymns were sung.[94]

[93] Burton, *op. cit.*, I, 237–38. For further information see Mario de Andrade, "*Os Congos*," *Lanterna Verde*, No. 2 (February, 1935), pp. 36–53; Francisco Augusto Pereira da Costa, "Rei do Congo," *Jornal do Brasil* (Rio), August 25, 1901.

[94] *Op. cit.*, p. 282.

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The dances *dos Congos* became attached to the Catholic festivals of São Benedito and Nossa Senhora do Rosario. In Bahia the annual *lavagem* ("washing") of the church of Bomfim became "a Yoruba religious ceremony" and, as late as 1900, was "a living cult, O Senhor do Bomfim[95] being for the Africans, the creole Negroes and the mixed-bloods of the Nagô *seita*,[96] Obatalá[97] himself."[98] The Cucumbys[99] became attached in Bahia to the Catholic festivals of Epiphany and Christmas.

[95] The saint to whom the Church of Bomfim (in Itapagipe) is consecrated is known as O Senhor do Bomfim, and his image is prominently displayed in the church. To evaluate more fully the important role of this famous church to which pilgrimages are still regularly made from long distances, see Carlos Alberto de Carvalho, *Tradições e milagres do Bomfim* (Bahia, 1915); João Varella, *Na Bahia do Senhor do Bomfim* (Bahia, 1936); and Manoel Raymundo Querino, *A Bahia de outrora* (Bahia, 1922), pp. 117–30, 222–31.

[96] The fetish-cult is sometimes called the *seita* (sect).

[97] Obatalá is one of the more important *orixás*, or deities, of the fetish cult. See chap. x.

[98] Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

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[99] Moraes describes the Cucumbys of Rio as follows: "After a sumptuous meal of *cucumbe*, which is a dish eaten by the Congos and Munhambanas on the days of the circumcision of their sons, a group of Negroes set out to take to the Queen her new vassals who have just passed through this species of savage baptism. The procession, made up of princes and princesses, soothsayers and magicians, interpreters of foreign languages, and a host of other people, and conducting between two lines of gay celebrants the *mametos*—those who have just been circumcized with the bamboo splinter—is attacked on the way by an enemy tribe and the King's son killed by an arrow. When the procession finally reaches the King's dwelling-place, they find that the King, having heard of his son's death from a messenger, has already sent for a famous diviner, the most celebrated *feiticeiro* (witch-doctor) of the kingdom, of whom he demands, immediately upon his arrival, the resuscitation of the dead prince. To the divinations of this magician, the youth finally responds and gets to his feet. The dances then continue for some time, until the noisy ceremony ends with the Cucumbys singing the *Bemdito* and other popular refrains" (Mello Moraes Filho, *Festas e tradições populares* [Rio, 1888], p. 157, quoted in Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 272–73).

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tics, as similarly were tales of the tortoise.[122] Boisterous children were quieted with stories of the Kibungo, a terrifying creature, half-man, half-animal, with an enormous hole in the middle of its back which opened ominously when the creature lowered its head.[123] The Kibungo was especially fond, it is said, of visiting the houses in which naughty boys lived, announcing his presence with:

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> De quem é esta casa?
> auê
> como gérê, como gérê
> como érá.[124]

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Max Schmidt observed in Matto Grosso that many of the local practices connected with cattle-raising were of African origin, as similarly were the iron instruments in use there. Eschwege contends that ironworking was learned in Brazil from imported Africans.[125]

[122] See Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 282–83.

[123] *Ibid.*, pp. 301–3.

[124] Whose is this house?
auê
I eat *gérê*, I eat *gérê*
I eat *érá*.

[125] Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, pp. 220–21. It is also probable that certain microbes were unwittingly brought to Brazil in the bodies of imported Africans. See Octavio de Freitas, *Doenças africanas no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1935).

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presiding in accordance with the varying subjects under consideration, were seated erudite *doutores* from lecture-room and laboratory; huge *filhas de santo;*[7] aged Negro cooks who brought from . . . . the crude kitchens of their mud huts recipes of . . . . Afro-Brazilian dishes; Negroes from the cane fields (like Jovino, whose paper was as full of errors in Portuguese as of *saudades* of the time of the *almanjarras*);[8] . . . . *babalorixás*[9] like Pae Anselmo; queens of the *maracatú*[10] like Albertina de Fleury, whose name reminded José Lins do Rego[11] of the heroine of a romance by Proust; certain others who, although illiterate or semiliterate, had such intimate knowledge of Afro-Brazilian matters as to be able to make an appreciable contribution to the Congress; students of law, engineering, and medicine . . . . ; elderly folklorists like Rodrigues de Carvalho, who never missed a session . . . . ; individuals like Nobrega da Cunha, who knew intimately the ritual of the *macumba;*[12] psychiatrists of the ability and reputation of Ulysses Pernambucano, who was acclaimed with all justice Honorary President; artists like Luís Jardim and Cícero Dias; intellectuals, journalists, and special representatives of Rio newspapers; the teacher, Ernani Braga, who collected for the Congress a number of invocations to Xangô[13] sung by the young ladies of the Conservatorio on the closing day of school to the enthusiastic applause of the best people of Recife. Individuals

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[7] *Filhas de santo* are ceremonial dancers of the fetish cult (see chap. x).

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[8] On the sugar plantations of colonial Brazil the beam to which animals were hitched to turn the millstone and crush the cane was called the *almanjarra*.

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[9] Priests of the fetish cult are sometimes called *babalorixás*. The word is formed from the Nagô words *bábá* ("father") and *orixá* ("deity").

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[10] The *maracatú* was an organization of Negroes which formerly participated in Carnival at Recife (see Mario Sette, *Maxambombas e maracatús* [São Paulo, n.d.], pp. 339–41).

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[11] José Lins do Rego is a noted Brazilian novelist whose realistic accounts of lower-class life, particularly in the state of Pernambuco, have helped to reveal a level of culture about which little had previously been written. See, e.g., his *Banguê* (Rio, 1934); *Menino de engenho* (2d ed.; Rio, 1934); *Usina* (Rio, 1936); *Histórias da velha Totonia* (Rio, 1936); *Pureza* (Rio, 1937); *Pedra Bonita* (Rio, 1938); *Doidinho* (Rio, n.d.).

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[12] The Afro-Brazilian fetish cult is known in Rio de Janeiro as the *macumba*.

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[13] Xangô (pronounced "Shán-go") is a deity of the fetish cult (see chap. x).

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Ohum Eniadûdû[19]
Recipes for Afro-Brazilian *Quitutes*[20]
The *Calunga*[21] of the Maracatûs
The "People's Library" and the "Modern Collectanea"[22]

Obviously, there is implied in these titles no interest other than in history and ethnology. But in the following ten papers, although there again appears to be no concern with problems of racial accommodation, one does note an awareness of physical differences and an interest in their measurement.

Some Anthropological Measurements of the Population of Recife
Some Data on the Physical Characteristics of the Population of Recife
Some Physical Measurements of Brazilian Negroes and Mulattoes
A Study of Cephalic Indices and Color Variation among Mulattoes in Pernambuco
A Contribution to the Study of Lapicque's Index
Physical Measurements of Negro Students
Comparative Heights and Weights of Newborn *Branco*, *Pardo*, and *Preto* Babies
A Statistical Study of Longevity in *Brancos*, *Pardos*, and *Pretos*
The Comparative Incidence of Tuberculosis in *Pretos* and *Brancos*
Mental Disease among the Negroes of Pernambuco

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[19] Under this title two topics were considered: (1) legends from Dahomey and (2) Anamburucú (an Afro-Brazilian deity [see chap. x]).

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[20] *Quitutes* are food delicacies.

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[21] The *calunga* referred to here was a richly adorned female image representing a water deity. It was carried by the "Dama do Passo," a female dancer of the Maracatû.

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[22] The "Modern Collectanea" and the "People's Library" are two sets of inexpensive leaflets containing ballads and other folklore, historical sketches, anecdotes, prayers, recipes, etc. See, in this connection, Jorge Amado, "Literatura dos negros e mulatos da Bahia," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal de São Paulo*, XLVIII (June, 1938), 179–82.

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789 head. The wearing of *patuás*, or written prayers, is presumed to "close the body" (*fechar o corpo*) against disease or accident. The nut known as *chapeu de Napoleão* ("Napoleon's hat"), if worn on a string about the neck, similarly is reputed to possess magical power.[27] A cord of deerskin passed over the affected area is presumed to cure erysipelas; a string of white beads worn about the neck of a mother is thought to increase the flow of her milk; a cord tied tightly about the waist of a pregnant woman will, it is believed, "keep the baby from going to the head"; and a stone in the hair is thought to retard delivery. Considered particularly efficacious in all cases of illness is the "*itá* of Xangô."[28]

782 "Prayers," or the use of magical words or phrases over an
755 affected part of the body, are also extensively employed. A common belief is that the *pae de santo* can in this way cure snakebite.

782 The direct intervention of a deity may be invoked as
[776] when presents are made to the *mães d'agua* (female deities who are presumed to inhabit bodies of water) to remove illness or misfortune or to assure future success. Thus, fisher-

[27] At the children's clinic a black mother brought in a child very ill. About his neck was a cord suspending a *chapeu de Napoleão*. To the physician's query, the mother replied, "They said it would make him well. Everyone told me to use it, and I didn't know."

755 [28] *Itás* (Tupi equivalent of "rocks" or "stones") of Xangô, or, as they are
778 also called, *pedras* of Santa Barbara, are thought to have fallen from heaven during thunderstorms. They are said to have penetrated into the earth seven *braças* (2.2 meters) and to have returned to the surface after seven
[554] years. The person so fortunate as to find one of these stones is considered a highly privileged individual. The *itá* is used by the *pae de santo* to crush the leaves of certain medicinal plants which are then put, together with the yolk of an egg, into a vessel and mixed, while an invocation in Nagô, known as *etuiu*, is intoned. The stone is then covered with the crushed leaves and egg yolk and allowed to stand for a period of time. The liquid prepared in this way is considered to possess miraculous healing power.

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men, anxious for a good year's catch, or individuals wishing to be rid of some illness, to obtain employment, or to secure a satisfactory resolution of unrequited love, will purchase foods, wearing apparel, toilet articles, jewelry, and other gifts pleasing to a lady and place them with appropriate ceremonies in a body of water presumed to be inhabited by one of the *mães d'agua*. Particularly sacred are the waters of Mar Grande, off the island of Itaparica, where, a few years ago, a saddle horse, it is said, was presented to Yemanjá; Mont'serrat and Cabeceiras da Ponte, on opposite sides of Itapagipe; Baiutê,[29] near the village of Itapoan; and Mariquita, near Rio Vermelho.[30] Parents of twins make regular food and drink offerings to the twin-deities, the Beji, or Cosme and Damião. Omolú, the "*orixá* of smallpox," is believed to protect not only against the ravishes of this disease

[778] [823] [845] [776] 776 75

[29] A foreigner was swimming in Baiutê when a passer-by, seeing him, shouted excitedly, "What are you doing in there? Don't you know that that water is charmed (*encantado*)? You might even turn into a fish. Haven't you seen the white swans? They say that they are two people who once swam here." For accounts of public offerings to the *mães d'agua* see *Estado da Bahia* for June 19 and September 23, 1936; *A Tarde* (Bahia), February 3, 1938.

[30] A letter headed, "Every Vow Fulfilled up to the End of the Year, 1936," and addressed to "Our Lady of Mont'serrat, the Mistress of the Sea, Janaina," was found in the bay near Mont'serrat. It read: [539]

To my Godmother:

I promise you, my Lady of Mont'serrat, that if you arrange it so that I can marry Domingos Portella, I will give you a present worth fifty milreis. And on the second of February I will put in another present according to my means. If possible, I will give you thirty milreis, and if not I will give you at least twenty. As large a present as I have I will give you on February 2, from twenty milreis up. My Godmother, I promise thee that the day of my marriage to Domingos Portella will be a happy day for you also; while I shall be having a *festa* here on land, you also will be having a *festa* there in the holy sea. I will fix dishes of all that we have in the house for this day, and send them to you, with greetings from me.

Your goddaughter,

Yvonne D. L. Braga

(Letter presented here by courtesy of Friar Tomás.)

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but also against all skin ailments, including leprosy. Particularly approachable is the deity to whom a person is dedicated. "This bad cut on my foot," remarked a *mãe de santo* dedicated to Xangô, "would not heal. So I talked it over with Xangô. He agreed to heal it, and told me what to use. It's now getting well; it's much better already."

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An individual troubled by continued ill-health, business difficulties, or even bad dreams may request of the fetish-cult priest the ritual of *lavagem das contas*, or "washing the beads." Divination is first resorted to in order to identify the *orixá* "responsible" for the difficulty. Then the beads sacred to this deity are immersed in water, a newly purchased basin being used for the purpose, and a handful of leaves also sacred to him are crushed and added. After a time, the beads are removed and washed with *sabão da costa* ("soap from the Coast"). Thus purified, they are given to the person suffering the ill fortune, who must subsequently keep them in a clay vessel and from time to time wear them about his neck.

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Considered one of the most effective methods of "removing" a disease or misfortune is the *troca da cabeça*, or "changing of heads," whose purpose is to transfer the disturbing influence from the afflicted person to another individual. The ritual varies. The afflicted one may have his head rubbed with a chicken or a pigeon, which, having thus acquired the evil influence, is then killed. Or an *ebó*, or *bozó*, as it is more commonly called, may be prepared,[21] and the affliction purposely transferred to another individual by leav-

[21] The *bozó* almost always includes a dead hen, popcorn, manioc meal with *azeite de dendê*, pieces of clothing from the one to be benefited, nickel or copper coins, certain African foods like *acassá*, *aberém*, and *acarajé*, and, if available, the African fruits, the *obí* and the *orobó*, of ritualistic significance.

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tice, now not so common as formerly but still occurring, of forsaking a dwelling-place in which some member of the family has died. "Visions" are commonly reported. A *preto* related: 787

> Once as I was working, I suddenly noticed an old friend, together with another man, standing by me, both of them "out of the flesh." My friend spoke and asked me how I was. I told him I was "so-so." Then he said, "Did you know that Fernando was dead?" I didn't, but, sure enough, I found out the next day that he had died that very morning.

One finds in many individuals an absolute credulity in folk tale and folk myth. Thus to many a Bahian of the lower classes the *lobishomem*, the *caipora*, the *mula de padre*, and the *biatáá* are actual entities which he himself, or someone known to him, has supposedly seen or heard. [538]

The *lobishomem* (werewolf), credulity in which is also common to large areas of Europe, is said at Bahia to roam about on moonlight nights, preferably on Fridays, with dogs following him. He takes the form of a man, very pallid, with an enormous shock of hair and long fingernails. Coming up behind a traveler or sneaking into the house after a child, he grasps his victim and sucks his blood. A person "very yellow" from malaria is thought to be in danger of turning into a *lobishomem*. If a family has seven sons and no daughters, the first-born is believed liable to develop into one of these creatures unless he is made co-padre with his parents at the baptism of the seventh child. The hour of such transformation is midnight sharp. A house servant remarked: 776 754

> When I was a small boy, I knew a man who turned into a *lobishomem*. There in my country, near Joazeiro [state of Bahia]. He had killed his father and his mother. He always went around with his head down, very sad and very pale. The children called him *chicobicho* and ran and hid from him. Every Friday night he turned into a

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beast and wandered about. We knew he did, for a man who was passing a dark spot on the road late one night saw him; but when he took out his knife and started after him, the beast fled. The *lobishomem* was covered all over with hair and looked horrible. Other people saw him too, running around on all fours. The dogs always barked on Friday nights something terrible. On Saturday morning this man appeared dusty and more pale than usual. He never caught any children because they were all careful to stay in the house during the hours when he was out. But he caught many dogs and cats. He merely sucked their blood; he did not eat them. People found the bodies later, with all the blood drained out.

776 *Mulas de padre* are reputedly the concubines of priests who, transformed into headless animals, run about at night, preferably on Fridays. Covered with noise-making instruments, such as bells, *chocalhos*, and kitchen utensils, they are said to make "an infernal racket" which can be heard as much as a mile away and "makes one's blood run cold."

[177] The *caipora* and the *biatáiá* are probably survivals of Indian lore. The former is a creature thought to inhabit timbered areas, where he is peculiarly fond of leading people astray. When a person is lost, the *caipora* "may make him pass right by the path and never see it." The *caipora* calls out to the unfortunate person and leads him further and further astray. Of female sex, an animal some say, a half-body cut perpendicularly from crown to crotch according to others, the *caipora* may be driven away if one smokes tobacco, takes snuff, or chews garlic.

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A young *pardo* shoemaker, having become by reason of his schooling somewhat skeptical of tales of the *lobishomem* and of the *mula de padre*, insisted, however, that

the *caipora* is real. Just as a blow on your arm will leave a red mark, the *caipora* has left signs of himself. I know a Portuguese immigrant, a man upright and truthful, who was warned not to hunt on Fridays. He laughed at the warning, and went on into the timber in search of

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jacú, found one, and shot at it. The *jacú* flew at him with its claws extended and severely scratched him. He shot at it again. It flew back and clawed at his eyes. Then he heard a voice, saying "You know you must not hunt on Fridays." It was the *caipora*. The man staggered home, and fell senseless in the door of his house. I knew this man well.

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The *biatáiá* is said to be a woman who inhabits the sea, appearing above water only at night, gradually increasing in size until she assumes an enormous shape, and "casting a huge and frightening shadow."

825 [177]

Fear of the toad, probably also a survival of Indian belief, is common.[39] If a toad happens to hop into the door of a house, the occupant will immediately grab a broom and sweep it out, repeating over and over, "Creio em Deus Padre."[40] If a malicious person paints a toad on the wall of a dwelling, its occupants will at once desert the place.

158 159 755 [565]

The following account reveals in an intimate way the mental world of a considerable portion of the Bahian lower class. It was related by a young Negro woman in the form of a series of personal experiences and is presented here in as nearly as possible the exact phrasing in which it was originally given.

I was three years old. I was sitting with my mother when something hit me, and I fell over unconscious. She picked me up and took me to a doctor. He gave me medicine and said that it was congestion. Some thought it was the *ar do vento*.

I knew nothing of what was going on; it was as if I were dead. To

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[39] "Montoya says ('Manuscripto guarani da Bibliotheca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro sobre a primitiva catechese dos Indios das Missões,' *Annaes da Bibliotheca National*, Vol. VI) that among Indians observed by him, the entrance of a toad into a gathering of people was a sign of the approaching death of one of those present" (Gilberto Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* [2d ed.; Rio, 1936], p. 99).

[40] "I believe in God, the Father."

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When I was sixteen years old I went across the river to live in São Felix. There was a man there who was crazy. We asked what was the matter with him, and they said that he had seven Exú's[47] in his body. They had given him a cigar and when he began to smoke, he became wild. He was nearly insane. He did not want to hear the word of God. When they talked of going to Mass, he wanted to run away. They took him and tied him up. He stayed this way two whole weeks. Once in a while his relatives came to see him. Finally, they decided to take him to a *candomblé*. They untied him and he went. For a long time he remained there and kept on acting the same way. Then the head of the *candomblé* took a hand in the matter. He ordered them to get black cloth, candles, *azeite de dendê*, incense, and several other things which he needed. After he had finished, he gave the man a bath to clean him up. When twelve o'clock came, he stretched him out in the middle of the floor. And there he lay all sprawled out. We saw a black Negro with red lips sitting on his knee. He was about this high [indicating approximately two and one-half feet], and as black as coal. His lips were as red as the lid of that can [indicating a *malte* container with bright red cover]. He had large ears that stuck out like this [indicating about a twelve-inch spread]. He was horrible. His horns were this long [indicating about six inches]. And his tail, about a meter. His eyes were big, like this [indicating an oval three inches in diameter]. They were the size of "three children."[48] His tongue looked like a snake's; it was really four separate tongues. And he was sitting there on the man's knee. We were all afraid. We wanted to run; but we dared not. He didn't stay long. Only about ten minutes. He left the man's knee and disappeared into the body of the man who had bought and brought the "things." The *pae de santo* filled up a basin, and Exú took himself away. We did not see him disappear. Ten minutes later the man got up, feeling better. He had been sitting there crying hard. They shaved off his hair, washed his head and painted it with a pencil, white, blue, pink, and lavender. Then they

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[47] Exú (pronounced "Ã-shu") is an African deity who is often, although not always, thought of as possessing an evil nature. See chap. x.

[48] This expression was explained in the following manner: "A person looking into an ordinary eye sees the image of one child; in Exú's eyes the image was three times as big." [826]

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put many beads of O Senhor do Bomfim on him, and a *figa;* they covered him with ornaments.

[789] The *figa* is to free one from the evil eye. For example: I have a dress. You think it is pretty, and you want it very much; something
[754] then happens to it. Or a *sabiá*[40] sings beautifully. You are visiting its owner; you want it, you want it very badly. You leave, and it dies or something else happens to it because you cannot have it. This is the evil eye. One needs to "pray it away" with *Guiné*, *Arruda*, or *Vassourinha Doce*. An oxhorn in the garden will keep it away from plants.

[794] Then the man went around with hands folded, "taking the blessing" from everyone there. Seven children went out with lighted can-
• [776] dles. Then he got up entirely well. Today he has a *casa de candomblé*.
[793] He is now very old. His *orixá* is Ogum de Gêge. The *pao de santo* who treated him is of Ogum de Mina.

159 My guardian angel [*anjo de guarda*] is Xangô. Ogum is a soldier,
776 Xangô is of the thunder and also of the lightning. He is Santa Barbara of the Irmandade. All the *orixás* are equal. But Oxalá directs everything. Nanan is his wife. In the Gêge language she is called Odé.

159 My sister, she died, burned up. She caught all on fire. He who
776 killed her is Oxóssi; it was he who killed her. My sister is buried in the Quinta dos Lazaros.[41] She burned to death because she disobeyed him.
784 He sent a message and she paid no attention to it. Her husband had a *saveiro*.[41] Every trip which he made she went along in the boat. She had no children. Everywhere he went, she went too. When, one time, the *orixá* "arrived" and told her that she should not travel on the water, she didn't take his words very seriously; she laughed the matter off, "gave it a *muxóxó*." But about a week afterward, she went with her husband in a *saveiro* across the Bay to Bahia. Between Itaparica and Salinas the *saveiro* caught afire. It had powder on it and the powder exploded. Parts of the *saveiro* were ripped off and hurled into the water. She was surrounded by fire. When they finally reached her, she was badly burned. They brought her to the Santa Isabel Hospital,

[825] [40] A Brazilian bird which can be trained to sing tunes.

[41] A Bahian cemetery.

[501] [41] A sturdy sailboat used on Todos os Santos Bay and its contributory rivers to transport light articles of commerce.

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and the next day she died. But before she died, he "arrived" and said it was he who had set fire to the *saveiro*. It was Oxóssi. Her husband also died. When one doesn't carry out his obligations [*cumpre com os seus deveres*], the *orixá* takes his life.

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Once I had a party at my house for some friends. But Xangô sent me a message that I should go to the *candomblé*. I said that I was not going because I was having a party. A little while later, while I was dancing with my friends, I suddenly got a stiffness in my legs. But I didn't pay much attention to it. Then I suddenly felt an "opening of the body" [*aperto no corpo*],[53] and I didn't know anything more. When I came to, I was dancing in the *candomblé*. When the *candomblé* was over, I went running clear to the top of Boeiros do Inferno ["Funnels of Hell"] without knowing anything about what I was doing. These are two hills called by that name because they are so high. I didn't feel anything. Afterward, Xangô beat me on the hands, and my hands swelled. When he "arrived" again, he said that I should pay more attention to him, or he would beat me some more. Once he struck me. On that day I was very tired, but I went to the *candomblé* and danced anyway.

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I dance when there is a big ceremony; I dance for hours at a time without getting tired. The spell seizes me, and sometimes I dance more than three days without feeling the least bit tired. When the *orixá* "arrives in my head," I spend a week or more "sleeping."[54] I don't feel anything. I don't see anything. People talk to me, but I don't know anything about what is going on.

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If one drinks water, the *orixá* doesn't "arrive." For instance, one feels cold. That cold is in the body. The *orixá* wants "to arrive." Then one drinks water. He who is of the *preceito* does not drink water. And whoever drinks, breaks the *preceito*. It is prayed ten times.[55]

[53] A "trembling of the body," signifying that the *orixá* wished to enter and to "manifest himself" in human form. See chap. x.

[54] That is, moving about, but unconscious of what is happening.

[55] That is, by taking a drink of water, one can presumably prevent the deity from entering the body. One must at the same time pray ten words and tap the ground ten times. In this way, the *preceito* (i.e., the control of the deity over one) is broken.

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I stayed only seven days in the *casa*,[15] because my head was washed. Others spend three months there, lying down all the time. They lie awhile on one side, then on the other, and then face down. One takes a bath in water perfumed with sacred leaves. Every day. The bath is cold, very cold. You must change your clothes and the bed linen every day. It isn't in a real bed that one lies down. They put a mat on the floor, and you have only a pillow and a sheet. You can move, but only from one side to the other, never over on your back. During the time you are in the *camarinha*, you cannot see your relatives. You may see them only on the day you leave. But then you must go at four in the morning and return at four in the evening so that the dew will not fall on your head.

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There may be others in the *camarinha*. Sometimes many others. All of them stay in the same room. They sleep with their heads together. If there are ten, there will be space for all ten. While they are in the *camarinha*, they do not attend ceremonies.

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I did not go through all this because my head did not have to be shaved. I had my *orixá* from birth. When I came into this world, he already knew everything.[16] My *pae de santo* has "worked" with many people. Last week he was here in Fazenda Grande.

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When my *orixá* took possession of me, I quit eating he-goat. Because of the taboo of the *orixá* one cannot eat certain things. During all my life I cannot eat he-goat, because of the taboo. Neither can I eat turtle. For he who is of Xangô does not eat either he-goat or turtle. He who is of Ogum must not eat sheep's meat. Some *filhas* must not eat fruit; others must not eat fish *de couro*, only those fish which have scales. Crabs cannot be eaten by some, nor the leaf of Ogum. Water may be drunk, but only that which is drawn at 4:00 A.M., before the sun rises.

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White maize must be eaten by some, depending on the *orixá*. For every *orixá* of every nation[17] has his own food. There is the food of Odé. There is that of Xangô, which is mutton.

[15] The period during which the candidate is initiated into her new function is spent within the sacred room, or *camarinha*, of the *candomblé* center.

[16] That is, he "knew" that she would be consecrated to him.

[17] That is, of each type of *candomblé*: Gêge-Nagô, Congo, Angolo, *de caboclo*.

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My sister is preparing *carurú*. She has twin boys. When God gives you twins, you are obliged to present *carurú* to Cosme and Damião. If you fail to do this, someone in the house will die that year.

If one were now to set down an account of the personal experiences of an upper-class Bahian, it would reveal an entirely different mental world. In general content it would reflect a culture distinctly European. Dress, music, food and food habits, forms of religious expression, sacred specialists, means of exercising control over personal destiny, and the ideas, attitudes, sentiments, points of view, and philosophy of life associated with them would, in general, not vary from those commonly characteristic of individuals of European origin wherever found.

This variation at Bahia in cultural identification between the Europeans, on the one hand, and the *Africanos*, on the other—this difference in ideas, attitudes, and sentiments—obviously erects serious barriers to intercommunication and consequently retards the development of a body of common understandings upon which the moral solidarity of any society is built. Although most of the Bahian blacks have now to a considerable extent sloughed off their former cultural identity with Africa and have been more or less completely incorporated into the European world, a remnant of *Africanos* still live, in spite of contiguity in space with the Europeans, to a considerable extent culturally apart.

As will be evident in greater detail in the following chapter, the Europeans tend to look upon the beliefs and the practices of the *Africanos* as matters for ridicule, scorn, disparagement, and condemnation. They are thought of as queer, bizarre, unintelligible, inferior forms of behavior.

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CHAPTER X

THE *CANDOMBLE*

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AMONG the last elements of African culture to disappear at Bahia are the customs and traditions associated with the expression of religious sentiment. The *candomblé*, or Afro-Brazilian fetish cult, is still a vigorous institution and numbers among its adherents some of the most widely known and respected members of the Bahian lower classes. Its leaders, in several conspicuous instances, are able and intelligent individuals, whose prestige extends even into the upper circles. Some *seitas*, or cult centers, have maintained the same temple of worship for generations. Their rituals and ceremonies are serious, dignified, and carried on according to definite, fixed, traditional forms.

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This highly complex organization of ritual and belief is built around an order of *orixás*, or deities, each of whom apparently personifies some natural phenomenon. Thus, of the more important and more widely honored deities, Xangô is worshiped as the *orixá* of lightning and thunder; Ogun, of war and iron; Oxossi, of the hunt; Omolú, of pestilence; Nanan, of rain; Yemanjá, of salt water; Oxun, of fresh water; Yansan, of wind and storm; Oxun-manrê, of the rainbow; and Beji, of twin births.

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The older and more respected *seitas* are commonly considered to be of Nagô (Yoruba) or Gêge (Ewe) origin or represent a fusion in Brazil of these two apparently closely related bodies of African ritual and belief.[1] In details of lan-

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[1] Nina Rodrigues, *Os africanos no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1932), p. 320.

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cated to the *orixá* Ogun, the special ceremonial season begins with the second week in September and concludes with the first week in December. During this period ceremonies are held every Sunday, each dedicated to one or more of the *orixás*. The first ceremony is in honor of Oxalá; the second, of Oxagian ("Oxalá the Younger"); and the following three, of Ogun. Succeeding Sundays are dedicated, respectively, to Xangô, Oxun, Oxóssi, Yemanjá, and Yansan. On the eleventh Sunday and the subsequent Monday special honor is paid to Omolú, and on the following Sunday and Monday, to all of the *mães d'agua*. On the final Sunday a *feijoada* (a Brazilian food delicacy) is offered, with elaborate ritual, to Ogun. In addition to this regular season, special ceremonies are held from time to time throughout the year, with the exception of the Lenten period, when all *candomblé* activity is suspended.

The Gêge-Nagô and the Congo-Angola pantheons contain about the same number of deities, or approximately a hundred *orixás* each. The *caboclo* pantheon has perhaps a score less. Each *orixá* possesses his proper fetish, insignia, sacred day, sacred foods, sacred colors, sacred dress (including bracelets and beads peculiar to himself), and a distinguishing cry. Today, only in rare instances are the fetishes carved images; more often they are polished stones which have been worn smooth by the waters of a river or of the sea. They are carefully cared for in the *pegi*, or sanctuary, by a special functionary who at regular intervals washes them and replenishes the food and drink offerings placed before them.

In some *seitas* Oxalá is considered the most important of the deities; in others, Xangô; and, in still others, Omolú or, as he is sometimes called, Xapanan. Olorun, "the father of the *orixás*," is almost forgotten today in Bahia, although

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occasionally one meets an older *Africano* who thinks of Olorun as "the creator of all the other *orixás*." Each is thought to have his home in Africa, and when one inquires of a black how the *orixás* can come so far to eat and drink the offerings set out for them, the answer is always easy, "They are summoned, and they come at once." 776 [178]

Each *orixá* is presumed on occasion to "manifest himself" in human form and to speak his will. Such "manifestation" is accomplished by "arriving in the head" of an individual who has been dedicated to him. His "presence" is attested by an abnormal psychic state accompanied by violent, spasmodic muscular movements, particularly of the neck, shoulder, and back muscles. Seizure ordinarily takes place during ceremonial dances, but occasionally (quite rare today) it may occur spontaneously while the individual is alone and about his work. Subsequently, the one in whom the *orixá* has "arrived" and "manifested himself" is unaware of what has transpired. 794 776 787

The name, sex, personification, fetish, insignia, sacred foods, sacred dress, sacred ornaments, sacred day, and identifying call of the principal Gêge-Nagô *orixás* at Bahia are as given in Table 15. 794 776

Each *seita* is presided over by a priest or priestess known as the *pae de santo* or *mãe de santo* (literally, the "father" or "mother" of the *orixás*). His (or her) most important functions are to identify a "manifesting" deity, supervise the initiation of the ceremonial dancers in whom an initial "manifestation" has occurred, perform the sacred ritual designed to "fix" the *orixá* in the fetish, supervise the sacrifices, and preside at public ceremonies. He may also exercise, to some extent at least, the office of an *olhador*, or diviner, who "throws the Ifá" to determine in advance the 794 793

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PRINCIPAL *Orixás* OF THE GÊGE-NAGÔ FETISH CULTS AT BAHIA

Name	Sex	Personification	Fetish	Insignia	Sacred Foods	Dress	Beads	Bracelet	Sacred Day	Call
Oxalá (Orixá-lá, Obatalá)*	M,F	(?)	Lead ring, cowries	Shepherd's staff with small bells	She-goat, pigeon	White	White	White beads, lead	Friday	Tremulous groan
Xangô	M	Lightning	Meteorite	Lance, hatchet	Cock, turtle, he-goat, *caruru*	Principal color: red	Red and white	Brass	Wednesday	*hay-ca-ro*
Ogun (Ogum)	M	War, iron	Iron: hoe, anvil, scythe, spade, shovel, sledge	Lance, sword	He-goat, cock, oxhead, guinea hen	All colors	All colors	Bronze	Tuesday	*guero-mio-fá*
Oxóssi (Oso-osi, Ochossi)	M	The hunt	Bow and arrow, clay skillet, stone	Bow and arrow, hunting bag, powder horn, oxtail	Sheep, cock, maize	Green, yellow; trimmed with *palha da costa*	Green	Bronze	Thursday	Bark like that of a dog
Omolú (Humoulú, Omanlú, Xapanan)	M	Pestilence, especially smallpox	*Piassava* with *búzios*	Lance	He-goat, cock, *acassá*, popcorn, *orôbó*, maize with *azeite de dendê*	Red, black	Red and black, red and white	Cowries	Monday	*hô*
Exú	M	Evil (?), mischievousness	Clay, iron, wood	?	"Eats everything that is edible"	Red, black	Red, black	Bronze	Monday†	?
Yemanjá (Iemanjá)‡	F	Salt water	Seashell	Fan, sword	Pigeon, maize, cock, castrated he-goat	Red, dark blue, rose	*pingos da agua* (transparent)	Aluminum	Saturday	*hin-ha-ye-mio*

* Also known in Gêge as Oulissa; in Angola as Cassumbeca; in Tapa as Inacoude Jegum. (The *x* in Oxalá, etc., is pronounced like *sh* in English.)

† Also the first day of any extended ceremony.

‡ In the *candomblés de cabocla*, Yemanjá is called Rainha do Mar, Dona Janaina (or simply Janaina), Dona Maria, Sereia do Mar, Princesa do Mar.

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TABLE 15—*Continued*

Name	Sex	Personification	Fetish	Insignia	Sacred Foods	Dress	Beads	Bracelet	Sacred Day	Call
Yansan (Iansan)	F	Wind, storm	Meteorite	Sword	Goat, hen, *amalá*, § *acarajé*	Principal color: red ("avoids" violet)	Red, coral	Copper, brass	Wednesday	*hay-o-o* ("softer" than Xangô)
Oxun (Oxum, Ossun)	F	Fresh water	Stone worn smooth by a river	*Abébé* (fan), looking-glass, small bell	Fish (*sainha*), she-goat, hen, beans	?	Yellow, blue	Brass	Saturday	*hum-hum*
Anamburucú (Nanan, Nanamburucú)‖	F	Rain	Stone	Sword, small straw broom with cowries	Goat, hen, *obi*	White, dark blue	White, red and blue	Aluminum	Wednesday	*ho-ho-ho-ho*
Oxun-maré (Ochu-maré)	F	Rainbow	Stone	?	Cock, he-goat	?	Orange	?	?	?
Lôkô (Rôkô, Irôkô)	?	?	*gamelleira* tree	?	Cock, tobacco, beer, white wine	All colors ¶	All colors	?	Tuesday	Low whistle
Ifá	?	Future events	Fruit of the *dendê* palm	?	?	?	Green-yellow	?	?	?
Beji (Ibeji)	M	Twin births	Images of São Cosme and São Damião	?	*caruru*, *acassá*, *abará*, *acarajé*, *farofa* with *azeite de dendê*	?	?	?	?	?

§ *Amalá* is *caruru* served with rice or with gruel made from the manioc root.
‖ Also known in Gêge as Tobossi. She is "the oldest" of the *mães d'agua* (Yemanjá, Oxun, Yansan, Anamburucú, Oxun-maré).
¶ Also a straw mat or a strip of white cloth, called *ouja*, which is wrapped about the trunk of a *gamelleira* tree.

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[302] Three of the dancers are *yauôs*, in process of being "made." Their heads have been shaved clean, and white spots and
[301] blue lines have been painted upon them. On their cheeks are white spots and white lines. Around the neck, or over the right shoulder and under the left arm, are long chains of large cowries imported from the West Coast.

794 In a special building with a cement floor is "the throne
346 room of Xangô." At one side is an altar to him, which is lav-
353 ishly decorated with candles and flowers, both fresh and
177 artificial. Indicating the fusion of Catholic and fetish ele-
776 ments, one notes on the lower step an image of Santo Antonio, on the second, one of Nossa Senhora das Candeias, on the third, an image of the twins, Cosme and Damião, and, on the top level, one of São Jeronimo. The *mãe de santo* says that Santo Antonio is "just another name" for Ogun; as similarly is Nossa Senhora das Candeias, for the water deity, Oxun; Cosme and Damião, for Beji; and São Jeronimo, for Xangô.

794 On the other side of the room is "the throne of Xangô," a
346 wooden chair, intricately carved, with a pillow for a head-
[352] rest. Suspended on the walls are pictures of several Catholic saints.

[353] In the center of an adjoining room is "the spring of the *mãe d'agua*," a huge basin built of cement and containing ten to twelve inches of water. On the wall is the Nagô inscription, "Ilé Awon Afonjá" ("House of Xangô").

794 The leader of another *seita* is a male black, known as Pae
793 Procopio, sixty-six years of age, of Gêge descent, whose
159 father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, he proudly boasts, were all Africans and *paes de santo*. His mother's sister was also "an *Africano*," but his mother was a Brazilian-born black, a *mãe de santo* who "deixou o cargo" (i.e., left the

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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there is little distinction between them. The *pae de santo* of a prominent Congo *seita* recently remarked, "I do everything (i.e., I carry on all cult rituals and ceremonies) in the name of the church."[16]

On the fiftieth anniversary of the death of the father of a well-known and widely respected *babalaô*, a special commemorative Mass was arranged in one of the city's principal churches. During the ceremony, a circle of friars who were standing with lighted candles about the bier was joined by an outer circle of Negro men, each bearing a funeral torch. Although the friars were probably unaware of the fact, the blacks were all *ogans* from the *candomblé* of *mãe de santo* Anninha. In the audience were more than a hundred important personages from the fetish world, including *babalaôs*, *paes* and *mães de santo*, *ogans*, and *filhas*. Said the *babalaô* whose father was being thus honored, "Last night at the *terreiro* we danced all night the African funeral dances for my father."

In the minds of cult members several of the more important African *orixás*, as we have seen, have come to be identified with certain Catholic saints. Thus, Ogun, the *orixá* of war, is now identified with Santo Antonio; Oxóssi, the *orixá* of the hunt, with São Jorge; Oxalá, who to most members of the *candomblé* is "the greatest of the *orixás*," with O Senhor do Bomfim, who is, among the lower classes at least, the most important Catholic saint at Bahia;[17]

[16] This point of view obviously is not that of the Catholic church itself.

[17] In Bomfim Church, which, with two rows of royal palms dominating its approach, occupies majestically the crown of a hill in Itapagipe, is a special room whose walls and ceiling are completely covered with photographs or plaster casts of crippled or diseased limbs or other parts of the body which have been, it is thought, miraculously cured of disease or other infirmary by the direct intervention of the saint. So great is his reputation for healing that thousands of people from miles around visit this shrine every year.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Omolú, the *orixá* of pestilence, with São Roque, or, in some cases, with São Bento; and Exú, with Satan. Of the *mães d'agua* (water deities), Yemanjá is confused in some cases with Nossa Senhora da Piedade (Our Lady of Compassion), and in others with Nossa Senhora do Rosario (Our Lady of the Rosary); Oxun, in some cases, with Nossa Senhora das Candeias and, in others, with Nossa Senhora da Conceição (Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception); Yansan, with Santa Barbara; and Nanan (Anamburucú, Nanamburucú), with Nossa Senhora de Sant'Ana. Beji, the twins, are identified with Cosme and Damião; Irôko (Rôko, Lôko), who is presumed to dwell in the *gameleira* tree, with Poverello (São Francisco) de Assis;[18] and Ifá, the *orixá* of divination, with Santissimo Sacramento (the Most Holy Sacrament). Even Xangô, the *orixá* of lightning and thunder, to whom Edison Carneiro refers as "indisputably the most African of all the *orixás* worshiped at Bahia,"[19] and who is still thought of by some blacks as being distinct from any Catholic saint, is worshiped in several of the most representative Gêge-Nagô *seitas* under the name of São Jeronimo and, occasionally, of Santa Barbara.

The conditions which favor fusion in this last-named case are not difficult to understand. In Portuguese folklore Santa Barbara is thought of as a protector against lightning, a conception which probably led very easily to the identification of Santa Barbara in the Negroes' minds with Xangô, who is, in the African tradition, "the *orixá* of the thunderbolts." Fusion in this case, as in others, would have been aided by the common conception that each African deity is both a protector and a destroyer; a kindly protector when offered

[18] Edison Carneiro, *Religiões negras* (Rio, 1936), p. 155.

[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 153-54.

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the proper ritual, and a vengeful destroyer if rites and taboos are ignored.

Although this fusion is proceeding rapidly, it is still far from complete. A number of Gêge-Nagô and Congo-Angola *orixás*, and at least thirty *caboclo* deities, have not yet been in any way identified with Catholic equivalents.

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Occasionally, the critical attitude of members of the fetish world toward unorthodox practices in other *seitas* extends also to the incorporation of Catholic ritual, ideas, and sentiments into fetish practice and belief. A *babalaô* and *feiticeiro*, born in Africa of repatriated Brazilian slaves, recently remarked, "These Bahian *candomblés* aren't African any more. Why, they all go to Mass, pray the rosary, and burn candles to the saints! It's all mixed up now."

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The following story illustrates the fusion of European and African traditions. Related recently by a local black, it recounts some of the experiences of Obaluaiê (Abaláu-aiê) and Omolú, known also in Bahia as Xapanan (Xapanã), and is obviously confused with the biblical stories of the Prodigal Son and of Lazarus. It also refers to a European city.

XAPANÃ, FATHER AND SON

Xapanã was fifteen years old when his parents sent him out into the world to see what life was like. After he had walked a long way, he came to a city called Venice, where he went about looking for work. But no one offered him anything, and finally, becoming very hungry, he began to go up to houses and beg for something to eat. But everywhere he asked he was turned away.

Sad and disillusioned, Xapanã continued on his way. At last he came to a forest, where he remained for some time, living on fruits and insects.

When Xapanã was nineteen years of age, he began to think of returning to his father's house and at last made himself ready and set out on the way. Xapanã walked and walked, until one day just as

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794 787 neys, etc.[17] Oracles are invoked by way of such magical in-
[789] termediaries as the *obi* and the *orobó*, or the *opêlê-ifá* (a chain of thin disks), or they may be obtained directly from an *orixá* who speaks during the "possession" of a *filha* or a *pae de santo* by way of the mouth of the one "possessed."[18]

787 Contact between the living and the dead is believed not only to be possible but to occur regularly. Hence, the prac-

[17] The serious character of a transaction of this sort puts it in a different category from certain other magical acts, common to all classes, which have the character of a game, being similar, for example, to practices attaching to our festival of Halloween. Thus, one may take a glass, "bless" it three times, put in it the white of an egg, and, holding it over a fire, again thrice "bless" it; or partially fill a basin with water and permit the tallow from a lighted candle to drip into it; or stick a knife up to the hilt in a banana tree and leave it until morning. The patterns formed on the glass, the water, and the knife, respectively, are presumed to indicate the initials of one's future spouse. A similar image is presumed to appear in the dreams of one under whose pillow has been left a freshly husked ear of corn.

[825] [18] Other magical practices of this sort are: the placing of crushed char-
• [777] coal under a rock to expedite the recovery of a lost article, the burying of the third of a rosary to stop rain; also, it is commonly believed that a hum-
[821] mingbird inside the house, or the singing of an *adiutem-quevem*, announces the coming of guests; that the appearance of an owl, or of an *ouriço cacheiro*, foretells death; that a black butterfly is a sign of misfortune; that a katydid with dark eyes brings unpleasant news, while one with light eyes brings favorable news; that seeing the new moon for the first time between the branches of a tree or anywhere partially obscured is a sign of misfortune throughout the coming month; that the showing of money to the new moon when seen for the first time will assure no want of income for the next thirty days; that ill fortune will attend one who dwells in a house on the corner of a street, enters a house with the right foot, or opens an umbrella inside a house. Still other "signs" of misfortune are: the toad; the black cat (or the "ghost" of a cat); the *anum* perched in a tree near the house; the *jacumim*; the hummingbird, if black; the katydid, if it has a black mouth (if the katydid has a red mouth, happiness is in store for the observer). In the opinion
[262] of numerous people, mutton must not be eaten, since it is "the *lamb of God* who taketh away the sins of the world." Sheep are animals which Christians must not eat.

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*794 supposedly there is competition among them as to which night
[565] will be the loveliest. This becomes more expensive each year, however, and the patrons are becoming less willing to donate money. This festival is most enjoyed by the lower classes. It is avoided by members of Class B, who in many instances are nevertheless called upon to be patrons.

796 The festival takes on a carnival aspect each night, with
[525] booths set up in the streets by professional people from Sal-
[275] vador and Centro. The booths have wheels of fortune and guessing games, and sell sweets and drinks. After the religious celebration in the chapel, everyone goes out into the square to talk, play games, and dance.

796 The day before the first Mass of the festival is celebrated,
794 the chapel is thoroughly washed by the women participants of
358 the African cult house, who dress up in their many starched
[291] skirts and bandanas and go to the well as a group for water, which they take to the chapel to throw on the floor. A few little barefoot girls wash down the floor with brooms. After the
[535] washing the women go out dancing in the streets. They dance
*[565] on every street in town and ask for alms. This entire procedure, known as the lavagem (washing), is much frowned upon by members of Class B.

796 Most of the ordinary town life ceases during these nine days, for everyone is tired after staying up so late at night. The day of the patron saint of the town falls during this festival, and is passed over with nothing more than a simple Mass celebrated in the mother church in his honor. The people of the rural area of this parish do not observe the day of the patron saint
[794] at all. The day after the nine-day festival, a group of young men go out dancing and singing in the streets, asking for alms to make a large feijoada (feast of beans) at night. This is called mazorra (the clowns). After this the men settle down again to their fishing, for by now their money is all used up.

The next festival on the calendar is the second of February, when the nearby towns of Centro, Conselho, and Morro celebrate the day of their patron saint. People from Vila Recôncavo go to one or another of these three towns, although not
• [778] in great numbers. The majority go to Conselho, which has the reputation of being a holy place, and to which pilgrimages are frequently made.

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[565] All festivities end during Lent, which is quietly observed. It is interesting to note that Carnaval, which takes place the
[184] three days before Lent, is observed in Vila Recôncavo only among members of Class A.

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the day of Christ the King, there is always a procession in town which starts from the mother church and goes to a small altar set up in front of the County Hall, then to the fishermen's chapel, to a cross which stands in one of the squares, and back to the convent and church. A few people set their small household oratories in the street in front of their houses to be blessed by the priest as he passes. This procession is accompanied mostly by women of all classes, although the canopy over the Host is carried by men from Class B. Christmas is observed quietly except for the exchange of gifts.

[778] [788] *[565] [184] [431]

Prayers

794 782 *[565] [184]

Prayers are very popular throughout the year among the women of classes C and D. For a variety of reasons a group of women will get together in the house of one of them and pray aloud, standing before the little decorated niche which contains a picture or figure of the household saint. The one who knows the prayer best leads the others. A group may pray on the evening before the day of the patron saint of one of them, especially if they have been unable to have a Mass said because of the lack of money or a previous commitment of the priest. At times they pray because someone has promised his patron saint that he would do so if he were cured of an illness.

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Strangely, perhaps, the fishermen never seem to feel a need for supernatural help to overcome bad weather or lack of fish. A few of them, however, give a present to the Mother of the Waters in thanks for an exceptionally fine catch. At other times, people simply pray to their patron saints if they cannot have a party in their honor. Personal patron saints, however, do not play a very important part in the lives of the people of Vila Recôncavo, although nearly everyone has one and has at least a picture of the saint on the wall. It is common to find women who belong to an African cult group praying at these nightly gatherings in honor of the various saints who may or may not be represented in their cult houses.

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Exceptional fatigue, light illness, and pains may all be caused by the evil eye, and are removed by having a woman pray over the victim. There are several women in town who can make such prayers particularly well; however, they do not pray as a group. A woman goes to the house of the victim and, with a piece of thread in her hand which she passes over the body of the victim, says the Lord's Prayer and the

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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this are being made, however, and it is hoped he will be ready for it before her death. In the meantime she has legally willed the house and its material belongings to him, and is also passing along to him her spiritual heritage. He is learning the mystical part of the cult, but she cannot show him the outer forms, such as dancing and other physical motions of worship, because she is too infirm. Traditionally only women went through training for worship in the Brazilian cults, for the belief is that the gods descend and "ride" or "mount" the disciple. This could only be done with women disciples. However, one of the changes reaching the cults now is the entrance of men as devotees. Very often they are effeminate, as is the case with the young man who is helping the old woman. The old one is not pleased with having a man perform the duties of her cult house, but she feels she must be satisfied with him because there is no one else in her house. Although all her former disciples are gone, now at least she will have someone to dispatch her saints when she dies, a complicated ritual which must be properly carried out.

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One of the other two houses is in the town and is led by Roxa, who has "made her saint" but who by cult standards should still be a devotee in another house, for she is not considered well enough prepared to be leading a house of her own. Her house is extremely weak, with few followers, most of whom have not yet "made their saints." Roxa is the main figure, the one most often possessed and through whom the spirits speak. As a young girl she went through a fairly rigorous period of training, but broke away before it was completed. She says she fulfills the necessary obligations now only because if she did not she would become sick. She calls the whole thing a "complication" in her life which must be looked after. She has been married but is now widowed and childless.

The other house, located on one of the plantations run by an overseer, is led by a man in his forties. He also claims that he is in the cult because of his health. As a boy and young man he was always sick and his entire body ached. One day in the field he found a "lightning stone" (pedra de raio). Such stones are common in the cults and are thought to have been sent from the sky, although they really are American Indian artifacts, such as arrowheads and hatchets, and are constantly turned up in the soil. At first he did not know what the stone was and took it home, but on discovering that it had supernatural significance, he threw it away, for he wanted nothing

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794 to do with cultism. His parents were strongly opposed to cult-
[778] ism and had told him that it was bad. But the next day the stone was back in his house, frightening him. He again threw it away, and again it reappeared in his house. Then he took it to the cult leader on the plantation, who told him that it was a sign that he had an obligation to fulfill toward the gods. To
[782] put an end to the matter, it was necessary to make certain appeasements in the form of food and drink. So he began to save money, and at the same time took instruction from the woman as to what to do. During this time he became genuinely interested in cultism and became the "most curious"
[428] of the woman's disciples. He studied for many years with her
[765] and did as much as he could in the ceremonies. When she died she left the house to him, as he was the most active among her followers. After he had observed the honorary period of a year after her death and had properly dispatched her saints,
[578] he moved into the house where he has now been leader for thirteen years. Because of jealousies and fights over the inheritance, many of the devotees broke away and went to other houses, taking their saints with them.

793 Three years after he had taken over the house, he had his
794 first experience with the Indian spirit Seven Stars, who came to him in a dream and let it be known that he wanted to enter
787 the man and become part of the cult. For some time the man
177 resisted, for the cult was traditionally Nagô and the former leader would have had nothing to do with Indian spirits. Seven Stars, however, threatened him with extinction if he did not comply, so in the end he gave in, and one night during a ceremony was possessed by Seven Stars. Everyone liked Seven Stars, because he was a very happy and gay spirit and danced well. After this many other devotees in the house were also possessed by this as well as by one or two other Indian spirits, neither of which, however, was considered as nice as Seven Stars.

794 According to dogma, there are twenty-one Indian spirits,
787 although the informant could not name them all and neither could anyone else. All twenty-one live in an aldeia (village) in
177 the woods. There was nothing in the African tradition to tell
[776] what preparation was necessary for these spirits, so the entire ritual became one of inventiveness and propitiousness. Nowadays young people who enter the cults are nearly always taken by an Indian spirit and are much pleased, for these spirits involve less expense and much less work. The major com-

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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giance from numerous and zealous devotees. African dances still invaded the popular festivals of the Europeans to such an extent that vigorous protests on the part of the white citizenry appeared in the newspapers.[16] Numerous images employed in the fetish worship were imported from Africa, and others were made by Negro sculptors in Bahia.

One occasionally encountered Negroes who in Africa had been chiefs or other dignitaries of considerable power and influence. Although in Brazil they shared the fortunes of a slave with their former subjects, they nevertheless often received allegiance and great reverence from them. On a chance meeting in the street these personages were, we are told, "saluted respectfully, their hands kissed, and a blessing requested of them." Even their masters were reported to have paid them, in several cases, considerable respect.

Slaves who were in close contact with their masters, especially the house servants, soon became, by the very necessities of the situation, at least to some extent bilingual. And their offspring, reared in close contact with the children of their masters, acquired little, if any, African vocabulary and came almost exclusively to speak Portuguese. Thus, about 1800, Koster wrote from Pernambuco, "Portuguese

[16] In the *Jornal de Noticias* for February 12, 1901, a white citizen wrote: "I wish to protest against the way in which this great civilized festival [Carnival] is being Africanized." Three days later the following was published: "These infamous Africanized groups *de canzás* and *busios* which, far from adding to the brilliance of our Carnival festival, bring shame upon the name of Bahia . . . . have since yesterday been keeping up their infernal tumult." Immediately preceding the opening of Carnival the following year there appeared in the *Jornal de Noticias* (February 5, 1902) the following note: "If during these former Carnival festivals when the popular enthusiasm has been greatly aroused by the passage of the victorious floats . . . . these groups of *Africanos* have been repugnant, what will the Carnival of 1902 turn out to be, unless the police take effective measures to prevent our streets from looking like *terreiros* where fetish practices reign amid a retinue of *ogans* and their *canzás* and tambourines?" (Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 236–38).

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Ohum Eniadúdú[19]
Recipes for Afro-Brazilian *Quitutes*[20]
The *Calunga*[21] of the Maracatús
The "People's Library" and the "Modern Collectanea"[22]

Obviously, there is implied in these titles no interest other than in history and ethnology. But in the following ten papers, although there again appears to be no concern with problems of racial accommodation, one does note an awareness of physical differences and an interest in their measurement.

Some Anthropological Measurements of the Population of Recife
Some Data on the Physical Characteristics of the Population of Recife
Some Physical Measurements of Brazilian Negroes and Mulattoes
A Study of Cephalic Indices and Color Variation among Mulattoes in Pernambuco
A Contribution to the Study of Lapicque's Index
Physical Measurements of Negro Students
Comparative Heights and Weights of Newborn *Branco*, *Pardo*, and *Preto* Babies
A Statistical Study of Longevity in *Brancos*, *Pardos*, and *Pretos*
The Comparative Incidence of Tuberculosis in *Pretos* and *Brancos*
Mental Disease among the Negroes of Pernambuco

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[19] Under this title two topics were considered: (1) legends from Dahomey and (2) Anamburucú (an Afro-Brazilian deity [see chap. x]).

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[20] *Quitutes* are food delicacies.

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[21] The *calunga* referred to here was a richly adorned female image representing a water deity. It was carried by the "Dama do Passo," a female dancer of the Maracatú.

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[22] The "Modern Collectanea" and the "People's Library" are two sets of inexpensive leaflets containing ballads and other folklore, historical sketches, anecdotes, prayers, recipes, etc. See, in this connection, Jorge Amado, "Literatura dos negros e mulatos da Bahia," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal de São Paulo*, XLVIII (June, 1938), 179-82.

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filled the churches at Mass, at prayers, and at sermons, accompanied by little black urchins carrying small stools of *jacaranda*[16] with carved feet. They were women who tended small stalls in the markets, or who sold in the streets, proprietors of small eating-places, elderly slaves, and young *mulatas* who came to turn the heads of the "old conquerors."[17]

[16] A very heavy wood of rich coloring much prized for furniture.

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[17] "Onde estão as *Bahianas?*" *A Tarde*, June 23, 1936. It was of these *Bahianas* that Carmen Miranda sang when she recently captivated Broadway with the staccato notes of the rollicking *samba* by Dorival Caymmi, "Que é que a Bahiana tem?"

O que é que a bahiana tem?	What is it that a *Bahiana* has?
O que é que a bahiana tem?	What is it that a *Bahiana* has?
Tem torço de seda, tem	She has a *torço* of silk, she has
Tem brinco de ouro, tem	She has ornaments of gold, she has
Corrente de ouro, tem	She has a golden necklace, she has
Tem pano da Costa, tem	She has a *pano da Costa*, she has
Tem bátá rendada, tem, ah!	She has a *bátá*, embroidered, she has—ah!
Pulseira de ouro, tem	Bracelets of gold, she has
Tem saia engomada, tem	She has a *saia*, starched, she has
Sandalia enfeitada, tem.	Decorated *sandalias*, she has.
Tem graça como ninguem	She has "oomph" like nobody else
Como ela requebra bem	How well she swings those hips!
Quando você se requebrar	When you swing those hips
Caia por cima de mim	Fall on top of me
Caia por cima de mim	Fall on top of me
Caia por cima de mim.	Fall on top of me.
O que é que a bahiana tem?	What is it that a *Bahiana* has?
O que é que a bahiana tem?	What is it that a *Bahiana* has?
Tem torço de seda, tem . . . . etc.	She has a *torço* of silk, she has . . . . etc.
Só vae no Bomfim quem tem	Only those go to Bomfim who have
Só vae no Bomfim quem tem	Only those go to Bomfim who have
Um rosario de ouro	A rosary of gold,
Uma bolota* assim	A little ball, thus,
Quem não tem balangandans	She who has no *balangandans*
Não vae no Bomfim	Can't go to Bomfim
Quem não tem balangandans	She who has no *balangandans*
Não vae no Bomfim	Can't go to Bomfim
Oi, não vae no Bomfim	Oi, can't go to Bomfim
Oi, não vae no Bomfim	Oi, can't go to Bomfim
Oi, não vae no Bomfim	Oi, can't go to Bomfim,
Oi, não vae no Bomfim.	Oi, can't go to Bomfim.

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* Instead of a cross the Malês, or Mohammedan Negroes in Bahia, used a ball on the rosary.

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789 head. The wearing of *patuás*, or written prayers, is presumed to "close the body" (*fechar o corpo*) against disease or accident. The nut known as *chapeu de Napoleão* ("Napoleon's hat"), if worn on a string about the neck, similarly is reputed to possess magical power.[27] A cord of deerskin passed over the affected area is presumed to cure erysipelas; a string of white beads worn about the neck of a mother is thought to increase the flow of her milk; a cord tied tightly about the waist of a pregnant woman will, it is believed, "keep the baby from going to the head"; and a stone in the hair is thought to retard delivery. Considered particularly efficacious in all cases of illness is the "*itá* of Xangô."[28]
782 "Prayers," or the use of magical words or phrases over an
755 affected part of the body, are also extensively employed. A common belief is that the *pae de santo* can in this way cure snakebite.

782 The direct intervention of a deity may be invoked as
[776] when presents are made to the *mães d'agua* (female deities who are presumed to inhabit bodies of water) to remove illness or misfortune or to assure future success. Thus, fisher-

[27] At the children's clinic a black mother brought in a child very ill. About his neck was a cord suspending a *chapeu de Napoleão*. To the physician's query, the mother replied, "They said it would make him well. Everyone told me to use it, and I didn't know."

755 [28] *Itás* (Tupi equivalent of "rocks" or "stones") of Xangô, or, as they are
• 778 also called, *pedras* of Santa Barbara, are thought to have fallen from heaven during thunderstorms. They are said to have penetrated into the earth seven *braças* (2.2 meters) and to have returned to the surface after seven
[554] years. The person so fortunate as to find one of these stones is considered a highly privileged individual. The *itá* is used by the *pae de santo* to crush the leaves of certain medicinal plants which are then put, together with the yolk of an egg, into a vessel and mixed, while an invocation in Nagô, known as *etutu*, is intoned. The stone is then covered with the crushed leaves and egg yolk and allowed to stand for a period of time. The liquid prepared in this way is considered to possess miraculous healing power.

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men, anxious for a good year's catch, or individuals wishing to be rid of some illness, to obtain employment, or to secure a satisfactory resolution of unrequited love, will purchase foods, wearing apparel, toilet articles, jewelry, and other gifts pleasing to a lady and place them with appropriate ceremonies in a body of water presumed to be inhabited by one of the *mães d'agua*. Particularly sacred are the waters of Mar Grande, off the island of Itaparica, where, a few years ago, a saddle horse, it is said, was presented to Yemanjá; Mont'serrat and Cabeceiras da Ponte, on opposite sides of Itapagipe; Baiutê,[29] near the village of Itapoan; and Mariquita, near Rio Vermelho.[30] Parents of twins make regular food and drink offerings to the twin-deities, the Beji, or Cosme and Damião. Omolú, the "*orixá* of smallpox," is believed to protect not only against the ravishes of this disease

[29] A foreigner was swimming in Baiutê when a passer-by, seeing him, shouted excitedly, "What are you doing in there? Don't you know that that water is charmed (*encantado*)? You might even turn into a fish. Haven't you seen the white swans? They say that they are two people who once swam here." For accounts of public offerings to the *mães d'agua* see *Estado da Bahia* for June 19 and September 23, 1936; *A Tarde* (Bahia), February 3, 1938.

[30] A letter headed, "Every Vow Fulfilled up to the End of the Year, 1936," and addressed to "Our Lady of Mont'serrat, the Mistress of the Sea, Janaina," was found in the bay near Mont'serrat. It read:

To my Godmother:

I promise you, my Lady of Mont'serrat, that if you arrange it so that I can marry Domingos Portella, I will give you a present worth fifty milreis. And on the second of February I will put in another present according to my means. If possible, I will give you thirty milreis, and if not I will give you at least twenty. As large a present as I have I will give you on February 2, from twenty milreis up. My Godmother, I promise thee that the day of my marriage to Domingos Portella will be a happy day for you also; while I shall be having a *festa* here on land, you also will be having a *festa* there in the holy sea. I will fix dishes of all that we have in the house for this day, and send them to you, with greetings from me.

Your goddaughter,

Yvonne D. L. Braga

(Letter presented here by courtesy of Friar Tomás.)

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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159 794 • 778 [515]

I stayed only seven days in the *casa*,[15] because my head was washed. Others spend three months there, lying down all the time. They lie awhile on one side, then on the other, and then face down. One takes a bath in water perfumed with sacred leaves. Every day. The bath is cold, very cold. You must change your clothes and the bed linen every day. It isn't in a real bed that one lies down. They put a mat on the floor, and you have only a pillow and a sheet. You can move, but only from one side to the other, never over on your back. During the time you are in the *camarinha*, you cannot see your relatives. You may see them only on the day you leave. But then you must go at four in the morning and return at four in the evening so that the dew will not fall on your head.

[513]

There may be others in the *camarinha*. Sometimes many others. All of them stay in the same room. They sleep with their heads together. If there are ten, there will be space for all ten. While they are in the *camarinha*, they do not attend ceremonies.

[302] [776] [793]

I did not go through all this because my head did not have to be shaved. I had my *orixá* from birth. When I came into this world, he already knew everything.[16] My *pae de santo* has "worked" with many people. Last week he was here in Fazenda Grande.

159 262 776

When my *orixá* took possession of me, I quit eating he-goat. Because of the taboo of the *orixá* one cannot eat certain things. During all my life I cannot eat he-goat, because of the taboo. Neither can I eat turtle. For he who is of Xangô does not eat either he-goat or turtle. He who is of Ogum must not eat sheep's meat. Some *filhas* must not eat fruit; others must not eat fish *de couro*, only those fish which have scales. Crabs cannot be eaten by some, nor the leaf of Ogum. Water may be drunk, but only that which is drawn at 4:00 A.M., before the sun rises.

[271]

White maize must be eaten by some, depending on the *orixá*. For every *orixá* of every nation[17] has his own food. There is the food of Odé. There is that of Xangô, which is mutton.

[15] The period during which the candidate is initiated into her new function is spent within the sacred room, or *camarinha*, of the *candomblé* center.

[16] That is, he "knew" that she would be consecrated to him.

[17] That is, of each type of *candomblé*: Gêge-Nagô, Congo, Angolo, *de caboclo*.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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My *pae de santo* made an *ebó* for me last week. It is a *limpeza do corpo* ["cleansing of the body"]. I had an unclean body and dragged myself around, listless. I went to the "master" of the *candomblé* and he "opened the table" and looked to see if my body was unclean. He then asked me to bring toasted maize, a black cloth, popcorn, honey, and a candle. He passed them all over me,[58] and when he had finished, he took them and left them in a crossroads. Friday is the day for this. 159 793 783

Now if a person puts a *bruxaria*[59] in your doorway, with a doll stuck through with pins, that is of the *feiticeiro* and it is different from a "cleansing of the body." My *pae de santo* does not make *feitiço*. He says that he does not care to do harm to people, because he has a soul for which he is responsible to God. But any *pae de santo* who wishes to bring harm upon someone can do so. For example, if I arrive in his *casa* and say that I want to do something to someone he asks me: "What do you want to do to her?" I say that when she comes to my door I want her to go blind. He will "make a business" and the next day she will come to my door and go blind. Or else I say that I want her to be wounded by a knife. He arranges it so that this happens.[60] 159 754 [793]

"Opening the table" is a thing done with *buzios*. The *pae de santo* puts an *orixá* on top of the table, together with his little towel.[61] He takes up the *buzios* and sees if "the way is open." My *pae de santo* "opens the table" with beads.[62] He takes the beads and puts them alongside *palha* from the *pindoba*.[63] These beads come from the Coast.[64] His set cost 1:000$000.[65] 159 787 793 778 [439] [435]

[58] That is, in front, to side, behind, above the head, etc.

[59] Any instrument of black magic.

[60] That is, she will be attacked in a lonely place by robbers, or accidentally stabbed. The action is always mediate.

[61] The table-covering which is placed over the *orixá* in the *pegi*, or sanctuary.

[62] Other means employed: a glass of water, a set of playing cards.

[63] Fronds from a variety of the coconut palm.

[64] That is, from the West Coast of Africa.

[65] One thousand milreis, or one conto, equivalent at that time to approximately $60.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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794 In details of lan-
184 guage, ceremonial dress, dance, song and pantheon, these
centers differ from the *candomblés* known as "Congo" or
[178] "Angola," in which Bantú dialects are spoken, Loanda and
Benguela become sacred places, and Tempo and the Angolan
[177] chief Kissimbe are worshiped. They differ also from the
apparently more recently organized *caboclo candomblés*
whose ritual is, in varying degrees from *seita* to *seita*, a
mixture of the rituals of the other cults, together with dances
and a pantheon of Tupi origin, the latter of which includes
Tupan, an important Tupi deity, and Tupinambá, apparent-
ly a personification of the cannibal tribe by that name which
inhabited the Bahian coast at the coming of the Europeans.
[191] The *caboclo candomblés* carry on their ceremonies principally
in Portuguese, with the addition of certain phrases of African
origin, usually much corrupted, which have been picked up
[177] from Gêge-Nagô or Congo-Angola *seitas*, and a few words of
Tupi derivation. Feathers, the bow and arrow, and other
Indian cultural elements enter into their ritual.

794 This borrowing of ceremonial elements on the part of
184 *caboclo* imitators, who in many, if not most, cases have not
been reared in the African tradition, is bitterly resented
178 by the more orthodox and scrupulous *Africanos*, particularly
those of the Gêge-Nagô *seitas*. As a Negro once said, "Si
seja mistura, é bobagem" ("If it's mixed, it's nonsense").
A leader of a Nagô cult once burst out:

> This fellow João da Pedra Preta! What a disgraceful whelp! His forebears, what did they know? Were they brought up in the *seita*, and did they "deixaram o cargo" [will the office of priest] to him? No! He came here from the *sertão* and started a *candomblé*. Picked up a little Gêge, a little Nagô, a little Congo, a little Indian stuff, and so on. A disgraceful mixture!

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appears to be an overstatement. In the area surrounding the sacred lake, or the Dique, and lying between the streetcar lines known as Rio Vermelho de Cima and Rio Vermelho de Baixo are more than a score. A black who regularly attends the *seita* known as Engenho Velho is personally acquainted with eighteen *seitas*, can give the location of their sacred grounds, indicate their line of African descent, and repeat the names of their leaders. Of these eighteen *seitas*, he says that eleven are of Nagô origin, six of Angola, and one of Gêge. All are located in the outlying areas of the city in sections principally inhabited by the darker portion of the population or in the more or less open country. Of their leaders, nine are males and nine are females.[5]

Sacred places include the *terreiro*, or temple grounds; the *franquia*, or sacred groves; sacred springs like that called Milagre do São Bartholomeu ("Miracle of St. Bartholomew"), located in an isolated spot near Pirajá, bathing in whose waters on the part of a *filha de santo* dedicated to Oxun-manrê "immediately causes the *orixá* to arrive";[6] sacred lakes, like the Dique; and the sacred arms of the sea, such as Cabeceiras da Ponte, Mont'serrat, and Baiutê. In the *terreiro* are the *barracão*, or sacred dance pavilion; the *pegi*, or fetish sanctuary; the *camarinha*, or sacred room in which initiates are interned during the period of their preparation; special huts for those *orixás*, like Exú, who "prefer to dwell outside the *pegi*"; and the living-quarters for the priest and his retinue.

In one *seita* of Gêge-Nagô origin whose *pae de santo* is dedi-

[5] Of the eleven Nagô centers, four of the heads are males, seven are women; of the Angola centers, five are males, one a female. The leader of the Gêge *seita* is a woman.

[6] See below, p. 286.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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cated to the *orixá* Ogun, the special ceremonial season begins with the second week in September and concludes with the first week in December. During this period ceremonies are held every Sunday, each dedicated to one or more of the *orixás*. The first ceremony is in honor of Oxalá; the second, of Oxagian ("Oxalá the Younger"); and the following three, of Ogun. Succeeding Sundays are dedicated, respectively, to Xangô, Oxun, Oxóssi, Yemanjá, and Yansan. On the eleventh Sunday and the subsequent Monday special honor is paid to Omolú, and on the following Sunday and Monday, to all of the *mães d'agua*. On the final Sunday a *feijoada* (a Brazilian food delicacy) is offered, with elaborate ritual, to Ogun. In addition to this regular season, special ceremonies are held from time to time throughout the year, with the exception of the Lenten period, when all *candomblé* activity is suspended.

The Gêge-Nagô and the Congo-Angola pantheons contain about the same number of deities, or approximately a hundred *orixás* each. The *caboclo* pantheon has perhaps a score less. Each *orixá* possesses his proper fetish, insignia, sacred day, sacred foods, sacred colors, sacred dress (including bracelets and beads peculiar to himself), and a distinguishing cry. Today, only in rare instances are the fetishes carved images; more often they are polished stones which have been worn smooth by the waters of a river or of the sea. They are carefully cared for in the *pegi*, or sanctuary, by a special functionary who at regular intervals washes them and replenishes the food and drink offerings placed before them.

In some *seitas* Oxalá is considered the most important of the deities; in others, Xangô; and, in still others, Omolú or, as he is sometimes called, Xapanan. Olorun, "the father of the *orixás*," is almost forgotten today in Bahia, although

4; Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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PRINCIPAL *Orixás* OF THE GÊGE-NAGÔ FETISH CULTS AT BAHIA

Name	Sex	Personification	Fetish	Insignia	Sacred Foods	Dress	Beads	Bracelet	Sacred Day	Call
Oxalá (Orixá-lá, Obatalá)*	M,F	(?)	Lead ring, cowries	Shepherd's staff with small bells	She-goat, pigeon	White	White	White beads, lead	Friday	Tremulous groan
Xangô	M	Lightning	Meteorite	Lance, hatchet	Cock, turtle, he-goat, *caruru*	Principal color: red	Red and white	Brass	Wednesday	*kay-o-ee*
Ogun (Ogum)	M	War, iron	Iron: hoe, anvil, scythe, spade, shovel, sledge	Lance, sword	He-goat, cock, oxhead, guinea hen	All colors	All colors	Bronze	Tuesday	*guero-min-fi*
Ouóssi (Oso-osi, Ochossi)	M	The hunt	Bow and arrow, clay skillet, stone	Bow and arrow, hunting bag, powder horn, cutail	Sheep, cock, maize	Green, yellow; trimmed with *palha da costa*	Green	Bronze	Thursday	Bark like that of a dog
Omolú (Humoulú, Omanlú, Xapanan)	M	Pestilence, especially smallpox	*Piassava* with *buzios*	Lance	He-goat, cock, *acassá*, popcorn, *orôbó*, maize with *azeite de dendê*	Red, black	Red and black, red and white	Cowries	Monday	*hi*
Exú	M	Evil (?), mischievousness	Clay, iron, wood	?	"Eats everything that is edible"	Red, black	Red, black	Bronze	Monday†	?
Yemanjá (Iemanjá)‡	F	Salt water	Seashell	Fan, sword	Pigeon, maize, cock, castrated he-goat	Red, dark blue, rose	*pingos da agua* (transparent)	Aluminum	Saturday	*kin-kar-ye-min*

* Also known in Gêge as Oulissa; in Angola as Camumbeca; in Tapa as Inacoude Jegum. (The *x* in Oxalá, etc., is pronounced like *sh* in English.)
† Also the first day of any extended ceremony.
‡ In the *candomblés de caboclo*, Yemanjá is called Rainha do Mar, Dona Janaina (or simply Janaina), Dona Maria, Sereia do Mar, Princeza do Mar.

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TABLE 15—*Continued*

Name	Sex	Personification	Fetish	Insignia	Sacred Foods	Dress	Beads	Bracelet	Sacred Day	Call
Yansan (Iansan)	F	Wind, storm	Meteorite	Sword	Goat, hen, *amalá*, § *acarajé*	Principal color: red ("avoids" violet)	Red, coral	Copper, brass	Wednesday	*hay-ay-ay* ("softer" than Xangô)
Oxun (Oxum, Osun)	F	Fresh water	Stone worn smooth by a river	*Abêbê* (fan), looking-glass, small bell	Fish (*tainha*), she-goat, hen, beans	?	Yellow, blue	Brass	Saturday	*hum-hum*
Anamburucú (Nanan, Nanamburucú)‖	F	Rain	Stone	Sword, small straw broom with cowries	Goat, hen, *obi*	White, dark blue	White, red and blue	Aluminum	Wednesday	*hu-hu-hu-hu*
Oxun-manré (Ochu-maré)	F	Rainbow	Stone	?	Cock, he-goat	?	Orange	?	?	?
Lôkô (Rôkô, Irôkô)	?	?	*gamelleira* tree	?	Cock, tobacco, beer, white wine	All colors¶	All colors	?	Tuesday	Low whistle
Ilá	?	Future events	Fruit of the *dendê* palm	?	?	?	Green-yellow	?	?	?
Beji (Ibeji)	M	Twin births	Images of São Cosme and São Damião	?	*caruré, acassá, abará, acarajé, farofa* with *azeite de dendê*	?	?	?	?	?

§ *Amalá* is *caruré* served with rice or with gruel made from the manioc root.
‖ Also known in Gêge as Tobossi. She is "the oldest" of the *mães d'agua* (Yemanjá, Oxun, Yansan, Anamburucú, Oxun-manré).
¶ Also a straw mat or a strip of white cloth, called *ouja*, which is wrapped about the trunk of a *gamelleira* tree.

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command of a Negro regiment. As a Bahian *preto* recently remarked with pride, "His contribution to his country was an honored one."

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Negros novos were required by law to be baptized into the Christian religion on penalty of forfeiture to the state. Those from Portuguese Angola were baptized in lots before they left their native shores.[75] The mark of the royal crown upon their breasts signified that they had undergone this ceremony and also that the king's duty had been paid. With slaves from other parts of Africa, the master was allowed a year for the instruction requisite for baptism.[76] Debret noted that elderly Negroes acquainted with African languages were often used to catechise the candidates, ordinarily the oldest and "most virtuous" slaves being chosen for this purpose.[77] One of the first things taught was the threefold sign of the cross accompanied by the words, "The sign of the cross delivers us from our enemies." Slaves were not considered, we are told, "members of society, but rather brute animals," until they could "lawfully go to mass, confess their sins, and receive the sacrament."[78] Participation in these ceremonies made them fellow human beings.

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On the plantations slaves were regularly instructed in Catholic ritual and belief, chaplains often being retained on the larger estates for this purpose as well as to conduct the public religious ceremonies in the chapel attached to the plantation. Mawe, visiting the estate of Prince Dom Rodrigo near Rio in the early years of the nineteenth century, noted that it was customary "to have prayers publicly read

[75] Koster, *op. cit.*, I, 198.

[76] Koster (*ibid.*) writes that "the law is not always strictly adhered to as to time, but it is never evaded altogether."

[77] *Op. cit.*, III, 129. [78] Koster, *op. cit.*, I, 199.

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754 beast and wandered about. We knew he did, for a man who was passing a dark spot on the road late one night saw him; but when he took out his knife and started after him, the beast fled. The *lobishomem* was covered all over with hair and looked horrible. Other people saw him too, running around on all fours. The dogs always barked on Friday nights something terrible. On Saturday morning this man appeared dusty and more pale than usual. He never caught any children because they were all careful to stay in the house during the hours when he was out. But he caught many dogs and cats. He merely sucked their blood; he did not eat them. People found the bodies later, with all the blood drained out.

776 *Mulas de padre* are reputedly the concubines of priests who, transformed into headless animals, run about at night, preferably on Fridays. Covered with noise-making instruments, such as bells, *chocalhos*, and kitchen utensils, they are said to make "an infernal racket" which can be heard as much as a mile away and "makes one's blood run cold."

[177] The *caipora* and the *biatáiá* are probably survivals of Indian lore. The former is a creature thought to inhabit timbered areas, where he is peculiarly fond of leading people astray. When a person is lost, the *caipora* "may make him pass right by the path and never see it." The *caipora* calls out to the unfortunate person and leads him further and further astray. Of female sex, an animal some say, a half-body cut perpendicularly from crown to crotch according to others, the *caipora* may be driven away if one smokes tobacco, takes snuff, or chews garlic.

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781 A young *pardo* shoemaker, having become by reason of his schooling somewhat skeptical of tales of the *lobishomem* and of the *mula de padre*, insisted, however, that

the *caipora* is real. Just as a blow on your arm will leave a red mark, the *caipora* has left signs of himself. I know a Portuguese immigrant, a man upright and truthful, who was warned not to hunt on Fridays. He laughed at the warning, and went on into the timber in search of

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jacús, found one, and shot at it. The *jacú* flew at him with its claws extended and severely scratched him. He shot at it again. It flew back and clawed at his eyes. Then he heard a voice, saying "You know you must not hunt on Fridays." It was the *caipora*. The man staggered home, and fell senseless in the door of his house. I knew this man well.

The *bialâtá* is said to be a woman who inhabits the sea, appearing above water only at night, gradually increasing in size until she assumes an enormous shape, and "casting a huge and frightening shadow." 776

Fear of the toad, probably also a survival of Indian belief, is common.[39] If a toad happens to hop into the door of a house, the occupant will immediately grab a broom and sweep it out, repeating over and over, "Creio em Deus Padre."[40] If a malicious person paints a toad on the wall of a dwelling, its occupants will at once desert the place. 825 [177]

The following account reveals in an intimate way the mental world of a considerable portion of the Bahian lower class. It was related by a young Negro woman in the form of a series of personal experiences and is presented here in as nearly as possible the exact phrasing in which it was originally given. 158 159 755 [565]

I was three years old. I was sitting with my mother when something hit me, and I fell over unconscious. She picked me up and took me to a doctor. He gave me medicine and said that it was congestion. Some thought it was the *ar do vento*.

I knew nothing of what was going on; it was as if I were dead. To

[39] "Montoya says ('Manuscripto guarani da Bibliotheca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro sobre a primitiva catechese dos Indios das Missões,' *Annaes da Bibliotheca National*, Vol. VI) that among Indians observed by him, the entrance of a toad into a gathering of people was a sign of the approaching death of one of those present" (Gilberto Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* [2d ed.; Rio, 1936], p. 99). [171]

[40] "I believe in God, the Father."

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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herents of these cults, female slaves and former slaves for the most part, followed a lengthy routine to become practitioners in the various cult houses and spent large sums of money, according to legend, on the required bracelets, necklaces, and clothing.

Today, however, the cult priests and priestesses have the same complaint as the Catholic priests. They say that young people no longer have the understanding or the patience necessary to prepare for devotion in the cult houses. The older priestesses deplore the degeneration of some of these houses and the admission of Indian spirits, which are now displacing the African gods.

Spiritualism has recently entered the community. So far it has been limited to few people in the community, although it is very popular in Salvador.

The use of the supernatural as described in Willems' Cunha[1] does not take place in Vila Recôncavo. In Cunha the saints are asked to send rain whenever it appears that the crops are in danger. But in Vila Recôncavo, which lies in a semitropical rain area, there is no need for such invocations. Besides, these are large-scale economic crops, not subsistence produce on which the people depend directly for their living.

The Catholic Church in Vila Recôncavo

During the colonial period each religious parish was carefully delineated and conserved, but later political divisions cut across parish lines. This has made the use of colonial statistics very difficult. During colonial and empire times the church was the main census organ, but since parishes and counties do not coincide in their outlines the statistics are little help today in comparing the present with the past. Each parish built a mother church (matriz) in the parish town. Each of these churches had a patron saint, who was also the patron of the parish, and a resident priest or priests.

In the town of Vila Recôncavo, the county seat, a mother church was built, with São Gonçalo as its patron saint; also constructed was the Franciscan convent, connected with an opulent Third Order. As the Recôncavo entered its long per-

1. Emilio Willems, Cunha: Tradição e transição en uma cultura rural do Brasil (Sao Paulo, 1947), Chapter 7.

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1933 when two women took the scapular and cord. But nothing more came of it. There is a benevolent organization, the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, which gives aid to the poor and is run by three men of Class B. It is very weak, however, and at present can help only four persons in the town. The society conducts no festivals or public displays.

Festivals

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The festivals which take place in Vila Recôncavo are based on the religious calendar and are participated in to a great extent by the African cult members. January 1 is an important date in town and is celebrated by a Mass in the fishermen's chapel, after which the priest goes out on the beach and blesses all the canoes. After he has gone, the participants in African cults make their offering for the day. This is the date when presents are given to the Mother of Waters (Mae d'Agua locally, but sometimes known as Janaina, Sereia, or Yansan in other parts of Brazil). The presentations are made by the cult priestesses, but anyone who wants to give a present to the Mother of Waters may do so by handing the gift to the cult priestess beforehand. The presents may consist of money or of anything a woman can use, as long as it is white: combs, ribbons, powders, perfumes, soaps, flowers, and so on. Everything is wrapped together and placed in a large clay basin covered with white cloths and decked with white flowers.

The cult priestess comes out of the cult house after Mass and, accompanied by participants and onlookers, goes down to the beach and enters one of the large canoes prepared for the occasion. The cult drummers accompany her, as well as most of the female devotees (filhas de santo). Usually two presents are given, one to the young Mother of Waters, who lives near the town, and another, larger one to the old Mother of Waters, who lives at about an hour's distance from town, where the water is very deep. The canoes take off and proceed up the river, while the drums beat and the devotees sing. The Mother of Waters is called and praised, and when the canoes arrive where the younger one lives, her present is lowered into the water. If it does not sink it is a very bad sign, for it means that the present was rejected. The bundles usually sink, however, for they are bound in a heavy clay basin.
[787]
At this moment the Mother of Waters is supposed to enter the body of the person who placed the gift in the water. This person, usually an older devotee, enters a trance state and must

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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be held in the canoe by the others, for she tries to jump into the water. At the same time, all those present in the canoe scoop up the water and pour it over themselves, for it is at this moment quite holy. The possessed person is gradually calmed and brought back to a normal state as the canoes move up the river.

During this time, groups of fishermen often go out in their newly blessed canoes (canoas de bordejo) to play. Because their canoes have been blessed by the priest, and because of the holy aspect of the water resulting from the presence of the Mother of the Waters, the men may enter the water without fear, so they jump in and out of the water and swim around their canoes until they are tired. This cannot be done at any other time of the year for it is not considered safe to enter deep water.

After the second gift has been offered and accepted, the party lands and goes back to town on foot in a spirit of great joy and gaiety. The rest of the day is given over to horse racing, visiting, gaming, and dancing on the fishermen's square. People from classes A and B do not participate in these proceedings, which they consider barbarous. But most lower-class people at least watch, although only participants enter the canoes. Observers walk along the banks and watch. Cults from the rural areas make their own presentations separately, frequently on Christmas Day and in another locale.

The next festival in the year comes after January 6, the Day of Kings, which has already been mentioned. Parties take place from this day until the beginning of Lent. Other than a Mass, there is no longer much sanctity connected to this day.

The most important festival of the year is that of Nossa Senhora da Conceição da Praia, the patron saint of most of the fishermen, to whom their chapel is dedicated. This festival begins on January 13 and starts off each evening with a novena held in the fishermen's chapel. The priest goes each evening for the novena, and, on the three last days of the festival, each morning, to celebrate Mass in honor of Nossa Senhora da Conceição, St. Peter, and St. John. A committee is organized in the chapel to ask patrons for contributions to the festival, for candles, oils, electric light, and to pay the priest each night. Flowers are a very important part of the festival, although at this time of the year they are very expensive. Each night of the novena there is a different group of patrons, and

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the day of Christ the King, there is always a procession in town which starts from the mother church and goes to a small altar set up in front of the County Hall, then to the fishermen's chapel, to a cross which stands in one of the squares, and back to the convent and church. A few people set their small household oratories in the street in front of their houses to be blessed by the priest as he passes. This procession is accompanied mostly by women of all classes, although the canopy over the Host is carried by men from Class B. Christmas is observed quietly except for the exchange of gifts.

[778] [788] *[565] [184] [431]

Prayers

794 Prayers are very popular throughout the year among the women of classes C and D. For a variety of reasons a group of women will get together in the house of one of them and pray aloud, standing before the little decorated niche which contains a picture or figure of the household saint. The one who knows the prayer best leads the others. A group may pray on the evening before the day of the patron saint of one of them, especially if they have been unable to have a Mass said because of the lack of money or a previous commitment of the priest. At times they pray because someone has promised his patron saint that he would do so if he were cured of an illness.

• 782 *[565] [184]

782 Strangely, perhaps, the fishermen never seem to feel a need for supernatural help to overcome bad weather or lack of fish. A few of them, however, give a present to the Mother of the Waters in thanks for an exceptionally fine catch. At other times, people simply pray to their patron saints if they cannot have a party in their honor. Personal patron saints, however, do not play a very important part in the lives of the people of Vila Recôncavo, although nearly everyone has one and has at least a picture of the saint on the wall. It is common to find women who belong to an African cult group praying at these nightly gatherings in honor of the various saints who may or may not be represented in their cult houses.

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755 Exceptional fatigue, light illness, and pains may all be caused by the evil eye, and are removed by having a woman pray over the victim. There are several women in town who can make such prayers particularly well; however, they do not pray as a group. A woman goes to the house of the victim and, with a piece of thread in her hand which she passes over the body of the victim, says the Lord's Prayer and the

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Hail Mary. Some women say this process must be repeated three times in a row, others that it must be done each Friday for three weeks. This is a protective prayer "to take away the evil eye" (para tirar mau olhado). The thread which is used is taken away and carefully disposed of, by the person who prayed.

Conflict and Differential Participation

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The attitude of the priests toward conditions in their parishes is one of resignation. They realize that it is physically impossible for them to take religion to all the people or even to the majority of them. Also, they are disheartened by the poor intellectual basis the people have for understanding the doctrine of the church. They do not discourage the group prayers, nor do they encourage them; they simply let them exist. But they vigorously combat African cultism. For several years the fishermen's chapel was closed because of the cult activities of so many of the women who attended the chapel. Recently, however, the Franciscan superior reopened the chapel, feeling that it was better not to exclude the entire fisherman population from the church because a few of them also participated in African cults. For it had turned out that when the chapel was closed all the people in the lower part of town refused to go up the hill to the convent and therefore passed several years without attending Mass, confessing, or taking Communion. In sermons given during Mass an opportunity to condemn cultism is never lost, even though it may have little effect. The local church policy toward cultism depends upon the feelings of each new superior and whether he will tolerate it. The priest who reopened the chapel became a much-loved person in the town, at least by the lower classes, for he realized how few people in the total population indulge in cult activities compared to the many who go to watch. The caretaker of one of the rural chapels is also a cult leader on his plantation, but relations between him and the priests are cordial. Although most of the female devotees attend the Masses for their particular saints, the priestess of the cult house never goes to church and avoids meeting the priests if possible.

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Religion is more a part of the women's lives than of the men's, and there are more women than men at every Mass. There are a few strongly religious women (beatas) in the town

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this are being made, however, and it is hoped he will be ready for it before her death. In the meantime she has legally willed the house and its material belongings to him, and is also passing along to him her spiritual heritage. He is learning the mystical part of the cult, but she cannot show him the outer forms, such as dancing and other physical motions of worship, because she is too infirm. Traditionally only women went through training for worship in the Brazilian cults, for the belief is that the gods descend and "ride" or "mount" the disciple. This could only be done with women disciples. However, one of the changes reaching the cults now is the entrance of men as devotees. Very often they are effeminate, as is the case with the young man who is helping the old woman. The old one is not pleased with having a man perform the duties of her cult house, but she feels she must be satisfied with him because there is no one else in her house. Although all her former disciples are gone, now at least she will have someone to dispatch her saints when she dies, a complicated ritual which must be properly carried out.

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One of the other two houses is in the town and is led by Roxa, who has "made her saint" but who by cult standards should still be a devotee in another house, for she is not considered well enough prepared to be leading a house of her own. Her house is extremely weak, with few followers, most of whom have not yet "made their saints." Roxa is the main figure, the one most often possessed and through whom the spirits speak. As a young girl she went through a fairly rigorous period of training, but broke away before it was completed. She says she fulfills the necessary obligations now only because if she did not she would become sick. She calls the whole thing a "complication" in her life which must be looked after. She has been married but is now widowed and childless.

The other house, located on one of the plantations run by an overseer, is led by a man in his forties. He also claims that he is in the cult because of his health. As a boy and young man he was always sick and his entire body ached. One day in the field he found a "lightning stone" (pedra de raio). Such stones are common in the cults and are thought to have been sent from the sky, although they really are American Indian artifacts, such as arrowheads and hatchets, and are constantly turned up in the soil. At first he did not know what the stone was and took it home, but on discovering that it had supernatural significance, he threw it away, for he wanted nothing

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794 to do with cultism. His parents were strongly opposed to cult-
[778] ism and had told him that it was bad. But the next day the stone was back in his house, frightening him. He again threw it away, and again it reappeared in his house. Then he took it to the cult leader on the plantation, who told him that it was a sign that he had an obligation to fulfill toward the gods. To
[782] put an end to the matter, it was necessary to make certain appeasements in the form of food and drink. So he began to save money, and at the same time took instruction from the woman as to what to do. During this time he became genuinely interested in cultism and became the "most curious"
[428] of the woman's disciples. He studied for many years with her
[765] and did as much as he could in the ceremonies. When she died she left the house to him, as he was the most active among her followers. After he had observed the honorary period of a year after her death and had properly dispatched her saints,
[578] he moved into the house where he has now been leader for thirteen years. Because of jealousies and fights over the inheritance, many of the devotees broke away and went to other houses, taking their saints with them.

793 Three years after he had taken over the house, he had his
794 first experience with the Indian spirit Seven Stars, who came to him in a dream and let it be known that he wanted to enter
787 the man and become part of the cult. For some time the man
177 resisted, for the cult was traditionally Nagô and the former leader would have had nothing to do with Indian spirits. Seven Stars, however, threatened him with extinction if he did not comply, so in the end he gave in, and one night during a ceremony was possessed by Seven Stars. Everyone liked Seven Stars, because he was a very happy and gay spirit and danced well. After this many other devotees in the house were also possessed by this as well as by one or two other Indian spirits, neither of which, however, was considered as nice as Seven Stars.

794 According to dogma, there are twenty-one Indian spirits,
787 although the informant could not name them all and neither
177 could anyone else. All twenty-one live in an aldeia (village) in the woods. There was nothing in the African tradition to tell
[776] what preparation was necessary for these spirits, so the entire ritual became one of inventiveness and propitiousness. Nowadays young people who enter the cults are nearly always taken by an Indian spirit and are much pleased, for these spirits involve less expense and much less work. The major com-

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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plaint about African deities is the amount of work involved and 787
the great expense entailed by making the proper clothes and 177
buying the beads and bracelets. All leaders say that no one can afford traditional spirits these days. Those who had formerly had them, of course, still do, but have also been visited by Indian spirits which they much prefer. So they carry out the more fundamental obligations toward the African 794
spirits, such as providing food and drink, but they dress and 178
dance for their Indian spirits. The result has been a confusion of rituals--the use of African music and incantations and 177
the addition of new dances, costumes, and foods appropriate [782]
for the simpler tastes of the Indian spirits.

The cult houses (terreiros) are built like other houses in the community. The active one in town is located on a street 794
in line with all the other houses, while that on the plantation 346
is set slightly apart from the others, because of the scattered 353
configuration of the village. The front room, which is the largest, is usually bare except for a few long wooden benches and a small altar with pictures of the patron saints of the [361]
cult leader and of several of the cult members. This room is [352]
decorated with crepe paper streamers and paper flowers; the dances are held here. The other rooms of the house consist of a bedroom, a dining room, a kitchen, and another room known as the pegi, which houses the African altar with its plants and leaves, dishes, bottles, cups, and glasses of food and drink for the spirits, as well as the symbol of each one of them, such as a spade, a sword, or a hatchet. In this room there is also usually a trunk containing the ceremonial paraphernalia used during the festivities, such as the dress and headdress of each spirit. This is the room in which sacri- [782]
ficial killings (matanças) are made of the goats and chickens used during the ceremonies. In the rural house there are also pictures of Catholic saints in the pegi, another departure from the older traditional houses where such a thing would never occur.

The cult leader lives in the cult house. In the literature on 793
candomblé the cult leader is usually referred to as the mae, 794
or pai, de santo, which means literally "mother (or father) 192
of the saints." None of the cult leaders in Vila Recôncavo likes [346]
this term; they say they could not possibly be the mother or father of the divine beings. They consider themselves rather 794
zeladores, that is, caretakers of the saints on earth. There is 192
much the same complaint about the term filha, or filho, de

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796 then the drums are calling the other saints, the circle has
[787] been formed again, and the process is repeated. This goes
on frequently all night long, ending only with the dawn. The
[369] rural cult house has a general ceremony for all the saints of
the house during the New Year holiday, and it often takes
three or four days and nights of continuous dancing and drum-
ming for all the participants to "fulfill their obligations."
Activities cease for a while during the day while everyone
rests, and then pick up again late in the afternoon.

794 The general rule is that the person who "has a saint" must
796 fulfill his obligations to that spirit at least once a year, if
possible on the saint's day. Of course, the proper foods must
776 be supplied constantly throughout the year, but at least once a
[787] year the saint must be feted, that is, called to possess the
person and dance. The general term used for the ceremony
is bater (to beat, referring to the drums), although several
other euphemisms are used, such as, "We are going to have
a party," or, "We are going to play." If the person is unable
to fete the saint on the specified day, however, he must do it
at the general ceremony at the end of the year. Not to comply
with the rituals would be disastrous. The zelador of the house
always fetes his saint on the proper day as well as at the end
of the year. In both active cult houses the zeladores have more
than one saint and try to fete each on the specified date. All
participants keep the symbolic paraphernalia of their saints
in the cult house and look after them personally if possible,
but for many of them who live far from the house the zelador
does this. In many cases a person who "has a saint" has a
miniature pegi in his own house and also keeps there the prop-
[782] er foods and drinks. In some cases an older woman may even
have a ceremony in her home if she can afford the requisite
sacrificial animals and foods.

794 Membership in the cults is not always passed down from
parents to children. Many of the younger participants have
come into the cults on their own and may be children of fam-
ilies which are unsympathetic to cult activities. When a moth-
er belongs to a cult, her children may be indoctrinated in the
rituals because of their continued attendance at the ceremo-
nies. But unless the children feel the call themselves, no
pressure is applied upon them to enter the activities, though
they may always participate vicariously in the ceremonies.
The majority of the population say they have nothing to do with
the cults and are ignorant of the ritual. But few members of

Traditionally
565 the preto is linked with ignorance and superstition,
563 and a most common example of his 'ignorance', cited by the upper
794 strata of Vila Recôncavo society, is his belief in *candomblé*, the fetish
[171] cults of African origin so numerous in Salvador which have been
described by various authors.[8] In the Caribbean, *candomblé* is
[177] known as voodoo and, as in Brazil, there is a mixture of Roman
Catholic with African religious elements. In Vila Recôncavo there
[178] are highly complicated rituals of ceremony and healing, but owing
to the pressures of modern life almost no one has the time necessary
to spend in the full preparation for a *filha de santo* (servant of the
god) or a *mãe de santo* (caretaker of the gods) and much of the old
ritual is being forgotten and discarded, and newer and simpler
[776] innovations are in evidence. Another example given of the *preto's*
'superstition' in Vila Recôncavo is his participation in the cult of
Janaina, the goddess of the water. This cult is really an offshoot of
candomblé, Yemanja being the name of the African *orixa* or divinity,
[782] while Janaina is the name given to her by many of the cults in
Brazil. It is Janaina 'who sends the fish to the fishermen', and they
[226] must thank her and give her gifts occasionally. Generally it is the
mãe de santo who knows all the calls and prayers for Janaina and
who presents the fishermen's gifts. Anyone who intends to climb
the social ladder first disassociates himself from these rites, and then
publicly condemns those who participate in them—although, in
many cases, such an individual will continue secretly to give financial
support to a local *mãe de santo* and to send gifts to Janaina. Often it
is heard of a person: 'Oh yes, he is *gente* now, but last night he
secretly sent his usual present to Janaina.' Individuals of all racial
classifications belong to *candomblé*, although popular opinion has it
that only the *pretos* engage in these activities. One can observe all
racial types at a *candomblé festa* (ceremony), either as participants or
as spectators. In one case in another area of the Recôncavo there is
even a white *pae de santo* (male caretaker of the gods), a former
lawyer!

563 Nevertheless, in Vila Recôncavo, there are examples of *pretos* and
555 *mestiços* who have shown themselves capable of progress, with and
without education. Two examples are the plantation adminis-
[463] trators, cited earlier, who have risen to that honoured and relatively
[872] well-paid occupation in spite of the fact that they cannot read or
write. On another plantation, the *feitor* has taught himself to read
[873] and write and is known as an excellent story-teller. Primary schools
were recently opened in the rural zone of Vila Recôncavo, and night
schools for the adults. The response has been great, people often
walking long distances at night to attend class, in spite of the fact
that one of the most disliked and feared things is going out at night.

563 In Vila Recôncavo, there has been a central primary school for
565 many years, with an attendance of 354 of all racial types, children of
872 the whites as well as those of the others, although no children of the

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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The mau olhado, or "evil eye," 754
a magical power presumed in many parts of the world, [171]
including Europe, to be possessed, often unwittingly, by
certain individuals, is thought at Bahia to bring death
to plants, birds, and even small children whom the person
has coveted or, perhaps, merely admired. More natural 753
forces are the *ar do vento*, or "air of the wind," a cold draught 821
said to result in indigestion, deformity, insanity, or death; [826]
the *espinhela caida*, or "fallen breastbone," which presumably brings on an emaciated condition of the body; and
sangue nova, or "new blood," thought to be responsible for
the breaking-out of a rash. Dew must not be allowed to fall 753
on the head. Certain diseases, like syphilis and leprosy, are
considered defects common to all men.* However, the per- [744]
sistent efforts of agencies like the Rockefeller Foundation [177]
have widely disseminated the idea that malaria results from
the bite of a mosquito.

The treatment or prevention of disease is the logical coun- 789
terpart of a magical theory of causation. Thus, members of 782
this section of the Bahian population attempt to control personal destiny through the use of charms or other magical
means or through the direct intervention of a deity, whose
favor is sought by the offering of gifts or the performance of
prescribed rituals. Thus, to counteract the influence of the 755
"evil eye," charms are worn, or pieces of the *Guiné*, *Arruda*, 824
or *Vassourinha Doce* plants are passed, to the accompaniment of magical words, over and about the affected person's
head.

goat may be killed, or a doll made and its neck pierced by a bit of wood. Either object is then placed in the doorway of the individual to be harmed or in any other place where he is likely to pass, the one depositing the *feitiço* calling out, as he drops it, the name of the person for whom harm is intended. [754]

* "Syphilis," a black explained, "began with the world. Everyone has it, even horses, although it may never show up."

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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789 head. The wearing of *patuás*, or written prayers, is presumed to "close the body" (*fechar o corpo*) against disease or accident. The nut known as *chapeu de Napoleão* ("Napoleon's hat"), if worn on a string about the neck, similarly is reputed to possess magical power.[27] A cord of deerskin passed over the affected area is presumed to cure erysipelas; a string of white beads worn about the neck of a mother is thought to increase the flow of her milk; a cord tied tightly about the waist of a pregnant woman will, it is believed, "keep the baby from going to the head"; and a stone in the hair is thought to retard delivery. Considered particularly efficacious in all cases of illness is the "*itá* of Xangô."[28]
• 782 "Prayers," or the use of magical words or phrases over an
755 affected part of the body, are also extensively employed. A common belief is that the *pae de santo* can in this way cure snakebite.

782 The direct intervention of a deity may be invoked as
[776] when presents are made to the *mães d'agua* (female deities who are presumed to inhabit bodies of water) to remove illness or misfortune or to assure future success. Thus, fisher-

[27] At the children's clinic a black mother brought in a child very ill. About his neck was a cord suspending a *chapeu de Napoleão*. To the physician's query, the mother replied, "They said it would make him well. Everyone told me to use it, and I didn't know."

755 [28] *Itás* (Tupi equivalent of "rocks" or "stones") of Xangô, or, as they are
778 also called, *pedras* of Santa Barbara, are thought to have fallen from heaven during thunderstorms. They are said to have penetrated into the earth seven *braças* (2.2 meters) and to have returned to the surface after seven
[554] years. The person so fortunate as to find one of these stones is considered a highly privileged individual. The *itá* is used by the *pae do santo* to crush the leaves of certain medicinal plants which are then put, together with the yolk of an egg, into a vessel and mixed, while an invocation in Nagô, known as *etutu*, is intoned. The stone is then covered with the crushed leaves and egg yolk and allowed to stand for a period of time. The liquid prepared in this way is considered to possess miraculous healing power.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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men, anxious for a good year's catch, or individuals wishing to be rid of some illness, to obtain employment, or to secure a satisfactory resolution of unrequited love, will purchase foods, wearing apparel, toilet articles, jewelry, and other gifts pleasing to a lady and place them with appropriate ceremonies in a body of water presumed to be inhabited by one of the *mães d'agua*. Particularly sacred are the waters of Mar Grande, off the island of Itaparica, where, a few years ago, a saddle horse, it is said, was presented to Yemanjá; Mont'serrat and Cabeceiras da Ponte, on opposite sides of Itapagipe; Baiutê,[29] near the village of Itapoan; and Mariquita, near Rio Vermelho.[30] Parents of twins make regular food and drink offerings to the twin-deities, the Beji, or Cosme and Damião. Omolú, the "*orixá* of smallpox," is believed to protect not only against the ravishes of this disease

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[29] A foreigner was swimming in Baiutê when a passer-by, seeing him, shouted excitedly, "What are you doing in there? Don't you know that that water is charmed (*encantado*)? You might even turn into a fish. Haven't you seen the white swans? They say that they are two people who once swam here." For accounts of public offerings to the *mães d'agua* see *Estado da Bahia* for June 19 and September 23, 1936; *A Tarde* (Bahia), February 3, 1938.

[30] A letter headed, "Every Vow Fulfilled up to the End of the Year, 1936," and addressed to "Our Lady of Mont'serrat, the Mistress of the Sea, Janaina," was found in the bay near Mont'serrat. It read:

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To my Godmother:

I promise you, my Lady of Mont'serrat, that if you arrange it so that I can marry Domingos Portella, I will give you a present worth fifty milreis. And on the second of February I will put in another present according to my means. If possible, I will give you thirty milreis, and if not I will give you at least twenty. As large a present as I have I will give you on February 2, from twenty milreis up. My Godmother, I promise thee that the day of my marriage to Domingos Portella will be a happy day for you also; while I shall be having a *festa* here on land, you also will be having a *festa* there in the holy sea. I will fix dishes of all that we have in the house for this day, and send them to you, with greetings from me.

Your goddaughter,

Yvonne D. L. Braga

(Letter presented here by courtesy of Friar Tomás.)

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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My sister is preparing *carurú*. She has twin boys. When God gives you twins, you are obliged to present *carurú* to Cosme and Damião. If you fail to do this, someone in the house will die that year.

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If one were now to set down an account of the personal experiences of an upper-class Bahian, it would reveal an entirely different mental world. In general content it would reflect a culture distinctly European. Dress, music, food and food habits, forms of religious expression, sacred specialists, means of exercising control over personal destiny, and the ideas, attitudes, sentiments, points of view, and philosophy of life associated with them would, in general, not vary from those commonly characteristic of individuals of European origin wherever found.

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This variation at Bahia in cultural identification between the Europeans, on the one hand, and the *Africanos*, on the other—this difference in ideas, attitudes, and sentiments—obviously erects serious barriers to intercommunication and consequently retards the development of a body of common understandings upon which the moral solidarity of any society is built. Although most of the Bahian blacks have now to a considerable extent sloughed off their former cultural identity with Africa and have been more or less completely incorporated into the European world, a remnant of *Africanos* still live, in spite of contiguity in space with the Europeans, to a considerable extent culturally apart.

As will be evident in greater detail in the following chapter, the Europeans tend to look upon the beliefs and the practices of the *Africanos* as matters for ridicule, scorn, disparagement, and condemnation. They are thought of as queer, bizarre, unintelligible, inferior forms of behavior.

4; Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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794 796 cated to the *orixá* Ogun, the special ceremonial season begins with the second week in September and concludes with the 794 first week in December. During this period ceremonies are 796 held every Sunday, each dedicated to one or more of the 776 *orixás*. The first ceremony is in honor of Oxalá; the second, of Oxagian ("Oxalá the Younger"); and the following three, of Ogun. Succeeding Sundays are dedicated, respectively, to Xangô, Oxun, Oxóssi, Yemanjá, and Yansan. On the eleventh Sunday and the subsequent Monday special honor is paid to Omolú, and on the following Sunday and Monday, to [782] all of the *mães d'agua*. On the final Sunday a *feijoada* (a 794 Brazilian food delicacy) is offered, with elaborate ritual, to Ogun. In addition to this regular season, special ceremonies [796] are held from time to time throughout the year, with the exception of the Lenten period, when all *candomblé* activity is suspended.

[776] The Gêge-Nagô and the Congo-Angola pantheons contain about the same number of deities, or approximately a hundred *orixás* each. The *caboclo* pantheon has perhaps a score 794 less. Each *orixá* possesses his proper fetish, insignia, sacred 778 day, sacred foods, sacred colors, sacred dress (including [776] bracelets and beads peculiar to himself), and a distinguishing cry. Today, only in rare instances are the fetishes carved images; more often they are polished stones which have been [782] worn smooth by the waters of a river or of the sea. They are carefully cared for in the *pegi*, or sanctuary, by a special functionary who at regular intervals washes them and replenishes the food and drink offerings placed before them.

794 In some *seitas* Oxalá is considered the most important of 776 the deities; in others, Xangô; and, in still others, Omolú or, as he is sometimes called, Xapanan. Olorun, "the father of [178] the *orixás*," is almost forgotten today in Bahia, although

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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794 monies, together with their leader, the *alabê;* and the very important *filhas de santo* (literally "daughters of the *orixás*"), or ceremonial dancers, who serve as the so-called *cavalos* ("horses") for the deities who "manifest themselves" in
794 their bodies and speak through them their will.

This "visitation" is known as the *estado de santo* ("state of
787 the *orixá*") and is ordinarily induced by prolonged fasting, the pungent odors of certain sacred herbs, the monotonous and long-continued beating of the *atabaques*, the heat from a large number of human bodies densely packed together on a warm night, the fatigue attendant on long-sustained dancing, the imperative expectations of the group, and, often as a precipitating incident, when tensions have been built up to the point where they can no longer be sustained, a sudden, loud, and unexpected noise. Seizure is said to be avoidable, as we have noted, by drinking cold water.

794 On the first "visitation" of an *orixá* in the body of an individual she must submit to either of two initiatory rites. She may elect the complete initiation of *fazer santo* ("to make the *orixá*"), or the partial initiation of *dar comida a cabeça*" ("to give food to the head"). If she elects the former, as most do, she makes an initial food offering to Exú, following which a fetish is secured and "prepared" by being washed by the *pae de santo* and immersed in *azeite de dendê*, honey, or *acaça*, depending on the *orixá*, the entire ritual being accompanied by special invocations. The initiate, or *yaô*, as she is now called, then surrenders all her garments, which, in symbol of the new life upon which she is about to enter, will never be worn again, and submits to a ritualistic bath, at dusk, in water scented with sacred herbs of a pun-
[782] gent odor. The *yaô* is then received in the *pegi* by the dignitaries of the cult and seated in a chair never before used,

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while the *orixás* "partake" of a special sacrifice offered to them. Her hair is cut off, her head shaved,[8] and dots and circles are painted in white upon the crown, forehead, and cheeks. The initiate then takes on *obí* in her hand, the *atabaques* begin to beat an invocation to her *orixá*, and she dances the special dance sacred to him until he "arrives in her head" and she experiences once more the *estado de santo*. The *yaubá* is then escorted from the *pegi* to the *camarinha*, where she remains for sixteen days before participating in her first public ceremony, whence she returns to the *camarinha* for a period of six months to a year, to be taught the various rituals of the cult, the songs, and, to some extent at least, an African language. Meanwhile, she is subject to certain food and other taboos.

To verify her acceptance by the *orixá*, a *filha* may be required to undergo without evidence of bodily harm an ordeal, such as swallowing lighted candlewicks soaked in *azeite de dendê*, thrusting her hands into boiling palm oil, chewing the leaves of the *urtiga* (Brazilian thistle), or submitting, on bended knee, to being beaten about the neck and arms with a sprig of the thorny *cansanção*.

Throughout her life the new *filha de santo*, in addition to submitting to the "manifestations" of her *orixá*, must perform on occasion certain ritualistic acts, rigorously observe certain food, drink, and sex taboos, and wear a special costume on ceremonial occasions and "days of obligation" (Fridays especially). On her death this costume, together with the other objects of cult worship belonging to her, are taken and dropped into the sea, "to be carried by the waves back to Africa."

Upon being "made," the *filha de santo* acquires a *guia*

[8] Formerly, all hairy parts of the body were shaved.

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has passed, dance the dance sacred to her *orixá*, after which she is assisted from the *barracão* into the *pegi*, taking due care to withdraw with her face always toward the drums. In a special room she is then dressed in the ceremonial robes sacred to her *orixá* and, with his sacred insignia, returns to the *barracão* to dance for hours the dances sacred to him.

The sacrifices are performed according to the ritual peculiar to the occasion and include the offering of chickens, pigeons, sheep, and goats.

In the *candomblé* world certain gestures are obligatory. Thus, when saluting a high dignitary of the cult, a *filha*, if the *orixá* to whom she is dedicated is masculine, prostrates herself, face downward at the feet of the one so honored; if her *orixá* is feminine, she lies at full length first on one side, then on the other, and, on rising, touches her head to the ground. In taking leave of an *orixá* who has "visited" the ceremony, a member of the *seita* clasps tightly the left hand of the ceremonial dancer. *Ogans* have a special handshake used only between them. Following a discussion among members of a *seita*, agreement is signified by rising, beating the palms, and shaking hands.

Status in the *candomblé* depends not only on one's position in the hierarchy of functionaries but more particularly upon priority in being "made" or confirmed. Those whose years of service are less are known as "the younger" and must address "the older" with greater respect and, as an *ogan* remarked, "prefer him above one's self."

The musical instruments employed include the *atabaques*, or drums; the *agôgô*, with which the priest or priestess strikes the first notes of each invocation and later accompanies the drums; the *caxixi;* the *agê* (also known as the *cabaça*, or *piano de cuia*); the *adjá;* and, occasionally, the *xaque-xaque*.

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Numerous families *da boa sociedade* ("of social standing") "dão comida" (make the food offerings, especially of *carurú*) to Beji (Cosme and Damião) and celebrate the day sacred to their honor. A number of white individuals on occasion make offerings to the *mãe d'agua*. Cases like that of the wife of a former state senator and political chieftain who kept an altar to an African *orixá* in her house are, however, not numerous.

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Of 66 students in the Escola Normal classifying themselves as *brancos* and responding to the query, "Do members of your family give presents to the *mãe d'agua?*" 7, or 10.6 per cent, answered in the affirmative. Of 36 *pardos*, the families of 9, or 25 per cent, similarly made offerings. Of 63 whites, 29, or 46 per cent, thought one ought to fear the *bozo* (black magic); as did 12, or 37 per cent of the *pardos*, and all 6 of the *pretos* who replied. Of 63 whites, only 1 thought the statement "A *pae de santo* is more useful in time of illness than a physician" was true, but 9, or 14 per cent, regarded it as "partially true"; of 32 *pardos*, 2 believed the statement true, and 7, or 22 per cent, thought it "partially true." Of 197 students in the Escola Normal and the Law School, the families of 25, or 13 per cent, "give *comida*" to Cosme and Damião.

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Ordinarily the attitudes which the inhabitants of European descent take toward the *candomblé* vary from good-natured tolerance, which is the most characteristic, through indifference, which is common, to active opposition, which is comparatively rare, although from time to time complaints like the one below find their way into the newspapers.

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In *A Tarde* for May 8, 1936, appeared an editorial under the title:

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My *pae de santo* made an *ebó* for me last week. It is a *limpeza do corpo* ["cleansing of the body"]. I had an unclean body and dragged myself around, listless. I went to the "master" of the *candomblé* and he "opened the table" and looked to see if my body was unclean. He then asked me to bring toasted maize, a black cloth, popcorn, honey, and a candle. He passed them all over me,[58] and when he had finished, he took them and left them in a crossroads. Friday is the day for this.

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Now if a person puts a *bruxaria*[59] in your doorway, with a doll stuck through with pins, that is of the *feiticeiro* and it is different from a "cleansing of the body." My *pae de santo* does not make *feitiço*. He says that he does not care to do harm to people, because he has a soul for which he is responsible to God. But any *pae de santo* who wishes to bring harm upon someone can do so. For example, if I arrive in his *casa* and say that I want to do something to someone he asks me: "What do you want to do to her?" I say that when she comes to my door I want her to go blind. He will "make a business" and the next day she will come to my door and go blind. Or else I say that I want her to be wounded by a knife. He arranges it so that this happens.[60]

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"Opening the table" is a thing done with *buzios*. The *pae de santo* puts an *orixá* on top of the table, together with his little towel.[61] He takes up the *buzios* and sees if "the way is open." My *pae de santo* "opens the table" with beads.[62] He takes the beads and puts them alongside *palha* from the *pindoba*.[63] These beads come from the Coast.[64] His set cost 1:000$000.[65]

[58] That is, in front, to side, behind, above the head, etc.

[59] Any instrument of black magic.

[60] That is, she will be attacked in a lonely place by robbers, or accidentally stabbed. The action is always mediate.

[61] The table-covering which is placed over the *orixá* in the *pegi*, or sanctuary.

[62] Other means employed: a glass of water, a set of playing cards.

[63] Fronds from a variety of the coconut palm.

[64] That is, from the West Coast of Africa.

[65] One thousand milreis, or one conto, equivalent at that time to approximately $60.

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the sound from which its name is derived. The *chocalho* is a similar instrument, but with only one extremity enlarged. The *adjá* is a small metal bell used to invite members of the cult to the ritual *dar comido ao santo*.[23] The *canzá*, or *ganzá*, now is seldom seen.[24]

[824] The *berimbau* is used primarily to accompany *capoeira*. It consists of a wire strung upon a stick to form a bow, with a dried gourd open at the top attached at the lower extremity. The instrument is beaten, to produce numerous complex rhythms, with a wooden stick held, together with a *caxixi*, in the right hand, while with the left a copper *vintem* (old Portuguese coin) is alternately pressed against the wire and released. The *cuica* is a drumlike instrument, open at one end. Sound is produced by drawing the hand along a resined stick appended to the center of the drumhead.

753 In the lower-class world health and morality are in many
784 cases closely identified. The cause of disease or bodily harm
[565] is often believed to lie in the direct intervention of a deity who has become angered by the nonfulfilment of obligations prescribed in the sacred ritual or by the breaking of
754 taboos. Evil forces may be invoked, it is believed, through the magical influence of the *feitiço* and bring illness, blindness, insanity, or death.[25] The *mau olhado*, or "evil eye,"

[23] See chap. x.

[24] For illustrations of these instruments see Arthur Ramos, *O negro brasileiro* (Rio, 1934), Figs. 24 and 25 (p. 162).

[25] Rituals vary. A portion of the clothing of the one to be harmed, a shoe or other article, may be submitted to magical manipulation and thrown into the sea. In this way the individual is presumed to be subjected to the ebb and flow of the tide. Or a few hairs from the head of the one to be harmed may be mixed with crushed herbs of supposed magical power. Presumably he is then likely "to hate someone whom he now esteems, drink to excess, become crippled or insane, or lose his life." A pigeon, chicken, sheep, or be-

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ing the *bozó* in a place where the intended victim is likely to step on it or otherwise touch it.[33] An animal may be "prepared with the *ebó*" so that whoever subsequently touches the animal will catch the illness or inherit the misfortune. If, however, one wishes to avoid transferring the evil to another person, he may do so and still rid himself of his affliction by leaving the *ebó* in a cemetery.

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If a *filha de santo* (ceremonial dancer of the fetish cult) would avoid illness or other misfortune, it is considered highly important that she observe all the taboos, especially those attaching to food and drink. A pregnant woman must avoid vegetables and all meats other than chicken; she must not join a funeral procession, since the spirit of the deceased might enter her child; and she must avoid a rose touching her bare breast, for otherwise the child, it is believed, will be born with a birthmark.[33]

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Charms may be of a specific nature like the *figa*[34] or the

[33] The affliction may, however, be transferred to someone toward whom no harm was originally intended if the individual placing the *ebó*, either ignorantly or with intention, fails to leave it in the designated place. The first person coming in physical contact with it will be affected. So widespread is this fear of the *ebó* that chauffeurs, even at the risk of an accident, will not run a wheel over one.

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[33] Current folk medicines include: for syphilis, whale oil; for a toothache, pig or burro dung smoked in a clay pipe; for a cough, sweetened tea prepared by boiling a termite nest; for sore throat, tea made by boiling a live lizard whose body is then removed from the vessel and buried with its head toward the new moon. Native herbs are extensively employed, particularly by *curandeiros*, or they may be administered at the hands of anyone "instructed" by a "manifesting" deity, a common occurrence in these *candomblés* known as *de caboclo* (a portion of whose ritual is probably of native Indian origin) and in spiritualist centers like that in Alto do Bom Gosto, in Calcada, one of whose directors remarked, "So many *caboclos* 'manifest themselves' because they know so well how to heal with herbs."

[34] The *figa* is an image, usually made from wood, of a closed fist with the thumb inserted between the index and middle fingers.

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put many beads of O Senhor do Bomfim on him, and a *figa;* they covered him with ornaments.

[789] The *figa* is to free one from the evil eye. For example: I have a dress. You think it is pretty, and you want it very much; something [754] then happens to it. Or a *sabiá*[48] sings beautifully. You are visiting its owner; you want it, you want it very badly. You leave, and it dies or something else happens to it because you cannot have it. This is the evil eye. One needs to "pray it away" with *Guiné*, *Arruda*, or *Vassourinha Doce*. An oxhorn in the garden will keep it away from plants.

[794] Then the man went around with hands folded, "taking the bless-
[776] ing" from everyone there. Seven children went out with lighted can-
[793] dles. Then he got up entirely well. Today he has a *casa de candomblé*. He is now very old. His *orixá* is Ogum de Gêge. The *pao de santo* who treated him is of Ogum de Mina.

159 My guardian angel [*anjo de guarda*] is Xangô. Ogum is a soldier,
776 Xangô is of the thunder and also of the lightning. He is Santa Barbara of the Irmandade. All the *orixás* are equal. But Oxalá directs everything. Nanan is his wife. In the Gêge language she is called Odé.

159 My sister, she died, burned up. She caught all on fire. He who
776 killed her is Oxóssi; it was he who killed her. My sister is buried in the Quinta dos Lazaros.[49] She burned to death because she disobeyed him.
• 784 He sent a message and she paid no attention to it. Her husband had a *saveiro*.[50] Every trip which he made she went along in the boat. She had no children. Everywhere he went, she went too. When, one time, the *orixá* "arrived" and told her that she should not travel on the water, she didn't take his words very seriously; she laughed the matter off, "gave it a *muxóxó*." But about a week afterward, she went with her husband in a *saveiro* across the Bay to Bahia. Between Itaparica and Salinas the *saveiro* caught afire. It had powder on it and the powder exploded. Parts of the *saveiro* were ripped off and hurled into the water. She was surrounded by fire. When they finally reached her, she was badly burned. They brought her to the Santa Isabel Hospital,

[825] [48] A Brazilian bird which can be trained to sing tunes.

[49] A Bahian cemetery.

[501] [50] A sturdy sailboat used on Todos os Santos Bay and its contributory rivers to transport light articles of commerce.

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and the next day she died. But before she died, he "arrived" and said it was he who had set fire to the *saveiro*. It was Oxóssi. Her husband also died. When one doesn't carry out his obligations [*cumpre com os seus deveres*], the *orixá* takes his life.

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Once I had a party at my house for some friends. But Xangô sent me a message that I should go to the *candomblé*. I said that I was not going because I was having a party. A little while later, while I was dancing with my friends, I suddenly got a stiffness in my legs. But I didn't pay much attention to it. Then I suddenly felt an "opening of the body" [*aperto no corpo*],[53] and I didn't know anything more. When I came to, I was dancing in the *candomblé*. When the *candomblé* was over, I went running clear to the top of Boeiros do Inferno ["Funnels of Hell"] without knowing anything about what I was doing. These are two hills called by that name because they are so high. I didn't feel anything. Afterward, Xangô beat me on the hands, and my hands swelled. When he "arrived" again, he said that I should pay more attention to him, or he would beat me some more. Once he struck me. On that day I was very tired, but I went to the *candomblé* and danced anyway.

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I dance when there is a big ceremony; I dance for hours at a time without getting tired. The spell seizes me, and sometimes I dance more than three days without feeling the least bit tired. When the *orixá* "arrives in my head," I spend a week or more "sleeping."[54] I don't feel anything. I don't see anything. People talk to me, but I don't know anything about what is going on.

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If one drinks water, the *orixá* doesn't "arrive." For instance, one feels cold. That cold is in the body. The *orixá* wants "to arrive." Then one drinks water. He who is of the *preceito* does not drink water. And whoever drinks, breaks the *preceito*. It is prayed ten times.[55]

[53] A "trembling of the body," signifying that the *orixá* wished to enter and to "manifest himself" in human form. See chap. x.

[54] That is, moving about, but unconscious of what is happening.

[55] That is, by taking a drink of water, one can presumably prevent the deity from entering the body. One must at the same time pray ten words and tap the ground ten times. In this way, the *preceito* (i.e., the control of the deity over one) is broken.

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while the *orixás* "partake" of a special sacrifice offered to them. Her hair is cut off, her head shaved,[8] and dots and circles are painted in white upon the crown, forehead, and cheeks. The initiate then takes on *obí* in her hand, the *atabaques* begin to beat an invocation to her *orixá*, and she dances the special dance sacred to him until he "arrives in her head" and she experiences once more the *estado de santo*. The *yaubá* is then escorted from the *pegi* to the *camarinha*, where she remains for sixteen days before participating in her first public ceremony, whence she returns to the *camarinha* for a period of six months to a year, to be taught the various rituals of the cult, the songs, and, to some extent at least, an African language. Meanwhile, she is subject to certain food and other taboos.

To verify her acceptance by the *orixá*, a *filha* may be required to undergo without evidence of bodily harm an ordeal, such as swallowing lighted candlewicks soaked in *azeite de dendê*, thrusting her hands into boiling palm oil, chewing the leaves of the *urtiga* (Brazilian thistle), or submitting, on bended knee, to being beaten about the neck and arms with a sprig of the thorny *cansanção*.

Throughout her life the new *filha de santo*, in addition to submitting to the "manifestations" of her *orixá*, must perform on occasion certain ritualistic acts, rigorously observe certain food, drink, and sex taboos, and wear a special costume on ceremonial occasions and "days of obligation" (Fridays especially). On her death this costume, together with the other objects of cult worship belonging to her, are taken and dropped into the sea, "to be carried by the waves back to Africa."

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[8] Formerly, all hairy parts of the body were shaved.

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The dances continue unabated for hours, until the air of the *barracão* becomes very warm and permeated with the odor of perspiring bodies. Seriously, with rapt attention, the closely packed crowd looks on, eager to see and hear the numerous *orixás* as they "arrive." During a period of the most intense excitement, when tensions have been built up almost to the breaking-point, a rocket suddenly bursts with a loud report outside the *barracão*. A woman seated among the spectators who is not a *filha de santo* is immediately thrown into violent, convulsive muscular movements and bounces up and down with great force on the board seat, her head snapping back and forth in time to the now almost frenzied beat of the drums. The *pae de santo* rushes to support her in order to prevent imminent injury. Several visiting *filhas de santo* who do not want to dance in this strange place and are consequently "resisting" the imminent "arrival" of their *orixás*, call out with imploring voices, one after the other, "Dê-me agua, por amor de Deus" ("Give me water, for the love of God!"). The face of a servant girl named Joanna, a *filha* from a neighboring *seita*, is drawn, and she appears to be in pain. Afterward, she says that her *orixá*, Xangô, was beating and striking her to make her dance and that she felt more tired than if she had danced all night long. But other spectators remark, "How beautiful! I never saw Ogun dance like that before. And Oxóssi, and Yemanjá, they are wonderful, simply wonderful!"

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The ceiling of another *barracão* (at the *terreiro* called Gantois) is trimmed with paper streamers—red, white, blue, and yellow—each alternating with rows of white paper roses. The electric-light bulb suspended from the ceiling is shaded by red and white pieces of cellophane. On the walls are red and white paper shields, each bearing the words, "Louvores á

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794 girl carries in her hand the insignia of Oxun, a *leque* (fan) of brass decorated with a star.

794 All the other dancers, except one, are dressed in the
796 *bahiana* costume, with wide-flowing skirts of bright-colored
[291] cotton prints, blouses trimmed in handmade lace, and a *pano da Costa* two feet in width tied tightly around the small of the back and over the breasts. One woman about thirty-five years of age is dressed in an ordinary street costume of
[301] tailored blouse and skirt. Many of the dancers wear bracelets of copper, brass, bronze, lead, or glass beads, often on both wrists and occasionally three to four to the arm. One dancer has five strands of cowries about her neck.

794 The priestess of the *seita*, Mãe Menninha, is a large
793 black woman, forty-one years of age, who has officiated in this *seita* for twenty-four years. She proudly speaks of herself as "uma neta d'um Africano" ("the granddaughter of an African").

• 786 Every dance begins with the salutation of the *mãe de san-*
535 *to*, which is accomplished by striking decisively the *agôgô*.
794 Immediately the drums take up the rhythm. The *filhas* be-
796 gin to dance, the circle turning like the rim of a wheel,
[576] counterclockwise. The women have their hands clasped be-
[533] hind their backs, their shoulders are hunching backward and forward, their bodies bending at the waist from side to side. One of the Oxun initiates moves with a halting, jerking movement, then suddenly pivots a complete turn. All the dancers are singing a refrain which sounds like, "Ô-mi-á, bá-
794 tû-lê." After some twenty minutes of continuous dancing,
796 one of the *filhas* suddenly becomes "possessed," her eyes
787 close, her expression becomes listless, while her neck and shoulder muscles work convulsively back and forth "in
786 time to the music." Voluntary control is apparently gone,

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and she is helped around the circle by the next in line. When the music temporarily ceases, she relaxes, staggers, and appears in imminent danger of falling. Several *filhas* rush to catch and support her.

Again the *mãe de santo* strikes the *ágôgô*, the leader of the drummers takes up the rhythm and sings out a refrain in which all the dancers join, beating their palms in time with the music. The tempo increases. The dancers as they pass round the circle alternately bow their heads, flex their knees, and touch the right hand to the floor, then snap erect, all in perfect time with the music. An elderly black woman emerges from a connecting-room and, shaking vigorously a *caxixi*, joins in the dance. With loud reports, rockets go off outside the *barracão*. Popcorn is then brought in and thrown over the dancers. The eyes of the initiates, who have also made part of the circle of dancers, are closed and remain closed throughout the ceremony. The shoulders of one *yaubá* jerk spasmodically, her head hangs limp and must be supported by other dancers.

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Again the circle forms, and the *filhas*, singing at the top of their voices, shuffle forward in a half-stumbling movement, arms flexed at elbows and flapping up and down. An *ogan* says this dance is called *opanigé*. Sometime later, a *filha*, about forty-five years of age, suddenly sprawls stiff-legged on her hands and the tips of her toes, rapidly touches her forehead to the ground in front of the drums and shouts, "Hay-ee-ee," then leaps erect, jerks herself forward spasmodically, then repeats the performance. A girl joins the circle, wearing a pink and gold turban and carrying in her right hand a brass dagger eighteen inches long. Closing her eyes, she begins a wild dance, thrashing about with the dagger to right and to left. The tempo of the

[535] [533]

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drums is accelerating. Another *filha*, a large but agile Negro woman, strikes out at the girl with her bare hands, and the two dance about, fighting a mock fight, while the beat of the drums becomes even more rapid and tumultuous until, just as the dancers close in upon one another where, it seems, harm might result, other *filhas* swing quickly in, catch each woman around the waist, and draw them apart, while the music slackens its tempo.

All the *filhas* begin to dance again, their arms swinging from side to side, the index finger of the right hand held closely pressing against the thumb of the left. The dancing is very animated. Suddenly, one of the *filhas*, her shoulders heaving violently back and forth, begins to sink upon her knees and, gradually lowering her heaving shoulders to the floor, turns over on her back, all the while keeping the index finger of her right hand firmly in contact with the thumb of her left. She then slowly rises, gets to her feet, and again joins the other *filhas*. An *ogan* says this dance is known as *ecú*.

The dances continue, rockets burst outside, confetti and flower petals are thrown over the initiates, and, at the insistent invocations of the drums and the spirited singing of the *filhas*, many *orixás* "arrive" and "take possession" of their human intermediaries.

The primary social function which the *candomblé* appears to serve is that of reinforcing, by way of the collective experiences of ritual and ceremony, those attitudes and sentiments which distinguish the *Africanos* and their descendants from the European population and from the major portion of the mixed-bloods. By promoting a measure of solidarity and group consciousness, it tends to slow up the process of acculturation. At the same time cult experiences

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794 1933 when two women took the scapular and cord. But nothing
747 more came of it. There is a benevolent organization, the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, which gives aid to the poor and is run by three men of Class B. It is very weak, however, and at present can help only four persons in the town. The society conducts no festivals or public displays.

Festivals

796 The festivals which take place in Vila Recôncavo are based
[184] on the religious calendar and are participated in to a great extent by the African cult members. January 1 is an im-
[793] portant date in town and is celebrated by a Mass in the fishermen's chapel, after which the priest goes out on the beach and blesses all the canoes. After he has gone, the participants in
796 African cults make their offering for the day. This is the date
794 when presents are given to the Mother of Waters (Mae d'Agua locally, but sometimes known as Janaina, Sereia, or Yansan
782 in other parts of Brazil). The presentations are made by the
776 cult priestesses, but anyone who wants to give a present to the Mother of Waters may do so by handing the gift to the cult
[822] priestess beforehand. The presents may consist of money or of anything a woman can use, as long as it is white: combs, ribbons, powders, perfumes, soaps, flowers, and so on. Everything is wrapped together and placed in a large clay basin covered with white cloths and decked with white flowers.

The cult priestess comes out of the cult house after Mass and, accompanied by participants and onlookers, goes down to the beach and enters one of the large canoes prepared for the occasion. The cult drummers accompany her, as well as most of the female devotees (filhas de santo). Usually two presents are given, one to the young Mother of Waters, who lives near the town, and another, larger one to the old Mother of Waters, who lives at about an hour's distance from town, where the water is very deep. The canoes take off and proceed up the river, while the drums beat and the devotees sing. The Mother of Waters is called and praised, and when the canoes arrive where the younger one lives, her present is lowered into the water. If it does not sink it is a very bad sign, for it means that the present was rejected. The bundles usu-
[787] ally sink, however, for they are bound in a heavy clay basin. At this moment the Mother of Waters is supposed to enter the body of the person who placed the gift in the water. This person, usually an older devotee, enters a trance state and must

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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be held in the canoe by the others, for she tries to jump into the water. At the same time, all those present in the canoe scoop up the water and pour it over themselves, for it is at this moment quite holy. The possessed person is gradually calmed and brought back to a normal state as the canoes move up the river.

During this time, groups of fishermen often go out in their newly blessed canoes (canoas de bordejo) to play. Because their canoes have been blessed by the priest, and because of the holy aspect of the water resulting from the presence of the Mother of the Waters, the men may enter the water without fear, so they jump in and out of the water and swim around their canoes until they are tired. This cannot be done at any other time of the year for it is not considered safe to enter deep water.

After the second gift has been offered and accepted, the party lands and goes back to town on foot in a spirit of great joy and gaiety. The rest of the day is given over to horse racing, visiting, gaming, and dancing on the fishermen's square. People from classes A and B do not participate in these proceedings, which they consider barbarous. But most lower-class people at least watch, although only participants enter the canoes. Observers walk along the banks and watch. Cults from the rural areas make their own presentations separately, frequently on Christmas Day and in another locale.

The next festival in the year comes after January 6, the Day of Kings, which has already been mentioned. Parties take place from this day until the beginning of Lent. Other than a Mass, there is no longer much sanctity connected to this day.

The most important festival of the year is that of Nossa Senhora da Conceição da Praia, the patron saint of most of the fishermen, to whom their chapel is dedicated. This festival begins on January 13 and starts off each evening with a novena held in the fishermen's chapel. The priest goes each evening for the novena, and, on the three last days of the festival, each morning, to celebrate Mass in honor of Nossa Senhora da Conceição, St. Peter, and St. John. A committee is organized in the chapel to ask patrons for contributions to the festival, for candles, oils, electric light, and to pay the priest each night. Flowers are a very important part of the festival, although at this time of the year they are very expensive. Each night of the novena there is a different group of patrons, and

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794 to do with cultism. His parents were strongly opposed to cult-
[778] ism and had told him that it was bad. But the next day the stone was back in his house, frightening him. He again threw it away, and again it reappeared in his house. Then he took it to the cult leader on the plantation, who told him that it was
[782] a sign that he had an obligation to fulfill toward the gods. To put an end to the matter, it was necessary to make certain appeasements in the form of food and drink. So he began to save money, and at the same time took instruction from the woman as to what to do. During this time he became genuinely interested in cultism and became the "most curious"
(428) of the woman's disciples. He studied for many years with her
[765] and did as much as he could in the ceremonies. When she died she left the house to him, as he was the most active among her followers. After he had observed the honorary period of a year after her death and had properly dispatched her saints, he moved into the house where he has now been leader for
[578] thirteen years. Because of jealousies and fights over the inheritance, many of the devotees broke away and went to other houses, taking their saints with them.

793 Three years after he had taken over the house, he had his
794 first experience with the Indian spirit Seven Stars, who came to him in a dream and let it be known that he wanted to enter
787 the man and become part of the cult. For some time the man
177 resisted, for the cult was traditionally Nagô and the former leader would have had nothing to do with Indian spirits. Seven Stars, however, threatened him with extinction if he did not comply, so in the end he gave in, and one night during a ceremony was possessed by Seven Stars. Everyone liked Seven Stars, because he was a very happy and gay spirit and danced well. After this many other devotees in the house were also possessed by this as well as by one or two other Indian spirits, neither of which, however, was considered as nice as Seven Stars.

794 According to dogma, there are twenty-one Indian spirits,
787 although the informant could not name them all and neither
177 could anyone else. All twenty-one live in an aldeia (village) in the woods. There was nothing in the African tradition to tell
[796] what preparation was necessary for these spirits, so the entire ritual became one of inventiveness and propitiousness. Nowadays young people who enter the cults are nearly always taken by an Indian spirit and are much pleased, for these spirits involve less expense and much less work. The major com-

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plaint about African deities is the amount of work involved and 787
the great expense entailed by making the proper clothes and 177
buying the beads and bracelets. All leaders say that no one can afford traditional spirits these days. Those who had formerly had them, of course, still do, but have also been visited by Indian spirits which they much prefer. So they carry out the more fundamental obligations toward the African 794
spirits, such as providing food and drink, but they dress and 178
dance for their Indian spirits. The result has been a confusion of rituals--the use of African music and incantations and 177
the addition of new dances, costumes, and foods appropriate [782]
for the simpler tastes of the Indian spirits.

The cult houses (terreiros) are built like other houses in the community. The active one in town is located on a street 794
in line with all the other houses, while that on the plantation 346
is set slightly apart from the others, because of the scattered 353
configuration of the village. The front room, which is the largest, is usually bare except for a few long wooden benches and a small altar with pictures of the patron saints of the [361]
cult leader and of several of the cult members. This room is [352]
decorated with crepe paper streamers and paper flowers; the dances are held here. The other rooms of the house consist of a bedroom, a dining room, a kitchen, and another room known as the pegi, which houses the African altar with its plants and leaves, dishes, bottles, cups, and glasses of food and drink for the spirits, as well as the symbol of each one of them, such as a spade, a sword, or a hatchet. In this room there is also usually a trunk containing the ceremonial paraphernalia used during the festivities, such as the dress and [782]
headdress of each spirit. This is the room in which sacrificial killings (matanças) are made of the goats and chickens used during the ceremonies. In the rural house there are also pictures of Catholic saints in the pegi, another departure from the older traditional houses where such a thing would never occur.

The cult leader lives in the cult house. In the literature on 793
candomblé the cult leader is usually referred to as the mae, 794
or pai, de santo, which means literally "mother (or father) 192
of the saints." None of the cult leaders in Vila Recôncavo likes [346]
this term; they say they could not possibly be the mother or father of the divine beings. They consider themselves rather zeladores, that is, caretakers of the saints on earth. There is 794
much the same complaint about the term filha, or filho, de 192

794 192 [787] santo, which means literally "daughter (or son) of the saint." They prefer to refer to a person as "having a saint" (tem santo) which indicates that he has an obligation toward one of the saints and becomes possessed by him. In ordinary speech the word "saint" is used, but once the person has "made his saint" --that is, has gone through the preparatory rites and has learned the cries and dances of the divinity and how to care for him properly--it is said that the person has Ômolú, or Sete Estrelas (Seven Stars).

794 787 776 Because most of the women, and the few men in the cults, cannot spend a year segregated in the cult house in order to "make their saint," they continue for many years in the half-way condition of someone who "has a saint but has not yet made the saint." This means that the person has experienced possession, and that it has been determined by the zelador that he is under obligation to a certain saint and is in the process of "making the saint." During this period of simply "having the saint," the person has to carry out certain duties such as feeding the saint, making the proper clothes, and buying the beads and other outer symbols of the deity which are to be used during the ceremonies. This involves considerable expenditure. The clothes are always made of silk, since nothing is [511] too good for the saint. Today, lipstick, perfume, and cheap jewelry are competing for the few extra cents the girls have, so that it takes longer and longer to get the necessary items together. During this period, the obligations of dancing and possession are less strenuous. In the case of the Indian spirits, the deity often speaks through the person after one or two possessions, and this is taken to mean that the spirit is firmly upon the person and may be considered "made." In this fashion much arduous work is avoided, as well as considerable expense. This is a major reason for the growing popularity of the Indian saints, in addition to the fact that they are gayer.

794 533 [465] [776] The drummers also like Indian saints, for, after they have danced, the Indian spirits usually take up a collection which is presented to the drummers for having played so well for them. The drummers are drawn from men whose wives participate in the activities, or else they are men who are interested in the proceedings and who like to drum. They learn the drumming early in their lives, listening to it as children when they go to watch the ceremonies. On nights when the drums are playing it is impossible for anyone not to hear the impos-

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ing, exciting sounds, which continue for hours on end. Little boys pick up the rhythms quickly and soon associate each rhythm with the particular spirit who dances to it. As they grow older and show interest in it, they may be allowed to relieve one of the drummers during an interval and in this way join the others in some less important part of the ceremony, until finally the zelador feels they know enough to drum for the entire evening.

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The entire proceedings are considered too strenuous for children, as much for the boy drummers as for the girl dancers. If a small girl shows signs of possession during the ceremony she is taken away, for until she is over fourteen dancing is considered too strenuous for her. But unless her family refuses, she may be coached in all the rituals by the other dancers and the zelador. The ceremonies always draw more onlookers than performers, and outside the rural cult house a man has set up a small stand to sell refreshments. As many as can, enter the room and line the walls, while the others stand outside, looking in through the open doors and windows. Most people know the procedure in a vague way and know whom the drums are calling and who "has" which saint.

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The ceremonies are rather long, the first step in the actual performance being the calling of the saints. The evening's participants dance in a circle while the drums call the various spirits. It sometimes takes quite a while for the saint to come, and there are times when he does not come at all. One young man danced unsuccessfully for over an hour and was finally removed, exhausted, by the zelador. When someone in the circle "falls," he is quickly led out of the room and into the pegi where the zelador changes his clothing, putting on him the costume of the spirit. In the meantime the others rest or may keep on dancing, becoming possessed one after the other, depending upon the type of ceremony. After the possessed person has been dressed and has completed the necessary ritual, he is led back into the main room where he now, as the saint, dances in earnest until tired or angered by something which occurs in the room. Often the zelador gives the signal for the drums to change their rhythm, indicating the end of the dance, by which time the person is physically very tired although emotionally highly keyed up. He is led back into the pegi to complete the detailed rituals, and is then given a place to rest and to come back to normal. As a rule he soon joins the others in the front room as a spectator. By

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796 then the drums are calling the other saints, the circle has
[787] been formed again, and the process is repeated. This goes
[369] on frequently all night long, ending only with the dawn. The rural cult house has a general ceremony for all the saints of the house during the New Year holiday, and it often takes three or four days and nights of continuous dancing and drumming for all the participants to "fulfill their obligations." Activities cease for a while during the day while everyone rests, and then pick up again late in the afternoon.

794 The general rule is that the person who "has a saint" must
796 fulfill his obligations to that spirit at least once a year, if
776 possible on the saint's day. Of course, the proper foods must be supplied constantly throughout the year, but at least once a
[787] year the saint must be feted, that is, called to possess the person and dance. The general term used for the ceremony is bater (to beat, referring to the drums), although several other euphemisms are used, such as, "We are going to have a party," or, "We are going to play." If the person is unable to fete the saint on the specified day, however, he must do it at the general ceremony at the end of the year. Not to comply with the rituals would be disastrous. The zelador of the house always fetes his saint on the proper day as well as at the end of the year. In both active cult houses the zeladores have more than one saint and try to fete each on the specified date. All participants keep the symbolic paraphernalia of their saints in the cult house and look after them personally if possible, but for many of them who live far from the house the zelador does this. In many cases a person who "has a saint" has a miniature pegi in his own house and also keeps there the prop-
[782] er foods and drinks. In some cases an older woman may even have a ceremony in her home if she can afford the requisite sacrificial animals and foods.

794 Membership in the cults is not always passed down from parents to children. Many of the younger participants have come into the cults on their own and may be children of families which are unsympathetic to cult activities. When a mother belongs to a cult, her children may be indoctrinated in the rituals because of their continued attendance at the ceremonies. But unless the children feel the call themselves, no pressure is applied upon them to enter the activities, though they may always participate vicariously in the ceremonies. The majority of the population say they have nothing to do with the cults and are ignorant of the ritual. But few members of

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er of the Waters. Naturally, in such a small group, the secret is not very well kept and it is soon known who has sent a present, why, and when. Many people in this group, and some in Class A, entertain the fear that they may become themselves possessed by a deity, especially if they expose themselves to cult activities during a ceremony, and for this reason they do not attend the rituals. To a certain extent this fear is the basis for the protest many of them make against night-long drumming, although the common complaint is that they cannot sleep because of the noise. The sound of the drums at night is very impressive, and no one is unaware that nearby the supernatural is being called. It is very disturbing to those who do not understand the mechanics of the ceremonies and the meaning of the drumming and sacrifices.

Spiritualism

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Spiritualism, which does not use drums, is as disturbing as cultism to people of all classes, although because of its quieter character it is not always known when a session is taking place. Spiritualism seems to be gaining popularity in the area, although it is greatly feared by many people. It is slowly gaining adherents, however, because of the healing powers exhibited by the mediums. In most cases people are drawn to it, both in the town and in the rural area, through illness and the promise of a cure. Because of lack of aid from the doctor, or because of the expense of medical treatment, or perhaps because of the failure of the African cult to cure him, a patient may try spiritualism as a last resort. For those who are helped by it, it becomes a constant companion, and although they may have entered with fear, they soon lose it. They become staunch defenders and try to draw in their friends. The greatest successes in curing seem to follow the herbal treatments of the African cultists, but spiritualism requires no further obligations, as do the cults. It is common to hear someone say that attendance at a spiritualist seance cured him of some minor ailment and left him free of obligations, and that he did not even have to pay the medium. Spiritualism is also used to discover and counteract the evil eye and evil machinations of any enemy. In spiritualism one finds the same Indian spirits which are found in the local African cults, although no dancing is involved. There is now definite competition between the mediums and the cult leaders for adherents.

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755 There is one outstanding case of a Class A family which has
787 been "helped" by spiritualism. This family had not been too
*565 well liked in the town and felt that evil was being worked against it. It was claimed that a local medium prevented harm to the father of this family through the medium's spirit. The father became convinced of the value of spiritualism and converted his wife to it. They now make no move without first consulting the spirits, and they frequently call the medium to their house in Salvador for aid. The urban upper class is no stranger to spiritualism, and even those who make no use of mediums and spiritualistic sessions seem to consider themselves possible victims of spiritualism. A decade or so ago, experiments with spiritualism, such as the moving glass, were popular. These experiments gained many adherents and left many others in a state between belief and disbelief in the possibilities of spiritualism.

Protestantism

795 Protestantism has made no entry in Vila Recôncavo. This
797 is a minor point of pride among the residents, who have heard
177 of Protestantism but know nothing about it. In other areas of the Recôncavo there have been converts, but as yet there are no Protestant churches, chapels, or house groups in Vila Recôncavo. In other communities, traveling ministers hold services in small private houses of the adherents. Just as with the African cults, there always are many onlookers standing outside who discuss the merits of the sermon and of the Bible readings and hymn singing. Those who are sufficiently impressed sometimes join, but as yet there is considerable resistance to another organized religion.

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oxhorn, both of which are employed for protection against [824] the *mau olhado*, or "evil eye." Or they may be of a more general nature like the letters *J M J* (Jesus, Maria, José), or the *signo de Salomão* ("sign of Solomon")[35] either or both of which may be painted or carved on the door of the house or even tattooed on an individual's arm, leg, or chest; or a small pouch worn around the neck and containing either a *patuá* (presumed to protect against evil, especially the machinations of an enemy or death in battle)[36] or a small piece of garlic, "Danda root," *mil homens*, or *arruda*, a clove, or merely some object sacred to the *orixá* to whom the individual is dedicated. Similarly employed are such magical practices as the sprinkling of sea water in the four corners of the house, the emptying through the front door of a basin of water left overnight in the center of the floor, or the burning regularly at six o'clock in the evening of incense to which, occasionally, sulphur and pieces of oxhorn are added until the house is filled with magically potent smoke.

794 In the fetish cult, divination is commonly resorted to for •787 such purposes as the identification of an unknown *orixá* who has "manifested himself" in human form, the determination of such matters as the eligibility of a prospective *ogan*, or male functionary of the cult, the cause of a troubling illness, or the proper course to pursue in some contemplated action. Divination is also employed to foretell future events, particularly the outcome of business or amorous ventures, jour-

[35] A six-pointed star at whose apex appears a cross.

[175] [669] [36] During the insurrection of 1835, the Malês, as we have seen, wore *patuás* consisting either of prayers or of verses from the Koran, written or printed in Arabic characters. They were presumed to protect against death in any form. For photographs of some of these see Nina Rodrigues, *Os africanos no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1932), p. 98, Figs. 1, 2, 3, and 4.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 260]

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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neys, etc.[37] Oracles are invoked by way of such magical intermediaries as the *obi* and the *orobó*, or the *opêlê-ifá* (a chain of thin disks), or they may be obtained directly from an *orixá* who speaks during the "possession" of a *filha* or a *pae de santo* by way of the mouth of the one "possessed."[38]

Contact between the living and the dead is believed not only to be possible but to occur regularly. Hence, the prac-

[37] The serious character of a transaction of this sort puts it in a different category from certain other magical acts, common to all classes, which have the character of a game, being similar, for example, to practices attaching to our festival of Halloween. Thus, one may take a glass, "bless" it three times, put in it the white of an egg, and, holding it over a fire, again thrice "bless" it; or partially fill a basin with water and permit the tallow from a lighted candle to drip into it; or stick a knife up to the hilt in a banana tree and leave it until morning. The patterns formed on the glass, the water, and the knife, respectively, are presumed to indicate the initials of one's future spouse. A similar image is presumed to appear in the dreams of one under whose pillow has been left a freshly husked ear of corn.

[38] Other magical practices of this sort are: the placing of crushed charcoal under a rock to expedite the recovery of a lost article, the burying of the third of a rosary to stop rain; also, it is commonly believed that a hummingbird inside the house, or the singing of an *adiwem-quewem*, announces the coming of guests; that the appearance of an owl, or of an *ouriço cacheiro*, foretells death; that a black butterfly is a sign of misfortune; that a katydid with dark eyes brings unpleasant news, while one with light eyes brings favorable news; that seeing the new moon for the first time between the branches of a tree or anywhere partially obscured is a sign of misfortune throughout the coming month; that the showing of money to the new moon when seen for the first time will assure no want of income for the next thirty days; that ill fortune will attend one who dwells in a house on the corner of a street, enters a house with the right foot, or opens an umbrella inside a house. Still other "signs" of misfortune are: the toad; the black cat (or the "ghost" of a cat); the *anum* perched in a tree near the house; the *jacumim;* the hummingbird, if black; the katydid, if it has a black mouth (if the katydid has a red mouth, happiness is in store for the observer). In the opinion of numerous people, mutton must not be eaten, since it is "the *lamb of God* who taketh away the sins of the world." Sheep are animals which Christians must not eat.

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tice, now not so common as formerly but still occurring, of forsaking a dwelling-place in which some member of the family has died. "Visions" are commonly reported. A *preto* related: 787

> Once as I was working, I suddenly noticed an old friend, together with another man, standing by me, both of them "out of the flesh." My friend spoke and asked me how I was. I told him I was "so-so." Then he said, "Did you know that Fernando was dead?" I didn't, but, sure enough, I found out the next day that he had died that very morning.

One finds in many individuals an absolute credulity in folk tale and folk myth. Thus to many a Bahian of the lower classes the *lobishomem*, the *caipora*, the *mula de padre*, and the *biatátá* are actual entities which he himself, or someone known to him, has supposedly seen or heard. [538]

The *lobishomem* (werewolf), credulity in which is also common to large areas of Europe, is said at Bahia to roam about on moonlight nights, preferably on Fridays, with dogs following him. He takes the form of a man, very pallid, with an enormous shock of hair and long fingernails. Coming up behind a traveler or sneaking into the house after a child, he grasps his victim and sucks his blood. A person "very yellow" from malaria is thought to be in danger of turning into a *lobishomem*. If a family has seven sons and no daughters, the first-born is believed liable to develop into one of these creatures unless he is made co-padre with his parents at the baptism of the seventh child. The hour of such transformation is midnight sharp. A house servant remarked: 776 754

> When I was a small boy, I knew a man who turned into a *lobishomem*. There in my country, near Joazeiro [state of Bahia]. He had killed his father and his mother. He always went around with his head down, very sad and very pale. The children called him *chicobicho* and ran and hid from him. Every Friday night he turned into a

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and the next day she died. But before she died, he "arrived" and said it was he who had set fire to the *saveiro*. It was Oxóssi. Her husband also died. When one doesn't carry out his obligations [*cumpre com os seus deveres*], the *orixá* takes his life.

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Once I had a party at my house for some friends. But Xangô sent me a message that I should go to the *candomblé*. I said that I was not going because I was having a party. A little while later, while I was dancing with my friends, I suddenly got a stiffness in my legs. But I didn't pay much attention to it. Then I suddenly felt an "opening of the body" [*aperto no corpo*],[53] and I didn't know anything more. When I came to, I was dancing in the *candomblé*. When the *candomblé* was over, I went running clear to the top of Boeiros do Inferno ["Funnels of Hell"] without knowing anything about what I was doing. These are two hills called by that name because they are so high. I didn't feel anything. Afterward, Xangô beat me on the hands; and my hands swelled. When he "arrived" again, he said that I should pay more attention to him, or he would beat me some more. Once he struck me. On that day I was very tired, but I went to the *candomblé* and danced anyway.

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I dance when there is a big ceremony; I dance for hours at a time without getting tired. The spell seizes me, and sometimes I dance more than three days without feeling the least bit tired. When the *orixá* "arrives in my head," I spend a week or more "sleeping."[54] I don't feel anything. I don't see anything. People talk to me, but I don't know anything about what is going on.

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If one drinks water, the *orixá* doesn't "arrive." For instance, one feels cold. That cold is in the body. The *orixá* wants "to arrive." Then one drinks water. He who is of the *preceito* does not drink water. And whoever drinks, breaks the *preceito*. It is prayed ten times.[55]

[53] A "trembling of the body," signifying that the *orixá* wished to enter and to "manifest himself" in human form. See chap. x.

[54] That is, moving about, but unconscious of what is happening.

[55] That is, by taking a drink of water, one can presumably prevent the deity from entering the body. One must at the same time pray ten words and tap the ground ten times. In this way, the *preceito* (i.e., the control of the deity over one) is broken.

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My *pae de santo* made an *ebó* for me last week. It is a *limpeza do corpo* ["cleansing of the body"]. I had an unclean body and dragged myself around, listless. I went to the "master" of the *candomblé* and he "opened the table" and looked to see if my body was unclean. He then asked me to bring toasted maize, a black cloth, popcorn, honey, and a candle. He passed them all over me,[58] and when he had finished, he took them and left them in a crossroads. Friday is the day for this. 159 793 783

Now if a person puts a *bruxaria*[59] in your doorway, with a doll stuck through with pins, that is of the *feiticeiro* and it is different from a "cleansing of the body." My *pae de santo* does not make *feitiço*. He says that he does not care to do harm to people, because he has a soul for which he is responsible to God. But any *pae de santo* who wishes to bring harm upon someone can do so. For example, if I arrive in his *casa* and say that I want to do something to someone he asks me: "What do you want to do to her?" I say that when she comes to my door I want her to go blind. He will "make a business" and the next day she will come to my door and go blind. Or else I say that I want her to be wounded by a knife. He arranges it so that this happens.[60] 159 754 [793]

"Opening the table" is a thing done with *buzios*. The *pae de santo* puts an *orixá* on top of the table, together with his little towel.[61] He takes up the *buzios* and sees if "the way is open." My *pae de santo* "opens the table" with beads.[62] He takes the beads and puts them alongside *palha* from the *pindoba*.[63] These beads come from the Coast.[64] His set cost 1:000$000.[65] 159 787 793 778 [439] [435]

[58] That is, in front, to side, behind, above the head, etc.

[59] Any instrument of black magic.

[60] That is, she will be attacked in a lonely place by robbers, or accidentally stabbed. The action is always mediate.

[61] The table-covering which is placed over the *orixá* in the *pegi*, or sanctuary.

[62] Other means employed: a glass of water, a set of playing cards.

[63] Fronds from a variety of the coconut palm.

[64] That is, from the West Coast of Africa.

[65] One thousand milreis, or one conto, equivalent at that time to approximately $60.

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occasionally one meets an older *Africano* who thinks of Olorun as "the creator of all the other *orixás*." Each is thought to have his home in Africa, and when one inquires of a black how the *orixás* can come so far to eat and drink the offerings set out for them, the answer is always easy, "They are summoned, and they come at once." 776 [178]

Each *orixá* is presumed on occasion to "manifest himself" in human form and to speak his will. Such "manifestation" is accomplished by "arriving in the head" of an individual who has been dedicated to him. His "presence" is attested by an abnormal psychic state accompanied by violent, spasmodic muscular movements, particularly of the neck, shoulder, and back muscles. Seizure ordinarily takes place during ceremonial dances, but occasionally (quite rare today) it may occur spontaneously while the individual is alone and about his work. Subsequently, the one in whom the *orixá* has "arrived" and "manifested himself" is unaware of what has transpired. 794 776 787.

The name, sex, personification, fetish, insignia, sacred foods, sacred dress, sacred ornaments, sacred day, and identifying call of the principal Gêge-Nagô *orixás* at Bahia are as given in Table 15. 794 776

Each *seita* is presided over by a priest or priestess known as the *pae de santo* or *mãe de santo* (literally, the "father" or "mother" of the *orixás*). His (or her) most important functions are to identify a "manifesting" deity, supervise the initiation of the ceremonial dancers in whom an initial "manifestation" has occurred, perform the sacred ritual designed to "fix" the *orixá* in the fetish, supervise the sacrifices, and preside at public ceremonies. He may also exercise, to some extent at least, the office of an *olhador*, or diviner, who "throws the Ifá" to determine in advance the 794 793

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some reason male members of the seita rarely experience, as do the women members, the "manifestation" of an *orixá*. Consequently, very few males ever pass through the rigorous period of training which must always follow the initial "appearance" of a deity in a given individual. Moreover, the men, being more mobile than the women, are ordinarily brought into more extensive contact with the Europeans and their descendants and consequently tend to take over more readily the ideas and sentiments of the whites. The women, on the other hand, ordinarily remain more closely identified with the customs and traditions of their African ancestors. It is probably for this reason that several of the more prominent and influential *candomblés* in Bahia now have women leaders. For the head of a *seita*, upon his approaching death, ordinarily chooses the new priest (or priestess) from among those members of the cult who are most learned in the ritual and other tradition. When asked about the occasion for So-and-so's selection, cult members always say, "Ele [*or* ela] é muito sabido" ("He is very learned in the ritual").

794 793 562 [787]

Other sacred functionaries include the *ogans*, or male members of the *seita*, who assist the *pae* or *mãe de santo* with the ritual, particularly in invoking the presence of the *orixás* during ceremonial dances, help initiate new *ogans*, act as intermediaries between the *seita* and the legal authorities, and contribute toward the expenses of the cult; the *achôgun*, or "second *pae*" as he is often called, who performs the sacrifices; the *jibonam*, or *pequena mãe* ("little mother"), next in authority to the *mãe de santo*, who assists the ceremonial dancers in carrying out their *preceitos*, or ritualistic obligations, and who makes the *despacho*, or food offering, to Exú at the opening of each important ceremony; the musicians, who assist at certain secret rituals and all public cere-

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794 monies, together with their leader, the *alabê;* and the very important *filhas de santo* (literally "daughters of the *orixás*"), or ceremonial dancers, who serve as the so-called *cavalos* ("horses") for the deities who "manifest themselves" in their bodies and speak through them their will.

794 This "visitation" is known as the *estado de santo* ("state of
• 787 the *orixá*") and is ordinarily induced by prolonged fasting, the pungent odors of certain sacred herbs, the monotonous and long-continued beating of the *atabaques*, the heat from a large number of human bodies densely packed together on a warm night, the fatigue attendant on long-sustained dancing, the imperative expectations of the group, and, often as a precipitating incident, when tensions have been built up to the point where they can no longer be sustained, a sudden, loud, and unexpected noise. Seizure is said to be avoidable, as we have noted, by drinking cold water.

794 On the first "visitation" of an *orixá* in the body of an individual she must submit to either of two initiatory rites. She may elect the complete initiation of *fazer santo* ("to make the *orixá*"), or the partial initiation of *dar comida a cabeça*" ("to give food to the head"). If she elects the former, as most do, she makes an initial food offering to Exú, following which a fetish is secured and "prepared" by being washed by the *pae de santo* and immersed in *azeite de dendê*, honey, or *acaça*, depending on the *orixá*, the entire ritual being accompanied by special invocations. The initiate, or *yaubá*, as she is now called, then surrenders all her garments, which, in symbol of the new life upon which she is about to enter, will never be worn again, and submits to a ritualistic bath, at dusk, in water scented with sacred herbs of a pun-
[782] gent odor. The *yaubá* is then received in the *pegi* by the dignitaries of the cult and seated in a chair never before used,

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while the *orixás* "partake" of a special sacrifice offered to them. Her hair is cut off, her head shaved,[8] and dots and circles are painted in white upon the crown, forehead, and cheeks. The initiate then takes on *obí* in her hand, the *atabaques* begin to beat an invocation to her *orixá*, and she dances the special dance sacred to him until he "arrives in her head" and she experiences once more the *estado de santo*. The *yaô* is then escorted from the *pegi* to the *camarinha*, where she remains for sixteen days before participating in her first public ceremony, whence she returns to the *camarinha* for a period of six months to a year, to be taught the various rituals of the cult, the songs, and, to some extent at least, an African language. Meanwhile, she is subject to certain food and other taboos.

To verify her acceptance by the *orixá*, a *filha* may be required to undergo without evidence of bodily harm an ordeal, such as swallowing lighted candlewicks soaked in *azeite de dendê*, thrusting her hands into boiling palm oil, chewing the leaves of the *urtiga* (Brazilian thistle), or submitting, on bended knee, to being beaten about the neck and arms with a sprig of the thorny *cansanção*.

Throughout her life the new *filha de santo*, in addition to submitting to the "manifestations" of her *orixá*, must perform on occasion certain ritualistic acts, rigorously observe certain food, drink, and sex taboos, and wear a special costume on ceremonial occasions and "days of obligation" (Fridays especially). On her death this costume, together with the other objects of cult worship belonging to her, are taken and dropped into the sea, "to be carried by the waves back to Africa."

Upon being "made," the *filha de santo* acquires a *guia*

[8] Formerly, all hairy parts of the body were shaved.

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794 ("guide") and a protector who, if she obeys the prescribed rituals and taboos, may bring her, it is thought, much fortune and happiness. "Look at me!" exclaimed a newly "made" *filha*. "My *orixá* is the greatest of all the *orixás*. He's powerful. I'm a black woman and can't read or write. But I'm living with a man *formado* in the Faculdade de Medicina. See what Oxalá did for me!"

794 As has already been noted, the rituals and ceremonies of
796 the cult are serious and dignified and carried on in accord-
[562] ance with fixed traditional forms. Among the essential elements of the Gêge-Nagô ceremonies is the rigid separation of spectators according to sex. The males always occupy the seats to the left of the drums, the females those to the right.
[273] No drunkenness or obscenity is permitted. Said a member of a Nagô *seita*, "If they drink *cachaça* in a *candomblé*, you may know it is not well organized." Once at a ceremony at Gantois an intoxicated man forced his way through the crowd into the *barracão*. Immediately, the *mãe de santo* who was presiding signaled to two *ogans* who, calling out of the crowd a police official, promptly ejected the intruder.[9]

794 The *filhas de santo* before beginning a ceremonial dance
576 make obeisance to the *pae* or *mãe de santo* by dropping to their knees and bowing their heads to the ground before the leader of their cult. Similar obeisance is also made to visiting *paes* or *mães de santo* or other honored personages of the fetish world and, occasionally, to the *ogans*.

794 When, during the ceremonial dance an *orixá* "arrives in
796 the head" of a *filha*, she must, after the first violent seizure
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[9] Such romanticized accounts of fetish cult ceremonies as that given by Graça Aranha and uncritically quoted by Vera Kelsey (*Seven Keys to Brazil* [New York, 1940], pp. 27–28), if they have any basis in fact at all, owe it to the disintegration of formerly wholesome cultural forms now characteristic of certain *macumba* centers of Rio de Janeiro.

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has passed, dance the dance sacred to her *orixá*, after which she is assisted from the *barracão* into the *pegi*, taking due care to withdraw with her face always toward the drums. In a special room she is then dressed in the ceremonial robes sacred to her *orixá* and, with his sacred insignia, returns to the *barracão* to dance for hours the dances sacred to him.

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The sacrifices are performed according to the ritual peculiar to the occasion and include the offering of chickens, pigeons, sheep, and goats.

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In the *candomblé* world certain gestures are obligatory. Thus, when saluting a high dignitary of the cult, a *filha*, if the *orixá* to whom she is dedicated is masculine, prostrates herself, face downward at the feet of the one so honored; if her *orixá* is feminine, she lies at full length first on one side, then on the other, and, on rising, touches her head to the ground. In taking leave of an *orixá* who has "visited" the ceremony, a member of the *seita* clasps tightly the left hand of the ceremonial dancer. *Ogans* have a special handshake used only between them. Following a discussion among members of a *seita*, agreement is signified by rising, beating the palms, and shaking hands.

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Status in the *candomblé* depends not only on one's position in the hierarchy of functionaries but more particularly upon priority in being "made" or confirmed. Those whose years of service are less are known as "the younger" and must address "the older" with greater respect and, as an *ogan* remarked, "prefer him above one's self."

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The musical instruments employed include the *atabaques*, or drums; the *agôgô*, with which the priest or priestess strikes the first notes of each invocation and later accompanies the drums; the *caxixi;* the *agê* (also known as the *cabaça*, or *piano de cuia*); the *adjá;* and, occasionally, the *xaque-xaque*.

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songs are ordinarily composed of simple sentences in the minor key, and the scale, which on importation from Africa is said to have consisted of only five intervals, now has seven.

Among the invocations sung to the various *orixás* is that given by a former *ogan* of the *candomblé* of Gantois:

Egbéji mori ô ri, okorin-kam
Orolu mori ô ri, okorin-kam
(Powerful One, I know thee as the first man)

Ôkum-kum biri-biri
Ajá lé mori ô korin-kam
(Even in the dark I can see thou art powerful)

A orêrê aiê, orixá loman,
Iá, ochê Egbéji orêrê, aiê
(In the whole world, nothing is hidden from the Great-One)[11]

At the burial of a cult member the songs and musical instruments of the *candomblé* ceremonies are now seldom used as, it is said, they formerly were. But the casket is carried by *ogans*, and the *filhas*, in *bahiana* costume, accompany the procession. Since it is still believed that the *orixá* of the departed may at this time seek a new *cavalo*, no pregnant woman attends. "Possession," however, may and does occur. Thus, at the burial of an elderly Negro woman, a *filha* of Ogun from the *candomblé* of Engenho Velho, who had been "made" for thirty-three years and was widely known and respected for her knowledge of African ritual, two *filhas de santo* were "seized" as the procession wound its way up the steep ascent to Quinta dos Lazaros Cemetery, and another later as the crypt was being sealed. In each case "possession" began with light weeping which soon increased to loud sobbing, the individual meanwhile pressing her hands

[11] Manoel Querino, *Costumes africanos no Brasil* (Rio, 1938), p. 108.

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forcefully to her head, one in front and one in back, as if in great pain. Knees then gave way and shoulders and back muscles began to vibrate violently. In one case, the spine stiffened and, with the exception of the shoulder muscles which continued a rapid quivering, the entire body became rigid, with arms and legs stretched out at full length. Meanwhile, the *filha* whimpered, cried, or shrieked aloud.

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To reach the *seita* of a well-known *mãe de santo*, one takes a Calçada car out of the city, past orange groves and fields of tall forage grass, to the Matadouro, where he alights and begins to climb a steep winding road lined with the *nativo* plant (said to be native to Africa) and *uricuri* and coconut palms, until, after more than a mile of trudging, he comes out onto a high ridge overlooking a green valley, where he can see, far in the distance, the houses of the city. A cool breeze blows in from the sea and tempers the heat of the tropical sun. In a grove of scattered palm trees nestle several houses, some of which are neatly whitewashed and others tinted pink, yellow, or blue.

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The *mãe de santo* is called Anninha. She is a tall regal-appearing black, whose slightest gesture is immediately obeyed by members of her *seita*. She owns considerable property and is said to be otherwise quite well to do. She boasts, proudly, "Sou filha de dois Africanos, graças a Deus" ("I am the daughter of two Africans, thank God"). Queito she learned to speak, she says, from her parents; Nagô she acquired "in the *seita*." She is illiterate, but of her learning in the ritual and belief of the African cult an *ogan* says, with pride, "She knows African things better than anyone I know in Bahia." Intelligent, quick-witted, agile in debate, she is one of the most widely respected and revered leaders of the Afro-Brazilian world.

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The dances continue unabated for hours, until the air of the *barracão* becomes very warm and permeated with the odor of perspiring bodies. Seriously, with rapt attention, the closely packed crowd looks on, eager to see and hear the numerous *orixás* as they "arrive." During a period of the most intense excitement, when tensions have been built up almost to the breaking-point, a rocket suddenly bursts with a loud report outside the *barracão*. A woman seated among the spectators who is not a *filha de santo* is immediately thrown into violent, convulsive muscular movements and bounces up and down with great force on the board seat, her head snapping back and forth in time to the now almost frenzied beat of the drums. The *pae de santo* rushes to support her in order to prevent imminent injury. Several visiting *filhas de santo* who do not want to dance in this strange place and are consequently "resisting" the imminent "arrival" of their *orixás*, call out with imploring voices, one after the other, "Dê-me agua, por amor de Deus" ("Give me water, for the love of God!"). The face of a servant girl named Joanna, a *filha* from a neighboring *seita*, is drawn, and she appears to be in pain. Afterward, she says that her *orixá*, Xangô, was beating and striking her to make her dance and that she felt more tired than if she had danced all night long. But other spectators remark, "How beautiful! I never saw Ogun dance like that before. And Oxóssi, and Yemanjá, they are wonderful, simply wonderful!"

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The ceiling of another *barracão* (at the *terreiro* called Gantois) is trimmed with paper streamers—red, white, blue, and yellow—each alternating with rows of white paper roses. The electric-light bulb suspended from the ceiling is shaded by red and white pieces of cellophane. On the walls are red and white paper shields, each bearing the words, "Louvores á

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794 girl carries in her hand the insignia of Oxun, a *leque* (fan) of brass decorated with a star.

794 All the other dancers, except one, are dressed in the
796 *bahiana* costume, with wide-flowing skirts of bright-colored cotton prints, blouses trimmed in handmade lace, and a *pano*
[291] *da Costa* two feet in width tied tightly around the small of the back and over the breasts. One woman about thirty-five years of age is dressed in an ordinary street costume of
[301] tailored blouse and skirt. Many of the dancers wear bracelets of copper, brass, bronze, lead, or glass beads, often on both wrists and occasionally three to four to the arm. One dancer has five strands of cowries about her neck.

794 The priestess of the *seita*, Mãe Menninina, is a large
793 black woman, forty-one years of age, who has officiated in this *seita* for twenty-four years. She proudly speaks of herself as "uma neta d'um Africano" ("the granddaughter of an African").

786 Every dance begins with the salutation of the *mãe de san-*
535 *to*, which is accomplished by striking decisively the *agôgô*.
794 Immediately the drums take up the rhythm. The *filhas* be-
796 gin to dance, the circle turning like the rim of a wheel,
[576] counterclockwise. The women have their hands clasped be-
[533] hind their backs, their shoulders are hunching backward and forward, their bodies bending at the waist from side to side. One of the Oxun initiates moves with a halting, jerking movement, then suddenly pivots a complete turn. All the dancers are singing a refrain which sounds like, "Ô-mí-á, bá-
794 tû-lê." After some twenty minutes of continuous dancing,
796 one of the *filhas* suddenly becomes "possessed," her eyes close, her expression becomes listless, while her neck and
• 787 shoulder muscles work convulsively back and forth "in
786 time to the music." Voluntary control is apparently gone,

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and she is helped around the circle by the next in line. When the music temporarily ceases, she relaxes, staggers, and appears in imminent danger of falling. Several *filhas* rush to catch and support her.

Again the *mãe de santo* strikes the *agôgô*, the leader of the drummers takes up the rhythm and sings out a refrain in which all the dancers join, beating their palms in time with the music. The tempo increases. The dancers as they pass round the circle alternately bow their heads, flex their knees, and touch the right hand to the floor, then snap erect, all in perfect time with the music. An elderly black woman emerges from a connecting-room and, shaking vigorously a *caxixi*, joins in the dance. With loud reports, rockets go off outside the *barracão*. Popcorn is then brought in and thrown over the dancers. The eyes of the initiates, who have also made part of the circle of dancers, are closed and remain closed throughout the ceremony. The shoulders of one *yauô* jerk spasmodically, her head hangs limp and must be supported by other dancers.

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Again the circle forms, and the *filhas*, singing at the top of their voices, shuffle forward in a half-stumbling movement, arms flexed at elbows and flapping up and down. An *ogan* says this dance is called *opanigé*. Sometime later, a *filha*, about forty-five years of age, suddenly sprawls stiff-legged on her hands and the tips of her toes, rapidly touches her forehead to the ground in front of the drums and shouts, "Hay-ee-ee," then leaps erect, jerks herself forward spasmodically, then repeats the performance. A girl joins the circle, wearing a pink and gold turban and carrying in her right hand a brass dagger eighteen inches long. Closing her eyes, she begins a wild dance, thrashing about with the dagger to right and to left. The tempo of the

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794 786 796 [635] [533] drums is accelerating. Another *filha*, a large but agile Negro woman, strikes out at the girl with her bare hands, and the two dance about, fighting a mock fight, while the beat of the drums becomes even more rapid and tumultuous until, just as the dancers close in upon one another where, it seems, harm might result, other *filhas* swing quickly in, catch each woman around the waist, and draw them apart, while the music slackens its tempo.

[535] All the *filhas* begin to dance again, their arms swinging from side to side, the index finger of the right hand held closely pressing against the thumb of the left. The dancing is very animated. Suddenly, one of the *filhas*, her shoulders heaving violently back and forth, begins to sink upon her knees and, gradually lowering her heaving shoulders to the floor, turns over on her back, all the while keeping the index finger of her right hand firmly in contact with the thumb of her left. She then slowly rises, gets to her feet, and again joins the other *filhas*. An *ogan* says this dance is known as *ccú*.

• [787] The dances continue, rockets burst outside, confetti and flower petals are thrown over the initiates, and, at the insistent invocations of the drums and the spirited singing of the *filhas*, many *orixás* "arrive" and "take possession" of their human intermediaries.

794 182 The primary social function which the *candomblé* appears to serve is that of reinforcing, by way of the collective experiences of ritual and ceremony, those attitudes and sentiments which distinguish the *Africanos* and their descendants from the European population and from the major portion of the mixed-bloods. By promoting a measure of solidarity and group consciousness, it tends to slow up the process of acculturation. At the same time cult experiences

[The Usina]

* 249 361 a Mass can be celebrated for the family when a priest is available.

Situated nearest the chalet are the houses of the general overseer, the chief mechanic of the factory, the major office employees, and the director of the factory store. Next in order are the houses of the technical personnel of the factory. Behind them and farthest from the center are the homes of the agricultural workers who work on the plantation nearest the factory nucleus. The regional overseer of this plantation also lives among his plantation workers. The school and the store are located just outside the small park of the chalet.

[342] [177] The chalet has replaced the former solar (mansion) of the plantation masters. Its style differs from the earlier type and its name is derived from the fact that it is a modified copy of a Swiss chalet. In a different way it is as ornate as the old solar, but more up-to-date, with running water and electricity.

* 249 466 The personal, paternal aspect of the private plantation obviously cannot function on the usina, which has 1,350 people living on its lands. There is, nevertheless, an attempt at just such relations. The owning family spends vacations in the chalet. They also spend Christmas, Carnaval, and Botada[6] there, and at those times there are parties for the workers, Christmas presents for them and for their wives and children, dances, and ball games. The Coronel (Colonel, an honorary title now going out of use), the patriarch of the family, now incapacitated, still receives visits from the older workmen who used to have daily contact with him. His son and son-in-law, present directors of the enterprise, make their presence felt throughout the factory and the six plantations as best they can. As on the private plantation, the final arbitration of any difficulty lies with the usineiro, and no worker considers himself too far removed to go to him if he cannot get satisfaction from his overseer. However, the strongest relationships, both business and personal, lie between overseer and worker--employee and employee--rather than between employee and employer.

The private plantation presents a far better appearance than

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[788] 6. Botada is the annual blessing of the factory machinery, performed on the first day of the grinding season. It is a traditional ceremony formerly carried out on the plantations.

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be held in the canoe by the others, for she tries to jump into the water. At the same time, all those present in the canoe scoop up the water and pour it over themselves, for it is at this moment quite holy. The possessed person is gradually calmed and brought back to a normal state as the canoes move up the river. 796 794 782 776 [787]

During this time, groups of fishermen often go out in their newly blessed canoes (canoas de bordejo) to play. Because their canoes have been blessed by the priest, and because of the holy aspect of the water resulting from the presence of the Mother of the Waters, the men may enter the water without fear, so they jump in and out of the water and swim around their canoes until they are tired. This cannot be done at any other time of the year for it is not considered safe to enter deep water. [788] [823] [526]

After the second gift has been offered and accepted, the party lands and goes back to town on foot in a spirit of great joy and gaiety. The rest of the day is given over to horse racing, visiting, gaming, and dancing on the fishermen's square. People from classes A and B do not participate in these proceedings, which they consider barbarous. But most lower-class people at least watch, although only participants enter the canoes. Observers walk along the banks and watch. Cults from the rural areas make their own presentations separately, frequently on Christmas Day and in another locale. 796 794 565* [527] [389]

The next festival in the year comes after January 6, the Day of Kings, which has already been mentioned. Parties take place from this day until the beginning of Lent. Other than a Mass, there is no longer much sanctity connected to this day. 796

The most important festival of the year is that of Nossa Senhora da Conceição da Praia, the patron saint of most of the fishermen, to whom their chapel is dedicated. This festival begins on January 13 and starts off each evening with a novena held in the fishermen's chapel. The priest goes each evening for the novena, and, on the three last days of the festival, each morning, to celebrate Mass in honor of Nossa Senhora da Conceição, St. Peter, and St. John. A committee is organized in the chapel to ask patrons for contributions to the festival, for candles, oils, electric light, and to pay the priest each night. Flowers are a very important part of the festival, although at this time of the year they are very expensive. Each night of the novena there is a different group of patrons, and [776] 796 794

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the day of Christ the King, there is always a procession in town which starts from the mother church and goes to a small altar set up in front of the County Hall, then to the fishermen's chapel, to a cross which stands in one of the squares, and back to the convent and church. A few people set their small household oratories in the street in front of their houses to be blessed by the priest as he passes. This procession is accompanied mostly by women of all classes, although the canopy over the Host is carried by men from Class B. Christmas is observed quietly except for the exchange of gifts.

[778] [788] *[565] [184] [431]

Prayers

794 782 *[565] [184]

Prayers are very popular throughout the year among the women of classes C and D. For a variety of reasons a group of women will get together in the house of one of them and pray aloud, standing before the little decorated niche which contains a picture or figure of the household saint. The one who knows the prayer best leads the others. A group may pray on the evening before the day of the patron saint of one of them, especially if they have been unable to have a Mass said because of the lack of money or a previous commitment of the priest. At times they pray because someone has promised his patron saint that he would do so if he were cured of an illness.

782 [776] [794]

Strangely, perhaps, the fishermen never seem to feel a need for supernatural help to overcome bad weather or lack of fish. A few of them, however, give a present to the Mother of the Waters in thanks for an exceptionally fine catch. At other times, people simply pray to their patron saints if they cannot have a party in their honor. Personal patron saints, however, do not play a very important part in the lives of the people of Vila Recôncavo, although nearly everyone has one and has at least a picture of the saint on the wall. It is common to find women who belong to an African cult group praying at these nightly gatherings in honor of the various saints who may or may not be represented in their cult houses.

755 782 [754]

Exceptional fatigue, light illness, and pains may all be caused by the evil eye, and are removed by having a woman pray over the victim. There are several women in town who can make such prayers particularly well; however, they do not pray as a group. A woman goes to the house of the victim and, with a piece of thread in her hand which she passes over the body of the victim, says the Lord's Prayer and the

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gated to the less desirable territory. Although the Europeans have still today, to a considerable extent, maintained their original advantage, the blacks and darker mixed-bloods have gradually pushed themselves up the slopes from their less favored locations until now they have come, in some cases, to share a portion of the Europeans' favored position. One occasionally finds them living next to the homes of the whites, symbolizing the fact that they now occupy those positions, social as well as spatial, which personal ability, occupational proficiency, and favorable circumstance have enabled them to achieve and to maintain. Thus the racial distinctions which one from the United States is so likely on first acquaintance to note turn out to be, as we shall soon see in more detail, not the things which are either so genuine or so important as at first sight might appear.

It is significant, in this connection, that in what might be called the intermediate residential areas of the city, where the dwellings of those who are rising out of the lower classes meet the dwellings of the upper classes, one finds the darker and the lighter portions of the population meeting and mingling in close residential proximity. This is true, for example, along the Avenida Sete de Setembro.

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The Avenida Sete de Setembro, from Jardim Suspenso on, is the only artery into the "downtown area" from South Bahia. It thus becomes the route of passage for processions like those of Carnival, the "Micarêta,"[14] the Peruada,[15] and the numerous religious *festas*, and the avenue of march for the military during visits of political celebrities. Its streetcar line and constant flow of busses would make it less de-

[14] The "Micarêta" is the so-called "second Carnival" held the Sunday following Easter.

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[15] The Peruada is an annual students' parade with floats.

[SALVADOR]

/71 cont./

*563 873 178 the black color of a female student. The complaint that the father of the latter made in a newspaper was immediately published with a very vehement comment that obliged the accused to defend himself. "In olden times," says a mulatto intellectual, "colored students suffered a great deal. Today, it is enough that they are honest and have real worth for their merit to be recognized." And he adds that in the establishment where he teaches and which he has directed, he has seen white students speak out in positive fashion against all racial discrimination with regard to their colored fellow-students.

*563 873 Among the professors whom the students of a private secondary establishment honored at the end of the courses in 1950, there were two morenos, two mulattoes, and one Black; ten out of 39 students were métis. Out of the 137 persons graduated by the philosophy faculty of the University of Bahia between 1945 and 1950, among whom a large number intended to take up secondary teaching, 2.9 o/o were black, 33 o/o were pardos and 63 o/o were white.

[555] Education, as one sees, is a very important factor in our city for the social ascent of colored people.

/72/ Religion

*563 794 The religious institutions of Bahia reflect the structure of the classes and the local social organization. The devout Catholics attend the same churches, mingle in the choir and at the communion table, independently of their "quality." In the solemn [796] festivals organized by the brotherhoods and the associations or carried out by the parishes in honor of their patron saints, one can see Whites, mulattoes, and Blacks gathered together in the places reserved at the high altar, along with the guests of honor, the "presidents of brotherhoods," and the "Maecenases" (festeiros) entrusted with the preparation and financing of these celebrations. • [788] Likewise, in the processions, men and women of all types carry the litters of the sacred images that march past, or crowd around them. In the sacred associations there is no longer any discrimination; [565] since, however, some of them are made up of people different

252 they produce. The juice which is squeezed out is saved, and starch is extracted from it to be used in pressing clothes. The nonpoisonous variety of manioc (aipim) is used to a much smaller extent. Usually the tuber is boiled in water and then eaten as though it were a potato, for it does not need any processing to render it edible.

241 463 Ten of the twenty-four gardeners concentrate on manioc, while the others raise bananas. Most of them also grow their own household subsistence crops, scattered among the manioc and bananas, such as corn, beans, squash, and often a few shoots of excellent tobacco. Many of them also produce a quarter or half acre of a heavy type of sugar cane (cana de chupar) which is stripped of its bark, cut into short pieces, and masticated, the pulp being spit out after the person has [146] sucked out the juice. Almost everyone indulges in this, and [825] the sugar which is absorbed is undoubtedly a great source of energy. The plots (roças) are fenced and protected by an ox [789] skull stuck on one of the fence posts to keep out the evil eye.

There are many gardeners to the west of the town who rent 241 their small plots from either the Engenho da Vila or the federal school. This area has not produced sugar cane for many 463 years, for it lacks the surface covering of massapê. These 554 gardeners are often called matutos ("hicks"), real backwoods- [427] men who get along on subsistence agriculture and seldom leave their rural neighborhood. They are as far removed from contact with modern civilization as anyone could be while living in the Recôncavo. They live in well-hidden, small houses of mud and thatch, and one can ride through this section without seeing anyone.

443 The peddlers (ambulantes) listed in Group 3 have their 463 houses in Vila Recôncavo but go from town to town selling their wares. While they do some trading at the fairs they also [608] cover a regular route independent of the fairs. Compadresco, the system of godparentship, is important to them, for the houses of such relations give them a base of operations in every town they visit. One of the three is a man who buys and sells jewelry, and the other two are women; one sells cloth for dresses and the other sweets (doces), peanuts, and dried shrimp. The latter is one of the famous street merchants (bahianas) of Salvador; she sits on a street corner before a portable table selling favorite Bahian snacks such as acarajé and abará. She goes to Salvador on the boat on Saturdays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays, returning to Vila Recôncavo the

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including Cachoeira, to put down an African insurrection, whose leader had been chosen a "king of the blacks" and when wounded and captured "carried a red flag, had on his head . . . . a crown, and over his shoulders an old-fashioned mantle of green velveteen on which had been embroidered a golden cock." An incident of this uprising was the successful resistance of a *quilombo* near Pirajá, a few miles distant from Bahia, to the attack of several *capitães do matto*[43a] who, in the mistaken belief that they had to deal with a small number of Negroes, sought without reinforcements to apprehend these fugitives and lost their lives in the attempt. A detachment of soldiers was required to dislodge the Africans.[44]

In 1827 a body of Yoruba slaves fled into the *matto* after sacking and setting fire to houses in the suburbs of the city. A police force sent in pursuit engaged the fugitives, killing or wounding eight of their number, but met with such resistance over a period of two days' skirmishing that it would have itself been wiped out had not a patrol of troops come to its rescue. The next year, following three separate revolts, slaveholders in the Reconcavo appealed to the governor for more effective police protection.

In 1835 the last and most serious revolt broke out, led again by Mohammedan Negroes, each of whom wore upon his person a *patuá*, or charm, presumed to protect the faithful against death in any form.[45] Bahia was at that time the [789]

[43a] "Bush Captains" hired to track down fugitive slaves.

[44] Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

[45] Padre Etienne Ignace Brasil, "Os Malês," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, LXXII, Part II (1909), 83. In São Salvador dos Campos, in the province of Rio de Janeiro, "restless slaves wearing plumes in their hats" were arrested, one of whom on being interrogated confessed that orders had been received from Bahia to revolt on the following Ash Wednesday (Alvares do Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 91).

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291 [565] Paris fashions largely dictate the nature of female attire among the upper classes at Bahia, but many black (177) women still wear the *vestimenta bahiana*. This costume is [301] composed of a *saia*, or very full skirt, of varying combinations of colors, which ordinarily measures some twelve to fifteen feet in circumference at the hem and is worn *bouffant*, spread by a heavily starched underskirt; a *bátá*, or long, loose-flowing white blouse which is ordinarily of cotton cloth but occasionally of silk, trimmed, in most cases, with wide lace, sometimes worn very loose at the neck and allowed to slip off one shoulder; a *pano da costa*, or long, heavy, striped cotton cloth, at times worn slung over the shoulder and pinned under the opposite arm, at times wrapped once or twice in a wide fold about the waist and tied rather tightly; a *torso*, or turban, of cotton or silk, bound about the head; *chinelas*, or strapless leather sandals with low heels; numerous necklaces of coral, cowries, or glass beads, with an occasional metal chain, often of silver; earrings of turquoise, coral, silver, or gold; and numerous [301] bracelets of cowries or of iron, copper, or other metal. The *balangandan*, formerly an important ornament, has disappeared.[11]

As an alternate to the *bátá* a white blouse is sometimes worn tucked inside the *saia*, and in place of the *pano da costa* a woolen or silken shawl is occasionally substituted. For

[532] [11] The *balangandan* (also known as *berenguenden*, *balançançan*, *cambaio*, or [789] *penca*) consisted of a gold or silver frame on which were hung gold or silver images of animals, birds, fowls, fish, flowers, parts of the human body, houses, household utensils, amulets (including gold or silver balls inclosing soil from a cemetery), bells, medallions with religious significance, angels, suns, moons, etc. It was worn on festive occasions, tied at the waist (see F. Marques dos Santos, "As balangandans," *Espelho*, April, 1936). Many impoverished families, [422] attracted by recent high prices of gold and silver, have disposed of these relics of a former splendor. A limited number may still be seen among the heirlooms of wealthy Bahians.

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The mau olhado, or "evil eye," 754
a magical power presumed in many parts of the world, [171]
including Europe, to be possessed, often unwittingly, by
certain individuals, is thought at Bahia to bring death
to plants, birds, and even small children whom the person
has coveted or, perhaps, merely admired. More natural 753
forces are the *ar do vento*, or "air of the wind," a cold draught 821
said to result in indigestion, deformity, insanity, or death; [826]
the *espinhela caida*, or "fallen breastbone," which presum-
ably brings on an emaciated condition of the body; and
sangue nova, or "new blood," thought to be responsible for
the breaking-out of a rash. Dew must not be allowed to fall 753
on the head. Certain diseases, like syphilis and leprosy, are
considered defects common to all men.[16] However, the per- [744]
sistent efforts of agencies like the Rockefeller Foundation [177]
have widely disseminated the idea that malaria results from
the bite of a mosquito.

The treatment or prevention of disease is the logical coun- 789
terpart of a magical theory of causation. Thus, members of 782
this section of the Bahian population attempt to control per-
sonal destiny through the use of charms or other magical
means or through the direct intervention of a deity, whose
favor is sought by the offering of gifts or the performance of
prescribed rituals. Thus, to counteract the influence of the 755
"evil eye," charms are worn, or pieces of the *Guiné*, *Arruda*, 824
or *Vassourinha Doce* plants are passed, to the accompani-
ment of magical words, over and about the affected person's
head.

goat may be killed, or a doll made and its neck pierced by a bit of wood. [754]
Either object is then placed in the doorway of the individual to be harmed
or in any other place where he is likely to pass, the one depositing the *feitiço*
calling out, as he drops it, the name of the person for whom harm is intended.

[16] "Syphilis," a black explained, "began with the world. Everyone has it, even horses, although it may never show up."

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• 789 head. The wearing of *patuás*, or written prayers, is presumed to "close the body" (*fechar o corpo*) against disease or accident. The nut known as *chapeu de Napoleão* ("Napoleon's hat"), if worn on a string about the neck, similarly is reputed to possess magical power.[37] A cord of deerskin passed over the affected area is presumed to cure erysipelas; a string of white beads worn about the neck of a mother is thought to increase the flow of her milk; a cord tied tightly about the waist of a pregnant woman will, it is believed, "keep the baby from going to the head"; and a stone in the hair is thought to retard delivery. Considered particularly efficacious in all cases of illness is the "*itá* of Xangô."[38]

782 755 "Prayers," or the use of magical words or phrases over an affected part of the body, are also extensively employed. A common belief is that the *pae de santo* can in this way cure snakebite.

782 [776] The direct intervention of a deity may be invoked as when presents are made to the *mães d'agua* (female deities who are presumed to inhabit bodies of water) to remove illness or misfortune or to assure future success. Thus, fisher-

[37] At the children's clinic a black mother brought in a child very ill. About his neck was a cord suspending a *chapeu de Napoleão*. To the physician's query, the mother replied, "They said it would make him well. Everyone told me to use it, and I didn't know."

755 778 [554] [38] *Itás* (Tupi equivalent of "rocks" or "stones") of Xangô, or, as they are also called, *pedras* of Santa Barbara, are thought to have fallen from heaven during thunderstorms. They are said to have penetrated into the earth seven *braças* (2.2 meters) and to have returned to the surface after seven years. The person so fortunate as to find one of these stones is considered a highly privileged individual. The *itá* is used by the *pae do santo* to crush the leaves of certain medicinal plants which are then put, together with the yolk of an egg, into a vessel and mixed, while an invocation in Nagô, known as *ciuiu*, is intoned. The stone is then covered with the crushed leaves and egg yolk and allowed to stand for a period of time. The liquid prepared in this way is considered to possess miraculous healing power.

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but also against all skin ailments, including leprosy. Particularly approachable is the deity to whom a person is dedicated. "This bad cut on my foot," remarked a *mãe de santo* dedicated to Xangô, "would not heal. So I talked it over with Xangô. He agreed to heal it, and told me what to use. It's now getting well; it's much better already."

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An individual troubled by continued ill-health, business difficulties, or even bad dreams may request of the fetish-cult priest the ritual of *lavágem das contas*, or "washing the beads." Divination is first resorted to in order to identify the *orixá* "responsible" for the difficulty. Then the beads sacred to this deity are immersed in water, a newly purchased basin being used for the purpose, and a handful of leaves also sacred to him are crushed and added. After a time, the beads are removed and washed with *sabão da costa* ("soap from the Coast"). Thus purified, they are given to the person suffering the ill fortune, who must subsequently keep them in a clay vessel and from time to time wear them about his neck.

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Considered one of the most effective methods of "removing" a disease or misfortune is the *troca da cabeça*, or "changing of heads," whose purpose is to transfer the disturbing influence from the afflicted person to another individual. The ritual varies. The afflicted one may have his head rubbed with a chicken or a pigeon, which, having thus acquired the evil influence, is then killed. Or an *ebó*, or *bozó*, as it is more commonly called, may be prepared,[31] and the affliction purposely transferred to another individual by leav-

[31] The *bozó* almost always includes a dead hen, popcorn, manioc meal with *azeite de dendê*, pieces of clothing from the one to be benefited, nickel or copper coins, certain African foods like *acassá*, *aberém*, and *acarajé*, and, if available, the African fruits, the *obí* and the *orobó*, of ritualistic significance.

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ing the *bozó* in a place where the intended victim is likely to step on it or otherwise touch it.[32] An animal may be "prepared with the *ebó*" so that whoever subsequently touches the animal will catch the illness or inherit the misfortune. If, however, one wishes to avoid transferring the evil to another person, he may do so and still rid himself of his affliction by leaving the *ebó* in a cemetery.

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If a *filha de santo* (ceremonial dancer of the fetish cult) would avoid illness or other misfortune, it is considered highly important that she observe all the taboos, especially those attaching to food and drink. A pregnant woman must avoid vegetables and all meats other than chicken; she must not join a funeral procession, since the spirit of the deceased might enter her child; and she must avoid a rose touching her bare breast, for otherwise the child, it is believed, will be born with a birthmark.[33]

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Charms may be of a specific nature like the *figa*[34] or the

[32] The affliction may, however, be transferred to someone toward whom no harm was originally intended if the individual placing the *ebó*, either ignorantly or with intention, fails to leave it in the designated place. The first person coming in physical contact with it will be affected. So widespread is this fear of the *ebó* that chauffeurs, even at the risk of an accident, will not run a wheel over one.

[33] Current folk medicines include: for syphilis, whale oil; for a toothache, pig or burro dung smoked in a clay pipe; for a cough, sweetened tea prepared by boiling a termite nest; for sore throat, tea made by boiling a live lizard whose body is then removed from the vessel and buried with its head toward the new moon. Native herbs are extensively employed, particularly by *curandeiros*, or they may be administered at the hands of anyone "instructed" by a "manifesting" deity, a common occurrence in those *candomblés* known as *de caboclo* (a portion of whose ritual is probably of native Indian origin) and in spiritualist centers like that in Alto do Bom Gosto, in Calcada, one of whose directors remarked, "So many *caboclos* 'manifest themselves' because they know so well how to heal with herbs."

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[34] The *figa* is an image, usually made from wood, of a closed fist with the thumb inserted between the index and middle fingers.

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oxhorn, both of which are employed for protection against the *mau olhado*, or "evil eye." Or they may be of a more general nature like the letters *J M J* (Jesus, Maria, José), or the *signo de Salomão* ("sign of Solomon")[15] either or both of which may be painted or carved on the door of the house or even tattooed on an individual's arm, leg, or chest; or a small pouch worn around the neck and containing either a *patuá* (presumed to protect against evil, especially the machinations of an enemy or death in battle)[16] or a small piece of garlic, "Danda root," *mil homens*, or *arruda*, a clove, or merely some object sacred to the *orixá* to whom the individual is dedicated. Similarly employed are such magical practices as the sprinkling of sea water in the four corners of the house, the emptying through the front door of a basin of water left overnight in the center of the floor, or the burning regularly at six o'clock in the evening of incense to which, occasionally, sulphur and pieces of oxhorn are added until the house is filled with magically potent smoke.

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In the fetish cult, divination is commonly resorted to for such purposes as the identification of an unknown *orixá* who has "manifested himself" in human form, the determination of such matters as the eligibility of a prospective *ogan*, or male functionary of the cult, the cause of a troubling illness, or the proper course to pursue in some contemplated action. Divination is also employed to foretell future events, particularly the outcome of business or amorous ventures, jour-

[15] A six-pointed star at whose apex appears a cross.

[16] During the insurrection of 1835, the Malês, as we have seen, wore *patuás* consisting either of prayers or of verses from the Koran, written or printed in Arabic characters. They were presumed to protect against death in any form. For photographs of some of these see Nina Rodrigues, *Os africanos no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1932), p. 98, Figs. 1, 2, 3, and 4.

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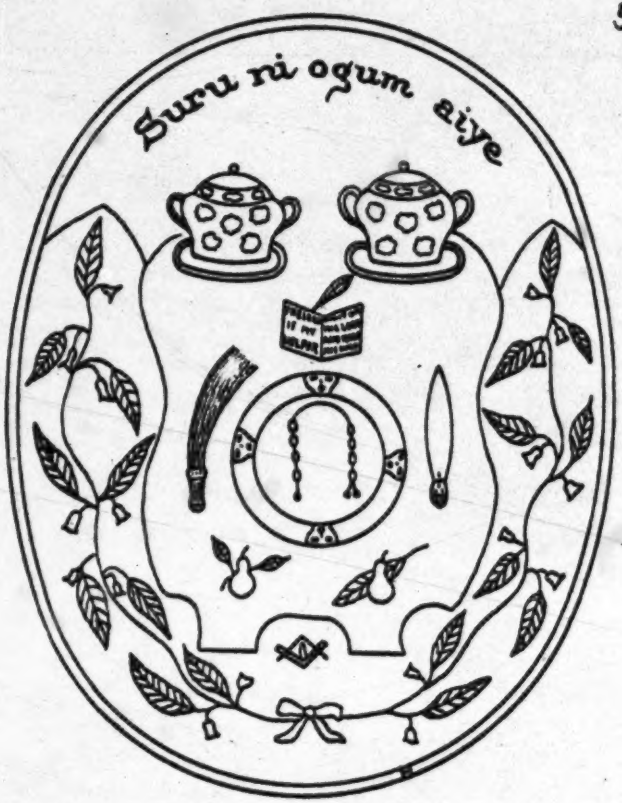

SYMBOLS OF THE SOOTHSAYER'S ART PAINTED ON THE WALL OF A NEGRO DWELLING IN MATATU

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neys, etc.[37] Oracles are invoked by way of such magical intermediaries as the *obí* and the *orobó*, or the *opélé-ifá* (a chain of thin disks), or they may be obtained directly from an *orixá* who speaks during the "possession" of a *filha* or a *pae de santo* by way of the mouth of the one "possessed."[38]

Contact between the living and the dead is believed not only to be possible but to occur regularly. Hence, the prac-

[37] The serious character of a transaction of this sort puts it in a different category from certain other magical acts, common to all classes, which have the character of a game, being similar, for example, to practices attaching to our festival of Halloween. Thus, one may take a glass, "bless" it three times, put in it the white of an egg, and, holding it over a fire, again thrice "bless" it; or partially fill a basin with water and permit the tallow from a lighted candle to drip into it; or stick a knife up to the hilt in a banana tree and leave it until morning. The patterns formed on the glass, the water, and the knife, respectively, are presumed to indicate the initials of one's future spouse. A similar image is presumed to appear in the dreams of one under whose pillow has been left a freshly husked ear of corn.

[38] Other magical practices of this sort are: the placing of crushed charcoal under a rock to expedite the recovery of a lost article, the burying of the third of a rosary to stop rain; also, it is commonly believed that a hummingbird inside the house, or the singing of an *odívem-quevem*, announces the coming of guests; that the appearance of an owl, or of an *ouriço cacheiro*, foretells death; that a black butterfly is a sign of misfortune; that a katydid with dark eyes brings unpleasant news, while one with light eyes brings favorable news; that seeing the new moon for the first time between the branches of a tree or anywhere partially obscured is a sign of misfortune throughout the coming month; that the showing of money to the new moon when seen for the first time will assure no want of income for the next thirty days; that ill fortune will attend one who dwells in a house on the corner of a street, enters a house with the right foot, or opens an umbrella inside a house. Still other "signs" of misfortune are: the toad; the black cat (or the "ghost" of a cat); the *anum* perched in a tree near the house; the *jacumim;* the hummingbird, if black; the katydid, if it has a black mouth (if the katydid has a red mouth, happiness is in store for the observer). In the opinion of numerous people, mutton must not be eaten, since it is "the *lamb of God* who taketh away the sins of the world." Sheep are animals which Christians must not eat.

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put many beads of O Senhor do Bomfim on him, and a *figa;* they covered him with ornaments.

The *figa* is to free one from the evil eye. For example: I have a dress. You think it is pretty, and you want it very much; something then happens to it. Or a *sabiá*[10] sings beautifully. You are visiting its owner; you want it, you want it very badly. You leave, and it dies or something else happens to it because you cannot have it. This is the evil eye. One needs to "pray it away" with *Guiné, Arruda,* or *Vassourinha Doce.* An oxhorn in the garden will keep it away from plants.

Then the man went around with hands folded, "taking the blessing" from everyone there. Seven children went out with lighted candles. Then he got up entirely well. Today he has a *casa de candomblé.* He is now very old. His *orixá* is Ogum de Gêge. The *pao de santo* who treated him is of Ogum de Mina.

My guardian angel [*anjo de guarda*] is Xangô. Ogum is a soldier, Xangô is of the thunder and also of the lightning. He is Santa Barbara of the Irmandade. All the *orixás* are equal. But Oxalá directs everything. Nanan is his wife. In the Gêge language she is called Odé.

My sister, she died, burned up. She caught all on fire. He who killed her is Oxóssi; it was he who killed her. My sister is buried in the Quinta dos Lazaros.[10] She burned to death because she disobeyed him. He sent a message and she paid no attention to it. Her husband had a *saveiro.*[11] Every trip which he made she went along in the boat. She had no children. Everywhere he went, she went too. When, one time, the *orixá* "arrived" and told her that she should not travel on the water, she didn't take his words very seriously; she laughed the matter off, "gave it a *muxóxó.*" But about a week afterward, she went with her husband in a *saveiro* across the Bay to Bahia. Between Itaparica and Salinas the *saveiro* caught afire. It had powder on it and the powder exploded. Parts of the *saveiro* were ripped off and hurled into the water. She was surrounded by fire. When they finally reached her, she was badly burned. They brought her to the Santa Isabel Hospital,

[10] A Brazilian bird which can be trained to sing tunes.

[10] A Bahian cemetery.

[11] A sturdy sailboat used on Todos os Santos Bay and its contributory rivers to transport light articles of commerce.

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DANGEROUS *CANDOMBLES*

Education may perhaps be the most certain means of eradicating harmful customs. But when these customs are linked with the persistent beliefs of African fetichism and constitute outrageous attacks upon the moral and physical well-being of those who practice them, it becomes necessary to insist upon immediate and complete suppression. This can be done in no way except by police action, energetic and persistent.

And, in *A Tarde* for December 9, 1935, appeared the following complaint:

THE CITY THAT GOD FORGOT

Scenes which Degrade and Depress . . . . The Revived *Candomblés* . . . . *Despachos* Even in the Heart of the City . . . .

The above looks like a movie title. But it is not. Our capital really is a city forgotten by . . . . God. . . . .

Your reporter . . . . has set down in his notebook curious scenes which reflect discredit upon our civilization; things which . . . . continue on for the eyes not only of those who live here but also of those who visit us from foreign places.

Bahia already has the reputation of being the city of *candomblés*, the paradise of the *macumbas*. However, these used to be localized in fixed zones where the devotees of Oxalá and Yemanjá beat their drums and "fell into the *santo*." Now they begin to encroach upon the most frequented streets, and the African cult is to be seen even in the best residential areas.

Your reporter verified this fact last Sunday night in the *bairro* of Barra, an elegant and aristocratic suburb. Here is to be found Grenfeld Street, very close to the Avenida Oceanica. And on this very street is a *candomblé*.

Happily there is no noise of drums. But palms are used instead, which beat without ceasing until day dawns. And whenever anyone makes an inquiry, the *pae de santo* insists that he has a license, and continues. . . . .

One morning not long ago, your reporter was passing in front of the

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4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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State Treasury building, a spot very much frequented. A *bozó* had been left there and still remained exposed to the curiosity of all who passed.

A black hen, three copper coins, yellow *farofia*, a cloth doll, stuck full of pins, a piece of a man's shirt, and other *bugigangas* [trinkets].

The thing was there until midday. This is no uncommon occurrence, but one which is frankly deplorable. That in the heart of our city, so close to the Rua Chile, *despachos* are made to Exû is, to say the least, disgusting.

[364] In the same newspaper sometime later (June 10, 1937), under the title, "A Specialist in Sport *Bozós*, *Pae de santo* Manoelzinho Is the Worst Enemy of the Limpeza Publica [Street Cleaning Department]," this complaint appeared:

A short time ago the *macumbeiro* known as Manoelzinho took up his residence in a *roça* at No. 256 Cruz do Cosme, and since that time his *bozós* have led to continuous complaints from dwellers along that road and from those who chance to pass that way.

At the side of the road just below the *roça* is a *loco* tree, that species so much preferred for fetishistic practices. Here *bozós* accumulate from day to day until they constitute a veritable mountain of refuse in which may be found an increasing number of dead fowls.

We are informed that this Manoelzinho, who is a *pae de santo* with considerable prestige, is a specialist in sport *bozós*. For it is said that among those who consult him are certain members of the different soccer clubs. Recently a policeman, on the eve of a great game at Graça, noted in one of these *bozós* the initials "T. V." which are the same as those of a well-known athlete.

Since the Street Cleaners never pass along Cruz do Cosme, the *bozós* keep polluting the atmosphere and obliging those who pass by to cover their noses with handkerchiefs.

To whom shall we appeal? Who will do something about this?

798 794 829 However, more characteristically, the Bahian identified with European customs and traditions adopts toward the *candomblé* a tolerant attitude. While he looks upon it as "ignorant fetishism," he ordinarily accepts it as "an African institution," which, in the words of a student at the Faculty

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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8. Religion

[249] DURING COLONIAL and empire times, religion occupied a large part of the lives of the landed aristocracy. The town of Vila Recôncavo had a Franciscan convent, a large mother church of the parish of São Gonçalo, and the chapel of the [793] Third Order of Franciscans. In the rural area of the community nearly every plantation had its own chapel, which formed part of the owner's house, and its own chaplain to care for the spiritual needs of the landowning families and their [794] slaves. Much of the wealth of landowners was used to build magnificent churches, to sponsor religious processions, and to maintain religious brotherhoods for laymen.

178 In this century, however, Catholicism is no longer the official state religion, the landowners no longer support the • 79 town church as they used to, and the Third Order of Franciscans has died out in Vila Recôncavo. Today members of the *[565] upper class (Class A) confine their support to the churches they attend in Salvador, leaving the local church to the mercy of God and to the gente pequena of the town. Visits from the Franciscans to celebrate Mass and give instruction for first communion have taken the place of the plantation chaplain and chapel. The priests today say that the people of the community have no intellectual basis for understanding religious teachings or beliefs. Consequently, they say that they now seek only to have as many as possible conform to the outer forms and rituals of the church and refrain from attending the African cults.

175 In addition to the formal structure of the Catholic Church there arose, especially in the nineteenth century, many houses 794 of African cultism, called in this region candomblé. The ad-

herents of these cults, female slaves and former slaves for the most part, followed a lengthy routine to become practitioners in the various cult houses and spent large sums of money, according to legend, on the required bracelets, necklaces, and clothing.

Today, however, the cult priests and priestesses have the same complaint as the Catholic priests. They say that young people no longer have the understanding or the patience necessary to prepare for devotion in the cult houses. The older priestesses deplore the degeneration of some of these houses and the admission of Indian spirits, which are now displacing the African gods.

Spiritualism has recently entered the community. So far it has been limited to few people in the community, although it is very popular in Salvador.

The use of the supernatural as described in Willems' Cunha[1] does not take place in Vila Recôncavo. In Cunha the saints are asked to send rain whenever it appears that the crops are in danger. But in Vila Recôncavo, which lies in a semitropical rain area, there is no need for such invocations. Besides, these are large-scale economic crops, not subsistence produce on which the people depend directly for their living.

The Catholic Church in Vila Recôncavo

During the colonial period each religious parish was carefully delineated and conserved, but later political divisions cut across parish lines. This has made the use of colonial statistics very difficult. During colonial and empire times the church was the main census organ, but since parishes and counties do not coincide in their outlines the statistics are little help today in comparing the present with the past. Each parish built a mother church (matriz) in the parish town. Each of these churches had a patron saint, who was also the patron of the parish, and a resident priest or priests.

In the town of Vila Recôncavo, the county seat, a mother church was built, with São Gonçalo as its patron saint; also constructed was the Franciscan convent, connected with an opulent Third Order. As the Recôncavo entered its long per-

1. Emilio Willems, Cunha: Tradição e transição en uma cultura rural do Brasil (Sao Paulo, 1947), Chapter 7.

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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•79 iod of decline, the parishes suffered financially; the buildings fell into a state of disrepair, and the parish priests were no longer replaced, for there was no money to support them. The Franciscans in town also suffered materially, and their personnel greatly diminished. About the time the empire ended and the republic began, the flow of young men and women into the religious orders ceased. At the end of the nineteenth century there were no longer enough Brazilian Franciscans to carry on the work in the convent, and a contingent of German Franciscans was sent to Brazil. Since that time, the Franciscans in Vila Recôncavo have been of German birth. Today there are only four Friars in Vila Recôncavo, three ordained priests and one lay brother.

One by one the county parishes were turned over to the Franciscans as the parishes became too poor to support their own priests, until today the three ordained Franciscans must
79 care for the spiritual needs of five parishes. These include, in addition to the convent itself and the five parish churches, thirty smaller churches and chapels, all of which serve a population of over fifteen thousand people scattered over a wide area accessible only by canoe, foot, and horseback. Of these many churches, the only one which has a daily Mass is the Franciscan convent in the town of Vila Recôncavo, for there is always a priest there while the other two are traveling. On Sundays three Masses are celebrated in town: one in the convent, one in the mother church, and one in the small chapel in the lower part of town, commonly known as the fishermen's chapel. Only one town in all five parishes has a scheduled monthly Mass. This special effort is being made because, in the words of the priest, "There is a large religious movement there." In general it is understood between the parish people and the priests that when a town or smaller settlement wants a Mass celebrated the people fix a date for it and notify the convent. If possible, a priest fulfills the engagement, carrying his own robes, Book, Host, and chalices with him.

In addition to saying Mass, the priests are called upon to bless new houses, to give last rites to the sick, to take communion to the aged and infirm at home, and to teach the young
(871) children their catechism. Catechism is taught in the schools, and once a week the priest journeys to each school to teach. Near the end of the school year, First Communion is celebrated in the school or, if on a plantation, in the owner's house. The young children receive Communion first, and af-

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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ter them any others who want to receive it. Through the year few people from the rural area go to hear Mass in town, unless they have asked for a special service in honor of their patron saint or in the memory of a dead relative. They usually wait for the priest's visit to their own locality. The same is true of weddings and baptisms, which are often held up pending the arrival of the priest. 790

In case of death, the corpse is buried within twenty-four hours. Each parish has its own cemetery, and the relatives and friends of the dead carry the coffin there for burial. In the parish of Vila Recôncavo, the cemetery lies just outside the town. People from this parish, as well as those from the town itself, take the coffin to the convent before burial to be blessed, for there is always a priest there. Then they carry the coffin to the cemetery. In the other parishes the dead are buried without the benefit of a blessing, which will however take place on the second of November, when priests try to visit each cemetery and bless all the dead. 79 764

The many duties which have fallen upon the Franciscans have made it almost impossible for them to continue the type of life prescribed for those who enter an order. It is very difficult for them to attend the retreats to which they should go; there is little or no time for them to study or contemplate, or to teach, for they have been faced with the discouraging reality of trying to keep religion alive in a population too large and scattered for proper contact to be maintained. In 1941 Vila Recôncavo was described by the provincial canonical visitors as "one of the greatest crosses of our Province, because of the five decadent parishes entrusted to it."[2] The same book speaks constantly of the "deplorable indifference" and "religious coldness" of the people of Vila Recôncavo. In 1949 the statistics of religious activities were as follows: 333 baptisms (184 legitimate and 149 illegitimate children), 27 weddings, 200 First Communions, 8,292 general Communions, and 80 Communions for sick people. 792 794 795 [162]

As of today there are no religious brotherhoods in Vila Recôncavo. The last to pass out of existence was the Brotherhood of the Most Sacred Sacrament, which was closed upon the death of its treasurer early in this century. The Third Order of Franciscans, formally closed in 1902, was reopened in 792

2. Livro de cronica do convento, Vila Recôncavo (MS in Franciscan Convent, Vila Recôncavo).

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Hail Mary. Some women say this process must be repeated three times in a row, others that it must be done each Friday for three weeks. This is a protective prayer "to take away the evil eye" (para tirar mau olhado). The thread which is used is taken away and carefully disposed of, by the person who prayed.

Conflict and Differential Participation

The attitude of the priests toward conditions in their parishes is one of resignation. They realize that it is physically impossible for them to take religion to all the people or even to the majority of them. Also, they are disheartened by the poor intellectual basis the people have for understanding the doctrine of the church. They do not discourage the group prayers, nor do they encourage them; they simply let them exist. But they vigorously combat African cultism. For several years the fishermen's chapel was closed because of the cult activities of so many of the women who attended the chapel. Recently, however, the Franciscan superior reopened the chapel, feeling that it was better not to exclude the entire fisherman population from the church because a few of them also participated in African cults. For it had turned out that when the chapel was closed all the people in the lower part of town refused to go up the hill to the convent and therefore passed several years without attending Mass, confessing, or taking Communion. In sermons given during Mass an opportunity to condemn cultism is never lost, even though it may have little effect. The local church policy toward cultism depends upon the feelings of each new superior and whether he will tolerate it. The priest who reopened the chapel became a much-loved person in the town, at least by the lower classes, for he realized how few people in the total population indulge in cult activities compared to the many who go to watch. The caretaker of one of the rural chapels is also a cult leader on his plantation, but relations between him and the priests are cordial. Although most of the female devotees attend the Masses for their particular saints, the priestess of the cult house never goes to church and avoids meeting the priests if possible.

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Religion is more a part of the women's lives than of the men's, and there are more women than men at every Mass. There are a few strongly religious women (beatas) in the town

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4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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them odd stories which were calculated to strike their imagination."[58]

Public opinion expected of masters the acceptance of an offer made to manumit an infant on the occasion of his baptism.[59] It also became customary, when marriages were being solemnized in the master's family, to free one or two favorite slaves.[60] Masters frequently declined the money proffered by a Negro for his purchase and granted his freedom without payment.[61] Slaves of the religious orders, it is said, considered themselves to belong to the saints themselves and were never sold.[62] The law adopted in 1809 to protect the property of sugar planters against attachment for debt also provided that slaves need not be sold separately from an estate to satisfy a creditor's claims. Thus the master could not be forced to dispose of his slaves, unless the debt amounted to the value of the entire estate; and, as Koster has pointed out,[63] the slave in this way was advanced, in some degree at least, toward the condition of a serf.

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[58] *Ibid.*

[59] "Another custom which was advantageous to the slave was that of *alforrias na pia*, which was accomplished with the insignificant amount of 5 to 50 milreis and never was refused; this custom became very common, especially when the child had a light skin" (Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 255). Koster gives the price in Pernambuco early in the nineteenth century as £5 and says that "in this manner, a considerable number of persons are set at liberty; for the smallness of the price enables many freemen who have had connections with female slaves to manumit their offspring; and instances occur of the sponsors performing this . . . . act. Not infrequently female slaves apply to persons of consideration to become sponsors to their children, in the hope that the pride of these will be too great to allow of their godchildren remaining in slavery" (*op. cit.*, I, 195–96).

[60] Frank Bennett, *Forty Years in Brazil* (London, 1914), p. 111.

[61] Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 256. [62] *Ibid.* [63] *Op. cit.*, I, 229 n.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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African costumes, songs, and dances.[87] The Catholic church was never in haste, it seems, to assimilate the Brazilian Negro but adopted instead a patient and tolerant policy which in the end was eminently successful. Early in the nineteenth century Koster wrote from Pernambuco, "No compulsion is resorted to, to make the Negroes embrace the habits of their masters; but their ideas are insensibly led to imitate and adopt them."[88]

As might be expected, the transition from fetish-cult ideas and practices to Catholic ritual and belief was marked by intermediary stages in which elements of both religions coexisted in the Negroes' thought and practice, and the objects of one cult were identified with objects of a similar nature in the other. Hence, the extensive identification, for instance, of several African *orixás* with certain Catholic saints (as we shall later see in greater detail) and the coexistence of African and European forms in the principal religious and popular festivals.

Thus, in 1852, a visitor wrote from Rio de Janeiro:

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> For many nights past, Gloria Hill . . . . has echoed till a late hour with the songs, the wild music, and the tread of the dance in the Negroes' favorite amusements; and yesterday afternoon, I accidentally became a spectator of a grand gathering of this kind. It was "Twelfth" or "King's Day," as sometimes called—being that commemorative of the adoration of the Magi in the stable of Bethlehem; and it is a chief festival with the Negroes. . . . . When about half way up the Larangeiras . . . . my attention was arrested by a large gathering of Negroes within an enclosure by the wayside, engaged in their native dances, accompanied by the wild and rude music brought with them from Africa. . . . . Many of the principal performers, both among the dancers and musicians, were dressed in the most . . . . grotesque manner. . . . . A majority, if not all the performers, were baptized

[87] *Ibid.*

[88] *Op. cit.*, I, 200.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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help to satisfy the basic human needs for recognition and response. The resolution of all sorts of personal problems by way of the advice and counsel of the priest, priestess, or "manifesting" *orixá*, relieves personal strain and tension. And the reassuring affirmations regarding personal destiny which the body of belief affords, particularly at such times of crisis as the death of an intimate friend or relative, contribute to the apparently universal need of a sense of security.

Moreover, cult experiences serve as cogent means of maintaining group morale and enforcing group sanctions. The genuinely wholesome character of the Bahian *Africanos*, with the exception perhaps of certain individuals connected with recently organized *caboclo* centers, stands in sharp contrast to the personal disorganization which, according to report, characterizes the Rio de Janeiro Negro, whose *candomblé* (known locally as the *macumba*) is now in such a state of disintegration that many unwholesome and even vicious practices have crept into its ritual.

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The Catholic church at Bahia, by exercising almost infinite patience and tact, has now incorporated into its organization all members of the Bahian fetish cults. Even the leaders of the *seitas* regularly attend Mass and, on occasion, participate, together with their entire *candomblé* personnel, in functions of the church. Thus, each year at an appointed time, *mãe de santo* Anninha takes her *filhas de santo*, dressed in their *bahiana* costumes, and her *ogans*, and attends Mass in Bomfim Church; as similarly does the *caboclo mãe de santo*, Sabina, in the *igreja* of Santo Antonio da Barra. Anninha, like certain other cult officials, is a member of a Catholic order. So far has the identification of many elements of the fetish tradition with Catholic ideology and practice now gone that to the simple minds of cult members

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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there is little distinction between them. The *pae de santo* of a prominent Congo *seita* recently remarked, "I do everything (i.e., I carry on all cult rituals and ceremonies) in the name of the church."[16]

On the fiftieth anniversary of the death of the father of a well-known and widely respected *babalaô*, a special commemorative Mass was arranged in one of the city's principal churches. During the ceremony, a circle of friars who were standing with lighted candles about the bier was joined by an outer circle of Negro men, each bearing a funeral torch. Although the friars were probably unaware of the fact, the blacks were all *ogans* from the *candomblé* of *mãe de santo* Anninha. In the audience were more than a hundred important personages from the fetish world, including *babalaôs*, *paes* and *mães de santo*, *ogans*, and *filhas*. Said the *babalaô* whose father was being thus honored, "Last night at the *terreiro* we danced all night the African funeral dances for my father."

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In the minds of cult members several of the more important African *orixás*, as we have seen, have come to be identified with certain Catholic saints. Thus, Ogun, the *orixá* of war, is now identified with Santo Antonio; Oxóssi, the *orixá* of the hunt, with São Jorge; Oxalá, who to most members of the *candomblé* is "the greatest of the *orixás*," with O Senhor do Bomfim, who is, among the lower classes at least, the most important Catholic saint at Bahia;[17]

[16] This point of view obviously is not that of the Catholic church itself.

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[17] In Bomfim Church, which, with two rows of royal palms dominating its approach, occupies majestically the crown of a hill in Itapagipe, is a special room whose walls and ceiling are completely covered with photographs or plaster casts of crippled or diseased limbs or other parts of the body which have been, it is thought, miraculously cured of disease or other infirmary by the direct intervention of the saint. So great is his reputation for healing that thousands of people from miles around visit this shrine every year.

[SALVADOR]

/22 cont./

The generally gentle and humane treatment that the owners reserved for their slaves and the efforts made by the Catholic clergy, from the beginning of the slave trade, to try to incorporate the /23/ Africans into the Catholic religion played an important role in the establishment of good relations between races in Bahia as throughout Brazil. Contrary to what occurred in the other colonial nations, where the aborigines and the imported slaves were kept in a state of segregation, like unassimilable "savages," in Brazil the natives and the Blacks were baptized, catechized, and admitted into the Church as men. Thus, numerous slaves, baptized Negroes, were no longer considered "beasts" and became "Christians," with the same title as the European colonists, having to endure neither hostility nor religious discrimination. They were taught the Christian doctrine, and the preachers endeavored to speak to them in their languages, chiefly in nagô, which had become a sort of lingua franca in which the Africans of different origins were able to understand one another. They intermarried; their marriage having been consecrated by the Church, this protected them when their masters intended to separate the spouses or sell one of the partners; they received the sacraments; they acted as witnesses in religious proceedings and participated as acolytes in religious ceremonies; they marched in the processions, carrying the standards and emblems of their brotherhoods; they were buried in the Christian cemeteries, the owners of slaves being obliged to call the priest in time to assist the dying. No one pretends by that to claim that their lives were free from suffering or that the Negroes were thus completely integrated in Catholicism. The clergy, the owners, and the civil authorities always allowed them some freedom concerning certain proceedings of their pagan cults and never forced them to embrace the official religion. They likewise permitted them to amuse themselves in their way by dances, songs, ceremonies (batuques), banquets in the manner of those of their countries of origin. From that comes this Catholicism somewhat mixed with fetishist beliefs and practices that constitutes the religion of a large part of the colored people of Bahia (1).

1. Roger Bastide, "Religion and the Church in

[SALVADOR]

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Brazil," in Brazil, Portrait of Half a Continent, p. 334.

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Because of crossbreeding and other sociobiological factors, the darkest group of black phenotype was gradually absorbed by ethnic blending; the Whites increased at a slightly faster rhythm, while the number of métis registered in the statistics as pardos rose and gave birth finally, as a result of the mixture, to a group in which European ancestry predominated (2).

2. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 417.

"Among our ancestors there were already creoles of "clean belly" (barriga limpa). Their children, being themselves /24/ children of lighter men, tended progressively toward the color of their fathers. Perhaps Bahia is a city that contains many female Blacks and métisses of barriga limpa. Everybody remarks that we are moving toward a population totally of mixed blood but of white appearance (1)."

1. J. Valadares, op. cit., p. 91.

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In consulting the death certificates recorded between 1897 and 1938 (2),

2. A. Rabelo Leite, "A tuberculose do preto na Bahia /The tuberculosis of the Black in Bahia/"; Cesar de Araujo, Anais do Iº Congresso Nacional de Tuberculose /Annals of the First National Tuberculosis Congress/, Vol. I, 1930; see also E. F. Frazier, "The Negro Family in Bahia, Brazil," American Sociological Review, Vol. VII, No. 4, 1942, p. 467.

one can see that the proportional quantities of each type varies in our city as shown below:

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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palm flat in horizontal position in contrast to a vertical placement for indicating the height of a lower animal.[10]

Although one is not likely to find any Bahian black who has not been given at baptism a "Christian name," nicknames are very common, and many individuals are much better known by them than by their given names. Among such *apelidos* one will occasionally discover terms of probable African derivation; for instance, Okê, Bábá Cumdê, Cobê, Oum, Tau-édê, and Au-weh, all nicknames of members of a local labor union; or, among personages in the fetish world, such names as: Manoelzinho de Oxóssi, Lourenço Lemba, Maria de Tempo, Senhora de Yemanjá, João de Zázé, and Flaviano Cavungo, each of which recalls the African *orixá* to which the individual in question is dedicated.

Exercising considerable prestige among a portion of the Bahian population is the *babalaô*, or *olhador*, whose primary function, it seems, is to foretell the future; the *curandeiro*, who by means of herbs, prayers, and other magical manipulations seeks both to treat and to prevent disease; and the *feiticeiro*, or "witch doctor," who, for a price, works black magic. The office of the *babalaô* is occasionally exercised by the *pae de santo*, or priest of the fetish cult, although his function is more particularly that of supervising the rituals and public ceremonies of the cult and overseeing the sacred properties. To some extent he also exercises the function of a *curandeiro*.

[10] A form of greeting recalled by older blacks but rarely used today is as follows: If the individuals are social equals, each lifts his hands, palms outward, and grasps the hands of the other in such a way that the fingers of the one are interlaced with the fingers of the other, after which the "*ogan* grip" is exchanged; if not social equals, the individual of greater prestige places his right hand over the closed hands of the other.

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346 by a large and sumptuous church, in which the first Mass was celebrated in 1722. The magnificence of the church is still present, although the original altars have been replaced by
[532] new ones. Exquisite tiles depicting the life of St. Anthony, to whom the church is dedicated, line the sides of the church. The floors are of marble, and the wooden ceilings are painted in oils. It is said that the marble and the painted ceilings were
[322] brought from Portugal. The woodwork in the choir loft and sacristy is beautiful hand-worked rosewood. The clock in the
[805] bell tower which rings the hour and half-hour is still the town timepiece, its sound reaching far out over the Bay. Under the marble floor, between the altar and the communion rail, are
[764] the tombs of the early families of Vila Recôncavo. The names inscribed on the tombs constitute a roster of families now scattered throughout the nation.

It is not known exactly when the Tertiary Order of Franciscans was first formed in Vila Recôncavo, but it too has left
175 its mark on the face of the town, for it constructed another
• 792 large church and two-story building at the side of the convent.
346 The chronicler of the convent in the early 1900's wrote:

> Of the epoch of the formation of the Tertiary Order and the construction of the church and buildings nothing remains, not a document exists, with the exception of one book, consisting of the elections, offices, and résolutions of the Order. This book was begun in 1853 and ended in 1866. On the ceiling of the church appears the date 1751, in white paint, which seems to be of the original workmanship, and at the side of it can be seen in black paint "repaired in 1844." The lands of the Order are known only through the tradition of the people, since no document exists.[6]

If the date 1751 can be taken as the date of the construction of the church of the Tertiary Order, it can be assumed that the Order existed in Vila Recôncavo some time before this date, at least early in the 1700's. These additions to the convent were the last of the noble constructions in the town of Vila Recôncavo and took place at the end of the town's flourishing period. They were the last public expression of grandeur in the

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6. Author's translation.

county and among the first to fall into decline and extinction in the days following the sugar boom. The remaining buildings of the Order are now used for quite a different purpose, which will be discussed later.

The first half of the eighteenth century saw the final flourishing of Vila Recôncavo and the beginning of its fall into obscurity. By 1700 the town was a thriving urban center--the newly created seat of local government, a military post, a highly active religious center, and the scene of the local courts of justice. In addition to large public buildings, imposing private residences dotted the streets, for many of the plantation owners constructed large houses in the town, which they used as stopping places in their journeys to and from their plantations and Salvador. Then as now, however, Vila Recôncavo was not the main center of attraction for the planters and their families, most of whom had houses in the capital where they spent the rainy seasons. Nevertheless, the presence of their large and ornate town houses gave a certain air of distinction and prosperity to the town.

The story of the decline of the town of Vila Recôncavo is symptomatic of what happened to many other towns in the region at a later date. Vilhena connects the decadence of Vila Recôncavo with the creation of the administrative center of Centro in 1727.[7] Until that time Centro had been a sítio (terminal designation for a small town), created in 1608. Toward the end of the seventeenth century the best lands of the Recôncavo, situated in what is now the county of Purificação, came into use as a result of the cessation of Indian attacks and of improvement in the machinery used in the plantations. Sugar mills powered by water no longer held as great an advantage as they had previously; over a hundred years of sugar-cane operation had pretty well stripped the littoral of the firewood necessary for continued high production; and by this time the coastal regions no longer held room for expansion. As the colonists pushed farther inland from Centro they found an abundance of the rich massapê lands and sufficient firewood for the needs of many plantations, and soon the number of inland sugar mills surpassed that of the coast.

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7. Luís dos Santos Vilhena, Notícias soteropolitanas e brasílicas, 1802, ed. Braz do Amaral (Salvador, 1922), p. 502.

[Town Life]

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The majority of people in Group 1 live in the older part of Vila Recôncavo, often in the old colonial sobrados, and they rarely descend the hill to the part of town inhabited by the fishermen. Indeed, they mix little with people of the town, and there is almost no social life within the group itself. Parties are expensive, and visiting from house to house in the evening is not common. Vila Recôncavo has no such pastime as the evening walk in the square. This group is seldom united on anything, especially local politics; however, the more distant the question the more apt the group is to be of one mind. [361] [574]

Most families in this group send their children to school in Salvador, go there on holidays whenever possible, receive the city newspaper and the Diario Oficial,[2] and shop in the city as often as they can. [871] [204] [443]

Vila Recôncavo differs in one respect from most other rural Brazilian communities: it has no parish priest. The mother church of the parish (matriz) has long been unable to support its own priest, and the duties which would normally fall to such a person are performed by the Franciscans, whose convent is in Vila Recôncavo. The priests remain within the convent, taking little or no part in the social life of the town. 793 [792]

It will be noted that there was no mention of a drug store in Vila Recôncavo. There was none until 1945, when a nonprofit organization, the Institute of Vila Recôncavo, was opened. This is a medical post supported by federal, state, municipal, and private funds; its director is Friar Innocence, a Franciscan lay brother. The institute is housed in the spacious old buildings of the extinct Third Order of Franciscans, and consists of a pharmacy, an infants' milk and soup distributing center, a maternity post, a dental post, and other medical facilities. The dentist, who has modern equipment, is competent in his work. For several years a doctor was in daily attendance, dividing his time between the institute and the petroleum workers' camp. As a result of a complicated local political conflict, he left the institute, however, and Friar Innocence arranged for a visiting doctor to come from Centro and spend two days a week in Vila Recôncavo. Three town girls were sent to Salvador to study nursing and midwifery, so there is competent medical assistance. 743 [444] [792] 743 759

2. The Diario Oficial is the newspaper in which government laws and regulations are published. As a rule, it is the publication of a regulation which makes it become a law.

lending money or even giving some to the overseer. Some of the members of Class B even acquire property in Salvador or in Centro, such as a house or houses which they may rent. It is the possession of this material wealth, plus the position of responsibility and authority, the greater proximity to the owner, and the invariably legalized status of the man's family which distinguish him from those below, placing him in a class by himself. In the case of the higher-placed white-collar workers of the factory, education is also important.

In material possessions other than those already listed, Class B differs considerably from the other two classes, having much less than Class A but much more than Class C. Their houses are always better and larger than those of the workers, and they usually have electricity supplied by the plantation. They generally have complete sets of manufactured dining and living room furniture, better bedroom furniture than the scanty belongings of the workers, china, rather than the clay dishes (nagé) of the workers, and table service for as many as a dozen persons. Usually their clothes are better and more numerous. Overseers are well known for their use of khaki coats, shirts, ties, and riding breeches, their well-polished leather boots and their felt hats, in contrast with the more informal sports clothes of the landowners and with the ragged, tight trousers and shirt and the straw hat of the shoeless rural worker.

Class B in the town of Vila Recôncavo is represented by Group 1 as described in the preceding chapter, with a few exceptions such as the minor municipal employees and a few of the smaller-scale merchants and lower-rated petroleum workers. Because there are no representatives of Class A in the town, Class B represents the top of the urban social scale. It is a class which has long existed in the town and which has always been composed of more or less the same occupation groups. For the most part, members of this stratum live on the hill which constitutes the old part of Vila Recôncavo, and seldom go down to the newer section. There are fourteen persons residing in town, plus their eight children, who are considered pure Caucasoid; they are all members of this local upper class. Three of them are foreign-born Franciscans who do not participate in much of public life once their official duties are completed. The others are brancos da terra ("whites of the land," a term which will be explained later in this chap-

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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ter them any others who want to receive it. Through the year few people from the rural area go to hear Mass in town, unless they have asked for a special service in honor of their patron saint or in the memory of a dead relative. They usually wait for the priest's visit to their own locality. The same is true of weddings and baptisms, which are often held up pending the arrival of the priest. 79

In case of death, the corpse is buried within twenty-four hours. Each parish has its own cemetery, and the relatives and friends of the dead carry the coffin there for burial. In the parish of Vila Recôncavo, the cemetery lies just outside the town. People from this parish, as well as those from the town itself, take the coffin to the convent before burial to be blessed, for there is always a priest there. Then they carry the coffin to the cemetery. In the other parishes the dead are buried without the benefit of a blessing, which will however take place on the second of November, when priests try to visit each cemetery and bless all the dead. 79 764

The many duties which have fallen upon the Franciscans have made it almost impossible for them to continue the type of life prescribed for those who enter an order. It is very difficult for them to attend the retreats to which they should go; there is little or no time for them to study or contemplate, or to teach, for they have been faced with the discouraging reality of trying to keep religion alive in a population too large and scattered for proper contact to be maintained. In 1941 Vila Recôncavo was described by the provincial canonical visitors as "one of the greatest crosses of our Province, because of the five decadent parishes entrusted to it."[2] The same book speaks constantly of the "deplorable indifference" and "religious coldness" of the people of Vila Recôncavo. In 1949 the statistics of religious activities were as follows: 333 baptisms (184 legitimate and 149 illegitimate children), 27 weddings, 200 First Communions, 8,292 general Communions, and 80 Communions for sick people. 792. 794 795 [162]

As of today there are no religious brotherhoods in Vila Recôncavo. The last to pass out of existence was the Brotherhood of the Most Sacred Sacrament, which was closed upon the death of its treasurer early in this century. The Third Order of Franciscans, formally closed in 1902, was reopened in 792

2. Livro de cronica do convento, Vila Recôncavo (MS in Franciscan Convent, Vila Recôncavo).

1933 when two women took the scapular and cord. But nothing more came of it. There is a benevolent organization, the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, which gives aid to the poor and is run by three men of Class B. It is very weak, however, and at present can help only four persons in the town. The society conducts no festivals or public displays.

Festivals

The festivals which take place in Vila Recôncavo are based on the religious calendar and are participated in to a great extent by the African cult members. January 1 is an important date in town and is celebrated by a Mass in the fishermen's chapel, after which the priest goes out on the beach and blesses all the canoes. After he has gone, the participants in African cults make their offering for the day. This is the date when presents are given to the Mother of Waters (Mae d'Agua locally, but sometimes known as Janaina, Sereia, or Yansan in other parts of Brazil). The presentations are made by the cult priestesses, but anyone who wants to give a present to the Mother of Waters may do so by handing the gift to the cult priestess beforehand. The presents may consist of money or of anything a woman can use, as long as it is white: combs, ribbons, powders, perfumes, soaps, flowers, and so on. Everything is wrapped together and placed in a large clay basin covered with white cloths and decked with white flowers.

The cult priestess comes out of the cult house after Mass and, accompanied by participants and onlookers, goes down to the beach and enters one of the large canoes prepared for the occasion. The cult drummers accompany her, as well as most of the female devotees (filhas de santo). Usually two presents are given, one to the young Mother of Waters, who lives near the town, and another, larger one to the old Mother of Waters, who lives at about an hour's distance from town, where the water is very deep. The canoes take off and proceed up the river, while the drums beat and the devotees sing. The Mother of Waters is called and praised, and when the canoes arrive where the younger one lives, her present is lowered into the water. If it does not sink it is a very bad sign, for it means that the present was rejected. The bundles usually sink, however, for they are bound in a heavy clay basin. At this moment the Mother of Waters is supposed to enter the body of the person who placed the gift in the water. This person, usually an older devotee, enters a trance state and must

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[City of Salvador]

At Bahia in 1807, 1809, 1813, 1816, 1826, 1827, 1828, and 1830, slave revolts broke out, terminating in the serious Malê uprising of 1835. There existed here, particularly in the nineteenth century, a well-established group of Negro disciples of the prophet Mohammed. Here Nagô was for a long time a Negro lingua franca (or, to use the corresponding Portuguese expression, a *lingua geral*), and Nagô is still occasionally to be heard among some of the older blacks. Here one might have encountered in the years just preceding abolition in 1888 an interesting paradox: while at home Bahia clung tenaciously to slavery, she was known abroad for the eloquence of her abolition orators.[3] Here, also, one might have observed the gradual fusion of Catholic belief and ritual with African mythology and religious practice, evidences of which may be seen today in *candomblés*, or fetish-cult centers, like that of Gantois, for example, whose ceremonies have been carried on in the same sacred place for many decades.

175 567 [669] [792] [197] [183] [771] [177]

In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries Bahia became one of the world's great sugar centers where a small aristocracy, as is attested today by the pretentious edifices still standing, achieved great wealth. As early as 1587 there were forty-seven sugar *engenhos*[4] in and about Bahia, and

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[3] See Luiz Anselmo da Fonseca, *A escravidão, o clero e o abolicionismo* (Bahia, 1887), *passim*. This book, although obviously written as abolition propaganda, cites names, places, and dates to support its contentions and does not overlook negative cases.

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[4] Each *engenho* consisted of a sugar plantation and a mill for processing the cane. Those at Bahia often had a capacity of a thousand tons or more yearly. Each was largely a self-sustaining economic unit, dependent upon the labor of numbers of Negro slaves. H. Morse Stephens says (*Portugal* [New York, 1903], p. 228) that sugar cane was imported into Brazil from the Madeira Islands in 1548.

[433] [464] [567] [137]

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Branca while sojourning in France "freed the womb" of the slave women on their *engenhos*, São Pedro and São João, in Santo Amaro, and continued gradually to manumit all their slaves. In the same year the friars of the Order of São Bento "freed the womb" of their slave women and announced that all their slaves would be free within three years, or by September, 1871.[74]

The first Bahian abolitionist to raise his voice to "a shout loud enough to be heard throughout the entire country" was Conselheiro Jeronymo Sodré Pereira, a state deputy and professor in the local Faculty of Medicine. In an address to the Bahian *camara* on March 5, 1879, he declared: "We who represent the democratic ideal, we who earnestly desire the liberation of the citizen through the vote and through instruction, ought to proclaim to our fellow-countrymen throughout the land that all Brazilians are citizens, all are free." This speech was favorably reported by several Bahian newspapers, including the *Gazeta de Noticias* and the *Gazeta da Tarde*, which at this time were becoming organs of the abolition movement. Although the ideas they were advancing had been at first considered "antipatriotic, subversive of the social order, and incendiary," they gradually spread.[75]

The clergy as a group did not support abolition, and many padres who possessed slaves were accused by the abolitionists of "the same cruelty toward the victims, the same outspoken hostility, the same fury toward abolition, the same hypocritical and ridiculous insistence upon the rights of property, the same lack of respect for justice and the true interests of Brazil." Occasionally a priest, like João Manoel,

[74] *Ibid.*, pp. 227–28. [75] *Ibid.*, pp. 18–21.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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ery.[78] As early as Independence Day, 1851, the Benedictine friar, Francisco da Natividade Carneiro da Cunha, preached a sermon in the Bahian Cathedral in which he urged Bahians "to complete Brazilian independence by gradually emancipating the slaves."[79] Monsenhor Joaquim Pinto de Campos attacked slavery in sermons as early as 1856, in one of which, preached before the Sociedade Ypiranga, he said: "Humanity is one, and all of its parts have equal rights. The public conscience, which is the voice of God re-echoing in the souls of the people, is always repelled by favoritism in the distribution of liberty."

Canon Rodrigo de Souza Menezes, in the columns of *O Horizonte* as early as 1872, and in a sermon preached in the Cathedral on July 2, 1883, vigorously attacked slavery and advocated its abolition throughout Brazil. Another Bahian canon, Dr. Romualdo Maria de Seixas Barroso, wrote many abolition articles for the newspapers, among them one addressed especially to Bahian women; and in his will, probated in 1886, he declared: "I have always considered it a crime to draw up a contract for the buying and selling of any human being—he who is my own brother and who may be redeemed, as I, by the blood of the Savior of mankind."[80]

The bishop of Olinda, on March 25, 1887, wrote a pastoral letter urging his clergy to free immediately their

[78] *Ibid.*, p. 35. The archbishop said: "I have always been persuaded that the word 'slavery' calls up images of all vices and all crimes; and that the word 'liberty' calls out the ideas and the sentiments attendent upon all virtue and all good. Always I have maintained that slavery is a harmful condition which destroys the spirit, weakens the faculties of understanding, and perverts the heart."

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[79] "Public opinion was aroused against the words of Friar Carneiro. Upon his descending from the pulpit, one of his relatives asked him if he had lost his reason" (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 381-83).

[80] *Ibid.*, pp. 384-88.

[SALVADOR]

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*563 793 Since that time priests who were black and of mixed blood began to distinguish themselves, in Bahia as throughout the country, as sacred orators, professors of Latin, of philosophy and rhetoric, of Portuguese, and as superiors and directors of educational institutions, prefects of studies, etc. Proud of this, the Blacks expressed their antagonism toward the mulattoes and caboclos by repeating [539] this quatrain:

> I have seen many Negroes
> At the altar in the act of saying Mass
> And the caboclo, all that he achieves
> Is to be usher.

*563 •792 829 [797] In the religious orders, directed in general by European monks or of European structure, the prejudice that maintains that the métis find it difficult to be faithful to the vow of chastity persisted for a long time. Such a belief must have strongly influenced the opposition to the ordination of colored religious. An /76/ intellectual of dark color relates that during his youth, more than 40 years ago, he, wishing to become a priest, entered a religious order, but the superior of the monastery to which he applied, a Spaniard, advised him to seek another path. Astonished by this refusal, he demanded an explanation, and the superior told him that he might find it difficult to subject himself to the discipline, because men of his type are obliged to make great efforts to remain chaste. And since the informant thought that in the secular clergy he would be very much in danger of betraying his trust, he gave up his idea. Thus, even today, the religious orders include very few métis. [178] The situation is beginning to improve, however, with the ordination of some moreno and light mulatto monks; in an apostolic school in which one of these orders trains young men wishing to embrace the religious life, there is at present a majority of pardos and caboclos recruited from among modest families of the interior, particularly in the rural area of the northeastern part of the State of Bahia. Light mulattoes, ordained in the course of recent years, have been trained in the same school. In the *563 562 792 178 female religious orders the difficulties for the acceptance of colored girls are very much greater. Not only are some of them directed by European religious, but there still persists the Portuguese

[SALVADOR]

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*563 562 •792 178 tradition of accepting as religious only the daughters of nobles and of high colonial officials, and as "servants" girls of colored or humble extraction. Therefore, the number of morenas or very light mulatto religious is minimal and all are of recent admission.

*563 793 [829] There is also a prejudice, widespread among the priests of the secular clergy, that "the mulattoes are very inclined to concupiscence and to arrogance when they are intelligent." Nevertheless dark priests are ordained. At least 30 o/o of the 176 priests ordained at the archdiocesan theological seminary of Bahia between 1907 and 1951 were colored; among 50 colored priests identified in the register, at least seven were very dark or black. Approximately the same proportion can be noted among the 42 secular priests living in the city. Among those who are best known as sacred orators and who are invited to preach on solemn occasions in the ecclessiastical life and in the religious ceremonies that precede the examinations of the different schools of the local university, there are numerous pardos and Blacks, some of whom enjoy a great deal of prestige as vicars of important parishes, as professors, and as men of letters. The theological seminary of the archdiocese also includes at present an increased number of young colored students, made up of dark mulattoes and Blacks. [874]

/77/ Sports

*563 526 In no matter what study of the most popular sports of Brazil, whether it is a matter of football, rowing, basketball, volleyball, or tennis, it is indispensable to consider that some of them are practiced by certain socio-economic groups and that others, after having been a pastime of some of these groups, have become a profession.

*563 526 575 Tennis in Bahia is a bourgeois sport that an extremely limited number of people play. On the grounds of one of the principal clubs where this sport is played one does not see colored persons, except now and then one or two morenos of high rank from the liberal professions or from commerce. A mulatto practicing a

It must be remembered that these figures include the capital city, the population of which is about 450,000. If this is subtracted from the total population of the Recôncavo, the average density of the Recôncavo is approximately 27 persons per square kilometer. 161 [162]

Vila Recôncavo, the community of this study, is part of a county located 41 kilometers across the bay from Salvador. The community includes the town of Vila Recôncavo, which is the county seat, and the surrounding rural zone. Throughout the study we will be dealing with these two components of the sugar-cane plantation community, sometimes separately and sometimes together. 101 634 [121]

The only public transportation to the town is by boat from the capital, a three-hour trip across the bay, threading through numerous islands. The major part of the trip is made on remarkably blue water, usually serenely calm but occasionally violently agitated, especially during the winter. One-, two-, and three-masted sailing vessels and an occasional large sailing canoe, the centuries-old methods of transportation in Bahia, are passed on their way into the city, carrying fruit, vegetables, pottery, firewood, fish, tobacco, manioc flour, and sugar to the more than four hundred thousand people of the city, as they have done since the early colonization of the Recôncavo. The only new element in the scene is the small diesel boat which makes the trip back and forth across the bay, outward bound one day and returning the next with the outgoing tide. 505 501

As the boat nears the luxuriantly green, palm-crested islands, stopping at several to discharge the mail, passengers, and "city goods," one becomes aware of the feeling of stepping back into the past. Barefoot children are selling oranges, peanuts, and fish; and parrots and parakeets, sometimes doped with rum to make them appear tame. The mailman on the dock receives the sack of mail and gives it to his helper to carry to the post office; the island priest may receive a message or package entrusted to the captain of the boat or may even go aboard to travel to the church on another island. The others on the dock call to friends on the boat and exchange news or else simply watch the activity of docking the boat and the casting off. The people of the islands are light-skinned, although well sunburned. Many of them are vacationers from the city, dressed in brightly colored clothes, for the islands are well-known resorts. The others, barefoot, wearing shorts 505 [857] [443] [205] [793] [142] [528]

mers. However, on almost every plantation there are brick- 312
lined springs from which the inhabitants get their drinking water. Women or children carrying five-gallon cans of water on [482]
their heads, and donkeys carrying four wooden kegs of water, [492]
are common sights along the roads of the Recôncavo. For the
cattle and other livestock of the plantations, drinking places 231
are excavated wherever there promises to be enough water. 312
Frequently, however, these go dry in the summer, especially [132]
during the drought years which occur cyclically in rhythm with the droughts of the sertão. At such times loss of cattle is prevalent, except on plantations situated near one of the small rivers.

A high-voltage electric line passes through this section 377
leading from the generating station further inland to the capital city. Recently most of the plantations have been able to connect with this line, so that at least the owners' houses have electric light. The houses of the workers are without it except at the factory, where the mill supplies its own electric power which is carried to almost all the workers' houses.

There are four state schools and one county school distrib- 871
uted among the plantations. The central school in the town of Vila Recôncavo is not attended by children from the plantations. Two plantations have their own chapels, which are vis- 347
ited at irregular intervals by the priests of Vila Recôncavo. 796
On the other plantations a small altar is set up in the owner's 793
house for special occasions such as Christmas, when the town priest is invited to celebrate the Mass.

There is in the town a medical post with a visiting doctor, 743
a dentist, and several nurses in training, which is administered by a Franciscan lay brother and supported by federal, state, and county funds and by private donations. This post is fairly recent, and its influences are spreading only slowly to the rural area. Also in the town is a small county medical [249]*
post run by a resident physician. The sugar factory has a
dispensary with a nurse and is visited by the town doctor. Al- [752]
most every plantation has its own first-aid equipment, generally in the owner's house.

There are no fairs in the community. There are stores in 543
the town and a large supply store at the factory, run by the 442
corporation, and nearly every plantation has its own small [249]*
store. Major purchases are made at the weekly market in Centro, in the neighboring county. There are also traveling ped-

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tying into the Bay, to protect the plantations situated on river banks, a location in all other respects ideal for sugar mills. Vila Recôncavo was chosen as the site for a battery in 1668 and was given guns and men. It was also necessary to maintain a small fleet of armed ships to help repel pirates. One side of the hill on which the convent is situated, which overlooks the Bay and lies directly at the mouth of the river coming from Centro, is still called the Battery in remembrance of the days when it was part of the old fortifications.

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The second formal administrative unit to be formed was that of the county of Vila Recôncavo. Until 1693 Salvador was the only judicial and legislative center in Bahia. Because of development in the Recôncavo it was thought necessary at this time to create three vilas in the area, this being the term then applied to the administrative centers of counties. Thus in February of 1698 Vila Recôncavo became one of the first organized counties (municipios) in the Recôncavo, a transformation which made it the center of much activity as it was now the seat of local rural government, tax collecting, and justice. Since its creation the county of Vila Recôncavo has shrunk in size as new counties have been established in the Recôncavo. Vila Recôncavo lost part of its land, until in 1945 it retained only 189 square kilometers, less than half its original area.

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Prior to either military or civil divisions, there had already existed religious divisions, or parishes. The parish of São Gonçalo included the town of Vila Recôncavo and much of the hinterland. The mother church (matriz) of the parish was constructed in the town in 1678. It was reconstructed in 1887 by the third Baron of Vila Recôncavo, at which time it had fallen into such disrepair that the reconstruction was a complete renovation. This was done in great simplicity, blotting out most of the former ornateness. Today it is again in need of repair as the plaster is falling off, exposing the still solid stone and cement construction of three-foot-thick walls. Most of the wood in the altars, floors, and inner partitions is rotting away. The outside has turned black from the action of the salt air on the whitewash. For more than forty years the parish has been unable to support a priest, and the duties of caring for the spiritual needs of the parishioners has fallen upon the Franciscans. The church is opened now only for Mass on Sundays, and for occasional missions and weddings throughout the year.

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In 1718 the chapel of the Franciscan convent was replaced

[Town Life]

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2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[P 155]

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An old cult priestess

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The "beauty parlor," Vila Recôncavo

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

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8. Religion

[249] DURING COLONIAL and empire times, religion occupied a large part of the lives of the landed aristocracy. The town of Vila Recôncavo had a Franciscan convent, a large mother church of the parish of São Gonçalo, and the chapel of the [793] Third Order of Franciscans. In the rural area of the community nearly every plantation had its own chapel, which formed part of the owner's house, and its own chaplain to care for the spiritual needs of the landowning families and their [794] slaves. Much of the wealth of landowners was used to build magnificent churches, to sponsor religious processions, and to maintain religious brotherhoods for laymen.

178 In this century, however, Catholicism is no longer the official state religion, the landowners no longer support the 79 town church as they used to, and the Third Order of Franciscans has died out in Vila Recôncavo. [565] Today members of the upper class (Class A) confine their support to the churches they attend in Salvador, leaving the local church to the mercy of God and to the gente pequena of the town. Visits from the Franciscans to celebrate Mass and give instruction for first communion have taken the place of the plantation chaplain and chapel. The priests today say that the people of the community have no intellectual basis for understanding religious teachings or beliefs. Consequently, they say that they now seek only to have as many as possible conform to the outer forms and rituals of the church and refrain from attending the African cults.

175 In addition to the formal structure of the Catholic Church there arose, especially in the nineteenth century, many houses 794 of African cultism, called in this region candomblé. The ad-

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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herents of these cults, female slaves and former slaves for the most part, followed a lengthy routine to become practitioners in the various cult houses and spent large sums of money, according to legend, on the required bracelets, necklaces, and clothing.

Today, however, the cult priests and priestesses have the same complaint as the Catholic priests. They say that young people no longer have the understanding or the patience necessary to prepare for devotion in the cult houses. The older priestesses deplore the degeneration of some of these houses and the admission of Indian spirits, which are now displacing the African gods.

Spiritualism has recently entered the community. So far it has been limited to few people in the community, although it is very popular in Salvador.

The use of the supernatural as described in Willems' Cunha[1] does not take place in Vila Recôncavo. In Cunha the saints are asked to send rain whenever it appears that the crops are in danger. But in Vila Recôncavo, which lies in a semitropical rain area, there is no need for such invocations. Besides, these are large-scale economic crops, not subsistence produce on which the people depend directly for their living.

The Catholic Church in Vila Recôncavo

During the colonial period each religious parish was carefully delineated and conserved, but later political divisions cut across parish lines. This has made the use of colonial statistics very difficult. During colonial and empire times the church was the main census organ, but since parishes and counties do not coincide in their outlines the statistics are little help today in comparing the present with the past. Each parish built a mother church (matriz) in the parish town. Each of these churches had a patron saint, who was also the patron of the parish, and a resident priest or priests.

In the town of Vila Recôncavo, the county seat, a mother church was built, with São Gonçalo as its patron saint; also constructed was the Franciscan convent, connected with an opulent Third Order. As the Recôncavo entered its long per-

1. Emilio Willems, Cunha: Tradição e transição en uma cultura rural do Brasil (Sao Paulo, 1947), Chapter 7.

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1933 when two women took the scapular and cord. But nothing more came of it. There is a benevolent organization, the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, which gives aid to the poor and is run by three men of Class B. It is very weak, however, and at present can help only four persons in the town. The society conducts no festivals or public displays.

Festivals

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The festivals which take place in Vila Recôncavo are based on the religious calendar and are participated in to a great extent by the African cult members. January 1 is an important date in town and is celebrated by a Mass in the fishermen's chapel, after which the priest goes out on the beach and blesses all the canoes. After he has gone, the participants in African cults make their offering for the day. This is the date when presents are given to the Mother of Waters (Mae d'Agua locally, but sometimes known as Janaina, Sereia, or Yansan in other parts of Brazil). The presentations are made by the cult priestesses, but anyone who wants to give a present to the Mother of Waters may do so by handing the gift to the cult priestess beforehand. The presents may consist of money or of anything a woman can use, as long as it is white: combs, ribbons, powders, perfumes, soaps, flowers, and so on. Everything is wrapped together and placed in a large clay basin covered with white cloths and decked with white flowers.

The cult priestess comes out of the cult house after Mass and, accompanied by participants and onlookers, goes down to the beach and enters one of the large canoes prepared for the occasion. The cult drummers accompany her, as well as most of the female devotees (filhas de santo). Usually two presents are given, one to the young Mother of Waters, who lives near the town, and another, larger one to the old Mother of Waters, who lives at about an hour's distance from town, where the water is very deep. The canoes take off and proceed up the river, while the drums beat and the devotees sing. The Mother of Waters is called and praised, and when the canoes arrive where the younger one lives, her present is lowered into the water. If it does not sink it is a very bad sign, for it means that the present was rejected. The bundles usually sink, however, for they are bound in a heavy clay basin.
[787] At this moment the Mother of Waters is supposed to enter the body of the person who placed the gift in the water. This person, usually an older devotee, enters a trance state and must

2: Hutchinson E-4, 6 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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among members of Class A. In the cult houses it is said that the African gods go back to Africa for Lent and that the Indian spirits go back to the forests, not coming back again to Vila Recôncavo until Easter Eve. Good Friday is usually marked by the eating of foods with much palm and olive oil, mostly the favorite Bahian dishes of acarajé and vatapá. On Saturday some people in the town "burn Judas." They make a figure stuffed with straw or grass and in the evening parade it through the whole town on a donkey until they arrive at the fishermen's chapel, where the dummy is strung up and burned. While it burns the man who made it reads a long poem which he has composed during the year and which tells about his friends and their individual peculiarities.

During the month of May a service is held each night in the mother church in honor of the Virgin Mary. A priest officiates, and the women of the upper class sing in the choir. This ceremony is attended almost entirely by townspeople, mostly women. St. John's Day, which comes at the end of June and is a popular holiday throughout most of Brazil, goes unnoticed in the town, although at dawn on that day there may be a reveille for St. John (alvorada de São João), which consists of shouting, "Wake up, St. John!" The sixteenth of August is celebrated, mostly by the rural people, as the day of St. Roch, who is considered a foe of pestilence. There is usually a Mass in the mother church on this day, after which the priest conducts Mass in as many of the rural chapels as he can. St. Roch is also celebrated by the African cults.

On September 27, the twin saints Cosme and Damião are celebrated, often with a Mass, but especially with a party called the carurú, the dish distinctive of this day and the days which follow it; for, as with the Day of Kings, Cosme and Damião may be feted any day within a month or so following the proper date. Before a carurú, it is customary for small images of the two saints to be carried about the streets from house to house asking for alms for a party in their honor. Usually the party is for the children, who dance and eat as much as they can, while the older people at first look on, and then finish up the food that was left and also dance. Anyone who is a twin or who likes twins may give a carurú in his house.

St. Francis is also feted, since there is a Franciscan convent in the town, by a devotion on three nights and a Mass on the morning of St. Francis' day. The last Sunday in October,

St Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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are easier to understand and to comply with. In the town of Vila Recôncavo there are two houses of cult activities with female leaders, and in the rural area there is one such house with a male leader. These are the three houses which were studied by the author. There are six more in the area, but they are much smaller and poorer than these three.

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One of the three is led by a woman almost a hundred years old. She is now completely blind and can barely walk about the house. She has not been outside of it for several years. She has an assistant, a young man in his twenties, who as a child brought her firewood and water and who now has been taught by her much of the cult ritual. The house is now inactive, for the old woman has outlived her former followers, or else they have moved away. The room which contains the insignia of the African spirits is still kept up, and the proper foods and drinks are always placed there by the young man, in accordance with the instructions of the old lady. She herself does little, although she still consults the spirits by throwing cowrie shells. Her fame as a cult leader is widespread, and people still come to her for help, but she is too feeble to do much. In her day she was a "purist" and went through the long training period necessary to become a devotee and later a cult leader. She still knows a few words of Nagô, the Yoruban language, and laments the passing of her generation, with whom she says she conversed only in this language. Several of her initiates broke away and started their own houses in other places, although according to her they were not ready to assume leadership since they did not know enough of the mysteries.

The other two houses studied are led by disciples of one of the old woman's devotees who broke away. There is no contact among the three, although the two younger leaders are in awe of the old woman, aware that she knows much more than they do and that in her eyes they are only upstarts, manipulating something mystical which they are not sufficiently prepared to control. She does not intimidate them, however, and now ignores their activities, since they both have recently accepted the Indian spirits which the old woman feels are bogus. She is more interested in passing on her knowledge to the young man who cares for her house, though she complains that he is too indifferent to her teachings. He is learning a great deal, however, though he has not yet "made" his saint, that is, he is not yet a full-fledged devotee. Preparations for

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this are being made, however, and it is hoped he will be ready for it before her death. In the meantime she has legally willed the house and its material belongings to him, and is also passing along to him her spiritual heritage. He is learning the mystical part of the cult, but she cannot show him the outer forms, such as dancing and other physical motions of worship, because she is too infirm. Traditionally only women went through training for worship in the Brazilian cults, for the belief is that the gods descend and "ride" or "mount" the disciple. This could only be done with women disciples. However, one of the changes reaching the cults now is the entrance of men as devotees. Very often they are effeminate, as is the case with the young man who is helping the old woman. The old one is not pleased with having a man perform the duties of her cult house, but she feels she must be satisfied with him because there is no one else in her house. Although all her former disciples are gone, now at least she will have someone to dispatch her saints when she dies, a complicated ritual which must be properly carried out.

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One of the other two houses is in the town and is led by Roxa, who has "made her saint" but who by cult standards should still be a devotee in another house, for she is not considered well enough prepared to be leading a house of her own. Her house is extremely weak, with few followers, most of whom have not yet "made their saints." Roxa is the main figure, the one most often possessed and through whom the spirits speak. As a young girl she went through a fairly rigorous period of training, but broke away before it was completed. She says she fulfills the necessary obligations now only because if she did not she would become sick. She calls the whole thing a "complication" in her life which must be looked after. She has been married but is now widowed and childless.

The other house, located on one of the plantations run by an overseer, is led by a man in his forties. He also claims that he is in the cult because of his health. As a boy and young man he was always sick and his entire body ached. One day in the field he found a "lightning stone" (pedra de raio). Such stones are common in the cults and are thought to have been sent from the sky, although they really are American Indian artifacts, such as arrowheads and hatchets, and are constantly turned up in the soil. At first he did not know what the stone was and took it home, but on discovering that it had supernatural significance, he threw it away, for he wanted nothing

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794 to do with cultism. His parents were strongly opposed to cult-
[778] ism and had told him that it was bad. But the next day the stone was back in his house, frightening him. He again threw it away, and again it reappeared in his house. Then he took it to the cult leader on the plantation, who told him that it was
[782] a sign that he had an obligation to fulfill toward the gods. To put an end to the matter, it was necessary to make certain appeasements in the form of food and drink. So he began to save money, and at the same time took instruction from the woman as to what to do. During this time he became genuinely interested in cultism and became the "most curious"
[428] of the woman's disciples. He studied for many years with her and did as much as he could in the ceremonies. When she died
[765] she left the house to him, as he was the most active among her followers. After he had observed the honorary period of a year after her death and had properly dispatched her saints, he moved into the house where he has now been leader for
[578] thirteen years. Because of jealousies and fights over the inheritance, many of the devotees broke away and went to other houses, taking their saints with them.

793 Three years after he had taken over the house, he had his
794 first experience with the Indian spirit Seven Stars, who came to him in a dream and let it be known that he wanted to enter
787 the man and become part of the cult. For some time the man
177 resisted, for the cult was traditionally Nagô and the former leader would have had nothing to do with Indian spirits. Seven Stars, however, threatened him with extinction if he did not comply, so in the end he gave in, and one night during a ceremony was possessed by Seven Stars. Everyone liked Seven Stars, because he was a very happy and gay spirit and danced well. After this many other devotees in the house were also possessed by this as well as by one or two other Indian spirits, neither of which, however, was considered as nice as Seven Stars.

794 According to dogma, there are twenty-one Indian spirits,
787 although the informant could not name them all and neither could anyone else. All twenty-one live in an aldeia (village) in
177 the woods. There was nothing in the African tradition to tell
[776] what preparation was necessary for these spirits, so the entire ritual became one of inventiveness and propitiousness. Nowadays young people who enter the cults are nearly always taken by an Indian spirit and are much pleased, for these spirits involve less expense and much less work. The major com-

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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plaint about African deities is the amount of work involved and 787
the great expense entailed by making the proper clothes and 177
buying the beads and bracelets. All leaders say that no one can afford traditional spirits these days. Those who had formerly had them, of course, still do, but have also been visited by Indian spirits which they much prefer. So they carry out the more fundamental obligations toward the African 794
spirits, such as providing food and drink, but they dress and 178
dance for their Indian spirits. The result has been a confusion of rituals--the use of African music and incantations and 177
the addition of new dances, costumes, and foods appropriate [782]
for the simpler tastes of the Indian spirits.

The cult houses (terreiros) are built like other houses in 794
the community. The active one in town is located on a street 346
in line with all the other houses, while that on the plantation 353
is set slightly apart from the others, because of the scattered
configuration of the village. The front room, which is the [361]
largest, is usually bare except for a few long wooden benches and a small altar with pictures of the patron saints of the [352]
cult leader and of several of the cult members. This room is
decorated with crepe paper streamers and paper flowers; the dances are held here. The other rooms of the house consist of a bedroom, a dining room, a kitchen, and another room known as the pegi, which houses the African altar with its plants and leaves, dishes, bottles, cups, and glasses of food and drink for the spirits, as well as the symbol of each one of them, such as a spade, a sword, or a hatchet. In this room there is also usually a trunk containing the ceremonial paraphernalia used during the festivities, such as the dress and
headdress of each spirit. This is the room in which sacri- [782]
ficial killings (matanças) are made of the goats and chickens used during the ceremonies. In the rural house there are also pictures of Catholic saints in the pegi, another departure from the older traditional houses where such a thing would never occur.

The cult leader lives in the cult house. In the literature on 793
candomblé the cult leader is usually referred to as the mae, 794
or pai, de santo, which means literally "mother (or father) 192
of the saints." None of the cult leaders in Vila Recôncavo likes [346]
this term; they say they could not possibly be the mother or
father of the divine beings. They consider themselves rather
zeladores, that is, caretakers of the saints on earth. There is 794
much the same complaint about the term filha, or filho, de 192

the lower classes fail to have at least some knowledge of the ceremonial. In a region where there is little entertainment, such as in the town of Vila Recôncavo and especially in the rural area, the cults provide a major spectator activity, and those who have been exposed to it through their lives appreciate it as such. The number of active participants, however, is small. The house which is functioning in the town has about two dozen initiates, while the rural house is somewhat larger, having about forty-five devotees, only seven of whom are drawn from the plantation on which the house is situated. The rural house is more active for several reasons, according to local informants: the costumes are prettier, and therefore people prefer to dance there; the cult leader is a stronger personality and a better healer than the leader of the town house. The rural house is also more conveniently located for people from the surrounding plantations. Nevertheless, the small number of participants is indicative of the weakness of the institution in this area as a whole.

Healing, however, does play an important part in the cult activities, for the zelador who has "made his saint" has usually learned a large number of ritual and herbal cures. In fact, it is the healing aspect which brings most people to the cult activities. Sick persons, however, generally prefer to entrust themselves first to the ministrations of the plantation owner, plantation nurse, or town doctor. But if they feel they are not being helped, they turn to the cult house. If the sickness is diagnosed by the cult leader as a clear sign that the person is in contact with a spirit, the patient must enter the rites as an initiate or suffer the consequences. But for the ordinary run of headaches, stomach troubles, and skin eruptions, the cult leader draws upon his knowledge of herbal remedies. This knowledge is supposed to come from his deity, who often is St. Roch in this area, and who knows the cure. In fact, the leader of the rural house once compared his establishment with a pharmacy. He is paid for these medical services. Often one hears a person wishing that he could "have" such-and-such a saint so he would know how to cure and be able to make money, as do the cult leaders.

It is a general opinion that cult leaders are financially well off, although they themselves staunchly declare that they are not and that they must live from alms. As a rule all the participants in a house are obliged to contribute to the ceremonial honoring the leader's deity, which is usually the most extravagant ceremonial of the house.

travagant ceremonial of the house. The fulfillment of individual obligations is very expensive, too much so for one person to pay for it himself. The ceremony given at the end of the year in 1950 cost the members of the house almost two thousand cruzeiros in foods, sacrificial animals, candles, kerosene for the lamps, clothing, and ornaments. Individual members spent as much as four hundred cruzeiros on their clothes and beads, in addition to contributing to the common fund, not to mention their labor in cooking and in washing and ironing all the costumes and clothes used during the ceremonies. Such large sums of money are hard to get, so the number of ceremonies per year is decreasing. Not only are the salaries of the people low and inflation high, but more and more things which were not formerly available in the area--such as movies, wrist watches, jewelry other than the beads and bracelets symbolic of the deities, perfume, and lipstick--lay claim on the people's attention and purses.

Participation in the cults is generally considered to be an activity of lower-class people, and in Vila Recôncavo only such people are seen dancing and carrying out their other cult obligations. Individuals of other classes, however, do participate either indirectly or secretly. Class A displays a genuine lack of knowledge about the cult activities, in spite of being brought up within sound of the drums and within sight of the outward symbols of the African and Indian deities. These people, although they speak with disdain of cultism and of the paganism involved, have a certain respect for it and usually refrain from interfering with it in any way. They maintain a type of joking relationship in regard to it with the workers who they know participate in it, but seldom if ever attend a ceremony. Ceremonies are infrequently held on family-owned plantations when the owners are present. Most of them take place on plantations run by overseers.

Class B in the town has several members who help support the cult house and indirectly participate in its activities, especially in reference to the Mother of the Waters ritual. Since education, which implies freedom from belief in cultism, is a criterion of class position, members of Class B in public denounce cultism and those who participate in it. But many of them, coming from families which participated in it, retain some belief in the cults and fear them. They do not completely cut themselves off from cultism. They participate in it secretly, sending money to the cult leader and presents to the Moth-

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Branca while sojourning in France "freed the womb" of the slave women on their *engenhos*, São Pedro and São João, in Santo Amaro, and continued gradually to manumit all their slaves. In the same year the friars of the Order of São Bento "freed the womb" of their slave women and announced that all their slaves would be free within three years, or by September, 1871.[74]

The first Bahian abolitionist to raise his voice to "a shout loud enough to be heard throughout the entire country" was Conselheiro Jeronymo Sodré Pereira, a state deputy and professor in the local Faculty of Medicine. In an address to the Bahian *camara* on March 5, 1879, he declared: "We who represent the democratic ideal, we who earnestly desire the liberation of the citizen through the vote and through instruction, ought to proclaim to our fellow-countrymen throughout the land that all Brazilians are citizens, all are free." This speech was favorably reported by several Bahian newspapers, including the *Gazeta de Noticias* and the *Gazeta da Tarde*, which at this time were becoming organs of the abolition movement. Although the ideas they were advancing had been at first considered "antipatriotic, subversive of the social order, and incendiary," they gradually spread.[75]

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The clergy as a group did not support abolition, and many padres who possessed slaves were accused by the abolitionists of "the same cruelty toward the victims, the same outspoken hostility, the same fury toward abolition, the same hypocritical and ridiculous insistence upon the rights of property, the same lack of respect for justice and the true interests of Brazil." Occasionally a priest, like João Manoel,

[74] *Ibid.*, pp. 227–28. [75] *Ibid.*, pp. 18–21.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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became known throughout the country as an opponent of abolition, and, further, in 1791, a bishop of Pernambuco, José Joaquim da Cunha de Azevedo Coutinho, published a book in Lisbon entitled *A analyse sobre a justiça do commercio do resgate dos escravos da costa d'Africa*,[16] in which he upheld slavery as having "existed since the beginning of the world and in the lap of all religions."

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Nevertheless, some noted ecclesiastics did from time to time take up the slave cause. Padre Antonio Vieira, although he later became more cautious under "the necessity of furthering the Jesuit determination to free the Indians, even at the expense of the Negroes," delivered a sermon as early as the middle of the seventeenth century in which he said: "The fact that whites dominate blacks is due to force and not to either reason or nature." On another occasion, he said:

> O inhuman traffic in which the merchandise is men! Few masters, many slaves; masters richly dressed, slaves despised and naked; masters banqueting, slaves dying of hunger; masters swimming in gold and silver, slaves loaded down with irons; masters treating their slaves like brutes, slaves in fear and awe of their masters as if they were gods; masters present at a whipping, standing like statues of might and tyranny, slaves prostrate, their hands strapped behind their backs, like debased emblems of servitude.
>
> Peradventure these men are not our brothers?
>
> Were these souls not redeemed with the blood of the same Christ? Are not these bodies born and do they not die like ours? Do they not breathe the same air? Does not the same sky cover them? Are they not warmed by the same sun?[17]

An archbishop of Bahia, the Marquis of Santa Cruz, in an address to the *camara* in 1827, vigorously opposed slav-

[16] This book went through two editions and was translated into both French and English.

[17] *Sermões* (15 vols., 1679–1748), Vol. X, Sermon 27.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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ery.[78] As early as Independence Day, 1851, the Benedictine friar, Francisco da Natividade Carneiro da Cunha, preached a sermon in the Bahian Cathedral in which he urged Bahians "to complete Brazilian independence by gradually emancipating the slaves."[79] Monsenhor Joaquim Pinto de Campos attacked slavery in sermons as early as 1856, in one of which, preached before the Sociedade Ypiranga, he said: "Humanity is one, and all of its parts have equal rights. The public conscience, which is the voice of God re-echoing in the souls of the people, is always repelled by favoritism in the distribution of liberty."

Canon Rodrigo de Souza Menezes, in the columns of *O Horizonte* as early as 1872, and in a sermon preached in the Cathedral on July 2, 1883, vigorously attacked slavery and advocated its abolition throughout Brazil. Another Bahian canon, Dr. Romualdo Maria de Seixas Barroso, wrote many abolition articles for the newspapers, among them one addressed especially to Bahian women; and in his will, probated in 1886, he declared: "I have always considered it a crime to draw up a contract for the buying and selling of any human being—he who is my own brother and who may be redeemed, as I, by the blood of the Savior of mankind."[80]

The bishop of Olinda, on March 25, 1887, wrote a pastoral letter urging his clergy to free immediately their

[78] *Ibid.*, p. 35. The archbishop said: "I have always been persuaded that the word 'slavery' calls up images of all vices and all crimes; and that the word 'liberty' calls out the ideas and the sentiments attendent upon all virtue and all good. Always I have maintained that slavery is a harmful condition which destroys the spirit, weakens the faculties of understanding, and perverts the heart."

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[79] "Public opinion was aroused against the words of Friar Carneiro. Upon his descending from the pulpit, one of his relatives asked him if he had lost his reason" (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 382–83).

[80] *Ibid.*, pp. 384–88.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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slaves so that "on the next birthday of the Holy Father, Leo XIII, there may be laid next his throne a declaration saying: 'The clergy of Olinda no longer own slaves.'" A similar suggestion was shortly thereafter made to the bishop of São Paulo by several of his priests. On July 29 the archbishop of Bahia issued a pastoral letter in which he referred to slavery as "a cruel injustice practiced on many of our brothers . . . . a blot which stains the Brazilian flag alone among the banners of civilized nations." The archbishop further declared that, while the church had previously feared that abolition would disrupt public order, the consequences of recent manumissions had entirely dispelled this apprehension.

The proposal of the bishop of Olinda was supported by the bishop of Maranhão, who agreed that "one can do nothing which would honor the august head of the great Christian family more than to grant liberty to those who are our brothers and children of our church." The proposal was also supported by the bishop of Rio Grande do Sul, who closed his pastoral letter with the strong declaration that "slavery is a corpse in need of being interred;"[81] and by the bishop of Diamantina, who proposed "a decree written in letters of gold abolishing slavery in Brazil by the thirty-first day of December, 1887." The bishop of Mariana also advocated general abolition, referring to slavery as an obstacle to the spread of "the great principles planted by our Master Jesus Christ" and reminding the priests of his bishopric that

[81] *Ibid.*, pp. 513–19. Although the enumeration in accordance with the law of September 28, 1871, listed 99,401 slaves in Rio Grande do Sul, the census which was completed June 12, 1885, gave only 27,242, or less than one-third of those returned fourteen years earlier. The enumeration of March 30, 1887, listed only 8,436 (*ibid.*, p. 520). It appears that attempts to emancipate by entire provinces originated in this province.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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"slavery is extinct in all other countries of America to the shame of Brazil."

Beginning about 1862 a Bahian professor of mathematics, the mixed-blood, Dr. Francisco Alvares dos Santos, whose classes were said to be attended by two-thirds of the students of mathematics in the city, began carrying on abolition propaganda, and during the subsequent quarter of a century he each year gave a banquet to former students and invited as a special guest a slave whose liberty had been purchased on that day with funds supplied by a "patriotic battalion" composed of his students and organized in honor of the independence of Brazil. Out of his teaching arose the Sociedade Libertadora Dois de Julho, which freed several slaves.

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By 1875 the Sociedade Libertadora Sete de Setembro, organized in 1869, had freed approximately five hundred slaves, and twenty-four numbers of a periodical, *O Abolicionista*, had been published. At a bazaar held by the Society in that year, Castro Alves, Bahia's "glorious poet of liberty," addressed a letter to Bahian women in behalf of the slaves, and Barão de Macahubas, resident at the imperial court, sent several gifts. The Society at that time numbered five hundred and twelve members, of whom fifteen were women.[82]

The Sociedade Humanitaria Abolicionista was organized in 1869, and the Sociedade Libertadora Bahiana in 1883.

[82] Among the more prominent members were: Frederico Marinho de Araujo, Victor Isaac de Araujo, Lourenço Gomes de Araujo e Silva, Abilio Cezar Borges, Conselheiro José Luiz de Almeida Couto, Dr. Francisco José da Rocha, Conselheiro Manoel Pinto de Souza Dantas, Conselheiro Salustiano Ferreira Santo, Dr. Augusto Guimarães, Dr. Antonio Ferreira Garcez, Bellarmino Barretto, Julio Alves Guimarães, Constancio José dos Santos, Major Antonio de Souza Vieira, Dr. Frederico Augusto da Silva Lisboa, Conselheiro Carneiro da Rocha, and Major Antonio Ferreira de Barros.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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CHAPTER VI

THE RISE OF THE MIXED-BLOOD

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EARLY in the colonial period race mixture resulted in an intermediate population group in more favorable position for social advancement. Mulatto slaves, because they were ordinarily chosen by their masters and mistresses for the more delicate and exacting household tasks, to be *mucamas* (maids), *amas de crear* ("mammies"), and other *pessoal de casa* (house servants), early developed into a distinct group apart from the field hands.[1] They were baptized, received the master's name, and often were married in accordance with the prescribed legal and religious practices, thus establishing legitimate families and adding to the social security of their offspring by building up a family tradition.

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Many *mulatinhos*, illegitimate children of the *senhor*, learned to read and to write even more quickly than white, legitimate children, outstripping them in preparatory and even advanced studies. The Reconcavo of Bahia yields a number of such cases.[2] Particularly fortunate, we are told, were the children of priests. Their fathers, being ordinarily from upper-class families and possessing money and prestige, transmitted to their offspring, colored as well as white, ad-

[1] F. J. Oliveira Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro* (2d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 157; Jean Baptiste de Lacerda, "The *Metis*, or Half-breeds of Brazil," in *Papers on Inter-racial Problems*, ed. G. Spiller (London, 1911), p. 379.

[2] Gilberto Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* (2d ed.; Rio, 1936), pp. 324–25. The author throughout this chapter is greatly indebted to Freyre's *Sobrados e mucambos* (São Paulo, 1936), esp. chap. vii.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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vantages of ancestry, social position, intellectuality, and wealth. The professions were readily open to them, and "marriages into the bosom of the most exclusive families"[3] sometimes took place. "More fortunate even than the son of a priest" and "A child of a priest is never unhappy" are expressions still heard at Bahia.[4]

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Significant also was the widespread system of *creação*, whereby colored children who were being reared within the master's house, the so-called *crias*, *irmãos de creação*, *malungos*, *muleques de estimação*, gained position as "persons of the house," somewhat comparable to poor relations in the households of medieval Europe. Often they were seated at the patriarchal table as if members of the family. Some even rode in the family vehicle with their masters.

Owing to the peculiar personal associations in which the mulattoes grew up, they tended to develop certain traits favorable to their advancement. They were usually more intelligent, we are told, more aggressive, more dexterous, and more cunning than the pure blacks. Consequently, they were often assigned to the more skilled occupations, such as shoemaking, carpentry, and tailoring, where they developed occupational skills symbolic of greater personal worth than ordinarily attaches to unskilled labor.

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Because they were liberated in preference to the blacks, the mixed-bloods, early in the colonial period, began to enter the free classes.[5] The disproportion between black

[3] Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 324.

[4] "The social ascension of children of priests, both white and light mixed-blood, has always occurred with great facility" (*ibid.*, pp. 323–24).

[5] In addition, the king of Portugal in 1773 intervened in their behalf, denouncing those persons "so lacking in the sentiments of humanity and of religion" that they still keep in slavery persons "whiter than they are" (Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 327).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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noted in two Protestant churches, one Baptist, the other Presbyterian. Of a total of 157 worshipers, 27.4 per cent were blacks, 29.9 per cent were mulattoes, and 42.7 per cent were whites, seated indiscriminately, in each case.

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Although 104 of 130 white students responding to an inquiry regarding the matter did not object to receiving the sacrament from a black priest, priests and pastors are usually white, only occasionally mulatto (ordinarily light), and very rarely black. For instance, of 43 priests officiating at Mass, 42, or 98 per cent, were white, and 1 was a mulatto, quite light. Of 60 novices at the Seminary of Santa Thereza, only 7 were mulattoes, 1 very dark.[10] Of the 2 Protestant pastors, 1 was white, the other a dark mulatto. In the latter's audience were over a score of whites.

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Altar boys are often mulattoes, occasionally blacks. For instance, of 70 altar boys seen assisting with Mass, 35, or 50 per cent, were whites; 3 were *brancos da Bahia;* 20, or 28.6 per cent, were mulattoes; and 11, or 15.7 per cent, were blacks.

A similarly mixed participation may be noted in meetings of the spiritualist cult. At a session of the União Espirita Bahiana, for instance, of 73 persons present, 20 were blacks, 26 were mulattoes, and 27 were whites.[11] Among the leaders gathered about a table in front of the audience, 2 were whites, 2 were *brancos da Bahia*, 1 was a mulatto, and 2 were blacks.

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In noting the circumstances under which the Brazilian racial accommodation has taken and is taking place, one ought not to overlook the fact that Catholic ideas and practice, permeating as they do very largely the whole moral order at

[10] One *mamaluco*, 52 whites. [11] Also 1 *cafuso*.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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presiding in accordance with the varying subjects under consideration, were seated erudite *doutores* from lecture-room and laboratory; huge *filhas de santo;*[7] aged Negro cooks who brought from . . . . the crude kitchens of their mud huts recipes of . . . . Afro-Brazilian dishes; Negroes from the cane fields (like Jovino, whose paper was as full of errors in Portuguese as of *saudades* of the time of the *almanjarras*);[8] . . . . *babalorixás*[9] like Pae Anselmo; queens of the *maracatú*[10] like Albertina de Fleury, whose name reminded José Lins do Rego[11] of the heroine of a romance by Proust; certain others who, although illiterate or semiliterate, had such intimate knowledge of Afro-Brazilian matters as to be able to make an appreciable contribution to the Congress; students of law, engineering, and medicine . . . . ; elderly folklorists like Rodrigues de Carvalho, who never missed a session . . . . ; individuals like Nobrega da Cunha, who knew intimately the ritual of the *macumba;*[12] psychiatrists of the ability and reputation of Ulysses Pernambucano, who was acclaimed with all justice Honorary President; artists like Luis Jardim and Cicero Dias; intellectuals, journalists, and special representatives of Rio newspapers; the teacher, Ernani Braga, who collected for the Congress a number of invocations to Xangô[13] sung by the young ladies of the Conservatorio on the closing day of school to the enthusiastic applause of the best people of Recife. Individuals

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[7] *Filhas de santo* are ceremonial dancers of the fetish cult (see chap. x).

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[8] On the sugar plantations of colonial Brazil the beam to which animals were hitched to turn the millstone and crush the cane was called the *almanjarra*.

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[9] Priests of the fetish cult are sometimes called *babalorixás*. The word is formed from the Nagô words *bábá* ("father") and *orixá* ("deity").

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[10] The *maracatú* was an organization of Negroes which formerly participated in Carnival at Recife (see Mario Sette, *Maxambombas e maracatús* [São Paulo, n.d.], pp. 339–41).

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[11] José Lins do Rego is a noted Brazilian novelist whose realistic accounts of lower-class life, particularly in the state of Pernambuco, have helped to reveal a level of culture about which little had previously been written. See, e.g., his *Banguê* (Rio, 1934); *Menino de engenho* (2d ed.; Rio, 1934); *Usina* (Rio, 1936); *Historias da velha Totonia* (Rio, 1936); *Pureza* (Rio, 1937); *Pedra Bonita* (Rio, 1938); *Doidinho* (Rio, n.d.).

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[12] The Afro-Brazilian fetish cult is known in Rio de Janeiro as the *macumba*.

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[13] Xangô (pronounced "Shán-go") is a deity of the fetish cult (see chap. x).

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palm flat in horizontal position in contrast to a vertical placement for indicating the height of a lower animal.[19]

Although one is not likely to find any Bahian black who has not been given at baptism a "Christian name," nicknames are very common, and many individuals are much better known by them than by their given names. Among such *apelidos* one will occasionally discover terms of probable African derivation; for instance, Okê, Bábá Cumdê, Cobê, Oum, Tau-édê, and Au-weh, all nicknames of members of a local labor union; or, among personages in the fetish world, such names as: Manoelzinho de Oxóssi, Lourenço Lemba, Maria de Tempo, Senhora de Yemanjá, João de Zázé, and Flaviano Cavungo, each of which recalls the African *orixá* to which the individual in question is dedicated.

Exercising considerable prestige among a portion of the Bahian population is the *babalaô*, or *olhador*, whose primary function, it seems, is to foretell the future; the *curandeiro*, who by means of herbs, prayers, and other magical manipulations seeks both to treat and to prevent disease; and the *feiticeiro*, or "witch doctor," who, for a price, works black magic. The office of the *babalaô* is occasionally exercised by the *pae de santo*, or priest of the fetish cult, although his function is more particularly that of supervising the rituals and public ceremonies of the cult and overseeing the sacred properties. To some extent he also exercises the function of a *curandeiro*.

[19] A form of greeting recalled by older blacks but rarely used today is as follows: If the individuals are social equals, each lifts his hands, palms outward, and grasps the hands of the other in such a way that the fingers of the one are interlaced with the fingers of the other, after which the "*egan* grip" is exchanged; if not social equals, the individual of greater prestige places his right hand over the closed hands of the other.

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776 75 but also against all skin ailments, including leprosy. Particularly approachable is the deity to whom a person is dedicated. "This bad cut on my foot," remarked a *mãe de santo* dedicated to Xangô, "would not heal. So I talked it over with Xangô. He agreed to heal it, and told me what to use. It's now getting well; it's much better already."

755 789 793 794 An individual troubled by continued ill-health, business difficulties, or even bad dreams may request of the fetish-cult priest the ritual of *lavágem das contas*, or "washing the beads." Divination is first resorted to in order to identify the *orixá* "responsible" for the difficulty. Then the beads sacred to this deity are immersed in water, a newly purchased basin being used for the purpose, and a handful of leaves also sacred to him are crushed and added. After a time, the beads are removed and washed with *sabão da costa* ("soap from the Coast"). Thus purified, they are given to the person suffering the ill fortune, who must subsequently keep them in a clay vessel and from time to time wear them about his neck.

755 789 825 753 Considered one of the most effective methods of "removing" a disease or misfortune is the *troca da cabeça*, or "changing of heads," whose purpose is to transfer the disturbing influence from the afflicted person to another individual. The ritual varies. The afflicted one may have his head rubbed with a chicken or a pigeon, which, having thus acquired the evil influence, is then killed. Or an *ebó*, or *bozó*, as it is more commonly called, may be prepared,[31] and the affliction purposely transferred to another individual by leav-

[31] The *bozó* almost always includes a dead hen, popcorn, manioc meal with *azeite de dendê*, pieces of clothing from the one to be benefited, nickel or copper coins, certain African foods like *acassá*, *aberém*, and *acarajé*, and, if available, the African fruits, the *obí* and the *orobó*, of ritualistic significance.

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help me get better, they took me up off the ground.[42] Then my mother called in Mamêdê [the local *pae de santo*], to see what was the matter with me. He came, *abriu a mesa*[43] and said that this had been with me from my birth. My mother then asked him if he could cure it. He said he could. He made her buy plates, *moringues*,[43] beads, cups, coconuts, etc. Then he prepared all that.[44] They washed my head with water from the sacred leaves. My mother asked if he could take that thing away so that it would not come back again. He said he would not dare to do that, or I would die. He said it always came back.

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When it returned, they washed my head again. I did not know what was going on. It was as if I had slept. When I awakened, I was all "prepared": dressed *de creola* with a *saia grande* and a *torso* on my head. Everything red. *Sandalias* too. Everything the same color.

When this happened I was still small. The *pae de santo* said that I was under a spell [*era encanto*]. He "did the work" once more, and I was all right again. But when I was seven years old, it took hold of me once more. My mother was afraid and begged the *pae de santo* to do something about it. She pleaded so earnestly that finally he said he would speak with the enchantment [*encanto*] so that it would not come down any more.

It didn't come back until I was fifteen years old. Then they arranged another dress *de creola*, and also handkerchiefs, strings of beads, bracelets, and *sandalias*. They ordered plates, small glasses, and *quartinhas* bought. When all this was ready, the *pae de santo* washed my head in sacred water. He said it was the "owner of my head" [*dono da minha cabeça*] who had done that to me. There in Cachoeira, across the river from São Felix,[46] is the *casa de Gêge*.[47] The *pae de santo* is the grandson of an African.

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[42] That is, she was removed from the reed mat which, placed directly upon the floor of a hut, is extensively used among the poorer families for sleeping purposes.

[43] That is, he set up certain means of divination.

[43] Water pots made of red clay.

[44] That is, he submitted it to the proper ritual.

[46] Cachoeira and São Felix are twin cities, separated by the Paraguassú River, located across the Bay to the north of the city of Bahia.

[47] The *candomblé* of the Gêge cult in which she had now been inducted.

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put many beads of O Senhor do Bomfim on him, and a *figa;* they covered him with ornaments.

[789] The *figa* is to free one from the evil eye. For example: I have a dress. You think it is pretty, and you want it very much; something [754] then happens to it. Or a *sabiá*[40] sings beautifully. You are visiting its owner; you want it, you want it very badly. You leave, and it dies or something else happens to it because you cannot have it. This is the evil eye. One needs to "pray it away" with *Guiné*, *Arruda*, or *Vassourinha Doce*. An oxhorn in the garden will keep it away from plants.

[794] Then the man went around with hands folded, "taking the blessing" from everyone there. Seven children went out with lighted can- [776] dles. Then he got up entirely well. Today he has a *casa de candomblé*. [793] He is now very old. His *orixá* is Ogum de Gêge. The *pao de santo* who treated him is of Ogum de Mina.

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My guardian angel [*anjo de guarda*] is Xangô. Ogum is a soldier, Xangô is of the thunder and also of the lightning. He is Santa Barbara of the Irmandade. All the *orixás* are equal. But Oxalá directs everything. Nanan is his wife. In the Gêge language she is called Odé.

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My sister, she died, burned up. She caught all on fire. He who killed her is Oxóssi; it was he who killed her. My sister is buried in the Quinta dos Lazaros.[41] She burned to death because she disobeyed him. He sent a message and she paid no attention to it. Her husband had a *saveiro*.[42] Every trip which he made she went along in the boat. She had no children. Everywhere he went, she went too. When, one time, the *orixá* "arrived" and told her that she should not travel on the water, she didn't take his words very seriously; she laughed the matter off, "gave it a *muxóxó*." But about a week afterward, she went with her husband in a *saveiro* across the Bay to Bahia. Between Itaparica and Salinas the *saveiro* caught afire. It had powder on it and the powder exploded. Parts of the *saveiro* were ripped off and hurled into the water. She was surrounded by fire. When they finally reached her, she was badly burned. They brought her to the Santa Isabel Hospital,

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[40] A Brazilian bird which can be trained to sing tunes.

[41] A Bahian cemetery.

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[42] A sturdy sailboat used on Todos os Santos Bay and its contributory rivers to transport light articles of commerce.

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I stayed only seven days in the *casa*,[15] because my head was washed. Others spend three months there, lying down all the time. They lie awhile on one side, then on the other, and then face down. One takes a bath in water perfumed with sacred leaves. Every day. The bath is cold, very cold. You must change your clothes and the bed linen every day. It isn't in a real bed that one lies down. They put a mat on the floor, and you have only a pillow and a sheet. You can move, but only from one side to the other, never over on your back. During the time you are in the *camarinha*, you cannot see your relatives. You may see them only on the day you leave. But then you must go at four in the morning and return at four in the evening so that the dew will not fall on your head.

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There may be others in the *camarinha*. Sometimes many others. All of them stay in the same room. They sleep with their heads together. If there are ten, there will be space for all ten. While they are in the *camarinha*, they do not attend ceremonies.

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I did not go through all this because my head did not have to be shaved. I had my *orixá* from birth. When I came into this world, he already knew everything.[16] My *pae de santo* has "worked" with many people. Last week he was here in Fazenda Grande.

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When my *orixá* took possession of me, I quit eating he-goat. Because of the taboo of the *orixá* one cannot eat certain things. During all my life I cannot eat he-goat, because of the taboo. Neither can I eat turtle. For he who is of Xangô does not eat either he-goat or turtle. He who is of Ogum must not eat sheep's meat. Some *filhas* must not eat fruit; others must not eat fish *de couro*, only those fish which have scales. Crabs cannot be eaten by some, nor the leaf of Ogum. Water may be drunk, but only that which is drawn at 4:00 A.M., before the sun rises.

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White maize must be eaten by some, depending on the *orixá*. For every *orixá* of every nation[17] has his own food. There is the food of Odé. There is that of Xangô, which is mutton.

[15] The period during which the candidate is initiated into her new function is spent within the sacred room, or *camarinha*, of the *candomblé* center.

[16] That is, he "knew" that she would be consecrated to him.

[17] That is, of each type of *candomblé*: Gêge-Nagô, Congo, Angolo, *de caboclo*.

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My *pae de santo* made an *ebó* for me last week. It is a *limpeza do corpo* ["cleansing of the body"]. I had an unclean body and dragged myself around, listless. I went to the "master" of the *candomblé* and he "opened the table" and looked to see if my body was unclean. He then asked me to bring toasted maize, a black cloth, popcorn, honey, and a candle. He passed them all over me,[58] and when he had finished, he took them and left them in a crossroads. Friday is the day for this. 793 783

Now if a person puts a *bruxaria*[59] in your doorway, with a doll stuck through with pins, that is of the *feiticeiro* and it is different from a "cleansing of the body." My *pae de santo* does not make *feitiço*. He says that he does not care to do harm to people, because he has a soul for which he is responsible to God. But any *pae de santo* who wishes to bring harm upon someone can do so. For example, if I arrive in his *casa* and say that I want to do something to someone he asks me: "What do you want to do to her?" I say that when she comes to my door I want her to go blind. He will "make a business" and the next day she will come to my door and go blind. Or else I say that I want her to be wounded by a knife. He arranges it so that this happens.[60] 159 754 [793]

"Opening the table" is a thing done with *busios*. The *pae de santo* puts an *orixá* on top of the table, together with his little towel.[61] He takes up the *busios* and sees if "the way is open." My *pae de santo* "opens the table" with beads.[62] He takes the beads and puts them alongside *palha* from the *pindoba*.[63] These beads come from the Coast.[64] His set cost 1:000$000.[65] 159 787 793 778 [439] [435]

[58] That is, in front, to side, behind, above the head, etc.

[59] Any instrument of black magic.

[60] That is, she will be attacked in a lonely place by robbers, or accidentally stabbed. The action is always mediate.

[61] The table-covering which is placed over the *orixá* in the *pegi*, or sanctuary.

[62] Other means employed: a glass of water, a set of playing cards.

[63] Fronds from a variety of the coconut palm.

[64] That is, from the West Coast of Africa.

[65] One thousand milreis, or one conto, equivalent at that time to approximately $60.

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CHAPTER X

THE *CANDOMBLE*

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AMONG the last elements of African culture to disappear at Bahia are the customs and traditions associated with the expression of religious sentiment. The *candomblé*, or Afro-Brazilian fetish cult, is still a vigorous institution and numbers among its adherents some of the most widely known and respected members of the Bahian lower classes. Its leaders, in several conspicuous instances, are able and intelligent individuals, whose prestige extends even into the upper circles. Some *seitas*, or cult centers, have maintained the same temple of worship for generations. Their rituals and ceremonies are serious, dignified, and carried on according to definite, fixed, traditional forms.

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This highly complex organization of ritual and belief is built around an order of *orixás*, or deities, each of whom apparently personifies some natural phenomenon. Thus, of the more important and more widely honored deities, Xangô is worshiped as the *orixá* of lightning and thunder; Ogun, of war and iron; Oxossi, of the hunt; Omolú, of pestilence; Nanan, of rain; Yemanjá, of salt water; Oxun, of fresh water; Yansan, of wind and storm; Oxun-manrê, of the rainbow; and Beji, of twin births.

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The older and more respected *seitas* are commonly considered to be of Nagô (Yoruba) or Gêge (Ewe) origin or represent a fusion in Brazil of these two apparently closely related bodies of African ritual and belief.[1] In details of lan-

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[1] Nina Rodrigues, *Os africanos no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1932), p. 320.

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appears to be an overstatement. In the area surrounding the sacred lake, or the Dique, and lying between the streetcar lines known as Rio Vermelho de Cima and Rio Vermelho de Baixo are more than a score. A black who regularly attends the *seita* known as Engenho Velho is personally acquainted with eighteen *seitas*, can give the location of their sacred grounds, indicate their line of African descent, and repeat the names of their leaders. Of these eighteen *seitas*, he says that eleven are of Nagô origin, six of Angola, and one of Gêge. All are located in the outlying areas of the city in sections principally inhabited by the darker portion of the population or in the more or less open country. Of their leaders, nine are males and nine are females.[5]

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Sacred places include the *terreiro*, or temple grounds; the *franquia*, or sacred groves; sacred springs like that called Milagre do São Bartholomeu ("Miracle of St. Bartholomew"), located in an isolated spot near Pirajá, bathing in whose waters on the part of a *filha de santo* dedicated to Oxun-manrê "immediately causes the *orixá* to arrive";[6] sacred lakes, like the Dique; and the sacred arms of the sea, such as Cabeceiras da Ponte, Mont'serrat, and Baiutê. In the *terreiro* are the *barracão*, or sacred dance pavilion; the *pegi*, or fetish sanctuary; the *camarinha*, or sacred room in which initiates are interned during the period of their preparation; special huts for those *orixás*, like Exú, who "prefer to dwell outside the *pegi*"; and the living-quarters for the priest and his retinue.

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In one *seita* of Gêge-Nagô origin whose *pae de santo* is dedi-

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[5] Of the eleven Nagô centers, four of the heads are males, seven are women; of the Angola centers, five are males, one a female. The leader of the Gêge *seita* is a woman.

[6] See below, p. 286.

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occasionally one meets an older *Africano* who thinks of Olorun as "the creator of all the other *orixás*." Each is thought to have his home in Africa, and when one inquires of a black how the *orixás* can come so far to eat and drink the offerings set out for them, the answer is always easy, "They are summoned, and they come at once." 776 [178]

Each *orixá* is presumed on occasion to "manifest himself" in human form and to speak his will. Such "manifestation" is accomplished by "arriving in the head" of an individual who has been dedicated to him. His "presence" is attested by an abnormal psychic state accompanied by violent, spasmodic muscular movements, particularly of the neck, shoulder, and back muscles. Seizure ordinarily takes place during ceremonial dances, but occasionally (quite rare today) it may occur spontaneously while the individual is alone and about his work. Subsequently, the one in whom the *orixá* has "arrived" and "manifested himself" is unaware of what has transpired. 794 776 787

The name, sex, personification, fetish, insignia, sacred foods, sacred dress, sacred ornaments, sacred day, and identifying call of the principal Gêge-Nagô *orixás* at Bahia are as given in Table 15. 794 776

Each *seita* is presided over by a priest or priestess known as the *pae de santo* or *mãe de santo* (literally, the "father" or "mother" of the *orixás*). His (or her) most important functions are to identify a "manifesting" deity, supervise the initiation of the ceremonial dancers in whom an initial "manifestation" has occurred, perform the sacred ritual designed to "fix" the *orixá* in the fetish, supervise the sacrifices, and preside at public ceremonies. He may also exercise, to some extent at least, the office of an *olhador*, or diviner, who "throws the Ifá" to determine in advance the 794 793

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794 outcome of some projected action; and also the office of a
793 *curandeiro*, who diagnoses ailments and prescribes cures. He may minister to a clientele even outside the members of the *seita*, giving advice and counsel on matters of business, politics, love, etc.

794 Disputes between members of the *seita* are ordinarily sub-
793 mitted for adjudication to the *pae* or *mãe de santo*. Persua-
627 sion is at first employed. But if this proves unsuccessful, the priest orders each of the disputants to wash his particular fetish, upon which, with rare exceptions, acceptance of mediation is secured. The settling of the dispute is then celebrated by each party to the quarrel drinking from the water
[688] in which the other's fetish has been washed. Continuance of the altercation will break the implied promise to the *orixá* and render the offender liable to punishment, which is ordinarily death.

794 The *pae* or *mãe de santo* may also exercise the function of
793 a *feiticeiro* and deal in black magic. But this occupation is
754 disclaimed by several of the more prominent priests and priestesses, who refuse to countenance deeds designed to do harm to their fellow-men. It appears to be exercised more often by heads of the recently organized and "less careful" *caboclo seitas*.[1]

794 Age, number of years a member of the cult, intimate
793 knowledge of the ritual, and, particularly, purity of African
554 descent are important considerations in determining the prestige of a *pae* or *mãe de santo*.

For some reason male members of the *seita* rarely experi-

[556] [1] A *pae de santo* of a *caboclo candomblé* who is widely feared for his success in working black magic possesses a considerable bank account, numerous properties in the city, and rich cocoa land near Ilhéos, all acquired, it is said, from the exercise of this profession. However, it is quite probable that his political activity contributed a goodly portion.

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For
some reason male members of the seita rarely experience, as do the women members, the "manifestation" of an *orixá*. Consequently, very few males ever pass through the rigorous period of training which must always follow the initial "appearance" of a deity in a given individual. Moreover, the men, being more mobile than the women, are ordinarily brought into more extensive contact with the Europeans and their descendants and consequently tend to take over more readily the ideas and sentiments of the whites. The women, on the other hand, ordinarily remain more closely identified with the customs and traditions of their African ancestors. It is probably for this reason that several of the more prominent and influential *candomblés* in Bahia now have women leaders. For the head of a *seita*, upon his approaching death, ordinarily chooses the new priest (or priestess) from among those members of the cult who are most learned in the ritual and other tradition. When asked about the occasion for So-and-so's selection, cult members always say, "Ele [*or* ela] é muito sabido" ("He is very learned in the ritual").

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Other sacred functionaries include the *ogans*, or male members of the *seita*, who assist the *pae* or *mãe de santo* with the ritual, particularly in invoking the presence of the *orixás* during ceremonial dances, help initiate new *ogans*, act as intermediaries between the *seita* and the legal authorities, and contribute toward the expenses of the cult; the *achôgun*, or "second *pae*" as he is often called, who performs the sacrifices; the *jibonam*, or *pequena mãe* ("little mother"), next in authority to the *mãe de santo*, who assists the ceremonial dancers in carrying out their *preceitos*, or ritualistic obligations, and who makes the *despacho*, or food offering, to Exú at the opening of each important ceremony; the musicians, who assist at certain secret rituals and all public cere-

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4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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forcefully to her head, one in front and one in back, as if in great pain. Knees then gave way and shoulders and back muscles began to vibrate violently. In one case, the spine stiffened and, with the exception of the shoulder muscles which continued a rapid quivering, the entire body became rigid, with arms and legs stretched out at full length. Meanwhile, the *filha* whimpered, cried, or shrieked aloud.

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To reach the *seita* of a well-known *mãe de santo*, one takes a Calçada car out of the city, past orange groves and fields of tall forage grass, to the Matadouro, where he alights and begins to climb a steep winding road lined with the *nativo* plant (said to be native to Africa) and *uricuri* and coconut palms, until, after more than a mile of trudging, he comes out onto a high ridge overlooking a green valley, where he can see, far in the distance, the houses of the city. A cool breeze blows in from the sea and tempers the heat of the tropical sun. In a grove of scattered palm trees nestle several houses, some of which are neatly whitewashed and others tinted pink, yellow, or blue.

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The *mãe de santo* is called Anninha. She is a tall regal-appearing black, whose slightest gesture is immediately obeyed by members of her *seita*. She owns considerable property and is said to be otherwise quite well to do. She boasts, proudly, "Sou filha de dois Africanos, graças a Deus" ("I am the daughter of two Africans, thank God"). Queito she learned to speak, she says, from her parents; Nagô she acquired "in the *seita*." She is illiterate, but of her learning in the ritual and belief of the African cult an *ogan* says, with pride, "She knows African things better than anyone I know in Bahia." Intelligent, quick-witted, agile in debate, she is one of the most widely respected and revered leaders of the Afro-Brazilian world.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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revered leaders of the Afro-Brazilian world. When a priest argued with her that, since she had not been ordained by the pope, she had no "spiritual authority" to carry on religious rites, she quickly inquired if Moses, "that great prophet and leader of his people, was ordained by the pope?" The first man, she maintains, must not have been a white man but instead a colored man; "if not black, at least red. For do the scholars not say that man originated in Asia, and do white men ever come out of that continent?" Jesus also must have been an African, or at least a person quite dark. "For did not his parents once hide him in Egypt? And is not Egypt in Africa? If Jesus was not dark, how could they have hidden him among the people of Africa?"

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This *mãe de santo* was "made" over fifty years ago in the *candomblé* of Engenho Velho. "My *seita* is pure Nagô, like Engenho Velho," she boasts. "But I have revived much of the African tradition which even Engenho Velho has forgotten. Do they have a ceremony for the twelve ministers of Xangô?[11] No! But I have." She is planning to rebuild her *barracão*, or sacred dance pavilion, to be paid for by tithes levied on the incomes of members of her *seita*. She owns a small store in the Terreiro where she sells the various articles used in the cult ritual and, since the members of the fetish world know that these articles must be, if she sells

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[11] According to a well known Bahian *babalaô*, Xangô was a great African chief whose cruelties the people sought to do away with by setting fire one night to his dwelling. Everyone in it burned except Xangô, who walked unscathed through the flames. Astounded, the people prostrated themselves before him and begged his forgiveness. Xangô became a powerful king and subjected many neighboring tribes, twelve of whose chiefs subsequently became his royal advisers, or ministers. Even before his death, which occurred at an advanced age, Xangô was being worshiped. Cf. Martiniano do Bomfim, "Os ministros de Xangô," *Estado da Bahia*, May 5, 1937.

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4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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•793 them, legitimate, the store does a thriving business. She
159 says:
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The *Africano* doesn't worship things made with human hands. He worships nature. What is the *pedra* [the fetish stone]? Is it not a mineral? No human hands have made it.

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793 We are just as Christian as the Catholics. Only we follow the law
159 of Moses. He commanded that sacrifices be made of sheep, goats,
771 oxen, chickens, pigeons, and so forth. Is it not so? We merely obey his commandments.

There are two parts to the Bible, are there not? The Old Testament and the New. We follow the Old as well as the New. In the days before Christ, the people worshiped God with singing and dancing. Is it not so? David played his harp and sang psalms and danced before the Lord. We have our songs, too, and each has a special meaning. Just as the Catholics have something to remind them of their saints, so we have something to remind us of our *orixás*. But we do not worship images made with human hands like they do. We worship nature.

794 One of the assistants of the *mãe de santo*, an elderly Negro woman who "takes care of" the *terreiro*, is said to be over ninety years of age, is known by an African name, Bádá, and speaks Nagô as well as, or better than, she speaks Portuguese. No one in the fetish world at Bahia is said "to give her the blessing," because she is the "oldest" (that is, the longest "made" or "confirmed") in the city. She laments "the old days" before the Africans in Bahia all died.

794 A Negro man of seventy-seven years of age, Martiniano,
576 one of two *babalaôs* in Bahia, known and thoroughly respected throughout the fetish world for his piety and sincerity and his knowledge of African customs and traditions, is, upon entering the connecting-room to the *pegi*, saluted by a rapid beat of muffled drums. He bows to the drummers, acknowledging their greeting, steps into the *pegi*, bows low before the altar, touches the ground with the tips of his
794 fingers, and repeats a prayer in Nagô. So learned is he "in

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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794 [302] Three of the dancers are *yauôs*, in process of being "made." Their heads have been shaved clean, and white spots and [301] blue lines have been painted upon them. On their cheeks are white spots and white lines. Around the neck, or over the right shoulder and under the left arm, are long chains of large cowries imported from the West Coast.

794 346 353 177 776 In a special building with a cement floor is "the throne room of Xangô." At one side is an altar to him, which is lavishly decorated with candles and flowers, both fresh and artificial. Indicating the fusion of Catholic and fetish elements, one notes on the lower step an image of Santo Antonio, on the second, one of Nossa Senhora das Candeias, on the third, an image of the twins, Cosme and Damião, and, on the top level, one of São Jeronimo. The *mãe de santo* says that Santo Antonio is "just another name" for Ogun; as similarly is Nossa Senhora das Candeias, for the water deity, Oxun; Cosme and Damião, for Beji; and São Jeronimo, for Xangô.

794 346 [352] On the other side of the room is "the throne of Xangô," a wooden chair, intricately carved, with a pillow for a headrest. Suspended on the walls are pictures of several Catholic saints.

[353] In the center of an adjoining room is "the spring of the *mãe d'agua*," a huge basin built of cement and containing ten to twelve inches of water. On the wall is the Nagô inscription, "Ilé Awon Afonjá" ("House of Xangô").

794 793 159 The leader of another *seita* is a male black, known as Pae Procopio, sixty-six years of age, of Gêge descent, whose father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, he proudly boasts, were all Africans and *paes de santo*. His mother's sister was also "an *Africano*," but his mother was a Brazilian-born black, a *mãe de santo* who "deixou o cargo" (i.e., left the

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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office of priest) to him. He is dedicated to the same *orixá*, Ogun, as was she, and speaks, he claims, "a little of six different African languages: Nagô, Gêge, Ige-chá, Queito, Egba, and Musurumi." He owns "a roomful" of ceremonial costumes, one of which is said to have cost six contos (approximately $360). He considers his task to be that of "doing good" and refuses to deal in black magic, an attitude which has cost him, it is said, "much money."[11] He is godfather to approximately a hundred and fifteen children and is soon to be godfather to nine others who are on the point of receiving the baptismal ceremony. He visits about the Reconcavo, particularly in Cachoeira, exercising his office of *pae de santo*, and is said to have paid similar visits to Rio de Janeiro, Pernambuco, Maranhão, and Pará, in each of which he has "made" several *filhas* and "confirmed" *ogans*.

793 159 [191] [292] [435] [608]

The *achôgun*, or sacrificer, is an elderly black with a kindly face and snow-white hair. The leader of the drummers, or the *alabê*, a jolly black whose mother (now deceased) was a *mãe de santo* in Cidade de Palha, is very expert with the drums, speaks Nagô, and sings in a high-pitched but rather pleasant voice the African *cantigas*, or ritualistic songs. An *ogan* says of him, proudly, "He knows almost as much about African things as a *pae de santo*."

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An elderly Negro woman, who walks haltingly with a cane, attends every ceremony. Younger friends carefully help her to a seat where she can see everything that goes on. Leaning forward on her cane, her intelligent eyes wide open, her face continually breaking into beaming smiles, she joins

[11] An *ogan* of this *seita* says that a *pae de santo* in Itapoan named Gregorio (now deceased) once declined twelve contos (approximately $720) "to make a man mad." This *ogan* knows, however, a *mãe de santo* who, as he says, became angered at the remarks of a young skeptic and "made a *negocio*" (literally a "business"; i.e., black magic) which "drove him mad in two days."

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4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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794 girl carries in her hand the insignia of Oxun, a *leque* (fan) of brass decorated with a star.

794 All the other dancers, except one, are dressed in the
796 *bahiana* costume, with wide-flowing skirts of bright-colored
[291] cotton prints, blouses trimmed in handmade lace, and a *pano da Costa* two feet in width tied tightly around the small of the back and over the breasts. One woman about thirty-five years of age is dressed in an ordinary street costume of
[301] tailored blouse and skirt. Many of the dancers wear bracelets of copper, brass, bronze, lead, or glass beads, often on both wrists and occasionally three to four to the arm. One dancer has five strands of cowries about her neck.

794 The priestess of the *seita*, Mãe Menninha, is a large
• 793 black woman, forty-one years of age, who has officiated in this *seita* for twenty-four years. She proudly speaks of herself as "uma neta d'um Africano" ("the granddaughter of an African").

786 Every dance begins with the salutation of the *mãe de san-*
535 *to*, which is accomplished by striking decisively the *agôgô*.
794 Immediately the drums take up the rhythm. The *filhas* be-
796 gin to dance, the circle turning like the rim of a wheel,
[576] counterclockwise. The women have their hands clasped be-
[533] hind their backs, their shoulders are hunching backward and forward, their bodies bending at the waist from side to side. One of the Oxun initiates moves with a halting, jerking movement, then suddenly pivots a complete turn. All the dancers are singing a refrain which sounds like, "Ô-mi-á, bá-
794 tû-lê." After some twenty minutes of continuous dancing,
796 one of the *filhas* suddenly becomes "possessed," her eyes
787 close, her expression becomes listless, while her neck and shoulder muscles work convulsively back and forth "in
786 time to the music." Voluntary control is apparently gone,

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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night was falling, he, all covered with sores and bruises, began to approach his father's house.

But his father, who saw the traveler coming a long way off, did not recognize him and consequently did not go out to meet him. Xapanã's mother, however, knew her son and in pity at his misfortune, begged and pleaded with her husband to have compassion for him and to receive him like the legitimate son he was.

But the old man turned to her and said:

"This fellow is not my son, because I never had a son who was full of sores."

But, at last, due to the continued pleadings of his wife, the ancient one inquired of the traveler what his name was. Xapanã replied:

"I am called Lazarus."

"Who is Lazarus?" asked the father.

Then Xapanã said: "I am he whom God permitted to use this name."

But the old man persisted in knowing the reason why, if he was Xapanã, he was using the name of Lazarus.

The son turned to his father and replied very quietly:

"I am Xapanã, the lord over pestilence throughout the whole world." And he sang in Queito:

"I say "Guedé,"
I am Obaluaiê,
I call out "Guedé,"
I am Obaluaiê,
Tôtô."

The old man Omolú then replied:

"Ojé badô
Dô lá."

And the young man sang:

"Ojé di apá."

In this way the two came to know each other, and Xapanã "the Elder" recognized Xapanã "the Younger."

A few whites, even from the upper classes, visit the *pae de santo* to obtain advice on business, politics, and other matters or aid in the cure and prevention of disease. Numerous

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4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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As a Bahian white said, "When a black man puts on a tie and shoes and learns to read and write, he loses interest in the *candomblé*. There are really two civilizations at Bahia, ours and the African. When a black begins seriously to take on our customs, he seldom spends any more time at *candomblés*." A prominent mulatto educator remarked, "I've never been to a fetish cult. I have no interest in them." A Negro laborer admitted that he used to go to such ceremonies, "but no more; I've given all that up now." The young nephew of a prominent *babalaô* said, "All this low stuff ought to be done away with. It's a sign of a very backward people. It has even disappeared in Africa. The English came into Lagos and brought modern civilization. Only in Bahia do these old customs hang on."

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Indicative of the disintegrating state of the fetish world is the continuous and, at times, acute jealousy among the leaders and members of its more orthodox centers. In a given *seita* one hears much critical gossip regarding the practices of some other center. It is accused of forsaking the "true" African tradition and of inadequately interpreting mystical experiences. As the number of *Africanos* decreases, competition between the *seitas* for their allegiance is naturally increasing.

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Among the Negroes who still identify themselves with the cult, the past tends to be romanticized, and the prestige of the "old Africans," like Bambuxê, Adeta, Iyalode Erelu, and others, to be constantly enhanced. Similarly, the prestige of the older cult figures who are still living—the *babalaô* Martiniano, *mãe de santo* Anninha,[11] and the aged Maria Bádá,

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[11] Since this was written, *mãe de santo* Anninha has died. Of her funeral, the *Estado da Bahia* (January 5, 1938) said: "The crowd of people who accompanied the body to Quinta dos Lazaros Cemetery was one of the largest ever seen in Bahia and recalls the funeral for Pae Adão in Recife. More than

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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all of whom represent the African tradition in its "purest" form—is, throughout the fetish world, very great.[22]

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two thousand persons were present, including members of the Irmandade of Rôsario Church, dressed in their robes. The coffin, which was, in keeping with Anninha's request, quite modest, had over it the robe she had worn as a member of this Irmandade of which she was so proud, and was carried on the shoulders of the Brothers of Nossa Senhora do Rosario and of São Benedicto. The crowd of mourners blocked traffic in Rua Dr. Seabra for more than half an hour. Some *filhas de santo* wept unceasingly. Others related the virtues of the kind Anninha.

"When the coffin, carried by pious hands, entered the large gate of the cemetery, the *atabaques* broke out into African rhythms, while sad voices rose in the African songs of the *seita* to which the illustrious *mãe de santo* belonged.

"In the chapel of the cemetery, Canon Assis Curvello repeated the *encommendação*, and her body was laid away in a recently opened crypt.

"Then several orators spoke, among them Snr. Alvaro MacDowell de Oliveira in the name of the União das Seitas Afro-Brasileiras da Bahia, the journalist Edison Carneiro, and representatives of the Centro Cruz Santa do Aché de Okô Afonjá and of the Irmandade of Rosario Church. When the ceremony was over, two omnibuses carried a large number of the friends of Anninha to São Gonçalo do Retiro, where they took part in the preparatory ritual for the African funeral ceremony of Axêxê, to be held seven days after the death of the beloved leader of the *terreiro* of Aché de Okô Afonjá. This ceremony will consist of rites for the eternal peace of the dead *mãe de santo* and will be participated in by *ogans*, *filhas de santo*, *paes de santo*, and other friends of the deceased."

[22] This chapter is primarily based upon the author's personal experience as a visitor at numerous ceremonies in eighteen *seitas* at Bahia and as a participant over a period of several months as an *ogan* in the *candomblé* of Pae Procopio in Matatú. For further information see, in addition to the works of Nina Rodrigues, Arthur Ramos, Manoel Querino, and Edison Carneiro previously cited: Padre Étienne Ignace Brasil, "Le Fetichisme des negres du Brésil," *Anthropos*, III (1908), 881–904; Gonçalves Fernandes, *Xangôs do Nordeste* (Rio, 1937) and *O folklore magico do Nordeste* (Rio, 1938); João Varella, *Cosme e Damião* (Bahia, 1938); the novels *O feiticeiro* by Xavier Marques (Bahia, 1922) and *Jubiabá* by Jorge Amado (Rio, 1935); and newspaper accounts such as "Creado o conselho africano da Bahia," *Estado da Bahia*, August 4, 1937, and "No mundo cheio de mysterios dos espiritos e 'paes de santo,'" *Ibid.*, May 14, 1936.

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[SALVADOR]

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*563 794 were refused because of their "quality." Some of the examples mentioned are evidently a matter of class discrimination rather than of race or color. Nevertheless, a morena girl reports that, although she had satisfied all the requisite conditions, she was unable to enter a third order because, as a member of the management of the order told her, it did not accept colored persons. Nevertheless in almost all the most important brotherhoods there are light "brothers" of mixed blood, who are "socially white," and even dark mulattoes. The proportion in which such persons *563 794 463 are accepted varies according to the professional tradition of each organization. In those where merchants predominate, one finds a reflection of what has taken place in commerce: the number of dark persons is smaller there; the Father who directs one of these has more than once cautioned his associates against the opposition they show toward admitting into their ranks dark individuals who otherwise satisfy all the moral and spiritual conditions required. In the brotherhoods controlled by the liberal professions, and above all in those that from organizations of classes have become organizations of charity and mutual aid, one finds numerous colored persons, even in positions of management. In one important brotherhood, frequently mentioned by the informants as being very discriminatory, 49 o/o of the members are merchants, 22 o/o practice a liberal profession, 7 o/o are in the bureaucracy. Thus, out of the 1,004 members whose portraits can be consulted in the files of the association, 81 o/o have a white phenotype, 15.64 o/o are morenos, and 2.88 o/o light mulattoes; all the director-members are white. In another brotherhood, traditionally governed by judges, lawyers, physicians, and other members of liberal professions, there are 11 pardos among the 34 members of the board of management; in the list of its "brothers" one can identify numerous métis and even a very dark Black who occupies an important public office. The priests who supervise this brotherhood, members of a *563 794 foreign religious order, have the right to put their veto against •793 the names of candidates whom they judge not to be suitable for any reason whatsoever; they are not bound to give the reason for their 797 decision; numerous members state that these priests almost always

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*563 794 • 793 797 [554] give the reasons that make them oppose someone's acceptance, and that they do not use their rights to prevent the acceptance of a candidate solely because of his color. A pardo who has occupied important positions in the administration of the State and who even reached the highest offices of his brotherhood asserts that the fathers who direct it, although the majority are Europeans, maintain the best relations with /75/ dark colored persons and even appear very affectionate toward them; colored persons are able, as may be seen, to be classified socially or to confirm their status by means of institutions. The Catholic religion offers them other, similar

*563 794 554 means. This is what happens, as we have already indicated, with regard to the "judges" and the festeiros, persons chosen each year to solicit donors and to organize the solemn festivals of the patrons of the church or chapel. This choice, made by the priest responsible or by the management of the religious associations, is based on social and economic prestige, much more than on other personal attributes (except morality and reputation); thus, color has never excluded anyone from one of these functions. An observer who has often dealt with these matters can testify to this.

*563 793 [175] [567] The Catholic priesthood is no longer a privilege of finos Whites. The ecclesiastical constitutions in force during the period of slavery forbade the ordination of slaves, so that priests should not be subject to a servile condition, deprived of the liberty and authority necessary for the practice of their ministry. Slaves were excluded, not Blacks, so that at the beginning of the last century foreign travelers were astonished to see black and mulatto priests officiating in the churches of the principal Brazilian cities. At

[555] the end of the eighteenth century colored men were able to take holy orders, and the Church became a means of social ascent "for all kinds of persons of humble circumstances, whatever their racial or family origin (1)."

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1. Roger Bastide, "Religion and the Church in Brazil," in Brazil, Portrait of Half a Continent, p. 339.

[SALVADOR]

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*563 793 Since that time priests who were black and of mixed blood began to distinguish themselves, in Bahia as throughout the country, as sacred orators, professors of Latin, of philosophy and rhetoric, of Portuguese, and as superiors and directors of educational institutions, prefects of studies, etc. Proud of this, the Blacks expressed their antagonism toward the mulattoes and cabôclos by repeating [539] this quatrain:

> I have seen many Negroes
> At the altar in the act of saying Mass
> And the cabôclo, all that he achieves
> Is to be usher.

*563 792 829 [797] In the religious orders, directed in general by European monks or of European structure, the prejudice that maintains that the métis find it difficult to be faithful to the vow of chastity persisted for a long time. Such a belief must have strongly influenced the opposition to the ordination of colored religious. An /76/ intellectual of dark color relates that during his youth, more than 40 years ago, he, wishing to become a priest, entered a religious order, but the superior of the monastery to which he applied, a Spaniard, advised him to seek another path. Astonished by this refusal, he demanded an explanation, and the superior told him that he might find it difficult to subject himself to the discipline, because men of his type are obliged to make great efforts to remain chaste. And since the informant thought that in the secular clergy he would be very much in danger of betraying his trust, he gave up his idea. Thus, even today, the religious orders include very few métis. [178] The situation is beginning to improve, however, with the ordination of some moreno and light mulatto monks; in an apostolic school in which one of these orders trains young men wishing to embrace the religious life, there is at present a majority of pardos and cabôclos recruited from among modest families of the interior, particularly in the rural area of the northeastern part of the State of Bahia. Light mulattoes, ordained in the course of recent years, have been trained in the same school. In the *563 565 792 178 female religious orders the difficulties for the acceptance of colored girls are very much greater. Not only are some of them directed by European religious, but there still persists the Portuguese

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*563 562 792 178 tradition of accepting as religious only the daughters of nobles and of high colonial officials, and as "servants" girls of colored or humble extraction. Therefore, the number of morenas or very light mulatto religious is minimal and all are of recent admission.

*563 • 793 [829] There is also a prejudice, widespread among the priests of the secular clergy, that "the mulattoes are very inclined to concupiscence and to arrogance when they are intelligent." Nevertheless dark priests are ordained. At least 30 o/o of the 176 priests ordained at the archdiocesan theological seminary of Bahia between 1907 and 1951 were colored; among 50 colored priests identified in the register, at least seven were very dark or black. Approximately the same proportion can be noted among the 42 secular priests living in the city. Among those who are best known as sacred orators and who are invited to preach on solemn occasions in the ecclesiastical life and in the religious ceremonies that precede the examinations of the different schools of the local university, there are numerous pardos and Blacks, some of whom enjoy a great deal of prestige as vicars of important parishes, as professors, and as men of letters. The theological seminary of the archdiocese also includes at present an [874] increased number of young colored students, made up of dark mulattoes and Blacks.

/77/ Sports

*563 526 In no matter what study of the most popular sports of Brazil, whether it is a matter of football, rowing, basketball, volleyball, or tennis, it is indispensable to consider that some of them are practiced by certain socio-economic groups and that others, after having been a pastime of some of these groups, have become a profession.

*563 526 575 Tennis in Bahia is a bourgeois sport that an extremely limited number of people play. On the grounds of one of the principal clubs where this sport is played one does not see colored persons, except now and then one or two morenos of high rank from the liberal professions or from commerce. A mulatto practicing a

5: Azevedo--129 D, Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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12. Brotherhood of Blacks.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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[113] [12]Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, No. 8 (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço Gráfico do Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatistica, 1949), pp. 59-80.
[114] The Zona Fisiográfica Centro-Litoral (Central-Littoral Physiographic zone) is one of a series of nine so-called physiographic zones used as major subdivisions in Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, No. 8. It includes all 21 of the Recôncavo municípios, and 17 others.

[13]Amaral, op. cit., II, 367.

[14]Amaral, op. cit., II, 366, and Calogeras, op. cit., p. 31.

[139] [15]Manihot utilissima, called cassava, manioc, or, sometimes, tapioca in English and mandioca in Portuguese.

[16]Amaral, op. cit., II, 11-12.

[17]Prado, op. cit., pp. 40-41.

[18]Minas, Yorbes, Geges, Hausa, and other Guinea Coast peoples. [113] See T. Lynn Smith, Brazil: People and Institutions (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1946), pp. 168-169.

[194] [191] [19]African religions, for example, survive in a modified form in the candomblé (fetish) cults and in the supernatural conceptions prevalent in the Recôncavo.

[20]Neither the total number of slaves imported into Brazil nor the number brought to the Recôncavo is known. Calogeras, op. cit., pp. 27-28, estimates the number as 40,000 per year in the seventeenth century, 50,000 per year in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, or 14,000,000 for the 300 years of the slave trade. Another source has estimated that 1,200,000 slaves were imported between 1550 and 1850, a more reasonable figure. See section by Pedro Calmon in Curious and Interesting Facts Concerning the First European Settlement Made in the New World, p. 9. It is also asserted in this latter source that "more than half remained in Bahia;" this is less reasonable.

[21]Prado, op. cit., p. 46.

[216] [22]A rope-like twist of dark, often sweetened, tobacco wound in a large coil of 50 to 100 lbs.

[23]At the end of the seventeenth century Bahia was exporting 7,500 tons of sugar per year; Pernambuco 5,400 tons, and Rio de Janeiro 5,350 tons. At this same period Bahia exported 25,000 rolls of tobacco (perhaps 1,125 tons at 45 kg. per roll) compared with 2,500 rolls from Pernambuco and Alagoas. Calogeras, op. cit., p. 31.

[433] [24]Calogeras, op. cit., pp. 30-31, cites João Antonil, Cultura e Opulencia do Brasil, por sus Drogas e Minas (1711), who says that in 1711 the mean sugar export--which must have been virtually the entire production--per engenho in Bahia was 52 tons, in Rio de Janeiro 41 tons, and in Pernambuco 22 tons. The weight is given in arrobas by Calogeras.

[25]Amaral, op. cit., II, 84.

[26]Calogeras, op. cit., pp. 38-39.

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tying into the Bay, to protect the plantations situated on river banks, a location in all other respects ideal for sugar mills. Vila Recôncavo was chosen as the site for a battery in 1668 and was given guns and men. It was also necessary to maintain a small fleet of armed ships to help repel pirates. One side of the hill on which the convent is situated, which overlooks the Bay and lies directly at the mouth of the river coming from Centro, is still called the Battery in remembrance of the days when it was part of the old fortifications.
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The second formal administrative unit to be formed was that of the county of Vila Recôncavo. Until 1693 Salvador was the only judicial and legislative center in Bahia. Because of development in the Recôncavo it was thought necessary at this time to create three vilas in the area, this being the term then applied to the administrative centers of counties. Thus in February of 1698 Vila Recôncavo became one of the first organized counties (municipios) in the Recôncavo, a transformation which made it the center of much activity as it was now the seat of local rural government, tax collecting, and justice. Since its creation the county of Vila Recôncavo has shrunk in size as new counties have been established in the Recôncavo. Vila Recôncavo lost part of its land, until in 1945 it retained only 189 square kilometers, less than half its original area.
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Prior to either military or civil divisions, there had already existed religious divisions, or parishes. The parish of São Gonçalo included the town of Vila Recôncavo and much of the hinterland. The mother church (matriz) of the parish was constructed in the town in 1678. It was reconstructed in 1887 by the third Baron of Vila Recôncavo, at which time it had fallen into such disrepair that the reconstruction was a complete renovation. This was done in great simplicity, blotting out most of the former ornateness. Today it is again in need of repair as the plaster is falling off, exposing the still solid stone and cement construction of three-foot-thick walls. Most of the wood in the altars, floors, and inner partitions is rotting away. The outside has turned black from the action of the salt air on the whitewash. For more than forty years the parish has been unable to support a priest, and the duties of caring for the spiritual needs of the parishioners has fallen upon the Franciscans. The church is opened now only for Mass on Sundays, and for occasional missions and weddings throughout the year.
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In 1718 the chapel of the Franciscan convent was replaced
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These houses (solares, or sobrados) were enormous, constructed of stone and mortar, with wooden floors and ceilings. Stone and wood were themselves a sign of wealth, since it was necessary to bring them from a great distance. The furniture was often of handworked rosewood. Affluence was especially shown in table service of silver, porcelain, and crystal, most of which was imported from Europe. Members of the families frequently dressed in fine damask silks and were adorned with fine jewelry of gold and precious stones. It was not unusual for the plantation master to dress a few of his favorite slaves almost as well as his family and to parade them to church as an indication of his wealth. Another method of demonstrating wealth was the support of churches, especially that of the Tertiary Order of Franciscans.

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The plantation master eventually lost his prominence. When the capital of the colony was moved from Bahia to Rio de Janeiro in 1763 he was no longer so politically powerful, except locally, for there was too much distance between him and the new capital. Transportation was poor and communication still poorer. Also, other crops--namely coffee, cotton, rubber, and finally cacao--became more valuable than sugar. The abolition of slavery in 1888 was the final blow to the power of the plantation master.

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It was usually admitted that the greatest wealth or source of wealth of the plantation master was his slaves. At first the Portuguese colonists tried to enslave the Indians and put them to work on the sugar plantations, but the Indians sickened and died off easily. There was also great opposition, on the part of the Jesuits, to the enslavement of Indians. The importation of African slaves seemed to be the solution. From the middle of the sixteenth century until about the middle of the nineteenth century ships plied back and forth from Bahia to the west coast of Africa, carrying tobacco, leather, and rum to be traded for slaves. The African slave always brought a higher price in the market in Bahia than did the Indian slave. It was considered that a normal plantation or mill of a thousand acres needed approximately two hundred slaves, divided among the fields, the mill, the various skills, and the house of the owner. In the nineteenth century the procurement of slaves became increasingly difficult as a result of European, North American, and even Brazilian opposition to slavery. In the mid-nineteenth century the slave trade was officially prohibited and the traffic became clandestine. The prices of slaves soared at this

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517 of the time, visiting little and receiving the local gossip from
[546] their servants. Since the advent of movies, however, it has
become fashionable for husband and wife and sometimes the
children to attend the show together. When the circus comes
[541] to town it is now common for them to go as a family at least
once. As a rule, however, church services are attended sep-
[794] arately, the wives and daughters going together and the men
singly if at all, and standing in the back rather than sitting
[574] with the family. Dinners, card parties, or social gatherings
with friends in the house, such as are common to North Amer-
ican small towns, do not exist here at all. About the only trav-
eling these people do is to Salvador, where they stay with rel-
atives while they make short visits, go to the doctor, or go
shopping.

*565 Even the older members of Class B are less well educated
871 than those of Class A, and do not belong to families which are
nationally prominent. In many cases they have relatives in
Salvador, but in no case do they maintain a second home there.
Although their children may go to primary school in Vila Re-
côncavo, which the children of Class A would never do, they
are sent to Salvador for further education; and several of the
present generation are studying for degrees in law and med-
*565 icine. As has already been pointed out, this class engages in
[571] little social activity in common with Class A, and in almost
none with rural Class B persons. Daughters of families be-
[867] longing to this class are carefully chaperoned and have little
freedom. Their lives are spent at home, sewing, embroidering,
[582] and helping their mothers in the house. Their prospects for
marriage are poor. This applies also to the schoolteachers
*565 who are sent to the town and who also belong to this class.
There is little opportunity for them to marry in Vila Recôn-
582 cavo unless they accept a social inferior, which commonly
875 happens to rural schoolteachers in Brazil. "Felipe," as the
schoolteacher's husband is generally known, is always a "no-
good" supported by his wife. There are two cases in Vila Re-
côncavo of local upper-class wives who work--they are both
schoolteachers, supplementing their husbands' incomes and
alleviating the dullness of their lives.

*565 Class C in the rural area consists of the field hands and the
factory workers, who constitute the major part of the pop-
ulation. There are no "pure whites" in this group, but a scat-
[184] tering of "whites of the land." In general the factory workers
consider themselves superior to the agricultural laborers;

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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An old cult priestess

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The "beauty parlor," Vila Recôncavo

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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8. Religion

[249] DURING COLONIAL and empire times, religion occupied a large part of the lives of the landed aristocracy. The town of Vila Recôncavo had a Franciscan convent, a large mother church of the parish of São Gonçalo, and the chapel of the [193] Third Order of Franciscans. In the rural area of the community nearly every plantation had its own chapel, which formed part of the owner's house, and its own chaplain to care for the spiritual needs of the landowning families and their [794] slaves. Much of the wealth of landowners was used to build magnificent churches, to sponsor religious processions, and to maintain religious brotherhoods for laymen.

178 In this century, however, Catholicism is no longer the official state religion, the landowners no longer support the 79 town church as they used to, and the Third Order of Franciscans has died out in Vila Recôncavo. Today members of the *[565] upper class (Class A) confine their support to the churches they attend in Salvador, leaving the local church to the mercy of God and to the gente pequena of the town. Visits from the Franciscans to celebrate Mass and give instruction for first communion have taken the place of the plantation chaplain and chapel. The priests today say that the people of the community have no intellectual basis for understanding religious teachings or beliefs. Consequently, they say that they now seek only to have as many as possible conform to the outer forms and rituals of the church and refrain from attending the African cults.

175 In addition to the formal structure of the Catholic Church there arose, especially in the nineteenth century, many houses 794 of African cultism, called in this region candomblé. The ad-

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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herents of these cults, female slaves and former slaves for the most part, followed a lengthy routine to become practitioners in the various cult houses and spent large sums of money, according to legend, on the required bracelets, necklaces, and clothing.

Today, however, the cult priests and priestesses have the same complaint as the Catholic priests. They say that young people no longer have the understanding or the patience necessary to prepare for devotion in the cult houses. The older priestesses deplore the degeneration of some of these houses and the admission of Indian spirits, which are now displacing the African gods.

Spiritualism has recently entered the community. So far it has been limited to few people in the community, although it is very popular in Salvador.

The use of the supernatural as described in Willems' Cunha[1] does not take place in Vila Recôncavo. In Cunha the saints are asked to send rain whenever it appears that the crops are in danger. But in Vila Recôncavo, which lies in a semitropical rain area, there is no need for such invocations. Besides, these are large-scale economic crops, not subsistence produce on which the people depend directly for their living.

The Catholic Church in Vila Recôncavo

During the colonial period each religious parish was carefully delineated and conserved, but later political divisions cut across parish lines. This has made the use of colonial statistics very difficult. During colonial and empire times the church was the main census organ, but since parishes and counties do not coincide in their outlines the statistics are little help today in comparing the present with the past. Each parish built a mother church (matriz) in the parish town. Each of these churches had a patron saint, who was also the patron of the parish, and a resident priest or priests.

In the town of Vila Recôncavo, the county seat, a mother church was built, with São Gonçalo as its patron saint; also constructed was the Franciscan convent, connected with an opulent Third Order. As the Recôncavo entered its long per-

1. Emilio Willems, Cunha: Tradição e transição en uma cultura rural do Brasil (Sao Paulo, 1947), Chapter 7.

2: Hutchinson E-4.5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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ter them any others who want to receive it. Through the year few people from the rural area go to hear Mass in town, unless they have asked for a special service in honor of their patron saint or in the memory of a dead relative. They usually wait for the priest's visit to their own locality. The same is true of weddings and baptisms, which are often held up pending the arrival of the priest. 79

In case of death, the corpse is buried within twenty-four hours. Each parish has its own cemetery, and the relatives and friends of the dead carry the coffin there for burial. In the parish of Vila Recôncavo, the cemetery lies just outside the town. People from this parish, as well as those from the town itself, take the coffin to the convent before burial to be blessed, for there is always a priest there. Then they carry the coffin to the cemetery. In the other parishes the dead are buried without the benefit of a blessing, which will however take place on the second of November, when priests try to visit each cemetery and bless all the dead. 79 764

The many duties which have fallen upon the Franciscans have made it almost impossible for them to continue the type of life prescribed for those who enter an order. It is very difficult for them to attend the retreats to which they should go; there is little or no time for them to study or contemplate, or to teach, for they have been faced with the discouraging reality of trying to keep religion alive in a population too large and scattered for proper contact to be maintained. In 1941 Vila Recôncavo was described by the provincial canonical visitors as "one of the greatest crosses of our Province, because of the five decadent parishes entrusted to it."[2] The same book speaks constantly of the "deplorable indifference" and "religious coldness" of the people of Vila Recôncavo. In 1949 the statistics of religious activities were as follows: 333 baptisms (184 legitimate and 149 illegitimate children), 27 weddings, 200 First Communions, 8,292 general Communions, and 80 Communions for sick people. 792 794 795 [162]

As of today there are no religious brotherhoods in Vila Recôncavo. The last to pass out of existence was the Brotherhood of the Most Sacred Sacrament, which was closed upon the death of its treasurer early in this century. The Third Order of Franciscans, formally closed in 1902, was reopened in 792

2. Livro de cronica do convento, Vila Recôncavo (MS in Franciscan Convent, Vila Recôncavo).

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794 1933 when two women took the scapular and cord. But nothing
747 more came of it. There is a benevolent organization, the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, which gives aid to the poor and is run by three men of Class B. It is very weak, however, and at present can help only four persons in the town. The society conducts no festivals or public displays.

Festivals

796 The festivals which take place in Vila Recôncavo are based
[184] on the religious calendar and are participated in to a great extent by the African cult members. January 1 is an im-
[793] portant date in town and is celebrated by a Mass in the fishermen's chapel, after which the priest goes out on the beach and
796 blesses all the canoes. After he has gone, the participants in African cults make their offering for the day. This is the date
794 when presents are given to the Mother of Waters (Mae d'Agua
782 locally, but sometimes known as Janaina, Sereia, or Yansan in other parts of Brazil). The presentations are made by the
776 cult priestesses, but anyone who wants to give a present to the Mother of Waters may do so by handing the gift to the cult
[822] priestess beforehand. The presents may consist of money or of anything a woman can use, as long as it is white: combs, ribbons, powders, perfumes, soaps, flowers, and so on. Everything is wrapped together and placed in a large clay basin covered with white cloths and decked with white flowers.

The cult priestess comes out of the cult house after Mass and, accompanied by participants and onlookers, goes down to the beach and enters one of the large canoes prepared for the occasion. The cult drummers accompany her, as well as most of the female devotees (filhas de santo). Usually two presents are given, one to the young Mother of Waters, who lives near the town, and another, larger one to the old Mother of Waters, who lives at about an hour's distance from town, where the water is very deep. The canoes take off and proceed up the river, while the drums beat and the devotees sing. The Mother of Waters is called and praised, and when the canoes arrive where the younger one lives, her present is lowered into the water. If it does not sink it is a very bad sign, for it means that the present was rejected. The bundles usu-
[787] ally sink, however, for they are bound in a heavy clay basin. At this moment the Mother of Waters is supposed to enter the body of the person who placed the gift in the water. This person, usually an older devotee, enters a trance state and must

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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be held in the canoe by the others, for she tries to jump into the water. At the same time, all those present in the canoe scoop up the water and pour it over themselves, for it is at this moment quite holy. The possessed person is gradually calmed and brought back to a normal state as the canoes move up the river. 796 794 782 776 [787]

During this time, groups of fishermen often go out in their newly blessed canoes (canoas de bordejo) to play. Because their canoes have been blessed by the priest, and because of the holy aspect of the water resulting from the presence of the Mother of the Waters, the men may enter the water without fear, so they jump in and out of the water and swim around their canoes until they are tired. This cannot be done at any other time of the year for it is not considered safe to enter deep water. [788] [823] [526]

After the second gift has been offered and accepted, the party lands and goes back to town on foot in a spirit of great joy and gaiety. The rest of the day is given over to horse racing, visiting, gaming, and dancing on the fishermen's square. People from classes A and B do not participate in these proceedings, which they consider barbarous. But most lower-class people at least watch, although only participants enter the canoes. Observers walk along the banks and watch. Cults from the rural areas make their own presentations separately, frequently on Christmas Day and in another locale. 796 794 565* [527] [389]

The next festival in the year comes after January 6, the Day of Kings, which has already been mentioned. Parties take place from this day until the beginning of Lent. Other than a Mass, there is no longer much sanctity connected to this day. 796

The most important festival of the year is that of Nossa Senhora da Conceição da Praia, the patron saint of most of the fishermen, to whom their chapel is dedicated. This festival begins on January 13 and starts off each evening with a novena held in the fishermen's chapel. The priest goes each evening for the novena, and, on the three last days of the festival, each morning, to celebrate Mass in honor of Nossa Senhora da Conceição, St. Peter, and St. John. A committee is organized in the chapel to ask patrons for contributions to the festival, for candles, oils, electric light, and to pay the priest each night. Flowers are a very important part of the festival, although at this time of the year they are very expensive. Each night of the novena there is a different group of patrons, and [776] 796 794

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*794 supposedly there is competition among them as to which night
[565] will be the loveliest. This becomes more expensive each year, however, and the patrons are becoming less willing to donate money. This festival is most enjoyed by the lower classes. It is avoided by members of Class B, who in many instances are nevertheless called upon to be patrons.

796 The festival takes on a carnival aspect each night, with
[525] booths set up in the streets by professional people from Sal-
[275] vador and Centro. The booths have wheels of fortune and guessing games, and sell sweets and drinks. After the religious celebration in the chapel, everyone goes out into the square to talk, play games, and dance.

796 The day before the first Mass of the festival is celebrated,
794 the chapel is thoroughly washed by the women participants of
358 the African cult house, who dress up in their many starched
[291] skirts and bandanas and go to the well as a group for water, which they take to the chapel to throw on the floor. A few little barefoot girls wash down the floor with brooms. After the
[535] washing the women go out dancing in the streets. They dance
*[565] on every street in town and ask for alms. This entire procedure, known as the lavagem (washing), is much frowned upon by members of Class B.

796 Most of the ordinary town life ceases during these nine days, for everyone is tired after staying up so late at night. The day of the patron saint of the town falls during this festival, and is passed over with nothing more than a simple Mass celebrated in the mother church in his honor. The people of the rural area of this parish do not observe the day of the patron saint
[794] at all. The day after the nine-day festival, a group of young men go out dancing and singing in the streets, asking for alms to make a large feijoada (feast of beans) at night. This is called mazorra (the clowns). After this the men settle down again to their fishing, for by now their money is all used up.

The next festival on the calendar is the second of February, when the nearby towns of Centro, Conselho, and Morro celebrate the day of their patron saint. People from Vila Recôncavo go to one or another of these three towns, although not
[778] in great numbers. The majority go to Conselho, which has the reputation of being a holy place, and to which pilgrimages are
* frequently made.

[565] All festivities end during Lent, which is quietly observed. It is interesting to note that Carnaval, which takes place the
[184] three days before Lent, is observed in Vila Recôncavo only among members of Class A.

among members of Class A. In the cult houses it is said that 796
the African gods go back to Africa for Lent and that the In-
dian spirits go back to the forests, not coming back again to [794]
Vila Recôncavo until Easter Eve. Good Friday is usually
marked by the eating of foods with much palm and olive oil, [776]
mostly the favorite Bahian dishes of acarajé and vatapá. On [262]
Saturday some people in the town "burn Judas." They make
a figure stuffed with straw or grass and in the evening parade
it through the whole town on a donkey until they arrive at the
fishermen's chapel, where the dummy is strung up and burned.
While it burns the man who made it reads a long poem which [538]
he has composed during the year and which tells about his
friends and their individual peculiarities.

During the month of May a service is held each night in the [793]
mother church in honor of the Virgin Mary. A priest offici-
ates, and the women of the upper class sing in the choir. This [794]
ceremony is attended almost entirely by townspeople, mostly
women. St. John's Day, which comes at the end of June and is [565]
a popular holiday throughout most of Brazil, goes unnoticed
in the town, although at dawn on that day there may be a rev-
eille for St. John (alvorada de São João), which consists of
shouting, "Wake up, St. John!" The sixteenth of August is [369]
celebrated, mostly by the rural people, as the day of St. Roch,
who is considered a foe of pestilence. There is usually a
Mass in the mother church on this day, after which the priest [794]
conducts Mass in as many of the rural chapels as he can. St. [184]
Roch is also celebrated by the African cults.

On September 27, the twin saints Cosme and Damião are
celebrated, often with a Mass, but especially with a party
called the carurú, the dish distinctive of this day and the
days which follow it; for, as with the Day of Kings, Cos-
me and Damião may be feted any day within a month or so
following the proper date. Before a carurú, it is customary [794]
for small images of the two saints to be carried about the
streets from house to house asking for alms for a party in
their honor. Usually the party is for the children, who dance
and eat as much as they can, while the older people at first
look on, and then finish up the food that was left and also
dance. Anyone who is a twin or who likes twins may give a
carurú in his house.

St. Francis is also feted, since there is a Franciscan con-
vent in the town, by a devotion on three nights and a Mass on
the morning of St. Francis' day. The last Sunday in October,

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the day of Christ the King, there is always a procession in town which starts from the mother church and goes to a small altar set up in front of the County Hall, then to the fishermen's chapel, to a cross which stands in one of the squares, and back to the convent and church. A few people set their small household oratories in the street in front of their houses to be blessed by the priest as he passes. This procession is accompanied mostly by women of all classes, although the canopy over the Host is carried by men from Class B. Christmas is observed quietly except for the exchange of gifts.

[778] [788] *[565] [184] [431]

Prayers

• 794 782 *[565] [184] Prayers are very popular throughout the year among the women of classes C and D. For a variety of reasons a group of women will get together in the house of one of them and pray aloud, standing before the little decorated niche which contains a picture or figure of the household saint. The one who knows the prayer best leads the others. A group may pray on the evening before the day of the patron saint of one of them, especially if they have been unable to have a Mass said because of the lack of money or a previous commitment of the priest. At times they pray because someone has promised his patron saint that he would do so if he were cured of an illness.

782 Strangely, perhaps, the fishermen never seem to feel a need for supernatural help to overcome bad weather or lack of fish. A few of them, however, give a present to the Mother of the Waters in thanks for an exceptionally fine catch. At other times, people simply pray to their patron saints if they cannot have a party in their honor. Personal patron saints, however, do not play a very important part in the lives of the people of Vila Recôncavo, although nearly everyone has one and has at least a picture of the saint on the wall. It is common to find women who belong to an African cult group praying at these nightly gatherings in honor of the various saints who may or may not be represented in their cult houses.

[776] [794]

755 782 [754] Exceptional fatigue, light illness, and pains may all be caused by the evil eye, and are removed by having a woman pray over the victim. There are several women in town who can make such prayers particularly well; however, they do not pray as a group. A woman goes to the house of the victim and, with a piece of thread in her hand which she passes over the body of the victim, says the Lord's Prayer and the

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Hail Mary. Some women say this process must be repeated three times in a row, others that it must be done each Friday for three weeks. This is a protective prayer "to take away the evil eye" (para tirar mau olhado). The thread which is used is taken away and carefully disposed of, by the person who prayed.

Conflict and Differential Participation

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The attitude of the priests toward conditions in their parishes is one of resignation. They realize that it is physically impossible for them to take religion to all the people or even to the majority of them. Also, they are disheartened by the poor intellectual basis the people have for understanding the doctrine of the church. They do not discourage the group prayers, nor do they encourage them; they simply let them exist. But they vigorously combat African cultism. For several years the fishermen's chapel was closed because of the cult activities of so many of the women who attended the chapel. Recently, however, the Franciscan superior reopened the chapel, feeling that it was better not to exclude the entire fisherman population from the church because a few of them also participated in African cults. For it had turned out that when the chapel was closed all the people in the lower part of town refused to go up the hill to the convent and therefore passed several years without attending Mass, confessing, or taking Communion. In sermons given during Mass an opportunity to condemn cultism is never lost, even though it may have little effect. The local church policy toward cultism depends upon the feelings of each new superior and whether he will tolerate it. The priest who reopened the chapel became a much-loved person in the town, at least by the lower classes, for he realized how few people in the total population indulge in cult activities compared to the many who go to watch. The caretaker of one of the rural chapels is also a cult leader on his plantation, but relations between him and the priests are cordial. Although most of the female devotees attend the Masses for their particular saints, the priestess of the cult house never goes to church and avoids meeting the priests if possible.

Religion is more a part of the women's lives than of the men's, and there are more women than men at every Mass. There are a few strongly religious women (beatas) in the town 794

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794 who never miss a Mass, benediction, or prayer. By means of a questionnaire in the town and the rural area, the following
125 data were obtained concerning the average frequency of church
794 attendance per year for men and women over fourteen years
*565 of age:
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TABLE 11
FREQUENCY OF CHURCH ATTENDANCE

Urban Number of times per year Males	Urban Number of times per year Females	Class	Rural Number of times per year Males	Rural Number of times per year Females
		A	19	23
40	96	B	4	3
17	25	C	3	3
4	41	D		

369 Several things are shown by this table. First, the higher a
794 man's social position, the more often he goes to church, at
*565 least in classes B, C, and D. Second, the frequency of atten-
[554] dance by the women of all classes is considerably greater than that of the men. Third, the women of Class A attend church fewer times per year than do the women of classes B, C, and D of the urban area. Fourth, there are great differences in the rural and urban attendance: people from the plantations seldom go to town for Mass, preferring to wait for some special plantation occasion when the priest will go to the plantation. The difference between the attendance frequencies of Class A and Classes B and C of the rural zone is due to the time that Class A spends in Salvador, where members often attend Sunday Mass, as well as family Masses.

African Cults

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177 Brazilian candomblé is usually thought of as a syncretism
776 between African cultism and Catholicism. There has been a partial identification of the African deities with Catholic saints. For example, Ôgún, the African god of war, has been identified with St. Anthony; Ôxóssi, deity of the hunt, with St. George; Ômolú, the god of pestilence, with St. Roch; Êxu, the trickster, with Satan; Yansan, with St. Barbara; and Xangô, with either St. Jerome or St. Barbara. There has been

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some confusion in the minds of the cultists themselves as to exactly which saint an African spirit represents, and there often are slight differences in interpretation which do not, however, upset the cult practices to any great extent. Cultism in Brazil has been described in detail by Nina Rodrigues,[3] Arthur Ramos,[4] and Edison Carneiro,[5] and by the Americans Donald Pierson[6] and Ruth Landes,[7] all of whom concentrated on cultism in the city of Salvador; Eduardo Octavio da Costa[8] has good material on urban-rural cultism in Maranhão (northern Brazil). In Vila Recôncavo the syncretisms are being forgotten as the content of cults changes from African spirits to the Indian spirits, for which no identification is made with the Catholic saints.

Cultism apparently got its start in Bahia in the early nineteenth century. Carneiro[9] sets the date for the establishment of the first cult house in the city as 1838. Old people in Vila Recôncavo do not remember cultism beyond two generations ago. There is one woman in town who is in her late nineties and who only remembers hearing of her mother and her mother's generation as active in cults. Apparently the force of cultism increased with the decrease in Catholic proselytization, as the number of priests in the rural areas diminished. It also increased in tempo with the manumission of slaves, and apparently was one of the institutions through which former slaves bought the freedom of other slaves.

Today the cults of the rural area are far less elaborate than those in the city of Salvador, although it seems that even in the city, cultism is showing the same general trend toward disintegration which is so strongly apparent in the rural area. In both places there is a shift away from African ritual to practices connected with the Indian spirits, whose demands

3. Raymundo Nina Rodrigues, O animismo fetichista dos negros bahianos (Rio de Janeiro, 1935).

4. Arthur Ramos, O negro brasileiro (2nd ed.; São Paulo, 1940).

5. Edison Carneiro, Candomblés da Bahia, (Publicações do Museu do Estado, No. 8 [Bahia, 1948]).

6. Donald Pierson, Negroes in Brazil (Chicago, 1942).

7. Ruth Landes, The City of Women (New York, 1947).

8. Octavio da Costa Eduardo, The Negro in Northern Brazil (New York, 1948).

9. Carneiro, Candomblés da Bahia, p. 31.

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are easier to understand and to comply with. In the town of Vila Recôncavo there are two houses of cult activities with female leaders, and in the rural area there is one such house with a male leader. These are the three houses which were studied by the author. There are six more in the area, but they are much smaller and poorer than these three.

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One of the three is led by a woman almost a hundred years old. She is now completely blind and can barely walk about the house. She has not been outside of it for several years. She has an assistant, a young man in his twenties, who as a child brought her firewood and water and who now has been taught by her much of the cult ritual. The house is now inactive, for the old woman has outlived her former followers, or else they have moved away. The room which contains the insignia of the African spirits is still kept up, and the proper foods and drinks are always placed there by the young man, in accordance with the instructions of the old lady. She herself does little, although she still consults the spirits by throwing cowrie shells. Her fame as a cult leader is widespread, and people still come to her for help, but she is too feeble to do much. In her day she was a "purist" and went through the long training period necessary to become a devotee and later a cult leader. She still knows a few words of Nagô, the Yoruban language, and laments the passing of her generation, with whom she says she conversed only in this language. Several of her initiates broke away and started their own houses in other places, although according to her they were not ready to assume leadership since they did not know enough of the mysteries.

The other two houses studied are led by disciples of one of the old woman's devotees who broke away. There is no contact among the three, although the two younger leaders are in awe of the old woman, aware that she knows much more than they do and that in her eyes they are only upstarts, manipulating something mystical which they are not sufficiently prepared to control. She does not intimidate them, however, and now ignores their activities, since they both have recently accepted the Indian spirits which the old woman feels are bogus. She is more interested in passing on her knowledge to the young man who cares for her house, though she complains that he is too indifferent to her teachings. He is learning a great deal, however, though he has not yet "made" his saint, that is, he is not yet a full-fledged devotee. Preparations for

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this are being made, however, and it is hoped he will be ready for it before her death. In the meantime she has legally willed the house and its material belongings to him, and is also passing along to him her spiritual heritage. He is learning the mystical part of the cult, but she cannot show him the outer forms, such as dancing and other physical motions of worship, because she is too infirm. Traditionally only women went through training for worship in the Brazilian cults, for the belief is that the gods descend and "ride" or "mount" the disciple. This could only be done with women disciples. However, one of the changes reaching the cults now is the entrance of men as devotees. Very often they are effeminate, as is the case with the young man who is helping the old woman. The old one is not pleased with having a man perform the duties of her cult house, but she feels she must be satisfied with him because there is no one else in her house. Although all her former disciples are gone, now at least she will have someone to dispatch her saints when she dies, a complicated ritual which must be properly carried out.

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One of the other two houses is in the town and is led by Roxa, who has "made her saint" but who by cult standards should still be a devotee in another house, for she is not considered well enough prepared to be leading a house of her own. Her house is extremely weak, with few followers, most of whom have not yet "made their saints." Roxa is the main figure, the one most often possessed and through whom the spirits speak. As a young girl she went through a fairly rigorous period of training, but broke away before it was completed. She says she fulfills the necessary obligations now only because if she did not she would become sick. She calls the whole thing a "complication" in her life which must be looked after. She has been married but is now widowed and childless.

The other house, located on one of the plantations run by an overseer, is led by a man in his forties. He also claims that he is in the cult because of his health. As a boy and young man he was always sick and his entire body ached. One day in the field he found a "lightning stone" (pedra de raio). Such stones are common in the cults and are thought to have been sent from the sky, although they really are American Indian artifacts, such as arrowheads and hatchets, and are constantly turned up in the soil. At first he did not know what the stone was and took it home, but on discovering that it had supernatural significance, he threw it away, for he wanted nothing

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794 to do with cultism. His parents were strongly opposed to cult-
[778] ism and had told him that it was bad. But the next day the stone was back in his house, frightening him. He again threw it away, and again it reappeared in his house. Then he took it to the cult leader on the plantation, who told him that it was a sign that he had an obligation to fulfill toward the gods. To
[782] put an end to the matter, it was necessary to make certain appeasements in the form of food and drink. So he began to save money, and at the same time took instruction from the woman as to what to do. During this time he became genuinely interested in cultism and became the "most curious"
[428] of the woman's disciples. He studied for many years with her
[765] and did as much as he could in the ceremonies. When she died she left the house to him, as he was the most active among her followers. After he had observed the honorary period of a year after her death and had properly dispatched her saints, he moved into the house where he has now been leader for
[578] thirteen years. Because of jealousies and fights over the inheritance, many of the devotees broke away and went to other houses, taking their saints with them.

793 Three years after he had taken over the house, he had his
794 first experience with the Indian spirit Seven Stars, who came to him in a dream and let it be known that he wanted to enter
787 the man and become part of the cult. For some time the man
177 resisted, for the cult was traditionally Nagô and the former leader would have had nothing to do with Indian spirits. Seven Stars, however, threatened him with extinction if he did not comply, so in the end he gave in, and one night during a ceremony was possessed by Seven Stars. Everyone liked Seven Stars, because he was a very happy and gay spirit and danced well. After this many other devotees in the house were also possessed by this as well as by one or two other Indian spirits, neither of which, however, was considered as nice as Seven Stars.

794 According to dogma, there are twenty-one Indian spirits,
787 although the informant could not name them all and neither
177 could anyone else. All twenty-one live in an aldeia (village) in the woods. There was nothing in the African tradition to tell
[776] what preparation was necessary for these spirits, so the entire ritual became one of inventiveness and propitiousness. Nowadays young people who enter the cults are nearly always taken by an Indian spirit and are much pleased, for these spirits involve less expense and much less work. The major com-

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plaint about African deities is the amount of work involved and the great expense entailed by making the proper clothes and buying the beads and bracelets. All leaders say that no one can afford traditional spirits these days. Those who had formerly had them, of course, still do, but have also been visited by Indian spirits which they much prefer. So they carry out the more fundamental obligations toward the African spirits, such as providing food and drink, but they dress and dance for their Indian spirits. The result has been a confusion of rituals--the use of African music and incantations and the addition of new dances, costumes, and foods appropriate for the simpler tastes of the Indian spirits.

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The cult houses (terreiros) are built like other houses in the community. The active one in town is located on a street in line with all the other houses, while that on the plantation is set slightly apart from the others, because of the scattered configuration of the village. The front room, which is the largest, is usually bare except for a few long wooden benches and a small altar with pictures of the patron saints of the cult leader and of several of the cult members. This room is decorated with crepe paper streamers and paper flowers; the dances are held here. The other rooms of the house consist of a bedroom, a dining room, a kitchen, and another room known as the pegi, which houses the African altar with its plants and leaves, dishes, bottles, cups, and glasses of food and drink for the spirits, as well as the symbol of each one of them, such as a spade, a sword, or a hatchet. In this room there is also usually a trunk containing the ceremonial paraphernalia used during the festivities, such as the dress and headdress of each spirit. This is the room in which sacrificial killings (matanças) are made of the goats and chickens used during the ceremonies. In the rural house there are also pictures of Catholic saints in the pegi, another departure from the older traditional houses where such a thing would never occur.

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The cult leader lives in the cult house. In the literature on candomblé the cult leader is usually referred to as the mae, or pai, de santo, which means literally "mother (or father) of the saints." None of the cult leaders in Vila Recôncavo likes this term; they say they could not possibly be the mother or father of the divine beings. They consider themselves rather zeladores, that is, caretakers of the saints on earth. There is much the same complaint about the term filha, or filho, de

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794 192 [787] santo, which means literally "daughter (or son) of the saint." They prefer to refer to a person as "having a saint" (tem santo) which indicates that he has an obligation toward one of the saints and becomes possessed by him. In ordinary speech the word "saint" is used, but once the person has "made his saint" --that is, has gone through the preparatory rites and has learned the cries and dances of the divinity and how to care for him properly--it is said that the person has Ômolú, or Sete Estrelas (Seven Stars).

794 787 776 Because most of the women, and the few men in the cults, cannot spend a year segregated in the cult house in order to "make their saint," they continue for many years in the half-way condition of someone who "has a saint but has not yet made the saint." This means that the person has experienced possession, and that it has been determined by the zelador that he is under obligation to a certain saint and is in the process of "making the saint." During this period of simply "having the saint," the person has to carry out certain duties such as feeding the saint, making the proper clothes, and buying the beads and other outer symbols of the deity which are to be used during the ceremonies. This involves considerable expenditure. The clothes are always made of silk, since nothing is too good for the saint. Today, lipstick, perfume, and cheap jewelry are competing for the few extra cents the girls have, so that it takes longer and longer to get the necessary items together. During this period, the obligations of dancing and possession are less strenuous. In the case of the Indian spirits, the deity often speaks through the person after one or two possessions, and this is taken to mean that the spirit is firmly upon the person and may be considered "made." In this fashion much arduous work is avoided, as well as considerable expense. This is a major reason for the growing popularity of the Indian saints, in addition to the fact that they are gayer. [511]

794 533 [465] [776] The drummers also like Indian saints, for, after they have danced, the Indian spirits usually take up a collection which is presented to the drummers for having played so well for them. The drummers are drawn from men whose wives participate in the activities, or else they are men who are interested in the proceedings and who like to drum. They learn the drumming early in their lives, listening to it as children when they go to watch the ceremonies. On nights when the drums are playing it is impossible for anyone not to hear the impos-

ing, exciting sounds, which continue for hours on end. Little boys pick up the rhythms quickly and soon associate each rhythm with the particular spirit who dances to it. As they grow older and show interest in it, they may be allowed to relieve one of the drummers during an interval and in this way join the others in some less important part of the ceremony, until finally the zelador feels they know enough to drum for the entire evening. 794 533

The entire proceedings are considered too strenuous for children, as much for the boy drummers as for the girl dancers. If a small girl shows signs of possession during the ceremony she is taken away, for until she is over fourteen dancing is considered too strenuous for her. But unless her family refuses, she may be coached in all the rituals by the other dancers and the zelador. The ceremonies always draw more onlookers than performers, and outside the rural cult house a man has set up a small stand to sell refreshments. As many as can, enter the room and line the walls, while the others stand outside, looking in through the open doors and windows. Most people know the procedure in a vague way and know whom the drums are calling and who "has" which saint. 794 857 [787] [869] 794 [265]

The ceremonies are rather long, the first step in the actual performance being the calling of the saints. The evening's participants dance in a circle while the drums call the various spirits. It sometimes takes quite a while for the saint to come, and there are times when he does not come at all. One young man danced unsuccessfully for over an hour and was finally removed, exhausted, by the zelador. When someone in the circle "falls," he is quickly led out of the room and into the pegi where the zelador changes his clothing, putting on him the costume of the spirit. In the meantime the others rest or may keep on dancing, becoming possessed one after the other, depending upon the type of ceremony. After the possessed person has been dressed and has completed the necessary ritual, he is led back into the main room where he now, as the saint, dances in earnest until tired or angered by something which occurs in the room. Often the zelador gives the signal for the drums to change their rhythm, indicating the end of the dance, by which time the person is physically very tired although emotionally highly keyed up. He is led back into the pegi to complete the detailed rituals, and is then given a place to rest and to come back to normal. As a rule he soon joins the others in the front room as a spectator. By 794 796 787 [533]

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796 then the drums are calling the other saints, the circle has
[787] been formed again, and the process is repeated. This goes
on frequently all night long, ending only with the dawn. The
[369] rural cult house has a general ceremony for all the saints of
the house during the New Year holiday, and it often takes
three or four days and nights of continuous dancing and drum-
ming for all the participants to "fulfill their obligations."
Activities cease for a while during the day while everyone
rests, and then pick up again late in the afternoon.

794 The general rule is that the person who "has a saint" must
796 fulfill his obligations to that spirit at least once a year, if
possible on the saint's day. Of course, the proper foods must
776 be supplied constantly throughout the year, but at least once a
[787] year the saint must be feted, that is, called to possess the
person and dance. The general term used for the ceremony
is bater (to beat, referring to the drums), although several
other euphemisms are used, such as, "We are going to have
a party," or, "We are going to play." If the person is unable
to fete the saint on the specified day, however, he must do it
at the general ceremony at the end of the year. Not to comply
with the rituals would be disastrous. The zelador of the house
always fetes his saint on the proper day as well as at the end
of the year. In both active cult houses the zeladores have more
than one saint and try to fete each on the specified date. All
participants keep the symbolic paraphernalia of their saints
in the cult house and look after them personally if possible,
but for many of them who live far from the house the zelador
does this. In many cases a person who "has a saint" has a
miniature pegi in his own house and also keeps there the prop-
[782] er foods and drinks. In some cases an older woman may even
have a ceremony in her home if she can afford the requisite
sacrificial animals and foods.

794 Membership in the cults is not always passed down from
parents to children. Many of the younger participants have
come into the cults on their own and may be children of fam-
ilies which are unsympathetic to cult activities. When a moth-
er belongs to a cult, her children may be indoctrinated in the
rituals because of their continued attendance at the ceremo-
nies. But unless the children feel the call themselves, no
pressure is applied upon them to enter the activities, though
they may always participate vicariously in the ceremonies.
The majority of the population say they have nothing to do with
the cults and are ignorant of the ritual. But few members of

the lower classes fail to have at least some knowledge of the ceremonial. In a region where there is little entertainment, such as in the town of Vila Recôncavo and especially in the rural area, the cults provide a major spectator activity, and those who have been exposed to it through their lives appreciate it as such. The number of active participants, however, is small. The house which is functioning in the town has about two dozen initiates, while the rural house is somewhat larger, having about forty-five devotees, only seven of whom are drawn from the plantation on which the house is situated. The rural house is more active for several reasons, according to local informants: the costumes are prettier, and therefore people prefer to dance there; the cult leader is a stronger personality and a better healer than the leader of the town house. The rural house is also more conveniently located for people from the surrounding plantations. Nevertheless, the small number of participants is indicative of the weakness of the institution in this area as a whole.

Healing, however, does play an important part in the cult activities, for the zelador who has "made his saint" has usually learned a large number of ritual and herbal cures. In fact, it is the healing aspect which brings most people to the cult activities. Sick persons, however, generally prefer to entrust themselves first to the ministrations of the plantation owner, plantation nurse, or town doctor. But if they feel they are not being helped, they turn to the cult house. If the sickness is diagnosed by the cult leader as a clear sign that the person is in contact with a spirit, the patient must enter the rites as an initiate or suffer the consequences. But for the ordinary run of headaches, stomach troubles, and skin eruptions, the cult leader draws upon his knowledge of herbal remedies. This knowledge is supposed to come from his deity, who often is St. Roch in this area, and who knows the cure. In fact, the leader of the rural house once compared his establishment with a pharmacy. He is paid for these medical services. Often one hears a person wishing that he could "have" such-and-such a saint so he would know how to cure and be able to make money, as do the cult leaders.

It is a general opinion that cult leaders are financially well off, although they themselves staunchly declare that they are not and that they must live from alms. As a rule all the participants in a house are obliged to contribute to the ceremonial honoring the leader's deity, which is usually the most extravagant ceremonial of the house.

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794 travagant ceremonial of the house. The fulfillment of individual obligations is very expensive, too much so for one person to pay for it himself. The ceremony given at the end of the
435 year in 1950 cost the members of the house almost two thousand cruzeiros in foods, sacrificial animals, candles, kerosene for the lamps, clothing, and ornaments. Individual members spent as much as four hundred cruzeiros on their clothes and beads, in addition to contributing to the common fund, not to mention their labor in cooking and in washing and ironing all the costumes and clothes used during the ceremonies.
[434] Such large sums of money are hard to get, so the number of ceremonies per year is decreasing. Not only are the salaries
[458] of the people low and inflation high, but more and more things
[511] which were not formerly available in the area--such as movies, wrist watches, jewelry other than the beads and bracelets symbolic of the deities, perfume, and lipstick--lay claim on the people's attention and purses.

565 Participation in the cults is generally considered to be an
794 activity of lower-class people, and in Vila Recôncavo only
184 such people are seen dancing and carrying out their other cult obligations. Individuals of other classes, however, do participate either indirectly or secretly. Class A displays a genuine lack of knowledge about the cult activities, in spite of being brought up within sound of the drums and within sight of the outward symbols of the African and Indian deities. These people, although they speak with disdain of cultism and of the paganism involved, have a certain respect for it and usually refrain from interfering with it in any way. They maintain a type of joking relationship in regard to it with the workers who they know participate in it, but seldom if ever attend a ceremony. Ceremonies are infrequently held on family-owned plantations when the owners are present. Most of them take place on plantations run by overseers.

Class B in the town has several members who help support the cult house and indirectly participate in its activities, especially in reference to the Mother of the Waters ritual. Since education, which implies freedom from belief in cultism, is a criterion of class position, members of Class B in public denounce cultism and those who participate in it. But many of them, coming from families which participated in it, retain some belief in the cults and fear them. They do not completely cut themselves off from cultism. They participate in it secretly, sending money to the cult leader and presents to the Moth-

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er of the Waters. Naturally, in such a small group, the secret is not very well kept and it is soon known who has sent a present, why, and when. Many people in this group, and some in Class A, entertain the fear that they may become themselves possessed by a deity, especially if they expose themselves to cult activities during a ceremony, and for this reason they do not attend the rituals. To a certain extent this fear is the basis for the protest many of them make against night-long drumming, although the common complaint is that they cannot sleep because of the noise. The sound of the drums at night is very impressive, and no one is unaware that nearby the supernatural is being called. It is very disturbing to those who do not understand the mechanics of the ceremonies and the meaning of the drumming and sacrifices.

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Spiritualism

Spiritualism, which does not use drums, is as disturbing as cultism to people of all classes, although because of its quieter character it is not always known when a session is taking place. Spiritualism seems to be gaining popularity in the area, although it is greatly feared by many people. It is slowly gaining adherents, however, because of the healing powers exhibited by the mediums. In most cases people are drawn to it, both in the town and in the rural area, through illness and the promise of a cure. Because of lack of aid from the doctor, or because of the expense of medical treatment, or perhaps because of the failure of the African cult to cure him, a patient may try spiritualism as a last resort. For those who are helped by it, it becomes a constant companion, and although they may have entered with fear, they soon lose it. They become staunch defenders and try to draw in their friends. The greatest successes in curing seem to follow the herbal treatments of the African cultists, but spiritualism requires no further obligations, as do the cults. It is common to hear someone say that attendance at a spiritualist seance cured him of some minor ailment and left him free of obligations, and that he did not even have to pay the medium. Spiritualism is also used to discover and counteract the evil eye and evil machinations of any enemy. In spiritualism one finds the same Indian spirits which are found in the local African cults, although no dancing is involved. There is now definite competition between the mediums and the cult leaders for adherents.

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Traditionally

565 the preto is linked with ignorance and superstition,
563 and a most common example of his 'ignorance', cited by the upper
794 strata of Vila Recôncavo society, is his belief in *candomblé*, the fetish
[171] cults of African origin so numerous in Salvador which have been
[177] described by various authors.[8] In the Caribbean, *candomblé* is
[178] known as voodoo and, as in Brazil, there is a mixture of Roman Catholic with African religious elements. In Vila Recôncavo there are highly complicated rituals of ceremony and healing, but owing to the pressures of modern life almost no one has the time necessary to spend in the full preparation for a *filha de santo* (servant of the god) or a *mãe de santo* (caretaker of the gods) and much of the old ritual is being forgotten and discarded, and newer and simpler
[776] innovations are in evidence. Another example given of the *preto's* 'superstition' in Vila Recôncavo is his participation in the cult of Janaina, the goddess of the water. This cult is really an offshoot of *candomblé*, Yemanja being the name of the African *orixa* or divinity, while Janaina is the name given to her by many of the cults in
[782] Brazil. It is Janaina 'who sends the fish to the fishermen', and they
[226] must thank her and give her gifts occasionally. Generally it is the *mãe de santo* who knows all the calls and prayers for Janaina and who presents the fishermen's gifts. Anyone who intends to climb the social ladder first disassociates himself from these rites, and then publicly condemns those who participate in them—although, in many cases, such an individual will continue secretly to give financial support to a local *mãe de santo* and to send gifts to Janaina. Often it is heard of a person: 'Oh yes, he is *gente* now, but last night he secretly sent his usual present to Janaina.' Individuals of all racial classifications belong to *candomblé*, although popular opinion has it that only the *pretos* engage in these activities. One can observe all racial types at a *candomblé festa* (ceremony), either as participants or as spectators. In one case in another area of the Recôncavo there is even a white *pae de santo* (male caretaker of the gods), a former lawyer!

563 Nevertheless, in Vila Recôncavo, there are examples of *pretos* and
555 *mestiços* who have shown themselves capable of progress, with and without education. Two examples are the plantation administrators,
[463] cited earlier, who have risen to that honoured and relatively
[872] well-paid occupation in spite of the fact that they cannot read or write. On another plantation, the *feitor* has taught himself to read
[873] and write and is known as an excellent story-teller. Primary schools were recently opened in the rural zone of Vila Recôncavo, and night schools for the adults. The response has been great, people often walking long distances at night to attend class, in spite of the fact that one of the most disliked and feared things is going out at night.

563 In Vila Recôncavo, there has been a central primary school for
565 many years, with an attendance of 354 of all racial types, children of
872 the whites as well as those of the others, although no children of the

planters. People in the upper class of the town, when they can, send their children to the capital to continue their education, and there are several *mestiço* students from Vila Recôncavo studying law, medicine and engineering in Salvador. The intelligence of the mulatto is traditional, and it has been equally traditional that the darker-skinned person is unintelligent. Today these traditions are not as strong as before, but still it is felt that the mulatto has somewhat more aptitude than the Negro. The old idea of the Negro, meant for work and to be servile, still exists, now tempered with the knowledge that education can change the situation. There is only one club in Vila Recôncavo—a football club—and the players are all shades, from white to black, and so are the spectators. They all sit or stand together under the shade of the one big tree which gives shade to the playing field. The field is on the property of a white man who, while he has nothing to do with the team, allows them to play there, put up goal posts and markers. The bar and recreation centre are open to all so long as they wear shoes—a ruling made to keep out the muddy feet of children who came straight from the beach to have a 'coke'. All the racial types and classes get together here to play pool and gossip, this being the one and only point of public social activity in the town. At the movies, the admission price is extremely low, the same for everyone, and all four classes attend. Negroes and whites of all classes sit next to each other. At church there are no special pews, the faithful usually gathering in the front and the less faithful hanging about near the back. The choir and the acolytes are from all classes and colours. At parties, which are few, colour lines are disregarded, *brancos* and *morenos* dance with *mulatos* and *pretos* just as long as both partners can *pular* (jump).

The social situation is gradually changing, and the extremely personal element is being lost. It is strongest on the private plantation, where the owner spends the greater part of the year, but at the *usina* much of the personal element is weakened because of the numbers of workers. Even at the *usina*, there is visiting and gossiping between the owners' families and the workers. But at the *usina* not all the workers accept their subservient position as do those of the plantations. This is specially true of the higher echelon of specialists and technicians of the mill, who will frequently not go to a party given by the owner, even though invited. It seems to be a way of saying that the company of the white owners is neither needed nor wanted. They prefer to keep their relations on a strictly business basis. At the *usina*, when a worker is sick, he goes to the medical post where he is treated by a paid nurse, rather than to the owner's house. On pay day, the *usina* worker is paid at the mill by a paymaster, not in the living room of the owner's house. Nevertheless, in spite of the industrialized aspect of the mill, the number of workers is not too large to exclude all personal contact with the owners, who adminis-

plantations in the vicinity. There is the aristocratic group of whites descendants of the *senhores de engenho*—who form almost a caste, marrying among themselves and living out their own social life apart from the Negro and racially mixed population of the community. Just as the slave owners in the past, however, they depend upon the Negro and *mestiço* for labour; the Negro is pictured as the faithful servant and attendant of the white aristocrat. Again, as in the past, the mulatto who was the offspring of the European master and a slave mother is pictured as a social upstart and an intelligent trouble-maker. Yet it is the man of mixed ancestry who holds the intermediate economic and social positions; he is the minor bureaucrat, the technician in the *usina*, and the administrator and *feitor* on the plantations. The essential hierarchy has changed little since colonial times; and the relationship between these aristocratic whites and their Negro and mixed workmen is still a highly personal one lacking in social tensions, since each knows his proper position and each knows his rights, duties and obligations toward the other.

There is no race problem in Vila Recôncavo, nor does prejudice or discrimination work out as it does in other parts of the Western world. A Negro cannot become a member of the aristocracy, but a well-educated and economically successful Negro can have easy social relations with this stratum. Negro ancestry is without doubt a grave disadvantage in economic and social mobility, but there are no political and economic positions closed to a man of Negro or mixed descent. As yet, however, only a few Negroes have moved into high political or economic positions. There is only one plantation owner who is a Negro, and Negroes and *mestiços* hold only minor bureaucratic and political positions in the community. The *prefeito* or mayor has nearly always been drawn from the aristocratic white group, and has never been challenged from the Negro and mixed population. Yet in the town and among the mill workers, 'people of colour' are beginning to show independence, and unwillingness always to occupy a subservient and lowly position. The administrators like to ride better horses than the aristocrats, to have fancier saddles, to dress better, and to be more ostentatious than their employers. Many townspeople know the big city, and the essential class and racial democracy which exists there. There is competition to join the local upper class, and derogatory racial criteria are used to deride competitors who would like to rise out of the lower class groups into this growing upper class. African culture traits such as *candomblé* and the cult of Janaina are associated with low status, and people who would rise in the local social hierarchy are anxious to disassociate themselves from these groups.

As modern attitudes and ideology penetrate Vila Recôncavo, there are more and more problems of class relationships; the population is becoming extremely class-conscious, and there is an in-

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to be desired. The policy of the United States, on the other hand, from the Brazilian point of view, particularly in so far as it counts every man a Negro who, to use the census definition, "is known to be a Negro in the community in which he lives," tends to perpetuate "a menacing element" —menacing not to the racial purity of the dominant race but to the political and cultural solidarity of the nation.

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As a matter of fact the attitude of the Brazilian people to the race problem so far as concerns the Negro seems, on the whole, to be academic rather than pragmatic and actual. There is a certain ethnological and archeological interest in the survivals of the African fetish cults, the so-called *candomblés*, of which there seem to be an extraordinary number, especially in and about the cities of Bahia and Pernambuco. This archeological interest in the African is evidenced by two successive *Congressos Afro-brasileiros* which met in Recife and in Bahia in 1934 and 1937.

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Since most of these *candomblés* are living and functioning forms of African religious practices, although obviously in process of assimilation to the ritual and mythology of local Catholicism, perhaps they should not be classed as survivals.

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In any case it is a somewhat bizarre experience to a stranger in Bahia, walking along one of the ridges where *os ricos*, that is, the rich folk, live, to hear from the palm groves in the neighboring valleys where *os pobres*, the poor folk, live, the insistent boom of African drums. So narrow are the spatial distances that divide Europe on the ridges from Africa in the valleys that it is difficult to realize how wide the social distances are that separate them.

It is even more difficult for those of us whose conception of the Negro problem and of race relations generally has been

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571 178 795 [554] siderable extent over those of the male portion, the church exercises a substantial measure of control. Prestige of the military is high.

596 621 The large family, with its wide ramifications and its patriarchal organization, also bespeaks a preindustrial era. Social cohesion in the community is maintained by the close association of members of these large family groups, together with the intimate ties common to friends of long standing, the degree of whose intimacy is much greater than that ordinarily to be found in the cities of comparable size in industrial societies. One notes in Bahia a warmth of manner uncommon to the United States. Bahians, like most Brazilians, tend to be very affectionate in the family and warmhearted toward their friends. Characteristic of such primary relationships is a high order of courtesy and politeness and an almost limitless consideration for the convenience and comfort of relatives and friends. Religious affiliation and guild association weave further strands of solidarity, binding the urban community together as if it were merely an overgrown village.

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578 [477] [433] [466] In this stable society there is a comparative absence of most forms of conflict. In commerce and finance competition is comparatively slight and limited in considerable measure to foreigners. The economy is almost entirely extractive and industry is minimal. The few differences which arise between labor and capital often take the form of a

591 178 795 291 ual educated in Rio, to be seen on the beaches. Snug-fitting street dresses or those made of sheer or transparent material, and skirts which do not fall at least several inches below the knee, are subject to general criticism. At the exit of the principal churches and cathedrals is posted an official proclamation of the archbishop of Bahia specifying permissible dress. Failure to observe these regulations automatically bars the offender from the sacraments of the church.

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361 565 permitting as it does a full and unobstructed sweep of the cooling sea breeze, makes these heights more comfortable, more healthful, and, consequently, more desirable places of [362] residence. One usually finds here the more modern and [463] substantial buildings, the homes of the upper classes. Here ordinarily live the scions of the old aristocracy, the large landholders, the city's intellectuals, and the leaders of its "society"; the lawyers, physicians, engineers, and politicians; the officials of the army, the poets and journalists, the professors in the Faculdades, the few industrialists which Bahia has so far produced—in fact, nearly all those prominent in the intellectual, political, "social," and economic life of the city. These families possess considerable property [873] and employ numerous servants. Their members are usually [463] literate, and at least the males are *formados* (i.e., graduated from one of the Faculdades, either in law, medicine, or engineering), a distinction which in the Bahian society marks them off quite sharply from the rest of the population.

[204] It is in these areas that the five newspapers published in [291] the city circulate almost exclusively and the latest fashions from Paris or Hollywood are known and generally adopted. [341] In recent years an occasional example of modernistic archi- [422] tecture and interior design has appeared. Here are to be found the owners of virtually all the city's 3,855 telephones, [206] its 1,028 automobiles, its radios, and private libraries. Here [217] live most of the 20,524 voters who cast ballots in the municipal election of 1936. Here attachment to the *candomblé*, or [207] Afro-Brazilian fetish cult, is minimal and Catholic belief is [794] least modified by elements from the more primitive religions. Here live that portion of the population which *o povo* [177] ("the people") call the *ricos*, or the "rich."

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565 Conversation is carried on in the Portuguese
[197] vernacular, with a limited vocabulary and numerous errors
[489] in grammar. Many words of African or native Indian origin
are commonly heard. Transport is primitive. Here the fe-
[771] tish cult, and the attitudes, sentiments, and beliefs associated
• [794] with it, gains its most zealous and faithful devotees. Here,
cut off quite sharply from participation in the upper levels of European culture, live that portion of the population which the upper classes refer to as *o povo*, and who think of themselves as *os pobres* ("the poor").

The social gulf between the *pobres* of the valleys and the *ricos* of the ridges is wide and not easy to bridge. This is, of course, to be anticipated in a society with an aristocratic tradition whose upper circles still look somewhat askance upon manual labor and have always regarded education, family connection, and "good breeding" as indices of class.
[1068] Attitudes in this respect have changed little since the time
[567] when the abolitionist Anselmo da Fonseca felt it necessary to apologize for including the name of "a man of the people," a humble Negro shoemaker, among the prominent upper-class abolitionists of Bahia, arguing that "intelligence, patriotism, and truth are not the privilege of any one class" and explaining that this particular individual had been more useful to the abolition cause than many "more noble."

565 The upper classes habitually refer to members of the lower
186 classes as *trabalhadores* ("laborers"), *operarios* ("workers"), or *o povo baixo* ("common people") and humorously caricature them by a cartoon character known as Zé Povinho, an
[867] illiterate, stupid, and unprepossessing lout. To their children they often direct such phrases as "não seja gentinha" ("don't be like common people"), "não tenha modos de gentinha" ("don't take up the manners of common people"), "não ligue a (or *para*) povo miudo" ("don't attach yourself

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ers; some of them accumulated considerable sums of money. Occasionally, as we have noted, they owned slaves[100] or invested their savings in the slave trade, sending money, arms, and trade goods to some convenient individual in Africa to "get up raids in their old homes or amongst neighboring tribes."[101] In Minas Geraes free black laborers came to own mines like Encardideira and Palacio Velho.[102] In Bahia they maintained their own regiment,[103] fraternal orders, and religious brotherhoods, each limited in membership exclusively to Negroes of pure African descent.[104] Many made sustained efforts to educate their children, and a few even had sons in the priesthood who, since the bishops of Brazil did not confer them, took their orders in São Thomé.[105]

But the free Negro, in competition with the European

[100] Walsh, a visitor to Brazil in the early nineteenth century, writes: "Next came an old free Negro woman, with a young slave of her own sex and color carrying her bundle. . . . . Her young slave was her only property, and she made a good livelihood by hiring her out as a beast of burden, to whoever wanted her, and for whatever purpose" (*op. cit.*, II, 18).

[101] Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

[102] Gilberto Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos* (São Paulo, 1936), p. 73.

[103] "There are two of these regiments for the province of Pernambuco . . . . distinguished from each other by the names Old Henriques and New Henriques. . . . . I have seen some portion of one of these regiments, in Recife. . . . . They were dressed in white cloth uniforms, turned up with scarlet: and they looked very soldier-like. They were in tolerable discipline. . . . . They acted with an appearance of zeal and the desire of excelling. Those of which I speak formed a finer body of men than any other soldiers which I had an opportunity of seeing in that country. . . . . These men receive no pay, so that their neat appearance on such occasions bespeaks a certain degree of wealth among them" (Koster, *op. cit.*, II, 182-83).

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[104] See, in this connection, *Compromisso da Irmandade do Senhor Bom Jesus das Necessidades e Redempção* (Bahia, 1929); Joventino Silvino da Costa, *Relatorio da Sociedade Protectora dos Desvalidos, 1832-1932* (Bahia, 1934).

[105] Affonso de E. Taunay, *Na Bahia de João VI* (Bahia, 1928), p. 173.

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be the *lingua geral*, or general Negro language.[5] The ritual of the more important fetish-cult centers was, and still is, carried on in this language. Inscriptions in Nagô were occasionally to be seen not only on cult buildings but also in small commercial establishments owned and operated by Negroes, like the meat stall on the Baixa dos Sapateiros over whose entrance Nina Rodrigues in 1895 noted the inscription "Kosi oba Kan afi Olorun."[6] So important did Nagô become, and so widespread its use that, although Nina Rodrigues early in the twentieth century estimated that there were only approximately five hundred Africans still living in the city and they were at that time dying at the rate of a hundred and fifty to two hundred a year,[7] one still today, more than three decades later, finds

[5] Nina Rodrigues, intimately acquainted for many years with Bahian Negroes, commends the accuracy of the Visconde de Porto Seguro when he says, "The best known Negroes in Brazil were those coming from the *Costa da Mina*, whence arrived the greater portion of those imported into Bahia; so that in this city many slaves learned little Portuguese but instead communicated among themselves in Nagô." About 1900 he himself wrote: "The Nagô dialect is commonly spoken in Bahia by almost all the old Africans from the various tribes and by a great number of creoles and mulattoes" (*op. cit.*, p. 197).

[6] Rodrigues translates the phrase: "There is no God but Olorun" (principal deity of the Nagô cult). A photograph of the entrance to the shop showing this inscription may be found in *ibid.*, opp. p. 202.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 154. In the seven years from 1896 to 1902, 1,282 Africans died at Bahia. The distribution was as follows:

Year	Total	Male	Female
1896	110	55	55
1897	238	136	102
1898	200	96	104
1899	209	110	99
1900	151	87	64
1901	152	74	78
1902	202	136	66
Total	1,282	724	568

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teenth. Tapa and Haussá were spoken during the entire nineteenth century, and the latter perhaps long before 1800. Although the Haussás were relatively few in number, their influence was considerable. The slave revolts of the early nineteenth century were, as we have seen, led by this reputedly "most intellectual element" among the imported Africans, many of whom could read and write Arabic characters. Kanúri, spoken in Bahia by the Bornús, and Grúnce, the tongue used by the slaves known as Gallinhas, are included, along with Haussá, Gêge, and Tapa, in the limited vocabularies which Rodrigues collected from Bahian Negroes near the beginning of the twentieth century.[11] Tshi (or Odji), Gá (or Acrá),[12] and Mandê (or Mandinga) were also employed to a limited extent.

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As late as 1900, Negro laborers in Bahia continued to wear "white vestments of coarse cotton cloth," which reminded Rodrigues of "the Nagô *camisús*."[13] The *Bahiana* costume,[14] of partial African origin, was extensively used by the Negro women. It was also customary for them to carry their babies bound to the back with a large cloth. African dishes, in the preparation of which *azeite de dendê* (oil of the *dendê* palm) and *pimenta da costa* (pepper from the West Coast) prominently figured, formed a considerable portion of the Negro diet.

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At that time, also, African music might be frequently heard, particularly in the ceremonies of the *candomblé*. African musical instruments, like the *atabaque*, the *agê*, the *canzá*, the *marimba*, the *agôgô*, the *caxixi*, and the *xáquexáque*[15] were commonly employed. The fetish cult drew allegiance from numerous and zealous devotees.

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 217–21.

[12] Spoken in Bahia by the Ashantis.

[13] *Op. cit.*, p. 181.

[14] The *Bahiana* costume is described in detail in chap. ix.

[15] These instruments are described in chap. ix.

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giance from numerous and zealous devotees. African dances still invaded the popular festivals of the Europeans to such an extent that vigorous protests on the part of the white citizenry appeared in the newspapers.[16] Numerous images employed in the fetish worship were imported from Africa, and others were made by Negro sculptors in Bahia.

One occasionally encountered Negroes who in Africa had been chiefs or other dignitaries of considerable power and influence. Although in Brazil they shared the fortunes of a slave with their former subjects, they nevertheless often received allegiance and great reverence from them. On a chance meeting in the street these personages were, we are told, "saluted respectfully, their hands kissed, and a blessing requested of them." Even their masters were reported to have paid them, in several cases, considerable respect.

Slaves who were in close contact with their masters, especially the house servants, soon became, by the very necessities of the situation, at least to some extent bilingual. And their offspring, reared in close contact with the children of their masters, acquired little, if any, African vocabulary and came almost exclusively to speak Portuguese. Thus, about 1800, Koster wrote from Pernambuco, "Portuguese

[16] In the *Jornal de Noticias* for February 12, 1901, a white citizen wrote: "I wish to protest against the way in which this great civilized festival [Carnival] is being Africanized." Three days later the following was published: "These infamous Africanized groups *de canzás* and *buzios* which, far from adding to the brilliance of our Carnival festival, bring shame upon the name of Bahia . . . . have since yesterday been keeping up their infernal tumult." Immediately preceding the opening of Carnival the following year there appeared in the *Jornal de Noticias* (February 5, 1902) the following note: "If during these former Carnival festivals when the popular enthusiasm has been greatly aroused by the passage of the victorious floats . . . . these groups of *Africanos* have been repugnant, what will the Carnival of 1902 turn out to be, unless the police take effective measures to prevent our streets from looking like *terreiros* where fetish practices reign amid a retinue of *ogans* and their *canzás* and tambourines?" (Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 236–38).

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to slaves morning and evening, at the commencement and close of their day's labor."[79] Mathison noted that "on Sunday large numbers of slaves may be seen in the churches, particularly females."[80] For the exclusive worship of the Negroes, certain saints—Nossa Senhora do Rosario, São Benedito, and Santa Efigenia—were set aside, and their images were often, and still are today, painted black. Numerous *irmandades* composed entirely of Negroes were organized, usually under the patronage of São Benedito and Nossa Senhora do Rosario,[81] and in Bahia, at least, these all-Negro organizations persist to the present day. Koster, writing about 1800, tells us:

> The ambition of the slave very generally aims at being admitted into one of these Irmandades, and at being made one of the officers and directors of the concerns of the brotherhood. Even some of the money which the industrious slave is collecting for the purpose of purchasing his freedom, will often times be brought out of its concealment for the decoration of a saint, that the donor may become of importance in the society to which he belongs.[82]

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In 1848 Henry Bates noted that on an estate called Caripí, near Pará, the Christmas festival "was celebrated by the Negroes of their own free will, and in a very pleasing manner."

> The room next to the one I had chosen was the *capella*, or chapel. It had a little altar which was neatly arranged, and the room was furnished with a magnificent brass chandelier. Men, women, and children were busy in the chapel all day on the 24th of December, decorating the altar with flowers and strewing the floor with orange leaves. They invited some of their neighbors to the evening prayers; and when the simple ceremony began, an hour before midnight, the chapel was

[79] Mawe, *op. cit.*, p. 115; cf. also Mathison, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

[80] *Op. cit.*, pp. 156–57.

[81] Cf. Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 255. [82] *Op. cit.*, I, 199–200.

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The dances *dos Congos* became attached to the Catholic festivals of São Benedito and Nossa Senhora do Rosario. In Bahia the annual *lavagem* ("washing") of the church of Bomfim became "a Yoruba religious ceremony" and, as late as 1900, was "a living cult, O Senhor do Bomfim[95] being for the Africans, the creole Negroes and the mixed-bloods of the Nagô *seita*,[96] Obatalá[97] himself."[98] The Cucumbys[99] became attached in Bahia to the Catholic festivals of Epiphany and Christmas.

[95] The saint to whom the Church of Bomfim (in Itapagipe) is consecrated is known as O Senhor do Bomfim, and his image is prominently displayed in the church. To evaluate more fully the important role of this famous church to which pilgrimages are still regularly made from long distances, see Carlos Alberto de Carvalho, *Tradições e milagres do Bomfim* (Bahia, 1915); João Varella, *Na Bahia do Senhor do Bomfim* (Bahia, 1936); and Manoel Raymundo Querino, *A Bahia de outrora* (Bahia, 1922), pp. 117–30, 222–31.

[96] The fetish-cult is sometimes called the *seita* (sect).

[97] Obatalá is one of the more important *orixás*, or deities, of the fetish cult. See chap. x.

[98] Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

[99] Moraes describes the Cucumbys of Rio as follows: "After a sumptuous meal of *cucumbe*, which is a dish eaten by the Congos and Munhambanas on the days of the circumcision of their sons, a group of Negroes set out to take to the Queen her new vassals who have just passed through this species of savage baptism. The procession, made up of princes and princesses, soothsayers and magicians, interpreters of foreign languages, and a host of other people, and conducting between two lines of gay celebrants the *mametos*—those who have just been circumcized with the bamboo splinter—is attacked on the way by an enemy tribe and the King's son killed by an arrow. When the procession finally reaches the King's dwelling-place, they find that the King, having heard of his son's death from a messenger, has already sent for a famous diviner, the most celebrated *feiticeiro* (witch-doctor) of the kingdom, of whom he demands, immediately upon his arrival, the resuscitation of the dead prince. To the divinations of this magician, the youth finally responds and gets to his feet. The dances then continue for some time, until the noisy ceremony ends with the Cucumbys singing the *Bendito* and other popular refrains" (Mello Moraes Filho, *Festas e tradições populares* [Rio, 1888], p. 157, quoted in Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 272–73).

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In the time of Nina Rodrigues, African "carnival clubs" were still active in Bahia.[100] A Embaixada Africana ("The African Legation") and Os Pandegos da Africa ("The African Clowns") were the more prominent. Of lesser importance were A Chegada Africana ("The Arrival of the Africans") and Os Filhos da Africa ("Children of Africa"). A common theme portrayed on the floats prepared by these Negroes was "primitive Africa brought to Brazil a slave." Certain African traditions were also represented. Thus, for the Carnival of 1899, Os Pandegos da Africa prepared a float representing the river Zambesi "on one of whose banks might be seen the King Labossi reclining in an immense seashell and surrounded by his ministers Auá, Oman, and Aboto." A second float carried "two individuals representing the powerful ministers of the King's court—Barborim and Rodá"; and a third showed "the hut of Pae Ajou, his wife and the magical *caboré*[101] which brings good fortune to one and all." Rodrigues was impressed with the enormous crowd of Negroes and mixed-bloods which accompanied the floats, "singing African songs, dancing African dances and applauding the images on the magician's float." The scene was one of "a colossal *candomblé* traversing the streets of the city,"[102] although police regulations at that time forbade the public appearance of the cult.

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Much enjoyed by Brazilian Negroes were certain dances like the *lundú* and the *batuque*, evidently of at least partial African origin, although they perhaps also contained certain Portuguese and native Indian elements.

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[100] Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

[101] The *caboré* is a nocturnal bird.

[102] Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

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Stewart recounts of Rio in 1852 that "two black African women, richly and fashionably attired, came sauntering along with the most conscious air of high-bred self-possession. They were followed by a black female slave, also in full dress, carrying a black baby three or four months old, and decked out in all the finery of an aristocratic heir—an elaborately wrought, lace-frilled and rosetted cap, and long flowing robe of thin muslin beautifully embroidered, and ornamented with lace."[105]

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A fashion which in the early part of the nineteenth century served "to mark the high rank of those (of either sex) who adopted it" was that of "permitting the nails of the fore-finger and thumb to grow to a great length . . . . [and be] cut to a sharp point."[106] Today, while the whites in Bahia no longer follow this fashion, one occasionally sees individuals of prominence in the Negro group—for instance, Mãe Anninha of the *candomblé* of São Gonçalo—with long fingernails.

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However, assimilation is not a process in which the individuals of only one of the races in contact are modified thereby while members of the other race remain unchanged. Circumstances in Brazil were such as to favor the taking-over by the whites of certain African elements. One rarely found a white child, especially during the slave period, who had not been reared by a Negro *ama*. She "gave him of her own milk, rocked him in his cradle or hammock, taught him his first words of halting Portuguese, his first Padre Nosso, his first Ave Maria, his first 'vôte!' or 'oxente'; she put into his mouth the first *pirão* with meat and

[105] *Op. cit.*, p. 295.

[106] Andrew Grant, *History of Brazil* (London, 1809), p. 234.

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As the mulatto rose in class, he came to occupy something analogous to a middle position distinct from either that of the dominant European or that of the subject African. In the colonial period, "to appease the repugnance felt by whites at being put on the same level with mulattoes,"[14] the latter were segregated for military duty. Thus separate battalions were organized at Bahia and elsewhere for whites, for *pardos*,[15] and for *pretos*.[16] Similarly, separate church organizations arose for *pardos* (Palma, Guadaloupe, Boqueirão) as well as for *pretos*.[17]

In the Brazilian rural society of the colonial period Oliveira Vianna identifies three distinct social strata: the predominantly white *senhores* of the upper rank, the predominantly mixed-blood free artisans, *rendeiros*, and petty

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and women of the Brazilian aristocracy who were blessed with small feet. The difficulties of the blacks, even when serving as pages, to adjust themselves to this new European and aristocratic style so ill adapted to their large and flat feet, can be easily understood. The mulattoes, on the other hand, who possessed smaller feet, well formed according to the European standard, could adapt themselves more readily to a practice which Handelmann observed constituted in nineteenth-century Brazil one of the marks of class distinction" (Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, pp. 329-30).

[14] Vianna, *op. cit.*, p. 164; see also his *Populações meridionais do Brasil* (3d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 140.

[15] In Bahia, the Regimento dos Pardos. See Luiz dos Santos Vilhena, *Cartas*, edited and annotated by Braz do Amaral (2 vols.; Bahia, 1922), pp. 253-54.

[16] In Bahia, as elsewhere, Os Henriques.

[17] In Bahia, Rosario de João Pereira, Barroquinha, Corpo Santo, Rosario "at the foot of the Pelourinho." Cf. also: "The cemetery for Africans was located next to the Misericordia Cemetery, as one can see from the map made of the city of Salvador and its suburbs by Carlos Augusto Weyll" (J. B. von Spix and C. F. P. von Martius, *Através da Bahia* [excerpts from the larger work, *Reise in Brasilien* (3 vols.; München, 1823-31)], trans. Pirajá da Silva and Paulo Wolf [3d ed.; São Paulo, 1938], pp. 141-42 [translators' note]).

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In the churches, both Catholic and Protestant, one notes the side-by-side, unsegregated worship of all ranges of the color scale. For instance, out of 927 worshipers present one Sunday morning[14] at the Matriz Nossa Senhora de Sant' Anna, 277 were blacks, 327 were mulattoes, 312 were whites, 9 were *cafusos*, and 2 were *mamelucos*. At the ancient and historic Igreja do Carmo on another occasion,[15] of 227 persons attending Mass, 34 were blacks, 109 were mulattoes, and 84 were whites. At the famed São Francisco Church one Sunday morning,[16] of 470 worshipers, 124 were blacks, 187 were mulattoes, and 159 were whites. At Santo Antonio da Barra on another Sunday,[17] of a total of 177 persons present, 74 were blacks, 52 were mulattoes, and 48 were whites. One of the best-dressed audiences in the city, at the Convento de Piedade, numbered,[18] among a total of 285, 52 blacks and 64 mulattoes.

Of a total of 7,396 worshipers in thirty-eight Catholic churches, cathedrals, and chapels scattered throughout the city, including (in addition to the foregoing) the Matriz da Vitoria, the Mosteiro de São Bento, the Cathedral, the Matrix de Nazaré, the Basilica do Bomfim, Conceição da Praia, Campo Santo, Rosario de João Pereira, Barroquinha, Palma, Ajuda, Pillar, Conceição do Boqueirão, and the Matriz do Rio Vermelho, 25 per cent were blacks, 33.3 per cent were mulattoes, and 40.8 per cent whites,[19] the various ethnic groups being in each case indiscriminately represented throughout the audience. A similar distribution was

[14] July 26, 1936, 9:00–10:30 A.M.

[15] August 2, 1936, 8:30 A.M.

[16] January 5, 1936.

[17] August 16, 1936, 8:15 A.M.

[18] January 12, 1936, 9:00 A.M.

[19] Absolute numbers: black, 1,846; mulatto, 2,462; white, 3,019; *cafuso* 32; *mameluco*, 19.

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noted in two Protestant churches, one Baptist, the other Presbyterian. Of a total of 157 worshipers, 27.4 per cent were blacks, 29.9 per cent were mulattoes, and 42.7 per cent were whites, seated indiscriminately, in each case.

Although 104 of 130 white students responding to an inquiry regarding the matter did not object to receiving the sacrament from a black priest, priests and pastors are usually white, only occasionally mulatto (ordinarily light), and very rarely black. For instance, of 43 priests officiating at Mass, 42, or 98 per cent, were white, and 1 was a mulatto, quite light. Of 60 novices at the Seminary of Santa Thereza, only 7 were mulattoes, 1 very dark.[20] Of the 2 Protestant pastors, 1 was white, the other a dark mulatto. In the latter's audience were over a score of whites. 563* 793

Altar boys are often mulattoes, occasionally blacks. For instance, of 70 altar boys seen assisting with Mass, 35, or 50 per cent, were whites; 3 were *brancos da Bahia;* 20, or 28.6 per cent, were mulattoes; and 11, or 15.7 per cent, were blacks. 563* 794

A similarly mixed participation may be noted in meetings of the spiritualist cult. At a session of the União Espirita Bahiana, for instance, of 73 persons present, 20 were blacks, 26 were mulattoes, and 27 were whites.[21] Among the leaders gathered about a table in front of the audience, 2 were whites, 2 were *brancos da Bahia,* 1 was a mulatto, and 2 were blacks.

In noting the circumstances under which the Brazilian racial accommodation has taken and is taking place, one ought not to overlook the fact that Catholic ideas and practice, permeating as they do very largely the whole moral order at 563* 795

[20] One *mameluco,* 52 whites. [21] Also 1 *cafuso.*

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presiding in accordance with the varying subjects under consideration, were seated erudite *doutores* from lecture-room and laboratory; huge *filhas de santo*;[7] aged Negro cooks who brought from . . . . the crude kitchens of their mud huts recipes of . . . . Afro-Brazilian dishes; Negroes from the cane fields (like Jovino, whose paper was as full of errors in Portuguese as of *saudades* of the time of the *almanjarras*);[8] . . . . *babalorixás*[9] like Pae Anselmo; queens of the *maracatú*[10] like Albertina de Fleury, whose name reminded José Lins do Rego[11] of the heroine of a romance by Proust; certain others who, although illiterate or semiliterate, had such intimate knowledge of Afro-Brazilian matters as to be able to make an appreciable contribution to the Congress; students of law, engineering, and medicine . . . . ; elderly folklorists like Rodrigues de Carvalho, who never missed a session . . . . ; individuals like Nobrega da Cunha, who knew intimately the ritual of the *macumba*;[12] psychiatrists of the ability and reputation of Ulysses Pernambucano, who was acclaimed with all justice Honorary President; artists like Luis Jardim and Cicero Dias; intellectuals, journalists, and special representatives of Rio newspapers; the teacher, Ernani Braga, who collected for the Congress a number of invocations to Xangô[13] sung by the young ladies of the Conservatorio on the closing day of school to the enthusiastic applause of the best people of Recife. Individuals

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[7] *Filhas de santo* are ceremonial dancers of the fetish cult (see chap. x).

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[8] On the sugar plantations of colonial Brazil the beam to which animals were hitched to turn the millstone and crush the cane was called the *almanjarra*.

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[9] Priests of the fetish cult are sometimes called *babalorixás*. The word is formed from the Nagô words *bábá* ("father") and *orixá* ("deity").

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[10] The *maracatú* was an organization of Negroes which formerly participated in Carnival at Recife (see Mario Sette, *Maxambombas e maracatús* [São Paulo, n.d.], pp. 339-41).

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[11] José Lins do Rego is a noted Brazilian novelist whose realistic accounts of lower-class life, particularly in the state of Pernambuco, have helped to reveal a level of culture about which little had previously been written. See, e.g., his *Banguê* (Rio, 1934); *Menino de engenho* (2d ed.; Rio, 1934); *Usina* (Rio, 1936); *Historias da velha Totonia* (Rio, 1936); *Pureza* (Rio, 1937); *Pedra Bonita* (Rio, 1938); *Doidinho* (Rio, n.d.).

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[12] The Afro-Brazilian fetish cult is known in Rio de Janeiro as the *macumba*.

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[13] Xangô (pronounced "Shán-go") is a deity of the fetish cult (see chap. x).

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who at last had seriously taken up "these Negro things" and had found them to be something more than merely picturesque, ... to be, in fact, a great living part of the genuine Brazilian culture.[14]

Before this democratic gathering were read such papers in history and ethnology as the following:[15]

England and the Slave Traffic
Three Centuries of Slavery in Parahyba
The Negro in the History of Alagôas
The Negro during the Dutch Occupation
Unusual Slaves
Physical Deformities of Negro Slaves
The Republic of the Palmares
The Negro Laborer in the Time of the *Banguê*[16] Compared with the Negro Laborer in the Time of the Sugar Factories
The Diet of Brazilian Slaves
Abolition and Its Causes
African Diseases in Brazil
Negro Music in Africa and Brazil
The Negro in the Folklore and Literature of Brazil
The Drama among Early Brazilian Negroes
The Contribution of the Negro to Brazilian Culture
A List of Nagô Words
Xangô
The Legend of Xangô and Its Corruption in Brazil
Invocations to Xangô Heard in Recife
African *Seitas*[17] in Recife
Notes on the *Catimbó*[18]

[14] *Op. cit.*, pp. 348–52.

[15] In several cases titles have not been translated literally; instead, an effort has been made to indicate more definitely the actual subject matter discussed.

[16] The primitive sugar mill used in colonial Brazil, often called the *engenho*, was also known as the *banguê*. [249]

[17] A fetish-cult center is often referred to as a *seita*.

[18] *Catimbó* is a word commonly used in northeast Brazil to designate the fetish cult, which is also known as the *candomblé* (in Bahia) and the *xangô* (in Recife). [794]

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191 Although it is exceedingly doubtful if there is in Bahia today anyone of African descent who does not speak Portuguese, a few individuals can and on occasion do converse in Nagô. One may also hear Gêge spoken, as well as those lan- [794] guages known locally as "Angola" and "Congo." However, [796] the use of these tongues is very largely confined to the ritual [576] of the *candomblé*, although at times one hears in the homes of blacks the Nagô greeting, "Ô-kú á-sán!" and the parting salutation, "Ôdi-ôlá-ô!" and even conversations in Nagô. 192 Many African words are to be found in the predominantly Portuguese speech of the lower class, a limited number of which have become common to all Bahia and, to some extent, to all Brazil. Approximately three hundred of the latter were noted.

201 565 Certain gestures are to be observed among the lower-class blacks which are not common to the general population; for example, the *legua de beiço*, or slight extension of the lower lip when indicating distance (the words accompanying may be "one league," but the sense is much farther); and the *muxóxó*, or pursing of the lips as the lower portion of the face is pushed forward and upward, signifying disdain. Approbation is indicated by touching the tips of the fingers to pursed lips and withdrawing them while making a kissing sound. Silence is compelled by grasping the upper lip with the tips of the fingers. The act of eating is indicated by closing and opening the right hand before the mouth, and the act of drinking by raising the right hand before the face, flexing the three middle digits, and, with thumb and little finger extended, raising and lowering the hand at the wrist. The height of a human being is demonstrated by extending the

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palm flat in horizontal position in contrast to a vertical placement for indicating the height of a lower animal.[10]

Although one is not likely to find any Bahian black who has not been given at baptism a "Christian name," nicknames are very common, and many individuals are much better known by them than by their given names. Among such *apelidos* one will occasionally discover terms of probable African derivation; for instance, Okê, Bábá Cumdê, Cobê, Oum, Tau-édê, and Au-weh, all nicknames of members of a local labor union; or, among personages in the fetish world, such names as: Manoelzinho de Oxóssi, Lourenço Lemba, Maria de Tempo, Senhora de Yemanjá, João de Zázé, and Flaviano Cavungo, each of which recalls the African *orixá* to which the individual in question is dedicated.

Exercising considerable prestige among a portion of the Bahian population is the *babalaô*, or *olhador*, whose primary function, it seems, is to foretell the future; the *curandeiro*, who by means of herbs, prayers, and other magical manipulations seeks both to treat and to prevent disease; and the *feiticeiro*, or "witch doctor," who, for a price, works black magic. The office of the *babalaô* is occasionally exercised by the *pae de santo*, or priest of the fetish cult, although his function is more particularly that of supervising the rituals and public ceremonies of the cult and overseeing the sacred properties. To some extent he also exercises the function of a *curandeiro*.

[10] A form of greeting recalled by older blacks but rarely used today is as follows: If the individuals are social equals, each lifts his hands, palms outward, and grasps the hands of the other in such a way that the fingers of the one are interlaced with the fingers of the other, after which the "*ogun* grip" is exchanged; if not social equals, the individual of greater prestige places his right hand over the closed hands of the other.

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but also against all skin ailments, including leprosy. Particularly approachable is the deity to whom a person is dedicated. "This bad cut on my foot," remarked a *mãe de santo* dedicated to Xangô, "would not heal. So I talked it over with Xangô. He agreed to heal it, and told me what to use. It's now getting well; it's much better already."

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An individual troubled by continued ill-health, business difficulties, or even bad dreams may request of the fetish-cult priest the ritual of *lavagem das contas*, or "washing the beads." Divination is first resorted to in order to identify the *orixá* "responsible" for the difficulty. Then the beads sacred to this deity are immersed in water, a newly purchased basin being used for the purpose, and a handful of leaves also sacred to him are crushed and added. After a time, the beads are removed and washed with *sabão da costa* ("soap from the Coast"). Thus purified, they are given to the person suffering the ill fortune, who must subsequently keep them in a clay vessel and from time to time wear them about his neck.

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Considered one of the most effective methods of "removing" a disease or misfortune is the *troca da cabeça*, or "changing of heads," whose purpose is to transfer the disturbing influence from the afflicted person to another individual. The ritual varies. The afflicted one may have his head rubbed with a chicken or a pigeon, which, having thus acquired the evil influence, is then killed. Or an *ebó*, or *bozó*, as it is more commonly called, may be prepared,[31] and the affliction purposely transferred to another individual by leav-

[31] The *bozó* almost always includes a dead hen, popcorn, manioc meal with *azeite de dendê*, pieces of clothing from the one to be benefited, nickel or copper coins, certain African foods like *acassá*, *aberém*, and *acarajé*, and, if available, the African fruits, the *obi* and the *orobó*, of ritualistic significance.

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ing the *bozó* in a place where the intended victim is likely to step on it or otherwise touch it.[33] An animal may be "prepared with the *ebó*" so that whoever subsequently touches the animal will catch the illness or inherit the misfortune. If, however, one wishes to avoid transferring the evil to another person, he may do so and still rid himself of his affliction by leaving the *ebó* in a cemetery.

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If a *filha de santo* (ceremonial dancer of the fetish cult) would avoid illness or other misfortune, it is considered highly important that she observe all the taboos, especially those attaching to food and drink. A pregnant woman must avoid vegetables and all meats other than chicken; she must not join a funeral procession, since the spirit of the deceased might enter her child; and she must avoid a rose touching her bare breast, for otherwise the child, it is believed, will be born with a birthmark.[33]

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Charms may be of a specific nature like the *figa*[34] or the

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[33] The affliction may, however, be transferred to someone toward whom no harm was originally intended if the individual placing the *ebó*, either ignorantly or with intention, fails to leave it in the designated place. The first person coming in physical contact with it will be affected. So widespread is this fear of the *ebó* that chauffeurs, even at the risk of an accident, will not run a wheel over one.

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[33] Current folk medicines include: for syphilis, whale oil; for a toothache, pig or burro dung smoked in a clay pipe; for a cough, sweetened tea prepared by boiling a termite nest; for sore throat, tea made by boiling a live lizard whose body is then removed from the vessel and buried with its head toward the new moon. Native herbs are extensively employed, particularly by *curandeiros*, or they may be administered at the hands of anyone "instructed" by a "manifesting" deity, a common occurrence in those *candomblés* known as *de caboclo* (a portion of whose ritual is probably of native Indian origin) and in spiritualist centers like that in Alto do Bom Gosto, in Calcada, one of whose directors remarked, "So many *caboclos* 'manifest themselves' because they know so well how to heal with herbs."

[34] The *figa* is an image, usually made from wood, of a closed fist with the thumb inserted between the index and middle fingers.

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oxhorn, both of which are employed for protection against the *mau olhado*, or "evil eye." Or they may be of a more general nature like the letters *J M J* (Jesus, Maria, José), or the *signo de Salomão* ("sign of Solomon")[35] either or both of which may be painted or carved on the door of the house or even tattooed on an individual's arm, leg, or chest; or a small pouch worn around the neck and containing either a *patuá* (presumed to protect against evil, especially the machinations of an enemy or death in battle)[36] or a small piece of garlic, "Danda root," *mil homens*, or *arruda*, a clove, or merely some object sacred to the *orixá* to whom the individual is dedicated. Similarly employed are such magical practices as the sprinkling of sea water in the four corners of the house, the emptying through the front door of a basin of water left overnight in the center of the floor, or the burning regularly at six o'clock in the evening of incense to which, occasionally, sulphur and pieces of oxhorn are added until the house is filled with magically potent smoke.

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In the fetish cult, divination is commonly resorted to for such purposes as the identification of an unknown *orixá* who has "manifested himself" in human form, the determination of such matters as the eligibility of a prospective *ogan*, or male functionary of the cult, the cause of a troubling illness, or the proper course to pursue in some contemplated action. Divination is also employed to foretell future events, particularly the outcome of business or amorous ventures, jour-

[35] A six-pointed star at whose apex appears a cross.

[36] During the insurrection of 1835, the Malês, as we have seen, wore *patuás* consisting either of prayers or of verses from the Koran, written or printed in Arabic characters. They were presumed to protect against death in any form. For photographs of some of these see Nina Rodrigues, *Os africanos no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1932), p. 98, Figs. 1, 2, 3, and 4.

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787 neys, etc.[37] Oracles are invoked by way of such magical in-
[789] termediaries as the *obí* and the *orobô*, or the *opêlê-ifá* (a chain of thin disks), or they may be obtained directly from an *orixá* who speaks during the "possession" of a *filha* or a *pae de santo* by way of the mouth of the one "possessed."[38]

787 Contact between the living and the dead is believed not only to be possible but to occur regularly. Hence, the prac-

[37] The serious character of a transaction of this sort puts it in a different category from certain other magical acts, common to all classes, which have the character of a game, being similar, for example, to practices attaching to our festival of Halloween. Thus, one may take a glass, "bless" it three times, put in it the white of an egg, and, holding it over a fire, again thrice "bless" it; or partially fill a basin with water and permit the tallow from a lighted candle to drip into it; or stick a knife up to the hilt in a banana tree and leave it until morning. The patterns formed on the glass, the water, and the knife, respectively, are presumed to indicate the initials of one's future spouse. A similar image is presumed to appear in the dreams of one under whose pillow has been left a freshly husked ear of corn.

[825] [38] Other magical practices of this sort are: the placing of crushed char-
[777] coal under a rock to expedite the recovery of a lost article, the burying of the third of a rosary to stop rain; also, it is commonly believed that a hum-
[821] mingbird inside the house, or the singing of an *adivem-quevem*, announces the coming of guests; that the appearance of an owl, or of an *ouriço cacheiro*, foretells death; that a black butterfly is a sign of misfortune; that a katydid with dark eyes brings unpleasant news, while one with light eyes brings favorable news; that seeing the new moon for the first time between the branches of a tree or anywhere partially obscured is a sign of misfortune throughout the coming month; that the showing of money to the new moon when seen for the first time will assure no want of income for the next thirty days; that ill fortune will attend one who dwells in a house on the corner of a street, enters a house with the right foot, or opens an umbrella inside a house. Still other "signs" of misfortune are: the toad; the black cat (or the "ghost" of a cat); the *anum* perched in a tree near the house; the *jacumim;* the hummingbird, if black; the katydid, if it has a black mouth (if the katydid has a red mouth, happiness is in store for the observer). In the opinion
[262] of numerous people, mutton must not be eaten, since it is "the *lamb of God* who taketh away the sins of the world." Sheep are animals which Christians must not eat.

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help me get better, they took me up off the ground.[42] Then my mother called in Mamédê [the local *pae de santo*], to see what was the matter with me. He came, *abriu a mesa*[43] and said that this had been with me from my birth. My mother then asked him if he could cure it. He said he could. He made her buy plates, *moringues*,[43] beads, cups, coconuts, etc. Then he prepared all that.[44] They washed my head with water from the sacred leaves. My mother asked if he could take that thing away so that it would not come back again. He said he would not dare to do that, or I would die. He said it always came back.

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When it returned, they washed my head again. I did not know what was going on. It was as if I had slept. When I awakened, I was all "prepared": dressed *de creola* with a *saia grande* and a *torso* on my head. Everything red. *Sandalias* too. Everything the same color.

When this happened I was still small. The *pae de santo* said that I was under a spell [*era encanto*]. He "did the work" once more, and I was all right again. But when I was seven years old, it took hold of me once more. My mother was afraid and begged the *pae de santo* to do something about it. She pleaded so earnestly that finally he said he would speak with the enchantment [*encanto*] so that it would not come down any more.

It didn't come back until I was fifteen years old. Then they arranged another dress *de creola*, and also handkerchiefs, strings of beads, bracelets, and *sandalias*. They ordered plates, small glasses, and *quartinhas* bought. When all this was ready, the *pae de santo* washed my head in sacred water. He said it was the "owner of my head" [*dono da minha cabeçe*] who had done that to me. There in Cachoeira, across the river from São Felix,[45] is the *casa de Gêge*.[46] The *pae de santo* is the grandson of an African.

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[42] That is, she was removed from the reed mat which, placed directly upon the floor of a hut, is extensively used among the poorer families for sleeping purposes.

[43] That is, he set up certain means of divination.

[43] Water pots made of red clay.

[44] That is, he submitted it to the proper ritual.

[45] Cachoeira and São Felix are twin cities, separated by the Paraguassú River, located across the Bay to the north of the city of Bahia.

[46] The *candomblé* of the Gêge cult in which she had now been inducted.

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put many beads of O Senhor do Bomfim on him, and a *figa;* they covered him with ornaments.

[789] The *figa* is to free one from the evil eye. For example: I have a dress. You think it is pretty, and you want it very much; something [754] then happens to it. Or a *sabiá*[40] sings beautifully. You are visiting its owner; you want it, you want it very badly. You leave, and it dies or something else happens to it because you cannot have it. This is the evil eye. One needs to "pray it away" with *Guiné*, *Arruda*, or *Vassourinha Doce*. An oxhorn in the garden will keep it away from plants.

[794] Then the man went around with hands folded, "taking the bless-
[776] ing" from everyone there. Seven children went out with lighted can-
[793] dles. Then he got up entirely well. Today he has a *casa de candomblé*. He is now very old. His *orixá* is Ogum de Gêge. The *pao de santo* who treated him is of Ogum de Mina.

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My guardian angel [*anjo de guarda*] is Xangô. Ogum is a soldier, Xangô is of the thunder and also of the lightning. He is Santa Barbara of the Irmandade. All the *orixás* are equal. But Oxalá directs everything. Nanan is his wife. In the Gêge language she is called Odé.

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My sister, she died, burned up. She caught all on fire. He who killed her is Oxóssi; it was he who killed her. My sister is buried in the Quinta dos Lazaros.[41] She burned to death because she disobeyed him. He sent a message and she paid no attention to it. Her husband had a *saveiro*.[42] Every trip which he made she went along in the boat. She had no children. Everywhere he went, she went too. When, one time, the *orixá* "arrived" and told her that she should not travel on the water, she didn't take his words very seriously; she laughed the matter off, "gave it a *muxóxó*." But about a week afterward, she went with her husband in a *saveiro* across the Bay to Bahia. Between Itaparica and Salinas the *saveiro* caught afire. It had powder on it and the powder exploded. Parts of the *saveiro* were ripped off and hurled into the water. She was surrounded by fire. When they finally reached her, she was badly burned. They brought her to the Santa Isabel Hospital,

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[40] A Brazilian bird which can be trained to sing tunes.

[41] A Bahian cemetery.

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[42] A sturdy sailboat used on Todos os Santos Bay and its contributory rivers to transport light articles of commerce.

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and the next day she died. But before she died, he "arrived" and said it was he who had set fire to the *saveiro*. It was Oxóssi. Her husband also died. When one doesn't carry out his obligations [*cumpre com os seus deveres*], the *orixá* takes his life.

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Once I had a party at my house for some friends. But Xangô sent me a message that I should go to the *candomblé*. I said that I was not going because I was having a party. A little while later, while I was dancing with my friends, I suddenly got a stiffness in my legs. But I didn't pay much attention to it. Then I suddenly felt an "opening of the body" [*aperto no corpo*],[53] and I didn't know anything more. When I came to, I was dancing in the *candomblé*. When the *candomblé* was over, I went running clear to the top of Boeiros do Inferno ["Funnels of Hell"] without knowing anything about what I was doing. These are two hills called by that name because they are so high. I didn't feel anything. Afterward, Xangô beat me on the hands, and my hands swelled. When he "arrived" again, he said that I should pay more attention to him, or he would beat me some more. Once he struck me. On that day I was very tired, but I went to the *candomblé* and danced anyway.

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I dance when there is a big ceremony; I dance for hours at a time without getting tired. The spell seizes me, and sometimes I dance more than three days without feeling the least bit tired. When the *orixá* "arrives in my head," I spend a week or more "sleeping."[53] I don't feel anything. I don't see anything. People talk to me, but I don't know anything about what is going on.

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If one drinks water, the *orixá* doesn't "arrive." For instance, one feels cold. That cold is in the body. The *orixá* wants "to arrive." Then one drinks water. He who is of the *preceito* does not drink water. And whoever drinks, breaks the *preceito*. It is prayed ten times.[54]

[53] A "trembling of the body," signifying that the *orixá* wished to enter and to "manifest himself" in human form. See chap. x.

[53] That is, moving about, but unconscious of what is happening.

[54] That is, by taking a drink of water, one can presumably prevent the deity from entering the body. One must at the same time pray ten words and tap the ground ten times. In this way, the *preceito* (i.e., the control of the deity over one) is broken.

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I stayed only seven days in the *casa*,[15] because my head was washed. Others spend three months there, lying down all the time. They lie awhile on one side, then on the other, and then face down. One takes a bath in water perfumed with sacred leaves. Every day. The bath is cold, very cold. You must change your clothes and the bed linen every day. It isn't in a real bed that one lies down. They put a mat on the floor, and you have only a pillow and a sheet. You can move, but only from one side to the other, never over on your back. During the time you are in the *camarinha*, you cannot see your relatives. You may see them only on the day you leave. But then you must go at four in the morning and return at four in the evening so that the dew will not fall on your head.

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There may be others in the *camarinha*. Sometimes many others. All of them stay in the same room. They sleep with their heads together. If there are ten, there will be space for all ten. While they are in the *camarinha*, they do not attend ceremonies.

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I did not go through all this because my head did not have to be shaved. I had my *orixá* from birth. When I came into this world, he already knew everything.[16] My *pae de santo* has "worked" with many people. Last week he was here in Fazenda Grande.

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When my *orixá* took possession of me, I quit eating he-goat. Because of the taboo of the *orixá* one cannot eat certain things. During all my life I cannot eat he-goat, because of the taboo. Neither can I eat turtle. For he who is of Xangô does not eat either he-goat or turtle. He who is of Ogum must not eat sheep's meat. Some *filhas* must not eat fruit; others must not eat fish *de couro*, only those fish which have scales. Crabs cannot be eaten by some, nor the leaf of Ogum. Water may be drunk, but only that which is drawn at 4:00 A.M., before the sun rises.

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White maize must be eaten by some, depending on the *orixá*. For every *orixá* of every nation[17] has his own food. There is the food of Odé. There is that of Xangô, which is mutton.

[15] The period during which the candidate is initiated into her new function is spent within the sacred room, or *camarinha*, of the *candomblé* center.

[16] That is, he "knew" that she would be consecrated to him.

[17] That is, of each type of *candomblé*: Gêge-Nagô, Congo, Angolo, *de caboclo*.

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CHAPTER X

THE *CANDOMBLE*

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AMONG the last elements of African culture to disappear at Bahia are the customs and traditions associated with the expression of religious sentiment. The *candomblé*, or Afro-Brazilian fetish cult, is still a vigorous institution and numbers among its adherents some of the most widely known and respected members of the Bahian lower classes. Its leaders, in several conspicuous instances, are able and intelligent individuals, whose prestige extends even into the upper circles. Some *seitas*, or cult centers, have maintained the same temple of worship for generations. Their rituals and ceremonies are serious, dignified, and carried on according to definite, fixed, traditional forms.

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This highly complex organization of ritual and belief is built around an order of *orixás*, or deities, each of whom apparently personifies some natural phenomenon. Thus, of the more important and more widely honored deities, Xangô is worshiped as the *orixá* of lightning and thunder; Ogun, of war and iron; Oxossi, of the hunt; Omolú, of pestilence; Nanan, of rain; Yemanjá, of salt water; Oxun, of fresh water; Yansan, of wind and storm; Oxun-manrê, of the rainbow; and Beji, of twin births.

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The older and more respected *seitas* are commonly considered to be of Nagô (Yoruba) or Gêge (Ewe) origin or represent a fusion in Brazil of these two apparently closely related bodies of African ritual and belief.[1] In details of lan-

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[1] Nina Rodrigues, *Os africanos no Brazil* (São Paulo, 1932), p. 320.

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In details of language, ceremonial dress, dance, song and pantheon, these centers differ from the *candomblés* known as "Congo" or "Angola," in which Bantú dialects are spoken, Loanda and Benguela become sacred places, and Tempo and the Angolan chief Kissimbe are worshiped. They differ also from the apparently more recently organized *caboclo candomblés* whose ritual is, in varying degrees from *seita* to *seita*, a mixture of the rituals of the other cults, together with dances and a pantheon of Tupi origin, the latter of which includes Tupan, an important Tupi deity, and Tupinambá, apparently a personification of the cannibal tribe by that name which inhabited the Bahian coast at the coming of the Europeans. The *caboclo candomblés* carry on their ceremonies principally in Portuguese, with the addition of certain phrases of African origin, usually much corrupted, which have been picked up from Gêge-Nagô or Congo-Angola *seitas*, and a few words of Tupi derivation. Feathers, the bow and arrow, and other Indian cultural elements enter into their ritual.

This borrowing of ceremonial elements on the part of *caboclo* imitators, who in many, if not most, cases have not been reared in the African tradition, is bitterly resented by the more orthodox and scrupulous *Africanos*, particularly those of the Gêge-Nagô *seitas*. As a Negro once said, "Si seja mistura, é bobagem" ("If it's mixed, it's nonsense"). A leader of a Nagô cult once burst out:

> This fellow João da Pedra Preta! What a disgraceful whelp! His forebears, what did they know? Were they brought up in the *seita*, and did they "deixaram o cargo" [will the office of priest] to him? No! He came here from the *sertão* and started a *candomblé*. Picked up a little Gêge, a little Nagô, a little Congo, a little Indian stuff, and so on. A disgraceful mixture!

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A Nagô *mãe de santo* boasted of the ritual in her seita: "It's all pure Nagô; there's nothing in my *candomblé* of this abominable mixture which these upstart places practice today. They call this *caboclo* nonsense *candomblé!* Why, they know absolutely nothing about the way it's done in Africa!"

However, the borrowing of ritual back and forth from *seita* to *seita* sometimes takes place even in the case of Gêge-Nagô and Congo-Angola centers. Moreover, these *seitas* have not entirely escaped some Indian influence. [177]

With reference, then, to cultural origin and identification, there are three principal types of *candomblés* at Bahia: the Gêge-Nagô, the Congo-Angola, and the *caboclo*.[2] The *seitas* of probably most pure Gêge-Nagô origin are those of Engenho Velho, reputed to be the oldest cult center in Bahia; Gantois, which split off from Engenho Velho approximately a century ago and was, during the time of the famed *mãe de santo* Pulcheria, the seat of the researches of Nina Rodrigues; and São Gonçalo, whose able and widely respected *mãe de santo* speaks a Yoruba dialect locally known as Queito. These three centers are probably largely Nagô in origin,[3] while that of Bogum is said to be with the possible exception

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[2] The Malê, or Mohammedan cult, which at one time was vigorous and flourishing, seems to have been largely forsaken in favor of the fetish cults by the Negroes at Bahia. Although, in 1905, Nina Rodrigues estimated that one-third of the Africans still living in the city were Mohammedans, he at the same time pointed out that they were then making few, if any, converts among blacks born in Brazil and that Mohammedanism would in all probability die with them (*op. cit.*, pp. 93–94). Certain of the Malê ritual, however, has contributed to the general fusion so characteristic of present-day *candomblés*, and at least three Malê centers are still functioning. [178] [795]

[3] Also of Yoruba identification is Lingua da Vaca ("Cow's Tongue"), which was organized by Negroes of Ige-shá and Egbá origin.

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of a *seita* in the city of Cachoeira across the bay, the most purely Gêge in the region. Of the Congo-Angola centers, the one reputed to be most influenced by Congo tradition is Bata Folha; that most influenced by Angola tradition, the *seita* of Maria Nenen. Of the *caboclo* centers, the more noted are perhaps those of the wealthy and widely feared *pae de santo* Jubiabá in Cruz do Cosme, of *mãe de santo* Sabina in Quintas da Barra, and of "Pae Joazinha," or João da Pedra Preta (John-of-the Black-Rock), in Gomea.

Out of the Afro-Brazilian Congress which met at Bahia in January, 1937, came a memorial addressed to the governor of the state asking for official recognition of the *candomblé* as a religious sect with rights and privileges equal, under the Brazilian constitution, to those of all other forms of religious expression. In order to act more effectively in demanding and securing these rights and in combating the sorcery and quackery which are perhaps the principal obstacles in the way of their attainment, an attempt was made, sponsored by the young mulatto journalist, Edison Carneiro, to organize all Bahian *seitas* into one body. The result was an organization known as the União das Seitas Afro-brasileiras da Bahia with a governing body, consisting of one representative from each *seita*, charged with the special responsibility of eliminating unorthodox practices.[4]

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The *seitas* are located in sections of the city where the residents are almost exclusively blacks and dark mulattoes or in the outlying regions where dwellings are few. They number perhaps between a hundred and a hundred and fifty. Some say there are two to three hundred, but this estimate

[4] At the first session animosity between the more orthodox centers and the *caboclo seitas* was so great that any substantial agreement appeared to be quite difficult.

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appears to be an overstatement. In the area surrounding the sacred lake, or the Dique, and lying between the streetcar lines known as Rio Vermelho de Cima and Rio Vermelho de Baixo are more than a score. A black who regularly attends the *seita* known as Engenho Velho is personally acquainted with eighteen *seitas*, can give the location of their sacred grounds, indicate their line of African descent, and repeat the names of their leaders. Of these eighteen *seitas*, he says that eleven are of Nagô origin, six of Angola, and one of Gêge. All are located in the outlying areas of the city in sections principally inhabited by the darker portion of the population or in the more or less open country. Of their leaders, nine are males and nine are females.[5]

Sacred places include the *terreiro*, or temple grounds; the *franquia*, or sacred groves; sacred springs like that called Milagre do São Bartholomeu ("Miracle of St. Bartholomew"), located in an isolated spot near Pirajá, bathing in whose waters on the part of a *filha de santo* dedicated to Oxun-manrê "immediately causes the *orixá* to arrive";[6] sacred lakes, like the Dique; and the sacred arms of the sea, such as Cabecceiras da Ponte, Mont'serrat, and Baiutê. In the *terreiro* are the *barracão*, or sacred dance pavilion; the *pegi*, or fetish sanctuary; the *camarinha*, or sacred room in which initiates are interned during the period of their preparation; special huts for those *orixás*, like Exú, who "prefer to dwell outside the *pegi*"; and the living-quarters for the priest and his retinue.

In one *seita* of Gêge-Nagô origin whose *pae de santo* is dedi-

[5] Of the eleven Nagô centers, four of the heads are males, seven are women; of the Angola centers, five are males, one a female. The leader of the Gêge *seita* is a woman.

[6] See below, p. 286.

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cated to the *orixá* Ogun, the special ceremonial season begins with the second week in September and concludes with the first week in December. During this period ceremonies are held every Sunday, each dedicated to one or more of the *orixás*. The first ceremony is in honor of Oxalá; the second, of Oxagian ("Oxalá the Younger"); and the following three, of Ogun. Succeeding Sundays are dedicated, respectively, to Xangô, Oxun, Oxóssi, Yemanjá, and Yansan. On the eleventh Sunday and the subsequent Monday special honor is paid to Omolú, and on the following Sunday and Monday, to all of the *mães d'agua*. On the final Sunday a *feijoada* (a Brazilian food delicacy) is offered, with elaborate ritual, to Ogun. In addition to this regular season, special ceremonies are held from time to time throughout the year, with the exception of the Lenten period, when all *candomblé* activity is suspended.

The Gêge-Nagô and the Congo-Angola pantheons contain about the same number of deities, or approximately a hundred *orixás* each. The *caboclo* pantheon has perhaps a score less. Each *orixá* possesses his proper fetish, insignia, sacred day, sacred foods, sacred colors, sacred dress (including bracelets and beads peculiar to himself), and a distinguishing cry. Today, only in rare instances are the fetishes carved images; more often they are polished stones which have been worn smooth by the waters of a river or of the sea. They are carefully cared for in the *pegi*, or sanctuary, by a special functionary who at regular intervals washes them and replenishes the food and drink offerings placed before them.

In some *seitas* Oxalá is considered the most important of the deities; in others, Xangô; and, in still others, Omolú or, as he is sometimes called, Xapanan. Olorun, "the father of the *orixás*," is almost forgotten today in Bahia, although

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occasionally one meets an older *Africano* who thinks of Olorun as "the creator of all the other *orixás*." Each is thought to have his home in Africa, and when one inquires of a black how the *orixás* can come so far to eat and drink the offerings set out for them, the answer is always easy, "They are summoned, and they come at once." 776 [178]

Each *orixá* is presumed on occasion to "manifest himself" in human form and to speak his will. Such "manifestation" is accomplished by "arriving in the head" of an individual who has been dedicated to him. His "presence" is attested by an abnormal psychic state accompanied by violent, spasmodic muscular movements, particularly of the neck, shoulder, and back muscles. Seizure ordinarily takes place during ceremonial dances, but occasionally (quite rare today) it may occur spontaneously while the individual is alone and about his work. Subsequently, the one in whom the *orixá* has "arrived" and "manifested himself" is unaware of what has transpired. 794 776 787

The name, sex, personification, fetish, insignia, sacred foods, sacred dress, sacred ornaments, sacred day, and identifying call of the principal Gêge-Nagô *orixás* at Bahia are as given in Table 15. 794 776

Each *seita* is presided over by a priest or priestess known as the *pae de santo* or *mãe de santo* (literally, the "father" or "mother" of the *orixás*). His (or her) most important functions are to identify a "manifesting" deity, supervise the initiation of the ceremonial dancers in whom an initial "manifestation" has occurred, perform the sacred ritual designed to "fix" the *orixá* in the fetish, supervise the sacrifices, and preside at public ceremonies. He may also exercise, to some extent at least, the office of an *olhador*, or diviner, who "throws the Ifá" to determine in advance the 794 793

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PRINCIPAL *Orixás* OF THE GÊGE-NAGÔ FETISH CULTS AT BAHIA

Name	Sex	Personification	Fetish	Insignia	Sacred Foods	Dress	Beads	Bracelet	Sacred Day	Call
Ozalá (Orixá-lá, Obatalá)*	M,F	(?)	Lead ring, cowries	Shepherd's staff with small bells	She-goat, pigeon	White	White	White beads, lead	Friday	Tremulous groan
Xangô	M	Lightning	Meteorite	Lance, hatchet	Cock, turtle, he-goat, *carurú*	Principal color: red	Red and white	Brass	Wednesday	*hey-o-o*
Ogun (Ogum)	M	War, iron	Iron: hoe, anvil, scythe, spade, shovel, sledge	Lance, sword	He-goat, cock, oxhead, guinea hen	All colors	All colors	Bronze	Tuesday	*guava-mio-fô*
Ozóusi (Oso-osi, Ochossi)	M	The hunt	Bow and arrow, clay skillet, stone	Bow and arrow, hunting bag, powder horn, ostail	Sheep, cock, maize	Green, yellow; trimmed with *palha da costa*	Green	Bronze	Thursday	Bark like that of a dog
Omolú (Humoulú, Omanlú, Xapanan)	M	Pestilence, especially smallpox	*Piassava* with *búzios*	Lance	He-goat, cock, *acassá*, popcorn, *orôbó*, maize with *azeite de dendê*	Red, black	Red and black, red and white	Cowries	Monday	*hô*
Exú	M	Evil (?), mischievousness	Clay, iron, wood	?	"Eats everything that is edible"	Red, black	Red, black	Bronze	Monday†	?
Yemanjá (Iemanjá)‡	F	Salt water	Seashell	Fan, sword	Pigeon, maize, cock, castrated he-goat	Red, dark blue, rose	*pingos da agua* (transparent)	Aluminum	Saturday	*hin-hee-yo-mão*

* Also known in Gêge as Ouliissa; in Angola as Cassumbeca; in Tapa as Inacoude Jegum. (The *x* in Ozalá, etc., is pronounced like *sh* in English.)

† Also the first day of any extended ceremony.

‡ In the *candomblés de caboclo*, Yemanjá is called Rainha do Mar, Dona Janaina (or simply Janaina), Dona Maria, Sereia do Mar, Princeza do Mar.

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TABLE 15—*Continued*

Name	Sex	Personification	Fetish	Insignia	Sacred Foods	Dress	Beads	Bracelet	Sacred Day	Call
Yansan (Iansan)	F	Wind, storm	Meteorite	Sword	Goat, hen, *amalá*, § *acarajé*	Principal color: red ("avoids" violet)	Red, coral	Copper, brass	Wednesday	*hay-ee-ee* ("softer" than Xangô)
Oxun (Oxum, Ossa)	F	Fresh water	Stone worn smooth by a river	*Abébé* (fan), looking-glass, small bell	Fish (*tainha*), she-goat, hen, beans	?	Yellow, blue	Brass	Saturday	*hum-hum*
Anamburucú (Nanan, Nanamburucú)‖	F	Rain	Stone	Sword, small straw broom with cowries	Goat, hen, *obí*	White, dark blue	White, red and blue	Aluminum	Wednesday	*hu-hu-hu-hu*
Oxun-manré (Ochu-maré)	F	Rainbow	Stone	?	Cock, he-goat	?	Orange	?	?	?
Lôkô (Rôkô, Irôkô)	?	?	*gamelleira* tree	?	Cock, tobacco, beer, white wine	All colors ¶	All colors	?	Tuesday	Low whistle
Ilá	?	Future events	Fruit of the *dendê* palm	?	?	?	Green-yellow	?	?	?
Beji (Ibeji)	M	Twin births	Images of São Cosme and São Damião	?	*carurú*, *acassá*, *abará*, *acarajé*, *farofa* with *azeite de dendê*	?	?	?	?	?

§ *Amalá* is *carurú* served with rice or with gruel made from the manioc root.

‖ Also known in Gêge as Tobossi. She is "the oldest" of the *mães d'agua* (Yemanjá, Oxun, Yansan, Anamburucú, Oxun-manré).

¶ Also a straw mat or a strip of white cloth, called *ouja*, which is wrapped about the trunk of a *gamelleira* tree.

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794 793 outcome of some projected action; and also the office of a *curandeiro*, who diagnoses ailments and prescribes cures. He may minister to a clientele even outside the members of the *seita*, giving advice and counsel on matters of business, politics, love, etc.

794 793 627 Disputes between members of the *seita* are ordinarily submitted for adjudication to the *pae* or *mãe de santo*. Persuasion is at first employed. But if this proves unsuccessful, the priest orders each of the disputants to wash his particular fetish, upon which, with rare exceptions, acceptance of mediation is secured. The settling of the dispute is then celebrated by each party to the quarrel drinking from the water [688] in which the other's fetish has been washed. Continuance of the altercation will break the implied promise to the *orixá* and render the offender liable to punishment, which is ordinarily death.

794 793 754 The *pae* or *mãe de santo* may also exercise the function of a *feiticeiro* and deal in black magic. But this occupation is disclaimed by several of the more prominent priests and priestesses, who refuse to countenance deeds designed to do harm to their fellow-men. It appears to be exercised more often by heads of the recently organized and "less careful" *caboclo seitas*.[7]

794 793 554 Age, number of years a member of the cult, intimate knowledge of the ritual, and, particularly, purity of African descent are important considerations in determining the prestige of a *pae* or *mãe de santo*.

For some reason male members of the *seita* rarely experi-

[556] [7] A *pae de santo* of a *caboclo candomblé* who is widely feared for his success in working black magic possesses a considerable bank account, numerous properties in the city, and rich cocoa land near Ilhéos, all acquired, it is said, from the exercise of this profession. However, it is quite probable that his political activity contributed a goodly portion.

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some reason male members of the seita rarely experience, as do the women members, the "manifestation" of an *orixá*. Consequently, very few males ever pass through the rigorous period of training which must always follow the initial "appearance" of a deity in a given individual. Moreover, the men, being more mobile than the women, are ordinarily brought into more extensive contact with the Europeans and their descendants and consequently tend to take over more readily the ideas and sentiments of the whites. The women, on the other hand, ordinarily remain more closely identified with the customs and traditions of their African ancestors. It is probably for this reason that several of the more prominent and influential *candomblés* in Bahia now have women leaders. For the head of a *seita*, upon his approaching death, ordinarily chooses the new priest (or priestess) from among those members of the cult who are most learned in the ritual and other tradition. When asked about the occasion for So-and-so's selection, cult members always say, "Ele [*or* ela] é muito sabido" ("He is very learned in the ritual").

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Other sacred functionaries include the *ogans*, or male members of the *seita*, who assist the *pae* or *mãe de santo* with the ritual, particularly in invoking the presence of the *orixás* during ceremonial dances, help initiate new *ogans*, act as intermediaries between the *seita* and the legal authorities, and contribute toward the expenses of the cult; the *achôgun*, or "second *pae*" as he is often called, who performs the sacrifices; the *jibonam*, or *pequena mãe* ("little mother"), next in authority to the *mãe de santo*, who assists the ceremonial dancers in carrying out their *preceitos*, or ritualistic obligations, and who makes the *despacho*, or food offering, to Exú at the opening of each important ceremony; the musicians, who assist at certain secret rituals and all public cere-

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794 monies, together with their leader, the *alabê;* and the very important *filhas de santo* (literally "daughters of the *orixás*"), or ceremonial dancers, who serve as the so-called *cavalos* ("horses") for the deities who "manifest themselves" in their bodies and speak through them their will.

794 This "visitation" is known as the *estado de santo* ("state of
787 the *orixá*") and is ordinarily induced by prolonged fasting, the pungent odors of certain sacred herbs, the monotonous and long-continued beating of the *atabaques*, the heat from a large number of human bodies densely packed together on a warm night, the fatigue attendant on long-sustained dancing, the imperative expectations of the group, and, often as a precipitating incident, when tensions have been built up to the point where they can no longer be sustained, a sudden, loud, and unexpected noise. Seizure is said to be avoidable, as we have noted, by drinking cold water.

794 On the first "visitation" of an *orixá* in the body of an individual she must submit to either of two initiatory rites. She may elect the complete initiation of *fazer santo* ("to make the *orixá*"), or the partial initiation of *dar comida a cabeça*" ("to give food to the head"). If she elects the former, as most do, she makes an initial food offering to Exú, following which a fetish is secured and "prepared" by being washed by the *pae de santo* and immersed in *azeite de dendê*, honey, or *acaça*, depending on the *orixá*, the entire ritual being accompanied by special invocations. The initiate, or *yaô*, as she is now called, then surrenders all her garments, which, in symbol of the new life upon which she is about to enter, will never be worn again, and submits to a ritualistic bath, at dusk, in water scented with sacred herbs of a pun-
[782] gent odor. The *yaô* is then received in the *pegi* by the dignitaries of the cult and seated in a chair never before used,

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while the *orixás* "partake" of a special sacrifice offered to them. Her hair is cut off, her head shaved,[8] and dots and circles are painted in white upon the crown, forehead, and cheeks. The initiate then takes on *obí* in her hand, the *atabaques* begin to beat an invocation to her *orixá*, and she dances the special dance sacred to him until he "arrives in her head" and she experiences once more the *estado de santo*. The *yaubá* is then escorted from the *pegi* to the *camarinha*, where she remains for sixteen days before participating in her first public ceremony, whence she returns to the *camarinha* for a period of six months to a year, to be taught the various rituals of the cult, the songs, and, to some extent at least, an African language. Meanwhile, she is subject to certain food and other taboos.

To verify her acceptance by the *orixá*, a *filha* may be required to undergo without evidence of bodily harm an ordeal, such as swallowing lighted candlewicks soaked in *azeite de dendê*, thrusting her hands into boiling palm oil, chewing the leaves of the *urtiga* (Brazilian thistle), or submitting, on bended knee, to being beaten about the neck and arms with a sprig of the thorny *cansanção*.

Throughout her life the new *filha de santo*, in addition to submitting to the "manifestations" of her *orixá*, must perform on occasion certain ritualistic acts, rigorously observe certain food, drink, and sex taboos, and wear a special costume on ceremonial occasions and "days of obligation" (Fridays especially). On her death this costume, together with the other objects of cult worship belonging to her, are taken and dropped into the sea, "to be carried by the waves back to Africa."

Upon being "made," the *filha de santo* acquires a *guia*

[8] Formerly, all hairy parts of the body were shaved.

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794 ("guide") and a protector who, if she obeys the prescribed rituals and taboos, may bring her, it is thought, much fortune and happiness. "Look at me!" exclaimed a newly "made" *filha*. "My *orixá* is the greatest of all the *orixás*. He's powerful. I'm a black woman and can't read or write. But I'm living with a man *formado* in the Faculdade de Medicina. See what Oxalá did for me!"

794 796 [562] As has already been noted, the rituals and ceremonies of the cult are serious and dignified and carried on in accordance with fixed traditional forms. Among the essential elements of the Gêge-Nagô ceremonies is the rigid separation of spectators according to sex. The males always occupy the seats to the left of the drums, the females those to the right. [273] No drunkenness or obscenity is permitted. Said a member of a Nagô *seita*, "If they drink *cachaça* in a *candomblé*, you may know it is not well organized." Once at a ceremony at Gantois an intoxicated man forced his way through the crowd into the *barracão*. Immediately, the *mãe de santo* who was presiding signaled to two *ogans* who, calling out of the crowd a police official, promptly ejected the intruder.[9]

794 576 The *filhas de santo* before beginning a ceremonial dance make obeisance to the *pae* or *mãe de santo* by dropping to their knees and bowing their heads to the ground before the leader of their cult. Similar obeisance is also made to visiting *paes* or *mães de santo* or other honored personages of the fetish world and, occasionally, to the *ogans*.

794 796 787 When, during the ceremonial dance an *orixá* "arrives in the head" of a *filha*, she must, after the first violent seizure

[9] Such romanticized accounts of fetish cult ceremonies as that given by Graça Aranha and uncritically quoted by Vera Kelsey (*Seven Keys to Brazil* [New York, 1940], pp. 27–28), if they have any basis in fact at all, owe it to the disintegration of formerly wholesome cultural forms now characteristic of certain *macumba* centers of Rio de Janeiro. [114]

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has passed, dance the dance sacred to her *orixá*, after which she is assisted from the *barracão* into the *pegi*, taking due care to withdraw with her face always toward the drums. In a special room she is then dressed in the ceremonial robes sacred to her *orixá* and, with his sacred insignia, returns to the *barracão* to dance for hours the dances sacred to him.

[782]

The sacrifices are performed according to the ritual peculiar to the occasion and include the offering of chickens, pigeons, sheep, and goats.

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In the *candomblé* world certain gestures are obligatory. Thus, when saluting a high dignitary of the cult, a *filha*, if the *orixá* to whom she is dedicated is masculine, prostrates herself, face downward at the feet of the one so honored; if her *orixá* is feminine, she lies at full length first on one side, then on the other, and, on rising, touches her head to the ground. In taking leave of an *orixá* who has "visited" the ceremony, a member of the *seita* clasps tightly the left hand of the ceremonial dancer. *Ogans* have a special handshake used only between them. Following a discussion among members of a *seita*, agreement is signified by rising, beating the palms, and shaking hands.

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Status in the *candomblé* depends not only on one's position in the hierarchy of functionaries but more particularly upon priority in being "made" or confirmed. Those whose years of service are less are known as "the younger" and must address "the older" with greater respect and, as an *ogan* remarked, "prefer him above one's self."

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The musical instruments employed include the *atabaques*, or drums; the *agôgô*, with which the priest or priestess strikes the first notes of each invocation and later accompanies the drums; the *caxixi;* the *agê* (also known as the *cabaça*, or *piano de cuia*); the *adjá;* and, occasionally, the *xaque-xaque*.

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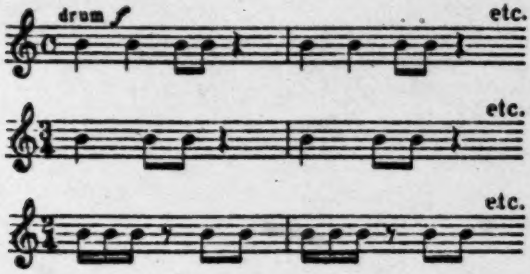
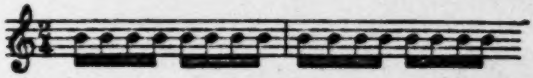
The *atabaques*, or drums, are indispensable to every ceremony. The heavy sound of the larger drum is intersected by the higher tones of the medium-sized and the small one. The rhythm is characterized by one-tone, interrupted syncopation and varies with each *orixá* invoked. Among the more frequent cadences noted by Arthur Ramos[10] are the following:



For the occasions on which an invoked *orixá* "delays" in manifesting himself, even after the tempo of his invocation is greatly increased, there is a special rhythm—vibrant, rapid, continuous, unsyncopated—known as *adarrum*, which the followers of the cult say no *orixá* can possibly "resist." It is the following monotonous rhythm:



Although the instrumental music of the *candomblé* is quite monotonous, as is also the hand-clapping which often accompanies it, the vocal accompaniment is polyphonic. The

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[10] "Os instrumentos musicaes dos candomblés da Bahia," *Bahia Medica*, III (July, 1932), 194.

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songs are ordinarily composed of simple sentences in the minor key, and the scale, which on importation from Africa is said to have consisted of only five intervals, now has seven.

Among the invocations sung to the various *orixás* is that given by a former *ogan* of the *candomblé* of Gantois:

[539]

Egbéji mori ô ri, okorin-kam
Orolu mori ô ri, okorin-kam
(Powerful One, I know thee as the first man)

Ôkum-kum biri-biri
Ajá lê mori ô korin-kam
(Even in the dark I can see thou art powerful)

A orêrê aiê, orixá loman,
Iá, ochê Egbéji orêrê, aiê
(In the whole world, nothing is hidden from the Great-One)[11]

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At the burial of a cult member the songs and musical instruments of the *candomblé* ceremonies are now seldom used as, it is said, they formerly were. But the casket is carried by *ogans*, and the *filhas*, in *bahiana* costume, accompany the procession. Since it is still believed that the *orixá* of the departed may at this time seek a new *cavalo*, no pregnant woman attends. "Possession," however, may and does occur. Thus, at the burial of an elderly Negro woman, a *filha* of Ogun from the *candomblé* of Engenho Velho, who had been "made" for thirty-three years and was widely known and respected for her knowledge of African ritual, two *filhas de santo* were "seized" as the procession wound its way up the steep ascent to Quinta dos Lazaros Cemetery, and another later as the crypt was being sealed. In each case "possession" began with light weeping which soon increased to loud sobbing, the individual meanwhile pressing her hands

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[11] Manoel Querino, *Costumes africanos no Brasil* (Rio, 1938), p. 108.

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794 forcefully to her head, one in front and one in back, as if in
764 great pain. Knees then gave way and shoulders and back
787 muscles began to vibrate violently. In one case, the spine stiffened and, with the exception of the shoulder muscles which continued a rapid quivering, the entire body became rigid, with arms and legs stretched out at full length. Meanwhile, the *filha* whimpered, cried, or shrieked aloud.

794 To reach the *seita* of a well-known *mãe de santo*, one takes
793 a Calçada car out of the city, past orange groves and fields of
368 tall forage grass, to the Matadouro, where he alights and begins to climb a steep winding road lined with the *nativo* plant (said to be native to Africa) and *uricuri* and coconut palms, until, after more than a mile of trudging, he comes out onto a high ridge overlooking a green valley, where he can see, far in the distance, the houses of the city. A cool breeze blows in from the sea and tempers the heat of the tropical sun. In a grove of scattered palm trees nestle several houses, some of which are neatly whitewashed and others tinted pink, yellow, or blue.

794 The *mãe de santo* is called Anninha. She is a tall regal-
793 appearing black, whose slightest gesture is immediately
159 obeyed by members of her *seita*. She owns considerable property and is said to be otherwise quite well to do. She boasts, proudly, "Sou filha de dois Africanos, graças a Deus" ("I am the daughter of two Africans, thank God"). Queito she learned to speak, she says, from her parents; Nagô she acquired "in the *seita*." She is illiterate, but of her learning in the ritual and belief of the African cult an *ogan* says, with pride, "She knows African things better than anyone I know in Bahia." Intelligent, quick-witted, agile in debate, she is one of the most widely respected and revered leaders of the Afro-Brazilian world.

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revered leaders of the Afro-Brazilian world. When a priest argued with her that, since she had not been ordained by the pope, she had no "spiritual authority" to carry on religious rites, she quickly inquired if Moses, "that great prophet and leader of his people, was ordained by the pope?" The first man, she maintains, must not have been a white man but instead a colored man; "if not black, at least red. For do the scholars not say that man originated in Asia, and do white men ever come out of that continent?" Jesus also must have been an African, or at least a person quite dark. "For did not his parents once hide him in Egypt? And is not Egypt in Africa? If Jesus was not dark, how could they have hidden him among the people of Africa?"

This *mãe de santo* was "made" over fifty years ago in the *candomblé* of Engenho Velho. "My *seita* is pure Nagô, like Engenho Velho," she boasts. "But I have revived much of the African tradition which even Engenho Velho has forgotten. Do they have a ceremony for the twelve ministers of Xangô?[13] No! But I have." She is planning to rebuild her *barracão*, or sacred dance pavilion, to be paid for by tithes levied on the incomes of members of her *seita*. She owns a small store in the Terreiro where she sells the various articles used in the cult ritual and, since the members of the fetish world know that these articles must be, if she sells [444]

[13] According to a well known Bahian *babalaô*, Xangô was a great African chief whose cruelties the people sought to do away with by setting fire one night to his dwelling. Everyone in it burned except Xangô, who walked unscathed through the flames. Astounded, the people prostrated themselves before him and begged his forgiveness. Xangô became a powerful king and subjected many neighboring tribes, twelve of whose chiefs subsequently became his royal advisers, or ministers. Even before his death, which occurred at an advanced age, Xangô was being worshiped. Cf. Martiniano do Bomfim, "Os ministros de Xangô," *Estado da Bahia*, May 5, 1937. [539]

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793 159 [444] them, legitimate, the store does a thriving business. She says:

> The *Africano* doesn't worship things made with human hands. He worships nature. What is the *pedra* [the fetish stone]? Is it not a mineral? No human hands have made it.
>
> 794 793 159 771 We are just as Christian as the Catholics. Only we follow the law of Moses. He commanded that sacrifices be made of sheep, goats, oxen, chickens, pigeons, and so forth. Is it not so? We merely obey his commandments.
>
> There are two parts to the Bible, are there not? The Old Testament and the New. We follow the Old as well as the New. In the days before Christ, the people worshiped God with singing and dancing. Is it not so? David played his harp and sang psalms and danced before the Lord. We have our songs, too, and each has a special meaning. Just as the Catholics have something to remind them of their saints, so we have something to remind us of our *orixás*. But we do not worship images made with human hands like they do. We worship nature.

794 One of the assistants of the *mãe de santo*, an elderly Negro woman who "takes care of" the *terreiro*, is said to be over ninety years of age, is known by an African name, Bádá, and speaks Nagô as well as, or better than, she speaks Portuguese. No one in the fetish world at Bahia is said "to give her the blessing," because she is the "oldest" (that is, the longest "made" or "confirmed") in the city. She laments "the old days" before the Africans in Bahia all died.

794 576 A Negro man of seventy-seven years of age, Martiniano, one of two *babalaôs* in Bahia, known and thoroughly respected throughout the fetish world for his piety and sincerity and his knowledge of African customs and traditions, is, upon entering the connecting-room to the *pegi*, saluted by a rapid beat of muffled drums. He bows to the drummers, acknowledging their greeting, steps into the *pegi*, bows low before the altar, touches the ground with the tips of his 794 fingers, and repeats a prayer in Nagô. So learned is he "in

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things African" that he is occasionally called to Pernambuco, four hundred miles up the Brazilian coast, to carry out special rituals which cult members in that city are unable to perform. Of the *candomblé*, he says, "The Nagô worships nature because he is realistic and wants to see what he worships. He can't see the Catholics' God." 794

The *barracão* here is about fifty feet by thirty, with roof and one end thatched with palm fronds, and floor freshly sanded. By nightfall it is gaily decorated with paper streamers, most of which are white; some, however, are red, blue, green, or yellow. A large and neat placard, which one of the *ogans* proudly says was painted by his daughter, a first-year student at the Escola Normal, bears the inscription: "Centro Cruz Santa do Aché de Okô Afonjá," a combination of Portuguese and Nagô which means "Sacred Cross Center of the Brothers and Sisters of the Temple of Xangô." Chairs to accommodate the priestess, the elderly Negro woman, and the old Negro man have been placed on a dais to the left of the musicians. The spectators are carefully excluded from the dancing space in front of the drums by railings patrolled by *ogans*. On the end wall hang three white pennants bearing respectively, the inscriptions, "Viva Oxalá," "Viva Oxun," and "Viva Aryra," and one red pennant with the words, "Viva Xangô." 794 346 352 353

The *filhas*, all of whom are escorted into the *barracão* under a white sheet held by *ogans* who also light the procession with flaming torches, number seventeen, all of whom are blacks, with the exception of two dark mulattoes. Of the *ogans*, fourteen are blacks, eleven are mulattoes, six of whom are dark mixed-bloods, and one is a Portuguese immigrant who came to Brazil some thirty years ago and now owns a small retail establishment in the Lower City. 794 [416]

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794 [302] Three of the dancers are *yauôs*, in process of being "made." Their heads have been shaved clean, and white spots and [301] blue lines have been painted upon them. On their cheeks are white spots and white lines. Around the neck, or over the right shoulder and under the left arm, are long chains of large cowries imported from the West Coast.

794 346 353 177 776 In a special building with a cement floor is "the throne room of Xangô." At one side is an altar to him, which is lavishly decorated with candles and flowers, both fresh and artificial. Indicating the fusion of Catholic and fetish elements, one notes on the lower step an image of Santo Antonio, on the second, one of Nossa Senhora das Candeias, on the third, an image of the twins, Cosme and Damião, and, on the top level, one of São Jeronimo. The *mãe de santo* says that Santo Antonio is "just another name" for Ogun; as similarly is Nossa Senhora das Candeias, for the water deity, Oxun; Cosme and Damião, for Beji; and São Jeronimo, for Xangô.

794 346 [352] On the other side of the room is "the throne of Xangô," a wooden chair, intricately carved, with a pillow for a headrest. Suspended on the walls are pictures of several Catholic saints.

[353] In the center of an adjoining room is "the spring of the *mãe d'agua*," a huge basin built of cement and containing ten to twelve inches of water. On the wall is the Nagô inscription, "Ilé Awon Afonjá" ("House of Xangô").

794 793 159 The leader of another *seita* is a male black, known as Pae Procopio, sixty-six years of age, of Gêge descent, whose father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, he proudly boasts, were all Africans and *paes de santo*. His mother's sister was also "an *Africano*," but his mother was a Brazilian-born black, a *mãe de santo* who "deixou o cargo" (i.e., left the

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office of priest) to him. He is dedicated to the same *orixá*, 793
Ogun, as was she, and speaks, he claims, "a little of six dif- 159
ferent African languages: Nagô, Gêge, Ige-chá, Queito, [191]
Egba, and Musurumi." He owns "a roomful" of ceremonial [292]
costumes, one of which is said to have cost six contos (ap- [435]
proximately $360). He considers his task to be that of "doing
good" and refuses to deal in black magic, an attitude which [608]
has cost him, it is said, "much money."[13] He is godfather to
approximately a hundred and fifteen children and is soon to
be godfather to nine others who are on the point of receiving
the baptismal ceremony. He visits about the Reconcavo,
particularly in Cachoeira, exercising his office of *pae de santo*,
and is said to have paid similar visits to Rio de Janeiro,
Pernambuco, Maranhão, and Pará, in each of which he has
"made" several *filhas* and "confirmed" *ogans*.

The *achôgun*, or sacrificer, is an elderly black with a kindly 794
face and snow-white hair. The leader of the drummers, or
the *alabê*, a jolly black whose mother (now deceased) was a
mãe de santo in Cidade de Palha, is very expert with the
drums, speaks Nagô, and sings in a high-pitched but rather
pleasant voice the African *cantigas*, or ritualistic songs. An
ogan says of him, proudly, "He knows almost as much about
African things as a *pae de santo*."

An elderly Negro woman, who walks haltingly with a
cane, attends every ceremony. Younger friends carefully
help her to a seat where she can see everything that goes on.
Leaning forward on her cane, her intelligent eyes wide open,
her face continually breaking into beaming smiles, she joins

[13] An *ogan* of this *seita* says that a *pae de santo* in Itapoan named Gregorio [754]
(now deceased) once declined twelve contos (approximately $720) "to make
a man mad." This *ogan* knows, however, a *mãe de santo* who, as he says, be-
came angered at the remarks of a young skeptic and "made a *negocio*" (liter-
ally a "business"; i.e., black magic) which "drove him mad in two days."

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794 heartily in the songs, occasionally taps her cane on the ground in time with the drums, and appears to enjoy thoroughly each part of the ritual. Every once in a while she leans toward the drummers and shouts at the *alabê* in Nagô. Sometimes, when the *pae de santo* is temporarily absent from the *barracão*, she initiates the ritualistic songs. Her name is Ismeira and she lives in an old house in a section of the city which was once entirely inhabited, it is said, by Nagôs.

794 796 As the ceremony begins, 22 *filhas*, 1 *filho* (or male ceremonial dancer), and the *pae de santo* are in the circle which has formed around the central post of the *barracão*. Seated in the center of the circle is a visiting *pae de santo* named Vidal. Twenty-one *ogans*, including visitors from other *seitas*, are to the left of the drums. Into the other available spaces are packed 208 spectators, of whom 136 are blacks, 68 are mulattoes (all dark mixed-bloods, except 6), and 4 are *brancos da Bahia*. There are no whites. Approximately two hundred other individuals mill about outside.

794 463 In this *seita* there are in all 34 *filhas de santo*, nearly 60 per cent of whom are over forty years of age. The eldest are seventy-two and seventy-one years, respectively, and 9 are fifty or over. Ten are from forty to fifty, 7 are from thirty to forty years of age; 6 are twenty to thirty, 1 is nineteen, and 1 is twelve. Two are married, 13 are *amasiada*, 2 are engaged to be married, 15 are single, and 2 are widowed. All are from the lower class. Thirteen are peddlers of African foods in the streets, 7 are seamstresses, 5 are laundresses, 5 are domestic servants, and 1 is a midwife. One, the next to the eldest, is employed in looking after the *casa de candomblé*, 1 is the 794 *zelador de santo*,[14] and 1 an adolescent child. Thirteen, or

[14] It is the task of the *zelador de santo* to care for the *pegi*, wash the fetishes at regular intervals, and renew the food and drink offerings.

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more than a third, live in the immediate vicinity of the *terreiro*, 16 live from one to four miles away in seven different sections of Bahia, 3 are from the neighboring villages of Armação and Pitúba, and 2 others, residents of Rio de Janeiro, are visiting relatives and friends in Bahia. 794

One *filha de santo* has been "made" fifty-eight years; another, fifty-seven. Three more have been functionaries of the cult thirty years or longer; ten, from twelve to twenty-one years; nine, from six to seven years; six, including the twelve-year-old girl, from one to two years; and two have been "made" only approximately one month. Six are dedicated to the *orixá* of lightning and thunder, Xangô; five to the *orixá* of pestilence, Omolú; four to the deity of the hunt, Oxóssi, and four to the deity of war and iron, Ogun. Two others are dedicated to Oxalá "the Elder," and two to Oxalá "the Younger," or Oxagian. Nine are sacred to the *mães d'agua*, or the water deities: four to Oxun, two each to Yansan and Nanan, and one to Yemanjá, "the *orixá* of the sea."

The sixteen *ogans* range in age from twenty to sixty years, with the exception of a five-year-old boy. The "eldest" in point of service to the cult has been *confirmado* ("confirmed") thirty-two years. Most are persons of relatively assured income from the lower class, there being among them hucksters, stevedores, day laborers, a *carroceiro*, a tinsmith, a painter, a baker, a tailor, and a typesetter. Only three, or less than one-fifth, live in the immediate vicinity of the *terreiro*, the residences of the others being scattered throughout the city in nine different sections.[15] [565] [463]

[15] This dispersion is perhaps indicative of the *candomblé's* gradual disintegration. An *ogan* remarked, "I would like to have all the *ogans* and the *filhas* living here near each other. It would be so much better. Years ago they used to live that way. But today everyone wants to live wherever he chooses anywhere in the city." [178]

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• 794 796 787 786 The dances continue unabated for hours, until the air of the *barracão* becomes very warm and permeated with the odor of perspiring bodies. Seriously, with rapt attention, the closely packed crowd looks on, eager to see and hear the numerous *orixás* as they "arrive." During a period of the most intense excitement, when tensions have been built up almost to the breaking-point, a rocket suddenly bursts with a loud report outside the *barracão*. A woman seated among the spectators who is not a *filha de santo* is immediately thrown into violent, convulsive muscular movements and bounces up and down with great force on the board seat, her head snapping back and forth in time to the now almost frenzied beat of the drums. The *pae de santo* rushes to support her in order to prevent imminent injury. Several visiting *filhas de santo* who do not want to dance in this strange place and are consequently "resisting" the imminent "arrival" of their *orixás*, call out with imploring voices, one after the other, "Dê-me agua, por amor de Deus" ("Give me water, for the love of God!"). The face of a servant girl named Joanna, a *filha* from a neighboring *seita*, is drawn, and she appears to be in pain. Afterward, she says that her *orixá*, Xangô, was beating and striking her to make her dance and that she felt more tired than if she had danced all night long. But other spectators remark, "How beautiful! I never saw Ogun dance like that before. And Oxóssi, and Yemanjá, they are wonderful, simply wonderful!"

794 346 353 [373] The ceiling of another *barracão* (at the *terreiro* called Gantois) is trimmed with paper streamers—red, white, blue, and yellow—each alternating with rows of white paper roses. The electric-light bulb suspended from the ceiling is shaded by red and white pieces of cellophane. On the walls are red and white paper shields, each bearing the words, "Louvores á

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Xangou" ("Praises to Xangô") or "Louvores á Ogun" ("Praises to Ogun"). A small niche built in above the doorway which leads to the *pegi* is neatly decorated with red and white paper bows, and in it stands a crucifix about ten inches high, together with images of the Virgin Mary with the child Jesus in her arms, of Santo Antonio (St. Anthony), and of São Jorge (St. George).

In a circle in front of the drums are twenty-two women, the oldest of whom is about sixty years of age and the youngest eight. Fourteen are blacks, eight are mulattoes, none of whom is very light. All have serious expressions on their faces, especially the little girl, although none appear in the least bit self-conscious. Six are *yaubs*, or initiates, in the process of being "made," and range in age from fourteen to seventeen years. Two are dedicated to Omanlú (Omolú), and four to Oxun. The Omanlú initiates are dressed principally in shades of red. Strands of hemp died reddish-brown drop from the head to below the knee, completely obscuring the face. Above the head the strands rise vertically and are tied together in a cluster at the end. Below the hem of a dark-red skirt appear white pantalettes which fit tightly over the legs and extend to the ankle. Each girl wears four strands of cowries around each bare arm at the biceps and a long string of cowries over the right shoulder and under the left arm.

The Oxun initiates have their heads shaved, and three concentric circles have been painted in white around the crown. Smaller circles intercept the outer of these three. Large white spots have also been painted on the face, the neck, and the back of the head. Four feathers, one of which is red, one white, one black, and one brown, are held firmly upright at the forehead by a ribbon tied very tightly. Each

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794 girl carries in her hand the insignia of Oxun, a *leque* (fan) of brass decorated with a star.

794 All the other dancers, except one, are dressed in the
796 *bahiana* costume, with wide-flowing skirts of bright-colored cotton prints, blouses trimmed in handmade lace, and a *pano*
[291] *da Costa* two feet in width tied tightly around the small of the back and over the breasts. One woman about thirty-five years of age is dressed in an ordinary street costume of
[301] tailored blouse and skirt. Many of the dancers wear bracelets of copper, brass, bronze, lead, or glass beads, often on both wrists and occasionally three to four to the arm. One dancer has five strands of cowries about her neck.

794 The priestess of the *seita*, Mãe Menininha, is a large
793 black woman, forty-one years of age, who has officiated in this *seita* for twenty-four years. She proudly speaks of herself as "uma neta d'um Africano" ("the granddaughter of an African").

786 Every dance begins with the salutation of the *mãe de san-*
535 *to*, which is accomplished by striking decisively the *agôgô*.
794 Immediately the drums take up the rhythm. The *filhas* be-
796 gin to dance, the circle turning like the rim of a wheel,
[576] counterclockwise. The women have their hands clasped be-
[533] hind their backs, their shoulders are hunching backward and forward, their bodies bending at the waist from side to side. One of the Oxun initiates moves with a halting, jerking movement, then suddenly pivots a complete turn. All the dancers are singing a refrain which sounds like, "Ô-mí-á, bá-
794 tû-lê." After some twenty minutes of continuous dancing,
796 one of the *filhas* suddenly becomes "possessed," her eyes
787 close, her expression becomes listless, while her neck and shoulder muscles work convulsively back and forth "in
786 time to the music." Voluntary control is apparently gone,

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and she is helped around the circle by the next in line. When the music temporarily ceases, she relaxes, staggers, and appears in imminent danger of falling. Several *filhas* rush to catch and support her.

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Again the *mãe de santo* strikes the *agôgô*, the leader of the drummers takes up the rhythm and sings out a refrain in which all the dancers join, beating their palms in time with the music. The tempo increases. The dancers as they pass round the circle alternately bow their heads, flex their knees, and touch the right hand to the floor, then snap erect, all in perfect time with the music. An elderly black woman emerges from a connecting-room and, shaking vigorously a *caxixi*, joins in the dance. With loud reports, rockets go off outside the *barracão*. Popcorn is then brought in and thrown over the dancers. The eyes of the initiates, who have also made part of the circle of dancers, are closed and remain closed throughout the ceremony. The shoulders of one *yaô* jerk spasmodically, her head hangs limp and must be supported by other dancers.

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Again the circle forms, and the *filhas*, singing at the top of their voices, shuffle forward in a half-stumbling movement, arms flexed at elbows and flapping up and down. An *ogan* says this dance is called *opanigé*. Sometime later, a *filha*, about forty-five years of age, suddenly sprawls stiff-legged on her hands and the tips of her toes, rapidly touches her forehead to the ground in front of the drums and shouts, "Hay-ee-ee," then leaps erect, jerks herself forward spasmodically, then repeats the performance. A girl joins the circle, wearing a pink and gold turban and carrying in her right hand a brass dagger eighteen inches long. Closing her eyes, she begins a wild dance, thrashing about with the dagger to right and to left. The tempo of the

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drums is accelerating. Another *filha*, a large but agile Negro woman, strikes out at the girl with her bare hands, and the two dance about, fighting a mock fight, while the beat of the drums becomes even more rapid and tumultuous until, just as the dancers close in upon one another where, it seems, harm might result, other *filhas* swing quickly in, catch each woman around the waist, and draw them apart, while the music slackens its tempo.

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All the *filhas* begin to dance again, their arms swinging from side to side, the index finger of the right hand held closely pressing against the thumb of the left. The dancing is very animated. Suddenly, one of the *filhas*, her shoulders heaving violently back and forth, begins to sink upon her knees and, gradually lowering her heaving shoulders to the floor, turns over on her back, all the while keeping the index finger of her right hand firmly in contact with the thumb of her left. She then slowly rises, gets to her feet, and again joins the other *filhas*. An *ogan* says this dance is known as *ecá*.

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The dances continue, rockets burst outside, confetti and flower petals are thrown over the initiates, and, at the insistent invocations of the drums and the spirited singing of the *filhas*, many *orixás* "arrive" and "take possession" of their human intermediaries.

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The primary social function which the *candomblé* appears to serve is that of reinforcing, by way of the collective experiences of ritual and ceremony, those attitudes and sentiments which distinguish the *Africanos* and their descendants from the European population and from the major portion of the mixed-bloods. By promoting a measure of solidarity and group consciousness, it tends to slow up the process of acculturation. At the same time cult experiences

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help to satisfy the basic human needs for recognition and response. The resolution of all sorts of personal problems by way of the advice and counsel of the priest, priestess, or "manifesting" *orixá*, relieves personal strain and tension. And the reassuring affirmations regarding personal destiny which the body of belief affords, particularly at such times of crisis as the death of an intimate friend or relative, contribute to the apparently universal need of a sense of security.

Moreover, cult experiences serve as cogent means of maintaining group morale and enforcing group sanctions. The genuinely wholesome character of the Bahian *Africanos*, with the exception perhaps of certain individuals connected with recently organized *caboclo* centers, stands in sharp contrast to the personal disorganization which, according to report, characterizes the Rio de Janeiro Negro, whose *candomblé* (known locally as the *macumba*) is now in such a state of disintegration that many unwholesome and even vicious practices have crept into its ritual.

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The Catholic church at Bahia, by exercising almost infinite patience and tact, has now incorporated into its organization all members of the Bahian fetish cults. Even the leaders of the *seitas* regularly attend Mass and, on occasion, participate, together with their entire *candomblé* personnel, in functions of the church. Thus, each year at an appointed time, *mãe de santo* Anninha takes her *filhas de santo*, dressed in their *bahiana* costumes, and her *ogans*, and attends Mass in Bomfim Church; as similarly does the *caboclo mãe de santo*, Sabina, in the *igreja* of Santo Antonio da Barra. Anninha, like certain other cult officials, is a member of a Catholic order. So far has the identification of many elements of the fetish tradition with Catholic ideology and practice now gone that to the simple minds of cult members

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there is little distinction between them. The *pae de santo* of a prominent Congo *seita* recently remarked, "I do everything (i.e., I carry on all cult rituals and ceremonies) in the name of the church."[16]

On the fiftieth anniversary of the death of the father of a well-known and widely respected *babalaô*, a special commemorative Mass was arranged in one of the city's principal churches. During the ceremony, a circle of friars who were standing with lighted candles about the bier was joined by an outer circle of Negro men, each bearing a funeral torch. Although the friars were probably unaware of the fact, the blacks were all *ogans* from the *candomblé* of *mãe de santo* Anninha. In the audience were more than a hundred important personages from the fetish world, including *babalaôs*, *paes* and *mães de santo*, *ogans*, and *filhas*. Said the *babalaô* whose father was being thus honored, "Last night at the *terreiro* we danced all night the African funeral dances for my father."

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In the minds of cult members several of the more important African *orixás*, as we have seen, have come to be identified with certain Catholic saints. Thus, Ogun, the *orixá* of war, is now identified with Santo Antonio; Oxóssi, the *orixá* of the hunt, with São Jorge; Oxalá, who to most members of the *candomblé* is "the greatest of the *orixás*," with O Senhor do Bomfim, who is, among the lower classes at least, the most important Catholic saint at Bahia;[17]

[16] This point of view obviously is not that of the Catholic church itself.

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[17] In Bomfim Church, which, with two rows of royal palms dominating its approach, occupies majestically the crown of a hill in Itapagipe, is a special room whose walls and ceiling are completely covered with photographs or plaster casts of crippled or diseased limbs or other parts of the body which have been, it is thought, miraculously cured of disease or other infirmary by the direct intervention of the saint. So great is his reputation for healing that thousands of people from miles around visit this shrine every year.

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Omolú, the *orixá* of pestilence, with São Roque, or, in some cases, with São Bento; and Exú, with Satan. Of the *mães d'agua* (water deities), Yemanjá is confused in some cases with Nossa Senhora da Piedade (Our Lady of Compassion), and in others with Nossa Senhora do Rosario (Our Lady of the Rosary); Oxun, in some cases, with Nossa Senhora das Candeias and, in others, with Nossa Senhora da Conceição (Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception); Yansan, with Santa Barbara; and Nanan (Anamburucú, Nanamburucú), with Nossa Senhora de Sant'Ana. Beji, the twins, are identified with Cosme and Damião; Irôko (Rôko, Lôko), who is presumed to dwell in the *gameleira* tree, with Poverello (São Francisco) de Assis;[18] and Ifá, the *orixá* of divination, with Santissimo Sacramento (the Most Holy Sacrament). Even Xangô, the *orixá* of lightning and thunder, to whom Edison Carneiro refers as "indisputably the most African of all the *orixás* worshiped at Bahia,"[19] and who is still thought of by some blacks as being distinct from any Catholic saint, is worshiped in several of the most representative Gêge-Nagô *seitas* under the name of São Jeronimo and, occasionally, of Santa Barbara.

The conditions which favor fusion in this last-named case are not difficult to understand. In Portuguese folklore Santa Barbara is thought of as a protector against lightning, a conception which probably led very easily to the identification of Santa Barbara in the Negroes' minds with Xangô, who is, in the African tradition, "the *orixá* of the thunderbolts." Fusion in this case, as in others, would have been aided by the common conception that each African deity is both a protector and a destroyer; a kindly protector when offered

[18] Edison Carneiro, *Religiões negras* (Rio, 1936), p. 155.

[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 153–54.

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776 the proper ritual, and a vengeful destroyer if rites and taboos
177 are ignored.

Although this fusion is proceeding rapidly, it is still far from complete. A number of Gêge-Nagô and Congo-Angola *orixás*, and at least thirty *caboclo* deities, have not yet been in any way identified with Catholic equivalents.

794 Occasionally, the critical attitude of members of the fetish
177 world toward unorthodox practices in other *seitas* extends
797 also to the incorporation of Catholic ritual, ideas, and sentiments into fetish practice and belief. A *babalaô* and *feiticeiro*, born in Africa of repatriated Brazilian slaves, recently remarked, "These Bahian *candomblés* aren't African any more. Why, they all go to Mass, pray the rosary, and burn candles to the saints! It's all mixed up now."

539 The following story illustrates the fusion of European
177 and African traditions. Related recently by a local black, it recounts some of the experiences of Obaluaiê (Abaláu-aiê) and Omolú, known also in Bahia as Xapanan (Xapanã), and is obviously confused with the biblical stories of the Prodigal Son and of Lazarus. It also refers to a European city.

XAPANÃ, FATHER AND SON

Xapanã was fifteen years old when his parents sent him out into the world to see what life was like. After he had walked a long way, he came to a city called Venice, where he went about looking for work. But no one offered him anything, and finally, becoming very hungry, he began to go up to houses and beg for something to eat. But everywhere he asked he was turned away.

Sad and disillusioned, Xapanã continued on his way. At last he came to a forest, where he remained for some time, living on fruits and insects.

When Xapanã was nineteen years of age, he began to think of returning to his father's house and at last made himself ready and set out on the way. Xapanã walked and walked, until one day just as

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782 Numerous
565 families *da boa sociedade* ("of social standing") "dão comida"
184 (make the food offerings, especially of *carurú*) to Beji
• 794 (Cosme and Damião) and celebrate the day sacred to their honor. A number of white individuals on occasion make offerings to the *mãe d'agua*. Cases like that of the wife of a former state senator and political chieftain who kept an altar to an African *orixá* in her house are, however, not numerous.

125 Of 66 students in the Escola Normal classifying themselves
782 as *brancos* and responding to the query, "Do members of
184 your family give presents to the *mãe d'agua?*" 7, or 10.6 per
794 cent, answered in the affirmative. Of 36 *pardos*, the families of 9, or 25 per cent, similarly made offerings. Of 63 whites, 29, or 46 per cent, thought one ought to fear the *bozo* (black magic); as did 12, or 37 per cent of the *pardos*, and all 6 of the *pretos* who replied. Of 63 whites, only 1 thought the statement "A *pae de santo* is more useful in time of illness than a physician" was true, but 9, or 14 per cent, regarded it as "partially true"; of 32 *pardos*, 2 believed the statement true, and 7, or 22 per cent, thought it "partially true." Of 197 students in the Escola Normal and the Law School, the families of 25, or 13 per cent, "give *comida*" to Cosme and Damião.

184 Ordinarily the attitudes which the inhabitants of Euro-
798 pean descent take toward the *candomblé* vary from good-
794 natured tolerance, which is the most characteristic, through
829 indifference, which is common, to active opposition, which is comparatively rare, although from time to time complaints like the one below find their way into the newspapers.

[539] In *A Tarde* for May 8, 1936, appeared an editorial under the title:

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DANGEROUS *CANDOMBLES*

Education may perhaps be the most certain means of eradicating harmful customs. But when these customs are linked with the persistent beliefs of African fetichism and constitute outrageous attacks upon the moral and physical well-being of those who practice them, it becomes necessary to insist upon immediate and complete suppression. This can be done in no way except by police action, energetic and persistent.

And, in *A Tarde* for December 9, 1935, appeared the following complaint:

THE CITY THAT GOD FORGOT

Scenes which Degrade and Depress .... The Revived *Candomblés* .... *Despachos* Even in the Heart of the City ....

The above looks like a movie title. But it is not. Our capital really is a city forgotten by .... God. ....

Your reporter .... has set down in his notebook curious scenes which reflect discredit upon our civilization; things which .... continue on for the eyes not only of those who live here but also of those who visit us from foreign places.

Bahia already has the reputation of being the city of *candomblés*, the paradise of the *macumbas*. However, these used to be localized in fixed zones where the devotees of Oxalá and Yemanjá beat their drums and "fell into the *santo*." Now they begin to encroach upon the most frequented streets, and the African cult is to be seen even in the best residential areas.

Your reporter verified this fact last Sunday night in the *bairro* of Barra, an elegant and aristocratic suburb. Here is to be found Grenfeld Street, very close to the Avenida Oceanica. And on this very street is a *candomblé*.

Happily there is no noise of drums. But palms are used instead, which beat without ceasing until day dawns. And whenever anyone makes an inquiry, the *pae de santo* insists that he has a license, and continues. ....

One morning not long ago, your reporter was passing in front of the

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State Treasury building, a spot very much frequented. A *bozó* had been left there and still remained exposed to the curiosity of all who passed.

A black hen, three copper coins, yellow *farofia*, a cloth doll, stuck full of pins, a piece of a man's shirt, and other *bugigangas* [trinkets].

The thing was there until midday. This is no uncommon occurrence, but one which is frankly deplorable. That in the heart of our city, so close to the Rua Chile, *despachos* are made to Exú is, to say the least, disgusting.

[364] In the same newspaper sometime later (June 10, 1937), under the title, "A Specialist in Sport *Bozós*, *Pae de santo* Manoelzinho Is the Worst Enemy of the Limpeza Publica [Street Cleaning Department]," this complaint appeared:

A short time ago the *macumbeiro* known as Manoelzinho took up his residence in a *roça* at No. 256 Cruz do Cosme, and since that time his *bozós* have led to continuous complaints from dwellers along that road and from those who chance to pass that way.

At the side of the road just below the *roça* is a *loco* tree, that species so much preferred for fetishistic practices. Here *bozós* accumulate from day to day until they constitute a veritable mountain of refuse in which may be found an increasing number of dead fowls.

We are informed that this Manoelzinho, who is a *pae de santo* with considerable prestige, is a specialist in sport *bozós*. For it is said that among those who consult him are certain members of the different soccer clubs. Recently a policeman, on the eve of a great game at Graça, noted in one of these *bozós* the initials "T. V." which are the same as those of a well-known athlete.

Since the Street Cleaners never pass along Cruz do Cosme, the *bozós* keep polluting the atmosphere and obliging those who pass by to cover their noses with handkerchiefs.

To whom shall we appeal? Who will do something about this?

798 794 829 However, more characteristically, the Bahian identified with European customs and traditions adopts toward the *candomblé* a tolerant attitude. While he looks upon it as "ignorant fetishism," he ordinarily accepts it as "an African institution," which, in the words of a student at the Faculty

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of Law, "will gradually disappear with social evolution." "Education will do away with it. Just give it time," remarked a student at the Faculty of Medicine. There are a few intellectuals, individuals who have broken with the Catholic church, who believe that the *candomblé* is entitled to the same rights and privileges as any other religion. One of these remarked, "We should see to it that the government gives the *candomblé* a square deal."

Indeed, of those Bahians identified with the European culture, the whites tend to be more tolerant of the *candomblé* than either the blacks or the mixed-bloods. These blacks and mixed-bloods are seeking to establish themselves in class and naturally make every effort to disassociate themselves from what are commonly considered to be lower-class cultural elements. Of 66 white students in the Escola Normal who responded to the query "Do you think the *candomblé* ought to be suppressed?" 22, or one-third, said, "No"; while, of 22 *pardos*, all but one replied in the affirmative. Of 5 blacks, 4 said, "Yes."

In the face of constant, although ordinarily tolerant, disparagement on the part of most prestige-bearing individuals in the European portion of the community and of such institutions as the church, the school, and the newspaper, most of the younger Negroes now tend to forsake the *candomblé* and the body of ideas and sentiments identified with it and to look upon these customs and traditions as evidence of "ignorance," "backwardness," and "retarded mental growth." Older leaders of the cult often complain, as did Maria Bádá on one occasion, that "the *candomblé* isn't what it used to be. The young people today don't learn Nagô; they don't know how to carry on any of the ritual; and, what is worse, they don't want to learn." *Mãe de santo* Anninha once remarked, in much the same words as in recent years have

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often been heard, on the lips of older members of, particularly, Protestant churches in the United States, "These young people today are not like we used to be. It's a shame the way they stray away."

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João is a young black about twenty years of age who has just completed a business course subsequent to graduation from the Ginasio da Bahia, the city's state-supported secondary school. One day, in the home of his uncle, who is a prominent figure in the fetish world, João was copying a page in Nagô. Possessed of a deep affection for his uncle and being characteristically obliging and courteous, he was attempting to learn a few words of this African language. But the impression João made on a visitor was that his efforts with Nagô arose rather from a desire to please his uncle than from any genuine interest in the language itself. João remarked, apologetically, "You know I would like to learn it, but I just don't have time when I'm working every day."

A young mulatto girl who had completed two years at a secondary school remarked, "I don't care much for the *candomblé*, except to watch the dances and to see the [ceremonial] costumes. I seldom go, and then only for some special reason. I like the movies better, especially the North American and the English films." She further remarked:

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> My uncle doesn't believe in this business of the *orixás*. One day his daughter—my cousin—said that she felt an *orixá* about to "arrive." She ran all the way to a *candomblé*, began to dance, and, sure enough, "she fell into the *estado de santo*." But my uncle wouldn't stand for it. He got a sprig of *urtiga* and whipped her and then went and whipped the *pae de santo* too. The next day, my cousin couldn't bear anyone's hand on her, she was so sore. But that was the end of the *orixá*. He never came back.

José is a young mixed-blood, twenty-two years of age, employed as a janitor in one of Bahia's public buildings. Although he knows of three *seitas* near his home—one each

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in Pau Miuda, Cidade da Palha, and Cruz do Cosme—he has no interest in them. However, he has a consuming interest in the cinema, keeps an elaborate scrapbook which now contains over a hundred and fifty individual photographs of actors and actresses, and can glibly name nearly all the films in which each has played during the last three or four years.[*]

The following account by a young mulatto student of secondary-school age who has developed a somewhat skeptical attitude toward the *candomblé* in spite of his father's being a prominent *ogan* in one of the *seitas* who occasionally, when the elderly *achôgun* is ill, officiates at the sacrificial ritual, illustrates the difficulty which *candomblé* leaders now experience in enforcing the sanctions of the cult:

> Pedro [a young *ogan*] didn't show proper respect for my father when he suggested that there ought to be some repairs made at the *terreiro*. Pedro said it had been that way when he was "confirmed" and that it was all right now. He used "você" in speaking to my father, although he is much "younger." And he said my father lied. When I heard about this, I hunted up Pedro and told him that he hadn't treated my father right, and when he talked nonsense I hit him. Pae Procopio then hunted me up. I told him that I didn't believe in anything he did, that I wasn't afraid of any sorcery he might make, that Pedro had ill-treated my father, and that I wanted nothing to do with him and with all his accursed *candomblé*.

[*] For instance, José named five films in which Patricia Ellis had played. His favorite actress is Shirley Temple, after which come, in order, Lilian Harvey, Joe E. Brown, Maurice Chevalier, and Laurel and Hardy. In addition, he likes Raul Roulien, Dolores del Rio, James Cagney, Lyle Talbot, Kay Francis, Dick Powell, Eddie Cantor, Clara Bow, Jeanette MacDonald, George O'Brien, Fred Astaire, John Boles, George Brent, Richard Talmage, José Mojico, Jan Kiepura, Adolphe Menjou, Pat O'Brien, Chester Morris, Buster Crabbe, Charlie Chaplin, Lee Tracy, Gary Cooper, Ramon Navarro, George Bancroft, Johnny Mack Brown, Alice Faye, Olivia de Havilland, and Ken Maynard. José does not care for Buck Jones, although many of his friends do. Neither does he like Lionel Barrymore, Douglas Fairbanks, Jr., Richard Arlen, Ronald Colman, or Gordon Westcott. Paul Muni, he says, is "only fair."

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As a Bahian white said, "When a black man puts on a tie and shoes and learns to read and write, he loses interest in the *candomblé*. There are really two civilizations at Bahia, ours and the African. When a black begins seriously to take on our customs, he seldom spends any more time at *candomblés*." A prominent mulatto educator remarked, "I've never been to a fetish cult. I have no interest in them." A Negro laborer admitted that he used to go to such ceremonies, "but no more; I've given all that up now." The young nephew of a prominent *babalaô* said, "All this low stuff ought to be done away with. It's a sign of a very backward people. It has even disappeared in Africa. The English came into Lagos and brought modern civilization. Only in Bahia do these old customs hang on."

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Indicative of the disintegrating state of the fetish world is the continuous and, at times, acute jealousy among the leaders and members of its more orthodox centers. In a given *seita* one hears much critical gossip regarding the practices of some other center. It is accused of forsaking the "true" African tradition and of inadequately interpreting mystical experiences. As the number of *Africanos* decreases, competition between the *seitas* for their allegiance is naturally increasing.

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Among the Negroes who still identify themselves with the cult, the past tends to be romanticized, and the prestige of the "old Africans," like Bambuxê, Adeta, Iyalode Erelu, and others, to be constantly enhanced. Similarly, the prestige of the older cult figures who are still living—the *babalaô* Martiniano, *mãe de santo* Anninha,* and the aged Maria Bádá,

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* Since this was written, *mãe de santo* Anninha has died. Of her funeral, the *Estado do Bahia* (January 5, 1938) said: "The crowd of people who accompanied the body to Quinta dos Lazaros Cemetery was one of the largest ever seen in Bahia and recalls the funeral for Pae Adão in Recife. More than

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all of whom represent the African tradition in its "purest" form—is, throughout the fetish world, very great."

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two thousand persons were present, including members of the Irmandade of Rosario Church, dressed in their robes. The coffin, which was, in keeping with Anninha's request, quite modest, had over it the robe she had worn as a member of this Irmandade of which she was so proud, and was carried on the shoulders of the Brothers of Nossa Senhora do Rosario and of São Benedicto. The crowd of mourners blocked traffic in Rua Dr. Seabra for more than half an hour. Some *filhas de santo* wept unceasingly. Others related the virtues of the kind Anninha.

"When the coffin, carried by pious hands, entered the large gate of the cemetery, the *atabaques* broke out into African rhythms, while sad voices rose in the African songs of the *seita* to which the illustrious *mãe de santo* belonged.

"In the chapel of the cemetery, Canon Assis Curvello repeated the *encommendação*, and her body was laid away in a recently opened crypt.

"Then several orators spoke, among them Snr. Alvaro MacDowell de Oliveira in the name of the União das Seitas Afro-Brasileiras da Bahia, the journalist Edison Carneiro, and representatives of the Centro Cruz Santa do Aché de Okô Afonjá and of the Irmandade of Rosario Church. When the ceremony was over, two omnibuses carried a large number of the friends of Anninha to São Gonçalo do Retiro, where they took part in the preparatory ritual for the African funeral ceremony of Axêxê, to be held seven days after the death of the beloved leader of the *terreiro* of Aché de Okô Afonjá. This ceremony will consist of rites for the eternal peace of the dead *mãe de santo* and will be participated in by *ogans*, *filhas de santo*, *paes de santo*, and other friends of the deceased."

[1] This chapter is primarily based upon the author's personal experience as a visitor at numerous ceremonies in eighteen *seitas* at Bahia and as a participant over a period of several months as an *ogan* in the *candomblé* of Pae Procopio in Matatú. For further information see, in addition to the works of Nina Rodrigues, Arthur Ramos, Manoel Querino, and Edison Carneiro previously cited: Padre Étienne Ignace Brasil, "Le Fetichisme des negres du Brésil," *Anthropos*, III (1908), 881–904; Gonçalves Fernandes, *Xangô do Nordeste* (Rio, 1937) and *O folklore magico do Nordeste* (Rio, 1938); João Varella, *Cosme e Damião* (Bahia, 1938); the novels *O feiticeiro* by Xavier Marques (Bahia, 1922) and *Jubiabá* by Jorge Amado (Rio, 1935); and newspaper accounts such as "Creado o conselho africano da Bahia," *Estado da Bahia*, August 4, 1937, and "No mundo cheio de mysterios dos espiritos e 'paes de santo,'" *ibid.*, May 14, 1936.

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/12 cont./

175 called Negroes because of the ignominious and base implications
*563 of a term that puts them on the same footing as the people of the
829 coast of Africa destined to become slaves of the Whites. The true African Negroes were at that time called Negroes of Guinea, Negroes of the coast, or Negroes of nation, that is to say, of such
175 and such an African tribe. In a general way the term Negro was
829 applied to every slave, to the point that in 1773 a Portuguese
*563 monarch complained that in Brazil there were still "persons so
567 wanting in feelings of humanity and religion as to keep among
192 them slaves, some of whom are whiter than they themselves, under the names of Blacks and Negresses, or even métisses /plural
829 feminine form of métis, a person of mixed blood/." The sons of
*563 African Negroes born in Brazil were called creoles, a term ap-
192 plied even today, in the feminine, to black women and mulattresses
291 who dress like the Bahian women, with the troquette, the very full
• 794 skirt, the white, embroidered, and very décolleté blouse, and the colored shawl around the bust, a costume worn by the Africans of Nigeria and even in our day, with certain local modifications, by the women belonging to the religious cults of African origin, the
*563 candomblés. The creoles of Bahia constitute a typical spectacle
794 in the streets of the city; one can see them there, making their
443 way to a fetishist-cult center or sitting beside stalls in which they
262 display, especially during the popular festivals, the foods of the famous local cuisine, which is also of African origin to a great extent.

*563 The words pardo and mestiço, both having, as we have seen,
829 the meaning of mulatto, serve to designate the descendants of a
192 cross between Europeans and Blacks. Every variation of these
826 types, depending on the intensity of the color or the nature of the hair, was formerly designated by a particular name fallen into disuse today. One speaks of light mulatto or dark mulatto, according to the predominance of one or the other of the characteristics; the light mulattoes, when their hair is very similar to that of Whites, are also called cabo verdes or rôxos. A young girl showing
[196] few traces of crossbreeding is a roxinha or even a cabrocha; in this case the inhabitants of Bahia use a diminutive in order to remove from the word any pejorative meaning.

/15 cont./

829 to the anthropophysical study of the colored
*563 child/, Rio de Janeiro, 1939.
[113]

125 The author of these pages has classified, according to their
829 respective photographs, 30 social-club members of the male sex
*563 belonging to the well-educated people of Bahia, and showed them to a young white girl of the middle class, to a métise of modest class, a student of the social sciences, and to a métis in charge of the administration of the same club, asking them to classify them in turn. Here are the descriptions applied according to the judgment of each identifier:

Designation	Number of individuals of each type (1)			
	A	B	C	D
Whites	19	14	21	6
Brancos da terra . . .	1	11	2	-
Morenos	4	-	6	19
Mulattoes	6	5	1	5

1. A, author; B, young white girl; C, métisse student; D, métis functionary.

The four classifications agree only in certain instances: this was a matter of the Whites whose phenotype was obvious; in five cases, three agreed with regard to the classification of a White who was classified by the fourth as moreno; in 14 cases the opinions were divided by half and so on.

829 Most of the light métis are identified as morenos in the registers
*563 in which are inscribed the members of the social clubs, religious
[525 brotherhoods, in the lists of students of an establishment for uni-
[794 versity instruction examined at the end of the investigation. When
[873 it was requested of different persons of the middle class, most of
[125
[565]

[SALVADOR]

/19 cont./

[798 social cohesion of the community (1).
[621]

[162 1. In 1940 the population of the city and of the
[795 municipality was made up of 97.49 o/o Roman Apostolic Catholics; 1.11 o/o Protestants; 0.26 o/o Israelites; 0.62 o/o spiritualists, etc.

[797] The Catholic majority views with an evil eye the activities of foreign Protestant missionaries and condemns particularly the "disloyal methods employed by some of them" and their way of distorting the Church. Protestantism is fought in the pulpit as heresy, but never the Protestants as persons having different characteristics and toward whom one vows hostility. The antagonism between Catholics, Protestants, and Presbyterians is also [871 [777] placed on the purely doctrinal plane; the institutions of learning maintained by Baptists and Presbyterians are attended by Catholic students and enjoy prestige because of their "American methods."

• 794 798 As for the candomblés, sanctuaries devoted to the cults of African origin, the current feeling is that these rites are so many barbaric survivals that ought to be done away with, for they are a matter of shame before foreigners and tourists. In a commentary on tourism, a local journal proposes that the visit to candomblés be omitted from excursion programs, "because there can be no propaganda more negative for this Brazilian city four times a hundred years old, which has so many other interesting things to show." These cults, despite everything, enjoy relative freedom and function by virtue of police authorization. They have sometimes been prohibited and their devotees violently dispersed by police forces. Among the Blacks there are many who share the opinions of the Whites on the subject of these rites.

666 Only the rivalry between political parties provokes real
665 tension during the election campaigns. This tension is particularly
578 intense in the controversies in the interior of the State; it never expresses itself other than verbally; individual cases of aggression or actual conflicts between groups belonging to different political parties have become extremely rare. The ethnocentric feelings [829] of the Bahians reached great vehemence several years ago when the majority of the electors refused to elect as governor of the State a candidate who was not "born in Bahia."

[SALVADOR]

/71 cont./

*563 the black color of a female student. The complaint that the
873 father of the latter made in a newspaper was immediately pub-
178 lished with a very vehement comment that obliged the accused to defend himself. "In olden times," says a mulatto intellectual; "colored students suffered a great deal. Today, it is enough that they are honest and have real worth for their merit to be recognized." And he adds that in the establishment where he teaches and which he has directed, he has seen white students speak out in positive fashion against all racial discrimination with regard to their colored fellow-students.

*563 Among the professors whom the students of a private secondary
873 establishment honored at the end of the courses in 1950, there were two morenos, two mulattoes, and one Black; ten out of 39 students were métis. Out of the 137 persons graduated by the philosophy faculty of the University of Bahia between 1945 and 1950, among whom a large number intended to take up secondary teaching, 2.9 o/o were black, 33 o/o were pardos and 63 o/o were white.

[555] Education, as one sees, is a very important factor in our city for the social ascent of colored people.

/72/ Religion

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•794 The religious institutions of Bahia reflect the structure of the classes and the local social organization. The devout Catholics attend the same churches, mingle in the choir and at the com-
[796] munion table, independently of their "quality." In the solemn festivals organized by the brotherhoods and the associations or carried out by the parishes in honor of their patron saints, one can see Whites, mulattoes, and Blacks gathered together in the places reserved at the high altar, along with the guests of honor, the "presidents of brotherhoods," and the "Maecenases" (festeiros) entrusted with the preparation and financing of these celebrations.
[788] Likewise, in the processions, men and women of all types carry the litters of the sacred images that march past, or crowd around
[565] them. In the sacred associations there is no longer any discrimination; since, however, some of them are made up of people different

[SALVADOR]

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*563 •794 [565] social classes, the proportion of colored people varies from one to another. This is particularly striking in the brotherhoods and third orders, associations that have centuries of existence, founded for purposes of spiritual perfection, almost all long since transformed into organizations of charity and mutual aid. These organizations have always been very important in all of Latin America for marking or confirming the social classification of their members. When a biographical sketch of a distinguished person is published in a newspaper of Bahia, it always mentions the brotherhoods to which he belongs or in which he occupies a management position. During certain large religious festivals one can see men who are not "practicing" Catholics personally appear with their brotherhoods or third orders, dressed in costumes characteristic of these same societies, a torch in their hand, carrying the canopy and marching in a group. It is greatly desired to be able to become part of these institutions that give evidence of the high position and the prestige that one has acquired. The elections for the management of one of these brotherhoods, upon which hospitals, orphanages, and old people's homes depend and which administer a rich endowment, arouse extraordinary interest among the great merchants and the people of liberal professions who are members of them. The office of headmaster, that is to say, of president, an office to which no remuneration is attached and which demands great devotion, is very eagerly contended for, because it offers its holder the possibility of augmenting his social and political prestige and of showing his administrative abilities. These organizations were created in the colonial period in order to gather together, under the aegis of /73/ the Church, as happened in Portugal, persons of different social and economic groups for the purpose of spiritual improvement, but also in order to permit them to show their rank. Thus it is understood that even today they are arranged in hierarchies according to class lines, although the distinctions that separate them are in the process of becoming less clear and less rigid every day, with new conditions of urban life and with the appearance of other institutions having similar social aims. There are, for example, although

*563 554 794 [196] [292] [175] [178] [565]

[SALVADOR]

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*563 554 794 relatively decadent and less exclusive, brotherhoods of "colored men," which in olden times grouped together sometimes slaves, sometimes free Blacks or even mulattoes. A few of them still march in the processions, wearing their insignia and their livery and celebrating the festivals of their patron saints in the chapels on their premises with a pomp and luxury greatly reduced in comparison with the brilliant solemnities of their glorious period. But for many men of this type it is an honor to belong to these brotherhoods and to take part in their management committees. It is always a proof of prestige within the group. The brotherhoods and third orders of persons of high rank are always prosperous; in their rules or "compromises" it was formerly stipulated that only "gentlemen," white and of certain professions, would be permitted to be registered in them. The statutes of one of these brotherhoods still contain the following stipulations: "Art. 4. In order to become part of the brotherhood it is necessary: 1st, to practice the Roman Catholic religion; 2nd, to be more than 40 years old and to be of white color; 3rd, to have irreproachable moral and religious conduct and to live honestly from some employment, office, industry, or income; 4th, not to have been convicted of any dishonorable offense and not to have been expelled from any religious or secular corporation, except if one can prove that one has been 'rehabilitated.'" But more than a century ago the con-
[178] cept of "white" began to be enlarged in order to permit the admission of mulattoes, either married to Whites of noble families, or wealthy, or occupying an outstanding social position (1).

1. Gilberto Freyre, op. cit., II, p. 669.

*563 794 Although the arrangements relative to the "color" of their members or their "brothers" have become a dead letter or have completely disappeared from their statutes, people maintain that some of these brotherhoods do not accept colored persons, at least if they are not, one informant told us, nearly white pardos. People illustrate this assertion by citing the case of persons who did not ask for admission to these brotherhoods for fear of being refused, or of persons who, according /74/ to what certain informants assumed,

[SALVADOR]

/74 cont./

*563 794 were refused because of their "quality." Some of the examples mentioned are evidently a matter of class discrimination rather than of race or color. Nevertheless, a morena girl reports that, although she had satisfied all the requisite conditions, she was unable to enter a third order because, as a member of the management of the order told her, it did not accept colored persons. Nevertheless in almost all the most important brotherhoods there are light "brothers" of mixed blood, who are "socially white," and even dark mulattoes. The proportion in which such persons *563 794 463 are accepted varies according to the professional tradition of each organization. In those where merchants predominate, one finds a reflection of what has taken place in commerce: the number of dark persons is smaller there; the Father who directs one of these has more than once cautioned his associates against the opposition they show toward admitting into their ranks dark individuals who otherwise satisfy all the moral and spiritual conditions required. In the brotherhoods controlled by the liberal professions, and above all in those that from organizations of classes have become organizations of charity and mutual aid, one finds numerous colored persons, even in positions of management. In one important brotherhood frequently mentioned by the informants as being very discriminatory, 49 o/o of the members are merchants, 22 o/o practice a liberal profession, 7 o/o are in the bureaucracy. Thus, out of the 1,004 members whose portraits can be consulted in the files of the association, 81 o/o have a white phenotype, 15.64 o/o are morenos, and 2.88 o/o light mulattoes; all the director-members are white. In another brotherhood, traditionally governed by judges, lawyers, physicians, and other members of liberal professions, there are 11 pardos among the 34 members of the board of management; in the list of its "brothers" one can identify numerous métis and even a very dark Black who occupies an important public office. The priests who supervise this brotherhood, members of a *563 794 793 797 foreign religious order, have the right to put their veto against the names of candidates whom they judge not to be suitable for any reason whatsoever; they are not bound to give the reason for their decision; numerous members state that these priests almost always

[SALVADOR]

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*563 give the reasons that make them oppose someone's acceptance,
•794 and that they do not use their rights to prevent the acceptance of
793 a candidate solely because of his color. A pardo who has occupied
797 important positions in the administration of the State and who even
[554] reached the highest offices of his brotherhood asserts that the fathers who direct it, although the majority are Europeans, maintain the best relations with /75/ dark colored persons and even appear very affectionate toward them; colored persons are able, as may be seen, to be classified socially or to confirm their status by means of institutions. The Catholic religion offers them other, similar
*563 means. This is what happens, as we have already indicated, with
794 regard to the "judges" and the festeiros, persons chosen each year
554 to solicit donors and to organize the solemn festivals of the patrons of the church or chapel. This choice, made by the priest responsible or by the management of the religious associations, is based on social and economic prestige, much more than on other personal attributes (except morality and reputation); thus, color has never excluded anyone from one of these functions. An observer who has often dealt with these matters can testify to this.

*563 The Catholic priesthood is no longer a privilege of finos
793 Whites. The ecclesiastical constitutions in force during the period
[195] of slavery forbade the ordination of slaves, so that priests should
[567] not be subject to a servile condition, deprived of the liberty and authority necessary for the practice of their ministry. Slaves were excluded, not Blacks, so that at the beginning of the last century foreign travelers were astonished to see black and mulatto priests officiating in the churches of the principal Brazilian cities. At
[555] the end of the eighteenth century colored men were able to take holy orders, and the Church became a means of social ascent "for all kinds of persons of humble circumstances, whatever their racial or family origin (1)."

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1. Roger Bastide, "Religion and the Church in Brazil," in Brazil, Portrait of Half a Continent, p. 339.

5: Azevedo--128 D, Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
[Salvador]

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11. A "mae de santo."

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*563 668 circumstances, almost all black, founded the Black Front of Bahia. Until that time the only organizations of "colored
*563 668 people" existing in the city were the brotherhoods and some workmen's and charity associations, none of which had as a
747 definite aim the defense of colored men against racial prejudice.
• 794 The Protective Society for Invalids, founded in 1832 as a religious and charitable brotherhood for persons "exclusively of black color," stated in a publication commemorating the centenary of its founding that "to speak of the ideal of the founder of this great work of philanthropy, it is to eliminate skin prejudice from Brazilian soil." This organization, however, does not include in its statutes, revised in 1948, or mention in its annual reports activities other than those of charity or mutual aid -- something that the informants, including members of the management, confirm.

*563 668 A local enterprise considered "an innovation for Bahia the news that colored men, against whom no distinction is made, are going to form a group." A professor of the university, in an ironic article on the Black Front, tried to advance the hypothesis that this movement was the result of Communist influence which profited from all occasional political agitation. One of the first activities of the Black Front, an activity which was disagreeable to dark persons of higher rank, says a mulatto informant, was a parade of poor Blacks along one of the commercial streets of the city, intended to show the misery in which they lived and to draw attention to the new organization. According to the same informant, the movement was "doomed to failure from its inception," for it was organized "as a kind of revolt." The founder and leader of this group, a worker who lived in São Paulo and took part in identical activities, harassed by financial difficulties and also yielding to what he himself, in an interview given to a newspaper called his destiny of "wandering Jew," /99/ returned the following year to the southern part of the country, disappointed by the results of his enterprise, which found no support and soon died out.

[SALVADOR]

/100 cont./

*563 668 whose aim was: "To extirpate, annul, abolish the inferiority complex (of the darkest ones); to demolish, enlighten, and purify a false superiority complex (of the lightest ones), so that, by a just and balanced educational process, there may no longer be Blacks and Whites in Brazil, but only Brazilians." Aside from a publication in the form of proverbs, thoughts, and maxims on the inferior situation of the Blacks, this campaign was pursued by means of "conferences of spiritualist philosophy" conducted by the founder, a physician with a modest clientele. This movement too, however, had neither the repercussion nor the prestige hoped for by its founder, with the result that the latter is thinking of starting in Bahia a branch of the Union of Colored Men, created some years ago in the country. But although he believes in the existence of color prejudice and wishes to combat it, the secretary-general of this union, in statements to a newspaper of Bahia on the occasion of a visit to the city, said that "in Brazil there is in reality no race prejudice. And this is so true that, although our principal objective is to unite colored men of all countries, the union opens its doors to citizens of other races; this also because we think it would be impossible to form a separatist association in this land, which is for all."

*563 575 794 The Federation of the Afro-Brazilian Cult, organized to join together the groups of the cult, and the centers of Afro-Brazilian studies are, as their names indicate, organizations of a different nature. Neither their statutes nor their activities tie them directly to the programs of social action in favor of colored people.

*563 668 /101/ As may be seen, the "Negro" movements in Bahia have a very precarious existence and operation. Ordinarily they group almost exclusively Blacks and dark mulattoes of relatively modest circumstances, and they do not practice real social and political action. They do not, however, form hostile groups, but, quite the contrary, they endeavor to bring together Whites and Blacks; they avoid all strife and antagonism with the dominant group, and in the last analysis they have as a fundamental objective the integration, let us say even the acculturation, of colored people,

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/103 cont./ In principle
*563 anyone at all may elevate himself socially by wealth, by his
655 intellectual merits, by his professional titles, by his moral qualities,
[556] or by a combination of these elements, by virtue of the system of values of a capitalist society. In their ascent toward the higher classes, however, colored people encounter resistance, due in part to the influence of the prejudices of which we have spoken, but also because of the fact that for the most part they belong to classes that economically are at the bottom of the social hierarchy.

The social ascent of colored people, however, is relatively frequent, and there are numerous examples of it. As a group,
*563 however, colored people also rise, but with difficulty. It is
565 sufficient, in order to get a clear idea of this, to compare the dis-
555 tribution of the different ethnic types that are encountered in
162 /104/ Brazil in the groupings and organizations that symbolize
794 the upper classes:
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	Whites		"Pardos"		Blacks	
	%	Indices	%	Indices	%	Indices
In the total population	33	100	47	100	20	100
Religious brotherhoods	82	240	18	38	--	--
Liberal professions (1)	76	230	22	46	2	10
Clubs	67	200	33	70	--	--

1. Average of various liberal professions.

*563 As may be seen, none of the above groups constitutes a sample
565 representative of the total population, which proves, in fact,
555 that the different types still do not have the possibility of ad-
vancing to the higher strata. If, by basing ourselves on the
[178] descriptions of the society of Bahia in the past, we could make up a table of the same nature, we would see that "high society" and the prestige professions 50 or 80 years ago were much less mixed, although the participation of individuals of mixed blood in these groups is an old Brazilian tradition.

5: Azevedo--144 D,Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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[SALVADOR]

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Table III. Types of members of a "high-class" religious brotherhood.

Professions	Whites		"Morenos"		"Mulattoes"		Totals
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Commerce, agriculture, industry . . .	419	84.98	59	11.98	15	3.04	493
Officials	57	81.42	12	17.14	1	1.42	70
Military men	6	85.71	1	14.29			7
Artists, professors.	3	60	2	40			5
Technicians	14	93.33			1	6.67	15
Liberal professions	192	79.01	48	19.75	3	1.23	243
Students	64	82.05	10	12.82	4	5.12	78
Priests, including six bishops	14	48.27	15	51.73			29
Professions not indicated	49	75.56	10	15.62	5	7.81	64
	818	81.47	157	15.64	29	2.88	1,004

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

herents of these cults, female slaves and former slaves for the most part, followed a lengthy routine to become practitioners in the various cult houses and spent large sums of money, according to legend, on the required bracelets, necklaces, and clothing.

Today, however, the cult priests and priestesses have the same complaint as the Catholic priests. They say that young people no longer have the understanding or the patience necessary to prepare for devotion in the cult houses. The older priestesses deplore the degeneration of some of these houses and the admission of Indian spirits, which are now displacing the African gods.

Spiritualism has recently entered the community. So far it has been limited to few people in the community, although it is very popular in Salvador.

The use of the supernatural as described in Willems' Cunha[1] does not take place in Vila Recôncavo. In Cunha the saints are asked to send rain whenever it appears that the crops are in danger. But in Vila Recôncavo, which lies in a semitropical rain area, there is no need for such invocations. Besides, these are large-scale economic crops, not subsistence produce on which the people depend directly for their living.

The Catholic Church in Vila Recôncavo

During the colonial period each religious parish was carefully delineated and conserved, but later political divisions cut across parish lines. This has made the use of colonial statistics very difficult. During colonial and empire times the church was the main census organ, but since parishes and counties do not coincide in their outlines the statistics are little help today in comparing the present with the past. Each parish built a mother church (matriz) in the parish town. Each of these churches had a patron saint, who was also the patron of the parish, and a resident priest or priests.

In the town of Vila Recôncavo, the county seat, a mother church was built, with São Gonçalo as its patron saint; also constructed was the Franciscan convent, connected with an opulent Third Order. As the Recôncavo entered its long per-

1. Emilio Willems, Cunha: Tradição e transição en uma cultura rural do Brasil (Sao Paulo, 1947), Chapter 7.

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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ter them any others who want to receive it. Through the year few people from the rural area go to hear Mass in town, unless they have asked for a special service in honor of their patron saint or in the memory of a dead relative. They usually wait for the priest's visit to their own locality. The same is true of weddings and baptisms, which are often held up pending the arrival of the priest. 79

In case of death, the corpse is buried within twenty-four hours. Each parish has its own cemetery, and the relatives and friends of the dead carry the coffin there for burial. In the parish of Vila Recôncavo, the cemetery lies just outside the town. People from this parish, as well as those from the town itself, take the coffin to the convent before burial to be blessed, for there is always a priest there. Then they carry the coffin to the cemetery. In the other parishes the dead are buried without the benefit of a blessing, which will however take place on the second of November, when priests try to visit each cemetery and bless all the dead. 79 764

The many duties which have fallen upon the Franciscans have made it almost impossible for them to continue the type of life prescribed for those who enter an order. It is very difficult for them to attend the retreats to which they should go; there is little or no time for them to study or contemplate, or to teach, for they have been faced with the discouraging reality of trying to keep religion alive in a population too large and scattered for proper contact to be maintained. In 1941 Vila Recôncavo was described by the provincial canonical visitors as "one of the greatest crosses of our Province, because of the five decadent parishes entrusted to it."[2] The same book speaks constantly of the "deplorable indifference" and "religious coldness" of the people of Vila Recôncavo. In 1949 the statistics of religious activities were as follows: 333 baptisms (184 legitimate and 149 illegitimate children), 27 weddings, 200 First Communions, 8,292 general Communions, and 80 Communions for sick people. 792 794 795 [162]

As of today there are no religious brotherhoods in Vila Recôncavo. The last to pass out of existence was the Brotherhood of the Most Sacred Sacrament, which was closed upon the death of its treasurer early in this century. The Third Order of Franciscans, formally closed in 1902, was reopened in 792

2. Livro de cronica do convento, Vila Recôncavo (MS in Franciscan Convent, Vila Recôncavo).

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There is one outstanding case of a Class A family which has been "helped" by spiritualism. This family had not been too well liked in the town and felt that evil was being worked against it. It was claimed that a local medium prevented harm to the father of this family through the medium's spirit. The father became convinced of the value of spiritualism and converted his wife to it. They now make no move without first consulting the spirits, and they frequently call the medium to their house in Salvador for aid. The urban upper class is no stranger to spiritualism, and even those who make no use of mediums and spiritualistic sessions seem to consider themselves possible victims of spiritualism. A decade or so ago, experiments with spiritualism, such as the moving glass, were popular. These experiments gained many adherents and left many others in a state between belief and disbelief in the possibilities of spiritualism.

Protestantism

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Protestantism has made no entry in Vila Recôncavo. This is a minor point of pride among the residents, who have heard of Protestantism but know nothing about it. In other areas of the Recôncavo there have been converts, but as yet there are no Protestant churches, chapels, or house groups in Vila Recôncavo. In other communities, traveling ministers hold services in small private houses of the adherents. Just as with the African cults, there always are many onlookers standing outside who discuss the merits of the sermon and of the Bible readings and hymn singing. Those who are sufficiently impressed sometimes join, but as yet there is considerable resistance to another organized religion.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[City of Salvador]

in 1822, in the politics of the Empire, a role similar to that assumed by Minas Geraes, São Paulo, and Rio Grande do Sul in the Republic following 1889. In fact, she has been called "the Brazilian Virginia." Until 1907 Bahia was also the religious center of the Brazilian nation. Her archbishop was the head of the Roman Catholic church in Brazil, and the religious orders maintained here their principal representatives. Thus in the economic, political, and religious life of Brazil, Bahia boasts a long tradition of distinction and prestige.

The present city is about the size of Indianapolis or Seattle.[6] It nestles along the eastern rim of a huge bay, Bahia de Todos os Santos. The bay is formed by the projection out into the ocean of Cape Santo Antonio, which, on its western side, breaks rather sharply almost at the water's edge, exposing a bold promontory approximately three hundred feet in height which parallels for some two to three miles the rim of the bay. The city clings to the narrow shelf between the bay and the cliff and then sprawls up over this sizable barrier and spreads out along the ridges and into the valleys to the east and north, where centuries of erosion have carved a one-time flat plain into alternating crests and steep-sloping depressions.

Bahia is thus divided by a natural barrier into a lower and an upper city, into a Cidade Baixa and a Cidade Alta, as the two parts are locally called; the one connected with the other by steep, winding streets paved with cobblestones, by inclined planes and modern hydraulic elevators, or by numerous well-worn footpaths. In the lower city lies, of course,

[6] An estimate by the state government gave for the city of Bahia on December 31, 1934, a population of 352,244 (*Annuario estatistico da Bahia, 1934*, p. 131). The federal census of 1920 gave for Bahia City 283,422 (*Recenseamento do Brazil, 1920*, Vol. IV: *População*, Book I, p. xxiv).

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in response to the needs of colonial life still persist and direct 633
life pretty much in the old familiar channels. Bahia has long 571
been a relatively isolated city; and isolation has intensified personal intimacies and, by so doing, has promoted the growth of peculiarly local customs in response to peculiarly local conditions.

The character of Bahia's population, as might be ex- 167
pected, is also relatively stable. Virtually no immigration has come in from foreign lands in recent years, and little from other parts of Brazil. What population movement 166
there is into the city comes largely from the interior of the state or from contiguous areas like Alagoas and Sergipe. Similarly there is little emigration.

Bahia is thus a "culturally passive" area[9] with a stability 571
and an order reminiscent of Europe in the Middle Ages. In 178
fact, Bahia is, in some respects at least, a medieval town. 795
Every eminence of the city is dominated by a church or a [368]
cathedral. Until very recently there were no modern office buildings or industrial edifices to overshadow or to crowd out these symbols of a sacred order, and such as have in the past few years been erected only accentuate the dominance of the ecclesiastical structures. Over the habits of the female portion of the population in particular,[10] and to a con-

[9] Dr. Robert E. Park has used this phrase to describe an area "in which life continues, on the whole, to revolve in the same unbroken and traditional routine," where "population, natural resources, and the standard of living have achieved some sort of equilibrium and where custom and tradition provide for most of the exigencies of life." In such an area, "changes still take place, to be sure, but take place silently, continuously, and at an almost imperceptible pace" (see Robert E. Park, "Race Relations and Certain Frontiers," in *Race and Culture Contacts*, ed. E. B. Reuter [New York, 1934], p. 57).

[10] The ecclesiastical authorities have rigorously censured women's bathing suits which do not have sleeves to the elbow and knee-length skirts. [291]
Rarely is a woman other than a foreign resident or an occasional individ-

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571 178 795 [554] siderable extent over those of the male portion, the church exercises a substantial measure of control. Prestige of the military is high.

596 621 The large family, with its wide ramifications and its patriarchal organization, also bespeaks a preindustrial era. Social cohesion in the community is maintained by the close association of members of these large family groups, together with the intimate ties common to friends of long standing, the degree of whose intimacy is much greater than that ordinarily to be found in the cities of comparable size in industrial societies. One notes in Bahia a warmth of manner uncommon to the United States. Bahians, like most Brazilians, tend to be very affectionate in the family and warmhearted toward their friends. Characteristic of such primary relationships is a high order of courtesy and politeness and an almost limitless consideration for the convenience and comfort of relatives and friends. Religious affiliation and guild association weave further strands of solidarity, binding the urban community together as if it were merely an overgrown village.

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578 [477] [433] [466] In this stable society there is a comparative absence of most forms of conflict. In commerce and finance competition is comparatively slight and limited in considerable measure to foreigners. The economy is almost entirely extractive and industry is minimal. The few differences which arise between labor and capital often take the form of a

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571 178 795 291 ual educated in Rio, to be seen on the beaches. Snug-fitting street dresses or those made of sheer or transparent material, and skirts which do not fall at least several inches below the knee, are subject to general criticism. At the exit of the principal churches and cathedrals is posted an official proclamation of the archbishop of Bahia specifying permissible dress. Failure to observe these regulations automatically bars the offender from the sacraments of the church.

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command of a Negro regiment. As a Bahian *preto* recently remarked with pride, "His contribution to his country was an honored one."

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Negros novos were required by law to be baptized into the Christian religion on penalty of forfeiture to the state. Those from Portuguese Angola were baptized in lots before they left their native shores.[75] The mark of the royal crown upon their breasts signified that they had undergone this ceremony and also that the king's duty had been paid. With slaves from other parts of Africa, the master was allowed a year for the instruction requisite for baptism.[76] Debret noted that elderly Negroes acquainted with African languages were often used to catechise the candidates, ordinarily the oldest and "most virtuous" slaves being chosen for this purpose.[77] One of the first things taught was the threefold sign of the cross accompanied by the words, "The sign of the cross delivers us from our enemies." Slaves were not considered, we are told, "members of society, but rather brute animals," until they could "lawfully go to mass, confess their sins, and receive the sacrament."[78] Participation in these ceremonies made them fellow human beings.

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On the plantations slaves were regularly instructed in Catholic ritual and belief, chaplains often being retained on the larger estates for this purpose as well as to conduct the public religious ceremonies in the chapel attached to the plantation. Mawe, visiting the estate of Prince Dom Rodrigo near Rio in the early years of the nineteenth century, noted that it was customary "to have prayers publicly read

[75] Koster, *op. cit.*, I, 198.

[76] Koster (*ibid.*) writes that "the law is not always strictly adhered to as to time, but it is never evaded altogether."

[77] *Op. cit.*, III, 129. [78] Koster, *op. cit.*, I, 199.

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crowded. They were obliged to dispense with the mass, for they had no priest; the service therefore consisted merely of a long litany and a few hymns. There was placed on the altar a small image of the infant Christ, the "Menino Deus" as they called it, or the Child-God, which had a long ribbon depending from its waist. An old white-haired Negro led off the litany, and the rest of the people joined in the responses. After the service was over they all went up to the altar, one by one, and kissed the end of the ribbon. The gravity and earnestness shown throughout the proceedings was remarkable.[83]

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Slaves were often married according to the forms of the Catholic church, and the banns were published in the same manner as for free persons.[84] Debret has preserved a visual impression of such a ceremony being performed in the house of wealthy Brazilians.[85]

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As Freyre has pointed out,[86] priests continually urged upon white masters the advantage of conceding to the Negroes their African pastimes. A Jesuit, writing in the eighteenth century, advised slaveowners not only to permit but even to encourage the *festas* of the blacks, saying: "You should not make it difficult for them to choose their king, and to sing and dance as they desire on certain appointed days of the year, and legitimately to enjoy themselves on Sunday afternoons when in the morning they have executed the ceremonies in honor of Nossa Senhora do Rosario, São Benedito, or the guardian-saint of the chapel." Slaves were granted permission to use during public festivals—at first the Vespers of Reis, later Christmas, New Year's, and Carnival—

[83] Henry W. Bates, *The Naturalist on the River Amazons* (reprint, London, 1892), p. 88.

[84] Koster, *op. cit.*, I, 202. The consent of the master was required and the ceremony could not be performed until "the requisite prayers have been learned, the nature of the confession . . . . understood, and the sacrament can be received."

[85] *Op. cit.*, Vol. III, Pl. 15. [86] *Op. cit.*, p. 264.

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African costumes, songs, and dances.[87] The Catholic church was never in haste, it seems, to assimilate the Brazilian Negro but adopted instead a patient and tolerant policy which in the end was eminently successful. Early in the nineteenth century Koster wrote from Pernambuco, "No compulsion is resorted to, to make the Negroes embrace the habits of their masters; but their ideas are insensibly led to imitate and adopt them."[88]

As might be expected, the transition from fetish-cult ideas and practices to Catholic ritual and belief was marked by intermediary stages in which elements of both religions coexisted in the Negroes' thought and practice, and the objects of one cult were identified with objects of a similar nature in the other. Hence, the extensive identification, for instance, of several African *orixás* with certain Catholic saints (as we shall later see in greater detail) and the coexistence of African and European forms in the principal religious and popular festivals.

Thus, in 1852, a visitor wrote from Rio de Janeiro:

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> For many nights past, Gloria Hill . . . . has echoed till a late hour with the songs, the wild music, and the tread of the dance in the Negroes' favorite amusements; and yesterday afternoon, I accidentally became a spectator of a grand gathering of this kind. It was "Twelfth" or "King's Day," as sometimes called—being that commemorative of the adoration of the Magi in the stable of Bethlehem; and it is a chief festival with the Negroes. . . . . When about half way up the Larangeiras . . . . my attention was arrested by a large gathering of Negroes within an enclosure by the wayside, engaged in their native dances, accompanied by the wild and rude music brought with them from Africa. . . . . Many of the principal performers, both among the dancers and musicians, were dressed in the most . . . . grotesque manner. . . . . A majority, if not all the performers, were baptized

[87] *Ibid.*

[88] *Op. cit.*, I, 200.

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state. Unions were not confined to the lower classes but extended into even the upper social ranks, not only of the English, but of other European nationalities as well.[14]

Miscegenation and interracial marriage are perhaps always incidental to the expansion of a racial frontier. As Park has pointed out: "Transplanting a people, like transplanting any other organism, is a ticklish business, and interbreeding is one way of successfully accomplishing the transition."[15]

Thus, the Brazilian society of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries came to be founded largely upon families in which Indian or part Indian women were the consorts and mothers.[16] At least this was generally true of the lower classes, but it was by no means limited exclusively to them.[17]

These *de facto* unions were gradually "regularized by the church into Christian marriage," thus lending the powerful sanction of the ecclesiastical authority, chief guardian of the mores in a sacred society, to interracial crossing. The church was joined in this policy by the state, which legalized mixed unions. Thus, neither church nor state injected any "strain for consistency"[18] into the colonial mores which had grown up quite naturally in response to the exigencies of colonization but instead themselves offered support to the "definitions of the situation"[19] already laid down in the prevailing attitudes.

[14] See Cedric Dover, *Half-caste* (London, 1937), pp. 117 ff.

[15] *Op. cit.*, p. 57.

[16] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

[17] E g, the *mameluca* descendants of Caramurú married into prominent families.

[18] See William Graham Sumner, *Folkways* (Boston, 1906), p. 5.

[19] See W. I. Thomas, *Primitive Behavior* (New York and London, 1937), pp. 8-9.

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Moema, who, exhausted, perished in the billows of the sea. This unhappy Indian maiden is still today sung by the poets. . . . .

On returning from Europe, Catherina Paraguassú, endowed with a beauty that was first among her people, performed the duty of a true heroine by receiving as her guest the first Governor-general, Thomé de Souza. She and her husband made the native Indians, without the least hesitancy, subject themselves to the Portuguese dominion. And it is from Diogo Alvares Caramurú and Catherina Paraguassú that the ancient and noble house of Garcia d'Avila, so celebrated for its wealth and civic services, is descended.

Subsequent to the arrival of Thomé de Souza, Diogo had been legally married to Paraguassú. And the church soon saw to it that most, if not all, of the similarly informal unions between European men and native Indian women were "regularized in Christian marriage." [585] [583] [795]

Although incoming Portuguese colonists and adventurers had readily entered into informal unions with native women, they appear at first to have hesitated before actual marriage. It was the Jesuits, we are told, who "managed to conquer in the early colonists the repugnance which they originally held toward marriages with Indian women."[5] "Most of them [the Portuguese] here," wrote Padre Nobrega from Pernambuco in 1551, "have for a long time kept Indian women from whom they have had children; but to marry them was considered a scandalous thing (*grande infamia*). They are now marrying and assuming a proper life."[6] At any rate, intermarriage eventually became a firmly established custom, sanctioned by both church and state. 175 583 585 563* [797]

Although the scarcity of European women, so notable during the first century of colonization, had by the early 175 563*

[5] Gilberto Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* (2d ed.; Rio, 1936), p. 302.

[6] Padre Manoel de Nobrega, *Cartas do Brasil, 1549–1560* (Rio, 1886), quoted by Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

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noted in two Protestant churches, one Baptist, the other Presbyterian. Of a total of 157 worshipers, 27.4 per cent were blacks, 29.9 per cent were mulattoes, and 42.7 per cent were whites, seated indiscriminately, in each case.

Although 104 of 130 white students responding to an inquiry regarding the matter did not object to receiving the sacrament from a black priest, priests and pastors are usually white, only occasionally mulatto (ordinarily light), and very rarely black. For instance, of 43 priests officiating at Mass, 42, or 98 per cent, were white, and 1 was a mulatto, quite light. Of 60 novices at the Seminary of Santa Thereza, only 7 were mulattoes, 1 very dark.[20] Of the 2 Protestant pastors, 1 was white, the other a dark mulatto. In the latter's audience were over a score of whites. 563* 793

Altar boys are often mulattoes, occasionally blacks. For instance, of 70 altar boys seen assisting with Mass, 35, or 50 per cent, were whites; 3 were *brancos da Bahia;* 20, or 28.6 per cent, were mulattoes; and 11, or 15.7 per cent, were blacks. 563* 794

A similarly mixed participation may be noted in meetings of the spiritualist cult. At a session of the União Espirita Bahiana, for instance, of 73 persons present, 20 were blacks, 26 were mulattoes, and 27 were whites.[21] Among the leaders gathered about a table in front of the audience, 2 were whites, 2 were *brancos da Bahia*, 1 was a mulatto, and 2 were blacks.

In noting the circumstances under which the Brazilian racial accommodation has taken and is taking place, one ought not to overlook the fact that Catholic ideas and practice, permeating as they do very largely the whole moral order at 563* 795

[20] One *mamaluco*, 52 whites. [21] Also 1 *cafuso*.

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Bahia, tend to implement and to support the Brazilian racial policy. For the Catholic church, by emphasizing ritual, centers attention *outside the individual* upon common objects; while the Protestant churches, by emphasizing belief, center attention *upon the individual*, thus tending to increase self-consciousness and, consequently, awareness of difference which, in so far as the self and its distinguishing characteristics are identified with a group, automatically increases *group*-consciousness.

The Catholic conceptions tend to lay emphasis upon the community, upon the totality of individuals. For it is through his participation in the community that the individual in the Catholic view gains recognition as a person. The Protestant churches, on the other hand, tend to emphasize the individual. It is by reason of his inherent worth that the community in which he participates gains meaning in the Protestant ideology.

The Catholic procedure thus tends to unify the community, while the Protestant procedure tends to divide it into separate groups, each of which emphasizes its points of difference with all the others and tends to be divisive in its attitude toward the others. Obviously, a sect (which is by its very nature a conflict group) can in no other way live. The Catholic procedure lays a premium upon solidarity, while the Protestant lays a premium upon diversity.

Indicative of race relations among the younger generation at Bahia is the behavior of three groups of children who were observed playing together in Campo Grande. Aged approximately four to fifteen years, they were hilariously enjoying themselves. When first noted, there were at the "giant stride" 4 blacks, 5 mulattoes, and 2 whites. At the teeter-totter were 1 black, 9 mulattoes, and 15 whites. At

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A Nagô *mãe de santo* boasted of the ritual in her seita: "It's all pure Nagô; there's nothing in my *candomblé* of this abominable mixture which these upstart places practice today. They call this *caboclo* nonsense *candomblé!* Why, they know absolutely nothing about the way it's done in Africa!"

However, the borrowing of ritual back and forth from *seita* to *seita* sometimes takes place even in the case of Gêge-Nagô and Congo-Angola centers. Moreover, these *seitas* have not entirely escaped some Indian influence. [177]

With reference, then, to cultural origin and identification, there are three principal types of *candomblés* at Bahia: the Gêge-Nagô, the Congo-Angola, and the *caboclo*.[2] The *seitas* of probably most pure Gêge-Nagô origin are those of Engenho Velho, reputed to be the oldest cult center in Bahia; Gantois, which split off from Engenho Velho approximately a century ago and was, during the time of the famed *mãe de santo* Pulcheria, the seat of the researches of Nina Rodrigues; and São Gonçalo, whose able and widely respected *mãe de santo* speaks a Yoruba dialect locally known as Queito. These three centers are probably largely Nagô in origin,[3] while that of Bogum is said to be with the possible exception

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[2] The Malê, or Mohammedan cult, which at one time was vigorous and flourishing, seems to have been largely forsaken in favor of the fetish cults by the Negroes at Bahia. Although, in 1905, Nina Rodrigues estimated that one-third of the Africans still living in the city were Mohammedans, he at the same time pointed out that they were then making few, if any, converts among blacks born in Brazil and that Mohammedanism would in all probability die with them (*op. cit.*, pp. 93-94). Certain of the Malê ritual, however, has contributed to the general fusion so characteristic of present-day *candomblés*, and at least three Malê centers are still functioning. [178] [795]

[3] Also of Yoruba identification is Lingua da Vaca ("Cow's Tongue"), which was organized by Negroes of Ige-shá and Egbá origin.

[SALVADOR]

/18 cont./

829 The irregularities and inadequacies of electric service in
365 the city are attributed by many inhabitants of Bahia to what they call the "contempt of the Americans for the well-being of the people," as if the Americans were the only ones responsible for the operation of the American-Brazilian enterprise that produces electricity for the region. Everything that is or is supposed to be American otherwise enjoys great prestige. There is, how-
829 ever, a foreign group against which (or, more precisely, against
*563 the hidden "trust" that it represents) there exists a very strong
578 hostility, although it manifests itself only on certain occasions.
[443] It is a matter of emigrants from Spanish Galicia, accused of exploiting the populace owing to the monopoly that they have acquired in the grocery and bakery business. At certain times when ten-
[152] sion is particularly strong, as in 1930, and following the rapid
[458] rise of the price of commodities of prime necessity at the be-
[579] ginning of the last world war, the populace gave free vent to its discontent by plundering certain Spanish business establishments. But the attitude of the Bahians toward the person of these immigrants is free of lasting animosity, and marriages between the two
[261] groups are frequent. The fact remains, however, that the population attributes to the Spaniards the shortage of certain food commodities, especially bread, and it accuses these emigrants of "enriching themselves off of the misery of the people."

529 The recreational associations of the English, Spaniards,
*563 Syrians, and Lebanese are frequented by Brazilians. Likewise
575 the hospitals maintained by the Portuguese and Spanish colonies
743 are managed by Brazilian doctors and receive numerous patients from Bahia, white or colored.

• 795 The religion of the Catholic majority is traditionally much
771 more external and ritualistic than dogmatic, the religiosity of a large number of those who call themselves "strict Catholics" being chiefly theoretical. This must have constituted a serious difficulty for the clergy; it is also a subject of astonishment for the visitor who imagines that he will come in contact with "the most
798 Catholic of Brazilian cities." The antagonisms between religious
621 groups are also moderate in this domain and /19/ never affect the

[SALVADOR]

/19 cont./

798 social cohesion of the community (1).
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[162] 1. In 1940 the population of the city and of the
[795] municipality was made up of 97.49 o/o Roman Apostolic Catholics; 1.11 o/o Protestants; 0.26 o/o Israelites; 0.62 o/o spiritualists, etc.

[797] The Catholic majority views with an evil eye the activities of foreign Protestant missionaries and condemns particularly the "disloyal methods employed by some of them" and their way of distorting the Church. Protestantism is fought in the pulpit as heresy, but never the Protestants as persons having different characteristics and toward whom one vows hostility. The antagonism between Catholics, Protestants, and Presbyterians is also
[871] [977] placed on the purely doctrinal plane; the institutions of learning maintained by Baptists and Presbyterians are attended by Catholic students and enjoy prestige because of their "American methods."

794 As for the candomblés, sanctuaries devoted to the cults of
798 African origin, the current feeling is that these rites are so many barbaric survivals that ought to be done away with, for they are a matter of shame before foreigners and tourists. In a commentary on tourism, a local journal proposes that the visit to candomblés be omitted from excursion programs, "because there can be no propaganda more negative for this Brazilian city four times a hundred years old, which has so many other interesting things to show." These cults, despite everything, enjoy relative freedom and function by virtue of police authorization. They have sometimes been prohibited and their devotees violently dispersed by police forces. Among the Blacks there are many who share the opinions of the Whites on the subject of these rites.

666 Only the rivalry between political parties provokes real
665 tension during the election campaigns. This tension is particularly
578 intense in the controversies in the interior of the State; it never expresses itself other than verbally; individual cases of aggression or actual conflicts between groups belonging to different political parties have become extremely rare. The ethnocentric feelings
[829] of the Bahians reached great vehemence several years ago when the majority of the electors refused to elect as governor of the State a candidate who was not "born in Bahia."

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000 economic role is usually minor. The individual or the unit family of
565 the lower class is usually linked very closely, mainly in the economic
571 sense, with an employer or merchant of influence (patrão). In a society in which personal relationships ("connections") count for so much, only a member of the upper class can be of real economic or political assistance.

Childhood in the lower class is quite different from that in
565 the upper class family. From an early age the children must, out of
857 economic necessity, accept many responsibilities. Young children frequently work in the fields or find odd jobs in the town. The girls may do the housework, cook, and manage the younger children while the mother works. The young sons, even six or seven years old, may pack a bundle of agricultural products across the município on the morning of market day. In the evening they return with the few articles of food or clothing which they have been able to purchase with the proceeds from their goods. As they grow older, the children either undertake more of the farm work or drift off to the nearby rural areas and villages or to Salvador. The girls may find employment
[464] as servants or as agricultural or industrial workers. Ultimately
[885] most will marry and settle down to a grinding life of poverty, child-bearing, disease, and hard labor, which will, however, be relieved by an informal and highly convivial social life.

565 The position of the woman is still inferior to that of the
562 man, but she has relatively greater economic, social, and sexual independence than the woman of the upper class.

565 The social life of lower class families is in marked contrast
776 to the narrow, formal, and sexually-discriminatory social life of the aristocracy. Lower class life is filled not only with poverty but also with a tremendous series of religious and quasi-religious festivals

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

565 796 [184] (festas) and informal social activities. The uninhibited enjoyment of a samba (dance), a candomblé (fetish cult observance), a religious procession, or a Saint's day by the lower class is very different from the self-conscious upper class behavior under comparable conditions.[16]

565 562 369 The discussion above is largely in terms of stereotypes, and in fact there are many exceptions. In the upper class, strong-willed women may on occasion enter a profession--such as nursing or teaching--or operate a business or plantation, but usually with the aid and the advice of male relatives. In Salvador the upper class women are relatively more emancipated than are those of the villages and towns. 565 596 369 Many lower class people, especially the less poverty ridden groups of the villages and towns, tend to imitate the idealized upper class family pattern, within the limits of their economic, educational, and social resources.

565 571 621 59 In general it may be said that the interests of upper class families in the Recôncavo are regional, the interests of lower class families are local. The areally and biologically extended families of the upper class, interconnected through marriage and intermeshed in over-all economic, political, and social interests, are a basic element in the regional unity of the Recôncavo and in its integration into the Brazilian nation. In contrast the extra-local interests of lower class families are weak and unstable. The lower class community or neighborhood identification is the more effective unifying factor and seems to provide, in the Recôncavo, a focus for local interests generally lacking in at least the aristocratic and urban strata of the upper class.[17] However, the institutions of the community for the most part are maintained and directed by the aristocratic and the local upper class.

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000 BB [128] should be misleading. District data are desirable, but occupational breakdowns for these smaller political units are available neither for 1940 nor 1950. Furthermore, the areas of these districts cannot be calculated with even minimal accuracy from existing sources. Thus the distribution of rural population and agricultural labor force within municípios is largely a matter of inference. For example, the 1950 agricultural labor force was estimated, as has been seen, from the 1940 data and changes in rural population. Densities for each município were calculated from these estimates, and these densities were used as guides, in conjunction with the total populations of the various districts, in determining the distributional patterns of the map of the density of the agricultural labor force and the dot map of agricultural labor force. These maps are thus inferential distributions of inferred data.

[23]Smith, op. cit., p. 297.

BB [435] [24]Labor turnover is one of the explanations proffered for the high cost of sugar production in Bahia.

[25]The explanations offered by these migrants are various: lack of opportunity, a hostile or unfriendly landlord or creditor, a quarrel within the family or neighborhood, crop failure, or a desire to be near relatives.

[26]Joint Brazil-United States Economic Development Commission, The Development of Brazil (Institute of Inter-American Affairs, Foreign Operations Division. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1953), p. 16.

BB [496] [27]However, these people muster tremendous energy for festas (holidays or feast days), especially Carnavál. At such a time, a middle-aged lady with a chronic heart condition was observed to dance, in a procession, for several miles down the road. During the novena of Nossa Senhora de Purificão in Santo Amaro, the troups of performers will journey many miles to attend the celebration, dance and sing throughout the nights of each of the nine days, and without rest return to their homes.

BB [633] [28]The people of nine urban centers of the Recôncavo--Salvador, Feira de Santana, Alagoinhas, Cachoeira-São Félix, Santo Amaro, Maragogipe, Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, and São Gonçalo--are thus excluded from the rural population. These are the nine ranking cities of the Recôncavo, and all except São Gonçalo have more than 5,000 people. In addition to industry, those transportation, financial, retail, trade, and administrative functions which are not strictly local are confined to these urban centers, as well as wholesale trade and international commerce.

B [631] [633] [29]It is significant that Brazil has no urban political unit per se--the município or the distrito has both urban (city, town, or village) and rural sections without administrative expression.

B B [565] [562] [357] [30]In this society there are many women, especially in the lower class, who can scarcely be considered as dependent. Moreover, as has been seen, children are also frequently productive members of lower class families. In the upper class of the villages and towns, however, there are many children and housewives whose activities are either purely domestic or are only indirectly productive.

mers. However, on almost every plantation there are brick- 312
lined springs from which the inhabitants get their drinking water. Women or children carrying five-gallon cans of water on [482]
their heads, and donkeys carrying four wooden kegs of water, [492]
are common sights along the roads of the Recôncavo. For the
cattle and other livestock of the plantations, drinking places 231
are excavated wherever there promises to be enough water. 312
Frequently, however, these go dry in the summer, especial- [132]
ly during the drought years which occur cyclically in rhythm
with the droughts of the sertão. At such times loss of cattle
is prevalent, except on plantations situated near one of the
small rivers.

A high-voltage electric line passes through this section 377
leading from the generating station further inland to the capital city. Recently most of the plantations have been able to
connect with this line, so that at least the owners' houses have
electric light. The houses of the workers are without it except
at the factory, where the mill supplies its own electric power
which is carried to almost all the workers' houses.

There are four state schools and one county school distrib- 871
uted among the plantations. The central school in the town of
Vila Recôncavo is not attended by children from the planta-
tions. Two plantations have their own chapels, which are vis- 347
ited at irregular intervals by the priests of Vila Recôncavo. 796
On the other plantations a small altar is set up in the owner's 793
house for special occasions such as Christmas, when the town
priest is invited to celebrate the Mass.

There is in the town a medical post with a visiting doctor, 1743
a dentist, and several nurses in training, which is administered by a Franciscan lay brother and supported by federal,
state, and county funds and by private donations. This post
is fairly recent, and its influences are spreading only slowly
to the rural area. Also in the town is a small county medical
post run by a resident physician. The sugar factory has a [249]*
dispensary with a nurse and is visited by the town doctor. Al- [752]
most every plantation has its own first-aid equipment, generally in the owner's house.

There are no fairs in the community. There are stores in 543
the town and a large supply store at the factory, run by the 44?
corporation, and nearly every plantation has its own small [249]*
store. Major purchases are made at the weekly market in Centro, in the neighboring county. There are also traveling ped-

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1933 when two women took the scapular and cord. But nothing more came of it. There is a benevolent organization, the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, which gives aid to the poor and is run by three men of Class B. It is very weak, however, and at present can help only four persons in the town. The society conducts no festivals or public displays.

Festivals

The festivals which take place in Vila Recôncavo are based on the religious calendar and are participated in to a great extent by the African cult members. January 1 is an important date in town and is celebrated by a Mass in the fishermen's chapel, after which the priest goes out on the beach and blesses all the canoes. After he has gone, the participants in African cults make their offering for the day. This is the date when presents are given to the Mother of Waters (Mae d'Agua locally, but sometimes known as Janaina, Sereia, or Yansan in other parts of Brazil). The presentations are made by the cult priestesses, but anyone who wants to give a present to the Mother of Waters may do so by handing the gift to the cult priestess beforehand. The presents may consist of money or of anything a woman can use, as long as it is white: combs, ribbons, powders, perfumes, soaps, flowers, and so on. Everything is wrapped together and placed in a large clay basin covered with white cloths and decked with white flowers.

The cult priestess comes out of the cult house after Mass and, accompanied by participants and onlookers, goes down to the beach and enters one of the large canoes prepared for the occasion. The cult drummers accompany her, as well as most of the female devotees (filhas de santo). Usually two presents are given, one to the young Mother of Waters, who lives near the town, and another, larger one to the old Mother of Waters, who lives at about an hour's distance from town, where the water is very deep. The canoes take off and proceed up the river, while the drums beat and the devotees sing. The Mother of Waters is called and praised, and when the canoes arrive where the younger one lives, her present is lowered into the water. If it does not sink it is a very bad sign, for it means that the present was rejected. The bundles usually sink, however, for they are bound in a heavy clay basin. At this moment the Mother of Waters is supposed to enter the body of the person who placed the gift in the water. This person, usually an older devotee, enters a trance state and must

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be held in the canoe by the others, for she tries to jump into the water. At the same time, all those present in the canoe scoop up the water and pour it over themselves, for it is at this moment quite holy. The possessed person is gradually calmed and brought back to a normal state as the canoes move up the river. 796 794 782 776 [787]

During this time, groups of fishermen often go out in their newly blessed canoes (canoas de bordejo) to play. Because their canoes have been blessed by the priest, and because of the holy aspect of the water resulting from the presence of the Mother of the Waters, the men may enter the water without fear, so they jump in and out of the water and swim around their canoes until they are tired. This cannot be done at any other time of the year for it is not considered safe to enter deep water. [788] [823] [526]

After the second gift has been offered and accepted, the party lands and goes back to town on foot in a spirit of great joy and gaiety. The rest of the day is given over to horse racing, visiting, gaming, and dancing on the fishermen's square. People from classes A and B do not participate in these proceedings, which they consider barbarous. But most lower-class people at least watch, although only participants enter the canoes. Observers walk along the banks and watch. Cults from the rural areas make their own presentations separately, frequently on Christmas Day and in another locale. 796 794 565* [527] [389]

The next festival in the year comes after January 6, the Day of Kings, which has already been mentioned. Parties take place from this day until the beginning of Lent. Other than a Mass, there is no longer much sanctity connected to this day. 796

The most important festival of the year is that of Nossa Senhora da Conceição da Praia, the patron saint of most of the fishermen, to whom their chapel is dedicated. This festival begins on January 13 and starts off each evening with a novena held in the fishermen's chapel. The priest goes each evening for the novena, and, on the three last days of the festival, each morning, to celebrate Mass in honor of Nossa Senhora da Conceição, St. Peter, and St. John. A committee is organized in the chapel to ask patrons for contributions to the festival, for candles, oils, electric light, and to pay the priest each night. Flowers are a very important part of the festival, although at this time of the year they are very expensive. Each night of the novena there is a different group of patrons, and [776] 796 794

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* 794 supposedly there is competition among them as to which night
[565] will be the loveliest. This becomes more expensive each year, however, and the patrons are becoming less willing to donate money. This festival is most enjoyed by the lower classes. It is avoided by members of Class B, who in many instances are nevertheless called upon to be patrons.

796 The festival takes on a carnival aspect each night, with
[525] booths set up in the streets by professional people from Salvador and Centro. The booths have wheels of fortune and
[275] guessing games, and sell sweets and drinks. After the religious celebration in the chapel, everyone goes out into the square to talk, play games, and dance.

796 The day before the first Mass of the festival is celebrated,
794 the chapel is thoroughly washed by the women participants of the African cult house, who dress up in their many starched
358 skirts and bandanas and go to the well as a group for water,
[291] which they take to the chapel to throw on the floor. A few little barefoot girls wash down the floor with brooms. After the
[535] washing the women go out dancing in the streets. They dance
*[565] on every street in town and ask for alms. This entire procedure, known as the lavagem (washing), is much frowned upon by members of Class B.

796 Most of the ordinary town life ceases during these nine days, for everyone is tired after staying up so late at night. The day of the patron saint of the town falls during this festival, and is passed over with nothing more than a simple Mass celebrated in the mother church in his honor. The people of the rural area of this parish do not observe the day of the patron saint
[794] at all. The day after the nine-day festival, a group of young men go out dancing and singing in the streets, asking for alms to make a large feijoada (feast of beans) at night. This is called mazorra (the clowns). After this the men settle down again to their fishing, for by now their money is all used up.

The next festival on the calendar is the second of February, when the nearby towns of Centro, Conselho, and Morro celebrate the day of their patron saint. People from Vila Recôncavo go to one or another of these three towns, although not
[778] in great numbers. The majority go to Conselho, which has the reputation of being a holy place, and to which pilgrimages are
* frequently made.

[565] All festivities end during Lent, which is quietly observed. It is interesting to note that Carnaval, which takes place the
[184] three days before Lent, is observed in Vila Recôncavo only among members of Class A.

among members of Class A. In the cult houses it is said that the African gods go back to Africa for Lent and that the Indian spirits go back to the forests, not coming back again to Vila Recôncavo until Easter Eve. Good Friday is usually marked by the eating of foods with much palm and olive oil, mostly the favorite Bahian dishes of acarajé and vatapá. On Saturday some people in the town "burn Judas." They make a figure stuffed with straw or grass and in the evening parade it through the whole town on a donkey until they arrive at the fishermen's chapel, where the dummy is strung up and burned. While it burns the man who made it reads a long poem which he has composed during the year and which tells about his friends and their individual peculiarities. 796 [794] [776] [262] [538]

During the month of May a service is held each night in the mother church in honor of the Virgin Mary. A priest officiates, and the women of the upper class sing in the choir. This ceremony is attended almost entirely by townspeople, mostly women. St. John's Day, which comes at the end of June and is a popular holiday throughout most of Brazil, goes unnoticed in the town, although at dawn on that day there may be a reveille for St. John (alvorada de São João), which consists of shouting, "Wake up, St. John!" The sixteenth of August is celebrated, mostly by the rural people, as the day of St. Roch, who is considered a foe of pestilence. There is usually a Mass in the mother church on this day, after which the priest conducts Mass in as many of the rural chapels as he can. St. Roch is also celebrated by the African cults. [793] [794] [565] [369] [794] [184]

On September 27, the twin saints Cosme and Damião are celebrated, often with a Mass, but especially with a party called the carurú, the dish distinctive of this day and the days which follow it; for, as with the Day of Kings, Cosme and Damião may be feted any day within a month or so following the proper date. Before a carurú, it is customary for small images of the two saints to be carried about the streets from house to house asking for alms for a party in their honor. Usually the party is for the children, who dance and eat as much as they can, while the older people at first look on, and then finish up the food that was left and also dance. Anyone who is a twin or who likes twins may give a carurú in his house. [794]

St. Francis is also feted, since there is a Franciscan convent in the town, by a devotion on three nights and a Mass on the morning of St. Francis' day. The last Sunday in October,

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the day of Christ the King, there is always a procession in town which starts from the mother church and goes to a small altar set up in front of the County Hall, then to the fishermen's chapel, to a cross which stands in one of the squares, and back to the convent and church. A few people set their small household oratories in the street in front of their houses to be blessed by the priest as he passes. This procession is accompanied mostly by women of all classes, although the canopy over the Host is carried by men from Class B. Christmas is observed quietly except for the exchange of gifts.

[778] [788] *[565] [184] [431]

Prayers

794 Prayers are very popular throughout the year among the women of classes C and D. For a variety of reasons a group of women will get together in the house of one of them and pray aloud, standing before the little decorated niche which contains a picture or figure of the household saint. The one who knows the prayer best leads the others. A group may pray on the evening before the day of the patron saint of one of them, especially if they have been unable to have a Mass said because of the lack of money or a previous commitment of the priest. At times they pray because someone has promised his patron saint that he would do so if he were cured of an illness.

782 *[565] [184]

782 Strangely, perhaps, the fishermen never seem to feel a need for supernatural help to overcome bad weather or lack of fish. A few of them, however, give a present to the Mother of the Waters in thanks for an exceptionally fine catch. At other times, people simply pray to their patron saints if they cannot have a party in their honor. Personal patron saints, however, do not play a very important part in the lives of the people of Vila Recôncavo, although nearly everyone has one and has at least a picture of the saint on the wall. It is common to find women who belong to an African cult group praying at these nightly gatherings in honor of the various saints who may or may not be represented in their cult houses.

[776] [794]

755 Exceptional fatigue, light illness, and pains may all be caused by the evil eye, and are removed by having a woman pray over the victim. There are several women in town who can make such prayers particularly well; however, they do not pray as a group. A woman goes to the house of the victim and, with a piece of thread in her hand which she passes over the body of the victim, says the Lord's Prayer and the

782 [754]

ing, exciting sounds, which continue for hours on end. Little boys pick up the rhythms quickly and soon associate each rhythm with the particular spirit who dances to it. As they grow older and show interest in it, they may be allowed to relieve one of the drummers during an interval and in this way join the others in some less important part of the ceremony, until finally the zelador feels they know enough to drum for the entire evening. 794 533

The entire proceedings are considered too strenuous for children, as much for the boy drummers as for the girl dancers. If a small girl shows signs of possession during the ceremony she is taken away, for until she is over fourteen dancing is considered too strenuous for her. But unless her family refuses, she may be coached in all the rituals by the other dancers and the zelador. The ceremonies always draw more onlookers than performers, and outside the rural cult house a man has set up a small stand to sell refreshments. As many as can, enter the room and line the walls, while the others stand outside, looking in through the open doors and windows. Most people know the procedure in a vague way and know whom the drums are calling and who "has" which saint. 794 857 [787] [869] 794 [265]

The ceremonies are rather long, the first step in the actual performance being the calling of the saints. The evening's participants dance in a circle while the drums call the various spirits. It sometimes takes quite a while for the saint to come, and there are times when he does not come at all. One young man danced unsuccessfully for over an hour and was finally removed, exhausted, by the zelador. When someone in the circle "falls," he is quickly led out of the room and into the pegi where the zelador changes his clothing, putting on him the costume of the spirit. In the meantime the others rest or may keep on dancing, becoming possessed one after the other, depending upon the type of ceremony. After the possessed person has been dressed and has completed the necessary ritual, he is led back into the main room where he now, as the saint, dances in earnest until tired or angered by something which occurs in the room. Often the zelador gives the signal for the drums to change their rhythm, indicating the end of the dance, by which time the person is physically very tired although emotionally highly keyed up. He is led back into the pegi to complete the detailed rituals, and is then given a place to rest and to come back to normal. As a rule he soon joins the others in the front room as a spectator. By 794 796 787 [533]

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796 then the drums are calling the other saints, the circle has
[787] been formed again, and the process is repeated. This goes
on frequently all night long, ending only with the dawn. The
[369] rural cult house has a general ceremony for all the saints of
the house during the New Year holiday, and it often takes
three or four days and nights of continuous dancing and drum-
ming for all the participants to "fulfill their obligations."
Activities cease for a while during the day while everyone
rests, and then pick up again late in the afternoon.

794 The general rule is that the person who "has a saint" must
796 fulfill his obligations to that spirit at least once a year, if
possible on the saint's day. Of course, the proper foods must
776 be supplied constantly throughout the year, but at least once a
[787] year the saint must be feted, that is, called to possess the
person and dance. The general term used for the ceremony
is bater (to beat, referring to the drums), although several
other euphemisms are used, such as, "We are going to have
a party," or, "We are going to play." If the person is unable
to fete the saint on the specified day, however, he must do it
at the general ceremony at the end of the year. Not to comply
with the rituals would be disastrous. The zelador of the house
always fetes his saint on the proper day as well as at the end
of the year. In both active cult houses the zeladores have more
than one saint and try to fete each on the specified date. All
participants keep the symbolic paraphernalia of their saints
in the cult house and look after them personally if possible,
but for many of them who live far from the house the zelador
does this. In many cases a person who "has a saint" has a
miniature pegi in his own house and also keeps there the prop-
[782] er foods and drinks. In some cases an older woman may even
have a ceremony in her home if she can afford the requisite
sacrificial animals and foods.

794 Membership in the cults is not always passed down from
parents to children. Many of the younger participants have
come into the cults on their own and may be children of fam-
ilies which are unsympathetic to cult activities. When a moth-
er belongs to a cult, her children may be indoctrinated in the
rituals because of their continued attendance at the ceremo-
nies. But unless the children feel the call themselves, no
pressure is applied upon them to enter the activities, though
they may always participate vicariously in the ceremonies.
The majority of the population say they have nothing to do with
the cults and are ignorant of the ritual. But few members of

the lower classes fail to have at least some knowledge of the ceremonial. In a region where there is little entertainment, such as in the town of Vila Recôncavo and especially in the rural area, the cults provide a major spectator activity, and those who have been exposed to it through their lives appreciate it as such. The number of active participants, however, is small. The house which is functioning in the town has about two dozen initiates, while the rural house is somewhat larger, having about forty-five devotees, only seven of whom are drawn from the plantation on which the house is situated. The rural house is more active for several reasons, according to local informants: the costumes are prettier, and therefore people prefer to dance there; the cult leader is a stronger personality and a better healer than the leader of the town house. The rural house is also more conveniently located for people from the surrounding plantations. Nevertheless, the small number of participants is indicative of the weakness of the institution in this area as a whole.

Healing, however, does play an important part in the cult activities, for the zelador who has "made his saint" has usually learned a large number of ritual and herbal cures. In fact, it is the healing aspect which brings most people to the cult activities. Sick persons, however, generally prefer to entrust themselves first to the ministrations of the plantation owner, plantation nurse, or town doctor. But if they feel they are not being helped, they turn to the cult house. If the sickness is diagnosed by the cult leader as a clear sign that the person is in contact with a spirit, the patient must enter the rites as an initiate or suffer the consequences. But for the ordinary run of headaches, stomach troubles, and skin eruptions, the cult leader draws upon his knowledge of herbal remedies. This knowledge is supposed to come from his deity, who often is St. Roch in this area, and who knows the cure. In fact, the leader of the rural house once compared his establishment with a pharmacy. He is paid for these medical services. Often one hears a person wishing that he could "have" such-and-such a saint so he would know how to cure and be able to make money, as do the cult leaders.

It is a general opinion that cult leaders are financially well off, although they themselves staunchly declare that they are not and that they must live from alms. As a rule all the participants in a house are obliged to contribute to the ceremonial honoring the leader's deity, which is usually the most extravagant ceremonial of the house.

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sirable as a seat of residence for one weary of the noises of an industrial city, but for the Bahian wife and daughters, whose world is still largely inside the doors of the home, these characteristics seem to give it a peculiar charm. Hence, one will see along this avenue, almost from Praça Castro Alves out, the residences of many substantial families and, in Vitoria, just beyond the governor's palace, the more pretentious dwellings of the upper class.

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TABLE 1

FAMILIES DWELLING ALONG THE AVENIDA SETE DE SETEMBRO CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO ETHNIC COMPOSITION, BAHIA, 1936

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	Number	Per Cent
Black	19	7.6
Mixed-blood	97	38.6
White	128	51.0
Mixed-blood and white	5	2.0
Black and mixed-blood	2	0.8
Total	251	100.0

No Bahian house which boasts any pretension fails to have a balcony, while nearly all possess large casement windows opening out on the street. From this vantage point the family can while away many pleasant hours leaning on elbows and "watching the *gente* (people) go by." Consequently, one can readily gain, especially during the passage of processions when the balconies and windows are fully occupied, rather accurate information on the physical character of the population. It is possible at Carnival, for example, particularly just preceding the passage of the floats, to take a census with respect to racial composition, as far

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at least as color is an index of race.[16] On the first evening of Carnival in 1936 an analysis into color categories of families dwelling along this avenue from Jardim Suspenso to the Church of São Bento gave the distribution shown in Table 1.

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That families of whites, of mixed-bloods, and of relatively unmixed blacks dwell indiscriminately side by side on this important street is even more clearly evident if one notes the house-by-house distribution as he proceeds along the Avenida:

White	Mixed-blood	Mixed-blood
White	White	White
Mixed-blood	Mixed-blood (dark)	White
Mixed-blood	Mixed-blood (dark)	White
Mixed-blood	White	Mixed-blood
White	Mixed-blood	Mixed-blood
Mixed-blood	Mixed-blood	Black
White	White	Black
White	Mixed-blood	Mixed-blood
Mixed-blood (dark)	Mixed-blood	Mixed-blood
Mixed-blood	White	Mixed-blood
White	White	White

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Of 142 white students to whom the question, "Do you dislike black neighbors?" was put, 120 responded "No." And of 143 who responded to the question, "Do you dislike *pardo* (brown) neighbors?" 129 replied in the negative. Among the small minority who in each case appeared to be somewhat troubled by the immediate proximity of darker neighbors, subsequent inquiry developed that ordinarily the objection arose out of apprehension that residence among black neighbors might imply residence in a lower-class (and hence less

[16] It is obviously likely that the actual residents were joined on this occasion by other persons, either relatives or friends. But since the object was not to count faces but to test the ethnic composition of families dwelling side by side, this possibility did not materially affect the enumeration. Only seven cases were found of mixed ethnic composition, and it is reasonable to assume in the light of the Bahian culture that some of these were so by reason of ethnic mixture in the family itself.

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be the *lingua geral*, or general Negro language.[5] The ritual of the more important fetish-cult centers was, and still is, carried on in this language. Inscriptions in Nagô were occasionally to be seen not only on cult buildings but also in small commercial establishments owned and operated by Negroes, like the meat stall on the Baixa dos Sapateiros over whose entrance Nina Rodrigues in 1895 noted the inscription "Kosi oba Kan afi Olorun."[6] So important did Nagô become, and so widespread its use that, although Nina Rodrigues early in the twentieth century estimated that there were only approximately five hundred Africans still living in the city and they were at that time dying at the rate of a hundred and fifty to two hundred a year,[7] one still today, more than three decades later, finds

[5] Nina Rodrigues, intimately acquainted for many years with Bahian Negroes, commends the accuracy of the Visconde de Porto Seguro when he says, "The best known Negroes in Brazil were those coming from the *Costa da Mina*, whence arrived the greater portion of those imported into Bahia; so that in this city many slaves learned little Portuguese but instead communicated among themselves in Nagô." About 1900 he himself wrote: "The Nagô dialect is commonly spoken in Bahia by almost all the old Africans from the various tribes and by a great number of creoles and mulattoes" (*op. cit.*, p. 197).

[6] Rodrigues translates the phrase: "There is no God but Olorun" (principal deity of the Nagô cult). A photograph of the entrance to the shop showing this inscription may be found in *ibid.*, opp. p. 202.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 154. In the seven years from 1896 to 1902, 1,282 Africans died at Bahia. The distribution was as follows:

Year	Total	Male	Female
1896	110	55	55
1897	238	136	102
1898	200	96	104
1899	209	110	99
1900	151	87	64
1901	152	74	78
1902	202	136	66
Total	1,282	714	568

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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giance from numerous and zealous devotees. African dances 796
still invaded the popular festivals of the Europeans to such 535
an extent that vigorous protests on the part of the white 571
citizenry appeared in the newspapers.[16] Numerous images 177
employed in the fetish worship were imported from Africa, and others were made by Negro sculptors in Bahia. 175

One occasionally encountered Negroes who in Africa had 778
been chiefs or other dignitaries of considerable power and in- 794
fluence. Although in Brazil they shared the fortunes of a 178
slave with their former subjects, they nevertheless often re- 175
ceived allegiance and great reverence from them. On a 554
chance meeting in the street these personages were, we are 567
told, "saluted respectfully, their hands kissed, and a bless-
ing requested of them." Even their masters were reported to have paid them, in several cases, considerable respect.

Slaves who were in close contact with their masters, 175
especially the house servants, soon became, by the very 191
necessities of the situation, at least to some extent bilingual. 567
And their offspring, reared in close contact with the children 177
of their masters, acquired little, if any, African vocabulary and came almost exclusively to speak Portuguese. Thus, about 1800, Koster wrote from Pernambuco, "Portuguese

[16] In the *Jornal de Noticias* for February 12, 1901, a white citizen wrote: "I wish to protest against the way in which this great civilized festival [Carnival] is being Africanized." Three days later the following was published: "These infamous Africanized groups *de canzás* and *buzios* which, far from adding to the brilliance of our Carnival festival, bring shame upon the name of Bahia . . . . have since yesterday been keeping up their infernal tumult." Immediately preceding the opening of Carnival the following year there appeared in the *Jornal de Noticias* (February 5, 1902) the following note: "If during these former Carnival festivals when the popular enthusiasm has been greatly aroused by the passage of the victorious floats . . . . these groups of *Africanos* have been repugnant, what will the Carnival of 1902 turn out to be, unless the police take effective measures to prevent our streets from looking like *terreiros* where fetish practices reign amid a retinue of *ogans* and their *canzás* and tambourines?" (Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 236–38). [541]

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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crowded. They were obliged to dispense with the mass, for they had no priest; the service therefore consisted merely of a long litany and a few hymns. There was placed on the altar a small image of the infant Christ, the "Menino Deus" as they called it, or the Child-God, which had a long ribbon depending from its waist. An old white-haired Negro led off the litany, and the rest of the people joined in the responses. After the service was over they all went up to the altar, one by one, and kissed the end of the ribbon. The gravity and earnestness shown throughout the proceedings was remarkable.[83]

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Slaves were often married according to the forms of the Catholic church, and the banns were published in the same manner as for free persons.[84] Debret has preserved a visual impression of such a ceremony being performed in the house of wealthy Brazilians.[85]

As Freyre has pointed out,[86] priests continually urged upon white masters the advantage of conceding to the Negroes their African pastimes. A Jesuit, writing in the eighteenth century, advised slaveowners not only to permit but even to encourage the *festas* of the blacks, saying: "You should not make it difficult for them to choose their king, and to sing and dance as they desire on certain appointed days of the year, and legitimately to enjoy themselves on Sunday afternoons when in the morning they have executed the ceremonies in honor of Nossa Senhora do Rosario, São Benedito, or the guardian-saint of the chapel." Slaves were granted permission to use during public festivals—at first the Vespers of Reis, later Christmas, New Year's, and Carnival—

[83] Henry W. Bates, *The Naturalist on the River Amazons* (reprint, London, 1892), p. 88.

[84] Koster, *op. cit.*, I, 202. The consent of the master was required and the ceremony could not be performed until "the requisite prayers have been learned, the nature of the confession . . . . understood, and the sacrament can be received."

[85] *Op. cit.*, Vol. III, Pl. 15. [86] *Op. cit.*, p. 264.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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African costumes, songs, and dances.[87] The Catholic church was never in haste, it seems, to assimilate the Brazilian Negro but adopted instead a patient and tolerant policy which in the end was eminently successful. Early in the nineteenth century Koster wrote from Pernambuco, "No compulsion is resorted to, to make the Negroes embrace the habits of their masters; but their ideas are insensibly led to imitate and adopt them."[88]

As might be expected, the transition from fetish-cult ideas and practices to Catholic ritual and belief was marked by intermediary stages in which elements of both religions coexisted in the Negroes' thought and practice, and the objects of one cult were identified with objects of a similar nature in the other. Hence, the extensive identification, for instance, of several African *orixás* with certain Catholic saints (as we shall later see in greater detail) and the coexistence of African and European forms in the principal religious and popular festivals.

Thus, in 1852, a visitor wrote from Rio de Janeiro:

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> For many nights past, Gloria Hill . . . . has echoed till a late hour with the songs, the wild music, and the tread of the dance in the Negroes' favorite amusements; and yesterday afternoon, I accidentally became a spectator of a grand gathering of this kind. It was "Twelfth" or "King's Day," as sometimes called—being that commemorative of the adoration of the Magi in the stable of Bethlehem; and it is a chief festival with the Negroes. . . . . When about half way up the Larangeiras . . . . my attention was arrested by a large gathering of Negroes within an enclosure by the wayside, engaged in their native dances, accompanied by the wild and rude music brought with them from Africa. . . . . Many of the principal performers, both among the dancers and musicians, were dressed in the most . . . . grotesque manner. . . . . A majority, if not all the performers, were baptized

[87] *Ibid.* [88] *Op. cit.*, I, 200.

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members of the . . . . church. . . . . Exhibitions of this kind are far from being limited here to extraordinary holidays, or to the seclusion of by-places. I have seen them in open daylight, in the most public corners of the city, while young [white] females . . . . hung over the surrounding balconies as spectators.[89]

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The festival here witnessed was probably that of the Rei do Congo ("King of the Congo"). Throughout Brazil, Africans were permitted on occasion to select a king and a queen and to celebrate their coronation with extensive ceremonies. This festival came to be held at the same time as that of the Catholic celebration of Epiphany and to be confused in the minds of the Negroes with it.[90] Of the king and queen, Koster records:

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The personages . . . . fixed upon may either actually be slaves, or they may be manumitted Negroes. These sovereigns exercise a species of mock jurisdiction over their subjects, which is much laughed at by the whites. But their chief power and superiority over their countrymen is shown on the day of the festival. The Negroes of their nation . . . . pay much respect to them. The man who had acted as their king in Itamaraca (for each district has its king) for several years, was about to resign from old age, and a new chief was to be chosen. He who had been fixed upon for this purpose was an old man and a slave, belonging to the plantation of Amparo. The . . . . queen would not resign, but still continued at her post. The old Negro who was this day to be crowned, came early in the morning to pay his respects to the vicar, who said to him in a jocular manner, "Well, sir, today I am to wait upon you, and to be your chaplain." About eleven o'clock I proceeded to the church with the vicar. We were standing at the door when there appeared a number of male and female Negroes, habited in cotton dresses of colors and of white, with flags flying and drums beating; and as they approached, we discovered among them the king and queen, and the secretary of state. Each of the former wore upon their heads a crown, which was partly covered with gilt

[89] Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

[90] Cf. Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 256: ". . . . festa que eles faziam coincidir e confundir com a catolica dos Tres Reis."

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paper, and painted various colors. The king was dressed in an old fashioned suit of divers tints, green, red, and yellow: coat, waistcoat, and breeches. His sceptre, which was of wood and finely gilt, was in his hand. The queen was in a blue silk gown, also of ancient make; and the wretched secretary had to boast of as many colors as his master; but his dress had evident appearances of each portion having been borrowed from a different quarter; for some parts were too tight, and others too wide for him. The expense of the church service was . . . . provided for by the Negroes . . . . and . . . . the vicar . . . . and his assistant priests were to chant high mass. . . . . At last their Majesties knelt down at the railing of the principal chapel, and the service commenced. As soon as this was over, the new king was to be installed. But as the vicar who had not breakfasted, though it was now midday, was hungry, he dispatched the matter without much ceremony. He asked for the crown, then went to the church door—the new sovereign presented himself, and was requested, or rather desired, to kneel down. The insignia were given to him; and the vicar then said, "Agora, Senhor Rei, vai te embora" (Now, Sir King, go about thy business). As the king belonged to Amparo, the eating, drinking, and dancing were to be at that place.[31]

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Koster did not witness the subsequent ceremony, but Burton has left an account of a similar one in Minas Geraes:

A score of men, after promenading through the settlement, came to the *Casa Grande*. They were dressed, as they fondly imagined, after the style of the Agua-Rosada House,[32] descended from the great Manikongo and hereditary lords of Congo land. But the toilettes, though gorgeous with colored silks and satins, were purely fanciful, and some wore the Kanitar or plumed head-gear, and the Arasira or waist fringe, and carried the Tacape or tomahawk belonging to the red man. All were armed with sword and shield, except the king, who, in sign of dignity, carried his sceptre, a stout and useful stick. The masked old man, with white beard, trembling underjaw, *chevrotante* voice, and

[31] *Op. cit.*, II, 25–28.

[32] An interesting account of this African dynasty is given, according to Burton, in M. Valdez, *Six Years of a Traveler's Life in West Africa* (London, 1861), Vol. II, chap. ii.

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testy manner, was clearly represented by a young black from Sabará. On his right sat the captain of war, the Premier; on his left the young Prince, his son and heir. Of course the buffoon of the Dahomean court was there, and the fun consisted in kicking and cuffing him as if he were one of our clowns. . . . . The "play" was a representation of . . . . a slave hunt; the march, accompanied with much running about and clashing of swords, which all handled like butcher's knives; the surprise, dragging in prisoners, directions to put to death recreant ministers and warriors, poisonings and administering antidotes. . . . . His Majesty freely used his staff, threshing everybody right regally. The speeches were delivered in a singsong tone; the language was Hamitico-Lusan, and there was an attempt at cadence and rhyme. Slaughtering the foeman and drinking his blood were the favorite topics, varied by arch allusions to the Superintendent and his guests.[93]

But the "Kings of the Congo," says Koster,

also worship Nossa Senhora do Rosario; and are dressed in the dress of white men. They and their subjects dance, it is true, after the manner of their country; but to these festivals are admitted Africans of other nations, creole blacks, and mulattoes, all of whom dance after the same manner; and these dances are now as much the national dances of Brazil, as they are of Africa.

Shortly after 1800 Maria Graham, visiting a plantation in the interior of Rio de Janeiro Province, wrote:

While we were sitting by the sugar-mill presses, Dona Mariana (mistress of the *engenho*) desired the slave women, who were supplying the canes, to sing, and they began at first with some of their own wild African airs, with words adopted at the moment to suit the occasion. She then told them to sing their hymns to the Virgin; when, regularly in tune and time, and with some sweet voices, the evening and other hymns were sung.[94]

[93] Burton, *op. cit.*, I, 237–38. For further information see Mario de Andrade, "*Os Congos*," *Lanterna Verde*, No. 2 (February, 1935), pp. 36–53; Francisco Augusto Pereira da Costa, "Rei do Congo," *Jornal do Brasil* (Rio), August 25, 1901.

[94] *Op. cit.*, p. 282.

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The dances *dos Congos* became attached to the Catholic festivals of São Benedito and Nossa Senhora do Rosario. In Bahia the annual *lavagem* ("washing") of the church of Bomfim became "a Yoruba religious ceremony" and, as late as 1900, was "a living cult, O Senhor do Bomfim[95] being for the Africans, the creole Negroes and the mixed-bloods of the Nagô *seita*,[96] Obatalá[97] himself."[98] The Cucumbys[99] became attached in Bahia to the Catholic festivals of Epiphany and Christmas.

[95] The saint to whom the Church of Bomfim (in Itapagipe) is consecrated is known as O Senhor do Bomfim, and his image is prominently displayed in the church. To evaluate more fully the important role of this famous church to which pilgrimages are still regularly made from long distances, see Carlos Alberto de Carvalho, *Tradições e milagres do Bomfim* (Bahia, 1915); João Varella, *Na Bahia do Senhor do Bomfim* (Bahia, 1936); and Manoel Raymundo Querino, *A Bahia de outrora* (Bahia, 1922), pp. 117–30, 222–31.

[96] The fetish-cult is sometimes called the *seita* (sect).

[97] Obatalá is one of the more important *orixás*, or deities, of the fetish cult. See chap. x.

[98] Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

[99] Moraes describes the Cucumbys of Rio as follows: "After a sumptuous meal of *cucumbe*, which is a dish eaten by the Congos and Munhambanas on the days of the circumcision of their sons, a group of Negroes set out to take to the Queen her new vassals who have just passed through this species of savage baptism. The procession, made up of princes and princesses, soothsayers and magicians, interpreters of foreign languages, and a host of other people, and conducting between two lines of gay celebrants the *mametos*—those who have just been circumcized with the bamboo splinter—is attacked on the way by an enemy tribe and the King's son killed by an arrow. When the procession finally reaches the King's dwelling-place, they find that the King, having heard of his son's death from a messenger, has already sent for a famous diviner, the most celebrated *feiticeiro* (witch-doctor) of the kingdom, of whom he demands, immediately upon his arrival, the resuscitation of the dead prince. To the divinations of this magician, the youth finally responds and gets to his feet. The dances then continue for some time, until the noisy ceremony ends with the Cucumbys singing the *Bemdito* and other popular refrains" (Mello Moraes Filho, *Festas e tradições populares* [Rio, 1888], p. 157, quoted in Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 272–73).

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In the time of Nina Rodrigues, African "carnival clubs" were still active in Bahia.[100] A Embaixada Africana ("The African Legation") and Os Pandegos da Africa ("The African Clowns") were the more prominent. Of lesser importance were A Chegada Africana ("The Arrival of the Africans") and Os Filhos da Africa ("Children of Africa"). A common theme portrayed on the floats prepared by these Negroes was "primitive Africa brought to Brazil a slave." Certain African traditions were also represented. Thus, for the Carnival of 1899, Os Pandegos da Africa prepared a float representing the river Zambesi "on one of whose banks might be seen the King Labossi reclining in an immense seashell and surrounded by his ministers Auá, Oman, and Aboto." A second float carried "two individuals representing the powerful ministers of the King's court—Barborim and Rodá"; and a third showed "the hut of Pae Ajou, his wife and the magical *caboré*[101] which brings good fortune to one and all." Rodrigues was impressed with the enormous crowd of Negroes and mixed-bloods which accompanied the floats, "singing African songs, dancing African dances and applauding the images on the magician's float." The scene was one of "a colossal *candomblé* traversing the streets of the city,"[102] although police regulations at that time forbade the public appearance of the cult.

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Much enjoyed by Brazilian Negroes were certain dances like the *lundú* and the *batuque*, evidently of at least partial African origin, although they perhaps also contained certain Portuguese and native Indian elements.

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[100] Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

[101] The *caboré* is a nocturnal bird.

[102] Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

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Short of a racial census, an adequate statistical statement of the racial composition of Bahia would probably require an extended sampling of the population in various parts of the city—a procedure not feasible under the limits of this study. Samples readily obtainable at the numerous festivals such as Segunda Feira do Bomfim, Conceição da Praia, the Vespers of Reis, etc., are not practical for the reason that participation of one or another of the ethnic components is ordinarily out of proportion to its size in the general population. But at Carnival, when nearly the entire population frequents the public thoroughfares, this difficulty disappears. A new obstacle arises, however, in the form of a considerable infiltration of population from surrounding areas. And since the whites are ordinarily from the upper-income groups and consequently more able to travel, the white percentage of the city's population is probably at that time swollen beyond its normal proportion. The "Micarêta," or second Carnival, held one week after Easter, avoids this latter disadvantage. Of five thousand people noted among the participants in the "Micarêta" for 1936, the racial percentages appeared to be those given in Table 5.

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Thus one can perhaps confirm the common-sense judgment of Bahian citizens to the effect that at least half, and perhaps more, of the population is now noticeably mixed, that both biologically "pure" whites (but not "whites" in the social sense) and biologically "pure" Africans are relatively few in number.

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Some notion of the change in physical characteristics by generations, at least among members of the lower classes, may be had from a study of five hundred cases of mothers and their offspring applying at Bahia's free children's

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*563 874 very light. Her mother is a *sarará*, her grandmother is a dark mulatto with kinky hair, and her husband is also a dark mixed-blood. Her family, it is said, has gradually risen from [555] the lower class by reason of constantly taking advantage of [565] every educational opportunity, by increasing their economic competence, and by deliberately cultivating "good manners."

*563 547 535 At a "night club," where there were gambling, liquid refreshments, and partners for dancing, of 128 guests,[27] 62 were whites, 40 were *brancos da Bahia*, 21 were mulattoes (several quite dark), 1 was a *cafuso*, and 4 were blacks. Of the 26 female entertainers (dancers and singers), 19 were whites,[28] 4 were *brancas da Bahia*, and 3 were mulattoes (all very light). None of the darker patrons danced during the evening.

*563 547 525 In the main gambling-room the group about the table were principally whites, with a few light mulattoes and an occasional dark mixed-blood. In the hallway near the entrance, however, was another gaming-table where stakes were lower. It was patronized principally by dark mulattoes, together with an occasional black, a few *brancos da Bahia*, and very few whites.

• 796 204 Carnival at Bahia lasts three days and is perhaps the most popular festival of the year. At the close of one celebration plans are immediately set on foot for the next. From time to time throughout the ensuing twelve months, newspapers carry reports of the development of these plans, and, beginning about a hundred and fifty days before Carnival, a regular daily feature appears, the time before the big event being checked off, day by day, much as United States newspapers sometimes check off the days preceding Christmas; except

[27] On September 26, 1936. [28] Including a very swarthy Syrian girl.

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that the period of time involved is much greater in the case of Carnival.

In 1936, as for some years previously, three clubs competed in presenting floats on the opening and closing evenings of Carnival. The rivalries, especially between Cruz Vermelha and the Fantoshes, are intense, the Innocentes em Progresso appearing to be rather generally admired. 796 575 [578]

Preceding, during, and following the parade, Negro *batucadas* and *cordões* pass through the milling crowds. The *batucadas* are usually composed of fifteen to twenty young men, invariably blacks or dark mulattoes, who carry small drums, *cuicas*, and *xaque-xaques*,[19] and parade in single file. The music is one toned and monotonous, reminiscent of the *candomblé* ritual. A *cordão* consists of fifty or sixty people of both sexes and all ages, invariably blacks and dark mulattoes, inclosed within a roped quadrangle, some marching, rather informally, some constantly whirling and dancing, all singing African songs and beating their palms. A banner, usually of silk and velvet, bears the group's name. It may be Outum Obá de Africa, Ideal Africano, Onça,[20] or some similar designation. The group also includes from ten to fifteen musicians with brass instruments, a few blacks in African costume, and a dancer bearing an animal's head (tiger, lion, *onça*, etc.). The women and the small children are usually dressed in the *Bahiana* costume, to be described in detail in a subsequent chapter. [533]

In a spirit of levity common to the Carnival season, one will occasionally see a group of whites and light mulattoes burlesquing the *cordão*. Encompassed by a rope, they pass through the crowd, singing, dancing, and beating their palms. In one of these *blocos*, as they are called, 16 of the 563* 796

[19] See chap. ix.

[20] The *onça* is the Brazilian jaguar.

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participants were whites and 12 were mulattoes, all light except one. There were no blacks. Whereas in a *cordão* noted, 24 were blacks, 19 were dark mulattoes, and none were whites. In 9 *batucadas*, of a total of 157 young men, 113, or 72 per cent, were blacks; 40, or 25.5 per cent, were mulattoes, all dark except one (who, although light of skin, had kinky hair); 3 were *cafusos*, and only 1 was white.

In the milling, dancing, singing crowd one ordinarily sees whites with whites, blacks and dark mulattoes with blacks and dark mulattoes, the exceptions being that a white occasionally accompanies a group of dark mulattoes and blacks, while *brancos da Bahia* and light mulattoes are often to be seen with whites. For instance, three young men, abreast, arms over each other's shoulders, danced past, singing their way into, and through, the crowd. One was a light mulatto, one a *branco da Bahia*, one a white. About twenty girls in single file danced past, each with her hands on the shoulders of the one in front, all singing, the line weaving in and out of the crowd. Among them whites and light mulattoes were indiscriminately mingled; the leader of the group was a light mulatto.

If one notes carefully the individuals who perform various functions in the Carnival parade, he is likely to find the blacks principally occupied with the menial task of guiding the horses which pull the floats, although occasionally they act as escorts or musicians. The "queen" of the Carnival and the "queens" of the Carnival clubs are all whites, the heralds are whites, as also, with rare exceptions, are the girls on the floats. For instance, of 168 young ladies from Bahia's "best" families on the floats in the Carnival parade of 1936, all were whites except 2, and these were very light mulattoes (see Table 14).

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The entire racial and cultural situation at Bahia is thus symbolized in the Carnival celebration. The *cordão* points to the persistence of African survivals, adherence to which still isolates to some extent the darker portion of the population. The young blacks and dark mulattoes who parade solemnly, quite self-consciously in the long files of the *batucadas*, represent those youths who, although they have in large measure

TABLE 14

PARTICIPATION BY ETHNIC UNITS
CARNIVAL PARADE, BAHIA, 1936

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	Black	Mulatto	White	*Caboclo*	Total
Club sponsors (in autos)	13	67	73	1	154
Heralds	.....	.....	3	.....	3
Horsemen	14	47	42	.....	103
Horsewomen	.....	.....	16	.....	16
Trumpeters	13	.....	1	.....	14
Bandsmen	45	51	5	.....	101
Squires	111	5	1	.....	117
Girls on floats	.....	2	166	.....	168
Men on floats	.....	4	14	.....	18
Queens	.....	.....	3	.....	3
Pages	5	14	8	.....	27
Escorts	6	.....	4	.....	10
Truck-drivers	1	.....	.....	.....	1
Total	208	190	336	1	735

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broken with the African cultural forms of their parents or grandparents, have not yet been entirely incorporated into the European world. Whites and light mulattoes dance together and sing their way through the milling crowds. While most of the blacks and dark mulattoes, neither identified with the African tradition to the extent of participating in the *cordões* nor yet sufficiently established in class to move freely in the white world, merely mill about.

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563 This is the general pattern. The exceptions, however, are
796 significant. One occasionally notes, for instance, a darker person participating, apparently without any inhibition or the slightest show of self-consciousness, in the fun of the lighter groups. He ordinarily is an able individual, as evidenced by general appearance, bearing, and speech. Occasionally a white, in appearance and dress evidently of lower-class identity, will be celebrating with black or dark mulatto companions. Among the directing personnel, mulattoes appear in limited numbers, assisting the whites in planning and executing the various activities.

563 In like manner, the upper social circles at Bahia remain
565 today predominantly white. Only the lighter mixed-bloods, with few exceptions, have penetrated the upper tiers. The darker mulattoes, and particularly the blacks, have only in rare instances gained admittance.

But it is just these few individuals who indicate most clearly the actual racial situation at Bahia. The Negroes began on the bottom. The acceptance, then, of an occasional black, a few dark mulattoes as well as numerous light mixed-bloods into the upper circles points conclusively to the fact that if a person has ability and general competence, the handicap of color can be, and is constantly being, overcome. While it is undoubtedly true that status continues extensively to coincide with color, the fact that certain individuals who are quite dark and otherwise possessed of negroid traits have nevertheless been admitted into exclusive clubs and otherwise have attained positions of trust and responsibility in the community demonstrates quite clearly that in Bahia color is subordinate to other indices of class identification.
[555] Individual competence overbalances racial descent in the final determination of status. Color is undoubtedly a handi-

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Coast products much prized by Africans and their descendants in Brazil.[1] An elderly Bahian Negro recently brought out from among his treasured possessions a faded photograph of blacks aboard a ship on their way to Africa and pointed out an *atabaque*, or sacred drum, and a woman in *saia grande*.[2] He recalls having been many times with his father at the docks in Bahia when vessels came in from Africa and sailors brought news of Lagos.

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Trade with the West Coast, however, gradually decreased until, by 1905, it had almost entirely disappeared. Today, only a few important articles employed in the fetish ritual, such as cowries, *obis* and *orobôs* (sacred fruits), *pimenta* (pepper) *da costa*, *palha* (straw) *da costa*, *sabão* (soap) *da costa*, and strips of *pano* (cloth) *da costa*, are occasionally imported from Africa.

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Numerous Africans, their interest in Brazil stirred by Brazilian Negroes returning to the West Coast, are said to have emigrated to Bahia as recently as thirty years ago. Considerable areas in and about the city—for example, Caminho do São Gonçalo, Caminho do Cruz, and a portion of the Terreiro—were once owned, it is said, by *Africanos*.

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Today, native-born Africans as a population element are

[1] Pedro Calmon, *Historia social do Brasil* (3 vols.; São Paulo, 1937-39), I, 182. It is also reported that on at least two occasions representatives of African chiefs arrived in Bahia from Ajudá, with which port Bahian officials were maintaining direct commercial relations. One arrived during the administration of the Vice-rei Conde de Athouguia; two others "and an interpreter," on May 26, 1795. See João Varella, *Da Bahia que eu vi* (Bahia, 1935), pp. 153-57; J. B. de Sá e Oliveira, "Dois embaixadores africanos mandados a Bahia pelo Rei do Dahomé," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, LVI, Part I (1895), 413.

[2] The large skirt still worn *bouffant* by many Bahian black women. The date was approximately 1895.

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191. Although it is exceedingly doubtful if there is in Bahia today anyone of African descent who does not speak Portuguese, a few individuals can and on occasion do converse in Nagô. One may also hear Gêgê spoken, as well as those languages known locally as "Angola" and "Congo." However, the use of these tongues is very largely confined to the ritual of the *candomblé*, although at times one hears in the homes of blacks the Nagô greeting, "Ô-kú-á-sán!" and the parting salutation, "Ôdí-ôlá-ô!" and even conversations in Nagô. Many African words are to be found in the predominantly Portuguese speech of the lower class, a limited number of which have become common to all Bahia and, to some extent, to all Brazil. Approximately three hundred of the latter were noted.

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201 565 Certain gestures are to be observed among the lower-class blacks which are not common to the general population; for example, the *legua de beiço*, or slight extension of the lower lip when indicating distance (the words accompanying may be "one league," but the sense is much farther); and the *muxóxó*, or pursing of the lips as the lower portion of the face is pushed forward and upward, signifying disdain. Approbation is indicated by touching the tips of the fingers to pursed lips and withdrawing them while making a kissing sound. Silence is compelled by grasping the upper lip with the tips of the fingers. The act of eating is indicated by closing and opening the right hand before the mouth, and the act of drinking by raising the right hand before the face, flexing the three middle digits, and, with thumb and little finger extended, raising and lowering the hand at the wrist. The height of a human being is demonstrated by extending the

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appears to be an overstatement. In the area surrounding the sacred lake, or the Dique, and lying between the streetcar lines known as Rio Vermelho de Cima and Rio Vermelho de Baixo are more than a score. A black who regularly attends the *seita* known as Engenho Velho is personally acquainted with eighteen *seitas*, can give the location of their sacred grounds, indicate their line of African descent, and repeat the names of their leaders. Of these eighteen *seitas*, he says that eleven are of Nagô origin, six of Angola, and one of Gêge. All are located in the outlying areas of the city in sections principally inhabited by the darker portion of the population or in the more or less open country. Of their leaders, nine are males and nine are females.[5]

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Sacred places include the *terreiro*, or temple grounds; the *franquia*, or sacred groves; sacred springs like that called Milagre do São Bartholomeu ("Miracle of St. Bartholomew"), located in an isolated spot near Pirajá, bathing in whose waters on the part of a *filha de santo* dedicated to Oxun-manrê "immediately causes the *orixá* to arrive";[6] sacred lakes, like the Dique; and the sacred arms of the sea, such as Cabeceiras da Fonte, Mont'serrat, and Baiutê. In the *terreiro* are the *barracão*, or sacred dance pavilion; the *pegi*, or fetish sanctuary; the *camarinha*, or sacred room in which initiates are interned during the period of their preparation; special huts for those *orixás*, like Exú, who "prefer to dwell outside the *pegi*"; and the living-quarters for the priest and his retinue.

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In one *seita* of Gêge-Nagô origin whose *pae de santo* is dedi-

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[5] Of the eleven Nagô centers, four of the heads are males, seven are women; of the Angola centers, five are males, one a female. The leader of the Gêge *seita* is a woman.

[6] See below, p. 286.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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cated to the *orixá* Ogun, the special ceremonial season begins with the second week in September and concludes with the first week in December. During this period ceremonies are held every Sunday, each dedicated to one or more of the *orixás*. The first ceremony is in honor of Oxalá; the second, of Oxagian ("Oxalá the Younger"); and the following three, of Ogun. Succeeding Sundays are dedicated, respectively, to Xangô, Oxun, Oxóssi, Yemanjá, and Yansan. On the eleventh Sunday and the subsequent Monday special honor is paid to Omolú, and on the following Sunday and Monday, to all of the *mães d'agua*. On the final Sunday a *feijoada* (a Brazilian food delicacy) is offered, with elaborate ritual, to Ogun. In addition to this regular season, special ceremonies are held from time to time throughout the year, with the exception of the Lenten period, when all *candomblé* activity is suspended.

The Gêge-Nagô and the Congo-Angola pantheons contain about the same number of deities, or approximately a hundred *orixás* each. The *caboclo* pantheon has perhaps a score less. Each *orixá* possesses his proper fetish, insignia, sacred day, sacred foods, sacred colors, sacred dress (including bracelets and beads peculiar to himself), and a distinguishing cry. Today, only in rare instances are the fetishes carved images; more often they are polished stones which have been worn smooth by the waters of a river or of the sea. They are carefully cared for in the *pegi*, or sanctuary, by a special functionary who at regular intervals washes them and replenishes the food and drink offerings placed before them.

In some *seitas* Oxalá is considered the most important of the deities; in others, Xangô; and, in still others, Omolú or, as he is sometimes called, Xapanan. Olorun, "the father of the *orixás*," is almost forgotten today in Bahia, although

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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794 ("guide") and a protector who, if she obeys the prescribed rituals and taboos, may bring her, it is thought, much fortune and happiness. "Look at me!" exclaimed a newly "made" *filha*. "My *orixá* is the greatest of all the *orixás*. He's powerful. I'm a black woman and can't read or write. But I'm living with a man *formado* in the Faculdade de Medicina. See what Oxalá did for me!"

794 As has already been noted, the rituals and ceremonies of
• 796 the cult are serious and dignified and carried on in accord-
[562] ance with fixed traditional forms. Among the essential elements of the Gêge-Nagô ceremonies is the rigid separation of spectators according to sex. The males always occupy the seats to the left of the drums, the females those to the right.
[273] No drunkenness or obscenity is permitted. Said a member of a Nagô *seita*, "If they drink *cachaça* in a *candomblé*, you may know it is not well organized." Once at a ceremony at Gantois an intoxicated man forced his way through the crowd into the *barracão*. Immediately, the *mãe de santo* who was presiding signaled to two *ogans* who, calling out of the crowd a police official, promptly ejected the intruder.[9]

794 The *filhas de santo* before beginning a ceremonial dance
576 make obeisance to the *pae* or *mãe de santo* by dropping to their knees and bowing their heads to the ground before the leader of their cult. Similar obeisance is also made to visiting *paes* or *mães de santo* or other honored personages of the fetish world and, occasionally, to the *ogans*.

794 When, during the ceremonial dance an *orixá* "arrives in
796 the head" of a *filha*, she must, after the first violent seizure
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[9] Such romanticized accounts of fetish cult ceremonies as that given by
[114] Graça Aranha and uncritically quoted by Vera Kelsey (*Seven Keys to Brazil* [New York, 1940], pp. 27-28), if they have any basis in fact at all, owe it to the disintegration of formerly wholesome cultural forms now characteristic of certain *macumba* centers of Rio de Janeiro.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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has passed, dance the dance sacred to her *orixá*, after which she is assisted from the *barracão* into the *pegi*, taking due care to withdraw with her face always toward the drums. In a special room she is then dressed in the ceremonial robes sacred to her *orixá* and, with his sacred insignia, returns to the *barracão* to dance for hours the dances sacred to him.

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The sacrifices are performed according to the ritual peculiar to the occasion and include the offering of chickens, pigeons, sheep, and goats.

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In the *candomblé* world certain gestures are obligatory. Thus, when saluting a high dignitary of the cult, a *filha*, if the *orixá* to whom she is dedicated is masculine, prostrates herself, face downward at the feet of the one so honored; if her *orixá* is feminine, she lies at full length first on one side, then on the other, and, on rising, touches her head to the ground. In taking leave of an *orixá* who has "visited" the ceremony, a member of the *seita* clasps tightly the left hand of the ceremonial dancer. *Ogans* have a special handshake used only between them. Following a discussion among members of a *seita*, agreement is signified by rising, beating the palms, and shaking hands.

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Status in the *candomblé* depends not only on one's position in the hierarchy of functionaries but more particularly upon priority in being "made" or confirmed. Those whose years of service are less are known as "the younger" and must address "the older" with greater respect and, as an *ogan* remarked, "prefer him above one's self."

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The musical instruments employed include the *atabaques*, or drums; the *agôgô*, with which the priest or priestess strikes the first notes of each invocation and later accompanies the drums; the *caxixi;* the *agê* (also known as the *cabaça*, or *piano de cuia*); the *adjá;* and, occasionally, the *xaque-xaque*.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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794 heartily in the songs, occasionally taps her cane on the ground in time with the drums, and appears to enjoy thoroughly each part of the ritual. Every once in a while she leans toward the drummers and shouts at the *alabé* in Nagô. Sometimes, when the *pae de santo* is temporarily absent from the *barracão*, she initiates the ritualistic songs. Her name is Ismeira and she lives in an old house in a section of the city which was once entirely inhabited, it is said, by Nagôs.

794 As the ceremony begins, 22 *filhas*, 1 *filho* (or male cere-
796 monial dancer), and the *pae de santo* are in the circle which has formed around the central post of the *barracão*. Seated in the center of the circle is a visiting *pae de santo* named Vidal. Twenty-one *ogans*, including visitors from other *seitas*, are to the left of the drums. Into the other available spaces are packed 208 spectators, of whom 136 are blacks, 68 are mulattoes (all dark mixed-bloods, except 6), and 4 are *brancos da Bahia*. There are no whites. Approximately two hundred other individuals mill about outside.

794 In this *seita* there are in all 34 *filhas de santo*, nearly 60 per
463 cent of whom are over forty years of age. The eldest are seventy-two and seventy-one years, respectively, and 9 are fifty or over. Ten are from forty to fifty, 7 are from thirty to forty years of age; 6 are twenty to thirty, 1 is nineteen, and 1 is twelve. Two are married, 13 are *amasiada*, 2 are engaged to be married, 15 are single, and 2 are widowed. All are from the lower class. Thirteen are peddlers of African foods in the streets, 7 are seamstresses, 5 are laundresses, 5 are domestic servants, and 1 is a midwife. One, the next to the eldest, is employed in looking after the *casa de candomblé*, 1 is the
794 *zelador de santo*,[14] and 1 an adolescent child. Thirteen, or

[14] It is the task of the *zelador de santo* to care for the *pegi*, wash the fetishes at regular intervals, and renew the food and drink offerings.

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The dances continue unabated for hours, until the air of the *barracão* becomes very warm and permeated with the odor of perspiring bodies. Seriously, with rapt attention, the closely packed crowd looks on, eager to see and hear the numerous *orixás* as they "arrive." During a period of the most intense excitement, when tensions have been built up almost to the breaking-point, a rocket suddenly bursts with a loud report outside the *barracão*. A woman seated among the spectators who is not a *filha de santo* is immediately thrown into violent, convulsive muscular movements and bounces up and down with great force on the board seat, her head snapping back and forth in time to the now almost frenzied beat of the drums. The *pae de santo* rushes to support her in order to prevent imminent injury. Several visiting *filhas de santo* who do not want to dance in this strange place and are consequently "resisting" the imminent "arrival" of their *orixás*, call out with imploring voices, one after the other, "Dê-me agua, por amor de Deus" ("Give me water, for the love of God!"). The face of a servant girl named Joanna, a *filha* from a neighboring *seita*, is drawn, and she appears to be in pain. Afterward, she says that her *orixá*, Xangô, was beating and striking her to make her dance and that she felt more tired than if she had danced all night long. But other spectators remark, "How beautiful! I never saw Ogun dance like that before. And Oxóssi, and Yemanjá, they are wonderful, simply wonderful!"

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The ceiling of another *barracão* (at the *terreiro* called Gantois) is trimmed with paper streamers—red, white, blue, and yellow—each alternating with rows of white paper roses. The electric-light bulb suspended from the ceiling is shaded by red and white pieces of cellophane. On the walls are red and white paper shields, each bearing the words, "Louvores á

4; Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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794 girl carries in her hand the insignia of Oxun, a *leque* (fan) of brass decorated with a star.

794 All the other dancers, except one, are dressed in the
• 796 *bahiana* costume, with wide-flowing skirts of bright-colored
[291] cotton prints, blouses trimmed in handmade lace, and a *pano da Costa* two feet in width tied tightly around the small of the back and over the breasts. One woman about thirty-five years of age is dressed in an ordinary street costume of
[301] tailored blouse and skirt. Many of the dancers wear bracelets of copper, brass, bronze, lead, or glass beads, often on both wrists and occasionally three to four to the arm. One dancer has five strands of cowries about her neck.

794 The priestess of the *seita*, Mãe Menninha, is a large
793 black woman, forty-one years of age, who has officiated in this *seita* for twenty-four years. She proudly speaks of herself as "uma neta d'um Africano" ("the granddaughter of an African").

786 Every dance begins with the salutation of the *mãe de san-*
535 *to*, which is accomplished by striking decisively the *agôgô*.
794 Immediately the drums take up the rhythm. The *filhas* be-
796 gin to dance, the circle turning like the rim of a wheel,
[576] counterclockwise. The women have their hands clasped be-
[533] hind their backs, their shoulders are hunching backward and forward, their bodies bending at the waist from side to side. One of the Oxun initiates moves with a halting, jerking movement, then suddenly pivots a complete turn. All the dancers are singing a refrain which sounds like, "Ô-mí-á, bá-
794 tû-lê." After some twenty minutes of continuous dancing,
796 one of the *filhas* suddenly becomes "possessed," her eyes
787 close, her expression becomes listless, while her neck and shoulder muscles work convulsively back and forth "in
786 time to the music." Voluntary control is apparently gone,

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and she is helped around the circle by the next in line. When the music temporarily ceases, she relaxes, staggers, and appears in imminent danger of falling. Several *filhas* rush to catch and support her.

Again the *mãe de santo* strikes the *agôgô*, the leader of the drummers takes up the rhythm and sings out a refrain in which all the dancers join, beating their palms in time with the music. The tempo increases. The dancers as they pass round the circle alternately bow their heads, flex their knees, and touch the right hand to the floor, then snap erect, all in perfect time with the music. An elderly black woman emerges from a connecting-room and, shaking vigorously a *caxixi*, joins in the dance. With loud reports, rockets go off outside the *barracão*. Popcorn is then brought in and thrown over the dancers. The eyes of the initiates, who have also made part of the circle of dancers, are closed and remain closed throughout the ceremony. The shoulders of one *yaubô* jerk spasmodically, her head hangs limp and must be supported by other dancers.

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Again the circle forms, and the *filhas*, singing at the top of their voices, shuffle forward in a half-stumbling movement, arms flexed at elbows and flapping up and down. An *ogan* says this dance is called *opanigé*. Sometime later, a *filha*, about forty-five years of age, suddenly sprawls stiff-legged on her hands and the tips of her toes, rapidly touches her forehead to the ground in front of the drums and shouts, "Hay-ee-ee," then leaps erect, jerks herself forward spasmodically, then repeats the performance. A girl joins the circle, wearing a pink and gold turban and carrying in her right hand a brass dagger eighteen inches long. Closing her eyes, she begins a wild dance, thrashing about with the dagger to right and to left. The tempo of the

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drums is accelerating. Another *filha*, a large but agile Negro woman, strikes out at the girl with her bare hands, and the two dance about, fighting a mock fight, while the beat of the drums becomes even more rapid and tumultuous until, just as the dancers close in upon one another where, it seems, harm might result, other *filhas* swing quickly in, catch each woman around the waist, and draw them apart, while the music slackens its tempo.

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All the *filhas* begin to dance again, their arms swinging from side to side, the index finger of the right hand held closely pressing against the thumb of the left. The dancing is very animated. Suddenly, one of the *filhas*, her shoulders heaving violently back and forth, begins to sink upon her knees and, gradually lowering her heaving shoulders to the floor, turns over on her back, all the while keeping the index finger of her right hand firmly in contact with the thumb of her left. She then slowly rises, gets to her feet, and again joins the other *filhas*. An *ogan* says this dance is known as *ecú*.

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The dances continue, rockets burst outside, confetti and flower petals are thrown over the initiates, and, at the insistent invocations of the drums and the spirited singing of the *filhas*, many *orixás* "arrive" and "take possession" of their human intermediaries.

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The primary social function which the *candomblé* appears to serve is that of reinforcing, by way of the collective experiences of ritual and ceremony, those attitudes and sentiments which distinguish the *Africanos* and their descendants from the European population and from the major portion of the mixed-bloods. By promoting a measure of solidarity and group consciousness, it tends to slow up the process of acculturation. At the same time cult experiences

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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APPENDIX C

THE BOMFIM FESTIVAL

796 565 [439] Certain popular festivals, like the Sabado and Segunda Feira do Bomfim, are largely taken over and even dominated by the lower classes. Individuals from the upper circles, both white and colored, attend only in their automobiles, driving slowly back and forth along the principal streets and through the crowds, or watch the festivities from the windows and doorways of near-by houses. In the words of a local citizen, the festival of Bomfim "springs from the people themselves, who regard O Senhor do Bomfim as their patron saint. It belongs to them more than Carnival does; Carnival is more refined (*mais elevado*), more under the control of the educated, 'cultured' Bahians."

796 Preceded by exclusively religious ceremonies, the celebration begins on the third Saturday in January and continues through the following Sunday and Monday. A large part of the population attends. Formerly, it is said, all business houses closed for the festival, and a few still do, while others take only a half-holiday on Monday. The celebration opens [368] at the Church of Bomfim, which crowns a gently sloping hill [443] on the peninsula of Itapagipe which juts out into Todos [265] os Santos Bay to the north of the port. Black women in *bahiana* costume sit around the edges of the crowd selling [257] such wares as *cocada*,[1] cakes, and other confections, mangoes, peanuts, *umbús*, and *cajús*.[2] In the *adro*, or open space, in

[1] *Cocada* is a confection made of coconut and sugar.

[2] *Cajús* are the fruit of the cashew tree. *Umbús* are a green, smooth-skinned fruit, about the size of a small lime.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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front of the Church of Bomfim, booths are erected, each of which has been named for the patron saint of the proprietor or bears an inscription like *Fé em Deus* ("Faith in God"), *Salve a Nova Aurora* ("Hail to the Dawn"), or *A Bahianinha* ("Dear Little *Bahiana*"). At these booths one may purchase such famous Bahian dishes of African origin as *aberém*, *caruru*, *vatapá*, *efó*, and *acarajé*, as well as drinks and other refreshments. *Kermesses*, or small booths given over to games of chance similar to those of traveling "carnivals" in the United States, bear such names as *Lua Cheia* ("Full Moon") or *Abrigo dos Filhos do Povo* ("Shelter for the Children of the People"). A brass band, composed of blacks from the fire department in uniform, plays intermittently from a raised platform in the center of the square.

443 265 [262] 796 [525] [533] [368]

At night the entire front of the church is ablaze with electric lights. Fireworks almost constantly sputter and bang in the air. An immense crowd mills about the *adro*, while other people sit at tables, eating, drinking, talking, and watching the festivities. About two hours after midnight, the *terno* of *Os Ciganos* ("the Gypsies") appears. It is a band of approximately thirty people, marching two abreast, ten musicians with brass instruments in the lead, followed by a dozen young men each of whom holds aloft a wooden staff branched at the top and lavishly decorated with paper flowers and Japanese lanterns, and an equal number of girls twelve to fourteen years old, dressed in gypsy costumes and shaking castanets and tambourines. After parading around the square, the *terno* halts in front of the church, greets the patron saint, then turns and ascends the platform vacated for this purpose by the band. The girls dance, sing, and play their instruments while one of the men performs a frenzied dance, twirling round and round a standard bearing the name and insignia of the terno.

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4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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• 796 signia of the *terno*. Before sunrise, the *ternos of Batuta* from the outlying area of the city known as Alto dos Pombos, of *Gata Abafa a Banca* ("the Cat 'Steals the Show' ") from Plataforma, of *Bacalhau* ("Codfish") from Estrada da Rainha, and *Filho do Arigofe* ("Son of Arigofe") from São Miguel, also appear and perform in a similar manner. Most of the black women venders and many of the celebrants will not return to their homes during the entire three days and nights of the *festa*.

On Monday the locale of the celebration shifts to Ribeiro on the opposite side of Itapagipe. Here in a large open space along the beach people crowd in by the thousands to compose informal groups of dancers, singers, and musicians, or merely promenade. People enjoy themselves for hours at a time, groups of singers and dancers dissolving only to form into new groups composed of different individuals, amid great hilarity and constant *sambas*. *Capoeira* groups form and draw
* [563] their circles of onlookers. Almost all the actual participants are blacks or mixed-bloods; relatively few are of undiluted European blood.

[SALVADOR]

/9/ The Ethnic Types of Bahia

361 Bahia owes its reputation, not only to its privileged location
*563 on the shores of a magnificent bay and to its churches of an ornate
633 rococo style, but also, to a certain degree, to the excellent rela-
tions that exist in the heart of its motley population between peo-
633 ple of different color. Stephan Zweig drew a very vivid picture
*563 of Bahia and its ancient traditions. For him, Brazil began with
this city, and not only Brazil, but also South America. "In this
city was erected the first pier of the vast bridge thrown across the
Atlantic; in it has originated, through the combination of Euro-
pean, African, and American material, the new mixture that is
fermenting so actively at the present time (1)."

[113] 1. Stephan Zweig, Brazil, País do Futuro /Brazil, Land of the Future/, trans. by Gallotti, Rio de Janeiro, 1941, p. 275.

175 From its founding under the official name of Cidade do
633 Salvador, Bahia began to be known for its wealth, which it owed
[103] to the sugar produced by its fazendas (2)
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2. Plantations.

and its engenhos (3).

3. Sugar mills.

[796] It was also renowned for the magnificence of the worship in its
[363] numerous churches, for the religious processions that passed
through its narrow, climbing streets, and for the traditions, so
typically Portuguese, of its inhabitants. Center of importation
[567] of African slaves, Bahia was also famous for the large proportion
[167] of Blacks in its population, to the point that foreign travelers of
[162] the colonial period speak of this city as a "new Guinea" (4).

[113] 4. M. Frezier, Relation du voyage de la mer du Sud aux côtes du Chili et du Pérou fait pendant les années 1712, 1713 and 1714 /Account of the

[SALVADOR]

/64 cont./

*563 545 [171] For about ten years people have been trying to organize a "Negro theater" in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. In spite of the assistance of white intellectuals of great influence and endowed with the spirit of initiative, the two or three groups that have been founded have had only relative success, in spite of the indisputable artistic and intellectual merit of the Blacks and mulattoes who were at their head. About two years ago, when [658] one of these groups asked for government assistance in order to give a series of performances in Bahia, the presentation of a "Negro theater" in a city such as ours, where there is no separation of races, was considered inopportune. At least this is how some people justified the refusal against it. Two small theater groups were nevertheless founded in Bahia, "to give colored persons the possibility of becoming known," as was announced in a newspaper, but neither of these groups was able to succeed in staging a play. This lack of success may be explained in different ways. One explanation might be that amateur theater enterprises, even those directed by Whites of some prestige and aided by recreational associations able to spend /Figs. 7 and 8 appear here/ /65/ quite large sums on efforts of this kind, have been intermittent in Bahia and generally require an extreme effort by amateurs of the theatrical art; another is that the persons responsible for the two undertakings were young people of mixed blood, without experience and without credit. It should be noted, besides, that, according to one of these, the idea was not popular, even among colored persons. "Everybody doubts that this venture can be successful," he said. Some have even thought that this is "a separatist idea." It is possible that other factors come into play in this tendency to discourage similar endeavors. The theater being a means of [154] emotional expression, serving as a substitute for other ways of [796] liberating emotions, one may agree with the hypothesis of Roger Bastide, according to which the colored people of Bahia satisfy themselves by means of the exciting rites of the candomblé and the external Catholic worship with its brilliant liturgical ceremonies, its frequent and large processions, and the solemn saints' days around the most popular churches (1).

[113] 1. "Teatro de 30 dias /Theater of 30 days/," Anhembi, No. 10, Vol. IV, São Paulo, Sept. 1951.

[SALVADOR]

/71 cont./

*563 873 178 the black color of a female student. The complaint that the father of the latter made in a newspaper was immediately published with a very vehement comment that obliged the accused to defend himself. "In olden times," says a mulatto intellectual, "colored students suffered a great deal. Today, it is enough that they are honest and have real worth for their merit to be recognized." And he adds that in the establishment where he teaches and which he has directed, he has seen white students speak out in positive fashion against all racial discrimination with regard to their colored fellow-students.

*563 873 Among the professors whom the students of a private secondary establishment honored at the end of the courses in 1950, there were two morenos, two mulattoes, and one Black; ten out of 39 students were métis. Out of the 137 persons graduated by the philosophy faculty of the University of Bahia between 1945 and 1950, among whom a large number intended to take up secondary teaching, 2.9 o/o were black, 33 o/o were pardos and 63 o/o were white.

[555] Education, as one sees, is a very important factor in our city for the social ascent of colored people.

/72/ Religion

*563 794 The religious institutions of Bahia reflect the structure of the classes and the local social organization. The devout Catholics attend the same churches, mingle in the choir and at the communion table, independently of their "quality." In the solemn [796] festivals organized by the brotherhoods and the associations or carried out by the parishes in honor of their patron saints, one can see Whites, mulattoes, and Blacks gathered together in the places reserved at the high altar, along with the guests of honor, the "presidents of brotherhoods," and the "Maecenases" (festeiros) entrusted with the preparation and financing of these celebrations. [788] Likewise, in the processions, men and women of all types carry the litters of the sacred images that march past, or crowd around them. [565] In the sacred associations there is no longer any discrimination; since, however, some of them are made up of people different

[SALVADOR]

/72 cont./

* 563 794 [565] social classes, the proportion of colored people varies from one to another. This is particularly striking in the brotherhoods and third orders, associations that have centuries of existence, founded for purposes of spiritual perfection, almost all long since transformed into organizations of charity and mutual aid. These or-

* 563 554 794 ganizations have always been very important in all of Latin America for marking or confirming the social classification of their members. When a biographical sketch of a distinguished person is published in a newspaper of Bahia, it always mentions the brotherhoods to which he belongs or in which he occupies a

• [796] [292] management position. During certain large religious festivals one can see men who are not "practicing" Catholics personally appear with their brotherhoods or third orders, dressed in costumes characteristic of these same societies, a torch in their hand, carrying the canopy and marching in a group. It is greatly desired to be able to become part of these institutions that give evidence of the high position and the prestige that one has acquired. The elections for the management of one of these brotherhoods, upon which hospitals, orphanages, and old people's homes depend and which administer a rich endowment, arouse extraordinary interest among the great merchants and the people of liberal professions who are members of them. The office of headmaster, that is to say, of president, an office to which no remuneration is attached and which demands great devotion, is very eagerly contended for, because it offers its holder the possibility of augmenting his social and political prestige and of showing his administrative abili-

[175] ties. These organizations were created in the colonial period in order to gather together, under the aegis of /73/ the Church, as happened in Portugal, persons of different social and economic groups for the purpose of spiritual improvement, but also in order

[178] [565] to permit them to show their rank. Thus it is understood that even today they are arranged in hierarchies according to class lines, although the distinctions that separate them are in the process of becoming less clear and less rigid every day, with new conditions of urban life and with the appearance of other institutions having similar social aims. There are, for example, although

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755 There is one outstanding case of a Class A family which has
787 been "helped" by spiritualism. This family had not been too
*565 well liked in the town and felt that evil was being worked against it. It was claimed that a local medium prevented harm to the father of this family through the medium's spirit. The father became convinced of the value of spiritualism and converted his wife to it. They now make no move without first consulting the spirits, and they frequently call the medium to their house in Salvador for aid. The urban upper class is no stranger to spiritualism, and even those who make no use of mediums and spiritualistic sessions seem to consider themselves possible victims of spiritualism. A decade or so ago, experiments with spiritualism, such as the moving glass, were popular. These experiments gained many adherents and left many others in a state between belief and disbelief in the possibilities of spiritualism.

Protestantism

795 Protestantism has made no entry in Vila Recôncavo. This
• 797 is a minor point of pride among the residents, who have heard
177 of Protestantism but know nothing about it. In other areas of the Recôncavo there have been converts, but as yet there are no Protestant churches, chapels, or house groups in Vila Recôncavo. In other communities, traveling ministers hold services in small private houses of the adherents. Just as with the African cults, there always are many onlookers standing outside who discuss the merits of the sermon and of the Bible readings and hymn singing. Those who are sufficiently impressed sometimes join, but as yet there is considerable resistance to another organized religion.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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One must not overlook the fact, however, that during the first years of colonization the letters of the Jesuits contained numerous references to Indian slaves who were "tortured and branded in the face."[54] And later, the kings of Portugal, impressed by reports which had come to them concerning hardships inflicted on Negro slaves in Brazil, more than once wrote to their colonial representatives, exhorting them "to put a stop to such crying inhumanities."[55]

Most reports of cruelties, however, date from the abolition campaign and no doubt reflect the agitation and fervor of that movement. Thus, the able Bahian abolitionist, Anselmo da Fonseca, reports the case of a Negro in Rio Grande do Sul whose wrists were tied above his head and, after honey had been poured over his nude body, was left to the insects. Anselmo further reports the raping of small children, the use of stocks, the fracturing of teeth with a ham-

from the effects of their wounds (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 145). Fonseca estimates that two-thirds of all the *feitores* (overseers), *capitães de mato*, and *corretores* (slave dealers) in Bahia were either mulattoes or blacks (*ibid.*, p. 151).

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[54] Brazilian Indians, who before the coming of the Portuguese had killed their prisoners of war, changed this custom when it was discovered that they could sell their captives to the Europeans. Subsequently the latter organized raids into the interior in search of Indian slaves. The Jesuits fought this traffic, their struggles with the colonists lending a dramatic note to accounts of life in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Gradually their influence at the Portuguese court prevailed, certain restrictions were by royal decree put upon the enslavement of Indians, which, being disregarded by the colonists, led to further Jesuit protest and finally, in 1755, to a royal edict liberating all Indian slaves. Equal legal rights were subsequently granted the Indians, the University of Coimbra was opened to them, and they were even admitted, it is said, to the nobility.

[55] A writer cites three "royal letters" in support, dated, respectively, March 20, 1688, March 1, 1700, and April 27, 1719 (see the anonymous article entitled "Tradiçoes bahianas," *Revista do Instituto Geographico e Historico da Bahia*, LVI [1930], 514).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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The first recorded protest in Brazil against slavery as an institution was that of the Jesuit Manoel de Nobrega, who, shortly after Bahia was founded, sent a letter to the superior of his order in Lisbon protesting against the importation of Africans into the new settlement.

In 1758 Manoel Ribeiro da Rocha, who had been educated at Coimbra, published in Lisbon a book entitled *Ethiope resgatado, empenhado, sustentado, corrigido, instruido e libertado*, in which the abolition of the slave trade was advocated. Sixty-five years later, in 1823, José Bonifacio de Andrade e Silva unsuccessfully proposed in parliament a measure designed to end importation by 1828. But on November 7, 1831, the regent, Padre Diogo Antonio Feijó, signed a resolution drawn up by Costa Carvalho, Lima e Sousa, and Basilio Muniz, which declared free all Africans subsequently brought into Brazil.

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Manumission existed from the first. Apparently early in the colonial period it became customary for masters to accept remuneration for original cost.[64] Public opinion demanded that an owner set at liberty any slave requesting his freedom and offering the price of his purchase.[65] The requirement was later made legally binding and enforced by law.[65a] Other slaves were given their freedom either during their master's lifetime or upon his death. The fathers of illegitimate offspring often freed their children at the baptismal font. From 1864 to 1870 large numbers of slaves were granted their freedom on agreeing to serve in the Para-

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[64] The wearing of shoes or slippers became a symbol of freedom.

[65] R. Walsh, *Notices of Brasil* (2 vols.; London, 1830), II, 391.

[65a] National Law No. 2040, September 28, 1871. See Manoel Joaquim do Nascimento e Silva, *Synopsis da legislação brasileira* (Rio, 1874), p. 460.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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became known throughout the country as an opponent of abolition, and, further, in 1791, a bishop of Pernambuco, José Joaquim da Cunha de Azevedo Coutinho, published a book in Lisbon entitled *A analyse sobre a justiça do commercio do resgate dos escravos da costa d'Africa*,[16] in which he upheld slavery as having "existed since the beginning of the world and in the lap of all religions."

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Nevertheless, some noted ecclesiastics did from time to time take up the slave cause. Padre Antonio Vieira, although he later became more cautious under "the necessity of furthering the Jesuit determination to free the Indians, even at the expense of the Negroes," delivered a sermon as early as the middle of the seventeenth century in which he said: "The fact that whites dominate blacks is due to force and not to either reason or nature." On another occasion, he said:

> O inhuman traffic in which the merchandise is men! Few masters, many slaves; masters richly dressed, slaves despised and naked; masters banqueting, slaves dying of hunger; masters swimming in gold and silver, slaves loaded down with irons; masters treating their slaves like brutes, slaves in fear and awe of their masters as if they were gods; masters present at a whipping, standing like statues of might and tyranny, slaves prostrate, their hands strapped behind their backs, like debased emblems of servitude.
>
> Peradventure these men are not our brothers?
>
> Were these souls not redeemed with the blood of the same Christ? Are not these bodies born and do they not die like ours? Do they not breathe the same air? Does not the same sky cover them? Are they not warmed by the same sun?[17]

An archbishop of Bahia, the Marquis of Santa Cruz, in an address to the *camara* in 1827, vigorously opposed slav-

[16] This book went through two editions and was translated into both French and English.

[17] *Sermões* (15 vols., 1679–1748), Vol. X, Sermon 27.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Nagô at times spoken in Bahia and an occasional individual whose command of this language is comparable to his command of Portuguese.

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The nature of Negro settlement at Bahia favored to a considerable extent the preservation of African cultural forms. Tribal units were not deliberately broken up, as in Jamaica and the United States, and the Negro was thereby able to preserve and to transmit to his children a considerable portion of his African heritage. Even on the plantations the distribution of newly imported Africans among the old-established Negroes seems not to have occurred.[8] The concentration in the city of Bahia over a long period of time of large numbers of semi-independent *negros de ganho*, around whom there gradually accumulated a considerable number of relatively unassimilated free Negroes, also favored the persistence of African cultural elements.

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It is likely that Nagô was not maintained in a pure form but came to be a patois containing numerous elements from other African dialects as well as from Portuguese. A Catholic missionary, Padre Coquard, visiting Bahia in 1899 to solicit funds, spoke to the colored population in Nagô. But the sermon, preached in the ancient church of Sé, was wholly ineffective.[9]

Other African languages were spoken in Bahia.[10] Rodrigues believed that Gêge (or Ewe) was used throughout the eighteenth century and until at least the middle of the nine-

[8] Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil, 1809 to 1815* (2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1817), I, 229 n.

[9] Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 200–201. Perhaps another reason for this ineffectiveness was that the Negroes who were most able to understand Nagô were unassimilated Africans who, out of loyalty to the religion of their fathers, deliberately absented themselves from this ceremony of the Catholic church.

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 197–230.

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African costumes, songs, and dances.[37] The Catholic church was never in haste, it seems, to assimilate the Brazilian Negro but adopted instead a patient and tolerant policy which in the end was eminently successful. Early in the nineteenth century Koster wrote from Pernambuco, "No compulsion is resorted to, to make the Negroes embrace the habits of their masters; but their ideas are insensibly led to imitate and adopt them."[38]

As might be expected, the transition from fetish-cult ideas and practices to Catholic ritual and belief was marked by intermediary stages in which elements of both religions coexisted in the Negroes' thought and practice, and the objects of one cult were identified with objects of a similar nature in the other. Hence, the extensive identification, for instance, of several African *orixás* with certain Catholic saints (as we shall later see in greater detail) and the coexistence of African and European forms in the principal religious and popular festivals.

Thus, in 1852, a visitor wrote from Rio de Janeiro:

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> For many nights past, Gloria Hill . . . . has echoed till a late hour with the songs, the wild music, and the tread of the dance in the Negroes' favorite amusements; and yesterday afternoon, I accidentally became a spectator of a grand gathering of this kind. It was "Twelfth" or "King's Day," as sometimes called—being that commemorative of the adoration of the Magi in the stable of Bethlehem; and it is a chief festival with the Negroes. . . . . When about half way up the Larangeiras . . . . my attention was arrested by a large gathering of Negroes within an enclosure by the wayside, engaged in their native dances, accompanied by the wild and rude music brought with them from Africa. . . . . Many of the principal performers, both among the dancers and musicians, were dressed in the most . . . . grotesque manner. . . . . A majority, if not all the performers, were baptized

[37] *Ibid.*

[38] *Op. cit.*, I, 100.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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In the Jesuit schools at Bahia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, mixed-blood, pure Indian, and Portuguese children were accepted with equal favor and educated together. "The chronicles of the time reveal no segregation or any other form of discrimination inspired by prejudice against the Indian; the program adopted by the padres appears to have continually fostered friendly intermingling of the races."[27]

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By the time the relatively small numbers of Indians at Bahia had been absorbed into the dominant population group, African women had been imported in sufficient numbers to continue extensively the process of race mixture. The scarcity of white, or near-white, women, at least as mates for men of the upper classes, was not now so acute as formerly; consequently, most of the sexual unions with African women were extra-legal,[28] comparable in some measure to interbreeding in our South, except that in the case of Brazil the extent of intermixture was perhaps greater.[29] Padre Nobrega wrote from Bahia in the early days of the colony: "Among the people here there are none who do not possess several *negras* from whom they have many children."[30] By 1819 the number of *mestiços* in Brazil was given as 628,000—a figure not greatly inferior to that of the whites, who were estimated at 843,000.[31] The pure Negro, it

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[27] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

[28] Marriages with Negroes were at first frowned upon. Thus an *alvará* of 1755 which referred to marriages of white men with Indian women as "convenient and noble" condemned "staining one's self" by marrying Negroes or Jews (Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 156).

[29] See Freyre, *op. cit.*, esp. chaps. iv and v.

[30] Manoel de Nobrega, *Cartas do Brasil, 1549–1560* (Rio, 1886), quoted in Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

[31] Alcide d'Orbigny, *Voyage dans les deux Amériques* (Paris, 1836), p. 155, quoted in Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

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Moema, who, exhausted, perished in the billows of the sea. This unhappy Indian maiden is still today sung by the poets. . . . .

On returning from Europe, Catherina Paraguassú, endowed with a beauty that was first among her people, performed the duty of a true heroine by receiving as her guest the first Governor-general, Thomé de Souza. She and her husband made the native Indians, without the least hesitancy, subject themselves to the Portuguese dominion. And it is from Diogo Alvares Caramurú and Catherina Paraguassú that the ancient and noble house of Garcia d'Avila, so celebrated for its wealth and civic services, is descended.

Subsequent to the arrival of Thomé de Souza, Diogo had been legally married to Paraguassú. And the church soon saw to it that most, if not all, of the similarly informal unions between European men and native Indian women were "regularized in Christian marriage." [585] [583] [795]

Although incoming Portuguese colonists and adventurers had readily entered into informal unions with native women, they appear at first to have hesitated before actual marriage. It was the Jesuits, we are told, who "managed to conquer in the early colonists the repugnance which they originally held toward marriages with Indian women."[5] "Most of them [the Portuguese] here," wrote Padre Nobrega from Pernambuco in 1551, "have for a long time kept Indian women from whom they have had children; but to marry them was considered a scandalous thing (*grande infamia*). They are now marrying and assuming a proper life."[6] At any rate, intermarriage eventually became a firmly established custom, sanctioned by both church and state. 175 583 585 563* [797]

Although the scarcity of European women, so notable during the first century of colonization, had by the early 175 563*

[5] Gilberto Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* (2d ed.; Rio, 1936), p. 302.

[6] Padre Manoel de Nobrega, *Cartas do Brasil, 1549–1560* (Rio, 1886), quoted by Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

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776 the proper ritual, and a vengeful destroyer if rites and taboos
177 are ignored.

Although this fusion is proceeding rapidly, it is still far from complete. A number of Gêge-Nagô and Congo-Angola *orixás*, and at least thirty *caboclo* deities, have not yet been in any way identified with Catholic equivalents.

794 Occasionally, the critical attitude of members of the fetish
177 world toward unorthodox practices in other *seitas* extends
797 also to the incorporation of Catholic ritual, ideas, and sentiments into fetish practice and belief. A *babalaô* and *feiticeiro*, born in Africa of repatriated Brazilian slaves, recently remarked, "These Bahian *candomblés* aren't African any more. Why, they all go to Mass, pray the rosary, and burn candles to the saints! It's all mixed up now."

539 The following story illustrates the fusion of European
177 and African traditions. Related recently by a local black, it recounts some of the experiences of Obaluaiê (Abaláu-aiê) and Omolú, known also in Bahia as Xapanan (Xapanã), and is obviously confused with the biblical stories of the Prodigal Son and of Lazarus. It also refers to a European city.

XAPANÃ, FATHER AND SON

Xapanã was fifteen years old when his parents sent him out into the world to see what life was like. After he had walked a long way, he came to a city called Venice, where he went about looking for work. But no one offered him anything, and finally, becoming very hungry, he began to go up to houses and beg for something to eat. But everywhere he asked he was turned away.

Sad and disillusioned, Xapanã continued on his way. At last he came to a forest, where he remained for some time, living on fruits and insects.

When Xapanã was nineteen years of age, he began to think of returning to his father's house and at last made himself ready and set out on the way. Xapanã walked and walked, until one day just as

[SALVADOR]

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798 social cohesion of the community (1).
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[162] 1. In 1940 the population of the city and of the municipality was made up of 97.49 o/o Roman Apostolic Catholics; 1.11 o/o Protestants; 0.26 o/o Israelites; 0.62 o/o spiritualists, etc.
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[797] The Catholic majority views with an evil eye the activities of foreign Protestant missionaries and condemns particularly the "disloyal methods employed by some of them" and their way of distorting the Church. Protestantism is fought in the pulpit as heresy, but never the Protestants as persons having different characteristics and toward whom one vows hostility. The antagonism between Catholics, Protestants, and Presbyterians is also [871] [177] placed on the purely doctrinal plane; the institutions of learning maintained by Baptists and Presbyterians are attended by Catholic students and enjoy prestige because of their "American methods."

794 As for the candomblés, sanctuaries devoted to the cults of
798 African origin, the current feeling is that these rites are so many barbaric survivals that ought to be done away with, for they are a matter of shame before foreigners and tourists. In a commentary on tourism, a local journal proposes that the visit to candomblés be omitted from excursion programs, "because there can be no propaganda more negative for this Brazilian city four times a hundred years old, which has so many other interesting things to show." These cults, despite everything, enjoy relative freedom and function by virtue of police authorization. They have sometimes been prohibited and their devotees violently dispersed by police forces. Among the Blacks there are many who share the opinions of the Whites on the subject of these rites.

666 Only the rivalry between political parties provokes real
665 tension during the election campaigns. This tension is particularly
578 intense in the controversies in the interior of the State; it never expresses itself other than verbally; individual cases of aggression or actual conflicts between groups belonging to different political parties have become extremely rare. The ethnocentric feelings [829] of the Bahians reached great vehemence several years ago when the majority of the electors refused to elect as governor of the State a candidate who was not "born in Bahia."

[SALVADOR]

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175 829 567 182 797 The generally gentle and humane treatment that the owners reserved for their slaves and the efforts made by the Catholic clergy, from the beginning of the slave trade, to try to incorporate the /23/ Africans into the Catholic religion played an important role in the establishment of good relations between races in Bahia as throughout Brazil. Contrary to what occurred in the other colonial nations, where the aborigines and the imported slaves were kept in a state of segregation, like unassimilable "savages," in Brazil the natives and the Blacks were baptized, catechized, and admitted into the Church as men. Thus, numerous slaves, baptized Negroes, were no longer considered "beasts" and became "Christians," with the same title as the European colonists, having to endure neither hostility nor religious discrimination. They were taught the Christian doctrine, and the preachers endeavored to speak to them in their languages, chiefly in nagô, which had become a sort of lingua franca in which the Africans of different origins were able to understand one another. They intermarried; their marriage having been consecrated by the Church, this protected them when their masters intended to separate the spouses or sell one of the partners; they received the sacraments; they acted as witnesses in religious proceedings and participated as acolytes in religious ceremonies; they marched in the processions, carrying the standards and emblems of their brotherhoods; they were buried in the Christian cemeteries, the owners of slaves being obliged to call the priest in time to assist the dying. No one pretends by that to claim that their lives were free from suffering or that the Negroes were thus completely integrated in Catholicism. The clergy, the owners, and the civil authorities always allowed them some freedom concerning certain proceedings of their pagan cults and never forced them to embrace the official religion. They likewise permitted them to amuse themselves in their way by dances, songs, ceremonies (batuques), banquets in the manner of those of their countries of origin. From that comes this Catholicism somewhat mixed with fetishist beliefs and practices that constitutes the religion of a large part of the colored people of Bahia (1).

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[113] 1. Roger Bastide, "Religion and the Church in

[SALVADOR]

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*563 794 were refused because of their "quality." Some of the examples mentioned are evidently a matter of class discrimination rather than of race or color. Nevertheless, a morena girl reports that, although she had satisfied all the requisite conditions, she was unable to enter a third order because, as a member of the management of the order told her, it did not accept colored persons. Nevertheless in almost all the most important brotherhoods there are light "brothers" of mixed blood, who are "socially white," and even dark mulattoes. The proportion in which such persons *563 794 are accepted varies according to the professional tradition of each organization. In those where merchants predominate, one finds 463 a reflection of what has taken place in commerce: the number of dark persons is smaller there; the Father who directs one of these has more than once cautioned his associates against the opposition they show toward admitting into their ranks dark individuals who otherwise satisfy all the moral and spiritual conditions required. In the brotherhoods controlled by the liberal professions, and above all in those that from organizations of classes have become organizations of charity and mutual aid, one finds numerous colored persons, even in positions of management. In one important brotherhood, frequently mentioned by the informants as being very discriminatory, 49 o/o of the members are merchants, 22 o/o practice a liberal profession, 7 o/o are in the bureaucracy. Thus, out of the 1,004 members whose portraits can be consulted in the files of the association, 81 o/o have a white phenotype, 15.64 o/o are morenos, and 2.88 o/o light mulattoes; all the director-members are white. In another brotherhood, traditionally governed by judges, lawyers, physicians, and other members of liberal professions, there are 11 pardos among the 34 members of the board of management; in the list of its "brothers" one can identify numerous métis and even a very dark Black who occupies an important public *563 794 office. The priests who supervise this brotherhood, members of a foreign religious order, have the right to put their veto against 793 the names of candidates whom they judge not to be suitable for any reason whatsoever; they are not bound to give the reason for their 797 decision; numerous members state that these priests almost always

[SALVADOR]

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*563 794 793 • 797 [554] give the reasons that make them oppose someone's acceptance, and that they do not use their rights to prevent the acceptance of a candidate solely because of his color. A pardo who has occupied important positions in the administration of the State and who even reached the highest offices of his brotherhood asserts that the fathers who direct it, although the majority are Europeans, maintain the best relations with /75/ dark colored persons and even appear very affectionate toward them; colored persons are able, as may be seen, to be classified socially or to confirm their status by means of institutions. The Catholic religion offers them other, similar *563 794 554 means. This is what happens, as we have already indicated, with regard to the "judges" and the festeiros, persons chosen each year to solicit donors and to organize the solemn festivals of the patrons of the church or chapel. This choice, made by the priest responsible or by the management of the religious associations, is based on social and economic prestige, much more than on other personal attributes (except morality and reputation); thus, color has never excluded anyone from one of these functions. An observer who has often dealt with these matters can testify to this.

*563 793 [175] [567] The Catholic priesthood is no longer a privilege of finos whites. The ecclesiastical constitutions in force during the period of slavery forbade the ordination of slaves, so that priests should not be subject to a servile condition, deprived of the liberty and authority necessary for the practice of their ministry. Slaves were excluded, not Blacks, so that at the beginning of the last century foreign travelers were astonished to see black and mulatto priests officiating in the churches of the principal Brazilian cities. At [555] the end of the eighteenth century colored men were able to take holy orders, and the Church became a means of social ascent "for all kinds of persons of humble circumstances, whatever their racial or family origin (1)."

[113] 1. Roger Bastide, "Religion and the Church in Brazil," in Brazil, Portrait of Half a Continent, p. 339.

[SALVADOR]

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*563 793 Since that time priests who were black and of mixed blood began to distinguish themselves, in Bahia as throughout the country, as sacred orators, professors of Latin, of philosophy and rhetoric, of Portuguese, and as superiors and directors of educational institutions, prefects of studies, etc. Proud of this, the Blacks expressed their antagonism toward the mulattoes and caboclos by repeating [539] this quatrain:

> I have seen many Negroes
> At the altar in the act of saying Mass
> And the caboclo, all that he achieves
> Is to be usher.

*563 792 829 [797] In the religious orders, directed in general by European monks or of European structure, the prejudice that maintains that the métis find it difficult to be faithful to the vow of chastity persisted for a long time. Such a belief must have strongly influenced the opposition to the ordination of colored religious. An /76/ intellectual of dark color relates that during his youth, more than 40 years ago, he, wishing to become a priest, entered a religious order, but the superior of the monastery to which he applied, a Spaniard, advised him to seek another path. Astonished by this refusal, he demanded an explanation, and the superior told him that he might find it difficult to subject himself to the discipline, because men of his type are obliged to make great efforts to remain chaste. And since the informant thought that in the secular clergy he would be very much in danger of betraying his trust, he gave up his idea. Thus, even today, the religious orders include very few métis. [178] The situation is beginning to improve, however, with the ordination of some moreno and light mulatto monks; in an apostolic school in which one of these orders trains young men wishing to embrace the religious life, there is at present a majority of pardos and caboclos recruited from among modest families of the interior, particularly in the rural area of the northeastern part of the State of Bahia. Light mulattoes, ordained in the course of recent years, have been trained in the same school. In the *563 562 792 178 female religious orders the difficulties for the acceptance of colored girls are very much greater. Not only are some of them directed by European religious, but there still persists the Portuguese

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er of the Waters. Naturally, in such a small group, the secret is not very well kept and it is soon known who has sent a present, why, and when. Many people in this group, and some in Class A, entertain the fear that they may become themselves possessed by a deity, especially if they expose themselves to cult activities during a ceremony, and for this reason they do not attend the rituals. To a certain extent this fear is the basis for the protest many of them make against night-long drumming, although the common complaint is that they cannot sleep because of the noise. The sound of the drums at night is very impressive, and no one is unaware that nearby the supernatural is being called. It is very disturbing to those who do not understand the mechanics of the ceremonies and the meaning of the drumming and sacrifices.

Spiritualism

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Spiritualism, which does not use drums, is as disturbing as cultism to people of all classes, although because of its quieter character it is not always known when a session is taking place. Spiritualism seems to be gaining popularity in the area, although it is greatly feared by many people. It is slowly gaining adherents, however, because of the healing powers exhibited by the mediums. In most cases people are drawn to it, both in the town and in the rural area, through illness and the promise of a cure. Because of lack of aid from the doctor, or because of the expense of medical treatment, or perhaps because of the failure of the African cult to cure him, a patient may try spiritualism as a last resort. For those who are helped by it, it becomes a constant companion, and although they may have entered with fear, they soon lose it. They become staunch defenders and try to draw in their friends. The greatest successes in curing seem to follow the herbal treatments of the African cultists, but spiritualism requires no further obligations, as do the cults. It is common to hear someone say that attendance at a spiritualist seance cured him of some minor ailment and left him free of obligations, and that he did not even have to pay the medium. Spiritualism is also used to discover and counteract the evil eye and evil machinations of any enemy. In spiritualism one finds the same Indian spirits which are found in the local African cults, although no dancing is involved. There is now definite competition between the mediums and the cult leaders for adherents.

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struggle of native labor versus foreign capital and thus tend [466] to unify rather than to divide the local group. Religious [798] competition has not become severe enough to intensify self-consciousness on the part of rival adherents and thus evoke serious animosities. As far as national affairs are concerned, [621] intense local loyalties had not, at least at the time this study was made, been seriously exacerbated by onerous control from without. A minimum of racial conflict will be evident throughout this account.

THE *ricos* OF THE RIDGES AND THE *pobres* OF THE VALLEYS

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One of the things Darwin noted, when he visited Bahia in 1832, was that the city rested upon "a level plain of about three hundred feet in elevation, which in all parts has been worn into flat-bottomed valleys."[11] Today the scene is still much as Darwin saw it. Continuing erosion has merely emphasized the general characteristics of the landscape, transforming the once level plain somewhat more decidedly into alternating ridges, relatively steep declivities, and comparatively narrow valleys.

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This physiography of the country has not been without significance in the cultural life of Bahia; for, in general, the distribution of the population by classes, and even to some extent by ethnic divisions, follows quite closely the lay of the land. Along the ridges, which wind with the changing [363] terrain, ordinarily run the principal streets, bearing the chief [133] lines of transportation, whether by streetcar, bus, or automobile. So far as accessibility to the center and other prin- [494] cipal parts of the city is concerned, here are the more convenient residential locations. The elevation of the ridges,

[11] Charles Darwin, *The Voyage of the Beagle* ("Harvard Classics," Vol. XXIX [New York, 1909]), p. 521.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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782 Numerous
565 families *da boa sociedade* ("of social standing") "dão comida"
184 (make the food offerings, especially of *carurú*) to Beji
794 (Cosme and Damião) and celebrate the day sacred to their honor. A number of white individuals on occasion make offerings to the *mãe d'agua*. Cases like that of the wife of a former state senator and political chieftain who kept an altar to an African *orixá* in her house are, however, not numerous.

125 Of 66 students in the Escola Normal classifying themselves
782 as *brancos* and responding to the query, "Do members of
184 your family give presents to the *mãe d'agua?*" 7, or 10.6 per
794 cent, answered in the affirmative. Of 36 *pardos*, the families of 9, or 25 per cent, similarly made offerings. Of 63 whites, 29, or 46 per cent, thought one ought to fear the *bozo* (black magic); as did 12, or 37 per cent of the *pardos*, and all 6 of the *pretos* who replied. Of 63 whites, only 1 thought the statement "A *pae de santo* is more useful in time of illness than a physician" was true, but 9, or 14 per cent, regarded it as "partially true"; of 32 *pardos*, 2 believed the statement true, and 7, or 22 per cent, thought it "partially true." Of 197 students in the Escola Normal and the Law School, the families of 25, or 13 per cent, "give *comida*" to Cosme and Damião.

184 Ordinarily the attitudes which the inhabitants of Euro-
798 pean descent take toward the *candomblé* vary from good-
794 natured tolerance, which is the most characteristic, through
829 indifference, which is common, to active opposition, which is comparatively rare, although from time to time complaints like the one below find their way into the newspapers.

[539] In *A Tarde* for May 8, 1936, appeared an editorial under the title:

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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DANGEROUS *CANDOMBLES*

Education may perhaps be the most certain means of eradicating harmful customs. But when these customs are linked with the persistent beliefs of African fetichism and constitute outrageous attacks upon the moral and physical well-being of those who practice them, it becomes necessary to insist upon immediate and complete suppression. This can be done in no way except by police action, energetic and persistent.

And, in *A Tarde* for December 9, 1935, appeared the following complaint:

THE CITY THAT GOD FORGOT

Scenes which Degrade and Depress . . . . The Revived *Candomblés* . . . . *Despachos* Even in the Heart of the City . . . .

The above looks like a movie title. But it is not. Our capital really is a city forgotten by . . . . God. . . . .

Your reporter . . . . has set down in his notebook curious scenes which reflect discredit upon our civilization; things which . . . . continue on for the eyes not only of those who live here but also of those who visit us from foreign places.

Bahia already has the reputation of being the city of *candomblés*, the paradise of the *macumbas*. However, these used to be localized in fixed zones where the devotees of Oxalá and Yemanjá beat their drums and "fell into the *santo*." Now they begin to encroach upon the most frequented streets, and the African cult is to be seen even in the best residential areas.

Your reporter verified this fact last Sunday night in the *bairro* of Barra, an elegant and aristocratic suburb. Here is to be found Grenfeld Street, very close to the Avenida Oceanica. And on this very street is a *candomblé*. . . . . .

Happily there is no noise of drums. But palms are used instead, which beat without ceasing until day dawns. And whenever anyone makes an inquiry, the *pae de santo* insists that he has a license, and continues. . . . .

One morning not long ago, your reporter was passing in front of the

[789]

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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State Treasury building, a spot very much frequented. A *bozó* had been left there and still remained exposed to the curiosity of all who passed.

A black hen, three copper coins, yellow *farofia*, a cloth doll, stuck full of pins, a piece of a man's shirt, and other *bugigangas* [trinkets].

The thing was there until midday. This is no uncommon occurrence, but one which is frankly deplorable. That in the heart of our city, so close to the Rua Chile, *despachos* are made to Exú is, to say the least, disgusting.

In the same newspaper sometime later (June 10, 1937), under the title, "A Specialist in Sport *Bozós*, *Pae de santo* Manoelzinho Is the Worst Enemy of the Limpeza Publica [Street Cleaning Department]," this complaint appeared:

A short time ago the *macumbeiro* known as Manoelzinho took up his residence in a *roça* at No. 256 Cruz do Cosme, and since that time his *bozós* have led to continuous complaints from dwellers along that road and from those who chance to pass that way.

At the side of the road just below the *roça* is a *loco* tree, that species so much preferred for fetishistic practices. Here *bozós* accumulate from day to day until they constitute a veritable mountain of refuse in which may be found an increasing number of dead fowls.

We are informed that this Manoelzinho, who is a *pae de santo* with considerable prestige, is a specialist in sport *bozós*. For it is said that among those who consult him are certain members of the different soccer clubs. Recently a policeman, on the eve of a great game at Graça, noted in one of these *bozós* the initials "T. V." which are the same as those of a well-known athlete.

Since the Street Cleaners never pass along Cruz do Cosme, the *bozós* keep polluting the atmosphere and obliging those who pass by to cover their noses with handkerchiefs.

To whom shall we appeal? Who will do something about this?

However, more characteristically, the Bahian identified with European customs and traditions adopts toward the *candomblé* a tolerant attitude. While he looks upon it as "ignorant fetishism," he ordinarily accepts it as "an African institution," which, in the words of a student at the Faculty

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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of Law, "will gradually disappear with social evolution." "Education will do away with it. Just give it time," remarked a student at the Faculty of Medicine. There are a few intellectuals, individuals who have broken with the Catholic church, who believe that the *candomblé* is entitled to the same rights and privileges as any other religion. One of these remarked, "We should see to it that the government gives the *candomblé* a square deal."

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Indeed, of those Bahians identified with the European culture, the whites tend to be more tolerant of the *candomblé* than either the blacks or the mixed-bloods. These blacks and mixed-bloods are seeking to establish themselves in class and naturally make every effort to disassociate themselves from what are commonly considered to be lower-class cultural elements. Of 66 white students in the Escola Normal who responded to the query "Do you think the *candomblé* ought to be suppressed?" 22, or one-third, said, "No"; while, of 22 *pardos*, all but one replied in the affirmative. Of 5 blacks, 4 said, "Yes."

798 794 178 554 829

In the face of constant, although ordinarily tolerant, disparagement on the part of most prestige-bearing individuals in the European portion of the community and of such institutions as the church, the school, and the newspaper, most of the younger Negroes now tend to forsake the *candomblé* and the body of ideas and sentiments identified with it and to look upon these customs and traditions as evidence of "ignorance," "backwardness," and "retarded mental growth." Older leaders of the cult often complain, as did Maria Bádá on one occasion, that "the *candomblé* isn't what it used to be. The young people today don't learn Nagô; they don't know how to carry on any of the ritual; and, what is worse, they don't want to learn." *Mãe de santo* Anninha once remarked, in much the same words as in recent years have

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[SALVADOR]

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829 365 The irregularities and inadequacies of electric service in the city are attributed by many inhabitants of Bahia to what they call the "contempt of the Americans for the well-being of the people," as if the Americans were the only ones responsible for the operation of the American-Brazilian enterprise that produces electricity for the region. Everything that is or is supposed to be American otherwise enjoys great prestige. There is, how- 829 ever, a foreign group against which (or, more precisely, against *563 the hidden "trust" that it represents) there exists a very strong 578 hostility, although it manifests itself only on certain occasions. [443] It is a matter of emigrants from Spanish Galicia, accused of exploiting the populace owing to the monopoly that they have acquired in the grocery and bakery business. At certain times when ten- [152] sion is particularly strong, as in 1930, and following the rapid [458] rise of the price of commodities of prime necessity at the be- [579] ginning of the last world war, the populace gave free vent to its discontent by plundering certain Spanish business establishments. But the attitude of the Bahians toward the person of these immigrants is free of lasting animosity, and marriages between the two [261] groups are frequent. The fact remains, however, that the population attributes to the Spaniards the shortage of certain food commodities, especially bread, and it accuses these emigrants of "enriching themselves off of the misery of the people."

529 The recreational associations of the English, Spaniards, *563 Syrians, and Lebanese are frequented by Brazilians. Likewise 575 the hospitals maintained by the Portuguese and Spanish colonies 743 are managed by Brazilian doctors and receive numerous patients from Bahia, white or colored.

795 The religion of the Catholic majority is traditionally much 771 more external and ritualistic than dogmatic, the religiosity of a large number of those who call themselves "strict Catholics" being chiefly theoretical. This must have constituted a serious difficulty for the clergy; it is also a subject of astonishment for the visitor who imagines that he will come in contact with "the most • 798 Catholic of Brazilian cities." The antagonisms between religious 621 groups are also moderate in this domain and /19/ never affect the

[SALVADOR]

/19 cont./

798 [621] social cohesion of the community (1).

[162] [795] 1. In 1940 the population of the city and of the municipality was made up of 97.49 o/o Roman Apostolic Catholics; 1.11 o/o Protestants; 0.26 o/o Israelites; 0.62 o/o spiritualists, etc.

[797] The Catholic majority views with an evil eye the activities of foreign Protestant missionaries and condemns particularly the "disloyal methods employed by some of them" and their way of distorting the Church. Protestantism is fought in the pulpit as heresy, but never the Protestants as persons having different characteristics and toward whom one vows hostility. The antagonism between Catholics, Protestants, and Presbyterians is also [871] [777] placed on the purely doctrinal plane; the institutions of learning maintained by Baptists and Presbyterians are attended by Catholic students and enjoy prestige because of their "American methods."

794 798 As for the candomblés, sanctuaries devoted to the cults of African origin, the current feeling is that these rites are so many barbaric survivals that ought to be done away with, for they are a matter of shame before foreigners and tourists. In a commentary on tourism, a local journal proposes that the visit to candomblés be omitted from excursion programs, "because there can be no propaganda more negative for this Brazilian city four times a hundred years old, which has so many other interesting things to show." These cults, despite everything, enjoy relative freedom and function by virtue of police authorization. They have sometimes been prohibited and their devotees violently dispersed by police forces. Among the Blacks there are many who share the opinions of the Whites on the subject of these rites.

666 665 578 Only the rivalry between political parties provokes real tension during the election campaigns. This tension is particularly intense in the controversies in the interior of the State; it never expresses itself other than verbally; individual cases of aggression or actual conflicts between groups belonging to different political parties have become extremely rare. The ethnocentric feelings [829] of the Bahians reached great vehemence several years ago when the majority of the electors refused to elect as governor of the State a candidate who was not "born in Bahia."

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

000 Footnotes - Chapter VI

[124] [122] [114] [1]The discussion of the cultivation of tobacco and manioc is base upon the following sources: (1) private conversations with Mr. G. G. a tobacco buyer and grower of long experience in Bahia and in other regions of South America; (2) Walter Alberto Egler, "Aspectos Gerais da Cultura do Furo na Região do Recôncavo na Bahia," Boletim Geográfic Vol. X, No. 111 (November-December, 1952), pp. 679-688; (3) general field observations throughout the zone, except in Coração de Maria and Catu, and, during 1953-1954, detailed observations in São Gonçalo and Cruz das Almas.

[804] [2]Tarefa means "a task," "a day's work," or "a piece of work," bu it is also an antique unit of area which is the folk-unit of area throu out much of Brazil. Its size varies from place to place, but the tarefa baiana equals 0.4356 hectares. In many areas one tarefa is considered be the usual size of the tobacco planting of one man, but it is obvious from a comparison of the labor force and area in tobacco that in many areas the plantings per person must run much larger. In any case, the individual plots are very likely to be one tarefa each.

[3]In many areas the tree stumps have entirely disappeared as a re sult of the intensive cultivation, which severely restricts the size of the wild vegetation which can develop during the fallow period.

[114] [243] [4]This interpretation differs, at least in emphasis, from that of Walter Alberto Egler, op. cit., pp. 679-688. He suggests as the charac teristic sequence, tobacco, corn and/or beans, and then manioc. Undoub edly this sequence is important, but the field investigation for the pr study revealed that the direct replacement of tobacco with manioc is no characteristic.

[239] [5]However, tobacco does not produce well on these poor soils unle manure is used, and even the yields of manioc are low unless it is planted in a field where there has been a relatively recent application of manure.

[244] [6]The seed for corn, which is edible, has value in itself. The stalk of manioc has no utility except to reproduce the crop. Thus when manioc is planted, the cultivator invests only his labor and the questio able value of the land.

[7]See section by George Wythe in Simon Kuznets, Wilbert E. Moore, and Joseph J. Spengler (eds.), Economic Growth: Brazil, India, Japan, p. 34.

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Private Plantation]

The following discussion will examine one of the five private plantations in the community of Vila Recôncavo and will then describe the network of factory plantations in the same community. 128

The Private Plantation: Fazenda das Moças

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The Fazenda das Moças ("G" on map of community) is typical of a privately owned plantation in all respects but one. Its owner is a lady who assumed active direction of the plantation after her husband's death. At first there was some difficulty in persuading the overseer of the plantation to take orders from a woman, for he felt his prestige was lowered in the eyes of the workmen as well as the overseers of neighboring plantations. However, after three or four years, Dona Sinhá, in cooperation with "Seu"[1] Paulo, the overseer, has made an outstanding success of her plantation, and the original friction between the two has greatly diminished. Below is an inventory of the Fazenda das Moças:

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Extent: 930 tarefas,[2] mostly of massapé, 450 of which are under sugar-cane cultivation, the rest consisting of pasture and small gardens

Water: 4 drinking tanks for livestock
2 small freshwater streams
(Drinking water must be brought from a neighboring plantation, which has a spring well known in the area for the salubrious qualities of its water.) [312]

Houses: 45 workers' houses [342]
Owner's house, with living room, dining room, 4 bedrooms, kitchen, bathroom, 2 maids' rooms, 2 other dependencies, veranda; surrounded by orchard
1 overseer's house
1 house formerly used as a school

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1. "Seu" is a corruption of Senhor and is a title often given to persons of some prestige. [576] [554]

2. The tarefa is the unit of land measurement used in Bahia. It equals 900 square braças. The braça equals 6 feet, which gives the tarefa 32,400 square feet. This is 11,160 square feet less than one acre. [804]

21 Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO
[The Private Plantation]

Ricardo Teixeira	2nd weeding of cane field	13 1/2	braças*	at	Cr$ 3,50	Cr$ 47,25
Julio Bispo	digging drainage ditch	30	meters	at	1,50	45,00
Paulo Manoel	carrying seed	12	trips	at	0,80	9,60
José Santo	cutting seed	5	loads	at	0,80	4,00
S. Santo	cutting out cattle	1	day	at	15,00	15,00
Malaquias Ario	trip to neighboring plantation	1	trip	at	10,00	10,00
Mario Adriano	3rd weeding of cane field	249	braças	at	3,70	921,30
F. Cramosa	planting	3 1/2	braças	at	2,20	7,70
Cecilio Argolo	replanting	65	braças	at	1,50	97,50
Paulo Manoel	carpentering	3	days	at	23,00	69,00
Sancho Santiago	repairing estiva	1	day	at	12,00	12,00
Paulo Souza	1st weeding of cane field	35	braças	at	3,20	112,00
Agostinho Batista	catching escaped cattle	2		at	10,00	20,00
Mario Serra	repairing fences	250	braças	at	0,15	37,50
Maria das Dores	gathering cane leaves for animal fodder	4	cartloads	at	2,00	8,00
Francisco Julião	loading railway wagon with sugar cane	1/2	day	at	7,50	7,50
Pedro Julio	cutting bamboo	12	mãos†	at	5,00	60,00
Francisco Brito	conducting load of wood	1	load	at	15,00	15,00
Crispim Argolo	repairing barracks	2 1/2	days	at	12,00	30,00
Domingos Moura	gardening	12	days	at	10,00	120,00
Osorio Ancieto	burying a burro	1	day	at	12,00	12,00
Pedro Julio	carrying water	1	day	at	10,00	10,00

*The braça equals 6 feet and is the measurement always used locally in the cane fields.
†Mão is a bundle of fifty and is used locally in speaking of fence posts and ears of corn.

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2: Hutchinson E-4, 8 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

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346 by a large and sumptuous church, in which the first Mass was celebrated in 1722. The magnificence of the church is still present, although the original altars have been replaced by
[532] new ones. Exquisite tiles depicting the life of St. Anthony, to whom the church is dedicated, line the sides of the church. The floors are of marble, and the wooden ceilings are painted in oils. It is said that the marble and the painted ceilings were
[322] brought from Portugal. The woodwork in the choir loft and sacristy is beautiful hand-worked rosewood. The clock in the
• [805] bell tower which rings the hour and half-hour is still the town timepiece, its sound reaching far out over the Bay. Under the marble floor, between the altar and the communion rail, are
[764] the tombs of the early families of Vila Recôncavo. The names inscribed on the tombs constitute a roster of families now scattered throughout the nation.

It is not known exactly when the Tertiary Order of Franciscans was first formed in Vila Recôncavo, but it too has left
175 792 its mark on the face of the town, for it constructed another large church and two-story building at the side of the convent.
346 The chronicler of the convent in the early 1900's wrote:

> Of the epoch of the formation of the Tertiary Order and the construction of the church and buildings nothing remains, not a document exists, with the exception of one book, consisting of the elections, offices, and resolutions of the Order. This book was begun in 1853 and ended in 1866. On the ceiling of the church appears the date 1751, in white paint, which seems to be of the original workmanship, and at the side of it can be seen in black paint "repaired in 1844." The lands of the Order are known only through the tradition of the people, since no document exists.[6]

If the date 1751 can be taken as the date of the construction of the church of the Tertiary Order, it can be assumed that the Order existed in Vila Recôncavo some time before this date, at least early in the 1700's. These additions to the convent were the last of the noble constructions in the town of Vila Recôncavo and took place at the end of the town's flourishing period. They were the last public expression of grandeur in the

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6. Author's translation.

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tatorial regime of Getulio Vargas. One of the last of these was 365
a son of the county who wished to leave a permanent remem- 653
brance of his family in the town. Most of the work was done
by local labor, which brought a certain measure of prosperity [652]
to the town. Certainly the appearance of the town changed.
New façades were added to many houses; others were freshly
painted in gay colors; and some people constructed cement
sidewalks in front of their homes. At night the streets are 365
brighter because of the electric street lights (which are turned 369
off at midnight) and because of the rays of bright electric light
passing through the cracks of the closed window shutters and
doors.

Almost every evening at dusk, however, the electric power
of the countryside is shut off for at least an hour because of
inadequate generating facilities at the main plant, leaving the
countryside and small towns in darkness. At this hour the town [416]
returns to its past, and one seems to be in an era one, two,
or three hundred years ago. Tiny oil lamps (filós) are lighted,
or an occasional kerosene lamp, the soft and short-reaching
rays of which barely penetrate the heavy darkness of the house
and do not reach the street. A hush falls over the town during
the spell of darkness. All the old fears of shadows, malev-
olence, and lobishomens (werewolves) return. The family con-
gregates in one room, for no one wants to be alone, speaking
softly as though not to break the spell. The streets are sudden-
ly emptied, and the silence is broken only by the occasional
forlorn braying of a donkey left wandering outside.

Without light there is no life in Vila Recôncavo. The evening
religious service is delayed; the movie is delayed; the bar
closes. One thinks of the impermanence of the new prosperity,
remembering how quickly the moist salt air can blacken the
gayest colored building, how the heavy rains can wash away
the foundation of a mud house, how fast the weeds can grow in
the cracks of the pavement, and how by the flick of a switch in
some faraway place the magical lights are removed. A heavy
gloom settles over the town and remains until, as suddenly as
they went off, the lights return. Life picks up again, radios
blare forth at fullest volume, and Vila Recôncavo once again
is grateful for light and life, however impermanent. 814

Although this is a traditional area, few local people know its
history. Only a few can provide historical data going back fur-
ther than one generation, and even fewer know anything of
what lies behind the "glorious past" of Vila Recôncavo, a

• 814 phrase one hears often but without further elucidation. Although there are many ruins of old town houses and plantations dotting the area and even the town streets, few people can tell anything about them or about their former illustrious owners.
217 Almost no historical documents can be found in the town, as most of the old records have either been destroyed by insects and dampness or burned at intervals when there was no longer room for their storage, or else have come into private hands in small quantities. Most clerical records of the convent and mother church of the parish have disappeared, although undoubtedly some are stored in church archives in Salvador and
[127] Olinda (Pernambuco). Some information was obtained from the office of the justice of the peace, where records go back to 1800 and consist mostly of testaments and inventories and records of a few lawsuits involving property, including slaves.

621 The community of Vila Recôncavo gives the impression of being a large private preserve. The town serves as contact
609 point with the outside. Although the inhabitants of the community frequently leave it for business or visits, it is seldom that a stranger enters the area. There are no facilities in the town or in the rural area to care for one who has no family ties in the community. Going along the roads of the community one can identify practically everyone encountered, if not by name then at least as to where he is from. The higher a person's position on the social scale, the more likely he is to be known by name to a great part of the community. Strangers are probably someone's guests. But the appearance of an unidentified person alone gives cause for speculation.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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in pigmentation. An able lawyer, with an extended period of practice in Bahia, he was well regarded by his associates.

At a formal dinner given by *A Tarde*, probably the most influential Bahian daily, in honor of a noted journalist and poet, 15 whites, 4 *brancos da Bahia*, 3 light mulattoes, and 6 medium or dark mixed-bloods sat down together at the banquet table. Among the guests, according to the account on the subsequent day, were "all the editorial writers and collaborators of this newspaper, together with a few specially invited friends and admirers of the honored guest [a white]."

Among the members attending a session of the Bahian Academy of Letters were 5 whites, 1 *branco da Bahia*, and 3 mulattoes. One of the latter is an able poet, quite dark, with kinky hair.

Present at a tea dance given by Bahia's Girl Guides at the exclusive club previously mentioned were the city's social élite, including the governor. *A Tarde*, in reporting the event, said, "As was to be expected, there was present our best society—all of it, almost—making the occasion one of elegance and distinction." Of the 414 guests, 346 were whites, 64 were very light mulattoes (exhibiting only slight traces of Negro ancestry), and 3 were dark mixed-bloods. One of the latter, with kinky hair but Caucasian features, was accompanied by a light mulatto wife, almost white, and two light mulatto daughters. One of the latter danced once during the afternoon—with a white youth. Of 30 Girl Guides serving the guests, 3 showed slight traces of Negro origin. The only blacks present were the members of the jazz orchestra (composed of 3 blacks and 6 dark mulattoes) and 2 maids who had accompanied white families.

The president of a literary, semiscientific, and social or-

[SALVADOR]

/62 cont./

*563 545 533 [204] society, has brought to Bahia the most famous musicians of our time. The newspapers and journals report the concerts that the white and colored artists give in the theaters and halls of the most important organizations of the city, and publish their /63/ pictures as well as the comments that the art critics make on the subject.

*563 •814 538 [532] [346] In the plastic arts, colored persons have not played an important role, although in the past they have produced some painters and sculptors of some renown whose works can be viewed in the most beautiful baroque churches of the city. These works are mentioned in the books on the art of Bahia, especially in those of a black or dark mulatto writer, Manoel Querino, son of slaves, whose studies on art, folklore, and Afro-Brazilian ethnography have made him famous. The first centenary of the birth of this intellectual, who in his biographies of numerous artists of Bahia only very rarely indicated their type, was solemnly commemorated in Bahia, as well as in Rio de Janeiro, at the same time that two other folklorists, who were white, one of whom was from Bahia, were honored.

*563 873 [875] In the school of fine arts of the local university, students of all types have acquired university degrees in architecture, painting, drawing, and sculpture; its teaching staff at present includes at least three mulattoes, two of whom are quite dark. Some informants say, however, that one painter, because of his color, was not counted for a prize offered by the school, consisting of a journey outside the State. This incident, which happened some tens of years ago, is interpreted in different ways by our informants.

*563 545 In the theater, colored persons (at least those who are very dark) do not have great possibilities, and one often hears this complaint expressed. The Blacks, says one young informant, never get beyond the stage of laborer or carpenter in our theaters; even for the roles of Blacks, disguised Whites are preferred. On the other hand, a morena amateur actress states that white women refuse to play the parts of Bahians and that they entrust these parts to colored girls. It is also somewhat difficult to present white and [873] colored actors together on the same stage, even in the theatrical

[SALVADOR]

/68 cont./

*563 872 572 565 In the public elementary schools the students, in general little conscious of their rank, have a tendency to mix indiscriminately. The informants in general do not recall discriminatory attitudes on the part of their white fellow-students and state /69/ that from these contacts result -- it is not uncommon to ascertain this -- close and lasting friendships. A woman of liberal profession established good relations with white colleagues of the upper classes during her school years, amicable relations that have lasted to this day. In working in the public schools of Bahia, a psychologist confirmed, however, that the children group themselves according to their physical type, but that they have a tendency to seek out in class children lighter than they as seatmates. It is understandable that in this phase of development and socialization of the child the latter has greater facility in identifying those of his group according to physical appearance, especially if he finds himself away from his family and is not influenced by the criteria of social classification current there. Even in the secondary schools, numerous informants say, the students group themselves according to their physical type, but especially in terms of social and economic rank; friendships between young people belonging to two extremes of the color scale are confirmed on each level; more rarely between different social strata. "The daughters of doctors, even if they are dark," a woman informant declared, "are treated with more attention by the professors and their companions than the Whites and the colored children who are poor." The relations between colored students and their Jewish comrades seem to be good, if one is to believe certain information.

*563 [217] In the libraries one can see students of very different types gathered around the same tables and working together. The colored students not only take part in groups on excursions, but sometimes are at the head of them; they happen to command their comrades of all types in the civic parades. A literary association founded by a black professor in a college-preparatory secondary school has white and colored members. [814] [873]

[SALVADOR]

/86 cont./

*563 •814 571 The Academy of Letters of Bahia, an institution that groups Bahian intellectuals of the greatest renown, includes among its 41 founders eight mulattoes of the most varied shades of skin. One of them, an educator of repute, became a /87/ national celebrity for his works on Portuguese grammar and for the polemic on linguistic problems that he carried on with his old disciple Ruy Barbosa. Two mulattoes -- a very distinguished professor of medicine and another, both an engineer and historian -- were corresponding members of this famous association. Since its founding in 1917, the Academy has counted among its members 15 morenos and mulattoes; among them are names of which Bahia is justly proud. The group of poets and prose writers who, [538] under the influence of symbolism, were originally part of an important literary movement was made up in large part of colored men.

/88/ Recreational Clubs

*563 575 The social and recreational clubs are the sector where admittance is the most difficult for persons of very dark color, if one is to believe the majority of informants. Some of them even declare that the obstacles that stand in the way of their entry into such organizations are due both to color prejudices and to the fact that these associations are dominated by the old families who resist the admission of members not belonging to their social and economic [565] group. It seems, however, that even in the very select clubs of Bahia there are fissures in the class barriers: none of these clubs can keep itself strictly closed nor strictly aristocratic either from the point of view of the filiation of its members to the old families or from that of their color. And this so much the more because the founder groups permitted, not only finos Whites, but persons "socially white" or "white in color" (brancas na côr).

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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CHAPTER VIII

RACIAL IDEOLOGY AND RACIAL ATTITUDES

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IN RECENT years there has grown up in Brazil a lively interest in the African and his descendants. This has resulted, among other things, in the holding of two *Congressos Afro-brasileiros*, the first of which met in Recife in November, 1934, and the second in Bahia in January, 1937. Composed of intellectuals having a common interest in the Brazilian Negro, their agenda indicate that such interest is confined almost entirely to three fields: (1) the history of African importation and slavery; (2) problems of acculturation, with especial attention to the survivals of African cultural forms; and (3) anthropometric variations. Generally absent is any concern with problems of racial conflict or accommodation, implying quite definitely the comparative absence of these problems in the social order as well as the comparative absence of any race consciousness answering to them on the part of the Negro or any other ethnic group.

[641]

The participants in the 1937 *Congresso*, which met in Bahia, visited fetish-cult centers, witnessed *capoeira*[1] and *samba*[2] presentations, studied the material relics of fetish-cult ceremonies available in Bahian museums, honored the memory of Nina Rodrigues (who some forty years ago pioneered in studies of the Afro-Brazilian cults in Bahia)[3] and

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[1] See chap. ix.

[2] The *samba*, probably of African origin, is a dance with vocal accompaniment (see chap. ix), as well as a musical form.

[3] See Nina Rodrigues, *L'Animisme fétichiste des nègres de Bahia* (Bahia, 1900) and *Os africanos no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1932).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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passed resolutions protesting police interference with the *candomblé* and demanding full religious liberty in the exercise of its rites.

Papers presented to this congress by Brazilians dealt with such subjects as "Slave Insurrections in the Province of Espirito Santo during the Nineteenth Century," "Old Documents concerning the Negroes of the Palmares," "Castro Alves and Brazilian Poetical Treatment of the Negro Slave," "The *Africano* in Bahia," "Chapters in Afro-Brazilian Ethnology in Rio Grande," "Bantú Contributions to Religious Syncretism in Brazil," "A Revision of Afro-Brazilian Ethnology," "The *Africano* and His Culture in Brazil," "The *Orixá*[4] of the Poor," "The School of Nina Rodrigues," and "The Negro and the Problem of Acculturation in Brazil." Only one paper was not concerned with ethnological or historical problems; and it, although it took account of ethnic differences, did not treat of any form of racial conflict. It dealt with "The Negro Criminal in Bahia."

Similar questions were discussed in the first *Congresso Afro-brasileiro*, which met in Recife, sponsored by Gilberto Freyre, a social historian whose *Casa grande e senzala* and *Sobrados e mucambos* throw significant light upon the Negro in colonial and imperial Brazil.[5] This gathering was, because of its informal character and the attempt to present factual data, "something new in Brazil."[6] As Freyre describes it:

> There was lacking both formality and a consciousness of class. Around a table, at the head of which different individuals took turns

[4] *Orixá* is a Yoruba word meaning "deity."

[5] An interesting estimate of Freyre's work by Dr. Lewis Hanke appears in the *Quarterly Journal of Inter-American Relations*, July, 1939, pp. 24-44, under the title "Gilberto Freyre: Brazilian Social Historian."

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[6] Gilberto Freyre, "O que foi o primeiro Congresso Afro-brasileiro no Recife," in *Novos estudos afro-brasileiros*, ed. Freyre *et al.* (Rio, 1937), p. 348.

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presiding in accordance with the varying subjects under consideration, were seated erudite *doutores* from lecture-room and laboratory; huge *filhas de santo;*[7] aged Negro cooks who brought from . . . . the crude kitchens of their mud huts recipes of . . . . Afro-Brazilian dishes; Negroes from the cane fields (like Jovino, whose paper was as full of errors in Portuguese as of *saudades* of the time of the *almanjarras*);[8] . . . . *babalorixás*[9] like Pae Anselmo; queens of the *maracatú*[10] like Albertina de Fleury, whose name reminded José Lins do Rego[11] of the heroine of a romance by Proust; certain others who, although illiterate or semiliterate, had such intimate knowledge of Afro-Brazilian matters as to be able to make an appreciable contribution to the Congress; students of law, engineering, and medicine . . . . ; elderly folklorists like Rodrigues de Carvalho; who never missed a session . . . . ; individuals like Nobrega da Cunha, who knew intimately the ritual of the *macumba;*[12] psychiatrists of the ability and reputation of Ulysses Pernambucano, who was acclaimed with all justice Honorary President; artists like Luis Jardim and Cicero Dias; intellectuals, journalists, and special representatives of Rio newspapers; the teacher, Ernani Braga, who collected for the Congress a number of invocations to Xangô[13] sung by the young ladies of the Conservatorio on the closing day of school to the enthusiastic applause of the best people of Recife. Individuals

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[7] *Filhas de santo* are ceremonial dancers of the fetish cult (see chap. x).

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[8] On the sugar plantations of colonial Brazil the beam to which animals were hitched to turn the millstone and crush the cane was called the *almanjarra*.

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[9] Priests of the fetish cult are sometimes called *babalorixás*. The word is formed from the Nagô words *bábá* ("father") and *orixá* ("deity").

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[10] The *maracatú* was an organization of Negroes which formerly participated in Carnival at Recife (see Mario Sette, *Maxambombas e maracatús* [São Paulo, n.d.], pp. 339–41).

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[11] José Lins do Rego is a noted Brazilian novelist whose realistic accounts of lower-class life, particularly in the state of Pernambuco, have helped to reveal a level of culture about which little had previously been written. See, e.g., his *Banguê* (Rio, 1934); *Menino de engenho* (2d ed.; Rio, 1934); *Usina* (Rio, 1936); *Histórias da velha Totonia* (Rio, 1936); *Pureza* (Rio, 1937); *Pedra Bonita* (Rio, 1938); *Doidinho* (Rio, n.d.).

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[12] The Afro-Brazilian fetish cult is known in Rio de Janeiro as the *macumba*.

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[13] Xangô (pronounced "Shán-go") is a deity of the fetish cult (see chap. x).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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who at last had seriously taken up "these Negro things" and had found them to be something more than merely picturesque, ... to be, in fact, a great living part of the genuine Brazilian culture.[14]

Before this democratic gathering were read such papers in history and ethnology as the following:[15]

England and the Slave Traffic
Three Centuries of Slavery in Parahyba
The Negro in the History of Alagôas
The Negro during the Dutch Occupation
Unusual Slaves
Physical Deformities of Negro Slaves
The Republic of the Palmares
The Negro Laborer in the Time of the *Bangué*[16] Compared with the Negro Laborer in the Time of the Sugar Factories
The Diet of Brazilian Slaves
Abolition and Its Causes
African Diseases in Brazil
Negro Music in Africa and Brazil
The Negro in the Folklore and Literature of Brazil
The Drama among Early Brazilian Negroes
The Contribution of the Negro to Brazilian Culture
A List of Nagô Words
Xangô
The Legend of Xangô and Its Corruption in Brazil
Invocations to Xangô Heard in Recife
African *Seitas*[17] in Recife
Notes on the *Catimbó*[18]

[14] *Op. cit.*, pp. 348–52.

[15] In several cases titles have not been translated literally; instead, an effort has been made to indicate more definitely the actual subject matter discussed.

[16] The primitive sugar mill used in colonial Brazil, often called the *engenho*, was also known as the *bangué*. [249]

[17] A fetish-cult center is often referred to as a *seita*.

[18] *Catimbó* is a word commonly used in northeast Brazil to designate the fetish cult, which is also known as the *candomblé* (in Bahia) and the *xangô* (in Recife). [794]

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Ohum Eniadúdú[19]
Recipes for Afro-Brazilian *Quitutes*[20]
The *Calunga*[21] of the Maracatús
The "People's Library" and the "Modern Collectanea"[22]

Obviously, there is implied in these titles no interest other than in history and ethnology. But in the following ten papers, although there again appears to be no concern with problems of racial accommodation, one does note an awareness of physical differences and an interest in their measurement.

Some Anthropological Measurements of the Population of Recife
Some Data on the Physical Characteristics of the Population of Recife
Some Physical Measurements of Brazilian Negroes and Mulattoes
A Study of Cephalic Indices and Color Variation among Mulattoes in Pernambuco
A Contribution to the Study of Lapicque's Index
Physical Measurements of Negro Students
Comparative Heights and Weights of Newborn *Branco*, *Pardo*, and *Preto* Babies
A Statistical Study of Longevity in *Brancos*, *Pardos*, and *Pretos*
The Comparative Incidence of Tuberculosis in *Pretos* and *Brancos*
Mental Disease among the Negroes of Pernambuco

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[19] Under this title two topics were considered: (1) legends from Dahomey and (2) Anamburucú (an Afro-Brazilian deity [see chap. x]).

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[20] *Quitutes* are food delicacies.

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[21] The *calunga* referred to here was a richly adorned female image representing a water deity. It was carried by the "Dama do Passo," a female dancer of the Maracatú.

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[22] The "Modern Collectanea" and the "People's Library" are two sets of inexpensive leaflets containing ballads and other folklore, historical sketches, anecdotes, prayers, recipes, etc. See, in this connection, Jorge Amado, "Literatura dos negros e mulatos da Bahia," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal de São Paulo*, XLVIII (June, 1938), 179–82.

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4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Quite exceptional in their subject matter are the following three papers:

Race Mixture in Brazil as a Eugenic Factor
The Mixed-Blood and the Problem of Degeneracy
The Social, as Opposed to the Racial, Causation of Degeneracy

These three papers, concerned as they obviously are with the oft-considered question of the relation of race mixture to degeneracy, indicate some concern in Brazil with this problem and thus appear at first sight to imply an interest in race relations in the North American sense of that expression. The question at issue turns out to be, however, largely an academic one, evoked perhaps by foreign literature and concerned with supporting arguments of white superiority and of Negro inferiority originating in Europe and the United States. At any rate, it is true that certain scholars, at a loss to account for the persistence in twentieth-century Brazil of African cultural forms, have seriously come to question the cultural capacities of the black race and to believe the future of Brazil prejudiced by the infusion of African blood.

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Thus, about 1900, Nina Rodrigues, intimately acquainted with a number of Africans in Bahia and impressed with the slow rate at which they and their descendants were sloughing off African cultural forms and being assimilated into the white world,[33] and also influenced to a considerable degree by foreign writers,[34] raised very earnestly the question of "the capacity of the Negro to accommodate himself to the civilization of the superior races."[35] Doubting specifically the ability of the Negro to take on European civilization,[36]

[33] *Os africanos no Brasil*, pp. 407–9; see also *ibid.*, chaps. v–vii.

[34] *Ibid.*, chap. vi, esp. pp. 388–98.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 385. [36] *Ibid.*, p. 391.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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tive case escape identification with a group into which he has been born, not only so far as race is concerned but even to some extent color as well, and if there is little attempt on the part of other persons to treat him differently merely because some of his ancestors were of different ethnic origin, "we-group" and "others-group" will delay in arising as objects in his experience; or, having arisen, will tend to be vague and inchoate entities, not vivid, clear cut, and sharply defined.

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Few colored intellectuals in Bahia are at all interested in studying and writing about the Negro; and, of those who are, such as the *preto* João da Silva Campos and the *pardos* Edison Carneiro and João Varella, their interest lies rather in the *Africano*, in his customs and traditions, and especially in those survivals of African culture still extant among descendants of imported slaves.

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There is no tendency to dignify the term "Negro" as there is among race-conscious Negroes in the United States. In fact, as we have already seen, "Negro" is a term rarely used either by blacks or by whites. When on occasion it is employed, no Bahian colored man, unless by chance he has been in the United States or in communication with American Negroes, is at all concerned about spelling it with a capital *N*. Nor does he resent the word *ama* ("mammy").

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This is not to say, however, that the blacks and the mixed-bloods are completely satisfied with their lot and that they utter no protest against the fate which has made the white man largely superordinate both economically and socially. On the contrary, the lower-class Negro often conceives of himself as mistreated and misunderstood.

There are, in this respect, two classes of blacks in Bahia: (1) those who are aware of, and articulate about, the race

[SALVADOR]

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562 may not be of African blood (3).
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3. Arthur Ramos, Introduçao a Antropologia Brasileira, II, Rio de Janeiro, 1947.

829 The Indians and the descendants of the cross between Indians
*563 and Whites are generally called cabôclos, but this expression is
192 no longer very common in Bahia and rarely serves to characterize
[178] the corresponding type. The term cabôclo has become, like that
[196] of "my Negro," rather a formula of tenderness between individual
175 of any color whatsoever. It must be noted, moreover, thanks to
829 old statistics, that toward the middle of the eighteenth century,
648 response to complaints about Brazilian "nativism," the Portuguese
641 government prohibited the use of the term cabôclo, to which was
576 then attached an insulting meaning, and granted at the same time
192 civil status of Whites to Indians and to their descendants of mixed blood, so that they could contract marriage with the Whites and fulfill official duties in the colony; it is in that manner that the contingents of mamelucos or cabôclos were assimilated with the
192 Whites in the military roles of the time. The word meanwhile
178 lost its insulting import and in our day is even considered a com-
829 pliment when it refers to a cabôclo bom, that is to say, a man of
576 good manners.

The Negroid albinos and the mulattoes with red, blond, or
144 light auburn hair are known by the name of sararás.
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The exact designation of these different types has always /14/
144 represented a difficulty, as much for anthropologists as for the
*563 persons charged with identifying school children, the military,
829 the criminals (1).

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*563 1. According to the Bahian anthropologist Nina
829 Rodriguez (in her book As raças humanas e a
•815 responsabilidade penal no Brasil /The Human
[113] Races and Penal Responsibility in Brazil/, 3rd edition, written at the beginning of the century), the métis include: 1st, the mulattoes produced from the cross between the White and the Negro:

[SALVADOR]

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a) mulattoes of prime blood; b) light mulattoes tending to revert to the white race; c) dark mulattoes, cabras, product tending to revert to the black race, some almost completely identified with the creole Negroes, the others more easily separable; 2nd, the mamelucos or cabôclos, products of the cross between White and Indian; 3rd, the product of the cross of the three races and especially the cross between the mulatto and the Indian or with the mamelucos and cabôclos. Arthur Ramos in his book A aculturaçao negra no Brasil /Negro Acculturation in Brazil/, 1942, p. 58, and in other works, one of which is "The Negro in Brazil," in Brazil, Portrait of Half a Continent, edited by Lynn Smith and A. Marchant, New York, 1950, p. 130, adopts almost the same classification, but proposes that, in order to avoid inaccuracies, one use the words pardo, mulatto, and métis as synonyms.

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In response to the demand of a lawyer, the head of the Bureau of Judicial Identification of the civil police of the State of Bahia stated some years ago that in his department one uses, according to the judgment of the identifier, the terms White, moreno, pardo, métis, and Black. A woman official who has worked for a long time in this service describes the different Bahia types thus: "The métis is a descendant of Black and mulatto; the pardo is the son of a mulatto and a White; the mulatto is derived from a White and a Black: he may be light, but he will always have lips that are thick and reddened by pigmentation; the moreno is the mulatto fino, and the Black is an individual with pronounced Negro traits."

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462 the icehouse where the shrimp are kept cool; they can then be
438 sent to Salvador every other day on the boat to be sold as fresh
251 shrimp at the market and on the streets. "Camarão da Vila,"
[443] (shrimp from Vila) the cry of the Salvador street peddlers, is well known throughout the capital city.

463 The majority of people in Group 2 live down the hill from the older part of town, near the beach or out along the road
[361] which leads to the factory. They are more or less dependent
[571] upon Group 1, not only for the money they receive in return
[476] for services, but also for many kinds of favors which fall under the heading of patronship. They are seldom able to employ the services of Group 3 for such jobs as house building or repairing; they must rely on an old form of cooperative labor, called the batalhão (work group), to make or repair a house wall or to put on a new thatch roof. Frequently a patron will arrange for another of his "dependents" to transport the mud necessary for the palm thatch (taipa), and there is no cost involved for the recipient; but she must arrange the labor.

463 The people of Group 2 fetch their own water from the wells,
312 and usually their own firewood from the tideswamps. There
[313] are several men and women in town who make a business of carrying these two commodities. Such work is contractual. A household contracts for so many cans or barrels of water a day and so many loads of firewood a week. If they do not have enough money for these services they must carry them out themselves. During the dry summer months fetching water is a tedious business, for the majority of the wells dry up early in the summer. In the very dry summer of 1950-51, all the wells in town but one went dry. The one which continued to supply water did so at a much diminished rate. This well is completely encased in cement, for it provides the only drinking water in town. There is a small pipe serving as a spigot. During the dry season it takes from ten to twenty minutes to fill a five-gallon tin can from this pipe. As a result, there were always long lines of women waiting for water, and a sojourn of three or four hours at the well was common. Many of the more ambitious women used to get up at two or three in the morning and go to the well, making several trips so they would be free of this onerous duty during the day.
• [821] This, however, took a great deal of courage, for most people
[492] in Vila Recôncavo are afraid of the dark, and no timid woman would make the trip out to the well at night. By general agreement, the men who carry water in barrels on donkeys walked

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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The mau olhado, or "evil eye," 754
a magical power presumed in many parts of the world, [171]
including Europe, to be possessed, often unwittingly, by
certain individuals, is thought at Bahia to bring death
to plants, birds, and even small children whom the person
has coveted or, perhaps, merely admired. More natural 753
forces are the *ar do vento*, or "air of the wind," a cold draught 821
said to result in indigestion, deformity, insanity, or death; [826]
the *espinhela caida*, or "fallen breastbone," which presumably brings on an emaciated condition of the body; and
sangue nova, or "new blood," thought to be responsible for
the breaking-out of a rash. Dew must not be allowed to fall 753
on the head. Certain diseases, like syphilis and leprosy, are
considered defects common to all men.[26] However, the per- [744]
sistent efforts of agencies like the Rockefeller Foundation [177]
have widely disseminated the idea that malaria results from
the bite of a mosquito.

The treatment or prevention of disease is the logical coun- 789
terpart of a magical theory of causation. Thus, members of 782
this section of the Bahian population attempt to control personal destiny through the use of charms or other magical
means or through the direct intervention of a deity, whose
favor is sought by the offering of gifts or the performance of
prescribed rituals. Thus, to counteract the influence of the 755
"evil eye," charms are worn, or pieces of the *Guiné*, *Arruda*, 824
or *Vassourinha Doce* plants are passed, to the accompaniment of magical words, over and about the affected person's
head.

goat may be killed, or a doll made and its neck pierced by a bit of wood. [754]
Either object is then placed in the doorway of the individual to be harmed or in any other place where he is likely to pass, the one depositing the *feitiço* calling out, as he drops it, the name of the person for whom harm is intended.

[26] "Syphilis," a black explained, "began with the world. Everyone has it, even horses, although it may never show up."

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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794 787 [789] neys, etc.[37] Oracles are invoked by way of such magical intermediaries as the *obí* and the *orobó*, or the *opêlê-ifá* (a chain of thin disks), or they may be obtained directly from an *orixá* who speaks during the "possession" of a *filha* or a *pae de santo* by way of the mouth of the one "possessed."[38]

787 Contact between the living and the dead is believed not only to be possible but to occur regularly. Hence, the prac-

[37] The serious character of a transaction of this sort puts it in a different category from certain other magical acts, common to all classes, which have the character of a game, being similar, for example, to practices attaching to our festival of Halloween. Thus, one may take a glass, "bless" it three times, put in it the white of an egg, and, holding it over a fire, again thrice "bless" it; or partially fill a basin with water and permit the tallow from a lighted candle to drip into it; or stick a knife up to the hilt in a banana tree and leave it until morning. The patterns formed on the glass, the water, and the knife, respectively, are presumed to indicate the initials of one's future spouse. A similar image is presumed to appear in the dreams of one under whose pillow has been left a freshly husked ear of corn.

[825] [38] Other magical practices of this sort are: the placing of crushed char-
[777] coal under a rock to expedite the recovery of a lost article, the burying of the third of a rosary to stop rain; also, it is commonly believed that a hum-
[821] mingbird inside the house, or the singing of an *odivem-quevem*, announces the coming of guests; that the appearance of an owl, or of an *ouriço cacheiro*, foretells death; that a black butterfly is a sign of misfortune; that a katydid with dark eyes brings unpleasant news, while one with light eyes brings favorable news; that seeing the new moon for the first time between the branches of a tree or anywhere partially obscured is a sign of misfortune throughout the coming month; that the showing of money to the new moon when seen for the first time will assure no want of income for the next thirty days; that ill fortune will attend one who dwells in a house on the corner of a street, enters a house with the right foot, or opens an umbrella inside a house. Still other "signs" of misfortune are: the toad; the black cat (or the "ghost" of a cat); the *anum* perched in a tree near the house; the *jacumim;* the hummingbird, if black; the katydid, if it has a black mouth (if the katydid has a red mouth, happiness is in store for the observer). In the opinion
[262] of numerous people, mutton must not be eaten, since it is "the *lamb of God* who taketh away the sins of the world." Sheep are animals which Christians must not eat.

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

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794 1933 when two women took the scapular and cord. But nothing
747 more came of it. There is a benevolent organization, the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, which gives aid to the poor and is run by three men of Class B. It is very weak, however, and at present can help only four persons in the town. The society conducts no festivals or public displays.

Festivals

796 The festivals which take place in Vila Recôncavo are based
[184] on the religious calendar and are participated in to a great extent by the African cult members. January 1 is an im-
[793] portant date in town and is celebrated by a Mass in the fishermen's chapel, after which the priest goes out on the beach and
796 blesses all the canoes. After he has gone, the participants in African cults make their offering for the day. This is the date
794 when presents are given to the Mother of Waters (Mae d'Agua locally, but sometimes known as Janaina, Sereia, or Yansan
782 in other parts of Brazil). The presentations are made by the
776 cult priestesses, but anyone who wants to give a present to the Mother of Waters may do so by handing the gift to the cult
[822] priestess beforehand. The presents may consist of money or of anything a woman can use, as long as it is white: combs, ribbons, powders, perfumes, soaps, flowers, and so on. Everything is wrapped together and placed in a large clay basin covered with white cloths and decked with white flowers.

The cult priestess comes out of the cult house after Mass and, accompanied by participants and onlookers, goes down to the beach and enters one of the large canoes prepared for the occasion. The cult drummers accompany her, as well as most of the female devotees (filhas de santo). Usually two presents are given, one to the young Mother of Waters, who lives near the town, and another, larger one to the old Mother of Waters, who lives at about an hour's distance from town, where the water is very deep. The canoes take off and proceed up the river, while the drums beat and the devotees sing. The Mother of Waters is called and praised, and when the canoes arrive where the younger one lives, her present is lowered into the water. If it does not sink it is a very bad sign, for it means that the present was rejected. The bundles usu-
[787] ally sink, however, for they are bound in a heavy clay basin. At this moment the Mother of Waters is supposed to enter the body of the person who placed the gift in the water. This person, usually an older devotee, enters a trance state and must

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Xangou" ("Praises to Xangô") or "Louvores á Ogun" ("Praises to Ogun"). A small niche built in above the doorway which leads to the *pegi* is neatly decorated with red and white paper bows, and in it stands a crucifix about ten inches high, together with images of the Virgin Mary with the child Jesus in her arms, of Santo Antonio (St. Anthony), and of São Jorge (St. George).

In a circle in front of the drums are twenty-two women, the oldest of whom is about sixty years of age and the youngest eight. Fourteen are blacks, eight are mulattoes, none of whom is very light. All have serious expressions on their faces, especially the little girl, although none appear in the least bit self-conscious. Six are *yaubs*, or initiates, in the process of being "made," and range in age from fourteen to seventeen years. Two are dedicated to Omanlú (Omolú), and four to Oxun. The Omanlú initiates are dressed principally in shades of red. Strands of hemp died reddish-brown drop from the head to below the knee, completely obscuring the face. Above the head the strands rise vertically and are tied together in a cluster at the end. Below the hem of a dark-red skirt appear white pantalettes which fit tightly over the legs and extend to the ankle. Each girl wears four strands of cowries around each bare arm at the biceps and a long string of cowries over the right shoulder and under the left arm.

The Oxun initiates have their heads shaved, and three concentric circles have been painted in white around the crown. Smaller circles intercept the outer of these three. Large white spots have also been painted on the face, the neck, and the back of the head. Four feathers, one of which is red, one white, one black, and one brown, are held firmly upright at the forehead by a ribbon tied very tightly. Each

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be held in the canoe by the others, for she tries to jump into the water. At the same time, all those present in the canoe scoop up the water and pour it over themselves, for it is at this moment quite holy. The possessed person is gradually calmed and brought back to a normal state as the canoes move up the river.

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During this time, groups of fishermen often go out in their newly blessed canoes (canoas de bordejo) to play. Because their canoes have been blessed by the priest, and because of the holy aspect of the water resulting from the presence of the Mother of the Waters, the men may enter the water without fear, so they jump in and out of the water and swim around their canoes until they are tired. This cannot be done at any other time of the year for it is not considered safe to enter deep water.

After the second gift has been offered and accepted, the party lands and goes back to town on foot in a spirit of great joy and gaiety. The rest of the day is given over to horse racing, visiting, gaming, and dancing on the fishermen's square. People from classes A and B do not participate in these proceedings, which they consider barbarous. But most lower-class people at least watch, although only participants enter the canoes. Observers walk along the banks and watch. Cults from the rural areas make their own presentations separately, frequently on Christmas Day and in another locale.

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The next festival in the year comes after January 6, the Day of Kings, which has already been mentioned. Parties take place from this day until the beginning of Lent. Other than a Mass, there is no longer much sanctity connected to this day.

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The most important festival of the year is that of Nossa Senhora da Conceição da Praia, the patron saint of most of the fishermen, to whom their chapel is dedicated. This festival begins on January 13 and starts off each evening with a novena held in the fishermen's chapel. The priest goes each evening for the novena, and, on the three last days of the festival, each morning, to celebrate Mass in honor of Nossa Senhora da Conceição, St. Peter, and St. John. A committee is organized in the chapel to ask patrons for contributions to the festival, for candles, oils, electric light, and to pay the priest each night. Flowers are a very important part of the festival, although at this time of the year they are very expensive. Each night of the novena there is a different group of patrons, and

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to her,[52] romances written.[53] Of 146 male students responding to the query, "All things being equal, whom would you prefer to marry, a *branca*, a *morena*, a *parda*, a *preta*," 117, or 80.1 per cent, replied "a *morena*." Similarly, of 93 white female students responding to a like question, 80, or 86 per cent, preferred a *moreno* for a mate.

The *morena* may, or may not, have African blood.[54] But at least in Bahia this category includes many individuals of partial African descent. For instance, a study of five hundred women classified as *morenas* in the Gabinete de Identificação indicated the probable distribution given in Table 7.

It is the opinion of Arthur Ramos[55] that, although "the charms of the *morena* exert a profound sexual attraction" and the regard in which she is held "has a sexual base in the Freudian sense," the present attitude toward the *morena* "grew out of the enthusiasm and the sentimentalism of the abolition campaign. The *morena* expresses in a symbolic way the union of the two races—the black and the white—and the absence of [caste] prejudice."

The *morena* probably constitutes a decided bond be-

[52] As, for example, the following:

Beautiful morena,
Morena,
Morena who makes me suffer!
The full moon, so bright,
Is not as luminous as your eyes.
You are a *morena*,
A wonderful girl.
There's not a *branca* who hasn't
fallen for you.

Often,
When you pass by,
Men quarrel over you;
Everyone eagerly anticipates
Your smile.

Your heart is a boarding-house,
A family hotel
Along the seashore.
Oh, *moreninha*, do not rent all!
Leave at least a corner
For me to live in!

[53] A rock on the island of Paquetá in Guanabara Bay at Rio de Janeiro very popular with young lovers, has been dedicated to the *moreninha*.

[54] Pronouncing the word *morena* (or *moreno*) with a certain emphasis or changed inflection indicates darker color.

[55] Stated in personal correspondence with the author.

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men, anxious for a good year's catch, or individuals wishing to be rid of some illness, to obtain employment, or to secure a satisfactory resolution of unrequited love, will purchase foods, wearing apparel, toilet articles, jewelry, and other gifts pleasing to a lady and place them with appropriate ceremonies in a body of water presumed to be inhabited by one of the *mães d'agua*. Particularly sacred are the waters of Mar Grande, off the island of Itaparica, where, a few years ago, a saddle horse, it is said, was presented to Yemanjá; Mont'serrat and Cabeceiras da Ponte, on opposite sides of Itapagipe; Baiutê,[29] near the village of Itapoan; and Mariquita, near Rio Vermelho.[30] Parents of twins make regular food and drink offerings to the twin-deities, the Beji, or Cosme and Damião. Omolú, the "*orixá* of smallpox," is believed to protect not only against the ravishes of this disease

782 [778] [823] [845] [776] 776 75

[29] A foreigner was swimming in Baiutê when a passer-by, seeing him, shouted excitedly, "What are you doing in there? Don't you know that that water is charmed (*encantado*)? You might even turn into a fish. Haven't you seen the white swans? They say that they are two people who once swam here." For accounts of public offerings to the *mães d'agua* see *Estado da Bahia* for June 19 and September 23, 1936; *A Tarde* (Bahia), February 3, 1938.

[30] A letter headed, "Every Vow Fulfilled up to the End of the Year, 1936," and addressed to "Our Lady of Mont'serrat, the Mistress of the Sea, Janaina," was found in the bay near Mont'serrat. It read: [539]

To my Godmother:

I promise you, my Lady of Mont'serrat, that if you arrange it so that I can marry Domingos Portella, I will give you a present worth fifty milreis. And on the second of February I will put in another present according to my means. If possible, I will give you thirty milreis, and if not I will give you at least twenty. As large a present as I have I will give you on February 2, from twenty milreis up. My Godmother, I promise thee that the day of my marriage to Domingos Portella will be a happy day for you also; while I shall be having a *festa* here on land, you also will be having a *festa* there in the holy sea. I will fix dishes of all that we have in the house for this day, and send them to you, with greetings from me.

Your goddaughter,

Yvonne D. L. Braga

(Letter presented here by courtesy of Friar Tomás.)

2: Hutchinson · E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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indicates work done in these fields. The top of the stalk just below the leaves is used as seed.

"Cutting out cattle" refers to selecting cattle from the herd to be used for the day's transportation. The "trip to neighboring plantation" means that Malaquias was sent to another plantation on an errand either for Dona Sinhá or for Seu Paulo on some plantation business, such as to get the payroll sheets, which are made up by a resident of another plantation. "Planting" means the first planting of sugar cane, while "replanting" means planting cane in the spaces where the first seed did not grow, either because it was buried too deeply, or because after planting it received too much sunshine or too much rain. Such spaces are always filled in when the new cane reaches a height of several inches.

[463] "Carpentering," a craft, commands a higher salary than agricultural work. Sometimes a plantation keeps a carpenter on a regular salary; at other times he is hired from the factory, as is the case here. His work may be on the wooden carts used for transportation or on any of the many houses of the plantation.

[491] An estiva is a type of makeshift bridge crossing a drainage ditch or a low spot on the road where water collects during the rainy season. It is usually no more than four or five yards long and a yard or two wide. The lengthwise pieces are bamboo with other pieces of the same material laid across them close together. Then earth is placed on top and smoothed off. These bridges require constant repair work. During the height of the rainy season they often break up entirely and float away. They are often quite perilous for horses, burros, and oxen, whose legs sometimes go through the bamboo latticework.

[233] "Catching escaped cattle" requires some agility on the part of the person who does it. It is usually done on foot, and if the ox or cow is in a cane field it must be worked out carefully in order not to destroy too much of the standing sugar cane. "Repairing fences" accompanies catching escaped cattle, for the animals often break through the fences enclosing their pastures. The fence posts are usually of bamboo, which rots quickly and must be constantly watched and replaced as it shows signs of weakening. "Cutting bamboo" is done for many

•[824] different ends. Most plantation boundary lines are marked by rows of graceful bamboos whose wood is used for fence posts and estivas, as well as for the wicker framework of the mud-covered houses.

226 long and has ropes on each end 420 feet long. This net demands a large canoe. The usual size in use is 30 feet long.

226 Few of the fishermen own their own calão--most rent it
427 from a merchant who has one. It is rented by the master on a long-term basis rather than for just one trip. It is said that the master "toma conta da rede," meaning that he not only is fishing with the net, but also repairs it and dyes it when needed. The owner of the net, who usually also owns the canoe
226 and the paddles, receives 20 per cent of the profits of each trip. The remainder is divided among the six men, although
[435] the master and baixador each receive one-third more than the other four. Depending on how the fish are running, the calão may catch as much as Cr$1.000,00 to Cr$1.500,00 worth of fish per trip, or as little as Cr$120,00 worth. Two trips a day are made when the fishing is good. There are only eight of these nets in the town, and they are worth about Cr$1.500,00 apiece. The calãozinho is a smaller net of the same type, sometimes called the redinha, or little net. Although its op-
[178] eration is almost the same as that of the larger net, it re-
[461] quires only four men to maneuver it. However, it is becoming less and less popular as the resse increases in popularity.

227 On land, good care must be taken of the nets. After the fishing, the nets are carried up along the beach to the drying racks, long lines of poles over which the nets are spread. As they dry the master checks them, looking for holes which he immediately sews with a wooden bobbin and cotton thread.
• [824] The nets are hand-woven of cotton, and dyed in water in which the bark of the red mangue has soaked. This turns the white cotton a dark reddish brown and protects it from the action of the salt water and the sun. A new net must be soaked in this dye every two or three days, and later every eight days.
227 The resse, abaladeira, and tarrafa are frequently woven by
286 women, and, unless worked on steadily, these nets may take as long as eight months to make. With steady work a circular
[462] casting net can be made in about twelve days. The women are
[461] paid Cr$12,00 per box of cotton line which contains twenty-
[435] five spools of cotton thread, and it takes five boxes to make an average-size net. The other nets require heavier thread and take much longer to make. The calão and the deep net are made by men, and a year is not considered too long for the
[824] manufacture of one. Piassava, a plant fiber which grows in
227 the Recôncavo, is used as line. The fishermen of Vila Recôncavo go to the southwestern part of the bay to purchase it. It

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Although the Bahian upper classes, owing to their Negro cooks, are not unacquainted with those dishes of African origin so commonly eaten in the homes of lower-class blacks, one does not ordinarily find on their tables African delicacies like *abará*, *aberém*, *acassá*, *acaragé*, *arroz de Aussá*, *bóbó de inhame*, *carurú*, *efó*, *xin-xin*, etc., each of which is seasoned according to recipes handed down from African forebears who also extensively made use of African seasonings like *azeite de dendê*, *atarê*, *irú*, *pejerecum*, *iêrê*, and *egussi*.[18] The eating habits of the upper classes are, in general, European in origin. But the poorer inhabitants extensively utilize banana leaves for plates and for packaging foods and replace forks with fingers as eating accessories.

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The music and dances enjoyed by large numbers of the darker population further distinguish this portion of the Bahian community. For instance, the *samba*, or *samba batida*, a regional form of the old *batuque*, although it has now been taken over by the upper classes and in a modified form become not only one of the most characteristic musical forms but also one of the favorite dances of Brazil, is still enjoyed in its primitive simplicity by the Bahian lower classes. With them it is a dance in which first one and then another of the participants enters a circle, dances a shuffling step while singing, cantor-fashion, the first line of a stanza, the others responding as a chorus. A song very popular at Mar Grande on the island of Itaparica in the bay at Bahia recalls the

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[18] *Azeite de dendê* is oil from the *dendê* palm; *atarê*, said to have been imported from Africa by Bahian Negroes, is a variety of pepper; *egussi* are gourd or melon pips; *iêrê* are seeds similar to those of the coriander; *irú* and *pejerecum* (or *bejerecum*) are varieties of small beans. For recipes of a number of these dishes see Manoel Raymundo Querino, *A arte culinaria na Bahia* (Bahia, 1928).

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ing, and sudden "cartwheels" alternate with other attempts to confuse and "cripple" an opponent.[29]

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The musical instruments commonly employed among this portion of the population are the *atabaques*, the *agôgô*, the *caxixi*, the *canzá*, the *agê*, the *chocalho*, the *xaque-xaque*, the *cuica*, and the *berimbau*. All but the last three instruments are rarely seen outside the *candomblé*.

The *atabaques* (or *tambaques*) are wooden drums, each approximately twenty inches in diameter but varying in height, invariably used in sets of three. The largest, called *ilá*, or *rum*, is seldom less than two and one-half feet tall and occasionally attains seven feet, while the medium-sized drum, known as *rumpi*, ranges from two to four feet in height, and the smallest, or *lé*, from one and one-half to two and one-half feet. To produce a soft, muted sound, the drums are beaten with the hands. For the heavier tones, *baquetas*, or short wooden sticks, are employed. The huge *bátá-cótó*, or war drum, which played a prominent role in the slave insurrections, has long since disappeared.

The *agôgô* is a bi-tonal instrument, consisting of two hollow iron cones joined together. It is beaten with an iron pin. The *agê*, or *piano de cuiá*, is a large calabash containing pebbles and covered with a small cotton net in whose meshes *buzios*, or cowries imported from Africa, are firmly secured. If the latter are not available, dry seeds known as *contas da Nossa Senhora* are employed instead, and pebbles are occasionally inserted in the calabash itself to augment the sound. The *caxixi* is a tiny reed or straw basket containing cowries or small pebbles. The *xaque-xaque* is a hollow metal instrument shaped like a dumbbell, each of whose enlarged extremities contains small pebbles. When shaken, it produces

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[29] See Edison Carneiro, *Negros bantus* (Rio, 1937), pp. 147–60.

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the sound from which its name is derived. The *chocalho* is a similar instrument, but with only one extremity enlarged. The *adjá* is a small metal bell used to invite members of the cult to the ritual *dar comido ao santo*.[23] The *canzá*, or *ganzá*, now is seldom seen.[24]

[824] The *berimbau* is used primarily to accompany *capoeira*. It consists of a wire strung upon a stick to form a bow, with a dried gourd open at the top attached at the lower extremity. The instrument is beaten, to produce numerous complex rhythms, with a wooden stick held, together with a *caxixi*, in the right hand, while with the left a copper *vintem* (old Portuguese coin) is alternately pressed against the wire and released. The *cuica* is a drumlike instrument, open at one end. Sound is produced by drawing the hand along a resined stick appended to the center of the drumhead.

753 In the lower-class world health and morality are in many
784 cases closely identified. The cause of disease or bodily harm
[565] is often believed to lie in the direct intervention of a deity who has become angered by the nonfulfilment of obligations prescribed in the sacred ritual or by the breaking of
754 taboos. Evil forces may be invoked, it is believed, through the magical influence of the *feitiço* and bring illness, blindness, insanity, or death.[25] The *mau olhado*, or "evil eye,"

[23] See chap. x.

[24] For illustrations of these instruments see Arthur Ramos, *O negro brasileiro* (Rio, 1934), Figs. 24 and 25 (p. 162).

[25] Rituals vary. A portion of the clothing of the one to be harmed, a shoe or other article, may be submitted to magical manipulation and thrown into the sea. In this way the individual is presumed to be subjected to the ebb and flow of the tide. Or a few hairs from the head of the one to be harmed may be mixed with crushed herbs of supposed magical power. Presumably he is then likely "to hate someone whom he now esteems, drink to excess, become crippled or insane, or lose his life." A pigeon, chicken, sheep, or he-

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The mau olhado, or "evil eye," 754
a magical power presumed in many parts of the world, [171]
including Europe, to be possessed, often unwittingly, by
certain individuals, is thought at Bahia to bring death
to plants, birds, and even small children whom the person
has coveted or, perhaps, merely admired. More natural 753
forces are the *ar do vento*, or "air of the wind," a cold draught 821
said to result in indigestion, deformity, insanity, or death; [826]
the *espinhela caida*, or "fallen breastbone," which presumably brings on an emaciated condition of the body; and
sangue nova, or "new blood," thought to be responsible for
the breaking-out of a rash. Dew must not be allowed to fall 753
on the head. Certain diseases, like syphilis and leprosy, are
considered defects common to all men.[26] However, the per- [744]
sistent efforts of agencies like the Rockefeller Foundation [177]
have widely disseminated the idea that malaria results from
the bite of a mosquito.

The treatment or prevention of disease is the logical coun- 789
terpart of a magical theory of causation. Thus, members of 782
this section of the Bahian population attempt to control personal destiny through the use of charms or other magical
means or through the direct intervention of a deity, whose
favor is sought by the offering of gifts or the performance of
prescribed rituals. Thus, to counteract the influence of the 755
"evil eye," charms are worn, or pieces of the *Guiné*, *Arruda*, 824
or *Vassourinha Doce* plants are passed, to the accompaniment of magical words, over and about the affected person's
head.

goat may be killed, or a doll made and its neck pierced by a bit of wood. [754]
Either object is then placed in the doorway of the individual to be harmed
or in any other place where he is likely to pass, the one depositing the *feitiço*
calling out, as he drops it, the name of the person for whom harm is intended.

[26] "Syphilis," a black explained, "began with the world. Everyone has it, even horses, although it may never show up."

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oxhorn, both of which are employed for protection against the *mau olhado*, or "evil eye." Or they may be of a more general nature like the letters *J M J* (Jesus, Maria, José), or the *signo de Salomão* ("sign of Solomon")[35] either or both of which may be painted or carved on the door of the house or even tattooed on an individual's arm, leg, or chest; or a small pouch worn around the neck and containing either a *patuá* (presumed to protect against evil, especially the machinations of an enemy or death in battle)[36] or a small piece of garlic, "Danda root," *mil homens*, or *arruda*, a clove, or merely some object sacred to the *orixá* to whom the individual is dedicated. Similarly employed are such magical practices as the sprinkling of sea water in the four corners of the house, the emptying through the front door of a basin of water left overnight in the center of the floor, or the burning regularly at six o'clock in the evening of incense to which, occasionally, sulphur and pieces of oxhorn are added until the house is filled with magically potent smoke.

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In the fetish cult, divination is commonly resorted to for such purposes as the identification of an unknown *orixá* who has "manifested himself" in human form, the determination of such matters as the eligibility of a prospective *ogan*, or male functionary of the cult, the cause of a troubling illness, or the proper course to pursue in some contemplated action. Divination is also employed to foretell future events, particularly the outcome of business or amorous ventures, jour-

[35] A six-pointed star at whose apex appears a cross.

[36] During the insurrection of 1835, the Malês, as we have seen, wore *patuás* consisting either of prayers or of verses from the Koran, written or printed in Arabic characters. They were presumed to protect against death in any form. For photographs of some of these see Nina Rodrigues, *Os africanos no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1932), p. 98, Figs. 1, 2, 3, and 4.

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[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 260]

[SALVADOR] !

/12 cont./

*563 829 192 826 from the word any pejorative meaning. In fact, to say a "mulattress" in speaking of a young girl of a certain social class is in a way less courteous than to say "a little mulattress" (una mulatinha). Very often, in speaking of a person of distinction, one does not use any of these terms; one then says "a person of color" or "a /13/ dark person." A swarthy métis with slightly frizzy hair, whose features link him with the Whites, is a moreno, especially if he belongs to an upper social class. A journalist, recently describing a part of the city where a large number of colored people are found together, wrote that "one meets beautiful mulattresses there." If the latter belong to the lower classes and if they are poor, they are simply mulattresses; if they are granfinas (1),

1. Granfino, granfina may be translated by "very refined."

they become light morenas; and one could even add morenas the color of jambo (2).

•[824] 2. Jambo, fruit of the jambevio, a Myrtaceae (Eugenia sp.).

[533] [541] [204] One finds numerous references to women of this type in the popular songs launched on the occasion of the famous Brazilian carnival. In the journals reporting accidents, crimes, or other facts in which mulattoes happen to be involved, even from the poorest classes, it is rare to come across the word mulatto, for which pardo or morena is preferred. The feminine form, moreover, has a sentimental value: it suggests a slightly pigmented skin and features of a beauty peculiar to these "women so sought after and preferred in greater number," as one of our informants told us. Because of this preference, the morena type has been celebrated in prose and in verse by our writers. And this morena, it goes without saying,

*563 562 829 192 826

is very rough, though strong. Most of the men complain about it, for it cuts their hands when they are fishing and the action of salt water on the cuts inflames their hands badly. 227

There are between seventy-five and one hundred canoes in Vila Recôncavo, of all sizes, from 16 to about 50 feet long. They come from the southern part of the state, and cost between Cr$1.000,00 and Cr$6.000,00 apiece, depending on their size. They are made of vinhatico preto, a large tree from which an entire canoe can be hollowed out. As the canoes grow older, they are strengthened inside by the addition of ribs. The center support (pé do banco) has a hole in it through which a mast can be stepped for sailing. The fishermen use a variety of sails, but usually a simple square sail called traquête. Four flour sacks sewn together make a passable square sail. The canoes last a long time and are handed down from generation to generation. A hundred years is not an uncommon age for such a craft. 501 [313] [428]

The majority of fishermen cannot swim well and have a great respect for the water on two counts: the water is deep, which to them implies danger, and it is said to hide large, man-eating fish. There are stories of three men who have disappeared in the last few years, snatched away by fish. One was a baixador, and the other two fell overboard. Falling is not uncommon, for often a man steps on a small fish on the bottom of the canoe or simply slips on the wet wood, loses his balance, and goes overboard, as the canoes are narrow-beamed and unstable. In their canoes they are fearless, and will go anywhere in any weather. Severe storms which arise suddenly are ridden out in the canoe, which generally lies at anchor while the men lie under cover of the sail, peering out occasionally to see if the weather is clearing. Many of them, however, become violently ill on a larger boat during a storm. 501 226 [481] [825] [164]

Winter is the most productive season for fishing, although the most uncomfortable. There are many storms, and the rains are more or less constant. But the fishermen say that the mixture of salt water with the fresh water from small rivers emptying into the bay seems to produce many more fish than in the summer months. The fishermen dress only in a pair of shorts and a straw hat when fishing, and remain in the cold rain for hours on end. Colds are common among them, as is rheumatism among the older men. 226 [221] [132] [291] [164]

There is always a market for fish. There is a discussion currently going on in Vila Recôncavo, for some of the older 226 43

252 they produce. The juice which is squeezed out is saved, and starch is extracted from it to be used in pressing clothes. The nonpoisonous variety of manioc (aipim) is used to a much smaller extent. Usually the tuber is boiled in water and then eaten as though it were a potato, for it does not need any processing to render it edible.

241 463 Ten of the twenty-four gardeners concentrate on manioc, while the others raise bananas. Most of them also grow their own household subsistence crops, scattered among the manioc and bananas, such as corn, beans, squash, and often a few shoots of excellent tobacco. Many of them also produce a quarter or half acre of a heavy type of sugar cane (cana de chupar) which is stripped of its bark, cut into short pieces, and masticated, the pulp being spit out after the person has sucked out the juice. Almost everyone indulges in this, and the sugar which is absorbed is undoubtedly a great source of energy. The plots (roças) are fenced and protected by an ox skull stuck on one of the fence posts to keep out the evil eye.

[146] [825] [789]

There are many gardeners to the west of the town who rent their small plots from either the Engenho da Vila or the federal school. This area has not produced sugar cane for many years, for it lacks the surface covering of massapê. These gardeners are often called matutos ("hicks"), real backwoodsmen who get along on subsistence agriculture and seldom leave their rural neighborhood. They are as far removed from contact with modern civilization as anyone could be while living in the Recôncavo. They live in well-hidden, small houses of mud and thatch, and one can ride through this section without seeing anyone.

241 463 554 [427]

443 463 The peddlers (ambulantes) listed in Group 3 have their houses in Vila Recôncavo but go from town to town selling their wares. While they do some trading at the fairs they also cover a regular route independent of the fairs. Compadresco, the system of godparentship, is important to them, for the houses of such relations give them a base of operations in every town they visit. One of the three is a man who buys and sells jewelry, and the other two are women; one sells cloth for dresses and the other sweets (doces), peanuts, and dried shrimp. The latter is one of the famous street merchants (bahianas) of Salvador; she sits on a street corner before a portable table selling favorite Bahian snacks such as acarajé and abará. She goes to Salvador on the boat on Saturdays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays, returning to Vila Recôncavo the

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but also against all skin ailments, including leprosy. Particularly approachable is the deity to whom a person is dedicated. "This bad cut on my foot," remarked a *mãe de santo* dedicated to Xangô, "would not heal. So I talked it over with Xangô. He agreed to heal it, and told me what to use. It's now getting well; it's much better already."

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An individual troubled by continued ill-health, business difficulties, or even bad dreams may request of the fetish-cult priest the ritual of *lavagem das contas*, or "washing the beads." Divination is first resorted to in order to identify the *orixá* "responsible" for the difficulty. Then the beads sacred to this deity are immersed in water, a newly purchased basin being used for the purpose, and a handful of leaves also sacred to him are crushed and added. After a time, the beads are removed and washed with *sabão da costa* ("soap from the Coast"). Thus purified, they are given to the person suffering the ill fortune, who must subsequently keep them in a clay vessel and from time to time wear them about his neck.

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Considered one of the most effective methods of "removing" a disease or misfortune is the *troca da cabeça*, or "changing of heads," whose purpose is to transfer the disturbing influence from the afflicted person to another individual. The ritual varies. The afflicted one may have his head rubbed with a chicken or a pigeon, which, having thus acquired the evil influence, is then killed. Or an *ebó*, or *bozó*, as it is more commonly called, may be prepared,[31] and the affliction purposely transferred to another individual by leav-

[31] The *bozó* almost always includes a dead hen, popcorn, manioc meal with *azeite de dendê*, pieces of clothing from the one to be benefited, nickel or copper coins, certain African foods like *ocassá*, *aberém*, and *acarajé*, and, if available, the African fruits, the *obí* and the *orobó*, of ritualistic significance.

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ing the *oozó* in a place where the intended victim is likely to step on it or otherwise touch it.[32] An animal may be "prepared with the *ebó*" so that whoever subsequently touches the animal will catch the illness or inherit the misfortune. If, however, one wishes to avoid transferring the evil to another person, he may do so and still rid himself of his affliction by leaving the *ebó* in a cemetery.

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If a *filha de santo* (ceremonial dancer of the fetish cult) would avoid illness or other misfortune, it is considered highly important that she observe all the taboos, especially those attaching to food and drink. A pregnant woman must avoid vegetables and all meats other than chicken; she must not join a funeral procession, since the spirit of the deceased might enter her child; and she must avoid a rose touching her bare breast, for otherwise the child, it is believed, will be born with a birthmark.[33]

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Charms may be of a specific nature like the *figa*[34] or the

[32] The affliction may, however, be transferred to someone toward whom no harm was originally intended if the individual placing the *ebó*, either ignorantly or with intention, fails to leave it in the designated place. The first person coming in physical contact with it will be affected. So widespread is this fear of the *ebó* that chauffeurs, even at the risk of an accident, will not run a wheel over one.

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[33] Current folk medicines include: for syphilis, whale oil; for a toothache, pig or burro dung smoked in a clay pipe; for a cough, sweetened tea prepared by boiling a termite nest; for sore throat, tea made by boiling a live lizard whose body is then removed from the vessel and buried with its head toward the new moon. Native herbs are extensively employed, particularly by *curandeiros*, or they may be administered at the hands of anyone "instructed" by a "manifesting" deity, a common occurrence in those *candomblés* known as *de caboclo* (a portion of whose ritual is probably of native Indian origin) and in spiritualist centers like that in Alto do Bom Gosto, in Calcada, one of whose directors remarked, "So many *caboclos* 'manifest themselves' because they know so well how to heal with herbs."

[34] The *figa* is an image, usually made from wood, of a closed fist with the thumb inserted between the index and middle fingers.

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794 787 neys, etc.[37] Oracles are invoked by way of such magical in-
[789] termediaries as the *obí* and the *orobô*, or the *opêlê-ifá* (a chain of thin disks), or they may be obtained directly from an *orixá* who speaks during the "possession" of a *filha* or a *pae de santo* by way of the mouth of the one "possessed."[38]

787 Contact between the living and the dead is believed not only to be possible but to occur regularly. Hence, the prac-

[37] The serious character of a transaction of this sort puts it in a different category from certain other magical acts, common to all classes, which have the character of a game, being similar, for example, to practices attaching to our festival of Halloween. Thus, one may take a glass, "bless" it three times, put in it the white of an egg, and, holding it over a fire, again thrice "bless" it; or partially fill a basin with water and permit the tallow from a lighted candle to drip into it; or stick a knife up to the hilt in a banana tree and leave it until morning. The patterns formed on the glass, the water, and the knife, respectively, are presumed to indicate the initials of one's future spouse. A similar image is presumed to appear in the dreams of one under whose pillow has been left a freshly husked ear of corn.

•[825] [38] Other magical practices of this sort are: the placing of crushed char-
[777] coal under a rock to expedite the recovery of a lost article, the burying of the third of a rosary to stop rain; also, it is commonly believed that a hum-
[821] mingbird inside the house, or the singing of an *adivem-quenem*, announces the coming of guests; that the appearance of an owl, or of an *ouriço cacheiro*, foretells death; that a black butterfly is a sign of misfortune; that a katydid with dark eyes brings unpleasant news, while one with light eyes brings favorable news; that seeing the new moon for the first time between the branches of a tree or anywhere partially obscured is a sign of misfortune throughout the coming month; that the showing of money to the new moon when seen for the first time will assure no want of income for the next thirty days; that ill fortune will attend one who dwells in a house on the corner of a street, enters a house with the right foot, or opens an umbrella inside a house. Still other "signs" of misfortune are: the toad; the black cat (or the "ghost" of a cat); the *anum* perched in a tree near the house; the *jacupim;* the hummingbird, if black; the katydid, if it has a black mouth (if the katydid has a red mouth, happiness is in store for the observer). In the opinion
[262] of numerous people, mutton must not be eaten, since it is "the *lamb of God* who taketh away the sins of the world." Sheep are animals which Christians must not eat.

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jacás, found one, and shot at it. The *jacá* flew at him with its claws extended and severely scratched him. He shot at it again. It flew back and clawed at his eyes. Then he heard a voice, saying "You know you must not hunt on Fridays." It was the *caipora*. The man staggered home, and fell senseless in the door of his house. I knew this man well.

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The *biatáiá* is said to be a woman who inhabits the sea, appearing above water only at night, gradually increasing in size until she assumes an enormous shape, and "casting a huge and frightening shadow."

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Fear of the toad, probably also a survival of Indian belief, is common.[39] If a toad happens to hop into the door of a house, the occupant will immediately grab a broom and sweep it out, repeating over and over, "Creio em Deus Padre."[40] If a malicious person paints a toad on the wall of a dwelling, its occupants will at once desert the place.

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The following account reveals in an intimate way the mental world of a considerable portion of the Bahian lower class. It was related by a young Negro woman in the form of a series of personal experiences and is presented here in as nearly as possible the exact phrasing in which it was originally given.

I was three years old. I was sitting with my mother when something hit me, and I fell over unconscious. She picked me up and took me to a doctor. He gave me medicine and said that it was congestion. Some thought it was the *ar do vento*.

I knew nothing of what was going on; it was as if I were dead. To

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[39] "Montoya says ('Manuscripto guarani da Bibliotheca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro sobre a primitiva catechese dos Indios das Missões,' *Annaes da Bibliotheca National*, Vol. VI) that among Indians observed by him, the entrance of a toad into a gathering of people was a sign of the approaching death of one of those present" (Gilberto Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* [2d ed.; Rio, 1936], p. 99).

[40] "I believe in God, the Father."

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put many beads of O Senhor do Bomfim on him, and a *figa;* they covered him with ornaments.

[789] The *figa* is to free one from the evil eye. For example: I have a dress. You think it is pretty, and you want it very much; something [754] then happens to it. Or a *sabiá*[10] sings beautifully. You are visiting its owner; you want it, you want it very badly. You leave, and it dies or something else happens to it because you cannot have it. This is the evil eye. One needs to "pray it away" with *Guiné*, *Arruda*, or *Vassourinha Doce*. An oxhorn in the garden will keep it away from plants.

[794] Then the man went around with hands folded, "taking the blessing" from everyone there. Seven children went out with lighted can- [776] dles. Then he got up entirely well. Today he has a *casa de candomblé*. [793] He is now very old. His *orixá* is Ogum de Gêge. The *pao de santo* who treated him is of Ogum de Mina.

159 My guardian angel [*anjo de guarda*] is Xangô. Ogum is a soldier,
776 Xangô is of the thunder and also of the lightning. He is Santa Barbara of the Irmandade. All the *orixás* are equal. But Oxalá directs everything. Nanan is his wife. In the Gêge language she is called Odé.

159 My sister, she died, burned up. She caught all on fire. He who
776 killed her is Oxóssi; it was he who killed her. My sister is buried in the Quinta dos Lazaros.[11] She burned to death because she disobeyed him.
784 He sent a message and she paid no attention to it. Her husband had a *saveiro*.[12] Every trip which he made she went along in the boat. She had no children. Everywhere he went, she went too. When, one time, the *orixá* "arrived" and told her that she should not travel on the water, she didn't take his words very seriously; she laughed the matter off, "gave it a *muxóxó*." But about a week afterward, she went with her husband in a *saveiro* across the Bay to Bahia. Between Itaparica and Salinas the *saveiro* caught afire. It had powder on it and the powder exploded. Parts of the *saveiro* were ripped off and hurled into the water. She was surrounded by fire. When they finally reached her, she was badly burned. They brought her to the Santa Isabel Hospital,

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[10] A Brazilian bird which can be trained to sing tunes.

[11] A Bahian cemetery.

[501] [12] A sturdy sailboat used on Todos os Santos Bay and its contributory rivers to transport light articles of commerce.

total expenditures for food, just half in total value of what Class A spends. Both Class A and Class B spend more for food alone than the total expenditures of classes C and D. The rural field workers spend the least amount for food, which again reflects their possession of garden plots. 565* 511

Color consciousness runs all through class relations and can even be equated with class to a certain extent. All Class A members are white; Class B has whites and a mixture of the others; Class C is nearly entirely composed of mestiços and blacks with the exception of a few "whites of the land" who are usually considered separately from mestiços; while Class D has light mestiços as well as blacks. "Color consciousness, or "color relations," would better describe the situation in this Bahian rural area than would the term "race relations," for although the Portuguese word raça, directly translatable into English as race, is used in this area to designate the three major racial stocks, American Indian, Negro, and Caucasian, it also means Brazilian in the sense of nationality. It is even more commonly used to describe animals which are pedigreed in contrast with those which are not. When asked questions about race, people are apt to ask first what kind of race is meant. If one speaks of color the situation is much clearer. 565* 563 826

In the United States an absolute "line" is drawn between white and Negro. A person who is not white is a Negro, whatever his percentage of Negro heritage may be. In Vila Recôncavo, this "line" is recognized rather than drawn. A distinction between Negro and white is always kept in mind when classifying an individual. Everyone knows who is "pure" white and who is not. Classification by color is one of the most important aspects of local culture, and one of the most difficult aspects for the outsider to grasp. Recôncavo Bahians feel that one may instantly recognize the difference between a "pure" white and a mixed white-Indian, white-Negro, or Negro-Indian, but they do not let it go at that. They classify or describe minutely each person; they classify according to skin color, hair form, and facial features. Their classifications of physical types are used in everyday conversation. Just as it would be said in the United States that someone is short and fat, the people of Vila Recôncavo will describe a person's color and hair form. 563 826 [171]

In the Recôncavo a white person is called a branco. The term Negro is rarely used to denote a person of African de-

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scent. Rather, such a person is called homem de côr (man of color). Negro is used abstractly to denote the Negro race, but it is almost never used to single out an individual. Nêgo (a softened variation of the word Negro) may frequently be used as a term of endearment, even among whites, and it is sometimes used as a nickname. When a Bahian of the Recôncavo speaks of indio, he usually thinks of the Indian of the interior of Mato Grosso or of the Amazon. When he wishes to indicate people of American Indian physical type in the Recôncavo, he generally says caboclo, or caatingueiro, or sometimes sertanejo.

Even the whites are subclassified, divided into two categories, the louro (blond), and the moreno (brunet). There is still a third term for people with Caucasoid physical characteristics, namely branco da terra (white of the land). This term denotes one who is phenotypically white, that is, who has the physical characteristics of a Caucasoid--fair skin, fine features, and "good" (meaning "straight") hair--but whose ancestry has Negro blood. He is generally moreno (dark) and is frequently characterized by a slightly yellowish tinge to the skin. The branco da terra sometimes also shows traces of caboclo, as well as Negro and white, descent. In Vila Recôncavo, the "pure" white man may refer to such a person as a branco da terra but will ordinarily call him a branco. To the majority of the population, the branco da terra is always called white, and no one would ever call anyone a branco da terra to his face. He is accorded the same treatment as is any white person by both whites and nonwhites.

In classifying people, skin color is an important factor, but hair form is equally important. If there is any question about what to call a person, his hair is usually the deciding criterion. After skin and hair, facial features (prognathism, nose shape, and thickness of lips) are considered. The many designations used in Vila Recôncavo for the people of Negroid or mixed ancestry can be broken down roughly as follows:

1. The preto or preto retinto ("dark black") has black, shiny skin, kinky, woolly hair, thick lips, and a flat, broad nose. The pretos distinguish among themselves as to what they call qualidade (quality), and rank themselves according to minute differences in skin color, nose form, etc. The preto with the greatest "quality" is the farthest removed from the usual concept of a Negro, and yet he is still a black. He is a "prettier" black.

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2. The cabra (male) and cabrocha (female) are generally slightly lighter than the preto, with hair growing somewhat longer, but still kinky and unmanageable, facial features somewhat less Negroid, although often with fairly thick lips and flat nose. The cabra and cabrocha usually lack the definite facial features and shine of the preto.

3. The Cabo Verde is lighter than the preto, but still very dark. The Cabo Verde, however, has long, straight hair, and his facial features are apt to be very fine, with thin lips and a narrow, straight nose. He is almost a "black white man."

4. The escuro, or simply "dark man," is darker than the usual run of mestiços, but the term is generally applied to a person who does not fit into one of the three types mentioned above. The escuro is nearly but not quite a Negro with Caucasoid features. He usually has "quality." Escuro is a very useful term for the outsider in the Recôncavo.

5. The mulato is a category always divided into two types, the mulato escuro and mulato claro (dark and light mulattoes). The mulato has hair which grows perhaps to shoulder length, but which has a decided curl or even kink. It can, however, be straightened. The mulato's facial features vary widely: thick lips with a narrow nose, or vice versa. As a rule, the features are "thicker" than the branco's and "thinner" than the preto's. The mulato is generally distinguishable by a yellowish tinge to his skin color, more accentuated than that of the branco da terra. His skin color varies from very light to very dark. A mulato claro, with straightened hair, thin lips, and a "good" nose, is very much like the branco da terra.

6. Pardo is a term not often used in speech. It is one of the official classifications used in the census and on identification papers. However, it is used occasionally to describe an individual who is closer to the white than a mulato claro. Occasionally mestiço children are described as pardo during the early years of their lives, before their features become distinctive enough to fit them definitely into one of the other groups. In one case, a little girl of three was called parda by her mother. The girl lives with her godfather, who is a branco da terra. He lists the girl as white, since her skin is very light and her hair is growing long and only slightly wavy. But her mother says she is a parda, because she knows that "her hair may curl up any day, which would make her a mulata clara."

7. The sarará is not difficult to distinguish. He has very

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light skin, and hair which is reddish or blondish but kinky or curled. His facial features are extremely varied, even more so than the mulato's. There are sararás who would "pass" for white in the United States, but more often the sarará has an unusual appearance: skin which is neither dark nor light, frequently freckled, eyes with a greenish-blue cast, and hair which bleaches easily in the sun. In Vila Recôncavo the sarará is usually found among fishermen and those living on the islands. It is difficult to find a person of this physical type without a good suntan and bleached hair.

8. The moreno has "excellent" skin, "fine-textured" and smooth. He is light-skinned but not white. He has dark hair, which is long and either wavy or curly. It is manageable and does not need straightening. His features are much more Caucasoid than Negroid. Here again a distinction is made between the dark and light morenos; also between these and the moreno branco. Moreno, as used regarding the white, distinguishes the brunet from the blond of the same group.

Few people fit completely into any of these "racial" types. When one has all the defined characteristics of the preto people call him "bem preto" or "bem pretinho" (really black). The same is true of the sarará, bem sarará; or of the moreno, who is called bem moreninho or moreno fino. It is just as difficult to find the ideal type for the other classifications, because there are so many variations. Many times one must point out that an individual is predominantly of one physical type but has one or more characteristics of another type. For instance, one young man in Vila Recôncavo has the characteristics of an escuro, but since most people like him they prefer to think of him as moreno. He has "fine" skin and "thin" facial features, but has tight, kinky hair. People generally refer to him as moreno, adding, "Mas ele tem cabelo ruim" (But he has bad hair). One frequently hears, "He is mulato, but very light." These verbal descriptions paint a vivid picture of the person in question. In Vila Recôncavo, it is not simply a matter of black and white, but of all the shades in between.

A term of classification not listed above, caboclo, is something of a special case. As mentioned earlier, most people with American Indian physical traits have come into the Recôncavo from the sertão during the dry spells of the north. In view of the length of time that people of the north have been periodically coming into the Recôncavo, comparatively few

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have remained. Nevertheless, the population of Vila Recôncavo shows a considerable Indian element, that is, of people with a reddish or bronze tinge to their skin color, more prominent cheekbones than the Africans or whites, and a tendency toward an almond-shaped eye. However, few people in Vila Recôncavo bearing these marks are called caboclos. They are classified instead in the local terms mentioned above, ignoring Indian traits. In Vila Recôncavo, there is a certain dispraisal of the caboclo. He is considered less civilized than the resident of the Recôncavo. He is often known as a better worker, more ambitious, trustworthy, and frugal, but less genial than the easygoing person of the Recôncavo. In the rural area of Vila Recôncavo, each year many caboclo men come to the plantations to work during harvest time. For the most part they stay together, away from the resident workers of the plantation. The plantations construct a type of barracks to accommodate these men, who do their own cooking, care for their own clothes, and spend their evenings gathered around a fire, singing songs of the sertão, apart from the permanent workers.

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The following percentages of racial types were taken from a sample of 162 heads of families, using the four major types:

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Preto	50, or 40 per cent
Mulato	59, or 49 per cent
Caboclo	3, or 2 per cent
Branco	11, or 9 per cent

Each physical type in Vila Recôncavo is thought to have a series of personality traits correlated with physical appearance. Furthermore, these stereotypes of expected behavior reflect the attitude of people toward the various racial types. Two physical types, for example, the cabra-cabrocha and the sarará, are usually "more to be pitied than censured," for they are considered ugly by most people. There is a feeling that they are unfortunate crosses between parents of physical characteristics which do not mix well. They are thought to lack the definite traits which characterize the other physical types, and "even a preto de qualidade is better than either of these--at least more handsome." Furthermore, people of these physical types are thought to be difficult to deal with. They are sometimes irritable and easily angered. They are the physical types least preferred in Vila Recôncavo; all oth-

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826 ers have some positive qualities. People arrange their pref-
157 erences in many ways, according to the physical qualities they wish to emphasize.

563 There is also a series of expressions used by everyone to
578 describe the person who is trying to appear white. It is almost axiomatic that whoever tries to be what he is not is considered
557 ridiculous by all. Both whites and Negroes gossip about the social climber and use the terms "tem pinta" (has a "touch of the tarbrush"), or "tem sangue" (has Negro blood), or "é da raça" (is of the Negro race), or simply "besta" (show-off), "cheio de arte" (artful), "cheio de manha" (full of little tricks), or "fala bonito" (talks pretty).

563 There are also many phrases used by lower-class people
578 to ridicule Negroes and mestiços who are showing off, or "pushing." Most of these start off with Negro:

Negro doesn't marry, he gets together.
Negro doesn't accompany a procession, he runs after it.
Negro doesn't sit down, he squats.
Negro in white clothes is a sign of rain.
Negro doesn't hear Mass, he spies on it.
Negro at a white man's party is the first to grab and the last to eat.
Negro's intelligence is the same size as his hair.

563 The concepts and fixed ideas which the people of Vila Re-
125 côncavo have of these racial types were also revealed in their responses to a pictorial questionnaire devised in the field. A series of eight photographs were shown. These were of people unknown to those answering the questionnaire. They consisted of a male and a female representative of each of the four major racial types, the caboclo, the preto, the mulato, and the branco. An attempt was made to keep the photographs from giving any clue to the possible class position of the eight persons. However, the photographs we were able to secure were not entirely satisfactory for our purposes in Vila Recôncavo.
[159] The picture of the caboclo male was that of a middle-aged man, but of a type considered locally as having a strong personality, while the caboclo woman was older and certainly not simpatica (pleasant) in the local view. The two pretos were both unmistakably pretos, and both young. The mulato male and female differed one from the other, for the man was definitely a common mulato type, while the woman was almost

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a morena mulata rather than "pure" mulata. She was young and considered much more simpatica than any of the other three women presented. The two whites were also both young, but neither was distinguished in any way, and there was doubt in the minds of the people answering the questionnaire as to whether these two were "pure" white or not.

The questionnaire was given to eighty-five people, broken down into the following groups:

18 brancos	11 males	7 females
41 mulatos	21 males	20 females
18 pretos	7 males	11 females
8 cabocios	6 males	2 females
85	45	40

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Table 6 gives the results as to which racial types were found respectively most physically attractive, most wealthy, best worker, most honest, and most religious.

TABLE 6
PHYSICAL TYPES

Question	Number of people selected in 1st place			
	Branco	Preto	Mulato	Cabocio
Most attractive man	39*	17	14	15
Most attractive woman	26	3	30	26
Most wealthy man	27	11	9	38
Most wealthy woman	37	8	17	23
Best worker (man)	4	38	13	30
Best worker (woman)	7	22	23	33
Most honest man	11	22	8	44
Most honest woman	15	13	22	33
Most religious man	21	15	13	36
Most religious woman	17	11	17	40

*Underlined numbers indicate the group most frequently selected in first place.

From Table 6 it becomes clear that the ideal of the most attractive male is the white; and that the numerically indicated preference for the female type is the mulata--but the cabocla, it must be noted, is equally selected with the white.

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Both the mulata and the cabocla (despite her apparent age) of the photographs are of types which have the physical characteristics of the morena, so preferred in Vila Recôncavo. It is surprising that the caboclo male was selected as the wealthiest, in view of the stereotype that it is the white who is generally wealthiest; but I believe that this is due to the fact that people found the photograph of the caboclo to have a rather "distinguished" face, while the white on the photograph was felt to be a young man with what might be considered a "characterless" face. The preto man was chosen as the best worker, which supports the stereotype discussed earlier, while the cabocla was chosen as the best woman worker. This may be explained by the local phrase used to describe her: "Good for nothing else." The caboclos, both male and female, were chosen as most honest and most religious, which is in keeping with the stereotype of the caboclo, who is considered more serious and solemn than the native of the Recôncavo.

Table 7, a breakdown of Table 6 by racial types, shows clearly the types selected in first place by the Negroes, the mulattoes, the whites, and the caboclos.

TABLE 7
BREAKDOWN OF TABLE 6 BY RACIAL TYPES

Question	Chosen in first place by: Pretos(P)	Mulatos(M)	Brancos(B)	Caboclos(C)
Most attractive man	P	B	B	B
Most attractive woman	C&B	M	B	B
Most wealthy man	P	C	C	C
Most wealthy woman	B	B	B	B
Best worker (man)	P	C	P	P
Best worker (woman)	P	C	M	C
Most honest man	C	C	C	C
Most honest woman	C	C	C	C
Most religious man	C&M	C	C	C&B
Most religious woman	C	C	B	C

*Where two racial types are in first place it means they received an equal number of "votes."

Table 7 shows the extremely low position of the Negro woman in relation to the other women. She was chosen in the first

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place in only one instance--namely, as best worker--and only by the Negroes. In spite of the fact that in Table 6 the mulatto woman was considered the most attractive, she was chosen as such only by the mulattoes. The other three racial types selected the caboclo and the white woman. In summing up the total number of "votes," the mulatto woman won by the narrow margin of four. It is interesting to note that the Negroes chose the preto man as the wealthiest, selecting the caboclo in second place, while the other three racial types selected the caboclo first.

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Most people who desire to ascend socially will say that it is better to be white, or at least light, than dark, because it is the white who has the most money, the most education, and consequently the greatest number of opportunities. Traditionally the light-skinned mulatto has been able to share to some extent in these things. Therefore, today, if an individual is lighter it will be easier for him to climb, simply because of his lightness. Nevertheless, it is considered better to be a wealthy preto than a poor white.

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No one in any class likes a marriage in which the skin colors are too far apart. Any marriage of dark with light or white will be referred to as mosca no leite ("fly in the milk"), and a certain repugnance is felt by all. One man, formerly a fisherman but now a merchant of some means, is a preto married to a branca da terra who was poor but almost white. This marriage has not aided him much, as his wife did not bring him social position, but it has "lightened" his children. His own status is increased through his financial transactions. But his children are being educated in the city, and are more readily acceptable because of their color and their economic background. Their chances for a good marriage are greater than if they had the same background but were dark.

In another case, a white girl of the town's uppermost class is engaged to a preto who is an engineer in Salvador, but whose family has roots in Vila Recôncavo. There was great resistance to the engagement on the part of the girl's family, and all her friends felt that although she had a good "catch"--that is, a successful man--he was too dark for her, in spite of the fact that the girl's father is a branco da terra, and that her grandmother was dark-skinned.

The one impassable gap between the upper class of "aristocratic whites" and those below them is marriage. The white of the second class may be acceptable to the upper class be-

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Class C Families]

*565 291 During the day young boys go about with only shorts on, or with both shirt and shorts, depending upon the weather. Girls always wear a dress. Children who are in the crawling stage *565 515 854 become extremely dirty because of the amount of dirt tracked into the house from the streets, although this is now changing as a result of paving. Babies, however, seem to have a propensity for getting into the charcoal sack, usually kept near the kitchen stove, and emerging well blackened. They are bathed twice daily, morning and afternoon, at first in cold water to accustom them to the cold water they will be using for [853] the rest of their lives. Bathing the child is usually considered a pleasure for the mother as well as the baby, as is breast *565 143 feeding. If the child of light-skinned parents exhibits the genipapo (a bluish spot near the base of the spine, sometimes [826] known as the "Mongolian blue spot") the mothers will take care not to let visitors see it, as the spot is thought to be a strong indication of the nearness of Negro ancestry. It disappears after the child is seven or eight months old.

*565 515 The men and older boys of Class C take their daily baths in the afternoon, either at one of the two wells which are behind the convent and therefore out of sight of the town, or at wooden structures which have been built across the wells in the Cortume. They stand on a wooden floor and drop a small bucket on a string down into the water, which is hoisted up and poured over them, running back into the well with the soap suds and whatever grime has come off their skin. Frequently a woman when getting water will undress her son on the spot and pour buckets of water over him. This is not done after a boy has reached five years or six, however, and is never done to a girl of any age. The women and girls take a daily sponge bath in their kitchens late in the afternoon, before *565 514 starting to fix the evening meal. None of the houses has toilet facilities other than a secluded place in the back yard. [124] During a survey of housing facilities in the town, when the question was asked, "Do you have a toilet?" the answer was usually laughingly given, "What for?" (But practically everyone knows what a toilet is, and there are several different *565 291 types in the town, belonging to upper-class houses. The construction of a flush type, with an adequate cesspool, has been [515] known for many years.) After the daily bath most people put on clean clothes in which they often sleep, although sleeping [513] garments range from daytime clothing to long nightgowns, shorts, or nothing at all. Daytime clothing for the men consists of little more than trousers, shirt, and wooden shoes

3: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1960-1961) 1963 8011 Bahia Brazilians 8011

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567 those under 12 years of age.[1] Of the 121 slaves listed in the particular inventory mentioned above, 40 were African. Most of these came from West Africa. Of those whose African origin is indicated, *Nago* (Yoruba) is most often listed, and *Gege* (Ewe) is second.

249 On these sugar plantations of the Recôncavo in the colonial period, the overseer of all operations involved in the growth of sugar cane
565 and production of sugar was the owner himself. Generally, only the
463 oldest son was trained to take over his duties on the plantation; the younger sons were sent to Salvador, to Recife, or even to Europe to be educated as lawyers, physicians, engineers or Catholic priests. Daughters were married early and given their dowry, or they were
[582] sent to convents to become nuns or live as lay sisters. Marriages with first cousins were frequent. Every effort was made to keep the plantation undivided and in the family. The Recôncavo sugar plantation, until about the middle of the nineteenth century, was a remarkably stable community changing little in size and organization from generation to generation.

249 After the abolition of slavery, there was a partial exodus of ex-
567 slaves from the plantations to nearby towns and to the capital of Bahia. The ex-slaves who moved to small towns became manual
463 labourers or fishermen, or engaged in the profession they had learned on the plantations, such as barbering, bricklaying, etc. In other
464 cases, ex-slaves rented small plots of land on neighbouring plantations to raise manioc, corn, tobacco and other crops which required little
[427] outlay of capital. Others became sugar planters on a small scale; known as *rendeiros*, they rented a few acres from a plantation and cultivated sugar cane, sending the product to the nearby *engenhos* for milling. In other cases, the ex-slaves simply moved from one plantation to another, or they often remained as free men on the same plantation, still engaged in raising sugar cane, living under the same
249 conditions as before, but legally free. Contrary to popular opinion,
433 the *engenhos* of the Recôncavo did not all cease operations after
567 abolition. Many of them kept on producing as before. In other cases the *engenho* or mill closed down while the plantation continued to plant sugar cane, sending it to a nearby *engenho* which was still functioning for milling. Some *engenhos*, however, did close down altogether and were abandoned, or went into the hands of receivers.

249 At this time many plantations changed owners—wealthy people in
471 the city were able to buy lands at a low cost and did so. But the
567 failure of many of the *engenhos* in the Recôncavo was not a direct result of abolition, it was rather the continuation of an economic
[425] trend which had been going on for a long time. For many years previous to abolition, the plantations of the Recôncavo had suffered from lack of capital, poor administration, occasional crop failure, and

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[1] In the inventories, *pardo* indicated light skin; *cabra*, dark skin; and *crioulo*, black. These same terms nowadays are used differently in the Recôncavo. See page 39 ff.

3t Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1963 8011 Bahia Brazilians 8011

The other important occupation is fishing and there is the new petroleum industry. In Vila Recôncavo, bureaucracy plays a large part in the economics of the urban upper-class. The municipal secretary, the statistics agent, the federal and state tax collectors and their clerks, the postmaster and various other 'white collar' positions belong to this small group. Often members of the municipal government divide their attention between commerce (owning small stores) and their government jobs. Despite its long history and rather easy communication with the large city of Salvador, Vila Recôncavo is still an isolated community. After landing in the town from the regular steamer coming from Salvador, one must proceed inland either by foot or by animal. The only motor vehicles in the community area (except for those of the petroleum industry) are a truck and a delivery-type pick-up truck owned by the São Pedro *usina*. One hears from all classes that the town is backward, abandoned and dead. It has had a glorious past: wealth, the large and beautiful *sobrados* of the barons who were *donos dos engenhos* (owners of the *engenhos*), two beautiful churches, a national guard post with almost 1,000 soldiers stationed in it, a record of bravery and leadership in the war for Independence in 1822, and a place worthy of a visit from the emperor, Don Pedro II. Today the *sobrados* are in ruins, or have disappeared completely, as today's *donos dos engenhos* remain on their plantations or in the city, forsaking the town. The military have gone, the splendours of the religious feast-days are no more. Vila Recôncavo is representative of the decadence which has overtaken the entire area. Today it is known only for its *xangô* and shrimps.

IV. In the United States an absolute 'line' is drawn between white and Negro. A person who is not white is a Negro, however small the percentage of Negro blood may be. In Vila Recôncavo, this 'line' is recognized rather than drawn. A distinction between Negro and white is always kept in mind when classifying an individual. Everyone knows who is 'pure' white and who is not. Classification by race is one of the most important aspects of local culture, and one of the most difficult aspects for the outsider to grasp. *Bahianos* of the Recôncavo feel that one may instantly recognize the difference between a 'pure' white and a mixed white-Indian, white-Negro or Negro-Indian, but they do not let it go at that. They classify or minutely describe each person; they classify according to skin colour, according to hair form and according to facial features, and their classifications or racial types are used in everyday conversation. Just as it would be said in the United States that someone is short and fat, the people of Vila Recôncavo will describe a person's colour and hair.

3: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1963
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In the Recôncavo three race stocks are recognized: the white, the Negro and the Indian. A white is called a *branco*. The term *negro* is rarely used to denote a person of African descent. Rather such a person is called *homem de côr* (man of colour). *Negro* is used abstractly to denote the Negro race, but is almost never used to single out an individual. *Nego* (a softened variation of the word *negro*) may frequently be used as a term of endearment, even among whites, and sometimes as a nickname. When the *bahiano* of the Recôncavo speaks of *índio*, he usually thinks of the Indian of the interior of Mato Grosso or of the Amazon. When he wishes to indicate people of American Indian physical type in the Recôncavo, he generally says *caboclo*.

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Yet even the whites are sub-classified, being divided into two categories, the *louro* (blond) and the *moreno* (brunet). There is still a third term for people with Caucasoid physical characteristics, but one which is used only by those who are considered 'pure' white—namely, *branco da terra*. A *branco da terra* is someone who is phenotypically white—that is, who has the physical characteristics of a Caucasoid: fair skin, fine features and 'good' (meaning *straight*) hair—but whose ancestry had Negro blood. He or she is generally *moreno*, and is frequently characterized by a slightly yellowish tinge to the skin. The *branco da terra* sometimes also shows traces of *caboclo* blood as well as of Negro and white blood. In Vila Recôncavo, the 'pure' white man may refer to such a person as a *branco da terra*, but ordinarily will call him or her a *branco*. To the majority of the population, the *branco da terra* is always called white, and no one would ever call anyone a *branco da terra* to his face. He is accorded the same treatment as a white by both whites and non-whites, and there is no constraint on anyone's part.

In classifying people, if skin colour is an important factor, hair form is equally important. If there is any question as to what to call a person, the hair is generally the deciding criterion. After skin and hair, facial features (prognathism, nose shape and thickness of lips) are considered. The many designations used in Vila Recôncavo for the people of Negroid or mixed ancestry can be broken down roughly into the following types in terms of these various criteria:

1. The *preto* or *preto retinto* (black) has black shiny skin, kinky, woolly hair, thick lips and a flat, broad nose. The *pretos* distinguish among themselves, and will rank themselves according to minute differences in 'quality' of skin colour, nose form, etc. The *preto* with the most '*qualidade*' is the farthest from the usual concept of a Negro, and yet still a black. He is a 'prettier' black.
2. The *cabra* (male) and *cabrocha* (female) are generally slightly lighter than the *preto*, with hair growing somewhat longer, but still kinky and unmanageable, facial features somewhat less Negroid, although often with fairly thick lips and flat nose.

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'The *cabra* and *cabrocha* generally lack the definite features and shine of the *preto*.

3. The *cabo verde* is slightly lighter than the *preto*, but still very dark. The *cabo verde*, however, has long straight hair, and his facial features are apt to be very fine, with thin lips and a narrow straight nose. He is almost a 'black white man'.
4. The *escuro*, or simply 'dark man', is darker than the usual run of *mestiços*, but the term is generally applied to a person who does not fit into one of the three types mentioned above. The *escuro* is almost a Negro with Caucasoid features. He generally has *qualidade*. *Escuro* is a very useful term for the outsider in the Recôncavo.
5. The *mulato* is a category always divided into two types, the *mulato escuro* and *mulato claro* (dark and light mulattoes). The *mulato* has hair which grows perhaps to shoulder length, but which has a decided curl and even kink. It can, however, be straightened. The *mulato's* facial features vary widely; thick lips with a narrow nose, or vice-versa. As a rule, the features are thicker than the *branco's* and thinner than the *preto's*. The *mulato* is generally distinguishable by a yellowish tinge to his skin colour, which is more accentuated than that of the *branco da terra*. His skin colour varies from very light to very dark. A *mulato claro*, with straightened hair, thin lips and a 'good' nose is very much like the *branco da terra*.
6. *Pardo* is a term not often used in speech. It is one of the official classifications used in the census and on identification papers. However, it is used occasionally to describe an individual who is closer to the white than a *mulato claro*. Occasionally *mestiço* children are described as *pardo*, before their features become distinctive enough to fit them definitely into one of the other groups. In one case, a little girl of three was called *parda* by her mother. The girl lives with her godfather, who is a *branco da terra*. He lists the girl as white, since her skin is very light and her hair is growing long and only slightly wavy. But her mother says she is a *parda*, because she knows that 'her hair may curl up any day, which would make her a *mulata clara*'.
7. The *sarará* is not difficult to distinguish. He has very light skin, and hair which is reddish or blondish but kinky or curled. His hair is described as *duro*, or hard. His facial features are extremely varied, even more so than the *mulato's*. There are *sararás* who would 'pass' for white in the United States, but more often the *sarará* has a curious appearance; skin which is neither dark nor light, frequently freckled, eyes with a greenish-blue cast and hair which bleaches easily in the sun. In Vila Recôncavo, the *sarará* is usually found among fishermen and those living on the islands. It is difficult to see a person of this physical type without a good sun-tan and bleached hair.

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8. The *moreno* has excellent skin, fine-textured and smooth. He is light-skinned but not white. He has dark hair, which is long and either wavy or curly. It is manageable and does not need straightening. His features are much more Caucasoid than Negroid. Here again we can distinguish between the dark and light *morenos*. Also we must distinguish between the *moreno mulato*, and the *moreno* of the white families—the *moreno branco*. *Moreno*, as used regarding the 'white', distinguishes the brunet from the blond of the same group.

Few people fit any of these 'racial' types 100 per cent. When someone comes very close to being a perfect *preto*—that is, has all the characteristics of the *preto*—people call him *bem preto* or *bem pretinho* (really black). The same is true of the *sarará*—*bem sarará*, or of the *moreno*, who will be called *bem moreninho* or *moreno fino*. It is just as difficult to find the perfect type for the other classifications, because there are so many variations. Often an individual is of one physical type, but has one or more characteristics of another type. For instance, one young man in Vila Recôncavo has the characteristics of an *escuro*, but since most people like him they prefer to think of him as *moreno*. He has fine skin and thin facial features, but tight kinky hair. People generally refer to him as *moreno*, adding '*mas êle tem cabelo ruim*' (but he has poor hair). One frequently hears 'he is *mulato*, but very light'. These verbal descriptions paint a vivid picture of the person in question. In Vila Recôncavo, it is not simply a matter of black and white, but of all the shades in between.

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A term of classification not listed above, *caboclo*, presents something of a special case. As mentioned earlier, most people with Amerindian physical traits have come into the Recôncavo from the *sertão* during the dry spells in the North. Considering the length of time that people of the North have been periodically coming into the Recôncavo, comparatively few have remained. Nevertheless, the population of Vila Recôncavo has a considerable *caboclo* element—that is, of people with a reddish or bronze tinge to their skin colour, more prominent cheek bones than the African or white elements, and a tendency toward almond-shaped eyes. However, few people in Vila Recôncavo bearing these marks are called *caboclos*. They are classified instead in the local terms listed above, ignoring Indian traits. In Vila Recôncavo, there is a certain dispraisal of the *caboclo*. He is considered less civilized than the resident of the Recôncavo, though often known as a better worker, more ambitious, trustworthy, more frugal; also less genial than the easy-going person of the Recôncavo. In the rural area of Vila Recôncavo, each year many *caboclo* men come to the plantations to work during harvest time. For the most part they stay together, away from the *morador*, or resident worker of the plantation. The plantations construct a type of barracks to accommodate these men, who do

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V. Each physical type in Vila Recôncavo is thought to have a series of personality traits which are correlated with physical appearance. Furthermore, these stereotypes of expected behaviour reflect the attitude of people toward the various racial types present in the population. Two physical types, for example, the *cabra-cabrocha* and the *sarará*, are usually 'more to be pitied than blamed', as they are considered extremely ugly by most people. There is a feeling that they are unfortunate crosses between parents of physical characteristics which do not mix well. They are thought to lack the definite traits which characterize the other physical types and 'even a *preto de qualidade* is better than either of these—at least more handsome'. Furthermore, people of these physical types are thought to be difficult to deal with, irritable and easily angered. They are the physical types which are least preferred in Vila Recôncavo. All other types have some positive qualities. People arrange their preferences in terms of physical type in many ways, according to the qualities they wish to emphasize.

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To the *preto* falls the more humble attributes of being a hard worker, of being humble and capable of loyalty and affection for his employer. He is also called lazy, a contradiction of hard worker. He is considered servile and cheerful. Also it is said that it is the *preto* who knows best how to please *(agradar bem)* the white. With a winning smile, pleasant little sayings and personal attentions, the *preto* knows how to make the *branco* feel important and puts him in the mood to grant favours. In other words, he is a good 'apple polisher', but even this he does with a certain dignity, aware of what he is doing, and aware of the fact that the *branco* also knows. The whites say that a *preto* is usually 'content' to remain *preto*, knowing that while he cannot change his colour, perhaps future generations of his family will have changed theirs. In Vila Recôncavo, people of all racial types, not only the whites, often say that one of the things they like best about the *preto* is that he does not try to be white. No one is more ridiculed than an *homem de côr* who, because of his economic situation and other circumstances, tries to be *gente*, or white.

On the other hand, a *preto* in good economic circumstances, who lives in dignity without pretension, is well thought-of by all. There is one outstanding example of this in Vila Recôncavo. A *preto*, who is the owner of one of the neighbouring sugar plantations and who is quite wealthy, lives quietly and without pretension. His sons go to school in the capital, one to Law School and the other to High School. His relations with the white plantation owners and *usineiros* are cordial and business-like. He would be acceptable at any social gathering he chose to attend, where he would conduct himself like a gentleman, without airs. For this he is admired by all, and pointed to as an example of how the *preto* can conduct himself.

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7 females; 41 *mulatos*—21 males, 20 females; 18 *pretos*—7 males, 11 females; 8 *caboclos*—6 males, 2 females.

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Table I gives the racial types which were found respectively most physically attractive, most wealthy, best worker, most honest and most religious.

TABLE I.

Question	No. of people who selected in first place			
	Branco	Preto	Mulato	Caboclo
Most attractive man	**39**	17	14	15
Most attractive woman	**26**	3	30	26
Most wealthy man	**27**	11	9	38
Most wealthy woman	**37**	8	17	23
Best worker, man	4	**38**	13	30
Best worker, woman	7	22	23	**33**
Most honest man	11	22	8	**44**
Most honest woman	15	13	22	**38**
Most religious man	21	15	13	**36**
Most religious woman	17	11	17	**40**

(Bold type indicates the group most frequently selected in first place.)

From Table I, it results that: (a) the ideal of the most attractive male is the white; (b) the preferred female type is the *mulata*, but the *cabocla*, it must be noted, is almost equally selected with the white; both the *mulata* and the *cabocla* (despite her apparent age) of the photos are of types which have the physical characteristics of the *morena* so preferred in Vila Recôncavo; (c) surprisingly, the *caboclo* male was selected as the wealthiest, in view of the stereotype that it is the white who is generally wealthiest, but I believe that this is due to the fact that people found the photo of the *caboclo* to have a rather 'distinguished' face, while the photo of the white was considered to be a young man with what might be considered a 'characterless' face; (d) the *preto* man was chosen as the best worker, which supports the stereotype discussed earlier, but the *cabocla* was chosen as the best woman worker (this may be explained by the local phrase used to describe her: 'Good for nothing else'); (e) the *caboclos*, both male and female, were chosen as most honest and most religious, which is in keeping with the stereotype of the *caboclo*, who is considered more serious and solemn than the native of the Recôncavo.

Table II, a breakdown of Table I by racial types, shows clearly the type selected in first place by the Negroes, the mulattoes, the whites and the *caboclos*, in answer to the same questionnaire. The most obvious inference derived from Table II is the extremely low posi-

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tion of the Negro woman in relation to the other women. She was chosen in first place in only one instance, namely as best worker, and only by the Negroes. In spite of the fact that in Table I the mulatto woman was considered the most attractive, she was chosen so only by the mulattoes. The other three racial types selected the *caboclo*

TABLE II.

Question	Chosen in first place by			
	Negroes	Mulattoes	Whites	Caboclo
Most attractive man	P	B	B	B
Most attractive woman	C & B	M	B	B
Most wealthy man	P	C	C	C
Most wealthy woman	B	B	B	B
Best worker, man	P	C	P	P
Best worker, woman	P	C	M	C
Most honest man	C	C	C	C
Most honest woman	C	C	C	C
Most religious man	C & M	C	C	C & B
Most religious woman	C	C	B	C

(P—*preto*; B—*branco*; C—*caboclo*; M—*mulato*. Where two racial types are in first place, they received an equal number of 'votes'.)

and the white woman. In summing up the total number of 'votes', the mulatto woman won by a narrow margin (four votes). It is interesting to note that the Negroes chose the *preto* man as the most wealthy, putting the caboclo in second place, while the other three racial types put the *caboclo* first.

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VI. There is a saying in the Recôncavo that where there was sugar, there were Negroes. This rule of thumb seems to hold remarkably well even today. On the islands in the bay where there never were *engenhos*, there are few *pretos*. In the town of Vila Recôncavo, and in a small settlement to the west of Vila Recôncavo where there never was an *engenho*, there are relatively few *pretos*, in comparison with the area of *engenhos* and plantations. The region as a whole can be shaded off in dark and light, to distinguish roughly the spatial arrangement according to colour. In the areas where there was and is sugar, there are many more *gente branqueada* (whitened people) than in the non-plantation areas.

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These lightened areas seem to continue to lighten, while the darker areas retain their dark characteristics. In Vila Recôncavo, which is a *mestiço* community, there is much more opportunity for

3: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1963 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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creasing desire to rise in the social hierarchy. In the rural districts physical type is less important than in the town, since there is less chance for one to rise socially, the positions of prestige being highly limited. But in the town and at the *usina*, the opportunities are greater, and therefore more emphasis is put upon racial type; although, even in the town, racial type is not the most important criterion for ascending the social scale, the most important being the possession of wealth and education. However, in the town, people who have wealth and education also show a tendency to 'lighten', generation after generation, as well as to ascend socially. There is no such thing as 'passing' in Vila Recôncavo, and there is no need for it, for many individuals who clearly show traces of Negro ancestry are called white and treated as white, with no constraint or embarrassment. Also there are no social activities closed to the *homem de côr*, provided he has the money and the education to take advantage of them. Physical attraction is also extremely important in the social acceptance of rejection of people, as is shown in the complicated fashion of classifying and stereotyping individuals, and the idealization of the *morena*.

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In other areas of the Recôncavo, the personal element has been lost to a great extent, and has been replaced with a rigid class system, based upon wealth, personal initiative, education, racial type and 'luck'. For the most part, the tradition of the *patrão* is disappearing and people are more dependent upon their own resources in a more strictly monetary economy. Vila Recôncavo still however remains sufficiently isolated to preserve much of the tradition of the past, of easy-going personal relations between people of all classes and racial types.

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2. Wanderley de Araújo Pinho (1941), p. 28.
3. Ibid., p. 29.
4. Oliveira Martins (3rd edition), p. 30.
5. Araújo Pinho, op. cit., p. 49.
6. Pierson (1942), p. 139.
7. Ibid., p. 230.
8. Rodrigues (1935), Chapter 7. Pierson (1942), Chapter 10. Landis (1947). Carneiro (1948).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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"Branco" and "prêto" are, therefore, first of all, categories of *physical appearance* rather than of race, so that a child will not necessarily be identified with the same "race" as one, or even both, of his parents. These terms also are categories of *social position*, so that rising in rank can take a colored person out of the colored category, a fact observed long ago at Recife by "the careful Koster," as Sir Richard Burton called him (see p. 219 of this book). These and similar terms employed in Brazil are descriptive not only of racial descent but of other and more important (to local individuals) phenomena; and, even more significantly, as we (1955:434) and others have pointed out, the use of these terms *varies with individuals*, in keeping with varying personal relationships, and also with the *same* individual at different times, in keeping with different moods or other circumstances.

In the United States one ordinarily hears only two terms being employed regularly in this connection: "Negro" and "white." "Mulatto" also is used but less often, as are certain other terms in popular speech. Nevertheless, as far as the behavior of the superordinate group is concerned, the principal terms are two; and all persons will be classified with reference to these two categories and behavior will be oriented in keeping with that classification.

In Brazil, on the other hand, the situation is quite different; for one thing, there exists a whole series of what at

group of persons from the lower class were engaged in a folk dance, accompanied by singing, known as *cururu*. Although composed largely (but not exclusively) of colored persons, this group was led by a lower-class white. Approaching several other persons nearby, who were spending their vacation at the seaside, and asking if they would like his group to sing and dance where they could be seen and heard more easily, the white leader referred to himself and to the other members of his group as "Nois prêtos" (We blacks).

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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first sight appears to be racial terms. "It is not simply a matter of black and white," Harry W. Hutchinson (1957: 120) has observed, "but of all the shades in between." In 1935, without making any particular effort, we set down at Bahia twenty terms being used to describe the different "colors" (135–40 and elsewhere in this book); and, in 1951, Thales de Azevedo (1955a:25–32) recorded a considerable number being used at that time in Bahia. In 1951 also, Hutchinson (1963) noted, according to our calculation, twenty-one of these terms in the old plantation area near the city; Marvin Harris (1963) recorded nine at Minas Velhas, also in the Bahian interior; and Ben Zimmerman (1963), fifteen at Monte Serrat in another part of the State. More recently after setting out to track down all such terms, Harris and Kottak (203n) reported thirty-nine (according to our reckoning) in common use at the fishing village of Arembepe on the Bahian coast. Manuel Diégues Júnior (1956:74–76) mentions twenty-four terms employed for mixed-bloods, alone, in various parts of Brazil, only five of which are referred to by any of these investigators.

To refer, then, to persons of African descent in Brazil as "Negroes," as some investigators from the United States and also some writers in Brazil tend to do, distorts the "picture"; and to refer to the vast range of Negro-European mixed-bloods as "mulattoes," as some of these writers also do, is equally an erroneous procedure. At the same time, this series of terms is highly significant for an analysis of the Brazilian racial situation, particularly in indicating some of its differences from those in South Africa and the United States.

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What, then, is the meaning, as far as actual behavior is concerned, of this extensive series of what appears to be

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racial terms? In the first place, they are not racial terms at all; and, in the second place, they are only in part terms even of physical appearance. Although the classification of a given individual appears *at first sight* to be made on the basis of race, or at least of physical appearance, it actually is arrived at in a more complex way, as was implied in our Bahian study, as Harris (1964) and Harris and Kottak (1963) have since pointed out more specifically and in greater detail. It may, of course, be derived in part from physical appearance; but it also is derived from the possession of one or more of the other criteria of rank; for instance, personal, occupational or educational achievement; or the accumulation of wealth. This fact has long been reflected at Bahia in the common saying, "A rich black is a white man, and a poor white is a black"; in Koster's oft-quoted remark of his servant's disputing the ascription of "mulatto" to a man of high administrative position at Recife, by asking "How can a Head-Captain be a mulatto?"; and in Wagley's report of a dark mixed-blood of rank at Itá who is considered to be a branca (1964:134). Moreover, it reflects the personal relationship, at the time, of the speaker to the one spoken about. As Emilio Willems[5] reminds us, a person "who is one's friend tends to be a branco; or if he is too dark to be called that, he will be at least a *moreno* (brunette). But if he becomes one's enemy, he is called 'that mulatto' or 'that black,' " with pejorative adjectives attached.

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Brazilians are not blind to physical differences. No investigator has indicated any doubt that a person's appearance—particularly the texture of his hair and the color of his skin—are observed, and at least occasionally referred to, by all Brazilians, whatever their rank. However, at Arem-

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[5] In a letter to the author.

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bepe Harris and Kottak (204) found "as many as thirteen different terms" being applied to the same person by different members of the community; and these terms, although used to describe a single individual, were "spread out across practically the entire spectrum of theoretical racial types" (Harris 1964:57). This variation could not have been due to differences in economic condition, educational achievement or similar circumstance, because, Harris and Kottak further point out (204), Arembepe is "a socially homogeneous, one-class peasant community." Moreover, there was a variation from individual to individual regarding the precise meaning of these terms; and, in addition, an informant might alter his previous classification at a later time. Thus, the use of these terms, Harris and Kottak write, in summarizing their study, "varies from individual to individual, from place to place, time to time, test to test, observer to observer." Agreement was found with reference to the two terms which describe the opposite poles of the color scale, but informants disagreed regarding all the other thirty-seven terms (206n). Wagley (1964:133–34) found similar inconsistencies at Itá in the Amazon valley.

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What does all this ambiguity and inconsistency mean? It means, first of all, that, in Bahia and Brazil, among the lower class and perhaps beyond it, neither race nor color is an important consideration. Although persons often refer to a given individual as "that branco" or "that prêto," this is done, Wagley (1964:133) observed at Itá, "in about the same way that we might say 'that short fat fellow.' " Other things exist of at least as great importance, including educational achievement, family origin, type of occupation, financial resources, living level, and possibly other criteria. When a given individual is classified by another in any rank of the

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However, if we substitute for "race" the term "color," we find other and equally significant ambiguities. In fact, in order to be better understood by persons who are not familiar at first hand with the Brazilian, or with some other Latin-American "racial" situation, we need a more precise term even than color. "Color" is, of course, the literal translation of the widely-used Portuguese *côr*. As employed in Brazil in this connection, however, it connotes more than pigmentation, including, first of all, a number of other physical characteristics: hair-type (perhaps most importantly), as well as facial features. It thus might be well to employ in English the phrase "physical appearance" instead of "color," except that, in the first place, this term also is somewhat ambiguous, since extraneous connotations of cleanliness or neatness, deformity or other abnormality, and beauty or ugliness can be inferred from it; and except that, in the second place (and more importantly), "color," as used in Brazil in this connection, does not refer, as we have seen, merely to physical appearance. Faced with these facts, H. Hoetink (638) suggests the substitution of the phrase, "somatic norm-image" for "race"; and Oracy Nogueira (1959), in a related connection, uses "mark" for physical appearance and "origin" for racial descent, although James G. Leyburn (179) and Lloyd Braithwaite (182) see objections to this usage.

In an effort to describe more precisely the multi-racial societies in the Caribbean, M. G. Smith (51 ff.) distinguishes between four different types of "color." With reference to genetic aspects, he employs "phenotypical color" to refer to appearance, and "genealogical color" to refer to racial descent. Two appearance-type persons may be dissimilar in terms of "genealogical color," then, while two genealogically identical individuals (for example, siblings) frequently are

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a nation more Caucasian in physical appearance." In addition, one should further note, as Willems has also suggested to us, that an aspect of this policy has become to some extent more formal and articulate in recent years. As we have defined it, this informal and unstated policy reflects a desire to absorb all minority groups—whether immigrant[40] or of color; but discrimination on the basis of either color or race obviously can stand in the way of its realization. It is with reference to this obstacle that Willems believes the policy has become more articulate, as reflected in the law of 1951, which gives legal negative sanction to discrimination in any form, a law passed overwhelmingly by the Brazilian Congress. It is reflected also in the committee reports and discussions inside and outside Congress which accompanied the enactment of this law; in the decidedly vocal and positive opposition on the part of Brazilian organs of public opinion to the occasional evidences of color discrimination upon which public attention becomes focused; and even, as Willems also points out, in the anti-racist militancy of colored organizations in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo.

Although the basic facts seem to have been observed and reported in the original study, not all were given, perhaps, the relative prominence they deserved in the hypotheses which terminated it. One might add to these hypotheses certain apparent facts to which attention is called, to some extent at least, in the course of this book:

1. A large number of popular terms have arisen which seem to designate the various racial combinations in the population. However, a) these terms are descriptive not so much of racial descent as (1) of the actual physical appearance of the individual in question, and (2) of his social

[40] Cf., in this respect, Nogueira 1955:552; Pierson 1951:191.

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rank; b) they may vary with the person employing them, and with the same person at different times and under different circumstances, and especially with the status of the individual being referred to and with the relation of the speaker to him.

2. Caucasian physical traits possess prestige and also disproportionate aesthetic value among all social ranks and colors,[41] although the local "somatic norm-image," in the phrase of Hoetink (1961), is considerably "darker" than that in the United States, as is borne out, for instance, in attitudes toward the *morena* (see pp. 136–38).

3. The rise in rank of colored persons, a) occurs primarily by reason of demonstrated personal or occupational competence, educational achievement, the accumulation of financial resources, or fortuituous circumstance; b) is sometimes aided by brancos who are linked by parental, godparent or other bonds of sentiment to the individual in question (cf. pp. 353 ff.); and c) is accomplished by individuals *as individuals*, so that conflict on the basis of either color or class is relatively subdued (cf. Thales de Azevedo 1955a:195).

4. In their attempts to rise in rank, persons of color are handicapped by the fact that color has long been identified in Brazil with a slave condition and hence became, long ago, a criterion of rank. This is the role of dark color logically to be expected, given the history of slavery in Brazil and the Americas, where slaves for centuries were blacks taken from Africa by Europeans and their descendants, who possessed a more advanced technology, to labor on their plantations and

[41] With the possible exception of a few colored intellectuals, particularly in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, who deliberately seek to valorize "negritude" (blackness), although their attitudes in this respect seem to be rather ambivalent.

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in their placer mines. However, had this "historic accident" been of reverse character, that is, had Africa at the time of the discovery and early exploitation of the Americas itself possessed technological superiority, and had Africans and their descendants then discovered America and taken to work on *their* plantations European slaves from a Europe of less advanced technological development, dark color—and not white—would today, in all likelihood, carry prestige. Being white would then probably be a decided disadvantage, a definite handicap, since long ago white color would have become a criterion of inferior rank; and whites would then want to be black and to have children blacker than themselves.

5. However, the restraining influence of color in Brazil today, a) varies inversely with its intensity (as do all the other criteria of rank); b) is not the determining criterion, as in South Africa or the United States, but only one of a series of conditioning circumstances, similar (as far as most persons are concerned) to those with reference to age, sex, lack of personal competence, lack of skills, lack of financial resources, or lack of education; c) varies with the individual and with circumstance; d) may change permanently during an individual's lifetime; e) may be less significant than some observers have thought; and f) may be tending to decrease, as more individuals demonstrate their ability to overbalance the restraining influence of color by the accumulation of other criteria of rank (provided, of course, that changes now under way in the economic and sociological structures do not alter this trend).

6. Although cases of discrimination involving colored persons undoubtedly occur, they are not necessarily due exclusively to color. In any given case, the circumstances are com-

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563 grew up during slavery, and no circumstance has subsequently arisen to change it. In the United States, on the other hand, the spread of contraceptive practices[35] and the increasing race consciousness of the Negro have led to a decided decrease in miscegenation. Traditional behavior in Bahia is, in this respect as in many others, well defined. The sanction of custom has become, as it always does eventually in any case, moral sanction.

563 583 Race mixture is further favored in Bahia today by the widespread custom of *mancebia*,[36] or those conjugal unions outside marriage in which there is some degree of permanency. In many cases the women involved are mulattoes, rarely blacks. The man agrees to pay for rent and food; the woman, to care for the house and children. The man may have, at the same time, a legal family, although informal unions are often entered into by young men previous to marriage.

563 826 Miscegenation is also favored in Bahia today by the prestige which ordinarily attaches to the so-called "whiter" child. Dark mothers who bear "whiter" children consider themselves especially favored and are so looked upon by their immediate associates. A black mother proudly showed her light child and said, "Estou limpando a minha raça" ("I am cleansing [i.e., I am 'whitening'] my race"). One also

[164] [554] [882] [35] In Bahia there is not the fear of venereal disease common to this country. Its contraction is regarded by young men as an indication of sexual coming-of-age and perhaps enhances their prestige among their associates (cf. Freyre, *op. cit.*, pp. 49 ff.).

[193] [192] [36] This term is used only in more polite conversation. The woman involved is called *mancebo*, the verb is *mancebar*, and the participle *mancebado*. The popular expression, however, is *amasia*, or *amiga* (the feminine form of "friend"), or *amante*, or *companeira*, for the woman; the verb is *amasiar* or *amigar*, the participle *amasiado* or *amigado*.

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often hears in Bahia the expression *melhorando a raca* ("improving the breed").[17]

The attitude here inferred arose during slavery, when it [567] became a distinct privilege for a Negro woman to bear a [178] child to her white master; for she and her progeny were thereby placed in a more advantageous position, especially as far as material benefits, and even freedom, were concerned.

João Varella, in a booklet entitled *Da Bahia do Senhor do Bomfim*, reproduces the figure of a Negro woman bearing a young child bound to her back by a wide cloth. "When the child was black and ugly," Varella writes, "he was usually carried in this fashion. If, however, he was a *coisa mais limpa* (literally, 'a cleaner thing'), he was borne in front, in his mother's arms, so that all the world might the more readily see him."

This desire "to marry whiter" is not limited to the female portion of the black population. Successful males here, as in Haiti and the United States, generally seek to insure further their status and that of their children by marrying lighter-

[17] Of twenty-four babies delivered at the free maternity ward of Santa [743] Isabel Hospital from Negro and mulatto mothers, four, an obstetrician thought, would grow up relatively "white," while only two appeared to be completely negroid. Although pigmentation apparently is not fixed at this early period, the appearance of *manchas* (or deeply colored "stains," called in popular speech *genipapo* after a common Brazilian fruit of a similar coffee-brown color), on either the back or buttocks is, in Bahia, commonly considered an index of subsequent dark pigmentation over the entire body. Three of the babies from dark mulatto women and one whose mother was a light mixed-blood showed no evidence of *manchas*. One dark mulatto mother, when requested, removed her child's clothing and proudly displayed his back free from these marks. The obstetrician, with a smile and a friendly pat on the mother's shoulder, inquired, "It's father was white, wasn't he?" The colored mother, pleased, replied, "I have five other children like him, all without *manchas*."

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[826] colored women. A common expression heard in this connection is: "I don't want to go back to Africa."

Race mixture is further favored in Bahia today by the economic and social position of the occasional immigrant, usually from Portugal or Spain. Ordinarily from the lower class, he arrives unattached, poor, and with little or no education. He meets a rigid class line and, at least during the first years, before he gains some measure of economic competence, is ordinarily cut off from a better class marriage. Moreover, in many cases he conceives of his stay as temporary. Many immigrants, especially among the Spanish, have left families in Europe to whom they expect to return once they have accumulated a sizable competence.

563 583 In his struggle to gain a footing, the immigrant soon discovers that the lower-class black or mixed-blood woman is a valuable assistant. She may become his cook and housekeeper, supplement his income by taking in washings or by preparing and peddling food delicacies, and ordinarily demands little in return. So frequently do such unions occur, especially among Portuguese immigrants, that the Portuguese have come to be popularly regarded, not only in Bahia but throughout Brazil, as peculiarly attached to Negro women.

[441] However, as we have indicated, not all immigrant men living *amancebados* with Negro women are from Portugal. A number of the *vendas*, or small grocery stores, scattered about Bahia are owned by Spanish immigrants, many of whom live with Negro women, as similarly does occasionally an Italian, an Englishman, an American, or a German.[38]

[38] A German who had been manager of a nail factory in Bahia returned a few years ago to Germany. For sometime thereafter a Negro woman with whom he had lived and their son received 200 milreis regularly each month

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in the United States always serves to call out the traditional responses long associated with variations in social status.

Today there exists in Bahia the belief that the population is gradually but persistently "whitening," a conviction difficult to understand, given the heavy preponderance of Africans among the population which originally migrated to this area and the negligible number of European immigrants in recent times.

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The probable greater mortality of blacks may in part account for this change. According to a recent unpublished study, the infantile death rate among the lower classes in Bahia, which, as we have seen, are principally black and dark mulatto, is approximately twice that of the upper classes; and, in 1932, deaths under five years of age constituted nearly one-third of all deaths for that year (1,698 out of 5,407). At the same time there does not seem to be any marked difference in fertility between the races.

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At any rate, Bahians frequently comment on an appreciable change in the color of the population within their memories. One continually hears remarks like that of a mixed-blood citizen who said:

> Formerly, the *pretos* (blacks) were the most numerous group in Bahia, the *pardos* (browns) next, and the *brancos* (whites) last. Today, the *pardos* are in the majority, the *brancos* next, and the *pretos* last. I am convinced that before long the *pretos* will have completely disappeared. The *brancos* will soon overtake and, in the course of time, completely absorb the *pardos*.

The mixed-bloods tend to look upon themselves as transition points in an inevitable whitening process. Pride in the present advanced stage is common, and the end result is eagerly anticipated. From the mulattoes, as from the whites, one frequently hears the declaration: "We Brazilians are

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rapidly becoming one people. Some day not far distant there will be only *one* race in our country."

On visiting Brazil, Theodore Roosevelt once wrote: "Perhaps the attitude that the Brazilians, including the most intelligent among them, take is best symbolized by a picture which we saw in the Art Museum in Rio. It portrayed a black grandfather, a mulatto son, and a white grandchild, the evident intention of the painter being to express both the hope and the belief that the Negro was being absorbed and transformed so that he would become a white man." Quoting a Brazilian statesman, Roosevelt continued: "You speak of Brazil as having a large Negro population. Well, in a century there will not be any Negroes in Brazil, whereas you will have twenty or thirty millions of them. Then for you there will be a real and very uncomfortable problem, while for us the problem in its most menacing phase will have disappeared."[42]

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It is difficult to check this general impression that the population is constantly becoming more and more European in appearance. Reliable statistics on the present distribution of the various ethnic groups are not available. No adequate data of this sort have recently been compiled by any agency. The last Brazilian census to include racial categories was taken a half-century ago, in 1890. At that time the racial division in Bahia was given as: *brancos*, 32.0 per cent; *pretos*, 26.4 per cent; and *mestiços*, 35.1 per cent.[43]

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Vital statistics, however, are still recorded in the city by

[42] *Outlook*, CVI (February 21, 1914), 410–11.

[43] *Caboclos* were given as 6.5 per cent. It is difficult to understand how so large a number of Indians, or Indian mixed-bloods (the term is variously used at different times and in different places in Brazil), could have at that time existed in the city of Bahia.

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color categories, three being officially recognized: *branco*, *preto*, and *pardo*. These classifications are based upon physical appearance, the principal criteria being pigmentation and hair texture. Racial intermixture has now proceeded to the point where public officials say no attempt is made to indicate ethnic distinctions. Thus the *branco* category includes many light mulattoes and the *preto* category many dark mixed-bloods.

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These official color divisions directly reflect popular distinctions. It is therefore important to note that their usage indicates a shift in criterion from racial descent (as in the United States) to physical appearance; and physical appearance is a characteristic which miscegenation tends continually to modify. Whereas in the United States one drop of Negro blood, if it be known, makes a man a Negro, in Bahia many individuals are listed in the census as white (and, one might add, are so considered by their friends and associates) whose grandmothers were Negroes of pure African descent.

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For instance, the grandmother of a *branco* politician who holds a responsible position in the Rio government, and who himself shows no noticeable traces of Negro ancestry, is said to have been a black woman who wore on Bahia's streets "a *saia grande* and a *panno da Costa*."[44] The *branco* wife of a prominent physician, fair and blue eyed, similarly had an African grandmother. A former governor, to all appearances white and so considered throughout the community, is only two generations removed from an African forebear. Cases might be cited indefinitely similar to that of a Bahian who, referring to a prominent local woman invariably con-

[44] Elements of the distinctive costume, partially African in origin, which is worn in Bahia by Negro women (see chap. ix.).

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sidered white, casually commented: "I learned the other day that she has a Negro grandmother. Someone who knew her family twenty years before she was born showed me a picture of the woman. The grandmother was as black as coal."

That such discovery led, and will lead in all similar cases, to no alteration in the social standing of the individual involved, to no modification in the social esteem in which he or she is held, is a significant indication of the character of the Brazilian racial situation as compared with that in the United States, for example, where a similar revelation would create a scandal. "We never go very far into a person's past," explained another Bahian. "That would be impolite."

The meaning of the term *branco* (white) in Bahia is, as we have indicated, a significant index of the racial situation. A recent comparison of the classification of the first five hundred individuals listed as *brancos* in the files of the Gabinete de Identificação with the photographs (one, sometimes two, occasionally three) attached to the individual's identification record,[45] indicated that the racial probabilities were as given in Table 2.[46]

It is clear that many individuals are considered white at Bahia who not only have Negro ancestors but whose physical characteristics definitely attest this fact. The old saying, "Quem escapa de branco, negro é" ("Who can't be a white

[45] An identification card is required of all students, travelers, applicants for licenses, etc.

[46] Considering the means employed, one must allow perhaps for some error in the result. But the photographs had received no "retouching." And even if color distinctions were still somewhat subject to misinterpretation, hair texture and facial characteristics were rather readily distinguishable. It is quite probable that what error did occur was in the form of an understatement rather than of an exaggeration.

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man is a Negro"), has now been largely replaced by, as Freyre says, the "more Brazilian saying": "Quem escapa de negro, branco é" ("Who isn't a Negro is a white man").

With due regard, then, to such qualifications regarding the precise meaning of *branco* as these facts suggest, we may note that the classification of births in Bahia in 1932 indicated the color distribution to be as given in Table 3.

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TABLE 2

PROBABLE ETHNIC ORIGIN OF THE FIRST FIVE HUNDRED INDIVIDUALS LISTED AS *Brancos* IN THE FILES OF THE GABINETE DE IDENTIFICAÇÃO, BAHIA, 1937

[217]

Probability	Number	Per Cent
Whites	340	68.0
Mulattoes*	95	19.0
Indian-white mixed-bloods†	39	7.8
Indian-white-Negro mixed-bloods†	26	5.2
Total	500	100.0

* Individuals with the following physical characteristics were noted: (1) nose very broad, lips very full; (2) dark skin, hair almost kinky, lips thick; (3) skin *café com leite* ("coffee with milk"), hair exceedingly curly; (4) hair almost kinky; (5) lips full, nose broad, considerable prognathism.

† Ordinarily only slight traces of Indian ancestry evident in each case.

Since the total registration of births for each of these years averages slightly in excess of five hundred in a city of an estimated 360,000, the records are obviously incomplete. Many midwife deliveries go unrecorded; and, since these births occur usually among the lower classes, which are largely black and dark mulatto, the relative color percentages are probably skewed toward the white pole.

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Deaths are less likely to go unrecorded. But since deaths

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tuted marriages or otherwise, extends personal relations to the point where they inhibit the rise of caste prejudice. Natural ties, personal and familial, grow up to cement with common bonds of sentiment individuals from both racial stocks.

"Racial intermixture has had a long history, a history older than civilization itself," commented Theodoro Sampaio, a prominent Bahian mixed-blood.

> Wherever the conquering Romans went, mixture occurred. Spain and Portugal for centuries interbred with the Moors; Italy, Greece, and the Mediterranean isles, all early mingled their blood with that of Africa. In Crete—that old center of ancient civilization—are statues of men with crinkly (*crespo*) hair. The Gothic hordes which overran Europe as the Roman Empire was crumbling were themselves much mixed; and wherever they went they added their blood to that of the peoples whom they conquered. Race-crossing is obviously no new thing; it has been common the world over wherever races have come together. How natural, then, that Brazil should blend her races into one, and that we Brazilians should become *one* people.

Among the mixed-bloods there is still a wide range of variation in physical type. The distribution, however, is probably skewed toward the Caucasian pole. Indian traits have virtually disappeared, the native element having been almost completely absorbed into the predominantly European population. The occasional traces of Indian characters which are still discernible are usually found in combination with Negro characters and are probably a consequence of the recent migration into the city from the *sertão* of predominantly negroid individuals of partial Indian descent. 563* 142

To designate some of the intermediate types which extensive intermixture has now produced, a number of popular expressions have arisen. These terms describe the variations more accurately than do the official categories. The latter, as we have seen, are limited to three: *branco*, *preto*, and 563* 142 826

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pardo; but common speech adds *cabra* (or *caibra*), *Cabo Verde* (*Cape Verde*), *sarará*, and *moreno*.

The *cabra*, or *caibra*, is slightly lighter in pigmentation than the *preto* and has hair a little less kinky. The *Cabo Verde* is very dark, with Caucasian features and black, glossy, "straight" hair. The infrequent *sarará* is light in color, with hair red (or sandy) and kinky. The *moreno*, many Bahians say, is the new physical type which Brazil is developing.

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Quite significantly, the *morena* (or feminine *moreno*) is the "ideal type" of Bahian femininity. She is in many cases an individual of remarkable beauty. Typically, she has dark-brown eyes and dark hair, quite wavy, perhaps even curly, and Caucasian features; her color is *café com leite* (literally, "coffee with milk"; i.e., like that of one "heavily tanned"), and she has a healthy appearance. The term *morena* is seldom mentioned to a Bahian male without there appearing an instant change in his expression. His face "lights up," and a smile breaks on his lips. He pronounces *morena* with a tone indicative of admiration, affection, desire.[50] He seems pleased, happy in the contemplation of an agreeable object. Poets, both professional and amateur, pour out passionate stanzas in her honor,[51] songs are sung

[50] The *morena* has the reputation of being more desirable than lighter Brazilian women; she is commonly described as "more *ardente*" (passionate), "more *adstringente*" (clinging).

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[51] As, for example, the following:

Elsa . . . .
Number One girl,
Pretty little "paca" [small Brazilian animal]
Caboclo-colored butterfly,
Splendidly "*morena*." . . . .

I danced the "catêrêtê" samba with Elsa,
Her warm flesh quivering,
Her breasts full, almost exploding,
Inside her little white blouse.

And then she fell into my arms willingly, voluptuously,
Her eyes like burning coals,
Her ruby lips
Glued to mine in delirious pleasure.

Ah! Ah! mad girl!
"Bamba" girl!
Devilish girl!

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to her,[52] romances written.[53] Of 146 male students responding to the query, "All things being equal, whom would you prefer to marry, a *branca*, a *morena*, a *parda*, a *preta*," 117, or 80.1 per cent, replied "a *morena*." Similarly, of 93 white female students responding to a like question, 80, or 86 per cent, preferred a *moreno* for a mate.

The *morena* may, or may not, have African blood.[54] But at least in Bahia this category includes many individuals of partial African descent. For instance, a study of five hundred women classified as *morenas* in the Gabinete de Identificação indicated the probable distribution given in Table 7.

It is the opinion of Arthur Ramos[55] that, although "the charms of the *morena* exert a profound sexual attraction" and the regard in which she is held "has a sexual base in the Freudian sense," the present attitude toward the *morena* "grew out of the enthusiasm and the sentimentalism of the abolition campaign. The *morena* expresses in a symbolic way the union of the two races—the black and the white—and the absence of [caste] prejudice."

The *morena* probably constitutes a decided bond be-

[52] As, for example, the following:

Beautiful morena,
Morena,
Morena who makes me suffer!
The full moon, so bright,
Is not as luminous as your eyes.
You are a *morena*,
A wonderful girl.
There's not a *branca* who hasn't
fallen for you.

Often,
When you pass by,
Men quarrel over you;
Everyone eagerly anticipates
Your smile.

Your heart is a boarding-house,
A family hotel
Along the seashore.
Oh, *morenínha*, do not rent all!
Leave at least a corner
For me to live in!

[53] A rock on the island of Paquetá in Guanabara Bay at Rio de Janeiro very popular with young lovers, has been dedicated to the *morenínha*.

[54] Pronouncing the word *morena* (or *moreno*) with a certain emphasis or changed inflection indicates darker color.

[55] Stated in personal correspondence with the author.

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At the same time, *meu negro* ("my Negro"), with its variation *meu nego*[16] and diminutive *meu negrinho*, all spoken in soft tones, are terms of endearment used even by whites in speaking to other whites, especially in cases of great intimacy as, for instance, between lovers. Their use constitutes, as a Bahian put it, "um modo de tratar bem" ("a way of being nice"). Occasionally one hears these expressions on the lips of a beggar asking alms of a white and, if he appears well to do, of a mulatto as well. Clerks sometimes employ them in addressing a customer. They appear to call up tender memories of intimate, personal relations like those existent, for example, between Mammy and Scarlett O'Hara in Margaret Mitchell's *Gone with the Wind*.

563* 192 [832] [576] [591]

The term *branco da Bahia* ("Bahian white") is also heard, although it is ordinarily employed *outside* Bahia. It has reference to the local custom of including many light mixed-bloods in the *branco* category. The phrase *branco por procuração* ("white by proxy") is occasionally used in Bahia but never when speaking to such an individual directly or in his presence. Light mixed-bloods are sometimes referred to as *bem areiadas* ("well sandpapered"); very dark young Negro boys as *pregos* ("nails"); very dark blacks as *pretos retintos* (literally "black blacks," or "black as coal"), and *reclames do pixe* (literally "shouts of tar," i.e., "black as pitch"). The phrase *ele tem genipapo* refers to the possession of *manchas*, as previously noted. Of a person who shows slight traces of Negro ancestry, it is said, "Ele tem dedo na cozinha" ("He has a finger in the kitchen"). Additional descriptive words or phrases include: *de côr escura* ("of dark color"), *de côr*

563* 192 826

[16] The feminine forms are *minha negra*, *minha nega*, and *minha negrinha*.

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morena, de côr branca, de côr parda, de côr preta, mestiço ("mixed-blood"), and *moleque*.[57]

In the Bahian interior four categories are in common use: *branco, moreno, roxo* ("purple"),[58] and *preto*. *Pardo, mulato,* and *negro* are seldom employed. Occasionally, *curiboca* is used in referring to a cross between a *preto* and an Indian.

Indicative of the (as yet) somewhat indeterminate character of these categories are the variations in meaning which several of these terms seem to have for different individuals. For example, *moreno*, an upper-class lady of European descent said, "might for all practical purposes be considered as identical with *branco*," an opinion concurred in by numerous other individuals from the upper class. But a lower-class *preto* thought of *moreno* as "almost identical with *pardo*"; a lower-class *parda* considered a *moreno* more negroid than a *pardo;* while other individuals made a distinction between two classes of *morenos: morenos claros* ("light *morenos*"), and *morenos escuros* ("dark *morenos*").

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In classifying a given individual, hair texture is much more important than color of skin. One often hears in Bahia the expression, "Ele é um pouco escuro, mas o cabello é bom" ("He is a bit dark, but his hair is good").

[57] Also spelled *muleque*. The word is of African origin and was originally used to refer, as we have seen, to a small Negro boy. It is now occasionally employed in Bahia, without regard to color, in the sense of "street urchin."

[58] The purple tinge of the skin of black individuals under the bright rays of the tropical sun is probably responsible for this expression.

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senhores de engenho, fazendeiros, etc.[10] Often they were runaway slaves.[11] In the cities they became masons, cobblers, tinsmiths, soldiers, actors, and at times reached even the small bourgeosie.[12]

The mulatto, owing to his closer approximation in physical characteristics to the European, was better able than the Negro to appropriate certain symbols of status—the small shoe and the little boot, for instance, the wearing of which was an important index of social standing in colonial and imperial Brazil.[13] Small feet, particularly among women, were for a long time, and still are, fashionable.

As the mulatto rose in class, he came to occupy something

[10] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, pp. 190–91, 205, 238.

[11] "I heard of a mulatto slave who ran away from his master; and in the course of years had become a wealthy man, by the purchase of lands which were overrun with cattle. He had, on one occasion, collected in pens great numbers of oxen which he was arranging with his herdsmen to dispatch to different parts for sale, when a stranger who came quite alone, made his appearance, and rode up and spoke to him, saying that he wished to have some private conversation with him. After a little time they retired together; and when they were alone the owner of the estate said, "I thank you for not mentioning the connection between us, whilst my people were present." It was his master, who had fallen into distressed circumstances, and had now made this visit in hopes of obtaining some trifle from him. He said that he would be grateful for anything his slave chose to give him. To reclaim him, he well knew, was out of the question—he was in the man's power, who might order him to be assassinated immediately. The slave gave his master several hundred oxen, and directed some of his men to accompany him with them to a market, giving out among his herdsmen, that he had thus paid a debt of old standing, for which he had only now been called upon" (Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil, 1809 to 1815* [2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1817], I, 244–45).

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[12] Vianna, *op. cit.*, p. 143. In 1774 a law opened to *homens pardos* access "to all offices, honors and dignities, without discrimination on account of difference in color" (*Annaes da Biblioteca Nacional*, XXXVII [1913], 85). See also Pedro Calmon, *Historia social do Brasil* (3 vols.; São Paulo, 1937–39), I, 168.

[13] "The use of shoes and little boots, which was at first almost entirely limited to persons recently arrived from Portugal, spread among those men

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As the mulatto rose in class, he came to occupy something analogous to a middle position distinct from either that of the dominant European or that of the subject African. In the colonial period, "to appease the repugnance felt by whites at being put on the same level with mulattoes,"[14] the latter were segregated for military duty. Thus separate battalions were organized at Bahia and elsewhere for whites, for *pardos*,[15] and for *pretos*.[16] Similarly, separate church organizations arose for *pardos* (Palma, Guadaloupe, Boqueirão) as well as for *pretos*.[17]

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In the Brazilian rural society of the colonial period Oliveira Vianna identifies three distinct social strata: the predominantly white *senhores* of the upper rank, the predominantly mixed-blood free artisans, *rendeiros*, and petty

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and women of the Brazilian aristocracy who were blessed with small feet. The difficulties of the blacks, even when serving as pages, to adjust themselves to this new European and aristocratic style so ill adapted to their large and flat feet, can be easily understood. The mulattoes, on the other hand, who possessed smaller feet, well formed according to the European standard, could adapt themselves more readily to a practice which Handelmann observed constituted in nineteenth-century Brazil one of the marks of class distinction" (Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, pp. 329-30).

[14] Vianna, *op. cit.*, p. 164; see also his *Populações meridionaes do Brasil* (3d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 140.

[15] In Bahia, the Regimento dos Pardos. See Luiz dos Santos Vilhena, *Cartas*, edited and annotated by Braz do Amaral (2 vols.; Bahia, 1922), pp. 253-54.

BB

[16] In Bahia, as elsewhere, Os Henriques.

[764]

[17] In Bahia, Rosario de João Pereira, Barroquinha, Corpo Santo, Rosario "at the foot of the Pelourinho." Cf. also: "The cemetery for Africans was located next to the Misericordia Cemetery, as one can see from the map made of the city of Salvador and its suburbs by Carlos Augusto Weyll" (J. B. von Spix and C. F. P. von Martius, *Através da Bahia* [excerpts from the larger work, *Reise in Brasilien* (3 vols.; München, 1823-31)], trans. Pirajá da Silva and Paulo Wolf [3d ed.; São Paulo, 1938], pp. 141-42 [translators' note]).

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The mau olhado, or "evil eye," 754
a magical power presumed in many parts of the world, [171]
including Europe, to be possessed, often unwittingly, by
certain individuals, is thought at Bahia to bring death
to plants, birds, and even small children whom the person
has coveted or, perhaps, merely admired. More natural 753
forces are the *ar do vento*, or "air of the wind," a cold draught 821
said to result in indigestion, deformity, insanity, or death; [826]
the *espinhela caida*, or "fallen breastbone," which presumably brings on an emaciated condition of the body; and
sangue nova, or "new blood," thought to be responsible for
the breaking-out of a rash. Dew must not be allowed to fall 753
on the head. Certain diseases, like syphilis and leprosy, are
considered defects common to all men.[16] However, the per- [744]
sistent efforts of agencies like the Rockefeller Foundation [177]
have widely disseminated the idea that malaria results from
the bite of a mosquito.

The treatment or prevention of disease is the logical coun- 789
terpart of a magical theory of causation. Thus, members of 782
this section of the Bahian population attempt to control personal destiny through the use of charms or other magical
means or through the direct intervention of a deity, whose
favor is sought by the offering of gifts or the performance of
prescribed rituals. Thus, to counteract the influence of the 755
"evil eye," charms are worn, or pieces of the *Guiné*, *Arruda*, 824
or *Vassourinha Doce* plants are passed, to the accompaniment of magical words, over and about the affected person's
head.

goat may be killed, or a doll made and its neck pierced by a bit of wood. Either object is then placed in the doorway of the individual to be harmed or in any other place where he is likely to pass, the one depositing the *feitiço* calling out, as he drops it, the name of the person for whom harm is intended. [754]

[16] "Syphilis," a black explained, "began with the world. Everyone has it, even horses, although it may never show up."

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When I was sixteen years old I went across the river to live in São Felix. There was a man there who was crazy. We asked what was the matter with him, and they said that he had seven Exú's[47] in his body. They had given him a cigar and when he began to smoke, he became wild. He was nearly insane. He did not want to hear the word of God. When they talked of going to Mass, he wanted to run away. They took him and tied him up. He stayed this way two whole weeks. Once in a while his relatives came to see him. Finally, they decided to take him to a *candomblé*. They untied him and he went. For a long time he remained there and kept on acting the same way. Then the head of the *candomblé* took a hand in the matter. He ordered them to get black cloth, candles, *azeite de dendê*, incense, and several other things which he needed. After he had finished, he gave the man a bath to clean him up. When twelve o'clock came, he stretched him out in the middle of the floor. And there he lay all sprawled out. We saw a black Negro with red lips sitting on his knee. He was about this high [indicating approximately two and one-half feet], and as black as coal. His lips were as red as the lid of that can [indicating a *malte* container with bright red cover]. He had large ears that stuck out like this [indicating about a twelve-inch spread]. He was horrible. His horns were this long [indicating about six inches]. And his tail, about a meter. His eyes were big, like this [indicating an oval three inches in diameter]. They were the size of "three children."[48] His tongue looked like a snake's; it was really four separate tongues. And he was sitting there on the man's knee. We were all afraid. We wanted to run; but we dared not. He didn't stay long. Only about ten minutes. He left the man's knee and disappeared into the body of the man who had bought and brought the "things." The *pae de santo* filled up a basin, and Exú took himself away. We did not see him disappear. Ten minutes later the man got up, feeling better. He had been sitting there crying hard. They shaved off his hair, washed his head and painted it with a pencil, white, blue, pink, and lavender. Then they

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[47] Exú (pronounced "Ã-shu") is an African deity who is often, although not always, thought of as possessing an evil nature. See chap. x.

[48] This expression was explained in the following manner: "A person looking into an ordinary eye sees the image of one child; in Exú's eyes the image was three times as big."

[826]

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persist, setting apart to some extent a (comparatively small) portion of the black population.

20. Lynching and the rape of white women by colored men are both unknown, "passing" has no point, and circumstances are not ordinarily conducive to the appearance of the "marginal man."

21. One drop of African blood does not, as in the United States (if known), class a mixed-blood as a Negro. Instead, many individuals are listed in the official statistics as whites, and are similarly known in the community, who not only have African ancestors but actually give some evidence of this descent in their color and features.

22. Prejudice exists in Brazil; but it is *class* rather than *race* prejudice. It is the kind of prejudice which one finds inside the ranks of the Negro in the United States.

23. It is possible that the Brazilian blacks and mixed-bloods, lacking as they do in most cases the sense of inferiority long characteristic of the Negro in the United States, particularly of the mixed-blood, have been less activated by personal ambition. Feeling themselves less under the necessity of demonstrating to a hostile white world their individual talents and abilities, they have not had the same incentive for social advancement and, consequently, have not, perhaps, as a group, risen in class as rapidly as has the Negro in the United States.

24. Although Brazil seems never to have had a formal racial policy, the traditional behavior which originally grew up and took shape under the influence of the immediate and unreflecting responses to the circumstances and conditions of colonial life gave rise to an *informal* racial policy, or racial ideology, which underlies and gives consistency to the mores, appearing only when they are challenged from without and

[SALVADOR]

/10 cont./

*563 826 In order to understand the composition of the local population and to interpret correctly the demographic statistics of Bahia, ancient and modern, it is necessary to be well acquainted with the meaning of the terms that serve to designate the different physical types brought together in its vast melting pot. The most common expressions are branco, preto, mulato, pardo, moreno, and caboclo, which one may translate as: White, Black, mulatto (1). [192]

[192] [128] 1. There are no common French terms to designate the terms pardo, moreno, caboclo, the explanation of which is given farther on. We shall therefore leave them in their Brazilian form in these pages.

[829] These terms seemingly designate definite physical types; in reality, their meaning is inspired much more by the social context than by racial characteristics such as the color of the skin, the hair, and the shape of the face.

*563 826 829 565 In a general way Whites are individuals of white phenotype; very tall persons with light eyes and with hair likewise light and fine are often called brancos finos (fine Whites) because they do show any signs of mixture with colored types. Nevertheless individuals who are wealthy and of high rank, whatever their appearance, may very well be called Whites. When one hears a person of humble station, a servant or agricultural worker, call a superior "my White," one is sometimes surprised to discover that the person to whom the title is addressed has a very dark complexion. The stevedores and porters, who are almost all black, indiscriminately call Whites and mulattoes of prosperous appearance "my White." The common people never cease saying that "the one who has money is White."

A colored sociologist says that "a Brazilian Black can become white to the extent that he rises economically and acquires the attitude of the upper groups." Assignment to an upper social class in Brazil is based more on the culture or the economic position of an individual than on his racial characteristics. The

[SALVADOR]

• 826 /10 cont./
829 The mulattoes of light complexion, socially "whitened" or "Whites
* 563 in color" (brancos na côr), are commonly called "Whites of the
565 land" (brancos da terra) or "Whites of Bahia" (2).
[192]

2. According to Donald Pierson, the Whites of Bahia are "very light métis /persons of mixed blood / who in Bahia are generally considered Whites"; cf. Brancos e pretos na Bahia /Whites and Blacks in Bahia/, São Paulo, 1945, p. 200. In commenting on this definition, a writer from Bahia explains that it does not rest upon an observation based on physical anthropology. Factors of a sociological order enter into this specification and make defining it difficult. J. Valadares, "Brancos da Bahia," Estado da Bahia, 2, VI, Bahia, 1943 (this comment refers to an article published by Pierson in 1943).

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when they occupy an important position and when one /11/ does not wish to offend them by calling them mulattoes. In the characterization of these "presumed Whites," fortune or social rank always plays a large part. In speaking of a light métis /a person with mixed blood/ with slightly Negroid features, one may say with a certain irony: "So-and-So is White, socially speaking, since he has already occupied one of the highest positions in the State." It is for these reasons that a physician from Bahia who had taken up the study of anthropology wrote as early as 1898 that "anatomically the Whites of Bahia are placed between the pardos and the direct descendants of Portuguese not of mixed blood (1)."

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1. J. B. Sá Oliveira, Evoluçao psiquica dos bahianos /Psychic evolution of the Bahians/, Bahia, 1898, p. 51.

[SALVADOR]

826 /11 cont./
829 Pretos, or Blacks, are all the individuals who show the physi-
x 563 cal characteristics of the Black, particularly the very dark skin,
576 "the color of charcoal," the frizzy hair, the flat nose, and the
[192] very thick lips. But to use the expression "Negro" /Fr. nègre/ is considered less courteous and sometimes even offensive. A physician who worked in a dermatology clinic registered as "Negro" a patient who had come to be treated; but the father of the latter came to the physician to protest that he should substitute for this term that of preto (Black) or escuro (dark /Fr. foncé/).

A person who is speaking to a Black of a lower class may say
[192] to him, in speaking of another Black, "Someone black like you"; but if it is a matter of a person belonging to a higher class, good form requires that one use the term escuro (dark) or even moreno. Several informants reported that the students of certain black professors with crude manners say of them that they have the "manners of Negroes." In the same way, a dark mulatto intellectual knows that if one wishes to offend him one calls him "this Negro," and a Black practicing a liberal profession is not unaware either that his political adversaries, in speaking of him, say "the Negro Léonard." It is not rare to hear Whites and morenos protest in a low voice against the bad manners, the bursts of laughter, the gossip of these "Negroes," when Blacks and mulattoes give free vent to their noisy gaiety in public conveyances, in cinemas, or in the streets. Nevertheless the expression "my Negro" is a term of friendship, even among Whites. Some-
[196] times the term "Negro" is used as a diminutive, "a sympathetic little Negro" /Fr. négrillon/, without containing any unkind implication. On the other hand, the word nigrinha, the feminine form of the same diminutive, has a pejorative and insulting meaning; it is applied to young colored people of questionable reputation. To act like a nigrinha is equivalent to behaving badly.

175 In the first years of colonization, Indians were often desig-
x 563 nated by the name of Negro. The use of this /12/ word, the true
829 meaning of which has been established only recently, caused much embarrassment to historians who sought to unravel the respective role of Indians and Blacks in the formation of Brazilian civilization. A Portuguese law of 1755 stipulates that Indians must not be

/12 cont./

175 called Negroes because of the ignominious and base implications
*563 of a term that puts them on the same footing as the people of the
829 coast of Africa destined to become slaves of the Whites. The true African Negroes were at that time called Negroes of Guinea, Negroes of the coast, or Negroes of nation, that is to say, of such
175 and such an African tribe. In a general way the term Negro was
829 applied to every slave, to the point that in 1773 a Portuguese
*563 monarch complained that in Brazil there were still "persons so
567 wanting in feelings of humanity and religion as to keep among
192 them slaves, some of whom are whiter than they themselves, under the names of Blacks and Negresses, or even métisses /plural
829 feminine form of métis, a person of mixed blood/." The sons of
*563 African Negroes born in Brazil were called creoles, a term ap-
192 plied even today, in the feminine, to black women and mulattresses
291 who dress like the Bahian women, with the troquette, the very full
794 skirt, the white, embroidered, and very décolleté blouse, and the colored shawl around the bust, a costume worn by the Africans of Nigeria and even in our day, with certain local modifications, by the women belonging to the religious cults of African origin, the
*563 candomblés. The creoles of Bahia constitute a typical spectacle
794 in the streets of the city; one can see them there, making their
443 way to a fetishist-cult center or sitting beside stalls in which they
262 display, especially during the popular festivals, the foods of the famous local cuisine, which is also of African origin to a great extent.

*563 The words pardo and mestiço, both having, as we have seen,
829 the meaning of mulatto, serve to designate the descendants of a
192 cross between Europeans and Blacks. Every variation of these
826 types, depending on the intensity of the color or the nature of the hair, was formerly designated by a particular name fallen into disuse today. One speaks of light mulatto or dark mulatto, according to the predominance of one or the other of the characteristics; the light mulattoes, when their hair is very similar to that of Whites, are also called cabo verdes or rôxos. A young girl showing
[196] few traces of crossbreeding is a roxinha or even a cabrocha; in this case the inhabitants of Bahia use a diminutive in order to remove from the word any pejorative meaning.

[SALVADOR]

/12 cont./

*563 829 192 •826 from the word any pejorative meaning. In fact, to say a "mulattress" in speaking of a young girl of a certain social class is in a way less courteous than to say "a little mulattress" (una mulatinha). Very often, in speaking of a person of distinction, one does not use any of these terms; one then says "a person of color" or "a /13/ dark person." A swarthy métis with slightly frizzy hair, whose features link him with the Whites, is a moreno, especially if he belongs to an upper social class. A journalist, recently describing a part of the city where a large number of colored people are found together, wrote that "one meets beautiful mulattresses there." If the latter belong to the lower classes and if they are poor, they are simply mulattresses; if they are granfinas (1),

1. Granfino, granfina may be translated by "very refined."

they become light morenas; and one could even add morenas the color of jambo (2).

[824] 2. Jambo, fruit of the jambevio, a Myrtaceae (Eugenia sp.).

[533 541 204] One finds numerous references to women of this type in the popular songs launched on the occasion of the famous Brazilian carnival. In the journals reporting accidents, crimes, or other facts in which mulattoes happen to be involved, even from the poorest classes, it is rare to come across the word mulatto, for which pardo or *563 morena is preferred. The feminine form, moreover, has a sentimental value: it suggests a slightly pigmented skin and features 562 829 of a beauty peculiar to these "women so sought after and preferred 192 in greater number," as one of our informants told us. Because of 826 this preference, the morena type has been celebrated in prose and in verse by our writers. And this morena, it goes without saying,

[SALVADOR]

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*563 /13 cont./
562 may not be of African blood (3).
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3. Arthur Ramos, Introduçao a Antropologia Brasileira, II, Rio de Janeiro, 1947.

829 The Indians and the descendants of the cross between Indians
*563 and Whites are generally called cabôclos, but this expression is
192 no longer very common in Bahia and rarely serves to characterize
[178] the corresponding type. The term cabôclo has become, like that
[196] of "my Negro," rather a formula of tenderness between individuals
175 of any color whatsoever. It must be noted, moreover, thanks to
829 old statistics, that toward the middle of the eighteenth century, in
648 response to complaints about Brazilian "nativism," the Portuguese
641 government prohibited the use of the term cabôclo, to which was
576 then attached an insulting meaning, and granted at the same time the
192 civil status of Whites to Indians and to their descendants of mixed blood, so that they could contract marriage with the Whites and fulfill official duties in the colony; it is in that manner that the contingents of mamelucos or cabôclos were assimilated with the
192 Whites in the military roles of the time. The word meanwhile
178 lost its insulting import and in our day is even considered a com-
829 pliment when it refers to a cabôclo bom, that is to say, a man of
576 good manners.

The Negroid albinos and the mulattoes with red, blond, or
144 light auburn hair are known by the name of sararás.
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The exact designation of these different types has always /14/
144 represented a difficulty, as much for anthropologists as for the
*563 persons charged with identifying school children, the military,
829 the criminals (1).

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1. According to the Bahian anthropologist Nina Rodriguez (in her book As raças humanas e a responsabilidade penal no Brasil /The Human Races and Penal Responsibility in Brazil/, 3rd edition, written at the beginning of the century), the métis include: 1st, the mulattoes produced from the cross between the White and the Negro:

[SALVADOR]

/27 cont./

829 white countries (1).
*563
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1. Romulo Almeida, interview for the Diario Trabelhista, 28, 11, Rio de Janeiro, 1946.

829 The mulattoes, according to others, are supposed to be affected
*563 in their manner of speaking, wishing to display their erudition.
537 The comment of a journalist about a politician is characteristic
157 of this way of thinking: "Without complexes or repressions . . . he reasons dispassionately, which is astonishing on the part of a red curiboca (2)

[192]
[826]

2. Curiboca, métis of Indian and Black; roxo, bluish red, a warm and dark shade of the pigmentation of the skin of certain métis.

like him. Not having the tropical verbosity of mulatto good speakers. . . , he is mentally a Nordic who sets forth his ideas without the cerebral complications such as are esteemed among the bachelor /referring to the academic degree/ morenos of our country" (3).

[154]

3. "This tendency to use an elaborate language seems to be a sort of compensation for a feeling of inferiority," says V. L. Bicudo in "Attitudes raciales des Noirs et des mulâtres de São Paulo /Racial attitudes of the Blacks and mulattoes of São Paulo/," Sociologia, Vol. IX, No. 3, São Paulo, 1947, p. 211.

829 Opinions about the mulattoes, especially about those who try to
*563 advance themselves by means of intellectual activities, always
157 throw into relief the weak points of their personality and almost always give an unfavorable interpretation of their character. A literary critic of Bahia, commenting on the works of the greatest Brazilian novelist, the mulatto Machado de Assis, expresses this

[SALVADOR]

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*563 565 for many people, is more a question of class than a question of race, "the primacy of culture and of class" having the ascendancy, one may say with a mulatto educator that "if he has money, education, and manners, the Black can elevate himself." This synthesis, however, does not exhaust all the aspects of the problem. A very dark woman of liberal profession declares that "a Black, in order to elevate himself socially, must have talent and friend-
[571] ships." In truth, good personal and family relationships are very important for everybody in Bahia, whether in trade, in administration, or in politics. A maxim constantly cited by Brazilians teaches that "a friend at hand is worth more than money in the till," which means that any enterprise is easier when the interested party is given a "personal" introduction by a friend of the person with whom he must deal. One informant insists on explaining that she does not believe money has a great influence on the social ascent of colored people; she knows several among them who, having previously made a fortune, did not succeed in elevating them-
[156] selves. "For in order to elevate oneself it is necessary not to have an inferiority complex. There are many Blacks who not only do not dare to approach Whites of a high class, but transmit this fear to their children." The fact that the black color recalls the ancient slaves is cited by many as an explanation for the difficulties that
[567] the darkest ones encounter in attaining a high rank. "Lately risen
[826] from the depths of slavery," writes a priest of mixed blood, "rare are the Negroes who succeed in reaching a high level or position.
[571] As for mulattoes and morenos (who are not true Blacks), we can say that, from all points of view, they live in harmony with the Whites, at least here in Bahia." A doctor makes the same comment: "As far as the morenos are concerned, they have a position equivalent to that of the Whites; but it is not correct to say that the Blacks can easily attain the highest offices or positions of the first order in the most esteemed professions. As for mulattoes, one finds some of them in the positions that we have just named, without being able to deny, however, that for the métis whose color closely approaches that of the Negroes, this pigmentation of the skin creates obstacles to the various careers mentioned. On —

[SALVADOR]

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*563 565 the other hand, the métis with straight hair and a color very close to that of the white race could succeed in the different branches of human activity without having to suffer any annoyance of an ethnic nature."

• [826] Notwithstanding all these difficulties, colored people, especially the lightest ones and those whose features bring them closer /38/ to the Whites, may achieve a rank as high as the latter. As [114] will be seen in the following chapters, they may marry Whites, according to their social position; they may have a pre-eminent place in the liberal professions, in the intellectual life; they may be admitted into the organizations through which one acquires prestige and social rank, which confirms the thesis already set forth by Pierson, that "what we find in Bahia is a multiracial society of classes" (1).

1. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 408.

*563 565 554 571 The social ascent of colored persons, although it is brought about with relative facility, is not without consequence for those who attain it. It is somewhat like "passing" /quoted in English/ for the North American Negroes: those who elevate themselves not only experience doubts and difficulties on the subject of their position, but they are also the object of resentment by some of those -- and they are numerous -- who remain in the lower strata of society.

When he elevates himself to the social rank that is to assimilate him culturally and socially with the White by endowing him with his "social skin," the Black is often criticized because he wants "to act the White" or because he "no longer wants to be colored."

*563 565 554 571 124 Numerous informants pointed out certain colored individuals who are considered that kind and who, they said, would certainly refuse to be interviewed for the investigation. Some of them actually avoided speaking of the racial problem, politely diverting the conversation to other subjects, under the pretext that they did not know anything about the subject and all that was of no importance among us. The author, in spite of his experience in the milieus

[SALVADOR]

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*563 557 the advances of dark men, but accept those of Whites, however disrespectful. That is why, he explains, they either become concubines of the latter, or else they do not marry.

*563 829 826 832 The white and blond woman, on the other hand, is represented as being strongly attracted by men with a very pigmented skin. A light mulatto, regarded very highly in his profession, is not attracted by dark women, although he admits that they are striking and pretty; he prefers the "Whites, very white." According to what he said, many men of his kind have this same inclination, quite independently of the idea of "purifying the race." He adds that the finas Whites have a real taste for the Blacks, whom they consider particularly virile and strong, and they do not take those who have manners that are too refined. Other informants, on the contrary, speak without enthusiasm of this type of women, whom they consider cold and frail. "Color gives health," says one of them, and he adds that even the Whites think so. "Very light women are repugnant to some men," declares one métis; "I even know a European who has an inclination to vomit when he sees one of them." All these opinions on the very white woman are [191] of the same order as those that in the United States, according to John Dollard (1),

> 1. "It seems possible that the image of the white woman is in part preserved from sexual thoughts and allusions of the same order, while the black woman tends to bear the entire brunt of uncontrolled sexual desire... If the black women are represented as sexually desirable in the white popular imagination, the black men are represented as particularly virile and experienced in this domain." Caste and Class in a Southern Town, New York, 1949, p. 1 ff. [113]

serve as protection against colored men and sometimes even against Whites. The morena, moreover, is regarded as the most ardent feminine type and even, sexually speaking, the most accessible. Numerous informants who have a plan to marry Whites explain or imply that they are looking for light, socially white métisses.

[SALVADOR]

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*563 829 The Whites justify their opposition to marriages with Blacks, not only by ideologies concerning the mental and moral inferiority of the Black, but also by an "instinctive" repulsion to certain organic characteristics of Africans and their close descendants. A mulatto, reared among Europeans, expresses this attitude by saying that "it is not so much the color prejudice that is strong in Bahia as the instinctive repulsion of the white race for the taint of the sister race when it is pure or almost pure: bad odor, color, etc., which does not fail to provoke disagreeable comments about the descendants of Ham." It should be noted that, *563 829 828 147 concerning the "bad odor," that of the Blacks is regarded as something inherent in their nature and thus irremediable, the disagreeable odor of the Portuguese and the other immigrants being attributed solely to the lack of body care. This conception puts the Black in a special and inferior psychological category, many Whites not knowing that they themselves emit an odor intolerable to the Asiatics and to the Blacks (1).

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1. It is interesting to note what happens in blood transfusion. When this was done directly from donor to recipient, often the white patient or his family preferred white donors, showing annoyance when the donor was mulatto or black. At present, with the system of preserved blood, almost no one asks what the "quality" of the donor is, except Jews and certain foreigners, especially Europeans who demand blood from members of their family or their "race." In the first instance, what motivated the attitude of the Whites was above all the fact that the donor was lying in a bed parallel to that of the sick person, a situation recalling the intimacy of two persons who sleep side by side.

planters. People in the upper class of the town, when they can, send their children to the capital to continue their education, and there are several *mestiço* students from Vila Recôncavo studying law, medicine and engineering in Salvador. The intelligence of the mulatto is traditional, and it has been equally traditional that the darker-skinned person is unintelligent. Today these traditions are not as strong as before, but still it is felt that the mulatto has somewhat more aptitude than the Negro. The old idea of the Negro, meant for work and to be servile, still exists, now tempered with the knowledge that education can change the situation. There is only one club in Vila Recôncavo—a football club—and the players are all shades, from white to black, and so are the spectators. They all sit or stand together under the shade of the one big tree which gives shade to the playing field. The field is on the property of a white man who, while he has nothing to do with the team, allows them to play there, put up goal posts and markers. The bar and recreation centre are open to all so long as they wear shoes—a ruling made to keep out the muddy feet of children who came straight from the beach to have a 'coke'. All the racial types and classes get together here to play pool and gossip, this being the one and only point of public social activity in the town. At the movies, the admission price is extremely low, the same for everyone, and all four classes attend. Negroes and whites of all classes sit next to each other. At church there are no special pews, the faithful usually gathering in the front and the less faithful hanging about near the back. The choir and the acolytes are from all classes and colours. At parties, which are few, colour lines are disregarded, *brancos* and *morenos* dance with *mulatos* and *pretos* just as long as both partners can *pular* (jump).

The social situation is gradually changing, and the extremely personal element is being lost. It is strongest on the private plantation, where the owner spends the greater part of the year, but at the *usina* much of the personal element is weakened because of the numbers of workers. Even at the *usina*, there is visiting and gossiping between the owners' families and the workers. But at the *usina* not all the workers accept their subservient position as do those of the plantations. This is specially true of the higher echelon of specialists and technicians of the mill, who will frequently not go to a party given by the owner, even though invited. It seems to be a way of saying that the company of the white owners is neither needed nor wanted. They prefer to keep their relations on a strictly business basis. At the *usina*, when a worker is sick, he goes to the medical post where he is treated by a paid nurse, rather than to the owner's house. On pay day, the *usina* worker is paid at the mill by a paymaster, not in the living room of the owner's house. Nevertheless, in spite of the industrialized aspect of the mill, the number of workers is not too large to exclude all personal contact with the owners, who adminis-

[SALVADOR]

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VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Private Plantation]

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249 Dona Sinhá and other plantation owners feel that a planta-
463 tion cannot be successful without a good overseer, and they
466 also feel that the white man does not make a good overseer.
571 They say he cannot stand the heat of the summer and the rain
• 829 and mud of the winter when spending entire days in the saddle overseeing the work. Only the indefatigable mestiço is supposed to be able to take such punishment. The owners also say that only he can deal properly with the mestiço workers--that, being one himself, he knows their "foibles and tricks." To a certain extent the mestiço population seems to agree with this, for orders from the overseer are much more promptly obeyed than orders from the owner, and most of the workmen prefer to have the overseer explain what is wanted. It is also believed that the mestiço is stronger. For example, if Dona Sinhá has made a hard trip in the winter to get to the plantation the workers will sympathize with her, saying, "You came through all that rain and mud, and at night!" when the same trip may be a daily one for the overseer, the cowboy, or any of the workers.

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249 However, the creation of the position of overseer has also
463 created a series of new problems for the owners. All owners
466 now suspect their overseers of cheating them, and the control
571 of the overseer is a subject which comes up frequently at social gatherings. Since the owner is absent from the plantation about half the year, there are many things which the overseer must do without consulting his employer. The owners will interpret independent action on the overseer's part as good management, mismanagement, or cheating, depending upon the results of the action. When the results are doubtful and there is any suspicion that the overseer might have gained money by his action, it is considered cheating. Very often the owners claim that the overseer and the foreman are "partners" working together against him.

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249 On one plantation in the community of Vila Recôncavo, the
463 owner decided he would be his own overseer. He was young
433 and had been born and brought up on the plantation. Within a
466 few years his harvest had dropped to almost nothing, and lately he has changed to raising milk cows, at which he has not
571 been particularly successful either. He himself, and all his friends, blame his lack of success on the lack of an overseer, saying that even though the old overseer had cheated and helped himself to what was not his, the plantation as a whole had not suffered as badly as it did without him.

2: Hutchinson · E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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life, and Seu Paulo resents the continued presence of the owner and the consequent lessening of his authority.

Along with their feeling of pride and love for the Recôncavo, many landowners recognize clearly the difficulties with which they are faced. The following excerpt from the diary of Dona Sinhá, which I was allowed to read, illustrates the outlook of a sugar-cane planter of the Recôncavo:

. . . "Dona Sinhá, there is a man here looking for you." "What is it, my son?" "I have some boils coming out all over my body." Some sulfa and a little ointment do the trick, and just in time, for here comes Seu Paulo, the overseer.

[757]

"The oxen of Pedras, the neighboring plantation, invaded the cane fields last night. Also those of Seu Cosme." "I'll telephone the usina immediately." "Also, there are no wagons at the loading point." "I'll find out about that too."

The tractor driver comes, complaining that there is no oil. I get that from the storeroom. Now there are two men on the veranda wanting to know about the last payday, when they claim their money "came out wrong." Going through the pay sheets, that was straightened out.

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Now, while there is no one else, I'll go out and look over the fields. I look at the plantings, feel the earth which I love. But it doesn't satisfy me. Something is missing. We are backward and retrogressing, passively. This place puts an inertia in the heart of a person, a desire to stop fighting, to find everything fine and as it should be--the ragamuffin Negroes, poorly fed, ignorant and rude, their dirty children with protruding stomachs and the white pretending that there is progress, his house full of company, electricity, radio, telephone, horseback rides, poetry of Baudelaire, Verlaine, philosophy of Voltaire, Carlyle, etc. --but in the end, zero! Sometimes I feel a tremendous anguish, I feel that nothing can be done in the Recôncavo and I want to leave this paralyzed land, poisoned with tradition, with its ruined sobrados. And we today hold fast to these fantasies and want to relive the opulent past. Deep down there is a clash against these indefatigable overseers, mulattoes, and Negroes with their boots, senhores da fazenda.

21 Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Private Plantation]

*249 829 178 [434] The entire harvest is done with great sacrifice, my head wearied by accounts; 6,000 tons of cane, over Cr$600.000,00--a lot of money, enough for all the expenses, and still some left over. What a mistake! The general costs, the extraordinary costs, house repairs, etc., will take it all. So we start again--new plantings, larger fields, all for more money. But we lack the courage to stop planting sugar cane and plant corn or coffee, anything else. We were born hearing of senhores de engenho, of trays and trays of silver service, of Negro slaves, of everything which has disappeared into the past. But it still burns in our blood, and deep down we want to have lands, to order and be obeyed. We like the humble and servile vassalage of the Negro, which makes us feel important, the dispensers of favors.

*249 829 I think of this as old Saturno goes along, step by step. There is Paulos Santos coming along the road, with his little burro and two baskets, going to get manioc for the ever-present farinha. "Good morning, Patron!" What affection I feel for each one of them! Pedro Manuel with so many little children; Zé Julião with his sick wife, Conceição with his air of secular servility. But affection resolves nothing! Money and action do! I could knock down those miserable hovels and make good hygienic houses.

Once home I fall into the hammock, reading Proust and forgetting everything.

The Usina: Usina São Pedro

*249 473 The Sociedad Anonima, the corporation which operates this factory, represents the new pattern in the Recôncavo. There are now nine factories functioning in the Recôncavo, for the trend has been to close the small ones which could not function economically. Five of the nine belong to one corporation, which holds extensive lands and receives the cane of many suppliers. We will describe the smallest of the four independent factories, which has a rated capacity of seventy-two thousand sacks of sugar as compared with the two hundred thousand of one of the larger mills (a sack equaling 60 kilograms). The legal capacity of the Usina São Pedro--which it has never reached--is fifty-two thousand sacks, as determined by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol. At the present time, however,

*249 433 [128] [656]

The houses are small, usually consisting of a front living room, a corridor with one or two bedrooms, a small dining room, and a kitchen. The furniture is scanty--a miscellany of chairs, benches, and tables, an occasional dish closet, the ever-present pictures of saints, one or two beds, and clay dishes. 565* 342 [352] [353]

As noted earlier, the fisherman could earn more if he wanted to. There is a certain dispraisal of those who attempt to better themselves, though once they have raised their status they are admired. One fisherman in town worked harder than the others, earning slightly more; his house was always in better condition than the others, and his wife took better care of it. She was very neat, and her house and children were always remarkably clean. This family was always ridiculed by its neighbors for trying to be like gente (literally, people, but in Vila Recôncavo carrying the special connotation of upper-class people). Life became so unpleasant for them that they finally moved away. 565* 558

Class C is aware of the difference between it and the town's uppermost class and the planters. The latter constitute a very distant group to most town members of Class C, for there are almost no occasions when the two groups meet. When not pushed to a finer distinction, lower-class people usually recognize two strata--their own and a small but powerful one above them, consisting of the local upper class and planters. Color plays an important role in Class C, for it is generally acknowledged that the whiter one is, the higher in the social scale, in spite of the instances in town where dark mestiços have climbed to the top of the ladder, that is, to the top of Class B. Color is the one classifying criterion which applies to all members of Class C, since many of the other criteria, such as education and family tradition, are inapplicable. These negative considerations, plus the fact that their occupations are all manual, tend to make the group quite homogeneous except for skin color. Nevertheless, the town members of Class C consider themselves definitely superior to the field workers, regarding them as country bumpkins. There is little or no tendency for rural people to move into town, and no one remembers having heard of the marriage of a country person with a town dweller. 565* 829

What has been called Class D in Vila Recôncavo is composed largely of women who have children but no acknowledged husbands. There is no such group in the rural area, because of the pressure brought to bear by the plantation own- 565*

3t Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1963 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

The other important occupation is fishing and there is the new petroleum industry. In Vila Recôncavo, bureaucracy plays a large part in the economics of the urban upper-class. The municipal secretary, the statistics agent, the federal and state tax collectors and their clerks, the postmaster and various other 'white collar' positions belong to this small group. Often members of the municipal government divide their attention between commerce (owning small stores) and their government jobs. Despite its long history and rather easy communication with the large city of Salvador, Vila Recôncavo is still an isolated community. After landing in the town from the regular steamer coming from Salvador, one must proceed inland either by foot or by animal. The only motor vehicles in the community area (except for those of the petroleum industry) are a truck and a delivery-type pick-up truck owned by the São Pedro *usina*. One hears from all classes that the town is backward, abandoned and dead. It has had a glorious past: wealth, the large and beautiful *sobrados* of the barons who were *donos dos engenhos* (owners of the *engenhos*), two beautiful churches, a national guard post with almost 1,000 soldiers stationed in it, a record of bravery and leadership in the war for Independence in 1822, and a place worthy of a visit from the emperor, Don Pedro II. Today the *sobrados* are in ruins, or have disappeared completely, as today's *donos dos engenhos* remain on their plantations or in the city, forsaking the town. The military have gone, the splendours of the religious feast-days are no more. Vila Recôncavo is representative of the decadence which has overtaken the entire area. Today it is known only for its *xangô* and shrimps.

IV. In the United States an absolute 'line' is drawn between white and Negro. A person who is not white is a Negro, however small the percentage of Negro blood may be. In Vila Recôncavo, this 'line' is recognized rather than drawn. A distinction between Negro and white is always kept in mind when classifying an individual. Everyone knows who is 'pure' white and who is not. Classification by race is one of the most important aspects of local culture, and one of the most difficult aspects for the outsider to grasp. *Bahianos* of the Recôncavo feel that one may instantly recognize the difference between a 'pure' white and a mixed white-Indian, white-Negro or Negro-Indian, but they do not let it go at that. They classify or minutely describe each person; they classify according to skin colour, according to hair form and according to facial features, and their classifications or racial types are used in everyday conversation. Just as it would be said in the United States that someone is short and fat, the people of Vila Recôncavo will describe a person's colour and hair.

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8. The *moreno* has excellent skin, fine-textured and smooth. He is light-skinned but not white. He has dark hair, which is long and either wavy or curly. It is manageable and does not need straightening. His features are much more Caucasoid than Negroid. Here again we can distinguish between the dark and light *morenos*. Also we must distinguish between the *moreno mulato*, and the *moreno* of the white families—the *moreno branco*. *Moreno*, as used regarding the 'white', distinguishes the brunet from the blond of the same group.

Few people fit any of these 'racial' types 100 per cent. When someone comes very close to being a perfect *preto*—that is, has all the characteristics of the *preto*—people call him *bem preto* or *bem pretinho* (really black). The same is true of the *sarará*—*bem sarará*, or of the *moreno*, who will be called *bem moreninho* or *moreno fino*. It is just as difficult to find the perfect type for the other classifications, because
563 there are so many variations. Often an individual is of one physical
826 type, but has one or more characteristics of another type. For instance, one young man in Vila Recôncavo has the characteristics of an *escuro*, but since most people like him they prefer to think of him as *moreno*. He has fine skin and thin facial features, but tight kinky hair. People generally refer to him as *moreno*, adding '*mas êle tem cabelo ruim*' (but he has poor hair). One frequently hears 'he is *mulato*, but very light'. These verbal descriptions paint a vivid picture of the person in question. In Vila Recôncavo, it is not simply a matter of black and white, but of all the shades in between.

A term of classification not listed above, *caboclo*, presents something of a special case. As mentioned earlier, most people with Amerindian physical traits have come into the Recôncavo from the *sertão* during the dry spells in the North. Considering the length of time that people of the North have been periodically coming into the Recôncavo, comparatively few have remained. Nevertheless, the population of Vila Recôncavo has a considerable *caboclo* element —that is, of people with a reddish or bronze tinge to their skin colour, more prominent cheek bones than the African or white elements, and a tendency toward almond-shaped eyes. However, few people in Vila Recôncavo bearing these marks are called *caboclos*.
563 They are classified instead in the local terms listed above, ignoring
[829] Indian traits. In Vila Recôncavo, there is a certain dispraisal of the *caboclo*. He is considered less civilized than the resident of the Recôncavo, though often known as a better worker, more ambitious, trustworthy, more frugal; also less genial than the easy-going
249 person of the Recôncavo. In the rural area of Vila Recôncavo, each
563 year many *caboclo* men come to the plantations to work during
464 harvest time. For the most part they stay together, away from the
466 *morador*, or resident worker of the plantation. The plantations construct a type of barracks to accommodate these men, who do

their own cooking, care for their own clothes, and spend their evenings gathered around a fire, singing songs of the *sertão*, apart from the permanent workers.

There is a mutual desire to keep apart, for while the *morador* looks down on the *caboclo*, the *caboclo* feels very much the same about the local people. He feels that they are lazy, ignorant, and above all superstitious. The *caboclo vaqueiro* (north-eastern cowboy) of one plantation says that the workers of the plantation are always talking about black magic, that they are lazy and spendthrifts, and at the same time deride his frugality. He says he is not afraid of their black magic, since he knows there is nothing to it, but he distrusts those who speak of it. People in Vila Recôncavo will not admit they have *caboclo* or Indian ancestors. One young girl who is almost a perfect American Indian type says she is a *mulatinha*.[1] She vehemently denied there was any Indian blood in her family, but finally reluctantly admitted that a great-grandparent of hers had been partly Indian. This girl's niece would make a perfect double for the popular conception of Pocahontas, given a feather in her hair and a sarong, but she is considered a '*mulata*, almost *morena*'.

However, among the 'pure' whites there is a different feeling about the *caboclo*. White families say that they would feel proud to know that they have 'Indian blood', for it would show the length of time their family had been in Brazil. Frequently a white child is extremely 'Indian looking', that is, a *moreno* with jet-black, straight hair. The nickname of *tapuya* is often given to this type, which is generally admired by the whites. All plantation owners agree that, for work, no one can top the *caboclo*. The north-eastern worker of American Indian physical type will go into the fields at six in the morning and not return until six at night. He takes his lunch with him and eats it there. On the other hand, the *morador* will go to the fields at six and return at noon. However, as permanent resident workers, plantation owners prefer the Negroes of the Recôncavo. Little if any effort is made to 'fix' the *caboclo* on the plantations. When the harvest is finished, he takes his money and departs. Next year he may come again to the same plantation, or he may not. It seems to make little difference to either party.

There have been no serious tensions between the two groups. They work together during part of the year, but spend their free time separately. This does not mean that an occasional *caboclo* will not stay, take a wife from among the *moradores* and start a family.

The following percentages of racial types were taken from a sample of 162 heads of families, using the four major types: *preto*, 50 or 40 per cent; *mulato*, 59 or 49 per cent; *caboclo*, 3 or 2 per cent; *branco*, 11 or 9 per cent.

[1] Little mulata. Using the diminutive form seems to be a softer and more agreeable way of saying 'mulata'.

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V. Each physical type in Vila Recôncavo is thought to have a series of personality traits which are correlated with physical appearance. Furthermore, these stereotypes of expected behaviour reflect the attitude of people toward the various racial types present in the population. Two physical types, for example, the *cabra-cabrocha* and the *sarará*, are usually 'more to be pitied than blamed', as they are considered extremely ugly by most people. There is a feeling that they are unfortunate crosses between parents of physical characteristics which do not mix well. They are thought to lack the definite traits which characterize the other physical types and 'even a *preto de qualidade* is better than either of these—at least more handsome'. Furthermore, people of these physical types are thought to be difficult to deal with, irritable and easily angered. They are the physical types which are least preferred in Vila Recôncavo. All other types have some positive qualities. People arrange their preferences in terms of physical type in many ways, according to the qualities they wish to emphasize.

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To the *preto* falls the more humble attributes of being a hard worker, of being humble and capable of loyalty and affection for his employer. He is also called lazy, a contradiction of hard worker. He is considered servile and cheerful. Also it is said that it is the *preto* who knows best how to please *(agradar bem)* the white. With a winning smile, pleasant little sayings and personal attentions, the *preto* knows how to make the *branco* feel important and puts him in the mood to grant favours. In other words, he is a good 'apple polisher', but even this he does with a certain dignity, aware of what he is doing, and aware of the fact that the *branco* also knows. The whites say that a *preto* is usually 'content' to remain *preto*, knowing that while he cannot change his colour, perhaps future generations of his family will have changed theirs. In Vila Recôncavo, people of all racial types, not only the whites, often say that one of the things they like best about the *preto* is that he does not try to be white. No one is more ridiculed than an *homem de côr* who, because of his economic situation and other circumstances, tries to be *gente*, or white.

On the other hand, a *preto* in good economic circumstances, who lives in dignity without pretension, is well thought-of by all. There is one outstanding example of this in Vila Recôncavo. A *preto*, who is the owner of one of the neighbouring sugar plantations and who is quite wealthy, lives quietly and without pretension. His sons go to school in the capital, one to Law School and the other to High School. His relations with the white plantation owners and *usineiros* are cordial and business-like. He would be acceptable at any social gathering he chose to attend, where he would conduct himself like a gentleman, without airs. For this he is admired by all, and pointed to as an example of how the *preto* can conduct himself.

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On the other hand, the *mulato* and the *escuro* have the reputation of being social climbers. This is especially true of the *mulato* or *escuro* who has had education beyond the primary school, and who holds some government post or is a merchant or professional man. In Vila Recôncavo two mulattoes consider themselves as, without exception, the only cultured intellectuals in town. They lament the lack of companions to discuss poetry, literature, art and music. They are the first and loudest to say that the people of Vila Recôncavo are lazy, stupid, ignorant and superstitious. They are inclined to call all others *pretos*, and put as much distance between themselves and the *pretos* as possible. They say that they are much closer, racially speaking, to the white than the Negro.

At social reunions among the upper-class whites, a group of educated mulattoes is often present, and it is on such an occasion that all the pretensions characteristic of the mulatto are believed to appear, and that he shows himself a social climber who makes a fetish of correctness of manners, dress and speech. Pierson, writing about the city of Salvador, sums up the attitude of the Vila Recôncavo white toward the mulatto when he quotes: 'I resent their forwardness, their enviousness, their jealousy, their "lack of respect", their pretentiousness, their inconstancy and unreliability, their arrogance and (upon gaining some measure of improved social position) their overweaning pride, their boastfulness, cocksureness, "cheekiness" and general manner of showing off.'[7] Both the whites and the Negroes of Vila Recôncavo ridicule the mulatto, and when they use the term *mulato* with a certain inflection they convey the picture of a certain kind of personality. The mulatto, traditionally, has had the opportunity to advance socially, until today he is accorded much the same treatment given to the whites. Once on this level there seems to be competition between the two, and the insecurity of the mulatto seems to make for the above characteristics.

The other *mestiços* of the area resent this type of mulatto, whose actions as well as words indicate that he wants to be white as well as to be treated as white. Few servants are willing to work in the household of such a person. Many people who have the physical characteristics of a mulatto but have not had the opportunity for education and other advancement, do not like to be called *mulato*. Instead they prefer *pardo*, which indicates the physical characteristics of the mulatto without the personality traits.

The stereotypes regarding the *moreno* are happier. A *moreno*, and more particularly *uma morena* (the female) is expected to be liked. The physical attraction towards such people is felt in all classes and colours. The *morena mulata* (mixed-blood *morena*) and the *morena branca* (white brunette) are frequently lumped together in the romantic national idealization of '*morena*'. The *morena* may adopt the ways of whatever group, and she will still be accepted. The *morena*

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829 is the darling of all the racial types, and she can do almost no wrong.

There are also stereotypes regarding the white. He is someone who should not work, who should not get dirty or perspire because of work (in sport it is all right). The white is expected to be well educated, well dressed, wealthy, and to have power—both politically and as a landowner. He should also show a certain sense of responsibility toward those of the lower classes dependent upon him, protecting them against any violation of their rights, watching out for his *afilhados* (godchildren) of lower class, and distributing occa-
563 sional favours. The white is addressed by the formal *o senhor*, while
576 he in return addresses all others by the popular *você*. The white may also receive the very informal and affectionate form of address *yoyô* (for a man) or *yayá* (for a lady), which was traditionally used by slaves for their masters. Interestingly enough, it is usually the darkest of the *pretos* (even the most independent of them) who generally use this form of greeting. *Vossa Excelência* (Your Excellency) is also heard frequently when people of low status of an older generation address an 'aristocratic' white. Sometimes, whites are addressed simply as *meu branco* (my white). When the lower class refer to 'aristocratic white' or when whites talk of themselves, they may simply use the term *gente*, which means more than the simple dictionary definition of 'people': *gente* is synonymous with white, upper class, and wealth. The stereotypes regarding the white and, above all, the very terms by which he is addressed, are in keeping with his landowning aristocratic position.

563 This complicated classification of people by racial type, and these
571 numerous stereotypes of the *homem de côr* by the white and vice-versa, are particularly striking in the Recôncavo. In addition to being simply a way of describing a person, like saying he is short or tall, thin or fat, they also imply what people desire in those of other physical types. The white wants good workers, cheerful people in whom he can have confidence. The *homem de côr* wants and needs a protector, a *patrão*, someone who will help him when he needs help,
563 who will be godfather to his children, etc. But at times people will
578 employ these terms in a derogatory manner. A white, displeased by
571 something a *preto* has done or has not done, will frequently say '*que negro ruim*' (what a bad Negro!). But his *preta* cook may say the same thing of the *mulato claro* water-carrier who spills water on her kitchen floor. In the same way, a *preto* or *mestiço* who has been disappointed by a white may say '*que gente ruim*' (literally: what bad people!). Each of these two expressions has its counterpart of approval. The '*que negro bom*' (what a good Negro) has a wealth of meaning. Applied to whatever *homem de côr*, it expresses all that is warm and good that has developed during four centuries of close relationship between Negro and white. It is at once an apology for oppression and slavery, as well as an immediate thank-you. And for

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7 females; 41 *mulatos*—21 males, 20 females; 18 *pretos*—7 males, 11 females; 8 *caboclos*—6 males, 2 females.

Table I gives the racial types which were found respectively most physically attractive, most wealthy, best worker, most honest and most religious.

TABLE I.

Question	No. of people who selected in first place			
	Branco	Preto	Mulato	Caboclo
Most attractive man	**39**	17	14	15
Most attractive woman	26	3	**30**	26
Most wealthy man	27	11	9	**38**
Most wealthy woman	**37**	8	17	23
Best worker, man	4	**38**	13	30
Best worker, woman	7	22	23	**33**
Most honest man	11	22	8	**44**
Most honest woman	15	13	22	**38**
Most religious man	21	15	13	**36**
Most religious woman	17	11	17	**40**

(Bold type indicates the group most frequently selected in first place.)

From Table I, it results that: (a) the ideal of the most attractive male is the white; (b) the preferred female type is the *mulata*, but the *cabocla*, it must be noted, is almost equally selected with the white; both the *mulata* and the *cabocla* (despite her apparent age) of the photos are of types which have the physical characteristics of the *morena* so preferred in Vila Recôncavo; (c) surprisingly, the *caboclo* male was selected as the wealthiest, in view of the stereotype that it is the white who is generally wealthiest, but I believe that this is due to the fact that people found the photo of the *caboclo* to have a rather 'distinguished' face, while the photo of the white was considered to be a young man with what might be considered a 'characterless' face; (d) the *preto* man was chosen as the best worker, which supports the stereotype discussed earlier, but the *cabocla* was chosen as the best woman worker (this may be explained by the local phrase used to describe her: 'Good for nothing else'); (e) the *caboclos*, both male and female, were chosen as most honest and most religious, which is in keeping with the stereotype of the *caboclo*, who is considered more serious and solemn than the native of the Recôncavo.

Table II, a breakdown of Table I by racial types, shows clearly the type selected in first place by the Negroes, the mulattoes, the whites and the *caboclos*, in answer to the same questionnaire. The most obvious inference derived from Table II is the extremely low posi-

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tion of the Negro woman in relation to the other women. She was chosen in first place in only one instance, namely as best worker, and only by the Negroes. In spite of the fact that in Table I the mulatto woman was considered the most attractive, she was chosen so only by the mulattoes. The other three racial types selected the *caboclo*

TABLE II.

Question	Chosen in first place by			
	Negroes	Mulattoes	Whites	Caboclos
Most attractive man	P	B	B	B
Most attractive woman	C & B	M	B	B
Most wealthy man	P	C	C	C
Most wealthy woman	B	B	B	B
Best worker, man	P	C	P	P
Best worker, woman	P	C	M	C
Most honest man	C	C	C	C
Most honest woman	C	C	C	C
Most religious man	C & M	C	C	C & B
Most religious woman	C	C	B	C

(P—preto; B—branco; C—caboclo; M—mulato. Where two racial types are in first place, they received an equal number of 'votes'.)

and the white woman. In summing up the total number of 'votes', the mulatto woman won by a narrow margin (four votes). It is interesting to note that the Negroes chose the *preto* man as the most wealthy, putting the caboclo in second place, while the other three racial types put the *caboclo* first.

VI. There is a saying in the Recôncavo that where there was sugar, there were Negroes. This rule of thumb seems to hold remarkably well even today. On the islands in the bay where there never were *engenhos*, there are few *pretos*. In the town of Vila Recôncavo, and in a small settlement to the west of Vila Recôncavo where there never was an *engenho*, there are relatively few *pretos*, in comparison with the area of *engenhos* and plantations. The region as a whole can be shaded off in dark and light, to distinguish roughly the spatial arrangement according to colour. In the areas where there was and is sugar, there are many more *gente branqueada* (whitened people) than in the non-plantation areas.

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These lightened areas seem to continue to lighten, while the darker areas retain their dark characteristics. In Vila Recôncavo, which is a *mestiço* community, there is much more opportunity for

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the lighter-skinned people for intermarriage with the mass of light-skinned people of the capital. Most of the townspeople have connexions of some sort in Salvador and travel back and forth a great deal. Some, mostly girls, take employment in the city as maids, and there either get married, or '*aparecem grávidas*' (show up pregnant), afterwards returning home to stay or for visits.

On the plantations the people have little opportunity for such mixing, owing to their isolation. Mixing occurs either on the same plantation or between neighbouring plantations, and since most of the plantation workers are dark, the offspring tends to remain dark. There is comparatively little marriage between people of the urban and rural zones.

The people of the town consider themselves far superior culturally to the *taberéu* or 'hick'[1] of the rural zone. Not only are they lighter in colour, but they are more 'citified', having more contact with the outside world, and this contact increases daily. Only in the town did the lower-class people express interest in the racial situation in the United States and particularly question segregation, a practice they could not understand. In the rural zone, the United States meant only some place other than Bahia. This is given as an example of the difference in degree of sophistication between the two parts of a comparatively small area. The sophistication of the townspeople tends to increase, as does their lightness of colour, while on the *fazendas* the colour has remained almost static, as has the degree of instruction.

565 Class is one of the most important factors in the everyday lives of the people of Vila Recôncavo. *Who's Who* is well known to all the residents of the community. Almost any resident will say that there are two classes, the rich and the poor. But definitions vary greatly as to what is rich, while practically all agree as to what is poor. Rich means, primarily, having money, a good house, more than one suit of clothing, a horse or mule, a servant to do the housework, and not having to do manual work. It also includes power of some description over other people. Poor is the reverse of all these things; working hard for someone else, a mud house with a dirt floor, one suit of clothes and one pair of shoes. For everyday ranking, this division into only two classes may serve.

A closer analysis shows that four distinct classes can be recognized, as stated earlier. There are many elements which go toward defining the classes—wealth, education and family. Race is also important. People say that wealth is the most important, education the second, and race the third in importance. Thus race is but one of a number of elements ranking people in a social scale, rather than a separating factor which divides them into distinct groups.

[1] Other terms used to convey the same meaning are *gente do mato* (people of the forest) and *gente do roça* (backwoodsmen).

planters. People in the upper class of the town, when they can, send their children to the capital to continue their education, and there are several *mestiço* students from Vila Recôncavo studying law, medicine and engineering in Salvador. The intelligence of the mulatto is traditional, and it has been equally traditional that the darker-skinned person is unintelligent. Today these traditions are not as strong as before, but still it is felt that the mulatto has somewhat more aptitude than the Negro. The old idea of the Negro, meant for work and to be servile, still exists, now tempered with the knowledge that education can change the situation. There is only one club in Vila Recôncavo—a football club—and the players are all shades, from white to black, and so are the spectators. They all sit or stand together under the shade of the one big tree which gives shade to the playing field. The field is on the property of a white man who, while he has nothing to do with the team, allows them to play there, put up goal posts and markers. The bar and recreation centre are open to all so long as they wear shoes—a ruling made to keep out the muddy feet of children who came straight from the beach to have a 'coke'. All the racial types and classes get together here to play pool and gossip, this being the one and only point of public social activity in the town. At the movies, the admission price is extremely low, the same for everyone, and all four classes attend. Negroes and whites of all classes sit next to each other. At church there are no special pews, the faithful usually gathering in the front and the less faithful hanging about near the back. The choir and the acolytes are from all classes and colours. At parties, which are few, colour lines are disregarded, *brancos* and *morenos* dance with *mulatos* and *pretos* just as long as both partners can *pular* (jump).

The social situation is gradually changing, and the extremely personal element is being lost. It is strongest on the private plantation, where the owner spends the greater part of the year, but at the *usina* much of the personal element is weakened because of the numbers of workers. Even at the *usina*, there is visiting and gossiping between the owners' families and the workers. But at the *usina* not all the workers accept their subservient position as do those of the plantations. This is specially true of the higher echelon of specialists and technicians of the mill, who will frequently not go to a party given by the owner, even though invited. It seems to be a way of saying that the company of the white owners is neither needed nor wanted. They prefer to keep their relations on a strictly business basis. At the *usina*, when a worker is sick, he goes to the medical post where he is treated by a paid nurse, rather than to the owner's house. On pay day, the *usina* worker is paid at the mill by a paymaster, not in the living room of the owner's house. Nevertheless, in spite of the industrialized aspect of the mill, the number of workers is not too large to exclude all personal contact with the owners, who adminis-

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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times, of uncle with niece and aunt with nephew, as observers have noted.

With reference to hypothesis 20, a few highly sensitive mixed-bloods who have risen in rank have become obsessed by a repugnance for the color which continued to symbolize low status, a repugnance which is reflected, at least symbolically, in word and act. This feeling, however, does not seem to be the result of the internalization of external conflict. At least little, if any, evidence of this sort has been turned up. In discussing several of these cases, Bastide (1941a:32) makes an illuminating comment when he writes, "An interesting paradox is that the effect of prejudice upon the subconscious is stronger *the less visible* it is."[38] Moreover, as Frazier (1944:265) has observed, "there was no segregated colored community with which they could be identified" and in terms of which they would become "marginal men." The feelings in question resulted from brooding over a sense of inferiority which derived not so much from actual personal experiences of discrimination as from internally-generated pressures, a fact clearly evident if one contrasts the feelings of these men with the markedly different ones of a host of similar mixed-bloods, including Machado de Assis, André Rebouças and Theodoro Sampaio (who wrote the autobiographical sketch beginning on p. 353).

For some reason, the matters mentioned in hypothesis 22 (p. 349) have attracted most attention, although they would not seem to us to be of that importance. As this hypothesis now stands, however, it perhaps is too brief for clarity; and for that reason we have given considerable attention above to the matters mentioned in it.

Frazier[39] has with justice called attention to a measure of

[38] Italics ours.
[39] *The Negro in the United States* (New York, 1949), p. 675.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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to be desired. The policy of the United States, on the other hand, from the Brazilian point of view, particularly in so far as it counts every man a Negro who, to use the census definition, "is known to be a Negro in the community in which he lives," tends to perpetuate "a menacing element" —menacing not to the racial purity of the dominant race but to the political and cultural solidarity of the nation.

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As a matter of fact the attitude of the Brazilian people to the race problem so far as concerns the Negro seems, on the whole, to be academic rather than pragmatic and actual. There is a certain ethnological and archeological interest in the survivals of the African fetish cults, the so-called *candomblés*, of which there seem to be an extraordinary number, especially in and about the cities of Bahia and Pernambuco. This archeological interest in the African is evidenced by two successive *Congressos Afro-brasileiros* which met in Recife and in Bahia in 1934 and 1937.

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Since most of these *candomblés* are living and functioning forms of African religious practices, although obviously in process of assimilation to the ritual and mythology of local Catholicism, perhaps they should not be classed as survivals.

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In any case it is a somewhat bizarre experience to a stranger in Bahia, walking along one of the ridges where *os ricos*, that is, the rich folk, live, to hear from the palm groves in the neighboring valleys where *os pobres*, the poor folk, live, the insistent boom of African drums. So narrow are the spatial distances that divide Europe on the ridges from Africa in the valleys that it is difficult to realize how wide the social distances are that separate them.

It is even more difficult for those of us whose conception of the Negro problem and of race relations generally has been

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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command of a Negro regiment. As a Bahian *preto* recently remarked with pride, "His contribution to his country was an honored one."

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Negros novos were required by law to be baptized into the Christian religion on penalty of forfeiture to the state. Those from Portuguese Angola were baptized in lots before they left their native shores.[75] The mark of the royal crown upon their breasts signified that they had undergone this ceremony and also that the king's duty had been paid. With slaves from other parts of Africa, the master was allowed a year for the instruction requisite for baptism.[76] Debret noted that elderly Negroes acquainted with African languages were often used to catechise the candidates, ordinarily the oldest and "most virtuous" slaves being chosen for this purpose.[77] One of the first things taught was the threefold sign of the cross accompanied by the words, "The sign of the cross delivers us from our enemies." Slaves were not considered, we are told, "members of society, but rather brute animals," until they could "lawfully go to mass, confess their sins, and receive the sacrament."[78] Participation in these ceremonies made them fellow human beings.

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On the plantations slaves were regularly instructed in Catholic ritual and belief, chaplains often being retained on the larger estates for this purpose as well as to conduct the public religious ceremonies in the chapel attached to the plantation. Mawe, visiting the estate of Prince Dom Rodrigo near Rio in the early years of the nineteenth century, noted that it was customary "to have prayers publicly read

[75] Koster, *op. cit.*, I, 198.

[76] Koster (*ibid.*) writes that "the law is not always strictly adhered to as to time, but it is never evaded altogether."

[77] *Op. cit.*, III, 129.

[78] Koster, *op. cit.*, I, 199.

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*175 563 seventeenth century largely disappeared. Zacharias Wagner at that time observed that unions of Portuguese men with Indian or mixed-blood women were still of frequent occurrence.[7] Capistrano de Abreu records the desire of native women to have children "belonging to the superior race, since, according to the ideas current among them, parentage was important only on the paternal side."[8] Freyre, following Varnhagen, thinks "a decided sexual preference" was involved.[9]

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* 563 593 [848] Intermarriage assures to the family relationships of the mixed-blood a relative permanence and continuity not always characteristic of informal unions. Although human beings are responsive to the natural claims of paternity, illegitimate offspring are often denied the regular presence of a father in the family and the relative security in other respects of legitimate children.

175 * 212 563 [567] Among the Africans imported into Bahia were numerous individuals possessed, as we have seen, of a cultural equipment superior not only to that of the native Indian but also "to that of the majority of the white colonists . . . . many of whom were illiterate and the greater portion only semiliterate."[10] In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries there was so little literacy among the Europeans that "not rarely rich *fazendeiros* in the interior requested their friends on the coast to arrange a son-in-law who, although he had no

[7] Alfredo de Carvalho, "O Zoobillion de Zacharias Wagner," *Revista do Instituto Archeologico, Historico e Geographico de Pernambuco*, Vol. XI (1904), quoted by Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

[8] Capistrano de Abreu, *Capitulos de historia colonial* (3d. ed.; Rio, 1934), quoted by Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

[9] *Op. cit.*, p. 59.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 212.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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CHAPTER VIII

RACIAL IDEOLOGY AND RACIAL ATTITUDES

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IN RECENT years there has grown up in Brazil a lively interest in the African and his descendants. This has resulted, among other things, in the holding of two *Congressos Afro-brasileiros*, the first of which met in Recife in November, 1934, and the second in Bahia in January, 1937. Composed of intellectuals having a common interest in the Brazilian Negro, their agenda indicate that such interest is confined almost entirely to three fields: (1) the history of African importation and slavery; (2) problems of acculturation, with especial attention to the survivals of African cultural forms; and (3) anthropometric variations. Generally absent is any concern with problems of racial conflict or accommodation, implying quite definitely the comparative absence of these problems in the social order as well as the comparative absence of any race consciousness answering to them on the part of the Negro or any other ethnic group.

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The participants in the 1937 *Congresso*, which met in Bahia, visited fetish-cult centers, witnessed *capoeira*[1] and *samba*[2] presentations, studied the material relics of fetish-cult ceremonies available in Bahian museums, honored the memory of Nina Rodrigues (who some forty years ago pioneered in studies of the Afro-Brazilian cults in Bahia),[3] and

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[1] See chap. ix.

[2] The *samba*, probably of African origin, is a dance with vocal accompaniment (see chap. ix), as well as a musical form.

[3] See Nina Rodrigues, *L'Animisme fétichiste des nègres de Bahia* (Bahia, 1900) and *Os africanos no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1932).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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passed resolutions protesting police interference with the *candomblé* and demanding full religious liberty in the exercise of its rites.

Papers presented to this congress by Brazilians dealt with such subjects as "Slave Insurrections in the Province of Espirito Santo during the Nineteenth Century," "Old Documents concerning the Negroes of the Palmares," "Castro Alves and Brazilian Poetical Treatment of the Negro Slave," "The *Africano* in Bahia," "Chapters in Afro-Brazilian Ethnology in Rio Grande," "Bantú Contributions to Religious Syncretism in Brazil," "A Revision of Afro-Brazilian Ethnology," "The *Africano* and His Culture in Brazil," "The *Orixá*[4] of the Poor," "The School of Nina Rodrigues," and "The Negro and the Problem of Acculturation in Brazil." Only one paper was not concerned with ethnological or historical problems; and it, although it took account of ethnic differences, did not treat of any form of racial conflict. It dealt with "The Negro Criminal in Bahia."

Similar questions were discussed in the first *Congresso Afro-brasileiro*, which met in Recife, sponsored by Gilberto Freyre, a social historian whose *Casa grande e senzala* and *Sobrados e mucambos* throw significant light upon the Negro in colonial and imperial Brazil.[5] This gathering was, because of its informal character and the attempt to present factual data, "something new in Brazil."[6] As Freyre describes it:

> There was lacking both formality and a consciousness of class. Around a table, at the head of which different individuals took turns

[4] *Orixá* is a Yoruba word meaning "deity."

[5] An interesting estimate of Freyre's work by Dr. Lewis Hanke appears in the *Quarterly Journal of Inter-American Relations*, July, 1939, pp. 24–44, under the title "Gilberto Freyre: Brazilian Social Historian."

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[6] Gilberto Freyre, "O que foi o primeiro Congresso Afro-brasileiro no Recife," in *Novos estudos afro-brasileiros*, ed. Freyre *et al.* (Rio, 1937), p. 348.

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presiding in accordance with the varying subjects under consideration, were seated erudite *doutores* from lecture-room and laboratory; huge *filhas de santo;*[7] aged Negro cooks who brought from . . . . the crude kitchens of their mud huts recipes of . . . . Afro-Brazilian dishes; Negroes from the cane fields (like Jovino, whose paper was as full of errors in Portuguese as of *saudades* of the time of the *almanjarras*);[8] . . . . *babalorixás*[9] like Pae Anselmo; queens of the *maracatú*[10] like Albertina de Fleury, whose name reminded José Lins do Rego[11] of the heroine of a romance by Proust; certain others who, although illiterate or semiliterate, had such intimate knowledge of Afro-Brazilian matters as to be able to make an appreciable contribution to the Congress; students of law, engineering, and medicine . . . . ; elderly folklorists like Rodrigues de Carvalho, who never missed a session . . . . ; individuals like Nobrega da Cunha, who knew intimately the ritual of the *maçumba;*[12] psychiatrists of the ability and reputation of Ulysses Pernambucano, who was acclaimed with all justice Honorary President; artists like Luis Jardim and Cicero Dias; intellectuals, journalists, and special representatives of Rio newspapers; the teacher, Ernani Braga, who collected for the Congress a number of invocations to Xangô[13] sung by the young ladies of the Conservatorio on the closing day of school to the enthusiastic applause of the best people of Recife. Individuals

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[7] *Filhas de santo* are ceremonial dancers of the fetish cult (see chap. x).

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[8] On the sugar plantations of colonial Brazil the beam to which animals were hitched to turn the millstone and crush the cane was called the *almanjarra*.

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[9] Priests of the fetish cult are sometimes called *babalorixás*. The word is formed from the Nagô words *bábá* ("father") and *orixá* ("deity").

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[10] The *maracatú* was an organization of Negroes which formerly participated in Carnival at Recife (see Mario Sette, *Maxambombas e maracatús* [São Paulo, n.d.], pp. 339–41).

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[11] José Lins do Rego is a noted Brazilian novelist whose realistic accounts of lower-class life, particularly in the state of Pernambuco, have helped to reveal a level of culture about which little had previously been written. See, e.g., his *Banguê* (Rio, 1934); *Menino de engenho* (2d ed.; Rio, 1934); *Usina* (Rio, 1936); *Histórias da velha Totonia* (Rio, 1936); *Pureza* (Rio, 1937); *Pedra Bonita* (Rio, 1938); *Doidinho* (Rio, n.d.).

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[12] The Afro-Brazilian fetish cult is known in Rio de Janeiro as the *macumba*.

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[13] Xangô (pronounced "Shán-go") is a deity of the fetish cult (see chap. x).

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who at last had seriously taken up "these Negro things" and had found them to be something more than merely picturesque, ... to be, in fact, a great living part of the genuine Brazilian culture.[14]

Before this democratic gathering were read such papers in history and ethnology as the following:[15]

England and the Slave Traffic
Three Centuries of Slavery in Parahyba
The Negro in the History of Alagôas
The Negro during the Dutch Occupation
Unusual Slaves
Physical Deformities of Negro Slaves
The Republic of the Palmares
The Negro Laborer in the Time of the *Bangué*[16] Compared with the Negro Laborer in the Time of the Sugar Factories
The Diet of Brazilian Slaves
Abolition and Its Causes
African Diseases in Brazil
Negro Music in Africa and Brazil
The Negro in the Folklore and Literature of Brazil
The Drama among Early Brazilian Negroes
The Contribution of the Negro to Brazilian Culture
A List of Nagô Words
Xangô
The Legend of Xangô and Its Corruption in Brazil
Invocations to Xangô Heard in Recife
African *Seitas*[17] in Recife
Notes on the *Catimbó*[18]

[14] *Op. cit.*, pp. 348–52.

[15] In several cases titles have not been translated literally; instead, an effort has been made to indicate more definitely the actual subject matter discussed.

[16] The primitive sugar mill used in colonial Brazil, often called the *engenho*, was also known as the *bangué*. [249]

[17] A fetish-cult center is often referred to as a *seita*.

[18] *Catimbó* is a word commonly used in northeast Brazil to designate the fetish cult, which is also known as the *candomblé* (in Bahia) and the *xangô* (in Recife). [794]

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Ohum Eniadúdú[19]
Recipes for Afro-Brazilian *Quitutes*[20]
The *Calunga*[21] of the Maracatús
The "People's Library" and the "Modern Collectanea"[22]

Obviously, there is implied in these titles no interest other than in history and ethnology. But in the following ten papers, although there again appears to be no concern with problems of racial accommodation, one does note an awareness of physical differences and an interest in their measurement.

Some Anthropological Measurements of the Population of Recife
Some Data on the Physical Characteristics of the Population of Recife
Some Physical Measurements of Brazilian Negroes and Mulattoes
A Study of Cephalic Indices and Color Variation among Mulattoes in Pernambuco
A Contribution to the Study of Lapicque's Index
Physical Measurements of Negro Students
Comparative Heights and Weights of Newborn *Branco*, *Pardo*, and *Preto* Babies
A Statistical Study of Longevity in *Brancos*, *Pardos*, and *Pretos*
The Comparative Incidence of Tuberculosis in *Pretos* and *Brancos*
Mental Disease among the Negroes of Pernambuco

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[19] Under this title two topics were considered: (1) legends from Dahomey and (2) Anamburucú (an Afro-Brazilian deity [see chap. x]).

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[20] *Quitutes* are food delicacies.

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[21] The *calunga* referred to here was a richly adorned female image representing a water deity. It was carried by the "Dama do Passo," a female dancer of the Maracatú.

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[22] The "Modern Collectanea" and the "People's Library" are two sets of inexpensive leaflets containing ballads and other folklore, historical sketches, anecdotes, prayers, recipes, etc. See, in this connection, Jorge Amado, "Literatura dos negros e mulatos da Bahia," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal de São Paulo*, XLVIII (June, 1938), 179-82.

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Quite exceptional in their subject matter are the following three papers:

Race Mixture in Brazil as a Eugenic Factor
The Mixed-Blood and the Problem of Degeneracy
The Social, as Opposed to the Racial, Causation of Degeneracy

These three papers, concerned as they obviously are with the oft-considered question of the relation of race mixture to degeneracy, indicate some concern in Brazil with this problem and thus appear at first sight to imply an interest in race relations in the North American sense of that expression. The question at issue turns out to be, however, largely an academic one, evoked perhaps by foreign literature and concerned with supporting arguments of white superiority and of Negro inferiority originating in Europe and the United States. At any rate, it is true that certain scholars, at a loss to account for the persistence in twentieth-century Brazil of African cultural forms, have seriously come to question the cultural capacities of the black race and to believe the future of Brazil prejudiced by the infusion of African blood.

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Thus, about 1900, Nina Rodrigues, intimately acquainted with a number of Africans in Bahia and impressed with the slow rate at which they and their descendants were sloughing off African cultural forms and being assimilated into the white world,[33] and also influenced to a considerable degree by foreign writers,[34] raised very earnestly the question of "the capacity of the Negro to accommodate himself to the civilization of the superior races."[35] Doubting specifically the ability of the Negro to take on European civilization,[36]

[33] *Os africanos no Brasil*, pp. 407–9; see also *ibid.*, chaps. v–vii.

[34] *Ibid.*, chap. vi, esp. pp. 388–98.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 385. [36] *Ibid.*, p. 391.

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he identified the "Negro problem" with the question of "the cultural capacity of the Brazilian Negro; the means of increasing it or of compensating for its deficiencies; the actual value of the African's contribution in acclimating Europeans to the tropical zone; and the advisability of diluting the black population with a preponderance of white blood which would then control the country."[27]

The significant facts about these conclusions of Nina Rodrigues are (1) that they in no way challenged the commonly accepted Brazilian assumption of the inevitability of race mixture and (2) that, when this inquiry into the Negro's native capacity to assimilate European culture was published (posthumously) for the first time in 1932, it immediately aroused a storm of protest, to allay which such zealous but scientifically minded disciples of Nina Rodrigues as Arthur Ramos thought it necessary to remind Brazilians that "the Bahian master" had been influenced by "certain postulates of the epoch in which he labored" and that his followers are well aware that "the science of our days challenges the accuracy" of such conclusions.[28]

Restating, then, the "Negro problem" as far as Brazil is concerned, Arthur Ramos considers it "first of all a historical problem, a question of the slave traffic, of the different tribes imported, of the history of slavery, etc." He continues:

> It is further a problem in anthopogeography, a question of the physical characteristics of the various Negro stocks both in the areas of their origin and in Brazil, and of the variations occurring by reason of the change in their environment. It is an ethnographic problem, a question of the habits, traditions, etc., of the Negro in the countries of his origin, and their modification in the new habitat. It is a biological problem, a question of racial heredity and race mix-

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 392.

[28] *O negro brasileiro* (Rio, 1934), p. 22.

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ture. It is a linguistic problem, a question of the influence of African dialects upon the Portuguese language. It is a sociological problem, a question of the influence of the Negro upon Brazilian social life."

As here defined, then, the concern of Brazilian intellectuals interested in the Negro lies in problems other than those arising from racial maladjustment, with the possible exception implied by the phrase "questions of racial heredity and race mixture," and similarly suggested by the titles of the last-named three papers presented to the first Afro-Brazilian Congress. But, if the situation is analyzed more fully, one finds that each of these three papers *attacks* the positions that the Negro is racially inferior and that race mixture leads to degeneracy.

The thesis of Negro inferiority is today perhaps most forcefully defended by Oliveira Vianna, able sociologist and member of the National Academy of Letters. Well versed in the race literature of Europe and of the United States and impressed, like Nina Rodrigues, with the difficulties in the way of assimilating the African and his descendants, Vianna has written:

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> The pure Negroes never will be able, not even the most advanced representatives of the race, to be assimilated completely into the white culture; their capacity for civilization—their "civilizability," so to speak—does not extend beyond merely imitating, more or less imperfectly, the habits and customs of the whites. Between the Negro's mentality and that of the Caucasian lies a substantial and irreducible difference which no social or cultural pressure, no matter how long it may be continued, can possibly overcome.[19]

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[19] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

[19] Oliveira Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro* (2d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 156. It is obvious from a careful reading of his books that this able scholar inadvertently fails to distinguish between the biological and the cultural determinants in mental functioning and personality and that he also confuses cultural achievement with racial potentiality.

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Thus the Negro, being "insensible to those superior impulses which constitute the dominant force in the white's mentality," contributes to the superior classes, Vianna contends, "only when he loses his purity and mixes with the white."[31]

Recognizing, however, that there are in Brazil "both inferior and superior mixed-bloods," Vianna offers in explanation that "a fortunate crossing of a superior type of Negro (for the Negro is not a unit) . . . . with a white individual well gifted eugenically may produce a superior mulatto . . . . if, by chance, in the play of hereditary influences, the eugenic potentialities of the white predominate."

In another connection Vianna maintains that

> the entire development of Brazilian collective mentality has in reality been nothing more than a continuous bringing-over . . . . of the racially inferior portions of our population to European mentality and morality: that is, to the mind and character of the white race. The superior mixed-bloods, those who during the long period of our national development have risen socially, did not rise nor establish themselves because of their mixed-blood mentality. Instead of preserving as they climbed the characteristics of their hybrid type, they on the contrary lost those very characteristics, left off being psychologically mixed; that is, they Aryanized themselves.[32]

To this latter passage the author of one of the three papers referred to above takes energetic exception.[33] Quoting this passage in full, he immediately disclaims any addiction to what he calls "the Aryan fetish of the illustrious sociologist." He maintains instead that "the greatness of Brazil comes from race mixture"; it has resulted in a better-adapted and more resistant individual, "the new variety, the mixed-blood *superior being*."

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 161.

[32] *Populações meridionaes do Brasil* (3d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 154.

[33] A. Austregesilo, "A mestiçagem no Brasil como factor eugenico," in *Novos estudos afro-brasileiros*, ed. Freyre *et al.*, pp. 325–33.

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Sharply departing from Vianna, and also from Jorge de Lima and Euclydes da Cunha, to all of whom he refers as "devotees of Aryanism," and from "those foreign literary men and sociologists of little standing" who claim "that the Brazilian is a product of three melancholy, inferior, and indolent races: that is, that the Brazilian is racially inferior," this author asserts that "the notable intellectual capacity of the Brazilian people and the existence among us of geniuses to an extent greater than in any other Ibero-American country, prove that it is not Aryan descent but race mixture which has given birth to the intelligence and the creative capacity of the Brazilian people." Not racial inferiority or degeneracy, but illiteracy, malnutrition, and disrespect for labor are responsible for what deficiencies Brazil may possess. This author concludes:

> I am certain that in Brazil miscegenation has brought and will continue to bring more benefits than evils. The greater portion of our people, as well as of our talented invididuals,[34] in politics, in the sciences, and in the arts, were, or are, mixed-bloods. For instance, I can at once cite such men as Gonçalves Dias, Tobias Barreto, Barão de Cotegipe, Floriano Peixoto, Rebouças, José do Patrocinio, Nilo Peçanha, Machado de Assis, Juliano Moreira, Olava Bilac, Lima Barreto, and many others: scientists, painters, sculptors, musicians, poets, military men; in all of whom the blood of Africa is represented to a considerable degree.

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A perhaps less extreme and more scholarly but nonetheless vigorous attack upon the theory of Negro inferiority is to be found in the second of the three papers referred to above.[35] Regretting that "our . . . . physical, moral and so-

[34] This is probably an exaggerated statement of an actual truth.

[35] See Senhora Juliano Moreira, "Juliano Moreira e o problema do negro e do mestiço no Brasil," in *Novos estudos afro-brasileiros*, ed. Freyre *et al.*, pp. 146–50. In this article the widow of the late colored alienist gathers together some of his writings upon the subject.

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cial backwardness . . . . has been unjustly attributed to the single fact of miscegenation," the author of this paper, the able and widely known psychiatrist, Juliano Móreira, suggests that emphasis may more reasonably be laid upon the circumstances of colonization and slavery, the intemperate use of alcohol, and the debilitating effects of malnutrition.

It is much easier to analyze the psychology of a nation than the psychology of a race. The results of psychological tests indicate that there do not exist in Brazil profound differences between individuals of diverse ethnic origin. What variations I have encountered were due more to the degree of instruction of each individual examined than to the ethnic group from which he came. This explains the fact that individuals from supposedly inferior ethnic groups, when born and reared in large cities, present a better psychological profile than those even of Nordic descent who have been reared in the backward environment of the interior.

In the third paper[36] referred to above, the author concludes that "what we have [in Brazil] is not an unalterable racial inferiority or superiority . . . . but an invariable inequality in economic development." Similarly, Gilberto Freyre, who considers Oliveira Vianna "the greatest Aryan mystic who has yet risen among us,"[37] attacks with vigor the theory of racial inferiority;[38] as also does Arthur Ramos, with special reference to the views of Vianna, in a paper[39] given a few years ago before the Centro de Estudos Oswaldo Spengler in Rio de Janeiro.[40] An interesting fact in

[36] Edison Carneiro, "Situação do negro no Brasil," in *Novos estudos afro-brasileiros*, ed. Freyre *et al.*, pp. 237–41.

[37] *Casa grande e senzala* (2d ed.; Rio, 1936), p. 218; see also *ibid.*, pp. 155 and 156.

[38] *Ibid.*, pp. 208–12.

[39] Arthur Ramos, "O negro na evolução social brasileira," read November 25, 1933.

[40] In reply, Vianna wrote: "I do not know whether the Negro is actually inferior or whether he is equal, or even superior, to the other races; but, judg-

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this connection, indicating the purely academic character of this question as conceived in Brazil, is that Vianna is himself a mixed-blood; while both Ramos and Freyre are whites.

That the position of Arthur Ramos, Gilberto Freyre, and the authors of the three papers referred to above represents in a general way the common attitude at Bahia is clearly indicated throughout a number of documents written by white Bahian students, each of whom, although aware of obvious mental and cultural differences between most of the Negroes, on the one hand, and most of the whites, on the other, consider this inequality to spring from the present inferior educational advantages of the Negro and consequently to be transitory in nature. One young lady wrote: "Although the blacks in Bahia are still on a rather inferior intellectual plane, and some people, especially outside Brazil, believe that they will never attain the level of the white man, I think that this class is continually preparing a foundation upon which one day it will rise illustrious." Another wrote: "Their former position as slaves gave to the Negroes a certain degree of inferiority which to some extent has continued down to the present time. However, this inequality is, day by day, disappearing. I believe that very early in the future the *pretos* in Bahia will have ability equal to anything in the white race."

We have already noted the pride in the "progressive whitening" of the population common to all classes in Brazil. A general tendency to absorb diverse ethnic groups has

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ing by the testimony of the past and of the present, the only acceptable conclusion is that, up until now, civilisation has been the dowry of races other than the black; and it has been necessary, if the Negro is to exercise any civilizing role whatsoever, that he be mixed with other races, especially with the Aryan and the Semitic: that is, he must lose his racial purity" (*Raça e assimilação* [2d ed.; São Paulo, 1934], p. 285).

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been persistently characteristic of Brazilian society. Out of the traditional behavior which developed in response to the circumstances and conditions of colonial life emerged an informal racial policy, or racial ideology, which has served as a philosophy underlying and giving consistency to the mores, appearing only when they are challenged from without and individuals seek to rationalize and defend their customary conduct. A Bahian school girl of white parentage put this informal policy into words when she remarked: "Race mixture is an inevitable thing. We Brazilians are becoming one single people."

Thus in Bahia the black and the white do not stand over against each other as irreducible ethnic groups, differing not only in appearance, which is obvious, but also in kind, and fated ever to remain separate and distinct. Such inferiority as at present exists is not thought of as racial and permanent but rather as cultural and temporary, and already well on the way to extinction. Every citizen is considered first of all a Brazilian, and every Brazilian takes pride in all other nationals, irrespective of racial origin. Distinctions are secondary. In this connection one ought perhaps to point out that the widespread web of personal relationships in Bahia tends to make a man or woman not so much a member of a category (e.g., a Negro or a mulatto) as an individual (João or Maria).

Even for individuals beyond the range of intimate personal relationships racial terms are seldom used in Bahia. To call a colored man in his hearing a "Negro" or a "mulatto" is not "good form." These terms are used to a man's face only when one is enraged or otherwise desirous of giving offense. It is, as we have noted, like calling an Italian immigrant a "Wop" or a Mexican a "Greaser." These terms em-

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phasize the alien character of the individual's origin. Thus, if a Bahian wishes to be particularly insulting, he will aggravate the sting of "Negro" by adding to it *de Africa* ("from Africa"). In this way he doubly accentuates his reference to the foreign origin of a black.

Although it is true that dark color, as we have seen, is ordinarily identified with lower status and white color with upper-class position, rising in class tends to take a man out of even the color category. For instance, a white Bahian remarked of an upper-class mulatto, "I would hesitate to call him a *pardo*, although he plainly is one; some of his friends might overhear me." For use in such cases, *moreno* is the term "mais elegante."

As early as the imperial period the title of *capitão-mor*, we are told, "whitened even dark mulattoes."[41] Thus, in the second decade of the nineteenth century, the Englishman, Henry Koster, on referring, in a conversation with a citizen of Pernambuco, to the fact that a mulatto was occupying the local office of *capitão-mor*, was told the man in question was not a mulatto. Insisting that he undoubtedly appeared to the eyes to be a mulatto, Koster received the rather unexpected reply, "He used to be a mulatto, but he is not now. For how can a *capitão-mor* be a mulatto?"[42]

Under such circumstances racial consciousness tends to be reduced to a minimum. For if the individual can with rela-

[41] Gilberto Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos* (São Paulo, 1936), p. 318.

[42] "In conversing on one occasion with a man of color who was in my service, I asked if a certain Capitam-mor was not a mulatto man; he answered, 'he was, but is not now (era; porem já nam he).' I begged him to explain, when he added, 'Can a Capitam-mor be a mulatto man (pois Senhor Capitam-mor pode ser mulato)?'" (Henry Koster, *Travels in Brasil, 1809 to 1815* [Philadelphia, 1817], II, 175–76). Note reference to this incident in Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro*, p. 153, and in Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 318.

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tive ease escape identification with a group into which he has been born, not only so far as race is concerned but even to some extent color as well, and if there is little attempt on the part of other persons to treat him differently merely because some of his ancestors were of different ethnic origin, "we-group" and "others-group" will delay in arising as objects in his experience; or, having arisen, will tend to be vague and inchoate entities, not vivid, clear cut, and sharply defined.

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Few colored intellectuals in Bahia are at all interested in studying and writing about the Negro; and, of those who are, such as the *preto* João da Silva Campos and the *pardos* Edison Carneiro and João Varella, their interest lies rather in the *Africano*, in his customs and traditions, and especially in those survivals of African culture still extant among descendants of imported slaves.

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There is no tendency to dignify the term "Negro" as there is among race-conscious Negroes in the United States. In fact, as we have already seen, "Negro" is a term rarely used either by blacks or by whites. When on occasion it is employed, no Bahian colored man, unless by chance he has been in the United States or in communication with American Negroes, is at all concerned about spelling it with a capital *N*. Nor does he resent the word *ama* ("mammy").

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This is not to say, however, that the blacks and the mixed-bloods are completely satisfied with their lot and that they utter no protest against the fate which has made the white man largely superordinate both economically and socially. On the contrary, the lower-class Negro often conceives of himself as mistreated and misunderstood.

There are, in this respect, two classes of blacks in Bahia: (1) those who are aware of, and articulate about, the race

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problem abroad and (2) those who are not. The former, a literate minority, are sensitive, for instance, to the situation in the United States and point to Brazil in favorable contrast. As one black remarked, "Here in Bahia whites and blacks are never at one another's throats as they are in the United States. A Negro is treated here as if he were no different from other men. So, while North Americans suffer more and more from internal strife, Brazil will every year become more and more one people, united in blood and sentiment."

A *preto* physician, of relatively unmixed African descent who possessed some command of English wrote the following in that idiom:

> We have not such a thing here in Bahia as race segregation, as among our illustrious North American friends.
>
> There is here only one constitution for all people without race or caste distinction.
>
> There is not here either white or black; there are only Brazilian citizens and foreigners.
>
> The Brazilian Negroes were born just like the whites and die the same way.
>
> The blacks are brothers of the whites and they love each other in our country.
>
> We are one nation and one people and not a conglomeration of peoples.
>
> I think it would be well for North Americans to get acquainted with the great love which unites the whites and the blacks for the grandeur of our country and take with them the example to their country; which being at its elevation still lynches its Negro citizens, as if all men were not equal in the eyes of God and the law.
>
> Is there one sun for the whites and another for the blacks, my good friends?
>
> In Brazil we recognize *one* God, *one* nation, and *one* people.

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Directing attention to a report in a Bahian newspaper of a lynching in Georgia, this man on another occasion said:

> Look at that! We've never known anything like that in Brazil. Why do the whites in the United States do such a thing? [With a tone of unbelief] Is it just because he's black? I can't understand it. You just can't conceive of such a thing happening here. The black man is as much a Brazilian as any white.

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On the other hand, there are Bahian blacks who, as we have noted, are dissatisfied with their lot. These individuals base their dissatisfaction, however, on an entirely different ground from that of Negroes in the United States; namely, upon class, rather than caste, differences. These blacks, who are all from the lower strata, feel very strongly that the classes occupying a superior social position are not giving the other classes what they deserve. The struggle for position in Brazil, therefore, takes on some of the character of a class struggle in the Marxian sense.

A reflection of this attitude is evident in one of the three last-named papers presented to the first Afro-Brazilian Congress. The author is a philanthropically minded young journalist. Under the influence of leftist ideology and earnestly impressed with the obviously low economic level of the Bahian lower classes, he writes, somewhat bitterly:

> The black has been, and continues to be, a being apart, almost an animal, permitted by the authorities merely to have access to the streets and to labor for the whites. Nothing more. For this reason the black can never hope to improve himself, to raise very high his intellectual or moral level, the failure to do which is responsible for his continuing animism, his criminality, etc.[41]

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Attitudes of dissatisfaction and protest are also evident in the following suggestions presented by a Bahian *preto* to the second Afro-Brazilian Congress:

[41] Edison Carneiro, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

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The Afro-Brazilian Congress ought to point out how deplorable is the condition of the black man in Brazil.

The Afro-Brazilian Congress ought to say to the black man that social lynching is worse than physical lynching.

The Afro-Brazilian Congress ought to break the chains of oppression.

The Afro-Brazilian Congress ought to say to the black man that he is dying of tuberculosis, of the heavy labor of carrying weighty burdens, of passing up necessities,[44] and of sorrow.

The Afro-Brazilian Congress ought to remind the black man that he is selected for, and preferred in, the lower occupations.

The Afro-Brazilian Congress ought to ask the black man how long he wants to be a slave?

"What the black does not have here," admitted a Bahian white, "is economic equality. He ordinarily gets only the meanest of jobs. He may be a manual laborer, a *carregador*, a mason or other artisan, but he seldom gets much above this level." "The Bahian black is poor and oppressed," said a mulatto. "The best positions are usually difficult for him to attain, especially if he has no education. He has little chance of becoming an important intellectual, commercial, or political figure; the best jobs are ordinarily beyond his reach." 563 * 829 [463]

The feeling of being abused and unfairly treated by fate is quite evident in the following document written by a *preto* stevedor: 563 * 829

In the past the black man was the laborer, the slave, vilely treated by the owners of great wealth whose descendants today often fail to recognize in him the principal factor in the building of Brazil and continue to deny him what he rightly deserves as a reward and a recompense for his untiring services (and even sacrifices), and for his humility in making himself always acceptable to his masters.

Today the descendants of these slaveowners are the great indus-

[44] I.e., of going without midday meal while at work, without sufficient sleep, medical attention, etc.

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•829 trialists and capitalists. Although they are unable to do as their predecessors did, nevertheless they make use, in a disguised manner, of that same abuse of power. They give evidence of a feeling of superiority, which confirms the presence in them of remnants of the former sentiments; they deprive the black man of equality, if not in ability, at least in the opportunity to make use of it.[48]

If the black man were properly educated, he axiomatically would be equal to those who judge themselves superior. Only from men who have leisure to spend in study will there come descendants with lofty aspirations; not from men handicapped by excessive labor and deficient nourishment. This does not prove less intelligence but only less good fortune. For if the forebears of the blacks had been masters of the plantations, the slave huts, and the mines, their descendants would naturally have been capable of educating their children with the same diligence and care as do the whites.

[463] Today, the blacks are employed only as simple laborers, such as masons, carpenters, tailors, mechanics, shoemakers, ironworkers, stevedores, *carregadores*, etc. The reason the blacks do not use their abilities as business agents, bookkeepers, custom-house clerks, exporters, importers, etc., is that they do not possess the requisite skill and training, a deficiency which is principally due to the whites themselves, who always hinder the entering of this element of the population into the above-indicated classes where they might exercise authority over the other element and then they call them "inferiors," "the poor," "low-class."

[871] The black child may attend elementary school and learn a few indispensable things. But since his parents cannot send him to secondary and superior schools, directly thereafter he goes to work; which causes, or at least contributes to, his inability to enter pursuits other than those in which stevedores, *carregadores*, etc., work.

This is the reason why the black man cannot attain a position of economic security in the Bahian community.

* 563 565 829 In assessing the significance of this document, one must draw a distinction between the lower-class *pretos* and those other blacks who have climbed somewhat in the economic

[48] I.e., in opportunities to develop these abilities through education.

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and social order and have attained a measure of security. If one takes account of class identification, the dissatisfaction and protest here illustrated may be interpreted—and in connection with the whole cultural situation in Brazil properly should be interpreted—as incidents of a class rather than of a racial struggle; of a competitive process which naturally takes on the seeming appearance of a racial struggle due to the coincidence, in general, of class and color identifications.

That this interpretation is tenable is borne out by the fact that from Negroes who have improved their social position one does not hear this note of dissatisfaction and protest. *Pretos* or dark *pardos* who have attained some standing in the community and some measure of recognition commonly defend the white man and laud the merits of Brazil, as did the Negro physician quoted above. Said he, on another occasion, somewhat exaggeratedly: "In Brazil there is no fear of color, no prejudice of race. A black man may enter any profession and draw his clients from any group. See, I was a member of the class of 1928 [proudly displaying a framed panel of photographs of graduates in that year of the Faculty of Medicine]. The greater part of my clients are white. And at the clinic, look at this! [showing a photograph of a large number of children, many of whom were white]. These came to me for professional advice."

A black of some social standing remarked with a show of pride, "Here we are all equal, black, white, and mixed-blood. No position is closed to the black man, and no profession. He can reach any level for which he shows himself fit."

If the presence of a limited degree of race consciousness in Bahia does not imply that the lower-class *preto* is completely satisfied with his lot, neither does it mean that the

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whites, as we have already seen, do not ordinarily look upon the mass of the blacks as, at least temporarily, socially and culturally inferior. This attitude is, however, more like that of an indulgent parent toward an immature but gradually developing child than like the attitude of one who feels himself superior because he belongs to a race which he believes to be endowed by nature with capacities superior to those of any other. As a white remarked, "At the present time the *pretos* are very backward in comparison with the whites. But I think that with social evolution they are becoming more and more intelligent and that eventually they will contribute equally with the whites to the forward march of Brazil."

If many of the lower-class blacks and darker mixed-bloods tend to feel themselves somewhat abused and misunderstood, the lighter, and to some extent the medium-dark, mixed-bloods are ordinarily jealous of their social advance, speak well of the whites and of treatment at their hands, and conceive of themselves as being, if not white, at least nearly white. At all events, they want to be white, and they ordinarily are, by their friends at least, so considered.

Pedro Calmon, thoroughly familiar with Bahian tradition, has stated:

> The *pardos* very early in our history came to consider themselves equal to the whites. Usually they were free; and the free man always had contempt for the slave. This scorn, described by Ewbank, Kidder and Fletcher, Agassiz, and all the writers who left their testimony concerning the society of the nineteenth century, is quite characteristic of the time; even dark *pardos* were in their own estimation equal to the whites. The lighter ones did not permit their European character to be at all questioned.[48]

[48] In correspondence with the author.

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While the mixed-bloods are consistently proud of their white lineage, they (at least the ambitious ones among them) tend, as we have noted, to be ashamed of black relatives and to hide, in so far as possible, the too obvious evidence of relation to them. This ordinarily occurs when the mixed-blood has achieved some economic competence or otherwise improved his standing in the social order.

Such an attitude is not greatly dissimilar to that of an upper-class resident of New York, for example, toward his relatives among the mountaineers of Tennessee. As with all individuals who within the span of a few years have climbed from one class to another, the self-confidence and sense of superiority of the Brazilian mixed-blood are to some extent intermittently, or even constantly, threatened by feelings of insecurity. João Varella has written of some of these individuals:

[539]

> Of his white father, whom he never saw,
> He has a picture in the parlor;
> But of the Negro woman who gave him birth
> He has no picture, nor does he even speak of her.[47]

Similarly, Gilberto Freyre has pointed out that many times in the past

> there resulted from . . . . the fact that the mother or the grandmother of the house was a mulatto situations often dramatic which are reflected in certain Brazilian romances and other accounts. Fair individuals often sought to keep visitors from seeing the fat mulatto grandmother, or even mother, with her huge negroid buttocks; or kept out of sight the dark brother, or dark sister, the tira-teima"[48]

[47] From an unpublished manuscript entitled "O africano na Bahia."

[48] Elucidating this phrase, a Bahian said, "The *tira teima* is an individual who in himself constitutes a living negation of the family's claim to whiteness. Being darker, or otherwise revealing the presence of Negro blood, this individual destroys the illusion (*tira a teima*) of *fidalguia* [superior standing] which the family wishes to give out."

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of the family, he or she whose color or features would inevitably reveal less noble or less Aryan origin.[49]

The black quite naturally resents this feeling of superiority on the part of the mixed-blood. His characteristic attitude is reflected in the common saying, "He who can't be a white man is a black." A Negro cook burst out one day, "Listen, wise one, you're just a dirty mulatto! You don't even belong to a pure race! I'd rather be black than yellow any day!" Another black, angry at a mixed-blood, blurted out, "All right! That's what you get from a mulatto. Mixing up the races always brings something like this."

"These mulattoes!" bitterly complained another *preto*, angered at the pretentious behavior of one of his mixed-blood relatives. "Dirty scum! Deny their grandparents, their uncles, and their aunts, even their own parents! They don't want to be blacks; they want to be whites!" "Mulattoes, when they get money," complained a black woman, "don't want to admit any longer that they are mulattoes." And, she added, somewhat bitterly, "the whites will accept them, too, if they have money."

[49] *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 355. That, outside the ranks of the relatively small number of colored Bahians identified with the African culture, a desire to approximate as nearly as possible the whites in physical appearance is widespread is attested by numerous advertisements in the newspapers like that in *A Tarde* for November 30, 1936:

HAIR!!!

Wooly hair turned into a permanent!
Kinky hair unkinked!
Pomades Indiana, Americana, etc. [Japonesa, Fixa] correct defects no matter what they are!

Sung by mulattoes is the verse:

Sae azar	Go away!
Por aqui a fora!	Leave me alone!
Cabellos espixados	Only hair that's straightened
Estão na moda agora!	Is now in style!

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Usually the whites acknowledge gratefully the blacks' contribution to the building of Brazil and prefer them to the *pardos* on the ground that they are less pretentious, more friendly, and more loyal and appreciative. "We like the blacks here," said a white Bahian. "And why not? Didn't they help build Brazil and aren't they still helping to create our country? We are not like the English and the North Americans. They are enemies of the Negro, but we are his brothers. We should all be kind to them, for it is not their fault that they are black."

A Bahian historian, in describing the colonial period, wrote:

> The black was an agent of social regeneration by reason of his affective qualities which aided the interpenetration of . . . . diverse elements in the Brazilian population. The slave woman reared in her arms the children of her master; she brought into the white home not only African delicacies but also courteous manners and won protection and lasting friendship from the white family by her tractableness, her devotion, her kindly spirit.[19]

Another white Bahian remarked:

> I like the blacks better than I do the mulattoes; in fact, much better! Do you know why? They're more honest, for one thing. They're more dependable. Why, I wouldn't hesitate to trust a fortune in the keeping of Francisco [his black servant]. They're more friendly, more considerate, more grateful. This is true not only of those who work for me [this man employs regularly sixteen laborers, has eighty-four Negro and dark mulatto hucksters whom he supplies with oranges from his *roça* for peddling in the streets], but it goes for black professional men as well. I know a black lawyer, for instance, a very fine man. I'd trust my legal affairs with him as soon as I would with any white lawyer I know.
>
> I used occasionally to meet North American Negroes in France. I didn't like them. They were proud and haughty and very touchy.

[19] Pedro Calmon, *Historia da Bahia* (2d ed.; Bahia, n.d.), p. 28.

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And I used to tell them that the Brazilian Negro was much superior to them. That made them mad, and they used to say, "That's what you think, because the Brazilian Negro takes everything from you whites and is willing to live on an inferior plane." But I said, "I don't know about that. I'm a member of an organization in Bahia which has a black president."

The white acknowledges the mixed-blood's intelligence, but he often resents the characteristic aggressiveness which the mulatto, in the course of his ambitious struggle to climb the social ladder, has developed, as well as other distinguishing personality traits which have appeared in the course of this competitive struggle. As one man put it: "I resent their forwardness, their enviousness, their jealousy, their 'lack of respect,' their pretentiousness, their inconstancy and unreliability, their arrogance and (upon gaining some measure of improved social position) their overweaning pride, their boastfulness, cocksureness, 'cheekiness,' and general manner of showing off." This attitude is also reflected in the common saying, "A mulatto *pernostico* is a redundant expression," a statement which a Bahian elucidated in the following words:

The mulatto who characteristically desires to be white and who for this reason looks down on the pure black, tends to exaggerate the qualities which he observes in the whites and to emulate them to such an extent that a word, *pernostico*, has been coined to describe him. He is always trying to be what he isn't.

Even the word *mestiço* ("mixed-blood") has come to be, to some extent at least, a term of *desprezo*, connoting, as a local citizen expressed it, "someone who is desirous of supplanting his father, exceedingly ambitious to get ahead, and gain prestige." Another reflection of this aversion is the common saying, "He who sees a mulatto and does not run, has oozing joints."

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Said, somewhat exaggeratedly perhaps, a prominent white:

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> I'm going to get out of Bahia and go to São Paulo. This town is too full of mulattoes and of mulatto traits. Bahia has become a *pau de sebo* ["greased pole"]. No one wants to get the prizes, but they all want to pull down everyone who tries to get them. This place is full of envy, of ill will and egotism, all mulatto characteristics. The mulatto is not like the black; he is a person without character. He has no honor. He's always envious, he's jealous, he's so busy "maintaining himself," pushing himself in where he isn't wanted, that he can't tend to his business or to his job; he can't do anything except make of himself a general nuisance.

"I always find black servants preferable to mulattoes," another white Bahian said. "They're more faithful, more respectful, even if less intelligent perhaps. The mulattoes are always trying to be 'whiter' than they are."

A student wrote:

> The *pardo* has one quality which the *preto* does not have. He is more *pernostico*, probably because he has the strong conviction that, even if one parent *is* black, the other is white. He ordinarily is not as accomplished as the whites, but he wants to appear in public better than he is. The *pretos*, no; they are more pleasant and have the natural gentleness of a race which has suffered much and has been made a martyr by the *sensalas*. I do not mean by this that there are no *pretos* who are ill-bred and stupid; but I do mean to say that such *pretos* are more rare than those *pardos* who, when they attain some position of importance in our public life, act as if they no longer tread upon the earth.

The attitudes engendered between the various ethnic groups at Bahia tend to be those ordinarily arising out of a struggle for position in any class order. The newly arrived, as well as those engaged in elbowing their way up, are everywhere resented. These attitudes focus upon color for the reason that, within limits, color is still identified with social po-

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sition. But the fact that these attitudes tend to disappear in cases where the colored man's claim to advanced standing rests on grounds of demonstrated competence and obvious personal worth is highly significant. It identifies the Bahian social order as a class society wherein competition takes the form of a struggle between classes (which by reason of historic accident happen to coincide to a considerable degree with color) rather than a struggle between races or colors as such.

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Said a white Bahian: "We like a person to be modest. One who is aggressive and self-assertive we tend to shove back a little. That's one reason why the black, Raul Calogeras, is so well regarded. He never presumes, never pushes himself forward. Whites respect him for what he is, especially for his great intellectual ability."

Another white Bahian, acquainted with the United States, said:

> As I think of it, the feeling toward the Negro here is somewhat like the feeling toward the Jew in the United States. As long as he remains a Jew, it is not the thing to marry him, but occasionally it is done with more or less comment. Your dealings with the Jew depend a great deal on the kind of a Jew he is. If he's a low type, you leave him to himself. If he's overly ambitious, aggressive, and always pushing himself forward, you resent his behavior. If he's educated and capable, but still modest, and at the same time willing to give up his Jewish separatism, you are apt to share more or less your experiences with him. The less he is like a Jew, the more he tries to be like other Americans, the more you have to do with him. In a similar way, the more the Negro repudiates his African connections, the more he comes to be like Europeans, but in a modest, inoffensive way, the more we have to do with him.

A white Bahian wrote: "Naturally those persons who have ethnic characteristics more like those of the white race enjoy somewhat greater prestige. But this does not prevent

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a man who has real worth from attaining a superior position just because he is colored. Absolutely not."

"Especially in Bahia, where there is much prejudice regarding 'quality,'" wrote a black, "a *pardo* or a *preto* is, in the presence of whites, never well thought of except he be a person of intellectual capacity or of some means; for in Bahia these two characteristics are very important."

A white student wrote:

> Race for me changes nothing in an individual. I think the *preto*, the *pardo*, and the *branco* should all be treated alike. Distinctions open to the whites ought to be equally open to the blacks and to the mulattoes. It is not they who made themselves black; it is not they who are responsible for their dark color. I have seen or known of *pretos* and *pardos* who on every occasion could readily replace certain *brancos*. Such men as these, in my opinion, are at least equal to the whites. I repeat, not race but personality influences me; a man who has a good character and is intelligent and competent merits distinction, be he white, black, or *pardo*.

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Among "the ten most important Bahians" selected by a hundred and twenty-two students in the Escola Normal were three mulattoes and two *brancos da Bahia*. Sixty-seven students in the Law School chose six whites, two *brancos da Bahia*, a mulatto, and a *preto* among the ten most prominent local citizens. Sixteen girls in a mission school conducted by North American missionaries listed two *brancos da Bahia*, a mulatto, and two *pretos* among those who, in their judgment, were "the ten most important Bahians."

[P.234 is blank]

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virtually extinct.[3] Only an occasional individual of African birth may be found, like, for instance, a certain elderly black once prominent in the fetish cults not only of Bahia but also of Rio de Janeiro who was born in Lagos, his father having purchased his mother out of slavery in Brazil shortly before his birth and taken her to Africa. He knows four *Africanos* still living in Rio. In 1936 he met in Brotas (a subdivision of Bahia) an elderly African woman with facial scarification and almost no command of Portuguese. She has since died.

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Thus, actual contact with Africa is today little more than a memory in the minds of a few of the older blacks, who recall stories told by their parents or by other Africans of persons, places, and events in Africa; or who years ago visited in the home of African ancestors or were, perhaps, personally acquainted with blacks plying their small vessels between Bahia and the West Coast. However, certain individuals of the older generation still cherish sentimental attachment to Africa, as is indicated by the expression occasionally heard on the lips of an elderly Negro, as he reverently turns his eyes upward toward the sky, "Sou filho de dois Africanos, graças a Deus!"[4] "If I had the money," remarked another black, his eyes lighting up, "I'd go to Africa, to Abeokuta, build me a house, and live like a man ought to."

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An elderly Bahian Negro recalled:

My mother was just a young girl when she was captured by a warrior in Africa. He wanted to sell her to a slave trader in Dahomey.

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[3] Since lower-class Negroes who have difficulty in speaking correct Portuguese occasionally attempt to cover up their chagrin by saying that they are *Africanos*, and others, participating in social circles where prestige attaches to the native-born African, may deliberately misstate their origin, the incautious observer may be led erroneously to think that there are a considerable number of Africans still living in Bahia.

[4] "My father and mother were both Africans, thank God!"

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On that day two younger children were with her, a baby she was carrying on her back and a child she was leading by the hand.

She told me of a terrible thing which she saw on that day. Two warriors were running to catch a young girl. Each grabbed one of her arms, and they began to quarrel, pulling at her and shouting, "She's mine! She's mine!" But neither could jerk her away from the other. Finally one swung his big knife, and slash! He cut the girl in half and told the other man that now he could have his share.

My mother's name was Manjengbasa, which means, "Don't leave me alone." She was born after her mother had lost both of her first two children. She carried a scar on her cheek which meant that she was a Yoruba; for all Yorubas, both men and women, have this mark. She married my father here in Brazil, and when I was born they called me Ógeládê.

When I was thirteen years and eleven months old, my father took me to *Af-ri-ca;* to Lagos, *West-Coast-of-Af-ri-ca*, Nigeria. Ige-sha is two days away. Oyó used to be the capital. And there is Akra on the coast; there is Ashanti, and Groweh, and Ifé, and Egba. My father was from Egba, and his father was from Abeokuta. And there is Efun and Dahomey.

My father was only on a visit. He soon came back to Bahia to take care of his business. He was at that time importing African things. But I stayed in Lagos eleven years and nine months. From 1875 until 1886 I was there. Later I went again to Africa and remained another year. And three years after that I again returned, to sell coral and fine and coarse wool. I bought *pano da costa* to sell here.

My grandfather was a great warrior. He had a large plot of ground, but he was more of a warrior than a farmer. One day while fighting he got an arrow in his arm. He jerked it out and the blood covered him. When, years later, my grandfather died, I was a child of six years.

My uncle also was a great warrior. He was younger than my father. When they brought my father to Brazil, my uncle was left there in Africa.

My grandfather had forty wives. He lived in an *atalaia*,[1] a house

[1] Composed of many dwellings placed side by side and having a common roof.

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as long as from here to the entrance of the fort,[6] just for the family of my grandfather. He was buried in a room. A *quartinha* of water which is always kept full still stands there today.

When my father was born, my grandmother was already an old woman. But she was still very strong. When my grandfather died, she walked all by herself up to the place where they buried him. When I went to Africa, she was in Ibadum. She never saw my father again. When he took me to Africa, she did not get to see him because the Africans were fighting fiercely. No one could travel as far as from here to Rio Vermelho.[7] So my father did not get to see his mother. But when she found out that he had been in Lagos and had left a son there, she never left off speaking of me. She wished to have me stolen, but the men who came to carry me to my grandmother never found me alone. They brought me presents. My grandmother had made me an African food which lasts two or three months and does not spoil. It is made with *fubá* of maize, crushed. All is seasoned with fragrant and savory seasonings, with onions and shrimps, and put in a large pan. It is like a cake they call here *bom bocado*. In the African language it is called *adúm*. Rolled up in leaves they gave it to me. My tutor ate part of it too.[8] For fifteen days we ate *adúm*. When I came back to Bahia and told my father I had eaten *adúm*, he lost almost the whole day crying, because he had not seen his mother for almost fifty years, let alone eaten her cooking. He looked up at me, and said 'You, my son; *you* ate *adúm!*' "

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Some contact with Africa is still maintained through family connections, although these are now rare; by means of African visitors, principally individuals from the crews of English ships recruited in Lagos; and by way of occasional newspapers published on the East or West Coast in Portuguese, English, or even African languages.

Thus, one will occasionally find in the possession of Bahian Negroes a copy of the *Nigerian Daily Times*, published

[6] About one hundred yards.

[7] About three miles.

[8] The boy had been placed in a mission school.

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revered leaders of the Afro-Brazilian world. When a priest argued with her that, since she had not been ordained by the pope, she had no "spiritual authority" to carry on religious rites, she quickly inquired if Moses, "that great prophet and leader of his people, was ordained by the pope?" The first man, she maintains, must not have been a white man but instead a colored man; "if not black, at least red. For do the scholars not say that man originated in Asia, and do white men ever come out of that continent?" Jesus also must have been an African, or at least a person quite dark. "For did not his parents once hide him in Egypt? And is not Egypt in Africa? If Jesus was not dark, how could they have hidden him among the people of Africa?"

This *mãe de santo* was "made" over fifty years ago in the *candomblé* of Engenho Velho. "My *seita* is pure Nagô, like Engenho Velho," she boasts. "But I have revived much of the African tradition which even Engenho Velho has forgotten. Do they have a ceremony for the twelve ministers of Xangô?[11] No! But I have." She is planning to rebuild her *barracão*, or sacred dance pavilion, to be paid for by tithes levied on the incomes of members of her *seita*. She owns a small store in the Terreiro where she sells the various articles used in the cult ritual and, since the members of the fetish world know that these articles must be, if she sells [444]

[11] According to a well known Bahian *babalaô*, Xangô was a great African chief whose cruelties the people sought to do away with by setting fire one night to his dwelling. Everyone in it burned except Xangô, who walked unscathed through the flames. Astounded, the people prostrated themselves before him and begged his forgiveness. Xangô became a powerful king and subjected many neighboring tribes, twelve of whose chiefs subsequently became his royal advisers, or ministers. Even before his death, which occurred at an advanced age, Xangô was being worshiped. Cf. Martiniano do Bomfim, "Os ministros de Xangô," *Estado da Bahia*, May 5, 1937. [539]

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782 Numerous
565 families *da boa sociedade* ("of social standing") "dão comida"
184 (make the food offerings, especially of *carurú*) to Beji
794 (Cosme and Damião) and celebrate the day sacred to their honor. A number of white individuals on occasion make offerings to the *mãe d'agua*. Cases like that of the wife of a former state senator and political chieftain who kept an altar to an African *orixá* in her house are, however, not numerous.

125 Of 66 students in the Escola Normal classifying themselves
782 as *brancos* and responding to the query, "Do members of
184 your family give presents to the *mãe d'agua?*" 7, or 10.6 per
794 cent, answered in the affirmative. Of 36 *pardos*, the families of 9, or 25 per cent, similarly made offerings. Of 63 whites, 29, or 46 per cent, thought one ought to fear the *bozo* (black magic); as did 12, or 37 per cent of the *pardos*, and all 6 of the *pretos* who replied. Of 63 whites, only 1 thought the statement "A *pae de santo* is more useful in time of illness than a physician" was true, but 9, or 14 per cent, regarded it as "partially true"; of 32 *pardos*, 2 believed the statement true, and 7, or 22 per cent, thought it "partially true." Of 197 students in the Escola Normal and the Law School, the families of 25, or 13 per cent, "give *comida*" to Cosme and Damião.

184 Ordinarily the attitudes which the inhabitants of Euro-
798 pean descent take toward the *candomblé* vary from good-
794 natured tolerance, which is the most characteristic, through
829 indifference, which is common, to active opposition, which is comparatively rare, although from time to time complaints like the one below find their way into the newspapers.

[539] In *A Tarde* for May 8, 1936, appeared an editorial under the title:

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DANGEROUS *CANDOMBLES*

Education may perhaps be the most certain means of eradicating harmful customs. But when these customs are linked with the persistent beliefs of African fetichism and constitute outrageous attacks upon the moral and physical well-being of those who practice them, it becomes necessary to insist upon immediate and complete suppression. This can be done in no way except by police action, energetic and persistent.

And, in *A Tarde* for December 9, 1935, appeared the following complaint:

THE CITY THAT GOD FORGOT

Scenes which Degrade and Depress . . . . The Revived *Candomblés* . . . . *Despachos* Even in the Heart of the City . . . .

The above looks like a movie title. But it is not. Our capital really is a city forgotten by . . . . God. . . . .

Your reporter . . . . has set down in his notebook curious scenes which reflect discredit upon our civilization; things which . . . . continue on for the eyes not only of those who live here but also of those who visit us from foreign places.

Bahia already has the reputation of being the city of *candomblés*, the paradise of the *macumbas*. However, these used to be localized in fixed zones where the devotees of Oxalá and Yemanjá beat their drums and "fell into the *santo*." Now they begin to encroach upon the most frequented streets, and the African cult is to be seen even in the best residential areas.

Your reporter verified this fact last Sunday night in the *bairro* of Barra, an elegant and aristocratic suburb. Here is to be found Grenfeld Street, very close to the Avenida Oceanica. And on this very street is a *candomblé*.

Happily there is no noise of drums. But palms are used instead, which beat without ceasing until day dawns. And whenever anyone makes an inquiry, the *pae de santo* insists that he has a license, and continues. . . . .

One morning not long ago, your reporter was passing in front of the

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State Treasury building, a spot very much frequented. A *bozó* had been left there and still remained exposed to the curiosity of all who passed.

A black hen, three copper coins, yellow *farofia*, a cloth doll stuck full of pins, a piece of a man's shirt, and other *bugigangas* [trinkets].

The thing was there until midday. This is no uncommon occurrence, but one which is frankly deplorable. That in the heart of our city, so close to the Rua Chile, *despachos* are made to Exú is, to say the least, disgusting.

[364] In the same newspaper sometime later (June 10, 1937), under the title, "A Specialist in Sport *Bozós*, *Pae de santo* Manoelzinho Is the Worst Enemy of the Limpeza Publica [Street Cleaning Department]," this complaint appeared:

A short time ago the *macumbeiro* known as Manoelzinho took up his residence in a *roça* at No. 256 Cruz do Cosme, and since that time his *bozós* have led to continuous complaints from dwellers along that road and from those who chance to pass that way.

At the side of the road just below the *roça* is a *loco* tree, that species so much preferred for fetishistic practices. Here *bozós* accumulate from day to day until they constitute a veritable mountain of refuse in which may be found an increasing number of dead fowls.

We are informed that this Manoelzinho, who is a *pae de santo* with considerable prestige, is a specialist in sport *bozós*. For it is said that among those who consult him are certain members of the different soccer clubs. Recently a policeman, on the eve of a great game at Graça, noted in one of these *bozós* the initials "T. V." which are the same as those of a well-known athlete.

Since the Street Cleaners never pass along Cruz do Cosme, the *bozós* keep polluting the atmosphere and obliging those who pass by to cover their noses with handkerchiefs.

To whom shall we appeal? Who will do something about this?

798 794 829 However, more characteristically, the Bahian identified with European customs and traditions adopts toward the *candomblé* a tolerant attitude. While he looks upon it as "ignorant fetishism," he ordinarily accepts it as "an African institution," which, in the words of a student at the Faculty

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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of Law, "will gradually disappear with social evolution." "Education will do away with it. Just give it time," remarked a student at the Faculty of Medicine. There are a few intellectuals, individuals who have broken with the Catholic church, who believe that the *candomblé* is entitled to the same rights and privileges as any other religion. One of these remarked, "We should see to it that the government gives the *candomblé* a square deal."

Indeed, of those Bahians identified with the European culture, the whites tend to be more tolerant of the *candomblé* than either the blacks or the mixed-bloods. These blacks and mixed-bloods are seeking to establish themselves in class and naturally make every effort to disassociate themselves from what are commonly considered to be lower-class cultural elements. Of 66 white students in the Escola Normal who responded to the query "Do you think the *candomblé* ought to be suppressed?" 22, or one-third, said, "No"; while, of 22 *pardos*, all but one replied in the affirmative. Of 5 blacks, 4 said, "Yes."

In the face of constant, although ordinarily tolerant, disparagement on the part of most prestige-bearing individuals in the European portion of the community and of such institutions as the church, the school, and the newspaper, most of the younger Negroes now tend to forsake the *candomblé* and the body of ideas and sentiments identified with it and to look upon these customs and traditions as evidence of "ignorance," "backwardness," and "retarded mental growth." Older leaders of the cult often complain, as did Maria Bádá on one occasion, that "the *candomblé* isn't what it used to be. The young people today don't learn Nagô; they don't know how to carry on any of the ritual; and, what is worse, they don't want to learn." *Mãe de santo* Anninha once remarked, in much the same words as in recent years have

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794 often been heard, on the lips of older members of, particu-
178 larly, Protestant churches in the United States, "These young people today are not like we used to be. It's a shame the way they stray away."

829 João is a young black about twenty years of age who has
794 just completed a business course subsequent to graduation from the Ginasio da Bahia, the city's state-supported sec-
178 ondary school. One day, in the home of his uncle, who is a
159 prominent figure in the fetish world, João was copying a
[873] page in Nagô. Possessed of a deep affection for his uncle and being characteristically obliging and courteous, he was at-
[658] tempting to learn a few words of this African language. But the impression João made on a visitor was that his efforts with Nagô arose rather from a desire to please his uncle than from any genuine interest in the language itself. João remarked, apologetically, "You know I would like to learn it, but I just don't have time when I'm working every day."

A young mulatto girl who had completed two years at a secondary school remarked, "I don't care much for the *candomblé*, except to watch the dances and to see the [ceremonial] costumes. I seldom go, and then only for some spe-
[546] cial reason. I like the movies better, especially the North American and the English films." She further remarked:

> My uncle doesn't believe in this business of the *orixás*. One day his daughter—my cousin—said that she felt an *orixá* about to "arrive." She ran all the way to a *candomblé*, began to dance, and, sure enough, "she fell into the *estado de santo*." But my uncle wouldn't stand for it. He got a sprig of *urtiga* and whipped her and then went and whipped the *pae de santo* too. The next day, my cousin couldn't bear anyone's hand on her, she was so sore. But that was the end of the *orixá*. He never came back.

José is a young mixed-blood, twenty-two years of age, employed as a janitor in one of Bahia's public buildings. Although he knows of three *seitas* near his home—one each

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in Pau Miuda, Cidade da Palha, and Cruz do Cosme—he has no interest in them. However, he has a consuming interest in the cinema, keeps an elaborate scrapbook which now contains over a hundred and fifty individual photographs of actors and actresses, and can glibly name nearly all the films in which each has played during the last three or four years.[29]

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The following account by a young mulatto student of secondary-school age who has developed a somewhat skeptical attitude toward the *candomblé* in spite of his father's being a prominent *ogan* in one of the *seitas* who occasionally, when the elderly *achôgun* is ill, officiates at the sacrificial ritual, illustrates the difficulty which *candomblé* leaders now experience in enforcing the sanctions of the cult:

> Pedro [a young *ogan*] didn't show proper respect for my father when he suggested that there ought to be some repairs made at the *terreiro*. Pedro said it had been that way when he was "confirmed" and that it was all right now. He used "você" in speaking to my father, although he is much "younger." And he said my father lied. When I heard about this, I hunted up Pedro and told him that he hadn't treated my father right, and when he talked nonsense I hit him. Pae Procopio then hunted me up. I told him that I didn't believe in anything he did, that I wasn't afraid of any sorcery he might make, that Pedro had ill-treated my father, and that I wanted nothing to do with him and with all his accursed *candomblé*.

[29] For instance, José named five films in which Patricia Ellis had played. His favorite actress is Shirley Temple, after which come, in order, Lilian Harvey, Joe E. Brown, Maurice Chevalier, and Laurel and Hardy. In addition, he likes Raul Roulien, Dolores del Rio, James Cagney, Lyle Talbot, Kay Francis, Dick Powell, Eddie Cantor, Clara Bow, Jeanette MacDonald, George O'Brien, Fred Astaire, John Boles, George Brent, Richard Talmage, José Mojico, Jan Kiepura, Adolphe Menjou, Pat O'Brien, Chester Morris, Buster Crabbe, Charlie Chaplin, Lee Tracy, Gary Cooper, Ramon Navarro, George Bancroft, Johnny Mack Brown, Alice Faye, Olivia de Havilland, and Ken Maynard. José does not care for Buck Jones, although many of his friends do. Neither does he like Lionel Barrymore, Douglas Fairbanks, Jr., Richard Arlen, Ronald Colman, or Gordon Westcott. Paul Muni, he says, is "only fair."

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As a Bahian white said, "When a black man puts on a tie and shoes and learns to read and write, he loses interest in the *candomblé*. There are really two civilizations at Bahia, ours and the African. When a black begins seriously to take on our customs, he seldom spends any more time at *candomblés*." A prominent mulatto educator remarked, "I've never been to a fetish cult. I have no interest in them." A Negro laborer admitted that he used to go to such ceremonies, "but no more; I've given all that up now." The young nephew of a prominent *babalaô* said, "All this low stuff ought to be done away with. It's a sign of a very backward people. It has even disappeared in Africa. The English came into Lagos and brought modern civilization. Only in Bahia do these old customs hang on."

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Indicative of the disintegrating state of the fetish world is the continuous and, at times, acute jealousy among the leaders and members of its more orthodox centers. In a given *seita* one hears much critical gossip regarding the practices of some other center. It is accused of forsaking the "true" African tradition and of inadequately interpreting mystical experiences. As the number of *Africanos* decreases, competition between the *seitas* for their allegiance is naturally increasing.

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Among the Negroes who still identify themselves with the cult, the past tends to be romanticized, and the prestige of the "old Africans," like Bambuxê, Adeta, Iyalode Erelu, and others, to be constantly enhanced. Similarly, the prestige of the older cult figures who are still living—the *babalaô* Martiniano, *mãe de santo* Anninha,[21] and the aged Maria Bádá,

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[21] Since this was written, *mãe de santo* Anninha has died. Of her funeral, the *Estado da Bahia* (January 5, 1938) said: "The crowd of people who accompanied the body to Quinta dos Lazaros Cemetery was one of the largest ever seen in Bahia and recalls the funeral for Pae Adão in Recife. More than

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all of whom represent the African tradition in its "purest" form—is, throughout the fetish world, very great."

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two thousand persons were present, including members of the Irmandade of Rosario Church, dressed in their robes. The coffin, which was, in keeping with Anninha's request, quite modest, had over it the robe she had worn as a member of this Irmandade of which she was so proud, and was carried on the shoulders of the Brothers of Nossa Senhora do Rosario and of São Benedicto. The crowd of mourners blocked traffic in Rua Dr. Seabra for more than half an hour. Some *filhas de santo* wept unceasingly. Others related the virtues of the kind Anninha.

"When the coffin, carried by pious hands, entered the large gate of the cemetery, the *atabaques* broke out into African rhythms, while sad voices rose in the African songs of the *seita* to which the illustrious *mãe de santo* belonged.

"In the chapel of the cemetery, Canon Assis Curvello repeated the *encommendação*, and her body was laid away in a recently opened crypt.

"Then several orators spoke, among them Snr. Alvaro MacDowell de Oliveira in the name of the União das Seitas Afro-Brasileiras da Bahia, the journalist Edison Carneiro, and representatives of the Centro Cruz Santa do Aché de Okô Afonjá and of the Irmandade of Rosario Church. When the ceremony was over, two omnibuses carried a large number of the friends of Anninha to São Gonçalo do Retiro, where they took part in the preparatory ritual for the African funeral ceremony of Axêxê, to be held seven days after the death of the beloved leader of the *terreiro* of Aché de Okô Afonjá. This ceremony will consist of rites for the eternal peace of the dead *mãe de santo* and will be participated in by *ogans*, *filhas de santo*, *paes de santo*, and other friends of the deceased."

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" This chapter is primarily based upon the author's personal experience as a visitor at numerous ceremonies in eighteen *seitas* at Bahia and as a participant over a period of several months as an *ogan* in the *candomblé* of Pae Procopio in Matatú. For further information see, in addition to the works of Nina Rodrigues, Arthur Ramos, Manoel Querino, and Edison Carneiro previously cited: Padre Étienne Ignace Brasil, "Le Fetichisme des negres du Brésil," *Anthropos*, III (1908), 881–904; Gonçalves Fernandes, *Xangôs do Nordeste* (Rio, 1937) and *O folklore magico do Nordeste* (Rio, 1938); João Varella, *Cosme e Damião* (Bahia, 1938); the novels *O feiticeiro* by Xavier Marques (Bahia, 1922) and *Jubiabá* by Jorge Amado (Rio, 1935); and newspaper accounts such as "Creado o conselho africano da Bahia," *Estado da Bahia*, August 4, 1937, and "No mundo cheio de mysterios dos espiritos e 'paes de santo,'" *ibid.*, May 14, 1936.

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[SALVADOR]

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*563 826 In order to understand the composition of the local population and to interpret correctly the demographic statistics of Bahia, ancient and modern, it is necessary to be well acquainted with the meaning of the terms that serve to designate the different physical types brought together in its vast melting pot. The most common expressions are branco, preto, mulato, pardo, moreno, and [192] caboclo, which one may translate as: White, Black, mulatto (1).

[192] [128] 1. There are no common French terms to designate the terms pardo, moreno, caboclo, the explanation of which is given farther on. We shall therefore leave them in their Brazilian form in these pages.

• [829] These terms seemingly designate definite physical types; in reality, their meaning is inspired much more by the social context than by racial characteristics such as the color of the skin, the hair, and the shape of the face.

*563 826 829 565 In a general way Whites are individuals of white phenotype; very tall persons with light eyes and with hair likewise light and fine are often called brancos finos (fine Whites) because they do show any signs of mixture with colored types. Nevertheless individuals who are wealthy and of high rank, whatever their appearance, may very well be called Whites. When one hears a person of humble station, a servant or agricultural worker, call a superior "my White," one is sometimes surprised to discover that the person to whom the title is addressed has a very dark complexion. The stevedores and porters, who are almost all black, indiscriminately call Whites and mulattoes of prosperous appearance "my White." The common people never cease saying that "the one who has money is White."

A colored sociologist says that "a Brazilian Black can become white to the extent that he rises economically and acquires the attitude of the upper groups." Assignment to an upper social class in Brazil is based more on the culture or the economic position of an individual than on his racial characteristics. The

[SALVADOR]

826 /10 cont./
829 The mulattoes of light complexion, socially "whitened" or "Whites
563 in color" (brancos na côr), are commonly called "Whites of the
565 land" (brancos da terra) or "Whites of Bahia" (2).
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2. According to Donald Pierson, the Whites of Bahia are "very light métis /persons of mixed blood / who in Bahia are generally considered Whites"; cf. Brancos e pretos na Bahia /Whites and Blacks in Bahia/, São Paulo, 1945, p. 200. In commenting on this definition, a writer from Bahia explains that it does not rest upon an observation based on physical anthropology. Factors of a sociological order enter into this specification and make defining it difficult. J. Valadares, "Brancos da Bahia," Estado da Bahia, 2, VI, Bahia, 1943 (this comment refers to an article published by Pierson in 1943).

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when they occupy an important position and when one /11/ does not wish to offend them by calling them mulattoes. In the characterization of these "presumed Whites," fortune or social rank always plays a large part. In speaking of a light métis /a person with mixed blood/ with slightly Negroid features, one may say with a certain irony: "So-and-So is White, socially speaking, since he has already occupied one of the highest positions in the State." It is for these reasons that a physician from Bahia who had taken up the study of anthropology wrote as early as 1898 that "anatomically the Whites of Bahia are placed between the pardos and the direct descendants of Portuguese not of mixed blood (1)."

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1. J. B. Sá Oliveira, Evoluçao psiquica dos bahianos /Psychic evolution of the Bahians/, Bahia, 1898, p. 51.

[SALVADOR]

826 /11 cont./

829 Pretos, or Blacks, are all the individuals who show the physi-
563 cal characteristics of the Black, particularly the very dark skin,
576 "the color of charcoal," the frizzy hair, the flat nose, and the
[192] very thick lips. But to use the expression "Negro" /Fr. nègre/ is considered less courteous and sometimes even offensive. A physician who worked in a dermatology clinic registered as "Negro" a patient who had come to be treated; but the father of the latter came to the physician to protest that he should substitute for this term that of preto (Black) or escuro (dark /Fr. foncé/).

[192] A person who is speaking to a Black of a lower class may say to him, in speaking of another Black, "Someone black like you"; but if it is a matter of a person belonging to a higher class, good form requires that one use the term escuro (dark) or even moreno. Several informants reported that the students of certain black professors with crude manners say of them that they have the "manners of Negroes." In the same way, a dark mulatto intellectual knows that if one wishes to offend him one calls him "this Negro," and a Black practicing a liberal profession is not unaware either that his political adversaries, in speaking of him, say "the Negro Léonard." It is not rare to hear Whites and morenos protest in a low voice against the bad manners, the bursts of laughter, the gossip of these "Negroes," when Blacks and mulattoes give free vent to their noisy gaiety in public conveyances, in cinemas, or in the streets. Nevertheless the expression "my Negro" is a term of friendship, even among Whites. Sometimes the term "Negro" is used as a diminutive, "a sympathetic
[196] little Negro" /Fr. négrillon/, without containing any unkind implication. On the other hand, the word nigrinha, the feminine form of the same diminutive, has a pejorative and insulting meaning; it is applied to young colored people of questionable reputation. To act like a nigrinha is equivalent to behaving badly.

175 In the first years of colonization, Indians were often desig-
563 nated by the name of Negro. The use of this /12/ word, the true
829 meaning of which has been established only recently, caused much embarrassment to historians who sought to unravel the respective role of Indians and Blacks in the formation of Brazilian civilization. A Portuguese law of 1755 stipulates that Indians must not be

[SALVADOR]

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175 called Negroes because of the ignominious and base implications
*563 of a term that puts them on the same footing as the people of the
829 coast of Africa destined to become slaves of the Whites. The true African Negroes were at that time called Negroes of Guinea, Negroes of the coast, or Negroes of nation, that is to say, of such
175 and such an African tribe. In a general way the term Negro was
829 applied to every slave, to the point that in 1773 a Portuguese
*563 monarch complained that in Brazil there were still "persons so
567 wanting in feelings of humanity and religion as to keep among
192 them slaves, some of whom are whiter than they themselves, under the names of Blacks and Negresses, or even métisses /plural
829 feminine form of métis, a person of mixed blood/." The sons of African Negroes born in Brazil were called creoles, a term ap-
*563 plied even today, in the feminine, to black women and mulattresses
192 who dress like the Bahian women, with the troquette, the very full
291 skirt, the white, embroidered, and very décolleté blouse, and the
794 colored shawl around the bust, a costume worn by the Africans of Nigeria and even in our day, with certain local modifications, by the women belonging to the religious cults of African origin, the
*563 candomblés. The creoles of Bahia constitute a typical spectacle
794 in the streets of the city; one can see them there, making their
443 way to a fetishist-cult center or sitting beside stalls in which they
262 display, especially during the popular festivals, the foods of the famous local cuisine, which is also of African origin to a great extent.

*563 The words pardo and mestiço, both having, as we have seen,
829 the meaning of mulatto, serve to designate the descendants of a
192 cross between Europeans and Blacks. Every variation of these
826 types, depending on the intensity of the color or the nature of the hair, was formerly designated by a particular name fallen into disuse today. One speaks of light mulatto or dark mulatto, according to the predominance of one or the other of the characteristics; the light mulattoes, when their hair is very similar to that of Whites, are also called cabo verdes or rôxos. A young girl showing
[196] few traces of crossbreeding is a roxinha or even a cabrocha; in this case the inhabitants of Bahia use a diminutive in order to remove from the word any pejorative meaning.

[SALVADOR]

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*563 from the word any pejorative meaning. In fact, to say a
•829 "mulattress" in speaking of a young girl of a certain social class
192 is in a way less courteous than to say "a little mulattress" (una
826 mulatinha). Very often, in speaking of a person of distinction, one does not use any of these terms; one then says "a person of color" or "a /13/ dark person." A swarthy métis with slightly frizzy hair, whose features link him with the Whites, is a moreno, especially if he belongs to an upper social class. A journalist, recently describing a part of the city where a large number of colored people are found together, wrote that "one meets beautiful mulattresses there." If the latter belong to the lower classes and if they are poor, they are simply mulattresses; if they are granfinas (1),

1. Granfino, granfina may be translated by "very refined."

they become light morenas; and one could even add morenas the color of jambo (2).

[824] 2. Jambo, fruit of the jambevio, a Myrtaceae (Eugenia sp.).

[533] One finds numerous references to women of this type in the popular
[541] songs launched on the occasion of the famous Brazilian carnival.
[204] In the journals reporting accidents, crimes, or other facts in which mulattoes happen to be involved, even from the poorest classes, it is rare to come across the word mulatto, for which pardo or
*563 morena is preferred. The feminine form, moreover, has a senti-
562 mental value: it suggests a slightly pigmented skin and features
829 of a beauty peculiar to these "women so sought after and preferred
192 in greater number," as one of our informants told us. Because of
826 this preference, the morena type has been celebrated in prose and in verse by our writers. And this morena, it goes without saying,

[SALVADOR]

826 /13 cont./
*563 may not be of African blood (3).
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3. Arthur Ramos, Introduçao a Antropologia Brasileira, II, Rio de Janeiro, 1947.

829 The Indians and the descendants of the cross between Indians
*563 and Whites are generally called cabôclos, but this expression is
192 no longer very common in Bahia and rarely serves to characterize
[178] the corresponding type. The term cabôclo has become, like that
[196] of "my Negro," rather a formula of tenderness between individuals
175 of any color whatsoever. It must be noted, moreover, thanks to
829 old statistics, that toward the middle of the eighteenth century, in
648 response to complaints about Brazilian "nativism," the Portuguese
641 government prohibited the use of the term cabôclo, to which was
576 then attached an insulting meaning, and granted at the same time the
192 civil status of Whites to Indians and to their descendants of mixed blood, so that they could contract marriage with the Whites and fulfill official duties in the colony; it is in that manner that the contingents of mamelucos or cabôclos were assimilated with the
192 Whites in the military roles of the time. The word meanwhile
178 lost its insulting import and in our day is even considered a com-
829 pliment when it refers to a cabôclo bom, that is to say, a man of
576 good manners.

144 The Negroid albinos and the mulattoes with red, blond, or
192 light auburn hair are known by the name of sararás.

The exact designation of these different types has always /14/
144 represented a difficulty, as much for anthropologists as for the
*563 persons charged with identifying school children, the military,
829 the criminals (1).

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1. According to the Bahian anthropologist Nina Rodriguez (in her book As raças humanas e a responsabilidade penal no Brasil /The Human Races and Penal Responsibility in Brazil/, 3rd edition, written at the beginning of the century), the métis include: 1st, the mulattoes produced from the cross between the White and the Negro:

[SALVADOR]

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a) mulattoes of prime blood; b) light mulattoes tending to revert to the white race; c) dark mulattoes, cabras, product tending to revert to the black race, some almost completely identified with the creole Negroes, the others more easily separable; 2nd, the mamelucos or caboclos, products of the cross between White and Indian; 3rd, the product of the cross of the three races and especially the cross between the mulatto and the Indian or with the mamelucos and caboclos. Arthur Ramos in his book A aculturaçao negra no Brasil /Negro Acculturation in Brazil/, 1942, p. 58, and in other works, one of which is "The Negro in Brazil," in Brazil, Portrait of Half a Continent, edited by Lynn Smith and A. Marchant, New York, 1950, p. 130, adopts almost the same classification, but proposes that, in order to avoid inaccuracies, one use the words pardo, mulatto, and métis as synonyms.

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In response to the demand of a lawyer, the head of the Bureau of Judicial Identification of the civil police of the State of Bahia stated some years ago that in his department one uses, according to the judgment of the identifier, the terms White, moreno, pardo, métis, and Black. A woman official who has worked for a long time in this service describes the different Bahia types thus: "The métis is a descendant of Black and mulatto; the pardo is the son of a mulatto and a White; the mulatto is derived from a White and a Black: he may be light, but he will always have lips that are thick and reddened by pigmentation; the moreno is the mulatto fino, and the Black is an individual with pronounced Negro traits."

[SALVADOR]

/14 cont./

829 Many persons identified in this office under the word White
*563 are probably métis of different types: the same confusion occurs
659 with persons designated as mulattoes, pardos, or morenos, ac-
192 cording to examinations made by Pierson (2)

2. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 189.

and now repeated by the author. A black lawyer relates that his wife, a relatively light mulattress, was registered in this office as Black, while the latter's sister, almost the same type as she, was classed as a mulattress. It is, moreover, interesting to note that generally in the dossier of identity referring to the persons registered the designation "mulatto" never appears, so to speak, but almost always that of moreno or pardo, the first having a pejorative character. A social worker relates that the women of the most humble milieu who are registered in her office, even when they are Blacks, do not want to be mulattoes, but morenas, sometimes saying that their children are moreninhos (little morenos) "like me," or that their husbands are a little more morenos or "darker." In any case, the terms officially employed
829 in the offices are branco, pardo, and preto. A dark mulatto
*563 physician whom most people would have described as black re-
565 lates that, when he was young /15/ and traveling on a train one day, he was recognized by a friend of his father, and this friend, knowing his father was white, introduced him to the other travelers by saying that, in spite of his appearance, he was really White in origin. "My brother, although darker than I," a morena informant told us, "was once classed as White, perhaps because he had a doctor's diploma."

829 The difficulties of identification and the differences of opinion
*563 among Bahians on the subject of local ethnic types can be easily explained. On account of the lack of unity of the criteria intended for distinguishing Blacks and mulattoes, an anthropologist of Rio de Janeiro divided the colored people of Bahia into two categories: the darker and the less dark (1).

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1. M. Julia Pourchet, Contribuçao ao estudo antropofisico da criança de côr /Contribution

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829 to the anthropophysical study of the colored
*563 child/, Rio de Janeiro, 1939.
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125 The author of these pages has classified, according to their
829 respective photographs, 30 social-club members of the male sex
*563 belonging to the well-educated people of Bahia, and showed them to a young white girl of the middle class, to a métise of modest class, a student of the social sciences, and to a métis in charge of the administration of the same club, asking them to classify them in turn. Here are the descriptions applied according to the judgment of each identifier:

Designation	Number of individuals of each type (1)			
	A	B	C	D
Whites	19	14	21	6
Brancos da terra . . .	1	11	2	-
Morenos	4	-	6	19
Mulattoes	6	5	1	5

1. A, author; B, young white girl; C, métisse student; D, métis functionary.

The four classifications agree only in certain instances: this was a matter of the Whites whose phenotype was obvious; in five cases, three agreed with regard to the classification of a White who was classified by the fourth as moreno; in 14 cases the opinions were divided by half and so on.

829 Most of the light métis are identified as morenos in the registers
*563 in which are inscribed the members of the social clubs, religious
[575] brotherhoods, in the lists of students of an establishment for uni-
[794] versity instruction examined at the end of the investigation. When
[873] it was requested of different persons of the middle class, most of
[125]
[565]

/15 cont./

829 whom practiced a liberal profession and were graduates of the
*563 University of Bahia, to classify according to their type the per-
125 sons carried on the list of physicians and pharmacists registered at
565 the Ministry of Public Health, representatives of the State and
/16/ federal representatives, university professors, members of the local academy of letters, and other associations of the city, there too the term moreno was most often used to designate the métis. Those who used the expression "mulatto" were rare. As
[177] a result of the influence exerted by North American films, one
[192] sometimes hears mention of "colored" /quoted in English/; a local journal described a politician of Bahia with this term, and a woman questioned by us acknowledged being "colored" /quoted in English/.

829 In a recent book a writer of the city sums up the semantic
*563 problems in relation to the characterization of local types in
192 this way: "A light Black is called mulatto, the light mulatto is a moreno, a blond becomes a sarará. As for pardo, no one knows what that is. White fino is said of those persons whose origin and appearance do not show this "margin" thanks to which one infallibly recognizes crossbreeding. And those who are whites of mixed blood do not like to show the portraits of their ancestors" (1).

[113] 1. J. Valadares, Beabá da Bahia /ABC's of Bahia/ 1951, p. 91.

829 The foreigners, who are relatively limited in number in the
*563 city, are easily distinguished by the majority of people. A European with strange manners, speaking Portuguese with great difficulty, or expressing himself in another language, is simply considered a "foreigner," particularly if he has a light and pink skin, blue eyes, and fine, blond hair. A Brazilian showing these characteristics is accused of being a "foreigner type" or a "German
829 type." Foreigners may also be called gringos, whatever their
*563 physical characteristics may be. The Spaniards, who are very
[192] numerous in the grocery business, are sometimes called the "gringos of the grocery business." The Russian, Polish, and

/16 cont./

829 Rumanian Jews who devote themselves to the furniture business or
*563 who practice selling on credit are called in a bloc: the "Russians"; the common people do not know that they are Israelites, and in the majority of cases do not even know the term "Jew." The Syrians, Lebanese, Arabs, and Turks, proprietors of small and medium-sized business houses in the center of the city, are indiscriminately called "Arabs," and their descendants, provided they are recognizable by their features, are the "sons of Arabs." /Ills. 1 and 2 appear here./

/17/ A Minimum of Tension in Bahia Society

633
*563 Bahia is considered one of the most "Brazilian" communities of the whole country because of the extremely limited number of foreigners that its population contains and because it continues to be formed of those same elements that constituted the population of Brazil from the beginning. In the entire State of Bahia, at the time of the 1940 census, there were 204 foreigners per 1,000 Brazilians, grouped for the most part in the capital; in the course of the last ten years this number has very likely increased, but the total population has also grown and maintains its homogeneity. These foreigners form small groups (1)

1. Spaniards, 2,115; Portuguese, 1,912; Syrians, Lebanese, etc., 1,059; Italians, 950; Germans and Austrians, 592; North Americans, 83; European Russians, 168, etc.

distinct from the Bahians through certain physical traits, but above all through their cultural characteristics (those that one calls "Russians" or "Arabs," for example) or through their professional specializations (for example, the Spaniards). An
[578] antagonism between some of these groups and the Brazilians gives rise to moderate discrimination in certain social sectors, but it is rarely expressed by a declared hostility or in an active form of segregation.

/17 cont./

175 Given the isolation in which Brazil remained at least until
439 1808, the moment when for the first time its ports were opened
167 to international commerce, given too the fact that Bahia was
• 829 never a center of massive European immigration, like certain
609 southern states, the foreigner is received by the people of Bahia
*563 with a mixture of curiosity and distrust. At the same time,
the emigrant is easily absorbed here by the milieu and likewise
adapts himself to the customs and norms of local life. The
829 Portuguese emigrants, for example, are put in a special category;
*563 one has the habit of saying that not one of them is ever, properly
speaking Brazilian, but that he is never, properly speaking, a
foreigner either. In spite of the two world wars, one nowhere
notes manifestations of antipathy with regard to German, Austrian,
or Italian emigrants. The nationals of these nations have, in
general, an excellent reputation because they are considered
good workers, because they marry Brazilians and remain in the
country when their businesses prosper. The vast majority of the
population and even the persons who are hostile to the "Russian"
merchants never have anti-Semitic sentiments. When, however,
a Jewish group publicly protested against the presentation of a
European musician accused of having had ties with Hitlerism in
the past, the association that organizes concerts of famous musicians
rejected "this attempt at outside interference dictated by /18/
racial prejudice," declaring that its activities ought to remain
"above all religious, philosophical, political, racial, or class
prejudice." And yet numerous Israelites are members of this
association.

The "Arabs," although living quite isolated in accordance
[443] with their customs, marry Brazilians, and no hostility is ever
[178] manifested with regard to them; at the time when some of them
were carrying on the trade of itinerant vendors of fabrics and
hardware, they were ridiculed somewhat, it is true, but that
stopped with the disappearance of the last peddlers.

[SALVADOR]

/18 cont./

829 365 The irregularities and inadequacies of electric service in the city are attributed by many inhabitants of Bahia to what they call the "contempt of the Americans for the well-being of the people," as if the Americans were the only ones responsible for the operation of the American-Brazilian enterprise that produces electricity for the region. Everything that is or is supposed to be American otherwise enjoys great prestige. There is, however, a foreign group against which (or, more precisely, against the hidden "trust" that it represents) there exists a very strong hostility, although it manifests itself only on certain occasions. It is a matter of emigrants from Spanish Galicia, accused of exploiting the populace owing to the monopoly that they have acquired in the grocery and bakery business. At certain times when tension is particularly strong, as in 1930, and following the rapid rise of the price of commodities of prime necessity at the beginning of the last world war, the populace gave free vent to its discontent by plundering certain Spanish business establishments. But the attitude of the Bahians toward the person of these immigrants is free of lasting animosity, and marriages between the two groups are frequent. The fact remains, however, that the population attributes to the Spaniards the shortage of certain food commodities, especially bread, and it accuses these emigrants of "enriching themselves off of the misery of the people."

829 *563 578 (443) [152] [458] [579] [261]

529 *563 575 743 The recreational associations of the English, Spaniards, Syrians, and Lebanese are frequented by Brazilians. Likewise the hospitals maintained by the Portuguese and Spanish colonies are managed by Brazilian doctors and receive numerous patients from Bahia, white or colored.

795 771 The religion of the Catholic majority is traditionally much more external and ritualistic than dogmatic, the religiosity of a large number of those who call themselves "strict Catholics" being chiefly theoretical. This must have constituted a serious difficulty for the clergy; it is also a subject of astonishment for the visitor who imagines that he will come in contact with "the most Catholic of Brazilian cities." The antagonisms between religious groups are also moderate in this domain and /19/ never affect the

798 621

[SALVADOR]

/19 cont./

[798] social cohesion of the community (1).
[621]

[162] 1. In 1940 the population of the city and of the municipality was made up of 97.49 o/o Roman
[795] Apostolic Catholics; 1.11 o/o Protestants; 0.26 o/o Israelites; 0.62 o/o spiritualists, etc.

[797] The Catholic majority views with an evil eye the activities of foreign Protestant missionaries and condemns particularly the "disloyal methods employed by some of them" and their way of distorting the Church. Protestantism is fought in the pulpit as heresy, but never the Protestants as persons having different characteristics and toward whom one vows hostility. The antago-
[871] nism between Catholics, Protestants, and Presbyterians is also
[777] placed on the purely doctrinal plane; the institutions of learning maintained by Baptists and Presbyterians are attended by Catholic students and enjoy prestige because of their "American methods."

794 As for the candomblés, sanctuaries devoted to the cults of
798 African origin, the current feeling is that these rites are so many barbaric survivals that ought to be done away with, for they are a matter of shame before foreigners and tourists. In a commentary on tourism, a local journal proposes that the visit to candomblés be omitted from excursion programs, "because there can be no propaganda more negative for this Brazilian city four times a hundred years old, which has so many other interesting things to show." These cults, despite everything, enjoy relative freedom and function by virtue of police authorization. They have sometimes been prohibited and their devotees violently dispersed by police forces. Among the Blacks there are many who share the opinions of the Whites on the subject of these rites.

666 Only the rivalry between political parties provokes real
665 tension during the election campaigns. This tension is particularly
578 intense in the controversies in the interior of the State; it never expresses itself other than verbally; individual cases of aggression or actual conflicts between groups belonging to different political parties have become extremely rare. The ethnocentric feelings
[829] of the Bahians reached great vehemence several years ago when the majority of the electors refused to elect as governor of the State a candidate who was not "born in Bahia."

[SALVADOR]

/19 cont./

665 This means that Brazilians born in other States have made
666 careers in different parties of Bahia and have been elected to
578 represent the Bahians at the legislative assembly of the State or
• 829 at the national parliament. The same candidate, moreover,
[646] had been elected governor several years earlier, before this attribute of "foreigner" exerted a decisive influence in the fight led against him.

829 /20/ Brazilian customs condemn all social discrimination;
577 the Bahians, particularly those of the more advanced groups, pride themselves on these traditions of tolerance and liberalism, and consider them proper for forming the very prototype of the cordial Brazilian man whom Gobineau describes: "to be very polished, gracious, very friendly," and whose qualities are defined by a Brazilian sociologist as a mixture of kindness, tolerance, and good
181 manners. Life in Bahia is appreciated and envied by some, criti-
182 cized by others for its slow rhythm, its lack of combativeness, its strict particularism, and for the thousand mechanisms that always work in a way to mitigate the antagonisms and the conflicts between groups and individuals. The French sociologist Roger Bastide said some years ago that it is good "that in Bahia very rapid progress is not at all prejudicial to the qualities of soul that make up its charm."

641 What contributes a great deal toward mitigating the tensions
829 between the groups that confront one another in the society of
186 Bahia is the polarization of dissatisfaction that in all of Brazil, but especially in our city, takes place concerning the idea of "government," that is to say, public authorities in general, the population having the habit of discharging on them its aggressive impulses, imputing to this very vague entity all the evils that beset Bahia.

829 As for race relations, one may state that a certain antagonism
* 563 exists between Blacks and mulattoes. There are, without doubt, some color prejudices in Bahia, but, as a moreno of liberal profession says, "prejudice is not only the doing of Whites; out of fear of being assimilated with the Blacks, the mulatto avoids them and draws closer to the Whites." A number of informants think that

[SALVADOR]

/20 cont./

829 "the mulattoes, especially the lightest ones, are the worst
*563 enemies of other métis and the Blacks. It is they who have the most prejudice and who offer the most resistance to the social ascent of persons of color." These feelings are, in part, the formulation of class anatagonisms between morenos and light mulattoes of high rank, "whites socially speaking," and the darker persons who strive to improve their position in the society.

829 According to a woman occupying a public office, the heads
*563 of her department, who are pardos in different degrees, recom-
466 mend to their subordinates that they hire only attractive candidates and not take into consideration "black or homely women."

/21/

Population Increase and Crossbreeding

*563 A very significant fact and one that testifies to the good racial
162 relations in Bahia is the intensity of crossbreeding. There are in the city approximately 400,000 inhabitants, of whom almost 20 o/o are Blacks, 47 o/o métis, the majority mulattoes, and
*563 33 o/o Whites. Everywhere one sees persons of all ages, inter-
571 mingled without any distinction of type, men and women, gathered in the most frequented places, commenting on the events of the day, appraising the coming and going in the streets or discussing politics and sports, drinking in the cafés, walking in the environs and on the beaches, making purchases in the shops and in the markets, working in the mills, in the yards, in business firms and in the public administrations and the offices, traveling by means of public transportation, taking part in religious festivals and civic commemorations, without the least constraint. Friends,
[576] mulattoes, Whites, and Blacks, congratulate one another with a great display of embraces and handshakes; they sit down next to one another in the theater, in churches, in cafés, or in streetcars
*563 with the greatest ease. In accordance with local customs, con-
565 firmed by Pierson (1).
829

1. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 421.

[SALVADOR]

/21 cont./

*563 the Bahians congregate together or avoid one another much more
565 in terms of their social rank than of their color or their race.
•829 Crossbreeding is not forbidden by any law and comes up against
[656] the disapprobation of opinion only to the extent that it affects the
[626] structure of classes firmly established in the country: upper strata made up almost exclusively of Whites, that is to say, persons of white phenotype or at least "socially white," lower strata made up chiefly of colored people; a classification which makes classes and racial types approximately coincide, without, however, making them identical.

175 From the early days of Portuguese colonization there has been
*563 a large number of colored persons in Bahia. In the beginning the
[595] colonists mixed largely with the tupi /Tupi/ Indian women of the region, living with them in a state of concubinage and often
[567] polygamy. Slavery having been abolished in the first half of the
[641] seventeenth century for the aborigines, and civil and political rights having been granted them a short time afterward, cross-
[829] breeding continued through marriage. Thus, today a large number of morenos explain their dark color by boasting about some ancestor pegado a dente de cachorro, that is to say, captured like an animal that one hunts in the virgin forest in the wild state.
[161] But the number of natives decreased rapidly and had little influ-
[167] ence on the formation of the Bahian type. The opposite /22/
[567] occurred with the Africans brought by the thousands and thousands to work on the sugar-cane plantations. The crossbreeding of Portuguese and Brazilians with Africans and Blacks born in Brazil was made possible and even favored by different factors, among them the scarcity of white women in the initial period, the slave system, the laxness of social control with regard to male sexual behavior, the physical and psychological charms of black women, in particular the minas Blacks, natives of the Costa da Mina in
[829] the western Sudan. It was commonly said at that time that, in order to see beautiful Negresses, it was necessary to go to Bahia (1);

1. F. Biard, Deux années au Brésil /Two years in Brazil/, Paris, 1862.

[SALVADOR]

/22 cont./

175 a European traveler describes them as gigantic women with the
*563 opulent figures of ancient goddesses carved in blocks of black
[829] marble, who attracted attention by their "wealth of incomparable vigor" (2).

2. A. d'Assier, op. cit., p. 196.

These were the women whom the Whites preferred as concubines.
[829] Certain types of mulattresses and of morenas, especially when they combined the traits of the two races from which they sprang, were also very much sought after by the Whites.

*563 None of the other Brazilian States that have a large number of Blacks presents as high a percentage of crossbreeding as Bahia. This proves that this State has been the most important Afro-
[567] European ethnic melting-pot of Brazil. In truth, it is in our city and in its environs, an ancient center of concentration of slaves,
*563 that the crossing has taken place with the greatest intensity. The
162 ratio between the number of Blacks and of métis, according to the 1940 census, is 1 to 2.55 in Bahia, whereas in States such as Minas Gerais, which has relatively the same number of Blacks, it is only 1 to 1; in other States, such as Maranhão and Piaui, which have, respectively, 27 o/o and 32 o/o Blacks, this ratio
[829] is 1 to 0.93 and 0.71. This results from the fact that in Bahia the factors of segregation and of discrimination that lie heavily on the darkest of its inhabitants are much less than in the other
175 States. The proportion of pure Blacks began to decrease from
*563 the second half of the last century, slave traffic having been
567 forbidden, and especially from 1888, the date of the definitive
161 abolition of slavery, when numerous ex-slaves emigrated to the more prosperous regions of southern Brazil. At present, unfavor-
*563 able social and economic factors influence the conditions of life,
161 the birth and mortality rates of this group, and explain its progressive diminution (3).

[113] 3. Thales de Azevedo, Civilização e mestiçagem /Civilization and Crossbreeding/, Livr. Progresso Edit., Bahia, 1951, p. 63.

[SALVADOR]

/22 cont./

175 829 567 182 797 The generally gentle and humane treatment that the owners reserved for their slaves and the efforts made by the Catholic clergy, from the beginning of the slave trade, to try to incorporate the /23/ Africans into the Catholic religion played an important role in the establishment of good relations between races in Bahia as throughout Brazil. Contrary to what occurred in the 175 171 829 567 797 other colonial nations, where the aborigines and the imported slaves were kept in a state of segregation, like unassimilable "savages," in Brazil the natives and the Blacks were baptized, catechized, and admitted into the Church as men. Thus, numerous slaves, baptized Negroes, were no longer considered "beasts" and became "Christians," with the same title as the European colonists, having to endure neither hostility nor religious discrimination. They were taught the Christian doctrine, and the 175 797 198 567 preachers endeavored to speak to them in their languages, chiefly in nagô, which had become a sort of lingua franca in which the Africans of different origins were able to understand one another. They intermarried; their marriage having been consecrated 175 567 by the Church, this protected them when their masters intended to separate the spouses or sell one of the partners; they received 79 [585] the sacraments; they acted as witnesses in religious proceedings [564] and participated as acolytes in religious ceremonies; they marched in the processions, carrying the standards and emblems of their brotherhoods; they were buried in the Christian cemeteries, the owners of slaves being obliged to call the priest in time to assist the dying. No one pretends by that to claim that their lives were free from suffering or that the Negroes were thus completely integrated in Catholicism. The clergy, the owners, and the civil authorities always allowed them some freedom concerning certain proceedings of their pagan cults and never forced them to embrace the official religion. They likewise permitted them to amuse themselves in their way by dances, songs, ceremonies (batuques), banquets in the manner of those of their countries of origin. From that comes this Catholicism somewhat mixed with [177] fetishist beliefs and practices that constitutes the religion of a [791] large part of the colored people of Bahia (1).

[113] 1. Roger Bastide, "Religion and the Church in

[SALVADOR]

/25/ Opinions about Colored People

829 *563 538 The presence of so many colored people in their region has never constituted a preoccupation or a mark of inferiority for the people of Bahia. The authors of school manuals for primary and secondary education, the political men in their election campaigns, the preachers in their sermons, the journalists in the writing of editorials and news refer to the important contribution of the African slaves to the Brazilian economy and praise certain traits of theirs, natural kindness, good nature, resignation, with which they have enriched the psychology of the nation. In the folklore, in tourist propaganda, in the caricatures that accompany political criticisms, Bahia is generally represented as the Bahian mulattress wearing the characteristic costume of women affiliated with the candomblé. Even in the publications intended for the foreigner, the authorities never intentially reduce the high percentage of the descendants of Africans in the local population (1).

[113] 1. Cf. Impressoes do Brasil no século vinte /Impressions of Brazil in the Twentieth Century/, Lloyd's Greater Britain Publishing Co. Ltd., London, 1913, p. 873.

*563 [204] Condemning the attitude of a professor accused of making humiliating remarks to a colored student, a newspaper of Bahia wrote that even if there were no other reasons for condemning racial discrimination in Bahia, "there will always remain the great contribution that the black race has made to its civilization, to its development." The professor, in his reply, claimed that he too recognized the merit of "many colored people who have elevated themselves so much in society by their personal worth, the fruit of study and of work."

*563 829 Some authors, however, in the past and under the influence of a simplistic evolutionism, have expressed the conviction that the colored people represented a misfortune for Bahia, because of the "psychic inferiority" of the Negro. One of them regarded the black element as a "refractory element in civilization" and

[SALVADOR]

/25 cont./

*563 829 condemned crossbreeding because "in all the countries colonized by the white and colored races there is a substantial difference between the aims of civilization and the savage impulses of individuals of mixed blood or of inferior blood. Civilized or not, the natives, the Africans and their descendants never entirely lose the barbaric customs." Even today such an opinion is very widespread, although it is expressed very discreetly in conversations and almost never in writing; an intellectual who considers himself "progressive," even if he thought that way, would avoid openly expressing this thought. One sometimes hears it said that the slowness of economic development /26/ and the resistance of Bahia to cultural evolution are due to the large number of Blacks in its population, "because the Blacks do not have any ambition." "Anyone who does not think so," an economist suggests in an article devoted to the advantages of foreign immigration, "does not recognize our historic, economic, and racial precedents." "During the period of slavery," he continues, "the Blacks lived like beasts of burden, as ignorant as animals, without family organization (their servile condition made it impossible for them), they brought with them numerous endemic diseases and fetishist practices from their continent of origin; finally, with abolition, the slaves left the fields and came to the cities in order to beg, pillage, give themselves up to all sorts of vices, and to cause all sorts of nuisances." In other parts of Brazil it is not rare to hear the same opinions expressed about our State. Toward the middle 829 of the last century, an author of great renown wrote from Rio de Janeiro: "Let us make a parallel between the development of the province of Bahia, which had relatively the largest number of Blacks, and the Rio Grande do Sul, which contains the strongest center of European colonists! While agriculture, commerce, and the revenues of the first decrease visibly, the other province prospers in all spheres..." (1).

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1. A. C. Tavares Bastos, Cartas do solitário /Letters of the Solitary/, (1862), 3rd edition, Rio de Janeiro, 1938, p. 164.

[SALVADOR]

/26 cont./

829 458 439 175 This author here alludes to the disturbances that the economy of Bahia underwent from the time of the suppression of the slave traffic and Europe's adoption of beet sugar, which brought about the almost total stoppage of the importation of sugar cane, the basis of the wealth of our city.

829 *563 As for the mulattoes, while some declare that there is not "a chapter of our political or social history in which the remarkable personality of a métis does not glitter with particular brilliance," others, along with some praise, make strong reservations. A jurist and scholar of great reputation (2)

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2. Almachio Diniz, Historia racial do Brasil, São Paulo, 1934, p. 155.

considered the description of the mulatto given by an author of Bahia excellent: "The mulattoes are in general vain, intelligent, [157] and inclined toward the pleasures of life in society... They have good hearts" (3).

3. Sa Oliveira, op. cit., p. 21.

Although many people consider the Black an inferior being with regard to intelligence, almost no one questions the talent and the intellectual possibilities of the mulattoes. "If," says another economist from Bahia, "we turn toward the intellectual qualities and characteristic morals of the modern civilized man, the classic exponent of which is the European: universality of spiritual horizon, logical and systematic mind, technical gifts, tenacity and energy in the struggle for individual or social rights, and if we consider our most representative men, that is /27/ to say, our strongest personalities, we see among them many Blacks and mulattoes." And he concludes by asserting that the Afro-Brazilians are by no means inferior to the descendants of immigrants who came from more highly civilized and more purely

[SALVADOR]

/27 cont./

• 829 *563 [113] white countries (1).

1. Romulo Almeida, interview for the Diario Trabelhista, 28, 11, Rio de Janeiro, 1946.

829 *563 537 157 The mulattoes, according to others, are supposed to be affected in their manner of speaking, wishing to display their erudition. The comment of a journalist about a politician is characteristic of this way of thinking: "Without complexes or repressions... he reasons dispassionately, which is astonishing on the part of a red curiboca (2)

[192] [826]

2. Curiboca, métis of Indian and Black; roxo, bluish red, a warm and dark shade of the pigmentation of the skin of certain métis.

like him. Not having the tropical verbosity of mulatto good speakers..., he is mentally a Nordic who sets forth his ideas without the cerebral complications such as are esteemed among the bachelor /referring to the academic degree/ morenos of our country" (3).

[154]

3. "This tendency to use an elaborate language seems to be a sort of compensation for a feeling of inferiority," says V. L. Bicudo in "Attitudes raciales des Noirs et des mulâtres de São Paulo /Racial attitudes of the Blacks and mulattoes of São Paulo/," Sociologia, Vol. IX, No. 3, São Paulo, 1947, p. 211.

829 *563 157 Opinions about the mulattoes, especially about those who try to advance themselves by means of intellectual activities, always throw into relief the weak points of their personality and almost always give an unfavorable interpretation of their character. A literary critic of Bahia, commenting on the works of the greatest Brazilian novelist, the mulatto Machado de Assis, expresses this

/27 cont./

829 opinion in this way: "What marks our métis even more, as a
*563 result of the residues accumulated in his soul by social evolution,
157 is the lack of temperament, of psychology, and of character, with the consequences that this inevitably brings on the plane of the mental life. If a Brazilian mulatto is intellectually capable and sometimes superior, he is, on the other hand, never well-bred, stable, balanced, or energetic. It is from the moral and psychological point of view that he reveals a great inferiority, which cannot fail to influence the social harmony, given the part that he takes in Brazilian life" (4).

[113] 4. Afrânio Coutinho, A filosofia de Machado de Assis /The philosophy of Machado de Assis/, Rio de Janeiro, 1940, p. 80.

For all these reasons the words "mulatto" and "métis" can be used to throw into relief the bad moral qualities of a colored person, as though his pigmentation or his ethnic traits aggravated his shortcomings. In the course of a press dispute someone wrote: "these kinds of mulattoes who surround you," "this métis who gives you his support"; but the discussion had nothing to do with the racial problem. An anonymous epigram that circulated through the city a few years ago about a certain intellectual began with the words mulato pachola (5).

[192] 5. Pachola = lazy, vain, braggart, qualifications that are very often attributed to cultured mulattoes, to such a point that the insulting adjective pachola is at present attributed almost solely to persons of this type.

829 /28/ There is, however, in spite of this, no active hostility against
*563 the mulattoes as a group. Judgments such as those we have related are stereotypes applied especially to individuals who, by virtue of their superior education or aspirations more ambitious than those of their group, tend to detach themselves from it. Let us remember,

[SALVADOR]

/28 cont./

• 829 moreover, that, in certain cases, they are applied to persons who
* 563 actually strive to compensate for their feeling of inferiority by an affected manner of speaking and behavior.

/29/ Color Is a Mere Accident

The expression "black with a white soul" is used as much in Bahia as in the rest of the world, wherever it is believed that a Black, in order to be good, must necessarily possess the qualities of the White. It is most significant that such a way of thinking finds followers even among colored people. The mother, morena, [115] of one of our informants said that "the Black is black inside and out," and that if she were to marry again she would certainly never 829 marry a man as dark as her husband. In a publication in which, 20 years ago, an association of Blacks commemorated the first * 563 centenary of its founding, one can read on the first page: "If we 538 examine the archives of the society or if we leaf through its books, [577] we shall see there this contrast: black men having a very high ideal, perfect characters, irreproachable sentiments, and, above all, very noble aspirations."

There are also, fortunately, those who deny the intellectual and moral inferiority of the Black. In an article appended to the statutes of another organization of colored people, it is explained that "what happens is that the Black, because he is poor, lacks the necessary tranquillity to which, for him as for the white man, is owed intellectual progress, the source of comfort and joy. Moreover, always tortured by the injustice that pursues him, he should have become a rebel rather than the efficient collaborator that he is, an element in the continuous ascent and moral and intellectual improvement of the Brazilian population." There is in these judgments, along with a complaint, the refutation of the theory of the innate mental inferiority of the black and the idea that there is a contrast between the dark color of the skin and noble aspirations.

[SALVADOR]

/29 cont./

829 *563 Colored persons often repeat that "color is a mere accident," an expression that goes back very far in Bahia. A famous dark mulatto intellectual, president of an important scientific association, stated in a speech, in which he denounced a decision of the League of Nations on the discriminatory treatment to be applied to the human races, that: "To discuss the rights of man, even human dignity, as if they depended on an accident, that of color, is to repudiate centuries of struggle among the most glorious in the history of civilization" (1).

[113] 1. Teodoro Sampaio, in Rev. Instituto Geogr. e Historico da Bahia, No. 45, 1919, p. 179.

A black judge, who is at the head of an association of colored people, also considers that color "is an accident to which one [267] pays no attention among us." That is the reason why few families of the highest classes /30/ of society develop in their children an awareness of their own type, or, if they do, they never associate with this notion a feeling of inferiority or resentment. A Black relates that he did hear his parents make comments about the disadvantages of being of dark color, but the way in which they did it was neither bitter nor hostile. A pardo educator believes that it is not necessary to conceal from the child a feeling about his color, for "that, being purely physical, is of no importance." The attitude of a girl, likewise parda, whose father, White, but married to a mulattress, does not like people of dark color, is different; she herself does not like them, although she claims to feel no shame about her "quality." Her feeling of inferiority is clearly revealed when she says that she has a friend, son of Syrians, who wants to marry her, although of a "race superior" to her own.

829 *563 565 Among certain individuals the consciousness of class goes beyond the consciousness of race. A mulatto official relates that when he was a child he did not feel any different from his companions at school and play from a city in the interior of the State; it was only when his family became very poor that he realized

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/30 cont./

829 he was a mulatto. His own mother called his attention to the
*563 difference that existed between him and his friends, but those
565 who were of his type and who had money continued to regard themselves as Whites and to be treated as such. An economist, darker than the official we have just quoted, states that the extreme poverty in which he lived during his childhood did not permit him to think of his color. An intellectual of a dark color says that when he was an adolescent he never thought of his type; no experiences previous to this period were associated with an
[572] awareness of his color. The same thing seems to happen among white children when lasting relationships are allowed to be established between them and their companions at school and play, without discrimination as to type. Numerous informants of very dark color report that they still maintain several friendships made at school with finos Whites. Even among the adults there are some who claim not to have ever been conscious of their type. An
[115] instructor told us that he was never preoccupied with his pigmentation, because he regarded that as having nothing to do with his difficulties or with his professional life. It is clear that statements
[124] of this nature cannot be accepted solely at their face value; they
[123] could, as a matter of fact, be defense reactions against the inquiries of the investigators.

*563 There are nevertheless persons who do not succeed in over-
829 coming the inferiority complex resulting from their "quality."
571 "A look is enough to upset a person of dark color," said a /31/ very black university student. Sometimes when he had been treated as a "Negro" he was irritated and felt humiliated. "But I have succeeded in overcoming this feeling," he adds; "I too am able to treat other "Whites" without antipathy as soon as I see that they are prepared to be pleasant with me." Without doubt there exists "a slight repression" among the Blacks, "but it is never intense and ought to be overcome," states a mulatto lawyer, and he adds that "such a feeling can give birth to a servile attitude"; one of his colleagues, of the same color as he, a very competent and industrious man, does not have the courage to plead cases for himself and continues to be simply the assistant of a white lawyer.

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/31 cont./

829 of a white lawyer. Certain colored persons, finally, claim to be
*563 proud of this color. A young girl of high rank claims to have no
regrets about being black and insists that her true "quality" be
[154] recorded in all official documents. This may also be a defense
reaction, especially since this informant has a personality clearly
marked by a frustration complex associated with her physical condition. It is said that when an employee hesitated about the term by which he had to describe, in an official document, the color of a very well-known man of liberal profession, the latter, guessing his difficulty, told him to write "mulatto," "for," he added, "I am a mulatto without any doubt."

829 Certain individuals are accused of isolating themselves in
571 order not to feel obliged to live in the "inferior" world to which
*563 they belong because of the pigmentation of their skin. This
arouses a certain resentment on the part of the Blacks who attribute this behavior to the shame that these persons have about their type, and to the desire never to be seen "among those of
[184] their category." Our informants state that such a way of behaving
[562] is common among the women of the middle or upper class.
[565] Nevertheless the tendency to accept such segregation is not general. A dark black official relates his experiences thus: "Racial problems do not affect me. I am very well received everywhere, even among the most distinguished families; I give Portuguese lessons to their sons, and they value my friendship. A well-bred Black has access to all milieus. There is no discrimination among the men; it is among the women that one perceives this tendency very
[576] clearly. Some are content to be discourteous, avoiding shaking the hand of Blacks whom they meet among the Whites. Nevertheless, when they take a fancy to a colored man, they are capable of behaving foolishly." "Undoubtedly," he adds, "in certain milieus I feel isolated." It is interesting to note that this informant is one of the few who are concerned about discrimination, but he, like most of the others, is without rancor and is confident that he is compensated for it by the good relations that he maintains with his /32/ white colleagues in the important State administration where he works, where he has occupied positions of management, and where he has had to perform missions calling for great responsibility.

[SALVADOR]

/32 cont./

• 829 *563 156 On the whole, the Blacks speak with calmness, and, even when they are very reserved toward the investigator, they show a certain psychological assurance and a good adjustment to the conditions of life in Bahia. Here, too, there are obviously exceptions: one man practicing a liberal profession and who is thought to have had worries because of his color, proves reticent and even reserved. "He feels inferior because of the fact that he is black," other Blacks say; "for this reason he frequently causes trouble." The informants state that there are mulattoes who, wishing to conceal their origin, avoid appearing in the company of their own parents of black color. One young man practicing a liberal [593] profession, highly esteemed, is covered with praise because he does not have such prejudices; although married to a White, he goes everywhere with his mother, a Black of the most beautiful black, and introduces her to all his friends. On the other hand, another man of the same milieu and the same "quality" is criticized, because, according to some, "he does not wish to be black and for that reason he hides his old mother." Another Black is regarded as full of prejudice and as a racist, "because he prefers to go around with the Whites and he likes to appear in public with women whiter of complexion than of reputation." Some of his colleagues of the same profession and the same social rank regard him as one "repressed," one who is ashamed of being black. "And," it is added, "there are many like him, who, if they could, would be white!"

829 *563 576 There is no doubt but that certain Whites, including light and dark mulattoes, treat the Blacks and colored persons of humble social class with a certain air of superiority. They do so more rarely with individuals of the same rank as they. To say to someone's face that he is inferior because of his color would be a serious offense, according to the etiquette that governs the relations be- [671] tween individuals of different types in Bahia. A moreno educator, native of a northern State, says that during the nine years that he lived in Bahia he was able to observe this mutual respect between persons of different "qualities," provided they were of the same social rank, while in his State colored people are treated with contempt.

[SALVADOR]

/32 cont./

• 829 contempt. In the highest strata of Bahia society, our informants
*563 say, a colored person generally does not suffer humiliations. It
565 may even be that he is recognized as belonging to the most re-
156 spected groups. A very dark Black practicing a liberal profession is irritated because in the organization where he works many people who do not know him take him for an office boy or an employee of inferior category. A female official, /Figs. 3 and 4 appear here/ /33/ on the contrary, says that she and her family are fortunate and do not attribute any of their difficulties to the fact that they are dark mulattoes. "If I have never been able to pursue a career as I wished, it is because my father was poor and died young. For that reason I always say at home that we must not speak of certain things... Some people might believe that we suffer because of our color."

[562] Among girls, who are more accustomed to discrimination than men, the feeling of inferiority can take quite peculiar forms; thus, a university student claims not to be disgusted with her color, "but she would like to be less homely." Finally, while not acknowledging it, a black woman practicing a liberal profession let the same frustration complex show by saying that she was very discouraged, when she was young, to hear herself called "a pretty little Black."

829 An important aspect of the problem is created by the fact
*563 that the Blacks and the dark mulattoes of urban working circles,
565 to the extent that they are aware of their civil and political rights,
571 are less inhibited in their behavior in front of Whites. The latter feel resentment at the way in which "impudent Negroes" speak loudly in the street, pass in front of them, and do not yield them their place in the tramways and other means of transportation. These incidents take on an aggressive significance in the eyes of those who lay claim to being the dominant class by virtue of their physical or social appearance. In many cases the Blacks do not make use of their color as a distinctive sign of their group. An important mutual-aid association for Blacks has taken as its emblem two white hands held out to each other as a symbol of solidarity. In one of its reports this same organization personifies its own activity by a picture representing a white woman carrying a white child and two other white children with European features, who hold her embraced.

/36 cont./

*563 excessively humble and submissive, others are pretentious,
565 vicious, excessive in their manners, desirous of putting them-
571 selves forward." Two Blacks of liberal profession repeat almost
576 the same thing: "Color does not have a direct influence, but it entails certain consequences. Colored people, because of their origin, are humble, have customs that are peculiar to them, and are not prepared for the life of society. Their manners attract attention and displease well-bred people. Because of this, the persons belonging to this class and who detach themselves from it suffer from prejudices that hold sway over them. When one sees a Black elevate himself and when one has to deal with him, one always asks oneself whether he will have bad manners. It is only when one begins to know him that this impression is dispelled.

*563 No less important is adherence to the moral standards of the
565 higher classes in order to be accepted there. According to a highly esteemed and skilled mulatto of liberal profession, "the one who merits respect is respected, whatever his color may be" (1).

[167]
[567]
•[829]
[113]

1. Among the Yoruba, who made up a considerable part of the African slaves imported to Bahia, one often hears it said in the course of discussions on the subject of the social situation and classification that "one respects the one who respects himself," cf. W. R. Bascom, "Social Status, Wealth, and Individual Differences among the Yoruba," Am. Anthropologist, Vol. 53, No. 4, Part 1, Oct.-Dec., 1951, p. 504.

An amiable character also facilitates ascent and living with the Whites. As much among the latter as among colored persons, it is said of a dark mulatto educator that he is highly esteemed because of his good character, his gentle and subdued manners; likewise, the success of a Black of liberal profession /37/ is attributed to his communicative temperament, his joviality, and his even temper. But inasmuch as the problem of race relations,

/38 cont./

*563 565 554 571 [124] [829] of Bahia, had some difficulty approaching some of the persons thus mentioned. In certain cases, however, he was able to verify that the imputations mentioned above are nothing but the informants' reactions of resentment against people who are much higher or whom they judge superficially because they do not know them personally. A number of persons questioned even showed great interest in race relations, declaring they had read numerous Brazilian or foreign books, had seen films on this subject, and liked to discuss this problem with persons belonging to the same type and to the same professional and social status as they; there were even two who declared they had thought a good deal about writing down their observations on this subject. In only one case a mulatto official replied with a certain irritation that this problem was not important and that the Blacks of Bahia did not elevate themselves socially because they were very "backward and bold."

*563 565 /39/ Interracial Marriages

For colored people, interracial marriage is a means of reaching the higher classes. Individuals with a lighter skin have the greatest possibilities of becoming white socially, and marriage between colored people and Whites gives the former prestige and offers them the prospect of having children closer to the preferred type.

*563 [585] No law in Brazil forbids marriage between members of different races. The candidates for a civil or religious marriage simply present themselves before the authorities of the State or of the Church, provided with the necessary papers, such as certificate of birth or baptism, in which the type or the color are mentioned only for the purposes of identification.

The number of marriages between individuals who differ with regard to color is very high in Bahia. Out of 222 unions concluded [162] some years ago, the man and woman were of the same color in 34 o/o of the cases; in 43 o/o the man was darker than the woman,

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*563 557 the advances of dark men, but accept those of Whites, however disrespectful. That is why, he explains, they either become concubines of the latter, or else they do not marry.

*563 • 829 826 832 The white and blond woman, on the other hand, is represented as being strongly attracted by men with a very pigmented skin. A light mulatto, regarded very highly in his profession, is not attracted by dark women, although he admits that they are striking and pretty; he prefers the "Whites, very white." According to what he said, many men of his kind have this same inclination, quite independently of the idea of "purifying the race." He adds that the finas Whites have a real taste for the Blacks, whom they consider particularly virile and strong, and they do not take those who have manners that are too refined. Other informants, on the contrary, speak without enthusiasm of this type of women, whom they consider cold and frail. "Color gives health," says one of them, and he adds that even the Whites think so. "Very light women are repugnant to some men," declares one métis; "I even know a European who has an inclination to vomit when he sees one of them." All these opinions on the very white woman are [171] of the same order as those that in the United States, according to John Dollard (1).

1. "It seems possible that the image of the white woman is in part preserved from sexual thoughts and allusions of the same order, while the black woman tends to bear the entire brunt of uncontrolled sexual desire... If the black women are represented as sexually desirable in the white popular imagination, the black men are represented as particularly virile and experienced in this domain." Caste and Class in a Southern Town, New York, 1949, p. 1 ff. [113]

serve as protection against colored men and sometimes even against Whites. The morena, moreover, is regarded as the most ardent feminine type and even, sexually speaking, the most accessible. Numerous informants who have a plan to marry Whites explain or imply that they are looking for light, socially white métisses.

[SALVADOR]

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*563 • 829 One of the reasons why mixed marriages are desired is, as we have already said, that thanks to them it is possible to "improve one's own race." Marriages of Blacks with Blacks only prolong the situation, thinks a black man of liberal profession who is considered a racist. "The mulatto son is accepted better and does not suffer what his family has suffered." The finer features of children of mixed blood, declares another informant, facilitates their social integration. "To have a white father," he adds, "is in itself an advantage." A mulatto of dark complexion re- [671] lates that he started to work in very humble and arduous occupations, but his situation began to improve /43/ when a very important politician learned that he was the son of one of his white friends. He then obtained office work, which left him time to study until he passed his university examinations. Another man practicing a liberal profession believes that one of the assets that he had during his childhood was to have a white father, who, although of modest means, was intimately acquainted with the politicians of the small locality in which he lived.

As for the particular cases of our informants who are married to white or at least very light women, it is interesting to note that none of them has invoked one of the reasons set forth above in order to justify this preference. Some say they first had a dark fiancée who died or who broke the engagement; it is because of this that they ended up by marrying a light woman. Others do not seek any justification. One of them said: "There are many Whites whom I do not like to see at my house. Nevertheless I married a White of Portuguese descent." Another reason given by some informants is that dark girls refuse young men of their type even when they are graduates and have good positions. It seems, however, that this information is somewhat exaggerated. In the white families in which many of these girls are servants, our informants add, they continually hear it said that "they must avoid these bold and ignorant Blacks." But this warning refers to Blacks of humble circumstances, not to those of a high social or professional rank. The dark boys, said a Black, begin to recognize this difficulty as soon as they reach the age of 20: "That is why they

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*563 829 look for light girls." Obviously this question is not one that can be solved with the material of an investigation like ours, but there seems to be no doubt that we are confronted here with reasons intended to mask the wish for a union with white women. This design, moreover, should be interpreted with the help of psychoanalysis and other techniques for investigating personality problems.

In Bahia there are some distinguished Blacks, particularly in the liberal professions, who are married to Whites or to women much lighter than they are. This fact is mentioned with some emphasis and with ill-concealed pride by some persons of dark color, although such cases are also the object of criticism. Very often the women belong to milieus inferior to those to which they themselves belong, "for in the higher classes, although marriages between mulattoes and morenos are frequent, the opposition is still strong against marriages between persons who are very /44/ far apart on the color scale" (1).

[565] [626]

1. Donald Pierson, op. cit.

*563 565 554 The lower the man's status, the less difficult a mixed marriage is for him within his class. That is to say, it is much easier for a Black of intermediate and inferior groups to marry a White of his social class than for a Black of a higher class to marry a girl of his own milieu. Moreover, the less great the difference between the man's and the woman's type, the less great will be the opposition to be overcome in whatever milieu it may be. The marriage of a light man with a dark woman, especially if she is much more pigmented than he, encounters very marked opposition in all milieus, although the opinions about the morena with fine features and the color of jambo make this type desirable for certain Whites, particularly for Portuguese immigrants and somewhat for Germans. A dark woman who marries a White is much more exposed to the hostility of her husband's family than a dark man who marries a light or white woman. In order to explain this in part it is necessary not to forget that, the family in Bahia

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*563 829 The Whites justify their opposition to marriages with Blacks, not only by ideologies concerning the mental and moral inferiority of the Black, but also by an "instinctive" repulsion to certain organic characteristics of Africans and their close descendants. A mulatto, reared among Europeans, expresses this attitude by saying that "it is not so much the color prejudice that is strong in Bahia as the instinctive repulsion of the white race for the taint of the sister race when it is pure or almost pure: bad odor, color, etc., which does not fail to provoke disagreeable comments about the descendants of Ham." It should be noted that, *563 829 828 147 concerning the "bad odor," that of the Blacks is regarded as something inherent in their nature and thus irremediable, the disagreeable odor of the Portuguese and the other immigrants being attributed solely to the lack of body care. This conception puts the Black in a special and inferior psychological category, many Whites not knowing that they themselves emit an odor intolerable to the Asiatics and to the Blacks (1).

*563 829 757 826

1. It is interesting to note what happens in blood transfusion. When this was done directly from donor to recipient, often the white patient or his family preferred white donors, showing annoyance when the donor was mulatto or black. At present, with the system of preserved blood, almost no one asks what the "quality" of the donor is, except Jews and certain foreigners, especially Europeans who demand blood from members of their family or their "race." In the first instance, what motivated the attitude of the Whites was above all the fact that the donor was lying in a bed parallel to that of the sick person, a situation recalling the intimacy of two persons who sleep side by side.

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The antagonism of the
/47 cont./ inhabitants of Bahia against the
*563 441 578 829 Spanish merchants is expressed, aside from the manifestations pointed out in another chapter, by the belief that they are responsible for the discrimination that is practiced against colored people in certain recreational clubs. In the trade of textiles and
*563 441 464 petty retail objects, such as the Syrians, Lebanese, Arabs, and Turks carry on in little shops, there are no longer many openings possible for colored people. The Arab merchants accept colored employees to work at the counter in their establishments, but, since these are generally modest family enterprises, their few light descendants of mixed blood or morenos remain in the lower or intermediate strata of the population.

*563 441 464 472 829 In the offices of large export or import firms made up in part of Europeans (Germans, English, Swiss), colored persons are admitted and may obtain positions carrying some responsibility, but they rarely reach the rank of owners. The European merchants, numerous informants say, have the reputation of being liberal with their employees and other colored persons with whom they do business or who collaborate in their activities: harbor services, transport, transit, navigation. A wealthy, dark mulatto merchant states that his transport enterprise works a great deal for large
/48/ foreign firms: "The English are particularly pleasant in that they help their colored employees and promote them to the secretariat of management." They often bring them gifts from Europe, invite them to their clubs, and are happy when some of
[191] [186] them speak their language. "The German merchants who had very large firms in Bahia in the old days were very good to their colored assistants; they were very jealous of their language, however, and seemed not to like it at all when a Black spoke German. Some European firms honor their employees, even the Blacks, when they complete 20 or 30 years of service and give them bonuses on
[555] this occasion. But they do not promote them to important posts, sometimes because of their incompetence. The same thing does not happen with Brazilian firms, which are not accessible to colored people."

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*563 441 472 829 A fact known in Bahia is that during one of the two world wars an important German firm transferred the responsibility for its warehouses to one of its employees, a moreno, who had always been its confidential agent and who proved in this situation that he was really faithful by subsequently loyally returning the goods that had been entrusted to him. A mulatto merchant, [452] owner of a warehouse, recalls that German firms helped small Brazilian merchants a great deal, no matter what their physical characteristics were, by granting them credit facilities. "It was [464] in this way that this firm developed, with the help of Germans," he says, "at the time when the large Portuguese firms, formerly the most important, did not offer any facilities to colored people and did not even allow them to work in their offices." The ownership of firms was almost always transferred by the familial route [581] by means of marriages between the most capable employees and the daughters of owners and associates, which explains why the management of these firms always remained with the Portuguese and their descendants. One and the same firm could, moreover, in certain cases give birth to two or three other firms of the same structure, thanks to the competence of the owners' sons, who, with the aid of their parents, set themselves up on their own.

*563 441 472 871 555 A wealthy contractor thinks that it is owing to his black color that he did not progress in the modest employment that he had in an important commercial firm. In order to advance, he says, he was obliged to give up commerce and devote himself to jobs as a contractor. It is evident that the stagnation of some employees in occupations of little importance arises, in the majority of cases, from their incompetence, it being a fact that in Bahia, even today, but especially in the very recent past, the /Figs. 5 and 6 appear here/ /49/ young men who intended to go into commerce had not completed secondary studies, or showed themselves [464] incapable of continuing them. This situation is tending to improve, but the majority of minor employees is still made up of young colored men coming from poor families and from a very low level of education. These young people therefore have only minimal possibilities for elevating themselves in careers where success depends a great deal either on the importance of capital invested or on administrative knowledge.

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The large stores dealing in textiles, fashions, jewelry, and women's articles prefer, for the sale of the displays, employees who "look well," a euphemism for designating persons who are white or approaching it in appearance. Only a few years ago one of the largest stores in the city put an advertisement in the papers offering positions to saleswomen "of sound health, of white color, and at least 18 years of age." An informant relates that her sister, in spite of finos features, was not accepted in a very important store. In vain she made herself up attractively, arranged her hair, which is glossy and beautiful, and dressed with elegance; she was not accepted. The manageress told her that she preferred saleswomen with light hair. "The real reason," our informant explains, "is that the clientele does not like to be waited on by saleswomen of dark complexion. The colored girls, when they read announcements in the newspapers asking for employees of good appearance, do not even try to get the job, for they know very well that Whites are preferred; it is only due to great influence that they may be accepted." Another girl with moderately pigmented skin and slightly curly hair presented herself as a secretary in a large store, but the person in charge of personnel told her (and other candidates of the same type as she) that she was very sorry, but the firm preferred light girls. Someone who was present at the interview declared that it was a Portuguese employee associated with the firm who introduced this "racism" in that establishment. In a very famous firm dealing in women's articles, belonging to foreigners, only morenas finas or Whites are accepted. Almost all the employees of both sexes in the stores on the most central and the most important streets are white or morenos. Even in the more modest commercial spheres the situation is almost the same. In approximately 150 small or medium-sized stores dealing in textiles, haberdashery, women's articles, clothing and household articles, electrical goods and hardware, footwear, drugs, foodstuffs and baked goods, on a business street frequented by workers and the poorest population, /50/ not one black person or dark mulatto was seen as manageress, cashier, or saleswoman. "In any case," says a female

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informant, "girls of light color are more readily accepted in these occupations, perhaps because they are content with salaries that are not as high as those the young men demand."

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The statistics released by the Bureau of Identification of the police of the State of Bahia confirm these data. The physical characteristics of 273 persons registered during several months of 1950 as merchants or employees of commercial firms were the following:

Position in commerce	Whites	Blacks	"Morenos"	"Pardos"	Métis	Total
Merchants:						
Men . . .	28	-	12	6	-	46
Women .	1	-	-	-	-	1
Employees in commerce:						
Men	80	10	63	42	13	208
Women. . .	8	-	8	2	-	18
Total . . .	117	10	83	50	13	273

One sees that among the merchants the majority is white; among the employees in commerce the majority is colored. This is explained by the fact that the profession of merchant is one in which the Whites predominate (1)

1. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 243.

in part because social ascent in this sector depends on financial possibilities. The informants in general could with difficulty mention the name of more than three or four colored persons having a notable position in commerce. Nevertheless, the names of some dark merchants who have occupied important offices in the Trade Association and in other important social institutions are mentioned.

[SALVADOR]

/53 cont./

000 situation by taking part in the life of the parties. This phenomenon
175 is not entirely new, except in that it affects men of dark color and
178 modest circumstances, for since the monarchical epoch numerous
*563 métis bearers of nobiliary titles granted by the emperor had rep-
645 resented Bahia in the imperial parliament and occupied posts in the
646 national ministries. At least three ministers of foreign affairs, chosen among the statesmen of Bahia during the Empire and the Republic, were métis of great talent and of great social and political prestige. One of the most brilliant federal deputies of the republican regime established in 1889 was a dark mulatto, a health-service engineer, a historian and linguist of renown. Alluding to this intellectual, someone once said to a dark young man: "You will never be president of the Republic, but you can hope to acquire the fame of a Teodoro Sampaio." If one is to be-
[173 lieve oral tradition, a member of the highest tribunal of justice
[829 of Bahia, a métis of very high social and intellectual rank, asserted in a speech that Bahia has always had the lead in this tradition "of liberty and equality among men who do not belong to the same race or at times to the same religion."

*563 During the last election campaigns, the attitude of certain
666 candidates toward colored persons was exploited in favor of some and to the detriment of others. Thus, rumors were circulated in 1945, according to which a candidate for the presidency of the Republic was supposed to harbor color prejudices and not allow the admission of Blacks and dark mulattoes into the military aviation services, which he then directed. It is maintained that these accusations contributed to reducing the number of votes in favor of this candidate in Bahia, in spite of the efforts that his party made to lessen the bad impression that this revelation had produced, even among the Whites. On the occasion of the 1950 campaign, the followers of one of the candidates for the office of governor of the State distributed a tract in which a newspaper favorable to another candidate was accused of having published an article whose author maintained that Negresses made themselves /54/ ridiculous by aping white women. In both cases it was an attempt to cause difficulties between candidates and voters. Moreover, a national association of colored men recommended to

[SALVADOR]

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*563 666 the voters of Bahia, by means of printed proclamations, a White candidate for the federal deputation because he had been "a champion of racial democracy and of the valorization of the colored masses of the Brazilian people." A recommendation of this kind, however, or the fact that a candidate is colored cannot have a determining influence on his election, as the results of the last plebiscite prove. A young lawyer, a dark mulatto, very attractive in manner, was twice a candidate for a municipal office; his friends told him that as a colored man he would certainly have a chance of being elected. Nevertheless he was not elected either time, and it is precisely in the district of the city where the largest part of the colored proletariate is found that he had the least votes.

*563 666 •829 Although some dark leaders think that their group ought to have its own representation in the government (1),

1. A pardo writer asserted that "the Negroes who form our economy ... already definitely assimilated and developed, at present claim, by way of the new generations, a better and more dignified position and even more direct participation in the responsibilities and in the destinies of the State"; cf. W. Morais, in A Tarde, Bahia, 21 October 1950.

the voters do not seem to decide in favor of such a solution. Sometimes, however, the color of the candidate is regarded as the symbol of his rank and of his ties to the lower strata of the population. One of the most popular politicians of the city, elected many times to the municipal chamber as "a true representative of the people," is a non-graduate lawyer, a mulatto.

*563 665 It is possible to come across colored persons in the leadership of certain local parties, but the "peoples" and "workers" parties always group together more Blacks and mulattoes than the center and the right. A dark Black participated in the leadership of one of these parties, along with Whites and morenos, some of whom

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*563 555 871 Knowing to what extent schooling is useful to them to reduce the social distance that separates them from the ruling classes, colored persons, even the humblest and the darkest, make great efforts to send their children to primary school; they go so far as to make the sacrifice to send them to secondary courses when they could already be helping them in their work. A mulatto who [171] lives in the northern part of the country states that in this the Blacks of Bahia differ from those of the other States: "Here the humblest women -- washerwomen, cooks, domestics -- send their children to school and are very anxious about what they are taught. In the other States this does not interest them (1)."

[162] [872] [463]

1. Among the 92 students of both sexes in a public elementary school chosen at random, 23 were white, 42 pardos, and 27 black. Those responsible for the colored children (mothers, fathers, uncles, or godmothers) were domestics, seamstresses, cabinetmakers, carpenters, masons, petty officials, chauffeurs, commercial employees, cooks, washerwomen, etc.

*563 871 171 "The Blacks of another large Brazilian city," notes a black university student, "are very well dressed and shod, but they speak badly, use slang expressions, and are incapable of carrying on a conversation of a certain level. One might say that they are not at all anxious to learn."

*563 555 829 There is a very widespread conviction that, in order to excel in life and elevate oneself socially, a colored person must be better /67/ prepared and more capable than the Whites. "A young colored man must have great personal merit to be able to assert himself," says the student mentioned above. A mulatto physician who had an exceptional career and who has become one of the greatest names in Brazilian science told one of our informants that a colored man, in order to succeed, must have twice the merit as his white competitor, for exactly the same thing happens with a Black as with two balls of the same weight and the same size, one of metal and the other of wood; when one takes them in one's hand it always seems as though the metal one were heavier. Thus a colored man always gives the impression of having less merit than a White.

[SALVADOR]

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*563 793 Since that time priests who were black and of mixed blood began to distinguish themselves, in Bahia as throughout the country, as sacred orators, professors of Latin, of philosophy and rhetoric, of Portuguese, and as superiors and directors of educational institutions, prefects of studies, etc. Proud of this, the Blacks expressed their antagonism toward the mulattoes and cabôclos by repeating [539] this quatrain:

> I have seen many Negroes
> At the altar in the act of saying Mass
> And the cabôclo, all that he achieves
> Is to be usher.

*563 792 829 [797] In the religious orders, directed in general by European monks or of European structure, the prejudice that maintains that the métis find it difficult to be faithful to the vow of chastity persisted for a long time. Such a belief must have strongly influenced the opposition to the ordination of colored religious. An /76/ intellectual of dark color relates that during his youth, more than 40 years ago, he, wishing to become a priest, entered a religious order, but the superior of the monastery to which he applied, a Spaniard, advised him to seek another path. Astonished by this refusal, he demanded an explanation, and the superior told him that he might find it difficult to subject himself to the discipline, because men of his type are obliged to make great efforts to remain chaste. And since the informant thought that in the secular clergy he would be very much in danger of betraying his trust, he gave up his idea. Thus, even today, the religious orders include very few métis. [178] The situation is beginning to improve, however, with the ordination of some moreno and light mulatto monks; in an apostolic school in which one of these orders trains young men wishing to embrace the religious life, there is at present a majority of pardos and cabôclos recruited from among modest families of the interior, particularly in the rural area of the northeastern part of the State of Bahia. Light mulattoes, ordained in the course of recent years, have been trained in the same school. In the *563 562 792 178 female religious orders the difficulties for the acceptance of colored girls are very much greater. Not only are some of them directed by European religious, but there still persists the Portuguese

[SALVADOR]

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*563 562 792 178 tradition of accepting as religious only the daughters of nobles and of high colonial officials, and as "servants" girls of colored or humble extraction. Therefore, the number of morenas or very light mulatto religious is minimal and all are of recent admission.

*563 793 •[829] There is also a prejudice, widespread among the priests of the secular clergy, that "the mulattoes are very inclined to concupiscence and to arrogance when they are intelligent." Nevertheless dark priests are ordained. At least 30 o/o of the 176 priests ordained at the archdiocesan theological seminary of Bahia between 1907 and 1951 were colored; among 50 colored priests identified in the register, at least seven were very dark or black. Approximately the same proportion can be noted among the 42 secular priests living in the city. Among those who are best known as sacred orators and who are invited to preach on solemn occasions in the ecclessiastical life and in the religious ceremonies that precede the examinations of the different schools of the local university, there are numerous pardos and Blacks, some of whom enjoy a great deal of prestige as vicars of important parishes, as professors, and as men of letters. The theological seminary of the archdiocese also includes at present an [874] increased number of young colored students, made up of dark mulattoes and Blacks.

/77/ Sports

*563 526 In no matter what study of the most popular sports of Brazil, whether it is a matter of football, rowing, basketball, volleyball, or tennis, it is indispensable to consider that some of them are practiced by certain socio-economic groups and that others, after having been a pastime of some of these groups, have become a profession.

*563 526 575 Tennis in Bahia is a bourgeois sport that an extremely limited number of people play. On the grounds of one of the principal clubs where this sport is played one does not see colored persons, except now and then one or two morenos of high rank from the liberal professions or from commerce. A mulatto practicing a

5: Azevedo--122 D, Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[SALVADOR]

/93/ Color Prejudice in Bahia

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Color prejudice may be analyzed either through the interpretation that the members of different ethnic groups give of it or by examining their behavior in its symbolic significance. Since the verbal expression of a specific social relationship does not always correspond to the reality of the fact itself, the investigator, in order to approximate objectivity, must attack the problem by the two methods indicated. It is not sufficient to listen to what the one or the other group says, but rather it is necessary to weigh the point of view of each one and compare it to the behavior observed.

In general, in the case of interracial relations, the opposing groups have different concepts about their respective situation. This is the case in Bahia, as the different ideologies that prompt and govern the relations prove.

For the Whites, whether they are truly white or socially white, there is no color or race prejudice in Bahia. One could make an anthology of opinions which vary slightly in terms, but which all express the same fundamental opinion, namely, that Whites and colored people represent "from this point of view an exemplary situation of harmony," as a local paper wrote a few months ago. It will suffice to cite the opinion of a very renowned writer, ex-
[204] pressed in articles written at different times and somewhat far apart, that is to say, in the years 1932, 1949 and 1950, respectively, and published by an important newspaper of the city: "That is to say, it seems to us that the problem does not exist. It did not exist in São Paulo, certainly; it does not exist in Bahia. It is new, it is imaginary, it is not real."

"An isolated Negro problem does not exist in Brazil... There are even provinces in which one is not able to perceive, in the intimacy of person-to-person relationships, the presence of an obstacle that alienates them."

[SALVADOR]

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"We, the Bahians, we have in this respect an invariable opinion. Brazilian racial democracy consists expressly in repudiating any manifestation of privilege based on color, and we believe that these epidermic distinctions have no value over against a superior unity, from now on indissoluble, which is the moral unity of a people within the human unity of the country."

Two other white intellectuals, likewise very much in view, denounced in 1921 and in 1933 isolated attempts at caste separation "against which our entire history protests with indignation, against which our traditions rise up in an outburst of revolt"; they deplored "the stupidity that consists in blowing /94/ on the flame of racial hatred already forgotten ... sometimes nonexistent." After having lived many years in the city, a physician from another State declares that "this is without doubt the strongest impression that one receives and that one keeps of Bahia: the victory over racial prejudice and the presence of the Negro, the mulatto, and the White, who have a mulatto father and a black grandfather, in the social life."

This conception is not peculiar to finos Whites. It is also expressed by colored persons who have become integrated with the attitudes of the white group (1).

[114]

1. In the criticism of the article by Julian Steward, "Acculturation Studies in Latin America: Some Needs and Problems," Frank Tannenbaum declares that "In spite of slavery, in spite of an intermediate period, in spite of centuries of exploitation, the Negro has not only survived, but one may say that he is flourishing. And one may always ask oneself why. The answer seems to be that the Negro has accommodated himself to the culture of the white man, as the Indian never did ... Undoubtedly I shall be accused of exaggeration, but as far as this question is concerned I think that the Negro has become a white man with a black face," in American Anthropologist, Vol. 45, No. 2, April-June 1943, p. 205.

[113]

[SALVADOR]

/94 cont./

*563 •829 A dark mulatto intellectual declares that "the Brazilians, because of the gentleness of their customs, have never experienced here the ferocity of this prejudice" (2).

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2. Teodoro Sampaio, speech in Rev. do Inst. Geogr. e Historico da Bahia, Year XXVI, No. 45, Bahia, 1919, p. 179.

The opinion of a light-colored lawyer is no less incisive: "Will the Negro constitute a specific problem within the bosom of the Brazilian community? Our determination not to admit, either theoretically or practically, color or caste prejudice among us is expressed by a definitive word: No" (3).

3. W. Morais, loc. cit.

The reaction of the majority of Bahians to a question bearing on racial discrimination in their territory would be the same as that of these three students of Bahia, one of them a pardo, who, speaking of a Communist congress abroad, published a declaration in which it was said: "Most deplorable was the activity of some Communist members of the Brazilian delegation. They insistently endeavored to defame the political and social organization of our country by exaggerating its errors and its imperfections to the point of declaring that there exists among us an odious racial discrimination."

While the "socially white" express themselves thus, certain Blacks and mulattoes express opinions not only different, but diametrically opposite. A man practicing a liberal profession, of whom we have spoken previously, wrote in 1922 that he observed on the part of certain influential persons "the intense desire to keep the black man in a state of segregation, although this desire was concealed." Several years later another leader of the same type, in an article entitled "The eternal injustice against the Black," confirmed this assertion by saying that "there is a prejudice whose aim is to lower on the human scale the descendants of Blacks among whom the percentage of African blood

[SALVADOR]

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predominates." In /95/ speaking at a congress of Afro-Brazilian studies in 1935, a mulatto sociologist expressed himself in a very radical manner and undoubtedly charged with emotional violence due to the political excitement of the moment:

"Left to himself, master of a fictive freedom, badly paid, badly clothed, badly nourished, serving the game of economic events, brutalized by a job of ten hours a day under unhygienic conditions, enduring the racial oppression of white men (the lords of capital) and the scorn of the white proletarians themselves who inspired the bourgeoisie, putting into practice the old advice: 'divide and conquer,' the Negro lived from day to day... [178] This situation has changed in the course of the last 60 years, it has changed for the worse (1)!"

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1. Edison Carneiro, "Situaçao do negro no Brasil /Situation of the Negro in Brazil," in Estudos afro-brasileiros, Vol. I, Ariel edition, Rio de Janeiro, 1935, p. 238.

A mulatto university professor, speaking during the handing out of university diplomas at the university, said a short time ago: "People state that the sinister racial problem does not exist among us, that the Black enjoys the same rights, the same prerogatives as the white man. This is a sad utopia. The upper sectors of the life of the country keep their doors closed to the Black." And another Bahian sociologist, a moreno, and one of the most influential leaders of "black" movements in Brazil, thinks that "the failures of colored men in our country have been attributed to racial prejudice, whereas they should very often be attributed to class prejudice."

A black informant, local head of movements of the same nature, asserted that there is active prejudice in Bahia, as throughout Brazil; he himself wished to protest against the declaration made to a newspaper by another black leader, according to which there is supposed to be no racial problem among us, although other Blacks asked him not to do so.

[SALVADOR]

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*563 ●829 Numerous informants admit that actually one can verify prejudices bound up with color, but they add that "this is a question of tradition in Bahia." According to one of them, "conservative persons transmit it to the new generations." The experiences of the informants vary, however. A moreno official, about 45 [178] years old, finds that at present prejudice is stronger than before: "It is possible that it existed previously, but it did not become evident. I know people full of merit who are treated with some contempt because of color. Many also withdraw, saying: now who will become intimate with me?..., I am black." A mulatto [178] merchant who has many white friends affirms that relations are getting better "on the intimate level": the Blacks and mulattoes are received in the homes, make friends, but "on the social level everything continues as in the past; the same /96/ white persons who make friends with colored people do not wish to admit them into their recreational societies and their other associations." It is not rare to hear it said that very dark persons experience a certain resistance in social and even professional life, and in [171] private they frequently comment on this. Nevertheless it is very often affirmed that the situation, from all points of view, is much better in Bahia than in the other States of Brazil; in certain of these States, in fact, and particularly in the industrial region of the south, it seems that there is real conflict between white *563 men and colored men. "In São Paulo, for example," says a man 829 practicing a liberal profession who has visited the States of the 171 south several times, "their situation is worse because of foreigners; in Bahia the advantage is that there are few foreigners." Others think that it is the Blacks themselves who, by their hostile attitude, have created the problem in São Paulo. "In Rio, where the milieu is more Brazilian, the situation is better." Some think that the foreigners, even in Bahia, are to a great extent responsible for the racial discrimination, although the majority of them adapt themselves to local customs and treat like Whites the colored men who have a high position. These comparisons are almost always accompanied by an account of incidents of discrimination and hostile antagonism, incidents which, according

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*563 829 171 to our informants, could not happen in Bahia (1).

1. One of the most frequently cited examples is that of the first-class hairdressers of Rio and São Paulo, who refuse to serve clients of dark color, even when they appear well dressed and with manners indicating a perfect education. One of the informants recalls that about 30 years ago, preparing to go to an audience with the governor of the State, he was unable, though he wore evening dress, to be shaved at the establishment of a mulatto hairdresser whom he knew; the latter made many excuses for this and explained to him that he had great difficulty with his white clients. Another affirms that one may note cases of this nature, but that, on account of the great number of American sailors "full of money" passing through since the last war, the barbers practice less discrimination against the local Blacks.

*563 178 [171] Almost all, or at least most, insist on saying that race relations in Bahia are in the process of perceptible improvement, although in other parts of Brazil they seem to be growing worse. With regard to tendencies toward racism there are, however, differences among colored people. "Racism exists, but it is hidden and hence in the process of disappearing," thinks a Black who practices a liberal profession, "but I do not believe that it will cease to exist entirely; it will always exist, though hidden and discreet." Another says that: "The situation has a tendency to change with the social ascent of colored people and with greater educational facilities. It may even grow worse, but it is now too late to separate the Whites from the Blacks, /Figs. 11 and 12 appear here/ /97/ if only because there are families in which some are dark and others may pass for Whites."

[SALVADOR]

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*563 Several facts reported in our account show that colored persons are subject, among us, to treatment that tends to class them according to category (1).

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1. Discriminatory judgment on the basis of prejudices bearing on the characteristics of groups or categories of certain individuals. Donald Pierson, "Contacto categorico /Categorical contact/," in Teoria e Pesquisa em Sociologia /Theory and Research in Sociology/, Melhoramento edition, São Paulo, p. 445.

*563 ●829 [565] The marks of this treatment, which frequently coincides with class feelings, may be seen in the personality of several of our informants. One of them makes a very expressive remark: "Prejudice really exists, no matter how much 'caste' is concealed. But, between denying the problem and wishing to give it excessive importance, there is nothing but a difference in the manner of formulating the beliefs and the defensive attitudes of the group concerned. The position of those who deny prejudice entirely is that of someone who formulates an ideal model of relations, prompted by the desire that the problem might not exist, or in the vain hope of contributing to what society evades" (2).

2. R. Almeida, loc. cit.

Those who exaggerate the proportions of this controversy are supposed to be maladjusted personalities (3).

3. Only a psychological study could elucidate up to what point the difficulties encountered by colored persons are really due to racial barriers, for, without denying that many persons may suffer opposition because of their color, it is also necessary to remember that these same persons may very well have recourse to certain stereotypes and to certain rationalizations in order to

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project their deficiencies, their personality defects, and their professional incompetence on the Whites and their institutions. See on this subject Kimball Young, Handbook of Social Psychology, London, 1948, p. 277.

which is not always the case; exaggeration is a powerful means of drawing attention to a problem that one assumes to be non-existent or without importance, but it may also represent a form of aggression against the discriminator group.

*563 A white sociologist, who admits the existence of the problem, says very justly that "...this prejudice is nimble and cunning. It tries to hide in the folds of the unconscious of the collectivity and, ashamed of itself, reacts to attempts at expression or exposure to the light of conscience. The reaction is thus more vigorous when we suspect some effort to cultivate it. One tolerates the fact that prejudice lives as an unconfessed feeling of class or of social prestige, but one experiences an immediate repulsion when people try to raise it to the rank of an institution or of spirit of caste" (4).

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4. Nelson Sampaio, "Democracia racial," Forum, Vol. IX, No. 21, Bahia, 1945.

/98/ The Black Movements in Bahia

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About 20 years ago, when the Brazilian urban proletariat began to become aware of its existence, there arose in the southern part of the country a movement intended to group together "the Brazilian Negro population" with the aim "of obtaining political representation, of defending the rights of Negroes and of elevating them on the educational level." From São Paulo, the most important Brazilian industrial center, the Black Front (Frente Negra) began to spread into other cities. In November 1932 a group of less than ten colored men of modest

[SALVADOR]

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*563 668 especially the Blacks, toward the norms of behavior, the attitudes, the concepts of the Whites, in order to permit them to be accepted and classed in the society of Bahia. It is not difficult to perceive *563 183 that the "white" norms are the very ones that everybody in Bahia -- Whites, métis, and Blacks -- endeavors to realize in life, •829 and that to be colored is not considered contemptible; the Blacks, for example, have not always succeeded in concealing some shame that many characteristics of their native culture cause them, particularly those that contrast most with the culture of European origin, such as religion. What seems to account for this is the fact that colored people feel themselves, as much as the Whites, entirely Brazilian, that is to say, integrated or desirous of being integrated in the Luso-Christian and, today still more, Neo-Brazilian *563 culture of the dominant class. A lawyer and a sociologist, both 668 morenos and Bahians, a short time ago expressed the fear lest the "Negro" movements of Brazil take on segregative tendencies. And some leaders of these movements in Bahia are pointed out by the informants as being followers of such tendencies; however, "this isolationism," they add, "does not manage to gain the upper hand." "Up to now I have not wanted to become part of this association, but since there is no racism in it I am going to join," one Black stated.

*563 The attitude of Blacks of professionally and socially high 668 status is generally expressed by aloofness toward these movements; 829 very few of them, as a matter of fact, can contribute to lend [554] them personal prestige. At most these Blacks give their nominal support and contribute financially to these movements, but they follow their activities from a distance, avoiding all publicity in this respect, though they sympathize with a program that proposes to elevate the Blacks whose education has been neglected. They do not conceal their lack of confidence with regard to the aims and intentions of Negro movements on the national level. In the opinion of an educator, there is no reason for colored people to group themselves in terms of their quality. This would give a character of strife, which is undesirable. The pardo or the Black ought to endeavor to enter social life through the wide /102/ doors

[SALVADOR]

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*563 668 829 of merit, without its being necessary to force them. Others consider that such organizations are not suitable, either because they are proof that discrimination exists, or because they tend to aggravate it by giving it dimensions that it does not have in Bahia. One young man who practices a liberal profession asserts that "he looks on such movements with uneasiness, in fear of ridicule, for its promoters prove their social in adaptation." Some share the opinion of a mulatto, highly esteemed in his profession, who affirms that he refuses to participate in such groupings, not in order to deny his quality as a colored man, but because he considers them unjustified.

The methods of action adopted by the "Negro" movements are likewise criticized. A politician wrote that "the Negroes and mulattoes try to unite in congresses and associations, but give to the struggle merely a doctrinaire character and do not seize all the possibilities that their weakness can prevail upon." In a newspaper article in which he expressed himself thus, he himself proposed a national boycott of merchandise produced by a factory that refused to admit a colored employee. Although his article was very vehement against this foreign enterprise and ended with a stirring appeal to colored persons, it does not seem to have had any practical effect in Bahia. The leaders of these movements, moreover, feared not being understood and not receiving the necessary support. According to one of them, "the Black of Bahia is not convinced that he is black."

*563 671 829 Concerning the federal law recently put in force against religious and racial discrimination, the informants in general have only a very vague notion of its existence and are ignorant of its text. Some consider it useful in some cases (hotelkeepers who refuse Blacks, for instance) or to lower the barriers that prevent young colored people from entering upon a diplomatic career or a military career at the rank of officer. Others consider it simply useless in Bahia; a short time ago the papers featured the news that this law was put into effect in the State of Rio Grande do Sul in the southern part of Brazil. A mulatto priest stated: "We have no need of laws, here in Bahia, to have a Negro

[SALVADOR]

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*563 esteemed, we only need more respect for the lower class in gen-
671 eral; we need to improve its food, to help it effectively rise
● 829 again, or, before that, to obtain a level of life that it has never as yet had."

/103/ Conclusions

*563 829 That there is no color prejudice in Bahia is a statement that is only partly true. Colored people are still regarded as forming a biological and social category characterized by traits that are considered inferior to those of the Whites. Some people are convinced that Blacks and Whites differ in intellectual capacities, in personality, morality, and aptitude for progress. They declare that if Bahia does not progress the fault lies with the Blacks. That is the reason why such a large number of light mulattoes conceal or deny their caste or feel ill at ease when one makes an indiscreet allusion. These prejudices, though slight, explain the cases of discrimination of which colored people in certain sectors of the society are victims. These incidents, moreover, are not accompanied by any violence, and it is difficult to distinguish them from manifestations of class antagonism, in view of the fact that in Brazil skin color is very often a symbol of social rank. The Whites evoke the memory of the old Portuguese colonists who dominated the economy, politics, and the administration, and whose descendants, even today, make up the major part of high society. As for the Blacks, they remind us of slavery, work on the plantations, and domestic occupations. Even today the colored men are cantoned in the lowest and least educated strata of society.

*563 [565] [564] [555] But the population of Bahia may be defined as a multiracial society with classes, and not with castes, if one defines caste as a closed group to which one belongs by birth and from which it is impossible to escape. In Bahia colored people have a status that is conditioned by their individual qualities and aptitudes, and they may enter into competition with the Whites. In principle

[SALVADOR]

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*563 555 178 important to note that up to now the chief means of social ascent, by which a large number of Blacks and mêtis have acquired high status, is education in the double sense of good manners and of instruction of a certain level, not to mention adherence to the customs and to the concepts of the predominant culture, which, in the last analysis, is a problem of acculturation or of greater integration of the colored masses into the dominant society. One

*563 608 178 of the mechanisms that facilitate this integration is the protection and aid that numerous godfathers and godmothers offer their colored godchildren by rearing them in their own houses, by procuring employment for them, by sending them on to secondary and higher studies, and often by continuing afterwards to guide and protect them, this even being one of the principal functions of this system of spiritual kinship.

*563 829 The preponderant groups that constitute the upper strata of Bahian society do not oppose these tendencies with organized resistance, and, in accordance with the liberalism that is the basis of their mentality, they consider them proof of moral progress and of "civilization," of which, in general, the Bahians of all types are very proud.

/Tables I-III follow on pages 142-144./

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369 the fathers, who insisted that the children go. In the case of a woman who moves in with a new husband and brings her own children, she always makes it clear that the children are hers and not his. She will allow no interference from her husband in the matter of disciplining her children. Often the best possible relations exist between stepfather and children, but he never gives orders to them. The rural mother in all cases seems to be more exacting with her offspring than the town
[861] mother. It is not uncommon for a rural mother to beat her children, even those who are grown men, with the cipó de caboclo (a switch), whereas this would never happen in the town. She also extends her control over them even after they are married, counseling them and helping when she can, and criticizing them severely if she does not like something they do.

883 By the time they are in their late teens, boys become in-
584 terested in courting (namoro), though girls often start ear-
212 lier. If a boy sees a girl who interests him, he manages to meet her as often as possible on the street or at the dock, and
• 832 by looks and slight remarks makes it clear that he is interest-
[206] ed. Or, if he can write, he may send the girl a note through a common friend. In Vila Recôncavo the telephone office is a popular place for making one's interests known, for the telephone operator is a young woman who is highly respected by most people in town and well liked by young people. A note typical of those which may pass through her hands is as follows:

Vila Recôncavo
January 7, 1951

Dona Therezinha, Salutations:

I am absolutely convinced that you do not doubt the sincerity of my love, which is always manifested so clearly in my letters and in my face when I see you.

So, I equally have the conviction of having the strange happiness of possessing your love, but in the meantime there is something lacking to complete my felicity. That is to speak to you, to hear from your lips the sincere confession of your love, to feel you near me for a few minutes.

I ask you to give me permission to speak to you, indicating the day, hour, and place in which we can meet.

You will surely not repent giving me this pleasure, for you will see that I know how to retribute your confidence

with respect and honesty. Anxiously awaiting your answer, I am your sincere admirer.
Excuse the mistakes. End.

Themistocles Filho

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In this case it was the girl's first experience with this sort of thing, so she asked an older friend to write the answer for her. It took over a week before the answer was ready and was given to the boy. During this time the girls who know about the affair discussed the possibilities: the boy's looks, his note, his friends, and so on, until nothing was left uncovered. Generally the details of such an affair are shared by the girl with her female friends. The answer, when ready, ran as follows:

Vila Recôncavo
January 10, 1951

Dear Citizen:
Initially I send my wishes for happiness so that they may become part of all that is stored in your imagination, loyal and sincere friend.
And now I want to acknowledge receipt of your letter, which in its first moment was the source of indescribable joy in my heart. Afterwards, in the surprised reality of all young girls, I asked myself about the content of all that which you wrote to me so nicely. And, although bewildered by the disillusions of many of my girl friends, I think that my authorized answer may be a meeting between the two of us, so that we may know each other better, and if we understand each other well our destinies will belong to God.
And thus I present myself.

Therezinha

This affair went on for several more letters before the girl made a definite date. In the meantime the two passed each other in the street, in the movies, and on the dock without speaking. In the end the girl, who was only fourteen, lost her nerve, and the affair ended before any meeting took place. When such a correspondence culminates in an actual meeting, the meetings are facilitated or made difficult by the degree of vigilance exercised by the girl's parents. Often such an affair is hidden from them completely, only the girl's best friends having any

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4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

563 142 826 *pardo;* but common speech adds *cabra* (or *caibra*), *Cabo Verde* (*Cape Verde*), *sarará*, and *moreno*.

The *cabra*, or *caibra*, is slightly lighter in pigmentation than the *preto* and has hair a little less kinky. The *Cabo Verde* is very dark, with Caucasian features and black, glossy, "straight" hair. The infrequent *sarará* is light in color, with hair red (or sandy) and kinky. The *moreno*, many Bahians say, is the new physical type which Brazil is developing.

563 142 826 832 Quite significantly, the *morena* (or feminine *moreno*) is the "ideal type" of Bahian femininity. She is in many cases an individual of remarkable beauty. Typically, she has dark-brown eyes and dark hair, quite wavy, perhaps even curly, and Caucasian features; her color is *café com leite* (literally, "coffee with milk"; i.e., like that of one "heavily tanned"), and she has a healthy appearance. The term *morena* is seldom mentioned to a Bahian male without there appearing an instant change in his expression. His face "lights up," and a smile breaks on his lips. He pronounces *morena* with a tone indicative of admiration, affection, desire.[50] He seems pleased, happy in the contemplation of an agreeable object. Poets, both professional and amateur, pour out passionate stanzas in her honor,[51] songs are sung

[50] The *morena* has the reputation of being more desirable than lighter Brazilian women; she is commonly described as "more *ardente*" (passionate), "more *adstringente*" (clinging).

[539] [51] As, for example, the following:

Elsa . . . .
Number One girl,
Pretty little "peca" [small Brazilian animal]
Caboclo-colored butterfly,
Splendidly "morena." . . . .

I danced the "catêrêtê" samba with Elsa,
Her warm flesh quivering,
Her breasts full, almost exploding,
Inside her little white blouse.

And then she fell into my arms willingly, voluptuously,
Her eyes like burning coals,
Her ruby lips
Glued to mine in delirious pleasure.

Ah! Ah! mad girl!
"Bamba" girl!
Devilish girl!

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

to her,[52] romances written.[53] Of 146 male students respond- 563*
ing to the query, "All things being equal, whom would 142
you prefer to marry, a *branca*, a *morena*, a *parda*, a *preta*," 826
117, or 80.1 per cent, replied "a *morena*." Similarly, of 93 832
white female students responding to a like question, 80, or [582]
86 per cent, preferred a *moreno* for a mate.

The *morena* may, or may not, have African blood.[54] But 563*
at least in Bahia this category includes many individuals of
partial African descent. For instance, a study of five hun- [125]
dred women classified as *morenas* in the Gabinete de Identificação indicated the probable distribution given in Table 7.

It is the opinion of Arthur Ramos[55] that, although "the [832]
charms of the *morena* exert a profound sexual attraction" and the regard in which she is held "has a sexual base in the Freudian sense," the present attitude toward the *morena* "grew out of the enthusiasm and the sentimentalism of the abolition campaign. The *morena* expresses in a symbolic way the union of the two races—the black and the white—and the absence of [caste] prejudice."

The *morena* probably constitutes a decided bond be-

[52] As, for example, the following:

Beautiful morena,
Morena,
Morena who makes me suffer!
The full moon, so bright,
Is not as luminous as your eyes.
You are a *morena*,
A wonderful girl.
There's not a *branca* who hasn't
fallen for you.

Often,
When you pass by,
Men quarrel over you;
Everyone eagerly anticipates
Your smile.

Your heart is a boarding-house,
A family hotel
Along the seashore.
Oh, *moreninha*, do not rent all!
Leave at least a corner
For me to live in!

[533]
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[53] A rock on the island of Paquetá in Guanabara Bay at Rio de Janeiro very popular with young lovers, has been dedicated to the *moreninha*. [823]

[54] Pronouncing the word *morena* (or *moreno*) with a certain emphasis or changed inflection indicates darker color. [194]

[55] Stated in personal correspondence with the author.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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At the same time, *meu negro* ("my Negro"), with its variation *meu nego*[56] and diminutive *meu negrinho*, all spoken in soft tones, are terms of endearment used even by whites in speaking to other whites, especially in cases of great intimacy as, for instance, between lovers. Their use constitutes, as a Bahian put it, "um modo de tratar bem" ("a way of being nice"). Occasionally one hears these expressions on the lips of a beggar asking alms of a white and, if he appears well to do, of a mulatto as well. Clerks sometimes employ them in addressing a customer. They appear to call up tender memories of intimate, personal relations like those existent, for example, between Mammy and Scarlett O'Hara in Margaret Mitchell's *Gone with the Wind*.

563* 192 [832] [576] [571]

The term *branco da Bahia* ("Bahian white") is also heard, although it is ordinarily employed *outside* Bahia. It has reference to the local custom of including many light mixed-bloods in the *branco* category. The phrase *branco por procuração* ("white by proxy") is occasionally used in Bahia but never when speaking to such an individual directly or in his presence. Light mixed-bloods are sometimes referred to as *bem areiadas* ("well sandpapered"); very dark young Negro boys as *pregos* ("nails"); very dark blacks as *pretos retintos* (literally "black blacks," or "black as coal"), and *reclames do pixe* (literally "shouts of tar," i.e., "black as pitch"). The phrase *ele tem genipapo* refers to the possession of *manchas*, as previously noted. Of a person who shows slight traces of Negro ancestry, it is said, "Ele tem dedo na cozinha" ("He has a finger in the kitchen"). Additional descriptive words or phrases include: *de côr escura* ("of dark color"), *de côr*

563* 192 826

[56] The feminine forms are *minha negra*, *minha nega*, and *minha negrinha*. [193]

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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grown up naturally between the races were never threatened, let alone destroyed, by a program of reconstruction originating from without and imposed by armed conquest. Individual ability, personal ties and family solidarity, instead of external pressure, were the levers of social advancement. The rise of the mixed-blood and of the black in Brazil has always had effectively in its favor those sentiments and personal attachments which primary relations tend normally to develop.

Such political upheavals as did occur tended to advance the mixed-bloods not as a group but as individuals. Thus the overthrow of the monarchy and the rise of the republic marked a definite break with the rural aristocracy and accelerated the rise of a new class, that of the *bachareis* and the *doutores*, among whom were many mulattoes. And, more recently, the recrystallization of the political structure following the "revolution of 1930" found many Bahian mixed-bloods in positions of trust and responsibility, since the new political "ins," who were diligently seeking to solidify their gains and to establish themselves firmly in power, found it expedient to accept such support as was readily at hand. Again the mixed-bloods figured prominently, not as a group per se but as individuals belonging to an eligible professional class.

The role of sex and of romantic love should not be overlooked. The sexual attraction which the mulatto male exerted upon daughters of rich and influential European families led quite often to elopement or, occasionally and increasingly, to marriage with parental consent.[34] Similarly,

[34] "The daughters, the *yayas* of the *sobrados*, the *sinhas* of the *casas grandes de engenho*, let themselves be kidnaped by these Don Juans, even by such as were plebeian and of color. . . . . Sellin noted the large number of young ladies eloping . . . . during the latter half of the nineteenth century. They were girls whose parents, for reasons of blood or of social position, had

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
BRAZIL SLI

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the mulatto women profited by the myth of the sexual potency of the hybrid,[35] the high mortality of white women (especially during the nineteenth century), and the consequent successive marriages of elderly patriarchs who sought an increasing degree of sexual stimulation. Cases of "marriages of elderly white men from illustrious families, descendants of barons and well situated in life, with beautiful octoroon, quadroon, or mulatto women who carried themselves like fine ladies and gave evidence of a sexual ardor beyond the ordinary,"[36] increasingly occurred.

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Today, the mixed-bloods are gaining a constantly increasing measure of social recognition. Among them are to be found prominent lawyers, jurists, physicians, engineers, politicians, diplomats, priests, educators, business and commercial magnates, musicians, painters, poets, novelists, journalists, planters.[37] In other words, the mulattoes have now penetrated to the top of the class scale.[38]

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not consented to their marriage with men for whom they had come to feel a sentimental or sexual predilection" (*ibid.*, pp. 156–57). Note also the novel *O mulato* (3d ed.; Rio, 1889), by Aluísio de Azevedo, whose hero is a mixed-blood *bacharel* educated in Europe and enamored of a white girl from a family "full of prejudices of white purity." Gilberto Freyre calls this book "a human document warm with the life of the time."

[35] A popular saying commonly heard in Bahia is: "A white woman for marriage, a Negro woman for work, a *mulata* for sexual intercourse."

[36] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 337.

[37] See Lacerda, *op. cit.*, pp. 381–82; Manoel de Oliveira Lima, *The Evolution of Brazil Compared with that of Spanish and Anglo-Saxon America* (Palo Alto, 1914), p. 39; Rudiger Bilden, "Laboratory of Civilization," *Nation*, CXXVIII (January 16, 1929), 73; Thomas Ewbank, *Life in Brazil* (New York, 1856), p. 267; Professor and Mrs. Louis Agassiz, *A Journey in Brazil* (Boston and New York, 1888), p. 124; Theodore Roosevelt, "Brazil and the Negro," *Outlook*, CVI (February, 1914), 409.

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[38] To accelerate his social climbing, the mixed-blood has developed certain characteristic personality traits: "a pleasant smile and manner, a cordial

[SALVADOR]

/42 cont./

*563 557 the advances of dark men, but accept those of Whites, however disrespectful. That is why, he explains, they either become concubines of the latter, or else they do not marry.

*563 829 826 832 The white and blond woman, on the other hand, is represented as being strongly attracted by men with a very pigmented skin. A light mulatto, regarded very highly in his profession, is not attracted by dark women, although he admits that they are striking and pretty; he prefers the "Whites, very white." According to what he said, many men of his kind have this same inclination, quite independently of the idea of "purifying the race." He adds that the finas Whites have a real taste for the Blacks, whom they consider particularly virile and strong, and they do not take those who have manners that are too refined. Other informants, on the contrary, speak without enthusiasm of this type of women, whom they consider cold and frail. "Color gives health," says one of them, and he adds that even the Whites think so. "Very light women are repugnant to some men," declares one métis; "I even know a European who has an inclination to vomit when he sees one of them." All these opinions on the very white woman are [171] of the same order as those that in the United States, according to John Dollard (1),

> 1. "It seems possible that the image of the white woman is in part preserved from sexual thoughts and allusions of the same order, while the black woman tends to bear the entire brunt of uncontrolled sexual desire... If the black women are represented as sexually desirable in the white popular imagination, the black men are represented as particularly virile and experienced in this domain." Caste and Class in a Southern Town, New York, 1949, p. 1 ff. [113]

serve as protection against colored men and sometimes even against Whites. The morena, moreover, is regarded as the most ardent feminine type and even, sexually speaking, the most accessible. Numerous informants who have a plan to marry Whites explain or imply that they are looking for light, socially white métisses.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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daughters immediately behind the father, then the mother, followed by her mulatto *femme de chambre*, next the family *ama*, or Negro nurse, and the latter's female assistant, then the father's Negro body servant, and last a young slave in training for domestic service.[20] On such occasions it was a matter of considerable pride to dress the slaves as well as the family's station would permit. As late as 1852 a visitor to Rio recorded:

> Though less generally the custom than formerly, it is still the habit of some of the *bourgeosie* . . . . at least on Sundays and great holidays, to promenade to and from church, by whole families, parents and children, from adults to infants, with a retinue of servants in their best dresses . . . . bringing up the rear, and, whether male or female, ... usually as elaborately, if not as expensively, dressed as the rest of the family; and often, in the case of the women, with an equal display of laces, muslins, and showy jewelry.[21]

In the cities domestic slaves ordinarily lived in the same houses as their masters, occupying the lower floor; or, where the buildings were only of one story, "a sort of cellar" underneath.[22] Since the mistress of the household and her daughters lived a very secluded life in the interior of the home,[23] they were in almost constant contact with domestic slaves and the slave's children. Debret has sketched[24] one such intimate scene in which two Negro women are at work,

[20] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Pl. 5 ("Un Employé du gouvernement sortant de chez lui avec sa famille").

[21] C. S. Stewart, *Brazil and La Plata* (New York, 1856), p. 295.

[22] Maria Graham, *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil, 1821–1823* (London, 1824), p. 145.

[23] Until recent years, women from the upper classes in Bahia were rarely seen on the public thoroughfares and then only in the company of a male escort.

[24] Debret, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Pl. 6 ("Une dame brésilienne dans son intérieur") and p. 33.

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sen because it is the name of the saint on whose day the child 551
is born. There is also a good sprinkling of the more common names such as Antonio, João, Lourdes, and Maria. But if a child develops any peculiar characteristics, either physical or personal, he or she will be called by some descriptive term based on the peculiarity. Most people have nicknames 551
such as Patão (Big Duck), Barco Velho (Old Boat), Cuspe Grosso (Thick Spit) or Gatinho (Little Cat), and in time their own proper name is forgotten almost entirely and used only for formal occasions such as signing records. The diminutive form of the given name is also popular, and is applied even to upper-class people, for example, Dr. Zeca (diminutive for Dr. José). In some cases a man is even known by his mother's or wife's name, for example, José de Ingracia.

In choosing godparents, there is great freedom. If possible, 608
at least one of the godparents will be a member of the upper [565]
class, a patron who will help the child if necessary, especially if the godson when he grows up wants to go to school in the city or enter the army or navy. The other godparent may be a member of the child's family, or in some cases the midwife. In many cases the wife chooses the female godparent, especially if she suspects that her husband is paying too much attention to some other woman. In such a case she asks that woman to become the godmother; the latter can hardly refuse, 608
as it is always considered a compliment. By becoming the godmother the woman is put effectively out of reach of the hus- 835
band, as there can be no sexual relations between parents and godparents. This is a common device of women who have an unmarried sister living in the home, and it usually calls a halt to any amorous intentions on the part of either the husband or the sister. There have been cases, however, where [626]
this rule was broken. Usually the couple who break this taboo are highly censured by the rest of the community, for the wife, if she finds out, tells her friends about it. In one case [762]
which occurred in Vila Recôncavo during the author's stay, the woman was so ashamed and frightened by the sin she had committed that she killed herself by drinking rat poison.

In the rural area, while the man is usually acknowledged to 593
be the dominant person in the family, it is the woman who 369
dictates most of the daily actions. The children are with her most of the time, helping in the house and working with her in the garden, both girls and boys. When schools opened recently on several of the plantations, it was the mothers, not

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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565 ers to keep households of stable families, even without formal marriage. In Class D are found mostly the washerwomen and ironers listed under Occupation Group 2 in the preceding chapter.

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565 The unwed mother seldom marries, for few men are willing to take a wife who is not a virgin, and fewer still can ac-
• 836 cept the responsibility of a whole family at once unless the
837 woman has some property to offer along with herself. Once
848 she has had a child a woman loses prestige and status and becomes a mark for men who are looking for an affair. She may even move in with a man for a while. Later, either she leaves him or he leaves her. She must support herself and her offspring, for her father can seldom support another family. As her children grow up, especially the daughters, she hopes for a legal marriage for them; but this is seldom realized for the girls will escape her control just as she herself did. In such a case a woman has little influence and very often cannot force the man to marry her daughter, so that her household is eventually composed of three generations, with two unwed mothers and their children. This is especially true when the young daughters are pretty or, as often happens, light-skinned, as a result of the fact that their fathers often belong to the lighter-colored group of men in town. Often girls from Class D are sent to the city to work as domestics in much the same way as girls from the rural area; there they may marry and avoid a repetition of the cycle, or else they return to their mothers pregnant and unmarried, for few employers will keep a pregnant girl in the house.

125 The following data were collected through the use of a ques-
114 tionnaire given after the author had been in the field about nine months. The actual collection was accomplished by the author and two paid assistants. The questionnaire was long and detailed, and each one took approximately three hours to complete.

125 Many people in all the classes did not want to respond, feel-
*565 ing that it was too much an invasion of their privacy. Many said that they did not know how much money they earned over a long period, that they simply spent whatever came into their hands. Others produced written, detailed records of all the money they earned and spent and how they spent it. The total number of samples finally collected was 125. Sixty-two are urban samples from the town of Vila Recôncavo, and sixty-

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584 intimation of its course. The meeting may finally be arranged at the house of an older female friend. If the two are genuinely interested in each other they may allow the fact to become public, and if the parents are pleased they will in due course
• [836] be married. Otherwise the girl may keep the whole affair a secret, and after a period of flirtation have an affair with the
[263] boy and become pregnant. Any girl who refuses to eat pepper is immediately suspected of pregnancy, and inquiries are
[843] made.

* 565 When a Class C family wishes to celebrate some occasion such as a birthday, anniversary, or the time in which the twin
574 saints Cosme and Damião are feasted, the woman's friends and any nearby female relatives come in to help her cook.
252 Guests are invited by the husband. The preparation of all
262 food must be done by hand, the chickens killed, cleaned, and
[476] plucked, the beans shelled, the shrimp and fish cleaned, the farina cakes made, and the popular liqueurs (licores) prepared
[273] by soaking various kinds of fruit in bottles of rum and syrup. At such parties the traditional, favorite Bahian dishes of vatapá, acarejé, carurú, abará, cuscus, and the many moquecas, are served. All these are appetizing, but take much time
[251] to prepare and cannot be made too far in advance, for there
* 565 is no way of preserving food. Unless the household is particularly wealthy, the family seldom gives parties; many never
574 manage to give one. Dancing forms an important part of the
535 festivities. The men bring their drums, tambourines, and guitars, while the women sing and dance the samba. In the rural
[369] area, social dancing in mixed couples is rare, but in town it is a common form.

*565 A family may take care of an aged mother, father, or even godparent, or of some other relative on either side. Such a
888 person is well cared for within the family means. Most people
736 in Vila Recôncavo are generous toward others who are in some way unfortunate, and help them if they can. There is little or no complaint if the household has to take in an infirm or aged relative; most people say that the same may happen to them one day and they will have to be taken care of. Perhaps the old person helped them in some way in the past when they needed aid and is now being repaid. Or if some older person wants to live alone, a group of neighbors and relatives all help in preparing meals and supplying food and other wants over an extended period of time. There is no case in Vila Recôncavo of an elderly person being sent to a public institution.

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nieces, and nephews
46 agregados and hospedes

Examples of the household units are given below.

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TABLE 10
COMPOSITION OF CLASS D HOUSEHOLDS

Status of Head of Family	Age	Occupation	Number of Head of Family's Children Living in House	Number of Others in House
unmarried	62	none	2	4 grandchildren
widow	70	cook	1	1 grandchild; 1 hospede
unmarried	59	laundress	1	4 grandchildren
unmarried	24	laundress	4	none
widow	49	seamstress	4	7 grandchildren, 1 agregado
unmarried	42	cook	3	1 sister, 1 niece, 1 hospede
unmarried	39	laundress	3	1 hospede
unmarried	66	ironing	0	6 nieces & nephews
widow	42	ironing	6	none
unmarried	56	laundress	0	1 grandchild
unmarried	36	laundress	6	1 nephew
unmarried	48	laundress	3	1 brother
married	36	ironing	6	1 mother, 1 nephew
unmarried	38	laundress	3	1 aunt, 1 cousin
unmarried	84	none	0	1 agregado
unmarried	21	ironing	1	none
unmarried	54	laundress	0	1 hospede, 2 agregados
married	52	laundress	1	3 grandchildren

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The household of Damiana is a good example for Class D. Damiana, who is now in her fifties, had a prolonged affair with a married man when she was young, and gave birth to three daughters. Orphaned herself at about the same time, she took her children and went to reside in the house of a good friend who was living in an unmarried relationship with a man. When Maria José, one of her daughters, was sixteen she was deflowered, and Damiana managed through a godfather's influence to force the boy who was responsible to marry the girl. Maria José, however, did not want to live with him, and since

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Class D Families]

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no child was born of the affair she went to Salvador where she 592
found employment. There she met Vavá, whom she liked very 583
much. She went to live with him for eleven years and had three 836
children.

During this time, Vavá had affairs with several other women 159
and had two other children. Finally he tired of Maria José 848
and told her to go home to her mother, which she did, taking her three children with her. Damiana's godfather allowed [608]
her, Maria José and her children, and Tatá, another of Damiana's daughters who by then had six illegitimate children, to live rent-free in a house he owned. Childless, he took one daughter from each of the two girls to bring up in his own home.

Shortly after the three women had set up this household, Vavá tired of his new companion and wanted Maria José to come back to him, which she refused to do. From time to time he also asked her for money, as he was now unemployed. She always gave him some, since she was employed, explaining that it was not for him but for his two other children, for she could not think of their going hungry.

In almost every case of break-up of the unmarried state, 565*
the children remain with the mother. This is also true in the 848
case of an affair which results in a child. The father never takes on the responsibility of the children. In addition to this, [551]
as stated earlier, the children bear the mother's name and not that of the father. Often a break-up occurs because the [583]
man goes to live with another woman who does not want the children of his previous union, as she may have some of her own either by him or by someone else. On the other hand, women in Vila Recôncavo say that they would be ashamed to let the children go and be brought up by another woman, except in the case of a godparent, in whose home the treatment is expected to be at least as good as that which the mother could have given the child.

Sometimes women in this class have affairs with men who 565*
are already married and who do not leave their wives and 839
children. A woman seldom has more than one lover at one time, and usually stays with the same man for a long period. Although the man takes no responsibility for the resulting children, he may, nevertheless, try to help the woman sometimes; but his first allegiance is to his own wife and children.

Unless there has been a formal marriage, the children are 565* 592
always considered as belonging to the mother, and the most 848

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the engagement on the part of the girl's family, and all her friends felt that, although she had a good 'catch', that is, a successful man, he was too dark for her. This in spite of the fact that the girl's father is a *branco da terra*, and that her grandmother was dark-skinned.

One great bar between the upper class of 'aristocratic whites' and those below them is that of marriage. The white of the second class may sometimes be acceptable to the upper class, because he is white; but the chances are heavy against the marriage of an 'aristocratic white' with an *homem de côr*. Perhaps in the city situation a marriage between a white of this upper class and a *mestiço* of the same class would take place, but certainly not in a rural area.

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Until the end of the last century many bastards were produced by the white plantation owners and their sons, with the slaves and ex-slaves. The Vila Recôncavo population is made up of a large segment of these individuals and their offspring, and in many cases they bear the name of the family of the white. So that today there exist in Vila Recôncavo people who are relatives to various degrees of the white upper class, and in some cases have the same family name. These people are not recognized socially by the whites. In many instances the mixed-blood has the family name, not because he was given it, but because he took it. Frequently a white family will keep track of the descendants on the illegitimate side of the family, and help them if necessary, but they would never introduce one of these individuals as a member of the family, even when that person has all the family physical characteristics.

In one case, the illegitimate daughter of a union between a slave and a white man recently found herself in a position to help the legitimate daughter of her father's cousin. This girl was born free to a slave, before abolition. The slave mother managed to educate the girl, who became a successful schoolteacher. Later on, when her father's cousin's legitimate daughter, widowed with three children, needed help to educate one of her own daughters, she found that aid from her *mestiço* cousin.

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This type of race mixture is far less common today than it was some 70 years ago. However, young white men still frequently have their early sex experiences with *mestiço* and *preto* girls.

The fourth class, the lowest, is confined to the town and consists of people who have no steady employment and who have no *patrão*. They are people caught in the changing economic pattern of the area, from a highly personalized *patrão* economy to a more modern money economy. As yet there is no room for this group in the rural area. There are no 'pure' whites here—a few *brancos da terra*, and *mulatos* and *pretos*. Ascension from this class, which is very small, is easier for a woman, especially if she is light-skinned. For a man, only money will take him upward.

Traditionally the *preto* is linked with ignorance and superstition,

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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[142] clinic.[47] The offspring of 221 black and 200[48] mulatto moth-
[125] ers appeared to vary from their mothers as indicated in Table 6.

Since cases in which only obvious variations appeared were recorded as differing, the data would indicate a rather noticeable variation by generations. At least this is true in
[836] so far as mothers are concerned. Accurate information on fathers is difficult to obtain, since, in the section of the popu-

TABLE 5

ETHNIC ORIGIN (AS DETERMINED BY INSPECTION) OF FIVE THOUSAND PARTICIPANTS IN THE "MICARÊTA" FESTIVAL, BAHIA, 1936

[162]

Racial Identity	Number	Per Cent
European	1,585	31.7
Negro	900	18.0
Mulatto	2,495	49.9
*Cafuso**	20	0.4
Total	5,000	100.0

* The term *cafuso* is employed to designate an individual of mixed Indian and Negro descent.

lation whence these cases come, one finds extensive cohabitation without formal marriage, either civil or religious.

So widespread has the dispersion of African blood in the predominantly European group now become that relatively few families in Bahia are of undiluted European origin, without African strain somewhere in the lineage. This mixture of the races in Bahia is in some respects similar to the

[47] Since pigmentation, it is presumed by local physicians, does not become "fixed" until approximately six months after birth, children under one year were eliminated from the tally.

[48] Seventy-nine children were white of white mothers.

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ers to keep households of stable families, even without formal marriage. In Class D are found mostly the washerwomen and ironers listed under Occupation Group 2 in the preceding chapter.

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The unwed mother seldom marries, for few men are willing to take a wife who is not a virgin, and fewer still can accept the responsibility of a whole family at once unless the woman has some property to offer along with herself. Once she has had a child a woman loses prestige and status and becomes a mark for men who are looking for an affair. She may even move in with a man for a while. Later, either she leaves him or he leaves her. She must support herself and her offspring, for her father can seldom support another family. As her children grow up, especially the daughters, she hopes for a legal marriage for them; but this is seldom realized for the girls will escape her control just as she herself did. In such a case a woman has little influence and very often cannot force the man to marry her daughter, so that her household is eventually composed of three generations, with two unwed mothers and their children. This is especially true when the young daughters are pretty or, as often happens, light-skinned, as a result of the fact that their fathers often belong to the lighter-colored group of men in town. Often girls from Class D are sent to the city to work as domestics in much the same way as girls from the rural area; there they may marry and avoid a repetition of the cycle, or else they return to their mothers pregnant and unmarried, for few employers will keep a pregnant girl in the house.

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Many people in all the classes did not want to respond, feeling that it was too much an invasion of their privacy. Many said that they did not know how much money they earned over a long period, that they simply spent whatever came into their hands. Others produced written, detailed records of all the money they earned and spent and how they spent it. The total number of samples finally collected was 125. Sixty-two are urban samples from the town of Vila Recôncavo, and sixty-

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Class D Families]

no child was born of the affair she went to Salvador where she found employment. There she met Vavá, whom she liked very much. She went to live with him for eleven years and had three children. 565* 592 583 836

During this time, Vavá had affairs with several other women and had two other children. Finally he tired of Maria José and told her to go home to her mother, which she did, taking her three children with her. Damiana's godfather allowed her, Maria José and her children, and Tatá, another of Damiana's daughters who by then had six illegitimate children, to live rent-free in a house he owned. Childless, he took one daughter from each of the two girls to bring up in his own home. 159 848 [608]

Shortly after the three women had set up this household, Vavá tired of his new companion and wanted Maria José to come back to him, which she refused to do. From time to time he also asked her for money, as he was now unemployed. She always gave him some, since she was employed, explaining that it was not for him but for his two other children, for she could not think of their going hungry.

In almost every case of break-up of the unmarried state, the children remain with the mother. This is also true in the case of an affair which results in a child. The father never takes on the responsibility of the children. In addition to this, as stated earlier, the children bear the mother's name and not that of the father. Often a break-up occurs because the man goes to live with another woman who does not want the children of his previous union, as she may have some of her own either by him or by someone else. On the other hand, women in Vila Recôncavo say that they would be ashamed to let the children go and be brought up by another woman, except in the case of a godparent, in whose home the treatment is expected to be at least as good as that which the mother could have given the child. 565* 848 [551] [583]

Sometimes women in this class have affairs with men who are already married and who do not leave their wives and children. A woman seldom has more than one lover at one time, and usually stays with the same man for a long period. Although the man takes no responsibility for the resulting children, he may, nevertheless, try to help the woman sometimes; but his first allegiance is to his own wife and children. 565* 839

Unless there has been a formal marriage, the children are always considered as belonging to the mother, and the most 565* 592 848

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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took over at least three cultural elements whose presence in the mores of colonial Brazil may be significant for our problem: the practice of concubinage, the subordinate position of woman in the household, and the comparative absence of color consciousness.

It may be that the Portuguese, like the Moors and other Mohammedans, were, as several commentators have said, a "color-blind" people; that is, awareness of color and other racial differences was not so pronounced with them as with us. It is probably true that the *conceptions* laid down in the culture materially influence the *perceptions* which individuals have.

Perhaps one reason the Portuguese in the New Country and their descendants cohabited with individuals from other races and interbred so extensively was that such behavior had long been common in the Old Country, where their ancestors had taken over from the Moors oriental customs tolerant of plural marriage. Even when Orientals exclude the children of concubines from the legitimate family in an attempt to preserve its status, emphasis is upon preserving status rather than purity of race.

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Concubinage, or *mancebia*, as it is known in Bahia, seems to have been quite common throughout the history of Brazil. It appears always to have been more or less socially sanctioned and accepted into the mores. Divorce is illegal, and many marriages are made for family convenience. It is not rare today in Bahia for a man with a legal wife and family to keep in separate establishments one or more *amantes*.[5] The

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[5] In one reported instance there are five; in another, eight. Usually the man, owing to the expense involved, is well to do; the women are from the lower strata. For instance, a wealthy and prominent intellectual figure lives most of the time apart from his legal wife with a mulatto woman who is intelligent, "attractive," and has traveled (with him) in France, Belgium,

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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[851] custom is to some extent recognized in law.[6] Usually the
[848] children take the mother's name, but occasionally the father "recognizes" and registers them, so that they legally bear his name. They are sometimes taken into the legitimate household, where they are usually accepted without serious question by the legal wife.[7]

848 Particularly among the lower classes, illegitimacy is not
[565] seriously prejudicial to the child. Personal qualities and in-
[554] dividual ability largely determine his role and status; his parentage is rather naturally considered to be a matter be-
551 yond his control. A surname is not of great importance, the given name being infinitely more used, even among the upper classes. Prominent intellectual and political figures are
000 known throughout the city by their given names. A stranger

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[837] and Portugal. Their eldest daughter is studying to be a pianist. There are three younger children. The man also supports another mulatto woman, said to be "very young and very pretty."

[837] [671] [6] A single extra-marital amorous experience makes a woman liable to prosecution for adultery, whereas for a man such conduct must not only be proved to be habitual but also to have involved an established relationship with a *single* individual. For a wife to have cause for legal action, she must previously have been ignorant of the extra-legal affair of her husband. Otherwise, her implied acquiescence constitutes participation in guilt.

[7] One wife said of her husband's "natural" child, "He's a fine boy. I like him as much as, or more than, my own children." In 1911 an American consul at Pará wrote: "In Amazonia the father assumes all the responsibility and legally adopts his illegitimate children who, in a majority of cases, become a part of his own family, taking an equal place in social privileges with those children within the bounds of the church regulations. . . . . There is no disposition in the higher social circles to discriminate against the number of these illegitimate aristocrats who, in the matter of education, refinement and address, are often the superior of some of those born in wedlock in the same families . . . . [and are], in many prominent cases, the acknowledged leaders of society" (J. Orton Kerbey, *An American Consul in Amazonia* [New York, 1911], p. 119).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

A stranger is often surprised to discover individuals whom he had not previously thought of as related turning out to be brothers or other close relatives. 602

The gradually improving status of women is today working against *mancebia*, and many of the "more scrupulous" families discourage it. In these, the wife, if she knows of her husband's affairs, may reprove him, as also may other members of the family and its friends. But usually, as an upper-class woman said, "the ladies talk very little about it, and then only with their most intimate friends. The subject is not generally discussed." 562 837 [521]

Although in recent years at least two feminists have become quite prominent, and one of these has been elected to the state legislature, the common family pattern at Bahia is still patriarchal. Tempered, of course, by the natural claims which primary relations always tend to set up, the role of the husband and father has, throughout Bahian history, been a decidedly dominant role. For instance, it is said to have formerly been the custom—at Bahia today in some instances a custom still observed—for the husband to select and purchase the materials for his wife's clothing and even indicate the manner in which the goods should be made up. Formerly, women, other than prostitutes, servants, and other individuals of inferior status, were rarely seen upon the streets or in public places, the home being considered their proper sphere. Even in the home, women seem to have rarely appeared in the presence of strangers. Tollenare, visiting Pernambuco in the early nineteenth century, wrote, "At my arrival [in the house of a merchant], the women disappeared, and only the head of the house remained in the *salão* to talk to me." In another connection he remarked: "During eight months of residence in Pernambuco I never once saw the 59 562 [635]

[Class C Families]

842 are known to the majority. It was pointed out by the men with a laugh that such things were unprocurable in town because the institute drugstore is run by a friar. They are obtainable in Centro and Salvador, but they are expensive, and the men say they are embarrassed to ask for them. One young couple sent to São Paulo for some injections to be given to the wife to prevent conception, but they did no good. The couple had found an announcement of the injections in a magazine, and since they wanted to limit their family to the one child they already had, they tried other means. They now have three children in spite of their efforts at prevention.

847 [278] There also are local remedies which are supposed to produce abortions. They consist of herbal teas and for the most part are supposed to be effective only up to the third month of pregnancy. Aluman, coqueiro root, orelha de pau, pitanga, mil homem root, and melão de São Caetano are all supposed to be effective. Few women will admit to having used them, although they all know about them. Figures on the number of natural abortions are almost impossible to obtain, for most often there is no record at all. The mother does not go to the doctor; she simply buries tal bobagem (such nonsense) in the 843 back yard. Those who admit having had miscarriages say they came about because of a fall, or frequently because of a great fright such as seeing a snake on the road. Most women do not 841 515 keep track of their menstrual periods, and according to the town doctor their personal hygiene leaves much to be desired. 864 Little or no information is directly passed between father and sons or mother and daughters concerning sexual matters. Each generation is left to find out for itself.

838 There are a few male sexual aberrants in town, known as "veados" (literally, "deer," but slang for homosexuals), and they are well known. A middle-aged fisherman, Patão, is the center of such activities. He is married and has several children. When his wife found out about his extramarital activities she took the children and left him, terribly shamed. This happened several years ago, and since then this man has worked up quite a trade, mostly among unmarried men, though there are at least three married men who go to him also. [548] Their excuse is that there are not enough women in the town, and since there are no prostitutes they go to him, although they do not like it. The married men say it is because their wives are ill or away, and they do not want complications with some girl. Patão, however, regales the daily gossip groups

[Class C Families]

Patão, however, regales the daily gossip groups 626
with his exploits, detail by detail, so it is always known who 838 •
has visited him. These men are in no way ostracized, and [521]
continue a normal life alongside the others. There are also
two cases of men connected with candomblé who are suspect-
ed of homosexual tendencies, but there are no definite data
about them. Public opinion, nevertheless, is generally against
homosexuality, and there was one case in which action was
taken. A married man "pegou um menino" (caught a little boy)
in the men's bath at one of the wells. Ordinarily the men en-
ter the bath alone, the others waiting outside until the one in-
side has finished. On this occasion the man found the boy al-
ready there and entered with him. Later the boy told what had
happened and the neighborhood was incensed and compelled
the man to leave town at least temporarily. The boy's only
remark was that he had not been paid!

Boys in their late teens sometimes jokingly refer to the 838
clube de veados (homosexuals' club), intimating their ex-
ploratory experiences with one another, and what they have
tried when they went together to Salvador or Centro, where,
according to them, the streets are full of veados. No such re- [839]
ports were found for the rural people, but the complaint that
young men were viciados nas mulas (corrupted by the use of
mules) was common. Another case at a distant factory con- [522]
cerned two women who were living together, one very strong,
large and bearded, and very jealous of anyone who even looked
at the other. This case was well known, and considered hi-
larious by the neighbors.

Family life in Class C is characterized by a lack of pri- 565 *
vacy. The house of a family in this class has at the most two [362]
bedrooms, frequently only one, in which all members must
sleep. It is common for a young couple to have only one bed [352]
when their marriage begins, in which they, as well as their [513]
first and second children, sleep. The use of a cradle for in-
fants is rare. The baby usually sleeps with the parents, and
as it grows older, or as new babies are born, it is relegated
to the foot of the bed. Loud and bitter are the complaints about 565 *
children who wet the bed, which many of them do for many 863
years. Most mothers say they try to wake up several times
during the night in order to hold the infant over the side of
the bed to allow it to perform its natural functions, which
makes life more pleasant for the others in the bed. In the [356]
morning the floor is thoroughly washed.

During the day young boys go about with only shorts on, or 600

[Class C Families]

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[548]

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

able for the total number of marital unions formed during the years, so it is impossible to know the percentage of amasiado unions throughout the entire population.

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TABLE 8
CIVIL MARRIAGES BY AGE GROUPS

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Males		Females	
minors under 18	1	minors under 15	2
18-22	4	15-19	6
23-27	6	20-24	7
28-32	5	25-29	2
33-37	1	30-34	1
38-43	2	35-39	1
	19		19

There are occasions when a couple marry in the church only after having lived together for many years, at which time their children may be the principal witnesses at the wedding. Such a wedding always gives the couple a feeling of satisfaction and well-being, for there is sometimes a certain shame attached to the amasiado state, especially when it is necessary to fill in official forms such as birth registration, the census, or registration at the Institute of Vila Recôncavo. A woman who can say "meu esposo" or "meu marido" (my husband) feels a certain superiority over the one who can only say "meu homem" (my man).

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The attitude toward children in Class C is somewhat ambivalent. Married women with as many as ten or twelve children may say they never wanted children, but simply "took what God sent." Frequently little girls pray that their mother will have another child so they may take care of it. All girls from the age of seven to thirteen or fourteen seem to like small children. There are few men who do not want children. Even though the mother may say she did not want them, she always seems pleased with them after they are born, and children, especially boys, are well loved and spoiled. Part of the women's gossip is often about another woman who is about to have a baby, and many women with five or six children of their own accuse others of having children "como ratos" (like rats) because they have eight or nine.

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[521]

There is no use of contraceptives in Class C, although they

[Class C Families]

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4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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in the United States always serves to call out the traditional responses long associated with variations in social status.

Today there exists in Bahia the belief that the population is gradually but persistently "whitening," a conviction difficult to understand, given the heavy preponderance of Africans among the population which originally migrated to this area and the negligible number of European immigrants in recent times.

The probable greater mortality of blacks may in part account for this change. According to a recent unpublished study, the infantile death rate among the lower classes in Bahia, which, as we have seen, are principally black and dark mulatto, is approximately twice that of the upper classes; and, in 1932, deaths under five years of age constituted nearly one-third of all deaths for that year (1,698 out of 5,407). At the same time there does not seem to be any marked difference in fertility between the races.

At any rate, Bahians frequently comment on an appreciable change in the color of the population within their memories. One continually hears remarks like that of a mixed-blood citizen who said:

> Formerly, the *pretos* (blacks) were the most numerous group in Bahia, the *pardos* (browns) next, and the *brancos* (whites) last. Today, the *pardos* are in the majority, the *brancos* next, and the *pretos* last. I am convinced that before long the *pretos* will have completely disappeared. The *brancos* will soon overtake and, in the course of time, completely absorb the *pardos*.

The mixed-bloods tend to look upon themselves as transition points in an inevitable whitening process. Pride in the present advanced stage is common, and the end result is eagerly anticipated. From the mulattoes, as from the whites, one frequently hears the declaration: "We Brazilians are

[Class C Families]

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584 intimation of its course. The meeting may finally be arranged at the house of an older female friend. If the two are genuinely interested in each other they may allow the fact to become public, and if the parents are pleased they will in due course [836] be married. Otherwise the girl may keep the whole affair a secret, and after a period of flirtation have an affair with the [263] boy and become pregnant. Any girl who refuses to eat pepper is immediately suspected of pregnancy, and inquiries are [843] made.

*565 When a Class C family wishes to celebrate some occasion 574 such as a birthday, anniversary, or the time in which the twin saints Cosme and Damião are feasted, the woman's friends 252 and any nearby female relatives come in to help her cook. 262 Guests are invited by the husband. The preparation of all food must be done by hand, the chickens killed, cleaned, and [476] plucked, the beans shelled, the shrimp and fish cleaned, the farina cakes made, and the popular liqueurs (licores) prepared [273] by soaking various kinds of fruit in bottles of rum and syrup. At such parties the traditional, favorite Bahian dishes of vatapá, acarajé, carurú, abará, cuscus, and the many moquecas, are served. All these are appetizing, but take much time [251] to prepare and cannot be made too far in advance, for there *565 is no way of preserving food. Unless the household is particularly wealthy, the family seldom gives parties; many never 574 manage to give one. Dancing forms an important part of the 535 festivities. The men bring their drums, tambourines, and guitars, while the women sing and dance the samba. In the rural [369] area, social dancing in mixed couples is rare, but in town it is a common form.

*565 A family may take care of an aged mother, father, or even godparent, or of some other relative on either side. Such 888 person is well cared for within the family means. Most people 736 in Vila Recôncavo are generous toward others who are in some way unfortunate, and help them if they can. There is little or no complaint if the household has to take in an infirm or aged relative; most people say that the same may happen to them one day and they will have to be taken care of. Perhaps the old person helped them in some way in the past when they needed aid and is now being repaid. Or if some older person wants to live alone, a group of neighbors and relatives all help in preparing meals and supplying food and other wants over an extended period of time. There is no case in Vila Recôncavo of an elderly person being sent to a public institution.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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ing the *bozó* in a place where the intended victim is likely to step on it or otherwise touch it.[32] An animal may be "prepared with the *ebó*" so that whoever subsequently touches the animal will catch the illness or inherit the misfortune. If, however, one wishes to avoid transferring the evil to another person, he may do so and still rid himself of his affliction by leaving the *ebó* in a cemetery.

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If a *filha de santo* (ceremonial dancer of the fetish cult) would avoid illness or other misfortune, it is considered highly important that she observe all the taboos, especially those attaching to food and drink. A pregnant woman must avoid vegetables and all meats other than chicken; she must not join a funeral procession, since the spirit of the deceased might enter her child; and she must avoid a rose touching her bare breast, for otherwise the child, it is believed, will be born with a birthmark.[33]

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Charms may be of a specific nature like the *figa*[34] or the

[32] The affliction may, however, be transferred to someone toward whom no harm was originally intended if the individual placing the *ebó*, either ignorantly or with intention, fails to leave it in the designated place. The first person coming in physical contact with it will be affected. So widespread is this fear of the *ebó* that chauffeurs, even at the risk of an accident, will not run a wheel over one.

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[33] Current folk medicines include: for syphilis, whale oil; for a toothache, pig or burro dung smoked in a clay pipe; for a cough, sweetened tea prepared by boiling a termite nest; for sore throat, tea made by boiling a live lizard whose body is then removed from the vessel and buried with its head toward the new moon. Native herbs are extensively employed, particularly by *curandeiros*, or they may be administered at the hands of anyone "instructed" by a "manifesting" deity, a common occurrence in those *candomblés* known as *de caboclo* (a portion of whose ritual is probably of native Indian origin) and in spiritualist centers like that in Alto do Bom Gosto, in Calcada, one of whose directors remarked, "So many *caboclos* 'manifest themselves' because they know so well how to heal with herbs."

[34] The *figa* is an image, usually made from wood, of a closed fist with the thumb inserted between the index and middle fingers.

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512 days when their husbands cannot go. The wives of fishermen
462 also have to cook meals at different times in the day for their husbands, who generally bring enough fish from the last catch for one or two meals. It is the woman who goes to the store for farina, coffee, beans, rice, and so on. Their evenings are usually spent at home sewing, making or mending a net either for their husbands or for someone else. If there is a samba they may go and watch but seldom stay long, but if there is a candomblé ceremony they may spend the whole night there, especially if they participate in it. In such a case they often take their children with them and put them to sleep in the house, or else put them on a bench to watch the proceedings.

759 The institute has broken down the pattern of the practical
743 midwife, known locally as parteira or curiosa, since one of
178 the first things done when it opened in 1945 was to have several young girls trained in Salvador as midwives. Up to that time, however, there had only been older women, who through experience and sometimes through necessity had taken on the job of midwives. In the rural area the untrained midwife is still important, for the clinic has not yet made itself felt to
846 the majority of people living there. When the time comes for
759 the birth of a child, a neighbor or perhaps a relative comes
462 into the house to cook and clean and look after the other children, and occasionally to assist with the birth. The father
• [844] continues his usual round of occupations, as most women put it, "earning enough to feed another mouth." In some cases the man helps with the housework when he is home, and there are several men in the town who are good cooks and who can look after the children. In other cases the midwife may stay several days in the house, doing all these things. Recently, however, as a result of the death of one midwife and the resignation of two trained ones of the institute, the other two have been so busy that they cannot spend much time in any one house. A common complaint because of this is that the midwife tries to hurry the birth, massaging the woman's abdomen, and frequently attempting to induce birth before the normal time.

759 The most popular midwife in town rarely has a chance to rest. She is in her seventies and is frequently in a state of exhaustion from caring for households where a birth has taken place. She sleeps there, usually on a grass mat since the mother occupies the only bed. She serves in the rural area also, as well as on the islands facing the town. Payment for

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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men, anxious for a good year's catch, or individuals wishing to be rid of some illness, to obtain employment, or to secure a satisfactory resolution of unrequited love, will purchase foods, wearing apparel, toilet articles, jewelry, and other gifts pleasing to a lady and place them with appropriate ceremonies in a body of water presumed to be inhabited by one of the *mães d'agua*. Particularly sacred are the waters of Mar Grande, off the island of Itaparica, where, a few years ago, a saddle horse, it is said, was presented to Yemanjá; Mont'serrat and Cabeceiras da Ponte, on opposite sides of Itapagipe; Baiutê,[29] near the village of Itapoan; and Mariquita, near Rio Vermelho.[30] Parents of twins make regular food and drink offerings to the twin-deities, the Beji, or Cosme and Damião. Omolú, the "*orixá* of smallpox," is believed to protect not only against the ravishes of this disease

[778] [823] [845] [776] 776 75

[29] A foreigner was swimming in Baiutê when a passer-by, seeing him, shouted excitedly, "What are you doing in there? Don't you know that that water is charmed (*encantado*)? You might even turn into a fish. Haven't you seen the white swans? They say that they are two people who once swam here." For accounts of public offerings to the *mães d'agua* see *Estado da Bahia* for June 19 and September 23, 1936; *A Tarde* (Bahia), February 3, 1938.

[30] A letter headed, "Every Vow Fulfilled up to the End of the Year, 1936," and addressed to "Our Lady of Mont'serrat, the Mistress of the Sea, Janaina," was found in the bay near Mont'serrat. It read: [539]

To my Godmother:

I promise you, my Lady of Mont'serrat, that if you arrange it so that I can marry Domingos Portella, I will give you a present worth fifty milreis. And on the second of February I will put in another present according to my means. If possible, I will give you thirty milreis, and if not I will give you at least twenty. As large a present as I have I will give you on February 2, from twenty milreis up. My Godmother, I promise thee that the day of my marriage to Domingos Portella will be a happy day for you also; while I shall be having a *festa* here on land, you also will be having a *festa* there in the holy sea. I will fix dishes of all that we have in the house for this day, and send them to you, with greetings from me.

Your goddaughter,

Yvonne D. L. Braga

(Letter presented here by courtesy of Friar Tomás.)

4; Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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My sister is preparing *carurú*. She has twin boys. When God gives you twins, you are obliged to present *carurú* to Cosme and Damião. If you fail to do this, someone in the house will die that year.

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If one were now to set down an account of the personal experiences of an upper-class Bahian, it would reveal an entirely different mental world. In general content it would reflect a culture distinctly European. Dress, music, food and food habits, forms of religious expression, sacred specialists, means of exercising control over personal destiny, and the ideas, attitudes, sentiments, points of view, and philosophy of life associated with them would, in general, not vary from those commonly characteristic of individuals of European origin wherever found.

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This variation at Bahia in cultural identification between the Europeans, on the one hand, and the *Africanos*, on the other—this difference in ideas, attitudes, and sentiments—obviously erects serious barriers to intercommunication and consequently retards the development of a body of common understandings upon which the moral solidarity of any society is built. Although most of the Bahian blacks have now to a considerable extent sloughed off their former cultural identity with Africa and have been more or less completely incorporated into the European world, a remnant of *Africanos* still live, in spite of contiguity in space with the Europeans, to a considerable extent culturally apart.

As will be evident in greater detail in the following chapter, the Europeans tend to look upon the beliefs and the practices of the *Africanos* as matters for ridicule, scorn, disparagement, and condemnation. They are thought of as queer, bizarre, unintelligible, inferior forms of behavior.

[Class C Families]

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512 days when their husbands cannot go. The wives of fishermen
462 also have to cook meals at different times in the day for their husbands, who generally bring enough fish from the last catch for one or two meals. It is the woman who goes to the store for farina, coffee, beans, rice, and so on. Their evenings are usually spent at home sewing, making or mending a net either for their husbands or for someone else. If there is a samba they may go and watch but seldom stay long, but if there is a candomblé ceremony they may spend the whole night there, especially if they participate in it. In such a case they often take their children with them and put them to sleep in the house, or else put them on a bench to watch the proceedings.

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• 846 the majority of people living there. When the time comes for
759 the birth of a child, a neighbor or perhaps a relative comes
462 into the house to cook and clean and look after the other chil-
[844] dren, and occasionally to assist with the birth. The father continues his usual round of occupations, as most women put it, "earning enough to feed another mouth." In some cases the man helps with the housework when he is home, and there are several men in the town who are good cooks and who can look after the children. In other cases the midwife may stay several days in the house, doing all these things. Recently, however, as a result of the death of one midwife and the resignation of two trained ones of the institute, the other two have been so busy that they cannot spend much time in any one house. A common complaint because of this is that the midwife tries to hurry the birth, massaging the woman's abdomen, and frequently attempting to induce birth before the normal time.

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[Class C Families]

842 are known to the majority. It was pointed out by the men with a laugh that such things were unprocurable in town because the institute drugstore is run by a friar. They are obtainable in Centro and Salvador, but they are expensive, and the men say they are embarrassed to ask for them. One young couple sent to São Paulo for some injections to be given to the wife to prevent conception, but they did no good. The couple had found an announcement of the injections in a magazine, and since they wanted to limit their family to the one child they already had, they tried other means. They now have three children in spite of their efforts at prevention.

• 847 [278] There also are local remedies which are supposed to produce abortions. They consist of herbal teas and for the most part are supposed to be effective only up to the third month of pregnancy. Aluman, coqueiro root, orelha de pau, pitanga, mil homem root, and melão de São Caetano are all supposed to be effective. Few women will admit to having used them, although they all know about them. Figures on the number of natural abortions are almost impossible to obtain, for most often there is no record at all. The mother does not go to the doctor; she simply buries tal bobagem (such nonsense) in the 843 back yard. Those who admit having had miscarriages say they came about because of a fall, or frequently because of a great fright such as seeing a snake on the road. Most women do not 841 keep track of their menstrual periods, and according to the 515 town doctor their personal hygiene leaves much to be desired. 864 Little or no information is directly passed between father and sons or mother and daughters concerning sexual matters. Each generation is left to find out for itself.

838 There are a few male sexual aberrants in town, known as "veados" (literally, "deer," but slang for homosexuals), and they are well known. A middle-aged fisherman, Patão, is the center of such activities. He is married and has several children. When his wife found out about his extramarital activities she took the children and left him, terribly shamed. This happened several years ago, and since then this man has worked up quite a trade, mostly among unmarried men, though there are at least three married men who go to him also. [548] Their excuse is that there are not enough women in the town, and since there are no prostitutes they go to him, although they do not like it. The married men say it is because their wives are ill or away, and they do not want complications with some girl. Patão, however, regales the daily gossip groups

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parently the criteria for class distinctions were evolved and "set" at that time. The white Portuguese males, and the few Portuguese women present, were the owners of the land and of the people, both Indian and Negro, who were drawn into the cultural milieu which became Brazilian society. They were the group who set up and presented the ideal behavior patterns to the others. They were at the peak of the status and prestige hierarchy, while the slave was at the bottom. Thus was established the original dichotomy of the whites as upper-class and the colored people as lower-class. As colonial development continued, other factors were added to this basic one by the will of the whites. For it was the white group which was primarily responsible for the creation of the mestiço, and it was the white who placed this new mestiço socially between himself and the darkest colored person. 175 56

It is clear that color distinctions arose along with the creation of the multishaded mestiço group, and that at the same time other factors were brought into being, qualifying that of color, such as education, family, and occupation. White masters who had children by dark slaves often raised them as legitimate if they were light-skinned, that is, if the difference between father and child was not too great. In such a case the child could become a member of the upper end of the social hierarchy, with education, family, and a position in which he could command others rather than do any manual labor. 175 563 565*

This was particularly the case when the white master did not have a legitimate, European wife to bear him children. If the difference between father and offspring was too great for the child to be easily acceptable as the son of a European, the child was nevertheless not infrequently partially recognized and helped by the father in some fashion. He then took his place among the gente pequena, free but illegitimate and rather dark-skinned. With marked Negroid features his status was even lower than the European gente pequena. An illegitimate child who proved to be clearly Negroid was likely to be left in bondage with its mother. Thus, early in Brazilian society the degree of skin darkness and the kind of facial features and hair form became important. Opportunity for personal advancement was linked with similarity to the white European, who was the giver of status and who liked to give higher status to those in his image. 175 563 565* 848

Until 1888 there were two major social categories: slaves and nonslaves. Within the nonslave group, however, there 175 565* 567

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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565 ers to keep households of stable families, even without formal marriage. In Class D are found mostly the washerwomen and ironers listed under Occupation Group 2 in the preceding chapter.

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565 The unwed mother seldom marries, for few men are willing to take a wife who is not a virgin, and fewer still can ac-
836 cept the responsibility of a whole family at once unless the
837 woman has some property to offer along with herself. Once
•848 she has had a child a woman loses prestige and status and becomes a mark for men who are looking for an affair. She may even move in with a man for a while. Later, either she leaves him or he leaves her. She must support herself and her offspring, for her father can seldom support another family. As her children grow up, especially the daughters, she hopes for a legal marriage for them; but this is seldom realized for the girls will escape her control just as she herself did. In such a case a woman has little influence and very often cannot force the man to marry her daughter, so that her household is eventually composed of three generations, with two unwed mothers and their children. This is especially true when the young daughters are pretty or, as often happens, light-skinned, as a result of the fact that their fathers often belong to the lighter-colored group of men in town. Often girls from Class D are sent to the city to work as domestics in much the same way as girls from the rural area; there they may marry and avoid a repetition of the cycle, or else they return to their mothers pregnant and unmarried, for few employers will keep a pregnant girl in the house.

125 The following data were collected through the use of a ques-
114 tionnaire given after the author had been in the field about nine months. The actual collection was accomplished by the author and two paid assistants. The questionnaire was long and detailed, and each one took approximately three hours to complete.

125 Many people in all the classes did not want to respond, feel-
*565 ing that it was too much an invasion of their privacy. Many said that they did not know how much money they earned over a long period, that they simply spent whatever came into their hands. Others produced written, detailed records of all the money they earned and spent and how they spent it. The total number of samples finally collected was 125. Sixty-two are urban samples from the town of Vila Recôncavo, and sixty-

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563 cause he is white. But the chances are heavy against the marriage of a member of Class A with a "man of color." Perhaps in the city a marriage between a white of this upper class and a mestiço of the same group would take place, but this would certainly not happen in the rural area.

563 Until the end of the last century a number of bastards were produced by the white plantation owners and their sons, with
• 848 the slaves and former slaves. A large segment of the Vila Recôncavo population is made up of these individuals and their
(551) children, and in many cases they bear the name of the white's family. These people are not recognized socially by the whites. In many instances the mestiço has the family name not because he was given it, but because he took it. Frequently a white family will keep track of the descendants on the illegitimate side of the family, and help them if necessary; but they will never introduce one of these individuals as a member of the family, even when that person has all the family's physical characteristics, if he has a darker skin.

In one case, the illegitimate daughter of a union between a white man and a slave recently found herself in a position to help the legitimate daughter of her father's cousin. This girl was born free prior to abolition. The slave mother managed to educate the girl, who became a successful schoolteacher and made excellent professional connections in the world of education. Later on, when her father's cousin's legitimate daughter, widowed with three children, needed aid to educate one of her own daughters, she received such aid from her mestiço cousin.

563 Because it is so striking a feature of these color relations, it may be repeated that there is only one series in the classification and this includes everyone from white to black. Regardless of degree of color all types are part of the same broad three-class system. The categories are known to all people, not only to those who happen to be "people of color," and they are used by all in referring to others.

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[Class D Families]

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nieces, and nephews
46 agregados and hospedes

Examples of the household units are given below.

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TABLE 10
COMPOSITION OF CLASS D HOUSEHOLDS

Status of Head of Family	Age	Occupation	Number of Head of Family's Children Living in House	Number of Others in House
unmarried	62	none	2	4 grandchildren
widow	70	cook	1	1 grandchild; 1 hospede
unmarried	59	laundress	1	4 grandchildren
unmarried	24	laundress	4	none
widow	49	seamstress	4	7 grandchildren, 1 agregado
unmarried	42	cook	3	1 sister, 1 niece, 1 hospede
unmarried	39	laundress	3	1 hospede
unmarried	66	ironing	0	6 nieces & nephews
widow	42	ironing	6	none
unmarried	56	laundress	0	1 grandchild
unmarried	36	laundress	6	1 nephew
unmarried	48	laundress	3	1 brother
married	36	ironing	6	1 mother, 1 nephew
unmarried	38	laundress	3	1 aunt, 1 cousin
unmarried	84	none	0	1 agregado
unmarried	21	ironing	4	none
unmarried	54	laundress	0	1 hospede, 2 agregados
married	52	laundress	1	3 grandchildren

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The household of Damiana is a good example for Class D. Damiana, who is now in her fifties, had a prolonged affair with a married man when she was young, and gave birth to three daughters. Orphaned herself at about the same time, she took her children and went to reside in the house of a good friend who was living in an unmarried relationship with a man. When Maria José, one of her daughters, was sixteen she was deflowered, and Damiana managed through a godfather's influence to force the boy who was responsible to marry the girl. Maria José, however, did not want to live with him, and since

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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no child was born of the affair she went to Salvador where she found employment. There she met Vavá, whom she liked very much. She went to live with him for eleven years and had three children. 565* 592 583 836

During this time, Vavá had affairs with several other women and had two other children. Finally he tired of Maria José and told her to go home to her mother, which she did, taking her three children with her. Damiana's godfather allowed her, Maria José and her children, and Tatá, another of Damiana's daughters who by then had six illegitimate children, to live rent-free in a house he owned. Childless, he took one daughter from each of the two girls to bring up in his own home. 159 848 [608]

Shortly after the three women had set up this household, Vavá tired of his new companion and wanted Maria José to come back to him, which she refused to do. From time to time he also asked her for money, as he was now unemployed. She always gave him some, since she was employed, explaining that it was not for him but for his two other children, for she could not think of their going hungry.

In almost every case of break-up of the unmarried state, the children remain with the mother. This is also true in the case of an affair which results in a child. The father never takes on the responsibility of the children. In addition to this, as stated earlier, the children bear the mother's name and not that of the father. Often a break-up occurs because the man goes to live with another woman who does not want the children of his previous union, as she may have some of her own either by him or by someone else. On the other hand, women in Vila Recôncavo say that they would be ashamed to let the children go and be brought up by another woman, except in the case of a godparent, in whose home the treatment is expected to be at least as good as that which the mother could have given the child. 565* 848 [551] [583]

Sometimes women in this class have affairs with men who are already married and who do not leave their wives and children. A woman seldom has more than one lover at one time, and usually stays with the same man for a long period. Although the man takes no responsibility for the resulting children, he may, nevertheless, try to help the woman sometimes; but his first allegiance is to his own wife and children. 565* 839

Unless there has been a formal marriage, the children are always considered as belonging to the mother, and the most 565* 592 848

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remarkable fact about these female households is that mother and children manage to remain together as long as they do. Usually the husbandless woman finds work as a laundress or at ironing, or dries fish (xangó), three tasks which permit her to keep her children near her. When she becomes a cook or servant in someone's home, it is common for her to take the children to work and let them play nearby in the back yard. In such a case her children may eventually receive aid from her employer, who because of the children's continued presence in the house becomes fond of them and wants to do something for them. If this does not happen, the mother herself must take care of their future. As a rule, boys from such families leave town as soon as they are old enough, finding employment in Salvador. Girls, on the other hand, remain with their mothers more often than leaving. If they do leave, they often return, like Maria José, with children of their own.

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Because of the poverty of these households, there is little or no provision for the care of older people, and it is from this class that come the very few, poor, old women who beg for food, medicine, and other aid. The people of the town are in general extremely generous in view of their own financial circumstances, and they do what they can to help. In Vila Recôncavo there are no "professional" beggars; there is no one seated on a street corner asking for alms. There is, instead, a very proud spirit of independence, and having to go from door to door (or, rather, from kitchen to kitchen) asking for food or money is highly repugnant. Families will often send food to an old person regularly in order to avoid face-to-face contact with begging. Begging is also sometimes done through a third person, often a child, again to avoid face-to-face relationships in asking for aid.

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Class D does not exist in the rural area, for reasons already noted, particularly the pressure brought to bear by plantation owners and administrators. In addition, however, it also seems that women can only support themselves and their children in the more crowded urban areas, where they can find work which allows them to be near their children.

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the engagement on the part of the girl's family, and all her friends felt that, although she had a good 'catch', that is, a successful man, he was too dark for her. This in spite of the fact that the girl's father is a *branco da terra*, and that her grandmother was dark-skinned.

One great bar between the upper class of 'aristocratic whites' and those below them is that of marriage. The white of the second class may sometimes be acceptable to the upper class, because he is white; but the chances are heavy against the marriage of an 'aristocratic white' with an *homem de côr*. Perhaps in the city situation a marriage between a white of this upper class and a *mestiço* of the same class would take place, but certainly not in a rural area.

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Until the end of the last century many bastards were produced by the white plantation owners and their sons, with the slaves and ex-slaves. The Vila Recôncavo population is made up of a large segment of these individuals and their offspring, and in many cases they bear the name of the family of the white. So that today there exist in Vila Recôncavo people who are relatives to various degrees of the white upper class, and in some cases have the same family name. These people are not recognized socially by the whites. In many instances the mixed-blood has the family name, not because he was given it, but because he took it. Frequently a white family will keep track of the descendants on the illegitimate side of the family, and help them if necessary, but they would never introduce one of these individuals as a member of the family, even when that person has all the family physical characteristics.

In one case, the illegitimate daughter of a union between a slave and a white man recently found herself in a position to help the legitimate daughter of her father's cousin. This girl was born free to a slave, before abolition. The slave mother managed to educate the girl, who became a successful schoolteacher. Later on, when her father's cousin's legitimate daughter, widowed with three children, needed help to educate one of her own daughters, she found that aid from her *mestiço* cousin.

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This type of race mixture is far less common today than it was some 70 years ago. However, young white men still frequently have their early sex experiences with *mestiço* and *preto* girls.

The fourth class, the lowest, is confined to the town and consists of people who have no steady employment and who have no *patrão*. They are people caught in the changing economic pattern of the area, from a highly personalized *patrão* economy to a more modern money economy. As yet there is no room for this group in the rural area. There are no 'pure' whites here—a few *brancos da terra*, and *mulatos* and *pretos*. Ascension from this class, which is very small, is easier for a woman, especially if she is light-skinned. For a man, only money will take him upward.

Traditionally the *preto* is linked with ignorance and superstition,

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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The first recorded protest in Brazil against slavery as an institution was that of the Jesuit Manoel de Nobrega, who, shortly after Bahia was founded, sent a letter to the superior of his order in Lisbon protesting against the importation of Africans into the new settlement.

In 1758 Manoel Ribeiro da Rocha, who had been educated at Coimbra, published in Lisbon a book entitled *Ethiope resgatado, empenhado, sustentado, corrigido, instruido e libertado*, in which the abolition of the slave trade was advocated. Sixty-five years later, in 1823, José Bonifacio de Andrade e Silva unsuccessfully proposed in parliament a measure designed to end importation by 1828. But on November 7, 1831, the regent, Padre Diogo Antonio Feijó, signed a resolution drawn up by Costa Carvalho, Lima e Sousa, and Basilio Muniz, which declared free all Africans subsequently brought into Brazil.

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Manumission existed from the first. Apparently early in the colonial period it became customary for masters to accept remuneration for original cost.[64] Public opinion demanded that an owner set at liberty any slave requesting his freedom and offering the price of his purchase.[65] The requirement was later made legally binding and enforced by law.[65a] Other slaves were given their freedom either during their master's lifetime or upon his death. The fathers of illegitimate offspring often freed their children at the baptismal font. From 1864 to 1870 large numbers of slaves were granted their freedom on agreeing to serve in the Para-

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[64] The wearing of shoes or slippers became a symbol of freedom.

[65] R. Walsh, *Notices of Brazil* (2 vols.; London, 1830), II, 391.

[65a] National Law No. 2040, September 28, 1871. See Manoel Joaquim do Nascimento e Silva, *Synopsis da legislação brasileira* (Rio, 1874), p. 460.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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seventeenth century largely disappeared, Zacharias Wagner at that time observed that unions of Portuguese men with Indian or mixed-blood women were still of frequent occurrence.[7] Capistrano de Abreu records the desire of native women to have children "belonging to the superior race, since, according to the ideas current among them, parentage was important only on the paternal side."[8] Freyre, following Varnhagen, thinks "a decided sexual preference" was involved.[9]

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Intermarriage assures to the family relationships of the mixed-blood a relative permanence and continuity not always characteristic of informal unions. Although human beings are responsive to the natural claims of paternity, illegitimate offspring are often denied the regular presence of a father in the family and the relative security in other respects of legitimate children.

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Among the Africans imported into Bahia were numerous individuals possessed, as we have seen, of a cultural equipment superior not only to that of the native Indian but also "to that of the majority of the white colonists . . . . many of whom were illiterate and the greater portion only semiliterate."[10] In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries there was so little literacy among the Europeans that "not rarely rich *fazendeiros* in the interior requested their friends on the coast to arrange a son-in-law who, although he had no

[7] Alfredo de Carvalho, "O Zoobillion de Zacharias Wagner," *Revista do Instituto Archeologico, Historico e Geographico de Pernambuco*, Vol. XI (1904), quoted by Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

[8] Capistrano de Abreu, *Capitulos de historia colonial* (3d. ed.; Rio, 1934), quoted by Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

[9] *Op. cit.*, p. 59.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 212.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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CHAPTER VI

THE RISE OF THE MIXED-BLOOD

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EARLY in the colonial period race mixture resulted in an intermediate population group in more favorable position for social advancement. Mulatto slaves, because they were ordinarily chosen by their masters and mistresses for the more delicate and exacting household tasks, to be *mucamas* (maids), *amas de crear* ("mammies"), and other *pessoal de casa* (house servants), early developed into a distinct group apart from the field hands.[1] They were baptized, received the master's name, and often were married in accordance with the prescribed legal and religious practices, thus establishing legitimate families and adding to the social security of their offspring by building up a family tradition.

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Many *mulatinhos*, illegitimate children of the *senhor*, learned to read and to write even more quickly than white, legitimate children, outstripping them in preparatory and even advanced studies. The Reconcavo of Bahia yields a number of such cases.[2] Particularly fortunate, we are told, were the children of priests. Their fathers, being ordinarily from upper-class families and possessing money and prestige, transmitted to their offspring, colored as well as white, ad-

[1] F. J. Oliveira Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro* (2d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 157; Jean Baptiste de Lacerda, "The *Metis*, or Half-breeds of Brazil," in *Papers on Inter-racial Problems*, ed. G. Spiller (London, 1911), p. 379.

[2] Gilberto Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* (2d ed.; Rio, 1936), pp. 324–25. The author throughout this chapter is greatly indebted to Freyre's *Sobrados e mucambos* (São Paulo, 1936), esp. chap. vii.

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vantages of ancestry, social position, intellectuality, and wealth. The professions were readily open to them, and "marriages into the bosom of the most exclusive families"[3] sometimes took place. "More fortunate even than the son of a priest" and "A child of a priest is never unhappy" are expressions still heard at Bahia.[4]

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Significant also was the widespread system of *creação*, whereby colored children who were being reared within the master's house, the so-called *crias*, *irmãos de creação*, *malungos*, *muleques de estimação*, gained position as "persons of the house," somewhat comparable to poor relations in the households of medieval Europe. Often they were seated at the patriarchal table as if members of the family. Some even rode in the family vehicle with their masters.

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Owing to the peculiar personal associations in which the mulattoes grew up, they tended to develop certain traits favorable to their advancement. They were usually more intelligent, we are told, more aggressive, more dexterous, and more cunning than the pure blacks. Consequently, they were often assigned to the more skilled occupations, such as shoemaking, carpentry, and tailoring, where they developed occupational skills symbolic of greater personal worth than ordinarily attaches to unskilled labor.

Because they were liberated in preference to the blacks, the mixed-bloods, early in the colonial period, began to enter the free classes.[5] The disproportion between black

[3] Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 324.

[4] "The social ascension of children of priests, both white and light mixed-blood, has always occurred with great facility" (*ibid.*, pp. 323–24).

[5] In addition, the king of Portugal in 1773 intervened in their behalf, denouncing those persons "so lacking in the sentiments of humanity and of religion" that they still keep in slavery persons "whiter than they are" (Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 327).

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[851] custom is to some extent recognized in law.[6] Usually the children take the mother's name, but occasionally the father [848] "recognizes" and registers them, so that they legally bear his name. They are sometimes taken into the legitimate household, where they are usually accepted without serious question by the legal wife.[7]

848 Particularly among the lower classes, illegitimacy is not [565] seriously prejudicial to the child. Personal qualities and in- [554] dividual ability largely determine his role and status; his parentage is rather naturally considered to be a matter be- 551 yond his control. A surname is not of great importance, the given name being infinitely more used, even among the upper classes. Prominent intellectual and political figures are 900 known throughout the city by their given names. A stranger

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[837] and Portugal. Their eldest daughter is studying to be a pianist. There are three younger children. The man also supports another mulatto woman, said to be "very young and very pretty."

[837 671] [6] A single extra-marital amorous experience makes a woman liable to prosecution for adultery, whereas for a man such conduct must not only be proved to be habitual but also to have involved an established relationship with a *single* individual. For a wife to have cause for legal action, she must previously have been ignorant of the extra-legal affair of her husband. Otherwise, her implied acquiescence constitutes participation in guilt.

[7] One wife said of her husband's "natural" child, "He's a fine boy. I like him as much as, or more than, my own children." In 1911 an American consul at Pará wrote: "In Amazonia the father assumes all the responsibility and legally adopts his illegitimate children who, in a majority of cases, become a part of his own family, taking an equal place in social privileges with those children within the bounds of the church regulations. . . . . There is no disposition in the higher social circles to discriminate against the number of these illegitimate aristocrats who, in the matter of education, refinement and address, are often the superior of some of those born in wedlock in the same families . . . . [and are], in many prominent cases, the acknowledged leaders of society" (J. Orton Kerbey, *An American Consul in Amazonia* [New York, 1911], p. 119).

[SALVADOR]

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*563 441 [186] although these lines of demarcation have a tendency to disappear. The Jews, who have immigrated since the first world war and whom people know under the name of "Russians," are the principal owners of furniture stores and are beginning to become interested in other kinds of commerce; strictly exclusive in their firms, they do not seem to have any Brazilian associates, so that the dark employees that they have among them never occupy any but subordinate positions and never reach the top positions that would permit them to take a place in the higher strata of society.

The characteristic endogamy of the Israelites has also contributed toward restricting the chances of colored people in this [233] [472] sector. Some Jews of French origin who established themselves in the city during the second half of the last century and who turned to commerce and stock raising were entirely assimilated. Their /47/ families today include some light métis and some *563 472 256 441 morenos. The Spaniards who dominate the grocery and bakery business are grouped into firms in which only they themselves and their immediate descendants participate. In order to maintain this commercial structure, the group is constantly renewed through the immigration of young men of the same nationality, who start to work in modest positions and end up by forming new firms or being integrated in the old ones. From the time the *563 472 441 [175] Spanish emigrants came still unmarried or left their families in Spain, they had mulatto children or morenos here by their servants, children who were born illegitimate and who had no right of inheritance (Brazilian law did not insure it to persons in [848] [428] [671] their position until some years later). But for about 20 years the Spaniards have started to send for, or bring with them, their families, so that they now form a very closed group, not only from the economic point of view, but especially from the social and, so to speak, the biological point of view. An informant [256] points out that in the old days numerous bakeries were the property of Blacks; since then the Spaniards have monopolized them almost completely, that they now control this type of business entirely. The antagonism of the inhabitants of Bahia against the

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her services ranges anywhere from fifty cruzeiros to nothing but thanks, but with the understanding that when she is ill the family will help her, since she lives alone. 759

If a baptized child dies before it is seven years old, it is called an angel and goes straight to heaven, while if it dies before this age and is unbaptized, it is called a pagan and goes to limbo. The angel is carried through the streets in an open coffin, for everyone to see. The lid is put on the coffin after it is in the ground, whereupon all those in attendance scoop in some earth. The attitude toward the death of a child is one of mixed joy and sadness, and sometimes of joy only. If the mother and father wanted the child very badly, they feel sad; but otherwise the general attitude is that the child is better off dead, especially since he becomes an angel. The difference in the ringing of the church bells also shows this, for the ringing for a dead child is a short, almost joyous sound, while that for an adult is a long, sad tolling. 761 851 775 [533]

If it appears that a child is going to die after it has been born, an effort is made to have it baptized as soon as possible. But if it is healthy, it is baptized whenever the family can do so. The baptism includes a small party for the family and godparents. Formerly if a child died before it was baptized, its grave was sometimes baptized on the eve of São João by the woman who had been chosen to be its godmother. The family and godparents would go to the cemetery at midnight and gather around the grave, which the godmother sprinkled with water and baptized. This, however, is no longer done. 763 851 769 851 178

According to the parish records, 705 children were baptized in the county during 1950; 320 of those belonged to the community of Vila Recôncavo. The civil register, however, showed only 276 persons of all ages registered in the county for the same year. A child is seldom registered right after birth, or even at the time of baptism, but whenever the parents think of it. Sometimes a person must do it himself when, as an adult, he needs a registration certificate. The situation is changing gradually as life becomes more entangled in official red tape, and people are registering their children more frequently than they used to. Members of classes A and B are much more careful about this matter than are the lower classes. 851 217 162 [178] [565]*

According to law, the medical doctor must sign a death certificate before a permit to bury someone can be obtained, so the figures for deaths are more accurate than those for births. The civil register for the community of Vila Recôncavo 217 [763] [759] 600

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The first recorded protest in Brazil against slavery as an institution was that of the Jesuit Manoel de Nobrega, who, shortly after Bahia was founded, sent a letter to the superior of his order in Lisbon protesting against the importation of Africans into the new settlement.

In 1758 Manoel Ribeiro da Rocha, who had been educated at Coimbra, published in Lisbon a book entitled *Ethiope resgatado, empenhado, sustentado, corrigido, instruido e libertado*, in which the abolition of the slave trade was advocated. Sixty-five years later, in 1823, José Bonifacio de Andrade e Silva unsuccessfully proposed in parliament a measure designed to end importation by 1828. But on November 7, 1831, the regent, Padre Diogo Antonio Feijó, signed a resolution drawn up by Costa Carvalho, Lima e Sousa, and Basilio Muniz, which declared free all Africans subsequently brought into Brazil.

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Manumission existed from the first. Apparently early in the colonial period it became customary for masters to accept remuneration for original cost.[64] Public opinion demanded that an owner set at liberty any slave requesting his freedom and offering the price of his purchase.[65] The requirement was later made legally binding and enforced by law.[65a] Other slaves were given their freedom either during their master's lifetime or upon his death. The fathers of illegitimate offspring often freed their children at the baptismal font. From 1864 to 1870 large numbers of slaves were granted their freedom on agreeing to serve in the Para-

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[64] The wearing of shoes or slippers became a symbol of freedom.

[65] R. Walsh, *Notices of Brazil* (2 vols.; London, 1830), II, 391.

[65a] National Law No. 2040, September 28, 1871. See Manoel Joaquim do Nascimento e Silva, *Synopsis da legislação brasileira* (Rio, 1874), p. 460.

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them odd stories which were calculated to strike their imagination."[58]

Public opinion expected of masters the acceptance of an offer made to manumit an infant on the occasion of his baptism.[59] It also became customary, when marriages were being solemnized in the master's family, to free one or two favorite slaves.[60] Masters frequently declined the money proffered by a Negro for his purchase and granted his freedom without payment.[61] Slaves of the religious orders, it is said, considered themselves to belong to the saints themselves and were never sold.[62] The law adopted in 1809 to protect the property of sugar planters against attachment for debt also provided that slaves need not be sold separately from an estate to satisfy a creditor's claims. Thus the master could not be forced to dispose of his slaves, unless the debt amounted to the value of the entire estate; and, as Koster has pointed out,[63] the slave in this way was advanced, in some degree at least, toward the condition of a serf.

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[58] *Ibid.*

[59] "Another custom which was advantageous to the slave was that of *alforrias na pia*, which was accomplished with the insignificant amount of 5 to 50 milreis and never was refused; this custom became very common, especially when the child had a light skin" (Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 255). Koster gives the price in Pernambuco early in the nineteenth century as £5 and says that "in this manner, a considerable number of persons are set at liberty; for the smallness of the price enables many freemen who have had connections with female slaves to manumit their offspring; and instances occur of the sponsors performing this .... act. Not infrequently female slaves apply to persons of consideration to become sponsors to their children, in the hope that the pride of these will be too great to allow of their godchildren remaining in slavery" (*op. cit.*, I, 195-96).

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[60] Frank Bennett, *Forty Years in Brazil* (London, 1914), p. 111.

[61] Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 256. [62] *Ibid.* [63] *Op. cit.*, I, 229 n.

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VILA RECONCAVO

[Class C Families]

*565 291 During the day young boys go about with only shorts on, or with both shirt and shorts, depending upon the weather. Girls always wear a dress. Children who are in the crawling stage *565 515 854 become extremely dirty because of the amount of dirt tracked into the house from the streets, although this is now changing as a result of paving. Babies, however, seem to have a propensity for getting into the charcoal sack, usually kept near the kitchen stove, and emerging well blackened. They are bathed twice daily, morning and afternoon, at first in cold water to accustom them to the cold water they will be using for [853] the rest of their lives. Bathing the child is usually considered a pleasure for the mother as well as the baby, as is breast *565 143 [826] feeding. If the child of light-skinned parents exhibits the genipapo (a bluish spot near the base of the spine, sometimes known as the "Mongolian blue spot") the mothers will take care not to let visitors see it, as the spot is thought to be a strong indication of the nearness of Negro ancestry. It disappears after the child is seven or eight months old.

*565 515 The men and older boys of Class C take their daily baths in the afternoon, either at one of the two wells which are behind the convent and therefore out of sight of the town, or at wooden structures which have been built across the wells in the Cortume. They stand on a wooden floor and drop a small bucket on a string down into the water, which is hoisted up and poured over them, running back into the well with the soap suds and whatever grime has come off their skin. Frequently a woman when getting water will undress her son on the spot and pour buckets of water over him. This is not done after a boy has reached five years or six, however, and is never done to a girl of any age. The women and girls take a daily sponge bath in their kitchens late in the afternoon, before *565 514 starting to fix the evening meal. None of the houses has toilet facilities other than a secluded place in the back yard. [124] During a survey of housing facilities in the town, when the question was asked, "Do you have a toilet?" the answer was usually laughingly given, "What for?" (But practically everyone knows what a toilet is, and there are several different *565 291 types in the town, belonging to upper-class houses. The construction of a flush type, with an adequate cesspool, has been known for many years.) After the daily bath most people put [515] on clean clothes in which they often sleep, although sleeping [513] garments range from daytime clothing to long nightgowns, shorts, or nothing at all. Daytime clothing for the men consists of little more than trousers, shirt, and wooden shoes

VILA RECÔNCAVO

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teenth. Tapa and Haussá were spoken during the entire nineteenth century, and the latter perhaps long before 1800. Although the Haussás were relatively few in number, their influence was considerable. The slave revolts of the early nineteenth century were, as we have seen, led by this reputedly "most intellectual element" among the imported Africans, many of whom could read and write Arabic characters. Kanúri, spoken in Bahia by the Bornús, and Grúnce, the tongue used by the slaves known as Gallinhas, are included, along with Haussá, Gêge, and Tapa, in the limited vocabularies which Rodrigues collected from Bahian Negroes near the beginning of the twentieth century.[11] Tshi (or Odji), Gá (or Acrá),[12] and Mandê (or Mandinga) were also employed to a limited extent.

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As late as 1900, Negro laborers in Bahia continued to wear "white vestments of coarse cotton cloth," which reminded Rodrigues of "the Nagô *camisús*."[13] The *Bahiana* costume,[14] of partial African origin, was extensively used by the Negro women. It was also customary for them to carry their babies bound to the back with a large cloth. African dishes, in the preparation of which *azeite de dendê* (oil of the *dendê* palm) and *pimenta da costa* (pepper from the West Coast) prominently figured, formed a considerable portion of the Negro diet.

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At that time, also, African music might be frequently heard, particularly in the ceremonies of the *candomblé*. African musical instruments, like the *atabaque*, the *agê*, the *canzá*, the *marimba*, the *agôgô*, the *caxixi*, and the *xáque-xáque*[15] were commonly employed. The fetish cult drew allegiance from numerous and zealous devotees.

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 217–21.

[12] Spoken in Bahia by the Ashantis.

[13] *Op. cit.*, p. 181.

[14] The *Bahiana* costume is described in detail in chap. ix.

[15] These instruments are described in chap. ix.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Stewart recounts of Rio in 1852 that "two black African women, richly and fashionably attired, came sauntering along with the most conscious air of high-bred self-possession. They were followed by a black female slave, also in full dress, carrying a black baby three or four months old, and decked out in all the finery of an aristocratic heir—an elaborately wrought, lace-frilled and rosetted cap, and long flowing robe of thin muslin beautifully embroidered, and ornamented with lace."[101]

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A fashion which in the early part of the nineteenth century served "to mark the high rank of those (of either sex) who adopted it" was that of "permitting the nails of the fore-finger and thumb to grow to a great length . . . . [and be] cut to a sharp point."[102] Today, while the whites in Bahia no longer follow this fashion, one occasionally sees individuals of prominence in the Negro group—for instance, Mãe Anninha of the *candomblé* of São Gonçalo—with long fingernails.

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However, assimilation is not a process in which the individuals of only one of the races in contact are modified thereby while members of the other race remain unchanged. Circumstances in Brazil were such as to favor the taking-over by the whites of certain African elements. One rarely found a white child, especially during the slave period, who had not been reared by a Negro *ama*. She "gave him of her own milk, rocked him in his cradle or hammock, taught him his first words of halting Portuguese, his first Padre Nosso, his first Ave Maria, his first 'vôtel' or 'oxente'; she put into his mouth the first *pirão* with meat and

[101] *Op. cit.*, p. 295.

[102] Andrew Grant, *History of Brasil* (London, 1809), p. 234.

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molho de ferrugem."[107] From her and from the *mucama* (maid), as much as, if not more than, from his father and mother, the white child learned to speak. And almost without exception, he was given a *muleque companheiro de brinquedo*, a little Negro slave of his own age and sex, to be his playmate and his almost constant companion.[108] José Verissimo says that during slavery there was "no house which did not have one or more *muleques*, one or more *corumins*, little victims consecrated to the caprices of *nhônhô*:[109] his horse, his *leva-pancada*, his servant, his companion, his friend."[110] In 1821 Mathison saw on an estate near Rio "a number of fine Negro children playing in front of the house, and in the midst of them a younger brother of the proprietor, a lad about fourteen years of age, who had been brought up in this manner . . . . like the Negroes."[111] Freyre has suggested that "very likely many a Brazilian child took for his first hero, not a white physician, nor a navy official or a lawyer, but a slave acrobat who knew how to execute the difficult pirouettes of the impromptu circuses and of the *bumbas meu bois*[112] of the *engenhos;* or a Negro player of the trombone or the flute."[113] Under these conditions it is not surprising that

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[107] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 247. *Pirão* is made of manioc meal and meat broth; *molho de ferrugem* is oil of the *dendê* palm.

[108] Lacerda, *op. cit.*, p. 379.

[109] Slave rendering of *menino* (male child).

[110] *A educação nacional* (Rio, 1906), quoted in Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 248. A *leva-pancada* is one who "takes the beatings."

[111] *Op. cit.*, p. 93.

[112] The *bumba meu boi* is still to be seen in the Bahian interior. It is a folk drama in which a man dressed to represent an ox plays a prominent role (see Arthur Ramos, *O negro brasileiro* [Rio, 1934], pp. 259–68; see also his *O folk-lore negro do Brasil* [Rio, 1935], pp. 103–14).

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[113] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

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Some masters preferred to have their slaves, on the payment of a small sum, punished by the civil authorities.[51] Gardner remarked that "many of the crimes for which only a few lashes are awarded, are of such a nature that in England would bring upon the perpetrator either death or transportation."[52]

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It was customary each week to grant slaves, in addition to their regular food, an allowance of tobacco.[53] On the large estates certain hospital facilities,[54] and nurseries for Negro children were maintained.[55] Accounts of white mistresses who themselves attended to the sick among their slaves are numerous.[56] The *amas* (nurses) were often "emancipated as soon as their work was over, and nearly always continued to live in freedom under the same roof with their masters and to have various privileges."[57] "The aged Negroes were only employed in light occupations; during the remainder of their time they chatted with the master's young children, telling

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[51] Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[52] *Ibid.*

[53] Prince Adalbert, *Travels of Prince Adalbert of Prussia*, trans. from *Aus meinem Tagebuche, 1842–1843* (Berlin, 1847), by Robert H. Schomburgk and John Edward Taylor (2 vols.; London, 1849), II, 37. Prince Adalbert noted on the coffee plantation Aldea, near Novo Friburgo, that "every evening, when their work is done, the slaves light fires in the rooms set apart for them, around which they sit for hours, even after the severest day's work, all talking and smoking, women as well as men."

[54] *Ibid.*, p. 36. "In the hospital, the hall and rooms for the two sexes were separated. A Negro woman was lying on a mat, with her little "negrinho' at her breast, to which she had given birth only the night before. 'In a few days she will be able to resume work,' said the Doctor to Count Bismarck. In the men's room, there were four or five patients, suffering from accidents of various kinds" (coffee plantation Aldea, near Novo Friburgo).

[55] C. C. Andrews, *Brazil, Its Condition and Prospects* (2d ed.; New York, 1889), p. 164.

[56] Note, e.g., Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[57] Lacerda, *op. cit.*, p. 379.

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However, assimilation is not a process in which the individuals of only one of the races in contact are modified thereby while members of the other race remain unchanged. Circumstances in Brazil were such as to favor the taking-over by the whites of certain African elements. One rarely found a white child, especially during the slave period, who had not been reared by a Negro *ama*. She "gave him of her own milk, rocked him in his cradle or hammock, taught him his first words of halting Portuguese, his first Padre Nosso, his first Ave Maria, his first 'vôtel' or 'oxente'; she put into his mouth the first *pirão* with meat and

[105] *Op. cit.*, p. 195.

[106] Andrew Grant, *History of Brasil* (London, 1809), p. 234.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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molho de ferrugem."[107] From her and from the *mucama* (maid), as much as, if not more than, from his father and mother, the white child learned to speak. And almost without exception, he was given a *muleque companheiro de brinquedo*, a little Negro slave of his own age and sex, to be his playmate and his almost constant companion.[108] José Verissimo says that during slavery there was "no house which did not have one or more *muleques*, one or more *corumins*, little victims consecrated to the caprices of *nhônhô:*[109] his horse, his *leva-pancada*, his servant, his companion, his friend."[110] In 1821 Mathison saw on an estate near Rio "a number of fine Negro children playing in front of the house, and in the midst of them a younger brother of the proprietor, a lad about fourteen years of age, who had been brought up in this manner . . . . like the Negroes."[111] Freyre has suggested that "very likely many a Brazilian child took for his first hero, not a white physician, nor a navy official or a lawyer, but a slave acrobat who knew how to execute the difficult pirouettes of the impromptu circuses and of the *bumbas meu bois*[112] of the *engenhos;* or a Negro player of the trombone or the flute."[113] Under these conditions it is not surprising that

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[107] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 247. *Pirão* is made of manioc meal and meat broth; *molho de ferrugem* is oil of the *dendê* palm.

[108] Lacerda, *op. cit.*, p. 379.

[109] Slave rendering of *menino* (male child).

[110] *A educação nacional* (Rio, 1906), quoted in Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 248. A *leva-pancada* is one who "takes the beatings."

[111] *Op. cit.*, p. 93.

[112] The *bumba meu boi* is still to be seen in the Bahian interior. It is a folk drama in which a man dressed to represent an ox plays a prominent role (see Arthur Ramos, *O negro brasileiro* [Rio, 1934], pp. 259–68; see also his *O folk-lore negro do Brasil* [Rio, 1935], pp. 103–14).

[113] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

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000 economic role is usually minor. The individual or the unit family of
565 the lower class is usually linked very closely, mainly in the economic
571 sense, with an employer or merchant of influence (patrão). In a society in which personal relationships ("connections") count for so much, only a member of the upper class can be of real economic or political assistance.

565 Childhood in the lower class is quite different from that in
857 the upper class family. From an early age the children must, out of economic necessity, accept many responsibilities. Young children frequently work in the fields or find odd jobs in the town. The girls may do the housework, cook, and manage the younger children while the mother works. The young sons, even six or seven years old, may pack a bundle of agricultural products across the município on the morning of market day. In the evening they return with the few articles of food or clothing which they have been able to purchase with the proceeds from their goods. As they grow older, the children either undertake more of the farm work or drift off to the nearby rural
[464] areas and villages or to Salvador. The girls may find employment as servants or as agricultural or industrial workers. Ultimately
[885] most will marry and settle down to a grinding life of poverty, child-bearing, disease, and hard labor, which will, however, be relieved by an informal and highly convivial social life.

565 The position of the woman is still inferior to that of the
562 man, but she has relatively greater economic, social, and sexual independence than the woman of the upper class.

565 The social life of lower class families is in marked contrast
176 to the narrow, formal, and sexually-discriminatory social life of the aristocracy. Lower class life is filled not only with poverty but also with a tremendous series of religious and quasi-religious festivals

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 462 857 On the cane plantations the field work of planting and harvesting is done by labor gangs composed of men, women, and older children. There is some specialization: men cut the cane, women gather and pile the cane stalks and leaves, and the older children assist at these tasks and at managing the ox carts. The smaller children remain at home, where they are responsible from a very early age for some household tasks.

241 592 462 857 Outside the sugar zone the family is a basic labor unit. Men, women, and children work in the fields as required and participate in processing tobacco and manioc. To an even greater extent than is characteristic of the sugar zone the children participate in family tasks, and as soon as they can manage the hoe, they join in the field work.

461 [565] The upper class Baiano seldom does physical labor—to do physical work is to lower one's status. In the lower class work would seem to be approached as a somewhat unpleasant necessity which is best tackled in a cheerful and convivial atmosphere. The agricultural laborer is given to spells of extremely hard work interrupted by banter and occasional "horseplay." While the lone worker often seems rather cheerless and plodding in the field, the shouted jokes, songs, and exclamations of groups of laborers frequently resound throughout the countryside. The intermittent vigorous labor seems to be an extension of play, for there is little social evaluation of hard work for its own sake.

Despite the enthusiasm and commotion which surrounds almost any effort, the per capita productivity of the worker in the Recôncavo 461 147 is relatively modest. In part this is a result of the intermittent character of the work, but a more important factor is the limited energy of the worker. The lower class of the Recôncavo is weakened by perennial hunger, bad diet, and disease.[27]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11 •
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000 BB [128] should be misleading. District data are desirable, but occupational breakdowns for these smaller political units are available neither for 1940 nor 1950. Furthermore, the areas of these districts cannot be calculated with even minimal accuracy from existing sources. Thus the distribution of rural population and agricultural labor force within municípios is largely a matter of inference. For example, the 1950 agricultural labor force was estimated, as has been seen, from the 1940 data and changes in rural population. Densities for each município were calculated from these estimates, and these densities were used as guides, in conjunction with the total populations of the various districts, in determining the distributional patterns of the map of the density of the agricultural labor force and the dot map of agricultural labor force. These maps are thus inferential distributions of inferred data.

[23]Smith, op. cit., p. 297.

BB [435] [24]Labor turnover is one of the explanations proffered for the high cost of sugar production in Bahia.

[25]The explanations offered by these migrants are various: lack of opportunity, a hostile or unfriendly landlord or creditor, a quarrel within the family or neighborhood, crop failure, or a desire to be near relatives.

[26]Joint Brazil-United States Economic Development Commission, The Development of Brazil (Institute of Inter-American Affairs, Foreign Operations Division. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1953), p. 16.

BB [796] [27]However, these people muster tremendous energy for festas (holidays or feast days), especially Carnavál. At such a time, a middle-aged lady with a chronic heart condition was observed to dance, in a procession, for several miles down the road. During the novena of Nossa Senhora de Purificão in Santo Amaro, the troups of performers will journey many miles to attend the celebration, dance and sing throughout the nights of each of the nine days, and without rest return to their homes.

BB [633] [28]The people of nine urban centers of the Recôncavo--Salvador, Feira de Santana, Alagoinhas, Cachoeira-São Félix, Santo Amaro, Maragogipe, Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, and São Gonçalo--are thus excluded from the rural population. These are the nine ranking cities of the Recôncavo, and all except São Gonçalo have more than 5,000 people. In addition to industry, those transportation, financial, retail, trade, and administrative functions which are not strictly local are confined to these urban centers, as well as wholesale trade and international commerce.

B [631] [633] [29]It is significant that Brazil has no urban political unit per se--the município or the distrito has both urban (city, town, or village) and rural sections without administrative expression.

B B [565] [562] [857] [30]In this society there are many women, especially in the lower class, who can scarcely be considered as dependent. Moreover, as has been seen, children are also frequently productive members of lower class families. In the upper class of the villages and towns, however, there are many children and housewives whose activities are either purely domestic or are only indirectly productive.

It must be remembered that these figures include the capital city, the population of which is about 450,000. If this is subtracted from the total population of the Recôncavo, the average density of the Recôncavo is approximately 27 persons per square kilometer.

Vila Recôncavo, the community of this study, is part of a county located 41 kilometers across the bay from Salvador. The community includes the town of Vila Recôncavo, which is the county seat, and the surrounding rural zone. Throughout the study we will be dealing with these two components of the sugar-cane plantation community, sometimes separately and sometimes together.

The only public transportation to the town is by boat from the capital, a three-hour trip across the bay, threading through numerous islands. The major part of the trip is made on remarkably blue water, usually serenely calm but occasionally violently agitated, especially during the winter. One-, two-, and three-masted sailing vessels and an occasional large sailing canoe, the centuries-old methods of transportation in Bahia, are passed on their way into the city, carrying fruit, vegetables, pottery, firewood, fish, tobacco, manioc flour, and sugar to the more than four hundred thousand people of the city, as they have done since the early colonization of the Recôncavo. The only new element in the scene is the small diesel boat which makes the trip back and forth across the bay, outward bound one day and returning the next with the outgoing tide.

As the boat nears the luxuriantly green, palm-crested islands, stopping at several to discharge the mail, passengers, and "city goods," one becomes aware of the feeling of stepping back into the past. Barefoot children are selling oranges, peanuts, and fish; and parrots and parakeets, sometimes doped with rum to make them appear tame. The mailman on the dock receives the sack of mail and gives it to his helper to carry to the post office; the island priest may receive a message or package entrusted to the captain of the boat or may even go aboard to travel to the church on another island. The others on the dock call to friends on the boat and exchange news or else simply watch the activity of docking the boat and the casting off. The people of the islands are light-skinned, although well sunburned. Many of them are vacationers from the city, dressed in brightly colored clothes, for the islands are well-known resorts. The others, barefoot, wearing shorts

[The Private Plantation]

Maria das Dores, whose name is listed as "gathering cane leaves for animal fodder," does the only type of work on the plantation done by women other than housework and gardening. When a field of cane is cut, the tops of the stalks and the long leaves are cut off and left on the ground. The very tip of the stalk is used as seed, while the heavier part is loaded on carts and sent to the factory. When natural pasturage gives out because of overgrazing or drought, the cattle's diet is supplemented with the freshly cut, green cane leaves; if the tender tips are not required for seed, they are also fed to the cattle. Gathering the leaves and stalk tips is relatively light work, and if a woman on the plantation wants to supplement her husband's income this is the task assigned her. Few women on this plantation do it, however, for it is a point of pride with any husband that he is capable of supporting his wife without her having to do gainful work. Only a small number of leaves are gathered up, and the remainder are burned as they lie in the field. Burning is done at night when there is little or no wind, and often during the summer fires which extend for acres dot the countryside. Burning is a traditional practice. Although professional agronomists insist that it is injurious to the cane roots and the new shoots, planters continue to burn the unwanted leaves, feeling that the ash provides some fertilization. 249* 461 465 [462] [233]

"Gardening" refers to work done in the vegetable garden which supplies Dona Sinhá's house. This garden stands in contrast to the roças, which are planted by the workers as well as by Dona Sinhá, and which are reserved for beans, manioc, corn, and some tobacco. Such plants as lettuce, tomatoes, cabbage, carrots, and other vegetables are disdained by the workers and are grown only for Dona Sinhá. [244]

"Carrying water" is usually work reserved for a small boy. Mounted on a donkey with four wooden kegs he rides to the neighboring plantation, Pedras, which belongs to the factory, fills the kegs at the spring, and returns to Fazenda das Moças where he puts the water into the various large clay containers in the kitchen and washrooms of the owner's house. "Oh, Pedro, there's no water" is a common cry heard in Dona Sinhá's house. [312] [857] [492]

There are few rules restricting the workers. Their services must be at the disposal of Dona Sinhá whenever required. Other than that, if during a slack season a man finds an opportunity to work somewhere else, he is free to do so. If he has a burro, or oxen, he has the right to pasture them on the 249* 466 [427] [492]

226 men say that the fish are leaving, while others say there are
43 just as many as ever. It is a difficult thing to prove one way or the other, for written records of the annual catches are only recent. However, there is no such thing as being unable to sell the fish they bring in. Many people in town have increased their consumption of fresh fish as a result of inflation, for it is less expensive than dried or fresh meat. The fishermen themselves eat a great deal of fish, always keeping enough out of a catch for their own family. The planters of the rural area complain that the fresh fish never arrive at the plantations any more as they did in the past. This is probably due to the icehouse in the town. The fishermen sell first to their "usual customers," the women who work with xangô and shrimp; what is left is sold to the icehouse to be packed and shipped to Bahia, rather than being sent out to the country.

226 The jereré, a small basketlike net built around an iron ring 1 1/2 feet in circumference, is used by women and children along the shore and is part of a subsistence activity. It catches only a small crab (siri), an occasional eel, and other small fish which are cooked for the table in the form of moqueca, a sort of stew highly seasoned with peppers and dendê oil. The tideswamps abound in a large crab called the caranguejo, which is also highly prized for the table. Children often catch these, but a man who does so is called a caranguejeiro, a derogatory term. The hunter seeks the crab by sticking his arm down into its hole, which is usually very deep, at least arm's length. As a result he is always covered with the thick black mud so typical of the tideswamps. Often a tropeiro de cima comes to the town and commissions someone to catch the crabs, which he wraps carefully in mud and leaves and carries to the northern hinterland to sell.

463 The second largest subgroup in Group 3 is composed of the
241 twenty-four gardeners (roçeiros) who are engaged in small-scale commercial farming, rather than subsistence horticulture. They live in town and have their small fields on the outskirts of Vila Recôncavo. All of these fields are located on the plantation Engenho Da Vila ("P" on map of community), and they range from one, two, or three acres in size to as many as fifteen acres, rented from the plantation at Cr$100,00
241 an acre per year. The major crops are manioc, bananas, and to a lesser extent tobacco, sugar cane for chewing (cana de chupar), corn, beans, and squash. Because there are only 265

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ing, exciting sounds, which continue for hours on end. Little boys pick up the rhythms quickly and soon associate each rhythm with the particular spirit who dances to it. As they grow older and show interest in it, they may be allowed to relieve one of the drummers during an interval and in this way join the others in some less important part of the ceremony, until finally the zelador feels they know enough to drum for the entire evening.

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The entire proceedings are considered too strenuous for children, as much for the boy drummers as for the girl dancers. If a small girl shows signs of possession during the ceremony she is taken away, for until she is over fourteen dancing is considered too strenuous for her. But unless her family refuses, she may be coached in all the rituals by the other dancers and the zelador. The ceremonies always draw more onlookers than performers, and outside the rural cult house a man has set up a small stand to sell refreshments. As many as can, enter the room and line the walls, while the others stand outside, looking in through the open doors and windows. Most people know the procedure in a vague way and know whom the drums are calling and who "has" which saint.

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The ceremonies are rather long, the first step in the actual performance being the calling of the saints. The evening's participants dance in a circle while the drums call the various spirits. It sometimes takes quite a while for the saint to come, and there are times when he does not come at all. One young man danced unsuccessfully for over an hour and was finally removed, exhausted, by the zelador. When someone in the circle "falls," he is quickly led out of the room and into the pegi where the zelador changes his clothing, putting on him the costume of the spirit. In the meantime the others rest or may keep on dancing, becoming possessed one after the other, depending upon the type of ceremony. After the possessed person has been dressed and has completed the necessary ritual, he is led back into the main room where he now, as the saint, dances in earnest until tired or angered by something which occurs in the room. Often the zelador gives the signal for the drums to change their rhythm, indicating the end of the dance, by which time the person is physically very tired although emotionally highly keyed up. He is led back into the pegi to complete the detailed rituals, and is then given a place to rest and to come back to normal. As a rule he soon joins the others in the front room as a spectator. By

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4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Bahia, tend to implement and to support the Brazilian racial policy. For the Catholic church, by emphasizing ritual, centers attention *outside the individual* upon common objects; while the Protestant churches, by emphasizing belief, center attention *upon the individual*, thus tending to increase self-consciousness and, consequently, awareness of difference which, in so far as the self and its distinguishing characteristics are identified with a group, automatically increases *group*-consciousness.

The Catholic conceptions tend to lay emphasis upon the community, upon the totality of individuals. For it is through his participation in the community that the individual in the Catholic view gains recognition as a person. The Protestant churches, on the other hand, tend to emphasize the individual. It is by reason of his inherent worth that the community in which he participates gains meaning in the Protestant ideology.

The Catholic procedure thus tends to unify the community, while the Protestant procedure tends to divide it into separate groups, each of which emphasizes its points of difference with all the others and tends to be divisive in its attitude toward the others. Obviously, a sect (which is by its very nature a conflict group) can in no other way live. The Catholic procedure lays a premium upon solidarity, while the Protestant lays a premium upon diversity.

Indicative of race relations among the younger generation at Bahia is the behavior of three groups of children who were observed playing together in Campo Grande. Aged approximately four to fifteen years, they were hilariously enjoying themselves. When first noted, there were at the "giant stride" 4 blacks, 5 mulattoes, and 2 whites. At the teeter-totter were 1 black, 9 mulattoes, and 15 whites. At

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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the garden swing were 11 blacks, 8 mulattoes, and 7 whites. 563*
There was considerable moving about from group to group. 857
In the garden of the governor's palace a similar band, aged about seven to thirteen years, were laughing and shouting together around another teeter-totter. Among them were 3 blacks, 5 mulattoes, and 4 whites. "Beginning with his earliest years," wrote a white student, "a child in Bahia is accustomed to associating with all racial types without any distinction being made between them."

In Campo da Graça[11] 6 whites and 5 mulattoes (one of 563*
whom was quite dark) composed the team of the Faculty of 526
Law in a soccer game with the Faculty of Medicine (among whom were 7 whites, 3 mulattoes, and 1 black). In the subsequent professional contest 9 whites, 4 mulattoes, and 4 blacks composed the visiting team from São Paulo, coached by a *cafuso*. Bahia's colors were upheld by 2 whites, 5 mulattoes, 9 blacks, and 1 *cafuso*. The referee was a *branco da Bahia*.

At an informal basketball game played on an outdoor court at the Fortress of São Pedro, a black and 4 mulattoes composed one team; a black, 2 mulattoes, and 2 whites, the other. The referee was a black.

At a tea dance given at Bahia's most exclusive club in 563*
honor of Getulio Vargas, president of Brazil, the city's most 574
distinguished citizens and their families, to an approximate [535]
total of 600, were present. No blacks were among the guests, and only 28 individuals were noticeably negroid, 6 of whom were dark mulattoes. At a banquet subsequently given the President, all individuals seated at his table were white. A number of mixed-bloods, however, principally light mulattoes, were among the guests. Two of the six speakers at the

[11] On March 22, 1936.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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> was in sharp contrast to the colonization of Spanish America where the conquistador and the priest were largely responsible for establishing the Spaniards as a ruling caste, and to the founding of the English colonies in North America where the community and the smaller, more equalitarian family were basic elements. As has been shown so well by Freyre's monumental work, the patriarchal form of social organization early obtained almost unlimited sway in Brazil. For centuries Portuguese America continued to be dominated by a few thousand casas grandes, seats of sugar engenhos and cattle fazendas, each of which was the fortress headquarters of a numerous clan. Even today there remains much of this feudal type of social organization, and this great family is the institution through which the white or near-white upper class maintains its control. Of course this patriarchal family has little in common with the equalitarian family of the United States and western Europe.[13]

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596 The colonial family is the idealized family of both the aristocratic upper class in Salvador and the sugar cane zone and of the local upper classes in the smaller cities. It also corresponds rather closely to the actual family structure of much of the upper class of the Recôncavo. The lower class families of the Recôncavo seem to have quite a different functional character and social significance.

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58 The Upper Class Family. Marriage, contracted almost exclusively from within the class group, has the important function of uniting the relatively small number of large extended families which compose the
594 upper class. The unit families, parents and children, of the Recôncavo
596 are relatively large, in conformation to the Brazilian stereotype of five children. This unit family is tightly enclosed in a net of relationships with the extended families of both husband and wife, and many social functions are centered within these larger groups.

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596 The upper class child is reared within a well-defined circle which includes the immediate family, the servants--who frequently have
861 a quasi-parental relationship to the children, like the legendary
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591 "mammy" of the United States South--and the more immediate members of the extended family.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

565 596 861 [872] the extended family. The upper class child develops in an atmosphere of alternate indulgence and discipline, with very few responsibilities. Most upper class children attend private schools, which are usually parochial.

565 The social status of the upper class individual is determined by birth and is maintained by the economic and social standing of the individual and his family. The specific determinants of status--wealth, occupation, education, kin relations, and physical appearance[14]--are either fixed or are strongly influenced by the family.

565 596 In the Recôncavo the extended upper class family frequently has a diversified economic structure which enables it to safeguard effectively the position of the individual and the group. Ideally the family group includes the usinéiro (sugar mill owner or administrator), the fazendéiro (cane planter), the doctor, the lawyer-politician, and the urban business man. These various individuals cooperate to build and to maintain the economic, political, and social position of the family. These activities constitute the principal responsibility of the males of the family and justify, it is believed, the characteristic masculine superiority of the society.

565 588 [872] The Lower Class Family. Some of the upper class characteristics are shared by lower class families, especially by the upper stratum, but the contrasts are striking. Lower class families in the Recôncavo seem to have less stability and a less extended character than those of the upper class. Common law marriages and church marriages, not legally binding in Brazil, are quite common and are easily dissolved. The common law marriages of the young adults are frequently temporary, but most older adults seem to establish permanent unions.[15]

565 596 Though kinship relationships are always recognized and cherished, the extended family of the lower class is widely dispersed, and its economic role is usually minor.

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369 the fathers, who insisted that the children go. In the case of a woman who moves in with a new husband and brings her own children, she always makes it clear that the children are hers and not his. She will allow no interference from her husband in the matter of disciplining her children. Often the best possible relations exist between stepfather and children, but he never gives orders to them. The rural mother in all cases seems to be more exacting with her offspring than the town
• [861] mother. It is not uncommon for a rural mother to beat her children, even those who are grown men, with the cipó de caboclo (a switch), whereas this would never happen in the town. She also extends her control over them even after they are married, counseling them and helping when she can, and criticizing them severely if she does not like something they do.

883 By the time they are in their late teens, boys become in-
584 terested in courting (namoro), though girls often start ear-
212 lier. If a boy sees a girl who interests him, he manages to meet her as often as possible on the street or at the dock, and
832 by looks and slight remarks makes it clear that he is interest-
[206] ed. Or, if he can write, he may send the girl a note through a common friend. In Vila Recôncavo the telephone office is a popular place for making one's interests known, for the telephone operator is a young woman who is highly respected by most people in town and well liked by young people. A note typical of those which may pass through her hands is as follows:

Vila Recôncavo
January 7, 1951

Dona Therezinha, Salutations:

I am absolutely convinced that you do not doubt the sincerity of my love, which is always manifested so clearly in my letters and in my face when I see you.

So, I equally have the conviction of having the strange happiness of possessing your love, but in the meantime there is something lacking to complete my felicity. That is to speak to you, to hear from your lips the sincere confession of your love, to feel you near me for a few minutes.

I ask you to give me permission to speak to you, indicating the day, hour, and place in which we can meet.

You will surely not repent giving me this pleasure, for you will see that I know how to retribute your confidence

VILA RECONCAVO

[Class C Families]

Patão, however, regales the daily gossip groups with his exploits, detail by detail, so it is always known who has visited him. These men are in no way ostracized, and continue a normal life alongside the others. There are also two cases of men connected with candomblé who are suspected of homosexual tendencies, but there are no definite data about them. Public opinion, nevertheless, is generally against homosexuality, and there was one case in which action was taken. A married man "pegou um menino" (caught a little boy) in the men's bath at one of the wells. Ordinarily the men enter the bath alone, the others waiting outside until the one inside has finished. On this occasion the man found the boy already there and entered with him. Later the boy told what had happened and the neighborhood was incensed and compelled the man to leave town at least temporarily. The boy's only remark was that he had not been paid! 626 838 [521]

Boys in their late teens sometimes jokingly refer to the clube de veados (homosexuals' club), intimating their exploratory experiences with one another, and what they have tried when they went together to Salvador or Centro, where, according to them, the streets are full of veados. No such reports were found for the rural people, but the complaint that young men were viciados nas mulas (corrupted by the use of mules) was common. Another case at a distant factory concerned two women who were living together, one very strong, large and bearded, and very jealous of anyone who even looked at the other. This case was well known, and considered hilarious by the neighbors. 838 [839] [522]

Family life in Class C is characterized by a lack of privacy. The house of a family in this class has at the most two bedrooms, frequently only one, in which all members must sleep. It is common for a young couple to have only one bed when their marriage begins, in which they, as well as their first and second children, sleep. The use of a cradle for infants is rare. The baby usually sleeps with the parents, and as it grows older, or as new babies are born, it is relegated to the foot of the bed. Loud and bitter are the complaints about children who wet the bed, which many of them do for many years. Most mothers say they try to wake up several times during the night in order to hold the infant over the side of the bed to allow it to perform its natural functions, which makes life more pleasant for the others in the bed. In the morning the floor is thoroughly washed. 565 * [362] [352] [513] 565 * 863 [356]

During the day young boys go about with only shorts on, or 600

[Class C Families]

842 are known to the majority. It was pointed out by the men with a laugh that such things were unprocurable in town because the institute drugstore is run by a friar. They are obtainable in Centro and Salvador, but they are expensive, and the men say they are embarrassed to ask for them. One young couple sent to São Paulo for some injections to be given to the wife to prevent conception, but they did no good. The couple had found an announcement of the injections in a magazine, and since they wanted to limit their family to the one child they already had, they tried other means. They now have three children in spite of their efforts at prevention.

847 [278] There also are local remedies which are supposed to produce abortions. They consist of herbal teas and for the most part are supposed to be effective only up to the third month of pregnancy. Aluman, coqueiro root, orelha de pau, pitanga, mil homem root, and melão de São Caetano are all supposed to be effective. Few women will admit to having used them, although they all know about them. Figures on the number of natural abortions are almost impossible to obtain, for most often there is no record at all. The mother does not go to the doctor; she simply buries tal bobagem (such nonsense) in the back yard. Those who admit having had miscarriages say they came about because of a fall, or frequently because of a great fright such as seeing a snake on the road. Most women do not keep track of their menstrual periods, and according to the town doctor their personal hygiene leaves much to be desired. Little or no information is directly passed between father and sons or mother and daughters concerning sexual matters. Each generation is left to find out for itself.

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838 There are a few male sexual aberrants in town, known as "veados" (literally, "deer," but slang for homosexuals), and they are well known. A middle-aged fisherman, Patão, is the center of such activities. He is married and has several children. When his wife found out about his extramarital activities she took the children and left him, terribly shamed. This happened several years ago, and since then this man has worked up quite a trade, mostly among unmarried men, though there are at least three married men who go to him also. Their excuse is that there are not enough women in the town, and since there are no prostitutes they go to him, although they do not like it. The married men say it is because their wives are ill or away, and they do not want complications with some girl. Patão, however, regales the daily gossip groups

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517 of the time, visiting little and receiving the local gossip from
[546] their servants. Since the advent of movies, however, it has
[541] become fashionable for husband and wife and sometimes the
[794] children to attend the show together. When the circus comes
to town it is now common for them to go as a family at least
once. As a rule, however, church services are attended separately, the wives and daughters going together and the men
singly if at all, and standing in the back rather than sitting
[574] with the family. Dinners, card parties, or social gatherings
with friends in the house, such as are common to North American small towns, do not exist here at all. About the only traveling these people do is to Salvador, where they stay with relatives while they make short visits, go to the doctor, or go
*565 shopping.
871 Even the older members of Class B are less well educated than those of Class A, and do not belong to families which are nationally prominent. In many cases they have relatives in Salvador, but in no case do they maintain a second home there. Although their children may go to primary school in Vila Recôncavo, which the children of Class A would never do, they are sent to Salvador for further education; and several of the
*565 present generation are studying for degrees in law and medicine. As has already been pointed out, this class engages in
[571] little social activity in common with Class A, and in almost
[867] none with rural Class B persons. Daughters of families be-
[582] longing to this class are carefully chaperoned and have little freedom. Their lives are spent at home, sewing, embroidering, and helping their mothers in the house. Their prospects for
*565 marriage are poor. This applies also to the schoolteachers who are sent to the town and who also belong to this class.
582 There is little opportunity for them to marry in Vila Recôncavo unless they accept a social inferior, which commonly
875 happens to rural schoolteachers in Brazil. "Felipe," as the schoolteacher's husband is generally known, is always a "no-good" supported by his wife. There are two cases in Vila Recôncavo of local upper-class wives who work--they are both schoolteachers, supplementing their husbands' incomes and
*565 alleviating the dullness of their lives.
Class C in the rural area consists of the field hands and the factory workers, who constitute the major part of the population. There are no "pure whites" in this group, but a scat-
[184] tering of "whites of the land." In general the factory workers consider themselves superior to the agricultural laborers;

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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[City of Salvador]

565 Conversation is carried on in the Portuguese
[197] vernacular, with a limited vocabulary and numerous errors
[489] in grammar. Many words of African or native Indian origin
[771] are commonly heard. Transport is primitive. Here the fetish cult, and the attitudes, sentiments, and beliefs associated
[794] with it, gains its most zealous and faithful devotees. Here, cut off quite sharply from participation in the upper levels of European culture, live that portion of the population which the upper classes refer to as *o povo*, and who think of themselves as *os pobres* ("the poor").

The social gulf between the *pobres* of the valleys and the *ricos* of the ridges is wide and not easy to bridge. This is, of course, to be anticipated in a society with an aristocratic tradition whose upper circles still look somewhat askance upon manual labor and have always regarded education, family connection, and "good breeding" as indices of class.
[6068] Attitudes in this respect have changed little since the time
[567] when the abolitionist Anselmo da Fonseca felt it necessary to apologize for including the name of "a man of the people," a humble Negro shoemaker, among the prominent upper-class abolitionists of Bahia, arguing that "intelligence, patriotism, and truth are not the privilege of any one class" and explaining that this particular individual had been more useful to the abolition cause than many "more noble."

565 The upper classes habitually refer to members of the lower
186 classes as *trabalhadores* ("laborers"), *operarios* ("workers"), or *o povo baixo* ("common people") and humorously caricature them by a cartoon character known as Zé Povinho, an illiterate, stupid, and unprepossessing lout.
[867] To their children they often direct such phrases as "não seja gentinha" ("don't be like common people"), "não tenha modos de gentinha" ("don't take up the manners of common people"), "não ligue a (or *para*) povo miudo" ("don't attach yourself

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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[City of Salvador]

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to vulgar persons"), "não faça caso de gente baixa" ("don't 186
mind low people"), "não dê attenção á gentinha" ("don't [867]
pay any attention to common people"), and "não se incommode com a gente baixa" ("don't trouble yourself about common people"). Of themselves, the upper classes use the rather general expressions *as altas rodas* ("the upper circles"), *grand monde*, and the "élite."

The lower classes refer to the upper classes as *os "chefões"* ("the big shots"), *os donos da gente* ("the owners of the people"), *os grandes graudos* ("the illustrious great"), *os manda-chuvas da cidade* ("the rainmakers of the city"; i.e., those who can do anything), *ricaços* ("the plutocrats"), or merely *os brancos* ("the whites").

Although this rather simple pattern in which ridges and 361
valleys appear as contrasted residential areas is, in general, 565
characteristic of the entire city, it is modified in a few minor instances. The upper-class suburb of Barra, for example, lies low on the seacoast, albeit well swept by the refreshing sea breeze; while the ridges (as well as the valleys) in the [362]
less accessible areas outside the main portion of the city are covered with the huts of the lower class. In the old outmoded four-to-seven-story buildings (relics of Bahia's former splendor), which hedge about the central portion of the city and lie either on top, or well up toward the top, of the central ridges, are crowded together in something approaching slum conditions hundreds of the city's poor.[18] But in general the pattern of the city conforms quite closely to that which has been described.

As one moves about the different residential areas, he [563]*

[18] For an intimate glimpse into the life of this latter area see Jorge Amado, *Suor* (2d ed.; Rio, 1936). The locale of these interesting sketches is an old building at No. 68 on the Pelourinho which fronts on the triangular *praça* where the old slave whipping-post used to stand.

[SALVADOR]

/29 cont./

829 *563 Colored persons often repeat that "color is a mere accident," an expression that goes back very far in Bahia. A famous dark mulatto intellectual, president of an important scientific association, stated in a speech, in which he denounced a decision of the League of Nations on the discriminatory treatment to be applied to the human races, that: "To discuss the rights of man, even human dignity, as if they depended on an accident, that of color, is to repudiate centuries of struggle among the most glorious in the history of civilization" (1).

[113] 1. Teodoro Sampaio, in Rev. Instituto Geogr. e Historico da Bahia, No. 45, 1919, p. 179.

A black judge, who is at the head of an association of colored people, also considers that color "is an accident to which one pays no attention among us." That is the reason why few families [567] of the highest classes /30/ of society develop in their children an awareness of their own type, or, if they do, they never associate with this notion a feeling of inferiority or resentment. A Black relates that he did hear his parents make comments about the disadvantages of being of dark color, but the way in which they did it was neither bitter nor hostile. A pardo educator believes that it is not necessary to conceal from the child a feeling about his color, for "that, being purely physical, is of no importance." The attitude of a girl, likewise parda, whose father, White, but married to a mulattress, does not like people of dark color, is different; she herself does not like them, although she claims to feel no shame about her "quality." Her feeling of inferiority is clearly revealed when she says that she has a friend, son of Syrians, who wants to marry her, although of a "race superior" to her own.

829 *563 565 Among certain individuals the consciousness of class goes beyond the consciousness of race. A mulatto official relates that when he was a child he did not feel any different from his companions at school and play from a city in the interior of the State; it was only when his family became very poor that he realized

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ing, exciting sounds, which continue for hours on end. Little boys pick up the rhythms quickly and soon associate each rhythm with the particular spirit who dances to it. As they grow older and show interest in it, they may be allowed to relieve one of the drummers during an interval and in this way join the others in some less important part of the ceremony, until finally the zelador feels they know enough to drum for the entire evening.

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The entire proceedings are considered too strenuous for children, as much for the boy drummers as for the girl dancers. If a small girl shows signs of possession during the ceremony she is taken away, for until she is over fourteen dancing is considered too strenuous for her. But unless her family refuses, she may be coached in all the rituals by the other dancers and the zelador. The ceremonies always draw more onlookers than performers, and outside the rural cult house a man has set up a small stand to sell refreshments. As many as can, enter the room and line the walls, while the others stand outside, looking in through the open doors and windows. Most people know the procedure in a vague way and know whom the drums are calling and who "has" which saint.

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The ceremonies are rather long, the first step in the actual performance being the calling of the saints. The evening's participants dance in a circle while the drums call the various spirits. It sometimes takes quite a while for the saint to come, and there are times when he does not come at all. One young man danced unsuccessfully for over an hour and was finally removed, exhausted, by the zelador. When someone in the circle "falls," he is quickly led out of the room and into the pegi where the zelador changes his clothing, putting on him the costume of the spirit. In the meantime the others rest or may keep on dancing, becoming possessed one after the other, depending upon the type of ceremony. After the possessed person has been dressed and has completed the necessary ritual, he is led back into the main room where he now, as the saint, dances in earnest until tired or angered by something which occurs in the room. Often the zelador gives the signal for the drums to change their rhythm, indicating the end of the dance, by which time the person is physically very tired although emotionally highly keyed up. He is led back into the pegi to complete the detailed rituals, and is then given a place to rest and to come back to normal. As a rule he soon joins the others in the front room as a spectator. By

[533]

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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gray caps with blue bands; while the girls wore light gray dresses with blue belts, blue collars, and blue cuffs. Of approximately 325 pupils in the parade, about two-sevenths were black, two-sevenths white, and three-sevenths mulatto, indiscriminately mingled. In eight schools, the proportions were not greatly dissimilar. Two schools, however, were

TABLE 13

COMPARATIVE SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OF THE ETHNIC UNITS AT BAHIA, 1936

School	No. of Schools Sampled	Black	Mulatto	White	Others	Total
Elementary:						
Public	22	438	496	385	16*	1,335
Private	8	40	97	175	3†	315
Parochial	6	31	88	318	13‡	450
Secondary	5§	34	99	390	3‖	525
Superior (Faculties of Law, Medicine, Engineering)	3	12	88	424	6¶	530
Trade	3	88	122	123	2**	335
Normal	1	45	83	157	0	285

* *Cafuso*, 9; *mamaluco*, 7.
† *Cafuso*, 2; *mamaluco*, 1.
‡ *Cafuso*, 5; *mamaluco*, 8.
§ One public, 2 private, 2 ecclesiastical.
‖ *Cafuso*, 2.
¶ *Cafuso*, 2; *mamaluco*, 4.
** *Cafuso*, 1; *mamaluco*, 1.

principally black and mixed-blood (in one of which there were 16 blacks, 34 mulattoes, 8 whites); and two schools were largely white (in one of which there were 25 whites, 8 mulattoes, and 5 blacks).

During the 1936 Peruada, which is an annual *festa* held by students at the Faculdades, of 168 individuals participating in a parade, 3 per cent were black, 10 per cent were mulatto, and 87 per cent were white.

At the graduating exercises of one of the Faculdades, no

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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black families were present. The guests were principally white, including a number of *brancas da Bahia*. A few mulattoes, principally light, also attended. A dark mixed-blood assisted with the ushering, in the course of which he led two of his relatives (young light mulatto ladies) to excellent seats well to the front. Later, as the room became crowded, he was seen to request two white men to give up their seats to two other mulatto ladies. The request was courteously complied with. When, during the subsequent formal ceremonies, this dark mixed-blood received his diploma, he was given by his fellow-students (chiefly whites) a vigorous round of applause, he being one of the few so honored. "He is a fine man with a brilliant mind," remarked a white colleague.

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A number of teachers, particularly in the elementary and secondary institutions, are mixed-bloods, but the greater number are whites. Although 120 of 148 white students responding to an inquiry regarding the matter did not object to being taught by a *preto* teacher, black instructors are rare and are limited, with few exceptions, to the elementary ranks. This is, in all probability, largely due to the fact that comparatively few blacks have so far received educational advantages equal to the whites.

For instance, of 232 instructors at the four Faculdades (Law, Medicine, Engineering, and Economics), none was black; 163, or 70.3 per cent, were white; 36, or 15.5 per cent, were *branco da Bahia;* and 31, or 13.4 per cent, were mulatto.[8] Of 69 *professores cathedraticos*, 54, or 78.3 per cent, were white; 10, or 14.5 per cent, were mulatto; 5, or 7.2 per cent, were *branco da Bahia;* and none was black. Of 5 profes-

[8] One was an Indian-Negro mixed-blood, and one was of Indian-white descent.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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sors honored as *paranymphos*,[9] all were white. Of 21 faculty members honored with *homenagem*,[10] 6 were mulattoes (2 quite negroid), 1 was *branco da Bahia*, 14 were whites, and none was black.

In a prominent secondary institution, of 18 instructors, 1 was a black, 5 were mulattoes, 3 were *brancos da Bahia*, and 9 were whites. In another secondary school, of 33 instructors, 7 were mulattoes, 6 were *brancos da Bahia*, and 20 were whites. While of 30 elementary teachers noted in state schools, 3 were blacks, 10 were mulattoes, 6 were *brancos da Bahia*, 1 was a *mameluco*, and 10 were whites.

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In educational circles one often hears of a dark mixed-blood of distinguished bearing with snow-white hair and beard who organized some years ago one of the present secondary institutions and whose two sons are well-known and widely respected educators. Several whites now prominent in local and national circles speak with pride of their schooling under this distinguished man.

A similar attitude is not infrequently manifested with reference to other colored teachers or professors; for instance, a prominent medical specialist and noted lecturer at the Faculty of Medicine; a legal "authority" and author of textbooks in law, now associate justice of the Brazilian supreme court; a prominent nerve specialist; a noted surgeon; and the city's ablest and most quoted literary critic.

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In a private elementary school a class of boys ranging in age from seven to eleven years were being taught by a Negro teacher. Among the group were two whites, one *branco da*

[9] Each graduating class in the secondary and professional schools selects one of its more popular teachers or professors for special recognition as *paranymphs*.

[10] Graduating classes also select, besides a *paranymphs*, several teachers or professors to be honored with *homenagem*.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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Five families, out of a total community population of 4,269, composed the aristocratic upper class. All five were plantation-owning families, resident on their fazendas or engenhos. All were closely linked either to each other or to other aristocratic families in the sugar-cane area and in Salvador by marriage [and were linked through these to the national Brazilian upper class]. All were relatively well educated, and most of the males had university degrees in law, engineering, or medicine. All were of Caucasoid appearance.

[871]

The second class consisted of local bureaucrats, plantation administrators, sugar-mill technicians, merchants, and professional people of the only small town (cidade, a sort of county seat). For the most part they were descendants of local people. The educational range was from university educated doctors to illiterates. Members of this class included pure Caucasoids, brancos da terra (whites of the land, or whites with known or suspected Negro ancestors) mulattoes, and some Negroes. This was called a local upper class to distinguish it from the regional, aristocratic, upper class.

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The third and most numerous class was that of "the people" (gente). This was the class of those who did physical work. They were plantation and mill workers, craftsmen, and fishermen. In the urban segment of this class, in the cidade, there was a fairly continuous gradation of standing within this class, with each occupational group occupying a defined social position. In the agricultural segment there is also a definite heirarchy. The feitor (foreman) and the vaquéiro (cowboy) form an upper level. On the basis of the sequence of promotion and the degree of authority elsewhere in the sugar zone, the balançéiro or weigh master also belongs in this group. The bulk of the plantation workers form the next

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

565 369 To the extent that the economic and social position of the aristocratic group is usurped by the new upper class elements in Salvador, the pre-eminent role of the aristocrats in the sugar cane zone is threatened.

565 249 In Bahia the strong aristocratic class derived from the sugar cane system. Outside the sugar areas a well-defined aristocratic class is lacking--the upper level in these areas is occupied by groups similar to the local upper class of the sugar zone. In the tobacco and manioc zones, around the sugar cane area, the members of the local upper class, including those with urban residences, are very intimately involved in agriculture. In this agricultural zone the upper class has few personal or family connections with the Salvador upper class.

565 The lower class outside the sugar areas is composed of cultivators and urban workers and probably has more gradations and a less heirarchical structure than is characteristic of the sugar area. The cultivators are semi-independent small farmers, renters, and share croppers of varying dependence and social position. Social mobility appears to be about equal to that in the corresponding stratum of the sugar zone.

565 871 [212] Compared with the United States, the opportunity for educational and cultural development in the lower class is much more severely restricted by the prevailing poverty. Effective literacy is low among the manual laborers of city or countryside. The middle groups and local upper classes are usually, but not universally, literate, but for the most part their cultural horizons are limited. In contrast, the cultural opportunities and outlook of the aristocratic and big-business class is both cosmopolitan and sophisticated. Education in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Europe, or the United States is not uncommon. Nevertheless, large segments of this class remain distinctly provincial in their cultural orientation--this is particularly true of the decadent aristocratic families.

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*249 is located at the water's edge on one of the six plantations; three belong to different members of another family related to the sugar factory owners through marriage; one belongs individually to a member of the family owning the factory; and the last one belongs to a nonrelative, a mestiço (person of mixed racial descent), who is socially reticent but considered
•[871] an astute businessman. Within the area there is also a federal school which has a large expanse of noncultivated land.

361 The pattern of settlement on the plantations is that of a village. The homes of the cultivators are grouped in a cluster apart from the land they work, the point of orientation being the owner's home. "Although the village settlement as represented by the homes of the small-farming classes is hardly to be found in Brazil, the village manner of arranging the population on the land is widely used on the large estates that are prominent throughout the Brazilian countryside. For the most part the fazendas and usinas of Brazil utilized this nucleated form of settlement in their 'quarters' or 'colonies' for the workers who till the crops."[6]

162 The population of the rural zone of the community of Vila Recôncavo is 2,800, of whom 500 live at the sugar factory nucleus; on each of the sugar-cane plantations there are between
*249 150 and 200 persons. Traveling about from one plantation nucleus to another, one sees no sign of habitation, for the coun-
311 try is devoted to intensified sugar-cane cultivation. Fields of sugar cane, 10 to 20 acres in size, alternate with pastures--fields which are being rested for three or four years. Each private plantation has a section of forest to produce firewood and lumber. The factory plantations, however, for the most part are entirely cleared, as the corporation owns another plantation on the other side of the Recôncavo which is used ex-
*249 clusively for raising and pasturing cattle and for supplying firewood for the large fires of the factory. Land divisions or
[423] boundaries are generally long lines of graceful bamboo trees which also supply fence posts. On each plantation can be seen the remains either of the old sobrado or of the antique mill (engenho) or chapel (capela), and in some cases the sobrado is still in good repair and inhabited by the owner.

312 The Recôncavo is not blessed with abundant fresh water. The rivers are few and small, prone to dry up in the hot sum-

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6. T. Lynn Smith, Brazil (Baton Rouge, 1947), p. 396.

mers. However, on almost every plantation there are brick- 312
lined springs from which the inhabitants get their drinking water. Women or children carrying five-gallon cans of water on [482]
their heads, and donkeys carrying four wooden kegs of water, [492]
are common sights along the roads of the Recôncavo. For the
cattle and other livestock of the plantations, drinking places 231
are excavated wherever there promises to be enough water. 312
Frequently, however, these go dry in the summer, especial- [132]
ly during the drought years which occur cyclically in rhythm with the droughts of the sertão. At such times loss of cattle is prevalent, except on plantations situated near one of the small rivers.

A high-voltage electric line passes through this section 377
leading from the generating station further inland to the capital city. Recently most of the plantations have been able to connect with this line, so that at least the owners' houses have electric light. The houses of the workers are without it except at the factory, where the mill supplies its own electric power which is carried to almost all the workers' houses.

There are four state schools and one county school distrib- 871
uted among the plantations. The central school in the town of Vila Recôncavo is not attended by children from the plantations. Two plantations have their own chapels, which are vis- 347
ited at irregular intervals by the priests of Vila Recôncavo. 796
On the other plantations a small altar is set up in the owner's 793
house for special occasions such as Christmas, when the town priest is invited to celebrate the Mass.

There is in the town a medical post with a visiting doctor, 743
a dentist, and several nurses in training, which is administered by a Franciscan lay brother and supported by federal, state, and county funds and by private donations. This post is fairly recent, and its influences are spreading only slowly to the rural area. Also in the town is a small county medical
post run by a resident physician. The sugar factory has a [249]*
dispensary with a nurse and is visited by the town doctor. Al- [752]
most every plantation has its own first-aid equipment, generally in the owner's house.

There are no fairs in the community. There are stores in 543
the town and a large supply store at the factory, run by the 443
corporation, and nearly every plantation has its own small [249]*
store. Major purchases are made at the weekly market in Centro, in the neighboring county. There are also traveling ped-

[Town Life]

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The majority of people in Group I live in the older part of Vila Recôncavo, often in the old colonial sobrados, and they rarely descend the hill to the part of town inhabited by the fishermen. Indeed, they mix little with people of the town, and there is almost no social life within the group itself. Parties are expensive, and visiting from house to house in the evening is not common. Vila Recôncavo has no such pastime as the evening walk in the square. This group is seldom united on anything, especially local politics; however, the more distant the question the more apt the group is to be of one mind. [361] [574]

Most families in this group send their children to school in Salvador, go there on holidays whenever possible, receive the city newspaper and the Diario Oficial,[2] and shop in the city as often as they can. [871] [204] [443]

Vila Recôncavo differs in one respect from most other rural Brazilian communities: it has no parish priest. The mother church of the parish (matriz) has long been unable to support its own priest, and the duties which would normally fall to such a person are performed by the Franciscans, whose convent is in Vila Recôncavo. The priests remain within the convent, taking little or no part in the social life of the town. 793 [792]

It will be noted that there was no mention of a drug store in Vila Recôncavo. There was none until 1945, when a nonprofit organization, the Institute of Vila Recôncavo, was opened. This is a medical post supported by federal, state, municipal, and private funds; its director is Friar Innocence, a Franciscan lay brother. The institute is housed in the spacious old buildings of the extinct Third Order of Franciscans, and consists of a pharmacy, an infants' milk and soup distributing center, a maternity post, a dental post, and other medical facilities. The dentist, who has modern equipment, is competent in his work. For several years a doctor was in daily attendance, dividing his time between the institute and the petroleum workers' camp. As a result of a complicated local political conflict, he left the institute, however, and Friar Innocence arranged for a visiting doctor to come from Centro and spend two days a week in Vila Recôncavo. Three town girls were sent to Salvador to study nursing and midwifery, so there is competent medical assistance. 743 [444] [792] 743 759

2. The Diario Oficial is the newspaper in which government laws and regulations are published. As a rule, it is the publication of a regulation which makes it become a law.

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[546] their servants. Since the advent of movies, however, it has
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children to attend the show together. When the circus comes
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[184] tering of "whites of the land." In general the factory workers consider themselves superior to the agricultural laborers;

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they are generally conceded to be so by the field hands and the members of classes A and B, because their occupations are more specialized and they work in the mill. There are actually several factors which distinguish them from the field laborers, for in addition to receiving protection by national legislation, including minimum salaries and rights to vacations and medical services, they receive from the factory electric light for their houses and firewood. In addition, factory workers do not plant gardens to supply their farina, and they consider themselves far superior to the agricultural laborers in that their own wives "do not use the hoe" (nao pegam na enxada). 565* 184 [656] [466]

At the factory nucleus where both millworkers and the agricultural laborers of one plantation live in the same place, the houses of the former are grouped in the middle of the village, clustered about the owner's chalet, while those of the latter are on the fringes, farther from the usineiro's house, the mill, and the large store. The factory workers' houses are better constructed than those of the field laborers. They are mostly of brick with tile roofs, while the field workers' homes are often of wattle-work covered with plaster and painted over. The houses of the factory nucleus follow the old slavequarter pattern. The buildings are long and narrow and divided into apartments under one roof. The factory owns all the houses, which the workers receive rent-free. The factory worker is better paid than the field worker, and consequently has more and better material possessions. His house is better furnished, and he dresses better. [361] 565* 342 184 [423]

Illiteracy is widespread in the rural area. The factory nucleus has had a state primary school for thirty years, and Pedras, the largest of the factory plantations, has had one for about twenty. As a result the factory workers, as well as the people of Pedras, have had the opportunity to attend four years of primary school. The rural laborers on other plantations, however, have lacked this opportunity in most cases. An exception is the Fazenda das Moças, which has had a school in recent years, for children in the daytime and for adults at night. 565* 184 871 [212]

The social life of the workers is almost entirely confined to the place in which they live. Their lives are spent on the plantation except for the days when they walk to the fair in Centro, usually on the Monday following payday. During the summer, when the roads are good for travel, they are busy with the 565* 517

*565 594 capacities, or they are "newly arrived" socially, which often indicates that the relatives of either or both spouses may belong to the lower class; in this case the local upper-class families are inclined to ignore them. In these conjugal families the husband is the central figure, participating in business and social activities of the town, while his wife and children, [166] especially daughters, remain at home. The sons usually go to the city to school and remain there after graduation, so there • [871] is little chance of continuing a strong family line in the town. At the factory the case is somewhat different, for the sons of Class B families may enter the factory in one of the higher office positions, thus forming a larger family group as they marry and settle down there. This pattern, however, is only apparent in the second generation, and there are only three cases of it.

*565 517 As a result of the lack of public entertainment in Vila Recôncavo and the competitive attitude of members of Class B among themselves and toward the higher members of Class C, there [571] is little social gathering, especially for the women. There are never extended family gatherings for Class B such as those [596] described for Class A. The men go to the bar or visit one an- [574] other's homes to some slight extent, but wives and daughters seldom do. The wives are kept occupied bearing children and [562] caring for them. Those few daughters who are sent to school in the city are indeed fortunate, for their chances of marry- [871] ing and remaining in Salvador, the desire of most young people, are greatest. The summer vacation is boring to them in [166] comparison with their scope of activities in the winter. The [183] sons can enjoy the summer, going swimming, horseback riding, playing ball, making the most of the few parties and fes- [528] tivals (festas) which take place during the summer, lounging in the bar gossiping, meeting the boat, and visiting lower- *565 562 class girls. The daughters, on the other hand, can do nothing of the sort. They spend their time at home with their moth- 517 ers and sometimes visit a married girl friend or sister to gossip.

For those girls who remain in the town, life can be intolerably dull. They must be extremely careful of where they go, when, and with whom, and of what they do, for the town gossip about them can be vicious. The reputation of a girl seen on the street at night without one of her parents is ruined. These girls are expected to be virgins, models of propriety,

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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and the social forces compelling them to conform to this ideal are strong enough to keep them at home.

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To some extent the Class B families take as their pattern the older traditions of the upper-class families. The father is the most important person in the home and has the final word in all decisions. His wife is not his equal in a social sense and plays a much more passive role than the women of classes A, C, and D. This, however, is slowly changing, for married couples of the younger generation are beginning to share more activities, such as going to the movies, visiting friends, or going on short trips to Salvador. But this is a recent development and applies only to four couples in the town. The others still maintain the old pattern whereby the man attends social functions while his wife remains home. On occasion of a farewell party, invitations were carefully extended to the married couples in Class B at the author's instigation. Of the thirteen couples invited, only four came together. In the other cases only the husbands came. Among the others, one of the husbands was away, and his wife would not come to the party even though her mother, father, and two sisters did. It is still common for the wife either to remain discreetly silent or to disappear altogether when her husband has visitors at home, and among the older families the father and his guests are served separately at meals, the women of the household eating afterwards alone.

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Family life in rural Class B follows to some extent that of the town family of the same class. The father is the central figure in the family and makes all decisions. He travels about the community while his wife remains at home. The sons of overseers, however, are seldom sent to Salvador to school, although the sons of Class B families living at the factory usually are, at least for a short time. So far, however, none of them has entered a profession.

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As has already been stated, the women of rural Class B lead much the same kind of life as the women in Class C, with whom they associate. Daughters are guarded carefully, while sons are placed in some advantageous position whenever possible, frequently through the aid of the plantation owner or usineiro. They may enter the factory office, and in several cases they have been set up in business on the plantations, running small stores which belong to their fathers.

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A daughter of Seu Paulo, the overseer of the Fazenda das Moças, married the son of the overseer on a neighboring

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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79 iod of decline, the parishes suffered financially; the buildings fell into a state of disrepair, and the parish priests were no longer replaced, for there was no money to support them. The Franciscans in town also suffered materially, and their personnel greatly diminished. About the time the empire ended and the republic began, the flow of young men and women into the religious orders ceased. At the end of the nineteenth century there were no longer enough Brazilian Franciscans to carry on the work in the convent, and a contingent of German Franciscans was sent to Brazil. Since that time, the Franciscans in Vila Recôncavo have been of German birth. Today there are only four Friars in Vila Recôncavo, three ordained priests and one lay brother.

One by one the county parishes were turned over to the Franciscans as the parishes became too poor to support their own priests, until today the three ordained Franciscans must
79 care for the spiritual needs of five parishes. These include, in addition to the convent itself and the five parish churches, thirty smaller churches and chapels, all of which serve a population of over fifteen thousand people scattered over a wide area accessible only by canoe, foot, and horseback. Of these many churches, the only one which has a daily Mass is the Franciscan convent in the town of Vila Recôncavo, for there is always a priest there while the other two are traveling. On Sundays three Masses are celebrated in town: one in the convent, one in the mother church, and one in the small chapel in the lower part of town, commonly known as the fishermen's chapel. Only one town in all five parishes has a scheduled monthly Mass. This special effort is being made because, in the words of the priest, "There is a large religious movement there." In general it is understood between the parish people and the priests that when a town or smaller settlement wants a Mass celebrated the people fix a date for it and notify the convent. If possible, a priest fulfills the engagement, carrying his own robes, Book, Host, and chalices with him.

In addition to saying Mass, the priests are called upon to bless new houses, to give last rites to the sick, to take communion to the aged and infirm at home, and to teach the young
• (871) children their catechism. Catechism is taught in the schools, and once a week the priest journeys to each school to teach. Near the end of the school year, First Communion is celebrated in the school or, if on a plantation, in the owner's house. The young children receive Communion first, and af-

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for several generations. In the other families, marriages have been, with but one exception, with persons of equal class status, although frequently with aristocratic families from other parts of the Recôncavo or from Salvador. In the one exception, the husband was without wealth or much education, but he was known to be of pure white descent. All these families live *em família* (within the family), both in the rural area and in the capital, where they spend a part of the year. Traditional family and friendship ties persist among them. They are large families with numerous relatives in the city and in other communities of the Recôncavo, so that dinners, dances, card parties, anniversaries and other social events are generally within the extended family. Most of the males in this group have a profession, such as lawyer, engineer or doctor.

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The second social stratum is a slightly larger group consisting of the bureaucrats of the town, plantation administrators, technicians and specialists of the sugar mill, merchants and professional people of the town, such as the doctor, dentist and schoolteachers. Persons in this group are for the most part descendants of local people, although the doctor, the dentist and several of the schoolteachers are from the outside. In this group, one finds the 14 'pure' whites mentioned as living in Vila Recôncavo itself, and five of them are members of a family of former planters. People in this stratum do not have residences in the capital. On the whole, this class is less well-educated than the class above it; it even includes people who have had no formal education whatsoever, and two individuals who cannot read or write. In this class are found most of the *brancos da terra*, many mulattoes and some Negroes, as well as the whites mentioned. This group might be termed the 'local upper class' to distinguish it from the small group of regional aristocrats mentioned above.

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The third social stratum of Vila Recôncavo is by far the largest numerically. It consists of 'the people' *(o povo*, or simply *gente)*, fishermen, carpenters, bricklayers, mill hands, plantation workers, and all others who do physical labour. Fourthly, there is a smaller group of even less status in the community, the people without a regular and steady income—women generally without husbands, but with children, who earn their living carrying water to homes from the nearby spring or who work as washerwomen and domestic servants, and men who serve as porters and perform other very menial tasks and odd jobs. There are no people in these two lower class strata who are considered 'pure' white. A few are considered *brancos da terra* but the great majority of them are Negroes, mulattoes, and others of various degrees of race mixture.

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The regional aristocrats reside only in the rural zone and maintain residences outside the community. The 'local upper class' is found in both the rural and the urban zones, since the technicians and administrators on the plantations are of this class, but mostly in the

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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ticularly São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro but also Belo Horizonte, Recife, Porto Alegre, and others, including Bahia.[3] For, stimulated by needs which could not be satisfied by importation from Europe or the United States under the conditions existing during two World Wars—and more particularly during the last one—and also by growing internal demand, industrialization has been assuming a continually larger role in what has previously been a predominantly agricultural and pastoral country. Concomitant with this increased industrialization—but not to be confused with it, since, for one thing, it began long before—there also has occurred a rapid and extensive growth of the cities. A high rate of natural increase of the population has meanwhile continued in all parts of the country, so that it is now estimated that approximately two and a half million persons are being added annually to the Brazilian people. New primary, secondary, technological and professional schools have been set up, in an urgent, but not yet adequate attempt—since it began with a huge deficit—to keep up with expanding educational needs.

The emergence of new employment opportunities, espe-

[3] Since the matter may have puzzled some readers, it perhaps should be pointed out that, in keeping with the traditional patterns in such cases during colonization and later, the term "Bahia" was long used to indicate, on the one hand, the Capitania, Province or State of Bahia and, on the other, its capital city, even though the latter had another (and less used) name—Salvador. At the time of our research, the capital city of the State of Bahia—where most of our research was carried on—was widely and commonly known also as "Bahia"; and this name is still being employed. Since this name was used in the original study, it will be retained in this Introduction, in order to avoid possible confusion when consulting different parts of this edition. Incidentally, the spelling of "Bahia" is correctly given here and throughout this book, although, for a time during the "spelling reform" in Brazil (but only temporarily), an effort was made in some quarters to write the name differently.

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as the old patriarchal order continues to decline and industrialization increases; a shift which is intensified by the secularization deriving from the increasingly metropolitan character of the area and by the gradual emergence of new social groups. Have these and the other changes sketched above been sufficient to alter the character of the "racial" situation at Bahia since our original study was made? After a careful survey of the studies in the area in recent years, it seems to us that the evidence would lead one to agree with Wagley:[23] "Change has occurred, but *not* that much."

As Thales de Azevedo has pointed out (1955a:197), however, the possibilities of colored persons rising in class are increasing at Bahia; and many observers believe that this rise will continue to increase in the future. As this alteration in rank extends to continually larger and larger numbers of previously underprivileged individuals, greater strains and pressures probably will be exerted throughout the social order. For one thing, as Bahia continues to grow into a larger and larger metropolitan center, relations will be more difficult to maintain on a primary and face-to-face basis; and, for another, the anticipated industrialization, deriving from the extraction of petroleum resources in the area and the utilization of the recently-developed electric power on the São Francisco river, will in all likelihood augment the presently increasing anonymity and make relations more contractual and categoric. Moreover, as educational opportunities increase and extend downward further into the masses of previously unlettered individuals, thus adding to the effects of these other processes, the social order of Bahia may alter, perhaps markedly.

Wagley (1955:12) writes that "many" of the hypotheses

[23] In a letter to the author.

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In the Jesuit schools at Bahia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, mixed-blood, pure Indian, and Portuguese children were accepted with equal favor and educated together. "The chronicles of the time reveal no segregation or any other form of discrimination inspired by prejudice against the Indian; the program adopted by the padres appears to have continually fostered friendly intermingling of the races."[27]

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By the time the relatively small numbers of Indians at Bahia had been absorbed into the dominant population group, African women had been imported in sufficient numbers to continue extensively the process of race mixture. The scarcity of white, or near-white, women, at least as mates for men of the upper classes, was not now so acute as formerly; consequently, most of the sexual unions with African women were extra-legal,[28] comparable in some measure to interbreeding in our South, except that in the case of Brazil the extent of intermixture was perhaps greater.[29] Padre Nobrega wrote from Bahia in the early days of the colony: "Among the people here there are none who do not possess several *negras* from whom they have many children."[30] By 1819 the number of *mestiços* in Brazil was given as 628,000—a figure not greatly inferior to that of the whites, who were estimated at 843,000.[31] The pure Negro, it

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[27] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

[28] Marriages with Negroes were at first frowned upon. Thus an *alvará* of 1755 which referred to marriages of white men with Indian women as "convenient and noble" condemned "staining one's self" by marrying Negroes or Jews (Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 156).

[29] See Freyre, *op. cit.*, esp. chaps. iv and v.

[30] Manoel de Nobrega, *Cartas do Brasil, 1549–1560* (Rio, 1886), quoted in Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

[31] Alcide d'Orbigny, *Voyage dans les deux Amériques* (Paris, 1836), p. 155, quoted in Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

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officials of the middle tier, and the predominantly black slaves of the lower stratum.[18]

The duration of this particular organization was, however, brief. As the color line bent further under pressure of the rising mulatto, certain of the more able or more successful mixed-bloods broke through into the upper tiers.

The development of the cities increased the possibilities for economic advancement to individuals who, like the mulattoes, were noted for their skill as artisans and—what was more important—for their intellectual ability.[19] The rise, after independence in 1822, of the *academias superiores* offered to the more able mixed-bloods possibilities not previously attainable. Since by reason of their mental alertness the mulattoes often excelled, it is said, in those pursuits wherein intellectual ability is an essential for success, the development of these centers of advanced study opened, at least to the ambitious and favored ones among them, ready access to the rising professional classes, especially as *doutores* or *bachareis*.[20] Many promising young mulattoes were aided to a professional training by indulgent white fathers or other relatives and friends among the dominant class.

Of a prominent Brazilian intellectual, Raul Calogeras, whose father was a Bahian planter and whose mother was a Negro slave, we are told:

> Raul was very intelligent, and showed remarkable ability in his studies. It is said that when a very young boy at Santo Amaro, he used to slip away late at night, after his mother's master had gone to bed, to study by the street lamp on the corner near the house. When his father discovered this, he was much impressed, and other signs

[18] Vianna, *op. cit.*, pp. 72–73.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 151; Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, pp. 160–61, 190.

[20] Physicians, lawyers and engineers.

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Not listed among the members is a dark mixed-blood of distinguished bearing, probably Bahia's leading colored citizen, son of a white planter and a black slave, able engineer, once federal senator, president of an important intellectual and social organization, and "authority" on the Tupi language. However, an officer of the club, a white banker from one of the leading families whose aristocratic lineage, general competence, and recent contribution of a governor to the state and a federal senator to the national *camara* unquestionably admits its members to the most exclusive circles, once remarked that "if this distinguished colored citizen should sometime apply for membership, there would be no doubt that a man of his intelligence, refinement, and professional competence would be accepted without serious question."

In the schools there is no segregation in any form. Students, however, are predominantly white and light mulatto. The participation of blacks is somewhat limited, and there is a progressive elimination of the darker shades as one climbs the educational ladder. Illiteracy is high, especially in the lower class, in which, as we have seen, blacks and dark mulattoes predominate.

Table 13 indicates more equable participation of the blacks in the elementary schools, especially in those which are state supported, attendance at which is free and hence more accessible to Negro children, concentrated as their parents are in the lower economic levels.

In a parade of school children celebrating Emancipation Day (the thirteenth of May) twelve elementary schools participated, each group being dressed in its distinctive uniform. For example, the boys of one school wore light gray suits with a blue stripe down the trousers, blue belts, and

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trialists and capitalists. Although they are unable to do as their predecessors did, nevertheless they make use, in a disguised manner, of that same abuse of power. They give evidence of a feeling of superiority, which confirms the presence in them of remnants of the former sentiments; they deprive the black man of equality, if not in ability, at least in the opportunity to make use of it.[45]

If the black man were properly educated, he axiomatically would be equal to those who judge themselves superior. Only from men who have leisure to spend in study will there come descendants with lofty aspirations; not from men handicapped by excessive labor and deficient nourishment. This does not prove less intelligence but only less good fortune. For if the forebears of the blacks had been masters of the plantations, the slave huts, and the mines, their descendants would naturally have been capable of educating their children with the same diligence and care as do the whites.

[463] Today, the blacks are employed only as simple laborers, such as masons, carpenters, tailors, mechanics, shoemakers, ironworkers, stevedores, *carregadores*, etc. The reason the blacks do not use their abilities as business agents, bookkeepers, custom-house clerks, exporters, importers, etc., is that they do not possess the requisite skill and training, a deficiency which is principally due to the whites themselves, who always hinder the entering of this element of the population into the above-indicated classes where they might exercise authority over the other element and then they call them "inferiors," "the poor," "low-class."

[871] The black child may attend elementary school and learn a few indispensable things. But since his parents cannot send him to secondary and superior schools, directly thereafter he goes to work; which causes, or at least contributes to, his inability to enter pursuits other than those in which stevedores, *carregadores*, etc., work.

This is the reason why the black man cannot attain a position of economic security in the Bahian community.

563 In assessing the significance of this document, one must
565 draw a distinction between the lower-class *pretos* and those
829 other blacks who have climbed somewhat in the economic

[45] I.e., in opportunities to develop these abilities through education.

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798 social cohesion of the community (1).
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[162] 1. In 1940 the population of the city and of the
[795] municipality was made up of 97.49 o/o Roman Apostolic Catholics; 1.11 o/o Protestants; 0.26 o/o Israelites; 0.62 o/o spiritualists, etc.

[797] The Catholic majority views with an evil eye the activities of foreign Protestant missionaries and condemns particularly the "disloyal methods employed by some of them" and their way of distorting the Church. Protestantism is fought in the pulpit as heresy, but never the Protestants as persons having different characteristics and toward whom one vows hostility. The antago-
• [871] nism between Catholics, Protestants, and Presbyterians is also
[777] placed on the purely doctrinal plane; the institutions of learning maintained by Baptists and Presbyterians are attended by Catholic students and enjoy prestige because of their "American methods."

794 As for the candomblés, sanctuaries devoted to the cults of
798 African origin, the current feeling is that these rites are so many barbaric survivals that ought to be done away with, for they are a matter of shame before foreigners and tourists. In a commentary on tourism, a local journal proposes that the visit to candomblés be omitted from excursion programs, "because there can be no propaganda more negative for this Brazilian city four times a hundred years old, which has so many other interesting things to show." These cults, despite everything, enjoy relative freedom and function by virtue of police authorization. They have sometimes been prohibited and their devotees violently dispersed by police forces. Among the Blacks there are many who share the opinions of the Whites on the subject of these rites.

666 Only the rivalry between political parties provokes real
665 tension during the election campaigns. This tension is particularly
578 intense in the controversies in the interior of the State; it never expresses itself other than verbally; individual cases of aggression or actual conflicts between groups belonging to different political parties have become extremely rare. The ethnocentric feelings
[829] of the Bahians reached great vehemence several years ago when the majority of the electors refused to elect as governor of the State a candidate who was not "born in Bahia."

[SALVADOR]

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*563 441 472 829 A fact known in Bahia is that during one of the two world wars an important German firm transferred the responsibility for its warehouses to one of its employees, a moreno, who had always been its confidential agent and who proved in this situation that he was really faithful by subsequently loyally returning the goods that had been entrusted to him. A mulatto merchant, [452] owner of a warehouse, recalls that German firms helped small Brazilian merchants a great deal, no matter what their physical characteristics were, by granting them credit facilities. "It was [464] in this way that this firm developed, with the help of Germans," he says, "at the time when the large Portuguese firms, formerly the most important, did not offer any facilities to colored people and did not even allow them to work in their offices." The owner- [581] ship of firms was almost always transferred by the familial route by means of marriages between the most capable employees and the daughters of owners and associates, which explains why the management of these firms always remained with the Portuguese and their descendants. One and the same firm could, moreover, in certain cases give birth to two or three other firms of the same structure, thanks to the competence of the owners' sons, who, with the aid of their parents, set themselves up on their own.

*563 441 472 •871 555 A wealthy contractor thinks that it is owing to his black color that he did not progress in the modest employment that he had in an important commercial firm. In order to advance, he says, he was obliged to give up commerce and devote himself to jobs as a contractor. It is evident that the stagnation of some employees in occupations of little importance arises, in the majority of cases, from their incompetence, it being a fact that in Bahia, even today, but especially in the very recent past, the /Figs. 5 and 6 appear here/ /49/ young men who intended to go into commerce had not completed secondary studies, or showed themselves [464] incapable of continuing them. This situation is tending to improve, but the majority of minor employees is still made up of young colored men coming from poor families and from a very low level of education. These young people therefore have only minimal possibilities for elevating themselves in careers where success depends a great deal either on the importance of capital invested or on administrative knowledge.

[SALVADOR]

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545 In any case it is certain that in the realm of the theater the
554 possibilities of social ascent for persons of dark color are ex-
[555] tremely limited, as, moreover, for the people of Bahia in general, because the professions of actor and especially of actress are held in very poor esteem. The city never having had a resident theater company, its theatrical life depends not only on the passing-through of companies from other States, but even, owing to the pejorative opinion concerning the theatrical profession, one can say that at present there are no Bahian actors. The small number of those who do succeed work in other Brazilian cities and rarely perform in Bahia.

/66/ Education

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• 87 For numerous inhabitants of Bahia, "color prejudice is a problem of education." This opinion is formulated in different ways, but it always expresses the conviction that it is the difference of education, that is to say, of manners and of schooling, that is the greatest obstacle in the acceptance of the Black and of colored persons in the white milieus. It is not rare to hear it said among dark persons that "the evil comes from the fact that many Blacks do not have the necessary education." A Black said that his companions, members of the same association as he, maintain that the Blacks can very well occupy high positions, but he proves to them that they are not on a level that permits them to claim such positions: they lack the teaching and education. "It is not sufficient to appear spick and span, as many believe!" And the same Black adds that a "well-bred and educated Black is able to enter anywhere." And the lighter an individual is, the more easily he advances if he satisfies these requirements. A parda girl relates that the members of a professional circle where she works as a secretary treat her with more courtesy and "less distance" when they learn that she is not a mere employee, but a graduate teacher, "an educated person."

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*563 555 871 Knowing to what extent schooling is useful to them to reduce the social distance that separates them from the ruling classes, colored persons, even the humblest and the darkest, make great efforts to send their children to primary school; they go so far as to make the sacrifice to send them to secondary courses when they could already be helping them in their work. A mulatto who [171] lives in the northern part of the country states that in this the Blacks of Bahia differ from those of the other States: "Here the humblest women -- washerwomen, cooks, domestics -- send their children to school and are very anxious about what they are taught. In the other States this does not interest them (1)."

[162] [872] [463]

1. Among the 92 students of both sexes in a public elementary school chosen at random, 23 were white, 42 pardos, and 27 black. Those responsible for the colored children (mothers, fathers, uncles, or godmothers) were domestics, seamstresses, cabinetmakers, carpenters, masons, petty officials, chauffeurs, commercial employees, cooks, washerwomen, etc.

*563 871 171 "The Blacks of another large Brazilian city," notes a black university student, "are very well dressed and shod, but they speak badly, use slang expressions, and are incapable of carrying on a conversation of a certain level. One might say that they are not at all anxious to learn."

*563 555 829 There is a very widespread conviction that, in order to excel in life and elevate oneself socially, a colored person must be better /67/ prepared and more capable than the Whites. "A young colored man must have great personal merit to be able to assert himself," says the student mentioned above. A mulatto physician who had an exceptional career and who has become one of the greatest names in Brazilian science told one of our informants that a colored man, in order to succeed, must have twice the merit as his white competitor, for exactly the same thing happens with a Black as with two balls of the same weight and the same size, one of metal and the other of wood; when one takes them in one's hand it always seems as though the metal one were heavier. Thus a colored man always gives the impression of having less merit than a White.

[SALVADOR]

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*563 In principle the school in Brazil offers the same advantages
• 871 to Whites and to Blacks, no law preventing or hampering enrollment for ethnic reasons. Nevertheless, inasmuch as the public school is of popular character, free, and the private school is an institution of the higher classes, there is a noticeable difference between the two categories with regard to the number of students of the one type and of the other. But both accept Whites and
[162] Blacks. Just as the Whites are in the minority in the total population, the students of this type represent only 35 o/o in the public elementary schools, the Blacks represent about 20 o/o; the rest are pardo. In the private schools of the same level the Whites are as much more numerous as the establishment is more "choice"; one may find up to 90 or 93 o/o Whites there; in those attended by students of the intermediate social group one finds 15 to 25 o/o colored students, very light as a whole (1).

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1. These data have been drawn from the reports of the secretariat of education of the State of Bahia and from the publications of the author on the anthropometric studies made in 1944 and 1947. For this work the author has proceeded with verifications in several public and private schools.

*563 In the public and private secondary schools the number of
873 colored students, especially very dark ones, is smaller because they are attended in large part by young people planning liberal careers, which are, in a way, the lot of the Whites, although they are also accessible to colored persons. Among the young people of both sexes enrolled as students during the first three months of
[162] 1950 at the Bureau of Identification of the civil police of the State, the following types were noted:

	Whites	Blacks	"Morenos"	"Pardos"	Métis	Total
Male sex . .	349	15	168	83	26	641
Female sex .	300	31	245	95	34	705
Total . .	649	46	413	178	60	1,346

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

565 596 861 the extended family. The upper class child develops in an atmosphere of alternate indulgence and discipline, with very few responsibilities. [872] Most upper class children attend private schools, which are usually parochial.

565 The social status of the upper class individual is determined by birth and is maintained by the economic and social standing of the individual and his family. The specific determinants of status--wealth, occupation, education, kin relations, and physical appearance[14]--are either fixed or are strongly influenced by the family.

565 596 In the Recôncavo the extended upper class family frequently has a diversified economic structure which enables it to safeguard effectively the position of the individual and the group. Ideally the family group includes the usinéiro (sugar mill owner or administrator), the fazendéiro (cane planter), the doctor, the lawyer-politician, and the urban business man. These various individuals cooperate to build and to maintain the economic, political, and social position of the family. These activities constitute the principal responsibility of the males of the family and justify, it is believed, the characteristic masculine superiority of the society.

565 588 [592] The Lower Class Family. Some of the upper class characteristics are shared by lower class families, especially by the upper stratum, but the contrasts are striking. Lower class families in the Recôncavo seem to have less stability and a less extended character than those of the upper class. Common law marriages and church marriages, not legally binding in Brazil, are quite common and are easily dissolved. The common law marriages of the young adults are frequently temporary, but most older adults seem to establish permanent unions.[15]

565 596 Though kinship relationships are always recognized and cherished, the extended family of the lower class is widely dispersed, and its economic role is usually minor.

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In the very large *usinas*, the mill hands and even the field hands are modern industrial workers. They are employees of a large industrial corporation and are protected at least theoretically by the labour laws of the nation. The highly personalized relationship between the plantation workers and the owner-administrator of his own plantation, which persisted from the slave era, has been replaced on the larger *usinas* by the impersonal employee-employer relationship of the modern industrial age. Today, modern plantations and small towns have electricity; there is modern housing for workmen; the State and even the sugar companies provide medical aid; there are primary schools both in the small towns and on many plantations; recreation facilities are found in the towns and provided by the *usinas*; and the sugar-cane experimental station situated in the area constantly urges fertilization of the land and modern techniques and methods of sugar-cane production. But the older and more traditional patterns exist side by side with the new, and each of them influences the relations among the racial groups of the zone.

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III. Vila Recôncavo is a small town on the Bay of All Saints. The rural area around it, which lies within the social and economic orbit of the town and which is the unit under consideration, comprises some 80 square kilometres, or slightly less than half the entire area of the county of which the town of Vila Recôncavo is the county seat.[1]

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It this area there are 14 plantations, three of which nowadays plant very little sugar cane. Parts of the town itself are built on the land of one of these plantations, and the rest of the town area is owned in small lots by private individuals or by the Church. Although Vila Recôncavo is the county seat, local government is the only important function which it fulfils for the surrounding area. It is not used as a shipping point, either for receiving supplies from the outside or for sending sugar to the outside. *Braços do mar*, or inlets of the bay, go to many of the plantations and are deep enough for the *saveiros* (shallow draft sailboats) used on the bay for transport. Many of the plantations have direct connexion with Salvador. Commerce in Vila Recôncavo is almost entirely limited to supplying the 1,462 inhabitants of the town and of some small islands and of one community near by which is not devoted to sugar production. It is not the major supply source even for these groups which live near enough to another and far larger commercial centre where they prefer to do their marketing. The *prefeito* or mayor of the county is rarely a resident of the town itself. Rather he is usually a planter of the surrounding area. He goes into town to do municipal business,

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[1] Both the town and the county bear the name of Vila Recôncavo.

Traditionally
565 the preto is linked with ignorance and superstition,
563 and a most common example of his 'ignorance', cited by the upper
794 strata of Vila Recôncavo society, is his belief in *candomblé*, the fetish
[171] cults of African origin so numerous in Salvador which have been described by various authors.[8] In the Caribbean, *candomblé* is
[177] known as voodoo and, as in Brazil, there is a mixture of Roman
[178] Catholic with African religious elements. In Vila Recôncavo there are highly complicated rituals of ceremony and healing, but owing to the pressures of modern life almost no one has the time necessary to spend in the full preparation for a *filha de santo* (servant of the god) or a *mãe de santo* (caretaker of the gods) and much of the old ritual is being forgotten and discarded, and newer and simpler
[776] innovations are in evidence. Another example given of the *preto's* 'superstition' in Vila Recôncavo is his participation in the cult of Janaina, the goddess of the water. This cult is really an offshoot of *candomblé*, Yemanja being the name of the African *orixa* or divinity, while Janaina is the name given to her by many of the cults in
[782] Brazil. It is Janaina 'who sends the fish to the fishermen', and they
[226] must thank her and give her gifts occasionally. Generally it is the *mãe de santo* who knows all the calls and prayers for Janaina and who presents the fishermen's gifts. Anyone who intends to climb the social ladder first disassociates himself from these rites, and then publicly condemns those who participate in them—although, in many cases, such an individual will continue secretly to give financial support to a local *mãe de santo* and to send gifts to Janaina. Often it is heard of a person: 'Oh yes, he is *gente* now, but last night he secretly sent his usual present to Janaina.' Individuals of all racial classifications belong to *candomblé*, although popular opinion has it that only the *pretos* engage in these activities. One can observe all racial types at a *candomblé festa* (ceremony), either as participants or as spectators. In one case in another area of the Recôncavo there is even a white *pae de santo* (male caretaker of the gods), a former lawyer!

563 Nevertheless, in Vila Recôncavo, there are examples of *pretos* and
555 *mestiços* who have shown themselves capable of progress, with and without education. Two examples are the plantation administrators, cited earlier, who have risen to that honoured and relatively
[463] well-paid occupation in spite of the fact that they cannot read or
[872] write. On another plantation, the *feitor* has taught himself to read
[873] and write and is known as an excellent story-teller. Primary schools were recently opened in the rural zone of Vila Recôncavo, and night schools for the adults. The response has been great, people often walking long distances at night to attend class, in spite of the fact that one of the most disliked and feared things is going out at night.

563 In Vila Recôncavo, there has been a central primary school for
565 many years, with an attendance of 354 of all racial types, children of
872 the whites as well as those of the others, although no children of the

planters. People in the upper class of the town, when they can, send their children to the capital to continue their education, and there are several *mestiço* students from Vila Recôncavo studying law, medicine and engineering in Salvador. The intelligence of the mulatto is traditional, and it has been equally traditional that the darker-skinned person is unintelligent. Today these traditions are not as strong as before, but still it is felt that the mulatto has somewhat more aptitude than the Negro. The old idea of the Negro, meant for work and to be servile, still exists, now tempered with the knowledge that education can change the situation. There is only one club in Vila Recôncavo—a football club—and the players are all shades, from white to black, and so are the spectators. They all sit or stand together under the shade of the one big tree which gives shade to the playing field. The field is on the property of a white man who, while he has nothing to do with the team, allows them to play there, put up goal posts and markers. The bar and recreation centre are open to all so long as they wear shoes—a ruling made to keep out the muddy feet of children who came straight from the beach to have a 'coke'. All the racial types and classes get together here to play pool and gossip, this being the one and only point of public social activity in the town. At the movies, the admission price is extremely low, the same for everyone, and all four classes attend. Negroes and whites of all classes sit next to each other. At church there are no special pews, the faithful usually gathering in the front and the less faithful hanging about near the back. The choir and the acolytes are from all classes and colours. At parties, which are few, colour lines are disregarded, *brancos* and *morenos* dance with *mulatos* and *pretos* just as long as both partners can *pular* (jump).

The social situation is gradually changing, and the extremely personal element is being lost. It is strongest on the private plantation, where the owner spends the greater part of the year, but at the *usina* much of the personal element is weakened because of the numbers of workers. Even at the *usina*, there is visiting and gossiping between the owners' families and the workers. But at the *usina* not all the workers accept their subservient position as do those of the plantations. This is specially true of the higher echelon of specialists and technicians of the mill, who will frequently not go to a party given by the owner, even though invited. It seems to be a way of saying that the company of the white owners is neither needed nor wanted. They prefer to keep their relations on a strictly business basis. At the *usina*, when a worker is sick, he goes to the medical post where he is treated by a paid nurse, rather than to the owner's house. On pay day, the *usina* worker is paid at the mill by a paymaster, not in the living room of the owner's house. Nevertheless, in spite of the industrialized aspect of the mill, the number of workers is not too large to exclude all personal contact with the owners, who adminis-

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SOH

Not listed among the members is a dark mixed-blood of distinguished bearing, probably Bahia's leading colored citizen, son of a white planter and a black slave, able engineer, once federal senator, president of an important intellectual and social organization, and "authority" on the Tupi language. However, an officer of the club, a white banker from one of the leading families whose aristocratic lineage, general competence, and recent contribution of a governor to the state and a federal senator to the national *camara* unquestionably admits its members to the most exclusive circles, once remarked that "if this distinguished colored citizen should sometime apply for membership, there would be no doubt that a man of his intelligence, refinement, and professional competence would be accepted without serious question."

In the schools there is no segregation in any form. Students, however, are predominantly white and light mulatto. The participation of blacks is somewhat limited, and there is a progressive elimination of the darker shades as one climbs the educational ladder. Illiteracy is high, especially in the lower class, in which, as we have seen, blacks and dark mulattoes predominate.

Table 13 indicates more equable participation of the blacks in the elementary schools, especially in those which are state supported, attendance at which is free and hence more accessible to Negro children, concentrated as their parents are in the lower economic levels.

In a parade of school children celebrating Emancipation Day (the thirteenth of May) twelve elementary schools participated, each group being dressed in its distinctive uniform. For example, the boys of one school wore light gray suits with a blue stripe down the trousers, blue belts, and

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

gray caps with blue bands; while the girls wore light gray dresses with blue belts, blue collars, and blue cuffs. Of approximately 325 pupils in the parade, about two-sevenths were black, two-sevenths white, and three-sevenths mulatto, indiscriminately mingled. In eight schools, the proportions were not greatly dissimilar. Two schools, however, were

TABLE 13

COMPARATIVE SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OF THE ETHNIC UNITS AT BAHIA, 1936

School	No. of Schools Sampled	Black	Mulatto	White	Others	Total
Elementary:						
Public	22	438	496	385	16*	1,335
Private	8	40	97	175	3†	315
Parochial	6	31	88	318	13‡	450
Secondary	5§	34	99	390	2‖	525
Superior (Faculties of Law, Medicine, Engineering)	3	12	88	424	6¶	530
Trade	3	88	122	123	2**	335
Normal	1	45	83	157	0	285

* *Cafuso*, 9; *mameluco*, 7.
† *Cafuso*, 2; *mameluco*, 1.
‡ *Cafuso*, 5; *mameluco*, 8.
§ One public, 2 private, 2 ecclesiastical.
‖ *Cafuso*, 2.
¶ *Cafuso*, 2; *mameluco*, 4.
** *Cafuso*, 1; *mameluco*, 1.

principally black and mixed-blood (in one of which there were 16 blacks, 34 mulattoes, 8 whites); and two schools were largely white (in one of which there were 25 whites, 8 mulattoes, and 5 blacks).

During the 1936 Peruada, which is an annual *festa* held by students at the Faculdades, of 168 individuals participating in a parade, 3 per cent were black, 10 per cent were mulatto, and 87 per cent were white.

At the graduating exercises of one of the Faculdades, no

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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sors honored as *paranymphos*,[9] all were white. Of 21 faculty members honored with *homenagem*,[10] 6 were mulattoes (2 quite negroid), 1 was *branco da Bahia*, 14 were whites, and none was black.

In a prominent secondary institution, of 18 instructors, 1 was a black, 5 were mulattoes, 3 were *brancos da Bahia*, and 9 were whites. In another secondary school, of 33 instructors, 7 were mulattoes, 6 were *brancos da Bahia*, and 20 were whites. While of 30 elementary teachers noted in state schools, 3 were blacks, 10 were mulattoes, 6 were *brancos da Bahia*, 1 was a *mameluco*, and 10 were whites.

* 563 554 875

In educational circles one often hears of a dark mixed-blood of distinguished bearing with snow-white hair and beard who organized some years ago one of the present secondary institutions and whose two sons are well-known and widely respected educators. Several whites now prominent in local and national circles speak with pride of their schooling under this distinguished man.

A similar attitude is not infrequently manifested with reference to other colored teachers or professors; for instance, a prominent medical specialist and noted lecturer at the Faculty of Medicine; a legal "authority" and author of textbooks in law, now associate justice of the Brazilian supreme court; a prominent nerve specialist; a noted surgeon; and the city's ablest and most quoted literary critic.

* 563 • 872 875

In a private elementary school a class of boys ranging in age from seven to eleven years were being taught by a Negro teacher. Among the group were two whites, one *branco da*

[9] Each graduating class in the secondary and professional schools selects one of its more popular teachers or professors for special recognition as *paranymphs*.

[10] Graduating classes also select, besides a *paranymphs*, several teachers or professors to be honored with *homenagem*.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

563* 872 875

Bahia, one mulatto, and three blacks. Several substantial white citizens had received their early training under this man.

The public library is patronized indiscriminately by members of all ethnic groups. Blacks, however, appear among its frequenters only in rather limited numbers. For instance, of 560 individuals using the library facilities on different days and at different hours during the day,[11] only 9.6 per cent were blacks, while 35.9 per cent were mulattoes and 52.7 per cent were whites.[12]

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In labor unions organization definitely follows class lines, and ethnic differences are largely lost sight of in the pursuit of common ends. Leadership, however, tends to be white or near-white, even in those unions composed predominantly of blacks and dark mixed-bloods. For instance, at a "solemn assembly" for the installation of new officers in a local labor union whose membership, limited to 550, is overwhelmingly Negro (as indicated by a detailed check of the members with the aid of the union secretary), the retiring president was a *branco da Bahia* and the incoming president a light mulatto. Only eleven *brancos* (probably all, or nearly all, of whom are *brancos da Bahia*) and relatively few mulattoes are to be found among the membership.[13]

563* 467 [565]

[11] Samples were taken for each hour from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M., with the exception of 12:00 noon to 2:00 P.M., when the institution was closed.

[12] Also 7 (1.2 per cent) *cafusos*, 3 (0.5 per cent) *mamelucos*.

[13] Of the speakers, 6 were blacks, 5 were mulattoes (2 quite light), 1 was a *branco da Bahia*, and 1 was a white. Among the themes presented were: "Solidarity! All Workers Are Brothers!" "Since the Revolution of 1930 Workers Are No Longer Slaves"; "Viva Getulio Vargas, the God, the Jesus, and the Senhor do Bomfim [patron saint of Bahia's poorer classes] of the Workers!" "Remember the Chicago Workers Who Died for Liberty!" "Save Brazil's Wealth from Exploitation by *Norte-Americanos* Who Hope To Seize Her Mines and Her Waterfalls and Make Slaves of Her People!" "Look to the World's Greatest Socialist and Sociologist, Jesus Christ."

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*563 555 871 Knowing to what extent schooling is useful to them to reduce the social distance that separates them from the ruling classes, colored persons, even the humblest and the darkest, make great efforts to send their children to primary school; they go so far as to make the sacrifice to send them to secondary courses when they could already be helping them in their work. A mulatto who [171] lives in the northern part of the country states that in this the Blacks of Bahia differ from those of the other States: "Here the humblest women -- washerwomen, cooks, domestics -- send their children to school and are very anxious about what they are taught. In the other States this does not interest them (1)."

[162] [872] [463] 1. Among the 92 students of both sexes in a public elementary school chosen at random, 23 were white, 42 pardos, and 27 black. Those responsible for the colored children (mothers, fathers, uncles, or godmothers) were domestics, seamstresses, cabinetmakers, carpenters, masons, petty officials, chauffeurs, commercial employees, cooks, washerwomen, etc.

*563 871 171 "The Blacks of another large Brazilian city," notes a black university student, "are very well dressed and shod, but they speak badly, use slang expressions, and are incapable of carrying on a conversation of a certain level. One might say that they are not at all anxious to learn."

*563 555 829 There is a very widespread conviction that, in order to excel in life and elevate oneself socially, a colored person must be better /67/ prepared and more capable than the Whites. "A young colored man must have great personal merit to be able to assert himself," says the student mentioned above. A mulatto physician who had an exceptional career and who has become one of the greatest names in Brazilian science told one of our informants that a colored man, in order to succeed, must have twice the merit as his white competitor, for exactly the same thing happens with a Black as with two balls of the same weight and the same size, one of metal and the other of wood; when one takes them in one's hand it always seems as though the metal one were heavier. Thus a colored man always gives the impression of having less merit than a White.

[SALVADOR]

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*563 •872 572 565 In the public elementary schools the students, in general little conscious of their rank, have a tendency to mix indiscriminately. The informants in general do not recall discriminatory attitudes on the part of their white fellow-students and state /69/ that from these contacts result -- it is not uncommon to ascertain this -- close and lasting friendships. A woman of liberal profession established good relations with white colleagues of the upper classes during her school years, amicable relations that have lasted to this day. In working in the public schools of Bahia, a psychologist confirmed, however, that the children group themselves according to their physical type, but that they have a tendency to seek out in class children lighter than they as seatmates. It is understandable that in this phase of development and socialization of the child the latter has greater facility in identifying those of his group according to physical appearance, especially if he finds himself away from his family and is not influenced by the criteria of social classification current there. Even in the secondary schools, numerous informants say, the students group themselves according to their physical type, but especially in terms of social and economic rank; friendships between young people belonging to two extremes of the color scale are confirmed on each level; more rarely between different social strata. "The daughters of doctors, even if they are dark," a woman informant declared, "are treated with more attention by the professors and their companions than the Whites and the colored children who are poor." The relations between colored students and their Jewish comrades seem to be good, if one is to believe certain information.

*563 [217] In the libraries one can see students of very different types gathered around the same tables and working together. The colored students not only take part in groups on excursions, but sometimes are at the head of them; they happen to command their comrades of all types in the civic parades. A literary association [814] [873] founded by a black professor in a college-preparatory secondary school has white and colored members.

/69 cont./

*563 575 873 A very dark color may, however, create difficulties in some circumstances. One of the founders of the important association of students of secondary education was a dark mulatto, highly esteemed among his colleagues; it was, however, not possible for him to be elected president of the association because, as he was able to confirm, a white Communist colleague insinuated that so dark a young man would not have enough prestige before the educational authorities and the public. Elected vice-president he assumed the office of president only when the latter retired; he was then able to perform many accomplishments without encountering the obstacles that might have been connected with his "quality." When an excursion to another city was organized, a mulatto student felt that some of his /70/ comrades hesitated to include him in their group (1).

[564] [565] [113]

1. "In Brazil there is no caste line. As a colored man assimilates the standards of culture of the dominant class, he is treated as an equal, although one notes a strong tendency among the Whites to avoid relations with colored men in situations requiring a certain setting (diplomacy, elegant salons, military schools, etc.)," Guerreiro Ramos, "Contactos raciais no Brasil," Quilombo, 1st year, No. 1, Rio de Janeiro, 1948.

Taking account of this, he decided to withdraw discreetly and was congratulated by a white comrade for his "elegant gesture." [178] These two episodes occurred about ten years ago, and the informants say that they would hardly occur today, tolerance having become much greater.

*563 873 Relations between students and professors of different "quality" present nothing unusual in our day; they depend, as a general rule, on the psychological characteristics of both, rather than on their physical appearance. But there are white schoolmistresses in the *563 872 public elementary schools who appear more severe and sometimes

[SALVADOR]

/70 cont./

*563 intolerant toward very black little girls, pardoning their mistakes
• 872 only with difficulty and punishing them more severely than the Whites. An informant relates that in his school he heard the schoolmistress say: "This moleque (2)

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[567]

2. Moleque = term by which one designates the little children of black slaves; it also means an ill-bred, undisciplined young man; may be heard as a synonym for young colored man.

has no sensibility. Not only is he black, but he is not studious."
*563 The students of the secondary schools often admire their colored
873 professors and treat them with the same respect as the white professors; their attitude may vary, however, according to the social rank of the schoolmasters of dark color. Some of them are particularly esteemed for their competence and for the gentleness of their manners. Others are accused of treating their students differently by appearing more exacting and sometimes harsh with the Whites; in such cases the students complain among themselves about the rudeness "of this Negro" and secretly circulate names and epigrams that allude to his Negroid features. There are, on the other hand, dark professors who have the reputation of mistreating the students of their own type, information that is challenged by some people; if this happens, says an informant, it is not because of hostility, but because of the desire to urge these stude..ts to work more and thus to distinguish themselves from the others. In the past, however, there have been white professors who openly humiliated the black students and treated them with hostility, which sometimes gave rise to violently aggressive reactions on the part of the latter. Some of these professors were still teaching 20
*563 or 25 years ago. All this could scarcely happen today, and if anything
873 might cause an attitude of /71/ this kind to be suspected, the
178 milieu reacts sharply in disapproving the "racist" behavior. That is what happened this year when in one public school a professor used words that were interpreted as a contemptuous allusion to

743 so there is competent medical assistance. Those who are too poor to pay receive free aid and medications, milk, and soup; those who can pay do so, paying only the wholesale prices of the articles. The institute is well equipped, with an x-ray machine, diathermy, and other heat appliances, which are popular because of the prevalence of colds and rheumatism.

743 The institute also operates the weekly motion picture which
529 has been a great boon to the town, a recreation room, central-
[546] ly located in the town, which has a radio, billiard tables, and a bar selling milk shakes, sandwiches, beer, and soft drinks.
743 This place has become the major meeting place for the men
• 873 and boys of the town. In addition to this, the institute also runs a night school for adults.

463 Group 2, as listed at the beginning of this chapter, con-
[571] sists mainly of the people who work for those in Group 1 and who are attached to them by the bonds of the patronship to some extent, as well as by salary. The majority of persons
[462] in this category are women, engaged in the traditional female pursuits of washing, ironing, sewing, embroidering, and general housework.

296 As a rule the laundry is washed at one of the town wells,
462 which are encased in cement. The women carry the dirty clothes, a bucket, and wooden basin, all piled on top of their
463 heads, to the well. They pull up enough water in their buck-
[482] ets to fill the basins in which the clothes are washed. After a soaking and scrubbing with soap the wet, soapy clothes are spread out on the ground in the sun, and from time to time water is sprinkled on them to aid the sun in bleaching. Then the clothes are rewashed and spread out to dry. Depending upon the weather, the washing and drying process may take from a whole day to three or four days before the clothes are
[463] considered clean enough. Then they are taken home to be ironed. The older pattern demanded that a different person do
[178] the ironing, but today this pattern is breaking down and frequently the same person washes and irons. The irons used are the old-fashioned kind heated by charcoal, which is placed inside and ignited. The irons are made with drafts to keep the fire going, and the women must stop frequently to fan the fire or renew the charcoal. Often a busy woman has two irons going and sets one aside to heat while she irons with the other.

462 Many women also prepare xangô, a small sardinelike fish
252 caught in great quantities by the fishermen of Vila Recônca-
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563 In Vila Recôncavo, there has been a central primary school for
565 many years, with an attendance of 354 of all racial types, children of
872 the whites as well as those of the others, although no children of the

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[City of Salvador]

361 565 permitting as it does a full and unobstructed sweep of the cooling sea breeze, makes these heights more comfortable, more healthful, and, consequently, more desirable places of [362] residence. One usually finds here the more modern and [463] substantial buildings, the homes of the upper classes. Here ordinarily live the scions of the old aristocracy, the large landholders, the city's intellectuals, and the leaders of its "society"; the lawyers, physicians, engineers, and politicians; the officials of the army, the poets and journalists, the professors in the Faculdades, the few industrialists which Bahia has so far produced—in fact, nearly all those prominent in the intellectual, political, "social," and economic life of the city. These families possess considerable property [873] and employ numerous servants. Their members are usually [463] literate, and at least the males are *formados* (i.e., graduated from one of the Faculdades, either in law, medicine, or engineering), a distinction which in the Bahian society marks them off quite sharply from the rest of the population.

[204] It is in these areas that the five newspapers published in [291] the city circulate almost exclusively and the latest fashions from Paris or Hollywood are known and generally adopted. [341] In recent years an occasional example of modernistic archi- [422] tecture and interior design has appeared. Here are to be found the owners of virtually all the city's 3,855 telephones, [206] its 1,028 automobiles, its radios, and private libraries. Here [217] live most of the 20,524 voters who cast ballots in the munici- [207] pal election of 1936. Here attachment to the *candomblé*, or Afro-Brazilian fetish cult, is minimal and Catholic belief is [794] least modified by elements from the more primitive reli- [177] gions. Here live that portion of the population which *o povo* ("the people") call the *ricos*, or the "rich."

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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y caps with blue bands; while the girls wore light gray dresses with blue belts, blue collars, and blue cuffs. Of approximately 325 pupils in the parade, about two-sevenths were black, two-sevenths white, and three-sevenths mulatto, indiscriminately mingled. In eight schools, the proportions were not greatly dissimilar. Two schools, however, were

TABLE 13

COMPARATIVE SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OF THE ETHNIC UNITS AT BAHIA, 1936

School	No. of Schools Sampled	Black	Mulatto	White	Others	Total
Elementary:						
Public	22	438	496	385	16*	1,335
Private	8	40	97	175	3†	315
Parochial	6	31	88	318	13‡	450
Secondary	5§	34	99	390	2‖	525
Superior (Faculties of Law, Medicine, Engineering)	3	12	88	474	6¶	530
Trade	3	88	122	123	2**	335
Normal	1	45	83	157	0	285

* *Cafuso*, 9; *mameluco*, 7.
† *Cafuso*, 2; *mameluco*, 1.
‡ *Cafuso*, 5; *mameluco*, 8.
§ One public, 2 private, 2 ecclesiastical.
‖ *Cafuso*, 2.
¶ *Cafuso*, 2; *mameluco*, 4.
** *Cafuso*, 1; *mameluco*, 1.

principally black and mixed-blood (in one of which there were 16 blacks, 34 mulattoes, 8 whites); and two schools were largely white (in one of which there were 25 whites, 8 mulattoes, and 5 blacks).

During the 1936 Peruada, which is an annual *festa* held by students at the Faculdades, of 168 individuals participating in a parade, 3 per cent were black, 10 per cent were mulatto, and 87 per cent were white.

At the graduating exercises of one of the Faculdades, no

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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black families were present. The guests were principally white, including a number of *brancos da Bahia*. A few mulattoes, principally light, also attended. A dark mixed-blood assisted with the ushering, in the course of which he led two of his relatives (young light mulatto ladies) to excellent seats well to the front. Later, as the room became crowded, he was seen to request two white men to give up their seats to two other mulatto ladies. The request was courteously complied with. When, during the subsequent formal ceremonies, this dark mixed-blood received his diploma, he was given by his fellow-students (chiefly whites) a vigorous round of applause, he being one of the few so honored. "He is a fine man with a brilliant mind," remarked a white colleague.

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A number of teachers, particularly in the elementary and secondary institutions, are mixed-bloods, but the greater number are whites. Although 120 of 148 white students responding to an inquiry regarding the matter did not object to being taught by a *preto* teacher, black instructors are rare and are limited, with few exceptions, to the elementary ranks. This is, in all probability, largely due to the fact that comparatively few blacks have so far received educational advantages equal to the whites.

For instance, of 232 instructors at the four Faculdades (Law, Medicine, Engineering, and Economics), none was black; 163, or 70.3 per cent, were white; 36, or 15.5 per cent, were *branco da Bahia;* and 31, or 13.4 per cent, were mulatto.[8] Of 69 *professores cathedraticos*, 54, or 78.3 per cent, were white; 10, or 14.5 per cent, were mulatto; 5, or 7.2 per cent, were *branco da Bahia;* and none was black. Of 5 profes-

[8] One was an Indian-Negro mixed-blood, and one was of Indian-white descent.

4; Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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829 794 178 often been heard, on the lips of older members of, particularly, Protestant churches in the United States, "These young people today are not like we used to be. It's a shame the way they stray away."

829 794 178 159 [873] [658] João is a young black about twenty years of age who has just completed a business course subsequent to graduation from the Ginasio da Bahia, the city's state-supported secondary school. One day, in the home of his uncle, who is a prominent figure in the fetish world, João was copying a page in Nagô. Possessed of a deep affection for his uncle and being characteristically obliging and courteous, he was attempting to learn a few words of this African language. But the impression João made on a visitor was that his efforts with Nagô arose rather from a desire to please his uncle than from any genuine interest in the language itself. João remarked, apologetically, "You know I would like to learn it, but I just don't have time when I'm working every day."

A young mulatto girl who had completed two years at a secondary school remarked, "I don't care much for the *candomblé*, except to watch the dances and to see the [ceremonial] costumes. I seldom go, and then only for some special reason. I like the movies better, especially the North American and the English films." She further remarked:

[546]

> My uncle doesn't believe in this business of the *orixás*. One day his daughter—my cousin—said that she felt an *orixá* about to "arrive." She ran all the way to a *candomblé*, began to dance, and, sure enough, "she fell into the *estado de santo*." But my uncle wouldn't stand for it. He got a sprig of *urtiga* and whipped her and then went and whipped the *pae de santo* too. The next day, my cousin couldn't bear anyone's hand on her, she was so sore. But that was the end of the *orixá*. He never came back.

José is a young mixed-blood, twenty-two years of age, employed as a janitor in one of Bahia's public buildings. Although he knows of three *seitas* near his home—one each

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/15 cont./

829 to the anthropophysical study of the colored
*563 child/. Rio de Janeiro, 1939.
[113]

The author of these pages has classified, according to their
125 respective photographs, 30 social-club members of the male sex
829 belonging to the well-educated people of Bahia, and showed them
*563 to a young white girl of the middle class, to a métise of modest class, a student of the social sciences, and to a métis in charge of the administration of the same club, asking them to classify them in turn. Here are the descriptions applied according to the judgment of each identifier:

Designation	Number of individuals of each type (1)			
	A	B	C	D
Whites	19	14	21	6
Brancos da terra . . .	1	11	2	-
Morenos	4	-	6	19
Mulattoes	6	5	1	5

1. A, author; B, young white girl; C, métisse student; D, métis functionary.

The four classifications agree only in certain instances: this was a matter of the Whites whose phenotype was obvious; in five cases, three agreed with regard to the classification of a White who was classified by the fourth as moreno; in 14 cases the opinions were divided by half and so on.

829 Most of the light métis are identified as morenos in the registers
*563 in which are inscribed the members of the social clubs, religious
[575] brotherhoods, in the lists of students of an establishment for uni-
[794] versity instruction examined at the end of the investigation. When
[873] it was requested of different persons of the middle class, most of
[125]
[565]

5: Azevedo--20 D. Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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142
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302
352
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At the University

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*563 70 /60 cont./

parade, one was recently able to identify three morenos, but it should be added that, the land army, aviation, or the navy being national bodies, the officers detached to serve in the different States include only a small number of local elements.

• [873] The Brazilian university students do military service by attending, for two years, courses for the preparation of reserve officers for the army. Colored students are admitted there like all the others, and, as certain of them have assured us, they are not subject to any discriminatory measures. But as few young men of Bahia intend to have a military career, the difficulties that persons of dark color may encounter in this sector are not very important. According to numerous informants, however, only the nearly white métis obtain officers' posts in the combat forces; it is easier for them to obtain posts as doctors, pharmacists, intendants, and procurator of military justice. A mulatto student relates that he aspired to enter military aviation, but that, fearing that he would not be admitted, he decided on another career. The officers' schools do not refuse the registration of dark-colored candidates, but the latter, our informants say, rarely satisfy the physical and intellectual demands required by the respective regulations, which provoked lively debates a few years ago in the national parliament.

*563 708 701 The military police of the State of Bahia is a traditionally popular organization, in the ranks of which no racial distinction is made; its troops have been made up of a majority of colored men. Within its primitive system of promotions a large number of mulatto and black soldiers have advanced to the ranks of officers and have succeeded in performing, under the general command of the State, duties of major importance during periods of political agitation, during periods when the government of the State had to be able to count on the loyalty of its troops. The political intrusions in the granting of these posts have greatly decreased with the changes that have been brought about in the Brazilian democratic system, but they continue nevertheless to play a certain role. From the officers' ranks of this militia have come numerous Blacks who have occupied important posts in the

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/62 cont./

*563 545 533 [204] society, has brought to Bahia the most famous musicians of our time. The newspapers and journals report the concerts that the white and colored artists give in the theaters and halls of the most important organizations of the city, and publish their /63/ pictures as well as the comments that the art critics make on the subject.

*563 814 538 [532] [346] In the plastic arts, colored persons have not played an important role, although in the past they have produced some painters and sculptors of some renown whose works can be viewed in the most beautiful baroque churches of the city. These works are mentioned in the books on the art of Bahia, especially in those of a black or dark mulatto writer, Manoel Querino, son of slaves, whose studies on art, folklore, and Afro-Brazilian ethnography have made him famous. The first centenary of the birth of this intellectual, who in his biographies of numerous artists of Bahia only very rarely indicated their type, was solemnly commemorated in Bahia, as well as in Rio de Janeiro, at the same time that two other folklorists, who were white, one of whom was from Bahia, were honored.

*563 • 873 [875] In the school of fine arts of the local university, students of all types have acquired university degrees in architecture, painting, drawing, and sculpture; its teaching staff at present includes at least three mulattoes, two of whom are quite dark. Some informants say, however, that one painter, because of his color, was not counted for a prize offered by the school, consisting of a journey outside the State. This incident, which happened some tens of years ago, is interpreted in different ways by our informants.

*563 545 In the theater, colored persons (at least those who are very dark) do not have great possibilities, and one often hears this complaint expressed. The Blacks, says one young informant, never get beyond the stage of laborer or carpenter in our theaters; even for the roles of Blacks, disguised Whites are preferred. On the other hand, a morena amateur actress states that white women refuse to play the parts of Bahians and that they entrust these parts to colored girls. It is also somewhat difficult to present white and colored actors together on the same stage, even in the theatrical [873]

[SALVADOR]

/63 cont./

* 563 545 [873] presentations of the secondary schools and universities, where color prejudice is undeniably greatly reduced. This is confirmed above all with regard to actors with pronounced Negroid features. A mulatto student relates that he often played roles (especially because of his voice) in the theater of the public secondary school where he studied; he almost always performed vocal solos, but he also often played the roles of a charlatan, a fisherman, or others of the same type. He was once designated to play, with a white companion, a love scene in which the two were to appear hand in hand. After numerous rehearsals, he was replaced by a White on the evening of the performance, on the pretext that he appeared /64/ earlier in numerous other scenes and it was necessary to give other students a chance to appear. Our informant assumes, as indeed the theatrical director admitted, that other persons considered it unsuitable for the girl to play a love scene with a mulatto.

The little theater organized and directed by a well-known intellectual of mixed blood has had great success; it is praised by the art critics and greatly admired by the population, which flocks in large numbers to attend its performances. But an incident with the judge for minors gave rise to interpretations that have been linked to color prejudice. Some time ago the theater [671] gave presentations that were prolonged into the night; the judge [692] for minors, basing himself on the law that forbids the labor of children and their presence in cinemas, circuses, theaters, and other places of nocturnal entertainment, decided to suspend the performances and instituted legal action against the director, who also directed a State department for cultural and artistic broadcasting /Fr. diffusion, diffusion, propagation, broadcasting/; the children who belong to this theater as amateur actors are recruited among families of the local intermediate classes. According to certain colored informants, these measures were due to resentment over the success gained by the initiative of a métis; and one informant heard it said in an omnibus that "the mistake of the promoter of the theater was to mix colored children and white children on the stage." These two versions are rejected by many Whites and métis who discussed this incident passionately, but it is undeniable that they have significance for the sociologist and the social psychologist.

[SALVADOR]

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*563 871 In principle the school in Brazil offers the same advantages to Whites and to Blacks, no law preventing or hampering enrollment for ethnic reasons. Nevertheless, inasmuch as the public school is of popular character, free, and the private school is an institution of the higher classes, there is a noticeable difference between the two categories with regard to the number of students of the one type and of the other. But both accept Whites and Blacks. Just as the Whites are in the minority in the total population, the students of this type represent only 35 o/o in the public elementary schools, the Blacks represent about 20 o/o; the rest are pardo. In the private schools of the same level the Whites are as much more numerous as the establishment is more "choice"; one may find up to 90 or 93 o/o Whites there; in those attended by students of the intermediate social group one finds 15 to 25 o/o colored students, very light as a whole (1).

[162]

[127] [114]

1. These data have been drawn from the reports of the secretariat of education of the State of Bahia and from the publications of the author on the anthropometric studies made in 1944 and 1947. For this work the author has proceeded with verifications in several public and private schools.

*563 873 In the public and private secondary schools the number of colored students, especially very dark ones, is smaller because they are attended in large part by young people planning liberal careers, which are, in a way, the lot of the Whites, although they are also accessible to colored persons. Among the young people of both sexes enrolled as students during the first three months of 1950 at the Bureau of Identification of the civil police of the State, the following types were noted:

[162]

	Whites	Blacks	"Morenos"	"Pardos"	Métis	Total
Male sex . .	349	15	168	83	26	641
Female sex .	300	31	245	95	34	705
Total . .	649	46	413	178	60	1,346

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/68/

*563 162 873 The Whites make up scarcely half of the total, and it should be noted that the female group includes a higher proportion of colored girls. It is necessary to emphasize the fact that the public secondary schools recently established always include a larger number of students of dark color; 30 or 40 years ago it was extremely rare to see a Black in one of these establishments. Around 1915 one of these schools refused to admit a very dark student, which gave rise to a vehement protest by a black lawyer; wishing to explain the incident, the head of the establishment claimed to have acted in accordance with the standards in force, that is to say, under the tacit pressure of upper-class families. This opposition has considerably decreased as the social ascent of colored families, confined until then to the lower strata of society, developed. Nevertheless women's schools directed by the religious of foreign origin progressed more slowly in this respect, though already admitting very dark students. Numerous informants have attended the courses of private secondary schools, but most of them, from poor families, have studied in public schools.

*563 873 178

*563 875 In the primary and secondary professorship there are also many colored persons, including Blacks and very Negroid métis... Even in the private schools there are colored professors. Some of the most famous professors of the Portuguese language, Latin, and mathematics with whom the young people of the most important families studied were, half a century ago, schoolmasters, priests, and very dark lawyers, of whom numerous intellectuals of Bahia still speak with admiration and respect today. In our times the number of primary professors of the male sex is much smaller, but the female teaching corps includes a large number of dark persons. A normal school maintained by the government of the State is attended by numerous dark girls of the lower and middle classes of the population. Among the teachers of primary instruction, says one of our informants, there is no racial distinction; numerous professors, although very dark, occupy the positions of director and school inspector, and in the schools themselves there is no racial separation between students and professors. The posts of secretary and director of the normal school of the State, as well as those of the college-preparatory secondary schools and public colleges, have many a time been occupied by very dark persons.

[SALVADOR]

/68 cont./

*563 872 572 565 In the public elementary schools the students, in general little conscious of their rank, have a tendency to mix indiscriminately. The informants in general do not recall discriminatory attitudes on the part of their white fellow-students and state /69/ that from these contacts result -- it is not uncommon to ascertain this -- close and lasting friendships. A woman of liberal profession established good relations with white colleagues of the upper classes during her school years, amicable relations that have lasted to this day. In working in the public schools of Bahia, a psychologist confirmed, however, that the children group themselves according to their physical type, but that they have a tendency to seek out in class children lighter than they as seatmates. It is understandable that in this phase of development and socialization of the child the latter has greater facility in identifying those of his group according to physical appearance, especially if he finds himself away from his family and is not influenced by the criteria of social classification current there. Even in the secondary schools, numerous informants say, the students group themselves according to their physical type, but especially in terms of social and economic rank; friendships between young people belonging to two extremes of the color scale are confirmed on each level; more rarely between different social strata. "The daughters of doctors, even if they are dark," a woman informant declared, "are treated with more attention by the professors and their companions than the Whites and the colored children who are poor." The relations between colored students and their Jewish comrades seem to be good, if one is to believe certain information.

*563 [217] In the libraries one can see students of very different types gathered around the same tables and working together. The colored students not only take part in groups on excursions, but sometimes are at the head of them; they happen to command their comrades of all types in the civic parades. A literary association founded by a black professor in a college-preparatory secondary school has white and colored members. [814] [873]

/69 cont./

*563 575 873 A very dark color may, however, create difficulties in some circumstances. One of the founders of the important association of students of secondary education was a dark mulatto, highly esteemed among his colleagues; it was, however, not possible for him to be elected president of the association because, as he was able to confirm, a white Communist colleague insinuated that so dark a young man would not have enough prestige before the educational authorities and the public. Elected vice-president he assumed the office of president only when the latter retired; he was then able to perform many accomplishments without encountering the obstacles that might have been connected with his "quality." When an excursion to another city was organized, a mulatto student felt that some of his /70/ comrades hesitated to include him in their group (1).

[564] [565] [113]

1. "In Brazil there is no caste line. As a colored man assimilates the standards of culture of the dominant class, he is treated as an equal, although one notes a strong tendency among the Whites to avoid relations with colored men in situations requiring a certain setting (diplomacy, elegant salons, military schools, etc.)." Guerreiro Ramos, "Contactos raciais no Brasil," Quilombo, 1st year, No. 1, Rio de Janeiro, 1948.

Taking account of this, he decided to withdraw discreetly and was congratulated by a white comrade for his "elegant gesture." [178] These two episodes occurred about ten years ago, and the informants say that they would hardly occur today, tolerance having become much greater.

*563 873 Relations between students and professors of different "quality" present nothing unusual in our day; they depend, as a general rule, on the psychological characteristics of both, rather than on their physical appearance. But there are white schoolmistresses in the *563 872 public elementary schools who appear more severe and sometimes

[SALVADOR]

/70 cont./

*563 intolerant toward very black little girls, pardoning their mistakes
872 only with difficulty and punishing them more severely than the Whites. An informant relates that in his school he heard the schoolmistress say: "This moleque (2)

[192]
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2. Moleque = term by which one designates the little children of black slaves; it also means an ill-bred, undisciplined young man; may be heard as a synonym for young colored man.

has no sensibility. Not only is he black, but he is not studious."
*563 The students of the secondary schools often admire their colored
• 873 professors and treat them with the same respect as the white professors; their attitude may vary, however, according to the social rank of the schoolmasters of dark color. Some of them are particularly esteemed for their competence and for the gentleness of their manners. Others are accused of treating their students differently by appearing more exacting and sometimes harsh with the Whites; in such cases the students complain among themselves about the rudeness "of this Negro" and secretly circulate names and epigrams that allude to his Negroid features. There are, on the other hand, dark professors who have the reputation of mistreating the students of their own type, information that is challenged by some people; if this happens, says an informant, it is not because of hostility, but because of the desire to urge these students to work more and thus to distinguish themselves from the others. In the past, however, there have been white professors who openly humiliated the black students and treated them with hostility, which sometimes gave rise to violently aggressive reactions on the part of the latter. Some of these professors were still teaching 20
*563 or 25 years ago. All this could scarcely happen today, and if anything
873 might cause an attitude of /71/ this kind to be suspected, the
178 milieu reacts sharply in disapproving the "racist" behavior. That is what happened this year when in one public school a professor used words that were interpreted as a contemptuous allusion to

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/71 cont./

*563 the black color of a female student. The complaint that the
•893 father of the latter made in a newspaper was immediately pub-
178 lished with a very vehement comment that obliged the accused to defend himself. "In olden times," says a mulatto intellectual, "colored students suffered a great deal. Today, it is enough that they are honest and have real worth for their merit to be recognized." And he adds that in the establishment where he teaches and which he has directed, he has seen white students speak out in positive fashion against all racial discrimination with regard to their colored fellow-students.

*563 Among the professors whom the students of a private secondary
893 establishment honored at the end of the courses in 1950, there were two morenos, two mulattoes, and one Black; ten out of 39 students were métis. Out of the 137 persons graduated by the philosophy faculty of the University of Bahia between 1945 and 1950, among whom a large number intended to take up secondary teaching, 2.9 o/o were black, 33 o/o were pardos and 63 o/o were white.

[555] Education, as one sees, is a very important factor in our city for the social ascent of colored people.

/72/ Religion

*563
794 The religious institutions of Bahia reflect the structure of the classes and the local social organization. The devout Catholics attend the same churches, mingle in the choir and at the communion table, independently of their "quality." In the solemn
[796] festivals organized by the brotherhoods and the associations or carried out by the parishes in honor of their patron saints, one can see Whites, mulattoes, and Blacks gathered together in the places reserved at the high altar, along with the guests of honor, the "presidents of brotherhoods," and the "Maecenases" (festeiros) entrusted with the preparation and financing of these celebrations.
[788] Likewise, in the processions, men and women of all types carry the litters of the sacred images that march past, or crowd around
[565] them. In the sacred associations there is no longer any discrimination; since, however, some of them are made up of people different

[SALVADOR]

/79/ The Liberal Professions

*563 463 555 One of the aspects of social mobility in Brazil is the fact that a colored person from the most humble economic condition is able, thanks to his talent and effort, to elevate himself to a high position in the liberal professions and in the intellectual milieus, achieving in this way a status far above that into which he was born (1).

1. "The entire organization of the society tends to take on the form of an order of free competition, in which individuals find their place thanks to the criterion of professional competence and to chance, more than by racial origin." Pierson, op. cit., p. 420. The same remark is found in the book by Ruth Landes, The City of Women, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1947, p. 60.

One of the ways of elevating oneself socially, for everyone, is to practice a liberal profession and to acquire in it the flattering title of doctor, which, almost without discrimination, one bestows in speaking to university graduates. And this is possible [873] for colored persons as well as for whites, for in Brazil there are no separate universities for "Negroes"; all accept any student whatsoever. A black lawyer of African origin, already mentioned for his vigilant attitude on behalf of people of his race, has written: "For them (the Blacks) are open the wide doors of the temple of science, the fine arts, commerce, industry, and scientific agriculture, where, on a par with his white brother, the Black receives teaching that will render him capable of proving himself strong in life's struggle and of attaining the goal that he sets for himself in the arcana of law and justice, of medicine, in the intricate mysteries of engineering, of commerce, of industry, and of work" (2).

[113] 2. Alakija (Maxwell P. Assunçao), "A parábola da velhinha /The parable of the little old man/," A Tarde, Bahia, 17 August 1922.

[SALVADOR]

/79 cont./

*563 With the gradual rise of the standard of living of the lower strata
• 873 of the population and with the augmentation of facilities granted
178 to poor students in the framework of secondary education, thanks
511 to the creation of new free colleges, the number of colored students is rising from day to day.

*563 Moreover, many fathers and, in the case of young colored
555 people, many mothers of very modest circumstances make ex-
593 traordinary sacrifices to assure their children a diploma that will
873 permit them to practice a liberal profession. As a result, in the
*563 various faculties of the University of Bahia there are numerous
571 colored students who share the life, the studies, the diversions of
873 their white comrades and who form groups with them according to their social rank and the center of their intellectual and academic interest. If one sometimes sees groups made up solely of young colored people, it is nevertheless certain that in the university there is no intentional or permanent segregation /80/ based on classifications of "race" or "quality." In no other environment is there more harmony and less tension in interracial relations, the informants unanimously declare. Nevertheless events whose meaning could be debatable, and which some students attribute to race prejudice, do take place. There are even students who have a tendency to remain isolated during all their years of study; certain informants say that they adopt such behavior in the hope of avoiding annoyances that might be on account of their racial affiliation. Others claim to have had difficulties when they made their application to groups of excursionists or when they took part in oratorical contests, the winners of which were to go to Rio de Janeiro as representatives of the students of Bahia. One man practicing a liberal profession, very dark in color, said that he had never suffered from discrimination when he attended the university, but that he had heard his white comrades speak of people of his type by designating them with the pejorative term of "Negro." The interpretations of the informants on the subject of the preceding facts vary, however. Some think that these episodes are caused by the feeling of inferiority and the timidity of students of very low social status. With

[SALVADOR]

/80 cont./

*563 •873 571 regard to this, one mulatto asserts that the black students are mistreated by their white comrades on the occasion of the trote inflicted on the calouros by the veterans (1);

[192]

1. Trote = jokes and humorous ceremonies with which the older students, the veterans, receive into the schools of the university those newly admitted, or calouros.

two persons practicing a liberal profession and with very pronounced Negroid features asserted exactly the opposite. The esteem of black and mulatto students for their comrades, and the attentions of which they are the object when they show themselves gifted and industrious, are also proof of the harmony of which we have spoken. At the time of the distribution of diplomas, students of all types are mixed together without distinction and embrace one another as a sign of rejoicing; likewise, in the large pictures showing the portraits of the recipients with the insignia of each discipline, the latter are grouped according to the State from which they come (the University of Bahia includes students from different regions of Brazil), but never according to their physical type. The relations between students and professors are likewise good, the "quality" of one or the other influences their relations only in an altogether exceptional way. There were formerly, in the years that followed the abolition of slavery, university professors who were opposed to the entrance of black students in their faculties and who would have liked to prevent them from attending their courses. Such an attitude was sometimes manifest and it did happen that it obtained the tacit support of certain persons; but it was disapproved of /Figs. 9 and 10 appear here/ /81/ on the whole. Only one informant asserted that in the faculty he attended the colored students did not enjoy the same facilities as the Whites. Nevertheless the prize that one of the faculties offers annually to the student who has completed the courses with a total of the highest marks has often been won by young colored people. Black and mulatto

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 107]

[SALVADOR]

/81 cont./

*563 571 873 students are admitted, like the others, as probationers at the palace of justice, in the laboratories, in the hospital services of the university, etc., and sometimes enjoy exceptional facilities in pursuing instruction given under the guidance of a professor of renown. It is said, however, that formerly a school for civil engineers did not readily admit colored students. This school is particularly strict, and, because of the limited opening that Bahia represented for engineers some years ago, it had a very small number of students; in spite of this, it awarded diplomas to Blacks and to mulattoes, some of whom achieved a first-class position in their profession or elsewhere; among these is the present director of the school. If one takes at random the lists of students graduated in the course of different years, one can confirm that all types are found among them, the proportion of those with very dark skin being very high. The fact that there are very few civil engineers who are really black is explained by the small number of diplomas awarded by this school in comparison to others of the University of Bahia (1).

*563 874 [178]

1. The Polytechnical School of Bahia in 1918 awarded diplomas to 23 students, two of them mulattoes; in 1948 it awarded a diploma to 51 students, among them one Black and ten métis, and in 1949 to 68 students, among them six métis.

*563 873 875 According to a mulatto informant, "there is a sector prohibited to Blacks and to colored persons: the university professorship." And he relates that having been a candidate for a university chair himself, anyone could say that his competence was unquestionable, but that "he was a mulatto..." Nevertheless he was accepted. Two other informants relate that a young man practicing a liberal profession, assistant in one of the faculties, had been excluded because he was mulatto, despite his recognized competence. The facts seem to contradict such interpretations, for all the faculties of Bahia have always had colored professors, though in different proportions. In the gallery of portraits of the oldest among them,

[SALVADOR]

/81 cont./

*563 the faculty of medicine, one can see at least eight pardos and
• 873 morenos who taught there during the first half of the last century (2).
875

2. The colored candidates sometimes encountered serious difficulties in getting on the higher staffs of the professorship. One of them, Dr. Luiz Alvares dos Santos, in the thesis that he wrote in 1859 in order to become a professor in the faculty of medicine of Bahia, complained of having suffered rebuffs, which he attributed to the fact that he was of mixed blood. After three attempts he nevertheless ended up by being admitted.

In a list of 99 professors now at the university one counts 15 morenos and mulattoes, and /82/ an identical proportion among the assistants. Never is the scientific and social prestige of university professors measured by the pigmentation of the skin, and some of the most renowned intellectuals of Bahia are colored professors whose names are the pride of their faculties. Numerous finos white students are honored to have prepared their doctoral thesis under the direction of these professors and to have done their practical studies with them.

*563 The liberal professions are indubitably the most direct path of
463 social ascent for persons who are colored and of modest milieu.
555 With regard to these professions, even in the ones that are most on view persons of all types can have a career and build up a clientele, particularly as far as doctors and lawyers are concerned, among the upper-class Whites. The persons practicing a liberal profession whom federal and state organizations register and supervise are divided up as follows:

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

Celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Carlos Gomes, famed Brazilian composer of the operas *Guaraný* and *Fosca*, 389 Bahians gathered in the Instituto Geographico e Historico. Of these, 316 were whites, 61 were mulattoes (predominately light), 11 were blacks, and 1 was a *cafuso*. With the governor of Bahia (white) on the platform were 12 citizens in formal dress, all whites[26] except the governor's bodyguard, a light mulatto in army uniform. Two young ladies in formal dress, both white, sang and declaimed. Of the 3 subsequent speakers, 2 were whites and 1 was a *branco da Bahia*. The military police band, which furnished instrumental music for the occasion, was composed of 9 blacks, 26 mulattoes, 2 whites, 3 *cafusos*, and 1 *mameluco*, under the direction of a mulatto bandmaster. Fifty students from the Instituto de Musica da Bahia sang one of Gomes' compositions. All were whites, except 2 light mulattoes.

563* 527. [635] [544] [701] [533]

Twenty-one women, aged eighteen to forty, were present at a cooking school sponsored by a foreign resident. A novel experience in Bahia, where for generations Negro servants have prepared the food, this school had assumed somewhat the character of a fad. The group included several ladies from upper-class families, well to do, educated and traveled. The wife of the governor occasionally attended. Present were 18 whites and 3 light mulattoes, among the latter a *morena*, perhaps the best-dressed lady of the group. Her father is deceased, and her mother is a dressmaker in moderate circumstances. The girl's beauty, pleasant manner, and constant well-tailored appearance have secured for her admittance into the upper circles. She is often invited into the "best" homes. Another of the mixed-bloods present was

563* 874 [252] [357]

[26] Including one *branco da Bahia*.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

*563 very light. Her mother is a *sarará*, her grandmother is a
•874 dark mulatto with kinky hair, and her husband is also a dark
mixed-blood. Her family, it is said, has gradually risen from
[555] the lower class by reason of constantly taking advantage of
[565] every educational opportunity, by increasing their economic
competence, and by deliberately cultivating "good manners."

*563 At a "night club," where there were gambling, liquid re-
547 freshments, and partners for dancing, of 128 guests,[27] 62
535 were whites, 40 were *brancos da Bahia*, 21 were mulattoes
(several quite dark), 1 was a *cafuso*, and 4 were blacks. Of
the 26 female entertainers (dancers and singers), 19 were
whites,[28] 4 were *brancas da Bahia*, and 3 were mulattoes (all
very light). None of the darker patrons danced during the
evening.

*563 In the main gambling-room the group about the table
547 were principally whites, with a few light mulattoes and an
525 occasional dark mixed-blood. In the hallway near the entrance, however, was another gaming-table where stakes were lower. It was patronized principally by dark mulattoes, together with an occasional black, a few *brancos da Bahia*, and very few whites.

796 Carnival at Bahia lasts three days and is perhaps the most
204 popular festival of the year. At the close of one celebration
plans are immediately set on foot for the next. From time to
time throughout the ensuing twelve months, newspapers
carry reports of the development of these plans, and, beginning about a hundred and fifty days before Carnival, a regular daily feature appears, the time before the big event being checked off, day by day, much as United States newspapers sometimes check off the days preceding Christmas; except

[27] On September 26, 1936. [28] Including a very swarthy Syrian girl.

[SALVADOR]

/58 cont./

*563 647 [665] this, when the aforesaid party was in power, was not offered any of the important positions that he had a right to hope for by reason of his personality, whereas Whites were appointed without having his capabilities." Facts of this order can certainly not be attributed solely to color prejudice. As for the métis, things are different. They have possibilities and, if they are capable, are named to positions of responsibility, although the Whites predominate in public service. The colored women, as their level of education rises, enter into the administration in open competition with the Whites. In one of the most important sections of Bahia, the controller's office responsible for the huge budgets that this section prepares each year is almost entirely in the hands of a dark mulattress who frequently confers with the secretary of State responsible, under the direct orders of the governor, for this sector of the administration of the State. There are, besides, numerous girls of varied crossbreeding in public positions of different categories.

*563 562 647

/59/ The Army

*563 70

Bahia is not an important military center. There are small units of the land, air, and naval forces in the city, and men of any type whatsoever are accepted there as simple soldiers. In their battalions there is no separation between Whites and "men of color," as was the case in the colonial period and in part even while slavery lasted. Certain informants state that it is not easy for a Black to go into aviation, even as a soldier, but others affirm the contrary, and one of them cites the case of a young man who did not go into aviation, but who, having been given certain tests, received as recompense a journey to another State. It is true that this branch, some years ago at any rate, preferred white personnel, but today its troops are mixed. The navy had in the city, in addition to a reduced contingent in which finos Whites and retintos Blacks are mixed, a seamen's preparatory school where any student is accepted. But from time to time a commandant who was accused

*563 706 • 874

[SALVADOR]

/59 cont./

*563 706 ●874 [204] of not admitting Blacks came to run this school; this occurred more than 20 years ago, under vehement protests. It is significant that among the articles that the papers published about this event those of a lawyer and professor of English, a black leader originally from a British colony of Africa, stand out in particular (1).

[641]

1. In one of these articles this same Black wrote: "The Black is a preponderant ethnic factor in the formation of the crossbreeding so common in its various nuances in Brazil and, as a Brazilian in fact and by law, he is, before the Constitution, the equal of the White as a citizen of this same Republic. The School of naval apprentices having the right to choose its candidates, this right can be based only on moral precedents, on the aptitudes or the physical stamina of the candidates, and not on physical accidents of color.

*563 641 Such episodes reveal one of the peculiar aspects of race relations in Bahia, as in all of Brazil, the freedom that has been given colored people to defend their rights themselves, by expressing themselves, sometimes with violence, against prejudice. Now not only is this freedom guaranteed them, but numerous finos Whites of high position, particularly university professors and intellectuals, support them by their writings. At present the naval apprentices are recruited among the poor classes, and numerous Blacks are found among them, as one may verify in the civic and military parades in which they take part. Blacks, métis, and Whites may advance in aviation and the navy up to the grades of sergeant and non-commissioned officer. That of officer, apart from the fact that it cannot be obtained except after specialized courses, presents other difficulties. The land army, of all the national military organizations, is the one that is considered the most /60/ accessible to colored people, even with regard to the officers. Among 12 superior officers who took part in a military

*563 70 [565]

/60 cont./

*563 708 701 [874] police force and in politics. A school for the training of officers destined for this corps was recently created, in order to improve its capacity as a reserve for the army. Among the present students there are a few with dark skin. One may find two explanations for this: either a preliminary selection at the time of the examinations for admission, when it may happen that the young candidates with /61/ dark skin do not, for various reasons, satisfy the required conditions, or because the career of officer now has more prestige and consequently attracts a larger number of Whites. Up [555] to the present time the career of military-police officer represented one of the ways of social ascent for young colored men. Recently, under indictments of various kinds, a heavily pigmented Black who had reached the rank of captain was expelled from the corps. Not long ago, in a group of 27 young officers whose photographs were displayed in a commercial establishment, eight morenos and light mulattoes and one dark mulatto could be seen. But it is also certain that the officers corps at present, though mixed, is composed of Whites in the majority. Moreover, in the course of recent years the officers chosen by the general command to be integrated in the military department of the government of the State have almost without exception been Whites or "whitened": an aide-de-camp of this high authority must be a representative person, in order to make a "good impression" on individuals who come to the government Palace or on those who are passing through Bahia and on whom this officer must pay courtesy visits. A justification that everyone concedes.

*563 701 368 Among the officers of two local corps of civil character, but having a military organization and insignia, the civil guard and corps of firemen, the majority is dark. The Whites or "whitened" are in the minority in the second of these groups. This proportion corresponds to the lesser prestige that these two organizations enjoy, both, however, greatly appreciated for the services that they render to the community.

[SALVADOR]

/76 cont./

*563 562 792 178 tradition of accepting as religious only the daughters of nobles and of high colonial officials, and as "servants" girls of colored or humble extraction. Therefore, the number of morenas or very light mulatto religious is minimal and all are of recent admission.

*563 793 [829] There is also a prejudice, widespread among the priests of the secular clergy, that "the mulattoes are very inclined to concupiscence and to arrogance when they are intelligent." Nevertheless dark priests are ordained. At least 30 o/o of the 176 priests ordained at the archdiocesan theological seminary of Bahia between 1907 and 1951 were colored; among 50 colored priests identified in the register, at least seven were very dark or black. Approximately the same proportion can be noted among the 42 secular priests living in the city. Among those who are best known as sacred orators and who are invited to preach on solemn occasions in the ecclessiastical life and in the religious ceremonies that precede the examinations of the different schools of the local university, there are numerous pardos and Blacks, some of whom enjoy a great deal of prestige as vicars of important parishes, as professors, and as men of letters. The theological seminary of the archdiocese also includes at present an increased number of young colored students, made up of dark mulattoes and Blacks. [874]

/77/ Sports

*563 526 In no matter what study of the most popular sports of Brazil, whether it is a matter of football, rowing, basketball, volleyball, or tennis, it is indispensable to consider that some of them are practiced by certain socio-economic groups and that others, after having been a pastime of some of these groups, have become a profession.

*563 526 575 Tennis in Bahia is a bourgeois sport that an extremely limited number of people play. On the grounds of one of the principal clubs where this sport is played one does not see colored persons, except now and then one or two morenos of high rank from the liberal professions or from commerce. A mulatto practicing a

[SALVADOR]

/81 cont./

*563 571 873 students are admitted, like the others, as probationers at the palace of justice, in the laboratories, in the hospital services of the university, etc., and sometimes enjoy exceptional facilities in pursuing instruction given under the guidance of a professor of renown. It is said, however, that formerly a school for civil *563 • 874 [178] engineers did not readily admit colored students. This school is particularly strict, and, because of the limited opening that Bahia represented for engineers some years ago, it had a very small number of students; in spite of this, it awarded diplomas to Blacks and to mulattoes, some of whom achieved a first-class position in their profession or elsewhere; among these is the present director of the school. If one takes at random the lists of students graduated in the course of different years, one can confirm that all types are found among them, the proportion of those with very dark skin being very high. The fact that there are very few civil engineers who are really black is explained by the small number of diplomas awarded by this school in comparison to others of the University of Bahia (1).

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*563 873 875 According to a mulatto informant, "there is a sector prohibited to Blacks and to colored persons: the university professorship." And he relates that having been a candidate for a university chair himself, anyone could say that his competence was unquestionable, but that "he was a mulatto..." Nevertheless he was accepted. Two other informants relate that a young man practicing a liberal profession, assistant in one of the faculties, had been excluded because he was mulatto, despite his recognized competence. The facts seem to contradict such interpretations, for all the faculties of Bahia have always had colored professors, though in different proportions. In the gallery of portraits of the oldest among them,

463 [484] [521] ilies to live in Vila Recôncavo and travel to their work and back daily. During the summer this trip is made by truck, but in the winter it is made by foot or if possible by canoe. The petroleum industry has attracted few local people as yet. Instead, strangers have come into the area as petroleum employees. A favorite conversation among fishermen is a discussion of whether they should give up fishing and go to work in the oil fields. The general feeling is that they are better off as fishermen. As they put it, if they fished for the same number of hours as the oil men work, they could earn more money than the petroleum workers. In their present occupation they can work as much or as little as they wish, the major determinant being whether there is enough in the house to eat and still a little left over for cigarettes, Coca-Colas, and occasional new clothes. They are an independent group, and are frequently criticized as being lazy because they will not take steady employment. This seems an unfair criticism in view of the rigors of fishing.

463 [875] [632] The others listed in the group of federal and state employees have permanent appointments to their jobs and in all but a few cases are local people. The federal tax collector and his wife, who is one of the schoolteachers, are strangers to the area, but are now well integrated in the town. Three other schoolteachers are from other parts of the state and spend only the school year in Vila Recôncavo. There is a difference between the teachers who make Vila Recôncavo their home and those who do not. Those who spend only the school year there have little or no contact with the local population, apparently feeling that they are superior to anyone there. They are young women, but do not look for husbands among local men and openly admit they do not like the town. They are prominent in the group which calls the fishermen lazy and uncultured, and in general are unsympathetic to the town dwellers.

463 632 There are sixteen municipal employees, all of them local people, consisting of the county secretary, the treasurer and his assistant, the contador who takes care of the county spending, the fiscal who is supposed to supervise the collecting of the county funds, three county tax collectors, and others who occupy minor posts such as courthouse porter. These positions are appointive, and as a result of the relative stability of the area's politics the appointees are seldom changed. The secretary is the man who does most of the county's adminis-

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517 of the time, visiting little and receiving the local gossip from
[546] their servants. Since the advent of movies, however, it has
become fashionable for husband and wife and sometimes the
children to attend the show together. When the circus comes
[541] to town it is now common for them to go as a family at least
[794] once. As a rule, however, church services are attended separately, the wives and daughters going together and the men singly if at all, and standing in the back rather than sitting
[574] with the family. Dinners, card parties, or social gatherings with friends in the house, such as are common to North American small towns, do not exist here at all. About the only traveling these people do is to Salvador, where they stay with relatives while they make short visits, go to the doctor, or go shopping.

*565
871 Even the older members of Class B are less well educated than those of Class A, and do not belong to families which are nationally prominent. In many cases they have relatives in Salvador, but in no case do they maintain a second home there. Although their children may go to primary school in Vila Recôncavo, which the children of Class A would never do, they are sent to Salvador for further education; and several of the present generation are studying for degrees in law and medicine. As has already been pointed out, this class engages in
[571] little social activity in common with Class A, and in almost none with rural Class B persons. Daughters of families be-
[867] longing to this class are carefully chaperoned and have little freedom. Their lives are spent at home, sewing, embroidering,
[582] and helping their mothers in the house. Their prospects for marriage are poor. This applies also to the schoolteachers
*565 who are sent to the town and who also belong to this class.
582 There is little opportunity for them to marry in Vila Recôncavo unless they accept a social inferior, which commonly
• 875 happens to rural schoolteachers in Brazil. "Felipe," as the schoolteacher's husband is generally known, is always a "no-good" supported by his wife. There are two cases in Vila Recôncavo of local upper-class wives who work--they are both schoolteachers, supplementing their husbands' incomes and alleviating the dullness of their lives.

*
565 Class C in the rural area consists of the field hands and the factory workers, who constitute the major part of the population. There are no "pure whites" in this group, but a scat-
[184] tering of "whites of the land." In general the factory workers consider themselves superior to the agricultural laborers;

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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sors honored as *paranymphos*,[9] all were white. Of 21 faculty members honored with *homenagem*,[10] 6 were mulattoes (2 quite negroid), 1 was *branco da Bahia*, 14 were whites, and none was black.

In a prominent secondary institution, of 18 instructors, 1 was a black, 5 were mulattoes, 3 were *brancos da Bahia*, and 9 were whites. In another secondary school, of 33 instructors, 7 were mulattoes, 6 were *brancos da Bahia*, and 20 were whites. While of 30 elementary teachers noted in state schools, 3 were blacks, 10 were mulattoes, 6 were *brancos da Bahia*, 1 was a *mameluco*, and 10 were whites.

* 563 554 875

In educational circles one often hears of a dark mixed-blood of distinguished bearing with snow-white hair and beard who organized some years ago one of the present secondary institutions and whose two sons are well-known and widely respected educators. Several whites now prominent in local and national circles speak with pride of their schooling under this distinguished man.

A similar attitude is not infrequently manifested with reference to other colored teachers or professors; for instance, a prominent medical specialist and noted lecturer at the Faculty of Medicine; a legal "authority" and author of textbooks in law, now associate justice of the Brazilian supreme court; a prominent nerve specialist; a noted surgeon; and the city's ablest and most quoted literary critic.

* 563 872 875

In a private elementary school a class of boys ranging in age from seven to eleven years were being taught by a Negro teacher. Among the group were two whites, one *branco da*

[9] Each graduating class in the secondary and professional schools selects one of its more popular teachers or professors for special recognition as *paranympho*.

[10] Graduating classes also select, besides a *paranympho*, several teachers or professors to be honored with *homenagem*.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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Bahia, one mulatto, and three blacks. Several substantial white citizens had received their early training under this man.

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The public library is patronized indiscriminately by members of all ethnic groups. Blacks, however, appear among its frequenters only in rather limited numbers. For instance, of 560 individuals using the library facilities on different days and at different hours during the day,[11] only 9.6 per cent were blacks, while 35.9 per cent were mulattoes and 52.7 per cent were whites.[12]

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[565]

In labor unions organization definitely follows class lines, and ethnic differences are largely lost sight of in the pursuit of common ends. Leadership, however, tends to be white or near-white, even in those unions composed predominantly of blacks and dark mixed-bloods. For instance, at a "solemn assembly" for the installation of new officers in a local labor union whose membership, limited to 550, is overwhelmingly Negro (as indicated by a detailed check of the members with the aid of the union secretary), the retiring president was a *branco da Bahia* and the incoming president a light mulatto. Only eleven *brancos* (probably all, or nearly all, of whom are *brancos da Bahia*) and relatively few mulattoes are to be found among the membership.[13]

[11] Samples were taken for each hour from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M., with the exception of 12:00 noon to 2:00 P.M., when the institution was closed.

[12] Also 7 (1.2 per cent) *cafusos*, 3 (0.5 per cent) *mamelucos*.

[544]

[13] Of the speakers, 6 were blacks, 5 were mulattoes (2 quite light), 1 was a *branco da Bahia*, and 1 was a white. Among the themes presented were: "Solidarity! All Workers Are Brothers!" "Since the Revolution of 1930 Workers Are No Longer Slaves"; "Viva Getulio Vargas, the God, the Jesus, and the Senhor do Bomfim [patron saint of Bahia's poorer classes] of the Workers!" "Remember the Chicago Workers Who Died for Liberty!" "Save Brazil's Wealth from Exploitation by *Norte-Americanos* Who Hope To Seize Her Mines and Her Waterfalls and Make Slaves of Her People!" "Look to the World's Greatest Socialist and Sociologist, Jesus Christ."

[SALVADOR]

/62/ The Arts

*563 53 In Bahia the populace has its own art and its artists who interpret it according to their personal conception. And one may say that from this point of view there exists a form of art that is peculiar to poor and colored persons, especially in the [565] realm of music and dance. But in the artistic activities of the higher stratum of the population, the participation of colored *563 533 [555] people is not important, except for music. Perhaps because of the belief that attributes to mulattoes a particular inclination for music, colored musicians are relatively numerous, and some of them enjoy a great deal of prestige and are admitted into the social scheme. In all the bands and in all the orchestras there is a large proportion of Blacks and mulattoes, sometimes even as [875] [555] soloists. Some of them engage in teaching and in this way reach a higher social rank when, thanks to their competence, they succeed in having pupils who belong to the wealthiest families and when they become part of the teaching corps of the most important schools of music.

*563 875 533 Of three musicians, professors of piano and composition of Bahia, of great renown in the course of these last years, two are mulattoes. The most celebrated among them, after having very brilliantly concluded a course in Germany, taught for many years in Bahia; he then moved to another State; every time that he returns to his country he is the object of demonstrations of fellow-feeling; on these occasions numerous students or instrumentalists seek him out for short refresher courses. All Bahia is proud of the talents of this artist. Another mulatto, with the help of influential persons, organized a school of music which rapidly became very famous for the quality of its teaching and for the frequent concerts that it organized. After his death, the management of the school passed to his moreno son. The teaching of violin, which is at [462] present done almost exclusively by men, includes numerous black or dark mulatto professionals; in the teaching of piano, an activity to a large extent engaged in by women, one finds morenas and *563 545 533 "whitened" of great fame. A very popular singer of mixed blood is both founder and directress of an organization which, with the contribution of some thousands of adherents of the highest classes of

[SALVADOR]

/62 cont./

*563 545 533 [204] society, has brought to Bahia the most famous musicians of our time. The newspapers and journals report the concerts that the white and colored artists give in the theaters and halls of the most important organizations of the city, and publish their /63/ pictures as well as the comments that the art critics make on the subject.

*563 814 538 [532] [346] In the plastic arts, colored persons have not played an important role, although in the past they have produced some painters and sculptors of some renown whose works can be viewed in the most beautiful baroque churches of the city. These works are mentioned in the books on the art of Bahia, especially in those of a black or dark mulatto writer, Manoel Querino, son of slaves, whose studies on art, folklore, and Afro-Brazilian ethnography have made him famous. The first centenary of the birth of this intellectual, who in his biographies of numerous artists of Bahia only very rarely indicated their type, was solemnly commemorated in Bahia, as well as in Rio de Janeiro, at the same time that two other folklorists, who were white, one of whom was from Bahia, were honored.

*563 873 [875] In the school of fine arts of the local university, students of all types have acquired university degrees in architecture, painting, drawing, and sculpture; its teaching staff at present includes at least three mulattoes, two of whom are quite dark. Some informants say, however, that one painter, because of his color, was not counted for a prize offered by the school, consisting of a journey outside the State. This incident, which happened some tens of years ago, is interpreted in different ways by our informants.

*563 545 In the theater, colored persons (at least those who are very dark) do not have great possibilities, and one often hears this complaint expressed. The Blacks, says one young informant, never get beyond the stage of laborer or carpenter in our theaters; even for the roles of Blacks, disguised Whites are preferred. On the other hand, a morena amateur actress states that white women refuse to play the parts of Bahians and that they entrust these parts to colored girls. It is also somewhat difficult to present white and [873] colored actors together on the same stage, even in the theatrical

[SALVADOR]

/68/

*563 162 873 The Whites make up scarcely half of the total, and it should be noted that the female group includes a higher proportion of colored girls. It is necessary to emphasize the fact that the public secondary schools recently established always include a larger number of students of dark color; 30 or 40 years ago it was extremely rare to see a Black in one of these establishments. Around *563 873 178 1915 one of these schools refused to admit a very dark student, which gave rise to a vehement protest by a black lawyer; wishing to explain the incident, the head of the establishment claimed to have acted in accordance with the standards in force, that is to say, under the tacit pressure of upper-class families. This opposition has considerably decreased as the social ascent of colored families, confined until then to the lower strata of society, developed. Nevertheless women's schools directed by the religious of foreign origin progressed more slowly in this respect, though already admitting very dark students. Numerous informants have attended the courses of private secondary schools, but most of them, from poor families, have studied in public schools.

*563 875 In the primary and secondary professorship there are also many colored persons, including Blacks and very Negroid métis... Even in the private schools there are colored professors. Some of the most famous professors of the Portuguese language, Latin, and mathematics with whom the young people of the most important families studied were, half a century ago, schoolmasters, priests, and very dark lawyers, of whom numerous intellectuals of Bahia still speak with admiration and respect today. In our times the number of primary professors of the male sex is much smaller, but the female teaching corps includes a large number of dark persons. A normal school maintained by the government of the State is attended by numerous dark girls of the lower and middle classes of the population. Among the teachers of primary instruction, says one of our informants, there is no racial distinction; numerous professors, although very dark, occupy the positions of director and school inspector, and in the schools themselves there is no racial separation between students and professors. The posts of secretary and director of the normal school of the State, as well as those of the college-preparatory secondary schools and public colleges, have many a time been occupied by very dark persons.

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*563 571 873 students are admitted, like the others, as probationers at the palace of justice, in the laboratories, in the hospital services of the university, etc., and sometimes enjoy exceptional facilities in pursuing instruction given under the guidance of a professor of renown. It is said, however, that formerly a school for civil engineers did not readily admit colored students. This school is particularly strict, and, because of the limited opening that Bahia represented for engineers some years ago, it had a very small number of students; in spite of this, it awarded diplomas to Blacks and to mulattoes, some of whom achieved a first-class position in their profession or elsewhere; among these is the present director of the school. If one takes at random the lists of students graduated in the course of different years, one can confirm that all types are found among them, the proportion of those with very dark skin being very high. The fact that there are very few civil engineers who are really black is explained by the small number of diplomas awarded by this school in comparison to others of the University of Bahia (1).

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1. The Polytechnical School of Bahia in 1918 awarded diplomas to 23 students, two of them mulattoes; in 1948 it awarded a diploma to 51 students, among them one Black and ten métis, and in 1949 to 68 students, among them six métis.

*563 873 875 According to a mulatto informant, "there is a sector prohibited to Blacks and to colored persons: the university professorship." And he relates that having been a candidate for a university chair himself, anyone could say that his competence was unquestionable, but that "he was a mulatto..." Nevertheless he was accepted. Two other informants relate that a young man practicing a liberal profession, assistant in one of the faculties, had been excluded because he was mulatto, despite his recognized competence. The facts seem to contradict such interpretations, for all the faculties of Bahia have always had colored professors, though in different proportions. In the gallery of portraits of the oldest among them,

[SALVADOR]

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*563 873 • 875 the faculty of medicine, one can see at least eight pardos and morenos who taught there during the first half of the last century (2).

2. The colored candidates sometimes encountered serious difficulties in getting on the higher staffs of the professorship. One of them, Dr. Luiz Alvares dos Santos, in the thesis that he wrote in 1859 in order to become a professor in the faculty of medicine of Bahia, complained of having suffered rebuffs, which he attributed to the fact that he was of mixed blood. After three attempts he nevertheless ended up by being admitted.

In a list of 99 professors now at the university one counts 15 morenos and mulattoes, and /82/ an identical proportion among the assistants. Never is the scientific and social prestige of university professors measured by the pigmentation of the skin, and some of the most renowned intellectuals of Bahia are colored professors whose names are the pride of their faculties. Numerous finos white students are honored to have prepared their doctoral thesis under the direction of these professors and to have done their practical studies with them.

*563 463 555 The liberal professions are indubitably the most direct path of social ascent for persons who are colored and of modest milieu. With regard to these professions, even in the ones that are most on view persons of all types can have a career and build up a clientele, particularly as far as doctors and lawyers are concerned, among the upper-class Whites. The persons practicing a liberal profession whom federal and state organizations register and supervise are divided up as follows:

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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563 grew up during slavery, and no circumstance has subsequently arisen to change it. In the United States, on the other hand, the spread of contraceptive practices[35] and the increasing race consciousness of the Negro have led to a decided decrease in miscegenation. Traditional behavior in Bahia is, in this respect as in many others, well defined. The sanction of custom has become, as it always does eventually in any case, moral sanction.

563 583 Race mixture is further favored in Bahia today by the widespread custom of *mancebia*,[36] or those conjugal unions outside marriage in which there is some degree of permanency. In many cases the women involved are mulattoes, rarely blacks. The man agrees to pay for rent and food; the woman, to care for the house and children. The man may have, at the same time, a legal family, although informal unions are often entered into by young men previous to marriage.

563 826 Miscegenation is also favored in Bahia today by the prestige which ordinarily attaches to the so-called "whiter" child. Dark mothers who bear "whiter" children consider themselves especially favored and are so looked upon by their immediate associates. A black mother proudly showed her light child and said, "Estou limpando a minha raça" ("I am cleansing [i.e., I am 'whitening'] my race"). One also

[164] [554] [882] [35] In Bahia there is not the fear of venereal disease common to this country. Its contraction is regarded by young men as an indication of sexual coming-of-age and perhaps enhances their prestige among their associates (cf. Freyre, *op. cit.*, pp. 49 ff.).

[193] [192] [36] This term is used only in more polite conversation. The woman involved is called *mancebo*, the verb is *mancebar*, and the participle *mancebado*. The popular expression, however, is *amasia*, or *amiga* (the feminine form of "friend"), or *amante*, or *comboso*, for the woman; the verb is *amasiar* or *amigar*, the participle *amasiado* or *amigado*.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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[14]See section by Charles Wagley in Wagley, op. cit., pp. 148-149.

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[15]Smith, op. cit., pp. 637-640, citing Anuário Estatístico do Brasil-1939/40, states that there were 687 church marriages for each civil marriage in Bahia. The number of common law marriages is, obviously, not precisely known. Brazilian statutes do not permit divorce from civil marriage.

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[16]The chief exception to this social pattern is during Carnaval, when people of all classes "let themselves go." However, it is mainly the adolescents of the upper class who, for the moment, escape from the rigid social code of their class.

[17]As a consequence of the high mobility of the lower class, many of these community or neighborhood identifications are transitory. However, because of the free social intercourse within the class, the local relationships are quickly established and easily maintained. The core of local identification and of the community or neighborhood seems to be maintained primarily by the more stable upper-stratum of the class.

[18]The industries, trading houses, and exporters of Salvador are concerned to a large degree with agricultural products.

[19]For the United States, see Smith, op. cit., p. 221. For Brazil, calculated from the 1940 census.

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[20]A special statement is required because the problems of deriving data for population in this region profoundly affect the reliability of the demographic analysis. At the time this analysis was made, only incomplete and preliminary population data from the 1950 census had been published. Total population data by political units--municípios and distritos--and by "urban" places were available. It was necessary to estimate the agricultural occupational data. The 1950 agricultural labor force was projected from the 1940 data on the basis of changes in the rural population. Because the agricultural labor force and the rural population of which it is a part are subject to approximately the same social and economic forces, it was assumed that the change in the latter could be used to project the 1950 size of the former. The tables showing the derivation of the agricultural labor force for 1950 are based upon this procedure.

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[21]In 1940 the composition of this occupational group--based upon a combination of population census and agricultural census data--for the state of Bahia was approximately as follows:

Independent operators	44 per cent
Members of family	27 per cent
Employees	24 per cent
Employers	2 per cent
Non-owner administrators	2.5 per cent

Thus less than 5 per cent of the agricultural labor force were administrators; the others were either cultivators, vaquéiros, or agricultural laborers. In the Recôncavo the administrative group probably was relativ smaller.

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[22]In a region of such large statistical areas and diverse physica resources, it is almost inevitable that mean figures for some municípios, such as Feira de Santana, Alagoinhas, Irará, or, most of all, Santo Amaro

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369 the fathers, who insisted that the children go. In the case of a woman who moves in with a new husband and brings her own children, she always makes it clear that the children are hers and not his. She will allow no interference from her husband in the matter of disciplining her children. Often the best possible relations exist between stepfather and children, but he never gives orders to them. The rural mother in all cases seems to be more exacting with her offspring than the town [861] mother. It is not uncommon for a rural mother to beat her children, even those who are grown men, with the cipó de caboclo (a switch), whereas this would never happen in the town. She also extends her control over them even after they are married, counseling them and helping when she can, and criticizing them severely if she does not like something they do.

• 883 By the time they are in their late teens, boys become in-
584 terested in courting (namoro), though girls often start ear-
212 lier. If a boy sees a girl who interests him, he manages to
832 meet her as often as possible on the street or at the dock, and by looks and slight remarks makes it clear that he is interest-
[206] ed. Or, if he can write, he may send the girl a note through a common friend. In Vila Recôncavo the telephone office is a popular place for making one's interests known, for the telephone operator is a young woman who is highly respected by most people in town and well liked by young people. A note typical of those which may pass through her hands is as follows:

Vila Recôncavo
January 7, 1951

Dona Therezinha, Salutations:

I am absolutely convinced that you do not doubt the sincerity of my love, which is always manifested so clearly in my letters and in my face when I see you.

So, I equally have the conviction of having the strange happiness of possessing your love, but in the meantime there is something lacking to complete my felicity. That is to speak to you, to hear from your lips the sincere confession of your love, to feel you near me for a few minutes.

I ask you to give me permission to speak to you, indicating the day, hour, and place in which we can meet.

You will surely not repent giving me this pleasure, for you will see that I know how to retribute your confidence

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with respect and honesty. Anxiously awaiting your answer, I am your sincere admirer.

Excuse the mistakes. End.

Themistocles Filho

In this case it was the girl's first experience with this sort of thing, so she asked an older friend to write the answer for her. It took over a week before the answer was ready and was given to the boy. During this time the girls who know about the affair discussed the possibilities: the boy's looks, his note, his friends, and so on, until nothing was left uncovered. Generally the details of such an affair are shared by the girl with her female friends. The answer, when ready, ran as follows:

Vila Recôncavo
January 10, 1951

Dear Citizen:

Initially I send my wishes for happiness so that they may become part of all that is stored in your imagination, loyal and sincere friend.

And now I want to acknowledge receipt of your letter, which in its first moment was the source of indescribable joy in my heart. Afterwards, in the surprised reality of all young girls, I asked myself about the content of all that which you wrote to me so nicely. And, although bewildered by the disillusions of many of my girl friends, I think that my authorized answer may be a meeting between the two of us, so that we may know each other better, and if we understand each other well our destinies will belong to God.

And thus I present myself.

Therezinha

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This affair went on for several more letters before the girl made a definite date. In the meantime the two passed each other in the street, in the movies, and on the dock without speaking. In the end the girl, who was only fourteen, lost her nerve, and the affair ended before any meeting took place. When such a correspondence culminates in an actual meeting, the meetings are facilitated or made difficult by the degree of vigilance exercised by the girl's parents. Often such an affair is hidden from them completely, only the girl's best friends having any

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584 intimation of its course. The meeting may finally be arranged at the house of an older female friend. If the two are genuinely interested in each other they may allow the fact to become public, and if the parents are pleased they will in due course [836] be married. Otherwise the girl may keep the whole affair a secret, and after a period of flirtation have an affair with the [263] boy and become pregnant. Any girl who refuses to eat pepper [843] is immediately suspected of pregnancy, and inquiries are made.

*565 When a Class C family wishes to celebrate some occasion 574 such as a birthday, anniversary, or the time in which the twin 252 saints Cosme and Damião are feasted, the woman's friends 262 and any nearby female relatives come in to help her cook. [476] Guests are invited by the husband. The preparation of all [273] food must be done by hand, the chickens killed, cleaned, and plucked, the beans shelled, the shrimp and fish cleaned, the farina cakes made, and the popular liqueurs (licores) prepared by soaking various kinds of fruit in bottles of rum and syrup. At such parties the traditional, favorite Bahian dishes of vatapá, acarejé, carurú, abará, cuscus, and the many moquecas, are served. All these are appetizing, but take much time [251] to prepare and cannot be made too far in advance, for there *565 is no way of preserving food. Unless the household is particularly wealthy, the family seldom gives parties; many never 574 manage to give one. Dancing forms an important part of the 535 festivities. The men bring their drums, tambourines, and guitars, while the women sing and dance the samba. In the rural [369] area, social dancing in mixed couples is rare, but in town it is a common form.

*565 A family may take care of an aged mother, father, or even godparent, or of some other relative on either side. Such a 888 person is well cared for within the family means. Most people 736 in Vila Recôncavo are generous toward others who are in some way unfortunate, and help them if they can. There is little or no complaint if the household has to take in an infirm or aged relative; most people say that the same may happen to them one day and they will have to be taken care of. Perhaps the old person helped them in some way in the past when they needed aid and is now being repaid. Or if some older person wants to live alone, a group of neighbors and relatives all help in preparing meals and supplying food and other wants over an extended period of time. There is no case in Vila Recôncavo of an elderly person being sent to a public institution.

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*563 /50 cont./

453 "In the banks dark individuals can no longer have careers,"
464 say our informants. In an important national bank, according to some, Blacks or very pigmented mulattoes are not admitted; in the branches that this bank has in the city colored employees are few, and these in any case are very light. This selection occurs in the competition for admission, the candidates of dark color being examined with great strictness. In other banking establishments one notes a less marked discrimination. Although /51/ the directors and the managers of the local banks are all white, more or less finos, several employees of mixed blood are accepted there. In the offices of two of these banks one counts 13 light mulattoes and morenos, two dark mulattoes, and 21 Whites. But access to the offices of the directorship or management is very difficult, because these organizations, aside from the fact that they constitute in a certain sense traditional enterprises of some families, demand that one have at his disposal deposited capital, in the form of shares, in the companies managed by the banks, which is difficult for young colored men."

A public official therefore had valid reasons for saying that "the colored people occupy few positions in commerce."

641 /52/ Politics

*563 Every Brazilian who has reached the age of 21 may be regis-
[884] tered as a voter, provided that he can read and write and that he is engaged in a lawful occupation. His physical type is of no importance: the law does not make any distinction and the officials in charge of voting questions do not make any difficulties about registering colored persons of either sex. Everyone may thus enjoy the right to vote and to be elected.

162 The number of voters in the State of Bahia is 875,000, in
641 the city itself 139,000, a large proportion of which is colored
*563 people. And the number of the latter is increasing rapidly, for the social ascent of the proletarian masses in Brazil comes about by the acquisition of economic advantages and guarantees, but also and above all by the prize of political awareness and by access
000 to civic rights. From this point of view politics is in the process

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

000 economic role is usually minor. The individual or the unit family of
565 571 the lower class is usually linked very closely, mainly in the economic sense, with an employer or merchant of influence (patrão). In a society in which personal relationships ("connections") count for so much, only a member of the upper class can be of real economic or political assistance.

565 857 Childhood in the lower class is quite different from that in the upper class family. From an early age the children must, out of economic necessity, accept many responsibilities. Young children frequently work in the fields or find odd jobs in the town. The girls may do the housework, cook, and manage the younger children while the mother works. The young sons, even six or seven years old, may pack a bundle of agricultural products across the município on the morning of market day. In the evening they return with the few articles of food or clothing which they have been able to purchase with the proceeds from their goods. As they grow older, the children either undertake more of the farm work or drift off to the nearby rural areas and villages or to Salvador. The girls may find employment [464] as servants or as agricultural or industrial workers. Ultimately [885] most will marry and settle down to a grinding life of poverty, child-bearing, disease, and hard labor, which will, however, be relieved by an informal and highly convivial social life.

565 562 The position of the woman is still inferior to that of the man, but she has relatively greater economic, social, and sexual independence than the woman of the upper class.

565 776 The social life of lower class families is in marked contrast to the narrow, formal, and sexually-discriminatory social life of the aristocracy. Lower class life is filled not only with poverty but also with a tremendous series of religious and quasi-religious festivals

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Some masters preferred to have their slaves, on the payment of a small sum, punished by the civil authorities.[51] Gardner remarked that "many of the crimes for which only a few lashes are awarded, are of such a nature that in England would bring upon the perpetrator either death or transportation."[52]

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It was customary each week to grant slaves, in addition to their regular food, an allowance of tobacco.[53] On the large estates certain hospital facilities,[54] and nurseries for Negro children were maintained.[55] Accounts of white mistresses who themselves attended to the sick among their slaves are numerous.[56] The *amas* (nurses) were often "emancipated as soon as their work was over, and nearly always continued to live in freedom under the same roof with their masters and to have various privileges."[57] "The aged Negroes were only employed in light occupations; during the remainder of their time they chatted with the master's young children, telling

[51] Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[52] *Ibid.*

[53] Prince Adalbert, *Travels of Prince Adalbert of Prussia*, trans. from *Aus meinem Tagebuche, 1842–1843* (Berlin, 1847), by Robert H. Schomburgk and John Edward Taylor (2 vols.; London, 1849), II, 37. Prince Adalbert noted on the coffee plantation Aldea, near Novo Friburgo, that "every evening, when their work is done, the slaves light fires in the rooms set apart for them, around which they sit for hours, even after the severest day's work, all talking and smoking, women as well as men."

[54] *Ibid.*, p. 36. "In the hospital, the hall and rooms for the two sexes were separated. A Negro woman was lying on a mat, with her little 'negrinho' at her breast, to which she had given birth only the night before. 'In a few days she will be able to resume work,' said the Doctor to Count Bismarck. In the men's room, there were four or five patients, suffering from accidents of various kinds" (coffee plantation Aldea, near Novo Friburgo).

[55] C. C. Andrews, *Brazil, Its Condition and Prospects* (2d ed.; New York, 1889), p. 164.

[56] Note, e.g., Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[57] Lacerda, *op. cit.*, p. 379.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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them odd stories which were calculated to strike their imagination."[58]

Public opinion expected of masters the acceptance of an offer made to manumit an infant on the occasion of his baptism.[59] It also became customary, when marriages were being solemnized in the master's family, to free one or two favorite slaves.[60] Masters frequently declined the money proffered by a Negro for his purchase and granted his freedom without payment.[61] Slaves of the religious orders, it is said, considered themselves to belong to the saints themselves and were never sold.[62] The law adopted in 1809 to protect the property of sugar planters against attachment for debt also provided that slaves need not be sold separately from an estate to satisfy a creditor's claims. Thus the master could not be forced to dispose of his slaves, unless the debt amounted to the value of the entire estate; and, as Koster has pointed out,[63] the slave in this way was advanced, in some degree at least, toward the condition of a serf.

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[58] *Ibid.*

[59] "Another custom which was advantageous to the slave was that of *alforrias na pia*, which was accomplished with the insignificant amount of 5 to 50 milreis and never was refused; this custom became very common, especially when the child had a light skin" (Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 255). Koster gives the price in Pernambuco early in the nineteenth century as £5 and says that "in this manner, a considerable number of persons are set at liberty; for the smallness of the price enables many freemen who have had connections with female slaves to manumit their offspring; and instances occur of the sponsors performing this .... act. Not infrequently female slaves apply to persons of consideration to become sponsors to their children, in the hope that the pride of these will be too great to allow of their godchildren remaining in slavery" (*op. cit.*, I, 195–96).

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[60] Frank Bennett, *Forty Years in Brazil* (London, 1914), p. 111.

[61] Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 256. [62] *Ibid.* [63] *Op. cit.*, I, 229 n.

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252 Guests are invited by the husband. The preparation of all
262 food must be done by hand, the chickens killed, cleaned, and
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736 in Vila Recôncavo are generous toward others who are in some way unfortunate, and help them if they can. There is little or no complaint if the household has to take in an infirm or aged relative; most people say that the same may happen to them one day and they will have to be taken care of. Perhaps the old person helped them in some way in the past when they needed aid and is now being repaid. Or if some older person wants to live alone, a group of neighbors and relatives all help in preparing meals and supplying food and other wants over an extended period of time. There is no case in Vila Recôncavo of an elderly person being sent to a public institution.

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remarkable fact about these female households is that mother and children manage to remain together as long as they do. Usually the husbandless woman finds work as a laundress or at ironing, or dries fish (xangó), three tasks which permit her to keep her children near her. When she becomes a cook or servant in someone's home, it is common for her to take the children to work and let them play nearby in the back yard. In such a case her children may eventually receive aid from her employer, who because of the children's continued presence in the house becomes fond of them and wants to do something for them. If this does not happen, the mother herself must take care of their future. As a rule, boys from such families leave town as soon as they are old enough, finding employment in Salvador. Girls, on the other hand, remain with their mothers more often than leaving. If they do leave, they often return, like Maria José, with children of their own.

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Because of the poverty of these households, there is little or no provision for the care of older people, and it is from this class that come the very few, poor, old women who beg for food, medicine, and other aid. The people of the town are in general extremely generous in view of their own financial circumstances, and they do what they can to help. In Vila Recôncavo there are no "professional" beggars; there is no one seated on a street corner asking for alms. There is, instead, a very proud spirit of independence, and having to go from door to door (or, rather, from kitchen to kitchen) asking for food or money is highly repugnant. Families will often send food to an old person regularly in order to avoid face-to-face contact with begging. Begging is also sometimes done through a third person, often a child, again to avoid face-to-face relationships in asking for aid.

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Class D does not exist in the rural area, for reasons already noted, particularly the pressure brought to bear by plantation owners and administrators. In addition, however, it also seems that women can only support themselves and their children in the more crowded urban areas, where they can find work which allows them to be near their children.